

# A Sketch of the Phonology and Grammar of Rājbandhi

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*To my father and mother  
Peter and Viivi Wilde*



## Abstract

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This dissertation is a synchronic description of the phonology and grammar of two dialects of the Rājban̄shi 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.

Rājban̄shi 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 Rājban̄shi 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.

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*Soli Deo gloria*

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## Transcription, transliteration and orthography

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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:

- /a/ central open vowel (IPA /æ/ with variants [æ] and [ɐ])
- /y/ palatal approximant (IPA /j/)
- /c/ unaspirated voiceless affricate (IPA /ts/)
- /c<sup>h</sup>/ aspirated voiceless affricate (IPA /ts<sup>h</sup>/ or /t<sup>h</sup>/)
- /j/ unaspirated voiced affricate (IPA /dz/)
- /j<sup>h</sup>/ aspirated voiced affricate (IPA /dz<sup>h</sup>/ or /dʒ<sup>h</sup>/)

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.

- /ṭ/ unaspirated voiceless apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /t̪/; Harvard-Kyoto /T/)
- /ṭ<sup>h</sup>/ aspirated voiceless apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /t̪<sup>h</sup>/; Harvard-Kyoto /Th/)
- /ḍ/ unaspirated voiced apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /d̪/; Harvard-Kyoto /D/)
- /ḍ<sup>h</sup>/ aspirated voiced apico-retroflex plosive (IPA /d̪<sup>h</sup>/; 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 <sup>h</sup> (and therefore not as the IAST lower case 'h'),
- b. The vowel अ will be represented as /ʌ/ or /ə/ (and therefore not as the IAST 'a'),
- c. The vowel आ will be represented as 'a' (and therefore not as the IAST 'ā'),
- d. The consonant व will be represented as 'w' (and therefore not as the IAST 'v'),
- e. The *anusvara* will be represented as 'n' or 'ŋ' according to the pronunciation in each case (and therefore not as the IAST 'ṁ'), and
- f. The consonant ञ will be represented as 'ŋ' (and therefore not as the IAST 'ñ')

When transliterating the *Devanāgarī* 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 *Devanāgarī* script followed by a phonemic transcription in slanted brackets and finally by a phonetic approximation and gloss.

- (i) अग्नि /ʌg<sup>h</sup>iṇ/ [ʔʌg<sup>h</sup> i ṇ] 'fire'

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

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

In more extended examples the *Devanāgarī* 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 हासुवाचित रे!  
 k<sup>h</sup>ʌb = 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) उहाँर बेटाड राजार घरत काम करेकि। (MR.05.002)  
 uhā-r      beṭa-ḍʌ      raja-r      g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt      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.'

- (v) तुई हाल कियौं नि बहचिस? (cf. GR.02.036)  
 tui hal kiā ni baha-c-is  
 2sg[pro] plough why NEG plough-PRES-2sg  
 'Why are you not ploughing?'

Finally, the *Devanāgarī* orthography used in this work has been compiled following discussions with over twenty mother-tongue writers of Rājbanṣhi. These discussions were held during three language workshops. The first workshop (राजवंशी लिखानी कार्यशाला; "Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājbanṣhi & Wilde (2004). The orthography discussion was then continued during two subsequent "Creative Writers workshops" in Birtāmoḍ (December 2005, and December 2006).



Photo 1. Rājbanṣhi writers in Birtāmoḍ, December 2006 (photograph by May Wong)

The *Devanāgarī* 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 /Ai/ and एइ /ei/ are used instead,
- c. Aspiration is marked on the following characters with a subscript dot: म /m<sup>h</sup>/, न /n<sup>h</sup>/, ङ /ŋ<sup>h</sup>/, ल /l<sup>h</sup>/ and र /r<sup>h</sup>/ (traditionally म्ह, न्ह, इह, ल्ह and र्ह/ह respectively), and

- d. Symbols श, ञ, क्ष, ष, ण and ऋ 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 राजवंशी whereas there is a growing trend amongst writers to spell the name राजवंसि. 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 Rājbandhi 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

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Abbreviations used in this work include the following:

ABL	ablative	FEM	feminine
ABS	absolute	FUT	future tense
ADJ	adjective	HPCL	honorific particle
ADJR	adjectivising suffix; adjectiviser	ICAUS	indirect causative
ADV	adverb	IMP2pl	imperative 2pl
ADVL	adverbialiser	IMP2sg	imperative 2sg
AG	agent	INF	infinitive
Agr	agreement	INJ	interjection
AUX	(quasi-aspectual) auxiliary	INSTR	instrumental
C	consonant	IO	indirect object
CAUS	causative	[ip]	impersonal
CL	clitic	itr	intransitive
CMPL	complementiser	LGH	low-grade honorific (Nepali)
CNJ	conjunctive (clitic)	lit.	literally
COND.PTCL	conditional participle	LOC	locative case
CONJ.PTCL	conjunctive participle	MGH	mid-grade honorific (Nepali)
CONT	continuous aspect	MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
CONT.PTCL	continuous participle	n	noun
CORR	correlative pronoun	n/a	not applicable
DAT	dative-accusative case	NCLS	noun classifier
DEM[prox]	demonstrative (proximate)	NEG	negative particle
DEM[rem]	demonstrative (remote)	NIA	New Indo-Aryan
DIM	diminutive	NOM	nominative case
DIR	directional	NML	nominalising suffix
DO	direct object	NP	noun phrase
DS	dative subject	NP[poss]	possessor noun phrase
DVBL	deverbalising morpheme	NUM	numeral
EMPH	emphatic (clitic)	[obl]	oblique (stem)
ERG	ergative	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
GEN	genitive	OS	object-subject (constituent order)

p	person	T/A	tense aspect
[p]	personal	TERM	terminative (clitic)
PASS.AUX	passive auxiliary	tr	transitive
PAT	patient	V	vowel (phonology); verb
PCL	particle	VBL	verbaliser
PCL[TAG]	tag question particle	VOC	vocative (particle)
PCLS	numeral classifier (for human referent)	VP	verb phrase
PERF	perfect	?	grammaticality questionable
PL	plural	*	ungrammatical
PP	postposition (phrase)	/	or
PQM	polar question marker	//	phonemic transcription
Pr.ADV	pronominal adverb	[ ]	phonetic transcription
PRES	present tense	( )	variant; optional
PRES.STEM	present stem	σ	syllable
[pro]	pronoun	.	syllable break
pron.	pronounced as	-	morpheme break
[pro/prox]	pronoun (proximate)	=	clitic break; equal to
PST	past tense	∅	zero morpheme; unmarked
PST.COND	past conditional (clitic)	1sg	first person singular
PST.HAB	past habitual	2sg	second person singular
PST.PTCL	past participle	3sg	third person singular
PST.STEM	past stem	1pl	first person plural
PTCL	participle	2pl	second person plural
QNT	quantifier	3pl	third person plural
QUOT	quotative (particle)		
REFL	reflexive		
REFL[pro]	reflexive pronoun		
REL	relative pronoun		
REM.PST	remote past, past continuous		
SA	secondary agreement		
SO	subject-object (constituent order)		
SOV	subject-object-verb (constituent order)		
SU	subject		
SUBJ	subjunctive		
SUBORD	subordinator		
TAM	tense-aspect-mood		

# 1. Introduction

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## 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, Rajbanshi 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 Rajbangsis, 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).<sup>1</sup> 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 subcastes, but a considerable number exist in the literature."

Rājbangshi 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 Rājbangshi 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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<sup>1</sup> 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 Bihārī, but with its grammatical construction mainly based on the stronger and more cultivated language of Bengali."

Voegelin & Voegelin (1977) refers to Rājban̄shi as "Northern Bengali". According to Chatterji (1975a [1926]:6[table]), Oṛiyā, Bengali (and its dialects) and Assamese are the eastern branches of Māgadhī (Apabhraṅśa), whereas the languages "Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā" 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Rājban̄shis 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. Rājban̄shi) 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 Rājban̄shi:

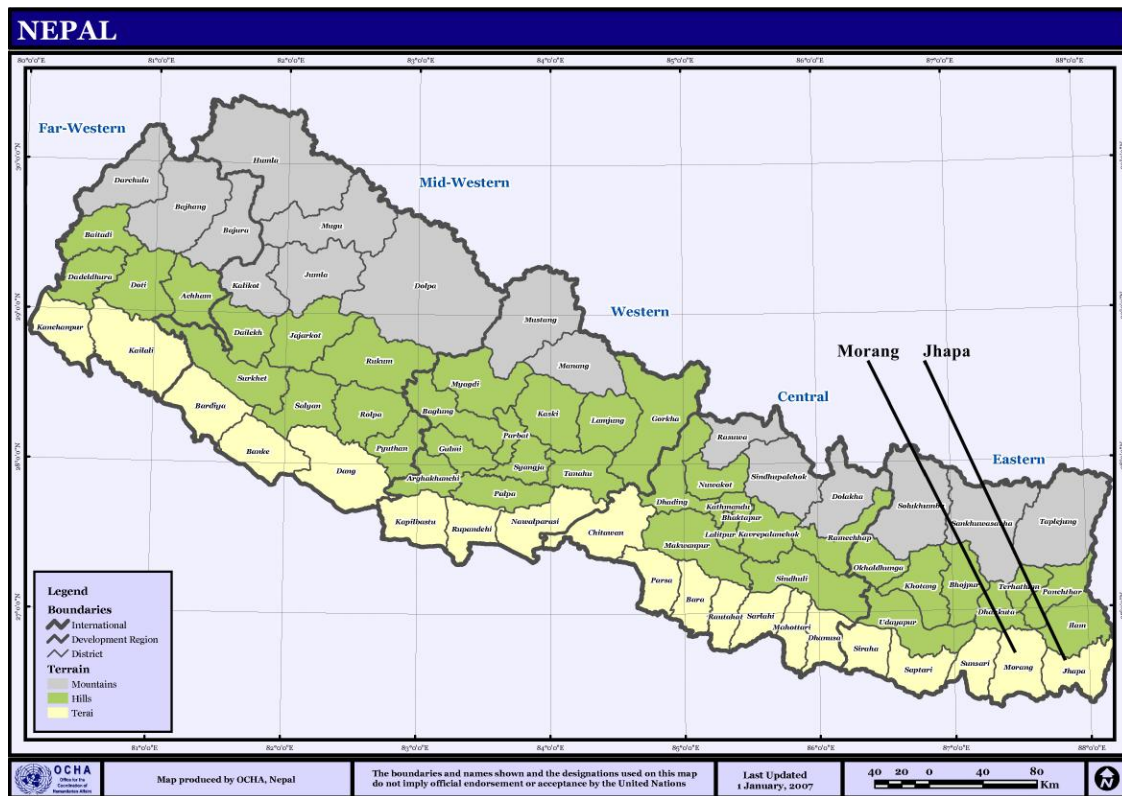
"In view of the origins of the Rajbangsi, it comes as no surprise that the form of Bengali spoken by the Rajbangsis is somewhat different from standard Bengali ... No study has been made of possible Tibeto-Burman substrate influence in the Rajbangsi dialect of Bengali. ... Rajbangsi is

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<sup>2</sup> 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 Rājbangsi language."

In this work on the far-western variety of Rājbangsi 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 Rājbangsi 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 Rājbangsi 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 Rājbangsi 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).

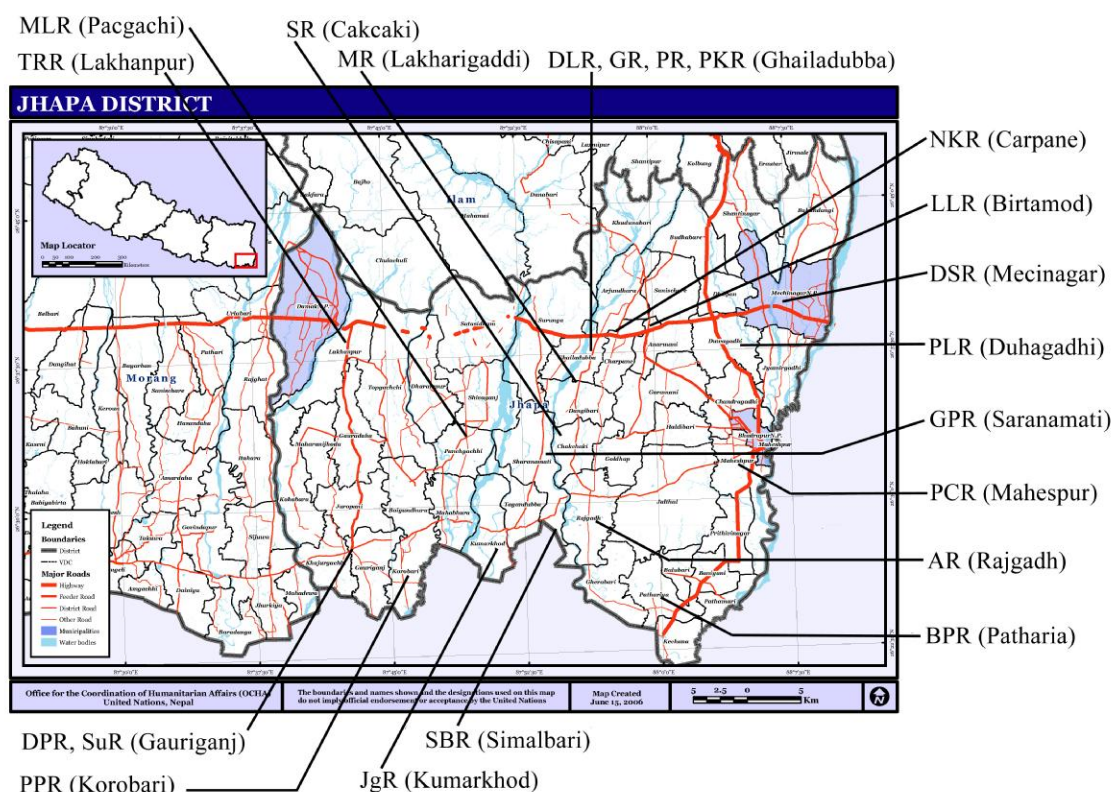


Map 1. Districts of Morang and Jhāpā in south-eastern Nepal

Rājbangsi, 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.

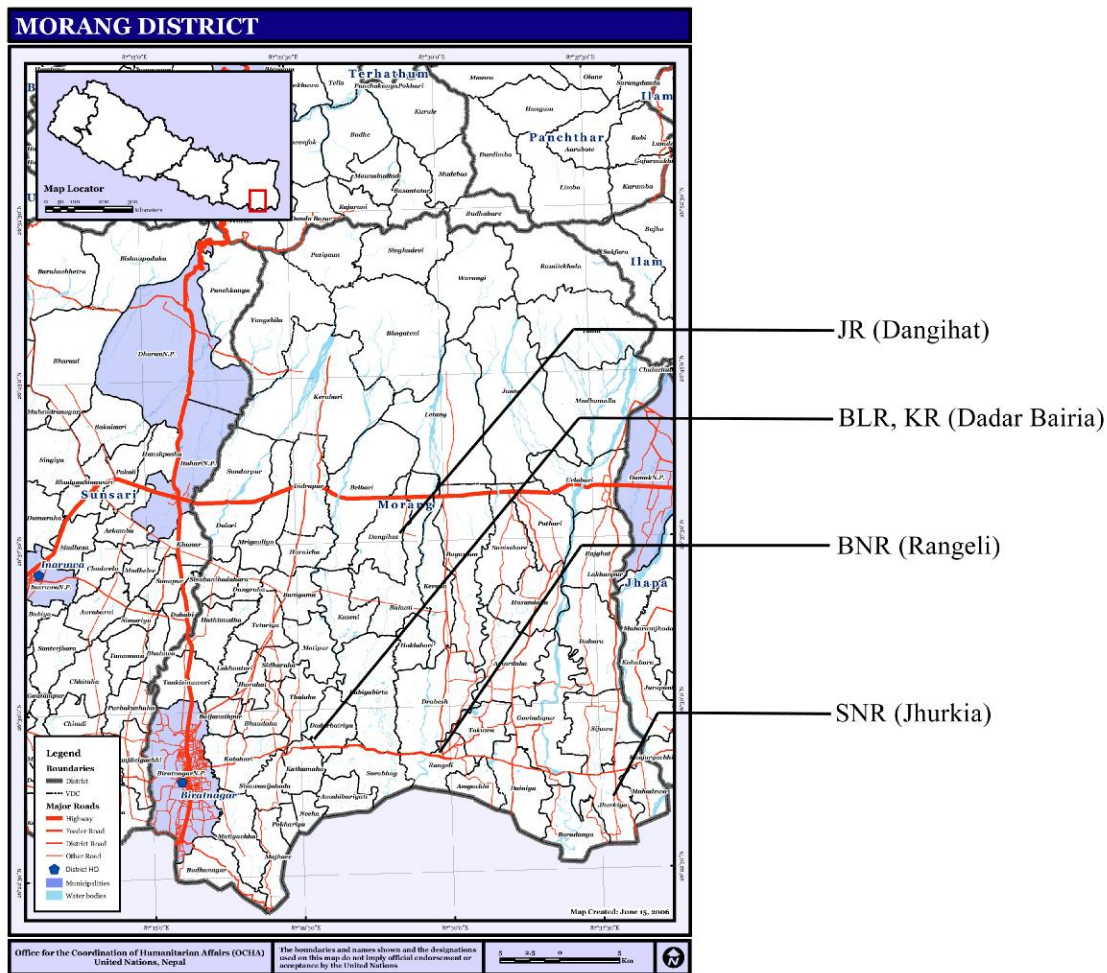


The initial purpose of this research was to document the basic constructions of the Rājbanshi language as spoken in Nepal. However, to satisfactorily describe the range of Rājbanshi dialects spoken would be a colossal undertaking, and so I have restricted the enquiry to two dialects used in Jhāpā. I have mainly spent time with three informants from the northern region of Jhāpā (Dharma L. Rājbanshi and Gokul Rājbanshi from Ghailādubbā, 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 Rājbanśhi 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 Rājbanśhi 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.



Map 3. Language informants in Morang

## 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 Rājibanshi 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



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 be 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 Rājbanṣhi 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 Birtāmoḍ, Jhāpā. The informants are Dharma Lal Rājbanṣhi (texts DLR.01-DLR.06), Gokul Rājbanṣhi (texts GR.01-GR.02) and Manorath Rājbanṣhi (texts MR.01-MR.05).<sup>3</sup> Audio recordings of the narratives can be found on the accompanying CD.

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<sup>3</sup> 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 Rājbandhi 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.



Photographs 2 and 3. Pāmar P. Rājbandhi (left) and Manorath Rājbandhi

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 Rājbandhi 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.

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DLR	Age: 35 yrs	Education: below SLC	Occupation: social worker
GR	Age: 60 yrs	Education: SLC	Occupation: farmer
MR	Age: 32 years	Education: Intermediate	Occupation: private service
PPR	Age: 40 yrs	Education: BA(Commerce)	Occupation: writer

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.



Photographs 4 and 5. Gokul Rājbanshi (left) and Dharma L. Rājbanshi

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 Rājban̄shi 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 Rājban̄shi 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.

The most substantial works on the Rājban̄shi language to date are Grierson (1963a [1903]), Toulmin (2006) and Poudel (2006). Toulmin presents an impressive historical reconstruction of a wide variety of Rājban̄shi dialects ("Kamta, Rajban̄shi and Northern Deshi Bangla") stretching from south-eastern Nepal and northern Bangladesh into western Assam. Shorter works on the language include Barma (1991), Upādhyāyā (1998), Rājban̄shi D. S. (VS 2057), Eppele & Grimes (2001), Toulmin M. (2002a; 2002b) and Poudel (2005). In addition, works published on cultural, demographic and educational aspects include Sanyal (1965), Clark (1970), Bertie (1982), Gautam & Thapa-Magar (1994), Rājban̄shi D. (VS 2057), Toulmin D. (2002), Gautam (2005) and Rājban̄shi P. (VS 2064a,b).

Important sources for information on Indo-Aryan grammar and structure have been Jha (1958) and Yadav ([1997] 1996) on Maithili, Kellogg (1955 [1875]) and Tikkanen (1991) on Hindi, Kakati (1962) on Assamese, Tiwari (1960) and Shukla (1981) on Bhojpuri, and Masica (1991) on Indo-Aryan in general. References to Bengali are from Chatterji (1926a,b), Klaiman (1987) and Masica (1991).

## 2. Phonology

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### 2.1 Introduction

In this section I will describe the phonemic elements of three of the Rājbanṣhi dialects spoken in the Jhāpā district (Korobāri, Lakhanpur and Ghailāḍubbā-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 (Rājbanṣhi & Wilde 2004) and a published article (Wilde 2005), both of which focus on Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājibanshi literature. Examples of this are possibly the mid-centralised vowel [ɪ], 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 Rājibanshi 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/, /ʌ/, /æ/, /o/ and /u/. The vowels were found to occur in the following environments:

Table 1. Vowel distribution

		<i>word-initial</i>	<i>word-medial</i>
इ	i	इ- /i-/ [ʔi] 'DEM[prox]-'	चिला /tsil <sup>h</sup> a/ [tsil <sup>h</sup> iæ] 'eagle'
ए	e	एक /ek/ [ʔek] 'one'	डेना /dɛnæ/ [dɛnæ] 'wing'
आ	æ	आङ्गेल /æŋol/ [ʔæŋōl] 'finger; toe'	पाथि /pæ <sup>h</sup> i/ [pæ <sup>h</sup> i] 'leaf'

Table 1. (cont.)

अ	ʌ	अगिन / अघिन /ʌg/gʰin/ [ʔʌg/gʰiŋ] 'fire'	मधु /mʌdʰu/ [mʌdʰu] 'honey'
ओ	o	ओर /or/ [ʔor] '(in, ओर ह- or hʌ-) end'	गोरोल /gorol/ [gor/ʔol] 'heron'
उ	u	उकुस /ukus/ [ʔukus] 'hawk'	कुत्ता /kuʔæ/ [kuʔæ] 'dog'
		<i>closed syllable</i>	<i>word-final</i>
इ	i	करिप /kʌrip/ [kʌriʔip] 'approximately'	चुलि /tsuli/ [tsuli] 'hair'
ए	e	खेत /kʰet/ [kʰet] 'field'	दारे /dʌere/ [dʌere/ɛ] 'by'
आ	æ	हात /hæt/ [hæt] 'hand, arm'	चेम्रा /tsemræ/ [tsemræ] 'skin'
अ	ʌ	सरक /sʌrʌk/ [sʌr/ʔʌk] 'road'	कल /kʌʌ/ [kʌʌ/ʌ] 'banana'
ओ	o	लोक /lok/ [loʔk] 'person; man'	तारो /tʌero/ [tʌero] 'star'
उ	u	थुप /tʰup/ [tʰup] 'spit'	घुगु /gʰugu/ [gʰugu] '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 इ- /i-/ [ʔi] 'DEM[prox]' (for example, in इला /i-læ/ [ʔilæ] 'DEM[prox]-PL'), and loan words such as इनाम /iŋæm/ [ʔiŋæm] 'reward' and इत्यादि /itjædi/ [ʔitjædi] 'etcetera (Skt)'. Utterance-initial vowels are often preceded by a (non-phonemic) glottal plosive [ʔ].

Though there is only limited evidence for semivowels in Rājibanshi phonology, the word-initial [j] in the pronoun यहाँ(ए) /jæhæ(e)/ [jæhæ/æ(e)] '3sg[pro/prox]', and loan words such as या /jæ/ [jæ] 'or' and योजना /jodzʌŋæ/ [jodzʌŋæ] '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/ɛ], and /i/ [i]. However, there is no evidence for positing 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 [ɪ] when following the word-initial liquids in:

- (1) a. रिस /ris/ [ʔris] 'anger'
- b. लिहानि /lihani/ [ʔlihæni] 'blanket'
- c. लिले /li-l-i/ [ʔlilɪ] 'take-PST-3'

Additionally, the mid-centralised [ɪ] is found in the 3p future -बे /-b-i/ [bɪ] '-FUT-3'. Whether this is due to stress (that is, /i/ or /e/ have the conditioned variant [ɪ] in unstressed syllables) is unclear.

