

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The topic of this thesis is “A study of the verb phrase in Chodri.” Chodri is a language spoken by an ethnic group in Gujarat, India. Chodri is an SOV language, thus the verb phrase is the final element in a clause. Chodri verbs are inflected for at least two or more of the following grammatical categories: person, gender-number, voice, mood, and tense. They are also complex because many of these categories are expressed by fused morphemes.

The chapters of the thesis are arranged more on the basis of semantic rather than grammatical order. In this chapter is a discussion of the background to the thesis, the scope of the thesis, description of the land, the language and the people. This chapter also gives an overview of the phonology and grammar of Chodri. The second chapter discusses the verb system, including copula, simple, compound conjunct and inverse verbs. Chapter three describes simple and complex verb phrases. In chapter four causativity and ergativity are explained. Tense and aspect are described in chapter five while modals and mood are described in chapter six. A list of possible intensive compound verbs and causative verbs, samples of a few morphophonemic changes and some stories are provided in the Appendix section.

1.1 Background of the thesis

This analysis of the verb phrase in Chodri is based on data from a selection of folk stories collected from eight native speakers, data elicited from conversation, and from the personal experience gained as a researcher living with the people for the past

fifteen years. There are no published linguistic analyses of Chodri. A lexicon consisting of 2755 words was prepared by Acharya and published in 1969. There has been a long felt need for a study of the verb phrase in Chodri to describe its complexity. For this reason I have chosen this topic.

1.2 Scope of the thesis

There are researchers currently studying languages which are closely related to Chodri. However, none has yet described the verb phrase in detail for any of these languages. It is hoped that this study and description of the verb phrase in Chodri will be of great help for those researchers in their attempts to describe the respective languages in which they are working.

1.3 Methodology of the thesis

Theoretically this thesis follows a modified tagmemic model of analysis. The tagmemic model is a set of procedures for the description of language, developed by Pike and Pike, Longacre, Elson and Pickett and others. In this paper, however, a modified tagmemic approach developed by Joan Healey (1988) has been adopted.

More than twenty folk stories provided the corpus of data for this study. They were recorded from both male and female Chodri story tellers, from two different villages in Surat district of Gujarat state, India (see section 1.4.1). A considerable amount of elicited data also was collected.

The analysis of the verb phrase in Chodri is mainly based on verb phrases found in narrative texts because narratives are more natural than elicited data. Also compound verbs show up more in narratives than in elicited data.

All the verb phrases in the data were extracted and their syntactic and morphological structure analyzed. Verbs are classified into five kinds: Copula, simple, compound conjunct and inverse verbs.

The use of compound verbs in different tenses is not equally distributed. So to find out which tenses are mostly used in compound verbs, all the possible tenses the compound verbs may take were listed and the number of occurrences in each tense was calculated.

Grammatical categories such as person, gender-number, voice, tense, and mood used in the data were identified and studied in order to distinguish them from each other.

To study causativity and ergativity, about 150 transitive and intransitive verbs were extracted from the data corpus and their causative forms were checked to determine how they are causativized and double causativized. All the ergative constructions were identified and extracted from the corpus data and studied.

1.4 Description of the land, language, and the people

The subcontinent of India has many different people groups with diverse cultures and languages. Hence it is essential to give a description of the land, the language and the people so that the reader may gain a better understanding about the linguistic and cultural background from which this thesis is written. Some facts and figures about the land, and its languages are given in this section. Following that, a short description about the people is also given.

1.4.1 The land

India is made up of 27 states and five union territories. India shares territorial borders with Pakistan in the west, Afghanistan in the northwest, China and Nepal in the north,

and Myanmar and Bangladesh in the east. India's eastern border is not far from the northern border of Thailand.

The current estimated population of India is 979,860,411 (Dina Malar: July 12, 1998) of which around 6% consist of the tribal groups who are called by the term *adivasi* which means 'original inhabitant.' Chodri is one of those tribal groups. Das says, "The tribal groups are presumed to form the oldest ethnological sector of the national population. The term 'Adivasi' (Adi = original; vasi = inhabitant) has become current to designate these groups" (1987:1). India is one of the developing countries where the rate of illiteracy is high. It is estimated that 48% of the adults in India can neither read nor write (News Week: October 18, 1993).

