0 Introduction

The Sora language, also known variously as Saora, Saura, Savara, or Sabar[a] is one of the most important Munda languages. The tribal name is known from the Sanskrit sources but has been applied to numerous people other than the Sora proper. The main concentration of Sora speakers are located in Ganjam, Gajapati and Rayagada districts of Orissa, but speakers are found throughout this state and in adjacent parts of northern Andhra Pradesh. It is difficult to gauge accurately the total number of speakers of Sora, but estimates vary between 150,000-300,000, but could be many more. In some areas with significant ethnic Sora populations however (e.g. Sambalpur district of Orissa), language shift has occurred. Thus, it appears to be endangered in some areas, but in others (e.g. Gumma block of Gajapati district), most women and children are monolingual Sora speakers.

The only language that Sora is clearly at all closely related to within Munda is Gorum (Parenji) with which it forms the Sora-[Juray]-Gorum subgroup; Juray is a poorly known language that largely appears to be a divergent Sora dialect, but future research will have to tease apart their exact relation. Some accounts (e.g. Gordon (2005)) suggest that the Lodha (or Lodhi) language of northern Orissa is related based in part on the use of the autonym Sabar[a] by at least some members of this “criminal tribe”; the only extant linguistic materials on this language (Das Gupta 1978) suggest that the autonym may be misleading in this case as the language appears to be an Indo-Aryan variety, not an undocumented member of the Munda language family. Traditional classifications of Sora-Gorum include this within a larger genetic group called Koraput Munda, and this in turn within a group called South Munda. Anderson (2001) suggests an alternative classification, which has Sora-Gorum splitting off early from the Proto-(South)-Munda language (sharing certain features with North Munda and a number of others with various

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^ Editor’s Note: This chapter more than any other in this volume has a long and storied history. It was originally assigned to the late Stanley Starosta, whose untimely death precluded him from completing it. His family was unable to provide his draft or notes to the editor before his passing. The chapter was then offered to others who reluctantly agreed but whose previous commitments unfortunately prevented them from doing this chapter as well. Therefore it fell to the above authors who have put this sketch grammar together using unpublished texts from Starosta’s collection given to the editor via Norman Zide before Starosta’s death, along with the results of a brief exploratory field visit to the Sora during the winter of 2007. Much remains to be worked out in the grammar of this Munda language.
South Munda subgroups). Unfortunately, resolving this taxonomic issue and recovering an adequate understanding of Sora-Gorum pre-history must await the discoveries of future research.

There is no adequate map or study of Sora dialectology. Speakers we interviewed in 2007 reported awareness of regional Sora speech differences across a range of structures, e.g., phonetic, morpho-syntactic, prosodic, etc. The Sora speech community is also distributed across Oriya and Telegu speaking areas, and one would expect to find different language contact effects in the two parts. The variety described in this chapter is that spoken by Sora of the central Gumma Hills region, Gajapati district, Orissa State.

Sora remains a primary oral language, not widely read or written even by speakers who may be fully fluent and literate in Oriya and English. Though the Sora Bible may be found as a prized household possession in some Christianized villages, it is not typically read. When highly literate speakers in Gajapati district, Orissa do read it, they report that it contains many unfamiliar words, and that the orthographic system is not completely familiar to them. Thus, the dialect differences in Sora are such that the fledgling literary standard is clearly non-ideal for all possible users of the language and that the norms for its orthographic rendering have not been sufficiently disseminated to make Sora literacy truly viable in its current state.

The following is a sample text from the Sora Bible, Psalm 23 (page 827, verse numbers as in original, Sora orthography is shown on the first tier):

1. GAMANGtungan na Gupa Mar-hen, henate er asuige
   \(\text{gəməntən-na} \quad \text{gəpə} \quad \text{imar-ŋən} \quad \text{ŋən-ate} \quad \text{er-asu-ige}\)
   ‘The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not be in want (be ill)’

2. Anin d'ong-hen ledenggab lingan abtabmutih;
   \(\text{a}\text{nim} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{ŋən} \quad \text{ledeŋgab-leŋən} \quad \text{ab-tabmu-tiŋ}\)
   ‘He makes me lie down (like a sheep) in the tender green pastures’

Anin lagad hana d'an adam adamban d'ong-hen urungthih
\(\text{a}\text{nim} \quad \text{lagəd} \quad \text{ŋən} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{ŋən} \quad \text{adəmədəm-ban} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{ŋən} \quad \text{urunŋ-tiŋ}\)
‘He leads me beside quiet waters’

3. Anin pwrarda-hen absamagte;
   \(\text{a}\text{nim} \quad \text{pərərdə-hen} \quad \text{absamaga-tə}\)
   ‘He restores my soul’
The Sora bible employs in a Latin-based orthography with a number of Sora-specific conventions. Sora has also been rendered in the Oriya script in Orissa and in the Telugu script in Andhra Pradesh, as well as a modified phonetic alphabet in the Ramamurti’s grammatical materials and dictionary. The use of and knowledge of Sorang Sompeng (N. Zide 1996), the indigenous script, appears to be quite limited.

In many areas Sora remains a vital and thriving language, but one that has no state or institutional support (sermons and materials are increasingly in Oriya in Gajapati we observed and were told about in Christianized Sora communities). In other areas, Sora is reportedly being or indeed has already been replaced by Telugu or Oriya. So while not an endangered language in sensu stricto, Sora (except in the areas shifting to Telugu and Oriya) like other similarly sized and underdeveloped minority languages of India, may be considered threatened overall.

1 Phonology
1.1 Vowel Inventory

Sora has vowel phonemes and contrastive vowel length. Schwa [ə] is never stressed and has no long counterpart. Vowels [a] [o] [i] [u] [e] [i] [u] may be stressed or unstressed.¹ There appears to be significant variation in vowel quality across Sora dialects, not yet adequately documented.

Vowel length is (probably) not phonemic in Sora, but may be used to create expressive formations with certain stems, e.g. sura ‘big’ suera ‘really big’. According to Ramamurti (1986), vowels may be short, half-long or long, but the phonemic status of vowel length requires further study. In data drawn from Ramamurti, we preserve his length marking.

Vowel assimilation process have not been adequately studied, but vowels may undergo assimilation to preceding consonant for rounding:

¹ G.V. Ramamurti (1986) also uses vowel symbol [ü] in a few of his dictionary entries, e.g., müra- ~ mira- ‘to be frightened’. This may be an archaic feature of the language as Mayurbhanj Ho seems to have two u sounds, one phonologically back and one that appears to be phonologically front (Anderson, Osada and Harrison, this volume).

Ramamurti also uses [i] but notes that this sound is one that speakers are “apt to confuse with [i] and [e], so that it has not been possible to accurately distinguish between [i] and [i] in all the words in which they occur” (Ramamurti 1986:107). Clearly, the phonemic status of [i] needs further study.
1.2 Suprasegmental Phenomena (Tone, Register)

Tone and register or voice quality have not been reported in the literature on Sora but impressionistically, there appeared to be certain features of this type associated with certain words for at least some speakers. This has not been tested experimentally. Note that Gorum, Sora's only close sister language, has a creaky voice feature (see Anderson and Rau, this volume).

Vowels may be glottalized, or glottally interrupted. This strategy is particularly noticeable in the case of monosyllabic nouns, for which the glottal stop may serve phonologically to add a mora to the syllable, thus satisfying a minimal word template. Evidence of this can be seen in the following minimal pair:

\[ m^2\text{\&} \] ‘nose’ (lexical form) \ vs. \ \[ m\text{\&} \] ‘nose’ (combining form)

1.3 Consonant Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstruents:</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flaps</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consonants may also be pre-glottalized, e.g., [ʰb], [ʰm] a phenomenon known from other Munda languages, and one that awaits instrumental analysis in Sora.

Assimilation of both progressive and regressive types may be observed. Geminate consonants may result from these processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assimilation</th>
<th>Attested variants</th>
<th>Gloss²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

² page numbers in this section refer to Ramamurti1896.
Sora has true geminates for all consonants except the glottal stop and the glide [y]. From our limited set of relevant field data, it appears that geminate stop consonants are (nearly) twice the duration of simplex ones. In the two examples that follow, the geminate [gg] tokens have a duration of .14 and .12 seconds, respectively, as compared to a typical duration of .07 seconds for tokens of singleton [g].

(5)
1.4 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The velar nasal does not occur syllable or word-initially, except in rare cases. Ramamurti lists just seven words with initial [ŋ], all phonaesthemes, e.g., ɬɑk'ɬɑk ‘dead silence, as at midnight’ (Ramamurti 1986(1933): 185).

The following heterosyllabic consonant clusters are found in Sora lexemes.3

(6)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
  p & b & m & t & d & n & y & j & s & r & l & k & g & ?^4 \\
  p & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  b & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  m & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  t & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  d & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  n & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  j & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  s & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  r & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  l & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  k & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  g & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
  y & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ & ✓ \\
\end{array}
\]

✓ indicates geminates. (✓) indicates rare, found only in expressives, compounds or loanwords.

(7)  
\[
p
\]

3 This table is based on a thorough analysis of Ramamurti (1986) and of our field corpus. We do not exclude the possibility that additional clusters may occur.

4 Consonants followed by a glottal stop (in Ramamurti’s notation) may in fact be pre-glottalized, e.g. {b?} = [b³]. Further analysis of the phonetics is required.

5 In Ramamurti’s transcription system, syllable coda [y] is transcribed as [i]; e.g., penai’pod ‘tobacco hoe’, osoimarən ‘flatterer’, sattoi’ber- ‘to declare’.
kuppa: ‘fat’
raptij- ‘to be able to do’
ap’se:le ‘for, on account of’ (postposition)

(8) b
  gabtur ‘to pinch between fingers’
  bahje ‘to console’
  jabda- ‘to suck or munch with noise’
  jabjab- ‘to adjure, abut’
  rabsa:d:ə:lən ‘dry leaves that have dropped from a tree’
  rabkud- ‘to make narrow’
  b?əb ‘head’
  ab’baja- ‘to hasten, vex’
  b?ai ‘to turn into seed’
  dub’mad- ‘to shut one’s eyes’
  ob’le:- ‘to reply, cross-examine’
  pijebpijeb ‘peep’ (onomatopoetic)
  pabjab- ‘to smite’

(9) m
  kəmbud ‘to be carried away by a bear’
  gumte ‘to dream’
  kimmad ‘to close the eyes’
  kumsi ‘to hold one’s fist’
  kimpoŋən ‘belly’
  jumjum ‘cover body with cloth’
  ‘tamə:- ‘to wash (clothes)’
  nam’nam- ‘to eat’ (children’s language)
  namjo- ‘to fish’
  padum-gəmle ‘suddenly, with a thud’ (onomatopoetic)
  m?un ‘nose, beak of bird’

(10) t
  kutta:n ‘a pen for sheep’, ‘a vegetable garden’
  ’t?alə:n ‘spleen’

(11) d
  ənartud’pel ‘matchbox’
  kudta:n ‘a horse’
ηίδηδ βορεν ‘balderdash’
raδ moy ‘to wring out’
raδdu ‘strong’
riδ διδον ‘powdered salt’
suδ sud- ‘to mix up’
suδ gum- ‘to be drenched’
d?ωl- ‘to suck’
pad kad- ‘distribute buffalo flesh’

(12) n
gunturɔn ‘a large rat’
ondoɔta ‘forwards’
gunluŋ ‘snail’
minnum ‘year’
anr’reg ‘already’
anbɔnɔr’tiki ‘afterwards’
dun’ pulɔn ‘projected navel, one who has such’
ensoy ‘alone’

(13) n
raŋjam- ‘to become dry or withered’
aŋjam- ‘to name’
aŋja ‘barren’
dinbɔŋj ‘to cook the flesh of a buffalo’
dinɛɗ padɔn ‘pot in which rice is cooked’
pŋoŋi pŋɔi ‘the bellowing of a buffalo’

(14) y
yọŋjɔn ‘a stranger’
puiʼra:ŋ ‘to put forth a new sprout’
puiʼda- ‘to peel off in thin layers’
nai:n ‘river’
moŋkiyla: ‘not uniform in size’
paygajɔn ‘the halo around the moon’

(15) j
bajje- ‘to console’
jiwun ‘to be fit, to suit’
(16)  $s$
$s?ɔ:r-$ ‘to bubble up’
sussub ‘a fib’

(17)  $r$
$urŋay$ ‘to unstring the bow’
$ersin$ ‘crime, sin’
$ŋarŋarłoge$ ‘with a quaver’
$irdo’doi-$ ‘to rebound’
$jarre$ ‘again’
$r?an$ ‘elephant’
$ənartud’pel$ ‘matchbox’
$ar’gadi$ ‘alliance, friendship’ (~$al’gadi$)
$ar’dar-$ ‘to ladle water’
$ar’pad-$ ‘to unfold’
$ar’madôn$ ‘cobwebs’
$aur’gab-$ ‘to chew the cud’
$berarjumôn$ ‘dinner given in recognition of service’
$erl’nu:$ ‘undomesticated, wild’
$er’nalan$ ‘name of Sora deity’
$er’si$n ‘crime, evil menstruation’

(18)  $l$
$molloi$ ‘five’ (~$monloi$)
‘ta:łmad-$ ‘to see with fixed eyes’
$tal’sin$ ‘palm of hand’
$al’dub-$ ‘to wrench the neck’
$al’ber-$ ‘to converse’ (Reciprocal)
$al’gadi$ ‘alliance, friendship’ (~$ar’gadi$)
$alpad’ded-$ ‘to quarrel with one another’
$al’rode-$ ‘to quarrel or dispute with one another’
$al’kalla-$ ‘to be astounded, dumbfounded’
$dul’tid-$ ‘to beat in return’
‘dulna:$ ‘instead of’

(19)  $k$
$ŋakŋak$ ‘dead silence’
1.5 Intonation/Stress

The system of stress assignment in Sora remains largely unstudied. It may appear in different syllables in a word. Some morphemes seem to attract stress while others do not accept it at all (see Ramamurti 1931: 7-8). This suggests at least a partially morpho-lexically conditioned system.

1.6 Morphophonology

Both consonants and vowels may show some (conditioned?) alternations perhaps based on stress-shifts or perhaps morphologically conditioned. The details remain to be worked out. Note in this regard the following possessive paradigm for the word meaning ‘eye’, i.e. ‘my eye’, ‘your eye’, etc. Here we find allomorphs ma?/ma?d, mɔd and mo?.

Tri-consonantal clusters are rare, including

(22) nts
    əntsərip  ‘thereafter’
The past tense marker –l- variably (idiolectally?) may undergo assimilation to a preceding stem-final –r.

(24)
i. anin-a suʔug-ban iar-le
He-GEN house-ALL go-PST
‘he (elephant) went to his (big-frog’s) house’
[Text-1, line 11]

ii. uan a-ier-re ənn-ɔlɔŋ-n-ed-ji
where 2PL-go-PST NEG-answer-PST-NEG-PL
‘“where did you go?”; they didn’t answer him’
[Text-1, line 16]

In rapid speech, there may be a place assimilation across word boundaries, for example, between the final nasal in the first or third person pronoun and the initial obstruent of the following word, e.g. from pen ‘I’ or anin ‘s/he’ we hear such forms as the following:

(25)
i. nem bajaran ‘yer-t-e
I market-N.SFX go-NPST[:1/TLOC]
I am going to the market.
[OG]

ii. aniɡ giʔ-y-t-ey
s/he see-NPST-2/3
‘s/he sees’
[OG]

2 Morphology

Sora has an elaborate derivational apparatus that is seen in the formation of nominal
forms. From an inflectional perspective, Sora nouns may realize number, a range of case and quasi-case adpositional categories, and person/possession. In addition to nouns, nominal forms include pronouns (including demonstratives, indefinites and interrogatives) numerals, adjectivals and adverbials.

2.1 Nominal Morphology

The maximally expanded form of a noun in Sora has not yet been investigated. Stems may be compounded yielding fairly long constructs. How these are constrained remains a topic for future research. At least three stems can be found compounded in certain common words.

(26)
\[daiburyon\] 'sunrise' (Lit. climb-hill-sun)
\[dai\] 'climb' + \[bur(\mathfrak{on})\] contracted form of \[barun\] 'hill' (Ramamurti 1933: 114)

A quick look through Ramamurti’s Sora dictionary numerous three-part and indeed four-part compounds, e.g. \[ŋgodloboom\], \[ŋjatrid\], \[ʒrartuurpp\], \[unŋgatidll\] and \[abdimmaddaw\] etc (Ramamurti 1986 (1933): 5-6, 11, 21, 33). Long forms can arise from simple two-part compounding (or perhaps izafet constructions) with derived nominal forms that have reduplication (Ramamurti 1986 (1933): 10)

Some common inflected morphological noun templates attested in our materials include

(27) Stem-Stem-Noun.Suffix-Plural
\[sonna-\mathfrak{mər}-\mathfrak{on}-\mathfrak{ji}\]
little-person-N.SFX-PL
‘the little guys’

(28) Noun-1/2Poss-Plural/Case
\[aŋ-\mathfrak{ben}-\mathfrak{ji}\]
tongue-2PL-PL
‘your (pl) tongues’
[OG]

(29) 3Poss-Noun-Noun.Suffix-Plural
\[aq-n\mathfrak{on}-\mathfrak{ji}\]
3POSS-child-N.SFX-PL
‘his children’
Formal nominal derivational and inflectional processes in Sora may be realized through prefixes, reduplication, suffixes, at least one common infix, and even a process of circumfixation.

2.1.1 Number

Plural in both nouns and (third person) verbs is marked by the suffix/enclitic –ji. It follows the multipurpose [ŋ] noun-suffix and possessive markers in the Sora noun word template.

(31)

i. kun sonna-mər-ən-ji həiboi eʔaka-le-n-ji
   DEF say-PST DEF little-person-N.SFX-PL very rejoice-PST-ITR-PL
   ‘the little guys said and rejoiced greatly’
   [Text-1 , line 33]

ii. ənte ɛttele opasən-ən əteŋ kəndəd-ən-ji dəkə-le
   thus like.that drain-LOC-N.SFX many frog-PL COP-PST
   ‘like that there were many frogs in the ditch’
   [Text-1 , line 14]

iii. amben ɡān-ən-ji
   you (PL) tongue-2PL-PL
   ‘your (PL) tongues’
   [OG]

There is no adjective noun concord, but adjectives may be nominalized and then marked for plural.

(32)

i. anin kəddib kəndəd-ən-ji siren anin suŋa
   he all frog-PL from/than he big
   ‘he is bigger than all the other frogs’
   [Text-1 , line 7]

ii. kudub-ən-ji daʔa-leŋ-ən ɡəlu-le-ji
   all-N.SFX-PL water-LOC-N.SFX fall-PST-PL
‘(they) all fell into the water’
[Text-III, line 14]

Numerals may take a similar set of markers as well in Sora.

(33)  
aninji bagu-n-ji b/ən/ŋŋəŋ dɔku-le-ji
they two-N.SFX-PL clan/NMLZR/clan COP-PST-PL
‘both of these were two brothers (of one clan)’
[Text-2, line 2]

While animate nouns generally (but non-obligatorily) take the plural suffix, inanimates often may not.

(34)  
anlen si-len
we hand-1PL
si-len
hand-1PL
anlen si-len
we hand-1PL
‘our hand(s)’
‘our hand(s)’
[OG]

si-ben
hand-2PL
‘your (pl) hand(s)’
[OG]

Two coordinated nouns marked for plural may appear in an asyndetic/juxtaposed form with plural only on the rightmost conjunct. However, both may appear plural-marked as well, so plural is not obligatorily phrasally marked in Sora.

(35)  
uan-ji kɔniet-le-n-a tiki bagu-n-ji jɔnnəŋ
father-3PL die-PST-N.SFX-GEN after two-N.SFX-PL field
sɔrɔba-n-ji mailen bara-le-ji
paddy-N.SFX-PL together work-PST-PL
‘after their father died, they both worked in their fields and paddies together’
[Text-2, line 6]

Except after numerals, where the singular form of the noun is generally used, after quantifiers, (animate) nouns may or may not appear pluralized but inanimates generally do not.

(36)
Sora

i. *aboj tuləb-leŋ-ən*  *dəjəŋ arsi-n-ji*  *dəku-le-ji*
one forest-LOC-N.SFX several monkey-NSFX-PL be-PST-PL
‘a number of monkeys were in a certain forest’
[Text-3, line 1]

ii. *daŋŋ meŋim ettegy*  *bara-le-n-ji-a tiki*  *a-sənna-mər*
several year like.this work-PST-N.SFX/ITR-PL-GEN after 3-young-man

*sukkun*  *a-kako-n-adəʔəŋ*  *sarəba-n*  *er-ti-la-be*
Sukku-N.SFX 3-older.brother-N.SFX=OBJ paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-give-PST-NF:W/O

*anson*  *bara-eten*
himself work-T/A:3

‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’
[Text-2, line 7]

iii. 1.4. *ənte*  *ettele oŋa-leŋ-ən*  *əteŋ kəndəd-ən-ji*  *dəku-le*
thus like.that drain-LOC-N.SFX many frog-PL COP-PST

‘like that there were many frogs in the ditch’
[Text-1, line 4]

iv. *jen 'baagu 'mandra*  *giʔ-tə-l-ay*
I two man see-PST-1
‘I saw two men’
[OG]

2.1.2 Case

The unmarked, basic or uninflected form of the [pro]noun serves the function of the subject, primary (direct/indirect) object and goal arguments as well in Sora. Note that as in all nominal forms, the suffix in -ən, so common in nominal forms in Sora, appears frequently on nouns in any of these functions. This is however, not a case marker per se at least synchronically. For a discussion (without much resolved) on (some of) its use(s), see Starosta (1967: 255-256) and Ramamurti (1931: 16-17).

(37)
i. *aninji anin daʔa-n tiyi?-te-ji*
they s/he water-N.SFX give-NPST-3PL
‘they give him/her water’
[OG]
ii. \textit{en} \textit{bo-ma'qra...bo-man'qra} 'gi?-l-ey
I one-man one-man see-PST-1[:3]
I saw a man. (Note /n/ deletion in rapid speech)
[OG]

iii. \textit{en} \textit{bajar-ən} 'yer-t-e
I market-N.SFX go-NPST[:1/tloc]
I am going to the market.
[OG]

The enclitic -\textit{də}[-\textit{ʃ}]/\textit{ʃə}- ‘body’ (in a possessed form) may function as an oblique object of an animate (or narratively elevated to quasi-animate) primary object argument of a verb that cannot be expressed morphologically in it (the complex system of verb agreement in Sora is discussed in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 below. Thus, this element may be considered an oblique object or dative marker synchronically in Sora. Historically it is probably a (possessed form of the) word meaning ‘body’ (see 2.1.3 below).

