A Sketch of the Phonology and Grammar of Rājbanshi

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Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki in auditorium XII, on the 7th of March, 2008, at 10 o’clock.

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To my father and mother
Peter and Viivi Wilde
Abstract

This dissertation is a synchronic description of the phonology and grammar of two dialects of the Rājbanshi language (Eastern Indo-Aryan) as spoken in Jhāpā, Nepal. The grammatical analysis is based, for the most part, on a corpus of narrative text which was recorded and transcribed from three informants from north-east Jhāpā. Additional material elicited from a fourth informant from south-west Jhāpā has also been consulted. I have primarily confined the analysis to the oral expression, since the emerging literary form is still in its infancy.

I have attempted to describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language, and also one aspect of its discourse structure. For the most part the phonology follows the basic Indo-Aryan pattern. Derivational morphology, compounding, reduplication, echo formation and onomatopoeic constructions will be considered, as well as number, noun classes (their assignment and grammatical function), pronouns, and case and postpositions.

In verbal morphology I will cover the causative stems, the copula, primary and secondary agreement, tense, aspect, mood, auxiliary constructions and non-finite forms. The term “secondary agreement” here refers to genitive agreement, dative-subject agreement and patient (and sometimes patient-agent) agreement. The breaking of default agreement rules has a range of pragmatic inferences, and I will advance a governing principle of “affectedness” to explain this phenomenon. I will argue for a distinction to be made between conjunct verbs, derivational compound verbs and quasi-aspectual compound verbs based on formal, semantic and statistical grounds.

Rājbanshi has an open set of adjectives, and it additionally makes use of a restricted set of nouns which can function as adjectives. Various particles, and the emphatic and conjunctive clitics will also be considered. The syntactic structures studied include: non-declarative speech acts, phrase-internal and clause-internal constituent order, negation, subordination, coordination and valence adjustment.

I will explain how the future, present and past tenses in Rājbanshi oral narratives seem not to maintain a time reference, but to indicate a distinction between background and foreground information. I will call this “tense neutralisation”.

Appendix 1 presents verb paradigms, mostly from the Jhāpā dialects, but also including an incomplete paradigm from two dialects spoken in Morang. Appendix 2 comprises a complete lexicon of the words found in this work. Appendix 3 consists of the text corpus on which this grammatical analysis is based.

Audio recordings of the transcribed text corpus, together with twenty-four other non-transcribed texts from a range of dialects throughout Morang and Jhāpā, can be found on the accompanying CD.
First and foremost, I am indebted to my friends Pāmar P. Rājbanshi of Korobāri, Manorath Rājbanshi of Lakharigaddi and Dharma L. Rājbanshi of Ghailāḍubbā who taught me about their language. Without their skills, accurate intuition and patience, writing this grammar would not have been possible.

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Soli Deo gloria
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Transcription, transliteration and orthography

The phonetic symbols used in Chapter 2 on phonology follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA; revised to 2005). In that chapter, phonetic data will be presented in square brackets [ ], and phonemic data in slanted brackets / /. Both phonetic and phonemic data will be displayed in the IPA format.

For the sake of convenience, and to avoid confusion, I have used a more common broad transcription elsewhere in this grammar. This transcription differs from the IPA as follows:

/æ/ central open vowel (IPA /æ/ with variants [æ] and [ɛ])

/y/ palatal approximant (IPA /j/)

/ts/ unaspirated voiceless affricate (IPA /ts/)

/tsʰ/ aspirated voiceless affricate (IPA /tsʰ/ or /tʃʰ/)

/dz/ unaspirated voiced affricate (IPA /dz/)

/dzʰ/ aspirated voiced affricate (IPA /dzʰ/ or /dʒʰ/)

The apico-retroflex plosives will be transcribed in the section on phonology with the IPA apical diacritic //, and in the rest of the work with the subscript dot.

/t/ unaspirated voiceless apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /t/; Harvard-Kyoto /T/)

/tʰ/ aspirated voiceless apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /tʰ/; Harvard-Kyoto /Th/)

/d/ unaspirated voiced apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /d/; Harvard-Kyoto /D/)

/dʰ/ aspirated voiced apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /dʰ/; Harvard-Kyoto /Dh/)

This broad transcription for transcribed data differs slightly from the IAST (International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration). Divergences from this scheme are as follows:

a. Aspiration in conjunction with consonants will be represented with a superscript h (and therefore not as the IAST lower case 'h'),
b. The vowel ꜡ will be represented as /ʌ/ or /ə/ (and therefore not as the IAST 'a'),
c. The vowel ꜛ will be represented as 'a' (and therefore not as the IAST 'ā'),
d. The consonant ꜜ will be represented as 'w' (and therefore not as the IAST 'v'),
e. The anusvara will be represented as 'n' or 'ṅ' according to the pronunciation in each case (and therefore not as the IAST 'ṅ'), and
f. The consonant ꜝ will be represented as 'ŋ' (and therefore not as the IAST 'ṅ')
When transliterating the Devanāgari in other than transcribed data, however, I will for the most part follow the IAST transliteration scheme.

Examples in Chapter 2 will have the item written in the Devanāgari script followed by a phonemic transcription in slanted brackets and finally by a phonetic approximation and gloss.

(i) अिघन /ʌgʰin/ [ʔɜgʰi̞n] 'fire'

Transcription elsewhere will have the item given first in the Devanāgari script, followed again by a broad (phonemic) transcription in italics, but with a concluding morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in inverted commas.

(ii) लोकेर नाक्सa lok-er naksa 'man-GEN figure'

In more extended examples the Devanāgari will be on the top line, a broad transcription on the second, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss on the third and then a free gloss on the final line.

(iii) खबे हासुवाइचत रे!

kʰʌb=e has-(u)wa-c-it re

very=EMPH laugh-ICAUS-PRES-2sg VOC

'You are really making me laugh!'

If an example in the grammar is from the transcribed text corpus, it is marked with a reference number which corresponds to the text and sentence number in Appendix 3. Therefore, the reference number (MR.05.002) in (iv) indicates that the sentence is the second sentence (002) of the fifth text (05) elicited from informant MR. The same sentence is found with the same reference number in Appendix 3.

If the reference number is marked as (cf. GR.02.036), as in (v), it means that the sentence from the text corpus has been slightly modified, and that the original form may be seen at the corresponding location in Appendix 3.

Examples such as (iii) above, which do not carry any specific reference number are, unless otherwise stated, elicited from the informant PR. Most of these examples were elicited out of any context, though short texts from this informant's Korobāri dialect have also been used in various sections.

(iv) उहाँ बेटाड राजार घरत काम करे क। (MR.05.002)

uhå-r beṭa-ḍa raja-r gʰar-ʌt kam kar-eki

3sg[pro]-GEN son-NCLS king-GEN house-LOC work do-(PST.HAB)SA3

'Her son used to work in the king's house.'
Finally, the Devanāgari orthography used in this work has been compiled following discussions with over twenty mother-tongue writers of Rājbanshi. These discussions were held during three language workshops. The first workshop (राजवंशी लिखानी कार्यालयात्; "Rājbanshi Orthography Workshop") was held in Dharan in January 2005, and was jointly organised by NNLPI (Nepali National Languages Preservation Institute) and the Department of Linguistics (Tribhuvan University). The discussion at this workshop was based on an orthography proposal written by Rājbanshi & Wilde (2004). The orthography discussion was then continued during two subsequent "Creative Writers workshops" in Birtāmod (December 2005, and December 2006).

Photo 1. Rājbanshi writers in Birtāmod, December 2006 (photograph by May Wong)

The Devanāgari conventions agreed during these workshops differ from the Indo-Aryan norm in the following respects:

a. All 'i' phonemes, including word-finals, are written with a short इ,
b. All vowel sequences are represented by full vowels. Therefore, the diphthong symbols ऐ and औ are avoided, and the vowel sequences अइ/ʌi/ and एइ/ei/ are used instead,
c. Aspiration is marked on the following characters with a subscript dot: म/ˈmʱ/!, न/ˈnʱ/!, ङ/ˈŋʱ/!, ल/ˈlʱ/! and र/ˈɾʱ/! (traditionally म, न, ङ, ल and र respectively), and
d. Symbols ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ and ॐ are avoided in all but tatsama-loans. (This has immediate repercussions as regards the spelling of the name of the language itself. Traditionally, the language has been spelt as राजबंशी whereas there is a growing trend amongst writers to spell the name राजबंिस. I will follow that inclination in this work.)

It is hardly surprising that the development of an orthography can be a prolonged process, and final concensus concerning establishment of the many and necessary spelling rules for written Rājbanshi has still to be reached. In consequence the orthography used in this work will be based on the discussions held, the conclusions reached and those decisions made during the three above-mentioned workshops.
Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in this work include the following:

<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
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<td>zero morpheme; unmarked</td>
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1. Introduction

1.1 Rājbanshi language and location

Rājbanshi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in south-eastern Nepal in the districts of Jhāpā and Morang, in north-eastern India (Bihār, West Bengal and possibly western Assam), and in certain parts of northern Bangladesh (northern Dinajpur). Voegelin & Voegelin (1977:167) state that Rājbanshi is spoken in:

"Bangladesh in the districts of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, and Darjeeling of West Bengal, and the western borders of the districts of Goalpara and the Garo Hills of Assam [including Bahe, spoken in Darjeeling]."

As Toulmin (2006) notes, for various socio-political reasons the term "Rājbanshi" does not adequately cover the range of related dialects spoken across south-eastern Nepal and north-eastern India. He therefore chooses the wider ranging term of "Kamta, Rājbanshi and Northern Deshi Bangla" (the "KRNB lects") to cover the dialect continuum. I have, however, chosen to refer collectively to all those dialects spoken in Nepal as "Rājbanshi" for simplicity’s sake, and due to the fact that the majority of the speakers in Morang and Jhāpā do identify themselves with this name. Having said this, one should also note that there are (at least) two castes in this part of Nepal, namely the Tajpuri(a) and the Gangai, who are reported to speak virtually the same language. Social constraints most likely prohibit any consideration of the issue, and they consequently call their languages "Tajpuria" and "Gangai" respectively. Though this grammar deals with a language which I here call "Rājbanshi", any negative inference concerning these other groups has by no means been intended.

One of the first to refer to the Rājbanshi language was Hamilton (1971 [1818]:156) who mentions varieties of Indo-Aryan in both the east and the west of Vijaypur (situated in modern-day Jhāpā):

"The inhabitants of Vijaypur, towards the east, are chiefly Koch or Rajbangs, who are considered as the same, live on the plain, and speak the dialect of Bengal; on the lower hills are mainly Mech. Both these tribes are original inhabitants of Kamrup. In the western parts, most
of the cultivators are of the Gangaye cast, who speak the dialect of Mithila, and adhere to the
doctrines of purity, as established in that country."

Other names for the language and dialects include Kamata Bihari (cf. Barma 1991),
Kamrupa/i, Koch, Rangpuri, Bahe, Surjapuri, Dekhia and Dekhri (cf. Toulmin 2006:13-15;
Clark 1970:70-71). Clark (1970:61) points out that the language is in fact referred to by
an even wider range of names:

"The confusion which has arisen in attempting to distinguish Rājbangshi, Koch and Paliyā is
compounded by the fact that many in these groups refer to themselves by other names, or that
other groups, sometimes amounting to subcastes, exist within the larger limits of the Rājbangshi
group. It may be impossible to assemble an exhaustive list of these alternate names and sub-
castes, but a considerable number exist in the literature."

Rājbanshi merges into Assamese in the east, Maithili in the west and Bengali in the south.
This is a common Indo-Aryan phenomenon as Masica (1991:25) explains:

"Lacking clearcut geographical units of the European type where dialectal variants can
crystallize in semi-isolation, or longwithstanding political boundaries, the entire Indo-Aryan
realm (except for Sinhalese) constitutes one enormous dialectal continuum, where continued
contact inhibits such crystallization, and differentiated dialects continue to influence one
another."

Considering the centuries-old language contacts in south-eastern Nepal and the use of
Maithili as a literary language and lingua franca (cf. also Jha 1958:28-29; van Driem
2001:1160-1161), it is hardly surprising that Maithili was to have an effect on the
Rājbanshi varieties bordering the Maithili language area. Grierson (1881:2) noted that
some dialects in the Indian state of Bihār showed features of both Maithili and Bengali:
"Maithili... has various dialects... that of Bhāgālgur on the east which contains a few forms
tending towards Bengali." (Note that Bhagalpur is located south of the Bihārian town of
Purnia, which again is situated directly south of the Nepalese district of Morang.) In a
later publication, Grierson (1963b [1903]:12) once again refers to a dialect in northern
Bihār that is influenced by both what Grierson calls "Bihāri" (that is, Maithili, Magadhi
and Bhojpuri) and Bengali:

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¹ The name "Kamrupa" (or, "Kamarupan"), which derives from the name of the mediaeval
kingdom Kāmarūpa, is also used for the Tibeto-Burman languages of "Northeast India and adjacent
areas of Western Burma, Bangladesh, and Tibet" (Matisoff 1999:173). For discussion amongst
Tibeto-Burman scholars on the issue, refer to Burling (1999) and Matisoff (1999).
"North of the Ganges, in the districts of Malda and Purnea, there is an intermediate dialect, partly Bengali and partly Bihari, but with its grammatical construction mainly based on the stronger and more cultivated language of Bengali."

Voegelin & Voegelin (1977) refers to Rājbanshi as "Northern Bengali". According to Chatterji (1975a [1926]:6[table]), Oriya, Bengali (and its dialects) and Assamese are the eastern branches of Māgadhī (Apabhraṅga), whereas the languages "Maithili, Magahi and Bhōjpuriyā" constitute the western branch. Chatterji (1975a [1926]:140), following Grierson, also maintains that "North Bengali" is a western branch of the "Kāma-rūpa dialects" whereas the eastern branch is Assamese.2 Gordon (2005), likewise following Grierson, classifies language as: "Eastern zone, Bengali-Assamese."

Based on a reconstruction of the "KRNB lects", Toulmin (2006:341) argues that proto-Kamta emerged parallel to proto-Bangla and proto-Assamiya (and therefore should not be considered to be a corrupt form of standard Bengali):

"This historical stage, proto-Kamta, is reconstructed as historically parallel, not subordinate, to the historical emergence of proto-Bangla and proto-Asamiya from the common Magadhan stage. The implication of this statement is that the KRNB lects reflect a linguistic (and cultural) tradition equally as ancient as the Bangla and Asamiya linguistic traditions. This study thus confirms Clark's proposal, following Henry Frowde, that 'Northern Bengali may be as old or older than standard Bengali' (1969:85), and Grierson's statement that 'Northern Bengal and Assam did not get their language from Bengal proper, but directly from the west' (Grierson 1903-28 Vol. 1:126)."

There is often mention in literature of the fact that the Rājbanshis originated, at least in the east, from the Koch, Bodo and Meche tribes (Tibeto-Burman; cf. Sanyal 1965 and van Driem 2001, amongst others). Hunter (1991 [1896]:291) referring to Brian Hodgson's essay on Dhimal, Bodo and Koch (i.e. Rājbanshi) asserts:

"The original structure of the language of Koch had been so completely overlaid with Aryan forms that it was merged into a corrupt Bengali."

Van Driem (2001:538; 535; 1176) questions whether there are perhaps traces of Tibeto-Burman still evident in current Rājbanshi:

"In view of the origins of the Rajbangsi, it comes as no surprise that the form of Bengali spoken by the Rajbangs is somewhat different from standard Bengali ... No study has been made of possible Tibeto-Burman substrate influence in the Rajbangsi dialect of Bengali. ... Rajbangsi is

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2 Chatterji (1975a [1926]:140) asserts that "North Bengali" is spoken in Jalpaiguri, eastern Purnia, southern Darjeeling, Dinajpur, Koch Bihar, Rangpur and western Goalpara.
reported to share some of its lexicon with the Tibeto-Burman language Garo and to exhibit considerable Maithili influence, but these reports have yet to be supported by a substantive account of the Rajbangsi language.

In this work on the far-western variety of Rajbanshi I have encountered no apparent Tibeto-Burman constructions which are distinct from the non-Aryan constructions already found in related Indo-Aryan languages. Firstly, the Rajbanshi noun classifier system may be of non-Aryan origin, but is also found in Assamese and Bengali (cf. Emeneau 1965:30-40; Masica 1991:250). Secondly, the sound symbolism constructions found in Rajbanshi are similar to those in Bengali and other Indo-Aryan languages (Emeneau 1980:250-293), which according to Klaiman (1987:511) are due to previous foreign influence. Thirdly, the Rajbanshi secondary agreement system may be due to a Munda (or even Tibeto-Burman) substratum, but the same participant cross-referencing system is found in several adjacent Indo-Aryan languages (Maithili, Magahi, Darai and possibly Dhanwar).

Map 1. Districts of Morang and Jhāpā in south-eastern Nepal

Rajbanshi, in its diverse forms, does however differ from the major Indo-Aryan languages surrounding it. The dialects covered in this work are generally only partially understood by the Maithili population. Bengali speakers from West Bengal, who are unfamiliar with the peculiarities of this vernacular, likewise find these dialects only partly intelligible. Klaiman (1987:511) notes major differences in the local and standard variants of Bengali throughout the eastern Indian Bengali-speaking region:
"...although throughout the Bengali-speaking area a single, more or less uniform variety of the language is regarded as the standard dialect, the bulk of speakers have at best a passing acquaintance with it. That is, horizontal differentiation of Bengali lects is very extensive (if poorly researched), both in terms of the number of regional dialects that occur and in terms of their mutual divergence."

As already mentioned, Rājbanshi is spoken in south-eastern Nepal in the districts of Jhāpā and Morang. The latest census states the number of speakers of Rājbanshi in Nepal as approximately 129 800 (NIDI 2006:NP15), and the language is therefore held to be the 14th largest language group in Nepal. The districts of Morang and Jhāpā are marked on Map 1.

The initial purpose of this research was to document the basic constructions of the Rājbanshi language as spoken in Nepal. However, to satisfactorily describe the range of Rājbanshi dialects spoken would be a colossal undertaking, and so I have restricted the enquiry to two dialects used in Jhāpā. I have mainly spent time with three informants from the northern region of Jhāpā (Dharma L. Rājbanshi and Gokul Rājbanshi from Ghailāḍubbā, and Manorath Rājbanshi from Lakharigaddi), and one informant from south-western Jhāpā (Pāmar P. Rājbanshi from Korobāri). I have also studied the secondary agreement system which occurs in southern Morang (Dādar Bairiā and Rangeli), although I have not delved very deeply into this dialect.

In addition to the dialects in Morang, extensive study is still required to cover those dialects on the extreme south-eastern border of Nepal; the Rājbanshi dialects spoken on
the eastern border of Jhāpā are reported to be somewhat different from the dialects studied in this work. They are said to be more like the dialectal variants spoken over the border in the Indian state of West Bengal, and thus lack such grammatical features as secondary agreement.

My hope is that this work will lay the foundation for more extensive research on the Rājbanshi varieties spoken in Nepal. In no way do I claim a complete adequacy or accuracy of the data, or even of the presentation for that matter. I do believe, however, that it constitutes a preliminary milestone, which can then be corrected, refined and added to, in order to finally arrive at a full understanding of this language which represents just one part of the immensely rich linguistic heritage of Nepal. I sincerely hope that this work will help to support the Rājbanshi community in their endeavours to develop and promote the use of their language, and to encourage the continuation of its use by the future generations.

1.2 Theoretical background

This work is by nature primarily descriptive and synchronic. Its theoretical basis is what has been coined "Basic Linguistic Theory", as maintained by Dixon (2002 [1997]:128):
"The term Basic Linguistic Theory has recently come into use for the fundamental theoretical concepts that underlie all work in language description and change, and the postulation of general properties of human languages."

Basic Linguistic Theory is primarily based on traditional grammar, though it has also been considerably influenced by various linguistic approaches, including typological research, as Dryer (in press) states:

"In a number of respects, typological work was (and is) closer to traditional grammar than to more formal theoretical approaches. This fact, the informal nature of typology, and the direct relevance of typology to the sorts of descriptive issues faced by descriptive linguists meant that typological work had a tremendous impact on descriptive work. ... basic linguistic theory is traditional grammar modified in various ways by other theoretical traditions over the years."

One might of course question whether Basic Linguistic Theory can be regarded as a "theoretical framework". Nichols (2007:232), who links Basic Linguistic Theory closely to typology, states that Basic Linguistic Theory is a "framework-neutral theory":

"Typological theory is much like what Dixon (1997:128-135) calls "Basic Linguistic Theory" (though I would remove the capital letters because it is not a framework but rather a framework-neutral theory): the body of knowledge about grammar built up over the years by analysis and comparison of different languages."

A second question which could be raised about descriptive linguistics is whether it can, in any sense, be considered "theoretical". Often "descriptive research" is regarded as "descriptive", and "explanatory research" (be it formal or functional) as "theoretical". Discussing the distinction between "descriptive" and "explanatory" theories, Dryer (in press) affirms that a descriptive theory can also be (indirectly) explanatory:

"...there is a sense in which what I am calling descriptions are themselves explanatory at a different level. Namely, if the grammar is a representation of what is inside speakers' heads and hence what underlies linguistic behaviour, then the grammar itself can be viewed as part of the explanation for linguistic behaviour, and the grammar serves as an explanation for particular facts of the language."

The role of description in linguistic science was, to a degree, undermined during the generativist era. Chomsky (1965:5) naturally insisted that descriptive linguistics ("traditional grammar", "structuralism") was inadequate from the point of view of linguistic science since it does not pay attention to the "creative" aspect of language.

"This is the traditional problem of descriptive linguistics, and traditional grammars give a wealth of information concerning structural descriptions of sentences. However, valuable as
they obviously are, traditional grammars are deficient in that they leave unexpressed many of the basic regularities of the language with which they are concerned. ... An analysis of the best existing grammars will quickly reveal that this is a defect of principle, not just a matter of empirical detail or logical preciseness."

Having said this, even Chomsky (1965:5) did give some credit to (empirical) linguistic description:

"Nevertheless, it seems obvious that the attempt to explore this largely uncharted territory can most profitably begin with a study of the kind of structural information presented by traditional grammars and the kind of linguistic processes that have been exhibited, however informally, in these grammars."

Dixon (2002 [1997]:133-134), however, disputes the logical outcome of this stance.

"There is one major myth in modern linguistics which is responsible more than anything for the discipline losing contact with its subject matter, the study of languages. It goes as follows. There are essentially two types of linguist. The descriptivists, who do field work and write grammars. And the 'theoreticians' ... who do not gather data themselves but rather interpret it, from the point of view of their chosen formalism. The myth is that the work done by the 'theoreticians' is more difficult, more important, more intellectual, altogether on a higher plane than the basic work undertaken by the descriptivists. This is wrong, from every angle."

I personally view description as more than just an empirical endeavour. Description is inherently theoretical, as Dixon (2002 [1997]:134) states: "Every point in a grammatical description is a theoretical statement." Moreover, language descriptions are essential for on-going typological research and, in this respect, are also necessary for the advancement of theoretical linguistics in all its different forms. Along these lines, Croft (1996 [1990]:4) asserts:

"The descriptive work which has been and, I hope, will continue to be done on the tremendous number of languages in the world is absolutely essential not just to typological theory but to all linguistic theories... The attitude that descriptive work is not valued (it is "just" descriptive or "descriptivist") must be abandoned for there to be progress in linguistic theory."

Here Dryer's (in press) distinction between "descriptive theory" and "explanatory theory" (be this formal or functional) is useful:

"Structuralism is fully compatible with functionalism. Structuralism is a descriptive theory, while functionalism is an explanatory theory. There is no incompatibility in describing a language from a structuralist perspective and then explaining, in functionalist terms, the things described."
Coming from another perspective, Croft (1996 [1990]:248-249) maintains that grammatical analysis can be more accurately described in terms of levels of generalisation:

"Instead of the dichotomy of "description" vs. "explanation," one can describe grammatical analysis ... with a scalar concept of degrees of generalization. The basic concept is that a more general linguistic statement can be said to explain a more specific one, though it may itself be explained by yet a more general statement. ... In linguistics, we may distinguish three levels of generalization that are significant for approaches to human languages.

The first level is the lowest, the level of observation, that is what constitutes the basic facts of language. There is essential agreement on the level of observation between generative and typological approaches: both begin with basic facts of linguistic structure.

The second level is actually a set of levels, the levels of internal generalization.

The third level is that of external generalization, at which the linguist invokes concepts from psychology, biology and other realms outside the structure of language.

Finally, there is a cross-cutting level of generalization, diachronic generalization."

Based on the above, this sketch of the Rājbanshi language can be said to be based on "descriptive theory" (Dryer), or to be an "observational" (or, "surface-oriented") grammatical analysis (Croft). The terminology necessary for describing the structures of the language are drawn from previous studies on Indo-Aryan languages on the one hand, and general linguistic sources on the other. Having stated this, I will assume the adequacy of various concepts in the analysis, and I will discuss these in the following section.

1.2.1 Basic concepts

In the course of this grammar I will assume that it is legitimate to use a range of traditional categories and terminology. These include the following:

a. Syntactic roles such as subject (SU), direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO),
b. Fillmorean case roles such as agent, patient, recipient, beneficiary, etc.,
c. Parts-of-speech classes such as noun, adjective, adverb and verb, and
d. Phrases such as NP, PP and AdvP.

While acknowledging that the universality, or "pre-established" status, of these categories, has been questioned (Croft 2001; Haspelmath 2007; inter alia), I find them a practical necessity in basic linguistic description. I would fall into the category of linguists, concerning whom Haspelmath (2007:121) writes:

"For descriptive linguists, there would have to be a list that contains the pre-established categories that general linguists have figured out in some way. These would not necessarily
have to be innate, but they would have to be universal in the sense that a descriptive linguist can be sure that the categories needed for describing his/her language are on the list."

However, terminology needs to be used flexibly, bearing in mind that one may require a given term to be redefined according to the specific needs of the language under study. The "historical present" discussed in Chapter 8, is one such category.

Likewise, the notion of "subject" is not unproblematic in NIA languages as Masica (1991:339-364) maintains. Particularly notable in relation to the Rājbanshi subject are constructions such as secondary agreement (where the verb can agree with arguments other than the subject), the nominative case (which is used to mark clause constituents other than merely the subject), the dative ("experiencer") subject (which is marked with the dative case), and the position of the subject (which is clause-initial in default clauses, but can also be found in other positions due to displacement).

I will use the terms "direct object" and "indirect object", though the positions of these arguments are all but fixed (for example, the direct object is quite frequently found topicalised in clause-initial position), though the direct object may be marked with the nominative case (if it is inanimate), and though in transitive clauses the verb may agree with the direct object of the clause in place of the subject. In order to distinguish between different arguments I will at times employ the Fillmorean case roles mentioned above.

Regarding the classification of parts-of-speech, I will consider a notional class analysis as inadequate (following Schachter 1985:3; Croft 2001:63), but I will follow Schachter's (1985:3) classification which is based on grammatical criteria:

"The grammatical properties of a word that are here taken to be relevant to its parts-of-speech classification include the word's distribution, its range of syntactic functions, and the morphological or syntactic categories for which it is specifiable."

I will assume that there is ample empirical evidence to assert that Rājbanshi has distinct word classes such as noun, verb and adjective. Distribution is an insufficient criterion for word classification, given the wide range of displacement features in the Rājbanshi clause. Nouns, however, function as prototypical subjects and objects, though also verbs can have nominal properties when they function as infinitival complements (cf. section 7.4.2.1.3). Nouns are not marked for tense, aspect or mood; these are categories reserved for verbs. Moreover, number morphology is distinct for nouns and verbs. Nouns are marked for case, whereas only the verbal infinitive in Rājbanshi can be marked with the genitive case. Unlike verbs, Rājbanshi nouns are assigned to one of two noun classes. Finally, Rājbanshi has a distinct class of adjectives, though (as discussed in section 4.2) one also finds a restricted set of nouns which can likewise function as adjectives.

Finally, I will refer to the phrase structure of the NP, PP and AdjP. A phrase contains a "head" which may have a dependent (cf. sections 7.2.1-7.2.3). By the term "verb phrase" I
1.2 Theoretical background

imply the structure of simple or complex verbs (conjunct and compound verbs; cf. section 7.2.4).

As shown in section 7.3.3.5, some infringement of the noun phrase is found in conjunction with displacement in that noun phrase-internal elements may be separated by certain phrase-external elements. For example, in a displaced order the head of a noun phrase may be in clause-initial position, while its dependent (e.g. the determiner) may be displaced to clause-final position. Similarly, a subject may be interposed between the possessor and its governing noun phrase head. Initially, it would seem that such reordering is due to focus and de-emphasis, and that stylistic implications may also need to taken into consideration. Nevertheless, what is certain is that such constructions are not the default (and they are relatively infrequent), and therefore I assume the legitimacy of the noun phrase.

1.2.2 The corpus

This analysis of the grammar of Rājbanshi is based on two main research principles: the corpus should, as far as possible, be natural (that is, it should originate from a natural context), and that it should be based on the spoken form.

According to the first premise, evidence for the structures of the language have, as far as possible, been drawn from narrative material. A reasonable corpus of elicitational material was also collected (elicitation was, for example, used extensively in determining the language's verbal morphology). Whenever this kind of material is used it is, if at all possible, crosschecked against text material, since grammatical judgements, even from the best of informants, proved to be at times inconsistent. This observation corresponds well with Bresnan (2007:297; cf. also Givón 1979:23, 1984:10-11; *inter alia*):

"Although grammaticality judgments are considered an extremely rich source of data, it has long been evident that introspections about decontextualized, constructed examples – especially in syntactic and semantic domains – are unreliable and inconsistent, as pointed out by sociolinguists and dialectologists (Labov 1975, 1996; Cornips & Poletto 2004)."

The text corpus comprises approximately 1000 sentences of recorded and transcribed oral text (Appendix 3). This corpus was elicited from three mother tongue speakers each of whom uses the dialect spoken in Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi, somewhat south-west of the town of Birtāmod, Jhāpā. The informants are Dharma Lal Rājbanshi (texts DLR.01-DLR.06), Gokul Rājbanshi (texts GR.01-GR.02) and Manorath Rājbanshi (texts MR.01-MR.05).³ Audio recordings of the narratives can be found on the accompanying CD.

³ Biodata of the four main language informants are as follows:
In addition to the transcribed corpus in Appendix 3, I recorded twenty four samples representing many of the dialects of Rājbanshi spoken throughout Morang and Jhāpā (cf. Map 2 and Map 3). Though these narratives are not in transcribed form, they are nevertheless occasionally referred to during the course of this grammar. The reader can refer to the audio recordings on the accompanying CD.

Two types of text have been elicited: narrative and descriptive. The descriptive texts were obtained by showing the language informant a photograph relating to some aspect of Rājbanshi culture or surroundings. The informant was then requested to talk about what he saw in the picture. The researcher may have prompted as necessary with extra questions in order to elicit further material. The natural flow of the descriptive texts is however questionable, as will be evident from the audio recordings. The process was new to the informants and therefore they may in places have been too conscious of their own speech. Conversely, they performed well when eliciting narratives since by that time they had become used to the recording apparatus and were quite obviously more at ease in their role as language informants. Admittedly, one weakness of the corpus at hand is that it consists primarily of narratives, and it lacks other genres, and face-to-face conversation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DLR</td>
<td>35 yrs</td>
<td>below SLC</td>
<td>social worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>60 yrs</td>
<td>SLC</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR</td>
<td>32 yrs</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>private service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPR</td>
<td>40 yrs</td>
<td>BA(Commerce)</td>
<td>writer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Initially everything was transcribed from the recording, including mistakes. The informant and the researcher then checked the text. Generally two types of corrections were requested. Firstly, corrections of blatant mistakes, broken sentences or incorrect choice of words (eg. "This is my mistake - we do not say it like that..."). Secondly, the informant may have felt that changes in sentence structure or the ordering of sentences were necessary (eg. "This sentence is correct, but it could be said better in this way ...", "This whole section should be re-ordered to make more sense", "I said that, but my facial expression was like this ... so what I meant was..."). I made note of the original forms for later reference, but almost always made the changes requested by the informant.

At several stages informants felt it necessary to change the style of the text from oral to literary, based on the presumption that the language is spoken in one way but written in another. I often hesitated to make these kinds of changes since the written form has not yet fully evolved.

The second main research principle was to base observations primarily on the spoken form. This is due to the fact that the literary tradition in the language is very young and there is little consensus on a "correct" written form. I was soon to find out that what was spoken and what was written deviated quite considerably from each other. Admittedly, as Nida (1967:156) suggests, in languages where the written form is in its infancy, the spoken style and the written style will inevitably and rapidly exhibit differences:
"It is interesting … to note that in languages with a very short literary tradition, for example, those in which people have written for only twenty or thirty years, certain significant differences of written and oral style rapidly emerge. Accordingly, one cannot set down as a criterion of good written style for a new language merely the oral style of good speakers, for there are significant modifications which inevitably take place and which must be carefully considered."

However, what has also been noticed is a tendency in Rājbanshi to structure the written form according to the more prestigious and developed languages of the area (in this case, Nepali, Hindi and Bengali). This is not necessarily always a bad trend, but it does have certain implications.

One very clear example is the tendency to avoid constituent displacement in the written form. As the reader will notice from the text material, constituent displacement plays an important role in topicalisation and focus. It took little effort to determine that the basic order of Rājbanshi is SOV, but it was only from studying natural discourse that I was able to ascertain how frequently displaced constructions do actually occur in the language (in approximately 20% of all narrative sentences).

If one were to straight-jacket the texts to a strict constituent order, the text would appear to be dry and unexciting; bones without substance as it were. As a result I have refrained from changing the original oral style to what may be deemed its literary counterpart, and have based the grammar, as far as possible, on the spoken form.


2. Phonology

2.1 Introduction

In this section I will describe the phonemic elements of three of the Rājbanshi dialects spoken in the Jhāpā district (Korobāri, Lakhanpur and Ghailāubbā-Lakharigaddi). I will cover the vowel and consonant segmentals as well as notes on the syllable structure, and present initial observations on nasalisation, length and stress. The content of this section is based primarily on an unpublished manuscript (Rājbanshi & Wilde 2004) and a published article (Wilde 2005), both of which focus on Rājbanshi phonology.

I have approached the data according to the principles of American structuralism, much along the lines followed by Pike (1971 [1947]). Words have been contrasted in isolation from connected speech in order to determine the contrastive segmental and suprasegmental elements and their complementary and free variation. Simple as this may seem, several difficulties need mentioning.

Firstly, I have not attempted to differentiate between tadbhavas (that is, Sanskrit loans which reflect the phonological structure of the current form) and cognates (or, the deśaya/deśī category, cf. Masica 1991:65–67). I have viewed tadbhavas as reliable resource words alongside cognates. This has a negligible effect from the point of view of the phonology, but any work on the structure of the contemporary lexicon (not attempted here) would need to distinguish between the two.

The tatsama element (that is, the Sanskrit form), which is present particularly in literary work, is often easier to distinguish than the tadbhava element. For example, word-initial phonotactics in tatsamas and contemporary Rājbanshi differ considerably (cf. Table 10). Borrowing from Sanskrit is a common feature in New Indo-Aryan languages, as Yadav (1997 [1996]:24) explains with reference to Maithili:

"...Maithili has borrowed extensively from Sanskrit... All this has had a curious impact upon the phonology of Maithili. In literate and educated varieties of speech, for instance, the native speakers of Maithili tend to retain the original pronunciation of the borrowed words. In less literary styles, however, they abandon it."

Furthermore I have found it difficult at times to determine which words are loans from current Hindi, Nepali, Maithili or Bengali, and which words can be considered to be cognates (but are nevertheless identical to the words in related languages).
Secondly, working on phonology alongside the orthographic representation can be misleading, especially when the orthography employed carries a strong historic weighting, as is the case with the Devanāgarī script. As Masica (1991:86) warns: "The writer ... may be unduly influenced by the orthography if one exists". In certain cases the language informants' perceptions of the sound system of their own language may be influenced by spelling conventions which have emerged in recent Rājbanshi literature. Examples of this are possibly the mid-centralised vowel [i], and intervocalic voiced retroflex/rhotic segments.

Thirdly, from a strictly structuralist point of view, non-contrastive elements such as nasalisation should not present a problem in the phonology. However, though there is no basis for postulating phonemic nasalisation (cf. also Toulmin 2006:138-139), it is indeed used by many speakers. Whereas many informants are of the opinion that nasalised vowels are used and should be marked in the orthography, cross-informant examination reveals that there is little consensus as to where it exists. Whether this situation is due to a shift in the phonology is uncertain. It is also possible that nasalisation is deemed necessary since it is contrastive in the neighbouring and influential Indo-Aryan languages such as Maithili, Nepali and Hindi.

Likewise, the phonemes /j/ and /w/ do not appear to have phonemic status in contemporary Rājbanshi but they do nevertheless occur as distinctive components in some words. A cross-linguistic study of neighbouring languages would most likely reveal reasons for irregularities of this kind, but I have not attempted that here. Nasalisation and central approximants will be discussed in more detail in the corresponding sections, but suffice it to say here that focusing on an Indo-Aryan language in isolation without paying attention to the wider Indo-Aryan context may be misleading.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Vowel phonemes

The vowel phonemes detected during this research are: /i/, /e/, /æ/, /ɒ/ and /u/. The vowels were found to occur in the following environments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>word-initial</th>
<th>word-medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ह</td>
<td>इ- /i/- /ʔi/ 'DEM[prox]-'</td>
<td>जिला /tsila/ [tsila] 'eagle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए</td>
<td>एक /ek/ /ʔek/ 'one'</td>
<td>डेना /dēna/ [dēna] 'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आ</td>
<td>आङोल /æŋol/ /ʔæŋol/ 'finger; toe'</td>
<td>पाँच /paŋ/ [paŋ] 'leaf'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1. (cont.)

| अ | अँगिन / अँगिन /|ˈɡʰɪn/| [ˈɡʰɪn] | फीर’ | मशु /मशु/ / [ˈmɒd]/ ‘हन’ |
| ओ | ओर /| ˈʔoɾ| ‘(in, ओर H- or हा- end’ | गोरोल /| ˈɡʰɪl| ‘हन’ |
| उ | उक्त /| ˈʔukʊt/ | ‘hawk’ | कु ा /| ˈkut| ‘dog’ |

| इ | करिंग /| ˈkærɪŋ/ | ‘approximately’ | त्रिल /| ˈtsuɨ/ | ‘hair’ |
| ए | बेन /| ˈkʰɛt/ | ‘field’ | डारे /| ˈdars/ | ‘by’ |
| आ | हात /| ˈhæt/ | ‘hand, arm’ | चेत /| ˈtsearet/ | ‘skin’ |
| अ | सरक /| ˈsɑt/ /| ˈk/ | ‘road’ | कल /| ˈkɑl/ / | ‘banana’ |
| ओ | लोक /| ˈlok/ | ‘person; man’ | तारी /| ˈtɛɾɪ/ | ‘star’ |
| उ | बुप /| ˈtʰup/ | ‘spit’ | धु /| ˈgpu/ | ‘dove’ |

The vowel phoneme /i/ is articulated as [i]. Word-initial /i/ is rare: in the whole data base /i/ was found to occur word-initially in the demonstrative ्- /| ˈi/ /| ˈʔi/ ‘DEM[prox]’ (for example, in इला /| ˈilæ/ | ‘DEM[prox]-PL’), and loan words such as इनाम /| ˈinæm/ | ‘reward’ and इया द /| ˈiæd/ | ‘etcetera (Skt)’. Utterance-initial vowels are often preceded by a (non-phomemic) glottal plosive [ʔ].

Though there is only limited evidence for semivowels in Rājbangshi phonology, the word-initial [j] in the pronoun याहँ(ए) /| ˈjæhæ(e)/ | ‘3sg[pro/prox]’, and loan words such as या /| ˈjæ/ | ‘or’ and योजना /| ˈjodzæn/ | ‘plan’, should be interpreted as a semivowel (cf. section 2.3.4 on central approximants).

Some informants felt a need to distinguish between three front unrounded vowels: /e/ [ɛ], /i/ [i] and [ɪ]. There is indeed a phonemic distinction between /e/ [ɛ] and /i/. However, there is no evidence for positining a third contrasting front vowel /ɪ/. Initially, the data would suggest that:

(a) Phone [ɪ] could be an allophone of /i/ when following non-word-initial liquids /l/ and /r/.
(b) Phone [ɪ] could be an allophone of /e/ in closed syllables which are checked with a syllable-final voiceless plosive.
(c) Having said this, it is also possible that [ɪ] is an allophone of /e/ in (non-word-initial) non-stressed syllables.

The preceding liquids /l/ and /r/ can not be the only conditioning factor however, since the vowel /i/ is pronounced as [i] when following the word-initial liquids in:

(1) a. रिस /| ˈris/ | ‘anger’
  
  b. लिहान /| ˈlihæn/ | ‘blanket’
  
  c. लिल /| ˈliɪl/ | ‘take-PST-3’

Additionally, the mid-centralised [i] is found in the 3p future बे /| ˈbɪ/ | ‘FUT-3’. Whether this is due to stress (that is, /i/ or /e/ have the conditioned variant [ɪ] in unstressed syllables) is unclear.
This becomes a problem when comparing the phonology with the orthography. Most occurrences of [i] in current Rājbanshi orthography have been represented as र /e/ (in fact [i] does fluctuate with [e], but this stands in contrast with the open-mid [ɛ]-variant of the phoneme /e/). Surprisingly, no informants feel it would be appropriate to represent the phone [i] as इ /i/. Whether this is due to a subconscious native perception of the phonological system, or an adherence to spelling conventions which have emerged in recent literature is unclear.

Chart 1 presents results of the formant analysis of the vowels [i], [ɪ] and [ɛ]. The vowels [ɪ] and [ɛ] were extracted from 59 verbs contrasting the past tense 3p form (-ले [-l-ɪ]) and the conditional participle (-ले [-l-ɛ]). Though variation of the vowel [ɛ] is considerable, it is substantially more open than the vowel [ɪ]. Formant values for the vowel [i] were extracted from 67 recorded samples of words where the vowel [i] occurs in the initial syllable. Moreover, though there is a degree of (somewhat predictable) overlap between the vowels [i] and [ɪ], there is a clear tendency for the vowel [ɪ] to be slightly more open.

Masica (1991:115) mentions a contrast in Bengali which would seem to be very similar:

"It is possible to speak of another kind of secondary subsystem, however, consisting not of borrowed sounds but rather of native sounds of marginal status. In Bengali, for example, there are rare but undeniable contrasts between, e.g. E/e in [chEle] 'boy' and [chele] 'if (it) covers', and between I/i in [kIntu] 'but' and [kintum] 'I used to bring/would have brought'."

It is doubtful that the vowel [i] found in Rājbanshi is the same as the Bengali vowel mentioned by Masica. In the data collected so far, the mid-centralised [i] was only found
in the environments shown in Table 2. No nouns where found to show the distinction. Moreover, if [i] does indeed have phonemic status in Rājbansi, one would expect to find a three-way contrast. This was not so; only two-way contrasts between /e/ and [i], and /ε/ and /i/ were found. Throughout this work I have transcribed [i] as /i/ or /ε/ when I am certain, but as /u/ when I am uncertain.

The vowel phoneme /ε/ is articulated as [ɛ] or [ε] and is found in all positions. The "inherent vowel" /ʌ/ is often articulated as [A] and is found in all positions, and has the free variants [3] and [a]. The vowel is at best only slightly rounded (⟨A⟩), and never as round as the Bengali "inherent vowel" /s/ (cf. Figure 1 for lip positions for Rājbanshi vowels).

The low front vowel /æ/ is articulated as front [æ] or central [ɛ] and is found in all positions. Note that the vowel /æ/ does not diphthongise as in the Maithili [oɛ], [aɛ] and [ai] (cf. Yadav 1997 [1996]:15–16). Vowel sequences of /æ.e/ are found but are pronounced as [æe].

The vowel phoneme /u/ is articulated as [u], and the phoneme /o/ as a close-mid rounded vowel [o]. Both vowels are found in all positions, though the vowel /o/ is rare in word-initial position.

---

4 One nominal contrast was in fact encountered between the Rājbanshi word [bl] 'a kind of fruit' and the Rājbanshi pronunciation of the Hindi loan word [bel] 'ox' (i.e. बल). Compare with Goswami & Tamuli's (2003:77) item /bel/ ‘wood apple’, as mentioned in Toulmin (2006:125).
2.2.2 Vowel sequences and diphthongs

I will attempt a brief analysis of the vowel sequences and diphthongs here, though I must state that further research is required in order to reach a final conclusion on the issue. I will refer to the term "diphthong" according to the definitions given by Laver (1994) and Kenstowich (1996 [1994]):

"When the medial phase shows an audible change of quality, with the change consistently progressing towards a single target, as it were, then the sound is classified as a diphthong."
(Laver 1994:146)

"The term 'diphthong' is often used more broadly to denote any sequence of tautosyllabic vowels. They need not necessarily share any phonological features and the entire sequence may count as a single timing unit (mora)." (Kenstowich 1996 [1994]:46)

Despite the observation that the "majority of languages of the world do not use diphthongs in their phonological inventory" (Laver 1994:285; emphasis mine), there is a high probability that diphthongs will be found in NIA languages, as Masica (1991:116) maintains:
2.2 Vowels

"Sanskrit has only the two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, for which special symbols were eventually provided in later Brahmi ... the NIA languages generally have an expanded inventory of falling diphthongs ... These naturally have to be represented in other ways, either as sequences of vowels (which may also represent disyllabic sequences) or of vowel + the semivowels /y/ and /w/. As there is a reluctance in some descriptions to recognize any diphthongs other than the traditional two (and therefore go into the question at all), it is difficult to be exhaustive in comparisons, but it is clear enough that the Eastern languages have the greatest number of true diphthongs (as well as disyllabic vowel sequences.)"

The vowel sequences and diphthongs encountered in the data include:

Table 3. VV-sequences and diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial vowel</th>
<th>Second vowel</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i इ</td>
<td>i इ</td>
<td>[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>बछिय /बछिय / [बछिय]</td>
<td>बछिय /बछिय / [बछिय]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'sit-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>'sit-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ए</td>
<td>पेयसा / [पेयसा] 'money'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a आ</td>
<td>माइ /[माइ] ‘y_sister’</td>
<td>आज्ञाए / [आज्ञाए] 'well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(बाजा(न) /क्षेत्ता(ल) / [क्षेत्ता(ल)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'eat-PST.PTCL’</td>
<td>'eat-PST.PTCL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A अ</td>
<td>पाइन /[पाइन] ‘irrigation channel’</td>
<td>गांठ /[गांठ] 'neck_guide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(बाजा(न) /क्षेत्ता(ल) / [क्षेत्ता(ल)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'keep-PST.PTCL’</td>
<td>'keep-PST.PTCL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O ऑ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कोजोए / [कोजोए] 'never'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u उ</td>
<td>हूंड /[हूंड] ‘2sg[pro]’</td>
<td>पुष्प /[पुष्प] 'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>भुइ / [भुइ] ‘ground’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>बुठ / [बुठ] 'ground’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial vowel</th>
<th>Second vowel</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i इ</td>
<td>बछिय / [बछिय]</td>
<td>बछिय / [बछिय]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'plant-marrow-CNJ’</td>
<td>'plant-marrow-CNJ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ए</td>
<td>डेयर / [डेयर] ‘(local) divinity’</td>
<td>फेउर / [फेउर] 'fox’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a आ</td>
<td>माइ / [माइ] ‘mother’</td>
<td>खाआ / [खाआ] 'well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(बाजा(न) /क्षेत्ता(ल) / [क्षेत्ता(ल)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'eat-SUBJ2sg’</td>
<td>'eat-SUBJ2sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A अ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>तालिया / [तालिया] 'towel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O ऑ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u उ</td>
<td>पुस्त / [पुस्त] 'feeces-CNJ’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the language data to hand, three types of vowel sequences are found. Firstly there are the vowel sequences which can be clearly identified as disyllabic sequences (2a). Secondly, there is a set of vowels which are potential candidates for CV-sequences or
falling diphthongs (2b), and thirdly, there is a set of vowels which are potential candidates for VC-sequences or rising diphthongs (2c). Vowel sequences which do not occur in the data corpus are listed in (2d).

(2) a. Clear (disyllabic) vowel sequences /eɪ, æe, ʌe, æe, ʌe, æo, (æe?)/
   b. Potential falling diphthongs or CV-sequences /iu, ie, iæ, uæ, ui, ui/
   c. Potential rising diphthongs or VC-sequences /eu, iu, æu, u, ei, æi, i, ui/
   d. Non-occurring vowel sequences /ii, ee, oo, uu, ʌʌ, io, eæ, eo, oæ, ol, ou, oi, ue, uo, lo/

I find a diphthong / CV-analysis for most of the vowel sequences in (2b) to be unwarranted. Generally both vowels are given syllabic prominence, and they are often mediated by an intervocalic glide (3a-b). Moreover, a CV-analysis of the absolutive in (3c) would lead to an erroneous analysis of the (default) absolutive in (3d; cf. section 2.4 for discussion on phonotactics).

(3) a. Disyllabic CVCV छुवा /tsʰu.a/ [tsʰwæ] 'child' (*monosyllabic *CCV */tsʰwæ/)
   b. Trisyllabic मिलया /mʌliæ/ [mʌljæ] 'muddy' (*disyllabic *CVCCV */mʌljæ/)
   c. Trisyllabic CVCVV र केए /rʌki(j)e/ [rʌki(j)e] 'stop-ABS' (*disyllabic *CVCCV */rʌk.je/)
   d. Disyllabic CVCV र क /rʌki/ [rʌki] 'stop-ABS' (*monosyllabic *CVCC */rʌkj/)

The vowel sequences in (2c) are more difficult to deal with. It would seem possible to analyse (but not to write) some of these as VC-sequences, since the second vowel tends not to be given syllabic prominence (4), (5a), (6a) and (7a). However, as shown in (5b), (6b) and (7b), the syllable structure of राज्यांशी restrains the VC-sequence analysis, and therefore, for the sake of consistency, one is compelled to discard the VC-sequence analysis in the other examples.

(4) a. भुइ CV.V /bʰu.i/, CV /bʰui/ or CVC /bʰui/ [bʰui] 'ground'
   b. माइ CV.V /mæ.i/, CV /mæi/ or CVC /mæj/ [mæj] 'younger sister'
   c. एइ त्व CV.V /e.i.ʌ/, V.CV /ei.ʌ/ or VC.CV /ej.ʌ/ [ejʌ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS'

(5) a. फेउर CV.V /gʰi.ʌ/, CV /gʰiwi/ or CVC /gʰiw/ [gʰiw] 'ghee'
   b. फेउर CV.VC /pʰe.ur/ or CVC /pʰewr/ [pʰewr] 'fox' (*monosyllabic *CVCC */pʰewr/)

(6) a. भार CV.V /bə.ʌ/, CV /bəw/ or CVC /bəw/ [bəw] 'father'
   b. वेजम CV.VC /dʌw.w/ or CVC /dʌw/ [dʌw] 'run' (*monosyllabic *CVCC */dʌw/)

(7) a. एउर्जना V.CV.CV /e.i.tʰi.nʌ/, V.CV.CV /ei.tʰi.nʌ/ or VC.CV.CV /ej.tʰi.nʌ/ [ejtʰi.nʌ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-place'

---

5 Similar intervocalic glides are reported, for example, in Bhojpuri (Shukla 1981:43) and Maithili (Yadav 1997 [1996]:19).
2.2 Vowels

b. एइठ् V.CV.CV /e.i.tʰ.næ/ or VC.CV /eɪ ̯.næ/ [eɪtʰnæ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-place'
(*disyllabic *VC.CCV */eɪ.tʰnæ/)

The diphthong analysis is certainly more plausible phonotactically in the examples (4a-c), (5a) and (7a-b) above. This is supported by the observation that examples (8a-b) were regarded by the informant PPR as disyllabic.

(8) a. कइना possibly disyllabic CV.CV /kʌi.næ/ [kʌi.næ] 'bride'
b. एइला possibly disyllabic V.CV /ei ̯.læ/ [ejlæ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-PL'
c. पइिन possibly disyllabic CV.CV /pʌi.næ/ [pʌi.næ] 'irrigation channel'

The vowel sequence in words such as [n̪æ ̂.ʌ] 'name' and [ɡ̃æ ̂.ʌ] 'village' also requires some consideration. The sequence /æ.ʌ/ should not be considered akin to the Maithili /əu/, which according to Yadav (1997 [1996]:17) is a variant of /ɔ/:

"Of the back vowels, /ɔ/ is the least common – especially in the final position. Also, in some dialects, /ɔ/ varies with /o/ and /ou/.

Consider also Masica's (1991:114) warning concerning vowel comparison between New Indo-Aryan languages:

"Purely systematic comparisons can be misleading. Hindi, Bengali, and Gujarati /ɔ/, for example, are different phonetically, historically, and in their written representation. The first is a long vowel, the result of monophthongization of the diphthong *au, which remains its written symbol. (In Bengali this has evolved instead into the diphthong /ou/.) The second is a phonetic development of the vowel *a > [ɔ], therefore etymologically equivalent to Hindi and Gujarati /ɔ/ and as the "inherent vowel" represented by zero graphemically."

Some informants, possibly following the Hindi convention, interpret (that is, write) the final "inherent vowel" as the central approximant व /w/, suggesting a rounded articulation. Regarding the more easterly Rājbanshi dialects, Sanyal (1965:250) observes that:

6 In comparison, Yadav (1997 [1996]:18-19) asserts that in Maithili: "Most diphthongs ... are rising diphthongs ... Vowel clusters ending in mid vowels e and o also diphthongize. ... There are, however, constraints on diphthongization. Thus, for example, the front and back low vowels do not participate in the process of diphthongization. Consequently, such diphthongs as *ai, *eu, *oi and *ou are not permissible in Maithili. Finally, no centralizing diphthongs are permissible in Maithili."

Shukla (1981:39) proposes ten rising diphthongs ("diagonal" a̯i , a̯i , a̯u , a̯u , oi and o̯i , and "vertical" e̯i , e̯i , o̯ and o̯ ) and four centralizing diphthongs ("centering" ja , i̯a , ya and y̯a ) in Bhojpuri.
"Contraction of vowels as in S.C.B. (West Bengal) does not occur in this dialect. There are cases where instead of contraction there is lengthening of words as in: mao < ma (mother) ... pa-o < pa (leg). Some of these words are often nasalised e.g. mão, pão etc."

Since no (or very little) rounding occurs with the "inherent" vowel (cf. figure 1), the interpretation of the vowel sequence as non-rounded /æ.ʌ/ is well supported, and hence the phonemic representations of the two examples given above are ễn /ŋæʌ/ and ɲán /ŋæʌ/ respectively.

2.3 Consonants

In the following sections I will consider the consonants of the language. The following consonant phonemes were detected:

Table 4. Contrastive consonant phonemes and their Devanāgari equivalents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Apico-retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>प p</td>
<td>न ɳ</td>
<td>ट ṭ</td>
<td>क k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>फ pʰ</td>
<td>घ ḡ</td>
<td>ठ ṭʰ</td>
<td>ख kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced unaspirated</td>
<td>ब b</td>
<td>र ḍ</td>
<td>ड ṭ</td>
<td>ग g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced aspirated</td>
<td>भ bʰ</td>
<td>घ ḍʰ</td>
<td>ठ ṭʰ</td>
<td>घ gʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>ज ts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>छ tsʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced unaspirated</td>
<td>ज dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced aspirated</td>
<td>झ dzʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>म s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h ḋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>म m</td>
<td>न ɳ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>ं (ं) mʰ</td>
<td>ं (ं) ɳʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rhotic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>र ṛ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>र (र̄) ṛʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>ल l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral aspirated</td>
<td>ं (ं) lʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>central</td>
<td>(ं) (w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ं) (j)</td>
<td>(ं) (w)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.1 Plosives

All plosives occur word-initially, and all except for /ḍ/ and /ḍʰ/ occur intervocically. In word-final position voiceless unaspirated plosive finals tend to be unreleased or slightly released (for example in the words जेअँत [dzɛʌ̃t] 'alive' and छात [tsʰæt] 'beehive'). In most cases voiced plosives are devoiced or voiceless in word-final position, for example in the
word बाँध [bæːɖt] 'field'. Where aspiration is marked in the orthography (for example बाँध [bæːɖt] 'field'), the actual phonetic realisation tends to disregard the aspiration. The voiceless aspirated apico-retroflex \( [ʰ] \) was recorded as strongly aspirated word-finally, for example in the word ओड़ [ʔɔːdʰ] 'eight'. The word-final /\( k^{ʰ} \)/ in मुख [mʊrk] 'mouth' was also recorded slightly aspirated (or at least with an audible release).

Neutralisation of the distinction between /\( r /\) and the apico-retroflex voiced plosives /\( d /\) and /\( d^{ʰ} /\) demands some attention. In word initial position /\( d /\) and /\( d^{ʰ} /\) are realised as [d] and [\( d^{ʰ} \)] respectively, for example in the words डेंगर /\( dɛŋər / [dɛŋəɾ] \) 'path' and डेढ़ /\( d^{ʰ} ɛɾɪ / [d^{ʰ} ɛɾɪ] \) 'pile'. In this position they contrast with the rhotic /\( r /\). When /\( d /\) is followed or preceded by [d] as in हाँ [həːdɪ] 'bone', or when it is preceded by the nasal /\( n /\) as in the word कुंड /\( kũndə / [kũndə] \) 'type_of_pond', the apico-retroflex plosive is realised as [d]. Masica states (1991:97; addition in brackets mine):

"The retroflex flap /\( r /\) is often taken as an allophone of /\( d /\), with which it often stands in complementary distribution: initial, geminate, and postnasal for [d]; intervocalic, final, and before or after other consonants for [\( r /\)]. ... The sound (retroflex flap /\( r /\)) is absent altogether from Assamese, East and North Bengali dialects, and Bishnupriya – in all of which it has merged with /\( r /\)..."

Likewise, in Rāj banshi, in intervocalic and word-final positions, and word-medially following the bilabial /\( m /\), the apico-retroflex plosive /\( d /\) is neutralised with the rhotic phoneme /\( r /\) and is realised as [t] or [\( r /\)]. Consider, for example, the words चेढ़ /\( l^{ʰ} ɛɾɛ / [g^{ʰ} ɛɾɛ] \) 'extinguish-IMP2sg' (sometimes written as चेर) and काम /\( kæmɛɾɛ / [kæmɛɾɛ] \) 'bite-IMP2sg' (sometimes written as कामाक)

The aspirated counterpart /\( d^{ʰ} /\) is realised as [\( t^{ʰ} /\) or [\( t^{ʰ} /\) ], as in दारि /\( d^{ʰ} ɛɾɪ / [d^{ʰ} ɛɾɪ] \) 'beard' (sometimes written as दाति), जर /\( dəɾ^{ʰ} ā / [dəɾ^{ʰ} əɾ] \) 'herd' (sometimes written as जर्ड) and पर /\( pəɾ^{ʰ} / [pəɾ^{ʰ}] \) 'read-IMP2sg' (sometimes written as पठ). For reasons of consistency, I posit the addition of the phoneme /\( r^{ʰ} /\) to the phoneme inventory though this only occurs in intervocalic and word-final position.

The bilabial plosive /\( p^{ʰ} /\) is often realised as [t], as in the words फळतु /\( p^{ʰ} æltʊ / [fæltʊ] \) 'extra' and देव/ /\( dɛp^{ʰ} ɛdæɾ / [dɛfɛdæɾ] \) 'leader'. In intervocalic position /\( b /\) has the free variants [w]/[\( β /\)].

Table 5 indicates the distribution of the plosive phonemes in Rāj banshi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word-initial</th>
<th>intervocalic</th>
<th>word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कल /कळ/ [kəl/ा] 'banana'</td>
<td>पका /pəkə / [pəkə] 'insect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ख</td>
<td>खेत /kʰɛt / [kʰət] 'field'</td>
<td>तस्कु /təskʰu / [tsəkʰu] 'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग</td>
<td>गरम /ɡəɾám / [ɡəɾəm] 'warm'</td>
<td>लग /ləɡ / [ləɡ] 'near'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 indicates the distribution of the affricate and fricative phonemes in Rājbanshi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th>word-initial</th>
<th>intervocalic</th>
<th>word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>त्स /tʃ/ 'thick'/ 'head' (not found)</td>
<td>/tsæn/ ['tsæn'] 'moon'</td>
<td>/tsæn/ ['tsæn'] 'moon'</td>
<td>/tsæn/ ['tsæn'] 'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्स /tʃ/ 'thick'/ 'head' (not found)</td>
<td>/tsæn/ ['tsæn'] 'moon'</td>
<td>/tsæn/ ['tsæn'] 'moon'</td>
<td>/tsæn/ ['tsæn'] 'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्व /dʒ/ 'shaking' (not found)</td>
<td>/dʒækt/ ['dʒækt'] 'stack'</td>
<td>/dʒækt/ ['dʒækt'] 'stack'</td>
<td>/dʒækt/ ['dʒækt'] 'stack'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्व /dʒ/ 'shaking' (not found)</td>
<td>/dʒækt/ ['dʒækt'] 'stack'</td>
<td>/dʒækt/ ['dʒækt'] 'stack'</td>
<td>/dʒækt/ ['dʒækt'] 'stack'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फ्र /f/ 'beauty' (not found)</td>
<td>/fæt/ ['fæt'] 'beauty'</td>
<td>/fæt/ ['fæt'] 'beauty'</td>
<td>/fæt/ ['fæt'] 'beauty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फ्र /f/ 'beauty' (not found)</td>
<td>/fæt/ ['fæt'] 'beauty'</td>
<td>/fæt/ ['fæt'] 'beauty'</td>
<td>/fæt/ ['fæt'] 'beauty'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>word-initial</th>
<th>intervocalic</th>
<th>word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>म /s/ 'white' (not found)</td>
<td>/sæp/ ['sæp'] 'blanket'</td>
<td>/sæp/ ['sæp'] 'blanket'</td>
<td>/sæp/ ['sæp'] 'blanket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>म /s/ 'white' (not found)</td>
<td>/sæp/ ['sæp'] 'blanket'</td>
<td>/sæp/ ['sæp'] 'blanket'</td>
<td>/sæp/ ['sæp'] 'blanket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह /h/ 'marketplace' (not found)</td>
<td>/hæt/ ['hæt'] 'feeding trough'</td>
<td>/hæt/ ['hæt'] 'feeding trough'</td>
<td>/hæt/ ['hæt'] 'feeding trough'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Consonants

The affricates have a mainly alveolar articulation ([ts, tsʰ, dz, dzʰ]). Post-alveolar articulation of the aspirated affricates was encountered, particularly when preceding the back vowels, such as in the word छुव्रा /tsʰuæ/ [tʃʰuwæ] 'child'. Like the plosives, the aspiration contrast tends to be neutralised in word-final position, for example in the word पुछ्य /putsʰ/ [putsʰ] 'ask-IMP2sg'. The phonemes ढ /dzʰ/ and ठ /h/ were not found word-finally.

Word-initially the glottal fricative /h/ is realised as voiceless [h] or voiced [ɦ], as in हो /holko/ [h/ɦo] 'light(weight)'. The glottal fricative and the voiced aspirated obstruents often cause breathiness on the following vowel.

2.3.3 Nasals, rhotics and laterals

Table 7 indicates the distribution of the nasal, rhotic and lateral phonemes in Rājbanshi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>word-initial</th>
<th>intervocalic</th>
<th>word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m मा /mae/ [mae] 'spider'</td>
<td>खाम /kʰæm/ [kʰæm] 'pillar'</td>
<td>ग्य /gʰyem/ [gʰyem] 'sweat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʰ मँ /mʰa/ [mʰa]</td>
<td>नाम /næm/ [næm] 'long'</td>
<td>नेम /nʰæm/ [nʰæm] 'descend-IMP2sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n ना /na/ [na] 'nose'</td>
<td>दाम /dəm/ [dəm] 'seed'</td>
<td>भाक /bʰæk/ [bʰæk] 'a narcotic liquid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nʰ नँ /nʰa/</td>
<td>भां /bʰał/ [bʰał] 'shoulder'</td>
<td>का /kʰa/ [kʰa] 'shoulder'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhotics</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r रा /ra/ [ra] 'king'</td>
<td>जरा /jærə/ [jærə] 'rest'</td>
<td>बरा /bʰærə/ [bʰærə] 'husband'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʰ रँ /rʰa/</td>
<td>जारी /jærι/ [jærι] 'umbilical cord'</td>
<td>बारी /bʰærι/ [bʰærι] 'grow-IMP2sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laterals</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l ल /la/ [la] 'stick'</td>
<td>काला /kʰala/ [kʰala] 'pea'</td>
<td>गाल /gʰal/ [gʰal] 'cheek'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʰ लँ /lʰa/</td>
<td>आल /aːl/ [aːl] 'now'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stem-final aspiration tends to merge with affixal components. Examples of this type of sandhi are found as follows:

(9) a. नाम /tsin^h-bæ/ ‘know-INF’ > [tsinbʰæ] (also written as निञ्चा)
    b. नाम /næm^h-le/ 'descend-COND.PTCL.' > [næmlʰɛ̤] (also written as नाले)
    c. पढ़ा /paɾ^h-bæ/ 'read-INF' > [paɾbʰæ] (also written as पढ़ा)

Additionally, there is a tendency for word-final voiced aspiration to cause breathiness towards the left.

(10) a. चिन /tsin^h/ ‘know-IMP2sg’ > [tsiⁿ]n
    b. ना /n̪æm^h-/ ‘descend-IMP2sg’ > [n̪æmlʰɛ̤]

2.3.4 Central approximants

Table 8 shows the distribution of the palatal approximant [j] and labio-velar approximant [w]:

Table 8. Distribution of central approximants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>word-initial</th>
<th>intervocalic</th>
<th>word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phonemic</td>
<td>य j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-phonemic</td>
<td>याहाँ [jæhæ]</td>
<td>वर्त्ता [jæ]</td>
<td>याहाँ [jæhæ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-phonemic</td>
<td>िघउँ /ghiu/</td>
<td>िघउँ /ghiu/</td>
<td>िघउँ /ghiu/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Masica (1991:99-100) maintains:

"The semivowels /y/ and /w/ are a somewhat shaky part of the NIA inventory. In a number of languages their occurrence is practically restricted to semi-predictable intervocalic glides... For
orthography, the choice is often a matter of convention rather than dictated by the phonology... However, both /y/ and /w/ do exist in Hindi outside of diphthongs (i.e. initially), albeit only in deictics (again, leaving out loans)."

This is much like the central approximants in Rājbanshi. Other than in loan words, the labio-velar approximant [w] is phonemic only in the pronoun उहाँ(ए) /wɛhæ(e)/ [wɛhæ(e)] '3sg[pro]' and the indefinite pronoun केबा (केवा) /kewæ/ [kewæ] 'some'. The phone is also used as an intervocalic glide when the first vowel of the sequence is /u/. Similarly the palatal /j/ only occurs in the 3sg pronoun याहाँ (ए) /jæ.hæ̃(e)/ [j æ̃hæ̃(e)] '3sg[pro/prox]'. Elsewhere in the phonology (again, apart from loan words) [j] was found to be caused by glided emergence between two vowels when the first vowel of the sequence is /i/.

The indirect causative stem -(उ)वा /-(u)wa/ [-(_u)wæ] 'ICAUS' must be considered an exception to this rule however, on comparative grounds. That is, due to comparison with Hindi and Maithili, the approximant /w/ is deemed phonemic, while the vowel [u] is regarded as epenthetic.

### 2.4 Syllable structure and CC-clusters

The following syllable structures were encountered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monosyllabic words</th>
<th>disyllabic words</th>
<th>trisyllabic words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>सभाए /sʌ.bhæ.e/ 'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>गु /gu/ 'feces'</td>
<td>बदला /bʌd.læ/ 'revenge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>आम /æm/ 'mango'</td>
<td>खजरा /kʌn.dzʌ/ 'feeding_trough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>कान /kæn/ 'ear'</td>
<td>खजरा /kʌn.dzʌ/ 'feeding_trough'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspirated affricates and plosives /pʰ, bʰ, tʰ, dʰ, kʰ, gʰ, tsʰ and dzʰ/ have been interpreted as units. The following CC-clusters occur word-initially in loan words from Sanskrit, Nepali and English, and perhaps also Hindi and Urdu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>र्र</th>
<th>ग्रोहोल (गिरोहोल) /grohol/ 'heron'</th>
<th>र्र pr</th>
<th>प्रवसत्व /pravastva/ 'abundant’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>द्र</td>
<td>द्र्य लुकोज /glukodz/ 'glucose'</td>
<td>द्र dri</td>
<td>द्र्य /dri/ 'view’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्र</td>
<td>प्रीसम /prīsam/ 'earth, planet’</td>
<td>प्र pri</td>
<td>प्रीसम /prīsam/ 'earth, planet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्र</td>
<td>ब्रह्म ब्रह्म /brahm/ 'gas'</td>
<td>ब्र bri</td>
<td>ब्रह्म /brahm/ 'gas’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These word-initial loan CC-clusters have been interpreted as CC-sequences. Word-initial CC-clusters do not occur in contemporary vocabulary. Neither were CC-clusters encountered in syllable-final or word-final position. Intervocalic CC-clusters occur over syllable boundaries, for example in the words नािन्द /नािन्द/ [नायन्त्र] 'granddaughter' and पेिछ /पेिछ/ [पेन्ट्स] 'sour'. CCC-clusters were only encountered in loans such as the Sanskrit word केन्द्र /केन्द्र/ [केन्द्र] 'centre'.

The aspirated sonorants /mʰ/, /nʰ/, /lʰ/ and /ŋʰ/ have been interpreted as units. Masica (1991:103; addition in square brackets mine) states:

"...contrastive aspiration has extended its domain to nasals, laterals, flaps, and even semivowels in a number of N.I.A. languages. Here again analytical opinions differ (unit vs. cluster)... but... the sounds /nh-, nh-/ are found non-initially also in Gujarati, Sindhi, other Hindi dialects, the Bihari languages, Kalasha, and most West Pahari dialects. A /nh/ occurs in Gujarati and some West Pahari dialects, and a /nh/ occurs in Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Chhattisgarhi."


"...Maithili resonants (i.e. nasals, taps and laterals) also show a two-way phonetic contrast between aspirated and unaspirated. Below it will be argued that the phonetically aspirated resonants should be treated as clusters rather than units on grounds of their distributional and syllabificational constraints. ...Distributional constraints... Maithili stops and affricates show complete phonological contrasts in all positions. The resonants, however, do not... Syllabificational contraints... The resonant + h segments, which also surface as aspirated with syllable divisions... however, have a syllable boundary between the two segments."

If the components /mʰ/, /nʰ/, /lʰ/ and /ŋʰ/ are interpreted as clusters in Rājbanshi, the analysis faces syllabification problems. Maintaining a break between the components would result in a syllable type "C" which is phonotactically unattested in the language. This could possibly be avoided by maintaining a ∅-morpheme for the imperative singular form, although maintaining a ∅-morpheme for other verb forms seems unwarranted.

Conversely, maintaining a syllable boundary between the sonorant and the glottal fricative [h] would mean creating a new syllable structure, with syllable-final and word-final CC-clusters, which again is unattested in the language. Based on these observations, compare the syllable structure of the verbs सम्म- /सम्म/ 'finish' (CC-final stem) and जिन्ह- /जिन्ह/ 'know/recognise' (/nʰ/-final stem) in Table 11:
2.5 Nasalisation, length and stress

As mentioned in section 2.1, though there is no evidence for contrastive nasalisation in Rājbanshi, nasalisation is frequent in speech.

Conditioned nasalisation is found in two instances. Firstly, anticipatory assimilation can occur on vowels which precede nasal consonants, for example, in the words बान /bæn/ [bæːn] 'arrow' and लङ /lʌŋ/ [lʌːŋ] 'finger nail' and नुन /n̪un/ [n̪uːn] 'salt'.

As shown in Table 11, I have interpreted the sounds /mʰ/, /n̪ʰ/, /lʰ/ and /ŋʰ/ as units (i.e. phonemes) on grounds of syllabification constraints. Word-final sonorant + h components have been encountered in an imperative construction of verbs and certain nouns. One could argue for a sequence interpretation on grounds of distribution, but then words such as examples 7 and 8 in Table 11 would prove problematic. If the sonorant + h is interpreted as a cluster, one would have to maintain the syllable structures CVCC.CV or CVC.C.CV, neither of which fit the syllable structure of the language (cf. illegal σ-structure). However, if the sonorant + h is interpreted as a unit, the syllable structure of examples 7 and 8 would be CVC.CV (cf. proposed σ-structure). Refer to sections 3.7.1.2 and 3.7.8.1 for further discussion on verb inflection following CC-final stems.

### Table 11. Interpretation of न /n̪ʰ/ based on syllabificational constraints

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: समठ- /samtʰ-/ 'finish'</th>
<th>illegal σ-structure</th>
<th>possible σ-structure</th>
<th>proposed σ-structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>समठ [samtʰ] 'finish-IMP2sg'</td>
<td>*CV.CVC.C</td>
<td>(CV.CVC)</td>
<td>CVC.CV /sam.tʰ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>समठेक [samtʰek] 'finish-IMP2sg'</td>
<td>*CV.CCVC; *CVCC.CVC; *CVCC.VC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>CVC.CVC /sam.tʰ.ek/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>समठ *[samtʰ]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: िचऩ- /tsin̪ʰ-/ 'know'</th>
<th>illegal σ-structure</th>
<th>possible σ-structure</th>
<th>proposed σ-structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>िचऩ् िचऩ्ले [tsin̪ʰ] 'know-IMP2sg'</td>
<td>*CVCC.C</td>
<td>(CVC.C)</td>
<td>CVC CV /tsin̪ʰ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िचऩ्ले [tsin̪ʰ] 'know-IMP2pl'</td>
<td>*CVCC.CV</td>
<td>CVC.CV</td>
<td>CVC.CV /tsin̪ʰ.ə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िचऩ्बा िच बा [tsinbʰæ] 'know-INF'</td>
<td>*CVCC.CV.CV; *CVCC.CV; *CVCC.V.CV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>CVC.CV.CV /tsin̪ʰ.bæ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िच ले [tsinl̪e] 'know-PST-3'</td>
<td>*CVCC.CV.CV; *CVCC.CV; *CVCC.V.CV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>CVC.CV.CV /tsin̪ʰ.l̪e/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 11, I have interpreted the sounds /mʰ/, /n̪ʰ/, /lʰ/ and /ŋʰ/ as units (i.e. phonemes) on grounds of syllabification constraints. Word-final sonorant + h components have been encountered in an imperative construction of verbs and certain nouns. One could argue for a sequence interpretation on grounds of distribution, but then words such as examples 7 and 8 in Table 11 would prove problematic. If the sonorant + h is interpreted as a cluster, one would have to maintain the syllable structures CVCC.CV or CVC.C.CV, neither of which fit the syllable structure of the language (cf. illegal σ-structure). However, if the sonorant + h is interpreted as a unit, the syllable structure of examples 7 and 8 would be CVC.CV (cf. proposed σ-structure). Refer to sections 3.7.1.2 and 3.7.8.1 for further discussion on verb inflection following CC-final stems.

2.5 Nasalisation, length and stress

As mentioned in section 2.1, though there is no evidence for contrastive nasalisation in Rājbanshi, nasalisation is frequent in speech.

Conditioned nasalisation is found in two instances. Firstly, anticipatory assimilation can occur on vowels which precede nasal consonants, for example, in the words बान /bæn/ [bæːn] 'arrow' and लङ /lʌŋ/ [lʌːŋ] 'finger nail' and नुन /n̪un/ [n̪uːn] 'salt'.
Secondly, it is found on vowels in closed syllables which have a nasal onset and obstruent coda, as in the words मँत /mʌnt/ 'liquor' and नाद /nʌd/ 'feeding_trough'. Some speakers even nasalise a vowel preceding an obstruent which forms the onset for the following syllable. For example the word मट /mʌt/ 'thick' is pronounced as मँट [mʌnt] by some speakers, and [mʌt] by others.

In addition to the above-mentioned conditioning, nasalisation is also found in many common Indo-Aryan words which are generally considered to be nasalised anyway. For example, the words बाँस /bæs/ 'bamboo', घाँस /gʰæs/ 'grass' and साँप /sæp/ 'serpent'.

Non-conditioned nasalisation also occurs in some nouns and pronouns. This is rather unusual since there seems to be no evidence for contrastive nasalisation elsewhere in the phonology. Nepali, Maithili and Hindi influence is possibly reflected here. For example, most speakers would apply nasalisation to the 1sg (11a), 2sg (11b) and 3sg (11c-d) pronouns, the relative pronoun (11e) and some interrogative pronouns (11f). I have marked nasalisation in the broad transcription in the 1sg, 2sg and 3sg pronouns, relative and interrogative pronouns which are deemed nasalised by most speakers. Note that nasalisation is left-spreading, and that the domain of nasalisation seems to be the whole morpheme, unless spreading is blocked by an obstruent component.

(11) a. मुइँ /mui/ [mũĩ] or [mui] '1sg[pro]'  
   b. तुइँ /tũi/ [tũi] or [tũi] '2sg[pro]'  
   c. उहाँ (ए) /wæhæ(ẽ)/ [wæhæ(ẽ)] '3sg[pro]'  
   d. याहाँ (ए) /jæhæ(ẽ)/ [jæhæ(ẽ)] '3sg[pro/prox]'  
   e. जाहाँ (ए) /dzæhæ(ẽ)/ [dzæhæ(ẽ)] 'REL[p]'  
   f. काह /kæh/ [kæ(ɦ)e] 'who'

Vowel length and stress are not contrastive. Preliminary observations would suggest primary stress is placed on the first syllable. Understanding how stress placement is affected by verbal morphology, and how stress affects the length of syllables (both stressed and unstressed), requires further research.

Though some examples of word-medial lengthened consonants were encountered, length in consonants was not found to be contrastive. Consider, for example, consonant

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7 Klaiman (1987:499) notes a similar feature in Bengali: "Further evidence of probable non-Aryan influence in the phonology is to be found in the peculiar word stress pattern of Modern Bengali. Accent was phonemic only in very early Old Indo-Aryan, i.e. Vedic. Subsequently, however, predicatable word stress has typified the Indo-Aryan languages; the characteristic pattern, moreover, has been for the stress to fall so many morae from the end of the phonological word. Bengali stress, though, is exceptional. It is non-phonemic, and, in the standard dialect, there is a strong tendency for it to be associated with word-initial syllables."
length in the following words: चिनान /cinnæt/ 'messy; disorderly', धाम्मा /dʰæmæ/ 'rope',
धाक्कर /dʰækkar/ 'bull', हिंमत /himmat/ 'courage', रस्सि /rassi/ 'string', नाल कुक्कर /næt kuccar/
'stiff necked; stubborn' and ग्यस्स /gʰassi/ 'dung'.

Length is interpreted in two ways. Firstly, in some cases, as two identical consonant
phonemes belonging to adjacent syllables, as, for example, the phonotaxis of the words
ठुक /tʰuk:i] 'hit-SA3', कुल /kultæ/ 'dog' and खुल /kʰutæ/ 'wood' which is /tʰuk.ki/, /kut.tæ/ and /kʰut.tæ/ respectively. Secondly, short and geminate consonants quite frequently occur
in free variation. Therefore, the word खामा /kʰæmæ/ 'pillar' (with the geminate [m:]) can
also be pronounced as खामा /kʰæmæ/.
3. Morphology

This section will deal with a range of morphology-related topics from compounding and derivation to nominal and verbal morphology. It is difficult at times to draw a clear line between suffixes and clitics, since these are at times closely interrelated in relation to function. Especially when discussing case, it was essential for purposes of clarity to discuss case inflection and case-marking clitics in the same section. According to Masica (1991:212) a flexible definition of "morphology" is necessary in the analysis of Indo-Aryan languages:

"To be sure, we can still call this subject 'morphology', if we adopt Zograph's suggested (1976) more flexible definition of the latter (or more precisely of inflection, taken to be the central concern of 'morphology'), that is, as including certain analytical elements (e.g. case particles, auxiliary verbs) entering into paradigmatic contrasts. There are compelling reasons to do so. For one, the line between such analytic elements and agglutinative affixes is uncertain, particularly since the former are generally ancestral to the latter.

... It becomes a question, therefore, of stages in a common historical process, wherein it is difficult to determine the precise point of transition from independent particle to suffix. Complicating the problem is the tendency, as older erstwhile analytic elements assume a suffixal value, to spawn a further, outer layer of secondary analytic elements."

Similarly, in order to present a simplified account of the aspectual system as a whole, I discuss purely morphological elements alongside syntactic constructions (for example various auxiliary constructions).

Morphophonemic processes play only a minor part in the interaction of the phonology and morphology of contemporary Rājbanshi, and consequently I have not included a specific section on them. I will cover such issues whenever necessary in the corresponding sections. Morphophonological issues related to nominal forms and categories, and clitics include:

(a) Deletion of vowel \( a \) in vowel sequence \( a\Lambda \) (or \( a\tilde{a} \)) in nouns when preceding the genitive case,
(b) Alternation of the noun classifier \( \neg -\tau\Lambda \) to \( \neg -\Lambda \Lambda \) (or vice versa),
(c) Phonological dependence of certain case markers on the stem \( -(\overline{\eta})\overline{\tau} -(e)r \) 'GEN', \( -(\overline{\eta})\overline{\tau} -(\Lambda)k \) 'DAT', and \( -(\overline{\eta})\overline{\tau} -(\Lambda)l \) 'LOC'.
3.1 Compounding

I will distinguish between three types of compounds: endocentric, exocentric and copulative compounds. Verb formation (conjunct verbs, derivational compound verbs and quasi-aspectual compound verbs) will be covered in sections 3.7.3 and 3.7.9.2 respectively.

I will follow the definition of the compound as put forward by Anderson (1995a [1985]:40), according to whom compounding is "word formation based on the combination of two or more members of (potentially) open lexical classes." Furthermore, in contrast to coordinated phrases, "compounds are lexical items, formed by rules of word formation, they are words, while phrases are not" (ibid.).

In endocentric compounds the modifying member assigns some property to the head member of the compound. In Rājbanshi the modifying member is first in sequence, while the head member is second.

(12) a. गरु गारि garu gari 'bullock cart' (cf. MR.02.001)
b. गहम बारि ghām bari 'wheat field'
c. जन कामा jān kāma 'labour earner' (cf. DLR.06.051)

Exocentric compounds (traditionally referred to as bahuvrīhi) are made up from two components, where the first component modifies the second, and the second component modifies some other entity.

(13) a. बंदर मुहा bandar muha 'monkey mouth' = 'ugly'
b. कारा चक्कā kāra cakṭā 'brown eye' = 'brown-eyed (man)'
c. गोरोल ठेिङ gorol tʰeŋ-i 'heron leg-FEM' = 'skinny legged (woman)'

A copulative compound in Rājbanshi consists of the juxtaposition of two words which form a new, closely related entity. Abbi (2001:173) defines this category as follows:

"There is a third type known as 'appositional' or 'associative' compound (or dwandwa in the Indian grammatical tradition) formed simply by conjunction of two elements without any dependency relation existing between them, e.g. Hindi rat-din 'around the clock' < 'night' + 'day' or dal-roṭī 'existence' < 'pulses' + 'bread' ... The two constituents in associative compounds could either be of polar quality of the same semantic range or incorporate the
salient characteristics of the same semantic field. The referential range of such a compound form therefore includes the whole semantic field to which the two constituents belong."

If the compound consists of two [+HUMAN] nouns these will refer to both of the original entities (14a-c).

(14) a. बुऱा बु रिर burʰ bi 'old_man old_woman' (i.e. 'old couple')
    b. माअँ बाप ma bap 'mother father' (i.e. 'parents'; cf. MR.05.309)
    c. जाहान बालचा jahan bacca 'spouse child(Hindi)' (i.e. 'one's family'; cf. DLR.03.004)

If the noun is [-HUMAN] as in (15a-b), reference to the original entities is not required (unless the plural marker is used). Therefore in (15c) the speaker is referring to cattle in the general sense; the cattle in this case may consist of either bulls or cows, or both bulls and cows.

(15) a. गर गाएँ gura gae 'bulllock cow' ('cattle'; 'livestock')
    b. घर दुवार gʰʌr duar 'house door' ('property')
    c. जा त तुरिक्काने गर गाएँ pʌ-ba go-IMP2sg PCL mustard_field-NCLS-LOC bullock cow fall-PERF-3 PCL[TAG] PQM

'Go to the mustard field and check whether cattle have gone there.'

In addition to the parallel copulative compounds in (14a-c) and (15a-b), Rājbanshi also has synonym (16a) and antonym (16b) copulative compounds (following terminology from Anderson 1995a [1985]:50-51).

(16) a. धन सम्पत्ति dʰan sampati 'wealth possessions' (i.e. 'wealth'; cf. DLR.05.021)
    b. काल गर संसारबांणे kala gata sansar-kʰan=e black white world-NCLS=EMPH

'the black white world' (i.e. 'the world of all colours of people')

Copulative compounds may also formed from adverbs (17).

(17) सान बेहान लागातान लागातान (रहेचे) दते संगर san behan jʰaga-ra-kʰan lag-al (rʌhʌ-c-e) dʌnʰe jʰana-r evening morning fighting-NCLS apply-PST.PTCL (AUX(CONT)-PRES-3) both PCLS-GEN

'The two (of them) fight all day (lit. 'evening morning')."
3.2 Reduplication

In this section I will discuss the use of reduplication and its effect on the semantics of the phrase. I will cover this according to its use in the different parts of speech.

3.2.1 Reduplication of the noun

Firstly, noun reduplication is adjectival when the first noun is marked with the emphatic suffix -ए =e ′=EMPH′ and the second is unmarked. The construction indicates exclusiveness (that is, it denotes a "nothing but x"-quality).

(18) a. हि हि हि अधि = e हि हि 'bone=EMPH bone' ('nothing but bones'; 'all bones') (cf. MR.04.111)

b. हे ना गुहे गु छे। (cf. MR.04.174; cf. also MR.04.168)
   hetna gu = he gu e²-e
   here stool = EMPH stool be-PRES3
   'It is filthy here.' (Lit. 'There is (nothing but) feces here. ')

Secondly, noun reduplication accompanied with the emphatic suffix -ए -e has a distributive connotation.

(19) a. गाए गाए
   ga = e ga = e
   village = EMPH village = EMPH
   'village to village'

b. लविडा बाउँरे काउँरे
   lʌdi-ʌ=e kʌe=ar = e kʌe=ar = e
   river-NCLS-GEN river_bank = EMPH river_bank = EMPH
   'along the river bank'

c. मरके मरके आन्तु।
   sʌrak = e sʌrak = e as-n-u
   road = EMPH road = EMPH come-PST-1sg
   'I came along the road.'

There are also cases where reduplication accompanied by the suffix -ए -e can function as an adverb, but have a non-distributive connotation. Whether the suffix should be interpreted as the instrumental case, an adverbialiser suffix or the emphatic clitic is uncertain (cf. sections 3.6.4.1.5 and 6.1.2 for further discussion). The adverbial
connotation would seem to logically develop from the instrumental, though similar constructions in Hindi have the emphatic clitic, such as the adverbial मन-ही-मन man-hi-man 'mind-EMPH-mind' ('in one's own mind'). Based on comparison with Hindi, I have interpreted the suffix as the emphatic. The process is non-productive.

(20) a. राघवानिध मने मने सहने। (cf. DLR.05.022)
    ranḍian-ḍʌ man=e man=e sac-l-1
    widow-NCLS mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PST-3
    'The widow thought secretly.'

b. दुबारे दुबारे बठिए ना खा।
    duar=e duar=e batʰ-ie na kʰa-∅
    door=EMPH door=EMPH sit-CONJ.PTCL NEG eat-IMP2sg
    'Don't eat (while you're) sitting in the doorway.'

3.2.2 Reduplication of the adjective

The adjective is obligatorily reduplicated if the entity it modifies is plural (21a). Reduplication of the adjective may also denote 'varieties of x' (21b). Further research is required to determine what triggers the distinction between these two senses.

(21) a. इला, जेइला लाम लाम देखा जाछे... (cf. MR.02.021)
    i-la jei-la lamʰʌ lamʰʌ dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
    DEM[prox]-PL REL[obl/ip]-PL long long see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
    'The lengthy things that can be seen (here)..'

b. आच्छ आच्छ नाधे (cf. DLR.04.006)
    accʰ-a accʰ-a nadʰ-e
    good good cook-PST.HAB3
    'They used to cook (a variety of) good (food).'

3.2.3 Reduplication of the adverb

Adverb reduplication designates distributiveness.

(22) a. समय समय अस्ते रहिम। (cf. DLR.03.010)
    saʰmah saʰmah-t as-te rah-is
    time time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg
    'Keep visiting once in a while (or, 'from time to time').'
3.2 Reduplication

b. मिहनाए मिहनाए
mʌhina=e mʌhina=e
month=EMPH month=EMPH
‘each month’

c. सब दिन सब दिन अइला काथा बहानि... (cf. DLR.05.015)
sʌb din sʌb din ai-la katʰa kʌha-p-ki
every day every day DEM[rem/emph]-PL thing say-FUT-SA3
‘Every (single) day he said the same things (to her)...’

3.2.4 Reduplication of the verb

Reduplication of stems marked with the continuous participle -ते -te (23a-c) denotes simultaneous or overlapping action, as indicated by the paraphrase in (23c). Distinguishing the semantics of the non-reduplicated form and the reduplicated form (if this is indeed possible) requires further research (cf. section 3.7.10.4). 8

8 This is very similar to the Nepali constructions -दा -da -dai and -दै -dai -dai:

(i) Nepali (Acharya 1991:193;200; morpheme-to-morpheme gloss mine)
dekʰ-da dekʰ-d-ai dewiraman-ko āgan tirtʰayatri-ka
look-CONT.PTCL look-CONT.PTCL-EMPH Dewiraman-GEN courtyard pilgrimage-GEN
kumle pʰaui-le bʰar-i-yo
baggage army-INSTR fill-PASS-PST3[LGH]
‘While one was looking on, Dewiraman's courtyard became filled with an army of pilgrims
loaded with their baggages.’

Matthews maintains (1984:224; transliteration and morpheme-to-morpheme gloss in square brackets mine): “The participle in -दै [-d-ai 'CONT.PTCL-EMPH'] is morphologically an emphatic form. When it follows the participle in -दा [-da 'CONT.PTCL'] ... the participle phrase is temporal, but more emphatic ... In English, such phrases may be translated as ‘just as I was doing’, ‘at the very moment of doing’, etc. More often, however, गदा गद [gər-da gər-d-ai 'do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL-EMPH'] is simply the equivalent of गदा [gər-da 'do-CONT.PTCL'].”

Grammatical judgements of the Rājbanshi construction varied. All Rājbanshi informants were of the opinion that the reduplicated form in (23a-b) is the most natural. Some informants, however, maintained that reduplication is obligatory, whereas others felt (similar to Matthews on Nepali) that the reduplicated form is either an emphatic, or perhaps simply a variant of the non-reduplicated counterpart. Further research is necessary in this regard. In the text data the continuous participle is found reduplicated in 18 cases (DLR.05.049, GR.02.060, MR.04.081a, MR.04.199, MR.05.028, MR.05.035, MR.05.089, MR.05.093, MR.05.116, MR.05.125, MR.05.136, MR.05.177, MR.05.189, MR.05.218, MR.05.228, MR.05.288, MR.05.337 and MR.05.338), whereas the non-
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(23) a. एनेङे कत कत त लोक मरिज जाबा पारे अप्सोर चुटे। (DLR.05.049)
   enaŋ kar-te kar-te ta lok-ta mar-i=ʌ ja-ba
   like_this do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL PCL man-NCLS die-ABS=CNJ AUX-INF
   par-e apso-er cute
can-PRES3 grief-GEN due_to
'While continuing like this the man could even die out of grief.'

b. गटलाए भुते भुते खेटयालक पिटाए लिखे। (cf. MR.04.199)
gʌṭ-la=ʌ bʰuk-te bʰuk-te kʰetia-la-k
all-PL=EMPH bark-CONT.PTCL bark-CONT.PTCL jackal-PL-DAT
pita-e l-icʰ-e
chase-ABS AUX-PERF-3
'They all chased the jackals while barking and barking.'

c. लाराइ कर्ते कर्ते, लाराइ कबा खुिन... (cf. MR.05.028)
   larai kar-te kar-te, larai kar-ba-ɾ kʰuni
   fighting do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL, fighting do-INF-GEN during
   'While they were fighting, while they were fighting...'

The semantics of the reduplicated conjunctive participle -इए(ने) -ie(ne) is uncertain. Further research is required in order to determine whether the feature denoted is continuity/iteration (as in Hindi, according to Abbi 1977; 1980:55-57; 2001:167), or intensification of the action (24a-b). Reduplication does not occur with the absolutive in quasi-aspectual compound verbs (24c).

(24) a. खुदए खुदए... (cf. MR.04.020)
kʰud-ie kʰud-ie
dig-CONJ.PTCL dig-CONJ.PTCL
'Having (really) dug (them all up)....'

b. अड़िना हामिए हामिए राखि विलखि। (cf. MR.04.027)
   aiʰina hag-ie hag-ie rakʰ-i
   DEM[rem/emph]-place defecate-CONJ.PTCL defecate-CONJ.PTCL put-ABS
d-ie-ki
   AUX-PERF-SA3
   'They really defecated (right) there.'


Reduplicated form is found only in four cases (cf. MR.04.030, MR.04.201, MR.05.235 and MR.05.283).

Abbi finds that reduplication of the "present imperfect" in Hindi indicates simultaneous action (1980:26-27), or duration / resultant state, though not iteration (ibid.:39). Abbi (1980:45) continues that the reduplicated and the non-reduplicated forms are semantically distinct.
Reduplication of the past participle reinforces the concept of plurality. Reduplication in this case is nevertheless optional.

(25) उन्नाल उन्नाल कचुला खेटयाला खाए निगछे। (cf. MR.04.042; see also MR.04.026)
    usn-al (usn-al) kacu-la kʰeṭia-la kʰa-e gi-cʰ-e
    boil-PST.PTCL (boil-PST.PTCL) [kacu]vegetable-PL jackal-PL eat-ABS AUX-PRES-3
    'The jackals have eaten (the) boiled [kacu]vegetables.'

Verb stem reduplication is found when the first verb stem is marked with the deverbalising morpheme -आ -a, and the second stem with the deverbalising morpheme -इ -i (26a-b). This construction may imply a back-and-forth action (compare (26d) and (26e)), and, depending on the semantic qualities of the verb, may also denote reciprocity (26c; with reciprocal verbs) or repetition (26e). In (26f) the reduplicated construction constitutes two different (but semantically related) verbs marked with the same deverbalising morphemes used in (26a-e).

(26) a. बेरा बेरि ber-a ber-i 'walk-DVBL walk-DVBL'
    b. काटा का-ट kaṭ-a kaṭ-i 'cut-DVBL cut-DVBL' (cf. DLR.06.090)

9 Somewhat contrastively, Abbi (1980:70) maintains that in Hindi the reduplicated past participle is "distributive" and that it "emphasizes the characteristics of each N".

10 Kellogg (1955 [1875]:366) notes the same phenomenon in Hindi: "Reciprocal Copulative Compounds are those in which two words of similar or identical meaning, are grouped together with a reciprocal force. Often the second word is merely the feminine form of the first. Examples are: कही कहा, 'altercation;' लाठा लाठी, 'mutual beating.' "

   Compare with Tiwari (1960:194-195): "There is in Bhojpuri, as in other NIA, a common verbal noun of reciprocity, which may be noted in this connection. The verbal root or the noun is doubled, and it is connected by a link vowel -ा�-, and the second part of this reduplicated form takes the affix -ि, e.g. mārā-mārī, striking each other, fighting; dekhā-dekhī, seeing each other, mutual seeing; ṭhelā-ṭheli, pushing each other..."

   The same [-a -i] frame is found in Rājbanshi in the reduplication of the possessive pronoun (cf. sections 3.2.5 and 3.6.3.2).

(ii) आपना आपि apna apni 'REFL[pro] REFL[pro]' (each one's own)

   The derivational process which distinguishes between the masculine and feminine sex in kinship terms, such as in the examples in (iii), looks identical. This is due exclusively to a sex distinction, and not related to the above-mentioned [-a -i] frame.

(iii) a. नाना नानि nana nani 'grandfather grandmother' ('grandparents')
    b. बुऱा बुऱि burʰa burʰi 'old_man old_woman' ('old couple')
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c. ए छुवाला, मारा मारि ना कर।
   e cʰua-la mar-a mari-i na k appré
INJ child-PL hit-DVBL hit-DVBL NEG do-IMP2pl
'Eh children, don't fight (each other).'

d. गहम बाँसारे लाई ना बेराओ।
   gAham bari-kʰan-er pake na bera-
   wheat field-NCLS-GEN through NEG walk-IMP2pl
'Don't walk through the field of wheat.'

e. गहम बाँसारे लाई बेर बेर ना करिस।
   gAham bari-kʰan-er pake ber-a ber-i na kar-
   wheat field-NCLS-GEN through walk-DVBL walk-DVBL NEG do-SUBJ2sg
'Don't walk back and forth through the field of wheat.'

f. आमा जाइ (cf. DLR.04.008)
   as-a ja-i
   come-DVBL go-DVBL
'veisting'

Somewhat similarly to the verbal construction in (26f), different (but semantically related) verbs of the forms V-PST.PTCL in (27a), V-DVBL in (27b) and V-INF-GEN in (27c-d) can also be reduplicated.

(27) a. पा लिखा pʰ-a likʰ-a 'read-PST.PTCL write-PST.PTCL' (i.e. 'educated')
   b. लिखा बेचा kin-a bec-a 'buy-DVBL sell-DVBL' (i.e. 'commerce')
   c. खाबार लिखा kʰ-a-ba-r li-ba-r 'eat-INF-GEN take-INF-GEN' (i.e. 'rich')
   d. खाबार लिखा (लोकट) केनड हों कि हों! गाबिख हुई गेलिख!
      kʰ-a-ba-r li-ba-r (lok-tʌ) kenʌŋ hã_ki_hã
      eat-INF-GEN take-INF-GEN (man-NCLS) how INJ[surprise]
   garib ha-i ge-l-ki
   poor be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
   'How has that happened to the rich man! He has become poor!'

Categorising the verbal constructions in (26f) and (27a-d) under reduplication somewhat disguises the similarity which they bear with the copulative compounds mentioned in section 3.1. Consider examples (28a-b) where combinations of two semantically related entities form a single entity. These can be considered to be noun compounds.¹¹

¹¹ Anderson (1995a [1985]:40) maintains that the significant distinction between phrases and compounds is that "...the former are the result of word formation processes, while the latter result
3.2 Reduplication

(28) a. बुऱा बुऱी burʰa burʰi 'old man old woman' (i.e. 'old couple')
   b. घर दुवार gʰur duar 'house door' (i.e. 'property')

The verbal elements in (26f) and (27a-c) are very similar in that they are juxtaposed and that they refer to entities, properties or actions, the meaning of which are determined by the joint semantics of both of the elements. However, insofar as they are inflected verbal elements, they can not be considered to be compounds in the traditional sense.

Finally, mention should also be made of two specified constructions of reduplication. Firstly, the adverb जे je 'still' is followed by a reduplicated and present tense verb. The construction implies repetition or continuity (29a), often also counter-expectancy (29b), and sometimes even both (29c; cf. section 5.2. for further discussion). (Note that in examples (29a) and (29c) the present tense is used for past reference: the behaviour of the tense markers in narrative discourse will be discussed in Chapter 8.)

(29) a. कुकुरला जे पिटा-पिटा kukur-la je piṭa-c-ki piṭa-c-ki kʰetia-la-k 'The dogs chased and chased the jackals.'
   b. बुऱाड जे आसा जाई kʰa-ḍʌ je as-a ja-i kʰar-rec-e kʰar-rec-e 'The old man still keeps on visiting.' (Implying, '...contrary to what you would expect.')
   c. चेङ्राड जे निदाचे ceŋra-ḍʌ je nida-c-e nida-c-e 'The young man was still sleeping...' (Implying, '...contrary to what you would expect.')

The second construction is the reduplication of the verb in the future tense which is then followed by the verbaliser कर- kʰar- 'do'. The result is the prospective aspect. The reduplication in this particular (non-productive) construction is obligatory (hence, (11b) is ungrammatical).

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from syntactic operations. On the other hand, since both are instances of the combination of independent elements into larger units whose form and meaning are (at least in part) based on those of the items combined, we might also expect them to show interesting similarities."

Anderson (1995a [1985]:50) continues to describe coordinate compounds in Mandarin as follows: "In all of these cases we have to do with compounds in which neither element can be identified exclusively as the center, and they are typically described as 'coordinate' compounds."
3. Morphology

(30) a. मैं आता आता करनू हूँ बल आते।
    mui as-im as-im kar-isn-u tat ta tu = he
    1sg[pro] come-FUT1sg come-FUT1sg do-REM.PST-1sg while
    AUX-ABS come-PST-2sg
    'I was about to come, (but) in the meantime, you came.'

b. *मैं आता आता करनूः...
   *mui as-im k
   *1sg[pro] come-FUT1sg do-REM.PST-1sg...

3.2.5 Reduplication of the pronoun

Personal pronoun reduplication is non-productive in Rājbanshi. It is however encountered in idioms such as (31).

(31) अमार तीर तीर मोर मोरखान लगाल।
    aṁ³ha-r to-r mo-r mo-r-kʰan laga-l
    3pl[pro]-GEN 2sg[obl]-GEN 2sg[obl]-GEN 1sg[obl]-GEN 1sg[obl]-GEN-NCLS apply-PST3
    'They lived selfishly.' (Lit. 'your-your my-my (habit)')

Reduplication of the (reflexive) possessive pronoun in the form आपना आपनी apna apni 'each one's own' implies the possession of multiple participants; it is interchangeable with the reduplicated reflexive pronoun in the genitive case आपना आपना apna-r apna-r 'own-GEN own-GEN'. The reduplicated pronoun can not be used for a single referent.

(32) a. आपना आपनी घरेर कामेर कारन(त)
    apna apni gʰʌr-er kam-er kara(-at)
    REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason(-LOC)
    'because of each one's own house work'

b. गटे बर्तियाला आपना आपनी चुलि मेल।
    gʰʌṭ kʰet-i-la apna apni cul-i ge-l
    all jackal-PL REFL[pro] REFL[pro] AUX-ABS go-PST3
    'All of the jackals went (to) their own (places).'

Reduplication of the interrogative pronoun implies plurality and a group of single (i.e. variety of different) entities (cf. section 3.6.3.6.2). In comparison, the non-reduplicated pronoun in (33c) refers to a single entity.

(33) a. कि कि बातची इन चेङरा।
    ki ki bal-e-e dʰina i-ḍʌ cʰra
    what what speak-PRES-3 let's see DEM[prox]-NCLS young_man
    'What (things) this young man is saying, let's see.'
3.2 Reduplication

b. घरटर भिरत कि कि (सामान) छिनिव... (cf. DLR.02.005)
   घर-नाल-र घरटर कि कि cह-i-ki
   house-NCLS-GEN inside what what be-PRES-SA3
   'Which (of his things) are in the house...'

c. घरटर भिरत कि छिनिव...
   घर-नाल-र घरटर कि cह-i-ki
   house-NCLS-GEN inside what be-PRES-SA3
   'What (thing belonging to him) is in the house...'

3.2.6 Reduplication of the numeral

The reduplication of numerals implies a distributive quality.

(34) a. दुई दुई dui dui-ḍa 'two two-NCLS' (i.e. 'two by two'; 'in twos')
   b. तिन तिनझना tin tin-jña kare 'three three-PCLS ADVL' (i.e. '(in groups of) three (people)')

3.2.7 Reduplication of the postposition

The reduplication of postpositions appears to have an intensifying effect. For example, the single postpositions साँजे 'with' in (35a), and पाछु pacʰu 'after' in (35c) are unmarked. Conversely, reduplication of the postposition stresses the immediacy, simultaneity or intensity of the action (35b,d).

(35) a. उहाँर साँजे मुना बननी सेवल। (cf. MR.04.176)
   उहाँ-र साँजे सुना साऱि-ge-l
   3sg[pro]-GEN with PCL AUX-ABS go-PST3
   'They went with her.'

b. बुर्विंटर साँजे मुना आस्त। (MR.04.177)
   बुर्विंटर साँजे सुना as-l-l
   old_woman-NCLS-GEN with with PCL come-PST-3
   'They came (right along) with the old woman.'

c. मोर पाछु mo-r pacʰu '1sg[obl]-GEN after' ('after me')

d. मोर पाछु पाछु mo-r pacʰu pacʰu '1sg[obl]-GEN after after' ('right after me')

Complex postpositions of the type उपरत upraṭ 'on top of', तलत talaṭ 'underneath' or बगलत bāglat 'close to' can not be reduplicated (36a). Reduplication of the simple form is, however, encountered (36b-d).
3. Morphology

(36) a. *घरटर उपर उपर *gʰʌr-ṭʌ uprat uprat *“house-NCLS-GEN upon upon"
   b. उपरे उपरे upre upre 'on the surface'
   c. तले तले talle talle 'inside; (from) underneath'
   d. बगले बगले bagle bagle 'along the side of'

3.3 Echo formation

In echo formation a word is followed by a repetition of the same word in a slightly modified form. In Rājbanshi the initial consonant of the repeated word is usually replaced by त- t-. Less common is a construction where the "a" vowel of the initial syllable changes to "a" in the echo counterpart, for example in खबर-खाबर kʰʌbʌr kʰʌbʌr 'news [echo]news'.

Note that in Bengali the initial of the repeated counterpart is replaced by ठ- and in Assamese by s- (cf. Masica 1991:81). In Hindi the initial is generally replaced by v- but occasionally by m-, p- or t-. In Maithili the initial consonant is generally replaced by त-.

Echo formation conveys the meaning of "X and the like" (37a). Inasmuch as echo formation may carry a note of "attitudinal lack of concern or care toward his collocutor" (cf. Masica’s 1991:80 reference to Bahl), a certain level of either derogation or lack of respect may be implied with referring to humans (37b-c). The echo formation process is productive.

Echo forms are found in all major (lexical) word classes. Note, however, that echo formation may only occur with adjectives when the adjective represents a noun phrase (38a), or in conjunct verbs (38b).

(37) noun
  a. nominal चप्पल तप्पल cappal [t]appal 'slipper [echo]slipper' ('slippers and the like')
  b. proper name पामर तामर pamar [t]ammar 'Pāmar [echo]Pāmar' ('Pāmar[DEROGATORY] and his associates')
  c. बुरा तुरा burʰa turʰa 'old_man [echo]old_man' ('the old man[DEROGATORY] and his associates'; cf. MR.04.078)

(38) adjective
  a. लाल ताल नि, मोक कालए कलम आते दिस।
     lal tal ni mo-k =e kalam an-i d-is
     red [echo]red NEG 1sg[obl]-DAT black=EMPH pen bring-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg
     'Not (a) red (one, or anything like that), bring me a black pen.'

 12 Abbi (2001:169) notes: "Vowel alternation by a qualitatively fixed vowel, e.g. in Tibeto-Burman languages and some of the IA languages such as Punjabi and Bangani (spoken in the Himalayan regions) ... The vowel alternation strategy is gradually penetrating in languages that never used it before such as Hindi and its dialects."
3.4 Onomatopoeia and sound symbolism

In onomatopoeic structures the word representing the imitation of the sound is repeated and then followed by the adverbialiser करे kare.

(41) a. ढाङ ढाङ करे daŋ daŋ kare '[daŋ daŋ] ADVL' ('with a clashing sound')

b. जैकलों का टूपेंट करे नि लैरिंग जैकलों का टूपेंट kare nikt-ec-ki jackal-GEN stool-PL [pecet]sound [pecet]sound ADVL go_out-PRES-SA3 'Then jackals' stools came out (of the soil) with a slopping sound.'
However, onomatopoeia in NIA covers more than just sound-related senses as Emeneau (1980:263) points out:

"We are dealing only in the most marginal way with blatantly sound-imitative forms (like English choo-choo or the like). Perhaps is would be more just to say that the class denotes varied types of sensation, the impingement of the material world, outside or within the person, upon the senses - not merely the five conventionally identified senses, but all the feelings, both external and internal."

I will use the term "sound symbolism" for this phenomenon, following Masica (1991:79). Klaiman (1987:511) maintains that the feature, which is also found in standard Bengali, is unlikely to have Indo-Aryan origins.

"...it may be mentioned that Bengali has two lexical features of a type foreign to Indo-Aryan. These features are, however, not atypical of languages of the general South Asian language area (and are even more typical of South-East Asian languages). One of these is a class of reduplicative expressives, words such as: kickik (suggesting grittiness), mįtįt (suggesting flickering), tľmľ (suggesting an overflowing or fluid state). There are dozens of such lexemes in current Standard Bengali. ... It is probable that the features discussed above were absorbed from other languages into Bengali after the thirteenth century..."

Sound symbolism is commonly used in all of the dialects where a reduplicated monosyllable modifies the preceding noun (42a) or adjective (42b). The reduplicated stem is specific to the adjective or noun in question, and has no meaning in itself.13 The quality

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13 Other elicited forms include:

(a) काच kʰacela 'unripe' > काच गेद गेद (or, गद गद) kʰacela ged ged (or, gad gad) 'really unripe'
(b) ठेरा tʰenda 'cold' > ठेरा हुन हुन (or, ठन ठन) tʰenda kun kun (or, kan kan) 'freezing cold'
(c) भार bʰari 'heavy' > भार गद गद (or, लड लड) bʰari gad gad (or, pada pada) 'very heavy'
(d) गाय paka 'ripe' > गाय गुल गुल paka gul gul 'really ripe'
(e) बिहरा bʰira 'deaf' > बिहरा गुल गुल bʰira gul gul 'stone deaf'
(f) गन gʰana 'dense' > गन मिज मिज gʰana gi gi 'really dense'
(g) क्ला kala 'black' > क्ला गुल गुल (or, कुत कुत, मिज मिज) kala gʰut gʰut (or, kut kut, mis mis) 'really black'
(h) आधार andʱar 'dark' > आधार गुल गुल (or, गिट गिट, कुत कुत) andʱar gʰut gʰut (or, gʰit gʰit, kut kut) 'really dark'
of the adjective is emphasised by using sound symbolism constructions such as these (the emphatic clitic on the adjective, conversely, indicates attenuation). Note that these cases differ from the onomatopoeic forms mentioned earlier. For example, डांड डांड in (41a) represents the clashing sound implied, whereas चाँए चाँए cãe cãe in (42a), and गज गज gij gij in (42b) are in no way imitations of a real-world auditory sensation.

(42) a. फेर धुप अचांए पेितना। (cf. MR.04.167)
   pʰer dʰup=ʌ cãe cãe hetina
   again sun=CNJ [cãe cãe] here
   'And moreover, the sun is scorching hot here.'

   b. फुलेर गेचला घन गज गज ना बुन्।
   pʰul-er gec-la gʰʌn gij gij na bun-∅
   flower-GEN sprout-PL dense [gij gij] NEG plant-IMP2sg
   'Don't plant the flower sprouts too densely together.'

The duplicated monosyllables are found to modify certain adverbs (43a). Similarly, the monosyllables can function with an adverbialiser as an adverbial (43b). They can also form a conjunct verb with द- kər- 'do' (43c).

(43) a. जों जों (or, फट फट) बेहान
   jog jog (or, pʰʌt pʰʌt) behan
   [jog jog] (or, [pʰʌt pʰʌt]) morning
   'very clear morning'

   b. जों जों करे देखा जाछे।
   jog jog kʌre dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
   [jog jog] ADVL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
   'It can be seen very clearly.'

   i. खाटा kʰaṭa 'sour' > खाटा चाँए चाँए (or, चाह चाह) kʰaṭa cãe cãe (or, caṇ caṇ) 'really sour'
   j. चक cakʰ 'salty' > चक चाँए चाँए cakʰ cãe cãe 'really salty'
   k. गर gara 'white-skinned' > गर चुक चुक (or, के के) gara cuk cuk (or, pʰek pʰek) 'really white-skinned'
   l. गिठ mitʰa 'sweet' > गिठ चुन चुन mitʰa cun cun 'really sweet'
   m. चक cakʰ 'salty' > चक चुक चुक cakʰ cun cun 'really salty'
   n. पाल्ला patla 'thin' > पाल्ला चुन चुन patla cun cun 'really thin'
   o. पाल्ला patla 'thin' > पाल्ला जाड़ जाड़ patla jʰaŋ jʰaŋ 'so thin that it is see-through'
   p. पाल्ला patl-i 'thin-FEM' > पाल्ला छिल छिल patli cʰin cʰin 'devouringly slim (of a woman)'
   q. लाल lal 'red' > लाल टक टक lal tʌk tʌk 'really red'
   r. गरम garam 'hot' > गरम टाँअ टाँअ garam tʰaŋ tʰaŋ 'boiling hot'
   s. नया naya 'new' > नया टिल टिल naya tilden naya til til 'brand new'
   t. साफास sapʰa 'white' > साफास धग धग sapʰa dʰʌg dʰʌg 'really white'
   u. सुरु suru 'fine/thin' > सुरु मिन मिन suru min min 'really fine/thin'
3. Morphology

c. खुच खुच ना कर, मार खाबो।
\[k^huc\  k^huc\ na\  kar-\emptyset\  mar\  k^h a-b-o\]
\'[k^huc k^huc] NEG do-IMP2sg beating eat-FUT-2sg
'Don't fiddle around, (or else) you will get a beating.'

The reduplicated monosyllables can modify nouns when the second component is marked with the adjectivising suffix -\textit{ia} 'ADJR'.

\begin{equation}
\begin{align*}
a. & \text{फेस-फेिसया मा} & p^h es\  p^h es\ -i a\  ma\tilde{t} i \[p^h es\ p^h es\]-ADJR soil
\text{very unstable soil}' \\
b. & \text{गुथािनड बारा मिच-मिचया इखान धार} & gut^{b}-a n-d\alpha\  b a r a\  m i c\  m i c\ -i a\  i-k^h an\  d^b a kra-r
\text{weave-DVBL-NCLS tight [mic mic]-ADJR this-NCLS carpet-GEN}
\end{align*}
\end{equation}

'A final common feature related to sound symbolism is the addition of the suffix -\textit{a} to the second reduplicated monosyllable. It is uncertain whether the suffix should be considered to be the causative stem or a mere verbaliser. I have, however, analysed the suffix as a causative stem based on research on related Indo-Aryan languages (cf. for example Masica (1976:45) on Hindi). The process is in most cases productive, though the verbs are semantically highly specified.\footnote{Supporting the analysis of the suffix as a causative stem, one verb was found to be marked with the indirect causative suffix -(उ)वा -\textit{(u)wa} 'ICAUS'. Whether this constitutes a new category or simply a restriction to use in a particular idiom is yet to be determined:}

\begin{enumerate}
\item (v) a. \textit{गेद-गेदुवा-}
\[ged\  ged-(u)wa-\[ged\  ged\]-ICAUS
\text{to slurp (one's food)'}
\item b. \textit{हासेर पाए गेद-गेदुवाए}
\[has-er\  pae\  ged\  ged-(u)wa-e\  di-b-o
goose-GEN INSTR [ged ged]-ICAUS ABS AUX-FUT-2sg
Literally: 'You will cause the geese to slurp (the food, and mix it with mud).'
Meaning of idiom: 'You will spoil the food.'
\end{enumerate}

Other examples using the simple causative stem include:

\begin{enumerate}
\item (vi) a. \textit{ठन ठन}\text{ ठन-ठन} 'ठन-ठन-a-ba '[\textit{ठन-ठन}]-CAUS-INF '(to ache' (of boils, teeth))
\item b. \textit{सिम सिम}\text{ सिम-सिम} 'सिम-सिम\text{ a-ba} '[\textit{सिम सिम}]-CAUS-INF ' (to ache/pinch' (of the surface of the skin))
\end{enumerate}
3.5 Derivation

One is likely to encounter a wide range of Indo-Aryan derivational prefixes and suffixes in Rājbanshi (especially when studying the language with an educated language informant), many of which are widely in use in the Indo-Aryan context. In order to avoid repetition of previous works I have not attempted a comprehensive coverage of derivational morphology. I have merely considered those affixes found in the corpus at hand. For detailed studies on derivation in related IA-languages, refer to Chatterji (1975b [1926]), Kellogg (1955 [1875]), Kakati (1962), Jha (1958) and Tiwari (1960), amongst others.

Table 12 shows which derivational suffixes were encountered, and what their corresponding functions were found to be.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manner, action</td>
<td>आनि -ani</td>
<td>‘DVBL’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action</td>
<td>अन -an</td>
<td>‘DVBL’</td>
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| c. कुत कुत kut kut > कुत-कुताबा kut kut-a-ba [kut kut]-CAUS-INF ‘(to tickle)’
| d. फक फक pʰʌk pʰʌk > फक-फकाबा pʰʌk pʰʌk-a-ba [pʰʌk pʰʌk]-CAUS-INF ‘(to burn (of boils))’
Areas related to verbal derivation will be covered in other sections of this work. For discussion on conjunct verb constructions refer to section 3.7.3, and on derivational compound verbs see section 3.7.9.2.1. The causative stem will be covered in section 3.7.2.

### 3.5.1 Nominal derivation

The derivational suffix -\(\text{\text{-ani}}\) 'DVBL' denotes the manner of an action.

(46) a. गुथानित्व -\(\text{\text{-ani}}\) 'weave-DVBL' ('manner of weaving')
   b. बेरानित्व -\(\text{\text{-ani}}\) 'walk-DVBL' ('manner of walking')
   c. उहाँर बेरानित्व भाषा के देखिया ता केवल एक कविता एक कविता।

In some cases the suffix may also carry a specific meaning.

(47) देखबा -\(\text{\text{-ba}}\) 'look/see-INF' > देखबानित्व -\(\text{\text{-ani}}\) 'pretence'

In some cases the derivational suffix -\(\text{\text{-an}}\) 'DVBL' (allomorph -\(\text{\text{-an(n)}}\) -\(\text{\text{-a(n)}}\)) is distinct from manner nominalisation in that it focuses on the action or state of the verb (cf. Comrie & Thompson 1995 [1985]:350-351).

(48) a. जानन -\(\text{\text{-an}}\) 'cry-DVBL' ('act of crying')
   b. जिसन -\(\text{\text{-a(n)}}\) 'wash-DVBL' ('act of washing(body)')

Having said this, the above-mentioned processes are by no means fully productive. In some cases there is no distinction between manner and action nominals. Compare, for
example (49a-b) both of which refer to an action or a state. Moreover, some verbs tend to collocate with certain suffixes. Therefore compare (49c) with (46a), and (49d) with (46a-b). The issue clearly requires further research.

(49) a. टेकन tek-'支持-DVBL' ('act/state of supporting')
    b. टेकानि tek-ani 'support-DVBL' ('act/state of supporting')
    c. *गुथन (गुथन) *gut'-a/an *weave-DVBL'
    d. *बेरन (बेरन) *ber-a/an *walk-DVBL'

The suffix -इ- has a deverbalising effect (50a-c). It also functions as a nominalising suffix and forms action nouns (50d).

(50) a. आपना दान खोजत (cf. DLR.05.006a)
    REFL[pro]-GEN seed-GEN search-DVBL-LOC...
    '...in search for his seeds.'

b. आसा जाक (cf. DLR.03.011)
    come-DVBL go-DVBL
    'coming and going' (i.e. 'visiting')

c. हौस मुहा hās-i muhā 'laugh-DVBL mouth' (i.e. 'smiling')

d. बेर खेत kʰet-i 'farming' (lit. 'field-NML'; cf. DLR.03.003)

3.5.2 Adjectival derivation

The suffix -आ -a forms adjectives from verbs (51a-b).

(51) a. भंका मामा भान्दा
    alm beg-DVBL pot
    'alm-begging pot'

b. छागल काटा भइला
    goat cut-DVBL knife
    'a knife used for slaughtering goats'

Having said this, the suffix -आ -a is also found as a variant of the past participle -आ(ल) -a(l) 'PST.PTCL', and indeed the past participles in the following examples are all adjectival (i.e. noun-modifying clauses).
3. Morphology

(52) a. पढ़ा लिखा
    पढ़^a-a lik^b-a
    read-PST.PTCL write-PST.PTCL
    'educated'

b. सरालू आलू
    सर^a(1) alu-la
    rot-PST.PTCL potatoes-PL
    'rotten potatoes'

c. उसनाल उसनाल कचुला (cf. MR.04.026)
    usn-al usn-al kacu-la
    boil-PST.PTCL boil-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL
    'boiled [kacu]vegetables'

In comparison, both Assamese and Bengali use the suffix -ा for verbal nouns and/or imperfective adjectival forms, whereas Hindi uses the suffix -(y)ा for the verbal noun and/or perfective adjectival (Masica 1991:324-325). For the Rajbanshi varieties studied in this work I must posit distinct morphemes for the deverbaliser -आ-a and the past participle -आ(ल) -a(l). This is based on two observations. Firstly, the past participle can not be used in constructions such as आसा जाए as-a ja-i 'come-DVBL go-DVBL' (*आसा जाए as-al ja-i *'come-PST.PTCL go-DVBL'). Secondly, the deverbaliser and the past participle are semantically distinct: unlike the past participal, the deverbalising suffix has no aspectual overtones. (Refer to the section 3.7.10.5 for further discussion.)

Based on these observations, it would be ungrammatical in example (53) to use the full participle form (compare with (50a) above).

(53) *बॉक्स माङाल भांड़ा
    *b^i ka man-al b^anda
    *alm beg-PST.PTCL pot
    *'alm-begging pot'

The adjectivising suffix -ङ्ग -i 'ADJR' derives adjectives from nouns (54a-b). The suffix -वािल -u(w)ali 'ADJR' functions in the same manner (55). Whether the latter suffix is related to the indirect causative (-उँग्वा -(u)wa 'ICAUS') is uncertain.

(54) a. हाफ़ हाफ़ माफ़ जामा (cf. MR.02.008)
    hap hat-i sap^b a jama
    half arm-ADJR white shirt
    'a half-sleeved white shirt'
Finally, the adjectivising suffixes -लिया 'ADJR' (56a) and -इया 'ADJR' (56b-d) derive adjectives from nouns.

