

KONDA OR KŪBI

A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE

643

BY

BH. KRISHNAMURTI

Foreword by
T. BURROW

TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH & TRAINING INSTITUTE

HYDERABAD

1969

The Koṇḍa Doras numbering 12,298 according to the 1961 Census are a primitive tribe inhabiting the Agency tracts of Śrikākuḷam and Viśākhapaṭṇam Districts of Andhra Pradesh and the Kōrāpuṭ District of Orissa. They speak a Dravidian language known to them as Kūbi, but called Koṇḍa ('hill') by the surrounding Telugu speakers. This is the first systematic account of one more Dravidian language which is closely related to Kūi and Kuvi already known to Dravidologists as important members of the Central Dravidian group. It has now been realized that Koṇḍa provides an important link between Kui-Kuvi on the one hand and Pengo-Maṇḍa on the other.

Professor T. Burrow of Oxford University writes in his Foreword to the volume:

“Dr. Krishnamurti’s book contains a lucid account of the grammatical structure of the Koṇḍa and a number of important texts with translation which will facilitate the acquisition of the language. It also contains a full vocabulary, which fortunately the authors of *DED Supplement* were able to use before publication. The book provides a further solid basis for comparative Dravidian studies. The time is approaching when a serious attempt at a comparative grammar of Dravidian can be made, and pioneering works of this kind will make that achievement possible”.

[Continued on back flap]

KONDA OR KŪBI

A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE

KONḌA OR KŪBI
A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE

(Texts, Grammar, and Vocabulary)

BY

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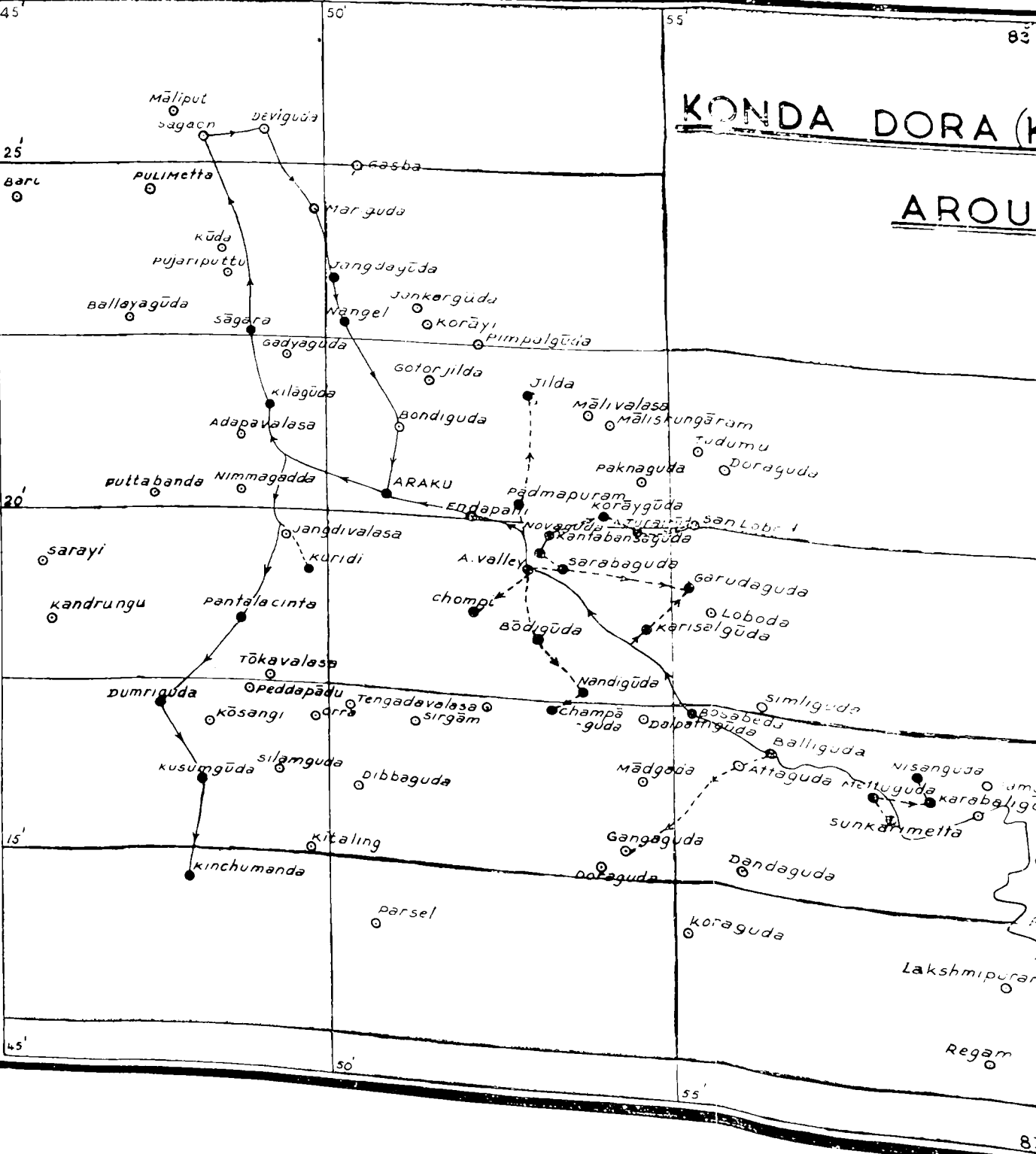
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TO
MY GURU
MURRAY B. EMENEAU

KONDA DORA (K

AROUND



PREFACE

This monograph is the result of an intensive field study of the Koṇḍa Dora (or Kūbi) language and folklore, conducted under a research scheme of the Andhra University approved and financed by the Andhra Pradesh Government during 1958-59. Field-work was in the main confined to the dialect spoken round the Araku valley which is situated in the hills 71 miles North-West of Visakhapatnam. However, extensive samples of material from other Koṇḍa dialects were also gathered at different parts of the Agency area with which the Araku notes have been compared.*

During the recent years a number of new Dravidian languages have come to light in Central India, and Koṇḍa is one more addition to the list. Koṇḍa preserves several features of Proto-Central-Dravidian and is of immense philological interest to the comparative Dravidianist. Though my interest in the study of the Koṇḍa Dora language is that of a linguist, I have no doubt the text material presented here will be of use to the folk-lorist and the cultural anthropologist. Not being a student of anthropology myself, I have only attempted to present a brief factual account of the Koṇḍa Dora life and customs, which is by no means exhaustive. This volume also provides a large corpus which can be utilized to acquaint the developmental officials with the life and language of the Koṇḍa Doras. It has now been recognized

* The main informant Bōyi Sombra comes from Gorṛa Guṛa (spelt Garudaguda in the Map). The Northwestern dialect is represented by Sova (wrongly spelt as Sagaon instead of Sōgaon).

throughout that without a proper vehicle to communicate with tribals, the various governmental officials engaged in social welfare work among the tribes can hardly infuse confidence in the people whom they want to educate and uplift. The problem is much more serious in the case of tribal women who are generally monolingual and the women welfare workers often find it difficult to carry out the welfare activities successfully without possessing a working knowledge of the language of the tribe they work with.

I express my grateful thanks to the authorities of the Andhra University and the Andhra Pradesh Government for making this study possible. I am particularly indebted to Dr. V. S. Krishna, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University,* for his great personal interest in the survey of the languages and cultures of primitive communities in the Andhra area and for having encouraged me to take up this work by creating adequate facilities for a successful completion of this monograph. Grateful acknowledgement is also due to the Project Executive Officers of the Araku and Pādēru Multipurpose Blocks and their staff for their co-operation in getting the questionnaire filled out by the Village Level Workers. I am also obliged to Mr. T. Donappa and Mr. K. Ranga Rao who have assisted me at different stages of the preparation of this work.

Waltair
September 6, 1960

BH. KRISHNAMURTI

The Andhra Pradesh Government had since sanctioned funds for the publication of the monograph, which, in its first version, consisted only of Introduction, Texts, and Vocabulary. My interrupted attempts to work out a descriptive grammar of the Kūbi language have held up its publication for so many years. Owing to several changes, in quick succession, in my professional affiliation — from Andhra

* Dr. Krishna passed away in January, 1961.

University to the University of California, Berkeley (1960-61), from there to Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati (1961-62), and finally to Osmania University (in September 1962) — there was a temporary suspension of work on the monograph. In spite of my heavy responsibility in building up a new department of Linguistics at Osmania University since 1962, I managed to devote the summers of 1965, 1966, and 1968 to write up a grammatical outline of the language.

Although I owe an apology to the Dravidian scholars who have waited so long for the publication of this work, it gives me satisfaction to see that the intervening years have helped me to clarify for myself some of the difficult problems of grammatical analysis and description of this language. And, to that extent, the quality of this work has grown to compensate for the delay in its publication. However, I am fully aware of the inadequacies and shortcomings which still persist in description.

I thank the Government of Andhra Pradesh for having provided funds for the publication of this work. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. J. P. L. Gwynn, I.C.S. (Formerly Secretary to the Government of Andhra Pradesh in Education and Member, Board of Revenue) for the keen interest he evinced in the survey of tribal languages and cultures in Andhra Pradesh. He used his good offices in expediting the sanction of funds for the publication of this Monograph in 1961. I also owe my thanks to Sri P. Kamalamanohar Rao (Director, Tribal Welfare) and Sri D. R. Pratap (Director-in-Charge, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute) for their cooperation in the successful completion of this project.

I am grateful to Professor T. Burrow of Oxford University for having contributed a foreword to this book, thereby enhancing its prestige. In fact, it was he who originally encouraged me to take up a detailed study of the Kōṇḍa Dora language, which provides valuable data for the comparative reconstruction of a branch of Central Dravidian.

The Management and Staff of M/s G. S. Press, particularly Mr. S. Ramaswami, deserve my sincere gratitude for their friendly cooperation in completing the arduous task of printing this work with admirable care.

Hyderabad
March 25, 1969

BH. K.

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FOREWORD

BY

T. BURROW

Boden Professor of Sanskrit in The University of Oxford

The area of the Eastern Ghats centering on the district of Koraput contains a remarkable variety of minor Dravidian languages, as well as languages of the Muṇḍa family. Until recently most of these were completely unknown, among them the language of the Koṇḍa Doras, a tribe known also to themselves by the name Kūbi. There had been a few references to the existence of this language in some of the census reports, but information about it only became available with the publication in 1956 of a short account of it by S. Bhattacharya. Its importance, from the point of view of comparative Dravidian studies, was made clear by the publication of this material and the desirability of a more complete study of the language became evident. It is fortunate that Dr. Krishnamurti has been able to undertake this, and that the fruits of his labours are now made available to students of Dravidian in the present volume. It provides a full and reliable account of the language as spoken in the Aruku valley, to the Southeast of Koraput in Andhra State.

In Koṇḍa, as in other spoken Dravidian languages, there exists a certain amount of dialectal divergency. The most important phonetic difference lies in the treatment of original *-l-* which in the Northwest of the Koṇḍa area appears as *-r-*, and in the Southeast as *-l-*, showing that in an earlier stage of its independent existence the language had retained the

primitive Dravidian sound. Another interesting difference concerns the existence or non-existence of metathesis, which Dr. Krishnamurti has discussed and explained in his introduction. In other respects the differences are not very great, and in particular the morphology as presented here, and that of Koraput Koṇḍa (which in addition to the article mentioned above was further investigated by Bhattacharya and myself in 1957-8) appears to be in essential respects identical. Taking everything into account, the most important dialectal divergence lies between the Gūri dialect spoken in the extreme Southeast of the area, and the rest of Koṇḍa. In his introduction Dr. Krishnamurti has quoted some very interesting material to illustrate this difference, and it is obvious that this dialect would well repay further study.

The Koṇḍa language, as observed in the introduction, is closely related to Kui and Kuvi, and it is interesting to learn that the tribe calls itself by a related name, Kūbi. It is also even more closely related to Pengo and Maṇḍa, which form a pair within the same sub-family. This will become clear when the material from the latter languages is made available. In this connection one or two points are worth mentioning here. In dealing with the imperative of the Koṇḍa verb *sī-si?a* (sg.) and *sidu* (pl.) 'give to 3rd person', and *sida*, *sidat* 'give me'. A similar distinction between a general form and a special form used when the object is the first or second person is found throughout the verbal system in Pengo-Maṇḍa and Kui-Kuvi. The explanation must be that this system prevailed originally also in Koṇḍa, but that it has been dropped except in this instance. Another feature of the above languages is the use of a motion particle, as it is called by Winfield, which takes the form of *-ka-* or *-ga-* inserted between verb and termination, e.g. Pe. *ta-* 'bring' *ta-ka-* 'go and bring'. In Koṇḍa this appears in the imperative of the verb *ta-* 'to bring' (*taga*, *tagat*) where it is the only form used, but so far as the evidence goes, nowhere else. Here again we must assume that Koṇḍa originally had the full system, but that it has been dropped except in this isolated

case. Another feature provides a special connection between Koṇḍa and Pengo-Maṇḍa. In Koṇḍa kinship terms, when they are used in connection with the third person, take a special suffix *-si*. A corresponding suffix *-hi* appears in Pengo and Maṇḍa, and in this case there is a specially close connection between these languages and Koṇḍa. It is likely that these districts were first occupied by a single form of Dravidian speech, and that the first division was between Kui-Kuvi and the rest, which later also evolved in their separate ways. Further afield, the Dravidian language nearest to this group is Gondi.

Dr. Krishnamurti's book contains a lucid account of the grammatical structure of Koṇḍa, and a number of interesting texts with translation which will facilitate the acquisition of the language. It also contains a full vocabulary, which fortunately the authors of *DED Supplement* were able to use before publication. The book provides a further solid basis for comparative Dravidian studies. The time is approaching when a serious attempt at a comparative grammar of Dravidian can be made, and pioneering works of this kind will make that achievement possible.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

abl.	ablative	n.	noun
acc.	accusative	N.	North(ern)
adj.	adjective	n.sg.	non-masculine/neuter singular
adv.	adverb	n.pl.	non-masculine/neuter plural
caus.	causative	n.pr.	noun proper
cf.	<i>confer</i> (=compare)	num.	numeral
cl.	clitic	O.	Oriya
con.	connective	obl.	oblique
cpd.	compound	onom.	onomatopoetic
dat.	dative	pers.	person
der.	derived/derivative	pl.	plural
dial.	dialect(al)	pron.	pronoun
excl.	exclusive (in 1st pers. pl.)	refl.	reflexive
esp.	especially	sg.	singular
IA.	Indo-Aryan	Skt.	Sanskrit
incl.	inclusive (in 1st pers. pl.)	Te.	Telugu
int.	interjection	var.	variant
imp.	imperative	v.i.	verb intransitive
irreg.	irregular	voc.	vocative
lit.	literally	v.s.v.	<i>vide sub voce</i> (see under the word)
loc.	locative	v.t.	verb transitive
l.w.	loan word	W.	West(ern)
m./masc.	masculine		

//X// → /Y/. Morphophonemic X is realized as phonemic /Y/.

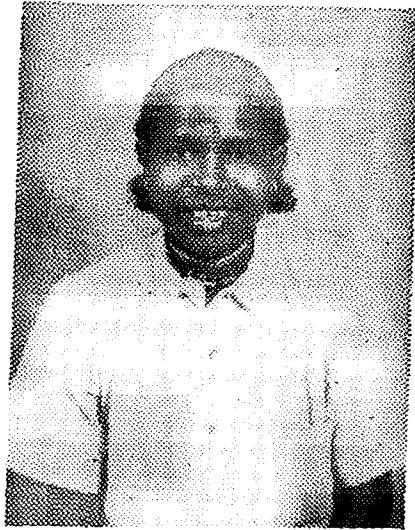
X > Y. X becomes Y.

Y < X. Y is derived from X.

* marks a hypothetical form historically or descriptively re-constructed.

[] enclose phonetic transcription.

nn represent voiced velar nasal (due to lack of adequate matrices on line).



BŌYI SOMBRA

(The main informant of the Koṇḍa Dora language)

INTRODUCTION

NAME OF THE TRIBE: The tribal community whose language and folk-lore are studied in this volume has been reported by several names in the earlier accounts about it, viz., Koṇḍa Dora, Koṇḍa Kāpu, Ōja and Pāṇḍava (Raytu). Of all these titles, Koṇḍa Dora has become the most popular name of the tribe and has come to stay. But, during my field study, I discovered (perhaps, for the first time) that the original name of this tribe is Kūbi, and all my informants, interviewed in different parts of the Viśākhapatnam-Śrīkākuḷam Agency, admitted that they called themselves Kūbi (plural, Kūbiṅ). However, most of them said that 'Koṇḍa Dora' was the title given to them by the plains' people, particularly the Telugus. This statement admits of little doubt, because, only Telugu has the word *koṇḍa* for 'hill, mountain' corresponding to Tamil *kunṛam*, and *goṛon* in the language of the tribe in question (all from PDr. **kunṛam*). *koṇḍa* (*vāḍu*) in Telugu is a general term used to designate any hillman; with different local pronunciations, the word *koṇḍa* has assumed several shapes 'Khond, Kōndu, Kōdu', and 'Kandh'; of these, the last is the Oṛiya rendering of the Telugu 'Koṇḍa'. Gradually these different varieties of pronunciations have come to be the designations of many local hill tribes even though they have been speaking mutually unintelligible languages. 'Kandh' in Orissa is used to designate the Kūis and even sometimes the Kuvis; 'Kōndu' and 'Kōdu' have become the different local names in the Telugu area for the people known as 'Kuvi' in their language, and 'Koṇḍa' or 'Koṇḍa Dora' have come to be the local names of another tribe, whose original name is Kūbi.

I circulated a questionnaire among the Village Level Workers of the Araku and Pāᅇru Multipurpose Blocks to get information on the number of the Koᅇa Dora houses and the different titles by which they are known. The results present the following picture.

Popularity index of the different local names of the tribe

Local name	Number of hamlets in the M.P. Block of		Total No. of hamlets
	Araku	Pāᅇru	
1. Koᅇa Dora	118	23	141
2. Koᅇa Kāpu	0	39	39
3. Pāᅇava Raytu	0	31	31
4. Kūbi	11	0	11
5. Koᅇa Dora/Koᅇa Kāpu	0	10	10
6. Koᅇa Dora/Pāᅇava Raytu	10	1	11
7. Koᅇa Dora/Kūbi	0	8	8
8. Koᅇa Dora/Koᅇa Kāpu/ Pāᅇava Raytu	0	2	2
9. Koᅇa Kāpu/Pāᅇava Raytu	0	5	5
10. Koᅇa Dora/Pāᅇava Raytu/ Kūbi	8	0	8

Koᅇa Dora also includes the titles 'Koᅇa', or 'Koᅇa Jāti'. Similarly under Pāᅇava Raytu are subsumed also the titles, 'Pāᅇava' and 'Pāᅇava Jāti'.

Apparently, Koᅇa Dora (lit. Hill lord) and Koᅇa Kāpu (lit. Hill cultivator) seem to be the most popular titles of the tribe, while Pāᅇava, Pāᅇava Jāti and Pāᅇava Raytu (lit. the pāᅇava farmer) seem to be the prestige titles that probably they have given themselves. Many Koᅇa Doras have kept the title 'Kūbi' mostly to themselves, because it does not carry any connotation of 'lord, farmer or a descendant of the Pāᅇavas.'

However, the discovery of their original name as 'Kūbi' has a revealing result. The whole of the Agency area of Andhra and the southern and south-eastern strips of Orissa are thickly populated by two tribes whose native names are Kui and Kuvi. The Kuvi (plural, Kuviṅa) are also known by several local titles in the Andhra area, viz., Sāmanta, Jātāpu or Jātāpu Dora, and Kōndu. Many of the existing accounts have utterly confused these titles and the census reports have returned them as representing different tribal communities. The language of the 'Kūbi' (i.e. Koṅḍa Dora) is very closely related to the languages Kuvi and Kui, and the similarity in the three native names suggests their original identity as a single speech community, perhaps also culturally homogeneous. 'Kū'—means a hill and 'Kū-i' 'a hill man'; with the intervening -v- glide, we get Kūvi, and with the change -v- > -b- under the influence of the Oṛiya language, Kūbi. I have therefore decided to use the name Kūbi beside Koṅḍa or Koṅḍa Dora, of which the latter commends itself by being the most popular title.

HABITAT AND POPULATION: The Koṅḍa Doras live mainly in the hills of the Agency areas of Viśākhapatnam and Śrīkākuḷam districts in Andhra Pradesh and in the south-eastern hills of the Koraput district of Orissa. They are found thickly concentrated in the areas under the Araku and Pādēru Multi-purpose Blocks. The population figures of the Koṅḍa Doras, found in the Census reports, are as follows:

Year	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Population	81,063	88,715	89,775	65,466	85,952	98,747

The 1921 Census report explains the fall in the strength of Koṅḍa Doras as follows:

"There has been a great fall in the strength of Koṅḍa Doras in the Agency—partly due to the transfer to Vizagapatnam District of certain Agency tracts which they inhabit; but the tribe as a whole has lost over 25 per cent of its numbers in the last ten years; it is uncertain whether this is due to heavy mortality or to emigration" (p. 136). The report goes on to say, "We find that of 65,466 Koṅḍa Doras, only

11,768 speak Koṇḍa, the other 54,000 Koṇḍa speakers being mostly Khonds and Jatapus" (p. 137).

This statement is characteristic of the confusion in the census reports between the languages and the different local names of tribes. A tribe speaking the same language may have two or more local names, all of which do not necessarily represent names of languages. It is evident that only 11,768 out of this huge figure speak Koṇḍa and are therefore Koṇḍa Doras, while the remaining 54,000 people, called here Khonds and Jātapus, speak a different language altogether viz., Kuvi. Most of the Koṇḍa Doras still live in the hills and it is very unlikely that more than three-fourths of them had abandoned their language, and took to either Telugu or Oṛiya. The 1951 Language Census Report shows that 14,052 speak the Koṇḍa language and this figure nearly agrees with that of 11,768 Koṇḍa speakers reported in the 1921 Census. It appears, therefore, that the strength of the Koṇḍa Doras has never exceeded fifteen or sixteen thousand, the figures in the census reports being inflated due to wrong recording of a number of Khonds (i.e. Kuvīs) as Koṇḍa Doras.

From the data collected on my questionnaire, the Araku and Pādēru Blocks have reported Koṇḍa Dora houses 974 and 839 (total 1,813), respectively. Counting an average of four members for each house, the population of Koṇḍa Doras in these two blocks would come to about 7,300. This nearly covers the concentration areas of the Koṇḍa Dora colonies in the Andhra State. The Language Census Report returns 8,355 Koṇḍa speakers for Orissa. These two totals nearly agree with the total strength of the Koṇḍa speakers returned in the 1951 Census, i.e., 14,052, recording a slight increase during the past decade.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION: The Koṇḍa Doras have a patriarchal family system. Each family has a surname or house-name traced through the male line. A few family names: Kora, Mādala, Pāṇi, Goluri, Kilo, Zani, Kambori, Bōyi, Sompi, Sinder, Pāḍi. Joint families are common as long as the father is alive as the head of the family. In a few cases, where the brothers have separated even before the death of the father,

the father prefers to live with his youngest son. Agricultural labour as well as produce are equally shared by brothers in a joint family and all should contribute to the maintenance of the parents in their old age, no matter with which son they live.

Monogamy is the common practice, though cases of polygyny are not infrequent. A man normally asks the consent of his first wife if he wants to have one or more wives besides her. It is reported that polygyny is prompted by the necessity of having more people in the family to participate in agricultural labour. Marriage is permitted only among the exogamous clans. A man has a right as well as an obligation to marry his cross-cousin, mother's brother's daughter, or father's sister's daughter. In case an eligible female cross-cousin happens to marry some other man, that man has to pay compensation to the one who has the right claim to marry her by virtue of kinship. It is also obligatory for a male member to marry the wife of his deceased elder brother, but never the wife of his younger brother. A man who wants to marry a widow has to pay heavy compensation to her husband's younger brother, who has the traditional right to marry her after the death of her husband. It is therefore clear that widow marriage is a socially approved practice among the Koṇḍa Doras, generally operative within the same clan between permissible parties.

Four types of marriage are prevalent among the Koṇḍa Doras. (1) *Marriage by negotiation* is the normal type. When the bride is selected (where she happens to be somebody other than the man's cross-cousin), a party of elders approaches the bride's father with a pot of rice-beer, and makes a formal request to give the bride in marriage to the contemplated groom. If the parents agree, the stipulated bride price is paid on an auspicious day fixed by the Guru (*guruyen*) and the girl is conducted to the groom's village, where wedding takes place with due pomp and ceremony followed by a communal feast. (2) *Marriage by capture* occurs in cases where negotiations fail and the boy insists on marrying a particular girl. The girl is waylaid by a party of strong men belonging to the man at the weekly shandy or at the

hill stream where she goes to fetch water. They capture the girl by force and run away to the boy's village, sometimes even involving themselves in a fight with the girl's relatives. After the boy's party has successfully conducted the girl to their village, no further resistance is made by the parents of the girl and the wedding takes place as usual.

(3) *Marriage by Service (gorza)* is common in the case of a boy who cannot afford the bride price and when the girl's father has no sons to assist him in agriculture. The prospective bridegroom has to serve in the parents-in-law's house for three years before becoming eligible to marry their daughter. Marriage expenses are borne in this case by the girl's father, and the son-in-law and the daughter set up their own home only after the marriage. If the girl's father fails to give his daughter in marriage to the man who has served him under this type of agreement, or if the girl refuses to marry the man who has thus served her parents, he (the father) has to pay heavy compensation to the boy and also stands accused before the tribal council. (4) *Marriage by elopement* is the fourth type. A boy and a girl who have known each other through several encounters, finally get married through the inexpensive ceremony called *nüne pasın* (lit. anointing with oil and turmeric, see page 17).

Divorce is allowed by Konḡ Dora law. Very often it is the woman who takes the initiative when either she is ill-treated or she takes fancy to another man. The prospective husband of the woman who seeks divorce has to pay compensation to her first husband before he can marry her. On the contrary, if a man seeks a divorce from his wife, he has to pay her compensation, and again has to pay bride price for his new wife. This two-way loss, perhaps, acts as a check for the man to propose divorce himself.

Sexual promiscuity is a crime, punishable in proportion to its nature and the degree of prohibited kinship of the parties involved. Premarital sex relations prevail, but are generally overlooked if the parties involved do not belong to incestuous groups. Sex relation between parallel cousins (members of the same clan) and between a man and his daughter-in-law or younger brother's wife are prohibited by tradition (i.e.

incestuous) and do not take place as a rule. Occasional sex relations between a man and his elder brother's wife are reported even during the life time of the elder brother. This is tolerated to a degree. Similarly, sex-relations between a man and his wife's younger sister occasionally happen only when she is not married to his younger brother. A married woman or man, who is accused of adultery before obtaining a divorce, would be brought before the tribal council for punishment. Inter-tribal marriage is also a punishable offence if the bride is selected from a tribe lower than the Koṇḍa Doras in the social scale, for instance, the Payṇḍi (Ḍombu or Vālmiki).

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION: In the Araku Valley there are many villages exclusively inhabited by the Koṇḍa Doras beside those in which they live side by side with other communities, viz., Bagata, Mūka Dora, Koṭya, Molya, Payṇḍi, etc. I have not come across any village where the Koṇḍa Doras and the Kuvis (Samantas) live together. In the tribal hierarchy, Bagatas, the richest and the most exploitor class of the lower communities, tops the list. Koṭya and Mūka Dora (also pronounced Nūka Dora) come next, and then the Koṇḍa Dora. Payṇḍi (Ḍombu) are down the scale, and Koṇḍas say that Sāmantas (i.e. the Kuvi) are also lower in social status than themselves.

Each tribal hamlet or colony (*valsa* or *gura*) consists of 20 to 40 houses on the average, and nearly eight to sixteen of such *guras* constitute a *mutha*. The *mutha* used to be controlled by a *muthādār* under the old feudal system, and he was responsible for revenue collection in the hamlets under his jurisdiction; each *valsa* had a village head called *valsa neyki* (the colony chief), who collected revenue from his village and passed it on to the *muthādār*.

Each Koṇḍa Dora hamlet has a tribal council, consisting of the *kulam neyki* (the caste-head), the *valsa neyki* (the village head), the Guru (the priest or the shaman), and one or two elderly people who serve by virtue of their age and wealth. Any offence of an unsocial nature is brought before this council for judgment. They gather at the meeting place

of the village (*sadru*) underneath a tree, and subject the offender to ordeals and threats, if he or she denies having committed the wrong. Two justice poles called *sōyit komu* and *rōyiñ komu*, remain planted here, which the accused man or woman respectively must hold with his/her hand and confess the truth. It is believed that, if the accused lies while holding the *sōyit komu* or *rōyiñ komu*, Gods eventually will bring total destruction on him or her. When the offence is proved, the village council decides the punishment—which is usually a fine in terms of cash of about Rs. 25 or of kind (one cow and 12 to 20 seers of rice), which will be utilized for a feast for the council members and the other village elders. Crimes of a more serious nature like murder have not been reported recently since the tribals are terribly afraid of the police; others mainly include theft, illicit sex contacts, and intercaste marriage, etc. The Guru (shaman) is an important functionary among the Konda Doras as among the other tribals in this area. He gets his status by virtue of heredity, and he is the one still greatly relied upon by the Konda Doras to cure diseases by offering a fowl, to dispel evil spirits with amulets, and to fix auspicious days for festival and marriage, etc. Female priests are not common among the Konda Doras, whereas in the case of Samantas (or Kuvis), *pejjeñi* (the priestess) occupies a very important place in the society.

RELIGION AND RITUAL: Konda Doras worship the sky and the earth and many invocatory references to *būmi tali* (the Earth Mother) and *āgas tanri* (the Sky Father) occur in their folk tales (see 6.16-22). The Konda Dora invocation refers to several names of Gods and the dead ancestors. Generally, on every religious occasion, the woman carries cow-dung, flour, incense and a fowl for offerings to be made in the centre of a trodden path on the outskirts of the village. She plasters the floor, draws lines with flour, burns incense and offers the fowl invoking the ancestors and gods to protect the family from danger. Usually the man worships in the house, making offerings at the threshold, the central pole of the house and the lamp stand.

Many of the Konda festivals are common to all the tribes inhabiting the Agency areas including the upper class Bagatas

and Koṭyas. The main festivals reported are *pūsa paṇḍoy* (the *pūja* festival), *koṛa kota*, *dasra paṇḍoy*, *dīvaṇi paṇḍoy*, *karak paṇḍoy*. The common gods are: *peri deyam*, *gaṅga deyam*, *zāker deyam*, *nandi deyam*, *palika deyam*, *nisaṇi deyam*. A brief description of some of the important Koṇḍa festivals is given below:

koṛa kota: This festival takes place on the second Thursday in the month of *bandapoṇ* (i.e. Bhādrapada, August-September). On this day, early in the morning, all the people young and old bathe. The walls and the floor of the house are replastered and decorated. The eldest male member of each family takes with him cleaned rice, incense, fire with forceps, a pot of water, flour, cow-dung and a red chicken, to the *gumeṇḍi* (*Cucurbita maxima*) basin in his yard. He plasters the floor with cow-dung, burns incense, draws flour-lines, and washes the beak and legs of the chicken. He then places a few rice grains on *goṇḍa* (flour-lines), and holding the chicken in his left hand and rice grains in his right, he turns to all directions, bowing to the earth and the sky. He then recites the invocation as follows:

tuRpadeṇ

(Invocation in Koṇḍa)

(1) unzar mahapru! peri deyam, gaṅga deyam, zāker deyam, palika deyam, nandi deyam, goṛob nisaṇi, pāṭ gaṇḍa, pāṭ, durga, nisaṇi muṇḍa! nēnṛu, mahapru! māp koṛa kota paṇḍoy kizinap. (2) zoṛa nandi, zoṛa zaṅkor! tapnider oṛnider. (3) sātikider, soRikider! yāyarte bubarte! anarte onirte! mā-marte mīmirte! andirte azorte! gogorte malorte! dūli dāda, dūli bibi! ḍokra ḍokri! kūṛa vāra lōku bāku! soni manzinider. (4) vāzi tinzi uṇzi sarda vēṛika musku sonṛu. (5) saka man-ṛu sāyamanṛu. (6) taptiṇa taglitiṇa, būlaniban sālanibān, māṭadu katadu, sardadu vēṛikadu, iludu ālidu, gōdu pōdu, sāmбудu koyadu, paṅkudu gusildu, noṛesdu olzudu, saras-du seridu, aḍa bārzi keṛu bārzi, sāy bārzi saka bārzi, manreṇ vale. (7) kāpanta kāpu tōṛanta tōṛu āzi muṅgal mūnṛi kāpuṇ venka veyi kāpuṇ āzi, pūti pūṇu noṚti pervu lakeṇḍ kizi, manreṇ vale!

Translation

(1) O Great Lord! the Great God, the Ganga God, the Zāker God, the Palika God, the Nandi God, gorob nisani. pāṭ gaṇḍa, pāṭ durga, nisani muṇḍa! (all names of gods addressed). We, O Great Lord! are today celebrating the Kora Kota festival. (2) O zoṛa nandi! zoṛa zaṅkor! (names of gods), you may fail and you may slip, but don't! (3) O the dead and the gone! O the (dead) mothers and the (dead) fathers! brothers and sisters-in-law! aunts and uncles!... the weak and the strong! the great-grand-father and the great-grand-mother! Old men and old women! all (the dead) relatives, friends and folks! don't you go away! (4) Come, eat and drink, and go back with happiness and pleasure. (5) Be helping us, and be saving us! (6) Wherever we miss and wherever we hit, wherever we go and wherever we fail,—in our words in our stories, in our happiness and in our festivities, in (the case of) our house, wife, cattle and livestock, tigers and bears, thorns and sticks, stones and stumps, snakes and centipedes—in the case of all these, you should intervene and obstruct, helping and saving us (from danger to life). (7) Protection from all sides, assistance from all sides, so becoming, give us three protections ahead and thousand protections behind, keeping us like blossomed flowers and cleansed rice, be with us.

After reciting the invocation, he cuts the throat of the chicken and drips blood on the rice already strewn on *gonḍa* (the flour-lines on the floor). He then touches a bit of blood with his middle finger and puts a mark (*boṭu*) on the forehead with it. Laying the head of the chicken at the place of worship, he also puts *boṭu* on it with the blood. He then carries a pot of water around the head of the chicken and pours it aside, again bowing to the gods. He plucks a couple of *gumēṇḍi* leaves and takes them home along with the sacrificial chicken, which are cooked together. Only from then on do the Konda Doras eat the *gumēṇḍi* vegetable.

zāker deyam (the *zāker* god) situated at the foot of a nearby hill is worshipped on a Sunday in the month of *Vaiśākha*. On the eve of the festive day, the *puzeri* (the priest)

plasters the floor in front of the sacred place with cowdung and hangs a string of mango leaves over it supported by poles. In the temple, there are two pots, a big one and a small one, containing two small pieces of stones. On the Sunday evening, only the male members of the village go to the temple. The puzeri burns incense, and places rice grains on the floor in front of the temple over the flour-lines. Then a fowl or a cow is offered—a cow once in three years, a fowl every year. Rice grains and green grass are placed over the forehead of the cow (the place between the horns), and all bow to her feet. Then the cow is struck to death by a blow on the forehead with a hammer. The puzeri takes blood in a leaf-cup and drips it over the pot that holds the 'god'. Some people attend to the work of skinning and butchering the cow. The puzeri cooks 'saru' (sacred rice in a small pot) and broth with the cow's heart. A part of 'saru', the broth and the boiled cow-heart are offered to the God. Then every one recites the invocation (vide above). Cooked rice and flesh are distributed among those present. They sprinkle water on the food and take their shares home. At each home, the house wife receives a bit of this rice and makes an offering of it on the trodden path outside the village, while the man sprinkles some of the food on the threshold, the central pole, and the lamp stand. The flesh of the cow is distributed among the important participants and the village dignitaries: the muṭṭaḍar, the valsa neyki, the kulam neyki and the puzeri, etc.

pūsa paṇḍoy (the puṣya festival): This festival takes place on the second Tuesday of the pūsa month (January) soon after the harvesting season. The festival eve is observed on Monday. All the people replaster the walls and floors of their houses that day. Men go to the mountain and take with them firewood, *aḍa* (*Bahunia racemosa*) leaves, tooth-sticks and an *aḍa* fruit. They cook dhall and rice that evening. Small quantities of rice and dhall are placed in small leaf-cups and house-wives take them out on to the trodden path to offer with the usual ceremony and invocation (see 6:90). Men offer food on the threshold and the lamp stand, etc. Afterwards, everybody eats sumptuously and sleeps. Early in Tuesday morning, all people, young and old, bathe. After-

wards, the man takes the worship material and a red chicken on to the path leading into the village from the East. He plasters the floor, draws flour-lines on it and strews rice there. He then lays the *ada* fruit on it cross-wise. Washing the legs and the mouth of the chicken, he shows it to the worshipping place. Holding the chicken in the left hand and rice in the right, he would recite the invocation, addressing *ganga dēvuṅ* (the Ganga God) first, followed by the names of the other gods (see 6.80-83). He would then offer the fowl repeating the procedure described earlier and returns home. At home, the wife offers a bit of food and liquid at the lamp-stand, the central pole and the threshold of the house. Then all members of the family, relatives and friends feast together.

Festivity with the drinking of rice-beer, singing and dancing goes on for nearly a month. During this period Konḍa Doras as well as the other tribes immensely enjoy themselves with all play and no work.

nandi paṅḍoy (the nandi festival): This festival takes place on the first Saturday in the month of February. On the eve of this day, the puzeri takes with him a couple of eggs, incense, rice and liquor into a field. He burns incense, pours liquor at a particular place, breaks eggs and takes some clay from there, which he carries back to the village with the tribal band playing ahead. Early, the next day, the puzeri makes an image of a bull out of the clay which has been soaked in liquor. The image is bedecked with beads and ornaments. The idol is then seated in a wide mouthed basket and carried in procession from home to home by two married women who have not borne children. The procession goes from the main village around to all the hamlets affiliated with it. At each house, preparations are made to receive and worship the god. The housewife carries the basket inside and places it in the centre of house on a heap of rice and oil cakes. The puzeri is presented with cooked rice, two oil cakes and a small pot of rice-beer at each and every home visited. Rice or any other grain over which the god is placed is also to be delivered to the puzeri. Well-to-do people also give a handful of

ḍēra grain to each of the persons in the band accompanying the procession. On a morning after all the hamlets are served by the procession, the image is taken to a river and dissolved.

kaṛak paṇḍoy (the hunting festival): This festival occurs in the month of Caitra (April) soon after the worship of *nisāni muṇḍa* or *saṅku dēvuṇ*. The temple is situated outside the village facing East usually underneath a tamarind tree. On the second or third Thursday in this month, the *puzeri* plants a jambo plant and a mango plant outside the temple. On the designated day, early in the morning, the village band plays and all the people gather at the temple. The *puzeri* collects different varieties of new seeds and takes them to the place of worship. Two young girls who are to act as mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are sent to a nearby hill-stream where they bathe and bring water in new pots. A pot of water is sprinkled by the *puzeri* over the two plants and the two girls. He offers a fowl, burns incense and pours water on the floor. Holding all the varieties of seed in his hand, he then scatters a few seeds on the soil, already wetted with water, and digs there thrice with a hoe. He again sprinkles a little water over the area.

At this moment, all the villagers who have accumulated there will hold their loin cloths spread out to receive the seed. Then the *puzeri* will fling seeds at them and the few grains that every one collects in his or her cloth are taken home and mixed with the seeds that they had stored for sowing. The floor and walls of each house are replastered, and, soon after bringing the 'blessed seed', farmers should go to the field and yoke oxen to the plough. Incense and a fowl are offered at each yoke. The plough is taken thrice across the field and then back home.

The next day all male members of the village of whatever community go out hunting, in large groups, carrying bows and arrows and other weapons, and provisions sufficient for three weeks or even a month. They roam near and far in the mountains and kill whatever forest animals they come across—hog, deer, cheetah or tiger. After three or four weeks, they return to the village in procession playing drums

and bands and carrying the animals they have killed. Drinking, dancing and feasting follow a profitable hunt. All tribals go to work in earnest after the completion of this festival, and actually this marks the end to fun and frolic and the beginning of serious agricultural operations.

zūnder unḍer (eating in the open): This festival of less religious but more social importance takes place on a Wednesday in the month of Vaiśākha (May). Men go to the mountain on the evening of Tuesday and bring back *marvi kuṇi* (an edible root). Early Wednesday morning, the housewife cooks in a small pot a recipe with tubers, dry flesh of birds, fish, dried meat of hare, tuvar dhal and bamboo sprouts; rice is cooked separately in another small pot. After the men have left for the field, women carry these preparations along with incense, *akot* (unbroken rice grains), water in a gourd vessel, tooth-stick and an *aḍa* leaf-plate. The wife stops the yoked oxen engaged in ploughing and gives a toothstick to the man to brush his teeth. Each bullock is given a lump of rice (*saru*) along with the special curry. The man is then served with small quantities of curry, porridge, and water. Small quantities of food and drink should remain for the woman to take back home. She will then pour the water over the front roof of the house and enters in. Only after this ceremony can men be allowed to eat their meals out in the fields.

The Konḍa Doras have elaborate rituals associated with different phases of life.

Child birth is conducted by a community mid-wife (*boḍu ḍokri*), an experienced old lady of the tribe. The period of pollution after confinement is fifteen days, at the end of which the mother takes a purificatory bath with seven pots of water and seven lumps of turmeric at a nearby hill stream. Details of this ceremony occur in the Konḍa folk tales (see 7.30-44). On the evening of the fifteenth day or the immediately following Friday, the new born child is christened in the presence of number of married women of the tribe invited for the occasion. In the presence of invited ladies, an oil lamp (with the oil from the seeds of the tree *Pongamia*

glabra) is lit. The mother doles out two handfuls of rice to each of the ladies present. Then she smears turmeric and oil over the face and hands of each of the women present who will repeat it to her. After this ceremony, the *boḍu ḍokri* announces the name of the child. Commonly a *Koṇḍa Dora* child is named after the day of the week on which it is born.

<i>Name of the day:</i>	<i>Name of the child:</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Sunday (Skt. <i>ādivāra</i>)	adu	adma
Monday (Skt. <i>sōmavāra</i>)	sombra	sombri or sombari
Tuesday (Skt. <i>maṅgalavāra</i>)	maṅgla	maṅgli
Wednesday (Skt. <i>budhavāra</i>)	budra	budri
Thursday (Skt. <i>lakshmivāra</i>)	lasna or lasu	lasi buḍi
Friday (Skt. <i>śukravāra</i>)	sukra	sukri
Saturday (Skt. <i>śanivāra</i>)	sonya	sonima

A few other personal names are as follows: males—*Paṇḍu*, *Polu*, *Donu*, *Malu*, *Koṇḍu*, *Modu*, *Bāla*, *Bīma*, *Badram*, *Sanasi*, *Gānsi*, *Rāmana*, *Sinaya*, *Lasama*; females—*Duki*, *Busi*, *Zurṇi*, *Dalima*, *Duvari*, *Baṇari*, *Podma*, *Bimla*, *Sitama*, *Kotama*.

Some of the names have clear influence of *Oria* and some of *Telugu*; the rest, like *Paṇḍu*, *Polu*, *Donu*, etc., appear to be native to *Koṇḍa* (*Kūbi*); but further investigation and comparative study of the personal names of the other tribes in the area is necessary to reveal the origin of these names.

In the case of female children there are formal ceremonies associated with piercing the nose and ears for enabling them to wear rings, and with sari-wearing, hair dressing, etc.

Normally, marriage takes place when a boy is between 15 to 20 years and the girl is 13 to 20 years of age. There are two types of marriage ritual. A regular wedding is elaborate as well as expensive. A man marrying for the first time, if he can afford the cost, must go through the regular ritual.

During their first visit to the bride's parents, the boy's party should carry a pot of rice-beer. They place a quarter anna piece on the pounding mortar and a quarter anna piece on the lamp stand. They put a vermilion mark on the threshold and give a normal amount of not less than one anna to the girl's father. A formal request is made to the father of the girl to give his daughter in marriage to the contemplated groom. During the second visit, the boy's party again carries one or two pots of rice-beer for the bride's father who will share it with the village elders. In the presence of several people he accepts the wedding proposal. During the third visit, the boy's party must carry more liquor, a cow, a cash sum of Rs. 20 to 30; or alternatively Rs. 5, 20 seers of rice and one cow for the prospective father-in-law and in both cases new clothes should be presented to the bride and her father. During a fourth visit on an auspicious day fixed by the Guru, the girl is conducted to the boy's village accompanied by a party of thirty or so members, her kith and kin. The boy's party should have by now made ready a bag of rice and a puṭi of sāma for the communal feast. The bride and the bridegroom are both seated on a mat, and all the invitees are supplied oil and turmeric to smear over their bodies. Afterwards, they all bathe. That night, people drink, sing and dance. The next morning, the wedding feast takes place with boiled rice, mutton-curry, vegetables, dhall and soup.

Underneath a pandal with mango and jambo plants fixed on all fours, a grinding stone is laid. The younger sister of the bridegroom's mother is seated on it. The bridegroom sits in her lap and in his lap the bride is seated. In her lap are seated, one after the other, a small boy and small girl picked from among the relatives. The Guru comes on the scene holding a *rāvi* leaf-cup containing flowers and dry fish mixed together. He blesses the couple and water brought fresh in new pots from a nearby stream is poured over all those that were seated as above. The marriage ceremony ends with a feast, followed by singing, dancing and merriment in the evening.

The second and the more inexpensive type of wedding ceremony is called 'nūne pasin' (oil-turmeric). This is a closed and private ceremony which is resorted to when a man marries a second or third time or if he is too poor to afford the first type. The bride is taken to the groom's place, and on the day of wedding, both the bride and the bridegroom are seated on a mat. A cloth is put over them, and oil and turmeric placed in an earthen plate are taken round them by an elderly lady. They are now considered married. Without either of these two ceremonies being performed, no association of man and woman is recognised as legitimate and legal.

According to the age or social status of a dead person, his or her body is either cremated or buried. Old people and village chiefs are generally cremated. The dead body is bathed with seven pots of water after being anointed with oil and turmeric. The body is then laid on the mat on which the person died, and it is covered with ten or twelve pieces of clothing. The corpse is carried to the crematory by kith and kin and cremated. The undertakers and those that have attended the funeral must touch 'the bitter' and take a bath on their return from the crematory. *sēndu* (the bitter) is a preparation made of bitter cucumber and *kākeri* (*Memoridica charantia*) crushed and mixed in water held out by a person in a leaf-cup. The nearest kin of the dead have to observe pollution for one to three days as fixed by the Guru. Obsequies (*karmel*) to the dead are performed in the *palika* month (February-March), usually three years after death, or, if financially possible, on the tenth day after the death, or within a year. It is an occasion for the relatives to feast together and drink, commemorating the dead.

Koṅḍas believe in sorcery and witchcraft. They think that a sorcerer can approach his enemy in the form of a tiger or snake and kill him. They strongly believe that ailments are caused by evil spirits which can be dispelled by the Guru with a few chants, charms and a fowl. Bōyi Donu, a cousin brother of my informant, Sombra, is now the local Guru of Gorṛa Gura. He said that he would fix amulets for any sufferer to avert the evil influence of spirits.

MATERIAL CULTURE AND ART: The Konḍa Doras make their own drinking vessels with dried gourds by scooping out the pulp inside. *ḍumni* is used for drinking liquor through the opening made at the edge of the gourd tube; *purge* is used for taking out water for wash-up and also drinking, and *ḍipa* to carry liquor (see Pictures 4, 5, 6). They also make their own ploughs which are not heavy when compared to the ploughs of the plains people. Farmers carry ploughs on their shoulders to and from the fields. They ingeniously fashion several varieties of rat traps (see Pictures 13 and 15), water tubs for cattle, wooden grinding mills and bamboo mats. They purchase pots, baskets and clothes at the weekly shandy. Formerly all clothing needed by the Konḍa Doras and the other tribes was supplied by Payṅḍis, the weaver caste. Now many Konḍas take fancy to wearing shirts and even second hand coats sold to them at exorbitant rates by merchants from the plains at weekly shandies. All instruments made of iron, viz., chop-knife, chipping knife, axe, hoe and plough-share are bought at the shandy.

Men usually wear a piece of loin cloth or dhoti, an upper garment, and a turban when they are off work. Women wear sarees covering the area from shoulders down to the knees. They have a peculiar way of wearing the saree which, incidentally, is also common to many other tribes of the area. The Konḍa Dora women are not as fond of ornaments as the Samanta (Kuvi) women; they are satisfied with nose and ear rings and one or two bead necklaces. Men wear necklaces made of beads neatly cut from dried bamboo stalks.

The Konḍa Doras keep their houses immaculately clean. Walls are plastered with a solution made of yellow earth and vertical strips are drawn over it with red ochre. The floor of the house is plastered with cow dung and water, once a week and on the eve of every festive occasion. Beautiful carvings made by Konḍas themselves appear on the door ways of a few very old houses (see Picture 2). All tribal houses in the Araku area have no windows and the interior of a house is always dark. Since they cannot afford

warm clothing, they say that this sort of construction is necessary to keep them warm during the cold season.

ECONOMY: The principal source of livelihood for the Koṇḍa Doras is pōru cultivation on hill slopes, or plain cultivation at the foot of the hills or in river beds. The landless graze cattle and work as agricultural labourers in other's fields for two meals and a wage of fifty naye paise a day. They use ploughs drawn by bullocks, cows or even buffaloes. Advanced methods of cultivation have not yet developed among them and the average produce of a family per annum consists of 3 puṭis of paddy (each puṭi is 20 kuncams or 80 seers) 2 to 3 puṭis of *sāma* and 3 puṭis of *olsi* (an edible oil seed). This is enough for their maintenance for nearly six months and their lean season runs from July to November, i.e., until the new crops are harvested. From December till April they have plenty and they do little work. All important festivals, viz., *pūsa paṇḍoy*, *kaṛak paṇḍoy*, etc., especially those pertaining to eating, drinking and dancing occur during this period.

The money lender menace still continues as a legacy of the ages and the Koṇḍa Doras are rarely able to redeem themselves of their hereditary indebtedness to the money lenders. Small sums upto Rs. 10 are lent by Dharmavaram merchants at the shandy and the sum has to be returned to the money lender after the new crops are harvested with 25% interest. The farmer is further obliged to sell his crop to the money lender at a lower price than what is offered to him by the Government co-operatives. During the lean season, they live solely on tubers and vegetables. Both men and women go to the mountain to dig up edible roots from morning till evening almost every day. Of late, many Koṇḍa Doras are taking to work for wages in the soil conservation project of the Andhra Pradesh Government and they get one or two rupees per day for digging a certain measure of soil and raising bunds.

Koṇḍa Doras are, no doubt, hard workers but like all other tribes they are self-contented and worry little about.

the future or posterity. They are not given to amassing wealth, and, sometimes, they have little knowledge of how best to make use of their small cash earnings. Bōyi Donu, one of my informants saved eight rupees in three months with which he purchased a second hand jacket at a weekly shandy. This was at a difficult time when he and his family were living exclusively on tubers and roots.

LANGUAGE: That the Konḍa Doras speak a distinct language of their own was not discovered for a long time. In the Census Report of 1891, A. Stuart writes, "These people all speak Telugu and the majority of them have returned that as their parent-tongue, but a large number returned their caste name in the parent-tongue column. As no evidence of the existence of a separate language was forth coming, I took the parent-tongue of these also to be Telugu, a decision in which I was confirmed by information received from the local officers. I have since received a vocabulary which is said to be taken from the dialect of the Konḍa Doras, and if this is correct, then the real speech of these people is a dialect of Khond." Though Stuart was perhaps the first man to hint that the Konḍa Doras had a language of their own, he did not present the vocabulary that he had received. The 1921 Census Report mentions that 11,768 speak Konḍa (see above page 4). The 1951 Census of Indian languages, published in 1954, notes that the Konḍa Dora language is spoken by 14,052 people in Eastern India. The most recent account of the Konḍa Dora language is by S. Bhattacharya in a paper published in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, Part I (pp. 17-48). This account was based on the material gathered by the author from a few Konḍa villages situated under the Sembli Guṛa Thana of the Koraput district, Orissa. It consists of a brief outline of Konḍa grammar and about 400 vocabulary items. Though the work is praiseworthy being the first serious attempt to study the Konḍa language, it is phonologically unreliable, because, Mr. Bhattacharya has failed to record several distinctive features of the language; for instance, the difference between *r* and *R* (voiced and voiceless alveolar trills), glottal stop and certain length contrasts have been missed. Recently,

I visited this area and noticed that all these features prevail in the local Koṇḍa dialects.

The present volume offers, in my opinion, a more thorough account of the language based on extensive text material, gathered, organized and checked over a period of nearly eighteen months. The actual material collected consists of fourteen folk-tales and a vocabulary of nearly 2,500 items drawn from the texts and also elicited from informants of different dialects of the Koṇḍa language. Of these folk-tales, ten were narrated by Bōyi Sombra of Garuḍa Valsa (or in Oṛia gorṇa guṛa, 3 miles to the East of Araku colony), one story narrated by an informant from Sāgara (6½ miles north-west of Araku), and 3 stories by an informant at Sova village (nearly 10 miles to the north of Araku, up in the hills). Out of the total folk-tales collected, only nine have been included with translations in this volume; of these, eight were exclusively narrated by Sombra and one (The Story of Atek and Bitek) was narrated jointly by Sombra and his cousin-brother, Bōyi Donu.

The Koṇḍa language consists of several local dialects representing variations which do not affect mutual intelligibility to any marked degree. The most important isogloss representing an alternation of *r/l* (<PDr. *) separates the western and north-western areas of Araku as the *r*-zone, and the southern and south-eastern areas as the *l*-zone, e.g. *āru* ~ *ālu* 'wife'. Other minor variations include the following: (1) a nasal plus stop (Sova): a stop (Araku), e.g. *zanta: zata* 'a grinding mill', *gampa: gapa* 'a basket'; (2) metathesis of the first two syllabics (Sova): its absence (Araku), e.g. *mrānu: maran* 'tree', *prēl: perel* 'to explode', etc.

From my study, it has been noticed that a distinct dialect boundary exists between the Koṇḍa dialects spoken to the east of Kāsīpatnam (close to the Telugu speaking area) and the rest of the Koṇḍa speaking dialects extending from Anantagiri far into Orissa. Between these two dialects or groups of dialects, mutual intelligibility is very low, even though there is adequate evidence to show that they are still dialects of the same language. The main distinguishing

features between the Gūri dialect and the rest of the Konḍa dialects put together are as follows:

pre-Konḍa	other Konḍa dialects	Gūri dialect
1. *goron	goron, grōnu 'hill'	goro
2. *maran	maran, mrānu 'tree'	maṛa
3. *saṛanu	rānu 'bullock'	saṛa, saṛanu
4. *tiṛimbu	ṛimbu 'burning piece of coal'	tiṛimbu
5. *magal, *makalsi	gālu, gāru 'daughter'	makasi
6. *panṛi	panṛi 'pig'	paṛi
7. *vānru	vānru 'he'	vāṛ
8. *kibi	gibi 'ear'	kibi
9. *river	ri'er 'two men'	river
10. *muver	mu'er 'three men'	muver
11. *uṇvu	uṇ'a 'you eat' (2nd imp. sg.)	unu
12. *sēri	sēri 'winnowing basket'	sēri
13. *urri	uṛi 'suspended net'	uṛi
14. *kaṇ	kaṇu, kaṇka (pl. kaṇku) 'eye'	kaṇu

The above examples are diagnostic for the phonological variations that separate the two areas. The Gūri dialect retains the pre-Konḍa initial syllables corresponding to their loss in all the northern dialects (items 3-5); it also retains intervocalic *-v-*, reduced to a glottal stop elsewhere (items 9-11). On the contrary, the northern dialects preserve the contrast between sequences **nr* and **rṛ* as *nr* and *R*, whereas they fell together with *r* (<**r*) in the Gūri dialect. Further, the Gūri dialect changes an older *ṛ* to *n* which is retained elsewhere. Practically the morphology of both the dialects is identical. It is likely that the first split occurred between the two groups of dialects, and the further minor dialectal changes resulting from the migration of Konḍas from the original centre are mainly confined to the northern dialects. However, these variations are not many and significant for inter-communication, because, a speaker from 'Gorṣa gura' can understand a Konḍa speaker from 'Sova' or 'Sembli gura' without much difficulty. The Gūri people are separated from the rest of the Konḍas by over fifty miles and they all rarely meet since they have no common shandy centres.

All Koṇḍa (Kūbi) dialects including that of Gūṛi sampled by me possess a common phonetic feature, viz., accenting the second syllable of a word when pronounced in isolation. This feature seems to have intensified in the dialects north of Gūṛi leading to metathesis and vowel contraction followed by a subsequent loss of the initial syllable, e.g. *sarānu > *sṛānu > ṛānu 'bull'; *magāl > *mgāl > gāṛu/gālu. However, this development is not uniform throughout the north and west, and the change seems to be still in process. The Araku valley dialect as represented by the speech recorded by me at Gorṛa guṛa has *maran*, *peṛel*, etc., corresponding to which the Sova speakers have *mrānu*, *pṛēl*, etc.; but no dialect has yet developed *rānu and *rēl as might be expected with loss of the original initial syllable. The occurrence in the Araku dialect of items like *ṛānu* and *gālu* where loss of initial syllables has happened following metathesis, beside forms like *maran*, *peṛel*, etc. where no metathesis has yet taken place (as in the Gūṛi dialect), may provide a clue to the original home of the Koṇḍa Doras and the direction in which migration has taken place. It is likely that the original concentration of these people was around the Koraput hills along the present Andhra-Orissa border. People living at Gūṛi and the surrounding hamlets must have been the first to migrate at a time when accentuating the second syllable of the word was prevalent. Subsequent emigrants all over the area to the north and west of Gūṛi bear evidence to the operation of this phonetic change as attested by the universal occurrence of *ṛānu* 'bull' in all the dialects of Koṇḍa except that of Gūṛi. However, migration in waves must have begun in the areas where the phonetic change in question was still in operation at a time when it had not completely affected all the forms vulnerable to the shift. Thus, for instance, the Koṇḍa Dora ancestors of the present Gorṛa Guṛa dialect were pronouncing *ṛānu* 'bull' but only *maran* a 'tree' when they migrated from the metathesis zone, which is round about Sova on the Andhra-Orissa border, where the word for tree is now *mrānu* anticipating a further change to *rānu.

In addition to this evidence the KoŇda Dora marriage song (which, incidentally, is the only KoŇda song sung all over the area that I visited) has reference to 'Sura Kandel' and 'Meta Kandel', two KoŇda villages which are situated about 15 miles north-east of Araku. It is likely that the area covered by these two villages constituted the original abode of the KoŇda Doras and the archaic nature of the language used in this song, sustained also by the KoŇda hearsay that it was their original home, would hold out little doubt for this assumption.

It has already been mentioned that the KoŇda or KŪbi language is closely related to Kui and Kuvi all of which together constitute an important sub-group of Central Dravidian. It has been suspected that KoŇda provides a link between Gondi on the one hand and Kui-Kuvi on the other, but I can hardly make a statement on this hypothesis without comparative work which will be postponed to a future occasion.

FOLK-TALES AND FOLK-SONGS: Since folk tales travel even across language boundaries through bilingual speakers, it is hard to assert that the folk-tales narrated by speakers of a community always represent the cultural background of that community alone. Every human being possesses to some degree the primitive desire to hear fascinating tales and myths and transmit them to posterity. However, folk tales orally communicated from person to person over the years get coloured by certain of the cultural contents of the community in which they circulate. This is a characteristic of all oral literature. It is by comparison of similar stories occurring in circulation among nearer or father communities that one can attempt to isolate the unique elements of the tale for each community from the common. Frequent references to the KoŇda Dora mode of worship, ceremonies associated with child-birth, marriage and cremation, life in the agricultural field, relationship between various members of a joint family occur in the folk-tales in this volume, all of which reflect the day-to-day life of the KoŇda Dora.

The KoŇda Doras that I have interviewed were poor in myths relating to cosmogony even though the oral literature

of the neighbouring Orissa tribes is rich in creation myths. A leading motif in many of the folk tales is the exploitation of the foolishness of one by the other (whether persons or animals) for a didactic or selfish end. In Folk Tale 1, a husband plays on the foolishness of his wife with a simple plan to impress her that he has clairvoyance and could watch her even from a distance. Consequently the wife gives up her habit of theft for fear of being detected by him even from a distance. In Folk Tale 2, a foolish king is rescued from danger and innocently triumphs by the prophecy of the muskrats whose words he overheard while posing as a Guru. In Story 3, a tiger was easily fooled into threat by a he-goat who posed as a stronger animal threatening to kill him. The tale of Atek and Bitek depicts a clever elder brother (Atek) and a dangerously stupid younger brother (Bitek) who constantly creates problems by his innocent murders. Incidentally this story is also reported with slight modifications among the Parjas of Bastar by Burrow and Bhattacharya. Again in another story (No. 5) a wise man gets five dead bodies carried by a stupid villager, who is made to believe that everytime he threw off a corpse it ran back home ahead of him.

The life of an aged Koṇḍa Dora couple is beautifully described in Story 6, though towards the end the man has committed a homicide as well as suicide through his unreasonable short temper and lack of adjustability. Motifs of animals behaving as humans abound. A tiger requests a man for relief from a crab and asks him to swear not to divulge his (the tiger's) plight in the village (Story 3). A crane gets pregnant by simply consuming the urine, feces and the used tooth-sticks of a man, and she gives birth to a female child (Story 7). Inanimates sometimes act more efficiently than humans and serve them with phenomenal loyalty. A magic gourd-vessel goes round to various places, swallows provisions, wealth, etc. and vomits them before the master who had saved it from danger. Also many motifs of magic occur in the Koṇḍa Dora tales. A foster father gives his son a magic *ṭoyla* with its string made out of the hair of a naughty beautiful damsel. Whenever the man gets hungry, he has only to play the instrument to have the

girl suddenly appear before him with food and drink (Story 9).

I was fortunate in getting a very talented informant, Bōyi Sombra, whose enunciation of sounds, imagination, phraseology and natural eloquence were excellent. After getting into the habit of dictating stories for recording, he developed a style of his own full of vigour and naturalness.

I have not made any attempt to edit the stories by pruning repetitions or cutting short elaborate dialogues and descriptions, lest the tales might lose their individuality. On the whole, few inconsistencies occur in the fabric of the stories from the beginning to the end. I have tried to make the translations as close and faithful to the original as possible even though it is sometimes difficult to bring out the same force and rhythm of the native idiom in a foreign language. The translations made in this volume therefore represent a compromise between complete literalness (an obvious impossibility) and a grammatically agreeable rendering. Each sentence in the translation has a number keyed to the corresponding number in the original phonemically transcribed.

AN ORTHOGRAPHY FOR KONḌA (KŪBI): The Konḍa Doras inhabiting the Andhra region will have ultimately to learn Telugu and give up their language, once the acculturation process is intensified. As a first step it would be desirable to teach Konḍa Dora children Telugu using the contents of their oral literature. This volume can serve as a source book to prepare primers on Konḍa (Kūbi) which can be profitably utilized by the Konḍa Dora children to learn Telugu via their language and also help the various officials engaged in developmental and ameliorative activities to pick up enough of the Konḍa language to converse with them and take them into their confidence.

With the addition of a few diacritics, Telugu orthography could be adapted to bring out all the phonemes of the Konḍa Dora language. I suggest the following orthographic symbols for the Konḍa phonemes represented in this volume in Roman transcription.

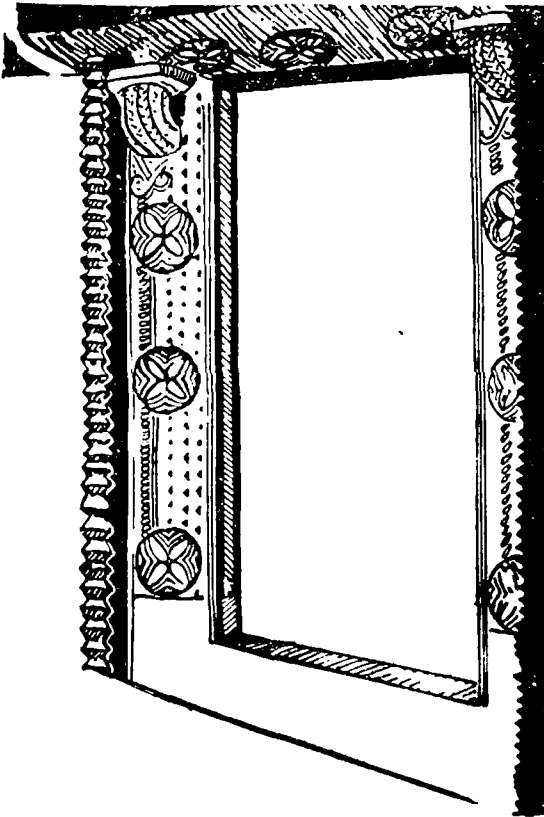
Koṇḍa (Kūbi) Phoneme:

a	అ
ā	ఆ
i	ఇ
ī	ఈ
u	ఉ
ū	ఊ
e	ఋ
ē	ౠ
o	ఌ
ō	ౡ
ʔ (Glottal stop)	•
k	క
g	గ
ŋ	ఙ
t	చ
ɖ	ఛ
n	ణ
t̪	ఠ
d	ఢ
n	న
p	ప
b	బ
m	మ
y	య
r (alveolar flap)	ర
R (voiceless alveolar trill)	ఱ
r (voiced alveolar trill)	ఱ
l	ల
v	వ

s	š
z (voiced alveolar fricative)	ž
r (retroflex flap)	ř
h	ch



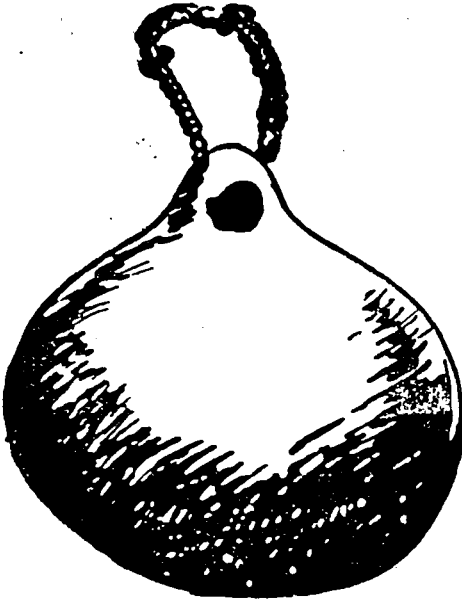
1. Gorra valsa (a Konḍa Dora village)



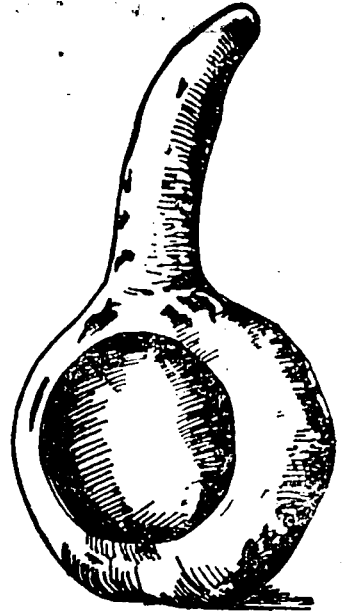
2. Carvings on a doorway



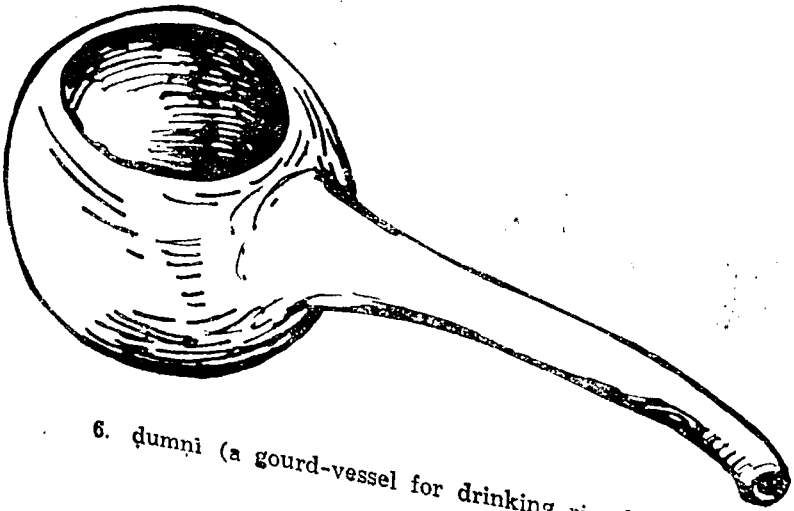
3. palika deyam
(the home god of Konḍa Doras)



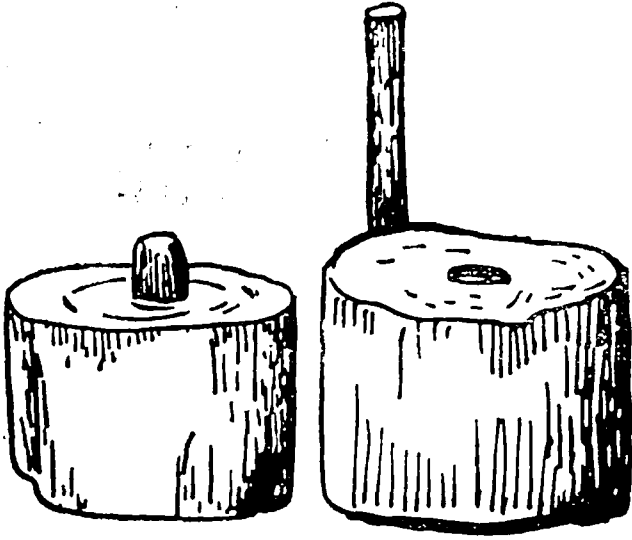
4. *đipa* (a gourd-vessel to carry liquor)



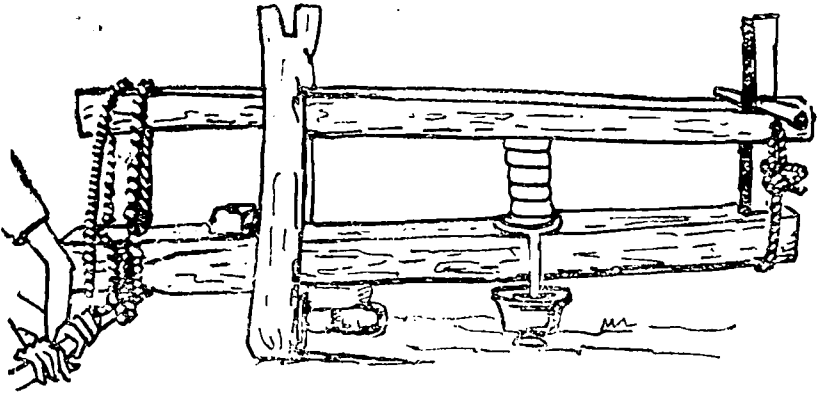
5. *purge* (a variety of gourd-vessel)



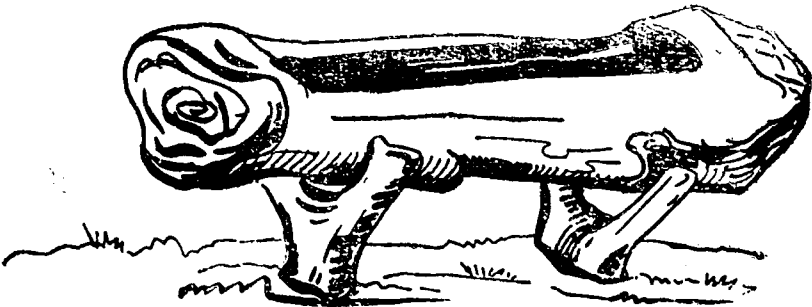
6. *đumni* (a gourd-vessel for drinking rice-beer)



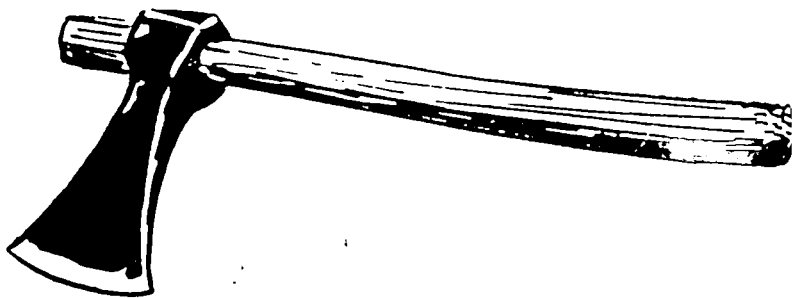
7. zanta (wooden grinding mill)



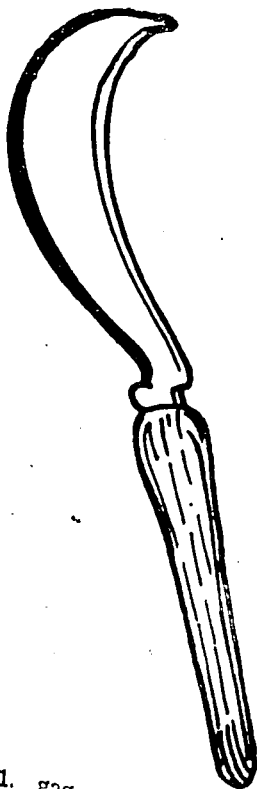
8. nüne bala (oil-press commonly used by the Bagatas)



9. döni (water tub for cattle)



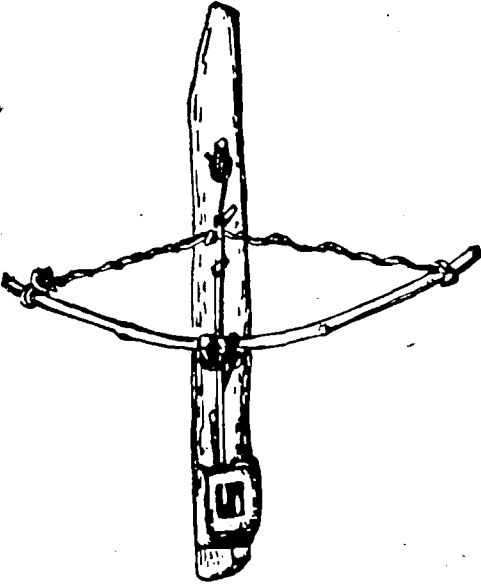
10. goreli (axe)



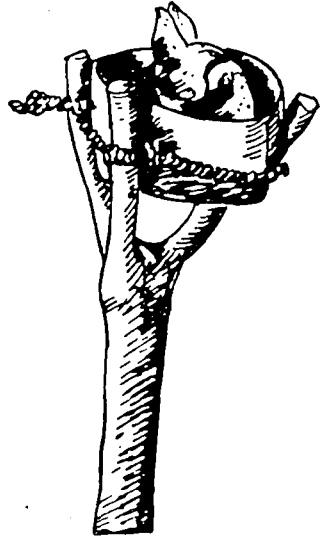
11. gagra (chop-knife)



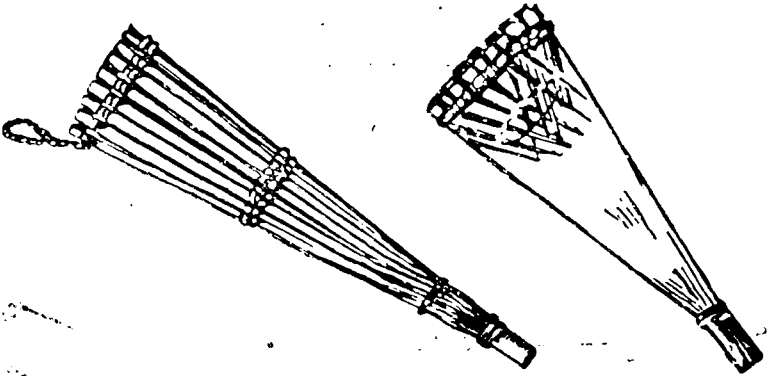
12. küram (cutting knife)



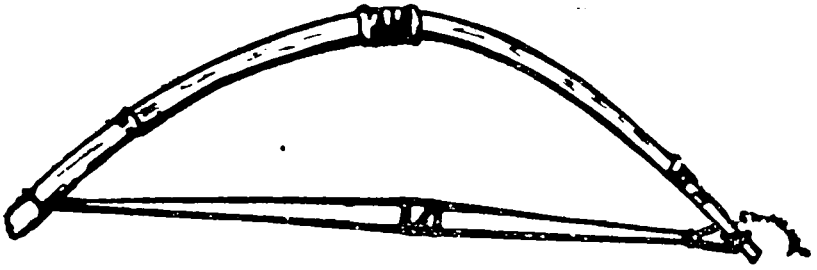
13. doğa vilu (a rat trap)



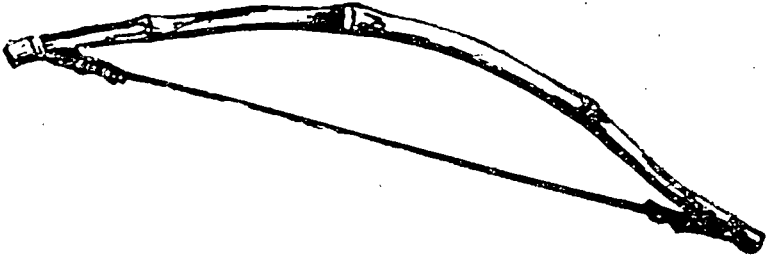
14. koğu gūru
(fowl shelter)



15. tūpi (rat trap)



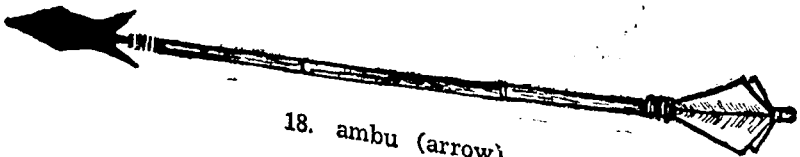
16. onḍa vilu (pellet bow)

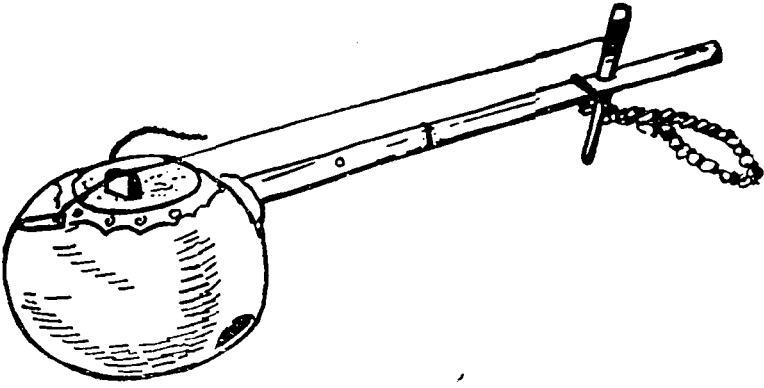


17. vilu (bow)

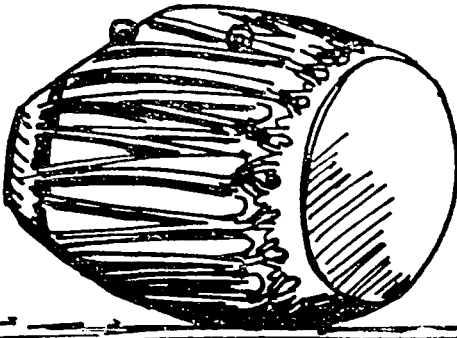


18. ambu (arrow)

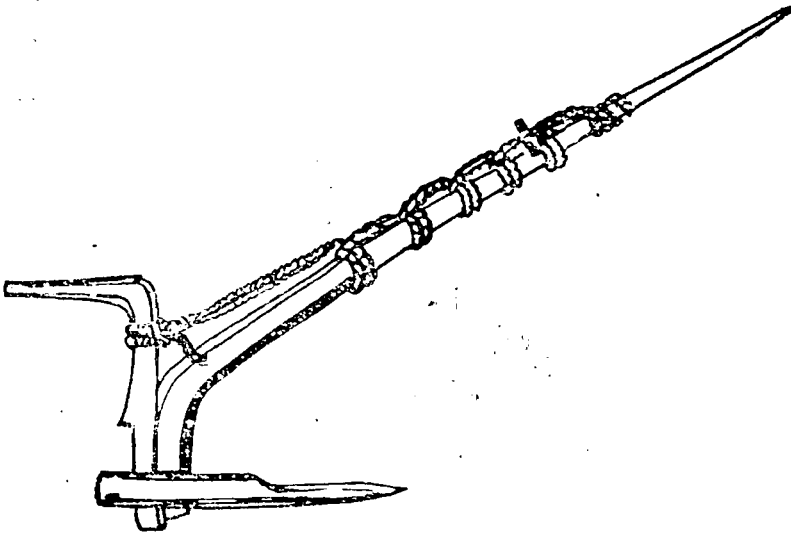




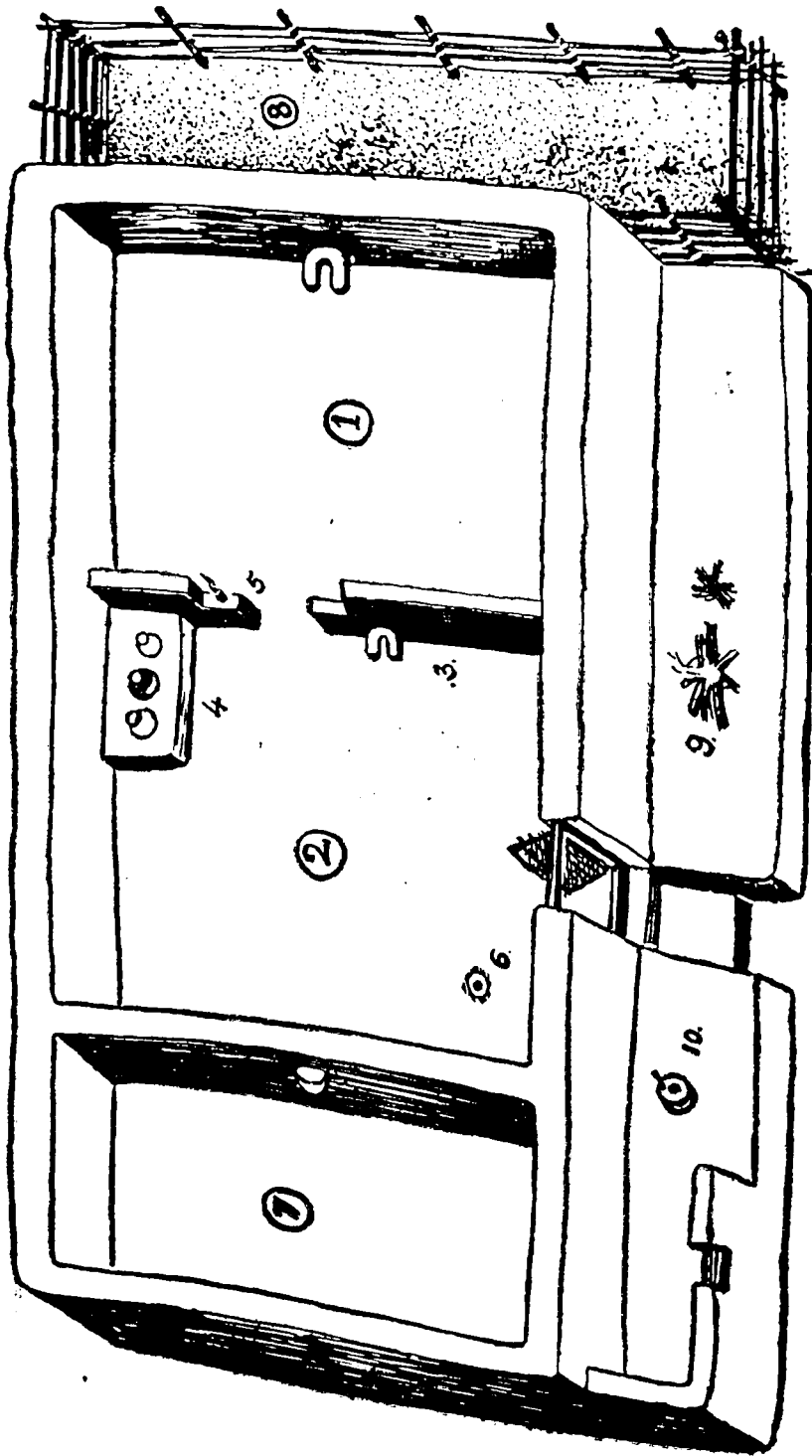
19. toyla (a musical instrument)



20. madel kunda (drum)



21. nânel (plough)



22. An interior plan of a Konda Dora House
 1. Kitchen, 2. Living room, 3. Furnace, 4. Pial for keeping water pots, 5. Lamp stand, 6. Mortar for pounding (fixed in the floor), 7. Enclosure, 8. Verandah, 9. Mortar for pounding (fixed in place in the verandah), 10. Stone mill.

PART I

TEXTS WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

1. THE STORY OF A CLEVER HUSBAND

1.1. 1. dökra dökri pořad, ri'er marisir. 2. ri'er marisir ařıta, peyeř mısi, goreř mısi, losi unři maRar. 3. losi unři maRır, unři bödeldiř kalu nāřitar. 4. kalu nāřitar e, aya bödeldiř tatar. 5. tatiņa aya bödel suřtika id'ed. 6. gopa řona. 7. "deniř elag kina?" iRanř e, aya perikan gorot soRanř e, "vēřa būladeř" izi, tēne suřtan. 8. tēne suřtanř e, ambu gutta vātan. 9. nāřto vātanř e, "ō ya ō ya, niņu, kořu surzi, zāva var'a. 10. kaņđa var'a.

1.1. 1. done gut'a. 12. zāva bāřa ki'a. 13. kaņđa bāřa ki'a. 14. kořu gūřtu, buři mus'a. 15. goneRu mūladu, zāva idži, kaņđa idži, gapa mus'a. 16. unři donedu, zāva bāřa

1.1. Born to an old man and an old woman (there) were two sons. 2. Since they had two sons, they were living on (lit. eating) the food procured by grazing cattle and sheep. 3. Since they had been living on the food (so procured), they sent liquor for (getting) a bride. 4. Having sent liquor, they brought the bride (home). 5. When they had brought her, that woman would not leave alone anything she saw. 6. (She was) a big thief. 7. Thinking, "What shall I do for her?" the eldest one went to a forest, saying, "I should go hunting", and saw a honeycomb. 8. Having seen the honeycomb, he fixed an arrow in it and came away. 9. Having come to the village, (he told his mother), "O mother, mother, (you) roast a fowl and cook zāva (boiled grain). 10. Cook the meat.

1.1. 1. Stitch a leaf-cup. 12. Serve the zāva (yourself). 13. Serve the meat (yourself). 14. Cover a basket over the fowl-shelter. 15. Put the zāva and the meat in a corner of the kitchen, and cover them with a basket. 16. Serving your-

kizi, kaṇḍa bāṭa kizi, nīnu uṇzi maṇ'a." 17. iRanṇ e ālsī,"
 "sa'a ni sa'a ni goṛotu, nānu tēne suṛta mana." 18. "sa'a
 lu sonaṭ," iRar e, ri'er soRar. 19. goṛotu soRar. 20. goṛot(u)
 soRar e, suṛtiṅ tēne siled.

1.21. "oho re, yā tēne siliṅa, inika ātad lu. 22. abe tēne
 nānu suṛta mana; adi lo tēne." 23. "ale ge nān ba sūṅa",
 iRad e, ālsi suṛtad. 24. suṛtiṅ, aya tēne tōr'etad. 25. tōr'itiṅ,
 "endaniṅ tōr'ed, adi lo tēne. 26. siliṅa, ambu eRna. 27. aya
 tēnediṅ aṭṅa manzinad. 28. ambu soRi saṅi ne, sonaṭ", iRanṇ
 e ambu eRta ṛistan. 29. eRta ṛistanṇ e, "yā saṅi sonaṭ. 30. adi
 lo tēnediṅ ambu aṭṅa manad," izi sonsi maRar.

1.31. sonsi maRar e, nāṭo suṛtar. 32. nāṭo suṛtar e, "adi lo
 mā yāya. 33. koṛu suṛtad; zāva vaṛtad. 34. koṛu gūṛtu,
 buṭi mustad. 35. goreR(u) mūladu, zāva iḍtad. 36. kaṇḍa

self your share of *zāva* and meat in a leaf-plate, eat and (then)
 remain". 17. He said (so) and called to his wife, "Get along,
 Dear! Get along to the forest; I have seen a honeycomb
 (there)." 18. "Get along, let us go", they said, and both of
 them set out. 19. They went to the forest. 20. When they
 went to the forest and looked, there was no honeycomb.

1.21. "O goodness! if there is no honey, what has happen-
 ed? 22. There, I saw the honeycomb. Lo! there is the bee-
 hive," (he said). 23. "Dear, dear, I'll also see", said his wife
 and looked (in that direction). 24. She looked, but the honey-
 comb was not to be seen. 25. When it was not seen, (he said,)
 "Why is it not visible? Lo! there is the honeycomb. 26. If
 not, I'll shoot this arrow. 27. It will hit and remain in. 28. We
 will go the way the arrow has gone," he said, and shot off
 an arrow. 29. Having shot off (the arrow), he said, "Let us
 go this way. 30. Lo! the arrow has hit the beehive", he said,
 and they were going.

1.31. As they were going, they looked towards the
 village. 32. Having looked, (he said,) "Lo there! my mother!
 33. She roasted the fowl; she cooked *zāva*. 34. She covered
 a basket over the fowl-shelter. 35. She placed the *zāva* in a
 corner of the kitchen. 36. (There also) she placed the meat.

id̄tad. 37. adi un̄ri done guttad e, zāva bāṭa kitad. 38. kaṇḍa bāṭa kitad. 39. adi un̄zinad. 40. siliṇa sur̄'a, adi lo."

1.41. "ale ale ge nān sūṇa", izi ālsi sur̄tad. 42. ālsi sur̄tiṇ tōr̄'etad. 43. "ale nīn ba baṇḍisini", izi veR̄tad. 44. "nān sur̄zi maR̄iṇ ba, 'sile' izi veR̄sini. 45. siliṇa sur̄'a, adi lo tēne. 46. ambu soR̄i sar̄i ne sonaṭ. 47. tēndiṇ ambu aṭṭa manad", iR̄ar e, ambu soR̄i sar̄i ne soR̄ar. 48. soR̄ar e sur̄tiṇ tēne manad. 49. "idi lo sur̄'a, nān eR̄ti ambu ne tēned(u) aṭṭa manad". 50. iR̄ar e, yā tēne ūnd(i)tar.

1.51. ūnd(i)tar e, bāṭa kitar, tiR̄ar. 52. tiR̄ar e, "sa'a ni sa'a ni mā yāya zāva un̄zinad. 53. kaṇḍa tinzinad. 54. bēgi sonaṭ", iR̄ar e, nāṭo vātar. 5. vātar e, sur̄tiṇ, vari aysi, zāva un̄zinad. 56. kaṇḍa tinzinad. 57. "sur̄'a, nān ini baṇḍista na? 58. zāva un̄zinad. 59. kaṇḍa tinzinad. 60. adi lo! siliṇa, sur̄'a".

37. She stitched a leaf-plate and served the meal herself. 38. She served the meat herself. 39. She is eating. 40. If not, look, lo there!"

1.41. "Dear, dear! I will see", said his wife and looked. 42. When the wife had looked, it was not visible. 43. She said (to him), "Dear! you are only bluffing me." 44. (The husband replied,) "You say 'no', even when I have seen it. 45. If not, look! lo there, the honeycomb! 46. Let us go the way the arrow has gone. 47. The arrow had hit the beehive", so saying, they went the way the arrow had gone. 48. When they went and saw, there was a honeycomb. 49. "Look here! it was only the arrow that I shot off that stuck into the honeycomb". 50. So (saying), they took out honey.

1.51. They extracted (honey), served themselves and ate. 52. When they had eaten, (the husband said,) "Get along, dear! get along. My mother is eating away the zāva. 53. She is eating the meat". 54. "Let us go quick", they said and came to the village. 55. When they had come and looked, his mother was eating zāva. 56. She was eating the meat. 57. "Look! why, did I bluff you? 58. She is eating the meal. 59. She is eating the meat. 60. There it is, if not, look," (he said to his wife).

1.61. iRiŃ, ālsi suṛtad. 62. koṛu mūla suṛtiŃ, koṛu mani lakeŃda ne, buṭi musta manad. 63. goneR(u) mūladu, zāva bāṭa kitad e, kaŃda bāṭa kitad e, goneR mūladu gapa piṛkta manad. 64. aka suṛtiŃa nizam ne. 65. abeŃiŃ(u) ālsi, “oho, aysiŃ gade ḍoŃa kizi uŃzi maRiŃ suṛtan. 66. naŃi ba suṛzinan su”. 67. iRad e, nāŃdiRaŃḍ adi ḍoŃa budi ṛista sitad. 68. negeŃḍ āzi batkizinar.

1.61. Being told (so), his wife saw. 62. When she had looked at the fowl-corner, (there was) a basket covered over it, as if the fowl remained inside. 63. In a corner of the kitchen, the old woman served herself the *zāva* and meat and covered them with a basket. 64. When she (the wife) saw that, it was (all) true! 65. Then, the wife thought, “Oh! he saw his mother (even from the forest), when she was eating stealthily. 66. Perhaps, he has also been watching me.” 67. Having thought (lit. said) so, from that day onwards, she abandoned her habit of theft. 68. They were all living happily.

2. THE STORY OF THE SADU KING

2.1. kata iRiṇa, kata ā?ed. 2. paṭṇam iRiṇa, paṭṇam siled. 3. dēsem iRiṇa, dēsem siled. 4. lake řaku tirv?u. 5. vekor(i) vergu mēnza ā?ed. 6. nani paṭṇam manad. 7. sadu rāzu paṭṇam sadu ramba paṭṇam, piṛu řeyzinad, paṇṭa paṇḍzinad. 8. gaṭu řeyzi puṭa řeyzi batkizinar. 9. mūla rāzu paṭṇam(i) piṛu siled, paṇṭa paṇḍ?ed. 10. kōva rāzu paṭṇam(i) piṛu siled, paṇṭa paṇḍ?ed.

2.11. “uṇap” iRiṇa sēreṇ(d) tiṇḍi puṭ?ed. 12. mūla rāzu kōva rāzu ri?er kūrītar e, ṭoki dasi kūrītar; laka lamta kūrītar. soba kitar. 13. miṭiṇ kitar e, vār vār(u) vargitar. 14. “mā dēsem sonsi, piṛu řey?iṇ, paṇṭa paṇḍ?ed. 15. embe gurun

2.1. To say (that it is) a story, it is not. 2. To say (that it is) a town, there is no town. 3. To say (that it is) a country, there is no country. 4. A yoke of oxen cannot turn round (there). 5. A curved stick does not pierce straight. 6. Such a town there is. 7. In the kingdom (lit. town) of the Sadu King and the Sadu Queen, it rained and the crops were harvested. 8. They (the people) are living happily (lit. cutting the bunds and levelling the mounds). 9. There was no rain in the kingdom of the Mula King and crops would not grow. 10. There was no rain in the kingdom of the Kova King and crops would not grow.

2.11. Not even a handful of food was available to eat. 12. As both the Mula King and the Kova King met, their subjects (lit. peasants and labourers) assembled. 13. They had a conference and spoke to one another. 14. “As there has been no rain in our country, crops would not grow. 15. If there

maRiṇa, vaniṇ sonsi tagaṭ. 16. vaniṇ tatiṇa, āram sina, bōgam sina. 17. sitiṇa, piṛu arnad, paṇṭa paṇḍnad", izi kōva rāzu veRtan. 18. veRtiṇ, aye inro vār soRar. 19. soRar e, "pendala guruṇ rebadeṇ izi rāzu veRtan. 20. sadu re sadu re" izi guruṇ rebadeṇ soRar.

2.21. bēn āzi bān āzi, sadu rāzu paṇṇam e soRar. 22. "bābu, mī dēsem piṛu reyzinad a, paṇṭa paṇḍzinad a? 23. mā dēsem piṛu siliṇ paṇḍ'ed. 24. 'elag ānap', izi nī ban vā-nī bān vātap(u)". 25. or nēṇḍ vāzi darmam ki'a. 26. guru lōku izi nani māṭa iRiṇa veRmaṭ. 28. miṇi padel ḍaṇḍam bābu, nān(u) ke'e". 29. "ke'e", iRiṇa, vari nāṭo vār soRar. 30. "bābu, oren guruyen manan gani, ke'etan.

2.31. vaniṇ elag kinap lu", izi veRtar. 32. "ore ore bābur

is a Guru (priest) anywhere, go and get him. 16. When he is brought, I will give him his ceremonial food and gifts. 17. When he is given (these), rain will fall and crops will grow", said the Kova king. 18. After he had said, everybody went home (lit. to his house). 19. Having gone, they (i.e. the people) said (to themselves), "The king ordered that a Guru should be searched for immediately. 20. Let us go. Let us go". So saying, they went out to search for a Guru.

2.21. Roaming here and there (lit. being here and being there), they went to the town of Sadu King itself. 22. "Sir! does it rain in your country and do crops grow? 23. In our country, crops would not grow because of no rain. 24. "What will happen to us?" (lit. "What will be become?"), so thinking, we came to you. 25. Come for a day and do (us) good. 26. Thinking that you are a Guru, we have come to you". 27. (The Sadu King replied,) "Sir, nothing is known to me. I don't know. Don't tell me all such words. 28. Ten thousand salutations to you, gentlemen, I don't want (any)". 29. When he had said, "I don't want", they went to their village. 30. "Sir, there is a Guru but he was unwilling (to come).

2.31. What shall we do with him?" they said (to their king). 32. "Dear gentlemen, bring him by any means (lit.

te, vaniṅ elag ba kizi, tagaṭ(u). 33. vaniṅ tatiṅa gani siliṅa vala ā?ed(u). 34. māṭ sāna sonaṭ(u). 35. savari palenki osi, bāza-nisanidaṅḍ pule-rotedaṅḍ vaniṅ tateṅ vale. 36. 'ke?e' iRiṅba kikaṅ kālkaṅ toRsi, savarid arpsi, vaniṅ piṅdzi tagaṭ(u)", izi veRtiṅa, rāzu māṭa nek?eṅḍa āzi, savari palenki astar e, maṛi sadu rāzu paṭṅam(i) soRar. 37. "bābu, sadu rāzu, nī ban vātap e 'sonaṭ' iRi vale ninu k?iti. 38. nīn k?itiṅ māp soRap. 39. mā rāzuṅ veRtap, 'guruyen manan gani, 'sonaṭ' iRiṅ ke?etan', izi veRtap, kaka, op?etan. 40. 'elag kizi vaniṅ e sonsi tagaṭ', izi mā rāzu veRtan.

2.41. veRtiṅ nī ban maṛi vātap." 42. vari māṭa veRanṛ e, "nān 'ke?e' iRiṅ ba soRar e, maṛi ba vātar. 43. naṅi otiṅa elag kinar o, naṅi inika teli?ed. 44. nān suṛtiṅa sadu ki?e, sāstaram ki?e. 45. nān elag āna le", izi olbitanṛ e, visāristanṛ e ḍāṅḍita ṛistan. 46. vaniṅ reyzi rebazi doRkistar. 47. "ke?e" iRiṅ ba savarid basa kitar e piṅdzi osinar. 48. piṅdzi osiniṅ,

doing anything). 33. Unless you bring him, it can't be. 34. We will perish. 35. Carry a palanquin, and you must bring him with all pomp (lit. with bands, drums and flower-garlands). 36. Even if he says, 'No', fasten his hands and legs, throw him on the palanquin and bring him, carrying". As the King said so, being unable to disregard his word, they took a palanquin and went to the town of the Sadu King again. 37. "Sir, O Sadu King! when we came to you and said, 'Let us go', you did not agree. 38. When you did not agree, we went back. 39. We told our King, 'there is a priest, but he refused, when we said, 'let us go!' Though we said so, he (the King) did not accept. 40. 'Go and bring him only by any means', said our King.

2.41. As he said (so), we have again come to you". 42. He (the Sadu King) listened to their words. "When I said, 'I won't', they left and again came back. 43. Taking me there, I don't know what they will do (with me). 44. As for myself (lit. I-if-seen), I have no education, I have no scriptures. 45. What shall I do?" So pondering and lamenting, he hid himself. 46. They hunted after him and found him. 47. Even though he said 'No', they put him on the palanquin and were taking him. 48. As they were taking

“elag āna”, izi olbitanṛ e, “saṇem ḍiptu bābu, ḍiptu”, izi veRtan. 49. “bēn ḍiptiṇa meleka ḍoṇa āna sona,” izi ḍipistan. 50. “bābu bēn saṇem manṛu.

2.51 baylu vaṛe sona vāna, kaṛṣṇa vāna, mūṇā vānā”, izi veRtanṛ e soRan. 52. “bēn kaṛṣṇa” izi, “bān kaṛṣṇa” izi, āR āzi dūram e, soRan. 53. soRanṛ e, unṛi sītel dubu ḍagru bastanṛ e kaṛṣiniṇ, āṇḍu pōtu ruṇḍi elkeṇ mūrtam naṛṣsine. 54. mūrtam sonsi naṛṣsiniṇ, kaṛṣteṇ soRikan venzinan. 55. kezeri elka pilek veRte, “ōba ōba, ayer bāza ṛeyzinar. 56. ayer pāṭa pāṛzinār. 57. endaniṇ ba, maṇi kāme veRsi sīdeṇ vale.” 58. “ore ore koṛor(u), veRtiṇa inika manad? 59. mūla rāzu dēsem kōva rāzu dēsem, ruṇḍi rāskaṇi dēsem, piṛu ṛey?iṇ paṇṭa paṇḍ?ed. 60. aya guruyenṇ sonsi osinar.

2.61. aya guruyenṇ budi siled, gyānam siled. 62. ēm nes?i lōku vānṛu. 63. vaniṇ sonsi ‘onap’ izi ke?i ke?i lōkaṇ piṇḍzi osinar. 64. osiniṇ “elag āna’ izi vānṛu ḍipistanṛ e, ‘ḍoṇa āna

him carrying, he pondered, “What shall I do?” and told them, “Sirs, put it (the palanquin) down for a moment, put it down”. 49. “If they disembark me here, I will become a thief and escape”, so (thinking), he made them lower (the palanquin). 50. “Gentlemen! stay here for a moment.

2.51. I will go out, go out to move my bowels and urinate, and will come back”, he said and went. 52. Saying, “I pass here”, “I pass there”, so, he went far away. 53. Having gone, as he was defecating near a date-shrub, two rats (a male and a female) were discussing future events. 54. As they were doing so, the person who went to stool was hearing. 55. The young ones of the muskrats asked, “Father, father, who are beating the drums? 56. Who are singing the songs? 57. Why is all that? You must tell us everything”. 58. “O My children, what is there to say? 59. In both the countries of the Mula King and the Kova King, since it has not rained, crops would not grow. 60. They (i.e. the people) are bringing a Guru.

2.61. That Guru has no wisdom and no sense. 62. What a senseless (lit. not-knowing) person is he? 63. Saying, ‘let us take (him)’, they were taking him off, the most reluctant person. 64. As they were taking him off, he thought, ‘What

sona', izi sītel dubud(u) dāṇita manan." 65. venka aya pilek(u), "dāṇita maRiṇa elag ānan lu. 66. vāṇru elag ātiṇa gelsnan lu?" izi veRte. 67. "ore ore koṛor(u), 'elag ātiṇa gelsnan?' inider e gani, vaniṇ piṇḍiti otiṇa, ēṛu kuṇḍeṇ vesni ēṛu, ēṛu kuṇḍeṇ salani ēṛu vaniṇ lonar e, būḍu kibisnar. 68. būḍu kiṭiṇa, savarid basa kinar. 69. basa kinar e, baybol sīnar; baybol sīnar e 'le bābu le', izi 'poti sur?a, baybol sur?a', izi veRnar. 70. veRtiṇa, vāṇru sonsi itaRika ital maRteṇ, ataRika atal maRteṇ.

2.71. surṭi lakeṇḍa sur?i lakeṇḍa (to?i lakeṇḍa) āzi, iḍzi riṣteṇ. 72. palna nāṇḍiṇ, palna vareRaṇḍ, mosop kinad. 73. tūrpu vare gāli kinad. 74. paṛmeṭi vare mosop kinad. 75. aya mosop tūrpu vare soRiṇa, ruṇḍi gaṇṭeṇaṇ mosop kūrzi, mūnṛi gaṇṭeṇaṇ pīru ṛeynad", izi kezeri elkeṇ veRte. 76. aya māṭa veRanṛ e, sadu rāzu sarda ātan. 77. pāṭa pāṛitan, ēti

will become of me?' and got himself dismounted (from the palanquin). 'I will become a thief and escape', he thought and is hiding himself in a date-shrub". 65. "What will happen to him (lit. What will he become), if he lay hidden? 66. How (lit. becoming how) will he escape?" asked (the children). 67. "O children, you ask, 'How will he escape?' Then, after taking him, they will bring seven pots of hot water and seven pots of cold water, and make him bathe. 68. After he has bathed, they will seat him on a palanquin. 69. After seating him, they will give him the Bible. Giving him the Bible, they will say, 'Get up, Sir, look into the book, look into the Bible'. 70. When they have said (so), he must turn it this side and that side (lit. this side one this side, and that side one that side).

2.71. Pretending to be looking and not looking into it, he should put it down. 72. On a certain day and in a certain direction, a cloud will form. 73. Towards the east, the wind will blow (lit. make). 74. Towards the west a cloud will form. 75. When the cloud has moved towards the east, clouds will increase at two O'clock, and by three, it will rain", said the muskrats. 76. When he had heard these words, the Sadu King became happy. 77. He sang (a song)

ēnditan. 78. savarid soRanṅ e, bastan. 79. “radu bābu sonat le”, izi variṅ kūktan. 80. kūktiṅ vātar e, piṅdita otar.

2.81. kōva rāzu paṅnam e otar. 82. otiṅ, nilba kāldaṅḍ e, ēṛu kuṅḍeṅ ēṛu lotar, ēṛu mudeṅ paṣiṅ sitar. 83. ēṛu kuṅḍeṅ ēṛu iybatan; ēṛu mudeṅ paṣiṅ ūspatan. 84. aydu mūrṭiṅṅaṅi nūne sitar. 85. sitiṅ, ūspatan. 86. ūspati venka, bēsid basa kitar. 87. nastavale baybol sitar, pustokam sitar. 88. “ale bābu, sadmi?a le”, izi variṅ veRtar. 89. veRtiṅ poti kuttan, baybol kuttan, viristan. 90. surṭi lakaṅḍa to?i lakaṅḍa kizi, iḍta ṛistan.