(38)

i. \textit{en} \textit{deyvird adəŋ 'gi?-l-ay}
I David OBJ see-PST-1
‘I saw David’ (emphatic)
[OG]

ii. \textit{en} \textit{liŋ'ka-mər-ən a'dəŋ 'gi?-l-ay}
I tall man-N.SFX OBJ:3 see-PST-1
‘I saw the tall man’
[OG]

iii. \textit{en} \textit{bo?onsl-adəŋ je'lu-n tug-le-n je'lu-n}
I one woman-OBJ meat-N.SFX give-PST-NF meat-N.SFX
‘I gave the meat to the woman, meat’
[OG]

iv. \textit{ubban-adəŋ gam-etan amən etenəsən sərəba-n ət-ti-n}
younger.brother-OBJ say-T/A-N.SFX/ITR you why paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-give-1
‘he said to his younger brother ‘why (do) not (you) give me some paddy field’
[Text-2 , line 9]

v. \textit{kun asən kun sənna-dud-ən-ji ra?a-n=adəŋ}
DEF for DEF small-frog-N.SFX-PL elephant:N.SFX=OBJ

\textit{gij-ən} \textit{gij-le} \textit{bəŋ-ə-le} \textit{iersed-le-ji}
see-N.SFX see-PST be.frightened-PST go.AUX-PST-PL
‘because of seeing the elephant, the small frogs were frightened and ran away’
[Text-1, line 12]

vi. bində a-gařin-ji gam-le-ji ian-gamle an̪əgaj-ən-adə?ən təb-be
but 3-friend-PL say-PST-PL how! moon-N.SFX-OBJ take.out-1PL
‘“but how can we get the moon out?” her friends said’
[Text-3, line 7]

vii. ən ʼdones-əm d̥iŋ’diŋ-ti-n-e viii. ən do’lones-əm gələm-t-aı
I OBJ-2 believe-NPST-RFLXV-1 I OBJ-2 know-NPST-1
‘I believe you’ ‘I know you’ [slowly]
[OG]

ix. ən do’lones-əm ?a’-gələm-aı
I OBJ-2 NEG-know-1
‘I do not know you’
[OG]

A different but similar adessive oblique ‘object’ mən- construction is found with verbs like ‘believe’ in forms like the following with a negative marked (and overtly intransitive) verb. Whether this is an idiosyncracy of this speaker from Gajapati district or an example of the kind of object ‘demotion’ one finds in such languages as Russian or Estonian in negative formations is unknown (to genitive/partitive).

(39)
i. ən ʼdones-əm d̥iŋ’diŋ-ti-n-e
I OBJ-2 believe-NPST-RFLXV-1
‘I believe you’
[OG]

ii. ən maŋ-əm ?a’-d̥iŋ’diŋ-n-e... ?a’-d̥iŋ’diŋ-n-e
I ADESS-2 NEG-believe-RFLXV-1 NEG-believe-RFLXV-1
‘I do not believe you’
[OG]

iii. ən maŋ’-əm ?a’-d̥iŋ’diŋ-n-e...
I ADESS-2 NEG-believe-RFLXV-1
‘I do not believe you’
[OG]

When it has its directional or locational meaning it may be augmented by -ba-n,
especially in with non pronominal complements in the form -a-mη -ba-n, e.g. onselo-n-a-mη-ba-n ‘to (near) the woman’ (Starosta 1967: 164).

The clitic or suffix a may appear with pronouns and some nominal formations to mark a genitive-like or possessive relation between a [pro]noun and a noun. The second noun may be a relational noun functioning as a postposition (and with nominalized verbal forms, adverbial clausal subordinators as well). It is here glossed –GEN. It is likely a very old feature of Sora, with parallels in Juang and North Munda. In some instances its function seems to be something akin to the izafet vowel of Persian, serving as an attributive link between nominals.

(40)
i. kuna gailo-n-a jatto abo jơra-n daku-le
DEF road-N.SFX-GEN below one/INDEF ditch/drain-N.SFX COP-PST
‘there was a ditch/drain below that road’
[Text-1 , line 2]

ii. egale kun gơran-ə məndras-ji e-lo-n-a mənη ơre
how DEF town-GEN person-PL PFX-road-N.SFX-GEN beside or

gailun-a mənη ơra-n daku
river-N.SFX:GEN beside ditch/drain-N.SFX come]
‘how it is is that the town people have a drain/ditch either beside a river or by a road’
[Text-1 , line 3]

iii. I.11. anin-a suʔun-ban iar-re[ ...iar-le ]
He-GEN house-all go-PST
‘he (elephant) went to his (big-frog’s) house’
[Text-1 , line 11]

iv. dəjiŋ meŋim ettegoŋ bара-le-n-ji-a tiki a-sənna-mər
several year like.this work-PST-N.SFX/ITR-PL-GEN after 3-young-man

sukkuŋ a-kako-n-a-dɔʔ:ŋ sarɔba-n er-ti-lo-be
Sukku-N.SFX 3-older.brother-N.SFX=OBJ paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-give-PST-NF:W/O

anson bara-eten
himself work-T/A:3
‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’
[Text-2 , line 7]
The complex case suffix –leŋ-ən sometimes just –leŋ marks inessive, general locative and illative functions in Sora.

(41) –leŋ-ən

i. pottar-leŋ-ən jœpa-leŋ-ən tiltil-liŋ-ji
‘they buried themselves in holes and mud’
[Text-1, line 13]

ii. aboj tulb-leŋ-ən dajeŋ arsi-n-ji dōku-le-ji
one forest-LOC-N.SFX several monkey-N.SFX-PL be-PST-PL
‘a number of monkeys were in a certain forest’
[Text-3, line 1]

iii. kun arsi-n gam-eten bo-mənra a-kəndar-leŋ-ən
that monkey-N.SFX say-T/A:3 one person OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX

a-təd-nə-ba
1PL-hold/hang-N-PL:IMP
‘that monkey told them ‘let one of us guys hold/hang from the tree branch’
[Text-3, line 8]

iv. ənte əttele orə-leŋ-ən əteŋ kəndəd-ən-ji dōku-le
thus like.that drain-LOC-N.SFX many frog-PL COP-PST
‘like that there were many frogs in the ditch’
[Text-1, line 14]

v. də bə dinna kuna gai(-leŋ) aboj raʔa-n iar-eted
so one day the road-LOC one/INDEF elephant-N.SFX walk-T/A:3
‘so one day an elephant was walking along the road’
[Text-1, line 9]

vi. e gəkəŋ-ji a-gij-ba anŋaj-ən daʔa-leŋ-ən golu-le
Like many locative elements across the world’s languages, this case may appear with time nouns in Sora as well.

A number of postpositional elements (and relational noun formations, see 2.1.9 below) exist in Sora. Some of these appear to being drawn or have already have been drawn into a now increasing local case system. One such element is the allative marker –ban.

Possession of certain nouns may be marked by enclitic possessive pronominal forms for first and second person (and third plural?) and prefixally/proclitically for third person singular. Sometimes, not insignificant morphophonological shifts occur in stems in possessed forms (see the paradigm for ‘eye’ below). Some pronouns may occur with the genitive/possessor enclitic a. Whether this is the same as the homophonous third person proclitic is unknown at present although they seem to not (usually?) co-occur. Common forms like ‘their hands’ are pronounced as one word usually anyway or use the alternative suffixal/enclitic third plural possessor strategy on the noun itself, like first and second person forms.
i. ŋen-a si-ŋen
I-GEN hand-1
‘my hand’
[OG]

ii. ŋen si-ŋen
I hand-1
‘my hand’

iii. amən-a si-nam
you-GEN hand-2
‘your hand’
[OG]

iv. anlen si-len
we hand-1PL
‘our hand(s)’

v. si-ben
hand-2PL
‘your (PL) hand(s)’
[OG]

vi. aninj-a-sɨ[-n]
they-GEN-hand-N.SFX
‘their hand(s)’
[OG]

vii. aninj-a-sɨ:
they-GEN:3-hand
‘their hand(s)’

viii. maʔ[d]-ŋen
eye-1
‘my eye’
[OG]

ix. maʔ-nam
eye-2
‘your eye’

x. a-məd-an
3-eye-N.SFX
‘his/her eye’
[OG]

xi. maʔ-len
eye-1PL
‘our eye(s)’

xii. moʔ-bim
eye-2PL
‘your (pl) eye(s)’
[OG]

xiii. a-məd-an
3-eye-N.SFX
‘their eye(s)’

xiv. áləŋ
[3:]tongue
‘his/her tongue’
[OG]

xv. áləŋ-ʃən
tongue-1
‘my tongue’

xvi. áləŋ-nəm
tongue-2
‘your tongue’
xxvii. ŋlenn əlaŋ-ʃj n-ji 
we tongue-N.SFX/1PL-PL 
‘our tongues’

xxviii. əmbən əlaŋ-bm-jj 
you (PL) tongue-2PL-PL… tongue-2PL-PL 
‘your (PL) tongues’

[OG]

The variation between prefix/proclitic/enclitic/suffix a between the possessor and possessum and the – on the possessum may be seen in the following pair of sentences with the words/phrases meaning ‘their father’.

(45)

i. əbo  din-ja  aninji-a-uən  kəniet-le
one day they-GEN-[3:]father die-PST 
‘one day their father died’
[Text-2 , line 5]

ii. əuən-ji  kəniet-le-n-a tiki  bəgu-n-ji  jɔnɔŋ  sərəba-n-ji
father-3PL die-PST-N.SFX-GEN after two-N.SFX-PL field paddy-N.SFX-PL

məilen  bəra-le-ji
together work-PST-PL 
‘after their father died, they both worked in their fields and paddies together’
[Text-2 , line 6]

Nouns that begin in a- have an unmarked third (singular) possessive form

(46)

i. anin əʃən  opino  gomango
name-1 Opino Gomango
my name is O. G.
[OG]

ii. bo-mənra-n  əʃim  sukkə  bə  bo-mənra  əʃim  məŋiə  
one person-N.SFX 3:name Sukku and one person:GEN 3:name Manga
‘one was named Sukku one was named Manga’
[Text-2 , line 3]

The possessive marker a- appears most frequently with kin-terms.

(47)

i. biŋdɔ  a-kako-n  kan-ate  əmpəŋ-əŋ  əmpəŋ-le  də
but OBJ-elder.brother-N.SFX that-PRTCL hear-N.SFX hear-PST and

\textit{gij-an gij-le} \quad \textit{b\text{"o}ib\text{"o}} \textit{barab-le}

see-N.SFX see-PST very get.angry:emph-PST

‘but the elder brother got very angry when he heard and saw (all) that (his brother was doing)’

[Text-2, line 8]

\textit{ii.} \textit{bar bondi-lo-n-ji-na tiki d\text{"o}jin dinna de-le anin}

and put.in.jail-PST-N.SFX-PL-GEN after few day become-PST he

\textit{a-duk\text{"o}ri-n} \quad d\text{o} \quad a-on-\text{"o}n-ji \quad jina\text{"o} dol\text{"o}n \quad batte \quad k\text{"o}niet-lo-ji}

3-wife-N.SFX and 3-child-PL also hunger-N.SFX SOC/INS die-PST-PL

‘and a few days after they put him jail, his wife and children also died of starvation’

[Text-2, line 13]

\textit{iii.} \textit{b\text{"o}nd\text{"o}} \textit{a-ubban} \quad \textit{b\text{"o}ib\text{"o}} \textit{barab-le} \quad \textit{i\text{"e}r-\text{"e}r-le}

but OBJ-younger.brother very get.angry-PST go-N.SFX go-PST

\textit{anin a-d\text{"o}\text{"o}?\text{"o}} \textit{tu\text{"e}b-eten}

he OBJ thrash?-T/A:3

‘but the younger brother got very angry went to him and thrashed? him’

[Text-2, line 10]

Nouns in the possessive \textit{a}- form may appear in any function in the sentence, e.g. subject, various kinds of objects.

(48)

\textit{i. kun ansi-n kun angaj-\text{"o}n-a-d\text{"o}?\text{"o}} \textit{gij-an gij-le} \quad \textit{a-gar\text{"i}n-ji-ad\text{"o}?\text{"o}}

that monkey-N.SFX that moon-N.SFX-OBJ see-N.SFX see-PST 3-friend-PL-OBJ

\textit{gam-eten}

tell-T/A:3

‘that monkey saw that moon and told her friends’

[Text-3, line 4]

\textit{ii.} \textit{III.7.} \textit{bind\text{"o}} \textit{a-gar\text{"i}n-ji} \textit{gam-le-ji ian-gamle angaj-\text{"o}n-ad\text{"o}?\text{"o}} \textit{t\text{"e}b-be}

but 3-friend-PL say-PST-PL how! moon-OBJ take.out-1PL

‘but how can we get the moon out?” her friends said’

[Text-3, line 7]
Sometimes the use of what appears to be the a- possessive prefix does not appear to be motivated or at least typical of its ‘usual’ uses. In some instances, it may be functioning more as a definite marker, as in it use in the word a-sənna-mər below.

\[(49)\]
\[
dajiq menim ettegy bara-le-n-ji-a tiki a-sənna-mər
\]
\[
sukkun a-kako-n-a-dɔʔən sarɔba-n er-ti-lə-be
\]
\[
anson bara-eten
\]
\[
‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’
\]
\[
[Text-2 , line 7]
\]

In the following example, its use is even more curious. The phrase a-kəndar-leŋ-ən sərəŋ ‘from on the branch’ is a postposition sərəŋ and a -leŋ-ən (locative) case marked noun of a stem kəndar ‘branch’. It is not yet clear what motivates this other than possibly the same kind of ‘definite’ marking that seems to characterize its use in the example above.

\[(50)\]
\[
aninji kon gam-ən gam-le ajariŋ-nə a-kəndar-leŋ-ən sərəŋ
\]
\[
aninji aŋgaj-ən-adəʔən a-ŋidəb-bən-əsən
\]
\[
aləŋi təd-le-n təd-le-n aškai-le-n-ji
\]
\[
‘they thus discussed and then really began to pick up the moon hanging from the branch from each other’s tails’
\]
\[
[Text-3 , line 12]
\]

2.1.4 Definiteness

Definiteness does not have a particular realization per se in the morphology of the Sora noun (phrase). The characteristic suffix -ən may appear with all kinds of nouns and does not appear to be restricted with regards to definiteness with our current state of understanding. An indefinite specific referent in narratives is usually qualified with the numeral abəj ‘one’.
2.1.5 Class/Gender

Class or gender are not an active part of Sora morphosyntax. There are both covert classes seen in the realization of various types of morphosyntactic phenomena (e.g. the restriction of the ‘oblique/dative object’ element to animates or narratively energized inanimate referents (for example ‘the moon’ that is serving as a character in a story). Relics of noun classes may be found in the prefix that typify Sora noun structure (see 2.1.10) but the semantics of these remain an object of intensive future study. Gender of masculine/feminine elements can be signalled by various indigenous compounding means [=mar (etc.) ‘man, person’, =boj (female)] as well as in a limited set of loan words via the Indo-Aryan suffixal contrast –a (masculine) –i (feminine)–a similar system to those found across the Munda languages. Some words combine the two means dan̕g podía=mar and dan̕gədi=boj ‘young man’ and ‘young woman’, respectively.

2.1.6 Pronouns

The personal pronouns of Gajapati Gumma Sora are offered in (52) below. It is a simple 3 x 2 system.

(52) Pronouns
Reflexive pronouns may be formed with the reflexive –dəm.

(54)
\[
\text{nasəntan aninji-dəm təə/ubaj-le-ji} \\
\text{in vain they.selves drown/CAUS/-PST-PL}
\]
‘in vain they got themselves drowned’
[Text-3, line 16]

Starosta lists a set of emphatic first and second plural pronouns anlenji and ambenji (1967: 276).

Third person pronouns can be used definite markers in noun phrases in Sora along with demonstratives, adjectives and nouns.

(55)
i. əntannəy kuni anin sura-dəd-ən ier-ai-ted
then DEF he big-frog-N.SFX go/come-CLOC-T/A:3
‘then that one, him, the big frog, came back’ [Text- 1, line 14]

ii. aninji sōnna-dōd-ōn-ji gam-le-ji amōn sireq boiboi suṇa
they small-frog-PL say-PST-PL you from very big
‘the small frogs (, they) said “much bigger than you”’ [Text- 1, line 23]

iii. anin kuddib kōndōd-ōn-ji sireq anin suṇa
he all frog-N.SFX-PL from/than he big
‘he is bigger than all the other frogs’ [Text-1 , line 7]

Wh-questions in Sora involve a variety of elements. These include ian ‘how’ ete-n ‘what’
iando ‘why’ ete-n-asōn ‘why’, iay ‘who’.

(56)
i. anin ian de-le
he how become-PST
‘what happened to him’

ii. iando tid-t-in
why hit-NPST-1
‘why are (you) hitting me?’

Interrogative pronouns with the additive focus marker are used as indefinites in Sora as in
many other Eurasian languages and indeed many Munda languages, e.g. Gta? (Anderson,
this volume).

(57)
ete-jō ti-jn
what-also give-1
‘give me anything!’
(Starosta 1967: 288)

2.1.7 Demonstratives

Sora has a developed deictic and demonstrative system like most other Munda languages.
Some common elements found include ənt- ‘that’ and kun[a] ‘this/that’, kōni ‘this’ te?ne
‘here’ te?te ‘there’, etc.

(58)
i. əntannəŋ kuni anin suṇa-dōd-ən ier-ai-ted
then DEF he big-frog-N.SFX go/come-CLOC-T/A:3
‘then that one, him, the big frog, came back’
ii. \textit{ant aiem-legen\text dash anin suqad\text dash\text dash\text dash et-daku\text dash\text dash\text dash}. \textit{that time-LOC-N.SFX he big-frog-N.SFX NEG\text dash COP\text dash NEG[PST:3]}. ‘at that time he, the big-frog, wasn’t there’

iii. \textit{ante ettele ora\text dash\text dash\text dash le\text dash\text dash\text dash gen\text dash\text dash\text dash ete\text dash kandod\text dash\text dash\text dash\text dash ji daku\text dash\text dash\text dash le}. ‘like that there were many frogs in the ditch’

iv. \textit{antopsele anlen k\text dash en begi\text dash ra a\text dash so\text dash le\text dash n\text dash ai}. ‘therefore we went and hid in (the[se]) different places’

v. \textit{kuna gail\text dash a\text dash n\text dash a jatto aboj ora\text dash n daku\text dash le}. ‘there was a ditch/drain below that road’

vi. \textit{kun as\text dash en kun sonna\text dash dov\text dash en\text dash ji raja\text dash n\text dash ado\text dash ej\text dash gen gij\text dash an gij\text dash le}. ‘because of seeing the elephant, the small frogs were frightened and ran away’

vii. \textit{enale kun oran\text dash o mendra\text dash ji a\text dash lo\text dash n\text dash a men\text dash gen oran daku}. ‘how it is is that the town people have a drain/ditch either beside a river or by a road’

viii. \textit{do b\text dash en dinna kun a\text dash gail\text dash le\text dash gen aboj raja\text dash n iar\text dash eted}. ‘so one day an elephant was walking along the road’
ix. kun arsi-n kun  angaj-әn-adә?ә  gij-an gij-le
that monkey-N.SFX  that moon-N.SFX-OBJ  see-N.SFX see-PST

a-gaɾɪ̂ŋ-ji-a-ә?ә  gam-eten
3-friend-PL-OBJ  tell-гә:гә
‘that monkey saw that moon and told her friends’
[Text-3 , line 4]

Starosta (1967: 203-4) lists the following demonstrative forms for Sora using the elements
–ne (corresponding to әn) and –te (corresponding to kun) in a roughly proximal/distal
opposition.

(59)
ә?ne  ‘like this’  ә?te  ‘like that’
ә?negәj  ‘like this, this way’  ә?teгәj  ‘like that, that way’
dәki jne  ‘this (little)’  dәki jte  ‘that (little)’
dәko?ne  ‘this (big)’  dәko?te  ‘this (big)’
te?ne  ‘here’  te?te  ‘there’
are?ne  ‘around here’  sәle?te  ‘at that time’

2.1.8 Numerals

Sora employs a base-12, base-20 system that is productive up into the thousands. It shows
some signs of restructuring or variation. The following set were collected in March 2007,
from Oruncho Gomango, age 50 in Gumma block, Gajapati district, Orissa, India.

(60)
абой  ‘1’  bago  ‘2’
yәqi  ‘3’  unji  ‘4’
mәnләy  ‘5’  tudru  ‘6’
gulji  ‘7’  t’gәmәji  ‘8’
tинji  ‘9’  gelji  ‘10’
gelмуй  ‘11’  migel  ‘12’
mигелбәy  ‘13’  [migelbagu]  ['14']
migelyәqi  ‘15’  migelunji  ‘16’
migelмәnләy  ‘17’  migeltudru  ‘18’
migелgәлji  ‘19’  bәkuri  ‘20’
bәkuri abой  ‘21’  bәkuri bagu  ‘22’
bәkuri yәqi  ‘23’  bәkuri unji  ‘24’
bәkuri мәnләy  ‘25’  bәkuri tudru  ‘26’
| SORA |
|---|---|---|
| bokuri gulji | ‘27’ bokuri t’amji | ‘28’ |
| bokuri tiynji | ‘29’ bokuri gelji | ‘30’ |
| bokuri gelmuy | ‘31’ bokuri migel | ‘32’ |
| bokuri migelboy | ‘33’ bokuri migelbagu | ‘34’ |
| bokuri migelyagi | ‘35’ bokuri migelunji | ‘36’ |
| bokuri migelmanloy | ‘37’ bokuri migeltudru | ‘38’ |
| bokuri migelgulji | ‘39’ bokuri | ‘40’ |
| bakuri aboy | ‘41’ bakuri bagu | ‘42’ |
| bakuri yagi | ‘43’ bakuri unji | ‘44’ |
| bakuri monloy | ‘45’ bakuri tudru | ‘46’ |
| bakuri gulji | ‘47’ bakuri t’amji | ‘48’ |
| bakuri tinji | ‘49’ bakuri gelji | ‘50’ |
| bakuri gelmuy | ‘51’ bakuri migel | ‘52’ |
| bakuri migelboy | ‘53’ bakuri migelbagu | ‘54’ |
| bakuri migelyagi | ‘55’ bakuri migelunji | ‘56’ |
| bakuri migelmanloy | ‘57’ bakuri migeltudru | ‘58’ |
| bakuri migelgulji | ‘59’ yakuri | ‘60’ |
| yakuri aboy | ‘61’ yakuri bagu | ‘62’ |
| yakuri yagi | ‘63’ yakuri unji | ‘64’ |
| yakuri monloy | ‘65’ yakuri tudru | ‘66’ |
| yakuri gulji | ‘67’ yakuri t’amji | ‘68’ |
| yakuri tinji | ‘69’ yakuri gelji | ‘70’ |
| yakuri gelmuy | ‘71’ yakuri migel | ‘72’ |
| yakuri migelboy | ‘73’ yakuri migelbagu | ‘74’ |
| yakuri migelyagi | ‘75’ yakuri migelunji | ‘76’ |
| yakuri migelmanloy | ‘77’ yakuri migeltudru | ‘78’ |
| yakuri migelgulji | ‘79’ unjikuri | ‘80’ |
| unjikuri aboy | ‘81’ unjikuri bagu | ‘82’ |
| unjikuri yagi | ‘83’ unjikuri unji | ‘84’ |
| unjikuri monloy | ‘85’ unjikuri i tudru | ‘86’ |
| unjikuri gulji | ‘87’ unjikuri t’amji | ‘88’ |
| unjikuri t’inji | ‘89’ unjikuri gelji | ‘90’ |
| unjikuri gelmuy | ‘91’ unjikuri migel | ‘92’ |
| unjikuri migelboy | ‘93’ unjikuri migelbagu | ‘94’ |
| unjikuri migelyagi | ‘95’ unjikuri migelunji | ‘96’ |
| unjikuri migelmanloy | ‘97’ unjikuri migeltudru | ‘98’ |
| unjikuri migelgulji | ‘99’ bo sua | ‘100’ |
No plural form of the noun is used after a numeral in Sora but they may trigger (semantic) plural verb agreement.