(56) a. बुऱालिया burʰ-a-li 'old man-ADJR' (i.e. 'old aged')

b. मातिया भुइ ma-ti a bʰui
soil-ADJR ground
'soily ground'

c. दाहाड केंति मलिया हड़कु। (MR.05.281)
daha-dʌ kenti mʌl-ia hʌ-ic-kʌ
body-NCLS how mud-ADJR be-PERF-SA2sg
'How muddy (your) body has become.'

d. उड़ नकरिया चेहुरड (cf. MR.05.010)
u-dʌ nakar-ia cheh-ʌra
that-NCLS servant-ADJR young_man-NCLS
'that working young (man)'

3.5.3 Feminine derivational suffixes

Rājbanshi makes use of the feminine suffix -र -i 'FEM'. The suffix denotes the feminine sex in kinship terms (57a; cf. Masica 1991:217-218).\(^\text{15}\) (Exceptions, however, include

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\(\text{15}\) Klaiman (1987:499-500) notes that gender was a grammatical category found in the early Eastern Indo-Aryan languages: "Early stages of the Magadhan languages (e.g. Oriya, Assamese and Bengali) also show evidence of a gender system. However, the category is no longer productive in any of the modern Magadhan languages. In Modern Bengali, it is only in a few relic alternations (e.g. ... nɔट 'actor / ɲoʃi 'actress') that one observes any evidence today for the system of nominal gender which once existed in the language."
kinship terms such as भाइ bʰai 'younger brother'). It also indicates a male/female distinction in words concerning humans in general (57b) or animals (57c).

(57) a. kinship terms
   बेटा beta 'son' vs. बेटी beti 'daughter'
   नाना nana 'grandfather' vs. नानी nani 'grandmother'

b. human
   चेहरा ceŋra 'boy; young [MALE]' vs. चेहरी ceŋri 'girl; young [FEMALE]'
   बुऱा burʰa 'old man; old [MALE]' vs. बुऱी burʰi 'old woman; old [FEMALE]'

c. animal
   बाछा bacʰa 'calf(male)' vs. बाछी bacʰi 'calf(female)'
   नरा nʌra 'pigeon(male)' vs. नुरी nuri 'pigeon(female)'

Also the suffix -इयािन -iani 'FEM' conveys the feminine sex.

(58) a. पाहर-ियािन pahar-iani 'mountain-FEM' ('woman of the mountain')
   b. पिलला pilla 'dog(male)' vs. पिलियािन pil-iani 'dog(female)'

A male/female distinction is also made between the vocative particles (cf. masculine particles आरे are and रे re, versus feminine particles आगे age and गे ge in section 6.1.4).

3.5.4 Diminutive

The suffix -इ -i expresses the diminutive (59a). It also often carries an overtone of affection (59b-c). Though the morpheme is formally similar to the feminine derivational suffix -इ -i, the diminutive does not imply the feminine sex (59c).

(59) noun
   a. चिड़ kʰu-ḍʌ 'knife-NCLS' > चिड़ि kʰu-ḍ-i 'knife-NCLS-DIM'

b. रहिं हबे जिबनडि तोर। (from a song by Pāmar Rājbanshi)
   राजिन ha-b-i jiban-ḍ-i to-r
colourful be-FUT-3 life-NCLS-DIM 2sg[obl]-GEN
   'Your little life will be colourful (with affection).'

c. बुऱिड burʰa-ḍ-i 'old_man-NCLS-DIM' (i.e. 'little old man (with affection)')

The suffix can only attach to the noun classifier -इ -dʌ 'NCLS' (59a-c), the article (60) or the numeral (61a-b). It can not occur in conjunction with the noun classifier -खान -kʰan 'NCLS' (61c), and it can not attach directly to the head noun.
3.6.1 Number

3.6.1.1 General

Number is marked on Rājbanshi nouns by the plural suffix -ला -la 'PL' which attaches directly to the right of the stem (62b), and to the left of any possible case marking (62c).

(62) a. काति kati 'foundation'
   b. कातिला kati-la 'foundation-PL'
   c. कातिलाक kati-la-k 'foundation-PL-DAT'

Modifying numerals are marked with the appropriate (singular) noun classifier (63a-b). In some cases informants also marked the head noun with the plural (63c). This practice was, however, considered to be ungrammatical by other informants. Adverbs are not marked with the plural (63d).

(63) a. दूहँ बाहाँ
   dui-kʰan baha
   two-NCLS arm
   'two arms'

   b. दूहँ छुवा
   dui-qa cʰua
   two-NCLS child
   'two children'
3. Morphology

c. *दुइडा छुवाला (cf. MR.03.013)
   *dui-da cheua-la
   *two-NCLS child-PL

d. दुई महिना (cf. MR.04.030)
   dui məhina
two month
'two months'

If the quantifier गटे gate 'every; all' modifies the head noun, plural marking is found on the head noun.

(64) गटे बेरियाला मिलिएने बुरादर मड़े गेले। (MR.04.067)
gate keṭiia-la mil-iene burʰi-da-r saje ge-l-i
all jackal-PL unite-CONJ.PTCL old_woman-NCLS-GEN with go-PST-3
'All the jackals went together with the old woman.'

In noun phrases where the noun is modified by a demonstrative, the plural suffix is generally only found on the demonstrative (65a). Case marking is in this case attached to the right side of the stem (65b). When both a demonstrative and the quantifier गटे gate 'every; all' modify the head noun, plural marking is found on both the demonstrative and the quantifier (65c). Adjectival modifiers are reduplicated (65d).

(65) a. इला बाँस
   i-la bãs
   DEM[prox]-PL bamboo

b. इला बाँसेर
   i-la bãs-er
   DEM[prox]-PL bamboo-GEN

c. इला गटला बाँस
   i-la gaṭ-la bãs
   DEM[prox]-PL all-PL bamboo

d. इला लामा लामा बाँस
   i-la lamʰa lamʰa bãs
   DEM[prox]-PL long long bamboo

One informant was found to use plural marking on both the demonstrative and the head noun (66a-b). Whereas he was of the opinion that double marking as in (66a) is a free variant form of (65a), and therefore perfectly grammatical, several other informants were
strongly of the opinion that the double plural marking in (66a-b) is ungrammatical. Further research is needed to determine whether this is due to idiolectal or dialectal variation.

(66) a. */? इला बौसला
   */?  i-la  bās-la
   */? DEM[prox]-PL  bamboo-PL

b. */? इला खेटियाला त हामाक ठले! (cf. MR.04.040)
   */?  i-la  kʰɛṭia-la  tʰ hama-k  ti³Ag-1-1
   */? DEM[prox]-PL  jackal-PL  PCL  1pl[pro]-DAT  cheat-PST-3
   'These jackals have cheated us!' 16

Masica (1991:225-226) maintains that in Bengali and some other Eastern Indo-Aryan languages, plural marking is optional:17

"...The new agglutinative affixes, especially in the Eastern languages, tend to be optional. In those Eastern languages, such as Bengali, with optional suffixes and no agreement, it is open to question whether number exists as an inflectional category, as distinct from a notion capable of facultative expression."

In those dialects of Rājbanshi studied for this work, noun classifier (67a-b) and plural marking (67c-d) is (usually) obligatory if the head noun is specific. If the head noun is

16 Several informants found the following phrase to be ungrammatical if it represents a single noun phrase:

(vii) */? इला गटला बौसला
   */?  i-la  gʌṭ-la  bās-la
   */? DEM[prox]-PL  all-PL  bamboo-PL
   */? 'all of these bamboos'

If it however constitutes a copula clause where इला गटला i-la gʌṭ-la is the copula subject and बौसला bās-la the copula complement, and where the copula predicate (i.e. the copula verb) has been omitted, would of course be acceptable:

(viii) इला गटला ते बौसला (हए)!
   [i-la  gʌṭ-la]  te  [bās-la] (hʌ-e)
   [DEM[prox]-PL  all-PL][SUBJECT]  PCL  [bamboo-PL][COMPLEMENT] (be-PRES3)
   '(But) these are all bamboos!' 17

17 Similarly Klaiman (1987:500) on Bengali: "Generally, the plural markers are added only to count nouns having animate or definite referents; otherwise plurality tends to be unmarked."
generic the plural is not marked, even though plurality is implied (67e). This does not seem to be dependent on animateness or humanness. Having said this, there are (relatively uncommon) cases where the plural is for some reason missing from the specific NP (67f).

(67) a. बुऱाड आसेचे?
   burʰʰa-da as-ec-e
   old_man-NCLS come-PRES-3
   'Is the old man coming?'

b. तोर भइँसट छोक?
   to-r bʰʌɪs-tʌ cʰ-ok
   2sg[obl]-GEN buffalo-NCLS be-SA2sg
   'Do you have your buffalo?' (Implying, 'Is your buffalo missing?')

c. बुऱाला आसेचे?
   burʰʰa-la as-ec-e
   old_man-PL come-PRES-3
   'Are the old men coming?'

d. तोर भइँसला छोक?
   to-r bʰʌɪs-la cʰ-ok
   2sg[obl]-GEN buffalo-PL be-SA2sg
   'Do you have your buffaloes?' (Implying, 'Are your buffaloes missing?')

e. तोर भइँस छोक?
   to-r bʰʌɪs cʰ-ok
   2sg[obl]-GEN buffalo be-SA2sg
   'Do you have (some/any) buffaloes?'

f. आर गोर(ला) काम करेचे। (GR.02.004)
   ar goru(-la) kam kʰar-ec-e
   and bullock(-PL) job do-PRES-3
   'And (the) bullock(s) work.'

3.6.1.2 Plural marking in echo formations

In echo formations, plural marking is normally optional (68a). In some cases with human referents it is obligatory (68b-c). Plural marking in (68d) was reported to be optional, regardless of the human referent(s). The reason for this is uncertain.

(68) a. कचु तचु(ला) बुना हाल्ना?
   kacu tʌcu(-la) bun-a ha-l-kʌn
   [kacu]vegetable [echo][kacu]vegetable plant-PST.PTCL be-PST-SA2pl
   'Did you finish planting the [kacu]vegetables (and other such things)?
b. बुऱा तुऱाला आसेचे।
   burʰa turʰa-la as-ec-e
old_man [echo]old_man-PL come-PRES-3
'The old man (and his friends; associates; family) is coming.'

c. मुइ बुऱा तुऱालाक देखेचु।
   mui burʰa turʰa-la-k dekʰ-ec-u
1sg[pro] old_man old_woman-PL-DAT see-PRES-1sg
'I am looking after the old man (and his friends; associates; family).'

d. पामार तामार(ला) आसेचे।
   pamar tamar(la) as-ec-e
Pāmar [echo]Pāmar(-PL) come-PRES-3
'Pāmar (and his friends; associates; family) is coming.'

3.6.1.3 Plural marking in noun compounds

In human (69a) and animal (69b) noun compounds, plural marking is obligatory when the compound is specific. This rule apparently applies to inanimate compounds also, though examples such as (70c) demand further research.

(69) a. मुइ बुऱा बुऱि मिलएने (cf. MR.02.026)
   mui burʰa burʰi mil-iene
old_man old_woman unite-CONJ.PTCL
'the old man and old woman together'

b. गरु बिलको बॉम बिल्लयार नानें... (cf. MR.02.026)
   garu bʰis-la-k gʰัส kʰil-ba-r tane
bullock water_buffalo-PL-DAT grass feed-INF-GEN for
'in order to feed grass to the cattle'

In the free speech of two informants from northern Jhāpā, plural marking on noun compounds was, on several occasions, found to be optional.

(70) a. बुऱा बुऱि मिलिएने (cf. MR.04.005)
   burʰa burʰi mil-iene
old_man old_woman unite-CONJ.PTCL
'the old man and old woman together'

b. बुऱा बुऱि सचेचे... (cf. MR.04.014)
   burʰa burʰi sac-ec-e
old_man old_woman think-PRES-3
'The old man and the old woman thought...'
While reviewing the plural marking used in his own speech, one informant was of the opinion that the plural marking was optional. However, a second informant was under the impression that the deletion of the plural marker in (70a-c) is ungrammatical. This informant maintained that:

a. It is possibly due to second language interference (i.e. Nepali),

b. In (70a-b) a pause between the two words (बुऱा burʰa 'old_man' [pause] बुऱ burʰi [pause] 'old_woman'), or rising intonation, would give a conjunctival effect: 'old man and old woman'. The plural suffix would then be optional, or

c. The lack of plural marking in (70a-b) would be acceptable if the compound बुऱा burʰa बुऱ burʰi 'old_man old_woman' was modified by दऩे dʌnʰe 'both'. Therefore दऩे बुऱा burʰi 'both the old man and the old woman' would be acceptable.

Dialectal variation of plural marking (that is, double marking on the one hand, and the lack of marking on the other) requires further research.

Plural marking on the demonstrative (71a) and interrogative adjectival (71b) is obligatory.

(71) a. नि जाबे रहा हला जाला रहा दनत। (DLR.04.030)
    ni ja-b-i rah-a i-la jʰag-r ʌa dʌn-at
    NEG PASS.AUX-FUT-3 remain-PST.PTCL DEM[prox]-PL fight quarrel-LOC
    'One can not stay in this fighting.'

b. केतेला धन सम्पति खिच याहिरै? (DLR.05.021)
    kete-la dʰʌn sampati cʰ-i-ki yaha-r
    how_much-PL wealth possessions be-PRES-SA3 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN
    'How much wealth does he have?'

3.6.1.4 Pluralia tantum

Collective nouns occur in the plural (72a-c). Collective nouns can also often be used as count nouns (72d-f). In such cases they occur in the singular with the appropriate noun classifier.  

Other such words include:

(x) a. प्रज्जना dʰʌn-la 'wealth-PL' (mass)
    b. सम्पति sampati-la 'possession-PL' (mass)
3.6.2 Noun classes

3.6.2.1 Introduction

Rājbanshi nouns are assigned to one of two noun classes: -ट (with allomorph -ढ -ढ, or vice versa) or -खान -kʰan. The use of the noun classifier is closely linked to specific definite/indefinite reference. Concerning Bengali, Chatterji (1975b [1926]:777) maintains:

c. खानाला (खानीला) kʰana/-la 'food-PL' (mass)
d. खराकला kʰʌrak-la 'food-PL' (mass)
e. मोचला moc-la 'moustache-PL' (mass)
f. दारिला darʰi-la 'beard-PL' (mass)
g. गप्सपला gapsap-la 'chat-PL' (mass)
h. मूसिला musi-la 'ashes-PL' (mass)
i. कालाला kala-la 'peas-PL' (mass)
j. पेइसाला peisa-la 'money-PL' (mass)

I have refrained from using the term "gender" for the noun class system since it does not involve verb agreement (cf. Corbett 1995 [1991]:5;136-137), and since the noun classes bear no semantic correlation with sex (cf. Dixon 1982:160).

The Rājbanshi noun classes comply to the three criterion for noun classes put forward by Dixon (1982:160, revised according to (ibid.:163)): "We can say that the category of noun classes is (1) a grouping of all the nouns of a language into a smallish number of classes, (2) so that there is some overt indication of the class of a noun within certain types of sentence in which it occurs with one of a certain set of syntactic functions, (3) and this indication is not entirely within the noun-word."

I use the term "noun classifier" to refer to the two above-mentioned morphemes which indicate noun class assignment. Therefore, I use the term similarly to Aikhenwald's (2003 [2000]:92) "overt noun class marker" (Aikhenwald distinguishes between "noun classifiers" and "overt noun class markers", the latter being derived from the former via grammaticalisation processes).
"Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons also take these postpositions, which are attached to the words and practically become a part of them, the case-affixes coming after them. These postpositional words are commonly described as articles. When a noun (or pronoun) is in the singular, the article or definite comes after it; when in the plural (and pronouns are not used in the plural here), it must be qualified by a numeral, with which the post-positional is combined: where the number is vague or unknown, the definite is not used."

Similar patterns are also found in other Eastern Indo-Aryan languages as Masica (1991:250) explains:

"The Eastern type uses specifier suffixes (sometimes called 'articles' - Kakati calls them *enclitic definitives or numeratives*) derived from a numeral-classifier system (B. -tā, -ti, -khāna, -khānī; O. -ta, -ti; A. -to, -zon, -khon, -khoni, -gos, -dāl, etc.) which itself is most elaborate and intact in Assamese, and clearly of non-Aryan origin. (It is a prominent feature of mainland Southeast Asian languages.) Added to nouns these suffixes specify Identified status (B. cheleṭi 'the child'); added to numerals preceding nouns they specify Unidentified status (B. ekṭi chele 'a child'). The distinctions among the suffixes involve not gender, which is absent in these languages (although animacy is relevant), but size, shape, affect, etc. Use of an element with numerals does not imply its use as a suffixed specifier to nouns: B. ægjhon bhḍrolok 'a gentleman', but not *bhḍrologjon 'the gentleman'. In both types, case suffixes follow these elements in declension: B. cheleṭiike, cheleṭirt 'to the child, the child's'...

Rājbanshi also has a numeral classifier -झना -jhana 'PCLS' which is used for human referents. This is only found in conjunction with numerals and some pronouns, and does not constitute a noun class of its own. In addition, many quantifying expressions have elements which function as numeral classifiers. In the following sections I will discuss noun classes, assignment to noun classes and numeral classifiers. Quantifying expressions will also be discussed, though they will not be regarded as numeral classifiers as such. I will then look at the use of classifiers from a structural perspective and consider the use of noun classifiers for specificity and definiteness.

3.6.2.2 Noun classes and class assignment

As stated previously, in Rājbanshi the noun is marked with one of two noun classifiers: -ढ -ḍ (with allomorph -ढ -ḍa, or vice versa) or -झना -kʰan.

(74) a. जाकट jak- trilogy 'stack-NCLS'
    b. ढिड़ ipri-da 'mound-NCLS'
    c. पेटनिक्ष्य peṭani-kʰan 'skirt-NCLS'
The classifier -ट -ṭa (-ढ -ḍa) is found as -टा -ṭa (or -ढा -ḍa) when it occurs after numerals. Dialects on the eastern border with India use the forms -टा -ṭa (or -ढा -ḍa) for the first classifier even after nouns (cf. Narrative 3 in section 8.1.7).

(75) a. एकटा ek-ṭa 'one-NCLS'
    b. दुईडा dui-ḍa 'two-NCLS'

Whether the primary form of the first classifier is -ट -ṭa or -ढ -ḍa is not as easy to determine as it would seem. Based on a strictly structuralist analysis, one would take -ढ -ḍa as the primary form, and -ट -ṭa as the environmentally conditioned allomorph since the former (76a-b) is found in a wider set of environments than the latter (77a-b):

(76) a. Following all vowels: -ढ -ḍa (or eastern -ढा -ḍa).
    e.g. बाबाडर baba-ḍʌ-r 'priest-NCLS-GEN'

    b. Following all voiced consonants except for r: -ढ -ḍa (or eastern -ढा -ḍa).
    e.g. चिलमड cilim-ḍʌ 'pipe-NCLS'

(77) a. Following all voiceless consonants: -ट -ṭa (or eastern -टा -ṭa).
    e.g. लङ्गटट lʌŋgʌṭ-ṭʌ 'ill-behaved_person-NCLS'

    b. Following the consonant r: -ट -ṭa (or eastern -टा -ṭa).
    e.g. सोरट sor-ṭʌ 'boar-NCLS'

However, in the far-western varieties spoken in western Morang the voiceless morpheme -ट -ṭa is used in all positions regardless of the word-final component. It is therefore possible (and Toulmin (2006:176) takes this position) that the underlying, and historically original form could be -ट -ṭa. I have chosen to transcribe the allomorphs as they are used in the dialects studied: -ट as -ṭa and -ढ as -ḍa according to their respective pronunciation.

Masica (1991:250) maintains that in Eastern Indo-Aryan languages "the distinctions among the suffixes involve... size, shape, affect, etc".20 In Rājbanshi distributional principles based on semantic features can provide guidelines to the assignment of the classifiers when the entity has a physical shape. However, even this does not necessarily apply in all cases since noun class assignment can vary between adjacent dialects (78a-d).

(78) a. जामाड jama-ḍʌ 'shirt-NCLS' (Ghailāḍubbā) versus जामाखान jama-kʰan 'shirt-NCLS' (Korobāri)

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20 Dixon (1982:227) notes a typological tendency in this regard: "Among the most common types of classifier are those that relate to the size or shape or other physical property of a noun, something that might be described by an adjective."
For nouns which do not have a physical shape which one is able to evaluate, the assignment of the noun class is of course arbitrary. The -ट class is more common than the -खान class. In a count of 225 nouns (which are used in the text data corpus in Appendix 3), 38% were of the -खान class and 62% of the -ट class. A comparison of the assignment of classifiers in Rājbanshi, Assamese and Bengali would have been fruitful at this point, but such an undertaking was not possible for this work.21

Research did highlight that some nouns could actually be marked with either of the classifiers.

(79) a. कामखान kam-kʰan 'work-NCLS' (Korobāri and Ghailādūbbā)

b. कामड kam-ḍʌ 'work-NCLS' (Korobāri and Ghailādūbbā)

Initially this seemed to point to free variation of the classifiers with some nouns, but examples such as (80) led to additional implications for the classifier system.

(80) कामड दिबो तुह।

kam-ḍʌ di-b-o tu=he

work-NCLS give-FUT-2sg 2sg[obl]=EMPH

'You gave your worth.' (Meaning, 'You are late.')

Namely that, though we have seen that each noun has a default classifier (the choice of which in abstract nouns is arbitrary), some abstract nouns can take a non-default classifier. Whether the default be -खान -kʰan 'NCLS' or -ट -doll 'NCLS', the opposite (non-default) classifier will imply a somewhat redefined entity which is nevertheless related to the original (cf. also Corbett 1995 [1991]:136; Aikhenvald 2003 [2000]:83-84).

Consider, for example, the word बुि buddʰi 'wisdom; intelligence' which generally uses the classifier -खान -kʰan 'NCLS' (81a), and गित git 'song' which normally uses the classifier -ट -doll 'NCLS' (81b). If the opposite classifier is used for (81a), it implies a

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21 Note that, according to Sahoo (1999:110), in Oriya "...-Taa can occur unrestrictedly with all nouns. Another special property of -Taa is its ability to co-occur with a classifier neighbour - not an option available to other classifiers. So, considering the wide range of occurrence of -Taa, we call it a 'default classifier'."
3.6.2 Noun classes

If the opposite classifier is used for (81b) it implies the content of the song, that is, the wording (81d).

(81) a. बुिखान buddʰᵢ-kʰan 'wisdom/intelligence-NCLS' (whole entity)

b. नितट git-tᵃ 'song-NCLS' (whole entity)

c. बुि धuddʰᵢ-ḍʌ 'wisdom/intelligence-NCLS' (that is, 'an idea'; single entity)

d. नित्रान git-kʰan 'song-NCLS' (that is, 'the wording of a song'; content)

e. लेडरे भडमट एकटा बुि डी दिया (cf. MR.05.156) लेग्री ब्लेसि-टाय याहाक बुि दिया दी पक लेग्री ब्लेसि-टाय याहाक बुि दिया दी पक 'Then the lame wild buffalo gave him an idea.'

Other word pairs include:

(82) a. धानड dʰan-ḍʌ 'grain_of_rice(with_husk)-NCLS' versus धानखान dʰan-kʰan 'field/crop_of_rice-NCLS'

b. बाधड badʰ-ḍʌ 'length_of_a_field-NCLS' versus बाधखान badʰ-kʰan 'field-NCLS'

c. तुरि turi-kʰan 'mustard_field-NCLS' versus तुरिखान turi-kʰan 'mustard_seed-NCLS'

d. दुद्ध dudʰ-ḍʌ 'breast-NCLS' versus दुद्धखान dud-kʰan 'milk'

e. बदलाड bʌdʌla-ḍʌ 'revenge(NCLS)' versus बदलाखान bʌdʌla-kʰan 'revenge(general sense)-NCLS'

There would, however, seem to be too little evidence at this stage to posit that the classifiers are in a process of reanalysis towards the designation of the property [±COUNT]. Only some words can take either classifier (83a-d), and in some cases the corresponding pairs are unrelated entities altogether (84a-d).

(83) a. दिमागखान dimakʰan 'brain-NCLS'

b. दिमागड *dimakʰ-ḍʌ 'brain-NCLS'

c. डरखान ḍʌr-kʰan 'fear-NCLS'

d. डरड *ḍʌr-ḍʌ 'fear-NCLS'

(84) a. नाअखान naa-kʰan 'boat-NCLS' versus नाअँड naa-ʌ-ḍʌ 'name-NCLS'

b. जागगा jagga-ḍʌ 'container for keeping fire-NCLS' versus जागमान jagakʰan 'land-NCLS'

c. दोसखान dos-kʰan 'accusation-NCLS' versus दोसड dos-ḍʌ '(covenant) friend-NCLS'

d. चालखान cal-kʰan 'roof-NCLS' versus चालड cal-ḍʌ 'character-NCLS'

I will now return to considering the semantic features of the classifiers. If a Rājbanshi speaker is shown a previously unknown, but physically visual, entity s/he should be able to assign the correct classifier to it. For example, a Rājbanshi speaker will use either
question (85a) or question (85b) depending on the shape and size of the entity. Additionally, which classifier is associated with the noun पात pat 'leaf' seems to be determined by the size and shape of the leaf itself (86a-b). From this we should be able to say definitely that semantic features play at least some part with some nouns.

(85) a. इड किड?  
   i-dʌ ki-dʌ  
   DEM[prox]-NCLS what-NCLS  
   'What is this?'

b. इखान निखान?  
   i-kʰan ki-kʰan  
   DEM[prox]-NCLS what-NCLS  
   'What is this?'

(86) a. पातट pat-ṭʌ 'leaf-NCLS' (e.g. a short and round leaf)  
   b. पातखान pat-kʰan 'leaf-NCLS' (e.g. a (long) leaf of a banana tree)

One clear semantic distinction is that the classifier -खान -kʰan is not used for animates (87a-d), though it may be used for body parts (87e).

(87) a. human entity घरिनड gʰʌr-ni-ḍʌ 'house-FEM-NCLS' (i.e. 'wife')  
   b. human entity पता-ḍʌ 'grandson-NCLS'  
   c. animal entity बेटियाड kʰetia-ḍʌ 'jackal-NCLS'  
   d. animal entity छागलड cʰagl-ḍʌ 'goat-NCLS'  
   e. body part हातखान hat-kʰan 'hand-NCLS'

The classifier -खान -kʰan tends to be used where there is an association with liquid or airborne substances.

(88) a. liquid substance दिहखान d(ʌ)h-i-kʰan 'curd-NCLS'  
   b. liquid substance दुँिऩखान dun-i-kʰan 'milk-NCLS'  
   c. airborne substance धुवाँखान dʰuã-kʰan 'smoke-NCLS'  
   d. airborne substance अिघनखान ʌgʰin-kʰan 'fire-NCLS'  
   e. illumination जाऩाकखान jan-ak-kʰan 'light-NCLS'

Note that both classifiers can be used for abstract entities.

(89) a. abstract entity धर्म ध्रम-ḍʌ 'religion-NCLS'  
   b. abstract entity कारन kāran-ḍʌ 'reason-NCLS'  
   c. abstract entity दर्कʰan 'fear-NCLS'  
   d. abstract entity बुि बुि-kʰan 'wisdom/intelligence-NCLS'
Whether the classifier -খান -kʰan is used for elongated or flat/thin entities is less certain. At a glance this may certainly seem to be the case.  

(90) a. elongated entity বাহাখান baha-kʰan 'arm-NCLS'
    b. elongated entity পুলাখান pual-kʰan 'straw-NCLS'
    c. flat/elongated entity কন্তাখান kʰet-kʰan 'field-NCLS'
    d. flat/thin entity বিজ্ঞান bicʰan-kʰan 'bed_sheet-NCLS'
    e. flat/thin entity খস্তাখান kʰasla-kʰan 'woven_straw_mat-NCLS'
    f. flat/thin entity চাজ্ঞান cac-kʰan 'jute_mat-NCLS'

However, in many instances the choice is as arbitrary as the semantic features "elongated" and "flat/thin". Note that in the following cases, the elongated and flat entities have been assigned the classifier -ট -ṭʌ (or -ḍ -ḍʌ).

(91) a. elongated entity সিলিমাḍ cilim-ḍʌ 'pipe-NCLS'
    b. elongated entity খারাড kʰama-ḍʌ 'pillar-NCLS'
    c. elongated entity খলাম-ḍʌ 'pen-NCLS'
    d. elongated entity পাইনাḍ pain(a)-ḍʌ 'irrigation_channel-NCLS'

22 Klaiman (1987:511) maintains the Bengali classifier -খান (which is akin to the Rājbanshi noun classifier -খান -kʰan) relates to "flat". Likewise Aikhenvald (2003 [2000]:105) postulates a semantic-related assignment of the Bengali noun classifier -খান: "Bengali has five numeral classifiers which are suffixed to the numeral: -ট â 'countable non-human'; -ṭi 'diminutive of -টâ; -jan 'human'; -খানa 'solid objects with rectangular or flat shape'; -খানi 'diminutive of -খানa'...

Toulmin (2002a) suggests a semantic distinction for the Rājbanshi noun classifiers (Mahespur in far-eastern Jhāpā, Nepal): "The Ta and khan classes of nouns are divided along roughly semantic lines. The khan class contains nouns that are flat – extending significantly over 2-dimensions eg. table, chair – or long – extending significantly over 1-dimension eg. string, a stick – as well as nouns that have to do with nature (eg. hill, forest, sky, stone etc.)."

Similarly, Poudel (2006:30-31) states: "Rajbanshi makes use of classifier -kʰan to classify flat objects, liquids, abstract notions and parts of body. ... Rajbanshi makes use of -ta and its allomorph -da for non-human nouns other than nouns referring to flat, liquid and abstract notions."

All of these mirror Chatterji (1975b [1926]:779; cf. also Chatterji [1975a [1926]:365]) "(1) খান, খানা «khaṇḍ, khāṇā», diminutive খানী, খানি «khāṇī, khāṇī»... = a piece (< «khaṇḍa». In NB., it is used by preference to specialise objects of rectangular or flat form, or objects which have a framework."

Toulmin (2006:176) notes that noun-classifier association in Rājbanshi is only partially semantically transparent: "The definition of some noun classes involves a semantic criterion, but not for others. In the MH system, the /-kʰan/ class is partially defined by the semantic criterion of spatial extension—either flatness or length. For example /kitap-kʰan/ ‘the book’, /duar-kʰan/ ‘the door’, etc. The /-ṭa/ class is rather more of a ‘default’ noun class, into which all left over nouns are thrown. In western Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal, the default classifier /-ṭa/ (with allomorph /-ḍa/) even attaches to proper nouns. Such suffixing does not occur elsewhere in KRNB."
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e. flat/thin/elongated entity दामालड damal-ḍʌ 'track-NCLS'
f. flat/thin entity कन ड kan-ḍʌ 'ear-NCLS'
g. flat/thin entity लिहाड lihani-ḍʌ 'blanket-NCLS'
h. flat/thin entity गिलापट gilap-ṭʌ 'shawl-NCLS'
i. flat/thin entity धुसा usa-ḍʌ 'blanket-NCLS'

Similarly, entities which are related to nature are arbitrarily assigned to the noun classes. Though some entities are indeed assigned to the -कन an class (92a-c), others are assigned to the -ट or -ढ class (93a-d).

(92) a. चिहाड ciai-kʰan 'shady_place_for_sitting-NCLS'
b. जङलखन jʌŋʌl-kʰan 'jungle/forest-NCLS'
c. मा टखन maṭi-kʰan 'soil-NCLS'

(93) a. लडू lʌḍʌ 'river-NCLS'
b. फुलु pʰul-ḍʌ 'flower-NCLS'
c. कचु kʌcu-ḍʌ '[kacu]vegetable-NCLS'
d. खाद kʰad-ḍʌ 'hole-NCLS'

To posit yet further semantic features in order to accommodate the use of the classifiers for the following cases would merely lead to increasing confusion caused by an ever-growing inventory of subcategorising semantic features.

(94) a. चिङखान cij-kʰan 'thing; article-NCLS'
b. सापट sãp-ṭʌ 'serpent-NCLS'
c. लिखान lʌkʰi-kʰan 'firewood-NCLS'
d. मासुखान masu-kʰan 'meat-NCLS'
e. लङड lʌŋ-ḍʌ '(finger) nail'

Perhaps the best that can be said (in line with Anderson (1995b [1985]:176)) is that historically the noun class assignment was (most likely) based on semantic features, and that even in contemporary Rājbanshi the noun class assignment is still partially determined by such (if the entity is physically visual). For the most part, however, noun class assignment seems to be arbitrary.23

23 On the origin of the suffix, Chatterji (1975b [1926]:779; addition in square brackets mine) "But in the ŚKK. [Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kirttana], it is used in an expression like तात्त्विकी थाँसी nātini khānī the (little) granddaughter ... from Early Assamese কণ্যা থাঁসি kānyā khānī the little daughter ... This numeral was thus established in Bengali by the eMB. period at least. Cf. also ... শঙ্করিশ আনে ধূপ আর্জুনের সাহিত্য হাতা sañāriyā ānē Bhṛgu Arjunē rāṣṭra-khānā B. swims and brings the body of A. ... দুইখানা হাতী duī-kʰaṇa hātī the two hands..."

Klaiman (1987:511-512) asserts that the Bengali classifier system (amongst other features foreign to Indo-Aryan) were probably "...absorbed from other languages into Bengali after the
3.6.2 Noun classes

3.6.2.3 Numeral classifier and quantifying expressions

3.6.2.3.1 Numeral classifier

In addition to the classifiers mentioned in the previous section, Rājbanshi uses a numeral classifier -झना (-झन) -j³An(a) 'PCLS' for human referents. Characteristically, the numeral classifier is a clitic which is bound to a preceding numeral (95a), or indefinite pronoun (95b). The indefinite article is formed by attaching the classifier to the numeral एक 'one' (95c).

(95) a. दूईझन dui-j³An 'two-PCLS' (i.e. 'two (people)')
   b. केवास्तोक kewa-j³An lok 'some-PCLS man' (i.e. 'some people')
   c. एकझना ek-j³Ana 'one-PCLS' (i.e. 'a/one (person)')

As is evident from (95a-c), there are structural similarities between pure noun classifiers and the numeral classifier. Should the numeral classifier, therefore, be regarded as a pure noun classifier such as -ट -ṭʌ (-ड -ḍʌ) and -खान -kh³an? Aikhenvald (2003 [2000]:105) in fact maintains that all Bengali classifiers are numeral classifiers:

"Numeral classifiers can be attached to numerals as suffixes, or, more rarely, as prefixes. Numeral classifier systems of this kind are found in South and North American Indian languages and in inflecting Indic languages... Bengali has five numeral classifiers which are suffixed to the numeral: -ṭʌ 'countable non-human'; -ṭi 'diminutive of -ṭʌ'; -jan 'human'; -khana 'solid objects with rectangular or flat shape'; -khâni 'diminutive of -khana'..."

Masica (1991:250) mentions that the Eastern Indo-Aryan classifiers originate from numeral classifiers:

"The Eastern type uses specifier suffixes (sometimes called 'articles' - Kakati calls them enclitic definitives or numeratives) derived from a numeral-classifier system (B. -ṭʌ, -ṭi, -khâna, -khâni; O. -ṭa, -ṭi; A. -ṭo, -zʌn, -khon, -khoni, -gos, -dâī, etc.) which itself is most elaborate and intact in Assamese, and clearly of non-Aryan origin."

thirteenth century, as the language came to be increasingly used east of the traditional sociocultural centre of Bengal." Additionally, according to Emeneau (1965:38) language contact with the Tai language Ahom - the Ahom people having been an influential political force in the eastern Assam valley since A.D. 1228 - may have had some influence on the Magadhan classifier system.

Aikhenwald (2003 [2000]:90) distinguishes between noun classifiers and numeral classifiers as follows: "The basic difference between the two types is that numeral classifiers occur in numerical - and often in quantifying - expressions. Noun classifiers occur independently of the presence of other modifiers in a noun phrase. ... Noun classifiers may not be obligatory in a noun phrase, unlike numeral classifiers which are generally obligatory in a numerical NP."
However, though there are structural similarities, I have regarded the two sets as morphologically separate, and have viewed -झना -jʰʌna 'PCLS' as a numeral classifier for three reasons. Firstly, the numeral classifier only occurs with human referents and is structurally restricted to use with numerals and pronominials. Secondly, all nouns fall into one of two noun classes: the -ट -ṭʌ (or -ड -ḍʌ) class, or the -खान -kʰan class. Conversely, the numeral classifier does not constitute a third noun class: all human nouns are assigned to the noun class -ट -ṭʌ (or -ड -ḍʌ), though they may also be referred to with a numeral and the numeral classifier -झना -jʰʌna 'PCLS' (96d). Thirdly, the numeral classifier can not be joined to the head noun (96f).

(96) a. compare एकटा ek-ṭa 'one-NCLS' with एकज्ञना ek-jʰʌna 'one-PCLS'
   b. compare केवाडा kewa-ḍa 'some-NCLS' with केवाज्ञना kewa-jʰʌna 'some-PCLS'
   c. एकटा लोक ek-ṭa lok 'one-NCLS man' (Korobāri, Ghailāḍubbā and Lakhari gaddi)
   d. एकज्ञना लोक ek-jʰʌna lok 'one-PCLS man' (Ghailāḍubbā and Lakhari gaddi)
   e. लोकट lok-ṭa 'man-NCLS'
   f. *लोकज्ञना *lok-jʰʌna *'man-PCLS'

Two informants from northern Jhāpā (Ghailāḍubbā and Lakhari gaddi) tended to vary between the noun classifier (96c) and the numeral classifier (96d). Unlike Assamese (cf. Aikhenvald 2003 [2000]:102-103), there seems to be no implication of respect or honorifics involved. Conversely, the informant from Korobāri would only use the numeral classifier in pronominal phrases such as (95a,c).25 According to this informant (95b), (96d) and (97a) are ungrammatical. The example (97b) would, however, be considered acceptable.

25 According to this informant, the एकज्ञना ek-jʰʌna 'one (person)' in (xii) below would be the subject and मास्टर mastar 'teacher' the complement of the clause, whereas in (xii) एकटा मास्टर ek-ṭa mastar 'a teacher' would be the subject of the clause.

(xii) [एकज्ञना] [मास्टर] रहए।
[ek-jʰʌna] [mastar] raha-e
[one-PCLS][SUBJECT] [teacher][COMPLEMENT] be-PST.HAB-3
'One of them used to be a teacher.'

(xii) [एकटा मास्टर] रहए।
[ek-ṭa mastar] raha-e
[one-NCLS teacher][SUBJECT] be-PST.HAB-3
'There was once a teacher.'
3.6.2 Noun classes

(97) a. दुई भातार मगि रहे... (cf. DLR.05.002)
    dui bʰatar magi rʰah-e...
    two-PCLS husband wife live-PST.HAB3...
    'Two of them were married (i.e. were husband and wife)....'

b. दुई भातार मगि रहे...
    dui bʰatar magi rʰah-e...
    two husband wife live-PST.HAB3...
    'Two of them were married (i.e. were husband and wife)....'

3.6.2.3.2 Quantifying expressions

In quantifying expressions, the numeral or indefinite pronoun is followed by a noun indicating volume or weight, which is again followed by the head noun.

(98) Volume
   a. दुई लटा पािन dui l¹ta pani 'two brass_pot water'
   b. केवा तारि पािन kewa tari pani 'some clay_bottle water'

(99) Weight
    दुई सेर चाउ दे ताँ dui ser cau de-∅ tʌ
two [ser] rice give-IMP2sg PCL
    'Give me two sers of rice.' (1 ser ≈ c. 0,9kg)

The lexemes लटा l¹ta 'brass_pot' in (98a), तारि tari 'clay_bottle' in (98b), and सेर ser 'ser[measure_of_weight]' in (99) all fall into the classifier slot, so that the numeral or indefinite pronoun no longer requires an (otherwise obligatory) noun classifier. Whether these should be considered as numeral classifiers in the traditional sense is, however, doubtful. I have regarded the two categories distinct for two reasons.

Firstly, the quantifying expressions (98a-b) and (99) can occur as independent nouns (100a-c). This is unlike the numeral classifier which is a pure (grammaticalised) clitic; it can not occur without a numeral or pronominal head. Neither can it, having lost lexical quality, take a classifier itself (100d).

(100) a. लटा-डा l¹ta-ḍa 'brass_pot-NCLS'
   b. तारि-डा tari-ḍa 'clay_bottle-NCLS'
   c. सेर-टा ser-tʌ ['ser]-NCLS' = 'a shallow dish-shaped weight which measures the equivalent of 1 ser'
   d. *जनाड ḥʱana-ḍa *PCLS-NCLS'
Secondly, unlike the quantifying expressions, the numeral classifier is similar to the noun classifiers in that it is used for pragmatic functions such as discourse reference.

(101) a. एकजन दुकले।
    ek-\(^{\text{3}}\) n d\(^{\text{3}}\) uk-l-1
    one-PCLS enter-PST-3
    'a person\_[SPECIFIC,INDEFINITE] entered'

b. त देने सना डिले साघा लाफाग। (DLR.04.023)
    tʌ d\(^{\text{3}}\) a n\(^{\text{3}}\) ana di-l-1 j\(^{\text{3}}\) ag ara laga-e
    PCL both PCLS AUX-PST-3 fight begin-ABS
    'And both (of them\_[REFERRED.TO,PREVIOUSLY]) began to fight.'

3.6.2.4 Structural considerations

The noun classifier is marked on the head noun (102a). Noun classifiers -\(^{\text{\text{2}}}\) -t\(_{\text{A}}\) (-\(^{\text{\text{2}}}\) -d\(_{\text{A}}\)) and -\(^{\text{\text{3}}}\)�ा -k\(^{\text{\text{3}}}\) an are bound morphs and attach directly to the right of the stem. Case marking follows to the right of the classifier (102b-d).

(102) a. शर्कानिम t\(^{\text{3}}\) arkani-d\(_{\text{A}}\) 'step-NCLS'
    b. भालारट k\(^{\text{3}}\) atar-t\(_{\text{A}}\)-k 'husband-NCLS-DAT'
    c. बाबार baba-\(^{\text{3}}\) a\(_{\text{A}}\)-r 'priest-NCLS-GEN'
    d. पान्जारकाघ panjar-k\(^{\text{3}}\) an-er 'rib-NCLS-GEN'

When the noun classifier occurs with a numeral it may also have multiple referents. In such constructions the plural marker is not used.

(103) a. तिनढता बेटा tin-\(^{\text{3}}\) a be\(_{\text{A}}\) 'three-NCLS son'
    b. दुईखान चपक dui-k\(^{\text{3}}\) a\(_{\text{A}}\)pp\(_{\text{A}}\)l 'two-NCLS slipper'

Proper nouns are (usually) marked with the classifier -\(^{\text{\text{2}}}\) -t\(_{\text{A}}\) (-\(^{\text{\text{2}}}\) -d\(_{\text{A}}\)).

(104) a. पामार pamar-t\(_{\text{A}}\) 'Pāmar-NCLS'
    b. तामका tajka-d\(_{\text{A}}\) 'Tanka-NCLS'

Proper nouns and human referents are usually marked with the noun classifier (105a), when they function as the modifying element in genitive constructions or the direct/indirect object. In some cases, however, the modifying noun (105b) or the direct object/indirect object (105c) are not marked with the noun classifier. Initial observations suggested that this may point to intimacy (or, social proximity).
3.6.2 Noun classes

(105) a. पामरटर घर कुना?
pam-ʌr-r gʰʌr kunʰa
Pāmar-NCLS-GEN house where
'Where is Pāmar's (neutral reference) house?'

b. पामरेर घर कुना?
pam-er gʰʌr kunʰa
Pāmar-GEN house where
'Where is Pāmar's (intimate reference) house?'

c. बापक भेट पाइ जाबो।
bap-ʌk bʰet pa-i ja-b-o
father-DAT meeting receive-ABS AUX-FUT-2sg
Literally: 'You will meet father.'
Meaning: 'You'll learn a lesson!'

However, quite often the level of intimacy is not affected, irrespective of whether the possessive modifier is marked with a classifier: compare (106a-b) with (106c). The issue requires further research.

(106) a. रानिर बेटिहु खुदा एक चट जाए आता। (cf. MR.05.234)
raṇi-r be-ti-ḍʌ suna ek caṭi ja-b-ɪ an-ba
queen-GEN daughter-NCLS PCL one moment go-FUT-3 bring-INF
'The queen's daughter went once to take (it).'

b. उहाँर बेटाड राजार घरत काम करे क। (MR.05.002; see also MR.05.003, MR.05.236, MR.05.338, DLR.03.003, DLR.03.012)
uhã-r be-ṭa-ḍʌ raja-r gʰʌr-at kam kʌr-eki
3sg[pro]-GEN son-NCLS king-GEN house-LOC work do-(PST.HAB)SA3
'Her son used to work in the king's house.'

c. चेंगराड राजाडर घरत रहबा धब। (cf. MR.05.295)
ceŋ-ra-ḍʌ raja-ḍʌ-r gʰʌr-at raḥa-ba dʰʌr-b-ɪ
young_man-NCLS king-NCLS-GEN house-LOC live-INF begin-FUT-3
'The young man started to live at the king's house.'

The use of the classifier can be optional in locative (107a-b) and directional (107c) phrases.

(107) a. एक्लाए अनमान लागि जाकिप घरत। (cf. DLR.04.009)
ekʰlae an-ʌma lag-i ja-c-ki gʰʌr-at
alone bored feel-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3 house-LOC
'(He) is bored at home all on his own.'
3. Morphology

b. थान(ढ)त पूर्ण गेले। (cf. MR.05.327)
\[ tʰɑn-(dʌ)-t pug-i ge-l-ɪ \]
place-(NCLS)-LOC reach-ABS AUX-PST-3
'They arrived at (the) place.'

c. त सविएले याहाँ पर आले। (DLR.06.046)
\[ tʌ saɛ-iɛne yaha gʰʌr as-l-ɪ \]
PCL think-CONJ.PTCL DEM[pro/prox] house come-PST-3
'Thinking (this) she came home.'

3.6.2.4.1 Marking on phrase modifiers

The noun classifier (-ट -dʌ or -खान -kʰʌn) appears only once in the phrase. The classifier is marked on the modifying numeral (108a) or demonstrative (108b) if it is present. Otherwise the classifier is marked on the head noun (108c).

(108) a. एकटा पौंढ़ा ek-ṭa pãia 'one-NCLS wheel' ('a wheel')
   b. इड पौंढ़ा i-ḍʌ pãia 'DEM[prox]-NCLS wheel' ('this wheel')
   c. पौढ़ा-ड pãia-ḍʌ 'wheel-NCLS' ('the wheel')

In poetic style, the classifier may be left off the article. Compare, for example, the unmarked construction in (109a) where the article is marked with the classifier. In (109b) the numeral alone denotes the indefinite article.

(109) a. एक बुऱा रहे (आर) एक बुऱा रहे। (cf. also DLR.04.001)
\[ ek rʌh-e burʰi rʌh-e \]
one-NCLS old_man be-PST.HAB3 (and) one-NCLS old_woman be-PST.HAB3
'There was an old man and an old woman.'

b. एक रहे बुऱा, एक रहे बुऱा। (cf. introduction to narrative PKR.01)
\[ ek rʌh-e burʰi, ek rʌh-e burʰi \]
one be-PST.HAB3 old_man, one be-PST.HAB3 old_woman
'There was an old man and an old woman.'

In speech, two informants from northern Jhāpā sometimes marked the noun classifier on both the demonstrative and the noun phrase head. This was considered by informants from another area to be ungrammatical. Further study of dialectal variation is necessary to determine how widespread this kind of double marking actually is (cf. section 3.6.1.2-3 for a similar discussion on the double marking of the plural).
(110) a. */ïd kàstàl dhàlant (cf. DLR.06.076; see also mr.04.095;171-172, mr.05.034;036;050)
   */i-ðʌ kàt-ðʌ bʰatár-tʌ
   */DEM[prox]-NCLS cut-PST.PTCL husband-NLC
   */'this cut-up husband'

b. */ïd ðuk bâshâd (cf. MR.05.179)
   */i-ðʌ duk bâsì-thʌ
   */DEM[prox]-NCLS trouble flute-NCLS
   */'this trouble flute'

The classifier is marked on the head noun when this is modified by an adjective (111a-b),
or a possessive pronoun (111c-d).

(111) a. sùkãt bûrð (cf. MR.04.115)
   sùk-ì bùrʰì-ðʌ
dry-FEM old_woman-NCLS
'skinny old woman'

b. tór kàdûlã kàr(ã) pãnìkham (cf. GR.01.012-013)
   tó-r kàdûlã kàr-(ã) pànì-kan
   2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS
   'the water made muddy by you'

c. ânãhr jãnã (cf. MR.04.206)
   ânã-r jãn-ðʌ
   REF[Lpro]-GEN life-NCLS
   '(her) own life'

d. tór srimándã (cf. DLR.06.042)
   tó-r srimãnh-ðʌ-k
   2sg[obl]-GEN husband-NCLS-DAT
   'your husband'

The adjective is marked with the noun classifier only when it is functioning as the head noun.

(112) cîkãtã (cf. GR.01.029)
   cʰãkã-ðʌ-k
   small-NCLS-DAT
   'the small (person)'

When the head noun is modified by both a demonstrative (or numeral) and an adjective,
the classifier is marked on the demonstrative (or numeral).
3. Morphology

(113) एकता हाप हाित साफा जामा (cf. MR.02.008)
\[ ek-\text{ṭ}a \quad \text{hap} \quad \text{hat-i} \quad \text{sap}^{b}\text{a} \quad \text{jama} \]
one-NCLS half sleeve-ADJR white shirt
'a half-sleeved white shirt.'

3.6.2.5 Noun classifiers and specificity

3.6.2.5.1 Terminology

I will begin by defining the terms "specific indefinite", "specific definite" and "nonspecific". The term "specific indefinite" refers to a particular entity whose identity is not (yet/previously) disclosed; it is "identifiable to the speaker but not to the addressee" (Lambrecht 1994:80). Conversely, "specific definite" denotes an entity which is known and whose identity is disclosed, or is apparent in the real-world context.26

Consider, for example, 'a village' and 'an old man' in (114a). Both are specific indefinite since they are introduced here for the first time in the discourse. Conversely, 'that old man' in (114b) is specific definite since it has already been introduced in the previous sentence. The referent 'the daughter' in (114b) is specific definite although she has not been mentioned previously. This is due to an assumption (that is, based on a "real-world context") that the man has an offspring.

(114) a. एकटा गाँते एकटा बुऱ्यार रहे। (cf. DLR.04.001)
\[ ek-\text{ṭ}a \quad \text{ga}-\text{t} \quad \text{ek-ṭa} \quad \text{bur}^{b}a \quad \text{ rah-e} \]
one-NCLS village-LOC one-NCLS old_man live-PST.HAB-3
'In a village\[\text{SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE}\] there lived an old man\[\text{SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE}\].'

b. त उड़े बुऱ्यारे मेイटडिक बाहे दिचे। (DLR.04.002)
\[ t \quad \text{u-ḍʌ} \quad \text{bur}^{b}a \quad \text{mane} \quad \text{beṭi-ḍʌ-k} \quad \text{bahe di-l-i} \]
PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS old_man PCL daughter-NCLS-DAT marriage give-PST-3
'That old man\[\text{SPECIFIC.DEFINITE}\] had (his) daughter\[\text{SPECIFIC.DEFINITE}\] married.'

26 Givón (1990:903) asserts that the "referential accessibility of nominal topics in connected discourse tends to derive from three main contextual sources:
(a) The deictically-shared context, or speech situation
(b) The generically-shared context, or cultural knowledge
(c) The textually-shared context, or preceding discourse"

In addition, Givón maintains that "referential accessibility may also depend on any specific information available to the hearer about the speaker's goals, intentions, personal preoccupations, life history or what not. Such information is seldom systematic or measurable, but it does interact with the three main sources of referential predictability."
Following Masica (1986) I will use the term "nonspecific" to include "generic" and "nonspecific nongeneric" reference. Consider, for example, the referent "a basket" in (115a) and "a soldier" in (115b). Their reference is specific indefinite if the speaker is referring to a particular basket/soldier, and s/he is introducing this participant for the first time in the current discourse. If the reference is nonspecific, the speaker is referring to a category "basket"/"soldier" without reference to a particular entity/individual. 27

(115) a. Nonspecific/specific indefinite: 'I am looking for a basket.'
   a. Nonspecific/specific indefinite: 'Have you seen a soldier?'

The final distinction to make is "nonspecific nongeneric", which is a second subcategory of "nonspecific". In an article on definiteness-marking in South Asian languages, Masica (1986) uses this term for the noun element in conjunct verbs. 28 Consider, for example, the noun मुठi in the conjunct verb मुठ कर- मुठi kʌr- 'to make a bundle; to bundle' (116). Note that the noun मुठi is not in any grammatical relationship to the other clause constituents; the direct object is पुवालला pual-la 'straw-PL'.

(116) एक्टा बुगा लोक पुवालला मुठ करेचे। (cf. DLR.01.002)
   ek-ta burʰa lok pual-la mutʰi kʌr-ec-e
   one-NCLS old man straw-PL bundle make-PRES-3
   'An old man is bundling [CONJUNCT.VERB] straw.'

27 Lambrecht (1994:82) distinguishes between "nonspecific" and "generic" reference, in that the generic refers to any or all members of a category. "Since such noun phrases merely require that the addressee be able to identify the semantic class designated by the lexical head, generic indefinite NPs may be said to have identifiable referents. ... That the referents of generic indefinite noun phrases must be considered identifiable is confirmed by the fact that they may be anaphorically referred to either with another indefinite NP or with a definite pronoun, without a clear difference in interpretation." Lambrecht also asserts that the nonspecific, the specific indefinite and the generic references can be distinguished according to their reference in subsequent discourse. Based on the Rājbanshi data at hand, however, I found it difficult to maintain a clear distinction between the nonspecific and the generic.

28 Masica (1991:124-125) notes that nonspecific nongeneric nouns refer "...not to a category but merely to the idea of the noun in a very vague sense. ... Nonspecific nongeneric nouns have no independent existence in the discourse apart from the verb. This status-category is one that is often overlooked, but we cannot ignore it in South Asian languages where, due to the importance of noun-verb compounding, it looms very large."
3.6.2.5.2 Use of classifiers for specificity, definiteness and the generic

Firstly, if the classifier is attached to the noun, it is identified as specific definite (117a). Classifier marking on the numeral implies that the agent is specific indefinite (117b).

(117) a. लोक-माने बेतिपातरे काम करे। (cf. DLR.03.003)
lok-tʌ mane kʰet-i-pat-i-r=e kam kar-c-e
man-NCLS PCL field-NML-leaf-NML-GEN=EMPH work do-PRES-3
'The man\textsuperscript{[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]} works in farming'

b. एक-टा लोक पर छाँ। (cf. DLR.01.001)
ek-tʌ lok gʰʌr cʰa(r)-c-e
one-NCLS man house thatch-PRES-3
'A man\textsuperscript{[SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE]} is house-thatching (conjunct verb).'

If the subject of a clause in Rājbanshi has generic reference it is often marked by the plural on [+COUNT] nouns (118a-b), and the noun classifier on [-COUNT] nouns (118c-d). Insofar as the plural marker and noun classifiers are also used for specific definite reference, the sentences can often be interpreted (depending on the context) in two ways (i-ii). (Note the effect of the noun classifier on collective nouns in section 3.6.1.4.)

(118) a. सेलला गरुला बहिरिति नि जाबार ताने राखा जाछे। (cf. MR.02.023)
sæl-la garu-la-r gʰeca-la bahiriti ni ja-ba-r tane
neck_guide-PL bullock-PL-GEN throat-PL outside NEG go-INF-GEN for rakʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
put-PST.PTCP PASS.AUX-PRES-3
i. 'Neck-guides\textsuperscript{[GENERIC]} are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).'
ii. '(The) neck-guides\textsuperscript{[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]} are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).'

b. राजबंशीला भात खाचे।
rajbʌŋsi-la bʰat kʰa-c-e
Rājbanshi-PL rice eat-PRES-3
i. 'Rājbanshis\textsuperscript{[GENERIC]} eat rice (conjunct verb).'
ii. 'The(se) Rājbanshis\textsuperscript{[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]} eat rice (conjunct verb).'

c. उपर में पानी में मुख में नहीं। (GR.01.003)
upar se pani-kʰan dekʰin mukʰ-e ja-cʰ-e
above ABL water-NCLS south towards go-PRES-3
i. 'Water\textsuperscript{[GENERIC]} flows from above towards the south.'
ii. 'The water\textsuperscript{[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]} is flowing from above towards the south.'
3.6.2 Noun classes

iii. 'Cold water [GENERIC] is tasty.'

ii. 'The cold water [SPECIFIC.DEFINITE] is tasty.'

In (119a-c) the classifier denotes specificity alone. The patient जहाज jahaj 'aeroplane; vessel' in (119a) is specific indefinite. This is indicated by the indefinite article which is formed by the numeral 'one' followed by the noun classifier. In (119b), the entity 'aeroplane' within the locative phrase is specific definite. The patient in (119c) is likewise specific definite. Conversely, in (119d) the noun classifier is not used due to the nonspecific status of the noun.

(119) a. मुई एक जहाज देखनु।
mui ek-k⁴an jahaj dek⁵-n-u
1sg[pro] one-NCLS aeroplane see-PST-1sg
'I saw an aeroplane [SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE].'

b. जहाजबाट एक जहाज राखिक।
jahaj-k⁴an-at ek-k⁴an j⁸anđa raha-ki
aeroplane-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS flag be-SA3
'On the aeroplane [SPECIFIC.DEFINITE] there was a flag.'

c. मुई जहाजबाट उठाते देखनु।
mui jahaj-k⁴an ur-a-te dek⁵-n-u
1sg[pro] aeroplane-NCLS rise-CAUS-CONT.PTCL see-PST-1sg
'I saw the plane [SPECIFIC.DEFINITE] taking off.'

d. तुई जहाज देखिउ?
tui jahaj dek⁵-ic-it
2sg[pro] aeroplane see-PERF-2sg
'Have you seen an aeroplane [NONSPECIFIC]?'

Nonspecific reference is found in the text data in examples such as the following.

(120) a. इडक "गरु गारि पौँचा" कह्न। (MR.02.017)
i-da-k garu gari-r pāia kaha-c-e
DEM[prox]-NCLS-DAT bullock cart-GEN wheel say-PRES-3
'This is called (a) bullock cart's wheel [NONSPECIFIC].'
3. Morphology

de. बेछा बनेंचि। (cf. MR.04.005)
   kacu  bun-ec-i
   [kacu]vegetable  plant-PRES-1pl
   'We are planting [kacu]vegetables[NONSPECIFIC].'

e. मुइ जन कामाए रहे जाछु। (cf. DLR.06.058)
   mui  jn  kama=e  r  ja-cʰ-u
   1sg[pro]  labour  earner=EMPH  remain-ABS  AUX-PRES-1sg
   'I will remain a labourer[NONSPECIFIC].'

f. मनड याहाँर आधािङ से बेिस हइ बन्बारे। (cf. DLR.06.055)
   man-da  yaha-r  adʰaṇi  se  besi  ha-i  ge-l-ki  rani
   mind-NCLS  DEM[pro/prox]-GEN  half  ABL  more  be-ABS  AUX-PST-SA3  queen
   ba-na-ba=r=e
   become-INF-GEN=EMPH
   'Her mind became more than half (favourable of) becoming a queen[NONSPECIFIC].'

g. पिखड उराएने चुिल गेल दाना पािन खाबा। (cf. DLR.05.053; see also GR.01.006, GR.02.015,
   GR.02.012, MR.05.243, MR.05.245 and MR.04.053. Compare with the use of the
   classifier in MR.05.210, and the plural in MR.04.025)
   pʰaʌki-da  ura-ene  cul-i  ge-l  dana  pani  kʰa-ba
   bird-NCLS  fly-CONJ.PTCL  AUX-ABS  go-PST3  grain  water  eat-INF
   'The bird flew off (in order) to eat [grain (and) water][NONSPECIFIC].'

Additionally copula complement (121) mass nouns tend not to be marked with the classifier.²⁹

²⁹ The contrast between the use of the classifier in the copula complement in DLR.03.003, and the
lack of the classifier in DLR.03.005 is unclear.
3.6.2 Noun classes

The noun classifier is often used for specific reference in genitive modifiers. In (122a) the genitive modifier बािसर basi-r 'flute-GEN' is nonspecific, and therefore the noun is not marked with the classifier. Conversely, the genitive modifier बािसडर basi-ḍʌ-r 'flute-NCLS-GEN' in (122b) is specific definite. Like (122a), the genitive modifiers in (122c-d) are nonspecific. Conversely, the reason why the classifier is occasionally deleted from a specific definite possessive modifier requires further research (cf. section 3.6.2.4).

(122) a. भइसला बािसर आवाजड सुिनए... (cf. MR.05.326)
   bʰʌis-la basi-r awaj-ḍʌ sun-ie
   water_buffalo-PL flute-GEN sound-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL
   'Hearing the flute[NONSPECIFIC] sound[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE], the wild buffaloes...'

b. भइसला बािसडर आवाजड सुिनए...
   bʰʌis-la basi-ḍʌ-r awaj-ḍʌ sun-ie
   water_buffalo-PL flute-NCLS-GEN sound-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL
   'Hearing the sound[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE] of the flute[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE], the wild buffaloes...'

c. लदिर माचला ओक मेजकोट लािगएने मर जाबे। (cf. MR.05.223)
   lʌdi-r mac-la orkot jarkot ḍʌ lag-iene
   river-GEN fish-PL mixed_up [echo]mixed_up apply_to-CONJ.PTCL
   mar-i ja-b-t
   die-ABS AUX-FUT-3
   'The river[NONSPECIFIC] fish[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE] will get entangled and will die.'

d. अर्ने बने देखे ते बािशर टापला। (cf. MR.05.108)
   ḍʌgle_baggle dekʰ-b-t te bag⁹-er ḍap-la
   here_and_there look-FUT-3 PCL tiger-GEN footprint-PL
   'He looked around and saw tiger's[NONSPECIFIC] footprints[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE].'
"Languages adopt varied strategies with respect to the four basic categories. Some elect to mark the basic specified/nonspecified distinction itself, e.g., Vietnamese, where this is accomplished through the use or non-use of classifiers with the noun... An interesting question is whether South Asian languages with classifier systems (primarily Bengali and Assamese) work that way, in view of the fact that these 'definiteness particles', as they are sometimes misleadingly called... also are attached to numerals, including 'one' in an Indefinite Article function, and to express 'some'... If so, it would give us one indigenous South Asian criterion for sorting out, for example, generic vs. specifying usages... on a simple formal basis."

Based upon the observations in the previous sections, there would seem to be some evidence to suggest that the noun classifiers are used primarily for specificity, not definiteness. That is, the classifier is used for both specific definite and specific indefinite reference alike. It is the position of the classifier that varies in these two cases: for specific indefinite reference the classifier is marked on the indefinite article, and for specific definite reference it is marked on the head of the phrase or the demonstrative. Conversely, in nonspecific and generic reference the noun classifier does not occur.

The exceptions to this hypothesis, based on research to date, are:

(a) The use of the classifier for generic reference of [-COUNT] nouns, and
(b) The (relatively frequent) deletion of the noun classifier in noun phrases which have specific definite possessive modifiers (cf. 3.6.2.4).

3.6.3 Pronouns

3.6.3.1 Personal pronouns

3.6.3.1.1 General

Rājbanshi distinguishes between 1st, 2nd and 3rd [+human] personal pronouns in both singular and plural:

(123) a. मूई (मूईँ) mui '1sg[pro]'
b. तुई (तुईँ) tui '2sg[pro]'
c. उहाँ(ए) uhā(e) '3sg[pro]'
d. हामा hama '1pl[pro]'  
 e. नमा, नामा tam²ᵃ / tam³ᵃ '2pl[pro]'
e. अमा, आमा am²ᵃ / am³ᵃ '3pl[pro]'

The 3sg and 3pl [+human] pronouns have distinct proximate forms.

(124) a. याहाँ(ए), इहा yahã(e) '3sg[pro/prox]' (cf. DLR.05.016, GR.01.007, MR.05.045)
   b. एमा ema '3pl[pro/prox]' (cf. DLR.06.089)

The demonstrative bases द- i- 'DEM[prox]' (i.e. 'this') and उ- u- 'DEM[rem]' (i.e. 'that') are used as pronouns when referring to [-human] entities (125b-c). The noun classifier is determined by the nominal entity being referred to.

(125) a. Human
   उहाँ- हे आन् uhã-k hetna an-∅
   3sg[pro]-DAT here bring-IMP2sg
   'Bring him/her here.'

b. Animal
   उड- हे आन् (referring to खिसड kʰʌsi-ḍʌ 'goat(male/castrated)-NCLS')
   u-ḍʌ hetna an-∅
   DEM[rem]-NCLS-DAT here bring-IMP2sg
   'Bring it here.'

c. Inanimate
   उख- हे आन् (referring to खलाख kʰʌsla-kʰan 'woven_straw_mat-NCLS'; cf. also
   MR.05.252, DLR.05.060, GR.02.017 and MR.02.018)
   u-kʰan hetna an-∅
   DEM[rem]-NCLS here bring-IMP2sg
   'Bring it here.'

Juxtaposing the pronouns तुइ tui '2sg[pro]' and मुइ mui '1sg[pro]' renders the meaning 'you and I; the two of us'. There is, however, no reason to posit a dual category or an inclusive/exclusive distinction since the verb agrees with the 1pl subject, and since no other pronouns can be juxtaposed in this fashion. At best, one could argue that the construction is used for the intensification of the two parties involved as compared to the neutral pronoun हामा hama '1pl[pro]'.

(126) तुइ मुइ सुना आराम से बठए खाम।
   tui mui suna aram se bʌṭʰ-ie kʰa-m-ʌ
   2sg[pro] 1sg[pro] PCL rest ADVL sit-CONJ.PTCL eat-FUT-1pl
   'You and I will sit and eat in peace.'

In the Rangeli and Dādar Bairiā dialects, plural marking on the plural personal pronoun is obligatory (127a-b). The lack of plural marking indicates singular honorific (127c-d).
3. Morphology

(127) a. ताला tam⁹⁴a-la '2pl[pro]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)
   b. अम्ला am⁹⁴a-la '3pl[pro]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)
   c. ताम tam⁹⁴a '2sg[hon]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)
   d. अम्ल am⁹⁴a '3sg[hon]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)

The stem of the 2pl pronoun has two forms, which vary among speakers of even the same dialect: ताला tam⁹⁴a and ताम tam⁹⁴a '2pl[pro]'. Likewise, the 3pl pronoun variates between अम्ल am⁹⁴a and अम्ला am⁹⁴a. The 3pl pronoun is only used for reference to humans. Though nasalisation is non-contrastive (cf. section 2.5), nasalisation is often found on the 2sg and 3sg pronouns and sometimes even on the 1sg pronoun. The use of nasalisation for pronouns varies between speakers.

The 3sg pronoun उहाँ uhã and the proximate pronoun याहाँ yaha '3sg[pro/prox]' are only used for human reference. The pronunciation of the 3sg pronoun उहाँ uhã varies considerably. The pronoun in dialects from western and south-western Jhāpā is pronounced with a final -e, therefore wahãe (128b), whereas in dialects from northern Jhāpā (Birtāmōd, Lakharigaddi) the pronoun is उहाँ / वाहाँ uhã (128c) and the pronoun-final -e stands for the emphatic clitic (उहाँए uhã=e '3sg[pro]=EMPH').

(128) a. [wãe] '3sg[pro]' southern Morang (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)
   b. [wahãe] '3sg[pro]' south-western and western Jhāpā (Pirālbāri, Korobāri, Pācgāchi)
   c. [wahã] '3sg[pro]' northern Jhāpā (Ghailāḍubbā, Lakharigaddi, Birtāmōd)
   d. [ʌe] '3sg[pro]' far-eastern Jhāpā (Bhadrapur, Mahespur)

3.6.3.1.2 Oblique stems

The dialects studied here have three oblique stems for 1sg and 2sg pronouns. The first oblique stems मो- mo- '1sg[obl]-' and तो- to- '2sg[obl]-' are used in conjunction with the genitive and dative-accusative cases.

(129) oblique stem 1
   a. तुइ tuĩ '2sg[pro]' > तोर to-r '2sg[obl]-GEN'; तोक to-k '2sg[obl]-DAT'
   b. मुइ mui '1sg[pro]' > मोर mo-r '1sg[obl]-GEN'; मोक mo-k '1sg[obl]-DAT'

The second oblique stems म- ma- '1sg[obl]-' and ता- ta- '2sg[obl]-' are used with the -ह=h variant of the conjunctive clitic -अ =A '=CNJ'. Again, non-contrastive nasalisation is sometimes present in the phonetic realisation (and hence, orthographic representation).

(130) oblique stem 2
   a. तुइ tuĩ '2sg[pro]' > तहँ ta=ʌ=CNJ' ('also you')
   b. मुइ mui '1sg[pro]' > महँ ma=h=CNJ' ('also I'; cf. DLR.06.097)
The third oblique stems are महा- '1sg[obl]-' and तहा- '2sg[obl]-'. These are used either when both case marking and the emphatic clitic -ए = e' = EMPH' are present (131a), or when case marking and the conjunctive are present (131b). Here, case marking attaches to the oblique stem, and the conjunctive clitic or emphatic clitic attaches to the right of the case marker. Exceptions to this rule are also found (131c).

(131) oblique stem 3 with case marking and conjunctive and emphatic clitic

a. महँ (महा) maHA-r = e '1sg[obl]-GEN = EMPH' (cf. DLR.05.057a)
b. तहँ (तहा) taha-k = a '2sg[obl]-DAT = CNJ'
c. महँ ma = ha-k '1sg[obl] = CNJ-DAT' (cf. DLR.06.065)

Finally, the primary stems of 1sg (132a), 2sg (132b) and 3sg (132c-d) pronouns undergo morphophonemic alternation when they occur with the emphatic clitic.

(132) morphophonemic alternation of 1sg[pro], 2sg[pro] and 3sg[pro] stems

a. 1sg तु '1sg[pro]' + -ए = e' = EMPH' > तु '1sg[pro] = EMPH'
b. 2sg तु '2sg[pro]' + -ए = e' = EMPH' > तु '2sg[pro] = EMPH'
c. 3sg (northern Jhāpā) उहाँ '3sg[pro] = EMPH' > बाहि wa = hi

Table 13 gives an overview of the above-mentioned personal pronouns.

Table 13. Personal pronoun declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>-GEN</th>
<th>-DAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg[pro]</td>
<td>मू (मूह) mui</td>
<td>मोर mo-r</td>
<td>मोक mo-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>महँ (महा) ma = ha</td>
<td>महार (महार) maHA-r = a</td>
<td>महाक (महाक) maHA-k = a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>मू (मूह) mui = he</td>
<td>महर (महर) maHA-r = e</td>
<td>महक (महक) maHA-k = e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg[pro]</td>
<td>तु (तुह) tu</td>
<td>तोर to-r</td>
<td>तोक to-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>तहँ (तहा) taha-k = a</td>
<td>तहार (तहार) taha-r = a</td>
<td>तहाक (तहाक) taha-k = a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>तहँ (तहा) taha-k = e</td>
<td>तहार (तहार) taha-r = e</td>
<td>तहाक (तहाक) taha-k = e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg[pro]</td>
<td>उहाँ (उहा) uha</td>
<td>उहार uha-r [wahār]</td>
<td>उहाक uha-k [wahāk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>उहाँ (उहा) uha = u [wahāu]</td>
<td>उहार (उहार) uha-r = a [wahāras]</td>
<td>उहाक (उहाक) uha-k = a [wahāks]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>उहाँ (उहा) uha = i [wahāi]</td>
<td>उहार (उहार) uha-r = e [wahāre]</td>
<td>उहाक (उहाक) uha-k = e [wahāke]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg[pro]</td>
<td>उहाँ (उहा) uha = a [wahā]</td>
<td>उहार (उहार) uha-r = a [wahāras]</td>
<td>उहाक (उहाक) uha-k = a [wahāks]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>उहाँ (उहा) uha = a [wahāa]</td>
<td>उहार (उहार) uha-r = a [wahāras]</td>
<td>उहाक (उहाक) uha-k = a [wahāks]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>उहाँ (उहा) uha = e [wahāe]</td>
<td>उहार (उहार) uha-r = e [wahāre]</td>
<td>उहाक (उहाक) uha-k = e [wahāke]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl[pro]</td>
<td>हमार hama</td>
<td>हमार हमार हमार = r</td>
<td>हमार k = k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>हमार हमार = a / u</td>
<td>हमार हमार = a</td>
<td>हमार k = k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>हमार हमार हमार = a</td>
<td>हमार हमार = a</td>
<td>हमार k = k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no honorific pronouns as such, but the plural pronouns can be used for singular referents to indicate respect. The use of the honorific plural is determined according to various cultural conventions, e.g. strangers and in-laws are referred to with the respective forms (133a-b), whereas older persons who are close relatives of the speaker are generally not. There is usually number agreement between participants of a discourse if the honorific plural is used. That is, if a single person is referred to in the plural, that person also refers to him/herself in the plural (133c). When a plural pronoun is used for a singular referent, the verb is likewise marked in the plural. In (133d) the singular marking on the verb is considered a mistake.

(133) a. तामक दुई निनडा पोक्छ खुद्दा ह्यान। (cf. MR.05.315)
    tam³a-k dui-da tina-da pok³ar kʰud-ba ha-p-kan
    2pl[pro]-DAT two-NCLS three-NCLS pond dig-INF must-FUT-SA2pl
    'You[SG.HONORIFIC] must make two or three ponds.' (speaker talking to his father-in-law)

b. एक दुई चटि माने मुँ असार घर बिस्तु... (cf. DLR.03.009)
    ek dui caṭi mane muī am³a-r gʰar g-īsn-u
    one two time PCL 1sg[pro] 3pl[pro]-GEN house go-REM.PST-1sg
    'I went to his[SG.HONORIFIC] house once or twice...' (speaker referring to a close friend of his father)

c. [Speaker A] ताम आला कि काम करेऽ?
    tam³a al³a ki kam kar-e-c-an
    2pl[pro] now what work do-PRES-2pl
    'What are you[SG.HONORIFIC] doing at the moment?'
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[Speaker B] हामा राजभाषा भाषा सिखेन।

hama rajbānsi bʰasa sik-ec-i

1pl[pro] Rājbandsi language learn-PRES-1pl

"I[SG.HONORIFIC] am learning the Rājbandhi language.'

d. हामाकहरू नि *पारिम (पाम) काहेँ आमिए काटले। (cf. DLR.06.087)

hama=ʌ kaha-ba ni *par-im (par-mʌ) kahe as-ie

1pl[pro]=CNJ say-INF NEG *can-FUT1sg (can-FUT-1pl) who come-CONJ.PTCL kat-i-t

cut-PST-3

'Neither can I[SG.HONORIFIC] say who came (and) cut (him).'

3.6.3.2 Reflexive pronouns and intensifiers

I will distinguish between the terms "reflexive" and "intensifier" along the lines of König & Siemund (2005:194).

"Reflexive pronouns (or 'reflexive anaphors') are expressions which are prototypically used to indicate that a nonsubject argument of a transitive predicate is coreferential with (or bound by) the subject... By intensifiers we mean expressions ... which can be adjoined to either NPs or VPs, are invariably focused and thus are prosodically prominent."

Though the two categories have distinct functions and semantics (cf. Saxena & Subbarao 1985), I will cover them both in this section since in Rājbandsi they are closely related in form. I will also discuss cases where the genitive form of the reflexive pronoun is used to refer to a coreferential subject.

Table 14 gives an overview of reflexive pronoun and intensifier declensions. Note that the pronoun आपुन apun 'REFL[pro]' has no inflected forms of its own.

Table 14. Reflexive pronoun and intensifier declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>DAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REF[pro]</td>
<td>आपने apne</td>
<td>आपनार apna-r</td>
<td>(आपने) आपनाक (apne) apna-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>आपने i apni-r</td>
<td>आपनार apna-r-e</td>
<td>आपनाक apna-k-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF[pro]</td>
<td>आपुन apun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF[pro]-PL</td>
<td>आपने आपने apne apne</td>
<td>आपनार आपनार apna-r apna-r</td>
<td>आपनाक आपनाक apna-k apna-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>आपना आपि apna apni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF[pro]</td>
<td>सूर kʰud (Hindi; used by some writers)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Following the aforementioned definition of the reflexive pronoun, Rājbanshi makes use of one reflexive pronoun आपना-क 'REFL[pro]-DAT' which is coreferential with the subject of the transitive clause (134a). The form आपने आपना-क 'REFL[pro]-REFL[pro]-DAT' in (134b) seems to be merely a variant form, though this should be verified through further research.

(134) a. केनठ के बचाम आपने के? (cf. MR.04.142; see also MR.04.158-159)
    kenʌŋ kʌr ʌ bʌc-a-m apna-k te
    how ADVL save-CAUS-FUT1sg REFL[pro]-DAT PCL
    'How will/can I save myself?'

    b. मुइ [आपने आपना] देखू।
    mui [apne apna-k] dɛkʰ-n-u
    1sg[pro] [REFL[pro] REFL[pro]-DAT] see-PST-1sg
    'I saw [myself].'

In intransitive clauses the intensifying pronoun आपने 'REFL[pro]' intensifies the subject (135a). In this case it may be replaced by the emphatic form of the personal pronoun (135b). The intensifying pronoun itself may also be emphasised (135c).

(135) a. (मुइ) आपने आन्तु।
    (mui) apne as-n-u
    (1sg[pro]) REFL[pro] come-PST-1sg
    'I came myself.'

    b. मुँह आन्तु।
    mu=ʰɛ as-n-u
    1sg[pro]=EMPH come-PST-1sg
    'I came (myself).'

    c. (मुइ) आपनें आन्तु।
    (mui) apne=i as-n-u
    (1sg[pro]) REFL[pro]=EMPH come-PST-1sg
    'I came myself.'

Conversely, the subject of a transitive clause can only be intensified using the emphatic form of the personal pronoun (136b).

(136) a. *मुइ आपने उहांक टूकूनिन।
    *mui apne uhã-k ʊʰuk-em-ki-n
    *1sg[pro] REFL[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3-1sg
    *'I hit him myself.'
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b. मुह उहाँक ठुकेि कन।
   mu=h e ũhã-k ṭʰuk-em-ki-n
   1sg[pro]=EMPH 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3-1sg
   'I hit him (myself).'

A second pronoun आपुन apun 'REFL[pro]' was also found to be used for intensification. The distinction between the pronouns आपने apne and आपुन apun requires further study. Initial observations suggested a semantic distinction: it was found to occur frequently in negative contexts (137a-b), perhaps due to which some informants regarded the pronoun आपुन apun to have an impolite connotation. However, in examples (137c-d) the pronoun seems not to indicate impoliteness but intensification.  

(137) a. आपुन जाबे नि, पोरक जाबा कहबे!
   apun ja-b-ɪ ni por-ʌk ja-ba kʌhʌ-b-ɪ
   REFLE[pro] go-FUT-3 NEG someone(else)-DAT go-INF say-FUT-3
   'He himself won't go, he tells someone else to go!'

b. आपुन खािचत, आर मोक कहिचत नि खाबा!
   apun kʰʌa-ʌ-c-it ar mo-k kʌhʌ-ʌ-c-it ni kʰʌa-ba
   REFLE[pro] eat-PRES-2sg and 1sg[obl]-DAT say-PRES-2sg NEG eat-INF
   'You yourself are eating, and you tell me not to eat!'

c. आपुन थारे हामार घराने आले।
   apun tʰare hʌma-r gʰʌr-ʌt as-l-ɪ
   REFLE[pro] being_standing 1pl[pro]-GEN house-LOC come-PST-3
   '(S/he) her/himself came to our house.'

d. आपुन हाते मारि मारि, तव पुरे मारे आया।
   apun hʌt-e mar-i mac tʌb pur=ʌ e mane as
   REFLE[pro] hand-INSTR kill-SUBJ1pl fish then completely=EMPH mind-GEN hope
   '(If we) ourselves catch (lit. kill) fish, then (our) mind will be full of hope.'

It is also likely that the pronouns आपने apne 'REFL[pro]' and आपुन apun 'REFL[pro]' have distinct distributional properties. That is, whereas आपुन apun functions as an independent intensifier in examples (137a-d), आपने apne can only occur in (137a-b,d) if it occurs with a

30 The pronoun आपुन apun may be related to the Assamese reflexive. Kakati (1962:319) maintains:
"The reflexive pronoun in Assamese is apuni, ʌpuni, by oneself. ... Assamese adjectival apon, one's own, is connected with M.I.A. appanə- < *O.I.A. ʌtmanaka-. The reflexive apuni is in the instrumental case-ending of the bare stem apon- (ʌtmanə=appanə)-. Both the forms, adjectival apon, and instrumental apuni, have been in use since early times ... In modern Assamese the reflexive apuni has the sense of 'by oneself', 'voluntarily'."
noun phrase head. Therefore the intensifying expression in (138a) can replace the pronoun आपुन apun in example (137a), (138b) the pronoun in (137b), and (138c) the pronoun in (137d).

(138) a. उहाँ आपने uhã apne '3sg[pro] REFL[pro]
   b. तुइ आपने tui apne '2sg[pro] REFL[pro]
   c. द. हामा आपने hama apne '1pl[pro] REFL[pro]

As with Hindi (Kachru & Bhatia 1977:22-23) and Bhojpuri (Shukla 1981:168), if a possessive pronoun is coreferential with the subject of the clause, it obligatorily takes the reflexive form आपना-र 'REFL[pro]-GEN' (139a). If the subject of the clause is a plural entity, the possessive pronoun is reduplicated as आपना आपनी apna apni 'REFL[pro] REFL[pro]' (139b-c). This expression is freely substitutable with the reduplicated reflexive pronoun आपना आपना-र 'REFL[pro]-GEN REFL[pro]-GEN'.

(139) a. आपना बेटी घर (cf. MR.04.088; see also DLR.04.007, DLR.05.008, MR.04.129)
   apna-r bẹti-r gʰʌr
   REFL[pro]-GEN daughter-GEN house
   'own (=her) daughter's house'

   b. आपना आपनी फर्र सीमा करन(े) (cf. DLR.03.012)
   apna apni gʰʌr-er kam-er kʰarʌ(-ʌt)
   REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason(-LOC)
   'because of each one's own (=their) house work'

   c. गाडे जेठियाला आपना आपनि चुलि गेल। (cf. MR.04.087)
   gʌṭe kʰẹtia-la apna apni cul-i ge-l
   all jackal-PL REFL[pro] REFL[pro] AUX-ABS go-PST3
   'All of the jackals went (to) own (=their) (places).'

The intensified possessive pronoun (140a) may be substituted by the emphatic form of the personal pronoun (140b). The possessive pronoun may also be emphasised (140c).

(140) a. इढ़ धुसा बीर आपनार हँहू।
   i-dʌ d̥usa to-r apna-r hʌ-ku
   DEM[prox]-NCLS blanket 2sg[obl]-GEN REFL[pro]-GEN be-SA2sg
   'This blanket is your own.'

   b. इढ़ धुसा तहरे हँहू।
   i-dʌ d̥usa tʌhʌ-r=ʌ hʌ-ku
   DEM[prox]-NCLS blanket 2sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH be-SA2sg
   'This blanket is yours.'
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c. आनारें बुझि, आने पाचे दुःसागर। (GR.02.086)
apna-r=e buddhi apne pa-c-e durgati
REFL[pro]-GEN=EMPH wisdom REFL[pro] get-PRES-3 misery
'(His) own wisdom, (and he) himself got the misery!'

3.6.3.3 Reciprocal pronoun

Two pronominal structures are reported to be used for the reciprocal pronoun: (एक) आपसमा (ek)apas-ma '(one) amongst-LOC' and एक दूसरा जन जनक ek dasra j₉ana-k 'one second PCLS-DAT'. In particular the second structure is used by some Rājbanshi writers. According to one informant, however, these are both loan structures. Original Rājbanshi structures would be either the adverbial phrase (आनारे) बिच्त apna-r=e bic-At 'own-GEN=EMPH midst-LOC' in (141a-b), or the reduplicated verb in (141c-d). The latter case would seem to be restricted to reciprocal verbs (cf. Givón 1984:102).

(141) a. हामा आनारे बिच्त मारामा बजने।
    hama apna-r=e bic-at mar-a mar-i kar-n-a
    1pl[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN=EMPH midst-LOC hit-DVBL hit-DVBL do-PST-1pl
    'We quarreled amongst ourselves.'

b. आमारे बिच्त नामिने गेलिकाह।
    am₃a-r=e bic-at lag-i ge-l-ki j₉agra
    3pl[pro]-GEN=EMPH midst-LOC begin-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 quarrel
    'They begun to quarrel with each other.'

c. कियां मारामा कर्च रे, छुवनाल।
    kìa mar-a mar-i kar-c-an re, c₉ua-la
    why hit-DVBL hit-DVBL do-PRES-2pl VOC child-PL
    'Why are you hitting each other, children?'

d. आमा दंते बना दिले मारामा तामागै। (cf. DLR.04.028)
    am₃a dan₇e j₉ana di-l-i mar-a mar-i laga-e
    3pl[pro] both PCLS AUX-PST-3 beat-DVBL beat-DVBL begin-ABS
    '...they both began to beat each other...'

---

31 Note that Nepali uses (एक) आपसमा (ek)apas-ma '(one) amongst-LOC' and एक अकोलाई ek orka-lai 'one other-DAT', and Hindi आपस में āpas mē 'amongst LOC', and एक दूसरा का ek dusre kā 'one second DAT'.
Rajbansi has two demonstratives, इ- 'DEM[prox]' (i.e. 'this') and उ- 'DEM[rem]' (i.e. 'that'). Their use as personal pronouns was noted in section 3.6.3.1. When used as demonstrative determiners, they mark inanimate (142a), animate (142b) and human (142c) referents. They also occur with pronominal adverbs and adjectives (cf. section 5.6).

(142) a. इड घर फुसेर छे। (MR.03.001)
   i-ḍʌ ḍʌr pʰʌs-er cʰ-e
   DEM[prox]-NCLS house thatch-GEN be-PRES3
   'This house is thatched.'

   b. उड बाघ उहाँक प्रे। (cf. MR.05.013)
   u-ḍʌ ʰʌ ʰu-k pʰək-i pʰək-ʌ-ki
   that-NCLS tiger 3sg[pro]-DAT catch-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
   'The tiger caught him.'

   c. इड लोक गचिमारि हए। (cf. DLR.03.001)
   i-ḍʌ ʰʌk g ʰʌ-ʌ ʰʌ-er cʰ-e
   DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimā-GEN be-PRES3
   'This man is from Gacimāri.'

The demonstratives have the emphatic forms एइ- 'DEM[prox/emph]' (143a) and अइ- 'DEM[rem/emph]' (143b) respectively.

(143) a. एइखान मुखेर गुने हारानु। (cf. DLR.05.040)
   ei-kʰʌn mukʰ-er gun-e hara-n-u
   DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS mouth-GEN quality-INSTR/EMPH(?) lose_sthg-PST-1sg
   'I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth.'

   b. सब रिन अइला काथा कहि... (cf. DLR.05.015)
   sʰʌb din a-i-la katsu-ha kʰa-p-ki
   every day DEM[rem/emph]-PL thing say-FUT-SA3
   'Every single day he said the same things (to her)....'

Full declensions of the above-mentioned demonstratives are given in Table 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN CLASS AND CASE</th>
<th>Noun class -ढ-*NCLS’</th>
<th>Noun class -खान-*NCLS’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOM -GEN -DAT</td>
<td>NOM -GEN -DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM[prox]</td>
<td>i-ḍʌ i-ḍʌ-r i-ḍʌ-k</td>
<td>i-kʰʌn i-kʰʌn-er i-kʰʌn-ʌk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM[rem]</td>
<td>इउ      इउ      इउ</td>
<td>इउ      इउ      इउ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.3.5 Indefinite pronouns

The following indefinite pronouns have been identified.

Firstly, the personal indefinite pronoun काहँ kahu (or, काह kaha) 'anyone, someone' (144a). This has an oblique stem काहाँ kaha- which is used with genitive (144b) and dative-accusative (144c) case marking.

(144) a. काहाँ गेसेकी- गेसेकी भागेचे... (cf. MR.04.081a)  
kahə gʰesketi-te gʰesketi-te bʰag-ec-e  
someone crawl-CONT.PTCL crawl-CONT.PTCL escape-PRES-3  
'...some fled while crawling...'

b. काहाँर कम्मर बागिचे। (cf. MR.04.076)  
kahə-r kəmmar-kʰan=e bʰan-i g-ich-e  
someone-GEN waist-NCLS=EMPH break-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
'...someone's lower back was broken.'

c. काहाँ kaha-k =水产 any-DAT = CNJ (cf. DLR.05.065)  

Secondly, the pronoun कुछ kucʰu 'some(thing); a little' is found in both affirmative (145a) and negative (145b-c) clauses. When negated the meaning of the pronoun is 'not anything;
nothing'. The plural marker is also used on the indefinite pronoun (145d). In addition to functioning as a pronominal (145d), the pronoun can modify a noun (145e) or an adjective (145f).

(145) a. इला कचु कुछु हए, हपाए। (MR.04.037)
   i-la kacu kucʰu ha-ic-e hapae
   DEM[prox]-PL [kacu]vegetable some(thing) be-PERF-3 perhaps
   'Something has perhaps happened to these [kacu]vegetables.'

b. उहाँ आरके कुछु नि बले। (cf. DLR.05.013)
   uhã arki kucʰu ni bal-e
   3sg[pro] PCL some(thing) NEG speak-PST3
   'She didn't say anything.'

c. कुछु ना कुछु (cf. MR.04.032)
   kucʰu na kucʰu
   some(thing) NEG some(thing)
   'absolutely nothing'

d. एडनाबानत कुछला राप्ताल देखा जाँछे। (MR.03.020)
   eŋna-kʰan-ɻt kucʰu-la rakʰ-al dekʰ-a ja-eʰ-e
   yard-NCLS-LOC some-PL put-PST.PTCL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
   'One can see some things have been put in the yard.'

e. कुछु बाबु देइए नि। (cf. GR.01.027; see also MR.04.143, MR.04.187, MR.04.197)
   kucʰu daru cʰ-e = ie ni
   some medicine be-PRES3 = EMPH NEG
   'There is (absolutely) no medicine.' (In the sense, "There is nothing that can be done")

f. कटूटुका कुछु छट हु गेलिक।
   kuṭṭu-kʰan kucʰu cʰʌta ha-i ge-l-ki
   underwear-NCLS some short be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
   'The underwear is a little short.'

Thirdly, the pronoun कौए koe (also found as कोइ / कोय koi) is akin to the Hindi कोई koi 'someone; something' and indicates indefiniteness. In addition to functioning as an independent pronoun (146a), कौए koe can function as an adjectival modifier (146b-d).

(146) a. कौए आलेन कि हिंदक कु मूट नि छु।
   koe as-le kʰ-ɻ=d-is ki mui ni
   someone come-COND.PTCL say-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg SUBORD 1sg[pro] NEG
cʰ-u
   be-PRES1sg
   'If someone comes, say that I am not here.'
3.6.3 Pronouns

b. काहाँकअ काहाँर पर कोए अन्याच नि कवा... (cf. DLR.05.065; see also DLR.06.039, DLR.06.091, DLR.06.094, MR.05.127, MR.05.174, MR.05.188, MR.05.343)
   kaha-k = kaha-r par koe anyae ni kaf-ba
   anyone-DAT = CNJ anyone-GEN on top some injustice[loan] NEG do-INF
   'no-one should do anything unjust to anyone...'

c. कोए कोएला लोक
   koe koe-la lok
   some some-PL man
   'some people'

d. कोय एकटा लोक
   koe ek-ta lok
   some one-NCLS man
   'any man; a man (indefinite)'

Finally, the pronoun पोर por indicates 'another, other'.

(147) पोरक धैर्य रिलो। (cf. GR.02.084)
   por-ʌk buddʰi di-l-ɪ
   other-DAT wisdom give-PST-3
   'He gave advice to someone else.'

3.6.3.5.1 Indefinite pronouns of uncertainty

There are four indefinite pronouns of uncertainty: काभा kaba- 'someone', कुमा kuma- 'some', कवा kiwa 'some' and केवा kewa 'some_size/amount'. They imply that the speaker is uncertain about the person/entity which s/he is referring to.

Table 16. Indefinite pronouns of uncertainty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>कुमा- kuma- 'some-'</th>
<th>किवा kiwa 'some'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमाड kuma-ḍʌ 'some-NCLS'</td>
<td>किवा- kiwa-ḍʌ 'some-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमाखान kuma-kʰan 'some-NCLS'</td>
<td>किवाखान kiwa-kʰan 'some-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमा णिना kuma ṭʰina 'some place' (somewhere uncertain)</td>
<td>किवा णिना kiwa-ṭʰina 'some place'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 Compare with Maithili, according to Yadav (1997 [1996]:123): "In addition there are two more indefinite pronouns: kedən (i.e., the interrogative pronoun ke + dən) 'somebody unknown', and kidən (i.e., the interrogative pronoun ki + dən) 'something unknown.'
The indefinite personal pronoun implies that the speaker does not know the referents, or is in doubt about their identity. The pronoun is derived from the interrogative pronoun काहे 'who'.

(148) काहेला बेराच्या।
    kabʰ-a-la bera-c-e
    who-PL walk-PRES-3
    'Some (people) are walking (and I don't know who they are).'

The pronoun कुमा- kuma- 'some' (149a,c) is derived from कुन kun 'which' (149b).

(149) a. कुमाखान पानि खालो।
    kuma-kʰan pani kʰa-l-o
    some-NCLS water drink-PST-2sg
    'You drank some water (but I am uncertain which you water drank).'

    b. [Question] कुन माखे गेल?'
       kun makʰ-e ge-l
       which direction go-PST3
       '(In) which direction did he go?'

       [Answer] के जान, कुमा माखे गेला।
           ke jan, kuma makʰ-e ge-l
           who knows some direction go-PST3
           'Who knows, he went in some direction (or the other).'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>कुमा माखे (कुमाखाने) kuma makʰ-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kumakʰae) 'in some direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कुमा (कि)ति kuma (bi)ti 'in some direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>किवाला kiwa-lakʰ 'something like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('like something unexpected')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>कुमार kuma-da 'some-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कुमाखान kuma-kʰan 'some-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>कुमाखुना kuma-kʰuna 'some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uncertain/unknown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केवा- kewa- 'some-'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>काभा- kabʰa- 'someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>केवाडा kewa-da 'some-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केवाखान kewa-kʰan 'some-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>काभाड kabʰa-da 'someone-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>काभाखान kabʰa-kʰan 'someone-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>काभाला kabʰa-la 'someone-PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>इकेवा दिन i-kewa din 'DEM[prox]-some day' ('for some of these days')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>उकेवा दिन u-kewa din 'DEM[rem]-some day' ('for some of those days')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pronoun कवा ‘some’ is derived from the interrogative कि ‘what’. Consider the following examples. In (150a) the speaker knows the entity s/he is referring to. Conversely, in (150b-c) the speaker is unfamiliar with the referent.

(150) a. मुइ कुछु देक्नु।
mui kucʰu dekʰ-n-u
1sg[pro] something see-PST-1sg
'I saw something (and I know what it was).'

b. मुइ कवा देक्नु।
mui kiwa dekʰ-n-u
1sg[pro] something see-PST-1sg
'I saw something (but I don't know what it was).'

c. कवा नाम कहले।
kiwa nam kʰʌ-l-ɪ
some name say-PST-3
i. ‘S/he gave some name (but I don't know what it was).’ (neutral intonation)
ii. ‘Did s/he give a name (I didn't hear what s/he said)?’ (rising intonation)

Finally, the pronoun केवा kewa 'some_size/amount' is derived from the pronominal adverb केत 'how big; how much'. Again, the pronoun implies uncertainty of the size or amount (151a-b).

(151) a. केवाखान पन्ना महाँ दिम त।
kewa-kʰʌn panna mʰʌ-k=ʌ d-is tʌ
some-NCLS leaf(paper) 1sg[obl]-DAT=CNJ give-SBJ2sg PCL
'Give some leaves (unspecified amount) of paper to me too.'

b. अमार मझेका केवाखान नाम चितेत्तू।
amʰa-r maid'e kewa-jʰʌna-k mʌ=hʌ cinʰ-ec-u
3pl[pro]-GEN amongst some-PCLS-DAT 1sg[obl]=CNJ know-PRES-1sg
'I know some of them too (but I am not sure how many of them; I haven't counted).'

3.6.3.6 Interrogative pronouns

3.6.3.6.1 Personal interrogative pronoun

Declension of the personal pronoun कोँ हे kahe 'who' is as follows:
Table 17. Declension of personal interrogative pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Dat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>काहें kahe 'who'</td>
<td>काहा-r kaha- 'who-GEN'</td>
<td>काहा-k kaha- 'who-DAT'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>काहें kahe kahe 'who who'</td>
<td>काहा-r kaha- 'who-GEN who-GEN'</td>
<td>काहा-k kaha- 'who-DAT who-DAT'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This personal interrogative is used in both direct (152a-b) and embedded (152c) interrogative constructions.

(152) a. आप काहें ले मेल? (cf. DLR.05.037b)
    आप kahe 1-e ge-l
    PCL who take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST3
    'So who has taken it (away),'

b. तुइ काहें? (MR.05.275)
    तुइ tui kahe 2sg[pro] who
    'Who are you?'

c. तोक देखा है? काहें जितेइं ते काहें हारेइं। (MR.05.015)
    to-k dek-ba ha-p-ku kahe-jit-ec-i kahe har-ec-i
    2sg[obl]-DAT see-INF must-FUT-SA2sg who win-PRES-1pl who lose-PRES-1pl
    'You will have to watch (and tell) who (of us) wins and who (of us) loses.'

Interrogative adjectives and adverbs, such as (153), are charted in section 5.6.

(153) काहाँर बुलि हए इखान? (MR.05.239)
    काहा-r culi ha-e i-k' an
    who-GEN hair be-PRES3 DEM[prox]-NCLS
    'Whose hair is this?'

The personal interrogative pronoun के ke (or, केइ kei) 'who' in the idiom below is possibly a loan, or a reduced form of काहें kahe (or, काहेंए kahae) 'who'.

(154) केइ जान? (cf. DLR.06.087)
    kei jan
    who knows
    'Who knows!'
3.6.3 Pronouns

The personal pronoun has two contrastive forms in the plural: काहे kahe-la 'who-PL' and काहे काहे kahe kahe 'who who'. The question asked in (155a) implies that the answer is expected to indicate referents without individualization (155b). The question asked in (155c) could also produce the answer (155b). However, (155c) can also imply that the referents should be specifically individualized (155d).

(155) a. काहे बेराचे?
   kahe-la bera-c-e
   'Who is walking?'

   b. छुवाला।
   cʰua-la
   'The children.'

   c. काहे काहे बेराचे?
   kahe kahe bera-c-e
   'Who is walking?'

   d. पामर आर राम।
   pamar ar ram
   'Pāmar and Rām.'

3.6.3.6.2 Impersonal interrogative pronouns

The declension of the impersonal interrogative pronouns कि ki 'what' and कुन kun 'which' is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>कि ki impersonal 'what'</th>
<th>कुन kun impersonal 'which'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM (sg)</strong></td>
<td><strong>NOM (pl)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कि ki 'what; PQM; SUBORD’</td>
<td>किला ki-la 'what-PL' (neutral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विना ki-da 'what-NCLS’</td>
<td>विना ki-kʰan 'what-NCLS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>किला ki-la 'what-PL’ (group of single entities)</td>
<td>किला ki-la 'what-PL’ (group of plural entities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>किला ki ki 'what what’</td>
<td>किला ki ki-la 'what-what-PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुन kun ‘which’</td>
<td>कुन kun-la ‘which-PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुन-क्र kun-da ‘which-NCLS’</td>
<td>कुन kun-kʰan ‘which-NCLS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुन-क्र kun-ka ‘which-NCLS’</td>
<td>कुन kun-ka ‘which-NCLS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुन kun-la ‘which which-PL’</td>
<td>कुन kun-ka ‘which-PL’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18. Impersonal interrogative pronoun declension
The impersonal कि 'what' is used in direct interrogative constructions.

(156) याहाँ खताडत कि छिडि? (cf. DLR.05.018)
    yaha-r kʰʌta-da-t ki cʰ-i-ki
    3sg[pro/prox]-GEN nest-NCLS-LOC what be-PRES-SA3
    'What does he have in his nest?'

The reduplicated impersonal pronoun is adjectival. कि कि 'what what' conveys plurality, but it also indicates a group of single entities. (Compare this with काहे काहे kahe kahe 'who who' described above, which refers to specific referents.)

(157) आर घरटर भिभतर कि छिडि... (cf. DLR.02.005)
    ar gʰar-ṭʌ-r bʰitrat ki cʰ-i-ki
    and house-NCLS-GEN inside what what be-PRES-SA3
    'And which (of his things) are in the house...'

In some contexts, the pronoun कि functions as the adverb "why".

(158) हेला कि खाबन? (cf. MR.04.145)
    hetna ki kʰa-b-a-n
    here what eat-FUT-2pl
    'Why would you eat me here?'

Note that कि is also used as a polar question marker (159a) and a subordinating conjunction (159b).

(159) a. तोक कि कानवार लामिनि नामिनुहुँ? (cf. DLR.04.038)
    to-k ki kan-ba-r lakʰati lag-islu-ku
    2sg[obl]-DAT PQM cry-INF-GEN like feel-REM.PST-SA2sg
    '...did you feel as if I was (really) crying?'

b. उहाँक पाहा छिडिक कि... (cf. MR.04.130)
    uhã-ṭ ki tʰaha cʰi-l-ki ki...
    3sg[pro]-DAT knowledge(Nepali) be-PST-SA3 SUBORD
    'She knew that...'
The interrogative कुन kun functions as an interrogative article (cf. Schachter 1985:34). In this case, the article is obligatorily marked with the noun classifier (160a) or plural marker (160b).

(160) a. कुनखान फिलिप?
    kun-kʰan kitap
    which-NCLS book
    'Which book?' (Implying, 'Which book (out of many)?)'

b. कुनला तुम्हाँ
    kun-la nua
    which-PL clothe(s)
    'Which clothes (out of many)?'

### 3.6.3.7 Relative and correlative pronouns

Table 19 shows relative pronoun declension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>NOM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>जा है (जाहाँए) jah(a)े/े 'REL[p]'</td>
<td>जा है (जाहाँए जाहाँए) jah(a)े/े jah(a)े/े 'REL[p] REL[p]'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>जा है (जाहाँए जाहाँए) jah(a)े/े jah(a)े/े 'REL[p] REL[p]'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>DAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The personal relative pronoun जा है (जाहाँए) jah(a)े/े 'REL[p]' denotes 'who' (161a), and the impersonal जे je 'REL[ip]' denotes 'what' (161b-c). The impersonal pronoun uses the oblique stem जे जे- 'REL[obl/ip]' before noun class and plural marking.

(161) a. जा है वह घर का छात्र क्या जाहूँ (cf. GR.01.029)
    jahe bAda ha-c-e cʰAda-da-k kʰa-e jae-cʰ-e
    who large be-PRES-3 short-NCLS-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PRES-3
    'Whoever is big (i.e. socially), eats up the (socially) small (person).'
b. जे दितौक से खाए लिस।
je di-tok se kʰa-e l-is
REL[ip] give-FUT-SA2sg CORR eat-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg
'Whatever he gives (to you), eat it.'

c. अमा जे जे कल गटेला काथा उहाँक मुनाले।
ʌmʰa je je kar-l-i
u-la gαte-la kαtʰa uhâ-k sun-a-l-i
DEM[rem]-PL all-PL story 3sg[pro]-DAT listen-CAUS-PST-3
'They told him all of the things that they had done.'

The correlative of the personal relative pronoun is the 3sg pronoun ुहाँ(ए) uhâ(e) (162a), or the 3pl pronoun अमा ʌmʰa (162b), depending on the number of the relative pronoun.

(162) a. जाहांए कब उहाँ पाबे।
jahae ḳ̄r-b-ɪ uhã=i pa-b-ɪ
REL[p] do-PRES-3 3sg[pro]=EMPH receive-FUT-3
'Whoever works, s/he (i.e. that very person) will receive.'

b. जाहांए जाहांए इड घटना देखे, अमा इड घटना बिलए बेरले।
jahae jahae i-ḍʌ gʰʌṭna dekʰ-l-i
REL[p] REL[p] DEM[prox]-NCLS event see-PST-3
ʌmʰa=e i-ḍʌ gʰʌṭna bâl-ie bera-l-i
3pl[pro]=EMPH DEM[prox]-NCLS event speak-CONJ.PTCL walk-PST-3
'Whoever saw this event, they walked (away) talking about it.'

Other correlatives to relative pronouns are as follows (cf. section 5.6 for a comprehensive list of pronominal adjectives and adverbs):

Table 20. Relative pronouns (or pronominals) and corresponding correlative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative pronoun</th>
<th>Correlative pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जाह (जाहाए) jah(a)e 'REL[p]'</td>
<td>उहाँ(ए) uhâ(e) '3sg[pro]'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जा (जाहाए जाहाए) jah(a)e jah(a)e 'REL[p] REL[p]'</td>
<td>अमा ʌmʰa '3pl[pro]'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

impersonal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative pronoun</th>
<th>Correlative pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जे je REL[ip]</td>
<td>मे se ‘CORR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जे इ दआ REL[obl/ip]-NCLS’</td>
<td>उद u-ḍʌ DEM[rem]-NCLS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जे इ दआ REL[rem/empt]-NCLS’</td>
<td>उद इ दआ DEM[rem/empt]-NCLS’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 20. (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>प्रारूप</th>
<th>उदाहरण</th>
<th>उदाहरण</th>
<th>उदाहरण</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जेइखान (jei-k^h\an) 'REL[obl/ip]-NCLS'</td>
<td>उज्ज्वल (u-k^h\an) 'DEM[rem]-NCLS'</td>
<td>अइखान (ai-k^h\an) 'DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS'</td>
<td>जेइखान (sei-k^h\an) 'CORR[obl]-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइखान (jei-la) 'REL[obl/ip]-PL'</td>
<td>उखान (u-k^h\an) 'DEM[rem]-PL'</td>
<td></td>
<td>जेइखान (sei-la) 'CORR[obl]-PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइ</td>
<td>जेइला (jei-la) 'REL[ip]-PL'</td>
<td></td>
<td>जेइला (jei-la) 'REL[ip]-PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उला</td>
<td>उला (u-la) 'DEM[rem]-PL'</td>
<td></td>
<td>उला (u-la) 'DEM[rem]-PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेइखान (sei-k^h\an) 'CORR[obl]-NCLS'</td>
<td>सेइखान (sei-k^h\an) 'CORR[obl]-NCLS'</td>
<td></td>
<td>सेइखान (sei-k^h\an) 'CORR[obl]-NCLS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना (jei-k^h\una) 'REL[obl]-time'</td>
<td>उखुना (u-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem]-time'</td>
<td></td>
<td>उखुना (u-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem]-time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइ</td>
<td>जेइला (jei-la) 'REL[ip]-PL'</td>
<td></td>
<td>जेइला (jei-la) 'REL[ip]-PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उखुना</td>
<td>उखुना (u-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem]-time'</td>
<td></td>
<td>उखुना (u-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem]-time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अइखुना (ʌi-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem/emph]-time'</td>
<td>अइखुना (ʌi-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem/emph]-time'</td>
<td></td>
<td>अइखुना (ʌi-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem/emph]-time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेइखुना (sei-k^h\una) 'CORR[obl]-time'</td>
<td>सेइखुना (sei-k^h\una) 'CORR[obl]-time'</td>
<td></td>
<td>सेइखुना (sei-k^h\una) 'CORR[obl]-time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइला (jei-la) 'REL[ip]-PL'</td>
<td>जेइला (jei-la) 'REL[ip]-PL'</td>
<td></td>
<td>जेइला (jei-la) 'REL[ip]-PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अइखुना (ʌi-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem/emph]-time'</td>
<td>अइखुना (ʌi-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem/emph]-time'</td>
<td></td>
<td>अइखुना (ʌi-k^h\una) 'DEM[rem/emph]-time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेइखुना (sei-k^h\una) 'CORR[obl]-time'</td>
<td>सेइखुना (sei-k^h\una) 'CORR[obl]-time'</td>
<td></td>
<td>सेइखुना (sei-k^h\una) 'CORR[obl]-time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइहर</td>
<td>जेइहर (jei-d^hr) 'REL[obl]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>जेइहर (jei-d^hr) 'REL[obl]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अइहर</td>
<td>अइहर (ʌi-d^hr) 'DEM[rem/emph]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>अइहर (ʌi-d^hr) 'DEM[rem/emph]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेइहर</td>
<td>सेइहर (sei-d^hr) 'CORR[obl]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>सेइहर (sei-d^hr) 'CORR[obl]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइ</td>
<td>जेइहर (jei-d^hr) 'REL[obl]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>जेइहर (jei-d^hr) 'REL[obl]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अइहर</td>
<td>अइहर (ʌi-d^hr) 'DEM[rem/emph]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>अइहर (ʌi-d^hr) 'DEM[rem/emph]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेइहर</td>
<td>सेइहर (sei-d^hr) 'CORR[obl]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>सेइहर (sei-d^hr) 'CORR[obl]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइ</td>
<td>जेइहर (jei-d^hr) 'REL[obl]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>जेइहर (jei-d^hr) 'REL[obl]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अइहर</td>
<td>अइहर (ʌi-d^hr) 'DEM[rem/emph]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>अइहर (ʌi-d^hr) 'DEM[rem/emph]-direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेइहर</td>
<td>सेइहर (sei-d^hr) 'CORR[obl]-direction'</td>
<td></td>
<td>सेइहर (sei-d^hr) 'CORR[obl]-direction'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correlative pronoun से is found in certain written texts, especially in conjunction with certain pronominal adverbs. The pronoun uses the oblique stem सेइ- 'CORR[obl]' before noun classifiers, plural marking, and adverbs. The same pronoun is found in Maithili (cf. Yadav 1997 [1996]:117-118), and Hindi (the anaphoric clitic सो so).

(163) a. जे दितूक से कृष्ण।
je di-t-ok se kʰra-e l-is
REL[ip] give-FUT-SA2sg CORR eat-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg
'Whatever he gives (to you), eat it.'

b. आर जेइबेला मन जाकु (सेइबेला) चूलि आसिस।
ar jei-bela man ja-ku (sei-bela) cul-i as-is
and REL[obl]-time mind go-SA2 (CORR[obl]-time) AUX-ABS come-SUBJ2
'And when you want to, come at that time.'

c. ...आर जेईला जेईहर जेईहर बसिल बल्चे, सेईहर सेईहर एकहद दउर मार्च। (cf. MR.05.336)
...arana-la jeidʰAr jeidʰAr basi-da bal-c-e
...buffalo-PL over_where over_where flute-NCLS play[instrument]-PRES-3
seidʰAr seidʰAr ekdam daur mar-c-e
over_there over_there very run kill-PRES-3
'...in whatever direction the flute sounded, in that direction the wild buffaloes ran.'
3.6.4 Case and postpositions

I will cover case marking and postpositions together since the two are so closely related in Rājbanshi. Typologically-speaking, this is not surprising, as Payne (1999 [1997]:100) maintains: "there is no necessary universal distinction between the two; like most structural distinctions, the two categories describe extremes of a continuum." To begin this section I will discuss the NIA "layers of forms with case-like function" detailed by Masica (1991:230-248). I will then describe the different types of case marking and postpositions encountered in Rājbanshi. In the subsequent sections I will discuss the use of the case markers and postpositions in more detail, and in some cases also compare these with neighbouring, genetically affiliated Indo-Aryan languages.

As a rule of thumb, Payne (1999 [1997]:100-101) suggests differentiating between grammatical (i.e. case) and postpositional functions. In Rājbanshi the two systems overlap in such a way that a distinction of this kind would be difficult since grammatical functions are maintained in Rājbanshi by both inflectional case markers and some postposition-like clitics.

One should also be careful to avoid overdifferentiation of the case system, as has happened in some traditional descriptions of Maithili (cf. Yadav 1997 [1996]:70-71). Therefore, for example, although the Rājbanshi morpheme -क(-ʌ)k expresses the role of patient in transitive clauses, it also marks the role of recipient in ditransitive clauses, and the dative subject. Instead of separating the morpheme into different categories of accusative and dative, it has been merged into one comprehensive category of "dative-accusative" ('DAT'). Similarly, the category "locative" ('LOC') stands for the functions of illative, inessive and adessive, all of which use the same case marker -त(-ʌ)t.

Masica (1991:230-248) posits at least three layers of case marking and postposition constructions in NIA. Layer I affixes are inherited, with varying degrees of phonological reduction and changes of function, from OIA or MIA (Apabhramsa). They attach directly to the stem. On the other hand, Layer II elements, which are either suffixes or analytic particles, are usually mediated by a Layer I element and attach to the base indirectly. Layer III elements are mediated by a Layer II element (often the genitive, though in some NIA languages the use of the genitive is optional in this context).

The Rājbanshi case system and postposition constructions coincide well with Masica's outline. Without accounting for the unmarked (or ∅-marked) nominative case, I will divide case and postposition encountered in Rājbanshi into six different types:

Type 1. The instrumental case -ए(-e) attaches directly to the stem, eg. हाते hat-e 'hand-INSTR'. (In comparison, the Maithili instrumental is -e, the instrumental in Assamese is (-ere) and the instrumental in Bengali is (-te) (Masica 1991:246.)
3.6.4 Case and postpositions

Type 2. Case marking on the stem which can be separated from the stem by the noun classifiers and the plural morpheme -ला -la. When marked with the genitive -र -(e)r or the dative-accusative -क -(k)k, nouns and pronouns behave in the same manner, e.g. pronoun forms मोर mo-r '1sg[obl]-GEN', मोक mo-k '1sg[obl]-DAT', and noun forms घरेर gʰʌr-er 'house-GEN' and घरटक gʰʌr-ṭʌ-k 'house-NCLS-DAT'. Note that both of the case markings are phonologically dependent on the stem; that is, if the stem ends in a consonant an epenthetic vowel is necessary between the stem and the suffix. Hence genitive -र -(e)r and dative-accusative -क -(k)k.

Type 3. The locative marker -त -(t) connects directly to the noun stem, but in the case of pronouns it requires a postpositional construction. Therefore, consider घरटत gʰʌr-ṭʌ-t 'house-NCLS-LOC' or पानिक्षानत pani-kʰʌn-ʌt 'water-NCLS-LOC', but मोर भितर mo-r bʰʌn-ʌt 'house-NCLS-GEN inside' (*मोत mo-t '1sg[obl]-LOC'). Note that, as with Type 2 case marking, the locative marker is phonologically dependent on the stem. Therefore if the stem ends in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel अʌ is necessary between the stem and the suffix (cf. section 3.6.4.1.4 for an exception).

Type 4. This case marking is similar to Type 2 when marking nouns, in that there is no genitive marking on the stem, e.g. घरसे gʰʌr-se 'house-NCLS ABL'. However, it differs in that the genitive case is required on pronominal stems.

Type 4 consists of the ablative से se and the terminative तक tʌk. The pronoun is mediated by the genitive, as in मोर से mor se '1sg[obl]-GEN ABL', thus resembling an analytic case marker (cf. Blake 1994:9-10). Though the case marker is not phonologically dependent on the stem (in that it has a CV structure and therefore, unlike the locative and dative-accusative markers, has no need of an epenthetic vowel), it is still dependent on the phonological word, in that it does not carry stress.

It is difficult to determine whether Type 4 forms are case marking affixes or case enclitics (as the Hindi "primary postpositions"). Inasmuch as the ablative से se triggers genitive marking on the pronominal stem, it would seem reasonable to regard it as an enclitic, rather than an affix. The differentiation may, however, be superficial and in some cases conventional as Masica (1991:233) maintains (cf. also Mohanan 1994:60).

Type 5. These postpositions are obligatorily mediated by the genitive case on both the noun, e.g. घर गारिक्षानर पर garu gari-kʰʌn-er par 'bullock cart-NCLS-GEN upon', and the pronoun, e.g. काहाँर पर kaha-r par 'anyone-GEN upon'.

Type 6. Complex postpositions are compounds of two postpositions. The noun head and the postposition are obligatorily mediated by the genitive case, though in actual speech the genitive may not be (clearly) pronounced. It would seem that these compounds are...
lexicalised, e.g. भितर-nt, बगल-nt, ठना-से 'from the vicinity of'.

These six types will be covered in the following sections with the clear understanding that certain postposition-like clitics function as analytic case markers. In Figure 2 I have distinguished between "inflectional case" (Category 1), "analytic case" (Category 2) and "postpositions" (Category 3); Category 2 and Category 3 do however fall into the main class of postpositions. The analytic case markers (से se, तक tak, ले le, दे de, पाए pae and दारे dare) which I have attributed to Category 2 (and are therefore classified as postpositions) are akin to the NIA simple postpositions noted by Masica (1991:235):

"On the other side of the problem are postpositions like Hindi me- ('in'), par ('on'), and tak ('up to'), which fulfill all the formal requirements of Layer II elements in terms of lexical opacity and non-Genitive linkage, but are too many (as well as a bit too specific) for a basic case function like Locative (as compared, again, with Bengali -te or Marathi -t)."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>POSTPOSITIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inflectional case marking</td>
<td>analytic case marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 1</td>
<td>Category 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>nominative (-∅ 'NOM')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>dative-accusative -क (-k) 'DAT'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>genitive -र (-r) 'GEN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>locative -त (-t) 'LOC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>instrumental -ले -दे 'INSTR'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>ablative मे se 'ABL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>terminative तक 'until' 'TERM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>instrumental ले le, दे de, पाए pae, दारे dare 'INSTR'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 5</td>
<td>postposition e.g. पर -र par 'on top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 6</td>
<td>postposition e.g. भितर b'itrat 'inside'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Case and postposition categories in Rājbansi

3.6.4.1 Case

3.6.4.1.1 Nominative

The case marking system of Rājbansi is arranged on a nominative/accusative basis. The nominative case in Rājbansi is unmarked, and it is used for the subject and complement
in copula clauses.\footnote{The terms "(copula) subject", "(copula) complement" and "copula predicate" follow Dixon (2004:6-7; clarifying additions in brackets mine): "...the CC (copula complement) is a core argument – similar to A (transitive clause agent), O (transitive clause patient), S (intransitive clause subject), and CS (copula clause subject) – so that it would be unhelpful and misleading to refer to it as the predicate or as part of the predicate (as has sometimes been done). In view of this, when the predicate is used in connection with a copula clause it must be taken just to refer to the copula verb. Careful use of the term 'predicate' is particularly important when discussing the properties of adjectives..."}

(164) a. nominal

\begin{verbatim}
i-kʰan-∅ lep-a mucʰ-a kʰa(r)∅ taṭi-∅ ha-e
\end{verbatim}

DEM[prox]-NCLS-NOM plaster-DVBL wipe-DVBL do-PST.PTCL wall-NOM be-PRES3

'This is a wall (which is) plastered (with soil and dung) and wiped (over).'

b. 

\begin{verbatim}
i-ḍʌ-∅ ta mo-r kʰa-ba-r cij-∅
\end{verbatim}

DEM[prox]-NCLS-NOM PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN eat-INF-GEN thing-NOM

'This is my food!'

c. descriptive

\begin{verbatim}
ek-ṭa lok-∅ burʰ-a cʰ-e
\end{verbatim}

one-NCLS man-NOM old be-PRES3

'One man is old.'

Subjects (apart from the "dative subject") are marked with the nominative case regardless of the animacy or humanness of the subject or verb tense/aspect.

(165) a. subject in intransitive clause

\begin{verbatim}
ar i-ḍʌ bercʰani-∅ has-ec-e
\end{verbatim}

CNJ DEM[prox]-NCLS woman-NOM laugh-PRES-3

'And this woman is laughing.'

b. subject in transitive clause

\begin{verbatim}
kʰetia-la-∅ dekʰ-i pʰeka-l-ki amʰ-a-k kacu bun-ba
\end{verbatim}

jackal-PL-NOM see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 3pl[pro]-DAT [kacu]vegetable plant-INF

'Jackals saw them planting [kacu]vegetables.'
The direct object of a transitive clause is generally marked with the nominative case if this is inanimate (166a). The inanimate direct object can be marked with the dative-accusative case (166b). The (possible) contrast between these two examples is uncertain.\(^{34}\)

(166) a. **direct object (inanimate, neutral)**

सुक बासिक लिए उरा-एने कुल-एने कीजा। (cf. MR.05.201)

सुक बासिक (flute-NCLS) लिए उरा-एने कुल-एने कीजा।

happiness flute-NCLS take-CONJ.PTCL fly-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS go-FUT-SA3
crow-NCLS
take-CONJ.PTCL fly-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS go-FUT-SA3

'The crow took the flute and flew off.'

b. **direct object (inanimate)**

गरु गरी-कान-एन-क उठाए राते... (cf. MR.02.020; also DLR.05.029)

गरु गरी-कान-एन-क उठाए राते...

bullock cart-NCLS-DAT rise-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL put-INF-GEN for...

'in order to lift up and hold the bullock cart...'

Animate and human direct objects are generally marked with the dative-accusative case (cf. section 3.6.4.1.2 for further discussion). However, they can be marked with the nominative case if they are specific indefinite.

(167) direct object (human; specific indefinite)

एक्टा बाच्चा फुला प्रारंभ आत्में। (cf. DLR.04.008)

एक्टा बाच्चा फुला प्रारंभ आत्में।

one-NCLS small child-NOM hold-CONJ.PTCL come-FUT-3

'He brings a small child with him.'

The nominative case is obligatorily marked on direct objects in ditransitive clauses.

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\(^{34}\) Masica (1991:365) asserts that in many NIA languages, direct objects may take the dative marker but that its "...functions, however, are often more pragmatic than syntactic. That is, in the case of non-human nouns, it generally indicates a 'definite' object, that is, one that is already known; in the case of human nouns, it stresses their Patienthood, a marked status (human nouns normally being Agents). In languages with other means of marking definiteness... the first of these functions is minimised."