2.91. iḍta ṛistanṅ e, variṅ veRtan. 92. “parmeṭi vaṛe mosop kinad. 93. tūrpu vaṛe gāli kinad. 94. parmeṭi vaṛeRi mosop tūrpu vaṛe sonad. 95. soRiṅ ruṅḍi gaṅṅeṅṅaṅ mosop kūṛnad. 96. mūnṛi gaṅṅeṅṅaṅ pīru ṛeynad. 97. oṅṭi gaṅṅaḍiṅ

and danced (a dance). 78. He went to the palanquin and sat. 79. “Come on, gentlemen, let us go”, he shouted to them. 80. When he had called, they came and took him off, carrying him (in the palanquin).

2.81. They brought him to the town of the Kova King. 82. After taking him (there), when he was still on his feet, they filled seven pots of water and gave (him) seven lumps of turmeric. 83. He bathed with the seven pots of water and applied (to his body) the seven lumps of turmeric. 84. They gave (him) five varieties of oil. 85. When they had given, he (also) smeared (that). 86. When he had smeared, they seated him on a bench. 87. Then they gave him the Bible, they gave him the book. 88. “Dear Sir, read this”, they said to him. 89. When they had said, he opened the book, opened the Bible and opened it wide. 90. Pretending (lit. doing) to be looking and not looking (into it), he put it down.

2.91. After putting it down, he said to them. 92. “In the west, a cloud will form. 93. In the east, the wind will start. 94. The cloud in the west will move to the east. 95. After moving, at two O’clock, clouds gather. 96. By three O’clock, it will rain. 97. Let us do the worship at one O’clock; let us offer (lit. do) a pigeon and a sheep, and let us make

pūza kinaṭ. pavra poṭi gore pōtu kinaṭ e, āgasam nastu pandri
būmi nastu goṇḍa kinaṭ e, vanka āram vanka bōgam sīnaṭ(u).
98. nasti vale piṛu ṛeynad, paṇṭa paṇḍnad”, izi veRtan. 99.
guruyen veRti dāpre, vizu kūṛptar e, samaram kitar. 100. unṛi
gaṇṭadiṇ samaram kitar e, nāṭo vātar.

2.101. mūnṛi gaṇṭeṇaṇ piṛu ṛeytaḍ. 102. aya samasram-
daṇḍ piṛu pālistad. paṇṭa paṇḍitad. paṇṭa paṇḍitiṇ, anam
ātaḍ, danam kalgitad. 103. āR(u) batkizi maRiṇ, ēṇḍad e
soRad o, ruṇḍi paṇṭeṇ e soRad o. 104. ruṇḍi paṇṭeṇ e soRi
tarvata, mūla rāzu kōva rāzu, maṛi olbitar. 105. “sile sile,
emeṇi guruyen nizam mananṛ o, dēsanti guruṇaṇ vizeriṇ
kūkpisnaṭ, 106. moli pūṇu kīdu asnaṭ. 107. ‘mā kīdu inika
manad o, dani pēru veRtu. 108. nastivale ne miṇi naminap’,
izi veRnaṭ”, iRar e, ḍaguRi lōkaṇ kabru, dūramti lōkaṇ sīṭi
pōktar. 109. vizu guruṇaṇ kūkpistar. 110. kūkpistar e, moli-
pūṇu kīdu astar e, “ore bābu guruṇ(u), mā kīdu inika manad

a pandal as big as the sky and decorate the floor with diag-
rams as wide as the earth, and give them their (i.e. sky and
earth) offerings and oblations. 98. Then it will rain and
crops will grow”, he said. 99. As soon as the Guru had said
so, they gathered all (the materials) and conducted the ritual.
100. At one O’clock, they did the ritual and came to the
village.

2.101 At three O’clock, it rained. 102. Throughout that
year, rains occurred and crops grew. When the crops had
grown, there was food and there was wealth. 103. As they
were living like that, a year or two might have elapsed. 104.
When two years (lit. harvests) had elapsed, the Mula King
and the Kova King again consulted (lit. thought). 105. “No
no, let us call the Gurus (i.e. the priests) in the country (to
find out), who is the real Guru. 106. We will hold *moli*
flowers in our hands. 107. ‘What is there in our hands?
Tell its name. 108. Then only we will trust you’, so saying,
shall we proclaim (lit. say).” Having thought so, they sent
messages to the nearer people, and letters (lit. chits) to the
distant ones. 109. They summoned all the priests. 110. Hav-
ing summoned, they held *moli* flowers in their hands. and

o, dani pēru asi veRtiņa, mā runḍi rāskaņi būmi vantu sīnap”, izi māṭa uņstar.

2.111. uņstar e, moli pūņu kīdu aštar. 112. guruņāņ erke sileņḍa moli pūņu kīdu aštar. 113. “ledu bābu, veRtu, kīdu inika manad o”, izi veRtiņa vizer e guruņ aṭ’etar. 114. sadu rāzu ne venka manan; vizer e vīziti venka manan. 115. sadu rāzu ge olbitan. 116. “piṛu ṛey’itiņ, kezeri elka veRti boson-daņḍ gelsta vāta. 117. bēn aṭ’e le”, izi mokom saptan. 118. “inika izi veRna” izi, “ole moli, bole moli, nī kīdu moli bābu”,¹ izi veRtan. 119. nasti vale, “vizer e guruņ aṭ’etar. 120. mā modoRi guruyenṛ e veRtan gani, ayer aṭ’etar.

proclaimed, “Gentlemen, priests, if you give out the name of what is there in our hands, we give you a portion of the land of both of our kingdoms”.

2.111. Having proclaimed, they held *moli* flowers in their hands. 112. They so held the flowers in their hands that the priests did not know (lit. knowledge not occurring to the priests). 113. When they had asked, “Get up, gentlemen, name what is there in our hands”, nobody was able (to tell). 114. The Sadu King remained behind. He only remained after all others were finished. 115. The Sadu King got worried. 116. “When it did not rain, I escaped with the help of the words told by the muskrats. 117. Now, I cannot”, he thought, and hung his face down. 118. “What shall I say it is, *ole moli bole moli*, (there is) *moli* in your hands”, he said.¹ 119. “All other priests could not (tell). 120. Our first Guru alone said it, but no others could.

1. Excepting the part *nī kīdu* ‘in your hands’, the rest of the sentence is Oṛiya with a different meaning, viz. “Whether or not I can say, I will die in your hands”. Here it gives a meaning which is to the advantage of the Sadu King, since, apparently, he is bilingual in Konda and Oṛiya, whereas the other kings knew only Konda. *moli* (in Oṛiya) ‘I will die’, ‘jasmine flowers’, (in Konḍa) ‘jasmine flowers’,

2.121. vēnṛ e mā guru gaṇi, maRikaṛ ā'er(u)," izi ri'er
 rāsku veRtar. 122. būmi vantu, ilu vantu, anam vantu, danam
 vantu baṇaram vantu, ṛāku vantu, peyeṇ vantu, goreṇ vantu,
 vizu sitar e, vaṇiṇ pōktar. 123. bāṇiṇ vānṛu vari nāṭo vātan.
 124. dēsem asi rāzi asi batkizinar.

2.121. This man alone is our Guru, but not the others".
 said both the Mula King and the Kova King. 122. A share
 of land, a share of house, a share of food, a share of wealth,
 a share of gold, a share of oxen, a share of cattle and a share
 of sheep—giving him all these, they sent him. 123. From
 there, he came back to his village. 124. They were all living
 (happily), in their (respective) countries and kingdoms.

3. THE STORY OF THE FOOLISH TIGER

3.1. unri peri gorot(u) s̄alam maRad. 2. s̄alami nores maRad. 3. maRad e baylud(u) b̄uladeñ s̄ota soRad. 4. adi s̄oti soRiñ, p̄iru řeyzinad, ḡali kizinad. 5. unri gore p̄otu, "b̄en sona" izi, "b̄an sona" izi, s̄alami ne soRa řugitad. 6. řugitiñ sonsi nores b̄ulazinad. 7. poñ(u) k̄akiñ(u) b̄urgu marat(u) ninrite ne, gagoli āzi ēru uñzine. 8. nores b̄ulatiñ, baña kaññad. 9. maran ađgi soRad e "ari guri kiya re, nañi ba s̄idañ re". "s̄ile s̄ile re, mořokani, susay poso pani". 10. "asi r̄oya sona gañde", iRad e s̄alami soRad.

3.11. s̄alami soRiñ, řudu řađa buđu bađa kitad s̄alam lo'i. 12. "ayider re, řudu řađa kitider(u)?" izi nores veRtad.

3.1. There was a cave in a big mountain. 2. There was a tiger in the cave. 3. One day, it went out roaming about. 4. When it had gone out, it rained and the wind was blowing. 5. A ram, not knowing where to go (lit. saying, 'I go here', 'I go there'), went and entered into the cave itself. 6. When it entered (the cave), the tiger was (out) wandering. 7. Birds and crows gathered under a *b̄urgu* tree and were drinking water with noise. 8. As the tiger wandered, it became hungry (lit. hunger bit it). 9. Having gone underneath the tree, "What is this noise? Also give (it) to me", said the tiger. "No, there is nothing. Oh, Big-eared one! It's mere water" (replied the birds). 10. "Damn it, I will go then", said the tiger and went to its cave.

3.11. When it had gone in, there was noise in the cave, řudu řađa buđu bađa. 12. "Who are you, making the noise?"

13. veRtiņ, gore pōtu sālam lo?iRaņd veRtad. 14. "nā pēru meņda meņdku li, gibid guņdu li. 15. nāņ sarasdiņ nařmud toRta ne, zīrga marandiņ palaņaru kizina. 16. palaņaru kita iRiņa, nořes kaņkad seņđu karzina. 17. pita lāgna ne, pāta pārna. 18. vaskiņ lāgna ņe, poyta pokna. 19. ēl(u) vāta iRiņa, tina pokna. 20. idi lo vāzina", izi gore pōtu veRtad e, ořol(u) gudlistad.

3.21. gudlistiņ, sonsi, nořes bama ātad e, gopaņa uRktad. 22. uRktad e tirvzi, re?eņda baylud būlazinad. 23. būlatad e, unři nāto soRad. 24. soRad e, "unři guramdiņ asna tina" izi olbitad. 25. "asna tina" izi olbitad e guram sālād ruģitad. 26. aya inroņi savkari sonsi, "ore gotyar te guramku vizu toRtider a, sile na? nořes ba vānad buņra ba vānad", izi veRtan. 27. veRtiņ nořes veRad. 28. veRad e, nořes olbitad. 29. "nořes iRiņa nān e, buņra elag maņika. 30. naņi anta mistika manad koņe, naņi ba tinad le su, nān elag āna le.

said the tiger. 13. When it had said, the ram replied from inside the cave. 14. "My name is *meņda-meņdku*; (there are) big (iron) balls (hanging) from my ears. 15. Having fastened a cobra round my waist, I am making a tooth-stick of a *Zīrga* tree. 16. Having made the tooth-stick, I will play ball with the eyes of a tiger. 17. I will pull out (his) liver and sing a song. 18. I will pull out (his) bowels and make a garland of them. 19. If I come now, I will eat you away. 20. Here; look! I am coming", said the ram and shook its body violently.

3.21. When it had shaken (its body), the tiger got stupefied and fled away. 22. Having fled away, it was moving about, not returning (home). 23. Having wandered, it went to a village. 24. After going, it thought, "I will catch hold of a horse and eat it". 25. Thinking so, it dropped in a horse-stable. 26. The master of the house went and said, "O watchmen, have you fastened the horses well or not? A tiger might come or a *buņra* might come". 27. When he had said this, the tiger heard. 28. After it heard, it thought. 29. "I am myself the tiger, (lit. tiger if-said, I only). But, what else is *buņra*? 30. Maybe it is a bigger one than myself. It may eat even me. What shall I do?

331. ʃerka rēteŋ nesʔeta; rāʔaŋde ba sonʔeta. 32. nērak poyte vāta. 33. buʃra vātiŋa tina poknad le", izi veRpu veRpu, oren ɔoŋa vānru ʃugzi vātan. 34. vizu guṛamku paṛbizi suṛtan. 35. "emeŋika basti maRiŋa daniŋ e ona", izi vizu vankaŋ suṛtan. 36. vizu vankaŋ noṛes ne perika. 37. "deniŋ e ona gaŋde", iRanṛ e, kalem kaṭistan, zutud astan, ɔēvad sōptan. 38. sōptiŋ, noṛes visarisinad. 39. "nān(u) noṛes gani yākad e koṭe, buʃra. 40. naŋi tinad le.

341. elāg āna le", izi noṛes gopaŋa visarisinad. 42. visa-risiniŋ, ɔoŋa vānru kalem astanṛ e ektan. 43. ektanṛ e, sabok ʃeytan. 44. sabok ʃeytiŋ noṛes uRktad. 45. zōre izi nesʔed; laṭa izi nesʔed; sāmbu izi nesʔed. 46. āR(u) uRksi maRiŋ, sari, zāy(i) āzi vātad. 47. venka ɔoŋa vānru suṛtan. 48. "aba gaŋde noṛes koṭe. nānu guṛam izi ekta ʃista. noṛes inika

331. I have not known how to open the door, (other-wise,) I would have gone then itself. 32. Foolishly (lit. without knowing) did I come here. 33. When the *buʃra* comes, it will devour (lit. eat away) me". As it was saying like this, a thief entered and came in. 34. He felt (groped) all the horses (with his hands) and saw. 35. "Whichever has remained sitting, I will take that", he said and examined all of them. 36. Of all of them, the tiger only appeared the biggest. 37. "Goodness! I will only take this", he said, put the bridle, held its mane and conducted it into the verandah. 38. When he had conducted (it), the tiger pondered. 39. "I am the tiger, but, maybe, this is the *buʃra*. 40. It will, anyway, eat me.

341. What shall I do? (lit. what shall I be?), so saying, the tiger deplored very much. 42. As it was deploring, the thief held the bridle and mounted (on it). 43. Having mounted, he whipped it. 44. When he had whipped, the tiger ran away. 45. It would not mind streams; it would not mind forests; it would not mind thorns. 46. As it was running like that, the day broke. 47. The thief saw (it) from the back. 48. "My goodness! it is a tiger! I mounted on it thinking it was a horse. If (I knew that) it was a tiger, I would not have mounted. It will eat me away", he thought being terri-

iRiṇa, ek?eta mari. naṇi tina poknad le”, izi vānru tiyel ātanr e maran sērpū nores soRad kaka marat(u) kastan. 49. marat ektan. 50. marat ektiṇ, “mēle ṛibay āta” iRad e nores uRktad.

3.51. uRktiṇ baṇa kaṭsinad. baṇa kaṭtiṇ “elag āna” iRad e, “gaḍad ēru uṇa” izi gaḍad(u) ḍigitad. 52. ḍigitad e, “bēn uṇa, bān uṇa” iRad e, rēto borod(i) ēru mōro murksi uṇzi maRiṇ rēto mūnzid kaṭṭad. 53. kaṭtiṇ ṛibay ādeṇ aṭ?eṇḍ(a) āzi gūrita ṛistad. 54. oren danṛayen būlazi soRan. 55. “tōṇḍa tōṇḍa, endaniṇ gūriti mani”. 56. “sile tōṇḍa, niṇi padel ḍaṇḍam, saṇem vāzi ṛibis?a. 57. rēto kaṭṭa manad, negi mūnzid ne. 58. ṛibay ādeṇ nes?e. 59. saṇem vāzi darmam ki?a”, izi vaniṇ māristan. 60. pisadiṇ aṭ?eṇḍ(a) āzi soRanr e, ṛibistan.

3.61. aya vānru rētodin astan. 62. “adi tōṇḍa yāka niṇi asta maRad; kaṭṭa maRad”. 63. ṛibisti venka nores veRtad. 64. “niṇi padel ḍaṇḍam; ‘naṇi rēto kaṭṭa maRad’, izi nāṭo

fled. And as the tiger had gone near a tree, he caught hold of the tree. 49. He climbed the tree. 50. After he climbed the tree, “Joy, I am finally relieved”, said the tiger and fled.

3.51. As it fled, it got hungry. When it got hungry, it said, “What shall I do, I will drink water in a stream”, and got down to a stream. 52. After it had gone down, saying “I will drink here and I will drink there”, as it stuck its snout into a crab-hole to drink water, a crab bit its nose. 53. When the crab had bitten, it (the tiger) fell flat, being unable to get rid of it. 54. A lad was going by. 55. “Friend, friend, why are you lying down?” (he said to the tiger). 56. “No, friend, thousand salutations to you! Come for a moment and get me relieved. 57. A crab has caught me right on the nose itself. 58. I don’t know how to get rid of it. 59. Come for a moment and do me the help”, the tiger prayed to him. 60. Not being able to avoid the nuisance, he went and relieved him (of the crab).

3.61. He held the crab (in his hand and said). 62. “Here, friend, this one had caught you and bitten you”. 63. After being relieved (of the crab) the tiger said. 64. “One thousand salutations to you! Don’t tell in the village that a crab

veRma. 65. nā sigu soRiņa, nī sigu soRi lakenđ e; nī sigi soRiņa, nā sigu soRi lakenđ e. 66. yā māta veRma. 67. nīnu nānu nēstam toRnať; kūla toņđa toRnať. 68. nīnu nāni pē as'eņđa, nān(u) nīni pēr as'eņđa, iya lakenđa ānať; manzina 69. nā sigu māta nāto veRma. 70. silīņa, nīni nānu tina.

3.71. yā māta veR'eņđa maRiņa, nīnu kūla toņđa, nānu kūla toņđa. 72. nīni suŗti bān māŗisi manzina", izi noŗes veRtađ 73. āR ātar e, noŗes soRad goŗot(u); vānrū soRan nāto. 74. nāto soRanŗ e, mansud mansud gopaņa siknan. 75. "endaniņ toņđa: siksini?" izi, zata daņŗeņ veRtiņa ba gani, edgara veR'en 76. dinami aya lakenđ e siksi maRiņ, vār mari veRtar, "enda niņ toņđa, siksini? 77. nīni maRi tiyel siled. 78. māp(u) manap. nīni gelpisnap", izi veRtiņ, pisadiņ ať'eņđ(a) ātan e, veRtan. 79. "sile toņđa, noŗesdiņ rēto kaťta maRad e nān(u) řibista. 80. řibista ne, aya rētodīņ asta ne, suRti tiRa.

had bitten me. 65. If my prestige is gone, it is as good as your prestige is gone; if your prestige is gone, it is as good as my prestige is gone. 66. Don't tell this news. 67. Let us build friendship, build relationship. 68. You will not point out my name and I will not point out your name—in this way, we will be and live. 69. Don't tell my shameful news in the village. 70. If not, I will eat you.

3.71. If you live without disclosing this news, you are a good friend and I am a good friend. 72. Wherever I see you, I will be wishing you", said the tiger. 73. After this had happened (lit. after they had been like this), the tiger went to the hill and the boy went to (his) village. 74. After he had gone to (his) village, he was extremely pining in his mind. 75. When his fellowmen enquired, "Why, friend, are you becoming thin?" he would not at all tell. 76. As he was reducing further, they again asked, "Why friend, are you reducing? 77. There is no fear for you. 78. We are (here), we will save you". When they said so, not being able to avoid their bother, he said. 79. "No, friends, when a tiger was bitten by a crab, I got it relieved. 80. After I got it relieved, I took the crab, roasted it and ate,

3.81. suRta ,tiRa kaka, nān(u) nores(u) māp ri'ep, kūla tonda toRtap. 82. nān daniṅ pēr as'eṅḍa, adi naṅi pēr as'eṅḍa manreṅ vale izi veRtad. 83. 'nā sigu māṭa nīnu nāto veR'eṅḍa man'a', izi veRtad. 84. 'yā māṭa sōpti iRiṅa, niṅi nān(u) tina' izi veRtad kaka, nān(u) veRteṅ tiyel āzi nān e sikna gani, ayeṅ veR'e. 85. nēnru mīru zāgarta manru, naṅi tinad le", izi veRtan. 86. veRtiṅ, "manzinap tonda" iRar e, vaniṅ narṅi terpsi vār(u) suṭula gūritar. 87. gūriti venka nidra vēlad(u) nores vātad e, vaniṅ peRta otad. 88. "bēn tina" izi, "bān tina" izi, saṭud otad. 89. "tina" iRad e saṭud terptad. 90. "muḍi vareRaṅḍ tina na, buṛa vareRaṅḍ tin na?

3.91. buṛa vareRaṅḍ tiRiṅa, veyu manad; palku mane; kaṭnan su. 92. elag āpid e" izi, "muḍi vareRaṅḍ e tina" izi, bastad. 93. bastiṅ(a), vānru, "elag kina" izi olbitan. 94. olbitanṅ e, "tina" izi nores muṭpu muṭpu 'ḍāṅ' izi pītta ṛistan. 95.

3.81. After I roasted and ate it (the crab), I and the tiger—both of us, became friends. 82. It (the tiger) said that we should live without its pointing out my name and my pointing out its name. 83. It said, 'Stay without disclosing my shameful news in the village'. 84. Because it said, 'If you disclose this news, I will eat you,' I was afraid of telling and have pined within myself, but I have not revealed it to anybody. 85. Today, you watch out, it will eat me", he said. 86. When he has said (this), "we are (with you) friend", they said and put him in the middle and lay round him. 87. After they lay, during the sleep (ing time), the tiger came and carried him away. 88. Saying, "I will eat here, I will eat there", it took him on to a rock. 89. "I will eat (now)", it said and laid him on the rock. 90. "Shall I eat from the hind-side or shall I eat from the head-side?

3.91. If I eat him from the head-side, there is the mouth; there are teeth. He will bite me. 92. Come what may, I will eat from the hind-side", it said and sat down (to eat). 93. When it had seated itself, the man pondered, "What shall I do?" 94. Having pondered, as it touched him, saying, "I will eat", he farted (i.e. broke wind), producing a bang. 95. When he

“sur?a ʔonða rēto řista, maři kařnad le”, izi veRtiņ nores bama āzi uRktad. 96. vaniņ řista sitad. 97. vānŗu gelsi vātan. 98. gelsi vātanŗ e zata daņreņa bān soRan. 99. “surŗdu ʔonða, ‘gel-pisnap’ iRider. 100. nores tiRad maři.

3.101 nānu izi gelsta vāta. 102. negenŗ olbita ne elag kina izi pīta řista. 103. ‘sur?a ʔonða rēto vāzinad’, izi veRtiņ nores uRktad. 104. nores uRktad kaka nān(u) vāta. 105. upay kita ne nān(u) gelsta vāta. 106. gelsta vāta ne mī mokom surŗta. 107. ēlu kūli nāli āzi nān(u) batkizina.”

said, “Look, then, friend! I have released the crab. It will bite you”, the tiger got terrified and fled. 96. It left him away. 97. He escaped and came. 98. After he came escaping, he went to his fellow-friends. 99. “Look, friends, you said, ‘we will save (you).’ 100. The tiger had almost eaten men.

3.101. I myself escaped and came. 102. I thought out well and thinking, ‘what shall I do’, I broke wind. 103. As I said, ‘Look friend, the crab is coming’, the tiger fled. 104. As the tiger fled, I came away. 105. I played the trick, escaped and returned. 106. Having escaped and come, I have seen your faces. 107. Now I will live making out my living”. (lit. doing labour and service, etc.

4. THE STORY OF ATEK AND BITEK

Informant: Bōyi Donu

4.1. sadu çokri sadu çokra maRar. 2. vari poṭad ri?er marisir. 3. āR e kūli kizi būti kizi batkizi maRar. 4. guḍe kizi, goron kizi batkizi maRar. 5. maRiṇa aysi aposi sāta soRar. 6. "āha, elag ānaṭ le koḍodini, yāya buba sātar. 7. eme ba kōḍiṇ apidam asnaṭ. 8. elag izi batkinaṭ lu", izi anasi veRtan. 8. "as?a lu na mēpnaṭ", izi tambeṛi veRtan. 10. aya ri?er oren savkari ban soRar.

4.11. soRar e, "sidaṭ lu bābu, mī peyeṇ māp mēpnaṭ" izi veRtar. 12. "tōka mūrtamku būdaram āne le, nāṇḍiṇ mēptu", izi savkari veRtan. 13. veRtan kaka, būdaram sōptar. 14.

4.1. There was an old man and an old woman. 2. They had two sons. 3. They were living like that, labouring and toiling. 4. They were living on field and forest cultivation. 5. As they were living so, their mother and father died. 6. "Alas! What shall we do, poor children. Mother and father died. Let us, at least, get hold of cattle (to graze) anywhere. 8. How are we going to live?" said the elder brother. 9. "Let us then get hold of some (cattle), we will graze", said the younger brother. 10. They both went to a merchant.

4.11. Having gone, "Give us your cattle, Sir, we will graze them", they said. 12. "The auspicious time is on Wednesday; from then onwards, you graze (my cattle)", said the merchant. 13. After he said they waited till Wednesday. 14. The elder

anasi peyeñañ soRan; tambersi bāñdi lostan. 15. tiRan, uñan. 16. buña veyu ðūsay ātan. 17. zāgarta ātan e, kuñdad ambel astan. 18. unñi buñid zāva, aled pula, ðipad ēru, kuřka astan. 19. gavru ðuđu kīdu astan. 20. peyeñañ sonsi maRan.

4.21. sonsi maRiña unñi kanañ būmi badeñ badeñ āta manad. 22. “ōho, yāya buba sātār e, veyu kākta manar. 23. ōho, nañi suřtar e, yāya buba veyu kākta manar. 24. veriñ elag kina le. veriñ si'eñða soRiña nañi pāpam tinad”, izi vāñru anam ðiptan. 25. anam ðiptan e kuřkad zāva bāta kitan; pula andtan. 26. pula andtan e, badeñ ātiban vāktan. 27. vāktiñ bořo mūg'etad. 28. mūg'itiñ, “elag kina” izi, “poća panz'iñ su, veyu kākta manar” iRan e, ambel mari vāktan. 29. vāktiñ bořo mūgitad. 30. bořo mūgitiñ, “poća panzitat su”, iRan e, kuñdeñ mañiñ piñđitan e, anasi ban soRan.

brother went to herd cattle; the younger brother went out to collect food. 15. He ate and drank. 16. He combed his hair and mustache. 17. After getting ready, he took a potful of porridge. 18. He also took *zāva* in a small basket, tamarind-soup in a small pot, and water in a gourd-vessel, together with a plate. 19. He took a shepherd-stick. 20. Thus he went to his brother.

4.21. As he was going, (he saw) the black soil being opened in slits. 22. “O ho! mother and father, having died, are opening their mouths. 23. They have seen me and are opening their mouths. 24. What shall I do for them? If I go without giving them (food), the sin will consume me”. So saying, he put down the food. 25. Having put down, he served the food in the plate; he reached the soup. 26. Having reached, he poured it in the slit (lit. the place where earth opened into slits). 27. When he had poured, the hole (slit) did not close up. 28. When it had not closed up, he said “what shall I do? Perhaps, their stomach is not filled; they are (still) opening their mouths”. So saying, he poured the porridge again. 29. When he had poured, the hole covered up. 30. When the hole got covered up, “perhaps, the stomach is filled” he said, and carrying the pots, etc., he went to his elder brother.

4.31. "ōna ōna, ra?a anam uṇ?a", izi veRtan. 32. anasi vātan. 33. anasi vātanṅ e noṅbatan, uṇḍeṅ bastan. 34. "ini kizi maRi re bitek(u), nistu podu vātaḍ". 35. "sile na atek, bāṅḍi losta ne tasi maRa kaka, yāya buba saṅḍu ne veyu kākta maRar. 36. baṅaḍiṅ su naṅi kāpkita maRar. 'anam tasinan' izi kāpkita maRar e veyu kāktaR kaka, veyud(u) vaḍista. 37. variṅ sīzi maRa ne, ālsam āta. 38. vār uṅar kaka kuṅḍeṅ maṅḍiṅ piṅḍita ne, nī bān nānu vāta. 39. ra?a ana, atek, ubra subra tata mana, uṇ?a". 40. atek vātan; bastan; uṅan; tiRan.

44. poṅa panz?etad. 42. "ore ore bitek, eme ban(u) yāya buba sāta manar. 43. sa?a, naṅi tōris?a, nān sūṅa" (izi anasi veRtan). 44. ri?er ba kūṅitar e, bitek muṅgal(a) atek venka ātar e soRar. 45. soRar e surtar. 46. "idi lo na yāka yāya, yāka buba suṅ?a siliṅa", izi bitek veRtan. 47. "ore ore bitek(u), yāka ā?ed. 48. būmi badeṅ āta manad. 49. niṅi embe yāka yāya. 50. yāya ā?ed, buba ā?en.

4.31. "Brother! O brother! come and eat the food", he said. 32. The elder brother came. 33. The elder brother came, washed up and sat down to eat. 34. "Bitek, what have you been doing, it is so late", (said the elder brother). 35. "No, Brother Atek, as I gathered the food and was bringing it, mother and father had opened their mouths on the way itself. 36. Perhaps, out of hunger, they had been waiting for me; they were waiting, thinking, 'he is getting the food'. I, therefore, poured it in their mouths. 37. As I remained there giving them (food), I was late. 38. After they ate, I carried the pots, etc., and came to your place. 38. Come, Brother Atek, I have brought the remainder; eat". 40. Atek came, sat, drank and ate.

44. His stomach was not filled. 42. "Where are our mother and father, having died? 43. Get along and show me; I will see", said the elder brother. 44. They went together, Bitek in the front and Atek behind (him). 45. Having gone, they saw. 46. "Here, Lo, brother, this is the mother, and this is the father, look, if it is not (so)", said Bitek. 47. "Bitek, this is not it. 48. The earth has formed slits. 49. Where is this mother for you? 50. There is no mother, there is no father.

4.51. bûmi ne iR(u) âtad e badeñ âtad. 52. sa⁷a le, kôđiñañ sonať(u)”, izi ri⁷er kôđiñañ soRar. 53. soRar e velar (u) kôđiñ mēptar e tatar podoy. 54. peyeñ dođi beťtar e sikaťi âtiñ bāñđi lostar. bāñđi lostar e, inro otar. 55. “le⁷e bitek, gineñ taga bāťa kina.” izi atek veRtan. 56. bitek soRanr e sisu ertan; điva kasistan; siper kûťa astanr e ilu sipatan. 57. kurkeñ noRtan, mañđiñ noRtan, zāgarta kitan. 58. vizu vīstanr e, “ra⁷a na atek, bāťa ki⁷a; anam uñať e gūrna manzi-nať. vizer e guritar; māt ba anam uñať, gūrnať”, iRiñ atek vātanr e ambeli, zāva, pula, vizu bāťa kitan. 59. atek bitek kūritar e anam uťar. 60. uťar tiRar e kuñdeñ mañđiñ nořba-batar; zāgarta kitar; ilu zolu sipatar; sāpeñ paRtar.

4.61. sāpeñ paRtanr e, “ra⁷a atek na gūrnať”, izi bitek kūktan. 62. kūktiñ. atek vātan. 63. điva naptar e, řerka keRtar. 64. aye sāpad vānrũ gūritan. 65. gūritiñ zāy (i)

4.51. The earth itself became like this and formed slits. 52. Get along, let us go to the cattle”. Having said so, they both went to the cattle. 53. Having gone, they grazed the cattle all day and brought them (back). 54. They put the cattle in the shed and when dusk came, they collected food. Having collected, they brought it home. 55. (Having brought,) Atek said, “Get up Bitek, bring the plates, I will serve the food”. 56. Bitek went, kindled the fire and lit the lamp. He took the broomstick and cleaned the house. 57. He washed the eating-plates and pots, and got (everything) ready. 58. After everything was finished, (he said) “Come, brother, Atek, serve the food; let us eat food and go to sleep. Everybody has slept. Let us also eat and go to bed.” When he had said so, Atek came and served the porridge, meal, soup and everything. 59. Atek and Bitek ate the food together. 60. They drank and ate, cleaned the pots, etc., and kept (things) right. They cleaned the floor, etc., and spread the mats.

4.61. Having spread the mats, “Come, Brother Atek, let us sleep”, called Bitek. 62. Being called, Atek came. 63. They put off the lamp and closed the door. 64. Each (person) slept on his mat. 65. After they slept, day broke. 66.

ātad. 66. "niñ?a eṇḍa sōtad. 67. palaṇaru ki?a. 68. salva kizi kōḍiṇ ṛis?a. 69. nān(u) man(u) manzina ne, bāṇḍi losna tana. 70. nān vāneṇḍa, bāga mēpsi man?a.

4.71. dūra duska baṇa kini ganu", izi tamberiṇ veRtanṛ e atek vaniṇ salva sitan. 72. anam ūtpistan. 73. "sonu bay bitek, peyeṇ ṛis?a", izi anasi veRtan. 74. veRtiṇ, ḍuḍu astanṛ e sōtan. 75. "peyeṇ ṛistu", izi ḍēlistan. 76. peyeṇ ṛistar(u); sōptar e, pērita sitar. 77. pērita sitar kaka, baylud(u) mīteṇ bitek otan. 78. atek inro maRanṛ e, bāṇḍi lostanṛ e uṭanṛ e, buṛa veyu zāgarta ātan. 79. "nān ba ona, bitek baṇa sānan", izi gazibizi ātan; ambel astan; ēṛu astan; teṛka keRtanṛ e, atek peyeṇṇ sōta soRan. 80. otanṛ e anam ḍiptan.

4.81. "ore ore bitek, embe soRi mani? 82. ra?a, ambel uṇ?a", izi vaniṇ (atek) ḍēlistan. 83. bitek soRanṛ e kōḍiṇṇ

"Get up, the sun rose (lit. the sun-shine came up). 67. Clean your teeth (lit. do the tooth-stick). 68. Eat breakfast and release the cattle (for grazing). 69. I am staying back and will collect food and bring. 70. Till I come, be grazing (the cattle) well.

4.71. The young ones (lit. calves, etc.) may be lost, watch out", so saying, Atek gave breakfast to the younger brother. 72. He fed him. 73. "Go then, Brother Bitek, let the cattle out", said the elder brother. 74. When he had said, he (Bitek) took up a stick and set out. 75. He shouted (to the master), "Release the cattle, Sirs". 76. They released and drove them out. 77. After they had driven (the cattle out), Bitek took them into the open to graze. 78. Atek stayed home and collected food. He ate and combed his hair and mustasche. 79. "I will myself carry the food, or, Bitek would die of hunger". So saying, he hurried. He took the porridge and water, closed the door and went to the cattle-place. 80. Having taken (there), he put the food down.

4.81. "Oh, Bitek, where have you gone? 82. Come, and eat the porridge", Atek shouted to him (Bitek). 83. Bitek went, and when the cows, the sheep, the

goreŇaŇ pōtkaŇ dūreŇaŇ vizu vanka nāliken, namru goŇsi maRiŇ, "naŇi kizaysine" izi vankaŇ kūrām otaŇ e, asi asi koytan. 84. koytaŇ e, taŇla guttan. 85. guttaŇ e, sōr(u) miram nūne uli vizu kitaŇ e, veRku tatan; sisu ertan. 86. sisu ertan e, burĉediŇ mūta toRtan. 87. sisu řipku ātiŇ, naŇmi basa kitan. 88. suŇuladaŇ řipku ekistan. 89. ekisi maRiŇ atek ĉelsi ĉelsi vātan. 90. "ini kizini, bitek? sisu ertid e, ini mūta toRsi dōsti mani?"

4.91. "sile na, atek, kōĉiŇ peyeŇ vizu naŇi surte ne, kizaysi maRe. 92. ēl(u) surtiŇa nanu ne, gaŇek surtiŇa nanu ne. 93. nanu ne kaka, kōpam āta ne, nālikenāŇ asi asi koyta tata ne, burĉe gutta. 94. sisu erta ne, řipku ātiŇ, aya nālikenāŇ sōru miram kita; nūne uli kita. 95. mūta toRta ne řipkaŇ dōsta mana". 96. venkaŇ surtiŇa, kōĉiŇ peyeŇ goreŇ dūreŇ vizu talek poŇuŇ poŇizi poŇizi, vizu sāta mane. 97. vizu sāti maRiŇ, yā bitek veRtan. 98. "sur?a na atek. niŇi

he-buffaloes and the calves were ruminating, he thought, "They are jeering at me", and took a knife and cut off the tongues of all of them. 84. Having cut off, he stitched a leaf-container. 85. Having stitched, he put (lit. made) salt, pepper, oil, onions and all of them. He brought fuel and kindled the fire. 86. Having kindled, he tied up (the tongues) into a packet. 87. As the embers formed, he put it (the packet) in the middle. 88. He increased the live coal all around. 89. When he had increased (the flames), Atek came shouting. 90. "Bitek, what are you doing? Having kindled the fire, what is the bundle that you tied and put on it?" Thus he (Atek) shouted.

4.91. "No, Brother Atek! the cows, oxen and all of them looked and jeered at me. 92. Now, I saw them like that, and after a while I saw them like that. 93. Since they were like that, I became angry and having cut off their tongues, I took them and tied into a bundle. 94. I lit fire and when it became live, I applied salt, pepper, oil and onions to the tongues. 95. I tied them up into a bundle and have been keeping it on fire." 96. When (Atek) saw, cows, oxen, sheep and calves—all of them, with their heads and stomachs bloated, had remained dead. 97. When they were all dead, Bitek said. 98. "Look,

aRiņa arla kine. nān tatiņa arla ki?u. 99. elag gūritikeņ āRe mane. 100. poṭa panzu meyte ne gūrite ʃiste.

4.101. niktīņa ba, niņ?u. bedristīņa ba, bedri?u. kadlistīņa ba kadli?u.” 102. atek bāga suṭanṛ e, “ore ore bitek, ini sani kiti! ini usur mōsti! rāz(u) suṭīņa negenḍ kinan ra. katna ba poknan, gutna ba poknan. 103. ra?a anam uņ?a. anam uṭīņa dēsem ʃisi dēsem, rāzi ʃisi rāzi sōna sonaṭ”, izi veRtiņ, bitek vātanṛ e, zāva ambel(i) kusa pula tiRan, uṭan. 104. “ore bitek, ra?a sonaṭ. gopa sani kiti. ibe maRiņa ʃeyna poknar”, izi ge, ri?er kūṛitar e, atek muṅgal bitek venka uRksinar. 105. aḍgiR(i)iska musku kizi, muskuR(i) iska adgi kizi sōtar e, uRksinar. 106. nāru ʃistar e, uRksi maRiņ, ēk raza razi duy raza razi sonsi maRiņ, ayer o naṛmu gorot(u) goron katkizinar. 107. “emeņiņ bābu mīru? 108. musku

Brother. Atek, if it were you, they would give trouble. When I bring them, they wouldn't give (me) trouble. 99. Those that have been sleeping have remained only like that. 100. They ate stomach-ful and slept off.

4.101. Even if raised, they wouldn't rise up. Even if scared, they wouldn't get scared. Even when moved, they wouldn't move”. 102. “O, Bitek, what a sin have you committed! How many lives have you taken out! (lit. what lives you carried). If the King sees, he will do the right thing (for you). He will either cut you or stab you. 103. Come and eat the food. After eating the food, let us get off to another country and another kingdom (lit. to a country leaving this country, to a kingdom leaving this kingdom)”. When Atek had said (so), Bitek came, ate and drank, the meal, the porridge, the vegetables and soup. 104. “O Bitek, come on, let us go. You did a great havoc. If (we) stay here, they will beat us”. Thus they both ran together, Atek in the front and Bitek behind. 105. They left off and fled away at high speed (lit. making the sand below come up and making the sand above go down). 106. As they were fleeing, after passing a kingdom or two, some people were felling trees in the middle of a mountain-forest. 107. “Where from are you, Sirs? 108. You are coming breathless” (lit. “on and

musku nēnzi nēnzi vāzinider". 109. "sile bābu, gopa dūramdaṅ māp vāzinap". 110. "embe āR āzi vātider lu?"

4.111. "sile bābu mā yāya buba sāti soRiṅ, beṅa ātap e, 'eme ba dēsem asi losna uṅap', izi māp sōtap e, āR izi gopa dūramdaṅ vātap". 112. "maṛi embe sonider lu, mā ban manṛu. 113. būti kūli āzi, lēki lenza āzi, batkinaṅ. 114. radu gudeliṅ astu, goṛon katkinaṅ." 115. atek gudel(i) astan. 116. "bitek sonsi koṛodiṅ etin", izi veRtar. 117. koṛodiṅ bitekdiṅ sitar. 118. atek goṛon katkizinan. 119. bitek koṛodiṅ asta manan. 120. asti maRiṅa aya koṛo kevēr kevēr gopaṅa aṛbazinan.

4.121. "ōho re yā koṛodiṅ burad sōti maniṅ su nopidiṅ su aṛbazinan," iRanṛ e burad paṛbita suṛtan. 122. suṛtanṛ e, neda ṭuvek ṭuvek nēnzi maRiṅ, "bēn kūli pēnzu ninṛita manad kaka andeke aṛbazinan", izi gozya ḍuḍu astanre, nēnzn guṭad gutta ṛistan. 123. gutti ṛistiṅ, aya koṛo sāta soRan. 124. sāti soRiṅ

on, exhaling and exhaling"), (the people said). 109. "No, Sirs, we are coming from a great distance". 110. "Whereto are you coming like that?"

4.111. "No, Sirs, after our mother and father died, we got distressed, and thinking, 'we will go some country, go begging and eat', we set out and came here from a great distance". 112. "Where, then, will you go? You stay with us". 113. "We will (all) live working for our food. 114. Come and take a hoe, let us clear the forest". 115. Atek took up a hoe. 116. "Let Bitek go to take care of (lit. take into lap or into hands) (our) child". 117. They gave (their) child to Bitek. 118. Atek was clearing the forest. 119. Bitek was holding the child. 120. When he had held (it), the child started crying, 'kever kever'.

4.121. "O! ho! perhaps the child is crying out of pain because of a boil coming up inside the skull", he said, and felt the skull (of the child with his hand). 122. When he felt, as the vertex was throbbing 'ṭuvek ṭuvek', he said, "Here it is full with pus, that is why he is crying", and took his pointed stick and pierced it into the vertex-pit. 123. As he pierced it through, the child died. 124. When the child had

atek surlanr e, "ore kořo, ini usur mōsti; kořodi pānam tiri; embe soRiņ ba sani kini, elag kinař le veniņ", izi gudel řistanr e bitek ban uRksi vātan. 125. vātiņa aya kořo sonsi sāta soRan. 126. sāti soRiņ, "ra?a re bitek, sonař; ibe manreņ ā?ed; řeyna poknar," iRanr e aya atek sonsi uRkteņ bastan. 127. uRkteņ bastiņ, aya bitek unři kurgu mařtan, unři kurgudiņ astan. 128. astanr e kořodi kurgu řiktan. 129. řiktanr e guzam(i) piņđitan. 130. atek muņgal uRksinan; bitek venka uRksinan.

4.131. "ō atek manme", "ra?a bitek" izi uRksinar. 132. sarđu unři peri gađa manad. 133. abe aya kurgu otanr e sařu porod(u) turbitan. 134. turbitiņ řēto kařtad e vāvad. 135. aya řēto bitek astan; kurgu řista sitan. 136. řēto astanr e, "manme atek na", "ra?a re bitek" izi gořon kastar. 137. āR āzi gořon kastiņ, nařmu gořot(u) sikař(i) āvad. 138. unři sālami soRar e basa kitar, atek bitek. 139. aya řeyu abe nidra

died, Atek saw. "O Boy, you took the life of the child out. You ruined (lit. ate) the child's life. Wherever we go, you do atrocities; what to do with this man?". So saying, he dropped the hoe and came running to Bitek. 125. As he came, the child was dead. 126. Since the child died, "Come along, Bitek, let us go. We must not stay here. They will kill us", said Atek, and began to flee. 127. As he (Atek) began to flee, Bitek pressed a thigh of the child under his feet and held the other one. 128. Having held, he separated the thigh of the child. 129. Having separated (it), he carried it on his shoulder. 130. Atek was running before and Bitek was running behind.

4.131. "Hello, Atek, stay on", "Come along, Bitek", so saying, they were running away. 132. On the way, there was a big stream. 133. (Bitek) took the thigh and stuck it in the crevice of a rock. 134. When he had stuck it, a crab came up biting it. 135. Bitek caught the crab and left the thigh away. 136. After he had caught the crab, "Stay on, Brother Atek", "Come along Bitek" so calling each other, they got into a hill forest. 137. As they reached the middle of the woods in that manner, it got dark. 138. Atek and Bitek went into a cave and sat down. 139. As they were

kizi maRiṅ, unṛi noṛes unṛi kaṅsudiṅ kaṭṭad e iṛisi tasinad.
 140. tasi maRiṅ(a), "ō atek na, suṛ'a ṇi suṛ'a ni, kaṅsudiṅ
 noṛes kaṭṣi tasinad," izi bitek veRtan.

4.141. "vadu bitek muṭma kaṭnad(u)". 142. "sile na
 rēto guḍukaṅ kaṭisna", iRanṅ e otan. 143. nasti vale rēto
 noresdi guḍukaṅ kaṭista ṛistan. 144. "ḍrāṅk" iRad e, kaṅsu-
 diṅ ṛistad e, nores dāṭitad. 145. "taga atek na kūrām, koy-
 naṭ(u) kurgu zeba kinaṭ(u)". 146. venka atek soRan. 147.
 kurgu zeba kitan. 148. "ra'a piṅ(ḍ) naṭ yā kuRku." 149. "sile
 atek na nān poṭu asna". 150. "sile re poṭu manid, kaṅḍ as'a
 sonaṭ," iRiṅ, kaṅḍa ri'er astar e, "embe ba gadi gūṛa kinaṭ e,
 varna tinaṭ(u)" izi veRtar e, nāru asro soRar e, gadi toRtar.

4.151. unṛi kuṅḍa, unṛi maṅḍi koṭar e, ruṅḍi kurken
 koṭar e, ri aḍa perku, sōru miram, nūne uli, vizu koṭar e, āR
 e negenḍ āzi batkizinar. 152. ibeṇiṅ kata anditad.

sleeping there that night, a tiger caught hold of a sambur
 deer and was bringing it dragging. 140. When he had
 brought (it) in, Bitek said, "Atek, brother, look (there), look!
 A tiger caught a sambur deer and is bringing it in".

141. "Don't, Bitek, don't touch it, it will bite" (said Atek).
 142. "No, brother, I will let the crab bite the eye-balls (of
 the tiger), he said and took it. 143. Then he let the crab
 bite off the eyes (of the tiger). 144. With a bang (lit. say-
 ing *ḍrāṅk*), the tiger left the sambur deer and jumped out.
 145. "Bring the knife, Brother Atek, let us cut and separ-
 ate the thighs and shoulders(?) (of the animal)". 146. Then,
 Atek went. 147. He separated (lit. made) the thighs and
 the shoulders. 148. "Come over, let us carry the thighs",
 (said Atek). 149. "No, Brother Atek, I take the intestines",
 (said Bitek). 150. "No, let the intestines remain, take the
 flesh and we will go". As Atek said (so), they both took
 the flesh, and saying, "Let us build a room or hut some-
 where, and we will cook and live", they went to a village
 and constructed a room (for themselves).

4.151. They bought a big pot and a small one, bought
 two eating bowls, two seers of rice, salt, pepper, oil, onions
 and all things, and were thus living happily. 152. Here, the
 story has ended.

5. THE STORY OF SIX THIEVES (A KING'S SON AND FIVE FARMERS)

5.1. oren rāzu, oren maṛisi. 2. āḡuru vani raytku. 3. vizer kūṛitar e, “ḡoḡa sonaṭ” izi vargitar. 4. adi unṛi āʔi nāṭo, ḡokri ḡokra poṭad orenṛ e maṛisi. 5. inika siled. 6. bidur batku batikizinar. 7. inika siled varinṛ; unṛi peṭa unṛi origa, ruṇḡi koRku ne mane. 8. āR batkizi maRiṇ, ḡokra ḡokri sātar. 9. orenṛ e maṛisi maRan. 10. “ōho mā yāya buba sāta soRar.

5.11. ‘uṇa’, iRiṇa anam siled. 12. ‘porpana’, iRiṇa pāteṇ silu. 13. ruṇḡi koRku ne mane. 14. venkaṇ elag kina le. 15. sile, unṛi ilu toRna. 16. suṭula paṅkuṇ rosna ne kaṇḡek saṛi iḡna. 17. saṛi iḡna”, izi iḡtan. 18. iḡtanṛ e, suṭula paṅkuṇ

5.1. There lived a King (village chief) and his only son. 2. He had six farmers. 3. They all assembled and said to one another, “Let us go to steal”. 4. In a different village, there lived an old man and old woman, who had an only son. 5. (They had) nothing. 6. They were living a life of poverty. 7. There was nothing for them; they had only two fowls, a hen and a cock. 8. As they were living like that, the old man and the old woman died. 9. The only son remained. 10. (He said to himself), “O! my father and mother died.

5.11. There is no food to eat (lit. To say, “I will eat”). 12. There are no clothes to put on (lit. To say, “I will put on”). 13. There are only two fowls. 14. What shall I do for these? 15. No, I will build a house (for them). 16. I will arrange stones around and will leave a small path”. 17. Having said, “I will leave a path”, he left (room for) a path. 18. Having made a path, he arranged stones all round.

rostan. 19. iska maṣi gōḍa keRtan. 20. gōḍa keRtanr e, "nān ba kaṇḍek pāka lakeṇḍ kina", iRanr e, pāka lakeṇḍ kitan.

5.21. aya ruṇḍi koRkaṇ inro otanr e iḍtan. 22. koRku inro gūrne. 23. pākad(u) vānru gūrnān. 24. āR oko ārneleṭ e soRad o, ēṇḍad e soRad o. 25. aya koRku guḍuk arsi pilek kite ne, pablite. 26. punzuṇ peṭeṇ naṇḍo āte ne elste. 27. elste kaka, vargiti ḍoṇarṇu, "sonaṭ" iRiṇa "sonaṭ", "ḍoṇa kinaṭ" iRiṇa "ḍoṇa kinaṭ", "vankaṇ elag ba kizi tanāṭ", iRar e, "nīn sa'a" iRiṇa, "nīn sa'a". 28. āR ātar e, mansi mada reytu soRar. bān soRiṇ aya koru savkari nidra kizi maRan. 29. "koru savkari nidra kizinan. ēl ruḡaṇṭ". 30. "nīn ruḡa'a" iRiṇa, "nīn ruḡa'a".

5.31. "sile, nān ruḡna sona", iRanr e oren ruḡzi maRan. 32. ruḡzi maRiṇ punzu koru vātad, mūnzi tepta tiRad. 33. "ana gaṇḍe, naṇi koru ṭoktad", izi urzu lāgay ātan. 34. "ale

19. He trampled mud (lit. sand) and built a wall. 20. Having built the wall, he said, "I will also make a small thatched outhouse", and built a thatched out-house.

5.21. He took the two fowls into the house and put them there. 22. The fowls sleep in the house. 23. He sleeps in the out-house. 24. Thus six months or a year might have elapsed. 25. The cock and the hen produced eggs and hatched them into chickens. 26. The family of cocks and hens became large and increased. 27. Since it had increased, the above-mentioned thieves said, "Let us go, let us go; let us steal, let us steal. Let us steal them (i.e. the fowls) by any means. You get along, you get along". 28. Thus, one real midnight they set out. When they had gone, the owner of the fowls was sleeping. 29. "The master of the fowls is sleeping. Let us now get in", they said. 30. "You get in, you get in", (they said to one another).

5.31. "No, I will enter and go", said one and entered. 32. When he had entered, the cock came and pecked out his nose. 33. "My goodness! the cock has pecked at me", he said and pulled (himself) back. 34. "No, no, you are bluffing,

ale, nān ba baṅḍisini, nān ruḡna sūṅa ge" izi, maṛi oren ruḡzi maRan. 35. vaniḡ ba mūnzi koṛu tepta tiRad. 36. vānru ba eski vātan. 37. maṛi oren "nān ruḡna sūṅa ge", izi ruḡzi maRan. 38. vaniḡ ba ṭokta tiRad. 39. āR āzi ārguru vizar. 40. aya rāzu maṛisi ne ruḡdeḡ tiyel ātan.

5.41. "nān(u) ruḡitiṅa, naṅi ba ṭokne. 42. nān sēsemara ke'e." 43. "aRiṅa, elag ānaṅ lu." 44. "sile, vizeṅ e deṅesnaṅ." 45. āR ātar e, koRku asteḡ tiyel ātar. 46. "sonaṅ iRiṅa sonaṅ" izi, "vism kizinad. 47. naṅi visam", iRiṅa "naṅi visam". 48. "mā ārgururiḡ vizeriḡ visam. 49. oren vaniḡ e visam siled." 50. āR ātar e, nāru darpu unṛi baṅglad soRar e, ruḡitar.

5.51. sisu ertar, suṭula bastar. 52. suṭula bastar e, dīva zāy kizi oren suṭtan. 53. "maṅi ārgururiḡ mūnzi siled. 54. vaniḡ e manad. rāzu maṛisiḡ e manad. 55. nāṭo soRiṅa maṅi karaynar le. 56. rāzu maṛisiḡ karay'er. 57. inika izi sonaṅ le, mā mokom tōrisnaṅ." 58. rāzu maṛisi, "nān unṛi upay

I will get in and see", said another and entered. 35. The cock pecked out his nose also. 36. He also came (back) soon. 37. Another one said, "I will enter and see", and entered. 38. Him also it pecked. 39. In that manner, all the six were finished. 40. Only the King's son was afraid of entering.

5.41. "If I get in, they (cocks) will also peck at me. 42. I don't want (to get in) at all" (he said). 43. "Then (lit. if so), what shall we do?" 44. No, let us all get out of here". 45. Thus they were afraid of catching the fowls. 46. They said (to one another) "Let us go, let us go. It is poisoning." 47. "I got poisoned, I got poisoned. 48. All the six of us got poisoned. 49. There is only one without (being affected by) poison". 50. So saying they came to a bungalow near a village and got into (it).

5.51. They kindled fire and sat around. 52. When they had sat around, one lit (lit. made) the light and saw. 53. "There is no nose for the six of us. 54. He alone has it; the King's son alone has it. 55. If we go to the village, people will ridicule (us). 56. They won't ridicule the King's son. 57. How shall we go and show our faces?" 58. The King's

kina", izi veRtan. 59. "elag maṛi upay lu?. 60. āR kiṭiṇa, maṛi punem e.

5.61. nīnu ne yāya buba lakeṇḍa āni", izi vār veRtar. 62. "manṛu, nān nāṭo sona ne dūru losna, tabla losna, ēru losna ne tana", iRanṛ e vānṛu nāṭo unṛi inṛo soRan. 63. soRanṛ e, "bābu bābu, māp gopa dūramtaṇḍ vātap e, baṅlad basa kitap. 64. perku silu; dūru siled. 65. gopa ākaru ātap. 66. kaṇḍek dūru sidaṭ", izi lostan. 67. "bābu, niṇi eso kāvale?" 68. "sile bābu, naṇi aḍeṇḍ sidaṭ". 69. lostiṇ, aya inṛoṇikan, "taga bābu, iniban sibeṇḍ lu." 70. "mī tablad ne kolizi sidaṭ," izi veRtan kaka tabla tatanṛ e kolita sitan.

5.71. koliti sitiṇ, "undaṭ bābu, pāvāla ḍabuṇ pogo apidam tin?a, biriṇ apidam tin?a "izi inṛoṇi savkariṇ ḍabuṇ sitan. 72. aya ḍabuṇ sitanṛ e, dūru astan ēru lostan. 73. astanṛ e, baṅlad soRan. 74. "ale ni sisu ertu, nān kaṇḍek tōpa rēsna,

son said, "I will make a remedy". 59. They said, "What then is the remedy? 60. If it could be done, good on your part.

5.61. You alone will be like our mother and father", so they said. 62. "You stay, I will go to the village and ask for flour; I will ask for a vessel; I will ask for water and bring," he (i.e. the King's son) said, and went to a house in the village. 63. Having gone (he said), "Sirs, we came from a great distance and lodged in a bungalow. 64. There is no rice; there is no flour. 65. We are much distressed. 66. Give us a little flour", he prayed. 67. "Sir, how much do you want? (lit. How much is necessary for you?)" (the master asked). 68. "No, Sir, give me two seers", (he said). 69. When he had requested, the master of the house said, "Take this, Sir. But in which to give?" 70. "Give, having measured in your vessel itself". When he (the King's son) had said thus, he (the master) brought a vessel, measured the flour and gave him.

5.71. Being given, he said, "Take this four anna piece, Sir! get yourself some tobacco or beedies". 72. So he gave the money to the master, took the flour and asked for water. 73. He took those and went to the bungalow. 74. "Well, kindle

münzidiñ pañi kina", izi vāñru veRtan kaka, gazi bizi kizi solu kitar. 75. veRku tatar, sisu ertar. 76. sisu ertiñ siner kitan. 77. siner vātad kaka, dūru iRtan e, tōpa rēstan. 78. rēstan e, dīptan. 79. vesni vesni tōpa ārgururiñ āru mudeñ kitan. 80. āru mudeñ tōpa ārgururiñ münzid keRtan.

5.81. "kañdek salañ āzi vātiña münzi lakença uzray kina". 82. āR iRan e, unri pāta paRtan. 83. "bēn(u) sañem gūrna manzinañ e" izi veRtiñ ārguru varseka gūritar. 84. "nān gūrna" iRan e, tōpa vizu tiRa poktan. 85. tabla noRtan e, "yā tabla maRiña ayer ba onar. 86. aye tabla vaniñ sīna pokna", izi tabla astan e soRan. 87. "undañ bābu, mī tabla", izi variñ sita poktan. 88. bāñiñ mari marzi bañlad(u) vātan. 89. "mīr gūritider, nān ba gūrna. 90. koRku kerepu niñitiña, münziñ tiyar kina", iRan e vāñru gūritan; nidra kitan.

the fire. I will prepare a little flour-paste and fix up the noses." As he said so, they made a fire-place soon. 75. They brought fuel and kindled the fire. 76. When the fire had burnt, he boiled water. 77. As the water was boiled, he poured the flour and prepared paste. 78. Having prepared, he took it down. 79. He made six lumps of the hot paste for the six people. 80. He fixed (lit. closed) the six lumps of paste on the noses of the six men.

5.81. "When it (the paste) has become a little cool, I will shape them into noses". 82. Having said so, he spread out a cloth. 83. "Let us sleep here for a while", he said and all the six men lay down. 84. "I will also lie down", he said and ate off the remaining flour-preparation. 85. He cleaned the vessel and thought, "If the vessel stays here, somebody might steal (lit. take away). 86. I will give the vessel back to its owner". He took the vessel and went. 87. "Here is it, Sir, take your vessel," he said and gave it back to him (the owner). 88. From there he again returned to the bungalow. 89. "You have all slept, I will also sleep. 90. After getting up early in the morning (lit. when cocks crow), I will prepare the noses", he said and lay down and slept.

5.91. āR nidra kizi koRku kerepu niñitan. 92. sisu ertan, dīva kasistan. 93. "niñdu", izi variñ niktīṇa ba niñ'er. 94. "veriñ eso nidra tigita manad. 95. niksi basa kitiñ ba gūrnar. 96. veriñ ini deṇu deṇul," iRanr e ārgururiñ āru deben daktan. 97. "sile gaṇḍe, negenḍ sūṇa ne, niktīṇa ba niñer (u)", iRanr e mokom surtan. 98. gānta gānta kaṅku āzi ārguru vizer e satar, visamdiñ aṭ'eṇḍ (a) āzi. 99. "nārāyṇa, vizer e satar. elag kina le. oren ā'en, ri'er ā'er. 100. yāka surtiṇa ārguru vizer e satar.

5.101. veriñ emeni upay kina le." 102. āR izi olbitanr e naḍiR(u) maRi lōkaṅ goneR(u) ota terptan. 103. unri pingu naḍiR(u) iḍtan. 104. ayduguru pinguṅ goneR(u) mane. 105. goneR iḍtanr e sisud basti maRiñ zāy ātad; podu sōtad. 106. oren būlazi vātan aya nāṭonikan. 107. "emeni bābu mīru, basa kiti manider?". 108. "sile bābu, māp sēna dūramti lōku.

5.91. Thus he slept and got up at cocks' crow. 92. He kindled the fire and lit the lamp. 93. "Get up!" So saying, even when he had waken them up, they wouldn't wake up. 94. "What a slumber has come (lit. pressed) down on these men! 95. They still sleep, even after raising them to the sitting position. 96. What an arrogance in them!" he said and gave six kicks to the six men. 97. "No, Hell, I will see well. They wouldn't stay (wake) up even after raising (waking) them up", he said and looked into their faces. 98. With their eyes drawn into the sockets, all the six men died, not being able to withstand the poison. 99. "Alas! God! all the men have died. What shall I do? Not one or two. 100. Here, then, all the six men have died.

5.101. What shall I do for these?" 102. In that manner, he regretted and took the men from the central room into the kitchen and laid them (there). 103. He put one corpse in the central room. 104. The remaining five corpses were in the kitchen. 105. After putting them in the kitchen, as he was sitting near the fireplace, day broke; the sun came up. 106. A resident of the village came wandering about. 107. "Where from are you, Sir, you are lodging here?" (the vil-lager asked). 108. "No, Sir, we have come from a great dis-

109. nān unṛi māṭa veṛna, venid a bābu? 110. podoy vātap e, vaṛta uṭap.

5.111. negeṇḍ e maṛan, gūrti sāpad ne vāṅṛu sātan. 112. ivi lon. unṛi rūpay sīna. 113. yā ḍoḍi vaṛe visirzi ra'a. 114. visirti vāṭiṇa, unṛi rūpay nī kiḍu sīna," izi veṛtan kaka vāṅṛu sarda ātan. 115. "saṅemti vandiṅ unṛi rūpay doṛkisna", iṛanṛ e, "embed bābu embe manad?" (izi veṛtan). 116. "idi lo bābu, perzi o'a," izi otanṛ e, vāṅṛu tōṛistan. 117. pīṅgudiṅ peṛtanṛ e, piṅḍita otan. 118. piṅḍzi baylud(u) sōptan kaka, maṛi unṛi pīṅgu tatanṛ e, bāne terptan, pāta piṛktan. 119. vāṅṛu ḍoḍi vaṛe visirtanṛ e, maṛzi vātan. 120. "sida bābu ḍabuṅ, nān sona."

5.121. "ini ḍabuṅ nīnu losini? 122. sāti pīṅgu manbu, nān elag sīna? 123. nīn osi visirtiṅ, maṛi bēn e vāṭad. 124. nīnu ḍagru su visirti. 125. ruṅḍi guḍeṅ dūramtiṅ visirnika

tance", (replied the King's son). 109. (And he said), "I will tell you a word, will you listen to it, Sir? 110. We came in the evening, cooked and ate.

5.111. That man was alright, but died on the very mat he slept on. 112. Here he is. I will give you a rupee. 113. Throw him near the back-yard and come. 114. When you have thrown and come, I will give you a rupee (lit. I will put a rupee in your hand)". When he had said thus, he (the villager) became glad. 115. "For a moment's business, I will be able to get a rupee", he said (to himself) and asked, "Where is it, Sir, where?". 116. "Here, Sir, lift it up", so saying, he took him and showed him the corpse. 117. He lifted up the corpse and took it out carrying. 118. After he had taken it out, he (the King's son) brought another corpse (from the kitchen), laid it in the same place (i.e. central room), and covered it with a cloth. 119. He (the villager) threw it away towards the backyard and returned. 120. "Give me my money, Sir, I will go", (he said).

5.121. "What money are you asking for? 122. While the dead body is still here, how will I give you? 123. After you had taken it and thrown, it again came here. 124. You might have thrown it very near. 125. If you had thrown

iRiṇa, reʔetad maṛi. 126. ēl(u) otiṇa dūram oʔa". 127. "dani ama pūku deṇa ne, nān reʔeṇḍa ne muṅgal vātad" iRanṛ e, aya pīngudiṇ piṇḍitan. 128. ruṇḍi guḍeṇ iRiṇ(a), mūnṛi guḍeṇ dūramtiṇ visirtanṛ e, vaniban vāniṇ maṛi unṛi sōpta mana. 129. "ale bābu, naṇi ḍabuṇ sida, nān sona". 130. "are bābu piṅgu manbu elag sīna?

5.131. siliṇa raʔa, idi lo surʔa". 132. aba gaṇḍe! nān(u) visirta vāta. nān reʔeṇḍa eskeṇḍa vātad noṛes labam." 133. "deniṇ oti iRiṇa, unṛi peri paṅku maksī paṅku tigisi raʔa." 134. āR izi veRtiṇ, daniṇ piṇḍita otan, paṅku tigitan. 135. vānṛu reʔeṇḍa ne, maṛi unṛi sōpta manan. 136. "elag kiti vāti bābu, nīnu visirbu visirbu inṛo ne vātad. 137. guṭa kārasi musī paṅkuṇ tigzi raʔa." 138. aya pīngudiṇ astanṛ e, guzam(i) piṇḍitan, gunpam astan, gudel(i) astan, guṭa kārī-tanṛ e, mustan. 139. paṅkuṇ gusilṇu tigitan. 140. "ēl maṛi vāni lu, ēl ta vādeṇ aṭʔi".

it two fields away, it wouldn't have come. 126. When you take this now, take it far away," he said. 127. "Damn it, it came even before I came," he said and carried that corpse. 128. Instead of two fields (lit. when told two fields), he threw it three fields away. And as he returned, he (the King's son) had (already) pulled out one more. 129. "Sir, give me the money, I will go", (the villager said). 130. "What, Sir, how shall I give you when the dead body remains?

5.131. If not, come, and look here", (said the King's son). 132. "My goodness I threw it away and came. Before I returned (lit. I, without returning), it came fast, the tiger's prey (a curse)". 133. "When you take this again, turn over a big stone and press it over it (the corpse)". 134. When he had said so, he (the villager) took it (the corpse) carrying and fixed a stone on it. 135. Even before he came, he (the king's son) put out one more. 136. (And he said to the villager) "What have you done and come, Sir? No sooner had you thrown it, it came right into the house. 137. Having dug a pit, bury it and fix stones over it, and come". 138. He (the villager) carried the dead body on his shoulders, took a spade and a hoe, dug a pit and buried it. 139. He pressed it down with stones and stumps. 140. "(Let me see how) you will come now; now you can't", (the villager said).

5.141. bāṇiṇ maṛi vātan. 142. maṛi ba unṛi rāzu maṛisi sōpta manan. 143. "elag kiti vāti bābu maṛi vātaḍ." 144. "sile bābu, guṭa kārita ne musta; paṅkuṇ gusilṇu tigita. 145. emeṇi saṛi sōta vātaḍ. 146. āR(u) kizi vizu vīsta. 147. vīsi tatiṇ embe mustikeṇ bāne mane gani, maṛi sōpsinan, lival kizinan. 148. nān ta ota visirta gaṇḍe, maṛi mane kaka sōpsinan su. 149. yā piṅgudiṇ ota iRiṇa, zōred apidam vākna vāna. 150. nasti vale ne oḍu ekteṇ aṭ'eṇḍa ānad", iRanṛe piṅgu piṇḍitan.

5.151. gaḍaḍ zōred otaṇṛ e, meṛaḍ unṛi paṅku ṛotan. 152. ruṇḍi kikaṇ ruṇḍi paṅkuṇ toRtan. 153. ruṇḍi kālkaṇ ruṇḍi paṅkuṇ toRtan. 154. zōre lo?i seṛu maRad. 155. "yā seṛud visirtiṇa, paṅku barudiṇ musku dēl'eṇḍa lo?i ne manzinad," iRanṛ e visirtan. 156. bān oren boyragi guru būḍu kizi maRan. 157. vēṇṛu baṛalna visirti ṛistiṇ aya boyragi guru, "dinami nān būḍ kiziniṇ su, nēṇṛu inikad o niṇitaḍ. aba

5.141. And from there he returned. 142. The King's son had pulled out one more again. 143. "What have you done, Sir, it came back again", he said (to the villager). 144. "No, Sir, I dug a pit, buried it and pressed it down with stones and stumps. 145. Which way has it escaped (lit. got out) and come?" (the villager said). 146. "Thus (lit. doing so) I had finished all that. 147. After finishing, those that have been buried have only remained there. But, he has been perhaps, putting out (one more) every time and making up. 148. I did take them and throw but there must be more which he has been putting out. 149. When I take this corpse, I will throw it away in a stream, and come (back). 150. Then only it cannot climb the bank", he said and carried the corpse.

5.151. He took it near the current of a river and fastened a stone to its neck. 152. He fastened two stones to both the hands. 153. He tied two stones to both the legs. 154. In the middle of the river there was a pit (lit. tank). 155. "If I throw this into the pit, on account of the heaviness of the stones, it will only remain inside without floating", he said and threw it. 156. There, a *boyragi guru* (a hermit-guru) was bathing. 157. When this villager had flung it out

nāyna tina poknad le", izi liṭna niṭitanṛ e, uRkṭeṅ bastan. 158. uRkṭeṅ bastiṅ, aya piṅgu visirtikan, "aba gaṅḍe, bēn bān visirta ne (tiṅsu), ēl(u) gaḍad(u) visirta kaka kōpam ātad su", izi uRkṭeṅ bastan. 159. uRkṭeṅ bastiṅ aya piṅgu visirtikan muṅgala, boyragi guru venka. 160. "bābu man me, inikad o pērzi tasinad.

5.161. saṅem nil'a me kūrna sonaṭ, naṇi tinad, le" izi boyragi guru veRtan. 162. "abaya kūksinad gani, naṇi 'tina' izi ne kūksinad." 163. āR izi, ode uRkti koldi aya boyragi guru ba uRksi vāzinan. 164. āR āzi nāṭo soRar. 165. nāṭo soRar e, aya piṅgu visirtikan lōku sili pāru inṛo ṛugitaṅ. 166. boyragi guru ba, aya inṛo ne ṛugitan. 167. inṛo ṛugitiṅ, ri'er kūṛitar. 168. "naṇi inikado bābu tiRad mari", izi boyragi veRtan. 169. "sile bābu, nān āru piṅguṅ visirta. 170. visirta kaka kōpam ātad e, pērzi tasinad izi uRksi vāta."

suddenly, the *boyragi guru* thought, "Because I have been daily bathing here, to-day something is getting up (from inside). Gosh! it will devour me", so saying, he got up suddenly and started to flee. 158. When he had started to flee, the person who threw the corpse thought, "My goodness! throwing it here and there, to-day, as I threw in the river, it has probably got angry with me", and began to flee. 159. When he began to flee, the person who threw the corpse was in the front and the *boyragi guru* was behind. 160. "Sir, stay on, something is chasing me.

5.161. Stop for a moment, we will go together, or, it will eat me away", said the *boyragi guru*. 162. "It is calling me, but it is calling saying, 'I will eat'". 163. Thus, the *boyragi guru* was running as fast as he (the villager) was running. 164. Thus (lit. so becoming) they went to the village. 165. Having gone into the village, the person who threw the corpse entered a devastated house without people. 166. The *boyragi guru* also got into the same house. 167. After entering the house, they both got together. 168. "Something was about to eat me away", said the *boyragi guru*. 169. "No, Sir, I threw away six dead bodies. 170. As I had thrown it (to-day), I thought it got angry and chased me and I came running away", (the villager said).

5.171. "nān ba bābu dinam e gaḍad būddiṅ sona. 172. naṅi suṛtad e su, inikad o niṅitad. 173. nān ba bama āzi uRksi vāta. 174. ēl bān sonreṅ ke'e. 175. ā'i ban(u) sona." 176. aya pīngu visirtikan, "aya baṅlad sonreṅ nān ba ke'e. bān soRiṅa pīngu piṅdisnan". 177. āR izi ri'er ba varḡitar e, vani māṭa vānṛu veRtan. 178. boyragi māṭa boyragi veRtan. 179. "nini budi riṣnaṭ bābu, negi budi kinaṭ. 180. negeṅḍ ānaṭ e, batkinaṭ", izi veRtar e, aye inro vānṛu soRan.

5.171. "Sir, I daily go to the river to bathe. 172. Perhaps, watching me there, something had risen up. 173. I got scared and came away running. 174. Now, I do not want to go there. 175. I will go somewhere else", (the *boyragi guru* said). 176. The person who threw the corpse said, "I also do not want to go to the bungalow again. If I go there he (the King's son) will make me carry the corpse". 177. Thus they both spoke to each other. He (the villager) said his story. (lit. words). 178. The boyragi told his story. 179. "Let us give up this stupidity, Sir, and have good wisdom. 180. We will be alright and live", they said (to each other), and each went to his house.

6. THE STORY OF AN OLD MAN AND AN OLD WOMAN

6.1. *đokra đokri maRar.* 2. *gađu reyzi puđa reyzi batki-*
zinar. 3. *batkizi maRiñ, ēñdad e soRad o, ruñdi pañteñ e*
soRad o. 4. *āR e batkizi maRiñ, aya đokri đokreñ veRtad.*
5. "*đokra đokra, unři goron rey?a.* 6. *đēra katikinať, kañdek*
ban. 7. *kañdek ban, sāma katkinať.* 8. *kañdek ban, gumeñ (đi)*
dolu unsať. 9. "*ale đokri, nān aťe ban. embe ban sonsi*
reydeñ lu." 10. "*embe nī išťam iRiña, bān sonsi rey?a,*" *izi*
đokri veRtad.

6.11. "*nān sona lu đokri,*" *iRanř e, aya đokra sōtan.* 12.
gagra astan, gorel astan, dūpam astan, perku astan, dūru
astan, sisu kořoy astan ēru astan. 13. "*nān sonsina đokři. anam*

6.1. There lived an old man and an old woman. 2. They
were making their living tilling and toiling (lit. felling the
bunds and felling the mounds). 3. Thus (lit. living so), a
year or two might have elapsed. 4. As they were living so,
the old woman said to the old man. 5. "O! old man! fell a
forest. 6. Let us sow *đēra* in a small plot. 7. Let us sow
sāma in a small plot. 8. Let us plant pumpkin in a small
plot". 9. "Hush! Old lady, I can't. Where (am I) to go to
fell (a forest)?" (the old man replied). 10. "Go and fell
anywhere you like (lit. wherever you think you like, go there
and fell)", said the old woman.

6.11. Then, I will go, old lady", the old man said and
set out. 12. He took a chop-knife, an axe, incense, rice, flour,
fire-brand (torch) and water. 13. "Old lady, I am going.

varzi, kusa pula kizi, nīn(u) asi ra'a," izi veRtanṛ e, guzam gaḡra goṛeli piṇḍitanṛ e, gāḡ ekṣi soRan. 14. gāḡ ekṣa soRanṛ e, aḍam maRtan. 15. "bēn kaṇḍek ṛeyna," iRanṛ e goṛel(i) iḍtan, dūpam iḍtan, perku iḍtan, dūru iḍtan, ēṛu iḍtan. 16. iḍtanṛ e, pēṇḍa otanṛ e, tir(u)patan. 17. dūru osi paṭu vāri-tan. 18. sisu koroy otan. dūpam suRtan. 19. perku kīdu astan. 20. kīdu astanṛ e, "unzar māṛu", izi būmidīṇ māṛis-tan, āgasamdiṇ māṛistan.

6.21. būmidīṇ āgasamdiṇ māṛistanṛ e, "unzar māṛu, tali mā lasmi, būmi tali āgas tanṛi, mī pēr asi goṛon unṛi ṛeyna. bēn ḍēra paṇḍitiṇa, sāma paṇḍitiṇa, gumēṇḍ(i) paṇḍiti iRiṇa, erani koru seba kina, māṛu," izi veRtanṛ e, kīdu asti perku lonzitan. 22. lonzitanṛ e, goṛel astan, gaḡra astan, goṛon ṛeytan. 23. goṛon ṛeyzi maRiṇ, aya ḍokri anam vaRtad, kusa pula vaRtad. 24. biḍid ambeli, buḍid zāva, aled pula astad e,

Having cooked the food and prepared curry and soup, bring them over there", he said, and went climbing up the hill-path, carrying the chop-knife and the axe (on his shoulder). 14. Having gone climbing up the hill-path, he turned around. 15. "I will fell (the forest) in a small plot here", he said, and put down the axe, the chop-knife, the incense, rice, flour and water. 16. Having put (them) down, he took cowdung and plastered (the floor). 17. He took the flour and drew decorative lines (there). 18. He held the fire-brand (torch), and burnt incense. 19. He held rice in his hand. 20. Having held, "For you, O Great Lord", he said and so worshipped the earth, and worshipped the sky.

6.21. Having worshipped the earth and the sky, (he said), "For you, O Great Lord! Mother Great Lakshmi! Earth-Mother, and Sky-Father! invoking you, I will fell a forest. If ḍēra grows here, if sāma grows here, and if pumpkin grows here—I will sacrifice a red fowl for you, O Great Lord!" So saying he sprinkled the rice that he held in his hand. 22. Having sprinkled, he took the axe and the chop-knife and felled the forest. 23. While he was felling the forest, the old woman cooked the meal, cooked vegetables and soup. 24. She took the porridge in a pot, zāva (cooked sāma rice)

“đokra ēru ota manan, nān maři endaniņ ona lu”, iRad e, aya đokri zāva ambel dōstad. 25. dani musku pula doti kitad. 26. kīd(u) unři gagra astad e, đokra ekti saři ne đokri eksi soRad. 27. eksi soRad e, ađam maři đokra ban e soRad. 28. “ra?a đokra, đip?a, nān(u) đipteņ ađ’e,” iRiņ aya đokra vāta điptan. 29. “le’e đokra, ruņđi āku taga”, (izi đokri veRtad). 30. aya đokra soRanr e, “ruņđi taga” iRiņ, ruņđ e tatan.

6.31. “ale đokra, mūnři pōni na, nālgi pōni na? ninba ruņđ e tati. 32. nīn uțiņa, nān lu nī veydu sūņa na, nī pođa nākna na? 33. son?a, maři ruņđi taga. 34. āku manzi sili lakeņđa nīn ba kizini,” izi aya đokri veRtad. 35. veRtiņ(a), aya đokra kōpam musku soRan. 36. “ruņđi taga” iRiņ mūnři tatan. 37. “le’e đokri, bāđa ki?a, uņađ le”, izi đokra veRtan kaka, đokri bāđa kitad. 38. bāđa kitiņ đokra nořbatan, uņđeņ

in a small basket and soup in a small pot. “The old man took the water. Why should I carry that again?” she thought and lifted to her head only the *zāva* and porridge. 25. She arranged the soup-pot over them. 26. Holding a chop-knife in her hand, the old woman climbed the same hill-way that the old man climbed and went. 27. Having climbed and gone, she turned across and went to the old man. 28. “Come over, old man! lift this down; I can’t lift it down myself”. When she had said so, the old man came and lifted (the things) down. 29. “Get up, old man, get two leaves (to eat in)”, (said the old woman). 30. The old man went and brought only two leaves (lit. being told, “Bring two”, he brought only two).

6.31. “Hush, old man, could you not have brought three or four? you brought only two. 32. After you had eaten, am I to gaze at your mouth or lick your belly? 33. Go and get two more. 34. You act as if there are no leaves (around) in spite of their abundance (lit. leaves, though being, you do as if they are not)”, said the old woman. 35. When she had said, the old man left in anger. 36. Though she said, “bring two”, he brought three. 37. “Get up, old lady, serve the food; let us eat”. As the old man said so the old woman served the food. 38. When she had served, the old man

bastan. 39. uṭan, tiRan, paṅkud bastan. 40. aya ḍokri ba uṭad, tiRad, ambel(i) kuṇḍa noRtad e, yā ḍokra paṅkud bastiṅ, ḍokri gusildu bastad.

6.41. suṭa tiRar, pogo tiRar. 42. "sa'a le ḍokri, kaṇḍek ṛeynaṭ(u)," izi ḍokra veRtiṅ, ri'er soRar. astamanam ṛeytar. 43. ṛeytar almitar. 44. "sa'a le ḍokri, nāṭo sonaṭ," izi ḍokra ḍokri venka muṅgal āzi vātar e, ḍokri dōstād ambel biḍi, ḍokra piṇḍitan goreli. 45. vār oti sarku vizu astar e, maṛi nāṭo vātar. 46. nāṭo vātiṅ, nāḷgu rōsku ne ātad o, aydu rōsku ne ātad o. 47. aya ṛeyti goṛon vaRtad. 48. "ale ale ḍokri, ri'eṭ ba, ors e sonaṭ". 49. ors e sonaṭ" iRar e, anam uṭar, suṭa tiRar. 50. maṛi ḍokra veRtan, "sa'a le ḍokri sisu as'a".

6.51. ḍokri ātad muṅgal, ḍokra ātan venka. 52. āR āzi kūṛitar e, goṛot soRar. 53. "ale ḍokri, niṇu sisu muṭisnid

washed up and sat down to eat. 39. He ate and drank, and sat on a rock. 40. The old woman also drank and ate, washed the porridge-pot, and while the old man sat on a rock, the old woman sat on the stump of a tree.

6.41. They smoked cigars, etc. 42. "Get along, old lady. let us fell a little plot (of forest)", the old man said, and they both left. They felled (the forest) the whole day. 43. They felled and levelled (the forest). 44. "Get along, old lady, let us go (back) to the village". (When he had said so), they walked, the old man behind and the old woman in the front. The old woman carried the porridge-pot and the old man carried the axe. 45. They took up all the things that they had brought and again came to the village. 46. After they had come, about four or five days had passed. 47. The forest that they hacked down got dried. 48. "O old lady, let both of us go (to the forest) once". 49. Saying, "let us go once", they ate and smoked cigars. 50. Again, the old man said, "Get along, old lady, (you) take the fire".

6.51. The old woman walked (lit. became) ahead and the old man walked behind. 52. Thus they both went to the hill-forest. 53. "Old lady, will you set fire or shall I set it?"

a nānu muṭisna na?" 54. "sida le ḍokra, nānu muṭisna." 55. "ore ore veri ḍokri, sisu ḍankadiṅ nīn(u) sālnid a, nān(u) sisu muṭisna. 56. goṛon vetad iRiṅ, nīn(u) kavi per?a", iRanṛ e, vānṛu sisu muṭistan. 57. sisu muṭistiṅ, goṛon vetad. 58. "ale ḍokri, nīn(u) kavi per?a le, goṛon vetad," izi ḍokra veRtan. 59. "ale ḍokra, sisu ba namb?ed e, elag kizi perna." 60. "edva pūku ḍokri, niṅi budi siled.

6.61. gazibizi kizi peRtiṅa gade, kumba kizi aṅkteṅ ānad. 62. iR e maRad iRiṅa, piṛu vātiṅa vitten nes?e. 63. nīrud ne vitna le," izi ḍokra veRtan. 64. aya ḍokri veyzi veyzi kavi peRtad. 65. kavi peRtad kaka, ḍokra sisu muṭistan. 66. kavi vetad kaka, nāṭo vātar. 67. nāṭo vātar e, "ore ḍokri, ḍēra vitu sida, sāma vitu sida, zona vitu sida, gumeṅḍ vitu sida. 68. siti iRiṅa nān iḍna manzina ne, eseṅ piṛu vātiṅa nānḍiṅ vitna", izi ḍokra veRtan. 69. vānṛu veRtiṅ, aya ḍokri

(the old man asked). 54. "Give me, old man, I will set it", (said the old woman). 55. "Oh! no, stupid old lady, you cannot withstand the heat of the fire; I will set fire. 56. After the forest has been burnt, you gather the remains", he said, and set fire (to the forest). 57. When he had set fire, the forest got burnt. 58. "Look, old woman, you heap up the remains (i.e. the unburnt pieces); the forest has been burnt", said the old man. 59. "O old man, the fire has not yet cooled down, how am I (lit. doing how) to heap up (the remains). 60. "You, stupid old woman! you have no sense.

6.61. Is it not that only after collecting the remains quickly, that we can heap them up to burn? 62. If it has remained like this, and if it rains, I don't know how to sow (seeds). 63. Am I to sow in the ashes?" said the old man. 64. The old woman collected the unburnt pieces, burning herself (in the heat). 65. When she had heaped up the remains, the old man set fire (to the heap). 66. When the remains had been burnt, they (both) came to the village. 67. Having come to village the old man said, "O old lady, give me the ḍēra seeds, give me the sāma seeds, give me the pumpkin seeds. 68. If you give, keeping them (ready) with me, I will go, whenever it rains (lit. rain comes)". 69. When he had

vizu vitu kūrptad e, đokreñ sitad. 70. aya đokra lostanr e, iđta maRan.

6.71. iđti maRiñ, piŗu vāni lakeñđ(a) mosop kitad kaka, đokra vitu otanr e, vittan. 72. gumeñđ dolu un̄sni vale, dūba nīla pēr asi, "sātikider maRikider, gumeñđ dolu un̄sta iRiña gumeñđ pañdid, zona pañdid, đēra pañdid, sāma pañdid. 73. pañdid", izi dēvuñka pēr astanr e, gumeñđiñ un̄stan; zoneñ vittan. 74. vittan, vizu kitan, nāto vātan. 75. "nīnu siti vitu vizu vitta, đokri. kārū dōru kideñ e, mari pañđitiña koyzi un̄deñ e, koŗa kotadiñ gumeñđ dolud erani koŗu koynať. 76. ilu zolu tirpa?a, đēvad saŗa si?a," izi đokra veRtan kaka, 77. đokra koŗu astan. 78. đokri dūpam perku dūru rosta sitad. 79. aya đokra mari peru dūru kiđu astan, sisu koŗoy astan, koŗu astanr e, goŗot soRan. 80. pēñđa otan, tirpatan, dūru paťu vāritan.

said (so), the old woman collected all the seeds and gave him. 70. The old man asked for them and kept them with him.

6.71. After he had kept them (the seed) with him, clouds formed as if rain would come, and the old man took the seed and sowed. 72. At the time of sowing the pumpkin seed, he invoked the spirits, "You, the Dead and the Living! when I have planted the pumpkin, may the pumpkin grow; may the millet grow, may the *đēra* grow and may the *sāma* grow". 73. Thus he invoked the gods, planted the pumpkin, and sowed the millet seed. 74. He sowed, finished everything and returned to the village. 75. "I sowed all the seed that you gave me. In order to remove the weeds, etc., and to reap and enjoy the harvest after it is fully grown, let us offer (lit. cut) a red fowl to the pumpkin shrub for the *koŗa kota* festival. 76. Plaster the house with cow-dung, cleanse the verandah with cow-dung water". When the old man had said this, she plastered the house and cleansed the verandah. 77. The old man held the fowl. 78. The old woman collected the incense, rice and flour, and gave him. 79. The old man took the rice-flour, a torch and the fowl and went to the forest on the mountain. 80. He brought cow-dung, plastered the floor and drew decorative lines (over that).

6.81. dūpam suRtanṛ e, koṛu astan, kālku noRtan, mōro noRtan. 82. kidu perku astanṛ e, “unzar māpru, miṇi eṛan (i) koṛu sīna izi mī pēr asta mana, mī āramku sīna mī bōgamku sīna”, iRanṛ e, aḍgi musku māristanṛ e, koṛu koytan. 83. gumeṇḍi (i) roḍa ruṇḍi koytan, gumeṇḍ (i) unṛi koytan. 84. koytan, kidu astan, nāto tatan. 85. “unda ḍokri, kusa. 86. nān (u) koṛu suRna ne kaṇḍa koyna. 87. kusa varṛzi koṛu kaṇḍa varṛa, zāva varṛa. 88. pokpabanaṭ e, māṭ (u) uṇaṭ”, izi veRtiṇ, kusa vaRtad, kaṇḍa vaRtad, zāva vaRtad, peṇḍam kalu zalistad. 89. ruṇḍi āku rekeṇaṇ zāva bāṭa kitad, kusa bāṭa kitad kaṇḍa bāṭa kitad. 90. sarḍ (u) otad e, pokpabatad.

6.91. aya ḍokra maṛi inro pokpabatan. 92. pokpabatar e, ḍokra ḍokri kūritar e, anam uṭar, kalu uṭar. 93. kalu uṭar e, āR e podu ātiṇ, ḍokra ḍokri gūrita ṛistar. 94. koRku kereṭiṇ zāy (i) ātad. 95. “ale ḍokra, zāy (i) ātad”, izi ḍokreṇ niktad. 96. ḍokri niktṇ, ḍokra niṇitan. 97. niṇitanṛ e, palaṇaṛu kitan.

6.81. Having burnt the incense, he held the chicken, washed its feet and mouth. 82. He took rice into his hand. “For you, O Lord! I have invoked you saying that I will offer you a red fowl. I give you food and oblations”, he said, and worshipping the Earth and the Sky (lit. the Below and the Above), he killed the fowl. 83. He plucked two pumpkin leaves and a pumpkin fruit. 84. He plucked, took them up and brought to the village. 85. “Take these vegetables, old lady. 86. I will roast the chicken and cut the meat. 87. Having cooked the vegetables, cook the meat and zāva. 88. Having offered them (to the gods), we will eat”. After he had said (so), she cooked the vegetables, meat and meal, and brewed rice-beer. 89. She served zāva in two strips of leaves; she served the vegetables and meat. 90. She took them on to the path and offered (to gods).

6.91. The old man made the offering in the house. 92. Having offered, the old man and the old woman got together, ate food and drank liquor. 93. Drinking the liquor like that, at the fall of dusk, the old man and the old woman fell asleep. 94. As the cock crowed, day broke. 95. “O old man! the day broke”, so saying, she woke up the old man. 96. When the old woman woke him, he got up. 97. Having got up, he

98. palaṅṅaru kizi maṛi kalu kāptan. 99. kāptanṛ e uṭan. 100. āR unṅi unṅi, mūnṛi rōsku ne ātad o. nālgi rōsku ne ātad o ḍokra kalu unṅi nāṭo ne manzinaan.

6.101. vānṛu vittī ḍēra, vānṛu vittī sāma, vānṛu unṅti gumenḍiṅ, vānṛu vittī zona, namil poṭiṅ ḍigite ne nunaṅa tiRe. 102. "oho re! niṣoṛ rōsku ātad. 103. gorot sona ne sūṅa vāna," izi gorot soRan. 104. yā ḍokra gorot soniṅ ḍēra tiRe, sāma tiRe, gumenḍiṅ tiRe, zona tiRe; edgara inika ba siḷē. 105. aya ḍokra suṛtanṛ e, "venka ama pūku deṅa ne nunaṅa tiRe. elag kina le", iRanṛ e embe embe maRi sāma koytan. 106. ḍuḍudaṅḍ kottanṛ e sāma rālstan. sāma rālsi nāṭo otan. 107. "unda ḍokri sāma, vaRisi ḍas?a", izi ḍokra veRtan. 108. gazi bizi ātad e sāma, vaRistad. 109. sāma vaRtiṅ, kerta tatad e ḍastad. 110. "ale ḍokri, dapi ki?a" iRiṅ, gazibizi ātad e dapi kitad.

washed his teeth with a tooth-stick. 98. Having washed his teeth, he again brewed liquor. 99. Having brewed, he drank. 100. As he was drinking like that, about three or four days had passed. He kept drinking and remained in the village only.

6.101. A flock of peacocks came down and completely ate away all the *ḍēra*, *sāma*, pumpkin and millet crops that he sowed. 102. "Oh! how many days have passed! 103. I will go to the hill-forest and see", he thought, and went to the hill. 104. When he had gone to the forest, they had (already) eaten away all the *ḍēra*, *sāma*, pumpkin and millet. There was absolutely nothing (left). 105. The old man saw. "Bas-tards! they have eaten away (the crops) completely. What shall I do?" he said and reaped wherever there remained *sāma* grain. 106. With a stick, he threshed and loosened the *sāma* grain. Having threshed, he collected and took it (i.e. the grain) to the village. 107. "Take this, old lady, dry the *sāma* grain and pound it", the old man said. 108. She dried the *sāma* grain (in the sun) hurriedly. 109. When the *sāma* got dried she put little by little (in the mortar) and pounded. 110. "Look, old lady, make gruel (out of it)", he said, and she soon prepared the gruel.

6.111. "ḍokri nān unṛi māṭa veRna. 112. nān gūrita iRiṅa naṅi dapi vāk?a. 113. dapi vāksi nīn aṛbati lakeṅḍ(a) ā?a" izi ḍokriṅ veRtan. 114. veRtanṛ e, ḍokra gūritan. 115. ḍokra gūritiṅ, ḍokra musku dapi vāktad. 116. aya ḍokra unṛi kōṅa astan, sāti lakeṅḍ(a) āzi gūrita manan. 117. gūriti maRiṅ aya ḍokri,

"niṅi ba ḍokra lōk siler
naṅi ba ḍokra lōk siler
ēṛu gorokaṅi namil poṭiṅ
avi ne mā lōku, avi ne mā bāku"

izi aya ḍokri kopu viraṅ mālitad e, aṛbazinad. 118. aṛbazi maRiṅ, namil poṭiṅ veRe. 119. "ore ore buḍi, ore ore buḍa! venṛu ni, venṛu ni, mī ḍokra dāda su sātān kaka, mī ḍokri bībi aṛbazinad. 120. yā gorot(u) ayider ba manmaṭ, saṅem sonaṭ e sūnaṭ.

6.121. unṛi kaṅer apidam kinaṭ. 122. vār maRar e goron katkitar; sāma maRad, ḍēra maRad, zoneṅ maRe, gumēḍiṅ

6.111. "Old lady! I will tell you something (lit. a word). 112. When I lie down, pour the gruel over me. 113. Having poured the gruel, pretend to be crying (weeping)", said the old man. 114. Having said, the old man lay down. 115. When the old man had lain down, the old woman poured the gruel over him. 116. The old man held a big stick in his hand and remained lying as if (he was) dead. 117. When he had lain down, the old woman (started crying).

"To you, old man, there are no folks,
To me, old man, there are no folks,
The fowls of the seven hills,
They are our only folks, they are our only friends".

Thus, the old woman dishoveled her hair and kept crying. 118. As she kept crying, the pea-fowls heard. 119. "Oh! dear, Oh! darling, listen, listen. Your uncle, the old man, perhaps, died, and so your aunt, the old woman has been weeping. 120. Let none of us remain on this hill. Let us go for a moment and see.

6.121. Let us drop (lit. make) a tear (for them). 122. Because they have lived, they cultivated the forests. There

maRe. 123. nālgi aṅgulṅaṅ vizu maRad kaka, māṭ batkitāṭ vari darmamtaṅḍ. 124. sadu saṅem sona ṭe vānaṭ." iRe ne, vizu ḍigite. 125. ḍigite ne, aya ḍokra ḍokri inro soRe. 126. "inika ātider da? inika ātider bi? 127. mā dāda inika ātan, nīn aṅbazini bi". 128. "sile bay, mī dāda sātan. 129. nā batku soRad bay. 130. nān elag āna le.

6.131. radu, siliṅa suṛdu. 132. idi lo bay, iR ātanr e sātan", izi veṛtiṅ, vizu inro ruḡite. 133. aya ḍokri ḍēvad sōti lakenḍa ātad e, ṭerka keRta ṛistad. 134. aya ḍokra, suṭula poṭiṅ ninṛiti maRiṅ, begi niṅitanr e, unṛi poṭidiṅ ḍaktan. 135. aya poṭi mūr̄sa soRi lakenḍa ātad e aḍgi artad. 136. vizu poṭiṅ asi asi ḍokra ḍakta poktan. 137. vizu vankaṅ ḍakta poktan. 138. "mī ama pūku deṅa! tiRider (u). sāma tiRider (u), zoneṅ tiRider (u), gumenḍiṅ tiRider (u). embe mī tāta gaṅsta maRan, nunaṅa sāṅ (ḍ) ḍaktider". 139. "ra? a ḍokri, vizu bay-

was *sāma*; there was *ḍēra* and millet, and there was pumpkin. 123. Because we had all that we wanted (lit. all the four types of protection[?]), we have lived out of their grace. 124. Get along, let us go (there) for a moment and return", they (the peacocks) said and all of them got down. 125. After getting down, they went into the house of the old man and old woman. 126. "What happened to you, Uncle? What happened to you, Aunt? 127. What happened to my uncle, you are crying, Aunt?" (the peacocks asked). 128. "No, brothers, your uncle has died. 129. My life is gone, brothers! 130. What shall I become?

6.131. Come and look, if (I am) not (right)". 132. "Look here, brothers, he died like this". When she had said so, they all got into the house. 133. The old woman, pretending to be going out into the verandah, went and closed the door from inside. 134. When the birds had flocked round him, the old man got up and hit a bird. 135. The bird fell down as if it had fainted. 136. The old man chased and thrashed all the birds. 137. He killed all of them. 138. "You, bastards! you ate! You ate up the *sāma*; you ate up the millet; you ate up the pumpkin. Where did your forefathers save (all that for you)? You ate, leaving nothing. 139. Come, old

lud sōp?a”, izi đokra veRtan kaka, đokra đokri ri?er ātar e namil poṭiṅ vizu đēvad sōptar. 140. unṛi poṭi maRad kaka yā đokri peRta tatad.

6.141. peRta tatad e, “iđna” iniṅ e, egrita soRad. “ore ore đokri, vizu vankaṅ tata iđtaṅ mane gani, ēl(u) koṭe soRid e tatid e egristi”, izi đokriṅ gōla kitan đokra. 142. “soni poṭidiṅ nān(u) ini ‘son?a’ iRa na”, iRad e, aya đokri đokreṅ reytad. 143. aya đokra đokriṅ reytan. 144. “ale đokri, reytin inika ātad?. 145. yā poṭiṅ surna, ninu kuliṅ đas?a. nān(u) kaṅđa koyna, ninu zāva var?a”. 146. aya đokri đastad e, zāva vaRtad. 147. aya đokra kaṅđa koytan. 148. “endaniṅ zāva bāṭa ki?i”, izi đudu peRtanṅ e đokriṅ burad reytan. 149. buṛa peṛel reytan, aya đokri sāta soRad. 150. “nārayna yā đokriṅ reytin đokri sātad.

6.151. deniṅ tōlu urzina ne, rēkami tōlu vaRisna. 152. đokriṅ surti lakeṅđ(a) yā tōludiṅ surzi manzina”, iRanṅ e

lady, throw them all out”. When the old man had said this, both the old man and the old woman swept all of them (the birds) out into the verandah. 140. There remained one bird, which the old woman took up and brought out.

6.141. Having brought out, when she was about to put it down, it flew away. “O old lady! we brought and put down all of them (the birds). But now you went and brought another and let it fly”. So saying, the old man scolded the old woman. 142. “Did I tell the bird, ‘you go’, when it was going?” said the old woman, and beat the old man. 143. The old man beat the old woman. 144 “Well, old lady, what is the use of beating? (lit. If beaten, what has become?). 145. I’ll roast the birds and you pound the rice. I will cut the flesh and you cook the meal”. 146. The old woman pounded the rice and cooked zāva. 147. The old man cut the meat. 148. “Why is it you don’t serve the meal?” said the old man and took up a stick and struck the old woman on the head. 149. He hit so hard on the head that the old woman died. 150. “O God (Nārāyaṇa)! when I hit the old woman, she had died.

6.151. I will flay her skin and dry it on the front roof. 152. I will be (at least) seeing the skin as I was seeing the

tölu urzitan, rēkami vaRistan. 153. vaRistanr e kiku norbatan, kälku noRtan. 154. zāva bāta kiniñ, kañda bāta kiniñ, aya valeR(i) [nāñdiRi] eñdadiñ tölu kañuñ vaRtad. 155. "uñā", IRanr e bāñad bastiñ, dar̄ka piru ñigitad. 156. barra barana piru ñaktiñ, ñubku ñabku ñupku ñapku aya tölu ar̄zinad, bāza reyti lakenñu. 157. aya ñokra negrenñ(a) veRanr e, "yā ñokri bāza ñaksinad gañde! 158. sile sañem karzina ne, yā uñika siliña pōni, sarda kina ne". 159. aya ñokra uñdeñ řista sitanr e, kōlu guzam piññitan; siper kuña kīdu astan. 160. "ñan? a re ñokri! bāza, sarda kina ne".

6.161. vāñru ñāñsi maRiñ töl(u) üñditad e tölu ar̄?ed. 162 "yā ñokri inika āñad? 163. deniñ ini seti manada sile na bāza ñan?ed; kälku karzi?u; deniñ ona gañde, embe gaña niñika iRiña, bān(u) muñkna vāna." 164. aya ñokra, sita koyni doni gara kosad toRtanr e, "muñkna," izi gañad muñksi

old woman", he said and flayed the skin. And he dried it on the front roof. 153. Having laid it in the sun, he washed his hands and feet. 154. By the time he had served himself the zāva and meat, the skin got completely dried up due to the excessive sunshine that day. 155. When he had sat to eat (lit. saying, 'I will eat'), there came down a sudden shower of rain. 156. As the rain drops hit it uninterruptedly, the skin was producing the noise, ñubku ñabku ñupku ñapku, as if a drum was being beaten. 157. The old man listened to it well and said (to himself) "The old woman is beating the drum, goodness! 158. Well, I will dance for a while. What, if I don't eat? I will have (some) fun". 159. The old man gave up eating and took a pestle on his shoulder and held a broom in his hand. 160. "Beat the drum, old lady, I will have fun (lit. I will make fun)."

6.161. When he was hopping about, the skin got soaked up and would not play. 162. "What became of the old woman? 163. Does she have any power or not? Now she doesn't beat (the drum), the legs won't dance. Hell, I will take this (skin) and drown it in a deep stream (lit. where the river is deep down)", (he said). 164. The old man tied up the skin at the end of a hooked stick used to pluck tamarind

maRan. 165. aya doni gara vani kopud astad. 166. "murkna" izi gadem murkta ristan. 167. doni gara kopud astad e, urzu lāgitad. 168. urzu lāgitiŋ, dokriŋ murkti ban dokra arta sātān. 169. dokri arla āzi dasti kuliŋ, vaRti zāva, dokra uŋdeŋ aʔetan. 170. vānru reyti namil poŋiŋ arla āzi suRtan, arla āzi koytan.

6.171. dokriŋ reytaŋ e tōlu urzitan. rēkami vaRistan. 172. kiku kālku norbazi zāva kaŋda bāta kizi, "uŋa" izi bātaḍ basiniŋ piru vātad. 173. uŋi bāta ristaŋ e, "dokri bāza rey-zinad", izi kōlu muŋdi piŋditan. siper kuṭa astan. 174. "daŋ daŋ re dokri," izi pāta pāritan. ēti ēnditan. 175. "dokriŋ gaḍad murkna," izi dokra arta sātān.

fruit and plunged it straight down in a river, saying, "I will drown (it)". 165. The hook of the stick got caught in his hair. 166. "I will drown", he said and suddenly drowned it in. 167. As the hook of the stick got caught in his hair, it pulled him also down. 168. When pulled down, the old man tripped down and died at the same spot he drowned the (skin of the) old woman. 169. The zāva that the old woman cooked and the rice that she pounded with so much bother, the old man was unable to eat. 170. He roasted with so much trouble the birds that he killed; he cut their meat with so much trouble.

6.171. Having killed the old woman, he flayed her skin; he dried it on the front roof. 172. When he had washed his hands and feet, served the meal and meat and was about to eat, it rained (lit. rain came). 173. He left off the food that he was about to eat and took the pestle on his shoulder, saying, "the old woman is beating the drum". He held a broom-stick. 174. "Beat the drum, beat the drum, old woman", so saying he sang and danced. 175 "I will drown the old woman in the river" he said, and the old man (himself) fell down and died.

7. THE STORY OF A CRANE CONVERTED INTO A WOMAN

7.1. kata iRiņa, kat(a) āʔed. 2. pāta iRiņa, pā(a) āʔed. 3. kulur poṭi kata. 4. ḍokra ḍokri poṭad ērgur(u) marisir(u). 5. ārguru marisir(u) kata-pāṭadaṇḍ bōdel tatar. 6. aye iludiņ vār ātar. 7. oren viškoṛa ilu āʔen, viḍi manan. 8. anasir āṛ sērku pūṭsi guḍed rūdeņ sonar. 9. aya tambersi anasiriņ sisu onan. 10. sisu ona sīnanṛ e, "nān(u) gaḍad palaņaṛu kina vāna," izi gaḍad sonan.

7.11. palaņaṛu kinan. 12. mokom ūrpanan. 13. kiku noṛbanan, kālku noṛbanan. 14. ēru iybananṛ e maṛi anasir ban soRan. 15. soRiņa vānad e unṛi kulur poṭi vānṛu kiti

7.1. To say (that it is) a story, it is not a story. 2. To say (that it is) a song, it is not a song. 3. (It is) the story of a crane. 4. An old man and an old woman had seven sons. 5. Six sons brought (their) brides with pomp and ceremony (lit. with story-telling and singing). 6. Everyone had his home. 7. The last one had no home; he remained unmarried. 8. The elder brothers would yoke the ploughs and go out ploughing. 9. The younger brother would carry fire for them. 10. He would carry fire and give them, and saying (to himself), "I'll go to the river to brush my teeth", he would go to the river.

7.11. He brushes his teeth. 12. He washes his face. 13. He washes his hands and legs. 14. He takes a bath and then goes back to his brothers. 15. When he has left, a crane

palanaŕu, vānru iybati ēru, vānru mūti mūlku, vizu aya kulur poŕi tinad, uŕad, vizu nākna poknad o sonad. 16. abeŕiŕ vānru dinami gađad ne sonan, palanaŕu kinan, mokom ūrpanan, kiku kālku noŕbanan, ēru iybanan, unŕe bān e, embe vānru solp'eŕđa. 17. vānru budi nesti bāniŕ, gađad ne sonan gani, inŕo palanaŕu ki'en. 18. mokom ūrpa'en. 19. ēru loti sitiŕa inŕo iybadeŕ ke'en; gađad ne iybanan. 20. āR āzi āŕ nelen e soRad o, ēŕđad ne soRad o.

