

Birhor

Language and Life

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Centre for Endangered Languages,
Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan- 731235

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Birhor: Language and Life

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Sabita Pradhan, Arimardan Kumar Tripathi and Akash Bhagat

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Abbreviations

- ACC- Accusative
- Agr- Agreement
- CL- Classifier
- CPL- Copular Verb
- IMP- Imperative
- INST- Instrumental
- LOC- Locative
- M - Mood
- NP- Noun Phrase
- P- Person
- Pl- Plural
- POS- Possessive
- Sg- Singular
- T- Tense
- VP- Verb Phrase
- ∅ - Null
- cons - Consonantal
- syll - Syllabic
- son - Sonorant
- ant - Anterior
- cor - Coronal
- nas - Nasal
- cont - Continuent
- str - strident
- lat - lateral
- del - delayed release

Preface

This book is being published as the core research output of the Centre on the basis of data collected through many field-works conducted in the Purulia district and nearer regions within West Bengal. Getting accurate and valuable linguistic data from any vulnerable community in the country has always been challenging. In this venture, we received various types of support from the Community and local administration; hence, it is our moral responsibility to thank them for their generous help in reaching out to the Community and key individuals. Further, we are thankful to Dr. Apurba Saha, Assistant Professor of the Department of English, Sidho-Kanho-Birsha University, Purulia, and Mr. Shibshankar Singh for their support in finding informants and for locating their residences. Our sincere thanks to two Birhor youngsters, i.e., Bideshi Sikari and Parbat Sikari, for their constant help in collecting primary data on the language. The exact primary data were verified by others within nearby villages of the district; therefore, we are thankful to all individuals involved in this process. While the names of the maximum number of Birhor language consultants are given under the heading ‘acknowledgement’.

Our sincere thanks to Prof. Krishna Bhattacharya (Retired Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Calcutta, Kolkata), Prof. Mina Dan (Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Calcutta, Kolkata) and Prof. Shailendra Kumar Singh (Head, Department of Linguistics, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong) for their valuable suggestion during review of the manuscript of this book. We have incorporated their valuable suggestions and comments. We are also thankful to our team members Rajdeep Ghosh, Suvra Mukherjee, and Suhrid Roychoudhury for their efforts and support in the fieldwork and other related tasks. We have glossed the Birhor data in Bangla, in which Birhor is written in the West Bengal state, additionally, these data are provided in Devanagari also, along with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Now, this book is being presented to researchers, teachers, and community members with the

positive hope that the Birhor language and culture may be popularized on a larger platform. If this book makes any academic contribution in doing so, it will be our target fulfilling wish.

16th December 2022

Sabita Pradhan
Arimardan Kumar Tripathi
Akash Bhagat

Acknowledgement

We are sincerely thankful to the following persons for their support in providing/verifying Birhor data:

| S. No. | Name | Age | Gender | Place |
|--------|-----------------|-----|--------|--|
| 01. | Bagrathi Sikari | 30 | Female | Bahreria, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 02. | Bideshi Sikari | 18 | Male | Bhupatipally, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 03. | Chinu Shikari | 57 | Male | Bhupatipally, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 04. | Dhanu Sikari | 41 | Male | Bahreria, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 05. | Jogini Sikari | 22 | Female | Bersa, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 06. | Kartik Sikari | 53 | Male | Muhultar Birhor Tola, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 07. | Kobita Sikari | 30 | Female | Bahreria, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 08. | Malati Sikari | 35 | Female | Muhultar Birhor Tola, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 09. | Mangol Shikari | 40 | Male | Bhupatipally, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 10. | Manjur Sikari | 27 | Male | Bersa, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 11. | Parbot Sikari | 18 | Male | Bhupatipally, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 12. | Porbhu Sikari | 23 | Male | Muhultar Birhor Tola, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 13. | Raju Sikari | 15 | Male | Bahreria, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 14. | Sabari Sikari | 60 | Female | Muhultar Birhor Tola, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 15. | Sankar Sikari | 23 | Male | Bersa, Purulia, West Bengal |

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----|--------|--------------------------------|
| 16. | Sarathi Sikari | 18 | Female | Bersa, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 17. | Shikar Sikari | 18 | Male | Bersa, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 18. | Somlal Sikari | 18 | Male | Bersa, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 19. | Sundara Sikari | 58 | Female | Bersa, Purulia, West Bengal |
| 20. | Tilottoma Sikari | 21 | Female | Bahreria, Purulia, West Bengal |

Chapter- 1

Introduction

Birhor, the name represents both the tribe and their language, also known as Birhul is a landloper, isolated and coyer tribe who likes to live in forests. Typologically, Birhor is classified as a Munda language of the Austroasiatic language family. In fact, the name Birhor is derived from the Mundari language itself, where 'bir' represents *forest* and 'hor' stands for *people*, i.e. 'the people of the forest'. Col. Dalton, an anthropologist and philosopher who first highlighted the tribe in his work *Tour in the Tributary Mahals*, published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, most probably in 1867. He compared Birhors with the 'wretched-looking objects'. During the time, the Brahmins were the dominant caste and people who always tried to wield and exploit people belonging to lower caste and class to fulfill their own interests. Birhors were one of those castes exploited by the hierarchical caste system of the society for their barbarian culture, especially their food habits. An interesting but very rigorous fact that Dalton (1867) got from some people is that Birhors eat the meat of dead people from their tribe. It was believed that when a Birhor felt his death was nearer to him, he invited allied people to eat his meat. We find such interesting and crucial facts about the tribe.

Further, A. K. Sinha (1999) relates the tribe to the Ramayana age. It is believed from a folk story that once there were two daughters of a family. One of them became pregnant before her marriage because of her unwanted relationship with an unknown person, which is considered to be a sin and shame for society as well as for the parents. So the parents decided to kill the daughter to maintain their social dignity, and to do so, one day early in the morning they broke their hut so that the daughter may die along with

her unborn baby, and the parents left the village. Fortunately, the daughter survived and gave birth to a son, though the daughter passed away before the naming of her son. Somehow, being objurgated, the son started to grow up in society. As the time touched the new morning, he grasped the society that the people did not consider him dignified, he decided to leave society and started his new journey through the forest and reached a cave on Biru hill. By living in the cave of Biru hill, he achieved the name *Birhor*, and it is the first stone of raising the Birhor tribe. Later on, he married a girl and started making rope from creepy plants. At the same time, he started hunting squirrels, birds, wild boar, deer, rabbits etc. Their life was sufficing smoothly. One day a priest named *Deganguru* needed a monkey's skin to make a special kind of musical instrument for his spiritual purpose, and by searching for it, he reached Lanka (now it's Sri Lanka) and asked for the skin of King *Ravana*. King Ravana suggested Deganguru to meet Birhor, living in the cave of *Biru Hill*. As per suggestion, Deganguru met Birhor and asked him to make a net using his hand-made rope to catch a monkey. The Birhor did the same to catch a monkey, and after catching the monkey, he killed it for the skin. Deganguru took the skin and told Birhor that he may eat the flesh of the monkey. From that time hunting monkeys for flesh is included in their daily livelihood. Till now, the tribe in West Bengal used to go hunting monkeys, birds, squirrels etc., to the Ajodhya hill in Purulia. Beside this, several argumentative theories are there related to the origin of Birhors. According to an oral tradition, they are believed to be the descendants of Sun, and they were aboriginal from Khairagarh (Currently in Chhattisgarh state). From there, seven brothers among them came to India. Four of them went to the Eastern part of India, and the other three started living in Ramgarh (Currently in Jharkhand state). To reach the ultimate of their decision, they were moving forward through the forest, and accidentally, the turban of one of them hooked with a branch of a tree, he considered it as a damnific sign and stayed there in the forest. Whereas the other two brothers moved forward, and while coming back through the same forest after defeating the king, they found that the brother cleaned some area in the forest and lived there by making a prototype hut, which

they called *Kumba*. The two brothers bantered at him and called him a 'Birhor'. To reply to them, he said that it is better to live in the forest rather to stay along with them. Later on, the descendants of the brother are denoted as Birhor and started living in forests. Another argument says that the Bihors are the splinter group of Mundas. It is deemed that while the Mundas were shifting themselves from the forests and hilly areas to the plain lands after acquiring the cultivation techniques few of them stayed there in the forests and hilly areas due to their heir practices and incompetencies in cultivation. They continued their struggle and travelled from one forest to another for the availability of food and to the nomadic nature they are known as Bihors. (B. Majumder, 2017).

There are several myths that are related to the Birhor tribe because of their peculiar culture. It has come to be known from the neighbouring tribes, such as the Santhal tribe, that if Birhor touches a tree, monkeys never climb the tree, though the Bihors do not agree with this. But one thing is common that Bihors are the nomadic tribe, who used to live in forest and hilly areas far away from modern society, where they are free to hunt different species. They try to settle mostly on green hilly slopes or inside the forests, which are full of natural herbs, different kinds of roots, fibre trees and of course the tiny animals and birds such as monkeys, deers, rabbits, parrots etc., far from the agricultural land occupied by the civilized or semi-civilized tribes. They use those areas until there are sufficient foods and goods available and they keep searching for similar spaces for the future. According to the felicitous environment for their residents, geographically, some parts of Purulia, a district in West Bengal is an appropriate place. Bihors are not the primitive tribe of Purulia. A group of Bihors came to the state from Chota Nagpur plateau in search of their daily needs and food. The group of people is also known as *tanda* (/ʈaṇḍa/). Generally, tanda is a nuclear group that left the main group and started living in another place due to the food crisis.

Our present conclusions are based on the data collected within West Bengal, while Birhor tribes are settled in many states within the Country. If

anything contradicts, for this reason, it should be considered our limitation. However, we have tried to come up with final conclusions and hence consulted many researches/publications in this regard and referred them accordingly.

16th December, 2022

Sabita Pradhan
Arimardan Kumar Tripathi
Akash Bhagat

Chapter- 2

Literature Review

The first work on Birhor was published in the year 1925 by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in his book- 'The Birhors: A Little Known Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur'. The work is divided into fourteen chapters which describe the social, cultural, and ethnological aspects of Birhors. In the first chapter of his book, he gave an elaborate introduction on the earlier accounts of the Birhors, whereas in the second chapter, he described a general view of Birhors. In chapters three and four, he described the social system of Birhors. In chapter three, he mentioned two types of social organization which are very primitive - one is who search for food by travelling from one forest to another and the other who settled in a particular place and gave an elaborate description on *uthlu* who move from one forest to another from time to time in search of food. In chapter four, he described another social system or organization where Birhors do not move from one place to another, wherever they are, they just settle themselves there. In this chapter he described their social organization in terms of their primitive totemism and kinship system. Also, he gave an elaborate description on their thirty-seven clans and their totems, which are hereditary (not acquired). In chapter five he talked about Birhor's kinship system. The totemic clan plays an important role in their kinship organization, as he wrote, " Between the tribe and the totemic clan, the Birhors know no intermediate dual or other grouping of the clans into exogamous phratries or classes. Totemism, exogamy and father-right are at present the three main

factors of Birhor kinship organization descent is reckoned in the male line, and marriage or sexual intercourse between persons of the same totemic clan is forbidden". It is clearly mentioned here that the kinship organization is decided from the father's side in Birhor. In his discussion on the kinship system, he mentioned different relationship terms, the relation between grand-parent and grand-child, kinship taboos, kinship salutations, rights and privileges of relatives and the other aspects related to the kinship system of Birhors. In chapter six, he gave an elaborate description of marriage customs. He mentioned that the marriage system in Birhors follows their kinship system, and marriage is essential for Birhors because only after marriage a Birhor, either male or female, become a full-fledged member of the tribe. Different types of marriage systems and related rituals among Birhors are also discussed in this chapter. Chapter seven is reserved for birth, childhood and puberty customs. Here he well describes how the life of Birhors changes in every stage. Here he mentioned how Birhor women have been protected during their pregnancy. Birhors protect the pregnant woman and the Birhor baby in the womb in three classes, i.e., firstly, they are protected from evil eyes, secondly, from deleterious influences from other human beings and lastly, from any physical causes or diseases. Then he talked about the birth and related rituals, such as rituals on the sixth and seventh day, new door making at the back wall of the hut, burning the navel string of the mother, giving a bath in lukewarm water by massaging oil, pounded turmeric and powdered rice husk and the ceremonial impurity on twenty-one days of the birth. Then he talked about other ceremonies related to birth rituals, such as the name giving ceremony (*saki*), ear piercing ceremony and related rituals. Other customs, such as tattoo making at the age of twelve or thirteen (generally for girls) and burning scald with lighted wicks to be protected from evil eyes, first

hut making and taking part in hunting and administration, menstruation customs for girls etc., are recorded in this chapter. Chapter eight is reserved for the death and funeral customs of Birhors. Here Roy mentioned that the death of Birhors is because of evil eyes, as he said, "The supernatural evil influences and evil beings against whom the Birhor has to contend through life at length put an end to that life. For that, unless caused by violence, is believed by some evil spirit either at its own instance or at the instigation of some person who knows the art of egging the spirits on ". He also mentioned other Birhor's beliefs related to death, such as, the doctrine of souls, dreams, temporary death, rebirth, spirit doctor, spirit of house, foreign spirit, calling back the departing soul, burial, cremation, food offering for the dead etc. Chapter nine of the book is on religious beliefs and practices. Here he gave an elaborate description of the relationship between Birhors and the spirit world. According to him, Birhors belief that every living thing around them is animated either by spirit or spiritual power as all the living things are animated by soul. He mentioned here the distinction of Birhor's belief between God and spirit. Also, he talked about the different deities believed by Birhors, e.g., *Singbonga* (the creator), *devi mai* (earth goddess), *bagh-bir* (tiger god) etc. Besides these, they described different spirits of Birhors, e.g., clan spirit, family spirit, group spirit etc. At the end of the book, chapter ten gives a detailed description of magic, witchcraft, omens and dreams. Here he described the spirits, extra human and supernatural entities related to their religious beliefs along with the rites, practices, taboos etc., of their beliefs that express the magical virtue of Birhors. He wrote about their magical practices and how they performed those practices to control rain, lightning, storms, animals, plant life or even human beings (to get attracted by other persons or to harm their enemies).

Also, he talked about different taboos of women and children along with the omen from animals and insects. The rest of the book describes the different folk tales and handicrafts used by them.

B. J. Williams gave more emphasis on the hunting nature of Birhors in the book chapter named *The Birhor of India and Some Comments on Band Organization* in 1968 in the book *Man the Hunter* edited by Richard B. Lee and Irven DeVore with the assistance of Jill Nash-Mitchell.

Observations similar to Roy (1925) have been encapsulated in a book chapter named *The Birhor* by Ashim Kumar Adhikary (1999) in the book *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers* edited by Richard B. Lee and Richard Daly in 1999.

Ms Sangita Sarkar (2012) wrote in her paper named *Birhor: A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Endangerment* about the ongoing social status of the Birhor language is in Endanger. She gave several reasons for language endangerment, such as language attitude towards the other dominant languages.

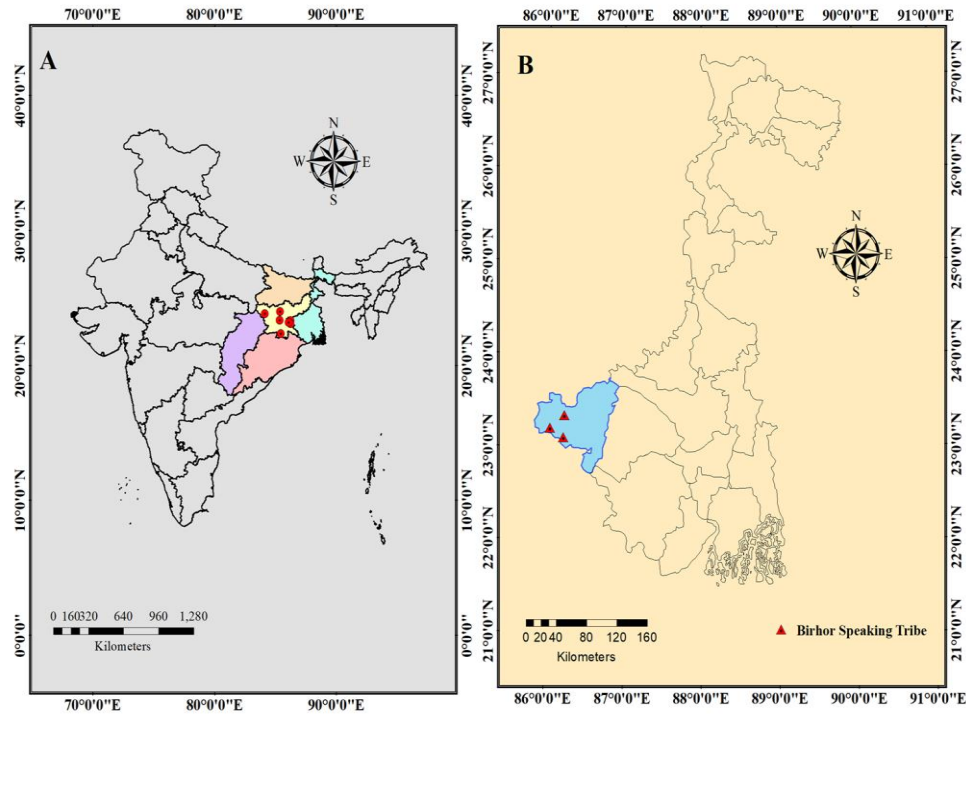
Deborah Nadal (2015) wrote about the Birhor settlement in the paper *Housing Ancestors: The Reorganization of Living Spaces among the Birhor of Jharkhand and Odisha*.

Chapter- 3

Language Location

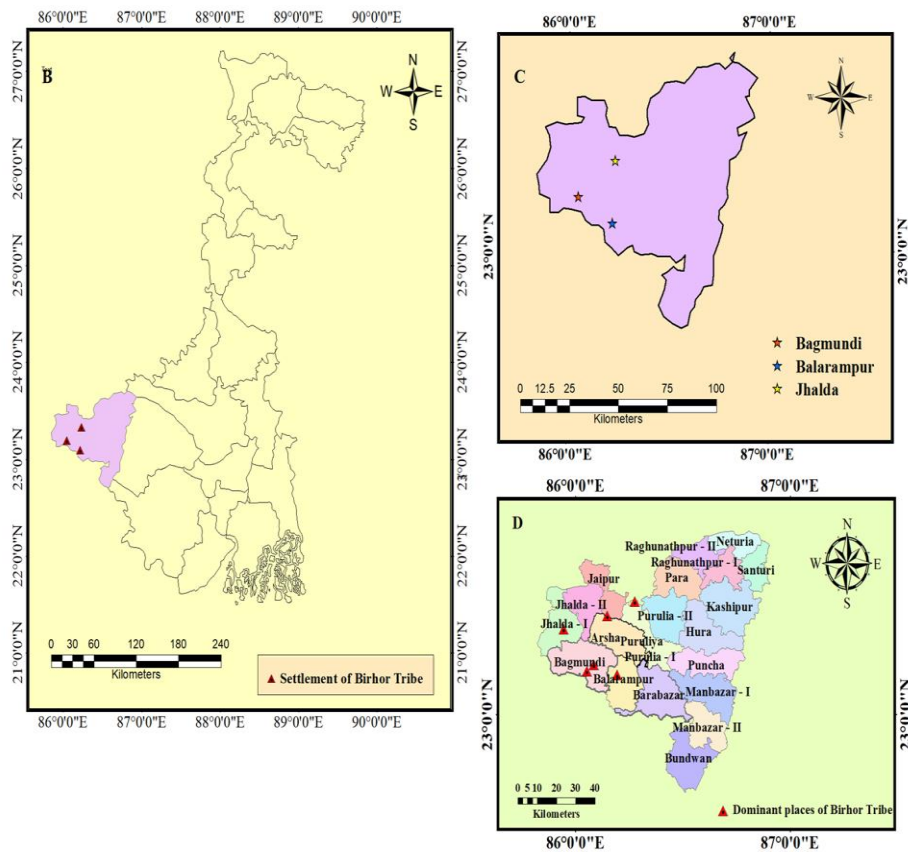
Though the western district of West Bengal, Purulia, is well known for its dry weather and red soil, the geographical beauty, such as Ajodhya hill and its forest, different fountains and rivers, make the place suitable for the Birhor tribe. Our documentation on the Birhor tribe is settled in three blocks of the district, i.e., Jhalda, Balarampur and Bagmundi, where the tribe live scatteredly with their old traditional lifestyle. However, their old traditional lifestyle is decaying day by day because of several reasons, such as dominant tribes around them, climate change and deforestation etc.