The state of Gujarat lies on the west coast of India. It is bounded by the Arabian Sea to the west, by Pakistan to the northwest, the Indian states of Rajasthan to the north, Madhya Pradesh to the east and Maharashtra to the south. The Vindhya Satpura mountains and Aravalli hills form the eastern borders of Gujarat. A number of different 'scheduled tribes'¹ who speak different languages belonging to Bhili language family live in these hills and mountains, including Chodri. According to Koppar,

The composition and distribution of tribal population in Gujarat today is interesting. Out of a total population of 2,61,49,036² covering the eighteen districts of Gujarat, the tribals account for 20,64,522 i.e. 12.78% of the total. For every thirteen persons one is a tribal (1971:13).

¹ Scheduled tribes are the ethnic minorities mostly living in interior places who are not part of the traditional caste system of India. They enjoy certain privileges since they are identified as such by the government.

² Indian numbering system marks commas differently to English.

The Chodri language is spoken by approximately 225,361³ people (Singh 1994:210), living in the Surat district of Gujarat State, India. Surat district is located in the southern part of Gujarat (see Figure 1 below).

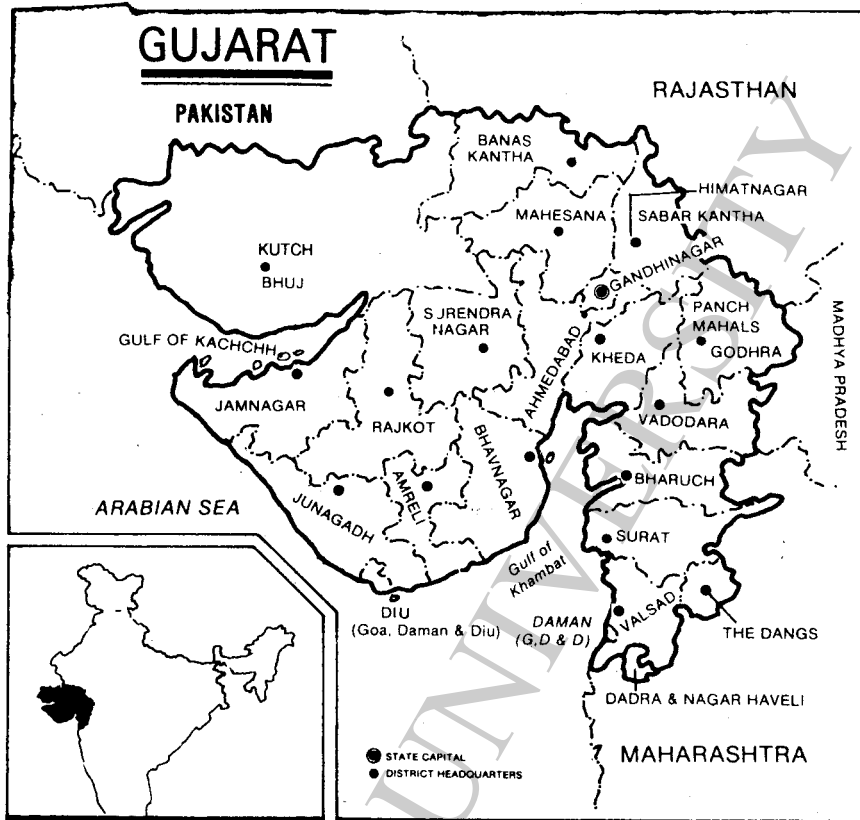


Figure 1. Map of Gujarat State

As can be seen in Figure 1, Surat district, where the Chodri people are living, is located in the southern part of Gujarat.

³ This figure is the combined population of 219,897 Chaudhri and 5,464 Chodhara.

1.4.2 The language

In the Indian subcontinent, many different languages and dialects are spoken. An estimate places the number of these languages and dialects as 1,652 (Friends Focus: August, 1998).

The majority of the languages and dialects of India belong to three major language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda. Most Dravidian speakers live in the southern part of the country. The Munda and Indo-Aryan language speakers live in central and northern India. The Indo-Aryan languages are a sub-branch of the Indo-European family. Munda languages are a sub-branch of the Mon-Khmer language family which belongs to the Austro-Asiatic language family.

Chodri is an Indo-Aryan language of the Bhili sub-branch of central Indo-Aryan. Chodri is the mother tongue of the Chodri tribal people and is closely related to Gujarati, the regional language spoken as the first language by the majority of the non-tribal people of Gujarat state. Gujarati is the lingua franca among all the people of the state. The Chodri people, however, speak only their own language in their homes and villages.

