

## NOUN—STEM IN COLLOQUIAL SINHALA

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### ABSTRACT

Some of the chief phonological and morphological features of the colloquial Sinhala noun stem, both simple and complex, are discussed with special emphasis on the derivational processes.

0. Some of the major structural features of the Colloquial Sinhala (CS) noun stem are briefly outlined in this paper within a structural framework. The variety of CS subject to this analysis is that which is spoken in Colombo and its suburbs, and which is considered as the standard variety.

0.1 The following representational symbols are used in this presentation:

Vowels : i, ī, e, ē, ε, ē, u, ū, o, ō, a, ā, ə;

Consonants : p, b, mb, t, d, nd, t̄, d̄, ñd̄, c, j, k, g, ŋg, m, n, ñ, ŋ, v,  
y, r, l, s, h, f, š.

### 1. Phonological Structure of noun-stems

#### 1.1 Canonical Shapes

A noun stem can range from monosyllabic to pentasyllabic as to syllabic structure, and can end either in a close syllable or an open syllable. The different canonical structures of the noun-stem can be represented as follows :

#### I. *monosyllabic*

$C\bar{V}$	—	e.g.	gē—	house
$C\check{V}C$	—		gas—	tree
$C\bar{V}C$	—		gāl—	cow-pen

#### II. *disyllabic*

$C\check{V}C\check{V}$	—	vahu—	calf
		nari—	jackal
$C\check{V}C\bar{V}$	—	girā—	parrot
		mini—	corpse
		kuli—	wages

C̄V̄C̄V̄	—	gōni—	sack
C̄V̄CC̄V̄	—	pāttə—	goose
C̄V̄CC̄V̄	—	malli—	younger brother
		ayya—	elder brother

III. *trisyllabic*

C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄	—	paturu—	splinter
C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄	—	parālə—	rafter
C̄V̄C̄V̄CC̄V̄	—	kəbell̄e—	ant-eater
C̄V̄CC̄V̄C̄V̄C̄		pandəlam—	a wooden-structure
C̄V̄C̄V̄CC̄V̄C̄		paḍikkam—	spittoon
C̄V̄C̄V̄CC̄V̄	—	pāvicci—	use
C̄V̄C̄V̄CC̄V̄C̄		mūnissam—	pellet
C̄V̄CC̄V̄C̄V̄		massinā—	cousin

IV. *quadrisyllabic*

C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄	—	karədərə—	trouble
C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄	—	hāmuduru—	monk

V. *pentasyllabic*

C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄	—	kalām̄diri—	firefly
(C)̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄C̄V̄	—	unəhapulu—	loris

1.1.2 Noun-stems can be classified as heavy or light depending on their selection between the following markers:

1.1.2.1 **Animate nouns**

## (a) direct case singular

— <u>a</u>	heavy stems
— <u>ā</u>	light stems

## (b) vocative case singular

— <u>o</u>	— <u>e</u>	heavy stems
— <u>ō</u>	— <u>ē</u>	light stems

1.1.2.2 **Inanimate nouns**

## (a) genitive singular

— <u>e</u>	heavy stems
— <u>ē</u>	light stems

1.2 Accordingly the noun stems having the following syllabic structures will be called light :

- (1) all stems ending in a— $\bar{V}$ , that does not yield a glide when a termination is added;
- (2) monosyllabics of the structure (C)  $\check{V}X$ — ;
- (3) disyllabics ending in  $\check{V}X$ — with first syllable heavy ;
- (4) trisyllabics ending in  $\bar{V}X$  provided that in the same stem the first syllable is not heavy and the second syllable not light.
- (5) Other polysyllabics with a penultimate light syllable not ending in- i/-u.

(‘X’ represents a consonant which becomes part of the following syllable when a termination is added.)

All other stems will be called heavy.