Birhor Speaking States in India



According to some research, though there are some controversies, they are among the first group of residents of the country. Mostly, the tribe resides in Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and West Bengal of Indian territory.

Birhor Speaking Districts and Blocks in West Bengal



It is supposed that Birhors are the Primitive tribe of the Chotanagpur plateau of Jharkhand. The environment of the Chotanagpur plateau is an appropriate place for Birhors because of its huge forest resources. Birhors are mainly settled at Hazaribagh and Ranchi in Jharkhand. Later on, some *tandas* leave the place and spread to the different places of Jharkhand, e.g. Palamu, Singhbhum and other nearby places. After the political division between Bihar and Jharkhand's Birhors, there are also political divisions in Bihar, mainly in the Manbhum region. When the number of members increases in a group or *tanda*, few members leave the group (*tanda*) and establish a new group (*tanda*) led by a headman of the group.

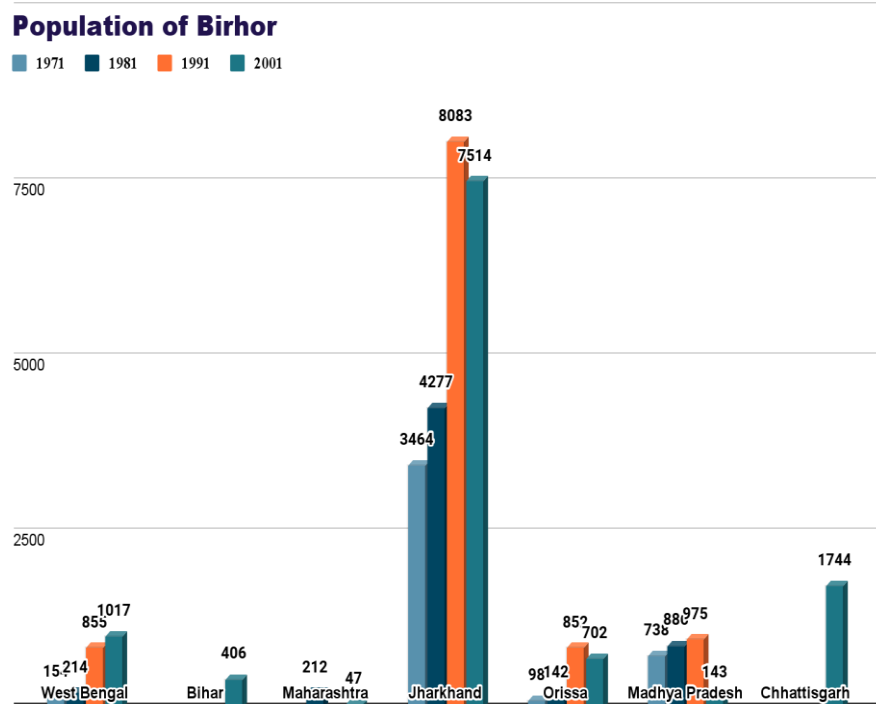
They do the same because of the crisis of food and daily needs. So they move from one forest to another and in a rotational movement, they reach the place from where they started their journey. As a result, Birhor settlements are scattered from Chotanagpur to West Bengal and Odisha. Ota & Sahoo (2010) have indicated that Birhor in Odisha reside in Bageipur village in Khaira block of Balasore district and Dengam village in Khunta block, Durdura village of Jashipur block, Kendumundi village of Karanjia block and Jamudiha Gram Panchayat in Kaptipada block of Mayurbhanj district.

In this book, we selected the Purulia district of West Bengal to document their culture and lexicon. It is believed that a group of the tribe came to the place from Jharkhand in search of their daily needs, and they settled there.

Chapter- 4

Demography

As it is a fact that the Census of India does not release the mother tongue population data, which is less than 10,000 population, therefore the latest demographic data of Birhor is also not notified through the Census Data 2011, but the following data of Birhor is cited in Majumdar (2017: 32-50).



As we can see, there is no uniformity in the Birhor data in all the states, but consistency can be seen in West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Out of these, Jharkhand has a wider population

of Birhor, and its reporting is consistent, too. It is also important that West Bengal is an adjacent state of Jharkhand, and Purulia, a District of West Bengal where a major population of Birhor resides, shares a border with Jharkhand. While narrating the above graph, it is to remind that Bihar - Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh - Madhya Pradesh were together before 2000. Meantime, Ota & Sahoo (2010) cited Census Data 2001, and as per the data Birhor population in Orissa state was 702 persons consisting of 340 females and 362 males. The population of Birhor experienced negative growth, i.e. -14.91 % from 1991 to 2001. Their sex ratio was 939 females per 1000 males. However, the inconsistency of Birhor data in the above graph may be because of these new formations of states and the need for recent official evidence from the Census of India. However, Birhor's demography is very low in the regions, and migration within these areas has been a common fact.

Chapter- 5

Language and Ethnic Data

There is no doubt to categorize Birhors into the proto-australoid group of races. They are short in height with a long head, black in colour, and they have long wavy reddish-rusty hair and broad, flattened nose. Hunting nature made them unique compared to other proto-australoid tribes. Their body structural efficiency is more developed, i.e., eye site power, running capacity, smelling proficiency, developed vocal cords for producing sounds like animals, balancing skill to climb on a tree or rock and flexible soul to survive in different climates make them peculiar. Because of these developed skills, many scholars designate them as ‘the kings of the forest’. They are very curious and humble in nature. They always try to be isolated from the other tribes and outer society. Once they (*uthlu* group) feel insecure, they leave the place.

The present situation and lack of forests optimize the natural ‘habitual wanderer’ of Birhors, and this lead Birhors to be divided into two groups, i.e., *uthlu* (/u^hlu/) or *bhulaiya* (/b^hulaija/) and *jaghi* (/dʒag^hi/) or *thania* (/t^hanija/). The *uthlu* groups of Birhors are the food gatherer who move from forest to forest to collect food as per their comforts. They first form a *tanda* and start living in a forest where there is enough food and water. Once they feel the crisis of food, they leave the place and search for another. Thus they move from one forest to another and reach the place again from where they start their journey. The cycle of their movement takes nearly two and

a half years. By the time the place fills with trees, tiny animals and other usable food products. The choice of place also depends upon the climate. In summer and rainy seasons, they make their *kumbas* (houses) on small hilly tops, whereas in winter, they prefer regions at the foot of the hills. Thus they protect themselves from the high temperature of summer, rain and winter by following a certain pattern of shifting from one place to another. Not only they just follow a pattern, but they follow rituals too.

According to Sarat Chandra Roy (1978) and also mentioned in Majumder (2017), the shifting of *uthlu* is done under the guidance of an experienced headman of the group, where an unmarried young from *kawan* clan, also known as *bonga gogni* (/boŋa gogni/) ‘spirit carrier’, leads the team by carrying a *bonga khanchi* (/boŋa kʰãtʃi/) ‘a basket’ containing a *bongapeti* (/boŋapeɽi/) ‘sacred box’ made of bamboo, wrapped in a net on his head. According to their belief *orabonga* (/oɾaboŋa/) ‘god of house (*kumba*)’ stays in the sacred box. Along with *orabonga* there are several items, such as a piece of stone, minium smeared wooden log, a clod, iron made chain, an arrow etc. are also there in the sacred box. These items are the sign of divine and ancestor spirits. Other members of the *tanda* carry their pets (generally hens) and other items of daily use. After finding an appropriate place, they do some rituals by sacrificing hens to sacred spirits and making *kumbas* and stay there until they get enough food and other forest products, i.e., tree fiber, honey, different types of dried leaf etc. However, the tradition of shifting, as well as the *uthlu* group, are almost extinct due to deforestation. Now they do not move from one place to another. They settled themselves near the forest areas permanently. They are known as *jaghi*. They are not completely dependent on forests. They are engaging themselves in cultivation and other labour work.

The Birhors are settled in three blocks (Jhalda, Balarampur and Bagmundi) of the district where they enjoy their day-to-day life peacefully, though being suppressed by the dominant group. After talking with some Birhors we came to know their traditional way of living. Earlier, even twenty to thirty years ago, they used to stay there



by making small wooden huts which they called *kumba*. Generally, there are two types of *kumba*, i.e., *chukumba* (/tʃukumba/) or small hut, which is generally used for ritualistic purposes and *orakumba* (/oɾakumba/),

which is used for living purposes. The architecture of their *kumba* was somehow different from the neighbouring tribes (Santhals). Their *Kumbas* were made with a special kind of wood and bamboo using dry leaves. Their *kumba* contains only one room, and their living space is between one hundred and a hundred twenty square feet. Earlier, they used to make their *kumba* at four feet height from the surface so that in the rainy season, it could be protected from the flowing water. They used a special kind of wood so that they could protect themselves from heavy cold in the winter season and high temperatures in summer as well. Also, the wood lasts for a long time too. In one *kumba* there were only four to five members. Once their children grow up, they make their own *kumba*.

Kumba plays a vital role in birth-ritual. If a baby is born inside the *kumba*, the baby is not allowed to come out of the *kumba* for the next five days of his/her birth until the baby is sanctified by the *naya* (/nəja/), the village headman or *moti* (/moɽi/), the village priest.

Generally, the sanctification process of the baby is held on the sixth day of his/her birth. If the *naya* or the *moti* is not available on the day, an elderly person does the ritual. After sanctification, the baby is taken out of the *kumba* from the chase mortise, which is made only for the purpose by cutting or breaking a wall of the *kumba*. The main door is not used to take out the baby from the *kumba*.

The *kumba* plays an important role not only in the birth ritual but also in the death ritual. If someone dies inside the *kumba*, it is called *gehi lotom* (/gehi loṭom/). At the time, all the edible items, such as water (along with a pitcher), cooked foods, and ashes, are thrown far away. Sometimes *bonga peti* is also thrown outside. On the seventh day of death, a ritual is performed, which they call *horyon* (/horron/), i.e., the members (male) shave their hair and beard. Then they arrange a new pitcher for water, and once again, they make *bonga peti* and clean the *kumba* with mud and cow dung. After that, with the help of *moti*, they arrange *ambul ader* (/ambul aḍer/) where they feed their neighbours. These seven days, they don't participate in hunting and other festivals. After performing *ambul ader*, they are free to live their normal life. Even till the last decay, they followed their gipsy lifestyle.



Modern Birhor Settlement

They used to move from one place to a new place in search of their daily needs in group of twelve to fifteen members, and they stayed in one place for a couple of weeks. Because of this gipsy nature, the Birhors in the Purulia district could settle their residence from Jharkhand there. However, because of deforestation and modernization, the old tradition of making *kumba* no longer exists. These days they build small but concrete houses, and they do not move from one place to another; wherever they are, they just settle themselves there permanently. But it is true that they are still nature lovers, and they are in those places near forests or hilly areas far from civilized or modern societies. Their houses are well decorated with some kind of art. The art can be both floral and hunting scenes. Almost all of the family have cattle. They keep hens, ducks, cows, goats and pigs. They catch parrots and keep them for room decoration. Birhor children grow by playing with those animals. According to Roy (1978), being a nature lover Birhors are devoted to nature. They worship different trees, rocks, stones etc., for different purposes.



An altar with Cactus for daily worship

They reside near forests. First, they find a *jayyar* (/dʒajær/) or *juli jayyar*, i.e. the sacred forest or grove near their residence where their ancestors and deity reside.

They marked the sacred grove by keeping stones around it. These stones are believed to be their gods, i.e., *sendra bongā* (/sendrɑ boŋɑ/) - God of hunting, *chandi bongā* (/tʃandʱi boŋɑ/) - God of wild animals and their main god *sing bongā* (/siŋ boŋɑ/), *buru bongā* (/buru boŋɑ/)- god of hills. Birhors worship these stones as the symbol of their deity by sacrificing hen and *Eli* (their traditional drink).

When they go for hunting, they follow several rituals. First, they worship their hunting equipment in the sacred grove by sacrificing hens. Then at least three to five older people sit in a round shape and keep a stone in between to worship, and they start drinking handmade beer. Among those three or five, one suddenly gets some spirit and starts saying something related to the hunting, such as in which direction they should go for hunting, whether there is any difficulty or not etc., and the group of people for hunting do accordingly. Most of the time, younger groups of people go for hunting in the forest of Ajodhya hill. Still they follow their traditional strategy for hunting. Most of the time one of the team carries their god in a basket while hunting. They use their own hand-made net, rope and archery. First, they go in a specific direction, fix the net from one tree to another, and keep a younger girl or boy under a tree in the monkey's make-up. Then they produce some special kind of sounds so that the animals become scared and run here and there and get stuck in the net or trap. Then they use archery to kill them, but in a day, they catch only a specific number of animals. After killing animals first, they sacrifice it to the god and evil spirits. This ritual

happened in the forest only. The leader of the hunting team does the ritual; first, he takes some fresh leaves and keeps the animal on it, takes some blood off it and offers it to the god as well as the evil spirit. Then they come back to their settlement and offer a certain amount of meat to their village headman. This shows their respect towards the old one. If they get a deer, then there is another ritual. In the case of deer, a newly married woman does the ritual; first, she cleans a part of her house and keeps the deer on fresh leaves, then she does a puja with grass, flowers, rice and mud lamp. The ritual is done for their ancestors. While doing the puja a group of women sings a particular song so that their ancestors come to them and bless them. Unfortunately, the new generation is forgetting the ritual. It is because of the unavailability of deer, and hunting deer in India is an offence. Now the tradition and the rituals are extinct.

Talking with an old man, it is clear that they do not like outsiders in their society. Why it's so, we do not know the reason but possibly they are suppressed and feel unsafe with outsiders. When we met them for the first time, they felt offended. After a long try a few of them agreed to provide data to us. At modern Birhor villages in Purulia, there are thirty to forty families living with their pride. At the end of the hangover of last evening, the morning of Birhors starts with the mild smell of *mahua* flowers and the wild, charming noise of the forest. The flowing river, the wonderful sunrise at Ajodhya Hill and the different kinds of birds make the environment beautiful. Men start their morning by serving the cattle, while women start their morning by brooming and preparing breakfast. After serving cattle, men take their breakfast and go to the hilly forest in search of dry wood, hunting and collecting wood fibre. After preparing breakfast women started their day by going far to get drinking water. After coming back, they start making rope. Traditionally, they used rope only to

make hunting or fishing nets, but nowadays, they began making mats and baskets. A few of them also make cages with bamboo and cane for birds. Earlier, they used to make rope with the wooden fibre called ziol-lota (/dʒiol-ɫɔ̃tɔ̃/) also known as chihor-lota (/tʃihor-ɫɔ̃tɔ̃/).



ziol-lota/ chihor-lota

But because of the unavailability of the fibre they use jute, plastic or synthetic threads to make rope and net.



Figure 1.1

They use palm and other fiber to make a mat and bamboo to make a basket. Not only women take part in these crafts, but men also take part in making those crafts, especially those who are unable to go far in the hilly forest. Some of them make clay pots as well. They make different types of clay pots for daily uses as well as for drinking their traditional beer. Some women go to the field to collect *mohua* flowers. One group of a village keeps engaging themselves in preparing *mahua* which they call *eli* (/ili/) and rice beer. At the end of the day, during sunset, those people who go to the forest directly go to the market by walking to sell their forest collections and by earning money they buy rice for their dinner. Once a week, they go for a special market that they call *haat* (/hat/) to sell rope, net, basket, mat etc. In *haat* both men and women take part. These days, because of the popularity and usefulness of the rope, wholesalers come to them and collect for selling it in different markets. After coming back from the market the village engages in a festival mood. Almost all older people sit together to have *mahua* or rice beer in different groups. Sometimes they arrange their traditional singing and dancing as their entertainment.

The interesting thing is that we came to know that they go to the forest every day, but they do not hunt there everyday. Instead of hunting every day, they collect wood, honey, fiber etc. Due to the unavailability of forests and animals, modern Birhors hunt only three days a year. This shows their consciousness towards nature.

Birhors depend on forests to survive themselves. They collect forest products such as herbs, dry wood, animal skin, honey and bee wax etc. They sell these things along with their handmade crafts, such as rope, basket mat etc., in a local market. Also, they sell cattle. Most of the other tribes, such as Santhals and Munda buy their products for their needs. Herbs and other forest products are used in making

traditional medicines. Earlier, they never engaged themselves in cultivation. But now, due to the high forest crisis, some of them work as daily labourers in neighbouring villages to cultivate seasonal crops. An old woman told us that a few of them from different villages went to urbanized cities to work in construction sites.

Though after having lots of troubles, Birhors lives a peaceful life, it is also true that in every society, there are some issues; a bit of fighting and quarreling exist. To solve those minor issues, every Birhor society has a headman. The headman tries to solve daily problems as much as possible. Most of the time, the old experienced man takes the position. Also, most of the time, all the holy works start with the hand of the headman. The headman is a priest too. When a Birhor faces any issue first he/she prefers to meet the headman rather than other government employees. This tradition has been followed till now. Until there are any big issues, they do not go to the shelter of the Indian constitution. Most of the time, the intra-issues among Birhors are solved by the headman. When there are issues with the neighbouring tribe, then they visit police stations and other administrative bodies, if the issue is not solved mutually. The interesting thing is that the headman is selected by the good spirits. While deciding the headman of the settlement, they do a puja before the hunting; they follow the same strategy. After choosing the headman, the settlement arranges a party, they cook pork and mahua or rice beer and have it together. Also they enjoy their traditional dance and singing. Unfortunately, the tradition is decaying in the modern era.