7.21. vani mūti mūlku, kiti palaŕaŕku, vānru iybati ēru, aya kulur poŕi uŕad e, niŕđu kuŕđa dōstad. 22. āŕ nelen soRi venka, ayli koŕo iybatad. 23. iyabatad e, koŕonali ātad. 24. bođu koytad adi ne. 25. ēru kāpsi iybadeŕ adi ne. 26. ēru kāpteŕ baŕdeŕ āzi, gađad iybanad. 27. eŕđa taglitiŕa, gađad ēru kām̄b(u)ne. 28. kām̄bitiŕ, aylidiŕ lona onad e,

comes. The tooth-stick he has used, the water he has bathed in, the urine he has passed—all that, she eats, drinks and completely licks up. 16. Thenceforth he would daily go to the river, brush his teeth, wash his face, wash his hands and feet and take a bath. (All these things he does) at the same place without passing them anywhere else. 17. From the time he had any awareness of himself, he would only go to the river and would never brush his teeth at home. 18. He wouldn't wash his face (at home). 19. Even if water is made ready and given him, he would not want to bathe at home. He would only bathe in the river. 20. In this manner, perhaps, (a period of) six months or a year had elapsed.

7.21. Having consumed the urine he passed, the tooth-sticks he used, the water he bathed in—the Crane became pregnant (lit. lifted up the pot). 22. When six months had passed, she delivered (gave birth to) a female child. 23. Having delivered, she became a woman in child-bed. 24. She herself cut the umbilical cord. 25. She herself had to boil the water to bathe. 26. Being lazy to boil the water, she would bathe in the river. 27. When the sun shines, the water in the river gets warm. 28. When the water gets warm, she would bring (the water) and bathe (the child).

vāknad. 29. āR āzi aydu rōsku soRad. 30. aydu rōskaḥ
boḍu rāl(i) tad.

7.31. boḍu rālitin, "gaḍad sōteḥ," izi adi maRi pari sara
sāḥu sitad. 32. sitad e, gaḍad aylidiḥ etta otad. 33. aysi gālsi
būḍ(u) kite. 34. kaṛnika eṛanika, kaṛni pūsa, kaṛni gānzu,
tāṭi āku, podu piṇu, koṛu guḍu sopa, kūli polu, vizu kūṛstade
gaḍad otad. 35. muṭeṇḍ iska kertad e, piṭam lakeṇḍ kizi
būmid basa kitad. 36. kaṛni gaṛṇḍa, eṛani gaṛṇḍa paṣiṇ
gaṛṇḍa kitad e, kaṛni gānzu, kaṛni pūsa, tāṭi āku, podu piṇu,
koṛu guḍu sopa, kūli polu, dani musku iḍṭad. 37. iḍṭad e
dūpam suRṭad. 38. dūpam surzi kidu perku astad. 39. "unzar
māpru būmi tali āgas buba, mī āram mī bogam miṇi sīzina.
40. gaṭu deyam gaḍa deyam, gaṭu piṛa, gaḍa piṛa, sita kanya
zolkam ni, goṛoti koṇḍa dēvuṇḍ, mī āram mī bogam vizu
miṇi sīzina.

29. In that manner, five days have passed. 30. The navel
cord fell off after the fifth day.

7.31. When the navel cord has fallen, she said, "I should
go to the river", and cleaned her abode, with a cow-dung
wash. 32. Having done (this), she took the child over to the
river. 33. The mother and the child bathed. 34. A red one
and black one, a black bead and a black bangle, a palm-leaf,
pieces of mica, shell of chicken's egg, paddy-chaff—all these
she collected and took with her to the river. 35. She took
a handful of earth (lit. sand), pressed it into the shape of
a cake and seated it on the floor. 36. She spread (lit. made)
a piece of black cloth, a piece of red cloth and a piece of
yellow cloth; she placed over that, the black bead, the black
bangle, the palm-leaf, mica films, the shell of the chicken's
egg and the paddy-chaff. 37. Having placed, she burnt in-
cense. 38. Having burnt incense, she held rice grains in her
hand. 39. "O, the Great Lord, Mother Earth and Father Sky,
I am giving you your food and offerings. 40. O! God of the
Hill and God of the River! Ghost of the Hill and Ghost of
the River! Goddess Sita and the Mountain God! I am giving
you all, your food and your ceremonial presents.

7.41. muṭteṅ ā'ed, rōsteṅ ā'ed; muṭmaṭ, aṭmaṭ. 42. nēRaṅd ēṛu āneṅ ēṛu duryeṅ manid," izi tuRpataḍ e, bāniṅ aysiṅ boḍu ḍokri ēṛu iybistad. 43. ri(y) aṅa ruṅḍi dāraṅ unṣtaḍ e, ri(y) aṅa ruṅḍi nāsku toRtaḍ e, maRka āku ṛotaḍ e, dāraṅ siṅṛay kitaḍ. 44. siṅṛay āzi nāṭo vātaḍ. vātaḍ e, bāniṅ maṛi dani kuṅḍa dani maṅḍi āzi, āR āzi aysi gālsi batkizi maRe. 45. aya aylidiṅ mūnṛi neleṅ o nālgi neleṅ o soRi venka, veyu vātaḍ, kālu vātaḍ. 46. "ō ya ō ba," ini veyu vātaḍ. 47. "ō ya ō ya, yāya iRiṅa mani gani, buba silen. 48. embe soRa manan, veRsi sida. 49. siliṅa buba bān sonaṭ. 50. siliṅa veRsi sida nān(u) sona," izi ayli gopaṅa aṛbadeṅ bastad.

7.51. aṛbazi maRiṅa aṭ'eṅḍ(a) āzi, "mī bubar vigeRiṅ yā guḍe ṛuḍeṅ tanar le. 52. tōrisna sīna, son'a. 53. ēl pisa kiṭiṅa, embe tōrisna? 54. niṅi ayeṅ mī buba izi veRna. 55.

7.41. (You) should not touch; you should not trouble. Don't touch, don't trouble. 42. Let there be the seven protections (for us) from today onwards". Thus dispelling the evil spirits—(?) a mid-wife bathed the mother. 43. She fixed two gate-ways apart and fastened two strings on to each of them; she tied mango leaves to the strings and the mother and the child were made to pass through the gate-ways. 44. Having passed through the gate-ways, she came to the village. She came and thenceforth the mother and the child were living by themselves (lit. being with their own pots and pans.) 45. After three or four months had passed, the girl started talking and walking (lit. mouth, i.e., speech came, legs came). 46. She got enough speech to say, "mother, father". 47. "Mother, you are, of course, my mother, but there is no father. 48. Where has he gone? Tell me. 49. Otherwise, let us go to (my) father's place. 50. Or, tell me, I will go". Thus the child started terribly crying.

7.51. When she was so crying, (the mother said) not being able to withstand her stubbornness, "Tomorrow, your uncles will come over to plough this field. 52. Go, I will (then) show you. 53. If you bother me now, where shall I show? 54. Who, I can tell you, is your father? 55. When he

vigeRiñ rüden tatiña tōrisna". 56. āR izi veRtiñ, ayli aletad. 57. podu soRiñ sikaṭ ātad. koRku keretiñ, zāy(i) ātad. 58. "ō ya ō ya, embe manar lu, nañi tōrisi sida, nānu sona," izi ayli veRtad. 59. veRtiñ, pisadiñ aṭ'eñḍa ātad e, "muṅgala mūnri sērku mane, venka mūnri sērku mane, nañmi iRikan mī buba", izi aysi tōristad. 60. "ēl soRi iRiña ayer, 'etnap' iRiñba sonma.

7.61. vizeri ban sonma. 62. mī buba astan iRiña, ale'a, aṛbama," izi aysi veRtad e, "son'a le," iRad. 63. "son'a le," izi veRtiñ ayli soRad. ṛūni guḍed soRad. 64. "ō ba ō ba nañi et'a," izi aya kogri vaniban e soRad. 65. "yā ayli emeñi ayli gañḍe nañi 'buba' izinad. nañi ālu siled; nān ayeṇ te'e ne. 66. sigu sigu, nañi 'buba' izinad. 67. iR āzi veṭa veṭa vāzi maRiña, lōkañ gopa kōpam vānad. 68. mulu ḍuḍudañḍ merṇu ḍaṇṇa gañḍe," izi eso gōla kitiñ ba, veṭa sōnreñ ṛis'ed,

comes to plough tomorrow, I will show you". 56. Being told so, the girl remained quiet. 57. When the day had ended, it got dark (lit. darkness occurred). At the cocks' crow, the day broke. 58. "Mother, mother, where are they? Show me, I will go", said the girl. 59. When the (girl) asked, she (the mother) was unable to withstand the bother. "There are three yokes in the front and there are three yokes in the back, your father is the one in the middle", so pointed out, her mother. 60. "When you have gone, don't go if anybody wants to take you into (their) arms.

7.61. Don't go to everybody. 62. If your father holds you, be quiet and don't weep." With these words (lit. having said so), the mother said, "You go, dear". 63. When she (the mother) had said, "You go", the girl went; she went to the field (that they were) ploughing. 64. Saying, "Father, father, take me into your arms", she went to the last-born himself. 65. "Who is this girl, Goodness! She keeps calling me 'Father'". 66. I don't have a wife. I have not got any woman. 66. Shame! shame! She keeps calling me 'Father.' 67. If she keeps coming after like this, any man will get angry (lit. anger comes to any person). 68. Hell! I will hit her with my goad". Even when he had scolded her so, she would not

'buba' inreŋ riš'ed. 69. vizeriŋ perikan anasi, "ore ore koŋo, ayli aposi lakenđa su nīn tōrzini su, nī veŋa veŋa āzinad. 70. gōla kima, usur ānad.

7.71. niŋi embe kāsti buba izi veRnad? 72. ayer o tata manar su. 73. ital ođud sōtad e su, 'mā buba ital soRa manan' izi vātad. 74. daniŋ endaniŋ gōla kizini? 75. aysi aposi surtiŋa onar le," izi perikan veRtan. 76. ansi veRtiŋ, āR e, ayli bŭlazı maRad. 77. bāniŋ gōla kidenŋ riŋtan tambersi. 78. bāniŋ mari onisik anam Tate. 79. ērgururiŋ ēru pārpun paRte, anam bāŋa kite. 80. "radu, unđu", izi kŭkte.

7.81. sērku niŋptar e, unđeŋ vātar. 82. vātar, norbatar, unđeŋ bastar. 83. aya kogrikan embe bastiŋ(a), ayli ba bān e bastad. 84. bān e bastad e ayli unđeŋ bastiŋ, "yā ayli embeni ayli? nānu embe bŭlatiŋ, bān e bŭlazinad. 85. unđeŋ

stop going after him; she would not stop saying, "Father." 69. The eldest of all (the brothers) said, "Oh my boy! you are perhaps appearing to her (eyes) like her father. That is why she is following you. 70. Don't scold her; it would be sinful.

7.71. Has she ever said that you are her real father? (lit. father who has given birth to). 72. Somebody might have brought her. 73. She came to this side (of the river) and thinking, 'My father has probably gone here,' she came (here). 74. For that (much), why are you scolding her? 75. When her mother and father see, they will then take her off", said the eldest brother. 76. As the eldest brother had said so, the girl kept wandering about. 77. Thereafter, the younger brother stopped scolding (her). 78. Then, (his) sisters-in-law brought food. 79. They spread out seven leaves for the seven (men) and served the food. 80. "Come along (and) eat", they invited (them).

7.81. The men let the yokes stay (i.e. they stopped ploughing) and came to eat. 82. They came, washed up and sat down to eat. 83. The girl sat where the youngest one sat. 84. When the girl sat down to eat, (he said), "What sort of girl is she (lit. this girl, where-from-girl)? She goes about wherever I go about. 85. She sits to eat if I sit to eat.

bastiņa, unḁeņ basinad. 86. deniņ elag kina gaņde. 87. deniņ řeyna na elag a! 88. naņi gopaņa sigu tapisinad. 89. ayer ba surtiņa naņi karaynar le. 90. 'ālsi sili gālsi iḁta manan', izi veRnar le", izi vānŗu gōla kizinan.

7.91. anasir su, "ore ore koŗodini, nanika āma, gōla kima. 92. elag ātiņa āpid, koŗo lōku," izi veRtiņ, āR e ūtpistan. 93. āR e uḁad. 94. uḁiņ tiRiņ, nasti vale ayli, "maņi nān sona ba," izi aysi bān e soRad. 95. surḁad e "vātiya" izi aylidiņ aysi veRḁad. 96. "vāta ya, nānu. 97. ayer 'etnap' iRiņ ke?eta. 98. mā buba bān e soRa. 99. mā buba 'řeyna' iRan, gōla kitan, naņi et?etan. 100. āR bŭlazi maRiņ, avi anam tate ne, bāḁa kite.

7.101. bāḁa kite ne, unḁeņ kŭkte. 102. sērku nilptar e, vātar vār(u). 103. noŗbatar, unḁeņ bastar. 104. unḁeņ bastiņ, nān ba mā buba bāḁad ne basta. 105. basta kaka,

86. What shall I do to her, goodness! 87. Shall I beat her or what? 88. She is bringing great shame on me. 89. If any people see (this), they would ridicule me. 90. 'He brought forth a daughter (even) without a wife', they would say". Thus he was making a lot of fuss.

7.91. The brothers (said), "Oh, my young boy, don't become like that; don't make fuss. 92. In any case (lit. let it be anything), she is a child". Being told so, he somehow fed her. 93. She ate like that. 94. After she had eaten, the girl said, "Then I'm leaving, Dad!" and went to her mother. 95. Having seen (her), the mother said, "Oh! you came Dear". 96. "Yes, mother, I'm come. 97. Whoever said, 'we will take you into our arms', I did not want (to go). 98. I went only to my father. 99. My father said, 'I will beat (you)'; he scolded (me), and did not take me into his arms. 100. Then they (the women-folk) brought food and served it.

7.101. Having served (the food), they invited (the men) to eat. 102. They (the men) let the yokes stay (i.e. stopped ploughing) and came. 103. They washed up and sat down to eat. 104. When they had sat down to eat, I also sat at my father's serving. 105. As I sat, my father made a lot of fuss.

mā buba gopaṇa gōla kitan. 106. mā bubeṇ anasi mā bubeṇ e gōla kitan. 107. gōla kitin, 'uṭiṇa uṇid' izi mā buba aleta maRan. 108. nān(u) uṭa. 109. 'yāya ban sona' izi nān(u) vāta". 110. "nīn(u) ayer o ini.

7.111. perikan mī peda. 112. ārguru vizer(u) mī pedar e. 113. anam tatikeṇ mī pedik. 114. vigeRiṇ soRiṇa variṇ 'pedar' in?a. 115. vankaṇ 'pedi' in?a. 116. mī bubeṇ 'buba' in?a," izi aysi veRtad. 117. aysi veRtad kaka, ayli veRa maRad. 118. āR āzi podu soRad, sikaṭ ātad. 119. koRku keretiṇ zāy(i) ātad. 120. maṛi ṛūdeṇ tatar aya guḍed ne.

7.121. "ō ya ō ya, ṛūdeṇ tatar, nān(u) sona". 122. "sona" iRad e, sari astad e, ṛūni guḍed soRad. 123. (soRiṇ bubeṇ veRtad), "ō ba ō ba, naṇi pāta sida, pini kaṭsinad, nān porpana". 124. "suṛdu re, yā ayli! i?en uṭad e su, maṛi ba

106. My father's elder brother chided my father only. 107. When he had chided him, my father had remained quiet, saying, '(well,) let her eat'. 108. I ate. 109. I said, 'I will go to my mother', and came away". 110. (The mother said,) "You know who they are? (lit. you say, they are some persons).

7.111. The eldest man is your big uncle. 112. All the six (other) men are your big uncles. 113. Those that brought the food are your big aunts. 114. When you go tomorrow, address them (the men) 'big uncles'. 115. Call them (the women) 'big aunts'. 116. Call your father, 'father'," (so said the mother). 117. As the mother said so, the girl was listening to her. 118. In that manner, the day passed, and dusk came upon. 119. After cocks crowed, the day broke. 120. Then they (the brothers) brought the yokes to plough in that very field.

7.121. "O mother! mother! they are out ploughing, I will go", (said the girl). 122. Saying, "I'll go", she took the way and went to the ploughing fields. 123. (Having gone, she said to her father), "Oh, father! father! give me a piece of cloth; the cold is biting and I will cover myself". 124. He said, "Look, you folks, this girl ate here yesterday and has

vāṭad, oza āṭad. 125. nēnru vāṭad e, pāṭeṅ losinad. 126. naṅi silika deniṅ sina ge. 127. deniṅ sinika nān porpata iRiṅa nā oṛoR(i) arginad", izi vānru si'en. 128. "ore pāpam re, sidu", izi anasi gōla kitan. 129. ayer ba si'er, vānru si'en. vani bura suṭu ne aylidiṅ porpistan. 130. aya ayli mari, "naṅi et'a ba, naṅi nene ki'a ba", izi aposi veṭa veṭa būlanad.

7.131. mari aṛbazi maRiṅ, aṭ'etanṅ e peri anasi, "saṅem et'a re", izi gōla kitan. 132. gōla kitin, "yāka ini arla gaṅde, saṅem etna gaṅde", iRanṅ e ettan. 133. saṅem ettanṅ e, 'dipna' iRiṅ ayli ke'ed. 134. "yā aylidiṅ morkeṅ asi terna 135. ḍiṅṅiṅa ḍig'a", iRanṅ e aylidiṅ ḍiptan. 136. ḍipti nasti vale onisik anam tate, bāṭa kite, "radu uṅḍu" izi ḍēliste, variṅ kūkte. 137. kūktiṅ vār vātar, noṛbatar, uṅḍeṅ bastar. 138. uṅḍeṅ bastiṅ, aya aylidiṅ, ayer "ūṭpisanp" iRiṅa, ke'ed.

come again. It has become a habit. 125. She has come today and is asking for a cloth. 126. Look! I have to give her what I don't have. 127. If only I can put on myself what is to be given to her, it will as well serve me (lit. it will wear out on my body itself)". So saying, he would not give her. 128. The elder brother chided him, saying, "No, it would be a sin. You (please) give her". 129. Nobody gave, and he would not give. He (finally) got her covered with his head-garment. 130. Then the girl goes about following him, saying, "Father! hold me up and fondle me, father".

7.131. As she was again crying, being unable to resist her, the elder brother admonished him, saying, "Take her into your arms for a while". 132. When he (the elder brother) had admonished, he took her up, saying, "Hell! what a nuisance is this? I'll hold her for a while". 133. After taking her on his arms for a while, he wanted to put her down, but she won't let him. 134. "I will chop off her ears. 135. Will you get down or what?" he said and took her down. 136. When he had put her down, the sisters-in-law brought food and served (it). They shouted to them (i.e. the men), "Come and eat". 137. When called, they (the men) came, washed up and sat down to eat. 138. When they had sat

139. kogri vañi ban e sonad, kogri vani bāṭad ne uṇad. 140. "esen nāñḍiñ ba nā bāṭad ne vānad, idi aṇa uñid", izi ākud kereti sitiñ ba keʼed.

7.141. unṛe ban e uṇad. 142. āR āzi unṛe ban e uṭar. 143. uṭar tiRar e, "buḍi buḍi, ēl nīn(u) soRi iRiṇa, mī yāyeñ ba kūksi taga. 'mā buba kūksi taga' izi veRtan. 'ṛeyʼep, gutʼep, daniñ inika kiʼep', izi mā bubar veRtar, izi mī yāyeñ sonsi veRʼa. 144. 'keʼe' iRiñ ba kūksi taga", izi veRtar kaka, "vigeRiñ kūkna tana" iRad e ayli soRad. 145. soRad e "ō ya ō ya, bubar niñi 'kūksi taga' izi veRtar ya. 'daniñ ṛeyʼep(u), gutʼep(u); daniñ kūksi taga' izi mā bubar veRtar". 146. āR e maRiñ, podu ātad, sikaṭ ātad; koRku keretiñ zāy(i) ātad. 146a. zāy(i) ātiñ sari, "leʼe ya sonaṭ. bubar 'kūksi taga' izi veRta manar. mā pedik zāva tane le.

down, the girl would not want anyone else to feed her (lit. whoever said, "we will feed you", the girl wouldn't like). 139. She would only go to the last one; she would only eat in his share (i.e. serving). 140. He said, "Everyday, she comes only to my share. Let her eat separately", and he took out (some food) into a leaf; but she wouldn't agree.

7.141. She would eat in that one place alone. 142. Somehow, they ate together out of the same serving (lit. at only one place). 143. They ate and drank. And they said, "Darling, when you have gone today, call your mother and also bring her. Tell (her) my father said, "Invite her and bring along. We won't hit her; we won't beat her. We won't do anything to her". Go and tell your mother, 'my uncles said so.' 144. Even if she says, 'I won't', call her and bring along." As they said so, the girl said, "Tomorrow, I'll invite and bring her", and (she) left. 145. Having gone, (she said to her mother), "Oh! mother! mother! uncles asked me to invite and bring you along with me. (They said), 'we won't hit her; we won't beat her. Invite her and bring her along'." 146. Then (lit. so being), the day had ended; it got dark. As the cocks crew, day broke. 146a. When it has dawned, the girl made fuss saying, "Get up, mother, let us go. My uncles said, 'call her and bring along'. My aunts will bring the meals;

ambel tane le. mā bubar uṅar le. bēgi sonaṭ ya. naṅi unṛi kurkad zāva sitiṅa nān(u) karzizi karzizi uṅa, sonaṭ”, izi ayli pisa paṭlu astad. 147. pisadiṅ aṭ’eṅḍa ātad e, ‘sonaṭ’ iRiṅ, sari ayli muṅgal ātad, aysi venka ātad. 148. venka muṅgal āzi guḍed soRe. 149. guḍed gaṭṭu aysi niRad, aposi ban gālsi soRad. 150. “ō ba ō ba, mā yāyeṅ kūkta tata”.

7.151. “embe de lu buḍi, embe ban manad?” 152. “adi lo ba, guḍe gaṭṭu niRa maRad”. 153. “embe de lu buḍi, lōk(u) iRiṅa tōr’er(u). 154. ini poṭi no guḍe gaṭṭu manad gani lōk(u) iRiṅa siler(u)”. 155. “sile ba, adi ne ma yāya”. 156. “elag āpid e kūksi taga”, iRiṅ kūksi tatad. 157. kūkti tatiṅ, inroṅiṅ mari ayli koṛok (onisik) anam tate. 158. anam tate ne, bāṭa kite. 159. “uṅḍeṅ radu”, izi ṛūni variṅ kūkte. 160. vār(u) sērku niṭtar e uṅḍeṅ vātar.

they will bring porridge; my uncles will eat; let us go fast. If I am given the meal in a plate, I will go on playing and eating. Let us go”. 147. The mother was unable to resist her stubbornness. And when she had said, ‘let us go’, the girl walked in the front, and the mother walked behind. 148. Walking like that (lit. being behind and front), they went to the field. 149. The mother stood on the embankment of the field and the girl went to her father. 150. (The girl said,) O! Father! father! I called and brought my mother over”.

7.151. “Which one, darling, where is she?” (the father said). 152. “Lo! there, father, she has remained standing on the edge of the field”, (replied the girl). 153. “Which one, darling? Human beings are not seen there. 154. There is some bird or so on the bund of the field, but there is no person”, (said the father). 155. “No, father, she herself is my mother”, (said the girl). 156. “Whatever it be, call and bring her”. When he (the father) had said (this), she called and brought. 157. As she was invited and brought over, the women-folk brought food from home. 158. They brought the food and served it. 159. They shouted to the men ploughing, “Come over to eat”. 160. The men stopped ploughing (lit. the ploughs), and came to eat.

7.161. nor̄batar un̄deñ bastar. 162. “ōr bōdekañde, aya aysi gālsiñ ba bāṭa kidu, un̄zi sonir”, izi veRtiñ, anam bāṭa kite site. 163. zāva uṭe, ambel uṭe. řūnikar uṭar. 164. uṭar e, nor̄babatar. 165. “suṭeñ kasisnaṭ”, izi un̄re bañ bastar. 166. “deniñ elag kinaṭ? nēnru elag ba kizi kūkna onaṭ”, (izi olbitar). 167. “sile buḍi, nēnru manzi vigeRiñ sonru”, izi perikan veRtañ. 168. “enda lu manzina sonap lu, zāy (i) ātiña, vegeRiñ sonap gani”, izi in̄ro soRe aysi gālsi. 169. in̄ro sonsi āR(u) maRiñ, podu ātad, sikaṭ ātad. 170. sikaṭ ātiñ, aya onisik anam bāṭa kite.

7.171. “radu un̄ḍu”, moga kořoriñ kūkte. 172. vār(u) vātar e nor̄batar, un̄deñ bastar. 173. aysi gālsi vizu vāte; avi un̄deñ baste. 174. vizer e un̄ivale, “buḍi buḍi, niñi elag kitiñ sir narun̄ marni?” izi perikan kulur poṭidiñ veRtan. 175. “sile na, nān veRti lival kinider a? 176. nān elag veRtina

7.161. They washed up and sat down to eat. 162. (They said to the women), “O! Ladies! also serve food for the mother and the daughter. Let them eat and go”. When they had said (so), the women served them food and gave. 163. They (the mother and the daughter) ate the meals and the porridge; the plough-men also ate. 164. They all ate and washed (their hands and mouth). 165. They sat (together) at one place, saying, “Let us light cigars”. 166. “What shall we do with her? Let us invite her and take her (home)”, the men thought. 167. “Well, darling, stay (with us) for the day and (you can) go tomorrow”, said the eldest of the brothers. 168. “Well, then, we will stay and go; we will go (home) tomorrow after the day-dawn”, so saying, the mother and the daughter went to (their) house. 169. When they had gone home and stayed there, the day ended; dusk came upon. 170. When it had got dark, the sisters-in-law served food.

7.171. They invited the men saying, “Come over and eat”. 172. They came, washed up, and sat down to eat. 173. Also the mother and the daughter came, and they sat down to eat. 174. At the time they were all eating, the eldest brother asked the crane-bird, “Darling, what should be done to you so that you will become a human being?” 175. “No, brother, will you do the plan I say? 176. Only if it is going to be done as I

āR(e) kini lakeṇḍa iRiṇa veRna. 177. siliṇa veR'e". 178. "sile buḍi, nīn elag veRtiṇa āR(u) kinap". 179. "sile na, nā rekadi kelu unri lāgzi buḍad guttiṇa, nān bōdel maṇna. 180. mī lakeṇḍa sir narun āna", izi veRtad kaka, uṭar, tiRar, vizu kitar e, gūrni vale aya viza viṣkoṛa rekadi kelu unri lāgitanr e burad guttan.

7.181. burad guttiṇ bōdel maRtad. 182. "gātu asna na būmid iḍna na?" nani bōdel ātad. 183. bōdel maRtiṇ, āR(u) batkizi maRar. 184. ēṇḍad ne soRad o, ārneleṇ e soRad o. adi garbisaṇam ātad. niṇḍu kuṇḍa dōstād. 185. āR āzi tomed nelor, maRad e, moga koṛo iḍtad. 186. adi koṛonali ātiṇ, boḍu ḍokriṇ kūkta tatar. 187. boḍu ḍokri vātad e, boḍu koytad. 188. ēru kāpti sitiṇ, adi iybatad. 189. koṛodiṇ boḍu ḍokri ēru vāktad. 190. āR kite ne, inro ote.

say, then, I will tell (you). 177. If not, I won't tell", (said the crane). 178. "No, dear, whatever you say, we will do so. 179. "Well, brother, I will change into a young woman, if you pull out a feather of my wing and fix it on my head. 180. I will become a human being like you", she said. Then, they drank and ate, and finished everything. At the time of sleeping, the last one (brother) pulled out a feather of the (bird's) wing and fixed it on her head.

7.181. When he had fixed it on her head, she turned into a young woman. 182. She became such a (beautiful) woman that one would feel, "Shall I (only) hold her in my lap or can I leave her on the floor?" 183. After she changed into a damsel, they were living normally (lit. like that). 184. When, perhaps, a year or a period of six months had elapsed, she conceived; she became pregnant (lit. she lifted up the pot; an idiom). 185. When nine months had passed in that manner, she gave birth to (lit. put) a male child. 186. When she had become a mother, they invited and brought a mid-wife (lit. the navel-old-woman). 187. The mid-wife came and cut off the navel-cord. 188. When hot water was given to her, she (the mother) bathed. 189. The mid-wife washed the child in water (lit. poured water on the child). 190. So they did and took them (the mother and the child) inside the house.

7.191. inro otiņ mūlad basa poktad. 192. bođu rālnenča kuņda muṭis[?]u, maņdi muṭis[?]u. 193. dūramdanče bāṭa sīne. 194. aydu rōsku soRiņ, bođu rālitad. gaḡad sōptad (bođu ḡokri) 195. gaḡad sōpte ne liņ peRte. 196. puruṭ solṭe. 197. kuņdeņ(d) ēru mudenḡ pasinḡiņ, sikteņ bakriden ātan. 198. vaniņ kāpteņ rēsteņ kizi piripte, dūpte, 199. vānru piritan, dūtan, daņrayen āzi vātan. 200. ēḡguru aposir, "marī gāлку silu, marinku siler(u). orenḡ e manan. veniņ negrenča kinaṭ e, unḡi pēru solpay ānaṭ", izi olbitar e, unḡi bōdeldiņ kalu nāriṭar.

7.201. kalu nāriṭar e, bōdeldiņ tatar. 202. ēndum no pandum no perku kitar. 203. gore gutsi kaņda vaRtar. 204. kanda rēyzi zāva vaRtar. 205. "zūteņ ādeņ" izi pedelḡu bastar. 206. bastar āl-masiriņ zāva ūtpistar. 207. vār zūteņ

7.191. Having taken into the house, they were given a corner to sit (They were seated in a corner). 192. They (the people) would not let her (the mother) touch the pots and pans until the (remaining) navel-cord has fallen off. 193. They would give her food from distance (i.e. apart, separately). 194. When five days had passed, the navel-cord fell off, and then the mid-wife conducted her (the mother) to the river. 195. Having conducted them to the river, they made a *linga* (mud-ball). 196. Thus they got rid of the birth-pollution. 197. (Bathed) with a potful of water and a ball of turmeric, the boy had grown up to smile and chuckle. 198. They took every care of him and brought him up (lit. they let him grow and get strong). 199. He grew up and became a young man. 200. The seven uncles thought, "We have no daughters and no sons. There is only one (now). We'll look after him well and keep up our family (?) name", and sent liquor to get him a bride.

7.201. Having sent liquor, they brought him a bride. 202. They cooked five or ten *tūms* of rice. 203. They killed a sheep and cooked its meat. 204. They cooked *zāva* on a long fire-place dug out in the floor. 205. All the elders of the village sat down to eat the wedding-feast. 206. They all sat down and fed the husband and wife. 207. They also dined.

ātar. 208. koṛo kokra vizu kūṛitar e, vindu uṭar. 209. vindu uṭar tiRar e, pāṭa pāṛitar, ēti ēnditar. 210. āR āzi peli vizitad.

7.211. āR āzi vāram ne soRad o ruṇḍi vāramku soRad o.
 212. "malu uṇḍeṇ sonreṇ", izi ruṇḍi kuṇḍeṇ kalu vaRte.
 213. aya kāvri kalu astar e, malu uṇḍeṇ soRar. 214. vari mīmsi mām̄sir inro aydu rōsku maRar e, "māp(u) sonap lema, māp sonap lemi" izi mīmsiṇ mām̄siṇ māṛistan. 215. "sonap le", iRiṇ "sonru", izi (mīmsi mām̄si) pōktar. 216. "sonap le", iRiṇ "sonru", izi (mīmsi mām̄si) pōktiṇ, veri inro vātar. 217. "alema, ēru iybad(u)", izi (koṛya) ērguru mām̄sikaṇ ēru kuṇḍeṇ ēru lota sitad. 218. mām̄sir iybatar, mīmsik ba iybate. 219. "idi mari mā mīmiṇ ēru lota sita, buṛa oṛpisna", iRad e, buṛa oṛpistad. 220. buṛa dūsistad.

208. The young and the old, all got together, and ate the feast.
 209. Having enjoyed the feast (lit. having eaten and drunk), they sang and danced. 210. In that way, the wedding was over.

7.211. Thereafter a week or two might have elapsed.
 212. They said, "We should go to eat *malu*" (a post-wedding feast at the house of the bride's parents on any uneven date from the day of wedding), and took two pot-fuls of liquor.
 213. Having carried a *kāvri*-ful of liquor, they went to attend the feast. 214. After staying at the parents-in-law's house for five days, he (the son-in-law) bowed before his father-in-law and mother-in-law, saying, "Well, we're leaving, father-in-law; we're leaving, mother-in-law". 215. When they had said, "We are leaving", the parents-in-law gave them leave, saying, "You can go". 216. Being sent so, they came to their house. 217. The daughter-in-law prepared seven pots of water for the seven fathers-in-law, and said, "O Dear fathers-in-law, bathe ye". 218. The seven fathers-in-law bathed and the seven mothers-in-law (also) bathed. 219. "Here, I have prepared water for my mother-in-law, let me (get) her hair washed", she (the daughter-in-law) thought, and got her hair washed. 220. She (the daughter-in-law) let her (mother-in-law's) hair combed.

7.221. āR(u) kizi būḍu kibistad. 222. būḍu kitin, kopu vaRtad, sōritad. 223. sōritad kaka, "ale mi nūne ūspa'a", iRad e nūne ūspistad. 224. "ale mi, penku sūṇa", izi penku surzi maRad e, aya gutti maRi kuṇṭi(ya) keluḍin aya koṇesi, "inika manad mi bēn", iRad e kuṇṭyadiṇ lāgita ṛistad. 225. lāgiti ṛistin, aya mīmi kulur poṭi maRtad. 226. maRtad e, egrita soRad. 227. aya maṛisi maṛi dukam kitan, visaram astan. 228. dukam ṛisi visaram ṛisi, dēsam asi rāzi asi batikizinar. 229. yāka bōyi sombra veRti kata.

7.221. In that manner, she made her bathe. 222. When the mother-in-law had bathed, her hair dried up and was ready for dressing(?). 223. When it was ready for dressing, the daughter-in-law got her apply oil to her hair, saying, "Dear mother-in-law, apply the oil". 224. "Dear mother-in-law, I will look for lice", she said and was looking for lice. Then, the daughter-in-law pulled out the feather (fixed in her hair), saying, "What is this sticking in here, mother-in-law?" 225. When she had pulled it out, the mother-in-law became changed into a crane. 226. Having changed into a crane, she flew away. 227. Then, her son became sad and distressed. 228. (Gradually) he abandoned his sorrow and distress and was living in the country and in the kingdom. 229. This is the story told by Bōyi Sombra.

8. THE STORY OF A MYSTERIOUS GOURD-VESSEL

8.1. öho konða räzu poñad (u) aydu-guru marisir. 2. aydu-guru marisirin näl'er negikar. 3. oren viza viskoreñ undeñ veyu manad. sünđeñ kañku mane. venreñ gibiñ mane. kälku silu, kiku silu. 4. vani përu soña. 5. soña maRiñ, vār aydu-guru puñtar, pergitar, dañreñ ātar e, katadañd pātañd ilu kitar, ālu tatar. 6. näl'er kūrāña ilu zolu ātar. 7. gañu reyzi puña reyzi batkizinar 8. batkizi maRiñ, aya soña kiku kälku siliñ, embe son'en. nāto ne manzinar. 9. āR batkizi maRiñ, aysi aposi sāta soRar. 10. aysi aposi sāzi ēñdad e soRad o, ārneleñ e soRad o.

8.11. anasiriñ maRi onisik aya soñeñ gopa mudu. 12. unri māña veR'u. 13. vaniñ göla ki'u. 14. gātu asi ūpisteñ. 15. gātu asi ne vaniñ ēru vañisteñ. 16. "vēñru suñña kiku

8.1. O ho! The Konda King had five sons. 2. Out of the five sons, four were good ones (i.e., normally healthy). 3. For the last one, there is a mouth to eat; there are ears to hear; but, no legs and no hands. 4. His name is Sota (i.e. the disabled one). 5. While he remained deformed, the five sons, thus born and bred up, became youths. And they (i.e. four of them) set up their homes, and brought their families together. 6. Four of them had their families together. 7. They were living, tilling and toiling. 8. As they were (so) living, Sota would not go anywhere, as he had no hands and no legs. He would only remain in the village. 9. As they were living like that, (their) mother and father passed away. 10. Perhaps, a year or six months passed since the mother and the father had died.

8.11. The wives of the brothers are extremely fond of Sota. 12. They wouldn't say a word to him. 13. They wouldn't scold him. 14. Feeding (him was done) on their laps. 15. Giving him water (was done only) on their laps. 16. "This man is a person without hands and legs. And he is the last-born.

kālku sili lōku, vīza vīskoṛa. 17. māleṅkideṅ pōni, pōrsa kideṅ pōni. 18. soṭa ba kaṅa ba sēron iRikan embe doRknan", izi vaniṅ gopa mudu. 19. āR kizi maRiṅ, anasir dinami sūnar. onisik āR kine. 20. tambeṅ nāl'er anasir varḡitar.

8.21. vizeriṅ perikan, "ore koṛor te, niso paṅi kizinaṅ gade, ṛūni guḡed ba! 22. sisu tasi si'en. 23. vaniṅ ini mudu. 24. vaniṅ endaniṅ daramantiṅ pōsa kideṅ? 25. nukuṛidin pōsa kiti lakeṅḡ(a) pōsa kideṅ", izi peri anasi veRtan. 26. aya tambersir, "vaniṅ elag kinaṅ lu na?" 27. "sile, unṛe goṛon ṛeynaṅ. 28. goṛon ṛeyni ban kūkna onaṅ e, unṛi maran tigisna vānaṅ. 29. maran tigitipa sānan". 30. yāmāṭeṅ ṛūni guḡed varḡitar.

8.31. varḡitar e sērku ṛistar e, nāṭo vātar. 32. nāṭo vātar e, uṭar, tiRar. 33. "nēnr(u) unṛi goṛon ṛeynap", iRar e, gagṛeṅ

17. Let us not ill-treat him; let us not make him work (lit. let ill-treating him go; let making him work go). 18. Whether a lame one or a blind one, how else do we get another youngest brother to our husbands". So saying, they were very fond of him. 19. As they were so doing, the brothers watched daily. The sisters-in-law (their wives) would only act in that manner. 20. The four brothers spoke among themselves.

8.21. The eldest of all (the brothers) said, "O! my boys, how much work have we been doing even in the agricultural (lit. tilling) fields! 22. He (the last one) would not even bring us fire. 23. Why so much fondness for him? 24. Why (should we) feed him gratis? 25. Why (should we) feed him as if we feed a dog?" said the eldest brother. 26. The (other) younger brothers asked, "What, then, shall we do with him, brother?" 27. "Well, let us fell a hill-forest. 28. We will invite and take him to the place where we fell the forest. And we will press him down under a tree and return. 29. When the tree has pressed him down, he will die." 30. These words, they spoke (among themselves) in the plough-fields.

8.31. Having spoken, they left the ploughs (yokes) in the fields and came to the village. 32. Having come to the village, they ate and drank. 33. Saying, "We will today fell

mēritar, goṛeliṅ mēritar. 34. "ale ale, nēnṛu soṭeṅ ūṭpistider a sile na, goṛot kūkna onap", izi mogakoṛor veRtar. 35. izi vāru veRtiṅ, onisik gazi bizi kite ne soṭeṅ ūṭpiste. 36. "yā soṭa goṛot(u) vātiṅa elag āzi būlanan. 37. maṭṭeṅ kālku silu, asteṅ kiku silu. 38. mīr ba suṛzi suṛzi veniṅ kūkni onider a?" izi ālsik veRte. 39. "embe vaniṅ negreṅḍa kizi nāṭo iḍnider gani, nēnṛu goṛot kūkna onap", iRar e nāṅḍiṅ goṛot kūkta otar. 40. anasir muṅgal yā soṭa venka.

8.41. muṅgal sonsiniṅ vēnṛu venkaRaṅḍ paṅku izi nes'en, gusil izi ṅes'en, tevzi arsi sonsinan. 42. āR āzi goṛon ṛeyniban soRan. 43. "ore ore soṭa aya paṅkud gūri man'a. 44. māp goṛon ṛeytiṅa nāṭo sonaṭ gani, abe gūri man'a", izi unṛi saṭu paṅkud tōristar. 45. tōristiṅ, abe gūrita maRan yā soṭa. 46. vār goṛon ṛeytar e, peri maRka maran unṛi ṛista

a hill-forest," they sharpened their chop-knives; they sharpened the axes. 34. "O ladies, have you (yet) fed Sota or not today? We are taking him to the hill," said the husbands (to their wives). 35. When they had said so, the women hastened up and fed Sota. 36. "If this Sota has gone to the hill, how will he move about? 37. He has no feet to walk on and no hands to hold with. 38. Would you take him, then, along with you knowing all this?" said the wives to their husbands. 39. They replied, "You may want to keep (him) lazy (lit. well) in the village, but we will take him with us to the forest today". So, they invited him and took him to the forest that day. 40. The older brothers went ahead and Sota went behind.

8.41. As they were going in the front, this man (Sota) (going) behind would not know the stones, would not know the stumps; so was he going pushing and falling. 42. Thus he went (with them) to the place where the forest would be felled. 43. "O Sota!" they said, "keep lying on that rock. 44. After we have felled the forest, we will go to the village. But keep lying there." So saying, they showed a flat rock. 45. When they had shown (the rock), Sota kept lying there. 46. (Then) they felled the jungle, but they left out a big mango

maRar. 47. aya maratiŋ maŋi suŋula kattar. 48. "ore or soŋa, begi ra begi ra, maran ital poronad le, ital man?a. 49. kaŋdek ānika ki?a", izi vaniŋ kŭktar. 50. kŭktiŋ vānŋ vātan.

8.51. "embe vaŋe manreŋ na? 52. "suŋzinida to?ida: 53. maran embe vaŋe zōŋitiŋa atal ne man?a", izi veRtir maran zōŋni vaŋe ne soŋa maRan. 54. "ore ore soŋa āR sile iR man?a. 55. bēn ađam gŭrzi man?a", izi veRtiŋ ađam gŭrita maRan. 56. aya maran zōŋzi soRad e, soŋeŋ tigitad. 57. tigitŋ, anasir suŋtar. 58. "hat baynsad, ēlu re nisneŋd negreŋd ɖaksi maRika. mī onika gātu basi uŋzi maRika. 59. nēRaŋd son?a le", iRar e anasir nāto vātar. 60. "ore ore bōdekaŋde, ambel sidat, baŋa kaŋtad", izi veRtiŋ, ambel site.

8.61. vār uŋar, tiRar. 62. "soŋa embeven lu, vānŋ re?en", (izi avi veRte). 63. "vānŋ embe mā veŋa vātanŋ e,

tree. 47. They cut the base of the tree all around. 48. (They shouted to Sota,) "O Sota, come quick. come quick! the tree is falling this side, stay this side. 49. Give a little support to it." So they shouted to him. 50. When they had shouted, he came.

8.51. "Which side am I to stay, brothers?" he asked. 52. They said, "Are you seeing or not? 53. Whichever side the tree slants, stay that side only." Being told so, Sota remained in the direction the tree was slanting. 54. "O Sota! don't stay in that manner, stay like this. 55. Lie down here cross-wise." 56. The tree slanted and pressed Sota down. 57. When it had pressed, the elder brothers saw. 58. "Damn him! Now would you eat so much well enough! And (now) would you sit in the lap of your sisters-in-law and remain eating! 59. Go (there) from today onwards," said the elder brothers and came back to the village. 60. "Oh oh! young ladies! give us porridge. We are hungry." When they had asked so, the ladies served them porridge.

8.61. They ate and drank. 62. (The ladies enquired,) "Where is Sota, he has not come?" 63. (The men replied,)

māp muṅgal soRap, vāṅru venka maRan. 64. embe ne soRanr o māp to?ep. 65. mā veṭa re?en", izi vāru veRtar. 66. āR maRiṅ, zāva ne vaRte no, kaṅḍa ne vaRte no. bāṭa kite uṅḍeṅ kūkte. 67. vār vātar. 68. uṭar, tiRar; veli sōtar e, piṭad bastar. 69. nāl?eriṅ maRi onisik, "ōho, yā soṭeṅ kūkta otar, kiku kālku sili lokaṅ. ṛeyzi ne poktar o, katsi ne poktar o. 70. andeke gade re?en.

8.71. vātiṅ ba re?iṅ ba, vāniṅ ba bāṭa kiṅṭ e iḍna man-zinaṅ", iRe ne bāṭa kite, iḍte maRe. 72. kuṅḍeṅ maṅḍiṅ noRte, kasra sipate. aye paṛiḍ variṅ sāpa paRte. 73. sāpa paRtiṅ, emeṅikar bān gūrbabatar, nidra kitar. 74. nidra kitiṅ, sēndu nidra ne kitar o, made ṛeyu ne ātad o. 75. yā maran tigiti soṭa marandiṅ maRta poktan. 76. marandiṅ maRtanṛ e, baḍeṅ kitan, sekta poktan. 77. nāl?eriṅ nālgi piṭeṅ sektan.

"He was coming somewhere behind us, when we were going ahead; he remained behind. 64. We did not watch where he went. 65. He did not come (later) behind us," replied (the men). 66. Then (lit. as it was so), they (the ladies) cooked, maybe meals or flesh. They served (food) and invited the men. 67. They (the men) came. 68. And they ate and drank. They came out and sat down in the varandah. 69. The wives of the four men spoke (among themselves,) "Alas! they called and took Sota with them, the man without hands and legs. They might have either struck him (to death) or cut him (to pieces). 70. That is why, then, he hasn't turned up.

8.71. Whether he comes or not, let us also serve his share (of food) and let it stay," they said, served his share and kept it aside. 72. They washed the pots and pans, and cleaned the rubbish (on the floor). And they spread mats in their (men's) respective places. 73. When they had spread the mats, all lay down in their places and slept. 74. When they had slept, probably they had slumber or it might be midnight. 75. Sota, who was pressed underneath the tree, turned the tree over. 76. He overturned the tree, split it into pieces and planed them. 77. He planed (the wood into) four

78. nūne vaḍisi kerteṅ ānad; nani baleṅ sektan. 79. guzam piṅḍitan, nāṭo vātan. 80. tatanṅ e, ḍēvad(u) baṅalna visirtan.

8.81. "idi oni, piṅeṅ. mā anar yā piṅad basi uṅir", izi onisikaṅ veṅtan. 82. veṅtiṅ onisik niṅite. 83. "ē bābu yā soṭa koṭe, ēlu vātan", iRe ne, emeṅikad dīva kasisi zāy kīnika(d), emeṅikad purged ēru onika(d), emeṅikad gined zāva asnika(d), emeṅikad pula asnika(d). 84. kite ne, aya soṅeṅ gātu aste ne, ūṅpiste tiṅpiste. 85. maṅi uṅanṅ e, vānṅu gūrita maṅan. 86. nidra kiṅiṅ zāy ātad. 87. anasir sēṅku pūṅtar e, ṅūdeṅ soṅar. 88. ṅūtar e, maṅi vaṅgitar. 89. "yā soṭa gōtendiṅ maran tiḡistaṅ e, vātaṅ. 90. maṅi elag āzi vātan?

8.91. māṅ tiḡisti marandiṅ e badēṅ kiṅanṅ e, baleṅ sekta tatan; piṅeṅ sekta tatan. 92. sile, vānṅ e āṅ sekta tatanṅ o,

sitting-planks for the four men (brothers). 78. One could pour oil on them and scrape it up back (into the bottle); such (fine) planks, he shaped (lit. planed). 79. He carried them on his shoulders and came back to the village. 80. Having brought them (to the village), he flung them down in the front-yard, making a bang.

8.81. "Here, sisters-in-law, are the sitting-planks. Let my brothers sit on these, while eating," he said to his sisters-in-law. 82. When he had said so, the sisters-in-law got up. 83. "Oh Sir! this Sota has come back now!" they exclaimed. And one (lady) would light the lamp to make light; one (lady) would bring water in a gourd-vessel; one (lady) would bring zāva in a plate; and one (lady) would bring tamarind soup. 84. So they all got busy (lit. did), seated him on their laps, and fed him (lit. made him eat and drink). 85. And he ate, and went to sleep. 86. After they (all) had slept, the day broke (lit. light occurred). 87. The elder brothers yoked the ploughs and went out to plough. 88. They ploughed. After they had ploughed, they again spoke to one another. 89. "Having pressed this rogue, Sota, under a tree, we returned. 90. Then, how did he come back?

8.91. He split the tree itself with which we pressed him down, planed it into planks, and fetched. 92. No! did he plane (the wood) himself, or some body else did it and gave

ayer sekta sitar a? 93. veniņ elag kina sapnať. 94. sile, veniņ gađad kũkna onať. 95. unŗi paņku maknať e, tigma vanať. 96. nasti vale sãna sonan", iRar e, maŗi rũtar. 97. sũrku ristar; nãŗo vatar. 98. "ore ore bũdekaņde, pendal kara maŗi anam sidať. 99. i?en goŗon reytiņ, kiku kãlku note. 100. moye-ņan gađad sonap, nẽnŗu", izi veRtar kaka, avi anam bãŗa kite site.

8.101. uŗar, tiRar. maŗi vãr(u) gunpam gudeli astar, gira murŗi astar, đevad sũtar, piŗad bastar. 102. "ledu bũdekaņde, soŗeņ ba ũŗpistu. gađad kũkna onap.maŗi tũŗu rapin", izi veRtar. 103. onisik maŗi negreņŗa kizi vaniņ ũŗpiste, tiR-piste. 104. "el mĩ anar gađad kũkna onar le. 105. vari veŗa ne manzi vari veŗa ne ra?a. 106. nĩn suŗtiņa soŗa kaņa lũku. 107. gumiņ manzine. gumid murgni sãni. 108. gaŗa vare sonma. 109. oŗa oŗa ne nĩn bũlazi ra?a", izi onisik veRte.

him? 93. What shall we do to kill him? 94. Well, no! let us call him and take him to the river. 95. We will turn a rock over, crush him underneath it, and come away. 96. Then he will die," they thought, and tilled (the fields). 97. They left the yokes and returned to the village. 98. "O ladies!" they called their wives, "give us food early in the morning. 99. Our limbs (hands and legs) have been paining since felling the jungle yesterday. 100. We will go to the river today for fishing". As they said so, the women served them food.

8.101. They drank and ate. They took a spade and a hoe; they took up the fish-basket. They came out into the front yard and sat on the verandah floor. 102. (They said,) "Get up, ladies! also feed Sota. We will take him to the river. Let him come for our help," they (the brothers) said. 103. The sisters-in-law got him all ready and fed him (lit. made him drink and eat). 104. (They said to Sota,) "Now your brothers will call you and take you to the stream (along with them). 105. Stay with them and come only with them. 106. You are, (if noticed) a man of deformity (lit. lame and blind). 107. There will be pits. You may be drowned in them and die. 108. Don't go close to the river. 109. Stay only

110. "mā anar embe kūkti otiṇa ban nān sona", izi veṛtan e, gūrzi dēvad sōtan.

8.111. "ledu na sonaṭ le. emeṇi gaḍad sonreṇ gani pendal kaṛa sonaṭ", izi soṭa veṛtan. 112. "ale re soṭa, uṭid e su satu āti, rētoṇ moyeṇ ḍaṭam asni le su 'sonaṭ sonaṭ' izi sōti koṭe", iRar e, anasir muṅgal ātar. 113. vari venka soṭa gūrzi gūrzi soRan. 114. soRar, gaḍad ḍigitalar. 115. rētoṇ moyeṇ asti lakēṇḍ kizi, unṛi peri saṭuḍiṇ maktar. 116. "ore ore soṭa, ra?a ni ra?a ni. 117. paṅku lo?i unṛi rēto manad, ital sōp?a, asnap", izi veṛtiṇ, aya soṭa vātan. 118. "embed e na, embe vare manad?" 119. "sile, aya paṅku lo?i (aḍgi) manad, ruḡ?a", izi veṛtiṇa, aya soṭa paṅku aḍgi ruḡitan. 120. ruḡitiṇ, anasir paṅku ṛista sitar.

8.121. ṛistiṇ, soṭeṇ paṅku tigitad. 122. "rām rām māpru, naṇi tigistar", iRanṛ e yā soṭa lo?i maRa soRan. 123. maRi

on the sides and come away," said the sisters-in-law to Sota. 110. "Wherever my brothers will take me, I'll go there," said Sota and came out into the frontyard rolling.

8.111. "Get up brothers, let us go. To whatever river we may go, let us go early," said Sota (to his brothers). 112. (They said,) "Ah! Sota, having eaten well, perhaps, you have grown stronger. (Well, then!) you will catch many fish and crabs. That's why you have come out saying, 'let us go, let us go'". So saying, the brothers walked ahead. 113. Behind them, Sota went rolling (on the ground). 114. They went and got down to a stream. 115. Pretending (lit. making) to be catching fish and crabs, they lifted a big flat rock. 116. "O Sota, come soon! come soon; 117. There is a crab under the rock; get it out, we will catch it", shouted the brothers to Sota, and he came. 118. (He asked them,) "Where, brothers? which side is it?" 119. "No, no! it's under this rock, get down in", said the brothers, and Sota went underneath the rock. 120. When he had gone underneath the (big) rock, the brothers let it (i.e the rock) down.

8.121. When they had dropped it, the rock pressed Sota down. 122. "O Lord Rama, they have got me crushed," said Sota and had only remained underneath. 123. When he had

soRiņ anasir, "maran tigitiņ gelsti vāti. 124. ēl paņku tigiš-
 tap. 125. paņkudiņ maRteņ aṭ'i. 126. ēl mā veṭa re'i", iRar
 e, vār(u) rētoņ moyeņ sarda āzi astar. 127. variņ doRkti
 naso astar e, nāṭo vātar. 128. "idi bōdekaņḍe, rētoņ moyeņ.
 negeņḍ kizi varḍu", iRar e, bōdekaņḍe sitar. 129. aya bōdek
 nēspate. negeņḍ kite. nūne ulidaņḍ vēkte. 130. zāva vaRte,
 ambel vaRte.

8.131. kuṛkeņ maņḍiņ noṛzi bāṭa kite. 132. bāṭa kite
 ne uņḍeņ kūkte. 133. uņḍeņ nāl'er anasir vātar. 134. tam-
 bersi re'en. 135. "soṭeņ ba uņḍeņ kūktu", izi bōdek veRte.
 136. "sonṛu, mīr kūktu gani, māp kūk'ep. 137. embe soRar
 o, mā veṭa re'en. 138. māp nes'ep, māp to'ep. 139. miņi su
 naruṅ(d) gani, mā kaṅkad iRiņ naruṅḍ ā'en. 140. mā veṭa
 vānika iRiņa māp nestap maṛi gani, māp nes'ep", izi veRtar
 e, maṛi anasir uṭar.

so remained, the elder brothers said, "When crushed under
 a tree, you escaped and came away. 124. Now we have you
 crushed with a stone. 125. You won't be able to turn the
 rock over. 126. Now you cannot come (back) behind us,"
 said the elder brothers, and merrily caught crabs and fish.
 127. They caught as many as they could find and returned
 to the village. 128. "Here, ladies! crabs and fish, clean them
 up and cook," they said and gave them to the young women.
 129. The women cleaned them up and fried them with oil
 and onion. 130. They cooked the meal and porridge.

8.131. Having cleaned the pots and pans, they served
 the food. 132. They served the food and invited (the men)
 to eat. 133. The four elder brothers came to eat. 134. The
 youngest brother did not come. 135. "Call Sota also to eat,"
 said the young women. 136. "Go, and you call (him), but we
 won't. 137. (We don't know) where he had gone; he did not
 come with us. 138. We don't know, we have not seen (him).
 139. He may be a human being for you, but for our eyes he
 is not a human being. 140. Had he come with us, we would
 have known, but (now), we don't know," said the elder
 brothers, and ate.

8.141. bōdek uṭe, soṭa bāṭa soṭeṇ iḍte. 142. "esti vale vāṭiṇa nasti vale uṇin. 143. aya bāṭa vāṇiṇ iḍna manzinaṭ", iRe ne bāṭa peRte iḍte. 144. kasra tuṛi sipate, sāpeṇ paRte. 145. maṛi aye paṛid vār gūrzi nidra kitar. 146. aya paṅku tigisti soṭa, "rām rām māpru, mā nāl'er anar paṅku tigista soRar. 147. nān kadlita iRiṇa nālgi mukeṇ āpid. bārdedaṇḍ seksi uzray kiti lakeṇḍ, nūne vāksi kerteṇ vale, nani sūṇḍeṇ sunadanam āpid," iRanṇ e, soṭa kadlitan. 148. kadlitiṇ, aya paṅku nālgi mukeṇ āṭad. 149. sūṇḍeṇ gopa sunadanam. nani palken uzray āte. 150. nasti vale ne soṭeṇ, "rām rām māpru" izi pēr astan kaka, kiku āte, kālku āte.

8.151. kiku kālku ātiṇ. nālgi palken guzam piṇḍitan; nāto tatan. 152. ḍēvad baṛalna visirtan. 153. nālgi paṅkuṇ varseka rostanṇ e, "oni oni mā anar yā paṅkuṇaṇ nilsi ēru iybapir. kiku kālku noṛbapir", izi veRtan. 154. izi veRpu

8.141. The ladies ate, and set apart the share of food for Sota. 142. "Let him eat whenever he comes. 143. We will leave his share for him," said (the women), and took out his share. 144. They cleaned the rubbish (on the floor,) and spread mats. 145. And everybody lay in his place and slept. 146. Sota, who was crushed under the rock (lit. the rock-crushed-Sota), prayed, "O Great Lord Rama! my four elder brothers went away pressing me underneath the stone. 147. When I have stirred, let it become four pieces; let them (the pieces) become so fine that oil could be spilt on them and recovered," said Sota, and moved. 148. When he had moved (his body), that rock fell into four pieces. 149. Exquisite fineness to see, such slabs were formed out of it. 150. Then, as Sota had prayed saying "Rama, Rama, O Great Lord," his hands came to him, and his legs came to him (lit. became).

8.151. When his hands and legs were restored, he carried the four slabs on his shoulder and brought them to the village. 152. And he flung them off in the varandah producing a bang. 153. He arranged the four slabs one over the other and said (to his sisters-in-law,) "O sisters-in-law, let my elder brothers take their baths standing on these stones; let them wash their hands and feet on these." 154. As he was

veRpu vaniṅ muṅgal maRi lakenḍ e, kiku silenḍa āte. kālku silenḍa āte. 155. aya onisik maṛi “ē bābu, yā soṭa vātan koṭe”, iRe ne ēru lote tate. soṭeṅ iybiste, noRte. 156. unṛi gātu astiṅa, unṛi pula tani sīnika, unṛi ūṭpisnika, kite ne, vaniṅ negreṅḍa ūṭpiste. 157. “embe soRi maRi ziya, mī anar vale re?iti. 158. niso sikaṭ “daka endaniṅ venka maRi?” 159. “sile oni bān unṛi paṅku surta ne ‘yā paṅkudiṅ elag ba kizi ona’, iRa ne, sikaṭ-daka nānu maRa. 160. avi lo, abe paṅkuṅ tata mana, mā anari vandiṅ.

8.161. ‘nilsi ēru iybapir’ izi, ‘paṅkud nilsi kiku kālku norbapir’ izi, daniṅ vandiṅ āta ne nānu maRa”, izi veRtan. 162 veRtiṅ, maṛi vaniṅ sāpa paRte site. 163. paRte ne, vaniṅ terpte. 164. terptiṅ, āR e nidra kitar. 165. zāy (i) ātiṅ, anasir guḍeḍ ṛūdeṅ otar. 166. ṛūtar, sērku ṛistar. 167. “aba

so saying, his hands disappeared (lit. non-being, they became) as before, and his legs disappeared. 155. Then the sisters-in-law exclaimed “Hey, Sir, Sota has come back!”, and they brought out water for him. And they got Sota bathed and cleaned. 156. When one had seated him in her lap, one would bring and give (him) soup and one would feed him; so they did and fed him well. 157. “Where had you been, Dear! you did not come with your brothers?” (enquired the women). 158. “What for did you stay away till it was so dark?”. 159. (He replied,) “No, sisters-in-law! I saw a stone there and thought ‘What should I do to take it along?’ Therefore, I had remained (there) till it got dark. 160. Lo there! the stones. I have brought them for the sake of my elder brothers.

8.161. Thinking that they might stand on them (i.e. the stones) to bathe, and thinking that they might wash their hands and legs on these (stones)—for this purpose only—I remained behind,” said Sota. 162. After he had said so, then they spread out a mat for him. 163. Having spread (the mat), they put him to sleep. 164. After putting him to sleep, they (all) slept like that. 165. When the day-light had appeared (lit. became), the elder brothers set out to plough. 166. They ploughed (the fields) and left the yokes. 167.

gañde, soṭeṅ goron řeyni ban otaṭ. 168. maran tigisti vātiṅ maran balen sekta tatan. 169. gaḍad otaṭ e, unṛi paṅku tigiti vātiṅ, paṅkudiṅ kuṛaṅa sekta tatan. 170. veniṅ elag kinaṭ?

8.171. sile nēṅru gorot kūkna onaṭ. 172. sālamdu niR-naṭ e, sisu kizi doknaṭ", izi anasir varḡitar. 173. varḡitar e, nāṅeliṅ pūnduṅ piṅḍi nāto vātar. 174. "ale bōdekaṅde, ambel bāṭa kidu. 175. māp uṅap e, gorot sonap", iRiṅ, bōdek bāṭa kite site. 176. vār uṭar tiRar, ḍevad sōta bastar. 177. aya onisik maṛi, "soṭeṅ ba kūkna onar le. embe soRiṅa bān osinar", iRe ne vaniṅ ba ūṭpiste. 178. ūṭpistiṅ uṭan. 179. anasir maṛi suṭa tiRar, pogo tiRar. 180. "ledu le, pendal kaṛa būlana vānaṭ", izi sōtar.

8.181. "soṭa ra'a. māp sonsinap. 182. gorot būlana vānaṭ", iRar e, vār muṅgal ātar. 183. muṅgal ātiṅ, yā soṭa

(They spoke among themselves), "Goodness! we took Sota to the place where we felled the hill-forest. 168. When we pressed him down under a tree, he cut it into planks and brought. 169. We took him to the river, and when we had come away pressing him underneath a stone, he had chipped even the stone (into slabs) and fetched. 170. What shall we do with him?

8.171. No, let us today call him and take him to the mountain. 172. We will put him in a cave, kindle fire and suffocate him", spoke the elder brothers among themselves. 173. Having spoken, they carried the ploughs and yokes on their shoulders, and came to the village. 174. "Hey, ladies, serve (us) porridge. 175. We'll eat and go to the hill". When they had said so, the young ladies served the food. 176. They (i.e. the men) ate and drank, came out, and sat in the verandah. 177. "They will also take Sota along. They are taking him wherever they go," thought the sisters-in-law, and also fed him. 178. When they had fed him, he ate. 179. The brothers then smoked cigars. 180. And they set out saying, "Get up, then; let us go out to roam about and return early."

8.181. (They said to Sota), "Come along, Sota! we are going. 182. We will go about the mountain and return," and they went ahead. 183. When they had gone ahead, Sota was

venka vār esiņd soRiņa, vēnru nasiņd deresi deresi sonsinan. 184. anasir unri negi sālām surtar. 185. "ore ore soṭa, ra?a ni. sālami inikad o maṭta manad. 186. maṭti māreņ mane; ruḡzi sur?a", izi veRtar. 187. "nān ruḡdeņ aṭ?e na. 188. kiku silu, kālku silu. elag āzi nān ruḡna. nān ke?e", iRan. 189. "ra?a re ruḡniņa ruḡ?a, siliņa merņu daņnap", izi anasir veRtar. 190. veRtiņ, tiyel ātanr, e, itaRi kaņer ital tēlitan, ataRi kaņer atal tēlitan.

8.191. deresi deresi lo?i ruḡzi soRan. 192. ruḡzi soRiņ anasir veRku kitar. 193. veRku kitar e, sālami veRku niRtar. sisu ertar. 194. ertiņ, sisu kastad. 195. sisu kastiņ, doktor. 196. doktor e, vār(u) nāṭo vātar. 197. nāṭo vātiņa, aya sālami ruḡiti soṭa emeņi porod no emeņi pēsud no gōyi soRiņ, kaņku arḡta maRan. 198. aR arḡkti maRiņ, nāņḡiņ unri

going behind them crawling as far as they went. 184. The elder brothers saw a good cave. 185. "O Sota! come here. Something seems to have walked into the cave. 186. There are foot-prints (lit. marks of having treaded); get in and see." 187. (Sota replied), "I cannot get in, brothers! 188. There are no hands and no legs (for me). How can I get in? I won't", he replied. 189. "Come away, would you enter the cave or no? otherwise, we will flog you," said the elder brothers. 190. When they had said (so), he got scared and shed tears (lit. removed this side the tears of this side, removed that side the tears of that side).

8.191. Crawling on his posteriors, he entered inside the cave. 192. When he had entered, the elder brothers collected fuel. 193. Having collected the fuel, they stuffed the cave with them, and they lighted the fire. 194. When they had lighted the fire, the fire got kindled. 195. When the fire got kindled, they suffocated him with smoke. 196. Having so suffocated him, they came away to their village. 197. After they had come to the village, Sota closed his eyes hiding himself in some corner or so of the cave, while the smoke had spread out. 198. As he remained having closed his eyes

peri piru digitad. 199. gopaņa řeyzinad. 200. piru řeytiņ, sisu nambitad.

8.201. nambitiņ soņa sālām lo?i maRan. 202. "gađa vāzinad su sūņa", iRanņ e soņa veli sōtan. 203. sōti surtiņ gađa vāzinad. 204. gađadiņ surtiņ kaņkadi (pāpam) pāya sonsinad. 205. unri rēto ūzi vāzinad. 206. daņđa kiku nasku laka gemku mane. 207. tūmeņđ asni vēŗka nastu rēto manad. 208. yā soņa surtan. 209. "aba gaņđe, rēto vāzinad. 210. naņi kaņnad le.

8.211. aya ruņđi gemku yā rēto řisni sonika iRiņa dani punem unri maRad maņi", izi soņa veRtan. 212. soņa veRpu veRpu ruņđi gemku bān řistad e rēto ūzita soRad. 213. soRiņ yā gemku sālām dēvad maRe. 214. bān maRiņ soņa surzi maRan. 215. surzi maRiņ unri pōtu nores (u) paņridiņ kaņnad e, sālami tasinad. 216. tasiniņ soņa surtan. 217. "aba-ba-ba

tightly, that day, a big rain came down. 199. It rained hard. 200. When the rain had fallen, the fire was put out.

8.201. When the fire got cooled out, Sota was (still) inside the cave. 202. "A hill-stream seems to be coming over, I will see," said Sota and came out. 203. When he had come out and seen, a hill-stream was coming over. 204. Seeing the hill-stream, one would dispel the sins of one's eyes (i.e. it was so splendid to look at). 205. There was coming a crab gliding over the flood. 206. It's claws were as big as the upper arms (of a man). 207. The crab was as big as a basket that can hold a tūm-ful (of grain). 208. Sota watched. 209. "Goodness! the crab is coming. 210. It will certainly bite me.

8.211. It will be so kind of it (i.e. the crab), if it will pass off leaving its two claws here," said Sota to himself. 212. As he was saying so, the crab left its two claws there, and went off crawling. 213. When it had gone off, the two claws remained at the entrance of the cave. 214. As they remained there, Sota kept watching. 215. When he was watching, a big tiger caught hold a pig and was bringing it into the cave. 216. While bringing so, Sota noticed. 217. "Oh!

nores sâlam tasinad. 218. deniņ elag kina", iRanr e runđi gemku meleka peRta astan. 219. vênru deresi lo'i sonsiniņ nores veni vare muđi tutad e, iřisi lo'i tasinad. 220. aya sođa runđi gemku veyu kâkpistanr e, guđukan, kařista řistan.

8.221. aya nores bama âtad e, 'trâņkna' izi panriđin ristad e, đâtsi soRad. 222. soRiņ, nasti vale, panri abe maRad. 223. yâ sođa mari veli sôtan. 224. veli sôtanr e, gađadiņ surzi maRan. 225. surzi maRiņ, aya gađa unři vedru badaniņ unři đipa gađa tasinad. 226. "râm(a), râm(a), vedru bada ne đipa gađa osinad. 227. gopa negri đipa. 228. nâ đagru vânika iRiņa nân lāgita ne iđta maRa mari. 229. daniņ nân meres kiniņ ba nâ đagru apidam maRad mari", izi veRtanr e, sođa deresi deresi gađa đagru soRan. 230. seđi ba kaņdek ânika lekend(a) kitiņ đipa ni vedru bada vani đagru vâte.

a tiger is bringing it into the cave. 218. What shall I do about it?" he thought and slowly took up the two claws of the crab. 219. As he (lit. this man) was moving towards the inside (of the cave) on his posteriors, the tiger was bringing (the hog) inside with his (tiger's) back turned to Sota. 220. Sota kept the ends of the claws wide open and let them bite the eye-balls of the tiger.

8.221. The tiger got terrified and roaring, 'trâņk', left out the hog, jumped out and went away. 222. When it had gone away, the hog remained there. 223. Sota again came out. 224. Having come out, he kept watching the flood. 225. As he kept watching, the flood was bringing a long piece of split-bamboo and a gourd-vessel. 226. (Sota prayed), "Ram, Ram, the flood is carrying a split-bamboo and a gourd-vessel. 227. It is a great fine đipa (gourd-vessel). 228. If it would only come near me, I would pull it over and keep it with me. 229. Even if I don't make use of it, it will merely stay with me," said Sota to himself and slowly crawled close to the current. 230. As if by some miracle, the đipa and the split-bamboo came close to him.

8.231. aya *ḍipa* vedru bada astanṛ e, sālami vātan.
 232. sālami vātanṛ e *ḍipa* iḍtan, vedru bada iḍtan. 233.
 "ōho, rām rām māpru, sisu vizu nambitad. kaṇḍek sisu
 manad. 234. yā nores panṛidiṅ tatad e, ṛista soRad. 235. negi
 lōku iRiṅ yā panṛi kaṇḍa apidam suRta tiRar maṛi. 236.
 naṅi surtiṅa kiku silu kālku silu. 237. 'rām rām māpru,' izi
 mi pēr asi yā vedru kāpsi tigita iRiṅa naṅi kiku kālku vizu
 āpiv". 238. izi veRtanṛ e, vedru bada kāpsi oṛoRu tigay ātan.
 239. tigay ātiṅ kiku kālku vizu nālgi aṅḷḷaṅ vizu āte.
 240. asteṅ kiku āte.

8.241. maṭteṅ kālku āte. 242. uṇḍeṅ veyu ātad.
 243. sūṇḍeṅ kaṅku āte, venreṅ gibiṅ āte. 244. ātiṅ,
 nasti vale, vizu ātad gani uṇḍeṅ anam siled, porpadeṅ
 pāy siled. 245. silitiṅa panṛi kaṇḍa ne surzi surzi tinan. 246.
 āR maRiṅ nela ne ātad o ruṇḍi neleṅ e ātad o. 247. vānru

8.231. He took hold of the *ḍipa* and the split-bamboo,
 and came back to the cave. 232. Having come to the cave, he
 put the *ḍipa* and the split-bamboo down. 233. "O Great Lord
 Ram! all the fire was put off; only a little has remained. 234.
 The tiger brought a hog and went away leaving it (here).
 235. Any other person (i.e. healthy persons) would have
 roasted the flesh of the hog and eaten it. 236. For me, then,
 there are no hands and no legs. 237. Holding your name
 as 'O Great Lord Ram,' if I warm this split bamboo and
 press it over (myself), may my hands and legs be restored
 (lit. happen)!" 238. So he said and having warmed the split
 bamboo, he pressed it all over his body. 239. When he had
 pressed it over, all his hands and legs came back to him
 completely. 240. There were the hands to hold with.

8.241. There were the legs to walk on. 242. There was
 the mouth to eat with. 243. There were the eyes to see with;
 there were the ears to hear with. 244. When everything had
 occurred, still, there was no food to eat, there was no cloth to
 put on. 245. When there was none, he would only roast the
 flesh of the hog and eat. 246. As he remained so, a month
 or two might have passed. 247. The *ḍipa* that he had pulled

lāgiti tati ḍipa negreṇḍa sur̥tad. 248. "ōho, yā sir narun̄ embe son'en. 249. yā kaṇḍa tinika, sālami manzinika. 250. veniṇ pāta siled, para siled, uṇḍeṇ ṭiṇḍi siled.

8.251. gaḍa osi maRiṇ naṇi lāgita tatan. 252. naṇi inika ki'en. 253. naṇi oṛ koṛ'en, naṇi mires ki'en. 254. veniṇ emeṇi mōstaram kina le. 255. naṇi gaḍa osi maRad. 256. embe ne aṭṛistad maṛi no, embe ne ota tigitad maṛi no. 257. naṇi gelpistan gade, soni pānamdiṇ aḍitan gade. 258. nān veniṇ emeṇi budi ba ki'eṇḍa maRiṇa naṇi pāpam taglinad", iRad e ḍipa olbitad. 259. "sile nān nēnru embe ba sona", iRad e aya ḍipa aya reyu sōta soRad. 260. tableṇ gineṇ porni savkari ban soRad.

8.261. tableṇ gineṇ saṭveṇ vizu riṇitad e, poṭa lo'i niRtad. 262. niRtad e maṛi gūrzi vātad. 263. soṭaban sālami vātad. 264. aḍe biḍe kara kampa nanika ṭeṛka lakenḍa keRsi maRan sālām sardu. 265. ḍipa soRad izi yā soṭa nes'en. 266.

in and brought watched him well enough. 248. (It said to itself), "Oh! this frail human would not go anywhere. 249. Eating this flesh, and staying in this cave—(that is all he does). 250. For him, there is no cloth or nothing, and no food to eat.

8.251. As the flood was carrying me, he pulled me in. 252. He wouldn't do me anything. 253. He wouldn't use me, and put me to work. 254. What shall I do for him? 255. The flood was carrying me. 256. It would have dashed me against any place; it would have crushed me anywhere. 257. He saved me, didn't he? And he saved my life (lit. the going-out-life) from danger. 258. If I do not think of any good idea for him, it will be sinful for me," thought the *ḍipa*. 259. "Well, no! I'll go somewhere today," said the *ḍipa*, and the same night it went out. 260. It went to a merchant, who sells utensils (lit. vessels and cups).

8.261. It swallowed all the big pots, cups and small pots and stored them inside its belly. 262. Having stored them, it again came (back) rolling. 263. It came to Sota at the cave. 264. He had closed the entrance to the cave with sticks and stalks made into a sort of door. 265. Sota did not know that

nidra kizinan yā soṭa. 267. “embeṇiṇ sālām loʻi ruḡna”, iRad e ruḡden aṭʻetad aya ḡipa. 268. nikteṇ bastad. “teṛka reʻa re soṭa tuṭ ruṃba ḡipa, gineṇ tata re soṭa tuṭ ruṃba ḡipa, saṭveṇ tata re soṭa tuṭ ruṃba ḡipa” izi soṭeṇ niktad. 269. “ōho eseṇ silika inika pāṭa pārzinad. 270. inika nā pēr asi niksinad”, izi tiyel ātanṛ e gūriti sāpad ne kastan.

8.271. kastin āRe vani pēr asi asi ne niknad. 272. “sile inika ātiṇa āpid e gani, teṛka reʻiṇ ba ōra kina apidam sūṇa”, iRanṛ e niṇita soRan. 273. soRi suṛtiṇ ḡipa vani pēr asi niksinad. 274. ḡipadiṇ suṛtanṛ e teṛka rētan. 275. teṛka rētiṇ ḡipa sālami soRad. 276. soRad, nastivale adi riṇiti maRi sazu vizu vāktad. 277. vāktad e, “ō na ō na yā sālām saṛa sāt sīzi manʻa. 278. nān maṛi sona le,” iRad e, maṛi ḡipa

the *ḡipa* went out. 266. Sota was sleeping. 267. The *ḡipa* thought, “From which side shall I enter into the cave,” and was unable to get in. 268. It started to wake him up:

“Open the door, O Sota, I am the *ḡipa*

I’ve brought you pots, Sota, I am the *ḡipa*

I’ve brought you pans, Sota, I am the *ḡipa*”

Thus it began to wake him up. 269. Sota thought, “Oh, it has never been like this; someone is singing. 270. Someone is calling me by name and waking me up”. So saying, he got frightened and held fast to the mat (he was sleeping on).

8.271. When he had held fast (to the mat), it (the *ḡipa*) was still waking him by name. 272. He (finally) got up and thought, “Come what may! I’ll look out from a side without opening the door. 273. When he got up and looked, the *ḡipa* was waking him by name. 274. He saw the *ḡipa* and opened the door. 275. When the door was opened, the *ḡipa* went into the cave. 276. Having gone in, it poured out all the stuff it had swallowed. 277. Having poured out, (it said to Sota), “O brother! brother! clean the inside of the cave with cowdung solution and remain. 278. I’ll go out again”.

gürizi soRad; perku porni savkari ban soRad. 279. soRad e nastivale mansu mansu kizi perku poṭa loʻi niRay ātad. 280. dani iṣtam vāti papu vizu poṭa loʻi niRay ātad.

8.281. maṛi guṛḡuṛuna gūrzi vātad. 282. vātiṅ aya soṭa maṛi ṭerka keṛtanṛ e nidra kizinan. 283. maṛi nikteṅ bastad.

“perku tata re soṭa, tuṭ ṛumba ḍipa.

papu tata re soṭa, tuṭ ṛumba ḍipa

ṭerka reʼa re soṭa, tuṭ ṛumba ḍipa

nāsu kutʼa re soṭa, tuṭ ṛumba ḍipa”

izi vaniṅ niktad. 284. “aya ḍipa vātad koṭe” inṛeṅ ni gazi bizi ātanṛ e ṭerka rētan. 285. ṭerka reṭiṅ ḍipa ṛugita soRad. 286. ṛugita soRad e perku būmid vāktad, papu vāktad. 287. “yā perku negreṅḍa kizi kersi iḍʼa. 288. nān maṛi sona. 289. ēru tasi yā perku zāva varzi uṅʼa. 290. nān maṛi sona le”, iRad e aya ḍipa gūrzi gūrzi soRad.

It said so and went rolling to a merchant dealing in rice, 279. Having gone, it filled its stomach with as much rice as it liked. 280. It filled its stomach with as much dhall as it liked.

8.281. And it came away rolling. 282. When it had come, Sota was sleeping with the door shut. 283. And it began to wake him up:

“I’ve brought rice, Sota, I am the *ḍipa*

I’ve brought dhall, Sota, I am the *ḍipa*

Open the door, Sota, I am the *ḍipa*

Untie the rope, Sota, I am the *ḍipa*”.

So it woke him up. 284. “Goodness! the *ḍipa* has come”, Sota exclaimed and opened the door hurriedly. 285. When he had opened the door, the *ḍipa* got in. 286. Having got in, the *ḍipa* poured on the floor the rice and the dhall (that it had swallowed). 287. “Clean this rice and keep it aside. 288. I shall go out again. 289. Get water, cook meal with this rice and eat. 290. I shall again go out”, said the *ḍipa*, and went off rolling.

8.291. yā soṭa maṛi sarda sarda ātanṛ e tableṇ astan, gaḍad soRan. 292. ēṛu tatan, perku noRtan. 293. sisu ertan. 294. aḍe biḍe solu lakeṇḍa kitanṛ e, sonṛo perku peRtan. 295. vani iṣṭam vāti lakeṇḍa zāva vaRtan, papu vaRtan. 296. uṭan tiRanṛ e, gūrita manan. 297. aya gūriti soRi ḍipa pāteṇ porni savkari ban soRad. 298. pasaramku, pāseṇ, sokeṇ, dani iṣṭam vāti lakeṇḍa, dani poṭa asni naso, poṭa lo?i niRtad. 299. niRtad e maṛi gūrzi vātad. 300. gūrzi vātad e soṭa ban tatad.

8.301. tatiṇ soṭa gūrita manan. 302. maRiṇ, “niṇ?a soṭa”, izi niktiṇ sari niṇitan. 303. niṇitanṛ e ṭerka rētan. ḍipa sālam lo?i soRad. 304. soRad e adi oti pāta para vizu vāktad. 305. “ōna ōna” iRad. 306. “inika na”, izi aya soṭa veRtan. 307. “ēl maṛi nān son?e le, zāy āzi vātad. 308. nī iṣṭam vāti lakeṇḍ varzi uṇ?a. 309. nī iṣṭam vāti pāteṇ porpa?a 310. yā sālam ṛisi nīn embe kaṇḍek dūram sonma.

8.291. Sota, becoming very happy, took the pots and went to a stream. 292. He fetched water and washed the rice. 293. He lit the fire. 294. He made a sort of fire-place and put the rice over it. 295. He cooked as much rice and dhall as he wanted. 296. He drank and ate, and remained sleeping. 297. The *ḍipa* that went out rolling, went to a merchant, who sold clothes. 298. It filled its belly with as many garments, dhoties and shirts as it wanted and as its belly could hold. 299. And it came away having so filled its stomach. 300. It came away rolling and brought them to the place of Sota.

8.301. When it had brought these, Sota was sleeping. 302. When he was so, it woke him up saying, “Get up, Sota!” and he got up. 303. He had got up and opened the door, the *ḍipa* went into the cave. 304. Having gone in, it emitted out all the clothing that it had brought. 305. “O brother, brother!”, It shouted (lit. said) to him. 306. “What, brother?” asked Sota. 307. “Now, I can’t go out again; day-light has come. 308. Cook and eat as much as you want. 309. Put on clothes as you like. 310. Don’t go out even a short distance leaving this cave.

8.311. nī vaṅṭa veyni naso veRku dari darid ne sonsi ruṭku laka veRku taga. 312. dūram sonma. 313. ini paṅi kima. 314. nā iṣṭam ātika vizu nān tana le", izi aya ḍipa veRtad. 315. veRtiṅ, sarda sarda ātanṅ e, aya ḍipa veRti bāṅiṅ embe dūram son'en. 316. āR maRiṅ zāy ātad. 317. zāy ātiṅ aya ḍipa veli sō'ed; sālam lo'i ne manzinad. 318. podu ātiṅa sōnad. 319. maṛi podu ātiṅ, "ō na ō na, nīn man'a, nān sona le", iRad e ḍipa gūrizi soRad. 320. soRad e, negi sompoti inṛo ruḡitad.

8.321. ruḡitad e, baṅaram peṭed soRad. 322. dani iṣṭam vāti naso poṭa lo'i niRtad. 323. bāṅiṅ rūpayṅa peṭed soRad. 324. soRad e dani iṣṭam vāti naso poṭa lo'i niRtad. 325. bāṅiṅ maṛi gūrizi vāṭad. 326. gūrizi vātiṅ, yā soṭa ṭerka keRtanṅ e gūrita manan. 327. sālam ḍēvadaṅḍ nikteṅ bastad:

"rūpayṅ tata re soṭa ṭuṭ-rūmba ḍipa
baṅaram tata re soṭa ṭuṭ-rūmba ḍipa

8.311. Get two sticks at a time for fuel, only going to the nearby places,—just enough to cook your food. 312. Don't go far away. 313. Don't do any (other) work. 314. I will get you whatever I like", said the *ḍipa*. 315. Sota became happy, and would not go to any distant places from the time it had told him so. 316. Then (lit. so being) the day-light came. 317. When day has dawned, the *ḍipa* would not go out; it would remain only inside the cave. 318. It would go out at the fall of dusk. 319. When dusk had fallen, it said to Sota, "O brother! brother! you stay here, I'll go." And it went out rolling. 320. Having gone, it got into a very wealthy (man's) house.

8.321. Having entered (the house), it went into the box having gold. 322. It filled the inside of its belly with as much (gold) as it liked. 323. From there, it went into the box having rupees. 324. Having gone, it filled the inside of its belly with as many (rupees) as it wanted. 325. From there, again, it came away rolling. 326. When it had come rolling, Sota remained sleeping having closed the door. 327. (Then) it began to wake Sota from the verandah:

'Rupees have I brought, Sota, I'm the *ḍipa*
Gold have I brought, Sota, I'm the *ḍipa*

teřka re?a re soęa tuę-rŭmba đipa
seRla re?a re soęa tuę-rŭmba đipa”

izi niktad. 328. niktij soęa nięitan. 329. nięitanę e teřka
reęan. 330. teřka reęin đipa řugita soRad.

8.331. “ō na ō nā”, iRad. 332. “son?a, peęđa tasi bēn
tirpa?a”, izi đipa veRtin, soęa soRan. 333. peęđa tatanę e
tir(u)patan. 334. tir(u)patię, “bēn dŭpam sur?a”, izi veRtin
dŭpam suRtan. 335. dŭpam suRtin, nasti vale, rŭpayę(u)
baęaram tirupati ban vaktad. 336. vaktij soęa surtanę e sarda
sarda ātan. 337. “nīn embe idnid o kersi osi iđ?a”, izi đipa
veRtad. 338. vāņu kerta otan. 339. vani iętam vāti ban
iđtan. 340. abeņiņ aya đipa dinami reę-zāl oknad; dani iętam
vātika vizu tanad.

8.341. āR kizi anam danam vizu tatad. 342. baęaram
veęđi vizu tatad. 343. aya sālam basten pari silenđa embe

Open the door, Sota, I'm the *đipa*

Open the gate, Sota, I'm the *đipa*.”

So it woke him up. 328. When it had awakened, Sota woke
up. 329. Having got up, he opened the door. 330. When he
had opened, the *đipa* went in.

8.331. It called to him, “O brother! brother! 332. Go
and get cow-dung, and plaster (the floor) here”, said the
đipa, and Sota left. 333. He brought cow-dung and plastered
the floor. 334. He plastered and when the *đipa* asked him,
“burn incense here”, he burnt the incense. 335. After the
incense was burnt, it poured out all the rupees and gold on
the plastered spot. 336. When it had poured, Sota saw and
became immensely happy. 337. The *đipa* told him, “Take that
all over and keep it wherever you like”. 338. He took that
all over in handfulls. 339. He kept that in some places he
liked. 340. Thenceforth that *đipa* would go out(?) day and
night, and would bring all that it liked.

8.341. Thus it brought (him) all food and wealth. 342.
It brought (him) gold and silver. 343. Without leaving any
room (even) to sit, it filled the whole cave with food and

surtiṅ ba anam danam ne kitad. 344. vaniṅ maṛi aya ḍipa, "ō na ō na" iRad. 345. "vizu ātad gani unṛi siled. 346. eso izi eso? eso tiriṭi batem ba gani varzi unḍeṅ kaṣtam. 347. embe bōdel maṛiṅa, bān nānu sona le. 348. nēnṛu doṛkṭiṅa vāna, doṛk'eṅḍa maṛiṅa re'e. 349. eseṅ doṛkṭiṅa nāṅḍiṅ nānu vāna le. 350. naṅi visarisma, naṅi olbima.

8.351. nān inika ā'e. 352. nīnu varzi unṅi sālami ne man'a. 353. sālām riṣi embe dūram somma," iRad e aya ḍipa sōtad e gūriṣi soRad. 354. soRad e, vāram ne būlatad o ruṅḍi vāramku ne būlatad o. 355. būlazi bōda rāzu paṭṭam soRad. 356. bōda rāzu paṭṭami soRad e, inṅiṅ tap'eṅḍa būlatad. 357. emeṅikad dani mansuḍiṅ re'etad. 358. bōda rāzu gālsiṅ mansu kitad. 359. negi nidra vēladu, nidra kizi maṛiṅ, daniṅ embe rōsay ā'eṅḍa kālu vareṚaṅḍ riṅitad. 360. riṅitad e poṭad niṛtad.

wealth (lit. wherever one sees, it made only food and riches). 344. And the *ḍipa* addressed him again, "O brother! brother! 345. Everything is accomplished, but there is not one thing. 346. How then? Even if one has all provisions, it is difficult to cook food. 347. I will go to the place where there is a bride. 348. If I find one today, I'll come; if not, I won't come. 349. I'll return the day when I have found (a bride for you). 350. Don't worry for me, don't think of me.

8.351. Nothing will happen to me (lit. I won't become anything). 352. You cook and eat, and stay only in the cave. 353. Don't go anywhere leaving the cave", said the *ḍipa*, came out and went off rolling. 354. Having gone, it might have wandered a week or two. 355. Having wandered about, it went to the city (kingdom) of Boda Raju (the King, Boda). 356. Having gone to the kingdom of the Boda King, it roamed about without missing a single house. 357. No one (i.e. young woman) was agreeable to its mind (lit. did not come to its mind). 358. It wanted the daughter of the Boda King. 359. At the time of good sleep, as she was sleeping, the *ḍipa* swallowed her from the side of her legs without (giving her) any sense of touch. 360. Having swallowed, it contained her in its belly.

8.361. niRtad e gŭrizi vātad. 362. soṭa ban vātad. 363. soṭa ban vātiṅ, ṭerka keRtanr e soṭa nidra kizinan. 364. soṭa pēr asi nikteṅ bastad:

“ṭerka re?a re soṭa tuṭ-rŭmba ḍipa
bōdel tata re soṭa tuṭ-rŭmba ḍipa
dīva kasis?a soṭa tuṭ-rŭmba ḍipa
zāy ki?a re soṭa tuṭ-rŭmba ḍipa”

izi ḍipa niktad. 365. niktiṅ, soṭa niṅitanr e, dīva kasisi zāy kitan, ṭerka retan. 366. rētiṅ ḍipa inro soRad. 367. inro soRad e, riṅiti maRi bōdeldiṅ sōptad. 368. sōptad e, ri?eriṅ zōra basa kitad. 369. ri?eriṅ basa kitad e, kaṣṭam sukam no negi māṭa no se?i māṭa no, batkini batku no, veRtad. 370. “yāya iRiṅa nīn e, buba iRiṅa vānr e.

8.371. taṅi ri?er lakeṅḍa āzi teptiṅa tev?eṅḍa, kistiṅa kinz?eṅḍa āR āzi negreṅḍa batikidu”, izi veRtad. 372. veRtad

8.361. Having contained (so), it came away rolling. 362. It came to the place of Sota. 363. When it had come to the place of Sota, he was sleeping having closed the door. 364. It began to wake Sota calling him by name:

“Open the door, Sota, I am the *ḍipa*
A bride have I brought, Sota, I’m the *ḍipa*
Light the lamp, Sota, I am the *ḍipa*
Make light, O Sota, I am the *ḍipa*”

Thus the *ḍipa*, woke him up. 365. When it had waken him up, Sota got up, lit the lamp, made light, and opened the door. 366. When (the door was) opened the *ḍipa* went into the house (i.e. the cave). 367. It went in, and emitted out the bride that it had swallowed. 368. Having emitted (her out), she seated both of them (Sota and the bride) together. 369. Having seated the two together, she told them about difficulties and happiness, good things and bad things, and the life to live, etc. 370. The *ḍipa* further said, “You alone are the mother; he alone is the father.

8.371. Like two sisters(?) live happily without breaking, even if (attempted to be) broken, without being torn even if torn apart. 372. Having said so, it (the *ḍipa*) per-

e, pūrvam seliti māmulu nūne paṣiṅ kitad. 373. nūne paṣiṅ kitīṅ ri-nēṅḍ e soRad o mu-nēṅḍ o soRad o. nastivale soṭa olbitan. 374. "iRu maRiṅa iR ā'ed. 375. nān unṛi budi kina", iRanṛ e, būmid iska muṭeṅḍ kerta astan. 376. unṛi gumēṅḍ ginza muṭid kūrpṭa astan. 377. unṛi kīdu perku astan. 378. vānṛu maRi sālamdiṅ ṛista sitan. 379. kāki kār in'i ban, poṭi siya in'i ban, nani vēnam lo'i soRanṛ e, būmīdiṅ māristan, āgasamdiṅ māristan. 380. "rām, tali mālasmi, koṅḍa rāzu poṭadu nāl'er anar, nān oren tambeṛi puṭṇa manzinap.

8.381. puṭṭi maRiṅ, naṅi gopa māleṅ kina manzinar. 382. nān māleṅ batku batkizi nizam musku naṅi modoRaṅḍ kiku kālku sileṅḍa āzi ādvat kiku kālku āti maRiṅa, yā muṭeṅḍ iska viri vitta iRiṅa, naṅi ādvat kiku kālku āti lakeṅḍa ne, ādvati mēṛa mide āzi soniv. 383. ṭoki-dasi lake-lamta āzi soniv. 384. uṅḍeṅ ṭiṅḍi āpiv, porpadiṅ pāyi āpid. 385. naṅi nālgi aṅḷuṅṅaṅ vīzu anekam āzi soniv", iRanṛ e muṭeṅḍ iska viri vitta ṛistan.

formed the traditional 'oil and turmeric' (a type of Konda marriage, see Introduction: p. 17). 373. After it had performed the oil and turmeric ceremony, two or three days passed; then, Sota thought. 374. "Staying like this won't do. 375. I have (lit. make) an idea", he said, and took up out of the earth a handful of sand, and held it. 376. He also held a pumpkin seed together with it in his hand (lit. fist). 377. In the other hand he held rice. 378. He left off the cave in which he lived. 379. He went to a thick jungle, where even a crow would not crow (lit. say 'kār'), and a sparrow would not chirp (lit. say 'siya'). And he wished the Earth and the Sky. 380. "Lord Rama! Mother Mahalakshmi! we were born to the Konda King (i.e. chief)-four elder brothers, and myself, the youngest of the brothers.

8.381. As we were born (so), they put me to a lot of hardship. 382. If I really lived such a hard life, and if my hands and legs being truly not there from the beginning came later on, then, if I fling out this handful of sand, just as my hands and legs came to me (before), let there be a mansion (made for me). 383. Let there be servants and farmers. 384. Let there be food to eat and clothing to wear. 385. Let there be all the four supports(?) and everything (for me)",

386. mēra ātad, mide ātad. 387. ʔoki-dasi laka-lamta vizu ātar.
388. nālgi angluṇaṇ vizu ātad. 389. vānru muṭid kūrpti maRi
gumeṇḍ ginza adi nēritad e piriṣi sonsinad. 390. sonsiniṇ vizu
būlazi suṛtan.

8.391. aya soṭa suṛtanr e sālamī soRan. 392. abe sālamī
maRi ostu boṇḍaram vizu mērad otar, mided otar. 393. aya
ḍipa, soṭeṇ maRi bōdeli yā soṭi, mēradu midedu negēṇḍ āzi
batkizinar. 394. unṛi reyu unṛi astamanamdiṇ unṣti gumeṇḍ
dolu pirita soRad e, tamber nāl?er anasir maRi nāṭo soRa an-
ditad. 395. anditad e, nāru suṭula suṭla vēstad. 396. embe unṛi
puyu pū?ed. 397. embe unṛi pinza as?ed. 398. koneṇ musku
koneṇ teṇra teṇri ganta ganti āte ne 'pasika tina na veRtika
tina na', nani kusa āta manad. 399. āti maRiṇ aya tamber
nāl?er anasir ēl uṭiṇ gaṛekdiṇ siled. gopa bīdur ātar. 400.
veRku porsi āku porsi losi unṣinar.

he said and scattered away the handful of sand. 386. There
were mansions for him (lit. storeyed building and terraced
building). 387. There were servants and farmers. 388. All
the four protections(?) were there. 389. The pumpkin seed
that he held (earlier together with sand) in his hand, sprout-
ed and began to spread out. 390. As it was growing, he went
round and watched all that.

8.391. Sota saw (all that) and went to the cave. 392.
They shifted to the mansion all the materials that were in the
cave. 393. The *ḍipa*, Sota's wife, Soti were living happily
in the mansion. 394. Overnight (lit. in a night and a day),
the pumpkin plant that he planted spread out growing and
reached the village where his four older brothers were living.
395. Having reached, it encircled the village. 396. Nowhere
does it put on a flower. 397. Nowhere does it bear a fruit.
398. With ends ever stretching, it spread out thickly and dens-
ly with the leaves appearing so nice that one might feel,
'should I eat them raw or should I eat them cooked?' 399.
As it had been so, the four elder brothers would have nothing
to eat a moment later, if they have eaten now, so poor had
they become. 400. They were making their living on selling
fire-wood, and selling leaves.

8.401. vari aysi aposi maRi valeRi sompoti vizu soRad.
 402. uRpadeṅ gōsi siled, porpadeṅ pāta siled. 403. gumam
 visirni garṇdeṅ perzi tasi muṛiṅ muṛiṅ kizi ayaka porpanar.
 404. nani batku batkizar. 405. "ōho saldi uṭiṅa podoy siled.
 406. (dani āma pūku deṅiti batku) niso negreṅḍa batkizi
 maRap gade maṅi ini biporti ātad. 407. yā gumeṅḍ kusa
 apidam tinzi ārayasnaṅ (argisnaṅ)", iRar e nasti vale gumeṅḍ
 kusad anditar. 408. dinami aya gumeṅḍ kusa ne tinzi batki-
 zinar. 409. gumeṅḍ kusa tinzi vāram ne ātad o, padi rōsku ne
 ātad o. 410. piṛku tiRi lakeṅḍa koneṅ āku vizu ūṛsi sapaṭam
 kizi guṅḍa kizi tinzi otar.

8.411. tinzi otar soṭa mani paṭṅam soRar e anditar. 412.
 "ōho eso izi eso māṭ kusa tinaṅ le, bōdek manzi kusa vaṛiv.
 413. māṭ tamber nāl'er goṛot sonaṅ e veRku tanaṅ. 414. aya
 veRku pornaṅ e perku kolzi zāva vaṛisi uṅaṅ", iRar e tamber

8.401. All the wealth that they had at the time of their
 mother and father was gone. 402. There was no strip of loin
 cloth to wear, and no upper-cloth to cover their bodies with.
 403. Collecting the cloth pieces thrown out (by people) and
 tying such pieces with many knots, thus they were wearing
 them. 404. Such a life they were living. 405. They thought,
 "Alas! if we have eaten the breakfast, there is nothing (to
 eat) in the evening. 406. What a good life we lived and what
 difficulties have come upon us! 407. Let us at least eat and
 live on these pumpkin leaves", they said, and reached to
 the pumpkin leaves. 408. Daily they were living only eating
 the pumpkin leaves. 409. Maybe a week or ten days had
 passed after they started eating the pumpkin leaves. 410.
 Like a pest (lit. worms), they cleaned off even the end-
 leaves (i.e. sprouts) and ate them off(?) thoroughly.

8.411. Having eaten, they went (along the plant) and
 reached the town, where Sota was living. 412. They said,
 "To what extent do we eat these leaves! Let the women
 stay and cook the leaves. 413. Let four of us, the brothers,
 go to the mountain and bring fire-wood. 414. We will sell
 the fire-wood, buy rice, have meals cooked and eat". Saying

nāl'er veRkañ soRar. 415. nālgi bōdek maRe ne avi kusa vaRte, maRe. 416. tamber nāl'er nālgi kāvriñ veRku tatar. 417. tatar e aya bōdek(u) vaRti maRi kusa no pula no uṭar tiRar. 418. aya veRku piñditar e paṭṇami portey otar. 419. tirpsi otar e, soṭa rāzu mani mērad otar. 420. "bābu veRku ayider koñider su?", izi tamber(i) nāl'er veRtar.

. 8.421. veRtiñ soṭa rāzu ḍēvad sōta suṭtan. 422. "bābu mīr emeñiñ? 423. mīr mā nāṭoṇi lōku ā'ider, ā'i mūrta mani-der". 424. "sile bābu, māp gopa dūramtañd veRku porsī āku porsī losi uñzinap. 425. batkini batkudiñ veRtiña sigu na sēmar na. 426. ḍoṇa kitiña gade toRna onar. 427. losni uñi variñ sigu na sēmar na" izi veRtiñ, "maṛi parva siled, maniv veRku", iRanṛ e kāvriñ karidu tālpa vāti lakēṇḍa sitan. 428. sitanṛ e "eseñ tatiñ ba bēn e tagaṭ, mīr esonḍar manider?"

so, the four brothers went out for fire-wood. 415. The four young ladies stayed home; they cooked the vegetables and remained. 416. The four brothers brought four *kāvri*s of fire-wood. 417. Having brought, they ate the vegetables or soup that the ladies had cooked (for them). 418. They carried the fire-wood and brought it to the town to sell. 419. Having moved about, they carried (the fire-wood) to the house of Sota itself. 420. "Sirs, will anybody buy fuel?" asked the four brothers.

8.421. When (they had) said (so), King Sota came out into the verandah and saw. 422. (He asked them), "Sirs, where are you from? 423. You are not the people of our town; you seem to be strangers". 424. (They replied), "No Sir, we are from a distance, (living on) selling the fire-wood and leaves. 425. Why should it be shameful if we tell you the life we are living? 426. If we have done any theft, then, of course, we will be tied and taken in (lit. they will tie and take us away). 427. But for those who live on wages, why should there be any shame or fear?". When they had said (so), Sota said, "Well, it does not matter; let the fire-wood stay here," said Sota, and gave them a profitable price. 428. Having given, (Sota said), "Whenever you bring (firewood),

429. "māp tamber nāl'er nālgi bōdek, niso ne bābu. koṛo siler, kokra siler. manikap e nisonḍap." 430. "vigeRiṅ tateṅ iRiṅa nālgi ayli koṛok nālgi kaṭeṅ āku tapiv.

8.431. mīr tamber nāl'ider nālgi kāvriṅ veRku tagaṭ", izi veRtan. 432. vār sarda sarda ātar e soRar. 433. "ore ore bōdekaṅde, vigeRiṅ ēl(u) mīr nāl'ider āku koydu. 434. nālep veRku kinap". 435. iRar e aya podoy uṭar, tiRar gūrita maRar. 436. zāy ātiṅ maṛi goṛot soRar. 437. nālgi bōdek āku koyte. 438. tamberi nāl'er veRku kitar. 439. toRtar e piṅḍita otar. 440. soṭa rāzu inṛo ne otar.

8.441. soṭa rāzu inṛo otiṅ variṅ suṛtan. 442. "tatider a bābu", iRiṅ "tatap bābu" iRar. 443. "vizider vātider a, maṛi esoṅḍar manar a?" 444. "sile bābu vizep e vātap". 445. nasti vale aya soṭa maṛi variṅ ḍabuṅ sitan. 446. ayli koṛok vizu vāte

bring it only here. How many of you are there?" (he asked). 429. "We are four brothers and four women—only so many, Sir, no children and no more; we are only so many living," (they replied). 430. "When you bring fuel tomorrow, also let the four women bring four bundles of leaves (for us).

8.431. You, four brothers, bring four *kāvri*s of fire-wood", said Sota. 432. They became happy and left. 433. (They spoke to their wives), "O young ladies! You four cut leaves now for tomorrow. 434. We four will get the fire-wood". 435. They said so, and in the evening, ate and drank, and slept. 436. When the day broke, they went to the mountain. 437. The four ladies cut leaves. 438. The four brothers gathered fire-wood. 439. They tied them all up and brought them carrying. 440. They came to the house of King Sota, itself.

8.441. When they had brought (them) to his house, the Sota King saw them. 442. "Have you brought (them), Sir?" asked Sota, and (they replied), "Sir, we've brought". 443. "Have all of you come or are there any more else?", asked Sota. 444. "No, Sir, we are all come." 445. Then, Sota gave them money (due to them). 446. All the ladies have also

mane. 447. "subṛi ambel vaRti sitiṇa uṇzi sonṛu pāpam, vanditi vātider", izi veRtiṇ vāru maRar. 448. nasti vale ālsiṇ veRtan. 449. "unṛi ban kūli zāva var'a. 450. unri ban(u) aḍeṇḍ sāma perkaṇ sēreṇḍ iska kūrpsi zāva var'a.

8.451. unṛi ban moya pula ki'a. 452. unṛi ban ṛika sek'eṇḍa koyzi iska kūrpsi pula ki'a", iRanṛ e ālsiṇ veRtan. 453. māsi veRti lakenḍa ālsi vaRtad. 454. yā nālgi gineṇaṇ kūli zāva bāṭa ki'a. 455. nālgi doneṇaṇ sāma zāva bāṭa ki'a. 456. nālgi gineṇaṇ moya pula bāṭa ki'a. 457. nālgi doneṇaṇ ṛika pula bāṭa ki'a", iRanṛ e ālsiṇ veRtan. 458. māsi veRti lakenḍa ālsi bāṭa kitad. 459. bāṭa kitiṇ variṇ uṇḍeṇ kūktan. 460. "radu bābu uṇḍeṇ. pāpam baṇa sāti manider", izi veRtiṇ noṛbatar e uṇḍeṇ vātar.

8.461. ayli koṛokaṇ inṛo basa kitan; moga koṛoriṇ ḍēvad basa kitan. 462. ayli koṛokaṇ gineṇaṇi zāva sibistan. 463.

come. 447. "We'll cook and give you a little porridge; eat and go. Alas! you have come quite tired". When Sota had said (so), they remained. 448. Then, Sota told his wife. 449. "Cook rice meal separately (lit. in one place). 450. And cook another meal with two measures of *sāma*, mixing with it, a handful of sand.

8.451. Cook again fish-soup separately. 452. And cook separately cucumber-soup without peeling (the skin) and mixing in it a handful of sand". 453. The wife cooked as the husband asked. 454. "Serve the rice meal in four plates. 455. Serve the *sāma* meal in four leaf-cups. 456. Serve the cucumber-soup in four cups. 457. Serve the fish-soup in four cups," (Sota told his wife). 458. The wife served (food) as the husband said. 459. When (she had) served, he invited them to eat. 460. "Come, Sirs, to eat. Alas! you are dying of hunger". (When Sota had) said so, they washed up and came to eat.

8.461. He seated the women inside the house, and the men in the verandah. 462. He let the women be given the meals in plates. 463. He let the men be given the meals in

mogo kořoriņ doneņani zāva sibistan. 464. sibistiņ ayli kořok uče, mogakořor uřar. 465. uřar tiRar e, đēvad sōta bastar, nālgi ayli kořok, nāl'er moga kořor. 466. ayli kořok moga kořoriņ veRte. 467. "gopa negi zāva vaRta maRar. gopa negi pula vaRta maRar. rāzu inroni tiņđi gopa negi tiņđi uřar koče", izi ayli kořok veRte. 468. aya moga kořor "maņi sāma zāva sitar. řika pula sitar. gopa iska ne, gopa paņku ne, koRktiņ palku mēnz'u". 469. "aRiņ maņi sāma zāva sitad, miņi ini zāva sitad lu?" 470. "sile, maņi kūli zāva ne, moya pula" izi vār(u) vargitar; alebabatar.