1.2.1 Specific instances for the heavy and the light stems are given below:

(a) *Heavy Stems*

*animate nouns*

<i>stem</i>	<i>direct-singular</i>	<i>vocative singular</i>
balu-dog	balla	ballo
gōñ—elk	gōna	gōno
rilā—monkey	riləvā	rillevo
malli—younger brother		malliye
kəbellē—ant eater	kəbellēva	kəbellēvo

*inanimate nouns*

<i>stem</i>	<i>genitive-singular</i>
nāḍi—pulse	nāḍiye
pokkəlam—blister	pokkələme
palam—a measure	paləme

(b) *Light stems*

*animate nouns*

<i>stem</i>	<i>direct singular</i>	<i>vocative singular</i>
put—son	putā	putē
gon—ox	gonā	gonō
massinā—cross-cousin	massinā	massinē or massinō

*inanimate nouns*

<i>stem</i>	<i>genitive singular</i>
pālam—bridge	pālāmē
pattərə—newspaper	pattərə

**2. Morpho-phonemics**

Some very general morphophonemic rules that apply in noun-stem formation are given below :

**2.1 Vowel-Fronting,**

$$\begin{bmatrix} u \\ \bar{u} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} i \\ \bar{i} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} o \\ \bar{o} \end{array} \right\} \\ \bar{o} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} e \\ \bar{e} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} a \\ \bar{a} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \varepsilon \\ \bar{\varepsilon} \end{bmatrix}$$

morphologically  
conditioned

**2.2** ə → a / closed syllable

$$2.3 \begin{bmatrix} e \\ \varepsilon \\ a \\ o \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \bar{o} / \text{medial open syllable}$$

**2.4** əy → φ / -i**2.5** V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub> → V<sub>2</sub>, V<sub>1</sub> ≠ i/u**2.6** C<sub>1</sub> i + V<sub>2</sub> → -C<sub>1</sub> iy V<sub>2</sub>  
~ (-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> to be specified)**2.7** C<sub>1</sub> u + V<sub>2</sub> → C<sub>1</sub>u y V<sub>2</sub>  
~ (-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> to be specified)**2.8** h → s / #  
→ ss / gemination**2.9** -C → φ / -C.C**2.10** nasal → nasal — homorganic / — stop/nasal

### 3. Morphological structure of noun-stems

A noun stem can be either (a) simple or (b) *derived*.

3.1 Simple stems are those that do not yield any further significant morphophonemic segmentation :

e.g. balu - dog, tāttā - father, pot-books etc.

3.2 Derived stems are formed by the processes of prefixation and suffixation, and are of the following major types:

- (a) nouns derived from nominal bases,
- (b) nouns derived from adjectives, and
- (c) nouns derived from verbal bases,

A very brief description of these types is given below :

#### 3.2.1 Suffixation.

3.2.1.1 Nouns derived from nominal bases :

##### 3.2.1.1.1 Gender - deriving suffixes

All these suffixes derive the corresponding feminine form from the masculine noun-form. This type of derivation is however restricted to several classes of nouns.

(a) —i, nouns taking this suffix fall into two sets. Set I nouns front the stem vowels when this suffix is added ;

<i>stem</i>	<i>m(asculine)</i>	<i>f(eminine)</i>
balu—	balla 'dog'	belli 'bitch'
kukul—	kukula 'roaster'	kikili 'hen'
balal—	baləla 'cat'	bələli 'cat-f'
bamunu—	bamuna 'brahmin'	bemini 'brahmin-woman'
vañduru—	vañdura 'monkey'	vəñdiri 'monkey-f'
ūru—	ūra 'pig'	iri 'sow'

(a.1) In the case of set II, —i is directly added to the masculine noun-form.

<i>stem</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
girā—	girəva 'parrot'	girəvi 'parrot-f'
monərə—	monəra 'pea-cock'	monəri 'pea -hen'
kumārə—	kumārəya 'prince'	kumāri 'princess'
manəmālə—	manəmāləya 'bride-groom'	manəmāli 'bride'
kiṃbul—	kiṃbula 'crocodile'	kiṃbuli 'crocodile-f'

Of all the feminine deriving suffixes—i is the most productive type.



(b) —ə<sup>1</sup>: Nouns taking this suffix undergo stem-vowel fronting:

<i>stem</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
kolu—	<i>kolla</i> 'lad'	<i>kellə</i> 'lass'
horə—	<i>horā</i> 'thief'	<i>herə</i> 'thief-f'
korə—	<i>korā</i> 'lame-man'	<i>kerə</i> 'lame woman'
mahalu—	<i>mahalla</i> 'old-man'	<i>mehellə</i> 'old-woman'

(c) —*inni* ~ *innə*: These two suffixes are in free variation. Nouns taking these suffixes fall into two sets.