Table 2. Phonemes /e/ and /i/, and allophone [ɪ]

	/e/ [ɛ]	/i/ or /e/ [ɪ]
<i>position l_</i>	मले /maɽ-le/ [maɽlɛ] 'die-COND.PTCL'	टुकले /tuk-l-i/ [tuklɪ/e] 'hit-PST-3' टुकिस्ले /tuk-isl-i/ [tukislɪ/e] 'hit-REM.PST-3' टुकलेतन /tuk-l-i tʌn/ [tuklɪ/etʌn] 'hit-PST-3 PST.COND'
<i>position r_</i>	रे /re/ [rɛ/e] 'PCL'	आरे /æri/ [ʔæri] 'VOC' रे /ri/ [ri] 'VOC' घरेर /gʰɽr-er/ [gʰɽri/er] 'house-GEN'
<i>position b_</i>	टुकबे /tuk-b-e/ [tukbe/ɛ] 'hit-INF-EMPH'	टुकबे /tuk-b-i/ [tukbi/e] 'hit-FUT-3'
<i>closed σ</i>		मरेक /maɽ-ek/ [maɽɪ/ek] 'die-IMP2sg' टुकेक /tuk-ek/ [tukɪ/ek] 'hit-IMP2sg' बिख /bikʰ/ [bɪkʰ] 'poison'

This becomes a problem when comparing the phonology with the orthography. Most occurrences of [ɪ] in current Rājbandhi orthography have been represented as ए /e/ (in fact [ɪ] 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 [ɪ] 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-i]) 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 [ɪ] found in Rājbandhi is the same as the Bengali vowel mentioned by Masica. In the data collected so far, the mid-centralised [ɪ] was only found



in the environments shown in Table 2. No nouns were found to show the distinction.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, if [ɪ] does indeed have phonemic status in Rāj̥banshi, one would expect to find a three-way contrast. This was not so; only two-way contrasts between /e/ and [ɪ], and /e/ and /i/ were found. Throughout this work I have transcribed [ɪ] as /i/ or /e/ when I am certain, but as /ɪ/ when I am uncertain.

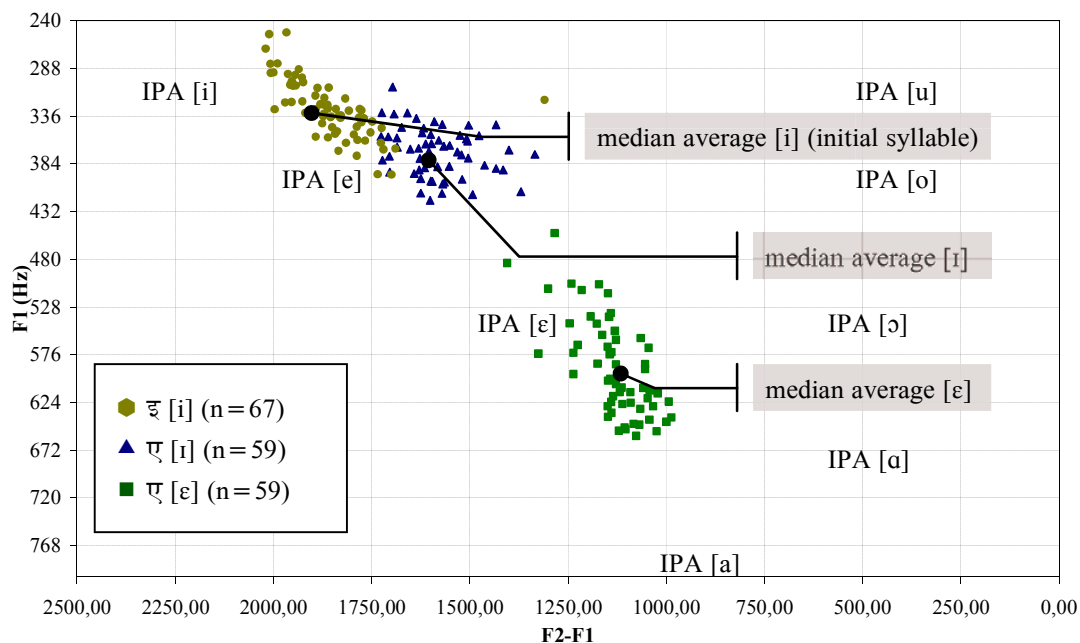


Chart 1. Formant analysis of [i], [ɪ] and [ɛ]

The vowel phoneme /e/ is articulated as [e] or [ɛ] and is found in all positions. The "inherent vowel" /ʌ/ is often articulated as [ʌ] and is found in all positions, and has the free variants [ɜ] and [ɔ]. The vowel is at best only slightly rounded ([ʌ̠]), and never as round as the Bengali "inherent vowel" /ɔ/ (cf. Figure 1 for lip positions for Rāj̥banshi vowels).

The low front vowel /æ/ is articulated as front [æ] or central [ɐ] and is found in all positions. Note that the vowel /æ/ does not diphthongise as in the Maithili [əɛ̃], [aɛ̃] and [aĩ] (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.

<sup>4</sup> One nominal contrast was in fact encountered between the Rāj̥banshi word [bɪl] 'a kind of fruit' and the Rāj̥banshi pronunciation of the Hindi loan word [beɪ] 'ox' (i.e. बयल). Compare with Goswami & Tamuli's (2003:77) item /beɪ/ 'wood apple', as mentioned in Toulmin (2006:125).

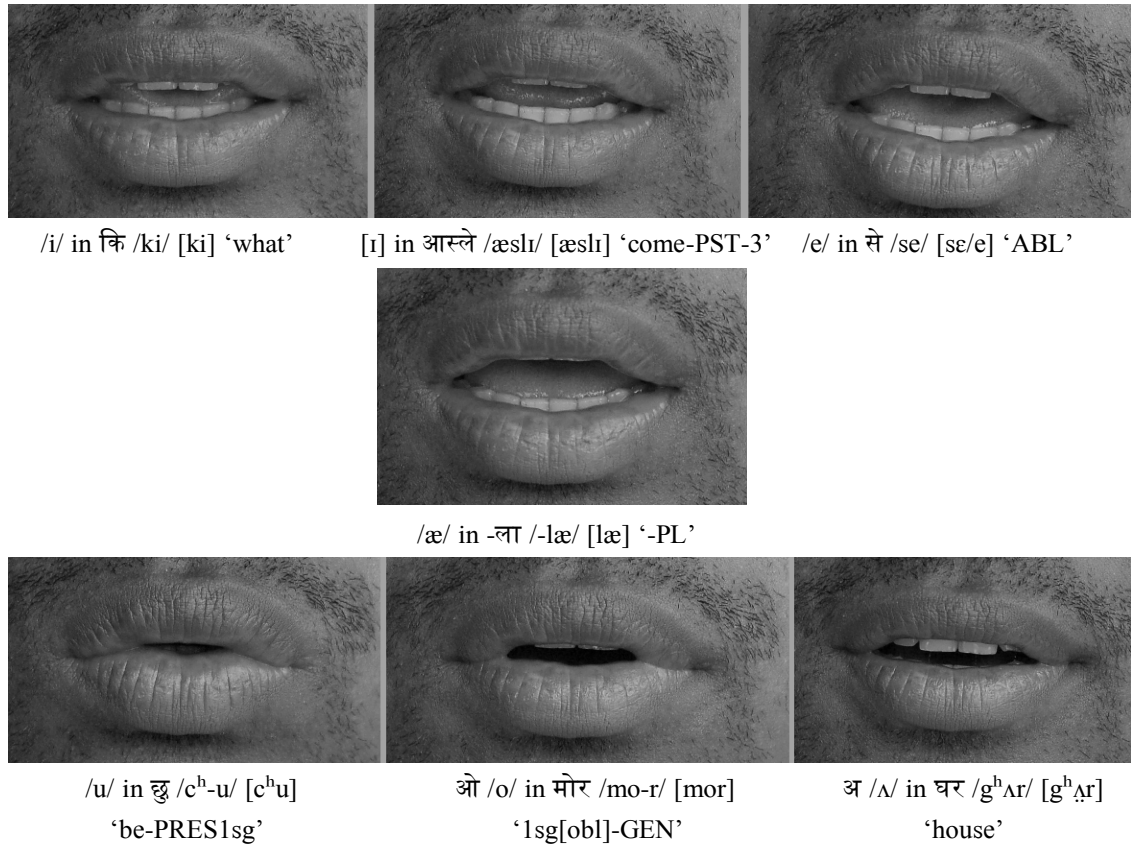


Figure 1. Lip positions for Rājbanṣhi vowel phonemes

### 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:

"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

		second vowel			
initial vowel		i इ	[ɪ]	e ए	æ आ
	i इ		-	बठिए /bʌ <sup>h</sup> ie/ [bʌ <sup>h</sup> ije]	खेटिया /k <sup>h</sup> etia/ [k <sup>h</sup> etijæ]
	[ɪ]	-	-	-	-
	e ए	पेइसा /peisa/ [pejsæ] 'money'	-	-	-
	æ आ	माइ /mæi/ [mæj] 'y_sister'	-	आच्छाए /æts <sup>h</sup> æe/ [æts <sup>h</sup> æɛ] 'well'	(खाआ(ल) /k <sup>h</sup> ææ(1)/ [k <sup>h</sup> æ(1)] 'eat-PST.PTCL')
	ʌ अ	पइन /pʌina/ [pʌjɪʌ]	-	सएल /sæl/ [sæl]	थआल /t <sup>h</sup> ʌæl/ [t <sup>h</sup> ʌæl]
	o ओ	-	-	कोधोए /kod <sup>h</sup> oe/ [kod <sup>h</sup> oe]	-
	u उ	तुँइ /tui/ [tʃuɪ/j] '2sg[pro]'	-	-	पुवाल /puæl/ [pu(w)æ]
	भुइ /b <sup>h</sup> ui/ [b <sup>h</sup> uj] 'ground'	-	-	'straw'	
		second vowel			
initial vowel		ʌ अ	o ओ	u उ	
	i इ	सिन्डिअ /sint <sup>h</sup> iʌ/ [sint <sup>h</sup> iʌ]	-	घिउँ /g <sup>h</sup> iu/ [g <sup>h</sup> iw̃/w] 'ghee'	
	[ɪ]	-	-	-	
	e ए	देअँ /deʌ/ [deʌ̃] '(local) divinity'	-	फेउर /p <sup>h</sup> eur/ [feur̃] 'fox'	
	æ आ	माअँ /mæʌ/ [mæʌ̃/ʌ] 'mother'	खाओक /k <sup>h</sup> æok/ [k <sup>h</sup> æok]	बाउ /bæu/ [bæu/w] 'father'	
	ʌ अ		-	तउलिया /tʌulia/ [tʌwlijæ]	
	o ओ	-	-	-	
	u उ	गुअ /guʌ/ [guʌ] 'feces-CNJ'	-	-	

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 /eʌ, ʌe, ʌæ, oe, æe, æʌ, æo, (ææ?)/  
 b. Potential falling diphthongs or CV-sequences /iu, ie, iæ, iʌ, uæ, uʌ, ui/  
 c. Potential rising diphthongs or VC-sequences /eu, iu, æu, ʌu, ei, æi, ʌi, ui/  
 d. Non-occurring vowel sequences /ii, ee, oo, uu, ʌʌ, io, eæ, eo, oæ, oʌ, ou, oi, ue, uo, ʌo/

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).<sup>5</sup> Moreover, a CV-analysis of the absolute in (3c) would lead to an erroneous analysis of the (default) absolute in (3d; cf. section 2.4 for discussion on phonotactics).

- (3) a. Disyllabic CVCV छुवा /ts<sup>h</sup>u.æ/ [ts/ʃ<sup>h</sup>u.wæ] 'child' (\*monosyllabic \*CCV \*/ts<sup>h</sup>wæ/)  
 b. Trisyllabic मलिया /mʌliæ/ [mʌlijæ] 'muddy' (\*disyllabic \*CVCCV \*/mʌljæ/)  
 c. Trisyllabic CVCVV रकिए /rʌk-ie/ [rʌki(j)e] 'stop-ABS' (\*disyllabic \*CVCCV \*/rʌk.je/)  
 d. Disyllabic CVCV रकि /rʌk-i/ [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 Rājbanṣhi restrains the VC-sequence analysis, and therefore, for the sake of consistency, one is compelled to disregard the VC-sequence analysis in the other examples.

- (4) a. भुइ CV.V /b<sup>h</sup>u.i/, CV /b<sup>h</sup>uᵛ/ or CVC /b<sup>h</sup>uᵛ/ [b<sup>h</sup>uᵛ] 'ground'  
 b. माइ CV.V /mæ.i/, CV /mæᵛ/ or CVC /mæᵛ/ [mæᵛ] 'younger sister'  
 c. एइड V.V.CV /e.i.ᵛʌ/, V.CV /eᵛ.ᵛʌ/ or VC.CV /eᵛ.ᵛʌ/ [eᵛᵛʌ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS'
- (5) a. घिउँ CV.V /g<sup>h</sup>i.u/ᵛ/, CV /g<sup>h</sup>iᵛ/ᵛ/ or CVC /g<sup>h</sup>iᵛ/ [g<sup>h</sup>iᵛ/ᵛ] 'ghee'  
 b. फेर CV.VC /p<sup>h</sup>e.ur/ or CVC /p<sup>h</sup>eᵛr/ [p<sup>h</sup>eᵛr] 'fox' (\*monosyllabic \*CVCC \*/p<sup>h</sup>eᵛr/)
- (6) a. बाउ CV.V /bæ.u/, CV /bæᵛ/ or CVC /bæᵛ/ [bæᵛ] 'father'  
 b. दउग- CV.VC /ᵛʌ.ug-/ or CVC /ᵛʌᵛg/ [ᵛʌᵛg] 'run' (\*monosyllabic \*CVCC \*/ᵛʌᵛg/)
- (7) a. एइठिना V.V.CV.CV /e.i.t<sup>h</sup>i.næ/, V.CV.CV /eᵛ.t<sup>h</sup>i.næ/ or VC.CV.CV /eᵛ.t<sup>h</sup>i.næ/ [eᵛt<sup>h</sup>i.næ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-place'

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

- b. एइटना V.VC.CV /e.i<sup>h</sup>.næ/ or VC.CV /e<sub>ɪ</sub>.<sup>h</sup>.næ/ [ej<sub>t</sub>næ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-place'  
 (\*disyllabic \*VC.CCV \*/e<sub>ɪ</sub>.<sup>h</sup>.næ/)

The diphthong analysis is certainly more plausible phonotactically in the examples (4a-c), (5a) and (7a-b) above.<sup>6</sup> 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 /kɪ<sub>ɪ</sub>.næ/ [kɪ<sub>n</sub>næ] 'bride'  
 b. एइला possibly disyllabic V.CV /e<sub>ɪ</sub>.læ/ [ej<sub>l</sub>æ] 'DEM[prox/emph]-PL'  
 c. पइनि possibly disyllabic CV.CV /pɪ<sub>ɪ</sub>.ni/ [pɪ<sub>n</sub>ni] 'irrigation channel'

The vowel sequence in words such as [næ<sub>ɪ</sub>]/[næ̃<sub>ɪ</sub>] 'name' and [gæ<sub>ɪ</sub>]/[gæ̃<sub>ɪ</sub>] 'village' also requires some consideration. The sequence /æ.ɪ/ 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 /əu/."

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 \*əu, which remains its written symbol. (In Bengali this has evolved instead into the diphthong /ou/.) The second is a phonetic development of the vowel \*ɑ > [ɔ], therefore etymologically equivalent to Hindi and Gujarati /ə/ 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 ɹ /w/, suggesting a rounded articulation. Regarding the more easterly Rājbanṣhi dialects, Sanyal (1965:250) observes that:

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<sup>6</sup> 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 \*æi, \*æu, \*ɔi and \*ɔu are not permissible in Maithili. Finally, no centralizing diphthongs are permissible in Maithili."

Shukla (1981:39) proposes ten rising diphthongs ("diagonal" a<sub>ɪ</sub>, ā<sub>ɪ</sub>, a<sub>u</sub>, ā<sub>u</sub>, o<sub>ɪ</sub> and ō<sub>ɪ</sub>, and "vertical" e<sub>ɪ</sub>, ē<sub>ɪ</sub>, o<sub>u</sub> and ō<sub>u</sub>), and four centralizing diphthongs ("centering" ĩa, ĩā, ũa and ũā) 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:– ma-o < ma (mother) ... pa-o < pa (leg). Some of these words are often nasalised e.g. m̃ao, p̃ao 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 नाअँ /ñæ.ʌ/ and गाअँ /gæ.ʌ/ 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 *Devanāgarī* equivalents

		Bilabial	Dental	Apico-retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	voiceless unaspirated	प p	त t	ट t̠		क k	
	voiceless aspirated	फ p <sup>h</sup>	थ t <sup>h</sup>	ठ t̠ <sup>h</sup>		ख k <sup>h</sup>	
	voiced unaspirated	ब b	द d	ड d̠		ग g	
	voiced aspirated	भ b <sup>h</sup>	ध d <sup>h</sup>	ढ d̠ <sup>h</sup>		घ g <sup>h</sup>	
Affricate	voiceless unaspirated		च ts				
	voiceless aspirated		छ ts <sup>h</sup>				
	voiced unaspirated		ज dz				
	voiced aspirated		झ dz <sup>h</sup>				
Fricative	voiceless		स s				ह h
Nasal	unaspirated	म m	न n̪			ङ ŋ	
	aspirated	म (म्ह) m <sup>h</sup>	न (न्ह) n̪ <sup>h</sup>			ङ (ङ्ह) ŋ <sup>h</sup>	
Rhotic	unaspirated		र r				
	aspirated		र (र्ह) r <sup>h</sup>				
Approx- imant	lateral		ल l				
	lateral aspirated		ल (ल्ह) l <sup>h</sup>				
	central	(व) (w)			(य) (j)	(व) (w)	

### 2.3.1 Plosives

All plosives occur word-initially, and all except for /d/ and /d̠/ occur intervocally. In word-final position voiceless unaspirated plosive finals tend to be unreleased or slightly released (for example in the words जेअँत [dʒeʌ̠t̚] 'alive' and छेत [tʃeʌ̠t̚] 'beehive'). In most cases voiced plosives are devoiced or voiceless in word-final position, for example in the

word बाध [bæ:d̪t̪] 'field'. Where aspiration is marked in the orthography (for example बाध [bæ:d̪t̪] 'field'), the actual phonetic realisation tends to disregard the aspiration. The voiceless aspirated apico-retroflex [t̪<sup>h</sup>] was recorded as strongly aspirated word-finally, for example in the word आठ [ʔæ̃/æ̃t̪<sup>h</sup>] 'eight'. The word-final /k<sup>h</sup>/ in मुख [muːk<sup>h</sup>] '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 /d̪/ and /d̪<sup>h</sup>/ demands some attention. In word initial position /d̪/ and /d̪<sup>h</sup>/ are realised as [d̪] and [d̪<sup>h</sup>] respectively, for example in the words डेगर /d̪egΛr/ [d̪egΛ/ɜr̪] 'path' and डेरि /d̪<sup>h</sup>eri/ [d̪<sup>h</sup>eri] 'pile'. In this position they contrast with the rhotic /r/. When /d̪/ is followed or preceded by [d̪] as in हड्डी [hɜd̪i] 'bone', or when it is preceded by the nasal /ŋ/ as in the word कुण्ड /kuŋd̪Λ/ [kũŋd̪Λ] 'type\_of\_pond', the apico-retroflex plosive is realised as [d̪]. Masica states (1991:97; addition in brackets mine):

"The retroflex flap /r/ is often taken as an allophone of /d̪/, with which it often stands in complementary distribution: initial, geminate, and postnasal for [d̪]; 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 Rājbandhi, in intervocalic and word-final positions, and word-medially following the bilabial /m/, the apico-retroflex plosive /d̪/ is neutralised with the rhotic phoneme /r/ and is realised as [r] or [r/r]. Consider, for example, the words घेरा /g<sup>h</sup>eræ/ [g<sup>h</sup>er̪r̪/ɾæ] 'extinguish-IMP2sg' (sometimes written as घेडा) and काम्रा /kæmræ/ [kæmr̪r̪/ɾæ] 'bite-IMP2sg' (sometimes written as कामडा)

The aspirated counterpart /d̪<sup>h</sup>/ is realised as [r̪<sup>h</sup>/r̪<sup>h</sup>], as in दारि /dær<sup>h</sup>i/ [dær̪<sup>h</sup>i] 'beard' (sometimes written as दाढि), जेर /dzer<sup>h</sup>Λ/ [dzer̪<sup>h</sup>Λ] 'herd' (sometimes written as जेह) and पर् /pΛr̪<sup>h</sup>/ [pΛr̪<sup>h</sup>/ɾ̪] 'read-IMP2sg' (sometimes written as पढ़). For reasons of consistency, I posit the addition of the phoneme /r̪<sup>h</sup>/ to the phoneme inventory though this only occurs in intervocalic and word-final position.

The bilabial plosive /p<sup>h</sup>/ is often realised as [f], as in the words फाल्तु /p<sup>h</sup>ælt̪u/ [fælt̪u] 'extra' and देफेदार /dep<sup>h</sup>edær/ [defedær] 'leader'. In intervocalic position /b/ has the free variants [w]/[β].

Table 5 indicates the distribution of the plosive phonemes in Rājbandhi.

Table 5. Distribution of plosives

	<i>word-initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>word-final</i>
क	k कल /kΛΛΛ/ [kΛΛɜ/Λ] 'banana'	पका /pΛkæ/ [pΛkæ] 'insect'	नाक /næk/ [næk:k] 'nose'
ख	k <sup>h</sup> खेत /k <sup>h</sup> et̪/ [k <sup>h</sup> et̪] 'field'	चखु /tsΛk <sup>h</sup> u/ [tsΛk <sup>h</sup> /ku] 'eye'	मुख /muk <sup>h</sup> / [muːk <sup>h</sup> ] 'mouth'
ग	गरम /gΛrΛm/ [gɜrɜm] 'warm'	लगत /lΛgΛt̪/ [lΛgɜt̪] 'near'	गोग /gog/ [gog] 'loud voice'

Table 5. (cont.)