Though the Birhors stay in a number of less members in a settlement they may or may not be from the same clan. In almost all tribes, the concept of clan plays a vital role. This is true for the Birhor

settlements too. Roy (1925) mentioned about thirty-seven clans of Birhors. Most of the names of the clans are borrowed from nature. These are as follows:

| SL. No. | Clan Name | Meaning |
|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 01. | Andi | wild cat |
| 02. | Bonga Sauri | wild grass |
| 03. | Bhat | Hindu caste |
| 04. | Bhont/ Bhuntil | a kite |
| 05. | Bhuiya | a tribe |
| 06. | Chauli Hembrom | rice and betel palm |
| 07. | Ganda Garua | vulture |
| 08. | Geroa | small bird |
| 09. | Gidhi | vulture |
| 10. | Goaar | milkman |
| 11. | Guleria/ Galaoria | pellet and bow |
| 12. | Gundri | a bird |
| 13. | Hembrom | betel palm |
| 14. | Here Hembrom | rice husk |
| 15. | Induar | eel |
| 16. | Jegseria Latha | mahua flower |
| 17. | Kauch/ Horo | tortoise |
| 18. | Kawan Hembrom | a tribe |
| 19. | Keonduar | a kind of fruit |
| 20. | Khangar | a tribe |
| 21. | Kharea | a tribe |
| 22. | Khudi Hembrom | broken rice |
| 23. | Ludamba | a flower |

| | | |
|-----|------------------|----------------------------------|
| 24. | Lundia Jaal | a tribe |
| 25. | Lupung | myroblan |
| 26. | Maghaiya Hembrom | belonging to bihar |
| 27. | Mahali | a tribe |
| 28. | Modi | a tribe |
| 29. | Murum | nilgai |
| 30. | Nag/ Nagpuria | belonging to chotanagpur |
| 31. | Sada | white |
| 32. | Samduar | Horse |
| 33. | Saunria | wild grass |
| 34. | Sham - Jhako | a weapon |
| 35. | Singpuria | a fruit |
| 36. | Suia | a bird |
| 37. | Toriar | belonging to the Palamu district |

Later he added one more clan name, i.e., *Mushal*. The clan also shows inter-caste marriage. Here the father is from the Muslim religion who married a Birhor girl, and their sons are known to be the descendants of the Mushal clan.

The name of the clan shows that most of the names are borrowed from nature, and few of them are borrowed from the other tribes. So it is possible that they may follow the inter-tribe marriage, but there are controversies too. The natural names are borrowed by following some signs during the birth of the ancestors. Roy (1925), while explaining the clan of Bihors, gave an example of a borrowing pattern, i.e., the name Gidhi was borrowed from a vulture name; the

ancestor of the clan was born under a tree, and immediately after the birth of an egg of a vulture felt on the head of the newborn baby from the nest on the tree; as a result the name of the clan was known as Gidhi. It was said that different clans had different body structures in terms of hair, height, body colour etc. In the modern era, it is difficult to find this belief. It is followed by the descendants of a clan that they do not harm or eat the animal or bird that signifies the clan name, i.e. the clan name of a Birhor is *horo* the Birhor never harm or eat tortoise, and it is followed by the descendants. Besides these, there are other clans too. According to the Bihar Janjati Kalyan Shodh Sansthan, mentioned in Mazumdar (2017), there are seventeen clans of Bihors, i.e.,

| SL. No. | Clan Name | Meaning |
|---------|---------------|----------------------|
| 01. | Induyar | fish |
| 02. | Kher | grass |
| 03. | Gidh | vulture |
| 04. | Goloyar | a kind of green leaf |
| 05. | Lakur chata | spoon |
| 06. | Korketa | bird |
| 07. | Topoyar | a kind of basket |
| 08. | Singpuriya | animal horn |
| 09. | Hembrom | paddy |
| 10. | Here Hembrom | bran of paddy |
| 11. | Ghuru Hembrom | milkman |
| 12. | Choli Hembrom | rice |
| 13. | Lopur Hembrom | rice dust |

| | | |
|-----|---------|-----------------|
| 14. | Sawor | spud |
| 15. | Hansda | a kind of tree |
| 16. | Saubia | a kind of grass |
| 17. | Bhuinya | a tribe |

According to the West Bengal Tribal Information and Public Relation Department (1970) mentioned by Majumdar (2017) there are thirteen clans of Birhors, i.e.,

| SL. No. | Clan Name | Meaning |
|----------------|------------------|---|
| 01. | Bhuinya Hembrom | bhuinya tribe |
| 02. | Chauli Hembrom | rice, betel nut tree |
| 03. | Here Hembrom | bran of paddy |
| 04. | Induar Latha | a kind of fish |
| 05. | Jegseriya Latha | a kind of cake made of mohua flower |
| 06. | Khangar | sub group of Munda tribe |
| 07. | Lakur Chata | spoon |
| 08. | Mahali | a tribe |
| 09. | Murum | deer/ nilgai |
| 10. | Kuiri | a tribe |
| 11. | Jegseriya Kuiri | a tribe / a kind of cake made of mohua flower |
| 12. | Chuti Sauriya | a kind of grass |
| 13. | Phera Sauriya | a kind of grass |

However, Suhrid Bhoumik added more clan names of Birhors in West Bengal and Chhattisgarh, e.g.,

| SL. No. | Clan Name | Meaning |
|---------|-----------|-------------|
| 01. | Sonwali | gold |
| 02. | Bondi | fish |
| 03. | Badi | banyan tree |
| 04. | Baghol | tiger |
| 05. | Kosandi | cocoon |

The marriage system of Birhors is quite interesting. They follow the inter-clan marriage system. Once the boy is ready and agrees to marry a girl, he tells it to his parents. Their parents arrange a meeting with the girl's parents, and with the presence of the *naya* they fix a date of marriage. Before marriage, the boy goes to the forest in a team for hunting which shows his manliness. That day the girl wears a bridal costume, and the boy wears the groom's costume. The whole village comes together for a feast. A large amount of *mahua* or rice beer is made. The whole day they start drinking and arrange for a dance and singing practice. At the end of the day they call the bride and ask her to run in the forest, and the groom is asked to catch his bride. Meanwhile, both of the parents sing traditional songs of marriage. After catching the bride, they have other rituals. They sacrifice hen or fowl to their god and cook the hen or fowl and eat together. Besides that, they roast pork and eat together by sitting around the fire and continuing their drinking. At the marriage ceremony, they serve food and drink in a special kind of green leaf-made plate and bowl. The

women start making those plates in the early morning or a day before marriage. This ceremony lasts for the next few days.



Birhor women making plates with green leaves

After marriage, the bride is no longer called by her father's clan name. From the day of marriage, the bride is identified by the husband's clan name, and she follows the husband's clan rules and beliefs. However, in modern times the traditional marriage system is decaying day by day. However, Roy S. C. (1925) and Mujumdar (2017) mentioned different types of marriage practices of Birhors. These are

bolo bapla (/bolo bapla/):

This is a widow marriage system, but the way of marriage is quite different. Here a widow enters to a man's *kumba* forcefully along with a basket of *mohua* flowers or a bundle of firewood. The house members try to chase her out, and if they are unable to do so, the man has to marry the lady.

nam napom bapla (/nam napom bapla/):

This kind of marriage is arranged when a boy and a girl love each other, and it is not possible to separate them. In this case, the old people of the *tanda* arrange a meeting and take the girl to the boy's house by following some rituals. When the father of the boy pays the bride price to the girl's family, the members of the *tanda* and relatives of both families come together and do the final marriage rituals, especially by using minium.

udara udari bapla (/udara udari bapla/):

When a boy and girl love each other, sometimes they leave their *tanda* and stay separately as a husband and wife. After a few days, their parents visit them and take them back to their *tanda*. Then after paying the bride price, they do the wedding ceremony by following their rituals.

sipundur bapla (/sipundur bapla/):

When a boy loves a girl, he waits with minium (mixed with oil) in hand for a chance, and if he finds the girl in a fair or crowded place, he puts the minium on her head. If the girl marries another boy, it will be her second marriage. In this kind of marriage, the boy's side is stronger than the girl's side.

kiring-jauye bapla (/kiriŋ dʒauje bapla/):

In this kind of wedding system, expenses are spent by the girl's parents. The wedding is done in the girl's house then the girl goes to the boy's house and stays there for a month. After the wedding, the boy has to reimburse the expenses in instalments. Until the payment is complete the boy has to be there in his wife's house. If the boy is

unable to pay the expenses, he has to work for his father-in-law until the payment is complete.

golhat bapla (/golhaṭ bapla/):

This kind of wedding is done by exchanging the betel leaf and betel nut. Here bride-groom or groom-bride is exchanged, i.e., if a boy marries a girl, the boy from the bride's family or her relatives have to marry a girl from the groom's family or his relatives. In this kind of wedding, there is no bride price.

bengkari bapla (/benkari bapla/):

In this kind of wedding, the boy's family takes a girl from a poor family to their house and does the marriage by following all the rituals.

hirum bapla (/hirum bapla/):

If one marries an unmarried girl despite having a wife, it is known as *hirum bapla*. Here the wedding is arranged by following the general rituals.

sanga bapla (/saṅa bapla/):

If one marries a married girl despite having a wife, it is known as *sanga bapla*. Here also the wedding is arranged by following the general rituals.

Birhor tradition is rich in medical science too. They use their own handmade medicines for remedies. Most of the ingredients for making medicines are from forests. Different types of roots, leaves, trees, animal body parts, honey etc., are used for treatment. If someone is suffering from cracks in bone or orthopaedics, they use a

kind of tree skin, which they call pajo (/pɔdʒo/). First they take the skin of the tree, then they make a smooth paste of it on a stone slab. Then they mix turmeric, lime etc, and apply the paste on the affected area and bind with wooden sticks. After a few days, people become cured of the problem. For migraine they use a mixture of the same tree skin paste and deer's horn paste and apply on the head.



Pajo Tree



A Birhor man selling medicinal plants in haat

They told us about four types of honey that are used for different purposes. These four types of honey come from four different types of honey bees. For pain in fingers, they use the branch of a tree, which they call *gulonch baha* (/gulontʃ baha/). They use different types of meat for different remedies, e.g., for tuberculosis, they eat bat meat, for colds, they eat pigeon meat etc. Besides these, there are different kinds of leaves and roots that they use for treatment.

Chapter- 6

Dialect Variation

Dialect variation is the different varieties or forms of a dialect (language), in terms of grammar, lexicon or pronunciation, which are spoken by the community from different places. One of the important causes of dialect variation is the influence of the dominant or the neighbouring languages. Secondly, borrowing takes place in the variation, e.g., the borrowed words in the language of West Bengal are mostly from Bengali, whereas in Jharkhand, the borrowed words are mostly from Hindi.

We did the fieldwork in the Purulia district, particularly in four villages, i.e., Bhupatipally, Bahreria, Bersa and Muhultar Birhor Tola. We collected and verified our data within these four villages. So far, we observed that there is no change or variation either in the features of grammar, lexicon, or accent, associated with the languages from these four villages. So, we did not get any dialect variation of the language in the Purulia district. However, dialect variation may be observed in the language of Jharkhand. It is interesting to know the difference of surnames among the Birhors from two different states, i.e., West Bengal and Jharkhand. Birhors of West Bengal use *Sikari* or *Shikari*, whereas in Jharkhand, they use *Birhor*.

Chapter- 7

Grammatical Sketch

Here a concise description of the key grammatical features of Birhor language has been given. This chapter typically includes an overview of the language's phonology, morphology and syntax. This sketch provides a general idea of the structural elements that define how words are formed and sentences are constructed in the language.

7.1 Phonology

Being a branch of linguistics, phonology deals with the scientific approaches of sound systems in a particular language, i.e., in contrast with phonetics (scientific study of speech sounds, in general), phonology is the scientific study of speech sounds (i.e., how does a sound organize) in a particular language. Speech sounds in most of the world's languages are a combination of vowel and consonant sounds. Birhor's speech sounds are as follows:

7.1.1 Vowels

Vowels are frictionless speech sounds that are articulated without any obstruction or closure, or even narrowing the vocal organs. Birhor has five vowels, i.e., two front vowels /i/ and /e/, two back vowels /u/ and /o/, and a central vowel /a/.

| | | |
|------|----------|----------|
| | Front | Back |
| High | i | u |
| Mid | e | o |
| Low | a | |

Vowels in Birhor follow an elsewhere distribution, i.e., all of the five vowel sounds are free to occupy all three positions, i.e., the initial, medial and final position of a word in Birhor. Besides these five core vowel sounds, there is one more vowel sound found in the language, i.e., /ɔ/ (the open-mid back vowel). But the sound is borrowed sound, as the words with the sounds found in the language spoken in the Purulia district of West Bengal are the result of borrowing, e.g., /dʒɔtɔ/ (জতো/ জতো) ‘all’, /tʰɔkʰɔk/ (ঠকঠক/ ঠকঠক) ‘to knock’, /pɔɾa/ (পড়া/ গড়া) ‘read’, /bɔɾo/ (বড়ো/ বড়ো) ‘big’, /ɾɔŋ/ (রং/ রং) ‘colour’, /dɔl/ (দল/ দল) ‘team’, /gɔrom/ (গরোম/ গরোম) ‘hot’ etc. are borrowed from Bengali. Vowel sounds are distributed in Birhor as follows:

| | i | e | a | o | u |
|----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Initial | /iŋ/ (ইং/ ইং) ‘I’ | /ende/ (এনডে/ এনডে) ‘there’ | /am/ (আম/ আম) ‘you’ | /oɾa/ (ওড়া/ ওড়া) ‘house’ | /uni/ (উনি/ উনি) ‘he/she’ |
| Medial | /marɪŋ/ (মারিং/ মারিং) ‘rice’ | /lele/ (লেলে/ লেলে) ‘see’ | /kai/ (কাই/ কাই) ‘no’ | /dʒom/ (জোম/ জোম) ‘eat’ | /kula/ (কুলা/ কুলা) ‘tiger’ |
| Final | /uni/ (উনি/ উনি) ‘he’ | /kare/ (কারে/ কারে) ‘where’ | /gaɾa/ (গাড়া/ গাড়া) ‘river’ | /hɔɾo/ (হড়ো/ হড়ো) ‘wear’ | /guɾu/ (গুড়ু/ গুড়ু) ‘rat’ |

7.1.2 Consonants

Consonants are speech sounds that are the result of a complete closure or narrowing of the vocal tract so that either there is a complete block or partial block in airflow. There are twenty-three consonant sounds (phonemes) in Birhor. Their distribution is as follows:

| | Labial | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------|--------|--------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Plosive | p b | t̪ d̪ | | ʈ ɖ | tʃ dʒ | k g | ʔ |
| Fricative | | s | ʃ | | | | h |
| Nasals | m | n | | ɳ | ɲ | ŋ | |
| Flaps | | | r | ɽ | | | |
| Lateral | | l | | | | | |
| Glide | | | | | j | | |

7.1.3 Syllable Structure

Birhor could follow the following CV-skeletal or syllable structure.

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| V | -a {finite tense marker} |
| CV | na {possessive marker} |
| CVC | d̪aʔ {rain} |
| VC | am {2nd person singular} |

7.1.4 Distinctive Features

Distinctive features are the characteristics of phonemes (speech sounds) that indicate the contrast between the phonemes. Distinctive features of Birhor phonemes are as follows:

| | co ns | syl l | so n | an t | co r | ba ck | hi gh | lo w | na s | vo ic e | co nt | ro u nd | st r | lat | de l |
|----|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------------|----------|---------------|---------|-----|---------|
| p | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| b | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| t̪ | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| d̪ | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| t | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| d | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| tʃ | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| dʒ | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| k | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| g | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| s | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - |
| ʃ | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - |
| m | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| n | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| ŋ | + | - | - | | | | | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɲ | + | - | - | | | | | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| ŋ | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| r | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| ɹ | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| l | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - |
| ɟ | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| ʔ | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| h | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |

7.2 Morphology

Morphology is the branch in language science that deals with the internal structure of words in a language, i.e., it is the domain of grammar that is engaged with the analysis of word structure. In other words, it is the scientific study of morphemes (section 7.2.1) and their different forms and how they are organized by rules to form a word.

7.2.1 Morpheme

The smallest meaningful unit of a word is morpheme, e.g., /dʒomkaniɪŋ/ (জোমকানিইং/ জোমকানিইং) ‘I eat’ is a word in Birhor that can be segmented into three meaningful units, i.e., /dʒom/ (জোম/ জোম) ‘eat’ /kani/ (কানি/ কানি) ‘present tense’ and /ɪŋ/ (ইং/ ইং) ‘subject agreement’. Each of these three individual, meaningful units of the word is known

as a morpheme. Morpheme can be of two types i.e., free morpheme and bound morpheme.

7.2.1.1 Free Morpheme

There are morphemes in languages that are meaningful independently, i.e., these kinds of morphemes are not dependent on other morphemes to be meaningful, e.g., /kula/ (कुला/ कुला) 'tiger', /dʒilu/ (जिलु/ जिलु) 'meat', /am/ (आम/ आम) '2ndP.Sg' etc.

7.2.1.2 Bound Morpheme

By contrast with the free morpheme, there are morphemes in languages that are not meaningful independently, i.e., these kinds of morphemes are dependent on other morphemes to be meaningful, e.g., plural marker /-kuntə/ (-कुनटा/ कुनटा) and possessive marker /-ana/ (-आना/ आना). Individually /-kuntə/ (कुनटा/ कुनटा), and /-ana/ (-आना/ आना) has no any meaning. Both morphemes become meaningful when they are attached to another (free) morphemes, such as,

a. बोइ + -कुनटा
 बोई + -कुनटा
 /boi/ + /-kuntə/ = 'books'

b. खबोर + -आना
 खबोर + -आना
 /kʰɔbor/ + /-ana/ = 'of news'

Bound morphemes are generally functional categories that function to carry the grammatical relations of languages in sentences. So the

number of bound morphemes in languages is very limited, and no new bound morphemes are included in languages. Hence, bound morphemes are also known as close-class words. On the other hand, the number of free morphemes in languages is vast and new morphemes are being included in languages gradually. Usually, in most of languages, including Birhor, nouns are examples of this kind of morpheme (in some languages, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are also included in the category). Hence, Free morphemes are also known as open-class words.

7.2.2 Morphology Types

Conventionally, Morphology is divided into two categories, i.e., inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. In correspondence to these classifications, there are inflectional morphemes and derivational morphemes.

7.2.2.1 Inflection

The inflection is a morphological process where a new word is generated by adding an affix to a word or by applying some other grammatical rules without changing the meaning and grammatical category, i.e., it is the study of the variation in the form of single lexical items for grammatical or functional purposes, e.g.,

- a. सेता → सेताकुनटा
 সেতা → সেতাকুনটা
 /seta/ → /seta.kunṭa/
 ‘dog’ → ‘dogs’

- b. आबा → आबातीं
 आबा → आबातिं
 /aba/ → /abaʈiŋ/
 ‘father’ → ‘father.1stP.Sg’ (my father)

7.2.2.2 Derivation

The derivation is a morphological process where a new word is generated by adding an affix to a word or by applying some other grammatical rules, and as a result of the process, the meaning or the grammatical category of the word is changed, i.e., it is the study of word formation, e.g.,

- a. एनेच → एनेच.काताम
 एनेच → एनेच.काताम
 /enetʃ/ → /enetʃ.kaʈam/
 ‘dance’ (noun) → ‘dance’ (verb)
- b. बुगिं → बुगिंआया
 बुगिं → बुगिंआया
 /bugiŋ/ → /bugiŋaja/
 ‘good’ (adj.) → ‘love’ (verb)

7.2.3 Word Formation

Word formation is a set of morphological processes where a lexical item is derived from or related to another lexical item. Generally, the derived lexical item is either changed in meaning or changed to another lexical category. In Birhor, we found three main types of word formation, i.e., reduplication, compounding and borrowing.