Set I stems undergo vowel-fronting :

<i>stem</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
valas—	<i>valəha</i> 'bear'	<i>veləhinnə</i> 'bear-f' ~ <i>veləhinni</i>
kok—	<i>kokā</i> 'crane'	<i>kekinni</i> 'crane-f' ~ <i>kekinnə</i>

Set II stems do not undergo vowel-fronting ;

<i>stem</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
yak-	<i>yakā</i> 'devil'	<i>yakinni</i> 'devil-f' ~ <i>yakinnə</i>

(d) —*nī*, This suffix is taken by the following nouns ;

<i>stem</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
yassə—	<i>yassəya</i> 'devil'	<i>yassəni</i> 'devil-f'
rässe—	<i>rässəya</i> 'demon'	<i>rässəni</i> 'demoness'

(e) —*icci*, This is taken only by one noun:

<i>stem</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
elu-	<i>eluva</i> 'goat'	<i>elicci</i> 'she-goat'

(f) —*issi*, This is taken by the following nouns :

<i>stem</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
gaɛɟə—	<i>gaɛɟəya</i> 'youth'	<i>gaɛɟissi</i> 'maid'
poɟi—	<i>poɟɟa</i> 'little fellow'	<i>poɟissi</i> 'little girl'

1. Actually -ə is the direct case singular marker, the feminine marker being -i. Thus, *keli* + ə → \**keliyə* → *kellə*, etc. However this process has become obsolete.

## 3.2.1.1.2 Agent deriving suffixes

- (a) There is only one suffix of this type. viz. *kārə*—, which yields the masculine form *kārəya*, and the feminine form —*kāri*. This suffix gives the meaning of 'one who deals with/one who handles/one who owns' etc.

<i>kiri</i> 'milk'	<i>kirikārəya</i>	'milk-man'
<i>pattərə</i> 'news'	<i>pattərəkārəya</i>	'paper boy'
<i>boru</i> 'lie'	<i>borukārəya</i>	'liar'
<i>udav</i> 'help'	<i>udavkārəya</i>	'helper'

- (b) The following nouns undergo certain morphophonemic adjustments before *-kārəya*.

(i) stems ending in — m drop it ;

(ii) initial *k* of *-kārə* → *kk*—.

<i>daḍəyam</i> —'hunt'	<i>daḍəyakkārəya</i>	'hunter'
<i>selləm</i> —'sport'	<i>sellakkārəya</i>	'playful-fellow'
<i>karumə</i> 'bad-reslt of past-action'	<i>karumakkārəya</i>	'unfortunate person'
<i>urumə</i> 'legacy'	<i>urumakkārəya</i>	'inheritor'

- (c) The form *neṭṭuva* 'dancer', has the special stem *neṭṭu*— → *neṭṭukkārəya* 'dancer.'

## 3.2.1.1.3 Attribute deriving suffixes

There is only one suffix having two alternants — *a*, *ā*, distributed as follows :

(a) stems ending in — ə add —*a* with the change — ə → əy/—*a*;

(b) all heavy stems add — *a* ;

(c) all light stems add — *ā*.

## 3.2.1.1.3.1 The attribute deriving suffix usually has an impolite connotation, and only masculine reference :

<i>kūḍə</i>	'basket'	<i>kūḍəya</i>	'one who carries/deals with baskets'
<i>kalisəmə</i>	'pants'	<i>kalisəmə</i>	'one who wears pants'
<i>kasippu</i>	'illicit liquor'	<i>kasippuva</i>	'an addict to or one who distills illicit liquor'
<i>redi</i>	'cloth'	<i>redda</i>	'one who wears cloth'

3.2.1.1.3.2 When added to place-names, it give the sense *native of* but has a rather impolite connotation. Only the *-a* alternant is added to these nouns, the following morphophonemic rules being observed :

(a) place names taking *-e* as the singular genitive marker add *-a* directly ;

(b) place names, the direct and the genitive singulars of which are identical add *-a* with the change ; stem final

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ə \\ -ē \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow -əy / -a$$