घ	g <sup>h</sup>	घन /g <sup>h</sup> ʌn/ [g <sup>h</sup> ʌn] ‘dense’	अघिन /ʌg/g <sup>h</sup> in/ [ʔɜg/g <sup>h</sup> in] ‘fire’	मेघ /meg <sup>h</sup> / [meːg] ‘cloud, sky’
ट	t	टुटि /tuːti/ [tuːti] ‘throat’	बेटि /beti/ [beti] ‘daughter’	पेट /pet/ [pet] ‘belly’
ठ	t <sup>h</sup>	ठाल /t <sup>h</sup> æl/ [t <sup>h</sup> æːl] ‘branch’	लाठि /læt <sup>h</sup> i/ [læt <sup>h</sup> i] ‘stick’	उठ् /u <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> / [ʔu <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ] ‘rise-IMP2sg’
ड	d	डेगर /degʌr/ [degʌ/ɜr] ‘path’	(सरक /sʌrʌk/ [sʌr/ʌk] ‘road’) neutralised with /r/	(जार /dzær/ [dzæːr/ʔ] ‘cold’) neutralised with /r/
ढ	d <sup>h</sup>	ढरा /d <sup>h</sup> ʌræ/ [d <sup>h</sup> ʌræ] ‘kind_of_snake’	(बुरा /bur <sup>h</sup> a/ [buːr/ʔæ] ‘old; old man’) neutralised with /r <sup>h</sup> /	(बार् /bær <sup>h</sup> / [bæːr/ʔ] ‘grow-IMP2sg’) neutralised with /r <sup>h</sup> /
त	t	तारो /tæro/ [tæːro] ‘star’	पता /pʌtæ/ [pʌtæ] ‘grandson’	भात /b <sup>h</sup> æt/ [b <sup>h</sup> æt] ‘rice(cooked)’
थ	t <sup>h</sup>	थुप /t <sup>h</sup> up/ [t <sup>h</sup> uːp] ‘spit’	मुथा /mu <sup>h</sup> tæ/ [mu <sup>h</sup> tæ] ‘head’	<i>data not found</i>
द	d	दारु /dæru/ [dæːru] ‘liquor; medicine’	निदुर /niːdʊr/ [niːdʊr] ‘rat’	दुद /dud/ [dud/ʔ] ‘milk; breast’
ध	d <sup>h</sup>	धन /d <sup>h</sup> ʌn/ [d <sup>h</sup> ʌn] ‘wealth’	मधु /mʌd <sup>h</sup> u/ [mæd <sup>h</sup> u] ‘honey’	बाघ /bæːd <sup>h</sup> / [bæːd <sup>h</sup> /ʔ] ‘field’
प	p	पाथि /pæt <sup>h</sup> i/ [pæt <sup>h</sup> i] ‘leaf’	रुपा /rupæ/ [rupæ] ‘silver’	आप /æp/ [æːp] ‘PCL’
फ	p <sup>h</sup>	फल /p <sup>h</sup> ʌl/ [p <sup>h</sup> ʌl] ‘fruit’	साफा /sæp <sup>h</sup> æ/ [sæfæ] ‘white’	(निसाफ /nisæp <sup>h</sup> / [nisæf] ‘judgement(loan)’)
ब	b	बेटि /beti/ [beti] ‘daughter’	बाबा /bæbæ/ [bæb/wæ] ‘priest’	छब /ts <sup>h</sup> ʌb/ [ts/ʔ <sup>h</sup> ʌb] ‘beauty’
भ	b <sup>h</sup>	भालुक /b <sup>h</sup> æluk/ [b <sup>h</sup> æːluk] ‘bear’	जिभा /dzib <sup>h</sup> æ/ [dzib/b <sup>h</sup> æ] ‘tongue’	<i>data not found</i>

## 2.3.2 Affricates and fricatives

Table 6 indicates the distribution of the affricate and fricative phonemes in Rājibanshi:

Table 6. Distribution of affricates and fricatives

		word-initial	intervocalic	word-final
<i>Affricates</i>				
च	ts	चान /tsæn/ [tsæ/æːn] ‘moon’	घेचा /g <sup>h</sup> etsæ/ [g <sup>h</sup> ɛːtsæ] ‘neck’	चाच /næts/ [næ/æːts] ‘dance’
छ	ts <sup>h</sup>	छात /ts <sup>h</sup> æt/ [ts <sup>h</sup> æːt] ‘beehive’	बाछा /bæts <sup>h</sup> æ/ [bæts <sup>h</sup> æ] ‘calf(male)’	गाछ /gæts <sup>h</sup> / [gæts] ‘tree’
ज	dz	जाक /dzæk/ [dzæk] ‘stack’	माजा /mædzæ/ [mædzæ] ‘taste’	लाज /lædz/ [læ(d)z] ‘shame’
झ	dz <sup>h</sup>	झाका /dz <sup>h</sup> ækæ/ [dz <sup>h</sup> æːkæ] ‘cover’	बझा /bʌdz <sup>h</sup> æ/ [bʌdz <sup>h</sup> æ] ‘bundle’	<i>data not found</i>
<i>Fricatives</i>				
स	s	साफा /sæp <sup>h</sup> æ/ [sæf/p <sup>h</sup> æ] ‘white’	धुसा /d <sup>h</sup> usæ/ [d <sup>h</sup> uːsæ] ‘blanket’	साहास /sæhæs/ [sæfɪæs] ‘boldness’
ह	h	हाट /hæt/ [hæːt] ‘marketplace’	लिहा /lihæ/ [lihæ] ‘feeding trough’	<i>data not found</i>



The affricates have a mainly alveolar articulation ([ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, dz, dz<sup>h</sup>]). Post-alveolar articulation of the aspirated affricates was encountered, particularly when preceding the back vowels, such as in the word छुवा /ts<sup>h</sup>uæ/ [t<sup>h</sup>uwæ] 'child'. Like the plosives, the aspiration contrast tends to be neutralised in word-final position, for example in the word पुच्छ /puts<sup>h</sup>/ [puts/ʃ] 'ask-IMP2sg'. The phonemes झ /dz<sup>h</sup>/ and ह /h/ were not found word-finally.

Word-initially the glottal fricative /h/ is realised as voiceless [h] or voiced [ɦ], as in होल्को /holko/ [h/ɦɔlko] '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 Rājibanshi:

Table 7. Distribution of nasals, rhotics and laterals

		<i>word-initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>word-final</i>
<i>Nasals</i>				
म	m	माक्रा /mækræ/ [mækræ] 'spider'	खामा /k <sup>h</sup> æmæ/ [k <sup>h</sup> æmæ] 'pillar'	घाम /g <sup>h</sup> æm/ [g <sup>h</sup> æm] 'sweat'
म	m <sup>h</sup>	-	लाम /læm <sup>h</sup> Λ/ [læm <sup>h</sup> Λ] 'long'	नाम् /næm <sup>h</sup> / [næm <sup>h</sup> m] 'descend-IMP2sg'
न	n	नाक /næk/ [næ/æ(:)k] 'nose'	दाना /dænæ/ [dænæ] 'seed'	चान /tsæn/ [tsæ/æ <sup>h</sup> n] 'moon'
न	n <sup>h</sup>	-	जानाक /dzæn <sup>h</sup> æk/ [dzæn <sup>h</sup> æk] 'light'	बान् /bæn <sup>h</sup> / [bæ/æ <sup>h</sup> n/ŋ] 'tie-IMP2sg'
ड	ŋ	-	नेडर /neŋΛr/ [neŋɜr] 'tail'	भाड /b <sup>h</sup> æŋ/ [b <sup>h</sup> æ/æ <sup>h</sup> ŋ] 'a narcotic liquid'
ड	ŋ <sup>h</sup>	-	साडान /sæŋ <sup>h</sup> æn/ [sæŋ <sup>h</sup> æn] 'friend(female)'	काड /kæŋ <sup>h</sup> / [kæ/æ <sup>h</sup> ŋ/ŋ] 'shoulder'
<i>Rhotics</i>				
र	r	राजा /rædzæ/ [rædzæ] 'king'	आराम /æræm/ [æræm] 'rest'	भातार /b <sup>h</sup> ætær/ [b <sup>h</sup> ætær/ɽ] 'husband'
र	r <sup>h</sup>	-	लारि /lær <sup>h</sup> i/ [lær/ɽfi] 'umbilical cord'	बार् /bær <sup>h</sup> / [bær/ɽ] 'grow-IMP2sg'
<i>Laterals</i>				
ल	l	लाठि /læt <sup>h</sup> i/ [læt <sup>h</sup> i] 'stick'	काला /kælæ/ [kælæ] 'pea'	गाल /gæl/ [gæl] 'cheek'
ल	l <sup>h</sup>	-	आला /æl <sup>h</sup> æ/ [æl <sup>h</sup> æ] 'now'	-

The nasal /ŋ/ is realised as [ŋ] in intervocalic position, [n] preceding an alveolar consonant (fricative, affricate or lateral) and [ŋ] preceding an apico-retroflex plosive. Word-final /r/ tends to be voiceless [ɽ].

In word-medial position aspiration from the phonemes /m<sup>h</sup>/, /n<sup>h</sup>/, /ŋ<sup>h</sup>/, /l<sup>h</sup>/ and /r<sup>h</sup>/ causes breathiness on the following vowel, for example in the word लाम /læm<sup>h</sup>Λ/ [læm<sup>h</sup>Λ] 'long'.

Stem-final aspiration tends to merge with affixal components. Examples of this type of sandhi are found as follows:

- (9) a. चिन्हा /tsiŋ<sup>h</sup>-bæ/ 'know-INF' > [tsiŋb<sup>h</sup>æ] (also written as चिन्हा)  
 b. नाम्ने /nəm<sup>h</sup>-le/ 'descend-COND.PTCL' > [nəm<sup>h</sup>le] (also written as नाम्ने)  
 c. पर्भा /pɑr<sup>h</sup>-bæ/ 'read-INF' > [pɑrb<sup>h</sup>æ] (also written as पर्भा)

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

- (10) a. चिन् /tsiŋ<sup>h</sup>/ 'know-IMP2sg' > [tsi ŋ̤]  
 b. नाम् /nəm<sup>h</sup>-Ø/ 'descend-IMP2sg' > [nəm̤]

### 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

	word-initial	intervocalic	word-final
	य j		
Phonemic (can be)	pronoun, loan याहाँ(ए) /jæhæ̃(e)/ [jæ̃hæ̃(ē)] '3sg[pro/prox]' या /jæ/ [jæ] 'or'		
Non- phonemic		छियौ /ts <sup>h</sup> iã/ [ts <sup>h</sup> ijæ̃] [ts <sup>h</sup> ijæ̃] 'shadow'	कोय /koi/ [koi/j] 'something' (also found as कोए /ko.e/)
	व w		
Phonemic (can be)	pronoun, loan उहाँ(ए) /wæhæ̃(e)/ [wæ̃hæ̃(ē)] '3sg[pro]' बा (वा) /wæ/ [wæ] 'or'	pronoun केवा (केवा) /kewæ/ [kewæ] 'some'	
Non- phonemic		छुवा (छुआ) /ts <sup>h</sup> uã/ [t <sup>h</sup> ɥwæ̃] 'child'	घिउँ /g <sup>h</sup> iu/ [g <sup>h</sup> iw̃/w] 'ghee'

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 Rājibanshi. Other than in loan words, the labio-velar approximant [w] is phonemic only in the pronoun उहाँ(ए) /wæhã(e)/ [wãhã(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.hã(e)/ [jãhã(ẽ)] '3sg[pro/prox]'. Elsewhere in the phonology (again, apart from loan words) [j] was found to be caused by glidal 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 9. Syllable structures in mono-, di- and trisyllabic words

	<i>monosyllabic words</i>	<i>disyllabic words</i>	<i>trisyllabic words</i>
V	-	अघिन /ʌ.gʰin/ 'fire'	सभाए /sʌ.bʰæ.e/ 'all'
CV	गु /gu/ 'feces'	पता /pʌ.tʰæ/ 'grandson'	बेछानि /be.cʰæ.ni/ 'woman'
VC	आम /æm/ 'mango'	आन्धार /æŋ.dʰær/ 'dark'	उस्नाबा /us.næ.bæ/ 'boil_solids-INF'
CVC	कान /kæn/ 'ear'	बदला /bʌd.læ/ 'revenge'	खन्जरा /kʌŋ.dzʌ.ræ/ 'feeding_trough'

Aspirated affricates and plosives /p<sup>h</sup>, b<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, t̪<sup>h</sup>, d̪<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>, ts<sup>h</sup> and dz<sup>h</sup>/ 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 10. Word-initial CC-clusters (in loan words)

ग्र gr	ग्रोहोल (गोरोल) /grohol/ 'heron'	प्य pj	प्यास /pjas/ 'thirst'
प्र pr	प्रशस्त /prasastʌ/ 'abundant'	व्य wj	व्यवहारिक /bjʌwʌharik/ [bewʌhærik] 'practical'
दृ dri	दृश्य /driʃjʌ/ 'view'	ग्ल gl	ग्लूकोज /glukodz/ 'glucose'
पृ pri	पृथ्वी /pɾitʰmi/ 'earth, planet'	ग्य gj	ग्याँस /gjas/ 'gas'
बृ bri	बृहत /brihʌt/ 'large'	स्क sk	(इ)स्कूल /(i)skul/ [(?i)skul] 'school'

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 नान्ति /næt̪.ni/ [næt̪ ni̯] 'granddaughter' and पेन्ट्रा /pen̪.tsʰæ/ [pentsʰæ] 'sour'. CCC-clusters were only encountered in loans such as the Sanskrit word केन्द्र /ken̪.dr̪/ [kɛndr̪] 'centre'.

The aspirated sonorants /m<sup>h</sup>/, /n̪<sup>h</sup>/, /l<sup>h</sup>/ and /ŋ<sup>h</sup>/ 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 [mh-, 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 /ŋh/ occurs in Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Chhattisgarhi."

Research on Maithili tends to interpret the sounds as CC-clusters of sonorant + h (cf. Yadav 1997 [1996]:27–29; Jha 2001:42–43), although Jha (2001:153) seems to refer to /n<sup>h</sup>/ also as a phoneme in its own right. Likewise, Tiwari (1960:11–13) views the Bhojpuri aspirated sonorants as phonemes. According to Yadav's data, Maithili has sonorant + h CC-clusters in verbs, nouns and adjectives. Yadav (1997 [1996]:27–29) writes:

"...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 constraints... The resonant + h segments, which also surface as aspirated with syllable divisions... however, have a syllable boundary between the two segments."

If the components /m<sup>h</sup>/, /n̪<sup>h</sup>/, /l<sup>h</sup>/ and /ŋ<sup>h</sup>/ are interpreted as clusters in Rājibanshi, 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 सम्प्त- /samt̪<sup>h</sup>-/ 'finish' (CC-final stem) and चिन्त- /cin<sup>h</sup>-/ 'know/recognise' (/n̪<sup>h</sup>-final stem) in Table 11:

Table 11. Interpretation of ण /n<sup>h</sup>/ based on syllabificational constraints

	Stem: सम्ठ- /samt <sup>h</sup> -/ 'finish'	illegal σ-structure	possible σ-structure	proposed σ-structure
1.	समठ [samt <sup>h</sup> ] 'finish-IMP2sg' समठेक [samt <sup>h</sup> ek] 'finish-IMP2sg' *समठ् *[samt <sup>h</sup> ]	*CV.CVC.C *CVC.CCVC; *CVCC.CVC; *CVCCC.VC -	(CV.CVC) - -	CVC.VC /samt.ʌt <sup>h</sup> / CVC.CVC /samt.t <sup>h</sup> ek/ -
2.	समठ [samt <sup>h</sup> ʌ] 'finish-IMP2pl'	*CVC.CCV; *CVCC.CV; *CVCCC.V	-	CVC.CV /samt.t <sup>h</sup> ʌ/
3.	समिठ्वा [samt <sup>h</sup> ibæ] 'finish-INF'	*CVC.CCV.CV; *CVCC.CV.CV; *CVCCC.V.CV	-	CVC.CV.CV /samt.t <sup>h</sup> i.bæ/
4.	समिठ्ले [samt <sup>h</sup> ili] 'finish-PST-3'	*CVC.CCV.CV; *CVCC.CV.CV; *CVCCC.V.CV	-	CVC.CV.CV /samt.t <sup>h</sup> i.li/

	Stem: चिन्- /tsin <sup>h</sup> -/ 'know'	illegal σ-structure	possible σ-structure	proposed σ-structure
5.	चिन् 'know-IMP2sg' [tsin <sup>h</sup> ]	*CVCC; *CVC.C	(CVC.CØ)	CVC /tsin <sup>h</sup> /
6.	चिन् 'know-IMP2pl' [tsin <sup>h</sup> ʌ]	*CVCC.V	(CVC.CV)	CVC.V /tsin <sup>h</sup> .ʌ/
7.	चिन्वा 'know-INF' [tsin <sup>h</sup> bæ]	*CVCC.CV; *CVC.C.CV	-	CVC.CV /tsin <sup>h</sup> .bæ/
8.	चिन्ले 'know-PST-3' [tsin <sup>h</sup> .li]	*CVCC.CV; *CVC.C.CV	-	CVC.CV /tsin <sup>h</sup> .li/

As shown in Table 11, I have interpreted the sounds /m<sup>h</sup>/, /n<sup>h</sup>/, /l<sup>h</sup>/ and /ŋ<sup>h</sup>/ 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 Rājibanshi, 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 /bæŋ/ [bæ:ŋ] 'arrow' and लङ् /lʌŋ/ [lʌ:ŋ] 'finger nail' and नुन /nʌŋ/ [nʌ:ŋ] 'salt'.

Secondly, it is found on vowels in closed syllables which have a nasal onset and obstruent coda, as in the words मँत /mʌt̪/ [mʌ̃t̪] 'liquor' and नद /næd̪/ [næ̃d̪] 'feeding\_trough'. Some speakers even nasalise a vowel preceding an obstruent which forms the onset for the following syllable. For example the word मट /mʌt̪ʌ/ 'thick' is pronounced as मँट [mʌ̃t̪ʌ] by some speakers, and [mʌt̪ʌ] 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 बँस /bʌ̃s/ [bʌ̃s] 'bamboo', घँस /gʰʌ̃s/ [gʰʌ̃s] 'grass' and सँप /sʌ̃p/ [sʌ̃p] '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. मुँई /mui/ [mũĩ] or [mui] '1sg[pro]'  
 b. तुँई /t̪ui/ [t̪ũĩ] or [t̪u/ui] '2sg[pro]'  
 c. उहाँ(ए) /wəhʌ̃(e)/ [wə̃hʌ̃(ē)] '3sg[pro]'  
 d. याहाँ(ए) /jəhʌ̃(e)/ [jə̃hʌ̃(ē)] '3sg[pro/prox]'  
 e. जाहाँ(ए) /dzəhʌ̃(e)/ [dzə̃hʌ̃(ē)] 'REL[p]'  
 f. काहँ /kəhẽ/ [kə̃(h)ẽ] 'who'

Vowel length and stress are not contrastive. Preliminary observations would suggest primary stress is placed on the first syllable.<sup>7</sup> 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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<sup>7</sup> 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: चिन्नात /cinnæt/ 'messy; disorderly', धाम्मा /d<sup>h</sup>æmmæ/ 'rope', धाक्कर /d<sup>h</sup>ækkar/ 'bull', हिम्मत /himmæt/ 'courage', रस्सि /rassi/ 'string', लात कुच्चर /læt kuccar/ 'stiff necked; stubborn' and घस्सि /g<sup>h</sup>assi/ '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 ठुक्की [t<sup>h</sup>uk:i] 'hit-SA3', कुत्ता [kut:tæ] 'dog' and खुट्टा [k<sup>h</sup>ut:tæ] 'wood' which is /t<sup>h</sup>uk.ki/, /kut:tæ/ and /k<sup>h</sup>ut:tæ/ respectively. Secondly, short and geminate consonants quite frequently occur in free variation. Therefore, the word खाम्मा /k<sup>h</sup>æmmæ/ 'pillar' (with the geminate [m:]) can also be pronounced as खामा /k<sup>h</sup>æmæ/.

### 3. Morphology

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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 Rājibanshi, 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  $\Lambda$  in vowel sequence  $a\Lambda$  (or  $a\tilde{\Lambda}$ ) in nouns when preceding the genitive case,
- (b) Alternation of the noun classifier  $-ɛ -t\Lambda$  to  $-ɛ -d\Lambda$  (or *vice versa*),
- (c) Phonological dependence of certain case markers on the stem ( $-(\text{ए})r$  '(e)r 'GEN',  $-(\text{अ})k$   $-(\Lambda)k$  'DAT', and  $-(\text{अ})t$   $-(\Lambda)t$  'LOC'),



- (d) The oblique stems of the 1sg and 2sg personal pronouns, and  
 (e) Fluctuation of the conjunctive clitic (-अ = $\Lambda$ , -अउ = $\Lambda u$ , -उ = $u$  and -(अ)ह =( $\Lambda$ ) $h\Lambda$ ), and the emphatic clitic (=ए = $e$  and =इ(ए) = $i(e)$ ).

### 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 Rājbandhi 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 *gaham bari* 'wheat field'  
 c. जन कामा *jan kama* '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. बान्दर मुहँ *bandar muha* 'monkey mouth' = 'ugly'  
 b. कइरा चखा *kaira cak<sup>h</sup>a* 'brown eye' = 'brown-eyed (man)'  
 c. गोरौल ठेङ्गि *gorol t<sup>h</sup>eq-i* 'heron leg-FEM' = 'skinny legged (woman)'

A copulative compound in Rājbandhi 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-roṭi* '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. बुरा बुरि *bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i* 'old\_man old\_woman' (i.e. 'old couple')  
 b. माअँ बाप *ma<sup>h</sup> bap* 'mother father' (i.e. 'parents'; cf. MR.05.309)  
 c. जाहान बाच्चा *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. गरु गाएँ *garu gae* 'bullock cow' ('cattle'; 'livestock')  
 b. घर दुवार *g<sup>h</sup>ar duar* 'house door' ('property')  
 c. जा त तुरिखानत गरु गाएँ प'इचे ने कि।  
*ja-Ø t<sup>h</sup> turi-k<sup>h</sup>an-at garu gae p<sup>h</sup>(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 there.'

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

- (16) a. धन सम्पति *d<sup>h</sup>an sampati* 'wealth possessions' (i.e. 'wealth'; cf. DLR.05.021)  
 b. काल गर संसारखाने  
*kal<sup>h</sup> gar<sup>h</sup> sansar-k<sup>h</sup>an=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 झाग्राखान लागाल (रहचे) दने झनार।  
*san behan j<sup>h</sup>agara-k<sup>h</sup>an lag-al (r<sup>h</sup>ah-c-e) d<sup>h</sup>an<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup>ana-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  $-\text{ए} = e$  'EMPH' and the second is unmarked. The construction indicates exclusiveness (that is, it denotes a "nothing but x"-quality).

(18) a. हड्डिए हड्डि  $h\Lambda ddi = e h\Lambda ddi$  'bone = EMPH bone' ('nothing but bones'; 'all bones') (cf. MR.04.111)

b. हेल्ना गुहे गु छे। (cf. MR.04.174; cf. also MR.04.168)  
 hetna gu = he gu c<sup>h</sup>-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  $-\text{ए} -e$  has a distributive connotation.

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

b. लदिडर काछारे काछारे  
 l\Lambda di-d\Lambda-r kac<sup>h</sup>ar = e kac<sup>h</sup>ar = e  
 river-NCLS-GEN river\_bank = EMPH river\_bank = EMPH  
 'along the river bank'

c. सरके सरके आस्तु।  
 s\Lambda r\Lambda k = e s\Lambda r\Lambda k = 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  $-\text{ए} -e$  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 *mən-hi-mən* '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. रान्डियानिड मने मने सच्ले। (cf. DLR.05.022)  
 raṇḍiāni-ḍa mʌn=e mʌn=e sʌc-l-I  
 widow-NCLS mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PST-3  
 'The widow thought secretly.'
- b. दुवारे दुवारे बठिए ना खा।  
 duar=e duar=e bʌtʰ-ie na kʰa-Ø  
 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. आच्छा आच्छा नाधे (cf. DLR.04.006)  
 accʰa accʰa 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 समयत आस्ते रहिस। (cf. DLR.03.010)  
 sʌmʌe sʌmʌe-t as-te rʌh-is  
 time time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg  
 'Keep visiting once in a while (or, 'from time to time').'

- b. महिनाए महिनाए  
 mʌhina = e mʌhina = e  
 month = EMPH month = EMPH  
 'each month'
- c. सब दिन सब दिन अइला काथा कह्कि... (cf. DLR.05.015)  
 sʌb din sʌb din ʌi-la katʰa kʌhʌ-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).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> This is very similar to the Nepali constructions -दा -दै *-da -dai* and -दै -दै *-dai -dai*:

- (i) Nepali (Acharya 1991:193;200; morpheme-to-morpheme gloss mine)  
 देखादेख्दै देवीरमणको विशाल आँगन तीर्थयात्रीका कुम्ले फौजले भरियो।  
 dekʰ-da dekʰ-d-əi dewirəmən-ko āḡən tirtʰəyatri-ka  
 look-CONT.PTCL look-CONT.PTCL-EMPH Dewiramaṇ-GEN courtyard pilgrimage-GEN  
 kumle pʰəuj-le bʰər-i-yo  
 baggage army-INSTR fill-PASS-PST3[LGH]  
 'While one was looking on, Dewiramaṇ'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-əi* '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, गर्दा गर्दै [*gər-da gər-d-əi* 'do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL-EMPH'] is simply the equivalent of गर्दा [*gər-da* 'do-CONT.PTCL']."

Grammatical judgements of the Rājibanshi construction varied. All Rājibanshi 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-

- (23) a. एनेडे कर्ते कर्ते त लोकट मरिअ जाबा पारे अप्सोसेर चुटे। (DLR.05.049)  
 enəŋ kʌr-te kʌr-te tʌ lok-tʌ mʌr-i = ʌ ja-ba  
 like\_this do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL PCL man-NCLS die-ABS = CNJ AUX-INF  
 par-e ʌpsos-er cuʈe  
 can-PRES3 grief-GEN due\_to  
 'While continuing like this the man could even die out of grief.'
- b. गटलाए भुक्ते भुक्ते खेटियालाक पिटाए लिद्धे। (cf. MR.04.199)  
 gʌt-lə = e bʰuk-te bʰuk-te kʰetia-lə-k  
 all-PL = EMPH bark-CONT.PTCL bark-CONT.PTCL jackal-PL-DAT  
 piʈa-e l-icʰ-e  
 chase-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
 'They all chased the jackals while barking and barking.'
- c. लाराइ कर्ते कर्ते, लाराइ कर्बार खुनि... (cf. MR.05.028)  
 larai kʌr-te kʌr-te, larai kʌr-ba-r 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. खुदिए खुदिए... (cf. MR.04.020)  
 kʰud-ie kʰud-ie  
 dig-CONJ.PTCL dig-CONJ.PTCL  
 'Having (really) dug (them all up)...'
- b. अइठिना हागिए हागिए राखि दिक्कि। (cf. MR.04.027)  
 ʌi-tʰina hag-ie hag-ie rakʰ-i  
 DEM[rem/emph]-place defecate-CONJ.PTCL defecate-CONJ.PTCL put-ABS  
 d-ic-ki  
 AUX-PERF-SA3  
 'They really defecated (right) there.'
- c. \*देखि देखि फेकाल्कि \**dekʰ-i dekʰ-i pʰeka-l-ki* \*'look-ABS look-ABS AUX-PST-SA3'

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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.<sup>9</sup> Reduplication in this case is nevertheless optional.