Figure 2 below shows the position of Chodri under Indo-Aryan languages and its relationship with some of the other Bhili languages.

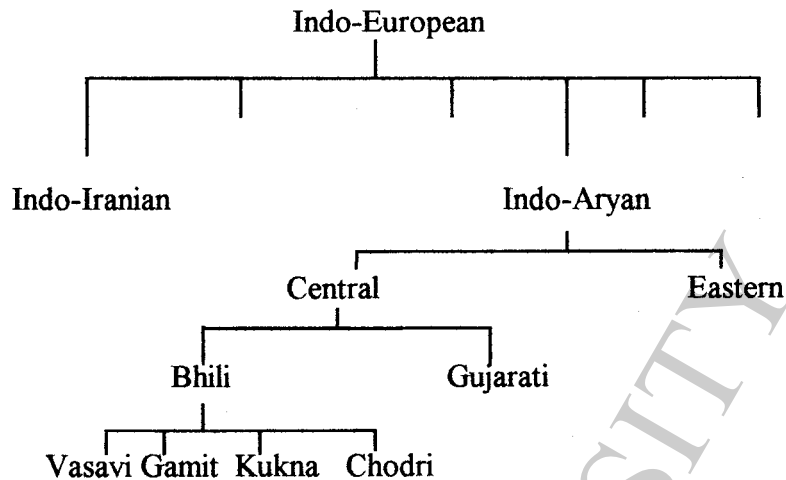


Figure 2. Position of Chodri in Indo-Aryan languages

As can be seen in Figure 2, Chodri is closely related to Gujarati. The term 'Bhil' is the name used to refer to the tribal people living in the forest and hilly areas of Vindhya Satpura mountains and Aravalli hills. The languages they speak within their communities are generically called 'Bhili'. Since many languages are related to Bhili, this term refers to the family name of a sub-branch of Indo-Aryan languages.

Often the name 'Chodri' is spelled as 'Choudhry' or 'Chaudhry', because of misunderstanding caused by a name similar to the latter used to refer to a caste group living in other states such as Bengal in east and Karnataka in south India.

The people call themselves *ʃoḍro* (male singular), *ʃoḍraṅ* (female singular) and *ʃoḍre* (plural). The government has maintained the name 'Choudhry' to refer to these people and the people have adopted this name to use as their last name.

There are two dialects spoken by the *nana ʃoḍri* 'Small Chodri' and *moṭa ʃoḍri* 'Big Chodri'. There are no significant differences between these dialects. Speakers of one dialect can understand almost everything speakers of the other dialect say. The

copulas used by the Big Chodri and the Small Chodri are different. (See section 2.1 for further discussions of copula.) There is a lexical difference of about 5%.

Chodri occasionally uses loan words from English. For example, in the stories selected for analysis words like *polis* ‘police’, *men* ‘main’, *rum* ‘room’, *p^hain* ‘fine’, *kəmplit* ‘complete’ and *aḍar* ‘order’ have been used by the narrators. These loan words probably came through Gujarati.

1.4.2.1 Phonological overview

Chodri has 25 contrastive consonants and 6 contrastive vowels. These are summarized in the following two tables.

		Labial	Alveolar	Retr.	Alveo-Pal	Velar
Stops	v.l	p	t	ʈ	tʃ	k
	asp.	p ^h	t ^h	ʈ ^h	tʃ ^h	k ^h
	vd.	b	d	ɖ	dʒ	g
Nasals		m	n	ɳ		
Fricatives			s			h
Approximants		v			j	
Lateral			l			
Vibrants			r	ɽ		

Table 1. Consonants of Chodri

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Table 2. Vowels of Chodri

All the vowels in Chodri can be nasalized except /o/. The nasalized vowels contrast with their non-nasalized counter parts. For example, *ka* means ‘what’ and *kã* means ‘where’.