<i>direct—singular</i>		<i>genitive singular</i>	<i>native of</i>
<i>gāllə</i>	'Galle'	<i>gālle</i>	<i>gālla</i> 'native of Galle'
<i>kuliyapīṭiyə</i>	'Kuliyapīṭiya'	<i>kuliyapīṭiye</i>	<i>kuliyapīṭiya</i> 'native of Kuliyapitiya'
<i>mātərə</i>	'Matara'	<i>mātərə</i>	<i>mātərəya</i> 'native of Matara'
<i>koləmbə</i>	'Colombo'	<i>koləmbə</i>	<i>koləmbəya</i> 'native of Colombo'
<i>mātələ</i>	'Matale'	<i>mātələ</i>	<i>mātələya</i> 'native of Matale'

#### 3.2.1.1.4 Abstract noun deriving suffix

There is one suffix *-kəmə* which is usually added to noun-stems indicative of position or profession to derive the corresponding abstract noun :

<i>guru</i>	'teacher'	<i>gurukəmə</i>	'position of being a teacher'
<i>vedə</i>	'physician'	<i>vedekəmə</i>	'medical practice'
<i>eməti</i>	'minister'	<i>emətikəmə</i>	'ministerial position'



## 3.2.1.1.5 Specificity deriving suffix

There is one suffix  $-\text{ə}_2$ , which is added to a few mass-nouns to yield the sense of a specific variety of the item referred to:

<i>hāl</i> 'rice'	<i>hālə</i>	'a variety of rice'
<i>kiri</i> 'milk'	<i>kirə</i>	'a variety of milk'
<i>vaturə</i> 'water'	<i>vaturə</i>	'a variety of water'
<i>vəli</i> 'sand'	<i>vəllə</i>	'a variety of sand'

Word-final 'i' 'u' and 'ə' that have developed as increment vowels are dropped when  $-\text{ə}$ , is added; otherwise a word-final -i and -u are dropped before  $-\text{ə}$  with the resultant gemination of the preceding consonant provided it is not a retroflex.

## 3.2.1.1.6 Honorific deriving suffixes

- (1)  $-\text{anḍi}$ , this is added only to certain kinship nouns to signify a degree of respect:

<i>tātta</i>	'father'	<i>tāttanḍi</i>
<i>amma</i>	'mother'	<i>ammanḍi</i>
<i>māma</i>	'uncle'	<i>māmanḍi</i>

- (2)  $-\text{vərə}$ , this is added to some kinship terms and to most nouns expressing professional titles:

<i>guru—</i>	'teacher'	<i>guruvərəya</i>
<i>vedə—</i>	'physician'	<i>vedəvərəya</i>

- (3)  $-\text{tumā}$  this is added to most nouns expressing professional titles, and in many contexts may be substituted for  $-\text{vərə}$ :

<i>guru—</i>	'teacher'	<i>gurutumā</i>
<i>vedə—</i>	'physician'	<i>vedatumā</i>

## 3.2.1.2 Nouns derived from adjectives:

## 3.2.1.2.1 abstract noun deriving suffix

- I.  $-\text{ə}_3$ , this is added to a few colour, descriptive adjectives and to a few quantifying adjectives. These adjectives are classifiable into two sets depending on their morpho-phonemic behavior.

## (a) set I

<i>sudu</i>	'white'	<i>sudə</i>	'whiteness'
<i>ratu</i>	'red'	<i>ratə</i>	'redness'
<i>nil</i>	'blue'	<i>nilə</i>	'blueness'
<i>duṁburu</i>	'brown'	<i>duṁburə</i>	'brownness'
<i>hoṅḍə</i>	'good'	<i>hoṅḍə</i>	'goodness'

## (b) Set II

Adjectives belonging to this set do not drop the stem-final vowel before  $\rightarrow a$  :

<i>kalu</i>	'black'	<i>kaluvə</i>	'blackness'
<i>loku</i>	'big'	<i>lokuvə</i>	'bigness'
<i>aḍu</i>	'less'	<i>aḍuvə</i>	'paucity'
<i>poḍi</i>	'little'	<i>poḍiyə</i> or <i>poḍḍə</i>	'a little'

II.  $-kəmə$  (3.2.1.1.4 above) can also be added to descriptive adjectives to yield the corresponding abstract noun :

<i>hoṅḍə</i>	'good'	<i>hoṅḍəkəmə</i>	'goodness'
<i>narəkə</i>	'bad'	<i>narəkəkəmə</i>	'badness'
<i>loku</i>	'big'	<i>lokukəmə</i>	'bigness'