- (25) उस्नाल उस्नाल कचुला खेटियाला खाए गिद्धे। (cf. MR.04.042; see also MR.04.026)  
 usn-al (usn-al) kacu-la k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la k<sup>h</sup>a-e gi-c<sup>h</sup>-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).<sup>10</sup> 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 काटि *kaṭ-a kaṭ-i* 'cut-DVBL cut-DVBL' (cf. DLR.06.090)

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

<sup>10</sup> 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 -ā-, and the second part of this reduplicated form takes the affix -ī, e.g. mārā-mārī, striking each other, fighting; dekḥā-dekḥī, seeing each other, mutual seeing; ṭhelā-ṭhelī, pushing each other..."

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

- (ii) आप्ना आप्नि *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. बुरा बुरि *bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i* 'old\_man old\_woman' ('old couple')

- c. ए छुवाला, मारा मारि ना कर।  
 e c<sup>h</sup>ua-la mar-a mari-i na kaɾ-ʌ  
 INJ child-PL hit-DVBL hit-DVBL NEG do-IMP2pl  
 'Eh children, don't fight (each other).'
- d. गहम बारिखानेर पाके ना बेराअ।  
 gʌɦʌm bari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er pake na bera-ʌ  
 wheat field-NCLS-GEN through NEG walk-IMP2pl  
 'Don't walk through the field of wheat.'
- e. गहम बारिखानेर पाके बेरा बेरि ना करिस।  
 gʌɦʌm bari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er pake ber-a ber-i na kaɾ-is  
 wheat field-NCLS-GEN through walk-DVBL walk-DVBL NEG do-SUBJ2sg  
 'Don't walk back and forth through the field of wheat.'
- f. आसा जाइ (cf. DLR.04.008)  
 as-a ja-i  
 come-DVBL go-DVBL  
 'visiting'

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. पढा लिखा *paɾ<sup>h</sup>-a lik<sup>h</sup>-a* 'read-PST.PTCL write-PST.PTCL' (i.e. 'educated')  
 b. किना बेचा *kin-a bec-a* 'buy-DVBL sell-DVBL' (i.e. 'commerce')  
 c. खाबार लिबार *k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r li-ba-r* 'eat-INF-GEN take-INF-GEN' (i.e. 'rich')
- d. खाबार लिबार (लोकट) केनड हौं कि हौं! गरिब हइ गेलिक!  
 k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r li-ba-r (lok-tʌ) kenʌŋ hã\_ki\_hã  
 eat-INF-GEN take-INF-GEN (man-NCLS) how INJ[surprise]  
 gaɾib hʌ-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.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 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



- (28) a. बुरा बुरि *bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i* 'old\_man old\_woman' (i.e. 'old couple')  
 b. घर दुवार *g<sup>h</sup>ar 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. कुरला जे पिटाच्चि पिटाच्चि खेटियालाका। (MR.04.202)  
*kukur-la je piṭa-c-ki piṭa-c-ki k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la-k*  
 dog-PL still chase-PRES-SA3 chase-PRES-SA3 jackal-PL-DAT  
 'The dogs chased and chased the jackals.'
- b. बुराड जे आसा जाइ करेचे करेचे। (DLR.04.008)  
*bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa je as-a ja-i kaṛ-ec-e kaṛ-ec-e*  
 old\_man-NCLS still come-DVBL go-DVBL do-PRES-3 do-PRES-3  
 'The old man still keeps on visiting.' (Implying, '...contrary to what you would expect.')
- c. चेडराड जे निदाचे निदाचे... (cf. MR.05.090)  
*ceṅra-ḍa je nida-c-e nida-c-e*  
 young\_man still sleep-PRES-3 sleep-PRES-3  
 '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- *kaṛ-* '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."

- (30) a. मुइ आसिम आसिम करिस्तु तात त तुहें चलि आस्तो।  
 mui as-im as-im kAr-isn-u tat tʌ tu=he  
 1sg[pro] come-FUT1sg come-FUT1sg do-REM.PST-1sg while PCL 2sg[obl]=EMPH  
 cʌl-i as-l-o  
 AUX-ABS come-PST-2sg  
 'I was about to come, (but) in the meantime, you came.'
- b. \*मुइ आसिम करिस्तु...  
 \*mui as-im kAr-isn-u...  
 \*1sg[pro] come-FUT1sg do-REM.PST-1sg...

### 3.2.5 Reduplication of the pronoun

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

- (31) अम्मार तोर तोर मोर मोरखान लागल।  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r to-r to-r mo-r mo-r-k<sup>h</sup>an 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 आप्ना आप्नि *apna apni* 'each one's own' implies the possession of multiple participants; it is interchangeable with the reduplicated reflexive pronoun in the genitive case आप्नार आप्नार *apna-r apna-r* 'own-GEN own-GEN'. The reduplicated pronoun can not be used for a single referent.

- (32) a. आप्ना आप्नि घरेर कामेर कारन(त) (cf. DLR.03.012)  
 apna apni g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er kam-er karʌn(-ʌt)  
 REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason(-LOC)  
 'because of each one's own house work'
- b. गटे खेटियाला आप्ना आप्नि चुलि गेल। (cf. MR.04.087)  
 gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-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 बल्चे धिना इड चेडरा। (cf. MR.05.081)  
 ki ki bʌl-c-e d<sup>h</sup>ina i-dʌ ceŋra  
 what what speak-PRES-3 let's\_see DEM[prox]-NCLS young\_man  
 'What (things) this young man is saying, let's see.'

- b. घरटर भितरत कि कि (सामान) छिकि... (cf. DLR.02.005)  
 g<sup>h</sup>Ar-tΛ-r                      b<sup>h</sup>itrAt ki    ki    c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki  
 house-NCLS-GEN inside what what be-PRES-SA3  
 'Which (of his things) are in the house...'
- c. घरटर भितरत कि छिकि...  
 g<sup>h</sup>Ar-tΛ-r                      b<sup>h</sup>itrAt ki    c<sup>h</sup>-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. दुइ दुइडा *dui dui-ḍa* 'two two-NCLS' (i.e. 'two by two'; 'in twos')  
 b. तिन तिनझना करे *tin tin-j<sup>h</sup>ana 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 सडे *sAṇe* 'with' in (35a), and पाछु *pac<sup>h</sup>u* 'after' in (35c) are unmarked. Conversely, reduplication of the postposition stresses the immediacy, simultaneity or intensity of the action (35b,d).

- (35) a. उहाँर सडे सुना चलि गेल। (cf. MR.04.176)  
 uhã-r                      sAṇe suna cAl-i                      ge-l  
 3sg[pro]-GEN with PCL AUX-ABS go-PST3  
 'They went with her.'
- b. बुरिडर सडे सडे सुना आस्ले। (MR.04.177)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍΛ-r                      sAṇe sAṇe suna as-l-i  
 old\_woman-NCLS-GEN with with PCL come-PST-3  
 'They came (right along) with the old woman.'
- c. मोर पाछु *mo-r pac<sup>h</sup>u* '1sg[obl]-GEN after' ('after me')  
 d. मोर पाछु पाछु *mo-r pac<sup>h</sup>u pac<sup>h</sup>u* '1sg[obl]-GEN after after' ('right after me')

Complex postpositions of the type उपरत *uprAt* 'on top of', तलत *tAlAt* 'underneath' or बगलत *baGlAt* 'close to' can not be reduplicated (36a). Reduplication of the simple form is, however, encountered (36b-d).

- (36) a. \*घरटर उपरत उपरत \* $g^h\lambda r-\tau\lambda-r$   $upr\lambda t$   $upr\lambda t$  \*'house-NCLS-GEN upon upon'  
 b. उपरे उपरे  $upre$   $upre$  'on the surface'  
 c. तले तले  $t\lambda le$   $t\lambda le$  'inside; (from) underneath'  
 d. बगले बगले  $b\lambda gle$   $b\lambda gle$  '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 Rājibanshi the initial consonant of the repeated word is usually replaced by  $t-$ . 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  $k^h\lambda b\lambda r$   $k^h\lambda b\lambda r$  'news [echo]news'.<sup>12</sup> Note that in Bengali the initial of the repeated counterpart is replaced by  $t-$  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  $t-$ .

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  $c\lambda pp\lambda l$  [ $t$ ] $\lambda pp\lambda l$  'slipper [echo]slipper' ('slippers and the like')  
 b. proper name पामर तामर  $p\lambda m\lambda r$  [ $t$ ] $\lambda m\lambda r$  'Pāmar [echo]Pāmar' ('Pāmar<sub>[DEROGATORY]</sub> and his associates')  
 c. बुरा तुरा  $bur^h\lambda$   $tur^h\lambda$  'old\_man [echo]old\_man' ('the old man<sub>[DEROGATORY]</sub> and his associates'; cf. MR.04.078)

#### (38) adjective

- a. लाल ताल नि, मोक कालए कलम आनि दिस।  
 $lal$   $tal$   $ni$   $mo-k$   $ka\lambda=e$   $ka\lambda\lambda m$   $an-i$   $d-is$   
 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.'

<sup>12</sup> 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."

- b. नि लागे गरम तरम कर्बा, जुरालेखान ले आन्।  
 ni lag-e gARAm [t]ARAm kAr-ba  
 NEG need-PRES3 hot [echo]hot do-INF  
 jura-1 = e-k<sup>h</sup>an l-e an-∅  
 cool\_down-PST.PTCL = EMPH-NCLS bring-CONJ.PTCL bring-IMP2sg  
 'There is no need to heat it up (or something), bring (the) cooled down (one).'

## (39) verb

- a. finite form, as in मरे तरे (cf. MR.04.078)  
 mAre [t]ARe  
 die-PST.HAB-3 [echo]die-PST.HAB-3  
 'died and the like; died at all'
- b. conjunctive participle, as in उस्नाए तुस्नाए (cf. MR.04.022)  
 usna-e [t]usna-e  
 boil-CONJ.PTCL [echo]boil-CONJ.PTCL  
 'boiling this way and that'
- c. past participle, as in बुनाल तुनाल  
 bunal [t]unal  
 plant-PST.PTCL [echo]plant-PST.PTCL  
 'planted this way and that'
- d. nominalised verb, as in मार तार (cf. MR.04.087)  
 mar [t]ar  
 beating [echo]beating  
 'beating and the like'

## (40) adverb (temporal), as in कालि तालि नि, मोक अलाए लागे।

- kal<sup>hi</sup> [t]al<sup>hi</sup> ni mo-k al<sup>h</sup>a=e lag-e  
 tomorrow [echo]tomorrow NEG 1sg[obl]-DAT now = EMPH need-PRES3  
 'Not tomorrow (or anything like that), I need (it) right now.'

## 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. डाड डाड करे *ḍaḍ ḍaḍ kAre* '[ḍaḍ ḍaḍ] ADVL' ('with a clashing sound')
- b. खेटियार गुला पेचेत पेचेत करे निक्लेच्चि। (cf. MR.04.039)  
 k<sup>h</sup>eṭiā-r gu-la pecet pecet kAre niki-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.'

- c. बुराड खेटियालाक ढिप ढिप ढिप करे मार्ले। (cf. MR.04.075)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la-k ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip kare mar-c-e  
 old\_man-NCLS jackal-PL-DAT [ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip]sound [ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip]sound [ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip]sound ADVL beat-PRES-3  
 'The old man beat the jackals with a whack whack whack 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 it 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: *kickic* (suggesting grittiness), *mitmit* (suggesting flickering), *ṭlmṭl* (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.<sup>13</sup> The quality

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<sup>13</sup> Other elicited forms include:

- (iv) a. काच *k<sup>h</sup>acA* 'unripe' > काच गेद गेद (or, गद गद) *k<sup>h</sup>acA ged ged* (or, *gAd gAd*) 'really unripe'  
 b. ठेन्डा *t<sup>h</sup>enda* 'cold' > ठेन्डा कुन कुन (or, कन कन) *t<sup>h</sup>enda kun kun* (or, *kAn kAn*) 'freezing cold'  
 c. भारि *b<sup>h</sup>ari* 'heavy' > भारि गद गद (or, लद लद) *b<sup>h</sup>ari gAd gAd* (or, *lAdA lAdA*) 'very heavy'  
 d. पाका *paka* 'ripe' > पाका गुल गुल *paka gul gul* 'really ripe'  
 e. बहिरा *bAhira* 'deaf' > बहिरा गुल गुल *bAhira gul gul* 'stone deaf'  
 f. घन *g<sup>h</sup>AnA* 'dense' > घन गिज गिज *g<sup>h</sup>AnA gij gij* 'really dense'  
 g. काल *kaLa* 'black' > काल घुट घुट (or, कुट कुट, मिस मिस) *kaLa g<sup>h</sup>uṭ g<sup>h</sup>uṭ* (or, *kuṭ kuṭ, mis mis*) 'really black'  
 h. आन्धार *and<sup>h</sup>ar* 'dark' > आन्धार घुट घुट (or, घिट घिट, कुट कुट) *and<sup>h</sup>ar g<sup>h</sup>uṭ g<sup>h</sup>uṭ* (or, *g<sup>h</sup>iṭ g<sup>h</sup>iṭ, kuṭ kuṭ*) '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, डाड़ डाड़ *ḍaḍ ḍaḍ* in (41a) represents the clashing sound implied, whereas चाँए चाँए *cāe cāe* in (42a), and गिज गिज *gij gij* in (42b) are in no way imitations of a real-world auditory sensation.

- (42) a. फेर धुपअ चाँए चाँए हेतिना। (cf. MR.04.167)  
 p<sup>h</sup>er d<sup>h</sup>up=Λ cāe cāe hetina  
 again sun=CNJ [cāe cāe] here  
 'And moreover, the sun is scorching hot here.'
- b. फुलेर गेचला घन गिज गिज ना बुन्।  
 p<sup>h</sup>ul-er gec-la g<sup>h</sup>ΛnΛ gij gij na bun-Ø  
 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 कर- *kAr-* 'do' (43c).

- (43) a. जोग जोग (or, फट फट) बेहान  
 jog jog (or, p<sup>h</sup>Λt p<sup>h</sup>Λt) behan  
 [jog jog] (or, [p<sup>h</sup>Λt p<sup>h</sup>Λt]) morning  
 'very clear morning'
- b. जोग जोग करे देखा जाछे।  
 jog jog kArē dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 [jog jog] ADVL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
 'It can be seen very clearly.'

- 
- i. खाटा *k<sup>h</sup>aṭa* 'sour' > खाटा चाँए चाँए (or, चाड़ चाड़) *k<sup>h</sup>aṭa cae cae* (or, *caḅ caḅ*) 'really sour'
- j. चख *cAk<sup>h</sup>Λ* 'salty' > चख चाँए चाँए *cAk<sup>h</sup>Λ cae cae* 'really salty'
- k. गर *gArA* 'white-skinned' > गर चुक चुक (or, फेक फेक) *gArA cuk cuk* (or, *p<sup>h</sup>ek p<sup>h</sup>ek*) 'really white-skinned'
- l. मिठ *miṭ<sup>h</sup>Λ* 'sweet' > मिठ चुन चुन *miṭ<sup>h</sup>Λ cun cun* 'really sweet'
- m. चख *cAk<sup>h</sup>Λ* 'salty' > चख चुन चुन *cAk<sup>h</sup>Λ cun cun* 'really salty'
- n. पाल्ला *patla* 'thin' > पाल्ला चुन चुन *patla cun cun* 'really thin'
- o. पाल्ला *patla* 'thin' > पाल्ला झाड़ झाड़ *patla j<sup>h</sup>aḅ j<sup>h</sup>aḅ* 'so thin that it is see-through'
- p. पाल्लि *patl-i* 'thin-FEM' > पाल्लि छिन छिन *patli c<sup>h</sup>in c<sup>h</sup>in* 'devouringly slim (of a woman)'
- q. लाल *lal* 'red' > लाल टक टक *lal ṭak ṭak* 'really red'
- r. गरम *gArAm* 'hot' > गरम टाँअ टाँअ *gArAm ṭaΛ ṭaΛ* 'boiling hot'
- s. नायाँ *naya* 'new' > नायाँ टिल टिल *naya ṭil ṭil* 'brand new'
- t. साफा *sap<sup>h</sup>a* 'white' > साफा धग धग *sap<sup>h</sup>a d<sup>h</sup>Λg d<sup>h</sup>Λg* 'really white'
- u. सुरु *suru* 'fine/thin' > सुरु मिन मिन *suru min min* 'really fine/thin'

- c. खुच खुच ना कर, मार खाबो।  
 k<sup>h</sup>uc k<sup>h</sup>uc na kAR-Ø mar k<sup>h</sup>a-b-o  
 [k<sup>h</sup>uc k<sup>h</sup>uc] 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 -इया -*ia* 'ADJR'.

- (44) a. फेस-फेसिया माटि  
 p<sup>h</sup>es p<sup>h</sup>es-ia maṭi  
 [p<sup>h</sup>es p<sup>h</sup>es]-ADJR soil  
 'very unstable soil'
- b. गुथानिड बारा मिच-मिचिया इखान धक्रार  
 gut<sup>h</sup>-ani-ḍaḷ bara mic mic-ia i-k<sup>h</sup>an d<sup>h</sup>ʌkra-r  
 weave-DVBL-NCLS tight [mic mic]-ADJR this-NCLS carpet-GEN  
 'This (jute) carpet's (quality of) weaving is very tight.'

A final common feature related to sound symbolism is the addition of the suffix -आ -*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.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Supporting the analysis of the suffix as a causative stem, one verb was found to be marked with the indirect causative suffix -(उ)वा -(*u*)*wa* 'ICAUS'. Whether this constitutes a new category or simply a restriction to use in a particular idiom is yet to be determined:

- (v) a. गेद-गेदुवा-  
 ged ged-(u)wa-  
 [ged ged]-ICAUS  
 'to slurp (one's food)'
- b. हासेर पाए गेद-गेदुवाए दिबो।  
 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.'

Other examples using the simple causative stem include:

- (vi) a. टन टन *ṭan ṭan* > टन-टनाबा *ṭan ṭan-a-ba* '[*ṭan ṭan*]-CAUS-INF' ('to ache' (of boils, teeth))  
 b. चिम चिम *cim cim* > चिम-चिमाबा *cim cim-a-ba* '[*cim cim*]-CAUS-INF' ('to ache/pinch' (of the surface of the skin))



- (45) a. खिल-खिलाबा  
 k<sup>h</sup>il k<sup>h</sup>il-a-ba  
 [k<sup>h</sup>il k<sup>h</sup>il]-CAUS-INF  
 'to giggle'
- b. कियोंँ खिल-खिलाचन गे?  
 kiã k<sup>h</sup>il k<sup>h</sup>il-a-c-ʌn ge  
 why [k<sup>h</sup>il k<sup>h</sup>il]-CAUS-PRES-2pl VOC[fem]  
 'Why are you (girls) giggling?'
- c. सिक-सिकाबा  
 sik sik-a-ba  
 [sik sik]-CAUS-INF  
 'to itch'
- d. पिठिखान सिक-सिकाचे।  
 pi<sup>h</sup>i-k<sup>h</sup>an sik sik-a-c-e  
 back-NCLS [sik sik]-CAUS-PRES-3  
 '(My) back is itching.'

### 3.5 Derivation

One is likely to encounter a wide range of Indo-Aryan derivational prefixes and suffixes in Rājibanshi (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 Chatteriji (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.

Table 12. Derivational suffixes and corresponding functions

		N fr. V	N fr. N	ADJ fr. V	ADJ fr. N	ADJ fr. onomatp. word
manner, action	-आनि - <i>ani</i>	'DVBL'				
action	-अन - <i>ʌn</i> -आन - <i>an</i>	'DVBL'				

- c. कुत कुत *kut kut* > कुत-कुताबा *kut kut-a-ba* '[*kut kut*]-CAUS-INF' ('to tickle')
- d. फक फक *p<sup>h</sup>ʌk p<sup>h</sup>ʌk* > फक-फकाबा *p<sup>h</sup>ʌk p<sup>h</sup>ʌk-a-ba* '[*p<sup>h</sup>ʌk p<sup>h</sup>ʌk*]-CAUS-INF' ('to burn' (of boils))

Table 12. (cont.)

	-इ -i	'DVBL'	'NML; FEM; DIM'		'ADJR'	
	-इया -ia				'ADJR'	'ADJR'
	-आ -a			'DVBL'		
	(-आ(ल) -a(l))					
	-वालि -u(w)ali				'ADJR'	
actor	-इयानि -iani		'FEM'			
	-ने बाला -ne wala (Hindi)	'NML'				

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 -आनि -ani 'DVBL' denotes the manner of an action.

- (46) a. गुथानि *gut<sup>h</sup>-ani* 'weave-DVBL' ('manner of weaving')  
 b. बेरानि *ber-ani* 'walk-DVBL' ('manner of walking')
- c. उहाँर बेरानिड भान करे देखिस त! केनड एक कछिया एक कछिया।  
 uhā-r ber-ani-ḍa b<sup>h</sup>an kare dek<sup>h</sup>-is t<sub>Λ</sub>  
 3sg[pro]-GEN walk-DVBL-NCLS attention ADVL look-SUBJ2sg PCL  
 ken<sub>Λ</sub> ek kare<sup>h</sup>-ia ek kare<sup>h</sup>-ia  
 how one side-ADJR one side-ADJR  
 'Look at his manner (i.e. style) of walking. How he is walking to one side!'

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

- (47) देख्वा *dek<sup>h</sup>-ba* 'look/see-INF' > देखानि *dek<sup>h</sup>-ani* 'pretence'

In some cases the derivational suffix -अन -an 'DVBL' (allomorph -आ(न) -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. कानन *kan-an* 'cry-DVBL' ('(act of) crying')  
 b. सिना(न) *sin-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-aṅ* 'support-DVBL' ('act/state of supporting')  
 b. टेकनि *tek-ani* 'support-DVBL' ('act/state of supporting')  
 c. \*गुथान (\*गुथन) \**gut<sup>h</sup>-a/ṅ* \*'weave-DVBL'  
 d. \*बेरान (\*बेरन) \**ber-a/ṅ* \*'walk-DVBL'

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

- (50) a. आप्नार दानार खोजित... (cf. DLR.05.006a)  
 apna-r                      dana-r                      k<sup>h</sup>oj-i-t...  
 REFL[pro]-GEN seed-GEN search-DVBL-LOC...  
 '...in search for his seeds.'
- b. आसा जाइ... (cf. DLR.03.011)  
 as-a                      ja-i  
 come-DVBL go-DVBL  
 'coming and going' (i.e. 'visiting')
- c. हाँसि मुहाँ *hās-i muhā* 'laugh-DVBL mouth' (i.e. 'smiling')
- d. खेति *k<sup>h</sup>et-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. भिका माडा भान्डा  
 b<sup>h</sup>ika maṅ-a                      b<sup>h</sup>anda  
 alm beg-DVBL pot  
 'alm-begging pot'
- b. छागल काटा भर्छुला  
 c<sup>h</sup>agal kaṭ-a                      b<sup>h</sup>arc<sup>h</sup>ula  
 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).