In Rājbanshi it is primarily the noun classifier which indicates that the direct object is identifiable (166b). However, as discussed in this section and in section 3.6.4.1.2, animate objects can be unmarked for the dative-accusative case if they are specific indefinite in reference. Whether the dative-accusative case might signify definiteness alongside the classifier requires further research.
When the (optional) locative case is deleted in locational adverbial phrases the result is a nominative case-like marking.

Finally, nouns are not marked for case relationships in conjunct verb constructions such as मुथिकारे 'to bundle make' (170a), or मारिखला 'to beating feed' (170b). This "unmarked status" (with no marking) and the nominative case (with a possible ∅-morpheme) therefore appear identical, but are functionally distinct.

The dative-accusative case was referred to in the previous section but I will repeat the statements relating to dative-accusative marking.

The dative-accusative case marker is -क- (∅)k. It is phonologically dependent on the stem, in that after stem-final vowels the marker is -k, but after stem-final consonants the morpheme requires the epenthetic vowel -a, hence the allomorph -ak.

As mentioned in section 3.6.4 the dative and accusative have merged into one category. Masica (1991:365) maintains the absence of the accusative case in NIA:

"The Object is not distinguished from the subject by case marking in many NIA languages... Both may be in the Nominative. Unlike Sanskrit... there is generally no distinctive Accusative case in NIA. Historically, the Indo-Aryan Accusative merged with the Nominative... This is not
to say that Objects are always bereft of case marking. They may take it, in the form of the Dative marker (in the absence of an Accusative: the marker is often called a Dative-Accusative as a result). Its functions, however, are often more pragmatic than syntactic. That is, in the case of non-human nouns, it generally indicates a "definite" object, that is, one that is already known; in the case of human nouns, it stresses their Patienthood, a marked status (human nouns normally being Agents). In languages with other means of marking definiteness... the first of these functions is minimalised."

Due to the overlap of the morpheme -क(ʌ)k for both "dative" and "accusative" functions, it is unnecessary to try distinguishing between the case marking forms of the patient (accusative) and recipient (dative) roles. I have called the case "dative-accusative" and I have glossed the case marker -क(ʌ)k as 'DAT' whenever it occurs, regardless of whether it marks the patient or the recipient.

Human and animate objects are generally marked with the dative-accusative case (171a) unless they are specific indefinite in reference (171b). Personal pronouns are obligatorily marked with the dative-accusative when these function as objects (171c). Case marking on inanimate objects is discussed in the previous section.

(171) a. याहाक आिझ माबा लागे। (cf. MR.04.094)
   yaha-k ajhi mar-ba lag-e
   3sg[pro/prox]-DAT today kill-INF should-PRES3
   '(We) should kill her today.'

b. एकटा बाच्चा छुवा धरए आिझ! (cf. DLR.04.008)
   ek-ṭa bacca c⁶ua-∅ d⁸Ar-ie as-b-i
   one-NCLS young child-NOM hold-CONJ.PTCL come-FUT-3
   '(He) brings a child with him.'

c. तोक मुइ छे का रि ठु कुन। (cf. DLR.04.025)
   to-k mui c⁶eckari ni ṭʰuk-im-ku-n
   2sg[obl]-DAT 1sg[pro] really NEG hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg
   'I won't hit you for real.'

In ditransitive clauses the indirect object is obligatorily marked with the dative-accusative case (172a-e). In such cases the direct object is never marked with the dative-accusative regardless of its humanness or animateness (172d). However if the direct object is in a subordinate clause, it may be marked with the dative-accusative (172e).

(172) a. जुआद आिनार परिनिरक कहि व्याअ... (cf. DLR.04.007)
   juã-ḍʌ apna-r g⁸Ar-ni-da-k kaha-c-ki
   son_in_law REFL[pro]-GEN wife-NCLS-DAT say-PRES-SA3
   'The son-in-law said to his (own) wife...'
3.6.4 Case and postpositions

b. गरु बल्के या ग्रास खिलाय ताने... (cf. MR.02.026)
   garu bʰais-la-k gʰās kʰil-ba-r tane
   bullock water_buffalo-PL-DAT grass feed-INF-GEN for
   'in order to feed grass to the cattle'

c. अभिषिक्त नाक पवित्र दिवस
   amʰa hama-k ek-kʰan kitap di-l-t
   3pl[pro] 1pl[pro]-DAT one-NCLS book give-PST-3
   'They gave us a book (specific, indefinite).'

d. उहाँए तोक बेटिय दिल्। तुइ उहाँक नौक बिनैः?
   uhãe to-k beṭi-dʌ di-l-ku
   3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT daughter-NCLS give-PST-SA2sg
   tui uhã-k ki-kʰan di-l-ki?
   2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT what-NCLS give-PST-SA3
   'He[AGENT] gave you[RECIPIENT] (his) daughter[PATIENT].'
   'What[PATIENT] did you[AGENT] give him[RECIPIENT]?' (Implying, 'You gave him nothing
   in return.')</n
e. मुई पाम्रटक कहने रामड घुन्या।
   mui pamar-ta-k kah-ene ram-da-k gʰur-(u)wa-n-u
   1sg[pro] Pāmar-NCLS-DAT say-CONJ.PTCL Rām-NCLS-DAT turn-ICAUS-PST-1sg
   'I made Pāmar make Rām return.'

3.6.4.1.2.1 Dative subject

The dative subject is used for physical sensations such as hunger, thirst (173a) and mental
states like anger (173b), grief, fear (173c), affection and boredom (173d), and in this
regard is semantically related to the "experiencer".35 The dative subject is obligatorily
marked with the dative-accusative case.

(173) a. हामाक बेटल बोक नागोये।
   hama-k bettal bʰok lag-ec-e
   1pl[pro]-DAT very hunger apply-PRES-3
   'We are really hungry.'

b. त बुरा बुरिलाक नैविक रिस उठिए। (MR.04.045)
   ta burʰa burʰi-la-k ge-l-ki ris uṭʰ-ie
   PCL old_man old_woman-PL-DAT AUX-PST-SA3 anger rise-ABS
   'And the old man and old woman got furious.'

35 For similar features in Indo-Aryan in general cf. Masica (1991:346-347) and Verma & Mohanan
The dative subject construction is also used in conjunction with the following modal auxiliaries: the obligatives हा- 'must, need to' (174a) and लाग- 'must, should, need to', and the desiderative मेना- mena- 'want to' (174c). The loan obligative पर- 'must, need to' also triggers dative subject agreement. The semantic parameter of nonvolitionality (cf. Klaiman 1986:181-187) could be seen to be related to the use of the dative subject in conjunction with the obligative auxiliaries; whether nonvolitionality is linked with the desiderative is uncertain.\(^{36}\)

(174) a. मोक सुट दे जाएने दे (cf. DLR.06.019)
mo-k suṭ kare ja-ene dek-ba ha-b-1
1sg[obl]-DAT secret ADVL go-CONJ.PTCL see-INF be-FUT-3
'I will have to go secretly and see.'

b. बदला लिबा नामे असर सड़े हामाक (cf. MR.04.048)
badla li-ba lag-e am-ba-r sañe hama-k
revenge take-INF must-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT
'We have to take revenge on them.'

c. मोक मनात कान्ता मेनाचे (cf. GR.02.069; also MR.05.210, MR.05.218)
mo-k man-da-t kan-ba mena-c-e
1sg[obl]-DAT mind-NCLS-LOC cry-INF want_to-PRES-3
'I want to cry in my mind.'

The direct object of the embedded infinitival clause in (175a-b) is marked with the dative-accusative case. The dative subject, if overt, is also usually marked with the dative-accusative case; the verb agrees with the dative subject (175c).

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\(^{36}\) Masica (1990:339) notes: "Interestingly enough, contrastively Dative Subject verbal constructions have the meaning 'want to' in a number of languages (Gujarati, Marathi, Malayalam, Sinhalese): possibly a perception of desire (or need) as something beyond conscious control dominates here, even though the actor would seem to have freedom to act or not act."
3.6.4 Case and postpositions

(175) a. (हामाक) याहाक अति मार्वा लागे। (MR.04.094)
   (hama-k) yaha-k ajʰi mar-ba lag-e
   (1pl[pro]-DAT) 3sg[pro/prox]-DAT today kill-INF must-PRES3
   '(We) should kill her today.'

b. (मोक) बुरडक बबा हबे (cf. MR.04.198)
   (mo-k) burʰi-ḍʌ-k bʌc-ba hʌ-b-ɪ
   1sg[DAT] old_woman-NCLS-DAT save-INF must-FUT-3
   '(I) must save the old woman.'

c. (तोक) हामाक दे बा ह। (cf. MR.05.018)
   (to-k) hama-k dekʰ-ba hʌ-p-ɪ
   (2sg[obl]-DAT) 1pl[pro]-DAT look-INF must-FUT-SA2sg
   '(You) will have to watch us.'

Finally, the subject of a conjunct verb such as तःha cʰ- 'knowledge be-' ('to know') is marked with the dative-accusative case.

(176) उहाँक थाहा िछि क (cf. MR.04.130)
   uhã-k tʰaha cʰi-l-ki ki
   3sg[pro]-DAT knowledge be-PST-SA3 SUBORD
   'She knew that...'

3.6.4.1.3 Genitive

The genitive case is marked by the suffix -(ए)र -(e)r. After stem-final vowels the morpheme is -r, and after stem-final consonants it is -er. Noun attribution is marked on the dependent by the genitive case (177a). Multiple-embedded genitive modifiers are left-branching (177b).

(177) a. तिनडा वोकेर नाख्सा (cf. MR.03.012)
   tin-da lok-er nakṣa
   three-NCLS man-GEN figure
   'three person's figures'

b. आपना बेटीर घर (cf. MR.04.088)
   apna-r beti-r gʰʌr
   REFPL[pro]-GEN daughter-GEN home
   'the house of (her) own daughter's'

In south-western Jhāpā the vowel ʌ in the vowel sequence aʌ (or aʌ̃) is deleted when followed by the genitive case marker -(e)r. Therefore, (178a) is the genitive form of the
noun गाँ (or ga) 'village'. In the Ghailāḍubbā and Lakhari gaḍdi dialect, genitive marking merely attaches to the final ʌ (178b).

(178) a. गाँर (Korobār)  
ga-er (or, ga-er)  
village-GEN  
'village's'  

b. गाँर (Ghailāḍubbā, Lakhari gaḍdi)  
naʌ-r (or, naʌ-r)  
name-GEN  
'name's'  

The case marker attaches to the noun classifier (179a) or plural marker (179b). However, if the phrase is modified by a demonstrative (179c) or numeral (179d), the noun classifier or plural attaches to the modifier, while the genitive is linked to the NP[poss].

(179) a. बुऱडर पाल burʰa-da-ʌ-r pala 'old_man-NCLS-GEN turn' (cf. MR.04.075)  

b. घरलार ठाट gʰʌr-la-r ṭʰaṭ 'house-PL-GEN roof_frame' (cf. MR.02.007)  

c. इखान इखसार मतलब ikʰan kʰisar matlab 'DEM[prox]-NCLS story-GEN meaning' (cf. GR.01.029)  

d. एकटा पुसेर घर ek-ta pʰus-er gʰʌr 'one-NCLS thatch-GEN house' (cf. MR.02.003)  

The genitive attaches the nominal phrase to the lexical head of (most) postpositional phrases.

(180) a. पर्दर भित्तर (cf. DLR.02.005)  
gʰAr-ta-r bʰitrat  
house-NCLS-GEN inside  
'inside the house'  

b. खेतखानेर ति (cf. MR.04.055)  
kʰet-kʰan-er ti  
field-NCLS-GEN to  
'to the field'  

The genitive is found to be used in a variety of semantic domains (for similar features in Maithili cf. Yadav (1997 [1996]:90-94); and in Hindi cf. Tikkanen (1991:86-91)). Firstly, it is used for possession and social relationship (181a-b). Note, however, that certain
inalienable social relations are not marked with an overt 1sg/1pl possessor (181c-f). These are presumed to be related to the 1p when an overt 2p or 3p possessor is not present (and possessor agreement is not shown by the verb).

(181) a. हामार गाँव hama-r ga' 1pl[pro]-GEN village' (cf. DLR.03.011)
   b. तमा दादों tam'a-r dado-dʌ '2pl[pro]-GEN grandfather' (cf. MR.04.060)
   c. */? मोर बाउड mo-r bau-ʌl '1sg[obl]-GEN father-NCLS'
   d. बाउड bau-ʌl 'father-NCLS' = '(my/our) father'
   e. तोर बाउड to-r bau-ʌl '2sg[obl]-GEN father-NCLS' (cf. GR.01.024)
   f. आला बाउड, बेटीर पर्न (MR.04.107)
      alʰa ja-chʰ-u beṭi-r gʰʌr
      now go-PRES-1sg daughter-GEN house
      'Now I am going to (my) daughter's house.'

Secondly, the genitive has an attributive function. It conveys source/origin (182a) and construction materials (182b).

(182) a. इडलोक गिचमार हए। (cf. DLR.03.001)
      i-ʌ lok gʌcimari-r hʌ-e
      DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimāri-GEN be-PRES3
      'This man is from Gacimāri.'
   b. आरघर माटिर हए (cf. DLR.02.007)
      ar gʰʌr-tʌ maṭi-r=e hʌ-e
      and house-NCLS soil-GEN=EMPH be-PRES3
      'And the house is made from clay/mud.'

The genitive is also used within the noun phrase to mark the demoted agent in the (statal passive/past) participial clause (183a-b), or the patient in the (active/present) participial clause (183c).

---

37 Some inalienable relations can take an overt 1sg/1pl possessor as (xiii.a-b) indicate. Whether the distinction is related to lexical semantics is not certain. Examples (xiii.c-d) would seem to point in this direction.

(xiii) a. मोर गोर्फ लोक mo-r ʌgʰar-er lok-tʌ '1sg[obl]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS' (i.e. 'my husband'; cf. DLR.06.017, DLR.06.084a)
   b. मोर मातार mo-r bʰatar '1sg[obl]-GEN husband' (cf. DLR.06.098)
   c. मोर माँ mo-r ma'ʌ '1sg[obl]-GEN mother'
   d. *मोर आई *mo-r ai *1sg[obl]-GEN mother'
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(183) a. पामरेर लिखाल कितापखान
    पामर-GEN write-PST.PTCL book-NCLS
    'the book written by Pāmar'

b. तोर कादुवालिन कर(ल) पानिखान (cf. GR.01.012-013)
    to-r kaduali kar-(l) pani-kʰan
    2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS
    'the water made muddy by you'

c. भोर निसाफ कों बाला तुड़ कहाहें?
    mo-r nisapʰ kar-ne wala tui kahae
    1sg[obl]-GEN judgement do-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) 2sg[pro] who
    'Who are you to judge me?'

The construction V-INF-GEN has an attributive (184a-b), or a nominal function (184c). The process is productive. (See sections 7.4.2.2.1 and 7.4.2.1.3 for further discussion on participial clauses and infinitival complements.)

(184) a. एकटा राजार बेटा आिसचे, एकदम देखार (DLR.06.008)
    ek-ṭa raja-r beṭa as-ic-e, ekdʌm dekʰ-ba-r
    one-NCLS king-GEN son come-PERF-3, really see-INF-GEN
    'The son of a king has come, (he is) really good-looking.'

b. तने खाबार माजा आतें। (MR.04.121)
    tʌne kʰa-ba-r maja as-b-ɪ
    then eat-INF-GEN taste come-FUT-3
    'Then it will be tasty.' (lit. 'Then the taste of eating will come.')

c. खान पिनेर व्यवस्था करार मुखित्ता हबे। (cf. MR.05.316)
    [kʰana pin-er bewaˈstʰa kar-ba-r] subista ḥa-b-ɪ
    [food drink-GEN arrangement(loan) do-[INF-GEN][SUBJECT] easy(loan) be-FUT-3
    '[Arranging for eating and drinking] will be easy.'

Finally, the genitive marker -कार -kar 'GEN' was found in conjunction with several locative expressions. Note that the Maithili genitive (Yadav 1997 [1996]:111) is -ka or -k-ər, and that the Hindi genitive is kā.

(185) a. इड न हामार विकार आम! (MR.05.208)
    i-ḍʌ tʌ hama-r ti-kar am
    DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL 1pl[pro]-GEN towards-GEN mango
    'This is a mango from our region!'
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b. आर हुताकार ताने एकटा आच्छा लोक हए। (DLR.03.007)
    ar hutna-kar tane ek-ṭa accʰa lok hʌ-e
    and there-GEN for one-NCLS good man be-PRES3
    'And he is a good man for that area.'

3.6.4.1.4 Locative

The locative case marker is -न -(<A)t. As with the genitive and dative-accusative, the locative morpheme is phonologically dependent on the stem: after stem-final vowels the suffix is -t, but after stem-final consonants it requires the epenthetic vowel a, hence -ʌt (186a). This does not apply if the locative is followed by a vowel such as the emphatic clitic (186b). As previously mentioned, usually the case marker can not attach directly to a pronoun (187a), but requires a postpositional construction (187b), though exceptions to this rule are also found (187c).

(186) a. दनत dan-ʌt 'quarrel-LOC' (cf. DLR.04.030)
    b. ठेङते ṭʰeŋ-ʌt = e 'leg-LOC = EMPH' (cf. MR.04.076)

(187) a. *मोत *mo-t *'1sg[obl]-LOC'
    b. मोर मिभतरत mo-r bʰitrʌt '1sg[obl]-GEN within'
    c. स्रिमान स्रिमती-ला हुस्ता निकाटन न मानिएि (cf. DLR.06.090)
       sriman srimiti-la emʰa-t kaṭ-a kaṭ-i ni kar-bʌ-ɪ
       husband wife-PL 3pl[pro/prox]-LOC cut-DVBL cut-DVBL NEG do-FUT-3
       'Husbands and wives do not cut (i.e. kill) each other.' (Lit. 'amongst each other')

Firstly, the locative was found to be used in an illative sense ('to, towards') as in (188a-b), or an inessive sense ('in, inside') as in (189a-b). The illative may express movement towards a concrete (188a) or an abstract (188b) location.

(188) a. इलाघरत लेइ जाएि... (cf. MR.04.017)
       i-la gʰʌr-ʌt le-i ja-ene...
       DEM[prox]-PL home-LOC take-CNJ.PTCL go-CNJ.PTCL...
       'After taking these home...'

    b. उहाँर घर लोक एकदिन काम चलिएि (cf. DLR.06.018)
       uhã-r gʰʌr-er lok-ʌt ek-din kam-ʌt cał-i ge-l-ki
       3sg[pro]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS one-DAY work-LOC AUX-ABS go-PST-SA3
       'One day her husband went to work.'
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(189) a. एि त गा धा ठाअँखानत खाबन मोक? (cf. MR.04.169)

\[
\text{enti gand}^{a} \text{t}^{\text{a}} \text{a-k}^{\text{a-b-an-at} \text{ k}^{\text{a-b-an mo-k}}
\]

'Are you going to eat me in such a dirty place like this?'

b. तमार दार्द आरह नि छे इड संभारत। (cf. MR.04.060)

\[
\text{tam}^{a-r} \text{dado-d} \text{a arha ni c}^{b-e} \text{i-d} \text{a sansar-at}
\]

'Your grandfather is no longer in this world.'

Note that locative marking for the illative is often optional.

(190) a. आला जाहु, बेटिर चरा (MR.04.107)

\[
\text{al}^{a} \text{ja-c}^{h} \text{u be-ti-r g}^{b-ar}
\]

'Now I am going to (my) daughter's house.'

b. हेंटकार पानियान पाइरट त नि उल्टे (cf. GR.01.005)

\[
\text{het-kar pani-k}^{a} \text{panhar(-at) t} \text{a ni ut}^{h-b-i}
\]

'The water from below can not rise to the mountain(s).'</p>

Secondly, the locative conveys an adessive ('on, on top of') sense.

(191) a. चेंडराड छापरस्तान ब्रिटिए... (cf. MR.01.003)

\[
\text{ce}^{nra-d} \text{a c}^{b-apar-k}^{a} \text{an-at b}^{a-t-ktue}
\]

'The young man is sitting on the roof (and)...'

b. इड बेल्यानि गालाड एक्रान माला पिलिए। (cf. MR.02.011)

\[
\text{i-d} \text{a berc}^{b-ani gala-d} \text{a-t ek-k}^{b-an mala pin}^{h-ic-e}
\]

'This woman is wearing a garland on (i.e. around) her neck.

Thirdly, it occurs with certain temporal adverbs.

(192) a. आर केना बढ्छाल

\[
\text{ar kewa b}^{a} \text{c}^{b-ar-at}
\]

'during the next few years'
3.6.4 Case and postpositions

b. समय समयत आते रहित। (cf. DLR.03.010)
samae samae-t as-te rah-is
   time  time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg
   'Keep visiting once in a while.'

c. एइ समयत आप जुत छे। (cf. DLR.05.024a)
ei-samae-t ap jut ch-e
   DEM[prox/emph]-time-LOC PCL way be-PRES3
   'Now there is a way.'

Fourthly, the locative marker attaches to nominalised verbs to convey the undertaking of an action. The construction may collocate with verbs which portray spatial motion.

(193) दूसरा पक्षिक एकिव वृत्ति में, फेर दानार खोजित। (cf. DLR.05.023; also DLR.05.006a)
dasra pakhi-da ek-din cul-i ge-l pʰer dana-r kʰo-j-i-t
   other bird-NCLS one-day AUX-ABS go-PST3 again seed-GEN search-DVBL-LOC
   'One day the other bird went away, looking for seeds again.'

3.6.4.1.5 Instrumental

The Rājbanshi instrumental -ए -e is used for inanimates (for other instrumentals cf. section 3.6.4.2.2).

(194) a. मुइ पामर-ता खबर-ता पानु।
   mui pamar-ta-r kʰʰa-mar-ta pa-n-u
   1sg[pro] Pāmar-NCLS-GEN mouth-INSTR news-NCLS receive-PST-1sg
   'I received the message from Pāmar.' (i.e. Pāmar told me orally.)

b. मुइ पामर-ता हात-चिट्ठि पानु।
   mui pamar-ta-r hat-e cɪṭṭi pa-n-u
   1sg[pro] Pāmar-NCLS-GEN hand-INSTR letter receive-PST-1sg
   'I received a letter via Pāmar.' (i.e. Pāmar brought a letter to me by hand.)

I have assumed that a distinction between the instrumental case -ए -e and the emphatic clitic -ए -e is warranted, though it is difficult in some instances to distinguish between the two (cf. section 6.1.2 for further discussion). Compare, for example, (195a) where the suffix -ए -e has been considered as instrumental, and (195b) where the suffix has been left unresolved. Example (195c) appears to be the emphatic clitic, but could equally well be the instrumental case.
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(195) a. manner (adverbial)

लाजे सरमे (cf. DLR.04.042)

laj-e saram-e

shame-INSTR shame-INSTR

'with (great) shame'

b. reason (adverbial)

मुइ एइखान मुखे गुने हारानु। (DLR.05.043)

mui ei-kʰan mukʰ-er gun-e

1sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS mouth-GEN quality-INSTR/EMPH(?)

hara-n-u

lose_sthg-PST-1sg

'I lost (it) today because of the quality of this (very) mouth.'

c. बिना अधिने भात नाधा जाबे?

bina bʰi in-e bʰat nadʰ-a ja-b-i

without fire=EMPH(or,-INSTR?) rice cook-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3

'Can rice be cooked without fire?'

To further complicate matters, it is also possible that Rājbanshi has a distinct adverbialiser suffix -ए -e. The Hindi emphatic clitic has similar functions. Matthews (1984:62) maintains that in Nepali the emphatic suffix -ऐə (note, the Nepali instrumental is -ले -le) is not only used for emphasis but also in an adverbialising function:

"Many emphatic forms have special modified meanings, which cannot be explained simply in terms of emphasis. For example: घर (gʰər-oi 'home-EMPH') 'at home', बिस्तार (bistar-oi) 'slowly'... बिघाने बेलुके (bihan-oi beluk-oi 'morning-EMPH evening-EMPH') 'morning and evening'.” (transliteration and morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in brackets mine)

The use of the suffix -ए -e as an adverbialiser in Rājbanshi has quite possibly originated from the instrumental, though whether it should now be regarded as a category of its own is uncertain. Compare (196a) with (196b), and (196c) with (196d). In (196a) the word आच्छा accʰa 'good' functions as an adjective. When marked with the suffix -ए -e it becomes an adverb. The same applies with (196c-d), though in (196e) the suffix appears to be merely an emphatic. Based on the behaviour of the Hindi and Nepali emphatic, I have considered the suffix -ए -e to be an emphatic clitic in cases such as these.

(196) a. मुइ आच्छा छ।

mui accʰa cʰ-u

1sg[pro] good be-PRES1sg

'I am good.' (attributive)
b. मुइ आच्छाए छू
mui a-e c-h-u
1sg[pro] good-ADVL/INSTR/EMPH? be-PRES1sg
'I am fine.'

c. मोक भोक नामेने।
mo-k b^ok lag-ec-e
1sg[obl]-DAT hunger apply-PRES-3
'I am hungry.' (dative subject)

d. मुइ भोके छू।
mui b^ok-e c-h-u
1sg[pro] hunger-ADVL/INSTR/EMPH? be-PRES1sg
'I am hungry.'

e. सुके छे हामार बेटाध। (cf. MR.05.184)
suk=e c-h-e hama-r beta-da
happiness=EMPH be-PRES3 1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS
'He is (really) happy, our son.'

3.6.4.2 Postpositions

3.6.4.2.1 Ablative

The Rājbanshi ablative clitic से 'ABL' is used for various case marking and postpositional functions. For its use as an adverbialiser, cf. section 5.1.

Firstly, it is used for the ablative 'from somewhere' (197a-b) or 'from someone' (197c).

(197) a. हेतिन से आर नि जाम हुदा। (MR.04.182)
hetin se ar ni ja-m-A hudar
here ABL more NEG go-FUT-1pl over_there
'From here we won't go any further over there.'

b. बुऱाड कान्ताखाल से पुरिए... (cf. DLR.04.015)
bur^a-da kanta-k^an se g^ur-ic...
old_man-NCLS vicinity-NCLS ABL turn_around-CONJ.PTCL
'The old man will turn around from that place close by...'

c. आमार से केलड करे बचिम? (cf. MR.04.185)
am^a-r se keṇaṭ kare bacie
3pl[pro]-GEN ABL how ADVL save-FUT1sg
'How I am to be saved from them?'
Secondly, it is used for the temporal 'since' (198a-c) or 'until' (198d). It is optional in the adverbial phrase (198e).

(198) a. दुई घाटा से दुई घाटा से 'two hour ABL' ('for two hours')

b. अइबेला से 'DEM[rem/emp]-time ABL' ('since that (very) time')

c. ...हितर से आगा जानि कर्ँ। (cf. DLR.03.011)

over_here ABL come-DVBL go-DVBL NEG do-PRES-3

'...since then he has not been visiting.'

d. केतखुन से काबू? (MR.04.190)

how_much-time ABL cry-FUT-2sg

'Until when will you cry?'

e. जाबार (से) आगुत

ja-ba-r (se) agut

good-DVBL ABL before

'before going'

Thirdly, the ablative is used in complex postpositional constructions such as:

(199) a. अमार मह्ये से अमार मह्ये से '3pl[pro]-GEN amongst ABL' ('from among them')

b. अमार विच से '3pl[pro]-GEN middle ABL' ('from among them')

c. पुरुब बिति से 'east towards ABL' ('from the direction of the east')

d. पेइसाला पामरटर ठिन से आनि राखिसा

money-PL Pāmar-NCLS GEN close ABL bring-CONJ.PTCL place-SUBJ2sg

'Bring the money from (where) Pāmar (is). Or 'Get the money from Pāmar.'

Fourthly, the ablative is used in comparative (200a) and superlative (200b) constructions.

(200) a. इड घर से उड घर बड।

DEM[prox]-NCLS house ABL DEM[rem]-NCLS house big

'That house is bigger than this house.'

b. इड कलम समारे से मंट छा।

DEM[prox]-NCLS pen all-GEN=EMPH ABL thick be-PRES3

'This pen is the thickest of all.'
Though ablative marking is occasionally found on the direct object in dative subject clauses (201a), it is considered by the informant from south-western Jhāpā to be a loan construction. More natural would be to mark the object with the genitive case (201b), or to resort to periphrastic means, such as use of the subordinate clause तोक देखिए to-k dekh-ie '2sg[obl]-DAT see-CONJ.PTCL' in (201c).

(201) a. चित्तवार्षिक खङ्काला मे हामाक डर लागेचे।
cittabag-er kʰAlka-la se hama-k ḍʌ lag-ec-e
leopard-GEN claw-PL ABL 1pl[pro]-DAT fear apply-PRES-3
'We are afraid of leopard's claws.'

b. मोक तोर डर लागेचे।
mo-k to-r ḍʌ lag-ec-e
1sg[obl]-DAT 2sg[obl]-GEN fear apply-PRES-3
'I am afraid of you.'

c. तोक देखिए मोक डर लागेचे।
to-k dekh-ie mo-k ḍʌ lag-ec-e
2sg[obl]-DAT see-CONJ.PTCL 1sg[obl]-DAT fear apply-PRES-3
'I am afraid of you.' (Lit. 'I am afraid at seeing you.')

Finally, the ablative can be used as an instrumental clitic in place of the instrumental दे de (cf. section 3.6.4.2.2).

(202) तोर पत्तल टाकला मे माहांजन मान। (Rājbanshi VS 2064b:106)
to-r ḍʌṭʰ-ul taka-la se maha-jan mar-n-ʌ
2sg[obl]-GEN send-PST.PTCL coin-PL ABL(=INSTR) great-person kill-PST-1pl
'We paid the debt (lit. 'debt-collector-killed') with the money you sent.'

3.6.4.2.2 Instrumental

Several instrumental/agentive clitics were found to be used in contemporary Rājbanshi. Firstly, the instrumental clitic दे de is likely to have originated from the conjunctive participle form of the verb दि- di- 'give': दिए(ने) di-ie(ne) 'give-CONJ.PTCL' (lit. 'by giving') > दे de. One informant was of the opinion that the instrumental clitic ले le is a loan (possibly from the Nepali ergative case marker and instrumental -ले -le, or Hindi लिये liye), whereas दे de is an original Rājbanshi form. The clitic ले le does indeed seem to be used less frequently. It is, however, also possible that the clitic ले le is a conjunctive participle form of the verb लि- li- 'take': लिए(ने) li-ie(ne) 'take-CONJ.PTCL' (lit. 'by taking'). Both clitics are used with non-animates.
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(203) a. कलम दे कल-लू में 'pen INSTR' ('by pen')
   b. कलमड दे कल-लू-डू में 'pen-NCLS INSTR' ('with the pen')

   c. उहाँ मोक लाठिखान्ड दे ठुकले।
      उहाँ मोक लाठिखान्ड दे ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
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      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      ठुकले।
      'He hit me with the stick.'

   d. अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      अहड घर मा ट दे ले मल, मुढाल छेल।
      'Also that house has been plastered with mud, and wiped (over).'

An instrumental/agent दारे dare, which is a Rājbanshi derivation of the instrumental द्वारा dwara found in Hindi and Nepali (and originating from Sanskrit), is sometimes used to mark a human agent.

(204) उहाँ दारे गदेहारकामला कर्सला
   उहाँ दारे गदेहारकामला कर्सला
   'I had all (of the) jobs done by him.'

Finally, an instrumental postposition पाए pae for marking the human agent was found to be used by some writers from western Jhāpā (possibly originating from a conjunctive participle of the verb पा- pa- 'receive'). Several informants from more eastern parts of Jhāpā were not familiar with the term.

(205) मोर पाए मो-र पाए '1sg[obl]-GEN INSTR' ('by me')

3.6.4.2.3 Terminate

The terminate terminal clitic तक tāk is used to convey the terminal point of a state of affairs, either in terms of location (206a), time (206b-c) or amount (206d). Several informants were of the opinion that तलिक tālik is the correct राजबन्षी form (206a).

(206) a. भद्रपुर में दमक तलिक (तलिक)
   भद्रपुर में दमक तलिक (तलिक)
   'from Bhadrapur to Damak'
3.6.4 Case and postpositions

b. आस्त्रा ढाबिले, आता तक नि आले।
   as-ba cʰab-isl-t, alʰa tʰak ni as-e
   come-INF want-REM.PST-3, now TERM NEG come-PST.HAB3
   'S/he has wanted to come, but until now hasn't come.'

c. कोईहुना आमा एक महिना तक नि आले। (cf. MR.05.125)
   koi-kʰuna amʰa ek mahina tʰak ni as-e
   some-time 3pl[pro] one month TERM NEG come-PST.HAB3
   'Sometimes they didn't use to come for one month.'

d. कम से कम दुई स, तिन स, पाच स एल्पा तक...
   (cf. MR.05.142)
   kam se kam dui s ti sa etla tʰak
   less ABL less two hundred three hundred this_many TERM
   'At least two hundred, three hundred, up to this many...'

3.6.4.2.4 Location

Locative and directional postpositions in Rājbanshi are attached to the head with the genitive case. Locative and directional postpositions include the following.

(207) a. पर pʰar 'on; upon' (cf. MR.03.004)
   b. (बि) ti (bi)ti 'to; towards' (cf. MR.04.129)
   c. माखाई (माखे) makʰ(a)e 'via; through' and pake 'through'
   d. टिना tʰina 'close; vicinity' (the original meaning of tʰina appears to have been the noun 'place')

Complex postpositions पाछूति pacʰuti 'behind' and आगूति agu-uti 'in front' have been interpreted as originating from the forms pacʰu-ti and agu-ti respectively. The simple forms पाछू pacʰu and आगू agu only occur in reduplicated constructions such as पाछू पाछू pacʰu pacʰu 'behind' and आगू आगू agu agu 'ahead' (cf. section 3.2.7).

(208) a. गारिखानेर पाछूति (cf. MR.02.003)
   gari-kʰan-er pacʰuti
cart-NCLS-GEN behind
   'behind the cart'

b. घरलार आगूति (cf. MR.03.010)
gʰar-tʰa-r agu-uti
   house-NCLS-GEN in_front_of
   'in front of the house'
Likewise, the following complex postpositions have been considered to be lexicalised forms of previous PP-compounds:

(209) a. उपरत aprat, uprat 'upon'
b. बगलत baglat 'close'
c. भितरत bhat 'inside'
d. बीत bhit 'in between'
e. तलत talat 'below'
f. बाहरत baharat 'outside'

They function as postpositions in their own right, as the following examples indicate.

(210) a. बुऱाडर बगलत (cf. MR.01.005)
burʰa-da-r baglat
old_man-NCLS-GEN close
'close to the old man'

b. मुिदरटर भितरत
mundir-ta-r bhat
temple-NCLS-GEN inside
'inside the temple'

Some directionals, such as मुख mukʰ 'to, towards' (note, मुख mukʰ is the noun for 'face') and (भितर) bi'ti 'towards; to', attach to adverbs of location without the genitive case.

(211) a. पुरउ (भिति)
purub (bi)ti
east towards
'towards (the) east'

b. उपर से पानिबन देख बुऱ जाछे। (GR.01.003)
upar se pani-kʰan dekʰin mukʰ-e ja-cʰ-e
above ABL water-NCLS south towards go-PRES-3
'The water flows from up(stream) to the south.'

Many locational and directional postpositions can attach to demonstratives and certain pronouns to form pronominal adverbs (cf. section 5.6).

(212) a. जेइठना (cf. MR.04.025)
jei-tʰina
REL[obl/ip]-place/vicinity
'where'
3.6.4 Case and postpositions

3.6.4.2.5 Temporal

The temporal postpositions खुना kʰuna 'during' and बाद bad 'after' occur after nouns (213a), verbs (213b)/(214a) and adverbs (214b). Occasionally बाद bad 'after' attaches to the head without the genitive case (214c).

a. हामार गाऊँ आस्थिले मतसंग खुना...। (cf. DLR.03.011)
   हामार gaa as-isl-1 खुना kʰuna
   1pl[pro]-GEN village come-REM.PST-3 religious_fellowship-GEN during
   'He came to our village at the time of (a) religious (gathering)...'

b. आम्बार बाणे एमाखाए आसिस (MR.04.123)
   आम्बार as-ba-r खुना kʰuna प्रer ei-makʰae as-is
   come-INF-GEN during again DEM[prox/emph]-through come-SUBJ2sg
   'When it is time to come, come this way again.'

(214) a. सुन्नाब बाद sun-ba-r bad 'listen-INF-GEN after'
   b. कुछु दनेर बाद kucʰu din-er bad 'some day-GEN after'
   c. केवा दन बाद kewa din bad 'some day after'

The temporal postposition गुरु gʰuri 'during' occurs after temporal adverbs. It never requires genitive case marking on the adverb. The postposition is interchangeable with the adverbialiser करे kare 'ADVL' (cf. section 5.1).

a. रात्रि गुरुः (cf. MR.04.025)
   रात्रि gʰuri as-ie
   night during come-CONJ.PTCL
   'coming during the night'

3.6.4.2.6 Cause and purpose

The causal postposition कारन(त) karan(ət) is attached to the head noun (216a), or the non-finite verb (216b), with the genitive case. The postposition originates from a noun-LOC construction: कारन-व karan-AT 'reason-LOC' (some writers prefer the traditional spelling कारण karaṇ).
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(216) a. आपना आपने परें काम करनेकर (cf. DLR.03.012)
apna apni gʰar-er kam-er karʌn(-ʌt)
REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason(-LOC)
'because of each one's own house work'

b. कुछ नै हवार काम (cf. DLR.03.012)
pʰursat ni hʌ-ʌr karʌn(-ʌt)
free_time NEG be-INF-GEN reason(-LOC)
'because of not having free time'

Purpose is marked with the postposition ताने tane 'for; in order to' and is found in conjunction with verbs.

(217) a. टाटी बेड्वार तानें (cf. MR.02.007)
ṭaṭi benz-ba-r tane
wall build-INF-GEN for
'in order to build wall(s)'

b. न भोज खाबार तानें (cf. MR.04.053)
bʰoj kʰa-ba-r tane
feast eat-INF-GEN for
'in order to feast.'

3.6.4.2.7 Other postpositions

Finally, several other postpositions need mentioning. The following postpositions attach to the phrase head with the genitive case.

(218) a. संगे səŋe 'with' (cf. MR.04.067)
   b. बादे bade 'on behalf of'
   c. रूप anus 'in the form of' (cf. MR.02.007)
   d. लाखाित lakʰati 'just like; as if' (cf. MR.03.010; DLR.04.040)

The postposition ले le in -कार ले -kar le is most likely a loan from the Hindi के लिये ke liye 'for'. The Rājbanshi equivalent is the postposition ताने tane 'for'.

(219) आर हुनाकार ले (न्ताने) एकटा अफ्वा ले रूप हए। (DLR.03.007)
ar hutna-kar le ek-ta accʰa lok hʌ-e
and there-GEN for(loan) one-NCLS good man be-PRES3
'And he is a good man for that area.'
In addition, the following postpositions attach to the head without the genitive case.

(220) a. भरे bʰʌre 'throughout'
   b. मुहाँ muha 'as if' (cf. MR.03.019)

The postposition बिना bina 'without' attaches to the head with the genitive (221a), except when it functions as an adverb, in which case it precedes the head (221b-c).

(221) a. अमार बिना काम नि हुवे।
   [ʌmʰa-r bina] kam ni ha-b-1
   [3pl[pro]-GEN without] work NEG be-FUT-3
   'Without them the work can't be done.'

b. अम बिना खाए नि जाउँ।
   ʌmʰa [bina kʰa-e] ni ja-b-1
   3pl[pro] [without eat-CONJ.PTCL] NEG go-FUT-3
   'They will/can not leave without eating.'

c. बिना दोसे केनाह करे मारा जाबे। (GR.01.009)
   [bina dos-e] kenʌŋ kare mar-a ja-b-1
   [without accusation-INSTR] how ADVL kill-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3
   yaha-k
   DEM[pro/prox]-DAT
   'How to kill this without any accusation?'
3.7 Verbal morphology

3.7.1 Verb stem types

Based on minor inflectional differences, there appear to be six verb stem types. These can be divided into two distinct groups: vowel-final stems and consonant-final stems. Detailed paradigms for each verb stem type can be found in Appendix 1.

3.7.1.1 Vowel-final stems

Rājbanshi verbs only have stem-final vowels -a and -ʌ. The vowel -i is found as an epenthetic vowel in restricted environments, but does not belong to the stem.

Verb stem Type 1 consists of most verbs with a stem-final -a. In most cases inflection attaches directly to the stem-final vowel (222a).

(222) a. खाले kʰa- l-ɪ 'eat-PST-3'
   b. खाचे kʰa-c-e 'eat-PRES-3'
   c. खाइचे kʰa-ic-e 'eat-PERF-3'

Type 2 verb stems have a stem-final -ʌ. Verbs of this type include, for example: ह- hʌ- 'be', रह- rʌh- 'remain; live; be', कह- kʌh- 'say' and बह- bʌh- 'flow; plough'. The stem-final -ʌ is optionally deleted in certain circumstances, as the following variants indicate:

(223) a. कहए(ने) kʌh-e(ne) 'say-CONJ.PTCP'
   b. कहे(ने) kʌh-e(ne) 'say-CONJ.PTCP'

Type 2 verb stems also often have an irregular stem when occurring with past tense (224a), imperative (224b) and subjunctive (224c) inflection.

(224) a. रह- rʌh- 'stay' + -l'PST3' > रोहो-l'stay-PST3'
   b. कह- kʌh- 'say' + -∅ 'IMP2sg' > कोहो-∅ 'say-IMP2sg'
   c. ह- hʌ- 'be' + -अक -ok 'SUBJ3' > होक h-ok 'be-SUBJ3'

Verb stem Type 3 consists of three irregular verbs (225a-c) which inflect in present and perfect tenses with an aspirated affricate -cʰ instead of the unaspirated affricate -c found in all other Rājbanshi verbs. This applies to the dialect used in northern Jhāpā (226a-b); in the dialect used in south-western Jhāpā all verbs inflect in the present and perfect tenses with -c (226c-d). A wider survey concerning the variation was not possible for this work.
3.7.1 Verb stem types

(225) a. जा- ja- 'go; AUX; PASS.AUX' (irregular past root ग- g-)
b. लर- l(i)- 'take; AUX'
c. रि- d(i)- 'give; AUX'

(226) a. जाछे ja-cʰ-e 'go-PRES-3' (cf. GR.01.029; Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi)
b. िगछे g-icʰ-e 'go-PERF-3' (cf. MR.05.004; Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi)
c. जाचे ja-c-e 'go-PRES-3' (Korobāri)
d. गेइचे ge-ic-e 'go-PERF-3' (Korobāri)

Even in the northern Jhāpā dialect, aspirated -cʰ is suppressed to -c when preceding secondary agreement.

(227) a. िगि g-ic-ki 'go-PERF-SA3' (Ghailāḍubbā, Lakharigaddi and Korobāri)
b. िस्थ d-ic-kʌn 'give-PERF-SA2pl' (Ghailāḍubbā, Lakharigaddi and Korobāri)

3.7.1.2 Consonant-final stems

Verb stem Type 4 includes most verbs which have a single stem-final consonant. Inflection attaches directly to stems which have single consonant codas.

(228) a. ठुःकचुः tʰuk-ic-u 'hit-PERF-1sg'
b. भाले bʰag-l-ɪ 'escape-PST-3'
c. बाणेचे banʰ-ec-e 'tie-PRES-3'

Verb stem Type 5 consists of verbs which have a weak stem-final -r. When the -r is deleted, some writers will compensate for it with a hyphen in order to differentiate verbs which do not have a stem-final -r. For example, the reduced form of पार- par- 'be able to' (229c) resembles पा- pa- 'receive' (229d).

(229) a. धर्षण्ड्व dʰʌ(ɪ)-ic-e [pron. dʰʌice] 'begin-PERF-3' (stem धर-dʰʌr-)
b. करण्ड्व kʌ(ɪ)-e [pron. kʌe] 'do-CONJ.PTCL' (stem कर- kʌr-)
c. खेटियाला tʰia-la burʰi-ḍa-k kʰa-ba ni pa(r)-l-ɪ jackal-PL old_woman-NCLS-DAT eat-INF NEG can-PST-3 'The jackals couldn't eat the old woman.'
d. अमा बाणाला पुवाळ 3pl[pro] eat-INF get-PRES-3 straw 'They get to eat straw.'

Verb stem Type 6 consists of verbs which have a stem-final CC-cluster. Due to the restriction against CCC-clusters in the language, in these verbs an epenthetic vowel -i- or
-e- occurs between the stem and those morphemes which have a consonant initial (that is, the past (230a), future (230b), present (230c), past conditional (230d), infinitive (230e) and continuous participle (230f)). When the morpheme has an initial vowel, such as the perfect in (230g), the epenthetic vowel does not occur.

(230) a. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-PST-3'
b. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-FUT-2sg'
c. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-PRES-3'
d. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-PST-1sg=PST.COND'
e. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-INF'
f. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-CONT.PTCL'
g. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-PERF-3'

Verb stem Type 6 can not take ∅-marking in the imperative singular due to the restriction on word-final CC-clusters (231a). The imperative singular is marked either with the imperative variant -एक -ek as in (231b) and (232a), or by the breaking of the stem-final CC-cluster with an epenthetic vowel as in (231c) and (232b). In some cases only the former is possible (233).

(231) a. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-IMP2sg' (stem सम्तिन्द्र)
b. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-IMP2sg'
c. सम्तिन्द्र सौ-ि-ि 'finish-IMP2sg'

(232) a. निक्कल-ूल 'go_out-IMP2sg' (stem निक्कल)
b. निक्कल-ूल 'go_out-IMP2sg'

(233) गखूल गखूल-ूल 'hide-IMP2sg' (stem गखूल)

Finally, there are two stem-final irregularities which require consideration. Firstly, some verbs can interchange between the stem-final vowels -ि or -ि without causing a change in meaning (for example, अन्तर्ह- अन्तर्हि- 'search' and अन्तर्हि- 'search' in Table 21 below). This stem variation only occurs in the infinitive; otherwise the verbs inflect as Type 1 verb stems with all other non-finite and finite forms. The restriction of the use of the -ि variant to the infinitive alone suggests that these kinds of verbs have a primary stem-final -ि, and a variant -ि.

Some verbs do not have the -ि variant. Verbs such as (the non-causative) पत्या- 'find out' in Table 21 only occur with a stem-final -ि. Refer also to section 3.7.3 for discussion on causative stem irregularities.

38 Other verbs of this type include: बिद्या- बिद्या- 'change'; बिद्या- 'change'; बिद्या- 'make someone one's parent'; बिद्या- 'claw'; बिद्या- 'claw'; बिद्या- 'bite'.

38
Table 21. Non-finite marking on -CC and -CCV stem-finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infl. stem</th>
<th>अन्फ़्- 'search' (Verb stem type 1)</th>
<th>-आ - 'search' (Verb stem type 1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V-INF</td>
<td>अन्फ़्रा अन्फ़्रा-ba 'search-INF'</td>
<td>अन्फ़्रा अन्फ़्रा-ba 'search-INF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-ABS</td>
<td>अन्फ़्रा अन्फ़्- 'search-ABS'</td>
<td>अन्फ़्रा अन्फ़्रा- 'search-ABS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CONJ-PTCL</td>
<td>अन्फ़्फ़्रा अन्फ़्फ़्- 'search-CONJ-PTCL'</td>
<td>अन्फ़्फ़्रा अन्फ़्फ़्- 'search-CONJ-PTCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CONT.PTCL</td>
<td>अन्फ़्फ़्रा अन्फ़्फ़्- 'search-CONT.PTCL'</td>
<td>अन्फ़्फ़्रा अन्फ़्फ़्- 'search-CONT.PTCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-PST.PTCL</td>
<td>अन्फ़्फ़्रा अन्फ़्फ़्- 'search-PST.PTCL'</td>
<td>अन्फ़्फ़्रा अन्फ़्फ़्- 'search-PST.PTCL'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22. Non-finite marking on irregular -VCV stem-finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infl. stem</th>
<th>सप्तः सप्तः- ‘finish’ (Verb stem type 6)</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>सप्तः सप्तः- ‘finish-INF’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>सप्तः सप्तः- ‘finish-ABS’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ-PTCL</td>
<td>सप्तः सप्तः- ‘finish-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT.PTCL</td>
<td>सप्तः सप्तः- ‘finish-CONT.PTCL’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST.PTCL</td>
<td>सप्तः सप्तः- ‘finish-PST.PTCL’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, certain verbs with a stem-final -a, such as नुका- nuk-a- 'hide' in Table 22 below, have a reduced form in the infinitive. Reducing the stem in the infinitive causes no change in meaning. These verbs inflect as Type 1 verb stems in all other non-finite and finite forms.

Table 22. Non-finite marking on irregular -VCV stem-finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflect. stem</th>
<th>-C stem-final</th>
<th>-आ - ‘a’ stem-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V-INF</td>
<td>नुका नुका-ba 'hide-INF'</td>
<td>नुका नुका-ba 'hide-INF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-ABS</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-ABS'</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-ABS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CONJ-PTCL</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-CONJ.PTCL'</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-CONJ.PTCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CONT.PTCL</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-CONT.PTCL'</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-CONT.PTCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-PST.PTCL</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-PST.PTCL'</td>
<td>नुका नुका- 'hide-PST.PTCL'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 Other verbs of this type include: बात- bat- and बाता- bata- 'tell'; बेन- ben- and बेना- bena- 'make'; बेर- ber- and बेरा- bera- 'walk'; चर- car- and चरा- cara- 'graze'; निद्रा- nidra- 'sleep'; फेक- pʰek- and फेका- pʰeka- 'throw'.

3.7.2 Causative stems

Two morphological causative stems are used in Rājbanshi: the simple causative and the indirect causative.

3.7.2.1 Basic structure

The simple causative suffix is -आ 'CAUS'. If the verb base is intransitive the simple causative morpheme usually induces a derivational process to form a transitive verb, which are referred to as "corresponding transitives" (cf. Masica 1976:46). This is a valence-increasing process, but in these cases the resulting verb is not the causative counterpart of the intransitive base per se, although the causative element can sometimes be construed as such, as the following examples show.

(234) a. उठबा > उठाबा
   उठh-ba > उठh-a-ba
   rise-INF > raise-INF (i.e.'cause_to_rise')

b. सुनबा > सुनाबा
   सुन-ba > सुन-a-ba
   hear-INF > tell-INF (i.e.'cause_to_hear')

c. जलबा > जलाबा
   जल-ba > जल-a-ba
   burn-INF > burn(sthg)-INF (i.e.'cause_to_burn')

At other times, however, the simple causative suffix can bring about a primary causative connotation, as the following examples demonstrate.

(235) a. बठ्बा > बठाबा
   बठh-ba > बठh-a-ba
   sit-INF > sit-CAUS-INF ('cause_to_sit')

b. बुऱाडकघरतबठाएिखलानिपलानकबाएि
   (cf. DLR.04.042)
   burh-a-ḍʌ-k gʰʌr-at bʌh-a-e kʰilʌn pilʌn kʌr-ba=e
   old_man-NCLS-DAT house-LOC sit-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL feeding drinking do-INF=EMPH
   ha-l-ki
   must-PST-SA3

'They had to sit the old man down (i.e. cause the old man to sit down) in the house and really feed him and give him drink!'
If the verb base is transitive, the simple causative stem often indicates causation in the primary sense.

(236) a. करबा > कराबा
    कार-बा > कार-अ-बा
    do-INF > do-CAUS-INF ('cause_to_do')

b. राजाडर में गलाके भेटघाट कराए दि-क। (cf. MR.05.347)
    राजा-डर सं-गु आ-के भेटघाट कराए di-p-ki
    king-NCLS-GEN with all-PL-DAT=EMPH visit do-CAUS-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3
    'He had them all meet with the king.'

The suffix for the indirect causative is -(उ)वा -(u)wa 'ICAUS' (237). Its use is infrequent. In the database corpus of 1000 sentences available, only one example of an indirect causative stem was found (cf. MR.04.041), and even here the verb has a simple causative rendering. This does not necessarily imply that the indirect causative is a loan construction, since it is only logical that such special constructions are rare, and language informants do consider it to be used by mother tongue speakers. The indirect causative will be discussed further in section 7.5.2.

(237) जलुवाबा jal-(u)wa-ba 'burn-ICAUS-INF' ('have someone burn')

These observations lead to the conclusion that a Rājbanshi verb can have a maximum of three stems. This is unlike Hindi (Masica 1976:44) or Maithili (Yadav 1991:186), where one can find combinations of up to four stems.

(238) a. छुटबा cʰut-ba 'stop-INF'
    b. छुटाबा cʰut-a-ba 'stop-CAUS-INF'
    c. छुटुवाबा cʰut-(u)wa-ba 'stop-ICAUS-INF'

3.7.2.2 Irregularities

There are, however, several irregularities in the causative stem system. Firstly, the derivational process sometimes results in internal vowel change (239).

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40 The indirect causative is also found in other NIA languages: in Hindi the indirect causative suffix is -wā (-vā). On Maithili, Yadav (1997 [1996]:185-186) maintains: "...the 'second' causative, which implies that the degree of closeness between cause and effect is mediated or less direct, and is formed by adding the suffix -ba to the non-causative verb stem."
Secondly, some verbs have irregular stems which are used for the simple and indirect causatives.

(240) a. खाबा kʰa-ba 'eat-INF'
    b. खिलाबा kʰila-ba 'feed-INF' (i.e. 'cause to eat')
    c. खिलुबा kʰil-(u)wa-ba 'feed-ICAUS-INF (i.e. 'cause to feed', or 'cause to eat via a second person'; possibly a loan stem)

(241) a. दिबा di-ba 'give-INF'
    b. दुबा du-a-ba 'give-CAUS-INF'
    c. दिलबा dil-a-ba 'give-[HINDI.STEM]-CAUS-INF' (cf. MR.05.284)

Thirdly, not all verbs use the three verbs stems presented in the basic outline. Quasi-aspectual and other auxiliaries, for instance, have no causative stems. Likewise, certain verbs, such as those in (242a-d), do not take causative morphology. Causation is expressed in these cases by the use of corresponding transitive verbs (242a-c), or by periphrastic means (cf. section 7.5.2 for further discussion). Note that verbs (242a-b) are similar in form to certain auxiliaries.

(242) a. हबा hʌ-ba 'be-INF' (corresponding causative बेनबा bena-ba 'make-INF')
    b. जोबा ja-ba 'go-INF' (corresponding causative लिबा li-ba 'take-INF')
    c. आबा as-ba 'come-INF' (corresponding causative आनबा an-ba 'bring-INF')
    d. कहबा kʰʌ-ba 'say-INF'

As outlined in section 3.4, many onomatopoeic-like verbs take the causative stem, but do not occur with non-causative or indirect causative stems (243a). One example was found, however, of the indirect causative stem in conjunction with an onomatopoeic verb (243b); this verb does not take a non-causative or a primary causative stem.

(243) a. कुत-कुताबा kut kut-a-ba '[kut kut]-CAUS-INF' (i.e. 'to tickle')
    b. गेद-गेदुबा ged ged-(u)wa-ba '[ged ged]-ICAUS-INF' (i.e. 'to slurp (one's food)')

Fourthly, some verbs encountered have only two stems. These combinations vary according to which stems are accepted. Consider the example (244a) where both the non-causative and the indirect stems are found, but not the simple causative. Despite indirect causative marking in (244a), it is the simple causative which is indicated. Conversely, in (244b) there is no indirect causative stem.
3.7.2 Causative stems

Moreover, some verbs were encountered which appear to have three stems, of which only one is used for the causative. Consider examples (245a-c). The three stems would seem to provide evidence for a three-way contrast between the non-causative (245a), the simple causative (245b) and the indirect causative (245c). Closer study, however, reveals that (245c) is semantically the simple causative counterpart of (245a), despite the indirect causative stem. Conversely, the verb with the simple causative stem in (245b) is only used in an idiomatic sense (245d). In cases such as these it is doubtful that one could posit such a three-way contrast.

Fifthly, there are verbs which have combinations of three stems, but which contrast semantically in only two ways. Consider, for example the verb खेल- kʰel- 'play-' in (246a). The simple causative counterpart of this is (246c), which uses indirect causative morphology. The verb stem ढेल- kʰela- 'play-' (246b) does in fact occur, but the meaning of this stem (which looks like a simple causative) is in fact semantically non-causative. The stems ढेल- kʰel- and ढेल- kʰela- are therefore interchangeable (246d). It would appear that these irregularities are not purely coincidental. At the time of writing I have still been unable to determine conclusively whether they are (perhaps partially) related to verb semantics, or are simply the result of morphophonemics. Refer to section 3.7.1.2 for discussion on stem irregularities.
Finally, the causative stem seems to be partially neutralised whenever the infinitive is used (refer to section 3.7.1 on verb stem types). Consider, for example, the verb बल- 'speak; play an instrument'. In the latter meaning ('to play an instrument') both the non-causative and causative stems can be used when in the infinitive (that is, when preceding an auxiliary; (247a)). Otherwise only the causative stem ('cause to speak' > 'play') may be used (247b). The former meaning of the verb ('to speak') retains the semantics of the causative in all cases (247c-d).

(247) a. बसी बला (or, बलाबा) प्लान (cf. MR.05.324)
   basi-ḍʌ bʌl-ba (or, bʌl-a-ba) dʰʌl-l-1
   flute-NCLS speak-INF (or, speak-CAUS-INF) begin-PST-3
   'He began to play the flute.'

b. बासी बालाबा (*बालबा) (cf. MR.05.179)
   basi-ḍʌ bʌl-a-is (*bʌl-is)
   flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-SUBJ2sg (*speak-SUBJ2sg)
   'Play the flute!'

c. उहाँ बला प्लान।
   uhā bʌl-ba dʰʌl-l-1
   3sg[pro] speak-INF begin-PST-3
   'He began to speak.'

d. उहाँ बालाबा प्लान।
   uhā bʌl-a-ba dʰʌl-l-1
   3sg[pro] speak-CAUS-INF begin-PST-3
   'He began to make it speak.' (i.e. 'He began to to play (an instrument).')

A concluding word on methodology is necessary in this context. It was quite straightforward to elicit what appeared to be two contrastive causative stems. It was also simple to generate sentences which appeared to provide evidence for that contrast. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that many of the generated examples sounded unnatural to actual speakers of the language. Contrasts between the non-causative, the simple causative and the indirect causative were encountered, but only rarely. It was more common to find the irregularities which have been outlined in this section.


3.7.3 Conjunct verbs

In this section I will discuss two types of conjunct verb constructions which have non-verbal initial elements (248a-b). In addition I will argue the case for regarding constructions such as (248c) as conjunct verbs. In section 3.7.9.2.2 I will study three further constructions, two of which will be regarded as compound verbs. The compound verb is constructed as shown in (248d-e).\footnote{The terminological distinction between "conjunct verbs" and "compound verbs" here follows Masica (1991:326;368). Refer also to Hook (1974:17) for discussion on the compound verb in Hindi. Compare with the Hindi compound verb, as outlined by Kellogg (1955 [1875]:258): "Although for convenience of reference, common usage has been followed in the heading above, none of these are true compounds, but grammatical combinations of a conjunctive participle, a verbal noun, or a substantive, with a verb." Fairbanks & Misra (1987 [1966]:30-31) distinguish between Hindi "verbal compounds" and "nonverbal compounds". The "verbal compound" is characterised thus: "The main type of verbal compound in Hindi is composed of one verb in the stem form followed by a second verb in any of the possible forms." The "nonverbal compound" is described as: "A second type of compound is one in which the first element is a noun, adjective or adverb and the second is a verb form, usually hoona, 'to be' or karnaa, 'to do.' " The former corresponds to the above-mentioned Rājbanshi equivalent (248c), and the latter to the (248a-b) type constructions.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item (248) a. N + V
  \item b. ADJ + V
  \item c. \(V_{\text{STEM}}\) + V
  \item d. V-CONJ.PTCL + V (derivational compound)
  \item e. \(V_{\text{MATRIX}}\)-ABS + AUX (quasi-aspectual compound)
\end{itemize}

Conjunct verbs with nouns (i.e. constructed as (248a)) are found with a range of verbalisers.

\begin{itemize}
  \item (249) a. थाहा पाबा \(t^haha\ pa-ba\) 'knowledge receive-INF' (i.e. 'to find out'; cf. MR.04.197)
  \item b. आग्रा दिवा agra di-ba 'duty give-INF' (i.e. 'to guard'; cf. MR.05.145)
  \item c. सोदर खाबा sodor k\(h^ha\)-ba 'guest eat-INF' (i.e. 'to pay a visit')
  \item d. बाहा खाबा baha k\(h^ha\)-ba 'wedding eat-INF' (i.e. to be a guest at a wedding')
\end{itemize}

Conjunct verbs with adjectives (i.e. constructed as (249b)) seem to be less frequent, but nevertheless were encountered.

\begin{itemize}
  \item (250) a. बाचा बेनाबा (cf. MR.05.226)
     \begin{itemize}
       \item baca bena-ba
       \item small make
       \item 'to make small'
     \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
b. साफा सुघर कबा (cf. MR.05.132)
    sapʰa sugʰar kar-ba
    clean clean do-INF
    'to clean'

Syntactically-speaking, the noun of the conjunct verb should not be analysed as the object
of the clause (cf. sections 3.6.2.5.1 and 3.6.4.1.1). Masica (1991:389) maintains:

"Another point of some importance, however, is that where a noun is involved, it is bereft of
any attribute of definiteness, that is, neither specified nor unspecified nor generic: it cannot take
(without change of function) either a specifying Dat-Acc marker or a Determiner (nor, in those
languages which have them, a Definitizing or Indefinitizing Suffix). Even when treated
syntactically (in some respects) as an Object, it represents the bare idea of the noun, verbalized
by the lexically empty verb which accompanies it."

The same applies to Rājbanshi: the noun of the conjunct verb is never marked for case,
specificity/definiteness or number (251a). In addition, it can not be modified by an
adjective or adverb (the adverb does not modify the adjective of the conjunct verb but
modifies the conjunct verb as a whole). Note, however, that the verbaliser can be fronted
leaving the nominal element in clause-final position (251b; cf. section 7.3.3 for further
discussion on displacement).42

(251) a. गाली दिवार
gali di-ba
    rebuke give-INF
    'to tell off; to rebuke'

b. आरसाल किया किया दिलो मोक गाली? (GR.01.018)
    arsal kiã d-isl-o mo-k gali
    last_year why give-REM.PST-2sg 1sg[obl]-DAT rebuke
    'Last year why did you tell me off?'

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42 Mohanan (1994:108) postulates seven conditions which are required for an incorporated
interpretation of the Hindi "N+V compound": "...(i) the incorporated noun must have generic
interpretation; (ii) there can be no material intervening between the noun and the verb; (iii) neither
the noun nor the verb can be conjoined; (iv) the noun cannot be gapped; (v) it cannot be modified;
(vi) it cannot be case marked; and (vii) it cannot be a subject."

Restrictions on gapping and coordination apply also to the Rājbanshi conjunct verb. However,
Mohanan's condition (ii) only applies to the default order in Rājbanshi, and not to displaced
constructions, as example (251b), and Mohanan's (1994:205) similar construction in Hindi indicate:

(xiv) Hindi (Mohanan 1994:205)
    kiyaa raam-ne mohan-par bʰarosaa
    do-PERF Ram-E Mohan-L reliance
    'Ram relied on Mohan.'
Conjunct verbs of the structure (248c) include, for example, the following:

(252) a. मार खाबा (cf. MR.04.087)
mar kʰa-ba
beating eat-INF
'to take a beating; to be beaten'

b. दउर माबा (cf. MR.05.336)
dur mar-ba
run kill-INF
'to run (fast); to scurry'

c. डाक दिबा (cf. MR.04.178)
dak di-ba
call give-INF
'to call'

In these constructions the first element in the sequence is a bare verb stem. The second element functions much like an auxiliary. There are, however, two reasons why I refrain from considering these to be auxiliaries (i.e. vector verbs) similar to those found in quasi-aspectual compound verbs (cf. sections 3.7.9.2.1-2). Firstly, the verbs are highly idiomatic. Similar to derivational compound verbs, there is strict collocation between the nominalised verb and the verbaliser, and the construction on the whole is non-productive. Secondly, the construction can occur itself with a quasi-aspectual auxiliary as (253) shows.\(^{43}\)

(253) ...विक्र उहाँ ड्रूम निकिरो। (cf. MR.05.257)
di-b-ɪ uhã ḍʰol piṭ-ie
AUX-FUT-3 3sg[pro] drum_to_summon beat-ABS
'...he beat a drum (in order to summon people).'

### 3.7.4 Copula

Rājbanshi makes use of the copulas ह- 'be; become' and cʰ- 'be'. Verb inflection and the copulas correlate as follows:

---

\(^{43}\) Whether this construction could be a loan construction is uncertain. Compare with the Hindi compound verb: "In formal terms a compound verb has consisted of a verb occurring as a bare stem followed by a secondary element that carries the desinence." (Hook 1974:17)
In the past tense and the past continuous/remote past the ह- hʌ- copula has an non-stative (inchoative) rendering. In case of overlap (that is, in the case of the present and the perfect), contextual clues are often important in order to distinguish the two meanings. However, due to the semantic relationship between the two verbs, differentiation is not always necessary. For example, the two verbs merge in the future tense ('will be' ≈ 'will become'). In addition, initial observations point to the verb ह- hʌ- having the meaning of 'become' whenever it occurs in conjunction with a quasi-aspectual auxiliary (254).

\[(254)\ldots \text{te mui hide} \text{rani h}^\text{ʌ} \text{-e ja-m}\]
\[\text{...PCL 1sg[pro] over here queen be-ABS AUX-FUT1sg}\]
\[\ldots \text{then on the one hand (lit. over here) I will become a queen.'}\]

The copula ह- hʌ- is used in the present tense for general truth statements (255a). In contrast, other cases of copula clauses use past habitual marking, such as -परे -e in (255b), to indicate the present tense. (In the text data (Appendix 3), past habitual inflection which is used for the present tense in such cases has been glossed as the present tense.) Refer to section 3.7.6.2 for further discussion on the use of the present tense with the copula verbs.

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Other examples include DLR.05.004, DLR.05.044, DLR.05.048, DLR.06.028, DLR.06.034, DLR.06.044b, DLR.06.050a, DLR.06.050b, DLR.06.055, GR.02.024, GR.02.026.
3.7.4 Copula

(255) a. भातला माजा हचे।
   bʰʌt-la maja hʌ-c-e
   rice-PL tasty be-PRES-3
   'Rice is tasty.' (general truth statement)

b. इड लोक गचिमारि हए। (cf. DLR.03.001)
   i-ḍʌ lok gacimari-r hʌ-e
   DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimari-GEN be-PRES3
   'This man is from Gacimari.' (contextual truth statement)

The copula छ- cʰ- is used in the present tense for descriptive (256a) and locational (256b) contexts. In the same way as the ह- hʌ- copula, it makes use of past habitual morphology. Note that the location in (256b) is not overtly stated.

(256) a. बहुत सुन्दर छिले राजकुमार। (DLR.06.003)
   bahut sundar cʰi-lɪ rajkumar-ṭʌ
   very(Hindi) beautiful be-PST-3 prince-NCLS
   'The prince was very handsome.'

b. कट्ट छ (बलात्स) छेइए नि! (cf. DLR.05.034)
   kʌṭi-ḍʌ tʌ (kʰʌta-ḍʌ-t) cʰ-e = ie ni
   shell-NCLS PCL (nest-NCLS-LOC) be-PRES3 = EMPH NEG
   'The shell is just not (in the nest)!'

The copula छ- cʰ- is also used in possessive contexts such as (257a-b).

(257) a. घरेलू लोक छं केरे। (DLR.06.031)
   gʰʌr-er lok-tʌ cʰ-e kere
   house-GEN man-NCLS be-PRES3 PCL
   '(I certainly) have a husband.'

b. केतेला धन समपत्ति छिकिये पाह्या? (DLR.05.021)
   kete-la dʰʌn Sampati cʰ-i-ki yaha-r
   how_much-PL wealth possessions be-PRES-SA3 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN
   'How much wealth does he have?'

The past habitual sense is marked with the copula-like verb रह- rʌhʌ- 'be; remain; live' which takes past habitual morphology (258a). Compare (258a) and (258b), both of which use past habitual morphology. In (258a) it is the past habitual which is implied, whereas in (258b) it is the present tense.
3. Morphology

(258) a. दुई भातार गिरे। (cf. DLR.05.002)
   
   दुि bʰ̪aṭaɾ magi r ah- e...
   two husband wife live-PST.HAB3...
   'Two (of them) were used to be married (i.e. husband and wife)....'

   b. दुई जन भातार गिरे।
   
   दूि dui-j ʰʌn bʰ̪aṭaɾ magi h a-e...
   DEM[prox] two-PCLS husband wife live-PRES3
   'These two are husband and wife.'

The distinction between the stative ह- h a- copula and the छ- cʰ- copula is neutralised in the simple past. For example, though in (259a) the complement is adjectival and in (259b) it is nominal, both cases use the छ- cʰ- copula with past tense inflection. Past tense marking on the ह- h a- stem indicates the non-stative sense of the verb (259c-d).

(259) a. मुई बाच्ना गिरता।
   
   mui bacca ch ʰ-i-n-u
   1sg[pro] small be-PST-1sg
   'I was small.'

   b. मुई मास्टर गिरता।
   
   mui maṣṭaɾ ch ʰ-i-n-u
   1sg[pro] teacher be-PST-1sg
   'I was a teacher.'

   c. कि होन?, माई? (DLR.06.081)
   
   ki ho-l mai
   what be-PST3 y.sister
   'What happened (lit. 'became'), younger sister?'

   d. ताहाबाद मन नुसा खुसी हुन्ना। (cf. DLR.05.060)
   
   taharbad maŋ-daɾ suna kʰus i ha-l-ki
   after that mind-NCLS PCL happy(Nepali) be-PST-SA3
   'After that (his) mind became happy.'

Finally, the छ- cʰ- copula does not occur with other than present or past inflection; the ह- h a- stem is used in all other finite and non-finite forms, such as the CONJ.PTCL in (260).

(260) एक महिना रहने मरे हे असोक। (MR.04.119)

   ek m ah i na r ah-ene maɾa h a-e as-ok
   one month live-CONJ.PTCL fat be-CONJ.PTCL come-SUBJ3
   'May she stay there for one month, become fat (and then) come.'
Zero copula encoding is limited to the stative sense of the copula छ- (261a), and the copula छ- cʰ- (261a) when these occur in the present tense. The copula can optionally be overtly marked in such cases.\footnote{Overt copula for example in examples GR.02.049, MR.05.239 and DLR.03.001 (छ- hʌ-), and DLR.05.017, DLR.05.024a, DLR.05.028 and DLR.05.057a (छ- cʰ-).}

(261) a. एक-तार नाम सुक बाजी (हए) (cf. MR.05.178b)
   ek-ta-r nam suk basi (hʌ-e)
   one-NCLS-GEN name happiness flute (be-PRES3)
   'One's name (is) 'happiness flute'.'

b. इड कलम उड कलम में मट (छे)
   i-ḍʌ kʌlʌ u-ḍʌ kʌlam se maṭʌ (cʰ-e)
   DEM[prox]-NCLS pen DEM[rem]-NCLS pen ABL thick (be-PRES3)
   'This pen is thicker than that pen.'

3.7.5 Agreement

In this section I will consider Rājbanshi primary and secondary agreement. By primary agreement I mean verbal agreement with the subject or agent of the clause. By secondary agreement I mean agreement between the verb and the patient of the clause, or cases where both the patient and the agent are cross-referenced by the verb. Secondary agreement is also found between the verb and a dative subject, recipient, and genitive modifier of a clause, and even a non-participant (that is, the hearer of the discourse).

The terms "primary agreement" and "secondary agreement" used here therefore differ from the terms "primary endings" and "secondary endings" which Masica (1991:260ff) uses to refer to distinctive sets of primary agreement. I have avoided the term "double agreement" since there are only some cases where both the agent and the patient are marked. Secondary agreement is abbreviated in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss as "SA".

There seem to be two types of secondary agreement: syntactic and pragmatic. Secondary agreement, which is triggered by syntactic considerations, is (in most cases) predictable. Pragmatic inferences emerge when these default (syntactic) rules are broken. The subsequent sections will cover genitive agreement, dative subject agreement and secondary agreement in transitive clauses, and also pragmatic inferences of secondary agreement. I will also employ a semantic parameter called "affectedness" in an attempt to account for the variety of ways in which secondary agreement is used in Rājbanshi.

Secondary agreement occurs in the dialects spoken throughout Morang and Jhāpā. It is not found in that easternmost part of Jhāpā adjacent to the border with the Indian state of
West Bengal. The lack of secondary agreement on the very eastern fringe of Jhāpā is most likely due to the influence of the more eastern varieties of Rājbanshi and Bengali. The final sections will cover both the irregularities encountered in the dialects close to this border region, and the possible origin of secondary agreement in the language.

A preliminary verb paradigm for the Rangeli and Dādar Bairiā dialects can be found in Appendix 1. Due to insufficient research however I will not examine this data in any depth.

### 3.7.5.1 Primary agreement

The Rājbanshi varieties studied have three sets of primary agreement, each with their own slight variations. Number agreement in the future tense, past tense, past continuous/remote past and past conditional comprises the first set. Set 2 is found in the present, perfect and, with a few exceptions, in the subjunctive and past habitual. The imperative has its own set of number marking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 24. Primary agreement markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMP</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no overt morphological distinction between the 3sg and 3pl in any tense or aspect inflection. Due to a certain degree of fusion between the tense or aspect and number agreement markers, one is unable to draw morpheme breaks in all cases (the past tense -(इ)ल 'PST3(far-eastern dialect)', and the subjunctive and past habitual markers).
Unlike neighbouring Maithili, there is no specific morphology for honorificity. As explicated in section 3.6.3.1, respect is expressed by marking a 2sg (or 1sg) participant with plural inflection.

In the future tense, past tense, past continuous/remote past and past conditional, the tense marker has distinct forms for the 1p and 2/3p participants. Therefore the 1sg/pl future tense marker is -ःm 'FUT', whereas the future marker for the 2sg/pl and 3sg/pl is -ःp 'FUT' (or -ःt 'FUT', in south-western Jhāpā). The simple past and past conditional 1p marker is -ःn 'PST', and the 2p and 3p marker is -ःl 'PST'. Likewise, the past continuous/remote past marker is -इस्त -isn 'REM.PST' for the 1sg/pl, and -इस्त -isl 'REM.PST' for the 2sg/pl and 3sg/pl. These are all charted accordingly in their respective sections on tense, aspect and mood.

3.7.5.2 Secondary agreement

The secondary agreement morphemes are marked in Table 25 (full inflection charts, including western dialects, can be found in Appendix 1).

### Table 25. Secondary agreement markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor / 1SG</th>
<th>Genitive agreement</th>
<th>Dative subject agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>-∅ (or, unmarked)</td>
<td>-∅ (or, unmarked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>-∅ (or, unmarked)</td>
<td>-∅ (or, unmarked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>-कु 'SA2sg'</td>
<td>-कु 'SA2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-कुन (or, -कुने) -कुने 'SA2sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-कन 'SA2pl'</td>
<td>-कन 'SA2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-कि 'SA3'</td>
<td>-कि 'SA3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-किने 'SA3sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondary agreement in transitive clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient (or recipient)</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>-कुन -कुन 'SA2sg-1sg'</td>
<td>-कन -कन 'SA2pl-1sg'</td>
<td>-किन 'SA3-1sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-उ 'SA2sg-1sg'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-कन 'SA2pl-1sg'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-कि 'SA3'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-किन 'SA3sg'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 The use of the marker -ःt for the future tense in these dialects may have derived from the Maithili 3p future marker. Jha (1958:13), for example, notes: "Mai(thili) is distinguished from Beng(ali) by the use of the future in -ःt in the 3rd pers(on)."
When the agent is 1sg, 1pl or 2pl, the verb is marked for both the agent and the patient. In other cases only the patient is marked.

As seen in Table 25 the morpheme -n has been analysed as '1sg/1pl [AGENT]' in the following cases: -कु -ku-n 'SA2sg-1sg/1pl', -कन -ka-n 'SA2pl-1sg/1pl' and -कन -ki-n 'SA3-1sg/1pl'. This is due to a comparison of these forms with the corresponding 3sg/pl [AGENT] forms: -कु -ku 'SA2sg' (3sg/pl acting on 2sg) and -कि -ki 'SA3' (3sg/pl acting on 3sg/pl).

This is quite straightforward, but the form -कन -kan 'SA2pl' (3sg/pl acting on 2pl) or 'SA2pl-1sg' (1sg/pl acting on 2pl) breaks the symmetry of the pattern. As seen above, the 2pl marker for genitive and dative subject agreement is itself -कन -kan 'SA2pl', and therefore I have analysed -कन -kan in two ways:

(262) a. -कन -kan 'SA2pl' (3sg/pl acting on 2pl)
   b. -कन -ka-n 'SA2pl-1sg/1pl' (1sg/pl acting on 2pl)

Dialects in western (Korobāri, Lakanpur) and central Jhāpā (Pācgāchi) use the suffix -र -ra '2pl [AGENT]' as a 2pl agent marker. The suffix only occurs after the 3sg/pl patient marker -कि -ki 'SA3'. Note that the 2pl marker is used in (263b) for a 2sg agent. This is due to the fact that the 2pl may be used as an honorific for a 2sg participant. Compare this to the non-honorific counterpart in (263c).

(263) a. ए माइला, जाकिर त गेथ।
   INJ girl-PL go-SA3-2pl PCL VOC[fem]
   'Eh girls, go then [for him/her; s/he's calling you].'

b. पामर, जाकिर तान।
   Pāmar go-SA3-2pl PCL
   'Pāmar[SG,HONORIFIC] go then [for him/her; s/he's calling you].'
3.7.5 Agreement 151

Since primary agreement is deleted in conjunction with secondary agreement marking, agent agreement can be ambiguous. It is indeed possible that the 2pl marker has come into use in order to resolve potential ambiguity in secondary agreement forms, as in (264d) and (265c).

(264) a. जा ja-∅ 'go-IMP2sg'
b. जान ja-a 'go-IMP2pl'
c. जाकी ja-ki 'go-SA3'
d. जाकर ja-ki-rʌ 'go-SA3-2pl'

(265) a. ठुकेिक tʰu-ec-ki 'hit-PRES-SA3' (2sg[AGENT], 3sg/pl[PATIENT])
b. ठुकेिक tʰu-ec-ki 'hit-PRES-SA3' (3sg/pl[AGENT], 3sg/pl[PATIENT])
c. ठुकेिकर tʰu-ec-ki-rʌ 'hit-PRES-SA3-2pl' (2pl[AGENT], 3sg/pl[PATIENT])

There is no tense-aspect conditioning of the markers in the dialects studied in Jhāpā. Conversely however, the secondary agreement paradigm in southern Morang does seem to be at least partially affected by tense-aspect marking.

Dialects in southern Morang voice the velar plosive -k when this follows a voiced consonantal element, and this results in forms such as -गु गु 'SA2sg' and -कि गि 'SA3' (266a). In some dialects in Jhāpā the -k element is discarded when following a consonant (266b). The 2sg genitive agreement marker -कु -ku has a variant form -कुन -kun (266d; or -कुने -kune), and the 3sg genitive agreement marker -कि -ki has a variant form -कि ने -kine (266e). The -n element in (266d) seems not to be related to the 1p subject (unlike the 1pl agent marker in (266c)), though this would need to be verified by further research. The -ne element in (266e) is not to be considered a tag particle, or a disjunctive conjunction.

(266) a. उहाँक तुइ ठकिए केमे आसिलिं? (BLR, Dādar Bairī) wã-k tui tʰak-ie keme as-il-gi 3sg[pro]-DAT 2sg[pro] hit-CONJ.PTCL why come-PST-SA3 'Why did you hit him (and then) come here?'

47 As a matter of interest, secondary agreement is found in the Indo-Aryan language Darai, and possibly also Dhanwar (Danuwar Rai). In these languages nouns are cross-referenced with the possessor (cf. Dhakal 2007 on Darai). In Darai the 2sg pronominal possessor suffix for the noun is -र (Kotapish & Kotapish 1975:136), and in Dhanwar (Rai & Kuegler 1975:170) the 2pl possessor agreement marker for the noun is -haar. Whether these are historically related to the Rājbanshi morpheme -र -रा '2pl[AGENT]' is unclear.
b. कालि दिनु। (कपोल) (Korobāri)
kal'i di-m-(k)u-n
tomorrow give-FUT-SA2g-1sg
'I will give (it to you) tomorrow.'

c. आप एकोटिना खुनु। (MR.04.180; Lakharigaddi)
ap ei-ti-nā kʰa-m-ku-n
PCL DEM[prox/emph]-place eat-FUT-SA2sg-1pl
'Now we will eat you right here.'

d. तोर मसि खत हकुन। (MR.05.279; Lakharigaddi)
to-r māsi mui hā-kun
2sg[obl]-GEN sister_of_mother 1sg[pro] be-SA2sg
'I am your aunt.'

e. उहाँर धुक बामिर लेह गेलिने कुवाख, आर मुक बामिर लेह गेलिने। (MR.05.216; Lakharigaddi)
uhã-r duk basi-dʌ=u le-i ge-l-kine kua-dʌ
3sg[pro]-GEN trouble flute-NCLS=CNJ take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-SA3 crow-NCLS
ar suk basi-dʌ=u le-i ge-l-kine
and happiness flute-NCLS=CNJ take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-SA3
'The crow had taken both his trouble flute and his happiness flute too.'

One final note is necessary as regards the Rangeli paradigm. Toulmin (2006:239) maintains that the "optional pleonastic suffix /-ŋgu/ to the first person singular endings is peculiar to the RL lect", and that the Rangeli marker /-/ could perhaps be related to the Hindi future tense marker.

However, based on a preliminary study of the Rangeli agreement system for this work, the -उँ-gu suffix was not found to cross-reference only the agent, but the agent and the patient (in that order; cf. Table 25 above, and the Dādar Bairi/Rangeli paradigm in Appendix 1). Therefore, the agreement markers -उँ-gu and -इँ-gi indicate both agent and patient '1sg-SA2' and '1sg-SA3' respectively. The suffix is subject to similar rules, which will be explained in the following sections, and can therefore not be held to be optional as such (that is, any deletion of the suffix results in further pragmatic implications).

(267) मूँ तोक टकिस्कुह।
mui to-k tʰak-is-un-gu
1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT hit-PERF-1sg-SA2
'I have hit you.'

The marker is likely to be central in reconstructing the historical relations of the far-western dialects. What is especially interesting when comparing the dialects in Morang
with those in Jhāpā, is that in the Rangeli paradigm the agent is marked prior to the patient, whereas in Jhāpā we find the reverse. This could be due to Rangeli falling (slightly) closer to the Maithili area (Maithili also has an agent-patient order). The isogloss for secondary agreement will be discussed further in section 3.7.5.9.

### 3.7.5.3 Genitive agreement

Genitive agreement indicates agreement in person and number between the verb and a possessor of a clause. Genitive agreement is found with 2p or 3p possessors.

We will first discuss genitive agreement between the verb and a genitive modifier of the subject/agent. Intransitive clauses with no genitive reference whatsoever are unmarked (268a), thus resembling 1sg/pl marking (268b-c). Whether the 1sg/pl uses zero marking, or whether it is merely unmarked, is uncertain.

(268) a. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>गाँरी आसेचे।</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gari-ḍʌ as-ec-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cart-NCLS come-PRES-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The cart is coming.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>आर मोर एक्टा बेटा छें।</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ar mo-r ek-ṭa beta cʰ-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and 1sg[obl]-GEN one-NCLS son be-PRES3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'And I have a son.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>...सुके छें हामार बेटाड। (cf. MR.05.184)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...suk=e cʰ-e hama-r be-ḍʌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...happiness=EMPH be-PRES3 1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'...He is happy, our son.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (269a) the verb agrees with the subject of the clause, whereas in (269b-c) the verb agrees with the possessor of the subject (that is, the -कि -ki 'SA3' in (269b) agrees with the possessor उहाँ-र '3sg[pro]-GEN' (i.e. 'her')). Likewise, in (269c) the secondary agreement marker -कु -ku 'SA2sg' agrees with the possessor तोर '2sg[obl]-GEN' (i.e. 'your').

(269) a. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>एक्टा गाजत एक्टा बुरी छिल्ले। (cf. MR.05.001)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ek-ṭa gaā̃-t ek-ṭa burʰi cʰi-l̪i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one-NCLS village-LOC one-NCLS old_woman be-PST-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'In a village there was an old woman.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Morphology

b. उहाँर बेटार राजार घरत काम करे। (MR.05.002)
   उहाई रीता राजा र ग़रात र काम करे।
   3sg[pro]-GEN son-NCLS king-GEN house-LOC work do-(PST.HAB)SA3
   'Her son used to work in the king's house.'

c. तुइ उहाँर बिदेस गेलू।
   तुइ रीता बीडिस गे।
   2sg[obl]-GEN son-NCLS abroad go-PST-SA2sg
   'Your son went abroad.'

Genitive agreement is also (often) triggered by a genitive modifier in an oblique phrase.

(270) आमड उहाँर हातत परिकिय। (cf. MR.05.214)
   आमड़ हात र पर एकी
   mango-NCLS 3sg[pro]-GEN hand-LOC fall-FUT-SA3
   'The mango fell into his hand.'

Due to the hierarchy principle 1p > 2p > 3p[+HUMAN] > 3p[-HUMAN], which is discussed further in section 3.7.5.7, genitive agreement of a higher ranking participant can block genitive agreement of a lower ranking participant. Therefore, in (271a) the verb agrees with the genitive modifier of the oblique phrase. The lower-ranking 3sg subject does not block this marking. Conversely, 3sg genitive agreement in (271b) is blocked by the higher-ranking 2sg subject. Having said this, oblique phrases do not always trigger genitive agreement, and therefore the verb in (271a) can optionally agree with the 3sg subject.

(271) a. उहाँर तीर परत काम करू (or, करे)।
   उहाई तैर र ग़रात र काम करू (or, करे)।
   3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN house-LOC work do-SA2sg (or, do-SUBJ3)
   'He used to work in your house.'

   b. तुइ उहाँर परत काम करिस।
   तुइ उहाई र ग़रात र काम करि।
   2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN house-LOC work do-SUBJ2sg
   'You used to work in his house.'

In copula clauses, the verb agrees with the genitive which is found on either the copula subject (272a) or the copula complement (272b), providing the predicate is overtly present.

(272) a. तीर हातखान काल छुक।
   तैर हात र काले र एकू।
   2sg[obl]-GEN hand-NCLS black be-PRES-SA2sg
   'Your hand is black.'
Especially relevant to further discussion is the observation that there is also genitive agreement with an implicit possessor. Therefore, in (273a) the implicit possessor is the shaman who was referred to previously in the discourse, and in (273b-c) the implied (or, omitted) possessor is तोर to-r '2sg[obl]-GEN' ('your').

(273) a. आर घरट भतर कि कि सच्चा चिकि या नि चिकि...। (cf. DLR.02.005)
and house-NCLS-GEN inside what what thing be-PRES-SA3 or NEG cʰ-i-ki...
be-PRES-SA3...
'And which (of his things) are in the house, and which are not...'

b. (तोर) एकटा घडा छ। (cf. GR.02.041)
(to-r) ek-ṭa gʰʌḍa cʰ-u-ku
(2sg[obl]-GEN) one-NCLS horse be-PRES-SA2sg
'(You) have a horse.'

c. कलड रेमेसट चलाण।
kal-ḍa remes-ṭa cal-a-c-ku
pump-NCLS Remes-NCLS move-CAUS-PRES-SA2sg
'Remes is using the pump.' (That is, 'your pump', and/or 'on your behalf')

Likewise, kinship terms are inalienable by default, and they imply that the relationship of the speaker or hearer to the person referred to is already known (cf. section 3.6.4.1.3). Therefore (274a) logically implies that the subject बाउ bau 'father' is related to the speaker. The overt pronoun (274b) would in most cases (except when used in contrastive focus) sound odd or even incorrect.

(274) a. बाउड आलेच।
bau-ḍa as-ec-e
father-NCLS come-PRES-3
'(My/our) father is coming.' (* 'The father is coming.')
3. Morphology

b. ?/* मोर बाउड आसेचे।
?/* mo-r bau-ḍʌ as-ec-e
?/* 1sg[obl]-GEN father-NCLS come-PRES-3
?/* 'My father is coming.'

Genitive agreement is blocked by recipient agreement. Therefore, the verb in (275a) agrees with the recipient not the possessor, as is shown by comparison with (275b-c).

(275) a. तोर दादाड तोक एकटा बिस्स्मा कहलकु।
to-r dada-ḍʌ to-k ek-ṭa kʰissa kāha-l-ku
2sg[obl]-GEN e.brother-NCLS 2sg[obl]-DAT one-NCLS story tell-PST-SA2sg
'Your elder brother told you a story.'

b. तोर दादाड उहाँक एकटा बिस्स्मा कहलकिं।
to-r dada-ḍʌ uhã-k ek-ṭa kʰissa kāha-l-ki
2sg[obl]-GEN e.brother-NCLS 3sg[pro]-DAT one-NCLS story tell-PST-SA3
'Your elder brother told him/her a story.'

c. *तोर दादाड उहाँक एकटा बिस्स्मा कहलकु।
*to-r dada-ḍʌ uhã-k ek-ṭa kʰissa kāha-l-ku
*2sg[obl]-GEN e.brother-NCLS 3sg[pro]-DAT one-NCLS story tell-PST-SA2sg
*'Your elder brother told him/her a story.'

3.7.5.4 Dative subject agreement

The verb agrees with the 2sg/pl and 3sg/pl dative subject. Again, it is difficult to say whether the 1sg/pl has zero marking or whether it is simply unmarked. Dative subject agreement is found with all tense, aspect and moods apart from, logically, the imperative. Dative subject agreement is obligatory and is not affected by extra pragmatic inferences.

(276) a. 1sg
(मोक) आज्ञाए लागिला (cf. DLR.03.009)
(mo-k) accʰa=e lag-il
(1sg[obl]-DAT) good=EMPH feel-PST3
'I enjoyed it.'

b. 1pl
...बदला त लिबा लागे असार ठेके हामाक (cf. MR.04.048)
...bʌdla ta li-ba lag-e amʰa-r saŋe hama-k
...revenge PCL take-INF must-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT
'...we have to take revenge on them.'
3.7.5 Agreement

3.7.5.5 Agreement in intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses

As mentioned previously, secondary agreement does not occur by default in intransitive clauses where there is no 2p or 3p genitive modifier or dative subject construction. Therefore, the verb in (278) only takes primary agreement.
Conversely, secondary agreement markers are used in transitive and ditransitive clauses. Simplifying the complete verb charts in Appendix 1, we find the secondary agreement markers in transitive and ditransitive clauses to be the following:

Table 26. Secondary agreement markers in transitive and ditransitive clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient (or recipient)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>∅ (refl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In default clauses, the verb agrees with the patient in transitive clauses if the agent is a 2p or 3p. This therefore implies that if a 2sg agent acts on a 3sg patient, agent agreement is suppressed (279a-b).

(279) a. तुइ उहाँक ठुकिए। (Korobāri, Lakharigaddi, Ghailādbbā)
    तुइ uhā-k tʰuk-il-ki
    2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3
    ‘You hit him.’

    b. उहाँक तुइ ठकिए केरे आमि? (informant BLR, Dādar Bairiā / Morang)
    तुइ uhā-k tʰak-ie keme as-il-gi
    3sg[pro]-DAT 2sg[pro] hit-CONJ.PTCL why come-PST-SA3
    ‘Why did you hit him (and then) come here?’

If, however, the agent is a 1sg/pl, both the patient and the agent are marked on the verb (280).

(280) मुई उहाँक ठुकिए।
    मुई uhā-k tʰuk-in-ki-n
    1sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3-1sg
    ‘I hit him.’

In default cases, the 3p patient is cross-referenced on the verb only if it is [+HUMAN]. Therefore, whereas in (281a) the verb agrees with the patient, in (281b-c) the verb agrees with the agent.
As mentioned earlier, following a 3p patient, the 2pl agent is marked with the suffix -र-्रा '-2pl'.

Due to suppressed agent marking, agent reference is ambiguous if no overt agent is present in the clause. In such cases the hearer relies on contextual clues to decode any potential ambiguities in the meaning of the clause.

In ditransitive clauses the verb agrees with the recipient (284a). Even in cases where the patient is [+HUMAN] the verb agrees with the recipient, not the patient (284b). If the logical recipient is in an oblique phrase, the verb agrees with the patient, or the possessor thereof (284c).

(281) a. राम उहाँक ठुकीला।
    ram-dʌ uhã-k ṭʰuk-il-ki
    Rām-NCLS 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3
    'Rām hit him.'

b. राम कुत्ता ठुकले।
    ram-dʌ kutta-da-k ṭʰuk-l-ɪ
    Rām-NCLS dog-NCLS-DAT hit-PST-3
    'Rām hit the dog.'

c. राम बौल ठुक्ले।
    ram-dʌ bol-dʌ ṭʰuk-l-ɪ
    Rām-NCLS ball-NCLS hit-PST-3
    'Rām hit the ball.'

(282) तम उहाँक ठुकीला।
    tam³'ʌ uhã-k ṭʰuk-il-ki-ra
    2pl[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3-2pl
    'You(pl) hit him.'

(283) उहाँक ठुकीला।
    uhã-k ṭʰuk-il-ki
    3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3
    'You/he/she/they hit him/her.'

(284) a. तोर दादाड तोक एकटा इखसा कहु।
    to-r dada-ḍʌ to-k ek-ta kʰissa kʰa-l-ku
    2sg[obl]-GEN e.brother-NCLS 2sg[obl]-DAT one-NCLS story tell-PST-SA2sg
    'Your elder brother told you a story to [RECIPIENT] a story [PATIENT].'
b. उहाँए तोक बे टड द कु।
   uhãe to-k be ṭi-ḍʌ di-l-ku
   3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT daughter-NCLS give-PST-SA2sg
   tui uhã-k ki-kʰ an di-l-ki?
   2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT what-NCLS give-PST-SA3
   'He gave you[RECIPIENT] his daughter[PATIENT]. What[PATIENT] did you give him[RECIPIENT]? (Implying, 'You gave nothing to him in return. ')

c. उहाँए तोर बे टडक मलािनयार हातद कु।
   uhãe to-r be ṭi-ḍʌ-k mʌ glания-r hat-ʌ at di-l-ku
   3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN daughter-NCLS-DAT Indian-GEN hand-LOC give-PST-SA2sg
   'He gave his daughter[PATIENT] into the hands of the Indian[RECIPIENT].'

Having outlined the default cases, two questions are generated from Table 26 above. Firstly why there is no secondary marking on the 1sg/pl patient, and secondly why both the agent and the patient are only cross-referenced when the agent is a 1sg/pl, or (sometimes) a 2pl.

I am not able to provide answers to either of these questions at this stage. Additionally, there appears to be a considerable range of dialectal variation (cf. secondary agreement paradigms in Appendix 1). If we devise a system to cover the Jhāpā paradigm, more rules would have to be devised for the Rangeli and Dādar Bairiā dialects which, in parts, look quite different. On the other hand, cross-dialectal and cross-language similarities would seem to be of more importance. For example the lack of marking on the 1p patient, dative subject and possessor, in Rājbanshi, also occurs in Darai and Maithili. A comparative study of the secondary agreement systems in the Indo-Aryan languages of this region would be immensely useful and interesting, but is unfortunately outside the scope of this work.

3.7.5.6 Pragmatic inferences

In addition to the default cases above, there are several pragmatic inferences linked to secondary agreement. Firstly, and closely related to earlier discussion on the implicit possessor, is the inference of benefaction.

Example (285a) is neutral since there is agreement between the verb and the overt possessor. Conversely, in examples (285b) and (285c) the verb agrees with the participant affected by the state of affairs (and not with the overt possessor). As suggested above, the question is one of benefaction.
The distinction between benefaction and malefaction is context-sensitive. In comparison with the participants benefiting from the state of affairs given in examples (285b-c), the participants in (286a-b) are negatively affected (that is, the coming of the debt collector implies that a loan must be repaid). Note that example (286b) is either neutral (i.e. no implicit possessor or affected participant is implied), or marked (with a zero morpheme; or unmarked) for 1sg or 1pl malefaction. The hearer is able to distinguish between these according to the discourse context or real-world presuppositions. Therefore in most contexts example (286c) is neutral, since there is less likely to be an implicit 1sg or 1pl possessor.

(286) a. माहाजन आसे।
   maha-jan-da as-ec-ku
   great-person-NCLS come-PRES-SA2sg
   'The debt collector is coming ('and you are negatively affected').'

b. माहाजन आसेचे।
   maha-jan-da as-ec-e
   great-person-NCLS come-PRES-3
   'The debt collector is coming (neutral, or 'and I am negatively affected').'

c. एकटा बाघ छिले।
   ek-ta bag as-i-l-i
   one-NCLS tiger be-PST-3
   'There was a tiger.' (neutral)
Likewise, consider the following real-life discourse.

(287) a. Grandfather

Go to the mustard field and check whether cattle have gone there. (i.e. 'I do not want cattle to harm the crops.')

b. Grandson (after returning)

I went there, but nothing was there.

The English gloss seems to suggest that the grandson did what was requested, and that he responded to the grandfather in an appropriate fashion. Why then was the grandson clipped around the ears for his lack of good manners? Interestingly the secondary agreement on both verbs in (287b) refers to the implicit possessor who is the grandfather. This implies that since the mustard fields belong to the grandfather, the grandson is free of obligation. To restate, the boy had said: 'I went there (on your behalf, to your field), but nothing was there (and that's your business). What should have been said was:

(288) I went there, but nothing was there.

Here the 2sg (implicit) possessor marking is missing, implying that the grandson maintains he himself is a co-possessor, and therefore he himself is affected by the state of affairs. To reiterate, 'I went there (to our/my) field, but nothing was there (and I am affected). It is therefore 1sg possessor agreement (unmarked, or marked with a $\emptyset$-morpheme) which blocks 2sg possessor marking.

Possession and social relationship (or, "social proximity") appear to be overlapping semantic parameters. Example (289a) is neutral, in that the verb (by default) agrees with
the patient of the clause. By not using the default secondary agreement in (289b), the speaker is either implying that s/he is (socially) related to the child, or that s/he is "taking (implicit) possession" of the child (and therefore perhaps showing empathy towards him/her). Either way, malefaction (that is, the negative effect of the action) is inferred in (289b). Likewise, the 2sg secondary agreement in example (289c) refers to possession/social proximity.

(289) a. तुइ उहाँर छुवाडक किंच ठुकेि?
   tui uhã-r cʰua-ḍa-k kiā tʰuk-el-ki
   2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN child-NCLS-DAT why-hit-PST-SA3
   'Why did you hit his child?' (neutral)

b. तुइ उहाँर छुवाडक किंच ठुलो?
   tui uhã-r cʰua-ḍa-k kiā tʰuk-l-o
   2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN child-NCLS-DAT why-hit-PST-2sg
   'Why did you hit his child?'

c. बुऱाड मरि निच्छ। (cf. MR.04.096)
   burʰa-ḍa ma-r-i g-ic-ku
   old_man-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PERF-SA2sg
   '(Your) old man has died.'

Secondary agreement on the verb in (290a) indicates (by default) the (omitted) 3sg patient. In (290b), however, the secondary agreement marking, which (by default) should be present, is actually missing. In the same way as in example (289b), the lack of patient cross-reference indicates that the narrator has taken (implicit) possession over the kid, and is therefore expressing empathy with it.

(290) a. एकटा बेटिया देखि फेकालिका। (cf. MR.04.132)
   ek-ṭa kʰetia dekʰ-i pʰeka-l-ki
   one-NCLS jackal see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
   'One jackal saw (her).'

b. याहाँ देखि फेकालेले। (cf. GR.01.007)
   te yaha dekʰ-i pʰeka-l-ɪ
   PCL DEM[pro/prox] see-ABS AUX-PST-3
   'And it saw (it anyway).' (Implying, 'The kid is mine and I (therefore) feel for it).'

At some stage during the preliminary research the question did arise as to whether secondary agreement marking (or non-marking) indicated evidentiality. Following further research this was found not to be the case, although one might still argue that if someone
was in a social or possessor relationship with something or someone, s/he might be more certain of the state of affairs.

Finally, secondary agreement can be used to refer to the (non-participant) hearer of a discourse (referred to in Bickel & Yadava (2000:345) as the "conversationally implicated discourse referent"). Consider the following example from Narratives 1 and 2 in section 8.1.5 (cf. also to the introduction to the narrative JR.01). The use of the secondary agreement for the 2sg at the very beginning of the narrative implies that the narrative is for the hearer (i.e. the recipient of the discourse).

\[(291)\text{केवा दिन डाकोला थीब उजाए मेटेसेल्कु। kewa din Ḍaako-la Ḍob uja-e ge-isel-ku}\
\text{some day robber-PL very appear-ABS AUX-REM.PST-SA2sg}\
\text{'}For a while robbers were appearing.' (Implying, 'I am telling this story to you(2sg).')\]

3.7.5.7 Affectedness

In the previous sections I have discussed the syntactic uses of secondary agreement in dative subject constructions, transitive and ditransitive clauses, and in conjunction with the genitive. These cases are all marked for secondary agreement by default. Breaking of the default rules enables reference to other participants (or non-participants), which are not overtly marked in the syntax. An exception to this rule is the dative subject construction where secondary agreement marking is obligatory.

Agreement with possessor and/or benefactor arguments seems to be determined by the following hierarchy principle: \(1p > 2p > 3p_{[+HUMAN]} > 3p_{[-HUMAN]}\). Agreement of a participant occurs on the verb (whether in default, or pragmatically marked cases) if the participant is ranked above a contesting participant. Therefore, the (implied) 2sg benefactor in (292) blocks the occurrence of the (default) 3pl genitive agreement, due to the 2sg participant having a higher ranking.

\[(292)\text{अर गारी आसे kum-ha-r gari-ḍʌ as-ec-ku}\
\text{3pl[pro]-GEN cart-NCLS come-PRES-SA2sg}\
\text{'Their cart is coming (for your(2sg) benefit).'}\]

Conversely, in (293a) the verb can not be marked with the (implied) 3p benefactor because this is ranked below the 2sg participant. The (default) 2sg genitive therefore blocks 3p benefactor agreement. In such cases the 3p benefactor may be marked by periphrastic means (293b); note that here the 3pl patient blocks 2sg possessor agreement.
A principle of "affectedness" would seem to be a common denominator in Rājbanshi secondary agreement. Namely, if one receives, owns or is socially related to an entity or a person, one will be "affected" by any action on that entity or person. Affectedness will have a positive or negative result, that is, benefaction or malefaction will ensue. In some cases empathy is also inferred.

The principle of affectedness also relates to the semantic roles of patient and recipient, both of whom are "affected arguments". Likewise, the dative subject is affected by the "experience" ("subjective experience" (Masica 1976); "nonvolitional experience" (Klaiman 1987)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(grammatical category)</th>
<th>(semantic parameter)</th>
<th>(pragmatic inference)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patienthood</td>
<td>affectedness</td>
<td>benefactivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reception (incl. non-participant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>malefactivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiencer (i.e dative-subject)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(empathy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possession (incl. social proximity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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49 Whether Rājbanshi secondary agreement relates to the applicative requires further research.
(294b) the verb is cross-referenced with the 2sg possessor. As far as I can determine, both
(294a) and (294b) are acceptable to Lakhari and Ghaila dialect speakers, whereas speakers from south-western Jhāpā find (294a) grammatically incorrect.

(294) a. तोर दादोड मरि मेल। (cf. MR.04.051)
   to-r dado-ḍʌ mʌr-i ge-l
   2sg[obl]-GEN grandfather-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST3
   'Your grandfather has died.'

   b. तोर दादोड मरि मेलु।
   to-r dado-ḍʌ mʌr-i ge-l-ku
   2sg[obl]-GEN grandfather-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST-SA2sg
   'Your grandfather has died.'

The language informants consulted for this work use secondary agreement as follows (cf. accompanying CD for the dialect samples mentioned here, and also Maps 2 and 3 for the location of these dialects):

(a) Secondary agreement occurs in all narratives from the Morang dialects: JR.01, BLR.01, BNR.01 and SNR.01. Informant KR from southern Morang also uses secondary agreement (no audio text available).

(b) Secondary agreement occurs (to varying degrees) in most narratives from southern and central Jhāpā: SR.01, MR.01-05, DLR.01-06, GR.01-02, PKR.01, NKR.01, LLR.01, GPR.01, AR.01, SBR.01 and JgR.01. In addition, informants PPR, TRR and MLR from western and central Jhāpā use secondary agreement frequently (no audio texts available, but refer to Narratives 1 and 2 in section 8.1.5).

(c) Surprisingly, secondary agreement is not found in the speech of informants DPR and SuR from south-western Jhāpā.

(d) Secondary agreement was found to be absent altogether from the following narratives from eastern Jhāpā: BPR.01, PCR.01, PLR.01, DSR.01 and PR.01.

3.7.5.9 The wider scene: a short overview

"The most remarkable development has been in Central Magadhan (Maithili and Magahi), which display a greater richness and variety in the matter of pronominal affixation than any other NIA language – by which two or even three pronominal forms can be tagged on to the verb base." (Chatterji 1975b [1926]:972)

From the point of view of Indo-Aryan languages, far-western Rājbanshi is by no means exceptional in its use of secondary agreement. In fact, the agreement system very possibly originated from language contact with the neighbouring language Maithili. A comparative study is not within the scope of the research for this work, but it would nevertheless be
useful to look at research on secondary agreement in the other languages of northern India and Nepal.\(^{50}\)

In Map 4 below, one will see that Maithili falls immediately to the west of the Rājbanshi area. Secondary agreement is also found even further to the west in the Pipaltar dialect of Darai (Kotapish & Kotapish 1975:v;136-143). Secondary agreement is also occasionally found in the varieties of Tibeto-Burman (both Kiranti and Tibetan) spoken in the Himalayan foothills to the north. The Munda languages, which also have secondary agreement, are spoken throughout south-eastern Nepal and the Indian states of Bihar and West Bengal. Magahi is spoken in Jharkhand and southern Bihar.

As mentioned earlier, secondary agreement is found in Rājbanshi throughout the Morang and Jhāpā districts (roughly in the box marked in Map 4), but is absent in those dialects spoken along the eastern border between Nepal and West Bengal.

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\(^{50}\) Bickel et al. (1999:512; addition mine) maintain: "Use of the Maithili agreement system implies that one closely observes issues of such [social] hierarchies. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that those people who are least interested in maintaining hierarchy, so-called lower-caste people, tend to reduce the system. ... Among lower-caste people ... nonhonorific forms are generally used. ... Another effect of system reduction is that low-caste speakers are found to reduce the very shape of the agreement system, for instance, when dropping final /h/ and /k/.'"
The question of the source of pronominal affixation, and hence secondary agreement, in Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan has generated discussion for over a century. Whether Indo-Aryan has had an effect on the Tibeto-Burman languages, or vice versa, has also been studied (for an overview of discussion on the origin of pronominal affixation in Tibeto-Burman, cf. Bauman 1974 and Caughley 1982).

The influences of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman on each other, in this respect, are perhaps doubtful since there are significant differences between the two language families, as Caughley (1982:209) points out:

"One major difference between the Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan pronominal systems is in regard to the categories represented. The Tibeto-Burman languages often possess a Dual category and make a distinction between Inclusive and Exclusive for 1st Person. These distinctions are not features of Indo-Aryan. Another difference is in Reflexive constructions. A number of Tibeto-Burman languages indicate a reflexive situation by a verbal suffix. Indo-Aryan languages however use independent pronouns for reflexive situations."

Some linguists, following Grierson (1903), would attribute secondary agreement in Indo-Aryan to language contact with Munda. This is indeed possible given that Munda may have been an influence over a prolonged period, as Chatterji (1975b [1926]:972) maintains:51

"In this matter there may have been a strong influence of Kol (Mundari) on Central Magadhan in the formative period of Maithili and Magahi."

The Maithili double agreement forms are possibly derived from Old Indo-Aryan (cf. Yadava 1999:152/fn3, who refers to Grierson 1895 and Jha 1958). Structurally there is a significant difference between Santali52 and Maithili as Yadava (1999:152) explains:

\[\text{The Austroasiatic family is represented in India today by two branches. The Munḍā branch, formerly called Kolarian, is presently concentrated in the forested hilly region in the northeast of the peninsular India (in southern Bihar, Orissa, northeastern Andhra Pradesh, and border areas of West Bengal)... Like Dravidian it must once have been more widespread. It is likely that a considerable portion of the peasantry in Bihar south of the Ganges, and in Orissa and parts of West Bengal represents former Munda-speakers who have switched to Aryan. Grierson would go even further. He saw a Munda substratum in North Bihar also, extending to Nepal and adjacent submontane tracts to the west - largely on the basis of linguistic typology. ...}

\[\text{Bihar was Aryanized in some sense by the time of the Buddha (i.e. prior to the sixth century BC), although there seems to have been a relapse in Magadha (Mauryas, Śūngas, Guptas) - depopulation, infiltration of Non-Aryan settlers probably of Munda-affinity, and their slow re-Aryanization.)} \] (Masica 1991:40-41; 45)

\[\text{Santali is the only Austroasiatic language spoken in Nepal, where the language is known as Satār, of whom there were an estimated 33,332 in the eastern Terai according to the 1991 census}\]
"Grierson ... ascribes it to the influence of the Santhali language. It is, however, to be noted that Maithili differs from Santhali in this respect, in that in the former the order of agreement affixes is first nominative and then non-nominative cases, whereas in the latter the nominative agreement affix is placed finally."

Interestingly in the Jhāpā dialects of Rājbanshi the order of the participant marking is similar to Santali, having patient (i.e. "non-nominative") marking followed by agent (i.e. "nominative") marking (though only with 1sg/pl and 2pl agents). In the southern Morang dialects the order is indeed similar to Maithili, as in -उँग- '1sg-SA2' and -जंग- '1sg-SA3'.

Turning to the possible process(es) involved in the rise of secondary agreement in Indo-Aryan, Masica (1991:343-344; cf. also Chatterji 1975b [1926]:971ff) maintains that secondary agreement in Eastern Indo-Aryan may have played a part in the loss of the ergative-absolutive construction:

"The total loss of the ergative construction, that is, its replacement by a nominative-accusative construction, which has occurred (for example) in Standard Bengali..., could plausibly have come about from double-agreement constructions... with the waning of gender-number concord... along with merger of nominative-ergative case-marking, but the picture is not a clear one..."

3.7.5.9.1 Secondary agreement in Maithili and Rājbanshi

The Maithili verb agreement system is very complex, with three morphologically marked honorific distinctions, and the morphological machinery to simultaneously maintain reference for up to three participants. In comparison to Maithili, the forms and the system in Rājbanshi are significantly simplified and, as mentioned above, slightly re-ordered.

The consonant *k*, which is used in (almost) all of the secondary agreement forms in Rājbanshi, is also found in Maithili, Magahi and Darai. Bickel et al. (1999:487) suggests that in Maithili the final -k and -h elements (which denote secondary agreement) are optional, and that they are "only pronounced in very careful, educated speech." Likewise, Grierson (1963 [1903]:25; 36; additions in brackets are mine) maintains the optional -k element in both Maithili and Magahi:53

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53 Whether this consonant -k derives from the Maithili genitive case is unclear. Note that Caughley (1982:210) speculates such a process in Maithili: "The fact that, in the Indo-Aryan frontier languages, both NPs and verbs are suffixed by pronominal elements belonging to the same, or
"(On Maithili p.25) The letter k may be added to any form in ai or au without changing the meaning. Thus, măral⁴kauk: măral⁴kau or măral⁴kauk...

(On Magahi p.36) The letter k may be added to any form in ā or ā, ā (or au), or ō, without changing the meaning. Thus, măral⁴kaï or măral⁴kaïk; măral⁴kaï or măral⁴kaïk."

Jha (1958:479-480) contemplates on the origin of the suffixes in Maithili as follows:

"-k and -ak are of unknown origin. Have they any connection with Kāshmiri -h-, -k? Chatterji connects them with the O.I.A. pleonastic -ka (Bengali Language, p.993). It is likely that they have some connection with the indefinite pronoun -keo."

It is less probable that Munda influenced Rājbanshi directly, though one finds -k elements in some Santali and Munda pronouns (which would obviously show up in pronominalisation): akiŋ (3dl) and ako (3pl) and oblique forms -kiŋ (3dl) and -ko (3pl) (Swarnalatā 1973; Sinha 1975:60-61; Osada 1992:64). The Santali pronouns and oblique stems are somewhat similar.

What is evident is the similarity between the Maithili and the Rājbanshi agreement forms. A comparison of the Rājbanshi forms in Table 26 with the Maithili and Darai forms in Table 27 below reveals how clear the resemblance actually is:54

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p Object [HON]</th>
<th>2p Object [-HON]</th>
<th>3p Object [HON]</th>
<th>3p Object [-HON]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-iy-o</td>
<td>-iy-au</td>
<td>-iy-ai-n</td>
<td>-iy-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-au</td>
<td>-ai-n</td>
<td>-ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of subject and object agreement in the Magahi verb (modified from Verma 1985:38)
3.7.5 Agreement

Table 27. Secondary agreement forms in Maithili and Darai

Maithili (simplified from Yadava 1999:141)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'non-nominative'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-au(k) (1→2nh)</td>
<td>-ai(h) (1→3nh prox)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-a(h) (1→2mh)</td>
<td>-ain(h) (1→3h/3hh prox)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-u(k) (2nh/mh→3nh prox)</td>
<td>-i(k) (2nh/mh→3nh rem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i(k) (2nh/mh→3nh rem)</td>
<td>-in(h) (2nh/mh→3h/3hh prox)</td>
<td>-un(h) (2nh/mh→3h/3hh rem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-au(k) (3nh→2nh)</td>
<td>-ai(k) (3→3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-a(h) (3nh→2mh)</td>
<td>-ain(h) (3→3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'nomimative' |    |    |
| 1p |    |    |    |
| 2p |    |    |    |
| 3p |    |    |    |

Maithili (modified from Williams 1973:361)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Other'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-oliy/u</td>
<td>-oliy/o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-oliy/o</td>
<td>-oliy/o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-olko</td>
<td>-olko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-olko</td>
<td>-olko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Darai (modified from Kotapish et al. 1975:140-141)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>3pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'receptor cross-referent in bitransitive clauses'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mis</td>
<td>-miu</td>
<td>-mik</td>
<td>-mikaan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td>(only AG marked)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bickel et al. (1999:481; 511) maintain that Maithili verb agreement is primarily governed by social parameters.

"...the paradigm structure of Maithili verb agreement is not arbitrary but can be predicted by two general principles of interaction in Maithil society: a principle of social hierarchy
underlying the evaluation of people's "face" (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]), and a principle of social solidarity defining degrees of "empathy" (Kuno 1987) to which people identify with others. Maithili verb agreement not only reflects a specific style of social cognition but also constitutes a prime means of maintaining this style by requiring constant attention to its defining parameters. ... The prime motivation for Maithili verb agreement is not so much to differentiate grammatical functions, but rather to index social relations."

There are some similar parameters in the use of secondary agreement in Maithili and Rājbanshi. A comparison of the syntactic and pragmatic uses are as follows:

Table 28. Comparison of the use of secondary agreement in Maithili and Rājbanshi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Maithili</th>
<th>Rājbanshi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessor agreement</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative subject</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other case-controlled agreement (instrumental, locative)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ (to some degree, a possessor in LOC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive (pragmatically neutral, if not triggered by possessor or other case-controlled agreement)</td>
<td>✓ (∅-marking)</td>
<td>✓ (∅-marking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (double) agreement</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triple agreement</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversationally implicated discourse referent</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social proximity (&quot;social solidarity&quot;)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefaction</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidentiality</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To conclude, both the morphological forms and the use of secondary agreement in Maithili and Rājbanshi appear quite similar. All in all, it seems likely that the secondary agreement system in far-western Rājbanshi derives historically from Maithili (or, though less likely, Magahi), rather than (directly) from a Munda substratum.

**3.7.6 Tense**

In the following sections I will discuss the use of the future, present and past tenses. In non-narrative contexts the distinction between these three grammatical categories is supported. However, as will be discussed in section 8.1, these three tenses often take on primarily discourse functions in oral narrative discourse. In such cases the future tense and the present tense no longer refer to the future or the present respectively, but to the past.

In the following sections verb paradigms will be given for three of the six verb stem types outlined in section 3.7.1:
3.7.6 Tense

i. Verb stem Type 1 (i.e. stem-final -आ -a): खा kʰa- 'eat',

ii. Verb stem Type 2 (i.e. stem-final -ह -h): कह kʰaʔ-'say', and

iii. Verb stem Type 4 (i.e. stem-final C): बठ bʌṭʰ-'sit', or आस as- 'come'

The Type 1 and the Type 4 paradigms will show minor differences in the use of epenthetic vowels, and the Type 2 paradigm will show irregularities in pronunciation and stem alternation.

Note: the Type 6 (i.e. stem-final CC) paradigm will be given in two sections where it deviates from Type 4 (i.e. in the past and the imperative). Complete paradigms for all six verb stem types, including non-finite forms, can be found in Appendix 1.

3.7.6.1 Future

In most dialects the future tense morpheme varies between -ब -b for 2p and 3p, and -म -m for 1p. The far-eastern dialects have an epenthetic -i between consonant-final stems and the future morpheme, resulting in -ब-ि -b-[i] for 2p and 3p, and -म-ि -m-[i] for 1p. The 1sg marking accompanying the future morpheme varies from -u to -∅. Note that the vowel for the 3p form is (for some reason) mid-centralised when following the future tense morpheme (-b-i [bɪ]), and is represented as ए e in the orthography. As discussed in section 2.2.1 the reason for this mid-centralisation is not yet clear and I have therefore transcribed vowel [ɪ] as phonemic /ɪ/ to await further research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>खाम kʰa-m 'eat-FUT1sg'</th>
<th>खामु kʰa-m-u 'eat-FUT-1sg'</th>
<th>बठमु bʌṭʰ-m-u 'sit-FUT-1sg'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>खाबो kʰa-b-o 'eat-FUT-2sg'</td>
<td>खाबे kʰa-b-ɪ 'eat-FUT-3'</td>
<td>बठबे bʌṭʰ-ɪ 'sit-FUT-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>खाबे kʰa-b-ɪ 'eat-FUT-3'</td>
<td>खाबे kʰa-b-ɪ 'eat-FUT-3'</td>
<td>बठबे bʌṭʰ-ɪ 'sit-FUT-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>खाम kʰa-m 'eat-FUT-1pl'</td>
<td>खाम भ kʰa-m-Λ 'say-FUT-1pl'</td>
<td>बठम bʌṭʰ-ι 'sit-FUT-1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>खाबन kʰa-b-an 'eat-FUT-2pl'</td>
<td>खाबन kʰa-b-Λ 'say-FUT-2pl'</td>
<td>बठबन bʌṭʰ-ib-Λ 'sit-FUT-2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>खाबे kʰa-b-ɪ 'eat-FUT-3'</td>
<td>खाबे kʰa-b-ɪ 'eat-FUT-3'</td>
<td>बठबे bʌṭʰ-ib-ɪ 'sit-FUT-3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29. Future tense
When occurring with secondary agreement the future forms undergo certain changes. The future morpheme -ब -b undergoes voice assimilation when followed by the unvoiced plosive -k, and this results in -p. In some dialects, when the bilabial future morpheme -ब -b is found before secondary agreement, it is realised as -त -t. In southern Jhāpā, the epenthetic vowel -i which precedes the future morpheme -क -k may occur as -e. Finally, the -k in the secondary agreement morpheme फ़ि -ki 'SA3' is found to be omitted in some cases: e.g. तुमिनन t"uk-m-i-n 'give-FUT-SA3-1sg'.

Table 30. Future tense accompanied by secondary agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि/ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg/pl'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि/ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg/pl'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'give-FUT-SA3-1sg/pl'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA3-1sg/pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg (secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA3'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl n/a</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA3-2pl'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA3-2pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुिक (ठुिक)  तुि-ि-ि-ि-ि-ि 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The future tense is primarily used for temporal reference to the future.

(295) a. कन बो लीबो ते बदला? (cf. MR.04.049)
    कन बो लीबो ते बदला?
    how ADVL take-FUT-2sg PCL revenge
    'How will you take revenge then?'

b. कनबुन से बनबो? (MR.04.190)
    कनबुन से बनबो
    how much-time ABL cry-FUT-2sg
    'Until when will you cry?'

The future can also be used for various types of modality such as for volitionality (296a-b), ability (296c-d) or eligibility (296e).
### 3.7.6 Tense

(a)  
\[ \text{ते जाबो नि से देख्ना मे? (cf. DLR.06.005)} \]
\[ \text{te ja-b-o ni ge dekʰ-ba ge} \]
PCL go-FUT-2sg NEG VOC[fem] see-INF VOC[fem]  
'Will you not (~ do you not want to) go and see?'

(b)  
\[ \text{समत बठ्रो? (cf. DLR.05.026)} \]
\[ \text{samt bʌṭʰ-o} \]
together sit-FUT-2sg  
'Will you (~ do you want to) marry me?'

(c)  
\[ \text{देखि मुखे पानिखान उपर न नि जावे। (GR.01.004)} \]
\[ \text{dekʰ-in mukʰ-er pani-kʰ-an upr a ni ja-b-ɪ} \]
south mouth-GEN water-NCLS above PCL NEG go-FUT-3  
'Water will not (~ can not) flow from the south to above.'

(d)  
\[ \text{हाल जुता न नि जावे। (cf. GR.02.020)} \]
\[ \text{hal jut-a t a ni ja-b-ɪ} \]
plough plough-PST.PTCL PCL NEG PASS.AUX-FUT-3  
'Ploughing will not be possible.'

(e)  
\[ \text{घडाडर काम नि, बादाम खाबे। (cf. GR.02.011)} \]
\[ \text{gʰʌḍa-ḍʌ-r kam ni, badam kʰa-b-ɪ} \]
horse-NCLS-GEN work NEG, nut eat-FUT-3  
'The horse has no work, (but it) gets nuts to eat.'