8.471. maņi yā sořar ba ālmasir uřar tiRar e, đēvad bastar. 472. "ledu bābu, unři kata vaRtu", izi sořa veRtan. 473. "sile bābu maņi unři řisi ruņđi kateņba teli?ed. 474. niřika iRiņa mūņri mukeņ, kuřika iRiņa ruņđi mukeņ, ki?a gani, maņi teli?ed. 475. veRku porsu āku porsu losi uņđeņ maņi telinad." 476. "āRiņa, nān unři kata veRna, venider a?"

leaf-cups. 464. Being given, the women ate, and the four men also ate. 465. They (all) ate and drank, came out into the verandah, and sat. 466. The women folk said to the men. 467. "They cooked very good meal; they prepared very good soup. The food eaten in the King's house is very good food!" said the women. 468. (Then, the men said), "They gave us *sāma*-meal; they gave us cucumber-soup. Full of sand and stones. The teeth were disabled from biting. 469. She gave us the *sāma* meal. What meal has she given you?" 470. "No, for us (she gave) rice meal and fish-soup", said the women, and (they all) remained silent.

8.471. Then, the Sotas, husband and wife, ate and drank, and seated themselves in the verandah. 472. Sofa asked them, "Sirs, tell us a story." 473. "No Sir! we don't know even one or two stories (to tell). 474. You may cut us up into pieces, the long one into three, and the small one into two, but nothing is known to us. 475. We know only living on selling fire-wood and leaves," (they replied). 476. "If it were so, I will tell you a story, would you hear?" asked Sota. 477.

izi soṭa veRtan. 477. "veR'a bābu, venap", iRar. 478. yā soṭa gupot re variṅ teli'eṅḍa kata sōptan. 479. "pūrbami ge ḍokra ḍokri poṭad tambeṛi ayduḡuru maRar ge. 480. nāl'er anasir, oren tambeṛsi ge.

8.481. ḍokra ḍokri sātiṅ anasir tambeṛsiṅ gopa māleṅ kinar ge. 482. anasiriṅ maRi onisik mudu kizi maRiṅa, anasir surti kaṅki tō'er ge. 483. embe osi marak tigista vātar ge. 484. embe gaḍad osi paṅku tigista vātar ge. 485. sālam niRsi vaniṅ doktor ge. 486. nani māleṅiṅ aṭ'eṅḍa āzi anasir ban son'etan ge. 487. unṛi vēnam lo'i soRanṛ e unṛi mēra mide toRtan. 488. unṛi gumeṅḍ dolu uṅstan ge. 489. gumeṅḍ kusa tinzi vani inṛo veRku āku porsī losi uṅḍeṅ vāta manar ge, koṅḍa rāzu marisir. 490. tambeṛ nāl'eriṅ oren vīza viṅkoṛa, kiku kālku silikan yā kata veRsinan veRider a?" izi yā soṭa veRtan.

"Tell us, Sir, we will hear", they replied. 478. Sota began to relate a story obscurely without letting them know (the clue). 479. "Once upon a time, there were five brothers born to an old man and an old woman. 480. Four were the elder brothers and one (was the) younger brother.

8.481. After the old man and the old woman had died, the elder brothers subjected the younger brother to great ill-treatment. 482. While the sisters-in-law were fond of him (the younger brother), the elder brothers could not tolerate it (lit. could not see with their eyes). 483. Taking him to some place, they got him pressed under a tree, and came away. 484. Taking him to some river, they got him pressed under a stone, and came away. 485. They thrust him in a cave and suffocated him. 486. Not being able to withstand such cruelty, he did not go back to his brothers. 487. He went into a thick jungle, and built a mansion (for himself). 488. He planted a pumpkin shrub. 489. The sons of the Konda King ate the pumpkin vegetables, and came to him to live on selling fire-wood and leaves in his house. 490. The one born last after the four brothers, the one without hands and legs, is telling this story. Have you heard it?" asked Sota.

8.491. veRtiṅ nasti vale tamber nāl'er anasiriṅ telitad. 492. telitiṅ nasti vale, "iR izi maṅi nini budi siletad. 493. ēl nī ṭoki āzi dasi āzi nī kīdu māp losna uṅap", izi nasti aṅbadeṅ sīrbadeṅ āzi, nasti vale, tamber ayduguru kūṛitar. 494. vār tamber nāl'er kulam musku kūli kizi uṅzinar. 495. yā soṭa sonsi rāzu pēru mōs koṭannr e, nāru tirpni muṭadar ātan. 496. vāru dēsam asi rāzi asi batkizinar.

8.491. Being told so, the four elder brothers then recognized (it). 492. When they had recognized, they said, "We did not have an idea that it was so. 493. Now we will become your servants and live at your mercy (lit. begging from your hand, we eat)." So saying, they all cried and wept and all the five brothers got together. 494. The four elder brothers were living, working as coolies in the community. 495. This Sota became a *muṭa*-chief of the surrounding hamlets, holding (for himself) the name of a King. 496. They were all living well in their respective countries and districts.

9. THE STORY OF A MAGIC LUTE

9.1. *ō* kata *iRiṇa* kata *āʻed*. 2. *dēsem iRiṇa dēsem āʻed*. 3. *rāzu iRiṇa rāzu āʻed*. 4. *kota rāzu poṭad ērguru maṛisir*. 5. *katadaṇḍ pāṭadaṇḍ ārguru āru bōdek tatar*. 6. *vīza vīskoṛa “ayeṇ tana sinap”, iRiṇa keʻen*. 7. “*iRe viḍi manzina gani, ayeṇ tatiṇ ba nānu keʻe*”. 8. *anasir gani “rāzu gālsiṇ ba tana sinap”, iRiṇ ba, “rāzu gālsiṇ ṛisi ayeṇ tateṇ ba nānu keʻe”, iRan*. 9. *āRe batkizi maRiṇ, anasi onisi kīdu losi uṇzinan*. 10. *ār losi uṇzi batkizi maRiṇa vānṛu dinu dinu ḍokra āz vāzinan*.

9.11. *āRe maRiṇ maRiṇ, “ōho, eso izi eso mā onika kīdu losna uṇa. vār ‘tana sinap’ iRi vēladu nānu keʻeta. ēl(u) nān(u) ḍokra āzi vāta. sile nān(u) embe ba pāṇam tegisna sona. embe nā iṣṭam iRiṇa atal sōna sona”, izi vānṛu olbitan*. 12. “*ō na ō na, ō ni ō ni, mīr ‘tana sinap’ iRi vēladu nānu*”

9.1. To say (it is) a story, it is not a story. 2. To say (it is) a country, it is not a country. 3. To say (it is) a king, it is not a king. 4. The Kota King had seven sons. 5. With pomp and ceremony (lit. with stories and songs), six of them brought six brides. 6. The last one did not want to marry anybody (lit. whomever, they said, “We will get you”, he would not want). 7. He said, “I will remain a bachelor like this. I don’t want anybody (lit. whoever is brought for me)”. 8. Even when his brothers said, “We’ll get you the King’s daughter”, he said, “Let alone the King’s daughter, whom-ever you may bring, I don’t want”. 9. Living like that, he was eating whatever was given (to him) by (lit. begging from the hands of) his brothers and sisters-in-law. 10. So living on their charity, he was becoming old day by day.

9.11. Living thus, (one day,) he thought, “How long (i.e. to what extent) shall I live on the charity of my sisters-in-law? I did not agree when they said, ‘we will get you a bride’. Now, I have become old. Well, I’m going to give up my life somewhere. Wherever I want to go, I will go”. 12. (He said) “O brothers, and O sisters-in-law! I did not agree

ke?eta. 13. *əl nā diku āti ban nānu sona*. 14. *naṇi pendal kaṛa zāva varzi sidaṭ*. 15. *oko tūmeṇḍ perku rosi sidaṭ*”, *izi tambersi veRtan*. 16. *aya onisik perku roste, dūru roste, sōru miram kusad ēru vizu roste site*. 17. “*ō ziya ō ziya, eso dūram soni?* 18.-*māp ‘tana sinap’ iRiṇ, nīnu ke?iti*. 19. *maṇi risi nīnu soni le*”, *izi vaniṇ veRte*. 20. *veRte ne dūpam tate, mutad ēru tate, gined boṭu, simṭad sisu tate ne, kālkaṇ ēru vākte, dūpam suRte*.

9.21. *ārguru onisik boṭu site*. 22. *guṛam tate ne, guṛamdiṇ mēpu mēpte, ēru ūṭpiste. aya guṛamdiṇ avi rosti batem pergiste; meṛad muveṇ toRte*. 23. “*oni, manṛu le, nānu sonsina*. 24. *esoṛ dinamkaṇ ba vāna ne, mī mokom sūṇa*. 25. *nān ēl sonsina*. 26. *negreṇḍ(a) āzi batkidu, visarismaṭ, olbimaṭ*”, *iRanṛ e guṛam musku vānṛu ektan*. 27. *nasiṇḍ otanṛ e guṛamdiṇ sabok ṛeytan*. 28. *sabok ṛeytiṇ paneṇḍ kōsudiṇ guṛam otad*. 29. *āRu soRiṇ soRiṇ, andar-bōntu bizuli-bōntu goron*

when you said, ‘we will get you a bride’. 13. Now I will go to any place that I am destined to. 14. Cook food and give me early in the morning. 15. Collect a *tūm*-ful of rice and give me”, (said the younger brother). 16. The sisters-in-law collected rice, flour, salt, chillies, vegetable water—all these they collected and gave him. 17. (They said to him) “O dear, O dear, how far are you going? 18. You declined when we said, ‘we’ll get you a bride’. 19. Well, leaving us, you are departing”, 20. They said (these words), brought incense and a pot of water; they brought vermilion in a cup and fire with forceps. And they washed his feet and burnt incense.

9.21. The six sisters-in-law put *boṭu* (vermilion mark) on his forehead. 22. They brought a horse, grazed it, and let it drink water. They lifted on to it the load of food stuffs that they gathered. They tied bells round its (horse’s) neck. 23. “O sisters-in-law! you remain, I am leaving. 24. If ever I come (after some days), I will see your faces (again). 25. Now, I’m leaving. 26. Live happily (lit. being well); don’t be worried, don’t be distressed,” he said and mounted the horse. 27. He took the horse (slow) for a while and whipped it. 28. When he had whipped, the horse took him off to a distance of twelve *kōsus* (about 24 miles). 29. While he was going on

naṛmi, poṭi siya in?i ban, kāki kār in?i ban sikaṭ, ātad. 30. embe surtiṇa nāru siled, lōku siler.

9.31. soni saṛi ḍagru bōṛu maran ne manad. 32. "ōho re, nānu vāta, yā goron naṛmi, nāRku silu, lōku siler. 33. omoṇi budi kina le. 34. yā vēnam lo?i nores ne tinad o, olzu ne tinad o! 35. eseṇ re?i dēsem nānu vāta", izi olbitanṛ e, bōṛu maran aḍgi niRan. 36. "ore ore bōṛu maran, nīnu nā lōk(u) na aye lōk(u) na?" 37. "bābu bābu, nī lōku nānu". 38. "nā lōku iRiṇa nān elag veRtiṇa, veni da-nīnu?" 39. bābu veRtiṇa, vena". 40. "aRiṇa, ēlu ruṇḍi badeṇ ā?a", izi veRtan kaka aya maran ruṇḍi badeṇ ātad.

9.41. vānru oti baruṇ vizu aya perku batem kusad-ēru vizu maran lo?i iḍtan. 42. aya guramdiṇ maṛi vizu maran lo?i ota iḍtan. 43. "ēlu bōṛu maran, nīnu iḍtiṇa lap?a, iḍtiṇa

like that, it got dark (by the time he reached) the middle of a forest in the mountains of Darkness and Lightning (Proper nouns), where even a bird would not chirp and a crow would not crow (lit. to a place where a bird would not say 'siya', and a crow would not say 'kār'). 30. There was no village to be seen and no human beings (around).

9.31. Close to the path, there was only a banyan tree. 32. He thought, "Alas! I came to the middle of this forest; there are no villages; there are no people. 33. What shall I do? (lit. what thought can I make). 34. Who knows, in the midst of this thicket, a tiger might swallow me or a bear might! 35. I have come to a place to which I had never been". Pondering thus, he stopped underneath the banyan tree. 36. (He then addressed the tree,) "O dear banyan tree! are you my kin or somebody else?" 37. "O sir, I'm yours", (replied the banyan tree). 38. "If you are mine, will you listen to what I say?" (he said). 39. "Sir, if you say, I'll hear", (said the banyan tree). 40. "If it were so, then, separate yourself into two pieces", he said and the banyan tree separated itself into two pieces.

9.41. He placed inside it all the load he has carried with him—the rice, the vegetable soup and all that. 42. He took all these and also the horse into the womb of the tree and put them there. 43. "Now, O banyan tree! join yourself

mūk[?]a, lostiṇa sīda”, izi veRtanṛ e, vizu sarku iḍṭa ṛīstan.
 44. “ore ore bōṛu maran, ital embeba gaḍa manad a ? naṇi
 baṇa kaṭṭat. noṛbana ne mā onik pōkti zāva nānu uṇa.” 45.
 “bān(u) nīnu kāvalisti gaḍa manad. nīn noṛbazi vāzi anam
 uṇ[?]a,” izi bōṛu maran veRtad kaka, gaḍad soRan, noṛbatan.
 46. maṛi vānṛu oti maRi anam uṇan, tiRan, noṛbatan, maṛi
 bōṛu maran aḍgi vātan. vātanṛ e, veRku tatan, sisu ertan,
 bānu gūritan. 47. maṛi zāy ātiṇa, niṇzi anam vaṛnan. kusa
 pula vaṛnan, gaḍad sonan. būḍu kizi vānanṛ e, anam uṇan.
 mansu vātiṇa gūrna manzinan. 48. āR āzi nela ne maRanṛ o,
 ruṇḍi nelenṇ e maRanṛ o. 49. “oho re, yā sirnarunṇ vātanṛ e,
 nela ruṇḍi nelenṇ ātad gade, embe son[?]en. 50. veniṇ ne lōku
 manar a sile na? embe son[?]en.

9.51. sile nēnṛu veniṇ venba sūṇa”, (izi aya bōṛu maran
 olbitad). 52. “ore ore sirnarunṇ, niṇi lōku manar a sile na?.

together, after I have placed. Close yourself. Give me
 (these things) when I want them”, he said and left all the
 stuff in there. 44. “O banyan tree! Is there any river around
 here? (lit. anywhere this side). I’ll eat the food given to
 me by my sisters-in-law”, he said. 45. (The banyan tree
 replied) “There is a river there that you have asked for.
 Having washed up, come and eat”. When the banyan tree
 had said this, he went to the river and washed up. 46. Then
 he ate (and drank) the food that he had brought (with him).
 Again he washed and returned to the bottom of the banyan
 tree. He came, gathered fuel, lit fire and there he slept. 47.
 At day-break, he would get up, cook food, vegetables and
 soup, and go to the river. He would return after taking a
 bath and eat the food. He will go on sleeping at will. 48.
 In that manner, he lived there, maybe a month or two. 49.
 (The banyan tree began to think), “Alas! it is about a month
 or two since this young human had come (here). He would
 not go anywhere. 50. Does he have any folks or not? He
 wouldn’t go anywhere.

9.51. Well, I’ll ask him to-day and see”. 52. (And it
 said to him), “O man, do you have any folks or don’t you?

53. nīnu vātīd e, niso dinamku ātad! endaniṅ sonʔi nīnuʔ” (izi veRtad). 54. “bābu, naṅi lōku siler, kūla siler. naṅi kuṭum siled. 55. nān aye ban sona lu? 56. yāya iRiṅa, nīn e buba iRiṅa, nīn e. 57. marandiṅ iRiṅa tōṛu manad (mari), naṅi lōku siler, tōṛu siler. 58. sāvu vātiṅa sāna, batku vātiṅa batkina. 59. nānu embe sonʔe,” izi vānru veRtan kaka, “bābu nān unṛi māṭa veRna venid a?” (izi bōṛu maran veRtad.) 60. “unṛi māṭa ṛisi ruṅḍi māṭeṅ veRtiṅ ba nānu vena, aya paṅi kina.”

9.61. “sile bābu, nīnu varzi nipati āzi unṛi gaḡra asʔa, goṛel asʔa, gorot sonʔa, unṛi goṛon ṛeyʔa.” 62. “bābu, nānu uṭa tiRa iRiṅa sona”, iRanṛ e, vānru gaḡad soRan, būḍu kitan. 63. kuṅḡad ēru astan, bōṛu maran aḡḡi vātan. 64. siner kitan, zāva vaRtan, kusa vaRtan, sōru miram, nūne uli vizu kitan. 65. vizu kitanṛ e, ḡiptan. 66. bāṭa kitan, uṭan, tiRan, vizu kitan. 67. “ō ya ō ya, gaḡra sida, goṛel sida. 68.

53. How many days have passed, since you have come! What for are you going?” 54. “Sir, I have no folks and no friends. I have no family. 55. Where shall I go? 56. You alone are my mother, you alone are my father. 57. For a tree (like you) there are companions but for me there are no folks and no companions. 58. If death comes, I’ll die; if life remains, I’ll live. 59. I won’t go anywhere”. When he had said so, the banyan tree asked him, “Sir! I will tell you a word, would you listen to me?” 60. “Why one word, even if you say two, I’ll listen and will do the work”, (he replied).

9.61. “Well, Sir, you cook and eat at leisure, and take up a chop-knife; hold an axe. Go to the mountain and fell a forest”, (said the banyan tree). 62. (he said), “Madam, I will go, after drinking and eating”. Having said so, he went to a river and took a bath. 63. He took a potful of water and came to the bottom of the tree. 64. He boiled the water, cooked meals and vegetables; he put salt, pepper, oil and onion—all together. 65. Having done everything, he took it (the pot) down. 66. He served himself, drank and ate, and finished everything. 67. (He said to the tree) “O, Mother, mother, give me a chop-knife, give me an axe. 68.

nīnu paṅṣti paṅi nānu kina", izi vānṛu veRtan kaka, goṛel sitad, gagṛa sitad. 69. goṛel gagṛa astanṅ e, goṛot soRan. 70. goṛon ṛeytan, almitan. maṛi nāto vātan.

9.71. "ō ya ō ya, nānu goṛon ṛeyta ne vāta." 72. "buḍa buḍa, nāngu rōsku soRiṅa goṛon vaRnad. nīnu sisu muṭis'a", izi maran veRtad. 73. āR e maRiṅ, adi veRti dinam vātad. 74. sisu koṛoy astan. goṛot soRan. goṛot soRanṅ e, sisu muṭis-tan. 75. goṛon vizu veta soRad. 76. kaṅḍek ba enz'eṅḍa vizu vetad. 77. vetad kaka, suṛtanṅ e, vānṛu maṛi vātan. 78. "ō ya ō ya, sisu muṭista kaka, goṛon vizu vetad." 79. "āR e oko ruṅḍi dinamku manid e, būmi salaṅa ātiṅa, nasti vale ini vitu ba sina. 80. nān siti vitu vit'a", izi bōṛu maran veRtad e, ri-nēṅḍ e soRad o, mu-nēṅḍ e soRad o.

9.81. nasti vale aya bōṛu maran pūṅu vitu sitad. 82. "yā pūṅu vitu osi goṛot(u) vit'a. 83. goṛon vizu unṛe laken-

I will do the work you have commissioned me to do". She (the tree) gave him an axe and a chop-knife. 69. Holding the chop-knife and the axe, he went to the mountain. 70. He felled a hill-forest and heaped up the wood. Then, he came back home.

9.71. (He said to the tree), "O mother, mother, I hacked the hill-forest and have come". 72. The tree said, "O son, when four days have passed, the forest will dry up. Then set fire to it". 73. As he remained so, the day she referred to came. 74. He held a fire-brand (torch), and went to the forest. Having gone to the forest, he set fire to it. 75. The whole forest got burnt. 76. Everything was burnt up without anything being left out. 77. When it had burnt, he looked around and came back. 78. (He said to the tree) "O mother, I set fire to the forest and it was all burnt up". 79. (The tree said), "Let it remain so for a couple of days. When the soil gets cool, then I will give you some seed. 80. Sow the seed that I will give you. After she had said so, two or three days might have passed.

9.81. Then the banyan tree gave (him) some seed of flower plants. 82. "Take these flower seeds and sow them on the hill. 83. Sow alike all over the forest", said the tree

da vit'a", izi veRtad e, aya vitu sitad. 84. aya vitu astanr e, gorot soRan. 85. goron vizu bŭlazi, bŭlazi, pŭnu vitu vittan. 86. vittanr e, maŕi soRan maran ađgi. 87. "ō ya ō ya, nŭnu siti vitu vizu vitta". 88. "ō buđa, ēl oka aydu rōsku soRiņa, maŕi, sonsi sur'a", izi bōru maran veRtad. 89. abeņiņ, vaŕna uņan, gŭrnan. 90. zāy ātiņa, gađad sonan, palaņaru kinan, bŭđ(u)kinan.

9.91. ataRaņđ vāzi vaŕnika uņika, mansu vātiņa bŭla-nika, mansu sileņđa maRiņa gŭrni manzinika. 92. āR āzi adi veRti dinam vātad. 93. "buđa buđa, nŭnu vitti vitu sonsi surzi ra'a", izi maran veRtad kaka, vānru maŕi unri gagra astanr e, gorot soRan. 94. gorot soRi surtiņa, 'pasika tina na vaRtika tina na' sŭņđen gopa sarda manad. 95. emeņika munkeņđ, emeņika kuRkeņđ. 96. abe surtanr e, sarda sarda āzi, maratu maŕi vātan. 97. "ō ya ō ya, nānu vitti pŭnu vitu

and gave him the seed. 84. He took the seed and went to the hill-forest. 85. Having wandered all over the forest, he sowed the seeds. 86. He sowed and again went to the bottom of the tree. 87. (He said to the tree), "O mother, mother, I sowed all the seed that you gave me". 88. (She said), "O dear son, now, after five days have passed, go again and see". 89. From then onwards, he would (only) cook, eat and sleep. 90. When the day-light comes, he would go to the river, brush his teeth and take a bath.

9.91. Coming from there, (he was only doing) cooking eating and wandering if he wanted to, or else (simply) staying (home) and keep lying. 92. As he remained so, the day (that the tree) referred to come. 93. The tree said, "O dear son, go and look up the seed you sowed and come". Then, he took up a chop-knife and went to the hill. 94. When he had gone and seen, it was so splendid to look at (that he felt), 'shall I eat it raw or dried?'. 95. At some places, it grew up to the height of knees; at some places, it grew up to the size of the thighs. 96. Having seen it there, he became very happy and came to the tree. 97. "O mother, mother, the flower-seed I sowed have grown to be very

sūṇḍeṅ gopa sarda āta manad." 98. "aRiṅa, ēlu buḍa, maṛi oka ruṇḍi dinamku sonid e, maṛi sonsi suṛzi ra?a", izi maran veRtad. 99. veRtad kaka, maṛi ruṇḍi dinamku soRiṅ, "ale sona sūṅa vāna ge", iRanṛ e, maṛi soRan. 100. soRi surtiṅ, emenika ḍuṇḍeṅ dōste, emenika pūṅu pūte.

9.101. pūṅu pūnika leka silenḍa, ḍuṇḍeṅ dōsnika leka silenḍa sūṇḍeṅ gopa sarda āte mane. 102. bāṅiṅ maṛi maṛzi vāntar e, "ō ya ō ya, sūṇḍeṅ gopa sarda. pūṅu pūnikeṅ leka silu, ḍuṇḍeṅ dōsnikeṅ leka silu, āR āte mane". 103. "ō buḍa, ēl(u) potiṅ apidam tepne one, elkeṅ apidam koRkne, kōḍiṅ apidam tine. 104. vigeRaṅḍ nīnu kāp ki?a", izi maran veRtad kaka, yā reyū (reyu) gūrita maRanṛ e, zāy ātiṅ sari gaḍad soRan palaṅaru kitan būḍu kitan. 105. abeṅiṅ vātan, anam vaRtan, uṅan, tiRanre, "mā yāya veRtad, goṛot sona le," izi suṅa tiRan, pogo tiRan, sisu astan, dūpam astan, perku astan. astanṛ e, goṛot soRan. 106. goṛot soRanṛ e, sisu iḍtan, dūpam

pleasing to look at". 98. The tree said, "Now, son, after two days have passed—go again and see". 99. Two days after she had said so, he thought, "Well, I will go and see", and went. 100. When he had seen, having gone, at some places, there were buds and at other places flowers blossomed.

9.101. There was no limit to the number of flowers that blossomed; there was no limit to the number of buds that came up. 102. From there, he again came back (and said to the tree), "O mother, mother, it was a great pleasure to look at. There was no limit to the flowers blossoming and there was no limit to the buds coming up—such they became". 103. "O son, now either the birds might nip them off; or the rats might chew them up, or the cattle might eat them. 104. From tomorrow onwards, you go to keep a watch over". After the tree had said so, he slept that night and when the day dawned, he went to the river, brushed his teeth and took a bath. 105. From there he came, cooked and ate it up. And he said (to himself), "My mother asked me (to go). Well, I'll go to the hill", and smoked a cigar and took with him fire, incense and rice. He took (these) and went to the forest. 106. Having gone to the forest, he put

ıdтан, perku ıdтан. 107. ıdтанı e, “unzar māpru, yā pūjudın potıñ o’ęnda, elkeñ koRk’ęnda, kōđın mey’ęnda, ayer būlanıkar ba tepsı o’ęnda manreñ vale. 108. nañı rāzu surtıña negenđ ki’en”, izı vānru veRtanı e, potıña āram potıñañ sitan, elkeña āram elkeñañ sitan kōđıña āram kōđıñañ sitan. 109. aye āram(u) varıñ vizerın sitanı e, nastı vale nāto vātan. 110. “ō ya ō ya, velar(u) gorot maRa ne, nān(u) ēl vāta.”

9.111. “buđa buđa, vigeRıñ gorot soRı iRıña, velar(u) gorot manzi, ā pāñı vēladu nın(u) vānivale, ruñdı muñıñ pūñu koyzi taga” āR izı bōru maran veRtad. 112. āR e sikat ātıñ, vaRta uñan, maran ađgi sisu ertanı e, gūritan. 113. āR gūrzi nidra kitiñ, koRku kerete, zāy ātad. 114. niñitan, palañaru kitan, mokom ūrpatan. zāva vaRtan, anam vaRtan, vizu kitanı e bāta kitan, uñan, tiRan. mañı “gorot sona le”, iRanre, gagra astan, sisu astan, gorot soRan. 115. unrı sañu pañkud sisu ertan, basta maRan. 116. bāñıñ niñitan, goron

down the fire, incense and rice. 107. He put (them) down (and said), “O Great Lord! You should guard these flowers so that birds will not take them away, rats may not nip them, the cattle may not graze them, and passers-by may not pluck them off. 108. Even if the king sees me, he should not do me harm”. So he said, he gave the birds’ food to the birds; he gave the rats’ food to the rats; he gave the cattles’ food to the cattle. 109. Having given their respective foods, he (then) returned to the village. 110. “O mother, mother, I have been to the hill all day and have just come”, he said to the tree.

9.111. “O darling, when you have gone to the hill tomorrow, stay on the hill the whole day and get (lit. pluck and bring) two handfuls of flowers when you return before the fall of dusk”, said the banyan tree. 112. When it got dark, he cooked and ate, lit fire underneath the tree and lay down. 113. As he (so) lay down and slept, cocks crew and day broke. 114. He got up, brushed his teeth, washed his face. He cooked zūva and the food. Finishing all that, he served the food himself and saying, “I will go to the hill-forest”, he took a chop-knife, fire and went to the hill-forest. 115. He made fire on a flat stone and sat (nearby). 116. From

vizu būlatan. 117. vāni vale ruṇḍi muṭiṅ pūṅu koytan. 118. koytanṅ e, aysiban vātan maran aḍgi. 119. "ō ya ō ya, pūṅu koyta tata". 120. "buḍa buḍa ēl aya pūṅu (elag nī mansudiṅ vānad o) nī mansu kiti lakenḍa nīnu gut?a", izi maran veṛtad kaka, vani mane mansud vāti lakenḍa bōda bōda kizi guttan.

9.121. āR guttanṅ e, aysiṅ ota tōṛistan. 122. "idi lo ya, iR kizi gutta." 123. "guttiṅa, inika ātad ? iḍzi man?a. zāy ātiṅa bāṅi paṅi vizu veṛna." 124. āR iRiṅ, abeṅiṅ maṛi vātan, uṭan, gūritan, nidra kitan. maṛi zāy ātad. 125. zāy ātiṅ, palaṅaru kitan, mokom ūrpatan. 126. nastivale aya aysi bōṛu maran, "buḍa", iRad. 127. "vālaṅ lāga paṣiṅ nūr?a. 128. unṛi kota kilpa sur?a. 129. unṛi doned nūne, unṛi doned paṣiṅ kizi, uRpadeṅ unṛi gōsi as?a, vālaṅ as?a, paṣiṅ as?a. 130. vizu asi, adi lo aya serud osi nī embe iṣṭam kinid o, bān iḍ?a. iḍzi nīn unṛi tupa sāṭu ḍānzi surzi man?a.

there he got up and wandered about the forest. 117. While returning, he plucked two handfuls of flowers. 118. Having so plucked, he came to the bottom of the tree, to his mother. 119. "O mother, mother, I plucked the flowers and brought (them)", (he said). 120. "O son, stitch the flowers (into garlands) as you like", said the tree and he stitched the flowers in whatever way he liked.

9.121. Having so arranged the flowers into garlands, he took them to his mother and showed. 122. "Look here, mother, I have stitched them thus". 123. His mother (the tree) said, "What has happened, if you have stitched them? Be keeping (them) with you. After the day-break, I will tell you all its business". 124. When she had said so, he returned from there, cooked, ate and lay down. He slept and (afterwards) day broke. 125. When the day had dawned, he brushed his teeth and washed up his face. 126. Then his mother, the Banyan Tree called him, "O son, son! 127. Grind turmeric into soap (prob. as soft as soap). 128. Look for a new comb. 129. Put oil in one leaf-cup and the the turmeric in another leaf-cup. Get hold of a strip of cloth (used) for putting on; take the soap-nut and take the turmeric. 130. Holding all these, take them to the tank over there and put

9.131. aya sarī ayli koṛo ne vānad o, moga koṛo ne vānanṛ o! 132. vāni variṅ vizeriṅ suṛzi man'a. 133. nīn oni sarkuṅ ayen muṭnanṛ o, ayaka suṛzi man'a. 134. dinami vānṛ e vānanṛ o, ā'ikar vānar o, ayaka nīnu suṛzi man'a. 135. vani mūrṭi pōlisi man'a." 136. izi aysi veṛṭad kaka, aysi veṛṭi sarkuṅ vizu astanṛ e, seru gaṭṭu otan. 137. embe vāni iṣṭam vāṭad o, bān iḍtanṛ e, unṛi tupa sāṭu dāṇita manan. 138. dāṇiti maṛiṅ ayer re'er. 139. oren ḍigitan āgasamdaṅḍ nūlu ḍiptanṛ e, zuli kōṭ maṭṭan, goza ḍuḍu kidu astan, nūlu-daṅḍ ḍigzi vātan. 140. vānṛu embe ota iḍtanṛ o, gōsi vālaṅ pane nūne pasiṅ embe iḍtanṛ o, bān e ḍigitan.

9.141. nela podu lakenḍa vaniṅ suṛtiṅ, veni kaṅku zen-zrite. 142. vēnṛu mūrṣa soni lakenḍ(a) ātanṛ e, basta maṛan, suṛzi maṛan. 143. nūlud maṭṣi ḍigitikan vani sokeṅ pāteṅ

them down wherever you want to. Having put them down, remain watching, hiding yourself behind a shrub.

9.131. Along that way, (who knows) a girl might come or a man might come? 132. Keep watching all the people that come along. 133. Keep looking for the one who touches the things that you have carried. 134. Whether the same man comes there daily or some others will come, also keep noting that. 135. Remain identifying his form (i.e. features)". 136. After the mother had said (so), he took all the things advised by his mother and carried them to the tank-bund. 137. He put (the things) where he wanted to put (them) and remained hidden behind a shrub. 138. As he remained hidden, nobody came (that way). 139. But one man descended from the sky hanging a thread down (to the earth). He put on wooden sandals, held a pointed stick, and came down by means of the thread. 140. He descended just there where he (the other man) brought and placed the loin cloth, soap-nut, comb, oil, and turmeric.

9.141. It was like the shining of moon and sun and when he had looked at Him, his eyes dazzled. 142. He sat down as if he fell into a faint. And he kept seeing. 143. The person who descended (to the earth) by means of the string (lit. having stepped on the string) took off his shirt and dhoti and

kuttanṛ e, seru gopud iḍtan. 144. vēnru iḍti maRi gōsi uRpatan, vālaṅ astan, paṣiṅ astan, nūne astan, pane astan, serud ḍigitan. 145. nūne paṣiṅ paṛkad iḍtanṛ e bura oṛptan, paṣiṅ rāsay ātan, ēru iybatan, nūne ūspatan, bāṅiṅ seru gopud sōtan. 146. vānru uRpati maRi gōsi kuttanṛ e, iḍtan. 147. vani zires mires zāgarta ātan. 148. ātanṛ e, vānru iḍti maRi pūṅu ruṅḍi giḅiṅṅ ruṅḍi goṭtan (iṭkitan). 149. vānru alpati maRi pūṅu, meṛad arpay ātan, adam surtan. 150. zuli kōṭ maṭtan, goza ḍuḍu kīdu astan, āgasamdaṅḍ ekta soRan.

9.151. nūne paṣiṅ iḍti maRikan niṅitanṛ e, maran aḍgi soRan. 152. "ō ya ō ya!" iRan. 153. "inika buḍa, ninu iḍti maRiban ayer ba vātar a sile na?" 154. "sile ya, sile ya, ayer re'er gani, orenṛ e vātan. 155. āgasamdaṅḍ nūlu ḍiptanṛ e, zulu kōṭ maṭtan. 156. kīdu goza ḍuḍu asi ḍigzi vātan. 157.

put them on the tank-bund. 144. He wore the loin cloth which this man (i.e. the other one) had placed (there); he took the soap-nut, the turmeric, oil, and comb and went into the tank. 145. He kept the oil and turmeric aside and washed his head; he smeared (his body) with turmeric, took a bath, applied oil (to his hair), and then came up to the tank-bund. 146. He removed the loin cloth that he was wearing, and put it (down). 147. He took up all his things and got ready (to leave). 148. Having got ready, he took the flowers that had been placed there and tucked them over his two ears. 149. He put round his neck the flowers that the (other) man had tied up into garlands, and looked into the mirror. 150. He stepped into his wooden sandals, held his pointed-stick and ascended to the skies.

9.151. The man who put the oil and turmeric there got up and went to the bottom of the (Banyan) tree. 152. He said, "O mother, O mother". 153. (She replied), "What, my son, did anybody come to the place where you had put (those things) or not?" 154. (He said) "Well, mother, no others came but only one did come. 155. He dropped down a thread from the sky and put on wooden sandals (on his feet). 156. In his hand, he held a pointed stick and came down (lit. descended, he came). 157. Seeing him my eyes

vaniṅ surtiṅa, nela podudiṅ surti lakeṅḍ e nā kaṅku zenzrite. 158. nān otika embe iḍta no, bān e ḍigitan. 159. gōsi uRpatan, vālaṅḍaṅḍ buṛa ṛpṭān, kilpadaṅḍ ḍūsay ātan. 160. pasiṅ ūspatan, nūne ūspatan, ēru iybatan; vizu kitanṛ e, uRpāti maRi gōsi kutta iḍtan.

9.161. vani zires mires vizu tiyar ātanṛ e, nān iḍti maRi pūṅu ruṅḍi gibinaṅ ruṅḍi goṭtan, alpati maRi banti pūṅu meṛad arpay ātan. 162. saya-adam maya-adam surtanṛ e, zulikōṭ maṭtan, goza ḍuḍu astan, nūludaṅḍ ekta soṛan ya." 163. vānṛu soRiṅ, ḍāṅṅita maRa ne, vaniṅ tōray ā'eṅḍa nānu vāta". 164. "ō buḍa buḍa, dinam e pūṅu koyzi tasi ninu alpati-lakeṅḍ e alpa'a; gutti lakeṅḍ e gut'a. 165. pūṅu gutsi, vālaṅ nūne pasiṅ pane gōsi dinami ninu oti iḍti iRiṅa, āRu iybanan. 166. iybananṛ e, eseṅ vani bōda vātiṅa, mansud mansud, 'ayer tasi iḍzinar', izi olbinan. 167. 'ayen iḍzinar gani, vānṛu tōray

dazzled, as if in seeing the moon and the sun. 158. He descended just there, where I put the things I carried. 159. He put on the loin cloth, washed his head with the soap-nut and dressed (his hair) with the comb. 160. He applied turmeric and oil to himself and took a bath. Having finished everything, he removed the loin cloth that he put on.

9.161. He got ready with all his things (set) and tucked over his two ears the flowers that I placed (there). He wore round his neck the marigold flowers that I tied together. 162. He looked into the magic mirrors (*saya adam* and *maya adam*), stepped into the wooden sandals, took his pointed stick and went climbing up by means of the string, Mother! 163. Till he had left, I remained hidden and came without being noticed by him (lit. to him sight not becoming"). 164. (Then, she said), "O my son! my son! pluck the flowers daily, bring them and tie them up (into garlands) the same way that you tied them. 165. Having tied the flowers, if you daily carry and place (there) soap-nut, oil, turmeric, comb, and loin cloth, he will bathe as usual. 166. He will bathe and when it comes to his mind, he would think within his mind, "Who is bringing and placing (these things)? 167. Whoever may be placing, if he comes within my sight, I would

ānika iRiṇa, vaniṇ mā dēsam āgas pūrtu ota maṛi. 168. niso nā seba kizinan. 169. paṛkad ālu ba iRu ki'ed, vēnru naso nā seba kizinan. 170. kaRsiyen ātiṇ ba, gānsiyen ātiṇ ba, nā veṭa āgas pūrtu ota maṛi', izi vānru eseṇ veRtiṇa nāṇḍiṇ meleka vani kaṅkad tōṛay ā'a.

9.171. ēlu nīnu tōṛay āma. 172. or nēṇḍ ba tap'eṇḍa, nīnu naṛp'a. 173. nela naṛpnid o, ruṇḍi nelenṇ naṛpnid o. 174. āRu naṛptiṇa, vani pāṇam lāvu notiṇa, vani pāṇam vetad iRiṇa, nasti vale veRnan, ēlu veR'en." 175. āR aysi veRti bāṇiṇ, dinam e naṛpnan. 176. ruṇḍi nelenṇ padi rōsku naṛpti venka, or nēṇḍ (u) vaṛgitan. 177. "ōho re, yāka ayer iḍzinar? 178. uRpadeṇ gōsi, oṛpteṇ vālaṇ (u), ḍūsay ādeṇ pane, rāsay ādeṇ pasin, ūspadeṇ nūne, iybadeṇ purge, iṭikideṇ pūṇu, alpata manar. 179. paṛkad ālu ba iRu ki'ed. 180. naso nā seba kizinan.

take him to my country, the Agaspur (lit. the Sky-city). 168. How much has he been worshipping me! 169. Even the wife who sleeps by side does not do like this. How much has he been serving me! 170. Even if he is an untouchable (lit. a *kaRsi* or a *gānsi*—two low tribal castes), I would take him to Agaspur along with me". On the day he has said so, appear before his eyes.

9.171. But now you don't let yourself be seen (by him). 172. You follow (lit. let go) this procedure without failing even a single day. 173. You shall do this for a month or two (months). 174. If you do like that, he will say so, when his mind (lit. life) gets pained and his mind burns, but he won't say now". 175. From the time his mother had said so, he does (accordingly), daily. 176. After he had done so for two months and ten days, one day he (the stranger) spoke out. 177. "Oh! who has been placing these things? 178. A loin cloth to wrap round, soap-nut to wash, a comb to dress hair, turmeric to smear, oil to apply, a gourd-shell to bathe with (the help of), and flowers to tuck in—somebody has been arranging. 179. Even a wife in the bed will not do so much. 180. Such a great service he has been doing for me.

9.181. kaRsiyenṛ o gānsiyenṛ o, ayen ātiṅ ba, nā kaṅkad tōray ānika iRiṅa, ayli koṛo iRiṅ ba, ota mari. mogo koṛo iRiṅ ba, ota mari". 182. izi vānru veRpu veRpu, vānru meleka tōray ātan. 183. aya koṛodiṅ suṛtanar e, niṅitan. 184. "ore ore koṛo, yā nūne paṣiṅ ayer tasi iḍzinar? 185. nīn e tasi iḍziniḍ a, ayer tasi iḍzinar a? 186. nā ḍagru saṅem ra'a." 187. "bābu, niṅi suṛtiṅa naṅi tiyel. 188. ayer vātiṅa, vār(u) gōsi uRpapir izi, yā vālaṅdaṅḍ buṛa oṛpir izi yā panedaṅḍ ḍūsay āpir izi, yā paṣiṅ ūspapir izi yā nūne ūspapir izi, yā purge-ḍaṅḍ iybapir izi, nān(u) iḍzi sonsina (sonsi maRa). 189. kaṅḍek apidam darmam taglina, izi niṣoṛ rōsku ātad, nānu iḍzi sonsina. 190. velar(u) pūṅu alpazi pendal kaṛa tasi iḍzina māpru".

9.191. "ore ore koṛo, mā inro kūkna ona vānid a nīnu?" 192. "bābu kūkṭi otiṅa vāna". 193. vizu tiyar ātanṛ e, "ore

9.181. A kaRsi or a gānsi—whichever he might be, if he comes into my sight, I would take her (with me) even if it were a girl, I would take him (with me) even if it were a boy." 182. When He was saying thus, he (the other person) slowly came into his sight. 183. Seeing the lad, He got up. 184. And He said, "O boy! who has been bringing and leaving (them there)? 185. Are you bringing and leaving them here or is it somebody else? 186. Come to me for a moment". 187. (The boy replied,) "Sir, seeing you, I get frightened (lit. if I look at you, fear comes to me). 188. I have been placing (these things) in the hope that if any persons come, they might put on the loin cloth, wash their heads with this soap-nut, dress their hair with this comb, smear this turmeric and oil, and will take a bath by means of this gourd-shell. 189. Thinking that I will be at least doing some good, how many days have passed since I have been placing (these things)! 190. Tying up the flowers all day, I have been placing (them), having brought them early in the morning, O Lord!"

9.191. He (the God) said, "O my boy! I will invite you and take you to my house, would you come?" 192. (The lad replied), "Sir! if you invite and take me, I'll come". 193. (Then) the Lord got himself ready and said to him, "O boy!

ore koṛo, nā goza ḍuḍu perzi taga, mā inṛo sonaṭ", izi ispurṛu veṛtan. 194. aya koṛo soRanṛ e, goza ḍuḍu muṭtanṛ e, māy(a) ātan. 195. māy(a) ātan kaka, yā ḍuḍu ispurṛu astanṛ e, zulikōṭ maṭtanṛ e, nūludaṇḍ ekta soRan. 196. āgas pūrtu sonsi vani inṛo soRan. 197. soyti komtu rōyiṇ komtu goza ḍuḍu nilptanṛ e, "ama ama, nānu gopa dēsam soRa maRa; vandita vāta. 198. pādām ēru taga, pādām boṭu taga. 199. nānu vandzi vāta", izi vānṛu veṛtan kaka gined boṭu astad, mutad ēru astad, simṭad sisu astad, dūpam astad e, sōtad. 200. dūpam suRtad e, pādām ēru vāktad.

9.201. pādām boṭu sitad, vaniṇ pādām māristad. 202. "ra?a le bondu ra?a, sisu ḍagru bas?a", izi ālsi veṛtad. 203. boṭu sitin, iṭkitanṛ e inṛo ruḡitan. sisu ḍagru bastan. 204. "ama ama, soyt(i)-komtu rōyiṇ-komtu goza ḍuḍu iḍta pōsta vāta. 205. saṇem sonsi perzi taga". 206. "ale bondu ale, nīnu eseṇṛ riṣ?i. kiḍu ḍuḍu mari riṣi vādeṇ a?" (izi vani ālu veṛtad).

take up that hand-stick and bring (it to me). Let us go home". 194. The lad went and touched the pointed stick and disappeared. 195. When he had disappeared, the Lord took up the stick, put on his sandals and went climbing up the string. 196. Having gone to the Sky-city, He went to his house. 197. He supported the stick against the *sōyti komu* (i.e. the Justice Pole) and said (to his wife), "O lady! I have been to a very distant land and came tired. 198. Get me water for the feet, get me vermilion for the feet. 199. I have come tired". When He had said so, she took vermilion in a cup, water in a pot, fire with forceps, and incense, and came out. 200. She burnt the incense and poured water on his feet.

9.201. She gave him vermilion to put on his feet and bowed to his feet. 202. "Come, my dear, come! sit close to the fire", said his wife. 203. When the vermilion was given, he put it (on his feet), entered the house and sat beside the fire. 204. "O lady! I left my hand-stick at the *sōyt-komu* and the *rōyin-komu* (i.e., the Justice Poles) and forgot. 205. Please go for a moment and get it", He said. 206. "O my

207. "sile ama, sile, nānu pōsta vāta. saṇem sonsi taga", izi vānru veRtan. 208. ālsi soRad e, "perna tana" izi dūḍudiṇ muṭpu muṭpu, lēta koṛo āzi goza dūḍudaṇḍ puṭtan. 209. ṭevēr ṭevēr āzi gūrzi gūrzi, aṛbazinan. moga koṛo ne! 210. "are are bābu, dūḍudiṇ 'perna ona' izi vātiṇ, emeṇi koṛo puṭtanṛ o, gūrzi gūrzi aṛbazinan.

9.211. abaya abaya! moga koṛo ne. 212. ra?a bondu ra?a, ra?a sāmi ra?a. 213. emeṇi koṛo no puṭtanṛ e aṛbazinan bēgi ra?a le". 214. "ale ama, ale, ēl dēvadaṇḍ nānu vāta, aye koṛor siler". 215. vānru soRa suṛtanre (veRtan), "aba ori nāyna, moga koṛo ne! maṇi suṛtiṇa, bānz raza bānz raṇi, koṛo kokra siler. 216. yā koṛodiṇ perzi as?a, inṛo taga. 217. nīr putri variṇ putro zanam lakeṇḍa, kalgitan. 218. māleṇ ki'eṇḍa, vaniṇ pōsa kinaṭ." 219. "pōsa kinaṭ", iRar e, inṛo peRta otar. 220. aya rāṇi koṛonali lakeṇḍ (a) ātad e, mūlad basa poktad.

—

dear, you would never leave it. Should you ever leave away the hand-stick and come?", said his wife. 207. "No, my lady! no, I forgot and came. Go and get it", He said. 208. The wife went and when she had touched the stick, a young child was born out of it. 209. He was crying 'ṭever ṭever' lying there. It was a male child! 210. "Oh sir! as I came to take up the stick to bring, a child was born and lay (there) crying.

9.211. Oh dear! it was also a male child. 212. Come, my dear! come, my lord! 213. (I don't know) some child was born and was crying. Come soon". 214. "Dear lady! I came just now through the verandah. There was no child there". 215. He (then) went and saw, and said, "O my goodness! it is a male child too! We are a barren couple (lit. a barren king and a barren queen). There are no children (to us). 216. Take up this child and bring (it) into the house. 217. He will be a male child to the barren couple. 218. Let us bring him up without giving the slightest ill-treatment", 219. "Let us bring him up", they said, and took him into the house. 220. The queen then sat in a corner of the house as if she was a nursing mother.

9.221. aya rāzu soRaṅṅ e, "ore dasi, mā rāṅi sonsi, mā ama koṛon-alu ātad, ēru iybata manad, boḍu ḍokriṅ kūksi taga, boḍu koyid", izi veRtiṅa aya dasi soRad. 222. "ō boḍu ḍokri, nīnu ra?a. 223. mā ama moga koṛo ne ēru iybta manad." 224. "ale ale dasi, poṭa tōr?ed, vaski tōr?ed. 225. nīn ba baṅḍisi baṅḍisi veRsini. 226. vār(u) goḍu goḍra, variṅ emeṅi koṛo kokra". 227. "sile ama, sile ra?a gade tōrisna. 228. mā rāzu, 'begi kūksi taga', izi veRtan. 229. sa?a le sa?a", izi venka muṅgal āzi vāte. 230. "idilo siliṅa suṛ?a, ēru iybata manad".

9.231. nasti vale, boḍu ḍokri suṛtad e, gazi bizi āzi ambu otad. boḍu koytad. 232. garpu kuṅḍad ēru perzi kāptad e, aya koṛodiṅ aysiṅ ēru vāktad. 233. ēru vāksi inro otad. kāpteṅ rēsteṅ āR kizi aydu rōsku soRad. 234. boḍu rāliṅ, gaḍad sōptad. 235. kuṅḍeṅ(ḍ) ēru mudēṅ pasinḍiṅ

9.221. The King went out and said, "Oh *dasi* (servant maid!), my queen, my lady has become a mother. Call a midwife and get her. She will cut the navel-cord". When he had said (this), the servant maid left. 222. "O mid-wife, come along. 223. My mistress has given birth to a male child", (said the servant maid to the mid-wife). 224. "Oh oh! *dasi!* (even) the womb did not show up. 225. You are talking to cheat (me). 226. They are barren people. How can be children born to them?" (replied the mid-wife). 227. "No madam! no! why don't you come? I'll show (you). 228. My King said, 'Go and get her soon'. 229. Get along, get along". Thus they came over, one behind and one in the front. 230. "Look here, if it was not so. She has given birth to the child (lit. she has taken the bath).

9.231. Then, the mid-wife saw, brought an arrow in hurry and cut the navel-cord. 232. She boiled water in a wide-mouthed pot and bathed the child and the mother. 233. Having bathed, she brought them inside the house. While so bathing and taking care of them, five days had passed. 234. After the (remaining part of the) navel-cord fell off, they were taken to the river. 235. (Bathed) with a potful of water and a lump of turmeric, he was able to recognise faces

mokom surzi sikteŋ bakrideŋ ātan. 236. kuŋdeŋ(d) ēru mudend pasiŋdiŋ basteŋ ūskiden ātan. 237. kuŋdeŋ(d) ēru mudend pasiŋdiŋ gōda asi ninreŋ ātan. 238. kuŋdeŋ(d) ēru mudend pasiŋdiŋ uRkteŋ narideŋ ātan. 239. kuŋdeŋ(d) ēru mudend pasiŋdiŋ kōdiŋ dūreŋ pērdeŋ ātan. 240. tās bođa dēbi bođa, gopaŋa piritan.

9.241. "ō ba ō ba, baŋi toRsi sida, seŋđu toRsi sida nānu karzina, nānu marzina". 242. āR(u) karzizi maRiŋ, vani seŋdudiŋ ayer reydeŋ aŋ'er. 243 vari seŋdudiŋ vēnru tūlu reyŋan, peŋel reyŋan. 244. "ō ba ō ba, naŋi unri oŋđa vilu toRsi sida, unri ambu kizi sida, nānu poŋiŋ reyŋa". 245. aposiŋ marisi veRtan kaka, aposi nasti vale ne, oŋđa vilu toRta sitan; ambu kita sitan. 246. unre guŋđu pandita sitan. 247. aye unri guŋdudaŋd poŋiŋ eRnan. 248. āR āzi vēta marzitanŋ e, kaŋdekti poŋiŋ vizu viŋi tatan. 249. āR kizi surti

and smile. 236. (Bathed) with a potful of water and a lump of turmeric, he had grown to (be able to) sit and move on his posteriors. 237. (Bathed) with a potful of water and a lump of turmeric, he had grown to (be able to) hold the wall and stand up. 238. (Bathed) with a potful of water and a lump of turmeric, he had grown to (be able to) run and walk. 239. (Bathed) with a potful of water and a lump of turmeric, he had grown to (be able to) herd (lit. chase) cattle. 240. Thus he had grown well like a full-grown crop (?).

9.241. (He said to his father), "O father! father! make a ball for me (lit. having made a ball, give me). I will play and I will learn (games)". 242. As he was playing so, nobody, could hit his ball. 243. But he could hit others' ball and break it. 244. (He said to his father), "O father! make a pellet-bow for me, and make an arrow for me. I will hunt birds. 245. When the son had asked the father so, then the father built a pellet-bow and gave him. He made an arrow and gave him. 246. He prepared a pellet (i.e. bullet) and gave him. 247. He (the son) would (then) hit birds with the pellet. 248. Thus he learnt hunting; he finished (killing) all the small birds. 249. Thus he would not let go any birds seen,

poṭiṇaṅ idʻen, surti gōvaṇḍeṅ idʻen. 250. poṭiṇaṅ gōvaṇḍe-
ṅaṅ guṇḍudaṅḍ eRnan, kundelṅaṅ goreṅaṅ ambudaṅḍ eRnan.

9.251. vānru vēta marziti bāṇiṅ aysi aposi pasikaṅḍa ne
tiRpisnan. 252. vaRi anam uṅʻeṅḍa, vēkti kaṅḍadaṅḍe anam
uṅḍeṅ. 253. āR kizi ḍaḡru ḍaḡru poṭiṅ vizu viṣtan. 254. 'siya'
ini poṭiba siled. 255 "ō ba ō ba, mā dariṅ poṭiṅ vizite, kun-
deliṅ vizite, goreṅ vizite, inikeṅ silu. 256. nān (u) dūram
sona". 257. "ō buḍa buḍa, vizu daring sonʻa gani, yā dariṅ
sonma. 258. atal soRiṅa olsku mane, noṛesku mane. kopu
paṇḍitikeṅ mane, palku rālitikeṅ mane. peri peri noṛesku
mane. 259. atal soRiṅa, niṅi tine. 260. atal sonma." āR izi
aposi veRtiṅ, vizu dariṅ sonan gani, atal sonʻen.

9.261. āR āzi būlazi maRanṛ e, maṛi or nēṅḍ(u) pendal
sōtan. 262. "sile sile, nēnru ital sona sūṅa. 263. endaniṅ gani
mā buba 'sonma' iRan. 264. nēnru sona sūṅa ge, elag maṛi

or any *govaṅḍas* seen. 250. The birds and *govaṅḍas*, he would
hit with the pellet. The hare and the sheep, he would strike
with the arrow.

9.251. From the time he had learnt hunting, he would
only let his parents eat (lit. mother and father) fresh meat.
252. They had to eat always roasted meat and never mere
rice. 253. In that manner, he finished all the birds in the
neighbourhood. 254. There was not a single bird that chirp-
ed. 255. (He said to his father), "O father! all the birds
around have been finished (i.e. killed), and all the hares and
the sheep have been finished. There is none (left). 256. I
will go far away (for hunting)". 257. (The father replied),
"O dear son! go in any direction, but don't go in this direc-
tion. 258. If you go there, there are bears; there are tigers.
They are real old ones (lit. those with grey hairs, those with
broken teeth). There are huge big tigers. 259. If you go
that side, they will eat you. 260. Don't go that side". When
the father had said so, he (the son) would go all other sides
but never that (particular) side.

9.261. So being, one day he set out early in the morn-
ing. 262. "Well, no! I go to-day this side and will see. 263.
Why then did my father say, 'don't go (here)'? 264. To-day

noresku mane no", iRanṛ e, maṛi bŭlazi soRan. 265. unṛi serud ēṛguru bōdek(u) agin rāzi gālsik vāte ne, serud bŭḍ kizine. 266. "oho re, nini daniṅ koṭe, mā buba veRtan! 267. 'bōdekaṅ sūṅan', izi su mā buba baṅḍisi maRan. 268. bōdek mane koṭe. 269. venkaṅ elag kina le. 270. mā māma gālsik ne ivi elag kina", iRanṛ e, meleka ḍāṅzi ḍāṅzi soRan.

9.271. avi pāteṅ kutte ne, oḍud iḍzi serud kaṛzizi maRe kaka, pāta kertanṛ e, uRkteṅ bastan. 272. aya bōdek maRte bēste ne, "eminikaṅ o osninan, sadu ṛibisna tanaṅ", izi oḍud sōte kaka, vāṅru asi uRksinan. 273. "ore ore bikari, nīnu emeniki? saṅem maṛzi bēs'a", izi ḍēliste. 274. nastivale vāṅru maRta bēstan. 275. maRti bēstiṅ, ēṛguru bōdek soRe andite. 276. unṛi pātadiṅ astad, unṛi soRad e zutu kopu astad. unṛi soRad e kidu astad. unṛi kālud(u) astad. 277. asi melpte

I'll go and see. Well, maybe there are tigers", he said and went out wandering. 265. Seven young women, the daughters of Agin Raju (a King's name Skt. *agni rājan-*) came to a tank and were bathing. 266. "Oh! Oh! it is for this reason that my father said so. 267. My father frightened me thinking, 'he will see the young women'. 268. Goodness! there are young women (here). 269. What shall I do for (winning) them? 270. They are, of course, my uncle's daughters. What shall I do?" He thought and went (there) quietly and secretly.

9.271. They (the ladies) took out their garments, put them on the bank of the lake, and were playing. Then he collected the garments and started to flee. 272. The young women looked back (and said), "Somebody is taking (the garments) away. Get along. Let us get them released and bring. Having said (so), they came up to the bank. He was running away holding the clothes. 273. They shouted to him, saying, "O wretch! who are you? Look back for a while". 274. Then he turned round and looked. 275. When he turned round and looked, the seven young women went up and reached him. 276. One (woman) caught hold of his garment. One (woman) went up and caught his hair. One (woman) went up and caught him by hand. And one (woman) caught him by the legs. 277. Having caught, they twisted him round.

ne, reydeŋ naso, gutteŋ naso, dandeŋ naso, eḡguru bōdek mā gopaŋa reyte ne, pāteŋ řibiste ote. 278. ruŋđi rōsku niŋ-deŋ ať'en, basteŋ ať'en, gopaŋa nopi. 279. mūnři dinamku solpatanř e, mařiba soRan. 280. soRanř e, maři suřtan.

9.281. pāteŋ iđte ne, seřud karzizine. 282. uRksi soRanř e, pāteŋ kerteŋ ni uRkteŋ bastan. 283. aya bōdek suřte ne, "adi lo, mā pāteŋ osinan. vaniŋ elag kinať le. sadu řibisna tanať", iRe ne ođud sōte. 284. "ore meryen emeniki nīnu, mā pāteŋ asini. 285. saŋem maři bēs'a. saŋem nil'a", izi ivi đēliste kaka, niRanř e maRta bēstan. 286. maři bēstiŋ ivi andite ne, gopaŋa reyte, gopaŋa dandte. 287. āR āzi podoy đokra lakeŋđa āzi inřo soRan. 288. "ale ba nēnřu inika tati, podu ātad? 289. velaru embe būlazi maRi? 290. inika doRk'iŋa vādeŋ enda ne?"

And there was no knowing to the beating, no knowing to the blows and no knowing to the flogging (he received). Thus the seven ladies thrashed him well and got their clothes released, and took them off. 278. For two days, he was unable to get up; he was unable to sit. There were great pains. 279. He passed three days, and again he went. 280. Having gone, he saw (them) again.

9.281. They (i.e. the ladies) put down their clothes and were playing in the lake. 282. He went (there) running, collected all the clothes and began to run away. 283. The ladies noticed (and said), "Lo there! he is taking away our clothes. What shall we do with him? Let us go, get them (the clothes) released and bring". So they said and came on to the bank. 284. "O loafer! wherefrom are you? You take away our clothes! 285. Turn round and look back for a while. Stop for a while", they shouted. Then he stopped, turned round and looked. 286. When he had turned round and looked, these (ladies) reached him and thrashed him well; they flogged him well, 287. In that manner he returned home in the evening becoming like an old man. 288. (His father asked), "Darling! what did you bring today, it was so late? 289. Where have you been roaming all day? 290. If nothing was found, why did you not come away?"

9.291. "sile ba, vizu dariñ bülata ne inikeñ silu kaka, ital soRa maRa. 292. unri serud eřguru bōdek pāteñ kutte iđte ne, serud karzizi maRe. 293. vankañ surzi, dāñzi dāñzi, nānu soRa. 294. pāteñ kerta ne, vāzi maRa. 295. 'ore bikari ninu emeniki'? izi avi dēliste ne, vāte andite. gopaña reyte, gopaña dan(d) te. 296. aya nopidiñ đokra lakeñđ(a) āzi vāta. 297. nani daniñ kođe, 'sonma' izi maRi. 298. nān nes'eñđ(a) āzi soRa." 299. "ēl(u) soRiña inika ātad lu? eseñ ba soRiña abe ne son'a. 300. ārguru bibisik(u) unre ban pāteñ iđne.

9.301. vīza viškorni tañisi adi unri aña iđnad. 302. ayaka negreñđa surzi avi maRiña, ārguru bōdeka pāteñ unri aña as'a. 303. unri dani pāta aña as'a. 304. 'marzi bēs'a', iRiña, marzi bēsma. 305. 'nil'a', iRiña, nilma. 306. kersi orse asi ra'a. 307. inro tati iRiña, nañi sida. 308. elag maRiña āR(u)

9.291. "No, father! I wandered all round and as there was none (found for hunting), I went to this side. 292. Seven ladies took off their clothes, placed them (there), and were playing in a lake. 293. Having seen them, I went there hiding myself. 294. I collected their clothes and was coming (back). 295. They shouted to me saying, 'O wretch! who are you?' and came to me, and reached me. They beat me and thrashed me thoroughly. 296. With those pains, I have come (becoming) like an old man. 297. That is why, probably, you said, 'don't go (there)'. 298. I went there not knowing." 299. (His father said), "Now, if you had gone, what was there, after all? When you go (again), go only there. 300. The six elder sisters will leave the clothes in the same place.

9.301. The last sister would place (hers) separately. 302. Watch that carefully and when they keep playing (in water), hold the garments of the six sisters separately. 303. Also hold the garment of the (last) one separately. 304. Don't look back when they say, 'look back!'. 305. Don't stop when they say, 'stop'. 306. Collect them and take them (all) up only once. 307. When you have brought them home, give them over to me. 308. It will happen as it should", said his

ānad", izi aposi veRtan. 309. maRsa nāñḍiṅ, "nēṅru maṅi sona. mā buba veRta manan. kerna asna vāna", iRanre soRan. 310. soRa surtan. serud karzizine.

9.311. ārguru bībsika pāteṅ aṅa iḍte. 312. vīza viškorni taṅisi adi unṅi kēṭaṅa iḍtad. 313. "taga buḍi, bēn iḍnaṅ". 314. "sile bi nādi aṅa manid; unre ban iḍtiṅa, ayenṅ o vāzi kersi osinan. 315. nādi aṅa ne manid. nān(u) kūrpten ke'e", izi adi aṅa ne iḍtad. 316. iḍzi maRika vāṅru surzi maRan. avi varginika vāṅru venzi maRan. 317. āR āte ne, avi gaḍad ḍigzi karzizine. 318. nasti vale, vēṅru ārguru bōdeka pāteṅ taṅisi pāta vizu kerta astan. 319. astanṅ e, uRkten bastan. 320. āR osi maRiṅ avi surte.

9.321. "adilo, mā pāteṅ ayenṅ o osinan. 322. i'en oti bikari ne su, maṅi ba osinan. 323. elag kinaṅ le. 324. sadu

father. 309. The next day, he (the son) said (to himself) "Today, I will go again. My father said so. I will collect them (the garments), take them up, and come". And he left. 310. He went and saw. They (the ladies) were playing in the lake!

9.311. Six of the sisters placed their garments apart. 312. The last born sister placed hers apart. 313. (The other sisters said) "Bring (them), dear! let us place them (all) here". 314. (The youngest one) replied, "No sisters! let mine be apart. As we all put them together, somebody is coming to pick them up and carry them away. 315. Let mine be separate. I don't like them to be lumped together", she said and put her (garments) separately. 316. He saw her keeping hers apart; he heard all that they spoke (to one another). 317. Thus the women got into the lake and were sporting. 318. Then he took up the clothes of the six elder sisters and also that of the younger sister. 319. Having taken those up, he started to run away. 320. As he was so carrying them (i.e. the garments) away, they watched.

9.321. "Lo there! somebody is taking away our clothes. 322. The same rogue that took them away yesterday—again! he is carrying them away. 323. What shall we do? 324. Let

ribisna tanaṭ". 325. "ore ore bikari, ore ore biṭvar, saṇem nil'a me. 326. saṇem marzi bēs'a me", izi ivi ḍelistiṅ ba, vēnru nil'en. 327. marzi ba bēs'en. 328. āR e asi vātanṅ e, aposiṅ sitan. 329. "idi lo ba, vanka pāteṅ, kerta tata. 330. yā pāta taṅisi pāta, kogri dani pāta", izi aposi kīdu sitan.

9.331. vaniṅ avi pērzi tate ne nāto vāte. 332. nāto vāte ne pasa dariṅ gata venka yā inro ne ruḡitar. 333. "yā inro ne vāta ruḡitan, yā inroṅi biṭvar ne. 334. veniṅ ini sigu manad a, sile na? budi manad a, sile na? 335. ayli koṛok maryada lāgdeṅ a vēnṅ e (vēnru ne) kāvale na? 336. mā māma mā mīmi 'goḍu goḍra' iRar. 'koṛo kokra sile' izi veRtar. 337. emeniṅ marisiṅ doRkistar lu? emeniṅ sōtan lu? emeniṅ puṭṭan lu? 338. yā papi, yā bikari mā pāteṅ kerta tatanṅ e, embe ota iḍtan. 339. kaṅdek tōrni lakeṅḍ(a) iRiṅa, vani paṅi kitap,

us go and get them (the clothes) released from him". 325. (And they shouted to him), "O beggar! O brute! stop for a moment. 326. Look back for a moment". Even when they had shouted to him like that, he would not stop. 327. He would not look back. 328. So he brought them (i.e. the clothes), and gave them to his father. 329. "Here, father! these are their clothes; I've brought them. 330. This is the garment of the younger sister, the garment of the youngest one", he said, and passed the clothes on to his (father's) hand.

9.331. They (the women) chased him and came to the village. 332. Having come to the village, they entered the same house from behind (i.e. through the back door). 333. "He came and entered the same house. He is the rogue of this same house. 334. Does he have any shame or not? 335. Why is this man needed to take away the honour of young ladies? 336. It was said that our uncle and our aunt were barren people and that they had no children. 337. Where did they get hold of this son? Wherefrom has he emerged? Where was he born? 338. Where has this sinner, this rogue, brought our garments and hidden (lit. placed)? 339. If we had found him, we would have done the right thing for him". Thus they were making hub-bub from the back side (of the

marī", izi pasa vaṛeRaṇḍ taṇṭeṇ āzine, gōla kizine. 340. aposi veRaṇṛ e, "son?a buḍa, sur?a, ayek no gagoli āzine".

9.341. "sile ba, vaṅka pāteṇ ne tata. 342. naṅi pēzi tate ne, pasa venka vāte. 343. vāte ne, naṅi gōla kizine". 344. "gōla kiṭiṇa, inika ātad lu? 345. kogri kogri pāseṅ osi si?a. 346. andakadiṅ porpazi maniv. 347. venkaRi paṅi sūṇaṭ", izi aposi maṛisiṅ veRtan. 348. ēṅguru bōdekaṅ ēru pāseṅ sitan. 349. "unda ṭoṇḍa, pāseṅ porpazi manru. 350. endaniṅ āR āzi vātider, pāta para silenḍa?"

9.351. sigu sigu, endaniṅ āR ātider? ḍumḍa ne manider! 352. yā pāseṅ porpadu", izi ke?i ke?i lōkaṅ sitan. 353. sitanre, vānru aposi ban vātan. 354. "buḍa buḍa, ēru kāp?a. mī ṭoṇḍekaṅ ēru losi si?a. 355. nēnru nēnru maniv e. 356. ēru loti siṭiṇa, iybazi soniv", izi aposi veRtan. 357. aposi veRtiṅ, marisi ēru kāptan, paṣiṅ nūritan. 358. āru bōdekaṅ āru kuṇ-

house); they were scolding him. 340. His father heard and said, "Go, my son! look there. Some women are creating a scene (lit. making noise)."

9.341. "No, father! it was only their clothes that I brought. 342. They chased me and came right behind me. 343. Having come, they have been abusing me". 344. The father said, "What happens if they scold (you)? 345. Get small (pieces) sarees and give them. 346. Let them put on (those), and stay for sometime. 347. We will see the business later. 348. He (i.e. the son) gave seven pieces of cloth to the seven maids. 349. "Take these, darlings! wear these clothes and stay. 350. What for have you come without any garments on?"

9.351. Shame! shame! why have you become like that? You remain only naked! 352. Wear these sarees", he said and gave (the clothes to) them—the reluctant persons. 353. Having given, he came to his father. 354. His father said, "O dear son! boil some water. Take out the water and give it to your darlings. 355. Let them stay (here) for today. 356. When you have given (them) water, let them bathe and go". 357. When the father said so, the son boiled the water, and ground turmeric. 358. He prepared six pots of water and six

deŇ ēru, āru mudeŇ pasiŇ, kogri daniŇ kuŇdeŇ(d) ēru mudend pasiŇ lota otanre, āru bībsikaŇ āru kuŇdeŇ iđzi lota vātan. taŇisiŇ ba lota otan. 359. bura ōrpteŇ vālan, đūsay ādeŇ pane, rāsay ādeŇ pasiŇ, ūspadeŇ nūne, vizu kitanre, "radu toŇđa iybadu", izi veRtan. 360. "sile, māp(u) ke'eŇ, maŇi ini avsaram?

9.361. maŇi ini gađa siled a, ēru silu na, nūne pasiŇ sile da? 362. niŇi siled su. ra'a sinap", izi veRtiŇ ba, ēmi op'en. 363. "radu toŇđa, iybadu", izi ke'i vankaŇ kīdu asi lāgita otan. 364. ēru iybistan bura ōrpistan, pasiŇ rāstan, muțam sōktan, nūne ūspistan, ārguru toŇdesikaŇ vizu ēru iybistan. 365. vīza vīskorŇi edgara ke'eŇ, sēse-mara ke'eŇ. 366. reytiŇa, deba tina, veRtiŇa vena, nān(u) ke'e", iRad. 367. "ō ba ō ba, kogri toŇđa ke'eŇ. elag kina?" 368. "ke'e iRiŇ ba, lāgzi osi ēru vāk'a, bura ōrpis'a, bura đūs'a, pasiŇ rās'a, nūne ūspis'a.

lumps of turmeric for the six elder sisters; for the last one also, he prepared a pot of water and a lump of turmeric. 359. Soap-nut to clean the hair with, a comb with which to dress their hair, turmeric to smear over the body, oil to apply—all these he made ready and said to them, "Come, dear ones! bathe". 360. (They replied), "No, we won't. What need is there for us (to bathe here)?"

9.361. What, don't we have the river? Don't we have water? And, don't we have oil and turmeric? 362. If you don't have, come, we'll give you." Even when they had said so, he would not at all compromise. 363. "Come, dear ones! come", he said and dragged them there by hand,—the reluctant ones. 364. He made them bathe, and wash their hair; he smeared turmeric, scrubbed their backs, and got them to apply oil. Thus he made all the six elder sisters bathe. 365. The last one would not agree; she would not at all agree. 366. She said, "if you kick me, I'll get the kick. If you say (anything), I'll hear; but, I won't agree (to do as you say)". 367. (He asked his father), "O father, father! the last one would not agree. What shall I do?". 368. (The father replied,) "Even if she says, 'I won't', take her by force and pour water; make her wash her hair; dress the hair; smear

369. bura dūsnivale, dani modol kopu lāgzi molad naṣi taga", izi aposi veRtan kaka, maṛi soRan. 370. "ke'e", izi maRi maRi daniṅ lāgita otan.

9.371. ēru vāksi buṛa oṛpistan, paṣiṅ rāstan, nūne ūspistan. 372. aya modol kopu lāgitanṅ e, molad naṭṭa tatan. 373. "ō ṭonḍa, mīr(u) mā inṛo manru. 374. ayer oti maRiṅa, variṅ losna sīnan mā buba. 375. miṅi ini tiyel siled. 376. nēnru nēnru manru. 377. podoytiṅ kūkpisi vizeriṅ venbanan. 378. aye kīdu maRiṅa losna sīnan; tiyel āmaṭ, sigu āmaṭ", izi vānru ṭonḍasiṅ veRtan. 379. āR e maRiṅ, podu ātad. 380. nāṭoṇivariṅ kūkpistanṅ e, venbatan vani aposi.

9.381. "ayer tati maRiṅa, sidu pāteṅ", izi vizeriṅ veRtan. 382. losti lakeṅḍ(a) kitanṅ e, kīdu maRi pāteṅ ore kīdu sita maRan. 383. vānru tatanṅ e, "idi lo bābu, pāteṅ nān(u) tata

turmeric, and make her apply oil. 369. While dressing her hair, pull out the hind lock of her(?) and bring it to me tucking it in your loin cloth". When the father had said so, the son left. 370. He took her by force, the woman, who kept saying, "I won't".

9.371. He poured water and washed her hair; smeared turmeric and got them to apply oil. 372. He pulled out the hind lock of her hair and fixed it in his waist-band. 373. (He said to them), "O Dear ones! you stay home. 374. If anybody has taken away your clothes, my father would ask him and get your clothes (back). 375. There need be no fear for you. 376. Just stay for a day. 377. In the evening, he (father) will summon all the people and will enquire. 378. Whoever may have got them (lit. in whoever's hands they are), he will demand them and give you. Don't fear. Don't feel delicate". Thus he spoke to his darlings. 379. As they remained so, it got dark. 380. His father summoned all the villagers and enquired them.

9.381. He said to all of them, "If anybody has brought the garments, give them (back)". 382. Pretending to be asking them, he passed on those clothes to somebody (earlier). 383. That man brought the clothes (and said), "Here

maRa. 384. ayevi no iRa ne, nānu tata maRa. 385. ivi lo mī pāteŋ, undaŋ”, izi vari kidu sitan. 386. vānru otanr e, bōdeka kidu sitan. 387. ērguru bōdek sarda āzi, vizu pāteŋ porpate. 388. zāva vaRtar e, koru suRtar, kaŋda vaRtar. vankaŋ negreŋda kizi ūtpistar. 389. avi uŋe tiRe ne, “manru ma manru le, māp(u) sonsinap”, izi ērguru vizu bōdek soRe. 390. avi soRi venka, “unri marandiŋ rāmgunŋa kina”, izi aya aposi marandiŋ sektan.

9.391. sektanr e, rāmgunŋa toRtan, ŋoyla toRtan. 392. vānru lāgiti maRi kopu tosri kitan. 393. tosri kitanr e, iŋta ristan, aposi. 394. aya marisi, āR e aysi aposi inro manan. 395. aydu paŋteŋ maRanr o, āru paŋteŋ maRanr o. 396. negreŋda olbitan, “ōho, nānu kota rāzu poŋad puŋta. 397. mā yāya buba, ‘rāzu gālsiŋ tana sinap’ iRiŋ ke?eta. 398. abeŋiŋ sōta ne, ‘embe ba sona’ izi iŋpuruŋdiŋ dasul āta. 399. vani

are the clothes, Sir! I took them away. 384. I took them away not knowing what they were. 385. Here are they, your clothes, take them”. Saying so, he passed them on to his (the King’s) hands. 386. He (the King) took them and passed them on to the hands of the young women. 387. The seven young women became happy and put them on. 388. They (the King’s people) cooked the meal and roasted a chicken; they cooked the meat. And they got them (the young women) all well fed. 389. The young women ate and drank, and said, “You stay, uncle! stay away. We are leaving”. Having said, the seven young women left. 390. After they had left, the father (of the boy) said, “I will make a lute out of wood (for you)”. And he planed a piece of wood.

9.391. He planed and made a lute (out of the wood). 392. He made a string out of the lock of hair that was pulled out (of the last born sister’s hair). 393. Having made the string, he kept it over. 394. The son lived in the house of his mother and father. 395. Thus he lived, maybe five years or maybe six years. 396. (Then) he thought, “Alas! I was born to the Kota King. 397. I did not like (to marry) when my parents said, ‘we will get you a King’s daughter’. 398. Having left there, I thought I would go somewhere, and I was finally caught sight of by the Lord. 399. Having touch-

goza dudun muṣi māya āta. 400. abeñiṅ naṅi tatanṅ e, kāsti marin lakeṅḁa, yāya buba poṭad puṭti lakeṅḁa, nānu āta ne pirita gadel!

9.401. bēn(u) bōdel siled. zata ā'e, zūri ā'e. 402. omo budi kina le. 403. embe soRiṅa, embe ba bōdel doRk'ed. 404. sile, nānu bēn manreṅ endaniṅ? mā yāya buba mokom sona sūna", iRanṅ e, iṣpururdiṅ veRtan. 405. "ō ba ō ba, mi lakeṅḁa deyam ā'e. 406. nānu surtiṅa sirnarun(u). 407. naru lōkam nānu sona. 408. eso izi eso mi ban manzina", iRan kaka, koṅu ne suRtar o, gore no guttar o. 409. zāva vaRtar, kaṅḁa vaRtar, ūtpistar, tiRpistar. 410. "sir narunḁiṅ tata ne gani, vēṭa kizi kaṅḁa tiRpistan.

9.411. paṅi kizi paṅṭa paṅḁistan. 412. kūliṅ paṅḁistiṅ zāva uṭa. 413. vaniṅ nānu seḁi pōsa ki'e. 414. nā poṭad vānru puṭ'en. 415. nān izi sirnarunḁiṅ māya kita tata ne, ēl puṭti

ed his pointed stick, I disappeared. 400. He brought me from there and I have grown up as if I were a son (actually) born to him, and as if I were born to a mother and a father (again).

9.401. There is no woman for me here. I am not married (lit. paired). 402. What shall I do? (lit. what idea will I make?) 403. Wherever I go, I fail to get a bride. 404. No! (then) why should I stay here? I will go and see my (original) mother and father". He thought so and told the Lord (his father). 405. "O father! I'm not a divine being like you. 406. I am a mere mortal. 407. I will go (back) to the human world. 408. Somehow or other I have been living with you". When he had said so, they (his parents) had, perhaps, roasted a fowl or killed a goat. 409. They cooked the meal; they cooked the meat. They made him drink and eat. 410. (His father pondered), "Though I brought him, the mortal, he went out hunting and fed us with meat.

9.411. He worked (hard) and fostered crops. 412. When he had grown paddy, we ate the rice-meal. 413. I have not ill-treated him. 414. He is (of course) not born to me. 415. I myself made the mortal disappear, brought him here, and

lakeṇḍa kita. 416. poṭad puṭṭi maṛin lakeṇḍa kita. 417. vāṇru ba kāsti yāya buba lakeṇḍ e kitan", iRanre, "gined boṭu taga, mutad ēru taga, simṭad sisu taga, dūpam taga. boṭu si'a," izi ālsiṇ veRtan. 418. ālsiṇ veRtiṇ, vāṇru veRtika vizu ālsi tatad. 419. boṭu tatad, ēru tatad, sisu tatad, dūpam tatad. 420. kāldu ēru vaḍisi, dūpam suRtad e, boṭu sitad, māristad.

9.421. vāṇru mari aysiṇ māristan. 422. aposiṇ māristan. 423. "esneṭaṇ ba būlazi vāzi mī mokom sūṇa". 424. "buḍa buḍa, eseṇ vātiṇ ba kani, nīn soni saṛi ne ra'a", izi aposi veRtan. 425. veRtan kaka, maṛisi saṛi maṭtan. 426. saṛi maṭni vēladu aposi ṭoyla astan. 427. nāru gaṛvizi soRiṇ, "buḍa buḍa, saṇem nil'a me. unṛi māṭa manad, niṇi veRna," izi aposi veRtan. 428. aposi veRtiṇ, maṛisi niRan. 429. "niṇi tata ne gani, māleṇ ki'eta, pōrsa ki'eta. 430. negreṇḍa kizi niṇi pōsa kita.

made it (look) as if he was born to me. 416. I made him just like the one born to me. 417. He also acted towards us as if we were his real (lit. progenitor) mother and father". Having thought so, he told his wife, "Bring vermilion in a cup; bring water in a small pot; bring fire with forceps; bring incense. And put *boṭu* (vermilion mark) on his forehead. 418. When he so said to his wife, his wife brought all the things he asked for. 419. She brought vermilion, water, fire, and incense. 420. She poured water over the feet of the boy, burnt incense, put vermilion mark on his forehead, and greeted him.

9.421. He (the boy) again bowed to his mother. 422. He bowed to his father. 423. "Someday or other, when I come wandering about, I'll see your faces (again)", (the son said). 424. "O son! whenever you come, come only along the same way that you go", said the father. 425. After the father said so, the son set out on his way. 426. At the time he (i.e. the son) had set out, the father took up the lute. 427. When he was about to leave the village, the father said, "O son, dear! stay for a while. I have a word to tell you". 428. When he asked him so, the son stopped. 429. "Even though I brought you, I have not treated you badly. 430. I have looked after you well.

9.431. pōsa kita ne gani inika si²eta. 432. yā ʔoyla nīnu o²a. 433. embe niṇi baṇa kaṭṭiṇ, ʔoyla palkis²a”, izi aposi veRtanṅ e, maṛisiṇ aposi māṛistan, aposiṇ maṛisi māṛistan. 434. “sa²a le ba, sa²a,” izi aposi veRtan. 435. “manṛu le ba, manṛu,” izi maṛisi veRtan. 436. āR āzi pāt-makṛi ban soRan. 437 “ore ore pāt-makṛi, kaṇḍek nūlu ḍipsi sida. naru lōkam sonsina”, izi vānṛu veRtan kaka, aya pāt-makṛi nūlu ḍipta sitad. 438. aya nūlu daṇḍ maṭṣi vānṛu ḍigitan. 439. vānṛu, ḍigitanṅ e, “ō ho re, nān ‘ban soRiṇa, ālu doRknad’ izi soRiṇ, bān ba doRk²etad. 440. inika ba si²etar.

9.441. yā ʔoyla unṛi sitar. 442. ona no, ke²e no. 443. deniṇ otiṇa inika kina lu. 444. mā ana oni surṭiṇa, ‘ayeṇ tana sinap’ iRiṇa ke²etanṅ e, dēsam ṛisi dēsam soRan. yā ʔoyladi vāndiṇ e, lu! 445. yāka de lu, vani ālsi’, izi veRne le. 446. yā ʔoyla ona no, ke²e no?” izi olbitan. 447. “sile, mā buba

9.431. Although I brought you up, I have not given you anything. 432. You take with you this lute. 433. Wherever you get hungry, you play on this lute”. The father had said so and greeted his son, and the son greeted his father. 434. “Get along, son, get along”, said the father. 435. “You remain, father! remain”, said the son. 436. Then, he (the son) went to the Spider. 437. He said to the Spider “O Great Spider, drop out a little thread for me; I am going to the human world”. When he had asked him, the Spider dropped out the thread. 438. Stepping on the thread, he descended down (to the earth). 439. Having descended (to the earth), he thought, “Alas! I went there hoping that I would find a bride, but the bride was not found. 440. They (i.e. my parents) would not give me anything.

9.441. They gave me just this lute. 442. Should I take it with me or not? 443. If I take this, what am I to do with it? 444. When my brothers and sisters-in-law see, they would say, ‘He did not like to marry when we said, ‘we will get you somebody (a bride)’. He left this country and went to another—after all, for this lute. 445. Perhaps this is his bride’. 446. (I do not know) whether I should take this or not. 447. Well, no! my father said something”, he recalled

unri māta veRta manan," iRanr e, aya ŧoyla palkistan. 448. ŧoyala palkistiŋ, aya ārguru bōdeka venka puŧti vīza viškorni, doned zāva astad, mutad ēru astad, simŧad sisu astad, kōmeŧ suŧa astad. 449. ruŋdi kālka muveŋ toRay ātad. 450. kīdu namil poŧi puri astad e, rīnzi viri vitsi galgal ne palkisi, vani ban vātat.

9.451. doned zāva sitad, mutad ēru sitad. 452. sitad kaka, sarda āzi guŋde kotay ātan. 453. sarda ātanr e, mutad ēru norbatan. 454. doned zāva uŧan. 455. aya sisudaŋd kōmeŧ suŧa tiRan. 456. mari ŧoyla palkistiŋ, bōdel māya ātad. 457. māya ātiŋ, ŧoyla astanr e, mari vātan bōru maran ađgi. 458. bōru maran ađgi vātanr e, "ō ya ō ya, nā sarku sida, nā samadam sida", izi veRtan. 459. "ō buđa buđa, ēl nīnu sonid a? 460. saŋem rōmba?a me. vanditi vāti".

9.461. "sile, naŋi sonreŋ paynam manad. 462. bēgi naŋi nā guram sida, nā batem sida, nā perku sida. 463. nānu mari

and played on the lute. 448. When he had played on it, the youngest born of the sisters (lit. the youngest one born after the six elder ones) carried the meal in a leaf-plate, took a pot of water, fire with forceps, and (also) a market-cigar. 449. She had small bells tied to both of her feet. 450. She held a peacock-feather fan (in her hand). And she came waving to him making jingling noise (?).

9.451. She gave him the meal out of the leaf-plate and the water out of the pot. 452. When she had given, he became immensely happy (lit. his heart got opened up). 453. He became glad and washed himself with the water from the pot. 454. He ate the meal out of the leaf-cup. 455. He smoked the cigar (lighting it) with the fire (she brought). 456. When he had played on the lute again, the young woman disappeared. 457. After she had disappeared, he took the lute and came down to the bottom of the banyan tree. 458. Having come to the bottom of the banyan tree, he said, "O mother, mother, give me my bag and baggage". 459. (The tree replied), "O son, will you go away now? 460. Stay for a while. You have come quite tired".

9.461. He said, "No, I have a journey to go on. 462. Give me soon my horse, my provisions, and my rice. 463.

mā bubar nāto sonsina. 464. anari nāto sonsina. 465. yāya mokom sūṇa, buba mokom sūṇa", iRan kaka, vani guram, vani batem, vani perku, baru inika vizu sitad. 466. baruṅ vizu sitiṅ, aya baruṅ guramdiṅ pergistan; vānru ektan. 467. "ō ya ō ya, man'a le, nānu sonsina. 468. esneṭaṅ ba marzi vātiṇa, būlazi būlazi vātiṇa, nī mokom sūṇa sona; niṇi var-gisna sona. man'a le, man'a. nānu sonsina." 469. "sonsina", iRanṅ e, guramdiṅ sobok reytanṅ e, ekta vātan. 470. eksi vāzi nāru ḍagru āR āzi soRan.

9.471. nāru ḍagru soRanṅ e, guramdiṅ meleka narpsi otan. 472. vānru abe manbu nidra gadi lakeṇḍa kita maRan. 473. maRanṅ e, bān e otan. 474. sarku samadamku vizu ḍiptan. 475. guramdiṅ gōṇi vizu ḍiptan. 476. guramdiṅ sazu vizu kuttan. 477. guramdiṅ ṛistan, ḍoḍi vare aya baruṅ inṛo ota iḍtan. 478. aya ṭoyladiṅ embe iḍna", iRanre e nidra gadidu

I'm again going to the village of my parents. 464. I'm going to my brothers. 465. I'll see the face of my mother; I'll see the face of my father. When he had said this, she (the Tree) gave him his horse, his provisions, his rice—all his baggage (lit. the load). 466. When all the load was given, he lifted the load on to the horse. He (then) mounted on it. 467. (And he said), "O mother, mother! you remain. I'm leaving. 468. If any day I come moving about, I'll see you and go; I'll speak to you and go. You remain; I'm leaving". 469. Having said, 'I'm leaving', he whipped the horse and took off. 470. Having taken off on the horse, he went close to the village.

9.471. Having gone close to the village, he let the horse slowly walk and took it. 472. Then (lit. being so), he improvised a sort of bed room for himself. 473. There he took it (the horse). 474. All his things, he took down. 475. He removed the bags from the horse. 476. He took out all the things from the horse. 477. He left the horse and took all the luggage into the house from behind and put them down. 478. Thinking, "Where shall I place the lute?" he hung it to

batami guttan. 479. "bēn manid e, ēl vāna le gade", iRanr e, "ō ni ō ni, anar embe soRar?" izi veRtan. 480. aya onisik, "mī anar suldi guḍed soRa manar, batri guḍed soRa manar", izi veRte.

9.481. veRte kaka, "sile sona saṇem būlana vāna", iRanr e, vānrū sōta soRan. 482. yā onisik mari, "ale ale na, sadu ge embe vare bōdel tatan, embe manad? 483. sadu ge sūnaṭ(u). 484. elag mari sūnaṭ", izi onisik rebazine. 485. rebate vandite ne, "embe vare lu tatan? 486. māp 'tana sinap' iRiṇ ke?etan. 487. sigu ātanr e, su vātanr e, sari būladeṇ soRan", izi rebadeṇ aṭ?u te ne batami ṭoyladiṇ surṭe. 488. batami surṭiṇ ṭoyla manad. 489. inika siled. ṭoyla ne manad. 490. "yākad e lu, vani ālu.

9.491. ale ge yā ṭoyla palkisna sūnaṭ, palkisna sūnaṭ", iRe ne ṭoyladiṇ palkiste. 492. ṭoyla palkistiṇ, gined zāva

the slanting roof in the bed-room. 479. "Let it be here, I will come now", he thought, and went to his sisters-in-law. And he asked them, "O sisters-in-law! where have my brothers gone?". 480. The sisters-in-law replied, "Your brothers have gone to the(?) *suldi*-fields; they have gone to the(?) *batri*-fields".

9.481. When they had said so, he thought, "I will go out for a while, roam about, and return", and he went out. 482. The sisters-in-law (spoke among themselves), "Let us go. Where has he brought the bride? Where is she? 483. Let us go and see. 484. How shall, then, we see!" So saying, the sisters-in-law searched. 485. They searched and got tired. 486. "He did not want when we said, 'we will bring and give you (a bride)'. 487. (That is why) he felt ashamed and went out to wander, soon after coming (back)". So saying, they could not find anything, and they saw the lute. 488. As they looked at the slanting roof, there was the lute. 489. Nothing else, there was only the lute. 490. "Perhaps this is his wife.

9.491. Well, now, let us play on it and see", they said, and played on the lute. 492. When they had played on it,

astad, mutad ēru astad, simṭad sisu astad, kōmeṭ suṭa astad, kālkeṇ muveṇ toRay ātad, kīdu namil kūṭu puri astad e, viri vitsi karzizi dāṭsi vāzinad. 493. gal gal kizi palkisi adi vāniṇ “abaya, inika ninika vāzinad”, izi avi meṇḍeṇ niṇḍeṇ aḍgi musku āte. 494. aḍgi musku āzi maRiṇ, aya zāva tasi maRi bōdel suṭad e, “asiro ya, sirnaruṇ koṭe, iRu āne”, iRad e zāva visirtad, mutad ēru visirtad, kōmeṭ suṭa visirtad, simṭad sisu visirtad. 495. tasi maRika vizu visirtad e, dani aysi aposi bān soRad. 496. “ō ya ō ya, ō ba ō ba, batkina”, izi soRa ne gani aya muṇḍeṇ naṇi seʻen kite. 497. āR āzi nānu vāta. nānu sēse-mara kāme-kadu, nānu sirnaruṇ lōkam keʻe”, iRad e, aysi aposi ban manad. 498. vānṛu būladeṇ soRa maRanṛ e, vāta suṭtan. 499. “yāka nā vandiṇ e tasi maRad. 500. ivi ṭoyla palkiste kaka, ‘naṇi’ izi su tatad. 9.501. vankaṇ suṭad e, su sigu ātad! 502. sigu ātad”,

the last-born of the seven sisters took meal in a cup, water in a pot, fire with forceps, and a merchant-cigar. She had small bells tied to her feet, held a fan of peacock feathers, and came waving, playing, and jumping. 493. As she had come making the noise ‘gal gal gal’, they (the sisters-in-law) got terrified, and said, “Oh! what is this coming?” 494. When they thus got terrified, the young woman who brought the food noticed and thought, “Oh! these are the mortals, the human beings! (That is why) they are acting like this”. So thinking, she threw out the meal, the pot of water, the merchant-cigar, and the fire in forceps. 495. Having thrown out all that she had brought, she went to her parents. 496. (She told them), “O mother! O father! I went to live there but those wretched women caused me great alarm. 497. That is why (lit. becoming thus), I have come away. I shall never, never, want (to go to) the human world”. And she lived with her parents (only). 498. The man (husband) who went out to wander came and saw. 499. (He thought), “Oh! she brought these for my sake only. 500. These women played on the lute and she probably brought these thinking that it was all for me.

9.501. Having seen them (the sisters-in-law), she probably felt humiliated. 502. Yes, she felt humiliated”. he

iRanr e, ʔoyla palkistan. 503. palkistiñ ba, adi reʔed. 504. reʔ itiq, “ōho elag kina”, iRanr e, “yā pāpi muñdeñ su, elag kite no kōpam ātad su! 505. estivale podu sōnad, estivale zāy ānad. nānu soRa mari”, iRanr e āR (maRiñ) podu ātiñ, sikaʔ ātad. 506. sikaʔ ātiñ, aya onisi mari anam bāʔa kite ne, uñdeñ kükte. 507. uñdeñ küktiñ ba, uñdeñ sonʔetan. 508. aʔbazi ʔoyla esi aʔbanan. 509. siksi ʔoyla esi sikan. 510. āR āzi maRiñ, nidreñ reʔu te.

9.511. koRku kerepu sōtanr e, vānru vāti sari aʔbazi aʔbazi soRan. 512. bōru maran ađgi soRanr e, “ō ya ō ya, nān muñgal nī ban vāti vale, ĩspurru māprudiñ dasul kibisti. 513. dasul kibistiñ vānru nañi kükta otan. 514. vani veʔa nānu soRa. 515. vani veʔa soRa ne, abe ne maRa. 516. abe maRiñ surzi rāska gālsiñ nelva āta ne, vanka pāteñ tasi maRa. 517. tasi maRiñ řibisi oši maRe. 518. vanka kidu

thought and played on the lute. 503. Even when he had played, she wouldn't come. 504. When she had not come, he thought, “Alas! What shall I do? (I don't know) what these sinful women had done, she must have got angry. 505. When will it get dark and when will the day dawn? Otherwise, I would have gone there”. As he remained deploring like that, the day drew to its end, and it got dark. 506. When it got dark, the sisters-in-law served the food and invited him to eat. 507. Even when they invited him, he would not go to eat. 508. He would cry, play on the lute, and again would cry. 509. He would pine, play on the lute, and again he would pine. 510. When he had been so, he wouldn't get sleep.

9.511. He set out at cock's crow and went along the same way he came, weeping. 512. He went to the bottom of the banyan tree and said to her, “O mother, mother! when I came to you earlier, you made me see Him. 513. He called me and took me away (with Him). 514. I went behind Him. 515. Having gone behind Him, I stayed there itself. 516. When I was there, I saw the daughters of the Surzi King and I took away there clothes. 517. When I took them away, they got (the clothes) released and received them back. 518.

deba tinzi, vanka veydu māteṅ venzi, āR āzi āru vankeṅ pisa kizi kogri daniṅ tata. 519. tata maRa kaka, mā onikaṅ surtad e, sigu ātad. 520. vari yāya buba inro soRad e, manad.

9.521. dani vandiṅ āzi nānu vāzina". 522. "ō buḍa buḍa, ēl soRi iRiṅa, mī māmar ban sonma, mī bubar ban e man'a. 523. mī buba kūkpisanṅ e, tapisnan. nīn soRi iRiṅa, goṛon kasnad. 524. mī buba iRiṅa ne tapisnan", izi veRtiṅ vānru soRanṅ e, seru gaṭtu maRan. 525. seru gaṭtu maRiṅ, ā īpurru māpru mari būmidiṅ ḍigitan. 526. ḍigitiṅ marisi bēṭ ātan (=kūrītan). 527. bēṭ ātanṅ e, "ō ba ō ba, nīn kiti ilu ā'i lakeṅḍa ātad. 528. mī koṛesi bibsikaṅ surtad e, sigu āta vātad. 529. daniṅ elag kina ne ona". 530. "ore ore koṛo, deniṅ niṅi ini tiyel, nānu kina sīna".

9.531. izi veRtanṅ e, būḍ kitan, vizu kitan. 532. kitanṅ

Having suffered beats at their hands and having suffered their scoldings (lit. words from their mouth), thus I finally won the hand of the last one. 519. I brought her, but she saw my sisters-in-law and became humiliated. 520. She went back to her parents' house and stayed there.

9.521. It is for her that I'm going". 522. She (the tree said), "O son, if you go today, don't go to your father-in-law's place. Go and stay with your parents only. 523. Your father would send word and get (her). If you go there, things get spoiled (lit. the forest will be on fire). 524. Your father will himself get her (there)". When she had said so, he went and stood on the tank-bund. 525. When he had stood on the tank-bund, the Great Lord descended to the earth. 526. When he had come down, His son met Him. 527. Having met, he told his father, "O father! the home that you gave me crumbled (lit. became as if it was not there). 528. Your daughter-in-law saw her sisters (viz. his sisters-in-law), and felt humiliated and returned. 529. What shall I do to bring her back?" 530. (His father replied), "O son, why should you have any worry? I will do it and give (her to) you".

9.531. He said so, took his bath and finished everything. 532. Having done so, he took him (i.e. his son) along and

e, vani vani veṭa kūkta asta soRan. 533. inṛo otanṛ e, ri-nēṇḍ e soRad o, mu-nēṇḍe soRad o. 534. suriz rāzuṇ kūkpis-tanṛ e, itaRi māṭa atal kitar, ataRi māṭa ital kitar. 535. āRu vargitar e, “endaniṇ kūkpisti lu endaniṇ?” iRiṇa, “endaniṇ sile, mā korya buḍi soRad e, sigu āta vāṭad ge. 536. naru lōkam ke’iṇa ital manir. 537. mā āgas pūrtu māvale batkipir. 538. sēru ṛaku sīna, ēndum vitku sīna. ilu vantu sīna. uṇḍeṇ ṭiṇḍi silīṇa, paṇṭa vantu sīna. ginza vantu sīna. banaram vantu sīna. veṇḍi vantu sīna,” izi veRtan. 539. veRtan kaka, rāzu soRanṛ e, gālsin “ō ba ō ba, nīnu ēlu ke’ēṇḍa āma. 540. mī māma sēru ṛaku sīnan, ēndum vitku sīnan, ginza vantu sīnan, būmi vantu sīnan, negreṇḍa āzi batkidu.

9.541. ayer veRti māṭa asma”, izi aposi veRtan. 542. veRtanṛ e, gālsin kūkta otan. Ispurru rāzu inṛo kūkta otan. 543. gālsin saṇisṇ zōra basa kitanṛ e, “ō kōṇḍli, atal sonider

went. 533. He brought him home. Perhaps, a day or two had passed. 534. He invited the Surzi King and conversed with him (lit. made this-side-words that side and that-side-words this side). 535. Thus they spoke to each other. When (the Surzi King) asked, “Why did you send for me?”, the other King said, “Oh no! for nothing (particular); my daughter-in-law went there (i.e. to her husband’s house), but came away feeling humiliated. 536. If she does not like (to be there), let them stay here. 537. Let them live with us in our Agaspur. 538. I will give them a pair of oxen, five *tūms* of seed, a portion of the house. If they don’t have food to eat, I’ll give a portion of the harvest, a portion of the grain, a portion of gold, and a portion of silver”. 539. When he had said so, the Surzi King went and told his daughter, “O daughter! don’t be stubborn now. 540. Your father-in-law will give a pair of oxen, five *tūms* of seed, a portion of grain, a portion of land. You can live happily.

9.541. Don’t listen to anybody’s words”, said her father. 542. Having said, he called and brought his daughter. He called and brought his daughter to the house of the King *Iśvara* (i.e. Lord). 543. He seated his son-in-law and the daughter, and said, “O son-in-law, would you go there or

a, ital batkinider a?" izi veRtan. 544. "sile ma, m̄ap(u) naru lōkam ke'ep. 545. mī darpu ne batkinap", izi veRtiṅ, "mī bōda gade, embe iṣtam iRiṅa, bān(u) manru. 546. moga koṛo iRiṅa inro manzinar, ayli koṛo manzinad a? 547. niṅi ṛisi ayeṅ soRiṅ ba, ore lōkaṅ e sone. 548. inro ta avi man'u", izi budi barsa vizu veRtanr e, vānru vani inro soRan. 549. vēr dēsem asi rāzi asi batkizinar. 550. maṛin kāsi koṛya tasinar.

9.551. gālu kāsi saṅiniṅ sīzinar. 552. vāni variṅ baru dīpsinar, soni variṅ baru perzinar. 553. pasika uṅi variṅ batem sīzinar. 554. vetika uṅi variṅ anam sīzinar. 555. nukuṛi pōsa kizi noresdiṅ sīzinar. 556. sikuṭ uṅsi kampa sīzinar. 557. iR āzi batkizinar, niṣinar. 558. yā kata veRtikan bōyi sombra.

would you live here?" 544. (The son-in-law replied), "No father-in-law; we don't like the world of humans. 545. We will stay close to you". When he had said this (the father-in-law mentioned), "Well, as you like it. Wherever you like to stay, stay. 546. A son would stick to his home, would a daughter remain so? 547. If they leave you to go to anybody, they will go to only one (?) 548. They (the girls) wouldn't stay home". Thus having told them all good things (code of behaviour), he went to his house. 549. These people were living happily—in the country and in the Kingdom. 550. They brought forth sons and brought brides (daughters-in-law) for them.

9.551. They brought forth daughters and gave them to sons-in-law. 552. They lifted down the burden for the incoming people and lifted up the burden for the outgoing. 553. They gave provisions to those who would only eat raw (and not cooked) things in their house (persons of higher community). 554. For those who would eat cooked things with them, they gave food. 555. They fostered dogs and gave them away to tigers. 556. They planted beans and put fences around. 557. So they lived and they remained. 558. The narrator of this story is Boyi Sombra.

PART II

A GRAMMATICAL OUTLINE

1. PHONOLOGY

THE PHONEMES

1.1. Koṇḍa has the following segmental and supra-segmental phonemes:

(a) Consonants

	Lab.	Den.	Alv.	Ret.	Vel.	Glo.
Stop	p b	t d		ʈ ɖ	k g	ʔ
Fricative			s z			(h)
Trill			R r			
Nasal	m		n	ɳ	ŋ	
Lateral			l			
Flap			r	ɽ		
Semi-consonant	v			y		

(b) Vowels

	Fron.	Cent.	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

(c) Co-vowels

Length /-/, Nasalization /~/

(d) Transition features

Utterance initial and final silence /#/

Phrase-final pause /,/

Internal open transition /+/, separates phonological words within a phonological phrase. Normal transition from one segmental phoneme to another in a phonological word contrasts with the above and is unmarked.

(e) *Intonation*

Pitch levels: /1 2 3/, low, mid, and high, respectively.

Utterance-final contours: // mid-falling,

/ ↑ / low-rising, / ↓ / high-falling.

Phrase-final contour: / → / mid-rise-fall.

The analysis of transition features and of intonation is only tentative, and is ignored in the transcription of examples and the texts in Part I, except where it becomes necessary to mark these for illustration.

PHONETIC CORRELATES

1.2. *Consonants*: All consonants are more sharply articulated in initial position than in final. Single stops are markedly fortis when they occur between two short vowels, of which the second carries phonetic stress (§ 1.4). Voiced-voiceless opposition is distinctive only among stops (except?), spirants, and trills. /R/ is a voiceless apico-alveolar trill, sounding phonetically as a simultaneous bundle of voicelessness [H] and trilling; /r/ is the corresponding voiced trill, while /r/ is a flap or tremulant produced at the same point of articulation. The phonetic difference between /r/ and /r/ is in the number of apical taps. /r/ following /n/ sounds as an affricated [dr], e.g. /panri/ = [pʌndri]. Here, both [n] and [d] sound more apico-domal than apico-alveolar. /sz/ are alveolar sibilants [sz] freely varying occasionally with the affricates [ts dz], but with the stop component weaker than the fricative component, [tsʌné·m] ~ [sʌné·m] = /sañem/ 'moment', [vɪdzú] ~ [vizú] = /vizu/ 'all'. /v/ is a labio-dental continuant with weak friction before the vowels /a i e/ short or long. Before /u/ non-initially, it is a bilabial frictionless continuant, e.g. /venʔ/ = [venʔá] 'listen' (imp. 2nd sg.), but /piṛvu/ = [piṛwú] 'worm'. The phonetic properties of the remaining consonants are evident from the chart in § 1.1.

Telugu speakers seeking to learn the Konḍa sounds may note the following points:

Koṇḍa stop consonants /p b t d ʈ ɖ k g/ do not present a problem. Word-initially they may be pronounced like the Telugu phonemes /p b t d ʈ ɖ k g/. But intervocalically following a short vowel, they sound like the Telugu double consonants /pp bb tt dd/, etc. Koṇḍa /poṭu/, /kupa/, etc. could be produced by a Telugu speaker as if they were like [poṭtu:], [kuppa:], etc. of his language. The glottal stop /ʔ/ in Koṇḍa which has no phonemic equivalent in Telugu would be initially difficult to detect and learn, but it is phonetically like the 'check of breath' that all Telugu persons unconsciously introduce between the members of each pair of letters in reading the Telugu vowels in the alphabet: [aʔā, iʔī, uʔū], etc. Koṇḍa /s/ corresponds to Telugu [s] rather than Te. /ts/, and Koṇḍa /z/ to Telugu [z] in words like [ra:zu] 'king', etc. Koṇḍa /r/ is pronounced like /rr/ in Modern Telugu as in [gurram] 'horse'; /R/ is, of course, the most difficult sound to imitate. An effort could be made by pronouncing it as the sequence [rh] as in Te. /arhata/ 'suitability'. Koṇḍa /r/ sounds like the intervocalic /d/ = [ɾ] in Telugu but not like it in the initial position, e.g. Te. [mʌɾətʌ] 'fold': Koṇḍa /maɾi/ 'irrigated field'. Koṇḍa /y r l h/ sound much like the Telugu phonemes /y r l h/ in kāya 'fruit', nāra 'fibre', kālu 'leg', haddu 'border', etc. Koṇḍa /v/ has more audible friction than the allophones of Telugu /w/, but the closest in Telugu is the allophone before /i e āē/ and the one in gemination, which is more a labio-dental than a bilabial, e.g. Koṇḍa /venʔa/ = [venʔá], cf. Te. vinu = [vinu] 'listen' /nawwu/ = [nʌvʋu] 'laugh'.

1.3 *Vowels and co-vowels*: All short vowels contrast with the corresponding long vowels and therefore carry a co-vowel phoneme of length /-/, e.g. /masi/ 'blot': /māsi/ 'husband'. There are three borrowed words, which have distinctive nasalized vowels, viz. /bēsi/ 'bench', /āsu/ 'edge, border' (< Te. ancū 'id'), and /pāse/ 'dhoti' (< Te. pance). These contrast with items like /masu/ 'dew', /masam/ 'cot' having oral vowels on the one hand, and with those like /mansu/ 'mind', /pansa/ 'jack fruit', having vowel + nasal + sibilant sequences, on the other. Nasalization /~/ is a marginal phoneme in Koṇḍa since it seems to occur (a) always

in the first syllable of a phonological word, and (b) only before the phoneme /s/.