- (52) a. परा लिखा  
 pʌr<sup>h</sup>-a            lik<sup>h</sup>-a  
 read-PST.PTCL write-PST.PTCL  
 'educated'
- b. सरा(ल) आलुला  
 sʌr-a(l)            alu-la  
 rot-PST.PTCL potatoes-PL  
 'rotten potatoes'
- c. उस्नाल उस्नाल कचुला (cf. MR.04.026)  
 usn-al            usn-al            kʌcu-la  
 boil-PST.PTCL boil-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL  
 'boiled [kacu]vegetables'

In comparison, both Assamese and Bengali use the suffix *-ā* for verbal nouns and/or imperfective adjectival forms, whereas Hindi uses the suffix *-(y)ā* for the verbal noun and/or perfective adjectival (Masica 1991:324-325). For the Rājbanishi 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 जाइ *as-a ja-i* 'come-DVBL go-DVBL' (\*आसाल जाइ \**as-al ja-i* \*'come-PST.PTCL go-DVBL'). Secondly, the deverbaliser and the past participle are semantically distinct: unlike the past participial, 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) \*भिका माडाल भान्डा  
 \*b<sup>h</sup>ika maŋ-al            b<sup>h</sup>anda  
 \*alm beg-PST.PTCL pot  
 \*'alm-begging pot'

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

- (54) a. हाप हाति साफा जामा (cf. MR.02.008)  
 hap hat-i            sap<sup>h</sup>a jama  
 half arm-ADJR white shirt  
 'a half-sleeved white shirt'

- b. सतसंगि लोक (cf. DLR.03.003)  
 satsaŋ-i lok  
 religious\_fellowship-ADJR man  
 'a (religiously) devout man'

- (55) कादुवालि पानि (cf. GR.01.011)  
 kad-u(w)ali pani  
 mud-ADJR water  
 'muddy water'

Finally, the adjectivising suffixes -लि *-li* 'ADJR' (56a) and -इया *-ia* 'ADJR' (56b-d) derive adjectives from nouns.

- (56) a. बुरालि *bur<sup>h</sup>a-li* 'old man-ADJR' (i.e. 'old aged')
- b. माटिया भुइ  
 maṭi-a b<sup>h</sup>ui  
 soil-ADJR ground  
 'soily ground'
- c. दाहाड केन्ति मलिया हइचकु। (MR.05.281)  
 daha-ḍa kenti maḷ-ia ha-ic-ku  
 body-NCLS how mud-ADJR be-PERF-SA2sg  
 'How muddy (your) body has become.'
- d. उड नकरिया चेडराड (cf. MR.05.010)  
 u-ḍa naḱar-ia ceṅra-ḍa  
 that-NCLS servant-ADJR young\_man-NCLS  
 'that working young (man)'

### 3.5.3 Feminine derivational suffixes

Rājbandhi makes use of the feminine suffix -इ *-i* 'FEM'. The suffix denotes the feminine sex in kinship terms (57a; cf. Masica 1991:217-218).<sup>15</sup> (Exceptions, however, include

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<sup>15</sup> 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. ... *noṭ* 'actor / *noṭi* 'actress') that one observes any evidence today for the system of nominal gender which once existed in the language."

kinship terms such as भाइ *b<sup>h</sup>ai* 'younger brother'). It also indicates a male/female distinction in words concerning humans in general (57b) or animals (57c).

(57) a. kinship terms

बेटा <i>beṭa</i> 'son'	vs.	बेटी <i>beṭi</i> 'daughter'
नाना <i>nana</i> 'grandfather'	vs.	नानि <i>nani</i> 'grandmother'

b. human

चेडरा <i>ceṅra</i> 'boy; young <sub>[MALE]</sub> '	vs.	चेडरि <i>ceṅri</i> 'girl; young <sub>[FEMALE]</sub> '
बुरा <i>bur<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'old man; old <sub>[MALE]</sub> '	vs.	बुरि <i>bur<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'old woman; old <sub>[FEMALE]</sub> '

c. animal

बाछा <i>bac<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'calf(male)'	vs.	बाछि <i>bac<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'calf(female)'
नरा <i>nara</i> 'pigeon(male)'	vs.	नुरि <i>nuri</i> 'pigeon(female)'

Also the suffix -इयानि *-iani* 'FEM' conveys the feminine sex.

- (58) a. पाहारियानि *pahar-iani* 'mountain-FEM' ('woman of the mountain')  
 b. पिल्ला *pilla* 'dog(male)' vs. पिलियानि *pil-iani* 'dog(female)'

A male/female distinction is also made between the vocative particles (cf. masculine particles अरे *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. चखुड *ca<sup>k</sup>hu-ḍa* 'knife-NCLS' > चखुडि *ca<sup>k</sup>hu-ḍ-i* 'knife-NCLS-DIM'

- b. रङ्गिन हवे जिवनडि तोर। (from a song by Pāmar Rājbanṣhi)  
 raṅgin ha-b-i jibaṅ-ḍ-i to-r  
 colourful be-FUT-3 life-NCLS-DIM 2sg[obl]-GEN  
 'Your little life will be colourful (with affection).'

- c. बुराडि *bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍ-i* 'old\_man-NCLS-DIM' (i.e. 'little old man (with affection)')

The suffix can only attach to the noun classifier -ड *-ḍa* 'NCLS' (59a-c), the article (60) or the numeral (61a-b). It can not occur in conjunction with the noun classifier -खान *-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'NCLS' (61c), and it can not attach directly to the head noun.

- (60) article  
 दिलो एकटि झला। (from a song by Pāmar Rājbanshi)  
 di-l-o ek-ṭ-i j<sup>h</sup>ʌla  
 give-PST-2sg one-NCLS-DIM bag  
 'you gave a (small) bag'
- (61) numeral
- दुइडि *dui-d-i* 'two-NCLS-DIM'
  - चारटि *car-ṭ-i* 'four-NCLS-DIM'
  - \*दुइखानि \**dui-k<sup>h</sup>an-i* \*'two-NCLS-DIM'

### 3.6 Nominal morphology

#### 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. दुइखान बाहाँ  
 dui-k<sup>h</sup>an baha  
 two-NCLS arm  
 'two arms'
- b. दुइडा छुवा  
 dui-ḍa c<sup>h</sup>ua  
 two-NCLS child  
 'two children'

- c. \*दुइडा छुवाला (cf. MR.03.013)  
 \*dui-ḍa c<sup>h</sup>ua-la  
 \*two-NCLS child-PL
- d. दुइ महिना (cf. MR.04.030)  
 dui maḥina  
 two month  
 'two months'

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

- (64) गटे खेटियाला मिलिएने बुरिडर सडे गेले। (MR.04.067)  
 gʌṭe k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la mil-iene bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍa-r saṇe 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 *gʌṭe* '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 bās  
 DEM[prox]-PL bamboo
- b. इला बाँसेर  
 i-la bās-er  
 DEM[prox]-PL bamboo-GEN
- c. इला गटला बाँस  
 i-la gʌṭ-la bās  
 DEM[prox]-PL all-PL bamboo
- d. इला लाम्ना लाम्ना बाँस  
 i-la lam<sup>h</sup>a lam<sup>h</sup>a bās  
 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 बाँसला  
 \*/? i-la bās-la  
 \*/? DEM[prox]-PL bamboo-PL
- b. \*/? इला खेटियाला त हामाक ठग्ले! (cf. MR.04.040)  
 \*/? i-la k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la tʌ hama-k tʰʌg-l-ɪ  
 \*/? DEM[prox]-PL jackal-PL PCL 1pl[pro]-DAT cheat-PST-3  
 'These jackals have cheated us!' <sup>16</sup>

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

"...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 Rājbandhi 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

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

- (vii) \*/? इला गटला बाँसला  
 \*/? 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 बाँसला *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 बाँसला (हए)!  
 [i-la gʌṭ-la] te [bās-la] (hʌ-e)  
 [DEM[prox]-PL all-PL]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> PCL [bamboo-PL]<sub>[COMPLEMENT]</sub> (be-PRES3)  
 '(But) these are all bamboos!'

<sup>17</sup> 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. बुराड आसेचे?  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-dʌ as-ec-e  
 old\_man-NCLS come-PRES-3  
 'Is the old man coming?'
- b. तोर भईसट छोक?  
 to-r b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-tʌ c<sup>h</sup>-ok  
 2sg[obl]-GEN buffalo-NCLS be-SA2sg  
 'Do you have your buffalo?' (Implying, 'Is your buffalo missing?')
- c. बुराला आसेचे?  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-la as-ec-e  
 old\_man-PL come-PRES-3  
 'Are the old men coming?'
- d. तोर भईसला छोक?  
 to-r b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la c<sup>h</sup>-ok  
 2sg[obl]-GEN buffalo-PL be-SA2sg  
 'Do you have your buffaloes?' (Implying, 'Are your buffaloes missing?')
- e. तोर भईस छोक?  
 to-r b<sup>h</sup>ʌis c<sup>h</sup>-ok  
 2sg[obl]-GEN buffalo be-SA2sg  
 'Do you have (some/any) buffaloes?'
- f. आर गोरु(ला) काम करेचे। (GR.02.004)  
 ar goru(-la) kam kʌr-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 हल्कन?  
 kʌcu tʌcu(-la) bun-a hʌ-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. बुरा तुराला आसेचे।  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a tur<sup>h</sup>a-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 बुरा तुरालाक देखेचु।  
 mui bur<sup>h</sup>a tur<sup>h</sup>a-la-k dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-u  
 1sg[pro] old\_man [echo]old\_man-PL-DAT see-PRES-1sg  
 'I am looking after the old man (and his friends; associates; family).'
- d. पामर तामर(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 बुरा बुरिलाक देखेचु।  
 mui bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-u  
 1sg[pro] old\_man old\_woman-PL-DAT see-PRES-1sg  
 'I am looking after the old man and old woman.'
- b. गरु भइसलाक घाँस खिल्वार ताने... (cf. MR.02.026)  
 garu b<sup>h</sup>ais-la-k g<sup>h</sup>ās k<sup>h</sup>il-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. बुरा बुरि मिलिएने (cf. MR.04.005)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i mil-iene  
 old\_man old\_woman unite-CONJ.PTCL  
 'the old man and old woman together'
- b. बुरा बुरि सचेचे... (cf. MR.04.014)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i sac-ec-e  
 old\_man old\_woman think-PRES-3  
 'The old man and the old woman thought...'

- c. अइड त मोर धन सम्पति। (DLR.05.036)  
 ʌi-ɖʌ tʌ mo-r dʰʌn sʌmpʌti  
 DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN wealth possessions  
 'That (was) my wealth and possessions.'

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 (बुरा *bur<sup>h</sup>a* 'old\_man' [pause] बुरि *bur<sup>h</sup>i* [pause] 'old\_woman'), or rising intonation, would give a conjunctive 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 बुरा बुरि *bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i* 'old\_man old\_woman' was modified by दने *dʌn<sup>h</sup>e* 'both'. Therefore दने बुरा बुरि *dʌn<sup>h</sup>e bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i* '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 इला झग्रा दनत। (DLR.04.030)  
 ni ja-b-i rʌh-a i-la jʰagʌra dʌn-ʌt  
 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 छिकि याहाँर? (DLR.05.021)  
 kete-la dʰʌn sʌmpʌti 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.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Other such words include:

- (x) a. धनला *dʰʌn-la* 'wealth-PL' (mass)  
 b. सम्पतिला *sʌmpʌti-la* 'possession-PL' (mass)

- (72) a. पुवालला *pual-la* 'straw-PL' (cf. DLR.01.002; 'straw (mass)')  
 b. चुलिला *culi-la* 'hair-PL' (cf. MR.05.221; 'hair (mass)')  
 c. भातला *b<sup>h</sup>at-la* 'rice-PL' ('rice (mass)')  
 d. इखान चुलि *i-k<sup>h</sup>an culi* 'DEM[prox]-NCLS hair' (cf. MR.05.224; 'this strand of hair')  
 e. इखान पुवाल *i-k<sup>h</sup>an pual* 'DEM[prox]-NCLS straw' ('this stalk of straw')  
 f. इड भात *i-d<sup>h</sup>at b<sup>h</sup>at* 'DEM[prox]-NCLS rice' ('this grain of rice')

When a collective noun forms an endocentric compound with another noun it is not marked with the plural suffix.

- (73) पुवाल ढेरिड *pual d<sup>h</sup>eri-d<sup>h</sup>* 'straw pile-NCLS' (i.e. 'the pile of straw'; cf. MR.02.005)

### 3.6.2 Noun classes

#### 3.6.2.1 Introduction

Rājbandhi nouns are assigned to one of two noun classes: *-ṭ -ṭa* (with allomorph *-ḍ -ḍa*, or *vice versa*) or *-खान -k<sup>h</sup>an*.<sup>19</sup> The use of the noun classifier is closely linked to specific definite/indefinite reference. Concerning Bengali, Chatterji (1975b [1926]:777) maintains:

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- c. खानाला (खानला) *k<sup>h</sup>ana/a-la* 'food-PL' (mass)  
 d. खराकला *k<sup>h</sup>arak-la* 'food-PL' (mass)  
 e. मोचला *moc-la* 'moustache-PL' (mass)  
 f. दारिला *dar<sup>h</sup>i-la* 'beard-PL' (mass)  
 g. गपसपला *gapsap-la* 'chat-PL' (mass)  
 h. मुसिला *musi-la* 'ashes-PL' (mass)  
 i. कालाला *kala-la* 'peas-PL' (mass)  
 j. पेइसाला *peisa-la* 'money-PL' (mass)

<sup>19</sup> 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 Rājbandhi 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. *-ṭā, -ṭi, -khāna, -khāni*; O. *-ṭa, -ṭi*; A. *-to, -zpn, -khpn, -khpnī, -gps, -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. *cheṭi* '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 bhōdrolok* 'a gentleman', but not *\*bhōdrologjon* 'the gentleman'. In both types, case suffixes follow these elements in declension: B. *cheṭike, cheṭir* 'to the child, the child's'..."

Rājbandhi also has a numeral classifier *-जना -j<sup>h</sup>ana* '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 Rājbandhi the noun is marked with one of two noun classifiers: *-ṭ* (with allomorph *-ḍ -ḍa*, or *vice versa*) or *-खान -k<sup>h</sup>an*.

- (74) a. जाकट *jak-ṭa* 'stack-NCLS'  
 b. ढिप्रिड *ḍ<sup>h</sup>ipri-ḍa* 'mound-NCLS'  
 c. पेटानिखान *peṭani-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'skirt-NCLS'

The classifier -ट -ṭa (-ड -ḍa) is found as -टा -ṭa (-डा -ḍa) when it occurs after numerals. Dialects on the eastern border with India use the forms -टा -ṭa (or -डा -ḍa) for the first classifier even after nouns (cf. Narrative 3 in section 8.1.7).

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

Whether the primary form of the first classifier is -ट -ṭa or -ड -ḍa is not as easy to determine as it would seem. Based on a strictly structuralist analysis, one would take -ड -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: -ड -ḍa (or eastern -डा -ḍa).  
 e.g. बाबाडर *baba-ḍa-r* 'priest-NCLS-GEN'
- b. Following all voiced consonants except for *r*: -ड -ḍa (or eastern -डा -ḍa).  
 e.g. चिलिमड *cilim-ḍa* 'pipe-NCLS'
- (77) a. Following all voiceless consonants: -ट -ṭa (or eastern -टा -ṭa).  
 e.g. लङ्गट *laṅgaṭ-ṭa* 'ill-behaved\_person-NCLS'
- b. Following the consonant *r*: -ट -ṭa (or eastern -टा -ṭa).  
 e.g. सोरट *sor-ṭa* '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 -ड 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".<sup>20</sup> In Rājbanṣhi 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-ḍa* 'shirt-NCLS' (Ghailāḍubbā) versus जामाखान *jama-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'shirt-NCLS' (Korobāri)

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<sup>20</sup> 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."

- b. गारिखान *gari-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'cart-NCLS' (Ghailāḍubbā) versus गारिड *gari-ḍa* 'cart-NCLS' (Korobāri)  
 c. संसारट *sansar-ṭa* 'world-NCLS' (Lakharigaddi/Ghailāḍubbā) versus संसारखान *sansar-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'world-NCLS' (Korobāri)  
 d. बाहाखान *baha-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'wedding-NCLS' (Lakharigaddi/Ghailāḍubbā) versus बाहाड *baha-ḍa* 'wedding-NCLS' (Korobāri)

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 -ṭa (or -ड -ḍa) class is more common than the -खान -k<sup>h</sup>an class. In a count of 225 nouns (which are used in the text data corpus in Appendix 3), 38% were of the -खान -k<sup>h</sup>an class and 62% of the -ट -ṭa (or -ड -ḍa) 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.<sup>21</sup>

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

- (79) a. कामखान *kam-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'work-NCLS' (Korobāri and Ghailāḍubbā)  
 b. कामड *kam-ḍa* 'work-NCLS' (Korobāri and Ghailāḍubbā)

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 तुहे।  
 kam-ḍa 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 -k<sup>h</sup>an 'NCLS' or -ड -ḍa '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 बुद्धि *budd<sup>hi</sup>* 'wisdom; intelligence' which generally uses the classifier -खान -k<sup>h</sup>an 'NCLS' (81a), and गित *git* 'song' which normally uses the classifier -ड -ḍa 'NCLS' (81b). If the opposite classifier is used for (81a), it implies a

<sup>21</sup> 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'."



single unit, that is, 'idea' (81c,e). If the opposite classifier is used for (81b) it implies the content of the song, that is, the wording (81d).

- (81) a. बुद्धिखान *budd<sup>hi</sup>-k<sup>han</sup>* 'wisdom/intelligence-NCLS' (whole entity)  
 b. गितट *git-ṭa* 'song-NCLS' (whole entity)  
 c. बुद्धि *budd<sup>hi</sup>-ḍa* 'wisdom/intelligence-NCLS' (that is, 'an idea'; single entity)  
 d. गितखान *git-k<sup>han</sup>* 'song-NCLS' (that is, 'the wording of a song'; content)
- e. लेडरि भइसट एकटा याहाँक बुद्धि दिक्कि। (cf. MR.05.156)  
 leṅri b<sup>h</sup>ais-ṭa ek-ṭa yaha-k budd<sup>hi</sup> d-ip-ki  
 lame[FEM] buffalo-NCLS one-NCLS DEM[pro/prox]-DAT wisdom give-FUT-SA3  
 'Then the lame wild buffalo gave him an idea.'

Other word pairs include:

- (82) a. धानड *d<sup>han</sup>-ḍa* 'grain\_of\_rice(with\_husk)-NCLS' versus धानखान *d<sup>han</sup>-k<sup>han</sup>*  
 'field/crop\_of\_rice-NCLS'  
 b. बाधड *bad<sup>h</sup>-ḍa* 'length\_of\_a\_field-NCLS' versus बाधखान *bad<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>han</sup>* 'field-NCLS'  
 c. तुरिड *turi-ḍa* 'mustard\_seed-NCLS' versus तुरिखान *turi-k<sup>han</sup>* 'mustard\_field-NCLS'  
 d. दुदड *dud-ḍa* 'breast-NCLS' versus दुदखान *dud-k<sup>han</sup>* 'milk'  
 e. बदलाड *baḍla-ḍa* '(specific\_act\_of)revenge-NCLS' versus बदलाखान *baḍla-k<sup>han</sup>*  
 '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 [ $\pm$ 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 *dimag-k<sup>han</sup>* 'brain-NCLS'  
 b. \*दिमागड \**dimag-ḍa* \*'brain-NCLS'  
 c. डरखान *ḍar-k<sup>han</sup>* 'fear-NCLS'  
 d. \*डरड \**ḍar-ḍa* \*'fear-NCLS'
- (84) a. नाअखान *naa-k<sup>han</sup>* 'boat-NCLS' versus नाअँड *naa/ā-ḍa* 'name-NCLS'  
 b. जाग्गाड *jagga-ḍa* 'container for keeping fire-NCLS' versus जाग्गाखान *jagga-k<sup>han</sup>* 'land-NCLS'  
 c. दोसखान *dos-k<sup>han</sup>* 'accusation-NCLS' versus दोसड *dos-ḍa* '(covenant) friend-NCLS'  
 d. चालखान *cal-k<sup>han</sup>* 'roof-NCLS' versus चालड *cal-ḍa* '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 किखान?

i-kʰan                      ki-kʰan  
DEM[prox]-NCLS what-NCLS  
'What is this?'

(86) a. पातट *pat-tʌ* '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 घरनिड *gʰʌr-ni-dʌ* 'house-FEM-NCLS' (i.e. 'wife')

b. human entity पताड *pʌtʌ-dʌ* 'grandson-NCLS'

c. animal entity खेटियाड *kʰeʈiʌ-dʌ* 'jackal-NCLS'

d. animal entity छागलड *cʰagʌl-dʌ* '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 दहिखान *dʌ(h)i-kʰan* 'curd-NCLS'

b. liquid substance दुनिखान *dunʰi-kʰan* 'milk-NCLS'

c. airborne substance धुवाँखान *dʰuã-kʰan* 'smoke-NCLS'

d. airborne substance अघिनखान *ʌgʰin-kʰan* 'fire-NCLS'

e. illumination जानाकखान *janʰak-kʰan* 'light-NCLS'

Note that both classifiers can be used for abstract entities.

(89) a. abstract entity धर्मड *dʰʌrma-dʌ* 'religion-NCLS'

b. abstract entity कारनड *karʌn-dʌ* 'reason-NCLS'

c. abstract entity डरखान *dʌr-kʰan* 'fear-NCLS'

d. abstract entity बुद्धिखान *buddʰi-kʰan* 'wisdom/intelligence-NCLS'

Whether the classifier -खान *-k<sup>h</sup>an* is used for elongated or flat/thin entities is less certain. At a glance this may certainly seem to be the case.<sup>22</sup>

- (90) a. elongated entity बाहँखान *baha-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'arm-NCLS'  
 b. elongated entity पुत्रालखान *pual-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'straw-NCLS'  
 c. flat/elongated entity खेतखान *k<sup>h</sup>et-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'field-NCLS'  
 d. flat/thin entity बिछ्नाखान *bic<sup>h</sup>na-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'bed\_sheet-NCLS'  
 e. flat/thin entity खस्ताखान *k<sup>h</sup>asla-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'woven\_straw\_mat-NCLS'  
 f. flat/thin entity चाचखान *cac-k<sup>h</sup>an* '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 -ट *-ṭa* (or -ड *-ḍa*).

- (91) a. elongated entity चिलिमड *cilim-ḍa* 'pipe-NCLS'  
 b. elongated entity खामाड *k<sup>h</sup>ama-ḍa* 'pillar-NCLS'  
 c. elongated entity कलमड *kalam-ḍa* 'pen-NCLS'  
 d. elongated entity पइनड *paṇin(a)-ḍa* 'irrigation\_channel-NCLS'

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<sup>22</sup> Klaiman (1987:511) maintains the Bengali classifier *-khana* (which is akin to the Rājbanṣhi noun classifier -खान *-k<sup>h</sup>an*) relates to "flat". Likewise Aikhenvald (2003 [2000]:105) postulates a semantic-related assignment of the Bengali noun classifier *-khana*: "Bengali has five numeral classifiers which are suffixed to the numeral: *-ṭā* 'countable non-human'; *-ṭi* 'diminutive of *-ṭā*'; *-jan* 'human'; *-khana* 'solid objects with rectangular or flat shape'; *-khāni* 'diminutive of *-khana*'..."

Toulmin (2002a) suggests a semantic distinction for the Rājbanṣhi 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: "Rajbanṣhi makes use of classifier *-k<sup>h</sup>aan* to classify flat objects, liquids, abstract notions and parts of body. ... Rajbanṣhi 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) थान, थाना «khāna, khānā», diminutive थानौ, थानि «khāni, khāni»... = 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 Rājbanṣhi is only partially semantically transparent: "The definition of some noun classes involves a semantic criterion, but not for others. In the MH system, the */-k<sup>h</sup>an/* class is partially defined by the semantic criterion of spatial extension—either flatness or length. For example */kitap-k<sup>h</sup>an/* 'the book', */duar-k<sup>h</sup>an/* '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."

- e. flat/thin/elongated entity दामालड *damal-dΛ* 'track-NCLS'
- f. flat/thin entity कानड *kan-dΛ* 'ear-NCLS'
- g. flat/thin entity लिहानिड *lihani-dΛ* 'blanket-NCLS'
- h. flat/thin entity गिलापट *gilap-tΛ* 'shawl-NCLS'
- i. flat/thin entity धुसाड *d<sup>h</sup>usa-dΛ* 'blanket-NCLS'

Similarly, entities which are related to nature are arbitrarily assigned to the noun classes. Though some entities are indeed assigned to the -खान *-k<sup>h</sup>an* class (92a-c), others are assigned to the -ट *-tΛ* (or, -ड *-dΛ*) class (93a-d).