It is noteworthy that Chodri does not have any of the voiced aspirated stops characteristic of Indo-Aryan languages. So a word with a voiced aspirated stop in Gujarati, is replaced by a voiceless aspirated stop or voiced stop in Chodri. For example, *g^hər* ‘house’ becomes *k^hər*, *b^hat* ‘paddy’ becomes *p^hat*, *d^hər* ‘catch’ becomes *t^hər* and *vəd^hare* ‘much’ becomes *vədare* in Chodri. The alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ becomes /s/ or /h/ in Chodri. The retroflexed lateral /ɭ/ becomes /l/ in Chodri. For example, *nifal* ‘school’ becomes *nihal*. Occasionally, the alveolar lateral /l/ in Gujarati becomes alveolar nasal /n/ in Chodri in word medial consonant cluster environments. For instance, *nanlo* ‘small’ becomes *nanno* in Chodri. These features contribute to the difference in the total number of consonants in Chodri from Gujarati.

1.4.2.2 Grammatical overview

Since the topic of this thesis is the verb phrase this section gives a brief overview of the grammar of Chodri to assist in understanding the context in which the verb phrase occurs.

According to the tagmemic model, the grammar is defined by Cook as,

a series of syntactic statements concerning sentence, clause, phrase and word level structures. Each construction at each level is formulated in terms of tagmeme units, which explicitly give both the function and the form of each element in the construction (1969:8).

Any analysis of a given language related to syntax or morphology refers to the system of grammatical levels (see figure below).

SENTENCE LEVEL Base + Intonation
CLAUSE LEVEL Subject + Predicate + Object + Adjuncts
PHRASE LEVEL Relator + Axis, and Endocentric Word Groups
WORD LEVEL Stems + Derivations + Inflections
MORPHEME LEVEL The ultimate level of analysis

Figure 3. Grammatical levels

Figure 3, borrowed from Lehmann (1972), shows the grammatical levels. The highest level is the sentence level and the lowest level is the morpheme level. The structure of a particular grammatical level is described in terms of elements of the next lower level. Elements from one level find their function defined in the next higher level. The verb phrase as discussed in this thesis functions as an element of the clause level structure.

Sentence

A sentence may consist of one or more clauses. The pause and intonation pattern helps one to identify the margin of a sentence. On the basis of the structure three types of sentences can be set up in Chodri and they are: simple, compound and complex .

Simple Sentence

The structure of a simple sentence may be represented as:

$$\frac{\text{Simple sentence} = \text{Base}}{\text{Independent clause}}$$

A simple sentence consists of only one base slot which is filled by an independent clause of any type and this is illustrated in example 1.

- (1) "Story of a Bhil's wife" (S 008)

nitʃkə gilli d̪əŋd̪o rəmtənə
child stick game playing was

'The child was playing a stick game.'

Compound Sentence

The structure of a compound sentence has at least two base tagmemes which are filled by independent clauses and connector tagmemes between these clauses.

The structure of the compound sentence can be formalized as follows:

Compound Sentence=	+ Base1	+ connector	+ Base2	± connector ⁿ	± Base ⁿ
	Ind. clause	conjunction	Ind. Clause	conjunction ⁿ	Ind. clause ⁿ

A compound sentence consists of at least two and at most four independent clauses. These clauses are connected by either one of the following connectors: *ne* 'and', *bak^hu* 'but', *ka* 'or' and *eʃle* 'so'. The connectors in the following examples are boldfaced.

- (2) "Story of a pumpkin" (S 079)

*k^hərekər kolo hotno **bak^hu** ija mā te bəhūdʒ p^hain nitʃak*
truly pumpkin was **but** this in much fine boy

hotno
was

'It certainly was a pumpkin but, a beautiful boy was there.'

- (3) "Story of a crocodile" (S 015)

*hāj iŋd̪ə navo **ne** hivajʃo **ne** p^hoʃavjo **ne** moʃo kədo*
I egg brought **and** hatched **and** broke **and** big made

'I brought a crocodile's egg and got it hatched and raised it.'

In example 2, we see a compound sentence with two bases while example 3 has the maximum four bases. Each base in these examples is connected by one of the conjunctions.

Complex Sentence

A complex sentence in Chodri consists of maximum three dependent bases filled by dependent clauses, and an independent base filled by an independent clause.

The complex sentence has the following structure:

Complex Sentence=	+ Dependent Base ¹	± Dependent Base ²	+ Independent Base
	Dependent clause ¹	Dependent clause ²	Independent clause

In the complex sentences subordinate suffixes (*-i*, *-i-n*, *-to*, *-ta*) and the conjunctions (*tahũ* ‘even then’, *tija* or *te* ‘if then’) function as connectors. These are boldfaced in the examples below.