(61)
\[
dijey-\text{antide} \quad \text{sua} \quad \text{s`onna-dod-\text{-on}} \quad d\text{`oku-le-ji}
\]
how.many \quad 100 \quad \text{little-frog-N.SFX} \quad \text{COP-PST-PL}

‘how many hundreds of little frogs there were!’

[Text-1, line 5]

Numeral stems themselves are commonly either found in nominal compounds, or may be nominalized and themselves take plural marking.

(62)

i. \text{bagu-m\text{-}or-an-ji} \quad \text{\text{\$eme}le \text{kata-n-a+ber}}

two person-N.SFX-PL \quad about \text{talk-N.SFX-GEN-word}

‘The story of two people’

[Text-2, line 1]

ii. \text{aninji} \quad \text{bagu-n-ji} \quad \text{b/\text{\$an}/\text{\$\text{\$an}}} \quad d\text{\$oku-le-ji}

they \quad two-N.SFX-PL \quad clan/NMLZR/clan \quad \text{COP-PST-PL}

‘there were two brothers (of one clan)’

[Text-2, line 2]

Unlike many other Munda languages, there does not appear to be a difference, or at least not a rigidly maintained distinction, between animate and inanimate forms of the word ‘one’; for example, both are \text{aboj} in the sentences below.

(63)

i. \text{aboj} \text{tul\text{-}\text{\$ey-\text{-on}}} \quad \text{d\text{`o}je\text{y} \text{arsi-n-ji}} \quad d\text{`oku-le-ji}

one \text{forest-LOC-N.SFX} \quad \text{several monkey-NSFX-PL} \quad \text{be-PST-PL}

‘a number of monkeys were in a certain forest’

[Text-3, line 1]

ii. \text{\$o \text{\$o} \\text{\$inna \text{\$kun a-\text{\$ail\text{-}\text{-e}}\text{-\text{-\text{-on}}} \text{\text{\$\text{\$oj} \text{ra\text{-}\text{-n}} \text{\text{\$ar\text{-e}}\text{\text{-\text{-\text{-ed}}} \text{\text{\$so one day DEF OBJ-road-LOC one elephant-N.SFX walk-T/A:3}}

‘so one day an elephant was walking along the road’

[Text-1, line 9]

2.1.9 Adpositions

\text{bosua migel} \quad ‘112’ \quad \text{bagusua} \quad \text{bagusoa} \quad ‘200’
\text{monloysua} \quad ‘500’ \quad \text{bo ajar} \quad ‘1000’
A range of variably clitic or free-standing postpositional elements are characteristic of the Sora nominal system. Some of these appear with the noun in the basic, unmarked form, while with others, so called relational nouns, the noun complement appears in a dependent/genitive form.

Some examples of postpositions taking the basic form of the noun, which is the largest class by far include the following.

(64)
i. ʻantannəŋ kuni anin supa-dod-ən ier-ai-ted
then DEF he big-frog-N.SFX go/come-CLOC-T/A:3
‘then that one, him, the big frog, came back’
[Text-1, line 14]

ii. pen je‘lu-n a’san boi?ənsəlɔ? ɔ’pun-l-ai?
I meat-N.SFX for woman tell-PST-1
‘I told the woman about the meat’
[OG]

iii. nem ‘boonsəlou ba‘tiy ʻtuilib-ən ʻyer-ə-er
I woman with forest-N.SFX go-PST-1
‘I went to the forest with the woman’
[OG]

iv. ʻtuilibən seviŋ ‘boonsəlou ba‘tiy pen ʻyer-ə-ar
forest-N.SFX from woman with I go-PST-CLOC/1
‘I came from the forest with the woman’
[OG]

v. ʻenjuwam ba‘tiy aŋna’don=el-l-ay
axe with tree-N.SFX-OBJ=cut-PST-1
‘I cut down the tree with an axe’
[OG]

vi. bagu-mər-an-ji əmele kata-n-a+ber
two person-N.SFX-PL about talk-N.SFX-GEN-word
‘The story of two people’
[Text-2, line 1]

vii. aninji kən gam-ən gam-le ajarij-nə a-kəndar-ley-ən sərey
they that say-N.SFX say-PST really-EMPH OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX from
alanji ted-le-n ted-le-n aninji aŋŋaj-ən-adɔŋə a-piŋəb-ben-asən

724

askai-le-n-ji
prepare-PST-[ITR/RFLXV]-PL
‘they thus discussed and then really began to pick up the moon hanging from the branch from each other’s tails’
[Text-3, line 12]

On the other hand, some relational noun adpositions prefer their noun complement to be in the genitive case form.

(65)

i. kun a-gailɛ-n-a jattə abɔj ɔra-n dəka-le
DEF PFX-road-N.SFX-GEN below one ditch/drain-N.SFX COP-PST
‘there was a ditch/drain below that road’
[Text-1, line 2]

ii. eŋale kun ɡɔran-ə məndræ-ji ə-lo-n-a mənɛy ɔye
how DEF town-GEN person-PL PFX-road-N.SFX-GEN beside or

ɡailun-a mənɛy ɔra-n daku
river-N.SFX:EN beside ditch/drain-N.SFX be[come]
‘how it is is that the town people have a drain/ditch either beside a river or by a road’
[Text-1, line 3]

This pattern is also seen with subordinate clause complements of various types, thus certain clausal subordinators appear to be a sub-type of adpositional element (relational nouns (i.e. ones that take genitive complements) that take clausal complements).

(66)

bər bɔndi-lɔ-nji-na tiki dɔjun dinna de-le anin
and put.in.jail-PST-N.SFX-PL-GEN after few day become-PST he

a-dukanən dɔ a-on-ɛn-ji jinay doləwən batte kəniet-lɔ-ji
3-wife-N.SFX and 3-child-PL also hunger-N.SFX SOC/INS die-PST-PL
‘and a few days after they put him jail, his wife and children also died of starvation’
[Text-2, line 13]

There are also the case-like adpositions which appear to be a class of relational nouns. This includes the oblique object marker dɔ[ʔɔ]n the adessive ɔnay etc., see 2.1.2 above.

2.1.10 Derivation
As alluded to above, Sora makes extensive use of root/stem-compounds and lexicalized derivational elements in the creation of its nominal lexicon. At the heart of this is the use combination with a set of largely monosyllabic combining forms or nominal roots and a host of compounding and derivational processes that serve to derive inflectable of free-standing syntactic elements or words/noun phrases. All South Munda languages show this system to some degree but it is most pronounced in Sora and Gta? (see Anderson this volume).

In Sora, the means used to derive the syntactically free-standing full forms from their corresponding combining forms include reduplication, prefixation, infixation, suffixation, and compounding. In a small number of instances there are suppletive combining form/freee form sets (A. Zide 1976, Starosta 1992). A discussion of this is found in Anderson (2007), on which the following is based. One common means of deriving free forms of nouns from monosyllabic roots in Sora was via prefixation of an original syllabic nasal, synchronically realized as [ɾ] (67).

(67) \( \sigma- < *N- \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \sigma\text{dya} )</td>
<td>=\text{day}</td>
<td>‘bee-hive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \sigma\text{leb} )</td>
<td>=\text{leb}</td>
<td>‘wild-goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \sigma\text{soy} )</td>
<td>=\text{soy}</td>
<td>‘dung’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Starosta 1992: 85-86; Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

Another common prefixal element that was used to derive full forms from corresponding monosyllabic (combining form) elements was *kVN-, where V is either -i- or \( \sigma \), (sometimes \( u \) assimilated to a following \( u \)).

(68) *kVN-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kinsod} )</td>
<td>=\text{sod}</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{k\text{ombud}} )</td>
<td>=\text{bud}</td>
<td>‘bear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{k\text{ontuj}} )</td>
<td>=\text{tuj}</td>
<td>‘owl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kimpuy} )</td>
<td>=\text{puy}</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Starosta 1992: 85-86; Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

A small number of other prefixes may be evinced when comparing Sora combining forms and free forms. These include *V/N- realized as a non-high vowel and a usually assimilating nasal, on- and u-.

(69) i. *V/N-
### Sora

#### ii. on-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on[d]rey</td>
<td>=reŋ</td>
<td>‘rat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ontid</td>
<td>=tid</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

#### iii. u-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uab</td>
<td>=ab</td>
<td>‘vegetable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umud</td>
<td>=mud</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usal</td>
<td>=sal</td>
<td>‘skin’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

A very small number of nouns seem to be compounds of the noun-noun shape, where the dominant root element (i.e. the one used as a combining form) is the second member. These include the following:

(70) \(X\)-√

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boman</td>
<td>=maŋ</td>
<td>‘chameleon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorzaŋ</td>
<td>=zaŋ</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

Another means of deriving bimoraic/bisyllabic full forms of nouns in Sora from corresponding monomoraic/monosyllabic combining forms is reduplication (71). This takes the shape of a CV(C) copy of the stem.

(71) *Reduplication-X

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saŋsaŋ</td>
<td>=saŋ</td>
<td>‘turmeric’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuŋtuŋ</td>
<td>=tuŋ</td>
<td>‘star’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tittin</td>
<td>=tin</td>
<td>‘tamarind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)
Infixed elements of various lexically restricted sorts may be found as well (e.g.-l-, -d-, -a-, or -s) in order to derive free standing full-forms from corresponding combining root forms of nouns in Sora.

(74)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boled</td>
<td>=bed</td>
<td>‘feathers, plume’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodib</td>
<td>=kib</td>
<td>‘sword’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruay</td>
<td>=ruy</td>
<td>‘sky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bosed/bosud</td>
<td>=bud</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisit</td>
<td>=bii</td>
<td>‘district chief’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

6  Note that this is a pan-Munda feature (dating from the Proto-Munda era) and indeed and archaic derivational process attested throughout the Austroasiatic languages.
True suffixed forms do not appear to be overly common. Some recurrent elements have been noted, which may constitute suffixes used to derive phonotactically acceptable free forms of nouns from their monosyllabic combining forms. These include -al, -eŋ, and -en. For more on this, see below and Anderson and Zide 2002, Anderson 2004b)

(75) i. √-al

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taŋal</td>
<td>=taŋ</td>
<td>‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aŋɔl</td>
<td>=aŋ</td>
<td>‘fuel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

ii. √-eŋ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dareŋ</td>
<td>=dar</td>
<td>‘horn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dereŋ</td>
<td>=der</td>
<td>‘horn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

iii. √-en

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raŋen</td>
<td>=ray</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ riŋen</td>
<td>=riŋ</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

Much more common is root-root compounding with the dominant root – the one that appears as the combining form – being the first element.

(76) √-X forms (compounds and suffixed forms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Combining Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>benta</td>
<td>=ben</td>
<td>‘hunting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boŋtel</td>
<td>=boŋ</td>
<td>‘buffalo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buŋsaŋ</td>
<td>=buŋ</td>
<td>‘cattle trough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daŋgu</td>
<td>=daŋ</td>
<td>‘stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daŋki</td>
<td>=daŋ</td>
<td>‘pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darej</td>
<td>=dar</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sambi</td>
<td>=sam</td>
<td>‘buttocks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tember</td>
<td>=tem</td>
<td>‘rat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saŋka</td>
<td>=saŋ</td>
<td>‘neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eŋra</td>
<td>=eŋ</td>
<td>‘cucumber’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonological variants of certain nouns may account for some seemingly anomalous full form: combining form correspondence sets. The general lack of *ŋ in syllable onset position in Sora (with a small number of lexical exceptions) blocks the surface realization of the first combining form below, while the second form preserves the initial-[s] in the combining form that has been lost in the corresponding free form.

(77) Full Form | Combining Form | Gloss
---|---|---
ŋal | =al | ‘clearing on field’ (< *ŋal-)
ali | =sal | ‘liquor’
(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.)

Suppletive forms are also found, where the combining form and the full form bear no relationship to each other phonologically or morphologically, but rather constitute a set of words that form a synchronic paradigm of heterogeneous diachronic origin (of the go/went sort).

(78) Full Form | Combining Form | Gloss
---|---|---
rogo | =san | ‘red-gram’
batì | =pud | ‘mushroom’
ənselo | =boi | ‘woman’
(Ramamurti 1931: 69ff.; 43)

Note that in Sora numeral and adjectives/adjectivals may combine in a stem compound {Num-N}/{Adj-N} rather than appear in an Numeral [Num N] or Adjectival Phrase [Adj N].

i. ajarid po gam-le anin suŋa-mor
true DOUBT say-PST he big-person
‘“is that really true?” he, the big guy said’
[Text-1, line 24]

ii. d̪t turkasiŋ-an anin-adɔ?ŋə bɔndi-lɔ-jit
DISC jail-N.SFX he-OBJ put.in.jail-PST-PL
‘they put him in jail’
[Text-2, line 12]

Complex derivational masses can arise through the concatenation of words that typifies many Munda languages (so-called tag and echo words, in addition to the elaborate compounding structures of Sora) each with multiple derivational elements. Note in this regard the following monster noun form: j-əŋ-r-om+g-əŋ-r-a-n-ji ‘food supplies’ from
*jom+ga* ‘eat meal’ and two infixes each in the verbal stems *-ən* and *–r* (Starosta 1967: 66). More than one way of deriving nouns from for example a single verb stem with differences in meaning may also be seen in a limited number of instances in Sora, e.g. from *ga* ‘drink, eat’ we find *g-ən-a-ga-n* ‘potables’ and *ga-ga-n-ən* ‘eating’ (Starosta 1967: 215).

2.1.11 Adjectives

Adjective as an independent word class has yet to be justified in Sora. Many adjectival forms in Sora appear in nominal compounds as phrase-words rather than syntactic phrases. Other adjectives in Sora appear pre-nominally in modificational function. They may also be used predicatively with a zero-copula in NPST formations.

(79)

i. *dijeq-antide* sua *sonna-dud-ən dəku-le-ji*

how many 100 little-frog-N.SFX COP-PST-PL

‘how many hundreds of little frogs there were!’

[Text-1, line 5]

ii. *anin suqa-dud-ən a-ber-n-an etente beren aninji*

he big-frog-N.SFX PFX-say-N.SFX what say-N.SFX they

*sonna-dud-ən-ji mane-le-ji*

small-frog-N.SFX-PL obey-PST-PL

‘whatever the big frog said, the small frogs obeyed, had to obey’

[Text-1, line 8]

iii. *døjij nənəm etteroxy bara-le-ŋ-ja-ta tiki*

several year like.this work-PST-N.SFX/ITR-PL-GEN after

*a-sonna-μər sukkun a-kako-n-a-doʔəŋ sarəba-n*

3-young-man Sukku-N.SFX 3-older.brother-N.SFX=OBJ paddy.field-N.SFX

*er-ti-lo-be anson bara-eten*

NEG-give-PST-NF:W/O himself work-T/A:3

‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’

[Text-2, line 7]

Comparatives are formed by the construction: {Noun *sirej* [qualifier] Adjective}, with *sirej* being the ablative postposition ‘from’.
(80)

\textit{aninji s\'onna-d\'on-ji gam-le-ji am\'on sire\'y boiboi su\'a}

they small-frog-N.SFX-PL say-PST-PL you from very big
‘the small frogs (, they) said “much bigger than you”’
[Text-1, line 23]

Superlatives are built off this with the construction: \{\textit{kuddib Noun sire\'y [qualifier] Adjective}\}, where \textit{kuddib} means ‘all’.

(81)

\textit{anin kuddib k\'ondod-\'on-ji sire\'y anin su\'a}

he all frog-N.SFX-PL from he big
‘he is bigger than all the other frogs’
[Text-1, line 7]

2.1.12 Adverb(ial)s

Adverbials in Sora are uniflecting elements that modify verbal actions and stand in a preverbal position preferentially. Many occur in clause-initial position

(82)

i. \textit{uan-ji k\'oniet-le-n-a tiki baqu-n-ji j\'onn\'o s\'ar\'ha-n-ji}

father-3pl die-PST-N.SFX-GEN after two-N.SFX-PL field paddy-N.SFX-PL

mailen bara-le-ji
together work-PST-PL
‘after their father died, they both worked in their fields and paddies together’
[Text-2, line 16]

ii. \textit{tikki aninji \textasciitilde{}l\'o\'y-le-n-ji do etenas\'on a-s\'o-le-n}

afterwards they answer-PST-[ITR]-PL so why 2PL-hide-PST-ITR

gam-le su\'a-dud-\'on
say-PST big-frog-N.SFX
‘after that they answered,and the big-frog said “why did you hide?”’
[Text-1, line 17]

iii. \textit{\textasciitilde{}nt\'os\'e\'le anlen k\'on begi\'a a-s\'o-le-n-ai}

therefore we DEF different.place 1PL-[go.]hide-PST-CLOC/1PL
‘therefore we went and hid in (the[se]) different places’
[Text-1, line 19]
Nouns in Sora, often in the suffixed -en form, may appear in an adverbial function as well, for example, certain common temporal nouns.

(83)
\[
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
 \text{aninji} & \text{tomba-n} & \text{annen} & \text{jum-le} & \text{ga-le} & \text{tɔgəl-en} & \text{annen} & \text{abo}: \\
\text{they} & \text{noon-N.SFX} & \text{during} & \text{eat-PST} & \text{drink-PST} & \text{at.night-N.SFX} & \text{during one}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
 mənɛn & \text{bɔnda-n} & \text{a-bo} & \text{ara-leγ-en} & \text{dimɔl-le-n-ji} \\
\text{edge} & \text{tank-N.SFX OBJ-one} & \text{tree-LOC-N.SFX} & \text{sleep-PST-ITR-PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘they would eat and drink during the day and at night they would sleep in a tree in one corner of a tank’

[Text-3, line 2]

Some examples of Sora adverbials in our corpus include:

(84) Wh-words
\[
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
 \text{uan} & \text{a-iɛr-re} & \text{ɛnn-ølɛn-n-ed-ji} \\
\text{where} & \text{2PL-go-PST} & \text{NEG-answer-PST-NEG-PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘where did you go?’; they didn’t answer him’

[Text-1, line 16]

(85) Time adverbials
\[
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
 \text{nam} & \text{‘now’} \\
\text{‘now’} & \text{(Ramamurti 1931: 53)}
\end{array}
\]

(86) Reduplicated time adverbials
\[
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
 ‘aŋaŋ’ & ‘aŋaŋ’ & \text{‘sometimes’} \\
\end{array}
\]

(87) Deictic day names (Ramamurti 1931: 53)
\[
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
 ‘nayaːnam’ & \text{today} \\
 ‘biyo’ & \text{tomorrow} \\
 ‘peramme, ən(ɔ)b’ & \text{‘day after tomorrow’} \\
 ‘rboː’ & \text{‘yesterday’} \\
 ‘rubən’tay, moyed’ & \text{‘day before yesterday’}
\end{array}
\]
Some adverbials formally appear fully reduplicated in Sora. A special class of these are treated in 2.3 below.

(88)

‘moyed ‘day before yesterday’, ‘previous’

moyed ‘moyəd ‘recently’ (Ramamurti 1931: 178)

2.2 Verbal Morphology

The verbal morphology of Sora is complex to be sure. It is fairly straightforward from a pan-Munda comparative perspective, although as a likely early off-shoot of Proto-Munda, it has certain important idiosyncratic and individuating characteristics (see Anderson 2007 for more).

2.2.1 Subject

The subject markers in Sora for one class of verbs are as follows:

(89)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-e[y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-e[y]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(90)

i. giʔy-t-ay  
see-NPST-1

ii. giʔy-t-ey  
see-NPST-2/3

‘I see’

iii. anıŋ giʔy-t-ey

‘you see’

‘s/he sees’

[OG]

iv. ənten a-giʔy-t-ay  
we 1/2PL-see-NPST-1

v. amben a-giʔy-t-ey  
you 1/2PL-see-NPST-2/3

‘we see’

‘you (PL) see’

vi. anınjı giʔ-te-ji  
they see-NPST-3PL

‘they see’

[OG]

A noun may be marked with the plural suffix but the verb lack it in Sora.

(91)

ente ettele opa-leŋ-ən ətəŋ kəndōd-ən-ji ḍəkə-le

thus like.that drain-LOC-N.SFX many frog-N.SFX-PL COP-PST

‘like that there were many frogs in the ditch’

[Text-1, line 4]
The reverse is also true, where a semantically plural noun (e.g. the complement of a numeral over one if semantically animate) may trigger plural verb agreement even if formally lacking the plural marker itself.

(92)
\texttt{dịje-n antide sua sọnna-dud-ən dọku-le-ji}
how\_many 100 little-frog-N.SFX COP-PST-PL
\texttt{‘how many hundreds of little frogs there were!’ [Text-1, line 5]}

Naturally both are possible as well, with both subject noun and verb marked with the plural suffix/enclitic \textit{ji}.

(93)
\texttt{aninji sọnna-dud-ən-jī gam-le-ji amən sireŋ boiboi sọra}
they small-frog-N.SFX-PL say-PST-PL you from very big
\texttt{‘the small frogs (, they) said “much bigger than you”’ [Text-1, line 23]}

First plural subject marking in Sora is either prefixal or circumfixal, consisting of a prefix \textit{a-} and suffix/enclitic –\textit{ai/ay}, also found with first singular subjects.

(94)
i. \texttt{əntɔpsale anlen kən begiŋa a-sə-le-n-ai}
therefore we DEF different.place 1PL-[go.]hide-PST-CLOC/1PL
\texttt{‘therefore we went and hid in (the[se]) different places’ [Text-1, line 19]}

ii. \texttt{ənlen daʔa-n a-tiy-t-ay}
we water-N.SFX 1PL-give-NPST-1
\texttt{‘we give (him/her) water’ [OG]}

First plural subjects with second singular objects drop the –\textit{ai/ay} part of the marker and replace that part of the verbal word-template with the second singular object marker –\textit{am}. They remain one of the few bi-personal verb forms in the language.

(95)
\texttt{a-tiy-t-əm}
1PL-give-NPST-[1>2]
\texttt{‘we give you’ [OG]}
With first singular subjects and second singular objects, this suppression means the forms agree with their objects only.