- (92) a. छियारिखान *c<sup>h</sup>iari-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'shady\_place\_for\_sitting-NCLS'
- b. जङलखान *jΛŋΛl-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'jungle/forest-NCLS'
- c. माटिखान *maṭi-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'soil-NCLS'
- (93) a. लदिड *lΛdi-dΛ* 'river-NCLS'
- b. फुलड *p<sup>h</sup>ul-dΛ* 'flower-NCLS'
- c. कचुड *kΛcu-dΛ* '[*kacu*]vegetable-NCLS'
- d. खादिड *k<sup>h</sup>adi-dΛ* '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. चिजखान *cij-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'thing; article-NCLS'
- b. साँपट *sāp-tΛ* 'serpent-NCLS'
- c. लखिखान *lAk<sup>h</sup>ri-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'firewood-NCLS'
- d. मासुखान *masu-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'meat-NCLS'
- e. लडड *lΛŋ-dΛ* '(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.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> On the origin of the suffix, Chatterji (1975b [1926]:779; addition in square brackets mine) "But in the ŚKK. [Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana], it is used in an expression like গাতিনী খাণী «nātinī khānī» *the (little) granddaughter ...* from Early Assamese কণ্যা খাণি «kānyā khānī» *the little daughter ...* This numerative was thus established in Bengali by the eMB. period at least. Cf. also ... যাঁতারিয়া আনে ভুগু অরজুনের শরীর-খান «sātāriyā ānē Bhṛgu Arjunēr śārīr-khānā» *B. swims and brings the body of A. ... দুইখান হাত «dui-khānā hātā» 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

### 3.6.2.3 Numeral classifier and quantifying expressions

#### 3.6.2.3.1 Numeral classifier

In addition to the classifiers mentioned in the previous section, Rājbandhi uses a numeral classifier -জন (-জন)  $-j^h\Lambda n(a)$  '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 এক *ek* 'one' (95c).

- (95) a. দুইজন *dui-j^h\Lambda n* 'two-PCLS' (i.e. 'two (people)')  
 b. কেবাজন লোক *kewa-j^h\Lambda n lok* 'some-PCLS man' (i.e. 'some people')  
 c. একজন *ek-j^h\Lambda na* '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.<sup>24</sup> Should the numeral classifier, therefore, be regarded as a pure noun classifier such as -ট - $t\Lambda$  (-ড - $d\Lambda$ ) and -খান  $-k^h\Lambda n$ ? 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:  $-t\hat{a}$  'countable non-human';  $-t\hat{i}$  'diminutive of  $-t\hat{a}$ ';  $-jan$  'human';  $-khana$  'solid objects with rectangular or flat shape';  $-kh\hat{a}ni$  '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.  $-t\hat{a}$ ,  $-t\hat{i}$ ,  $-kh\hat{a}na$ ,  $-kh\hat{a}ni$ ; O.  $-ta$ ,  $-ti$ ; A.  $-to$ ,  $-zon$ ,  $-khon$ ,  $-kh\hat{a}ni$ ,  $-g\hat{o}s$ ,  $-d\hat{a}l$ , etc.) which itself is most elaborate and intact in Assamese, and clearly of non-Aryan origin."

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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.

<sup>24</sup> Aikhenvald (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  $-j^h\Lambda na$  '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 pronominals. Secondly, all nouns fall into one of two noun classes: the -ट  $-t\Lambda$  (or -ड  $-d\Lambda$ ) class, or the -खान  $-k^han$  class. Conversely, the numeral classifier does not constitute a third noun class: all human nouns are assigned to the noun class -ट  $-t\Lambda$  (or -ड  $-d\Lambda$ ), though they may also be referred to with a numeral and the numeral classifier -झना  $-j^h\Lambda na$  'PCLS' (96d). Thirdly, the numeral classifier can not be joined to the head noun (96f).

- (96) a. compare एकटा  $ek-ta$  'one-NCLS' with एकझना  $ek-j^h\Lambda na$  'one-PCLS'  
 b. compare केवाडा  $kewa-da$  'some-NCLS' with केवाझना  $kewa-j^h\Lambda na$  'some-PCLS'  
 c. एकटा लोक  $ek-ta lok$  'one-NCLS man' (Korobāri, Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi)  
 d. एकझना लोक  $ek-j^h\Lambda na lok$  'one-PCLS man' (Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi)  
 e. लोकट  $lok-t\Lambda$  'man-NCLS'  
 f. \*लोकझना  $*lok-j^h\Lambda na$  \*'man-PCLS'

Two informants from northern Jhāpā (Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi) 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).<sup>25</sup> According to this informant (95b), (96d) and (97a) are ungrammatical. The example (97b) would, however, be considered acceptable.

<sup>25</sup> According to this informant, the एकझन  $ek-j^h\Lambda n$  'one (person)' in (xi) below would be the subject and मास्टर  $maṣṭar$  'teacher' the complement of the clause, whereas in (xii) एकटा मास्टर  $ek-ta maṣṭar$  'a teacher' would be the subject of the clause.

- (xi) [एकझन] [मास्टर] रहए।  
 [ek-j<sup>h</sup>Λn] [maṣṭar] rΛhΛ-e  
 [one-PCLS]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> [teacher]<sub>[COMPLEMENT]</sub> be-PST.HAB-3  
 'One of them used to be a teacher.'

- (xii) [एकटा मास्टर] रहए।  
 [ek-ta maṣṭar] rΛhΛ-e  
 [one-NCLS teacher]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> be-PST.HAB-3  
 'There was once a teacher.'

The issue clearly demands further research. One should also be careful, not only to study dialectal variation in this respect, but also to distinguish between the contemporary spoken form and the developing literary form.

- (97) a. दुइजन भातार मगि रहे... (cf. DLR.05.002)  
 dui-j<sup>h</sup>ʌn b<sup>h</sup>atar mʌgi rʌh-e...  
 two-PCLS husband wife live-PST.HAB3...  
 'Two of them were married (i.e. were husband and wife)...'
- b. दुइ भातार मगि रहे...  
 dui b<sup>h</sup>atar mʌgi rʌh-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. दुइ लटा पानि *dui lʌtʌ pani* 'two brass\_pot water'  
 b. केवा तारि पानि *kewa tari pani* 'some clay\_bottle water'
- (99) Weight  
 दुइ सेर चाउ दे त!  
 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 *lʌtʌ* '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. लटाड *lʌtʌ-dʌ* 'brass\_pot-NCLS'  
 b. तारिड *tari-dʌ* 'clay\_bottle-NCLS'  
 c. सेरट *ser-tʌ* '[ser]-NCLS' = 'a shallow dish-shaped weight which measures the equivalent of 1 ser'  
 d. \*झनाड *\*j<sup>h</sup>ʌna-dʌ* '\*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. एकझन हुक्ले।  
 ek-j<sup>h</sup>ʌn d<sup>h</sup>uk-l-l  
 one-PCLS enter-PST-3  
 'a person<sub>[SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE]</sub> entered'
- b. त दत्ते झना दिले झग्रा लाग्ग। (DLR.04.023)  
 tʌ dʌn<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup>ʌna di-l-l j<sup>h</sup>agʌra laga-e  
 PCL both PCLS AUX-PST-3 fight begin-ABS  
 'And both (of them<sub>[REFERRED.TO.PREVIOUSLY]</sub>) began to fight.'

### 3.6.2.4 Structural considerations

The noun classifier is marked on the head noun (102a). Noun classifiers -ट -tʌ (-ड -dʌ) and -खान -k<sup>h</sup>ʌn 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. थर्कानिड t<sup>h</sup>ʌrkʌni-dʌ 'step-NCLS'  
 b. भातारटक b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ-k 'husband-NCLS-DAT'  
 c. बाबाडर baba-dʌ-r 'priest-NCLS-GEN'  
 d. पान्जारखानेर panjar-k<sup>h</sup>ʌn-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. तिनडा बेटा tin-da beṭa 'three-NCLS son'  
 b. दुइखान चप्पल dui-k<sup>h</sup>ʌn ʌppʌl 'two-NCLS slipper'

Proper nouns are (usually) marked with the classifier -ट -tʌ (-ड -dʌ).

- (104) a. पामरट pamʌr-tʌ 'Pāmar-NCLS'  
 b. टंकड tʌŋkʌ-dʌ '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).



- (105) a. पामरटर घर कुना?  
 pamʌr-tʌ-r            gʰʌr    kunʰa  
 Pāmar-NCLS-GEN house where  
 'Where is Pāmar's (neutral reference) house?'
- b. पामरेर घर कुना?  
 pamʌr-er            gʰʌr    kunʰa  
 Pāmar-GEN house where  
 'Where is Pāmar's (intimate reference) house?'
- c. बापक भेट पाइ जाबो।  
 bap-ʌk            bʰeṭ    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 बेटिड सुना एक चटि जाबे आन्वा। (cf. MR.05.234)  
 rani-r            beṭi-ḍʌ            suna ek    cʌṭi    ja-b-i            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 करेकि। (MR.05.002; see also MR.05.003, MR.05.236, MR.05.338, DLR.03.003, DLR.03.012)  
 uhā-r            beṭa-ḍʌ            rāja-r            gʰʌr-ʌt            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. चेडराड राजाडर घरत रहबा धर्बो। (cf. MR.05.295)  
 ceṅra-ḍʌ            rāja-ḍʌ-r            gʰʌr-ʌt            rʌhʌ-ba    dʰʌr-b-i  
 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. एख्लाए अन्सट लागि जाच्चि घरता। (cf. DLR.04.009)  
 ekʰlʌe    ʌnsʌṭʌ    lag-i            ja-c-ki            gʰʌr-ʌt  
 alone bored feel-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3 house-LOC  
 '(He) is bored at home all on his own.'

- b. थान(ड)त पुगि गेले। (cf. MR.05.327)  
 t<sup>h</sup>an-(dʌ)-ʌt pug-i ge-l-i  
 place-(NCLS)-LOC reach-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 'They arrived at (the) place.'
- c. त सचिणेने याहाँ घर आस्ले। (DLR.06.046)  
 tʌ sʌc-iene yaha g<sup>h</sup>ʌr as-l-i  
 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 -tʌ (-ड -dʌ) or -खान -k<sup>h</sup>ʌn) 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 पाँइया *ek-tʌ pāia* 'one-NCLS wheel' ('a wheel')  
 b. इड पाँइया *i-dʌ pāia* 'DEM[prox]-NCLS wheel' ('this wheel')  
 c. पाँइयाड *pāia-dʌ* '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. एकटा बुरा रहे (आर) एकटा बुरि रहे। (cf. also DLR.04.001)  
 ek-tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a rʌh-e (ar) ek-tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i 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 बुरा, एक रहे बुरि। (cf. introduction to narrative PKR.01)  
 ek rʌh-e bur<sup>h</sup>a, ek rʌh-e bur<sup>h</sup>i  
 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. ?/\* इड काटल भातारट (cf. DLR.06.076; see also mr.04.095;171-172, mr.05.034;036;050)  
 ?/\* i-ɖʌ                      kaɾ-al                      b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ  
 ?/\* DEM[prox]-NCLS cut-PST.PTCL husband-NLC  
 ?/\* 'this cut-up husband'
- b. ?/\* इड दुक बासिड (cf. MR.05.179)  
 ?/\* i-ɖʌ                      duk                      basi-ɖʌ  
 ?/\* 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 pronominal (111c-d).

- (111) a. सुकित्त बुरिड (cf. MR.04.115)  
 sukt-i                      bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ  
 dry-FEM old\_woman-NCLS  
 'skinny old woman'
- b. तोर कादुवालि करा(ल) पानिखान (cf. GR.01.012-013)  
 to-r                      kaduali kʌr-a(l)                      pani-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS  
 'the water made muddy by you'
- c. आप्नार जानड (cf. MR.04.206)  
 apna-r                      jan-ɖʌ  
 REFL[pro]-GEN life-NCLS  
 '(her) own life'
- d. तोर सिमानडक (cf. DLR.06.042)  
 to-r                      sriman-ɖʌ-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) छटडक (cf. GR.01.029)  
 c<sup>h</sup>ʌɬʌ-ɖʌ-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).

- (113) एकटा हाप हाति साफा जामा (cf. MR.02.008)  
 ek-ṭa hap hat-i sap<sup>h</sup>a 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.<sup>26</sup>

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 गाउँत एकटा बुरा रहे। (cf. DLR.04.001)  
 ek-ṭa gaũ-t ek-ṭa bur<sup>h</sup>a rʌh-e  
 one-NCLS village-LOC one-NCLS old\_man live-PST.HAB-3  
 'In a village<sub>[SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE]}</sub> there lived an old man<sub>[SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE]}'</sub>
- b. त उड बुरा माने बेटिडक बाहे दिले। (DLR.04.002)  
 tʌ u-ḍʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a mane beṭi-ḍʌ-k bahe di-l-i  
 PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS old\_man PCL daughter-NCLS-DAT marriage give-PST-3  
 'That old man<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]}</sub> had (his) daughter<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]}</sub> married.'

<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

- (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.<sup>28</sup> Consider, for example, the noun मुठि *muṭʰi* in the conjunct verb मुठि कर- *muṭʰi kaɾ-* 'to make a bundle; to bundle' (116). Note that the noun मुठि *muṭʰi* is not in any grammatical relationship to the other clause constituents; the direct object is पुवालला *pual-la* 'straw-PL'.

- (116) एकटा बुरा लोक पुवालला मुठि करेचे। (cf. DLR.01.002)  
 ek-ṭa bur<sup>h</sup>a lok pual-la muṭʰi kaɾ-ec-e  
 one-NCLS old man straw-PL bundle make-PRES-3  
 'An old man is bundling<sub>[CONJUNCT.VERB]</sub> straw.'

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<sup>27</sup> 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 Rājbanṣhi data at hand, however, I found it difficult to maintain a clear distinction between the nonspecific and the generic.

<sup>28</sup> 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. लोकट माने खेतिपातिरे काम कर्चे। (cf. DLR.03.003)  
 lok-ʈa mane k<sup>h</sup>et-i-pat-i-r=e kam kaʀ-c-e  
 man-NCLS PCL field-NML-leaf-NML-GEN=EMPH work do-PRES-3  
 'The man<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> works in farming'
- b. एकटा लोक घर छाचे। (cf. DLR.01.001)  
 ek-ʈa lok g<sup>h</sup>aʀ c<sup>h</sup>a(r)-c-e  
 one-NCLS man house thatch-PRES-3  
 'A man<sub>[SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE]</sub> is house-thatching (conjunct verb).'

If the subject of a clause in Rājbandhi 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. सएलला गरुलार घेचाला बहिरिति नि जाबार ताने राखा जाछे। (cf. MR.02.023)  
 sael-la gaʀu-la-r g<sup>h</sup>eca-la b<sup>h</sup>iriti ni ja-ba-r tane  
 neck\_guide-PL bullock-PL-GEN throat-PL outside NEG go-INF-GEN for  
 rak<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 put-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
 i. 'Neck-guides<sub>[GENERIC]</sub> are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).'
- ii. '(The) neck-guides<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).'
- b. राजबंसिला भात खाचे।  
 rajbaŋsi-la b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e  
 Rājbandhi-PL rice eat-PRES-3  
 i. 'Rājbandhis<sub>[GENERIC]</sub> eat rice (conjunct verb).'
- ii. 'The(se) Rājbandhis<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> eat rice (conjunct verb).'
- c. उपर से पानिखान देखिन मुखे जाछे। (GR.01.003)  
 uʀaʀ se paŋi-k<sup>h</sup>an dek<sup>h</sup>in muk<sup>h</sup>e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 above ABL water-NCLS south towards go-PRES-3  
 i. 'Water<sub>[GENERIC]</sub> flows from above towards the south.'
- ii. 'The water<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> is flowing from above towards the south.'

- d. ठेन्डा पानिखान माजा हचे।  
 tʰeṇḍa pani-kʰan maja hΛ-c-e  
 cold water-NCLS tasty be-PRES-3  
 i. 'Cold water<sub>[GENERIC]</sub> is tasty.'  
 ii. 'The cold water<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> is tasty.'

In (119a-c) the classifier denotes specificity alone. The patient जाहाज *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. मुइ एकखान जाहाज देख्नु।  
 mui ek-kʰan jahaj dekʰ-n-u  
 1sg[pro] one-NCLS aeroplane see-PST-1sg  
 'I saw an aeroplane<sub>[SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE]</sub>.'
- b. जाहाजखानत एकखान झान्डा रहकि।  
 jahaj-kʰan-At ek-kʰan jʰaṇḍa rΛhΛ-ki  
 aeroplane-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS flag be-SA3  
 'On the aeroplane<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> there was a flag.'
- c. मुइ जाहाजखान उराते देख्नु।  
 mui jahaj-kʰan ur-a-te dekʰ-n-u  
 1sg[pro] aeroplane-NCLS rise-CAUS-CONT.PTCL see-PST-1sg  
 'I saw the plane<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> taking off.'
- d. तुइ जाहाज देखिचित?  
 tui jahaj dekʰ-ic-it  
 2sg[pro] aeroplane see-PERF-2sg  
 'Have you seen an aeroplane<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub>?''

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

- (120) a. इडक "गरु गारिर पाँइया" कहचे। (MR.02.017)  
 i-ḍΛ-k gΛru gari-r pāia kΛhΛ-c-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS-DAT bullock cart-GEN wheel say-PRES-3  
 'This is called (a) bullock cart's wheel<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub>.'

- b. बेर्छानि एनडति हबा लागे! (cf. DLR.06.108)  
 berc<sup>h</sup>ani enɒ̃ti hɒ-ba lag-e  
 woman like\_this be-INF must-PRES3  
 'A woman<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub> should be like this.'
- c. कचु बुनेचि। (cf. MR.04.005)  
 kɒcu bun-ec-i  
 [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-1pl  
 'We are planting [kacu]vegetables<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub>.'
- d. काटेचु, ते मुइ रानि हइ जाछु। (cf. DLR.06.058)  
 kaɽ-ec-u te mui rani hɒ-i ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u  
 cut-PRES-1sg PCL 1sg[pro] queen be-ABS AUX-PRES-1sg  
 'If I cut (him) I will become (a) queen<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub>.'
- e. मुइ जन कामाए रहे जाछु। (cf. DLR.06.058)  
 mui jɒn kama=e rɒh-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u  
 1sg[pro] labour earner=EMPH remain-ABS AUX-PRES-1sg  
 'I will remain a labourer<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub>.'
- f. मनड याहाँर आधाडि से बेसि हइ गेलिक रानि बन्बारे। (cf. DLR.06.055)  
 mɒn-ɖɒ yaha-r ad<sup>h</sup>ɒ̃i se besi hɒ-i ge-l-ki rani  
 mind-NCLS DEM[pro/prox]-GEN half ABL more be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 queen  
 bɒn-ba-r=e  
 become-INF-GEN=EMPH  
 'Her mind became more than half (favourable of) becoming a queen<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub>.'
- g. पखिड उराएने चुलि गेल दाना पानि 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)  
 pɒk<sup>h</sup>i-ɖɒ ura-ene cul-i ge-l dana pani k<sup>h</sup>a-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]<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub>.'

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

<sup>29</sup> 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.



(121) उड गेसटर बगलत पानिअ छकन। (cf. MR.04.172; see also GR.02.071, MR.04.172, MR.04.181 and MR.04.167, DLR.03.007-008, etc)

u-ḍa ges-ʎa-r baɣlat pani=ʎ c<sup>h</sup>-ʎ-kʌn  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS tree-NCLS-GEN near water=CNJ be-PRES-SA2pl  
 'Close to that tree (there) is also water (for you).'

The noun classifier is often used for specific reference in genitive modifiers. In (122a) the genitive modifier बासिर *basi-r* 'flute-GEN' is nonspecific, and therefore the noun is not marked with the classifier. Conversely, the genitive modifier बासिडर *basi-ḍa-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 बासिर आवाजड सुनिए... (cf. MR.05.326)

b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la basi-r awaj-ḍa sun-ie  
 water\_buffalo-PL flute-GEN sound-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL  
 'Hearing the flute<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub> sound<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub>, the wild buffaloes...'

b. भइसला बासिडर आवाजड सुनिए...

b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la basi-ḍa-r awaj-ḍa sun-ie  
 water\_buffalo-PL flute-NCLS-GEN sound-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL  
 'Hearing the sound<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> of the flute<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub>, the wild buffaloes...'

c. लदिर माचला ओकोट जोकोट लागिने मरि जावे। (cf. MR.05.223)

ʎadi-r mac-la orkoṭ jorkoṭ ʎag-iene  
 river-GEN fish-PL mixed\_up [echo]mixed\_up apply\_to-CONJ.PTCL  
 maɾ-i ja-b-i  
 die-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
 'The river<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub> fish<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub> will get entangled and will die.'

d. अग्ले बग्ले देख्बे ते बाघेर टापला। (cf. MR.05.108)

ʎgle\_bʎgle dek<sup>h</sup>-b-i te baɣ<sup>h</sup>-er ʎap-la  
 here\_and\_there look-FUT-3 PCL tiger-GEN footprint-PL  
 'He looked around and saw tiger's<sub>[NONSPECIFIC]</sub> footprints<sub>[SPECIFIC.DEFINITE]</sub>.'

### 3.6.2.5.3 Conclusion

Masica (1986:126) considers specificity and definiteness in Indo-Aryan languages as follows:

"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

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

- (123) a. मुइ (मुई) *mui* '1sg[pro]'  
 b. तुइ (तुई) *tui* '2sg[pro]'  
 c. उहाँ(ए) *uhã(e)* '3sg[pro]'  
 d. हामा *hama* '1pl[pro]'  
 e. तमा, तामा *tam<sup>h</sup>a / tam<sup>h</sup>a* '2pl[pro]'  
 e. अमा, अमा *am<sup>h</sup>a / am<sup>h</sup>a* '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 *em<sup>h</sup>a* '3pl[pro/prox]' (cf. DLR.06.089)

The demonstrative bases इ- *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  
 उहाँक हेला आन्।  
*uhã-k hetna an-∅*  
 3sg[pro]-DAT here bring-IMP2sg  
 'Bring him/her here.'
- b. Animal  
 उडक हेला आन्। (referring to खसिड *k<sup>h</sup>Asi-dΛ* 'goat(male/castrated)-NCLS')  
*u-dΛ hetna an-∅*  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS-DAT here bring-IMP2sg  
 'Bring it here.'
- c. Inanimate  
 उखान हेला आन्। (referring to खस्लाखान *k<sup>h</sup>Asla-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'woven\_straw\_mat-NCLS'; cf. also MR.05.252, DLR.05.060, GR.02.017 and MR.02.018)  
*u-k<sup>h</sup>an 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 बठिए खाम। (cf. DLR.04.016)  
*tui mui suna aram se bΛ<sup>h</sup>-ie k<sup>h</sup>a-m-Λ*  
 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).

- (127) a. तमाला  $t\Lambda m^h a-la$  '2pl[pro]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)  
 b. अमाला  $\Lambda m^h a-la$  '3pl[pro]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)  
 c. तमा  $t\Lambda m^h a$  '2sg[hon]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)  
 d. अमा  $\Lambda m^h a$  '3sg[hon]' (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)

The stem of the 2pl pronoun has two forms, which vary among speakers of even the same dialect: तमाला  $t\Lambda m^h a$  and तामा  $tam^h a$  '2pl[pro]'. Likewise, the 3pl pronoun varies between अमाला  $\Lambda m^h a$  and अमा  $am^h a$ . 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  $uhā$  and the proximate pronoun यहाँ  $yaha$  '3sg[pro/prox]' are only used for human reference. The pronunciation of the 3sg pronoun उहाँ  $uhā$  varies considerably. The pronoun in dialects from western and south-western Jhāpā is pronounced with a final  $-e$ , therefore  $wahāe$  (128b), whereas in dialects from northern Jhāpā (Birtāmod, Lakharigaddi) the pronoun is उहाँ / बाहाँ  $uhā$  (128c) and the pronoun-final  $-ए$   $-e$  stands for the emphatic clitic (उहाँए  $uhā = e$  '3sg[pro] = EMPH').