7.2.3.1 Compounding

Compounding is a morphological process where a new word is generated by combining two distinct free morphemes, such as

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| | बोंगा गोगनि বোঙ্গা গোগনি |
| /boŋga/ (spirit) + /gogni/ (carrier) → | boŋga gogni 'spirit carrier' |
| | ओडा बोंगा ওড়া বোঙ্গা |
| /oɾa/ (house) + /boŋga/ (spirit) → | oɾa boŋga 'God of house' |
| | गाडा दा গপা দা |
| /gaɾa/ (river) + /d̪a/ (water) → | gaɾa d̪a 'water from river' |

7.2.3.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process where a new word is generated by repetition of all or part of a form. Hence, the reduplication may be partial, such as

| | | |
|---------|---|-------------|
| निदा | → | निदा निदि |
| নিদা | → | নিদা নিদি |
| /niɖa/ | → | niɖa niɖi |
| 'night' | → | 'overnight' |

or complete, as in

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----------------|
| সেতার | → | সেতার সেতার |
| সেতার | → | সেতার সেতার |
| /setar/ | → | /setar setar/ |
| ‘morning’ | → | ‘early morning’ |

7.2.3.3 Borrowing

The borrowing is a type of word formation process where a word or a phrase is taken from a language and used in another language. When a single word is taken, the word is known as a loan word. In Birhor, borrowing is very common. For example, from Bengali a huge number of lexicons are borrowed in Birhor, such as, /ar/ (আর/ আর), /dʒodʒi/ (জোদি/ জোদি), /uni/ (উনি/ উনি), /dʰarɔŋa/ (ধারোণা/ ধারোণা) etc. Not only from Bengali, but from Hindi, Santhali, Munda, Khariya etc. too.

Chapter- 8

Syntactic Patterns

Being a branch of linguistics, syntax deals with the scientific approaches for the construction of the sentence, i.e., it is the analysis of the organization of words in phrases, phrases in clauses and clauses in sentences by following the grammatical rules that words combine to form sentences and which govern the formation of sentences along with the semantic relations between them.

8.1. Word Order

Similar to the Austro-Asiatic feature, the Birhor sentence has a subject and predicate to construct its structure. Generally, Birhor follows subject, object and verb (S+O+V) syntactic patterns. In the case of pronominals, the verb and NP subject agreement can be found, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|----------------------|-------|------------|
| इं | मारिं | जोम.कानिं |
| इं | मारिं | जोम.कानिं |
| iŋ | marin | dʒom.kaniŋ |
| 1 st P.Sg | rice | eat T.Agg |
| 'I eat rice' | | |

b.

| | | |
|----------------------|--------|-------------|
| আম | মারিঁ | জোম.কাতাম |
| আম | মারিঁং | জোম.কাতাম |
| am | marin̩ | dʒom.kat̪am |
| 2 nd P.Sg | rice | eat T.Agg |
| ‘You eat rice’ | | |

c.

| | | |
|----------------------|--------|--------------|
| উনকু | মারিঁ | জোম.কাতাকু |
| উনকু | মারিঁং | জোম.কাতাকু |
| unku | marin̩ | dʒom.kat̪aku |
| 3 rd P.Sg | rice | eat T.Agg |
| ‘He eat rice’ | | |

In the above sentences, the pronouns or the subjects agree with the predicates or the verbs, hence the final sounds, i.e., /ŋ/, /am/ and /u/ of the pronouns are followed by the verbs. The agreement also enables pro-drop parameters of the language in discourse, i.e., if someone says (in a general discourse) /marin̩ dʒom.kaniŋ/ (মারিঁ

জোম.কানি/ মারিং জোম.কানিং) to someone, the listener is able to understand that the speaker is first person singular and saying ‘I eat rice’.

8.2. Topicalization

Topicalization is the process of pointing out a word or a phrase as a topic or a theme of the sentence or the utterance and moving the word or the phrase to the subject position of the sentence or the utterance by the use of a marked construction. However, the moving part of the sentence or the utterance does not function as a subject or head. Topicalization can be noticed in some context or discourse in Birhor, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------|
| মারি | উনকু | জোম.কাতাকু |
| মারিং | উনকু | জোম.কাতাকু |
| marinj | unku | dʒom.katʌku |
| rice | 3 rd P.Sg | eat T.Agg |
| ‘He eat rice’ | | |

In the above sentence, the subject (unku) should be at the sentence's initial position, but due to the topicalization process, direct object, i.e., /marinj/ ‘মারি/ মারিং’ of the sentence is pointed out as a topic or theme of the sentence and moved to the initial position of the sentence. However, after the process, the direct object did not change its property into the subject or head of the sentence. So far, we collected data, and instances of the process are rare in the language.

Structurally, Birhor sentences are divided into three types, e.g., simple, complex and compound sentences. These sentences are structured as follows:

8.3. Sentence Types

Based on data we find from the community in the Purulia district of West Bengal, the following sentence types:

8.3.1 Simple Sentence

Simple sentences are those which are constructed with only one clause, i.e., the sentences have only one predicate or verb, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|-------------------|-------|-------------|
| राम.मियाः | कुला | लेले.दियाइ |
| রাম.মিয়াঃ | কুলা | লেলে.দিয়াই |
| ram.mija? | kula | lele.dijai |
| Ram. Hon | tiger | see.T |
| 'Ram saw a tiger' | | |

b.

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------|--------------|
| उनकु.मियाः | कुला | लेले.दियाकु |
| উনকু.মিয়াঃ | কুলা | লেলে.দিয়াকু |
| unku.mija? | kula | lele.djaku |
| 3 rd P.Sg.Hon | tiger | see.T |
| "He saw a tiger" | | |

c.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| আবুন | হোলা | জিলু.কানাবুন |
| আবুন | হোলা | জিলু.কানাবুন |
| abun | hola | dzilu.kanabun |
| 1 st P.Pl | yesterday | meat.T.Agr |
| “We ate meat yesterday” | | |

The above sentences have only one predicate or verb. Hence, these three sentences are considered to be simple sentences.

8.3.2 Compound Sentence

Compound sentences are those that are constructed with two or more independent clauses, i.e., the sentences have two predicates or verbs, with the help of coordinate relation, e.g.,

a.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|-----|----------------------|-------------|
| ই | হেকিনিং | আর | উনি | শুরু.কিনাই |
| ইং | হেকিনিং | আর | উনি | শুরু.কিনাই |
| in | he.kiniṅ | ar | uni | ʃuru.kinai |
| 1 st P.Sg | come.T.Agr | and | 3 rd P.Sg | start.T.Agr |
| “I came back and she started” | | | | |

b.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|------------|----------|
| ইং | বানখার | আবাটিং | শুনো:আই |
| ইং | বানখার | আবাটিং | শুনো:আই |
| in | bank ^h ar | abatin | ʃuno?.ai |
| 1 st P.Sg | or | father.Agr | go.T |
| “Either I will go or my father” | | | |

c.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|----------------------|-------|----------|-----------|
| ইং | শুনো:আই | উনি | জোদি | মিতিগি | হিজু:আই |
| ইং | শুনো:আই | উনি | জোদি | মিতিগি | হিজু:আই |
| in | ʃuno?.ai | uni | dʒodɪ | mi?ɪgi | hidʒu?.ai |
| 1 st P.Sg | go.T.Agr | 3 rd P.Sg | if | together | come.T |
| “I will go if he will come along” | | | | | |

In the above sentences, each sentence has two clauses along with two predicates or verbs, which are joined by coordinators to construct compound sentences. Hence, these sentences are considered to be compound sentences.

8.3.3 Complex Sentence

Complex sentences are those sentences that are constructed with a main clause and a subordinate clause, i.e., there are one or more dependent clauses (it is a bound clause that is used with the help of another clause by subordinating to it to convey a grammatical meaning.) in addition to an independent clause (it a free clause which is used by its own to convey a grammatical meaning). Complex sentences are constructed with the help of a subordinating conjunction, such as, in Birhor /dʒe/ (जे/ जे) ‘that’, /kare/ (कारे/ कारे) ‘where’, e.g.,

a.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|----------|------|------|----------|-----------|------------|
| ई | काज | सारियाना | जे | मिता | रिमाके | चिलिकाना | मा.दियाइ |
| ईं | काज | सारियाना | जे | मिता | रिमाके | चिलिकाना | मा.दियाइ |
| iŋ | kaɟ | sariana | dʒe | miɬa | rimake | tʃilikana | gama.ɖiɟai |
| 1 st P.Sg | Neg | know | that | Mita | Rima.Acc | what | tell.T |
| “I don’t know that what Mita told Rima” | | | | | | | |

b.

| | | | | | |
|--|-----|----------|-------|-----------|-----------|
| सोभाना | काइ | सारियाना | सिपरा | चिमिनता | हिजुः.आइ |
| सोभाना | काइ | सारियाना | सिपरा | चिमिनता | हिजुः.आइ |
| sob ^h ana | kai | sarianai | sipra | tʃimintɬa | hidʒu?.ai |
| Sovana | Neg | know | Sipra | when | come.T |
| “Sovana don’t know when will Sipra come” | | | | | |

c.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|----------|-------|-------|------|------------|
| রনিআনা | জাহান | ধারোণা | বানুআ | কারে | অনুপ | তাহি.কানাই |
| রনিআনা | জাহান | ধারোণা | বানুআ | কারে | অনুপ | তাহি.কানাই |
| roniana | dʒahan | d̪ʱaroŋa | banua | kare | onup | ṭahi.kanai |
| roni.POS | any | idea | Neg | where | Anup | stay.T |
| “Roni has no idea where Anup leaves” | | | | | | |

d.

| | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| কুড়ি- হোপোন টা | জে | গুলাপি | চুড়িদা র | হড়একাতাই | উনি | ইঁনি | বোহিনতিঁ |
| কুড়ি- হোপোন টা | জে | গুলাপি | চুড়িদার | হড়.একাতাই | উনি | ইংনি | বোহিনতিং |
| kuɽi- hopo nṭa | dʒ e | gula pi | tʃuɽid̪ ar | hɔɽo.ekaɽ ai | uni | iŋg ni | bohint̪i ŋg |
| girl.CL | tha t | pink | salwar | wear.T | 3 rd P.S g | my | sister.C PL.Agr |
| “The girl who is wearing a pink salwar is my sister” | | | | | | | |

In the above examples, each of them has a subordinate clause which is dependent on a main clause by a subordinating conjunction. Hence, these sentences are considered to be complex sentences.

Chapter- 9

Part of Speech

Part of speech (POS) refers to the categories into which words are classified based on their function within a sentence. Each part of speech serves a distinct role. It helps to convey the structure and meaning of a sentence. The main part of speech in Birhor are as follows:

9.1 Noun

A type of word class that has the prototypical or central properties of concrete entities, such as, /kula/ (बाघ/ বাঘ) ‘tiger’, /marin/ (মারী/ মারি) ‘rice’ etc. generally, noun is a common component of every sentence, and in a sentence, there may be multiple number of nouns which function differently.

9.1.1 Types of Nouns

In a language, noun has six main types, i.e., proper noun, common noun, countable noun, uncountable noun, concrete noun and abstract noun.

9.1.1.1 Common Noun

A type of noun that refers to a generic item, group or place is known as a common noun. It is different from a proper noun in the sense

that it does not refer to a specific entity as a proper noun, e.g., /boi/ (বোই/ বোই) as in example number 21.

9.1.1.2 Proper Noun

A type of noun that refers to a person's or place, or thing's name, is known as a proper noun, e.g., /miṭa/ (মিতা/ মিতা) and /apel/ (আপেল/ আপেল) or /dʒʰarkʰɔnd/ (झाड़खण्ड/ বাড়খণ্ড).

9.1.1.3. Countable Noun

A type of noun that can be counted or measured is known as a countable noun, e.g., /miya/ (মিয়া/ মিয়া) as in following example:

a.

| | | | |
|--|--------|------|-------------|
| রাম | মিয়া: | বোই | পড়া:কানাই |
| রাম | মিয়াঃ | বোই | পড়াঃকানাই |
| ram | miya? | boi | paṛa?.kanai |
| Ram | one | book | read.T |
| 'Ram reads a book' (specific number of book) | | | |

9.1.1.4 Uncountable Noun

A type of noun (including concrete noun and abstract noun) that can not counted or measured is known as an uncountable noun, e.g.,

a.

| | |
|--|----------|
| জতো | জিনিসগী |
| জতো | জিনিসগি |
| dʒɔtɔ | dʒinisgi |
| 'all things' (Not specific number or amount) | |

9.1.1.5 Concrete Noun

A type of noun that refers to objects that are perceived by the human senses, i.e., the noun that can be touched by humans, e.g., /beg/ (बेग/ বেগ) 'bag'.

9.1.1.6 Abstract Noun

A type of noun that refers to objects which can not be perceived by the human senses, i.e., the noun that can be touched by humans, e.g., /husiai/ (हुसिआइ/ হুসিআই) 'love'. 'Love' can not be touched by human beings.

Generally, nouns are inflected by case, number and gender.

9.1.2 Case

Case is a grammatical or functional element that assures that all nouns of a sentence are inflected by inherited grammatical and semantic relation to other categories of the sentence. In other words, a case is a grammatical or functional element that shows the function of a noun or noun phrase in a sentence. In Birhor, there are seven types of case, and these are as follow:

9.1.2.1 Nominative

A nominative case is marked with the subject of a sentence which is governed by the inflectional category. In Birhor, the noun is inflected

by nominative case to express its subject function in relation to the other categories of the clause with no overt or apparent marker. Examples are as follows:

a.

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------|------------|
| ई | मारिङ् | जोम.काति |
| ইং | মারিং | জোম.কতিং |
| iŋ-Ø | marin | dʒom.katɪŋ |
| 1 st P.Sg-NOM | rice | eat.T.Agr |
| 'I ate rice' | | |

b.

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------|-------------|
| आम | आपेल | जोम.काताम |
| আম | আপেল | জোম.কাতাম |
| am-Ø | apel | dʒom.kat̪am |
| 2 nd P.Sg-NOM | apple | eat.T.Agr |
| 'You ate an apple' | | |

c.

| | | |
|-------------------|--------|-------|
| तिहिन | सोमबार | हेकेन |
| তিহিন | সোমবার | হেকেন |
| t̪ihin-Ø | sombar | heken |
| today-NOM | monday | CPL |
| 'Today is Monday' | | |

In the above sentences the nouns /iŋg/ (ইং/ ইঁ) ‘I’, /am/ (আম/ আম) ‘you’ and /t̪hin/ (তিনি/ তিনি) ‘today’ are inflected with nominative case to function as a subject noun in relation to the other components of the sentences though there is no any visible marker. So /iŋg/ (ইং/ ইঁ) ‘I’, /am/ (আম/ আম) ‘you’ and /t̪hin/ (তিনি/ তিনি) ‘today’ are the subject of the above sentences, respectively, because the action of the verb is done by those nouns which are inflected with the nominative case.

9.1.2.2 Accusative

The form of a noun phrase that is formed to express its function as a direct object in relation to a transitive verb is known as Accusative case, i.e., a case marking for direct object or patient nouns.

a.

| | | |
|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| মিতা | সিতাকে | হুসিআই.কানাই |
| মিতা | সিতাকে | হুসিআই.কানাই |
| miṭṭa | siṭṭake | husiai.kanai |
| Mita | Sita.ACC | love.T |
| “Mita loves Sita” | | |

b.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| উনি | হোলা | গুরুটাকে | গোচকা.দিয়াই |
| উনি | হোলা | গুরুটাকে | গোচকা.দিয়াই |
| uni | hola | guruṭa.ke | gotṭka.d̪jai |
| 3 rd P.Sg | yesterday | rat.CL.ACC | die.T |
| “He killed the rat yesterday.” | | | |

c.

| | | |
|------------------|----------|-------------|
| राम | बोइ | पड़ा:कानाइ |
| রাম | বোই | পড়াঃকানাই |
| ram | boi-Ø | pɔɽa?.kanai |
| Ram | book-ACC | read.T |
| ‘Ram reads book’ | | |

d.

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| सेताटा | होड़टाके | गेड़े:दियाइ |
| সেতাটা | হোড়টাকে | গেড়েঃদিয়াই |
| setaɽa | hoɽta.ke | geɽe?.dijai |
| dog.CL | man.CL.ACC. | bite.T |
| ‘The dog bite the man’ | | |

In the above examples, each clause has one direct object, e.g., /siɽa/, /guru/, /boi/ and /hoɽta/, respectively, which are inflected with an accusative case to express its functional relation with its predicate or verb. In Birhor the accusative case is marked with /-ke/ or null.

9.1.2.3 Instrumental

The form of a noun or noun phrase by which the action of a predicate or verb of a sentence is performed is known as instrumental case, i.e.,

the noun phrase inflected with the case expresses the manner or means.

a.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|--------|-----------|
| উনি | চাকুতে | পিয়াজ | গেত.কানাই |
| উনি | চাকুতে | পিয়াজ | গেত.কানাই |
| uni | tʃaku-tɕe | pijadʒ | geɽ.kanai |
| 3 rd P.Sg | knife-INST | onion | cut.T |
| “He cut the onion with a knife” | | | |

b.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|-------|------------|
| সেখর | ব্রাশতে | দেউআল | রং.কাতাই |
| সেখর | ব্রাশতে | দেউআল | রং.কাতাই |
| sekʰɔr | braʃ-tɕe | ɽeual | rɔŋ.katʰai |
| Sekhar | brush-ACC | wall | paint.T |
| “Sekhar painted the wall with a brush” | | | |

c.

| | | | |
|--|----------------|---------|-----------|
| নিতা | নেলকাটারতে | রামাতাই | গেত.কানাই |
| নিতা | নেলকাটারতে | রামাতাই | গেত.কানাই |
| niɽa | nelkaɽar-tɕe | ramaɽai | geɽ.kanai |
| Nita | nailcutter-ACC | nail | cut.T |
| “Nita cut her nail with a nail cutter” | | | |

d.

| | | | | | |
|--|------------|--------|------|-------|-------------|
| নিয়া | ছবিটা | মিস্টর | আলোম | দিয়া | আকা.হোইকানা |
| নিয়া | ছবিটা | মিস্টর | আলোম | দিয়া | আকা.হোইকানা |
| nija | tʃobi.ta | miʃtor | alom | dija | aka.hoikana |
| this | picture.CL | Mr | Alom | INST | paint.T |
| “This picture was painted by Mr. Alom” | | | | | |

In the above examples, there are few noun phrases, e.g., /tʃaku/ (চাকু/চাকু) ‘knife’, /braʃ/ (ব্রাশ/ব্রাশ) ‘brush’, /nelkaʃar/ (নেলকাটার/নেলকাটার) ‘nailcutter’, /alom/ (আলোম/ আলোম) ‘Alom’ which are marked with instrumental case that express the mean or manner of the actions. In Birhor, there are two types of instrumental markers, e.g., /-tʃe/ and /-dija/.