Phonetically stressed (§ 1.4) and phonemically long /i e u o/ have higher tongue positions than the corresponding unstressed short vowels. The latter are transcribed here with small capitals [I E U O]. Long and stressed /a/ = [á:à] is lower and more central than the corresponding short unstressed /a/ = [ʌ], e.g. /adam/ = [ʌᅇám] 'mirror'. Final /u/ of words of two or more syllables has an occasional free variant [i], particularly after stop consonants. In many such cases, it is a non-morphemic /u/ and has been generally dropped in transcription. e.g. /soRap/ = [soRá'pī] 'we went' ~ [soRá'p].

Short and long vowels contrast only in the first syllable. In non-initial syllables, quantitative variations are all predictable (§ 1.4). All vowel phonemes have centralized and somewhat retroflexed allophones before /r/, e.g. /bōru maran/ = [bó:ru mʌrá'n] 'banyan tree'. All Koᅇda vowels can be produced by Telugu speakers without ambiguity by using their corresponding short and long vowel /i ī e ē a ā o ō u ū/.

1.4. *Transition features and stress*: A Koᅇda utterance may consist of one or more than one phonological phrase which is an autonomous unit and which can be an utterance by itself or form part of a larger unit, viz. a clause or a sentence. As part of a larger phonological unit, there is a clear pause after it marked by /,/ and it carries a contour of the type /1 32/ with a rising tone-glide, if it ends in a vowel and a falling tone-glide, if it ends in a consonant. A phonological phrase may consist of one phonological word or more than one separated by open transition /+/, e.g.

/#1ᅇokra+ᅇokri³+poᅇad² →, ¹ri²er³+ marisir² ↓ #/

(1.1) * 'an old man and an old woman had two sons' (lit. old-man-old-woman-womb-from, two (masc. classifier) sons). A phonological word is a convenient frame of reference for describing the phonemic contrasts and distribution in Koᅇda and

* A Number in parentheses without § refers to the number of the text and the sentence in Part I.

may be defined as a unit of speech represented here as bounded by any two marked junctures: /# ... #/, /#...+.../, /...+...+.../, /...+.../, /...+...+/, etc. In other words, in an utterance having n marked junctures, there are $n-1$ phonological words. The following characteristics help in the identification of a phonological word.

(a) A phonological word in Koṇḍa consists of one to five syllables of the following types:

open: (C) \check{v}

closed: (C) $\check{v}C$

(C) $\check{v}CC$

Monosyllabic words with an open syllable are only of the CV type, e.g. *su*, *le*, *ge*, etc. (all clitics).

\check{v} , $\check{v}C$, $\check{v}CC$, $C\bar{v}$, $C\bar{v}C$, and $C\bar{v}CC$ always occur initially, the remaining types occur, initially, medially, or finally. Observe the following examples: (a period separates syllables).

V.CVCC.	: i.yoṇḍ. 'this year'
VC.CV.CVC.	: ar.ba.tan. 'he cried'
VCC.CV.	: ols.ku. 'bears'
$\check{v}.CV.$: ā.lu. 'wife'
$\check{v}C.CV.$: ā.l.si. 'wife' (in ref.)
$\check{v}CC.CVC.$: ūṛp.tan. 'he removed'
$C\bar{v}.CV.$: gā.lu. 'daughter'
$C\bar{v}C.CV.$: gās.ku. 'bangles'
$C\bar{v}CC.CV.$: gōnz.ru. 'spider'

(b) Long and short vowels contrast only in the initial syllable of a phonological word, e.g. /kistan/ 'he pinched', /kīstan/ 'he scratched'.

(c) In phonological words of two or more syllables, the first syllable is louder than the others, if it has a long vowel. On the other hand, if it has a short vowel, the second syllable is louder and is phonetically longer in quantity (though longer in open syllables, than in closed syllables). In both cases, all alternative syllables from the stressed ones carry a second degree loudness, and the rest of the syllables carry weak stress, e.g. /ūspazinad/ = [ú:s.p[^].zī.n[^]d] 'she is apply-

ing (oil) to herself'; /arbazinad/ = [ʌr.bá.zi.nàd] 'she is crying'.

(d) The final short vowel of a phonological word is always phonetically half-long, e.g. /aya+bōdel, surtika+iđʔed/ = [ʌyá'bó:deɫ, surtí'ka'ıđʔé'd] (1.5) 'that young woman would not spare anything she saw'.

(e) A non-initial stop preceding a stressed vowel is markedly fortis, e.g. /pořu/ = [pořú:] 'belly' /vaskıř/ = [vʌskíř] 'intestines, bowels'.

(f) Word-initial consonants are more sharply pronounced than the final ones, e.g. /ayli+kũktad/ = [ʌylí'+kú:ktʌd] 'the girl called' vs. /aylik+ũkte/ = [ʌylík'+ú:kte] 'the girls have blown (their mouths)'. Here /+k/ is sharper than /k+/ even though neither of them is as fortis as a pretcnic stop (see (e) above). On the whole, consonants in final position are more lenis than they are in other positions.

(g) Insofar as the initial syllable is concerned, the feature of duration (short or long vowel) has a more dominant functional role than stress. An unstressed long vowel will not produce any ambiguity in signalling, but a stressed short vowel will, where it should actually be a phonemically long vowel with coextensive loudness in the initial syllable. Once the word boundaries are indicated and the contrast of short and long vowels in initial syllables marked, features of stress and length in the remaining syllables within a phonological word become automatic and predictable. Therefore, these latter are considered non-phonemic and are ignored in phonemic transcription. This analysis has been borne out also by the Konđa speakers' intuition and their reaction to features of stress and length.

(h) Konđa does not have diphthongs. Therefore, wherever two vowels occur in sequence, there is always a word boundary between them, e.g. /losi + unzi + maRar/ 'asking and eating, they were'.

The first four sentences from Text 1 are given below in phonetic as well as phonemic transcription to illustrate the

foregoing description. Pitch levels and contours are not marked. Word-initial consonants which are prominently (sharply) articulated are italicized:

- 1.1. [*ḍ*okrá ḍokrí'poťá'd ri'ér[^]m[^]rí'sir]
/# ḍokra + ḍokri + poťad, ri'er + marisir #/
- 1.2. [ri'ér m[^]rí'sir á:tiṅà' pɛyéŋmí:si' goréŋmí:si'
losí'unzi'm[^]Rá'r]
/# ri'er + marisir + ātiṅa, pɛyeŋ + mīsi, goreŋ
mīsi, losi + unzi + maRar #/
- 1.3. [losí'unzi'm[^]Rí'ŋ unri'bó:deldiŋ k[^]lú'ná:rit[^]r]
/# losi + unzi + maRiŋ, unri + bōdeldiŋ, kalu +
nāritar #/
- 1.4. [ʌyá'bo:dɛl, suṛtí'ka' id'éd]
/# aya + bōdel, suṛtika + id'ed #/
- 1.5. A grammatical analogue of a phonological word may be any one of the following:
 - (a) A morphological word (§ 3.1.), other than a clitic beginning with a vowel (§3.6.), with a simple or complex stem, which can also occur as a smallest utterance with some terminal contour, e.g. /ilu/ 'house', /inɾo/ 'in the house', /inɾoŋikan/ 'man in the house', /kitan/ 'he did', etc.
 - (b) A morphological word of the above type plus a vocalic clitic: -a (question), -e (emphatic or conjunctive), -o (dubitative), etc. E.g. /vātade, suṛtad/ 'she came and saw' (-e 'and'). A clitic of the CV type is, in terms of our foregoing description, a separate phonological word, e.g. /vātad + su / 'she came!' (surprise), /vātad + le / 'indeed, she came'.
 - (c) An interjectional word consisting of /ō/ 'oh, hello' followed by a bound variant of certain kinship terms, e.g. /ōna + ōna/ 'O brother, brother!', /ōba + ōba/ 'O father, father!' /ōya + ōya/ 'O mother, mother!' (-na, -ba, -ya are the bound variants of the free forms ana, buba, yāya, respectively); ō is a phonological word by itself when it is followed by a free form (that belongs to (a) above), e.g. /ō + buḍi + buḍi/ 'Oh dear child!' (female).

(d) An adjective or any member of a compound construction which does not constitute a minimum utterance by itself. It is still a phonological word in terms of its characteristics described in §1.4. /aya + inroni + savkari/ 'the rich man of that house'; /aya/ 'that' and /inroni/ 'of the house' cannot occur as minimum free forms.

(e) Sometimes, a morphologically single word may be two phonological words, e.g. /tali + mā + lasmi/ 'Mother Mahalakshmi', /nā + rāyna/ 'pity!' (lit. God Nārāyaṇa!).

We, therefore, note that phonological and morphological criteria overlap in delimiting the unit word at their respective levels of description.

CONTRASTS

1.6. *Consonants*: The environments in which consonantal contrasts are illustrated, are /#-V.../ (initially, after silence), /...V-V.../ (intervocally, single), /...V-#/ (finally, before silence). Examples for the occurrence of each consonant in clusters are given elsewhere (§1.9.).

(a) Stops

/p/ : /b/

/poṭu/ 'big intestines' : /boṭu/ 'beauty mark on forehead', /dapi/ 'liquid food' : /dabi/ 'hollow of palm', /kitap/ 'we (excl.) did'. (Examples for final /p:b/ are rare; mostly only /p/ occurs. There is a doubtful word /goṛob/ in the name of a tribal goddess/goṛob nisaṇi/ which occurs in Koṇḍa invocation, see p. 9).

/t/ : /d/

/tēlitan/ 'he wiped off (tears)' : /dēlitan/ 'he floated (on water)', /muta/ 'small pot' : /muda/ 'lump of soaked turmeric, mud, etc.', /ādvat/ 'then, afterwards' : /kitad/ 'she/it did' (this is perhaps the only case of final /t/; final /d/ is quite common).

/ṭ/ : /ḍ/

/ṭoṇḍa/ 'friend' (in address) : /ḍoṇḍa/ 'the tree *Coccinia indica*', /boṭu/ 'beauty mark on forehead' : /boḍu/ 'navel

cord', /kitat/ 'let us (incl.) do' : /aḍeṇḍ/ 'full of aḍa (a measure)' (no instance of a final -ṽḍ has been noticed).

/t/ : /t̄/

/pāta/ 'a piece of cloth' : /pāṭa/ 'song',

/d/ : /ḍ/

/adam/ 'mirror' : /aḍam/ 'obstruction; across'.

/k/ : /g/

/kopu/ 'hair' (of men or women) : /gopu/ 'tank-bund',
/mokom/ 'face' : /moga/ 'male', /guḍuk/ 'eyeballs' : lāg 'pull'
(imp. 2nd sg.).

/k/ : /ʔ/

/oko/ 'one' : /oʔ/ 'yes' (in listening to a story): glottal
stop does not occur initially and finally.

(b) Sibilants (fricatives) /s/ : /z/

/sata/ 'village shandy' : /zata/ 'pair', /pūsa/ 'a festival,
worship', /saras/ 'snake'; no clear cases of final /z/.

(c) Trills /R/ : /r̄/

No contrasts initially. maṛi 'again, then' : maṛi 'that
which was', āṛ(u) 'six' : āR(u) 'that manner'. /r̄/ does not
occur finally.

/r : r̄/

reʔen 'he does not come', : reʔen 'he does not open', nāru
'seedlings' : nāru 'village'.

(d) Nasals

/n/ : /ṇ/

Contrasts restricted to non-initial positions only. /peni/
'louse' : /paṇi/ 'work', /ansu/ 'edge, border' : /kansu/ 'forest-
buffalo', /goron/ 'hill, forest' : /nēnzun/ 'breath'.

/n/ : /m/

/nā/ 'my' : /mā/ 'our', /kina/ 'I shall do', /kima/ 'don't
do', /guram/ 'horse' : /goron/ 'hill, forest'.

/mC/ : nC/ : ŋC/ : /ŋC/

/semka/ 'armpit' : /sonki/ 'mortar (to pound in)' : /paŋku/ 'stone' : /peŋku/ 'tile'; /ḍumḍa/ 'naked' : /ḍuḍa/ 'bud'.

(e) Lateral : Flap /l/ : /ɾ/

/loʔi/ 'inside' : /roʔa/ 'hang up!' (imp. 2nd sg.), ēl(u) 'now' : ēɾ(u) 'seven', /gusil/ 'stump of tree' : /bīdɾ/ 'poverty'.

(f) Flaps /r/ : /ɾ/

/reʔen/ 'he does not come' : /reyʔen/ 'he does not strike', /gūrʔa/ 'sleep!' (imp. 2nd sg.), /kūrʔa/ 'join!' (imp. 2nd sg.).

(g) Semi-consonants /y/ : /v/

yāka 'this one' (3rd non-masc. sg.) : vākʔa 'pour!' (imp. 2nd sg.), /gōy/ 'smoke' : /sāv(u)/ 'death', /gibi/ 'ear' : /kavi/ 'burnt pieces of wood'.

(h) Fricative /h/ occurs in few items : /holdi/ 'turmeric' (rarely used), /ōho/ interjectional word expressing astonishment.

1.7. Vowels:

(a) Short : long /i/ : /ī/

/kistan/ 'he pinched' : /kīstan/ 'he scraped' /sipatad/ 'she swept floor' : /sīpatad/ 'she crushed'

/e/ : /ē/

dektan/ 'he strained (at stool)' : /dēktan/ 'he belched', /seren/ 'ear of corn' : /sēron/ 'husband's younger brother'

/a/ : /ā/

/masi/ 'blot' : /māsi/ 'husband', /gadi/ 'room' : /gādi/ 'storage basket'.

/o/ : /ō/

/poktan/ 'he threw' : /pōktan/ 'he sent off', /sonʔa/ 'go!' : /sōpʔa/ 'drive out!'

/u/ : /ū/

/guṛa/ 'a colony of Koṇḍa Doras' : /gūṛa/ 'a hut without yard or enclosure'. /uṛi/ 'suspended rope net' : /mūṛi/ 'running nose'.

(b) Higher : Lower

/i/ : /e/

/riʔer/ 'two men' : /reʔer/ 'they (men) do not come', /pini/ 'cold (weather)' : /peni/ 'louse'.

/e/ : /a/

/aye/ 'what, which' : /aya/ 'that'

/u/ : /o/

/suṭa/ 'cigar' : /soṭa/ 'an infirm man'

/o/ : /a/

/poṭu/ 'bowels' : /paṭu/ 'flour drawings'

(c) Oral : Nasal (See § 1.3).

DISTRIBUTION

Consonants:

1.8. All consonants may be divided into two classes: (1) obstruents: stops (except ʔ), spirants, and trills, in which the voiced-voiceless opposition is significant; (2) sonorants: nasals, lateral, flaps, and semi-consonants, which are voiced, and in which the opposition of voiced-voiceless is inoperative. The glottal stop /ʔ/, which is always voiceless, may also be classed with the sonorants. Among the obstruents, combination of voiceless and voiced consonants is rare. But any obstruent, voiced or voiceless, can combine with a sonorant.

All consonants except /ʔ R ŋ ŋ/ occur word-initially, and all of them occur between vowels and in clusters. However, /R/ is never found as the second member of a consonant cluster, and /ʔ/ never as the first member. The others occur both as first and second members (see charts below). Word-finally, all but /ʔ z r/ occur. Contrast between voiced and voiceless stops in the final position is of low function, and in

most cases only one phoneme of each pair occurs more frequently than the other. Thus, final /p d t̥ k s R/ are much more common than /b t̥ d̥ g z r/. But for one or two examples in each case (§ 1.6), we could even say that contrast between voiced and voiceless obstruents is neutralized in the word-final position. /d̥/ occurs finally only in combination with a preceding homorganic nasal, e.g. /iyon̥d̥/ 'this year', /n̥irun̥d̥/ 'last year', etc.

1.9. *Consonant Clusters*: In the Araku valley dialect initial consonant clusters are rare; only /gyānam/ 'sense'. All other clusters generally occur between peaks (vowels). Konda has two or three consonants clustering in the non-initial position, of which two-consonant clusters are more numerous. All such two-consonant clusters can be treated under four classes:

- (a) Obstruent + Obstruent
- (b) Sonorant + Sonorant
- (c) Obstruent + Sonorant
- (d) Sonorant + Obstruent

(a) Obstruent + Obstruent:

C ¹	C ²	p	t	t̥	k	s	R	b	d	d̥	g	z	r
p	—	pt	—	pk	ps	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
t	tp	tt	—	tk	ts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
t̥	t̥p	t̥t̥	—	t̥k	t̥s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
k	pk	kt	—	—	ks	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
s	sp	st	s̥t̥	sk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R	Rp	Rt	—	Rk	Rs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
b	—	—	—	(bk)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
d	—	—	—	—	(ds)	—	—	—	—	—	bg	bz	—
d̥	—	(d̥t̥)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dg	dz	—
g	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	d̥g	d̥z	—
z	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gz	(gr)
r	—	—	—	—	(rs)	—	rb	rd	r̥d̥	rg	rz	—	—

It may be noted that, generally, two voiceless or two voiced obstruents can cooccur but not a voiceless and a

voiced one in any order. Clusters of voiceless obstruents are more numerous than those of the voiced ones. The texts, however, do contain a few voiced-voiceless obstruent combinations, viz., *iq-t-* the past tense stem of *iq* 'to put, place', and *dād-si* 'elder brother' (in reference); nevertheless, these cases do not seem to contrast with *iṭ-t-* and *dāt-si*; so also, we have *tambersi* 'younger brother', *ḍabku ḍabku* (imit. of rain falling) in which voiced *r* and *b* were clearly heard as such. It is perhaps possible to retranscribe the above voiced-voiceless combinations as /ṭt ts Rs pk/, respectively, without ambiguity. In that case, the forms would be more in keeping with the phonological pattern of the language, but it would be ignoring a phonetic reality whereby new phonemic combinations seem to be in the process of entering the system.

(b) Sonorant + Sonorant:

C ¹	C ²	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	ɲ	l	r	ɾ	v	y
ʔ		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
m		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
n	mʔ	—	mn	mŋ	—	ml	mr	—	—	—	—
ŋ	nʔ	nm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nv (ny)	—
ɲ	ŋʔ	ŋm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
l	ɲʔ	ɲm	ɲn	—	—	ɲl	ɲr	ɲɾ	ɲv	—	—
r	lʔ	lm	ln	—	lɲ	—	—	—	lv	—	—
ɾ	rʔ	rm	rn	—	rɲ	rl	—	ɾɾ	(rv)	ry	—
v	ɾʔ	ɾm	ɾn	—	ɾɲ	—	—	—	ɾv	ɾy	—
y		—	—	(vn)	—	—	—	—	vɾ	—	—
	yʔ	ym	yn	—	—	yl	yr	—	—	—	—

/r ɾ ŋ/ have wider distribution as first members of clusters, and /ʔ m n/ as second members; note that /ʔ/ never occurs as the first member of a cluster.

(c) Obstruent + Sonorant:

C ¹	C ²	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	ɲ	l	r	ɾ	v	y
p		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
t	pʔ	pm	pn	—	—	pl	pr	ɾr	—	—	—
t	tʔ	tm	tn	—	—	tl	tr	ɾɾ	—	tv	ty
	tʔ	ṭm	ṭn	(ṭŋ)	—	ṭl	ṭr	—	—	—	—

k	kʔ	km	kn	—	—	kl	kr	ky	—	—
s	sʔ	sm	sn	—	—	sl	sr	—	—	—
R	Rʔ	Rm	Rn	—	—	Rl	—	—	—	—
b	bʔ	bm	bn	—	—	bl	br	by	—	—
d	dʔ	dm	dn	—	—	dl	dr	—	dv	—
ɖ	ɖʔ	ɖm	ɖn	—	—	—	ɖr	—	—	—
g	gʔ	gm	gn	—	—	gl	gr	gy	—	(gy-)
z	zʔ	zm	zn	—	—	zl	zr	—	—	zy
r	rʔ	rm	rn	—	—	rl	—	—	(rv)	ry

/n ɳ/ do not combine with any obstruent as second members, but they combine as first members (see under (b)). /n/ occurs only after /t/, but /tɳ/ and /tɳ/ do not seem to contrast. Obstruents possessing the opposition of voice vs. voicelessness cluster with sonorants which lack a similar opposition. The bilabial and dental stop series have wider distribution than the other obstruents. /ʔ m n/ have the widest distribution as second members of clusters, while /l r ɳ y v/ have ranges of distribution in a descending order, in the same position.

(d) Sonorant + Obstruent:

C ¹	C ²	p	t	t̥	k	s	R	b	d	ɖ	g	z	ʔ
ʔ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
m	mp	mt	m̥t̥	mk	ms	—	mb	md	mɖ	—	—	—	—
n	np	nt	—	nk	ns	—	nb	nd	—	ng	nz	nr	—
ɳ	—	—	n̥t̥	nk	ns	—	—	—	nɖ	—	nz	—	—
l	lp	—	l̥t̥	lk	ls	—	lb	ld	—	lg	lz	—	—
r	rp	rt	—	rk	rs	—	rb	rd	rɖ	rg	rz	—	—
ɳ	r̥p	r̥t	—	r̥k	r̥s	—	r̥b	r̥d	r̥ɖ	r̥g	r̥z	—	—
v	—	vt	—	vk	—	—	—	—	—	vg	vz	—	—
y	—	yt	—	—	ys	—	yb	yd	—	—	yz	—	—

Both voiced and voiceless obstruents occur after sonorants as second members of clusters. /ʔ/ never occurs as the first member of a cluster, and /R/ never as the second member. /ɳ/ follows only its homorganic nasal /n/ and no

other sonorant. Note also that the four nasals /m n ŋ ŋ/ contrast before /k/, /m n ŋ/ before /s/, and /m n ŋ/ before /b/; /m ŋ/ also contrast before retroflex stops /ṭ ḍ/. /n l r ṛ/ are involved in more combinations than are the other phonemes. Among the obstruents, the sets of phonemes /sz/ /k g/ /p b/ /t d/ /ṭ ḍ/ and /R r/ can be placed along a scale of descending order of distribution as second members in clusters.

§ 1.10. A study of the above charts would enable us to make certain general statements of distribution of the consonant classes as well as of individual consonants:

(a) Out of the 22 consonantal phonemes of Koṇḍa (excluding /h/), there are 12 obstruents and 10 sonorants. If every consonant in the system combined with every other consonants, there would be a total of $(22 \times 22) = 484$ two-consonant-clusters in Koṇḍa. A comparison of the actual clusters with the possible clusters for each of the four classes of combinations of consonants set up is as follows. (O = Obstruent, S = Soncrant):

	Possible Clusters	Actual Clusters
(a) O + O	$(12 \times 12 =)$ 144	39
(b) S + S	$(10 \times 10 =)$ 100	45
(c) O + S	$(12 \times 10 =)$ 120	71
(d) S + O	$(10 \times 12 =)$ 120	63
	Total 484	218

This shows that the consonant clusters of classes (c) and (d) are more numerous than those in which consonants of the same type (O or S) cluster. The favourite type is obstruent + sonorant with a low factor of redundancy.

(b) Clusters of identical consonants are extremely rare in Koṇḍa; the only case is /tt/ which contrasts with /t/, e.g., kitan 'he did' (root ki-): vittan 'he sowed' (root vit-). Geminate /t/ occurs only in the past tense forms of a small class of verb roots of CVt- type; in no other form class and

nowhere within single morphemes, do single and double consonants contrast. Two more instances have been noticed in which geminates /nn/ and ṅṅ/ freely vary with three-consonant clusters /ndn/~/nn/, /ṅdn/~/ṅṅ/ (see examples, § 1.13).

(c) /ʔ/ and /R/ have distributional complementation in clusters, since /ʔ/ never occurs as the first member, and /R/ never as the second member. But the sequence /Rʔ/ occurs. /ʔ ṅ ṅ R/ constitute a sub-system within consonants since none of them occurs at the beginning of a word. It is interesting to note that /ṅ ṅ/ enter into very few combinations as first and second members respectively, thereby partaking of the features of both /ʔ/ and /R/.

(d) The combinatorial freedom of each consonant can be measured in terms of the number of other consonants that it combines with, either as a first member or as a second member. Each consonant can occur in a maximum of 43 different clusters; actually, it occurs only in some. The following chart will serve as an index of the relative freedom of or restriction on the cooccurrence privileges of individual phonemes in two-consonant clusters:

Phoneme	Number of combinations		Total
	as C ¹	+ as C ²	
/p/	9	+ 10	19
/b/	9	+ 8	17
/t/	11	+ 13	24
/d/	9	+ 7	16
/t̪/	11	+ 4	15
/d̪/	7	+ 3	10
/k/	9	+ 14	23
/g/	8	+ 10	18
/ʔ/	0	+ 21	21
/s/	9	+ 13	22
/z/	3	+ 13	16
/R/	8	+ 0	8
/r/	12	+ 2	14
/m/	9	+ 17	26

/n/	13 + 18	=	31
/ŋ/	7 + 1	=	8
/ŋ̃/	11 + 3	=	14
/l/	13 + 15	=	28
/r/	17 + 13	=	30
/r̃/	14 + 8	=	22
/v/	8 + 7	=	15
/y/	10 + 6	=	16

It is obvious from the above chart that /n/ has the highest freedom index (31/43) and /R/ the lowest (8/43). As typological classes sonorants have greater combinational freedom than do obstruents.

1.11. Examples of two-consonant clusters (including geminates):

- /p/ pt iptan 'he poured (water)'; gupte 'secretly'
 pk apku 'arrows'
 pʔ opʔe 'I won't agree'
 ps kāpsi 'having boiled (water)'
 pm kāpma 'don't cover'
 pn kāpnan 'he will guard, watch'
 pl sipli 'cataract (of eyes)'
 pr ūpri 'breath, life'; dāpru 'after'; pri 'to grow'
 pr̃ sipra 'rheum'
- /b/ (bk) ḍabku ḍabku 'imit. sound of rain falling on dried leaves, etc.'
 bʔ sūbʔa 'kiss!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 bz sūbzi 'having kissed'
 bm sūbma 'don't kiss'
 bn sūbnan 'he will kiss'
 bl tabla 'a big container for liquor'
 br ubra subra 'what is left over' (after eating)
 br̃ subri (adj.) 'little (of food)'
- /t/ tp vitpu 'while sowing (seed)'
 tt vittan 'he sowed (seed)'
 tk atku 'a joint, patch'
 tʔ vitʔa 'sow!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 ts vitsinan 'he is sowing'

- tm vitma 'don't sow'
 tn vitnan 'he will sow'
 tl pītla raska 'the little finger'
 tr katri 'scissors'
 tṛ atritad 'it dashed against (something)'
 ty gotyayen 'farmer'
- /d/ dg edgara (adv.) 'not at all'
 dʔ ūdʔa 'get wet'
 (ds) dādsi tambersi 'brothers, elder and younger'
 dz ūdzi 'having become wet'
 dm podmu 'udder'
 dn padnu 'sharpness'
 dl madlap maran 'Papaya tree'
 dr nidra 'sleep'
 dv bedve 'lip'
- /t/ tṭ muṭpu muṭpu 'as soon as one has touched'
 tṭ aṭṭad 'it hit'
 tk paṭku (pl.) 'fruit'
 tʔ muṭʔa 'touch it!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 ts dāṭsi 'having jumped, danced'
 tm muṭma 'don't touch'
 tn puṭnan 'he will be born'
 tṇ paṭṇam 'town'
 tḷ moṭla raska 'thumb'
 tr buṭra 'an echo word'
 tṽ biṭvar (i) 'a rogue' (in scolding)
 ty koṭyar 'a tribal caste superior to the Konda Doras'
- /d/ dt=tt idtan 'he put'
 dg aḍgi 'below'
 dʔ iḍʔa 'put' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 dz iḍzi 'having put'
 dm iḍma 'don't put'
 dṇ baḍneyki 'the big chief of village'
 dr guḍri hillock
- /k/ kp pokpabatan 'he made offering to gods'
 kt niktad 'she caused (one) to get up'
 kʔ nikʔa 'wake (somebody) up!' (imp. 2nd sg.)

- ks maksinan 'he is turning (it) over'
 km vākma 'don't pour'
 kn maknan 'he will turn (something) over'
 kl korokla 'Adam's apple'
 kr ḍokra 'old man'
 kṛ mukṛi ginza 'testicle'
 /g/ gʔ ḍigʔa 'get down'
 gz ḍigzi 'having climbed down'
 gr (?) egritad 'it flew'
 gm ḍigma 'don't get down'
 gn ḍignan 'he will get down'
 gl bugli 'cheek'
 gr kogri (adj.) 'younger, small'
 gṛ gaḡra 'chop-knife'.
 (gy) gyānam 'sense, wisdom'
 /s/ sp nēspatad 'she winnowed'
 st nasti vale 'that time, then'
 sṭ iṣṭam 'desire, liking'
 sk iska 'sand'
 sʔ musʔa 'close it!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 sm mā lasmi 'Goddess Lakshmi'
 sn vesni 'hot'
 sl visla 'fly'
 sr usrika maran *Phyllanthus emblica*
 /z/ zʔ ūzʔa 'creep!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 zr izri 'small'
 zm ūzma 'don't crawl!'
 zn ūznad 'it crawls'
 zl vizla~vīsla 'fly'
 zy gozya ḍuḍu 'pointed stick'
 /R/ Rp tuRpatan 'he invoked gods'
 Rt noRtan 'he washed'
 Rk iRku 'narrowness (of lane), tightness (of cloth)'
 Rʔ veRʔa 'say!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 Rs kaRsi(yen) 'a low-class person'
 Rm veRma 'don't say'
 Rn veRna 'I'll say'
 Rl sēRla 'door, made of wood'

- /r/ rb urbu 'iguana'
 rd narda 'mark formed under pressure'
 rđ burđe kusa 'cabbage'
 rg kurgu 'thigh'
 r? nor?a 'wash!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 rs tambersi 'younger brother'
 rz irzu 'tightness (of shirt, bracelet, etc.)'
 rm irmu 'being too narrow' (of house)
 rn pernan 'he will lift up'
 rñ tamberñu 'younger brothers'
 rl arla 'trouble, botheration'
 rv terveli 'sunshine' (Sova dial)
 ry meryen 'rogue!' (in scolding)
- /m/ mp ımpo 'wooden bell tied to bulls'
 mb ambu 'arrow'
 mt kalamtıñ (adv.) 'the coming year'
 mđ simta 'pliers'
 mđ đumđa (adv.) 'naked'
 mk semka 'armpit'
 m? kām?ed '(water) is not boiled'
 ms đimsa 'folk-dance'
 mn kāmñad 'it will boil'
 mñ đumñi 'a liquor container made of gourd-shell'
 ml komla maran 'sweet-orange tree'
- /n/ np gunpam 'crow bar'
 nb venbana 'I will hear myself'
 nt zanta 'grinding stone'
 nd anditad '(story) has ended'
 nk vanka 'of those' (3rd non-masc. pl.)
 ng ēngu 'elephant'
 n? ven?a 'hear!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 ns ansu 'step (of staircase)'
 nz gānzū 'glass-bangle'
 nr vānrū 'he'
 nm venma 'don't hear'
 nv nānvā 'tooth gum, palate'
 ny sonya 'a personal name'
- /ñ/ ñđ venñi 'either sides of back bone'
 ñđ đumđa 'bud', nañđo (adj.) 'fat'

- nk kaṅka 'eye'
 nʔ unʔa 'eat, drink!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 ns kaṅsu 'a species of forest buffalo'
 nz unzi 'having eaten'
 nm unma 'don't eat'
 nṅ~nṅn nonṅan/nonṅnan 'he will fondle'
 /ŋ/ nḅ niṅbu 'while getting up'
 nḍ niṅdu 'get up!' (imp. 2nd pl.)
 nk daṅka 'heat (of fire)'
 nḡ muṅgi elka 'mongoose'
 nʔ niṅʔa 'get up' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 nz niṅzi 'having got up'
 nm niṅma 'don't get up!'
 nṅ muṅna maran 'drum-stick tree'
 nḷ paṅla 'forked'
 nṛ pōṅray ātan 'he swam'
 nṛ daṅra 'young man'
 nṽ koṅva 'a hook to hang things on'
 /l/ lp kilpa 'a sort of comb'
 lb nilba (adj.) 'straight, erect'
 ld koldi 'extent'
 lṭ alṭay ātad 'it grew thickly' (as creeper)
 lk mülku 'urine'
 lḡ velgu gōḍa 'compound wall'
 lʔ nilʔa 'stay, stand!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 ls palsaṅ 'thinly (of liquid)'
 lz olzu 'bear'
 lm nilma 'don't stand!'
 lṅ nalṅitad 'it was squeezed'
 lv alvi 'energy, stamina'
 /r/ rp pārpu 'leaf-plate (to eat from)'
 rb urbu 'iguana'
 rt mūrtaṃ 'auspicious time'
 rd sarda 'joy, pleasure'
 rḍ gurḍu 'pupil, eyeball'
 rk erke 'knowing'
 rg būrgu maran 'silk cotton tree'
 rʔ gūrʔa 'sleep!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 rs karsu 'expenditure'

- rz garze 'bridegroom living in father-in-law's place'
 rm darmam 'charity'
 rn gürnan 'he will lie down'
 rñ arñu 'edge of verandah'
 rl burña borli 'a beetle'
 rř pāl kurça 'churring stick'
 rv tirvitan 'he came round'
 ry miryal dolu 'pepper plant'
- /r/ rp karpar (adv.) 'thoroughly' (in eating)
 rb arbatan 'he wept'
 rt sartad 'she wiped (dust, litter) off'
 rd bürdi (adj.) 'grey'
 rk kurka 'an earthen plate (to eat from)'
 rğ pirgu 'thunder bolt'
 r? kūr?a 'meet!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 rs bořsi 'fish-hook'
 rz arzi 'having played'
 rm narımu 'waist, middle'
 rn arnan 'he will play'
 rñ varña 'hailstone'
 rv korvu 'fat (of animal)'
 ry korya 'daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife'
- /v/ vt nivta 'eve of a festive day'
 vk savkari 'rich man, merchant'
 vg tevgu 'sharpness of knife'
 v? tev?a 'snap!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 vz tevzi 'having broken (as thread)'
 vn tevnad 'it will snap'
 vr pāvra poři 'pigeon'
 vř gavru duđu 'shepherd's hand-stick'
- /y/ yb ēru iybatad 'she took a bath'
 yt taytu 'amulet'
 yd aydu 'five'
 y? koy?a 'cut!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 ys aysi 'mother' (in ref.)
 yz koyzi 'having cut'
 ym koyıma 'don't cut!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 yn koyınan 'he will cut'

yl ayli 'girl'

yr boyragi 'ascetic'

1.12. *Three-consonant clusters*: Koṇḍa is rich in three-consonant clusters, which mostly occur between the first two peaks in a phonological word, i.e. / (C) V¹C₁C₂C₃ V² .../. There is an audible phonetic release of C₂ before the onset of C₃ in all such clusters. Even phonemically the syllable division falls between C₁ C₂ and C₃, because there are phonological words that end in two consonants but hardly any that have initial clusters. Structurally it is convenient to treat all C₁ C₂ C₃ clusters as sequences of C₁ C₂ (discussed earlier) plus an obstruent or a sonorant as C₃. A sequence like /ṇḍd/ in /nonḍdu/ 'kiss!' (imp. 2nd pl.), by this analysis, may be interpreted as SO (=ṇḍ) + O (=d); the alternative analysis as C₁+C₂ C₃ gives us a non-existent clusters ḍd (see Chart § 1.9a).

All three-consonant clusters can therefore be subsumed under the following eight types.

$$(1) \begin{matrix} C_1 & C_2 & C_3 \\ (O) & (O) & \left\{ \begin{matrix} O \\ S \end{matrix} \right\}_3 \end{matrix}$$

$$(3) \begin{matrix} C_1 & C_2 & C_3 \\ (O) & (S) & \left\{ \begin{matrix} O \\ S \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix}$$

$$(2) \begin{matrix} (S) & (S) & \left\{ \begin{matrix} O \\ S \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix}$$

$$(4) \begin{matrix} (S) & (O) & \left\{ \begin{matrix} O \\ S \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix}$$

Of these, there are no examples for Type (3), viz. (O S)+O or (O S)+S. The remaining six classes are described below:

$$(a) \begin{matrix} O & O & O \\ \left. \begin{matrix} t \\ R \end{matrix} \right\} & k & \left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ s \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix}$$

$$(c) \begin{matrix} S & S & O \\ r & n & ḍ \\ r & n & d \\ r & ṇ & z \end{matrix}$$

$$(b) \begin{matrix} O & O & S \\ \left. \begin{matrix} t \\ R \end{matrix} \right\} & k & \left\{ \begin{matrix} ? \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix}$$

$$(d) \begin{matrix} S & S & S \\ r & ṇ & \left\{ \begin{matrix} ? \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix}$$

(e)	S	O	O	(f)	S	O	S
m	b	{ d z		m	b	{ ? n r	
n	d	z		n	{ d s z	{ ? n	
ŋ	z	d		n	d	{ l r	
ŋ	k	{ t s		ŋ	{ k d s	{ ? n	
ŋ	d	{ d z		ŋ	k	l	
ŋ	s	t		ŋ	g	{ y r	
l	s	{ t k		l	s	{ ? n	
r	p	{ t s		r	p	{ ? n	
r	{ k p	{ t s		r	{ p k g s	{ ? n	
r	s	{ t k		y	s	{ ? n	
r	g	d					
y	t	k					

From the above classification, we notice that certain consonants are restricted to certain positions in three-consonant clusters. The following lists show what obstruents and sonorants are admitted in each position in three-consonant clusters.

C ₁	Obstruents		Sonorants		
	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
t	p/b	—	—	—	ʔ
R	t/d	t/d	m	—	m*
	-/d	-/d	n	n	n
	k/g	k/-	ŋ	—	—
	s/z	s/z	ŋ	ŋ	—
			l	—	l
			r	—	r
			r	—	—
			y	—	y

More sonorants than obstruents occur as C¹, and more obstruents than sonorants occur as C². As in the case of two-consonant clusters, even here, /R/ is always the first member of a cluster, and /ʔ/, the last member. /r/ among obstruents and /v/ among sonorants are not involved in C₁C₂C₃ clusters in any position. It is also interesting to note that /n/ is the only phoneme that can occur in all the three positions in the whole system, which fact supports the high index of combinatorial freedom that it has registered in two-consonant clusters.

1.13. Examples:

- (a) tkt atktan 'he burnt (wood)'
 tks atksi 'having burned (wood)'
 Rkt koRkten 'to bite with teeth, to chew'
 Rks koRksi 'having bitten, chewed'
- (b) tkʔ atkʔen 'he doesn't burn (wood)'
 tkn atknan 'he will burn (wood)'
 Rkʔ koRkʔen 'he does not bite'
 Rkn koRknan 'he will bite'
- (c) lnd sulndi 'ginger-like plant'
 rŋd garŋda 'garment, piece of cloth'
 rŋz torŋzi '(water) having spilt out'
- (d) yŋs hat baynsad 'rogue!' (in scolding)
 rŋʔ torŋʔed 'it does not spill off'
 rŋn torŋnad '(water) will spill'

*At the time of proof reading, I discovered that in sequences of SO+S, the final S may also be represented by /m/ as in karsma 'don't defecate!' murkma 'don't plunge!'. The possible combinations are ndm, nsm, nzm, nkm, lsm, rpm, rpn, rkm, and ysm. Examples for most of these are, however, not available in the texts.

- (e) mbd~md rōmbdu~rōmdu 'rest!' (imp. 2nd pl.)
 mbz~mz kām̄bzi~kām̄zi 'having been boiled, boiling'
 ndz andzinan 'he is reaching'
 nkt vaṅktad 'she shivered'
 nks vaṅksi 'having shivered'
 n̄dd non̄ḍdu 'kiss, fondle!' (imp. 2nd pl.)
 ndz non̄ḍzi 'having kissed, fondled'
 nst uṅstan 'he transplanted, he planted'
 lst balstu 'get fat!' (imp. 2nd pl.)
 lsk bulsku 'pubic hair' (pl.)
 rpt terpten̄ 'to lay somebody down to sleep'
 rps terpsi 'having laid down'
 rkt murkten̄ 'to drown, dip'
 rks murksi 'having drowned'
 rpt kūrptan 'he assembled (things)'
 rps kūrpsi 'having assembled (things)'
 r̄st karsten̄ 'to defacate'
 r̄gd murgden̄ 'to be drowned'
 ytk raytku 'farmers'
- (f) mb? rōmb?a 'rest!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 mbn~mn rōmbnan~rōmnan 'he will rest'
 mbr sombra 'a personal name'
 nd? vand?en 'he is not tired'
 ndn~nn vandnan~vannan 'he will be tired'
 ns? tuns?ed 'it is not torn'
 nsn tunsnad 'it will tear up'
 nz? panz?ed '(stomach) is not full'
 nzn enznad 'it will be left over'
 ndl kōndli 'nephew'
 ndr kondru 'shoulder of bull'
 n̄ḍ? non̄ḍ?a 'kiss!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 n̄ḍn~n̄n non̄ḍnan~non̄ḍnan 'he will kiss'
 nk? vaṅk?a 'shiver!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 nkn vaṅknan 'he will shiver'
 ns? uṅs?a 'plant (it in ground)!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 nsn uṅsna 'I will fix it in ground'

ŋkl	siŋkli 'bolt, latch'
ŋgr	pōŋgray ātan 'he swam'
ŋgy	siŋgya 'horn'
ls?	bals?a 'get fat!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
lsn	balsna 'I shall get fat'
rp?	terp?a 'put (one) to sleep'
rpn	terpna 'I shall put (one) to sleep'
rp?	kūr?p?a 'gather! collect!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
rpn	kūrpnna 'I shall assemble'
rk?	murk?a 'dip (it)!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
rkn	murkna 'I shall dip, drown'
rg?	murg?a 'be drowned!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
rgn	murgna 'I shall be drowned'
rs?	kařs?en 'he does not ease himself'
řsn	kařsna 'I shall ease myself'
ys?	ārays?a 'digest!' (imp. 2nd sg.)
ysn	āraysna 'I shall digest'

Vowels:

1.14. The five vowel phonemes /i e a o u/ occur initially, finally, and in medial syllables of a word. It is only in the initial syllable that all the short and long vowels occur. In all other positions there is no contrast between short and long vowels (§ 1.4 [b]).

Examples:

(a) / ... C-/ abe 'there', āku 'leaf', ibe 'here', iřu 'nits', unři 'one', ūzitat 'it crowded', ektan 'he climbed', ēRki 'thirst', oni 'elder brother's wife', ōra 'side, neighbourhood'.

(b) / C- ... / where C is a permissible word initial consonant, i.e. any consonant but / ? R ŋ ŋ / (see § 1.8). All vowels occur after / p b t d n k g s z m r /. The remaining consonants have restricted cooccurrence with vowels. Only / ā / occurs after initial / y /, and / a o / after / h /; the rounded vowels / u ū o ō / do not occur in the environment / # v - /; The following are not attested either due to inadequacy of material or to holes in the structure:

ū	in the environment	# t-
ī	" "	# d-
u ū	" "	# l-
ē ō	" "	# r-
ā u ū o ō	" "	# r-

For examples, see Vocabulary, Part III.

(c) /... C-/: All the five vowel qualities occur in the final position, e.g. kaņa 'blind man', kaņi 'blind woman', kalu 'toddy', kořo 'child', puře 'a small gourd-vessel.'

(d) /... C-C .../: All the five qualities occur in medial syllables: maratiņ 'to tree', kapoki 'frog', noresdiņ 'tiger' (acc.), guđukaņ 'eye balls' (acc.), gibiņa 'of ears'.

(e) /... -C/: in final closed syllables, all the five vowel qualities contrast: maran 'tree', kořok 'female children', gibiņ 'ears', guđuk 'eye balls', gineņ 'plates'.

1.15. Since Koņda does not have diphthongs, wherever two vowels occur in sequence, there is always a word boundary between the two, e.g. ilu ālu 'house wife', vani aysi 'his mother', etc.

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

INTRODUCTION

2.1. A morpheme may occur in a single phonemic shape, or in more than one phonemic shape in the total system of a language, e.g. in Koṇḍa,

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
'horse'	guraṃ	guraṃ-ku
'fowl'	koṛu	koṛ-ku.

The form /guṛaṃ/ is unchanged in the singular and in the plural, whereas the morpheme meaning 'fowl' occurs in two shapes /koṛu/ in the singular, and /koṛ-/ in the plural. Where a morpheme is represented by more than one phonemic form, all such forms are said to be the synchronic variants of a single morpheme, or they are said to stand in alternation with each other. In the above example /koṛu/ and /koṛ-/ are the variant representations of a single morpheme or they stand in alternation with each other. The complex network of such synchronic variations in the phonemic representations of morphemes constitutes the sandhi or the morphophonemics of a language. Where such variations are incidental to arrangements of morphemes within a word, we call them 'internal sandhi'; where they are incidental to arrangements of words within larger constructions, we call them 'external sandhi'. The alternation /koṛu/ ~ /koṛ-/ is a case of 'internal sandhi'. In Telugu, the alternation /wāḍu/ ~ /wāḍ-/ in wāḍ ekkāḍa? 'where is he?' is a case of 'external sandhi'. Where a particular phonemic representation of a morpheme is called for by the phonological system of a language, we

call it 'automatic sandhi'; otherwise it is called 'non-automatic'. A sequence like */koŇku/, for instance, is impossible in KoŇda, because a voiced and a voiceless obstruent never cluster (see § 1.9 (a)). Therefore, the representation of the morpheme as /koŇ-/ is automatic before /k/. However, the alternation between /koru/ and /koŇ-/ is non-automatic, since the loss (or absence) of final /-u/ is not called for by the mere presence of the phonemic sequence /ku/ ~ k in the following position. See, /guđu/ 'egg', pl. /guđuŇk/ 'eggs', and not */guđuŇku/.

2.2. A morphophonemic description of a language should account for all phonemic representations of all morphemes in the language. There have been several models of description, labelled as IA (item and arrangement), IP (item and process), WP (word and paradigm, i.e. listing of paradigmatic types), and Stratificational. In the description of KoŇda morphophonemics, I have adopted a combination of these with greater emphasis on clarity and readability than on brevity and economy of description. Plain statements are made in most places in preference to formulas.

EXTERNAL SANDHI

2.3. KoŇda, within Dravidian, is a typological phenomenon by its relatively simpler morphophonemic structure than any other language of the family. External sandhi is infrequent in KoŇda.

(a) A word-final /... C/ occasionally alternates with /... Cu/ in slow narration or before a phrase or utterance final juncture /, #/, e.g. /# nān vāta #/ 'I came' ~ /#nānu. vāta#/; /#māp kitap#/ ~ /#māpu, kitapu#/ 'we did'. All instances of word-final /u/ are not, of course, of this sort, e.g. /ālu siled/ 'there is no wife' vs. /āl siled/ 'there is no stamina'. In the case of those lexical or grammatical items in which a final /u/ occurs in free variation with its absence (or with zero), it is marked in parentheses in the texts and in the vocabulary. The unpredictability of this alternation seems to arise from the fact that it is a recent innovation through diffusion from Telugu, in which many words end in a non-morphe-

mic /u/, and which is the second or the third language of most of the Koṇḍa Doras of Araku valley. Particularly lexical items and words ending in certain inflectional morphemes, which morphologically end in consonants, seem to take this non-morphemic final /u/ more often than others.

The final consonant of the word does not seem to be a conditioning factor, since $\emptyset \sim u$ occurs after most of the consonants permissible in the word-final position; the exceptions are b, g, v (which are, anyway, infrequent word-finally), and y. Following are typical examples of words ending in consonants that have occasional free variants in final -u (following the consonant). Examples:

Final consonant

- /p/ kāp(u) 'protection', māp(u) (9.389) 'we (excl.)'; 1st pers. pl. morpheme in verbs: vātap(u) (2.24) 'we came'.
- /t/ Locative allomorph -t(u), following a short vowel: gorot(u) (9.82) 'in the hill-field', marat(u) (3.50) 'on the tree'.
- /d/ Locative allomorph -d(u): baylud(u) (3.3) 'in the open, outside'; non-masc. sg. suffix in finite verbs: soRad(u) 'it went'.
- /t/ māṭ(u) (6.88) 'we (incl.)'; finite verbs with the 1st pers. pl. incl. suffix -ṭ: reynaṭ(u) (6.41) 'let us strike', koynaṭ(u) (4.145) 'let us cut'.
- /d/ būd(u) kinan (9.90) 'he will bathe', or nēṇḍ(u) (9.261) 'one day'.
- /k/ Non-masc. pl. suffix -k following a vowel: pilek(u) (2.65) 'children', bōdek(u) (9.265) 'young women'.
- /s/ nores(u) (8.215) 'tiger'.
- /z/ rāz(u) (4.102) 'king, chief'.
- /R/ āR(u) (5.146) 'that manner', iR(u) 'this manner'; locative allomorph -R(u): goneR(u) (5.101) 'in kitchen', nēdiR(u) (5.101) 'in the living room'.
- /m/ ārəm(u) (9.109) 'religious offering, food.'

- /n/ nān(u) (6.27) 'I', nīn(u) (9.111) 'you' (sg.); bān(u) (8.450, 9.45) 'place, that place', bēn(u) (5.83) 'here'.
- /ŋ/ ?naruŋ(u) (9.406) 'human being, mortal'.
- /ŋ/ vālaŋ(u) (9.177) 'soap-nut'; plural suffix ŋ(u): kākīŋ(u) poŋīŋ(u) (3.7) 'crows and other birds', guruŋ(u) (2.110) 'masters!'
- /l/ ēl(u) (9.11) 'now', oŋol(u) (3.20) 'body'.
- /r/ velar(u) (9.111) 'all day long', vār(u) (8.196) 'they', mīr(u) (9.373) 'you' (pl.), kaŋer(u) 'tears'; masc. pl., morph: koŋor(u) (2.58) 'male children'; 2nd pers., and 3rd pers. masc. pl. suffix in nouns and verbs: niŋ?er(u) (5.97) 'they won't get up', sile-ru(u) (7.200) 'they are not.'
- /r/ ēr(u) 'seven'.

In cases like the above, a final phonemic /u/ may be considered nonmorphemic (morphologically superfluous) though its occurrence is not phonologically automatic.

(b) Final -i preceded by r, r̄, l, y occurring in words elicited in isolation, optionally alternates with zero in running speech, e.g.

- gunder(i) 'saree', tamber(i) (8.420) 'younger brother', zāy(i) (8.165) 'day-light, dawn', goŋel(i) (6.15) 'axe', gumend(i) (6.83) 'pumpkin', gudel(i) (5.138) 'pick-axe', ambel(i) (4.103) 'porridge', kundel(i) 'hare'.

The locative suffix -i, which occurs after stems ending in -m, also freely alternates with Ø, e.g. guzam(i) (5.138) 'on shoulder', paŋnam(i) (2.9) 'in the town'.

(c) The final vowel of the genitive morpheme {ti ~ Ri ~ di} is sporadically lost before another vowel across word-boundaries:

- aŋgiR(i) iska 'the sand below', muskuR(i) iska 'the sand above' (4.105), kusad(i) ēru 'vegetable water'.

(d) Another sporadic alternation of word-final -a ~ - Ø is attested in a few cases of words ending in the adverbial particle -eŋḍa both before vowels and consonants, e.g.

negreṅḍa(a) (9.26) 'well', -lak-eṅḍ(a) (8.25) 'like',
 aṭ'eṅḍa(a) āzı (9.98) 'being unable to withstand',
 nes'eṅḍ(a) āzı (9.298) 'being unable to know'.

2.4. With the exception of the above cases, hiatus (the conjunction of two vowels of identical or different qualities across word-boundaries) is normal in Koṅḍa, e.g.

loṣi uṅzi maRar (1.2) 'they were begging and eating'
 suṭtika id'eḍ (1.5) 'she would not leave anything seen'
 ambu eRta ṛistan (1.28) 'he shot off an arrow'
 kata ā'eḍ (2.1) 'it is not a story'
 aye inro vār soRar (2.18) 'everybody went to his house'
 naṇi inika teli'eḍ (2.27) 'I don't know anything'

Since two vowels never cooccur within a phonological word, there is automatically a word-boundary between any sequence of two vowels (§1.4[h]). This is also true of the phonological words which make up compound words, e.g. ri aḍa 'two aḍas (a measure)' ilu ālu 'house-wife' (§§ 4.20-28).

INTERNAL SANDHI

2.5. Internal Sandhi is more common in Koṅḍa, but, even here, it is mostly of the non-automatic type. It is thought best to treat internal sandhi in detail under the morphology of the different word-classes, where it is relevant for description, obviating the need for cross-reference. The following general processes are involved in internal sandhi (symbols: // // enclose morphophonemic transcription; + concatenation symbol; → 'becomes' or 'is'; // enclose phonemic transcription).

(a) *Elision* (loss of vowels or consonants):

Rule 1: // ... $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{U} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right\} + \text{ku} // \rightarrow / \dots \emptyset + \text{ku} /$

Many noun stems whose basic forms have a final -u or -i, or (rarely) -a lose the vowel before the plural morpheme //ku//. Since all instances of final -u, -i, and -a are not affected by this rule, it would be convenient to represent these by distinctive morphophonemic symbols //U I A// respectively, e.g.

//kopu + ku// → /kopku/ 'knots of hair'

//peni + ku// → /penku/ 'lice'

//kaŋka + ku// → //kaŋkku// → /kaŋku/ 'eyes' by

Rule 7 below. For the examples in which the final vowels are not lost, see §§ 4.7-11.

Rule 2: // ... C + ku// → / ... Ø + ku/

This is also a rule of non-automatic sandhi. Final -C of certain noun stems representing -n, -l, -y, and -g is lost before the plural //ku//, e.g.

//rānu + ku// → /rāku/ 'bulls'

//maran + ku// → /marak/ 'trees'

//bōdel + ku// → /bōdek/ 'young women'

//kiyu + ku// → /kiku/ 'hands'

//kurgu + ku// → //kur-ku// → /kuRku/ by Rule 3.

The loss of //u// is accomplished by Rule 1. For more examples, see §§ 4.5 (a)-(e).

(b) *Assimilation:*

Rule 3: // ... (N)B₁ + P₂// → // ... P₁ + P₂//

N=nasal homorganic with the following obstruent; B₁=voiced obstruent b, d, ḍ, g, z, r; P₁=voiceless obstruent corresponding to B₁=p, t, ṭ, k, s, R. The rule reads—either a voiced obstruent, or a sequence of homorganic nasal + voiced obstruent becomes the corresponding voiceless obstruent (P₁) before a voiceless obstruent (where P₁ and P₂ are different in point of articulation); e.g.

Nouns:

//koru + ku// → //kor + ku// → /koRku/ 'fowls'

//ambu + ku// → //amb + ku// → /apku/ 'arrows'

//bondu + ku// → //bond + ku// → /botku/ 'bracelets'

//paṇḍu + ku// → //paṇḍ + ku// → /paṭku/ 'fruits'

//gānzū + ku// → //gānz + ku// → /gāsku/ 'bangles'

//rāzu + ku// → //rāz + ku// → /rāsku/ 'kings'

//olzu + ku// → //olz + ku// → /olsku/ 'bears'

Verbs: //sur + t// → suRt/ past stem of sur- 'to roast'; there are seven verb roots of the type (C) ṽ_r → (C) ṽR- before the past morpheme //t//.

Rule 4: // ... P₁ + B₂// → //P₁ + P₂/.

If a stem final voiceless obstruent (P₁) is followed by a voiced obstruent (B₂), then B₂ is replaced by its corresponding voiceless obstruent (P₂); This rule mainly operates in the formation of verbs, e.g.

- (i) //kap + zi// → /kapsi/ 'having covered'
 //vit + zi// → /vitsi/ 'having sown seed'
 //dāt + zi// → /dātsi/ 'having jumped'
 //kūk + zi// → /kūksi/ 'having called'
 //as + zi// → //assi// → /asi/ (by Rule 7) 'having held'
 //veR + zi// → /veRsi/ 'having asked'

The morpheme //zi// is added to verb roots to form participles denoting perfect action. Exceptions like nil-si 'having stood', son-si 'having gone', ar-si 'having fallen', etc. have to be listed; otherwise, this rule has very extensive operation.

- (ii) //kap + du// → /kaptu/ 'cover it!'
 //vit + du// → /vittu/ 'sow (seed)!'
 //dāt + du// → /dāttu/ 'jump!'
 //kūk + du// → /kūktu/ 'call!'
 //as + du// → /astu/ 'hold!'
 //veR + du// → /veRtu/ 'tell!'

//du// is the imperative plural morpheme added to verb roots.

- (iii) //ūs + bis-// → /ūspis-/ 'to cause to apply (oil, etc.)'; (ūs- 'to apply oil', -bis causative 'transitive morpheme; cf. kibis- to cause to do).

Rule 5: (i) // ... ṽ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} L_1 \\ n \end{array} \right\} + d// → / ... ṽnr/$

(ii) // ... $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} L_2 \\ n \end{array} \right\} + d// → / ... ndr/$

This is a restricted rule operating in the formation of imperative plural verbs with the morpheme //du// (see above), e.g.

- (i) //niL₁ + du// → /ninru/ 'stop!'
 //man + du// → /manru/ 'live, stay!'

- (ii) //mūL₂ + du// → /mūṇḍu/ 'urinate!'
 //uṇ + du// → /uṇḍu/ 'eat!'

The morphophonemes //L₁// and //L₂//, along with //l// are all phonemically /l/, an alveolar voiced lateral; contrast with the above, //dēl + du// → /dēldu/ 'float!'

- Rule 6: (i) // ... L₁ + n// → //n + n//
 (ii) // ... { L₂ } + n// → //ṇ + ṇ//

This is a transitional rule which produces forms on which Rule 7 operates to give the final phonological shapes, e.g.

- (i) //niL₁ + n// → //nin + n//
 (ii) //mūL₂ + n// → //mūṇ + ṇ//
 //uṇ + n// → //uṇ + ṇ//

The future tense morpheme is //n//. The future stems of the verb roots nil 'to stand', mūl 'to urinate', and uṇ 'to eat' are nin-, mūṇ-, and un- respectively, which can be derived from the above by applying Rule 7.

(c) *Simplification:*

- Rule 7: //C₁C₁// → /C₁/

Where two identical consonants occur in a sequence (with the exception of /t/), they are simplified to a single consonant. It may be recalled that Konda does not have contrast between single and double consonants except in the case /t/, e.g. kitan 'he did' (root ki-): vittan 'he sowed (seed)' (root vit-). This is perhaps the only rule which could be called almost automatic, and is capable of wide application, e.g.

Nouns:

- //lōku + ku// → //lōk + ku// (by Rule 1) → /lōku/ 'men'.
 //kankA + ku// → //kaṅk - ku// (by Rule 1) → /kaṅku/ 'eyes'.

Verbs:

- //man + n + an// → /manan/ 'he will stay'
 //niL₁ + n + an// → //nin + n + an// (by Rule 6)
 → /ninan/ 'he will stop'

- //mūL₂ + n + an// → //mūṇ + ṇ + an// → /mūṇan/ 'he will urinate'
 //uṇ + n + an// → //uṇ + ṇ + an// → /uṇan/ 'he will eat'
 //as + zi// → //as + si// (by Rule 4) → /asi/ 'having held'
 //üz + zi// → /üzi/ 'having crawled'

Rule 8: (i) // ... { $\begin{matrix} L_1 \\ n \end{matrix} \} + t // \rightarrow /R/$

(ii) // ... { $\begin{matrix} L_2 \\ n \end{matrix} \} + t // \rightarrow /t/$

Stem final //L₁// or //(Ṽ)n// and a following //t// get simplified to /R/. Similarly stem final //L₂// or //ṇ// and a following //t// get simplified to /t/. The process applies, in a restricted manner, both to nouns and to verbs; Nouns: oṛol 'body', naḍil 'living room', goneI 'kitchen' have locatives as oṛoR(u) 'in the body', naḍiR(u) 'in the living room', geneR(u) 'in the kitchen', respectively; //oṛoL₁ + tu// → /oṛoR(u)/ etc. The genitives of these stems, involving the morpheme //ti// occur as /oṛoRi/, /naḍiRi/, and /goneRi/, respectively.

Verbs: The past tense morpheme in Koṇḍa is //t//. By the application of this rule the past stems of //niL₁// → /niI/, //ven// → /ven/ 'to listen', //koL₂// → /kol/ 'to buy', //uṇ// → /uṇ/ 'to eat', etc. are as follows:

- //niL₁ + t-// → /niR-/
 //ven + t-// → /veR-/
 //koL₂ + t-// → /koṭ-/
 //uṇ + t-// → /uṭ/

2.6 The foregoing description is merely illustrative of general morphophonemic processes and is therefore not intended to be exhaustive. Other morphophonemic processes of limited ranges of application are dealt with at relevant places under the description of each of the word classes.

3. WORD CLASSES

3.1. A morphological word in Koṇḍa may be defined as a grammatical unit consisting of one or more 'morphologically bound' morphemes, which unit, as a whole, is not morphologically bound to any other unit within larger constructions. 'Morphological bondage' is the intolerance of the constituent morphemes to interruptibility where such interruption destroys their original relations. Each word should have at least a single root as its nucleus. A word having more than one root is called a compound.

3.2. Koṇḍa has the following classes of words: Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, interjections (including vocatives), connectives, and clitics. These classes are set up on a combination of morphological and syntactic criteria.

3.3. Nouns (§ 4) and verbs (§ 6) are identified on purely morphological grounds, each being marked by certain exclusive grammatical categories and orders in which the constituent morphemes occur. Thus a noun is distinguished for the categories of gender/number and case. A typical noun has the following structure: Noun stem (simple/complex/compound) + gender/number + oblique formative + case. A stem distinguished or inflected for one or more of these categories in that order is called a noun stem, e.g. simple stem: *ilu* 'house' (stem + singular + non-masculine + nominative), complex stem: *in-ro-ṇi-k-an* 'master of house' (adjective in final -k + singular masculine morpheme -an); compound stem, *mada reytu* 'in midnight' (compound stem *mada reyu* + neuter singular + -tu locative). A verb is identified by the categories of intransitive-transitive, tense-mode and aspect which co-

occur with the categories of positive action or negative action. A typical verb in Koṅḍa has the following structure: stem (simple, complex, or compound) + intr. /tr. + reflexive + tense-mode + person. A stem distinguished for or inflected with one or more of these categories in that order is a verb stem; e.g. simple stem: *astan* 'he held (by hand, etc.)' (as-root, trans., -t- past, (non-negative), -an 3rd masc. sg.); complex stem: *ūs-pa-zin-an* 'he is/was applying oil to himself' (complex stem *ūs-pa-*, of which *-pa-* reflexive marker; *-zin-* durative 'is/was/will be...ing', -an 3rd pers. masc. sg.), compound stem *pōsa kitan* 'he nourished' (*pōsa-ki* compound stem) 'to do nourishment', -t- past, -an 3rd pers. masc. sg.).

3.4 Adjectives (§ 5) and adverbs (§ 7) are identified primarily on syntactic grounds. Adjectives must always precede the nouns they modify, and adverbs generally precede the verbs they modify. There are many monomorphemic forms exclusively functioning as adjectives or as adverbs, which fact lends support to setting these up as word classes.

3.5 Connectives (§ 8) are a class of indeclinable forms which function as subordinating or coordinating conjunctions. Interjections and vocatives (§ 9) are autonomous one-word phrases, which occasionally begin utterances. These are exclamatory expressions or words of address (vocatives: *ōya* 'O mother mother') often reduplicated, or words that function as substitutes for vocatives (pro-vocatives).

3.6 Clitics (§ 10) are a special class of words, which are phonologically bound to the preceding phrases or clauses and denote certain modalities — interrogation, assertion, intimacy, indifference, etc.; e.g. *māp ba vānap* 'we also will come', *nīnu venid-a sile-na* 'would you listen to me or not?' (*-a/-na* question morpheme).

3.7 In the transcription of texts and utterance-long examples, all single phonological words including members of compounds are separated by spaces. All clitics, whether they begin with vowels or consonants are also written separately, even though not all of them are phonological words (§ 1.4).

4. NOUNS

4.1. Nouns are a class of words whose stems are distinguished or inflected for one or more of the categories of gender, number, and case. The order of occurrence of the different lexical and grammatical categories in a noun is stem + gender-number + case. The stem may be simple (root), complex (root + one or more derivatives), or compound (more than one root).

GENDER AND NUMBER

4.2. There are two genders, masculine and non-masculine or neuter. Most nouns do not carry any overt marker of gender, but the gender of any noun can be generally determined by its meaning. All nouns denoting male persons belong to the masculine gender, both in the singular and in plural; all others — those denoting female persons and non-persons (birds, animals, plants, objects, etc.) — belong to the non-masculine gender. Another test for determining the gender of any word is its replaceability by any one of the following demonstrative pronouns:

masculine	non-masculine/neuter
sg. <i>vānru</i> 'he, that man'	<i>adi</i> 'it, that one, (other than man)'
pl. <i>vār(u)</i> 'they, those men'	<i>avi</i> 'they, those ones (other than men)'

Syntactically, finite verbs (§ 6.15 ff.) and derived pronominals (§ 4.18) carry overt markers of gender contrasts when they

are used predicatively and thus reflect the gender and number of the subject noun.

4.3. There are two numbers in Koṇḍa, singular (denoting one) and plural (denoting more than one); the singular is unmarked, but the plural is marked by two groups of suffixes, one exclusively for masculine nouns, and another mainly for non-masculine nouns. The categories of gender and number are therefore intermixed in almost all instances. The exceptions are the 1st and the 2nd person pronouns which are distinguished only for number and not for gender (§ 4.31).

COMMON PLURAL

4.4. The plural morpheme mainly added to non-masculine nouns has the following variants (allomorphs): {(ku ~ k) ∞ sku ∞ (ṇu ~ ṇ)}; -ku ∞ -ṇu generally occur after stem allomorphs in final consonants, and -k and -ṇ after those in final vowels. When these suffixes are added, certain sandhi changes take place in stem-final syllables.

4.5. -*ku*: (a) Stems having one to three syllables ending in -p(u), -t(u), ṭ(u), -s(u); -m(u), -n(i), -ṇ, -ṇ; -y(u), -v(u), -r(u), -l(u), and -ṛ(u) add -ku to form the plural. The final -u and -i are lost when -ku is added, e.g.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'braid of hair'	kopu	kop-ku
'cloud'	mosop	mosop-ku
'seed'	vit	vit-ku
'bank of tank'	gaṭu	gaṭ-ku
'tiger'	nores	nores-ku
'horn'	komu	kom-ku
'oblation'	āram	āram-ku
'ear of corn'	seren	seren-ku
'louse'	peni	pen-ku
'god'	dēvuṇ	dēvuṇ-ku
'tongue-quoting'	tāraṇ	tāraṇ-ku
'mouth'	veyu	vey-ku
'death'	sāvu	sāv-ku
'yoke'	sēr(u)	sēr-ku
'house'	ilu	il-ku
'nit'	īru	īṛ-ku

(b) 9 dissyllabic stems in final -u preceded by a nasal+voiced homorganic obstruent, substitute the corresponding voiceless obstruent for final sequence before -ku:

'arrow'	ambu	ap-ku
'bracelet'	bondu	bot-ku
'fruit'	paᅇdu	paᅇku
'bangle'	gānzū	gās-ku, etc.

(c) Prefinal -z (in 3 items) and -r (in 7 items) of dissyllabic stems are changed to the corresponding voiceless phonemes -s and -R before the plural -ku; final short vowels -u and -i are lost in the plural.

'king'	rāzu	rās-ku
'day'	rōzu	rōs-ku
'bear'	ilzu	ols-ku
'fowl'	koᅇu	koR-ku
'way'	sarı	saR-ku

(d) In the following the final -C or -CV of stems is lost when the plural -ku is added:

'bull'	ᅇānu	ᅇā-ku
'ear of corn'	seᅇen	seᅇe-ku
'hand'	kiyu	ki-ku
'worm'	piᅇyu	piᅇ-ku
'eye'	kaᅇka	kaᅇ-ku
'person'	lōku	lō-ku

(e) In the following two items, the stem-final syllable -gu is lost and a preceding -r is changed to -R before the plural -ku.

'thigh'	kurgu	kuR-ku
'fuel'	vergu	veR-ku

4.6. -sku: There is one compound stem koᅇonali 'a nursing mother, a woman in birth pollution', whose plural form is koᅇonali-sku.

4.7. -k: Many dissyllabic and a few trisyllabic stems ending in -i, -e, -a, -o, and -u form their plurals by the addition of -k. Stem-final -a changes to -e before the plural -k.

(a) 6 stems in final -a:

'mother'	ama	ame-k
'head'	tala	tale-k
'mother'	yāya	yāye-k, etc.

(b) 15 stems in final -i:

'girl'	ayli	ayli-k
'wife'	ālsi	ālsi-k
'elder sister'	{ bibi	bībi-k
	{ bibsi	bībsi-k, etc.

All non-masculine kinship terms ending in -i (including those with the morpheme -si [see § 4.17]) take -k in the plural.

(c) 5 stems in final -u:

'wife'	ālu	ālu-k
'daughter'	gālu	gālu-k
'eyeball'	guḍu	guḍu-k
'bone'	ḍumu	ḍumu-k
'elder sister'	sāsu	sāsu-k

(d) One stem in final -e:

'which one?' (non-masc.)	aye	aye-k 'which ones'
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(e) 3 stems in final -o:

'child' (female)	koṛo	koṛo-k
'how much' (non-masc.)	eso	eso-k 'how many'
'that much' (non-masc.)	naso	naso-k 'that many'

(f) In three cases -k replaces the stem-final -l, -n:

'bride'	bōdel	bōde-k
'tree'	maran	mara-k
'ear of corn'	seren	serē-k

4.8. -ŋ ~ -ŋu: (a) Most stems of more than one syllable ending in the vowels -i, -e, -o, and -u form plural by the addition of -ŋ:

'ear ring'	kami	kami-ŋ
'rice'	kūli	kūli-ŋ
'suspended net'	uRi	uRi-ŋ
'field'	guḍ-e	guḍe-ŋ

'sheep'	gore	gore-ŋ
'crab'	rēto	rēto-ŋ
'snout'	mōro	mōro-ŋ
'joint'	atku	atku-ŋ
'edge'	ansu	ansu-ŋ, etc.

(b) A large number of stems ending in -a form their plural by changing -a into -e before -ŋ:

'heap'	kupa	kupe-ŋ
'river'	gaða	gaðe-ŋ
'year'	paŋta	paŋte-ŋ, etc.

The only exception to this rule is kūra/kūla 'friend, relative', pl. kūraŋ/kūlaŋ.

(c) Many dissyllabic stems ending in -y, -r(i), -l(i), and -r(u) form their plural by the addition of -ŋu; the short vowel -i or -u following -r and -l, etc. may be freely lost, in which case, the plural morph is -ŋu; therefore, -ri-ŋ/li-ŋ, etc. freely vary with -r-ŋu/l-ŋu, etc.

'plan'	upay	upay-ŋu
'younger brother'	tamberi	tamberi-ŋ/tamber-ŋu
'rabbit'	kundeli	kundeli-ŋ/kundel-ŋu
'central pole'	kurar(u)	kuraru-ŋ/kurar-ŋu, etc.

4.9. Many nouns have been recorded with two plural forms, both of which are permissible, according to the informants.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>		
		(a)	(b)	(c)
'king'	rāzu	rās-ku		rāzu-ŋ
'torch'	koroy	koroy-ku		koroy-ŋu
'daughter'	gālu	gāl-ku	gālu-k	
'old woman'	ðokri		ðokri-k	ðokri-ŋ
'maintain'	goron	goron-ku	goro-k	
'terrace'	kapu	kap-ku		kapu-ŋ
'intestines'	poŋu	poŋ-ku		poŋu-ŋ
'chaff'	polu	pol-ku		polu-ŋ
'toe-ring'	bōŋtu	bōŋt-ku		bōŋtu-ŋ
'festival'	paŋðoy	paŋðoy-ku		paŋðoy-ŋu

4.10. Phonological complementation among two sets of the plural allomorphs, -ku ~ -k and -ŋu ~ -ŋ, could have been

established but for several unpredictable cases of the following nature:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
(a) 'fruit'	paṇḍu	paṭ-ku
'ball'	seṇḍu	seṇḍu-ṅ
(b) 'fowl'	koṛu	koR-ku
'tank'	seru	seru-ṅ
(c) 'way'	sari	saR-ku
'place'	pari	paṛi-ṅ
(d) 'hand'	kiyu	ki-ku
'mouth'	veyu	vey-ku
(e) 'head'	tala	tale-k
'month'	nela	nele-ṅ
(f) 'eyeball'	guḍu	guḍu-k
'stick'	ḍuḍu	ḍuḍu-ṅ
(g) 'bank, hedge'	gaṭu	gaṭ-ku
'flat rock'	saṭu	saṭu-ṅ
(h) 'rooster'	punzu	punzu-ṅ
'bangle'	gānzu	gās-ku

4.11. Notwithstanding the above, the following general rules may be deduced for plural formation in Koṇḍa:

(1) All nouns ending in -m, and dissyllabic nouns in final -u preceded by p t ṭ, r, l, ṛ, and s, and dissyllabic nouns with final voiceless obstruents (other than -k) form their plural by adding -ku.

(2) Stems ending in a short vowel preceded by a consonant cluster, other than a nasal + a homorganic voiced obstruent, and almost all nouns ending in -i and -e (other than those which refer to persons) add -ṅ to form the plural.

(3) Nouns ending in -i and -a referring to the non-masculine person group (words denoting females and children) add -k to form the plural.

MASCULINE PLURAL

4.12. (a) The plural suffix -r is added only to masculine nouns, though all masculine nouns do not necessarily take this suffix; all stems to which it is added end in a vowel:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
'elder brother'	anasi	anasi-r
'male friend'	tōṇḍa	tōṇḍa-r
'brother-in-law'	bāṭo	bāṭo-r, etc.

(b) Where the singular noun carries the gender-number marker -n/-an (3rd masc. sg.), the plural has final -n replaced by -r, e.g.

'which man'	aye-n	aye-r
'the man who ate'	uᅇik-an	uᅇik-ar

(c) In one compound noun the stem final -i changes to -e before the plural -r, viz. ālmase-r 'wife and husband' (ālu 'wife,' māsi 'husband').

(d) A few masculine nouns also take the common plural suffix, e.g.

'king'	rāzu	rās-ku, rāzu-ᅇ
'thief'	ᅇoᅇar	ᅇoᅇar-ᅇu
'god'	dēvuᅇ	dēvuᅇ-ku
'farmer'	raytu	rayt-ku
'teacher'	guru	guru-ᅇ
'young man'	daᅇra	daᅇre-ᅇ

(e) A few nouns referring to the person group denote both 'male person' or 'non-male person' and may be replaced by either vāᅇru 'he' or adi 'she, it' in the singular. In the plural, however, the gender is morphologically marked depending on the meaning intended:

'friend' (male or female)	ᅇoᅇa	ᅇoᅇa-r	(masc.)
'child'	koᅇo	ᅇoᅇ-ek	(non-masc.)
		koᅇo-r	(masc.)
'relative'	kūla	koro-k	(non-masc.)
		kūla-r	(masc.)
'a low caste tribe'	gānsi	kūla-ᅇ	(non-masc.)
		gānsi-r	(masc.)
		gānsi-k	(non-masc.)

This phenomenon can be observed also in the case of derived pronominals (see § 4.16 ff.).

NOUN DERIVATION

COMPLEX STEMS

4.13. Noun stems consisting of one root and one or more derivational suffixes are called complex stems. Complex stems behave like simple stems in entering into inflection with morphs representing the categories of gender, number, and case. All derived stems fall under the following classes.

4.14. There is a class of nouns consisting of pairs of stems, each of which involves the derivative morphs {a ∞ yen} 'male', and {i ∞ ni ∞ ni} 'female'; these morphs are added to bound or free roots to denote sex difference in persons:

(a)	-a	-i
*kañ	kañ-a 'blind man'	kañ-i 'blind woman'
*gul-	gul-a 'stammerer (man)'	gul-i 'stammerer (woman)'
*dañr-	dañr-a 'young man'	dañr-i 'young woman'
*đokr-	đokr-a 'old man'	đokr-i 'old woman'
*buđ-	buđ-a 'dear one (male)'	buđ-i 'dear one (female)'
*soṭ-	soṭ-a 'lame man'	soṭ-i 'lame woman'
(b)	-yen	-ni/ni
guru	guru-yen 'priest, shaman'	guru-ni 'female priest'
gānsi	gānsi-yen 'a man of a lower caste'	gānsi-ni 'a woman of..'
kaRsi	kaRsi-yen 'a man of the kaRsi caste'	kaRsi-ni 'a woman of..'
(c)	-yen	-i/ni
kaṭka	kaṭka-yen 'miserly man'	kaṭk-i/kaṭki-ni 'miserly woman'

4.15. There are a few complex noun stems derived from noun or verb roots by the addition of certain primary derivative suffixes, viz. -ki, -uñ, -ku, -u, -pu, etc.

Verb root
 ēru 'water'
 nēnz 'to breathe'
 mūl 'to urinate'
 pīt 'to fart'
 dari 'nearness'

Derived noun stem
 ēR-ki 'thirst'
 nēnz-uñ 'breath'
 mūl-ku 'urine'
 pīt-u 'farting'
 dar-pu 'nearness',
etc.

4.16. The following demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are a sub-class of nouns with complex stems derivable from demonstrative and interrogative roots by the addition of gender-number suffixes or of certain derivative suffixes denoting time and place.

(a) Remote: Root: a-, aya-, vā-, na- 'that' (distant from speaker)

a-di 'that one' (3rd non-masc. sg.)

a-vi 'those' (3rd non-masc. pl.)

- a-tal 'that side'
- a-k-an 'that man' (§ 4.18)
- a-be (~bān) 'there, that place'
- aya-k-an 'that man' (§ 4.18)
- vā-nru 'that man'
- vā-r(u) 'those men'
- na-so-k 'that many' (3rd non-masc. pl.)
- na-so-r/ṇḍ 'that many' (3rd non-masc. pl.)
- na-so-ṇḍ-ar 'That many (men)' (3rd masc. pl.)
- na-ni-k-an 'that sort of man' (§ 4.18)

(b) *Proximate*: Root i-, vē-, yā-, ni- 'this' (nearer the speaker).

- i-di 'this one'
- i-vi 'these'
- i-tal 'this side'
- i-be (~bēn) 'here, this place'
- i-ʔen 'yesterday'
- vē-nru 'this man'
- vē-r(u) 'these men'
- yā-ka(d) 'this one' (3rd non-masc. sg.)
- ni-so-k 'this many' (3rd non-masc. pl.)
- ni-so-r/ṇḍ 'these many' (3rd non-masc. pl.)
- ni-so-ṇḍ-ar 'these many men' (3rd masc. pl.)

(c) *Intermediate*: Root o- 'that (yonder)'
o-ʔen 'day before yesterday'

(d) *Interrogative*: Root e-, aye-

- e-tal 'which side?'
- e-mbe (~ e-me) 'where, which place?'
- e-so-k 'how many?' (3rd non-masc. pl.)
- e-so-r/ṇḍ 'how many?' (3rd non-masc. sg.)
- e-so-ṇḍ-ar 'how many?' (3rd masc. pl.)
- aye-n 'who?' (3rd masc. sg.)
- aye-r 'who?' (3rd masc. pl.)
- aye-d 'which? who?' (3 non-masc. sg.)
- aye-k 'which ones?' (3rd non-masc. pl.)

4.17. Kinship terms, when they are used in 3rd person reference (not in 2nd person address), acquire a suffix -si.

Certain morphophonemic changes are noticeable in stems before *-si*, viz. (a) final *-i, -u, -n* > \emptyset , (b) *-ya, -a* > *-e*; (c) suppletion: *yāya* > *ay-* 'mother', *buba* > *apo-* 'father'.

Root		Derived stems		
		Singular	Plural	
(a)	<i>tamberi</i>	'younger brother'	<i>tamber-si</i>	<i>tamber-si-r</i>
	<i>dāda</i>	'older brother'	<i>dād-si</i>	<i>dād-si-r</i>
	<i>ālu</i>	'wife'	<i>āl-si</i>	<i>āl-si-k</i>
	<i>bibi</i>	'elder sister'	<i>bib-si</i>	<i>bib-si-k</i>
	<i>maṛin</i>	'son'	<i>maṛi-si</i>	<i>maṛi-si-r</i>
	<i>saṇin</i>	'son-in-law'	<i>saṇi-si</i>	<i>saṇi-si-r</i>
	<i>sēron</i>	'husband's younger brother'	<i>sēro-si</i>	<i>sēro-si-r</i>
(b)	<i>koṛya</i>	'daughter-in-law'	<i>kore-si</i>	<i>kore-si-k</i>
	<i>ṭoṇḍa</i>	'friend (female)'	<i>ṭoṇḍe-si</i>	<i>ṭoṇḍe-si-k</i>
(c)	<i>yāya</i>	'mother'	<i>ay-si</i>	<i>ay-si-k</i>
	<i>buba</i>	'father'	<i>apo-si</i>	<i>apo-si-r</i>
(d)	<i>*mā-</i>	'husband'	<i>mā-si</i>	<i>mā-si-r</i>
(e)	No change in stem:			
	<i>ana</i>	'elder brother'	<i>ana-si</i>	<i>ana-si-r</i>
	<i>oni</i>	'sister-in-law'	<i>oni-si</i>	<i>oni-si-k</i>
	<i>taṇi</i>	'younger sister'	<i>taṇi-si</i>	<i>taṇi-si-k</i>

4.18. A very productive type of noun derivation is by the addition of gender-number suffixes, *-an* (3rd masc. sg.) *-ar* (3rd masc. pl.), *-a(d)* (3rd non-masc. sg.) and *-eṇ* (3rd non-masc. pl.) to bound adjectives in final *-k*. All adjectives, basic as well as derived, add a stem formative *-k* before the gender-number suffixes, e.g.

(i) Basic Adjective Stem		Derived noun	
(a)	<i>a-</i> 'that'	<i>a-k-an</i>	'that man'
		<i>a-k-ar</i>	'those men'
		<i>a-k-ad</i>	'that one' (non-masc.)
		<i>a-k-eṇ</i>	'they' (non-masc.)
(b)	<i>āʔi</i> 'another, different'	<i>āʔi-k-an</i>	'another man'
		<i>āʔi-k-ar</i>	'other men'
		<i>āʔi-k-a(d)</i>	'another one'
		<i>āʔi-k-eṇ</i>	'other ones'
(c)	<i>negi</i> 'good'	<i>negi-k-an</i>	'good man'
		<i>negi-k-ar</i>	'good men'
		<i>negi-k-a(d)</i>	'good one'
		<i>negi-k-eṇ</i>	'good ones'

(ii) Derived Adjective Stems

(a) era-ni 'red'	erani-k-an	'red man'
	erani-k-ar	'red men'
	erani-k-a (d)	'red one'
	erani-k-eṅ	'red ones'

(b) Nouns, adjectivals, and adverbials converted into possessives or descriptive adjectives by the addition of {-ti/-Ri/-di} or {-ṅi} constitute the underlying stems for nouns derived by the addition of -k-an, -k-ar, etc.

Noun: ḍagru 'near'

Derived Adjective:	ḍagu-Ri-k-an	'a man nearby'
(//ḍagur-ti//>) ḍagu-Ri	ḍagu-Ri-k-ar	'men, nearby'
	ḍagu-Ri-k-a (d)	'nearby one'
	ḍagu-Ri-k-eṅ	'nearby ones'

Adjective: veri 'stupid'

Derived Adjective: veri-di-

veri-di-k-an	'stupid man'
veri-di-k-ar	'stupid men'
veri-di-k-a (d)	'stupid one'
veri-di-k-eṅ	'stupid ones'

Adverbial Noun: abe or bān 'there'

Derived Adjective:	abe-ṅi/bā-ṅi	'of that place'
	abe-ṅi-k-an	'man belonging there'
	abe-ṅi-k-ar	'men belonging there'
	abe-ṅi-k-a (d)	'the one belonging there'
	abe-ṅi-k-e	'the ones belonging there'

Similarly, bāṅikan 'man belonging there', emenikan (embe 'where') 'what sort of man?' lit. 'where-from-man', etc.

(c) Verbal adjectives formed by the addition of -i to different tense-markers: -n-i (non-past), -t-i- (past), and -?-i (negative), added to the verb root:

vaR- 'to dry' : vaR-t-i 'dried'; vaR-ti-k-ad 'that which dried'

man- 'to be': maR-i 'that was': maRi-k-an 'a man who had been'

as- 'to hold': as-n-i 'that holds': as-n-i-k-an 'a man who holds'

ven- 'to hear': ven-?-i 'unheard' : ven?i-k-an 'one who didn't or hasn't heard', etc.

(d) Abstract nouns or gerunds in non-masculine are formed by the simple addition of -k-a-/k-a (d) to adjectives, verbal or non-verbal:

var 'to cook' : var-n-i (fut. adj.) : varni-k-a 'cooking'

uṅ 'to eat': uṅ-i (fut. adj.): uṅi-ka 'eating'

Others of this type are : vaR-ti-ka 'the state of being dried, dried thing', pasi-k-a 'greenness, green thing(s)', pū-ni-ka 'blossoming'; ini-k-a 'what?' used in an absolute sense: inika ātaḍ 'what happened?'

COMPOUND STEMS

4.19. Compounding is taken here as a type of noun-derivation, in which two or more roots or stems combine to act as a single morphological nucleus replaceable by a simple noun stem. The following characteristics distinguish compounds from phrasēs:

(1) A Compound may consist of a stem whose occurrence is restricted to only one or two non-unique stems.

(2) Phonetic break or insertion of pause does not normally occur between the constituents of a compound.

(3) Compounds exhibit peculiar morphophonemic variants of constituent morphemes, not found otherwise.

(4) It is not possible to expand a compound by inserting another stem or word between its constituents. In this respect a compound behaves like a single word.

(5) Compounds are the result of one lexical unit selecting certain others only for cooccurrence; on the contrary, in a phrase, the choice of cooccurrence is grammatical rather than lexical. Therefore, there is a higher degree of predictability and productivity in phrase structure than in compound structure.

The following sub-classes of compound stems can be set up for Konḡa:

Endocentric compounds

4.20. These consist of two constituents each. The first is a noun or an adjective which acts as a satellite or attribute to the following noun head (nucleus).

4.21. In one class of endocentric compounds both of the constituents are attested and occur free elsewhere in the language. Some of the compounds have developed idiomatic meanings. The satellite is generally a noun in an attributive position or a descriptive adjective, e.g.

- ilu ālu 'housewife' (one's own wife)
 ā'i ālu 'somebody else's wife'
 era sindva 'cheetah' (era 'red', sindva ?)
 kiyu atku 'wrist' (lit. hand-joint)
 kogri karak 'the month vaiśākha' (April-May, kogri
 'small' karak 'name for two months, vaiśākha and
 jyēṣṭha')
 koṛo vaski 'womb (of woman)' (cf. koṛo 'child', vaski
 'stomach, intestines')
 gavru ḡuḡu 'shepherd's stick'
 goron guḡe 'hill-field'
 tēne ṭaṭa 'beehive', 'honeycomb'
 tēne mēṇam 'honey-wax'
 dīva kantu 'lamp-stand, built over the kitchen wall'.

Others of this sub-type include nari vilu 'bow with gut', niṭa koṛi 'central pole in house building', nūne bala 'oil press' (see figure on p. 31), paṅla sari 'forked street', pasi kaṅḡa 'raw flesh', pasi gaḡi 'green grass', paṅka ḡumu 'side bone, rib', pila ḡeka 'the hind hoof', puṭu ilu 'birth place, parents' home', puḡgu masa 'mole' (lit. birth-blot), puḡgu ilu 'parents' home', peri ālu 'elder wife' (cf. peri 'big'), buṛa ḡumu 'skull bone', būmi selṅa 'groundnut' (lit. 'earth chick-pea') būmi sonki 'mortar (to pound in) fixed in floor', boḡu ḡokri 'mid-wife' (lit. 'navel-cord-old-woman'), miram paṅku 'grinding stone' (lit. 'pepper-stone'), rāmbi bala 'attic plank', sisu

koroy 'torch of fire', sisu řimbu 'spark of fire', seru gopu 'tank-bund', kũli seren 'ear of corn,' sãma seren 'ear of sãma', etc.

4.22. In the following the satellite is an adjective or a noun meaning 'male' or 'female' followed by a generic name of animal or bird, e.g.

- ãñdu nukuri 'female dog'
- põtu nukuri 'male dog'
- tali kõði 'she-buffalo'
- põtu kõði 'he-buffalo'
- tali koru 'hen'
- punzu koru 'cock, rooster'
- ayli korõ 'girl child'
- moga korõ 'male child'

4.23. A very common class of endocentric compounds consists of names of plants, trees, fruit, etc. in which the first constituent is a specific name followed by a generic name or classifier:

- (a) kãya 'fruit' (vegetable)
 - bira kãya 'fruit of a gourd'
 - beza kãya 'tomato'
 - ðõnda kaya 'fruit of *Coccina indica*'
- (b) kuñi 'bulb, edible root'
 - alu kuñi, keda kuñi, tãri kuñi — names of edible roots
 - bañgla kuñi 'potato' (see s.v. kuñi in Part III)
- (c) kusa 'greens, vegetables, cooked curry'.
 - gumendi kusa 'pumpkin leaves'
 - tețem kusa 'a leafy vegetable'
 - pansa kusa 'jack fruit curry'
 - beza kusa 'tomato vegetable'
 - burde kusa 'cabbage' (cf. burde 'packet of leaves')
- (d) toñdo 'lizard, chameleon-like'
 - sãra toñdo 'chameleon' (? squirrel)
 - bali toñdo 'house-lizard'

- (e) dubu 'thick shrub'
vedru dubu 'bamboo shrub'
- (f) dolu 'a small shrub, plant'
beza dolu 'tomato plant'
miryal dolu 'black pepper plant'
bira dolu 'the plant *Trichosanthes anguina*'
- (g) naka 'fox, wolf, etc.'
koro naka 'jackal'
peri naka 'wolf, fox' (peri 'big')
- (h) nela 'month'
pāg nela 'name of a month'
palika nela 'id.', etc.
- (i) paᅇoy 'festival'
bali paᅇoy 'a tribal festival'
dīvaᅇi paᅇoy 'Divali festival', etc.
- (j) papu 'gram, pulses'
kandi papu 'red gram'
koᅇi papu 'a type of nuts or gram'
selᅇa papu 'chick-pea', etc.
- (k) pūᅇu 'flowers'
moli pūᅇu 'jasmine flowers'
banti pūᅇu 'marigold flowers'
- (l) -pūr 'place-name ending' (cf. Skt. pura- 'town')
āgas pūr 'name of a divine city' (in a folk-tale)
- (m) poᅇi 'bird'
namil poᅇi 'pea-fowl (hen or cock)'
silka poᅇi 'parrot'
pāvra poᅇi 'pigeon', etc.
- (n) maran 'tree' (mrānu in Sova dialect)
ipa maran 'the Mahua tree'
usrika maran '*Emblic myrobalan*'
kandi maran '*Cajanus indicus*', etc.
- (o) moya 'fish'
turinza moya 'a variety of fish'
maᅇgru moya 'id.'
maᅇᅇu moya 'id.', etc.

(p) *rāzu* 'king'

kōva rāzu 'name of a king'

sadu rāzu 'id.'

mūla rāzu 'id.'

(q) *saras* 'snake-like'

boyragi saras 'a type of snake'

nāṇ saras 'cobra'

damṇa saras 'whip snake'

kaṇi saras 'greenish house-lizard with a red tail'

4.24. Endocentric constructions in which one of the constituents is either unique, or extremely restricted in distribution, while the other is relatively free:

(a) With restricted satellite (italicized)

adam 'mirror': *saya adam* 'front and back mirrors',

maya adam '?magic mirrors'

ilu 'house': *pār ilu* 'abandoned house'

elka 'rat': *mūṅgi elka* 'mangoose' (cf. Telugu *mūṅgisa*)

kezeri elka 'muskrat'

ēti 'dance': *zor̥ya ēti* 'a sort of tribal dance'

(danced to an Oṛiya tune)

kalu 'toddy': *peṇḍam kalu* 'rice beer'

kālu 'leg': *maṛma kālu* 'heel' (cf. Te. *maḍama* 'heel')

kuṇḍa 'pot': *garpu kuṇḍa* 'big pot, washerman's pot'

komu 'pole, horn': *rōy̥iṇ komu*

sōyit komu

} 'justice poles'

gāli 'wind': *sura gāli* 'whirlwind' (cf. Te. *suragāli* 'id.')

ginza 'seed': *muk̥ri ginza* 'testicle'

ḍuḍu 'stick': *goz̥ya ḍuḍu* 'pointed stick'

narun̥(ḍ) 'man': *sir narun̥(ḍ)* 'small man, mortal'

piru 'rain': *dar̥ka piru* 'hail-storm'

masu 'dew, fog': *n̥ir masu* 'dew' (cf. Te. *n̥iru* 'water',

note that the Koṇḍa word for 'water' is *ēr̥u*)

mu?e 'day after tomorrow': *aku mu?e* 'the day after

the day after tomorrow' (cf. *akoṇḍ* 'far, distant' in

Sova dialect)

reyu 'night': mada reyū 'midnight'
 sisu 'fire': antra sisu 'bonfire in the verandah during
 winter'

ᅇaska 'finger': moᅇla ᅇaska 'the thumb'
 piᅇla ᅇaska 'the little finger'

(b) With restricted head (italicized):

pūsa 'spittle' (cf. pūs- 'to spit'): pūsa *vali* 'spittle'
 viza 'the last' (cf. viz- 'to end'): viza *vīskora* 'the last-
 born male child', viza *vīskor(ᅇ)i* 'the last born
 female child'

saᅇin 'son-in-law': saᅇin *kōndli* 'nephew'
 puᅇa 'ant hill': puᅇa *kūru* 'white-ants' anthill'

4.25. There is a large member of constructions with both constituents occurring in mutually restricted distribution. Here, the phonological structure is the main clue to there being two constituents in each construction. Most of these appear to be borrowings from Oᅇiya or Telugu.

rām guᅇᅇa 'a stringed instrument'

(note that -mg- does not occur within a phonological word)

baᅇ nāma 'bad reputation'

baᅇ neyki 'the big village-chief'

zuli kōᅇ 'magic sandals' (a long vowel in the third syllable of a word is not phonologically possible) (see § 1.4.).

putro zanam 'male children'

nīr putrivar 'a couple without children'

sōr kupi 'scorpion'

sila kasa 'man's mode of dressing a dhoti'

bizuli bōn 'mountain of lightning'

andari bōn 'mountain of darkness'

padel ᅇaᅇᅇam 'ten thousand salutations' (cf. Te. padi-
 wēla ᅇaᅇᅇamulu 'id.')

kila muᅇᅇi 'elbow, arm-joint'

ostu boᅇᅇaram 'bag and baggage' (cf. Skt. vastu bhāᅇᅇā-
 gāra)

oᅇᅇa ilu 'pellet bow' (elsewhere /ilu/ is /vilu/)

4.26. *Intensive Compounds*: Compounds of this type are also endocentric, because the compound has the same external privileges as one of the constituents. In most cases there is at least one free constituent followed or preceded by a unique constituent, which generally rhymes with the nucleus by repeating a part of the latter and intensifies its meaning. The repetitive part of the satellite is shown in italics:

- (a) *ilu zolu* 'house' (inside, outside, etc.)
ubra subra 'remnants of food after the major part is consumed'.
kāru dōru 'weeds', etc. (cf. *kāru*, pl. *kāRku* 'sticks')
koṛo kokra 'children, etc.'
goḍu goḍra 'cattle, etc.'
tūbi turī 'rubbish, sweepings'
dūra duska 'calf, etc.'
pāta para 'cloth and garment'
būḍ suḍ 'bath, etc.'
sara saṭu 'sweeping and cleansing floor with cowdung solution, etc.'
zires mires 'bag and baggage'

In the above -*zolu*, -*dōru*, -*kokra*, -*goḍra*, -*turī*, -*duska*, -*para*, -*suḍ*, etc. occur only in these combinations, whereas the other constituents can occur without these.

(b) The following are similar to the above, except for the fact that there is no iteration in the satellite constituents. But in most cases they seem to be meaningful words (according to the intuitive reaction of the native speakers) which supplement and intensify the meaning of the nuclear constituent:

- ēru kali* 'water and gruel' (cf. *ēru* 'water'; *kal* 'liquor')
kaṛa kampa 'fencing with dried sticks and thorny bushes (of. Te. *karra* 'stick', *kampa* 'thorny plants')
kūla ṭoṇḍa 'close friend (ship), a chum' (cf. *kūla* 'relative', *ṭoṇḍa* 'a dear one')
gadi gūra 'room and residence' (cf. *gadi* 'room'; *gūru* 'nest')

- toki dasi 'servants and attendants' (cf. Te. dāsi 'maid servant')
- paṇi pāṭu 'work, etc.' (paṇi 'work'; cf. Te. pāṭu 'labour')
- budi barsa 'knowledge, wisdom' (budi 'knowledge', Te. bharavasā 'confidence')
- mēra mide 'palatial building' (cf. Te. mēḍa 'storied building', midde 'building with terraced roof')
- sarku samadam 'belongings' (cf. Te. saruku 'material'; sambandham 'belonging')
- zata zūṛi 'companionship, being wed' (zata 'a pair', zūṛi '? association')
- zutu kopu 'braid of curly hair' (zutu 'hair', kopu 'braid of hair')

In these compounds the constituents are interruptible by a phrase only when it is repeated twice, once after each constituent, e.g.

- zata zūṛi ā'e 'I have not been paired (=married)'
 or, zata ā'e, zūṛi ā'e 'I have not been married (emphatic)'

By a different analysis these compounds may be treated as a special sub-class of the noun phrase.

4.27. Endocentric or attributive compounds with head in the first position are few:

- taṇi ri²et lakenḍa (8.371) 'like two young sisters'
 taṇi ruṇḍi 'two sisters, elder and younger'
 (cf. taṇi 'sister', ruṇḍi 'two')

The expected combination would be ruṇḍ taṇi(si)-k 'two sisters' but there is a difference in meaning between the two.

- to²i ruṇḍi 'wives of the same man' (to²i does not occur anywhere else).

- sazo vizu 'all the stuff' (vizu 'all', sazo 'one's belongings or things')

4.28. *Coordinate Compounds:* These compounds have two or more nuclei and are pronounced as a single word without pause between the constituents. No overt connective denoting 'and' is present;

aysi aposi 'parents, father and mother'
 yāya buba 'parents'
 kusa pula 'curry and soup'
 nūne uli 'oil and onions, seasoning'
 sōru miram 'salt and pepper'
 goṛel gagra 'axe and knife'
 nela podu 'moon and sun'
 dūba nila '?ghosts and the dead'
 dādsi tambersi 'brothers, elder and younger'

Some of the intensive compounds may be alternatively treated as coordinate compounds. It may be noted that in both cases emphasis and force of expression are implicit in the structuring of the form and of the meaning.

Iterative Compounds: Each compound has two constituents: Adjective + Noun derived from Adjective:

peri perikeṇ 'big big ones' (peri 'big'; peri-k-eṇ 'big ones' (non-masc.), see § 4.18).

pina pinakeṇ 'small small ones' (pina 'small', pina-k-eṇ 'small ones').

4.29. *Fused Compounds*: One or both of the constituents in each compound exhibit unique morphophonemic alternants:

ālmaser 'wife and husband' (ālu 'wife; māsi > mase-
 'husband')

reyzal 'day and night' (reyu 'night', zāy 'day')

palanaṛu 'tooth-stick, twig to clean teeth with'
 (palu > pala- 'tooth', kaṛu > -ṛaṛu 'stick, twig')

koṛonali (pl. koṛonalsku) 'a nursing mother'
 (koṛo 'child', ālu > -nali > -nal- 'wife, woman')

bānzraza 'barren king'

bānzraṇi 'barren queen' (bānz- 'barren', rāzu 'king',
 rāṇi 'queen')

mā lasmi 'Goddess Lakshmi' (cf. Te. (< Skt.) mahā-
 lakṣmī 'id'.)

SUBCLASSES OF NOUN STEMS

ADVERBIAL NOUNS

4.30. There is a class of noun-stems, simple as well as derived, denoting 'time' and 'place', which are not distinguished for number-gender, but are inflected with certain case-suffixes (see § 4.35 ff.). They are, by definition, nouns (§ 4.1 ff.), on the morphological level, although syntactically they are all adverbials. The oblique stems (§ 4.37 ff.) are given in parentheses:

- aḍgi (aḍgiRi-) 'below, bottom' : aḍgi-Raṅḍ 'from below'
- atal (ataRi-) 'that side' : ataR-aṅḍ 'from that side'
- abe/bān (abeṇi-/bāṇi-) 'that place, there' : abeṇi-ṅ/bāṇi-ṅ 'from there'
- ital (itaRi-) 'this side' : itaR-aṅḍ 'from this side'
- i'eṇ (i'eRi-) 'yesterday' : i'eRi-ṅ 'yesterday'; i'eR-aṅḍ 'since yesterday'
- ibe/bēn (ibeṇi-/bēṇi-) 'this place, here' : ibeṇi-ṅ 'from here'
- *enda (enda-ni-) 'of what?' : endani-ṅ 'for what?'
- embe/bēn (emeṇi-/bēṇi-) 'which place?' : emeṇi-ṅ 'from where?'
- o'eṇ (o'eRi-) 'the day before yesterday' : o'eR-aṅḍ 'since the day before yesterday'
- kaṅḍek (kaṅḍek-ti-) 'a small quantity, a little bit' : kaṅḍekti-ṅ 'for a little bit'
- *kālam (kālam-ti-) 'the coming year' : kālamti-ṅ 'during the coming year'
- gaṛek (gaṛek-ti-) 'a moment' : gaṛekti-ṅ 'for a moment'
- ḍagru (ḍagruRi-) 'nearness, near' : ḍagruRi-ṅ 'to near', ḍagruR-aṅḍ 'from near'
- nā'aṅḍ (*nāṅḍi, nāṅḍiRi-) 'that day' : nāṅḍi-ṅ 'on that day', nāṅḍiR-aṅḍ 'from that day onwards'
- nēṅru (nēRi-) 'today' : nēR-aṅḍ 'from today onwards'

pendal (pendaRi-) 'early in the morning' : pendaR-
aṅḍ 'from early morning'

mu'e (mu'eRi-) 'the day-after-tomorrow' : mu'eR-iṅ
'on the day-after-tomorrow'

mungal (mungaRi-) 'before, in front' : mungar-
aṅḍ 'from in front'

musku (muskuRi-) 'above' : muskuR-aṅḍ 'from above'

modol (modoRi-) 'beginning, first' : modoR-aṅḍ 'from
the beginning'

lo'i (lo'iRi-) 'inside' : lo'iR-aṅḍ 'from inside'

-vale (valeRi-; generally occurs syntactically bound
in nasti vale 'that time, then', etc.) 'time' : nasti
valeR-aṅḍ 'from then on'

-vaṛe (vaṛeRi-; generally bound as the above one in
forms like tūrpu vaṛe 'east') 'direction, quarter' :
tūrpu vaṛeR-aṅḍ 'from the east'

vige (vigeRi-) 'tomorrow' ; vigeRi-ṅ 'on tomorrow' :
vigeR-aṅḍ 'from tomorrow'

venkal (venkaRi-) 'behind' : venkaR-aṅḍ 'from
behind'

*vēlam (vēlam-ti-) 'the year after the coming year' :
vēlanti-ṅ 'id.'

The oblique stems of the above forms function, as in the
case of regular nouns, as adjectivals before nouns, e.g. vigeRi
paṅi 'tomorrow's work', aḍgiR(i) iska 'the sand below', etc.
(see § 5).

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

4.31. Personal pronouns of the 1st and the 2nd persons
are a sub-class of nouns in that they are distinguished for
number (but not for gender) and are inflected for case.

Personal pronouns of the 3rd person are all derived from
demonstrative and interrogative adjectives and have been
treated earlier (§ 4.16).

The 1st person has two plurals, one inclusive (includes
the party addressed) and one exclusive (excludes the party
addressed).

<i>1st person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
nominative	nān(u)	māp(u) (excl.) māṭ(u) (incl.)
oblique/genitive	nā/na-	mā/ma-
accusative/dative	na-ṅi	ma-ṅi
<i>2nd person</i>		
nominative	nīn(u)	mīr(u)
oblique/genitive	nī/ṅi-	mī/mi-
accusative/dative	nī/ṅi	mi-ṅi

Other case relations are expressed by postfixes (§ 1.53).

4.32. Derived pronominals (the so-called appellative verbs or conjugated nouns) have the following structure: Adjective (simple or derived) + k (stem formative) + a Pronominal suffix:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>1st person</i>	-a	-ap (exclusive)
<i>2nd person</i>	-i	-aṭ (inclusive) -ider

These suffixes are the same as those occurring in finite verbs. The pronominal suffixes occurring in the 3rd person are distinguished for number, gender, and case, unlike the above which carry only the number contrast. No derived pronominal form of the 1st and 2nd persons is inflected with case suffixes; e.g.

(a) with a simple adjective as nucleus:

peri-k-a 'I am a big one'

peri-k-ap 'we (excl.) are big ones'

peri-k-aṭ 'we (incl.) are big ones'

peri-k-i 'you are a big one'

peri-k-ider 'you (pl.) are big ones'

(b) with a derived adjective as nucleus: visir 'to throw'
past adjective visir-t-i:

visirti-k-a 'I was the thrower'

visirti-k-ap 'we (excl.) were the throwers'

visirti-k-aṭ 'we (incl.) were the throwers'

visirti-k-i 'you were the thrower'

visirti-k-ider 'you (pl.) were the throwers'

Similar pronominals can be derived on any adjectival stem (see § 4.18).

NUMERALS

4.33. Numerals are a sub-class of nouns, since they all carry gender-number category and are inflected for case. Koṇḍa has native numerals for 1 to 7; the numeral for 10 and compound numerals for numbers beyond 10 are borrowed from Telugu. All simple numerals belong to the non-masculine gender and are used both as nouns in the nominative (see § 4.36), and as attributes to a following noun head. The numerals 1 to 4 have bound adjectival variants which occur before certain bound stems, classifiers or certain other derivative suffixes to form morphological complexes meaning 'one man, two men, etc.' Numerals 5 to 7 occur without change in shape before classifiers.