(96)
i. *pen daʔa-n tiy-t-am*
   I water-N.SFX give-NPST-[1＞2]
   ‘I (will) give you water’

ii. *rban pen daʔa-n tiy-l-am*
   yesterday I water-N.SFX give-PST-[1＞2]
   ‘I gave you water yesterday’

Second plural subject has the prefix *a*; it may have a circumfixal suffix component but the suffix is either zero or –*e*[y], whatever the second/third singular form is.

(97)
i. *uan a-iər-re ənn-ələʔ-n-ed-ji*
   where 2PL-go-PST NEG-answer-PST-NEG-PL
   ‘where did you go?’; they didn’t answer him
   [Text-1, line 16]

ii. *tikki aninji ələʔ-le-n-ji dɔ enenasən a-sə-le-n*
   after they answer-PST-[ITR]-PL so why 2PL-hide-PST-ITR
   *gam-le sura-dod-ən*
   say-PST big-frog-N.SFX
   ‘after that they answered, and the big-frog said “why did you hide?”’
   [Text-1, line 17]

There are at least two other conjugational types (more if you include ones that obligatorily use –*n* as well) in Sora based on the system of subject inflection. One has the suffixal agreement marker -*be* (~ –*biy*) for example in the first plural.

(98)
i. *aninji po pɔisa-n paŋ-ai-ji dɔ gam-be*
   they Q/DOUBT money-N.SFX carry-CLOC-PL DISC say-1PL
   ‘we say “will they bring the money?”’
   (Starosta 1967: 146)

ii. *ʻbyorįʻ alʻlen arʻ-giʔ-tə-biy*
   tomorrow we RECIP-see-NPST-1PL
   ‘tomorrow we will see each other’

iii. *alʻlen arʻ-giʔ-tə-biy*
   we RECIP-see-NPST-1PL
   ‘we see ourselves’
Another set has what appear to be object markers used as subject markers. These are like undergoer subject markers.

(99)

*anin boiboi barab-l-ij*

He very get.angry-PST-1

‘I got very angry at him’

(Starosta 1967: 109)

Sometimes impersonal formations are encountered and there is no agreement with the logical ‘subject’.

(100)

*pen ete-n-a-gam-ben de-te*

I what-N.SFX-DEP-say-INF AUX-NPST

‘what should I say’

(Starosta 1967: 109)

### 2.2.2 Object Types

Sora belongs to the group of languages that encodes the verbal object properties within the verbal word form itself. The person/number features of a primary object in the Dryer (1986) sense may be encoded suffixally in the Sora verbal word template following the tense marker. In can appear in forms that lack tense markers as well, e.g. negative forms and imperatives.

(101)

i. *iando tid-t-ij*

why hit-NPST-1

‘why are (you) hitting me?’

(Starosta, p. c.)

ii. *anlen er-gənij-ji*

we NEG-see/NEG/see-3PL

‘we didn’t see them’

(Starosta 1967: 277)

iii. *rban pen da?a-n tiy-l-am*

yesterday I water-N.SFX give-PST-[1>2]

‘I gave you water yesterday’

[OG]

iv. *pen da?a-n tiy-t-am*

I water-N.SFX give-NPST-[1>2]

‘I (will) give you water’

[OG]
The only bi-personal verb forms in Sora are second person (singular/plural) object forms with first plural and third plural subjects, second plural subjects with first person (singular/plural) and third plural objects, and first plural subject with third plural or second person (singular/plural) object in negative (past) conjugations (for some speakers at least).

(102)

i. aninji rban da?a-n a-tiy-l-wm-jì
they yesterday water-N.SFX NEG-give-PST-2-3PL
‘yesterday they didn’t give you water’
[OG]

ii. anlen aman da?a-n a?tiy-t-am
we you water-N.SFX 1PL-give-NPST-2
‘we give you water’
iii. ṣṇlen daʔa-n a-tiy-t-ay
we water-N.SFX 1PL-give-NPST-1
‘we give (him/her) water’

iv. ṣʔ-giː-le-be-ji
NEG-see-PST-1PL-3PL
‘we didn’t see them’
(Starosta 1967: 276)

An incorporated noun in the verbal stem allows the possessor of that verbal stem to be expressed in the verbal form in Sora. This is a relatively common feature in languages worldwide (Anderson 1997).

(103)
i. lem-siː-t-am
bow-hand-NPST-2
‘I bow to your hand’
(Ramamurti 1931: 43)

ii. kuŋ-bɔb-t-am
shave-head-NPST-2
‘your head is shaven’
(Biligiri 1965: 240)

iii. pokuŋpɔŋ-am-ten
stab:belly:knife-2-3:PST
‘(who) stabbed you in the belly’
(Ramamurti 1931: 25)

Note that object encoding in the verbal form is not obligatory in Sora and may be omitted or suppressed.

(104)
iŋ-aiːs-a tiki aninji gudeŋ-le
go/come-CLOC-N.SFX-GEN after they call-PST
‘after he came, he called them’
[Text-1, line 15]

2.2.3 Tense

Sora has a simple past/non-past opposition in its tense system, the former marked by –t-, the latter with –l-. Second and third person forms have the vowels –e[y]/e and first person forms have –ay. There is a class of verbs that require an –n- between the tense marker, here always realized as –le-n/-te-n in Sora, a class that optionally may with no apparent
meaning change, and a class whose meaning alters and a new (discontinuous) stem is created.

The Sora verbal template looks something like the following:

Table 7-1: Sora Finite Verb Template

1/2PL:SUBJ//[NEG]-verb.stem-TNS -ITR-OBJ/[SG/PL:SUBJ]/T/A+SUBJ

that is, with two prefixes or one where they almost always coalesce since they are sometimes homophonous, a verb stem that may be morphologically complex internally itself (e.g. have a causative or reciprocal prefix), a tense marker, then object- or suffixal (parts of) subject-agreement markers or a special tense/aspect form. Sometimes postverbal uniflecting modal operators (at least one of which may be a LEX-headed auxiliary structure in the Anderson (2006) sense) are also found, see 2.2.5/2.2.12.

A partial paradigm may be seen in the following sets from the verb gi[y]j ‘see’ in the past and non-past forms, positive and negative. Note that the tense marker is lacking in negative past forms in Sora (see 2.2.9).

(105)
i. gi[y]-t-ay
ii. gi[y]-t-ey
iii. aniŋ gi[y]-t-ey
see-NPST-1
see-NPST-2/3
s/he see-NPST-2/3
‘I see’
‘you see’
‘s/he sees’

[OG]

iv. anlen a-gi[y]-t-ay
v. amben a-gi[y]-t-ey
vi. aninji gi?-te-ji
we 1/2PL-see-NPST-1
you 1/2PL-see-NPST-2/3
they see-NPST-3PL
‘we see’
‘you (pl) see’
‘they see’

[OG]

vii. nen gi?-t-ay
don-om
I see-NPST-1 OBJ-2
‘I see you’

[OG]

(106)
i. nen drban
ii. aman drban
gi?-l-ay
gi?-l-ey
I yesterday see-PST-1
you yesterday see-PST-2/3
‘I saw yesterday’
‘yesterday s/he saw’

[OG]

iii. aninji
r tàn
gi?-le-ji
they yesterday see-PST-3PL
‘they saw yesterday’
Some more examples of the non-past in –te/(-e)- and the past in –l[ə/e]- in Sora include sentences such as these from the brief texts in section 6 and our field corpus.

(109) te/-t- etc.

i. iando tid-t-iŋ        ii. aniŋ giʔ-y-t-ey
why      hit-NPST-1      s/he      see-NPST-2/3
‘why are (you) hitting me?’ ‘s/he sees’  
(Starosta, no date)       [OG]
DRAFT - DO NOT CITE

Sora

\[ aninji \, git-te-ji \quad pen \quad da?a-n \, tiy-t-am \]
\[ \text{they see-NPST-3PL} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{water-N.SFX} \, \text{give-NPST-[1>2]} \]
\[ \text{‘they see’} \quad \text{‘I (will) give you water’} \]
[OG]

\[ opin'o \, do \quad orun'cu \quad ar^i-ge?-ta-jiy \]
\[ \text{Opino and Orunchu} \quad \text{RECIP-see-NPST-3PL} \]
\[ \text{‘Opino and Orunchu see each other’} \]
[OG]

Note also the following set of immediate future marked by \(-t\)- and a more remote future encoded by the lack of tense-marker. This opposition is localized to a small set of motion verbs and is not characteristic of all Sora speech varieties.

(110)
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{i.} & \quad pay-t-ai-ji \\
& \text{carry-NPST-CLOC-3PL}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \text{‘they(‘ll) bring now’} \]
(Starosta 1967: 146)

The forms with \(-n\)- include reflexive, intransitives, some passives, and other detransitivized stems. Some stems seem to require this, and thus one may speak of an \(-n\)- conjugation in Sora. This \(-n\)- element is, likely an archaic feature in Sora, shared with North Munda languages (Anderson 2007).

(111) \text{te/i-n-}
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{i.} & \quad gi?\, gi?-ti-n-ay \\
& \text{REDPL:scratch-NPST-ITR-1}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \text{‘I scratch myself’} \]
[OG]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ii.} & \quad gi?-dam-\, ti-n-ay \\
& \text{see-RFLXV-NPST-ITR-1}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \text{‘I see myself’} \]
[OG]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{iii.} & \quad jum-\, te-ti-n-ai \\
& \text{eat-banana-NPST-[ITR]-1}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \text{‘I am eating a banana’} \]
[OG]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{iv.} & \quad i\text{n}\, \text{nam-}\, yo-\, ti-n-ay \\
& \text{catch-fish-NPST-ITR/RFLXV-1}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \text{‘I am fish-catching’} \]
[OG]

Sometimes alternate forms may be attested with and without the \(-n\)- inflectional element without any clear difference in meaning. Presumably these differ in at least connotation but how exactly is unknown and has not been tested with speakers in the field.

(112)
Some more examples of past tense forms in –l- in Sora are offered below.

(113) le/-l-

i. kan aiöm-ley-en a-iey-en arsi a-kəndar-ley-en
that time-LOC-N.SFX PFX-who-N.SFX monkey 3-branch-LOC-N.SFX
ted-n-eten kun a-kəndar-en əldiq-le
hang-n-T/A:3 that 3-branch-N.SFX break-PST
‘at that time, the monkey which hung from the branch of the tree, that branch broke’
[Text-3, line 13]

ii. anin suqə-dod-en gam-eted əp-pʊŋpʊŋ-le
he big-frog-N.SFX say-T/A CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST
‘he, the big frog said puffing himself up’
[Text-1, line 26]

iii. ukij əp-pʊŋ-pʊŋ-le-n dəkət-ne po a-gam-le-n
AUGM CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST-N.SFX this.much-EMPH DOUBT DEP-say-PST-N.SFX
anney kən ə-pən-ən-kəməŋ-en poətaj-ən poətaj-le kəniet-le
while DEF PFX-bloat-N.SFX-GEN stomach-N.SFX burst-N.SFX burst-PST die-PST
‘he puffed himself up even more while saying “this big”?! and his bloated stomach burst
and he died’
[Text-1, line 31]

Note that the past tense suffix in Sora shows assimilation of its initial consonant to a preceding stem-final r:

(114)
uan a-iər-re ənn-ətəŋ-n-ed-ji
where 2PL-go-PST NEG-answer-PST-NEG-PL
‘“where did you go?”; they didn’t answer him’
[Text-1, line 16]

Some examples of the intransitive inflectional (detransitive) class in the past tense in -le-n
in Sora includes sentences like these from the texts. As mentioned above, for some stems
this –n- is obligatory while for others it does not appear to be so.
(115)
i. aninji tenda-n annəŋ jum-le ga-le ṭogəl-ən annəŋ aboy they noon-N.SFX during eat-PST drink-PST at night-N.SFX during one

məney bənda-n a-bo ara-leŋ-ən diməd-le-n-ji edge tank-N.SFX OBJ-one tree-LOC-N.SFX sleep-PST-ITR-PL
‘they would eat and drink during the day and at night they would sleep in a tree in one corner of a tank’
[Text-3, line 2]

ii. antopsele anlen kən begiŋə a-sə-le-n-ai therefore we DEF different.place 1PL-[go.]hide-PST-CLOC/1PL
‘therefore we went and hid in (the[se]) different places’
[Text-1, line 19]

‘they buried themselves in holes and mud’
[Text-1, line 13]

iv. tikki aninji oləŋ-le-n-ji do etenason a-sə-le-n afterwards they answer-PST-[ITR]-PL so why 2PL-hide-PST-ITR

gam-le sura-dod-əŋ say-PST big-frog-N.SFX
‘after that they answered, and the big-frog said “why did you hide?”’
[Text-1, line 17]

v. banusai koniet-le boŋsa gam-le kun sənna-mər-ən-ji serves him right die-PST good say-PST DEF little-person-N.SFX-PL

boiboi egaka-le-n-ji very rejoice-PST-ITR-PL
‘Serves him right that he died! Good! The little guys said and rejoiced greatly’
[Text-1, line 33]

vi. ukij əp-pəŋ-pəŋ-le-n dəkət-ne po a-gam-le-n AUGM CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST-N.SFX this.much-EMPH DOUBT DEF say-PST-N.SFX

annəŋ kun ə-pəŋ-ən-ə kəmpəŋ-ən pətaj-ən pətaj-le koniet-le while DEF PFX-bloat-N.SFX-GEN stomach-N.SFX burst-N.SFX burst-PST die-PST
‘he puffed himself up even more while saying “this big”?! and his bloated stomach burst and he died’

[Text-1, line 31]

vii. *āninjī* ṣaṅgaj-ən-adv?ən a-nidəb-ben-asen ṣskai-le-n-ji

they moon-N.SFX-OBJ DEP-pick.up-INF-FOR prepare-PST-ITR?-PL

‘they prepared to pick up the moon’

[Text-3, line 11]

Both the –*t*- non-past and the –*l*- past have parallels in other Munda languages. The former is found in this function throughout the South Munda languages (except Juang and Plains Gta?), while the –*l*- past likely reflects the –*l*- anterior forms of Kherwarian languages (Anderson 2007).

In Sora a range of post-verbal functional elements or post inflectional operators express different verbal inflectional categories, e.g. aspect (+tense), mood, negation, etc. One such element that appears to belong to the system of tense markers synchronically (but probably was historically an aspectual marker of some sort) is the second past in –*eten*. Sometimes it appears as –*eted* (this is seemingly even more true in Juray). It sometimes is used in durative or progressive contexts and other times in perfective/completive ones. How it differs from the ‘regular’ past in –*l*- has not been sufficiently investigated. It may be used with the same verbs and in the same texts and contexts as the –*l*- past, but seems mainly to be restricted to third person (singular?) subjects.

(116)

i. *kan* aiəm-ley-ən a-iey-ən arsi a-kəndar-ley-ən

that time-LOC-N.SFX PFX-who-N.SFX monkey 3-branch-LOC-N.SFX

ted-n-eten kun a-kəndar-ən əldiy-le

hang-n-T/A:3 that 3-branch-N.SFX break-PST

‘at that time, the monkey which hung from the branch of the tree, that branch broke’

[Text-3, line 13]

ii. kun arsi-n kun ṣaṅgaj-ən-a-dɔ?ən gijf-an gijf-le

that monkey-N.SFX that moon-N.SFX-OBJ see-N.SFX see-PST

*a-gaɾin-ji-a-dɔ?ən* gam-eten

3-friend-PL-OBJ tell-T/A:3

‘that monkey saw that moon and told her friends’

[Text-3, line 4]

iii. kun arsi-n gam-eten bo-mənra a-kəndar-ley-ən

that monkey-N.SFX say-T/A:3 one person OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX
a-ted-na-ba
1PL-hold/hang-n-PL:IMP
‘that monkey told them ‘let one of us guys hold/hang from the tree branch’
[Text-3, line 8]

iv. etteqøj  dimød-ata  dimød-ato  aboj  arsi-n
like this  sleep-NF:DUR/SIMULT sleep-NF:DUR/SIMULT one monkey-N.SFX

kun  a-bønda-leøn  aboj  aŋgai-øn-a-dɔ?øŋ  gij-eten
that OBJ-tank-LOC-N.SFX one moon-N.SFX-OBJ see-T/A:3
‘they kept sleeping and sleeping like this and one monkey saw a moon in that tank’
[Text-3, line 3]

v. anin  suŋa-dod-øn  gam-eted  æp-pouŋøŋ-le
he big-frog-N.SFX say-T/A CAUS-REDPL: puff-PST
‘he, the big frog said puffing himself up’
[Text-1, line 26]

vi. daŋiŋ  meŋim  etteqøy  bara-le-n-ji-a  tiki
several year like this work-PST-N.SFX/ITR-PL-GEN after

a-sɔnnna-mør  sukkun  a-kako-n-a-dɔ?øŋ  sarɔba-n
3-young-man Sukku-N.SFX 3-older.brother-N.SFX=OBJ paddy.field-N.SFX

er-ti-lø-be  anson  bara-eten
NEG-give-PST-NF:W/O himself work-T/A:3
‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the
paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’
[Text-2, line 7]

vii. biŋdo  a-ubban  bɔiai  barab-le  ier-an  ier-le
but OBJ-younger.brother very get.angry-PST go-N.SFX go-PST

anin  adø?øŋ  tuɔb-eten
he OBJ thrash?-T/A:3
‘but the younger brother got very angry went to him and thrashed(?) him’
[Text-2, line 10]

viii. dɔ bɔ  dinna kun  a-gailø-leŋ  aboj  raʔa-n  iar-eted
so one day DEF OBJ-road-LOC one elephant-N.SFX walk-T/A:3
‘so one day an elephant was walking along the road’
[Text-1, line 9]

ix. əntaññəŋ kuni anin suŋa-dod-əŋ ier-ai-ted

then DEF he big-frog-N.SFX go/come-CLOC-T/A:3

‘then that one, him, the big frog, came back’

[Text-1, line 14]

It may appear on a predicate in sentence medial position, so it has the same syntactic flexibility as –l-marked past forms. It may even appear with the –n- inflectional element as the second example demonstrates, but its use here seems to be motivated not by the contextual or lexical transitvity specification but rather by some as yet not understood factor.

(117)

i. bar anin gam-etən jaba anlen kun əŋgaj-ən-adə?əŋ

and she say-T/A:3 hey we that moon-N.SFX-OBJ

a-təb-n-ai-ba

1PL-take.out-n-CLOC/1-PL:IMP

‘and she told them “let’s go and take out that moon”’

[Text-3, line 6]

ii. do bo-mənra a-kəndər-leŋ-əŋ ted-n-eted do anin

and one person OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX hold-n-T/A and he

ale-n bo-mənra ted-n-ete

tail-N.SFX one man hold-n-3:IMP

‘when that one guy has held onto the branch, let one other guy grab his tail’

[Text-3, line 9]

In negative non-past and negative past, tense markers are often lacking in Sora (cf. similar kinds of negative conjugations in such sister languages as Remo, Gutob, or Gta?)

(118)

ubban-adə?əŋ gam-etan amən etenasən sərəba-n

younger.brother-OBJ say-T/A-N.SFX/ITR you why paddy.field-N.SFX

ət-ti-n

NEG-give-1

‘he said to his younger brother ‘why (do) not (you) give me some paddy field’

[Text-2, line 9]
In a small number of instances, there are uses in our corpus of what appears to be -ə or e as a tense/aspect/mood marker in its own right without a consonantal augment. It use remains a topic for future investigation.

(119) Possible suffix -el-ə-

ėten ąŋgaj ńidəbə-ji
what moon pick.up-FUT/MOD//T/A-PL
‘what moon will they (be able to) pick up’
[Text-3, line 15]

2.2.4 Aspect and Aktionsart

Developed systems of morphological aspect as is seen such Munda languages as Kharia (Peterson this volume) or Juang (Patnaik this volume) or even less developed ones found in such languages as Remo (Anderson and Harrison this volume) are not characteristic of Sora structure. The use of the ‘detransitivizer’ –n sometimes appear to have aspectual, rather than valence or voice functions, with certain predicates at least. However, such notions are compatible with scalar concepts of transitivity as discussed in the seminal paper by Hopper and Thompson (1980).

(120)

i. anin dolba-te

he clear.field-NPST
‘he will clear the field’

(Starosta 1976: 103)

One aspectual element that appears in postverbal position, here generally following an inflected verb in the past, seems to have the function of a past habitual in Sora (cf. the ḥan element found in similar function and similar phrasal position in Korku (Zide this volume).

(121)

aninji əṇna-mər-ən-ji əɾəndi-le-ji əttedən anlen əɾəŋja-n
they little-person- N.SFX-PL think-PST-PL therefore we grain.tribute-N.SFX

ət-tare-de jitoŋka-n əd-ji-e ɣam-le ʃore-la-len ʃin
NEG-measure-NPST tax-N.SFX NEG-give-NPST COMP twist-PST-1PL MOD
‘the little guys thought ʻwe won’t measure out the grain-tribute and won’t pay the tax because he oppressed us’
[Text-1, line 32]

2.2.5 Mood
Imperative constructions in Sora may consist of a verb stem and an imperative suffix, or they may have an object marker if they contain a transitive verb with a personal object. As in several other Munda languages, monosyllabic Sora verbs may take an imperative suffix, in Gajapati Sora often realized as –[a]/ə.

(122)

i. kinte- n jum-a?
banana- N.SFX eat- IMP
‘eat the banana’

ii. jelu- n jum-a?
meat- N.SFX eat- IMP
‘eat (the) meat!’

[OG]

iii. ?o’- jum-a?
CAUS- eat- IMP
‘make him eat!’

iv. ’jum-ə
eat- IMP
‘eat!’

[OG]

v. ga?
eat: IMP
‘eat (food w/ water)!’

vi. ?ag-ga?
CAUS- eat: IMP
‘feed (him)!’

vii. ?amm ə'g-ga
you CAUS- eat
‘(you) make him eat!’

[OG]

Object agreement can be suppressed in imperative forms in Sora yielding what appears to be an uninflected stem form of the verb.

(123)

i. kulu- n tiy[i n]
rice- N.SFX give[:1]
‘give (me) the rice’

ii. qarj-en tiy[i n]
rice- N.SFX give[:1]
‘give (me) rice’

[OG]

Plural address see imperatives are mainly formed with the element –ba. This may also appear in first plural hortative or other modal forms as well.

(124)

i. qarj-en di-p ba
rice-N.SFX give-1-PL: IMP
‘give me rice!’ (PL addressee)

ii. giŋ-iŋ=ba
see- 1=2PL
‘(y’all) see me!’

[OG] (Biligiri 1965: 244)

iii. bar anin gam- eten jaba anlen kun aŋgaj- en-adəʔəŋ
and she say-T/A: 3 hey we that moon- N.SFX- OBJ
iv. e gəɣən-ji a-gij-ba aŋgaj-en da?a-leŋ-ən
hey friend-PL 1PL.-see-PL:IMP moon-N.SFX water-LOC-N.SFX

golu-le gam-le əppəŋ-eten
fall-PST QUOT tell-T/A:3
‘she told them “Hey friends, let’s go have a look; the moon has fallen in the water’”
[Text-3, line 5]

v. kun arsi-n gam-eten bo-mənra a-kəndar-leŋ-ən
that monkey-N.SFX say-T/A:3 one person OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX

In this latter function (modal/hortative first plural), it may appear as –bə or even –be.