The future is also used for requests, instead of the subjunctive (this is perhaps related to the "ability" sense of the future mentioned above). Initial observations suggest that in the 1sg, the subjunctive and the future render the same meaning (297). In the 1pl hortative in (298a-b) there is a distinction related to inclusion: in (298a) the request may or may not include the hearer, whereas in (298b) the hearer is obligatorily included.

(297) Question:  
\[ \text{मुइ तोर कठाडत ब} \ɪ \text{ष्ट्रो? (or, बठु)} \]
\[ \text{mui to-r kʌṭʰ-a-ḍʌ-t bʌṭʰ-im (or, bʌṭʰ-u)} \]
1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN room-NCLS-LOC sit-FUT1sg (or, sit-SUBJ1sg)  
'May I sit in your room?'

Response:  
\[ \text{बठ्ॉ किना।} \]
\[ \text{bʌṭʰ-∅ kina} \]
sit-IMP2sg PCL  
'Sit, of course.'
(298) a. काम करें।
kam kar-m
work do-FUT-1pl
'Let's work.' (inclusion of hearer unspecified)

b. काम करें।
kam kar-i
work do-SUBJ1pl
'Let's work.' (including hearer)

In conditional clauses the apodosis is often marked in the future tense (cf. section 7.4.2.4).
In the syntactic conditional (299a) both of the verbs are inflected, whereas in the morphological conditional (299b) only the verb of the apodosis is inflected.

(299) a. जाने तुइ कहे ठक बहु न है।
jadī tui uhã-k kaha-b-o ṭʰik ni hʌ-p-ku
if 2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT call-FUT-2 alright NEG be-FUT-SA2sg
'It will not be alright if you call him.'

b. तुइ कहे ठक बहु न है।
tui uhã-k kaha-le ṭʰik ni hʌ-p-ku
2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT call-COND.PTCL alright NEG be-FUT-SA2sg
'It will not be alright if you call him.'

The phrases marked with the future in (300a-b) and (301a-b) have idiomatic senses. The form हबे hʌ-b-ɪ 'alright; OK' (lit. 'be-FUT-3') seems to be lexicalised (300a), though it can be marked with secondary agreement (300b).

(300) a. सोले, हबे। (MR.04.054)
bolt hʌ-b-ɪ
QUOT be-FUT-3
'She said, OK.'

b. Question: हेतिना कि खाम? चारने ने जाए का खाम। हबे नि?
hetina ki kʰa-m-ʌ gʰAr-at l-e ja-e kʰa-m-ʌ,
here why eat-FUT-1pl home-LOC take-CONJ.PTCL go-CONJ.PTCL eat-FUT-1pl
hʌ-b-ɪ ni
be-FUT-3 NEG(PCL)
'Why should we eat here? We will take it home to eat, OK?'

Response: हृन्त।
hʌ-ɪ-kan
be-FUT-SA2pl
'OK (you are allowed to).'
3.7.6 Tense

(301) a. कि कहबो? (cf. MR.05.072, DLR.04.009, MR.05.079)
   ki kha-b-o
   what say-FUT-2sg
   'What is there to say?' (Lit. 'What can you say?')

b. कि करबी?
   ki kar-b-o
   what do-FUT-2sg
   'What can be done?' (Lit. 'What can you do?', implies 'There is nothing that can be done
in this situation.')

3.7.6.2 Present

The simple present tense in Rājbanshi is -चे -c 'PRES'. An epenthetic vowel e occurs
between consonant-final stems and the present tense morpheme, resulting in -एच -ec 'PRES' (cf. also section 3.7.1.1).

Table 31. Present tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V stem-final</th>
<th>ह- ha- stem-final</th>
<th>C stem-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg खाचु kʰa-c-u 'eat-PRES-1sg'</td>
<td>कहाव kha-c-u 'say-PRES-1sg'</td>
<td>बठेचु bʌṭʰ-ec-u 'sit-PRES-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg खाचिस kʰa-c-is 'eat-PRES-2sg'</td>
<td>कहाचिस kha-c-is 'say-PRES-2sg'</td>
<td>बठेचिस bʌṭʰ-ec-is 'sit-PRES-2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg खाचे kʰa-c-e 'eat-PRES-3'</td>
<td>कहाचे kha-c-e 'say-PRES-3'</td>
<td>बठेचे bʌṭʰ-ec-e 'sit-PRES-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl खाचिट्ठु kʰa-c-i 'eat-PRES-1pl'</td>
<td>कहाचिट्ठु kha-c-i 'say-PRES-1pl'</td>
<td>बठेचिट्ठु bʌṭʰ-ec-i 'sit-PRES-1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl खाचन kʰa-c-an 'eat-PRES-2pl'</td>
<td>कहाचन kha-c-an 'say-PRES-2pl'</td>
<td>बठेचन bʌṭʰ-ec-an 'sit-PRES-2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl खाचे kʰa-c-e 'eat-PRES-3'</td>
<td>कहाचे kha-c-e 'say-PRES-3'</td>
<td>बठेचे bʌṭʰ-ec-e 'sit-PRES-3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present tense morphemes precede secondary agreement marking as follows.

Table 32. Present tense accompanied by secondary agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p ठुके kʰuk-ec-ku 'hit-PRES-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुकेचन kʰuk-ec-ku-n 'hit-PRES-SA2pl-1sg/pl'</td>
<td>ठुकेचिट्ठु kʰuk-ec-ki 'hit-PRES-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg (secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>ठुकेचिट्ठु kʰuk-ec-ki 'hit-PRES-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl n/a (secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>ठुकेचिट्ठु kʰuk-ec-ki 'hit-PRES-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p ठुके kʰuk-ec-ku 'hit-PRES-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुकेचन kʰuk-ec-ku-n 'hit-PRES-SA2pl'</td>
<td>ठुकेचिट्ठु kʰuk-ec-ki 'hit-PRES-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the simple clause, the present tense is used for the present continuous (302a-b), or the present habitual (302c).

(302) a. तुइ हाल किया नि बहिचस्? (cf. GR.02.036)
   tui hal kiä ni bʌha-c-is
   2sg[pro] plough why NEG plough-PRES-2sg
   'Why are you not ploughing?'

b. नाहते कालेनु (MR.04.052)
   tahate kan-ec-u
   therefore cry-PRES-1sg
   'That's why I am crying.'

c. ...जेइदिन हामा आच्छा आच्छा माग भात नाधेिच... (cf. DLR.04.007)
   ...jei-din hama accʰa accʰa sag bʰat nadʰ-ec-i...
   ...REL[obl/ip]-day 1pl[pro] good good spinach_curry rice cook-PRES-1pl...
   '...whenever we cook really good rice and spinach...'

In addition, the present tense is used with the copula ह- h- 'be' (with 3p agreement) for general truth propositions (303a). Used with other verbs, the present tense does not have the same effect but renders the present continuous aspect (303b). The adjectival copula छे cʰ-e 'be-PRES3' (303c), and the stative copula हए hʌ-e 'be-PRES3' (303d) can not be used for general truth statements.

(303) a. पाहाडला उचल उचल है।
   pahar-la ucʰal ucʰal ha-c-e
   mountain-PL high high be-PRES-3
   'Mountains are tall.' (general truth statement)

b. छुवाला भात खाचे।
   cʰua-la bʰat kʰa-c-e
   child-PL rice eat-PRES-3
   'The children are eating rice.' (present continuous)

c. इला पाहाड उचल उचल छै।
   i-la pahar ucʰal ucʰal cʰ-e
   DEM[prox]-PL mountain high high be-PRES3
   'These mountains are tall.' (contextual truth statement)

d. उहाँर सािस्रि बोर मसि है।
   uhã-r sasri-Ɂʌ mo-r masi ha-e
   3sg[pro] mother_in_law-NCLS 1sg[obl]-GEN mother's_sister be-PRES3
   'Her/his mother in law is my aunt.' (contextual truth statement)
In some contexts the present tense implies future action, since the action occurs after the deictic centre (i.e. the speech act or situation). Therefore note that the present tense in (304a) has the same effect as the future in (304b). Likewise, the present tense in (304c) is interchangeable with the future tense.

(304) a. मुइ इड कडिक देछु पस्काए। (DLR.05.029)
mui i-da kadi-k de-cu gask-a-e
1sg DEM[prox]-NCLS shell-DAT AUX-PRES-1sg hide-CAUS-ABS
'I will hide / am hiding this shell.'

b. मुइ इड कडिक दिमन पस्काए।
mui i-da kadi-k di-m-i-n gask-a-e
1sg DEM[prox]-NCLS shell-DAT AUX-FUT-SA3-1sg hide-CAUS-ABS
'I will hide this shell.'

c. थाम्, जाबा दे, आला देनुकुन (or, दिमुन) छिय छियुवाए
tʰam-∅, ja-ba de-∅, alʰa de-cu-n (or, di-m-u-n)
wait-IMP2sg go-INF let-IMP2sg, now AUX-PRES-SA2sg-1sg (or, AUX-FUT-SA2sg-1sg
dʰip dʰip-(u)wa-e
[dʰip]sound [dʰip]sound-ICAUS-ABS
'(Just) wait, let me come, now I will spank you.'

As will have become clear from the discussion above (and from section 3.7.4), there appear to be two simple present tenses. The general type is presented in Table 31 above. The second type has past habitual marking with present tense meaning. This is used with the verbs ह- 'be', पा(र)- 'can' and लाग- 'should'.

As explained in section 3.7.4, the verb ह- has a double meaning, 'be (stative)' and 'become (non-stative; inchoative)'. The verb carries the meaning of 'be' in the present tense with habitual marking, and 'become' with present tense marking. However, due to the similarity in the marking of this type of present tense and the subjunctive, the sentence in (305a) has two meanings, depending on whether the form हउ is interpreted as the present or the subjunctive. If the verb were to be in the 3p, there would be no confusion, since the 3p present tense uses the morpheme -ए -e instead of the subjunctive -अक -ok form. Though the present tense morpheme -उ in (305a) is akin to the past habitual, the past habitual sense would make use of the verb रह- (305b). The future tense in (305c) retains the future sense. Note that the only context where (305d) would be permitted is if someone was dressing up to be a teacher in a drama. In all other cases it is ungrammatical.

(305) a. मुइ मास्टार हउ।
mui mastar hau
1sg[pro] teacher be-PRES1sg (or, be-SUBJ1sg)
'I am a teacher.' / 'May I be a teacher!'
b. मुइ मास्तर रह्न।
mui məstəɾ rə-h-u
1sg[pro] teacher be-PST.HAB1sg
'I used to be a teacher.'

c. मुइ मास्तर हमा।
mui məstəɾ hə-m
1sg[pro] teacher be-FUT1sg
'I will be a teacher.'

d. मुइ मास्तर हचु।
mui məstəɾ hə-c-u
1sg[pro] teacher be-PRES-1sg
'I am becoming a teacher.' (That is, I am dressing up for the part of "teacher.".)

Also the auxiliaries लाग- 'should' (306a) and पार- 'can' (306b) were found to use past habitual inflection for the present tense. This especially seems to be the case when they are preceded by a non-finite complement marked with the infinitive -बा -ba 'INF' (306a-b).

(306) a. ...अनहे कबा लागे। (cf. DLR.04.017)
...anəŋ = e kar-ba lag-e
...like that = EMPH do-INF should-PRES3
'...we should do it just like that.'

b. माने हबाअ पारे... (cf. MR.05.285)
mane hə-ba = ə par-e...
PCL be-INF = CNJ can-PRES3...
'It could also be (so)....'

3.7.6.3 Past

The past tense morpheme is -न -n for the 1p, and -ल -l for the 2p and 3p. In most dialect variants studied, agreement attaches to the right of the tense morpheme, though in some far-eastern varieties tense and 3p primary agreement are fused into -(इ)ल -i/l 'PST3'.

55 As mentioned in section 2.2.1, the 3p marker in the past tense is [i] (which is transcribed in the orthography as -ए -e). It is possible that this should be interpreted as -i, following the rule [i → i / l]. If -ल -i/l was found to be a metathesis of -इल -il there may be some support for such an analysis. I am unable to reach a conclusion on this issue, and have maintained the phonetic realisation [i] in all text data.
### Table 33. Past tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V stem-final</th>
<th>ह- ha- stem-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg खान kʰa-n-u 'eat-PST-1sg'</td>
<td>कहतू kaha-n-u [kəmu] 'say-PST-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg खालो kʰa-l-o 'eat-PST-2sg'</td>
<td>कहलो kaha-l-o [kəlo] 'say-PST-2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg खाले kʰa-l-ɪ 'eat-PST-3'</td>
<td>कोहोल kohol 'say-PST-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl खान kʰa-n-ʌ 'eat-PST-1pl'</td>
<td>कहन kaha-n-ʌ [kən] 'say-PST-1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl खालन kʰa-l-ʌn 'eat-PST-2pl'</td>
<td>कहलन kaha-l-ʌn [kəlʌn] 'say-PST-2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl खाले kʰa-l-ɪ 'eat-PST-3'</td>
<td>कोहोल kohol 'say-PST-3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 34. Past tense accompanied by secondary agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ठुकेि (ठुकन) tʰuk-in-ki 'hit-PST-SA3 2pl'</td>
<td>ठुकेि (ठुकन) tʰuk-in-ki 'hit-PST-SA3 2pl'</td>
<td>ठुकेि (ठुकन) tʰuk-in-ki 'hit-PST-SA3 2pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>ठुकिक (ठुकिक) tʰuk-i/eli-ki 'hit-PST-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>ठुकिक (ठुकिक) tʰuk-i/eli-ki 'hit-PST-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठुकन (ठुकन) tʰuk-i/eli-ku 'hit-PST-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुकिक (ठुकिक) tʰuk-i/eli-kan 'hit-PST-SA2pl'</td>
<td>ठुकिक (ठुकिक) tʰuk-i/eli-ki 'hit-PST-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past tense morphemes precede secondary agreement marking as follows.

The past tense in Rājbanshi refers to an action or state which took place in the past. It would seem that the past tense is neutral in relation to aspect (307a), though often the past tense does itself imply completion. The perfect aspect marking in (307b) indicates the relevance of the action in relation to the deictic centre (i.e. the speech act). The addition of a quasi-aspectual auxiliary in (307c) overtly specifies the action as completed, but it also carries additional inferences, such as ability and perhaps malefaction.
\(3. \textbf{Morphology}
\)

(307) a. मुइ तोक हेनु। 'I cheated you.'
\[
\text{mui to-k } ̣\text{Ag-en-ku-n}
\]
1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT cheat-PST-SA2sg-1sg
'I cheated you.'

b. मुइ तोक भेलाभार हेनु।
\[
\text{mui to-k } b^6\text{ella-bar } ̣\text{Ag-ic-ku-n}
\]
1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT many-time cheat-PERF-SA2sg-1sg
'I have cheated you many times.'

c. मुइ तोक हेनु।
\[
\text{mui to-k } ̣\text{Ag-i } li-n-ku-n
\]
1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT cheat-ABS AUX-PST-SA2sg-1sg
'I have (already, completely) cheated you.'
Possible context: '(You said I couldn't cheat you, but look at how) I have completely cheated you.'

Whether we maintain the past tense is, at least partially, inherently aspectual will depend on our definition of aspect. Masica (1991:267) comments on aspect thus:

"...a more comprehensive definition of perfectivity (cf. Comrie 1976:16-24) as "viewing" an action "as a whole", from "outside" it. ... It is not the nature of the action but the perspective from which we view it that lies at the heart of aspectual distinctions."

Verb semantics also play an important role in aspect, as Masica (1991:267) continues:

"...features, such as punctuality that belong rather to the \textit{lexical properties of individual verbs} – even though such lexical features clearly interact with grammatical categories such as Aspect."

It is therefore quite reasonable to conclude that the past tense should not be regarded as aspectual, though in many cases the \textit{completion} of an action is directly implied by the time frame, or by the semantics of the verb itself.

\[3.7.7 \textbf{Aspect}\]

Masica (1991:258) maintains that the NIA finite verb is often constructed as follows (note that, depending on the language, one or both agreement (i.e. "concord") slots may be missing):

(308) \textbf{VERB STEM} + \textbf{Aspect Marker} + \textit{(CONCORD)} + \textbf{Tense/Mood Marker} + \textit{(CONCORD)}
The tense/mood and agreement markers in Rājbanshi do indeed follow this order (that is, when the two are not fused, as for example in the case of the subjunctive and the past habitual). However, I will consider below whether aspect and tense/mood marking can in all cases be clearly separated in Rājbanshi.

Comparative studies, both in the historical and the cross-dialectal/linguistic senses, would suggest that at least the perfect marker and past continuous marker should be dealt with as Masica suggests. Nevertheless, in this work the perfect and the past continuous (or, remote past) have been treated as (309a) and (309b) respectively. Compare these with the colloquial Bengali present perfect (309c) and past perfect (309d) where the conjunctive participle -े is separated to denote the perfective.

(309) a. देखिचु dekʰ-ic-u 'see-PERF-1sg' ('I have seen')
   b. देखिनु dekʰ-isn-u 'see-REMPST-1sg' ('I was looking at[PAST.CONTINUOUS]')
   c. dekh-e-chi 'I have seen' (Bengali (Colit Bhasa); Masica 1991:270)
   d. dekh-e-chilum 'I had seen' (Bengali (Colit Bhasa); Masica 1991:270)

It would seem quite reasonable to separate what appears to be an aspectual marker -इ -i from the present tense marker -च -c in the Rājbanshi perfect -इच -ic. The most compelling evidence for such a separation is the structure of the NIA verb maintained by Masica (308), and the Bengali perfect and past perfect constructions discussed by Klaiman (1987:504;506):

"Now the stem-deriving marker -(c)ch- may combine with the verbal stem in -(i)e, yielding a verbal form called the present perfect; the combining shape of the former marker in such cases is invariably -ch-. This is to say that the element (c) of the marker -(c)ch- not only deletes post-consonantally ... but also following the stem-deriving marker -(i)e-. Some examples are: dekhece 'has seen' (from monosyllabic dækha-), dekhieche (from disyllabic dækha-), diyeche 'has given' (from de- 'give'). The verbal stem in -(i)e- followed by -(c)ch- may further combine with the anterior aspect marker -l- to yield a verbal form called the past perfect; e.g. dekhechilam 'I/we had seen', dekhiechilam 'I/we had shown'."

Note furthermore that the perfective marker in the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages Assamese and Oriya is -i. If we choose to follow this reasoning, the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the Rājbanshi perfect would be:

---

56 According to Toulmin (2006:227), the proto-Kamta form of the perfect was *-i-tʃʰ, and the proto-Kamta form of the "past perfective" (ibid.:233) was *-i-tʃʰil.

57 Note that the -i element of the future tense marker (cf. section 3.7.6.1), and the -e element of the present tense marker (cf. section 3.7.6.2) have not been considered to be aspectual markers, but purely epenthetic vowels between the C-final stem and the tense marker.
3. Morphology

(310) देखिन् ठैक्षु c-u 'see-PERFECTIVE-PRES-1sg' (i.e. 'I have seen')

Such a separation would highlight the fact that the perfect utilises present tense inflection (and therefore Set 2 primary agreement), and that the past continuous (or, remote past) uses past tense inflection (and therefore Set 1 primary agreement).

However, a strict parallelism between the perfect and the past continuous as regards the morpheme -इ  -i can not be construed for two reasons. Firstly, if we state that the morpheme -इ  -i denotes aspect in the past continuous, we would have still to question the purpose of the -s element which would link to the past tense marker (311). Secondly, as will be discussed in section 3.7.7.2, the primary meaning of the morpheme -इन / -इल  -isn/l seems not to be past perfectivity.

(311) *देखिन्नु  *डेक्थैसु-c-u *see/look-(IM)PERFECTIVE-REM.PST-1sg' (i.e. 'I saw[REMOTE]', or 'I was looking[PAST CONTINUOUS]')

Conversely, if we stipulate a morpheme break before the past tense inflection, as in (312a), then we are compelled to state that the morpheme -इस  -is represents the grammatical category of "imperfective". This could be plausible, and at least the variation encountered in conjunction with some secondary agreement markers does appear to render support for such an analysis (312b). Such an analysis would render the following morpheme breaks:

(312) a. देखिन्नु  डेक्थैसु-c-u 'see/look-IMPERFECTIVE-PST-1sg' (i.e. 'I saw[REMOTE]', or 'I was looking[PAST CONTINUOUS]')
   b. देखिन्नु  डेक्थैसु-c-il-ku 'see/look-IMPERFECTIVE-PST-SA2sg'

However, due to uncertainty on the matter I have decided not to separate the possible aspectual and tense markers in these two cases but to treat them as units in their own right.

3.7.7.1 Perfect

The perfect marker is -इच  -ic 'PERF'.

Table 35. Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V stem-final</th>
<th>ह- ha- stem-final</th>
<th>C stem-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg खाइचु kʰ-ia-ic-e 'eat-PERF-1sg'</td>
<td>कहिन्नु kha-ic-u 'say-PERF-1sg'</td>
<td>आिन्नु as-ia-ic-e 'come-PERF-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg खाइचिं kʰ-ia-ic-is 'eat-PERF-2sg'</td>
<td>कहिन्नु kha-ic-is 'say-PERF-2sg'</td>
<td>आिन्नु as-ia-ic-is 'come-PERF-2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg खाइचु kʰ-ia-ic-it 'eat-PERF-3sg'</td>
<td>कहिन्नु kha-ic-it 'say-PERF-2sg'</td>
<td>आिन्नु as-ia-ic-it 'come-PERF-2sg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, due to uncertainty on the matter I have decided not to separate the possible aspectual and tense markers in these two cases but to treat them as units in their own right.
The perfect morphemes precede secondary agreement marking as follows.

### Table 36. Perfect accompanied by secondary agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ठुकिकृत 'hit-PERF-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुकिकृत 'hit-PERF-SA2pl'</td>
<td>ठुकिकृत 'hit-PERF-SA3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>ठुकिकृत 'hit-PERF-SA3-2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठुकिकृत 'hit-PERF-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुकिकृत 'hit-PERF-SA2pl'</td>
<td>ठुकिकृत 'hit-PERF-SA3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comrie (1993 [1976]:52) defines aspect as an "internal temporal constitution of a situation", and the perfect as indicating "the continuing present relevance of a past situation". Consider, for example (313) where the situation is viewed as a whole in relation to the present.

(313) जा न तुरिकृत गर गाउँ पृष्ठे ने छ।
ja-∅ ta turi-kʰan-at gāru gae pa(r)-ic-e ne ki go-IMP2sg PCL mustard_field-NCLS-LOC bullock cow fall-PERF-3 PCL[TAG] PQM

'Go to the mustard field and check whether cattle have gone (lit. 'landed') there.'

The definition of the perfect also leads to its use in the setting of scenes in narratives. Therefore the sentence in (314a) lays the setting for the information which follows it (314b).

(314) a. जब आस्न देखि फेकाउँ... (cf. DLR.04.019)
jxb as-ba dekʰi pʰeka-ic-e

'When the son-in-law saw (lit. 'has seen') (him) coming...'
Occasionally, however, the perfect occurs so frequently that one begins to question whether the perfect is actually being used as a simple past tense, or recent past. For example, sentences MR.04.025-027 (cf. Appendix 3) are problematic, since it is difficult to consider them as the section setting. Namely, they portray new information (in this case, prominent events). Closer study on the use of the perfect will need to be undertaken in further study.

With some verbs the perfect indicates a present state caused by a past action (315a). The remote past and present tenses are, however, used for the past (315b) and present (315c) continuous aspect respectively.

The perfect was also found to indicate reason (note definition: "past action with present relevance") in a subordinate clause.

The perfect uses past habitual forms in the negative. Interestingly, this is similar to the past continuous/remote past and the quasi-aspectual auxiliaries. Exceptions do, however, occur (cf. sections 3.7.7.4 and 7.4.2.4).
3.7.7 Aspect

3.7.7.2 Past continuous, remote past

The past continuous and remote past are formed by the suffix -इन्न -िन for the 1p, and -िन्न -िन 'REM.PST' for the 2p and 3p.

Table 37. Past continuous, remote past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ह- ha- stem-final</th>
<th>C stem-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg खानु kʰa-इन-ु 'eat-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>कहइन kʰa-इन-ु 'say-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>आमिन kʰa-इन-ु 'come-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg खानलो kʰa-इल-ो 'eat-REM.PST-2sg'</td>
<td>कहइल kʰa-इल-ो 'say-REM.PST-2sg'</td>
<td>आमिल kʰa-इल-ो 'come-REM.PST-2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg खाने kʰa-इल-िर 'eat-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>कहइल kʰa-इल-िर 'say-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>आमिल kʰa-इल-िर 'come-REM.PST-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl खान kʰa-इन-अ 'eat-REM.PST-1pl'</td>
<td>कहइन kʰa-इन-अ 'say-REM.PST-1pl'</td>
<td>आमिन kʰa-इन-अ 'come-REM.PST-1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl खानलन kʰa-इल-अ 'eat-REM.PST-2pl'</td>
<td>कहइल kʰa-इल-अ 'say-REM.PST-2pl'</td>
<td>आमिल kʰa-इल-अ 'come-REM.PST-2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl खानले kʰa-इल-िर 'eat-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>कहइल kʰa-इल-िर 'say-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>आमिल kʰa-इल-िर 'come-REM.PST-3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondary agreement marking occurs as follows:

Table 38. Past continuous, remote past accompanied by secondary agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिन-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg/1pl' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिन-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg/1pl' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिन-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg/1pl'</td>
<td>ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिन-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg/1pl' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिन-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg/1pl' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिन-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg/1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg (secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl n/a (secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिल-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिल-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिल-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिल-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA3' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिल-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA3' ठुकिसिन्न kʰuk-इसिल-कु 'hit-REM.PST-SA3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In general, the morpheme has a past continuous (318a-b) or past (318c) rendering.

(318) a. ए बुरि, तुइ कुमाखाए भािगलो? (MR.04.136)
   e: burʰi tui kun-makʰae bʰag-isl-o
   INJ old_woman 2sg[pro] which-direction escape-REM.PST-2sg
   'Eh, old woman, what way were you escaping?'

b. एनङ उहाँ छागल चराई। (cf. MR.05.006)
   enATCH uʰʌŋ cʰagʌl cʰara-isl-
   like_this 3sg[pro] female_goat graze-REM.PST-3
   'He was grazing the goats like this.'

c. उहाँ घरेर ति आमा चािहवने ताहेछ उड बाघे उहाँक पि फेकाि। (cf. MR.05.013)
   uʰʌŋ gʰAr-er ti as-ba cah-isl-1 tahe u-ḍʌ
   3sg[pro] house-GEN towards come-INF try-REM.PST-3 immediately that-NCLS
   sor=e ar u-ḍʌ bagʰ=e uʰʌ-k pɑkr-i pʰeka-l-ki
   pig=EMPH and that-NCLS tiger=EMPH 3sg[pro]-DAT catch-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
   'He tried to go home, but (just) then that boar and that tiger caught him.'

However, the distinction between (319a) and (319b) is uncertain.

(319) a. उहाँ आले।
   uʰʌŋ as-l-
   3sg[pro] come-PST-3
   'He came.'

b. उहाँ आमले।
   uʰʌŋ as-isl-
   3sg[pro] come-REM.PST-3
   'He came.' (or past continuous, 'He was coming. ')

Discussion with informants lead one to consider (319b) as a "remote past", that is a point of time which is relatively more remote than the (simple) past in (319a). So far only two cases of indirect evidence have been found which render some support to this analysis.

Firstly, the remote past seems to relate to recollecting a past state or action (320a-c).

(320) a. [त मानै] एक दुई बार गए गए मुह अनम घर गिनु, भेटवाट करिनु, गपसप करिनु। (cf. DLR.03.009)
   tʌ mane ek dui cati mane mui amʰa-r gʰAr g-isl-u
   PCL PCL one two time PCL 1sg[pro] 3pl[pro]-GEN house go-REM.PST-1sg
   bʰetgʰat kar-isl-u gapsap kar-isl-u
   visit do-REM.PST-1sg chat do-REM.PST-1sg
   '(I remember) I went to his[SG,HONORIFIC] house once or twice, met (him) and had a chat (with him).')
b. आर किहे कर भी... (cf. DLR.03.010)
   आर कह-isl-1 कारा bʰi...
   and say-REM.PST-3 even CNJ(Hindi)...
   'And (I remember) the friend of my father's also said...'

c. एक बड्ड हामार गायें आसिने मतसंगें बुना, आप हिदर से त आमा जाल नि करें। (DLR.03.011)
   एक cʌṭi हामार-र गाख स-isl-1 सात-er kʰuna
   one time 1pl[pro]-GEN village come-REM.PST-3 religious_fellowship-GEN during
   ap हिदर se ta as-a ja-i ni kार-c-e
   PCL over_here ABL PCL come-DVBL go-DVBL NEG do-PRES-3
   '(I remember) once, he came to our village at the time of (a) religious (gathering), but
   since then he has not been visiting.'

Secondly, indirect evidence for the possible remote past interpretation comes from the
translation of the morpheme into Nepali. Rājbanshi informants who are fluent in the
national language Nepali translate (321a) into Nepali with the past continuous (321b),
and/or the past perfect (321c).

(321) a. उहाँ छागल चराइ। (cf. MR.05.006)
   उहाँ cʰagal cʌra-isl-1
   3sg[pro] female_goat graze-REM.PST-3
   'He was grazing the goats.'

b. उ बाखरा चराउँदै थियो।
   u bakʰra cʌra-di tʰi-yo
   3sgLGH[pro] goat(female) graze-CONT.PTCL be[PST.STEM]-3sgLGH
   'He was grazing the goats.'

c. उसले बाखरा चराएको थियो।
   us-le bakʰra cʌra-eko tʰi-yo
   3sgLGH[pro]-ERG goat(female) graze-PST.PTCL be[PST.STEM]-3sgLGH
   'He grazed the goats.'

Translation (321c), however, does not have the past perfect but a simple past meaning.
Matthews (1984:152-153) asserts that the Nepali past perfect can be used for the past
perfect or for the simple past:

"The First Pluperfect Tense often corresponds to the English pluperfect 'I had done', 'we had
gone', etc. ... In many cases, however, the First Pluperfect Tense may be used in place of the
Simple Past Tense, meaning 'I did', 'we came' etc. This is often so when the event referred to
took place in the recent past or when the actual time is specified."
Examples given by Matthews to support this analysis include the following (transliteration and morpheme-to-morpheme gloss mine):

(322) a. Nepali

भानुभानुभकोजनमापोस्चिमनेपालकोएउटासानोमाउटमाध्यमोथियो।
bʰanubʰakta acaryko janma paścim nepal-ko euta sano gaũ-ma
Bhānubakta Āchārya-GEN birth west Nepal-GEN one small village-LOC
bʰo-eko tʰi-yo
come_about-PST.PTCL be[PST.STEM]-3sgLGH
'Bhānubakta Āchārya was born in a small village in West Nepal.' (Bhānubakta Āchārya was a famous nineteenth-century Nepali poet.)

(Matthews 1984:153)

b. Nepali

िहजोमतिमीकहाँआएकोिथएँतरतिमीघरमािथएनौ।
hijo mə timi-kəhã a-eko tʰi-ẽ
yesterday 1sg[pro] 2sgMGH[pro]-location come-PST.PTCL be[PST.STEM]-1sg
tər timi gʰor-ma tʰi-en-u
but 2sgMGH[pro] house-LOC be[PST.STEM]-NEG-2sgMGH
'I came to see you yesterday, but you were not at home.'

(Matthews 1984:153)

Defining 'remoteness' in this case proved to be difficult. Though the interpretation is possible, I am unable to reach any conclusive resolution at this stage.

The morpheme takes the past perfect sense when the verb is accompanied by a quasi-aspectual auxiliary. By "past perfect" I mean that an action that has been terminated before a past reference point (323b). The implications of the affect of the auxiliary in this context will be further considered in section 3.7.9.2.2.

(323) a. जेइखुनाउहाँएआिसलेतेमुइबेराइनु।

jei-kʰuna uhãe as-isl-t 1sg[pro] mui bera-isn-u
what-time 3sg[pro] come-REM.PST-3 PCL(then) 1sg[pro] walk-REM.PST-3
'I was walking when he came.' (simultaneous actions)

b. मुइआिसएपुवारबुनाउहाँएचिलआिस।

mui as-ie pug-ba-r kʰuna uhãe cãl-i as-isl-t
1sg[pro] come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-INF-GEN during 3sg[pro] AUX-ABS come-REM.PST-3
'When I arrived he had (already) come.'

In addition to these, there is one other case where the past continuous/remote past seems to be able to function as a past perfect. Consider (318a-b) where the sentences have a single past action; the morpheme in these cases has a past or a past continuous
implication. Likewise, if, as in (318c), (323a) and (325a), there are two simultaneous, or partially simultaneous (i.e. "overlapping") past actions, the morpheme will have a past or past continuous rendering (cf. also section 3.7.7.5 on the prospective aspect).

However, if, as in (324a-b), a sentence has two past actions, the first ([action1]) being completed before the commencement of the second ([action2]), the morpheme may denote the past perfect.

(324) a. खेरिया गाति पुरि उसिए, खेरिया गुरि कनु बृनिए गिम्बे, हुतिन से उपा कनु गिकांची। (cf. MR.04.025)
   kʰɛtʰia-la rati gʰuri as-ie
ej-i-tʰina burʰi kacu bun-ie g-isl-i
REL[obl/ip]-place old_woman vegetable plant-CNJ.PTCL go-REM.PST-3
hatin se u-la kacu nikl-a-c-ki
there ABL DEM[rem]-PL vegetable take_out-PRES-SA3

ACTION2a  ['The jackals came during the night'], (and)
ACTION1  [where the old man and old woman had planted the vegetables and left],
ACTION2b  [from there they took out the boiled vegetables].'

b. मुई सिम्भा हाचा आर काहें ति काहें आसमीणे मोर ध्वंन लोकटक काँटी विदी (cf. DLR.06.084a)
mui g-isn-u hag-ba ar kahe ni kahe as-iene
1sg[pro] go-REM.PST-1sg defecate-INF and who NEG who come-CNJ.PTCL
mo-r gʰar-er lok-tʰa-k kaṭʰi d-ieʰ-e
1sg[obl]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS-DAT cut-ABS AUX-PERF-3

ACTION1  ['I had gone to defecate], and (then)
ACTION2a  [someone came] and
ACTION2b  [cut up my husband].'

This feature is based on preliminary observations, and requires further text-based analysis.

Finally, as with the perfect, the past continuous/remote past uses past habitual morphology for the negative. Therefore, the negative response to the question in the past continuous in (325a) is in the past habitual (325b).

(325) a. Question
   मुई ने कान्हार नाचाती करिस्तु, तोंक फि कान्हार नाचाती नासिम्भु? (cf. DLR.04.038)
mui te kan-ba-r lakʰati kar-isn-u
1sg[pro] PCL cry-INF-GEN like do-REM.PST-1sg
to-k  ki kan-ba-r lakʰati lag-islu-ku
2sg[obl]-DAT PQM cry-INF-GEN like feel-REM.PST-SA2sg

'When I was acting as if I was crying, did you feel as if I was (really) crying?'
3. Morphology

b. Response


ि लागे।

( cf. DLR.04.039)

NEG feel-PST.HAB3

'(No) I didn't.'

3.7.7.3 Continuous

The continuous aspect in Rājbanshi is conveyed in several ways. Firstly the verb रह्- ṛah- 'remain; live; be' denotes imperfectivity, when used as an auxiliary and when preceded by the matrix verb marked with the continuous participle -ते -te 'CONT.PTCL'. Depending on the context and the semantics of the verb this may imply continuous action (326a) or iterativity (326b). Additional support for the imperfective analysis of the past continuous (cf. section 3.7.7.2), is that it is interchangeable with the imperfective construction in (326a).

(326) a. मूढ़ जेबेला आिंगए पुन्ते उहाँए खाले रहए (or, खाइसले)

mui je-bela as-ie pug-n-u te

1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg PCL(then)

uhāe ḱāra ḱa-te ṛaḥa-e (or, ḱa-isl-ī)

3sg[pro] food eat-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-PST.HAB3 (or, eat-REM.PST-3)

'When I arrived, he was eating food.'

b. आर कहिए फर(भी) समय समयते आिंगए (DLR.03.010)

ar ḵah-isl-ī kārā (ḇi) saṁaṁ saṁaṁ-t as-te

and say-REM.PST-3 even (CNJ(Hindi)) time time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL

ṝaṁ-Is

AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg

'And the friend of my father's also said: "Keep visiting once in a while."'

Conversely, if the preceding verb is marked with the conjunctive participle instead of the continuous participle, the verb रह्- ṛah- 'remain; live; be' retains its original semantics (327).

(327) बाघड सुिनए रहि (cf. MR.05.081)

bāg̱-ḏa sun-ie ṛaḥa-p-ki

tiger-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL remain-FUT-SA3

'The tiger remained (there) listening.'

A similar construction using the copula छ- c̱h- 'be' also conveys the continuous aspect (328a). Informants from Jhāpā considered the construction to be a loan, unless the
continuous participle is marked with the emphatic clitic (328b). However, the construction appears to be common in the Morang dialects (328c).

(328) a. */* मुइ जेबेला आिसए पुङ्गु ते उहाँए खराक खाते छिले।
/* mui je-bela as-ie pug-n-u
/* 1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg
te uhāe kʰarak kʰa-te cʰi-l-t
PCL(then) 3sg[pro] food eat-CONT.PTCL be-PST-3
/* 'When I arrived, he was eating food.'

b. मुइ जेबेला आिसए पुङ्गु ते उहाँए खराक खातेइ छिले।
mui je-bela as-ie pug-n-u
1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg
te uhāe kʰarak kʰa-te=i cʰi-l-t
PCL(then) 3sg[pro] food eat-CONT.PTCL=EMPH be-PST-3
'When I arrived, he was eating food.'

c. अइड मोटोर साइकलत उहाँए चर्णा आिसए छेड़ी। (in narrative BRN.001; Rangeli)
ai-da motor saikal-αt wāe carbʰ-iena
DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS motor cycle-LOC 3sg[pro] ride-CONJ.PTCL
as-te cʰ-e
come-CONT.PTCL be-PRES3
'He is coming, riding on that (very) motorcycle.'

If the copula छ- cʰ- 'be' is preceded by a verb with the conjunctive participle, the continuous aspect is often implied. This comes about from a past action which results in a present state. That is, in (329a) the buffalo is 'in a state of having hidden' and is therefore 'hiding', and in (329b) the Rājbanshi woman is 'in a state of having sat down' and is therefore 'sitting'.

(329) a. तने हिदार सुना भइसट नुकाए छिक्किऱ्ण... (cf. MR.05.148)
tanē hidār suna bʰais-tā nuka-e cʰ-i-ki...
PCL over_here PCL water_buffalo-NCLS hide-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES-SA3...
'(Then) the wild buffalo was hiding over here...'

b. उखान गरु गारिक एकटा राजबाँसी बेढ़ीन बतंग्यें छे... (cf. MR.02.002)
u-kʰan gāru gari-t ek-ṭa rajbānsi bereʰani bāṭʰ-ie
DEM[rem]-NCLS bullock cart-LOC one-NCLS Rājbanshi woman sit-CONJ.PTCL
cʰ-e...
be-PRES3...
'There is a Rājbanshi woman sitting on that bullock cart...'

58 Also examples DLR.06.021, DLR.06.049, MR.04.029, DLR.01.003 and MR.01.005. Refer to the analytic passive in section 7.5.1.2 for a somewhat similar construction.
However, the continuous aspect of the main verb छे eʰ-e 'be-PRES3' is not implied in (330a), since the action of the non-finite आिसए as-ie 'come-CONJ.PTCL' has already ended prior to the (resulting) state of the inflected predicate. Verb semantics (more specifically, telicity) may play an important role in this regard. That is, in (330a) the action of 'coming' in the telic sense results in the current state of 'being present'. The construction in (330a) is therefore almost semantically identical to the perfect tense (330b).

(330) a. आिसए छे।
   as-ie eʰ-e
   come-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3
   'S/he (is) here.' (Lit. 'Having come, s/he is here."

   b. आिसचे।
   as-ic-e
   come-PERF-3
   'S/he has come.'

The difference between (330a) and (330b), if any, is that the construction in (330a) focuses on the resulting state. Since the perfect aspect also denotes a past action with present relevance (cf. section 3.7.7.1), it could well be that (330a) is merely a periphrastic perfect. The construction is not uncommon in other Indo-Aryan languages as Masica (1991:276) points out:

"Less problematic is the specification of Perfect (or "Resultative") under Perfective in Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Literary Sinhala, Nepali, Kumauni, and Kashmiri. Rather than the Past Participle, the Conjunctive Participle (also implying "completed" or "preceding" action) + Present/Past Aux is employed for this purpose in the first three languages names (and Assamese), and special forms in -eko, -a, -mut in the next three respectively."

Finally, in some cases the continuous participle (331a) and the infinitive (331b) are interchangeable and denote the continuous aspect (cf. section 3.7.10.1 on the infinitive).

(331) a. उहाँक मुइ आसबा देखनु।
   uhã-k mui as-ba dekʰ-n-u
   3sg[pro]-DAT 1sg[pro] come-INF see-PST-1sg
   'I saw him coming.'

   b. उहाँक मुइ आसबने देखनु।
   uhã-k mui as-te dekʰ-n-u
   3sg[pro]-DAT 1sg[pro] come-CONT.PTCL see-PST-1sg
   'I saw him coming.'
The past habitual markers in Rājbanshi are as follows:

Table 39. Past habitual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem-final V</th>
<th>ha-stem-final</th>
<th>Stem-final C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg खाउ kʰ-a-u 'eat-PST.HAB1sg'</td>
<td>काहु kʰa-u 'say-PST.HAB1sg'</td>
<td>आसु as-u 'come-PST.HAB1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg खाइस kʰ-a-is 'eat-PST.HAB2sg'</td>
<td>काहिस kʰa-is 'say-PST.HAB2sg'</td>
<td>आसिस as-is 'come-PST.HAB2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg खाए kʰ-a-e 'eat-PST.HAB3'</td>
<td>कहे kʰa-e 'say-PST.HAB3'</td>
<td>आसे as-e 'come-PST.HAB3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl खाइ kʰ-a-i 'eat-PST.HAB1pl'</td>
<td>काहि kʰa-i 'say-PST.HAB1pl'</td>
<td>आसि as-i 'come-PST.HAB1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl खान(k) kʰ-a-(s) 'eat-PST.HAB2pl'</td>
<td>कहन kʰa-an 'say-PST.HAB2pl'</td>
<td>आसन as-an 'come-PST.HAB2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl खाए kʰ-a-e 'eat-PST.HAB3'</td>
<td>कहे kʰa-e 'say-PST.HAB3'</td>
<td>आसे as-e 'come-PST.HAB3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past habitual morphemes precede, or are fused with, secondary agreement marking, as shown in Table 40. The vowel -e in forms such as ठुकेकुन ṭʰuk-eku 'hit-SA2pl' or ठुके क ki-ṭʰuk-e ki 'hit-PST.HAB-SA3' is regarded to be simply an epenthetic vowel, and not the past habitual 3p marking (and therefore, they are not glossed as ठुकेकुन ṭʰuk-e-ke-kni 'hit-PST.HAB3-SA2pl' or ठुके क ki-ṭʰuk-e-ki 'hit-PST.HAB-SA3' respectively). This is based on the observation that the same vowel -e occurs in the form ठुकेकुन ṭʰuk-e-kni 'hit-SA2pl-1sg/1pl' though the past habitual marker for the 1pl is -i.

Table 40. Past habitual accompanied by secondary agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p ठुकेकुन (ठुक) ṭʰuk-eku-n 'hit-SA2sg-1sg/1pl'</td>
<td>ठुकेवि (ठुक) ṭʰuk-e-vi-n 'hit-SA2sg-1sg/1pl'</td>
<td>ठुकेवि (ठुक) ṭʰuk-e-vi-n 'hit-SA2sg-1sg/1pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg (secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl n/a</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>(secondary agreement not marked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p ठुकेकु ठुकु ṭʰuk-eku 'hit-SA2sg'</td>
<td>ठुकेवि (ठुक) ṭʰuk-e-ki 'hit-PST.HAB2sg-SA3'</td>
<td>ठुकेवि (ठुक) ṭʰuk-e-ki 'hit-PST.HAB2sg-SA3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I do not restrict the term "habitual" to iterativity, though in some cases this is indeed implied. Comrie (1993 [1976]:27-28) maintains that the habituals:
"...describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period. If the individual situation is one that can be protracted indefinitely in time, then there is no need for iterativity to be involved... though equally it is not excluded. If the situation is one that cannot be protracted, then the only reasonable interpretation will involve iterativity."

The same applies in Rājbanshi. The continuous aspect seems to be implied in all cases of the past habitual, whereas iterativity does not. The situation in (332a) is logically not iterative, whereas the situation in (332b) most likely is (iterativity in this example may, of course, result from the reduplicated non-finite verbs).

(332) a. एक गाँव एक बुढ़ा रहे। (cf. DLR.04.001)
    ek-ţa gā-ţ ek-ţa burʰa r̡h-e
    one-NCLS village-LOC one-NCLS old_man live-PST.HAB3
    'In a village there used to live an old man.'

b. बेटी पर जाती आती हैं रहे। (DLR.04.005)
    b̥eti-ɾ gʰaɾ ja-i as-i k̡aɾ-te r̡h-e
    daughter-GEN house go-DVBL come-DVBL do-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-PST.HAB3
    'He used to keep coming and going to (his) daughter's house.'

As mentioned in section 3.7.6.2, past habitual morphology is also used for the present tense. Whether this indicates that Rājbanshi is in a state of reanalysing the present and past habitual is not clear. (Dialects from further east are reported to use past habitual marking for the present tense more frequently. Irregularities found in the text corpus may point to this tendency, but unfortunately the claim can not be supported by the text data at hand.)

Past habitual marking for the present tense can occur in conjunction with modal auxiliaries (333a). It is also to be found following adverbial phrases of purpose (333b). Past habitual inflection in these cases has been glossed as the present tense.

(333) a. बदला त लिया लागे अभाग छोड़े हामाक। (cf. MR.04.048)
    b̥aḍla t̡a li-ba lag-e aṁʰa-r səne hama-k
    revenge PCL take-INF should-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT
    '...we have to take revenge on them.'

b. न मुना समय देखा जाए। (DLR.06.002)
    t̡a suṇa səbʰae dekʰa-ba ja-e
    PCL PCL all see-INF go-PRES3/PST.HAB3
    'Everyone went (or, used to go) to see.'
The common denominator in the two examples above is that the main verb in (333a) and the adverbial phrase in (333b) are both marked with the infinitive. Past habitual marking in these constructions is by no means obligatory, and therefore, when compared to (333b), the present tense in (334) does not cause any change in meaning.\(^59\) (Note that the tense marker here is actually the present, though it has been glossed as the past. This is due to tense neutralisation, which will be discussed further in section 8.1.)

(334) त सुना सभाए देशब जाछे। (DLR.06.002)
\[ta \quad \text{suna} \quad \text{sab}^{b}ae \quad \text{dek}^{a}-ba \quad \text{ja-c}^{b}-e\]
PCL  PCL all  see-INF  go-PRES-3
'Everyone went to see.'

Moreover, the past habitual and present tense marking are found to be interchangeable when the past habitual is used for the present habitual (335a-b), or in impersonal passive constructions (335c; cf. section 7.5.1.3).

(335) a. तिया चरित्र दुमान नि जाए (or, जाछे), सामिक मारिए निन जाए (or, जाछे)। (cf. DLR.06.000)
\[triya \quad \text{carita} \quad \text{buj}^{h}-al \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{ja-e}\]
female  behaviour  understand-PST.PTCL  NEG.PASS.AUX-PST.HAB3
sami-k  mar-ie  sati ja-e  (or, ja-c^{b}-e)
husband-DAT  kill-CONJ.PTCL  sati  go-PST.HAB3  (or, go-PRES-3)
'The (cunning) behaviour of a woman can not be understood: she will kill her husband and (then) be burnt (with him) in (the) sati (rite).'</p>

b. इड कि कहए (or, कहेप)?
\[i-x \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{kaha-e} \quad (or, kaha-c-e)\]
DEM[prox]-NCLS  what  say-PST.HAB3  (or, say-PRES-3)
'What is this (usually) called?'

c. आप अयान लागे करे काटे? (cf. DLR.06.057)
\[ap \quad \text{maya} \quad \text{lag-a} \quad \text{kare} \quad \text{kat-e}\]
PCL  affection  apply-DVBL  ADVL  cut-SUBJ3
'Now, should (one) kill (one's husband) with affection?'

Conversely, when habituality is not implied, past habitual and present inflection are (usually) not interchangeable. Compare (336a) with (336b): the past habitual marking on (336b) does not imply the present tense.

\(^{59}\) In the text corpus, the obligative auxiliary लाग- 'must' occurs with past habitual morphology fifteen times when preceded by the infinitive, and the abilitative auxiliary पार- 'can' occurs four times. Past habitual marking is found with adverbial phrases of purpose twice (cf. DLR.06.002 and DLR.06.004). In most other cases (95 occurrences) the infinitive seems to have no such affect on inflection.
Finally, due to the fact that both the perfect and the past continuous/remote past take past habitual marking in the negative, as with the past habitual itself, the interpretation of certain sentences may be ambiguous. Therefore (337) has three possible interpretations.

(337) आर मदनाडु भी नि हाँ।

ar mardana-da = u b²i ni has-e
and man-NCLS = CNJ CNJ(Hindi) NEG laugh-PST.HAB3
'And neither did the man used to laugh.' (negative of past habitual), or
'And neither has the man laughed.' (negative of perfect), or
'And neither did the man laugh / was the man laughing.' (negative of past continuous/remote past)

3.7.7.5 Prospective

The prospective aspect was found in two instances. Firstly, the non-finite complement आस्त्रार as-ba-r 'come-INF-GEN' in (338a) renders prospective effect. In other cases the non-finite complement is purely adjectival (338b). Whether the distinction between these two identical constructions is due to the semantic properties of the verb, or purely down to convention, has yet to be determined. Some informants feel that (338a) is a loan construction, but that (338b) is native to Rājbanshi.

(338) a. मुइ आस्त्रार छिनु।
mui as-ba-r cʰi-n-u
1sg[pro] come-INF-GEN be-PST-1sg
'I was about to come.' (prospective)

b. मुइ रेंस्तता छिनु।
mui dekʰ-ba-r cʰi-n-u
1sg[pro] see-INF-GEN be-PST-1sg
'I was handsome.' (adjectival)
Secondly, the prospective is found in constructions such as (339a-b). Here the verb of an embedded clause (i.e. आिसम as-im 'come-FUT1sg' in (339a)) is reduplicated and then followed by the verbaliser कर- kar- 'do' (339a), or हा- ha- 'be' (339b). Irrespective of the subject, the embedded clause retains 1sg agreement, and the verbaliser is always in the past continuous/remote past. This most likely originates from an embedded direct discourse construction.

(339) a. मुइ आिसम आिसम कर-नुतात त तूहें बल आिसम।
mui as-im as-im kar-isn-u
1sg[pro] come-FUT1sg come-FUT1sg do-REM.PST-1sg
tat tu=he cal-i as-l-o
while PCL 2sg[obl]=EMPH AUX-ABS come-PST-2sg
'I was about to come, (but) in the meantime, you came.'

b. तुइ पुिगम पुिगम हाँलुत त तूहें बल आिसम।
tui pug-im pug-im ha-isl-o
2sg[pro] arrive-FUT1sg arrive-FUT1sg be-REM.PST-2sg
tat tu=he cal-i ge-n-u
while PCL 1sg[obl]=EMPH AUX-ABS go-PST-1sg
'You were about to arrive, (but) in the meantime, I left.'

3.7.8 Mood

3.7.8.1 Imperative

The imperative mood is marked with the ∅-morpheme in the singular, and -अ -A in the plural. (Refer to section 3.7.1.2 for further discussion on irregularities of CC-final stems in the imperative.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V stem-final</th>
<th>हा- hA- stem-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>खा kʰu-∅ 'eat-IMP2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>कोहो koho-∅ 'say-IMP2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>खाअ kʰu-A 'eat-IMP2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C stem-final</td>
<td>CC stem-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>बठ् bATʰ-∅ 'sit-IMP2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>बठेक bATʰ-ek 'sit-IMP2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC-cluster breaking</td>
<td>समठ bATʰ 'finish-IMP2sg'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>बठ bATʰ-A 'sit-IMP2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CC-cluster breaking</td>
<td>समठ bATʰ-A 'finish-IMP2pl'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The imperative singular has a second form -एक 'IMP2sg' which is only found on C-final stems (340a). The -एक imperative form is not related to the secondary agreement marker -एक 'SA3' as the example (340a) shows. The -एक imperative form is a pure variant; the 2sg honorific imperative is expressed with the plural imperative (340b).

(340) a. (मोर कुसिकानन) बठ्ठ / बठेक।
   (mo-r kursi-kʰan-at) bat-∅/bat-ek
   1sg[obl]-GEN chair-NCLS-LOC sit-IMP2sg
   'Sit (on my chair).' (honorifics non-specified; to an adult/child)

   b. बठः
      bat-
      sit-IMP2pl
      'Sit.' (2pl/honorifics non-specified; 2sg/honorific)

Secondary agreement is used in both the singular and the plural to denote the benefactor (341). The imperative plural makes use of the 2pl agent marker -र '2pl' (cf. section 3.7.5.2).

(341) तुइ जाए हुक्किताँ!
   tui ja-e tʰuk-ki tʌ
   2sg[pro] go-CONJ.PTCL hit-SA3 PCL
   'Go and hit (him on their behalf).'

---

60 Chatterji (1975b[1926]:990) notes the use of the -k final for the polite imperative in North Bengal: "Of the present-day dialects, that of West Rāḍha has a marked preference for the «-ka», commonly in the third person: and it is found also in North Bengali (which has a special employ with the 2nd person polite imperative = original passive?: e.g., द्याखेक « dyākhēka < dēkhē-
ka..."

Also Kakati (1962:377-378) mentions the use of the -k final in the Assamese imperative: "The use of -k as a pleonastic affix after verb-form is so well established and it has been so fully discussed (O.D.B.L., pp. 989-994) that a fresh discussion seems unnecessary. A few examples will be enough to show the extent of its pleonastic uses, in N.I.A. languages:

After imperative Sing. (3rd P.); As. dekho-k; Bg. dekhu-k; O. dekhu.
After imperative Pl. (3rd. P); E. As. māranto; pālanto-k; O. dekhantu.
After imp. Sing. (2nd P.); māre-k; mār, strike. (Hāijong)."

Poudel (2005:82; 2006:86) maintains that the imperative morpheme -ek in the Rājbanshi dialect spoken in eastern Jhāpā is honorific. This was not found to be the case in the Rājbanshi varieties studied for this work.
The imperative is used for commands or requests which imply immediate action (whereas subjunctive marking is for commands and requests which refer to the more remote future (cf. section 3.7.8.2).

(342) a. थाम् रे बुऱ (cf. MR.04.085)
   th'am-∅ re bu're
   wait-IMP2sg VOC old_woman
   '(Just you) wait, old woman!

b. आप थाम, याहाँर बदला छर कन... (cf. MR.04.047)
   ap th'am-ʌ, yaha-r badla l-ie c^har-im-ka-n
   PCL wait-IMP2pl, 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN revenge take-CNJ PTCL let_go-FUT-SA2pl-1sg
   'Now (just you) wait. I will leave you alone only after having had (my) revenge for this!'

c. ते एमल करेक तुइ... (cf. MR.04.050)
   te enʌŋ kar-ek tui
   PCL like_this do-IMP2sg 2sg[pro]
   'Well, you do this...'

The negative particle ना na 'NEG' is used in conjunction with the imperative (343a). When following the main verb, ना na 'PCL' (343b) and निन ni 'PCL' (343c) function as politeness particles (cf. Table 57 in section 7.4.1.2). Though the negative and politeness particles are clearly related in form, they have been considered distinct categories on functional grounds. That they are functioning as particles in (343b-c) is evident from the fact that they are interchangeable with the particle तः ta 'PCL' (though, this second particle does carry a less polite denotation).

(343) a. ना कोहो।
   na koho-∅
   NEG say-IMP2sg
   'Don't say.'

b. कोहो ना (०, न) (cf. MR.05.247)
   koho-∅ na (or, ta)
   say-IMP2sg PCL
   '(Please) say.'
3. Morphology

c. जा नि (or, ता) (DLR.06.006.)
    ja-∅ ni (or, ta)
go-IMP2sg PCL
    '(Please) go.' (Or, 'Go on now!')

3.7.8.2 Subjunctive

Subjunctive marking is presented in Table 43. Though the forms of the subjunctive and the past habitual are almost identical, they have been considered here to be distinct, based on two premises. Firstly, unlike the past habitual, the subjunctive may optionally use the -ओक -SUBJ3' form for the 3p (this subjunctive marker is also distinct from the secondary agreement marker -ओक -SA2sg'). Secondly, the two sets of markers are different as regards semantic content: the past habitual is aspectual, and the subjunctive is modal.

Table 43. Subjunctive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V stem-final</th>
<th>ह- hA- stem-final</th>
<th>C stem-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg खाउ kʰa-u 'eat-SUBJ1sg'</td>
<td>कहू kʰu-u 'say-SUBJ1sg'</td>
<td>बठौ kʰ-e-u 'sit-SUBJ1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg खाइस kʰa-is 'eat-SUBJ2sg'</td>
<td>कहिस kʰ-is 'say-SUBJ2sg'</td>
<td>बठिस kʰ-is 'sit-SUBJ2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg खाए kʰa-e 'eat-SUBJ3' बठोक kʰ-o 'sit-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>कहे kʰ-e 'say-SUBJ3' कोहोक kʰ-o 'say-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>बठे kʰ-e 'sit-SUBJ3' बठोक kʰ-o 'sit-SUBJ3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl खाइ kʰa-i 'eat-SUBJ1pl'</td>
<td>कहै kʰ-e 'say-SUBJ1pl'</td>
<td>बठै kʰ-e 'sit-SUBJ1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl खाअन kʰa-an 'eat-SUBJ2pl'</td>
<td>कहन kʰ-an 'say-SUBJ2pl'</td>
<td>बठन kʰ-an 'sit-SUBJ2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl खाए kʰa-e 'eat-SUBJ3' बठोक kʰ-o 'sit-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>कहे kʰ-e 'say-SUBJ3' कोहोक kʰ-o 'say-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>बठे kʰ-e 'sit-SUBJ3' बठोक kʰ-o 'sit-SUBJ3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondary agreement is marked on the subjunctive as Table 44 shows.

Table 44. Subjunctive accompanied by secondary agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>2pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ठुकेकुन (ठुकुन) tʰuk-(e)ku-n 'hit-SA2sg-1sg/pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>(Secondary agreement not marked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठुकु ku 'hit-SA2sg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondary agreement is marked on the subjunctive as Table 44 shows.
3.7.8 Mood

The subjunctive has several uses. Firstly for requesting and granting permission, and secondly for remote commands (in contrast, the imperative is used for the immediate command). Arguably, the hortative is a subcategory of requesting permission, but since only the 1p subjunctives can be used in the hortative, the group has been retained as a distinct category. The future is used for requesting permission in the 3p; the subjunctive would be ungrammatical in this context.

Table 45. Permission, hortative and command

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REQUESTING PERMISSION FOR</th>
<th>GRANTING PERMISSION TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(proximate)</td>
<td>(remote)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg जाॅ? ja-u go-SUBJ1sg 'May I go?'</td>
<td>2sg ja-ja-∅ go-IMP2sg 'You may go.' ja-is go-SUBJ2sg 'You may go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl जाॅ? ja-i go-SUBJ1pl 'May we go?'</td>
<td>2pl ja-ja-∅ go-IMP2pl 'You may go.' ja-n go-SUBJ2pl 'You may go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg उहाँक जाबा दिलेक। uhā-k ja-ba di-t-ek 3sg[pro]-DAT go-INF let-FUT-SA3 'Let him/her go (please).'&lt;/3sg&gt;</td>
<td>3sg ja-ja-∅ go-SUBJ3 'S/he may go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl ब्रमाक जाबा दिलेक। amā'-a-k ja-ba di-t-ek 3pl[pro]-DAT go-INF let-FUT-SA3 'Let them go (please).'&lt;/3pl&gt;</td>
<td>3sg ja-ja-∅ go-SUBJ3 'They may go.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HORTATIVE

| पहेले जङलाखुत पुगू। पहेले ja-hele jāŋg-la-kʰan-st pug-i first jungle-NCLS-LOC reach-SUBJ1sg 'Let me (let’s) first get to the jungle.’ |
| पहेले ja-hele jāŋg-la-kʰan-st pug-u first jungle-NCLS-LOC reach-SUBJ1sg | ja-ja-∅ go-SUBJ3 'S/he may go.' |

COMMAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROXIMATE COMMAND</th>
<th>REMOTE COMMAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg जाॅ ja-∅ go-IMP2sg (i.e. 'Go (now)!')</td>
<td>2sg ja-ja-∅ go-SUBJ2sg (i.e. 'Go (later).')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl जाज ja-ja-∅ go-IMP2pl (i.e. 'Go (now)!')</td>
<td>2pl ja-ja-∅ go-SUBJ2pl (i.e. 'Go (later).')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The remote command implies that an action be undertaken in the future. Logically, and in practice, even the action implied by the imperative will be in the future in relation to the deictic centre (i.e. the speech act), but the remote command seems to refer to a time relatively later. Therefore, compare the following examples, where (344a) implies an immediate action, and (344b-c) an action in the close (that is, relatively "later") future.61

(344) a. जाओ, मुझे लिखेचु। तमा भात नाध।
   ja-ʌ mui likʰ-eč-u
go-IMP2pl 1sg[pro] write-PRES-1sg
tamʰa bʰat nadʰ-ʌ
2pl[pro] rice cook-IMP2sg
'Go (away), I am writing. (As for you,) cook rice (now).'

b. मुझे लेख्ना घरिमा। तमा भात नाधन।
mui lekʰ-ba dʰAR-im
1sg[pro] write-INF begin-FUT1sg
tamʰa bʰat nadʰ-ʌn
2pl[pro] rice cook-SUBJ2pl
'I will start writing. (As for you,) cook me rice (later on).'

c. समय समयत आस्ते रहिम। (cf. DLR.03.010)
samæs samæt as-te rah-is
time time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg
'Keep visiting once in a while.' (Lit. 'keep coming')

The subjunctive is also used in subordinate clauses of purpose (345; cf. section 7.4.2.3.2), and conditional sentences (346a-b).

(345) ...मोक माने बाघ ना पाताना नामा पारोक (कहाए।) (cf. MR.05.113)
   ...mo-k mane bagʰ-daNa patta lag-ba par-ok
   ...1sg[obl]-DAT PCL tiger-NCLS NEG knowledge apply_to-INF can-SUBJ3
   (kʰa-ha-enē)
   (CMPL(say-CONJ.PTCL))
   '...so that the tiger isn't able to know (where) I (am).'

61 According to Givón (1990:810): "When a language has both imperative and subjunctive forms of command, the more finite subjunctive form, the one used in complements of manipulative verbs, is employed in less coercive, more deferent verbal manipulation." Therefore one may question whether the contrast between the imperative and the subjunctive command in Rājbanshi could be one of deference. The informants consulted for this work, however, maintained that it is the 2pl imperative which is used for this purpose.
As with the imperative, the negative particle ना na 'NEG' is used with the subjunctive when it precedes the subjunctive (347a). When following the subjunctive it (usually) functions as a polite request particle (347b).

(348) a. आन ने एनाए आन। (cf. DLR.04.008)
    as-n-A te ekʰlae as-n-A
    come-PST-1pl PCL by.oneself come-PST-1pl
    'May he come, (but) may he come alone (lit. 'We came, but we came alone')!'  

b. फिरौ न आमें? आन, बान।
    kiã ni as-ec-ki
    why NEG come-PRES-SA3
    as-n-A kʰa-n-A
    come-PST-1pl eat-PST-1pl
    'Why isn't he visiting (lit. coming)? He should come and eat (lit. 'We came, we ate').'
    (Implying, 'He should spend time in our company.')
3.7.8.3 Conditional

3.7.8.3.1 Simple conditional

The simple conditional marks the verb of the protasis with the conditional participle -ले 'COND.PTCL'. The apodosis was encountered in the future (349a), present (349b), imperative (349c) and subjunctive (349d).

(349) a. ...राजार बेटा-डा-र ले जाले, मुइ रानि हइ जाम। (cf. DLR.06.050b)
   ...raja-r beṭa-ḍʌ-ʌr saŋe ja-le mui rani ha-i ja-m
   ...king-GEN son-NCLS-GEN with go-COND.PTCL 1sg[pro] queen be-ABS AUX-FUT1sg
   '...if I go with the son of the king, I will become a queen.'

b. ...जेनेंग सेनेंग काथा बले, बहुत दुःख मिले। (cf. DLR.05.064)
   ...jeneŋ seneŋ katʰa ʌl-le buhut dukʰʌ
   what_kind [echo]thing speak-COND.PTCL greatly(Hindi) trouble
   arrange-PRES-3
   '...if those sort of things are spoken, a lot of problems will result.'

c. अनग ति हुँ, तुइ जात। (MR.05.053)
   anag ti ha-le tui ja-∅
   like_that towards be-COND.PTCL 2sg[pro] go-IMP2sg
   'If that is so, you go.'

d. आर नि पाले, छर दिसा (DLR.06.044a)
   ar ni par-le cʰʌr-i di-s
   and NEG can-COND.PTCL leave-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg
   'If you can't, let it be.'

3.7.8.3.2 Contrafactual conditional

In the contrafactual conditional the verb is inflected with past tense morphology and (primary/secondary) verb agreement, and then followed by the clitic -तन =tan '
' = PST.COND' (350a-b; Ghailāḍubba), or -हने =han ' = PST.COND' (350c; Korobāri).

(350) a. आजि इला काथास हि बन्नुन ते नि हारालेना। (DLR.05.042)
   ajʰi i-la katʰa=ʌ ni bʌl-n-=tan te ni
today DEM[prox]-PL thing=CNJ NEG speak-PST-1sg=PST.COND PCL(then) NEG
   lose-CAUS-PST-3 = PST.COND
   'If I hadn't spoken these things today, the shell would not have been lost.'
3.7.9 Auxiliaries

In the following sections I will discuss modal auxiliaries, quasi-aspectual compound verbs, and the passive auxiliary. I will also consider derivational compound verbs, which I distinguish from quasi-aspectual compound verbs on formal, semantic and statistical grounds. The modal and quasi-aspectual auxiliaries are distinct categories. Namely, a matrix verb preceding a quasi-aspectual auxiliary is marked with the absolutive -इ -i 'ABS', whereas a matrix verb preceding a modal auxiliary is in the infinitive -बा -ba 'INF'.

b. नि ते शुद्ध तोक बाहा करेक्युल्टन, रैण नेमालुक्लुन तोक। (cf. DLR.06.037)

ni te mui to-k baha kar-en-ku-n=tan
NEG PCL(then) 1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT marriage do-PST-SA2sg-1sg=PST.COND
rani beña-n-ku-n=tan to-k
queen make-PST-SA2sg-1sg=PST.COND 2sg[obl]-DAT

'Otherwise I would have married you, I would have made you a queen.'

c. शुद्ध मन्त्री हृटुहो ते महर एकता काठमाडौं थर्नेकर।

mui mantri ha-n-u=hane te ma=h=ra ek-ta
1sg[pro] minister be-PST-1sg=PST.COND PCL(then) 1sg[obl]=CNJ-GEN one-NCLS
kaṭmāndu-t gʰʌr ḍʌha-l-i=hane
Kathmandu-LOC house be-PST-3=PST.COND

'If I were a minister, I too would have a house in Kathmandu.'

3.7.8.3.3 Concessive conditional

In the concessive conditional the verb is marked with the reduced form of the conditional participle -ल -i 'COND.PTCL' (that is, with the vowel -e deleted) and the conjunctive clitic -अ =A(u) '=CNJ'. The conjunction परे pare 'even' is optional.

(351) a. ते फेरु सुकाए जालअ (परे) त बाना पानि खाबाए हबे। (DLR.05.052)

pʰer suk-a-e ja-l=A (pare) ta dana pani kʰa-ba=ɛ
again dry-CAUS-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL=CNJ (even) PCL grain water eat-INF=EMPH
hʌ-b=ɬ
must-FUT-3

'Even if one is "drying up" (of hunger) one needs to eat grains and water.'

b. तमा सत खालन (परे) शुद्ध भात नि खाम। (compare with the simple conditional in MR.05.245)

jadī sat kʰa-l=ɬu (pare) mui bʰat ni kʰa-m
if promise eat-COND.PTCL=CNJ (even) 1sg[pro] cooked_rice NEG eat-FUT1sg

'Even if you make me a promise, I will not eat rice.'
Table 46 presents the auxiliaries used in Rājbanshi with their structural and functional qualities.

Table 46. Collocation of transitivity and quasi-aspectual auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual and quasi-aspectual auxiliaries</th>
<th>Semantic content</th>
<th>Dative-subject</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>चल- cʌl- 'go; walk'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[AUX]-[ABS]</td>
<td>non-permissive, completeness, (perfective)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जा- ja- 'go'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[V]-ABS</td>
<td>non-permissive, completeness, (perfective)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फेका- pʰeka- 'throw'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[V]-ABS [AUX]-inflection</td>
<td>± benefactive, non-permissive, (perfective)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दि- di- 'give'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[V]-ABS [AUX]-inflection</td>
<td>± benefactive, non-permissive, ability (perfective), completeness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रह- rah- 'stay; remain'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[V]-[CONT.PTCL] [AUX]-inflection</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Modal auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deontic</th>
<th>Semantic content</th>
<th>Dative-subject</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>हा- hʌ- 'be; become'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>obligative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लाग- lag- 'feel; apply to'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(पर- par-) ('fall' (loan))</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दि- di- 'give'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चाहा- caha- 'want to; try to'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पार- par- 'be able to'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(सक- sak-) ('finish' (loan))</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7.9.1 Modal auxiliaries

3.7.9.1.1 Obligative

Of the three auxiliaries used for obligation, two were deemed to be native to Rājbanshi, namely हा- hʌ- 'must; need to; should' and लाग- lag- 'must; need to; should'. Initial observations suggest that the two are fully synonymous.
The auxiliary पर- par- 'must, need to' is also used though speakers feel it is a loan from Nepali and/or Maithili.

In all of these cases the subject, if explicit, is marked with the dative-accusative case. Therefore in (352b), above, the dative subject is हामाक hama-k '1pl[pro]-DAT' and in (353) it is मोक mo-k '1sg[pro]-DAT'. The subject in (352a) is implicit मोक mo-k '1sg[pro]-DAT'.

3.7.9.1.2 Permissive

The auxiliary दि- di- 'give' is used as a permissive. The subject is found in the nominative (unmarked) case and the direct object in the dative. For example, in (354a) the (implicit) subject is तम्मा tam'b'a '2pl[pro]' and the (explicit) direct object is मोक mo-k '1sg[pro]-DAT'.

(354) a. मोक एकछिन त काल्या विवन ना? (MR.04.188)
    mo-k ekcʰin kan-ba di-b-an na
    1sg[obl]-DAT one_moment cry-INF let-FUT-2pl PCL[TAG]
    'You'll let me cry for a while, won't you?'

b. आनिएं एकठिना बद्धा विचित्र। (MR.04.069; cf. also MR.04.072)
    an-iene ek-tʰina baṭʰ-ba d-ic-ki
    bring-CONJ.PTCL one-place sit-INF let-PERF-SA3
    'She brought the jackals and let them sit down in one place.'
3. Morphology

3.7.9.1.3 Desiderative

Two auxiliaries were found for the desiderative mood: मेना- *mena* - 'want to' and चाहा- *caha* - 'want to; try to'. The verb मेना- *mena* - 'want to' utilises the dative subject construction.

(355) मोक मनडत कान्हा मेनाचे। (cf. GR.02.069)

\[
\text{mo-k man-ḍʌ-t kan-ba mena-c-e}
\]

1sg[obl]-DAT mind-NCLS-LOC cry-INF want-to-PRES-3

'I want to cry in my mind.'

Conversely, the logical subject of the verb चाहा- *caha* - 'want to; try to' is marked with the nominative case, and the direct object with the dative-accusative case.

(356) a. आम मोक बाबा चाहाचे। (cf. MR.04.155)

\[
\text{amʰa mo-k kʰa-ba caha-b-ɪ}
\]

3pl[pro] 1sg[obl]-DAT eat-INF want_to-FUT-3

'...they want to (i.e. they are going to try to) eat me again.'

b. उहाँ आपनाक रमे रमे आप्नार परंपर बगलत जाबे ने चाहाणे ने। (MR.04.159)

\[
\text{uhã apna-r rase rase apna-r gʰar-er bagla-t ja-ba ne}
\]

3sg[pro] REFL[pro]-DAT slowly slowly own-GEN house-GEN near go-INF PCL caha-c-e ne want_to-PRES-3 PCL

'She wanted to (or, was trying to) keep taking herself slowly close to (her) own home.'

3.7.9.1.4 Abilitative

Two auxiliaries are used as abilitatives, one of which, पार- *par* - 'can, be able to', is deemed native to Rājbanshi. The auxiliary पार- *par* - marks the subject with the nominative case.

(357) a. गाऊँ लोकला गुँडा पाई। (cf. MR.04.178)

\[
\text{gaʌ-r lok-la sun-ba par-b-ɪ}
\]

village-GEN man-PL hear-INF can-FUT-3

'...the men of the village could hear.'

b. भोक महाबा नि पांच बगलत रट्टूपाटिता धरिले।

\[
\text{bʰok saha-ba ni pa(r)-e bagla-ḍʌ cʰatpaṭi-ba dʰar-ic-e}
\]

hunger endure-INF NEG can-CONJ-PTCL stork-NCLS be_restless-INF begin-PERF-3

'Not being able to endure (his) hunger, the stork became restless.'
The second abilitative auxiliary सक- sak- 'can' is a loan from Nepali but is nevertheless widely used.

(358) आप हटा सकेन्चे... (cf. DLR.03.012)
   ap ha-ba sak-ec-e
   PCL be-INF can(Nepali)-PRES-3
   'It could be (that)...

3.7.9.2 Other auxiliary constructions

In the subsequent sections I will consider derivational compound verbs (359a) and quasi-aspectual compound verbs (359b):

(359) a. V-CONJ.PTCL V
   b. V-ABS AUX, or AUX-ABS V

I will also study whether the second type of compound verbs have some aspectual function, or whether they merely represent the category Aktionsart. In the final section I will look at the passive auxiliary.

3.7.9.2.1 Derivational compound verbs

I have separated what I call derivational compound verbs from the quasi-aspectual compound verbs on formal, semantic and statistical grounds. In this section I will present argumentation for the distinction.

In the following compound verbs, though the first verb is marked with the conjunctive participle, the compound itself denotes a single action:

(360) a. चेचाए उठ्था ceca-e utʰ-ba 'shout-CONJ.PTCL rise-INF' (i.e. 'shout out'; refer to sentence (d) in Narrative 1 and Narrative 2 in section 8.1.5)
b. बलिे उठ्था bal-ie utʰ-ba 'speak-CONJ.PTCL rise-INF' (i.e. 'speak up'; 'raise one's voice')
c. कान-िे उठ्था kan-ie utʰ-ba 'cry-CONJ.PTCL rise-INF' (i.e. 'cry out aloud'; also nominalised form कानन उठ्था kan-an utʰ-a-ba 'cry-DVBL rise-CAUS-INF' in MR.04.073)

The construction is formally distinct from the quasi-aspectual compound verbs in that the first verb of the sequence is marked with the conjunctive participle, rather than the absolutive. The use of the absolutive in these cases is ungrammatical as (361) shows.

(361) *बलि उठ्था *bal-i utʰ-ba *speak-ABS rise-INF'
Since the main verb can occur, with restrictions, in quasi-aspectual compound constructions, one cannot postulate that the auxiliary-like verb in (360a-c) is mutually exclusive to quasi-aspectual auxiliaries. For example, the verbs बल- bʌl- 'speak' and कान- kan- 'cry' occur in the compound verb with the auxiliaries दि- di- and जा- ja- respectively (362a-b). For some reason however the verb चेचा- ceca- 'shout' is not found in the quasi-aspectual compound construction (362c).

(362) a. बिल दले bʌl-i di-l-ɪ 'speak-ABS AUX-PST-3'
   b. कािन गेले kan-i ge-l-ɪ 'cry-ABS AUX-PST-3'
   c. *चेचाए गेले / लिले / दले *ceca-e ge- / li- / di-l-ɪ *'shout-ABS AUX-PST-3'

The verb उठ- uṭʰ- 'rise' functions in the compound verbs in (360a-c) in ways similar to a quasi-aspectual auxiliary, in that the verb is (partially) emptied of its semantic content. However the verb, which appears here in an auxiliary-like capacity, is restricted to a very limited set of verbs denoting auditory sensation (note the verbs "shout", "speak" and "cry", above). This strict collocation between the main verb and the second verb leads to the conclusion that the construction is, to a considerable degree, idiomatic. In contrast, the quasi-aspectual auxiliaries are less restricted by verbal semantics.62

This observation would explain why the derivational compound verbs occur so infrequently in comparison to the quasi-aspectual compound verbs. In the text corpus available of c. 1000 sentences, the quasi-aspectual compound verb construction occurs 261 times63, whereas the derivational compound verb construction only occurs twice64. In addition, there are nine occurrences of the conjunct verb form $V_{[STEM]}$ V (cf. section 3.7.3).65

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62 Masica (1991:327), referring to research on Hindi, maintains: "Although compound-verb formation is obviously a matter of derivation rather than inflection, it is highly structured, as Hook (1974 and 1978b) has demonstrated, in spite of also including some phenomena which must be described as idiomatic. Advice given in some manuals that they 'must be learned as vocabulary items' ignores the massive generalisations that can be made."

63 Frequencies as follows: जा- ja- 'AUX' (n=159), केरा- pʰeka- 'AUX' (n=15), मुल- cul- (or, जल- cal-) 'AUX' (n=24), दि- di- 'AUX' (n=56), and लि- li- 'AUX' (n=7).

64 Refer to:
   (xvii) सिचएने दे kec-iene dekʰ-l-ɪ 'think-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3' (i.e. 'he thought'; cf. MR.04.112)
   (xviii) करिए बिरिए bicar kar-ie dekʰ-ec-e 'thought do-CONJ.PTCL look-PRES-3' (i.e. 'he thought'; cf. MR.05.223)

65 Refer to:
   (xix) मार बा- mar kʰa- 'beating eat-' (i.e. 'take a beating'), or मार खिला- mar kʰila- 'beating feed-' (i.e. 'give a beating') in MR.04.078, MR.04.084, MR.04.087, MR.04.092 and MR.04.096
Having argued for a distinction between these two types of compound verb constructions, there is one final contrastive construction to be considered. It is possible to emphasize an action by modifying it with a semantically-related verb which is marked with the conjunctive participle.\textsuperscript{66} Examples of this type are:

(363) a. आमिए पुबा as-ie pug-ba 'come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-INF' (cf. MR.05.107)
   b. लिए अन्या l-ie an-ba 'take-CONJ.PTCL bring-INF' (cf. MR.04.068)

I have not considered these to be compound verbs, since it is the second verb in the sequence which is the main verb, and this is consequently modified by a preceding adverbial participle.\textsuperscript{67} It would, however, seem that this construction is a forerunner of the quasi-aspectual auxiliary चुल- cul- (or, चल- cʌl-) 'AUX' which will be discussed in the section 3.7.9.2.2.1. The most compelling evidence for not considering this type as a compound verb is the fact that it may itself occur in conjunction with a quasi-aspectual auxiliary, as the following example demonstrates.

(364) एकटा ब्राग आर एकटा सोर आमिए पुग गेिक। (cf. MR.05.007)
    ek-ta bagʰ ar ek-ta sor as-ie pug-i ge-l-ki
    one-NCLS tiger and one-NCLS pig come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
    'Suddenly' a tiger and a boar arrived.'

3.7.9.2.2 Quasi-aspectual compound verbs

The compound verbs in the previous and subsequent sections are closely associated to constructions found in Indo-Aryan languages in general. The actual function of the compound verbs in Indo-Aryan has however been a source of considerable discussion through the years (cf. Hook 1974, and Masica 1991:326-330 for an overview).

Rājbanshi compound verbs should be divided into two types: derivational and quasi-aspectual. These two were discussed in the previous section, but in order to further

\textsuperscript{66} Masica (1991:330) on this topic: "An absolute boundary for the vector set is somewhat difficult to draw (at least in Hindi) because of what Hook calls the sub-synonymy phenomenon: reinforcement of a given main verb by another verb close to it in meaning: kho chořā 'losing-left behind', ā pahu cā 'coming-arrived'."

\textsuperscript{67} Also, consider the following example where it is clearly the second verb in the sequence which is the main verb:

(xx) दउर मार- duur mar- 'running kill-' (i.e. 'run fast'; 'scurry') in MR.04.198, MR.05.054, MR.05.088 and MR.05.336
substantiate the distinctions, I will proceed to compare them in this section, while at the same time further considering the second type.

Much discussion has centred on the issue as to whether the Indo-Aryan compound ("vector") verb has perfective functions or not. A comparison between the Indo-Aryan compound verbs and Slavic prefixes has led to the standpoint that the former are indeed perfectivity markers. However, as Masica (1991:327) observes, counter-argument has taken the following points into consideration:

"(1) there is already an aspect-marking morphological system in place in NIA, which is consequently ignored (or confused with tense, which is thereby also misconstrued);
(2) the aspect-marking role of the Slavic prefixes themselves can be questioned (Aronson 1985);
(3) use of vectors in NIA is not uniform for all verbs, but governed by lexical semantics."

Masica (1991:327-328) continues that, besides the above-mentioned problems, the Slavic prefixes and the Indo-Aryan compound verbs themselves can not be straightforwardly compared. Split-ergativity, which is found in many of the Indo-Aryan languages (though not the Eastern group), is particularly problematic. Additionally, the compound verb may be used in contexts where imperfectivity is portrayed, rather than perfectivity (for a Rājbanshi example, cf. DLR.05.013). Based on these observations, Masica proposes that the term Aktionsart (ibid.:328), or "manner specification" (ibid.:326) would be better suited to describe the verb construction in question.

The term "perfectivity" should be carefully distinguished from the property "completed action" as Comrie (1993 [1976]:18) explains:

"A very frequent characterisation of perfectivity is that it indicates a completed action. One should note that the word at issue in this definition is 'completed', not 'complete': despite the formal similarity between the two words, there is an important semantic distinction which turns out to be crucial in discussing aspect. The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end. The use of 'completed', however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of the situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole."

In Rājbanshi the compound verb is in many cases non-aspectual. Quite often the construction colours the main verb with semantic properties such as "completeness", "immediacy", "nonpermissiveness" and "±benefaction", as the following sections will demonstrate. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that Rājbanshi, as with some other Indo-Aryan languages, is in the process of reanalysing the compound verb construction from a
I propose here that the compound verb should be considered as "quasi-aspectual", based on the following three observations.

Firstly, though the perfect is found to coincide with a quasi-aspectual auxiliary in practice (365), one informant considered the use of the perfect tense in this context ungrammatical. He himself would have used the present tense फेकाचे pʰeka-c-e 'AUX-PRES-3'. Further study is required on this point, but one might perhaps deduce that double aspctual marking is ungrammatical.

(365) जब आस्रा देखि फेकाईचे (or perhaps, फेकाए) तब... (DLR.04.019)
   jʌb as-ba dekʰ-i pʰeka-ic-e (or perhaps, pʰeka-c-e) tʌb...
   when come-INF see-ABS AUX-PERF-3 (or perhaps, AUX-PRES-3) then...
   'When the son-in-law saw the old man coming...'

Secondly, the quasi-aspectual auxiliaries can not occur in conjunction with the negative (366b-c; cf also GR.02.024-025). This is possibly due to a contrast between realis (366a) and irrealis (366d). What is interesting regarding this restriction, is that the morphological aspectual markers (perfect and past continuous) behave in exactly the same manner as (366d): in a negative context, the perfect or past continuous marking is replaced with the past habitual (cf. sections 3.7.7.1-2).

(366) a. पामरट आस्र गेले।
Pamʌr-tʌ as-i ge-l-ɪ
Pāmar-NCLS come-ABS AUX-PST-3
   'Pāmar has come.'

b. *पामरट नि आस्र गेले।
*pamʌr-tʌ ni as-i ge-l-ɪ
*Pāmar-NCLS NEG come-ABS AUX-PST-3

c. *पामरट आस्र नि गेले।
*pamʌr-tʌ as-i ni ge-l-ɪ
*Pāmar-NCLS come-ABS NEG AUX-PST-3

d. पामरट नि आस्र।
pamʌr-tʌ ni as-e
Pāmar-NCLS NEG come-PST.HAB3
   'Pāmar has not come.'

68 Compare with Hook (1993:97): "In some Indo-Aryan languages (for example, Hindi-Urdu and Marwari) the compound verb has evolved into an explicit means of expressing perfective aspect. In other languages (for example, Marathi and Kashmiri) the compound verb exists but does not function as a regular exponent of aspect."
Thirdly, as was noted in section 3.7.7.2, if the (imperfective) past continuous is marked with a quasi-aspectual auxiliary, the verb adopts a perfective reading. Therefore, (367a) is past continuous whereas (367b) is similar to a pluperfect.

(367) a. जेइखुना उहाँए आिसने ते मुइ बेराइस्नु।
jej-kʰuna uhāe as-isl-t te mui bera-Isn-u
what-time 3sg[pro] come-REM.PST-3 PCL(then) 1sg[pro] walk-REM.PST-3
'I was walking when he came.'

b. मुइ आिसए पुबार खुना उहाँए अलि आिसने।
mui as-ie pug-ba-r kʰuna uhāe cʌl-i as-isl-t
1sg[pro] come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-INF-GEN during 3sg[pro] AUX-ABS come-REM.PST-3
'He had (already) come when I arrived.'

Note that above I have used the controversial term "auxiliary" for what is often called a "vector" verb. A traditional definition of the term "auxiliary" following Anderson (2000:808) would be:

"Traditionally, the term auxiliary is applied to a verb which in combination with another verb regularly supplies part of the paradigm or potential paradigm of the second verb."

Additionally, auxiliaries are generally considered to mark distinctions such as tense, aspect and modality. Whether the Rājbanshi "vector" verb can be considered an auxiliary may be questioned according to whether it has any grammatical function, as opposed to merely colouring the semantics of the main verb. As explained above, I postulate that the "vector" verb does in fact have aspectual overtones, and therefore I regard it as being an auxiliary. Conversely, the derivational compound verbs described in the previous section do not have aspectual functions, and have therefore not been analysed as auxiliaries.

To conclude, the derivational compound verbs discussed in the previous section differ significantly from the five quasi-aspectual compound verbs, to be described in the subsequent sections, in the following manner:

Table 47. Comparison of derivational and quasi-aspectual compound verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Derivational compound</th>
<th>Quasi-aspectual compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
<td>V-CONJ.PTCL V</td>
<td>V-ABS AUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AUX-ABS V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb collocation</strong></td>
<td>More strict</td>
<td>Less strict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Statistical</strong></td>
<td>Less frequent</td>
<td>More frequent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2 times in Appendix 3)</td>
<td>(261 times in Appendix 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Function</strong></td>
<td>Semantic</td>
<td>Semantic and grammatical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.7.9 Auxiliaries जा-ja-, फेका-pʰeka- and चुल-cul-

The compound verb in Rājbanshi is constructed by the matrix verb marked with the absolutive and followed by one of four auxiliaries. Alternatively it can be one auxiliary which is marked by the absolutive and then followed by the inflected matrix verb. Each of these auxiliaries will be discussed in the following sections.

Masica (1991:326) maintains that NIA languages make use of:

"...special auxiliaries, which have been called intensifiers, operators, explicators, or more recently vectors: typically go, come, give, take, fall, rise, throw, put, sit. Partially emptied of their lexical content, these modify the meaning of the main verb in various ways not unrelated to that content, which might be best described as manner-specification (including directionality, completeness, suddenness, violence, deliberateness, stubbornness, benefaction, affectivity, etc.)."

I will begin with the three quasi-aspectual auxiliaries: जा- 'AUX', फेका- 'AUX', and चुल- 'AUX'. The first two follow the absolutive of the matrix verb (368a-b respectively). The third one precedes the matrix verb in the absolutive form (368c).

(368) a. मरि गेल mar-i gel 'die-ABS AUX-PST3(far-eastern) ('he died'; cf. DLR.05.003a)
   b. देखि पेकाइ डेक्‌-i pʰeka-l-ki 'look-ABS AUX-PST-SA3' ('he saw'; cf. MR.04.003)
   c. चुल जाबा cul-i ja-ba 'AUX-ABS go-INF' ('to go'; cf. DLR.04.031)

All of these verbs, though emptied of their semantic properties when functioning as auxiliaries, also occur as verbs in their own right. The verb जा- 'AUX' derives from the verb 'go' (369a). The verb चल- also means 'go' (369b). The verb stem फाका- 'throw' in (369c) is interchangeable with फेका- 'throw', though only the latter form is used as the quasi-aspectual auxiliary.

(369) a. गेले ge-l-ɪ 'go-PST-3' ('he went'; cf. MR.05.101)
   b. चल cʌl-ʌ 'go-IMP2pl' ('come on'; cf. MR.04.063)
   c. फकाए pʰaka-e d-u 'throw-ABS AUX-SUBJ1sg' ('(if) I throw'; cf. MR.05.223)

In most cases the auxiliary जा- 'AUX' collocates with intransitive verbs (370a-b), whereas फेका- 'AUX' occurs with transitive verbs (370c-d). This distribution follows from the original semantics of the verbs, being intransitive 'go' in the former case, and transitive 'throw (something)' in the latter (cf. table 48).

(370) a. चरि गेि cart-i ge-l-ɪ 'rise-ABS AUX-PST3' ('arose'; cf. DLR.05.010)
   b. मरि गेल mar-i ge-l-ki 'die-ABS AUX-PST-SA3' ('he died'; cf. DLR.05.003b)
   c. सुनि पेकाले sun-i pʰeka-l-ɪ 'hear-ABS AUX-PST-3' ('they heard'; cf. MR.04.196)
   d. पक्रि पेकालिक्र pakr-i pʰeka-l-ki 'catch-ABS AUX-PST-SA3' ('they caught (him)'; cf. MR.05.013)
There are, however, cases where the same verb stem has both a transitive and an intransitive sense. For example, the verb stem देख- dekʰ- means either 'look' (intransitive) or 'see' (transitive). Both cases correlate with the transitive auxiliary (371a) in the same way as the causative stem देख- dekʰ-a- 'see-CAUS' (i.e. 'show') in (371b).

(371) a. देख फेकाले dekʰ-i pʰeka-l-ɪ 'look/see-ABS AUX-PST-3' ('he looked/saw'; cf. MR.04.003 for example of transitive)
   b. देखाए फेकाले dekʰ-a-e pʰeka-l-ɪ 'see-CAUS-ABS AUX-PST-3' ('he showed')

Conversely, the verb खा- kʰa- 'eat' uses the intransitive auxiliary regardless of whether it is used in transitive or intransitive clauses (372).

(372) उहाँक खाए गेल। (GR.01.028)
   uhã-k kʰa-e ge-l
   3sg[pro]-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PST3
   'He ate him (up).'

The quasi-aspectual auxiliary चुिल- cul- (or, चल- cul-) 'AUX' is only used with the two deictic verbs गा- ja 'go' and आस- as- 'come'. With the former verb the auxiliary is perhaps used to avoid a reduplication of the (same) stem (373a-b). However, the verb आस- as- 'come' occurs with both the quasi-aspectual auxiliaries चुिल- cul- and गा- ja with no change of meaning (373c-d), though (373d) does apparently sound like a Hindi loan. The construction चुिल cul-i 'AUX-ABS' possibly originates from a verb construction similar to the type आसए पुग बा as-ie pug-ba 'come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-INF' which was discussed in the previous section. In the current construction, however, the auxiliary चुिल- cul- has no semantic content as such.

(373) a. *जाए मेले *ja-e ge-l-ɪ *'go-ABS AUX-PST-3'
   b. चुिल मेले cul-i ge-l-ɪ 'AUX-ABS go-PST-3' ('she left/went'; cf. MR.04.126)
   c. चुिल आसमेले cul-i as-b-ɪ 'AUX-ABS come-FUT-3' ('she came'; cf. MR.05.240)
   d. आस मेले as-i ge-l-ɪ 'come-ABS AUX-PST-3' ('they came'; cf. MR.04.178; Hindi)

As explained in the previous section, the compound verb auxiliaries in Rājbanshi have quasi-aspectual functions. However, they are also found to affect the semantics of the matrix verb in other ways. For example, the verb मार- mar- is used for both 'beat' and 'kill' (374a). When the (transitive) quasi-aspectual auxiliary फेका- pʰeka- 'AUX' accompanies the verb, only the latter meaning is rendered (374b). The distinction in this case seems to be a combination of completeness and telicity. In (374a) telicity is non-specified (i.e. 'to beat' has an atelic, and 'kill' has a telic sense). Conversely, in (374b) the auxiliary दि- di- 'AUX' as (374c) shows.
3.7.9 Auxiliaries

(374) a. माच (cf. MR.04.075)
mar-c-e
beat/kill-PRES-3
's/he beat (it) up; s/he killed (it)'

b. मारि फेकाले (cf. MR.05.043)
mar-i pʰeka-l-ɪ
kill-ABS AUX-PST-3
's/he killed (it)'

c. काकाडक विण्य मारिए (cf. Narratives 1 and 2 in section 8.1.5)
kaka-ḍʌ d-ic-ki mar-ie
uncle-NCLS-DAT AUX-PERF-SA3 beat-ABS
'. . .they had beaten (my) uncle...'  

The auxiliaries also seem to function as nonpermissive markers (or "stubbornness", as noted by Masica above), or they can be used for immediacy/suddenness. The latter category covers such inferences as, "immediately", "suddenly" and "as soon as". All of these categories seem to be somewhat overlapping and contextually determined. In context, the implication of the quasi-aspectual auxiliary in (375a) is immediacy. The auxiliaries in (375b-c) imply immediacy and/or the nonpermissive.

(375) a. जब आम्बा देखि फेकाइचे (or perhaps, फेकाइचे) तब... (DLR.04.019)
jʌb as-ba dekʰ-i pʰeka-ic-e (or perhaps, pʰeka-c-e) tʌb...
when come-INF see-ABS AUX-PERF-3 (or perhaps, AUX-PRES-3) then...
'When (or, 'as soon as') the son-in-law saw the old man coming...'

b. ते याहाँ देखि फेकाले। (GR.01.007)
te yaha dekʰ-i pʰeka-l-ɪ
PCL DEM[pro/prox] see-ABS AUX-PST-3
'And (immediately; suddenly) it (the jackal) saw (it anyway).'

c. ...अहिविव अहिविव बुराड चूति आसेचे।
...ʌi-din ʌi-din burʰa-ɖʌ cul-ɪ as-ec-e
...DEM[rem/emph]-day DEM[rem/emph]-day old_man-NCLS AUX-ABS come-PRES-3
'. . .(as soon as)... that very day the old man shows up (in any case, stubbornly).'

The contrast between simple verbs and compound verbs is unclear in some of the language data cases, since the two constructions seem to have no apparent distinction. For example, though one may, in accordance with what has been explained above, maintain that the auxiliary in (376b) renders an affect of immediacy, one informant was of the opinion that there is no contrast whatsoever between (376a) and (376b).
3. Morphology

(376) a. आर कुछ परे सहयोग कबार लोक हए।
ar kucʰu pʰar-le sahâyog kʰar-ba-r lok hə-e
and some occur-COND.PTCL assistance do-INF-GEN man be-PRES3
'And if something (i.e. a problem) comes up, he is someone to help out.'

b. आर कुछ परि जाने सहयोग कबार लोक हए। (DLR.03.006)
ar kucʰu pʰar-i ja-le sahâyog kʰar-ba-r lok hə-e
and some occur-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL assistance do-INF-GEN man be-PRES3
'And if something (i.e. a problem) (suddenly?) comes up, he is someone to help out.'

3.7.9.2.2 Auxiliaries दिए - di- and लि - li-

The two other auxiliaries which trigger absolutive marking on the matrix verb are दिए - 'AUX' and लि - 'AUX'. (Note that both of these verbs are found in conjunct verb constructions, and that the auxiliary दिए - 'AUX' also functions as a modal auxiliary.) To bring together the discussion on the quasi-aspectual auxiliaries, consider the following table:

Table 48. Collocation of transitivity and quasi-aspectual auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quasi-aspectual auxiliaries</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जा - ja - 'go'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आस - as - 'come'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जा - mar - 'die'</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भास - bʰas - 'float'</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देख - dekʰ - 'look'</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खा - kʰa - 'eat'</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two auxiliaries included in this section, and the three auxiliaries discussed in the other section, have several similarities, and yet at the same time several differences. All five, for example, can have quasi-aspectual implications. However, the auxiliaries दिए - 'AUX' and लि - 'AUX' have some additional features which the previous set does not. Yadav (1997 [1996]:201) maintains that in Maithili:
"First, le 'take' occurs with a verb the action of which is "self-directed" (i.e., the action of the verb is in the interest of the subject/actor), while de 'give' occurs with a verb the action of which is "other-directed" (i.e., the action of the verb is in the interest of an individual other than the subject/actor). Thus, for example, verbs of ingestion and perception are usually self-directed and hence accept le rather than de."

It seems that the Rājbanshi counterparts function in a similar fashion. The semantics of the verbs are दि- 'give' and लि- 'take'. This mirrors their use as benefactives: the auxiliary दि- 'AUX' rendering benefaction for others, and the auxiliary लि- 'AUX' for self-benefaction/self-directed action.

Benefaction (or, malefaction in negative contexts) with the auxiliary दि- 'AUX' can be seen in example (377a-b). In (377b) benefaction is marked by both the auxiliary and the secondary agreement marker -कि 'SA3'.

(377) a. उठ छिड़र कड़िय डिन कराए दिले। (cf. DLR.05.032)
   u-ḍʌ pʌkʰi u-ḍʌ kʌdɪ-k ʌdсаrʌ ɪn lʌra-e di-l-1
   DEM[rem]-NCLS bird DEM[rem]-NCLS shell-DAT other place move-ABS AUX-PST-3
   'Then the bird moved the shell to another place (to the malefaction of the other bird).'

   b. अदिता धारिए धारिए प्रवाह धिक। (MR.04.027)
   ʌɪ-tʰiṇa ʰag-ie hag-ie rakʰ-i d-ic-ki
   DEM[rem/emph]-place defecate-CONJ.PTCL defecate-CONJ.PTCL put-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3
   'They (the jackals really) defecated (right) there (to the malefaction of the old woman and old man).'

The self-benefactive property which is inherent in the auxiliary लि- 'AUX' is evident in the examples (378a-c). Compare (378c) with (378d), in which the quasi-aspectual auxiliary जा- 'ja-' denotes completed action.

(378) a. MR.05.212 उठ दुक क्षत्रिक चेहरे पक्षी लिक ए (378b)
   u-ḍʌ duk bʌsi-ḍʌ cɛp kʌr ʌpkr-i li-p-ki
   that-NCLS trouble flute-NCLS catch ADVL catch-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3
   '(The crow) caught that trouble flute in mid air (to its own benefaction).'

   b. आप तुझ दबा सत्त दबा करी लिक। (MR.05.351)
   ap tui baha sadi kʌr-i li-l-o
   PCL 2sg[pro] wedding wedding do-ABS AUX-PST-2sg
   'Now you are (already) married.' (i.e. 'you have taken a bride for yourself')

   c. खाए लिक लागे ने।
   kʰa-e li-ba lag-e ne
   eat-ABS AUX-INF should-PRES3 PCL
   'You should eat it up (yourself).'
Finally, the auxiliary लि- 'AUX' also seems to imply ability and completeness. Compare the simple proposition in (379a) with (379b). The sense of ability is also rendered by the auxiliary in (379c). Conversely, the transitive quasi-aspectual auxiliary फेका- 'AUX' would have been used in (379c) to denote "completed action".

(379) a. मुइ तोक ठगे कुन।
mui tok ṭʰʌ g-en-ku-n
1sg[pro] 2sg[pro]-DAT cheat-PST-SA2sg-1sg
'I cheated you.'

b. मुइ तोक ठिग िल कुन।
mui tok ṭʰʌ g-i li-n-ku-n
1sg[pro] 2sg[pro]-DAT cheat-ABS AUX-PST-SA2sg-1sg
'I have (already, completely) cheated you.'
Possible context: '(You said I couldn't cheat you, but look at how) I have completely cheated you.'

c. उखान किल उहाँ एकेिछने प।
ukʰ'an kitap uhã ek = e-cʰin = e pʰaPʰ-i l-ec-e
DEM[rem]-NCLS book 3sg[pro] one=EMPH-moment=EMPH read-ABS AUX-PRES-3
'He (is able to) read this book in (just) one moment.'

3.7.9.2.3 Passive auxiliary

The Rājbanshi analytic passive is discussed in section 7.5.1, but suffice it here to mention that the verb जा- 'go' is used as a passive auxiliary. The matrix verb which precedes the passive auxiliary is marked with the past participle -आ(ल) -'PST.PTCL', as can be seen from the following examples (cf. section 3.7.10.5 for further discussion on whether to interpret this suffix as a deverbaliser).

(380) a. ...आप ताहौ नि कठु कुछु देखा जाछै। (cf. MR.04.031)
...ap tahu ni kacu kucʰu dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
...PCL still NEG [kacu]vegetable some see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
'...and still no [kacu]vegetable could be seen.'

b. अह उड नेसट देखा जाछे तेह? (MR.04.171)
ʌi u-ɖʌ ges-tʌ dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e te
INJ DEM[rem]-NCLS tree-NCLS see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3 PCL
'(You know) that tree (far over there) that can be seen?'
In speech there is fusion of the matrix verb and the auxiliary if the passive auxiliary is marked with the present tense (as in (380a-b)). This results in the pronunciation [dekʰa:ceʰe] which almost resembles a morphological passive, with -ae as the passive morpheme.\(^{69}\) I have decided against this analysis, however, for two reasons. First and foremost, speakers still regard this as an analytic passive with a distinct auxiliary. Secondly, the phenomenon is not encountered in the other tenses and aspects. In the past tense, for example, the (irregular) past stem गः 'PASS.AUX[\text{PST.STEM}]' is used.

### 3.7.10 Non-finite forms

The following non-finite forms have been encountered in Rājbanšhi:

i. Infinitive -बा 'INF'
ii. Absolutive -ि 'ABS'
iii. Conjunctive participle -ए(नें) 'CONJ.PTCL'
iv. Continuous participle -ते 'CONT.PTCL'
v. Past participle -ले 'PST.PTCL'
v. Conditional participle -ले 'COND.PTCL'
vii. (Intentional participle -ने (loan))

Each of these will be considered in the following respective sections.

#### 3.7.10.1 Infinitive

The infinitive marker in Rājbanšhi is -बा 'INF'. The -b element in this infinitive suffix is often pronounced as a bilabial approximant [w]. Some writers represent it as -वा [-wa] when following stem-final vowels, and -उवा [-uwa] when following consonants.

(381) a. खाबा ख\(^{2}\)a-ba [kʰab/wa] 'eat-INF'
    b. ठुक्बा ठ\(^{2}\)uk-ba [\(\hat{t}\)ukba / \(\hat{t}\)ukuwa] 'hit-INF'
    c. लेप-बा लेप-बा लेप-बा [lepbə / lepuwa] 'plaster_with_soil_and_dung-INF'

The infinitive suffix precedes case marking:

(382) a. कामरा kamra-ba-r 'bite-INF-GEN'
    b. भास्कर bʰas-ba-r 'float-INF-GEN'

\(^{69}\) The geminate /aː/ in [dekʰa:ceʰe] could also indicate a tendency towards the Maithili morphological passive, discussed by Yadav (1997 [1996]:209) "... (i) the 'inflectional' (or strict morphological) passive, which is formed by suffixing -a to the nonpassive main verb stem followed by an appropriate desinence..."
Matrix verbs which precede modal auxiliaries are marked with the infinitive.

\[(383)\] a. कबा लागे \(\text{kʌʌr-ba lag-e}''\) do-INF should-PRES3' (DLR.04.017)

b. सुबा पाब \(\text{sun-ba par-b-i}''\) hear-INF can-FUT-3' (cf. MR.04.178)

c. कान्वा दिबन \(\text{kan-ba di-b-an}''\) cry-INF let-FUT-2pl' (cf. MR.04.188)

Mention should also be made of an unusual emphatic construction. In the Korobāri dialect, past tense marking on the finite verb and simultaneously emphatic marking on non-finite verb trigger the use of the past stem of the non-finite verb \(384a-b\). This is seldom in evidence, however, since the only verb with a separate present and past stem is 'to go' : 

\[जा-\text{ja-} '\text{go}[^{PRES.STEM}]' \text{ versus } \text{g} \text{-} '\text{go}[^{PST.STEM}]'.\]

Compare this with \(384c\) where the stem of the verb खा- \(k^{h}a-''\) eat' remains unaltered.

\[(384)\] a. ना ते गेबॆ कल... 

\[ \text{na te ge-b=e kar-l-o...} \]

neither \(\text{go}[^{PST.STEM}]\)-INF=EMPH do-PST-2sg...

'Neither did you go...'

b. गेबॆ नि कलौ से दिबान। 

\[ \text{ge-b=e ni kʌʌr-l-o te ki-k^{h}an} \]

\(\text{go}[^{PST.STEM}]\)-INF=EMPH NEG do-PST-2sg PCL(then) what-NCLS

'Since you did not go, (then) what (did you see)?' (Rhetorical question implying, 'You did not see anything.').

c. ना ते खाबॆ कल... 

\[ \text{na te k^{h}a-b=e kar-l-o...} \]

neither eat-INF=EMPH do-PST-2sg...

'Neither did you eat...'

The same applies when the infinitive is marked with the conjunctive clitic \(385a\). If the main verb is marked with the present tense, the present stem is used \(385b\).

\[(385)\] a. past tense on finite verb 

\[ \text{ge-b=ʌ ni kʌʌr-l-o, ja-ba=} \text{ʌ ni} \]

\(\text{go}[^{PST.STEM}]\)-INF=CNJ NEG do-PST-2sg. \(\text{go}[^{PRES.STEM}]\)-INF=CNJ NEG di-l-o

let-PST-2sg

'You neither went, nor did you let (anyone else) go.'
b. present tense on finite verb

\[ ja-b=ʌ ni kʌr-ec-it, ja-ba=ʌ ni \]
\[ go_{\text{PRES.STEM}}^{[\text{INF=CNJ NEG do-PRES-2sg ]}} \]
\[ go_{\text{PRES.STEM}}^{[\text{INF=CNJ NEG d-ec-it let-PRES-2sg ]}} \]

'You neither go, nor do you let (anyone else) go.'

c. present tense on finite verb

\[ kʰa-b=ʌ ni kʌr-ec-it kʰa-ba=ʌ ni d-ec-it \]
\[ eat-INF=CNJ NEG do-PRES-2sg eat-INF=CNJ NEG let-PRES-2sg \]

'You neither eat, nor do you let (anyone else) eat.'

At this stage it is difficult to present any reasoning for the behaviour of the verb stem in this construction. What is interesting, however, is that the infinitive marked with the emphatic/conjunctive clitic can have an affect on the preceding stem. What is also interesting is that the infinitive marked with the emphatic clitic (-बे -b= 'INF=EMPH') is phonetically contrastive with the future 3p marking (-बे -b-ि 'FUT-3').

### 3.7.10.2 Absolutive

The absolutive is -इ 'ABS' after consonant-final verb stems (386a), and -ए -e 'ABS' after vowel-final verb stems (386b). In some dialects in northern Jhāpā the conjunctive participle -ए -e is interchangeable with the allomorph -i on the ह- hʌ- copula (386c).

(386) a. पक्क फेकाि pʌkr-i pʰeka-I-ki 'catch-ABS AUX-PST-SA3' (cf. MR.05.013)

b. का- ाए kamra-e l-icʰ-e 'bite-ABS AUX-PERF-3' (cf. MR.04.200)

c. हा/ए गेल hʌ-e/i ge-l 'be-ABS AUX-PST3' (compare DLR.06.028 and DLR.04.030)

The absolutive is marked on matrix verbs which precede one of the following quasi-aspectual auxiliaries:

(387) a. जा- ja- 'AUX' (past stem गे- ge-)

b. फेका- pʰeka- 'AUX'

c. दि- di- 'AUX'

d. लि- li- 'AUX'

In addition, the absolutive attaches to the quasi-aspectual auxiliary चुिल cul- (or, चल- cʌl-) 'AUX'. This then precedes the main verb.

(388) चुिल जा-cul-i ja-eʰ-e 'AUX-ABS go-PRES-3'
Though there is a close affinity between the absolutive and the conjunctive participle, the two are distinct forms. Some other NIA languages, for example Nepali, maintain such a distinction, as Masica (1991:326) reports:

"...In Nepali, where the Absolutive is distinct from the Conjunctive Participle, it is only the former that is used in these forms."

I have distinguished between the absolutive and the conjunctive participle on morphological and semantic grounds. The conjunctive participle (cf. section 3.7.10.3) is -इए(ले) -ie(ne) 'CONJ.PTCL' after consonant-final stems, and -ए(ले) -e(ne) 'CONJ.PTCL' after vowel-final stems. The morpheme is therefore easily identifiable in the first case, but the absolutive and the conjunctive participle look alike in the second (389a-b).

(389) a. खाए गेल kʰa-e ge-l 'eat-ABS AUX-PST3'
   b. खाए गेल kʰa-e ge-l 'eat-CONJ.PTCL go-PST3'

Moreover, if the quasi-aspectual auxiliary of a compound verb construction is fronted (cf. section 7.3.3), the matrix verb with a consonant-final stem is marked with the suffix -इए -ie, which then entirely resembles the conjunctive participle. The unmarked structure of (390a) would be (390b). Note that in the displaced order in (390a) the conjunctive participle allomorph -इएने -iene would not be permitted to replace the absolutive -इए -ie.

(390) a. त बुरा बुराक गेलक रिस उठिए। (MR.04.045)
      ta burʰa burʰi-la-k ge-l-ki ris uṭʰ-ie
   PCL old_man old_woman-PL-DAT AUX-PST-SA3 anger rise-ABS
   'And the old man and old woman got furious.'

   b. त बुरा बुराक रिस उठिए।
      ta burʰa burʰi-la-k ris uṭʰ-i ge-l-ki
   PCL old_man old_woman-PL-DAT anger rise-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
   'And the old man and old woman got angry.'

Morphologically therefore, though there are some similarities between the absolutive and the conjunctive participle, there are also restrictions which warrant a distinction between the two morphemes. Firstly, the conjunctive participle is never marked as -i on consonant-final verb stems. Secondly, the absolutive is only marked as -ie when the auxiliary is fronted; and never otherwise. This second restriction applies to the northern dialects of Jhāpā (Ghailādubba and Lakhārigaddi).

Conversely, the dialect in south-western Jhāpā (Korobāri) has both allomorphs (-इ -i 'ABS' and -इए -ie 'ABS'), even for the default construction (391a-c). This then raises the question as to whether the absolutive and the conjunctive participle are separate categories at all.
I retain the distinction, however, for two reasons. Firstly, the contrast is almost exclusively intact in the northern region (391d-e). Secondly, even in the Korobāri dialect, stress-placement indicates the contrast: stress falls on the first syllable of the main verb. Therefore if the conjunctive participle suffix is being used, stress falls on the first syllable of the inflected verb (391c), whereas if the absolutive is being used, stress falls on the first syllable of the non-finite verb (391b). (Stress is marked with the diacritic ‘ in the following examples.)

(391) a. 'ठुकै दिले (Korobāri)
   \( t^b \)uk-i di-l-\( i \)
   hit-ABS AUX-PST-3

b. 'ठुकिए दिले (Korobāri)
   \( t^b \)uk-ie di-l-\( i \)
   hit-ABS AUX-PST-3

c. ‘ठुकिए दिले (Korobāri)
   \( t^b \)uk-ie ‘di-l-\( i \)
   hit-CONJ.PTCL 'give-PST-3

d. ‘ठुकी दिले (Ghailādūbbā and Lakharigaddi)
   \( t^b \)uk-i di-l-\( i \)
   hit-ABS AUX-PST-3

e. ‘ठुकिए दिले (Ghailādūbbā and Lakharigaddi)
   \( t^b \)uk-ie ‘di-l-\( i \)
   hit-CONJ.PTCL 'give-PST-3

In addition to these morphological differences, the absolutive and the conjunctive participle have also been considered distinct categories on semantic grounds. The absolutive does not imply a chronological sequence as does the conjunctive participle (cf. also Masica 1991:326). Consider, for example, the difference between the meaning rendered by the conjunctive participle in (392a) and the absolutive in (392b). In (392a) the final verb is the main verb, in (392b) the final verb is a benefactive auxiliary. In (393a-b), both the absolutive and the conjunctive participle are marked with the morpheme -\( e \)- due to the stem-final vowel, and therefore the verb construction खाए गेले \( k^b \)a-e ge-l-\( i \) has two meanings which are identified from prosody.

(392) a. उहाँ चित्रित लिखि (लेखि तये) दिले।
   uhā cīt\( h \)-i-k\( h \)an lek\( h \)-ie (tek\( h \)-ie t\( x \)ne) ‘di-l-\( i \)
   3sg[pro] letter-NCLS write-CONJ.PTCL ((echo)write-CONJ.PTCL then) 'gave-PST-3
   'He wrote the letter and then gave it (to me).’
b. उहाँ चित्रित कर 'लेख दिले।
uhā citṝh-i-kʰan 'lek-i di-l-i
3sg[pro] letter-NCLS 'write-ABS AUX-PST-3
'He wrote the letter.' (that is, 'He (completed) writing the letter.')

(393) a. उहाँ भात तात खाए गेले।
uhā bʰat tat kʰa-e 'ge-l-i
'He ate the rice and all (and then) he left.'

A word break has been maintained between the main verb and the auxiliary, indicating that the auxiliary is not (yet) to be considered an inflectional affix of the main verb. That decision is based on three factors. Firstly, as explicated above, the auxiliary may be fronted independently of the absolutive (390a). Secondly, the (word-final) conjunctive clitic can occur between the absolutive and the auxiliary (394a). Thirdly, in some (very) emphatic structures the negative can occur between the absolutive and the auxiliary (394b). (Generally, however, the negative triggers deletion of the auxiliary and causes the main verb to be marked with past habitual morphology.)

(394) a. लोकट मरिज जाबा पारे। (cf. DLR.05.049)
lok-tʌ mʌr-i=ʌ ja-ba par-e
man-NCLS die-ABS=CNJ AUX-INF can-PRES3
'The man could even die.'

b. Accusation:
तोर गाएड मौर महम्मा खाए गेले।
to-r gae-dʌ mo-r gaham-kʰan kʰa-e ge-l-i
2sg[obl]-GEN cow-NCLS 1sg[obl]-GEN wheat-NCLS eat-ABS AUX-PST-3
'Your cow ate up my wheat.'

Response:
महम्मा खाने जाए ने, धानला ते खाए नि सेल्नुकः?
gaham-kʰan kʰa-l-ku ne dʰan-la te kʰa-e ni ge-l-ku
wheat-NCLS eat-PST-SA2 PCL rice-PL PCL eat-ABS NEG AUX-PST-SA2
'Yes, it ate your wheat, but did it eat your rice?' (Implying, 'Well, at least it didn't eat your rice!')
3.7.10.3 Conjunctive participle

The conjunctive participle in Rājbanshi is similar to that found in other Indo-Aryan languages. Masica (1991:323) explains:

"In the function of a Perfective Adverbial Participle (= 'having...-ed'), we have what is usually called the Conjunctive Participle (also variously the Past or Past Active Participle, or the Absolutive Participle), no doubt the most important NIA non-finite form... Its usual form is -i (O., A. -i). B. has -e, G. -i(ne), S. -īči, M. -ūn, K. -ith, Si. -īlā (Literary -ā/-ē/-i), but in H. and P., which use the extensions kar, -ke, one form (the "short" form) of the Conjunctive Participle, having lost the -i, coincides with the verb stem. In Nepali the Absolutive in -i is distinct from the Conjunctive Participle in -era, -i, -ikanana."

The term "conjunctive participle" has been used here following a long tradition in Indo-Aryan linguistics which, as noted by Masica (1976:109), stems from Grierson. The conjunctive participle is formed by the suffix -ie 'CONJ.PTCL'. The -ie morpheme has the allomorph -e which is used after stem-final vowels. Northern Jhāpā dialects (Lakharigaddi and Ghailādubba) have the optional form -ie (possibly originating from -ie tane 'CONJ.PTCL then'), and also -ene after stem-final vowels. The Rangeli (Morang) dialect uses the form -(i)ena (395c), whereas the Dādar Bairiā (Morang) dialect uses the form -(e)ke (395d).70

(395) a. आिसए ie(ne)'come-CONJ.PTCL' (Lakharigaddi, Ghailādubba, Korobāri)  
    b. खाए kʰa-e(ne)'eat-CONJ.PTCL' (Lakharigaddi, Ghailādubba, Korobāri)  
    c. आिसएना as-iena 'come-CONJ.PTCL' (Rangeli)  
    d. आसेके as-eke 'come-CONJ.PTCL' (Dādar Bairiā)

In the Korobāri dialect the conjunctive has the emphatic form -(i)jih -i(ih)jn 'CONJ.PTCL[EMPH]'. Whether other dialects also contain this feature is currently unknown.

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70 Toulmin (2006:220-223) maintains that in the Rangeli ("RL" / Morang) and Mahespur ("MH" / Jhāpā) dialects there are three "perfective morphemes":

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>In adverbial clauses</th>
<th>In compound verbs</th>
<th>In simple verb formations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RL  -[e] = kʰuna</td>
<td>-(j)e</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MH  -[j]e = ne</td>
<td>-(j)e</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to my own analysis, the form -iene is as a variant form of -ie 'CONJ.PTCL'. Therefore, the marker used in derivational compound verbs is the same conjunctive participle which features in adverbial clauses (cf. section 3.7.9.2.1). Conversely, the absolutive -i which occurs in conjunction with quasi-aspectual auxiliaries contrasts with this (cf. sections 3.7.9.2.2 and 3.7.10.2). Whether the morpheme -i (Toulmin's third morpheme above) can be separated from tense marking in the perfect or past continuous/remote past is considered further in section 3.7.7.
The conjunctive participle has several meanings. These are admittedly oftentimes interrelated and therefore some distinctions may be difficult to support. The participle generally indicates a sequence of actions, that is, the termination (or commencement) of the conjunctive participle prior to the main verb. Therefore, the action of the verb 'go' in example (397) is prior to the action of the main verb 'cry'.

The use of the conjunctive participle in (397) and (396a-b) would seem to indicate that it has an aspectual (that is, perfective) function. Comrie (1993 [1985]:28), for example, questions whether the sequential property found in many languages is not aspectual after all.

"Grammars of many languages claim that the language in question has a special form for indicating situations that occur in sequence, or for distinguishing sequences from simultaneously occurring situations. However, in nearly every case it is impossible to tell from the limited range of examples given whether the interpretation of sequentiality is indeed part of the meaning of the form in question, or whether this is just an implicature following from a basically aspectual distinction."

However, the data as a whole suggests that the conjunctive participle in Rājbanshi should not be considered to be primarily perfective. Some uses of the participle, as mentioned below, and also above in section 3.7.7.3, would suggest that perfectivity is actually implied by sequence and not vice versa. This analysis would then leave room for cases where the conjunctive participle has also non-aspectual implications. For example, the conjunctive participle can indicate instrument (398a-b) or manner (398c-d). Note that all of these examples indicate (partially) simultaneous actions, and this rules out a perfective rendering.
3.7.10 Non-finite forms

(398) a. क्षणराज गौ सिम्बाड़ खिलाक खिलाक खिलाक (MR.02.028)

feeding_trough-NCLS-LOC grass put-CONJ.PTCL bullock water_buffalo-PL-DAT
feed-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
'The cattle are fed by putting grass or straw in to the feeding trough.'

b. हैन्सेन गाय धुर्दुर्गीत धूर्दुर्गीत

has-ie pagʌ (ha-c-it), dʰudi cʰagʌ
laugh-CONJ.PTCL madman (be-PRES-2sg), female_goat goat
Literally: 'You are becoming a) mad man (by) laughing. (You are like a) female goat.'
Idiomatic: 'You surrendered (because you are guilty like a miserable animal).'

c. गुल चबुना मुहिमिए सेहाँत

mui cʰʌkʰu-la mujʰ-ie bera-c-u
1sg[pro] eyes-PL close-CONJ.PTCL walk-PRES-1sg
'I walk / am walking with my eyes closed.'

d. जेहेने बाघड़ निकिला निकिला निकिला... (cf. MR.05.031)

jehene bagʰ-dʌ tʰipɾ-ie-ne ja-c-ki sor-tʌ-ɾ pʌɾ
when tiger-NCLS jump-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-SA3 pig-NCLS-GEN on_top
'When the tiger jumped (lit. went by jumping) on to the boar...'

Moreover, the conjunctive participle can denote cause (cf. section 7.4.2.3.6 for further discussion on the use of the conjunctive participle).

(399) a. मूट नि परिक्षित आजी दुक पाएने (cf. DLR.05.050)

mui ni pʌɾʰ-ie ajʰi duk pa-ɾ-ie
1sg[pro] NEG read-CONJ.PTCL today trouble receive-PRES-1sg
'Because I didn't study, I am having problems today.'

b. विया लोकट मर्यादांतू अभमोक करिए? (cf. DLR.05.050)

kiã lok-ɾa mar-b-ɾ apsos kar-ie
why man-NCLS die-FUT-3 grief do-CONJ.PTCL
'Why should the man die due to / because of grief?'

c. त अन्तिममे लोकट उठ पाएने ... मनष्ण सुना गुर्णि ह्रासिक (cf. DLR.05.060)

tʰʌ ai-din se lok-tʌ u-da pa-ɾ-e
PCL DEM[rem/emph]-day ABL man-NCLS DEM[rem]-NCLS get-CONJ.PTCL
man-ɾa suṇa kʰusi ha-l-ki
mind-NCLS PCL happy(Nepali) be-PST-SA3
'Since that day, the man having got that (shell back), (his) mind became happy.'
The participle can also have aspectual implications in some cases. When followed by the छ- cʰ- copula, the conjunctive participle can imply a state which is due to a temporal sequence, as in (400a) below: 'sitting' means 'being in a state of having sat down'. With verbs with a telic sense the conjunctive participle is used in a kind of periphrastic perfect (400b; cf also section 3.7.7.3). This does not apply in all cases as the imperfective in (400c) demonstrates.