9.1.2.4 Locative

The form of a noun that signals a location of the action of a predicate or verb of the sentence is known as locative case, i.e., it is a form of a noun that typically expresses the place in, on or at which something exists or occurs, e.g.,

a.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|-------|----------|
| ইঁনা | ওড়াতিঁ | গাড়া | হেনাত্রে |
| ইঁনা | ওড়াতিঁ | গাড়া | হেনাত্রে |
| iɲna | oɽaɽiɲ | gaɽa | henatɽe |
| my | house | river | LOC |
| “My house is near the river.” | | | |

b.

| | | | | | |
|---|--------|----------|---------|-------|--------|
| ବଡ଼ | ବାଜାର | ହେନାତ୍ରେ | ବୌଁଗା | ଓଡ଼ା | ମେନାଆ: |
| ବড় | বাজার | হেনাত্রে | বৌঙ্গা | ওড়া | মেনাআঃ |
| bɔɽo | badʒar | henat̪re | boŋa | oɽa | menaaʔ |
| big | market | LOC | haunted | house | CPL |
| “There is a haunted house near the big market.” | | | | | |

c.

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| ଉନକୁ | झाड़खण्ड-रे | ताहिकानाकु |
| উনকু | ঝাড়খণ্ড-রে | তাহিকানাকু |
| unku | dʒʰarkʰɔnd-re | ṭahi.kanaku |
| 3 rd P.Pl | Jharkhand.LOC | stay.T |
| “They stay in Jharkhand” | | |

d.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|--------|-----------|
| मिका | दा:ते | एनेइच | बुगिनाया |
| মিকা | দাঃতে | এনেইচ | বুগিনায়া |
| mika | ɖaʔ.te | eneitʃ | buginaja |
| Mika | rain.LOC | dance | love.T |
| “Mika loves to dance in the rain” | | | |

In the above examples, there are a few nouns that are formed to express the location of the action of the verbs by inflecting with locative case suffixes. In Birhor, there are three locative suffixes, i.e., /henat̪re/ (হেনাত্রে), /t̪e/ (তে) and /re/ (রে). ‘/henat̪re/’ is used to refer to

a location that is not very close to another object or a noun, e.g., in first two sentences, the house [oɾa] and the haunted house [boɳa oɾa] are near the river [gaɾa] and big market [bɔɾo badʒar] instead of being in the river or the big market. /re/ is used to refer to the location of the predicate, which is in or inside another noun (in a broader sense), e.g., in the third sentence ‘he’ lives in Jharkhand. And /te/ is used to refer to a location of the action of a predicate which is in another noun (in a narrow sense), e.g., in the last, Mika loves dancing in the rain.

9.1.2.5 Dative

The form of a noun that is used to express its function as an indirect object of the predicate or verb is known as the Dative case. However, there are no uses of the Dative case in Birhor, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|------------------|---------|----------|
| ईना | ओड़ातिं | शुनुमिदु |
| ইনা | ওড়াতিং | শুনুমিদু |
| iɳna | oɾaɽiɳ | ʃunumiɽu |
| my | house | go.IMP |
| “Go to my house” | | |

b.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------|
| होपोन.कोनटा | इसकुल.रे | शेन.कानाकु |
| হোপোন.কোনটা | ইসকুল.রে | শেন.কানাকু |
| hopon.konɽa | iskul.re | ʃen.kanaku |
| student.PL | school.LOC | go.T |
| “Students have gone to school.” | | |

9.1.2.6 Ablative

The form of a noun that is used to refer to the movement of an object from one place to another is known as ablative case, i.e., it is a case form that is typically marked for the source of movement. Usually, the case is used in languages to mark different types of adverbial relations such as manner separation and time, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| होपोन.टा | पारकोम.एते | इजु.एकानाइ |
| होपोन.টা | পারকোম.এতে | ইজু. একানাই |
| hopon.ta | parkom.eṭe | iju.ekanai |
| baby.CL | bed.ABL | fall.T |
| ‘The baby fell down from the bed’ | | |

b.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|--------------|
| दिंगला.टा | दारु.ते | चुरिर.कानाइ |
| दिंगला.টা | দারু.তে | চুরির.কানাই |
| dīṅla.ta | ḍaru.ṭe | tʃurir.kinai |
| boy.CL | tree.ABL | jump.T |
| ‘The boy jumped from the tree’ | | |

c.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| ई | मोटोर-साइकेल.ते | इजु.किनिं |
| ইং | মোটোর-সাইকেল.তে | ইজু.কিনিং |
| iṅ | moṭor-saikel.ṭe | iju.kiniṅ |
| 1 st P.Sg | bike.ABL | fall.T |
| ‘I fall down from the bike’ | | |

d.

| | | | |
|---|----------|-----------|-------------|
| कोलि | कूया.ते | बालटि.टा | राकाब.इयाइ |
| কোলি | কুয়া.তে | বালটি.টা | রাকাব.ইয়াই |
| koli | kua.ɽe | balɽi.ta | rakab.ijai |
| Koli | well.ABL | bucket.CL | take out.T |
| ‘Koli will take out the bucket from the well’ | | | |

In the above examples, the source movements are marked with /-ɽe/ suffix, which expresses the adverbial relation of separation, i.e., the case marker /-ɽe/ is attached with a noun to express the action of movement of the verbs.

9.1.2.7 Possessive

The form of a noun that is used to refer to possession or the possessive relation with another noun is known as possessive or genitive case, e.g.,

a.

| | | | |
|------------------|--------|------|-----------|
| रिमि.रि | मियाः | पुशि | मिनाइचाइ |
| রিমি.রি | মিয়াঃ | পুশি | মিনাইচাই |
| rimi.ri | miɽa? | puʃi | minaitʃai |
| rimi.POS | one | cat | has |
| ‘Rimi has a cat’ | | | |

b.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| केका | रेखाके | नुतुर.ना | एम.काकिनाकु |
| কেকা | রেখাকে | নুতুর.না | এম.কাকিনাকু |
| keka | rekhake | nutur.na | em.kakinaku |
| Keka | Rekha.ACC | earring.POS | give.T |
| ‘Keka gave Rekha her earring’ | | | |

c.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|--------|--------|
| ईना | बेगति.ना | रं | रांगा |
| ইংনা | বেগতিং.না | রং | রাঙ্গা |
| iṅna | begtiṅ.na | rɔŋ | ranga |
| my | bag.POS | colour | red |
| ‘The colour of my bag is red’ | | | |

There are two possessive markers in Birhor, e.g., /ri/ and /na/. Sometimes in discourse, the possessive marker /na/ is used with the indirect object instead of the subject of the verb, e.g., in 38, the possessive marker /na/ is attached with the indirect object /nutur/ to show the possessive relation with the subject *keka*.

9.1.3 Number

The number is a grammatical category that is typically marked by inflections and distinguishing reference to one entity from reference to more than one. In Birhor there are two numbers, i.e., singular and plural.

9.1.3.1 Singular Number

It is a number or grammatical category that refers to a single person, place, animal, bird or object, e.g.,

a.

| | |
|----------|------|
| মিয়া: | বোই |
| মিয়াঃ | বোই |
| miya? | boi |
| one | book |
| 'a book' | |

At the above example, /miya? boi/ refers to a single book.

Numbers play a vital role in constructing a sentence in the language, especially when the pronoun is used as a subject. The verb is agreed with the subject (pronoun). If the subject is singular, the verb has to be inflected by singular, as in the above example number.

9.1.3.2 Plural Number

It is a number or grammatical category that refers to two or more than two persons, places, animals, birds or objects, In Birhor, /-kunṭa/ (-কুনটা/ -কুনটা) is suffixed with a singular noun to make it plural, e.g., /boi/ (বোই/বোই) 'a book' is singular but /boi-kunṭa/ (বোই-কুনটা/ বোই - কুনটা) 'many books' is plural.

Similar to subject (pronoun)-verb agreement for singular number, in the case of plural, the agreement is there, i.e., if the subject (pronoun)

is plural in number, the verb also has to be inflected by plural, as in example number 7.

9.1.4 Gender

In a broader sense, gender refers to the type or class of a noun that (later) narrowed to that of natural gender, ‘male’ vs ‘female’ vs ‘neuter’ gender. In some languages, gender plays an important role in constructing a grammatical sentence by projecting *gender-agreement*. However, in Birhor, there is no grammatical gender. Hence, Birhor sentence does not follow *gender-agreement*, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|-------------------|------|------------|
| मानि | मारि | इसिन.कानाइ |
| মানি | মারি | ইসিন.কানাই |
| mani | maɽi | isin.kanai |
| Mani | rice | cook.T |
| ‘Mani cooks rice’ | | |

b.

| | | |
|-------------------|-------|------------|
| रोमा | माड़ि | इसिन.कानाइ |
| রোমা | মাড়ি | ইসিন.কানাই |
| roma | maɽi | isin.kanai |
| Roma | rice | cook.T |
| ‘Roma cooks rice’ | | |

In the first example, the subject is masculine, and in the second example, the subject is feminine. But there is no gender-agreement

with other lexical items in these two sentences. However, in Birhor, there is lexical gender, e.g.,

/hɒpɒn/ (होपोन/ হোপোন) ‘boy’ vs /biː/ (बिटि/ বিটি) girl

Lexical gender in Birhor refers to the biological properties of a noun.

9.2 Pronoun

Words that take place instead of nouns in a sentence are known as pronouns, i.e., pronouns are a class of words whose main function is to express the thought of as standing for nouns or noun phrases, such as /iː/ (ई/ ই) ‘I’, /am/ (आम/ আম) ‘you’, /dʒahai/ (जाहाई/ জাহাই) ‘no one’ etc. According to Trask (1996), “The lexical category, or a member of this category. whose members typically function as noun phrases in isolation, not normally requiring or permitting the presence of determiners or other adnominals, and whose members typically have little or no intrinsic meaning or reference”. From the morphological point of view, pronouns are expressed with case and inflection with person, number, gender, honorificity, and definiteness.

Pronouns in Birhor are classified into several distinct classes such as Personal Pronoun, Possessive Pronoun, Relative Pronoun, Reflexive Pronoun, Reciprocal Pronoun, Demonstrative Pronoun, Locative Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun and Indefinite Pronoun. These are as follows:

9.2.1 Personal Pronoun

Personal pronouns are words that take the place of a human or an animal. According to Trask (1996), personal pronouns are “One of a typically small and closed set of lexical items with the principal

function of distinguishing among individuals in terms of the deictic category of person but often also expressing certain additional distinctions of number, animacy, sex, gender or other categories. It is used by keeping the noun as the main element in a sentence, e.g.,

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

| | Nominative | Accusative | Possessive |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 1st Person Singular | in (ई/ ईं) | inke (ईके/ ईंके) | inni (ईनि/ ईंनि) , inna (ईना/ ईंना) |
| 1st Person Plural | abun (आबुन/ आबुन) | abunke (आबुनके/ आबुनके) | abunana (आबुनआना/ आबुनआना) |
| 2nd Person Singular | am (आम/ आम) | amke (आमके/ आमके) | amna (आमना/ आमना), amni (आमनि/ आमनि), amana (आमआना/ आमआना) |
| 2nd Person Plural | unku (उनकु/ उनकु) | unkuke (उनकुके/ उनकुके) | unkuana (उनकुआना/ उनकुआना) |
| 3rd Person Singular | uni (उनि/ उनि) | unike (उनिके/ उनिके) | unini (उनिनि/ उनिनि), unire (उनिरे/ उनिरे) |
| 3rd Person Plural | unku (उनकु/ उनकु) | unkuke (उनकुके/ उनकुके) | unkuana (उनकुके/ उनकुके) |

Personal pronouns may or may not be used in discourse. Rich subject (pronoun) verb agreement in Birhor makes the language a Pro-drop

language. As a result, in many discourses or a fluent and continuous conversation, the overt subjects are not found, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------|-----------|
| আম | ইস্কুল.রে | সেন.কিনাম |
| আম | ইস্কুল.রে | সেন.কিনাম |
| am | iskul.re | sen.kinam |
| 2 nd P.Sg | school.LOC | go.T |
| “Did you go to school?” | | |

b.

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------|-----------|
| ∅ | ইস্কুল.রে | সেন.কিনাম |
| ∅ | ইস্কুল.রে | সেন.কিনাম |
| ∅ | iskul.re | sen.kinam |
| PRO | school.LOC | go.T.Agr |
| “Did you go to school?” | | |

c.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|------------|-----------|
| ई | रोज | इसकुल.रे | सेन.कानीं |
| ईं | रोज | इसकुल.रे | सेन.कानिं |
| iŋ | rodʒ | iskul.re | sen.kaniŋ |
| 1 st P.Sg | daily | school.LOC | go T.Agr |
| ‘I go to school everyday’ | | | |

d.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------|-----------|
| ∅ | রোজ | ইসকুল.রে | সেন.কানীং |
| ∅ | রোজ | ইসকুল.রে | সেন.কানিং |
| ∅ | rod ₃ | iskul.re | sen.kaniŋ |
| PRO | daily | school.LOC | go T.Agr |
| ‘I go to school everyday’ | | | |

In the above examples, there are overt subjects (/am/ ‘আম/ আম’ and /iŋ/ ‘ই/ ইং’) which are agreed with the verb /sen/ (সেন/ সেন) ‘go’. So if a speaker of the language drops the pronoun, the meaning of the sentences will remain the same as in the example number ‘b’ and ‘d’.

9.2.2 Possessive Pronoun

Possessive pronouns are a class of determiners whose function is to denote the possessive form of the pronouns, i.e., these are the words that relate to the possession of pronouns, e.g.,

a.

| |
|--------------------------|
| ইঁনি |
| ইংনি |
| iŋni |
| 1 st P.Sg.POS |
| ‘my’ |

b.

| |
|--------------------------|
| আমনা |
| আমনা |
| amna |
| 1 nd P.Sg.POS |
| ‘Your’ |

c.

| |
|--------------------------|
| উনিনি |
| উনিনি |
| unini |
| 3 rd P.Sg.POS |
| ‘his/ her’ |

9.2.3 Relative Pronoun

Relative pronouns are those words that are related to the noun or pronoun of another sentence or clause where the grammatical properties of the pronouns are equal to its antecedent (the noun or pronoun of another clause), i.e., the function of a relative pronoun is to create a link between a relative clause to a noun or noun phrase of which it carries the meaning, e.g., dʒe (জে/জে)/ dʒahai (জাহাই/ জাহাই) ‘who’, dʒeɽa (জেটা/ জেটা) ‘that’ etc. The clauses structured with relative pronouns are almost dependent clauses and generally, they construct complex sentences.

9.2.4 Reflexive Pronoun

Reflexive pronouns are those words that are related to the noun or subject of the same sentence or clause, and the pronouns reflect the same properties of the noun or subject, e.g., /nidʒegi/ (নিজেগি/ নিজেগি) ‘myself’.

9.2.5 Reciprocal Pronoun

Reciprocal pronouns are those words that bind the subject, noun or pronoun with another plural subject, noun or pronoun in a mutual relationship, e.g., /miaʔarmiaʔ/ (মিয়া:আরমিয়া:/ মিয়াঃআরমিয়াঃ) ‘each other’.

9.2.6 Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns are those words, which refer to objects. These pronouns are used to point things, e.g., /dʒahai/ (জাহাই/ জাহাই) ‘that’, /dʒahaikunʈa/ (জাহাই.কুনটা/ জাহাই.কুনটা) ‘those’ etc.

9.2.7 Locative Pronoun

Locative pronouns are those words that take place instead of a place noun, e.g., /ende/ (এণ্ডে/ এণ্ডে) ‘here’, /onɔ/ (ওণ্ডো/ ওণ্ডো) ‘there’ etc.

9.2.8 Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns are those words, which are used to interrogate about the person, thing, event etc. e.g., /tʃilika/ (চিলিকা/ চিলিকা) ‘what’, /tʃilikate/ (চিলিকাতে/ চিলিকাতে) ‘how’ etc.

9.2.9 Indefinite Pronoun

Indefinite pronouns are those words that are not definite to a person, animal, or thing etc., e.g., /dʒaha/ (जाहाइ/ जाहई) 'no one', /dʒahanna/ (जाहाना/ जाहाना) 'something' etc.

| <i>Types of Pronoun</i> | |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>Personal</i> | /iŋ/ (ई/ ईं) 'I', /unku/ (उनकु/ उनकु) 'they', /uni/ (उनि/ उनि) 'he', /am/ (आम/ आम) 'you' |
| <i>Possessive</i> | /iŋni/ (ईनि/ ईंनि) 'my', /amna/ (आमना/ आमना) 'your', /unini/ (उनिनि/ उनिनि) 'his/ her', /abunana/ (अबुनआना/ अबुनआना) 'our' |
| <i>Relative</i> | /dʒe/ (जे/ जे) /dʒahai/ (जाहाइ/ जाहई) 'who', /dʒeta/ (जेटा/ जेटा) 'that' |
| <i>Reflexive</i> | /nidʒegi/ (निजेगि/ निजेगि) 'myself' |
| <i>Reciprocal</i> | /mia?armia?/ (मिया:आरमिया:/ मिया:आरमिया:) 'each other' |
| <i>Demonstrative</i> | /dʒahai/ (जाहाइ/ जाहई) 'that' |
| <i>Locative</i> | /ende/ (एण्डे/ एण्डे) 'here', /ondo/ (ओण्डो/ ओण्डो) 'there' |
| <i>Interrogative</i> | /tʃilika/ (चिलिका/ चिलिका) 'what', /tʃilikate/ (चिलिका/ चिलिका) or /tʃikate/ (चिलिकाते/ चिलिकाते) 'how', /tʃiminta/ (चिमिनटा/ चिमिनटा) 'when', /tʃilibhed/ (चिलिभेद/ चिलिभेद) 'why' |
| <i>Indefinite</i> | /dʒahai/ (जाहाइ/ जाहई) 'no one', /dʒahanna/ (जाहाना/ जाहाना) 'something', /dʒahaigi/ (जाहागि/ जाहागि) 'someone', /dʒɔtɔ/ (जतो/ जतो) 'everybody/ everything' |

9.3 Adjective

There are words in sentences or clauses that are used to modify a noun or pronoun in a noun phrase based on its quality, quantity etc. Adjectives are also performed as the complement of a copula. In Birhor, adjectives are categorized under open class having real semantic content. Generally adjectives in the language have permanent attributes (meaning), e.g., /marəŋ oɾa/ (मारां ओड़ा/ मारां ओड़ा) 'big house', ranja boi (रांगा बोई/ रांगा बोई) 'red book' etc. Based on the structure, Birhor has two types of adjectives: attributive and predicative.

9.3.1 Types of Adjective

There are six types of adjectives found in Birhor. Which are as follows:

9.3.1.1 Attributive Adjective

Attributive adjectives are those words in sentences or clauses that are used to modify a noun or pronoun by following it, e.g., **bugin** enetʃ (बुगिन एनेच/ बुगिन एनेच) 'good dance', hēɖe boi (हेंदे बोई/ हेंदे बोई) 'black book' etc.

9.3.1.2 Predicative Adjective

Predicative adjectives are those words in sentences or clauses that are used to modify a noun or pronoun by preceding it, e.g., inɟ **kuɽhi** hekeŋ (ईं कुड़हि हेकेअ/ ईं कुड़हि हेकेअ) 'I am lazy.'