(125)
ettegoy anlen-a alale-n-ji ted-an ted-le-n
like.this WE-GEN REDPL:tail-N.SFX hold-N.SFX hold-PST-N.SFX/ITR

aŋgaj-ən-adəŋ a-təb-n-ai-bə
moon-N.SFX-OBJ 1PL.-get.out-n-LOC-PL:IMP
‘in this way let’s hang by our tails and get out the moon’
[Text-3, line 10]

Third person imperatives or optatives/hortatives are marked by the suffix or enclitic –[e]te
-in Sora.

(126)
i. do bo-mənra a-kəndar-leŋ-ən ted-n-eted do anin
and one person OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX hold-T/A and he

ale-n bo-mənra ted-n-ete
tail-N.SFX one man hold-3:IMP
‘when that one guy has held onto the branch, let one other guy grab his tail’
[Text-3, line 9]
ii. ək-ɡə-bəŋ-le  set-n-ete  təkəd-aj-te
CAUS-sit-buffalo-CV  give.up-ITR-3:IMP  finish-AUX:COMPL-3:IMP
‘let the making of (him) sit on the buffalo get finished up altogether’
(Starosta 1967: 232)

The prohibitive or negative imperative formation in Sora is marked by the suffix/enclitic (or original auxiliary) do[ə]. As with positive imperatives, object agreement may be suppressed. Note that the object enclitic or suffix attaches to the right of the prohibitive particle in these constructions. The plural addressee element follows this.

(127)
i. ʃi:y-ɗʊŋ-ɪn
give-PROHIB-1
‘do not give’
[OG]

ii. ʃi:y-ɗʊŋ-len
give-PROHIB-1PL
‘don’t give us’
[OG]

iii. ɗaŋ(a)-en ʃi:y-ɗʊŋ-(ɪn)
rice-N.SFX  give-PROHIB-1
‘do not give me rice’
(SG addressee)

iv. ɗaŋ(a)-jen ʃi:y-ɗʊŋ-ɪn-ɓa
rice-N.SFX  give-PROHIB-1-PL:IMP
‘do not give me rice’
(PL addressee)

Other modal constructions are also found in Sora. One such form is the evidential or dubitative element po[?]. It follows immediately after whatever element it has its scope over.

(128)
i. ajaŋəd  po  gam-le  anin  sʊŋa-ːmɔr
true  DOUBT  say-PST  he  big-person
‘“is that really true?” he, the big guy said’
[Text-1, line 24]

ii. ɗəkət-ne  po  gam-le
this.much-EMPH  DOUBT  say-PST
‘“This (big)!!” he said
[Text-1, line 27]

iii. ukįŋ əŋ-pʊŋpʊŋ-le  ɗəkət-ne  po  gam-le
AUGM  CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST  this.much  DOUBT  say-PST
‘so he puffed himself up some more and said “this (big)!!”’
[Text-1, line 29]
One final modal form that bears mention here is the conditional construction in Sora. This is marked by the verb in a dependent-marked past (participle) form in –le-n-den. Note that the plural marker comes between the –n- and the –den in the conditional (129)

(129)

i. *amə* gil-le-n-den
you see-PST-ITR-COND
‘if you see’
(Ramamurti 1931: 28)

ii. *gil-l-en-ji-den*  
see-PST-ITR-PL-COND  
‘if they see’  
NB: l-en-den (always PST)

In Juray, Sora’s closest sister language or a divergent Sora dialect, a kind of strengthening or assimilation of *-*n- to (pre-glottalized) -d- is found in certain conditional formations (130); the range of environments triggering this strengthening is still unknown. Note that in Juray, unlike Sora, the verb may appear in forms other than the dependent past participle form. This is also true of the cognate formation in Gorum (Anderson and Rau, this volume).

(130) i. Juray  
se’d-łə’d-den  
accompany-PST:ITR-COND  
‘if you accompany (me)’  
(A. Zide 1983)  

ii. Juray  
lakod-en-den  
carry-ITR-COND  
‘if you carry’  

iii. Juray  
loge’d-tə’d-den  
get.dark-NPST:ITR-COND  
‘if it becomes dark’

2.2.6 Orientation/Directionality

In Sora, among the many verbal categories that find some formal expression may be included verbal deixis, orientation or directionality. This means action moving toward or away from the subject (or topic/discourse locus). The two oppositional categories are translocative/itive (131), or motion way from speaker/discourse locus, and cislocative/ventive, or motion towards it (132). In a small set of motion verbs, the opposition is realized as –a/ə/e/Ø vs. –ai/-ay.

(131)

i. *jen* bjar-ən  ‘yer-t-e  
I market-N.SFX go-NPST[[:1/TLOC]
I am going to the market.
[OG]

ii. ŋem bajar-ən 'yer-t-e
I market-N.SFX go-NPST[:1/TLOC]
I am going to the market.
[OG]

iii. ?amm ba'zar-ən yer-e
you market-N.SFX go-2:NPST[/TLOC]
You go to market.
[OG]

iv. ŋem ba'zar-ən yer-ei ?amm ba'zar-ən yer-e
I market-N.SFX go-1:TLOC you market-N.SFX go-2:NPST
I am going to market, you are going to market.
[OG]

v. do bo dinna kun a-gail̃-leŋ aboj rara-n iar-eted
so one day DEF OBJ-road-LOC one elephant-N.SFX walk-T/A:3
‘s so one day an elephant was walking along the road’
[Text-1, line 9]

vi. uan a-i'er-re ən-əloŋ-n-ed-ji
where 2PL-go-PST NEG-answer-PST-NEG-PL
‘where did you go?’, they didn’t answer him’
[Text-1, line 16]

vii. ə-i-si-a
‘make signal with hand to say “go away”’
viii. ə-i-si-ai
‘make signal with hand to say “come on”’
(Ramamurti 1933: 3)
(132)

i. əntannəŋ kuni anin suq-a-dod-ən ier-ai-ted
then DEF he big-frog-N.SFX go/come-CLOC-T/A:3
‘then that one, him, the big frog, came back’
[Text-1, line 14]

ii. ier-ai-en-a tiki aninji gudeŋ-le
go/come-CLOC-N.SFX-GEN after he-PL call-PST
‘after he came, he called them’
[Text-1, line 15]
iii. ettego  anlen-a  alale-n-ji  ted-an ted-le-n
like.this  we-GEN  REDPL:tail-N.SFX  hold-N.SFX  hold-PST-N.SFX/ITR

\[ \text{angaj-ən-adən}: \quad a-təb-n-ai-bə \]
moon-N.SFX-OBJ  1PL-get.out-N-CLOC-PL:IMP
‘in this way let’s hang by our tails and get out the moon’

The element –a (\( > -e/ə \)) in this opposition is simply the regular tense-cum-subject marker while the origin of -ai/-ay remains obscure. Based on typological and comparative Austroasiatic data, it seems likely that this (and the first person subject marker –ai/-ay) originally derive from a deictic serial verb construction involving ‘come’ (Anderson 2006, 2007). Note that the cognate element has developed into one of the variant means of marking of version in addition to cislocative meanings in Sora’s sister language Gorum (Parenga) (A. Zide 1972, Anderson and Gurevich forthcoming, Anderson 2007, Anderson and Rau this volume). Developments to cislocatives are found for example in Turkic languages (Anderson 2004a), to first person markers in Iwaidjan languages (Nicholas Evans, personal communication) and to now lexicalized version markers in Burushaski (Bashir 1985, Anderson and Gurevich forthcoming).

### 2.2.7 Voice/Version

Voice categories morphologically realizable in the Sora verbal complex include causative, reciprocal, and reflexive/detransitive/passive/intransitive. Voice categories in Sora deal with argument structure of the predicate and affect the conjugational pattern of the verb stem.

The causative in Sora is marked by the prefix \( əb- \) (and many variants) which is attached to the rightmost stem syllable. In monosyllabic stems this is realized as a prefix, while the causative in Sora (as a hallmark of Austroasiatic languages generally speaking (Anderson 2007) in stems greater than single syllable, bisyllabic in the case of Sora, the prefix is realized word-internally as an infix.

Some examples with prefixed causative, and assimilation to a geminate consonant can be seen in the following tokens of ‘make him eat’ and some unassimilated examples in (133)

(133)
i. \( ?əmən \)  \( ?əl-g-ga? \)
you  CAUS-eat:IMP
‘make him eat’
[OG]

ii. \( ab-gu-gu: t-ai \)

iii. \( ab-umə: dəm-te-n-ai \)
Infixed (or rightmost syllable prefixed) causative forms in Sora include the following:

(134)
i. \text{bato} (<^*bt) < \text{bato}

ii. \text{køjed} (<^*bøj) ‘kill’ < \text{køjed} ‘die’
(Ramamurti 1931: 47)

iii. \text{øɔntan aɔnji-dɔm} t/øb/ubaj-le-ji
in.vain they.self drown/CAUS/-PST-PL
‘in vain they got themselves drowned’
[Text-3, line 16]

iv. \text{dɔ a-iɛn-ø} a-mɔnra sɔrɔb-ø øt-ti-ød anin bɔndiŋ so
OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-give-NEG he jail:N.SFX

ier-le dɔ a-iɛn-ø ø-mɔnra sɔrɔb-ø ød-nəŋ-ød go-
PST and OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-get-NEG

anin suʔuŋ-leŋ-ø dɔku-le-n dɔ tiki kəlkəl-øn batte
he house-LOC-N.SFX COP-PST-N.SFX and afterwards REDPL:.worry-N.SFX with

anin k/øb/jeð-dom-le-n
he kill/CAUS/kill-RFLXV-PST-ITR/N.SFX
‘the one who didn’t give the fields, he went to jail and the one who didn’t get the fields, he was at home, with worry, and afterwards he killed himself’
[Text-2, line 14]

Reciprocal verbs are marked morphologically in the Sora verb, as it is in several of its sister languages (Kharia, Juang, Gta’?). The prefix is reported as \text{al-} in the variant described by Ramamurti, but in our Gajapati district Sora materials it is consistently \text{ar-}. Note that the reciprocal is not valence changing in Sora and verbs remain transitive. The reciprocal neither increases nor decreases a verb’s valence.

(135)
i. \text{'amji ar'-gi'?-tø-jiy}
they RECIP-see-NPST-3PL

ii. \text{a[l]i}[n] ar'-gi'?-tø-biy
we RECIP-see-NPST-1PL
‘they see each other’

[OG]
Valence-reducing morphology is somewhat limited in Sora. There is an element –n- that is obligatorily present in the conjugation of some stems but optionally so with others. In those where it is optional, it appears to function like a reflexive marker, sometimes with passive-like semantics as well, some percentage of which have passive potential semantics. The –n- appears after the tense marker except –eten/eted which follows it.

(Sora 136)

i. *d3um-le ‘having eaten’
   vs. ii. *umac-le-n ‘having bathed’
   iii. *er-d3um-le-be ‘without having eaten’
       vs. iv. *er-umac-le-n-be ‘w/o having bathed’
       (Ramamurti 1931: 29)
   v. *pay-n ‘take back/home for oneself’
       (Starosta 1967; 1976)
   vi. *puttar-ley-en jepha-ley-en tiltil-li-n-ji
       hole-LOC-N.SFX mire-LOC-N.SFX REDPL:bury-PST/REFLXV-PL
Another reflexive marker is the suffix –*d*am/*d*am- which appears after the verb root and before the tense marker. This (always?) cooccurs with –*n*- inflectional forms.

(137)

i. gi?'-dam-ți-n-ay

see-RFLXV-NPST-[ITR]-1

I see myself

ii. tid-d*am*-te-n

beat-RFLXV-NPST-ITR

‘he beats himself’

(Ramamurti 1931: 26)

iii. an*ın* p*ə*-d*am*-n-eten

he stab-RFLXV-ITR-T/A

‘he stabbed himself’

(Starosta 1967: 136; Ramamurti 1931: 23)

Sometimes the semantics are unclear and general detransitive or low transitivity marking seems to be involved.
Another option for creating passive-like semantics in Sora is through use of object markers with transitive stems with suppressed agents:

(139) **Sora**

\[ \text{gidz-l-\text{\text{-}\text{in}}} \]

see-PST-1

‘I was seen’

(Biligiri 1965: 233)

### 2.2.8 Finiteness

Finiteness in Sora is not formally marked per se as it is Kherwarian languages. A verb in Sora in complex clause and complex predicate structures may appear in a range of formal guises or non-final forms. The finite verb template was given in Table 7-1.

Non-finite forms show a range of other realizations. One dependent or nominalized verb form takes the shape of \( a/\text{\text{-}o} \ldots \text{an/an} \). This appears sentence medially in clause-final position in complex sentences of various types:

(140)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i. } & \text{anin su\text{\text{-}u\text{-}le\text{-}n}} & & & \text{a-ber-n-an} & & \text{etente beren} & & \text{aninji} \\
& \text{he} & & & \text{big-frog-N.SFX} & & \text{DEP-say-N.N.SFX} & & \text{what} & & \text{say-N.SFX} & & \text{they} \\
\text{and afterwards } & & & & \text{REDPL:worry-N.SFX} & & \text{with} & & \\
\text{whatever the big frog said, the small frogs obeyed, had to obey’} \\
\text{[Text-1, line 8]} \\
\text{ii. } & \text{do a\text{-}i\text{-e}y\text{-\text{-}n}} & & & \text{a-m\text{-}nra} & & \text{s\text{-}r\text{-}c\text{-}b\text{-}\text{-}n} & & \text{et\text{-}ti\text{-}\text{-d}} & & \text{anin h\text{-}\text{\text{-}n}\text{-}d\text{-}i\text{-}n} & & \text{so} \\
& \text{OBJ-who-N.SFX} & & & \text{OBJ-man} & & \text{paddy.field-N.SFX} & & \text{NEG\text{-}give-NEG} & & \text{he jail-N.SFX} \\
\text{and } & & & & \text{REDPL:worry-N.SFX} & & \text{with} & & \\
\text{anin su\text{-}\text{-\text{-}u\text{-}l\text{-}y\text{-\text{-}e}\text{-y\text{-}\text{-}n}} & & & & \text{d\text{-}oku\text{-}le\text{-}n} & & \text{d\text{-}\text{-t\text{-}ki} & & \text{k\text{-}\text{-}k\text{-}k\text{-}l\text{-}e\text{-}n} & & \text{bate} \\
& \text{he} & & & \text{house-LOC-N.SFX} & & \text{COP-PST-N.SFX} & & \text{and afterwards REDPL:worry-N.SFX} & & \text{with} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"
anin  klôb/ied-dûm-le-n
he  kill/CAUS/kill-RFLXV-PST-ITR/N.SFX
‘the one who didn’t give the fields, he went to jail and the one who didn’t get the fields, he
was at home, with worry, and afterwards he killed himself’
[Text-2, line 14]

iii.  ukîj  əp-pûm-pûm-le-n  dûkît-ne  po  a-gam-le-n
AUGM  CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST-N.SFX  this.much-EMPH DOUBT DEP-say-PST-N.SFX

anneg kun  ə-pûm-ən-ə  kûmpûm-ən  pûtaj-ən  pûtaj-le  kîniet-le
while  DEF  PFX-bloat-N.SFX-GEN  stomach-N.SFX  burst-N.SFX  burst-PST  die-PST
‘he puffed himself up even more while saying “this big”?! and his bloated stomach burst
and he died’
[Text-1, line 13]

A subtype of this had been grammaticalized as a kind of purposive infinitive in
a/ə—be-n [asən]

(141)
i.  aninji  âŋgaj-ən-adɔʔnə  a-ŋidôb-ben-asen  õskai-le-n-ji
they  moon-N.SFX-OBJ  DEP-pick.up-INF-FOR  prepare-PST-ITR-PL
‘they prepared to pick up the moon’
[Text-3, line 11]

ii.  aninji  kûn  gam-ən  gam-le  âjařîj-ən  a-kûndar-leŋ-ən  sûrey
they  that  say-N.SFX  say-PST  really-EMPH  OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX  from

alanji  õkíd-le-n  õkíd-le-n  aninji  âŋgaj-ən-adɔʔnə
[3-tail-PL  hang-PST-NSFX  hold-PST-NSFX  they  moon-OBJ

a-ŋidôb-ben-asen  õskai-le-n-ji
PFX-pick.up-INF-FOR  prepare-PST-[ITR/RFLXV]-PL
‘they thus discussed and then really began to pick up the moon hanging from the branch
from each other’s tails’
[Text-3, line 12]

A kind of same subject structure called perfect participle by Starosta (1967) but with a
range of functions including causal subordinate clause formation is commonly found in
narratives which consists of a kind of verbal reduplication where of the shape Verb-an
Verb-le.

(142)
i.  kun  asən  kun  sônna-dûd-ən-ji  raʔa-n-a-dɔʔnɛgi  giŋ-an  giŋ-le
Note that the reduplicated infinitive found in various Munda languages is largely confined to various grammaticalized uses with (often fused) TAM auxiliaries or ‘explicator’ verbs. It probably is a historical relic of this system however, even in tense-inflected forms, since these elements themselves are likely to derive from auxiliary structures historically (Anderson 2007).

There are a number of different negative constructions in Sora. Most involve the use of the prefix, variably realized as a-/ə-, əd-, ət-, aʔn-, enn-, er-, etc. These form various combinations with other elements to yield a range of negative conjugations. The presence of negative conjugations that differ from corresponding ones is a feature of South Munda languages, e.g. Gutob, Remo, or Gta?.

The negative non-past is usually marked by the combination of the negative prefix a-/ə- with the tense-cum-subject-cum-polarity suffix -e[y]. This corresponds to the t- non-past declension in the positive.

(143) a-/ə-….e[y]

i. ķen beschäftig-m ə⁻⁴ye²r-ey
I  market-N.SFX   NEG-go-1
‘I don’t go to the market’
ii.  byone ba'zar-ən [ə]-yər-ey
tomorrow market-N.SFX [NEG:]go-1
‘Tomorrow I won’t go to the bazaar’

iii. man'yeŋ'ey 'guna dako'-lendən nən ba'zar-ən aʔn-iy-e
money find:DEP AUX-COND I market-N.SFX NEG-go-[FUT:]1
‘If I do not find my money, I cannot go to the market’

iv. man'yeŋ'ey 'guna dako'-lendən nən ba'zar-ən 'aʔn-iy-e
money find AUX-COND I market-N.SFX NEG-go-[FUT:]1
If I do not find my money, I cannot go to the market.

v. aninji sənna-mər-ən-ji əŋəndi-le-ji etsu-den anlen sənja-n
they little-person- N.SFX-PL think-PST-PL therefore we grain.tribute-N.SFX
ət-tər-e-de jituŋka-n əd-ji-e əm-le jure-lə-len bîn
NEG-measure-NPST tax-N.SFX NEG-give-NPST COMP twist-PST-1PL MOD
‘the little guys thought ‘we won’t measure out the grain-tribute and won’t pay the tax
because he oppressed us’

Some hints of object demotion in negative structures may be found in the speech of
certain Sora, from objective to allative adessive, at least with certain verbs.

(144)

i. nən maŋ-nam ʔa'-diɾdịɾ-n-e... ʔa'-diɾdịɾ-n-e
I ALL-2 NEG-believe- n-1 NEG-believe-n -1
‘I do not believe you’

ii. nən maŋ'-nam ʔa-diɾdịɾ-n-e...
I ALL-2 NEG-believe-n-1
‘I do not believe you’

iii. nən doʔon-nam ʔaʔ-ʔɨɾələm-ai
I OBLQ/OBJ-2 NEG-know-1
‘I do not know you’
Object encoding in the verb is permitted, however, in negative forms in Sora.

(145)

i. g-tiy-l-am
NEG-give-PST-[1]>2
‘I didn’t give you’
[OG]

ii. nemī da?a-n a-tiy-l-əm
today water-N.SFX NEG-give-PST-[1]>2
‘I didn’t give (it to) you today’
[OG]

iii. g?-til-l-ịn
NEG-give-PST-1
‘you didn’t give me’
[OG]

iv. aninji rban da?a-n a-tiy-l-əm-ji
they yesterday water-N.SFX NEG-give-PST-2-3PL
‘yesterday they didn’t give you water’
[OG]

v. r'ban 'annjiy a'?n-ar-gt?–la-ji
yesterday they NEG-RECIP-see-PST-3PL
‘yesterday they did not see each other’
[OG]

vi. ubban-adɔ?on gam-qtan amon etenasən sərɔba-n
younger.brother-OBJ say-T/A-N.SFX/ITR you why paddy.field-N.SFX

ət-ti-ji
NEG-give-1
‘he said to his younger brother ‘why (do) not (you) give me some paddy field’

Sometimes present tense reciprocal forms may keep the –t- non-past form in negative forms. The use of this remains uninvestigated.

a'?liŋ a'?n-ar-gt?-t-bi?
we NEG-RECIP-see-NPST-1PL
We don’t see each other.
[OG]

Past tense negative forms with second and third person subjects tend to have a circumfix negative+co-negative construction. Unlike many other languages where this kind of construction may be found (e.g. French ne and pas), the negative and co-negative
elements in Sora are identical (subject of course to morphophonological and idiosyncratic idiolectal alteration). Also, like the negative non-past, there is no tense marker –l- in negative past forms in Sora.

(146) əd/t-….əd

i. ə-ə-iəŋ-ən ə-ə-mənraə ərəbə-ən ət-ə-ti-əd anin bəndip
so OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-give-NEG he jail:N.SFX

ier-le ə-ə-iəngən ə-ə-mənraə ərəbə-ən əd-əناس-əd go-PST and OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-get-NEG

anin su?uy-əŋ-ən dəku-le-n do tiki kəlkəl-ən batte
he house-LOC-N.SFX COP-PST-N.SFX and afterwards REDPL:worry-N.SFX with

anin k/əb/ied-dəm-le-n
he kill/CAUS/kill-RFLXV-PST-ITR/N.SFX
‘the one who didn’t give the fields, he went to jail and the one who didn’t get the fields, he was at home, with worry, and afterwards he killed himself’
[Text-2, line 14]

ii. ənt aɨm-ley-ən anin suə-dədi-ən ət-dəku-əd
that time-LOC-N.SFX he the big-frog-N.SFX NEG-COP-NEG[PST:3]
‘at that time he, the big-frog, wasn’t there’
[Text-1, line 10]

iii. uan a-ier-ə ənn-əläŋ-n-ədji
where 2PL-go-PST NEG-answer-PST-NEG-PL
‘‘where did you go?’; they didn’t answer him’
[Text-1, line 16]

iv. amən a?d-gij-a?d
you NEG-see:2/3NEG-NEG
‘you do/did not see’
[OG]

v. giy?-le-ji vi. aninji a-gi?-də?d-ji
see-PST-3PL they NEG-see-2/3:NEG-3PL
‘they saw’ ‘they didn’t see’
[OG]

vii. a-gi?-jey viii. anin a-gi?-jey
NEG-see-NEG:2/3  s/he NEG-see-NEG:2/3
‘you didn’t see (me)’  ‘s/he didn’t see’

viii. g?-a-gi?-jey  NEG-1/2PL-see-NEG:2/3
‘you all didn’t see’  

[OG]

First person subject forms in the negative past tense on the other hand are overtly nominalized signaled both by the use of the nominal negator prefix er- (er/-ir-) in combination with the nominalizing infix –n-. This is used with first singular and first plural forms.