(400) a. गरु गरी-क्षेत्रत एक-षा राजिष्नि बेछति ए.... (cf. MR.02.002)
    garu gari-kʰan-t ek-ṭa rajbaṃsi berebʰani bafʰ-ie cʰ-e
    bullock cart-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS Rājbanshi woman sit-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3
    'There is a Rājbanshi woman sitting on the bullock cart...'

b. आनयिए छौ।
    as-ie cʰ-e
    come-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3
    'He (is) here.' / 'He has come.' (Lit. 'Having come, he is here.')</n
c. आर एक-षा बेछिए छौ। (cf. DLR.01.003)
    ar ek-ṭa baca cʰua dekʰ-ie cʰ-e
    and one-NCLS small child look-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3
    'And a child is ... watching.'

Finally, there are numerous lexicalised items which originate from conjunctive participial constructions. These include the following:

(401) a. मिलिए - mil-iene 'together' (lit. 'unite-CONJ.PTCL')

b. करे kare 'ADVL' (probably from कर-ie 'do-CONJ.PTCL')

c. सह-िें kʰa-e(ne) 'CMPL' (lit. 'say-CONJ.PTCL')

d. घु-िें gʰur-ie 'again' (lit. 'turn_around-CONJ.PTCL')

3.7.10.4 Continuous participle

The continuous participle -ते -te 'CONT.PTCL' denotes simultaneous (or, overlapping) continuous action (402a-c), and it is often reduplicated (402b-c). (See section 3.2.4 on verb reduplication, and section 7.4.2.1.4 for discussion on the use of the continuous participle to mark object complements.)

(402) a. भेटियाला एक-षा भागि दिसा नि पाचे। (MR.04.201)
    kʰetia-la ekdʌm bʰag-te disi ni pa-c-e
    jackal-PL very escape-CONT.PTCL direction NEG get-PRES-3
    'While really fleeing the jackals didn't find the direction.' (i.e. 'The jackals fled in confusion.')
3.7.10 Non-finite forms

b. ...गटलाए भु-भुते भु-भुते खेलाक गिटाए लिखा। (cf. MR.04.199)
रह-रक-टे रह-रक-टे रहार-रक-टे।
...all-PL = EMPH bark-CONT.PTCL bark-CONT.PTCL jackal-PL-DAT chase-ABS AUX-PERF-3
'They all chased the jackals while barking and barking.'

c. एनेङे कत... (cf. DLR.05.049)
एनेङे फर-फर-फर फर-फर-फर कता।
like_this = EMPH do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL
'While continuing like this...' 

Secondly, the continuous participle is often found in conjunction with the auxiliary रह-rah(a)-'AUX(CONT)' in which case it denotes continuous aspect.

(403) a. समय समयत आते रहिता। (cf. DLR.03.010)
समान समान-त as-रह-रहिता
time time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg
'Keep visiting once in a while.' (Lit. 'keep coming')

b. त बुराड माने जुवाँर घर जाते रहे। (DLR.04.004)
त-बुराड-माने j̥uva-r-घर ja-te
PCL old_man-NCLS PCL son_in_law-GEN house go-CONT-PTCL
rah-e
AUX(CONT)-PST.HAB3
'And the old man used to keep coming to the son-in-law's house.'

Similarly, verbs can be marked with the continuous participle and then be followed by the copula.

Table 49. Continuous participle

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>present continuous</th>
<th>past continuous</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES1sg'</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES2sg'</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES3'</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES1pl'</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES2pl'</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-2pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES3'</td>
<td>ठु-ठ-ठे ठु-ठ-ठे-ठे 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Initially this would appear to function as a continuous aspect. In the Jhāpā dialects this construction is generally considered a loan. It is reported to be frequently used in the more westerly dialects (especially in Morang), but unfortunately this claim can not be supported by the data at hand.

3.7.10.5 Past participle

The past participle is -आल -'PST.PTCL', and has a variant -आ -'PST.PTCL'. The past participle can function as an noun modifying clause (cf. section 7.4.2.2).

As mentioned in section 3.5.2, the past participle and the adjectiviser (or, deverbaliser) -आ -'ADJR (or, DVBL)' must be considered, on morphological and semantic grounds, to be separate categories. The distinction between (404a) and (404b-c) is twofold. Firstly, in (404b-c) both past participle variants are permitted. Conversely, in (404a) only the form -आ - is acceptable, and this alone indicates a distinction between the two categories. In addition, in (404a) there is no aspectual connotation in the suffix -आ , while perfectivity in the suffix -आ(ल) -a(l) in (404b-c) is self-evident.

(404) a. माॅटिया खुँड
maṭi-a b̄ui
soil-ADJR ground
'soily ground'

    b. सरा(ल) आलुला
sʌr-a(l) alu-la
rot-PST.PTCL potatoes-PL
'rotten potatoes'

    c. उन्ना(ल) उन्ना(ल) कचुला (cf. MR.04.026, MR.04.042)
usn-a(l) usn-a(l) kʌcu-la
boil-PST.PTCL boil-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL
'boiled [kacu]vegetables'

The distinction between the deverbaliser -आ - and the past participle -आ(ल) -a(l), in conjunction with the passive, is more complicated. Initially, based on informants' judgement of grammaticality, it appeared that the suffix -आ - in the analytic passive construction is not the past participle but the deverbaliser -आ -'DVBL'. This observation

71 Nepali, for example, has a similar construction:

(xxii) आउँद छू aū-dɔi ê-u 'come-CONT.PTCL be-PRES1sg' (i.e. 'I am coming')
was based on the fact that the variant morpheme for the past participle -आल -al was not found to be grammatical in the passive construction.

(405) *देखाल जाछे
  *dekʰ-al ja-čʰ-e
  *see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

At a later stage informants accepted the use of the second past participle variant in the passive as being grammatical. Since one example of this was also encountered in the text data (406), I conclude that the suffix used with the analytic passive is indeed the past participle, not the deverbaliser.

(406) याहाँर कोए उपाए निक्लाल जाबे नि्? (cf. DLR.06.039)
  yaha-r koe upae nikl-al ja-b-ɪ ni
  DEM[pro/prox]-GEN some way go_out-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3 NEG
  'Isn't there a way (out of this dilemma)'

There are, however, other restrictions in the use of the past participle variants. Firstly, the variant -आल -al cannot be used with the reduplicated participles in (407a); whether this is due to lexicalisation of पऱा िलखा pʌrʰ-a likʰ-a 'read-PST.PTCL write-PST.PTCL' is unclear. The necessity to closely distinguish between the uses of the -आ -a suffix is evident when considering example (407b), where the identically looking suffix is found as a deverbaliser.

(407) a. पऱा िलखा लोक
  parʰ-a likʰ-a lok
  read-PST.PTCL write-PST.PTCL man
  'an educated person'

  b. खिस काटा तेरुएल
  kʰʌsi kaṭ-a terual
  goat cut-DVBL machete
  'a machete used for slaughtering goats'

Secondly, only the past participle variant -आल -al 'PST.PTCL' is permitted in conjunction with the statal passive (cf. section 7.5.1.2). The following examples indicate that the perfective aspect has effect on the statal passive: the state implied by the passive has been brought about by a prior completion of the action.

(408) a. उला, खामाला (त), माटि डे लेपाल छेल। (MR.03.005)
  u-la kʰama-la(-t) maṭi de lep-al cʰ-e
  DEM[rem]-PL pillar-PL(-LOC) soil INSTR plaster-PST.PTCL be-PRES3
  'Those pillars are plastered with soil.'
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b. बालखान कस्ते पात्र छाँआल छे। (MR.01.008)
cal-kʰan kʌnek mʌrʌ cʰa(r)-al cʰ-e
roof-NCLS a_little only(Nepali) thatch-PST.PTCL be-PRES3
'The roof has only been thatched a little.'

3.7.10.6 Conditional participle

The conditional participle is formed by attaching the suffix -ले 'COND.PTCL' to the verb stem. Note that the morpheme contrasts with past tense 3p marking -लेलि [lt] 'PST-3', even though the orthographic representation is the same.

(409) a. ते हेनढ हुले... (cf. GR.01.022)
te hɛʌŋ hʌ-le
PCL like_this be-COND.PTCL
'Well, if that is so...'

b. आजा खाले इट बुटिक माजा नि आसबे। (cf. MR.04.114)
alʰa kʰa-le i-ʌʌ burʰi-k maja ni as-b-i
now eat-COND.PTCL DEM[prox]-NCLS old_woman-DAT taste NEG come-FUT-3
'If we eat this old woman now, no, there won't be any taste.'

3.7.10.7 Intentional participle (loan)

Though the construction -ने बाना -ने wala 'NML CL' is a loan from Hindi or Nepali, it is found to be in frequent use in contemporary Rājbanshi. In this respect note Masica (1991:323):

"In most languages, except apparently the Eastern group, there is also a regular secondary nominal formation (usually the Oblique Infinitive) of Agentive Adjective > Noun: H. -vālā ...
This also functions as a 'Prospective Participle' ('about to V')..."

Firstly, the construction has a nominalising function (cf. section 3.5.1).

(410) a. मोर निसाफ कने बाजा तुइ कहानए?
mo-r nisʌpʰ kar-ne wala tui kahae
1sg[obl]-GEN judgement do-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) 2sg[pro] who
'Who are you to judge me?'

b. तोक छाने बाजा नि छु मुइ। (cf. GR.01.022)
to-k cʰʌn-ne wala ni cʰ-u mui
2sg[obl]-DAT spare-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) NEG be-PRES1sg 1sg[pro]
'I am not the one to spare you.'
Secondly, in some contexts it has a future connotation; thus (411a) implies the same as (410b). It also denotes prospective aspect (411b).

(411) a. आर मुइ तोक छरिम नि। (cf. GR.01.025)
   
   and 1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT spare-FUT1sg NEG
   'And I will not spare you.'

b. मुइ आरने बाला छिन्न।
   
   1sg[pro] come-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) be-PRES1sg
   'I was about to come.'
4. Adjectives

Though there is some overlap between nouns, adverbs, and adjectives, there is significant evidence to suggest that there is a distinct word class of adjectives in the Rājbanshi language. "Adjectives" are referred to here as those words which are primarily adjectives, such as बड़ा bara ‘big’. These words may also function as heads of noun phrases, or in some cases (when marked with the emphatic clitic) even as adverbs.

In addition, there are nouns which, when used in the adjectival position, refer not to an entity but to a property. This set includes words such as बुरा burā 'old_man (noun); old (male; adjective)', and चेङ्ड्रा cendra 'young_man (noun); young (male; adjective)'. These are primarily considered to be nouns which function as adjectives, and are to be distinguished from endocentric (and exocentric) compounds.

In this chapter I will compare the above-mentioned adjectives and noun-like-adjectives, and maintain certain morphological and syntactic criteria which will help to distinguish between them. I will also look at some different semantic categories of adjectives (along the lines suggested by Dixon 2004) which are found in the Rājbanshi language. The two distinct operations which adjectives perform (namely, noun modification (attributive) and copula complementation) will be evaluated and, in conclusion, I will consider the comparative and superlative constructions.

4.1 Adjective categories

Table 50 charts the types of adjectives encountered in the data. I have divided the adjectives into semantic categories following Dixon (2004:3-5). Core semantic types and peripheral semantic types are well represented. This initial enquiry would suggest that adjectives for categories such as difficulty, similarity, qualification, quantification or position draw mainly from loan words.

Table 50. Adjective categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic category</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun-like adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core semantic types</td>
<td>बड़ा / bara ‘large’</td>
<td>बड़ा / bara ‘large’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>छट / cʰʌṭ ‘short’</td>
<td>छट / cʰʌṭ ‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>लाम / lam ‘long’</td>
<td>लाम / lam ‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[बाप्पा bāp ‘small’ (corresponding noun: ‘child’ from Hindi loan बाप्पा / bāp / bāp ‘boy; child; baby’)]</td>
<td>[बाप्पा bāp ‘small’ (corresponding noun: ‘child’ from Hindi loan बाप्पा / bāp / bāp ‘boy; child; baby’)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 50. (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>典范</th>
<th>language</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>नाया</td>
<td>naya 'new'</td>
<td>पुना</td>
<td>purna 'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>आच्छा</td>
<td>acc'a 'good'</td>
<td>बें</td>
<td>benda 'ritually_unclean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धड्डा</td>
<td>et'a 'socially_unclean'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>लाल</td>
<td>lal 'red'</td>
<td>काल</td>
<td>kal 'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खइरा</td>
<td>kʰʌira 'grey'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वाह</td>
<td>sap'h 'white'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peripheral semantic types</td>
<td>पुराट</td>
<td>puraṭ 'hard'</td>
<td>मट</td>
<td>mʌṭ'a 'fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पळ्ळा</td>
<td>patla 'thin'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बट्टा</td>
<td>bʱarṭi 'full'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पन</td>
<td>gʰάर 'dense'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आन्धार</td>
<td>and'ar 'dark'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जानक</td>
<td>jan'hak 'light'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human propensity</td>
<td>अस्ता</td>
<td>ansa 'bored'</td>
<td>आल्सिया</td>
<td>alsia 'lazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जोमन</td>
<td>doman 'uncertain' (originally do mana 'two mind')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>डिल्ला</td>
<td>d'illa 'slow'</td>
<td>कारा</td>
<td>kara 'fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>आसान</td>
<td>asaṇ 'easy'</td>
<td>कठिन</td>
<td>kʰat'in 'difficult[loan]'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुस्किल</td>
<td>muskil 'difficult[loan]'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुबिस्ता</td>
<td>subista 'easy[loan]'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty</td>
<td>मिर</td>
<td>sir 'first'</td>
<td>सेमा</td>
<td>sesa 'last'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पहिला</td>
<td>pʰhila 'first'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पहिला</td>
<td>pʰhila'ia 'first'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अन्तिम(र)</td>
<td>antim(-er) 'last'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noun-like adjectives are mainly found in conjunction with core semantic types of dimension and age. The corresponding noun is almost always human, though exceptions do indeed exist. Consider, for example, the adjective फुस pʰus 'without_value'. The corresponding noun of this adjective is (possibly) 'thatch'.

Also onomatopoeic-like constructions (i.e. "sound symbolism") function frequently as adjectives (cf. section 3.4). Consider the adjective चरफटया cʰrpʰṭʰa'ia [cʰrpʰṭʰ]-ADJR which means 'fast'. Though the construction itself is very common, the forms of each derived adjective vary considerably between speakers and dialects.
4.2 Adjectives versus nouns functioning as adjectives

Rājbanshi has an open set of adjectives, such as सुर 'thin', लाल 'red' and पुर्ण 'old'. In addition to these adjectives a closed set of nouns are used as adjectives. Consider the noun चेङ्रा 'young man (noun); young (adj)' which functions as a noun in (412a) and an adjective denoting 'young' in (412b-c).

(412) a. उड़ चेङ्रा (cf. MR.05.041)
   u-ḍʌ ceŋra
   that-NCLS young_man
   'that young man'

b. चेङ्रा लोकेर चुिल (cf. MR.05.253)
   ceŋra lok-er culi
   young(man) man-GEN hair
   'the hair of a young man'

c. एकटा लोक चेङ्रा छे। (cf. MR.01.002)
   ek-ṭa lok ceŋra cʰ-e
   one-NCLS man young be-PRES3
   'One man is young.'

The same applies for certain feminine nouns.

(413) एकटा बुँि छुिरि
   ek-ṭa burʰi cʰuri
   one-NCLS old girl
   'a girl who is getting on in age (as regards a suitable marital age)'

These differ from copulative, endocentric and exocentric compounds. Endocentric compounds, such as (414a-b), are sequences of two nouns, where the first subclassifies the second in an adjectival manner. The noun आर्ना arana, which by itself can mean a specific type of wild buffalo, is functioning in (414a) as a modifying element of the noun भइस bʰais 'buffalo'. This same observation also applies in the example (414b), where the noun पुवाल pual 'straw' is functioning in an adjective-like manner, subcategorising the noun ढेरि dʰeri 'pile', and resulting in the entity 'straw pile', that is, 'a pile (with a property of) [straw]'.

The exocentric compound in (414c) is similar except that the compound as a whole modifies some other entity; in this case, due to the feminine suffix, a woman or girl.

(414) a. आर्ना बसला (cf. MR.05.119)
   arana bʰais-la
   type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-PL
   'wild buffaloes'
b. पुवाल ढेरड (cf. MR.02.005)
   pual dʰeri-ḍʌ
   straw pile-NCLS
   'straw pile' (or, 'the pile of straw')

c. गोरोल ढेिङ
   gorol tʰen-i
   heron leg-FEM
   'skinny legged (woman)'

The main difference between a noun functioning as an adjective (such as those in Table 50), and a modifying element in an endocentric or exocentric compound, is that the noun of the former type can be used as an adjective copula complement, as in (412c), whereas the modifying noun in the latter type can not, as (415) shows.

(415) *एकटा ढेरड पुवाल छे...
    *ek-ta dʰeri pual cʰ-e...
    *one-NCLS pile straw be-PRES3...
    *'One pile is (of) straw'

4.2.1 Morphological, syntactic and semantic considerations

Three distinct criteria arise in distinguishing adjectives and noun-like-adjectives.

Firstly, there is the matter of noun classifier (or plural) marking. If a word is functioning as an adjective which precedes the head noun, the noun classifier (or plural) is marked on the head noun (cf. section 3.6.2.4.1). Therefore, compare the use of the word बुऱा burʰa 'old_man (noun); old (adj)' in (416a) with that in (416b). In (416a) the word functions as an adjective and does not take the noun classifier. Conversely in (416b) the word functions as the head noun itself and takes the noun classifier.

(416) a. बुऱा लोकट गित गिदाचे।
    burʰa lok-ṭʌ git gida-c-e
    old person(man)-NCLS song sing-PRES-3
    'The old person(man) is singing a song.'

b. बुऱाड गित गिदाचे।
    burʰa-ḍʌ git gida-c-e
    old_man-NCLS song sing-PRES-3
    'The old man is singing a song.'
Secondly, whether a word functions as a noun or adjective is evident from the copula clause. For example, the fact that the word चेङरा ceŋra 'young_man (noun); young (adj)' is used in (417) in an adjectival sense can be seen from the use of the descriptive copula छ- cʰ-, rather than the stative copula ह- hʌ-.

(417) एका लोक चेङरा छे... (cf. MR.01.002)
    ek-ta lok ceŋra cʰ-e...
    one-NCLS man young be-PRES3...
    'One man is young...'

Thirdly, a basic distinction between adjectives and noun-like adjectives is their semantic content. A noun which functions as an adjective will indicate a certain property of an entity, but can also refer to the entity itself when functioning as a noun. Conversely, an adjective can only refer to a property. In cases where adjectives fill the position of the noun phrase head, the adjective still refers to the omitted noun. This is evident from the noun classifier which agrees with the underlying noun. Therefore, the adjective छट cʰʌṭʌ 'short' in example (418a) is used as the noun phrase head, and this is evident from the noun classifier and case marking. The noun classifier -ड -ḍʌ 'NCLS' agrees with the noun लोक lok 'man; person'. Likewise, the noun classifier -खान -kʰʌn 'NCLS' in example (418b) refers to the noun कलम kʌlʌm 'pen'.

(418) a. जाहें बड हुँने छटटक खाए जाए। (cf. GR.01.029)
    jahe bʌrʌ hʌ-c-e cʰʌʈʌ-ḍʌ-k kʰa-e ja-cʰ-e
    who large be-PRES-3 short-NCLS-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PRES-3
    'Whoever is big (i.e. socially), eats up the (socially) small (person)...'

    b. इखान, पुनाखान काम नि लागेचे।
    i-kʰʌn, purna-kʰʌn kam ni lag-ec-e
    DEM[prox]-NCLS old-NCLS work NEG apply-PRES-3
    'This one, the old (one) doesn't work.'

4.3 Functions

Adjectives, and nouns which function as adjectives, have two primary functions. They can function as noun modifiers or as copula complements. In the former case they follow the noun phrase head; in the latter they precede it. Consider, for example, the adjective काच kac 'unripe'. In example (419a) the adjective precedes the noun phrase head it modifies. Conversely, in (419b) the adjective follows the noun phrase head (and hence the whole noun phrase), and functions as a copula complement.
4.3 Functions

(419) a. काचए कचुला (cf. MR.04.009)
kacʌ = e
uncooked = EMPH [kacu]vegetable-PL
'unripe/uncooked [kacu]vegetables'

b. इला कचुला काचए।
i-la kʌcu-la kacʌ = e
DEM[prox]-PL [kacu]vegetable-PL unripe = EMPH
'These [kacu]vegetables (are) unripe/uncooked.'

Example (419b) looks very much like an intransitive predicate clause where the adjective काच kac 'unripe' is functioning as the predicate. However, the copula predicate is merely deleted (as an optional element), and hence I have analysed the adjective as a copula complement in a (reduced) copula clause. The full form of the sentence would have been:

(420) इला कचुला काचए छे।
i-la kʌcu-la kacʌ = e cʰ-e
DEM[prox]-PL [kacu]vegetable-PL unripe = EMPH be-PRES3
'These [kacu]vegetables are unripe/uncooked.'

Likewise, nouns functioning as adjectives function as noun modifiers (421a) or copula complements (421b-c).

(421) a. एकटा बुऱा लोक (cf. DLR.01.002)
ek-ta burʰa lok
one-NCLS old man
'an old man'

b. एकटा लोक बुऱा छे। (cf. MR.01.002)
ek-ta lok burʰa cʰ-e...
one-NCLS man old man be-PRES3...
'One man is old.'

c. इड हति बुऱा छे।
i-ḍʌ hʌtti burʰa cʰ-e
DEM[prox]-NCLS elephant old be-PRES3
'This elephant is old.'

When marked with the emphatic clitic -ए =e ' = EMPH' some adjectives, such as आच्छा accʰa, may function either as an adjective (422a; 'good') or an adverb (422b; 'well'). Whether this is due to a possible distinction between the emphatic and an adverbialiser is uncertain (cf. section 3.6.4.1.5).
4. Adjectives

(422) a. केंति आच्छाए न छकननौ! (cf. MR.04.166)
   kenti accʰa = e ni cʰ-a-kən
   how good = EMPH NEG be-PRES-SA2pl
   'It is really no good (for you)!'

   b. आच्छाए देखा जाछे। (cf. DLR.03.004)
   accʰa = e dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
   good = EMPH/ADVL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
   '(It) can be seen well.'

The following table presents the use of adjectives and adjective-like modifiers.

Table 51. Use of adjectives and adjective-like modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बड़ा bāḍa ‘big; (a) big (one)’</td>
<td>✓ (GR.01.029)</td>
<td>✓ (MR.04.075)</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आच्छादी accʰa ‘good; (a) good (one)’</td>
<td>✓ (DLR.04.006)</td>
<td>✓ (MR.05.194)</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आच्छादी acceʰa = e ‘good = EMPH/-ADVL’; ‘well’</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓ (MR.04.166)</td>
<td>✓ (DLR.03.004)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun-like adjectives</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बुरा burʰa ‘old man; old’</td>
<td>✓ (MR.04.075)</td>
<td>✓ (DLR.01.002)</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुरिर burʰi ‘old woman’</td>
<td>✓ (MR.04.075)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाचा baca ‘child; small’ (loan from Hindi बाचा / बाच्चा / बाच्छ )</td>
<td>✓ (GR.01.006)</td>
<td>✓ (DLR.04.008)</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun compounds</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Copulative compound</td>
<td>first element</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second element</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compound as a whole</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endocentric compound</td>
<td>first element (property)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second element</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compound as a whole</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exocentric compound (bahuvrihi)</td>
<td>first element</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second element</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compound as a whole</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Comparative and superlative

With a lack of comparative inflection, the comparative and the superlative constructions in Rājbanshi do not differ from the common Indo-Aryan model. The subject of the clause precedes the standard, which is in turn marked with the ablative case clitic से 'ABL'. The quality follows the marker. The use of the copula is optional.

(423) इड कलम उड कलम से मंट (छे)।

[i-da klaṁ] [u-da klaṁ] [DEM[prox]-NCLS pen] [SUBJECT] [DEM[rem]-NCLS pen] [STANDARD] se mā (e-h-e) ABL [MARKER] thick [QUALITY] (be-PRES3) 'This pen is thicker than that pen.'

Though the position of the subject can be affected by displacement, the order of the standard, marker and quality remains rigid. In the topicalised construction (424a), the conjunction and the subject occur between the marker and the quality. In the default structure, presented in (424b), the subject occurs in clause-initial position. In both of these examples the order of the standard, marker and quality is the same.

(424) a. ...मोर से जडी याहाँ अनन्ति सुन्दर लोक देखे... (cf. DLR.06.065)

...mo-r se jādi yaha ...

[1sg[obl]-GEN] [STANDARD] ABL [MARKER] if DEM[pro/prox] [SUBJECT] [ānāti sundar lok] dek-h-e...

[like_that beautiful man] [QUALITY] see-SUBJ3...

'...if she sees a more handsome man than me...'

b. जडी याहाँ मोर से अनन्ति सुन्दर लोक देखे...

jādi yaha ...mo-r se

if DEM[pro/prox] [SUBJECT] 1sg[obl]-GEN [STANDARD] ABL [MARKER] [ānāti sundar lok] dek-h-e...

[like_that beautiful man] [QUALITY] see-SUBJ3...

'...if she sees a more handsome man than me...'

In a similar fashion, the superlative is constructed by placing the quantifier सबहौँ r = e 'all-GEN=EMPH' (425a), or Hindi सब 'all' (425b), in the standard position. Again, regardless of displacement in (425b), the order of the standard, the marker and the quality remains the same.
The comparative is used in the adverbial constructions कम से कम kam se kam 'less ABL less' (i.e. 'at least') in (426a), and आधारि se besi 'half ABL more' (i.e. 'more than half') in (426b).^72

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^72 Abbi (2001:170) notes the same construction in Hindi: "Discontinuous reduplication is used to refer to extremities. Hindi kam 'a little' but kam se kam 'minimum'; ..."
5. Adverbs

In this chapter I will discuss two adverbialisers, and mention some of the temporal and locational adverbs and adverbs of manner, degree and quantity encountered during this research. A preliminary list of pronominal adverbs will also be presented.

5.1 Adverbialisers

The ablative case clitic से se 'ABL' and the word करे kʌre 'ADVL' were found to function as adverbialisers. (The use of the suffix -ए -e as a possible adverbialiser has been mentioned in sections 3.2.1, 3.6.4.1.5 and 6.1.2 and therefore will not be reiterated here.)

The ablative case marker से se 'ABL' follows the adjective (427a) or noun (427b) which is to be adverbialised.

(427) a. ...आन्ना से खाना खिल। (cf. DLR.04.003)
    ...accʰa se kʰa-ba dʰʌr-il
    ...good ABL eat-INF begin-PST3
    '..began to eat well.'

b. ताहाबाद तुइ मुइ आराम से बठए खाम। (cf. DLR.04.016)
    taharBad tui mui aram se bʰʌṭʰ-ie kʰa-m-ʌ
    after that 2sg[pro] 1sg[pro] rest ABL sit-CONJ.PTCL eat-FUT-1pl
    'After that you and I will sit in peace and eat.'

The adverbialiser करे kʌre 'ADVL' possibly originates from the conjunctive participle of the verb कर- kʌr- 'do' (कर-ए kʌr-ie 'do-CONJ.PTCL' > करे kʌre 'ADVL').

The adverbialiser modifies a range of different phrases, and in most cases denotes manner (428a-b). Compare the nonspecific कला-त 'hip-LOC' in conjunction with the adverbialiser in (428b), with the specific definite कलाडत kala-ḍʌ-t 'hip-NCLS-LOC' in (428c). The secondary agreement on the verb cross-references the implicit possessor तोर to-r '2sg[obl]-GEN'.

(428) a. होकोर दोकोर करे (cf. MR.05.054)
    hokor_dokor kʌre
    in_a_hurry ADVL
    'hurriedly; in a hurried manner'
b. एक छुवाक कला त करे आनेिचत?

एट्रा ए्‌ङ्ग्ला-कोला-ट अन-एक-इट
so_big child-DAT hip-LOC ADVL bring-PRES-2sg
'Are you bringing such a big child (in an) "on hip" (manner)?'

c. एक छुवाक कलाडत आनेिचकु?

एट्रा ए्‌ङ्ग्ला-कोला-ड-ट अन-एक-कु
so_big child-DAT hip-NCLS-LOC bring-PRES-SA2sg
'Are you bringing such a big child on (your) hip?'

Secondly, the adverbialiser is used in conjunction with certain pronominal adverbs. For example, the pronominal adverb केनङ 'what_kind' takes on the sense of 'in_what_manner' when modified by the adverbialiser in (429).

(429) केनङ करे केनङ kare 'like_what ADVL' ('in what manner?'; cf. DLR.06.049)

Thirdly, the adverbialiser is used to mark the imitated sound in onomatopoeic structures (cf. section 3.4).

(430) डिप डिप करे माच एकदम। (cf. MR.04.075)

डिप sound [ङ्ग्ला-डिप] sound ADVL beat-PRES-3 really
'...really beat (them) with a [ङ्ग्ला-डिप]-sound.'

Fourthly, when used with a temporal adverb, the sense 'during' is implied. In this context it functions as a postposition, and is interchangeable with the postposition गुरु 'during' (cf. section 3.6.4.2.5).

(431) रात करे (or, गुरु) (cf. DLR.06.047)

रात kare (or, g'uri)
night ADVL (or, during)
'during the night'

Finally, the adverbialiser seems to function as a clausal complementiser in बाउ करे bau kare 'father CMPL' in (432).

(432) मोक बाउ करे कोहो न, एक टाका दिम्कुन।

मोक kare कोहो-ड तात, अक टाका di-m-ku-n
1sg[obl]-DAT father CMPL say-IMP2sg PCL(then) one coin give-FUT-SA2sg-1sg
'Call me father, (and) I will give you one coin.'
5.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs include the following.

(433) आज़ि ajʰi 'today'
आज़ि मुइ एिझवान मुई गुने हारानु (DLR.05.043)
ajʰi mui ei-kʰan mukʰ-er gun-e
today 1sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS mouth-GEN quality-INST/EMPH
har-a-n-u
lose-CAUS-PST-1sg
'I lost (it) today because of the quality of this very mouth.'

(434) कािल kalʰi 'yesterday; tomorrow'
कािल मैं तुइ टिक हड़ जा (cf. GR.02.075)
kalʰi se tui ṭʰik hʌ-i ja-∅
tomorrow ABL 2sg[pro] alright be-ABS AUX-IMP2SG
'From tomorrow (onwards) become well.'

(435) आखरित akʰri-t 'end-LOC'
आखरित मैं आज़ि मरिम रे (cf. MR.04.187)
akʰri-t mui ajʰi mar-im re
end-LOC 1sg[pro] today die-FUT1sg PCL
'In the end I will certainly die today.'

(436) आला alʰa 'now'
आला मैं जाँच बेटीर घर (MR.04.102)
alʰa mui ja-cʰ-u beṭi-r gʰAr
now 1sg[pro] go-PRES-1sg daughter-GEN house
'Now I am going to (my) daughter's house.'

(437) आप ap 'now' (cf. section 6.1.3)
आप तोक खामा (cf. MR.04.154)
ap to-k kʰa-m-ʌ
now 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl
'Now we will eat you.'

(438) सद्ध ae 'always'
सद्ध मैं मद्र जिन्दगी मरिंग रहि जावे (DLR.06.052)
sadʰae mo-r jindaɣi-dʌ garib tah-i ja-b-ʌ
always 1sg[obl]-GEN life(Hindi)-NCLS poor remain-ABS AUX-FUT-3
'My life will always remain poor.'
5. Adverbs

(439) कोधोए (नि) kodʰoe (ni) 'never'
  कोधोए नि उहाँ काम कर-बा-र। (GR.02.052)
  never NEG 3sg[pro] work do-INF-GEN
  'He (has) never (been a) working (horse).'

(440) ताहारबाद taharbad 'after that'
  ताहारबाद बुँम। (MR.04.018)
  after_that plant-FUT-1pl
  'After that we will plant (them).'

(441) पुरिए gʰurie 'again' (from पुरिए(ले) gʰur-ie(ne) 'turn_around-CONJ.PTCL'; see also examples DLR.04.015; DLR.04.033)
  आर नि काटेचु, ते याहूँ सङे पुरिए साधूँ जन कामा रहूँ जाम। (cf. DLR.06.051)
  yaha-r sāne gʰurie sadʰae jan kama rah-a-e ja-m
  DEM[pro/prox]-GEN with again always labour earner remain-ABS AUX-FUT1sg
  'I will (again) always remain a labourer with him.'

(442) तौं tane 'then' (cf. also sections 6.1.3 and 7.4.2.4)
  तौं अमिमा। (MR.04.109)
  tane as-im
  PCL come-FUT1sg
  'Then I will come.'

Other temporal adverbs include:

(443) a. दिन din 'day' (cf. DLR.04.012)
  b. रात rat (cf. DLR.06.047), or राति rati 'night' (cf. MR.04.025)
  c. बाहान bahan 'morning' (cf. MR.05.104)
  d. सान्या sanja 'early evening' (cf. MR.05.026)
  e. हाप्ता hapta 'week' (cf. MR.05.127)
  f. महिना mahina 'month' (cf. GR.01.021)
  g. बाबध्र bābdhra 'year' (cf. MR.05.189)
  h. साखा cāti 'moment' (cf. DLR.06.056)
  i. बाजे bāje 'o'clock' (cf. MR.05.086)
  j. समय sāmae 'time' (cf. DLR.03.010)
  k. भरखर bārkʰar 'just recently' (cf. GR.01.021)

The adverb आर ar 'more' has several meanings. In (444a) it is used in the sense 'longer time'; in (444b), in the sense 'longer distance'; in (444c) it is used to mean 'one more (entity)'; in (444d) it means 'again'; and in (444e), in conjunction with the adverb सान्या sal
'year', it denotes 'previous'. In some dialects it is frequently used with the conjunctive clitic आरह ar=ha 'more = CNJ; (even) more' (444b-d).

(444) a. बेमारि त आर नि छे। (GR.02.081)
   | bemari ta ar ni cʰ-e
   | ill PCL more NEG be-PRES3
   'He is no longer ill.'

b. कनेक आरह, चल ना हुदर, हुदर, हुदर। (MR.04.147)
   | kanek ar=ha ca-l-a na hudar hudar hudar
   | a little more=CNJ go-IMP2pl PCL over_there over_there over_there
   'Go a little further over there (please), over there, over there.'

c. आरह एकटा लागाए दे मे।
   | ar=ha ek-ta laga-e de-∅ ge
   | more=CNJ one-NCLS add-CONJ.PTCL give-IMP2sg VOC[fem]
   'Add one more, please (to girl/woman).'

d. आरह आसिग।
   | ar=ha as-is
   | more=CNJ come-SUBJ2sg
   'Come again (later).'

e. आरसाल ar-sal 'last-year' (cf. GR.01.018)

In addition to these, the adverb is used as a copulative conjunction (cf. section 6.2.1), and a type of rhetorical particle (445).

(445) एनङ करे काचु बुि भुि आरह? (MR.04.007)
   | enʌŋ kare kacu bun-ec-e arhʌ
   | like_this ADVL [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-3 more
   'So, [kacu]vegetables are planted like this too?'

Finally, the unruly word जे je. I first regarded this as a counter-expectancy/progressive particle, but decided to include it with the temporal adverbs due to its meaning 'still'. (The word needs to be distinguished from the relative pronoun and the particle of confirmation. Refer to sections 3.6.3.7 and 6.1.7 respectively.)

Structurally it precedes the inflected and reduplicated main verb. Thus, in example (446a-b) the particle precedes the reduplicated main verb कर- kʌr- 'do-'. In example (446c) the nominal element आसा जाड as-a ja-i 'come-DVBL go-DVBL' ('coming and going') is inserted between the adverb and the reduplicated verbaliser. The construction seems to
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have two senses: firstly it indicates the progressive aspect (in the sense of 'still doing', or 'doing and doing') as in (446a), and secondly counter-expectance as in (446b-c). Its use is restricted to when the verb is marked with the present tense.

(446) a. कामला जे करेचु ताहु नि सकेचे।
    kam-la je kar-ec-u kar-ec-u tahu ni sak-ec-e
    work-PL still do-PRES-1sg do-PRES-1sg nevertheless NEG finish-PRES-3
    'I keep on working but nevertheless it (the work) never ends.'

b. कामला जे करिस करिस।
    kam-la je kar-c-is kar-c-is
    work-PL PCL do-PRES-2sg do-PRES-2sg
    'You are still working.' (contrary to what I expected)

c. बुऱाड जे आसा जाइ करेचे (DLR.04.008)
    bur²a-ḍʌ je as-a ja-i kar-ec-e kar-ec-e
    old_man-NCLS still come-DVBL go-DVBL do-PRES-3 do-PRES-3
    'The old man still keeps on visiting.' (Implying, '...even though we are married. ')

In some cases it implies continuous/progressive action without denoting counter-expectation.

(447) कुकुरला जे पिटाच विश्वास केतियालाक। (MR.04.202)
    kukur-la je piṭ-a-c-ki piṭ-a-c-ki kʰetia-la-k
    dog-PL still chase-PRES-SA3 chase-PRES-SA3 jackal-PL-DAT
    'The dogs chased and chased the jackals.'

5.3 Locational adverbs

Many of the lexicalised PP-compounds of location are found as locational adverbs. These include:

(448) बगलत baglat 'close'
    आइटू बगलत नुकया रोहौल। (cf. DLR.04.031)
    aI-tʰa baglat nuka-e roho-l
    DEM[rem/emph]-place near hide-CONJ.PTCL remain-PST3
    '(He) remained there hiding close by.'

(449) बिट्रत bʰitrat 'inside'
    bʰitrat as-a
    inside come-IMP2pl
    'Come inside.'
5.4 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner include the following:

(450) बाहरत bahar 'outside'
    baharat ja-
    outside go-IMP2pl
    'Go outside.'

(451) उपरत uprat 'above, up'
    dekʰin mukʰ-er pani-kʰan uprat tʌ ni ja-b-ι
    south mouth-GEN water-NCLS above PCL NEG go-FUT-3
    'Water can not flow from the south to above.'

(452) उपर दे / पाके upar de / pake '(around) above'
    ai-ʌ kua ja-c-ki upar de
    DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS crow go-PRES-SA3 up ADVL
    'The (same) crow came (flying) above.'

(453) हेट लेट heṭat 'below'; तलत taṭat 'below'
    curi-kʰan heṭat cʰ-e
    bangle-NCLS below be-PRES3
    'The bangle is below.'

5.4 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner include the following:

(454) अलगे alage 'separately'
    ek-ta pakʰi alage rah-e
    one-NCLS bird separately live-PST.HAB3
    'One of them lived alone.'

(455) समत samat 'together; with'
    samat baṭʰ-b-o
    together sit-FUT-2sg
    'Will you sit together (with me)?' (that is, 'Will you marry me?')

(456) छैकारी cʰeckari 'for real'
    to-k mui cʰeckari ni tʰuk-im-ku-n
    2sg[obl]-DAT 1sg[pro] really NEG hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg
    'I won't hit you for real.'
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(457) निम्नहार mickari 'not for real'

सिचरी थिम्नमा (cf. DLR.04.025)
mickari ṭuk-im-ku-n
not really hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg
'I will act as if I am hitting you.'

5.5 Adverbs of degree & quantity

A range of adverbs of degree and quantity were encountered. These also included loan words from Hindi and Nepali.

(458) एकदम ekdam 'very'

एकदम थिक गेला। (cf. GR.02.055)
ekdam ṭʰak-i ge-l-1
'I will act as if I am hitting you.'

(459) बेलाल bettal 'very'

तोक बेलाल भीक नामिनु।
to-k bettal ṭʰok lag-ec-ku
2sg[obl]-DAT very hunger apply-PRES-SA2sg
'You are very hungry.'

(460) जुलिम julum 'very'

जोर लाखिक्क जुलिम। (MR.05.025)
dar lag-ic-ki julum
fear feel-PERF-SA3 very
'He was very afraid.'

(461) पुरा pura 'completely'

उहाँ (मनहां) पुरा जिल्लङ लिले। (cf. DLR.06.059)
uhā (man-da-t) pura ĭihnʰ-i li-l-1
3sg[pro] (mind-NCLS-LOC) completely be_courageous-ABS AUX-PST-3
'She became completely courageous (in her mind).'

(462) पट्टके नि patake ni 'not at all'

तोक पट्टके नि भीक नामिनु।
to-k patake ni ṭʰok lag-ec-ku
2sg[obl]-DAT at all NEG hunger apply-PRES-SA2sg
'You are not hungry at all.'
(463) खालि कृःअलि ‘only’
खालि हामाक मार खिल्लार तानें (cf. MR.04.078)
kृअलि हामा-क मार कृःअलि-बेर ताने
only 1pl[pro]-DAT beating feed-INF-GEN
‘only to give us a beating’

(464) मात्र matra ‘only’ (Nepali–Sanskrit)
बालकान कनिक मात्र छाँअल हे। (MR.01.008)
cal-kृअन कनेक मात्रॅ cृअ(r)-अल cृ-अ
roof-NCLS a_little only(Nepali) thatch-PST.PTCL be-PRES3
‘The roof has only been thatched a little.’

(465) बहुत bहुत ‘a lot’ (Hindi)
लोकटक त बहुत अमोस लामी मिच्छिन्छ। (cf. DLR.05.047)
lक-तै-क tै bहुत अमोस lag-i g-ic-की
man-NCLS-DAT PCL greatly(Hindi) grief feel-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3
‘The man is really grieving.’

(466) ख्यात kृब ‘a lot’ (Hindi)
ख्यात लागाए दिः। (cf. DLR.04.013)
kृब jहारा लागा-ए di-३
very fight begin-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl
‘Let’s really begin to fight.’

(467) एकजारा ekjara ‘a little; (a while)’
कि कि कनेक देखु न एकजारा। (cf. DLR.04.032)
ki ki kृअस-c-३ पैकृब-३ tै ekjara
what what do-PRES-3 see-SUBJ1sg PCL a_little
‘Let (me) see (for) a little (while) what (they) are doing.’

(468) चारिंक carik ‘a little’
चारिंक उठाए ल।
carik utk-३-ए l-३
a_little rise-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL take-IMP2pl
‘Take a little.’

(469) कनेक(क) kनेक(क) ‘a_little’ (cf. MR.04.142; MR.04.170)
बालकान कनेक मात्र छाँअल हे। (MR.01.008)
cal-kृअन कनेक मात्रॅ cृअ(r)-अल cृ-अ
roof-NCLS a_little only(Nepali) thatch-PST.PTCL be-PRES3
‘The roof has only been thatched a little.’
5. Adverbs

(470) भे ला bʰella 'lots; many'
आना भइसला माने भे ला रहे। (MR.05.120)
arana bʰais-la mane bʰella rʰ-e
type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-PL PCL many live-PST.HAB3
'There used to live many wild buffaloes.'

(471) गटलाए gʌṭ-ľae 'all' (i.e. gʌṭ-la= e 'all-PL= EMPH')
गटलाए मिलिएने (cf. MR.04.205)
gʌṭ-la= e mil-iene
all-PL = EMPH unite-CONJ.PTCL
'all of them together'

(472) सभाए sʌbʰae 'all' (सभाए sʌgʰae in far-eastern Jhāpā)
त सुना सभाए देख जाए। (DLR.06.002)
tʌ suṇa sʌbʰae dekʰ-ba ja-e
PCL PCL all see-INF go-PST.HAB3
'Everyone went to see.'

5.6 Pronominal adjectives and adverbs

Pronominal adjectives and adverbs derived from the interrogative, demonstrative and relative pronouns include the following:
### Pronominal adjectives and adverbs

#### Interrogative [ip] ‘what’
- कुन ठिना kun tʰina (also, कुन / कुन- tʰ[au/e]) ‘which place’
- ठिना kunʰa ‘where’

#### Interrogative [ip] ‘which’
- हेटिना / हेटिना he/i-tʰina (also, हेटिना hitina) ‘here’
- हूतिना / हूतिना hu/i-tʰina (also, हूला hata; हूला hata) ‘there’

#### DEM[prox]
- ठिना i-tʰina ‘DEM[prox]-place’
- हेटिना / हेटिना he/i-tʰina ‘DEM[prox]-place’
- हूतिना / हूतिना hu/i-tʰina ‘DEM[prox]-place’

#### DEM[rem]
- ठिना u-tʰina ‘DEM[rem]-place’
- हेटिना / हेटिना he/i-tʰina ‘DEM[rem]-place’
- हूतिना / हूतिना hu/i-tʰina ‘DEM[rem]-place’

#### REL[ip]
- ठिना i-tʰina ‘REL-place’
- हेटिना / हेटिना he/i-tʰina ‘REL-place’
- हूतिना / हूतिना hu/i-tʰina ‘REL-place’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>कुन ठिना kun tʰina (also, कुन / कुन- tʰ[au/e]) ‘which place’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पुना kunʰa ‘where’</td>
<td>हेटिना / हेटिना he/i-tʰina (also, हेटिना hitina) ‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हूतिना / हूतिना hu/i-tʰina (also, हूला hata; हूला hata) ‘there’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>कुन रूघर kun-dʰAr ‘which-direction’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पुना सेकुन makʰe ‘which direction’</td>
<td>हेटिना / हेटिना he/i-tʰina ‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हूतिना / हूतिना hu/i-tʰina ‘here’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| कुन ठिना kun tʰina (also, कुन / कुन- tʰ[au/e]) ‘which place’ |
| पुना kunʰa ‘where’ | हेटिना / हेटिना he/i-tʰina (also, हेटिना hitina) ‘here’ |
| हूतिना / हूतिना hu/i-tʰina (also, हूला hata; हूला hata) ‘there’ |

<p>| 5.6. Pronominal adjectives and adverbs | Table 52. Pronominal adjectives and adverbs (1/3) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>शब्दशाला</th>
<th>हिन्दी में</th>
<th>अंग्रेजी में</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>quality</strong></td>
<td>केन (क्षती) <em>ken</em> (क्षती) ‘like what, what type of’</td>
<td><strong>quality</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manner</strong></td>
<td>केन (क्षती) <em>ken</em> (क्षती) ‘how ADVL’ (‘in what manner’)</td>
<td><strong>manner</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>reason</strong></td>
<td>किया <em>kiã</em> ‘why’</td>
<td><strong>reason</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>time</strong></td>
<td>कुनखुना <em>kun-kʰuna</em> ‘which-time’ (‘when’)</td>
<td><strong>time</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कुन बेला <em>kun bela</em> ‘which time’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कुन बेला</td>
<td><em>kun bela</em> ‘which time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>size, amount</td>
<td>केतखुन से ket-kʰun se ‘how_long-time ABL’ (‘for how long’) (कब kab ‘when’ (Hindi loan))</td>
<td>एतेक etek ‘this much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केतेड kete-ḍʌ ‘what size’</td>
<td>एतेड ete-ḍʌ ‘this size’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केि ket-kina ‘how_little(amount)’</td>
<td>एि किना et-kina ‘this little (amount)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केतेला / केला ket(e)-la ‘how_many-PL’</td>
<td>एला et-la ‘this many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केन्ना ket(e)-nana ‘how_many-PCLS’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केतेखान kete-kʰan ‘how_much-NCLS’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केझना ke-jʰan ‘how_many-money’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>केतखान kete-kʰan ‘how_much-NCLS’; ‘what size’ (also, केतेखान / केताखान kete-kʰan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Clitics, particles and conjunctions

6.1 Clitics and particles

I have preliminarily considered the conjunctive -अ =A ' =CNJ' and the emphatic -ए =e ' =EMPH' to be clitics: they are distinct from free words, but so wide in scope that they are not to be analysed as affixes as such.

The Rājbanshi emphatic and conjunctive are clearly distinguished from independent words according to the guidelines put forward by Zwicky (1985:286-288).

a. They do not carry stress and therefore form a phonological unit with the host word,
b. The phonological form of the host word can cause changes on the form of the emphatic and the conjunctive; "internal sandhi" does not affect independent words in this manner, and

c. Unlike independent words, the emphatic and the conjunctive are affix-like. The clitics can cause changes in affixation, e.g. the epenthetic vowel of the locative case affix is not required when the locative is followed by the emphatic clitic ठेङते ठेङ-ए =e 'leg-LOC=EMPH'.

Distinguishing the emphatic and the conjunctive from inflectional affixes is more complicated. Based on the following principles (following Zwicky & Pullum 1983, and Zwicky 1985) I regard them as clitics.

a. The most convincing evidence for a clitic analysis for the emphatic and the conjunctive is their low degree of selection. As shown in the following sections, both can attach to nouns, adjectives and non-finite verbs. Additionally, the emphatic can be marked on both some finite verb inflection and even certain particles, and

b. In almost all cases the emphatic and the conjunctive occur in post-affixal position, and close the word for further affixation. (The emphatic clitic was found in pre-classifier position in one example: झुरालेखान jura-l=ए-k'an 'cool_down-PST.PTCL=EMPH-NCLS'; cf. section 7.2.1.1 for the full example).

The Rājbanshi emphatic and conjunctive clitics show some arbitrary gaps and irregularities when they occur in conjunction with personal pronouns (cf. Table 13),
demonstratives and demonstrative determiners (cf. Table 15), pronominal adverbs and adjectives (cf. Table 52), and numerals (cf. section 6.1.2). It is indeed possible that the clitics should, in these instances, be considered affixes (as Yadava suggests for Maithili, cf. below).

The clitic analysis stands well in comparison with how the emphatic is treated in related languages. Masica (1991:396) maintains:

"A feature of NIA syntax that must be kept in mind, however, is the set of emphatic particles (clitics) (H. hī, B. i, G. j, M. ts, etc.) which make it possible to express 'emphasis' without the help of either word order variation or intonation (although also not so incompatible with either)."


"There are a total of six bound morphemes which function as markers of emphasis/focus in Maithili: -e, -o, -hi, -hu, -he, and -ho. ...of the six bound morphemes used to indicate emphasis in Maithili, -e and -o should be treated as clitics, and -hi, -hu, -he, and -ho should be treated as inflectional affixes and not as clitics. ... the Maithili calls for a 'mixed analysis'."

In sections 6.1.3 - 6.1.9 I will also discuss several types of particles. More research is required to satisfactorily distinguish these items from clitics. However, based on the following observations I have considered them particles (argumentation based on Zwicky 1985:290-295):

a. The particles are phonologically independent (in fact, it seems that some of the particles can sometimes function as conjunctions and adverbs),

b. In comparison to the strictly positioned clitics, the particles can move relatively freely within the clause (with the exception of some vocative particles discussed in section 6.1.4).

6.1.1 Conjunctive clitic

The conjunctive suffix -अ = CNJ' (473a-b) has two allomorphs: -अ =u ' =CNJ' which occurs after the vowel -अ (473c) (and sometimes after the vowel -a), and -अ =hā ' =CNJ' which occurs with some pronouns (473d) and numerals (cf. section 3.6.3.1.2). See section 7.4.3.1 for the use of the clitic in coordinated constructions.
The conjunctive clitic also attaches to nonfinite (474a-b) verb forms. In (474a) the conjunctive clitic attaches to the absolutive -\( \text{ABS} \) (thus separating the absolutive from the auxiliary), and in (474b) it attaches to the infinitive -\( \text{INF} \). The use of the conjunctive clitic with the concessive conditional is mentioned in section 3.7.8.3.3, and its use with the infinitive (including irregularities) in section 3.7.10.1.

(474) a. लोकट मरअ जाबा पारे... (cf. DLR.05.049)
lok-\( \text{NCLS} \) mar-\( \text{ABS} \) ja-ba par-e
'man-NCLS die-ABS=CNJ AUX-INF can-PRES3
'...the man could even die...'

b. खाराब काथा बा बाअ िन... (cf. DLR.05.065)
k\( \text{NCLS} \)arab kat-\( \text{INF} \) bal-ba=\( \text{NCLS} \) ni
bad thing speak-INF=CNJ NEG
'...one shouldn't speak bad things either.'

The Hindi particle भी \( b^i \) 'also' (also spelt as भि) is often found to follow the above-mentioned conjunctive clitic:

(475) आर झि कअ भी (हइ) गेल। (cf. DLR.05.005)
ar jh\( \text{NCLS} \) ki=\( \text{NCLS} \) b\( \text{NCLS} \) (h\( \text{NCLS} \)-i) ge-l
and and slim=CNJ CNJ(Hindi) (be-\( \text{ABS} \)) AUX-PST3
'And she also became skinny.'

The Hindi particle was also encountered in conjunction with the adverb कर \( k\text{ar} \) 'even' which is possibly related to the Hindi conjunctive participle marker -कर -\( k\text{ar} \). Note that in Hindi the conjunctive participle ('CP') can be used in the concessive sense when marked with the conjunctive भी \( b^i \) (476c).

(476) a. आर कहिने कर (भी)... (cf. DLR.03.010)
ar k\( \text{NCLS} \)ahun l-\( \text{NCLS} \) k\( \text{ar} \) \( b^i \)
and say-REM.PST-3 even (CNJ(Hindi))
'And he even said...'

b. गेल कर (भी), माने लमान ि पाले।
ge-l k\( \text{ar} \) \( b^i \) mane lag-al ni pa-l-\( \text{NCLS} \)
go-PST3 even (CNJ(Hindi)) PCL apply-PST.PTCL NEG receive-PST-3
'He even went but he didn't find (her/him/it).'
6.1 Clitics and particles

6.1.2 Emphatic clitic

The emphatic clitic is \(-ए =e ' = EMPH\). As mentioned in sections 3.2.1 and 3.6.4.1.5 it is occasionally difficult to distinguish between the emphatic clitic and the instrumental case (and perhaps even the adverbaliser), since they are each of the form \(-ए =e\). I consider the distinction between the emphatic and the instrumental to be valid for two reasons. Firstly, the semantics of the emphatic clitic and the instrumental case are significantly different in most cases. Secondly, the instrumental is restricted in scope (which supports an affixal analysis), whereas the emphatic clitic can attach to almost any part of speech (which supports a clitic analysis). I will consider this second premise in this section.

The clitic attaches directly to the stem of the noun phrase head (477a) unless this is marked with a noun classifier (477b) or case (477c-d), in which case it attaches to these.

(477) a. पाता रए patari=e 'leaf=EMPH' (cf. MR.04.032)
   b. कमरेव kamar=an=e 'waist-NCLS=EMPH' (cf. MR.04.076)
   c. घडाडके ḡaḍa-k=e 'horse-NCLS-DAT=EMPH' (cf. GR.02.078)
   d. आर घरट mane ar gʰʌrṭi=r=e hʌ-e and house=NCLS PCL soil-GEN=EMPH be-PRES3

The emphatic clitic attaches not only to the head (478a) of the phrase, but to any constituent which is to be emphasised, such as the modifier in (478b).

(478) a. मोर घरे mo-r gʰʌr=e '1sg[obl]-GEN house=EMPH' (i.e. 'my HOUSE')
   b. महरे घर maḥr=ar=gʰʌr=1sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH house=MY house'

The emphatic triggers the use of the oblique stem on demonstratives and 1sg, 2sg and 3sg personal pronouns (479a-b; cf. Table 13 for emphatic marking on personal pronouns, and Table 15 for emphatic marking on demonstratives). The emphatic precedes the noun classifier and case marking, due to the oblique stem on demonstratives (479c-d), but follows case marking (479e) on personal pronouns.
6. Clitics, particles and conjunctions

(479) a. मुहे (मुह) mu=he '1sg[obl]=EMPH'
   b. तुहे (तुह) tu=he '2sg[obl]=EMPH'
   c. एि-कृ 'DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS' (cf. DLR.05.040)
   d. एि-कृ-नि 'DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS-GEN'
   e. महके mʌh=ke '1sg[obl]-DAT=EMPH' (cf. GR.02.059a)

The clitic is also found on quantifiers. In some cases the emphatic clitic seems to have lexicalised and must be used (480a-b). Emphasis in such cases is not implied:

(480) a. सभाए sab=he 'all' (*सभा sʌbʌha)
   b. गटे gʌṭe 'all' (*गट gʌṭ)

Nevertheless, if one of the quantifiers in (480a-b) is marked with a noun classifier or plural, the emphatic clitic may move to either the post-classifier (481a-b) or to the post-plural (481c) position respectively.

(481) a. गटेडए gʌṭeñe 'all-NCLS=EMPH' (cf. MR.05.056)
   b. गटडए gʌṭdʌ 'all-NCLS=EMPH' (cf. MR.05.037)
   c. गटलाए gʌṭla 'all-PL=EMPH' (cf. MR.04.042)

The emphatic clitic precedes the noun classifier (482a-c), and other elements (482d), when attaching to numerals.

(482) a. एकेडा ek=da 'one=EMPH-NCLS' ('only one')
   b. चारहेखान car=he-kʰan 'four=EMPH-NCLS' ('only four')
   c. बिसेखान bis=ke-kʰan 'twenty=EMPH-NCLS' ('only twenty')
   d. एकेलाखाित ek=la=e-lakhi 'one=EMPH-like' ('exactly like')

The emphatic clitic on an adjective renders attenuation (483a-c). I have interpreted the suffix -ए -े here as the emphatic clitic (based on a comparison with Hindi and Nepali), though it also functions as an adverbialiser. Examples (483c) and (483d) are distinguishable by syntax and context (cf. section 3.6.4.1.5 for discussion on the interpretation of the suffix -ए -े).

(483) a. [adjective] बडए bʌdʌ 'big=EMPH' ('quite big')
   b. [adjective] लाले lal=e 'red=EMPH' ('quite red; reddish')
   c. [adjective] आि-ए acc=ʌ 'good=EMPH' ('quite good')
   d. [adverb] आि-ए acc-ʌa=e 'good=EMPH' ('well')

When negating noun phrases the emphatic clitic converts to the conjunctive clitic.
6.1 Clitics and particles  

(484) a. एकेडा आम ek = e-da am 'one = EMPH-NCLS mango' ('only one mango')
   b. एकअडा आम नि ek =ʌ da am ni 'one = CNJ-NCLS mango NEG' ('not even one mango')
   c. *एकेडा आम नि *ek = e-da am ni *'one = EMPH-NCLS mango NEG'

The emphatic clitic attaches to all other tense and aspect marking in the emphatic negative construction [V-INFL = EMPH NEG], except for the perfect and past continuous/remote past, which take past habitual marking in the negative.

(485) a. नि गाजेचे ni gaj-ec-e 'NEG sprout-PRES-3' ('does not sprout up')
   b. गाजेचे ए ni gaj-ec-e = i(e) ni 'sprout-PRES-3 = EMPH NEG' ('just does not sprout up')

The emphatic clitic may also attach to the particle of certainty (discussed in section 6.1.8) with the same effect.

(486) गाजेचे रेइए ni gaj-ec-e re=i(e) ni 'sprout-PRES-3 PCL=EMPH NEG' ('just does not sprout up')

The use of the emphatic clitic on the infinitive stem is mentioned in section 3.7.7.3, and its use on the conjunctive participle in section 3.7.10.3. These cases will not be discussed further in this section. The only other non-finite form to which the emphatic clitic may be attached, is the continuous participle -ते -te 'CONT.PTCL'. The use of the emphatic clitic is compulsory in (487a). The original elicited form of (487b) is found without the emphatic clitic, and there the meaning is on-going action (imperfectivity; cf. DLR.04.005). Conversely, the use of the emphatic clitic in (487b) seems to imply intensified progression, i.e. persistent action.

(487) a. मुई जेबेला आिसए pug-n-u te uhäe kʰʌрак  

mui je(i)-bela as-ie pug-n-u te uhãe kʰʌ rak

1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg PCL(then) 3sg[pro] food
kʰa-te = i cʰi-l-i

eat-CONT.PTCL = EMPH be-PST-3

'When I arrived, he was eating food.'

b. बेटी के जाई आिसए rʌह-  

beti-r g³ʌar ja-i as-i kar-te( = i)

daughter-GEN house go-DVBL come-DVBL do-CONT.PTCL( = EMPH)

rʌh-e

AUX(CONT)-PST.HAB3

'He (still) used to keep coming and going to (his) daughter's house.'
Six discourse particles were identified: \( \text{ते, ता, सुना, आप, तने, माने} \). Each of these will be discussed in this section.

Firstly, the particles \( \text{ते 'then'} \) and ता 'then' both have the same functions, and would therefore appear to be variant forms. Both are used clause-initially to indicate chronological sequence (488a-b).

\[(488)\]
\[
\text{ते गटे खे टयाला सिचएने दे ले... (MR.04.112)}
\]
\[
\text{PCL all jackal-PL think-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3...}
\]
\[
\text{ '(Then) all of the jackals thought...'}
\]

\[
\text{तदऩे झना दले झा लागाए। (DLR.04.023)}
\]
\[
\text{PCL both PCLS AUX-PST-3 fight begin-ABS}
\]
\[
\text{ 'Then both of them began to fight.'}
\]

In this function they are optionally accompanied by the particle सुना 'PCL' (or, सुने) (489a-b).

\[(489)\]
\[
\text{ते उहाँ सुना एनङ करे कानेचे... (cf. MR.04.193)}
\]
\[
\text{PCL 3sg[pro] PCL like_this ADVL cry-PRES-3...}
\]
\[
\text{ 'Then she cried like this...'}
\]

\[
\text{तो सुना जुवाँड कहि क... (cf. DLR.04.025)}
\]
\[
\text{PCL PCL son_in_law-NCLS say-PRES-SA3}
\]
\[
\text{ 'Then the son-in-law says...'}
\]

The particles \( \text{ते 'then'} \) and ता also have a topicalising (or, a contrastive) function (490a), or designate counter-expectation (490b-c). (See section 7.4.3.3 for discussion on the use of ता as a possible adversative conjunction.)

\[(490)\]
\[
\text{मुई ते नि जा-म}
\]
\[
\text{1sg[pro] PCL NEG go-FUT1sg}
\]
\[
\text{ 'As for me, I will not go.'}
\]

\[
\text{किया कालंबे ते? (cf. MR.04.057)}
\]
\[
\text{why cry-PRES-3 PCL}
\]
\[
\text{ 'Why is she crying?' (counter-expectation)}
\]
6.1 Clitics and particles

c. जुवां बेटिला त लाखा लागाए दछे। (cf. DLR.04.029)
   juã beṭi-la ta jhagara laga-e d-icʰ-e
   son_in-law daughter-PL PCL fight begin-ABS AUX-PERF-3
   'The son-in-law and daughter had begun to fight (which is not what he expected).'

The particle ता 'then' was found to be reduplicated in one instance (491). Informants were of the opinion that what seems to be reduplication here could in fact be the reduced form of ताने ता 'then PCL'. It was outside the scope of this work to determine the historical relationship of the particles and conjunctions. Suffice it to note that it is possible that ते te and ता ta could, on the one hand, be the reduced forms of the particle/adverb ताने 'then', but equally possible, on the other, that ताने 'then' could be constructed from the particle ता ta and the tag particle ने ne.

(491) ...होकोर दोकोर कर्नु त ल पानु कहेने। (cf. DLR.05.058)
   hokor_dokor ka-n-ų ta ta pa-n-ų kʰe-ene
   in_a_hurry do-PST-1sg PCL(then?) PCL get-PST-1sg say-CONJ.PTCL
   '...saying, "I did it in a hurry, but then I got it back." ' 

As is mentioned in section 6.2.4, it is difficult to distinguish whether the particles also function as subordinating conjunctions or direct discourse markers in cases such as (492). (Additionally, see section 7.4.2.4 for discussion on the use of the particle ते te as the correlative of जड़ jad 'if' in conditional constructions.)

(492) बेटियाला जर हुने, कहिनुबिनुः तोर दातोड मरि गेल। (MR.04.051)
   kʰetia-la jʰar ha-le kʰis-ki te to-r
   jackal-PL gathering be-COND.PTCL say-SUBJ-SA3 PCL(=that) 2sg[obl]-GEN
   dado-da mar-i ge-l
   grandfather-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST3
   'If the jackals come together say (to them) that: "Your grandfather has died." '

Secondly, closely related to these particles are आप ap '(and) then' (493a) and ताने tane '(and) then' (493b). Both particles are often used as discourse connectors, though they are also found as temporal adverbs (cf. section 5.2).

(493) a. आप हए सच्चे... (cf. DLR.03.012)
   ap hʰa-ba sak-ec-e...
   PCL be-INF can(Nepali)-PRES-3...
   '(And) it could be (that)...'

b. ताने हित्र सुना भाइमदिन नुकाए छिक्कि... (cf. MR.05.148)
   tane hidar suna bʰais-ta nuka-e cʰ-i-ki
   PCL over_here PCL water_buffalo-NCLS hide-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES-SA3
   '(Then) the buffalo was hiding over here...'
Thirdly, the particle सुना suna 'PCL', in addition to being used in conjunction with the particles ते te and ता ta (above), can also occur independently as a temporal conjunction 'then'.

(494) सुना लाजे सरमे बुऱ्डक फेर बिलाण पिलाण कबा ए हि क। (DLR.04.042)

'Then, with great shame, they had to sit the old man down in the house and really feed him and give him drink!'

Fourthly, and finally, the particle माने mane 'PCL' has a topicalising (or, a contrastive) function. The particle is also mentioned in section 6.2.2 as an adversative conjunction, due to what appears to be a contrast between the contrastive topic sense in (495a), and the adversative sense in (495b). The two are obviously closely related. In example (495a) the particle modifies the preceding pronoun and has phrasal scope. Conversely, in example (495b) the particle is in clause initial position and has clausal scope.

(495) a. माने mane as a (contrastive) topicalising particle

तुइ जाबो ते जा मुइ माने नि जा।

'tui ja-b-o te ja-∅ mui mane ni ja-m 2sg[pro] go-FUT-2sg PCL go-IMP2sg 1sg[pro] PCL NEG go-FUT1sg 'If you (want to) go, then go. As for me, I am not going.'

b. माने mane as an adversative conjunction

तुइ जाबो ते जा, माने मुइ नि जा।

'tui ja-b-o te ja-∅, mane mui ni ja-m 2sg[pro] go-FUT-2sg PCL go-IMP2sg but 1sg[pro] NEG go-FUT1sg 'If you (want to go), then go, but I am not going.'

6.1.4 Vocative particles

Three vocative particles are used in Rājbanshi: गो go, गे ge and रे re. The particles usually occur in clause-final position.

73 The term "contrastive topic" follows Lambrecht (1994:183) where the left dislocated NPs in the examples 'Me, I'm hungry. Moi j'ai faim.' are described as follows: "Such detached lexical or pronominal NPs often have a "contrastive" function, in which case they may be referred to as contrastive topic NPs."
The first particle गो 'VOC' is used when summoning relatives who have higher social status than oneself (496a-b). As a rule of thumb, when in doubt, the particle गो 'VOC' should be used. The reduplicated construction in (496c-d) can be used in a vocative sense, or can mean 'alas'. It can also be used to refer to more than one recipient (496e).

(496) a. बाउ गो bau go 'father VOC'
b. मसी गो masi go 'sister_of_mother VOC'
c. आइ गो ai go ai 'mother VOC[fem] mother' (i.e. 'Alas, mother')
d. दाडी गो dadi ge dadi 'grandmother VOC[fem] grandmother' (i.e. 'Alas, grandmother'; cf. MR.04.057)
e. तामा काहु निज़िल्ला, काहु निज़ हार्वर्ग गो। (MR.05.050)
   tamʰa kahu ni jīl-l-ʌ kahu ni har-l-ʌn go
   2pl no-one NEG win-PST-2pl, no-one NEG lose-PST-2pl VOC
   'Neither of you won, neither of you lost.'

The second vocative particle गे ge 'VOC[fem]' is non-honorific and is used for girls and women (497a-b). It can also be used to refer to a group of people, amongst whom there are both men and women (497c).

(497) a. ...ते जाको नि मे देख्ना गे? (cf. DLR.06.005)
   ...te ja-b-o ni ge dekʰ-ba ge
   ...PCL go-FUT-2sg NEG VOC[fem] see-INF VOC[fem]
   '...Don't you want to go and see?'
b. ...दाडी मे दाडी, कियों कानेचिस गे... (cf. MR.04.057)
   dadi ge dadi, kiã kan-ec-is ge
   grandmother VOC[fem] grandmother, why cry-PRES-2sg VOC[fem]
   'Grandmother, oh grandmother, why are you crying?'
c. ते बोले, देख ना गे। (DLR.06.083)
   te bol LOWER dekʰ-l na ge
   PCL QUOT look-IMP2pl PCL VOC[fem]
   'She said, "Look then!"'

The third vocative particle रे re (pron. [r̥]) 'VOC' is an abbreviation of आरे are (pron. [ar̥]). The reduced form रे re 'VOC' may occur in any position in the clause, but the form आरे are 'VOC' may only occur in sentence-initial position. It can refer to either individuals (498a-b) or groups (498c-d). In addition, it is used in conjunction with some expletives (498d) and interjections (498e).

Note that the vocative particle रे re [r̥] is in contrast with the particle of certainty रे re [re], though the orthographic representation is identical (cf. section 6.1.8).
(498) a. रे मन re man 'VOC mind' (i.e. 'Oh, (my) mind/soul'; used by both feminine and masculine 
speakers)

b. थाम् रे बु... (cf. MR.04.085)
tʰam-∅ re burʰi
wait-IMP2sg VOC old_woman
'(Just) you wait, old woman.'

c. आरे, कचु बुनेचि रे... (cf. MR.04.005)
are kacu bun-ec-i re...
VOC [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-1pl VOC...
'Hey you, we are planting [kacu]vegetables (see)...'

d. सालार बेटियाला रे... (cf. MR.04.046)
sala-r kʰetia-la re...
y.brother_of_wife-GEN jackal-PL VOC
'Eh you damned jackals!'

e. बाप रे bap re (or, रे बाप re bap) 'Wow!' (cf. DLR.06.064)

The reduced form is used for male recipients who are of equal or lower social status 
(499a), or, with an extremely derogative implication, for female persons (499b). It may 
also be used for women in close relationships, and therefore a husband may summon his 
wife with this particle without it implying anything discourteous.

(499) a. बुऱा रे बुऱा (cf. MR.04.074)
burʰa re burʰa
old_man VOC old_man
'Eh old man!' [Neutral]

b. थाम् रे बु... (cf. MR.04.085)
tʰam-∅ re burʰi
wait-IMP2sg VOC old_woman
'(Just) you wait, old woman.' [Derogatory]

6.1.5 Restrictive particle

This particle (or perhaps interjection) बस bas 'PCL' is most likely a Hindi loan, and stands 
for the sense 'that's enough' (500a). It also functions as an adverb in the sense 'only; just' 
(500b).
6.1 Clitics and particles

(500) a. ओँ ते, बस, उहाँक खाए गेल। (GR.01.028)
   o te bas uhā-k kʰa-e ge-l
   INJ PCL PCL(Hindi) 3sg[pro]-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PST3
   'Um, that's enough, (he) just ate him (up).'

b. कुराद बस काटांबाण मे पूरिए चुलि जाबे। (DLR.04.015)
   burʰa-da bas kanta-kʰañ se gʰur-ie cul-i ja-b-t
   old_man-NCLS PCL(Hindi) vicinity-NCLS ABL turn_around-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS go-FUT-3
   'The old man will (just) turn around from (that place) close by and go.'

6.1.6 Quotative particle

In certain circumstances the word बोले bol seems to be used as a quotative particle ('QUOT'). The term "quotative" is used here as in Matthews (1997:306): "...indicating that what is said has been heard from someone else and is not based on direct observation."

(501) a. तोक बोले बेचि दिख। (cf. GR.02.062)
   to-k bol kʰi di-p-ku
   2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT sell-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg
   'You, apparently, are going to be sold.'

b. काठिए तोक बोले खाए जाए, बेमारी गोरू। (GR.02.063)
   kat-ie to-k bol kʰa-e ja-p-ku bemari goru-dʌ
cut-CONJ.PTCL 2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT eat-ABS AUX-FUT-S2sg ill bullock-NCLS
   'You, apparently, are going to be slaughtered and eaten up, you sick bullock.'

In examples (501a-b) the quotative particle occurs in non-initial position, and almost certainly functions as a quotative. However, when the word is used in sentence-initial or sentence final position it is more difficult to distinguish between the quotative particle, the direct discourse marker and the verb of the main clause. In example (502), gloss (i) follows from बोले bol being understood as a discourse marker (or the inflected verb bol-(l)-) 'say-PST-3'). Conversely, if बोले bol is a quotative particle then gloss (ii) would be more suitable.

(502) आर एहड राजकुमार मोक नि ले जाबे बोले। (DLR.06.074)
   ar e=hʌ-dʌ rajkumar mo-k ni l-e ja-b-t
   and DEM[prox]=CNJ-NCLS prince 1sg[obl]-DAT NEG take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT-3
   bol-(l)-t
   QUOT/say-PST-3
   Gloss (i): 'And also this prince said he wouldn't take me.'
   Gloss (ii): 'This prince will, apparently, not take me (either).'
6. Clitics, particles and conjunctions

6.1.7 Particle of confirmation

The particle जे je 'PCL' is used in the sense of convincing the hearer of the truth value of a given statement. The term "confirmation particle" is from Watters (2002:187). It seems to have no relation to the relative pronoun जे je 'REL[pro]' or the adverb जे je 'still'.

(503) a. आर हामा जे एकटा पर्त निनासन रहिच। (GR.02.065)
   ar hama je ek-ta g^Ar-at tin-j^An raha-c-i
   and 1p[pro] PCL one-NCLS house-LOC three-PCLS live-PRES-1pl
   'And the three of us are living in one house, aren't we.'

b. आर निनासन जे रहिच। (GR.02.067)
   ap tin-j^An je raha-c-i
   PCL three-PCLS PCL live-PRES-1pl
   'And the three of us are living (here), aren't we.'

6.1.8 Particle of certainty

The particle रे re (pron. [re/e]) implies certainty.

(504) a. आकृति मुड आलि मरिस रे... (cf. MR.04.187)
   ak^ri-t mui aj^i mar-im re...
   end-LOC 1sg[pro] today die-FUT1sg PCL...
   'In the end, I will certainly die today...'

b. नामा मीक बाबन रे, छल्लिन नित। (MR.04.163)
   tam^a mo-k k^b-a-b-an re, c^Ar-b-an ni
   2pl[pro] 1sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-2pl PCL, spare-FUT-2pl NEG
   'You are certainly going to eat me, you are not going to spare me.'

The particle रे re in (504a-b) is interchangeable with केरे kere, and this may indicate that रे re is a reduced form. The origin of the (full) particle केरे kere may be the verbaliser कर- kar- 'do'. Consider the following examples where, as mentioned in section 3.7.10.1 on infinitives, the head verb is in the infinitive and the verbaliser functions as the conjugational base.

(505) a. तमा कर्बं कर्न।
   tam^a kar-b =e kar-b-an
   2pl[pro] do-INF = EMPH do-FUT-2pl
   'You certainly will do.'
b. त्या खाबे कर्न।
\( \text{tam}^{\text{b}} \ a \ \text{k}^{\text{b}} \text{a-b = e} \ \text{k}^{\text{a-g}} \text{-an} \)
2pl[pro] eat-INF = EMPH do-FUT-2pl
'You will certainly eat.'

c. त्या खाबे कर्न।
\( \text{tam}^{\text{b}} \ a \ \text{k}^{\text{b}} \text{a-b = e} \ \text{k}^{\text{a-g}} \text{-an} \)
2pl[pro] eat-INF = EMPH do-PST-2pl
'You certainly ate.'

These examples may be restated in such a way that the head verb is inflected normally, and then followed by the particle of certainty.

(506) a. त्या कर्न (के)र।
\( \text{tam}^{\text{b}} \ a \ \text{k}^{\text{a-g}} \text{-an} \ (\text{ke}) \text{re} \)
2pl[pro] do-FUT-2pl PCL
'You certainly will do.'

b. त्या खाबन (के)र।
\( \text{tam}^{\text{b}} \ a \ \text{k}^{\text{a-g}} \text{-an} \ (\text{ke}) \text{re} \)
2pl[pro] eat-FUT-2pl PCL
'You will certainly eat.'

c. त्या खालन (के)र।
\( \text{tam}^{\text{b}} \ a \ \text{k}^{\text{a-g}} \text{l-an} \ (\text{ke}) \text{re} \)
2pl[pro] eat-PST-2pl PCL
'You certainly ate.'

Further research is required in order to reach a final conclusion on the issue.

6.1.9 Particle of pretense

The particle आल 'PCL' indicates pretense, that is, the particle in (507b) indicates that the agent in (507a) was pretending.

(507) a. माने बेमार हए गेल। (GR.02.026)
\( \text{mane} \ \text{bemari} \ \text{ha-e} \ \text{ge-l} \)
PCL ill be-ABS AUX-PST3
'He had become ill.'

b. आल। (GR.02.027)
\( \text{al} \)
PCL(pretense)
'(He was pretending.)'
6.2 Conjunctions

In this section I will introduce the copulative, adversative, disjunctive and subordinating conjunctions. The syntax of coordination and subordination will be discussed in sections 7.4.2 and 7.4.3 respectively.

6.2.1 Copulative conjunctions

The conjunction आर ‘and’ is used in both phrasal (508a-b) and clausal (508c-d) conjunction.

(508) a. एकटा बुऱा आर एकटा बुऱ (cf. MR.04.001)
   ek-ta burʰa ar ek-ta burʰi
   one-NCLS old_man and one-NCLS old_woman
   ‘an old man and an old woman’

b. उहाँर जुवाँड आर बे क्षट (cf. DLR.04.003)
   uhã-r juã-dʌ ar beṭi-dʌ
   3sg[pro]-GEN son_in_law-NCLS and daughter-NCLS
   ‘his son-in-law and daughter’

c. दुई भन्त बृजलाङ आर एकटा पिख अलगे रहे। (DLR.05.002)
   dui-jʰan bʰatar magi rah-e ar ek-ta pʰakʰi alaŋe rah-e
   two-PCLS husband wife live-PST.HAB3 and one-NCLS bird separately live-PST.HAB3
   ‘Two of them were married (were husband and wife), and one of them lived alone.’

d. तुई खेत बाजार मिल रहे, आर एकटा पति अलगे रहे। (cf. MR.04.050)
   tui kʰet bari-kʰan-er ti ja-∅
   2sg[pro] field planting_plot-NCLS-GEN towards go-IMP2sg
   ar ja-ene ekḍam kan-is
   and go-CONJ.PTCL very cry-SUBJ2sg
   ‘...go to the fields, and having gone cry really hard.’

Some writers use the conjunction as a discourse marker in the forwarding of the storyline. In natural speech (at least of the informants recorded for this research), however, other particles tend to be used for this function (cf. section 6.1.3). The conjunction आर does occasionally occur with these particles, as with आर चुना ar suna ‘and PCL’ in the following example:

(509) आर सुना सब दिन अपना पति चुने। (cf. DLR.05.039)
    ar suna sab din apsoś kar-ba dʰar-l-1
    and PCL every day grief do-INF begin-PST-3
    ‘And every day he began to grieve.’
The temporal adverb फेरः pʰer 'again' is also used as a copulative conjunction linking independent clauses (without any reference to repetition, which the semantics of the word would seem to imply).

(510) पानि नि खुलन, फेर धूप चाए चाए हेतिना। (MR.04.167)

\[
\text{pani} = \lambda \text{ ni cʰ-A-kan} \quad \text{pʰer dʰup} = \lambda \text{ cāe+cāe hetina}
\]

water = CNJ NEG be-PRES-SA2pl again sun = CNJ (scorching) here

'There is no water (for you) either, and moreover, the sun is scorching hot here.'

6.2.2 Adversative conjunctions

The adversative conjunction मतुन matun 'but' was not encountered in the elicited text material, but is nevertheless used frequently, especially by writers of the language (511a). The variant form मातुन matun was also found in some literature (the equivalent Maithili adversative conjunction is muda (Yadav 1997 [1996]:338)). Likewise, the previously mentioned particle माने mane 'PCL' functions as an adversative conjunction (511a). The Hindi conjunction ले कन lekin 'but' is also in use (511b).

(511) a. तुइ जाबो ते जा, मतुन/माने मुइ नि जाम।

\[
tui \text{ ja-b-o te ja-∅, matun/mane mui ni ja-m}
\]

2sg[pro] go-FUT-2sg PCL go-IMP2sg but 1sg[pro] NEG go-FUT1sg

'If you want to go, then go, but I am not going.'

b. मोर त काम बुड़ नि, लेकिन मुइ बादाम खाचू। (GR.02.015)

\[
\text{mo-r tʌ kam=ʌ kucʰu ni lekin mui badam kʰa-c-u}
\]

1sg[obl]-GEN PCL work=CNJ some NEG but 1sg[pro] nut eat-PRES-1sg

'I have absolutely no work, but I eat nuts.'

The conjunctions बुना 'rather; better' (512a) and बुरु buru 'rather; better' (512b; similar to Nepali बरु buru 'rather') are also used.

(512) a. आप बुना घरे चुलि जाया हबें... (cf. DLR.04.031)

\[
ap \text{ buna gʰar}=e \text{ cul-i ja-ba hə-b-ı...}
\]

PCL rather house = EMPH AUX-ABS go-INF must-FUT-3

'It is better to go home now...'

b. बुरु हाट ना जाइस।

\[
buru hət na ja-is
\]

rather market NEG go-SUBJ2sg

'(It would be) better you didn't go to the market.'
6. Clitics, particles and conjunctions

6.2.3 Disjunctive conjunctions

The following disjunctive conjunctions were identified: या ya, बा ba (or, wa), नि ni, ने ne and ना na. The conjunctions या ya (513a), and बा ba are loans. Preliminary observations indicate that नि ni and बा ba are used for phrasal coordination, and ने ne and ना na for clausal coordination (513b), though this will need to be verified through further research. The conjunctions ना na and ने ne (513b) possibly originate from the negative particle (cf. sections 7.1.3.3 and 7.4.1 for discussion on the use of the particles ना na and ने ne as tag particles).

(513) a. चेंगरा होक या चेंगरी होक... (cf. MR.05.258)
   ...ceŋ-ra h-ok ya ceŋ-ri h-ok...
   '...may it be a young man or (may it be) a young woman...'

b. आर इड घर कहे ना कुट्टी कहे नि जाछे। (cf. DLR.02.004)
   ar i-dʌ gʰʌŋ kʰʌ-r kʰʌ-h-e na ku-t̪i kʰʌ-h-e
   and DEM[prox]-NCLS house say-CONJ.PTCL or priest's quarters say-CONJ.PTCL
   cinʰ-a ni ja-eʰ-e
   know-PST.PTCL NEG PASS.AUX-PRES-3
   'And one can not tell whether this is a house, or priest's quarters or a temple.'

6.2.4 Subordinating conjunctions

The interrogative pronoun कि ki 'what' can be used as a subordinating conjunction. When preceding the verb of the main clause it functions as an adverbial 'what' (514a,c), and when preceding the embedded clause (514b,c) it operates as a subordinating conjunction.

(514) a. मोर मालिक कि कहे, तोक बोले बेचि दिए। (cf. GR.02.062)
   mo-r malik-ḍʌ ki kʰʌ-h-c-e
   1sg[obl]-GEN master-NCLS what say-PRES-3
   to-k bol ɪ bec-i di-p-ku
   2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT sell-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg
   'What my master says is (that) you, apparently, are going to be sold.'

b. मोर मालिक कि कहे कि तोक बोले बेचि दिए। (cf. GR.02.062)
   mo-r malik-ḍʌ kʰʌ-h-c-e
   1sg[obl]-GEN master-NCLS say-PRES-3
   ki to-k bol ɪ bec-i di-p-ku
   PCL(that) 2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT sell-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg
   'My master said that you, apparently, are going to be sold.'
6.2 Conjunctions

The subordinating conjunction कि ki is used frequently, but is nevertheless viewed by some speakers as a loan. More natural would apparently be to use the particle ते te 'PCL'.

(515) a. त बुराड सुना बुरा कहचे ते/क आप कचुला उनाए बुिनिच... (cf. MR.04.028)
   suna burʰa burʰi kʰa-c-e te/ki ap kacu-la
   PCL old_man old_woman say-PRES-3 PCL(that) PCL [kacu]vegetable-PL
   usna-e bun-ic-i
   boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-PERF-1pl
   'The old man and old woman said, "Now, we have boiled the [kacu]vegetables and planted them."'

b. मुना बुरा बुरा कहने ते/क आप कचुला उनाए बुिचि... (cf. MR.04.028)
   suna burʰa burʰi kʰa-c-e te/ki ap kacu-la
   PCL old_man old_woman say-PRES-3 PCL(that) PCL [kacu]vegetable-PL
   usna-e bun-ic-i
   boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-PERF-1pl
   'The old man and old woman said, "Now, we have boiled the [kacu]vegetables and planted them."'

Additionally, subordination is frequently indicated by a mere pause and rising intonation between the main and the embedded clause (516).

(516) खाराब कथा बन्या नि उहाँ अहिनि मे गियाने पाइ पेना... (cf. DLR.05.065)
   kʰarab katʰa bʰal-ba ni [rising_intonation+pause]
   bad thing speak-INF NEG
   uhā a-din se gyan=e pa-i ge-l
   3sg[pro] DEM[rem/emph]-day ABL wisdom=EMPH get-ABS AUX-PST3
   'From that day forward he really learnt (that) no-one should speak bad things.'

75 Compare this with Nepali (Matthews 1984:118; additions in square brackets mine): "The construction with कि [ki] (modelled on the Hindi construction) is often regarded as inelegant or even incorrect. It is, however, common in speech and in long prose narratives where the construction with [the] bhanera [complementiser] might lead to confusion."
7. Syntax

7.1 Non-declarative speech acts

7.1.1 Imperative

As discussed in sections 3.7.8.1 and 3.7.8.2 commands can be marked with the imperative or the subjunctive. The basic difference between the two is whether the command implies immediate or postponed (remote) action (though it is also possible that the postponement of an action in the subjunctive has deferential overtones).

In imperative clauses the (2sg/pl) subject which is in agreement with the main verb is generally suppressed (517a). The overt subject can, however, be used in marked constructions (517b-c).

(517) a. कानेक! (MR.04.191)
   kan-ek
cry-IMP2sg
'cry!'

b. तुइ आप्नार घर जा। (cf. DLR.06.069)
   tui apna-r gʰʌ r ja-
2sg[pro] REFLECT[pro]-GEN house go-IMP2sg
'You go to (your) own home!'

c. तमाए जाए। (cf. DLR.06.016)
   taŋʰa = e ja-ʌ
to[pro]=EMPH go-IMP2pl
'You go.'

The imperative has no effect on the basic dative-accusative marking rules. Human (518a) and animate direct objects are marked with the dative-accusative case in the imperative, whereas inanimate (518b-c) objects are not. Indirect objects are also marked with the dative-accusative case (518d).
7.1 Non-declarative speech acts

(518) a. हमाक आशिब्रांद द

hama-k asirbad d-ʌ
1pl[pro]-DAT blessing give-IMP2pl
'Bless us.'

b. इला दुईडा बाम ले। (cf. MR.05.178a)

i-la dui-da basi le-∅
DEM[prox]-PL two-NCLS flute take-IMP2sg
'Take these two flutes.'

c. मोक दुईडा लिहानी कामा दे त। (cf. MR.05.066)

mo-k dui-da lihani jʰaka de-∅ tʌ
1sg[obl]-DAT two-NCLS blanket cover give-IMP2sg PCL
'Cover me with two blankets.'

d. मोक काळ कलम आन दे।

mo-k kal kʌlʌm an-i de-∅
1sg[obl]-DAT black pen bring-ABS AUX-IMP2sg
'Bring me [INDIRECT OBJECT] a black pen [DIRECT OBJECT].'

The negative particle in imperatives ना na 'NEG' as in (519) differs from the default negative particle नि ni 'NEG'. The use of negative particles, and the effect of their positioning, is discussed further in sections 3.7.8.1, 7.1.3.3 and 7.4.1.

(519) ना बेराज।

na bera-ʌ
NEG walk-IMP2pl
'Don't walk.'

The imperative is also used in complex sentences. In (520a) the main predicate which follows the verb-modifying clause is in the imperative. The quasi-aspectual auxiliary can also be marked with the imperative (520b).

(520) a. कचुला उसनाने बुनेक। (cf. MR.04.013; also DLR.06.032b, MR.04.050;074)

kacu-la usna-ene bun-ek
[kacu]vegetable-PL boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-IMP2sg
'Plant the [kacu]vegetables after boiling them.'

b. कालिन ते तुई ठिक हुई जा। (cf. GR.02.075; also MR.05.139)

kalʰi se tui tʰik ha-i ja-∅
tomorrow ABL 2sg[pro] alright be-ABS AUX-IMP2SG
'From tomorrow (onwards) become well.'
7. Syntax

7.1.2 Hortative

The hortative is only found in conjunction with subjunctive marking in the 1pl (cf. section 3.7.8.2 for further discussion). The overt 1pl pronoun is optional.

(521) a. (हामा) आप एनङ करौ। (cf. DLR.04.012)
   (hama) ap enʌŋ kʌr-i
   (1pl[pro]) PCL like_this do-SUBJ1pl
   'Let's do this.'

   b. (हामा) छरि नि याहाँक। (MR.04.117)
   (hama) cʰʌɾ-i d-i yaha-k
   (1pl[pro]) let_go-ABS AUX-SUBJ1pl DEM[pro/prox]-DAT
   'Let's let her go.'

7.1.3 Interrogative

The following interrogative structures have been found in Rājbanshi: content questions, yes/no questions, tag questions, alternative questions and (possibly) rhetorical questions. These five types will be discussed in the following sections.

7.1.3.1 Content questions

The structure of the content question in Rājbanshi resembles the question structure in New Indo-Aryan languages in general. Masica (1991:386) describes this as follows:

"In so-called WH-questions, those asking for information, the question word comes normally in the focal position right before the word (ignoring negation markers), unless it is an adjectival question word modifying a noun (which then itself occupies this position)..."

In most cases, the interrogative pronoun falls immediately to the left of the verb (522a). In unmarked clauses the negative particle occurs between the interrogative pronoun and the verb (522b). Discourse particles may also occur between the pronoun and the verb (522c).

(522) a. आप उड़ चेङरा कि कहबे? (MR.05.041)
   ap u-ḍʌ ceŋra ki kʌhʌ-bʌ
   PCL that-NCLS young_man what say-FUT-3
   'What will the young man say?'

   b. तुइ हाल कियौं नि बहिचस? (cf. GR.02.036)
   tui hal kiã ni bʌhʌ-c-is
   2sg[pro] plough why NEG plough-PRES-2sg
   'Why are you not ploughing?'
7.1 Non-declarative speech acts

As explained by Masica (1991:386), the adjectival question word precedes the noun which it modifies (523).

(523) कि ताकन दिक्षित वाङ्गर? (DLR.05.020)
ki takat eʰ-i-ki yaha-r
what power be-PRES-SA3 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN
'What power does he have?'

In unmarked structures the nominal/adjectival constituent, which accompanies the verb in conjunct verbs, such as कादुवालि kaduali 'muddy' in (524), occurs between the interrogative pronoun and the verb.

(524) मोर पानिवान कियां कादुवालि करेिचस? (cf. GR.01.011)
mo-r pani-kʰan kiã kaduali kʰ-r-ec-is
1sg[obl]-GEN water-NCLS why muddy do-PRES-2sg
'Why are you making my water muddy?'

Displacement, however, permits the interrogative pronoun to fall immediately to the left of the main verb. This can cause the separation of the nominal or the adjectival constituent of the conjunct verb to the right (525a) or the left (525b). Conversely, in (525c) the pronoun is displaced to the right of the verb along with the temporal phrase. The (relatively) low frequency of the post-verbal interrogative pronoun shown in (525c) suggests that Rājbanshi differs from Bengali where "...there is a tendency to prefer final position for the word why – kæno..." (Masica 1991:387).

(525) a. आरसाल कियां दिस्लो मोक मालि? (GR.01.018)
arsal kiã d-isl-o mo-k gali
last_year why give-REM.PST-2sg 1sg[obl]-DAT rebuke
'Last year why did you tell me off?'

b. त तुइ एठ तियां क्लो? (GR.01.014)
ta tui eʰ throm kiã kʰ-r-l-o
PCL 2sg[pro] socially_unclean why do-PST-2sg
'Why did you make the water dirty?'

c. मोक मालि दिस्लो कियां आरसाल? (GR.01.019)
mo-k gali d-isl-o kiã arsal
1sg[obl]-DAT rebuke give-REM.PST-2sg why last_year
'Why did you tell me off last year?'
Masica (1991:388) identifies the following features of yes/no questions in Indo-Aryan languages:

"Yes/no questions may be marked simply by intonation... Most NIA languages may also employ a question marker particle, placed either sentence-initially (Standard Hindi, Sindhi, Punjabi) or finally (Bengali, Marathi, Sinhalese). The first is reminiscent of the Persian construction, the second of the Dravidian one. The question marker is often but not always identical with an unstressed form of the word what..."

Similarly, yes/no questions in Rājbanshi are marked in two ways: with the clause-initial polar question marker कि 'PQM', and/or with clause-final rising and sharply falling intonation. The use of the polar question marker is optional; the rise-fall intonation pattern falls clause-finally regardless of whether the marker is used or not. The polar question marker can not, however, occur sentence-initially (as in Standard Hindi), or sentence-finally (as in Nepali).

Consider, for example, the following two sentences. In the first, the intonation pattern indicates that the proposition should be understood as an interrogative. In the second, the same clause-final rise-fall intonation occurs, even though the polar question marker is present.

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76 Klaiman (1987:509) maintains that the interrogative particle कि in Bengali "...may occur in almost any position in a Bengali sentence other than absolute initial; however, sentences vary in their presuppositional nuances according to the placement of this particle, which seems to give the most neutral reading when placed in the second position (i.e. after the first sentential constituent). To illustrate, compare: tumi ki ekhane chatro? (you interrogative here student) 'are you a student here?'; tumi ekhane ki chatro (you here interrogative student) 'is it here that you are a student?'; tumi ekhane chatro (na) ki? (you here student (negative) interrogative) 'oh, is it that you are a student here?'."
7.1 Non-declarative speech acts

Masica (1991:389) continues:

"...text frequency counts might well show that yes/no questions are marked most often in NIA in general by intonation alone."

A frequency count of the yes/no questions in the Rājbanshi texts available shows that 91% (n = 23) of the examples utilise intonation alone. Only two examples (9%) use the polar question marker.

7.1.3.3 Tag questions

Tag questions are marked with the particles ना 'PCL[TAG]' or ने 'PCL[TAG]' (cf. also sections 3.7.8, 6.2.3 and 7.4.1.2). As shown in (526a-b) the tag question follows the main clause, and it implies that the speaker is requesting affirmation.

(526) a. ते मोक एकदिन त कान्बा दिबन ना? (MR.04.188)
   te mo-k ekʰin tʌ kan-ba-di-bʌn na
   PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT one_moment PCL cry-INF let-FUT-2pl PCL[TAG]
   'So, you'll let me cry for a while, won't you?'

b. एकजन वेरामि हुने, हाल जुता त नि जाबे ना? (GR.02.020)
   ek-jʌn berami hʌ-le hal jut-a tʌ ni one-PCLS ill be-COND.PTCL plough plough-PST.PTCL PCL NEG ja-bi na
   PASS.AUX-FUT-3 PCL[TAG]
   'If one becomes ill, ploughing will not be possible, isn't that correct?'
Conversely, tag questions (with an optional कि 'PQM' element) in (527a-b) denote uncertainty (stress is marked in the examples below with the diacritic ‘). 

(527) a. 'पामर तहरे नान, ने (कि)?

'पामर तहरे नान, ने (कि)

'पामर 2sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH name PCL[TAG] (PQM)

'Your name is Pāmar, isn't it?'

b. जहरे नाज़ ने (कि) 'पामर?

ताहरे नाज़ ने (कि) 'पामर?

ताहरे नाज़ ने (कि)

'पामर 2sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH name PCL[TAG] (PQM) 'Pāmar

'Isn't your name Pāmar?'

The focussed element is marked by stress-intonation.

(528) a. 'पामर आस्ले, ने (कि)!

पामर-ता as-l-1 ne (ki)

'पामर-NCLS come-PST-3 PCL[TAG] (PQM)

'It was PĀMAR who came, wasn't it?'

b. पामर 'आस्ले, ने (कि)!

पामर-ता as-l-1 ne (ki)

Pāmar-NCLS 'come-PST-3 PCL[TAG] (PQM)

'Pāmar CAME, didn't he?'

7.1.3.4 Alternative questions

In alternative questions the first proposition is followed by the disjunctive conjunction ना na 'or' and then the alternative proposition. If the alternative proposition is the negative counterpart of the first, it is often truncated as shown in the following examples.

(529) a. माज बाप छहु ना निछहु? (MR.05.309)

माज बाप cʰ-u-ku na ni cʰ-u-ku

mother father be-PRES-SA2sg or NEG be-PRES-SA2sg

'Do you have parents, or do you not?'

b. आप बाहा हड़वे कहम ना नि हड़वे कहम? (DLR.06.029)

ap baha ha-ic-e kaha-m na ni ha-ic-e kaha-m

PCL marriage be-PERF-3 say-FUT1sg or NEG be-PERF-3 say-FUT1sg

'Well, shall I say I am married, or shall I say I am not?'
7.1.3.5 Rhetorical questions

This category has been added only tentatively. There are two possible arguments for distinguishing the rhetorical question as a separate type.

Firstly, rhetorical questions are often formed by using the adjective/adverb आरह arh 'another; also; more'. Stress-intonation is placed on the interrogative pronoun (stress/intonation is marked in the examples below with the diacritic ' in (530).

(530) आरहा सुना खाएने 'किंग माजा पाबन आरहा? (cf. MR.04.111)
   alʰa su-na kʰa-en-e 'ki-ɹa maja pa-b-an arh
   now PCL eat-CONJ.PTCL 'what-NCLS taste get-FUT-2pl more
   'Eating me now what taste would you get, eh?' (Rhetorical; implying 'I am tasteless like this.')

However, the use of the pronominal adjective/adverb is optional. When it is omitted it is purely context and intonation which distinguishes the rhetorical question from the content question. Here again, stress-intonation is placed on the interrogative pronoun. Compare example (530) with that in (531).

(531) आरहा खाबन ते 'कि माजा पाबन? (MR.04.104)
   alʰa kʰa-b-an te 'ki maja pa-b-an
   now eat-FUT-2pl PCL 'what taste get-FUT-2pl
   'If you eat (me) now, what taste will you get?' (Rhetorical; implying 'I am tasteless like this.')

Secondly, stress-intonation patterns may support a separate category for rhetorical questions. The rhetorical question in (532b) is distinguished from the simple (non-interrogative) proposition (532a) in two ways: firstly by the adverb आरह arh, and secondly by sentence-final rise-fall intonation. Even when the adverb is deleted, as long as the intonation pattern is retained, the rhetorical implication will remain (532c).

(532) a. एनरह करे कचु बुनेचे।
   enaŋ kare kacu bun-ec-e
   like this ADVL [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-3
   '[Kacu]vegetables are planted like this.' (simple non-interrogative proposition)

b. एनरह करे कचु बुनेचे आरहह? (MR.04.007)
   enaŋ kare kacu bun-ec-e arh
   like this ADVL [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-3 more
   'So, [kacu]vegetables are planted like this too?' (Rhetorical; implying 'You are not planting the vegetables correctly.')
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c. एनङ करे कचु बुनेचे?

\text{en}_\text{ʌŋ} \text{kare \text{kacu} \text{bun-ec-e} \text{[rise-fall_intonation]} \text{like_this ADVL \text{[kacu]}vegetable plant-PRES-3}}

Gloss i (rhetorical): 'So, \text{[kacu]}vegetables are planted like this?' (Rhetorical; implying 'You are not planting the vegetables correctly.')

Gloss ii (yes/no question): 'Are \text{[kacu]}vegetables planted like this?'

The intonation pattern is logically akin to that in yes/no questions (compare gloss i-ii of (532c)), and therefore, as suggested above, one is compelled to ask whether it is merely context which distinguishes the rhetorical question.

7.1.4 Exclamation

I have tentatively maintained the distinction between the exclamative and the interrogative based on a contrastive stress-intonation pattern. In (533a) the exclamation places stress (and hence, raised intonation) on the head of the noun phrase, not the interrogative pronoun. In the exclamative example in (533b) stress falls on the pronominal adverb \text{ketek} \text{how_much}' (stress is marked with the diacritic ‘).

(533) a. \text{केनङ 'बुङ्दी मुट निन्त जमाक} (GR.02.056)

\text{ken}_\text{ʌŋ} \text{buddi} \text{mui di-n-u \text{ʌm\text{\text{a}-k}}} \text{what_kind 'wisdom 1sg[pro] give-PST-1sg 3pl[pro]-DAT}

'What kind of wisdom did I give them!' (i.e. 'I shouldn't have advised them.‘)

b. \text{त सुना भोके छताडे केतेक रहूँ} (DLR.05.051)

\text{t} \text{ʌ su\text{na} b\text{\text{\text{hi} ok=e k\text{â-ta-d\text{\text{a}-t}} \text{'ketek raha-b-a}}} \text{PCL PCL hunger(loan)=EMPH nest-NCLS-LOC \text{'how_much remain-FUT-3}}\text{'}

'How he sits in his nest in hunger!'\text{'}

Similarly, observe that in the interrogative in (534a) stress falls on the adjectival pronoun \text{केनन̓ 'what_kind}'. In the exclamative clause in (534b) stress is placed on the noun \text{मुट b\text{\text{\text{hi}}ul} 'mistake'}.

(534) a. \text{केनन̓ 'मुट?} (cf. GR.02.018)

\text{'ken}_\text{ʌŋ} \text{b\text{\text{hi}}ul}

'what_kind mistake

'What (kind of) mistake?'

b. \text{केतेकान 'मुट!}

\text{kete-k\text{\text{\text{\|an}} b\text{\text{\text{hi}}ul how_much-NCLS 'mistake}}\text{'}

'What (a) mistake!'\text{'}
7.1.5 Imprecative

Often the subjunctive mood is used in imprecatives (535a), and in blessings (535b). The future may also be used in some imprecative expressions (535c).

(535) a. बेटार मुथा खाइस!
    beṭar mutʰa kʰa-is
    son-GEN head eat-SUBJ2sg
    'May you eat your son’s head!' (That is, 'May your son die before you!')

b. बड हइस! बड़ा हइते!
    bʌr ʌh ʌrʌ ʰʌr ʌd ʌli ʰʌr ʌh ʌk
    big be-SUBJ2sg soon marriage be-(SUBJ)SA2sg
    'May you(r family) increase! May you soon be married!'

c. भगवान देव कारिकु! (or, कारकु)
    bʌgwan-dʌ=e bicar kar-ʌp-ku (or, kar-ʌk)
    god-NCLS=EMPH thought do-FUT-SA2sg (or, do-(SUBJ)SA2sg)
    'May god judge you!'

The following expletives were encountered:

(536) a. लाङटा लाङटा 'ill-behaved_person' (cf. GR.01.010)

b. सालार बुरः रे! (MR.04.080)
    sala-r burʰi re
    y.brother_of_wife-GEN old_woman INJ
    'Damned old woman!'

7.2 Phrase-internal constituent order

7.2.1 Noun phrase

Like many other NIA languages (cf. Masica 1991:369), the noun phrase structure in Rājbanshi is left-branching. Noun phrase constituent order can be illustrated as follows:

Table 53. Noun phrase constituent order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>(POSS) (ADJ) (QNT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>sg DEM -NCLS (ADJ) (QNT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl DEM -PL (ADJ) (QNT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The three types of constituent order illustrated in Table 53 will be covered in the following sections. (See section 7.4.3.1 for discussion on conjoined NPs.)

7.2.1.1 Noun phrase head

The head of a noun phrase can be a noun, a proper noun, or a pronoun. A Type 1 phrase construction is used in cases where the noun phrase refers to a nonspecific entity, as जाहाज jahaz 'aeroplane' in (537). The noun phrase is not marked with the noun classifier. (Refer to section 3.6.2.5.2 for further discussion.)

(537) तुइ जाहाज देखिचत?
  tui jahaj dekʰ-it
  2sg[pro] vessel(=aeroplane) see-PERF-2sg
'Have you seen an aeroplane?'

The elements which can precede the head in Type 2 and Type 3 phrase constructions are the demonstrative (538a), the numeral (538b), the possessor (538c) and the (adjectival) modifier (538d-e).

(538) a. उड परिन u-ḍʌ pʌi 'that-NCLS irrigation_channel' (cf. MR.05.094)
    b. एकटा पिख ek-ṭa pʰi 'one-NCLS bird' (cf. DLR.05.002)
    c. बेटीर पर beṭi-r gʰar 'daughter-GEN house' (cf. DLR.04.005)
    d. नाम चुंलित la’mʰi culi-la 'long hair-PL' (cf. MR.05.221)
    e. इड काटाल भातारट (cf. DLR.06.076)
       i-ḍʌ kaṭ-al bʰatar-ṭʌ
       DEM[prox]-NCLS cut-PST.PTCL husband-NCLS
       'this cut up husband'

Adjectives (539a), and nominalised verbs (539b), or postpositions (539c) may function as noun phrase heads.

(539) a. छटडक (cf. GR.01.029)
   cʰaṭ-a-k
   small-NCLS-DAT
   'the (socially) small (person)'

b. नि नामे गर्म तरम कब्री, जुरालेखान ले आन्
   ni lag-e gaṭam [t]aṭam kar-ba jura-l=e-kʰan
   NEG need-PRES3 hot [echo]hot do-INF cool_down-PST.PTCL=EMPH-NCLS
   l-e an-∅
   bring-CONJ.PTCL bring-IMP2sg
   'There is no need to warm it up (or something), bring the cooled down (one).'
7.2 Phrase-internal constituent order

7.2.1.2 Noun classifiers, plural marking, determiners and numerals

The basic difference between a Type 2 and a Type 3 noun phrase construction (cf. Table 53) is the position of the classifier. In a Type 2 phrase construction the noun classifiers -ट -टʌ (-ठ -ठʌ) and -ख -kʰʌ, and the plural marker -ला -la 'PL' attaches to the right of the stem, and case marking follows to the right of the classifier.

(540) a. बालटर bʰatʌr-a-tʌ 'husband-NCLS-DAT' (cf. DLR.06.113)
   b. बनिडुर्न gʰʌrni-ḍʌ 'wife-NCLS-DAT' (cf. DLR.04.007)
   c. बारिखाने bari-kʰʌn-er 'planting_plot-NCLS-GEN' (cf. MR.04.050)

In a Type 3 phrase structure the noun classifiers and the plural marker attach to the determiner (541a) or numeral (541b). Here also, case marking attaches to the phrase head (541c). By the term "determiner" I am implying the demonstrative or the numeral एक ek 'one', the latter functioning as an indefinite article.

(541) a. इडग़ा i-ḍʌ gʌrʰʌ 'DEM[prox]-NCLS dung_stick' ('this dung stick')
   b. दुईडा गर dui-da gʌrʰʌ 'two-NCLS dung_stick' ('two dung sticks')
   c. एक्ता गर ek-ta gʌrʰʌ-r 'one-NCLS dung_stick-GEN' ('a dung stick's)

The pronominal adverb occurs in the determiner position, and thus takes the noun classifier.

(542) एताखान लाम culi (cf. MR.05.238)
   ete-kʰʌn lamʰʌ culi
   this_much-NCLS long hair
   'such (a) long (strand of) hair'

7.2.1.3 Modifiers and quantifiers

In a Type 3 phrase structure the determiner (543a), or the numeral (543b) occur in phrase-initial position, and are marked with the noun classifier or the plural. In a Type 2 phrase structure, if the adjective precedes the head noun, without a preceding numeral or determiner, the noun classifier or plural is marked on the noun (543c).
Quantifiers, such as गटे 'all' in (544), precede the head. (As mentioned in section 3.6.1, some speakers use double plural marking, while others find this practice ungrammatical.)

The relative clause is discussed in section 7.4.2.2.2.

7.2.2 Postposition phrase

As discussed in section 3.6.4 there are three types of postposition phrases, and these partially overlap with case. Most often the noun and the postposition are mediated by the genitive case on the noun stem. "Type 4 case clitics" follow the noun with no genitive marking on the noun stem, though they do trigger genitive marking on the pronominal stem (cf. section 3.6.4).

The following table presents the constituent order in postposition phrases.

Table 54. Postpositional phrase constituent order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Lexical head</th>
<th>-CASE</th>
<th>Grammatical head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>case enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other nominal constituent</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>case enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 5</td>
<td>pronoun and other nominal constituent</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 6</td>
<td>pronoun and other nominal constituent</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>complex (compound) postposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.3 Adjective phrase

The adjective phrase consists of an adjective head and, optionally, an adverb which precedes it (545).

(545) (बाडा) मुस्किल (cf. MR.05.044)
   barak muskul
   very difficult
   'very difficult'
The adjective phrase head can be marked with conjunctive (546a) or emphatic (546b) clitics.

(546) a. झिृकअ ̂हुट ki= 'slim=CNJ' ('also skinny'; cf. DLR.05.005)
   b. काचए kacʌ=e 'uncooked=EMPH' ('(really) unripe/uncooked'; cf. MR.04.009)

Conjunct verbs can be formed with a single adjective (547a), or with two (semantically related) adjectives (547b).

(547) a. साफा कर- (cf. MR.05.135)
   sap^{b}a kar-  
   clean do-  
   'to clean'

   b. साफा सुघर कर- (cf. MR.05.132)
   sap^{b}a sug^{b}ʌr kar-  
   clean clean do-  
   'to clean'

The constituent order in the adjective phrase can thus be presented as follows:

Table 55. Adjective phrase constituent order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Reduplicated element</th>
<th>Head (primary element)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>(ADV)</td>
<td>ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(= CL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated</td>
<td>(ADV)</td>
<td>ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct verb</td>
<td>(ADJ)</td>
<td>ADJ (different)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.4 Verb phrase

By the term "verb phrase" I imply the structure of simple or complex verbs. Tense-aspect inflection and agreement are either marked on the stem of the main verb (in simple verb constructions), or on the auxiliary (in complex verb constructions).

In the simple verb construction, tense (future, present and past) and aspect (perfect and past continuous/remote past) marking can be isolated from agreement. In such cases tense and aspect marking fall immediately to the right of the main verb stem, and are followed by primary (548a) or secondary agreement (548b). Past habitual marking is fused with number agreement; the fused affixes join on to the right of the stem (548c). Imperative and subjunctive marking, which fuse with number agreement, follow the stem (548d). The contrafactual conditional clitic (-तन tan =PST.COND' (Ghailādubbā), or -हने hanē 'PST.COND' (Korobārī)) follows primary/secondary agreement marking (548e).
7. Syntax

(548) a. V-T/A-Agreement as in खाचे (morpheme order Type 1)
   kʰa-c-e
eat-PRES-3

b. V-T/A-Agreement as in कहि (morpheme order Type 1)
   kʰa-ʌ-c-ʌ
say-PRES-SA3

c. V-[Aspect + Agreement] as in रहे (morpheme order Type 2)
   rʌh-e
   live-PST.HAB3

d. V-[Mood + Agreement] as in नाधन (morpheme order Type 2)
   nadʰ-an
cook-SUBJ2pl

e. V-Tense-Agreement=CL as in बनुतन (morpheme order Type 3)
   bʌl-n-u=tʌn
   speak-PST-1sg=PST.COND

As mentioned in sections 3.7.3 and 3.7.9.2, Rājbanshi has several types of complex verb constructions. The second verb (in default order) is marked for tense, aspect, mood and agreement.

(549) a. V[BARE.STEM] V, as in ढोल पिटबा
    dʰol pʰiṭ-ba
drum_to_summon beat-INF

b. V-CONJ.PTCL V, as in कानिए उठबा (i.e. 'to cry out aloud')
   kan-ie uʧ-ba
cry-CONJ.PTCL rise-INF

c. V-ABS AUX, as in देखिए पेकालिक
   dekʰ-i pʰeka-l-ki
   look-ABS AUX-PST-SA3

d. V-CONT.PTCL AUX, as in आने रहियस
   as-te rʌh-is
come-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg

e. V-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX, as in देखा जाएँ
   dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
   see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
The following table illustrates these observations:

Table 56. Structure of the verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb structure</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb (simple)</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct verb N/ADJ</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct verb V(bare stem)</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational compound verb V -CONJ.PTCL V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-aspectual compound verb V -ABS AUX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous (aspect) V -CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive (analytic) V -PST.PTCL PASS.AUX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morpheme order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Agr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type1 Stem</td>
<td>-T/A -Agr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type2 Stem</td>
<td>-T/M +Agr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type3 Stem</td>
<td>-T/A -Agr = CL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3 Clause-internal word order

7.3.1 Basic word order

The unmarked word order in Rājbanshi is SOV.

(550) a. Intransitive
बेहारा उपरमाखे देखि (cf. MR.05.195)
ceŋra-da upar-makʰe dekʰ-b-ɪ
young_man-NCLS above-direction see-FUT-3
'The young man looked upwards.'

b. Transitive
उहाँ माअडक डाकाबा चाहाले। (cf. MR.05.314)
uhā maa-da-k ḍaka-ba caḥa-l-ɪ
to3sg[pro] mother-NCLS-DAT call-INF want_to-PST-3
'He wanted to call (his) mother.'

c. Dative subject construction
बेहारा डाका चाहाले। (cf. MR.05.017)
ceŋra-da-k ḍaṛ lag-i ge-l-ki
young_man-NCLS-DAT fear feel-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
'The young man was afraid.'
In unmarked ditransitive clauses the indirect object precedes the direct object.

(551) चेङराड उहाँक खसाखान सुनाि क। (cf. MR.05.153)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ceŋra-} & \text{uhã-} \\
\text{kʰisa-} & \text{sun-a-p-ki}
\end{array}
\]

young_man-NCLS 3sg[pro]-DAT story-NCLS hear-CAUS-FUT-SA3

'The young man told her the story.'

In unmarked copula clauses the complement follows the subject (552a). When overtly present, the copula (in default order) is found in clause-final position (552b).

(552) a. इड फुल हामार तिकार फुलड। (cf. MR.05.197)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
i- & \text{ḍʌ} \\
pʰul & \text{ti-kar} \\
pʰul- & \text{ḍʌ}
\end{array}
\]

DEM[prox]-NCLS flower 1pl[pro]-GEN towards-GEN flower-NCLS

'This flower is a flower from our region.'

b. इड लोक गचिमारिर हए। (cf. DLR.03.001)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
i- & \text{ḍʌ} \\
lok & \text{gacimari-r} \\
h & \text{ʌ-e}
\end{array}
\]

DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimäri-GEN be-PRES3

'This man is from Gacimäri.'

The location of the adverb phrase in relation to the verb seems to vary. In most cases the adverb (or adverbial phrase) falls to the left of the main verb (553a-b). In some cases, however, the adverb (or adverbial phrase) is located in clause-initial position (553c). Initial observations would suggest that positional differences do not cause changes in the salience of the adverb (or the adverbial phrase), at least as far as the temporal adverbial (553a,c) is concerned. Refer to section 7.3.3.1 for discussion on clause-final adverbs.

(553) a. Temporal

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kʰeṭia-la & \text{rat} \\
gʰuri & \text{as-ie} \\
kacu-la & \text{kʰa-e} \\
g & \text{ic-ki}
\end{array}
\]

jackal-PL night during come-CONJ.PTCP [kacu]vegetable-PL eat-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3

'The jackals, coming during the night, ate the [kacu]vegetables up.'

b. Directional

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
burʰa & \text{burʰi} \\
gʰar & \text{cul-i} \\
ge & \text{ʌ-ge-l}
\end{array}
\]

old_man old_woman house AUX-ABS go-PST3

'The old man and old woman went home.'

c. Temporal

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
rat & \text{kaɾe} \\
uhã- & \text{ʁ} \\
bʰatar- & \text{ta} \\
nida-e & \text{ge-ic-ki}
\end{array}
\]

night ADVL 3sg[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS sleep-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3

'During the night her husband fell asleep.'
7.3 Clause-internal word order

7.3.2 Deletion

The agent of a clause may be omitted if the correct referent is evident from the conjugation of the verb, or the immediate (deictic or other) context. Consider (554b), for example, where the agent is deleted. The listener is still able to determine the correct referent (the tiger) from the previous sentence (554a).

(554) a. बाघडर दाहाड गटडए खुने खुन हइ जाि। (MR.05.037)
   bagʰ-ḍʌ-r daha-ḍʌ gʌṭ-ṭʌ = e kʰun = e kʰun ha-i
   tiger-NCLS-GEN body-NCLS all-NCLS = EMPH blood(Nepali) = EMPH blood(Nepali) be-ABS ja-p-ki
   AUX-FUT-SA3
   'The tiger's body became bloody all over.'

b. तने सुना लाराइ ताराइ करिएने सुना उहाँक कहि...। (MR.05.038)
   tʌne suna larai tarai kar-iene suna uhã-k kʌhʌ-p-ki...
   PCL PCL fighting [echo]fighting do-CONJ.PTCL PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT say-FUT-SA3...
   'Then (after) fighting (he; the tiger) said to him...'

The patient ('it' / 'the kid') is omitted in (555b). Correct participant reference can still be deduced from the previous context (555a). Note that secondary agreement, which would, in an unmarked case, indicate the patient of the transitive clause in (555b), is omitted. This is due to a pragmatic inference of empathy (the narrator is conveying empathy towards the kid).

(555) a. हिदर बेहियाड पानि खाचे, हुदर छामलेर बाघडर पानि खाचे। (GR.01.006)
   hidʌr kʰetia-ḍʌ pani kʰa-c-e hudʌr cʰagal-er baca-ḍʌ
   over_here jackal-NCLS water eat-PRES-3 over_there goat-GEN baby(animal)-NCLS pani kʰa-c-e
   water eat-PRES-3
   'The jackal is drinking (water) over here, the kid (child of a goat) is drinking water over there.'

b. ते याहाँ देखि फेकले। (GR.01.007)
   te yaha dekhʰ-i pʰeka-l-ɪ
   PCL DEM[pro/prox] see-ABS AUX-PST-3
   'And it (the jackal) saw (it anyway).'

The indirect object can also be deleted. In the following example the listener is able to deduce the correct referent from the immediate context, together with recipient agreement marking on the verb (-ङ्क्र -ki 'SA3').
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(556) जुवाँड कहि... (cf. DLR.04.019)
juā-ḍʌ kʌha-c-ki
son_in_law-NCLS say-PRES-SA3
'The son-in-law said (to her)...'

In (557) both the subject and direct object have been deleted.

(557) आिनए बुिन दछे। (MR.04.023)
an-ie bun-i d-icʰ-e
bring-CONJ.PTCL plant-ABS AUX-PERF-3
'(They) brought (the vegetables, and then) planted (them).'

In Rājbanshi there is no restriction on pronoun deletion. In this respect the language would appear to function more like Hindi than Bengali, since according to Masica (1991:386):

"Subject pronouns appear to be not quite as readily deletable in Bengali as in Hindi, despite the clearer person marking in the former."

Determining whether deletion is used as a stylistic device, and/or used for focus and topicalisation requires further research. It is perhaps the absence of the agent and patient in (557) which renders salience to the action. In (558b) it is possibly the deletion of the agent which renders topic status to the patient, or which furthers the focus of the (accented) verb (marked with the diacritic \ˈ\). Note that in the previous clause (558a) the agent has been demoted to a non-topical clause-final position.

(558) a. तोक छन्न बाला नि छु मुइ। (cf. GR.01.022)
to-k cʰAr-ne wala ˈni cʰ-u mui
2sg[obl]-DAT spare-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) NEG be-PRES1sg 1sg[pro]
'[I][NON-TO]PIC [am not][FOCUS] [the one to spare you][TOPIC]'.

b. तोक 'खामु। (GR.01.023)
to-k ˈkʰa-m-u
2sg[obl]-DAT 'eat-FUT-1sg
'(I) [will 'eat][FOCUS] [you][TOPIC]'.

7.3.3 Displacement

In this section I will discuss the way elements within a clause are rearranged for purposes of topicalisation and focus (and perhaps de-emphasis). In using the term "fronting" I mean moving an element to the left of its unmarked position in the clause. Conversely, by
"rightward displacement" I mean the movement of an element towards the right.\textsuperscript{77} Fronting may result in a shift to clause-initial, and rightward displacement to clause-final position, but not necessarily so.

As a result of the sheer variation of re-ordering (and stress placement), it was difficult to devise comprehensive rules for displacement. Nevertheless, I believe several preliminary rules for fronting and rightward-displacement do emerge from the data. Primarily, the basic instrument for topicalisation in Rājbanshi is considered to be the movement of a topicalised constituent to clause-initial (or, pre-subject) position. Focused elements tend to attract stress and are usually accompanied by high pitch. Redundant (that is, less prominent) elements can occupy the right periphery, but are also found in clause-initial position.

Since the data available is unable to render complete support to this hypothesis, a far larger corpus would clearly have been useful. Although a more extensive data base would have exposed even further variation, it would at the same time have more likely highlighted the most common types.

\textit{7.3.3.1 Statistical observations}

Masica (1991:394-395) gives four categories for re-ordering in Indo-Aryan, and I will cite these here for the purpose of comparison:

1. \textit{Topicalization}: various clausal constituents, but most commonly the Object, may be topicalized by displacement leftward to the Topic (initial position). This is really a kind of deemphasis, usually involving (concomitant) emphasis of another constituent. ...
2. \textit{Question-answer focus}.
3. \textit{Rightward displacement}: a constituent may be displaced to the right of the VP for a kind of emphasis (in some cases at least – Hindi and Bengali appear to differ here – the "emphasis" is really on the preceding VP). ...
4. \textit{Scrambling}: other reorderings, particularly those involving displacement of the VP to initial position..."