Based on the modifying manner adjectives in Birhor are divided into four categories. These are as follows:

9.3.1.3 Qualitative Adjective

Qualitative adjectives are those words in sentences or clauses that are used to modify the quality, such as colour, shape etc., of a noun or pronoun, e.g.,

a.

| | |
|------------------|-----------|
| पुँडि | कोम्पुटार |
| পুঁড়ি | কোম্পুটার |
| pũṛi | kompuṭar |
| white | computer |
| 'white computer' | |

b.

| | |
|---------------|-------|
| हुड़िं | होपोन |
| হুড়িং | হোপোন |
| huṛiṅ | hopon |
| small | child |
| 'small child' | |

9.3.1.4 Quantitative Adjective

Quantitative adjectives are those words in sentences or clauses that are used to modify the quantity of a noun or pronoun, e.g.,

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| जतो | जिनिसगी |
| জতো | জিনিসগি |
| dʒɔtɔ | dʒinisgi |
| all | things |
| 'all things' | |

9.3.1.5 Numeric Adjective

Numeric adjectives are those words in sentences or clauses which are used to modify a number of a noun or pronoun, e.g., /miya? puʃi/ (মিয়া: পুশি/ মিয়াঃ পুশি) ‘one cat’, e.g.,

| | |
|-----------|------|
| মিয়া: | পুশি |
| মিয়াঃ | পুশি |
| Mija? | puʃi |
| one | cat |
| ‘one cat’ | |

9.3.1.6 Pronominal Adjective

Pronominal adjectives are those words in sentences or clauses, that follow a noun or pronoun and modify it as an adjective, e.g.,

| | |
|-------------|------|
| জাহাই | বুই |
| জাহাই | বুই |
| dʒahai | boi |
| ‘that | book |
| ‘that book’ | |

9.3.2 Degree

It is the form of an adjective or adverb that is used to show the extent to which an entity has some property. Based on the property of an entity, there are three types of degrees. These are as follows:

9.3.2.1 Positive Degree

It is a type of degree that refers to the simplest form of an adjective or adverb, e.g.,

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|----------|--------|
| সোমা | বুগিঁ | ছাত্রো | হেঁকেন |
| সোমা | বুগিঁ | ছাত্র | হেঁকেন |
| soma | bugiñ | tʃʰat̪ro | heken |
| Soma | good | student | be |
| ‘Soma is a good student’ | | | |

In the above example, the main entity of the sentence is ‘Soma’, and its property is /bugiñ/ (বুগিঁ/ বুগিঁ), which is in simplest form. Hence, the degree of the adjective is positive.

9.3.2.2 Comparative Degree

It is a type of degree that refers to the comparative form of an adjective and adverb, i.e., the property of an entity has a greater extent than another entity, e.g.,

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|-------|----------|--------|
| সোমা | রোমা | এঁতে | বুগিঁ | ছাত্রো | হেঁকেন |
| সোমা | রোমা | এঁতে | বুগিঁ | ছাত্র | হেঁকেন |
| soma | rmoa | eṭe | bugiñ | tʃʰat̪ro | heken |
| Soma | Roma | than | good | student | be |
| ‘Soma is a better student than Roma ’ | | | | | |

In the above example, there is a comparison between two entities (Soma and Roma) in terms of their quality of being students. Hence, the construction is in comparative degree.

9.3.2.3 Superlative Degree

It is a type of degree that refers to the property of an entity that has a greater extent among all other (generally similar) entities, e.g.,

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| सोमा | जतो | छात्रो | एते | बुगिं | हेकेन |
| সোমা | জতো | ছাত্রো | এতে | বুগিং | হেকেন |
| soma | dʒɔtɔ | tʃʰatɾo | etɛ | bugiŋ | heken |
| Soma | all | student | than | good | be |
| ‘Soma is a best student among all’ | | | | | |

In the above example, there is an indication that the entity (Soma) has the upper limit of quality among others (the students). Hence, the construction is in superlative degree.

9.4 Verb

A type of word class, which has the prototypical or central properties of an event or a state. Generally, the event or the state is temporary. Verbs are inflected mainly by tense, aspect and mood.

9.4.1 Tense

Tense refers to the placing situation of action of a finite predicate or verb, whether it is done in former, current, or going to be done in

posterior time, i.e., tense is a relationship between a finite predicate or verb and time of the action, event or state in a sentence or speech. So it can be said that tense is a form, relationship or grammatical category of a language that functions as a distributive element of distinct times. Depending on the time there are three basic types of tense, e.g., Present tense, Past tense and Future tense. Tense is a common feature of most of the world's languages. The structure of tense in Birhor is formed depending on the properties (number) of the subject of a sentence or speech as there is a subject-verb agreement in the language, i.e., the tense suffix in Birhor shows whether the subject is a singular or plural nominative noun in a sentence or speech. The structures of tense in Birhor are as follows:

9.4.1.1 Present Tense

Present tense is a subcategory of the tense system that maintains the relationship between the finite verb and time of a sentence by the current or ongoing moment of time, i.e., the category of tense is related to the present time. So the function of the category is to project the action, event or state in a progressive manner at the moment of speaking, e.g.,

a.

| | | |
|-------------------|-------|------------|
| मानि | माड़ि | इसिन.कानाइ |
| मानि | माड़ि | इसिन.कानाइ |
| mani | maṛi | isin.kanai |
| Mani | rice | cook.T |
| ‘Mani cooks rice’ | | |

b.

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| रोमा | गितिच.कानाइ |
| রোমা | গিতিচ.কানাই |
| roma | gititʃ.kanai |
| Roma | sleep.T |
| ‘Roma sleeps’ | |

c.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------|-------|------------|
| उनि | लिल | जिनस | हरो.कानाइ |
| উনি | লিল | জিনস | হরো.কানাই |
| uni | lil | dʒins | hɔro.kanai |
| 3 rd P.Sg | blue | jeans | wear.T |
| ‘He wears blue jeans’ | | | |

d.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|------|--------------|
| होपोन.टा | चोंटा | सात | निड़ाः.कानाइ |
| হোপোন.টা | চোংটা | সাত | নিড়াঃ.কানাই |
| hopon.ta | tʃoŋ.ta | saʈ | niɽaʔ.kanai |
| boy.CL | kite.CL | with | run.T |
| ‘The boy runs after the kite’ | | | |

If the subject is a singular noun, /-kanai/ (कानाइ/কানাই) is used for marking the present tense in Birhor. In the above examples all the

subject nouns, e.g. /mani/ (मानि/মানি), /roma/ (রোমা/রোমা), /uni/ (উনি/উনি) and /hopon/ (হোপোন/হোপোন) all are singular in number. So the singular tense marker /-kanai/ (কানাই/কানাই) is attached to the verbs of each sentence to project the rule of subject-verb agreement in the language.

a.

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------|
| আবুন | বই.কুনটা | পড়া:কানাবুন |
| আবুন | বই.কুনটা | পড়াঃকানাবুন |
| abun | boi.kunṭa | pɔɽa?.kanabun |
| 1 st P.Pl | book.Pl | read.T.Agr |
| ‘We read books’ | | |

b.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------|-----------------|
| হাডাম | মানুয়ে,কুনটা | সেতারে | সেনবেরোই.কানাকু |
| হাডাম | মানুয়ে.কুনটা | সেতারে | সেনবেরোই.কানাকু |
| haɽam | manuje.kunṭa | seṭa.re | senberoi.kanaku |
| old | man.Pl | morning | walk.T |
| ‘Old men walk in the morning’ | | | |

c.

| | | |
|------------------------|--------|------------|
| उनकु | सिनिमा | नेल.कानाकु |
| उनकु | सिनिमा | नेल.कानाकु |
| unku | sinima | nel.kanaku |
| 3 rd P.Pl | cinema | see.T |
| ‘They watch the movie’ | | |

d.

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| चैँड़े.कुनटा | ओटां.कानाकु |
| छैँड़े.कूनटा | ओटां.कानाकु |
| tʃɛ̃ɾe.kunṭa | oṭaŋ.kanaku |
| bird.Pl | fly.T |
| 'Birds fly' | |

In the case of the plural subject noun in Birhor /kanaku/ (कानाकु/कानाकु) is used with verbs to mark present tense. In the above examples all the subject nouns, e.g., /abun/ (आबुन/ आबुन), /haɾam/ (हाड़ाम/ हाड़ाम), /unku/ (उनकु/ उनकु), /tʃɛ̃ɾe/ (छैँड़े/ छैँड़े) are plural in number, so also the present tense marker in the sentences is in plural form. /kanai/ is the singular present tense marker, and /kanaku/ (कानाकु/कानाकु) is the plural present tense marker.

9.4.1.2 Past Tense

Past tense is a subcategory of the tense system that maintains the relationship between the finite verb and time of a sentence by the moment of time preceding the speech time., i.e., the category of tense is related to the former time. So the function of the category is to project the action, event or state of the verb that occurred at a time point of time before the present, e.g.,

a.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|------|-----------|
| आम | गरमदिन.रे | पुरि | सेन.किनाम |
| আম | গরমদিন.রে | পুরি | সেন.কিনাম |
| am | gɔromdʒin.re | puri | sen.kinam |
| 2 nd P.Sg | summer | Puri | go.T |
| ‘You went to Puri in Summer’ | | | |

b.

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| रिता | सिनिमा.टा | बुगिन.काताइ |
| রিতা | সিনিমা.টা | বুগিন.কাতাই |
| riṭa | sinima.ṭa | bugin.kaṭai |
| Rita | movie.CL | like.T |
| ‘Rita liked the movie’ | | |

c.

| | | |
|----------------------------|--------|--------------|
| होपोन.टा | दुयेर | ठकठक.एताइ |
| হোপোন.টা | দুয়ের | ঠকঠক.এতাই |
| hopon.ṭa | ḍujer | tʰɔkʰɔk.eṭai |
| boy.CL | door | knock.T |
| ‘The boy knocked the door’ | | |

d.

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------|---------------|
| पुशि.टा | गुड़.टा.के | लागाले.दियाइ |
| पुशि.टा | गुड़.टा.के | लागाले.दियाइ |
| puʃi.ta | guɽu.ta.ke | lagale.dɔ̃jai |
| cat.CL | rat.CL.ACC | chase.T |
| ‘The cat chased the rat’ | | |

If the subject is a singular noun, /kinai/ (किनाइ/किनाई), /kaɽai/ (काताइ/काताई), /eɽai/ (एताइ/एताई) and /dɔ̃jai/ (दियाइ/दियाई) are used to mark past tense. In example no. ‘a’ the subject noun is 2nd person singular, so the past tense marker /kinam/ (किनाम/किनाम) is used instead of /kinai/ (किनाइ/किनाई) due to the subject-verb agreement. In the example no. ‘c’ /eɽai/ (एताइ/एताई) is attached instead of /kaɽai/ (काताइ/काताई) as a past tense marker. Here /eɽai/ is used to refer to the recent past, i.e., the boy did the action, and he is still present near the door. Here, The action is of the immediate past. /kaɽai/ (काताइ/काताई) is used neither for recent nor for remote past as in example no. ‘b’. And /dɔ̃jai/ (दियाइ/दियाई) is attached with a verb to refer to the remote past as in example no. ‘d’.

e.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------|-------|----------------|
| उनकु | पुरा | बुगिन | एनेच एःकानाकु |
| उनकु | पुरा | बुगिन | एनेच एःकानाकु |
| unku | pura | bugin | enetʃ.e?kaɽaku |
| 3 rd P.Pl | very | like | dance.T |
| ‘They danced very well’ | | | |

f.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| चोर.कुनटा | निरआना | बेबोस्था.काताकु |
| চোর.কুনটা | নিরআনা | বেবোস্থা.কাতাকু |
| tʃor.kunṭa | nir.ana | beboṣṭʰa.katʌku |
| robber.Pl | escape.POS | manage.T |
| ‘Robbers managed to escape’ | | |

g.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| सेता.कुनटा | चोर.के | लागाले.दियाकु |
| সেতা.কুনটা | চোর.কে | লাগালে.দিয়াকু |
| seṭa.kunṭa | tʃor.ke | lagale.d̪iʝaku |
| dog.Pl | thief.ACC | chase.T |
| ‘Dogs chased the thief’ | | |

h.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|----------|----------|
| होपोन.कुनटा | जिलिङ | छुटि | ताहिकाना |
| হোপোন.কুনটা | জিলিঙ | ছুটি | তাহিকিনা |
| hopon.kunṭa | dʒiliŋ | tʃʰuṭi | ṭaʰikina |
| kid.Pl | long | vacation | had |
| ‘Kids had a long vacation’ | | | |

In the case of plural subject noun /kaṭaku/ (काताकु/ काताकु), and /ḍjaku/ (दियाकु/ दियाकु) are attached with the verb as in example no. ‘f’ and ‘g’ respectively. Generally, /kaṭaku/ (काताकु/ काताकु) is used either for recent or for remote past. Though there is /ekaṭaku/ (एकाताकु/ एकाताकु) in the recent past, it is not used widely. And /ḍjaku/ (दियाकु/ दियाकु) is used only for remote past as in the example no. ‘g’. Whereas, /ṭahikina/ (ताहिकाना/ ताहिकाना) is used for possessive past as in example no. ‘h’.

9.4.1.3 Future Tense

Future tense is a subcategory of the tense system that maintains the relationship between the finite verb and the time of an action in a sentence by the posterior time, i.e., the category of tense is related to the future time. So the function of the category is to project the action, event or state of the verb for intention, obligation and movement, that will take place at a future time. Though the future form in the actual sense is predictive in nature, it is used in Birhor only to express volition, e.g.,

a.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------|--------|------------|
| उनि | ई.के | मियाः | टिकिट | एमा.क्याइ |
| উনি | ই.কে | মিয়াঃ | টিকিট | এমা.কুয়াই |
| uni | iŋ.ke | mija? | [kit] | ema.kujai |
| 3 rd P.Sg | 1 st P.Sg.ACC | one | ticket | give.T |
| ‘He will give me the ticket’ | | | | |

b.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|----------|-----------|
| ईनि | बोहिनतीं | गापा | हिजु.याइ |
| इंनि | बोहिनतिं | गापा | हिजु.याइ |
| iɲni | bohintɪn | gapa | hidʒu.jai |
| 1 st P.Sg.POS | sister.Agr | tomorrow | come.T |
| ‘My sister will come tomorrow’ | | | |

c.

| | | |
|----------------------|-------|----------|
| तिहिन | दाः | इयु.इयाइ |
| तिहिन | दाः | इयु.इयाइ |
| tɪhin | ɖaː | iju.ijai |
| today | water | fall.T |
| ‘It will rain today’ | | |

d.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|------|---------|
| रेलगाड़ि.टा | दिल्ली | एते | शुरु.या |
| रेलगाड़ि.टा | दिल्ली | एते | शुरु.या |
| relgaɽi.ɽa | ɖilli | eɽe | ʃuru.ja |
| train.CL | Delhi | from | start.T |
| ‘The train will start from Delhi’ | | | |

In Birhor, if the subject is singular in number, /-ijai/ (इयाइ/ ईयाई) and /-ja/ (या/ या) are attached with the verbs to express the posterior moment of time. In the case of plural

e.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|--------|-------------|
| उनकु | गापा | टिकिट | काटाउ.इयाकु |
| उनकु | गापा | टिकिट | काटाउ.इयाकु |
| unku | gapa | ʈikiʈ | kaʈau.ijaku |
| 3 rd P.Pl | tomorrow | ticket | book.T |
| ‘They will book the ticket tomorrow’ | | | |

f.

| | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------|--------|--------|-----------------|
| दलटा | आबुन.आना | कामिटा | चाबा | खातिर | साहाज्य.इयाकु |
| दलटा | आबुन.आना | कामिटा | चाबा | खातिर | साहाज्य.इयाकु |
| dɒl.ʈa | abun.ana | kami.ʈa | tʃaba | kʰaʈir | sahadʒdʒo.ijaku |
| team.CL | 1 st P.Pl.POS | work.CL | finish | for | help.T |
| ‘The team will help us to finish the project’ | | | | | |

g.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-----|-------|------------|
| आबुन | तिन | हड़ | एनडे | शुनु.याबुन |
| आबुन | तिन | हड़ | एनडे | शुनु.याबुन |
| abun | ʈin | hɔɽ | ende | ʃunu.jabun |
| 1 st P.Pl | three | man | there | go.T |
| ‘Three of us will go there’ | | | | |

h.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------|-------|---------------|
| আবুন | উনকু.কে | সাহাজ্য | খাতির | ওনডো | তাহির.ইয়াবুন |
| আবুন | উনকু.কে | সাহাজ্য | খাতির | ওনডো | তাহিরই.য়াবুন |
| abun | unku.ke | sahadʒdʒo | kʰatʃir | ondɔ | ʈahir.ijabun |
| 1 st P.Pl | 3 rd P.Pl.ACC | help | for | there | stay.T |
| ‘We shall be there to help them’ | | | | | |

In the case of the plural noun /-ijaku/ (ইয়াকু/ ইয়াকু) is attached with the verb to express the future time as in the example numbers ‘e’ and ‘f’. In the example, the number ‘g’ and ‘h’ /-ijabun/ (ইয়াবুন/ ইয়াবুন) is attached with the verbs to express the future form as well as to project the subject-verb agreement.

9.4.2 Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category that expresses how a verb relates an action, event or state to the flow of time, i.e., the aspect is closely related to the internal structure of a verb. Four types of aspects are there in Birhor. These are as follows:

9.4.2.1 Present Progressive

The progressive aspect is a subdivision of the imperfective aspect, i.e., the verb (predicate) expresses its action, which is in an ongoing process, and its intention is not fulfilled yet. For example (in Birhor)

a.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|------|-------------|
| উনি | কাশ্মির | এতে | হিজু.কানাই |
| উনি | কাশ্মির | এতে | হিজু.কানাই |
| uni | kafmir | eṭe | hidzu.kanai |
| 3 rd P.Sg | Kashmir | from | travel.T |
| 'She is traveling from Kashmir'. | | | |

b.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| মিতা | টেবিল.আনা | কিচরি | সেলাই.কিনাই |
| মিতা | টেবিল.আনা | কিচরি | সেলাই.কিনাই |
| miṭṭa | tebil.ana | kitʃri | selai.kanai |
| Mita | table.POSS | cloth | stitch.T |
| 'Mita is stitching a table cloth.' | | | |

c.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|--------|-----|-------------|
| রোসোন | খবর.আনা | কাগোজ | কাই | পড়া:কানাই |
| রোসোন | খবর.আনা | কাগোজ | কাই | পড়া:কানাই |
| roson | kʰɔbor.ana | kahodʒ | kai | pɔɽa?.kanai |
| Roson | news.POSS | paper | NEG | read.T |
| 'Roson is not reading the newspaper.' | | | | |

In the above examples, the intention of all the verbs is an ongoing process, and the action of the verb has not yet been completed.