(4) “Story of a Brahmin” (S 011)

tapna kār-ta kār-ta palo baməŋ vitfar karto a
 meditation do-**ing** do-**ing** that Brahmin think doing is

‘As the Brahmin was meditating, he was thinking.’

(5) “Story of a king’s daughter” (S 004)

radza ne rajnej dik^hri rə-t-i tija te te
 king and queen-of daughter live-**prog-sf** **if** she ptl

radzkumari-d₃ kavaj ne
 princess-Emp called ptl

‘If a king and queen had a daughter she would be called a princess.’

(6) “Story of Bilawanti queen” (S 008)

tijaj dzer t^hin-i nav-i-n naṛuva bənav-i aptsa
 its poison pull-**cp** bring-**cp-cnj** sweets make-**cp** gave

‘Having extracted its poison, having brought it, having made sweets she gave.’

Example 4 and 5 show complex sentences with one dependent clause and example 6 shows a complex sentence with three dependent clauses.

Clause

Clauses in Chodri consist of phrases and words and they normally fill slots at the sentence level. An independent clause can stand alone as a sentence. There are five types of independent clauses namely: intransitive, transitive, bitransitive, stative, and equative. The subject must be present in stative and equative clauses, but may be omitted in intransitive, transitive and bitransitive clauses when it can be recovered from the context. Clauses in isolation must have the subject. The predicate is always present. Optional clause elements include location, manner, object, time and frequency. The verb phrases in the examples below are boldfaced.

Intransitive Clause

An intransitive clause has the following structure:

iCl=	+ S	± L	+ P
	Noun Phrase Noun Pronoun	Post-position Phrase Locative noun	iVerb Phrase iVerb

An intransitive clause (iCl) consists of a subject (S) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun, an optional location (L) slot filled by a post-position phrase or a locative noun and the predicate slot (P) filled by an intransitive verb phrase or an intransitive verb.

- (7) “Story of a crocodile” (S 019)
to maṭəro mere avo
 he man bank to **came**

‘That man came to the river bank.’

Example 7 shows an intransitive clause functioning as a simple sentence and includes a locative phrase.

Transitive Clause

The structure of a transitive clause may be formalized as follows:

tCl=	± S	± L	± O	+ P
	Noun Phrase	Post-position Phrase	Noun Phrase	tVerb Phrase
	Noun	Locative noun	Noun	tVerb
	Pronoun		Pronoun	

A transitive clause (tCl) is composed of a subject (S) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun, a locative (L) slot filled by a post-position phrase or a locative noun, an object (O) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun and a predicate (P) slot filled by a transitive verb phrase or a verb.

(8) “Story of a pretender” (S 045)

ti pələ pʰadzə hed-i karti hase
that that spinach look-CP removing is

‘(She) found that spinach.’

Example 8 shows a transitive clause functioning as a simple sentence which has a noun phrase as the object and a transitive verb phrase as the predicate.

Bitransitive Clause

A bitransitive clause has the following structure:

btCl=	± S	+ iO	± dO	+ P
	Noun Phrase	Noun Phrase	Noun Phrase	btVerb Phrase
	Noun	Noun	Noun	btVerb
	Pronoun	Pronoun	Pronoun	

A bitransitive clause consists of a subject (S) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun, an indirect object (iO) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun and a

direct object (dO) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun and a predicate (P) slot filled by a bitransitive verb phrase or a verb.

- (9) “Story of a tiger killer” (S 046)
rad3-e tijaj inam aptfo
 king-ERG him gift gave

‘The king gave him a gift.’

Example 9 illustrates a bitransitive clause which has a subject followed by an indirect object, direct object and the predicate.

Stative Clause

The structure of a stative clause is as follows:

sCl =	± L	+ S	+ P
	Post-position Phrase	Noun Phrase Noun Pronoun	Copula

A stative clause (sCl) consists of an optional location slot (L) filled by a post-position phrase, a subject (S) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun and a predicate (P) slot filled by a copula.

- (10) “Story of a lost sister” (S 001)
ek p^haha ne beṅhi hotne
 one brother and sister were

‘There were a brother and sister.’

Example 10 shows a stative clause which has a noun phrase as the subject and the copula as the predicate.