\textsuperscript{77} Lambrecht (1994:182) defines displacement ("detachment") as follows: "...in many languages to code a not-yet-active topic referent in the form of a lexical noun phrase which is placed in a syntactically autonomous or "detached" position to the left, or, less commonly, to the right of the clause which contains the propositional information about the topic referent. The semantic role of the referent of such a lexical noun phrase as an argument in the proposition is usually indicated via an intra-clausal "resumptive" pronoun or other unaccented pronominal which is construed as coreferential with the detached lexical constituent." My use of the term therefore differs in that elements are generally displaced to the right without leaving a coreferential pronoun/pronominal.
Masica (1991:335) also observes that in some Indo-Aryan languages re-ordered clauses are relatively infrequent in comparison to clauses with an unmarked order:

"In any case, either kind of displacement [that is, emphasis or de-emphasis] is infrequent (2 per cent) in proportion to normally ordered sentences, and mainly confined to affective conversation (rare in literary prose). It would be useful to undertake actual counts in various registers. It is also likely that different NIA languages vary in the displacements they tolerate."

(Addition in square brackets mine).

A frequency count from the 885 clauses contained in the Rājbanshi oral narratives collected for this work reveal that approximately 20% have at least one displaced element.78 Interestingly the frequency of displacement does not seem to be related to the speaker per se. The three speakers DLR, GR and MR, who elicited the above-mentioned narratives used displacement as follows: DLR 20,7% (n=231 clauses), GR 18,7% (n=107 clauses) and MR 23,4% (n=547 clauses).

I purposely excluded several re-ordered elements from this frequency count. Firstly, discourse particles have not been counted, since the re-ordering of particles seems to have little or no effect on clause pragmatics. Therefore the particle झुना suna 'PCL' in clause-final position in (559a), and clause-medial position in (559b) were not considered examples of displacement.

(559) a. झुना आसै झुना। (cf. DLR.04.009)
cul-i as-ec-e suna
AUX-ABS come-PRES-3 PCL
'So, he keeps on coming.'

b. झुना में झुना सितान करिए घर झुना झुना आसै। (MR.05.240)
la-di-ংী se suna sin-an kār-ie guhr-àt suna cul-i
river-NCLS ABL PCL wash(body)-DVBL do-CONJ.PTCL house-LOC PCL AUX-ABS
as-b-1
come-FUT-3
'After bathing she came home from the river.'

Secondly, despite negative particles often being affected by re-ordering, they were not counted since it is sometimes unclear when they are being used as negative particles and

78 Word order is also found to be relatively free in various related NIA-languages. Consider, for example, Oriya according to Sahoo (1999:102; addition in square brackets mine): "The word order in Oriya is not very rigid. Some elements like numerals, classifiers, articles and quantifiers can occur both pre- and post-nominally without affecting the meaning of the D[eterminer] P[hrase] at all." Bhattacharyya (1999:72) notes similar free word order in Bengali, and Jha (1958:616), Yadav (1997 [1996]:302-302) and Yadava (1998:20-34) in Maithili.
when they have other functions. I did, however, consider MR.04.035 and MR.04.187 as relevant examples of a re-ordering of the negative particle, since in both cases the rightward displacement of the negative simultaneously causes the displacement of the adverb. This phenomenon will be discussed further below. The positioning of the negative particle(s) is covered in section 7.4.1.2.

Therefore, although the negative particle in (560) is clearly emphasised (featuring rightward displacement, rising intonation and vowel lengthening), the sentence was included in the frequency count, not because of the negative particle but because of the fronted patient (stress will be marked with the diacritić in subsequent examples).

(560) आप मोक आमा छद्मे निन (cf. MR.04.183)

| ap mo-k | amʰa | 'cʰAF-b-t | ni[:] |
| PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT 3pl[pro] | 'spare-FUT-3 NEG |

'Now they will not spare me.'

Thirdly, final elements which were clear cases of "afterthought" such as (561a), or the two corrective clause-final phrases in (561b) were not counted.79

(561) a. कोईखुना दुई महिना तक न माने, उड़ भागने माने। (cf. MR.05.125)

| koi-kʰuna | dui | mʰina | tak | ni | as-e |
| some-time | two | month | until | NEG | come-PST.HAB3 |
| u-ḍʌ | tʰan-ḍʌ-t | mane |
| that-NCLS | place-NCLS-LOC | PCL |

'Sometimes they didn't use to come for two months, to that place (I mean).'

b. बदला त लिया लामे उड़ हामांक, असार सड़े, वैटियार तड़े।" (cf. recording of MR.04.048)

| bədlə | tə | li-ba | lag-e | uhā-r | saŋe | hama-k, |
| revenge | PCL | take-INF | must-PRES3 | 3sg[pro]-GEN | with | 1pl[pro]-DAT, |
| amʰa-r | saŋe, | kʰeṭia-la-r | saŋe |
| 3pl[pro]-GEN | with, | jackal-PL-GEN | with |

'We have to take revenge on him; (I mean) on them, on the jackals.'

---

79 I consider the term "afterthought" to be a kind of corrective device which is used by the speaker when s/he is uncertain his/her sentence was sufficiently informative. I therefore make the distinction between "rightward displacement" and "afterthought", as Lambrecht (1994:203): "It is important to realize that the detached constituent in the antitopic construction does not express an afterthought in the proper sense of the word, as has often been claimed. Right detachment is a fully conventionalized grammatical construction which permits speakers to adhere to the Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role under specific discourse circumstances. A speaker who uses an antitopic construction is normally fully "aware" that the mere mention of the unmarked topic pronoun in the clause is insufficient for the hearer to understand who or what the proposition is about."
Finally, I avoided counting clause-initial temporal adverbs since the position of these seems to have little or no effect on the clause pragmatics. Therefore the two temporal adverbial phrases in the following example were considered to be unmarked cases, and were discounted.

(562) राति गुरिर, बार बजे, उड बाघड मुना... (cf. MR.05.086)
   राति घुरिर बार बजे उड़ बाघड मुना...
   night during twelve o'clock that-NCLS tiger-NCLS PCL...
   'During the night, at twelve o'clock, the tiger...' 

Sometimes the re-ordering of clause elements is accompanied by stress, and this triggers features such as higher intonation and vowel gemination. Often, however, stress is unpredictable, and therefore a cautious approach to the issue is imperative. Due to difficulties in interpreting the collocation of stress and re-ordering, I have not attempted to determine the frequency of elements which are fronted versus those elements which are displaced to the right of the verb.

Consider the following examples where it is unclear, even if stress and intonation are taken into account, whether the verbs have been focused by fronting, or whether the (possibly redundant) adverbial phrases (of location/direction) have been de-emphasised by rightward displacement. In example (563a) stress, accompanied by higher intonation, is placed on the adverb आरह 'more', and this would seem to imply that the locative has been displaced to the right as a redundant element. Conversely, in (563b) stress is placed on the directional. If stress were the sole determiner, one would need to conclude (which I do not) that the rightward displaced element in (563b) is in focus.

(563) a. तारा सारवेड आरह नि ये इड संसारत। (cf. MR.04.060)
   तारा सारवेड आरह नि ये इड संसारत।
   2pl[pro]-GEN grandfather-NCLS 'more' NEG be-PRES3 this-NCLS world-LOC
   'Your grandfather is no longer in this world.'

   b. आला जालु बेटीर घर। (MR.04.107; compare with MR.04.102 and MR.04.126)
   आला जालु बेटीर घर।
   now go-PRES-1sg daughter-GEN 'house
   'Now I am going to my daughter's house.'

Finally, one should be aware that fronting and rightward displacement are used infrequently in the Rājbanshi literary style (though there are also exceptions such as Rājbanshi VS 2064a-b). This is possibly due to a belief that such constructions are "spoken" but not "written". Some of the re-ordering devices discussed below are consequently more likely to be considered unacceptable in a written form.80

80 Lambrecht (1994:182) notes a typological tendency in this regard: "Detachment constructions are often considered substandard or at least inappropriate in formal registers." Jha (1958:616) also
7.3.3.2 Topicalisation

I use the term "topic" to mean the referent the proposition concerns.\textsuperscript{81} By the term "topicalization" I imply displacement of a constituent to a prominent (normally clause-initial, but sometimes clause-final) position in order to raise that constituent to topic status. Conversely, by the "focus" of a clause I mean an element which contains important (and, often contrastive) information, and which, due to stress-placement, is given specific prominence.

The simplest case of topicalisation is the fronting of the object to pre-subject position. In the following examples, stress falls on the verb.

(564) a. तोक मूं ‘बानुना’ (cf. MR.05.099)
   to-k mui \textsuperscript{'}k\textsuperscript{b}a-m-ku-n
   2sg[obl]-DAT 1sg[pro] 'eat-FUT-SA2sg-1sg
   'I will eat you\textsubscript{[TOPIC].}'

b. आप मोक त ताम ‘बानन रे’ (cf. MR.04.186)
   ap mo-k t\textsuperscript{'}a tam\textsuperscript{'}a \textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{a-b-an re}
   PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL 2pl[pro] 'eat-FUT-2pl PCL
   'Now you will certainly eat me\textsubscript{[TOPIC].}’

A similar situation also seems to apply in both of the following examples: although stress falls on the verb (or the negative particle), the direct object seems to remain topicalised.

(565) a. आप त मोक आमा ‘निचब्री’ (MR.04.100)
   ap t\textsuperscript{'}a mo-k am\textsuperscript{b}a \textsuperscript{'}c\textsuperscript{b}Ar-b-i
   PCL PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT 3pl[pro] 'NEG spare-FUT-3
   'Now they will not spare me\textsubscript{[TOPIC]}.'

b. आप मोक आमा ‘चब्री नि’ (cf. MR.04.183)
   ap mo-k am\textsuperscript{b}a \textsuperscript{'}c\textsuperscript{b}Ar-b-i ni
   PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT 3pl[pro] 'spare-FUT-3 NEG
   'Now they will not spare me\textsubscript{[TOPIC]}.'

\textsuperscript{81} Lambrecht (1994:131): "A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent."
It would appear that if the subject in the OS-constituent order is in focus, the direct object can still be topical. In the following example stress and higher intonation is placed on the subject मुइ́ मुइ́ '1sg[pro]'. The direct object which is fronted (or, displaced to the left) seems to remain in focus.

(566) तोर कादुवालि करा पानिखान 'मुइँ खाचु। (GR.01.012)

to-r kaduali kar-a pani-kʰan 'mui kʰa-c-u
2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS '1sg eat-PRES-1sg
'(Contrary to what you said, it is) [I] [FOCUS] (who) am drinking [the water made muddy by you][TOPIC].'

This then raises the question whether it is the re-ordering of SO to OS which enables the focus of the subject and/or the topicalisation of the object, OS being a deviation from the unmarked SO-construction. If so, topicalisation/focus would primarily be dependent on stress placement. At this stage I am unable to reach any conclusive resolution.

7.3.3.3 Verbal elements displaced by the fronting of the verb

Masica (1991:336) asserts that compounded verbal elements (non-finite element + auxiliary or modal) are only found to separate (by default) in the Indo-Aryan language Kashmiri:

"Moreover, if the verb consists of an auxiliary or modal + a non-finite element, the latter is (usually) pushed to the end... Such separation of verbal elements never occurs elsewhere in NIA."

Rājbanshi frequently uses this type of construction in marked clauses. When a verb phrase consists of a non-finite verb (main verb, infinitive complement or purpose clause) followed by a tense-carrying auxiliary, the finite verb can be fronted without the non-finite element. Thus the non-finite verb is left in post-verbal position.

Firstly, the quasi-aspectual auxiliary can be fronted, leaving the absolutive in post-verbal position. In fact, thirteen per cent of all cases of displacement in the narrative material collected are of this type. The construction occurs with all quasi-aspectual auxiliaries except for चुल- cul- (or, चतल- cʌl-) 'AUX'.

82 A somewhat similar construction is found in Hindi. Hook (1974:55), for example, notes: "Certain sequences of main verb and vector may be reordered in such a way that the vector appears as the stem and the main verb occurs with the desinence." Rājbanshi therefore differs from Hindi as regards the occurrence of desinence. That is, in Rājbanshi the fronted verb retains its inflection and agreement marking.
In (567a) the matrix verb and the quasi-aspectual auxiliary are in an unmarked order. Conversely, in (567b) the tense-carrying auxiliary has been fronted to a pre-matrix verb position. In these cases, the auxiliary is almost always marked with stress (and higher intonation). See section 3.7.10.2 where, in the unmarked construction the absolutive morpheme is -इ- 'ABS', but in the marked construction the absolutive is -इए-ie 'ABS'.

(567) a. त बुऱा बुऱलाक्र रिस उठि मेंकि
   tx burʰa burʰi-la-k ris uᵗʰ-i ge-l-ki
   PCL old_man old_woman-PL-DAT 'anger rise-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
   'And the old man and old woman got angry.'

b. त बुऱा बुऱलाक्र पेंकि रिस उठिए (MR.04.045)
   tx burʰa burʰi-la-k ge-l-ki ris uᵗʰ-ie
   PCL old_man old_woman-PL-DAT 'AUX-PST-SA3 anger rise-ABS
   'And the old man and old woman got furious.'

The inflected passive auxiliary may be fronted, leaving the main verb (past participle) in a post-verbal position. (Stress seems to fall on the past participle.)

(568) निज जाबे रहा इला साफा दनत (cf. DLR.04.030)
   ni ja-b-t rʌh-a i-la jʰag ara daⁿ-at
   NEG PASS.AUX-FUT-3 remain-PST.PTCL DEM[prox]-PL fight quarrel-LOC
   'One can not stay in this fighting.'

Hook (1974:62-63) continues: "Except for the example of cal given here, all the instances of reversed compound verbs which we have encountered express actions which involve actual physical (as opposed to psychic or metaphorical) movement. The conditions for reversal appear to include those emotions (anger, contempt, fear, surprise) which lead to extreme suddenness or indeliberateness in the performance of the action expressed. For some speakers verbs of running, throwing, hitting or breaking are all liable to reversal while more sedate or inherently durative verbs are not."

For the most part this relates well with Rājbanshi, though cases such as DLR.06.070 (surprise involved, but no physical action), MR.05.036 (no emotion or physical action involved), MR.05.094 (no emotion or deliberate physical action involved) and MR.05.221 (no emotion or deliberate physical action involved) would seem to demand further consideration of the issue. Moreover, one should also question whether the feature of suddenness (or, as Masica 1991:326 defines it, "the speed of the action") comes from the semantics of the quasi-aspectual auxiliary itself, and not the reversed structure. The topic requires further research.

Other examples of the reversed order in the text material include: DLR.04.023, DLR.04.028, DLR.05.029, DLR.05.032, DLR.06.059, DLR.06.060, MR.04.045, MR.04.095, MR.04.125, MR.05.028, MR.05.029, MR.05.122, MR.05.135, MR.05.165, MR.05.200, MR.05.213, MR.05.226, MR.05.241, MR.05.257, MR.05.266, MR.05.292, and MR.05.321.
Also the conjunctive participle is found in the clause-final position, following the inflected matrix verb.

(569) a. राजा-र बेटी-दा उ-दा ठप्पा-दा 'देक-ह्री-कुला-एने। (cf. MR.05.236)
rajā-r beṭi-ḍa u-ḍa ṭapla-ḍa 'dek\textsuperscript{b}-b-1 k\textsuperscript{b}ula-ene
king-GEN daughter-NCLS that-NCLS bundle-NCLS 'look-FUT-3 open-CONJ.PTCL
'The king's daughter opened the bundle and looked (at it).'</td>

b. माने 'चुलि गेल हपाए चुरिएने। (cf. DLR.04.033)
mane 'cul-i ge-l hapae g\textsuperscript{h}ur-ene
PCL 'AUX-ABS go-PST3 perhaps turn_around-CONJ.PTCL
'He perhaps turned around and left.'

The main verb can be fronted in such a manner that the infinitive (object) complement is displaced to the right, as in (570a-b). Similarly the (adverbial) clause of purpose falls to sentence-final position when the tense-carrying verb is fronted, as in (570c-d). (Stress placement in these cases is less clear than in (567a-b) and (569a-b).)

(570) a. चेङराड धल बािस बा। (cf. MR.05.324)
ceŋra-ḍa d\textsuperscript{h}ar-l-1 basi bal-ba
young_man-NCLS begin-PST-3 flute play(instrument)-INF
'The young man started to play the flute.'

b. बुर्हिड दरिए कान्बा। (cf. MR.04.192)
bur\textsuperscript{h}i-ḍa d\textsuperscript{h}ar-ic-e kan-ba
old_woman-NCLS begin-PERF-3 cry-INF
'The old woman began to cry.'

c. मुई न जाम देखबा। (cf. DLR.06.011)
mui ni ja-m dek\textsuperscript{b}-ba
1sg[pro] NEG go-FUT1sg see-INF
'I am not going to see.'

d. रानीर बेटिद 'जाने आन्बा। (cf. MR.05.234)
raṇi-r beṭi-ḍa 'ja-b-1 an-ba
queen-GEN daughter-NCLS 'go-FUT-3 bring-INF
'The queen's daughter went to take (it).'</td>

Finally, the nominal elements of conjunct verbs can be displaced to the right when the main verb is fronted. The unmarked structure of the conjunct verbs would be बदला लि-\textit{badla li} 'revenge take' (‘to take revenge’) in (571a), and गाली दि-\textit{gali di} 'rebuke give' (‘to scold’) in (571b).
The semantics of displacement in examples (567a-b)-(571a-b) is uncertain. Initially it would seem that the fronting of the inflected verb renders emphasis on that verb (or, auxiliary) by simultaneously de-emphasising either the other elements of the verb phrase (as in (567b), (568), and (571a-b)), or the embedded clause (as in (569a-b) and (570a-d)).

7.3.3.4 Post-verbal subject, object, indirect object and dative subject

The subject (572a), object (572a), indirect object (572b-c) and dative subject (572d) constituents are all found in post-verbal position, and in most cases this would seem to be caused by the fronting of the verb. It is likely that in (572a) the subject and the direct object are de-emphasised by being placed in clause-final position, and thus the comment कयाँ नि खाबो kiã ni kʰa-b-o 'why NEG eat-FUT-2sg' is brought into focus. In (572c) the auxiliary is fronted and the indirect object (recipient) is displaced to the right, possibly as a redundant element. This displacement of the indirect object seems to result in the topicalisation of the direct object फुलड pʰul-ḍʌ 'flower-NCLS'.

(572) a. कयाँ नि खाबो तुइ खराक? (MR.05.243)
   kiã ni kʰa-b-o tui kʰʌɾak
   'why NEG eat-FUT-2sg 2sg[pro] food
   'Why will you not eat food?'

b. उड़ सुक बािसड दे झाटा ठुबे कुवाडक। (cf. MR.05.199)
   u-ḍʌ 'suk basi-ḍʌ de jʰaṭa tʰuk-b-ɪ kua-ḍʌ-k
   that-NCLS 'happiness flute-NCLS INSTR stick hit-FUT-3 crow-NCLS-DAT
   'He threw the happiness flute at the crow.'

83 Compare with Masica (1991:334-335): "The purpose of the rightward displacement is either greater emphasis than can be attained in a position to the left of the verb, or in some cases, de-emphasis in the sense of 'afterthought' or redundancy."
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c. सुना पुलह दिग्दिगी मिराए चेहरार्हक। (MR.05.202)
   suna pʰul-ʌ dɪ-p-ki ˈgɪɾ-a-e cɛntɾ-ʌ-ʌ-ʌ k
   PCL flower-NCLS AUX-FUT-SA3 'fall-CAUS-ABS young_man-NCLS-DAT
   'The flower he dropped to the young man.'

d. 'बाडा बिना नाम नन्दिक उठाई। (cf. MR.05.205)
   ˈbara cinta lag-i ge-l-ki uhɑ-k
   'very worry feel-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 3sg[pro]-DAT
   'He got very worried.'

The clause-final position direct object can be in (contrastive) focus if accompanied by stress and higher intonation (573a-b). Since stress is placed on the clause-final direct object in (573a-b), it seems reasonable to maintain that the (post-verbal) positioning of the direct object is not due to the fronting of the verb. The same equally applies to the adjective phrase in (573c).

(573) a. चढ़ा खाबा पाचे 'बादाम। (GR.02.003; cf. also GR.022.012 and GR.02.057)
   gʰʌḍa-ʌ-ʌ kʰa-ba pa-c-e ˈbadam
   horse-NCLS eat-INF get-PRES-3 'nut
   'The horse gets to eat nuts (~ and not straw).'

b. अर्ज खाबा पाचे 'पुवाल। (GR.02.005)
   ʌmʰa kʰa-ba pa-c-e ˈpual
   3pl[pro] eat-INF get-PRES-3 'straw
   'They get to eat straw (~ and not nuts).'

c. नेकन उठ बेड़म दिले 'बहुत बाराब। (DLR.06.112)
   lekin  u-ʌʌ  berɛʰani cʰi-l-i ˈbʌhut kʰarab
   but(Hindi) that-NCLS woman be-PST-3 'very(Hindi) evil
   'But (on the contrary) that woman was terribly evil.'

7.3.3.5 Other displaced elements

Several other elements were found displaced in clause-final position: postpositional phrases (574a), various adverbs, such as temporal, locational, directional, reason, quantity and degree (574b), and genitive modifiers (574c). These cases seem to be mostly caused by the fronting of the verb.

(574) a. हामा आस्टए प्रम जाम तोक बच्चार तने। (cf. MR.05.183)
   hama as-ie pug-i ja-m-ʌ to-k ˈbʌhɛ-ba-r tane
   1pl[pro] come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl 2sg[obl]-DAT save-INF-GEN for
   'We will come in order to save you.'
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b. 'वर लामिलिक जुन्सा' (MR.05.025)
'डर लाड-की जुलम।' (MR.05.025)
'fear feel-PERF-SA3 very
'He was very afraid.'

c. 'काम जाम 'ढेड नि तोर।' (cf. GR.02.071)
'का्म जाम 'ढेड नि तोर।' (cf. GR.02.071)
'का्म जाम 'ढेड नि तोर।' (cf. GR.02.071)
'You are absolutely worthless.'

Also the adverbs कोधोए नि kodhoe ni 'never NEG' ('never') and कुछु नि kucu ni 'some NEG' ('nothing') need to be mentioned. In unmarked clauses the negative particle follows the adverb, as in (575a-b).

(575) a. 'कोधोए नि उहाँ काम कवरी'। (GR.02.052)
'कोधोए नि उहाँ काम कवरी'। (GR.02.052)
'कोधोए नि उहाँ काम कवरी'। (GR.02.052)
'He has never been a working (horse).'

b. उहाँ 'कुछु नि बले।' (cf. DLR.05.013)
'उहाँ 'कुछु नि बले।' (cf. DLR.05.013)
'उहाँ 'कुछु नि बले।' (cf. DLR.05.013)
'She didn't say anything.'

Conversely, when the verb is marked with the emphatic negative, the adverb is placed in clause-final position following the negative particle, as shown in examples (576a) and (576b).

(576) a. 'कचुला त गाजेचे रेइ नि कोधोए।' (MR.04.035)
'कचुला त गाजेचे रेइ नि कोधोए।' (MR.04.035)
'कचुला त गाजेचे रेइ नि कोधोए।' (MR.04.035)
'The [kacu]vegetables (just) never sprout up at all!'

b. 'मोर उपाय 'ढेड नि कुछु।' (cf. MR.04.187)
'मोर उपाय 'ढेड नि कुछु।' (cf. MR.04.187)
'मोर उपाय 'ढेड नि कुछु।' (cf. MR.04.187)
'There is no way (out) for me at all.'

One further displacement device involves the separation of the phrase head from its modifying elements. The indefinite article (एकटा ek-ta 'one-NCLS') is separated from the head noun either by the displaced subject (577a), or by the displaced indirect object (577b). Likewise, the subject is interposed between the genitive modifier तीर to-r
'2sg[obl]-GEN' and the head noun मासि 'sister_of_mother' in (577c). In (577d) the article is displaced to clause-final position.

(577) a. त एकटा उहाँ 'कडी पायिए'। (DLR.05.007)
   पीत्र: ek-ta uhā 'kadx pa-ic-e
   'He found a shell.'

b. न भटमट एकटा वाहौँ 'सुधि यिदिका'। (cf. MR.05.156)
   बढ़:ais-ta ek-ta yaha-k 'buddhî di-p-ki
   'The wild buffalo gave him an idea.'

c. तोर मुई मासि रे। (MR.05.277)
   तोर: mui 'masi re
   'I am certainly your aunt.'

d. 'चढ़ा बुढू ते एकटा। (cf. GR.02.040)
   'g: ada c:b-u-ku te ek-ta
   'But you have a horse.'

To determine what function this reordering has requires further research, but it may cause focus on the phrase head, and simultaneously then de-emphasise the modifying elements (be that indefiniteness in (577a-b,d), or the possessor in (577c)).

Finally, in the two following examples the genitive modifier is displaced to a post-head position. Hence, in (578a) the neutral modifier-head constituent order मौर पािनखान mo-r pani-k'an '1sg[obl]-GEN water' has been reversed to a head-modifier order. Likewise, the order of the phrase constituents याहाँर मनड yaha-r man-da 'DEM[pro/prox]-GEN mind-NCLS' in (578b) is reversed.

(578) a. पािनखान मौर 'किया कादुवािल करीचस? (GR.01.011; cf. also MR.05.235)
   पािनखान: mo-r 'kiã kaduali kar-ec-is
   'Why are you making my water muddy?'

84 Masica (1991:371) notes a somewhat similar construction within the Bengali NP: "In Bengali the Determiner (or at least its Indefinite instantiations) can be moved to a position between the adjective and the head noun. khub boro ekti pukur 'a very big tank', fundor fundor kaxkhāni pākha 'a number of very beautiful fans', birāt ekti nskhōttro 'a huge star'. This is a marked order, not the normal one. The Central and Western NIA languages seem not to permit this, but the other Eastern languages might well be looked into further, although I have so far found no examples."
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

7.4.1 Negation

7.4.1.1 General

Rājbanshi makes use of two negative particles: नि 'NEG' and ना 'NEG' (dialectal variant ने 'NEG'). The negative particle नि 'NEG' is used with all finite inflection (579a), apart from the imperative (579b) and subjunctive (579c) moods. Negation in those cases makes use of the particle ना 'NEG'. The negative particle नि 'NEG' is also used with the conjunctive participle (579d).

(579) a. Finite

त गाँव लोकला नि पत्याले ते... (cf. DLR.06.093)

\[\text{t a ga\={a}-r lok-la ni p\={a}tya-l-t te...} \]

PCL village-GEN man-PL NEG believe-PST-3 PCL

'The men of the village could not believe that...'

b. Imperative

ना कोहो।

\[\text{na koho-∅} \]

NEG say-IMP2sg

'Don't tell.'

c. Subjunctive

...आरह लोकला माने नि पाओक। (cf. MR.05.271)

\[\text{...arha lok-la mane disa na pa-ok} \]

...other man-PL PCL knowledge NEG receive-SUBJ3

'...so that the other men wouldn't find out.'
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d. Conjunctive participle

...दा मोच नि काटिएनी... (cf. MR.05.192)
...darʰi moc ni kāṭ-iene-
...beard moustache NEG cut-CONJ.PTCL-
'...not cutting his beard or moustache...'

The emphatic form of the negative particle is नेइए ne=ie 'NEG=EMPH'.

(580) केदारनिक त भालाकर नेइए काट्दे। (DLR.06.088)
bercʰani-dʌ tʌ bʰatar-tʌ-κ ne=ie kāṭ-b-ʌ
woman-NCLS PCL husband-NCLS-DAT NEG=EMPH cut-FUT-3
'The woman could never have cut (i.e. 'killed') the husband.'

The double negative in Rājbarsi renders the positive sense.

(581) ...नि करीठ नि हुमी। (cf. MR.05.255)
...ni kar-la=u ni hʌ-c-e
...NEG do-COND.PTCL=CNJ NEG be-PRES-3
'He has to do it.' (Lit. 'he must not [not do it].')

7.4.1.2 Position

In the majority (that is, 80%) of cases of the negative particle नि ni 'NEG' found in the text data, the negative particle is in the preverbal position, as in (582).

(582) सुना इड चेंगरा घर सर आर नि जाबे। (MR.05.115)
suna i-ʌ ceŋra ɣʰʌr sʌr ar ni ja-b-ʌ
PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS young_man house [echo]house again NEG go-FUT-3
'So, the young man didn't go home again.'

In conjunct verbs (583a) or analytic passive constructions (583b) the negative particle is often found to the right of the modifying constituent (583b).

(583) a. ...आरह लोकला माने हिमा ना पाऊँक। (cf. MR.05.271)
...arhʌ lok-la mane disa na pa-ʌok
...other man-PL PCL knowledge NEG receive-SUBJ3
'...so that the other men wouldn't find out.'

b. ...र्हा नि जाबे... (cf. DLR.04.030)
...rʌh-a ni ja-b-ʌ...
...remain-PST.PTCL NEG PASS.AUX-FUT-3...
'One can not stay...'
Fronting the negative to the left of the modifying element renders a marked construction which is deemed natural by some informants, but unnatural by others. Compare examples (584a-b) with examples (583a-b) above.

(584) a. (?)...आरह लोकला माने ना दिसा पाओक। (?)...arh lok-la mane na disa pa-ok
   (?)...other man-PL PCL NEG knowledge receive-SUBJ3
   'so that the other men wouldn't find out.'

b. (?)...नि रहा जाबे...
   (?)...ni rah-a ja-b-e...
   (?)...NEG remain-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3...
   'One can not stay...'

The negative particle in (585a) can not be fronted, as (585b) demonstrates. This is due to clausal negation: in (585a) the negative negates the main clause, while in (585b) it would (ungrammatically) negate the embedded clause.

(585) a. ...मुइ देखबा नि जाम। (cf. DLR.06.011)
    ...mui dekʰ-ba ni ja-m
    ...1sg[pro] see-INF NEG go-FUT1sg
    '...I am not going to see.'

b. *मुइ नि देखबा जाम।
   *...mui ni dekʰ-ba ja-m
   *...1sg[pro] NEG see-INF go-FUT1sg

Almost all cases of negation are clearly clausal, and I was unable to decide conclusively whether constituent negation occurs. Negative derivational prefixes are used in Indo-Aryan loan words, but cognate derivational devices were not found. The negative particle found in conjunction with various adverbs such as कुछु नि kucʰu ni 'nothing' (586) may seem to point to a constituent negation.

(586) मोर त कामअ कुछु नि, लेकिन...
    mo-r t kam=ʌ kucʰu ni lekin...
    1sg[obl]-GEN PCL work=CNJ some NEG but...
    'I have absolutely no work, but...'

However, in cases such as (586), the negative sense logically affects the matrix clause as a whole (due to the fact that (586) is a copula clause with a deleted copula predicate). Compare this with the two juxtaposed clauses in (587) (the copula has been added in
brackets for clarity). Though the scope of the negative particle would initially seem to be the noun, it in fact negates the whole copula clause.

\[(587)\] \textit{इड घर नि} (हृए), \textit{उड घर (हृए)}

\[i-\delta \Lambda g^b \lambda \text{r ni (हृ-e), u-\delta \Lambda g^b \lambda \text{r (हृ-e)}}\]

DEM[prox]-NCLS house NEG (be-PRES3), DEM[rem]-NCLS house (be-PRES3)

'(It is) not this house, (it is) that house.'

Negation can be emphasised by moving the negative particle to a post-verbal position. Higher intonation is found clause-finally in such constructions (marked with the diacritic ˈ in the following examples).

\[(588)\] a. \textit{मुइ देबा जाम ˈनि}.

\[...mui \text{ dek}^b-\text{ba ja-m} ˈ\text{ni}\]

...1sg[pro] see-INF go-FUT1sg 'NEG

'...I am not going to see (at any cost).'

b. \textit{रहा जाबे ˈनि}... (cf. DLR.04.030)

\[...r\text{ah-a ja-b-ɪ} ˈ\text{ni}...\]

...remain-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3 'NEG...

'One (really) can not stay...'

The negative particle in post-verbal position should be distinguished from a variety of related particles. Each function/particle shown in Table 57 is furnished with an example which is to be found in this section on Rajbansi negation.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Particle} & \textbf{Function} & \textbf{Example} \\
\hline
\textit{ni} & negation (neutral; cf. example 585a) & ja-∅ ni go-Imp2sg PCL (Please go.) (or, 'Go on now!') \\
\hline
\textit{na} & negation (neutral; cf. example 583a) & disjunctive conjunction 'or' (cf. example 589d) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

(589) a. \textit{जा नि} (DLR.06.006)

\[ja-∅ ni \text{ go-Imp2sg PCL} \]

'(Please) go.' (or, 'Go on now!')
b. दहिक ठीक से लें जा जैसे परोक ना।
dahi-k’an t’ik se le-i ja-∅ jese par-ok na
curd-NCLS exact ADVL take-CONJ.PTCL go-IMP2sg so that fall-SUBJ3 NEG
'Take the curd carefully so that it doesn't (in any circumstance) fall.'

c. जा ना देखता। (DLR.06.015)
ja-∅ na dekʰ-ba
go-IMP2sg PCL see-INF
'Go on and see!' 

d. माँ बाप छुकु ना तिन छुकु ? (MR.05.309)
ma bap cʰ-u-ku na ni cʰ-u-ku
mother father be-PRES-SA2sg or NEG be-PRES-SA2sg
'Do you have parents, or do you not?'

e. एकजन बेरामि हते, हाल जुता न नी जाबे ना? (GR.02.020)
ek-jʰʌn berami hʌ-le hal jut-a tni cʰni
one-PCLS ill be-COND.PTCL plough plough-PST.PTCL PCL NEG
ja-b-m ni
PASS.AUX-FUT-3 PCL[TAG]
'If one becomes ill, ploughing will not be possible, isn't that correct?'

Also note that the negative particle occurs, in most cases, in post-verbal position when the
matrix verb is marked with either the emphatic clitic (590a-b) or the conjunctive clitic (590c).

(590) a. आरे कहिव त बेहए नि! (cf. DLR.05.034)
are kʌḍi-ʌ ta cʰ-e=ie ni
INJ shell-NCLS PCL be-PRES3=EMPH NEG
'Oh, the shell is just not there!'

b. धल छे, वे हाल बहवें नि! (cf. GR.02.034)
gʰʌḍa cʰ-e te hal bʌhʌ-b-i=i ni
horse be-PRES3 PCL plough plough-FUT-3=EMPH NEG
'I have a horse, but it can not plough at all.'

c. ...आर बाराब कामा कल्याक नि... (cf. DLR.05.065)
...ar kʰarab kat’a bal-ba=ʌ ni...
...and bad thing speak-INF=CNJ NEG...
'...and that (one) shouldn't speak bad things either.'
The negative of the perfect and past continuous/remote past take past habitual marking.

(591) a. तने कहते, आइ, मोर माने कोई तुक नि परें। (MR.05.343)
    tanे kha-tē-p-ki ai mo-r mane koe duk ni par-e
    PCL say-FUT-SA3 mother 1sg[obl]-GEN PCL some trouble NEG occur-PST.HAB3
    'Then (he) said to (her), 'Mother, I don't have any trouble.'

b. बुराड मरनि तराकि नि। (MR.04.083)
    burā-ḍʌ mar-e ki tār-e ki nī
    old_man-NCLS die-(PST.HAB3)SA3 [echo]die-(PST.HAB)SA3 NEG
    '(Her) old man hasn't died at all!'

This usually also applies to the quasi-aspectual auxiliaries, though the present can also be used in this context. Example (592a) is stated in the negative, with either the past habitual, or (due to tense neutralisation in the narrative context) the present (592b).

(592) a. बाघड सोरटक ना कारे लेि। (cf. MR.05.031)
    bagʰ-ḍʌ sor-tā-k nacʰ-ra-e l-ec-ki
    tiger-NCLS pig-NCLS-DAT claw-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3
    'The tiger clawed the boar.'

b. बाघड सोरटक नि ना कारे। (or, नाद्यागिक)
    bagʰ-ḍʌ sor-tā-k nī nacʰ-ra-ki (or, nacʰ-ra-c-ki)
    tiger-NCLS pig-NCLS-DAT NEG claw-SA3 (or, claw-PRES-SA3)
    'The tiger didn't claw the boar.'

Payne (1999 [1997]:289) reports that in Tennet (Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic) the verb changes to the subjunctive mood whenever the negative occurs in conjunction with the perfective aspect. What happens in Rājbanshi is somewhat similar, except that it is a past habitual marking that is assumed by the perfect aspect. Whether this is related to the negative being linked with the irrealis is unclear.

Past habitual and subjunctive marking in Rājbanshi are actually identical, apart from the 3p suffixes. In the past habitual the 3p is marked with -ए -e 'PST.HAB3', and the subjunctive is marked with either -ए -e 'SUBJ3' or -ओक -ok 'SUBJ3'. In the above-mentioned examples, the 3p marker -ए -e is not interchangeable with the subjunctive marker -ओक -ok 'SUBJ3'. Based on this distinction it is evident that the negative of the perfect or past continuous/remote past takes on past habitual, not subjunctive, inflection.
7.4 Subordination

In this section I will consider subordination, as used in subject and object complement clauses, noun and verb modifying clauses and conditional clauses.

7.4.2 Complement clauses

The following types of complementation were found in Rājbanshi: complements using the subordinators कि ki and ते te, clauses using complementisers कहे(ने) kahe(ne) and करे kare, infinitival complements and participial complements. These are to be found in the appropriate subject and direct object slots shown in Table 58.

Table 58. Subordinators, complementisers and complements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SU</th>
<th>Complement in copula clause</th>
<th>DO</th>
<th>Direct discourse marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clause with subordinator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कि ki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ते te</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause with complementiser</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कहे(ने) kahe(ne)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>करे kare</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बोली boli</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause with infinitival complement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाल ba-r'-INF-GEN'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बा ba'-INF'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause with participial complement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बा ba'-CONT.PTCL'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(loan construction)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.2.1.1 Clauses with subordinators कि ki and ते te

Clauses with the subordinator कि ki function as object complements (593). The subordinator precedes the complement clause.

(593) दुनिया लोगों देख नि (यहाँ) अलवत बेछा! (cf. DLR.06.102)

world-GEN man-PL see-PST-3 SUBORD (3sg[pro/prox]) excellent woman

'The men of the world thought (lit. saw) that (she was) an excellent woman.'

As mentioned in section 6.2.4, in many cases the subordinator कि ki is interchangeable with the particle ते te 'PCL'.
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(594) बुऱाड सुनेचे ते (or, फक) तुर्यं बेटिला सागराला लागाए विए (cf. DLR.04.029)
burʰa-da sun-e-e te/ki juā beṭi-la jʰagāra laga-e d-icʰ-e
old_man-NCLS hear-PRES-3 SUBORD son_in_law daughter-PL fight begin-ABS AUX-PERF-3
'The old man heard that the son-in-law and daughter had begun to fight.'

7.4.2.1.2 Clauses with complementisers कहेले(हे) बाहे(हे) and करे kare

The conjunctive participle of the verb 'to say' कहेले(हे) 'say-CONJ.PTCL' (also,
कहए kʌhʌ-e 'say-AUX-PST-3') has been analysed as a complementiser 'CMPL' in (595a-c).\(^{85}\) In addition,
कहेले(हे) kʌhʌ-e(हे) 'say-CONJ.PTCL' often marks direct discourse (595d). In either case it is
placed at the end of the embedded clause or quotation.

(595) a. तगाअँर लोकला ने पयाले ते बेछा तनड काट्ऩे।
tʌ gaʌr lok-la ni ptya-l-
PCL village-GEN man-PL NEG believe-PST-3
te bercʰani-da kʌṭ-b-
kʌhe
SUBORD woman-NCLS cut-FUT-3 CMPL
'The men of the village could not believe that the woman will (or, 'could') kill her
husband.'

b. बुर्ड कुछु कठन परिश्रम कहेने बैया पायले।
burʰi-ḍʌ kucʰu kʌṭʰin-ʌt par-ie-e kʌhe tʰaha pa-l-
old_woman-NCLS some difficult-LOC fall-PERF-3 CMPL knowledge(Nepali) fall-PST-3
'He found out that the old woman had fallen into some trouble.'

c. आमेकात बाराबे हुँ गेलन कहेने कहबा हुने।
amʰ-a-k barabar=ε hʌ-i ge-l-an kʌhe kʌha-ba hʌ-b-
3pl[pro]-DAT equal=EMPH be-ABS AUX-PST-2pl CMPL say-INF should-FUT-3
'I should say to them that they were even.'

d. "याहाँर बुर्ड नेपाल नालेड, " कहेने ते बुर्ड बैया पर चुलि मेल।
yaha-r bādlā l-ie eʰ-ar-im-ka-n kʌh-enε
3sg[pro/prox]-GEN revenge take-CONJ.PTCL let-go-FUT-SA2pl-1sg say-CONJ.PTCL
danʰe burʰa burʰi gʰar cul-i ge-l
both old_man old_woman house AUX-ABS go-PST3
' 'I will leave you alone only after having had (my) revenge for this!' Having said this
both the old man and old woman went home.'

\(^{85}\) Compare with Masica (1991:402-3): "In Sinhalese, Dakhani, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, and also
Nepali, the use of a postposed marker based on the CP of the verb say (Si. kiyalā, D. bolke, O.
boλi, B. bole, A. buli, N. bhānera) has often been remarked upon as a Dravidian calque (Telugu anǐ,
Tamil enṟṟu, etc.), although it is also found in some Tibeto-Burman languages."
Distinguishing between the complementiser and the direct discourse marker can be problematic in some cases. For example, it is unclear whether कहेने kah-ene is functioning in (596) as a subordinator (gloss i), or a direct discourse marker (gloss ii).

(596) "एक दन दे बा हबे," कहेने रानि यात्रिणि मने मने मनें। (cf. DLR.05.022)

\[
\begin{align*}
ek\text{-}din & \text{ dek}^h\text{-}ba \text{ ha}^b\text{-}1 \text{ kah}^h(\text{-})\text{ene} \text{ ra}^d\text{iani}\text{-}d\text{A} \text{ man} = e \\
\text{one-day} & \text{ see-INF} \text{ must-FUT-3 CMPL/say-CONJ.PTCL} \text{ widow-NCLS} \text{ mind} = \text{EMPH} \\
\text{man} = e & \text{ sac}^l\text{-}i-1 \\
\text{mind} = \text{EMPH} & \text{ think-PST-3}
\end{align*}
\]

Gloss i. 'The widow thought secretly, that "One day I will have to see".' (subordinating function)
Gloss ii. 'Having said "One day I will have to see," she thought about (it) to herself.' (direct discourse marker)

Also the past tense of the verb 'say; speak' बोले bol-\text{-}e is used to mark direct quotations. In research to date it has not been found to function as a subordinator as such.66 It is mainly found in a pre-quote position (597a), though it can also fall after the quotation (597b). (Refer also to section 6.1.6 for discussion on the use of बोले bolt as a quotative particle.)

(597) a. । त बोले, "अह ते कि कहूटो सुना?" (cf. DLR.04.009)

\[
\begin{align*}
t \text{ bo(l)}\text{-}l\text{-}i-1 & \text{ ai te ki kha}^h\text{-}b\text{-}o \text{ suna} \\
PCL & \text{ say-PST-3 INJ PCL what say-FUT-2sg PCL} \\
'But she said, "Eh, what can you say?"'
\end{align*}
\]

b. । "ह," बोला। (MR.04.064)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha} & \text{ bo(l)}\text{-}l\text{-}i-1 \\
\text{OK} & \text{ say-PST-3} \\
' & "OK," they said.
\end{align*}
\]

As mentioned in section 5.1, the adverbialiser करे kare appears to function as a clausal complement, for example in मोक बाउ करे mo-k bau kare '1sg[obl]-DAT father CMPL' in (598).

(598) मोक बाउ करे कोहो त एक टाका दिमुना।

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo-k} & \text{ bau kare koho-∅} \\
1\text{sg[obl]}\text{-DAT} & \text{ father CMPL say-IMP2sg} \\
\text{ta} & \text{ ek taka di-m-ku-n} \\
PCL(then) & \text{ one coin give-FUT-SA2sg-1sg} \\
'& 'Call me father, (and) I will give you one coin.'
\end{align*}
\]

66 Compare with Masica (1991:403): "Assamese, while using buli as a clause-final subordinator, uses bole as a clause-initial subordinator."
The subject of a copula clause may be substituted by a clause, the predicate of which is marked with the infinitive -बा -ba 'INF' and the genitive -र -r 'GEN'.

(599) a. इखान धुपेर (समय) इड गाछेर तलत जिजराबार खबे -िसया।
   [DEM[prox]-NCLS sun-GEN (time) [DEM[prox]-NCLS tree-GEN below]
   jira-ba-r] kʰab = e rus rus-ia
   rest-INF-GEN] [SUBJECT] very = EMPH [rus rus]-ADJR
   'To rest under this tree in this sun is very refreshingly cool.'

b. खान पिनेर व्यज्वना कबार सुखिला हुँ। (cf. MR.05.316)
   [kʰan-er bewastʰa kʌr-ba-r]
   [food drink-GEN arrangement(loan) do-INF-GEN] [SUBJECT] easy(loan) be-FUT-3
   'The arrangement for eating and drinking will be easy.'

c. हइचोक खाबार आन्दरए। (cf. GR.02.013 for a similar structure)
   hʌ-ic-ok [kʰa-ba-r]
   be-PERF-SA2sg [eat-INF-GEN] [SUBJECT] well
   'You eat well.' (Lit. '(Your) eating is fine.')

87 The suffix -बार -ba-r in infinitival complements and participial clauses has been analysed as the infinitive followed by the genitive (-ba-r ; as Toulmin 2006:224), and not as a -bar infinitive suffix in its own right (as Poudel 2006:39) due to a comparison with Maithili and Hindi.

In Maithili the infinitive -ब in can be used to mark a subject complement (in place of the gerundial -न 'GER'). This renders some support for considering the -ba element in the Rājbanshi -बा -bar as the infinitive. The Maithili टे ल-ब and टेल-नै in example (xxiii) would be represented in Rājbanshi as बेराबार berab-ba-r 'walk-INF-GEN' (compare with text example MR.05.316).

(xxiii) Maithili (Yadav 1997 [1996]:235)
   टे ल-ब / टेल-नै बाहियां byayam oich
   walk-INF / walk-GER good exercise is
   'To walk/walking is a good exercise.'

In Hindi complex nominal clauses such as (xxiv.a-b) the infinitive is followed by the genitive. The complement करने की karne kī in (xxiv.a), and the participial clause लिखने की likhne kī in (xxiv.b) would be would be represented in Rājbanshi and कबार kʌr-ba-r 'do-INF-GEN' and लिखबार likʰ-ba-r 'write-INF-GEN' respectively. (Compare also with text examples GR.02.052 and MR.04.123.)

(xxiv) a. कौन सी बात करने की हैं? kaun sī bāt karne kī hai 'what PCL thing do-INF GEN is' ('what thing is worth doing')
   b. लिखने की मेज likhne kī mez 'write-INF GEN table' ('writing table')

Hindi (Tikkanen 1991:156)
The non-finite complement marked with the infinitive and genitive -बार -ba-r 'INF-GEN' can also function as the complement of a copula clause (cf. section 3.7.7.5).

(600) मूढ आन्वार छिन्न।
mui as-ba-r cʰi-n-u
1sg[pro] come-INF-GEN be-PST-1sg
'I was about to come.' (prospective)

In addition to modal auxiliaries (601a; cf. section 3.7.9.1), certain verbs can take infinitival object complements (601b). These are marked with the infinitive -बा ba 'INF', and are therefore identical in form to the adverbial clauses of purpose (601c) which will be discussed in section 7.4.2.3.2 (cf. also Masica 1991:407). Examples (601b) and (601c) are distinct, in that the former operates as an argument of the predicate, whereas the latter is a adverbial modifier of it (cf. Payne 1999 [1997]:316-317).

(601) a. मोक मनंडत कान्ना मेनाचे। (cf. GR.02.069)
mo-k mʌn-ḍʌ-t kan-ba mena-c-e
1sg[obl]-DAT mind-NCLS-LOC cry-INF want_to-PRES-3
'I want to cry in my mind.'

b. उहाँर बेटीं आँणांमयः खाबा परिल। (cf. DLR.04.003)
uhã-r beṭi-ḍʌ accʰa se kʰa-ba dʰʌr-il
3sg[pro]-GEN daughter-NCLS good ADVL eat-INF begin-PST3
'His daughter began to eat well.'

c. मालिकं धारांको आर मोरटामक आन्वामयः (cf. GR.02.078)
malik-ḍʌ gʰʌda-ḍʌ=k=e ar goru-ḍʌ-k an-ba g-isl-t
master-NCLS horse-NCLS-DAT=EMPH and bullock-NCLS-DAT bring-INF go-REM.PST-3
'The master went to bring the horse and the bullock.'

7.4.2.1.4 Participial complements

Noonan (1987 [1985]:62) maintains that the "...only place in complement systems where participles are regularly found is in complements to immediate perception predicates." This applies in Rājbanshi as the following examples indicate. Participial complements of this kind function in the object slot. As in Maithili (cf. Yadav 1997 [1996]:351), the object complement can use either the -बा ba 'INF' infinitive (602a-b) or the continuous participle -ते te 'CONT.PTCL' (602c). Note that the object complement in (602b) is split due to the fronting of the subject of the complement clause.
7. Syntax

(602) a.

[burʰi-da-k kan-ba] sun-iene gate kʰetia-la
[old_woman-NCLS-DAT cry-INF][OBJECT.COMPL] hear-CONJ.PTCL all jackal-PL
suna...
PCL
'Hearing the old woman crying, all of the jackals...'

b.

[uhã-k] mui [as-ba] dekʰ-n-u
[3sg[pro]-DAT][OBJECT.COMPL.A] 1sg[pro] [come-INF][OBJECT.COMPL.B] see-PST-1sg
'I saw him coming.'

c.

uhã-k mui as-te dekʰ-n-u
3sg[pro]-DAT 1sg[pro] come-CONT.PTCL see-PST-1sg
'I saw him coming.'

7.4.2.2 Noun modifying clauses

There are basically two strategies used in clausal noun modification: the participial clause and the relative clause. These will be considered in their respective sections below.

7.4.2.2.1 Participial clauses

The participial clause uses the past participle -आ(ल) -a(l) 'PST.PTCL' for past reference (603a-b; note the relation to the statal passive) and the infinitive-genitive construction -बार ba-r 'INF-GEN' for present reference (603c-e). Note that the nominal phrase head of the infinitive-genitive construction is often optional.

(603) a.

i-da kat-al bʰatar-CTL
DEM[prox]-NCLS cut-PST.PTCL husband-NCLS
'this cut-up husband'

b.

to-r kaduali kar-a pani-kʰan
2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS
'the water made muddy by you'

c.

eʰagal car-ba-r (kam / lok)
female_goat graze-INF-GEN (work / person)
'goat-grazing (work / person)'
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

7.4.2.2.2 Relative clauses

7.4.2.2.2.1 Basic parameters

The relative pronoun functions as the relativiser, and it agrees with the head noun in number, noun class and case. The relativiser tends to occur in relative clause-initial position.

In prenominal relative clauses it is possible to relativise on the subject (604a), the direct object (604b), the indirect object (604c), the modifying possessor (604d) and the postpositional phrase (604e).

(604) a. Subject

\[\text{jei-ḍʌ ceŋra cʰagʌl cara-isl-1 sei-ḍʌ who-NCLS young_man female_goat graze-REM.PST-3 CORR[obl]-NCLS (or,_u-ḍʌ) ceŋra... (or,_DEM[rem]-NCLS) young_man... 'The young man [who was grazing the goats], that young man...'}\]

b. Direct object

\[\text{jei-la cʰagʌl ceŋra-ḍʌ cara-isl-1 sei-la which-PL female_goat young_man-NCLS graze-REM.PST-3 CORR[obl]-PL (or,_u-la) cʰagʌl... (or,_DEM[rem]-PL) female_goat... 'The goats, [which the young man was grazing], those goats...'}\]

c. Indirect object

\[\text{jei-ḍʌ burʰi-k ceŋra-ḍʌ pueʰari kar-isel-ki uhā which-NCLS old_woman-DAT young_man-NCLS question do-REM.PST-SA3 3sg[pro] (or,_u-ḍʌ burʰi)... (or,_DEM[rem]-NCLS old_woman)... 'That old woman [whom the young man asked], she (or, that old woman)...'}\]
Likewise, in post-nominal relative clauses it is possible to relativise on the subject (605a), the direct object (605b), the indirect object (605c), and the modifying possessor (605d). Informants were, however, divided over whether one can relativise on the postpositional phrase (605e).\footnote{Further study is required concerning which positions can be relativised in Rājbanshi. That the genitive phrase (605d) would be more accessible to relativization than the oblique phrase (605e) contradicts the "Accessibility Hierarchy" (SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP) proposed by Keenan \textit{et al} (1977:66). Another feature requiring further research, is what the relative pronoun relativises on in (605a). According to two informants, it is difficult in (605a) to determine (without an overt correlative) whether one is relativising on the subject or the direct object. This discrepancy may be linked to whether the relative clause is interpreted as post-nominal, or whether it is interpreted as prenominal with a fronted subject (cf. below for discussion on displacement within the relative clause). In a natural context the two would be distinguishable according to intonation.}

\subsubsection*{d. Possessor}
\begin{verbatim}
jei-ḍʌ burʰi-r beta-ḍʌ raja-r gʰar-at kam kar-ki which-NCLS old_woman-GEN son-NCLS king-GEN house-LOC work do-SA3 uhā (or, u-ḍʌ burʰ)(3sg[pro] (or, DEM[rem]-NCLS old_woman)...'
\end{verbatim}

'The old woman [whose son used to work in the king's house], she (or, that old woman)...'

\subsubsection*{e. Postpositional phrase}
\begin{verbatim}
jei-kʰan jaŋal-er biti cepra-ḍʌ cul-i g-icʰ-e which-NCLS jungle-GEN towards young_man-NCLS AUX-ABS go-PERF-3 u-kʰan jaŋal-at... DEM[rem]-NCLS jungle-LOC...

'The jungle [which the young man had gone to], in that jungle...'
\end{verbatim}
b. Direct object
अइला छागल जेइरा चराइमुः, सेइमुः / उला छागल...
ai-la c^agAl jei-la-k ce^nra-ḍʌ cara-isl-1
DEM[rem/emph]-PL female_goat which-PL-DAT young_man-NCLS graze-REM.PST-3
sei-la (or, u-la) c^agAl...
CORR[obl]-PL (or, DEM[rem]-PL) female_goat...
'The goats, [which the young man was grazing], those goats...' 

The goats, [which the young man was grazing], those goats...' 


c. Indirect object
उड रानी जाहांक चराइमुः कहिदुिलहान झाका दे t उड़हाँ...
u-ḍʌ rani jahã-k ce^nra-ḍʌ kâha-p-ki mo-k
DEM[rem]-NCLS queen who-DAT young_man-NCLS say-FUT-SA3 1sg[obl]-DAT
dui-ḍʌ lihani j^aka de-∅ tʌ uhã...
two-NCLS blanket cover give-IMP2sg PCL 3sg[pro]...
'That queen [whom the young man said "Cover me with two blankets" to], she...' 

That queen [whom the young man said "Cover me with two blankets" to], she...' 

d. Possessor
अइडबु रा्हा ते राजार घरत काम करे, उढ़हाँ / उड बृहि...
ai-ḍʌ bur'h i jahã-r be^ta-ḍʌ te raja-r g^hâr-ɑt
DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS old_woman who-GEN son-NCLS PCL king-GEN house-LOC
kam kar-eki uhã (or, u-ḍʌ bur'h)...
work do-SA3 3sg[pro] (or, DEM[rem]-NCLS old_woman)...
'That old woman [whose son used to work in the king's house], she (or, that old
woman)....'

That old woman [whose son used to work in the king's house], she (or, that old
woman)....'

e. (?) Postpositional phrase
(?) अइखान जङलेर ित जेइबित चराइमुः चुिल िगछे, उखान जङलत...
ai-k^an jâŋal-er ti jei-biti ce^nra-ḍʌ
DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS jungle-GEN towards what-towards young_man-NCLS
cul-i g-ie^h-e u-k^an jâŋal-ɑt...
AUX-ABS go-PERF-3 DEM[rem]-NCLS jungle-LOC...
(?) 'That jungle [which the young man has gone to], in that jungle...'

'That jungle [which the young man has gone to], in that jungle...'

Initial observations indicate that relative clauses in Rājbansi are mostly prenominal. Masica (1991:411) maintains that in Indo-Aryan languages the prenominal and postnominal can often be characterised as restrictive and non-restrictive respectively:

"The classic distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses plays a role in these: a non-restrictive clause comes after the Head, or to the right of the main clause - and requires no correlative."

The Rājbansi data shows a similar tendency in some cases, though further research is required. The prenominal relative clauses above (and the "internally headed" clauses; cf.
below) are all restrictive, that is, they all restrict the reference of the head. Conversely, postnominal clauses such as (606a) can be non-restrictive, in that the postnominal clause is an "added piece of information about an already identified entity" (Comrie 1989 [1981]:139). The postnominal relative clause in (606a) occurs between two pauses, and has rising intonation. Intonation, however, does not seem to indicate the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, since both the prenominal (606a) and the postnominal (606b) clauses tend to be intonationally set off from the main clause.

(606) a. इला, जेइला लाम लाम देखा जाछे, इला(क)... (cf. MR.02.021)
   i-la [pause]
   DEM[prox]-PL [pause]
   jei-la lamʰ-a lamʰ-a dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e [rising intonation + pause]
   REL[obl/ip]-PL long long see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3 [rising intonation + pause]
   i-la(-k)... DEM[prox]-PL(-DAT)...
   'The lengthy things that can be seen (here), they...'

b. जाहेब बड छें घटक खाए जाउँछो। (cf. GR.01.029)
   jahe bʰʌ c-e [rising intonation + pause]
   who large be-PRES-3 [rising intonation + pause]
   cʰʌ-tʌ-.dateTimePicker kʰ-a-e ja-cʰ-e
   short-NCLS-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PRES-3
   'Whoever is (socially) big, (he) eats up the (socially) small (person).'

7.4.2.2.2.2 Optional elements and displacement

The correlative pronoun (607a), or demonstrative-classifier + head noun (607b) precedes the main clause and is often optional.

(607) a. जाहाँर ताने मुइ ना भात (उहाँ) गेल बन बास।
   jaha-r tane mui nadʰ-n-u bʰa-t (uhã=i) ge-l bʰan bas
   who-GEN for 1sg[pro] cook-PST-1sg rice (3sg[pro]=EMPH) go-PST3 forest living
   '[Whom I cooked rice for], s/he has gone to live in the forest.'
   Meaning of idiom: 'S/he is not at home.' or 'S/he went somewhere.'

b. जाहाँक ते तुइ पेइसाला दलो (उड लोक) मामलू कोर!
   jaha-k te tui peisa-la di-l-o (u-ᵈʌ lok) mamli cor
   who-DAT PCL 2sg[pro] money-PL give-PST-2sg DEM[rem]-NCLS man a little thief
   '[Whom you gave money to], (that person) is a real thief!'

Deletion of the correlative pronoun and the head noun main clause in (608a) results in what appears to be an internally headed relative clause (608b).
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

(609) a. जेइला पेइसा ते मुइ पठाइिस कुन, (तुइ उला पेइसा) पालो?

\[
\text{jejila p} \quad \text{te mui p} \quad \text{a-isin-ku-n}
\]
what-PL money PCL 1sg[pro] send-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg
(tui u-la peisa) pa-l-o
(2sg[pro] DEM[rem]-PL money) get-PST-2sg
'\text{[The money which I sent (for you)], did (you) get (that money)?}\
\]

b. मुइ ते जेइला पेइसा पठाइिस कुन, (तुइ उला पेइसा) पालो?

\[
\text{mui te jei-la peisa p} \quad \text{a-isin-ku-n}
\]
1sg[pro] PCL what-PL money send-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg
(tui u-la peisa) pa-l-o
(2sg[pro] DEM[rem]-PL money) get-PST-2sg
'\text{[The money which I sent (for you)], did (you) get (that money)?}\
\]

c. जेइला पेइसा ते पठाइिस कुन, (तुइ उला पेइसा) पालो?

\[
\text{jejila p} \quad \text{te p} \quad \text{a-isin-ku-n}
\]
what-PL money PCL send-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg 1sg[pro]
(tui u-la peisa) pa-l-o
(2sg[pro] DEM[rem]-PL money) get-PST-2sg
'\text{[The money which I sent (for you)], did (you) get (that money)?}\
\]

For some reason in (610a) the relative clause falls immediately prior to the head noun, thus displacing the possessive pronominal to the left. The independent clause is presented in (610b).
### 7. Syntax

(610) a. आमार जेला मबर रहिक उला मबर चेंडाराध सािटुए तािटुए रािखिक। (simplified from MR.05.130)

\[
\text{am}^h\text{a-r jei-la g} \text{ab} \text{ar r} \text{ab-p-ki} \\
\text{3pl[pro]-GEN which-PL dung be-FUT-SA3} \\
\text{u-la g} \text{ab} \text{ar cen-ra-d} \text{a sapt-ie tapt-ie rak}^h \text{-ip-ki} \\
\text{that-PL dung young-man-NCLS sweep-ABS [echo]sweep-CONJ.PTCL put-FUT-SA3} \\
\to \\
\text{ '[Their dung that was (there)], that dung the young man swept up.' }
\]

b. चेंडाराध आमार मबर सािटुए तािटुए रािखिक।

\[
\text{cen-ra-d} \text{a am}^h\text{a-r g} \text{ab} \text{ar sapt-ie tapt-ie} \\
\text{young-man-NCLS 3pl[pro]-GEN dung sweep-ABS [echo]sweep-CONJ.PTCL} \\
\text{rak}^h \text{-ip-ki} \\
\text{put-FUT-SA3} \\
\to \\
\text{ 'The young man}_\text{SU swept up [their dung]}_\text{DO.' }
\]

#### 7.4.2.2.2.3 Further considerations

Having stated these parameters for relativisation, a cautionary note on methodology seems necessary. Though eliciting examples out of context easily generated a range of relative constructions, relative clauses occurred quite infrequently in the oral text material gathered. Additionally, the naturalness of some of the elicited relative clauses was questioned. This apparently was not because the clauses could not be constructed as shown above, but because such constructions would not be used in natural speech.

Three critical informants were of the opinion that though relative constructions feature increasingly often in written Rājbanshi texts, it is at least as natural to apply other strategies to indicate restricted participant reference.

More natural than the pre-nominal relative clause in (604a) would be to use a participial clause (cf. section 7.4.2.2.1) such as (611).

(611) छाल चर चेंडाराध

\[
\text{c}^h\text{ag} \text{al car-ta cen-ra-d} \text{a} \\
\text{female-goat graze-PST.PTCL young-man-NCLS} \\
\to \\
\text{ 'the young man (who) grazed (the) goat(s)' }
\]

Additionally, consider the three juxtaposed clauses in (612). It is unlikely that the interjection अइ 'INJ', or the particle ते 'PCL' are functioning as relative pronouns. On the contrary, it would seem to be the simple clause "She gave us a beating" which limits the reference of the noun "old woman".

---

89 The only occurrences of relative constructions in the text material are: GR.01.027, GR.01.029, MR.05.130 and MR.02.021.
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

(612) अब दुई अंडे थाइंड टैक्स राज्य में आए थे. अब यात्रा उन लोगों के लिए बनी हुई है। (MR.04.092-093; cf. also MR.04.171-172 and MR.02.022)

\[ \text{DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS old woman} \]
\[ \text{INJ 1pl[pro]-DAT PCL beating feed-REM.PST-3} \]
\[ \text{INJ 3sg[pro/prox]=EMPH} \]
\[ \text{DEM[pro/prox]-DAT today spare-INF NEG should-PRES3} \]

'[That old woman], [(she) gave us a beating], [that one exactly]. (We) shouldn't spare her today.'

This example bears a close resemblance to a "paratactic" construction posited by Givón (1990). Givón maintains that the italicised section in (613) is a "pre-posed unembedded" proposition. This functions in the same way as a (restrictive) relative clause in that it identifies the referent. Compare (612) with the following example:

(613) "...well, that, uh, you met that guy yesterday, y'know? Well, I tell you, he sure is a crook..." (Givón 1990:654)

Lambrecht (1994:93-95,110; following Chafe) refers to similar constructions as "referent activation": bringing an "inactive" referent to "active" status can have formal correlates in prosody (such as phonological attenuation) and morphology (such as pronominal, inflection, or zero coding).

To conclude, further research based on a much larger corpus of oral texts is necessary to determine firstly, the status of the relative clauses in (spoken) Rājbanshi, and secondly, why relative clauses occur so infrequently. To what degree strategies such as those discussed in this section are used in Rājbanshi in place of the relative clause should also be studied in more depth.

7.4.2.3 Verb modifying clauses

In this section I will outline temporal, locational, purpose, reason, concessive and comparative clauses. I will conclude with a look at the conjunctive participle construction. Conditional clauses will be considered in section 7.4.2.4.

The order of the embedded and matrix clauses in relation to each other is presented in the following table.
Table 59. Order of main clauses and verb-modifying clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Conjunction, subordinator, complementiser</th>
<th>Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना jei-कुṇa ‘which-time’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेहेने jehene ‘when’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना jei-टुṇा ‘REL[obl/ip]-place’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
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<tr>
<td>जेइधर jeidʰʌ ‘over_where’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locational</th>
<th>Conjunction, subordinator, complementiser</th>
<th>Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना jei-कुṇा ‘which-time’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना jei-हुने ‘when’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना jei-ठना ‘REL[obl/ip]-place’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना jeidʰʌ ‘over_where’</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
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<th>Order</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कहेने kahene ‘CMPL’</td>
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<td>embedded-main</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कहेने jese ‘so that; in order that’</td>
<td>main-embedded (by default)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>कहेने jese ‘so that; in order that’</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Conjunction, subordinator, complementiser</th>
<th>Order</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कहेने kahene ‘CMPL’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जेइखुना jei-kʰuna ‘which-time’</td>
<td>embedded-main</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कहेने jese ‘so that; in order that’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>कहेने jese ‘so that; in order that’</td>
<td>main-embedded (by default)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.2.3.1 Temporal and locational

In temporal clauses, the adverbial clause marked by the pronominal adverbs जेहेने jehene ‘when' in (614a), and जेइखुना jei-kʰuna ‘when' in (614b) precedes the main clause.

(614) a. जेहेने बाघड जिधि एने सोरटर पर, उहाँ खालक्षा दे सोरटक एक्ट नाहुए लेच्या। (MR.05.031)
   jehene bagʰ-da tʰi-pr-iene ja-c-ki sor-ᵗʰa-r par uhā
   when tiger-NCLS jump-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-SA3 pig-NCLS-GEN on_top 3sg[pro]
   kʰʌlka-la de sor-ᵗʰa-k ekda-em nacʰ-ra-e l-ec-ki
   claw-PL INSTR pig-NCLS-DAT very claw-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3
   'When the tiger jumped (lit. went by jumping) on to the boar, it really clawed/scratched it.'

b. जेइखुना मोर घरेर लोकट नि रह्येपर्यं, अड़खुना जाबयि ह्य्रेः। (cf. DLR.06.017)
   jei-kʰuna mo-r gʰʌr-er lok-ᵗʰa ni tʰa-b-ᵊ gʰʌr-ᵊ
   which-time 1sg[obl]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS NEG be-FUT-3 house-LOC
   DEM[rem/emph]-time go-INF must-FUT-3
   'When my husband is not at home, that time I will have to go.'
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

The main clause is optionally marked with a correlative pronoun: ते 'CORR/then' as in (615a), or अइखुना ai-kʰuna 'DEM[rem/emph]-time') as in (615b).

(615) a. जेइखुना उड मोरट बाफ़त पर झिटपट झिकिए (ते) उड़ौर दाख़त में बुझे निकलाए देखिए (cf. MR.05.034)

jei-kʰuna u-ḍʌ sor-ta bagʰ-ḍʌ-r par jʰapti-e

which-time that-NCLS pig-NCLS tiger-NCLS-GEN on_top PCL jump_upon(Nepali)-ABS

l-ec-ki (te) uhā-r daha-ḍʌ se kʰun = e

AUX-PRES-SA3 (CORR/then) 3sg[pro]-GEN body-NCLS ABL blood(Nepali) = EMPH

nikl-a-e d-ec-ki
go_out-CAUS-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3

'When the boar was jumping on to the tiger and biting (the tiger), (then) he made blood come from his (the tiger's) body.'

b. जेइखुना मुइ गिसनु छागल चबा, (अइखुना) एकटा बाघ आर एकटा सोर लाराई करिए। (cf. MR.05.075)

jei-kʰuna mui g-isn-u cʰagal car-ba

which-time 1sg[pro] go-REM.PST-1sg female_goat graze-INF

(ʌikʰuna) ek-ta bagʰ ar ek-ta sor larai kar-isl-ɪ

then one-NCLS tiger and one-NCLS pig fighting do-REM.PST-3

'When I went to graze the goats, (then) a tiger and a boar were fighting.'

As with temporal clauses, locational clauses always precede the main clause.

(616) a. जेइधर जेइधर बासिड बलन्च, सेइधर सेइधर सुना आर बाध घेरिए। (cf. MR.05.334)

jeidʰʌr jeidʰʌr basi-ḍʌ bal-e-e

over_where over_where flute-NCLS play(instrument)-PRES-3

seidʰʌr seidʰʌr suña arxa-na-la daug-ba dʰʌ(r)-ic-e

over_there over_there PCL type_of_wild_buffalo-PL run-INF begin-PERF-3

'In whatever direction the flute was sounding, in that direction the wild buffaloes were running.'

b. जेइठना बुरा बुरिला कुनु बुलिए गिस्ने, हलिन से... (cf. MR.04.025)

jei-tʰina burʰa burʰi-la kacu bun-ie

REL[obl/ip]-place old_man old_woman-PL [kacu]vegetable plant-CONJ.PTCL

g-isl-ɪ hatin se...
go-REM.PST-3 there ABL

'(From) where the old man and old woman had planted the [kacu]vegetables and left, from there...'
7. Syntax

(617) हामा जेइना भी रहि हामा भाषा पाइ जाम। (MR.05.181)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hama} & \quad \text{jei}^4\text{ina} & \quad \text{b}^3\text{i} & \quad \text{ra}^2\text{h}^{-i} & \quad \text{hama} & \quad t^1\text{aha} & \quad \text{pa}^{-i} \\
1\text{pl}[\text{pro}] & \quad \text{which-place} & \quad \text{CNJ(Hindi)} & \quad \text{be-SUBJ1}1\text{pl} & \quad 1\text{pl}[\text{pro}] & \quad \text{knowledge(Nepali)} & \quad \text{get-ABS} \\
\text{ja}^{-m} & \quad \text{AUX-FUT-1}1\text{pl} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Wherever we are staying we will find out.'

7.4.2.3.2 Purpose

In default order, the adverbial clause precedes the main verb. As mentioned in section 7.4.2.1.3, the purpose clauses are adverbial, though in form they are closely related to infinitival complements.

(618) a. पर्छ लेइ मिद्दी।

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{par}^3\text{-ba} & \quad \text{le}^{-i} & \quad \text{g-ich-e} \\
\text{read-INF} & \quad \text{take-CONJ.PTCL} & \quad \text{go-PERF-3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He took (it) away (in order) to read (it).'

b. मलिक घडाडके आर मोढाक आन्वा मिले। (cf. GR.02.078)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{malik-}^{\text{d}\Lambda} & \quad \text{g}^{\text{b}\text{a}{}^3\text{a}{}^{-d}{}^{\text{d}}{}^{-k}={e}} & \quad \text{ar} & \quad \text{guru-}^{\text{d}{}^{\text{a}{}^{-k}}{}^{-a}{}^{-n}{}^{-b}{}^{-a}{}^{-g}{}^{-i}{}^{-s}{}^{-l}{}^{-t}} \\
\text{master-NCLS} & \quad \text{horse-NCLS-DAT}=\text{EMPH} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{bullock-NCLS-DAT} & \quad \text{bring-INF} & \quad \text{go-REM.PST-3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'The master went to bring the horse and the bullock.'

The fronting of the main verb to a position which precedes the adverbial clause is also possible as (619) indicates.

(619) दस्रा बृहस्पती ने जाबे जुल्वा। (cf. GR.02.082)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d}^{\text{a}{}^{-n}{}^{\text{b}{}^{-a}{}^{-d}{}^{\text{a}{}^{-b}{}^{-k}{}^{-a}{}^{-l}{}^{-e}}}} & \quad \text{ja-b}^{-t} & \quad \text{jut-ba} \\
\text{both-NCLS} & \quad \text{bullock(Hindi)-DAT} & \quad \text{take-CONJ.PTCL} & \quad \text{go-FUT-3} & \quad \text{plough-INF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He is able to take both bullocks (in order) to plough.'

Complex embedded clauses tend to precede the main clause (620a-b). The use of the complementiser कहेने 'CMPL' in these cases is obligatory, whereas the conjunction जेसे 'so that' is optional (620b). The verb of the subordinate clause is in the subjunctive mood.

(620) a. मोक बाघड ना पाता लाम्बा पातरोक कहेने मुढ दस्रा नि चूजि जाम। (cf. MR.05.113; also MR.05.271)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo}^{-k} & \quad \text{mane} & \quad \text{bag}^{\text{b}{}^{\text{h}}}{}^{-d}{}^{\text{a}{}^{-k}} \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{patta} & \quad \text{lag-ba} & \quad \text{par-ok} & \quad \text{kahene} \\
1\text{sg}[\text{obl}] & \quad \text{PCL} & \quad \text{tiger-NCLS} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{knowledge} & \quad \text{apply_to-INF} & \quad \text{can-SUBJ3} & \quad \text{CMPL} \\
\text{mui} & \quad \text{dasra} & \quad \text{ti} & \quad \text{cul}^{-i} & \quad \text{ja}^{-m} \\
1\text{sg}[\text{pro}] & \quad \text{other} & \quad \text{towards} & \quad \text{AUX-ABS} & \quad \text{go-FUT1sg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'So that the tiger is not able to find out, I will go in another direction.'
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

7.4.2.3.3 Reason

The conjunctions कयाँ (कि) 'because' or कयाँकी 'because' are used for causal conjunction, and are interchangeable. The embedded clause can occur either before the
main clause (623a), or after the main clause (623b). Initial observations would suggest that the main-embedded order is unmarked.

(623) a. आप कियांते / कियाँकि उड़ पशि कड़ि पाले, कड़िर उड़िर छिलेए एकदम गरमा। (cf. DLR.05.009)
ap kiãte_/kiãki u-ḍʌ pakʰi kadi pa-li PCL because DEM[rem]-NCLS bird shell get-PST-3
kadi-r uhā-r cʰi-l-i ekdam gatam shell-GEN 3sg[pro]-GEN be-PST-3 very hot(proud)
'And because that bird found a shell, he became very proud (of) the shell.'

b. बाघड मोक चुिल जाबे खाबा अइठिनाएं, कियाँ परला देखि फेकाइचे। (cf. MR.05.110-111)
bagʰ-da mo-k cul-i ja-b-i kʰa-ba ai-tʰina=e tiger-NCLS 1sg[obl]-DAT AUX-ABS go-FUT-3 eat-INF DEM[rem/emph]-place=EMPH
kiã gʰar-la dekʰ-i pʰeka-ic-e why house-PL look-ABS AUX-PERF-3
'The tiger will come right there to eat me, because it has seen my houses (already).'</n
7.4.2.3.4 Concessive

Concessive clauses can be marked with the subordinating conjunction हबार ते habar te 'though' (lit. 'be-INF-GEN PCL'), as in (624). This uses the correlative conjunction मतुन matun 'but' (or, मातुन matun).

(624) हबार ते हाल बहबार कामखान काम हए, मतुन…
habar te hal bhabar kamkam kam ma-e, matun…
be-INF-GEN PCL plough plough-INF-GEN work-NCLS extra work be-PRES3 but...
'Even though ploughing is extra work, still...'

The conjunction-like construction तिन एसा tin esa (or, तिन आसा tin asa) 'no matter how much' in (625) is also used for the concessive.

(625) कज़नाए तिन एसा देखार हुनु बाहा लि करिम।
kaina tin esa dekʰ-ba-r ha-l-au baha ni kar-im
girl no_matter/how look-INF-GEN be-PST-CONJ marriage NEG do-FUT1sg
'No matter how good-looking (that) girl is, I won't marry her.'

Refer also to section 3.7.8.3.3 for the concessive conditional construction.

7.4.2.3.5 Comparative

The conjunction बाजा (बेजा) कि ba/eza ki ‘as if’ is used for comparative conjunction.
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

(626) a. बिरिए ढिक बाजा कि मेजुवानडए!
   baʌtʰ-ie cʰi-t baja_ki meju-vana-ʌ = e
   sit-CONJ.PTCP be-PRES2sg as_if guest-NCLS = EMPH
   'You are sitting as if you were a guest!'

b. एइस छबखाने दरचोक, बाजा कि दुर्गाड़ए।
   eis! cʰʌb-kʰən=e dʰʌr-ic-ok baja_ki durga-ʌ = e
   INJ beauty-NCLS = EMPH hold-PERF-SA2sg as_if Durga-NCLS = EMPH
   'Oh! Beauty has attached to you, like Durga (herself).'
   (Meaning: 'Oh! So, you (think you) are beautiful, like (the goddess) Durga!')

7.4.2.3.6 Conjunctive participle construction

The conjunctive participle is used to chain sequential actions or events, but it constitutes a (subordinate) verb-modifying clause: the non-finite clause, or "adjunct", does not constitute an independent clause, as do those covered in section 7.4.3.

The participle can have purely adverbial connotations such as manner or cause, without necessarily indicating sequential action (cf. section 3.7.10.3 for further discussion). However, temporal sequence and manner/cause are indeed interrelated concepts, the latter most likely originating from (or, being implied by) the former, as Masica (1991:399) explains:

"Although it is interesting that the three 'meanings' illustrated turn up in most descriptions of CP constructions, even for non-IA languages (Tamil, Japanese), Davison argues that they as well as the more specialized meanings are best attributed to inference from the specific material contained + the pragmatic context (+ a general perfective aspectual meaning inherent in the CP form itself), rather than to derivation from a number of different underlying structures." ⁹⁰

The non-finite clause and the matrix clause must exhibit some kind of logical relationship, and most often this takes the form of a chronological sequence of two (or more) actions (627a). In the case of the adverbial usage of the conjunctive participle, the non-finite clause indicates the cause (627b) or manner (627c) of the matrix predicate. As mentioned above, chronological sequence can also be construed by purely adverbial uses of the participle, as the glosses in (627b-c) show.

---

⁹⁰ Conversely, Kachru (1981) finds Davison's (1981) arguments unconvincing and proposes (1981:35) that "several underlying representations all end up as the participial construction on the surface."
7. Syntax

(627) a. बुऱड बगलत आिसए सुनेचे ते... (cf. DLR.04.029)

burʰ-a-dʌ bglʌt as-iene sun-ec-e te
old_man-NCLS near come-CONJ.PTCL hear-PRES-3 SUBORD
'The old man [came closer]_{ACTION1} (and) [heard]_{ACTION2} that...'

b. मुइ नि परिए आिष डुक पावर।

mui ni paʰ-ie ajʰi duk pa-c-u
1sg[pro] NEG read-CONJ.PTCL today trouble receive-PRES-1sg
'(Because) [I didn't study]_{ACTION1 ~ CAUSE} [I am having problems]_{ACTION2 ~ RESULT}
today.'

c. जेहेने बाघड िथि एने जाि कसोरट पर... (cf. MR.05.031)

jehene bagʰ-dʌ tʰipr-iene ja-c-ki sor-ta-r par
when tiger-NCLS jump-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-SA3 pig-NCLS-GEN on_top
'The tiger went_{ACTION2 ~ MAIN ACTION} (by) jumping_{ACTION1 ~ MANNER} on to the boar...'
In most cases, if the subject of the non-finite clause and the main clause are different, a subordinate temporal clause will be used, as shown in (629).

(629) जेइखुना मुइ आिझ करे मिम्स्छाय नयाँ, एकटा बाघ आर एकटा मोर नाराज करिल्छे। (cf. MR.05.075)

jej-kʰuna mui ajʰi kare g-isn-u cʰagʌl car-ba
which-time 1sg[pro] today ADVL go-REM.PST-1sg female_goat graze-INF
ek-ta bagʰ ar ek-ṭa sor larai kʌʌ-isl-1
one-NCLS tiger and one-NCLS pig fighting do-REM.PST-3

'When I went to graze the goats today, a tiger and a boar were fighting.'

According to one informant, clause-chaining with the conjunctive participle should be restricted to one, or at the most two successive conjunctive participles. In example (630a) there are four successive conjunctive participles. Though this is morphologically possible, not only in theory but also in natural discourse, a more reasonable construction would apparently be (630b), where each sentence has only one conjunctive participle. Note that in (630b) sequentiality is reinforced by reiterating the main verb of the previous clause, albeit in the conjunctive participle form, and by using echo formation.

(630) a. धानला काटौ, गराला सुख्सा दिए, आसिए, बिनान पानि करिए, हाट गेले।
dʰ'an-la kaṭ-ie, gara-la suk-ba di-e, as-ie
rice-PL cut-CONJ.PTCL bundle_of_stalks dry-INF AUX-CONJ.PTCL come-CONJ.PTCL
sin-an pani kʌʌ-ie, hat ţ ge-l-1
bathe-NML water do-CONJ.PTCL marketplace go-PST-3

'Having cut the rice, having dried the bundles of rice stalks, having come and having bathed, he went to the marketplace.'

b. पहिले धानला काटौ।
pahile dʰ'an-la kaṭ-l-1
first rice-PL cut-PST-3

'First he cut the rice.'

काटिए, ताटिए, गराला सुख्सा दिए।
kaṭ-ie taṭ-ie gara-la suk-ba di-l-1

'Having cut the rice he dried the bundles of rice stalks.'

सुख्सा दिए तिए, चुलि गेल, बिनान करिए।
suk-ba di-e ti-e cul-i gel sin-an kʌʌ-ba
dry-INF AUX-CONJ.PTCL [echo]AUX-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS go-PST3 bathe-NML do-INF

'Having dried them he went and washed himself.'

बिनान पानि करिए, ताटिए, तेखे गेल हाट।
sin-an pani kʌʌ-ie taṭ-ie tane ge-l hat
bathe-NML water do-CONJ.PTCL [echo]do-CONJ.PTCL then go-PST3 marketplace

'Having washed himself he went to the marketplace.'
Cases of two or more successive conjunctive participles were, however, encountered in natural speech, as shown in (631).

(631) एकदम उहाँक धरिए वे जाए बालिए दिले। (cf. GR.02.032; cf. also examples DLR.04.031, DLR.04.032 and DLR.05.056b)

एकदम उहाँक धरिए ले जाए बािऩए दले।

cf. GR.02.032; cf. also examples DLR.04.031, DLR.04.032 and DLR.05.056b

7.4.2.4 Conditional clauses

In section 3.7.8.3.1 I discussed the morphological simple conditional. Rājbanshi also has a syntactic conditional construction, where the protasis is marked with the (loan) conditional conjunctive जदि jadi 'if', and the apodosis is marked with the correlative ते te 'then' (632a), or optionally तने tane 'then' (632b).

The use of the conjunction is optional. If omitted, it is substituted by rising intonation and a pause between the protasis and the apodosis (632b). In all occurrences of the conditional in text material the protasis precedes the apodosis. The conjunct occurs by default in clause initial position (632a), though it is also found in clause final position (cf. (633b)).

(632) a. जदि माच मासु आबार दिन बुराह फेर आयबे वे परत झापा लागाए दिम। (DLR.04.012)

jadi mac masu an-ba-r din burʰa-dʌ pʰer as-b-ɪ
if fish meat bring-INF-GEN day old_man-NCLS again come-FUT-3
te gʰar-at jʰagara laga-e di-m-ʌ
PCL(then) house-LOC fight begin-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl

'If the old man comes again on the day we bring fish and meat then let's begin to fight at home.'

b. माच मासु आबार दिन बुराह फेर आयबे परत झापा लागाए दिम। (Compare with DLR.04.012)

[rising intonation + pause]
mac masu an-ba-r din burʰa-dʌ pʰer as-b-ɪ
fish meat bring-INF-GEN day old_man-NCLS again come-FUT-3
gʰar-at jʰagara laga-e di-m-ʌ
house-LOC fight begin-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl

'If the old man comes again on the day we bring fish and meat then let's begin to fight at home.'

Table 60 presents the collocation of tense in protasis and apodosis. Each type has reference to an example, either in the text corpus (Appendix 3) or in the examples given in (633a-c) below.
Table 60. Collocation of protasis/apodosis and tense in the syntactic conditional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>DLR.06.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>DLR.06.050a DLR.06.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>(633a) (633c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>(633b) DLR.06.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REM.PST</td>
<td>DLR.05.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST_COND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>MR.05.223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST.HAB</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most often in the simple conditional, the apodosis is marked with the future tense. According to one informant, the auxiliary फेकाले \( p^h \text{eka-l-} \) 'AUX-PST-3' in (633a) could also be marked with the future फेकाबे \( p^h \text{eka-b-} \) 'AUX-FUT-3' or the perfect फेकाइचे \( p^h \text{eka-ic-e} \) 'AUX-PERF-3', without changing the meaning.

Another unusual feature is the perfect inflection in conjunction with the negative in the subordinate clause. In language observations thus far, the perfect and past continuous/remote past take on past habitual morphology in negative contexts. However, in (633b) the verb in the subordinate clause is marked with the perfect. Past habitual marking (i.e. नि करे \( ni k\text{ar-e} \) 'NEG do-PST.HAB3') would also be considered grammatical, and would have no effect on the meaning of the sentence. Whether the use of the perfect in this negative context is due to the subordinate clause or the conditional is unclear at present.

(633) a. जवा उहाँ उहाँ कामका चैर फेकाले ते उहाँ बहिरानि बेख्खा जावा पावै।
   जैद उहाँ उहाँ र काम-कान कर-ि पैकाले-ि
   इफ ३ङ्ग[प्र] ३ङ्ग[प्र-जन] ग्राम-नकलो डो-अब्स एक-पस्त-३
   ति उहाँ बहिरानि कबे बा-बा पा-बै-ि
   पर्ल(तैन) ३ङ्ग[प्र] ओटाइ प्ले-अन्फ गो-अन्फ गेट-फुट-३
   'When / if s/he (has) done his/her work s/he can go out to play.'

b. और ति कार्यान करि ते बेख्खा जावा ति पावै।
   आर नि कारि-से जैदि ते कबे बा-बा नि पा-बै-ि
   और ने को-से-से अन्फ ओटाइ पर्ल(तैन) गो-अन्फ नेग गेट-फुट-३
   'And if s/he hasn't, s/he can't go to play.'

c. जवा तू तू वार कामका सकलो, तु भर जा।
   जैद तू तू र काम-कान सक-अलौ तू गबंज र फाज़-ि
   'If you (have) finished your work, go home!'
Interestingly, there seems to be an overlap in the conditional and the temporal subordinate clauses when the quasi-aspectual auxiliaries जा- 'AUX' (634a), or फेका- 'AUX' (634b) are used. This applies to both the morphological and syntactic types of simple conditional.

(634) a. बेजारखान ओर हइ जाले एपाके असिम।
bejar-kʰan or ha-i ja-le ei-pake as-is
market-NCLS finished be-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL DEM[prox/emph]-way come-SUBJ2sg
'When (lit. 'if') the market is over, come this way.'

b. जदि उहाँ उहाँर कामखान करि फेकाले ते उहाँ बहिराति बेकला जावा पाव।
jadi uhã uhã-r kam-kʰan kar-i pʰeka-l-1
if 3sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN work-NCLS do-ABS AUX-PST-3
te uhã bahirati kʰel-ba ja-ba pa-b-ɪ
PCL(then) 3sg[pro] outside play-INF go-INF get-FUT-3
'When / if s/he (has) done his/her work s/he can go out to play.'

7.4.3 Coordination

In this section I will discuss two devices for coordination: conjunctions and juxtaposition. I will also look at adversative and disjunctive coordination, and finally, I will consider agent omission in coordinated constructions.

7.4.3.1 Coordination by use of conjunctions

The most common means of coordination in Rājbanshi involves the use of the copulative conjunction आर ar 'and'. This functions at the phrasal and clausal level. In (635) the conjunction conjoins two noun phrases.

(635) एकटा बाघ आर एकटा सोर (cf. MR.05.007; see also MR.05.075)
ek-ʰa bagʰ ar ek-ʰa sor
one-NCLS tiger and one-NCLS pig
'[[a tiger][NP₁] and [a boar][NP₂]][NP]'

As seen in (635), two coordinated noun phrases form a coordinate NP. Each conjoined NP is marked individually with various elements, including the indefinite article (635), the numeral (636a), the demonstrative (636b), the noun classifier (636c-d), the emphatic clitic (636b-d) and case (636d).
7.4 Simple and complex sentences

(636) a. दुईदा गोर आर एकटा घडा (cf. GR.02.001; see also GR.02.048)
    duī-ḍa goru ar ek-ṭa ṣũ-ḍa
two-NCLS bullock and one-NCLS horse

    '[[two bullocks][NP1] and [one horse][NP2]] [NP]'

d. उड सोरे आर उड बाघे (cf. MR.05.013)
    u-ḍʌ sor=e ar u-ḍʌ bagʰ=e
that-NCLS pig=EMPH and that-NCLS tiger=EMPH

    '[[that boar][NP1] and [that tiger][NP2]] [NP]'

c. सोरटए आर बाघडए (cf. MR.05.026; see also MR.05.242)
    sor-ṭʌ =e ar bagʰ-ḍʌ =e
pig-NCLS=EMPH and tiger-NCLS=EMPH

    '[[the boar][NP1] and [the tiger][NP2]] [NP]'

d. उड चेङराडके आर िलहािनडके (cf. MR.05.089; see also GR.02.078, MR.05.052)
    u-ḍʌ ceŋ-ra-ḍʌ= k=e ar lihani-ḍʌ= k=e
that-NCLS young_man-NCLS-DAT=EMPH and blanket-NCLS-DAT=EMPH

    '[[that young man][NP1] and [the blanket][NP2]] [NP]'

Likewise, two coordinated postpositional phrases form a coordinate postpositional phrase

(637) परलार ठाट बेन्चर ताने आर भात नालकार ताने (cf. MR.02.007)
    gʰʌ-ṭʰʌ-ben-ba-r tane ar bʰat nadʰ-ba-r tane
house-PL-GEN roof_frame build-INF-GEN for and cooked_rice cook-INF-GEN for

    '[[for making roof frames][PP1] and [for cooking rice][PP2]] [PP]'

In examples (638a-c) the conjunction आर 'and' conjoins two clauses. As far as time-reference is concerned, the events/actions/states in the two coordinated clauses can be simultaneous/overlapping (638a) or sequential (638b). In example (638c) two verbless copula clauses are conjoined; the omitted copula verbs (हए hʌ-e 'be-PRES3') have been added in brackets for clarity.

(638) a. हामा काम करेन्चि आर खाणि पुवाल (cf. GR.02.012; see also DLR.04.025-026; DLR.05.002;
    MR.05.056-057; MR.05.094-095; MR.05.226-227)
    hama kam kar-ec-i ar kʰa-c-i pual
1pl[pro] work do-PRES-1pl and eat-PRES-1pl straw

    'We work[STATE.OF.AFFAIRS1] and we eat straw[STATE.OF.AFFAIRS2]'
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b. फाल्ति से तुड़ डिक हुए जा, आर बनिया जाबो। (cf. GR.02.075-076; see also MR.04.026-027; MR.04.202-203; MR.05.033; MR.05.075-077; MR.05.200; MR.05.357-358)
kali se tui tʰik ha-∅ ar be-∅ ja-b-o
tomorrow ABL 2sg[pro] alright be-ABS AUX-IMP2SG and save-ABS AUX-FUT-2sg
'From tomorrow become well [ACTION1] and you will be saved [ACTION2].'

(639) तुइ खेत बरानेरित जा, आर जाएने एकदम कानस। (cf. MR.04.050; see also MR.04.041)
tui kʰet bari-kʰan-er ti ja-∅ ar ja-ene
2sg[pro] field planting_plot-NCLS-GEN towards go-IMP2sg and go-CONJ.PTCL
cry-SUBJ2sg
'Go to the fields, and having gone cry really hard.'

Paired conjunction is constructed with the conjunctive clitic on both of the conjoined elements, and a conjunction between the two clauses. Clauses (640a-b) can be conjoined by this construction. Whether phrases can be conjoined requires further study.

b. मालिक बेसनद बेनिया खाले, कानेर सनालाउ बेनिया खाले। (Rājbanshi VS 2064a:122)
magi-r besan-dʌ=ʌ bec-ie kʰa-l-ʌ
wife-GEN (golden)nose-stud-NCLS=CNJ sell-CONJ.PTCL eat-PST-3
kan-er sʌn-la=ʌ bec-ie kʰa-l-ʌ
ear-GEN gold-PL=CNJ sell-CONJ.PTCL eat-PST-3
'(He) consumed (lit. 'sold and ate') (his) wife's golden nose-stud and (he) consumed (her) gold(en earings) too.'
Negation between coordinated propositions makes use of the conjunction ना (ते) ... ना (ते) na (te) ... na (te) 'neither ... nor' (641a). Often the ते te component is optional as in (641b). The initial ना (ते) na (te) component is also often optional (641c).

(641) a. ना ते खालो ना ते खाबा दलो।
na_te kʰa-l-o na_te kʰa-ba di-l-o

neither eat-PST-2sg nor eat-INF let-PST-2sg

'Neither did you eat, nor did you let (anyone else) eat.'

b. ना रहबे ना उहाँ 'समत बटौ' कहबे। (cf. DLR.05.030)
na rʌhʌ-bʌ na uhʌ ɾamʌt ɾʌtʰʌ-b-o ɾʌhʌ-bʌ
NEG be-FUT-3 NEG 3sg[pro] together sit-FUT-2sg say-FUT-3

'Neither will it be there any longer, nor will he say: "Will you marry me?" '

c. (ना ते) खाबे करिचत ना ते खाबा देिचत।
(na_te) kʰa-b=e kʌtʰec-it na_te kʰa-b=a=e d-ec-it

(neither) eat-INF=EMPH do-PRES-2sg nor eat-INF=EMPH let-PRES-2sg

'Neither will you eat, nor will you let (anyone else) eat.'

7.4.3.2 Juxtaposition

The second type of coordination is juxtaposition, which can be used for the coordination of two or more (noun or postpositional) phrases, or two clauses. I use the term "juxtaposition" here in the sense of the adjacency of two elements (nouns, phrases or clauses) as being the sole indicator of the coordination, and not in the wider sense of merely successive clauses in a discourse. The term is akin to the "zero-strategy" used by Payne (1987 [1985]:25), where elements are "simply juxtaposed with no additional markers of conjunction."

The juxtaposition of two (or more) nouns should be distinguished from copulative noun compounds for two reasons. Firstly, copulative noun compounds can only be formed by two entities (thus forming a single entity), whereas more than two nouns can be juxtaposed. Secondly, copulative noun compounds only permit coordination of those entities which are in some way semantically related. Conversely, juxtaposition poses no semantic restrictions on which entities can be coordinated. In (642a) five nouns are juxtaposed, while in (642b) it is two postpositional phrases.

(642) a. ग्ही, मासु, माच, धुँ, टूटि खाएि बुरिहर दाहाे दािकत हािति (cf. MR.04.127)
gʰi-tʰi masu mac ɾʌhʌ dunʰʌ i kʰa-enɛ burʰi-ɾʌ-ɾ ɾʌhʌ-ɾʌhʌ
ghee meat fish curd milk eat-CONJ.PTCL old_woman-NCLS-GEN body-NCLS kʌtkʌt ɾʌhʌ-l-ki
chubby be-PST-SA3

'Eating ghee, meat, fish, curd (and) milk the old woman's body became chubby.'
In (642a), above, the five nouns are juxtaposed without the use of any (copulative) conjunction. The conjunction आर 'and' can however be used between the two final nouns in such cases (643). Rising intonation tends to occur on each juxtaposed element, and falling intonation tends to occur on the final coordinated element following the conjunction.

Juxtaposition has only been found to coordinate clauses which encode simultaneous actions (644a-b). Sequential actions use the conjunctive participle (644c). Additionally, in one sentence where sequential action was encoded, the two clauses were conjoined by using both the conjunctive participle and the conjunction आर 'and' (639).
One may also even need to postulate a case of juxtaposition for the next two examples:

(645) a. बगलाडक तले तले लािगचे भोक, भोक सहबा नि पाएं छटपटिन्ना धरिनि।
   i. baḷā-da-k tàle tàle lāig-ic-e bʰok
      stork-NCLS-DAT inside feel-PERF-3 hunger
   ii. bʰok saha-ba ni pa(r)-e cʰ{//t}pata-ba dʰar-ic-e
      hunger endure-INF NEG can-CNJ-PTCL be_restless-INF begin-PERF-3
      'The stork felt hungry inside; not being able to endure (his) hunger, (it) began to be
      restless.'

b. धुिन पुहाते धुिन पुहाते बुऱाड नुआँ जबार गन पाबे, ते लिबे छुवालार पर खकाए। (cf. Rājbanshi VS 2064b:80)
   i. dʰuni puha-te puha-te burʰa-ḍʌ nuã jʌl-ba-r
      fireplace warm-CONT.PTCL warm-CONT.PTCL old_man-NCLS cloth burn-INF-GEN
      gʌn pa-b-ɪ
      smell get-FUT-3
   ii. te li-b-ɪ cʰua-la-r paɾ kʰʌka-e
      PCL AUX-FUT-3 child-PL-GEN upon scold-ABS
      'While warming themselves by the fireplace the old man smelt cloth burning; then he
      scolded the children.'

This issue was raised in a workshop discussion on Rājbanshi punctuation: several writers
were of the opinion that a purā birām (the Devanāgari equivalent of a full-stop) between
clauses (i) and (ii) in either (645a) or (645b) would be incorrect. In both examples clause
(i) is in an explanatory relation to the (resulting) clause (ii). This may cause rising
intonation at the end of the clause (i), but not necessarily so. Note that in both (645a) and
(645b) the agent is deleted from clause (ii), and is therefore co-referential with the agent
of the first clause. The issue demands further research.

7.4.3.3 Adversative coordination

As mentioned in section 6.2.2, Rājbanshi uses (at least in written texts) the conjunction
मातुन matun 'but' (or, मतुन matum). The adversative sentence consists of two contrasting
clauses (conjuncts). The conjunction occurs obligatorily at the beginning of the second
conjunct.

(646) a. मोर त कामल कुछ नि, मतुन मुड बावराम बावरु। (GR.02.015)
   mo-r tʌ kam=ʌ kueʰu ni matuŋ mui badam kʰa-c-u
   1sg[obl]-GEN PCL work=CNJ some NEG but 1sg[pro] nut eat-PRES-1sg
   'I have absolutely no work, but I eat nuts.'
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b. आच्छा जानें उड बेबाकी मात्र उड बेबाकी दिले बहुत खाराब। (DLR.06.111-112)

acc'a jan-l-i u-ḍʌ berh'ani-k matun u-ḍʌ berh'ani c'h-i-l-i
good know-PST-3 that-NCLS woman-DAT but that-NCLS woman be-PST-3
bhut k'h'arab

very(Hindi) evil

'(They) thought that woman was good, but that woman was (actually) terribly evil.'

In the text corpus, however, it is the discourse particles त ल 'PCL' and ते 'PCL' which often function as adversative conjunctions (647a). The particles are used for a range of different meanings such as topicalisation (which is sometimes contrastive) and counter-expectancy (cf. section 6.1.3). If the use of the particles were to be posited as conjunctions, it would be necessary to revise the above statement that the adversative conjunction occurs in (second) conjunct-initial position, since, as seen in (647b), this is not always the case.

(647) a. उदन करे बुरड़ नुकाएने आसेचे, ते फेर एकटा खेर देिख फेकाि। (cf. MR.04.131-132)

u-din kʌre burh'-i-ḍʌ nuka-ene as-ec-e
DEM[rem]-day ADVL old_woman-NCLS hide-CONJ.PTCL come-PRES-3
te pʰ'er ek-taş kʰetıa dekʰ-i pʰ'eka-l-ki
PCL again one-NCLS jackal see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3

'That day the old woman came (in a) hiding (manner), but one jackal saw (her) again (anyway).'

b. एक वाई आमार गाउँ माने आमिलेगे मलसेंगे बुना आप ढिढ्र रे त माने आमा जाल माने नि करेन।

(DLR.03.011)

ek cʰtı hama-r gaʌ as-isl-i satsʌŋ-er kʰ'una
one time 1pl[pro]-GEN village come-REM.PST-3 religious_fellowship-GEN during
ap hidʌr se ta as-a ja-i mane ni kʌr-ec-e
PCL over_here ABL PCL come-DVBL go-DVBL PCL NEG do-PRES-3

'Once, he came to our village at the time of (a) religious (gathering), but since then he has not been visiting.'

7.4.3.4 Disjunctive coordination

As described in section 6.2.3 the following disjunctive conjunctions were identified: या ya, बा ba (or, wa), नी ni, ने ne and ना na. It would seem that नी ni and बा ba are used for phrasal coordination, and ने ne and ना na for clausal coordination. This observation is based primarily on informants' intuition, and should be checked against a larger corpus of text for confirmation.

Levinson (2003 [1983]:138-140) distinguishes between exclusive and inclusive disjunction, inclusive disjunction being "where both disjuncts can be true". Payne (1999 [1997]:339-340) defines inclusive disjunction as follows:
"If the logical disjunction of two propositions is true, then one or both of the component propositions can be true."

It appears that the Rājbanshi disjunctive conjunctions are able to embrace both types of disjunction. In (648a) both propositions can be true (inclusive disjunction), whereas in (648b-c) only one of the disjuncts can be true (exclusive disjunction).

(648) a. खन्नराल पांस निने पुवाल राखिए गरेभेस्वर झिन झाल्ने। (MR.02.028)

kʰanjarada-t gʰās ya pual rakʰ-ie garu

feeding_trough-NCLS-LOC grass or straw put-CONJ.PTCL bullock

bʰais-la-k kʰil-a ja-cʰ-e

water_buffalo-PL-DAT feed-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

'The cattle can be fed by putting grass or straw in to the feeding trough.'

b. ते आप बाहा हड़चे कहम ना नि हड़चे कहम। (DLR.06.029)

te ap baha hʌ-ic-e kʰāh-m na ni hʌ-ic-e kʰāh-m

PCL PCL marriage be-PERF-3 say-FUT1sg or NEG be-PERF-3 say-FUT1sg

'Well, shall I say I am married or shall I say I am not?'

c. माअ बाप छुकु ना नि छुकु? (MR.05.309)

ma-ʌ bap cʰ-u-ku na ni cʰ-u-ku

mother father be-PRES-SA2sg or NEG be-PRES-SA2sg

'Do you have parents, or do you not?'

7.4.3.5 Agent omission

If two coordinated clauses have a co-referential agent, the agent of the second clause is often omitted. In (649) the agent (कुआ kua 'crow') has been omitted in the second coordinated conjunct.

(649) कुआड उड सुक बसी डुप करे लिफ्ट पड़ी आर फुक्त दिफ्ट डुप खिरते मुक्कत जिने। (cf. MR.05.200)

kua-dʌ u-dʌ suk basi-dʌ cɛp kʌre li-p-ki pʌkr-ie

crow-NCLS that-NCLS happiness flute-NCLS catch ADVL AUX-FUT-SA3 catch-ABS

ar pʰul-dʌ di-p-ki cʰʌr-ie mukʰ-kʰan se

and flower-NCLS AUX-FUT-SA3 let.go-ABS mouth-NCLS ABL

'The crow caught the happiness flute (in mid air) and let go of the flower from its mouth.'

Likewise, the subject of the first conjunct in the adversative is often deleted, though it can also occur in a pronominal form (650).
7.5 Valence decreasing and increasing

7.5.1 Passive constructions

The dialects of Rājbanshi studied for this work have three passive constructions. Two are of the analytic type, whereas the third is an active construction which in many ways resembles an impersonal passive. Generally, the analytic passive Type 1 indicates ability, whereas the analytic passive Type 2 is a statal passive. The impersonal construction is a dynamic passive. Each of these will be considered in turn in the sections below.

NIA languages often allow passivisation of both transitive and intransitive verbs, as Masica (1991:317) observes:

"Periphrastic or suffixal, the NIA passives are notable in their applicability to intransitives as well as transitives. The result is impersonal (or, "involitive") verbs, expressing the helplessness or non-volitionality of the erstwhile agent, if any."

In Rājbanshi, only transitive verbs can be passivised by the analytic passive Type 2. Both transitive and intransitive verbs occur in the analytic passive Type 1, but the meaning of this construction is primarily ability, not agent suppression. Passivisation of intransitive verbs can also occur in the impersonal passive (with active verbal morphology).

7.5.1.1 Analytic passive Type 1

In the analytic passive Type 1 the matrix verb is marked with the past participle -आ(ल) -a(l) 'PST.PTCL', and then followed by the passive auxiliary जा- ja- 'PASS.AUX'. The auxiliary is marked for inflection and agreement. Eastern NIA languages follow the same trend, as Masica (1991:317) explains:

"With the decay of passive suffixes, or even with their preservation, NIA languages turned to periphrastic methods of expressing a passive. ... In the majority of the NIA languages ... it was, in its later phase, to the Perfective Participle (in -(y)ā, or -al in the Bihari group), or in the
easternmost languages to an invariant verbal noun in -ā resembling it, + the verb jā-'go', which serves as the conjugational base."

Written texts in Rājbanshi tend to mark the agent in oblique phrases (as in Maithili). However, based on orally elicited material, and informants' grammaticality judgement as native speakers, the passive in Rājbanshi is agentless: the agent can not occur in an oblique phrase. Therefore the passive in (651a) has no agent, and the oblique phrase in (651b) may render the sentence unacceptable. If the agent is to be overtly present, the active clause is used (651c). Also note that in (651a) the passive is non-promotional insofar as the object is not promoted to subject status, but is left in the dative-accusative case (which denotes direct object).

(651) a. केनाङ करे मारा जाबे याहाँक? (cf. GR.01.009)
kenāŋ kare mar-a ja-b-ɪ yaha-k
how ADVL kill-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3 DEM[pro/prox]-DAT
'How (is it possible) to kill him?'

b. ?/*मोर से याहाँक केनाङ करे मारा जाबे?
?/*mor se yaha-k kenāŋ kare mar-a ja-b-ɪ
?/*1sg[obl]-GEN ABL DEM[pro/prox]-DAT how ADVL kill-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3
?/*'How can he be killed by me?'

c. मुइ याहाँक केनाङ करे मारिम?
mui yaha-k kenāŋ kare mar-im
1sg[pro] DEM[pro/prox]-DAT how ADVL kill-FUT1sg
'How can/shall I kill him?'

Secondary agreement can occur on the passive auxiliary, as in (652). This seems not to violate the "agentless" principle since the secondary agreement marker here points to "convenience" (that is, the 2sg benefacted argument), rather than the agent (though in practice this may be one and the same thing).

(652) देखा जान्यू?
dekʰ-a ja-c-ku
see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-SA2sg
'Can (it) be seen?'
Implies: 'It would be good if you could see (it).'
Does not imply: *'Can (it) be seen (by you).'

The Maithili passive (which is structured in the same way as in Rājbanshi, with the past participle on the matrix verb and the verb 'go' as the passive auxiliary) often implies
ability (cf. Yadav 1997 [1996]:211;320-331). According to Yadav, the passive conveys ability if the passive agent (that is, the subject of the active clause) is present. Therefore, in Maithili (653a) implies ability, whereas (653b) does not:

(653) a. Maithili
   ham-ra sō nai hās-əl ge-l
   1sg[pro]-ACC/DAT INSTR NEG laugh-PST.PTCL go-PST-(3NH+1)
   'I could not laugh.' (Lit. 'It was not laughed by me.'; denotes ability)
   (Yadav 1997 [1996]:320)

b. Maithili
   ghar bonae-l ge-l
   house build-PST.PTCL go-PST-(3NH)
   'The house was built.' (*'The house could be built.'; does not denote ability)
   (Yadav 1997 [1996]:330)

In almost all cases the passive in Rājbanshi is used to convey ability. The presence of an explicit agent does not determine the implication of ability, since, as already mentioned, the agent is generally not marked in passive constructions anyway.

In the initial research stage, there did appear to be a distinction determined by the semantics of the verb itself: stative verbs imply the pure passive, whereas dynamic verbs convey the abilitative meaning. Consider, for example, the following two examples. The verb देख- 
   * dek* - 'see' has both a stative (that is, 'look (like)') and dynamic (that is, 'look (itr); see (tr)') meaning. Neither of these examples have an overt agent. Example (654a) has a clear abilitative connotation; unlike (654b). Note that both the negative (654a) and the positive (654c) convey the abilitative sense.

(654) a. केवा भिन्ना हां जाछे, आप ताहु नि कचु खुचु देखा जाछौ। (MR.04.031)
   kewa mahina ha-i ja-č-e ap tahu ni kacu kucʰu
   some month be-ABS AUX-PRES-3 PCL still NEG [kacu]vegetable some
dekʰ-a ja-č-e
   see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
   'A few months passed, and still no [kacu]vegetable could be seen.'

b. इड सिमेंटिर बेन्हार लाभार देखा जाछौ। (MR.02.027)
   i-ḍa simenti-r ben-ba-r lakʰati dekʰ-a
   DEM[prox]-NCLS cement(English)-GEN build-INF-GEN like see-PST.PTCL
   ja-č-e
   PASS.AUX-PRES-3
   'This looks like it has been made from cement.'
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c. जारेर खुना राम पेनठिला इसामु देखा जाछे।
jar-er kʰuna ram-pentʰ-la i-samun dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
cold-GEN during Rām-stick-PL DEM[prox]-direction see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
'During the winter the Rām's sticks (that is, the Orion's belt, part of the Orion constellation) can be seen over here.'

In retrospect, however, making any distinction between the abilitative (dynamic verbs), and the pure passive (stative verbs) is perhaps not relevant. The example (654b) above should perhaps be glossed as 'One can see that this (trough) is as if it has been made from cement'. Secondly, the verb चिन- cinʰ- 'know, recognise' is only used in a stative sense, but still conveys the abilitative in both negative (655a) and positive (655b) clauses.

(655) a. आर इड पर कहे ना कुट्टी कहे ना मुनिल कहे चिन्ता नि जाछे। (DLR.02.004)
ar i-ḍʌ gʰʌr kʌh in kuṭṭi kʌh ni munḍil kʌh a cinʰ-a ni ja-cʰ-e
and DEM[prox]-NCLS house CMPL or priest's_quarters CMPL or temple CMPL know-PST.PTCL NEG PASS.AUX-PRES-3
'And one can not tell whether this is a house, or priest's quarters or a temple.'

b. इड पर मुनिल कहे आमाने चिन्ता जाछे।
i-ḍʌ gʰʌr munḍil kʌhe amaṇe cinʰ-a ja-cʰ-e
DEM[prox]-NCLS house temple CMPL clearly know-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
'One can tell for sure that this building is a temple.'

Yadav (1997 [1996]:332) maintains that the Maithili passive is used for "customary or conventional actions" as in example (656a). Some Rājbanshi speakers use the analytic passive Type 1 in the same way (656b). However, other Rājbanshi speakers consider the analytic passive Type 1, in the context of habitual, to be a loan construction, and the impersonal passive to be correct (656c).

(656) a. Maithili
āghan me dhan kaṭal jait chaik
Agahan LOC paddy cut-PST.PTCL go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Paddy is harvested in the month of Agahan.'
(Yadav 1997 [1996]:332)

b. गरु-ला-र बर्तरिति नि जाबार ताने राखा जाछे। (cf. MR.02.023; loan construction)
garu-la-r gʰeca-la bhiɾiti ni ja-ba-r tane rakʰ-a
bullock-PL-GEN throat-PL outside NEG go-INF-GEN for put-PST.PTCL ja-cʰ-e
PASS.AUX-PRES-3
'(Neck-guides) are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).'
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c. गरुळा बाळकिका बहिरति नि जाबार तलेन राखेचे। (cf. MR.02.023)
   गरु-ला-र गधेका-ला बहिरती नी जाबा-र ताने राख-ए-ए
   bullock-PL-GEN throat-PL outside NEG go-INF-GEN for put-PRES-3
   '(Neck-guides) are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the
   cross-bar).'

7.5.1.2 Analytic passive Type 2

The Type 2 analytic passive is predominantly a statal passive. It is constructed with the
matrix verb in the past participle, followed by the छ- cʰ-copula (acting in effect as a
passive auxiliary), as shown in the following example:

(657) टाट्टखानत ढेसन लागेला गराला थार करे राखले। (MR.01.007)
   टा-टखानत ढेसन लागे गराला थार करे राख-ए
   wall-NCLS-LOC leaning apply_to-CONJ.PTCL dung-stick-PL standing ADVL
   put-PST.PTCL be-PRES3
   'Dung-sticks have been put standing, leaning up against the wall.'

By "statal passive" I am implying a state which has occurred as the result of an action, as
opposed to the action itself (cf. Matthews 1997:352). Consider example (657), which
conveys a state (that is, 'the sticks are in a state of having been put'). Conversely, the
impersonal passive in (658) focuses on the action (that is, 'the sticks are dried in this
fashion').

(658) गराला बेनेला टाट्टखानत थार करे सुकाचे।
   गर-ए-ए बेन-ए टा-टखानत ढेसन लागे गराला थार करे सुक-ए-ए
   dung-stick-PL make-CONJ.PTCL wall-NCLS-LOC standing ADVL dry-CAUS-PRES-3
   'The dungsticks, after being made, are dried (by) standing (them up against) the wall.'

7.5.1.3 Impersonal passive

The final type of valence-decreasing operations is what I call the "impersonal passive".
This construction, used for the habitual (or, "customary and conventional actions" as per
Yadav 1997 [1996]), has already been briefly referred to in examples (656c) and (658).

Prototypically, impersonal passives have passive marking on the verb, obligatory agent
suppression, and occur with intransitive verbs. Though there is no passive morpheme or
auxiliary with the Rājbanshi impersonal passive, I consider this to be a passive
construction, based on the downplaying of the agent. Givón (1990:576) maintains that the
impersonal passive is found in the example 'They found the body on the beach' in that:
"The non-agent remains unpromoted; the agent is absent; and the verb is coded grammatically as the normal active form."

The agent in the example given by Givón is the empty subject 'they'. In most cases the agent in the Rājbanshi impersonal passive is suppressed so that it is not mentioned at all (659a). If the agent is present, it appears as a dummy subject लोक(ला) lok(-la) 'man(-PL)' (659b-c). 91

(659) a. हाल बहबार खुना इखान जानली काम लगाचे। (MR.02.025)
    hal bha-ba-r kʰuna i-kʰan jānlī kam lag-ec-e
    plough plough-INF-GEN during DEM[prox]-NCLS cross-bar work apply_to-PRES-3
    'The cross-bar is used while ploughing.'

b. एनढ़ करे (लोक) कनु बुनेचे आहे? (MR.04.007)
    enʤ kʰare (lok) kacu bun-ec-e arha
    like_this ADVL (man) [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-3 more
    'So, [kacu]vegetables are planted (by people) like this too?'

c. (अदि) ब्रेतिर काम करेहां ते उह्ल्ते जानेहां ते केनढ़ करे (लोकज) बुनेहां धान।
    (jdi) kʰeti-r kam kar-l-t=hane te uhae jan-l-t=hane
    (if) field-ADJR-GEN work do-PST-3=PST.COND then 3sg[pro] know-PST-3=PST.COND
te kənʤ kʰare (lok-la) bun-ec-e dʰan
    that how ADVL (man-PL) plant-PRES-3 rice
    'If he had worked on the field, then he would have known how rice is planted (by people).'  

7.5.2 Causative

As mentioned in section 3.7.2, Rājbanshi has two morphological causative stems: the simple causative is formed with the suffix -आ- 'CAUS', and the indirect causative with the suffix -उ- 'ICAUS'. The following two sections will cover issues relating to

91 Bengali has a somewhat similar construction, according to Klaiman (1986:185): "Bengali has two passives: an impersonal passive, whose characteristic is the finite verb jaa- 'go'; and a passive which occurs both personally and impersonally ..., and whose characteristic is the finite verb ha- 'become'." The second passive is described thus:

(xxv) Bengali (Klaiman 1986:185)
    aamerikaay iṛreji balaa hay
    America-L(OC) English speaking becomes
    'In America, English is spoken.'
the syntax of the simple and indirect causatives, and the semantic parameters of the Rājbanshi causatives. The final section will deal with two possible periphrastic causatives.

7.5.2.1 Syntax of the simple causative

The syntax of a clause with a simple causative verb does not differ from that of a transitive clause. This equally applies to "corresponding transitive verbs", causatives of intransitive verbs and causatives of (di)transitive verbs.

Consider, for example, verb बठ- baṭḥ-'sit' which is intransitive in (660a) and causative (i.e. transitive) in (660b). The direct object in (660b) is marked with the dative-accusative case.

(660) a. तुड़ मुड़ मुड़ आराम में बठए खाम। (cf. DLR.04.016)
   tui mui suna aram se baṭ-ie kʰa-m-A
   2sg[pro] 1sg[pro] PCL rest sit-CONJ.PTCL eat-FUT-1pl
   'You and I will sit in peace and eat.'

b. बुऱाडक घरत बठाए खिलान धिप्लान कबा ए हि
   burʰ-a-ḍʌ kʰʌr-ʌt baṭ-a-e kʰilan pilan kʰar-ba=e
   old_man-NCLS-DAT house-LOC sit-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL feeding drinking do-INF=EMPH
   ha-l-ki
   must-PST-SA3
   'They had to sit the old man down (i.e. cause the old man to sit down) in the house and really feed him and give him drink!'

If the verb root is transitive or ditransitive, the transitive stem is (usually) a simple causative, such as the transitive verb बिस्वास दिला- biswas dil-a 'belief give'[HINDI.STEM]-'CAUS' (i.e. 'make one believe') in (661). If the direct object of the following example had been overtly expressed, it would have been marked with the dative-accusative case.

(661) आप उहाँ बिस्वास दिलन किः... (cf. MR.05.284)
   ap uhã biswas dil-a-p-ki
   PCL 3sg[pro] belief give[HINDI.STEM]CAUS-FUT-SA3 that...
   'She made (him) believe that...'

7.5.2.2 Syntax of the indirect causative

The indirect causative conveys a situation where the causer brings about an action indirectly, mediated by a causee (the agent of the main predicate). The overt marking of
the causee in the indirect causative clause is optional. If it is marked, it is done in one of two ways: either by an oblique phrase or by a complementiser. Additionally, as explained in section 3.7.2.2, some verbs have no indirect causative. Some verbs may have an indirect causative stem, but may only *semantically* be simple causatives. In such cases indirectionality can be indicated by using an oblique phrase or a complementiser.

The choice of the postposition or complementiser is dependent on verb semantics. The postposition पै 'by' is used by some writers (662a); the postposition दारे 'by' was also suggested, but this is considered by many to be non-cognate. If, however, the verb implies physical delivery, the postpositional phrase हाते 'hand-INSTR' is used (662b).

(662) a. चेंज्रड़ खिस्माखान (पै दारे) सून्वाणि।
चेंज्रड़-ढूं (पै) सूनुवाि।
young man-NCLS news-NCLS hear-ICAUS-FUT-SA3
'The young man had (his wife) tell the news (to him/her).'</n
b. मुई दादोडक (हाते) खिस्माखानु।
मुई दादोडक (पै) सूनुवाि।
1sg[pro] grandfather-NCLS-DAT (pae) sun-(u)wa-p-ki
'I had (Pāmar) feed (my) grandfather (by hand).'

The complementiser कहेने kah-ene 'say-CONJ.PTCL' can be used if the causee is orally requested to deliver the action.

(663) मुई पामरटक कहेने तोक नुकुवानु।
mui pamar-ta kah-ene to-k nuk-(u)wa-n-u
1sg[pro] Pāmar-NCLS-DAT say-CONJ.PTCL 2sg[obl]-DAT hide-ICAUS-PST-1sg
'I had Pāmar hide you (by asking him to do so).'

7.5.2.3 Semantic considerations

The Hindi causatives suffixes -a and -va are described by Dixon (2000:67) as follows:

"Both can be used with all kinds of verbs, implying a causee having control and the causer acting intentionally. They differ in terms of directness – suffix -a indicates that the causer acts directly and -va that they act indirectly."

These semantic parameters of directness, control and intention are also relevant in describing the causatives in Rājbanshi. Consider the intransitive in example (664a), where no external causer or causee is implied. In (664b) the causer directly causes the direct object to stop smoking (for example, by forcefully confiscating the person's cigarettes). In (664c) it is the causer who is directly, and intentionally, in control of the action.
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(664) a. उहाँर बिरि खुबा आदत छुटि सेलिक।
    uñh-ã r biri kʰu-a adxt-tañ cʰuṭ-i ge-l-ki
    3sg[pro]-GEN cigarette eat-ADJR habit-NCLS stop-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
    'His smoking habit stopped.' (Implying, 'on its own')

b. मुइ उहाँक बिरि खाबा छुटानु।
    mui uñh-a-k biri kʰa-ba cʰuṭ-a-n-u
    1sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT cigarette eat-INF stop-CAUS-PST-1sg
    'I stopped him/her from smoking.'

c. मुइ उहाँर बिरि खुवा आदतट छुटानु।
    mui uñh-a r biri kʰu-a adxt-tañ cʰuṭ-a-n-u
    1sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN cigarette eat-ADJR habit-NCLS stop-CAUS-PST-1sg
    'I caused the cessation of his/her habit of smoking.'

Conversely, in example (665), the causer indirectly causes the action, albeit intentionally. Though s/he initiates the action (for example, by encouraging the smoker to stop), s/he is not in control of the outcome. It is the causee (the smoker) who is in direct control of the outcome of the action; that is, it is the smoker him/herself who decides to stop smoking, causing the action on him/herself. Directionality, therefore, appears to be central here.

(665) बहुतकानी मुइ उहाँर बिरि खुबा आदत छुट्नानु।
    bʰuṭ-kaññ uñh-a-r biri kʰu-a adxt-tañ
curious-NCLS very-NCLS 3sg[pro]-GEN cigarette eat-ADJR habit-NCLS
cʰuṭ-(u)wa-n-u
    stop-ICAUS-PST-1sg
    'With great difficulty I (indirectly) caused the cessation of his/her habit of smoking.'