9.4.2.2 Past Progressive

In contrast to the present progressive aspect, the past progressive aspect is a subdivision of the imperfective aspect, i.e., the verb (predicate) expresses its action, which was in an ongoing process and its intention was not fulfilled at the time of the utterance. For example (in Birhor)

a.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|------------|
| काका | बागान.रे | रोया.काताइ |
| काका | बागान.रे | रोया.काताइ |
| kaka | bagan.re | roya.katai |
| uncle | garden.LOC | plough.T |
| ‘Uncle was ploughing the garden’ | | |

b.

| | | |
|--|------------|--------------|
| होपोन.टा | आयुपपाहाड़ | गितिच.किनाइ |
| होपोन.टा | आयुपपाहाड़ | गितिच.किनाइ |
| hopon.ta | ayuppahar | gititj.kinai |
| baby.CL | evening | sleep.T |
| ‘The baby was sleeping in the evening’ | | |

c.

| | | | | |
|--|-----------|------|------|--------------|
| मिलकि | होला | गोटा | दिन | गितिच.किनाइ |
| মিলকি | হোলা | গোটা | দিন | গিতিচ.কিনাই |
| milki | hola | goṭa | d̪in | giṭiʈʃ.kinai |
| Milky | yesterday | all | day | sleep.T |
| ‘Milky was sleeping all the day yesterday’ | | | | |

In the above examples, the intention of all the verbs was in an ongoing process and the action of the verb was not completed at the time of the utterance.

9.4.2.3 Perfective

The perfective aspect is a grammatical feature that indicates an action or event has been completed in its entirety. It focuses on the action as a whole, showing that it is finished or has reached a definitive endpoint, e.g.,

a.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| मिठु | पुरि | शेन.किनाइ | जुलाइ | मास.रे |
| মিঠু | পুরি | শেন.কিনাই | জুলাই | মাস.রে |
| miṭʰu | puri | ʃen.kinai | dʒulai | mas.re |
| Mithu | Puri | go.T | July | month.LOC |
| ‘Mithu had gone to puri in July.’ | | | | |

b.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|-------|--------------|
| আবুন | লাহারিগি | হোটেল | বুক.কাতাবুন |
| আবুন | লাহারিগি | হোটেল | বুক. কাতাবুন |
| abun | laharigi | hotel | buk.katābun |
| 1 st P.Pl | already | hotel | book.T |
| ‘We have already booked our hotel’ | | | |

c.

| | | | | | |
|---|----------|-----------|-----|--------|-------------|
| অভ্র | সময়রে | কোর্স.টা | কাই | চাৰা | দারি.কাতাই |
| অভ্র | সময়.রে | কোর্স.টা | কাই | চাৰা | দারি.কাতাই |
| abhro | somoi.re | kors.ta | kai | tʃaba | ɖari.katʰai |
| Abhro | time.LOC | course.CL | NEG | finish | can.T |
| ‘Abhro had not finish the course on time’ | | | | | |

9.4.2.4 Habitual

The habitual aspect in linguistics refers to a verb form or construction that indicates an action or state that occurs regularly or habitually. It expresses activities or events that happen repeatedly over time. This aspect is used to convey the idea that the action is not a one-time event, but something that occurs with a certain regularity or frequency, e.g.,

a.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------|------|--------------|
| ইতু | আনডা | পুরা | বুগিনআ:কিনাই |
| ইতু | আনডা | পুরা | বুগিনআঃকিনাই |
| itu | anda | pura | buginaʔkinai |
| Itu | egg | very | love T |
| ‘Itu used to love eggs.’ | | | |

b.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|------------------|
| ई | सेताः.रे | शेन बेड़ाइ.किनीं |
| ইং | সেতাঃ.রে | শেন বেড়াই.কিনিং |
| iŋ | seṭaʔ.re | ʃen beṛai.kiniŋ |
| 1 st P.Sg | morning.LOC | go.T |
| ‘I used to jog in the morning’ | | |

c.

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| उनि | हुड़िं.रे | नुइ.किनाइ |
| উনি | হুড়িং.রে | নুই.কিনাই |
| uni | huṛiŋ.re | nui.kinai |
| 3 rd P.Sg | young.LOC | smoke.T |
| ‘She used to smoke at younger age’ | | |

9.4.3 Mood

A type of grammatical category that shows the contrast or the different forms of verbs that reflect the speaker’s attitude towards his/ her speech (either written or spoken).

9.4.3.1 Imperative

Imperative mood expresses the speaker’s order, comment, permission, prohibition, and request towards the hearer. For example:

a.

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| आम | करा.एम |
| আম | করা.এম |
| am | kɔra.em |
| 2 nd P.Sg | do.M |
| 'You do' | |

b.

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| दयाकेते | नुया.टा | एसकारते | करा.एम |
| দয়াকেতে | নুয়া.টা | এসকারতে | করা.এম |
| ɖɨjaketɐ | nua.ʈa | eskarɕɐ | kɔra.em |
| please | it.CL | alone | do.M |
| 'Please do it alone' | | | |

c.

| | |
|------------|----------|
| नडो | द्रुप.मि |
| নডো | দ্রুপ.মি |
| nɔɖo | ɖrup.mi |
| here | sit.M |
| 'Sit here' | |

d.

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| নডো | হিজু.মি |
| নডো | হিজু.মি |
| nɔɔo | hidʒu.mi |
| here | come.M |
| ‘Come here’ | |

Generally, ‘-em’ (-এম/ -এম) and ‘-mi’ (-এম/ -এম) are used as a verb suffix to show the imperative expressions such as order or request. However, for prohibition, ‘-a’ (-আ, -আ) is used as a verb suffix along with attributive negation ‘alom’ (আলোম/ -আলোম).

Example:

a.

| | | |
|---------------------------|------|---------|
| বাহা.কুকুন.টা | আলোম | গোতি.আ |
| বাহা.কুকুন.টা | আলোম | গোতি.আ |
| baha.kukun.ʈa | alom | goti.a |
| flower.Pl.CL | Neg | pluck.M |
| ‘Don’t pluck the flowers’ | | |

b.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|---------|
| ইসকুম.রে | আলোম | গাপাম.আ |
| ইসকুম.রে | আলোম | গাপাম.আ |
| iskum.re | alom | gapam.a |
| school.LOC | Neg | Talk.M |
| ‘Maintain silence inside the school’ | | |

c.

| | |
|------------|--------|
| आलोम | शुनो.आ |
| আলোম | শুনো.আ |
| alom | ʃuno.a |
| Neg | go.M |
| ‘Don’t go’ | |

9.4.3.2 Subjunctive/ Conditional

Subjunctive mood expresses a condition that is doubtful, not factual or an undesired possibility, e.g.,

a.

| | | | | | |
|---|--------------|------|----------------------|---------|-------------|
| ई | बिश्वा.कानीं | जे | उनि | झानटि | पारोम.इयाइ |
| ইং | বিশ্বা.কানিং | জে | উনি | ঝানটি | পারোম.ইয়াই |
| iŋ | biʃʃa.kaniŋ | dʒe | uni | dʒʱaŋʈi | parom.ijai |
| 1 st P.Sg | hope.T.Agr | that | 3 rd P.Sg | hurdle | solve.T |
| ‘I hope that he will be able to cross this hurdle.’ | | | | | |

b.

| | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-------|-------|------------|---------|------------|
| ई | बोतोर.कानीं | जे | राना | डाइरेकटोर | हिसेबते | जिता.इयाइ |
| ইং | বোতোর.কানিং | জে | রানা | ডাইরেকটোর | হিসেবতে | জিতা.ইয়াই |
| iŋ | boʈor.kaniŋ | dʒe | rana | d̪airekʈor | hisebʈe | dʒiʈa.ijai |
| 1 st P.Sg | afraid.T.Agr | th at | Ra na | director | as | win.T |
| ‘I am afraid that Rana would be elected as the director’ | | | | | | |

c.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|----------|-----|--------------|----------|----------------------------------|------------|------|-------------|
| जदि | तिहिन | मोना | कइ | हिजु. आई | ताहोले | उनिनि | माये.ते | दोमे | रागोइ |
| জদি | তিহিন | মোনা | কাই | হিজু. আই | তাহোলে | উনিনি | মায়ে.তে | দোমে | রাগোই |
| dʒodʒi | tihin | mo na | kai | hidʒ u.ai | tahole | unini | maɣete | dome | ragoi |
| if | today | Mona | Neg | com e.T | the n | 3 rd P .Sg. POS | mot her | very | angr y.T |
| 'If Mona does not come today then her mother would be very angry' | | | | | | | | | |

d.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------------|
| जोदि | तिहिन | शितं | हउया | ताहोले | तिहिन | दोमे | गोरमि.इयाइ |
| জোদি | তিহিন | শিতং | হওয়া | তাহোলে | তিহিন | দোমে | গোরমি.ইয়াই |
| dʒodʒi | tihin | ʃitɔŋ | hojua | tahole | tihin | dome | gormi.jai |
| if | today | sunny | be.T | then | today | very | hot.T |
| 'If it will be sunny today then the day will be warmer' | | | | | | | |

9.5 Adverb

Adverbs are such elements that are used to modify a verb. Members that fall under this kind of lexical category refer to the grammatical adjuncts of a verb and describe the inner meaning or characteristics of verbs, such as time, manner, place, instrument or circumstance etc. of the verb, e.g.,

a.

| |
|----------|
| लाहारे |
| লাহারে |
| lahare |
| ‘Before’ |

b.

| |
|---------|
| तिहिन |
| তিহিন |
| ṭihin |
| ‘today’ |

There are four categories of adverbs in Birhor. These are as follows:

9.5.1 Time Adverb

Adverbs, which are used to modify the time of verbs, are known as time adverbs. For example:

a.

| |
|-------------|
| होला |
| হোলা |
| hola |
| 'Yesterday' |

b.

| |
|------------|
| गापा |
| গাপা |
| gapa |
| 'tomorrow' |

9.5.2 Place Adverb

Adverbs, which are used to modify the place of verbs, are known as place adverbs, e.g.,

a.

| |
|---------|
| एण्डे |
| এন্ডে |
| ende |
| 'there' |

b.

| |
|--------|
| नडो |
| নডো |
| nddo |
| 'here' |

9.5.3 Manner Adverb

Adverbs, which are used to modify the manner of verbs, are known as manner adverbs. For example,

a.

| |
|-----------|
| दमे |
| দমে |
| ḍme |
| ‘quickly’ |

However, ‘ḍme’ can be used as a quantifying adverb, as it refers to both the meaning quickly and very.

b.

| |
|------------|
| चाँड़माड़े |
| চাঁড়মৌড়ে |
| tʃãṛemãṛe |
| ‘Early’ |

9.5.4 Quantifying Adverb

Adverbs, which are used to modify the amount or quantity of the verbs, are known as quantifying adverbs, e.g.,

a.

| |
|--------------|
| दमे |
| দমে |
| ḍme |
| ‘very/ more’ |

Chapter- 10

Legal Status

Birhor language is being used in the home domain mainly in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and West Bengal states. Birhor comes under the non-scheduled languages category of India, where languages that are listed under scheduled languages are focused. The rest of the priorities towards regional or marginal languages have been dependent on local administration, where the non-scheduled languages are being used. On this front, there is no concrete practice towards the revitalisation of Birhor or its related policy, except the recent step of the Jharkhand Government, as it has enlisted Birhor as a medium of instruction under the category of tribal language in Chatra, Gumla, Hazaribagh and Ramgarh districts for the competitive exams based on Matric and Intermediate passed candidates vide its notifications issued in December 2021 and February 2022. As a whole, some publications and research are done on Birhor and its ethnicity in the Universities or research institutions in West Bengal, Orissa and Jharkhand. Some of these are mentioned under the title further reading.

In the meantime, NEP-2020 has focused on the documentation of endangered languages of the Country. Further, this policy has once again suggested mother tongue education at least at the primary level.

After the declaration of UNESCO's language list (2009), a wide academic vibration was attracted towards endangered languages, and Birhor was also listed there; as a result, some NGOs and other institutions are being involved in this process at various levels.

Chapter- 11

Sample Lexicon

| Birhor | POS | Pronunciation | Bengali | Hindi | Gloss |
|-------------------------------|------|---------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| 11.1. Adornments and Costumes | | | | | |
| কিচরি | Noun | /kiʃri/ | কাপড়, বস্ত্র | कपड़ा | Cloth |
| সোণো | Noun | /sono/ | পোশাক | पोशाक | Dress |
| নাক ফুল | Noun | /nak pʰul/ | নোলক | नथुनी | Nose ring |
| উলকিচরি | Noun | /ulkiʃri/ | উল | ऊन | Wool |
| জাকিত | Noun | /dʒakit/ | ব্লাউজ | चोली | Blouse |
| 11.2. Agriculture and Related | | | | | |
| দাতরুম | Noun | /dʌtrum/ | কান্তে | हँसुआ | Sickle |
| নাহিল | Noun | /nahil/ | হাল | हल | Plough |
| বিহিন | Verb | /bihin/ | বপন করা | बुआई करना | Sow |
| হড়ুয়ের | Noun | /hɔɽujer/ | কৃষি | फसल | Harvest |
| থালি ইড়িং | Noun | /tʰali iɽiŋ/ | ফসল | उपज | Crop |

| 11.3. Air and Related | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|--------------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| ধুঙ্গা | Noun | /dʱuŋa/ | কুয়াশা | কোহরা | Fog |
| হয়ৌ | Noun | /hojo/ | বায়ু | হবা | Air |
| 11.4. Animals | | | | | |
| কাঠ কোম | Noun | /kaʈ kom/ | কাঁকড়া | কেকড়া | Crab |
| কুলহাই | Noun | /kulhai/ | শজারু | সাহী | Porcupine |
| কাড়া | Noun | /kaɽa/ | মোষ | ভৈঁস | Buffalo |
| কুলা | Noun | /kula/ | বাঘ | বাঘ | Tiger |
| গোয়ি পোকা | Noun | /gogni paka/ | শামুক | ঘোঁঘা | Snail |
| 11.5. Animal's Body part | | | | | |
| টিপিচ তাই | Noun | /tipic tai/ | লেজ | পুঁছ | Tail |
| ঠর তাই | Noun | /tʰor tai/ | চঞ্চু | চোঁচ | Beak |
| ঢিরিং | Noun | /dʱirin/ | শিং | সীং | Horn |
| দাঁটা তাই | Noun | /d̪aʈa tai/ | গজদাঁত | হাথী-দাঁত | Tusk |
| সুড় তাই | Noun | /suɽ tai/ | শুঁড় | ধড় | Trunk |

| 11.6. Artefacts and Items of Daily Use | | | | | |
|--|------|-----------|--------|------------|--------------|
| আটেত | Noun | /aʈet/ | বিছানা | বিستر | Bed |
| জােনো: | Noun | /dʒono/ | বাঁটা | झाड़ू | Broom |
| তিবুল | Noun | /tʃibul/ | কেদারা | हाथ कुर्सी | Arm chair |
| নকিগ | Noun | /nəkig/ | চিরুনি | कंघी | Comb |
| পারকোম | Noun | /parkom/ | খাট | चारपाई | Cot |
| 11.7 Birds and Related | | | | | |
| ইহিলতাই | Noun | /ihiltai/ | ডানা | पंख | Wing |
| উপ | Noun | /up/ | পালক | पंख | Feather |
| ককর | Noun | /kəkər/ | পেঁচা | उल्लु | Owl |
| গ্যাড়ে | Noun | /gæʈe/ | হাঁস | बत्तख | Duck |
| পাঁড়কি | Noun | /pāṛki/ | পায়রা | कबूतर | Pigeon |
| 11.8 Cardinal Numbers | | | | | |
| আঠ | Noun | /aṭh/ | আট | आठ | Eight |
| আঠারো | Noun | /aṭh̃aro/ | আঠারো | अठारह | Eighteen |
| একুস | Noun | /ekus/ | একুশ | इक्कीस | Twenty-one |
| এগারো | Noun | /egaro/ | এগারো | ग्यारह | Eleven |
| পাঁচসো | Noun | /pāṅso/ | পাঁচশো | पाँच सौ | Five hundred |

| 11.9. Celestial Bodies and Related | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|------------|--------|-------|----------|
| ইপিল | Noun | /ipil/ | তারা | তারা | Star |
| চাঁদুঃ | Noun | /tʃãdu?/ | চাঁদ | चाँद | Moon |
| দন্দ্ৰু | Noun | /d̪ond̪ru/ | আকাশ | आकाश | Sky |
| দাঃ | Noun | /da?/ | মেঘ | बादल | Cloud |
| সিতঙ্গ | Noun | /sit̪ɔŋg/ | রোদ | धूप | Sunshine |
| 11.10 Climbers and Creepers | | | | | |
| আঙ্গুরি | Noun | /anguri/ | আঙ্গুর | अंगूर | Grapes |
| ডিঙ্গলা | Noun | /d̪iŋla/ | কুমড়ো | कद्दू | Pumpkin |
| লেওয়া | Noun | /leoa/ | লাউ | लौकी | Gourd |
| সরসা | Noun | /sɔrsa/ | শসা | खीरा | Cucumber |
| 11.11 Colour Terms | | | | | |
| পুঁড়ি | Adjective | /pūri/ | সাদা | सफेद | White |
| রাঙ্গা | Adjective | /raŋga/ | লাল | लाल | Pink |
| লিল | Adjective | /lil/ | নীল | नीला | Indigo |
| সাকাম | Adjective | /sakam/ | সবুজ | हरा | Green |
| সাসাঙ্গ | Adjective | /sasang/ | হলুদ | पीला | Yellow |
| হাণ্ডে | Adjective | /hɔndje/ | কালো | काला | Black |

| 11.12 Earth and Related | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------|-------------------|------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| গিটিল | Noun | /giʈil/ | বালি | রেত | Sand |
| ডিরি | Noun | /d̪iri/ | পাথর | पत्थर | Stone |
| তুংড়ি | Noun | /ʈuŋɽi/ | চূড়া | शिखर | Peak |
| বুড়ু | Noun | /buɽu/ | পাহাড় | पहाड़ी | Hill |
| হাসা | Noun | /hasa/ | মাটি | मिट्टी | Soil |
| 11.13 Education | | | | | |
| কলোম | Noun | /kolom/ | কলম | कलम | Pen |
| খাতা | Noun | /kʰaʈa/ | খাতা | पुस्तिका | Notebook |
| টেবুল | Noun | /tebul/ | টেবিল | मेज | Table |
| বেনচি | Noun | /benʈi/ | বেঞ্চ | बेंच | Bench |
| জোজোতানা | Noun | /dʒodʒot̪ana / | ঝাড়ন | झाड़न | Duster |
| 11.14 Festivals and Related | | | | | |
| বুরু পুজা | Noun | /buru pudʒa/ | বসন্ত উৎসব | बसंत महोत्सव | Spring festival |
| হোলি পরোব | Noun | /holi p̪orob/ | দোল | होली | Holi |

| 11.15 Fire and Related | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|--------------|--------------|----------|------------|
| উম্বুল | Noun | /umbul/ | ছাই | রাখ | Ash |
| ধুঙ্গা | Noun | /dʱuŋga/ | ধোঁয়া | ধুআঁ | Smoke |
| সাহান | Noun | /sahan/ | জ্বালানী কাঠ | জরাবন | Firewood |
| স্যাংগেল | Noun | sjengel/ | আগুন | আগ | Fire |
| চুলহা | Noun | /ʧulha/ | চুল্লী | ভট্টী | Furnace |
| 11.16 Fish and Related | | | | | |
| ইচা হাকু | Noun | /iʧa haku/ | চিংড়ী | झींगा | Prawn |
| তিমি হাকু | Noun | /tʰimi haku/ | তিমি | व्हेल | Whale |
| হাকু | Noun | /haku/ | মাছ | मछली | Fish |
| ছড়িং হাকু | Noun | /huʧiŋ haku/ | চারা মাছ | छोटीमछली | Small fish |
| কাতলা হাকু | Noun | /kaʧla haku/ | কাতলা | कतला | Katla |
| 11.17. Flies and Insects | | | | | |
| তিজু | Noun | /tʰidʒu/ | কীট | कीट | Insect |
| তুমলি | Noun | /tʰumli/ | বোলতা | हड्डा | Wasp |
| সিকড়িচ | Noun | /sikʈiʧ/ | মশা | मच्छर | Mosquito |
| সুনুম মুচ | Noun | /sunum muʧ/ | পিঁপড়ে | चींटी | Ant |
| হাপাত | Noun | /hapaʧ/ | জোঁক | जोंक | Leech |

| 11.18. Flowers and Related | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------|--------------|-----------|---------|-------------|
| কোলি বাহা | Noun | /koli baha/ | কুঁড়ি | কলী | Bud |
| গুলাব বাহা | Noun | /gulab baha/ | গালাপ ফুল | গুলাব | Rose |
| গেনদা বাহা | Noun | /gendā baha/ | গাঁদা ফুল | গেঁদা | Marigold |
| পােদো বাহা | Noun | /poddō baha/ | পদ্ম ফুল | কমল | Lotus |
| বাহা | Noun | /baha/ | ফুল | ফুল | Flower |
| 11.19. Food and Related | | | | | |
| আরখি | Noun | /arkʰi/ | মদ | শরাব | Alcohol |
| উতু | Noun | /uʈʈu/ | তরকারি | झोल | Curry |
| খাজারি | Noun | /khaɖʒari/ | মুড়ি | मुरमुरे | Puffed rice |
| বুলুং | Noun | /buluŋ/ | নুন | नमक | Salt |
| জিলু | Noun | /ɖʒilu/ | মাংস | माँस | Meat |
| 11.20. Fruits and Seeds | | | | | |
| আনজির | Noun | /andʒir/ | পেয়ারা | अमरुद | Guava |
| উল | Noun | /ul/ | আম | आम | Mango |