Simple numerals

(neuter gender)

unri '1'

ruṇḍi '2'

mūnri '3'

nālgi '4'

aydu '5'

āru '6'

ēru '7'

Complex numerals
including classifiers
(masculine gender)

or-en 'one man'

or-su 'once'

or-neṇḍ 'one day'

ri-?er 'two men'

ri-za 'twice'

ri-neṇḍ 'two days'

mu-?er 'three men'

nāl-?er 'four men'

aydu-guru 'five men'

āru-guru 'six men'

ēru-guru 'seven men'

The other numerals recorded are padi 'ten', panenḍ 'twelve', padel 'ten thousand' which are borrowings from Telugu traceable to padi, pannenḍu, and padiwēlu, respectively.

4.34. For the numerals 1 to 4, the field notes show also pronominal derivatives in 1st and 2nd persons of the type: bound numeral adjective + pronominal suffix. Note that the stem-formative -k- is absent in these constructions (see § 4.32): (māp) ri?ep 'we (excl.) two', (māt) ri?eṭ 'we

(incl.) two', (mīr) ri'ider 'you (pl.) two'. Similarly, mu'ep, nāl'ep, etc. Numerals 1 to 3 also occur in iterative adverbial (?) phrases in inflected plural form: uRku uRku 'one each', ruṭku ruṭku 'two each', mūrku mūrku 'three each', e.g. ri'er uRku uRku ruṭayṇu otar 'The two men took a rupee each'; uRku uRku, etc. can be replaced by uRku laka 'at the rate one each', etc.

FORMATION OF CASES

4.35. Cases are a category of affixes which establish some kind of relationship between nouns and other word classes in an utterance, particularly the verb. There are five cases in Koṇḍa: nominative, (genitive), accusative-dative, instrumentāl-ablative, and locative. Except for the nominative, which contrasts with the others by not carrying any marker, all the others are represented by suffixes. Syntactically only nouns in the nominative are nominal; the rest of them are either adjectival or adverbial in function.

Nominative:

4.36. All noun stems in the singular and in the plural, which can occur free without an overt case suffix, are said to be in the nominative case. The implication is that there are certain noun stems which are always bound to case suffixes, particularly in the case of adverbial nouns, e.g. *kālam 'next year' *vēlam 'the year after the next year', nā'aṇḍu 'that day', *enda 'what', occur in construction with case suffixes only, as in kālam-ti-ṇ, vēlam-ti-ṇ, nāṇḍ-i/-ṇ, enda-ni-ṇ, respectively (see § 4.30).

A noun in the nominative case, if it is one distinguished for number (and gender) also, occurs as the subject of a sentence. Nouns not countable, like the ones listed under adverbial nouns (§ 4.30), do not function as subjects.

The Oblique-genitive Stem:

4.37. In the case of many nouns, the stem occurring before certain of the case suffixes is different from the one occurring in the nominative (the free uninflected stem).

The stem, to which, case suffixes are added is called the oblique stem. The oblique stem is also formally identical with the noun in the genitive case which acts as an attribute to a following noun. In other words, when a case suffix follows a stem, it is a morphological construction and we call it an 'oblique stem'; but, when a noun follows, it is a syntactic unit functioning as an adjectival. It, therefore, seems appropriate to call this stem an oblique-genitive stem in order to bring out its double function.

4.38. The oblique of non-masculine stems: The oblique stem is formed by adding *-di* in singular and *-a* in plural to a non-masculine stem. The exceptions are: Two trisyllabic items ending in *-i*, viz. *gudeli* 'pickaxe', *gumendi* 'pumpkin', and kinship terms ending in *-si* (whatever the number of syllables). Those that have an overt oblique by the addition of *-di* are mostly dissyllabic stems, though there are a few items of three to four syllables also. However, no trisyllabic stem in final *-i* takes *-di*. *-di* has sandhi variants *-ti* and *-Ri* with storable distribution:

(a) Oblique formative *-di*:

<i>Nominative (=Basic stem):</i>	<i>Oblique stem</i>
ayli 'girl'	ayli-di
ilu 'house'	ilu-di
koṛo 'child'	koṛo-di
maran 'tree'	*maran-di
gaṇṭa 'hour'	gaṇṭa-di
guraṃ 'horse'	guraṃ-di
burde 'leaf-packet'	burde-di
goṛon 'hill'	*goṛon-di
reka 'wing'	reka-di
bōdel 'bride'	bōdel-di
paṣiṇ 'turmeric'	paṣiṇ-di
*iṣpurru 'God'	iṣpurru-di
narun 'man, mortal'	narun-di

(b) The few irregular cases of this class, viz. those that have unmarked oblique, are listed below:

ḍokri 'old woman', *gudeli* 'pick-axe', *goṛeli* 'axe',
goza ḍuḍu (compound) 'pointed stick' (but *ḍuḍu*
has *ḍuḍu-di*), *gumendi* 'pumpkin'.

(c) -ti occurs as the oblique formative of a few stems in final -m.

dūram 'distance'	dūram-ti-
dēsem 'country'	dēsem-ti-

Opposed to these are such forms as āgasam 'sky': āgasam-di-, guram 'horse': guram-di-, etc.

The oblique-genitive stem of the plural nouns in final {k~ku ∞ ŋ ~ ŋu} is regularly formed by the addition of -a to the plural form, e.g.

<i>Nominative stem</i> (in plural)	<i>Oblique stem</i>
'hands' ki-ku (sg. kiyu)	ki-k-a-
'legs' kāl-ku (sg. kālu)	kāl-k-a-
'cows' kōḍi-ŋ (sg. kōḍi)	kōḍi-ŋ-a-
'brides' bōḍe-k (sg. bōḍel)	bōḍe-k-a-
'people' lōku (sg. lōku)	lō-k-a-
'wings' reke-ŋ (sg. reka)	reke-ŋ-a-
'kings' rās-ku (sg. rāzu)	rās-k-a-
'daughters' gālsi-k (sg. gālsi)	gālsi-k-a-
'elder sisters' bībsi-k (sg. bībsi)	bībsi-k-a-
'fowls' koR-ku (sg. koru)	koR-k-a-

4.39. The oblique of masculine stems: All masculine nouns and all kinship terms in -si (of whatever gender) lack any special sign in the oblique. The nominative stem and the oblique stem are therefore undistinguished as to form, e.g.

rāzu 'king', marisi 'son', tambersi 'younger brother', etc.

Masculine nouns in plural -r (see § 4.12) form their oblique by the addition of -i:

<i>Masculine plural stem</i>	<i>Oblique stem</i>
'elder brothers' anasi-r	anasir-r-i
'parents' (yāya) buba-r	bubar-i-
'male children' koṛo-r	koṛo-r-i-

4.40. The following are the obliques of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (§ 4.16):

		<i>Masculine</i>			
		Nominative		Oblique	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
'that man'		vānru	vār (u)	van-i-	var-i-
'this man'		vēnru	vēr (u)	ven-i-	ver-i-
'which man'		ayen	ayer	ayen-i-	ayer-i
<i>Non-masculine</i>					
'that one: (she, it)'		adi	avi	dan-i-	vank-a-
'this one: (she, it)'		idi	ivi	den-i-	venk-a-
'which one? (she, it)'		ayedi	ayevi	?	?

All masculine nouns or pronominals which have final -r in 3rd plural regularly form their obliques by the addition of -i: ri-^{er} 'two men': ri^{er}-i, viz-er 'all men': vizer-i, etc.

The obliques of personal pronouns have been listed earlier (§ 4.31.).

4.41. Most of the adverbial nouns, nouns which are not distinguished for gender-number, form their obliques by the addition of -ti, e.g. kaṇḍek-ti, kālam-ti, gaṛek-ti, vēlam-ti, etc. (§ 4.30.). The following sandhi rule applies to stems in final -n, -l, and -r in the formation of oblique (see § 3.8, Rule 8):

$$// \dots \check{v} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ n \\ r \end{array} \right\} + ti // \rightarrow /Ri/$$

atal : ataRi, ital : itaRi, i^{en} : i^eRi, o^{en} : o^eRi, ḍagru (~*ḍagur-) : ḍaguRi, pendal : pendaRi, muṅgal : muṅgaRi, modol : modoRi, etc. belong to this type. In view of the regularity of this sandhi, it would be descriptively economical to account for sets like aḍgi : aḍgi-Ri, etc., by normalizing them as *aḍgiL : aḍgiRi, *vigeN : vigeRi, etc. where L, N = Ø before a terminal juncture; they behave like final /l n/ respectively before the oblique -ti. A complete list of such forms can be seen in § 4.30.

The Genitive Stem:

4.41. The oblique stem is identical in form with the possessive or genitive case in most cases. There are, however, a few exceptions:

(a) Two simple noun stems, *ilu* 'house', and *nāru* 'town', have their genitives formed on the locative base in singular by the addition of *-ni*; nom. *ilu* 'house' : loc. *inro* 'in house' : gen. *inro-ni* 'of house'; similarly, *nāru* : *nāto* : *nāto-ni* (cf. *nātonikar* 'the villagers, people in and belonging to the village').

(b) Three adverbial nouns denoting place, viz., *abe/bān* 'there', *ibe/bēn* 'here', *embe/eme* 'where' have their genitives formed by the addition of *-ni* with the application of the sandhi rule: //n + ni// → /ni/

abe-ni/bā-ni 'belonging there, of that place',

ibe-ni/bē-ni 'belonging here', *eme-ni* 'belonging where?'

(c) One adverbial noun **enda-* 'what' has its genitive by the addition of *-ni*, e.g. *enda-ni* 'of what?'

(d) A limited number of plural nouns in the oblique also take *-ni* in order to form a genitive, e.g. *rās-ku* 'kings' : obl. *rās?k-a-* 'of kings' : gen. *rās-k-a-ni-* 'belonging to kings', etc.

Genitive forms in *-ni* seem to denote a special type of genitive, with the relations of 'possession' and 'location' combined in one. Note the following examples:

aydu mūrṭiṅ-a-ni nūne (2.84) 'oil of five varieties'

ruṅḍi rāsk-a-ni būmi vantu (2.110) 'a share of land belonging to the two kings'

inro-ni savkari (3.26) 'the merchant in and of the house'

ēru gorok-aṅi namil poṭiṅ (6.117) 'the peacocks of (living on) the seven hills'

aydu gaḍeṅ-a-ni ēru 'the water out of five rivers'

aydu ilk-a-ni guḍuk 'eggs collected from five houses'

(e) Certain of the dissyllabic nouns ending -ŋ or -m have slight difference in form between the oblique and the genitive:

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Oblique</i>	<i>Genitive</i>
goron 'hill'	goron-di-	goro-iti-
maran 'tree'	maran-di-	mara-ti-
dēsem 'country'	dēsem-di-	dēsem-ti

4.42. The following examples illustrate the use of genitive forms in -di/-ti/-Ri (sg.) and in -a, -i (pl.):

-di: kusa-di ēru 'boiled water of vegetables'
reka-di kelu (7.179) 'feather of king'
koṛo-di pāṇam (4.124) 'life of the child'

-ti: dūram-ti lōkaṅ (2.108) 'people at distance'
goro-ti Koṇḍa dēvuṅ(ḍ) (7.40) 'The Koṇḍa God of hills'

-R: paṛmeṭi vaṛe-Ri mosop (2.94) 'The clouds of the West'

aḍgi-Ri iska (4.105) 'the sand at bottom'

venka-Ri paṇi (9.347) 'the later work'

-a: van-ka āram (2.97) 'their (non-masc. pl.) food'

zata daṇṇeṅ-a ban (3.98) 'to the place of his companions'

dēvuṅk-a pēr astan (6.73) 'naming (holding the name of) gods'

ārguru bōdek-a pāteṅ (9.318) 'the clothes of the six young women'

ruṅḍi kālka-a muveṅ (9.449) 'anklets of the two legs'

-i: anar-i nāṭo sonsina (9.464) 'I'm going into my brother's village'

kogri van-i ban (7.139) 'to the younger one's place'

ver-i inro vātar (7.216) 'they came to their house'

Zero genitive

aposi ban vātan (9.353) 'he came to the place of his father'

Accusative-Dative:

4.43. The accusative-dative is formed by the addition of *-ŋ* to the oblique stem in final {di ~ ti ~ Ri ∞ i ∞ Ø} in the singular, and in {a ∞ i} in the plural of both genders. The meaning range of this case is 'to, for, because of, for the sake of' denoting 'goal' ('object'), 'purpose', 'cause', and 'direction'. In the case of adverbial nouns (§ 4.30.) denoting 'time' and 'place', this suffix means 'at, by' (time), 'towards' (place).

The following examples illustrate the uses of the accusative:

Formed on zero oblique:

māp rāzu-ŋ veRtap (2.39) 'we told the king'

tambersi-ŋ veRtan (4.71) 'he told his younger brother'

bođu dokri-ŋ kūkta otar (7.186) 'they called and brought the mid-wife'

A stem-final *-a* of this class is changed to *-e* before the accusative-dative *-ŋ*, e.g.

đokra 'old man': đokri đokre-ŋ veRtad (6.4) 'the old woman said to the old man'.

buba 'father': bube-ŋ buba in'a (7.116) 'call your father', 'father!'

yāya 'mother': mi yāye-ŋ kūksi taga (7.143) 'call and bring your mother'.

Derived masculine nouns in *-n* in singular (§§ 4.14, 16.18) drop it before *ŋ*, i.e.

//guruyen + ŋ// → /guruyen/ 'the Guru' (acc.)

//ayen + ŋ// → /aye-ŋ/ 'whom'

aya guruye-ŋ osinar (2.60) 'they are bringing that Guru'

aye-ŋ veR'e (3.84) 'I wouldn't tell anyone'

4.44. Formed on the oblique stem in -di :

- nāṅ saras-di-ṅ naṅmud toRta (3.15) 'I have tied a cobra round my waist' (object)
- rēto-di-ṅ astan (3.61) 'he held a crab' (object)
- baṅa-di-ṅ . . . kāp kita maRar (4.36) 'they had been waiting for me from (on account of) hunger'.
- koṛordi-ṅ bitek-di-ṅ sitar (4.117) 'they gave the child (direct object) to Bitek' (indirect object)
- mūnzi-di-ṅ paṅi kina (5.74) 'I will do the work for the nose'
- paṅku baru-di-ṅ dēl'eṅḍa (5.155) 'in order that it would not float because of (with) the weight of the stone'
- būḍ-di-ṅ sona (5.171) 'I go for a bath'
- aye ilu-di-ṅ vār ātar (7.6) 'each one set up his home'
- oṅṭi gaṅṭa-di-ṅ pūza kinaṭ (2.97) 'let us do worship at 1 o'clock'

4.45. Formed on oblique in -a (after plural stems):

- kik-a-ṅ kālka-a-ṅ toRsi (2.36) 'tying hands and feet'
- mūnṛi gaṅṭeṅ-a-ṅ (2.75) 'at 3 O'clock'
- kōḍiṅ-a-ṅ sonaṭ (4.52) 'let us go to the cattle'
- aydu rōs-k-a-ṅ boḍu rāltad (7.30) 'after five days the naval cord fell off'
- lok-a-ṅ gopa kōpam vānad (7.67) 'great anger comes to man (anyone)'
- vank-a-ṅ pedik in'a (7.115) 'call them (females) your big aunts'
- moyeṅ-a-ṅ gaḍad sonaṭ (9.100) 'let us go to the river for fish'

4.46. Formed on oblique in -i:

- atek van-i-ṅ salva sitan (4.71) 'Atek gave him breakfast'

ven-i-ŋ negreŋda kinat̄ (7.200) 'we will take care of him'

var-i-ŋ pedar in²a (7.114) 'call them (your) big uncles'

vizer-i-ŋ kūkpisnat̄ (2.105) 'let us call them all'

moga koṛor-i-ŋ kūkte (7.171) 'they called the young men'

ayduguru marisir-i-ŋ nāl²er negikar (8.2) 'of the five sons, four were good ones (healthy ones)'

4.47. In the case of some of the adverbial nouns, the accusative -ŋ is used obligatorily to specify a point of time.

(a) Formed on zero oblique:

nāŋdi-ŋ 'on the day'

palna nāŋdiŋ . . . mosop kinad (2.72) 'on a certain day clouds will form'

eseŋ piṛu vātiŋa nāŋd-iŋ vitna (6.68) 'whenever it rains, on that day I will sow'

(b) Formed on oblique in -ti- or -ni-

vigeRi-ŋ (7.51) 'tomorrow'

enda-ni-ŋ āR āzi vātider² (9.350) 'what for (why) have come like that?'

4.48. The accusative-dative of personal pronouns is formed by the addition of -ŋi to the bound oblique (§ 4.31).

na-ŋi '(to) me' : ma-ŋi '(to) us (incl. and excl.)

ni-ŋi '(to) you' : maŋi 'to you (pl.)

4.49. When nouns denoting non-persons (i.e. animals, birds, and things) are used as objects, the use of the accusative morpheme is optional unlike the case of nouns denoting sex-characterized persons. Its form is therefore undistinguishable from that of the nominative (the uninflected form). The accusative use of such nouns is determined only on syntactic grounds such as the absence of concord with the predicate verb, which a noun in the nominative has; e.g.

- rēto řista (3.95) 'I released the crab'
 anam uṇ'a (4.31) 'eat food'
 sisu ertan (4.56) 'he lit fire'
 ilu sipatan (4.56) 'he cleared (swept) the house'
 kōḍiṇ mēptar (4.53) 'they grazed cattle'
 gineṇ taga (4.55) 'bring the pots'
 koṛu koynaṭ (6.75) 'let us cut a red fowl'
 ayli koṛo iybatad (7.22) 'she delivered a female child'

There are more instances of unmarked accusative than of accusative, marked by one of the suffixes described above.

Instrumental-Ablative:

4.50. This case is formed by adding -aṇḍ to the oblique stem in singular in {ti/Ri/di} with the application of the following sandhi rule:

$$// \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ R \end{array} \right\} i + aṇḍ // \rightarrow / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ R \end{array} \right\} + aṇḍ/.$$

The general meaning of ablative is 'by, by means of, with (instrumental)'; when added to noun stems denoting 'time' and 'place', it means 'from, since' (ablative).

(a) Instrumental uses:

mulu ḍuḍu-d-aṇḍ ... ḍaṇṇa (7.68) 'I shall strike (her) with (my) pointed stick'

kata-d-aṇḍ pāṭa-d-aṇḍ (8.5) 'joyfully' (lit. 'with stories and songs')

yā pane-d-aṇḍ ḍūsay āpir (9.188) 'let them comb their hair with this comb'

poṭiṇaṇ guṇḍu-d-aṇḍ eRnan (9.250) 'he would shoot birds with pellets'

(b) Ablative uses:

aya samasram-d-aṇḍ piṛu pālistad (2.102) 'from that year on, it continued to rain'

gopa dūram-t-aṅḍ vāzinap (4.109) 'we are coming from a great distance'

āgasam-d-aṅḍ nūlu ḍiptan (9.155) 'he dropped out a thread from the sky'

When -aṅḍ is added to the obliques of adverbial nouns of time and place, it means 'from' or 'since':

nāṅḍiR-aṅḍ ḍoḡa budi řista sitad (1.67) 'from that day onwards she abandoned her habit of theft'

palna vařeR-aṅḍ mosop kinad (2.72) 'clouds will form in a certain direction'

sālam loʹiR-aṅḍ (3.13) 'from inside the cave'

nēR-aṅḍ (7.42) 'from today onwards'

vēnru venkaR-aṅḍ sonisinan (8.41) 'this man was going from behind'

4.51. Independent Ablative: There is one type of exclusive ablative formed by adding -ṅ to the genitive-oblique stems in -ṅi (§ 4.41).

ibeṅi-ṅ kata anditad (4.152) 'at this point the story has ended'

abeṅi-ṅ vānru dinami gaḍad sonan (7.16) 'from then on, daily, he would go to the river'

budi nesti bāṅi-ṅ (7.17) 'from the time he had any awareness of himself'

bāṅi-ṅ gōla-kideṅ řistan (7.77) 'thenceforth, he stopped scolding (her)'

inroṅi-ṅ mari ayli kořok anam tate (7.157) 'then the women folk brought food from the house'

The use of the instrumental-ablative in plural is rare, but the informant has given forms like marak-a-ṅ 'from trees' as grammatical, but no such use has been recorded in any text. There is apparently no formal contrast between the marked accusative-dative and the other marked non-nominative cases in the plural.

Locative:

4.52. The locative case is formed on the uninflected (nominative) stem by the addition of the locative morpheme which has three groups of variants in the singular: (a) -t(u)/-d(u)/-R(u); (b) [*-to/-do]-to/-ro; (c) -i. In the plural, the locative case form is identical with the accusative-dative and is rarely used. The meaning of the locative is 'in, on, into, onto, etc.'

(a) -tu ~ -t-: -tu after a consonant, -t after a vowel; in simple elicitation forms, it is always -tu.

mada rey-tu (5.28) 'in the middle of the night'

guḍedi gaṭ-tu aysi niRad (7.149) 'the mother stood on the ridge of the field'

āgaspūr-tu sonsi (9.196) 'having gone into Agaspur'

Final -n of dissyllabic stems is regularly lost before -t(u):

goron 'hill': goro-t(u) soRan (1.7) 'he went into the forest'

maran 'tree': mara-t ektan (3.49) 'he climbed (on) the tree'

-du ~ -d : -du after a consonant and -d after a vowel.

sar-du ne veyu kākta manar (4.35) 'they have been (waiting) with their mouths open on the way itself'

nī vey-du ne sūṇa na (6.32) 'shall I only look at (into) your mouth?'

ḍokri gusil-du bastad (6.40) 'the old woman sat on a stump'

zutu-d astan (3.37) 'he caught (the horse) by its mane'

ḡaḍa-d ḡigitad (3.51) 'it got into the water'

kuṛka-d zāva bāṭa kitan (4.25) 'he served food in a bowl'

sisu-d basti maRiṇ (5.105) 'as they sat near the fire'

- R(u): //ǃL_i + t(u) // → /ǃR(u) /
 goneR(u) 'kitchen' : goneR(u) mūladn (1.35) 'in a corner in the kitchen'
 nađil 'living room' : unri pīngu nađiR(u) iđtan (5.103) 'he put a corpse in the middle of the house'
 orol 'body' : nā oroR(u) arginad (7.127) 'it will wear out on my body'

- (b) For a few items, the locative has basic variants -to ~ -do with sandhi variants -to and -ro, as follows:

- 'village' //nāru + to// → /nā-to/ 'in the village'
 'house' //ilu + do// → /in-ro/ 'in the house'
 'fire place' //solu + do// → /son-ro/ 'in the fire place'
 unri nāto soRad (3.23) 'it went into a village'
 inro soRan (9.287) 'he went into the house'
 sonro perku peRtan (8.294) 'he put rice on the fire place'

- (c) Stems ending in -m take -i ~ Ø to form locative:
 -i: sālam-i nores maRad (3.2) 'in the cave, there was a tiger'

rēkam-i tōlu vaRisna (6.151) 'I shall dry the skin on the front roof'

aya pīngudiņ guzam(-i) piņđitan (5.138) 'he carried the corpse on his shoulder'

kōva rāzu paņnam(-i) piru siled (2.10) 'there is no rain in the city of the Kova King'

There are several clear cases of locative formed on plural oblique stems by the addition of -ŋ. As stated earlier the locative plural is formally not distinct from the accusative-dative plural, e.g.

ruņđi āku reken-a-ŋ zāva bāta kitad (6.89) 'she served food in the two pieces of leaves'

yā paņkun-a-ŋ nilsi mā anar ēru iybapir izi... (8.153) 'thinking that my brothers will stand on these stones and take a bath...'

Postpositions:

4.53. Certain adverbial nouns (§ 4.30) occur after the genitive-oblique stems with case-meanings like 'below, above, for the purpose of, with (committative or associative) etc.'

loʔi 'in': sālam loʔi (3.11) 'in the cave'

-ban 'place': mī bubari ban e manʔa (9.522) 'stay at your father's place'

-daka 'until'

-vandiṅ 'for the purpose of': yāka nā vandiṅ e tasi maRad (9.499) 'she has brought it only for my sake'

-vale 'in company with': mā āgas pūrtu mā vale batkipir (9.537) 'let you live with us in our Agaspur'

Others include venka 'behind', musku 'above', ədgi 'below', etc., which generally occur after the uninflected stems:

Problems in the Analysis of Case Morphemes:

4.54. The following chart presents the case morphemes as they occur after the noun stem.

	Singular	Plural
	Ø	Ø
Nominative	(a) -ti, -Ri, -di,	} -a, -i, -a-ṅi
Genitive	- Ø, -i	
	(b) -to-ṅi,	
	(c) -ro-ṅi	} -a-ṅ
	(a) -ṅi, -ni	
	-tin, -Rin, -din,	
	Ø	} -i-ṅ
Dative-accusa-	(a) -tand, -Rand,	
tive	-dand	
	(b) -to-ṅi-ṅ,	} -a-ṅ
Instrumental-	-ro-ṅi-ṅ	
ablative	(c) -ṅi-ṅ, -ni-ṅ	
	(a) -tu, -Ru, -du	} -a-ṅ
	(b) -to, -ro	
Locative	(c) -i	

4.55. A study of this chart and the foregoing description of case-formation in Konđa reveals the following points:

(a) There is a five-way contrast in singular forms and only a three way contrast in the plural forms, *-aŋ* serving as an ambiguous marker of three of the four marked cases in plural. This explains the infrequent use of case-inflection for nouns in plural for instrumental-ablative and locative. The plural *-aŋ* form is used more frequently in the accusative-dative than in the other cases.

(b) In the singular, the genitive morphs of Group (a) recur in the accusative-dative, and those of Groups (b) and (c) recur in instrumental-ablative; in the plural also, the genitive morph *-a* recurs in all the marked cases. Such a consistent formal recurrence of certain segments has necessitated the setting up of an oblique base which is formally identified with the genitive. Functionally (distributionally), however, nouns in the genitive case are all adjectival, syntactically bound to a following noun head, whereas the oblique base is an extended stem bound to case morphemes.

(c) Dative-accusative and instrumental-ablative are shown to be formed on the oblique stem as follows:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
dative-accusative	obl. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ti \\ Ri \\ di \end{array} \right\} + \eta$	obl. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ i \end{array} \right\} + \eta$
instrumental-ablative	obl. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ti \\ Ri \\ di \end{array} \right\} + a\eta$	obl. $a + \eta$

Even the locative could have been based on the oblique by interpreting *-tu*, *-Ru*, *-du* as oblique stem + *u*, with a sandhi rule:

$$C/\eta \left\{ \begin{array}{c} ti \\ Ri \\ di \end{array} \right\} + u \rightarrow C \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ R \\ d \end{array} \right\} + u \sim V \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ R \\ d \end{array} \right\} + \emptyset$$

4.56. There is, however, a problem here since the morphophonemic distribution of $\{t \sim R \sim d\}$ of the locative is

not parallel to the distribution of {ti~Ri~di} of the oblique (§ 4.37ff). For instances, notice the following discrepancies between the stem variants occurring in the accusative-dative, on the one hand, and the locative, on the other:

	Oblique	Acc. -dat.	Loc.
gaṭu 'bank'	gaṭu-di	gaṭu-di-ŋ	gaṭ-tu
reyu 'night'	reyu-di	reyu-di-ŋ	rey-tu
ilu 'house'	ilu-di	ilu-di-ŋ	in-ro
nāru 'village'	nāru-di	nāru-di-ŋ	nā-ṭo
gātu 'lap'	gātu-di	gātu-di-ŋ	gā-tu
sālam 'cave'	sālam-ti	sālam-ti-ŋ	sālam-i
sari 'way'	sari-di	sari-di-ŋ	sar-du
kiyu 'hand'	kiyu-di	kiyu-di-ŋ	kī-du
veyu 'mouth'	veyu-di	veyu-di-ŋ	vey-du

For goneRu (//gonel-tu//), naḍiRu (//naḍil-tu//) and oṛoRu (//oṛol-tu//) no corresponding forms in other cases have been recorded in the data. We therefore do not know if the obliques of these stems have forms like oṛol-di or oṛo-Ri, etc. cf. bōdel-di-ŋ (1.3) where /ld/ is a phonologically permissible sequence; /oṛol/ without inflection occurs in accusative-dative in 3.20. In view of such discrepancies in distribution, the locative suffixes have not been analysed as sequences of oblique + a locative morpheme.

4.57. According to the analysis finally adopted here, the case suffixes shown in Chart I may be rearranged as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	Ø	Ø
Oblique-genitive stem	(a) -ti, -Ri, -di, Ø, i (b) -ṭo-ŋi, ro-ŋi (c) -ŋi, -ni	(a) a, i (b) aŋi
Dative-accusative	obl. (a) +ŋ	obl. (a) +ŋ
Instrumental-ablative	(a) obl. (a) + aŋd (b) obl. { (b) } + ŋ (c) { (c) }	obl. +ŋ obl. +ŋ
Locative	(a) -t (u), -R(u), -d(u) (b) -to, -ṭo, -ro (c) -i, -Ø	obl. +ŋ

4.58. An alternative analysis may interpret the genitive also as oblique-based, by taking t/d/R as the oblique formatives and -i as the genitive in singular. Here, a difficulty arises with the plural -a and -i, which cannot be similarly split up into oblique + genitive. On the other hand, such an analysis is typologically unsuited to a Dravidian language in which the genitive is strictly not a 'case' and is rarely distinct from the oblique in form. A more complicated analysis could make the locative also oblique based by setting up two sub-classes of oblique stems with (c) t~R~d (d) ṭ ~ r, which occur before locative -u and -o respectively. But these oblique stems lack the genitive function like those of the other sub-classes (see Chart in § 4.57: oblique (a) and (b)). In view of such difficulties, the present analysis has been considered economical and as revealing the true structure of the case system in Konḍa.

5. ADJECTIVES

5.1. Adjectives are a class of words, primarily identifiable by their syntactic function as attributes to the following nouns. The justification for taking adjectives as a word class is the existence of a few monomorphemic forms which exclusively function as adjectivals (syntactic adjectives). There is also a class of morphological adjectives which underlie derived pronominals (§ 4.18, 5.7). In addition, certain derivative suffixes serve to identify a few subclasses of adjectives at the word level. All adjectives may be broadly classified into three morphologic types, viz. simple, complex, and compound.

SIMPLE ADJECTIVES

5.2. These are all monomorphemic words which function as attributes to nouns, viz.

(a) *Demonstrative and Interrogative Adjectives*: aya 'that', yā 'this', aye 'what?'. These also have morphologically bound variants (see § 4.16).

(b) *Descriptive Adjectives*: izri 'small', oko 'one', mega 'male', maRsa 'next' in maRsa nāṇḍu 'next day', pasa 'back' in pasa vaṛe 'back side, behind', peri 'big', gopa 'great', negri/negi 'good', kogri 'young, small', seʔi 'bad', āʔi 'another', kota 'new', pasi 'raw', paṛya 'old', mansi 'good, very', vokori 'curved, bent', kuri 'short', niri 'tall', pina 'young', palna 'certain', vaRi 'mere, simple', lēta 'young, tender', subṛi 'small (of quantity of food)'.

(c) *Bound Adjectives*: (i) Numeral adjectives: The numerals 1 to 3 have bound variants involved in compounds

(§ 4.3); e.g. or- 'one': or neṇḍ 'one day', ri- 'two': ri neṇḍ (9.80) 'two days only', mu- 'three': mu neṇḍ 'three days only'; or-, ri-, mu-, and nāl- can also occur bound to the derivative suffixes -en 'man' and -?er 'men' (see § 4.33), or pronominal suffixes in derived pronominals (see § 4.34).

(ii) Another subclass of bound adjectives consists of forms having restricted cooccurrence with certain noun heads in compounds (see §§ 4.24 (a), 4.25).

bānz raza (9.215) 'barren king'

bānz raṇi (9.215) 'barren queen'

sir naruṇ(ḍ) (9.494) 'frail human'

saya adam (9.162)

maya adam (9.162) } 'front and back, mirrors(?)', etc.

COMPLEX ADJECTIVES

5.3. All derived adjectives consisting of a single root but more than one morpheme belong to this class. The following subclasses may be set up in terms of the stem classes from which they are derived.

5.4. *Derived from Adjectives:*

Certain derivative suffixes are added to bound or free adjectival roots to derive complex adjectives, e.g.

(a) na-ni 'that sort of', na-so 'that much'; ni-ni 'this sort of', ni-so 'this much'; e-so 'how much?' are derived from na-, ni-, and e-, respectively, which are bound allomorphs of the demonstrative and interrogative adjectives aya 'that', yā 'this', and aye 'what?' by the addition of the derivative suffixes -ni 'manner', -so 'quantity'.

(b) Two constructions, nasti vale 'that time, then', esti vale 'what time? when?', involve the complex adjectives, nasti 'that', esti 'what?', which are derived from bound demonstrative and interrogative allomorphs nas- and es- by the addition of the adjectival stem formative -ti.

(c) Complex adjectives are derived by the addition of -ni and -ti/-ḍi to certain bound or free adjectival roots.

-ni:

*era- 'red'	: era-ni
*tela- 'white'	: tela-ni
*tiya- 'sweet'	: tiya-ni
*ves- 'hot'	: ves-ni
*sala- 'cold'	: sala-ni
*kaṛi- 'black'	: kaṛ-ni
*sika- 'thick'	: sika-ni

-ti/-di

mis- 'superior'	: mis-ti
sapur- 'lean'	: sapur-ti
mansi 'good'	: mansi-di
viḍi 'separate'	: viḍi-di
veri 'mad'	: veri-di

5.5. *Derived from Nouns:*

(a) The oblique-genitive stems of nouns (including demonstrative pronouns), formed by the addition of -ti/ -di/ -Ri/ -i/-ṇi in the singular, and -i, -a, -aṇi in the plural, function adjectivally when followed by nouns (§§ 4.37-42).

Singular:

- ti: goro-ti koṇḍa dēvuṇ 'the Koṇḍa God of the hills'
- di: kaṅkadi pāpam (8.204) 'sin of the eyes'
- Ri: itaRi kaṇer (8.190) 'the tears of this side'
- i: van-i sokeṇ pāteṇ (9.143) 'his shirts and dhoti'
- ven-i kaṅku (9.141) 'this man's eyes'
- ṇi: eme-ṇi 'of which place?', bā-ṇi 'of that place', nāṭo-ṇi 'of village', inro-ṇi 'of house'.

Plural:

- i: var-i 'of those men', ver-i 'of these men'
- ayer-i 'of which men?', ri'er-i 'of two men'
- vizer-i 'of all men'
- a: ruṇḍi kālka-a muveṇ (9.449) 'bells of two legs'
- bōdek-a kīdu (9.386) 'in the hand(s) of the young women', vank-a pāteṇ (9.329) 'their (of women) clothes'

-aṇi : ēṇu gorok-aṇi namil poṭiṇ (6.117)
 'the peafowls of the seven hills'.

(b) The oblique-genitive stems of personal pronouns nā 'my', mā 'our' (incl. and excl.), nī 'your', mī 'your', are used adjectivally: nā kaṅku (9.157) 'my eyes', mā dēsam (9.167) 'our country, nī mansu kiti lakeṇḍa (9.120) 'as you like....', mī māmariban (9.522) 'to the place of your father-in-law'.

(c) A small class of nouns denoting measures are changed into adjectives by the addition of -eṇḍ 'ful' :

aḍa 'a measure of grain' : aḍ-eṇḍ sāma perkaṅ (8.450)
 'an aḍa of millets'

kuṇḍa 'pot' : kuṇḍ-eṇḍ ēru (9.235) 'potful of water'
 tūm 'a measure' : oko tūm-eṇḍ perku (9.15) 'a tūmful of rice'

muda 'lump' : mud-eṇḍ paṣiṅ (9.235) 'lump of turmeric'

muṭi 'fist' : muṭ-eṇḍ iska (8.382) 'handful of sand'

*sēra 'palm' : sēr-eṇḍ iska (8.450) 'palmful of sand'

5.6. Derived from Verbs:

Verbal stems with the tense-mode morphs -t- past, -n- non-past, -?- negative, become adjectives by the addition of -i-.

Past adjective in -t-i :

avi ros-t-i batem (9.22) 'the provision that they collected'

nīnu paṅs-t-i paṇi (9.68) 'the work that you have entrusted (to me)'

alpa-t-i maRi-pūṇu (9.149) 'the flowers that he had sewn (into a garland)'

Non-past adjective in -n-i :

nīn so-n-i saṛiṇe ra'a (9.424) 'come the same way that you go'

sari maṭ-n-i vēladu (9.426) 'at the time of (his) setting out on the path'

los-n-i u-ṇ-i varin (8.427) 'people who beg and eat'

poṭa as-n-i naso (8.298) 'as much as his stomach holds'

Negative adjective -ʔ-i :

eseŋ re-ʔ-i dēsem (9.35) 'place which (I) have never visited'

5.7. *Bound Adjectives*: Syntactically free adjectives, simple or complex, acquire a stem formative -k- (§ 4.18) when they are involved in morphologically derived pronouns formed by the addition of the personal suffixes.

	sg.	pl.
1st pers.	-a	-ap (excl.) -aʔ (incl.)
2nd pers.	-i	-ider
3rd pers. masc.	-an	-ar
non-masc.	-a(d)	-e(ŋ)

negi-k-a 'I am (a) good (one)'

negi-k-ap 'we (excl.) are good (ones)'

negi-k-aʔ 'we (incl.) are good (ones)'

negi-k-i 'you (sg.) are (a) good (one)'

negi-k-ider 'you (pl.) are good (ones)'

negi-k-an 'he is (a) good (one)'

negi-k-ar 'they (men) are good (ones)'

negi-k-a(d) 'it is (a) good (one)'

negi-k-e(ŋ) 'they (women/objects) are good (ones)'

Adjectives which are not syntactically free include those listed above and those with restricted cooccurrence like moga 'male' (restricted to koro 'child'), maRsa (restricted to nāŋdu), pasa 'back' (before vare 'direction'), etc.

A few complex adverbs in final -ŋ take -ti-/ -di-, to which -k- is added before personal suffixes.

sala 'cold' : derived adv. sala-ŋ 'being cold', sala-ŋ-di-k-ad 'that which is cold (non-masc.)'; similarly, tela-ŋ-di-k-ad 'that which is whitish', etc.; alternatively, formed directly from adjectives: sala-ni-k-ad, tela-ni-kad, etc. (§ 5.4c) There is also a noun root doŋa 'thief' to which -ti-k-ad, etc. is added : doŋa-ti-k-ad 'a thievish woman, thief'.

5.8. *Nominal Adjectives*: Many words that are basically nouns function as adjectivals in endocentric compounds with noun heads. Subject to, perhaps, semantic congruence, almost any uninflected noun can occur as a modifier of a following noun in endocentric constructions. These nominal adjectives, however, exclude uninflected pronouns and adverbial nouns but include cardinal numerals (italicized words are nouns used attributively), e.g.

(a) *ḍokra ḍokri poṭad* (1.1.) 'out of the womb of an old man and an old woman...'

yā panri kaṇḍa (8.235) 'this pig's flesh'

rāzu gālsiṅ (9.8) 'king's daughters'

seru gopud (9.143) 'on the bank of the tank'

namil poṭi puri (9.450) 'the feathers of a pea-fowl'

sēru rāku (9.538) 'yoke of oxen'

paṇṭa vantu (9.538) 'share of crop'

In phrases where the noun used attributively is inflected, we would expect forms with the genitive suffix *-di*, etc. like *seru-di gopu*, *paṇṭa-di vantu*, etc.

(b) Numerals with non-masculine or masculine classifiers can occur either as nouns or as attributes to nouns, e.g.

unri māṭa (9.59) 'one word'

ruṇḍi kālka muveṅ (9.449) 'the bells of two legs'

mūnri dinamku (9.279) 'three days'

nālgi rōsku (6.100) 'four days'

aydu paṇṭeṅ (9.395) 'five years (crops)'

āru bōdek (9.5) 'six young women'

ēru pāseṅ (9.348) 'seven dhotis', etc.

oren tambersi (8.480) 'one younger brother'

ri'er maṛisir (1.1) 'two sons'

nāl'er anar (8.146) 'four elder brothers'

ayduguru maṛisir (8.1) 'five sons'

ārguru onisik (9.21) 'six sisters-in-law'

ērguru bōdek (9.265) 'seven young women'

(c) Other determinatives used attributively : *esoṭ dinam-kaṅ* (9.24) 'for how many days?' *vizu sarku* (9.43) 'the whole

stuff', niso dinamku (9.53) 'this many days', nisoṛ rōsku (9.189) 'these many days'.

COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

5.9. Those observed in the data collected are generally iterative adjectives or nouns used attributively:

kogri kogri pāseṅ (9.345) 'small small pieces of cloth'

ḍagru ḍagru poṭiṅ (9.253) 'the birds (acc.) very nearby'

6. VERBS

6.1. Verbs are a class of words inflected for the categories of tense and/or mode. The nucleus of a verb form is a verb stem.

Verb stems are either simple, or complex, or compound. A simple stem is a single root; a complex stem has one root followed by one or more derivational morphemes; a compound stem has more than one root, and may include one or more derivational or inflectional affixes — the whole sequence constituting a single nucleus of the verb.

SIMPLE VERB

6.2. Simple stems are all monomorphemic roots with the following canonical forms:

(a) Monosyllabic:

(1) (C)V ending in i e a o; total 8. These are: ki- 'do', ke- '(person) does not want', le- 'get up', ta-/te- 'bring', sa- 'proceed', o- 'carry' no- 'pain', lo- 'take out'.

(2) (C) \bar{v} ending in \bar{i} \bar{e} \bar{a} \bar{o} \bar{u} ; total 9; these are: mī- 'graze (cattle)', sī-/si- 'give', vē/ve- 'be burnt', *ā- 'become', vā- 'come', sō- 'come out, to show up', dū- 'grow', pū- 'blossom', rū- 'plough'.

(3) (C)VC ending in any consonant other than $\bar{?}$, h, z, and m; total 104. Of this total, 79 end in obstruents and the remaining in sonorants; e.g. sik- 'laugh', maṭ- 'tread on', vit- 'sow', tup- 'sneeze', as- 'hold', veR- 'ask', diḡ- 'dismount', iḡ- 'place, put', ked- 'boil' (Sova dial.); sab- 'get rotten (as food)';

sur- 'roast'; riŋ- 'swallow', uŋ- 'eat or drink', tin- 'eat, chew', al- 'twine, as creeper', suŋ 'see', ar- 'fall', koy- 'cut', tev- 'be snapped'.

(4) (C)VC where the final C is any consonant except ʔ , h, ɖ, m, and n; total 79, of which 56 roots end in obstruents and 23 in sonorants; e.g. vāk- 'to pour down', ɖāt- 'hop or jump', pit- 'blow wind', māp- 'exterminate', kās- 'give birth to', ōR 'butcher', mūg- 'be closed up', ūd- 'get wet', sūb- 'kiss, smack', vīz- 'be finished', tōr 'appear', ɖāŋ- 'hide oneself', sūŋ- 'see' (variant of suŋ-), rāl- 'fall off', gūr- 'sleep', kūŋ- 'meet, join', kāy- 'warm oneself at fire', nāv- 'cross (as a river)'.

(5) (C)VCC- where the final consonant of the cluster (not a geminate) is mostly an obstruent; in one case, however, it is /ŋ/; total 35; e.g. uRk- 'run away', terp- 'put to sleep', kaŋs- 'defecate', muŋg- 'be drowned', paŋd- 'ripen', dand- 'kick', enz- 'remain, be left over', namb- '(lamp) to be put off', toŋŋ- 'be spilt (as water, etc.)'.

(6) (C)VCC where the final consonant is an obstruent p/b, s/z, ɖ or d; total 13; e.g. ōŋp- 'wash hair', ūŋs- 'sweep', rōmb- 'rest', ēnd- 'dance', nēnz- 'breathe'.

(b) Dissyllabic :

(7) (C)VCV where the final vowel is any short vowel; total 19; e.g. sipa- 'sweep', teli- 'be known', ale- 'remain quiet', kere- 'crow (as cock)', muru- 'lose', poro- 'fall on one side (as a tree cut off at root)'. A large number of these end in -i.

(8) (C)VCVC. There are only three roots of this type which end in -y, -l, and -r each; karay- 'mock at', peŋel- 'explode, break off', visir- 'throw, fling'.

(9) (C)VCCV where the final vowel is -i; total 35, e.g. itki- 'wear flowers in the braid', turbi-, 'insert' piŋgi- 'be covered by cloth', etc. There are five roots in -pa/-ba, but it is doubtful if they are simple or complex (see § 6.7), tuRpa- 'worship', sinpa- 'shave', arba- 'cry', porpa- 'cover one's body with clothing', uRpa- 'wear a loin cloth round waist'.

(10) (C) $\bar{V}CCV$. There is only one root of this form, viz. *nēgri-* '(flames) to rage'.

(11) (C) $\bar{V}CVCC$. There is only one root of this type, viz. *ārays-* 'digest'.

(12) There are six roots with (C) $\bar{V}C$ -is and with (C) $\bar{V}C$ -is, in which -is looks more like a derivative morpheme (see § 6.4) though corresponding simple roots without -is are not available in the data. (C) $\bar{V}C$ -is: *tegis-* 'end one's life' (cf. Te. *tegin-* id.), *miṛis-* 'clean utensils by scrubbing', *muṭis-* 'light (fire)', *viris-* 'lay open (as a book)', *vaḍis-* 'serve (food)' (cf. Te. *vaḍinc-* id.), *zalis-* 'brew (liquor)' (cf. Te. *jallinc-* 'to filter'); (C) $\bar{V}C$ -is : *iṛis-* 'drag, pull', *ḍēlis-* 'call', *pālis-* 'sustain' (cf. Te. *pālin-* id.), *māris-* 'greet', *zōlis-* 'filter'.

Similarly, there is a small class of 4 roots of (C) $\bar{V}C$ -pa type where the final -pa looks like a reflexive morpheme though (C) $\bar{V}C$ of these does not occur without it; *ārpa-* 'shout, cry', *ūrpa-* 'wash one's hands and feet', *tīrpa-* 'clean mud floor with cow dung solution', *nēspa-* 'clean rice from impurities'; *visaris-* 'ponder', is the only example of a trisyllabic root but again the final -is is suspicious.

The most favourite types of roots in *Konḍa* are monosyllables, particularly those ending in C or CC i.e. (C) $\bar{V}C$, (C) $\bar{V}CC$, (C) $\bar{V}C$, (C) $\bar{V}CC$. These four types account for 231 roots out of a total of 322 available in the data.

COMPLEX STEMS

6.3. Complex stems have at least two constituents each, viz. a simple root and a derivative suffix. The derivative suffixes are usually those which form transitive/causative or reflexive stems.

6.4. The most common type of forming a transitive/causative stem is by the addition of a morpheme of transition/causation, viz. /s ~ is ∞ pis ~ bis/, to the root:

(a) -s occurs after roots ending in -i. Most of them are of the types: (C) $\bar{V}Ci$ or (C) $\bar{V}CCi$.

<i>Root</i>	<i>Derived stem in transitive/causative</i>
ubi- 'swell'	ubi-s-
urmi- 'be flung off'	urmi-s-
turbi- 'insert'	turbi-s-
daRki- 'be startled'	daRki-s-
nalŋi- 'be crushed'	nalŋi-s-
nigri- 'be stretched out'	nigri-s-
paŋbi- 'grobe'	paŋbi-s-
raŋi- 'be pounded'	raŋi-s-
vargi- 'speak, talk'	vargi-s-
tigi- 'be pressed down'	tigi-s-

(b) -pis occurs after roots of the (C) ṽC types in final voiceless obstruents; -is occurs in free variation with -pis after voiceless consonants in most cases, but after voiced obstruents -pis never occurs; only -is occurs after the (C) ṽCC-types.

(i) -is/-pis

ūk- 'play wipe'	ūk-is-/-pis-
ūs- 'apply (as oil)'	ūs-is-/-pis-
kaṭ- 'bite'	kaṭ-is-/-pis-
kis- 'pinch'	kis-is-/-pis-
kīs- 'scratch, scrape'	kīs-is-/-pis-
gut- 'pierce'	gut-is-/-pis-
get- 'neck out'	get-is-/-pis-
ḍas- 'pound'	ḍas-is-/-pis-
nek- 'expel'	nek-is-/-pis-
ney- 'weave'	ney-is-/-pis-

(ii) -pis

kas- 'hold tight'	kas-pis-
kāk- 'open up'	kāk-pis-
kūk- 'call'	kūk-pis-
dōs- 'plunder'	dōs-pis-
sik- 'smile'	sik-pis-
sōk- 'clean body at bath'	sōk-pis-

(iii) -is:

uRk- 'run'	uRk-is-
ur- 'bull with horns'	ur-is-
ūr- 'be overboiled'	ūr-is-
ūz- 'crawl'	ūz-is-
kas- 'be lit up'	kas-is-

toR- 'build'	toR-is-
tōr 'appear'	tōr-is-
doRk- 'be got, obtained'	doRk-is-
nūr 'crush'	nūr-is-
por- 'sell'	por-is-
ōrp- 'cleanse hair with water'	ōrp-is-
maṭ- 'trample'	maṭ-is-
*muṭ- 'catch fire'	muṭ-is-
vaR- 'be dried up'	vaR-is-
veR- 'say to'	veR-is-

(iv) Before -pis, the following changes take place in stems: uṅ- > ūṭ-, tin- > tīR-, nāv- > nā-; per- > *perg- before -is.

uṅ- 'drink'	ūṭ-pis-
tin- 'eat'	tīR-pis-
nāv- 'cross (a river)'	nā-pis-
per- 'lift up'	perg-is-

(v) In the following the root final -s is lost before -pis.

ūrs- 'sweep (floor)'	ūr-pis-
gels- 'escape win'	gel-pis-
bals- 'grow stout'	bal-pis-

(vi) -pis has a variant -bis after a few monosyllabic roots ending in i or y; the final -s of ris- is lost:

*iy- 'bathe'	iy-bis-
ki- 'do'	ki-bis-
sī- 'give'	sī-bis-
ris- 'release, let off'	ri-bis-

(vii) There is one root of the (C)V- type which takes -pis in forming causative: ta- 'bring': ta-pis- 'cause to bring'.

6.5. A second type of formation of a transitive/causative stem is by the addition of -p to the root.

Root	Derived stem
kūr- 'join'	kūr-p- 'attach, put together'
ḍig- 'descend'	ḍi-p- 'bring down'
tuns- 'break'	tun-p- 'break'
nil- 'stand'	nil-p- 'keep up, set up'
nērs- 'learn'	nēr-p- 'train, teach'
mur- 'be lost'	mur-p- 'lose'
mey- 'graze'	mē-p- 'graze' (tr.)

mel- 'trip down'

rāl- 'fall

(as leaves, fruit)'

sā- 'die'

son- 'go, pass'

sō- 'come out'

mel-p- 'fell'

rāl-p- 'shed'

sa-p- 'kill'

sol-p- 'lose'

sō-p- 'expel, drive out'

Note the changes in the roots: $\text{ḡig-} > \text{ḡi-}$, $\text{tuns-} > \text{tun-}$,
 $\text{nērs-} > \text{nēr-}$, $\text{mey-} > \text{mē-}$, $\text{sā-} > \text{sa-}$, $\text{son-} > \text{sol-}$, before p.

6.6. A third type involves roots of (C) \bar{V} C, (C)VCC(i) types in which the final -C is a voiced obstruent, v or ṅ, and -CC a sequence of homorganic nasal + voiced obstruent. The transitive/causative stems of these are formed by replacing root final sequences -C or -CC(i) by a voiceless obstruent of the same series as that of the last C. The replaced and replacing sequences are as follows:

Root final -C, -CCi		Transitive/causative formative
-ṅ/-ṅi, -g/-gi	>	-k
-nz/-nzi	>	-s
-d-	>	-t
-mb, -v/-vi	>	-p
-nri	>	-R
(a) -ṅ/-ṅi, -g/-gi > -k		
kuṛ-ṅi- 'form pits'		kuṛ-k- 'hollow out'
ḡa-ṅ- 'be beaten'		ḡa-k- 'beat'
toṛ-ṅi- 'be spilt'		toṛ-k- 'spill'
dū-ṅ- 'be shaken'		dū-k- 'shake off'
ni-ṅ- 'rise, get up'		ni-k- 'raise, wake'
piṛ-gi- 'be covered with'		piṛ-k- 'cover with'
muṛ-g- 'sink'		muṛ-k- 'dip'
mū-g- 'be closed'		mū-k- 'close'
va-ṅ- 'bend (intr.)'		va-k- 'bend (tr.)'
sā-g- 'be stretched out'		sā-k- 'stretch out'
zō-ṅ- 'reel in intoxication'		zō-k- 'make body lose control'

In a few items a voiced velar consonant of a final -C(V) is replaced by a voiceless labial in transitive/causative:

ḡi-g- 'descend'

nal-ṅi 'be squeezed in
handling'

ḡi-p- 'cause to descend'

nal-p- 'squeeze'

- (b) $-z/-nz > -s$
 ki-nz- 'be torn' ki-s- 'tear'
 mar-zi- 'learn' mar-s- 'teach'
- (c) $-d > -t$
 ūd- 'get wet' ūt- 'soak'
- (d) $-mb, -m, -v > -p$
 i-mb- 'fly off' i-p- 'let fly'
 kā-mb- 'be boiled' kā-p- 'boil'
 te-v- 'be cut off' te-p- 'cut'
 na-mb- 'be put off' na-p- 'put out'
 tir-vi- 'be turned' tir-p- 'turn about'
- (e) $-nri > -R$
 ni-nri- 'be filled' ni-R- 'fill'

6.7. A reflexive stem is formed by adding a derivative morpheme $-pa/-ba$ generally to a transitive root; in one case it is added to the intransitive root, e.g.

Root	Reflexive stem
ūs- 'apply oil/turmeric, smear to somebody else'	ūs-pa- 'apply (oil, etc.) to one's own body'
al- 'plait or sew flowers into a garland, etc.'	al-pa- 'make a garland by oneself'
nor- 'clean utensils with water; wash others legs, etc.'	nor-ba- 'wash one's own hands and feet, etc.'
sō- 'come out'	sō-pa- '(a plant) to germinate'

This relation can be discerned in many stems in $-pa/-ba$ of which the corresponding non-reflexive roots are no longer in use, e.g.

Reflexive stem	Probable Root
aṛ-ba- 'cry (by oneself)'	*aṛ-
ār-pa- 'shout, howl'	*ār-
iy-ba- 'bathe, take a bath'	iy- (see causative iy-bis- [§ 6.4 (b) (vi)])
uRṇpa- 'wear a saree' etc.	uR-
ūr-pa- 'wash face'	ūr- (7.12)
tir-pa- 'clean floor'	*tir- (6.16)

tuR-pa- 'worship'	*tuR- (7.42)
nēs-pa- 'winnow'	*nēs-
por-pa- 'cover body with cloth'	*por- (7.123)
re-ba- 'search'	*re-
sin-pa- 'shave (oneself)'	*sin-
si-pa- 'sweep floor'	*si-
sir-ba- 'cry'	*sir-

There are three stems pok-pa-ba- 'to worship', ale-ba-ba-, and nor-ba-ba- in which a second reflexive suffix is added on a primary reflexive stem, for, perhaps, the latter has lost its reflexive annotation. Examples:

uṭare norbabatar (7.164) 'they ate and washed (their hands)'

anasi norbatan (4.33) 'the elder brother washed himself up'

kiku kālku norbanan (7.13) 'he washes his hands and legs'

kundeṅ maṅḍiṅ norbabatar (4.60) 'they cleaned pots and pans'

An alternative and also a less productive means of forming a reflexive stem is by adding -kol as an auxiliary, which is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

6.8. The formation of compound stems is dealt with under compound verbs below, since their discussion presupposes the description of inflected simple and complex stems.

THE INFINITIVE

6.9. A verb stem can be identified by its cooccurrence with the infinitive morpheme //deṅ//. The infinitive also functions as a verbal noun and as a finite verb in oblique mood and is therefore the most natural form of elicitation in this language. The infinitive morpheme has five phonologically conditioned variants /eṅ~reṅ~ḍeṅ~deṅ~teṅ/. The distribution of the allomorphs of the infinitive morpheme provides a basis for a morphophonemic classification of all verb stems into five classes.

6.10. Morphophonemic Classes of Stems

Class 1: There are 11 simple stems of (C) \check{V} C or (C) \check{V} CC types ending in -d or -nd which take -eŋ in the infinitive by the application of Morphophonemic Rule 7 (§ 2.5 c); e.g. and-eŋ 'reach, reaching', ind-eŋ '(animals) to bring forth young', ūd-eŋ 'be wet, being wet', vand-eŋ 'be tired, being tired', etc.

Class 2: A small class of simple stems of the (C) VC-/ (C) \check{V} C type in final L_1 or -n which take -reŋ in the infinitive; $L_1 > \eta$ and $d > r$ by Morphophonemic Rule 5 (i) (§ 2.5b); e.g. (C) $\check{V}L_1$: nin-reŋ 'stand, standing', the roots $t\bar{u}L_1$ -/ $t\bar{u}l$ - 'be splashed', and $pe\check{r}L_1$ -/ $pe\check{r}el$ - 'explode, break' are not involved in this Sandhi since they belong to Class 5, i.e. $t\bar{u}l$ -deŋ, $pe\check{r}el$ -deŋ. (C) Vn : in-reŋ 'say, saying', tin-reŋ 'eat, eating', man-reŋ 'be, being', ven-reŋ 'say, saying', son-reŋ 'go, going'.

Class 3: Another small class of (C) \check{V} C stems in final L_2 or η form their infinitives in -deŋ; changes in stems and suffixes are accounted for by Morphophonemic Rule 5 (§ 2.5 b iii). (C) $\check{V}L_2$: aŋ-deŋ 'to twine, plait; plaiting' (root aL_2), koŋ-deŋ 'buy, buying' (also when koL_2 occurs as an auxiliary, e.g. $n\bar{e}rs$ koŋ-deŋ 'learn, learning' etc.), $m\bar{u}n$ -deŋ 'urinate, urinating', $meŋ$ -deŋ 'stumble, stumbling'; (C) $\check{V}\eta$: uŋ-deŋ 'eat, eating', $s\bar{u}n$ -deŋ 'see, seeing'.

Class 4: (a) Simple or complex stems ending in voiceless obstruents, and in r and \check{r} preceded by a short vowel, and

(b) Simple monosyllabic (or dissyllabic) stems ending in the vowels a e ē o ō — take -teŋ in forming the infinitive.

E.g. (a) nik-teŋ 'to wake up', mu \check{t} -teŋ 'to touch', vit-teŋ 'to sow', dip-teŋ 'to cause one dismount or descend', as-teŋ 'to hold', ve \check{r} -teŋ 'to tell'; ar-teŋ 'to fall', por-teŋ 'to sell' var-teŋ 'to drip down (as water through filter)', sar-teŋ 'to remove dust by wiping off'.

(b) ta-teŋ 'to bring', alc-teŋ 'to keep silent', kere-teŋ 'to crow (as cock)', dere-teŋ 'to crawl on posteriors', rē-teŋ 'to open', o-teŋ 'to carry', no-teŋ 'to pain', lo-teŋ 'to dip

and take out (as water)', koRo-teŋ 'to sit and doze', poro-teŋ 'to fall slantly', sō-teŋ 'to come out'.

Class 5: (a) Simple or complex stems ending in a voiced obstruent except d (i.e. g, ɟ, b, z, r), in r, r, l preceded by a long vowel, or in other sonorants not involved in the stems of other classes, viz. y, m, ŋ; and

(b) Complex stems in final -a (e.g. iy-ba-, por-pa, etc.) and stems in final ā, i, ī, and ū — take -deŋ in forming the infinitive; e.g.:

(a) ɟig-deŋ 'to get down, getting down', iɟ-deŋ 'to put, putting', noŋɟ-deŋ 'to kiss (by hand)', sūb-deŋ 'to kiss, suck fingers, breasts, etc.', nēnz-deŋ 'to breathe, breathing', vaɾ-deŋ 'to cook, cooking', mēr-deŋ 'to sharpen (blade of axe), sharpening'; kūr-deŋ 'to assemble, gathering', rāl-deŋ 'to fall off, falling off', gūr-deŋ 'to sleep, sleeping', koy-deŋ 'to cut, cutting', niŋ-deŋ 'to wake up, get up; getting up', rōmb-deŋ / rōm-deŋ 'to rest, resting';

(b) iyba-deŋ 'to bathe', ā-deŋ 'to become', sā-deŋ 'to die, dying', olbi-deŋ 'to think, thinking', ki-deŋ 'to do, doing', sī-deŋ 'to give, giving', rūr-deŋ 'to plough, ploughing'.

6.11. Exceptions: One simple root each in -i and ī and two in ū belong to Class 4; they are piri-teŋ 'to grow, growing', mi-teŋ 'to graze, grazing', dūr-teŋ 'to grow, growing' (generally occurs with piri, e.g. piri dūsi 'having grown well'), pūr-teŋ 'to blossom, to flower, flowering'; visir- 'to fling, throw' belongs to Class 5.

6.12. The foregoing description shows that the five classes of stems are fairly complementary and this classification holds good in more than one place in the description of verb morphology, particularly, in the formation of certain inflectional categories, viz. perfect -zi and imperative 2nd plural -du.

6.13. Syntactically one of the functions of the infinitive is to act as a verbal modifier or as a gerund (nominal). Following are some of the typical uses of the infinitive:

ṭerka rē-teṅ nes'eta (3.31) 'I did not know (how) to open the door'

nān(u) veR-teṅ tiyel āzi ... (3.84) 'I, being afraid to tell ...'

anasi ... uṅ-ḁeṅ bastan (4.33) 'the elder brother sat down to eat'

baylud(u) mīteṅ bitek otan (4.77) 'Bitek took them (cattle) out to graze'

ibe man-reṅ ā'ed (4.126) 'it is not possible to stay here'

ḁokra uṅ-ḁeṅ řista sitan (6.159) 'the old man gave up eating'

inro iyba-ḁeṅ ke'en (7.19) 'he would not like to bathe at home'

ēru iyba-ḁeṅ adi ne (7.25) 'bathing (water)—(she was to do) herself'

'buba' in-reṅ řis'ed (7.68) 'she would not stop saying "father"'

maṭ-teṅ kālku silu, as-teṅ kiku silu (8.37) 'he has no legs to walk on and no hands to hold with'

6.14. An infinitive can also be used predicatively, in which case, it functions as a finite verb in obligative mood without concord in number and person with the subject. Here it denotes 'must' or 'should'. It is occasionally followed by an emphatic particle -vale (probably borrowed from Old Telugu -walenu 'should', > modern Telugu -wāli/-āli), e.g.

maṅi veRsi si-ḁeṅ vale (2.57) '(you) must speak (it) out to us'

surṭi lakeṅḁa sur'i lakeṅḁa āzi, iḁzi řis-teṅ (2.71) 'pretending to be looking and not looking into it (the book), he should put it down'

malu uṅḁeṅ son-reṅ izi ruṅḁi kuṅḁeṅ kalu vaRte (7.212) 'they (women) brewed two pots of liquor, saying, "we have to go to eat wedding dinner"'

vaniṅ endaniṅ darmantiṅ pōsa kideṅ (8.24) 'why should (we) support him for charity?'

FINITE VERBS

6.15. All verbs in Koṅḍa fall into two categories, finite and non-finite, on morphosyntactic grounds. Syntactically the finite verbs function as predicates, and the non-finite verbs as heads of subordinate phrases or clauses. Morphologically non-finite verbs do not possess person-reference, which most finite verbs do. The only exception to this is the predicative use of the infinitive which lacks person reference (see § 6.13-4).

There are nine finite verb types (paradigms) in Koṅḍa involving simple or complex stems as nuclei, viz. past, non-past, past negative, non-past negative, durative, imperative, prohibitive (negative imperative), desiderative (also permissive), and obligative.

Of these the past and non-past can be considered tenses, (both in factual and in negative), the durative is aspectual, while the remaining can be considered modes.

The past, non-past, negative non-past, durative and desiderative verbs have three constituents each, in the following order: stem (nucleus) + tense or modal affix + personal suffix (which agrees in number and person, with the subject). The negative past has four constituents, viz. stem + negative (suffix) + past (tense) suffix + person. The imperative and prohibitive forms have two constituents each, stem + modal and person (unsegmentable). The obligative has also two constituents, stem + modal (undistinguished for person, see § 6.14).

The Past-Tense

6.16. The past tense of a verb is formed by the addition of the morpheme //t// to the nucleus (stem), followed by personal suffixes. //t// has two main variants /t~it/. Stems in final voiced obstruents, viz. g, ḍ, d, b, z, r (in case of -r only when it is preceded by a long vowel) and in the sono-

rants, ŋ, v, and r, l (when preceded by a long vowel) take -it in forming the past tense (see Class 1 and 5(a) types above excluding CVr- type of stems). The only exceptions are: id- 'to put', and tūl- '(water) to be splashed', which take -t, instead of -it. The remaining stems form their past by the addition of -t.

(a) -it:

	Nucleus	Past-stem
'get down'	ḍig-	ḍig-it-
'ripen'	paṇḍ-	paṇḍ-it-
'plan, scheme'	paṇḍ-	paṇḍ-it-
'rot'	sab-	sab-it-
'be boiled'	kāmb-	kāmb-it-
'be torn'	kinz-	kinz-it-
'be finished'	viz-	viz-it-
'be seen, appear'	tōr-	tōr-it-
'be hidden'	ḍāṇ	ḍāṇ-it-
'be snapped'	tev-	tev-it-
'meet, assemble'	kūr-	kūr-it-
'wipe off (as tears)'	tēl-	tēl-it-

(b) -t:

The remaining stems which take -t in the formation of the past fall into the following subclasses.

(1) A large subclass of nuclei in final voiceless obstruents: -k, -t, -t̄, -p, -s, -R, all stems ending in -y, 7 monosyllabic nuclei ending in [ṽ] r or [ṽ̄] r, and all stems ending in vowels; e.g.

'raise'	nik-	nik-t-
'be born'	puṭ-	puṭ-t-
'sow'	vit-	vit-t-
'protect'	kāp-	kāp-t-
'say, tell'	veR-	veR-t-
'hold'	as-	as-t-
'hit, beat'	rey-	rey-t-
'sell'	por-	por-t-
'drip down'	var-	var-t-
'bring'	ta-	ta-t-
'bathe'	iyba-	iyba-t-
'die'	sā-	sā-t-
'do'	ki-	ki-t-
'graze'	mī-	mī-t-

	<i>Nucleus</i>	<i>Past-stem</i>
'be lost'	muru-	muru-t-
'plough'	rū-	rū-t-
'keep quiet'	ale-	ale-t-
'open (door, etc.)'	rē-	rē-t-
'carry'	o-	o-t-
'set out'	sō-	sō-t-

An exceptional case is *id-* whose past stem is *id-t-* even though the nucleus ends in a voiced obstruent, *-ḍ-*.

(2) A small subclass of 7 nuclei of the (C)V_r- type change the final *-r* to *-R* before the past *-t-* (see Morphophonemic Rule 3, § 2.5 (b)).

serve (food), pour'	ir-	iR-t-
'butt with horns'	ur-	uR-t-
'wash'	nor-	noR-t-
'lift up'	per-	peR-t-
'turn about'	mar-	maR-t-
'cook'	var-	vaR-t-
'roast'	sur-	suR-t-

(3) A small subclass of 5 nuclei of (C)*ṽn-* type and 3 nuclei ending in *-L₁* replace the final *-n* and *-L₁* plus the past *-t* by *-R* (see Morphophonemic Rule 8 (i)).

'say'	in-	iR-
'eat'	tin-	tiR-
'be'	man-	maR-
'hear'	ven-	veR-
'go'	son-	soR-
'be splashed'	tūL ₁ -	tūR-
'stand'	niL ₁ -	niR-
'explode'	perēL ₁ -	perēR-

(4) Another subclass of 4 nuclei of the type (C)*ṽL₂/ṽ-* replace the final consonant plus past *-t* by *-ṭ* (see Morphophonemic Rule 8 (ii), § 2.5).

'twist, plait'	aL ₂ -	at-
'buy'	koL ₂ -	kot-
'urinate'	mūL ₂ -	mūṭ-
'tumble down'	meL ₂ -	meṭ-
'eat, drink'	uṅ-	uṭ-

Personal Suffixes

6.17. Finite verbs in past are derived by the addition of the following personal suffixes to the past stem.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st person	-a	-ap (exclusive) -aṭ (inclusive)
2nd person	-i ~ -id[-V]	-id-er
3rd person		
Masculine	-an ~ anr-	-ar
Non-Masculine	-ad	-e

The second person plural has been analyzed as a sequence of two morphemes, viz. 2nd person -id-, followed by plural -er, even though this analysis puts it out of tune with the formation of the other plural suffixes. The 2nd person singular has a variant -id- before a vowel within a single phonological word (see § 1.4-5).

6.18. The following chart illustrates the paradigms of the different classes and subclasses of nuclei in the past tense.

<i>Nucleus</i>	<i>Past Stem</i>	<i>Personal Suffixes</i>	
1. dig-	dig-it	-a -ap	} 1st person
2. (i) nik-	nik-t		
ta-	ta-t	-aṭ -i	} 2nd person
(ii) ir-	iR-t		
(iii) in	//in-t//>iR	-id-er	} 2nd person
niL ₁	//niL ₁ -t//>niR		
(iv) koL ₂	//koL ₂ -t//>koṭ	-an, -ar -ad, -e	} 3rd person
uṅ	//uṅ-t//>uṭ		

The Non-past

6.19. The non-past tense is formed by the addition of //n// to verb nuclei to which the personal suffixes are added. //n// has two variants: /Ø ~ n/. A non-past verb refers to a habitual or future action, e.g.

(a) Seven nuclei ending in -n or -ṅ take the variant /Ø/ (see Morphophonemic Rules 6,7, § 2.5). Therefore,

the non-past stems of in- 'say', tin- 'eat', man- 'be', ven- 'hear', son- 'go', uᅇ- 'drink', sūᅇ- 'see' are phonologically indistinguishable from the nuclei.

(b) Three nuclei in final $-L_1$ and four in $-L_2$ replace the final consonants and the following $-n$ - by $-n$ and $-ᅇ$ respectively; e.g. ni L_1 - 'stand' : nin- (< //ni L_1 -n-//); ko L_2 - 'buy' : koᅇ- (< //ko L_2 -n-//). Morphophonemic Rules 6 and 7 (see § 2.5) derive the non-past stems of subclasses (a) and (b) by common processes stated differently.

(c) All other nuclei simply add $-n$; e.g. kūk- 'call' : kūk-n-, maᅇ- 'step on' : maᅇ-n-, ᅇig- 'get down' : ᅇig-n-, sā- 'die' : sā-n-, sur- 'roast' : sur-n-, kāmb- 'be boiled' : kāmb-n-, niᅇ- 'rise' : niᅇ-n-, dēl- 'float' : dēl-n-.

6.20. The informant gave two free variants in non-past for peᅇel- 'explode' : as peᅇen-, peᅇel-n-. The nucleus of this stem may be represented as peᅇe L_1 /peᅇel- in terms of our analysis. Nuclei in final $-ᅇᅇ$ and $-nd$ optionally lose the final stop before the non-past $-n$, noᅇᅇ- 'kiss' : noᅇᅇ-n-/noᅇᅇ-ᅇ- (for $-n > -ᅇ$ see Morphophonemic Rule 6, § 2.5.), dand- 'thrash' : dand-n-/dan-n-.

Durative/Progressive

6.21. The durative is marked by the addition of //zin// to the verb nucleus before personal suffixes. It has three variants /in ~ sin ~ zin/.

The durative refers to an action in progress in the past or non-past time.

(a) $-in$: All nuclei ending in $-s$ or $-z$ take $-in$; e.g. panz- 'be satiated' : panz-in- (there are nine stems in final $-z$); as- 'hold' : as-in-, kūkᅇis- 'cause to call' : kūkᅇis-in-.

(b) Of the remaining types of nuclei those that form the infinitive in $-ten$ take $-sin$ in durative (Class 4 see § 6.10).

(c) Nuclei which form their infinitive in /eᅇ ~ reᅇ ~ ᅇeᅇ ~ ᅇeᅇ/ take $-zin$ (Classes 1, 2, 3, and 5 see § 6.10).

6.22. There are three exceptions to subclass (c), viz., niL_1 - 'stand', son- 'go', form their duratives by the addition of -sin (niL_1 -sin-, son-sin-) instead of -zin; the durative stem of in- 'say' is i-zin- instead of *in-zin-.

6.23. It will be seen from the description of non-finite verbs below that //zin// is analyzable into two morphemes, -zi- (perfect participle) + n (non-past). However, it is of little consequence to our description whether it is analysed as two segments or one. Since there is only one type of negative finite opposed to both the non-past tense and the durative, I have preferred to treat these latter two as having a similar constituent structure, viz. nucleus + tense-mode + person.

Negative Non-past

6.24. A characteristic of the KoŃda verb system, which it shares with the other Dravidian languages, is the construction of a negative paradigm by means of a suffix. The negative is distinguished also for the two tenses, past and non-past.

The non-past negative is formed by adding //ʔ// uniformly to the verb nucleus, simple or complex. The personal suffixes 1st and 3rd have a different set of allomorphs after the negative morpheme //ʔ//, viz.

	Singular	Plural
1st	-e	-ep (excl.)
2nd		-eṭ (incl.)
3rd m.	-i	-ider
non-m.	-en	-er
	-ed	-u

6.25. While the negative morpheme has no other variant than /ʔ/, only the following few roots have stem variants before the negative //ʔ//.

Basic form of root	Variant in negative
vā- 'come'	re-ʔ-
ta- 'bring'	te-ʔ-
sur- 'see'	to-ʔ-

Two roots are found to occur only in the negative paradigm:

*ke- 'agree'	ke-ʔ-
*aʔ- 'be, able, can'	aʔ-ʔ-

In addition to the negative paradigms of common verb stems in Koṇḍa, there is a unique negative sil- 'to be not', which occurs in complimentation with man- 'to be' which lacks a formally related stem *man-ʔ- in the negative paradigm, e.g. vānru inro man-an 'he is home', vānru inro sil-en 'he is not home', but not *manʔen. Elsewhere, vānru kinan 'he will do', vānru kiʔen 'he will not, does not do', vānru kiden aʔʔen 'he will not be able to do'. sil-e (3rd non-m. sg.) occurs as a minor sentence, usually iteratively, sil-e 'No', sile 'No, No'; this form contrasts with sil-ed 'she, it is not'.

6.26. Sample paradigms of the negative :

(a) ki- 'do'

	Singular		Plural
1st	kiʔe	:	kiʔep (excl.)
2nd	kiʔi	:	kiʔeʔ (incl.)
3rd m.	kiʔen	:	kʔider
non-m.	kiʔed	:	kiʔer
(b) vā ∞ re- 'come'		:	kiʔu

1st	reʔe	:	reʔep
2nd	reʔi	:	reʔeʔ
3rd m.	reʔen	:	reʔider
non-m.	reʔed	:	reʔer
		:	reʔu

Negative Past

6.27. The negative past is formed by the addition of //t// to the negative stem before personal suffixes of the positive verb series. The past tense morpheme has three variants /et ~ it ~ ut/; -et- before [a, -it- before [i, and -ut- before [e. E.g. nes- 'know':

	Singular		Plural
1st	nes-ʔ-et-a		nes-ʔ-et-ap (excl.)
2nd	nes-ʔ-it-i		nes-ʔ-et-aʔ (incl.)
3rd m.	nes-ʔ-et-an		nes-ʔ-it-ider
non-m.	nes-ʔ-et-ad		nes-ʔ-et-ar
			nes-ʔ-ut-e

Here, the personal suffixes have been identified with those occurring in the past and non-past tenses.

6.28. An alternative analysis is to identify the personal suffixes with those in the non-past negative verbs by interpreting /ta ~ ti ~ te/ as representations of the past morpheme //t//. The above paradigm would then be reanalyzed as follows:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st	nes-?-e-ta	nes-?-e-ta- <i>p</i>
2nd	nes-?-i-ti	nes-?-i-ti- <i>der</i>
3rd m.	nes-?-e-ta- <i>n</i>	nes-?-e-ta- <i>r</i>
non-m.	nes-?-e-ta- <i>d</i>	nes-?-u-te

The italicized sequences are identical with the personal suffixes in the negative non-past verbs. However, a rule has to be made that the past morpheme occurs as an infix where the personal suffix is of the -VC... type and as a suffix where it is only a -V. In other words the 3rd m. sg. is e-n, pl. e-r, non-m. sg. e-d, 2nd pl. i-der, 1st pl. e-p, e-*t*. The vowel of the past morpheme is predictable in terms of the preceding vowel.

Of the two possible analyses, the former is preferable since it does not involve unique discontinuous variants for the personal suffixes. However the advantage of the second alternative is the possibility of setting up two series of personal allomorphs — one for the positive finite verbs and another for the negative finite verbs.

The Imperative

6.29. The imperative verbs are formed by the addition of //ʔa// and //du// in the 2nd person singular and plural respectively, e.g. kiʔa 'do (it)!' (you, sg.), ki-du 'do it!' (you, pl.).

(a) Three irregular verb stems of the (C)V- type have suppletive variants of //ʔa// and //du//.

Basic root

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Plural</i>
ta- 'bring'	ta-ga	:	ta-ga- <i>t</i> 'bring!'
si/si- 'give'	si-da	:	si-da- <i>t</i> 'give me!'
le- 'get up'	le-ʔe	:	le-du 'get up!'

It is possible to treat -t̄ as a plural morph in ta-ga-t̄ and si-da-t̄. si?a (sg.) and si-du (pl.) 'give to 3rd person!' contrast with the irregular forms both in form and meaning.

Another pair of imperatives with a unique verb root is unda 'take it!' (sg.), undat̄ 'take it!' (pl.), in which a possible segmentation is un-da, un-da-t̄, but *un- does not occur anywhere else.

6.30. //du// has several phonologically conditioned variants /u ~ ru ~ du ~ tu/ whose distribution is parallel to that of the infinitive allomorphs /eŋ ~ reŋ ~ deŋ ~ den ~ teŋ/ (see §§ 6.9-10), subject to the exceptions stated in § 6.29.

'plan (it)!'

'stand!'

'listen!'

'eat!'

'buy!'

'get off!'

'tell!'

(//niL₁-?a//)

(//koL₂-?a//)

	Singular	Plural
	pand-?a	pand-u
	nil-?a	nin-ru
	ven-?a	ven-ru
	uŋ-?a	uŋ-du
	kol-?a	koŋ-du
	dig-?a	dig-du
	veR-?a	veR-tu

Prohibitive or Negative-Imperative

6.31. This verb is opposed in meaning to the imperative described above. It is formed by adding to the verb stem -ma in 2nd sg. and -ma-t̄ in 2nd pl. No stem variations have been noticed in the formation of this verb. A comparison of these forms with irregular imperatives (§ 6.29) would show that -mat̄ can be segmented into two or three elements, -ma-prohibitive 2nd sg., and -t̄ 2nd pl. added to the sg. form; alternatively, -m- prohibitive, -a- 2nd sg., -t̄ pl. On this basis as two morphemes {? ∞ g ∞ d} imperative (positive), -a- 2nd sg. The only objection to this analysis is the resultant homonymy between -?- negative (§ 6.24) and -?- imperative (§ 6.29). Examples:

'don't do!'

'don't go!'

'don't cause to do!'

'don't be sorry!'

Sg.

ki-ma

son-ma

kibis-ma

visaris-ma

Pl.

ki-mat̄

son-mat̄

kibis-mat̄

visaris-mat̄

Stem

ki-

son-

kibis-

visaris-

Desiderative-Permissive:

6.32. Verbs of this type are used to denote a 'wish' or 'permission'. They are non-past in time reference, although they do not carry any tense marker. These verbs have three constituents each, viz. Nucleus (=stem) + i ~ pi + personal suffixes. The data attest to one doubtful occurrence of the 2nd person sg. marked by -i and several cases of the 3rd person marked by -n (m.sg), -r (m.pl.), -d (non-m. sg.), and -v (non-m. pl.). -i occurs as a desiderative marker after stems ending in consonants, and -pi- after those in vowels, e.g. son-i-d 'let it go', ā-pi-d 'let it be'. Study the following examples:

bitek korodın et-i-n (4.116) 'let Bitek look after (take up) the child'

uñsta iRiña gumenđ pañd-i-d (6.72) 'when I have planted, may pumpkin grow!'

elag ātiña ā-pi-d (7.92) 'let it be, whatever it is'

uñina uñ-i-d (7.107) 'let it eat, if it wished'

... uñzi son-i-r (7.162) 'let (them) eat and go'

nañi kiku kālku vizu ā-pi-v (8.237) 'may all my hands and legs come back'

mā anar yā pañkuñañ nilsi ēru iyaba-pi-r ...izi (8.153) 'hoping that my elder brothers will bathe standing on these stones...'

nīnu ne yāya buba lakenda ā-ni (5.61) 'may you become like our father and mother'

The Obligative

6.33. The obligative verb denoting 'must' or 'should' is identical in form with the infinitive and is there-

fore treated as a predicative function of the infinitive (§ 6.14).

INFLECTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF VERB STEMS (NUCLEI) AND SUFFIXES

6.34. The foregoing description shows that there is considerable overlap among the stem classes set up under the different finite verbs. A classification which utilizes the maximum number of morphophonemic differences of stems and affixes is attempted below.

Two major classes of stems are set up, regular and irregular with several sub-classes under each. The past, non-past, durative and infinitive are taken to supply three series of suffixes marked A, B, and C, again with sub-classes for each series: $A_1 A_2$, $B_1 B_2 B_3$, $C_1 C_2 C_3$. There are eight sub-classes of the regular verbs, each of which cooccurs with a particular sub-series of suffixes. The classification of both the regular and irregular verbs is presented in charts below.

6.35. The chart of the regular verbs shows that the eight sub-classes of nuclei are complementarily distributed with the eight rows of suffixes; similarly, the eight suffix series are mutually complementary conditioned by the morphophonemic features of the preceding stems. Stems and suffixes which do not fit into this scheme are given as irregular verbs.

The three-way classification of the suffixes as ABC is based on their allomorphic distribution: BC have *-zin-* (durative) and *-deɲ* (infinitive) as opposed to *-sin-* and *-teɲ* in A. On the other hand AB have *-t-* for past as opposed to *-it-* in C. Even in terms of the morphophonemic features of the stems, this classification is justifiable. All stems which are followed by C suffixes have only final consonants, whereas those before A and B suffixes have either a vowel or a consonant finally. Again, stem variation occurs only before the B series, whereas before A and C series morphophonemic variation occurs in the suffixes alone and not in the stems.

REGULAR VERBS

Sub-Class No.	Stems ending in	Past	Non-past	Durative	Infinitive	Suffix series
I (a)	Voiceless obstruents: k, t, t, p, R	} t	n	sin	teŋ	A ₁
(b)	$\check{V}]r, \check{V}]r$					
(c)	i, ū, ē, ǝ					
II s						
III (a)	v; ā, i	} t	n	in	teŋ	A ₂
(b)	$\check{V}]r > R$ $\check{V}]d > t$					
IV	$\check{V}]n, \check{V}]L_1$		n	zin	deŋ	B ₁
V	$\check{V}]n, \check{V}]L_2$	R(//n, L ₁ + t//)	n(//n, L ₁ + n//)	zin	n]reŋ(//n, L ₁ + deŋ//)	B ₂
		t(//n, L ₂ + t//)	n(//n, L ₂ + n//)	zin	n]deŋ(//n, L ₂ + deŋ//)	B ₃
VI (a)	Voiced obstruents except r, z, d;	} it	n	zin	deŋ	C ₁
(b)	$\check{V}]r$					
(c)	Sonorants n, m, v; $\check{V}]r, l, r$					
VII z		it	n	in	deŋ	C ₂
VIII d		it	n	zin	eŋ	C ₃

Sequences in parentheses are morphophonemic spellings of the phonemic spellings preceding them; a single square bracket flanks the environment.

IRREGULAR VERBS

Sub-Class No.	Stems (exceptions to regular sub-classes)	Past	Non-past	Durative	Infinitive	Suffix series
I	rū 'to plough' sī 'give'	rū-t sī-t-	rū-n- sī-n-	rū-zin- sī-zin-	rū-deŋ sī-deŋ	B ₁ B ₁
III	vey 'burn' ta- 'bring' piri 'grow'	ve-t- ta-t- piri-t-	vey-n- ta-n- piri-n-	vey-zin- ta-sin- piri-sin-	vey-deŋ ta-teŋ piri-teŋ	B ₁ A ₁ A ₁
IV	in 'say' nił 'stand' niłL ₁ // son 'go'	iR- (//in-t-//) niR- (//niłL ₁ -t-//) soR- (//son-t-)	in- niñ- (//niłL ₁ -n-//) son- (//son-n-//) peřen-~ peřelñ- (//peřelL ₁ -n-)	i-zin- niñ-sin- son-sin-	in-reŋ niñ-reŋ son-reŋ	B ₂ B ₂ B ₂
V	perel 'explode' perelL ₁ //	peřeR- (//peřelL ₁ -t-//)	peřen-~ peřelñ- (//peřelL ₁ -n-)	peřel-zin-	peřel-deŋ	B ₁
VI	suř/sūŋ kār 'dig'	suř-t- kār-it-	sūŋ- (//sūŋ-in-//) kār-n-	suř-zin- kār-sin-	sūŋ-deŋ kār-teŋ	B ₃ C ₁

The basis of irregularity is indicated in italics for each set.

Irregular verb forms not listed in the chart have already been treated under the non-past negative (§ 6.24) and imperative (§ 6.29) verbs.

NON-FINITE VERBS

6.36. Morphologically, a non-finite verb does not carry a marker of person-number in agreement with the subject; syntactically, non-finite verbs are either adverbial or adjectival and do not occur as predicates in sentences; the adverbials mainly mark subordinate clauses. All non-finite verbs may be classified into two types: tense-based and aspect-based. Those that are tense-based are constructed on stems which carry tense contrasts, viz. past, non-past, durative, and negative. Those that do not fit into this hierarchy are aspect-based. There are three verbs of the latter type: Infinitive, Imperfective or Incomplete and Simultaneous. The infinitive has already been treated (§§ 6.9 ff).

Imperfective or Incomplete:

6.37. This is formed by adding {zi~si~i} to the verb nucleus, simple or complex, e.g. ki-zi 'having done, veR-si 'having said', gelpis-i 'having saved'. The distribution of the allomorphs of this morpheme is parallel to that of the durative {zin~sin~in} '-ing' (§§ 6.21-3). This participle is used to denote an action just completed and antecedent to or simultaneous with the action denoted by a succeeding verb in a sequence, e.g.

or nēnḍ vāzi darmam ki'a (2.25) 'come for a day (lit. having come for a day) and help us'

ke'e iRiṅba kikaṅ kālkaṅ toRsi savarid arpsi vanin piṅdzi tagat(u) (2.36) 'even if he said 'no', tie up his hands and legs, throw him in the palanquin, and bring him (carrying)'

vanin reyzi rebazi doRkistar (2.46) 'having searched for him, they found him'

ruṅḍi gaṅṅeṅ mosop kūrzi mūrri gaṅṅeṅ piru reynad (2.75) 'clouds will form at 2 o'clock and it will rain at 3 o'clock'

There are special uses of this participle particularly with certain verbs like in- 'say', son- 'go', ā 'become', and ki- 'do', which can be noticed from the texts; in- 'say' has an irregular alternant i- before zi, i-zi 'having said', 'so', etc. This is more often used as a quotative conjunction than as an adverbial (see also §§ 6.48-9).

Simultaneous

6.38. This is formed by adding {bu~pu} to the verb stem in the sense of 'as soon as', 'at the time of'. Stems (Sub-classes I and II) that cooccur with the suffix series A take -pu, and the others take -bu; e.g.

koRku kerepu niṅitan (5.91) 'he got up at cock's crow (even as the cock was crowing)'

... izi veRpu veRpu oren doṅa vānru ruḡzi vātan (3.33) 'as (the tiger) was still saying so, a thief entered and came in'

sāti piṅgu manbu nān (ḡabun) elag sīna (5.122) 'how can I pay you when the corpse is still here?'

nīnu visirbu visirbu inṅo ne vātad' (5.136) 'no sooner had you thrown it (even as you were throwing it), it came right into the house'

TENSE-BASED NON-FINITE VERBS

6.39. There are four tense-based non-finite verbs constructed on simple or complex stems, viz. Resultative, Conditional, Extentive, and Relative adjective. The following chart illustrates these forms; e.g. kūk- 'call'.

	Resultative	Conditional	Extentive	Relative
Past	in	iṅa	eṅd	i
Non-Past	t kūk-t-in	kūk-t-iṅa	kūk-t-eṅda	kūk-t-i
Durative	n kūk-n-in	kūk-n-iṅa	kūk-n-eṅda	kūk-n-i
Negative	zin kūk-sin-in	*kūk-sin-iṅa	*kūk-sin-eṅda	*kūk-sin-i
	? kūk-?-in	*kūk-?-iṅa	kūk-?-eṅda	kūk-?-i
	?-it kūk-?-it-in	*kūk-?-it-iṅa	*kūk-?-it-eṅda	*kūk-?-it-i

Forms marked with asterisks are not found in my data, but they seem to be grammatically possible.

Resultative -in

6.40. When two actions are related as cause and effect or even as events in a plausible chronological sequence, the verb denoting the first in the pair occurs in the Resultative. This construction can be rendered into English by 'after, soon after, as soon as', etc.

(a) *-t-in* (past)

This is one of the most frequently used non-finite verbs which marks subordinate clauses. Study the following examples:

pula ... vāktan (4.26). vāk-tiŋ boŋo mūg *etad (4.27)
'...he poured the soup' (4.26). 'after he had poured (it), the hole did not cover up' (4.27)

koRku kere-tiŋ zāy ātad (6.94) 'as (=after) the cocks crowded, day broke'

koŋo sāti so-Riŋ atek suŋtan (4.124) 'after the child had died, Atek saw (him)'

ḍokri nik-tiŋ ḍokra niŋitan (6.96). 'the old man woke up, when the old woman awakened him'

(b) *-n-in* (non-past)

This seems to occur in contexts in which a second action follows while the first is hardly finished, e.g.

...gorot soRan (6.103). yā ḍokra gorot son-in ḍēra tiRe, sāma tiRe ... (6.104) 'he went to the hill-field' (6.103). 'he had hardly gone to the hill-field, they (birds) already ate off the ḍēra, sāma, etc.' (6.104)

peRta tatad e idna in-in e egrita soRad (6.141). 'she brought it and hardly said 'I'll leave it', when the bird flew away'

vaniban vā-nin māri unri sōpta manan (5.128). 'he hardly came back (lit. he is still to come), when he

(the king's son) had already pulled another (corpse) out'

(c) *-zin-iṅ* (durative)

Where a continuous action is immediately followed by another, the former is expressed by a verb in *-zin-iṅ*:

elag āna le izi nores gopaṇa visarisinad (3.41). visarisiniṅ, doṇa vāṅṛu kalem astanṛ e ektan (3.42) 'the tiger got worried saying, 'what shall I do?' (3.41). 'As he was so worrying himself, the thief held the bridle and got on him (3.42)'

dinami nān būḍ ki-ziniṅ su nēṅṛu inikad o ninitad (5.15) 'because I have been bathing here daily, something emerged (to kill me)'

(d) *?-iṅ* (negative non-past)

This verb expresses the absence of an action at the present moment as a cause of another action.

mā dēsam ... piru reṅṅiṅ paṅṅa paṅḍ'ed (2.14) 'in our country as there is no rain, there is no crop'
poṅṅa panz-ṅiṅ su, veyu kākta manar (4.28) 'because their stomach is not filled, they still have their mouths open'

(e) *?-it-iṅ* (negative past)

This verb is similar to (d) in meaning except that it expresses the absence of an action in the past as being responsible for (or leading to) another action that followed;

e.g. ... nīn ke'iti (2.37). nīn ke?-it-iṅ māp soṅap (2.38) '...you did not agree (2.37). Because you did not agree, we left' (2.38)

mūg-ṅiṅ ... ambel maṅi vāktan (5.28) 'since the hole did not close, he poured porridge again'

Conditional -iṅa

6.41 This verb marks a subordinate clause, meaning 'if, when', etc.

(a) *-t-iṅa* (past) is added to a stem to express a conditional action preceding some other action in time.

piru vātiṅa, vitten nes ?e (6.62) 'if it rained, I would not know how to sow'

uṇḍeṅ bas-tiṅa, uṇḍeṅ basinad (7.85) 'if (when) he sat down to eat, she would also sit to eat'

(vēnru) maran tig-it-iṅa, sānan (8.29) 'he would die, if (when) the tree pressed him down'

embe sur-tiṅa, nāru siled (9.30) 'there was no town wherever he looked'

There is a special type of past conditional form *aRiṅa* 'if it were so, then, etc.', which is morphophonemically **/an-tiṅa//*, but no other usage of **an* 'to become' is attested. This corresponds to Telugu *ayitē* 'if' the conditional form of *aw/ay* 'to become'. This form occurs at the beginning of a sentence as an 'anaphoric conjunction'.

aRiṅa *eḷag ānaṭ lu* (5.43) 'then (=if it were so), what shall we do? (lit. what shall we be?)'

iRiṅa the past conditional form of *in-* 'to say' is used both as a coordinating conjunction meaning 'if' 'if one wants to...', 'when', e.g.

ēl vāta iRiṅa tina pokna (3.19) 'if I came, then. I would swallow you'

uṅa iRiṅa anam siled (5.11). *porpana iRiṅa pāten silu* (5.12) 'there is no food, if I want to eat (lit. if I said, 'I'll eat') (5.11). 'There is no cloth, if I want to put on (if I said, 'I'll wear')'

sonaṭ iRiṅa sonaṭ (5.27) 'let us go' (if one said), 'let us go', the other said'

nān gūrita iRiṅa naṅi dapi vāk?a (6.112) 'when I lay down, (then), pour the gruel over me'

(b) *-n-ina* (non-past). This verb is generally followed by the imperative verb.

dig-niṅa digʔa iRanr e aylidiṅ diptan (7.135) 'if you get off, get off', he said and put the girl down'

ṛug-nina ṛugʔa, silina meruṅu ḍaṅnap (8.189) 'will you get in, or not? or else, we will beat you'

The informant gave other uses like *nin-ina nilʔa* 'stand, if you wan to', *ki-niṅa kiʔa* 'do, if you want to', etc. which do not occur in the texts.

(c) *-ʔ-iva* (non-past negative). This verb expresses a conditional clause, meaning 'if not'.

velaru embe būlazi maRi (9.289). *inika doRkʔiṅa, vāden enda ne* (9.290) 'where have you been roaming all day?' (9.289). 'If nothing is found why coming?' (9.290)

radu silina surḍu (6.131) 'come and look if (I am) not (right)'

The informant accepted past negative conditional forms like *sonʔitiṅa* 'if one had not gone', though no example is found in the texts. Even the durative conditionals like *son-sin-ina* 'if one is going', seem possible, although this matter has not been verified with the informant.

Extensive -enda

6.42. The meaning of this verb is 'until or upto the point of (action)' in the case of positive verbs and 'without' in the case of negative verbs. Forms are available only in the past, non-past, and negative non-past tenses.

(a) *-t-enda* (past): The following are examples elicited in isolation:

terka rē-t-enda manʔa 'wait till (I) opened the door'

ninu ti-Renda ne mana 'it will remain until after you have eaten the food'

(b) *-n-eṇḍa* (non-past).

nān va-nēṇḍa bāga mēpsi man?a (4.70) 'till I come, keep grazing (the cattle) well'

ḷoḍu rāl-neṇḍa kuūḍa muṭis?u (7.192). 'they will not let her touch pots and pans until the navel-cord (of the baby) falls off!'

poṭa panz-neṇḍa tin?a 'eat until your belly fills'

(c) *-?eṇḍa* (negative non-past): 'without ...'

nan re?eṇḍa ne muṅgal vātad (5.127) 'she came ahead of me even (before) without my coming'. (Lit. I-not-coming-yet)

veriṅ si?eṇḍa soRiṅa ... (4.24) 'if I had gone without giving them ...'

inriṅ tap?eṇḍa būlatad (8.350) 'it roamed without missing a single house'

Examples for extensive verbs in the negative past like *son-?it-eṇḍa are not available.

Relative Participles or Verbal Adjectives -i

6.43. Verbal adjectives are formed by the addition of *-i* to the tense-mode stems. Relative participles do not mark subordinate clauses like the perfective, conditional or extensive, since syntactically they function as attributes to the following noun or adverbial heads. However, nominals involving relative participles can be treated as transforms of sentences by replacing the finite verb with a relative participle of the corresponding tense and by shifting its position, e.g.

vānru gumēṇḍiṅ unstan 'he planted pumpkin' →

vānru unsti gumēṇḍiṅ (6.101) 'the pumpkin that he planted...'

(a) *-t+i* (past)

With adverb as head:

gūr-iti venka (3.87) 'after sleeping...'

uRk-ti koldi (5.163) 'as far as he ran ...'

nīn arba-ti lakenḍa ā?a (7.113) 'be as if you had cried'

Many adverbial nouns (§4.30) can occur as heads of relative phrases.

With noun as head:

sā-ti pīngu (5.122) 'a dead body'

kīdu as-ti perku (6.21) 'the rice he held in his hand'

vānru mū-ṭi mūlku (7.15) 'the urine he urinated'

(b) -n-i (non-past)

rū-n-i guīḍed soRad (7.122) 'she went into the field they plough'

uṇ-i bāt-a rīstan (6.173) 'he left out the food he eats'

gūr-n-i vale (7.18) 'at the time of sleeping'

dani poṭa asni naso (8.298) 'as much as its stomach holds'

(c) -?i (negative non-past)

ēm nes?i lōku vānru (2.62) 'what an innocent (lit. one who does not know) person is he?'

surṭi lakenḍa to?i lakenḍa āzi...iḍzi rīsten (2.71) 'he must leave it off, pretending to be looking (past), and not looking (into it)'

lōku sili pāru inro ruḡitan (5.165) 'he entered a deserted house, which has no people'

kāki kār in?i bān (8.379) 'a place where (even) a crow does not live' (lit. 'a place where a crow does not say 'kār')

Relative participles in the durative and negative tenses like kūk-sin-i and kūk-?it-i are perfectly acceptable to the informants, although examples for these have not turned up in the texts.

... COMPOUND VERBS

6.44. Compound verbs are morphological constructions whose nuclei contain more than one verb stem. Compound verbs can be broadly divided into iterative and non-iterative. The non-iteratives are further subdivided into coordinate and subordinate with three sub-types under the latter: intensive, aspectual, and reflexive. The final constituent of a compound nucleus enters into finite or non-finite verb inflection in the same way as a simple nucleus does. A compound verb is finite or non-finite depending on the inflection of the final constituent.

COORDINATE COMPOUNDS

6.45. A coordinate compound verb is employed to express a sequence of two (sometimes, three) successive actions, e.g., *vāta surtan* 'he came and saw', *surta vātan* 'he saw and came'. The entire construction can be replaced by a simple verb with any one of the stems as nucleus, e.g. *vātan* 'he came' or *surtan* 'he saw'. A full paradigm of this type of verb in the past tense is as follows:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>vā-t-a sur-ta</i> | 'I came and saw' |
| 2. | <i>vā-t-a sur-t-ap</i> | 'we (excl.) came and saw' |
| 3. | <i>vā-t-a sur-t-aṭ</i> | 'we (incl.) came and saw' |
| 4. | <i>vā-t-i sur-t-i</i> | 'you (sg.) came and saw' |
| 5. | <i>vā-t-i sur-t-ider</i> | 'you (pl.) came and saw' |
| 6. | <i>vā-t-a sur-t-an</i> | 'he came and saw' |
| 7. | <i>vā-t-a sur-t-ar</i> | 'they (men) came and saw' |
| 8. | <i>vā-t-a sur-t-ad</i> | 'she/it came and saw' |
| 9. | <i>vā-t-e sur-t-e</i> | 'they (non-masc.) came and saw' |

The above forms display several characteristics which distinguish coordinate compounds, viz.

(a) There are two inflected verb stems S_1 (simple or complex) and S_2 (simple) in each construction, of which the form of S_2 governs the form of S_1 in finite or non-finite inflection.

(b) Only two tenses, past and non-past, can occur in coordinate verb compounds. No example occurs for coordinates with durative or negative inflection under this type.

(c) Both S_1 and S_2 should be inflected for the same tense: past or non-past- e.g., *vāta surtan* 'he came and saw', *vāna sūnan* 'he will come and see', but not **vāta sūnan* or **vāna surtan*.

(d) The vowel following the tense morpheme of S_1 is phonologically predictable since it is identical with the vowel following the tense morpheme of S_2 . This statement holds good even in the case of non-finite compound verbs, e.g. *vā-t-i sur-t-iṅ* 'after having come and seen'.

(e) The cooccurrence restrictions between S_1 and S_2 , if any, seem to be primarily semantic. Any two verb stems may enter into a coordinate construction and the order of the stems can be reversed with only corresponding change in meaning (see (c) above).

(f) Coordinates of this type contain stems with equal substitution privileges since either S_1 or S_2 can replace the entire construction with the inflection of S_2 .

It seems plausible to treat these coordinate compounds as a syntactically derivable class. For instance, two clauses like (1) *vār piṅḍitar* 'they carried' (2) *vār otar* 'they brought' can be coordinated if they have identical noun phrases as subjects but different verbs in identical tense. By deleting the identical noun phrase in Clause (2), we obtain **vār piṅḍitar otar*. This can be converted into a grammatical sentence in two ways: (a) by adding the clitic *e otar*; or, by a morphophonemic rule (§ 8.2a), i.e. *vār piṅḍitar e otar*; or, by a vowel following the tense morpheme: *vār piṅḍta otar* 'they carried and brought (him)'. Examples:

Finite (past):

piṅḍita otar (2.80) 'they carried and brought'

soRa ruḡitad (3.5) 'it went and entered'

(rētodiṅ) suRta tiRa (3.80) 'I roasted and ate (the crab)'

gelsta vāta (3.105) 'I escaped and came'

tepta tiRad (5.35) 'it nipped off and ate'

- kolita sitar (5.70) 'they measured and gave'
 vaRta uṭap (5.110) 'we cooked and ate'
 vāta ḍiptan (6.28) 'he came and put it down'
 kūkta tata (7.150) 'I called and brought'
 (bāta) peRte iḍte (8.143) 'they brought (food) and served (it)'
 (ḍēvad) sōta bastar (8.176) 'they came out (into the verandah) and sat'
 vanditi vātidar (8.447) 'you came, tired'
 kutta iḍtan (9.160) 'he took off (his clothes) and put them down'
 soRe andite (9.275) 'they went and caught hold of him'

Finite (non-past):

- losna uṇap (4.111) 'we will beg and eat'
 kūṛna sonaṭ (5.161) 'let us get together and go'
 kūkna tana (7.144) 'I will call and bring'
 varna uṇan (9.89) 'he cooks and eats'
 tepne one (9.103) 'they will nip off and carry (them)'

A few coordinate compounds with three constituent stems have been noticed in the texts:

- sona sūṇa vāna ge (9.99) 'I'll go, see, and come'
 ... iḍta pōsta vāta (9.204) 'I left it, forgot and came'
 kerna asna vāna (9.309) 'I'll collect, hold them and come away'

SUBORDINATE COMPOUNDS:

6.46. S_1 of a subordinate compound is the main carrier of meaning while S_2 modifies it in some manner. Only S_1 has the privilege of substituting for the entire construction with the finite or non-infinite inflection of S_2 .

Intensive Compounds

6.47. These have the same structural features of coordinate compounds with regard to characteristics (a) to (d)

in § 6.45. S_1 may be any simple or complex stem, and S_2 is a small set of simple auxiliary verbs, viz. son 'go', ris 'leave', si 'give', ta 'bring', pok 'leave off', etc. These carry adverbial meanings which qualify the meaning of S_1 .

(a) *Finite (past)*:

ekta rista (3.48) 'I climbed it up'

(vaniṅ) rista sitad (3.96) 'it left him off'

kaṭista ristan (4.143) 'he caused (the crab) to bite off (the eyes)'

sāta soRar (5.10) 'they were dead and gone'

sita poktan (5.87) 'he gave it away'

egrita soRad (7.226) 'it flew away'

visi tatan (9.248) 'he finished (them) off'

dipta sitad (9.437) 'she took it down'

kūkta otan (9.542) 'he called them out'

(b) *Finite (non-past)*:

tina poknad (5.157) 'it will eat (me) off'

tōrisna sīna (7.52) 'I will show you clearly'

sōna sona (9.11) 'I will get out'

teṇe one (9.103) 'the birds will pluck (them) off'

riḃisna tanaṭ (9.272) 'we will get them released to bring (them)'

losna sīnan (9.374, .378) 'he will ask to give'

Aspectual Compounds

6.48. These are by far the most numerous of the verb compounds. Characteristics (a) and (d) (see § 6.45) pertain to them, but not (b) (c) (e) and (f). S_1 is any verb stem (simple or complex) inflected for past, non-past, or imperative (-zi, § 6.37) and S_2 is an inflected form of man- 'be', used as an auxiliary, which expresses several aspects like completion or continuation of an action in the past or present.

S_1 and S_2 (man-) do not have the same kind of agreement restrictions as obtain in the case of coordinate and intensive compounds. The inflectional restrictions are set out below.

S ₁	S ₂ (man-)	Grammatical Name
past (-t-)	past	past perfect
non-past (-n-)	non-past	present perfect
incomplete (-zi)	durative	non-past continuous
	past	past continuous

(a) Past perfect: A compound verb construction in the past perfect expresses the completion of an action in the past as opposed to present perfect which expresses an action just completed, or completed but extending its domain into the present.

veyu kākta maRar (4.35) 'they were with their mouths open' (lit. they opened their mouths and remained so).

naᅇi kāp kita maRar (4.36) 'they were there waiting for me'

einbe mi tāta gaᅇsta maRan (6.138) 'where had your grandfather saved (it all) ?'

aysi veRtad kaka ayli veRa maRad (7.117) 'when the mother said so, the girl remained listening'

gūrīta maRan (9.104) 'he had slept or he remained sleeping'

soRa maRan (9.498) 'he had gone'

(b) Present perfect: This verb refers to an action which was begun in the past but whose domain extends into the present.

dāᅇita manan (2.64, 9.138) 'he has hidden himself' (lit. he is, having hidden himself)

veyu kākta manar (4.22) 'they remain, with their mouths open (ed)'

ubra subra tata mana, uᅇ'a (4.39) 'I have brought the left-overs, eat!'

ini mūᅇa dōsti mani (4.90) 'what bundle is it that you have brought, carrying?'

vizu sāte mane (4.96) 'all of them have died' (lit. being dead, they are).