- (128) a.  $[wāe]$  '3sg[pro]' southern Morang (Rangeli, Dādar Bairiā)  
 b.  $[wahāe]$  '3sg[pro]' south-western and western Jhāpā (Pirālbāri, Korobāri, Pācgāchi)  
 c.  $[wahā]$  '3sg[pro]' northern Jhāpā (Ghailāḍubbā, Lakharigaddi, Birtāmod)  
 d.  $[\Lambda e]$  '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. मुइ  $mui$  '1sg[pro]' > मोर  $mo-r$  '1sg[obl]-GEN'; मोक  $mo-k$  '1sg[obl]-DAT'  
 b. तुइ  $tui$  '2sg[pro]' > तोर  $to-r$  '2sg[obl]-GEN'; तोक  $to-k$  '2sg[obl]-DAT'

The second oblique stems म-  $m\Lambda-$  '1sg[obl]' and त-  $t\Lambda-$  '2sg[obl]' are used with the  $-ह = h\Lambda$  variant of the conjunctive clitic  $-अ = \Lambda$  ' = CNJ'. Again, non-contrastive nasalisation is sometimes present in the phonetic realisation (and hence, orthographic representation).

(130) oblique stem 2

- a. मुइ  $mui$  '1sg[pro]' > मह (महँ)  $m\Lambda = h\Lambda$  '1sg[obl] = CNJ' ('also I'; cf. DLR.06.097)  
 b. तुइ  $tui$  '2sg[pro]' > तह (तहँ)  $t\Lambda = h\Lambda$  '2sg[obl] = CNJ' ('also you')

The third oblique stems are म॒ह-  $m\Lambda h\Lambda$ - '1sg[obl]'- and त॒ह-  $t\Lambda h\Lambda$ - '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

- म॒हरे (म॒ह॑रे)  $m\Lambda h\Lambda-r=e$  '1sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH' (cf. DLR.05.057a)
- त॒हक॒अ (त॒ह॑क॒अ)  $t\Lambda h\Lambda-k=\Lambda$  '2sg[obl]-DAT=CNJ'
- म॒हक  $m\Lambda=h\Lambda-k$  '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

- 1sg मु॒इ  $mui$  '1sg[pro]' + -ए =e '=EMPH' > मु॒हे (मु॒हें)  $mu=he$  '1sg[pro]=EMPH'
- 2sg तु॒इ  $tui$  '2sg[pro]' + -ए =e '=EMPH' > तु॒हे (तु॒हें)  $tu=he$  '2sg[pro]=EMPH'
- 3sg (northern Jhāpā) उ॒हाँ  $uhā$  + -ए =e '=EMPH' > उ॒हाँइ  $uhā=i$  '3sg[pro]=EMPH'
- 3sg (south-western Jhāpā) उ॒हाँए  $uhāe$  + -ए =e '=EMPH' > वा॒हिं  $wa=hī$  '3sg[pro]=EMPH'

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

Table 13. Personal pronoun declension

		CASE		
		NOM	-GEN	-DAT
1sg[pro]		मु॒इ (मु॒ई) $mui$	मो॒र $mo-r$	मो॒क $mo-k$
	CNJ	म॒ह (म॒हें) $m\Lambda=h\Lambda$	म॒ह॒र॒अ (म॒ह॑र॒अ) $m\Lambda h\Lambda-r=\Lambda$	म॒ह॒क (म॒ह॑क॒अ) $m\Lambda h\Lambda-k=\Lambda$
	EMPH	मु॒हे (मु॒हें) $mu=he$	म॒ह॒रे (म॒ह॑रे) $m\Lambda h\Lambda-r=e$	म॒ह॒के (म॒ह॑के) $m\Lambda h\Lambda-k=e$
2sg[pro]		तु॒इ (तु॒ई) $tui$	तो॒र $to-r$	तो॒क $to-k$
	CNJ	त॒ह (त॒हें) $t\Lambda=h\Lambda$	त॒ह॒र॒अ (त॒ह॑र॒अ) $t\Lambda h\Lambda-r=\Lambda$	त॒ह॒क (त॒ह॑क॒अ) $t\Lambda h\Lambda-k=\Lambda$
	EMPH	त॒हे (तु॒हें) $tu=he$	त॒ह॒रे (त॒ह॑रे) $t\Lambda h\Lambda-r=e$	त॒ह॒के (त॒ह॑के) $t\Lambda h\Lambda-k=e$
3sg[pro] (western)		उ॒हाँए $uhāe$ [wahāe]	उ॒हाँ॒र $uhā-r$ [wahār]	उ॒हाँ॒क $uhā-k$ [wahāk]
	CNJ	उ॒हाँउ (वा॒हुँ) $uhā=u$ [wah(ā)ū]	उ॒हाँ॒र॒अ $uhā-r=\Lambda$ [wahārΛ]	उ॒हाँ॒क॒अ $uhā-k=\Lambda$ [wahākΛ]
	EMPH	उ॒हाँइ (वा॒हिं) $uhā=i$ [wah(ā)i]	उ॒हाँ॒रे $uhā-r=e$ [wahāre]	उ॒हाँ॒के $uhā-k=e$ [wahāke]
3sg[pro] (northern)		उ॒हाँ $uhā$ [wahā]	उ॒हाँ॒र $uhā-r$ [wahār]	उ॒हाँ॒क $uhā-k$ [wahāk]
	CNJ	उ॒हाँअ $uhā=\Lambda$ [wahāΛ]	उ॒हाँ॒र॒अ $uhā-r=\Lambda$ [wahārΛ]	उ॒हाँ॒क॒अ $uhā-k=\Lambda$ [wahākΛ]
	EMPH	उ॒हाँए $uhā=e$ [wahāe]	उ॒हाँ॒रे $uhā-r=e$ [wahāre]	उ॒हाँ॒के $uhā-k=e$ [wahāke]
3sg[pro/prox]		या॒हाँ $yaha/ā$	या॒हाँ॒र $yaha/ā-r$	या॒हाँ॒क $yaha/ā-k$
	CNJ	या॒हाँअ $yaha/ā=\Lambda$	या॒हाँ॒र॒अ $yaha/ā-r=\Lambda$	या॒हाँ॒क॒अ $yaha/ā-k=\Lambda$
	EMPH	या॒हाँए $yaha/ā=e$	या॒हाँ॒रे $yaha/ā-r=e$	या॒हाँ॒के $yaha/ā-k=e$
1pl[pro]		हा॒मा $hama$	हा॒मा॒र $hama-r$	हा॒मा॒क $hama-k$
	CNJ	हा॒माअ/उ $hama=\Lambda/u$	हा॒मा॒र॒अ $hama-r=\Lambda$	हा॒मा॒क॒अ $hama-k=\Lambda$
	EMPH	हा॒माए $hamae$	हा॒मा॒रे $hama-r=e$	हा॒मा॒के $hama-k=e$

Table 13. (cont.)

2pl[pro]		तमा $t\Lambda m^h a$	तमार $t\Lambda m^h a-r$	तमाक $t\Lambda m^h a-k$
	CNJ	तमाअ/उ $t\Lambda m^h a = \Lambda/u$	तमारअ $t\Lambda m^h a-r = \Lambda$	तमाकअ $t\Lambda m^h a-k = \Lambda$
	EMPH	तमाए/इ $t\Lambda m^h a = e/i$	तमारै $t\Lambda m^h a-r = e$	तमाकै $t\Lambda m^h a-k = e$
2pl[pro] variant		तामा $tam^h a$	तामार $tam^h a-r$	तामाक $tam^h a-k$
	CNJ	तामाअ/उ $tam^h a = \Lambda/u$	तामारअ $tam^h a-r = \Lambda$	तामाकअ $tam^h a-k = \Lambda$
	EMPH	तामाए/इ $tam^h a = e/i$	तामारै $tam^h a-r = e$	तामाकै $tam^h a-k = e$
3pl[pro]		अमा $\Lambda m^h a$	अमार $\Lambda m^h a-r$	अमाक $\Lambda m^h a-k$
	CNJ	अमाअ/उ $\Lambda m^h a = \Lambda/u$	अमारअ $\Lambda m^h a-r = \Lambda$	अमाकअ $\Lambda m^h a-k = \Lambda$
	EMPH	अमाए/इ $\Lambda m^h a = e/i$	अमारै $\Lambda m^h a-r = e$	अमाकै $\Lambda m^h a-k = e$
3pl[pro] variant		आमा $am^h a$	आमार $am^h a-r$	आमाक $am^h a-k$
	CNJ	आमाअ/उ $am^h a = \Lambda/u$	आमारअ $am^h a-r = \Lambda$	आमाकअ $am^h a-k = \Lambda$
	EMPH	आमाए/इ $am^h a = e/i$	आमारै $am^h a-r = e$	आमाकै $am^h a-k = e$
3pl[pro/prox]		एमा $em^h a$	एमार $em^h a-r$	एमाक $em^h a-k$
	CNJ	एमाअ/उ $em^h a = \Lambda/u$	एमारअ $em^h a-r = \Lambda$	एमाकअ $em^h a-k = \Lambda$
	EMPH	एमाए/इ $em^h a = e/i$	एमारै $em^h a-r = e$	एमाकै $em^h a-k = e$

## 3.6.3.1.3 Honorifics

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. तामाक दुइडा तिनडा पोखर खुदवा हप्कन। (cf. MR.05.315)  
 $tam^h a-k$      $dui-\dot{d}a$      $tin-\dot{d}a$      $pok^h \Lambda r$      $k^h ud-ba$      $h\Lambda-p-k\Lambda n$   
 2pl[pro]-DAT two-NCLS three-NCLS pond dig-INF must-FUT-SA2pl  
 'You<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> must make two or three ponds.' (speaker talking to his father-in-law)
- b. एक दुइ चटि माने मुइ अमार घर गिस्तु... (cf. DLR.03.009)  
 $ek$      $dui$      $ca\dot{t}i$      $mane$      $mui$      $\Lambda m^h a-r$      $g^h \Lambda r$      $g-isn-u$   
 one two time PCL 1sg[pro] 3pl[pro]-GEN house go-REM.PST-1sg  
 'I went to his<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> house once or twice...' (speaker referring to a close friend of his father)
- c. [Speaker A] तमा आला कि काम करेचन?  
 $tam^h a$      $al^h a$      $ki$      $kam$      $k\Lambda r-ec-\Lambda n$   
 2pl[pro] now what work do-PRES-2pl  
 'What are you<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> doing at the moment?'

[Speaker B] हामा राजबंसी भासा सिकेचि।  
 hama rajbʌŋsi b<sup>h</sup>asa sik-ec-i  
 1pl[pro] Rājbanshi language learn-PRES-1pl  
 'I<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> am learning the Rājbanshi language.'

- d. हामाअ कहवा नि \*पारिम (पारम) काहें असिए काट्ते। (cf. DLR.06.087)  
 hama = ʌ kʌhʌ-ba ni \*par-im (par-m-ʌ) kahe as-ie  
 1pl[pro]=CNJ say-INF NEG \*can-FUT1sg (can-FUT-1pl) who come-CONJ.PTCL  
 kaṭ-1-i  
 cut-PST-3  
 'Neither can I<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> 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 Rājbanshi 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

	CASE		
	-NOM	-GEN	-DAT
REFL[pro]	आपने <i>apne</i>	आपनार <i>apna-r</i>	(आपने) आपनाक ( <i>apne</i> ) <i>apna-k</i>
EMPH	आपनेइ <i>apne-i</i>	आपनारे <i>apna-r-e</i>	आपनाके <i>apna-k-e</i>
REFL[pro]	आपुन <i>apun</i>	-	-
REFL[pro]-PL	आपने आपने <i>apne apne</i>	आपनार आपनार <i>apna-r apna-r</i>	आपनाक आपनाक <i>apna-k apna-k</i>
possessive	आपना आपनि <i>apna apni</i>	-	-
REFL[pro]	खुद <i>k<sup>h</sup>ud</i> (Hindi; used by some writers)	-	-

Following the aforementioned definition of the reflexive pronoun, Rājbandhi makes use of one reflexive pronoun आप्नाक *apna-k* 'REFL[pro]-DAT' which is coreferential with the subject of the transitive clause (134a). The form आप्ने आप्नाक *apne apna-k* 'REFL[pro] REFL[pro]-DAT' in (134b) seems to be merely a variant form, though this should be verified through further research.

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

- b. मुइ [आप्ने आप्नाक] देख्नु।  
 mui [apne apna-k] dek<sup>h</sup>-n-u  
 1sg[pro] [REFL[pro] REFL[pro]-DAT] see-PST-1sg  
 'I saw [myself].'

In intransitive clauses the intensifying pronoun आप्ने *apne* '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) आप्ने आस्तु।  
 (mui) apne as-n-u  
 (1sg[pro]) REFL[pro] come-PST-1sg  
 'I came *myself*.'
- b. मुहें आस्तु।  
 mu = hē as-n-u  
 1sg[pro] = EMPH come-PST-1sg  
 'I came (*myself*).'
- c. (मुइ) आप्नेइ आस्तु।  
 (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 आप्ने उहाँक ठुकेन्किन।  
 \*mui apne uhā-k t<sup>h</sup>uk-em-ki-n  
 \*1sg[pro] REFL[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3-1sg  
 \*'I hit him myself.'



- b. मुहें उहाँक टुकेन्किन।  
 mu = hẽ                    uhã-k                    t̪ʰuk-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 आप्ने *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.<sup>30</sup>

- (137) a. आपुन जाबे नि, पोरक जाबा कहबे!  
 apun            ja-b-ɪ            ni            por-ʌk                    ja-ba            kʌhʌ-b-ɪ  
 REFL[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 खाचित, आर मोक कहचित नि खाबा!  
 apun            kʰa-c-it            ar            mo-k                    kʌhʌ-c-it            ni            kʰa-ba  
 REFL[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 घरत आस्ले।  
 apun            tʰare                    hama-r                    gʰʌr-ʌt            as-l-ɪ  
 REFL[pro] being-standing 1pl[pro]-GEN house-LOC come-PST-3  
 '(S/he) *her/himself* came to our house.'
- d. आपुन हाते मारि माच, तब पुरे मनेर आस।  
 apun            hat-e                    mar-i                    mac tʌb            pur=e                    mʌner            as  
 REFL[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 आप्ने *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), आप्ने *apne* can only occur in (137a-b,d) if it occurs with a

<sup>30</sup> The pronoun आपुन *apun* may be related to the Assamese reflexive. Kakati (1962:319) maintains: "The reflexive pronoun in Assamese is *apuni*, *āpuni*, by oneself. ... Assamese adjectival *apon*, one's own, is connected with M.I.A. *appaṇaa-* < \*O.I.A. *ātmanaka-*. The reflexive *apuni* is in the instrumental case-ending of the bare stem *apon-* (*ātmaṇaḥ* = *appaṇa*)-. 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 आप्ने *uhā apne* '3sg[pro] REFL[pro]'  
 b. तुइ आप्ने *tui apne* '2sg[pro] REFL[pro]'  
 c. d. हामा आप्ने *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 आप्नार *apna-r* 'REFL[pro]-GEN' (139a). If the subject of the clause is a plural entity, the possessive pronoun is reduplicated as आप्ना आप्नि *apna apni* 'REFL[pro] REFL[pro]' (139b-c). This expression is freely substitutable with the reduplicated reflexive pronoun आप्नार आप्नार *apna-r apna-r* 'REFL[pro]-GEN REFL[pro]-GEN'.

- (139) a. आप्नार बेट्टर घर (cf. MR.04.088; see also DLR.04.007, DLR.05.008, MR.04.129)  
 apna-r                      beṭṭi-r                      g<sup>h</sup>Λr  
 REFL[pro]-GEN daughter-GEN house  
 'own (= her) daughter's house'
- b. आप्ना आप्नि घरेर कामेर कारन(त) (cf. DLR.03.012)  
 apna                      apni                      g<sup>h</sup>Λr-er                      kam-er                      karΛn(-Λt)  
 REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason(-LOC)  
 'because of each one's own (= their) house work'
- c. गटे खेटियाला आप्ना आप्नि चुलि गेल। (cf. MR.04.087)  
 gΛte k<sup>h</sup>eṭiΛ-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. इड धुसा तोर आप्नार हकु।  
 i-ḍΛ                      d<sup>h</sup>usa                      to-r                      apna-r                      hΛ-ku  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS blanket 2sg[obl]-GEN REFL[pro]-GEN be-SA2sg  
 'This blanket is your own.'
- b. इड धुसा तहरे हकु।  
 i-ḍΛ                      d<sup>h</sup>usa                      tΛhΛ-r = e                      hΛ-ku  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS blanket 2sg[obl]-GEN = EMPH be-SA2sg  
 'This blanket is yours.'

- c. आप्तारे बुद्धि, आप्ने पाचे दुर्गति। (GR.02.086)  
 apna-r=e budd<sup>h</sup>i 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) आपसत (*ek*) *apAs-At* '(one) amongst-LOC' and एक दूसरा जनाक *ek dAsra j<sup>h</sup>ana-k* 'one second PCLS-DAT'. In particular the second structure is used by some Rājibanshi writers. According to one informant, however, these are both loan structures.<sup>31</sup> Original Rājibanshi structures would be either the adverbial phrase (आप्तारे) बिचत *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 आप्तारे बिचत मारा मारि कर्न।  
 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. असारे बिचत लागि गेलिक झाग्रा।  
 a<sup>m</sup>h<sup>a</sup>-r=e bic-At lag-i ge-l-ki j<sup>h</sup>agra  
 3pl[pro]-GEN=EMPH midst-LOC begin-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 quarrel  
 'They begun to quarrel with each other.'
- c. कियौँ मारा मारि कर्चन रे, छुवाला?  
 kiā mar-a mar-i kAr-c-an re, c<sup>h</sup>ua-la  
 why hit-DVBL hit-DVBL do-PRES-2pl VOC child-PL  
 'Why are you hitting each other, children?'
- d. अमा दत्ते जना दिले मारा मारि लागए... (cf. DLR.04.028)  
 a<sup>m</sup>h<sup>a</sup> dAn<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup>ana 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...'

<sup>31</sup> Note that Nepali uses (एक) आपसमा (*ek*) *apAs-ma* '(one) among-LOC' and एक अर्कालाई *ek arka-lai* 'one other-DAT', and Hindi आपस में *āpas mē* 'amongst LOC', and एक दूसरे का *ek dusre kā* 'one second DAT'.

## 3.6.3.4 Demonstratives

Rājibanshi has two demonstratives, इ- *i-* 'DEM[prox]' (i.e. 'this') and उ- *u-* '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-dʌ*                      *gʰʌr* *pʰus-er*      *cʰ-e*  
DEM[prox]-NCLS house thatch-GEN be-PRES3  
'This house is thatched.'

b. उड बाघ उहाँक पक्रि फेकालि। (cf. MR.05.013)

*u-dʌ*      *bagʰ* *uhã-k*              *pʌkr-i*      *pʰeka-l-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-dʌ*                      *lok* *gʌcimari-r*      *hʌ-e*  
DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimāri-GEN be-PRES3  
'This man is from Gacimāri.'

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

(143) a. एइखान मुखेर गुने हारानु। (cf. DLR.05.040)

*ei-kʰan*                      *mukʰ-er*      *gun-e*                      *hara-n-u*  
DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS mouth-GEN quality-INSTR/EMPH(?) lose\_ssthg-PST-1sg  
'I lost it because of the quality of this very mouth.'

b. सब दिन अइला काथा कहकि... (cf. DLR.05.015)

*sʌb*      *din* *ʌi-la*                      *katʰa* *kʌhʌ-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 15. Demonstrative declension

	NOUN CLASS AND CASE					
	Noun class -इ - <i>dʌ</i> 'NCLS'			Noun class -खान - <i>kʰan</i> 'NCLS'		
	NOM	-GEN	-DAT	NOM	-GEN	-DAT
DEM[prox]	इड <i>i-dʌ</i>	इडर <i>i-dʌ-r</i>	इडक <i>i-dʌ-k</i>	इखान <i>i-kʰan</i>	इखानेर <i>i-kʰan-er</i>	इखानक <i>i-kʰan-ʌk</i>

Table 15. (cont.)

CNJ	एहड (यहड) e-hΛ-dΛ	एहडर e-hΛ-dΛ-r	एहडक e-hΛ-dΛ-k	एहखान e-hΛ-k <sup>h</sup> an	एहखानेर e-hΛ-k <sup>h</sup> an-er	एहखानक e-hΛ-k <sup>h</sup> an-Λk
EMPH	एइड ei-dΛ	एइडर ei-dΛ-r	एइडक ei-dΛ-k	एइखान ei-k <sup>h</sup> an	एइखानेर ei-k <sup>h</sup> an-er	एइखानक ei-k <sup>h</sup> an-Λk
DEM[rem]	उड u-dΛ	उडर u-dΛ-r	उडक u-dΛ-k	उखान u-k <sup>h</sup> an	उखानेर u-k <sup>h</sup> an-er	उखानक u-k <sup>h</sup> an-Λk
CNJ	अहड Λ-hΛ-dΛ	अहडर Λ-hΛ-dΛ-r	अहडक Λ-hΛ-dΛ-k	अहखान Λ-hΛ-k <sup>h</sup> an	अहखानेर Λ-hΛ-k <sup>h</sup> an-er	अहखानक Λ-hΛ-k <sup>h</sup> an-Λk
EMPH	अइड Λi-dΛ	अइडर Λi-dΛ-r	अइडक Λi-dΛ-k	अइखान Λi-k <sup>h</sup> an	अइखानेर Λi-k <sup>h</sup> an-er	अइखानक Λi-k <sup>h</sup> an-Λk

	NUMBER AND CASE		
	-ला -la 'PL'		
	NOM	-GEN	-DAT
DEM[prox]-PL	इला i-la	इलार i-la-r	इलाक i-la-k
CNJ	एहला e-hΛ-la	एहलार e-hΛ-la	एहलाक e-hΛ-la-k
EMPH	एइला ei-la	एइलार ei-la-r	एइलाक ei-la-k
DEM[rem]-PL	उला u-la	उलार u-la-r	उलाक u-la-k
CNJ	अहला Λ-hΛ-la	अहलार Λ-hΛ-la-r	अहलाक Λ-hΛ-la-k
EMPH	अइला Λi-la	अइलार Λi-la-r	अइलाक Λi-la-k

## 3.6.3.5 Indefinite pronouns

The following indefinite pronouns have been identified.

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

- (144) a. काहूँ घेस्केटिते घेस्केटिते भागेचे... (cf. MR.04.081a)  
 kahΛ g<sup>h</sup>eskeṭi-te g<sup>h</sup>eskeṭi-te b<sup>h</sup>ag-ec-e  
 someone crawl-CONT.PTCL crawl-CONT.PTCL escape-PRES-3  
 '...some fled while crawling...'
- b. काहाँर कम्मरखाने भाङ्गि गिछे। (cf. MR.04.076)  
 kaha-r kΛmmΛr-k<sup>h</sup>an=e b<sup>h</sup>aŋ-i g-ich-e  
 someone-GEN waist-NCLS=EMPH break-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
 '...someone's lower back was broken.'
- c. काहाँकअ *kaha-k*=Λ 'anyone-DAT=CNJ' (cf. DLR.05.065)

Secondly, the pronoun कुछु *kuc<sup>h</sup>u* '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 हइचे, हपाए। (MR.04.037)  
 i-la kacu kuc<sup>h</sup>u hΛ-ic-e hΛpae  
 DEM[prox]-PL [kacu]vegetable some(thing) be-PERF-3 perhaps  
 'Something has perhaps happened to these [kacu]vegetables.'
- b. उहाँ आरकि कुछु नि बले। (cf. DLR.05.013)  
 uhā arki kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni bΛ-e  
 3sg[pro] PCL some(thing) NEG speak-PST3  
 'She didn't say anything.'
- c. कुछु ना कुछु (cf. MR.04.032)  
 kuc<sup>h</sup>u na kuc<sup>h</sup>u  
 some(thing) NEG some(thing)  
 'absolutely nothing'
- d. एङनाखानत कुछुला राखाल देखा जाद्धे। (MR.03.020)  
 eŋna-k<sup>h</sup>an-Λt kuc<sup>h</sup>u-la rak<sup>h</sup>-al dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 दारु छेइए नि। (cf. GR.01.027; see also MR.04.143, MR.04.187, MR.04.197)  
 kuc<sup>h</sup>u daru c<sup>h</sup>-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. कट्टुखान कुछु छट हइ गेलिक।  
 kuṭṭu-k<sup>h</sup>an kuc<sup>h</sup>u c<sup>h</sup>ΛtΛ hΛ-i ge-l-ki  
 underwear-NCLS some short be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
 'The underwear is a little short.'