## 3.2.1.2.2 attribute deriving suffix

$-a/-ā$  (3.2.1.1.3 above) can also be added to colour, descriptive and to a few quantifying adjectives to derive attributive nouns :

<i>sudu</i>	'white'	<i>sudā</i>	'white skinned person'
		<i>sudda</i>	(white skinned person esp. a European)
<i>kalu</i>	'black'	<i>kaluva</i>	'dark-skinned person'
		<i>kalla</i>	'black person'
<i>loku</i>	'big'	<i>lokka</i>	'big/old person'
<i>poḍi</i>	'small'	<i>poḍḍa</i>	'small person'

## 3.2.1.3 Nouns derived from verbal bases

## 3.2.1.3.1 Agent noun deriving suffix ;

$-nna$ , this derives nouns expressive of the doer of the action indicated by the verb base ;

<i>naṭə</i>	—	'dance'	<i>naṭanna</i>	'dancer'
<i>adi</i>	—	'pull'	<i>adinna</i>	'puller'
<i>bo</i>	—	'drink'	<i>bonna</i>	'drinker'
<i>e</i>	—	'come'	<i>enna</i>	'commer'
<i>gan</i>	—	'get'	<i>ganna</i>	'one who gets'—

$-nna$  is actually from  $-nu$  'abstract noun formative' plus  $-a$  agentive marker. However this process has now become obsolete.

3.2.1.3.2 Action noun deriving suffixes :

(I) *-illa*, this refers to action in process. This is not generally added to monosyllabic verbs ending in a vowel. When this suffix is added, the following morphophonemic rules apply :

(a) verb—base vowel—fronting (2.1 above)

(b) verb—bases,

*kəɾə* — → *ki* —      optionally ;  
*in* —      → *iñd* —

<i>kəɾə</i> —	'do'	<i>kerilla</i>	'doing'
		<i>kirilla</i>	
<i>naɟə</i> —	'dance'	<i>neɟilla</i>	'dancing'
<i>bani</i> —	'scold'	<i>benilla</i>	'scolding'
<i>veɟe</i> —	'fall'	<i>veɟilla</i>	'falling'
<i>in</i> —	'be'	<i>iñdilla</i>	'being'

(II) *-ime*, referring to action in process can occur as an alternant to *-illa*. The special morphophonemic rules that apply in the *-illa* derivation (see I above) apply here as well :

<i>kəɾə</i> —	'do'	<i>kirimə</i>	'doing'
		<i>kerimə</i>	
<i>in</i> —	'be'	<i>iñdīmə</i>	'being, living'
<i>kapə</i> —	'cut'	<i>kepimə</i>	'cutting'
<i>veɟe</i> —	'fall'	<i>veɟimə</i>	'falling'

(III) *-umə* ~ *-mə*, these usually refer to action as result. *-mə* is added to monosyllabic verb-bases ending in a vowel. The following morphophonemic rules apply when these suffixes are added :

(a) verb-base vowel fronting (2.1 above).

(b) verb bases

<i>in</i> —	→	<i>iñd</i> —	—	<i>umə</i> ;
<i>pani</i> —	→	<i>pin</i> —	—	
<i>de</i> —	→	<i>dī</i> —	—	
<i>bo</i> —	→	<i>bī</i> —	—	<i>mə</i> ;
<i>e</i> —	→	optionally <i>ī</i> —	—	

(c) verb — base final —  $\check{V} \rightarrow -\bar{V}/-m\bar{a}$

<i>kārā</i>	— ‘do’	<i>kerumā</i>	— ‘doing’
<i>naṭā</i>	— ‘dance’	<i>neṭumā</i>	— ‘the dance’
<i>bani</i>	— ‘scold’	<i>benumā</i>	— ‘scolding’
<i>ka</i>	— ‘eat’	<i>kēmā</i>	— ‘eating (food)’
<i>e</i>	— ‘come’	<i>ēmā</i>	— ‘coming’
		<i>īmā</i>	
<i>in</i>	— ‘be’	<i>iṅdumā</i>	— ‘living’
<i>de</i>	— ‘give’	<i>dīmā</i>	— ‘giving, donation’
<i>bo</i>	— ‘drink’	<i>bimā</i>	— ‘drinking, drinks’

(IV) *-mānā*, is added to the past participle stem of the following verbs, and generally refers to action as result :

<i>liyā</i>	— ‘write’	<i>liyāmānā</i>	— ‘writing; letter’
<i>kiyā</i>	— ‘say’	<i>kiyāmānā</i>	— ‘saying’
<i>viyā</i>	— ‘weave’	<i>viyāmānā</i>	— ‘weaving; texture’
<i>vidi</i>	— ‘pierce’	<i>vidāmānā</i>	— ‘piercing; drilling’
<i>de</i>	— ‘give’	<i>dīmānā</i>	— ‘giving; allowance’
<i>hiṅgā</i>	— ‘beg’	<i>hiṅgāmānā</i>	— ‘begging’

(V) *-i*, is added only to the following verb-bases.