(147)
i. anlen  a-gi?-l-ay  
we  1/2PL-see-PST-1  
‘we saw’  

[OG]

ii. anlen ir-g-ən-i[?]  ii. ir-g-ən-i?  iii. ən ir-g-ən-i?
we  NEG-see/NEG:1/see  NEG-see/NEG:1/see  I  NEG-see/NEG:1/see  
‘we don’t/didn’t see’  ‘I/we didn’t see’  ‘I did not see’  

[OG]

iv. anlen a-gi?-l-ay  v. anlen ər-g-ən-iy
we  1/2PL-see-PST-1  we  NEG-see/NEG:1/see  
‘we saw’  ‘we didn’t see’  

[OG]

vi. anlen a-gi?-l-ay  vii. ər-g-en-iy
we  1/2PL-see-PST-1  NEG-see/NEG:1/see  
‘we saw’  ‘we didn’t see’  

[OG]

viii. ən ən gi-t-ay  ix. ən ir-g-ən-iy
I  see-NPST-1  I  NEG-see/NEG:1/see  
‘I see’  ‘I didn’t see’  

[OG]

x. ənem ba’jar-in  ən gelir... erni... ənem ba’jar-ən erni
I  market-N.SFX  NEG—n-go:[1]
I didn’t go to the market.
[OG]

Note that the –n- infix is lacking in first person subject negative forms in the non-past in Sora.

(148)
i. ənen a-giįį-ay
   NEG-see[.NEG]-1
   ‘I don’t see (you)’
[OG]

iii. anlen a-giįį-jay
   we  NEG:1PL-see-NEG:1
   ‘we don’t see (you)’
[OG]

Negative nominalized verbs are marked by this same construction (er-...-ən-) in Sora as well. Compare the following two examples in this regard, with a nominalized and non-finite negative verb, respectively.

(149)
i. er-t-ən-i-ən
   NEG-give-NEG-give-N.SFX SUBORD
   ‘because of not giving…’
(Starosta 1967: 216)

A negative subordinate clause is made by combining the negative prefix er- with the subordinator or case/postpositional element –be in a circumfixal combination of er-...-be.

(150)
dəjįį  menim  ettegy  bara-le-n-ji-a  tiki
   several year   like.this   work-PST-N.SFX/ITR-PL-GEN   after

   a-sənna-mər  sukkun  a-kako-n-a-dɔŋŋə  sarɔba-n
   3-young-man  Sukku-N.SFX  3-older.brother-N.SFX=OBJ  paddy.field-N.SFX

   er-ti-lo-be  anson  bara-eten
   NEG-give-PST-NF:W/O himself  work-T/A:3
   ‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’
[Text-2, line 7]
Negative imperatives (prohibitives) are formed by the suffix do[ŋ]/[ŋ]-. Object suffixes attach to this element so it occupies the same slot in the template as do the tense markers.

(151) =do[ŋ]ŋ-[1/2] ‘don’t’

i. ?am? m ga-dŋ...]

you eat/drink-PROHIB
‘do not eat’
[OG]

ii. ?am? m jum'[ŋ]

you eat-PROHIB
‘do not eat’
[OG]

iii. jum'[ŋ]

eat-PROHIB

iv. ?ag-ga-ŋ

CAUS-eat-PROHIB
‘don’t make him eat’
[OG]

v. ?aŋ' -jum-ŋ

CAUS-eat-PROHIB
‘don’t make him eat’
[OG]

vi. ?aŋ' -jum-ŋ

CAUS-eat-PROHIB
‘don’t make him eat’
[OG]

vii. tìy-šōn-ŋ

give-PROHIB-1
‘do not give’
(SG addressee)
[OG]

viii. dar(a)j-en tìy-ŋ

rice-N.SFX give-PROHIB-1
‘do not give me rice’
[OG]

ix. dar(a)j-en tìy-ŋ-ba

rice-N.SFX give-PROHIB-1-PL:IMP
‘do not give me rice’ (PL addressee)
[OG]

Note that in causative prohibitive forms, the ‘object’ marking on doŋ is the causee and semantically the subject of the verb, not its object, thus ?aŋ' -jum-ŋ ‘don’t make me eat’ not ‘don’t make (him) eat me’.

(152)

i. ?aŋ' -jum-ŋ

CAUS-eat-PROHIB-1
‘don’t make me eat’
[OG]
There are two negative nominal copular forms in Sora. The non-equational or non-identity copula is *tet* and the existential/locational negative copula is *agasa*. Compare the contrastive use of the two of these with and without the possessed kin noun below.

(153) *tet*

i. *anin bôysa tet*  
he **good** **NEG.COP**  
‘he is not good’

ii. *keke-môr tet*  
**crazy-man** **NEG.COP**  
‘he is not a nut’

iii. *anin oaa-n tet*  
he **3-father-N,SFX NEG.COP**  
‘he isn’t a father’

(Starosta 1967: 107)

(154) *agasa*

i. *anin suʔuy-ôn agasa*  
**she** **N,SFX NEG.COP,EX**  
‘she isn’t in the house/at home’

(Starosta 1967: 113)

ii. *anin a-oaa-n agasa*  
he **3-father-N,SFX NEG.COP,EX**  
‘he does not have a father’

iii. *anin a-oaa-n doko*  
he **3-father-N,SFX COP**  
‘he has a father’

(Starosta 1967: 114)

2.2.10 Derivation

Verbal derivation in Sora is properly subsumed under different sub-headings in this chapter. Thus, the major derivational processes are ones of voice covered in 2.2.7 above. The extensive and elaborate compounding of verbal and nominal stems that typifies Sora verb structure is addressed in 2.2.11 below.

2.2.11 Noun Incorporation and Combining Forms

Of all the Munda languages, Sora has far and away the most elaborate and developed system of verb-noun stem combining of a type that is generally known in the literature as noun incorporation. Formally speaking the nominal component that combines with the verb root is the so-called combining form, the often monosyllabic ‘root’ form of the noun. Like many languages with incorporation, the most common use of this structure in Sora is to incorporate the object/patient of a transitive (2-argument) verb. Most typically, the incorporation of this element into the verb reduces the valency of the verb in Sora, and it appears with intransitive inflection (marked by the suffix –*n*-).

(155)

i. *ŋen jumtai*  
**I eat-NPST-1**  
‘I am eating’

ii. *ŋen kônte-n jum-t-ai*  
**I banana-N,SFX eat-NPST-1**  
‘I am eating a banana’

iii. *ŋen jum-te-ti-n-ai*  
**I eat-banana-NPST-[ITR]-1**  
‘I am eating a banana’
This is a highly productive feature of the Sora verbal system with virtually every noun having a combining form, and most combinations being acceptable, given an appropriate discourse context for the creation of the form. Full paradigms in the past and non-past can be generated easily by speakers.

(156)
i. *āmən ńum-yo-ti-n-ay*  
I catch-fish-NPST-ITR-1  
‘I am fish-catching’  
[OG]

ii. *āmən ńum-yo-ti-n-ay*  
you catch-fish-NPST-ITR:2/3  
s/he catch-fish-NPST-ITR:2/3  
‘you are catching fish’  
‘s/he is catching fish’  
[OG]

iii. *āmən ńum-yo-ti-n-ay*  
we 1/2PL catch-fish-NPST-ITR-1  
‘we are catching fish’  
[OG]

vi. *āmən ńum-yo-ti-n-ay*  
you (PL) 1/2PL catch-fish-NPST-ITR:2/3  
‘you (PL) are catching fish’  
[OG]

vii. *ńum-yim-ti-n-ai*  
catch-chicken-NPST-[ITR]-1  
I catch a chicken  
[OG]

viii. *ńum-jat-ti-n-ai*  
catch-snake-NPST-[ITR]-1  
I catch a snake  
[OG]

ix. *ńum-yo-ti-n-ai*  
catch-fish-NPST-[ITR]-1  
I catch a fish  
[OG]
iii. a-ŋam-jaʔt-l-n-ay
1PL-catch-snake-PST-RFLXV/ITR-1
‘we snake-caught’
[OG]

iv. ŋem-jaʔt-l-n-ji
catch-snake-PST-RFLXV/ITR-3PL
‘they snake-caught’
[OG]

v. aninji nemi ŋam-jaʔt-l-n-ji
they today catch-snake-PST-RFLXV/ITR-3PL
‘they were snake-catching today’
[OG]

vi. ɲen drban ɲem-jat-l-n-ay
I yesterday catch-snake-PST-[ITR]-1
Yesterday I caught a snake.
[OG]

Forms cannot just be created without using a proper combining form. Anderson used the following two sentences with Oruncho Gomango. The first one was accepted readily and repeated. The second one was said, “productively” (or so was being tested) formed from the noun by dropping the derivational prefix ŋɔn- (see 2.1.10 above), he mused over it for a while before rejecting it and supplying the third form with the proper but semi-suppletive combining form for ‘chicken’.

(158)

i. ɲen ɭansim-ɔn ɲem-t-ay
I chicken-N SEX catch-NPST-1
‘I am catching a/the chicken’
[OG]

ii. ??* ɲen ɭam-sim-te-n-ay ??
I catch-?chicken-NPST-RFLXV/ITR-1
‘I am catching a/the chicken’
[OG]

iii. ɲem-ɭim-ti-n-ay
catch-chicken-NPST-RFLXV/ITR-1
‘I am catching a/the chicken’
[OG]

In incorporated complexes the use of the intransitive marker –n- encodes reflexive/detransitive or actor-oriented action and contrasts with the transitive, undergoer-oriented form lacking this element in incorporated complexes.
Object noun incorporation is apparently also permitted in non-finite, infinitive and nominalized forms in Sora.

(159)
i. *nam-ajo-le-n*

catch-fish-NF/SS/PST-ITR

‘having caught fish’

(Ramamurti 1931: 142)

ii. *o-gik-kid-ben*

2PL-see-tiger-INF

‘(for you ) to see the tiger’

(Ramamurti 1931: 44)

iii. *nəram-jo:n*

catch.NMLZR.catch-fish-NOUN

‘means of catching fish’

(Ramamurti 1931: 46)

iv. *an-nənam-jo-n*

PFX-catch.NMLZR.catch-fish-NOUN

‘fish that have been caught’

(Ramamurti 1931: 44)

Note that not all incorporated object forms require the intransitive suffix -n- in Sora.

(160)
i. *gad-boξ-t-e-ji*

cut-buffalo-NPST-3-PL

‘they are cutting the buffalo’

(Ramamurti 1931: 49)

II.4. *bagu-n-ji*

get/take=woman-PST-PL

‘they both got married’

[Text-2, line 4]

Contrast the following forms in this regard:

(161)
i. *kuɾ-bəb-t-e*

shave-head-NPST

‘you shave (s.o.’s) head’

(Biligiri 1965b: 240)

ii. *kuɾ-bəb-te-n*

shave-head-NPST-ITR

‘you shave your head’
(Biligiri 1965: 240)

Here the opposition appears to be between reflexive object with –n- and action directed at another which lacks this element.

Pronominal object marking may be found with verbs forms also exhibiting noun incorporation, so these incorporated complexes are not obligatorily intransitive in Sora, i.e. incorporation is not an inherently valence-reducing process in this language.

(162)
i. *lem-jiŋ-t-am*  
bow-feet-NPST-2  
‘I bow to your feet’  

ii. *lem-si-t-am*  
bow-hand-NPST-2  
‘I shake (bow to) your hand’  

[OG]

iii. *lem-jęg-te-ben-ji*  
bow-foot-NPST-2PL-3PL  
‘they bow to your feet’  

[OG]

iv. *aninji paŋ-sal-iŋ-ji*  
3PRON-PL bring-liquor-PST-1-PL  
‘they brought me liquor’  

(Ramamurti 1931: 142)

Thus in addition to the stem change (causativization) with the incorporated noun forms below, there is alternation between presence and absence of –n- corresponding to reflexive vs. non-reflexive possessor of the hand being washed. First person subjects remain in an uninflected form but third person pronouns are in the oblique/dative object form, and the verb is marked transitive (at least non-intransitive). This shows that, as are certain Kherwarian languages, Sora is sensitive to degrees of transitivity in its verbal morphosyntax. This likely is an archaic feature in these two Munda subgroups.

(163)
i. *jen ˈiː-si-ti-n-ai*  
I wash-hand-NPST-RFLXV/ITR-1  
‘I am washing my hand’  

ii. *jen ann aŋəŋ  abə-si-t-ai*  
he OBJ wash-hand-NPST-1  
‘I am washing his hand’  

[OG]

iii. *jen amnji aŋəŋ  abə-si-t-ai*  
I they OBJ wash-hand-NPST-1  
‘I am washing their hands’  

[OG]  

abə-jiŋ-t-ai  
wash-foot-NPST-1  
‘I am washing their feet’
Apparently the –si- incorporated in this verb can be an instrumental as well as a patient in Gajapati Sora.

(164)

\[ \text{\textit{pen a-jiy-m-ji} adqy aba:-si-t-ai} \]

I 3-foot-N,SFX-PL OBJ wash-hand-NPST-1

‘I am washing their feet’

[OG]

‘Double marking’ with an external noun and an incorporated noun together may also be possible in this Sora variety.

(165)

\[ \text{\textit{a-jiy-m-ji} aba:-jiy-t-ai} \]

3-foot-N,SFX-PL wash-foot-NPST-1

‘I am washing their feet’

[OG]

This is certainly possible with words meaning ‘right hand’ and ‘left hand’ and ‘hand’ incorporated into the verb. As already pointed out by Sadock (1991) (with regards to Gta?), Munda languages have an unusual but not unheard of transparency between incorporated elements and things in the external phrasal syntax.

(166)

i. \[ \text{\textit{jen jandqumsi-pen aba:-si-t-ai}} \]

I right.hand-1 wash-hand-NPST-1

‘I am washing my right hand’

[OG]

ii. \[ \text{\textit{kaŋ'drabulisi-pen aba:-si-t-ai}} \]

left.hand-1 wash-hand-NPST-1

‘I am washing my left hand’

[OG]

Under questioning a speaker was able to produce a form with an external modifier ‘big’ modifying an incorporated noun ‘snake’; he then replaced it and was happy with a nominal form of this type instead. Other forms he outright rejected so there may be some cline of acceptability of external modifiers in Sora. This needs to be investigated further.

(167)

i. \[ \text{\textit{pen suŋa ja?ad-an nam-t-ay}} \]

I big snake-N,SFX catch-NPST-1

ii. \[ \text{\textit{pen suŋa nam-ja?t-ti-n-ay}} \]

I big catch-snake-NPST-RFLXV/ITR-1
‘I am catching a big snake’

‘I am big snake catching’

[OG]

iii. *jen suŋa nam-ja?t-mar
I big catch-snake-man
‘I am a big snake catcher’

[OG]

v. *jen kulu? ja?r-an nem-t-ay
I green snake-N.SFX catch-NPST-1
‘I am catching the green snake’

[OG]

As in many languages with noun incorporation (Anderson 1997), the non-subject agreement position in Sora is frequently used to mark affected animate possessors. Possessor raising is frequently found in such incorporated constructions.

(168)
i. soi-tam-t-am
burn-mouth-NPST-2
‘I will burn your mouth’

(Ramamurti 1931: 142)

ii. *jen ag-ga-si-am
NEG-drink-hand-2
‘I will not drink from your hand’

(Ramamurti 1931: 142)

iii. ji-lo-si-t-am
stick-earth-hand-NPST-2
‘mud will stick to your leg’

(Ramamurti 1931: 44)

iv. *jen af-jat-si-am
NEG-receive-cooked.rice-hand-2
‘I won’t receive rice from your hand’

(Ramamurti 1931: 44)

Note that forms (iii–v) have both possessor raising and double noun incorporation. Subject possessor raising is also possible in Sora incorporated forms.

(169)
i. kuŋ-bab-t-əm
shave-head-NPST-2
‘you head is shaven’

(Biligiri 1965: 240)

ii. asw-bab-t-in
hurt-head-NPST-1
‘my head hurts’

(Ramamurti 1931: 143)

Another of the noteworthy characteristics of the system of noun incorporation in Sora is the presence of multiply incorporated constructions. Two such examples are found in (168iii–iv) and one more is offered below.

(170)
jo-me-bəb-dem-te-n-ai
smear-oil-head-RFLXV-NPST-ITR-1
‘I will anoint myself with oil’
(Ramamurti 1931: 143)

There are also forms with an original serialized verb construction and a single incorporated noun in Sora as well.

(171)
`pay-ti-dar-in-ten`
`bring-give-cooked.rice-1-3.PST`
‘he brought and gave me cooked rice’
(Ramamurti 1931: 43)

One of the most, if not the most, noteworthy aspects of Sora noun incorporation is that a transitive verb may incorporate its agent argument. While many languages allow for incorporation of intransitive (unaccusative) subjects, incorporated agent forms of transitive verbs are not frequently attested cross-linguistically, if at all in other languages. Because of the nature of Sora verb morphology with its distinction between free forms and combining forms of nouns, it is clear that these are indeed incorporated complexes. These incorporated stems remain transitive in Sora: they allow for the formal indexing of objects as well within in the incorporated complex.

(172)

i. `jam-kit-t-am`
`seize-tiger-NPST-2`
‘tiger will seize you’
(Ramamurti 1931: 40)

ii. `sar-bud-t-am`
`mangle-bear-NPST-2`
‘bear will mangle you’
(Ramamurti 1931: 142)

iii. `mo-kul-t-am`
`swallow-ghost-NPST-2`
‘ghost will swallow you’
(Ramamurti 1931: 142)

iv. `pay-sum-t-am`
`carry-spirit-NPST-2`
‘spirit will carry you away’
(Ramamurti 1931: 142)

The forms with incorporated subject differ from corresponding forms lacking incorporation both formally and functionally in Sora. From a formal perspective, the free-standing full form noun subject appears with the absolutive or nominal suffix -n and stands in pre-verbal position. In incorporated subject forms, the noun appears in a monosyllabic combining form after the verb root within the verb complex before the tense marker. Compare the following synonymous variants.

(173)

i. `kina-n jam-t-am`
`tiger-N.SFX seize-NPST-2`
‘the tiger will seize you’
(Ramamurti 1931: 40)

ii. `jam-kid-t-am`
`seize-tiger-NPST-2`
‘tiger will seize you’ (you will be tiger-seized)
(Ramamurti 1931: 40)
These incorporated agent forms contrast formally with (most) incorporated object forms by never allowing the intransitive suffix -n, while incorporated object forms as mentioned and exemplified above frequently (but not obligatorily) have this element. Unfortunately, the details of this usage have to date not been adequately worked out and must remain a subject for future research.

(174)
\[\text{n} \text{am-kid-te-n-ai}\]
seize-tiger-NPST-ITR-1/CLOC
‘I will seize the tiger’
(Ramamurti 1931: 40)

Like incorporated objects forms, a full paradigm of incorporated subject forms may be found in Sora. Note the usual lack of a tense marker in the negative non-past forms but its use negative past forms (they are highly marked forms and do not have ‘regular irregular’ inflection).

(175) ‘tiger’ = subject/agent, pronominal suffix = object/patient

\[
\begin{array}{l|l|l|l}
\text{past} & \text{non-past} & \text{imperative} & \text{prohibitive} \\
\text{nam-kil-l-i} & \text{nam-kit-t-i} & \text{nam-kid-i-te} & \text{nam-kid-don-i-te} \\
\text{nam-kil-l-am} & \text{nam-kit-t-am} & \text{nam-kid-am-te} & \text{nam-kid-don-am-te} \\
\text{nam-kil-l-e} & \text{nam-kit-t-e} & \text{nam-kid-e-te} & \text{nam-kid-don-e-te} \\
\text{nam-kil-l-ai} & \text{nam-kit-t-ai} & \text{nam-kid-ai-te} & \text{nam-kid-don-ai-te} \\
\text{nam-kil-l-len} & \text{nam-kit-t-len} & \text{nam-kid-len-te} & \text{nam-kid-don-len-te} \\
\text{nam-kil-l-ben} & \text{nam-kit-t-ben} & \text{nam-kid-ben-te} & \text{nam-kid-don-ben-te} \\
\text{nam-kil-l-e-ji} & \text{nam-kit-t-e-ji} & \text{nam-kid-e-te-ji} & \text{nam-kid-don-e-te-ji} \\
\hline
\text{neg past} & \text{neg non-past} & \text{neg past} & \text{neg non-past} \\
\text{aj-nam-kil-l-i} & \text{aj-nam-kid-i} & \text{aj-nam-kil-l-i} & \text{aj-nam-kid-i} \\
\text{(Ramamurti 1931: 40-1)} & \text{(Ramamurti 1931: 40-1)} & \text{neg past} & \text{neg non-past} \\
\end{array}
\]

Agent incorporation may also be found in the imperative as well in Sora. Thus, both of the following sentences are grammatical in Sora.

(176) \[\text{vs.}\]

i. \text{kina-n nam-\text{i}-te} \hspace{1cm} \text{ii. nam-kid-\text{i}-te}
tiger-N.SFX seize-1-3.IMP \hspace{1cm} \text{seize-tiger-1-3.IMP}
‘may the tiger seize me!’ \hspace{1cm} ‘may I be tiger-seized’
(Ramamurti 1931: 41) \hspace{1cm} (Ramamurti 1931: 41)

2.2.12 Auxiliary Verb Constructions
In Sora there is also considerable evidence that speaks to a formally active system of complex predicate formation in addition to a synchronically active use of deictic serial verb constructions. Many South Asian languages make use of complex predicates to mark a wide range tense, aspect and mood categories, or show morphologically complex verb forms that originated in such formations, Munda languages generally being no exception to this tendency (Hook 1991, Anderson 2007). In Sora, many of these former auxiliaries or explicator verbs function as semi-affixal elements that encode primarily aspectual (e.g. habitual, frequentative, completive) less commonly modal categories. As is the case in complex predicate structures across the South Munda languages, monosyllabic lexical verbs in such formation may be reduplicated, but bisyllabic stems are not.