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|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| তালি | Noun | /tali/ | তাল | তাড় | Palm |
| নেবু | Noun | /nebu/ | ণেবু | নীঁবু | Lemon |
| জো | Noun | /dʒo/ | ফল | ফল | Fruit |
| 11.21. General | | | | | |
| ইবিল | Adjective | /ibil/ | ভোঁতা | কুঁদ | Blunt |
| দোরহো | Adjective | /dɔrho/ | শক্ত | মজবুত | Strong |
| জারুম | Adjective | /dʒarum/ | পাকা | পকা हुआ | Ripe |
| হানহা | Adjective | /hanha/ | সক | সংকীর্ণ | Narrow |
| হারাম | Adjective | /haram/ | পুরাতন | पुराना | Old |
| হোরিন | Adjective | /horin/ | ছোটো | थोड़ा | Little |
| 11.22. Geometrical Shapes and Sizes | | | | | |
| আধা খিচাক | Noun | /adha kʰɪʃak/ | অর্ধবৃত্ত | अर्धवृत्त | Half Circle |
| কোনা | Noun | /kona/ | কোণ | कोण | Angle |
| গোল | Noun | /gol/ | বৃত্ত | वृत्त | Circle |
| টিকা আকানা | Noun | /tika akana/ | কেন্দ্র | केंद्र | Centre |
| তিনকোনা | Noun | /tɪnkona/ | ত্রিভুজ | त्रिभुज | Triangle |

| 11.23 Health Ailments and Remedies | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|-------------------|---------------|---------|----------|
| খুঃ কানে | Noun | /kʰu? kane/ | কাশি | खाँसी | Cough |
| ঘাউ কানি | Noun | /gʰau kani/ | ফোঁড়া | फोड़ा | Boil |
| ভোঃ হাসুন কাঁনা | Noun | /bʰo? hasũn kãna/ | মাথা যন্ত্রনা | सिरदर्द | Headache |
| রুয়াঃ কানে | Noun | /rua? kane/ | জ্বর | बुखार | Fever |
| লাইঃ চাসুই কাঁনা | Noun | /lai? ʃasũi kãna/ | ডায়ারিয়া | दस्त | Diarrhea |
| 11.24. Housing and Related | | | | | |
| অটে | Noun | /ɔte/ | মেঝে | फर्स | Floor |
| ওরাঃ | Noun | /ora?/ | বাড়ি | मकान | House |
| টাটি | Noun | /tati/ | দরজা | दरवाजा | Door |
| তালি সাকাম | Noun | /tali sakam/ | ছাউনি | छप्पर | Thatch |
| জাজলা | Noun | /dʒadʒla/ | জানালা | खिड़की | Window |
| 11.25. Human Body Parts | | | | | |
| আলাং | Noun | /alan/ | জিভ | जीभ | Tongue |
| উকা | Noun | /uka/ | কনুই | कोहनी | Elbow |

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| খোরাঃ | Noun | /k ^h oraʔ/ | ফুসফুস | ফেফড়া | Lung |
| থাক্কা | Noun | /t ^h alka/ | গোড়ালি | एड़ी | Heel |
| নারটি | Noun | /nartʃi/ | গলা | गला | Throat |
| 11.26. Hunting Fishing and Tools | | | | | |
| আঃসাড় | Noun | /ahsar/ | তীর | तीर | Arrow |
| ঘুগি | Noun | /g ^h ugi/ | বর্শা | भाला | Javelin |
| ফাঁসি | Noun | /p ^h āsi/ | ফাঁদ | फंदा | Trap |
| বাটুল | Noun | /baʈul/ | গুলতি | गुलेल | Catapult |
| হুড়িং হাসা ধেলকা | Noun | /huʈiŋ hasa d ^h elka/ | মাটির গুলি | मिट्टी की गोला | Mud Pellet |
| 11.27. Kinship Terms, Address and References | | | | | |
| আবা | Noun | /aba/ | বাবা | पिता | Father |
| কোড়া হপোন | Noun | /koʈa həpon/ | দৌহিত্র | परपोता | Great Grandson |
| মাই তিং | Noun | /mai tɪŋ/ | মা | माँ | Mother |
| হাতোম তিং | Noun | /haʈom tɪŋ/ | মামী | मामी | Mother's brother's wife |
| হিলি তিং | Noun | /hili tɪŋ/ | বৌদি | भाभी | Elder brother's wife |

| 11.28. Measurements | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|------|------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| উচ্চল | Noun | /uʔʃul/ | উচ্চতা | ऊँचाई | Height |
| দম্যে হামবা | Noun | /d̪mje hamba/ | কঠিন | ठोस | Solid |
| দূর রেংগেয়া | Noun | /d̪ur reŋeja/ | দূরত্ব | दूरी | Distance |
| পুড়িয়ন | Noun | /puɽijən/ | পরিমাণ | मात्रा | Quantity |
| সান্জিয়াতু কানা | Noun | /sangijaɽu kana/ | গভীরতা | गहराई | Depth |
| 11.29. Metal Mineral and Related | | | | | |
| ইস্টিল | Noun | /isʈil/ | ইস্পাত | इस्पात | Steel |
| কয়লা | Noun | /kojla/ | কয়লা | कोयला | Coal |
| তামা | Noun | /ɽama/ | তামা | ताँबा | Copper |
| পিতল | Noun | /pitɽl/ | পিতল | पीतल | Brass |
| 11.30. Natural Calamities | | | | | |
| আড়হিল | Noun | /aɽhil/ | শিলাবৃষ্টি | बौछार | Hailstorm |
| আরহিত | Noun | /arhit/ | তুষারঝড় | हिमझंझा | Snowstorm |
| খেরবাজার | Noun | /t̪ɛrbadʒar / | আলার ঝলকানি | बिजली | Lightening |

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| থ্যেথ্যে | Noun | /thərethəre/ | বাজ | গড়গড়াহট | Thunder |
| ভুইকম্প | Noun | /bʰuikompɔ/ | ভূমিকম্প | भूकंप | Earthquake |
| 11.31. Occupation and Related | | | | | |
| আখরিং | Noun | /akʰriŋ/ | ব্যবসায়ী | व्यवसायी | Businessman |
| ককইতেন | Noun | /kəkɔitjen/ | ভিক্ষুক | भिखारी | Beggar |
| নায়া | Noun | /naja/ | পুরোহিত | पुरोहित | Priest |
| লাপিট | Noun | /lapit/ | নাপিত | नाई | Barber |
| হাকুংসাপ | Noun | /hakuʔsap/ | জেলে | मछुआ | Fisherman |
| 11.32. Parts of Tree Fruit and Vegetable | | | | | |
| ডাইড় | Noun | /dair/ | শাখা | शाखा | Branch |
| নাড়ি | Noun | /nari/ | মূল | जड़ | Root |
| বাকলাঃ | Noun | /baklaʔ/ | ছাল | छाल | Bark |
| জানুম | Noun | /dʒanum/ | কাঁটা | काँटा | Thorn |
| সাকাম | Noun | /sakam/ | পাতা | पत्ती | Leaf |
| 11.33. Religious and Rituals terms | | | | | |
| পরোব | Noun | /pərob/ | উৎসব | त्यौहार | Festival |
| বোঙ্গাঃ আবু | Noun | /bongaʔ abu/ | পূজো | पूजा | Puja |

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| মানিদল | Noun | /mandɪl/ | মন্দির | मंदिर | Temple |
| বাপলা | Noun | /biɛ/ | বিয়ে | शादी | Marriage |
| 11.34. Sport | | | | | |
| আঃসাড | Noun | /ahsaɽ/ | তীর | तीर | Arrow |
| এনেঃ চিরিং | Noun | /eneʔ ʃirin/ | খেলোয়াড় | खिलाड़ी | Player |
| মইদান | Noun | /mɔidɔn/ | মাঠ | मैदान | Ground |
| 11.35. Stages of life | | | | | |
| এড়া | Noun | /eɽa/ | স্ত্রিলোক | औरत | Woman |
| বালেচ হোপোন | Noun | /baleʃ hopon/ | শিশু | बच्चा | Child |
| বিটি | Noun | /biʈi/ | বালিকা | लड़की | Girl |
| হোপোন | Noun | /hopon/ | বালক | लड़का | Boy |
| হারেল | Noun | /hærel/ | মহিলা | महिला | Female |
| 11.36. Time Season and Weather | | | | | |
| আঃউপ পাহারা | Noun | /aʔup pahara/ | দুপুর | दोपहर | Noon |
| উঃইউ এনা | Noun | /uʔiu ena/ | হেমন্ত | पतझड़ | Fall |
| উদগার দিন | Noun | /udgar dɪn/ | গরমকাল | गर्मी | Summer |

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| গাপা | Noun | /gapa/ | আগামী কাল | কল | Tomorrow |
| নিঁদা | Noun | /niḍa/ | রাত | রাত | Night |
| মেয়াং | Noun | /mejaŋ/ | আগামী পরশু | পরসों | Day after tomorrow |
| রাহারি | Adjective | /rahari/ | মেঘলা | ধুঁধলা | Cloudy |
| 11.37. Transport | | | | | |
| কুল | Noun | /kul/ | পুল | पुल | Bridge |
| চাক | Noun | /ʧak/ | চাকা | पहिया | Wheel |
| সাগার | Noun | /sagar/ | সাগার গাড়ি | बैलगाड़ी | Bullock cart |
| হড় | Noun | /hoɾ/ | প্রধান সড়ক | मुख्य रास्ता | Main road |
| হোড়া | Noun | /hoɾa/ | রাঙা | सड़क | Road |
| 11.38. Trees | | | | | |
| উল দারু | Noun | /ul d̪aru/ | আম গাছ | आम का पेड़ | Mango Tree |
| জঅজঅ দারু | Noun | /dʒɔɔdʒɔɔ d̪aru/ | তেঁতুল গাছ | इमली का पेड़ | Tamarind Tree |
| দারু | Noun | /d̪aru/ | গাছ | पेड़ | Tree |
| বড় দারু | Noun | /bɔɾɔ d̪aru/ | বটগাছ | बसदका पेड़ | Banyan Tree |
| মাত | Noun | /mat̪/ | বঁশ | बाँस | Bamboo |

| 11.39. Vegetables | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-----------|--------|---------|-----------|
| উঠ | Noun | /uʈh/ | মাশরুম | मशरुम | Mushrooms |
| উতু | Noun | /uʈu/ | সবজি | सब्जी | Vegetable |
| ডিমোর | Noun | /d̪imor/ | ডুমুর | अंजीर | Fig |
| বিলাতি | Noun | /bilaʈi/ | টমেটো | टमाटर | Tomato |
| জোংররা | Noun | /dʒoʔrra/ | ভুট্টা | मका | Corn |
| 11.40. Water and Related | | | | | |
| গারহা | Noun | /garha/ | নদী | नदी | River |
| গুঁনি | Noun | /gũni/ | বুদবুদ | बुलबुला | Bubble |
| দাঃ | Noun | /daʔ/ | জল | पानी | Water |
| বান্ধা | Noun | /bãnd̪ha/ | পুকুর | तालाब | Pond |
| লোনি | Noun | /loni/ | খাল | नहर | Canal |

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Appendix

Notification of the Jharkhand Government:

झारखण्ड सरकार,
कार्मिक, प्रशासनिक सुधार तथा राजभाषा विभाग।

— अधिसूचना —


संख्या-11/क0च0आ0-02-04/2016/ 953 रॉची, दिनांक- 18/02/2021
कार्मिक, प्रशासनिक सुधार तथा राजभाषा विभाग की अधिसूचना संख्या 8770 दिनांक 24.12.2021 को विलोपित करते हुए सम्यक् विचारोपरान्त झारखण्ड कर्मचारी चयन आयोग द्वारा मैट्रिक तथा इंटरमीडिएट स्तर की प्रतियोगिता परीक्षाओं में जिलास्तरीय पदों के लिए पत्र-2 में जिलावार क्षेत्रीय/जनजातीय भाषाओं को निम्नवत् चिह्नित किया जाता है :-

| क्र० | जिला का नाम | जनजातीय भाषा | क्षेत्रीय भाषा |
|------|-------------|---|--|
| 1. | रॉची | कुडुख, खड़िया, मुण्डारी, हो, संथाली | नागपुरी, पंचपरगनिया, उर्दू, कुरमाली, बंगला |
| 2. | लोहरदगा | कुडुख, असुर, बिरजिया | उर्दू, नागपुरी |
| 3. | गुमला | कुडुख, खड़िया, असुर, बिरहोरी, बिरजिया, मुण्डारी | उर्दू, नागपुरी |
| 4. | सिमडेगा | खड़िया, मुण्डारी, कुडुख | उर्दू, नागपुरी |
| 5. | प0 सिंहभूम | हो, भूमिज, मुण्डारी, कुडुख, संथाली | कुरमाली, उर्दू, उड़िया |
| 6. | पू0 सिंहभूम | मुण्डारी, हो, भूमिज, संथाली, कुडुख | कुरमाली, बंगला, उर्दू, उड़िया |
| 7. | सरायकेला | संथाली, मुण्डारी, भूमिज, हो | पंचपरगनिया, उर्दू, उड़िया, बंगला, कुरमाली |
| 8. | लातेहार | कुडुख, असुर, बिरजिया | नागपुरी, उर्दू, मगही |
| 9. | पलामू | कुडुख, असुर | नागपुरी, उर्दू, मगही, भोजपुरी |
| 10. | गढ़वा | कुडुख | नागपुरी, मगही, उर्दू, भोजपुरी |
| 11. | दुमका | संथाली, माल्टो | खोरठा, बंगला, उर्दू, अंगिका |
| 12. | जामताड़ा | संथाली | खोरठा, उर्दू, बंगला, अंगिका |
| 13. | साहेबगंज | संथाली, माल्टो | खोरठा, बंगला, उर्दू, अंगिका |
| 14. | पाकुड़ | संथाली, माल्टो | खोरठा, उर्दू, अंगिका, बंगला |
| 15. | गोड्डा | संथाली, माल्टो | नागपुरी, कुरमाली, उर्दू, खोरठा |
| 16. | हजारीबाग | संथाली, कुडुख, बिरहोरी | कुरमाली, उर्दू, खोरठा |
| 17. | कोडरमा | संथाली | नागपुरी, उर्दू, खोरठा, मगही |
| 18. | घतरा | संथाली, कुडुख, मुण्डारी, बिरहोरी | |



| | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 19. | बोकारो | संथाली, हो, मुण्डारी | नागपुरी, कुरमाली, खोरठा, उर्दू, बंगला |
| 20. | धनबाद | संथाली | नागपुरी, खोरठा, कुरमाली, उर्दू, बंगला |
| 21. | गिरिडीह | संथाली | खोरठा, उर्दू, कुरमाली |
| 22. | देवघर | संथाली | खोरठा, अंगिका, उर्दू, बंगला |
| 23. | रामगढ़ | संथाली, कुडुख, बिरहोरी | नागपुरी, उर्दू, कुरमाली, खोरठा |
| 24. | खूँटी | कुडुख, खड़िया, मुण्डारी | नागपुरी, पंचपरगनिया, उर्दू, कुरमाली |

झारखण्ड राज्यपाल के आदेश से,


18.2.22
(वंदना दादेल)

सरकार के प्रधान सचिव।

ज्ञापांक-11/क0च0आ0-02-04/2016 का0-.....953...../राँची, दिनांक- 18/02/2022

प्रतिलिपि:- नोडल पदाधिकारी, ई-गजट, कार्मिक, प्रशासनिक सुधार तथा राजभाषा विभाग, झारखण्ड, राँची को सूचनार्थ एवं आवश्यक कार्रवाई हेतु प्रेषित।


18.2.22
(वंदना दादेल)

सरकार के प्रधान सचिव।

ज्ञापांक-11/क0च0आ0-02-04/2016 का0-.....953...../राँची, दिनांक- 18/02/2022


प्रतिलिपि:- माननीय राज्यपाल के प्रधान सचिव, झारखण्ड, राँची/माननीय मुख्यमंत्री के प्रधान सचिव, झारखण्ड, राँची/उप सचिव, मुख्य सचिव कार्यालय, झारखण्ड, राँची/सभी अपर मुख्य सचिव/प्रधान सचिव/सचिव/सभी विभागाध्यक्ष/निदेशक, डॉ० रामदयाल मुण्डा जनजातीय कल्याण शोध संस्थान, राँची/सचिव, झारखण्ड कर्मचारी चयन आयोग, राँची/सभी उपायुक्त को सूचनार्थ एवं आवश्यक कार्रवाई हेतु प्रेषित।


18.2.22
(वंदना दादेल)

सरकार के प्रधान सचिव।

ज्ञापांक-11/क0च0आ0-02-04/2016 का0-.....953...../राँची, दिनांक- 18/02/2022

प्रतिलिपि:- प्रधान सचिव के प्रधान आप्त सचिव/सभी संयुक्त सचिव/सभी उप सचिव/सभी अवर सचिव, कार्मिक, प्रशासनिक सुधार तथा राजभाषा विभाग, राँची को सूचनार्थ एवं आवश्यक कार्रवाई हेतु प्रेषित।


18.2.22
(वंदना दादेल)

सरकार के प्रधान सचिव।

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