The causer's intention is not necessarily always implied. Consider example (666), which has two possible interpretations. According to interpretation (i) the causer intentionally and directly caused the action. Interpretation (ii), however, suggests that the intention is, as such, unspecified. The semantics of this particular conjunct verb is, however, highly specific, and therefore further study is required to determine to what degree intention plays a part in the causative system.

(666) (उदाहरण पाए) मोक काथा सुनुवालो।
    (dado-r pae) mok katʰa sun-(u)wa-l-o
    (grandfather-GEN INSTR) 1sg[obl]-DAT story hear-ICAUS-PST-2sg
    'You caused me to be rebuked by grandfather.'

Interpretation (i) 'You told grandfather to rebuke me. You were the cause of that rebuke (directly, intentionally).'

Interpretation (ii) 'You told me to tell grandfather something. Grandfather found what I said uncouth, and therefore he rebuked me. You were the cause of that rebuke (indirectly; intention unspecified).'
7.5.2.4 Further notes

As mentioned in section 3.7.2 some verbs do not have both a simple and an indirect causative stem. In order to indicate causation in conjunction with these types of verbs, one must resort to periphrastic means.

Indirect causation can be expressed with the verb कह- कह- 'say' and an infinitival verbal complement which is in the simple causative. Consider, for example, the indirect causative in example (667a). This can be expressed by periphrastic means as in (667b).

(667) a. चेङराड खिमाकान इसान (पैरेंर पाए) सुनावि।
      ceŋra-ḍʌ kʰisa-kʰan (por-er pae) sun-(u)wa-p-ki
      young_man-NCLS story-NCLS (other-GEN INSTR) hear-ICAUS-FUT-SA3
      'The young man had (someone else) tell the story.'

b. चेङराड खिमाकान इसान कहि।
      ceŋra-ḍʌ kʰisa-kʰan (por-er pae) sun-a-ba kʰʌh-ʌ-p-ki
      young_man-NCLS story-NCLS (other-GEN INSTR) hear-CAUS-INF say-FUT-SA3
      'The young man told (someone else) to tell the story.'

The quasi-aspectual auxiliary दि- 'AUX' was found to occur frequently in conjunction with the causative (668a-c). This is similar to Hindi (Tikkanen 1991:179-180).

(668) a. अतिम चंमर नूंगुर वेटालाक चंगटूलाकं भिडविसे भागाए दिविण।
      antim-ʌt kukur-la kʰetja-la-k piتا-ene bʰag-a-e d-il-ki
      end-LOC dog-PL jackal-PL-DAT chase-CONJ.PTCL escape-CAUS-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
      'In the end the dogs, chasing the jackals, caused them to flee.'

b. राजाडार मेरे गोलक्षेत्र परिपक्व रहाए दिविण।
      raja-ḍʌ-r saŋe gat-la-k=e bʰetgʰat kʰar-a-e di-p-ki
      king-NCLS-GEN with-all-PL-DAT=EMPH visit do-CAUS-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3
      'He had them all meet with the king.'

c. दाता नाउ भुजाडमाहाए दिविण।
      dado-r nai mui has-a-e di-n-ki-n
      grandfather-GEN name 1sg[pro] laugh-CAUS-ABS AUX-PST-SA3-1sg
      'I damaged my grandfather's reputation.'

92 Other examples of the auxiliary दि- 'AUX' occuring with the causative include: DLR.05.029, MR.04.041, MR.05.034, MR.05.202, MR.05.213, MR.05.226, MR.05.283 and MR.05.290.
In the following sections I will discuss how the distinction between future, present and past tense is neutralised in narratives in such a manner that all three refer to the past. This means that the distribution of tense is not governed by time reference *per se* (apart from the past tense to which they all refer) but by discourse function.

### 8.1 Tense neutralisation and discourse cohesion

This section will deal with the neutralisation of the future, present and past tenses in narrative discourse. I will begin with statistical observations which highlight the unusual behaviour of tense in Rājbanshi narratives, and will then discuss several possible triggering features, namely predicate semantics, aspect or discourse cohesion. I will also argue that it is in fact the latter feature which is the most likely cause of the neutralisation. I will then describe two ways in which tense is used within any given discourse, while at the same time maintaining that there are two interchangeable text 'types'. Interchangeability will be demonstrated by superimposing the two text types upon the same narrative. I will then consider the relationship between the historic present in English and the use of the present and future tenses in Rājbanshi, and finally present some irregularities in the text material used for this study.

#### 8.1.1 Definitions

I will begin by defining the terms "narrative" and "tense neutralisation". Narrative is defined by Payne (1999 [1997]:358) thus:

"Narratives... are portions of discourse in which a speaker describes a set of events in the real world or some imagined world."

Following this definition, I maintain that narratives describe both real and fictitious events. I will also assume that narratives are understood as a depiction of past experience. Logically, real-life events are viewed as past experience, but in Rājbanshi fictitious events...
are also viewed as such regardless of whether the narrative extensively uses the future or present tense to describe those events.

"Tense neutralisation" is used by Comrie (1993 [1985]:102-104) in the following manner:

"In several languages, there is a rule whereby within what would otherwise be a sequence of like tenses within a sentence, only the first verb shows the expected tense, while all subsequent verbs are in a single tense category, irrespective of the tense of the first verb."

Here Comrie refers to the Bahinemo language of Papua New Guinea, where the past tense is marked on the first verb of the paragraph, and the present tense on all successive verbs in that paragraph. The time reference of that particular paragraph is determined by the first verb. Therefore, the present tense used on all successive verbs in that paragraph is neutralised in respect to time, as the following example illustrates.

(669) Bahinemo

Nem na ya-tagiya-m, du-qi-yasinu, de-tenowa-u,
we sago eat-satisfy-remote:past neutral-repeat-get:up:present neutral-ascend-present
niba la-hina-fanel, idu du-wei
ridge immediate-upstream-arrive:present to:right neutral-walk:along:ridge:present
'After we ate sago until we were satisfied, we got up again, we ascended, immediately we went up the stream bed and arrived at the ridge, we walked along the ridge to the right.'
(Comrie 1993 [1985]:103)

In this section, however, I will use the term "tense neutralisation" in a slightly different manner: in a Rājbanshi narrative the future, present and past tenses are neutralised in such a way that they all have a past time reference.

8.1.2 Statistical observations

To begin with, what strikes the reader of the MR.05 text (cf. Appendix 3) is the frequency of the future tense as compared to the past tense. The frequency of the use of different verb inflection in this narrative is found in chart 2 (blue bars). The inflection count is based on 260 verbs out of a total of 436 found in the text. The remaining 176 verbs, which occur either in direct discourse or in discourse embedded within direct speech, have been discarded since it is unclear at this stage that tense neutralisation applies to them.

For comparison, the white bars in chart 2 represent TAM-marking frequencies in a recently published Rājbanshi narrative (n = 273, out of a total of 493 verbs). This written style closely mirrors Nepali, where it is predominantly the past tense which is used in narrative discourse.
The other narratives in Appendix 3 paint a different picture. Consider the blue bar in chart 3, where the present tense and the past tense are relatively equally distributed (DLR.04 \( n=31 \); DLR.05 \( n=46 \); DLR.06 \( n=75 \); GR.01 \( n=13 \); GR.02 \( n=45 \); MR.04 \( n=117 \)). The use of the future tense in these narratives is quite infrequent. The average frequencies for all of the texts in Appendix 3 (that is, including MR.05 mentioned above) are presented in the white bar.

As mentioned in section 3.7.6.1 the future tense is often used for reference to a future point of time, and to indicate volition or ability. However, these can only partially account...
for the uses of the future tense in the MR.05 narrative. In this we frequently find the future being used in situations where we would expect, by comparing with Nepali usage, to find the past tense. Consider the following example, taken from the text, where the future tense indicates the conclusion of the preceding section.

(670) अन्तिम-त समाप्ति जापरे हरिश्चन्द्राज (cf. MR.05.036)

\text{antim-AT} \quad u-d\Delta \quad bag-b-d\Delta \quad ja-b-1 \quad har-ie

\text{end-LOC that-NCLS tiger-NCLS AUX-FUT-3 lose-ABS}

'In the end the tiger lost (lit. 'will lose').'

Similarly, in narratives which feature a high frequency of the present tense, one finds the present tense being used where one would, for example in Nepali, expect to find the past tense.

(671) कादखानत जापरे जापरे हरिश्चन्द्राज (cf. MR.05.029)

\text{kad}\Delta-k^3an-AT \quad ja-ene \quad ja-c-ki \quad ek\Deltaam \quad l\Deltatp\Deltae

\text{mud-NCLS-LOC go-CNJ.PTCL AUX-PRES-SA3 very roll(in_mud)-ABS}

'He went into the mud and really rolled (lit. 'rolls') around (in it).'

(672) गटे दाहाड कादखाद काद भिक्षु (MR.05.030)

\text{g}\Deltate \quad daha-\Delta \quad kad\Delta = e \quad kad\Delta kar-i \quad d-ee-ki

\text{all body-NCLS mud=EMPH mud do-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3}

'His made (lit. 'makes') his whole body muddy.'

Based on these statistical observations what can clearly be stated is that tense in a Rājbanshi narrative behaves quite differently to what might have been anticipated.

\subsection{8.1.3 Triggering features}

To begin, the first question one needs to ask is whether the use of the future, present and past tense in Rājbanshi narrative is random, or whether it is perhaps governed by, for example, aspect or predicate semantics.

The first feature which needs to be considered is aspect: or more specifically to question perhaps whether is it possible that imperfectivity could trigger the unusual use of the present and future tenses. In (673) the present tense, and in (674) the future tense is used in conjunction with auxiliaries which have quasi-aspectual (perfective) implications (cf. sections 3.7.9.2.1-2). This should at least cast doubt on any correlation between the use of the present/future and aspect. Having said this, however, the present tense is sometimes found to associate with continuous states, as will be described in section
8.1.6. Instances of the future tense can also be found showing an association with continuous states (675).

(673) दुनाकहान जाएने जातके लटपटाए (cf. MR.05.029)

\[
\text{kada} \text{-} \text{k}^\text{b} \text{an-} \text{at} \quad \text{ja-} \text{ene} \quad \text{ja-} \text{c-} \text{ki} \quad \text{l} \text{a} \text{tpa} \text{-} \text{a} \text{-} \text{e}
\]

mud-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL AUX-PRES-SA3 roll(in_mud)-ABS

'He went into the mud and really rolled around in it.'

(674) बृधर दाहाड गटडए खुने खुन हइ जाि (MR.05.037)

\[
\text{bag}^\text{b} \text{-} \text{d}^\text{a} \text{-} \text{r} \quad \text{daha} \text{-} \text{d}^\text{a} \quad \text{gat}^\text{-} \text{ta} = \text{e} \quad \text{kh}^\text{b} \text{un} = \text{e} \quad \text{kh}^\text{b} \text{un} \quad \text{ha} \text{-} \text{i}
\]

tiger-NCLS-GEN body-NCLS all-NCLS = EMPH blood(Nepali) = EMPH blood(Nepali) be-ABS

ja-p-ki AUX-FUT-SA3

'The tiger's body became (lit. 'will be') bloody all over.'

(675) राति पूरै उठ्होक जार लाब्ना प्रतिकिन्न (cf. MR.05.064)

\[
\text{rati} \quad \text{g}^\text{h} \text{uri} \quad \text{uh} \text{a} \text{-} \text{k} \quad \text{jar} \quad \text{lag} \text{-} \text{ba} \quad \text{d}^\text{a} \text{r} \text{-} \text{ip-ki}
\]

night during 3sg[pro]-DAT cold feel-INF begin-FUT-SA3

'During the night, he began to feel cold.'

The second possible factor triggering tense neutralisation is the semantics of the predicate. Does atelicity cause the use of the present tense, and does telicity cause the use of the past or future tenses? This was found not to be the case, however, since any given verb may be marked with any of the three tenses. For example the verb कह- 'say', in the telic sense, is found with present (676a), past (676b) and future (676c) tense marking, as the following examples indicate.

(676) a. न सुना कहहि, 'ए चेङरा!' (cf. MR.05.014)

\[
\text{ta} \quad \text{suna} \quad \text{k}^\text{a} \text{ha} \text{-} \text{e-} \text{ki} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{ce} \text{hra}
\]

PCL PCL say-PRES-SA3 INJ young_man

'They said to him, "Eh, young man..."'

---

93 Interestingly, Schiffrin (1981:59) notes a tendency for the English historic present to co-occur with the continuous aspect.

94 I use the terms "atelic" and "telic" here following Comrie (1993 [1976]:44-45). An atelic situation is one which has "no ... terminal point, and can be protracted indefinitely or broken off at any point." Conversely, a telic situation "... is one that involves a process that leads up to a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue." I will presume, as Comrie (1993 [1976]:46), that the distinction between the two is warranted despite a degree of ambiguity: "...although it is difficult to find sentences that are unambiguously telic or atelic, this does not affect the general semantic distinction made between telic and atelic situations."
8.1 Tense neutralisation and discourse cohesion

b. बाघ और सरत कहलिक्, 'ले!' (cf. MR.05.052)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bag}^h{-}\text{ḍʌ} & \quad \text{ar sori-tʌ} & \quad \text{kʌh}^a{-}\text{l-ki le}
\end{align*}
\]

The tiger and the boar said, "OK."'

c. तो तुम उठाक कहलिक्, 'ए, चेंढ़ा!' (cf. MR.05.038-039)

\[
\begin{align*}
tʌ & \quad \text{suna uhã-k kʌh}^a{-}\text{p-ki e cenra}
\end{align*}
\]

Then he said to him: "Eh, young man!"

Conversely, the atelic sense of the verb रह- rʌha- 'remain; live; be' is found in the past (677a) and future (677b) tenses.

(677) a. बुऱाड बगलत नुकाए रोहोल। (cf. DLR.04.031)

\[
\begin{align*}
bur^h{-}\text{ḍʌ} & \quad \text{bagʌst nuka-e roho-l}
\end{align*}
\]

The old man remained there hiding close by.

b. उड गेसेर पर जाएने चढ़ए रहबे (MR.05.128)

\[
\begin{align*}
u{-}\text{ḍʌ} & \quad \text{ges-er par ja-ene caR^b-ie rʌha-b-ɪ}
\end{align*}
\]

He went and climbed up that tree, and stayed there.

Similarly, the verb आस- as- 'come' can be marked with the past (678), present (679) or future (680), regardless of telicity, and with no apparent change to the past tense reference of the clause. That is, the present tense in (679) does not imply that the present reference point has been designated to that point of time. Likewise, the future tense in example (680) does not imply that the action will happen at a future point in time relative to a present reference point.

However, in the larger discourse context the past tense in example (678) seems to indicate a prominent event (i.e. foreground information). The present tense in (679) signifies that the action therein is to be regarded as non-prominent (or, a "non-event") and therefore as background information. The future tense in (680) may point to a neutral state where no distinction is made between foreground and background information (this will be discussed in the following section).

(678) न मचिएने बाह्य पर आले। (DLR.06.046; cf. also examples DLR.05.033 and MR.04.177)

\[
\begin{align*}
tʌ & \quad \text{sac-iene yaha gʌAr as-l-ɪ}
\end{align*}
\]

'Thinking (this) she came home.'
8. Notes on discourse

(679)  
ते बेटी पर से बूढ़ी बिताबरी हुई आनार परर ति आसेचे। (cf. MR.04.129; cf. also examples DLR.04.018 and MR.04.131)

PCL daughter-GEN house ABL old_woman-NCLS dismissal be-CONJ.PTCL

'Then the old woman, leaving her daughter's house, came towards her own house.'

(680)  
लड़डिसे तिसनान करए घरत चुल आसेने। (cf. MR.05.240; cf. also examples MR.05.270 and MR.05.272)

river-NCLS ABL wash(body)-DVBL do-CONJ.PTCL house-LOC AUX-ABS come-FUT-3

'It is therefore possible that tense neutralisation is associated with discourse cohesion, or more accurately, indicating information flow. In the following section I will describe how tense can be used in two ways within a section of narrative discourse.

8.1.4 Text types

So far I have been able to identify two text types, which I will call Type 1 and Type 2 respectively.

In a Type 1 text non-prominent events ("non-events") or background information are presented in the present tense. The predicate in the section conclusion in a Type 1 text is marked either with the past or the future. The past can also be used alongside the perfect, present and past habitual in the setting of a section (or the setting of an entire narrative). 95

95 The use of the present (or present continuous) for background material (and in the setting) has also been recorded in Chodri (Thomas & Thomas 1990), and Garhwali (Christian & Christian 1990).

Thomas & Thomas (1990:70) report that in Chodri (Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Bhil): "Background activities are marked by the past or present durative or present habitual nonpunctiliar aspects and the use of the past or present continuous tense."

(xxvi) Chodri (Thomas & Thomas 1990:71)

old-man quickly quickly descended looking-3-m-sg-pr is-3-pr

'The old man, having quickly descended, is looking.'

Regarding this example Thomas et al. continue: "The background activity ... is marked by the use of the present continuous tense in the compound verb, which includes its dependent auxiliary be verb, and by the nonpunctiliar aspect -to on the main verb. The old man got down
Consider, for example, section MR.05.026-036 in the narrative MR.05. Sentence MR.05.026 opens the new discourse section with the perfect (681a). The main body of the section (i.e. sentences MR.05.027-034) uses the present tense (681b). The closure of the section in MR.05.036 is in the future tense (681c). Equally natural would be to mark the section-final predicate in (681c) with the past tense. (Refer to Appendix 3 for the whole of the section.)

(681) a. आमा लाराइ कर्बा घ्रेह्न। (cf. MR.05.026)
   amʰa larai kar-ba dʰʌ(r)-ic-e
   3pl[pro] fighting do-INF begin-PERF-3
   'They had begun to fight.'

b. सोर्ट कारिकान जाएने बाफङ नटपटाए। (cf. MR.05.028)
   sor-τa kada-kʰan-at ja-ene ja-e-ki lʰʌtpʰa-e
   boar-NCLS mud-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL AUX-PRES-SA3 roll(in_mud)-ABS
   'The boar went into the mud and rolled around in it.'

from the tree and **is looking** to see whether the thieves have left something as they fled after hearing a sound."

Similarly, Christian & Christian (1990:88; 90) find that in Garhwali (Indo-Aryan, Northern zone, Garhwali): "The past progressive, and sometimes present progressive, tense is used for supportive material in the main body of a discourse. ... The extensive use of the verb be, both in the past as well as the present tense, marks the setting. ... Another narrative uses present tense to set the stage: 'This is a story of one time. There are two brothers. One brother is poor. The other is rich. There are seven sons (belonging) to the poor (brother), and also there are seven (belonging) to the rich. In the case of the children they are the same.'"

Conversely, Soundararaj & Soundaraj (1990:135) assert that in Maria Dandami (or, 'Bison-Horn Madiya'; Dravidian, South-Central, Gondi-Kui, Gondi) the present tense is used in pre-peak material: "A characteristic of Bison-Horn Madiya narratives is that they closely follow the storyline without much departure from it. ... certain semantically durative forms (present, continuous, habitual) which occur in prepeak (or early peak) are not set up as a background activities band but rather as a variation of the storyline peculiar to their positioning within the story."

Soundararaj et al (1990:136-137) continues: "For prepeak pivotal events, the simple present or present continuous tense is used. In the Hunter story to hunter (Maro) kills a bison. It runs for a long distance and dies in the antagonist's field. The hunter does not know where it died, but the bird that helps the hunter knows. Without saying a word to the hunter, it goes back and forth from the hunter's location to the antagonist's field. Only from this action does the hunter know the location of the bison. The bird's action is reported in the simple present."

(xxvii) Maria, Dandami (Soundararaj & Soundaraj 1990:137)

1. biimar ɗaʈa vende ʋaatʃa 2. agaʈinna vende ʋaatʃa vende ɗaʈa
eagle goes-it again comes-it here-from again comes-it again goes-it

'1. The eagle comes and goes. 2. From here again it comes and goes.'
364 8. Notes on discourse

c. अनिमि तत सुना उड बाघड जाबे हारिए! (MR.05.036)

अनिमि-तत सुना उड़ बाघड जाबे हारिए।

end-LOC PCL that-NCLS tiger-NCLS AUX-FUT-3 lose-ABS

‘In the end the tiger lost (lit. ‘will lose’).’

This being so, one would expect the past (or, the future) tense to correlate with adverb phrases which signal section closure, such as अनिमि तत ‘in the end’. This is indeed the case, as the following examples show: the past tense is used in (682a), and the future tense in (682b). To use the present tense in these instances would apparently sound odd to the native ear.

(682) a. अनिमि गटे खे टयालाक िपटाएने भागाए दि। (cf. MR.04.202)

अनिमि-त म गटे-खे टयालाक पिपटाएने भागाए दिः

end-LOC all jackal-PL-DAT chase-CONJ.PTCL escape-CAUS-ABS AUX-PST-SA3

‘In the end the dogs chasing all of the jackals made (lit. ‘made’) them flee.’

b. अनिमि सुना उड बाघड जाबे हारिए! (MR.05.036)

अनिमि-तत सुना उड़ बाघड जाबे हारिए।

end-LOC PCL that-NCLS tiger-NCLS AUX-FUT-3 lose-ABS

‘In the end the tiger lost (lit. ‘will lose’).’

In a Type 2 text all predicates from the beginning to the end of a section are in the future (again, this does not take into account the present, past, perfect, past habitual and past continuous/remote past used in the setting). Consider, for example, section MR.05.062-079. The setting is portrayed in the perfect (683a), while all successive predicates (excluding those in direct discourse) are in the future tense (683b-d). In this kind of narrative context, it seems that the future tense is neutral in regard to discourse cohesion. (Refer to Appendix 3 for the whole of the section.)

(683) a. न सुना चेहराद आप घर पुिग गिे। (MR.05.062)

न सुना चेहराद आप घर पुिग गिे।

PCL PCL young_man-NCLS PCL house reach-ABS AUX-PERF-3

‘The young man had (already) arrived home.’

b. उहाँ सुना आपनान घर बा जाे। (cf. MR.05.063)

उहाँ सुना आपनान घर बा जाे।

3sg[pro] PCL REFL[pro]-GEN house sleep-INF go-FUT-3

‘He went to (his) own home to sleep.’

c. राित घुरी उहाँक जार लाम्बा घरिे। (cf. MR.05.064)

राित घुरी उहाँक जार लाम्बा घरिे।

night during 3sg[pro]-DAT cold feel-INF begin-FUT-SA3

‘During the night, he began to feel cold.’
8.1 Tense neutralisation and discourse cohesion

Preliminary observations indicate that despite the use of the present and future tenses, the actual time reference for narratives in either of these text types is the past.\textsuperscript{96}

8.1.5 Interchangeability of text types

What is most interesting is that these two text types are (almost) fully interchangeable. This means that a section narrated with a Type 1 structure can also be told with a Type 2 structure, and vice versa, with no change to the meaning.

The following short Type 1 narrative was told by Pāmar Rājbanshi (Narrative 1). Type 2 structure has then been superimposed upon the narrative (Narrative 2), and what emerges is an equally acceptable version of the original.

---

\textsuperscript{96} Further research is required to determine whether text Type 2 could be related to so-called "anterior narration" which, according to Toolan (2006) is "a telling of what, it is asserted, will happen." Genette (1999 [1996]:175) notes: "The chief temporal determination of the narrating instance is obviously its position relative to the story. It seems evident that the narrating can only be subsequent to what it tells, but this obviousness has been belied for many centuries by the existence of 'predictive' narrative in its various forms (prophetic, apocalyptic, oracular, astrological, chiromantic, cartomantic, oneiromantic, etc.), whose origin is lost in the darkness of time."

At this stage I doubt that text Type 2 is primarily 'anterior' or 'predictive' for three reasons. Firstly, the time reference (according to informants' intuitions) seems to be the past, and this would seem to rule out a predictive analysis. Secondly, a text Type 2 material can occur parallel to text Type 1 material within the same narrative, with similar non-predictive material. Thirdly, as far as I can determine, text Type 1 and text Type 2 are interchangeable with no apparent change in meaning.
8. Notes on discourse

### Title

- a. आरहे सालया काथा  
  \( ar=he \quad salia \quad kat^{ha} \)
  last = EMPH  year-ADJR  story  
  'A story of last year'

### Setting

- b. केवा दिन डाकोला खोब उजाए गेइसे  
  \( kewa \quad din \quad dako-la \quad k^{b}ob \quad uja-e \quad ge-isel-ku \)
  some day  robber-PL  very  appear-ABS  AUX-REM.PST-SA2sg  
  'For a while robbers were appearing.'

### Present

- c. ते एक दिन सान करे एनङ थाकिए छ, छुबाक नितृवाँछु  
  \( te \quad ek \quad din \quad san \quad kare \quad en\tilde{a}j \quad t^{th}ak-\tilde{i}e \)
  PCL  one  day  evening  ADVL  like this  lying-CONJ.PTCL  
  'One day in the evening I was lying like this and putting the child to sleep.'

### Prominent event

- d. ताए देखन एडनार काकिध एकदम चेचाए उठे  
  \( tae \quad dek^{b}in \quad e\tilde{n}\tilde{a}-r \quad kaki-d\tilde{a} \quad ekd\tilde{a}m \quad ceca-e \)
  then  south  yard-GEN  aunt-NCLS  very  cry-CONJ.PTCL  
  'Then (my) aunt in the south yard really (started) shouting.'

### Future

- e. एकेंचिंग डिप डाम सुधु एकदम।  
  \( ek=e-c^{in}=e \quad d^{\tilde{b}}ip \quad d^{\tilde{a}}ap \quad suru \quad ekd\tilde{a}m \)
  one = EMPH-moment = EMPH  beating(sound)  begin  very  
  'Suddenly a beating noise (began).'  

### Prominent event (here implies ability)

- f. आर किर रहुङ्गे थाकिए?  
  \( ar \quad ki \quad ra\tilde{a}h-a-b-o \quad t^{th}ak-\tilde{i}e \)
  and  what  stay-FUT-2sg  lie-CONJ.PTCL  
  'How could you stay lying down?'

### Prominent event

- g. दारिगेए छुबाक लिए नितिक गेतु दरबजार लि।  
  \( dxur-\tilde{i}e \quad c^{\tilde{b}}ua-d\tilde{a}-k \quad l-\tilde{i}e \quad nikl-i \)
  run-CONJ.PTCL  child-NCLS-DAT  take-CONJ.PTCL  go_out-ABS  
  AUX-PST-1sg  outer_yard-DAT towards  
  'I took the child and ran outside to the outer yard.'
8.1 Tense neutralisation and discourse cohesion

Setting (verbless predicate)

h. फेर एकू छिने निसोट।
pʰer ek = e-cʰin = e nisoṭ
gain one = EMPH-moment = EMPH silent
'Suddenly (it was) silent once again.'

Restatement

i. फेर एकू छिने निसोट।
पॉर ek=e-cʰ 
inal nisoṭ
gen moment silent
'Again (it) was silent once again.'

Perfect

cʰt.cut kucʰu suna ja-ic-e ni
cʰt(sound) cʰt(sound) something PCL PASS.AUX-PERF-3 NEG
'No noise could be heard (whatsoever).'
Notes on discourse

Setting: present

Perfect: refers to previous event

Perfect: refers to previous event

Concluding or outcome

Past

Narrative 1. Narrative told with a Type 1 structure (3/3)
8.1 Tense neutralisation and discourse cohesion

Title

a. आरहे सालिया कथा
ar=he sal-ia katʰa
last=EMPH year-ADJR story
'A story of last year'

Setting
Past continuous

b. केवा दिन डाकोला खोब उजाए, गेइसे कु।
kewa din ḍako-la ḍʰob uja-e ge-isel-ku
some day robber-PL very appear-ABS AUX-REM.PST-SA2sg
'For a while robbers were appearing.'

Future

c. ते एक दिन सान करे एनार थाकिए रहम, छुबाडक निद्दवामू।
te ek din san kare enaŋ tʰak-ie
PCL one day evening ADVL like this lying-CONJ.PTCL
raha-m cʰua-ḍa-k nid-u(w)a-m-u
be-FUT1sg child-NCLS-DAT sleep-CAUS-FUT-1sg
'One day in the evening I was lying like this and putting the child to sleep.'

Prominent event Future

d. ताए देखिन एडनार कालिड एकदम बेचाए, उठिए।
tae dekʰin ena-r kaki-ḍʌ ekḍʌm ceca-e
then south yard-GEN aunt-NCLS very cry-CONJ.PTCL
uṭ-ip-ku
rise-FUT-SA2sg
'Then (my) aunt in the south yard really (started) shouting.'

e. एक्षिने ढिप-डाप सुरु एकदम।
ek= e-cʰin=e ḍʰip ḍʰap suru ekḍʌm
one=EMPH-moment=EMPH beating(sound) begin very
'Suddenly a beating noise (began).'

Future (here implies ability)

f. आर कि रहवो थाकिए?
ar ki raha-b-o tʰak-ie
and what stay-FUT-2sg lie-CONJ.PTCL
'How could you stay lying down?'

Prominent event Future

g. दूरिए छुबाडक लिए निकिल जाम दरबजार लिए।
dxur-ie cʰua-ḍa-k l-ie nikl-i
run-CONJ.PTCL child-NCLS-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL go_out-ABS
ja-m darbʰaʃa-r ti
AUX-FUT1sg outer_yard-GEN towards
'I took the child and ran outside to the outer yard.'
8. Notes on discourse

Setting (verbless predicate)

h. फेर एकछिने निसोट।
$p^h\text{er} \text{ ek} = e-c^h\text{in} = e \text{ nisot}$
again one = EMPH-moment = EMPH silent
'Suddenly (it was) silent once again.'

Restatement

i. चौंत चौंत कुछ सुना जावे निः।
$c^\text{t}(\text{sound}) \text{ c}^\text{u}(\text{sound}) \text{ kuc}^h\text{u} \text{ suna ja-b-i ni}$
'No noise could be heard (whatsoever).'

Direct speech

Past

j. 'महरक, कि हूँक तै!'
$m\text{a}^\text{h}\text{rak}, \text{ ki } h\text{a-l-ki } \text{ te}$
'Alas, (I wonder) what happened (to her) then.'

k. बाडा मुस्किल।
$\text{bar}a \text{ muskil}$
'Very difficult'

'Very difficult!'
Setting: future

taharbad ja-e dekʰ-im te kaki-ḍʌ-r
afterwards go-CONJ.PTCL look-FUT1sg PCL aunt-NCLS-GEN

Perfect: refers to previous event

muk-kʰan d-ic-ki banʰ-ie ar kaka-ḍʌ-k
mouth-NCLS AUX-PERF-SA3 tie-ABS and uncle-NCLS-DAT
d-ic-ki mar-ie jʰak gir-a-e
AUX-PERF-SA3 beat-CONJ.PTCL unconscious fall-CAUS-ABS

After that I saw (found) that they had tied up (my) aunt's mouth and that they had beaten my uncle and knocked (him) unconscious.'

Conclusion or outcome

p. सुना होकोर दोकोर करे दिम काकिर बन्धन खुलाए, आर काकाडक धरा-धरा करे ले जाम राते करे हिस्पिटल।
suna hokor dokor di-m-ʌ kaki-r bandʰʌn
PCL hurry (echo)hurry AUX-FUT-1pl aunt-GEN bond kʰul-a-e
open-CAUS-ABS
ar kaka-ḍʌ-k dʰʌr-a dʰʌr-i kare
and uncle-NCLS-DAT hold-DVBL hold-DVBL ADVL
l-e ja-m-ʌ rat=e kare hospital
take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT-1pl night=EMPH ADVL hospital

'In a hurry we opened up (my) aunt's bonds and carried uncle and took him to the hospital during the night.'

8.1.6 Further observations

The domain of a text type seems to be the section or subsection. The narrator has the freedom to choose the text type at the beginning. The first predicate, following the setting, determines the text type for the remainder of that section. The text type in any section/paragraph must be retained until the end of that section/paragraph.97

97 Wolfson (1979) finds that in Modern American English conversational narratives it is the alternation between the CHP ("conversational historical present") and the past (and, vice versa) which distinguishes between events (ibid.:178): "...the significant fact about the use of CHP lies not in the tense itself, but in the switching from past to CHP and from CHP to past in the story. Actions occur one after another in a series; but in order to separate the actions into events, to introduce a focus and permit the narrator to give his own interpretation of what happened, the alternation between the two verb forms is used. By switching from one form to another, the narrator creates a division between the two events."
These observations are primarily based upon larger extracts from the MR.05 narrative, and the intuition of mother-tongue speakers of the language. Changing text types in mid-section does actually happen in practice, especially after direct discourse. Consider section MR.05.193-205, for example. It begins as a Type 1 text (MR.05.193-196), but after the direct discourse in MR.05.196-197 continues as a Type 2 text (MR.05.198-203). Again, after direct discourse in MR.05.204, the section closes as a Type 1 text. See Table 61 for further examples.

Typologically speaking, it is interesting that also Bahinemo (mentioned earlier) uses the paragraph as the domain for time reference:

"For example, Bahinemo of Papua New Guinea sets the time for an entire paragraph by the use of tense on the verb of a single dependent clause at the beginning of the paragraph. Godié of Ivory Coast can set the base time once for a whole text. This would suggest that time reference is a property of fairly large discourse subtrees or even of entire discourses taken as wholes…" (Grimes 1975:231-232; cf. also Marchese 1978)

Consider examples (683a-d). The setting in (683a) is in the perfect. The first verb of the storyline following the setting is in the future, and this then determines that a Type 2 structure will follow.

Conversely consider MR.05.026-036, as described in examples (681a-c) above. The setting is in the perfect. The first verb to follow the setting is in the present, and this then defines it as Type 1 for the remainder of that section.

This means that any given narrative may have both of these text types adjacent to each other (such as in MR.05). Some narratives, however, use just one type throughout a narrative: such as the Type 1 used in narrative GR.02 (overlooking some irregularities), or the Type 2 in SR.01 (overlooking some irregularities). Quite often it seems to be a speaker-style related issue, although, as narrative MR.05 shows, a speaker may well utilize both styles.

In some cases the present tense does seem to bear some relationship to the continuous aspect, much as does the past continuous (or, remote past). The past continuous in (684a)

Moreover, Wolfson (1979:172) asserts that: "Concentrating on the present-tense forms in isolation, they conclude that the use of a present tense in the context of a narrative can have only one meaning: to make the story dramatic by placing the important events in the same time as the telling. If, however, we look at the entire discourse, we see that there is nothing about those events which are rendered in the present which makes them more dramatic than those told in the past."

Schiffrin (1981; and (partially) Silva-Corvalán 1983) presents evidence which refutes this analysis. However, Wolfson's claims are interesting as regards this analysis of Rājbanshi insofar as she maintains that tense stays the same throughout an event. Schiffrin (1981:55-56) counters this argument by asserting that "there seems to be a general tendency for particular grammatical forms to cluster together."
refers to a continuous state/action which had already begun, and which has a relevance to the (narrative's) present point of time. The present tense in (684b) indicates a state/action which is in progress, but although the state/action was logically instigated in a past point of time, it does not refer to the relevance of a past state/action per se.

(684) a. एनङ उहाँ छागल चराइले। (cf. MR.05.006)
。

b. एनङ उहाँ छागल चराचे।

In Table 61 below, the sections and subsections of the narrative MR.05 are presented according to text type (section breaks have been determined intuitively, and they are therefore in some cases open to question). Some irregularities are quite evident: sections which were difficult to classify are identified as "uncertain". Irregularities will be considered further in section 8.1.8.

Table 61. Text types in the MR.05 narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text type 1</th>
<th>MR.05.004-010, MR.05.011-025, MR.05.026-036, MR.05.055-061, MR.05.216-226</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text type 2</td>
<td>MR.05.037-054, MR.05.062-079, MR.05.081-085, MR.05.093-102, MR.05.104-116,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.118-133, MR.05.134-137, MR.05.147-162, MR.05.163-175,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.176-185, MR.05.186-192, MR.05.227-239, MR.05.240-258,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.259-269 (though, MR.05.261-262 is uncertain), MR.05.290-295,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.296-308 (end of this section MR.05.310-313 is uncertain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.350-358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switch of text types in mid-section</td>
<td>MR.05.193-196 (Type 1) &gt; MR.05.198-203 (Type 2) &gt; MR.05.205 (type 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.206 (type 1) &gt; MR.05.210-215 (type 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.270-272 (type 2) &gt; MR.05.274-283 (type 1) &gt; MR.05.284-288 (mostly type 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MR.05.336-338 (type 1) &gt; MR.05.339-348 (type 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predominant past</td>
<td>MR.05.314-322, MR.05.324-327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>MR.05.086-092, MR.05.138-146, MR.05.328-335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.7 Historic present

By this stage the reader will have no doubt considered the relationship between the behaviour of the present tense in Rāj banshi, described above, and the historic present which occurs in English. Trask (1993) defines the historic present as:
"The use of a present-tense form with past time reference, as sometimes occurs in narratives with the function of adding vividness."

There does indeed seem to be a notable similarity between the English historic present and the neutralised present and future tenses in Rājbanshi. Namely, that when the (Type 1) present and (Type 2) future are used, it is as if the narrator is actually witnessing the events being described. This corresponds with what Jesperson (1931) notes about the English historic present:

"...the speaker, as it were, forgets all about time and imagines, or remembers, what he is recounting, as vividly as if it were now present before his own eyes."

There are, nevertheless, considerable differences between the English historic present and the present tense usage in Rājbanshi. Firstly, as Schiffrin reports (referred to in Chafe 1994:209), the historic present in English occurs in conjunction with foreground rather than background material (Silva-Corvalán 1983 presents similar findings in the Spanish historic present).

"Deborah Schiffrin ... reported that in one set of data there were 'more occurrences of the [historical present] in the climax of a narrative ... and in the build-up to the climax ... than in the clauses either preceding the build up or following the climax."

The historic present in English is therefore a marked construction. Conversely in Rājbanshi the present tense is used for (unmarked) background material, whereas the past or future are used for prominent events and section closure. It is therefore not the former but the latter which relates to the climax of a narrative. Additionally, it logically follows from this that the present tense in Rājbanshi is used far more frequently than the historic present is in English.

Moreover, if we equate the English historic present with the use of the present tense in Rājbanshi, we will also need to postulate two types of "historic future": firstly a "historic future" which indicates section closure and prominent events (as in Type 1 texts), and secondly a "historic future" which does not distinguish between background and foreground information at all (as in Type 2 texts).

If we choose to utilise the terms the "historic present" and the "historic future", we can not claim that they are merely stylistic devices without paying attention to how tense coincides with discourse structure. Consider Chafe (1994:208) who observes, much as Jesperson above:

"Speakers in the displaced mode may pretend to be representing experiences that are closer to those of an extroverted consciousness in either or both of two ways. One device of this sort is the historical present; the other is direct speech. ... The effect is to present the event or state as if its time coincided with that of the representing consciousness."
As already explained, a Type 1 section in a Rājbanshi narrative requires a change from the present tense to the past or future tense alongside prominent events, or at a section closure. Since tense is, at least partially, determined by the structure of the discourse itself, the unusual use of tense can not be adequately described as merely a stylistic device the narrator uses to manipulate the representation of an experience.

Nevertheless, having said this there are also texts which do have a predominantly present tense. Consider Narrative 3, at the end of this section, which remains in the present tense throughout. Mother-tongue speakers of the language find this to be a perfectly natural style. Perhaps, therefore, the Rājbanshi historical present should be defined in more general terms. That is, it is used for the whole time reference of a narrative. This would, however, still not account for the other discourse-related features which the past and future tenses seem to have in conjunction with the present tense.

It is for these reasons that I hesitate to suggest the historic present in English narrative and the present tense in Rājbanshi narrative are equivalents. If we are to use the term "historic present" for Rājbanshi tense neutralisation we will need to redefine the term accordingly and, in addition, to postulate a (complex) term called the "historic future".

Givón (1984:288-289), concerning TAM and discourse information in general, suggests:

"There is a strong probabilistic correlation in connected discourse between the various TAM distinctions described earlier and the foreground/background distinction. The various correlations may be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse foreground/background correlations of tense-aspect-modality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfectivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(activeness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(syntax)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first thing one must emphasize with regard to these correlations, is that they are not absolute but rather probabilistic. The second is that they pertain most typically to narrative discourse, and are less evident in face-to-face conversation, and even less so in specialised procedural discourse. Nonetheless, they represent the basis for a function-based elucidation of markedness in TAM systems. There is nothing logically necessary about these correlations. Rather, they represent the cultural-cognitive-perceptual facts concerning what humans are most

98 Also Toolan (2006; cf. also Genette 1999 [1996]:175-177) mentions a "third type of narration, simultaneous with the action, reports events as if they were currently taking place (in the present tense)."
likely to consider noteworthy, informative, salient, memorable or outstanding in the coding and communication of experience."

Tense neutralisation in Rājbanshi certainly relates closer to Givón's observations, than to the English historic present, with the exception that the future tense in Rājbanshi can indicate not only background information (in text Type 2 structure), but also foreground information (in text Type 1 structure). Note that Givón also claims that durative/continuous events and the imperfective aspect (as discussed in sections 8.1.3 and 8.1.6) correlate with background information, and moreover with the present tense.

Section 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. कोलिंकलन अनुसार एकबार पारबतिङ्ग आनार माँ-बाप के सोनेर खाबा जाछे।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. माएर घर रहबार भेले दिन हुए जाछे, हिति सिबडा दिन-दिन पारबतिङ्ग फम पाबे।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. पारबतिङ्ग चिन्ताए सिबडा पागलार नाखा हुए जाछे।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. एनङ करे एक दिना अए पारबतिङ्ग अनुरागत पागला हुए भाग धुंरार खाए आनार बरला जानार घर में निकलिए जाछे।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Narrative 3. Narrative told with a predominant present tense (1/2) 
Extract from text by Pāni Lāl Rājbanshi, Duhāgadhī
8.1 Tense neutralisation and discourse cohesion

Having made these observations, I must add that much is still left to be done to adequately describe the unusual behaviour of tense in Rājbanshi. The irregularities encountered in oral and written narratives studied are substantial enough to warrant caution in stating anything categorical about tense neutralisation.

Firstly, as mentioned above, the written narrative seldom corresponds to the discourse structure described (though some written narratives do). This is most likely, to quote

Narrative 3. Narrative told with a predominant present tense (2/2)
Extract from text by Pāni Lāl Rājbanshi, Duhāgardhi

8.1.8 Irregularities
some mother-tongue speakers of the language, due to Nepali influence. Moreover, comparisons with text material elicited from the older generation would possibly highlight whether the irregularities encountered might actually be due to the younger generation discarding the Rājbanshi tense neutralisation feature.

Secondly, not all of the transcribed narratives in Appendix 3 are as uniform as MR.05. Some narratives do not correspond well with the text types described above; in fact, tense usage in narrative DLR.06 almost calls for a rethinking of aspect and/or predicate semantics as triggering features. Additionally, whether (non-)sequentiality of actions within a narrative could be a triggering factor should also be studied further.

Chart 4 below shows the variation in tense marking in all of the transcribed texts.

Thirdly, some narrative recordings do feature a predominant past (cf. PLR.01; AR.02, although informant AR also frequently uses the present tense in AR.01).

Finally, further research will need to take dialectal differences into consideration. It was reported that dialects which are substantially influenced by other Indo-Aryan languages to the south in Bihār, or to the east in West Bengal may not have this feature. Further research is needed to verify this claim.

8.1.9 Conclusion

To conclude, due to the irregularities described, any analysis of tense neutralisation must be considered tentative at this stage. What can be said for certain however is that the
unusual use of the future and present tenses in oral narrative discourse is regarded by many speakers as perfectly natural.

On the other hand, the predominant past is clearly considered by many speakers as somewhat unnatural and dry. If the analysis above proves to be correct, the unnaturalness of a narrative with a predominant past may be due to a lack of flow and connectivity. That is, the narrative with a predominant past is more like a list of propositions. Of course, chronological sequence, adverbs and discourse particles will still adequately provide the flow of information, but the absence of tense neutralisation may cause a feeling of imbalance.
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Appendix 1: Verb charts

The verb forms presented in the following charts constitute for the most part the dialects from south-western and northern Jhāpā. They include including free and dialectal variation of these dialects known to date. Some forms from far-eastern Jhāpa have also been mentioned.

Secondary agreement non-marked

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>खा-</td>
<td>kʰa- 'eat' (verb stem type 1)</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कह-</td>
<td>kʰa- 'say' (verb stem type 2)</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह-</td>
<td>hə- 'be' (verb stem type 2)</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जा-</td>
<td>ja- 'go' (verb stem type 3)</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लि-</td>
<td>li- 'take' (verb stem type 3)</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दिए-</td>
<td>di- 'give' (verb stem type 3)</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आस-</td>
<td>as- 'come' (verb stem type 4)</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मार-</td>
<td>mar- 'beat; kill' (verb stem type 5)</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चम्फ़-</td>
<td>samṭʰl- 'finish' (verb stem type 6)</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondary agreement marked

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ठुक-</td>
<td>ṭʰuk- 'hit' (verb stem type 4)</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additionally, the following charts present a preliminary paradigm from the Dādar Bairiā and Rangeli dialects of Morang.

Secondary agreement non-marked

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>आस-</td>
<td>as- 'come'</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondary agreement marked

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ठुक-</td>
<td>ṭʰuk- 'hit'</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb paradigm: south-western and northern Jhāpā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb stem type 1 (stem-final vowel)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Verb stem type 2 (stem-final -ʌ -ʌ)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Verb stem type 2 (stem-final -ʌ -ʌ)</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td>खा- kʰa- ‘eat’</td>
<td>कह- kha- ‘say’</td>
<td>ह- ha- ‘be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg खाम kʰa-m ‘eat-FUT1sg’</td>
<td>कहम kha-m ‘say-FUT1sg’</td>
<td>हम ha-m ‘be-FUT1sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खामु kʰa-m-u ‘eat-FUT-1sg’</td>
<td>हमु ha-m-u ‘be-FUT-1sg’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg खाबो kʰa-b-o ‘eat-FUT-2sg’</td>
<td>कहबो kha-b-o ‘say-FUT-2sg’</td>
<td>हबो ha-b-o ‘be-FUT-2sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg खाबे kʰa-b-े ‘eat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>कहबे kha-b-े ‘say-FUT-3’</td>
<td>हबे ha-b-े ‘be-FUT-3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl खाम kʰa-m ‘eat-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>कहम kha-m ‘say-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>हम ha-m ‘be-FUT-1pl’</td>
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<tr>
<td>2pl खाबन kʰa-b-n ‘eat-FUT-2pl’</td>
<td>कहबन kha-b-n ‘say-FUT-2pl’</td>
<td>हबन ha-b-n ‘be-FUT-2pl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl खाबे kʰa-b-े ‘eat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>कहबे kha-b-े ‘say-FUT-3’</td>
<td>हबे ha-b-े ‘be-FUT-3’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present**

| 1sg खाचु kʰa-c-u ‘eat-PRES-1sg’ | कहचु kha-c-u ‘say-PRES-1sg’ | हचु ha-c-u ‘be-PRES-1sg’ |
| 2sg खािचस kʰa-c-is ‘eat-PRES-2sg’ | कहिचस kha-c-is ‘say-PRES-2sg’ | हिचस ha-c-is ‘be-PRES-2sg’ |
| 3sg खाचे kʰa-c-e ‘eat-PRES-3’ | कहचे kha-c-e ‘say-PRES-3’ | हचे ha-c-e ‘be-PRES-3’ |
| 1pl खािच खािच kʰa-c-i ‘eat-PRES-1pl’ | कहिच kha-c-i ‘say-PRES-1pl’ | हिच ha-c-i ‘be-PRES-1pl’ |
| 3pl खािच kʰa-c-e ‘eat-PRES-3’ | कहिच kha-c-e ‘say-PRES-3’ | हिच ha-c-e ‘be-PRES-3’ |

**Past**

<p>| 1sg खानु kʰa-n-u ‘eat-PST-1sg’ | कहनु kha-n-u ‘say-PST-1sg’ | हनु ha-n-u ‘be-PST-1sg’ |
| 2sg खालो kʰa-l-o ‘eat-PST-2sg’ | कहलो kha-l-o ‘say-PST-2sg’ | हलो ha-l-o ‘be-PST-2sg’ |
| 3sg खाल kʰa-l ‘eat-PST-3’ | कहल kha-l ‘say-PST-3’ | हल kha-l ‘be-PST-3’ |
| 1pl खान kʰa-n-ा ‘eat-PST-1pl’ | कहन kha-n-ा ‘say-PST-1pl’ | हन kha-n-ा ‘be-PST-1pl’ |</p>
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<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
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<tr>
<td>Past continuous</td>
<td>खाले kʰa-l-t 'eat-PST-3'</td>
<td>खाने kʰa-l 'eat-PST'</td>
<td>खाने kʰa-l 'eat-PST3'</td>
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<td>Remote past</td>
<td>कहले kʰa-l-t 'say-PST-3'</td>
<td>कहले kʰa-l 'say-PST'</td>
<td>कहले kʰa-l 'say-PST3'</td>
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<td>हो 'be-PST-3'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3'</td>
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<td>Past conditional</td>
<td>हो-्ल 'be-PST-3'</td>
<td>हो-्ल 'be-PST-3'</td>
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**Perfect**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past continuous</td>
<td>खाले kʰa-ic-e 'eat-PERF-1sg'</td>
<td>कहे kʰa-ic-e 'say-PERF-1sg'</td>
<td>हड़ने kʰa-ic-e 'be-PERF-1sg'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>हो 'be-PERF-1sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PERF-1sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PERF-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>हो 'be-PERF-1sg'</td>
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**Past conditional, remote past**

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<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past continuous</td>
<td>खाले kʰa-isn-u 'eat-REM-PST-1sg'</td>
<td>कहे kʰa-isn-u 'say-REM-PST-1sg'</td>
<td>हड़ने kʰa-isn-u 'be-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>हो 'be-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>हो 'be-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
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**Imperative**

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<th>Tense</th>
<th>1sg</th>
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<th>3sg</th>
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<tr>
<td>Past continuous</td>
<td>खाने kʰa-ic-e 'eat-MRP2sg'</td>
<td>कहे kʰa-ic-e 'say-MRP2sg'</td>
<td>हड़ने kʰa-ic-e 'be-MRP2sg'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>हो 'be-MRP2sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-MRP2sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-MRP2sg'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>हो 'be-MRP2sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-MRP2sg'</td>
<td>हो 'be-MRP2sg'</td>
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**Past conditional**

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<th>3sg</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past continuous</td>
<td>खाले kʰa-ic-e 'eat-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>कहे kʰa-ic-e 'say-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हड़ने kʰa-ic-e 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हो 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>खाओ k'ʰa-l-i = hane 'eat-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>कहलेहने k'ʰa-l-i = hane 'say-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हलेहने h-a-l-i = hane 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>खान k'ʰa-l-an = tan 'eat-PST-2pl = PST.COND'</td>
<td>कहलनहने k'ʰa-l-an = tan 'say-PST-2pl = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हलनहने h-a-l-an = tan 'be-PST-2pl = PST.COND'</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>खान k'ʰa-l-an = tan 'eat-PST-1pl = PST.COND'</td>
<td>कहलनतन k'ʰa-l-an = tan 'say-PST-1pl = PST.COND'</td>
<td>हलनतन h-a-l-an = tan 'be-PST-1pl = PST.COND'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Subjunctive

| 1sg | खाओ k'ʰa-u = 'eat-SUBJ1sg' | कहाँ k-h-u = 'say-SUBJ1sg' | हाँ h-a-u = 'be-SUBJ1sg' |
| 2sg | खाओ k'ʰa-is = 'eat-SUBJ2sg' | कहाँ k-h-is = 'say-SUBJ2sg' | हाँ h-a-is = 'be-SUBJ2sg' |
| 3sg | खाओ k'ʰa-ok = 'eat-SUBJ3' | कोहाँ k-h-ok = 'say-SUBJ3' | हो k-h-ok = 'be-SUBJ3' |

### Past habitual

| 1sg | खाओ k'ʰa-u = 'eat-PST-HAB1sg' | कहाँ k-h-u = 'say-PST-HAB1sg' | हाँ h-a-u = 'be-PST-HAB1sg'; 'be-PRES1sg' |
| 2sg | खाओ k'ʰa-is = 'eat-PST-HAB2sg' | कहाँ k-h-is = 'say-PST-HAB2sg' | हाँ h-a-is = 'be-PST-HAB2sg'; 'be-PRES2sg' |
| 3sg | खाओ k'ʰa-e = 'eat-PST-HAB3' | कहाँ k-h-e = 'say-PST-HAB3' | हाँ h-a-e = 'be-PST-HAB3'; 'be-PRES3' |

<p>| 1pl | खाओ k'ʰa-i = 'eat-PST-HAB1pl' | कहाँ k-h-i = 'say-PST-HAB1pl' | हाँ h-a-i = 'be-PST-HAB1pl'; 'be-PRES1pl' |
| 2pl | खान k'ʰa-an = 'eat-PST-HAB2pl' | कहाँ k-h-an = 'say-PST-HAB2pl' | हाँ h-a-an = 'be-PST-HAB2pl'; 'be-PRES2pl' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>खाए kʰa-e ‘eat-PST.HAB3’</th>
<th>कहे kʰa-e ‘say-PST.HAB3’</th>
<th>हए hʌ-e ‘be-PST.HAB3’; ‘be-PRES3’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-finite forms</td>
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<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>खाए kʰa-ba ‘eat-INF’</td>
<td>कहे kʰa-ʌ ‘say-INF’</td>
<td>हए hʌ ‘be-INF’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>खाए kʰa-e ‘eat-ABS’</td>
<td>कहे kʰa ‘say-ABS’</td>
<td>हए h ‘be-ABS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ.PTCL</td>
<td>खाए(ने) kʰa-e(ne) ‘eat-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>कहाए(ने) kʰa-ʌ ‘say-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>हए(ने) h ‘be-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONT.PTCL</td>
<td>खाए(ने) kʰa-te ‘eat-CONT.PTCL’</td>
<td>कहाए(ने) kʰa ‘say-CONT.PTCL’</td>
<td>हए(ने) h ‘be-CONT.PTCL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST.PTCL</td>
<td>खाए(ल) kʰa-a(l) [kʰa(l)] ‘eat-PST.PTCL’</td>
<td>कहाए(ल) kʰa-ʌ ‘say-PST.PTCL’</td>
<td>हए(ल) hʌ ‘be-PST.PTCL’</td>
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Verb paradigm: south-western and northern Jhāpā

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<tr>
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<th>खाए kʰa-e ‘eat-PST.HAB3’</th>
<th>कहे kʰa-e ‘say-PST.HAB3’</th>
<th>हए hʌ-e ‘be-PST.HAB3’; ‘be-PRES3’</th>
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<tr>
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<td>खाए kʰa-ba ‘eat-INF’</td>
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<td>कहे kʰa ‘say-ABS’</td>
<td>हए h ‘be-ABS’</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJ.PTCL</td>
<td>खाए(ने) kʰa-e(ne) ‘eat-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>कहाए(ने) kʰa-ʌ ‘say-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>हए(ने) h ‘be-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
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<td>CONT.PTCL</td>
<td>खाए(ने) kʰa-te ‘eat-CONT.PTCL’</td>
<td>कहाए(ने) kʰa ‘say-CONT.PTCL’</td>
<td>हए(ने) h ‘be-CONT.PTCL’</td>
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<td>PST.PTCL</td>
<td>खाए(ल) kʰa-a(l) [kʰa(l)] ‘eat-PST.PTCL’</td>
<td>कहाए(ल) kʰa-ʌ ‘say-PST.PTCL’</td>
<td>हए(ल) h ‘be-PST.PTCL’</td>
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Verb stem type 3 (defective)

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<th>जा- ‘go’</th>
<th>लिए ‘take’</th>
<th>दिए ‘give’</th>
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<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>जाम ja-m ‘go-FUT1sg’</td>
<td>लिम li-m ‘take-FUT1sg’</td>
<td>दिम di-m ‘give-FUT1sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>जामु ja-m-u ‘go-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>लिमू l-ec ‘take-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>दिमू d-ec ‘give-FUT-1pl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>जािबो ja-b-o ‘go-FUT-2sg’</td>
<td>लिबो li-b-o ‘take-FUT-2sg’</td>
<td>दिबो di-b-o ‘give-FUT-2sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>जािबे ja-b-e ‘go-FUT-3’</td>
<td>लिबे li-b-e ‘take-FUT-3’</td>
<td>दिबे di-b-e ‘give-FUT-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>जाम ा८ ‘go-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>लिम ल-ec ‘take-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>दिम ल-ec ‘give-FUT-1pl’</td>
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<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>जािबो जािबो ‘go-FUT-2pl’</td>
<td>लिबो ल-ec ‘take-FUT-2pl’</td>
<td>दिबो द-ec ‘give-FUT-2pl’</td>
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<td>3pl</td>
<td>जािबे ja-b-e ‘go-FUT-3’</td>
<td>लिबे li-b-e ‘take-FUT-3’</td>
<td>दिबे di-b-e ‘give-FUT-3’</td>
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Present

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<tr>
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<th>जाछु ja-c ‘go-PRES-1sg’</th>
<th>लिचु l-ec ‘take-PRES-1sg’</th>
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<td>1sg</td>
<td>जाछु ja-c-u ‘go-PRES-1sg’</td>
<td>लेचु l-ec-u ‘take-PRES-1sg’</td>
<td>देचु d-ec-u ‘give-PRES-1sg’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>जािछस ja-c ‘go-PRES-2sg’</td>
<td>लिचस l-ec ‘take-PRES-2sg’</td>
<td>दिचस d-ec ‘give-PRES-2sg’</td>
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<td>जािछे ja-c ‘go-PRES-3’</td>
<td>लेचे l-ec ‘take-PRES-3’</td>
<td>देचे d-ec ‘give-PRES-3’</td>
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<td>जाँचि ja-c^h-i ‘go-PRES-1pl’</td>
<td>लेखि l-ec^h-i ‘take-PRES-1pl’</td>
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<td>जाछन ja-c^-an ‘go-PRES-2pl’</td>
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<td>लेखे l-ec^-e ‘take-PRES-3’</td>
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<td>गेनु ge-n-u ‘go-PST-1sg’</td>
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<td>दिनु di-n-u ‘give-PST-1sg’</td>
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<td>गेइचु g-ic ‘go-PERF-1sg’</td>
<td>लिलिचु l-ic ‘take-PERF-1sg’</td>
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<td>Past continuous, remote past</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Past conditional</td>
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<td>go</td>
<td>ja-ba</td>
<td>ja-u 'go-SUBJ1sg'</td>
<td>ja-u 'go-PST.HAB1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>li-ba</td>
<td>li-u 'take-SUBJ1sg'</td>
<td>li-u 'take-PST.HAB1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>di-ba</td>
<td>d-u 'give-SUBJ1sg'</td>
<td>d-u 'give-PST.HAB1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb stem type 4 (stem-final consonant)</td>
<td>Verb stem type 5 (stem-final -र -r)</td>
<td>Verb stem type 6 (stem-final -CC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आ- as- ‘come’</td>
<td>मार- mar- ‘beat; kill’</td>
<td>सम्म- samtʰ- finish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>मारिम mar-im ‘beat-FUT-1sg’</th>
<th>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-m-o ‘finish-FUT-1sg’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>आमु as-m-u ‘come-FUT-1sg’</td>
<td>मारो mar-o ‘beat-FUT-2sg’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b-o ‘finish-FUT-2sg’</td>
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<tr>
<td>आमु as-im ‘come-FUT-1sg’</td>
<td>मार भें mar- ’beat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>मारेम mar-em ‘beat-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आमु as-b-o ‘come-FUT-2sg’</td>
<td>मारब marb ‘beat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>आमु as-b-ि ‘come-FUT-3’</td>
<td>मारब marb ‘beat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>मारम mar-em ‘beat-FUT-1pl’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>आमन as-b-m ‘come-FUT-2pl’</td>
<td>मारब marb ‘beat-FUT-2pl’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
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<td>आमन as-b-ि ‘come-FUT-3’</td>
<td>मारब marb ‘beat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>मारब marb ‘beat-FUT-2pl’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
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<td>आमन as-b-ि ‘come-FUT-3’</td>
<td>मारब marb ‘beat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>मारब marb ‘beat-FUT-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰi-b ‘finish-FUT-3’</td>
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### Present

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>मारेम mar-em ‘beat-PRES-1sg’</th>
<th>सम्मिप्र samtʰ-em ‘finish-PRES-1sg’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>आमु as-b-ि ‘come-PRES-3’</td>
<td>मारेम mar-em ‘beat-PRES-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰ-em ‘finish-PRES-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>आमु as-b-ि ‘come-PRES-3’</td>
<td>मारेम mar-em ‘beat-PRES-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰ-em ‘finish-PRES-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>मारेम mar-em ‘beat-PRES-1pl’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰ-em ‘finish-PRES-1pl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आमच as-b-m ‘come-PRES-2pl’</td>
<td>मारेम mar-em ‘beat-PRES-2pl’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰ-em ‘finish-PRES-2pl’</td>
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<td>आमच as-b-ि ‘come-PRES-3’</td>
<td>मारेम mar-em ‘beat-PRES-3’</td>
<td>सम्मिप्र samtʰ-em ‘finish-PRES-3’</td>
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### Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>मारु mar-u ‘beat-PST-1sg’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>जान्यस ‘come-PST’</td>
<td>मात्र ma-n-u ‘beat-PST-1sg’</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>आव्वले as-l-o ‘come-PST-2sg’</td>
<td>मात्र ma-l-o ‘beat-PST-2sg’</td>
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<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>आव्वले as-l-i ‘come-PST-3’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-l-i ‘beat-PST-3’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>आव्वलन as-n-ʌ ‘come-PST-1pl’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-n-ʌ ‘beat-PST-1pl’</td>
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<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>आव्वले as-l-i ‘come-PST-3’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-l-i ‘beat-PST-3’</td>
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### Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>जान्यस ‘come-PERF’</th>
<th>मात्र mar-ic-u ‘beat-PERF-1sg’</th>
<th>समिद सम्ब्रू-ic-u ‘finish-PERF-1sg’</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>आव्वलन as-ic-u ‘come-PERF-1sg’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-ic-u ‘beat-PERF-1sg’</td>
<td>समिद सम्ब्रू-ic-u ‘finish-PERF-1sg’</td>
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<td>आव्वलन as-ic-is ‘come-PERF-2sg’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-ic-is ‘beat-PERF-2sg’</td>
<td>समिद सम्ब्रू-ic-is ‘finish-PERF-2sg’</td>
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<td>3sg</td>
<td>आव्वलन as-ic-it ‘come-PERF-3’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-ic-it ‘beat-PERF-3’</td>
<td>समिद सम्ब्रू-ic-it ‘finish-PERF-3’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>आव्वलन as-ic-i ‘come-PERF-1pl’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-ic-i ‘beat-PERF-1pl’</td>
<td>समिद सम्ब्रू-ic-i ‘finish-PERF-1pl’</td>
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<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>आव्वलन as-ic-e ‘come-PERF-3’</td>
<td>मात्र mar-ic-e ‘beat-PERF-3’</td>
<td>समिद सम्ब्रू-ic-e ‘finish-PERF-3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tense/Mode</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>3sg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past continuous, remote past</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-ic-e 'beat-PERF-3'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-ic-e 'beat-PERF-3'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-ic-e 'beat-PERF-3'</td>
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<td>आिस 'as-isn-u 'come-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>मार 'mar-isn-u 'beat-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-isn-u 'beat-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>आिस्लो 'as-isl-o 'come-REM.PST-2sg'</td>
<td>मारिस्लो 'mar-isl-o 'beat-REM.PST-2sg'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-isl-o 'beat-REM.PST-2sg'</td>
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<td>आिस्ल 'as-isl-1 'come-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>मारिस्ल 'mar-isl-1 'beat-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>मा '� 'ma-isl-1 'beat-REM.PST-3'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>आिस 'as-isn-1 'come-REM.PST-1pl'</td>
<td>मार 'mar-isn-1 'beat-REM.PST-1pl'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-isn-1 'beat-REM.PST-1pl'</td>
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<td>आिस्ल 'as-isl-3 'come-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>मारिस्ल 'mar-isl-3 'beat-REM.PST-3'</td>
<td>मा '� 'ma-isl-3 'beat-REM.PST-3'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>मा- 'as- ∅ 'come-IMP2sg'</td>
<td>मा 'mar- ∅ 'beat-IMP2sg'</td>
<td>मा 'mar- ∅ 'beat-IMP2sg'</td>
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<td>आिनक 'as-ek 'come-IMP2sg'</td>
<td>मार 'mar-ek 'beat-IMP2sg'</td>
<td>मार 'mar-ek 'beat-IMP2sg'</td>
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<td>आिल 'as-il 'come-IMP2pl'</td>
<td>मा 'mar-il 'beat-IMP2pl'</td>
<td>मा 'mar-il 'beat-IMP2pl'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past conditional</td>
<td>मा '� 'ma-ic-e 'beat-PERF-3'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-ic-e 'beat-PERF-3'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-ic-e 'beat-PERF-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>आिस 'as-n-u=tan 'come-PST-1sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मार 'mar-n-u=tan 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-n-u=tan 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>आिस्लो 'as-n-u=han 'come-PST-1sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मारिस्लो 'mar-n-u=han 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-n-u=han 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>आिस्ल 'as-n-u=mai 'come-PST-2sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मारिस्ल 'mar-n-u=mai 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-n-u=mai 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>आिस्लो 'as-n-u=han 'come-PST-2sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मारिस्लो 'mar-n-u=han 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>मा 'इ 'ma-n-u=han 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-l-ि=िन `come-PST-3=ि-स.ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-2ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-l-ि=िन `come-PST-3=ि-स.ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
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<tr>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-l-ि=िन `come-PST-3=ि-स.ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-n-a=िन `come-PST-1ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-1ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-1ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
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<tr>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-n-a=िन `come-PST-1ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-1ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-1ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
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<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-l-an=िन `come-PST-2ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-2ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-2ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
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<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-l-an=िन `come-PST-2ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-2ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-2ि-िन=ि-िन'</td>
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<td>3pl</td>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-l-ि=िन `come-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
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<tr>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-l-ि=िन `come-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
<td>मानों मा-ि-िन `beat-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
<td>सम्भलन sam-ि-ि-िन `finish-PST-3=ि-िन'</td>
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### Subjunctive

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<th></th>
<th>आस्ट्रेलियन as-u 'come-SUBJ1sg'</th>
<th>मान मा-ि-िन 'beat-SUBJ1sg'</th>
<th>सम्भल sam-ि-ि-िन 'finish-SUBJ1sg'</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-is 'come-SUBJ2sg'</td>
<td>मान मा-ि-िन 'beat-SUBJ2sg'</td>
<td>सम्भल sam-ि-ि-िन 'finish-SUBJ2sg'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-ok 'come-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>मान मा-ि-िन 'beat-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>सम्भल sam-ि-ि-िन 'finish-SUBJ3'</td>
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<td>3sg</td>
<td>आस्ट्रेलियन as-e 'come-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>मान मा-ि-िन 'beat-SUBJ3'</td>
<td>सम्भल sam-ि-ि-िन 'finish-SUBJ3'</td>
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<td>मान मा-ि-िन 'beat-SUBJ1pl'</td>
<td>सम्भल sam-ि-ि-िन 'finish-SUBJ1pl'</td>
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<td>सम्भल sam-ि-ि-िन 'finish-SUBJ2pl'</td>
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<td>मारोक mar-ok ‘beat-SUBJ3’</td>
<td>समठोक samṭok ‘finish-SUBJ3’</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>आसे as-e ‘come-SUBJ3’</td>
<td>मारे mar-e ‘beat-SUBJ3’</td>
<td>समठे samṭe ‘finish-SUBJ3’</td>
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**Past habitual**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>आसु as-u ‘come-PST.HAB1sg’</th>
<th>मारु mar-u ‘beat-PST.HAB1sg’</th>
<th>समठु samṭu ‘finish-PST.HAB1sg’</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>आिसस as-is ‘come-PST.HAB2sg’</td>
<td>मारिस mar-is ‘beat-PST.HAB2sg’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-PST.HAB2sg’</td>
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<td>आिस इस as-is ‘come-PST.HAB2sg’</td>
<td>मारि इस mar-is ‘beat-PST.HAB2sg’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-PST.HAB2sg’</td>
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<td>मारि mar-i ‘beat-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>मारि mar-i ‘beat-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
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<td>आिस as-i ‘come-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
<td>मारि mar-i ‘beat-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
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<td>आिस as-i ‘come-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
<td>मारि mar-i ‘beat-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-PST.HAB1pl’</td>
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**Non-finite forms**

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<th></th>
<th>आम्बा as-ba ‘come-INF’</th>
<th>मार्बा mar-ba ‘beat-INF’</th>
<th>समठबा samṭba ‘finish-INF’</th>
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<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>आमि as-i ‘come-ABS’</td>
<td>मारि mar-i ‘beat-ABS’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-ABS’</td>
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<td>ABS</td>
<td>आमि as-i ‘come-ABS’</td>
<td>मारि mar-i ‘beat-ABS’</td>
<td>समठि samṭi ‘finish-ABS’</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJ.PTCL</td>
<td>आमि(ले) as-ie(ne) ‘come-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>मारि(ले) mar-ie(ne) ‘beat-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
<td>समठि(ले) samṭi(ले) ‘finish-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT.PTCL</td>
<td>आमि(ले) as-ie(ne) ‘come-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
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<td>समठि(ले) samṭi(ले) ‘finish-CONJ.PTCL’</td>
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### Verb paradigm: south-western and northern Jhápā

#### Future

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Appendix 1: Verb charts
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**Perfect**

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### Appendix 1: Verb charts

#### Past continuous, remote past

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### Patients

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<td>ठुकिस्नू 'hit-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
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(Detailing verb forms for 'hit' in past continuous and remote past with specific person and number markers in Devanagari script.)
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**Appendix 1: Verb charts**
**Appendix 1: Verb charts**

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### Appendix 1: Verb charts

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**Past habitual**

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<td>3sg/pl</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-b-i</code> 'come-FUT-3'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-es-e</code> 'come-PRES-3'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-l-i</code> 'come-PST-3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>आसम <code>as-n-a</code> 'come-FUT-1pl'</td>
<td>आसम <code>as-es-i</code> 'come-PRES-1pl'</td>
<td>आसम <code>as-n-a</code> 'come-PST-1pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>आसम <code>as-b-ma</code> 'come-FUT-2pl'</td>
<td>आसम <code>as-es-an</code> 'come-PRES-2pl'</td>
<td>आसम <code>as-l-ma</code> 'come-PST-2pl'</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Perfect**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Past</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is-u</code> 'come-PERF-1sg'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-isn-u</code> 'come-REM.PST-1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is-i</code> 'come-PERF-2sg'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is-an</code> 'come-PRES-2pl'</td>
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<tr>
<td>3sg/pl</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is-e</code> 'come-PERF-3'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is-n</code> 'come-REM.PST-3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is-i</code> 'come-PERF-1pl'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-isn-a</code> 'come-REM.PST-1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is-an</code> 'come-PERF-2pl'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-isn-an</code> 'come-REM.PST-2pl'</td>
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**Past conditional**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-n-u hane</code> 'come-PST-1sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>आम <code>as-u</code> 'come-SUBJ1sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-l-o hane</code> 'come-PST-2sg=PST.COND'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-is</code> 'come-SUBJ2sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg/pl</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-l-i hane</code> 'come-PST-3=PST.COND'</td>
<td>आम <code>as-e</code> 'come-SUBJ3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-n-a hane</code> 'come-PST-1pl=PST.COND'</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-i</code> 'come-SUBJ1pl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>आसिम <code>as-l-ma hane</code> 'come-PST-2pl=PST.COND'</td>
<td>आम <code>as-an</code> 'come-SUBJ2pl'</td>
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**Subjunctive**

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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>आस्मा <code>as-ba</code> 'come-INF'</td>
<td>आसे <code>as-e</code> 'come-ABS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>आसे <code>as-e</code> 'come-ABS'</td>
<td>आसेके <code>as-eke</code> 'come-CONJ.PTCL' (Dādar Bairiā)</td>
</tr>
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### Verb paradigm: Dādar Bairi and Rangeli dialects, southern Morang

#### Future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>2pl</th>
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<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकिम्मुः kartimmu 'hit-FUT-SA2'</td>
<td>ठकिम्मि kartimmi 'hit-FUT-SA3'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ठक्छो karto 'hit-FUT-2'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठक्छो karto 'hit-FUT-2'</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठक्छो karto 'hit-FUT-3'</td>
<td>ठक्छो karto 'hit-FUT-3'</td>
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#### Present

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकसे kartu 'hit-PRES-1-SA2'</td>
<td>ठकसि kartu 'hit-PRES-1-SA3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकसे kartu 'hit-PRES-2'</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठकसे kartu 'hit-PRES-3'</td>
<td>ठकसे kartu 'hit-PRES-3'</td>
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#### Past

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकिन्नुः kartinnu 'hit-PST-SA2'</td>
<td>ठकिन्नि kartinni 'hit-PST-SA3'</td>
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<td>2p</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठक्लो kartlo 'hit-PST-3'</td>
<td>ठकिलः kartili 'hit-PST-SA2'</td>
<td>ठकिलः kartili 'hit-PST-SA3' (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Patient</td>
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<td>2p</td>
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<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकिसूँ tʰak-is-u-gu ‘hit-PERF-1-SA2’</td>
<td>ठकिसि tʰak-is-i-gi ‘hit-PERF-1-SA3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ठकिसि tʰak-is-i ‘hit-PERF-2’</td>
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<td>ठकिसि tʰak-is-e ‘hit-PERF-3’</td>
<td>?</td>
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**Past continuous, remote past**

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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ठकिस्लो tʰak-isl-o ‘hit-REM.PST-2’</td>
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**Past conditional**

<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ठकिस्न्हो tʰak-il-o=hane ‘hit-PST-2=PST.COND’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ठकिस्न्हो tʰak-il-i=hane ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>1sg</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
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**Subjunctive**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकु k-ku ‘hit-SA2’</td>
<td>ठकिक k-ki ‘hit-SA3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ठकिक k-is ‘hit-SUBJ2’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकिक k-is ‘hit-SUBJ2’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठके k-e ‘hit-SUBJ3’</td>
<td>ठकु k-ku ‘hit-SA2’</td>
<td>ठकिक k-ki ‘hit-SA3’</td>
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**Past habitual**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकु k-ku ‘hit-SA2’</td>
<td>ठकिक k-ki ‘hit-SA3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ठकिक k-te raha-ku ‘hit-CONT.PTCL CONT-SA2’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकिक k-te raha-ki ‘hit-CONT.PTCL CONT-SA3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठके k-e ‘hit-PST.HAB2’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकिक k-is ‘hit-PST.HAB2’</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकु k-ku ‘hit-SA2’</td>
<td>ठकिक k-ki ‘hit-SA3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ठकिक k-te raha-ku ‘hit-CONT.PTCL CONT-SA2’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ठकिक k-te raha-ki ‘hit-CONT.PTCL CONT-SA3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ठके k-e ‘hit-PST.HAB3’</td>
<td>ठकु k-ku ‘hit-SA2’</td>
<td>ठकिक k-ki ‘hit-SA3’</td>
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## Appendix 2: Lexicon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>आा</th>
<th>आा</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>आइ</strong>, <strong>Ai</strong>, <em>dem,</em> 'that (very)'</td>
<td><strong>अनुसार</strong>, <strong>anusar</strong>, <em>pp,</em> 'according to'*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>आदर्श</strong>, <strong>Aid'ar</strong>, <em>adv,</em> 'in that (very) direction''</td>
<td><strong>अन्न</strong>, <strong>(अन्ना)-</strong>, <em>arc&quot;(a)-</em>, <em>v,</em> 'search'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>अकुंदा</strong>, <strong>Akunda</strong>, <em>adj,</em> 'different'</td>
<td><strong>अन्तः</strong>, <strong>anti</strong>, <em>adv,</em> 'like that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>बाप्ले बसने</strong> (अलोग बसने), <em>Agle bagle, adv,</em> 'here and there'</td>
<td><strong>अन्तिम</strong>, <strong>antim</strong>, <em>adv,</em> 'last'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>अभिन</strong> (अगिन), <em>खान</em>, <strong>Aq(&quot;&quot;)jn</strong>, <em>-k'an, n,</em> 'fire'</td>
<td><strong>अन्दरत</strong>, <strong>andarat</strong>, <em>pp,</em> 'because of(loan)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>अनुबंध</strong>, <strong>Atka</strong>, <em>adv,</em> 'that little (amount)'</td>
<td><strong>अन्याख्य</strong>, <em>खान</em>, <strong>Anyae, -k'an, n,</strong> 'injustice(loan)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>अभबबा, L'ava</strong> 'in other words(loan)'</td>
<td><strong>अन्याख्य</strong>, <em>खान</em>, <strong>Anyae, -k'an, n,</strong> 'that big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**अनाल', <em>खान</em>, <strong>Ananal</strong>, -k'an, *longing'</td>
<td><strong>अन्याख्य</strong>, <em>खान</em>, <strong>Anyae, -k'an, n,</strong> 'in that (very) direction&quot;</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>आ०</th>
<th>आ०</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>आइ</strong>, <strong>ai</strong>, <em>-da, n,</em> 'mother'</td>
<td><strong>प्राध्याय</strong>, <em>PCL</em>[pretense], <em>pl</em>; <em>PCL</em>[pretense]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>आिंक्रिय</strong>, <em>ak'rit</em>, <em>adv,</em> 'in the end'</td>
<td><strong>प्राध्याय</strong>, <em>ap, pcl,</em> 'PCL*[pretense]; now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**आिंक्रिय, <em>ak'ir, v,</em> 'come off'</td>
<td><strong>आपुन</strong>, <em>apun, pro,</em> 'onself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**आिंक्रिय, <em>agut, adv,</em> 'before; previously'</td>
<td><strong>अपना अपनी</strong>, <em>apna apni, adj,</em> 'own(PL)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**आिंक्रिय, <em>agutii, pp,</em> 'in front of'</td>
<td><strong>आपने</strong>, <em>apne, pro,</em> 'oneself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>आि</strong> वि., <em>agra di-, v,</em> 'guard'</td>
<td><strong>आम</strong>, *-am, *-da, *mango'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>आि</strong> वि., <em>agra di-, v,</em> 'guard'</td>
<td><strong>आमाने</strong>, <em>amane, adv,</em> 'clearly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>आिंक्रिय</strong>, <em>acc&quot;a, adj,</em> 'good'</td>
<td><strong>आर</strong>, <em>ar, cnj,</em> 'and; more; again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**आिंक्रिय, <em>acc&quot;ae, adv,</em> 'well'</td>
<td><strong>आरकि</strong>, <em>arki, pcl,</em> 'PCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**आिंक्रिय, <em>aj'i, adv,</em> 'today'</td>
<td><strong>आरसाल</strong>, <em>arsal, adv,</em> 'last year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**आि, <em>-ta, v,</em> 'be about to(Nepali)'</td>
<td><strong>आराम</strong>, <em>-arak, aram, -k'an, n,</em> 'rest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>आि</strong> वि., <em>agra di-, v,</em> 'guard'</td>
<td><strong>आरे</strong>, <em>are, pcl,</em> 'PCL'</td>
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<td><strong>आि</strong> वि., <em>agra di-, v,</em> 'guard'</td>
<td>**आर्नी, <em>-róż, arna, -da, n,</em> 'type of buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>आि</strong>, <em>an-, v,</em> 'bring'</td>
<td><em><em>आल, al, pcl,</em> 'PCL</em>[pretense]'</td>
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<td>हिंदी</td>
<td>अंग्रेजी</td>
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<tr>
<td>कटु</td>
<td>'blessing(loan)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकदम</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकिछन</td>
<td>'easy'</td>
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<td>उठा</td>
<td>'hope'</td>
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<td>उगना</td>
<td>'school'</td>
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<tr>
<td>इनाम</td>
<td>'above'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आि</td>
<td>'on top of'</td>
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<td>आलु</td>
<td>'upwards'</td>
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<td>कचु</td>
<td>'way'</td>
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<td>एइस</td>
<td>'unroll'</td>
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<td>एइधर</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
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<td>उठ</td>
<td>'cause to rise'</td>
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<td>इ</td>
<td>'boil'</td>
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<td>ओर</td>
<td>'chubby'</td>
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<td>'bride'</td>
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<tr>
<td>कठरा</td>
<td>'room'</td>
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<tr>
<td>कठिन</td>
<td>'difficult(loan)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कठि</td>
<td>'shell'</td>
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<tr>
<td>कठक</td>
<td>'chubby'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
कामा, *kama/*ka, adj, adv; quant, 'a little'
कब, *kab/, conj, 'when(Hindi)'
कम, *kam, adj; adv, 'less'
कम्म, -बन, *kammar, -k'an, n, 'waist'
कर, -र, v, 'do'
करिप, *kari/*ka, adv, 'approximately'
करे, *kare/, 'ADVL'
कवियः, *kare/*kari, adj, 'sided'
कल, -र, *kaIa, -dɔ, n, 'banana'
कलम, -र, *kalam, -dɔ, n, 'pen(cil)'
कला, -र, *kala, -dɔ, n, 'hip'
कस्त, *kasta, n, 'trouble(loan)'
कह-, *khaIa-/h, v, 'say'
काका, -र, *kaka, -dɔ, n, 'uncle'
काफ़ि, -र, *kafi, -dɔ, n, 'aunt'
कान, -खान, *kany-, -k'an, n, 'shoulder'
काल खेत खेत (शद गद), *kacak ged ged (gad gadi), adj, 'really unripe'
काच, *kaka, adj, 'unripe'
कालार, -र, *kac'b, -dɔ, n, 'river bank'
काट-, *kaIa-, v, 'cut'
कालमाख, *kati'mandu, n, 'Kathmandu'
काति, -र, *kati, -dɔ, n, 'foundation'
काथा, -र, *kathu, -dɔ, n, 'thing'
कार, -खान, *kadr, -dɑ, n, 'mud'
कारुवाँ, *kuduvali, adj, 'muddy'
कान-, *kan, v, 'cry'
कानी, -र, *kan, -dɔ, n, 'ear'
कानी, -खान, *kana, -k'an, n, 'hole'
कान्टा, -खान, *kantã, -k'an, n, 'vicinity'
काब, *kabu/, pro, 'indefinite(un certain)'
काम, -खान / -र, *kam, -k'an / -dɔ, n, 'work; job'
कामा, -र, *kama, -dɔ, n, 'earner'
कामार, -र, *kamara, v, 'bite'
कारन, -र, *karan, -dɔ, n, 'reason'
कारा, *kara, adj, 'fast'
काल पुट पुट (or, *kut kut, *mis mis), *kala g'ut g'ut (or, *kut kut, mis mis), adj, 'really black'
काल, *kala, adj, 'black'
काली, -र, *kali, -dɔ, n, 'pea'
कालि, *kali/*ka, adv, 'yesterday; tomorrow'
काह, *kahai/*ka, pro, 'anyone;
someone(in definite)'
काहा, *kahe/*ka, pro, 'who(interrogative)'
काहु, *kuhe/*ka, pro, 'anyone;
someone(in definite)'
कहह, *kahe/*ke, pro, 'who(interrogative)'
कि, *ki, pro, 'what'
कितप, -खान, *kitap, -k'an, n, 'book'
किन-, *kin-, v, 'buy'
किब्बा (किब्बा), *kib/wa, pro, 'some(uncertain)'
कियाँ, *kiI, adv, 'why'
कियाँकि, *kiIki, conj, 'because'
कियाँकि, *kiIte, conj, 'because'
किमित, *kimim, adj, 'type of; kind of'
कुकुर, -र, *kukur, -dɔ, n, 'dog(Nepali)'
कुछ, *kuc'u, pro, 'something; a little(in definite)'
कुढ़ि, -र, *kutti, -dɔ, n, 'priest's quarters'
कुल-कुला-, *kuta/kuta, v, 'to tickle'
कुल-कुला, *kute/ke, 'come here(to dogs)'
कुला, -र, *kutta, -dɔ, n, 'dog'
कुन, *kun, adv, 'which'
कुना, *kuna/, pro, 'where'
कुना, *kuna, dɔ, n, '(a type of) pond'
कुञ्ज, *kund, -dɔ, n, 'in which direction'
कुञ्ज, *kuma, pro, 'some(uncertain)'
कुञ्ज, *kuna, dɔ, n, 'crow'
के, *ke, pro, 'who' (possibly a loan)
केन, *kew, pro, 'who(interrogative; possibly a loan)'
केतेक, *ketek, adv, 'how much!'
केट्र, *ketra, adv, 'how big'
केन (केन), *ken/bpa, adv, 'how'
केनांति (केनांति), *kenaIi (or, *keniti), adv, 'like what; what type of'
केन्द्र, -र, *kendra, -dɔ, n, 'centre'
केबा (केबा), *keb/wa, pro, 'some size; amount'
केम, *keme, adv, 'why'
केरे, *kere, pcl, 'PCL(certainty)'
कोए (कोए), *koeI, pro, 'someone; something'
कोधोए, kod"oe, adv, 'never'
कोहिनि, -खान, kohini, -k'an, n, 'story'

क्रिया, -ड, kriya, -dā, n, 'funeral'

ब्रह्म, k'ara, adj, 'grey'
ब्रह्म-का, -dā, v, 'scold'
ब्रहम, k'atam, adj, 'finished'
ब्रह्म, -ड, k'ata, -dā, n, 'nest'
ब्रहज्जा, -ड, k'anjara, -dā, n, 'feeding trough'
ब्रहर, -ड, k'abar, -dā, n, 'news'
ब्रह्म, k'abe, adv, 'very'
ब्रह्म, k'arak, n, 'food'
ब्रह्म, -ड, k'alka, -dā, n, 'claw'
ब्रह्म, -ड, k'asi, -dā, n, 'goat(male/castrated)'
ब्रह्म, -खान, k'asla, -k'an, n, 'woven straw mat'
ब्रह्म, -ड, k'a-n, v, 'eat'
ब्राह्म, k'ata cae cae (cañ can), adj, 'really sour'
ब्राह्म, k'ata, adj, 'sour'
ब्राह्म, k'atir, pp, 'for the sake of'
ब्राह्म, -ड, k'adi, -dā, n, 'hole'
ब्राह्म, (खान), k'ana/ā, n, 'food'
ब्राह्म, -ड, k'ama, -dā, n, 'pillar'

गान, -ड, gar'a, -dā, n, 'dung stick'
गार, garib, adj, 'poor'
गार (घाट), -ड, gar/ou, n, 'bullock'
गार, -ड, gar/mi, adj, 'hot'; idiomatic sense 'proud'
गार (भीती), -ड, gal/ii, -dā, n, 'pathway'
गाम, gāham, -k'an, n, 'pathway'
गाम, -ड, gā/i, -dā, n, 'village'
गाम, -ड, gāh, -dā, n, 'cow'
गाम, gaj-, v, 'scout'
गाम, -खान, ganda, -k'an, n, 'tobacco; drug'
गाम, gand/a, adj, 'dirty'
गारी, -खान / -ड, gari, -k'an (Ghailādubbā) /
Appendix 2: Lexicon

-ḍʌ (Korobāri), n, 'cart'
-इ, gal, -ḍʌ, n, 'cheek'
-इ, gala, -ḍʌ, n, 'neck'
-इ, gali, -ḍʌ, n, 'rebuке'
-इ, ggyan, -ḍʌ, v, 'stampeding sound'
-इ, gian, -ḍʌ, n, 'song'
-इ, gita, -ḍʌ, n, '(wording of a) song'
-इ, gida-, v, 'sing'
-इ, gyan, -ḍʌ, n, 'wisdom'
-इ, gù-, v, 'fall'
-इ, gīra-, v, 'drop'
-इ, gilap, -ḍʌ, n, 'shawl'
-इ, ba, -ḍʌ, n, 'feeces'
-इ, gur'ani, -ḍʌ, n, '(manner of) weaving'
-इ, gun, -ḍʌ, n, 'quality'

-इ, g"atna, -ḍʌ, n, 'event'
-इ, g"ar/da, -ḍʌ, n, 'horse'
-इ, g"ana gij gij, adj, 'really dense'
-इ, g"ana, adj, 'dense'
-इ, g"ar, -ḍʌ, n, 'house'
-इ, g"arni, -ḍʌ, n, 'wife'
-इ, g"ask-, v, 'hide'
-इ, g"assi, -ḍʌ, n, 'dung'
-इ, g"ās, n, 'grass'
-इ, g"antā, adv, 'hour'
-इ, gun, -ḍʌ, n, 'sweat' (with noun

classifier: '(drop of) sweat')
-इ, g"išu/ū, -ḍʌ, n, 'ghee'
-इ, g"ugu, -ḍʌ, n, 'dove'
-इ, g"udi, -ḍʌ, n, 'goat(female)'
-इ, g"ur-, v, 'turn'
-इ, g"uri, adv, 'during'
-इ, g"urie, adv, 'again'
-इ, g"eca, -ḍʌ, n, 'neck'
-इ, g"er-, v, 'surround'
-इ, g"era-, v, 'extinguish'
-इ, g"eskēt-, v, 'crawl'

-इ, ca, adv, 'moment'
-इ, caappā, -ḍʌ, n, 'slipper'

-इ, ca, adv, 'graze'
-इ, ca, -ḍʌ, n, 'ride'
-इ, cai, -ḍʌ, n, 'cause to move'
-इ, ca, -ḍʌ, n, 'behaviour'
-इ, ca, -ḍʌ, n, 'cause to move'
-इ, ca, -ḍʌ, n, 'dance'
surface of the skin')

छिटा, -ड, cil'a, -ल, n, 'eagle'

छिसिम, -ड, cilim, -ल, n, 'pipe'

छुड़े, cute, pp, 'due to'

छुरि, -खान, curi, -क'an, n, 'bangle'

छुटे, -खान, culi, -k'an, n, 'hair'

छेड़रा, -ड, cegra, -ल, n; adj, 'youngster(male); young'

छेड़रि, -ड, cegri, -ल, n; adj, 'youngster(female); young'

छेंगा, ceca-, v, 'shout'

छेंग के, cep kare, adj, 'by catching'

छेंगा, -खान, cemra, -k'an, n, 'skin'

छोर, cor, -ता, n, 'thief'

छब, c'ak par-, v, 'be surprised'

छबक्ष्याय, c'akame'ia, adj, 'extravagant'

छड, c'atal, adj, 'short'

छटा-, c'atpat-, v, 'be restless'

छाप, -खान, c'applar, -k'an, n, 'roof'

छात, -खान, c'ab, -k'an, n, 'beauty'

छात-, c'ar-, v, 'let go'

छार(र), c'ar(r)-, v, 'thatch'

छाता, -खान, c'agal, -ल, n, 'goat'

छात, -खान, c'at, -k'an, n, 'beehive'

छिर्या, -खान, c'ia, -k'an, n, 'shade; shadow'

छियार, -खान, c'ari, -k'an, n, 'shady place (for sitting)'

छिया (छिया), -ड, c'ua, -ल, n; adj, 'child; young'

छुट, c'utra, v, 'stop(intr)'

छुटा-, c'uta-, v, 'stop(trans)'

छेंकारी (छेंकार), c'eckar(i), adv, 'really'

छेंकेलेहा, c'etlepa, adj, 'shallow'

छोए, c'oe, n, 'shadow(?)'
Appendix 2: Lexicon

रान, -्र, jan, -da, n, 'life'

राजन, -्र, jan'ak, -k'an, adj; n, 'light'

रामा, -्र, jama, -k'an (Korobāri) / -da

(Ghailādubba), n, 'shirt'

जार, jar, adj, 'cold'

जाहाज, -्र, jahan, -da, n, 'aeroplane; vessel'

जाहाँ, -्र, jahan, -da, n, 'son-in-law'

जेब, je, pro, 'what'

जेवेत, (जेर्न), jei/ʌt, adj, 'alive'

जेह, -ʌt, pro, 'REL[obl]'

जेटिर, jeid̄ar, adv, 'in which direction'

जेटेक, jetaek, adv; 'as much as; the amount of which'

जेव, -ʌt, pro, 'hit(Morang)'

जिके, -ji, 'HPCL'

जिहा, -ji, 'be courageous'

जिंदगि, -ડ, jind̄agi, -da, n, 'life(Hindi)'

जिबन, -्र, jiban, -da, n, 'life'

जिबा, -्र, jib'a, -da, n, 'tongue'

जिरा, -ra, v, 'rest'

जुग, -्र, jug, -da, n, 'era'

जुत, -ɾ, v, 'plough'

जुत, -ɾ, jut, -tʌ, n, 'event'

जुर, jur, -v, 'lay nets'

जुरा, -ɾ, jura, v, 'cool down'

जुरुम, julum, adv, 'very'

जुवा, -ɾ, juā, -da, n, 'son-in-law'

जे, je, pro, 'what'

जेवें, (जेर्न), jei/ʌt, adj, 'alive'

जेव, -ʌt, pro, 'REL[obl]'

जेटिर, jeid̄ar, adv, 'in which direction'

जेटेक, jetaek, adv; 'as much as; the amount of which'

जाद्र, jeta, adv, '(large) size of which'

जार, -ɾ, jerʌ, -da, n, 'herd'

जेमें, jese, cnj, 'so that'

जेरे, jehene, adv, 'when'

जोग जोग बेहान, jog jog behan, adv, 'very clear morning'

자, -ɾ, jatki, adj, 'slim'

जाना, -ɾ, jana, 'PCLS'

जाय, -ɾ, jyuã, v, 'jump upon(Nepali)'

जरावर कार, j'ar j'ar kare, adv, 'with a mud falling sound'

जाना, -ɾ, jala, -da, n, 'bag'

झाक मिरास, j'ak gira, v, 'knock unconscious'

झाका, -्र, j'aka, -k'an, n, 'cover'

झाप, -ɾ, j'ag(ʌ)ra, -da, n, 'fight'

झाटा, -्र, j'ata, -k'an, n, 'stick(thrown to bring fruit down)'

झान्या, -्र, j'anda, -k'an, n, 'flag'

झार, -ɾ, j'ar, -k'an, n, 'forest'

झारार, -्र, j'arbaru, -k'an, n, 'forest'

झुक्या, j'ukya, v, 'cheat'

झुक्क, -ɾ, j'ukk, v, 'ache (of boils, teeth)'

झुल, -ɾ, jult, -tʌ, n, 'roof frame'


Appendix 2: Lexicon

तरह (तरहि), -ड, t'ala(i), -डा, n, 'branch'
टिक, t'ik, adv, 'alright'
ठिना (ठिन्न), t'inn(a), adv; n, 'close; place'
ढूँ, t'uk-, v, 'hit'

ढर-, खान, ढर, -k'an, n, 'fear'
ढाक ढर-, duk di-, v, 'call'
ढाका-, daka-, v, 'call'
ढाको-, -ड, dako, -डा, n, 'robber'
ढाड ढाक करे, dag dag kare 'with a clashing sound'

ढ d

ढर-, d'ara, n, 'a kind of snake'
ढिप ढाक करे, d'ip d'ap kare, n, 'with a beating sound'
ढिप ढिपुल-, d'ip d'ip-(u)wa-, v, 'beat with a [d'] ip sound'
ढिप्र-, -ड, d'ipri, -डा, n, 'mound'
ढिल्ला, d'illa, adj, 'slow'

ढ d'

ढुँ- d'uk-, v, 'enter'
ढुक-, d'uka-, v, 'take inside'
ढेल, -ड, d'erei, -डा, n, 'pile'
ढेला ढिर-, d'esa di-, v, 'lean'
ढोल ढिर-, d'o'pi-', v, 'drum in order to summon'

ढ t

तालिया, -खान, taulia, -k'an, n, 'towel'
टक, tak, pp; adv, 'TERM; until'
टक, tat, adv, 'then'
तन, tan, cl, 'PST.COND'
तेन, tane, pp; pcl, 'then'
टब, tab, adv; corr, 'then(Hindi)'
टामा (टामा), ta/am'a, pro, 3pl[pro]
तरह-, खान, tar'a-, -k'an, n, 'aggressiveness' (in the sense 'idea', possibly derived from the Hindi (orig. Arabic) word तर्किब 'idea')
टरबार-, tarbara-, v, 'be startled'
टल, talat, pp, 'underneath'
तले तेन, tyle tale, adv; (from) underneath'
ताए, tæ, adv, 'then'
ताकन-, खान, takat, -k'an, n, 'power'
ताकि, taki, cnj, 'so that(loa)
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<th>ध</th>
<th>ता</th>
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<tr>
<td>ध-, t'α-, v, 'keep'</td>
<td>धार करे, t'ara kare, adv, 'standing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धक-, t'ak-, v, 'become tired'</td>
<td>धाहा, t'aha, n, 'knowledge(Nepali)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>धर—, -t'arkani, -dā, n, 'step'</td>
<td>धिप-, t'ip-, v, 'jump'</td>
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<tr>
<td>धाक-, t'ak-, v, 'lie down'</td>
<td>धुप-, धान, t'up, -k'ən, n, 'spit'</td>
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<tr>
<td>धान-, -t'an, -dā, n, 'place'</td>
<td>धोप-, -t'op, -ṭa, n, 'patch(of trees/bushes)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>धाम-, -t'am-, v, 'wait'</td>
<td>धुम-, dui, num, 'two'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ठउन- (दउन-), dāug/-, v, 'run'</td>
<td>ठुक (ठुक), duk(ʔ), n, 'trouble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठन, dān, n, 'quarrel' (only occurs in copulative compounds such as ठान j'agra dān 'fight')</td>
<td>ठुद, -ढा, dud, -k'ən, n, 'milk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठोंठे, dān'ə e 'both'</td>
<td>ठुढ, -ढ, dūnd, -dā, n, 'breast'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ठबाव, -ढ, dabāw, -dā, n, 'pressure'</td>
<td>ठुनिया, -ढ, duniya, -dā, n, 'world'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठबला, -ढ, darbāja, -k'ən, n, 'outer yard'</td>
<td>ठुर्गति, -ढ, durgati, -dā, n, 'misery(loan)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठम, dás, num, 'ten'</td>
<td>ठुर्ग, -ढ, dūrga, -dā, n, 'Durgā(Indian goddess)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठहड़ि, -ढान, dā(h)i, -k'ən, n, 'curd'</td>
<td>ठुरार, -ढान, duar, -k'ən, n, 'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठाद, -ढ, dāda, -dā, n, 'elder brother'</td>
<td>ठुर्मान, -ढ, dusman, -dā, n, 'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठाछे, -ढ, dadi, -dā, n, 'grandmother'</td>
<td>ठुर्सा (ठसा), dū/rastra, adj, 'second'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठाडो, -ढ, dado, -dā, n, 'grandfather'</td>
<td>ठुदहति (ठदहति), ठान, dūhuni / dun'ī, -k'ən, n, 'milk'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ठाना, -ढ, dāna, -dā, n, 'seed'</td>
<td>ठूस, -ढ, drisij, -dā, n, 'view(loan)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठामाल (ठमाल), -ढ, da/ma/la, -dā, n, 'track'</td>
<td>ठे, de, 'INSTR'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठारि, -ढान, dar'i, -k'ən, n, 'beard' (with noun classifier: (strand of) beard)</td>
<td>ठे, -ढ, de/la, -dā, n, '(local) divinity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठार, -ढान, dura, -k'ən, n, 'liquor; medicine'</td>
<td>ठे, -ढ, dek/-, v, 'see'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ठारे, dare, pp, 'by'</td>
<td>ठे, -ढ, dek'ə-, v, 'show'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ठामा, -ढान, dasa, -k'ən, n, 'body substance'</td>
<td>ठे, -ढ, dep'edar, -ṭa, n, 'leader'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठाहा, -ढ, daha, -dā, n, 'body'</td>
<td>ठोँतम, doman, adj, 'uncertain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठिन, -i, v, 'give; allow; AUX'</td>
<td>ठोँत, -ढ, dos, -k'ən, n, 'accusation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठिन (ठिन), din(a), adv, 'day'</td>
<td>ठोँत, -ढ, dos, -dā, n, '(covenant) friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठिमाग, -ढान, domag, -k'ən, n, 'brain(loan)'</td>
<td>ठिमाग, -ढान, domag, -k'ən, n, 'brain(loan)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ठिमा, disa 'direction'</td>
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<th>ध</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ध(र)-, d'α(r)-, v, 'hold; begin'</td>
<td>धर्म, -ढ, d'arma, -dā, n, 'religion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धार, -ढान, d'akra, -k'ən, n, 'carpet'</td>
<td>धारक (धारक), -ढ, d'ak(k)ār, -ṭa, n, 'bull(male/uncastrated)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>धन, d'añ, n, 'wealth'</td>
<td>धन, d'añ, n, 'wealth'</td>
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</table>
| धन, -ढ, d'añ, -dā, n, 'treasure (referring affectionately to a small child)' | धन, -ढ, d'añ, n, 'treasure (referring affectionately to a small child)'

**Appendix 2: Lexicon 423**
धादिन, -खान, d'adi, -k'a, n, 'river-bank'
धान, -खान, d'an, -k'a, n, '(field/crop of) rice'
धान, -ड, d'an, -d'a, n, '(grain of) rice (with husk)'
धाम्मा, -खान, d'amma, -k'a, n, 'rope'
धिन, d'ina 'let's see(?); things(?)
धुरा (धुरा), -ड, d'utra, -d'a, n, 'narcotic plant'

शूरि, -ड, d'udi, -d'a, n, 'goat(female)'
शूरि, -ड, d'unii, -d'a, n, 'fireplace'
शुच, -खान, d'up, -k'a, n, 'sun'
शुचौ, -खान, d'uũ, -k'a, n, 'smoke'
शुका, -ड, d'usa, -d'a, n, 'blanket'
शेत, d'et, 'INJ'

न

नाम, -ड, nam, -d'a, n, 'name(Nepali)'
नाया (नाया), naya, adj, 'new'
नाया टिल टिल, naya til til, adj, 'brand new'
नित, ni, 'NEG; PCL[tag]'
निकल-, nikil-, v, 'go out'
नित- (निता-), nid(a)-, v, 'sleep'
निदुर, -ड, nidur, -d'a, n, 'rat'
निमाफ, nisap", n, 'judgement'
निमो, nisot, adj, 'silent'
नुआ, -खान, nuã, -k'an, n, 'cloth'
नुका-, nuka-, v, 'hide'
नुन, -खान, nun, -k'an, n, 'salt'
नूरि, -ड, nuri, -d'a, n, 'pigeon(female)'
ने, ne, 'NEG; or'
नेकर, -ड, nekar, -d'a, n, 'slave; servant'

प

पड्रा, -खान, pāda, -k'an, n, 'footpath'
पड्र (पडर), -ड, pāin/s/i, -d'a, n, 'irrigation channel'
पाक, -ड, paka, -d'a, n, 'insect'
पाक-, pak-, v, 'catch'
पाकिन, -ड, pak'ī, -d'a, n, 'bird'
पाकी, pāake, adv, 'at all'
पाण, -प, pān-, v, 'send'
पान, -ड, pāna, -d'a, n, 'grandson'
पालव, -प, pāiva-, v, 'find out'
पाल, pāla, adj, 'thin'
पनि, -खान, pani, -k'an, n, 'piece of') plastic'
पन्ना, -खान, panna, -k'an, n, '(leaf of) paper'
पर, pari, pp, 'on top of; above'
पार-, pār-, v, 'read'
पार- (पार), pari-, v, 'teach; educate (someone by ensuring their schooling)'
पार, pari, cnj, 'even'
पार, pāre, adv, 'later'
पाहिला (पाहिल्टिया), pāhila (or, pāhiltia), num, 'first'
पाहिले (पाहिले, पाहेले), pāhele (or, pāhile, pāhile), adv, 'first'
पाहिया, -ड, pāia, -d'a, n, 'wheel'
पार-, pa-, v, 'receive; get'
पाका गुल गुल, paka gul gul, adj, 'really ripe'
| पा, pā, adj, 'ripe' | पिन-, pin-, v, 'put on' |
| पात, pat, -ta, n, 'leaf(short, round)' | पिलाण, pilan, n, 'drinking(loan)' |
| पाता, pat[a]a pa-, v, 'find out' | पिलियानि, -Md, pilia[ni], -da, n, 'dog(female)' |
| पाहा, pa[a]an, n, 'leaf(long; e.g. leaf of a banana tree)' | पिल्ला, -Md, pilla, -da, n, 'dog(male)' |
| पाहाड, pa[a]ar, -da, n, 'mountain' | पुन-, pug-, v, 'reach' |
| पाहार, -Md, pahar, -k'an, n, 'straw' | पुग-, puga-, v, 'lead/to take to' |
| पाहारी कर-, pahari kar-, v, 'ask' | पुजा, pura, adv, 'completely' |
| पाहारा, -Md, pahara, -k'an, n, 'straw' | पुरा, purub, adv, 'east' |
| पाहणि, -Md, pahani, -k'an, n, 'money' | पुराँ, purna, adj, 'old' |
| पाहला, -Md, pahala, adj, 'so thin that it is see-through' | पुरिब, purib, adj, 'hard' |
| पाहला चुन, pahala cun, adj, 'really thin' | पुरुं, puru, -Md, 'drinking(loan)' |
| पाह्वाल, -Md, pahval, -k'an, n, 'straw' | पुरा, pura, -Md, 'drinking(loan)' |
| पाहर, -Md, pahra, -k'an, n, 'mountain' | पुराण, puran, -Md, 'trap' |
| पाहरा सि-, pahara di-, v, 'guard' | पुराण, puran, -Md, 'trap' |
| पाहरारियानि, - Md, pahari[ṇ]i, -da, n, 'woman of the mountain' | पुराण, puran, -Md, 'trap' |
| पिट-, p[i]t-, v, 'beat' | पुराश्चर, purashcha, adj, 'sour' |
| पिटा-, pita-, v, 'chase' | पुर्णित, -Md, purṇit, -[k'an], n, 'stick' |
| पिटि, -Md, p[ti], -k'an, n, 'back' | पुर्णक, -Md, purṇak, -k'an, n, 'thirst' |
| पिन, pin, n, 'drinking(loan)' | प्रतिस्पर्द, -Md, pratispaddha, -da, n, 'competition' |
| पिर-, -Md, p[ri]r-, v, 'to burn (of boils)' | प्रतिस्पर्द, -Md, pratispaddha, -da, n, 'competition' |
| पिरत बेहान, -Md, p[ri]rta behan, adv, 'very clear morning' | प्रसाद, prasada, adj, 'abundant' |
| पिरम, - Md, p[ri]rm, -da, n, 'recollection' | प्रत्सांत, -Md, prastana, -Md, 'present' |
| पिर्न-, p[ri]nn-, v, 'grow' | प्रथिम (पृथ्वी), -Md, prth[i], -k'an, n, 'earth; planet' |
फूजन, p"ursat, n, 'free time'
फुल, -ड, p"ul, -ढ, n, 'flower'
फुस, p"us, n; adj, 'thatch; without value'
फेर, -ड, p"er, adv, 'again'
फेल, p"el, n, 'fail(English)'
फेस-फेसिया, p"es p"esia, adj, 'very unstable(of soil)'
फोहर, p"ohor, n; adj, 'rubbish; dirty(Nepali)'
बाज, -ड, bael, -ढ, n, 'bullock(Hindi)'
बागल, baglat, pp, 'close to'
बागला, -ड, bagla, -ढ, n, 'stork'
बाज, -बा, baca, v, 'save'
बाजर, bacr, adv, 'year'
बाजे, baje, adv, 'o'clock'
बाज, -ड, baj'a, -ढ, n, 'bundle'
बढ़, -ब, bāt', v, 'sit'
बड़ा, bara, cf. बादा, bara
बड़ला-(बड़ला-), bādlila, v, 'change'
बट, -ड, bāt, -ढ, n, 'goat(male/uncastrated)'
बटला, -बातला, bātla, -ब, n, 'revenge(general sense)'
बटला, -ड, bātdla, -ढ, n, 'revenge(specific act of)'
बन, -ब, ban, v, 'be; become'
बना, -बना, ban'ā, -ब, n, 'forest(loans)'
बान, -बान, ban'dañ, -ब, n, 'bond'
बाल, -ब, bāl, v, 'speak'
बाला, -बाला, bāla, v, 'speak; play(instrument)'
बाल, -बाल, bāla, -ब, 'plough'
बाहिर, bhāra, adj, 'deaf'
बाहिरात (बाहिराति, बाहिरिति), ba/ahirati (or, ba/ahiriti), adv, 'outside'
बाहु, -बाहु, bāhu, adv, 'very'
बाँस, -ब, bās, -ब, n, 'bamboo'
बाँ (बाँ), wa, c, 'or'
बाड़, -ड, bai, -ढ, n, 'elder sister'
बाड़, -ड, bāu, -ढ, n, 'father'
बाँ, -ब, bānds, -ब, n, 'tiger'
बाऊ, -ब, bānds, -ब, n, 'person; thing'
बाँस, -ब, basi, -ब, n, 'flute'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>भ bʰ</th>
<th>Appendix 2: Lexicon</th>
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<tr>
<td>भाना (भानों), -न, ba/āha, -kʰan, n, 'arm'</td>
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<td>भार (भारा इत्यादि), -ं / -न, baha, beha, -dā (Korobāni) / -kʰan (Lakharigaddi, Ghalādūbbā), n, 'wedding'</td>
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<tr>
<td>भारत, baharat, pp, 'outside'</td>
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<td>भाँ, bahe; cf. भारा baha</td>
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<td>भख भु, bik, -kʰ-an, n, 'poison'</td>
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<td>भिच मे, bic se, pp, 'from among'</td>
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<td>भिना, bica, pp, 'among'</td>
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<td>भिरार, -n, bicar, -a, n, 'thought'</td>
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<td>भिचु, -न, bicʰna, -kʰ-an, n, 'bed sheet'</td>
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<td>भित-1, bit-, v, 'pass (time)'</td>
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<td>भित्र से, biti se, pp, 'from the direction of'</td>
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<td>भिदाबारी हं, bidabari ha-, v, 'take leave'</td>
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<td>भिदेस, bides, adv, 'abroad'</td>
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<td>भिना, bina, pp; adv, 'without'</td>
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<tr>
<td>भिर-1, biri, -dā, n, 'cigarette'</td>
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<td>भिस, bis, num, 'twenty'</td>
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<td>भिस्क, -स, biswa, -dā, n, 'world'</td>
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<td>भिस्वास, biswas, n, 'belief'</td>
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<td>भुज-, buy, v, 'understand'</td>
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<td>भुजिन, -न, buddʰi, -kʰ-an, n, 'wisdom; intelligence'</td>
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<td>भुजिन-2, buddʰi, -dā, n, 'idea'</td>
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<td>भुन-, bun-, v, 'plant'</td>
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<td>भुना, buna, cnj, 'rather; better'</td>
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<td>भुरा, -र, burʰ-a, -dā, n, adj, 'old man; old'</td>
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<td>भुरालि, bur'ali, adj, 'old aged'</td>
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<td>भुरि-1, burʰi, -dā, n, 'old woman'</td>
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<td>भुरित, -र, burit, -dā, n, 'old man'</td>
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<td>भुरव, buru, cnj, 'rather; better'</td>
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<tr>
<td>भुरवान, -र, britanta, -dā, n, 'event(loan)'</td>
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<td>भुर्वहि, brihāt, adj, 'large'</td>
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<td>भुर्वर, -र, bejar, -kʰ-an, n, 'market'</td>
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<td>भुर्वा, -र, beta, -dā, n, 'son'</td>
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<td>भुर्विन, -र, beti, -dā, n, 'daughter'</td>
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<td>भुर्वा (भुर्वाल), bettal, adv, 'very'</td>
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<td>भुर्वत, -र, ben(a)-, v, 'build; make'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता, benda, adj, (ritually) unclean</td>
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<td>भुर्वार, -र, berani, -dā, n, 'manner of walking'</td>
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<td>भुर्वारिन (भुर्वारिन), -र, be(r)e'ənani, -dā, n, 'woman'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता, -र, bela, -dā, n, 'time; sun'</td>
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<td>भुर्विन, besi, adv, 'more'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता beha; cf. भारा baha</td>
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<td>भुर्वता (भुर्वान), be/ahan, adv, 'morning'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता, -र, bol, -dā, n, 'ball(English)'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता (नेपाल), bo/ˈɑːlu, QUOT'</td>
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<td>भुर्वत-1, bekta, -dā, n, 'person(loan)'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता, -र, bewastʰa, -dā, n, 'arrangement'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता, -र, bewhārik, adj, 'practical(loan)'</td>
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<td>भुर्वता, -र, bloj, -dā, n, 'blouse(English)'</td>
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<td>पर्स (पर्स), -र, bʰ/ˈɑːl/sis, -dā, n, 'buffalo'</td>
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<td>पर्सवान, -र, bʰ-agwan, -dā, n, 'god'</td>
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<td>पर्सक (पर्सक), bʰ-arkʰAr, adv, 'just) recently'</td>
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<td>पर्री, bʰ-ag, pp, 'throughout'</td>
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<td>पर्सुला, -न, bʰArcʰula, -kʰ-an, n, 'knife'</td>
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<td>पर्सत, bʰ-arti, adj, 'full'</td>
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<td>पर्स-1, bʰ-a, -dā, n, 'younger brother'</td>
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<td>पर्स-2, bʰ-ag, v, 'flee'</td>
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<td>पर्स-3, bʰ-ag, v, 'chase'</td>
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<td>पर्रे, bʰ-aṛ-, v, 'break'</td>
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<td>पर्रे, -र, bʰ-aṛ, -kʰ-an, n, 'narcotic liquid (i.e. powder from a specific narcotic plant mixed with milk)'</td>
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<td>पर्सित, bʰ-ati, adv, 'downstream'</td>
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<td>पर्स, -र, bʰ-atar, -a, n, 'husband'</td>
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<td>पर्रान, bʰ-an kāre, adv, 'with attention'</td>
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<td>पर्रान, -र, bʰ-anda, -dā, n, 'pot'</td>
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<td>पर्रान, -र, bʰ-abna, -dā, n, 'worry'</td>
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<td>पर्राम गद गद (or, लद लद), bʰ-ari gad gad (lādā lādā), adj, 'very heavy'</td>
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<tr>
<td>पर्राम, bʰ-ari, adj, 'heavy'</td>
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<tr>
<td>पर्राम, -र, bʰ-aluk, -a, n, 'bear'</td>
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</table>
मान, bʰas-, v, 'float'
भागा, -ङ, bʰasa, -ङ, n, 'language'
भिका, bʰika, n, 'alm'
भितरत, bʰitrat, pp, 'inside'
भिन, bʰin, adj, 'separate'
भी (भि), bʰi 'also'
भुङ्ग, -ख्न, bʰui, -क्ङ, n, 'ground'
भुङ्ग, -ख्न, bʰuk-, v, 'bark'
भुङ्गा, -खान, māv/aṭ, -क्ङ, n, 'liquor'
भुङ्गे, maïd'e, pp, 'amongst'
भिन, -ङ, mig, -ङ, n, 'wife'
भालानिया, -ङ, ma白糖īa, -ङ, n, 'Indian'
भद्र (भद्र), māl/aṭ, adj, 'fat; thick'
भलब, -ङ, matlab, -ङ, n, 'meaning'
भस, -ख्र, mad'u, -क्ङ, n, 'honey'
भस, -ङ, man, -ङ, n, 'mind'
भन्न, manxte, adv, 'immediately'
भिन्न, -ङ, mantrī, -ङ, n, 'minister'
भिदना, -ङ, mārdana, -ङ, n, 'man'
भिलिया, mālia, adj, 'muddy'
भिन, -ङ, masi, -ङ, n, 'aunt(sister of mother)'
भिन्न, mahārak, 'INJ'
भिन्न, mahina, adv, 'month'
भाइ (भाइ), -ङ, māl/aḷ, -ङ, n, 'mother'
भाइ, -ङ, mai, -ङ, n, 'younger sister'
भाइ, -ङ, makra, -ङ, n, 'spider'
भाईए (भाईए), māk'∩(a)e, pp, 'via; through'
भाईए, -ङ, maŋ/, v, 'beg'
भाउ, -ङ, mac, -ङ, n, 'fish'
भाजा, -खान, maŋa, -क्ङ, n; adj, 'taste; tasty'
भाजि, -खान, māṭi, -क्ङ, n, 'soil'
भाजुङ्ग (भाजुङ्ग), ma/stun, cnj, 'but'
भाँ (भाँ), mātra (matrai), adv, 'only(Nepali)'
भाँ, -ङ, man, v, 'appreciate'
भाँ, mane, pcl, cnj, 'PCL; but'
भाइलिन्स, māmil, adj, 'a little' (always used in the opposite sense 'a lot'; can also be used with the negative भाइलिन्स (भि), māmil (ni) in which case it means the same as without the negative)
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| लाएट, muhā/ा, pp, n, 'as if; mouth' | लंजुवान, -्र, mejuan, -🅁, n, 'guest' |
| मुहाः, -झान, muha/ा, -k'ैन, n, 'mask' | मेना-, mena-, v, 'want to' |
| मेघ, -ड, meग", -دراج, n, 'cloud; sky' | मोष, moc, n, 'moustache' |

| या, ya, cnj, 'or' | योजना, yojana, n, 'plan' |
| यहाँ(ए), yaha/ा(े), pro, '3sg[pro/prox]' |  |

| रक-, rak-, v, 'stop' | राजकुमार, -ड, rajkumar, - fø, n, 'prince' |
| रड़-, बान, ra, -k'ैन, n, 'colour' | राजबंज (राजवंशी), rajbansi, n, 'Rājbanshi' |
| रहिं, ra; nj, v, 'colourful' | राजा, -ड, raja, -دراج, n, 'king' |
| रम्-, रान, -डाल, n, 'battle(loans)' | रात (रात्रि), rat(i), adv, 'night' |
| रपा-, बान, rapa, -k'an, n, 'rice sprout' | रानि-, -ड, -डाल, n, 'queen; wife of king' |
| रसे रे, rase rase, adj, 'slowly' | रान्धियानि-ः, -ड, ranḍiani, -دراج, n, 'widow' |
| रस्सि-, बान, rassi, -k'an, n, 'string' | रिस-, बान, ris, -k'ैन, n, 'anger' |
| रह-, rah(ै)ः, v, 'be; remain; stay' | रूप-, -ड, rup, - الفقر, n, 'form' |
| राख-, rak-, v, 'put' | रूपा-, बान, rupa, -k'an, n, 'silver' |
| राखा-, rak'ैंः, v, 'put' | रससिवा, rus rasia, adj, 'refreshingly cool' |

<p>| लक्रि, बान, lak'ैः्र, -k'an, n, 'firewood' | लाराई, -ड, laraí, -دراج, n, 'fighting' |
| लम्ब, lagat, adj, 'near' | लारिः, बान, lar'i, -k'an, n, 'umbilical cord' |
| लड़-, रान, -डाल, n, '(finger) nail' | लाल, lal, adj, 'red' |
| लड़ाक्रि-, रान, -फा, n, 'ill-behaved person' | लिं, l(i), v, 'take; AUX' |
| लपटा, lappa, v, 'roll in mud' | लिख-, (लेखा), li/ek&quot;, v, 'write' |
| लाठ-, रात्रि, -डाल, n, 'brass pot' | लिखित-, -ड, liha, -دراج, n, 'feeding trough' |
| लड़ि-, लॉड़ि, -डाल, n, 'river' | लिखानि (लिखानी), -ड, līhə (Lakharigaddi, GhailādBā; nihala (Korobārī), -دراج, n, 'blanket' |
| लारा-, त्र, laer, -].'ा, n, 'torch(English)' | लुड़ि-, बान, lʊpɪ, -k'an, n, 'loincloth' |
| लाम, laak&quot;, num, 'hundred thousand' | लुस करे, lus kare, adv, 'softly' |
| लाखा, laak'ैःा, pp, 'like' | ले, le, 'INSTR' |
| लाखावि, lak'ैःति, adv, 'like' | लेकिन, lekin, cnj, 'but(Hindi)' |
| लाग-, lag-, v, 'must; begin; feel' | लेडिः, leeri, adj, 'lame(female)' |
| लागात, laga-, v, 'apply; begin' | लेद्रा (लेद्रे), -बान, ledra, -k'an, n, 'stick' |
| लाज, -बान, laj, -k'an, n, 'shame' | लेप-, lep-, v, 'plaster(with soil and dung)' |
| लाटि-, बान, lat'i, -k'an, n, 'stick' | लेब्रि, lebi&quot;, -دراج, n, 'nave' |
| लाल जुकर, lat kuccar, adj, 'stiff-necked; stubborn' | लोक-, -ल, lok, -]'ा, n, 'person; man' |
| लास (लास), lam&quot;/a, adj, 'long' |  |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
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<tr>
<td>साग, -ट्र</td>
<td>Sansar, -ढा (Lakhariyad, Ghailadubba) / -क&quot;न (Korobari), n, 'world'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- *place on the plough's or bullock cart's cross bar*
- *wooden rods holding the bullock's head in place on the plough's or bullock cart's cross bar*

**Appendix 2: Lexicon**

- *support*
- *promised*
- *religious fellowship*
- *promise*
- *problem*
- *fortune*
- *society*
- *community*
- *finish*
- *possessions*
- *road*
- *informal (for sari)*
- *advice*
- *procession (loan)*
- *endure*
- *assistance*
- *serpent*
- *spinach curry (and any other foodstuff eaten with rice)*

- *friend (female)*
- *seven*
- *with*  
- *wedding (loan)*
- *evening*
- *early evening*
- *sweep*
- *real white*
- *white*
- *thing; belonging*
- *husband*
- *direction*
- *younger brother of wife; (expletive)*
- *mother-in-law*
- *Sir (loan)*
- *boldness*
- *learn*
- *itch*
- *wash (body)*
- *plant marrow*
- *first*
- *upstream (direction)*
- *happiness*
- *dry*
- *dry*
- *clean*
- *secretly*
- *hear*
- *PCL*
- *tell*
- *beautiful*
- *areca nut*
- *easy (loan)*
- *fine/ thin*
| हामा, suku, adj, 'thin' |
| सुकिके, -खान, surki, -कु, n, 'blood' |
| सेष, -zm, sē/ep, -s, n, 'apple' |
| सेवा, 'ABL; CORR; ADVL' |
| सेवा- , sei, 'CORR[obl]' |
| सेवेः, setek, adv, 'that much' |
| सेवा, -zm / -खान, sewa, -ś / -कु, n, 'service(loans)' |

| 'हामा', 'service(loans)' |
| सेवा, sesa, adj, 'last' |
| सोर, -zm, so/or, -s, n, 'guest' |
| सोर (सोरै), -zm, so/or, -s, n, 'boar; pig' |
| सुकिके, -खान, surki, -कु, n, 'blood' |
| सेवा, शेष, शेष, शेष, 'measure of weight' |
| शेवा, शेष / शेष, शेषा, -श / -शेष, n, 'service(loans)' |

| 'हामा' |
| सेवा, 'ABL; CORR; ADVL' |
| सेवा- , sei, 'CORR[obl]' |
| सेवेः, setek, adv, 'that much' |
| सेवा, शेष, शेष, शेष, 'measure of weight' |
| शेवा, शेष / शेष, शेषा, -श / -शेष, n, 'service(loans)' |
Appendix 3: Text data

The text material here was elicited from three mother tongue speakers from the villages of Ghairāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi, somewhat south-west of the town of Birtāmoḍ. The informants are Dharma Lal Rājbanshi (texts DLR.01-DLR.06), Gokul Rājbanshi (texts GR.01-GR.02) and Manorath Rājbanshi (texts MR.01-MR.05). I have tried to maintain the Rājbanshi structure in the glosses though the English may consequently seem slightly stilted. An audio recording of each text can be found on the accompanying CD. The texts are presented in the following order:

Narrative texts

DLR.04 The old man, the daughter and the son-in-law............................... 434
DLR.05 The two birds.............................................................................. 441
DLR.06 The cunning behaviour of a woman........................................... 450
GR.01 The jackal and the kid................................................................. 465
GR.02 The two bullocks and the wise horse.......................................... 469
MR.04 The old man, the old woman and the jackals............................... 479
MR.05 The adventures of a young man................................................... 505

Descriptive texts

DLR.01..................................................................................................... 549
DLR.02..................................................................................................... 549
DLR.03..................................................................................................... 550
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Untranscribed texts on the accompanying CD include the following:

Narratives from Morang

BLR.01 (Dādar Bairiā)
BNR.01-02 (Rangeli)
JR.01 (Dāngihāt)
SNR.01 (Jʰurkia)
Narratives from Jhāpā

AR.01-02  (Rājgadʱ)
BPR.01   (Patʰariā)
DPR.01   (Gauriganj)
DSR.01   (Mecinagar)
GPR.01   (Saranāmati)
GR.03-05 (Ghailādubbā)
JgR.01   (Kumarkʰod)
LLR.01   (Birtāmod)
NKR.01   (Carpane)
PCR.01   (Mahespur)
PKR.01   (Ghailādubbā)
PLR.01   (Duhāgadʰi)
PR.01    (Ghailādubbā)
SBR.01   (Simalbāri)
SR.01    (Cakcaki)
SuR.01   (Gauriganj)
Appendix 3: Text data

Narrative DLR.04. The old man, the daughter and the son-in-law

In a country there used to live an old man. That old man had his daughter married. And his son-in-law and daughter began to eat well and live well (i.e. they settled down). And the old man used to keep coming to the son-in-law's house. And when good food was cooked in the son-in-law's and daughter's house, then as fortune would have it, or whatever, the old man used to come to the daughter's house, too.
Then one day the son-in-law said to his (own) wife: "Eh, listen here, whenever we cook really good rice and spinach, that very day the old man shows up.