(177) –lo:
\[ \text{gugu-lo-te-n} \]
RDPL:call-FREQ-NPST-ITR
‘he calls (me) frequently’
(Ramamurti 1931: 28)

(178) -la
i. \[ \text{kan-kan-la-te-n} \]
RDPL:abuse-HAB-NPST-ITR
‘sacrifice-HAB-NPST-ITR
‘he abuses (all people)’
‘he sacrifices’
(Ramamurti 1931: 28)
(Starosta 1967)

Not all of these now fused original auxiliary verb constructions take reduplicated lexical stems in Sora. Some rather require a bare, unmarked (or Ø-marked) lexical verb stem. Again, this patterning is also familiar from the synchronically bi-partite auxiliary verb constructions in a number of Sora’s sister Munda languages (e.g. Remo or Gta?). One such element is the completive ‘auxiliary’ or aspectual suffix –a[\ij].

(179) -ai
i. \[ \text{ak-ga-h\ Overlay set-n-te takd-aj-te} \]
CAUS-sit-buffalo-CV give.up-ITR-3:IMP finish-AUX:COMPL-3:IMP
‘let the making of (him) sit on the buffalo get finished up altogether’
(Starosta 1967: 232)

ii. \[ \text{jum-aij-a} \]
eat-COMPL-IMP
‘eat it (all) up!’
(Ramamurti 1931: 27)

The functions of such elements appear to be in line with areal norms, insofar as these can be gleaned per se in the Sora structures. Thus a now fused verb originally meaning ‘throw’
seems to form perfective action (Hook 1991, Anderson 2003) in both Sora and Juray, at least with motion verbs. Note that there is another homophonous functional element in Sora that means ‘leave, give up’ that appears to be used as a marker of durativity, e.g. ‘keep Verb-ing, continue to Verb’.

(180) Juray
\[jir-(e)-sed-en\]
go-AUX-ITR
‘went away’
(A. Zide 1983)

(181) Sora
I.12. kun asən kun sənna-dəd-ən-ji raʔə-na-daʔəʔəŋ gij-an gij-le
DEF for DEF small-frog-N.SFX-PL elephant:N.SFX=OBJ see-N.SFX see-PST
\[bəʔəŋ-le \textit{iersed-le-ji}\]
be.frightened-PST run.away-PST-PL
‘because of seeing the elephant, the small frogs were frightened and ran away’
[Text-1, line 12]

The tense markers of Sora are likely to have originated in auxiliary structures. In careful speech, the tense markers can still given independent stress, speaking to the original phrasal nature of the construction.

(182)
\[pən \textit{nam-yim } tə-n-ay\]
I catch-chicken NPST-RFlXV/ITR-1
‘I am chicken-catching’
[OG]

There are a range of verbal inflectional elements that synchronically appear to be uniflecting functional elements but which have the position and function typically found with auxiliaries in Sora. One of these is the second past tense form in \(/e/ten\). These may have been original \textit{LEX}-headed or split inflectional structures in the Anderson (2006) sense, with at least object marking on the lexical verb.

(183)
\[pəʔ-ti-dar-iŋ-ten\]
bring-give-cooked.rice-1.3.PST
‘he brought and gave me cooked rice’
(Ramamurti 1931: 43)

The capabilitive construction in Sora is one that bears special mention. Unlike other verbal operators which generally follow the lexical head verb, this element which can be
used predicatively when no complement is expressed and take tense and subject marking, the capabilitive rapti precedes the lexical verb. The lexical verb remains the inflectional head and takes subject and tense marking (and cislocative, intransitive) as appropriate. A representative set of forms (Starosta 1967: 187-188) in the positive and negative of this construction is offered in (184) below

(184)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rapti} & \text{-i-te} & \text{rapti} & \text{-pa\text{-t-ai}/-pa\text{-te-n-ai}} & \text{rapti} & \text{-i-te pa\text{-n-ai}} \\
\text{CAP 1PL-go-NPST} & \text{CAP 1PL-carry-NPST-1PL/CLOC/1PL-carry-NPST-ITR-1PL/CLOC CAP 1PL-go-NPST carry-ITR-CLOC/1PL} & \\
\text{‘we can go’} & \text{‘we can bring’} & \text{‘we can go and bring back’} & \\
\text{(Starosta 1967: 187)} & \\
\text{rapti} & \text{-i-e} & \text{rapti} & \text{-pa\text{-f-n-\text{jai}}} & \text{rapti} & \text{-i-e pa\text{-n-ai}} \\
\text{CAP NEG-go-NPST} & \text{CAP NEG-carry-NPST-[ITR]-1PL/CLOC} & \text{CAP NEG-go-NPST carry-ITR-CLOC/1PL} & \\
\text{‘we can go’} & \text{‘we can bring’} & \text{‘we can go and bring back’} & \text{‘we can go and bring back’} & \\
\text{(Starosta 1967: 188)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Serial verb structures or (fused) semi-dependent clause chaining structures are also characteristic of the Sora verb system. These come in two basic formal types. The first type is akin to nuclear serialization and is a close compounding of predicates.

Note, for example, the following forms of the shape verb\textsubscript{1}-verb\textsubscript{2}-NPST, with single non-past inflection

(185)

\[
\begin{align*}
i. & \text{ pa\text{-t-i-t-am}} \\
\text{bring-give-NPST-2} & \\
\text{‘I’ll bring and give (it to) you’} & \\
\text{(Ramamurti 1931: 44)} & \\
\text{ii.} & \text{ ti\text{-jum-t-am}} \\
\text{give-eat-NPST-2} & \\
\text{‘I’ll give you to eat’} & \\
\text{(Ramamurti 1931: 44)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Such forms can also appear with incorporated nouns as well, yielding rather frightful complexes of the following sort:

(186)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mal\text{-jum-pu\text{-dai}-tam-t-am} po?y} & \\
\text{wish-eat-cake-AUX-mouth-NPST-2 Q/DOUBT} & \\
\text{‘do you long to eat cake?’} & \\
\text{(Ramamurti 1931: 143)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
Other ‘serialization’ patterns are more like a set of fused clause-chained structures, with a semi-inflected form of Verb, that obligatorily appears in the past tense and functionally the completion of the action of which is necessary and prior to the action described by Verb₂.

(187)
i. gil-le-jir-įn
see-PST-leave-1
‘see me before you go’
(Ramamurti 1931: 44)

ii. ø-berna  op(p)ųn-le-jir-įn=ten
ACC-word tell-PST-go-1-3.PST
‘having told me the word, he left’
(Ramamurti 1931: 44)

Sometimes this yields structures that are ambiguous between a non-finite verb and a finite verb or a sequence of juxtaposed coordination of two finite verbs.

(188)
anselɔ-n oron-le ier-le
woman-N.SFX carry-CV/PST go-PST
‘(he) went carrying the woman’ or ‘having carried the woman, (he) went’ or ‘he carried the woman and then left’
(Starosta 1967: 180)

Non-past marking is permitted in such sequences as well.

(189)
anin ijaite-n-γu-am
he come-NPST-ITR-call-2
‘he came and called you’
(Ramamurti 1931: 44)

Serialized forms of this latter type can appear with (an) incorporated object(s) as well in Sora. In these structures, however, The order of elements in serialized and incorporated sequences is mostly set in Sora, following a morphological, not semantic ordering, e.g.:

Table 7-2: Sora Incorporation and Complex Verb Template

(PERS-NUMB/NEG)-verb₁-PST/CNCTV-(-ITR-)-verb₂-NXF-PRS/TENSE-ITR-PERS/NUMB

Note that the intransitive marker may appear following either verb₁ or verb₂. The element -le- frequently appears in serialized forms. Subject/object markers of person and number on the other hand, always appear in final position.
2.3 Expressives

In Sora, as in other Munda languages, there are a set of tag or echo word forms that are identical or sometimes phonological variants of each other. These may be typologized as follows:

(190) Full reduplication (type A)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duŋ duŋ</td>
<td>‘thud, thump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeŋ yeŋ</td>
<td>‘to blow gently, as breeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duŋ duŋ yeŋ yeŋ</td>
<td>(Adv.) ‘like a storm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumrum</td>
<td>‘rapidity of movement in dancing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mede:r mede:r</td>
<td>‘dim, dusky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myɔr myɔr</td>
<td>‘having peeped’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'takar takar</td>
<td>‘in a tottering or trembling manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yub yub</td>
<td>‘sounds of footsteps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kejem kejem-</td>
<td>‘to be fond of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pada: pada:</td>
<td>‘smack’ (sound)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(192) Full reduplication with consonant overwriting (type B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sora mo:ra</td>
<td>‘the Soras and the Oriyas, etc.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai le mui le</td>
<td>‘having searched’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandin tadin</td>
<td>‘plates, dishes’ (&lt;mandin ‘a dish’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naije:nte pajje:nte</td>
<td>‘toddle, walk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(193) Full reduplication with vowel(s) overwriting (type C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>padum padam</td>
<td>‘the sound produced by blows’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagɔ: nagɔ:</td>
<td>‘sound of pounding, blowing or thumping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rum ram</td>
<td>‘to trot or prance, as horses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasula: kasela:</td>
<td>‘falling into the well’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kiki koko ‘to produce the click sound heard in kissing’
kermoilo kermoilo ‘smilingly, cheerfully’ (< kermoi ‘to smile’)
meñ man ‘humming of bees and insects’
medor mador ‘glitteringly’
suka: l saka:l-ωn ‘early’ (< Marathi saka:l)
brɔiŋ bɔræiŋ- ‘to dazzle’
pɔ'seiโลge pɔ'suiโลge ‘loudly with a hissing sound’
’kokede ’kakode ‘crooked, curved’
obuŋle abuŋle ‘turning from side to side in bed’
’padum ’padam ‘sound produced by blows’
’rodemai ’rademai ‘sound of crackling’

(194) Full reduplication with both vowel and consonant overwriting (type D)
modete paddete ‘twists’

Some verb roots appear only in reduplicated forms:

(195)
mel mel ‘to inspect’
me me ‘to nod, to shake’
ŋay ŋay ‘to teach, admonish’
yeŋ yeŋ ‘to blow gently, as breeze’
piŋ piŋ (~peŋ peŋ ) ‘to be cracked’ ‘to have chinks’
se se ‘to choose’
sib sib ‘to feel pinched’

These inherently reduplicated verbs may sometimes themselves undergo type C reduplication:

(196)
piŋ piŋpay pay ‘to be sunken (as the eyes of an old person)

Other verbs have semantically distinct unreduplicated and reduplicated forms:

(197)
guy- ‘to fall, to tumble’
guy- guy- ‘to strike, to knock’
saŋ- ‘to crush, to bruise’
Similarly, some nouns and adjectives exist only in reduplicated forms

(198)

\[nil‘nilən\] ‘masturbation’
\[sənsəŋən\] ‘turmeric paste’

Morphological retriplication is infrequently encountered in Ramamurti’s materials; the authors have not confirmed these forms with contemporary speakers.

(199)

\[sid‘sid‘sid‘lamge\] ‘commotion’

We also find restricted co-lexicalized collocations that duplicate certain elements.

(200)

i. \[asu-bəb rọŋa-bəb\] sick-head cold-head
ii. \[ansel‘ tet kimboj tet\] ‘sick as a dog’
(Starosta 1967: 263)

\[we house-N.SFX 1PL-build-PST:1PL\]
We built the house.

3 Syntax

Much remains to be investigated in the syntax of the Sora language. A first but now rather dated attempt at Sora syntactic analysis may be found in Starosta’s (1967) dissertation to which the interested reader is referred. We offer only the briefest of comments below.

3.1 Syntax of the Simple Sentence

The basic clausal constituent order of Sora is Subject Object Verb which is typical of the languages of South Asia. Intransitive sentences have the structure Subject Verb/Copula.

(201)

i. \[allen st‘iŋ-m a-sab‘ja-le\] we house-N.SFX 1PL-build-PST:1PL
We built the house.
ii.  \textit{ab\textbar j}  \textit{gail\textbar n}  \textit{d\textbar k\textbar u\textbar le}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  one & road-N.SFX COP-PST \\
\end{tabular}
‘there (once) was a road’

[Text-1, line 1]

‘Have’ possession constructions in Sora are marked by a copular verb and a possessed nominal (if permitted), as is commonly found in Eurasian SOV languages.

(202)
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{yagi}  & \textit{on\textbar nen}  \textit{di}  \textit{d\textbar k\textbar u} \\
three & child-1 DISC COP \\
\end{tabular}
‘I have three kids, ya know’

[OG]

The relative order between two objects in a ditransitive is not set, and subject to as yet unexplored discourse considerations.

(203)
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{\textbar n\textbar len}  & \textit{aman}  \textit{da\textbar ?a\textbar n}  \textit{g\textbar ?\textbar ti\textbar y\textbar t\textbar am} \\
we & you water-N.SFX 1PL-give-NPST-[1>2] \\
\end{tabular}
‘we give you water’

[OG]

While dominantly verb final, some post-verbal nominal elements are permitted, under conditions that remain opaque and a subject for future research.

(204)
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{\textbar n\textbar en}  & \textit{gi\textbar ?\textbar t\textbar ay}  \textit{d\textbar o\textbar n\textbar \textbar om} \\
I & see-NPST-1 OBJ-2 \\
\end{tabular}
‘I see you’

As an SOV language of Eurasia, certain other phrasal features of Sora are areally typical. This includes within the domain of nominal syntax a predominance of head-final order, so in addition to OV we find Gen N, Num N, Dem N, N PostPos, Adv Adj and Adj N. Within the verbal phrase, one typically encounters the order Adv V and V Aux (often in Sora, as mentioned in 2.2.12 above, in a synchronically fused order of [V-Aux]. Some examples of phrasals structures illustrating these are offered below.

(205)
\begin{tabular}{llll}
i. \textit{migelturu}  \textit{minyun} & ii. \textit{migelyagi}  \textit{minyu} & iii. \textit{ab\textbar j}  \textit{gail\textbar n} \\
eighteen year-N.SFX & fifteen year & one road-N.SFX \\
\end{tabular}
‘eighteen years old’ ‘fifteen years old’ ‘one road’
iv. *bo-mənra-n aŋim sukku bar* bo-mənra aŋim məŋiŋa
one person-N.SFX 3:name Sukku and one person:GEN 3:name Mangaŋa
‘one was named Sukku one was named Mangaŋa’
[Text-2, line 3]

v. *iŋen kulu? jaʔ-r-an nəm-t-ay* vi. ejə bəibəi suŋa
I green snake-N.SFX catch-NPST-1 No very big
‘I am catching the green snake’ ‘No, very big’
[Text-1, line 22]

vii. *kun a-gailə-ley*
that OBJ-road-LOC
‘on that road’

Note that while (pro)nominal possessors precede nouns, first and second person
pronominal possessives are enclitic to the noun.

(206)
i. *aŋim-ŋen opino gomango*
name-1 Opino Gomango
‘my name is O. G.’

ii. *nən a-si-ŋen* iii. *nən si-ŋen* iv. *aŋom-a si-nam* v. *anlen si-len*
I-GEN hand-1 I hand-1 you-GEN hand-2 we hand-1PL
‘my hand’ ‘my hand’ ‘your hand’ ‘our hand(s)’
[OG]

Adverbs are not infrequently found in clause-initial position, but this is in no sense
obligatory.

(207)
i. *iŋen rban daʔ-a-n tiy-l-əm*
I yesterday water-N.SFX give-PST-[1>2]
‘I gave you water yesterday’
[OG]

ii. *rban ŋen daʔ-a-n tiy-l-am*
yesterday I water-N.SFX give-PST-[1>2]
‘I gave you water yesterday’
[OG]

Thus, in intransitive clauses the order of Adv Oblique Subject Verb is not uncommon in
Sora narratives.
3.2 Complex Sentence Structure

Very little can be said here about complement clause structure or the range of use of sentential or clausal arguments in Sora. Some predicates which take clausal complements require a purposive-marked complement (with asen taking either an unmarked or dependent for of the verb stem) or a purposive infinitive in [a—–] – ben asen.

(209)

i. pen bajar-ən ay-yu ɣar-ən ʔiʔiʔm-t-ai
I market towards?? go-PURP DES-NPST-1
‘I want to go to the market’ [OG]

ii. pen ʔiːm-bin 'asen ʔism-t-ai
I eat-INF PURP DES-NPST-1
‘I want to eat’ [OG]

iii. ʔeʔnum-m ʔiːm-bin '?asen ʔism-t-ai
something-N,SFX eat-INF PURP DES-NPST-1
‘I want to eat something’ [OG]

Other verbs require their complement clause to be simply marked as non-final or non-finite (or perhaps nominalized) with the ‘noun’ suffix -ən.
Complements usually precede the verbs that subcategorize for them in Sora but may also follow them under appropriate conditions (the details of which remain to be worked out).

Like many SOV languages of Eurasia, a non-finite or participle/converb form of the verb ‘say, in Sora gamle, may function to introduce direct discourse as a quotative, and with certain predicates of mental action to serve as a complementizer.

3.2.1 Relative-type Clauses

Like most other topics in Sora syntax, only the briefest of comments can be offered here on the nature of relative clauses in Sora. For more detail see Starosta (1967: 242-254).
Relative clauses in Sora appear to reflect areal norms to a large degree. They are usually restrictive clauses consisting of a relative pronoun often marked by the focus marker –te, in a clause preceding the main clause and linked to it through a correlative element. Thus, in the following examples, the marked dependent relative marker a-ien-ён appears in the preposed relative clause often followed by a noun and co-indexed with the pronoun anin or deictic kun in the main clause.

(213)

i. dɔ a-ięy-ён a-mənra sərəb-ən ət-ti-əd anin ḍondiŋ
so OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy-field-N.SFX NEG-give-NEG he jail:N.SFX

ier-le dɔ a-ięy-ён a-mənra sərəb-ən əd-ŋay-əd go-
PST and OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy-field-N.SFX NEG-get-NEG

anin suʔųy-leγ-ən dəku-le-n dɔ tiki kəlkəl-ən hatte
he house-LOC-N.SFX COP-PST-N.SFX and afterwards REDPL worry-N.SFX with

anin kəb/ied-dəm-le-n
he kill/CAUS/kill-RFLXV-PST-ITR/N.SFX
‘the one who didn’t give the fields, he went to jail and the one who didn’t get the fields, he was at home, with worry, and afterwards he killed himself’
[Text-2, line 14]

ii. kən aiom-leγ-ən a-ięy-ən arsi a-kəndar-leγ-ən
that time-LOC-N.SFX PFX-who-N.SFX monkey 3-branch-LOC-N.SFX ted-n-
eten kun a-kəndar-ən əldiŋ-le
hang-n-T/A:3 that 3-branch-N.SFX break-PST
‘at that time, the monkey which hung from the branch of the tree, that branch broke’
[Text-3, line 13]

iii. dɔ ete-n-te j-əm-əm-jom-ən ɲəŋ-te-ji kun hatte aninji meęŋ-te-ji
so what-N.SFX-FOC eat-NMLZ-eat-N.SFX get-NPST-3PL that with they live-NPST-3pl
‘so whatever food they get that’s what they live on’
(Starosta 1967)

3.2.2 Other Subordinate Clauses (time, manner, cause, purpose, etc.)

Sora makes uses of a range of subordinate clause types. One such formation is a kind of temporally subordinate clause of simultaneous ongoing or repeated action. It is formed by the suffix –ata/ata and appears in a doubled or fully reduplicated form, i.e. X-ata X-ata, etc.
(214) 

etegoy dimɔd-ata dimɔd-ata aboj arsi-n kun  
like.this sleep-NF:DUR/SIMULT sleep-NF:DUR/SIMULT one monkey-N.SFX that

a-bɔnda-leŋ-ən aboj anygaj-ən-a-dɔ?əŋ gjî-eten  
OBJ-tank-LOC-N.SFX one moon-N.SFX-OBJ see-T/A:3
‘they kept sleeping and sleeping like this and one monkey saw a moon in that tank’  
[Text-3, line 3]

Another common formation is made with a non-finite verb form in -ən- in the archaic genitive case form –a followed by the subordinating adverb tiki ‘after[wards]’.

(215) 
i. bar bɔndi-lo-ŋ-ji-na tiki dɔjin dinna de-le anin  
and put.in.jail-PST-N.SFX-PL-GEN after few day become-PST he

a-dukɔr-ŋ dɔ a-on-ən-ji jinaŋ dolɔjən batte kɔniet-lo-ji  
3-wife-N.SFX and 3-child-PL also hunger-N.SFX SOC/INS die-PST-PL
‘and a few days after they put him jail, his wife and children also died of starvation’  
[Text-2, line 13]

ii. dɔjin meŋim etegoy bara-le-ŋ-ji-a tiki  
several year like.this work-PST-N.SFX/ITR-PL-GEN after

a-sɔnna-mɔr sukkun a-kaka-n-a-dɔ?əŋ sarɔba-n  
3-young-man Sukku-N.SFX 3-older.brother-N.SFX=OBJ paddy.field-N.SFX

er-ti-lo-be anson bara-eten  
NEG-give-PST-NF=W/O himself work-T/A:3
‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’  
[Text-2, line 7]

iii. uan-ji kɔniet-le-n-a tiki bagu-n-ji jɔnɔŋ sarɔba-n-ji  
father-3PL die-PST-N.SFX-GEN after two-N.SFX-PL field paddy-N.SFX-PL

mailen bara-le-ji  
together work-PST-PL
‘after their father died, they both worked in their fields and paddies together’  
[Text-2, line 6]

iv. ier-aɪ-ən-a tiki aninji gudəŋ-le
Sometimes the same subject construction in `X–an X–le[-n]` (see 3.2.3 below) can be used in such ‘after’ clauses (temporally subordinate clauses where the action of the first clause precedes that of the second).

(216)

i. `'amji ga'ga-n`  `gaga¹-li-n`  `tn-se'riy`  `yer-jiy`  
they REDPL:eat-N.SFX REDPL:eat-PST/CV-ITR here-from go-PST-3PL  
‘they went away after eating it’  
[OG]

ii. `'amji ga'ga-n`  `gaga¹-li-n`  `ti?no-se'riy`  `yer-ø-jiy`  
they REDPL:eat-N.SFX REDPL:eat-PST/CV-ITR here-from go-PST-3PL  
They went away after eating it.  
[OG] (slow repetition)

Formal variants are attested for seemingly isofunctional complex sentence structures, semantically speaking. Thus, one type of negative subordinate clause in Sora with a first person subject ‘since…I not…’ may be expressed in either of the following ways.

(217)

i. `ø'–naj-o pen øpselø`  
NEG-get-TLOC/NEG:CV I SUBORD  
‘since I didn’t get…’  
[OG]

ii. `er-ø-an-øn øn øn`  
NEG-take-NEG-take-N.SFX SUBORD  
‘since I didn’t get…’  
[OG]

How these differ remains a subject for the future investigation of the syntax of complex sentences in Sora.

Causally subordinate clauses are formed with the complex (often clause-initial) subordinator `?ita'nas?angamle'den` ‘because’. Note also the use of the non-finite ‘same subject’ verbal construction as well in `X–an X–le[-n]`.

(218)

i. `?ita'nas?angamle'den`  `jen`  `bazar-an`  `'yir-an`  `ye'r-{ρi}`
Because I market-N.SFX go-N.SFX go-CV

Because I market-N.SFX go-N.SFX go-CV

As mentioned in 2.2.5 above, conditionals in Sora are formed by the complex sequence –le-n-de

(219)

As mentioned in 2.2.9 a negative or privative subordinate clause in er-X-le-be is found meaning ‘without having Xed’.