(dokra) gūrīta manan (6.116) 'the old man has slept' (lit. having slept, the old man is).

ayer o tata manar (7.72) 'somebody has brought (them)'

veRta manan (9.447) 'he has said'

soRa manar (9.480) 'they have gone'

(c) Non-past durative: This construction expresses a continuous action in the present or future. Only few instances occur in the texts:

anam unate gurna manzinaṭ (4.58) 'let us eat and will remain sleeping'

nān idna manzina (6.68) 'I shall keep (them with me)'.
(I will be keeping them with me)'

yā tōludin surzi manzina (6.152) 'I shall remain watching the skin'

(d) Past durative: This verb expresses a continuous action in the past.

peyeṇaṇ sonsi maRan (4.20) 'he was going to the cattle'

tasi maRa (4.35) 'I was bringing'

kizaysi maRe (4.91) 'they were jeering at me'

ayli būlazi maRad (7.76) 'the girl was wandering'

karzizi maRe (9.271) 'they were playing'

(embe) būlazi maRi (9.289) 'where were you wandering?'
vāzi maRa (9.294) 'I was coming'

venzi maRan (9.316) 'he was listening'

There is one instance in which two perfective participles are followed by maR:

ṛibisi osi maRe (9.517) 'they got them released and were taking them away'

6.49. The aspectual compounds differ from the other two types in having the *zi-* form also as S_1 . When S_2 follows the *zi* form is not $man-$, S_1 and S_2 are not members of a compound. Such combinations may be taken as sequences of a non finite verb + a finite or non-finite verb because

their order can be disturbed without affecting the grammatical or semantic structure of the sentence; e.g.

koyzi taga (9.111) 'cut and bring (them)'

tasi idžinar (9.166) '(who) are leaving, having brought (them)'

idži sonsina (9.189) 'I was going, having put them down'

sonsi surzi ra?a (9.98) 'go, see and come'

maři vātan (9.102) 'he turned back and came'

diği karizine (9.137) 'they got down and were playing'

For further examples, see § 6.37.

Reflexive compounds:

6.50. This name is used for want of a better one. There is a class of transitive verbs which become abstract nouns (?) by the addition of -ay; such forms are verbalized in the middle voice by the addition of an auxiliary ā 'to become', which may carry finite or non-finite inflection.

arp- 'drop, slip out' : arp-ay ā 'to slip (around) one's own neck' (9.161)

ḍūs- 'to comb' : ḍūs-ayā- 'to get one's hair dressed'

tig- 'press' : tig-ay ā 'press one's own body'

toR- 'tie' : toR-ay ā- 'to tie oneself' (9.449).

tōr- 'see, be seen' : tōray ā 'to be seen, to appear oneself' (9.167, 171)

dand- 'kick' : danday ā- 'kick up one's own legs (in pain)'

pas- 'scratch' : pasay ā 'scratch oneself'

rās- 'apply' : rāsay ā- 'to apply (something) to one's own body' (9.145)

lāg- 'pull' : lāgay ā- 'to be pulled' (4.33)

There are a few instances of causative stems in {bis ~ pis} in which -ay replaces -is, before ā 'to come'

kas-pis- 'cause to stick' : kasp-ay ā 'to get stuck'

ri-bis- 'release' : ri-b-ay ā- 'get freed'

6.51. A small subclass of reflexive compounds which may be called Reciprocal Compounds, has been noticed in the material. These are formed by the addition of -as to a transitive verb stem which is then verbalized by means of ā 'to become', e.g.

as- 'hold' : as-as ā 'wrestle with' (lit. to hold each other)

as-as āzinar 'they are wrestling'

kat- 'cut' : kat-as ā- 'cut each other' katas ā zinar 'they are chopping each other'

gut- 'blow' : gutas ā- 'exchange blows'

eR- 'throw, fling' : eR-as ā- 'shoot each other'

NON-FINITE VERB COMPOUNDS

6.52. All the above classes of verb compounds can also occur as non-finite verbs, if S_2 (or S_3 in a few cases) carries non-finite inflection.

(a) Coordinate:

maRti bēstiṅ (9.275) 'as he turned back and looked'

ēru loti sitiṅa (9.356) 'if (you) took out and gave (them) water'

nīnu visirti vātiṅa (5.114) 'if you threw and came'

(b) Intensive:

sāti soRiṅ (4.126) 'as they had died'

vēnru visirti ristīṅ (5.157) 'as he threw (it) away'

(c) Aspectual:

ḍāṅṅiti maRiṅ (9.138) 'as he remained hidden'

āRe batkizi maRiṅ (6.3, 9.9) 'as they were living so'

karzizi maRiṅ (9.242) 'as they were playing'

āR osi maRiṅ (9.320) 'as he was so carrying'

arbazī maRiṅ (6.118) 'as (she) was crying'

(d) Reflexive:

tōray ā'eṅḍa (9.163) 'without being noticed'

ḍūsay āḍeṅ (9.178) 'to get (one's head) combed'

Iterative Compounds

6.53. A non-finite verb may be repeated twice (rarely thrice) to express a type of intensity of meaning signalled by adverbials in languages like English. The most common iteratives are the non-finite verbs in *-zi* (perfective) and *-tiŋ* (resultative), and *-pu* (simultaneous).

asi asi koytan (4.83) 'he held each one of them and cut it' (as- 'to hold')

nēnzi nēnzi vāzinider (4.108) 'you are coming breathing hard' (nēnz- to breathe)

āR unzi unzi ... (6.100) 'eating all the time like that ...' (uŋ- 'to eat')

nān karzizi karzizi uŋa (7.146) 'I will eat playing and playing' (karzi- 'to play')

veRpu veRpu (9.182) 'no sooner had he said so, than...' (veR- 'to say')

āRe maRiŋ maRiŋ (9.11) 'as they had been so, for a long time'

āRu soRiŋ soRiŋ (9.29) 'as he kept going for a long time' (son- to go)

goron vizu būlazi būlazi (9.85) 'wandering all over the hill, all the time'

đānzi đānzi soRan (9.270) 'he was going hiding himself all the while'

NOUN-VERB COMPOUNDS

6.54. A number of nouns immediately followed by a small set of verb roots (*ā-* 'become', *ki-* 'do', *sō-* 'come out', *son-* 'go', *reŋ-* 'beat', etc.) constitute nuclei of compound morphological constructions with idiomatic meanings. They are classified by the verbalizing constituent:

ā- 'become, be'

uzray 'readiness' : uzray ā- 'be ready'

kōpam 'anger' : kōpam ā- 'be angry'

gazibizi 'flurry, confusion' : gazibizi ā- 'be hurried'

sarda 'happiness' : sarda ā- 'be happy'

(Also see compounds in verbalizer ā- 'become', §§6.51-2).

ki- 'do, make'

*ās 'sifting' : ās ki- 'to sift or clean grain'

*kāp 'waiting' : kāp ki- 'to wait'

gōla 'scolding' : gōla ki- 'to scold'

*dasul 'appearance, audience' : dusal kibis- 'to cause somebody to get audience'

pōsa 'nourishment' : pōsa ki- 'to nourish'

*basa 'seat' : basa ki- 'to seat'

bāṭa 'share of food served' : bāṭa ki- 'to serve food'

būḍ 'bath' : būḍ ki- 'to bathe'

*mansu 'mind' : mansu ki- 'to want, wish'

sani 'crime, sin' : sani ki- 'to commit sin'

si- 'give'

sara 'cowdung solution' : sara si- 'sprinkle cowdung solution'

son- 'go, leave'

tevgu 'sharpness' : tevgu son- 'to become blunt'

puyu 'flower, cataract' : puyu son- 'to develop cataract'

sō 'come out, run'

mūRi 'mucus of nose' : mūRi sō- 'nose, to run'

rey 'beat, strike'

piru 'rain' : piru rey- 'rain, to rain'

sara 'cowdung solution' : sara rey 'to sprinkle cowdung water'

saboki 'whip' : saboki rey 'to whip'

7. ADVERBS

7.1. Adverbs, like adjectives, are primarily set off by their syntactic function as attributes or complements to verb phrases or sentences. There is, however, a small class of basic (underived) adverb stems, for there is no evidence within the data that they carry verbal or nominal inflection. There are also a few complex adverbs derived by adding exclusively adverbial suffixes like *-aṇa*, *-eṇḍa*, etc. to stems belonging to the other classes, e.g. *tiya*- 'sweet': *tiyaṇa* 'sweetly'. Morphologically identifiable adverbs, like the other major word classes, can be divided into three classes, viz. simple, complex, and compound. Each of these again can be subclassified, on semantic grounds, as time, place, and manner adverbs.

SIMPLE ADVERBS

7.2. Adverbial stems which are monomorphemic are simple or basic adverbs.

- (a) *Time*: *ādvat* (8.382) 'meanwhile', *ēl* (8.399) 'now', *tarvata* (2.104) 'after (time)' (< *Te. tarwāta*), *maṛi* (8.288, 9.124) 'then, again, still', *velaru* (4.53,) 'all day long'.
- (b) *Manner*: *aṇa* (7.140, 9.301) 'separately', *andeke* (4.122) 'for that reason' (< *Te. anduk-ē*), *edgara* (6.104, 9.365) 'absolutely, by any means' occurs with negative verbs, *eski* (5.36) 'speedily', *kaṛpara* 'to heart's content (in seeing)', *gaḍem* (6.166) 'suddenly (in diving)', *ḍaṭain* (8.112) 'in large quantities (in catching fish)', *bāga* (4.102) 'well, rightly, adequately' (< *Te. bāgā* 'well' complex adverb

of manner), *bēgi* (1.54) 'quickly', *lāvu* (9.174) 'extremely (in being disgusted)', *sari* (9.487) 'immediately', *seḍi* (9.413) 'merely, gratis'.

COMPLEX ADVERBS

7.3. Complex or derived adverbs consist of a single root (adjective, verb or noun) followed by one or more derivative suffixes. Sometimes the roots are segmentable only on formal grounds and their stem class may not be easily identifiable. The common derivative suffixes are *-Ru* 'manner' (with demonstrative adjectives), *-aṅ(a)/ṅ(a)* 'like, -ly' (with adjectives of colour or quality and a few verbs and nouns), *-eṅ(a)* (with adjectives of quality).

Root	Derived Adverb
ā- (adj.) 'that'	ā-Ru (8.19) 'that manner, so, like that'
i- (adj.) 'this'	i-Ru (8.54) 'this manner, this way, like this'
e- (adj.) 'which'	e-lag (8.90) 'which manner, how' (< Te. <i>elāgu</i> 'how?')
es- (adj.) 'which, what'	es-eṅ (9.35) 'when' (with neg. verbs)
*iṛ- (v.) 'be tight'	iṛ-aṅa 'tightly'
*kār- ?	kār-aṅa 'well enough (in being soaked)'
kūr- (v.) 'to join'	kūr-aṅa (8.6) 'together'
*kēt- ?	kēt-aṅa (9.312) 'separately'
irmu (n.) 'narrowness'	irmu-ṅa 'narrowly'
era- (adj.) 'red'	era-ṅ(a) 'reddishly'
tela- (adj.) 'white'	tela-ṅ(a) 'whitishly'
gopa (adj.) 'big large'	gopa-ṅ(a) (7.50) 'largely, extremely'
tiya (adj.) 'sweet'	tiya-ṅ(a) 'sweetly'
sala (adj.) 'cool'	sala-ṅ(a) 'coolly'
nuna (adj.) 'smooth'	nuna-ṅ(a) (6.138) 'smoothly, cleanly'
palsa (adj.) 'thin'	palsa-ṅ(a) 'thinly'
negi (adj.) 'nice, fine'	neg-eṅ(a) (1.68) 'nicely'
negri (adj.) 'good'	negreṅda (6.157) 'well, rightly, nicely, fully'
se?i (adj.) 'bad'	se?eṅda 'badly'

eski (n.) 'speed'	esk-eŇda (5.132) 'speedily'
ako (n.) 'distance'	ako-Ňd 'distantly'
niri (adj.) 'tall, long'	niri-Ňd 'being tall (of crop)'
es- (adj.) 'what'	es-iŇd (8.183) 'how far, how long'
nas- 'that'	nas-iŇd (8.183) 'that far, for a while'

There are two adverbs in -Ňu preceded by a root in final -u; however, the roots are not found anywhere else in our data, viz. meru-Ňu (7.68) 'thoroughly (in beating)', karu-Ňu (6.154) 'thoroughly (in getting dried)'; varseka (8.153) 'in a row, one by one', and meleka (9.471) 'slowly' seem to contain a derivative -ka; these are likely to be borrowings from Telugu, cf. warasa 'row': warasagā 'in a row'; mella- 'slow': mellagā 'slowly'.

COMPOUND ADVERBS

7.4. Many onomatopoeic expressions with partial or full reduplication function as compound adverbs of manner. The first constituent of each construction can be taken as the basic form, from which the second constituent can be derived by rules of reduplication.

- ade-bide (8.294) 'in an ill formed manner'
- kēver kēver (4.120) 'crying of child'
- ganta ganti (8.398) 'thickly grown crop'
- gudu gudu 'with great rush, energy'
- tupeku tupeku (6.156) 'drops of rain on dried leaves'
- tuvek tuvek (4.122) 'throbbing like pulse'
- tever tever 'screaming'
- dupeku dupeku (6.156) 'drops of rain on dried leaves, etc.'
- tenra tenri (8.398) 'thickly grown'
- bara bara 'noise of downpour'
- beta beta (in song) 'noise of somebody rolling on a mat'
- daŇ daŇ (6.174) 'noise of drum'

Some onomatopoeic expressions add an adverbial suffix -na at the end; e.g. galgal-na (9.450) 'jingling', bara bara-na (6.156) 'rain pouring down', baral-na (8.80) 'suddenly with a

bang while throwing something down', liṭ-na (5.157) 'suddenly (in rising)'

7.5. Two adverbial compounds of manner with unique constituents look like minor sentences, viz. sēse mara, kāme kadu (9.497) 'under any circumstances, never, come what may'. These always occur attributively to negative verbs. Two other compounds of Oṛiya origin are tās boḍa, dēbi boḍa (9.240) 'luxuriously (of growth of crop)', and one of Telugu origin nērak poyte (3.32) 'not knowing, ignorant'.

7.6. A few basic adverbs of time, place and manner occur reduplicated to denote intensity or emphasis:

begi 'speedily': begi begi 'very speedily'

vēRe 'separately': vēRe vēRe 'each separately'

ADVERBIAL NOUNS

7.7. Adverbial nouns — simple, complex, and compound — denoting time and place which are morphologically nouns are adverbial syntactically (§4.30).

SIMPLE STEMS

Time: astamanam (8.394) 'all day long', ēṇdad 'one year' (6.3), kālam 'coming year', garek (8.399) 'moment', dāpru (2.99) 'after (time)', dinami (5.157) 'daily', nāṅaṅ-/nāṅḍ- (4.12) 'that day', nēnru (7.167) 'today', pendal(a) (2.19) 'early morning', podu (6.93) 'day', podoy (8.405) 'evening', vige (7.167) 'tomorrow', venka 7.45 'after', *vēlam 'the year after next year', saṅem (9.326) 'a moment', samasram (2.102) 'year'.

Place: ako 'distance', aḍgi (8.119) 'below, bottom', ōra 'nearby, sideways', ḍagru (8.230) 'near', dari 'close to', dūram (8.353) 'far', darpu (5.50) 'neighbourhood', narṃi (7.59, 9.32) 'middle', pari (7.31) 'place', pasa 'behind', pite 'back' (in songs only), baylu (3.3) 'outside', muṅgal(a) (7.59) 'in front', musku (5.155) 'above', venka/venkal (7.59, 8.113) 'behind', loṅi (8.117) 'inside', veṭa (8.105)

'after (somebody) following', *veli* (8.202) 'outside',
suṭula (8.47) 'all round', *sērpū* (3.48) 'proximity'.

Manner: *mōstaram* (8.254) 'method, manner'.

COMPLEX STEMS

Time: *i-ʔen* 'yesterday' (7.124), *o-ʔen* 'day-before-yesterday',
mu-ʔe(n) 'the day after tomorrow', *or-su* (9.306) 'once',
ri-za 'twice', etc.

Place: *a-be/b-ā-nu* (3.5) 'there', *i-be/b-ē-nu* (8.55) 'here'
em-be (8.63) 'where', *a-tal* (8.53) 'that side', *i-tal* (7.73)
 'this side', *ako-ṇḍ* 'far', etc.

COMPOUND STEMS

Time: *iy-oṇḍ* 'this year' *dur-oṇḍ* 'next year', *nīr-uṇḍ* 'last
 year', *mōn-eṇḍ* 'the year before last year'. In all these
 -oṇḍ/-uṇḍ/-eṇḍ may be taken as a stem meaning 'year', cf.
eṇḍad 'year': the preceding elements can also be identi-
 fied with certain unique roots. These are fused com-
 pounds. *es-neṇḍ* 'any day', *nis-neṇḍ* (8.58) 'these many
 days', *esti vale* 'when', *nasti vale* (8.96) 'then', *dinu dinu*
 (9.10) 'day by day', *pendal kaṛa* (8.98) 'early morning',
 or *neṇḍ* 'one day', *ri neṇḍ* 'two days', *mu neṇḍ* 'three days',
reyzāl (8.340) 'day and night', *sir naṛṇe* 'early morning',
veṭa veṭa (7.67) 'right behind', etc.

Place: *embe vaṛe* (8.118) 'which side', *ōra ōra* (8.109)
 'sideways, beside', *gata venka* (9.332) 'behind', *dari dari*
 (8.311) 'being very near', *tūrpu vaṛe* (2.73) 'east',
paṛmeṭi vaṛe (2.74) 'west', *pasa vaṛe*, *pasa dari* (9.332)
 'back side', *pasa venka* (9.342) 'exactly behind.'

7.8. Certain suffixes or particles are added to nouns,
 adjectives or verbs (derived or inflected stems) to derive
 adverbs.

-laka 'at the rate of': *uRku laka* 'one each', *ruṭku laka* (8.311)
 'two each', *mūRku laka* 'three each', or at the rate of
 one, etc.

-lakenḁa 'like, as if': unṛ e lakenḁa (9.83) 'uniformly', mūnzi lakenḁa (5.81) 'like nose', piru vāni lakenḁa (6.71) 'as if rain will come', mī lakenḁa (7.180), 'like you', iya lakenḁa (3.68) 'like this, this way', nela podu lakenḁa (9.141) 'like moon and sun'.

-ban 'place, to' follows oblique forms of nouns and relative verbs, e.g. goron ṛeyni ban (8.28) 'to the place of clearing forest', nī ban 'to you' (2.24), vizeri ban 'to all people' (7.61), unṛ e ban e (7.141) 'at one and the same place', embe ban (7.151) 'which place'.

Similarly *-vale* 'time', *-vare* 'direction', and other place and direction words like *aḁgi* 'below', *musku* 'above', *ḁagru* 'near', *lo?i* 'inside', etc. can be added to oblique stems of nouns and relative verbs to produce exocentric adverbial compounds of time and place respectively.

7.9. All exocentric nouns (nouns inflected with non-nominative case morphemes and with post positions) and all non-finite verbs except the relative participles syntactically function as adverbials or complements attributive to verb phrases (see §§ 4.43 ff., 6.13, 6.36 ff.).

8. CONNECTIVES

8.1. This chapter deals with words (including some particles) grouped by their function as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions at the clause and phrase level. Some of them are inflected verbs and others are indeclinables constituting a class of stems by themselves, as they cannot occur as utterances, unlike verbs and nouns.

COORDINATING CONNECTIVES

8.2. These connect two independent clauses by such meaning relationships as 'and', 'but', 'therefore' 'either...or', etc.

(a) {-e ~ -ne} 'and': -e occurs after a consonant and -ne after a vowel. Two or more independent clauses can be combined by this particle, if they have identical subjects and verbs in identical tense. This particle can occur any number of times in producing sentences of infinite length. The condition of identity of subjects can be relaxed if the 2nd clause has a subject noun phrase marked for time.

vari māta veRanṛ e...izi olbitanṛ e, visaristanṛ e
dāṇita ṛistan (2·42-45) '(he) heard them, pondered, got
worried and hid himself away'

guraṃ tate ne mēpu mēpte (9·22) 'they (women)
brought the horse and grazed it'

nīnu vātid e niso dinamku ātad! (9·53) 'you came here
and how many days has it been (since)!'

In most of these cases it seems possible to replace the finite verbs and the following particle -e/-ne by the corresponding Imperfective participle in //zi// (§ 6·37).

(b) *kaka*: 'therefore, then, because, afterwards'. This is used when the meaning of a following clause follows or results from that of the preceding. Both sequential and consequential relations are denoted by it. It follows mostly a clause ending in a finite verb in the past tense.

nores uRktad kaka nānu vāta (3.104) 'the tiger ran away, therefore, I came'

vār uṭar kaku kuṇḍeṇ maṇḍiṇ piṇḍitar (4.38) 'they ate (food), afterwards he carried the pots, etc. off'

maṛi mane kaka sōpsinan su (5.148) 'there are still more (corpses), that is why he is bringing more out'

aysi veRtad kaka ayli veRa maRad (7.117) 'as the mother said, the girl kept listening'.

(c) {*o ... o ~ -no ... -no*} 'either...or': Each of these discontinuous particles occurs at the end of each of a pair of independent clauses combined by 'either ... or' relationship, when they have identical verbs but different subjects. A certain amount of uncertainty coupled with alternation is implied in the usage of these.

(*avi*) *zāva ne vaRte no kaṇḍa ne vaRte no* (8.66) 'the women) may have cooked either porridge or meat'

bōḍu maran veRtad e rineṇḍ e soRado, munēṇḍ e soRad o (9.80) 'maybe two days had passed or maybe three days, since the Banyan Tree told him so'

The subjects of the two clauses need not be identical, if there is some other semantic basis for their alternation:

sēndu nidra ne kitar o mada reyu ne ātad o (8.74) 'may be they were deeply asleep or it was midnight'

(d) *gani*: 'but', 'notwithstanding' (< *Te. gāni, kāni*):
vizu dariṇ son'a gani yā dariṇ sonma (9.257) 'go in any direction, but don't go in this direction'

māp nāṭo sonap gani abe gūrzi man'a (8.44) 'we will go to the forest, but (you) remain lying there'

SUBORDINATING CONNECTIVES

8.3. An independent clause is converted into a dependent one when it is embedded in the main clause by one of these conjunctions:

(a) *izi*: Morphologically this is the Imperfective or Incomplete participle of in- 'say' (§ 6.37). It is used in many senses: 'so, saying, thinking, thus', etc. Quotative *izi* embeds (or connects) the quoted clause in the main clause. In this context the main clause carries a verb denoting speech or thought such as *veR-* 'speak', *olbi-* 'think', *kük-* 'call', *ḡelis-* 'shout', *los-* 'ask', *māris-* 'request', etc. Syntactically the quoted clause may function as the object of the transitive verb in the main clause marked by *izi*, e.g.

'radu bābu sonaḡ le' *izi* *variḡ* *kūktan* (2.79) 'he called them saying, "Gentlemen, come on, let us go"'

kaḡdek dūru sidaḡ *izi* *lostan* (5.66) 'he said to them (asked them) "please give me some flour"'

'ōna ōna ra'a anam uḡ'a' *izi* *veRtan* (4.31) 'he said "brother, brother!, come and eat food"'

'unzar māpru' *izi* *būmidin māristan* (6.20) 'he worshipped Earth saying "O Lord!"'

Quoting an imitative form:

'ḡān' *izi* *pitta ristān* (3.94) 'he broke wind (producing the sound) 'ḡāng''

izi can also be used in the sense of 'for the reason that', e.g.

bitek baḡa sānan *izi* *gazibizi ātan* (4.79) 'he got worried that (thinking) *Bitek* would die of hunger'

Other uses of *izi*, when followed by non-speech verbs in the main clause, include the following:

sāmbu *izi* *nes'ed*, *zōre* *izi* *nes'ed* (3.45) 'the tiger doesn't know that (something) is a thorn and that (something) is a stream'

gaḡad ēru uḡa *izi* *gaḡad ḡigitad* (3.51) 'it got down to the river (thinking) 'I shall drink water in the river'

(b) *iRiḡa* 'if, if said'. This is the conditional form of in- 'say'. It is often added at the end of an independent clause

to convert it into a conditional clause. Generally this marker follows a finite verb in the past tense.

ēl vāta iRiṇa tina pokna (3·10) 'if I came now I would devour you'

mī buba astan iRiṇa ale?a (7·62) 'if your father holds you up, keep quiet'

ēl nīnu soRi iRiṇa mī yāyeṇ kūksi taga (7·143) 'after you have gone today, invite your mother and bring her'

It also occurs in the sense 'if (one) thinks, considers, to consider....', etc.

'uṇa' iRiṇa anam siled (5·11) 'there is no food, for me to eat (lit. if I think I shall eat)'

kata iRiṇa kata ā?ed (2·1) 'to call it a story, it is not a story (lit. it's not a story, if one should consider it a story)'

(c) *aRiṇa* 'but, then, in that case'. This seems to be the past conditional form of an archaic *an- 'to be'. This can also begin a sentence as a sentential adverb.

sur?a na atek, niṇi aRiṇa arla kine (4·98) 'look brother Atek, they give trouble, if it be you'

aRiṇa elag ānaṭ lu (5·43) 'but then, what shall we do?'

(d) {*o~no*}. An interrogative clause with a question word is subordinated to the main clause by this connective. This can also be treated as a relative clause (correlative) marker, viz. 'whoever...he', 'where...there', 'which...that', etc., e.g.

embe nī iṣṭam kinid o bān iḍ?a (9·130) 'leave it (there) where you want to'

nīn oni sarkuṇ ayen muṭṭanṇ o ayaka surzi man?a (9·133) 'keep watching (that) who touches the things that you have carried (there)'

nān otika embe iḍta no bān e ḍigitan (9·158) 'he descended there itself where I put the things I carried'

mā kīdu inika manad o dani pēru veRtu (2·107) 'tell us the name of (that) what is in our hands'

The subordinate clause in the above sentences behaves as Adverbial phrase of place or Noun phrase functioning as direct object of transitive verbs.

9. INTERJECTIONS AND VOCATIVES

9.1. Interjections and vocatives are autonomous linguistic units known as minor sentences. They are words (simple or compound) or phrases which generally begin utterances followed by major sentences. Many of these occur as iterative compounds. Sometimes the distinction between interjections and vocatives is hard to maintain, except situationally like when addressing God in surprise or distress, e.g. *rām rām* 'alas!' (Lord Rama!). Several of these expressions (even whole sentences in some cases) are borrowed into Koṇḍa from neighbouring Telugu and Oṛiya. Interjections and vocatives characteristically carry a high-falling pitch contour on the last syllable.

INTERJECTIONS

9.2. These are simple or compound words used in surprise, sorrow, anger, pity, endearment, etc. Some kinship terms like *aba* 'father', *ana* 'brother' occur as the first constituents of interjectional compounds.

- (a) *Surprise* (mixed with fear, pleasure, awe, etc.)
aba-ba-ba (8.217), *abagaṇḍe* (3.48), *ana gaṇḍe* (5.33), *gaṇḍe* (5.97), *asi rōya* (3.10), *aba nāyṇa* (5.157), *abaya abaya* (9.211), *oho* (1.65), *oho re* (6.102).
- (b) *Sorrow, pity*: *āha* (4.6), *ōho* (4.22), *nā rāyṇa* (5.99) (lit. Lord Narayana!), *pāpam* (7.128, 8.447) (lit. sin! pity!), *rām rām* 'O God!'
- (c) *Anger* (abusively): *nores labam* (5.132) 'tiger's prey' (curse), *venka ama pūku deṇa* (6.105) (borrowed from Telugu, in which, it is a tabooed expres-

sion, 'may I sleep with their mother!' In Koṇḍa it does not carry this connotation and is simply an abusive term used in a fit of rage), *siḡu siḡu* (9·351) 'shame, shame!', *hat baynsad* (8·58) (perh. borrowed from Oriya), 'damn it!'

- (d) *Endearment*: *ale (ale)* (1·23, 1·41) 'hey!' (in addressing a male or female).
 (e) *Attention*: *o'o* 'yes' (in listening to a story), *sile sile* (9·262) 'no, no', *adi lo* (1·40) 'lo, here it is!'

VOCATIVES

9.3. Vocative expressions include personal names, descriptive titles, kinship terms, and certain socially significant modes of address, distinguishing age, sex, social status, and degree of familiarity with the speaker. Vocatives are optionally preceded by certain bound or free words (simple or iterative) which may be called pre-vocatives, e.g. *ō*, *ē*, *ōr*, *ore*, *ale*, etc. Of these *ore (ore)* and *ale (ale)* can also occur by themselves as substitutes for vocatives which may be called pro-vocatives. *ore* always occurs before human nouns (or personified animals). A vocative phrase may have more than one vocative word in coordinate construction, for instance, a socially significant title followed by personal name, etc.

9.4. A broad semantic classification of vocatives is given below:

(a) *Kinship terms*: Most kinship terms have the structure (C) $\check{V}CV$. When used as vocatives they optionally lose the initial (C) \check{V} . The remnants occur as clitics in construction with prevocatives, other vocatives, phrases, or clauses.

In Reference (1st and
2nd pers.)

yāya 'mother'

buba 'father'

ana 'elder brother'

oni 'sister-in-law'

māma 'uncle, father-in-law'

mīmi 'aunt, mother-in-law'

dāda 'grand-father, elder brother'

bibi 'elder sister, brother's wife'

In Address (2nd sg.)

ō ya 'O mother'

ō ba

ō na

ō ni

ō ma

ō mi

ō da

ō bi

Examples :

- ō ya ō ya (1·9) 'O mother, mother'
 ō ba ō ba (2·55) 'O father, father'
 ō na ō na (4·31) 'O brother, brother'
 atek na (4·61) 'Brother Atek'
 ō ya ō ba (7·58) 'O mother, father'
 ale ma, ale mi (7·214) 'hello uncle, hello aunt'
 ale mi (7·224) 'dear mother-in-law'

(b) *Personal names:*

- bābu, sadu rāzu (2·37) 'Sir, Sadu king'
 ore ore bitek (4·42) 'O Bitek'
 ore ore soṭa (8·43) 'O Sota'

(c) *Descriptive terms:*

- sātikider (6.72; also invocation, p. 9) 'O ye the dead'
 maRikider (6·72; also invocation, p. 9) 'O ye the living'
 sāṇḍaktider (6·138) 'you the rogues' (abusive term)
 ore ore koṟoru (2.58) 'O children' (father addressing his
 small ones)
 ale ḍokri (6.9) 'old lady' (husband addressing wife)
 ore ore sir narun (9.52) 'O man'
 ōr bōdekaṇḍe (7.162) 'O young ladies' (husbands ad-
 dressing wives)

(d) *Titles reflecting social values (other than kinship terms)*

Respectful (addressing man):

- bābu (2·22) 'Sir'
 ore ore bābur (2.32) 'O gentlemen!'
 ore bābu guruṇu (2.110) 'O gentleman, Guru'

Gods and super humans:

- unzar māpru (6.20) 'O Lord' (unzar occurs only in this
 combination)
 būmi tali (6.21) 'earth mother'
 āgas tanṛi (6.21) 'sky father'
 rām rām māpru (8.146) 'Lord Rama'
 tali mā lasmi (8.380) 'Mother, Goddess Lakshmi'

Friends: (male or female) ṭoṇḍa (ṭoṇḍa) (3.55) 'O friend,
 Young children: ore ore buḍa buḍa (6.119) 'O boy', buḍi
 (7.151) 'O girl'Others: ō ziya ziya (9.17) 'darling, darling' (a woman ad-
 dressing her husband's brother)

10. CLITICS

10.1. These are a class of syntactic markers of one or two syllables which enter into construction with words, phrases or clauses. Although they are phonologically bound, they have the mobility of words, unlike derivational or inflectional morphemes which are limited in occurrence to particular classes of stems. They signal many modalities like interrogation, emphasis, concession, probability, surprise, etc.

10.2. *Interrogative* {a ~ na} (-a after a consonant, -na after a vowel). Any declarative clause can be converted into a question (requiring yes — no response) by adding -a/-na at the end. Even a part of the statement can be questioned when that part (if it is a phrase) carries the question marker, e.g.

niṇi lōku manar a sile na (9.52) 'do you have any folks or no?'

ore gotyar te guramku vizu toRtider a sile na (3.26)
'O watchmen! have you fastened all horses or not?'

10.3. *Emphatic* {e ~ ne} (-e following a consonant, -ne following a vowel). This is different from the connective morpheme {-e ~ -ne} discussed earlier (§8.2a). The meaning of this is 'only, -self' and it occurs non-finally in clauses.

ambu soRi sari ne sonaṭ (1.28) 'let us go the way the arrow has gone'

koṛu mani lakenḍa ne buṭi musta manad (1.62) 'the basket was covered as if the fowl remained only inside'

emenika basti maRiṇa daniṇ e ona (3.55) 'whichever has remained sitting, I will carry that only'

būmi ne iR(u) ātad e badeṅ ātad (4.51) 'The earth itself became so and formed slits'

After the locative suffix in -d(u) the emphatic particle always has the shape -ne, even when the former ends in a consonant. This distribution morphophonemically justifies the existence of a final -u in the locative suffix (§ 4.52).

nīrud(u) ne vitna le (6.63) 'I shall then sow in the ashes only!'

ḍokra kalu uṅzi nāṭo ne manzinan (6.100) 'the old man remained in the village only drinking liquor'

nān re[?]eṅḍa ne mungal vātad (5.127) 'it came ahead even without my coming (before I came)'

10.4. -ba: 'also even'. This occurs non-finally in sentences with any phrase, nominal or adverbial, e.g.

nani ba tinad le (3.30) 'it will eat me also'

māṭ ba anam uṅaṭ (4.58) 'let us also eat'

i[?]en uṭad e mari ba vātad (7.124) 'she ate yesterday and returned once again'

ke[?]e iRiṅ ba kūksi taga (7.144) 'even if she says no, call and bring her'

niktiṅa ba niṅ[?]er (5.97) 'even after waking (them), they won't stay up'

A question word followed by -ba acquires indefinite meaning (e.g. anybody, anywhere, etc.) and emphatic negation (e.g. nowhere, nobody) when coupled with the negative verb.

ayer 'who' : ayer ba 'anybody'

inika 'what' : inika ba (6.104) 'anything'

edgara inika ba siled (6.104) 'there is absolutely nothing'

vankaṅ elag ba kizi tanaṭ (5.27) 'we will carry them (doing) anyhow (by any means)'

embe ba gadi gūra kinaṭ (4.150) 'let us raise a hut or room anywhere'

-ba is one of the few elements that can interrupt the constituents of a compound verb (see §§ 6.44 ff.). It is also used

to express coordination between alternating noun or verb phrases, e.g.

katna ba poknan gutna ba poknan (4.102) 'he will either cut you off or stab you to death'

nores ba vānad buṭra ba vānad (3.26) 'either a tiger will come or a Buṭra'

10.5. *apidam* 'even, at least'. This clitic occurs non-finally in construction with noun or verb phrases, e.g.

kōḍiṅ apidam asnaṭ (4.7) 'let us at least get hold of some cattle (to graze)'

zōred apidam vākna vāna (5.149) 'I shall throw it at least in a river'

ōra kina apidam sūṅa (8.272) 'I shall at least look from a side' (the coord. verb is kina sūṅa).

ēl poṭiṅ apidam tepne one, elkeṅ apidam koRkne (9.103) 'now either the birds will nip them off or rats will nibble at them'

unri kaṅer apidam kinaṭ (6.121) 'let us at least drop a tear'

10.6. *o* 'some (body), some (thing), some (where)', when added to interrogative phrases. This particle is functionally different from the coordinating *o...o* and the subordinating *o* (§§ 8.2c, 8.3d).

ayer *o* goron katkizinar (4.106) 'some people were cutting the trees in forest'

inikad *o* niṅitad (5.157) 'something rose up'

emenikanṅ *o* osinan (9.272) 'somebody (lit. a man from somewhere) is carrying (the clothes)'

10.7. In addition to the above, there is a class of clitics whose meaning is much subtler and is not entirely clear in all cases. They occur as ICs with whole phrases or clauses and denote a wide range of nuances of meaning, not always tractable to translation. They are of three types: exclamatory, vocative, and declarative.

(a) *Exclamatory:*

-koṭe: used phrase or clause finally when something extremely unexpected is discovered, e.g.

aba gaṇḍe nores koṭe (3.48) 'my goodness, it is a tiger!'

bōdek mane koṭe (9.268) 'I see! there are young ladies!'

nānu nores gani yākad e koṭe buṭra (3.39) 'I am the tiger, but this, goodness, is (what they called) buṭra'

aya ḍipa vātad koṭe (8.284) 'Joy, the Dipa has come'

oho re nini daniṅ koṭe mā buba veRtan (9.266) 'Oh it is for this reason, I see, my father had said so!'

-gade: functions as a tag question at the end of a declarative sentence, e.g.

oho re, yā sirnarun vātanṅ e nela runḍi nelenṅ ātad gade!

(9.49) 'Oh! it has been a month or two since this human being came here! hasn't it?'

sile ama sile ra?a gade tōrisna (9.227) 'no, madam no! come, won't you, I'll show you'

(b) *Vocative*: Most of the kinship terms have reduced variants which occur as enclitics in construction with phrases or clauses (§ 9.4). There are two morphemes which behave like clitics with vocative function.

(1) *-re* addressing a familiar person or (animal personified) e.g.

nani sidaṅ re (3.9) '(you) give me also (that)!'

surḍu re yā ayli (7.124) '(you) look at this girl!'

ōho re nānu vāta (9.32) 'hey! look I've come!'

-re can be treated as an enclitic variant of *ore* (§ 9.3).

(2) *te*: This occurs occasionally added to the 2nd pl. in addressing humans, e.g.

ore ore bābur te (2.32) 'hello gentlemen!'

(Also see Invocation, p. 9; sentence 3)

(c) *Declarative*: A small class of eight monosyllabic particles occur in declarative (and imperative) predications in construction with whole clauses or phrases, *-le*, *-me*, *-ni*, *-lu*, *-li*, *-ta*, *-ge*, *-su*. Of these, *-le* occurs only after finite verbs as IC with whole clauses with the range of meanings

approximate to 'somehow, no doubt, then, never mind'. -re occur only after the imperative 2nd sg. connoting 'anxious request', -ni also occurs with imperative 2nd sg. and pl. -ge, -lu and -su can occur with verbal as well as non-verbal phrases. -ge is mostly used in narrating a story as clause-final marker, perhaps meaning, 'so it is said'. -su is a probabilitive particle approximating to English 'perhaps, I guess that, etc.'; -ta perhaps means 'certainly' but does not occur after a verb phrase. -lu again occurs in conversation and not in narration. Its meaning is still not clear. Study the following typical sentences illustrating the use of the clitics. The English translations are only broad approximations.

-le

- radu bābu sonaṭ le izi varin kūktan (2.79) 'he shouted to them, 'gentlemen, let us go''
 ale bābu sadmi?a le izi vanin veRtar (2.88) 'they said to him, 'sir, please read, then''
 naṇi ba tinad le su; nān elag āna le (3.30) 'it will, no doubt, also eat me; what shall I be then?'
 buṭra vāṭiṇa tina poknad le (3.33) 'if Buṭra came, it would, I'm afraid, eat me away'
 āha, elag ānaṭ le (4.6) 'alas! what shall we be, then?'
 elag kina le (5.99) 'how can I do?'
 sa?a le ḍokri nāṭo sonaṭ (6.44) 'get along, old lady, let us go then'

-me

- man me atek na (4.136) 'stay on, Brother Atek'
 saṇem nil?a me kūrna sonaṭ (5.161) 'please stop, let us go together'
 bābu man me, inikad o pērzi tasinad (5.160) 'sir, please stay on, something is chasing me'

-ni

- sa?a ni sa?a ni gorotu (1.17) 'go, go, to the hill'
 ō atek na suṛ?a suṛ?a ni kaṇsudiṇ nores kaṭsi tasinad (4.140) 'Brother Atek, look there, the tiger is bringing a forest buffalow (by its mouth)'
 ore ore soṭa ra?a ni (8.116) 'hey Sota! come on, come on'

-lu

- sa²a lu sonaṭ (1.18) 'get along, dear, let's go'
 vānru elag ātiṇa gelsnan lu (2.66) 'how (being what)
 shall he win?'
 elag maṛi upay lu (5.59) 'what then is the plan?'
 nān sona lu dokri (6.11) 'I'll go, then, old lady'
 embed e lu buḍi embe ban manad (7.151) 'where is she,
 dear, where is your mother?'
 nān aye ban sona lu (9.55) 'where shall I go then?'

-li

- nā pēru menḍa menḍku li gibid guṇḍu li (3.14) 'my
 name—you know—Menḍa; I have big rollers hanging
 from my ears!'

-ta

- ēl ta vādeṇ aṭ²i (5.140) 'now, indeed, you cannot come
 back!'
 nān ta ota visirta gaṇḍe (5.148) 'I carried and threw it,
 to be sure, ...'

-ge

- ale ale ge nān sūṇa izi ālsi surṭad (1.41) 'dear, dear:
 let me see', said his wife and saw'
 sadu rāzu ge olbitan (2.115) 'the Sadu king, it was said,
 started brooding!'
 naṇi silika deniṇ sīna ge (7.126) 'I should give here what
 I don't have!'
 nēnru sona sūṇa ge ... (9.264) 'I shall go and see,
 then ...'

-su

- poṭa panz²iṇ su veyu kākta manar (4.28) 'perhaps because
 their stomach was not filled, they kept their mouths open'
 nīnu ḍagru su visirti (5.124) 'you have perhaps thrown
 it close by'
 naṇi surṭad e su inikad o niṇitad (5.172) 'looking at me
 something has risen up (in the water)'
 ayer o tata manar su (7.72) 'it seems somebody had
 brought her'

Sentences 8.479-86 illustrate the use of *-ge* as narrative marker
 in story telling.

11. SYNTAX

11.1. Some general observations on the Koṇḍa sentence structure have been made in the discussion of the use of cases (§§ 4·35-53), Connectives (§ 3) and Clitics (§ 10). This chapter presents only a broad outline of the phrase and clause structure in Koṇḍa utilizing some of the techniques provided by the transformational model of description.

11.2. The numbers assigned in the Texts in Part II do not necessarily refer to sentences. Utterances were elicited in a natural narrative style and the author has not edited them for fear that such editing might conceal certain interesting aspects of the style of story-telling in this language. Numbers are given arbitrarily to convenient chunks of discourse mainly to facilitate cross-reference in translation. Therefore, while discussing the grammatical structure of well-formed Koṇḍa sentences, some editing of these becomes necessary to supply ellipses.

SENTENCE TYPES AND BASE RULES

11.3. There are two types of sentences (S) in Koṇḍa, viz. Minor (s) and Major (Ś). Minor sentences comprise Vocatives (Voc) and Interjections (Int) which can occur as utterances by themselves but which are normally followed by major sentences. Elliptical sentences are not treated as minor sentences since they can be derived from major sentences by certain rules of deletion operating at the discourse level. All major sentences are of three types—simple, complex, and compound. A simple sentence has a single independent

clause having two obligatory constituents, viz. Noun Phrase (NP) and Verb Phrase (VP), and several optional constituents, viz. Adverbials (Adl). A complex sentence involves at least one subordinate clause in addition to the main clause. Such subordinate clauses can be derived by certain rules of embedding which convert independent clauses into dependant and attach them to one of the strings NP, Adl, or VP. A compound sentence has two or more independent clauses conjoined by coordinating conjunctions discussed earlier (§ 8.2, 10.4 ff.) or by intonation (not examined in the present study). The following rules account for the deep structure of Konda sentences in terms of grammatical categories.

- # S #
- (1) $S \rightarrow (s) + \acute{S}$
 - (2) $s \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Voc} \\ \text{Int} \end{array} \right\}$
 - (3) $\acute{S} \rightarrow \text{NP} + (\text{Adl-time}) + (\text{Adl-place}) + \text{VP}$
 - (4) $\text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{Adl-manner}) + (\text{Com}) \circ \text{V}$
 - (5) $\text{V} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{NP-obj}) \circ \text{Vtr} \\ \text{Vint} \end{array} \right\}$
 - (6) $\text{Com} \rightarrow \text{NP} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [- \text{case}] \\ [+ \text{case}] \end{array} \right\}$

The VP is developed into optional strings, Adverbial of manner and Complement (Com) followed by a finite verb (V). The Verb is realised either as an optional NP-obj (direct object) followed by a transitive verb (Vtr) or as an intransitive verb (Vint), simple, complex or compound. The Complement (Com) is realised as an NP marked for one of the features signalling case relations other than direct object. These features are realised in the lexicon by case morphemes or postpositions (§§ 4.35-53). The feature [- case] has the effect of obligatorily detaching the finite verb from the sentence, whereby, we obtain equative sentences, e.g.

vani pēru soṭa (8.4) 'his name (was) Sota'

This sentence is derived from the underlying sentence:

*vani pēru soṭa maRad 'his name Sota was'

with the following Structural Description (SD)

NP + NP [- case] + V

which, by a transformational Rule of deletion, triggered by the feature [- case] attached to the Complement, yields an equative sentence

NP + NP

where the second NP is the subject complement which should then agree with the subject in number and gender. There are two copulative verbs that are so deleted, *ā* 'to become', and *man* 'to be'. When the base of an equative clause (S'') is embedded in the main clause (S), deletion does not take place and the non-finite forms of the copula manifest, e.g.

vani pēru soṭa (8·4) soṭa maRiṅ ... (8·5) 'his name (was) Sota' (8·5). While it was Sota, ... (8·5)

- (7) $NP \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{AdjP} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{Pron} \end{array} \right\} \cap \text{Nn} \right\}$
- (8) $\text{AdjP} \rightarrow (\text{Det}) \cap (\text{Num}) \cap (\text{Quan}) \cap (\text{Poss}) \cap (\text{Des})$
(at least one of the elements should be non-null)
- (9) $\text{Adl-time} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} [+ \text{time}, - \text{count}] \\ \text{Adv-time} \end{array} \right\}$
- (10) $\text{Adl-place} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} [+ \text{place}, - \text{count}] \\ \text{Adv-place} \end{array} \right\}$
- (11) $\text{Adl-manner} \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{AdjP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \cap \text{lakenḍa} \right\}$
Adv-manner

Rule (7) develops a Noun phrase into an optional string — Adjectival phrase (AdjP) followed by Noun (Nn). The AdjP is developed into a maximum of five elements of which one or more can occur in a particular order. They are Determiner (Det), Numeral adjective (Num), an adjective denoting Measure or Quantity (Quan), Possessive adjective (Poss) and a Descriptive adjective (Des). The Adverbials of time and place are developed into NP (or an Adverb) marked for the features [+ time] and [+ place] respectively. The addition of the feature [- count] here is

to exclude such expressions as *ruŋdi nelen* 'two months', *ruŋdi dēsemku* 'two countries' which being marked for [+count] can also occur as subjects of sentences unlike the non-count Adverbials. The manner adverbial (Adl-manner) can be a mere adverb of manner without attributes (§§ 7·2 ff.) or an Adjectival phrase/Noun phrase followed by *-lakenḍa* 'like'.

These rules are only illustrative of the phrase structure of Koŋḍa sentences and are by no means adequate. Rewrite rules to generate the number (sg. and pl.) and gender (male human and non-male human) distinctions of nouns should be included in the base component of the grammar.

Strings joined by + have flexible (permutable) ordering whereas strings joined by \circ have stringenetic ordering. Provision for the location of Clitics in right places in the P-marker should be made in the Rules: some of these occur only before + (phrase final) and some only before # (clause-final) and still others before + or #.

The basic as well as the transformational structure of each of the phrases is presented below.

THE NOUN PHRASE (NP)

11.4. (a) *Constituent Structure of NP*: (Det) \circ (Num) \circ (Quan) \circ (Poss) \circ (Des). The noun phrase has a noun [-case, + number, + gender] as head of the construction.

(a) Det + Nn:

- yā vēnam* (9·34) 'this forest'
- aya maṛisi* (9·394) 'that son'
- aye koṛor* (9·214) 'which children'
- niso dinamku* (9·52) 'these many days'

(b) Num + Nn:

- āru bōdek* (9·5) 'six girls'
- ēḡguru maṛisir* (9·4) 'seven sons'

Further examples, see § 5·8b.

(c) Num + Des + Nn:

- unṛi kota kilpa* (9.125) 'a new comb'

- (d) Num + Quan + Nn:
 ruṅḍi muṭiṅ pūlu (9·111) 'two handfuls of flowers'
 oko tūmeṅḍ perku (9.15) 'one tūm-ful of rice'
- (e) Num + Poss + Nn:
 ruṅḍi kālka muveṅ (9·449) 'the jingling bells of
 the two legs'
- (f) Poss + (Poss) + Nn:
 taṅṣi pāta (9·330) 'younger sister's clothes'
 mī koṟesi (9·528) 'your daughter-in-law'
 mā yāya buba mokom (9·404) 'face of my father
 and mother'
- (g) Des + Nn:
 vaRi anam (9·252) 'mere rice'
 kogri kogri pāseṅ (9·345) 'small small dhotis'

Most noun phrases have one to three constituents, of which the final is the head. It is still not clear if 'possessives' could better be derived by transformational rules from embedded clauses. As seen in (f) several possessives can occur in succession as attributes to nouns.

11.5. *Transformational Structure of NP (Nominalizations)*:
 Here we deal with noun phrases resulting from certain transformations operating on basic strings. There are at least four such:

(a) Relative nominals are derived by changing the V (finite verb) of \dot{S} into a relative participle (V-rel) (§ 6·43) and by shifting it to the attributive position of an NP, i.e. $\dot{S} + Nn$. The three NP are: NP_1 = subject, NP_2 = complement, NP_3 = direct object. The transformational Rule may be formulated as follows:

$$(12) \quad \overset{1}{NP_1} - \overset{2}{NP_2} [+ \text{case}] - \overset{3}{NP_3} - \text{obj} - \overset{4}{Vtr} = >$$

$$(a) \quad \overset{2}{NP_2} - \overset{3}{NP_3} - \overset{4}{Vrel} - \overset{1}{NP_1} \quad (\text{Subject nominal})$$

$$(b) \quad \overset{1}{NP_1} - \overset{2}{NP_2} - \overset{4}{Vrel} - \overset{3}{NP_3} \quad (\text{Object nominal})$$

$$(c) \quad \overset{1}{NP_1} - \overset{3}{NP_3} - \overset{4}{Vrel} - \overset{2}{NP_2} \quad (\text{Complement nominal})$$

All transitive verbs have two derived nominals without exception, viz. subject nominal and object nominal. Complement nominals have more selectional restrictions with verbs than the subject and object nominals; such details have not been treated in this outline. Consider the following examples:

(NP₁) vānru, (NP-obj.) banti pūᅇu, (Vtr.) iᅇta maᅇan
 'he left some marigold flowers'
 => vānru iᅇti maᅇi banti pūᅇu (9.148) 'the marigold
 flowers that he had left'

In subject nominalization, a determiner of NP₁ may be optionally left behind when the Nn shifts to the head position of the phrase.

(Det) aya, (Adl-time) āᅇguru venka, (Vrel) putti, (Nn)
 vīza viᅇkoᅇni (9.448) 'that last one who was born after
 the six sisters' is a transform of
 (NP) aya vīza viᅇkoᅇni, (Adl-time) āᅇruguru venka, (V)
 puᅇᅇad 'that last one was born after six of her sisters'

Examine the following nominalizations of clauses:

Object Nominal:

avi roᅇti batem (9.22) 'the provisions that they collected'
 mā onik pōᅇkti zāva (9.44) 'porridge that my sisters-in-law
 have sent'
 nānu vitti pūᅇu vitu (9.96) 'the flower-seed that I have
 sown'

Complement Nominal:

nīnu paᅇᅇti paᅇi (9.68) 'the work for which you had
 commissioned (me)'
 aysi veᅇᅇti sarkuᅇ (9.136) 'the things that mother spoke
 about'

Further examples of relative nominals can be found in
 §§ 5.6, 6.43.

(b) *Pronominalization:* In subject nominalization, a pronominal subject like vānru, vār, adi, etc. undergoes an obligatory transformation whereby it changes into a corres-

ponding pronominal suffix and is attached to Vrel by means of the stem formative -k- (§ 5.7), e.g.

vānru nūlud maṭṣi ḍigitan 'he descended walking on a string of thread'

=> *nūlud maṭṣi ḍigiti-vānru

=> nūlud maṭṣi ḍigitikan (9.143) 'the man who descended stepping on a string of thread'

(c) A third type of nominal refers to clauses connected to the main clause by -izi. Here, the entire clause or clauses function as NP obj. of a transitive verb (see § 8.3), e.g.

(vānru) kaṇḍek dūru sidaṭ izi lostan (5.57) 'he asked them, 'please give me some flour''

Here, vānru lostan 'he asked' is the main clause and (mīru) kaṇḍek dūru sidaṭ 'please give (me) some flour' is another independent clause which is embedded to NP-obj. node by means of izi.

(d) A fourth one is nominalization of an interrogative clause by embedding it in the main clause by means of the marker -o.

mā kidu inika manad o dani pēru veRtu (2.107) 'tell us the name of the (thing that is in your hands)'

THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE OF TIME (ADL-TIME)

11.6. (a) *Constituent Structure*: There are three types of Adverbial phrases, viz. Adl-time, Adl-place, Adl-manner. Adverbial phrases of time and place are (with a few exceptions) special sub-classes of NP in which the noun constituent (Nn: simple, complex, or compound) is not marked for gender-number, but denotes time, place (§§ 7.2 ff.).

(NP) anasir + (Adl-time) dinami + (V) sūṇar (8.19)
'the elder brothers watch (him) daily'

(Adl-time) niso sikaṭdaka + (Adl-manner) endanin +
(Adl place) venka + (V) maRi (8.159) 'why have you
remained behind till it got so dark?'

(b) *Transformational Structure*: An Adverbial phrase, being essentially an NP, may involve an embedded clause with the finite verb transformed into a relative participle, followed by a word or particle denoting time or place, viz. -vale 'time', -ban 'place', -vare 'direction', -daka 'until', -venka 'after (time)', etc.

ruṇḍi neliṇ paḍi rōsku narṭti venka, or neṇḍ varḡitan
(9·176) 'after having done (so) for two months and ten days, he said, one day'

Here the Adl-time venka has a relative attribute which is a transform of the sentence,

vānru ruṇḍi neliṇ paḍi rōsku narṭtan 'he did so for two months and ten days'

(Adl-time) sari maṭni vēladu, (NP₁) aṇosi, (NP-obj) ṭoyla, (V) astan (9·426) 'at the time the son had set out (stepped) on the path, the father took up the lute'

(NP) (nīnu), (Adl-time) buṛa ḡūsni vale, (NP-obj) dani modol kopu, (Vtr) lāḡ?a (9·369) 'at the time of dressing her hair, pull out the hind lock'

(NP) nīnu, (Adl-time) nān muṅgal nī ban vāti vale, (NP-obj) iṣpurṛu māpruḍiṇ, (Vtr) dasul kibiṣti (9·512) 'when I came to you before, you made me see the Lord'

THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE OF PLACE (ADL-PLACE)

11.7. (a) *Constituent Structure*: This is any construction with an adverb of place occurring as the final constituent or an NP with the nucleus noun (Nn) denoting place or inflected with the locative morpheme or marked by a post-position denoting place or direction. An adjectival phrase followed by -ban or -vare is also included here. The 'place' morpheme is separated by a diagonal in the following examples:

guraṃ/musku (9·26) 'on the horse'

goron/narṃi (9·29) 'in the middle of the forest'

bōṛu maran/adḡi (9·35) 'under the banyan tree'

nāru/ḡaḡru (9·470) 'near the village'

ḡoḍi/vare (9·477) 'towards the backyard'

yā vēnam/lo?i (9·34) 'in this thick forest'

dani aysi aposi/ban (9.496) 'to (the place of) her mother and father'

aye/ban (9.55) 'which place'

unri saṭu paṅku/d (9.115) 'on a flat stone'

seru gopu/d (9.143) 'on the bank of the tank'

mā bubari nā/to (9.463) 'in the village of my parents'

ispurru rāzu in/ro (9.542) 'in the house of the king
ispurru'

(b) *Transformational Structure*: An Adl-place may include a relative phrase with a word or particle denoting 'place' as the head of the construction:

kāki kār in?i ban (9.29) 'a place where a crow doesn't crow 'kār'

nīnu iḍti maRi ban (9.153) 'the place where you had put them'

These are derived by transformation from

bān kāki kār in?ed 'there a crow does not sound 'kār''

bān nīnu iḍti maRi 'you had put it there'

THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE OF MANNER (ADL-MANNER)

11.8. (a) *Constituent Structure*: There are constructions in which the final constituent is an adverb of manner, or NP or AdjP followed by -lakenḍa 'like'

vānru meleka tōray ātan (9.181) 'he was slowly seen'

nānu sēsemara kāme kadu sirnarun lōkam ke?e (9.497)

'I will never like the human world below'

nela podu lakenḍa (9.141) 'like moon and sun'

mī lakenḍa (9.405) 'like you'

koṛonali lakenḍa (9.220) 'like nursing mother'

(b) *Transformational Structure*: Adl-manner has embedded relative clauses as follows:

pūnu koyzi nīnu alpati lakenḍ e alpa?a (9.164) 'cut the flowers and sew them exactly as you had sewn them (before)'

THE VERB PHRASE (VP)

11.9. The essential element of a VP is a finite verb, simple, complex, compound (§§ 6.15 ff.). It will be optionally

preceded by an NP which, when marked for [+ case], stands in some case relation to the finite verb. If the verb is a transitive (Vtr), there may also cooccur a direct object (NP-obj). In non-equative sentences (§ 11.3), the finite verb agrees with the subject (NP₁) in number and gender. The only exception is when the subject NP (NP₁) is marked for [+ time, + count], in which case the verb is always in the singular, e.g.

ēṇḍad e soRad o, ruṇḍi paṇṭeṇ e saRad o (6.3) 'maybe
a year had elapsed or two years (crops) had'

Complement

11.10. This is the adjunct to the verb by putting an NP in construction with the finite verb by means of certain case relations. The Accusative-Dative case marks the features [+direct object], [+indirect object], [+purpose], [+cause], [+direction to, +time:] (=at, by) etc. (§ 4.43-49); the Instrumental-Ablative marks such features as [+instrument] (by means of), [+departure in/from time/place] (=from, since) (§ 4.50-51); the Locative case marks such features as [+location] (= in, on, onto, into), [-human], [+direction to, +place], etc. (§ 4.52). There are a host of other case relations marked by post-positions and particles like -vale 'at' (referring to time), -ban 'place', -vare 'direction, side', daḡru 'near', venka 'after, behind', adḡi 'below', -vale 'with' (Comitative), musku 'on', lo?i 'in' etc. (§§ 4.53 ff.). Examples of phrases used as complements can be found under the sections referred to above. There are many selectional restrictions between verbs (V) and noun phrases (NP) marked for the complex symbol [+case] which are not covered in this descriptive account. For instance, veR- 'say' requires NP marked for the feature [+indirect obj.] realized by the Accusative-Dative morpheme māp rāzuṇ veRtap (2.39) 'we told the king'. The feature of [+direction to, +time] is also realised by the Accusative-Dative (§ 4.47), and of [+direction to, +place] is realized by the Locative (§ 4.52).

11.11. In the formation of complex sentences, consisting of at least one independent and one dependent clause, the

latter has a non-finite verb as the final element of the clause. Such a clause can be treated as a transform of a simple clause when it is embedded in the matrix sentence (main clause) as a derivative of an Adv. node.

goneRu mūladu zāva iḍzi kaṇḍa iḍzi gapa mus'a (1.15)
 'in a corner in the kitchen leave the porridge and meat
 and cover them with a basket'

This complex sentence can be analyzed into three clauses in its deep structure.

- (1) (nīnu) goneRu mūladu zāva iḍ'a = NP + (Com \cap
 (NP-obj \cap Vtr)) VP
- (2) (nīnu) goneRu mūladu kaṇḍa iḍ'a = NP + (Com \cap
 (NP-obj \cap Vtr)) VP
- (3) nīnu gapa mus'a = NP + (NP-obj \cap Vtr) VP

Clause (3) which has the finite verb in the surface structure is the main clause; Clauses (1) (2) are subordinated to it by the transformation of their finite verbs into imperfective participles in -zi (§ 6.37) and by deleting all but one each of the identical subjects (NP', NP'') and complements in (1) and (2). In the deep structure these clauses are embedded to the node, Adl-manner. Similarly other subordinate clauses introduced by non-finite verbs, viz. Simultaneous, Resultative, Conditional, and Extensive can be treated as clauses embedded in the matrix sentence under different adverbial nodes.

11.12. The derivation of coordinate sentences has been dealt with elsewhere. Particles like emphatic {e ~ ne} and declarative -ge, -le, -su, -ba, etc. have to be introduced as optional phrase and clause tags with some notation to show that they have the freedom to attach to any string before a concatenation symbol.

11.13. In the narration of a story, a new sentence may be preceded by an optional clause introduced by the Resultative form of the finite verb of the immediately preceding sentence, e.g. see sentences 1.1-.3 on p. 39. This seems to be a stylistic feature in story-telling only.

PART III

VOCABULARY

VOCABULARY

The order of the alphabet is essentially that of *Devanāgarī* with slight modifications as follows: *a ā ī ū ē ē̄ o ō ? k g v t d n t d n p b m y r R r l v s z r h*. The past, imperfective, and non-past morphs, with which each verb stem combines, are given in parentheses (see Charts on pp. 294-5). Where such a combination conceals the basic forms of stems and suffixes through sandhi or suppletion, entire stems inflected for the past, imperfective, and non-past are given in parentheses. A grammatical label is given after a stem whose status is otherwise not evident. Those that have plurals cited are necessarily nouns, so the label 'n'. does not occur after such items.

A

- a-* (demons. root, remote) that; occurs only bound, e.g. *aka/akad* (3 n.sg.) that one; *atal* that side; *abe* there; *aya* adj. that.
- aku mu[?]eRiv* (dat. of **aku mu[?]en*) n./adv. the day following the day-after-tomorrow.
- ako* n./adv. distance; *-nd* adj. distant (Sova dial).
- agri* adv. before, in front of (Sova dial).
- ava* adv. separately, apart.
- anguli* (pl. *-ŋ/°l-nu*) direction, quarter (East, West, etc.); means of support for a living.
- aṭ¹-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to hit, as an arrow; v.i. to get the taste of (as hot food).
- aṭ²-* (neg. *aṭ[?]-*, neg. past *aṭ[?]et-*, *aṭ[?]it-*, *aṭ[?]ut-*); v.i. to be able (used only in negative forms).
- aṭk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to burn (heaps of hacked forest-wood before starting *pōru* cultivation), to set fire to.
- aḍa¹* n. a unit of one seer; *aḍeṇḍ-* adj. a seer of.
- aḍa²* n. a species of wild tree; *Bauhinia racemosa*; *kāya* the *aḍa* fruit; *-ḍoka* the *aḍa* thicket.
- aḍam.* n./adv. across.

- aḍi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to stop, to intercept.
- aḍe bide* adv. all over, lit., cross-wise; disorganizedly.
- aḍgi* n./adv. below, underneath; *-R(i)-* adj. that (which) is below; *-Raṇḍ* abl. from below, from the bottom.
- atal* (ataR-) n./adv. that side; *ataR(i)-* adj. of that side; *ataRaṇḍ* from that direction; *ataRi-k-* der. adj.; *ataRik-a/-ad* the one on the other side (3 n.sg.), *-ev* (3 n.pl.), *-an* (3 m.s.g.), *-ar* (3 m.pl.), *-i* (2. sg.), *-ider* (2. pl.); *-a* (1. sg.) *-ap* (lpl. excl.), *-aṭ* (lpl. incl.).
- atki-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-); v.t. to attach, join (any broken part); v.i. to be joined, attached.
- atku* (pl. -ṅ) a joint, patch.
- atrī-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to hit being too close (as a low roof touches the head when one stands); to hit against, to dash; *atris-* caus. to cause to strike against or dash.
- adam* (pl. -ku) mirror.
- adi* (dani-) pron. that one (3 n.sg.) *lo* Lo there it is!
- ana* (pl. aneṅ/anar) elder brother; father's father.
- anasi* (pl. -r) elder brother (when referring in 3rd pers.); e.g. *mā ana* my brother; *mī ana* your brother; *vani anasi* his brother.
- anam* n. food.
- aniya* adv. there (Sova dial.).
- antra sisu* n. big bonfire in the verandah during winter.
- and¹-* (and-it-/an-t-, and-n/an-n-) v.t. to reach; v.i. to be within reach.
- andaka* n./adv. until then (l.w. < Te. and āka id.).
- andari bōn* n. a mythical mountain of darkness.
- andi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to end, as a story.
- andeke* adv. because of it, l.w. < Te. *anduk-ē* for that purpose only.
- ansu* (pl. -ṅ) step (of a staircase, etc.).
- āsu* (pl. -n) edge or border (of cloth. verandah etc.). (l.w. < Te. *ancu.*).
- apidam* cl. also, even.
- aposi* (pl. -r) father (when referring in 3rd pers.).
- aba gaṇḍe* int. My goodness! (an exclamatory expression).
- aba nāyṅna* int. an exclamatory expression (in fear).
- abadam* n. untruth (l.w. < Skt.).

- abaya abaya* int. Oh! Oh! (an exclamatory expression in surprise, sorrow, etc.).
- abe* n./adv. there; *-ni* adj. of or belonging to that place; *-ni-k* der.adj.: *-k-an* (3 m.sg.) man belonging there; *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.); *-k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.), *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.), *-k-a* (1 sg.), *-k-ap/-aṭ* (1 pl.); *-niṭ* from there.
- ama* (pl. °m-ek) mother's or father's mother; occurs in a folk tale in addressing wife.
- ambu* (pl. apku) an arrow.
- ambeli* n. porridge prepared with *ḍera* (Eleusine coracana) flour.
- aya-* adj. that; *ayaka* that one (3 n. sg.).
- aye* (interrog. base) adj. which or what; *aye sāpad vānru* *gūritan* each slept on his mat; rel. adj. one's, e.g. *-n* (3 m. sg.) who, which man; *-r* (3 m. pl.) which men; *-d* (3 n. sg.) which one; *-k* (3 n. pl.) which ones; *ay-i* (2 sg.); *ay-ider* (2. pl.); *ay-i der-ba* any of you (pl.); *ay-ev* (3 m. acc.) whom, whomever.
- aydu* num. five (1. w. < Te. *aydu*).
- ayma.* n. woman (Sova dial.).
- ayli* (pl. -k) girl; *-koro* (pl. -k) girl child, woman, wife.
- ar¹* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to fall (as, fruit from tree, etc.); to fall down, trip down; *arp-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to fell, throw down; *arpay ā* v.t. slip on, put on (as garland).
- ar²* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to lay eggs, as a hen, etc.
- are* are voc. (precedes the name of the person addressed); exclamatory expression.
- arvu* (pl. -ṇ) the edge of verandah.
- aRiṇa* con. if it were so; then, therefore.
- argi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (food) to be digested, be worn out.
- arṭa* (pl. °l-eṇ) trouble, difficulty.
- al¹* (aṭ-, al- si-, aṇ-) v.t. to twine, twist: plait; *alpa* (alpa-t-) to twist or twine; plait or weave a cot; weave (a garland); (Sova dial.).
- arpa-* (arpa-t-) to spread, as a creeper
- al²* (aṭ-, aṇ-) v.i. (tongue) to get the taste of.
- ale¹* int./voc. term of endearment; occurs in addressing a familiar person, usually repeated, *ale ale*.
- ale²* (pl. -ṇ) a small earthen pot (in which to carry tamaraṅd soup to fields).

- ale*³- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to keep quiet or silent; to be cooled (while in emotion); be consoled; *alebaba-* (alebaba-t-) reflex v.i. to keep silent..
- altay ā-* v.i. to be interwoven; to grow thickly and densely as creepers; cf. *al*¹-.
- almi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to level; to spread out (as pieces of wood after the forest is felled in order to let them dry).
- alvi* n. energy, stamina.
- avasaram* n. necessity (l.w. < Te. *awasaram* 'need').
- avi* (vanka-) those (3 n.pl.); *-lo* Lo! there (they are); *-lon* there, he is! *-lor* there, they are!
- avin lo* pron./int. there he is! (Sova dial.).
- as-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to hold; catch; grasp; to stick on to; remain stable (in a village); *asas ā-* to wrestle (lit. to hold each other).
- astamanam* n./adv. all day (l. w. < Te. *astamānam*).
- ark-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to cover (the face with hands to avoid smoke, etc.); to press hard against.
- arba-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to weep, cry, lament; *arbadex sirba-* *deŋ* (idiom) crying constantly.
- arŝi* clsa seed, an edible oil seed (Sova dial.).

A

- ā-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be or become; aux. occurs after many verbs and nouns to form compound verbs.
- (3 m.sg.) a stranger, a man from a different village, etc.;
- ā?* adj. different, other, strange, belonging elsewhere; *-k-an* *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.), *-k-uá* (3 n.sg.), *-k-eŋ* (3 n.pl.), *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.), *-k-a* (1 sg.) *-k-ap/-aŧ* (1 pl.).
- ākaru* n. loss. perishing (of crops, population, etc.); *°ā-* v.i. to sustain loss, to be lost, to perish.
- āku* (pl. -ŋ) leaf (of tree).
- āgas* n. sky (Sova dial.); *-pūr* n.pr. of a town (occurs in a folk-tale).
- āgasam* n. sky.
- āŋkaris-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to roar as tiger; look fierce.
- āndu* adj. female (prefixed to certain animal names); *-namil* *poŝi* pea-hen; *-nores* tigress; *-nukuri* bitch.

- ādvat* adv. in the middle, e.g. *ādvat vātan*, *ādvat soRan* He came in the middle and left in the middle; after (time);
 -i adj. the next; -i-ka (3 n.sg.) the next one.
ānika (pl. °k-eṅ) support, help, prop.
ānriḡa (pl. °g-eṅ) a hail-stone.
āram (pl. -ku) food offered to gods, animals, birds etc. before starting cultivation or in any religious ceremony.
ārays- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to digest, to live on.
ārpa- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) to shout, howl.
ār(u) adv. that way, so, thus.
āru n. (num. n.pl. and adj.) six; *ār-guru* six men.
āl n. energy, stamina, endurance.
āli mrānu (pl. °mrāku) the pipal tree (Sova dial.)
ālu (pl. -k) wife (referring in 1st and 2nd persons).
ālmaser (m.pl.) wife and husband.
ālsi (pl. -k) wife (referring in 3rd pers.)
ālsam/ālseṃ n. delay
āsar nela (pl. °l-eṅ) the month āṣāḡha (July-August).
ās ki- (v.s.v. ki-) v.t. to clean impurities from rice, etc.; to sift; to choose, select; *ās kibis-* caus. to cause to sift, winnow.
ār- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to play, dance; *āris-* v.t. to play an instrument (esp. *foyla*, q.v.).
āru wife (N and W dial.); cf. *ālu*.
ārmasir (pl.) wife and husband (N and W dial.).
ār māsi (pl.) wife and husband (Pūlgura dial.).

I

- i. (demons. root, proximate); occurs only bound, e.g. *ital* this side, *ibe* here, *idi* this, etc. cf. a-.
i?eR- (i?eR-) n./adv. yesterday; *i?eR-i* adj. of yesterday;
i?eR-and since yesterday.
iṡki- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to insert flowers (behind the ear, in braid, etc.); to wear a beauty mark, *boṡu*, on forehead.
iḡ- (-t-, -z-, -n-) v.t. to place or put; *koṡo iḡ-* to bring forth (a child).
ital (itaR-) n./adv. this side; *itaR-and* abl. from this side; *itaRi-*adj. of this side; *itaRi-k-* der. adj. id.; *itaRik-a/-ad*

- (3 n.sg.), *-k-eŷ* (3 n.pl.), *-k-an* (3 m.sg.), *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.).
-k-a (1 sg.), *-k-ap* (1 pl. excl.), *-k-aŧ* (1 pl. incl.).
- idi* (deni-) pron. this one (3 n. sg.); *-lo* look at this!
- in-* (iR-, i-zi-, in-) irreg. v.i./t. to say, speak; so and so.
- ini* adj. what, what kind of; *-k* interrog. adj. base: *-k-un* (3 m.sg.) what man (i.e. of what caste, etc.), *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.), *-k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.), *-k-eŷ* (3 n.pl.); *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.).
- ip-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to pour (water, etc.); to mix water, etc. with something else; to serve liquid foods.
- ipa maran* (pl. °marak) the Mahua tree.
- ibe* n./adv. here; *-ni* adj. of or belonging to this place; *-ni-k* der. adj.: *-k-an* (3 m.sg.) a man belonging here; *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.) *-k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.), *-k-eŷ* (3 n.pl.), *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.), *-k-a* (1 sg.), *-k-ap/-aŧ* (1 pl.); *-niŋ* from here.
- iya* (var. *yā*) adj. this; *-k-* der. adj., *-k-a/-k-ad* (3 n.sg.) this one, *-k-eŷ* (3 n.pl.) these ones etc.
- iyonđ* n. this year.
- iyba-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. (generally follows *ēru* water) to take a bath, to bathe; (following *koŕo* child) to give birth to (from the custom of taking purificatory bath after child birth); *iybis-* caus. to cause somebody to bathe, give a bath.
- iRiva* con. if, in case that (conditional form of *in-* to say, q.v.).
- iR(u)* this way; in this manner.
- iRku* n. narrowness (of lane), tightness (of cloth, etc.).
- ir* (iR-t-, ir-zi-, ir-n-) v.t. to serve (food); to put, throw; pour in or out.
- irava* adv. tightly (of clothing).
- irga* (pl. °g-eŋ) a sling to chase birds destroying crops.
- irzu* n. tightness (of shirt, bracelet, etc.)
- irmu* n. being too narrow (of house); *-ua* adv. narrowly.
- ilu* (in-r-, pl. °l-ku) house; *ālu* wife, one's own wife, as opposed to *ā?i ālu* another's wife; *-zolu* (idiom.) house (inside, outside, etc.); acc. *in-rin*, loc. *in-ro*.
- ilk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. (part of body) to sprain.
- iwi* (veni-) pron. (3 n.pl.) these; *-lo* Lo! these!; *-lo-n* Lo! this man!, *-r-* Lo! these men!

- iska* n. sand.
istam n. willingness, desire, liking (< Skt. *iṣṭa*).
izri adj. small, little; *-k-* der. adj. (followed by pers. suffixes to derive nouns); *-moka* small plant.

- īṅka* (pl. °k-eṅ) pubic hair.
īnd- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. (of animals) to bring forth young.
īmb-/īm- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to fly, as a bird (Sova dial.);
īp- v.t. to let or cause to fly.
īR(u) adv. in this manner; like this.
īspurru n. God, Almighty; n.pr. of a king (< Skt. *īśwara*)
īray ā- v.i. to drag oneself along the ground; cf. *īris-*.
īris- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to pull, drag; *īrispis-* caus. to make to drag.
īru (pl. °ṛ-ku) nits, egg of louse.

U

- uṅ-* (ut-, uṅ-zi-, uṅ-) v.t. to eat, drink; *uṅi-* hab. adj. that eats; *uṅi-k-a* (3 n. sg.) the state of eating, a thing to eat;
ūṭpis- caus. to feed, cause to eat or drink.
uṅḍa (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) a wheel of cart, etc.
uṅs- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to transplant; to plant; to fix a post, etc. in the earth.
unda (irreg. verb addressing 2 sg.) Here, take this! (offering, gift, etc.); *undat* (2 pl.).
unṛi/unṛe n. (num. 3 n. sg.) one, one thing or woman; cf. *or-*.
unzar int. take (addressing gods and ancestors, while offering fowl, food, etc. in invocation only).
upakaram n. help (< Skt. *upakāra*).
upay (pl. -ṅu) a plan, scheme; a remedy.
ubi- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to swell, be inflamed; to be bloated (as belly); *ubis-* caus. to cause to swell or bloat.
ubra subra n. the remainder (of food after the major part is consumed).
urp- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to boil, as water, etc.
urbu (pl. -ṅ) iguana.

- uRi* (pl. -ṅ) suspending net; a net suspended to the roof in kitchen to keep pots in.
- uRk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to flee, run; (stream) to flow in full current; *uRkis-* caus. to cause to flee or run away.
- uRku* (generally repeated, *uRku uRku*) one each, e.g. *ri²er uRku uRku rupayvu otar* 'the two men took a rupee each'; -*laka* at the rate of one each. cf. *unri*.
- uRpa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to wear round one's waist (as a loin cloth); (women) to wear a saree, etc.
- ur-* (*uR-t-*, *ur-zi-*, *ur-n-*) v.t. to attack with horns (as a buffalo), to gore, butt (with horns); to crush (knits); to swing horn towards a person so as to butt; *uris-* caus. to cause to butt, gore, crush, etc.
- urmi¹-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be flung at high speed (as a stone); *urmis-* v.t. to fling a stone.
- urmi²-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to thunder, roar.
- uli* (pl. -ṅ) onion.
- usum* (pl. -ku) heat or warmth (of body).
- usur* n. life, breath; the sin of having taken one's life; *ā-* v.i. to be disappointed; *mōs-* to take one's life, to carry the sin of having killed somebody.
- usrika maran* (pl. °marak) the tree Emblic myrobalan.
- uzray* n. readiness, preparation; (often occurs with) *ki-*, *ā-* to make ready, to be ready, etc.
- urzi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to peel off (skin, etc.).
- urzu lāg-* v.t. to pull down forcibly (cf. *lāg-*).
- uHi* n. a suspending net (Rāyavālsa dial.) < *uRi*, q.v.

Ū

- ūk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to blow or play on (a pipe, flute, etc.); to blow air through mouth; *ūkis/ūkpi-* caus. to cause to blow pipe, etc.
- ūd-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to get wet, become wet, be soaked;
- ūt-* v.t. to soak, make wet.
- ūnd-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to extract (honey, etc. from bee-hive), to take out, as lice from hair.
- ūpri* n. breath life.
- ūr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (rice, etc.) to be overboiled; to become

- soft and mashy being boiled with more water; to burn;
- ūris-* caus. to cause to be overboiled; to overboil.
- ūrpa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to wash (one's hands, feet, face, etc.) with water.
- ūr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to crawl on knees (as infants); to rest on a support.
- ūs-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to apply oil, to anoint; *ūsis-/ūspis-* caus. to cause to anoint; *ūs̄pa* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to apply oil etc. to one's own body, hair, etc.
- ūs ki* (v.s.v. *ki-*) to move on posteriors (as children).
- ūz-* (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to crawl or creep slowly on belly or the fore part of the body (as a child, ants, snake, etc.); *ūzis-, ūzpis-* caus. to cause to creep on belly.
- ūr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be peeled off (skin or flesh); to come off (as a garment being loosely put on).
- ūr̄p-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to release, let off; remove clothes, etc.
- ūr̄s-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to sweep or clean a threshing floor, etc.; to strip off as leaves, etc.; *ūr̄pis-* caus. to make one clean floor, etc.

E.

- ek-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to climb (a mountain, horse, tree, etc.); *ekni vare* East, the quarter in which sun climbs the sky (*vare* side).
- egri-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to fly (as bird).
- et-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to take a child into the lap; to carry a child.
- eduram* (pl. -ku) chest.
- edgara* adv. completely; at all (modifies the verb in negative inflection).
- edru* adv. opposite; in the opposite direction; in front.
- eneṭ* adv. how (Sova dial).
- endaniṅ* (dat. of **enda-*) n./adv. why, what for.
- enz-* (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to remain; be left over.
- embe* (free var. *eme*) n./adv. where; *-ni* adj. of which place, of where; *-ni-k* bound adj.: *°k-a/ad* (3 n.sg.) a woman or thing of where; *-k-eṅ* (3 n.pl.), *-k-an* (3 m.sg.), *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.), *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.), *-k-a* (1 sg.),

- k-ap/-k-aṭ* (1 pl.); -*niṅ* from where, wherefrom; -*ba* anywhere; -*ven* lit. where-from-man, who (in the case of a man whose whereabouts are not known); -*ved* (3 n.sg.).
- eye* what (Sova dial.); -*d* (3 n.sg.) which one (woman, animal, or thing); -*n* (3 m.sg.) which man, who. Cf. *aye*.
- er-* (-*e-*, -*si-*, -*n-*) v.t. to kindle fire; to light, burn; *eris-* caus. to cause to burn; let someone set fire.
- erke* n. knowledge (l.w. < Te. *eruka*).
- eR-* (-*t-*, -*si-*, -*n-*) v.t. to shoot (an arrow), fling or pelt (a stone); -*as* n. shooting one another with arrows, -*as ā* v.i. to shoot each other or one another.
- era* adj. red; -*ni* red; -*nik-* bound adj.: °*k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.) the red one; -*k-eṅ* (3 n. pl.), -*k-an* (3 m. sg.), -*k-ar* (3 m.pl.); -*k-i* (2 sg.), -*k-ider* (2 pl.); -*k-a* (1 sg.), -*k-ap/-k-aṭ* (1 pl.); -*ṅ* adv. in red colour; -*sindva* (pl. °*v-eṅ*) the cheetah.
- erlis* (-*t-*, -*i-*, -*n-*) v.t. to keep apart (as one's legs), to keep away from; to estrange (?).
- elag* adv. how? in what manner? (as in expressions of the type 'how can I do this?' 'how about it?', etc.). (l.w. < Te. *ē lāgu* how, which way).
- elka* (pl. °*k-eṅ*) rat.
- els-* (-*t-*, -*i-*, -*n-*) v.i. to become large; (family) to increase in size.
- es¹* (-*t-*, -*i-*, -*n-*) v.t. to play on *toyla*, q.v. to play on any stringed instrument.
- es²* (-*t-*, -*i-*, -*n-*) v.t. (tr. of *enz-*, q.v.) to leave or save (food), etc. for others; to let something remain, to leave over.
- es³* bound root of certain interrogative and relative pronouns: *esind* whatever; however much (cf. *nasind*), *eseṅ* when, whenever, *eso* how much (3 n.sg.); *eso izi eso* (idiom) by any means; *esoti* however much, *esonḍar* (3 m.pl.) how many men, *esor* (3 n.pl.) how many, *esti vale* whenever; when; see -*vale*; *es-netaṅ-ba* if at anytime, on any day, whenever, *es-nenḍ-ba* if at any time, on any day, whenever.
- eski* adv. rapidly, hurriedly.

ĕk num. adj. one; *ĕk raza razi, duyĭ raza razi* one kingdom or two kingdoms (l.w. < O.).

ĕnĕta (pl. °*t-en*) plough shaft.

ĕnĕdad n./adv. one year.

ĕti n. dancing, dance; cf. *ĕnd-*.

ĕngu (pl. *n*) elephant.

ĕnd- (-it-, -z-, -n-) v.i. to dance, play.

ĕnrĭu pron. who (Sova dial.); cf. *aye-n*.

ĕm what (l.w. < Te.), (used rarely).

ĕRki n. thirst; cf. *ĕru*.

ĕrasi adj. steep, or steeply rising; *-goron* a steeply rising mountain (occurs in a folk song).

ĕru n. water, *-kali ki-* to dispel evil spirits by means of water, etc., taken round a person.

ĕrp- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to keep apart, to keep separate (entry doubtful because of *-rp-* instead of *-Rp-*).

ĕl(u) adv. now, this day.

ĕr(u) (num.) n. seven; *-guru* seven persons (men).

ĕre (pl. -*n*) a bamboo tatty enclosure round the cow-pen; bamboo tatty.

8

O

o- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to carry; to take away, take along oneself; to snatch away, get off; *opis-* caus. make somebody carry.

o⁷en (*o⁷eR-*) n./adv. the day-before-yesterday.

o⁷o int. yes (in listening to stories) (Sāgara dial).

ok- (-t-, -si-, -n-) to carry on the head or shoulder in a container; *okis-* caus. to cause to carry.

oko adj. one (l.w. < Te.); *-tūmend* one *tūm*-ful (cf. *tūm* a measure of grain).

oĕu n. swearing (l.w. < Te.)

oĕu (pl. -*n*) bank of a river or stream.

oŋi ganĕta n. 1 O'clock (< Te. *oŋi ganĕta* id.).

onda ilu n. a pellet-bow (cf. *vilu*).

ode adv. much, very.

- oni* (pl. -k) elder brother's wife, maternal uncle's daughter (older than the person concerned); -*si* id. (while referring in 3rd person only).
- op-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to agree.
- omo* (occasional var. of *embe/eme*, q.v.) where; -*ni* adj. of where (var. of *emeṇi*, q.v.).
- origa* (pl. °g-eṇ) young of cock.
- ore ore* voc. familiar way of addressing (precedes the name of kinship term).
- or-* adj. (bound num.) one; -*en* (*orenṅ-* before a bound vowel-suffix) one man, -*neṇḍ* one day; -*su* once.
- orli* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to groan (as in illness, fever etc.).
- ola par* n.pr. of a mountain (occurs in a folk-song).
- olbi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to think, ponder; to consider; to feel; to regret.
- olzu* (pl. *ols -ku*) a bear.
- ostu bondaram* bag and baggage; all belongings.
- ori* (pl. -ṇ) the fore part of a saree tied into a bag to carry things (< Te. *oḍi*).
- oroḷ* (*oroR-*) n. body; *oroR(i)* adj. of body; loc. *oroRu*.
- orzu* (pl. *orṣ-ku*) bear (N and W dialect).

◻

- ō¹* int. said at the beginning of a story while narrating; *ō kata iRiṇa*, etc. (See Texts, 9.1).
- ō²* pre-voc. (before kinship terms); *ō na ṅ na* brother, brother; *ō ya ṅ ya* mother, mother; *ō ba ṅ ba* father, father; etc.
- ōṅkara pīru* n. heavy rain (Sova dial).
- ōra* n./adv. side, neighbourhood; *ōra* near about, along the sides, sideways; *ki-* v.t. to bend slantingly; to half open (as door).
- ōR-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) to butcher; to hit and kill an animal.
- ōṅ kor-* (var. *ōṅ kol-*) (°*koṭ-*, °*koṅzi-/kolzi-*, °*koṅ-*) v.t. to use, make use of.
- ōṅp-* (-t-, -ti-, -n-) v.t. to cleanse head (with *vālay* soap-nuts); *ōṅpis-* caus. to cause one to cleanse one's head.
- ōho* int. alas! oh! see! (exclamatory expression of surprise, grief, pity, etc.).

K

- kak-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to vomit.
kaka con. afterwards; then (occurs as a coordinating conjunction of two clauses).
kať- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to bite; sting; (hunger or thirst) to be felt; *kaťis-/kaťpis-* caus. to cause to bite or sting.
kaťa (p. °t-en) bundle (of hay, etc.).
kaťel(i) n. cot (Sova dial).
kaťka n. a miserly person; *-yen* (3 m.sg.) id.; °*k-i* a miserly woman; °*kiti-k-ad* (3 n.sg.).
kana (pl. oňe-r) n. a blind man.
kaňi (pl. °k) a blind woman.
kaňi saras (pl. -ku) a greenish house-lizard with a scarlet tail.
kanisor (pl. °r-ku) a kind of crane, a black one with a white neck.
kaner(u) (pl. °r-ŋu) tears.
kaňka (pl. °n-ku) eye.
kaňda (pl. °d-en) meat, flesh, muscle.
kaňdek adj. little (of quantity, as of curry, rice, etc.).
kaňsu (pl. -ŋ) a species of hawk.
kat- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to fell, cut down (tree, etc.) with an axe; *katas* lopping, cutting; *katas ā* to cut each other (or one another).
kata (pl. °t-en) a story.
katki- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to cut down trees in a forest; to fell down.
katri (pl. -ŋ) scissors.
kadli- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to shake, stir, move.
kanar būmi n. black soil.
kane (pl. -ŋ) a rope used to fasten cattle; *kane pokten* to twist into rope (to fasten cattle).
kanda (pl. °d-en) a trench made as fireplace during weddings.
kandi maran (pl. °marak) the pigeon-pea plant, *Cajanus indicus*.
kap- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to spread, as fire, etc.; (clouds) to overcast the sky.
kapu¹ (pl. -ŋ/°p-ku) a species of falcon.
kapu² n. smell (Sova dial.).

- kapoki* (pl. -ṅ) frog.
- kami* (pl. -ṅ) ear-ring.
- kampa* (pl. °p-eṅ) bushes, etc. used for fencing a house or field.
- kampu* n. smell; cf. *kapu*²
- karāṇḍi* n. a species of fish; some varieties; *daṇḍay-*, *sēndu-*.
- karay-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to jeer at, ridicule.
- karidu* n. cost, price (l.w. < O or Te.)
- karya* n. saltishness; -ā to become salty.
- karsu* n. spending, expenditure (l.w. < Te. *kharcu* < IA)
- kaRsi* (pl. -ṅ) an untouchable; -*yen* (3 m.sg.) a payṇḍi man, lowest in the social scale among the local tribes.
- kara* *kampa* n. fencing with dried stalks, thorny bushes, etc.
- kari* adj. black; *kari-ni*/*kar-ni* adj. black; -*ni-k* bound adj.: °*k-an* (3 m.sg.) a black man; °*k-ar* (3 m.pl.), °*k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.), °*k-eṅ* (3 n.pl.), etc.
- kariṅ golva* (pl. °v-eṅ) a cheetah with black spots.
- karu* (pl. kaR-ku) small pieces of wood, dried plants, twigs, etc. used as fuel.
- karzi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i./t. to play (ball, etc.); to sport, to dance.
- kalam* (pl. -ku) a threshing floor.
- kalu* n. country liquor.
- kalem*¹ (pl. -ku) bridle (for horse).
- kalem*² (pl. -ku) pen (for writing), -*kaḍi* id.
- kalgi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to accrue (as prosperity); to happen.
- kavi* n. pieces of half-burnt wood (which are heaped up and reburnt before starting pōru cultivation).
- kas*¹- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to be lit up (as fire); to burn; *kasis-* v.t. to light up (a lamp, fire, etc.).
- kas*²- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to stick to, to adhere; to hold fast to (as a tree, while climbing), to hold tight; to go after; *kaspis-* caus. to cause to stick up: to fix up; *kaspay ā* (cf. ā-) v.i. to get stuck up; be stuck to.
- kasra* n. rubbish, dirt (in the house); -*turi* dirt, rubbish, etc.
- karak* n. the month of Caitra; -*paṇḍoy* a Kūbi festival of communal hunting during the *karak* month (see Introduction, p. 13).
- kaṇṇ maran* (pl. °marak) Indian Beech tree, *Pongamia glabra*.

- karan* n. a threshing floor (N and W dial.); cf. *kalam*.
- kari* n. anything handful, a lump: *kareṇḍ* adj. handful.
- karu* n. country liquor (N and W dial.); cf. *kalu*.
- karpar* adv. completely, thoroughly.
- kars-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to excrete faeces; to make bowel-movement.
- kāk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to keep open (of mouth); to form slits (of soil); *kākpis-* caus. to cause to widen or expand.
- kāki* (pl. -ṅ(u)) a crow.
- kākeri* n. bitter squash, *Momordica charantia*; *kusa* the vegetable of *kākeri*.
- kāṅka* n. anger (Sova dial.).
- kāṭi* (pl. -ṅ) a grave; -*si* v.t. to burn the dead body in the grave (lit. to give to grave).
- kāṇḍa* (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) rib of leaf.
- kāp-* v.t. to boil (as water, etc.): to distil (liquor); cf. *kāmb-*;
kāpis- caus. to cause (somebody) to boil.
- kāp(u)* n. protection (of crop, etc.).
- kāp ki-* (cf. *ki-* to do) v.i. to wait for; look for; to way-lay.
- kāme* adv. adequately, urgently, immediately.
- kāme kadu* adv. under any circumstances; come what may!
- kāmb-/kām-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be boiled, as water; *kāp-* v.t. to boil (water, etc.).
- kāy* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. ? to light (fire)); to warm oneself at the fireplace.
- kār-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to dig; make a pit; dig out (weeds, etc.); *kār-is-/pis-* caus. to cause to dig, etc.
- kārli/kārla* n. the plant *Momordica charantia*; cf. *kākeri*.
- kār* onom. sound of crowing (of crow).
- kāru* n. weeds (in field); -*dōru* weeds, etc.
- kālamtiṅ* (acc. dat. of **kālan*) /adv. the coming year.
- kāvale* (irreg. verb) to be needed; e.g. *eso kāvale* how much is needed; *kāvaliste* if needed, *kāvalisti* adj. that which is needed. (l.w. < Te.).
- kās-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to bring forth young (of human beings); to bear children.
- kāsa* (*bada*) n. (the shaft of) a *kāvri*, q.v. (Sova dial.).
- kār-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to form a pit or trench.

- kāraṇa* adv. well, thoroughly, e.g. *kāraṇa ūd^oed* it isn't soaked well.
- ki-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to do, make; as an auxiliary postfixed to many nominal and verbal stems.
- kikidra vēnam* n.pr. of a mythical forest, a very thick one (Sova dial.).
- kiteṛi maran* (pl. ^omarak) castor tree, *Palma christi* or *Ricinus communis*.
- kinz-* (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to be torn, as a cloth, etc.; *kis¹* v.t. to tear a cloth, etc.
- kīyu* (pl. *kiku*) hand; *atku* (pl. -ṅ) wrist, lit., the hand-joint.
- kīla-muṇḍi* (pl. -ṅ) elbow, the arm-joint.
- kiliṅ* n. offensive smell; corrosion; -*rey* to spread (as offensive smell).
- kilpa* (pl. ^op-eṅ) a comb made of wood; a variety of comb.
- kīvu* (pl. *kiku*) hand (Sova dial.); cf. *kīyu*.
- kis¹* v.t. to tear, v.s.v. *kinz-*.
- kis²* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to pinch, nip; squeeze with fingers; *kisis-/kispis-* caus. to cause somebody to pinch, etc.
- kizay-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to jeer at, ridicule.
- kīdu* (loc. of *kīyu* hand; post-position) from the hand of, by means of, through, e.g. *nā ālu kīdu ḍasisna* I will let (the grain) pounded by my wife.
- kīs-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to scrape, scratch; draw lines; *kīsīs-/kispis-* caus. to cause to scratch, etc.
- kuṭum* (pl. -ku) family.
- kuṇi* (pl. -ṅ) bulb, edible root; some varieties of edible roots: *alu-*, *keda-*, *tāri-*, *tiyani-*, *nāṅ(g)el-*, *baṅgla-*, *marvi-*, *sītel-*, *sēndu-*, *sōm-*.
- kuṇḍa* (pl. ^oḍ-eṅ) pot.
- kut-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. remove (a knot); to strip off or remove (clothing); to undress oneself; to open a door (Gūri dial.).
- kutu* n. neck (Sova dial.).
- kundel(i)* (pl. -ṅ/^ol-ṅu) a rabbit.
- kupa* (pl. ^op-eṅ) a heap (of grain).
- kupi* (pl. -ṅ) a crab (Sova dial.).
- kupi ḍāro* (pl. -ṅ) a scorpion.
- kumba* (pl. ^ob-eṅ) a small heap conical in shape.

- kumbir* a big tortoise (l.w. < O.).
- kurar(u)* (pl. °r-ṅu) a long pole on which the central beam of a house rests.
- kurra* (pl. °reṅ) a churning stick.
- kuṛi* adj. short, shortness; -k bound adj.: °k-a/k-ad (3 n.sg.) a short one, °k-an (3 m.sg.) a short man, °k-ar (3 m.pl.) short men or persons.
- kurgu* (pl. kuR-ku) the thigh; *kuRk-eṅḍ* adj. upto the thighs.
- kuleri* n. porridge made of *ḍera* (q.v.) flour (Sova dial.).
- kusa* n. edible greens and vegetables; some varieties; *gumenḍ*-, *teṭem*-, *pansa*-, *bazi*-, *madlap*-, *mula*-, *varkay*-, *vadraka*-.
- kuṛka* (pl. °k-eṅ) a broad mouthed vessel to eat in.
- kuṛvi*- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (floor) to form pits, to be hollowed out; *kuṛk*- v.t. to hollow out; to make pits; metaph. to destroy.
- kūk*- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to call, invite, to shout at; *kūpis*- caus. to summon, make (somebody) call; to send word.
- kūbi* (pl. -ṅ) the native name of the Koṅḍa Dora, known to them throughout the Agency area.
- kūru*¹ (pl. -ṅ) a boil.
- kūru*² n. whiteants' nest (Oṛa dial.).
- kūl*- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to become rotten; to rot (as a malignant ulcer).
- kūla* (pl. -ṅ/-r) a friend, close relative; -yen (3 m.sg.); a friend (man); -ṭōṅḍa close friendship, intimacy; occurs with the verb *toR*- to develop intimacy, etc.
- kūli*¹ (pl. -ṅ) paddy.
- kūli*² n. cooly, a wage.
- kūr*- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to join, meet, assemble, come together;
- kūr*p- v.t. to mix (cereals, etc.); to join or put together; to collect.
- kūra* (pl. -ṅ) friend (N and W dial.); cf. *kūla*.
- kūraṅa* adv. together, also, even; cf. *kūr*-.
- kūram* (pl. -ku) a small knife.
- ke*- (irreg., neg. past *ke*°et- *ke*°it-) v.i. (person) will not like, is reluctant; occurs only in negative forms; e.g. 1 sg. *nān ke*°e I don't want; *nān ke*°eta I did not want; 2 sg.

- nīn ke?i* : *nīn ke?iti*; 3 m.sg. *vānru ke?en* : *vānru ke?etan*; etc.
- keḍi* n. charms or magical spells for killing enemies (occurs before the verb *karzi*, q.v.).
- ked-* v.i. (water) to boil (Sova dial.).
- ker-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to take handfuls or small quantities out of a mass (of grain, etc.); to take into a ladle before serving; to collect into a heap and pick up.
- kere-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. (cock) to crow (early in the morning).
- keR-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to close, shut (as a door, box, etc.); to build a wall (as enclosure).
- kelu* (pl. °l-ku) feather.
- kēver kēver* (may be represented as/kemver kemver/) onom. the crying of a child.
- kezeri elka* (pl. °k-eṅ) a mouse, a musk rat (?)
- kēṭava* adv. separately.
- kēlu* (pl. °l-ku) earthen pot (Sova dial.).
- ko?er* n. a sickle (Sova dial.).
- kok¹* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to cough; *kok-i* n. cough, phlegm.
- kok²* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to raise and project the head (while seeing a distant object).
- koko* adj. small; little (of rice, etc. mainly pertaining to quantity as opposed to *naṇḍo*, q.v.).
- kogi* (pl. -k) mother's sister or father's younger brother's wife.
- kogri* adj. younger; small; -*ālu* younger wife; -*k-* bound adj. to which can be added personal suffixes, -*an* (3 m.sg.), -*a/-ad* (3 n.sg.), etc.; -*karak* the month Vaiśākha (April-May).
- koṅva* (pl. °v-eṅ) a hook fixed on a wall used as a hanger.
- koṭu* (pl. °ṭ-ku) a heap (of dung, sand, firewood, etc.).
- koṭe* cl. expresses surprise, etc. (occurs sentence finally).
- koṭka* (pl. °k-eṅ) the male private organ (occurs in a folk song).
- koṭya* (pl. °r) a tribal caste superior to Koṇḍa Doras.
- koṇḍa dora* n. the name of the Kūbi (given by the Telugus of the plains).
- kot-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to hammer, to hit hard on the top.

- kota* adj. new (l.w. < Te.); -*k-* bound adj. : -*k-a/-k-ad* (3 n.sg.), -*k-un* (3 m.sg.), etc.
- kona* (pl. °n-eṅ) pointed end (as a leaf, etc.).
- kouḍru* (pl. -ṅ) the shoulder of a bull, etc.
- koṇu* (pl. °p-ku) hair (of men or women).
- koma* (pl. °m-eṅ) branch of a tree.
- komu* (pl. °m-ku) horn (of an animal); a justice pole, cf. *rōyṅ komu*, *sōyit komu*.
- komia maran* (pl. °marak) the sweet-orange tree, *Citrus aurantium*.
- koy-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to reap, harvest, to cut; to pluck (flowers, etc.).
- koya* (pl. °y-eṅ) a wooden piece, a log.
- koṚi* (pl. -ṅ) an erected pole (in house construction, etc.).
- koRo-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to doze in sleep, while sitting; to sit and doze.
- koRk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to crush under teeth; to bite with teeth.
- koṛa kota* n. a kūbi festival after planting the *gumēṅḍ* (q.v.) freshly in the year.
- koṛu* (pl. koRku) a fowl.
- koṛoy* (pl. -ṅu) a burning torch.
- kornī guḍe* n. uncultivable soil; sterile soil.
- kol-* (less commonly *koṛ-*) (koṭ- kolzi-, koṇ-) v.t. to buy.
- koli-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to measure (as grain, etc.).
- kolki* (pl. -ṅ) a big basket to store grain, kept on a terrace below the roof.
- koldi* n./adv. extent.
- kosor* n. anything demanded freely after purchasing things like vegetables, etc.
- kozri mṛānu* n. a date tree (Sova dial.); cf. *kozru maran*.
- kozru maran* var. *kozur*° (pl. °marak) a species of date palm.
- koHi* (dial. var. of *koṚi*, q.v.) a pole (Oṛa dial.).
- koṛesi* (pl. -k) daughter-in-law (when referring in the 3rd pers.); cf. *koṛya*.
- koṛo* (pl. -k) child female; (pl. -r) male child; *koṛa* children, etc.; -*nali/-nalu* (pl. °nal-sku) a woman in child-bed, a nursing mother; *vaski* the womb of a woman.
- koṛokla* (pl. °l-eṅ) the Adam's apple.

- koṛya* (pl. °yek) daughter-in-law or younger brother's wife.
koṛvu (pl. -ṅ) fat (of animals); arrogance.
koṛveli (pl. -ṅ) a sickle.
koṛs- (t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to winnow (told by an informant from Kūra village).
kōḍi (pl. -ṅ) cow.
kōṇa (pl. °ṅ-eṅ) a big long stick.
kōnti (pl. -ṅ) a monkey.
kōnto (pl. -ṅ) shrimp, prawn.
kōndli (pl. -r) nephew; younger sister's husband; *saṅin-* son-in-law.
kōpam (pl. -ku) anger.
kōbri maran (pl. °marak) coconut tree; *kōbri mrānu* id. (Sova dial.).
kōlu (pl. °i-ku) pestle; *-muṇḍi/u* id.
kōva rāzu n.pr. of a King (in a folk-tale).
kōsu (pl. °s-ku) a unit of two miles.
kōre (pl. -ṅ) a young bullock.
kṛāṅ mrānu n. the Indian Beech tree (Sova dial.); cf. *karāṅ maran*.

G

- gagoli* n. noise, confusion.
gagya (pl. °ṛ-eṅ) a big knife to split wood, etc.; a chop-knife.
gaṭu (pl. °ṭ-ku) bund, bank (of a river, tank, etc.).
gada (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) a river, stream.
gaḍem (pl. °m-ku) (generally used in pl.) beard.
gaḍli (pl. -ṅ) the hollow in the nape of the neck.
gaṇṭa (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) an hour.
gaṇḍa tōlu n. dewlap.
gaṇḍ(u) stroke, kick (occurs in a folk-song).
gaṇḍe indecl. int. an expression of surprise (occurs with utterance final contour).
gaṅs- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to earn, to amass wealth (derogatory).
gata vare n./adv. back side.
gatam (pl. -ku) a heap of cowdung, rubbish, manure.
gadu (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) a donkey.
gadi (pl. -ṅ) a room.

- gadi gūṛa* n. room, shelter, etc.
-gade cl. (tag. question) is it not? (occurs sentence finally).
gadem adv. suddenly, abruptly.
gani con. but.
ganta ganti adv. widely spreading, interlaced (of creepers, etc.).
gapa (pl. °peṅ) basket in which to carry grain; *gapati*, *gapenḍ* a basketful of.
garze n. the custom of a bridegroom doing service in his father-in-law's house before marriage in lieu of bride price.
garṇḍa (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) a garment, a piece of cloth.
garbisaṇam n. pregnancy; *ā* to become pregnant.
gavru ḍuḍu n. shepherd's hand-stick.
gazi bizi adv. hurriedly; *ā/ki* to be in a hurry.
gara (pl. °ṛ-en) a pole, a long stick (of sugar cane), etc. a bamboo pole.
garek n./adv. for or after a moment; e.g. *garektiṅ raʔa* come after a moment, or *gerek raʔa* id.
garpu kuṇḍa n. a big pot with a wide mouth, in which dirty clothes are washed.
garvi- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to go beyond the boundary (of a village), to fail a promise; to disregard (elder's words).
gāṭi (pl. -ṅ) a path on the high hills.
gāṭu (pl. °t-ku) lap; loc. *gā-to*.
gāḍi (pl. -ṅ) a granary built of walls on three sides within the house.
gānta (°t-eṅ) a pit.
gānd(u) masu n. fog.
gānsi (pl. -ṅ) a person of a low-caste tribe, who removes the horse-dung, etc.; *gānsini* (3 n.sg.) a woman of *gānsi* caste; *gānsi-ni-k* (3 n.p.l.); *gānsi-r* (3 m.p.l.); *gānsi-k* (3 n.pl.).
gānzū (pl. *gās-ku*) a glass bangle.
gāru (p. *gāR-ku*) lightning.
gāli wind, air.
gālu (pl. -k) daughter.
gāru n. daughter (N and W dial).
gārsi (pl. -k) daughter (in referring to 3rd pers.) (N and W dial.).