The old man still keeps on visiting. May he come, (but) may he come alone (lit. 'We came, but we came alone')! But he also keeps on bringing a small child with him!"

But she said, "Eh, what can you say? (My) father is an old man. Perhaps he is bored at home all on his own. So, he keeps on coming.

He said: "No, no! (What I mean is) whenever we plan to eat fish and meat, that very day the old man comes.

He said: "No, no! (What I mean is) whenever we plan to eat fish and meat, that very day the old man comes."

But she said, "Eh, what can you say? (My) father is an old man. Perhaps he is bored at home all on his own. So, he keeps on coming.
Let's do this. If the old man comes again on the day we bring fish and meat then let's begin to fight at home.

Let's the two of us really begin to fight.

When we begin to fight the old man will hear us from close by and think: 'Oh, their house has begun to fight.'

The old man will (just) turn around from that place close by and go.

After that you and I will sit in peace and eat."

Then one day the old man came, bringing his grandson.

When the son-in-law saw the old man coming he said, "Now, let's begin to fight. The old man is coming."
She said, "Oh, he is coming?"

"Yes, look he's coming."

"OK, let's start fighting."

They began to fight. Then they both began to beat each other, they began to fight.
Then the old man, coming closer, heard that the son-in-law and daughter had begun to fight.

"Now that's enough! One can not stay in this fighting."

He said, "OK, let's see a little what they are doing," and hid there.

After that the son-in-law looked (around) like this. Then (he said), "The old man can not be seen. He perhaps turned around and left."

He said to the woman, "Listen here, the old man has gone home after/because of hearing our fighting."
She said, "Yeah?" He said "Yeah." She said, "Oh, that's good."

Then he said to the woman, "When I was acting as if I was hitting you, did you feel as if I was (really) hitting you?"

Then the woman said, "(No) I didn't feel as if (you were really) hitting me."

Then the woman said again, "When I was acting as if I was crying, did you feel as if I was (really) crying?"

Hearing this, the old man said from the alley, "Eh, son-in-law-Sir, when I was acting as if I was leaving did you-[SG.HONORIFIC] feel as if I was really leaving?"

Hearing this the old man said from the alley, "Eh, son-in-law-Sir, when I was acting as if I was leaving did you-[SG.HONORIFIC] feel as if I was really leaving?"
Appendix 3: Text data

Then with great shame they had to sit the old man down in the house and really feed him and
give him drink!

(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)
NARRATIVE DLR.05. THE TWO BIRDS

DLR.05.001 एकटा गेछत तिनढा पिखि रहे।
\( \text{ek-}^{\text{a}} \text{ges-}^{\text{a}} \text{tin-}^{\text{a}} \text{pha} \text{rah-e} \)
One-NCLS tree-LOC three-NCLS bird live-PST.HAB3
There used to live three birds in a tree.

DLR.05.002 दुईझन भातार मिगरहे, आरएकटा पिखि अलगे रहे।
\( \text{dui-j}^{\text{a}} \text{ʰʌ} \text{ʰ}^{\text{a}} \text{ʰ}^{\text{a}} \text{atar magi rah-e ar ek-}^{\text{a}} \text{pha} \text{la}^{\text{a}} \text{ge} \text{rah-e} \)
two-PCLS husband wife live-PST.HAB3 and one-NCLS bird separately live-PST.HAB3
Two of them were married (i.e. were husband and wife), and one of them lived alone.

DLR.05.003a ते एकटा पिखर भातारट मिगरहे, आरएकटा पिखि अलगे रहे।
\( \text{te ek-}^{\text{a}} \text{pha} \text{rh-e ar ek-}^{\text{a}} \text{pha} \text{la}^{\text{a}} \text{ge-}^{\text{a}} \text{hreadi} \)
PCL one-NCLS bird-GEN husband-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
Then the husband of the one bird died.

DLR.05.003b मिगरहे।
\( \text{mar-i ge-}^{\text{a}} \text{hreadi} \)
die-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
He died.

DLR.05.004 ते सुना बहुत अप्सोस कर्बा प्रवेण ; राजियानि हुड़ गेल।
\( \text{te suna} \text{b}^{\text{a}} \text{ʰʌ} \text{psos kar-}^{\text{a}} \text{ba d}^{\text{b}} \text{ʰar-}^{\text{a}} \text{l-i ra}^{\text{a}} \text{n}^{\text{a}} \text{h-i ge-l} \)
PCL PCL greatly(Hindi) grief do-INF begin-PST-3 widow be-ABS AUX-PST3
She began to grieve deeply; she became a widow.

DLR.05.005 आर स्विट्जर भी गेल।
\( \text{ar j}^{\text{a}} \text{ʰʌt}^{\text{a}} \text{ki=} \text{a} \text{b}^{\text{b}} \text{i ge-l} \)
and slim=CNJ CNJ(Hindi) AUX-PST3
And she also became skinny (i.e. she lost weight).

DLR.05.006a त दुभा दहन पिखिद सुना एक्विवन आन्तार दानार बोजित बाहिराति निमिल्ले।
\( \text{ta suna d}^{\text{a}} \text{ʰa}^{\text{a}} \text{ra pak}^{\text{b}} \text{ʰi-}^{\text{a}} \text{d}^{\text{a}} \text{sun ek-din apra-r dana-r} \)
PCL PCL other bird-NCLS PCL one-day REFL[pro]-GEN grain-GEN
The other bird went out one day in search for his seeds.

DLR.05.006b निमिल्ले, दाना पानि बाखए।
\( \text{ninkl-ic-e dana pani k}^{\text{b}} \text{ʰa-e} \)
go_out-PERF-3 grain water eat-CONJ.PTCL
He went out, having eaten seeds and drunk water.

DLR.05.007 त एकटा उहा कहि पाइव्रे, कहि पाइव्रे।
\( \text{ta ek-}^{\text{a}} \text{ta uh}^{\text{a}} \text{ha kadi pa-ic-e, kadi pa-ic-e} \)
PCL one-NCLS 3sg[pro] shell get-PERF-3, shell get-PERF-3
He found a shell, (he) found a shell.
And then he just took the shell and put it in his own nest.

And because that bird found a shell, he became very proud (of) the shell.

He became really proud.

But the bird kept on saying to the other bird, the widow bird: "Eh, will you marry me? Will you marry me?"

Every single day he said the same things (to her): "Eh, will you marry me?"

But the widow bird said: "Why is he saying 'Will you marry me?' so much to me?

One day, two days, three days, four days...

Every single day he said the same things (to her): "Eh, will you marry me?"

But the widows bird said: "Why is he saying 'Will you marry me?' so much to me?"
Narrative DLR.05. The two birds

DLR.05.017 क फरत श्रे?
ki karan cʰ-e
what reason be-PRES3
What is the reason?

DLR.05.018 याहार वडता फ क दिंक, ते याहार फौक ‘ममत बट्रो, ममत बट्रो’ कहण?
yaha-r kʰata-da-t ki cʰ-i-ki te yaha mo-k
3sg[pro/prox]-GEN nest-NCLS-LOC what be-PRES-SA3 PCL 3sg[obl]-DAT
samat bʰatʰ-b-o samat bʰatʰ-b-o kʰa-c-e
together sit-FUT-2sg together sit-FUT-2sg say-PRES-3
What does he have in his nest that he says 'Will you marry me? Will you marry me?' to me?

DLR.05.020 क ताकत दिँक याहार?
ki takat cʰ-i-ki yaha-r
what power be-PRES-SA3 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN
What power does he have?

DLR.05.021 केतेला धन संपत दिंक याहार?
kete-la dʰʌn sʰʌmp
together sit-FUT-2sg together sit-FUT-2sg say-PRES-3
How much wealth does he have?

DLR.05.022 त बोले, "एकदिन देखत हूँ,” कहते नान्दिराणि हन मने मने सहने।
tʌ bo-l-ɪ ek-din dekʰ-ba hʰa-b-ɪ kʰa-ha-ene randi-an-da
PCL say-PST-3 one-day see-INF must-FUT-3 say-CONJ.PTCL widow-NCLS
man=e man=e sac-i-1
mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PST-3
One day I will have to see," the widow thought secretly.

DLR.05.023 त फेर दान बट्रिहए एकदिन बुलि मेल, फेर दाना बोजित।
tʌ pʰer daśra pαkʰi-dʌ ek-din cul-i ge-l pʰer dana-r
PCL again other bird-NCLS one-day AUX-ABS go-PST3 again grain-GEN
kʰoj-i-t
search-DVBL-LOC
One day the other bird went away again, looking for seeds again.

DLR.05.024a त नान्दिराणि पट्टि जहारे, "एड संभव भए जुट छे।
tʌ randi-an pakʰi-dʌ kʰa-ha-l-ɪ ei-samae-t ap jut cʰ-e
PCL widow bird-NCLS say-PST-3 DEM[prox/emph]-time-LOC PCL way be-PRES3
The widow bird said: "Now there is a way.

DLR.05.024b उहार खट्टा जाए देखा हवे फ क दिंकिए।"
uhã-r kʰəta-da-t ja-e dekʰ-ba hʰa-b-1 ki kʰi
3sg[pro]-GEN nest-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL see-INF must-FUT-3 what what
be-PRES-SA3
I must go to his nest and see what he's got.”
So, she goes and sees what is in his nest.

After seeing (what is in his nest) she says: "Eh! That is why he says: 'Will you marry me? Will you marry me?'

It is because he has got a worthless shell that he is so proud.

I will hide this shell.

Then, neither will it be there any longer, nor will he say: 'Will you marry me?'

Then the bird took the shell; she moved it to another place.

And, after eating he came back, having eaten seeds and water.
Narrative DLR.05. The two birds

But that bird came and looked into the nest. "Oh, the shell is just not there!

How difficult was it for me to find that shell!

That (was) my wealth and possessions.

But what has happened has happened.

And every day he began to grieve, every day he began to grieve.

Sitting in his nest he said: "I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth. I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth.

Sitting in his nest he said: "I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth. I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth.

Sitting in his nest he said: "I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth. I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth.

Sitting in his nest he said: "I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth. I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth.
har-a-l-i = tan
lose-CAUS-PST-3 = PST.COND
If I hadn't spoken these things today, the shell would not have been lost.

If I hadn't spoken these things today, the shell would not have been lost.

I lost (it) today because of the quality of this very mouth.

And the bird lost weight. Losing weight he became (just like) bones.

Well, the other bird, the widow bird, said:

"Oh, the man is really grieving. But he is not saying: 'Will you marry me? Will you marry me?'"
Narrative DLR.05. The two birds

How he sits in his nest in hunger!

Even if one is losing weight (i.e. 'drying up') one needs to eat grains and water.

Then, the man again, the bird flew off (in order) to eat grain and water.

The widow bird took that, the shell, and put it (back) in his nest (for him). She put it back (for him).

Then she came back and sat in her nest.

After having eaten water and seeds and coming (back), he looked.

"Oh! The shell is in my nest again!

Who has brought it (for me):"
And sitting again in his nest he began to say: "I messed it up, but then I got it (back). I messed it up, but then I got it (back)."

Since that day, the man having got that (shell back), after that (his) mind became happy.

And after that he started to gain weight, too.

After that, since those days, he stopped saying those things.

So, younger brother, if those sort of things are spoken, a lot of problems will result.

And sitting again in his nest he began to say: "I messed it up, but then I got it (back). I messed it up, but then I got it (back)."

Since that day, the man having got that (shell back), after that (his) mind became happy.

After that, since those days, he stopped saying those things.

So, younger brother, if those sort of things are spoken, a lot of problems will result.
From that day forward he really learnt that no-one should do anything unjust to anyone, and that one shouldn’t speak bad things either.
Appendix 3: Text data

Narrative DLR.06. The cunning behaviour of a woman

DLR.06.000. छिया चरित्र बुझान नि जाए, सामिक मारिए सति जाए।
triya caritra bujʰ-al ni ja-e sami-k
female behaviour understand-PST PTCL NEG PASS AUX PST HAB3 husband-DAT
mar-ie sati ja-e
kill-CONJ PTCL sati go-PST HAB3
The (cunning) behaviour of a woman can not be understood: she will kill her husband and
(then) be burnt (with him) in (the) sati (rite).

DLR.06.001. एकखान जंगलत एकटा राजकुमार सवारी हइले।
ek-kʰan jʌŋʌl-ʌ ek-ṭa rajkumar sawari ha-is-l-i
one-NCLS jungle-LOC one-NCLS prince procession loan) be-REM PST 3
In a jungle, a prince made a royal visit.

DLR.06.002. त सुना सभाए देखा जाए।
tʌ su-na sʌbʰae dekʰ-ba ja-e
PCL PCL all see-INF go-PST HAB3
Everyone went to see.

DLR.06.003. बहुत सुंदर छिले राजकुमारत।
bahut sundar cʰi-i-t rajkumar-tʌ
very (Hindi) beautiful be-PST 3 prince-NCLS
The prince was very handsome.

DLR.06.004. सभाए देखा जाए।
sʌbʰae dekʰ-ba ja-e
all see-INF go-PST HAB3
Everyone went to see.

DLR.06.005. ते गाऊंगे लोका आसिएने सुना एकटा विद्वानक कह्कि,“ते जाबो नि ते देखा ये?
te gaɽ-r lok-la as-iene su-na ek-ta bercʰani-k kʰʌ-ki
PCL village-GEN man-PL come-CONJ PTCL PCL one-NCLS woman-DAT say SA3
te ja-b-o ni ge dekʰ-ba ge
PCL go-FUT 2sg NEG VOC [fem] see-INF VOC [fem]
Then the men of the village came and said to a woman: "Don't you want to go and see?

DLR.06.006. जा नि।
ja-∅ ni
go-IMP 2sg PCL
Go on now!

DLR.06.007. केनेंड़ित, माई, आच्छा देखारार!
keneṇti mai aceʰa dekʰ-ba-r
how y sister good see-INF GEN
Younger sister, how good looking he is!
The cunning behaviour of a woman

The son of a king has come, (he is) really good-looking.

We have all come after seeing (him).

Go on, see!

They said, "If you see, younger sister, you will (just) stare at him.

We have all seen.

How many people have come to see, how many people have seen and gone.

Go to see!"
Then one day she thought to herself, "When my husband is not at home, that time I will have to go."

"Then one day her husband went to work."

After that she thought to herself, "Now I will have to go secretly to see."

Then she went secretly and saw. She stared and stared.

The prince looked too.

"She has come to see alone."

Also she was good-looking, the woman.

The prince called her.
Narrative DLR.06. The cunning behaviour of a woman

DLR.06.026. The cunning behaviour of a woman
t bagalat ge-l
PCL close go-PST3
She went close up.

DLR.06.027. The cunning behaviour of a woman
t bagalat ge-l
PCL say-PST-SA3 PCL 2sg[obl]-GEN marriage be-PERF-SA2sg
He said, "Are you married (lit. has your wedding been)?"

DLR.06.028. The cunning behaviour of a woman
ap yaha-r man-da kenaŋ ha-e ge-l-ki doman
PCL DEM[pro/prox]-GEN mind-NCLS what_kind be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 uncertain
ha-e ge-l-ki
be-AUX-PST-SA3
What did her mind become like: her mind became uncertain.

DLR.06.029. The cunning behaviour of a woman
te, "Aap bāhā kaham nā nihāh kaham?
t e baha ha-ic-e kaha-m na ni ha-ic-e kaha-m
PCL PCL marriage be-PERF-3 say-FUT1sg or NEG be-PERF-3 say-FUT1sg
"Well, shall I say I am married or shall I say I am not?"

DLR.06.030. The cunning behaviour of a woman
ap ni ha-ic-e kaha-m te kenaŋ kare kaha-m
PCL NEG be-PERF-3 say-FUT1sg PCL how ADVL say-FUT1sg
If I say I am not (married) then how shall I say it?

DLR.06.031. The cunning behaviour of a woman
gʰar-er lok-ta cʰ-e kere
house-GEN man-NCLS be-PRES3 PCL
I (certainly) have a husband."

DLR.06.032a. The cunning behaviour of a woman
te suna rajkumar-ta kaha-l-ki te sac-is
PCL PCL prince-NCLS say-PST-SA3 PCL think-SUBJ2sg
Then the prince said, "Well, think.

DLR.06.032b. The cunning behaviour of a woman
sac-ie koho-∅
think-CONJ.PTCL say-IMP2sg
Think and then speak up.

DLR.06.033. The cunning behaviour of a woman
baha jadi ha-ic-ku te ai-da kathā koho-∅ ni
marriage if be-PERF-SA2sg PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS thing say-IMP2sg NEG
ha-ic-ku te ai-da kathā koho-∅
be-PERF-SA2sg PCL DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS thing say-IMP2sg
If you are married (lit. your marriage has been), then tell me that, if not then tell me that."
bo-l-ɪ hʌ-i g-ieʰ-e
say-PST-3 be-ABS AUX-PERF-3
She said, "I am married (lit. my marriage has been)."

She said, "I am married (lit. my marriage has been)."

Hearing this the prince said, "Otherwise..."

Hearing this thing the woman was amazed.

Then the prince said (to her), "Otherwise I would have married you, I would have made you a queen."

The woman said (to him), "Isn't there a way (out of this dilemma)?"

The prince said (to her), "There is a way, there is another way."
DLR.06.042. "माने तुइ तोर बिमानन्दक काँटा पारी?
манे तुइ तोर बिमानन्दक काँटा पारी?
Well, can you cut (i.e. kill) your husband?

DLR.06.043. पाले, चनि आमिसा।
pal-e ca-l-i as-is
can-COND.PTCL AUX-ABS come-SUBJ2sg
If you can, come.

DLR.06.044a. आर नि पाले, छरिटिया।
ar ni pal-e chh-r-itiya
and NEG can-COND.PTCL leave-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg
And if you can't, let it be."

DLR.06.044b. आर दोमन हड शैलिन याहीः मनड।
ar doman had-ʃi ln-yahaṁ mando
and uncertain be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 DEM[pro/prox]-GEN mind-NCLS
And her mind became uncertain.

DLR.06.045. त सुना याहीः मने मने सळे, "ते आप हिम्मत कर्वा हरे।"
\(\text{t} \text{suna yaha m}n=e \text{m}n=e \text{s\-l-}i \text{te \(\text{ap}\)
\(\text{PCL}\) PCL DEM[pro/prox] mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PST-3 PCL PCL
himmata ka-r-ba ha-b-i
courage do-INF must-FUT-3
She thought to herself, "Well, (I) will have to be courageous."

DLR.06.046. त सङिएगे याहीः पर आस्था।
\(\text{t} \text{sa}\-\text{c-iene yaha }\text{m}an=\text{e }\text{m}an=\text{e }\text{sac-l-}i \text{te \(\text{ap}\)
\(\text{PCL}\) PCL DEM[pro/prox] mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-CONJ.PTCL DEM[pro/prox] house come-PST-3
Thinking (this) she came home.

DLR.06.047. त सुना रात करे उड़हीर भानारट निदाते शेखिन।
\(\text{t} \text{suna rat k}are \text{uh}a-r \text{b}atar-\text{ta} \text{nida-e ge-ic-ki
\(\text{PCL}\) PCL night ADVL 3sg[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS sleep-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3
During the night her husband fell asleep.

DLR.06.048. ते एनड करे देखे।
\(\text{t} \text{e }\text{e}n\-\text{a} \text{ka} \text{re }\text{dek}b=\text{e}-\text{c}e\-\text{e
\(\text{PCL}\) like-this ADVL look-PRES-3
She looked like this.

DLR.06.049. "आप फादिम ते केंड करे काउटम? एके ते के एलेम्बान मिलने हए डिंग।
ap ka-t-im te kenaṭ ka-re ka-t-im ek=\text{e }\text{s}a\-\text{ne }\text{ete-k}an
\(\text{PCL}\) cut-FUT1sg PCL how ADVL cut-FUT1sg one=EMPH with this much-NCLS
mil-an ha-e c\text{i}-n-a
unite-DVBL be-CONJ.PTCL be-PST-1pl
"Now, if I cut him, how shall I cut him? Together we have had such a good relation (i.e. we have been so well united together).
456 Appendix 3: Text data

DLR.06.050a. जदि काटेवूँ, ते मुळ हँड्र राति हेव जाम।
jādi kāṭ-e-c-u te mui hidr rani ha-e ja-m
if cut-PRES-1sg PCL 1sg[pro] over_here queen be-ABS AUX-FUT1sg
If I cut him, then on the one hand (lit. over here) I will become a queen.

DLR.06.050b. राजकुमारटे सङे जाले, राजार बेटाडे सङे जाले, मुइ रािन हए जाम।
rajkumar-ṭʌ r sʌŋ e ja-le raja-r ba-aḍʌ r sʌŋ e ja-le mui rani ha-i ja-m
go-COND.PTCL 1sg[pro] queen be-ABS AUX-FUT1sg
If I go with the prince, if I go with the son of the king, I will become a queen.

DLR.06.051. आर िन काटेचु, ते याहाँर सङे घुरए सधाए जन कामा रहए जाम।
ar ni kāṭ-e-c-u te yaha-r saje gʰurie saḍa ae jan kama and NEG cut-PRES-1sg PCL DEM[pro/prox]-GEN with always labour earner raha-e ja-m
remain-ABS AUX-FUT1sg
And if I don’t cut him, then (again ) I will always remain a labourer with him.

DLR.06.052. मयादे मोर जिन्दगी सरिव राति जाबे।
sad³ae mo-r jind gi-ḍʌ gʌ rib rʌ h-i ja-b-ɪ always 1sg[obl]-GEN life(Hindi)-NCLS poor remain-ABS AUX-PRES-3
My life will always remain poor."

DLR.06.053. फेर कहचे, "काटेचु ते मुळ राति हइ!"
pʰer kʰʌ hʌ c-e kāṭ-e-c-u te mui rani ha-e-u again say-PRES-3 cut-PRES-1sg PCL 1sg[pro] queen be-PRES-1sg
She said again, "If I cut him, then I will become a queen!

DLR.06.054. नि काटेवूँ, ते मुळ जन कामा रहए जाछु, गरिव रहे जाछु।"
ni kāṭ-e-c-u te mui jan kama raha-e ja-cʰ-u garib NEG cut-PRES-1sg PCL 1sg[pro] labour earner remain-ABS AUX-PRES-1sg poor rاه-e ja-cʰ-u
remain-ABS AUX-PRES-1sg
If I don’t cut him, then I will always remain a labourer, I will remain poor."

DLR.06.055. ते वस मनह याहीर आधार मे बेसी हैँ मेलिक काटुचेर, राति बन्नारे।
te bʌs mʌn-dʌ yaha-r aʌ ḏʌa ni se besi ha-i PCL PCL(Hindi) mind-NCLS DEM[pro/prox]-GEN half ABL more be-ABS
gel-ki kath-ba-r= e rani ban-ba-r=e AUX-PST-SA3 cut-INF-GEN=EMPH queen become-INF-GEN=EMPH
Well, her mind became more than half favourable of cutting, of becoming a queen.

DLR.06.056. त चुना एनेक्चे आशात उठाएँ मुख्यान एक चटी देखले।
tx suṇa eneṇkʌre jʰaka-kʰʌn utʰ-a-ene mukʰ-kʰʌn ek catʰ PCL PCL like_this cover-NCLS rise-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL mouth-NCLS one time
dekʰ-l-e see-PST-3
She lifted up the (bed) cover like this and looked at (his) face once.
Having seen him she said, "Now, should one cut (one's husband) with affection, or how should one cut (him)?"

If I don't cut him, then I will remain a labourer, if I cut him I will become a queen."

When she became completely courageous in (her) mind, then she cut him up.

She cut up her own husband. There we are, she left.

She went and said (to him), she went and said to the prince, "Well prince, I have done my job."

"What! You have done it?!"

He was astonished.
DLR.06.064. बाप! एलेवन साहास इंड़ बेद़ाग्निरां!

*bap re ete-kʰan sahas i-Δ* ber-ceʰani-r

INJ INJ this, much-NCLS boldness DEM[prox]-NCLS woman-GEN

"Good grief! This woman has so much boldness!"

DLR.06.065 तब राजरूप मने मने सचेचे, "जब याहें आपानार भातार हाराचा काठ दिले, आपानार भातार हाराची काठ दिले, मुझे ते ले जावे, मोरे शे, जव याहें अत्यंत लोक देखे, अत्यंत सुदर लोक पाऎ जावे, ते माहक काठास पारे याहें।

tab rajkumar-ta man=e man=e sae-ec-e jax yaha

then prince-NCLS mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PRES-3 when DEM[pro/prox]
apna-r bʰatar-ta-k kat-i di-l-i apna-r

REFL[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS-DAT cut-ABS AUX-PST-3 REFLL[pro]-GEN

bʰatar-ta-k yaha kat-i di-l-i mui te l-e


ja-le mo-r se jadi yaha an الماضي lok dekʰ-e
go-COND.PTCL 1sg[obl]-GEN ABL if DEM[pro/prox] like that man see-SUBJ3

an الماضي sundar lok pa-e ja-e te ma=h-a-k kat-ba

like that beautiful man get-ABS AUX-SUBJ3 PCL 1sg[obl]=CNJ-DAT cut-INF

par-e yaha
can-PRES3 DEM[pro/prox]

Then the prince thought to himself, "If she cut her own husband, her own husband if she cut, if I take her, if she sees a more of a man than me, if she gets a handsome man like that, then she might cut me too!"

DLR.06.066. ते उहां कहें, "ले माड, होल।

te uhā kaha-c-e le mai ho-l

PCL 3sg[pro] say-PRES-3 OK y.sister be-PST3

Then he said, OK younger sister, "Let it be.

DLR.06.067. नि लागे, मुझे तोक नि ले जामा।

ni lag-e mui to-k ni l-e ja-m

NEG need-PRES3 1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT NEG take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT1sg

I don't need (to get married to you). I won't take you.

DLR.06.068. तुइ अपा गर पर जाँ।"

tui apna-r gʰAr ja-∅

2sg[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN house go-IMP2sg

Go to your own home!"

DLR.06.069. जब इंड कहूँकि तब याहें बेचे डिलेनेड्याल गिरिए।

jxb i-Δ kaha-l-ki tab yaha ge-l-i eʰetlena-t gir-ie

when DEM[prox]-NCLS say-PST-SA3 then DEM[pro/prox] go-PST-3 shallow-LOC fall-ABS

When he said this (to her), she (completely) fell into shallow (water) (i.e. she was (very) disappointed).

DLR.06.070. आप के के के?

ap ki kat-b-i

PCL what do-FUT-3

What to do now?
"Everything has gone. On the one hand (lit. over here) I cut my husband, and on the other hand (lit. over there) I wasn't able to become a queen either.

And this prince too said he wouldn't take me.

My cut-up husband can not be joined together, he can not become living.

What shall I do now?" Then she started crying.

Coming home she began to cry.

Then the men of the village gathered together.

"What happened to you? What happened to you?

What happened, younger sister?"
What happened, younger sister?" they began to say.

She said, "Look then!"

I had gone to defecate, and (then) someone came and cut up my husband.

Also the men said, "How did this event happen!

Something like this is just not possible.

So, who came then?"

Also the men said, "The woman could never have cut the husband.
They were such a harmonious couple.

Husbands and wives don’t cut each other.

Husbands and wives don’t cut each other.

Some person was their enemy. He has come and cut him.

Now the cremation arrangements will have to be made.

The men of the village could not believe that the woman will (or, could) kill her husband.

"He had some enemy. (The enemy) cut (him) up.

Now the cremation arrangements must be done for him."

"When they cremated him, what did she (the woman) do?"
Well, "Now I too will go to the sati (i.e. cremation of wife alongside her husband) with my husband.

Since my husband is no longer (alive), if I stayed upon this earth, what would I do either?

Then they made a pyre. Her husband('s body) was burning. Yes, she went and fell on to that pyre.

Then also she cremated herself and completed the (act of) sati.

So, what did the men of the world think? (They thought,) "An excellent woman, this woman was excellent!"
Narrative DLR.06. The cunning behaviour of a woman

DLR.06.103. भातारटर खाितर आपुन बेजेर्ते लोकट सति चुिल मेल!

bʰatʰ-r-
tar- apun jeat=e lok- sati cul-i
husband-NCLS-GEN for_the_sake_of REFL[pro] living=EMPH man-NCLS sati AUX-ABS
go-PST3

For the sake of her husband she (sacrificed) her living being in sati.

DLR.06.105. ते एनङित हबा लागे, ते एनङित हबा लागे!

te enan̪ti ha-ba lag-e te enan̪ti ha-ba lag-e
PCL woman be-INF must-PRES3 PCL like_this be-INF must-PRES3

If one must be a woman, then this is how one should be.

DLR.06.106. अलवत!

ʌlwot
excellent

Excellent!

DLR.06.107. मान्य लागे!

man-ba lag-e
appreciate-INF must-PRES3

(She) should be appreciated.

DLR.06.108. ते एनङित एनङित हबा लागे!

te enan̪ti enan̪ti ha-ba lag-e
PCL woman like_this be-INF must-PRES3

A woman should be like this."

DLR.06.109. ते दुनियार लोकला कि जाने?

te dunia-r lok-la ki jan-l-
PCL world-GEN man-PL what know-PST-3

But what did the men of the world know?

DLR.06.110. "ते अनवत एनङिति!"

te ʌlwot bercʰani
PCL excellent woman

"What an excellent woman!"

DLR.06.111. अच्छा जाने उड बेदारिनी।

accʰa jan-l-
u-da bercʰani-k
good know-PST-3 that-NCLS woman-DAT
(They) thought that woman was good.

DLR.06.112. बेकिन उड बेदारिनी दिले बहुत खाराब।

lekin u-da bercʰani cʰi-l-
hut kʰarab
but(Hindi) that-NCLS woman be-PST-3 very(Hindi) evil

But that woman was terribly evil.

DLR.06.113. जब उड़ा आन्यार भातारटक काटे, ते केले-खार खाराब छिले!

jab uhā apna-r bʰatʰ-r-k kat-l-
te kete-kʰan
cut-PST-3 PCL how_much-NCLS

when 3sg[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS-DAT
When she cut her husband, (you can imagine) how evil she was!

But the world thought she was good.

But she was evil!

(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)
Narrative GR.01. The jackal and the kid

GR.01.001 एकटा बेटिया पानी खाचे।
एक-टा कृतिया पानी कः अ-चे
one-NCLS jackal water eat-PRES-3
A jackal is/was drinking water.

GR.01.002 नवर बहुँ।
लद्दा बहे।
river-NCLS flow-PRES-3
The river is/was flowing.

GR.01.003 उपर से पानीखान देखन मुखे जाछे।
उपर से पानी kःन देखन ता नि जाछे।
above ABL water-NCLS south towards go-PRES-3
Water flows from above towards the south.

GR.01.004 देखन मुखे पानीखान उपरत त नि जाचे।
देखन मुखे पानी उपरत त नि जाचे।
south mouth-GEN water-NCLS above PCL NEG go-FUT-3
Water can not flow from the south to above.

GR.01.005 हृद्कार पानीखान उपरत त नि उड़े, पाहार(त) त नि उड़े।
हृद्कार पानी kःन उपरत त नि उटः-बे पाहार(-अ) त नि
below-GEN water-NCLS above PCL NEG rise-FUT-3 mountain(-LOC) PCL NEG
rise-FUT-3
The water from below can not rise up, can not rise to the mountain(s).

GR.01.006 हिठर बेटियाड पानी खाचे, हृदर छागले बाचाड पानी खाचे।
हिठर kःत दी-पानी kः अ-चे हुड़र cःगले-र बाचा-दी
over_here jackal-NCLS water eat-PRES-3 over_there goat-GEN baby(animal)-NCLS
water eat-PRES-3
The jackal is drinking water over here, the child of a goat (i.e. the kid) is drinking water over there.

GR.01.007 ते याहाँ देखि फेरकाने।
te yaha देख kः-i पे-काने-ऍ
PCL DEM[pro/prox] see-ABS AUX-PST-3
And it (the jackal) saw (it anyway).

GR.01.008 "एहे, इड त मोर बाचार निज!"
"एहे, इड त मोर बाचार निज!"
INJ DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN eat-INF-GEN thing
"Oh! This is my food!"

GR.01.009 बीना दोमे फेनज कर मारा जावे याहाँक?
बीना दोमे फेनज कर मारा जावे याहाँक?
without accusation-INSTR how ADVL kill-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3
yaha-k
DEM[pro/prox]-DAT
*How to kill this without (any) accusation?*

GR.01.010 "ए वढमट!
e:  langat!
INJ ill-behaved_person
"Eh you!

GR.01.011 पानिक्षन मोर कियाँ कादुवालि केरिसिम?
pani-k*an mo-r kiã kaduali kar-ec-is
water-NCLS 1sg[obl]-GEN why muddy do-PRES-2sg
*Why are you making my water muddy?*

GR.01.012 "ति हजुर, मोर कादुवालि करा पानिक्षन मुढ बारु।
i ni hajur to-r kaduali kar-a pani-k*an mui k*ha-c-u
NEG Sir(Nepali) 2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCP water-NCLS 1sg[pro] eat-PRES-1sg
"No Sir, I am drinking the water made muddy by you.

GR.01.013 मोर कादुवालि करा पानिक्षन चुलि जाइः
mo-r kaduali kar-a pani-k*an cul-i ja-c*he-e
1sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCP water-NCLS AUX-ABS go-PRES-3
*The water I have made muddy is (just) flowing away."

GR.01.014 "त तुइ एठ कियाँ कलो?*
ta tui et*thi ka-r-lo
PCL 2sg[pro] socially_unclean why do-PST-2sg
"Why did you make the water dirty?

GR.01.015 एठ कियाँ कलो पानिक्षन?
et*thi kiã kar-l-o pani-k*an
socially_unclean why do-PST-2sg water-NCLS
*Why did you make the water dirty?"

GR.01.016 "ति हजुर, मोर एठ पानिक्षन मुढ बारु।
i ni hajur to-r et*thi pani-k*an mui k*ha-c-u
NEG Sir(Nepali) 2sg[obl]-GEN socially_unclean water-NCLS 1sg[pro] eat-PRES-1sg
"No Sir, (it is) I (who) am drinking your dirty water.

GR.01.017 मोर एठ पानिक्षन चुलि जाइः
mo-r et*thi pani-k*an cul-i ja-c*he-e
1sg[obl]-GEN socially_unclean water-NCLS AUX-ABS go-PRES-3
*My dirty water is (just) flowing away."

GR.01.018 "आरसाल कियाँ दिस्लो मोक गालि?
arsal kiã d-isl-o mo-k gali
last_year why give-REM.PTCP-2sg 1sg[obl]-DAT rebuke
"Last year why did you tell me off?"
The jackal and the kid

Why did you tell me off last year?"

"No, I wasn't born last year, Sir.

It is only just 6 months since I was born."

"Well, in that case I am not the one to spare you."

Your face and your father's face look just alike.

That's the end of the story.

Whoever pressures others, you know, no-one can punish him.
GR.01.028 ओ ते, बस, उहाँक खाए मेल।
ο te bas uhã-k kʰa-e ge-l
INJ PCL PCL(Hindi) 3sg[pro]-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PST3
*Um, that's enough, (he) just ate him (up).*

GR.01.029 इखान खिसार मतलब कि हुंचे: जांच वह हुंचे छटडक खाए जाएँ।
i-kʰan kʰisa-r matlab ki ha-c-e jahe bha ha-c-e
DEM[prox]-NCLS story-GEN meaning be-PRES-3 who large be-PRES-3
cʰâta-dâ-k kʰa-e ja-cʰ-e
short-NCLS-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PRES-3
*The meaning of this story is that whoever is big (i.e. socially), eats up the (socially) small person.*

(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)
Narrative GR.02. The two bullocks and the wise horse

GR.02.001. एकता गुवालिया घर दुईडा गोरु अं एकटा घडा रहें।
egka gle-i g¹Άrt-dt dui-ða goru ar ek-ta g¹άda
one-NCLS farmer-ADJR house-LOC two-NCLS bullock and one-NCLS horse
r₉ha-e
live-PST.HAB3
In a farmer's barn, there used to live two bullocks and one horse.

GR.02.002 त घडाडक खाबा देचे, त बादाम खाचे।
t g¹άda-ða-k k¹a-ba d-ec-e ta badam k¹a-c-e
PCL horse-NCLS-DAT eat-INF give-PRES-3 PCL nut eat-PRES-3
The farmer gives horse (nuts) to eat, the horse eats nuts.

GR.02.003 घडाड खाबा पाचे बादाम।
g¹άda-ða k¹a-ba pa-c-e badam
horse-NCLS eat-INF get-PRES-3 nut
The horse gets to eat nuts.

GR.02.004 अर गोरु काम करें।
ar goru kam kar-ec-e
and bullock job do-PRES-3
And the bullocks work.

GR.02.005 असा खाबा पाचे पुवाल।
am¹a k¹a-ba pa-c-e pual
3pl[pro] eat-INF get-PRES-3 straw
They get to eat straw.

GR.02.006 त घडाड हेंड करे देखें।
t g¹άda-ða heng kare dek¹-ec-e
PCL horse-NCLS like_this ADVL look-PRES-3
The horse look (at them) like this.

GR.02.007 "पुवाल खाचन रे!"
pual k¹a-c-an re
straw eat-PRES-2pl INJ
"So, you are eating straw!"

GR.02.008 त वतहा बग्न घडाडक देखें।
t g¹άda-ða bæel g¹άda-ða-k dek¹-ec-e
PCL both-NCLS bullock(Hindi) horse-NCLS-DAT look-PRES-3
Then both of the bullocks look at the horse.

GR.02.009 "बादामा काम खेडए नि बादाम!"
badam kam e¹-e = ie ni badam
nut work be-PRES=EMPH NEG nut
"Nuts! No work whatsoever! Nuts!"
GR.02.010 घडाडर त कोई काम नि।
gʰʌḍa-ḍʌ-r tα koi kam ni
horse-NCLS-GEN PCL some work NEG
The horse doesn't have any work. (The horse is useless).

GR.02.011 घडाडर काम नि बादाम, बादाम खान।
gʰʌḍa-ḍʌ-r kam ni badam badam kʰa-b-i
horse-NCLS-GEN work NEG nut nut eat-FUT-3
The horse has no work, (but it) gets nuts to eat.

GR.02.012 आर हामा काम करैच आर खाई च पुवाल।
ar hama kam kar-ec-i ar kʰa-c-i pual
and 1pl[pro] work do-PRES-1pl and eat-PRES-1pl straw
We work and we eat straw.

GR.02.013 तोर हामु खाई च।
tor hʌ-ic-ku kʰa-ba-r
2sg[obl]-GEN be-PERF-SA2sg eat-INF-GEN
You are enjoying eating.

GR.02.014 तुइ आण्या खाचित, तोर कि?"
tui accʰa kʰa-c-it to-r ki
2sg[pro] well eat-PRES-2sg 2sg[obl]-GEN what
You eat well. What do you have to worry about?"

GR.02.015 "मोर त काम अकुछ नि, लेकिन मुड़ बादाम खाव।"
mo-r tα kam=ʌ kucʰu ni lekin mui badam kʰa-c-u
1sg[obl]-GEN PCL work=CNJ some NEG but 1sg[pro] nut eat-PRES-1sg
"I have absolutely no work, but I eat nuts.

GR.02.017 उड त तसमा भूल करेन।"
u-ḍʌ ta tamʰa bʰul kar-ec-an
that-NCLS PCL 2pl[pro] mistake do-PRES-2pl
That is the mistake you are making."

GR.02.018 "केनङ भुल करैथ च, "केनङ भुल करेन।"
kenaŋ bʰul bael-la kaha-c-e kenaŋ bʰul kar-ec-i
what_kind mistake bullock(Hindi)-PL say-PRES-3 what_kind mistake do-PRES-1pl
"What mistake?" the bullocks ask, "What mistake are we making?"

GR.02.019 घडाडर कहंच, "तसमा मुर्त रूजन।"
gʰʌḍa-ḍʌ kaha-c-e tamʰa bʰul kar-c-an
horse-NCLS say-PRES-3 2pl[pro] mistake do-PRES-2pl
The horse says: "You are making a mistake.

GR.02.020 एकन वेरामिम हैवे, हाना जुता त नि जावे ना?
ek-jʰan berami ha-le hal juta tα ni
one-PCLS ill be-COND.PTCL plough plough-PST.PTCL PCL NEG
ja-b-i na
PASS.AUX-FUT-3 PCL[TAG]
If one becomes ill, ploughing will not be possible, isn't that correct?
Yes, one (of you) begin to stay here!

If (one) has become ill, he (the farmer) will not take (that one) to plough, you know.

Then there you are, you'll absolutely be free of duty."

It was the time for planting, (and) one of the bullocks had become ill.

He hadn't really become ill, he (just) left work knowingly.

He had become ill.

He was pretending.

Yes, because he had become ill.

Well, the master of the house came.
Appendix 3: Text data

GR.02.030 देखिएँ, "मोरड बेमारिएँ!
dekʰ-ec-e goru-ḍʌ bemari
see-PRES-3 bullock-NCLS ill
(He) saw, "The bullock is ill!"

GR.02.031 याहाँक केन्द्र करे काम करा जाएँ?
yaha-k kenʌɨ kare kam kʌr-a ja-b-ɪ
3sg[pro/prox]-DAT what,kind ADVL work do-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3
What kind of work can be done with this (bullock)?

GR.02.031a याहाँक छुट।
yaha-k cʰuṭ
3sg[pro/prox]-DAT free
(I'll) leave it.

GR.02.032 एकदम उहाँक घरिए ने जाए बातिए दिने।
ekdʌm uhã-k dʰʌr-ie l-e ja-e banb-ɪ
tie-CONJ.PTCL hold-CONJ.PTCL take-CONJ.PTCL go-CONJ.PTCL di-l-ɪ
AUX-PST-3
He held it, took it away and tied it up.

GR.02.033 बस, आराम।
bas aram
PCL(Hindi) rest
There we are, rest.

GR.02.034 "पड़ा ढे, ते हाल बहबेइ निए।"
ɡʰʌda cʰ-ɪ te hal bʌʌhʌ-b-ɪ ni
horse be-PRES3 PCL plough plough-FUT-3 = EMPH NEG
"I have a horse, but it can not plough at all."

GR.02.035 बस, छह दिने।
bas cʰʌɾ-ɪ di-l-ɪ
PCL(Hindi) let-go-ABS AUX-PST-3
Well, he left it be.

GR.02.036 आठ दस दिन जब हर गेल, लोकला कहचे, "तुई हाल किंवा न बहबेइ?
aṯ ᵇas din jab ha-i ge-l lok-la kʌʌhʌ-c-ɪ tui hal kiʌ
eight ten day when be-ABS AUX-PST3 man-PL say-PRES-3 2sg[pro] plough why
NEG plough-PRES-2sg
After some (eight, ten) days had passed the men said: "Why are you not ploughing?"

GR.02.037 रपा बुन्हो नि?
r̥apa bun-b-o ni
rice_sprout plant-FUT-2sg NEG
Aren't you planting rice?
GR.02.038 Why aren’t you planting rice?"

dʰan bun-b-o
rice plant-FUT-2sg
(Why aren’t) you planting rice?"

GR.02.039 "Goru bemari cʰ-e ek-ta goru bemari
bullock ill be-PRES3 one-NCLS bullock ill
"One bullock is ill, one bullock is ill."

GR.02.040 te cʰʌḍa cʰ-u-ku te ek-ta
PCL horse be-PRES-SA2sg PCL one-NCLS
"(But) you have a horse."

GR.02.041 ek-ta cʰʌḍa cʰ-u-ku
te ek-ta
one-NCLS horse be-PRES-SA2sg PCL one-NCLS
You have a horse.

GR.02.042 ek-ta goru cʰ-u-ku
one-NCLS bullock be-PRES-SA2sg
You have a bullock.

GR.02.043 dʌn bʰʌ-ʌa hal jut-ek
both-NCLS plough plough-IMP2sg
Plough (with) the two of them!

GR.02.044 hʌ-b-i
be-FUT-3
OK?"

GR.02.045 bo-l-ɿ hʌ hʌ hʌ-b-i
say-PST-3 INJ INJ be-FUT-3
He said, "Yes, yes, OK."

GR.02.046 buddʰi di-l-ɿ
wisdom give-PST-3
He (the horse) advised (the bullocks).

GR.02.047 buddʰi di-l-ɿ hetin ap par-ɿ ge-l-ɿ pʰanda-t uhãe
wisdom give-PST-3 here PCL fall-ABS AUX-PST-3 trap-LOC 3sg[pro]
He advised (them) on the one hand, and he fell into a trap (on the other).
GR.02.048 आप पड़ा आर एकटा बएल।
ap gʰa-da-da ar ek-ta bʌel
PCL horse-NCLS and one-NCLS bullock(Hindi)
So, now there is the horse and a bullock.

GR.02.049 एकटा बएल नि हए।
ek-ta bʌel ni ha-e
one-NCLS bullock(Hindi) NEG be-PRES3
One bullock isn't (there).

GR.02.050 एकटा बएल बेमार हड़ै।
ek-ta bʌel bemari ha-ic-e
one-NCLS bullock(Hindi) ill be-PERF-3
One bullock has become ill.

GR.02.051 एकटा बएल बेमार हड़ै, ओ, दसडाक आनिए आप हाल पुजै।
ek-ta bʌel bemari ha-ic-e o danʰa-da an-ie ap
one-NCLS bullock(Hindi) ill be-PERF-3 INJ both-NCLS bring-CONJ.PTCL PCL
hal jut-ec-e
plough plough-PRES-3
One bullock has become ill, yes, now the farmer takes both (of them) and ploughs.

GR.02.052 कोळोए नि उहाँ काम कबा र, इड, पड़ा।
kodʰo ni uha kam kar-ba r-ba-r i-ḍʌ
never NEG 3sg[pro] work do-INF-GEN DEM[prox]-NCLS horse-NCLS
He has never been a working (horse), this one, the horse.

GR.02.054 आप उहाँ धबा हचे हाल।
ap uhâ-k dʰa-r ha-ec-e hal
PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT begin-INF must-PRES-3 plough
He had to begin to plough.

GR.02.055 एकदम धकी नेले, एकदम, बाप रे।
ekdʌm tʰa-k-i ge-l-t ekdʌm bap re
very become_tired-ABS AUX-PST-3 very INJ INJ
He got very tired, very, wow!

GR.02.056 "केनङ बुंद मुड विनु असमाक।"
kenaŋ buddʰi mui di-n-u amʰa-k
what_kind wisdom 1sg[pro] give-PST-1sg 3pl[pro]-DAT
"What kind of wisdom did I give them!"

GR.02.057 ते एकदम तुय दुख पाे आर मोर हुँ दुख।
te ek-jʰa an sukʰ pa-c-e ar mo-r ha-c-e dukʰ
PCL one-PCLS happiness get-PRES-3 and 1sg[obl]-GEN be-PRES-3 trouble
One (of them) gets happiness and I get the trouble.

GR.02.058 मोक आप हाल बहबा हुँ।"
mo-k ap hal bʌha-ba ha-c-e
1sg[obl]-DAT PCL plough plough-INF must-PRES-3
Now I have to plough."
Narrative GR.02. The two bullocks and the wise horse

**He said: "Oh!"**

**What kind of wisdom did I give (them) that today I have to plough."**

**While thinking like that, one day he began to cry. The horse cried.**

**You, apparently, are going to be slaughtered and eaten up**.

**And the three of us are living in one house, aren't we.**

**Two bullocks and I.**
Appendix 3: Text data

GR.02.067 आप तिनकार जे रहिच।
ap tin-[^h]an je r̥ha-c-i
PCL three-PCLS PCL live-PRES-1pl
And the three of us are living (here), aren't we.

GR.02.068 आप तोक त काटिए बाए जाए...
ap to-k ta kat-ie k̥a-e ja-le
PCL 2sg[obl]-DAT PCL cut-CONJ.PTCL eat-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL
Now if you are going to be slaughtered and cut up...

GR.02.069 मया लागेचे, अड़ त मोक मनडत काव्या मेताचे।
m̥a lag-ec-e ai ta mo-k man-da-t kan-ba
affection apply_to-PRES-3 INJ PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT mind-NCLS-LOC cry-INF
mena-c-e want_to-PRES-3
I feel affection for you, that's why I want to cry in my mind."

GR.02.070 "मोक काटिए बाए जाए?
mo-k kat-ie k̥a-e ja-b-i
1sg[obl]-DAT cut-CONJ.PTCL eat-ABS AUX-FUT-3
"Are they going to slaughter me and eat me up?"

GR.02.071 बोले, "हे, आप काम जाम छेड़ नि तोर।
bo-l-ɪ h̥̃ ap kam jam c̥e=i(e) ni to-r
say-PST-3 INJ PCL work [echo]work be-PRES3=EMPH NEG 2sg[obl]-GEN
(The horse) said: "Yes, now you are absolutely worthless.

GR.02.072 आर हाल बहबा नि पापिस।
ar hal b̥ḁha-ba ni pa(r)-c-is
and plough plough-INF NEG can-PRES-2sg
And you will not be able to plough.

GR.02.073 मोक हाल बहबा पलेले।
mo-k hal b̥ḁha-ba par-l-i
1sg[obl]-DAT plough plough-INF must-PST-3
And I had to plough."

GR.02.074 बोले, "हे है!"
bo-l-ɪ h̥̃ h̥̃
say-PST-3 INJ INJ
He said: "Yes, yes."

GR.02.075 "कलि से तुड़ ठिक हट जा, हाल बहबा जाकृ ने।
kal'i se tui ti̊̃ik ha-i ja-∅ hal b̥ḁha-ba
tomorrow ABL 2sg[pro] alright be-ABS AUX-IMP2SG plough plough-INF
ja-p-ku ne
go-FUT-SA2sg PCL
"From tomorrow (onwards) become well, and you will go to plough, you see."
The master, the master of the house (i.e. the farmer), went to bring the horse and the bullock.

The ill bullock, he really jumped right up.

Eh! This one has become well.

He is no longer ill.

The master, the master of the house, went to bring the horse and the bullock.

He let the horse rest.

Oh! If one gives wisdom/advice to another, "Look (here) at my misery, I had to pull a plough."
GR.02.085 आपनारे बुद्धि, आपनारे दुर्गंधि।
    apna-r = e         buddhi  apna-r = e        durgati
    REFL[pro]-GEN = EMPH wisdom REFL[pro]-GEN = EMPH misery
    One's own wisdom, one's own misery.

GR.02.086 आपनारे बुद्धि, आपने पाचे दुर्गंधि।
    apna-r = e         buddhi  apne    pa-c-e    durgati
    REFL[pro]-GEN = EMPH wisdom REFL[pro] get-PRES-3 misery
    (His) own wisdom, (and he) himself got the misery!

(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)
Narrative MR.04. The old man, the old woman and the jackals

MR.04.000 बुऱा बुऱ आर बेरियाला।
bura bur ar kʰetia-la
The old man, the old woman and jackal-PL.

MR.04.001 अंदिनिं एक्टा माझै एक्जना बुऱ आर एक्झना बुऱ रहए।
atedin ek-ta ga-t ek-jʰana burʰa ar ek-jʰana
Many years ago one-NCLS village-LOC one-PCLS old_man and one-PCLS burʰi rah-e
old_woman live-PST.HAB3

MR.04.002 ते सुना, एक दिन देने बालार मजी मिलिएने कु बुऱनेचे।
te suna ek din den bha-la ik la mil-iene ku bur-
husband-wife unite-CONJ.PTCL [kacu]vegetable

MR.04.003 बेरियाला देखि फेशलिङ्ग अशाक कल बुऱन्चा।
kʰetia-la dekʰi pʰeka-l-ki amʰa-k kacu bun-ba
Jackals saw them plant-[kacu]vegetables together.

MR.04.004 सुना, बेरियाला आमिरने बुऱ बुरिलाक कहल्लिं, "ए दादो, कि करेचिक सुना?
suna kʰetia-la as-iene burʰa burʰi-la-k kʰaʰ-c-ki e:
PCL jackal-PL come-CONJ.PTCL old_man old_woman-PL-DAT say-PRES-SA3 INJ
dado ki kar-ec-is suna
grandfather what do-PRES-2sg PCL
The jackals came and said to the old man and old woman: "Eh, grandfather, what are you doing?"

MR.04.005 "आरे, कु बुनेचि रे, बुऱ बुऱ रहो निलिएले।"
are kacu bun-ec-i re burʰa burʰi mil-iene
INJ [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-1pl INJ old_man old_woman unite-CONJ.PTCL
"Hey you, we are planting [kacu]vegetables, (see), the old man and old woman together."

MR.04.006 त सुना बेरियाला कहल्लिं, "कनु बुरिलखिं? घेत।
ta suna kʰetia-la khaʰ-c-ki kacu bun-ec-is dʰet
PCL jackal-PL say-PRES-SA3 [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-2sg INJ
Then the jackals said to them: "You are planting [kacu]vegetables? Uh!

MR.04.007 एसह करे कनु बुऱने आरहह?

So, [kacu]vegetables are planted like this too?
One should plant [kacu] vegetables after boiling them. Then really big vegetables will grow (for your benefit).

If you plant unripe/uncooked [kacu] vegetables like this, will you get (anything)? (No!)

(They) will not grow bigger (for you). One should plant [kacu] vegetables after boiling them.

'Hearing what the jackals said, the old man and old woman thought: "Is that so?"

The old man and old woman thought: "Yes, that's right. What they said is correct."
The old man said (to her), "Well, old woman, this isn't the way (to do it).

Now, let's take out the planted [kacu]vegetables.

We will take them home, and after boiling them we will bring them back.

After that we will plant them.

Then both the old man and the old woman dug up the planted [kacu]vegetables from the soil and took them out again.

They took them out and took them home.

The next day the old man and old woman boiled the [kacu]vegetables well, they really boiled them this way and that.
They brought (them and then they) planted (them).

Having planted the \[kacu\]vegetables this way and that, the old man and old woman went home.

Then what the jackals did is this: coming during the night, (from) where the old man and old woman had planted the \[kacu\]vegetables and left, from there they took out the boiled \[kacu\]vegetables and ate them up.

They took out the boiled \[kacu\]vegetables and ate them up. And in the holes they defecated.

And they dug hole(s) there and (really) defecated (right there).

The old man and old woman said: "Now, we have boiled the \[kacu\]vegetables and planted them. This time the \[kacu\]vegetables will grow really big."
"They will grow really big," and they really waited with high hopes.

One month went by, two months went by, today, tomorrow, the days kept passing by.

A few months passed, and still no [kacu]vegetable could be seen.
Something has perhaps happened to these [kacu]vegetables."

So, one day, both the old man and the old woman came and dug.

The old man and old woman said: "Oh my god (lit. Hare Rām)! These jackals have cheated us!

Eh! They really made us boil those [kacu]vegetables and (then) plant them, and (then) they have defecated.

The jackals have eaten all of these boiled [kacu]vegetables.

They have defecated in these holes."
The old man and old woman found out (about) the trickery of the jackals.

And the old man and old woman got furious.

"Eh you damned jackals! Did you cheat us?

Now (just you) wait. I will leave you alone only after having had (my) revenge for this!"

The old man said to the old woman, "Hey, old woman, we have to take revenge on them.

Well, you do this: go to the fields, and having gone (to the fields) cry really hard.

Then the jackals will gather (for you). All of the jackals will come (on your behalf), won't they?
If the jackals come together say (to them): 'Your grandfather has died.

MR.04.052
tahate kan-ec-u
therefore cry-PRES-1sg
That's why I am crying.
Wondering "Why is she crying?" all of the jackals gathered together and said (to her), "Grandmother, oh grandmother, why are you crying? Why are you crying?"

"Alas! What will you do?"

"Your grandfather has died! That's why I am crying." 

"Your grandfather is no longer in this world. He has died."

"Oh my god! Is that so?!"

"Yes, that is why I am crying."

"Come on. Now what will you do? Your grandfather has died. You will go and eat a funeral feast, won't you?"

"(We) should go then."
MR.04.066 चल, चल, चल!

cal-  cal-  cal-
go-IMP2pl  go-IMP2pl  go-IMP2pl
Come on, come on, come on!

MR.04.067 गर्ने बेटियाला मिलिगरे बृजर गर्ने मने।
gate kʰetia-la  mil-ine  burʰi-da-r
all  jackal-PL  unite-CONJ.PTCL  old_woman-NCLS-GEN  with  go-PST-3
All the jackals went together with the old woman.

MR.04.068 गटे खे टयाला िमिलएने बुऱडर सङे गेले।
guṭ ेkʰeṭ ʰia-la mil-iene bur ʰi-ḍʌ
old_woman-NCLS  all  jackal-PL-DAT  house  take-CONJ.PTCL  bring-PST3
The old woman took all of the jackals home.

MR.04.069 आिनएने एक ठना बठ्छ बा
an-iene ek-ṭʰ  in b ʌṭʰ
bring-CONJ.PTCL  one-place  sit-INF
She brought the jackals and let them sit down in one place.

MR.04.070 सुना आिनएने, "ताह ताह बठन, मुइ अइ आर कानेचु"
suna an-iene tahe tam ʰ a b ʌṭʰ in
while 2pl[pro]  sit-SUBJ2pl  1sg[pro]  INJ  PCL
"While you sit I will cry for a moment," the old woman began to cry.

MR.04.071 ते बुराह हिहर नुकाएने एक्वान लेडङ लिए भिनद भरत दिचिका।
te burʰa-ḍa  hidar nuka-ene ek-kʰan  ledaŋ  l-iene
PCL  old_man-NCLS  here  hide-CONJ.PTCL  one-NCLS  stick  take-CONJ.PTCL
The old man, having hidden over here and taken a stick, was in another house.

MR.04.072 ताहेह हिहर बृजर बेटियाला बृजा दिचा।
taha hidar burʰi-da  kʰetia-la-k  baṭʰ-ba di-l-1
while over_here  old_woman-NCLS  jackal-PL-DAT  sit-INF  let-PST-3
In the meantime the old woman let the jackals sit down over here.

MR.04.073 ताहारबाद सुना बृजर आरक भान उठाले।
taharbad suṇa burʰi-ḍa  arki kan-ʌn  ʊṭʰ-a-l-1
after_that  PCL  old_woman-NCLS  PCL  cry-DVBL  rise-CAUS-PST-3
After that the old woman started crying ('raised her voice').

MR.04.074 आप कानेचे, एतह करे कानेचे बृजर, "बुरा रे बुरा, लेडङ धरिए दउर, बुरा। बुरा रे बुरा, लेडङ धरिए दउर, बुरा।"
ap kan-ec-e enaŋ kare kan-ec-e burʰi-ḍa  burʰa re burʰa
PCL  cry-PRES-3  like_this  ADVL  cry-PRES-3  old_woman-NCLS  old_man  INJ  old_man
stick  hold-CONJ.PTCL  run-IMP2sg  old_man  old_man  INJ  old_man  stick
MR.04.04

And she cried, the old woman cried in this way: "Eh old man, eh old man, bring a stick and run; bring a stick and run, old man."

Now it was the old man's turn. Hearing the old woman crying in this manner, he took a large stick and really beat the jackals with a whack whack whack sound.

Oh, someone's head was hit, someone's leg was hit, someone's lower back was broken.
Then all the jackals, having taken a real beating, went to their own places.
Then one day, after a few months, the old woman went to her daughter's place, that way, through the fields.

Then all of the jackals saw (her anyway).

"Hey, hey, hey (look): the old woman, the old woman, the old woman!"

"Hey, old woman, where will you go?"
Eh, when you said, "(Your) old man has died", what a beating you gave us!

Now we are not going to leave you, no!

Now we are going to eat you.

Now they will not spare me.

They will eat me now.

Thinking, "Now how will I escape?" the old woman said to the jackals, "Look, now I am going to (my) daughter's house.

Now look at my body, being all dried up (it is) just bones!

Now look at my body, being all dried up (it is) just bones!
MR.04.105 खालि गटे दाहाडत हँडिए हँडि छे।

MR.04.106 मासु तासु त कुछु छेइए नि।

MR.04.107 आला जाछु बेटिर घर।

MR.04.108 आप बेटिर घर एक महिना रहूँ, दही दुःस्व बाह, माच मासु खाम, कनेक दामा लाखें, कलकत हवे दाहाड।

MR.04.109 तने आसिम।

MR.04.110 ते खाना उखुना बाझन।

MR.04.111 आला सुना खाएने किंत माजा पावून आरहे, एण्डि हँडिए हँडि?"

MR.04.112 ते गटे खेडियानाचे मचिएने वेलेले,

MR.04.113 “ठिक हऍए।
If we eat this old woman now, no, there won't be any taste.

Now the whole of (her) body is (just) bones, the skinny old woman.

Then she will be tasty.

Then they said (to her), "OK, OK, OK go!

When it is time to come, come this way again."
She knew that, "If I go via this way the jackals will not spare me, they would eat me up.

Then the old woman went to her daughter's house. She stayed at her daughter's house for one month. She ate. Eating lots of ghee, meat, fish, curd and milk the old woman's body became chubby.

After staying for one month, one day the old woman said to the daughter, "Daughter, I will go home now."

The old woman went to her daughter's house. Then the jackals let the old woman go. "Yes, OK, OK" the old woman said (to them).

Then the old woman, leaving her daughter's house, came towards her own house.

After staying for one month, one day the old woman said to the daughter, "Daughter, I will go home now."
So, that day the old woman came via another path, hiding.

But one jackal saw (her) again (anyway).

All the jackals went and once again surrounded the old woman.

Why should we spare you?
MR.04.140 आप त हामा तोक खाम, मट हए आसिचिस त, हि।"

ap ta hama to-k kʰa-m-ʌ maɾa ha-e as-ic-is
PCL PCL 1pl[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl fat be-CONJ.PTCL come-PERF-2sg
ta ha INJ
PCL INJ
Now we will eat you; you have come after being fattened up, yes."

MR.04.141 फेर सुना बुऱड सचेचे, "आप त आमा मोक खाए जावी।

pʰer suña burʰi-dʌ sʌc-ec-e ap ta amʰa mo-k kʰa-e
again PCL old_woman-NCLS think-PRES-3 PCL PCL 3pl[pro] 1sg[obl]-DAT eat-ABS
ja-b-ɪ
AUX-FUT-3
Again the old woman thought, "Now they will eat me up."

MR.04.142 आप केनङ करे बचाम आनाक ने?
ap kenaŋ kare bʌc-a-m apna-k te
PCL how ADVL save-CAUS-FUT1sg REFLECTIVE-DAT
Now how will/can I save myself?

MR.04.143 एहे! आप कुछु उपाए ला बा नाक ते?
ehe ap kucʰu upae lag-ba ha-b-ɪ kʌnek sʌc-ba ha-b-ɪ buddʰi
INJ PCL some way apply_to-INF must-FUT-3 a_little think-INF must-FUT-3 wisdom
lag-ba ha-b-ɪ
apply_to-INF must-FUT-3
No! There must be some way, I must think a little, I must use (my) intelligence."

MR.04.144 सुना कहचक बुऱड,"ए बेतियाणा, सुना आकाचर तासा मोक खाबन रे, हि नि? आकाचर त मुझ आति मरिम रे।
suna kʰa-ʌ-ki burʰi-dʌ e: kʰetia-la sun-ʌ akʰɾi-t tamʰa
PCL say-PRES-SA3 old_woman-NCLS INJ jackal-PL hear-IMP2pl end-LOC 2pl[pro]
mo-k kʰa-b-ʌn re ha-e ni akʰɾi ta mui ajʰi
1sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-2pl PCL be-PRES NEG in_the_end PCL 1sg[pro] today
mar-im re
die-FUT1sg PCL
The old woman said (to them), "Eh jackals, listen. Finally you will certainly eat me, isn't that so? In the end I will certainly die today.

MR.04.145 एनङ करि ना? एनङ कर, आप हेल्ना कि खाबन?
enaj kar-i na enaj kar-a ap hetna ki kʰa-b-ʌn
like this do-SUBJ1pl or like this do-IMP2pl PCL here what eat-FUT-2pl
Let's do this, OK? Do this, why would you eat me here?

MR.04.146 हेल्ना आप गैजेखाना निथ ठिक छइल।
hetna ap tʰa-kʰan=ʌ ni tʰik eʰ-a-kan
here PCL place-NCLS=CNJ NEG alright be-PRES-SA2pl
Here even the place is no good (for you).

MR.04.147 कनेक आगए बल ना हुइर, हुइर, हुइर।
kʌnek arha ca-lʌ na hudʌr hudʌr hudʌr
a little more go-IMP2pl PCL over there over there over there
Go a little further over there (please), over there, over there.
The place over there is OK, and there is a little shade, too.

You may eat me in that place.

You may eat you, we will not spare you.

Then the old woman thought again, "Oh no, they want to (i.e. are going to try to) eat me again.

The old woman was taking herself, I mean, bit by bit close to (her) own home.
Narrative MR.04. The old man, the old woman and the jackals

MR.04.159 The old man, the old woman and the jackals

She wanted to (or, tried to) keep taking herself slowly close to (her) own home.

MR.04.160 "Eh old woman, OK! Now we will eat (you)," said all (of the jackals to her).

"Look, in the end I am certainly going to die.

Really dirty, it is really no good (for you)!

There is no water (for you) either, and moreover, the sun is really scorching hot here.

very dirty (Nepali) = EMPH dirty (Nepali) stool = EMPH stool be-PRES-SA2pl

MR.04.161 The old man, the old woman and the jackals

Again she thought, "They are..."

You are certainly going to eat me, you are not going to spare me.

Look at this place here, won't you!

MR.04.162 "Eh old woman, OK! Now we will eat (you)," said all (of the jackals to her).

"Look, in the end I am certainly going to die.

Really dirty, it is really no good (for you)!

There is no water (for you) either, and moreover, the sun is really scorching hot here.

very dirty (Nepali) = EMPH dirty (Nepali) stool = EMPH stool be-PRES-SA2pl
Appendix 3: Text data

500

Really terribly dirty, (you) really (have) faeces here and there.

Are you going to eat me in such a dirty place like this?

Go a little further, won't you, a little further over there.

(You know) that tree (far over there) that can be seen?

Close to that tree there is also water (for you), everything is there (for you)."
They came (right along) with the old woman.

When they reached there, if called, the men/people of the village could hear.

When they reached there, if called, the men/people of the village could hear.

And then the jackals said (to her), "OK, old woman, now we won't go from here to there (any more)."

Here is water and everything, look!

From here we won't go any further over there."

Then the old woman said, "Oh my god (lit. Hare Rām)! Now they will not spare me.

Now I am going to die.

Now they will not spare me.

Now I am going to die.

Now I am going to die.
How I am to be saved from them?" she thought.

Then (she said), "Alright, now you will certainly eat me.

So, you'll let me cry for a while, won't you?"

"OK, OK, cry.

Until when will you cry?

"Cry!"

Then the old woman went aside and began to cry.

Then the old woman went aside and began to cry.

In the end I will certainly die today, there is no way (out) for me at all.
MR.04. The old man, the old woman and the jackals

She cried like this, "Eh. old man, run (over here) bringing a stick, old man."

She cried (to the dogs), "Come here! Come here!"

When the dog-calling sound reached the village, the dogs in the village heard (it).

The old man heard as well. He found out that the old woman had fallen into some trouble.

Thinking "(I) must save the old woman," the old man gathered together all of the dogs of the village and started running towards the jackals.

However many dogs there were in the village and the houses, they all chased the jackals while barking and barking.
All of the dogs went (and) bit the jackals.

The jackals really fled in confusion.

The dogs chased and chased the jackals. In the end the dogs chasing all of the jackals made them flee.

And the old woman was saved.

The dogs couldn't eat the old woman.

Then in the end the old woman and old man and the dogs, all of them together came home.

In this way the old woman saved her own life.

That's the end of the story, that's what you got for your money!

(Text recorded March 2004, Kathmandu)
Narrative MR.05. The adventures of a young man

MR.05.001 एक गाँव एक बुनियादी दिले।

In a village there was an old woman.

MR.05.002 उहाँ बेटा राजा घरत काम बन्ने।

Her son used to work in the king's house.

MR.05.003 उहाँ माने राजा घरत गायल चराई।

He used to work as a goatherd in the king's house.

MR.05.004 एक दिन उन्होंने घायल चराई।

One day he went to the jungle to graze goats.

MR.05.005 जारबा रखान गयें।

He went to the forest.

MR.05.006 तसुना, एक उहाँ घायल चराई।

(And) then a tiger and a boar arrived.

MR.05.007 तसुना एक बार उहाँ एक बार घायल चराई।

They really wanted to fight.

MR.05.008 एक दिन आमा एक दिन लाराइ चराई।

They wanted to fight.

MR.05.009 लाराइ चराई।

They wanted to fight.
Seeing them the working young (man) became very afraid.

The evening was about to start.

He gathered all of the goats together and tried to come home, but (just) then the boar and the tiger caught him.

They said to him, "Eh, young man. The two of us are going to fight here.

You will have to watch (and tell) who (of us) wins and who (of us) loses.
The tiger said, "Eh! You will have to watch us."

If they say, 'We will fight', any one (of us) would be afraid, wouldn't (we)!

If that is what you are going to do, OK.

I will watch (for you)."

The time was already late evening and they, the boar and the tiger, really began to fight.
While they were fighting, while they were fighting, what the boar did (was that) he went into the mud and really rolled around (in it).

He went into the mud and really rolled around in it.

He made his whole body muddy.

When the tiger jumped (lit. went by jumping) on to the boar, it really clawed it.

Mud dripped off the boar's body with a mud-dripping sound.

And when the boar was jumping on to the tiger and biting (the tiger), he made blood come from his (the tiger's) body.
In this manner they fought and fought and fought.

In the end the tiger lost.

The tiger's body became bloody all over.

Then (after) fighting he (the tiger) said to him:

"Eh, young man!

What will the young man say?

If he says, "Tiger, you lost", the tiger will eat him up.

And if he says to the boar, "You lost", the boar would kill him.
Appendix 3: Text data

**MR.05.044**

आप बाड़ा मुस्किल।

Very difficult!

**MR.05.045**

याहाँ सुना बिचार करिए देखि,

He got an idea. (Lit. He saw (it) by thinking.)

**MR.05.047**

"अँहाँ आक अंकित करिए कहि कहबा हबे।

He got an idea. (Lit. He saw (it) by thinking.)

"No, I shouldn't do like this to them.

**MR.05.049**

आप आक बाराबर हई गेलन "कहे कहबा हबे।

No, I should say to them that they were even.

**MR.05.050**

सुना उडचेंगरा सुना कहि "ता का इन जिलन, काह निहर्न गो।

So, the young man said (to them), "Neither of you won, neither of you lost.

**MR.05.051**

ता दऩे ढान बाराबो हलन।

You were both even.

**MR.05.052**

अत्किनि कहिने सुना बाढ़ आर मोरट कहि, "पे, ठिके छि।

He having said that much the tiger and the boar said, "OK, alright.

**MR.05.053**

अनह निह हले, तुछ जा।

If that is so, you go.

**MR.05.054**

सुना उड चेंगरा एकड़म होकोर दोकोर करे मटद छायलाना जर करिए घरे त दउर मारें एकड़म।

He having said that much the tiger and the boar said, "OK, alright.
MR.05. The adventures of a young man

So the young man hurriedly gathered all the goats together and ran off home.

Then the tiger thought, "Oh!

And nothing has happened to the boar's body.

No, I don't quite understand.

I truly lost.

As for this young man, no, he didn't say correctly."
MR.05.064 शाक्वा जब ते एकदम राति घुरी उहाँक जार नाभा घरिखिक।

MR.05.065 एकदम झेर जर आसिफ़िक।

MR.05.066 सुना उहाँर आइडक कहि "आई, मोक दुईदा लिहानि शाका दे त।

MR.05.067 मोक आजि एकदम हर नामिचें।"

MR.05.068 सुना उहाँर मावद सुना कहिक, "आरे!

MR.05.069 कि हण्डु ते रे?

MR.05.070 केनझ करे सुना?

MR.05.071 कि हण्डु?"
MR.05.072 बले, "आद, कठरो?\nba-la ai ki khaa-b-o\nQUOT mother what say-FUT-2sg\nHe said, "Mother, what can you say?"

MR.05.073 आशी बने मरिए बन्नुः\na'hi ba-la mar-ie ba-c-n-u\ntoday QUOT die-CONJ.PTCL save-PST-1sg\nToday I almost died."

MR.05.074 "कल मूना, केनड करे?"\nki ha-l-ku su-na keNaNJ kare\nwhat be-PST-SA2sg PCL what_kind ADVL\n"What happened (to you), how (did that happen)?"

MR.05.075 त मूना चेडरा मूना कह्जिन, "जेडबुमा ते मुड आशी करे ते मिस्तु छायन चव्बा जडूलखानत, एक्टा बाघ आर एक्टा मीर लाराइ करिली।\nta su-na ceNa-ra-da su-na kaha-p-ki jei-khuna te mui ajhi PCL PCL young-man-NCLS PCL say-FUT-SA3 which-time PCL 1sg[pro] today kare te g-Isn-u c'hag-al ca-r-ba jaNaAL-kh-an-at ek-ta ADVL PCL go-REM.PST-1sg female_goat graze-INF jungle-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS ba-gh ar ek-ta sor la-rai kar-isl-t tiger and one-NCLS pig fighting do-REM.PST-3
Then the young man said, "When I went to the jungle to graze the goats today, a tiger and a boar were fighting.

MR.05.077 आर बाघद गाने हारी मिलाे।\nar bagh-da mane har-i g-isl-t
and tiger-NCLS PCL lose-ABS AUX-REM.PST-3
And as for the tiger, he lost.

MR.05.078 तहु माने ते मुड जान बब्बर ताते, 'ए ताता रंग एक्टा बाघरो हलन' कह्जिन।\ntahu mane mui jaN bac-ba-r tane e tam'ha dN'h e jh'ana e barabor but PCL 1sg[pro] life save-INF-GEN for INJ 2pl[pro] both PCLS=EMPH equal ha-l-an kaha-n-ki-n be-PST-2pl say-PST-SA3-1sg\nBut, in order to save my life, I said to them), 'Oh, you were both even.' "

MR.05.079 मोक एन्ड हर नामिने ना, आद, कठरो...!" कहने उही बन्के आइडर सड़े, माइजर सड़े।\nmo-k enaNJ dar lag-isl-t na ai ki kaha-b-o 1sg[obl]-DAT like_this fear feel-REM.PST-3 PCL mother what say-FUT-2sg kha-ene uhah bal-b-t ai-da-r saNe maN-da-r saNe say-CONJ.PTCL 3sg[pro] speak-FUT-3 mother-NCLS-GEN with mother-NCLS-GEN with He said, "I was so afraid, mother, what can you say..." and talked with his mother.

MR.05.081 बाघद मूना आम चेडर तारुटि आसिमे राति पुरि सुनिए रह्जिन, कि कबचे छिना डं चेडरा।"\nba-gh-da su-na am'sa-r g'ahr-eR pac'tuti as-iene rati g'uri tiger-NCLS PCL 3pl[pro]-GEN house-GEN behind come-CONJ.PTCL night during sun-ie raha-p-ki ki ki bal-e-e d'ina i-da hear-CONJ.PTCL remain-FUT-SA3 what what speak-PRES-3 let's see DEM[prox]-NCLS
During the night, the tiger came behind their house and remained (there) listening, "What is the young man saying, let's see."

He heard; the tiger (heard).

"Eh, so I lost.

You cheated me there (after all).

The tiger took him along with the blanket and ran into the jungle.

The tiger took him along with the blanket and ran into the jungle.

"OK."

Having covered himself with the blanket the young man sleeping.

The tiger made a hole in the wall of their house and entered.

During the night, at twelve o'clock, the tiger made a hole in the wall of their house and entered.
While he went he held the young man and the blanket together in his mouth.

The young man was still sleeping and sleeping, he didn't know anything.

He didn't realise anything.

He was in deep sleep.

While he was going he (the tiger) came to an irrigation channel.

While that tiger tried to go over that irrigation channel, right at the time of jumping, that young man fell softly on to the ground.

And the tiger didn't realise it at all.

And tiger-NCLS knowledge(Nepali)=EMPH NEG get-FUT-3

The tiger didn't realise it at all.
First let me reach the jungle."

He said, "After reaching the jungle then I will eat you." Then, going to the jungle he unrolled (the blanket) like that and saw that only (his) blanket remained.
MR.05.108 सुना अन्ये कक्षे रेखे गेचे ते बांधव रासला।

suna agle_b_gle dekh-b-i te bagh-er tap-la
PCL here_and_there look-FUT-3 PCL tiger-GEN footprint-PL

He looked around and saw tiger's footprints.

MR.05.109 "हे हे, उहाँ सुना मनडे शब्दांमध्ये, "हे हे।"

hā hā uhā suṇa man-dā se kāha-b-i hā hā
INJ INJ 3sg[pro] PCL mind-NCLS ABL say-FUT-3 INJ INJ

"Oh (I see)", he said to himself, "Oh (I see)."

MR.05.110 आप मुइ जेड चुरावू घर जामांतरे बाघद मोक बागेर टापला।

ap mui jādi ghūrīe ghār ja-m pēr bagh-dā mo-k
PCL 1sg[pro] if turn-CONJ.PTCL house go-FUT1sg again tiger-NCLS 1sg[obl]-DAT

cul-i ja-b-i kha-ba ai-†iina=e
AUX-ABS go-FUT-3 eat-INF DEM[rem/emph]-place=EMPH

Now, if I go home again the tiger will come right there again to eat me.

MR.05.111 किया परंतु देखि फेरावू।

kiā gār-la dekh-b-i pērēka-ic-e
why house-PL look-ABS AUX-PERF-3

Because it (the tiger) has seen my houses (already).

MR.05.112 आप मुइ घर नि जाम।

ā hā ap mui ghār ni ja-m
INJ INJ PCL 1sg[pro] house NEG go-FUT1sg

No, I will not go home now.

MR.05.113 आप मुइ एडमाखाए एडमाखाए माने एकदम दसा ति चुरल जाम मोक माने बाघद ना पातां नाम्बा पारोक।

ap mui ei-makhāe ei-makhāe mane ekdām dāsra
PCL 1sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-direction DEM[prox/emph]-direction PCL very other

ti cul-i ja-m mo-k mane bagh-dā na patta
towards AUX-ABS go-FUT1sg 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL tiger-NCLS NEG knowledge
lag-ba par-ok
apply_to-INF can-SUBJ3

I will go this way, this way, in another direction so that the tiger isn't able to know (where) I (am)."

MR.05.115 सुना इड चेहरा घर सर आर नि जाबे।

suna i-dā cenra ghār sar ar ni ja-b-i
PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS young man house [echo]house again NEG go-FUT-3

So, the young man didn't go home again.

MR.05.116 आर आइसुने मुचु एकदम घर बारी चुरावू एके चटी उहाँ कुन्धर कुन्धर बेराते बेराते एकाखान जडलत पृष्ठ जाबे।

ar ai-khun se suṇa ekdām ghār bari cîhā-iene
and DEM[rem/emph]-time ABL PCL very house village leave-CONJ.PTCL

ek=e catī uhā kundhār kundhār bera-te
one=EMPH moment 3sg[pro] what_direction what_direction walk-CONT.PTCL
And from that time he left the house and village. All in one go, while walking here and there he reached a jungle.

In that jungle there was a tree.

Under that tree there used to live wild buffaloes.

There used to live many wild buffaloes.

The wild buffaloes used to live right there.

The buffaloes used to be there during the night.

In the morning they used to get up and go into the jungle to graze.
MR.05.127 And sometimes they used to come and go in one week.

MR.05.128 He went and climbed up that tree, and stayed there.

MR.05.130 When the wild buffaloes woke in the morning and went to graze, then their dung that was there, all of that dung, the young man swept it all up.

MR.05.131 When the wild buffaloes came and saw, "Eh!

MR.05.133 "Eh! Who does (this) in this jungle?"

MR.05.134 Then again another day they went to graze.

MR.05.135 Again PCL other day again 3pl[pro] graze-INF go-FUT-3

Narrative MR.05. The adventures of a young man

ar koe din as-i ja-e ek hapta-t

MR.05.127 आर कोई दिन आये एक घाटता।

and some day come-DVBL go-DVBL one week-LOC

And sometimes they used to come and go in one week.

And when the wild buffaloes woke in the morning and went to graze, then their dung that was there, all of that dung, the young man swept it all up.

Those wild buffaloes came and saw, "Eh!"
Again, when they went grazing, the young man came again and cleaned the dung (for them), the dung in their place.

Again, when they went grazing, the young man came again and cleaned the dung (for them), the dung in their place.

(Continuing) doing that (for) one day, doing that for two days, the wild buffaloes were amazed.

Who cleans these up?

Who cleans up here in this place of ours?
MR.05.142 कम से कम आना भड़सला माने दूसर से, तलाश से, पान से एकला तक छिले।

kam se kam arana bʰais-la mane dui sa tin less ABL less type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-PL PCL two hundred three

sa pac sa etla tak cʰi-l-1 hundred five hundred this_many until be-PST-3

(There were) at least two hundred, three hundred, five hundred wild buffaloes, this many (there) were.

MR.05.143 “ते, ठके छे, हबे,” कहि क।

te tʰik=e cʰ=e ha-b-1 kʰa=1-ki

PCL alright=EMPH be-PRES3 be-FUT-3 say-PST-SA3

"Alright, OK," she said (to them).

MR.05.144 सुना लेंग र आना भइसट सुना थानडते रिह गेल।
suna leŋ ri arna bʰis-la suna than-dašt=te

PCL lame[FEM] type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-NCLS PCL place-NCLS-LOC=EMPH

rʰi ge-l remain-ABS AUX-PST3

The lame wild buffalo remained right there.

MR.05.145 मतलब आग्रा दिले।
matlāb agra di-l-1

meaning duty give-PST-3

I mean, she was on guard there.

MR.05.146 आरह आना भड़सला सुना चबा गेले।
arha arna bʰais-la suna cʰar-ba ge-l-1

other type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-PL PCL graze-INF go-PST-3

The other wild buffaloes went grazing.

MR.05.147 आमा चबा निछें।
amʰa cʰar-ba g-icʰ-e

3pl[pro] graze-INF go-PERF-3

They had gone grazing.

MR.05.148 तेन जिदर सुना आरह भड़सला तुकाए छिंकिए, उठ लेंग आना भड़सला।
tane hidar suna arana bʰais-ta nuka-e

PCL over_here PCL type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-NCLS hide-CONJ.PTCL
cʰ-i-ki u-ḏa legri arana bʰais-ta be-PRES-SA3 that-NCLS lame[FEM] type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-NCLS

Then over here the wild buffalo was hiding, that lame wild buffalo.

MR.05.149 "कोई धीमा इला, गबरला साफ़ करें?” कहने देखबार ताने।

kahe dʰina i-la gabar-la sapʰa kᵃɾ-c-e kʰa=ene

who let's see DEM[prox]-PL dung-PL white do-PRES-3 say-CONJ.PTCL
dekʰ-ba-r tanee see-INF-GEN for

'Let's see who cleans up this dung', in order to see (this).
Again, when the wild buffaloes, all (of them), the buffaloes, went to graze, then (the young man) came secretly down from the tree and really cleaned up the dung.

Then the lame buffalo caught that young man.

Then she caught him and said (to him), "Boy, who are you?"

The young man told the whole of his story (to her).

"This happened, and then this happened, and then this happened." (Lit. From like this to like this, from like this to like this, from like this to like this.)

Saying, "I have come here with great trouble," he told her everything, to the lame wild buffalo.

"I have come here with great trouble," he told her everything, to the lame wild buffalo.
The lame wild buffalo gave him an idea.

"Well, alright. You have had a lot of trouble."

Amongst the wild buffaloes one was their leader.

"Well, alright, if our herd of wild buffaloes comes, take 'pan supari' and rush to throw yourself (in respect) at her feet. ('Pan supari': a folded betel leaf in which bits of areca nuts (or, betel nuts) are contained. This is presented as a gift at auspicious events, or chewed after meals.)

Make her your parent by saying 'From today forwards you are my mother.'
Appendix 3: Text data

In the way she taught him, in that very way the young man did when the wild buffaloes came: the young man went and fell at the (i.e. her) feet.

Falling at the (i.e. her) feet he said, "From today you become my mother."

Then all of the wild buffaloes stood still, they stopped.

Then that wild (i.e. leader) buffalo lifted the young man up.

Then wild (i.e. leader) buffalo lifted the young man up.

"What happened, what happened?"

"What happened, what happened?"

"What happened, what happened?"

"What happened, what happened?"
Then he told her the whole of his own story, "This happened and then this happened, this happened and then this happened.

I left home and came here.

This is how, this is how I have been in trouble.

That wild buffalo saw him, that young man, and felt affection for him.

Then she said to him, "OK, from today onwards you are the son of all of us.

You do not need to worry about anything.

So, the young man of the jungle ate (lit. used to eat) those fruits of the jungle, pear, apple, what are they called, fruits, and (drank) the milk of the wild buffaloes.
Then in that way while he stayed, the leader of those wild buffaloes gave him two flutes.

"Take, take these two flutes.

One's name is 'happiness flute' and one's name is 'trouble flute'.

If we have gone to graze sometime, somewhere, while you are staying here, if you get into any trouble, then play the trouble flute.

And if you are happy, then play the happiness flute.

Wherever we are staying we will find out.
If you play the trouble flute we will know that, oh, our son is now in trouble.

No matter where we are, we will come in order to save you.

And if you play the happiness flute, then we will know: 'He is happy, our son.'

OK, that young man took the two flutes and stayed (there).

He had no worries.

While doing that, while staying, twelve years went by.

His hair became very long.
His hair became at least four/five hands long (one hand = finger tip to elbow; approximately 50 cms).

Since he didn't cut his beard or moustache for twelve years, his beard (and hair) became really long. He looked weird!

One day he played the happiness flute while sitting in the tree.

In the tree above him a crow brought a beautiful flower in its mouth.

The young man looked upwards.

He saw (it), "Eh!

This flower is a flower from our region."

He liked (that flower) very much.

The young man looked upwards.
Then, in order to take the flower, he threw the happiness flute at the crow.

Then the crow took the flute and flew off.

The flower he dropped to the young man.

He looked at the flower.

"The crow took my flute away."

A few days later that same crow came (flying) above holding a mango from their region.

"Eh!"

He (the young man) saw it, "Eh!

A few days later that same crow came (flying) above holding a mango from their region.

"Eh!

He (the young man) saw it, "Eh!
MR.05.208 इड त हामार तिकार आम!
i-ḍʌ  tʌ hama-r ti-kar am
DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL 1p[pro]-GEN towards-GEN mango
This is a mango from our region!

MR.05.209 मुइत बाचार खुना एनङित आमला खाउ।
mui tʌ baca-r kʰuna enaŋti am-la kʰa-u
1sg[pro] PCL child(loan)-GEN during like_this mango-PL eat-PST.HAB1sg
When I was a child I used to eat this kind of mango."

MR.05.210 उहाँक एकदम उड आम खाबा जाइक।
uhã-k ekdam u-ḍʌ am kʰa-ba mena-e ja-p-ki
3sg[pro]-DAT very that-NCLS mango eat-INF want_to-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3
He really felt like eating that mango.

MR.05.211 सुना एकदम दुक बािसड दे हात जाि उहाँ।
suna ekdam duk basi-ḍʌ de jʰata tʰuk-b-1
PCL very trouble-NCLS INSTR stick_thrown_to_bring_fruit_down hit-FUT-3
uhã
3sg[pro]
Then he threw the trouble flute (at the crow).

MR.05.212 उड दुक बािसड एण कर पूरक लिफिका
uy-ḍʌ duk basi-ḍʌ cep kare pākr-i li-p-ki
that-NCLS trouble-NCLS catch ADVL catch-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3
(The crow) caught that trouble flute in mid air.

MR.05.213 उड, आमड सुना मुखखान से विर गिराए!
u-ḍʌ am-ḍʌ suña mukʰa-kan se di-p-ki gir-a-e
that-NCLS mango-NCLS PCL mouth-NCLS ABL AUX-FUT-SA3 fall-CAUS-ABS
He dropped that mango from his mouth (to the young man).

MR.05.214 आमड सुना उहाँर हातत परिफिक,
am-ḍʌ suña uhã-r hat-At par-ip-ki
mango-NCLS PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN hand-LOC fall-FUT-SA3
The mango fell into his hand.

MR.05.215 चेंगराडर हातत बेच कर पाइ जाई।
ceṛa-ḍʌ-r hat-At cep kare pa-i ja-b-1
young_man-NCLS-GEN hand-LOC catch ADVL get-ABS AUX-FUT-3
The young man's hand caught it in his hand.

MR.05.216 उहाँर दुक बािसड लेंद मेन्ने कुवाड, आर सुक बािसड लेंद मेन्ने।
uhã-r duk basi-ḍʌ =u le-i ge-l-kine kua-ḍʌ
3sg[pro]-GEN trouble flute-NCLS =CNJ take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-SA3 crow-NCLS
ar suk basi-ḍʌ =u le-i ge-l-kine
and happiness flute-NCLS =CNJ take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-SA3
The crow had taken both his trouble flute and his happiness flute too.
Narrative MR.05. The adventures of a young man

Now he had nothing.

Time passed like that (while doing that, while staying), (and) one day the young man wanted to go to bathe (in/to) the river.

Then he has gone to bathe.

Then, one (strand of) hair from amongst his very long hair came off while he was bathing.

He thought, "Now, if I throw this hair in the river, the river fish will get entangled and will die.

He said, "If I put this hair in the river, the river fish will get entangled and will die.

MR.05.221 आप जिसे मुझे निकालने के लिए नुसा एक दिन के दौरान फिट कर रहा, बिहार के मुझे मिला यह था जो जीवन का लाभ दिलाने के लिए व्यक्ति रह गया।

MR.05.222 अब उसके लिए उसके लाभ कर रहे रहते सुना एक डिन करे उड़, चेहरे का मुझे मिला यह था जो जीवन का लाभ दिलाने के लिए व्यक्ति रह गया।

MR.05.223 सुना उसके लिए उसके लाभ कर रहे तो कहा "आप जिसे मुझे निकालने के लिए नुसा एक दिन के दौरान फिट कर रहा, बिहार के मुझे मिला यह था जो जीवन का लाभ दिलाने के लिए व्यक्ति रह गया।

MR.05.224 आप जिसे मुझे निकालने के लिए नुसा एक दिन के दौरान फिट कर रहे रहते सुना एक डिन करे उड़, चेहरे का मुझे मिला यह था जो जीवन का लाभ दिलाने के लिए व्यक्ति रह गया।
If I put this hair on the river bank, the crow, these birds will get their legs entangled and they too will die.

MR.05.225 केनङ कल हबे?

What should I do then?

MR.05.226 तने सुना उहाँ उबाऊ चौन एक्खान पनित सुना एकदम हुकाएने एकटा टप्पार नानाति बाचा बेगाएने सुना लंडित दिवे भामाएँ।

Then he put that hair into a (piece of) plastic, made something like a small bundle (from it) and set it afloat in the river.

MR.05.227 आर हुदर सुना राजा बेदिंदु सुना अड़दिन करे रण करे सुना लैम्ब विध लिम्ब आधार आनार महानार मधे।

Over there (i.e. opening of a new discourse section) the king’s daughter, exactly that day, went bathing in the river with her friends.

MR.05.228 महानार मधे सुना लैम्ब सिमान करें करें उड़, टप्पार भासे भासे भासे आस्था देखे केवाये।

While bathing (lit. bathing, bathing, bathing) in the river with her friends, (she) saw that bundle come floating (lit. floating, floating, floating).

MR.05.229 उहाँ देखेले, "आरे!"
Narrative MR.05. The adventures of a young man

What kind of a bundle is this?
The other girls saw (it).
The other girls ran and went to take the bundle.
The other girls ran once to take (it).
When she went the (lit. 'her') water (level) went down (lit. became less).
Then the king's daughter opened the bundle and looked (at it).
MR.05.239 बाहर चुल हुए इथान?
kahar culi ha-e i-k'ah
Who-GEN hair be-PRES3 DEM[prox]-NCLS
Whose hair is this?

MR.05.240 नदि से मुना सिनान करिए घर मुना चुल हए?
ladi-da see suna sin-an kar-ie g'hari-at suna cul-i
river-NCLS ABL PCL wash(body)-DVBL do-CONJ.PTCL house-LOC PCL AUX-ABS
After bathing she came home from the river.

MR.05.241 आप घरत आिसए आिसने आिसए बेहो भात पाने दबे?
ap g'hari-at as-iene apna-r k'ah-da-at d'huk-iene
PCL house-LOC come-CONJ.PTCL REF[pro]-GEN room-NCLS-LOC enter-CONJ.PTCL
3sg[pro] cooked_rice water AUX-FUT-3 stop-ABS
After coming home she went into her room and stopped eating rice and water.

MR.05.242 राजाएँ एर रानिएँ "आनार बेटिद भात कियां नि खावे?" कहेने मुना पुटिक, "माइ, कि हलुक तोर?
raja-da=e ar rani-da=e apna-r k'ah-da-t d'huk-iene
king-NCLS=EMPH and queen-NCLS=EMPH REFL[pro]-GEN daughter-NCLS cooked_rice
ki ah c-e kah-ene suna puc'h-ip-ki mai ki
why NEG eat-PRES-3 say-CONJ.PTCL PCL ask-FUT-SA3 y.sister what
ha-l-ku to-r
be-PST-SA2sg 2sg[obl]-GEN
The king and the queen, wondering why their daughter was not eating rice, asked (her),
"Younger sister, what happened to you?"

MR.05.243 कियां नि खावे तुइ खराक?
ki ah c-e b'ah-o tui b'arak
why NEG eat-FUT-2sg 2sg[pro] food
Why will you not eat food?"

MR.05.244 बले, "एक्ता मत कर मोर संहे।
bale ek-ta sat kar-a mo-r sahe
QUOT one-NCLS promise do-IMP2pl 1sg[obl]-GEN with
She said, "Make me one promise.

MR.05.245 जदी एक्ता मत कर्बन, तने" बले "मुह भात खामा!"
jadi ek-ta sat kar-b'an tane bale mai b'at k'ah-m
if one-NCLS promise do-FUT-2pl then QUOT 1sg[pro] cooked_rice eat-FUT1sg
If you make me a promise," (she) said, "then I will eat rice."

MR.05.246 "ले कि हलुक?
te ki ha-l-ku
PCL be-PST-SA2sg
"Well then, what happened to you?
"Well, tell (us), please."  

"You have to make a promise."  

"Yes, yes, promise, promise."  

"I went to bathe in the river.

"I got a (strand of) hair, a seven hand (long strand of) hair.

"If this is the hair of a woman, then I will become her (covenant) friend.

"If this is a man's hair, the hair of a young man, then you must let me marry him.

"If you agree to this I will eat rice, otherwise I will not eat rice."
Since the king had (already) made a promise, he could not avoid it. (Lit. 'It is not (possible for
him) not to do it.')

Then he said, "Alright."

Then also one old woman found out about this thing.

"This long, seven hands (long) strand of hair, no matter whether it is a young man or a young
woman, whosoever brings, whosoever finds out, then to him/her I will give this much reward:
two to four thousand, one to two hundred thousand coins and land." He beat a drum (in order
to summon people).
Narrative MR.05. The adventures of a young man

She had a boat.

In order to find out, that old woman went to the river and said to the boat, "OK, boat.

If you are a powerful/miraculous boat (lit. a boat of truth), then who is that - a young man or a young woman - (and) where is s/he, you will take me in that direction."

Then she found out, "Oh, (so) this is the place where the boy is."

In this manner she was on guard for many days.
Appendix 3: Text data

MR.05.269 Pahara di-b-ɪənə-a-b-ɪənə-a-b-ɪ She guarded, searched, searched.

MR.05.270 Tt suna ek din kare u-ɪənə-ənə-sunə kar-ba then PCL one day ADVL that-NCLS young_man PCL again wash-DVBL do-INF

When one day that young man came again to bathe (in/to) the river from the jungle.

MR.05.271 Ladη-dʌ-t sin-ba as-ba-r se pahale u-ɪənə-river-NCLS-LOC wash(body)-INF come-INF-GEN ABL first that-NCLS

Before he came to bathe in the river, the old woman sank her own boat so that the other men wouldn't find out.

MR.05.272 Jen=em= suna u-ɪənə-ənə-sunə kar-ba when=EMPH PCL that-NCLS young_man-NCLS come-FUT-3 wash(body)-DVBL do-INF

The young man went and said (to her), "No, I don't know (you)."

MR.05.273 "Babə, tui mo-k cinə-i-o young_boy 2sg[pro] 1sg[obl]-DAT know-PST-2sg "Boy, do you know me?"

MR.05.274 Ja-ene suna u-ɪənə-ənə-sunə kar-ba go-CONJ.PTCL PCL old_woman-NCLS reach-ABS AUX-FUT-3

"Then she said (to him), "Don't you know (me)?"
MR.05.277 तोर मुझ मसि रे!

to-r mui masi re 2sg[obl]-GEN 1sg[pro] sister_of_mother PCL
I am certainly your aunt.

MR.05.278 बाप रे! तोक अबैङ गए ओ दुहूम।
bap re to-k anchaa-ba ta kunha ni pug-n-u mui INJ VOC 2sg[obl]-DAT search-INF PCL where NEG reach-PST-1sg 1sg[pro] Oh! Where have I not been in search of you!

MR.05.279 तोर मसि मुझ हुनु।
to-r mui m 2sg[obl]-GEN sister_of_mother 1sg[pro] be-SA2sg I am your aunt.

MR.05.280 देखि नि, केनङ हइ कुऩा।
dek-h look-IMP2sg NEG what_kind be-PERF-SA2sg hair-PL
Look, won't you, at what (your) hair has become (like).

MR.05.281 दाहाड, केनङ बैसना कराइ दऩे झनाए।
daha-ḍ body-NCLS how mud-ADJR be-PERF-SA2sg
How muddy (your) body has become.”

MR.05.283 आस, मुझ मसि एकदम बैसना दलाि, " कहेने सुना एकदम बैसना दलाि हुनु।"
as-∅ mui sin-a kar-a-ि di-m-ku-n come-IMP2sg 1sg[pro] wash(body)-DVBL do-CAUS-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg-1sg kah-ene suna hatna amha danb jana=e gap kar-te say-CONJ.PTCL PCL there 3pl[pro] both PCLS=EMPH chatting do-CONT.PTCL ja-b-i go-FUT-3
She said, "Come! I will bathe you (on your behalf)," and the two of them talked there as they went.

MR.05.284 आप उहैँ सुना एकदम बैसना दलाि कि, 'तोर माने मुझ मसि एकदम बैसना दलाि' कहेने,
ap uhã suna ekdam biswas dil-a-p-ki ki to-r mane PCL 3sg[pro] PCL very belief give-CAUS-FUT-SA3 that 2sg[obl]-GEN PCL mui masi=e ha-ku-n kah-ene 1sg[pro] sister_of_mother=EMPH be-SA2sg-1sg say-CONJ.PTCL She really made him believe that 'I am really your aunt',

MR.05.284b. कयाँते उहाँका पासा नि छिनिन।
kiãte uhã=k=t aha ni cʰ-il-ki because 3sg[pro]-DAT=CNJ knowledge(Nepali) NEG be-PST-SA3 because he didn't know, either.

MR.05.285 'माने हबाँ बैसना दलाि', कहेने सुना उहाँर माने हबाँ बैसना दलाि कबी।
mane ha-ba=a par-e kah-ene suna uhã-r san=e ja-b-i PCL be-INF=CNJ can-PRES3 say-CONJ.PTCL PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN with go-FUT-3
He said, "It could also be (so)," and went with her to bathe.

She put him right above the boat.

The boat was below, she put him standing above the boat.

The boat went downstream the river, went, went, went...

All in one go it took them to the king's house.

When he/they reached the king's house the king with great extravagance let the young man wed his daughter.

When he/they reached the king's house the king with great extravagance let the young man wed his daughter.
MR.05.293 बाहा ताहा करि दिबि।

baha taha kar-i di-b-i

wedding [echo]wedding do-ABS AUX-FUT-3

He let them wed and all.

MR.05.294 बाहा करि दिबि सुना।

baha kar-i di-b-i suna

wedding do-ABS AUX-FUT-3 PCL

He let them get married.

MR.05.295 तत सुना बाहा ताहा हएने चेङराड सुना राजाडर घरत रहबा धबे।

tat suna baha taha h-ene chet-rāḍa suna rājā-ṛa-ḍaṛ ghar-t rah-ṛa-b-i

Then PCL wedding [echo]wedding be-CONJ.PTCL young_man-NCLS PCL

After being wed, the young man started to live at the king's house.

MR.05.296 माने जब आर ताहा जाबे, ते हितना दे उहाँ दुइडा बामि।

mane ja-b amha-a-r kaṭha-a-ṛa-t ja-b-i te hātina dek-h-b-i uha

PCL when 3pl[pro]-GEN room-NCLS-LOC go-FUT-3 PCL there see-FUT-3 3sg[pro] dui-da basi

two-NCLS flute

But when he went into their room, he saw two flutes.

MR.05.297 इला उहाँ देखिएन बाहा पाट जाबे, "आरे!

i-la uhā dek-h-iene tṛa ha pa-i ja-b-i are

DEM[prox]-PL 3sg[pro] see-CONJ.PTCL knowledge(Nepali) get-ABS AUX-FUT-3 INJ

When he saw them he found out, "Eh!

MR.05.298 इला बामिला त मोर बामिला।

i-la basi-la tā mo-r basi-la

DEM[prox]-PL flute-PL PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN flute-PL

These flutes are my flutes.

MR.05.299 "इला त मोर बामिला," उहाँ कदनाड कहिन्का।

i-la tā mo-r basi uhā kaina-ṛa-k kaha-p-ki

DEM[prox]-PL PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN flute 3sg[pro] bride-NCLS-DAT say-FUT-SA3

These are my flutes," he said to (his) bride.

MR.05.300 "युढ इला बामिला कनाड करे पालो।" कहिने उहाँर कदनाडक उहाँ पुछारि करें।

tui i-la basi keṇaṭ kare pa-l-o kṣh-ene

2sg[pro] DEM[prox]-PL flute what_kind ADVL get-PST-2sg say-CONJ.PTCL

uhā-r kaina-ṛa-k uhā pucāri kar-b-i

3sg[pro]-GEN bride-NCLS-DAT 3sg[pro] question do-FUT-3

He asked his bride "How did you get these flutes?"

MR.05.301 त उहाँर कदनाड सुना कहिन्की, "ए, इला बामिला, कुवाडए युढ दिने आनिए।

tā uhā-r kaina-ṛa suna kaha-p-ki e i-la basi

PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN bride-NCLS PCL say-FUT-SA3 INJ DEM[prox]-PL flute
His bride said (to him), "Eh! A crow brought these flutes in two days (i.e. one day at a time).

One day (it) dropped one flute in the yard.

And a few days later it dropped another flute.

Then he said, "This happened, then that happened, then this happened, then that happened, but (whatever), those flutes are mine," he told (her) there.
MR.05.311 अर मोर माने आनां माज भी छे।

MR.05.312 बले; "अन्तिह हने, देखा काछै हुकु।"

MR.05.313 ”अप जनह करे देखाम ते,” सुना उठै उड़, बुरै माअडक मुना डाकाले, अढौटीन मधे रहबा धरै।

MR.05.314 तेन सुना उठै आनां माजलाक मुना उठै डाकारे बाहाले।

MR.05.315 तेन उठैँ, "मोर जदि आनां भंड माज देखखन ते, तामाक दुःढा निनडा माने पोखर खुद्दा हणन।"

MR.05.316 बले, "कियों, पोखर बुझै, आमाक माने नान पिनेर व्यवस्था करार तुजिला हें।"

MR.05.317 अत्ला माने मोर माज छ।

MR.05.318 ते, "ठके।"
Appendix 3: Text data

MR.05.319 राजार घरेर कसेर दुकः
raja-r gʰʌr-ər kis-er duk
king-GEN house-GEN type-GEN trouble
What sort of trouble would that be for a king! (Lit. The kind of trouble in a king's house!)

MR.05.321 सुना दिले राजाड दुितनडा पोखर बेनाए।
suna di-l-ɪ raja-ḍʌ dui tin-ḍa pokʰʌr bena-e
PCL AUX-PST-3 king-NCLS two three-NCLS pond make-ABS
So, the king made two or three ponds.

MR.05.322 सुना पोखरलात सुना एकदम गुनḍा बेनाइ।
suna pokʰʌr-ṭʌ suna ekdʌm gunḍa pani nun di-l-ɪ
PCL pond-NCLS PCL very chaff water give-PST-3
In the pond he put chaff, water and salt.

MR.05.324 बेना चेङराड धल एकदम।
bʌ l-ba dʰʌ r-l-ɪ ekdʌm
play(instrument)-INF begin-PST-3 very
He really started to play.

MR.05.325 बल्का धर्मे एकदम।
bal-ba dʰʌr-l-ɪ ekdʌm
play(instrument)-INF begin-PST-3 very
As much as he began to play the flute, the wild buffaloes hearing the flute sound, (that much)
they began to run, stampeding and stampeding towards their own place.

MR.05.326 जेनङ जेनङ एकदम बासिद बल्का धर्मे, आना। भइसला बासिर आवाजड सुिनए एकदम गिड गिड
करे दउबा गिड गिड आना आवाजड सुिनए एकदम गिड गिड
jenʌŋ jenʌŋ ekdʌm basi-ḍʌ bal-ba dʰʌ (r)-ic-e
what_kind what_kind very flute-NCLS play(instrument)-INF begin-PERF-3
arana bʰʌis-la basi-r awaj-ḍʌ sun-ie ekdʌm
type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-PL flute-GEN sound-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL very
gid gid gid kare dʰʌr-ba dʰʌ (r)-ic-e
stamping(sound) stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound) ADVL run-INF begin-PERF-3
apna-r tʰan-e tɨ
REFL[pro]-GEN place-GEN towards
As much as he began to play the flute, the wild buffaloes hearing the flute sound, (that much)
they began to run, stampeding and stampeding towards their own place.

MR.05.327 एकदम गिड गिड गिड, एकदम ठेके जाए धाँत पुमि गो।
ekdʌm gid gid gid ekdʌm
very stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound) very
tʰekke ja-e ne tʰan-a tɨ pug-i ge-l-ɪ
exactly(Nepali) go-CONJ.PTCL place-LOC reach-ABS AUX-PST-3
Really stampeding and stampeding they arrived right at the place.
MR.05.328 थानडत पुिगए देिँले, "आरे!
tʰan-ḍʌ-t pug-ie dekʰ-l-i are
place-NCLS-LOC reach-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3 INJ
After arriving at the place, they looked, "Eh!

MR.05.329 हामार बेटाड न देिँले नि त।
kʰoe hama-r beta-ḍʌ ta cʰ-e=ie ni t
where 1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS PCL be-PRES3=EMPH NEG PCL
Where? Our son is not here (at all)!

MR.05.331 कुऩा गेले?
kʰa ge-l-ɪ
where go-PST-3
Where did he go?

MR.05.332 कि हळळ मोर बेटाडर?
ki hʌ-l-ki mo-r beta-ḍʌ-r
what be-PST-SA3 1sg[obl]-GEN son-NCLS-GEN
What happened to my son?

MR.05.333 हामार बेटाडर कि हळळ?"
hama-r beta-ḍʌ-r ki hʌ-l-ki
1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS-GEN what be-PST-SA3
What happened to our son?"

MR.05.334 सुना एकदम जेइधर जेइधर बािसड बल्ने, सेइधर सेइधर सुमा आरा आरािा उड़ाया दहने।
suna ekdʌm jeidʰʌr jeidʰʌr basi-ḍʌ bal-c-e seidʰʌr PCL very over_where over_where flute-NCLS play(instrument)-PRES-3 over_there
seidʰʌr suna amʰa arana-la dʌug-ba dʰʌ(ɪ)r-ic-e
over_there PCL 3pl[pro] type_of_wild_buffalo-PL run-INF begin-PERF-3
In whatever direction the flute was sounding, in that direction they, the wild buffaloes, began to run.

MR.05.335 सुना हिदर याहाँ बािसड बलाएका बलाए, बलाएका बलाए।
suna hudʌ yaha basi-ḍʌ bal-a-eka PCL over_here DEM[pro/prox] flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-PST.PTCL(Nepali)
bal-a-e bal-a-eka bal-a-e
speak-CAUS-3[MGH](Nepali) speak-CAUS-PST.PTCL(Nepali) speak-CAUS-3[MGH](Nepali)
And he kept on playing and playing the flute over here.

MR.05.336 हदर सुना आरािा जेइधर जेइधर बािसड बल्ने, सेइधर सेइधर एकदम दउर मारेँ।
hudʌr suna arana-la jeidʰʌr jeidʰʌr basi-ḍʌ over_there PCL type_of_wild_buffalo(loan)-PL over_where over_where flute-NCLS
bal-c-e seidʰʌr seidʰʌr ekdʌm dʌur mar-c-e
play(instrument)-PRES-3 over_there over_there very run kill-PRES-3
Over there (=shift of discourse focus), in whatever direction the flute sounded in that direction the wild buffaloes ran.

MR.05.337 दउरें दउरें उड दुङ्केर बािमि आवाज़ मुिले दउरें , मुिले दउरें।
dʌur-te dʌur-te u-dʌ duk-er basi-r awaj-ḍʌ run-CONT.PTCL run-CONT.PTCL DEM[rem]-NCLS trouble-GEN flute-GEN sound-NCLS
They ran and ran, heard the sound of that trouble flute and ran, heard (it) and ran.

Doing that, doing that, in the end, going to, going to the king's and queen's yard they arrived right there, all of the wild buffaloes, (in a) stampeding (manner).

What trouble have you got?

I played this flute in order to meet you.
MR.05.345  "The adventures of a young man"

mui ena ena kare hetina as-u gate britanta-la
1sg[pro] like_this like_this ADVL here=EMPH come-PST-1sg all event-PL
sun-a-p-ki
hear-CAUS-FUT-SA3
"I came here like this, and this," (and) he told them all of the events.

MR.05.346 "And he told all of the events.

MR.05.347 Then he had them all meet with the king.

MR.05.348 Then he fed (them) those (things) in the ponds, all of that water (and the other things).

MR.05.350 Having drunk and eaten all of the water and the other things (i.e. the salt and chaff), they

MR.05.351 Now you are (already) married.

MR.05.352 So, you stay, eat.
MR.05.354 हामा आरकि जेइठना से आन्त अडिठना जाइछ।

hama arki jei-tʰina se as-n-a\(\)\(\) ai-tʰina ja-cʰ-i
1pl[pro] now which-place ABL come-PST-1pl DEM[rem/emph]-place go-PRES-1pl

Now we will go to where we came from.

MR.05.355 आप कोई विसीमेर दुक परे, बासिध बलाइस।

ap koi kism-er duk par-le basi-dʌ bʌl-a-is
PCL some type-GEN trouble occur-COND.PTCL flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-SUBJ2sg

If you encounter some kind of trouble, play the flute.

MR.05.356 हामा माने आसिम ऊँप माथा।

hama mane as-ie pug-i ja-m-a
1pl[pro] PCL come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl

We will arrive (immediately)."

MR.05.357 अडिठन से सुना उला आन्त भइसला जडबेर ति जाे।

ai-tʰina se suna u-la arana bʰʌis-la
DEM[rem/emph]-place ABL PCL that-PL type_of_wild_buffalo water_buffalo-PL
jʌŋʌl-er ti ja-b-ɪ
jungle-GEN towards go-FUT-3

From right there those wild buffaloes went back to the jungle.

MR.05.358 आर उड, चेङराड सुना आप फेर अइठना, राजाघर घरेर सुना एकटा जुबाँ हएने माअडक आनिए आन्त में रहबा धब, खाबा धब।

ar u-ḍʌ ceŋra-ḍʌ suna ap pʰer ai-tʰna
and that-NCLS young_man-NCLS PCL PCL again DEM[rem/emph]-place
raja-ḍʌ-r gʰʌr-er suna ek-ʃa juá hʌ-e-ne
king-NCLS-GEN house-GEN PCL one-NCLS son_in_law be-CONJ.PTCL
mʌʌ-ʌ-k an-iene accʰa se rʌhʌ-ʌ dʰʌr-b-ɪ kʰʌ-ba
mother-NCLS-DAT bring-CONJ.PTCL well ADVL live-INF begin-FUT-3 eat-INF
dʰʌ-b-ɪ
begin-FUT-3

And that young man remained there in the king's house as a son-in-law, brought his mother and began to stay well, to eat well (i.e. to live happily).

MR.05.359 बिसा खतम, पेइसा हजाम।

kʰisa kʰʌtʌm peisa hajam
story finish money digestion[Urdu]

That's the end of the story, that's what you got for your money!

(Text recorded May 2006, Kathmandu)
In this photo a man has climbed on to the house (and) is house-thatching.

And an old man is sitting (and) bundling straw.

And a child is standing and watching.

And in the vicinity a mango tree - or what type of tree (is it), in any case, a tree - can be seen.

(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)

In this photo there is a holy man wearing a white undershirt.

And he is wearing a loincloth, and two garlands.

And he is sitting right in the doorway and smoking tobacco/drugs.
Appendix 3: Text data

And one can not tell (i.e. from the photograph) whether this is a house, or priest's quarters or a temple.

And one can not tell (i.e. from the photograph) whether this is a house, or priest's quarters or a temple.

One can see it is dark.

And the house is made from clay/mud. One can see it (i.e. both the floor and walls) has been covered (with a clay-mud-dung mixture).

Look, younger brother, this man is from Gacimāri.

His name is Bādhālu Rājbashī.

The man works in farming, and he is a (religiously) devout person.

Text DLR.03.
and house-LOC spouse child(Hindi) all all-PL=EMPH PCL good=EMPH PCL
dekh-a ja-e-e
see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
And in the house his wife and children, all (of them), can be seen well.

And this man is a society-serving, respected person.

And if something (i.e. a problem) comes up, he is someone to help out.

And he is a good man for that area.

My father used to say, he said: "He is your friend-father."

I went to his [SG.HONORIFIC] house once or twice, met (him) and had a chat (with him). I enjoyed it.

And the friend of my father's also said: "Keep visiting once in a while."

Once, he came to our village at the time of (a) religious (gathering), but since then he has not been visiting.
It could be that there hasn't been (any) visiting because of problems at each one's own homes, because of each one's own house work, (and) because of not having free time.

(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)
Dung-sticks have been put standing, leaning up against the wall.

The roof has only been thatched a little.

Near to the house is a tree.

The frame of the roof can be seen.

In the pathway woven fence walls have been tied (i.e. put up).

In this photo a bullock cart can be seen.
There is a Rājbanshi woman sitting on that bullock cart, and a Rājbanshi man is standing by the bullock cart.

Behind the bullock cart there is a thatched house.

Close to the house a pile of straw can be seen.

And close to the pile of straw, behind it, four trees can be seen.

Bamboo is actually used for making houses, making walls, making roof frames and for making firewood in order to cook rice.

This man is wearing (lit. has put on) a half-sleeved white shirt.

And he is wearing (lit. has put on) a towel (i.e. around his waist).
And he hasn't put slippers on his feet.

This woman is wearing a garland around her neck and is wearing a robe/skirt.

She is wearing bangles on her hand(s), and she is wearing a blouse.

And the man is also laughing.

This is called a bullock cart's wheel.

This is called a bullock cart's cross-bar.

That gives support in order to hold the bullock cart (upright).
ग गरखानक उठाए राखार ताने टेकानी दिखेल।

garu gari-k^an-aK ut^b-a-e rak^b-ba-r tane तेकानी d-ic^b-e
bullock cart-NCLS-DAT rise-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL put-INF-GEN for support give-PERF-3
It gives support in order to lift up and hold the bullock cart (in an upright position).

इला, जेइला नाम लाग देखा जाछे, इला(क) 'ग गारिर संगो' कहाचे।

i-la jei-la lam^b^a lam^b^a dek^b-a ja-c^b-e
DEM[prox]-PL REL[obl/ip]-PL long long see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
i-la(-k) garu gari-r sael kaha-c-e
DEM[prox]-PL(-DAT) bullock cart-GEN neck_guide say-PRES-3
The lengthy things that can be seen (here), they are called bullock cart's neck guides.

इडला छे ना? इडल(क) मानेल 'ग गारिर संगो' कहाचे।

i-ḍʌ lamʰʌ cʰ-e na i-ḍʌ mane garu gari-r
DEM[prox]-NCLS long be-PRES3 PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL bullock cart-GEN
sael kaha-c-e
neck_guide say-PRES-3
This long thing (here), you know, this is called a bullock cart's neck-guide.

उला गलार घेचाला बिहर रित इबार ताने राखा जाछे।

u-la garu-la-r gʰeca-la bahiri ni ja-ba-r tane rak^b-a
DEM[rem]-PL bullock-PL-GEN throat-PL outside NEG go-INF-GEN for put-PST.PTCL
ja-c^b-e
PASS.AUX-PRES-3
Those (neck-guides) are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).

हाल बहबार खुना इबार जाहरलता काम लागेचे। आर जाहालिकांनी देऊन बालर कनालत संगोला राखा जावे।

hal bʰa-a-ba-r kʰuna i-kʰan jaŋali kam lag-ee-e ar
plough plough-INF-GEN during DEM[prox]-NCLS cross-bar work apply_to-PRES-3 and
jaŋali-kʰ-an-er dʰanʰ-e bagal-er kana-la-t sael-la rak^b-a
cross-bar-NCLS-GEN both close-GEN hole-PL-LOC neck_guide-PL put-PST.PTCL
ja-c^b-e
PASS.AUX-PRES-3
The cross-bar is used while ploughing. And the neck-guides are put into the both holes (which are close to each other?) of the cross-bar.

बाँस थोपला बगलत गर भावलक पौंच बिल्वार ताने एकटा नाद राखार देखा जावे।

bãs tʰop-la-r baga-la garu bʰais-la-k gʰãs kʰil-ba-ba-r tane
bamboo patch-PL-GEN near bullock buffalo-PL-DAT grass feed-INF-GEN for
ek-ta nad rak^b-al dek^b-a ja-c^b-e
one-NCLS feeding_trough put-PST.PTCL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3
Close to the patches of bamboos one can see a feeding trough has been put to feed grass to the cattle.
This looks like it has been made from cement.

The cattle can be fed by putting grass or straw in to the feeding trough.

This house is thatched.

This house's walls can be seen.

And the walls of this house have been plastered with mud.

Those pillars are plastered with soil.

And also a step can be seen on the foundation.
Close to this house there is another house.

On the roof of that house there is tin (i.e. grooved aluminium).

Also that house has been plastered with mud, and wiped (over).

And in front of the house there is something like a pot.

In this photo three person's figures can be seen.

The woman is wearing an informal sari.

And she is wearing a blouse.

And the children are wearing vests and underwear.
Behind these houses trees' leaves can be seen.

Branches can be seen, and in front of the two houses, close to them, the foundations here look as if they are broken.

One can see some things have been put in the yard.

What these are, I don't know.

(Text recorded March 2004, Kathmandu)