Equative Clause

The structure of an equative clause can be formalized as follows:

eCl =	+ S	+ C	+ P
	Noun Phrase	Noun Phrase	Copula
	Noun	Noun	
	Pronoun	Pronoun	

An equative clause (eCl) consists of a subject (S) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun, a complement (C) slot filled by a noun phrase, a noun or a pronoun and a predicate (P) slot filled by a copula.

(11) “Story of a lost sister” (S 045)

o mare p^haha hase
he my brother is

‘He is my brother.’

Example 11 illustrates an equative clause with a subject followed by a complement and the predicate.

Clause Chaining

Clause chaining is defined by Myhill and Junko as, “the use of non-finite forms not headed by a conjunction with temporal or circumstantial meaning” (1988:363). Clause chaining is a commonly used device in Chodri sentences.

Clause chaining in Chodri consists of two or more clauses with non-finite verbs taking a participial form and the final clause in the chain taking a finite verb. The non-finite verbs are considered medial verbs and the finite verb at the end of the chain is termed a final verb. The clauses in such a chain often share the same subject unless overtly stated.

The occurrence of a non-finite verb with participial suffix (-to, -ta) in a sentence shows simultaneous actions. This is illustrated in example 12 below.

(12) “Story of a deaf family” (S 013)

k^ha-to k^ha-to to kə-t-o a
eat-ing eat-ing he say-prog-sm be (pre, non-1, s)

‘As he was eating, he said.’

In example 12, there are two clauses, one clause ending with the non-finite verb *k^hato* ‘eating’ and another ending with the finite verb *kəto a* ‘is saying’. The occurrence of participial suffix -to with the verb *k^ha* in the first clause indicates that the events ‘eating’ and ‘saying’ in this sentence are happening simultaneously. The non-finite verb *k^hato* is reduplicated to show that the action of eating lasted for a while.

The occurrence of a non-finite verb with participial suffixes (-i-n, -i) shows loose and tight sequential action respectively. This is illustrated in examples 13 and 14.

(13) “Story of a Bhil’s wife” (S 013)

ajhe roṭna p^hudz-i ap-tf-a
mother bread bake-ps give-pt-pm

‘His mother baked some bread and gave him.’

(14) “Story of five brothers” (S 064)

tume te k^hod-i ne-i-n av-dz-a
you pt1 dig-ps take-ps-cnj come-Pol-p

‘You dig and take it and come!’

In example 13, there are two clauses, one with a non-finite and another with the finite verb. These clauses are chained by the -i participle suffix which marks the tight sequence of the actions ‘baking’ and ‘giving’. In example 14, there are three clauses, two with non-finite and one with a finite verbs. These clauses are chained by the -i, and -i-n participle suffixes. The participle suffix -i shows the tight sequence of the

actions ‘digging’ and ‘taking’ and *-i-n* shows the loose sequence of the actions ‘taking’ and ‘coming’ in this example.

Phrase

A phrase is defined by Elson and Pickett as “a unit composed, potentially, of two or more words” (1962:73) and normally fills a slot on the clause level. There are six types of phrases in Chodri and they are: Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase, Adverb Phrase, Post-position Phrase, Adjective Phrase and Numeral Phrase. Subtypes such as modified noun phrase, apposition noun phrase, possessive noun phrase etc. are not included in this overview.

The structure of a noun phrase is given below.

Noun Phrase:

Noun Ph =	± Dem.	± Num.	± Inten.	± Des. ⁽²⁾	+ Head	± Additive
	Demonstative	Number	Intensifier	Adjective	Noun	Additive

A noun phrase consists of an obligatory head filled by a noun, and may include optional demonstrative, numeral, intensifier, descriptive(s) (no more than 2) occurring before the head and an optional additive occurring after the head.

The following examples demonstrate noun phrases. In these examples the noun phrases are boldfaced.

(15) “Story of a crocodile” (S 018)

pələ kona kə-t-ə-hã
 that fox say-prog-non1, sn-pre

‘That fox says.’

(16) “Story of a rabbit and a fox” (S 040)

tije ek bahū moṭo lilo dep^hṇo p^hāg-dz-o
 he (ERG) one very big green stick break-pt-sm

‘He broke a very big green stick (from a tree).’