- giṭ-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to be fair (of price in bargain).
- giṭoṇi* (pl. -ṇ) ear (Sova dial.).
- gina* (pl. °n-eṇ) a metal vessel. a metal cup.
- ginza* (pl. °z-eṇ) seed.
- gibi* (pl. -ṇ) ear; *pīṇu* ear-wax.
- gira* (pl. °r-eṇ) a small fishing net; *murri* (pl. -ṇ) a fishing basket.
- gīsa* (pl. °s-eṇ) rib of leaf, a line, streak.
- guta* (pl. °ṭ-eṇ) pit, hollow in ground.
- guḍu* (pl. -k) eye ball; egg; testicle (l.w. < Te.).
- guḍe* (pl. -ṇ) dry field.
- guḍri* (pl. -ṇ) hillock.
- gundā* n. powder, dust.
- gundam* (pl. -ku) tomb.
- gundu* (pl. guṭku) a bullet, ball, etc.
- gundeṛ(i)* (pl. °r-ṇu) saree, a loin cloth for women.
- gut-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to stich (as a leaf-plate. leaf-cup, etc.); pierce; stitch (flowers together into a garland); stick in, insert; butt (as an ox with horns); *gutas* elbowing; *gutas ā* vb. to elbow each other; *gutis-/gutpis-* caus. to make (somebody) stitch, sew, pierce, etc.
- gudu gudu* onom. expression of high activity, rush, energy, noise, etc.
- guduri* (pl. -ṇ) a long pial in the house to keep water pots, etc. on.
- gudeli* (pl. -ṇ) hoe-like instrument for digging.
- gudlis-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to shake violently (as wild animal its body in preparing for attack).
- guna* (pl. °n-eṇ) small plant.
- gunpam* (pl. -ku) spade (to dig with).
- gunzam* n. shoulder, shoulder blade (Sova dial.).
- gupu* (pl. °p-ku) node (of bamboo, sugar-cane etc.).
- gupot* adj. secretive (person, action, etc.).
- gupte* adv. secretly, being unnoticed by others; cf. *gupot*.
- guba gorgu* (pl. -ṇ) an umbrella.
- gumi* (pl. -ṇ) a pool, water-pit.
- gumend(i)* (pl. -ṇ) pumpkin (plant or fruit); *Cucurbita maxima*, *Cucurbita pepo*.

- guru* (pl. -ŋ) a priest; -*ni* (pl. -k) a female priest; -*yen* (3 m.sg.) a male priest; *loku* a priest, a respectable man.
- gurđu* (pl. -ŋ) pupil, eyeball.
- gurzu* n. eyeball (Sova dial.); cf. *gurđu*.
- guram* (pl. -ku) horse.
- gulayen* (3 m.sg., pl. *gular*) a stammerer; *guli* (3 n.sg., pl. -k) a stammering woman.
- gusil* (pl. -ŋu) stump of tree (after the upper part is cut off).
- guzam* (pl. -ku) (dial. var. of *gunzam*, q.v.) shoulder.
- gura* (pl. °r-əŋ) a kŭbi colony or hamlet; a tribal hamlet.
- guruguru* adv. (onom.) running swiftly; -*na* adv. swiftly.
- gursa* (pl. °s-əŋ) hut; cf. *gŭra*.
- gŭna palu* (pl. °l-ku) the side teeth; teeth closest to jaws.
- gŭr-* (-it-/t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to lie down; sleep, sleep with; roll on flood; *gŭrp* v.t. to lay.
- gŭra* (pl. °r-əŋ) a hut (without yard or enclosure).
- gŭru* (pl. °r-ku) poultry; a fowl-shelter fixed on the top of a floor in the house.
- get-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to neck out; *getis-/getpis-* caus. to make somebody to neck out.
- gemu* (pl. °m-ku) claw of crab.
- geyda* (pl. °d-əŋ) a she-buffalo.
- gerđu* n. curls of hair.
- gels-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to lean on; to rest the back (on wall, etc.).
- gērka* n. turmeric (Sova dial.).
- goŧ-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to insert flowers in braid or behind the ears in decoration.
- goŧem* (pl. -ku) a bamboo pipe to keep a cigar in (this is usually tucked in the loin cloth).
- gođu gođra* n. cattle, etc.
- goŋda* n. decorative lines on floor drawn with flour (used also for religious purposes).
- gotika* (pl. °k-əŋ) throat.
- goti davra* (pl. °r-əŋ) a young farmer.
- gotyayen* (3 m.sg., pl. *gotyar*) a farmer.
- gonel* (*goneR-*; pl. -ŋu) kitchen; loc. *goneRu*.

- gopa* adj. great, big; *-k-* id. (bound adj. before personal suffixes).
- gor-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to snore.
- gorza* (dial. var. *garze*, q.v.) a social system of son-in-law serving parents-in-law for three years before marrying their daughter in lieu of bride-price.
- gore* (pl. -ŋ) goat.
- goron* (pl. *goronku*) hill, mountain; a forest on a hill; *guđe* a field on a hill slope.
- goli maran* n. a species of wild tree.
- goza duđu* n. a magic stick (occurs in a folk tale).
- gozya duđu* n. a goad, a pointed stick (to drive cattle, etc.).
- gorəl(i)* (pl. -ŋ/°l-ŋu) axe.
- gōda* (pl. °d-eŋ) wall.
- gōni* (pl. -ŋ) a gunny bag.
- gōti* (pl. -ŋ) a rogue (in abuse, scolding); *-yen* (3 m.sg.).
- gōnʒr(u)/gōnʒur(i)* (pl. °r-ŋu/°i-ŋ) spider.
- gōpri* n. hay or a type of dry grass used to thatch house-roof.
- gōyi* n. smoke (from kitchen, not of cigar, etc.).
- gōr-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to snore in sleep; *-un* (pl. -ku) snoring, a snore.
- gōr(u)* (pl. °r-ku) nail.
- gōrze* (pl. -ŋ) a passage for cattle.
- gōla* n. abuse, scolding, admonishing; *ki-* v.t. to scold.
- gōvanđa* (pl. °d-eŋ) pigeon.
- gōsi* (pl. -ŋ) a strip of cloth covering the private parts, tucked up behind; loin-cloth (of both men and women).
- gōrri* (pl. -ŋ) summit, hilltop.
- gyānam* n. knowledge, wisdom.
- grōn(u)* (pl. *grō-ku*) forest; mountain, hill (Sova dial.).

‡

- taka* (pl. °k-eŋ) the stone of fruit (mango, etc.).
- tanʒer* n. fighting, quarreling; *ā* to fight, quarrel among themselves.
- tāndi mrānu* (pl. °mrāku) the tree *Terminalia bellerico*, belleric myrobalan (Sova dial.).
- tāʒ maran* (var. *tāti maran*; pl. °marak) palmyra tree.

- tindi* (pl. -*n*) food.
- tiri* (pl. -*n*) a small fish basket.
- tiri maran* n. any tree to which the oil press is fastened.
- tilu* (pl. °l-ku) niger crop; an edible oil seed.
- tiru* n. the Olisa oil seed or its crop (N and W dial.); cf. *tilu*.
- tupku tapku* onom. adv. expression of the falling of rain drops.
- tuvek tuvek* onom. adv. beat of pulse, etc.
- tever tever* onom. adv. crying of a child.
- terka* (pl. °k-en) door, of a house or cattle-shed made of thick bamboo strips.
- tēmp(u)* (pl. °p-ku) cropping of hair; tape.
- tok-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to peck at, with beak (as a fowl); to sting.
- toki dasi* n. servants, attendants, etc.
- tonga* (pl. °g-en) a narrow passage in oil-press through which oil passes down into a container.
- tondo* (pl. -*n*) a chameleon.
- tompo* (pl. -*n*) a wooden-bell tied to the neck of bulls.
- tonla* (pl. °l-en) a stringed instrument, like *tāmbura* in Te.
- tōnta* (pl. °t-en) garden, grove.
- tōnda* (m.pl. -r, n.pl. °d-ek) an intimate friend; darling (in address): wife's brother; friendship: *tonde-si* (pl. °k) female friend (in reference).

D

- dak-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to beat; strike; beat (as a drum); metaph. to gulp down, eat up; v.i. (rain) to pour down (lit. to strike).
- dagru* n./adv. (*dagru*i- adj.) near, nearness.
- dav-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (a drum) to be beaten; v.t. to beat a drum.
- datam* adv. too much, many; thickly.
- dadi* (pl. -*n*) chin.
- danda* (pl. °-den) upper arm.
- dandam* (pl. -ku) bowing, obeisance.
- daba maran* (pl. °marak) the Citron tree; *Citrus medica*.
- dabu* (pl. -*n*) money, a rupee.

- damku guḍe* n. a dry field on hill slope (in a folk-song).
- ḍas-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to pound (as paddy or any raw grain);
ḍasis-/ḍaspis- caus. to cause to pound.
- dāṅ-* (-it-, -zi-, -ṅ-) v.i. to lie hidden; to hide oneself; *dāp-*
 v.t. to hide; to save (money).
- ḍāt-* (-t-, -is-, -n-) v.i. to hop or jump; hop in dance; jump
 over; walk fast.
- ḍāba* (pl. °b-eṅ) a tin made of iron or zinc sheets.
- ḍig-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to descend, dismount; drip down (as
 oil from oil-press; or flour from grinding stone, etc.);
ḍigni vare West (the side sun sets) (Sova dial.); *ḍin-*
 v.t. to cause to descend or come down; to put or take
 down; to leave.
- ḍipa* (pl. °p-eṅ) a water container made out of bottle-gourd.
- ḍuka sonki* n. a wooden mortar fixed in the floor of the house.
- ḍuḍu* (pl. -ṅ) a stick; hand-stick.
- ḍuṅḍa* (pl. °d-eṅ) bud (of a flower or fruit).
- ḍupi* (pl. -ṅ) antelope.
- ḍubku ḍabku* onom. adv. of rain drops falling and producing
 noise on dried leaves, etc.
- ḍumu* (pl. -k) bone.
- ḍumḍa* adj. naked (sg. all genders; m.pl. *ḍumḍar*).
- ḍumṅi* (pl. -ṅ) a container used for *zīrga* liquor (made out
 of a gourd).
- ḍūs-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to comb (hair); *ḍūsay ā-* u.i. to comb
 one's own hair; lit. to be with hair combed.
- ḍeka* (pl. °k-eṅ) hoof.
- ḍeṅ-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to fall (backwards) (archaic; occurs
 in a folk-song).
- ḍenkya* (pl. °y-eṅ) a wolf.
- ḍāca* (pl. °g-en) falcon.
- ḍāra* n. *rāgi* crop or grain, Eleusine coracana.
- ḍēlis-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to call out loudly by one's name, to
 shout.
- ḍāra* (pl. °v-en) the front yard of a house.
- dokra* adi. old, e.g. *ḍokra rānu* an old bull; n. (pl. °r-en) an
 old man.
- ḍokri* adj., old e.g. *ḍokri modo* an old cow; n. (pl. -k/-ṅ) an
 old woman.

- doṅari/doṅa* (m.pl. °r-ṅu/-r) thief (male); *doṅa-ti-k-* bound
 adj.: *-ad* (3 n.sg.) a female thief; *-ev* (3 n.pl.) thieves; *-kan*
 (3 m.sg.); *-ar* (3 m.pl.); *-i* (2 sg.); *-ider* (2 pl.).
doḍi (pl. -ṅ) back-yard of house (for plants, etc. to grow).
doṅḍa kāya n. the fruit of *Coccinia Indica*.
doṇ- (-t-, -si-, -n-) to push, neck out, expel, elbow.
doṇi (pl. -ṅ) a wooden tub for cattle or dogs to drink water
 from.
doḅo (pl. -ṅ) a small piece of dryland as opposed to *guḍe*, q.v.
doṃa (pl. °m-eṅ) mosquito.
doṛ- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to sleep with, to cohabit (taboo
 word in Gorra Gura).
doṛu pron. all (people or things) (Sova dial.).
doḷi (pl. -ṅ) a swing, cradle; coffin.
doḷo kiteri n. a variety of castor plant, *Palma christi*.
doḷs- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to pillage, plunder; *doḷspis-* caus. to
 cause to plunder.

T

- tā-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) [irreg.; neg. *te?*-; imp. 2 sg. *taga*, pl.
tagaṭ] v.t. to bring; *tāpis-* caus. to cause to bring.
tagli- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to touch or hit.
tavi (pl. -k) younger sister; *-runḍi* two sisters (younger and
 older); *-si* (pl. -k) younger sister (in referring to 3rd
 pers.).
tanri n. father (occurs only in invocation, *āgas tanri* sky-
 father!).
tap- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to miss or fail; to falter; to fail to
 fulfil one's promise, etc.
tabla (pl. °l-eṅ) a big container for liquor.
tamberi (pl. °r-ṅu/°r-ku) younger brother; *tamberi* (pl. -k)
 id. (in referring to 3rd pers.).
taytu (pl. °t-ku) an amulet, tied to the waist band or necklace
 to dispel evil spirits.
tarvata adv. afterwards (l.w. < Te.).
turla (pl. °l-eṅ) a big container made of several layers of *aḍa*
 leaves and conical in shape.
tala (pl. °l-ek) head.

- tali* (invocatory) mother, e.g. *būmi tali* mother earth!; adj. female (prefixed to certain animal names as opposed to *pōtu*, q.v.) *koru* hen; *kōḍi* she buffalo.
- tari* adj. female (Sova dial.); cf. *tali*; *kōḍi* she-buffalo; *mrīḥu* (pl. °l-ku) pea-hen.
- tāmbel(i)* n. tortoise.
- tālep* n. seasoning of meat, etc. with spices.
- tālpā* n. profit, gain in selling.
- tālsu karu* n. zirga liquor; cf. *zīrga* (Sova dial.).
- tālsa mrānu* (pl. °mrāku) the zirga tree, a liquor-yielding tree (Sova dial.).
- tās boḍa* adv. luxuriantly (crop in growing).
- tāri* (pl. -ṅ) the tender palmyra sprout, roasted and eaten.
- tār-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to crawl or creep (as an ant).
- tāraṅ* (pl. -ku) tartar of tongue.
- tāri mrānu* (pl. °mrāku) plantain tree (Sova dial.); *tāri maran* plantain tree (Sembay dial.).
- tig-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to press down hard; v.i. (a heavy object) to lay pressure on; *tigay ā-* v.t. to press one's own body (with some object); *tigis-* caus. to cause something to press, to crush underneath a heavy object.
- tin-* (tiR-, tin-zi-, tin-) v.i./t. to eat (any solid food); to inhale cigarette or beedi; *tīRpis-* caus. to cause to eat; to feed.
- tiyani* adj. sweet; -k- bound adj.: *tiya-ni-k-a/-ad* a sweet thing, etc.; *tiy-aṅ(a)* adv. sweetly.
- tiyar* n./adv. being ready.
- tiyel* n. fear.
- tiri-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to return; turn back, come around;
- tirp-* v.t. to run round; to move (a sling) fast; to take round.
- tirvi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to return; turn back, come round;
- tirp-* v.t. to turn round; to move (a sling) fast; to take round.
- tiva* (pl. °v-eṅ) creeper of a plant or shrub.
- tirpa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to cleanse the floor with cowdung and water.
- tīr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be exhausted (as food, drink, etc.); to be over.

- tuns-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to be broken to pieces (as a stick); to become worn out (as cloth); *tunp-* v.t. to make holes (of clothes); to break into small pieces, as a stick, etc.
- tup-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to sneeze; cf. *tumbu* a sneeze.
- tupa* (pl. °p-eŋ) a bush, shrub.
- tumbi* n. a tiger (Gūri dial.).
- tumbu* (pl. tupku) a sneeze; cf. *tup-*.
- tumberi* n. bee (Sova dial.).
- tura* (pl. °r-eŋ) a spark (of fire).
- turoy maran* (pl. °marak) a big tree called 'forestflame'.
- turka* (pl. °k-eŋ) pieces of burning coal; embers.
- tuR-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to remove (weeds etc.); to pick up; *kāru tuRteŋ* removing weeds.
- tuRpa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to invoke Gods; to fulfil a religious vow; to adore, worship.
- turi* n. rubbish, sweepings, trash.
- turbi* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to insert, thrust in; *turbis-* caus. to cause to thrust in.
- tūpi* (pl. -ŋ) a rat-trap.
- tūb-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to blow air through mouth; to puff, blow off (of fire, lamp, etc.)
- tūbi tūri* n. weeds, etc.; cf. *turi*.
- tūm* (pl. -ku) a measure of grain, equivalent to four seers; -end adj. a tūm-ful.
- tūrupu vare* n./adv. East, lit. the eastern direction.
- tūl-* (tūR-, tūl-zi, tūl-n-) v.i. (water etc.) to be splashed; to scatter away in particles.
- tūlu rey-* (cf. *rey-*) v.t. to kick off, to hit so as to disperse.
- tegis-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to abandon (as one's life) in wrecklessness; to put an end to.
- tevra teŋri* onom. adv. an expression indicating thick growth of creepers, shrubs, etc.
- terp-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to put to sleep; to cause to lie down; to lay.
- ter-* (teR-t-, ter-zi-, ter-n-) v.t. to pluck out with both hands (things other than weeds); to snap, break.
- terli-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (water) to boil excessively.
- terveli* n. sunshine (Sova dial.).

- telaṅ* adv. whitishly; *-di* adj. white; *-di-k-an* (3 m.sg.) a white man; *-di-k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.) a white one.
- telaṅi* (pl. -ṅ) an earthen lid over pot.
- telaṅi* adj. white; *-k-* bound adj.: *-k-an* (3 m.sg.) a white man; *-k-a/-kad* (3 n.sg.) a white one.
- teli*¹ n. consciousness, wakefulness.
- teli*² (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be known (with the dative of agent noun).
- tev-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be broken or snapped, as thread; to be disjointed; *tep-* v.t. to break, snap; to nip off, as flowers etc.; to finish, to redeem a vow, discharge a religious obligation.
- tevgu* n. sharpness (of knife, axe etc.); *son-* sharpness (to be lost).
- tēne* (pl. -ṅ) honey; *ṭaṭa* bee-hive; *mēṇam* the honey-wax.
- tēl-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to wipe off (as tears).
- to?i ruṇḍi* num. cpd. two co-wives.
- toko* (pl. -ṅ) bark of tree, rind (of fruit, vegetable, etc.).
- torgi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to overflow; being shaken, as rice, water etc. in a full vessel.
- toR-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to build or construct (house, etc.); to make or construct (as a *ṭoyla*, etc.); to wear, put on (as a saree); *toRay ā-* v.t. to get dressed; *toRis-* caus. to cause to build or make.
- tosri* (pl. -ṅ) string (of a *ṭoyla*).
- toṛan* n. brother, younger or elder (Sembay dial.).
- toṛṅ-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be spilt (of water from a vessel by jerk); *toṛk-* v.t. to spill (water, etc. from a vessel by shaking).
- tōka* (pl. °k-eṅ) tail.
- tōka mūrtaṃ* (pl. -ku) an auspicious time (of day).
- tōpa* n. a preparation with boiled *ḍēra* flour.
- tōr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to appear; to be seen; *to-?-* (only in neg.) to see; *nān to?e* I don't see; *vānru to?en* he doesn't see; *tōray ā-* v.t. to appear; *tōris-* caus. to cause to see; to show.
- tōru* n. thicket, bush (Sova dial.).
- tōlu* (pl. °l-ku) skin (of animals).
- tōru* n. help, company, assistance.

D

- da* abbreviation of *dāda* brother in addressing, e.g. *ōda ōda* Oh brother! Oh brother!
- daka* adv. suff. until (<Te. *dāka*).
- daṅka* n. heat (of fire); excessive perspiration.
- daṅṅa* (pl. °ṛ-ṅ) a young man; *-yen* (3 m.sg.) id.
- davri* (pl. -ṅ) a young woman.
- danam* (pl. -ku) wealth.
- dani-* (oblique stem of *adi* q.v.) its.
- dand-* (-it-/-t-, -zi-, -n-) (*dand-n-*/*dan-n-*) v.t. to kick (with foot); *danday ā-* to kick out one's own legs in pain.
- dapi* (pl. -ṅ) porridge, liquid food (<Te. *dappi* thirst, water).
- dabi* (pl. -ṅ) palm (of hand).
- damku guḍe* (pl. -ṅ) a dry field on hill slope (occurs in a folk-song).
- damṅa saras* (pl. -ku) a whip snake.
- damṅika* (pl. °k-ṅ) a basket to carry mud, cow dung, etc. (Sova dial.; also in a song).
- dari* n./adv. near about, often occurs as iterative *dari dari*; *-ṅ* (dat.) neaby; *darpu* n. neighbourhood, near.
- darmam* (pl. -ku) help, a virtuous deed.
- daRki-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be startled (in fear, etc.); *daRkis-* v.t. to startle, scare.
- dalam* adj. thick (of cloth, etc.).
- dasi* n. female servant.
- dasul* n. appearance, sight; *-kibis* caus. cause (God) to be seen.
- darḅa pīru* (pl. °pīRku) down-pour of rain; a noisy rain.
- dāda* (pl. -r) mother's father; elder brother (Sova dial.).
- dādsi tamberṅi* n. cpd. the brothers (elder and younger) (Sova dial.).
- dāpru* adv. after (follows a verbal adjective), e.g. *veRti dāpru* after telling.
- dārav* (pl. -ku) a broom made of hill grass.
- dīku* n. protection, shelter.
- dinam* (pl. -ku) day.
- dīnu dīnu* adv. day by day.
- dīnsu* (pl. -ṅ) goods, material (for purchase or sale).

- dīva* (pl. °v-eṅ) oil-lamp; *-kantiu* (pl. -ṅ) a lamp-stand built over a wall near the kitchen.
- dīvaṇi paṇḍoy* the Divali festival.
- dīṛ-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to roar (as a tiger); to thunder.
- dukam* sorrow; *ki* to be grieved.
- dubu* (pl. -ṅ) bush, shrub.
- duy* (i) adj. two (occurs only in folk tales).
- duronḍ* n./adv. next year (Sembay dial.).
- dū-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to be well-grown (as a fruit, child, etc.); be well-developed.
- dūki* (pl. -ṅ) grave-yard, crematory; *-maṇḍa* (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) pyre of wood arranged in crematory to burn corpse.
- dūṅ-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be shaken; to dangle (as any-thing loose); to trouble; *dūk-* v.t. to shake or cause to dangle.
- dūpan* n. burning of incense (in religious offerings).
- dūba* (pl. °b-eṅ) spirit of the dead; devil, goblin; *-nīla* the spirits of the dead.
- dūram* n./adv. distance.
- dūru* n. flour (of any grain).
- dūl-* ? v.i. to flash (as lightning), e.g. *gāru dūlitad* the lightning has flashed.
- dūla* (pl. °l-eṅ) itch.
- dūli* n. dust.
- dūra* (pl. °ṛ-eṅ) a calf; *-duska* n. cpd. calf, etc.
- dek-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to strain at stool; to groan.
- deṅes* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to go away, to depart (l.w. < vulgar Te.).
- deni-* (oblique stem of *idi* q.v.) of this.
- deba* (pl. °-eṅ) beat, stroke; lot, quantity.
- deyam* (pl. -ku) God(s).
- dere-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to move on posteriors (as one who has no legs).
- dēk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to belch; *dēkuṅ* (pl. -ku) a belch.
- dēbi boḍa* adv. flourishing as a goddess (occurs in a folk tale; not in common use).
- dēr(u)* (pl. °ṛ-ku) tender bamboo; *dēr dubu* the bamboo thicket (Sova dial.).
- dēl-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to float on water.

- dēvuṅ* (pl. -ku) God (archaic, only in folk tales).
dēsam (pl. -ku) country, kingdom; area under the jurisdiction of one tribal chief.
dok- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to suffocate to death by smoke.
doti (pl. -ṅ) pile (of pots) arranged one over the other.
domi gara (pl. °ṛ-eṅ) a long pole with an iron hook fastened to the end, used for cutting off fruit from high trees.
done (pl. -ṅ) leaf-cup.
dobo (pl. -ṅ) lung, ? liver.
doRk- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to be got or acquired, be available; be defeated, or caught; *doRkis-* caus. to make available, to bring out.
dolu (pl. °l-ku) a creeper plant shrub.
dōs- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to carry (a load on head); (a creeper) to put on (buds); to stick fuel, etc. (in a fireplace);
dōsis- caus. to cause somebody to carry on head

IV

- naka* (pl. °k-eṅ) fox, jackal; *koṛo naka* a jackal (small in size, eats mice in fields); *peri naka* fox (large size, lifts fowl, etc.).
naku (pl. -ṅ) plough-share.
naṭ- (-t-, -si-, -n-) to tuck in, fix in.
naḍil (*naḍiR-*) the central room.
nando adj. fat, stout, bulky; n. flock; n./adv. many, etc.; -k (3 n.pl.); -ṅḍ-ar (3 m.pl.) many men.
nani adj. that sort of, such a; -k- bound adj.: *i-k-a/-k-ad* (3 m.sg.) such one, *-k-eṅ* (3 n.pl.), *-k-an* (3 m.sg.), *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.), *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.), *-k-a* (1 sg.), *-k-ap* (1 pl.), *-k-aṭ* (1 pl. incl.), *nanu* (3 n.pl.) such ones.
nandi komu (pl. °m-ku) horn(s) that neatly bend in.
namb- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. (fire) to cool down; (lamp) to be put out; *nap-* v.t. to put out (fire, lamp, etc.).
nambil poṭi (var. *namil poṭi*; pl. -ṅ) peacock or pea-hen; pea fowl.
namru n. rumination; *goṭ* to ruminate.
namli- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to munch (with noise); to ruminate.
nari vilu n. bow with string.

- naruṅ* (ḍ) n. man (as opposed to gods).
naru lōkam n. earth, human world.
naRk- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to chop, cut.
narda (pl. °d-eṅ) mark or print of impression; inflammation caused by sting of an ant, etc.
narbu n. shortage (Sova dial.).
nala n. blood.
nalu (pl. °l-ku) bug.
nalṅi- (nalṅi-t-) v.i. to be squeezed in handling, etc. (of leaves, flowers, etc.); *nalp-* v.t. to squeeze or crush; *nalṅis-* caus., cause to squeeze.
nasi n. a blue layer of fat on big intestines.
nas- demons. adj. root; *nasinḍ* that much (referring to distance); *naso* (pl. -k) such big ones (3 n.pl.), so much (enough); e.g. *moyeṅ nasok mane* (there are) fish, that big ones; *nasti* adj. such, so and so; *nasti vale* then, at that time; *nastu* that much (of time, etc.).
nari- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to walk; *narp-* v.t. to cause to walk; to drive; let somebody walk; *narpis-* caus. to cause to run; to drive a cart, etc.
naru (pl. °r-ku) bug (N and W dial.).
narmu n. waist, middle.
nāʔand n./adv. then (as opp. to *ēl* now, q.v.); *nāʔaRand-* from then (on); *nāʔand-i-Rika* the thing of that time or then.
nāk- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to lick.
nāgu (pl. -ṅ) the ear-ring (of women).
nāṅ(u) n. cobra; *-saras* a cobra (snake); *puṭa nāṅu* a variety of cobra (reddish); *sita nāṅu* id. (brownish); *pāl nāṅu* id. (white); *gaḍa nāṅu* the one in streams; *dūli nāṅu* a small variety of cobra in fields.
nāṅel/nāṅel (pl. -ṅu) a plough; (the latter var. occurs less frequently).
**nāṅ(u)* n./adv. that day (occurs in the following forms); *nāṅin* (dat. acc.) on that day; *nāṅiRi* adj. of that day; *nāṅiRand* from that day onwards.
nāti n. grand child (male or female).
nādi n. pron. mine (< Te. *nādi*),

VOCABULARY

- nān(u)* pron. (1. sg.) obliq. *nā*; acc.-dat. *nāṅi*.
- nānra* (pl. °r-eṅ) wife's younger sister.
- nānva* (pl. °v-eṅ) palate (hard or soft); gums (of teeth).
- nā rāyana* int. an expression in pathos; God Narayana! (i.e. Viṣṇu, a Hindu deity).
- nāriṅa maran* (pl. °marak) the orange tree.
- nāru* n. seedlings for transplanting.
- nāru* (pl. *nāRku*; obliq. *nāto*) village: *nāto-ṅi* adj. of a village; *nāto-ṅi-k-an* one who belongs to a village, etc.
- nālika* (pl. °k-eṅ) tongue.
- nāḷgi* (num.) four; *nāl'er* (m. pl.) four men.
- nāv-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to cross (as a stream or river, etc.); to go over or beyond; *nāpis* caus. to cause to cross.
- nāvri* (pl. ṅ) intestinal worm; thread worm; earth worm.
- nāsu* (pl. °s-ku) string or rope.
- nāra* (pl. °-eṅ) night (Sova dial.).
- nigri-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (body) to be stretched full-length; to become erect; *nigri-* caus. to cause to be erect.
- niṅ-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to rise up from a sitting position; to wake up (from sleep); *nik-* v.t. to raise or wake up.
- nīta koRi* (pl. -ṅ) a straight pole on which the roof of house rests.
- nidra* (pl. °r-eṅ) sleep.
- nini* adj. this type or manner; *nini-k-* (bound adj. before personal suffixes); *-k-an* (3 m. sg.) this sort of man; such a man as this, *-k-ar* (3 m. pl.); *-k-a/-ad* (3 n. sg.), *-k-eṅ* (3 n. pl.), *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.); *-k-a* (1. sg.), *-k-ap/-aṭ* (1. pl.); *ninu* (3 n. pl.) ones like this.
- ninri* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be filled; become full; *niR-* v.t. to fill up; to thrust in fully; *niRay ā* v.i. to become full.
- nipati* adj. slow and steady (-pp- in emphasis).
- niyu* n. oil (Sova dial.).
- nir-* (occurs only in neg.) v.i. to be filled; to become full (see *ninri*).
- niri* adj. straight, long; *niri-k-* (bound adj.); *-k-an* (3 m. sg.) tall man; *-k-ar* (3 n.pl.); *-k-a/-k-ad* (3 n.sg.) a tall one, an erect one; *-k-eṅ* (3 n.pl.), etc.; *-ṅḍ* adv. long, tall; e.g. *vānru niriṅḍ manan* he is tall.

- nił-* (niR-, nił-si-, nin-; imp.sg. nił²a, pl. ninru) v.i. to stand; to cease or stop; *niłp-* v.t. to let stand; let stay, rest (a stick on wall).
- niłba* adj. straight or erect; e.g. *niłba komku* straight horns.
- nivta* n. the paraphernalia on the day preceding a festival day.
- nis-* (bound adj.) this much or many; *nisidur* for this much time (referring to delay); *niso* this many; this much; *nisonđ* adj. these many (of non-persons); *nisonđ-ar* (3 m.pl.) these many men; *nisor/nisonđ* (3 n.pl.) this many; *nistu* (3 n.sg.) this much (of quantity); *nisneđ* for so (this) many (days).
- nisiro* adj. little, slight (of grain, water, etc.)
- nizam* n. truth; *nizame* (minor sentence) it's true.
- nīk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. (water) to be evaporated; to dry up (in summer), flood to subside (in a river, etc.).
- nīdi* pron. (3 n.sg.) yours (< 'le. nīdi).
- nīn(u)* you (sg.); *nī-* (obl.); *nīvi* (acc. dat.).
- nīrunđ* n./adv. last year.
- nīr putrivar* persons without children (occurs only in a folk tale) (< O).
- nīr masu* dew; cf. *masu* dew.
- nīru* (pl. niRku) ashes.
- nīra* (pl. °r-en) shadow; reflection; shade.
- nudru* (pl. -ŋ) forehead.
- nunaŋa* adv. smoothly; cleanly, completely (when peafowls ate up crops; etc.).
- nūne* oil; *-pasin* (lit. oil and turmeric) a type of weeding ceremony; *-bala* (pl. °l-en) a plank of oil-press; *-buti* a small basket with oil seeds pressed between the planks of oil-press.
- nūr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to crush or grind (on a stone, in a mill, etc.); to pulverize; *nūris-* caus. to cause to crush on a stone, etc.
- nūlu* (pl. -ŋ/°l-ku) thread.
- neti* (pl. -ŋ) top of the head.
- nek-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to push out or expel; to neck out; to kick off; to disregard one's word. *neksi đopsi soRan*

- He went pushing and elbowing (through a crowd);
nekis-/nekpis- caus. to cause to push or elbow.
- negi* adj. good; *negi-k-* (bound adj.): *k-an* (3 m.sg.) a good man, *k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.) a good thing; *negend* adv. good, well; *neged* (3 n.sg.) a good one; *negreṇḍa* adv. well, fine (of living, flourishing).
- neter* n. blood.
- neda* (pl. °d-en) vertex.
- neni/nene* fondling, caressing; *ki-* to fondle, caress.
- ney-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to weave or thatch the roof of a hut with leaves, hay, etc.; to thatch; *neyis-/neypis-* caus. to cause to thatch.
- nerya maran* (°marak) the Jambū tree.
- nela* n. moon; (pl. °l-en) month.
- neli mrānu* (pl. °mrāku) tamarind tree (Sova dial.).
- nes-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to know, to be aware of; to be capable of.
- nēgri-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (flames) to shoot up from fire.
- nēnru* (nēR-) n./adv. today; *nēR-and* from today.
- nēnz-* (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to sigh; respire in exhaustion or tiredness; to have hiccups while weeping; *nēnzu* n. breath; *nēnz(u) guṭa* (pl. °ṭ-en) vertex; *nēnzur* (pl. -ku) perspiration.
- nērs kol-* (cf. *kol-*) v.t. to learn for oneself; *nērp-* v.t. to teach or train.
- nēr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (a plant) to rise up from the seed.
- nēstam* (pl. -ku) friendship.
- nēspa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to clean or winnow (rice, etc.).
- noṇḍ-* (noṇḍ-it-, noṇḍ-zi-, noṇḍ-n-/noṇ-ṇ-) v.t. to kiss (by hand).
- nopi* (pl. -ṇ) pain, ache.
- nor-* (noR-t-, nor-zi-, nor-n-) v.t. to wash or clean (with water); to clean utensils, etc.; *norba-* refl. to wash one's own hands and feet, etc.
- nores* (pl. -ku) tiger; *-labam* int. a curse, scold (? prey of a tiger).
- nō-* (no-t-, nō-zi-, nō-n-, neg. no-?-) v.i. to pain, to ache (as limbs after hard work, etc.).
- nōbu* n. fever.

P

- paṅla* (pl. °l-eṅ) fork; *-sari* a road that branches in two directions.
paṭa (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) an instrument to level the field after ploughing.
paṭu (pl. -ṅ) ornamental drawings on floor with flour (for religious and decorative purposes).
paṭe (pl. -ṅ) a wooden piece or bar in the frame of a cot.
paṭki ḍipa n. a broken gourd-vessel (in a folksong).
paṭṇam (pl. -ku) town.
paḍ- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to burst out; to be broken with a crackling sound.
paḍa (pl. °d-eṅ) young cow.
paṇi (pl. -ṅ) commission; work; *-pāṭu* work, etc.
paṅku (pl. -ṅ) stone.
paṅṭa (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) crop; years (only in pl.) *ruṅḍi paṅṭeṅ* two years.
paṅḍ- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to ripen; (hair) to become grey;
paṅḍis- caus. to cause a crop to grow; to grow a crop.
paṅḍu (pl. paṭ-ku) fruit.
paṅḍoy (pl. ṅu/-ku) festival.
pati n. cotton.
padi num. ten (l.w. < Te.).
padel ḍaṅḍam int. ten thousands salutes (< Te. *padiwēla ḍaṅḍamulu* id.).
*padnu*¹ n. being ready for use (as oilseed being prepared for pressing).
*padnu*² n. sharpening (of knife by heating on fire and flattening the edge with hammer).
pane (pl. -ṅ) comb.
paneṅḍ num. twelve (< Te. *panneṅḍu*; OTe. *paṅḍeṅḍu*).
paṅ- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to prepare or construct; to devise plan.
paṅḍri (pl. -ṅ) pandal.
paṅri (pl. -ṅ) pig.
paṅsa maran (pl. °marak) the jack fruit tree.
paṅz- (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.i. (belly) to be filled after eating or drinking; to be satiated; (*poṭa*) *paṅzu* filling (of the belly).

- papu* n. dhall, gram, pulses.
- pabli-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to hatch (chickens, as a fowl); to grow in numbers (as chickens hatched).
- paynam* n. journey.
- parva* n. objection.
- paR-* (-t-, -si- -n-) v.t. to spread (as a mat).
- pari* (pl. -ṅ) space, place, room.
- parbi-* (-t- -zi-, -n-) v.i. to feel with hand, grope, search in darkness by groping; *parbis* caus. to cause to search or grope.
- pala* (pl. °l-eṅ) seedlings (for transplanting); -*pok* to sow for seedlings.
- palavaru* (pl. *paḷaṇaRku*) tooth stick (cf. *karu*).
- palika nela* (pl. °l-eṅ) the month of *phālgura*, February-March.
- palu* (pl. °l-ku) tooth.
- palka* (pl. °k-eṅ) a plank.
- palkis-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to cause to sound (as a musical instrument); to play on (as a *ṭoyla*, etc.).
- palna* adj. such and such; *nāṇḍiṅ* on a certain day.
- palsa* adj. thin (of liquid); -ṅ adv. thinly, sparsely.
- pas* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to scratch with finger-nails, *pasay ā* to get scratched.
- pasa* n./adv. back, behind; -*vare* towards the back; the hind-side.
- pasaram* (pl. -ku) upper garment; a big garment like a duppat.
- pasi* adj. green, fresh, tender; -*k-* (bound adj.); *pasi-k-a/-aṭ* (3 n.sg.) a green thing; *kaṇḍa* young flesh; *gaḷi* green grass.
- pasin* n. turmeric.
- pāse* (pl. -ṅ) a dhoti.
- pazeri nrānu* (pl. °mrāku) a tree (Sova dial.).
- paray* adj. old; -*k-* bound adj.: -*k-a/-k-ad* (3 n.sg.); the old one; -*k-an* (3 m.sg.) an old man.
- paṛka* (pl. °k-eṅ) side; *ḍumnu* (pl. -k) rib bone.
- parmeṭi* adj. of West; -*vare* West, towards the western side.
- pāka* (pl. °k-eṅ) hut.
- pāg nela* the month *Phālgura*, cf. *palika nela*.

- pāṭa* (pl. °t-eṅ) song.
pāṇam (pl. -ku) life.
*pāta*¹ (pl. °t-eṅ) cloth; *para* cloth, etc.
*pāta*² (pl. °t-eṅ) dewlap.
pātol (i) (pl. -ṅ/°l-ṅu) an earthen container (to carry soup).
pādam (pl. -ku) foot.
pānter (pl. -ṅu) a grain-pit; cellar; *-guṭa* id.
pāpaṭi (pl. -ṅ) parting (of hair).
pāpam (pl. -ku) sin.
pāy- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to leave, depart; (sin) to go.
*pāya*¹ (pl. °y-eṅ) cloth.
*pāya*² n. ? sin.
pārpu n. leaf-plate for eating.
pār- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to sing (a song).
pār adj. old, devastated; *ilu* old house or devastated house.
pālis- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to look after carefully; to remain steadily.
pālu (pl. °l-ku) breast; milk.
pāl maran n. papaya tree.
pāveli var. of *pāvla*, q.v. (in a folk song).
pāvra poṭi (pl. -ṅ) pigeon.
pāvla n. four anna piece; 25 payse or one-fourth of a rupee.
pās- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to rot and smell offensively (of any food, rice, fruit or a dead animal).
pāsuri (pl. -ṅ) stones arranged one on the other in the form of a wall.
pika (pl. °k-eṅ) calf of leg.
piṭam (pl. -ku) a flour-cake prepared in oil.
piṇḍ- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to carry (on shoulders as a *kavri*. q.v.).
pita (pl. °t-eṅ) liver (beside the heart; tastes bitter, will be removed while cooking).
pite adv. backwards (in a folk-song).
pina adj. young, small; *pina-k-a* (3 n.sg.) (pl. -k-eṅ) a young one; *pina pinakeṅ* (3 n.pl.) very young ones.
pini cold; *kat-* cold bites.
pinza (pl. °z-eṅ) tender fruit, young berry.
piri- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to grow up, be reared; *piris-/viripis-* v.t. to rear; to cause to grow.

- piruri* (pl. -ŋ) flute.
pira (pl. °r-eŋ) buttock.
piru (pl. piR-ku) rain.
pila (pl. °l-ek) child; a small enc.
pila deka (pl. °k-eŋ) the hind hoof.
pilka/pilika (pl. °k-eŋ) pigtail. dangling ends of hair.
pisa n. bother, nuisance; *ki-* v.t. to make noise, to vex, bother.
pirika/priika n. a green mango (Sova dial.).
piriyu (pl. *pir-ku*) snail (Sova dial.).
pir (i) s- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to wring or twist (as a wet garment, as one's throat, etc.); to milk; *pirsis-* caus. to cause to squeeze or twist, etc.
pirgi- (*pirgi-t-*, *pirgi-zi-*, *pirgi-n-*/*pirg-n-*) v.i. to be completely covered by a cloth or upper garment; *pirk-* v.t. to cover or envelop completely (as a dead body with cloth); to cover, mask.
pirgu (pl. -ŋ) thunder-bolt.
pirvu (pl. *pir-ku*) worm.
pirvu (pl.) excrement.
pira¹ (pl. °t-eŋ) verandah.
pira² (pl. °t-eŋ) plank to sit on.
pit- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to fart, break wind.
pitu (pl. -ŋ/°t-ku) a fart, breaking wind.
pitla *raska* the little finger.
pingu (pl. -ŋ) corpse, dead body.
pir- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to draw (milk), to draw out oil (by pressing the seeds under an oil press); to squeeze; to squeeze a wet cloth.
piri hay (Sova dial.).
put- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to be born.
puta (pl. °t-eŋ) ant-hill.
puta kuru n. white-ant nest.
putu ilu n. birth place, parent's house (lit. house of birth).
putu ilu n. parent's house (lit. house of birth).
putgu (pl. °d-eŋ) breath, respiration; lung.
punda (pl. put-ku) wound.
putro zanam children (in a folk tale; not in common speech).
putla (pl. °l-eŋ) a doll; eye-pupil.
putra (pl. °r-eŋ) eye-pupil; a doll (Sova dial.); cf. *putla*,

- punem* n. righteousness; goodness; virtue.
- punzu* (pl. -ṅ) the male one (esp. of fowl); *koṛu* a male fowl.
- puyū*¹ cataract of eye; *son-* v.i. (eye) to develop cataract.
- puyū*² (pl. *pūṅṅu*) flowering; a flower, blossom (generally used in pl.).
- puri* (pl. -ṅ) feather of peacock.
- puruṭ* (pl. -ku) pollution during child-birth.
- puRi* (pl. -ṅ) anthill (Sova dial.).
- puR(i)seṭi* (pl. -ṅ) winged flies that swarm round the lamp after rains.
- pure* (pl. -ṅ) a small vessel made of a scooped out gourd shell; *pureṅḍ* adj. a *pure*-ful.
- purge* (pl. -ṅ) a drinking vessel made of a gourd shell (*pigger* than *pure*, q.v.).
- purni pūṅṅu* ? lotus flowers (in a folk-tale from Sova).
- pula* sour soup, boiled tamarind water.
- puski* (pl. -ṅ) brain, the inside part of skull.
- pustokam* (pl. -ku) book.
- pū-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to blossom (as a flower plant); to flower.
- pūki* n. honey (Sova dial.).
- pūṅṅu* (pl. *pūṅku*) flowers (generally used in pl.).
- pūṭ-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to fasten bulls to plough; to yoke.
- pūni* adj. new (Sova dial.); *-k-a* (3 n.sg.) a new one.
- pūndu* (pl. -ṅ) yoke, a horizontal bar rested on the shoulders of bulls fastened to plough.
- pūs-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to spit out, produce spittle.
- pūsa*¹ (pl. °s-eṅ) bead.
- pūsa*² n. name of the month, 'pauṣya' (Dec.-Jan.); *nela* the *pūsa* month; *paṅḍoy* the harvest festival celebrated in January.
- pūsal* dewlap (Kōllapuṭ dial.).
- pūsa vali* saliva, spittle; cf. *pūs-*.
- pūza* (pl. °z-eṅ) worship, adoration (of gods, spirits, etc.).
- pe[?]eri mrānu* (pl. °mrāku) a species of wild tree; *Bauhinia racemosa* (Sova dial.).
- peṅku teṅḍa* (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) tile.
- peṭe*¹ (pl. -ṅ) hen.
- peṭe*² (pl. -ṅ) box (? l.w. < Te.).

- pendam kalu* n. country liquor, rice-bear.
- peṅḍi* (pl. ṅ) oil-cake.
- pedelvu* (pl.) elders (l.w. < Te. peddalu id.).
- peni* (pl. pen-ku) louse.
- pendal* (*pendaR-*) early morning; *-kara, pendaRiṅ* (dat. acc.) early in the morning; *pendaRaṅḍ* (abl.) from morning onwards.
- pensu* (pl. -ṅ) a layer; a corner (in a cave).
- pempul* n. foam.
- peya* (pl. °y-en) calf (of cow).
- peri* adj. big; *ālu* older wife; *-k-* (bound adj.): *-k-a/aṭ* (3 n.sg.) the big one, *-k-an* (3 m.sg.) a big man, *-k-ar* (3 m.pl.), *-k-i* (2 sg.), *-k-ider* (2 pl.), *-k-a* (1 sg.), *-k-ar/-at* (1 pl.), *peri perikeṅ* (3 n.pl.) big ones very big ones.
- peru* (pl. per-ku) rice (commonly occurs in plural); *dūru* rice flour (for *goṅḍa*, q.v.).
- per-* (*peR-t-, per-zi-, per-n-*) v.t. to take up, to lift up (a load etc. in order to carry on head or shoulder); to heap up (burnt pieces of wood), to lay (as a pot on fire); *pergi-* caus. to cause to lift up (as loads on an animal to carry, etc.).
- peḷi* n. wedding.
- peṅḍi* n. marriage (Sova dial.); cf. *peḷi*
- peṅḍi* (pl. -ṅ) small box (Sembay dial.).
- perel-* (*perēR-, perēl-zi-, perēl-n/perē-n-*) v.i. to explode or burst with a crackling noise; to be split up; to be broken as anything brittle; *perelis-* caus. to cause to blow off, break or burst; onom. cracking sound.
- nēkōla* (pl. °l-eṅ) fungus, moss on water.
- pēṅḍa* (pl. °ḍ-en) dung (of cattle).
- pēr(u)* (pl. °r-ku) name.
- pēr-* (*-it-, -zi-, -n-*) v.t. to chase or pursue (a thief etc.); to drive (as cattle); to expel; *pēris-* caus. to cause to chase or expel.
- pēra* (pl. °r-eṅ) a box made of cane or rattan.
- pok-* (*-t-, -si-, -n-*) v.t. to throw (seed for seedlings); to pour (water); v.i. to spread (as smell); to spread (as

- fog); aux. (to finish off); *pokis-* caus. to cause to throw off.
- pokpa ba-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to make offering to gods.
- pog-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to boil and overflow; to swell into floods (as a river); *pok-* v.t. to splash; to spill.
- pogo* (pl. -ŋ) smoke (of cigar, etc.); *tin-* v.t. to smoke (cf. *tin-*).
- poni* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (stomach or abdomen) to be bloated, to swell up.
- poŋa* (pl. °t-ŋ) stomach.
- poŋi* (pl. -ŋ) bird.
- poŋu* (pl. -ŋ/°t-ku) big intestines; pulp of fruit (as of gourd).
- poŋla dolu* (pl. °l-ku) snake-gourd (bush); *poŋla kāya* snake-gourd fruit; *kusa* snake-gourd vegetable.
- poti* (pl. -ŋ) book.
- podu* n. sun, day.
- podoy* n./adv. evening, after sunset.
- podmu* (pl. -ŋ) udder.
- popoli* (pl. -ŋ) palms (in clapping); ? hollow of hand.
- por-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to sell; *poris-* caus. to cause to sell to have (somebody) sell.
- poro-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to fall slantwise (as tree cut at root).
- poro* n. layer, space between two rocks; *-son* v.i. (a layer) to form.
- poroŋda* n. a small bird (Sova dial.).
- porpa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to cover body (with a garment): to put on (an upper garment); note *uRpa-* to wear a lower garment.
- porol* n. grating sound.
- porli* (pl. -ŋ) winged whiteants.
- polu* (pl. -ŋ/°l-ku) chaff (of grain).
- pōk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to send, to commission.
- pōkra* n. hen (Sova dial, reported by Sombra).
- pōŋgray ā-* (cf. *ā*) v.i. to swim.
- pōt lār-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to fight (as cocks).
- pōtu* a he-buffalo; adj. male (of certain animals), *nukuri* male dog; *namil poti* peacock; *nores* male tiger.
- pōri* n. a heap (Sembay dial.).
- pōrsa ki-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to ill-treat; to make miserable.

- pōlis-* (-t-, -i-, -s-) to detect, identify.
pōs- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to forget.
pyōni (pl. -ŋ) a round bamboo plate used to filter water from
 soaked rice (Sova dial.).
pri- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to grow, to be reared (Sova dial.);
 cf. *piri-*.
prāsu n. a water-vessel made out of gourd-shell after remov-
 ing the pulp (Sova dial.); cf. *purge*
prāyi adj. old (Sova dial.); -*k-* (bound adj. before personal
 suffixes); -*k-a/-ad* (3 n.sg.) an old one.
prīyu (pl. *pirku*) worm (Sova dial.).
prēnu (pl. *prēku*) bone, intestines (Sova dial.).
prēl- (*prēR-*, *prēl-zi*, *prēn-*) v.i. to explode, break, burst as
 any brittle object (Sova dial.).

B

- bava* n. hunger.
baṅaram n. gold.
baṅla kuṇi n. potato.
baṅla n. bungalow.
baṅi n. ball (to play with).
baṅlu (pl. -ŋ) finger ring.
baḍiga (pl. °g-eŋ) big walking-stick.
baḍneyki n. the big chief (of village).
baṅa n. loss; forgetfulness; losing.
baṅḍa adj. dull (of edge of knife).
baṅḍis- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to bluff, to cheat, to deceive.
baṅḍeṅ laziness; lazy person.
baṅza/baṅzu nephew (Sova dial.); son-in-law (in address by
 parents-in-law); *baṅza-si* id. (in reference).
batami n. eaves (of roof); the crown beam of the inside or
 roof.
batem n. provisions carried during travel.
batki- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to live, flourish.
batku n. life, living, prosperity.
batri guḍe n. field in which turmeric crop is grown.
bada (pl. °d-eŋ) slit, chip; a cleft in soil.
bad nāma n. bad reputation.

- ban* adv. suff. place (see *bānu*)
- banti pūṇu* marigold flowers; Tagents patula.
- bandapōṇ/°pan* the Bhādrapada month (Sept.-Oct.).
- bama* n. being stupefied; stupor, terror; *ā* v.i. to be scared.
- baybol* n. the Bible, the holy book; book.
- baylu* (pl. -ṇ) n./adv. outside; open space.
- baru* (pl. -ṇ) heaviness, load.
- baRka* roughness; adj. rough (of granules of grain, etc.).
- bala* (pl. °l-eṇ) plank to sit on (< Te.).
- bali toṇḍo* (pl. -ṇ) house lizard.
- ṭali paṇḍoy* (pl. -ṇu) the Bali festival (a tribal festival).
- baṭi* (pl. -ṇ) bucket.
- bals-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to become stout or fat; *balpis-* caus. to cause to grow fat.
- bara barana* onom. of downpour of rain.
- baralna* onom. with a smashing sound, suddenly (used when flinging or throwing anything).
- bas-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to sit; aux. to start, be about to, e.g. *nikteṇ bastan* He was about to get up; *basa ki-* v.i. to sit, take a seat; *basa pok-* v.t. to seat, give a seat.
- bāg(a)* adv. well, right, adequately (< Te.).
- bāṭa* (pl. °ṭ-eṇ) division, portion; serving of food; *-ki* v.t. to serve food.
- bāto* (pl. -r) brother-in-law (sister's husband).
- bāṇi* adj. of that place; *-k-* (bound adj.): *bāṇi-k-a* (3 n.sg.) one that belongs there; *bāṇi-ṇ* (acc. dat.) from there; cf. *bān(u)*.
- bāṇḍi* n. food (gathered by begging); alms.
- bāda* n. ache, pain (< Skt. *bādha-* id. borrowed through O. or Te.).
- bādoṛ* n. clouds (Sova dial.).
- bānz rani* n. a queen (in a folk tale) who has not children; a barren queen.
- bānz raza* n. a king who has no children (in a folk-tale); a sterile king.
- bān(u)* n./adv. there; in that direction; cf. *abe*, *bāṇi*.
- bābu* (pl. -r) Sir! (a respectful address); father's younger brother.
- bāy* n. brother.

- bārde** (pl. -ṅ) an adaze, planning instrument.
bāveli (pl. -ṅ) an ear ornament (worn on the upper part of the ear).
bāsa¹ n. language.
bāsa² (pl. °s-eṅ) a person who belongs to the Bagata tribe; -yen (3 m.sg. pl. bāsar) a Bagata man.
bāza (pl. °z-eṅ) a musical instrument.
bi addressing an elder sister, abbreviation of *bībi*, q.v.
bikari n. rogue, beggar (a scolding).
biṭvar (i) n. (pl. °r-ṅu) a rogue (a scolding).
biḍi (pl. -ṅ) an earthen pot.
biportī n. bad luck, difficulty.
bilay (pl. -ṅu) cat.
bizuli bōn n. a mythical mountain (the Mountain of Lightning).
biri (pl. -ṅ) a beedi (to smoke).
biḍur adj. poor, wretched; n. poor people; *batku* life of a wretch.
bībi (pl. -k) mother's mother; elder sister; *bībsi* (pl. -k) elder sister (when referring to 3rd pers.).
bīra (*dolu*) (pl. °l-ku) (bot.) *Trichosanthes anguina*; *kāya* fruit of; *kusa* vegetable of.
buku n. mouthfulness; *bukeṅḍ* adj. mouthful.
bugli (pl. -ṅ) cheek.
buti (pl. -ṅ) a small basket.
buṭra n. an echo word misconstrued as the name of a monster (in a folk tale).
buḍa voc. Darling! (in addressing a male child); *buḍa buḍa* id.
budi voc. Darling! (in addressing a girl child); *buḍi buḍi* id.
budi n. knowledge, intelligence; -*barsa* knowledge, etc.
budri (pl. -ṅ) girl.
buba (pl. -r) father.
bura (pl. °r-ek) head; *ḍumu* the skull-bone.
burde (pl. -ṅ) a big leaf-plate with edges turned up; *kusa* cabbage.
burda n. slush, mud, dirt.
bulus (pl. -ku) pubic hair, feathers (of bird); hair (on legs and chest).

- burva borli* n. a beetle.
būč(u) n. bathing; *sud* bath, etc.
būti n. coolly, working for wage in kind; food given as wag?
būdaram n. Wednesday.
būmi n. earth; *selva* (pl. °ŋ-eŋ) groundnut; *sonki* mortar (to pound in), fixed in the floor.
būrgu maran (pl. °marak) silk cotton tree, *Eriodendron anfractuosum*.
būla- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to wander, to roam about.
būli (pl. -ŋ) child.
būrđi n. grey colour; -*k-a* (3 n.sg.) a grey one.
beva n. grief.
beč- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to put (cattle in yard).
beča beča onom. noise of mat of palm leaves with persons rolling on it (in a folk-song).
betep (pl. -ku) cane, rattan; *Calamus rotang*.
bedris- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to scare (cattle); to threaten.
bedve (pl. -ŋ) lip.
benti (pl. -ŋ) mongoose.
bēsi (pl. -n) bench.
beza (dolu) n. tomato plant; *kāya* the tomato fruit.
bēg(i) *bēgi* adv. quickly.
bēt n. meeting; *ā* to meet (a person) (l.w. < O).
bēn(u) n./adv. here; cf. *ibe*.
bēram (pl. -ku) trade, bargain, dealing.
bēs- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to look back (as one moves forward).
boko (pl. -ŋ) crane (< O).
boču (pl. °t-ku) drop (of water, etc.), mark on forehead.
boča adj. big (of growth) *bočpon* a boastful man.
boču (pl. -ŋ) navel.
boču dokri n. mid-wife.
bodi (pl. -ŋ) one of the pieces in the frame of a bedstead.
bodru (pl. -ŋ) grinding stone.
bodli (pl. -ŋ) a bat.
*bondu*¹ Lord! (in address) (l.w. < O).
*bondu*² (pl. bot-ku) finger-ring.
boma (pl. °m-eŋ) doll, facsimile.
boyragi (pl. -r) a wandering religious mendicant; *guru* id.
boyragi saras (pl. -ku) a snake.

- boro (pl. ṅ.) hole of a crab, etc.
 boson (pl. -ku) word, speech (< O).
 boṛsi (pl. -ṅ) a fish-hook.
 bōgam (pl. -ku) food, etc. offered to gods.
 bōṅtu (pl. ṅ/°ṭ-ku) foot-print of a tiger.
 bōṅde ? flower-petal.
 bōda n. linking, understanding, willingness (l.w. < O).
 bōdel (pl. -ku/bōdek) bride, young lady.
 -bōn n. mountain, forest (cf. *andari bon*, *bizuli bōn*; archaic in folk-tale).
 bōra (pl. °r-eṅ) chest.
 bōri adj. shaven.
 bōru maran (pl. °marak) banyan tree.

M

- mak- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to turn over (as a stone); to turn upside down.
 maṭ- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to crush under foot: to tread on; to walk; to thresh (grain, as by oxen); idiom. to take over, e.g. *onisiṅ kālu maṭtan*. He took possession of his brother's wife (after the brother had died); (lit. he stepped on the leg of his sister-in-law): *sari mattev* to set out, be on one's way (lit. to treck the path); *matīs* to cause to tread; to get (grain) threshed (by bullocks).
 maṅḍi (pl. -ṅ) an earthen pan; a covering dish (cf. *kuṅḍev maṅḍiṅ*).
 madar maran (pl. °marak) a flower tree, *Calotropis gigantea*, *Calotropis procera*.
 madi maran (pl. °marak) a tree, *Terminalia glabra*.
 made reyu n./adv. midnight.
 madel kuṅḍa (pl. °ḍ-en) the drum-pot.
 madru gōḍa (pl. °ḍ-eṅ) mud wall; the compound wall.
 madlap maran (pl. °marak) the papaya tree, *Caria papaya*.
 man- (maR-, man-zi-, man-) to be; aux. indicates continuity of action denoted by the preceding verb in present or past.
 mane mansu the mind set on a particular object.
 mansam var. māsam (pl. -ku) cot.

- mansi* adj. good (< Te. *manci*).
- mansu* mind, desire; *vā-* v.i. to be agreeable; *ki-* to set one's heart upon.
- maran* (*marat-*; pl. *marak*) tree; *maratu* on the tree.
- marzi* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to learn; *mars-* v.t. to teach, train (as bullocks yoked to plough).
- marzu* n. axe (Sova dial.).
- maR-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to turn about; to cause to turn round, to drive the cattle round in a threshing floor; to turn over (as a stone).
- maRka maran* (pl. °*marak*) the mango tree.
- maRsa-* adj. the following (referring to time); *nāṇḍu* the next day; *ēṇḍu* the following year.
- mar-* (*maR-t-*, *maṛ-zi-*, *maṛ-n-*) v.i. to turn about; to turn; to change; to be transformed; to change direction; (idiom.) *vani nālīka mar'ed* he stammers (lit. his tongue doesn't move about); *kūliṅ unṣtiṅ marzi vāte* paddy, being transplanted, had taken root; *aḍam maRtan* he turned across.
- maṛi* adv. then, but, and still, etc.; *-k-a* (3 n.sg.) yet another one.
- maṛin* (pl. -ku) son.
- maṛisi* (pl. -r) son (when referring to 3rd pers.).
- marg-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to burn; (water) to boil; (body) to burn with heat.
- malu* n. a feast at the parent's house of the bride ten or fifteen days after marriage.
- masa* n. blot; *puḍgu masa* birth-mark, mole.
- masu* (pl. -n) dew; *gānd masu* fog; *nīr masu* mist, dew; *masu ēru* dew.
- maṛi* (pl. -n) paddy field.
- maṛma kālu/maṛma kālu* (pl. °l-ku) heel; ankle.
- māṭa* (pl. °ṭ-en) word; *unṣ-* (q.v.) to proclaim, (lit.) to plant a word.
- māṭ(u)* (obl. *mā-*) pron. we (incl.).
- mānika* (pl. °k-en) a wide basket to carry stones, mud, etc.
- mānru* n. a preparation with *ḍēra* flour.
- māv-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to exterminate (by killing, etc.).
- māp(u)* (obl. *mā-*) pron. we (excl.).

- māpru* n. Lord, the Great Master (only invocatory) (< Skt. *mahāprabhu*-).
- māmūl(u)* n. traditional; custom.
- māya* n. vanishing or disappearing suddenly; *ā* to disappear, vanish.
- māyam* (pl. -ku) medicine.
- māri maran* (pl. °marak) a species of tree, whose leaves are cooked as a vegetable.
- mār-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to barter; to exchange.
- mā lasmi* Goddess Lakshmi (invocatory < Skt. *mahālakṣmī*-).
- māleṇ* n. ill-treatment, troubles, difficulties; -*ki* to ill-treat, to torment.
- māsi* (pl. -r) husband; *āl māsir* wife and husband.
- māra* (pl. °ṛ-ṇ) foot-print.
- māris-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to make obeisance to; to wish, to pray or adore.
- miram* (pl. -ku) chili(es); *paṅku* grinding stone on which to prepare hot chutneys or sausages.
- mires ki-* v.t. to make use of, to utilize, *mires* ? use, utility.
- mīryal dolu* (pl. °l-u) pepper plant.
- mīli* n. evening, night (Sova dial.).
- mis-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) to increase, excel; *mis-ti-ka* that which excels, which is bigger or greater.
- mīri-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) to speak, utter.
- mīris-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to rub and clean utensils with ashes, etc.
- mīrva* (pl. °v-ṇ) knee.
- mī-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to tend or graze cattle.
- mīṭiṇ* meeting (< meeting).
- mīmi* (pl. -k) mother-in-law; *mīmsi* id. (when referring to 3rd pers.).
- mīr(u)* (obl. *mī-*) pron. you (pl.).
- mīsam* (pl. -ku) mustache (occurs always in pl.).
- mu?*- allom. of *mūnri* before personal suffixes: *mu?er* three people; *mu?eṭ* (pl. incl.) we three; *mu?ep* (1 pl. exc.) we three.
- mu?e* (*mu?eR-*) n./adv. day after tomorrow; *mu?eRiṇ* (acc. dat.) on the day after tomorrow.
- mūḷṛi ginza* (pl. °z-ṇ) testicle.

- muṅgal* (*mugaR-*) in front; *muṅgaRaṅḍ* from the front.
muṅgi (pl. -ṅ) mangoose; *elka* (pl. °k-eṅ) id.
muṅa maran n. drum-stick tree; *Moringa pterygosperma*;
Hyperanthera moringa.
muṭ- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to touch.
muṭa (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) an administrative division of Konda Dora
villages; -*dar* chief of a *muṭa*.
muṭam (pl. -ku) upper back (of body).
muṭi (pl. -ṅ) handfulness; *muṭeṅḍ* adj. handful.
muṭis- (-t-, -i-, -n-) to kindle (fire), to light.
muḍi (pl. -ṅ) vagina, the private organ of a woman.
munḱu (pl. -ṅ) the knee-joint, knuckle; °*k-eṅḍ* up to the knee
(as corn grown, water in a pond, etc.).
muṅḍam (pl. -ku) erected poles in the construction of cow-
pen.
muta (pl. °t-eṅ) a small pitcher or pot.
muda (pl. °d-eṅ) lump of turmeric, mud, etc.
mur- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to be lost (money or valuables);
murup v.t. to lose (money or valuables).
murri (pl. -ṅ) a small fish-basket.
muRk(i) adj. dirty; n. dirt.
murli- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to bark (of dogs).
muva (pl. °v-eṅ) small bell or tinkling ornament tied to
legs.
mus- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to bury (as a corpse); to cover (a
pit), to close with a lid, etc.; *mus-ti-k-ad* that (which
was) buried; *musis-/muspis-* caus. to cause to bury, or
close.
musur (pl. -ku) constant rain; cloudiness.
musku (*muskuR-*) n./adv. upon, on; *muskuRaṅḍ* from above.
muṛi (pl. -ṅ) knot (of rope, clothes, etc.).
muṛg- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be drowned; to sink;
muṛk- v.t. to dip (a vessel in water-pot, etc.); to drown
(a person in river, etc.); (idiom.) *unṛi gālu puṭṭi gani*
nā ilu muṛkti though you are my only daughter, you
have drowned my home (i.e. put an end to all my
property).
muṛva (pl. °v-eṅ) marrow (of bone).

- mūg-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be closed (as a hole in the earth; as eyes in sleep, etc.); *mūk-* v.t. to close (as eyes, fist, etc.).
- mūta* (pl. °t-eŋ) a bundle or packet (tied up with a cloth or rope, etc.).
- mūnri* (mū-) (3 n.pl.) three; *mūRku mūRku* three each; *mūRku leka/laka* at the rate of three a piece; see *mu?*-.
- mūnzi* (pl. -ŋ) nose.
- mūrtam* n. auspicious time.
- mūrti* n. feature, form, shape (of men); type, sort of.
- mūrsa* (pl. °s-eŋ) fainting, swoon.
- mūRi* (pl. -ŋ) mucus (of nose); *sō* v.i. nose to run.
- mūl-* (mūṭ-, mūl-zi-, mūṇ-) v.i. to urinate.
- mūla* (pl. °l-eŋ) corner; tuft of hair; hair knot of women (followed by *kas-*, q.v.).
- mūla rāzu* n.pr. of a king (in a folk-tale).
- mūlku* n. urine, cf. *mūl-*.
- mūrika* (pl. °k-eŋ) nipple.
- meṭa* (pl. °t-eŋ) hillock.
- meṭa kander/l* name of a famous Kūbi village (occurs in a folk-song).
- meṇda* (pl. °d-eŋ) goat.
- meṇda gore* n. goat.
- mey-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. (cattle) to graze; *mēp-* v.t. to graze cattle.
- meRk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to squeeze in embrace; to hold tight and fell down.
- meruṇu* adv. thoroughly (to flog; also in ref. to talking, scolding, etc.).
- meryen* (3 m.sg.) Rogue! (a scolding, curse).
- mers-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to glitter, as a lightning (Sova dial.).
- mel-* (meṭ-, mel-si-, meṇ-) v.i. to trip down; to fall on the ground; *mēlp-* v.t. to knock down, to fell.
- meleka* adv. slowly.
- mera* (pl. °r-eŋ) neck; *merend* up to the neck.
- mēṇam* (pl. -ku) wax (of bee-hive, etc.).
- mēṭi* (pl. -ŋ) bracelet.
- mēndol* human body (Sova dial.).

- mēnz-* (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to be straight or suitable; to be harmonious; to go well with; v.t. to unite (individual threads) together into a rope; *mēnzū* n. unity, straightness.
- mēp-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to graze (Sova dial.).
- mēpila* (pl. °l-eṅ) grass-hopper.
- mēpu* grazing (of cattle).
- mēmar koṛo* (pl. -r) boy-child (Sova dial.).
- mēr-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to sharpen (the edge of an axe, knife, etc.) on a stone.
- mēle* adv./int. alright, good!
- mēri* (pl. -ṅ) plough-handle, plough-tail.
- mokom* (pl. -ku) face.
- moga koṛo* (pl. -r) boy child; husband, young man.
- moṭla ṛaska* (pl. °k-eṅ) thumb, the big toe.
- modo* (pl. ṅ) cow (cf. *modva*).
- modol*¹ (pl. -ṅu) trunk of a tree.
- modol*² (*modoR-*) n. the first one; *modoRi-* adj. the very first; *modoRi-k-* (bound adj. before pers. suffix.): *-k-an* (3 m.sg.) the very first man.
- modva/modvo* (pl. °v-eṅ/-ṅ) cow; cf. *modo*.
- moya* (pl. °y-eṅ) fish; some varieties of fish: *kaḍok(i)ya moya*, *turinza moya*, *peri moya*, *poṭa moya*, *boṭu moya*, *maṅgru moya*, *malṅu moya*, *moṭoki moya*, *siṅgi moya*.
- morka* (pl. °k-eṅ) ear; upper part of ear.
- mola* (pl. °l-eṅ) waist; *moleṅḍ* up to the waist.
- moli pūṅu* (pl.) jasmine flowers.
- mosop* (pl. -ku) cloud(s); being overcast (as sky).
- mōneṅḍ* n. the year before last.
- mōp(u)* (pl. °p-ku/°p-eṅ) a bundle (of anything carried on the head).
- mōro* (pl. -ṅ) protruding face (of an animal).
- mōs-* (-t-, -i- -n-) v.t. to carry (bad name); *mōs kol-* (-koṭ-, -kol-zi-, -koṅ-) to carry (name and fame, etc.).
- mōstaram* n./adv. like, manner (l.w. < Te.).
- mrāk-* (-t-, -si- -n-) v.t. to hide (Sova dial.).
- mrānu* (pl. *mrāku*) tree (Sova dial.); cf. *maran*.
- mrilu* (pl. °l-ku) a peacock or pea-hen (Sova dial.).

Y

yā- demons. adj. this; *-k-a* (3 n.sg.; pl *-k-eṅ*) this one; cf. *iya-*.
yāya (pl. °y-ek) mother (when referring to 1st and 2nd persons; *aysi* to 3rd pers.).

R

raṅis- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to churn (milk, etc.); to clear (one's throat).
raytu (pl. °t-ku) farmer.
-razi (in cpds) kingdom, *ēk razarāzi* one kingdom.
rāṅi n. queen.
rāṅḍi widow; *rāṅḍini* (pl. -k) a widow; *rāṅḍila* (pl. -r) a widower.
rām guṅṭa (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) a stringed instrument (used in singing; also called *ṭoyla*, q.v.).
rāmni (pl. -ṅ) vulture.
rāmbi (pl. -ṅ) a flat terrace under the roof used as a storage place; *-paṭa* beam of the flat terrace under the roof; *-bala* (pl. °l-eṅ) the planks used for *rāmbi*.
rām rām voc./int. O, God! (lit. Rama, Rama) (invocatory).
rāyi maran (pl. °marak) the pipal tree.
rāl- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to fall down (as fruit from tree); (teeth) to fall out; to be shed (as leaves); *rāls-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to shed fruit, leaves, etc.; *rālp-* v.t. id.
rās- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to write; to plaster (walls); to anoint (body or body parts); to clean (teeth, etc.); *rāsay ā-* to apply oil, turmeric, etc. to one's body; *rāspis-* caus. to cause to apply, oil, etc.; to plaster.
rāzu (pl. °ṅ rās-ku) king.
ri?-/*ri-* adj. two; *ri?er* two men; *ri?eṭ* we two (incl.); *ri?ider* you two; *riṅeṅḍ* two days; *riyava* two sides; *riyona ruṅḍi* two on each side; *riza* twice (v.s.v. *ruṅḍi*).
risya bāveli n. an ear ornament.
rīnz- (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to fan, to wave; *rīnzpis-* caus. to cause to fan.
ruṅ- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be broken to bits, as a stick; to crash (of house); *ruk-* v.t. to break, crash, smash.

- rundi* (ri[?]-/ri-) num. two; *ruṭku* (*laka*) (at the rate of) two, two each.
- rūn* (*u*) n. heat (of summer); sweat (Sova dial.).
- rūpay* (pl. -ṇu) a Rupee.
- reba-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to search for; to make a search.
- rey-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to search for; to look for (occurs only in the expression *reyzi rebazi*, cf. *reba-*).
- rēs-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to stir and mix (boiling flour, etc.) with a ladle; to make plating (of metals); *bavaram pūnta rēsteṇ* to do gold-plating.
- roḍa* (pl. °ḍ-eṇ) twig, leaf.
- ropa* n. cold, catarrh.
- ros-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to arrange (as stones in construction); to pile up; to get things packed (for travel).
- rō-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. ? to insert hand in.
- rōmam* (pl. -ku) hair on body.
- rōmb* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to rest, take rest; *rōmbis-* caus. to let rest.
- rōyiṇ komu* (pl. °m-ku) the justice pole fixed in the middle of a village, which the accused is asked to hold and swear if he has not committed a crime.
- rōs-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to touch slightly, to stroke; to rub against; *rōsay ā-* v.i. to be touched.
- rōzu* (pl. *rōs-ku*) day.

R̄

- raṇi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be well-pounded (as paddy or any grain); to be churned, as milk, butter-milk, etc.
- raṇis-* v.t. to pound well; to churn.
- riva* (pl. °v-dṇ) twig.
- rīpa* n. a woman in youth (Sova dial.); *peri rīpa* a bride.
- rīli* (?) in the same way; like, as; *nīn uti rīlil nān uṇ[?]e* I can[?]; eat as you can; *nidra rīli gorsinan* he is snoring while sleeping.
- re-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to eat meat; to relish.
- reka* (pl. °k-eṇ) wing (of bird)
- repa* (pl. °p-eṇ) eyelid.

- rema* (pl. °m-eŋ) eyelash.
reyu (pl. °y-ku) night; *mada reyu* midnight.
reyo (pl. -ŋ) shrimp, prawn.
reyzāl n. cpd. night and day; cf. *reyu* and *zāy*.
res- (-t-, -i-, -ŋ-) v.i. to go down, set (as sun); to dismount; descend (Sova dial.).
rē- var. *re-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to open (a door).
rēkam (pl. -ku) eaves; the slant top of the front roof.
rēto (pl. -ŋ) crab.
rēs- v.t. to winnow; to separate impurities from rice by side-way motion.

L

- laka lamta* n. cpd. peasants and labourers.
lata (pl. °t-eŋ) forest, thicket.
lap- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to join two pieces together; to fit one into or on another; *lapsi toRtey* to join and tie together.
laboki n. narrow space between rocks; that which is stuck up between two (in a folk song).
lāg- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to pull out; pluck out; to drag (by hair, etc.).
lāvu much.
liṭna adv. suddenly (in rising up, become erect, etc.).
limba maran (pl. °marak) the lime tree.
liyo (pl. -ŋ) pop-corn.
lival being straightened; being well.
liṅ¹ (pl. -ku) voice, tone.
liṅ² a lump of turmeric made into a *liṅga* which is worshipped by a woman after confinement on the eve of her taking the purificatory bath at the river side.
-lu declarative clitic.
le- (irreg. verb; occurs only in imp. 2 sg. *le²e*, pl. *ledu*) to get up.
leka n./adv. counting, estimate, at the rate of.
lepa (pl. °p-eŋ) temple; check.
lēka maran (pl. °marak) the silk cotton tree.
lēka mrānu (pl. °mrāku) the silk cotton tree (Sova dial.).
lēki lenza n. cpd. poor people; beggars, etc.

lēna (pl. °n-ən) calf.

lēta adj. tender, young; *koṛo* infant (lit. tender child); *mudī* tender vagina (esp. after child birth).

lēnzū/i moon; (pl. *lēś-ku*) month (Sova dial.).

lo- (-t-, -si-, -i-) v.t. to fetch (water); to dip and take out (as water with a container from a pot, etc.).

loʔi (loʔiR) n./adv. inside; *loʔiRaṅḍ* from inside; *loʔiRi-k-an* (3 m.sg.) the man inside.

loʔo inside (Pūlgura dial.); cf. *loʔi*.

lonz- (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to sprinkle or scatter (of water rice, etc.).

los- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to ask; to beg. make supplication to.

lōku (sg./pl.) person; persons; people.

lōṅṛi n. the verandah (Pūlgura dial.).

V

vaṅ- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to bend, become bent; *vaḱ-* v.t. to bend body, waist, etc.

vaṭ (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to copulate, cohabit; (var.) *vet-* v.t. id. (Sova dial.).

vaḷis- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to pour down; to serve (of liquid food).

vank- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to shake, tremble.

vadrika dolu (pl. °l-ku) white pumpkin; bottle-gourd, *Lagenaria* sp.

vanka (gen. pl. of *avi*, q.v.) their; *vankaṅ* (acc. dat.) them, to them.

vantu (pl. -ṅ) share.

vand- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to get tired, be exhausted.

varaseka adv. in a row; one by one.

vaR- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to dry (in sun); to get dried; *vaRis-* caus. to let dry; *vaRti* adj. dried.

vaRi adj. mere, simple, nothing but; e.g. *vaRi anam e kusa siled* mere rice (and) no vegetable; *vaRi ēru* mere water.

var- (vaR-t-, vaṛ-zi-, vaṛ-n-) v.i. to cook (food); to boil and cook; *varis-* caus. to cause to cook, to get cooked.

vargi (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to speak to (a group of persons); to converse; *vargis-* caus. to let speak; to make one speak.

- vali* (pl. -ṅ) a kind of comb made of bamboo.
vale n./adv. time *valeRi-* adj. of the time; *nasti vale* then; *esti vale* when.
vaski (pl. -ṅ) small intestines.
var- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to drip down (as through filter);
varpa ba- v.i. to rain, shower.
vare (vareR-) side, direction.
varṇa (pl. °ṅ-eṅ) hail-stone.
vā- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) (irreg. verb) to come; *ra?a* imp. 2 sg.; *radu* pl.; neg. stem *re?-*.
vāk- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to pour down (as water) etc., to throw in water.
vāṅkoḍi (pl. -ṅ) a long stick to spread grain in the sun.
vānru (vān-/van-) pron. he.
vāsa (pl. °s-eṅ) beam.
vār(u) (vari-; 3 m.pl.) pron. they.
vār- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to fade or wither (as flowers in sun).
vālav n. soap-nut, used to cleanse hair while bathing.
vās- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to be inflamed (as a body part).
vār- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to wear (a beauty mark on forehead, viz. *boṭu*); to draw decorative lines on floor (with flour).
vige (vigeR-) n./adv. tomorrow; *vigeRiṅ* tomorrow; *vigeRand* from tomorrow.
vidi adv. alone, separately; adj. unmarried; unattached; *vidi-di-k-an* (3 m.sg.) an unattached man; °k-ar (3 m.pl.); °k-ad (3 n.sg.); °k-eṅ (3 n.p.); °k-i (2 sg.); °k-ider (2 pl.); °k-a (1 sg.); °k-ap/aṭ (pl.).
vit- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to sow (seed).
vitu (pl. °t-ku) seed (for sowing).
vidli- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to spill (as any liquid).
virav māl- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (braid) to become loose and be disheveled (being stretched out).
vir(i)s- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to open (as a book), to lay open.
visam n. poison; hotness (of chillies).
visaris- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i./t. to brood over; to contemplate; to regret; to think (in a sad mood).
visir- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to throw off or away; to fling.

- *viz- all; everything; *vizer* (3 m.pl.) all men; *vizu/vizi* (3 n.pl.); *vizider* (2 pl.); *vizep* (1 pl. excl.) *vizeṭ* (1 pl. incl.).
- visla/vizla* (pl. °l-eṅ) fly.
- viz-* (-it-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to be finished or completed; to end (as an action); to be over; *vīs-* to finish off, complete (an action).
- viza viškora* n. cpd. the last born male child; *vīškorni* the last born female child.
- vīṛ-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) to become separated; *vīṛp-* to separate by tearing apart.
- vīrika* (pl. °k-eṅ) container, basket (to keep rice, etc.) which holds a *kuncam* (measures four seers).
- vekor(i)* adj. bent, crooked; *-kəmku* horns bent inside or outside; *-ḍokori* zig-zag.
- veṭ-* v.t. cf. *vaṭ-*.
- veṭa* adv./post position after, behind, behind one's back.
- venti* (pl. -ṅ) either side of the backbone.
- venḍi* n. silver.
- vetori* (pl. -ṅ) finger-ring (Sova dial.).
- vedru dubu* (tall) bamboo tree.
- ven-* (veR-, ven-zi-, ven-) v.t. to hear.
- venka* after, behind.
- venkal* (venkaR-) behind; *venkaRi* adj. back, hind; *venka-Raṅḍ* from behind.
- venba-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to ask; cf. *ven-*.
- vey¹* (ve-t-, vey-zi-, vey-n-) v.i. to be burnt (as a forest, fuel); *veti* adj. that which is roasted or boiled; *vetika* (3 n.sg.) boiled thing.
- vey²* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to flog, beat (Pūlgura dial.).
- veyu* (pl. °y-ku) mouth.
- veR-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to speak, tell; *veRis-* caus. to cause somebody to tell.
- veri* adj. foolish, simple; *-yen* (3 m.sg.) a fool; *-tikan* id.; *-tikad* (3 n.sg.) a fool.
- vergu* (pl. veR-ku) firewood, fuel.
- vela* (pl. °l-eṅ) root (Sunkrapuṭ dial.).
- velar(u)* adv. all day long.
- veli* n./adv. outside.

- velgu gōḍa* n. compound wall.
- vesni* adj. hot; *-k-a* (3 n.sg.) that which is hot; *-k-eṅ* (3 n.pl.).
- veṣka* finger (Molya valsa dial)
- vēk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to fry.
- vēṭa* n. hunting.
- vēnam* (pl. -ku) a thick forest; a jungle.
- vēnru* (ven-) pron. this man.
- vēmpa maran* (pl. °marak) the neem tree.
- vēr(u)* (veri) pron. these men.
- vēRe* (vēRe) adv. differently, separately (Sova dial.).
- vēla* n. sun; time.
- vēlamtiṅ* (acc. dat. of *vēlam) n/adv. the year after the coming year; two years hence.
- vēra¹* n. sun (Sova dial.).
- vēra²* n. iron-ring fixed to a pestle.
- vērīka* n. festivity.

S

- sa-* (only in imp 2 sg. *sa²a*, and pl. *sadu*) to start or get along.
- saṭu* (pl. -ṅ) a flat rock; *paṅku* (pl. -ṅ) id.
- saṭva* (pl. °v-eṅ) a ladle made of wood for serving soup or curry.
- saṅin kōndli* (pl. -r) son-in-law.
- saṅek* adj. little (Sova dial.).
- saṅem* (pl. -ku) a moment.
- sata* (pl. °t-eṅ) shandy.
- satu* n. strength.
- sadu* n. study, education.
- sadu ramba* n.pr. the wife of Sadu King (in a folk-tale).
- sadu rāzu* n.pr. of a king (in a folk-tale).
- sadmi-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to read, study; to be learnt.
- sani* n. crime, sin; *ki-* to commit a sin.
- sapa gura* name of a Kūbi village (in a folk song).
- sapatam ki-* to crush.
- sapur* adj. lean, skinny; *-ti* adj. lean, skinny; *-ti-k-an* (3 m.sg.) a lean man; *-ti-k-ar* (3 m.pl.); *-ti-k-ad* (3 n.sg.) a lean one; *-ti-k-eṅ* (3 n.pl) the lean ones.

- sab-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to rot and produce offensive smell (as cooked rice, etc.).
- sabok* n. whip; *rey-* to whip.
- saboki* n. that which is rotten; cf. *sab-*.
- samaram* (pl. -ku) festival; festivity.
- samasram* (pl. -ku) year (< Skt. *saṃvatsara-*).
- saya adam* n. cpd. a magic mirror (in a folk-tale).
- saras(u)* (pl. °s-ku) snake.
- sari* adv. afterwards, immediately.
- sarku* (pl. -ṅ) materials; *samadam* belongings, etc.
- sarda* being elated; joy, pleasure.
- sarsu kusa* n. mustard plants (Sova dial.).
- saR-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to slap (with hand), clap (hands); to thrash (as clothes against a rock in washing and cleaning).
- sari* (pl. saRku) way, path.
- salan* adj. cold, cool; *-di-k-ad* (of humans) the cold one, a mild one.
- salva* n. breakfast.
- savari* (pl. -ṅ) conveyance; a palanquin.
- savkari* n. master, merchant.
- sazo vizu* n. cpd. all the things (belongings, etc.).
- saṛ-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to wipe off (dust, litter, etc. which sticks to clothes by shaking); to remove; shake off a hand.
- saṛa*¹ bull (Pūlgura dial.); cf. *ṛānu*.
- saṛa*² cow-dung solution (sprayed in front of the house); *si-* v.t. to spray the floor with cow-dung solution; *sāt(u)* cleansing the floor with cow-dung solution; *rey-* id.
- sā-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to die, perish; *sap-* v.t. to kill.
- sāg-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (body or limbs) to be stretched to full length; *sāk-* v.t. to stretch out the fingers (from a closed fist); to stretch out (limbs).
- sāṭu* n. hiding, secret place, behind (anything) for hiding.
- sāṇḍ(u)* n. the fluid ejection from the female or the male genital organ.
- sāti* adj. dead; *-k-an* a dead man; *-k-i* (2 sg.) you the dead; *-k-ider* (2 pl.) ye, the dead (in invocation); cf. *sā-*.
- sāp* v.t. to stretch out (as tongue, hands, legs, etc.).

- sāpa* (pl. °p-eŋ) mat; *-taṭa* (pl. °ṭ-eŋ) mat.
- sāma* (pl. °m-eŋ) a grain used for food; a kind of cultivated millet, *Panicum frumentaceum*.
- sāmi* Sir! (respectful way of addressing the husband; not in current usage but in a folk-tale).
- sāmbu* (pl. *sāp-ku*) thorn.
- sāra ṭoṇḍo* (pl. -ŋ) a chameleon (black in colour).
- sāRkeŋ* (pl.) black gram.
- sāl-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be capable of; to be suitable.
- sāla* (pl. °l-eŋ) cattle-shed; cow-pen.
- sālam* (pl. -ku) cave.
- sāvu* (pl. °v-ku) death.
- sāsu* (pl. -k) wife's elder sister.
- sāstaram* (pl. -ku) lore (in the phrase *sadu sāstaram*).
- sāra* n. cave (Sova dial.); cf. *sālam*.
- sik*⁻¹ (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to be reduced (as body), to fall in flesh; pine in fear, etc.
- sik*⁻² (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to laugh, smile; *sikpis-* caus. to cause to laugh.
- sika*¹ (pl. °k-eŋ) suspending net for pots, hung to a stick and carried on the shoulder during journey.
- sika*² adj./n. thickness (of fluid); *-ni* adj. thick.
- sikuṭi*¹ (pl. ŋ) the beans; (bot.) *Dolichos lablab*
- sikuṭi*² (pl. °ṭ-ku) hiccough, hiccup.
- sikma saṭu* a flat stone (in a folk-tale).
- sikri* n. bolt (of door) (Sova dial.).
- sigu* n. shame.
- siṅaram* n. decoration, ornament.
- siṅkli* n. bolt (of door) (Sova dial.).
- siṅgya* n. horn; *naṅgul siṅgya* horns curled in.
- siṅka* (pl. °k-eŋ) penis.
- sita maran* (pl. °marak) tamarind tree.
- sitru tala* n. curly hair.
- sidli-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to be crushed (as an over-ripe fruit).
- siner* n. water boiled for the purpose of dressing food.
- sinpa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to shave (of beard, head, etc.); *sinpis-* caus. to cause to shave.

- sipa-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to sweep floor (with a broom);
to clean (rubbish by sweeping).
- siper kuṭa* (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) broom for sweeping.
- sipli* (pl. -ṅ) cataract of eye.
- sipra* (pl. °ṛ-eṅ/°ṛ-in) rheum (of eyes).
- simṭa* (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) pincers, plyers.
- simbori* (pl. -ṅ) a cloth rolled up and laid on head to carry
load (Sova dial.).
- siya* onom. chirping of birds.
- sirma* (pl. °m-eṅ) penis.
- siruki* (pl. -ṅ) coal.
- sirkuli* n. squirrel; *elka* id.
- sir koṭka* n. the male organ.
- sir narun* n. (ordinary) human; the mortal.
- sir narve* n./adv. early in the morning itself (Sova dial.).
- sirim* (pl. -ku) a razor (for shaving).
- sil-* (neg. verb, irreg.) to be not (forms occur in all persons
and genders); *sile/siled* (3 n.sg.) doesn't exist; No; *sile*
(3 n.pl.), *silen* (3 m.sg.); *siler* (3 m.pl.) etc. cf. *man-*.
- sila kasa* n. type of dressing in which the part of the lower
garment is tucked up behind; *rey-* to dress in the man-
ner stated (only of men).
- silka poṭi* (pl. -ṅ) parrot.
- sisu* n. fire; *koroy* (pl. -ṅu/-ku) a torch of fire; *ṛimbu* (pl.
°ṛipku) spark of fire.
- sī-* (irreg.) (sī-t-, sī-zi-, sī-n-) v.t. to give; *siʔa* (2 imp.
sg.), *sidu* (2 imp. pl.) give to 3rd pers.; *sida* (imp. 2 sg),
sidaṭ (imp. 2 pl) give to 1st pers.
- sīkaṭ(i)* n. darkness.
- sīko* n. soap-nut tree.
- sītel* (pl. -ṅu) date tree; *dubu* Phoenix *sylvestris*.
- sīnd-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to sneeze, to blow the nose.
- sīntel maranu* (pl. °marak) date tree (Sunkrapuṭ dial.)
- sīp-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to pinch, squeeze with fingers.
- sīpri* n. the young of fowl (Sova dial.).
- sīma* (pl. °m-eṅ) ant (Sova dial.).
- sīra* (pl. °r-eṅ) vein.
- sīr kiteri* n. a variety of castor plant.

- sīla muṇḍam* (pl. -ku) the verticle wooden bars of a door-frame.
- sīli mrānu* (pl. °mrāku) the soap-nut tree (Sova dial);
(*gōru*) *sīli* the soap-nut tree.
- sīlpa* (pl. °p-eṅ) chip of wood.
- śisuri* (pl. -ṅ) cashew-nut.
- suka* (pl. °k-eṅ) star (Sova dial).
- sukam* happiness, joy (< Skt. *sukha*-).
- suṭa* (pl. °ṭ-eṅ) cigar.
- suṭula* adv. all round.
- suṭla* n. circle; *vēs-* to encompass.
- suṭok* n. pollution (during *mensis*).
- sunadanam* n. delicacy, softness, elegance.
- subri* adj. little (of food, etc.).
- suma* n. a cloth rolled into a pad.
- sumbu* n. a species of grass for roofing and for broom stick (Sova dial).
- sura kandel/r* n.pr. a Kūbi village (in a folk song).
- sura gāli* n. whirl wind.
- surki* (pl. -n) a small basket.
- sur-* (suR-t-, sur-zi-, sur-n-) v.t. (meat, etc.) to roast, burn (incense).
- sulndi* (-*gude*, -*kusa*, etc.) ginger-like plant (Sova dial).
- sur-* (irreg. sur-t-, sur-zi-, sūn-, neg. sur-²-) v.t. to see, look at; inf. *sūṇḍev* to see..
- sus-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to sleep (Sova dial).
- sūṇ-* (irreg. var. of *sur-*, q.v.) v.t. to see.
- sūb-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to kiss (lips, temples, etc.); to smack, suck (fingers, breasts); *sūbay ā* to suck; *sūbis-* caus. to cause to suck.
- sūrika mrānu* (pl. mrāku) Emblic myrobalan (Sova dial).
- sūri* (pl. -n) leech.
- se²i* adj. bad; undesirable; -*k* bound adj.: °*k-an* bad man; °*k-ad* bad woman or thing; *se²e* n. bad thing, badness.
- sek-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to plane, to fasion things out of wood.
- sekali* n. ridicule, satire.
- sedi* (*sedi*) adv. merely, gratis, for nothing.
- sendu* (pl. -n) ball (to play).
- se²i* (pl. -n) energy.

- seda* n. white ants (< Te. *ceda-lu* (pl.) id.).
- seba* n. austerity, penance, adoration, worship; *ki-* to offer a fowl, etc. to gods and spirits.
- seri* (pl. -ŋ) centipede.
- seru* (pl. -ŋ) tank; *gopu* tank-bund.
- seren* (pl. *serē-ku*) an ear of corn.
- seroki* (pl. -ŋ) sugar cane.
- sēna* adj. much (< Te *śānā* id.).
- sēndu* n./adj. bitter(ness); depth (of sleep).
- sēmar* n. shame.
- sēra* n. handfulness; *sēreṇḍ* adj. handful.
- sēru* (pl. °r-ku) yoke of oxen.
- sērupu* n. neighbourhood.
- sēRi* (pl. -ŋ) winnowing basket.
- sēRla* (pl. °l-eṅ) gate, door.
- sēri koru* n. cock (Sova dial.).
- sēron* (pl. -ku) husband's younger brother.
- sērosi* (pl. -r) husband's younger brother (when referring to 3rd pers.).
- sērga* (pl. °g-eṅ) brinjal.
- sēsemara* adv. never, not at all (occurs with negative verbs).
- soka* (pl. °k-eṅ) shirt.
- songori* (pl. -ŋ) a basket that holds four seers of grain.
- soḷi* n. private organ of male (Sova idal.).
- son-* (soR-, son-si, son-) v.i. to go, depart, (time) to pass;
solp- v.t. to pass (time); to wake up (from sleep).
- sonki* (pl. -ŋ) mortar for pounding fixed in the verandah floor.
- sopa* (pl. °p-eṅ) chaff (of cereals, grain, etc.).
- soba* (pl. °b-eṅ) meeting, gathering.
- sompoti* n./adj. rich; n. wealth.
- soyti komu* n. one of the two justice poles fixed by the first settler of a Kūbi village; cf. *rōyiṅ komu*.
- solu* (sonr-; pl. °l-ku) fireplace; *panku solu* fireplace built with stones; *kanda solu* fireplace made in a trench.
- soṛita* (pl. °t-eṅ) wick.
- sō-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.i. to start or set out; to come out; (sun) to come up; (house, pot, etc.) to leak; *sōp-* v.t.

- to drive out; expel; to disclose (a secret), to relate (a story); to let (time) pass; to let one go.
- sōk- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to clean body (while bathing); to rub, clean; sōk_{pis}- caus. to cause to clean body, etc.
- sōŋa (pl. °ŋ-eŋ) saliva.
- sōpa- (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. (refl. of sō-, q.v.) (plant) to come out of seed; to crop up; to manifest oneself; (ears of corn) to sprout.
- sōmbu/sōm (pl. sōpku) roots used as vegetables.
- sōru n. salt.
- sōr kupi (pl. -ŋ) scorpion.
- sōli (pl. -ŋ) sieve for cleaning grain.
- sōs- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i. to get intoxicated (on liquor).
- sōsu n. intoxication (Sova dial.); cf. sōs-.
- sōr- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to dry up, as clothes, lips, hair etc. which have become wet.
- srāsu (pl. °s-ku) serpent (Sova dial.).

Z

- zata¹ a set of two; zūri friendship, companionship.
- zata² (pl. °t-eŋ) grinding mill (made of stone).
- zanta n. grinding stone (Sova dial).
- zabu (pl. -ŋ) fever.
- zali mrīlu (pl. °l-ku) a male pea-fowl, peacock (Sova dial.).
- zalis- (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to distil or prepare (liquor from grain).
- zāgarta n. care, carefulness; ā- to be careful, to be ready.
- zām kāya maran (pl. °marak) the guava tree, *Psidium pomiferum*.
- zāy (i) n. dawn, light of day.
- zāru n. sliding (place).
- zār- (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to slip or slide.
- zālu (pl. °l-ku) nest of birds.
- zāva (pl. °v-eŋ) cooked food.
- zibi (pl. -ŋ) a wide mouthed basket in which to strain boiled food, etc.
- ziya voc. Darling! (address of endearment with reference to younger male female cross cousins).

- zires mires* n. cpd. bag and baggage.
- zīrga* n. a liquor-yielding tree; *kalu* the zīrga liquor; *maran* the zīrga tree.
- zutu* (pl. -ᅇ) hair; *kopu* braid of curly hair.
- zurī-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to suck up (any liquid food with noise).
- zuli kōᅇ* n. a variety of wooden sandals.
- zūku* (pl. -ᅇ) waist.
- zūᅇa* (pl. °ᅇ-ᅇ) a joint feast for bride and bridegroom before marriage.
- zūriᅇ* n. a variety of dhall (Sova dial.).
- zūri* n. the hairknot of men (followed by *toR-*, q.v.).
- zetam* n. the month Jyēᅇᅇha, May-June.
- zenzri-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. eyes, to be blinded (by lightning, etc.).
- zeba* (pl. °b-ᅇ) shoulder.
- zēru mrānu* (pl. °marak) a species of wild tree (Sova dial.)
- zona* (pl. °n-ᅇ) millet.
- zoli gaᅇa* n. a small stream; cf. *gaᅇa*.
- zoᅇya ēti* n. a kind of tribal dance (with Oᅇiya song).
- zōᅇ-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to reel (in intoxication); be about to fall (as a tree cut at the root, etc.); to lose control over limbs; to slant; *zōk-* v.t. to make somebody reel or lose control over limbs, etc.; to let fall in one direction.
- zōre* (pl. -ᅇ) a hill-stream.
- zōlis-* (-t-, -i-, -ᅇ-) v.t. to filter.
- zōᅇa* adv. together.

R

- raᅇ raᅇ* onom. 'dung dung' (the sound of drum).
- ras-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to clean paddy and other grains (before pounding); to sift through a sieve.
- rāᅇger* (pl. -ᅇu) a bamboo frame hung over hearth to dry grains, etc. (during the winter).
- rānu* (pl. rā-ku) ox; cf. *saᅇa*.
- rāpi* n. cow dung, dung of cattle (Sova dial.).
- rik-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) to shred chillies, etc.
- riᅇ-* (-it-, -zi- -n-) v.t. to devour, to swallow.

- ris-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.t. to leave, abandon, release or liberate, v.i. (rain) to cease; aux. away, up, down, etc., e.g. *ekta rista* I got up (on a horse); *ribay ā-* v.i. to be freed or released; to be left out; *ribis-* caus. to cause to leave or liberate; to release.
- rika* (*dolu*) (pl. °l-ku) cucumber (plant).
- rimbu* (pl. *rip-ku*) a piece of burning coal; embers.
- rug-* (-it-, -zi-, -n-) v.i. to enter; steal in; get into; enter through a passage.
- rū-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.i./t. to plough, till soil.
- rey-* (-t-, -zi-, -n-) v.t. to beat, flog (with a stick), to strike or hit (with a stone); to wink (eye); *reyas ā-* to fight or beat each other.
- reska/raska* (pl. °k-en) finger (Pūlgura dial.).
- roser* (pl. -ṇu) a bamboo frame suspended over fireplace on which to dry things during winter.

H

- hat baynsad* int. a curse in vindictiveness (< O).
- holdi* n. turmeric (< O).

ADDITIONS TO VOCABULARY (Part III)

- anekam* (pl.) many (< IA).
- alk-* (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to sow or broadcast seed.
- asiroya* int. oh! (in sudden amazement).
- asro* adv./n. near, neighbourhood.
- inen* n./adv. yesterday; cf. *i[?]en* (Gūri dial.).
- eṇḍa* n. sun, sunshine; cf. *Te. eṇḍa* id.
- oruven* pron. num. one man (Gūri dial.); cf. *or[?]en* in Araku valley; v.s.v. *or-*.
- oza* n. habit, attachment; -ā to be attached to.
- ōnen* n./adv. day before yesterday (Gūri dial.); cf. *o[?]en-*.
- kanu* (pl. °n-ku) eye (Gūri dial.); cf. *kaṅka*.
- kālu* (pl. °l-ku) leg.
- kaṛuvu* adv. very much.
- kuṛava* var. of *kūṛava*, q.v.
- kōmeṭ suṭa* n. merchant-cigar (cf. *Te. kōmaṭi cutṭa*).
- guṇḍe* n. heart.
- gels-* (-t-, -i-, -n-) v.i/t. to escape from danger, to win;
gelpis- caus. to save, rescue, cause to win.
- gezu* (pl. -ṇ) jaw, lower jaw.
- gopu* (°p-ku) bank (of tank), bund.
- ḍebra* adj. left; n. left side.
- tiṛimbu* n. piece of burning coal (Gūri dial.); cf. *ṛimbu* id.
- tomed* num. nine (l.w. < *Te. tommidi*).
- dēsem* var. *dēsam*, q.v.
- nelva ā* v.i. to get attached to, to be betrothed; cf. *ā-*.
- pīyu* (pl. pī-ṇu) excrement.
- pūrbami* adv. in Olden times (< IA).
- peda* (pl. -r) father's elder brother.
- pedi* (pl. -k) father's elder brother's wife.

podu-pīyu n. mica film.

buṛus (pl. -ku) var. of *bulus*, q.v. (N & W dial).

mīriṅ v.t. to swallow, devour (Gūri dial); var. of *ṛiṅ*- q.v.

mēra mide n. terraced building (cf. Te. *mēḍa*, *midde*).

rek- (-t-, -si-, -n-) v.t. to skin body (of a dead animal),
to peel off.

revu var. of *reyu*, q. v.

vāram (pl. -ku) week (< IA).

vindu (pl. -ṅ) feast (? < Te. *windu* id.).

vale cl. should, must (follows Obligative form in *-deṅ*).

saldi n. breakfast.

sība- (-t-, -zi-, -ṅ-) v.t. to distribute, serve, share (refl. form
of *sī-*, q.v.).

sīṛi (pl. -ṅ) cashew-nut.

seḍi n. charm, miracle.

sompoti ṅ. wealth (< O).

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CORRECTIONS

Page	Line	For	Read
7	12 (f.b.)*	<i>muṭha</i>	<i>muṭa</i>
19	7, 11 (f.b.)	<i>muṭhādār</i>	<i>muṭadar</i>
45	1 (f.b.)	self-contented	self-contented
	7	<i>kʔiti</i> (twice)	<i>keʔiti</i>
51	16	<i>osinar</i>	<i>osinar</i>
53	1	<i>maRikar</i>	<i>maRikar</i>
54	9	<i>reʔeṇḍa</i>	<i>reʔeṇḍa</i>
57	1	<i>rāʔaṇḍe</i>	<i>reʔeṇḍa</i>
59	12	<i>tin naʔ</i>	<i>tina naʔ</i>
60	8	8.	9.
66	10	<i>andtan</i>	<i>anditan</i>
71	15	<i>nēzn</i>	<i>nēnzu</i>
74	9	<i>vism</i>	<i>visam</i>
75	5	<i>niṇer(u)</i>	<i>niṇʔer(u)</i>
76	15	<i>visirṇika</i>	<i>visirṇika</i>
77	5	<i>mana.</i>	<i>manan.</i>
82	11 (f.b.)	<i>strean</i>	<i>stream</i>
91	8	<i>ninba</i>	<i>nīn ba</i>
	4	<i>IRanṇ e</i>	<i>iRanṇ e</i>
	6	<i>baṇra</i>	<i>baṇa</i>
100	13	<i>lakeṇḍu</i>	<i>lakeṇḍa</i>
103	7	<i>daṇʔed</i>	<i>ḍaṇʔed</i>
	7	<i>ʔedi</i>	<i>ʔedik</i>
105	7	<i>“embe de</i>	<i>“embed e</i>
	10	<i>ma yāya</i>	<i>mā yāya</i>
	4	<i>baṇ</i>	<i>ban</i>
109	15	<i>veRtina</i>	<i>veRtiṇa</i>
111	6	<i>ātar e</i>	<i>ātar e</i>
113	4	<i>maṭṭeṇ</i>	<i>maṭṭeṇ</i>
114	6	<i>lokaṇ</i>	<i>lokaṇ</i>
	4 (f.b.)	<i>came</i>	<i>come</i>

* (f.b.) = from the bottom of page.

Page	Line	For	Read
115	4	vātar.	vātar.
119	6	niso sikaṭ "daka	"niso sikaṭ iṅka
121	6	meṛṇu	meṛuṇu
122	7	vērka	vērika
	2 (f.b.)	hold	hold of
123	13	kiniṅ ba	ki'iṅ ba
133	14	lake-lamta	laka-lamta
	15	pāyi	pāya
140	7	tō'er	to'er
	13	marīsir	marīsir
142	14	mīr	mīr
144	1	sikaṭ	sikaṭ
148	9 (f.b.)	come	came
153	14	zulu	zuli
156	16	hight	might
160	14	aye	aya
167	3	vaṅka	vanka
173	6	ore ore	ore ore
	8	nūlu daṅḍ	nūludaṅḍ
174	2	ṭoyala	ṭoyla
176	11	aṭ'u te	aṭ'ute
178	2 (f.b.)	there	their
179	5	māmar ban	māmari ban
		bubar ban	bubari ban
186	5 (f.b.)	/ven'ʔ/	/ven'ʔa/
187	13 (f.b.)	Te.vinu	Te. /winu/
193	12	/o'ʔ/	/o'ʔo/
196	11 (f.b.)	pk	kp
198	7 (f.b.)	ṛd ṛd	ṛd —
200	4	ṇṇ/	/ṇṇ/
201	22	pri	pri-
209	8 (f.b.)	yṅs	yṅs
211	10 (f.b.)	crowled	crawled
226	14	ilzu	olzu
230	14 (f.b.)	koro-k	koro-k
232	8 (f.b.)	(3rd non-masc. sg)	(3rd non-masc. pl.)
241	18	sara saṭu	sara sāṭu
242	13 (f.b.)	ri'eṭ	ri'er
246	8	nī/ṅi-	nī/ni-
	9	ni/ṅi	ni-ṅi
250	5 (f.b.)	anasir-r-i	anasir-i
251	11	§ 3.8	§ 2.5
252	13 (f.b.)	rās'ka-a-	rāsk-a-
253	1	ending -ṅ	ending in -ṅ
	4	goro-iti	goro-ti
	14	-R ;	-Ri :

CORRECTIONS

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Page	Line	For	Read
255	5 (f.b.)	(9.100)	(8.100)
	9 (f.b.)	lok-a-ŋ	lök-a-ŋ
256	10 (f.b.)	maŋi	mi-ŋi
258	13	sonisinin	sonsinan
260	2	müladn	müladu
261	4	(committative	(comitative
270	7 (f.b.)	maŋisir	marisir
272	11	SIMPLE VERB	SIMPLE VERBS
278	3 (f.b.)	uRŋ pa-	uR-pa-
301	5	ŋug-nina	ŋug-niŋa
		silina	sil-iŋa
	2 (f.b.)	'it	'I
302	4	kuūda	kunđa
	9	nan	nān
	14	inriŋ	inriŋ
	21	ade-biđe	ade-biđe
316			village
321	1 (f.b.)	forest	stringent
336	14	stringenet	nīnu
341	18	ŋīnu	°ne-r
359	11	oŋe-r	kikindra
362	5	kikindra	gēk-
369	14 (f.b.)	gels-	(pl. goroku)
370	8	(pl. goronku)	gōri
370	10 (f.b.)	gōri	nāʔand
380	16 (f.b.)	nāʔand	nāŋgel
	7 (f.b.)	nāngel	pīta ¹
387	20	pīta ¹	planing
393	1	planning	budi
	10	budi	°k-eŋ
396	4 (f.b.)	°k-en	muŋna
398	3	muŋa	°v-eŋ
402	8 (f.b.)	°v-dŋ	sendu
411	2 (f.b.)	sendu	whistle
	6	cashew-nut	sērga
412	20	sērga	

P.

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