(220)

3.2.3 Coordination

One of the most common ways of stringing together conjoined clauses in Sora is a
structure in which there is either a reduplicated verb with a nominalizing suffix/infix after the first verb stem and in a past ‘participle’ form or, perhaps more likely a full copy of the verb stem in the attributive/dependent/noun suffix form -an. Subject marking is found only on the final, (fully) finite verb.

(221)
i. ukij ə-pʊŋ-pʊŋ-le-n  dəkət-ne  po  a-gam-le-n
   AUGM CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST-N.SFX  this.much-EMPH DOUBT DEP:say-PST-N.SFX
   annəŋ kun ə-pʊŋ-əŋ-ə  kəmpəŋ-əŋ  pətaj-əŋ  pətaj-le  kəniet-le
   while DEF  PFX-bloat-N.SFX-GEN  stomach-N.SFX burst-N.SFX burst-PST die-PST
   ‘he puffed himself up even more while saying “this big”?! and his bloated stomach burst and he died’
   [Text-1, line 31]

ii. biŋə ə-ubban  bəbiəi  barab-le  ier-an  ier-le
   but 3-younger.brother  very  get.angry-PST  go-N.SFX go-PST
      REDPL-NMLZ-go-PST
   a-nin ədə?əŋ  tuəb-eten
   he OBJ thrash?-T/A:3
   ‘but the younger brother got very angry went to him and thrashed? him’
   [Text-2, line 10]

iii. kun ərni-n kun əŋəgaj-ən-a-ədə?əŋ  giŋ-an  giŋ-le
   that monkey-N.SFX  that moon-N.SFX-OBJ  see-N.SFX  see-PST or REDPL-NMLZ-see-PST
   a-garəŋ-ji-a-ədə?əŋ  gam-eten
   3-friend-PL-OBJ  tell-T/A:3
   ‘that monkey saw that moon and told her friends’
   [Text-3, line 4]

iv. ettegoŋ  anlen-a  alale-n-ji  ted-an  ted-le-n
   like.this  we-GEN  REDPL:tail-N.SFX  hold-N.SFX hold-PST-N.SFX/ITR
   aŋəgaj-ən-ədə?əŋ  a-təb-n-ai-bə
   moon-N.SFX-OBJ  1PL-get.out-n-CLOC-PL:IMP
   ‘in this way let’s hang by our tails and get out the moon’
   [Text-3, line 10]

v. a-ninji ən  gam-ən  gam-le  ajarəj-ən  a-kəndər-leŋ-ən  səren
   they that say-N.SFX say-PST  really-EMPH OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX from
Such formations can also have a causal (dependent clause) sense in Sora under certain conditions.

(222)

kun asən kun sənna-dəd-ən-ji ra?a-n-a-də̆?əŋ gi̇j-an gi̇j-le
DEF for DEF small-frog-N.SFX-PL elephant:N.SFX=OBJ see-N.SFX see-PST

be.frightened-PST run.away-PST-PL
‘because of seeing the elephant, the small frogs were frightened and ran away’

[Text-1, line 12]

In some instances coordinating particles or conjunctions can be found, often in leftmost clause position.

(223)

i. bar bəndi-lə-n-ji-na tiki də̆jın dinna de-le anin
and put.in.jail-PST-N.SFX-PL-GEN after few day become-PST he

a-dukəpən də̆ a-on-ən-ji jinaŋ dolə̆jən batte kənιet-lə̆-ji
3-wife-N.SFX and 3-child-PL also hunger-N.SFX SOC/INS die-PST-PL
‘and a few days after they put him jail, his wife and children also died of starvation’

[Text-2, line 13]

ii. tikki aninji ələŋ-ən-ji də̆ etenasən a-sə̆-le-n
after they answer-PST-[ITR]-PL so why 2PL-hide-PST-ITR

Simple juxtaposition of clauses with no coordinating conjunction or particle is also possible in Sora.
(224)  
\textit{aninji tømba-n annøŋ jum-le ga-le tøgøl-øn annøŋ aboy}  
they noon-N.SFX during eat-PST drink-PST at.night-N.SFX during one  

\textit{møney bønda-n a-bo ara-leŋ-øn dimød-le-n-ji}  
edge tank-N.SFX OBJ-one tree-LOC-N.SFX sleep-PST-ITR-PL [xx-eye]  
‘they would eat and drink during the day and at night they would sleep in a tree in one corner of a tank’  
[Text-3, line 2]  

Disjunctive sentences can be introduced in Sora with the complex element \textit{biŋdə} used in clause initial position.  

(225)  
i. \textit{biŋdə a-kako-n kan-ate smøŋøŋ-øn smøŋøŋ-le dɔ}  
but 3-elder.brother-N.SFX that-PRTCL hear-N.SFX hear-PST and  
\textit{gij-an gij-le bɔibɔi barab-le}  
see-N.SFX see-PST very get.angry:emph-PST  
‘but the elder brother got very angry when he heard and saw (all) that (his brother was doing)’  
[Text-2, line 8]  

ii. \textit{biŋdə a-ubban bɔibɔi barab-le ier-an ier-le}  
but 3-younger.brother very get.angry-PST go-N.SFX go-PST  
\textit{anin a-dɔiŋ-øn tøb-eten}  
he OBJ trash?-T/A:3  
‘but the younger brother got very angry went to him and thrashed? him’  
[Text-2, line 10]  

4 Semantics/Discourse  
4.1 Semantics  

The study of the semantics of Sora remains in its infancy and nothing will be offered here. However, one noteworthy aspect of Sora narrative syntax with regards to definiteness that merits mentions is that in addition to demonstrative elements as might be expected, in Sora third singular pronouns which are otherwise not used as demonstrative elements as in found in a range of languages, but may augment the definite and known qualities of a salient referent.  

(226)
4.2 Discourse

As in any language, Sora makes liberal use of various discourse particles that nuances of which are nearly impossible to render in English translation. Examples of a small number of these are offered below. Formal study of Sora discourse as a whole has not been undertaken. An anthropological study of shamanic and public discourses with the dead among the Sora may be found in Vitebsky (1993).

The dubitative/interrogative particle *po/pa* etc. is especially characteristic of Sora conversational genres.

The dubitative/interrogative particle *po/pa* etc. is especially characteristic of Sora conversational genres.
5 Lexicon
5.1 Austroasiatic/Munda Components

The Sora lexicon shows fewer loans than many other Munda languages. Austroasiatic elements and derivational processes abound and the language has an archaic feel about it especially in the make-up and structure of its lexical component (and indeed Sora is archaic in many features of its verbal morphology as well). The following forms were collected in Gajapati district, Orissa in early March 2007.

(227)

```
si?i
mù
jiː ~ jiʔi ~ jiʔi
alaŋ
tɔ?d ~ tɔʔr ~ tɔʔd
əndersi
senka
kondaŋ
kap[ɔ]ra
saŋsaŋ
kambuŋ
urạ
uyuŋ
kɔnɔsim ~ kɔnɔsim[a]
aded buz[ʔ]
jaʔat
samaiʔ
ɡmŋloƒ[ʔ]
tiʔtin
jelou
ayou
```

‘hand’, ‘arm’
‘nose’
‘tooth’
‘tongue’
‘mouth’
‘neck’
‘back’
‘shoulder’
‘yellow’
‘pig’
‘mango’
‘sun’
‘chicken’
‘monkey’
‘banana’
‘stone’
‘moon’
‘egg’
‘honey bee’
‘snake’
‘mosquito’
‘cashew nut’
‘tamarind’
‘meat’
‘fish’

(ii. anin sukku-n pa a-dukɔr-i-n
she Sukku-N.SFX Q 3-wife-N.SFX
‘is she Sukku’s wife?’
(Starosta 1967: 291)
The contacts Sora speakers have had with Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speakers have left their mark. Loans can be seen from Telugu, Oriya varieties, and even English.

(228)

*beeg*  ‘bag, sack’
*saikəɬ*  ‘bicycle’
*goʊɬi*  ‘watch’
*pen*  ‘pen(cil)’
*pənka*  ‘fan’
*sopa*  ‘bamboo mat’
*niliy*  ‘blue, purple, violet’
*kʊʃəp kʊʃəp*  ‘light blue’
*kʊɾsi*  ‘chair’

6 Brief Annotated/Analyzed Texts

The following texts were collected in the 1960’s by Stanley Starosta from a speaker of the Serango variety of Sora. They are used here with permission from this now deceased linguist, secured orally before he died (he was slated to be the original author of this chapter, but his untimely death obviously prevented this). Translations are the result of both Starosta’s work and that of Anderson and Harrison, the authors of the present contribution. Interlinear glossing is solely the responsibility of Anderson and Harrison.

Text- 1: The Leader

1. *abəj*  *gail-ɬ- n*  *dəku-le*
   one  road-N,SFX  COP-PST
   ‘there (once) was a road’

2. *kun a-gail-ɬ-n-a*  *jattə abəj*  *ɣa- n*  *dəku-le*
   DEF  PFX-road-N,SFX-GEN  below one  ditch/drain-N,SFX  COP-PST
   ‘there was a ditch/drain below that road’

3. *eɣale kun ɣaɾan-ə*  *məndra-ji*  *ə-lo-n-a*  *məney ɣre*
   how  DEF  town-GEN  person-PL  PFX-road-N,SFX-GEN  beside or

   *gailun-a*  *məney*  *ɣa- n*  *daku*
   river-N,SFX:EN  beside  ditch/drain-N,SFX  be[come]
   ‘how it is is that the town people have a drain/ditch either beside a river or by a road’

4. *əntə*  *ettele*  *ɣa-ɬən*  *ətey*  *kəndəd-ən-ji*  *dəku-le*
thus like. that drain-LOC-N.SFX many frog-N.SFX-PL COP-PST
‘like that there were many frogs in the ditch’

5. dijey-antide sua sɔnna-dɔd-ɔn dɔku-le-ji
how many 100 little-frog-N.SFX COP-PST-PL
‘how many hundreds of little frogs there were!’

6. õnte a-sua-leŋ əboj suɾa-dɔd-ɔn ɗeku-le
thus PFX-100-LOC one/INDEF big=frog COP-PST
‘thus among (= in) the hundreds, there was one big frog’

7. anin kɔddib kɔndod-ən-ji ɕireŋ anin suɾa
he all frog-N.SFX-PL from he big
‘he is bigger than all the other frogs’

8. anin suɾa-dɔd-ɔn a-ber-n-an etente beren aninji
he big-frog-N.SFX DEP-say-N-N.SFX what say-N.SFX they
sɔnna-dɔd-ən-ji maŋe-le-ji
small-frog-N.SFX-PL obey-PST-PL
‘whatever the big frog said, the small frogs obeyed, had to obey’

< manniba ‘obey’ Oriya

9. ɗɔ bɔ dinna kun a-gaϯɔ-leŋ əboj raʔa-n iar-ɛted
so one day DEF OBJ-road-LOC one elephant-N.SFX walk-T/A:3
‘so one day an elephant was walking along the road’

10. mɛn aɪm-leŋ-ən anin suɾa-dɔd-ɔn ðə-dɔku-ɔd
that time-LOC-N.SFX he big-frog-N.SFX NEG-COP-NEG[J.PST:3]
‘at that time he, the big-frog, wasn’t there’

11. anin-a suʔuŋ-ban iar-ɛ[ʔ]iar-le]
He-GEN house-ALL go-PST
‘he (elephant) went to his (big-frog’s) house’

12. kun aṣən kun sɔnna-dɔd-ən-ji raʔa-n-a-ɗɔʔɔŋ gij-an gij-le
DEF for DEF small-frog-N.SFX-PL elephant:N.SFX=OBJ see-N.SFX see-PST
bɔʔuŋ-le iersed-le-ji
be.frightened-PST run.away-PST-PL
‘because of seeing the elephant, the small frogs were frightened and ran away’
13. puttar-ley-ən jopba-ley-ən tildil-liŋ-ji
‘they buried themselves in holes and mud’

14. ōntannəŋ kuni anin suɾa-dud-ən ier-ai-ted
then DEF he big-frog-N.SFX go/come-CLOC-T/A:3
‘then that one, him, the big frog, came back’

15. ier-ai-ən-a tiki aninji gudeŋ-le
go/come-CLOC-N.SFX GEN after he-PL call-PST
‘after he came, he called them’

16. uan a-ier-re ənn-əŋəŋ-ñ-ed-ji
where 2PL-go-PST NEG-answer-PST-NEG-PL
‘“where did you go?”; they didn’t answer him’

17. tikki aninji əŋəŋ-le-n-ji do etenasən a-sə-le-n
after they answer-PST-[ITR]-PL so why 2PL-hide-PST-ITR

gam-le suɾa-dud-ən
say-PST big-frog-N.SFX
‘after that they answered, and the big frog said ‘why did you hide?’’

18. a-gam-le-n anlen ən təŋəŋ-ən abọj suɾa-mər-ən ier-re
1PL-say-PST-ITR we this road-N.SFX INDEF really.big-person-N.SFX go-PST
‘We said “one really big guy traveled this road”’

19. antopsele anlen ən begiɾa a-sə-le-n-ai
therefore we DEF different.place 1PL-[go.]hide-PST-CLOC/1PL
‘therefore we went and hid in (the[se]) different places’

20. anin suɾa-dud-ən gam-le suɾa oʔo
he big-frog- N.SFX say-PST big yes
‘the big frog (, he) said “(he was) big?” “yes!”’

21. dokŋən-a suɾa
so/yay/how-N.SFX-GEN big
‘yay big??’

22. ejə bəiboi suɾa
No very big
‘No, very big’

23. aninji  sonna-dud-en-ji  gam-le-ji  amon  sireh  boiboisu
they small-frog-N.SFX-PL say-PST-PL you from very big
‘the small frogs (, they) said “much bigger than you”’

24. ajarid  po  gam-le  anin  sura-mor
true DOUBT say-PST he big-person
‘“is that really true?” he, the big guy said’

25. oto  amon  sireh  korra  sura
yes you from much big
‘Yes, much bigger than you’

26. anin  sura-dud-en  gam-eted  ap-pornop-let
he big-frog-N.SFX say-T/A CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST
‘he, the big frog said puffing himself up’

27. doked-ne  po  gam-le
this.much-EMPH DOUBT say-PST
‘“This (big)??!” he said

28. ejja  ukij  sura
No AUGM big
‘No bigger still’

29. ukij  ap-pornop-let  doked-ne  po  gam-le
AUGM CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST this.much DOUBT say-PST
‘so he puffed himself up some more and said “this (big)??!”’

30. ejja  sura
No big
‘even bigger’

31. ukij  ap-pornop-let-n  doked-ne  po  a-gam-le-n
AUGM CAUS-REDPL:puff-PST-N.SFX this.much-EMPH DOUBT DEP-say-PST-N.SFX

‘he puffed himself up even more while saying “this big”??! and his bloated stomach burst and he died’

799
32. aninji sənna-mər-ən-ji əỳəndi-le-ji əttedən anlen sənja-n
they little-person- N.SFX-PL think-PST-PL therefore we grain.tribute-N.SFX

ə-tər-de じtəyə-kə-n əd-jิ-e ɡam-le jʊre-lə-len բɨŋ
NEG-measure-NPST tax-N.SFX NEG-give-NPST COMP twist-PST-1PL MOD
‘the little guys thought ‘we won’t measure out the grain-tribute and won’t pay the tax
because he oppressed us’

33. bənlusaj kəniet-le հուչ sa gam-le kun sənna-mər-ən-ji
serves.him.right die-PST good say-PST DEF little-person-N.SFX-PL

bəbəi երակա-le-n-jิ
very rejoice-PST-ITR-PL
‘Serves him right that he died! Good! the little guys said and rejoiced greatly’

Text 2: The Two Brothers

1. bagu-мər-an-jи əməle kata-n-a+ber
two person-N.SFX-PL about talk-N.SFX-GEN-word
‘The story of two people’

2. aninji bagu-n-ji բ/ուն/տամ dəku-le-jи
tyey two-N.SFX-PL clan/NMLZR/clan COP-PST-PL
‘there were two brothers (of one clan)’

3. bo-mənra-n անիմ sukku bar bo-mənra անիм məŋiɾа
one person-N.SFX 3:name Sukku and one person:GEN 3:name Mangaɾа
‘one was named Sukku one was named Mangaɾа’

4. bagu-n-ji նաղբոյ-լə-jи
two-N.SFX-PL get/take=woman-PST-PL
‘they both got married’

5. bo dinna aninji-a-uan kəniet-le
one day they-GEN-[3:father die-PST
‘one day their father died’

6. uan-jи kəniet-le-n-а tiki bagu-n-ji jənənə səɾba-n-jи
cfather-3PL die-PST-N.SFX-GEN after two-N.SFX-PL field paddy-N.SFX-PL

mailen bara-le-jи
together work-PST-PL
‘after their father died, they both worked in their fields and paddies together’

7. 

a-sənna-mər sukku a-kako-n-ado?əy sarəba-n
3-young-man Sukku-N.SFX 3-older.brother-N.SFX=OBJ paddy.field-N.SFX

er-ti-la-be anson bara-eten
NEG-give-PST-NF:W/O himself work-T/A:3

‘[after] they worked like this for several years, Sukku the younger brother cultivated the paddy-field himself without giving his older brother the paddy-field’

8. 

bįndə a-kako-n kan-ate əmdən-ən əmdən-le do
but 3-elder.brother-N.SFX that-PRTCL hear-N.SFX hear-PST and

gij-an gij-le bəibɔi barab-le
see-N.SFX see-PST very get.angry:emph-PST

‘but the elder brother got very angry when he heard and saw (all) that (his brother was doing)’

9. 

ubban-ado?əy ɡam-etan amən etonəsən sarəba-n
younger.brother-OBJ say-T/A-N.SFX/TR-IRL you why paddy.field-N.SFX

ət-ti-n
NEG-give-1

‘he said to his younger brother ‘why (do) not (you) give me some paddy field’

10. 

bįndə a-ubban bəibɔi barab-le ier-an ier-le
but 3-younger.brother very get.angry-PST go-N.SFX go-PST

anin ado?əy tuəb-eten
he OBJ thrash?-T/A:3
‘but the younger brother got very angry went to him and thrashed? him’

11. 

kən-ate əmdən-le turkan-ji anin-ado?əy nəm-lə-ji
That-PRTCL hear-PST police-N.SFX-PL he-OBJ take-PST-PL

‘the police heard about it and seized him’

12. 

dt turkas-ən anin-a-də?əy bəndi-lə-ji
DISC jail-N.SFX he-OBJ put.in.jail-PST-PL
‘they put him in jail’
13. bar bøndi-lø-n-ji-na tiki døjin dinna de-le anin
and put.in.jail-PST-N.SFX-PL-GEN after few day become-PST he

a-dukø'ø r净水 a-øn-øn-ji jinøy doløjn batte kɔnitel-ø-ji
3-wife-N.SFX and 3-child-PL also hunger-N.SFX SOC/INS die-PST-PL
‘and a few days after they put him jail, his wife and children also died of starvation’

14. dø a-iey-øn a-mønra sørøb-øn ø-ti-ød anin bɔndiŋ so
OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-give-NEG he jail:N.SFX

ier-le dø a-iey-øn a-mønra sørøb-øn ød-pøy-ød go-
PST and OBJ-who-N.SFX OBJ-man paddy.field-N.SFX NEG-get-NEG

anin su'nyŋ-ley-øn døku-le-n dø tiki kəlkøl-øn batte
he house-LOC-N.SFX COP-PST-N.SFX and afterwards REDPL worry-N.SFX with

anin kɔb/ied-døm-ø-ø
he kill/CAUS/kill-RFLXV-PST-ITR/N.SFX
‘the one who didn’t give the fields, he went to jail and the one who didn’t get the fields, he
was at home, with worry, and afterwards he killed himself’

15. tøkd-le
finish/end-PST
‘The End’

Text 3: Monkey (moon) shines

1. abøj tuloŋ-øn døjeŋ arsi-ŋ-ji døku-le-jì
one forest-LOC-N.SFX several monkey-NSFX-PL be-PST-PL
‘a number of monkeys were in a certain forest’

2. aninji tømba-n anøø jum-le ga-le tøgøl-øn anøø abøy
they noon-N.SFX during eat-PST drink-PST at.night-N.SFX during one

moøey bønda-n ø-bo ara-ønøn dimød-le-n-ji
edge tank-N.SFX OBJ-one tree-LOC-N.SFX sleep-PST-ITR-PL [xx-eye]
‘they would eat and drink during the day and at night they would sleep in a tree in one
corner of a tank’

3. etteŋø dømød-atø dømød-atø abøy arsi-n kun
like.this sleep-NF:DUR/SIMULT sleep-NF:DUR/SIMULT one monkey-N.SFX that
they kept sleeping and sleeping like this and one monkey saw a moon in that tank

that monkey saw that moon and told her friends

she told them “Hey friends, let’s go have a look; the moon has fallen in the water”’

and she told them “let’s go and take out that moon”’ (cloc?)

‘but how can we get the moon out?” her friends said’

that monkey told them ‘let one of us guys hold/hang from the tree branch’

and one person hold/hang from the tree branch and he
‘when that one guy has held onto the branch, let one other guy grab his tail’

10. ettego  anlen-a  alale-n-ji  ted-an ted-le-n
like.this  we-GEN  REDPL:tail-N.SFX  hold-N.SFX  hold-PST-N.SFX/ITR

‘in this way let’s hang by our tails and get out the moon’

11. aninji  aninji  a-nidob-ben-assen  oskai-le-n-ji
they  moon-N.SFX-OBJ  PFX-pick.up-INF-FOR  prepare-PST-ITR?-PL
‘they prepared to pick up the moon’

12. aninji  kan  gam-ən  gam-le  ajarij-n  a-kondar-lej-ən  sorey
they  that  say-N.SFX  say-PST  really-EMPH  OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX from

‘they thus discussed and then really began to pick up the moon hanging from the branch from each other’s tails’

13. kan  atɔm-lej-ən  a-iey-ən  ari  a-kondar-lej-ən
that  time-LOC-N.SFX  PFX-who-N.SFX  monkey 3/OBJ-branch-LOC-N.SFX

‘at that time, the monkey which hung from the branch of the tree, that branch broke’

14. kudub-ən-ji  da’aij-ən  golu-le-ji
all-N.SFX-PL  water-LOC-N.SFX  fall-PST-PL
‘they all fell into the water’

15. eten  aŋgaj  nidob-ə-ji
what  moon  pick.up-FUT/MOD//T/A-PL
‘what moon will they (be able to) pick up’
16. ꞌsəntan aninji-dəm  təb/ubaj-le-ji
   in.vain  they-self  drown/CAUS/-PST-PL
   ‘in vain they got themselves drowned’

17. təko̱d-le
   end-PST
   ‘The End’

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