The head *konə* ‘fox’ of the noun phrase in example 15 is a singular neuter noun. So the demonstrative word *pələ* ‘that’ preceding the phrase head is marked for singular neuter with *-ə*. The subject slot in example 16 is filled by a pronoun and the noun head *dep^hṇo* ‘stick’ of the noun phrase in object function is a singular masculine noun. The adjectives *moṭo* ‘big’ and *lilo* ‘green’ preceding the phrase head are marked for singular masculine with the suffix *-o*.

Verb Phrase

Verb Phrases in Chodri can be divided into two types: simple and complex. (See chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of the Chodri verb phrases.)

Word

A word is a morpheme or combination of morphemes which native speakers regard as a minimal pronounceable meaningful unit.

Word =	+ nucleus	± affix ⁿ
	root	affix

A word in Chodri consists of a nucleus filled by a root morpheme and one or more affixes. The number of affixes with a nucleus is limited depending on the parts of speech a given word belongs to. The following word classes are identified in Chodri: noun, pronoun, possessive pronoun, adjective, verb, adverb, connector, post-position, negative, interrogative and subordinate conjunction.

Nouns are classified into three classes on the basis of the gender. Generally, with a few exceptions, nouns are overtly marked with *-o* for masculine, with *-i* for feminine, and

with *-ə* for neuter. For example, *doho* ‘man’ is masculine, *nit/ki* ‘girl’ is feminine and *nit/ka* ‘child’ is neuter. Nouns ending in consonants have inherent gender. For example, *vag* ‘tiger’ is masculine, *dzuvar* ‘maize’ is feminine and *k^hər* ‘house’ is neuter. The nouns can be inflected for case and number.

A pronoun is a word that stands for a noun or a noun phrase. Most of the pronouns have separate forms incorporated for ergative, genitive, absolutive or dative/accusative case but are unmarked in nominative case. Dative/accusative and genitive case are marked the same on third person pronouns. The pronouns are shown in Table 3 below.

Person	Gender	Number	NOM	Ergative	Genitive	Dative/ACC/ABS
1 st	m/f	singular	hāj	məjē	mare	mane
exclusive	m/f	plural	ame	amehē	amare	amahaj
inclusive	m/f	plural	apɕe	apɕehe	apɕe	apɕahaj
2 nd	m/f	singular	tū	tujē	tore	tune
	m/f	plural	tume	tumehē	tumare	tumahaj
3 rd	m	singular	o	ije	ijaj / ijaŋe	ijaj / ijaŋe
	f	singular	e	ijje	ijej / ijeŋe	ijej / ijeŋe
	n	singular	ī	ije	ijaj / ijaŋe	ijaj / ijaŋe
	m	plural	e	iŋehē	iŋahaj / iŋahaŋe	iŋahaj / iŋahaŋe
	f	plural	e	iŋehē	iŋehej / iŋehen	iŋehej / iŋehen
	n	plural	ī	iŋehē	iŋahaj / iŋahaŋe	iŋahaj / iŋahaŋe

Table 3. Pronominal system of Chodri

Verbs may be classified into five classes: copula, simple, compound, conjunct and inverse verbs. A compound verb is composed of a simple, a conjunct or an inverse verb ending with conjunctive participle *-i* plus a vector verb, which is the second member of a compound stem (Masica 1991) (see discussion in section 2.3). A conjunct verb is a combination of either a noun or an adjective and a verb. (see discussion in section 2.4) The finite verbs are inflected for tense and one or more of the following categories: voice, causativity, gender-number, and person. Non-finite

verbs are never inflected for tense. A set of irregular verbs⁴ change roots depending on tense, e.g., *dʒa* 'go' in present tense becomes *gə* 'go' in past tense.

Grammatical levels above sentence level which are not included in Figure 3 include paragraph and discourse. These are briefly discussed below.

Paragraphs are a grammatical unit in Chodri composed of more than one sentence. The sentences within a paragraph are connected by causal, temporal, sequential or subordinate conjunctions. After a participant is introduced in a paragraph he or she is referred to by the use of a pronoun within that paragraph until a change of participant occurs. Paragraphs are identified by the reintroduction of the participant, change of time, change of place, etc.

Discourse is composed of more than two paragraphs. Narrative and hortatory are the most common discourse genres identified in the data. Expository and procedural discourse genres are used occasionally in Chodri. Discourse particles such as: antithetical, disclaimer, emphatic, and responder are used.