The base - vowels are fronted :

<i>vahi</i>	— ‘to rain’	<i>vehi</i>	— ‘rain’
<i>kahi</i>	— ‘to cough’	<i>kehi</i>	— ‘cough’
<i>ahi</i>	— ‘to scrape’	<i>ehi</i>	— ‘that which is scraped off.’

### 3.2.1.3.3 Abstract noun deriving suffix

*-kāmā*, (3.2.1.1.4 above) can be added to the following quasi-verbs in their adjectival form :

<i>ōne</i>	— ‘want’	<i>ōnekāmā</i>	— ‘need’
<i>epā</i>	— ‘don’t want’	<i>epākāmā</i>	— ‘unwantedness’
<i>neti</i>	— ‘not having’	<i>netikāmā</i>	— ‘not-havingness ; poverty’
<i>beri</i>	— ‘unable’	<i>berikāmā</i>	— ‘inability’

(b) *-kəmə* — is also added to the following aorist verbal bases in their adjectival shapes :

<i>base</i>		<i>adjectival form</i>	<i>kəmə derivation</i>
<i>dan</i>	— ‘know’	<i>dannə</i>	<i>dannəkəmə</i> ‘knowing’
<i>vaṭi</i>	— ‘be proper, value’	<i>vaṭinə</i>	<i>vaṭinəkəmə</i> ‘propriety value’
(h) <i>obi</i>	— ‘proper’	(h) <i>obia</i>	(h) <i>obinəkəmə</i> ‘propriety’

#### 3.2.1.3.4 Due—noun deriving suffix

*-məṇā*, is taken by the following verb-bases appearing in their potential participial forms :

<i>de</i>	— ‘give’	<i>dīmənā</i>	‘allowance’
<i>gan</i>	— ‘get’	<i>gatəmenā</i>	‘that which must be gotten’
<i>kərə</i>	— ‘do’	<i>kaləməṇā</i>	‘duties, necessities’
<i>ve</i>	— ‘be’	<i>uvəməṇā</i>	‘need’

#### 3.2.2 Prefixation

Prefixation in noun derivation is not a productive process in current Sinhala, and is restricted only to a limited set of nouns.

These prefixes can be broadly classified under two semantic sets as follows :

##### (I) Negativising prefixes

These prefixes derive noun-stems which imply the opposite or the near-opposite meaning of that conveyed by the base noun :

(a) *a*—

<i>gunə</i>	‘virtue’	<i>agunə</i>	‘bad quality’
<i>palə</i>	‘use, good result’	<i>apalə</i>	‘bad result’
<i>kusal</i>	‘merit’	<i>akusal</i>	‘de-merit’





The morphemic selection of the prefixes and suffixes is highly conditioned semantically. Prefixes involve only selection and no ordering. Suffixes involve both selection and ordering.

Accordingly the suffixes can be classified into three fixed order position classes with reference to the *base*, as follows :

Class I — ə<sub>2,3</sub> —i — vərə, tumā, anḍi ;  
— nna, — illə, -umə, -mə, -məṇə, məṇā ;

Class II — a —ā, —kāṛə ;

Class III feminine gender deriving suffixes, -kəmə.

Consider the following examples:

**ker** — um — a ‘an able-person (pretention)’

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\_\_\_\_\_

*ker* — um — kāṛəya ”

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\_\_\_\_\_

*ker* — um — kāṛə — kəmə ‘ability ’

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**ker** — um — kāṛ — i ‘an able woman’ )

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An instance for a complex noun-stem with all the positions filled will be :

*no* — eṇḍun — um — kāṛə — kəmə

nēṇḍununkāṛəkəmə

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‘the fact that one is not the fully recogniser.’