Languages make use of afterthoughts as a "repair mechanism" (Herring 1994:149). Afterthoughts are used to say something the speaker originally neglected to say or to signal the elements of less importance. Afterthoughts are also used to add some more information for clarity and better understanding of the hearers.

Echo formations (Masica 1991:80) are commonly found in Chodri narratives. Echo formation involves the repetition of a word by replacing the initial sound of a particular word to match the rhythm. Chodri uses *b* as the replacing consonant in echo formation. The echo words do not have a separate meaning as such. Generally nouns

⁴ Irregular verbs may be simple, a vector or a verbalizer depending on its function in a verb phrase (see section 2.2).

and verbs are echoed. This is illustrated by the following example in which the echo word is boldfaced.

(17) “Story of Bilawanti queen” (S 070)

te dʒa-j baj ni
she go-non1, s, pre **echo** not

‘She won’t go at all.’

In example 17, the initial consonant of the verb *dʒaj* ‘go’ is replaced by *b* and the echo is formed in the word *baj* rhyming with the verb. The echo formation is used here to indicate a sort of emphasis to the action expressed by the verb.

1.4.3 The people

Regarding the history of the Chodri tribal people, it is believed that they were the native people of Gujarat state in India. The earliest record goes back to 1484. Acharya (1969) in “The Chodhri and Chodhri dictionary” describes a discussion he had with Mr. Amarsi Bhai Chodhri of Naldara village, on August 25, 1967, in which it is understood that this tribe’s history goes back to the time when Mohammed Begda conquered Pavagadh in 1484. During that period, a Rajput called Gokul was one among the many Rajput who fled from Pavagadh crossing the river Narmada to Surat district. He came on his horse to a village called Naldara in Mahuva *taluka*⁵ of Surat district and settled there. After a period of time he married the Chodri woman who was taking care of his horse. Thus it is understood that the Chodri were already living in the district of Surat by 1484.

In the beginning there was no social division or classes as such among the Chodri. Later, four classes of Chodri were identified and they are: *nana* (small), *moṭa* (big),

⁵ *taluka* is an administrative unit similar to a county.

vəlvai or *vəlavḍa* and *boṇḍa* Chodri (Acharya 1969). The term *boṇḍa* Chodri is not used anymore and the term *vəlavḍa* is used to refer to Big Chodri, who are believed to live exclusively in Mandvi taluka of Surat district. Although people say that there are some traditional stories told about how they got divided into four classes, Acharya has written only the story behind the division of 'small' and 'big' Chodri. This story is quite interesting.

In the beginning when all the Chodri were considered a single class, two brothers were living in a village. One day their young heifer died. So both the brothers carried off the corpse and buried in an appropriate place. After finishing the burial, the younger brother went and had his bath whereas the elder brother just sprinkled some water over his body. This caused a difference of opinion between the brothers and the one who had bathed was considered 'pure' while the other was considered only 'sprinkled'. Thus the generations descended from the younger brother were called the *tʃoke* 'pure' or *nana* 'small' Chodri and the generations descended from the elder brother were called *tʃʰaṭale* 'sprinkled' or *moṭa* 'big' Chodri.⁶

The Chodri live in the plains of Vindhya Satpura hills. They live in scattered hamlets in the villages. Villages have a wide range of population, numbering from 500 - 3000. Only a few villages are made up of just Chodri speakers. In most of the villages there are also people belonging to other ethnic groups. However, they live in separate hamlets.

Although the Chodri people are basically animists and worship their ancestors' spirits, according to Das, "they are in constant contact with Hindu and Hinduised groups" (1987) like any other tribal people in India. However, in recent days a number of

⁶ From excerpts translated from Gujarati language from Acharya's "The Chodhri and Chodhri dictionary" 1969:6

Chodri people are attracted to Christianity also. Staple food of the Chodri people includes maize, rice and some kinds of lentil. They occasionally derive protein from chicken, goat meat and fish. They consider cattle very precious and valuable.

1.5 Summary

In this chapter, a brief discussion on the background, the scope and the methodology of the thesis is given. Following that is given a description of the land where the Chodri people live, and the language they speak. Under the description of the language, the phonological similarities and the contrasts between Chodri and Gujarati are briefly mentioned. In order to provide a general idea about the language, a grammatical overview is given. Then a brief description about the Chodri people is given to facilitate a better understanding about the culture of the people. This background information is supplied in order to enable the reader to approach the analytical part of the thesis.