Thirdly, the pronoun कोए *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), कोए *koe* can function as an adjectival modifier (146b-d).

- (146) a. कोए आस्ले कहि दिस कि मुइ नि छु।  
 koe as-le kΛh-i d-is ki mui ni  
 someone come-COND.PTCL say-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg SUBORD 1sg[pro] NEG  
 c<sup>h</sup>-u  
 be-PRES1sg  
 'If someone comes, say that I am not here.'

- b. काहँकअ काहँर पर कोए अन्याय नि कर्बा... (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 =  $\Lambda$  kaha-r p $\Lambda$ r koE  $\Lambda$ nyaE ni k $\Lambda$ -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 बुद्धि दिले। (cf. GR.02.084)

por- $\Lambda$ k budd<sup>hi</sup> di-l- $\Gamma$   
 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- *kab<sup>h</sup>a*- 'someone', कुमा- *kuma*- 'some', किवा *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.<sup>32</sup>

Table 16. Indefinite pronouns of uncertainty

	कुमा- <i>kuma</i> - 'some-'	किवा <i>kiwa</i> 'some'
NOM	कुमाड <i>kuma-d<math>\Lambda</math></i> 'some-NCLS' कुमाखान <i>kuma-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'some-NCLS'	किवाड <i>kiwa-d<math>\Lambda</math></i> 'some-NCLS' किवाखान <i>kiwa-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'some-NCLS'
LOC	कुमा ठिना <i>kuma t<sup>h</sup>ina</i> 'some place' ( 'somewhere uncertain')	

<sup>32</sup> 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'."

Table 16. (cont.)

directional	कुमा माखे (कुमाखाए) <i>kuma mak<sup>h</sup>e</i> ( <i>kumak<sup>h</sup>ae</i> ) 'in some direction' कुमा (बि)ति <i>kuma (bi)ti</i> 'in some direction'	
manner	किवालाखा <i>kiwa-lak<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'something like' ( 'like something unexpected')	
amount	कुमाड <i>kuma-dΛ</i> 'some-NCLS' कुमाखान <i>kuma-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'some-NCLS'	
time	कुमाखुना <i>kuma-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> 'some time uncertain/unknown'	
	केवा- <i>kewa-</i> 'some-'	काभा- <i>kab<sup>h</sup>a-</i> 'someone'
NOM	केवाडा <i>kewa-dΛ</i> 'some-NCLS' केवाखान <i>kewa-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'some-NCLS'	काभाड <i>kab<sup>h</sup>a-dΛ</i> 'someone-NCLS' काभाखान <i>kab<sup>h</sup>a-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'someone-NCLS' काभाला <i>kab<sup>h</sup>a-la</i> 'someone-PL'
time	इकेवा दिन <i>i-kewa din</i> 'DEM[prox]-some day' ('for some of these days') उकेवा दिन <i>u-kewa din</i> 'DEM[rem]-some day' ('for some of those days')	

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 काहें *kahe* 'who'.

(148) काभाला बेराचे।

*kab<sup>h</sup>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-k<sup>h</sup>an pani k<sup>h</sup>a-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 mak<sup>h</sup>e ge-l*

which direction go-PST3

'(In) which direction did he go?'

[Answer] 'के जान, कुमा माखे गेल।'

*ke jan, kuma mak<sup>h</sup>e ge-l*

who knows some direction go-PST3

'Who knows, he went in some direction (or the other).'



The pronoun किवा *kiwa* '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 कुछ देख्नु।

mui kuc<sup>h</sup>u dek<sup>h</sup>-n-u  
 1sg[pro] something see-PST-1sg  
 'I saw something (and I know what it was).'

b. मुइ किवा देख्नु।

mui kiwa dek<sup>h</sup>-n-u  
 1sg[pro] something see-PST-1sg  
 'I saw something (but I don't know what it was).'

c. किवा नाम कह्ले।

kiwa nam k<sup>h</sup>Λ-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 महकअ दिस ता।

kewa-k<sup>h</sup>an p<sup>h</sup>anna m<sup>h</sup>Λ-k=Λ d-is t<sup>h</sup>  
 some-NCLS leaf(paper) 1sg[obl]-DAT=CNJ give-SUBJ2sg PCL  
 'Give some leaves (unspecified amount) of paper to me too.'

b. अमार मइधे केवाझनाक मह चित्तेचु।

Λm<sup>h</sup>a-r m<sup>h</sup>id<sup>h</sup>e kewa-j<sup>h</sup>Λna-k m<sup>h</sup>=h<sup>h</sup> cin<sup>h</sup>-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 काहे *kahe* 'who' is as follows:

Table 17. Declension of personal interrogative pronoun

काहें <i>kahe</i> 'who'			
	NOM	-GEN	-DAT
sg	Ghailāḍubbā, Lakharigaddi: काहें <i>kahe</i> 'who' Korobāri: काहाँए <i>kahae</i>	काहाँर <i>kaha-r</i> 'who-GEN'	काहाँक <i>kaha-k</i> 'who-DAT'
pl	काहें काहें <i>kahe kahe</i> 'who who' काहेला <i>kahe-la</i> 'who-PL'	काहाँर काहाँर <i>kaha-r kaha-r</i> 'who-GEN who-GEN'	काहाँक काहाँक <i>kaha-k kaha-k</i> 'who-DAT who-DAT'

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

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

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

- c. तोक देख्वा हप्कु, काहें जितेचि काहें हारेचि। (MR.05.015)  
 to-k dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hΛ-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 चुलि हए इखान? (MR.05.239)  
 kaha-r culi hΛ-e i-k<sup>h</sup>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, काहाँए *kahae*) 'who'.

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

The personal pronoun has two contrastive forms in the plural: *काहेला 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. *काहेला बेराचे?*  
*kahe-la bera-c-e*  
 who-PL walk-PRES-3  
 'Who is walking?'
- b. *छुवाला।*  
*c<sup>h</sup>ua-la*  
 child-PL  
 '(The) children.'
- c. *काहे काहे बेराचे?*  
*kahe kahe bera-c-e*  
 who who walk-PRES-3  
 'Who is walking?'
- d. *पामर आर राम।*  
*pamar ar ram*  
 Pāmar and Rām  
 '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 18. Impersonal interrogative pronoun declension

	कि <i>ki</i> impersonal 'what'	कुन <i>kun</i> impersonal 'which'
NOM (sg)	कि <i>ki</i> 'what; PQM; SUBORD' किड <i>ki-dʌ</i> 'what-NCLS' किखान <i>ki-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'what-NCLS'	कुन <i>kun</i> 'which' कुनड <i>kun-dʌ</i> 'which-NCLS' कुनखान <i>kun-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'which-NCLS'
NOM (pl)	किला <i>ki-la</i> 'what-PL' (neutral) कि कि <i>ki ki</i> 'what what' (group of single entities) कि किला <i>ki ki-la</i> 'what what-PL' (group of plural entities)	कुनला <i>kun-la</i> 'what-PL' कुन कुनड <i>kun kun-dʌ</i> 'which which-NCLS' कुन कुनला <i>kun kun-la</i> 'which which-PL'

Table 18. (cont.)

-GEN	किडर <i>ki-dΛ-r</i> 'what-NCLS-GEN' किखानेर <i>ki-k<sup>h</sup>an-er</i> 'what-NCLS-GEN'	कुनडर <i>kun-dΛ-r</i> 'which-NCLS-GEN' कुनखानेर <i>kun-k<sup>h</sup>an-er</i> 'which-NCLS-GEN'
-DAT	किडक <i>ki-dΛ-k</i> 'what-NCLS-DAT' किखानक <i>ki-k<sup>h</sup>an-Λk</i> 'what-NCLS-DAT'	कुनडक <i>kun-dΛ-k</i> 'which-NCLS-DAT' कुनखानक <i>kun-k<sup>h</sup>an-Λk</i> 'which-NCLS-DAT'

The impersonal कि *ki* 'what' is used in direct interrogative constructions.

(156) याहाँर खताडत कि छिकि? (cf. DLR.05.018)

yaha-r                      k<sup>h</sup>Λta-dΛ-t                      ki                      c<sup>h</sup>-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 *ki ki* 'what what' conveys plurality, but it also indicates a group of single entities. (Compare this with काहें काहें *kahe kahe* 'who who' described above, which refers to specific referents.)

(157) आर घरटर भितरत कि कि छिकि... (cf. DLR.02.005)

ar                      g<sup>h</sup>Λr-ʈΛ-r                      b<sup>h</sup>itrΛt ki                      ki                      c<sup>h</sup>-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 *ki* functions as the adverb "why".

(158) हेत्ना कि खाबन? (cf. MR.04.145)

hetna ki                      k<sup>h</sup>a-b-Λn  
here what eat-FUT-2pl  
'Why would you eat me here?'

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

(159) a. तोक कि कान्बार लाखाति लागिस्लुकु? (cf. DLR.04.038)

to-k                      ki                      kan-ba-r                      lak<sup>h</sup>ati 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 थाहा छिल्लिकि कि... (cf. MR.04.130)

uhā-k                      t<sup>h</sup>aha                      c<sup>h</sup>i-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 किताप?  
 kun-k<sup>h</sup>an kitap  
 which-NCLS book  
 'Which book?' (Implying, 'Which book (out of many)?')
- b. कुनला नुआँ  
 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 19. Relative pronoun declension

		CASE	
		NOM	
pers onal	sg	जाहें (जाहाँए) <i>jah(a)e/ẽ</i> 'REL[p]'	
	pl	जाहें जाहें (जाहाँए जाहाँए) <i>jah(a)e/ẽ jah(a)e/ẽ</i> 'REL[p] REL[p]'	
impersonal	sg	जे <i>je</i> REL[ip] जेइइ <i>jei-dʌ</i> 'REL[obl/ip]-NCLS' जेइखान <i>jei-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'REL[obl/ip]-NCLS'	
	pl	जेइला <i>jei-la</i> 'REL[obl/ip]-PL' जे जे <i>je je</i> 'REL[ip] REL[ip]' (group of single entities) जेइ जेइला <i>jei jei-la</i> 'REL[obl/ip] REL[obl/ip]-PL' (group of plural entities)	
		-GEN	-DAT
personal and impersonal	sg	जाहाँर <i>jaha-r</i> 'REL[p/ip]-GEN'	जाहाँक <i>jaha-k</i> 'REL[p/ip]-DAT'
	pl	जाहाँर जाहाँर <i>jaha-r jaha-r</i> 'REL[p/ip]-GEN REL[p/ip]-GEN'	जाहाँक जाहाँक <i>jaha-k jaha-k</i> 'REL[p/ip]-DAT REL[p/ip]-DAT'

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

- (161) a. जाहें बड हचे छटडक खाए जाछे। (cf. GR.01.029)  
 jahe baɾʌ hʌ-c-e c<sup>h</sup>ʌɾʌ-dʌ-k k<sup>h</sup>a-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 दितोक से खाए लिस।  
 je di-t-ok se k<sup>h</sup>a-e l-is  
 REL[ip] give-FUT-SA2sg CORR eat-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg  
 'Whatever he gives (to you), eat it.'
- c. असा जे जे कर्ले उला गटेला काथा उहाँक सुनाले।  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a je je kʌr-l-ɪ  
 3pl[pro] REL[ip] REL[ip] do-PST-3  
 u-la gʌte-la kʌt<sup>h</sup>a uhā-k sun-a-l-ɪ  
 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 उहाँ(ए) *uhā(e)* (162a), or the 3pl pronoun असा *ʌm<sup>h</sup>a* (162b), depending on the number of the relative pronoun.

- (162) a. जाहाँए कर्बे उहाँइ पाबे।  
 jahae kʌr-b-ɪ uhā=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. जाहाँए जाहाँए इड घटना देख्ले, असाए इड घटना बलिए बेराले।  
 jahae jahae i-dʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌt<sup>n</sup>a dek<sup>h</sup>-l-ɪ  
 REL[p] REL[p] DEM[prox]-NCLS event see-PST-3  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a=e i-dʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌt<sup>n</sup>a bʌl-ie bera-l-ɪ  
 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

	Relative pronoun	Correlative pronoun	
personal			
sb	जाहें (जाहाँए) <i>jah(a)e</i> 'REL[p]'	उहाँ(ए) <i>uhā(e)</i> '3sg[pro]'	ताहाए <i>tahae</i> 'CORR'
pl	जाहें जाहें (जाहाँए जाहाँए) <i>jah(a)e jah(a)e</i> 'REL[p] REL[p]'	असा <i>ʌm<sup>h</sup>a</i> '3pl[pro]'	
impersonal			
	Relative pronoun	Correlative pronoun	
sb	जे <i>je</i> REL[ip]		से <i>se</i> 'CORR'
	जेइइ <i>jei-dʌ</i> 'REL[obl/ip]-NCLS'	उइ <i>u-dʌ</i> 'DEM[rem]-NCLS' अइइ <i>ʌi-dʌ</i> 'DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS'	सेइइ <i>sei-dʌ</i> 'CORR[obl]-NCLS'

Table 20. (cont.)

	जेइखान <i>jei-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'REL[obl/ip]-NCLS'	उखान <i>u-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'DEM[rem]-NCLS' अइखान <i>ʌi-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS'	सेइखान <i>sei-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'CORR[obl]-NCLS'
pl	जेइला <i>jei-la</i> 'REL[obl/ip]-PL'	उला <i>u-la</i> 'DEM[rem]-PL'	सेइला <i>sei-la</i> 'CORR[obl]-PL'
	जे जे <i>je je</i> 'REL[ip] REL[ip]' (group of single entities)		
	जेइ जेइला <i>jei jei-la</i> 'REL[obl/ip] REL[obl/ip]-PL' (group of plural entities)		
pronominal adjectives and adverbs			
	Relative pronoun (or pronominal)	Correlative pronoun (or pronominal)	
TEMP	जेइखुना <i>jei-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> 'REL[obl]-time'	उखुना <i>u-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> 'DEM[rem]-time' अइखुना <i>ʌi-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> 'DEM[rem/emph]-time'	सेइखुना <i>sei-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> 'CORR[obl]-time'
	जब <i>ʃab</i> 'when(Hindi)'	आप <i>ap</i> 'now' तब <i>tʌb</i> 'then (Hindi)'	-
	जेइदिन <i>jei-din</i> 'REL[obl]-day'	अइदिन <i>ʌi-din</i> 'DEM[rem/emph]-day'	सेइदिन <i>sei-din</i> 'CORR[obl]-day'
LOC	जेइठिना (जेइठा) <i>jei-t<sup>h</sup>(in)a</i> 'REL[obl]-place'	अइठिना (अइठा) <i>ʌi-t<sup>h</sup>(in)a</i> 'DEM[rem/emph]-place'	सेइठिना (सेइठा) <i>sei-t<sup>h</sup>(in)a</i> 'CORR[obl]-place'
DIR	जेइधर <i>jei-d<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'REL[obl]-direction'	अइधर <i>ʌi-d<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'DEM[rem/emph]-direction'	सेइधर <i>sei-d<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'CORR[obl]-direction'
amount	जेइला <i>jet-la</i> 'how_many-PL'	गटलाए <i>gʌtʌe</i> 'all'	सेइला <i>set-la</i> 'that_many-PL'
	जेतेक <i>jetek</i> 'as_much_as'	अतेक <i>ʌtek</i> 'that_much'	सेतेक <i>setek</i> 'that_much'

The correlative pronoun से *se* is found in certain written texts, especially in conjunction with certain pronominal adverbs. The pronoun uses the oblique stem सेइ- *sei-* '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 दितोक से खाए लिस।

je di-t-ok se k<sup>h</sup>a-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) चुलि आसिस।

ar jei-bela mʌn ja-ku (sei-bela) cul-i as-is  
and REL[obl/ip]-time mind go-SA2 (CORR[obl]-time) AUX-ABS come-SUBJ2  
'And when you want to, come at that time.'

c. ...आनाला जेइधर जेइधर बासिड बल्चे, सेइधर सेइधर एकदम दउर मार्चे। (cf. MR.05.336)

...arʌna-la jeid<sup>h</sup>ar jeid<sup>h</sup>ar basi-dʌ bʌl-c-e  
...buffalo-PL over\_where over\_where flute-NCLS play(instrument)-PRES-3  
seid<sup>h</sup>ar seid<sup>h</sup>ar ekdʌm dʌur 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 Rājbanṣhi. 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 Rājbanṣhi. 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 Rājbanṣhi the two systems overlap in such a way that a distinction of this kind would be difficult since grammatical functions are maintained in Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājbanṣhi morpheme  $-\text{क}-(\text{A})k$  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  $-\text{त}-(\text{A})t$ .

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

Type 1. The instrumental case  $-\text{ए} -e$  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.)



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 *-(A)k*, nouns and pronouns behave in the same manner, eg. pronoun forms मोर *mo-r* '1sg[obl]-GEN', मोक *mo-k* '1sg[obl]-DAT', and noun forms घरेर *g<sup>h</sup>Ar-er* 'house-GEN' and घरटक *g<sup>h</sup>Ar-tA-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 *-(A)k*.

Type 3. The locative marker -त *-(A)t* connects directly to the noun stem, but in the case of pronouns it requires a postpositional construction. Therefore, consider घरत *g<sup>h</sup>Ar-tA-t* 'house-NCLS-LOC' or पानिखानत *pani-k<sup>h</sup>an-at* 'water-NCLS-LOC', but मोर भितरत *mo-r b<sup>h</sup>itrAt* '1sg[obl]-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 अ *A* 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. घरट से *g<sup>h</sup>Ar-tA 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 *tAk*. 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, eg. गरु गरिखानेर पर *garu gari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er pAr* 'bullock cart-NCLS-GEN upon', and the pronoun, e.g. काहौर 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, eg. भितर-त *b<sup>h</sup>itrΛ-t* 'inside', बगल-त *bΛglΛt* 'close (to)' and ठिना-से *ṭina-se* '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 *tΛk*, 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*)."

		← inflectional case marking	analytic case marking →
		CASE	POSTPOSITIONS
		Category 1	Category 2      Category 3
Type 1	nominative (-∅ 'NOM')	✓	
Type 2	dative-accusative -क -(Λ)k 'DAT'	✓	
Type 2	genitive -र -(e)r 'GEN'	✓	
Type 3	locative -त -(Λ)t 'LOC'	✓	
Type 1	instrumental -ए -e 'INSTR'	✓	
Type 4	ablative से <i>se</i> 'ABL'		✓
Type 4	terminative तक <i>tΛk</i> 'until' 'TERM'		✓
Type 4	instrumental ले <i>le</i> , दे <i>de</i> , पाए <i>pae</i> , दारे <i>dare</i> 'INSTR'		✓
Type 5	postposition e.g. -र पर -(e)r <i>pΛr</i> 'on top'		✓
Type 6	postposition e.g. भितर <i>b<sup>h</sup>itrΛt</i> 'inside'		✓

Figure 2. Case and postposition categories in Rājbanshi

### 3.6.4.1 Case

#### 3.6.4.1.1 Nominative

The case marking system of Rājbanshi is arranged on a nominative/accusative basis. The nominative case in Rājbanshi is unmarked, and it is used for the subject and complement

in copula clauses.<sup>33</sup> (In this section I have indicated the nominative case with the symbol -Ø 'NOM'; elsewhere in this work the nominative has not been marked in the parse or the morpheme-to-morpheme gloss.)

## (164) a. nominal

इखान लेपा-मुद्धा करा(ल) टाटि हए।  
 i-k<sup>h</sup>an-Ø lep-a muc<sup>h</sup>-a k<sup>l</sup>ara(l) ʈaʈi-Ø h<sup>l</sup>-e  
 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. इड त मोर खाबार चिज! (GR.01.008)

i-ɖ<sup>l</sup>-Ø t<sup>l</sup> mo-r k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r cij-Ø  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS-NOM PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN eat-INF-GEN thing-NOM  
 'This is my food!'

## c. descriptive

एकटा लोक बुरा छे। (cf. MR.01.002)  
 ek-ʈa lok-Ø bur<sup>h</sup>a c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 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

आर इड बेछरिनि हॉसेचे। (MR.02.013)  
 ar i-ɖ<sup>l</sup> berc<sup>h</sup>ani-Ø has-ec-e  
 CNJ DEM[prox]-NCLS woman-NOM laugh-PRES-3  
 'And this woman is laughing.'

## b. subject in transitive clause

बेटियाला देखि फेकालिक अमाक कचु बुन्बा। (MR.04.003)  
 k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la-Ø dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki <sup>l</sup>m<sup>h</sup>a-k k<sup>l</sup>acu bun-ba  
 jackal-PL-NOM see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 3pl[pro]-DAT [kacu]vegetable plant-INF  
 'Jackals saw them planting [kacu]vegetables.'

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<sup>33</sup> 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..."

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.<sup>34</sup>

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

सुक बासिड लिएने उराएने चुलि जाप्कि कुवाड। (cf. MR.05.201)

suk basi-ḍa li-ene ura-ene cul-i ja-p-ki  
happiness flute-NCLS take-CONJ.PTCL fly-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS go-FUT-SA3  
kua-ḍa  
crow-NCLS

'The crow took the flute and flew off.'

b. direct object (inanimate)

गरु गरिखानक उठाए राख्बार ताने... (cf. MR.02.020; also DLR.05.029)

garu gari-k<sup>h</sup>an-ak uṭ<sup>h</sup>-a-e rak<sup>h</sup>-ba-r tane...  
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)

एकटा बाच्चा छुवा धरिए आस्त्रे! (cf. DLR.04.008)

ek-ṭa bacca c<sup>h</sup>ua-Ø d<sup>h</sup>ar-ie as-b-i  
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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<sup>34</sup> 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 minimalised."

In Rājbanṣhi 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.

(168) अमा हामाक एकखान खस्ला दिले।

am<sup>h</sup>a hama-k ek-k<sup>h</sup>an k<sup>h</sup>asla-Ø di-l-<sub>I</sub>  
 3pl[pro] 1pl[pro]-DAT one-NCLS woven\_straw\_mat-NOM give-PST-3  
 'They gave us a woven\_mat<sub>[SPECIFIC.INDEFINITE]'</sub>

When the (optional) locative case is deleted in locational adverbial phrases the result is a nominative case-like marking.

(169) एक चटि माने हामार गाअँ(त) माने आसिस्ले। (cf. DLR.03.011)

ek caṭi mane hama-r gaã(-t) mane as-isl-<sub>I</sub>  
 one time PCL 1pl[pro]-GEN village(-LOC) PCL come-REM.PST-3  
 'Once he came to our village.'

Finally, nouns are not marked for case relationships in conjunct verb constructions such as मुठि कर- *muṭ<sup>h</sup>i ka-* 'to bundle make' (170a), or मार खिला- *mar k<sup>h</sup>ila-* 'to beating feed' (170b). This "unmarked status" (with no marking) and the nominative case (with a possible Ø-morpheme) therefore appear identical, but are functionally distinct.

(170) a. आर एकटा बुरा लोक बठिएने पुवालला मुठि करेचे। (DLR.01.002)

ar ek-ṭa bur<sup>h</sup>a lok-Ø baṭ<sup>h</sup>-iene pua-la-Ø muṭ<sup>h</sup>i ka-ec-e  
 and one-NCLS old man-NOM sit-CONJ.PTCL straw-PL-NOM bundle make-PRES-3  
 'An old man is sitting (and) is bundling straw.'

b. अइ हामाक ते मार खिलाइस्ले (cf. MR.04.092)

ai hama-k te mar k<sup>h</sup>ila-isl-<sub>I</sub>  
 INJ 1pl[pro]-DAT PCL beating feed-REM.PST-3  
 'she gave us a beating'

### 3.6.4.1.2 Dative-accusative

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 -(A)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  $-(\Lambda)k$  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  $-(\Lambda)k$  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. याहाँक आज्ञि मारबा लागे। (cf. MR.04.094)  
 yaha-k                      aj<sup>h</sup>i    mar-ba    lag-e  
 3sg[pro/prox]-DAT today kill-INF should-PRES3  
 '(We) should kill her today.'
- b. एकटा बाच्चा छुवा धरिए आस्बे! (cf. DLR.04.008)  
 ek-ṭa                      bacca    c<sup>h</sup>ua-Ø                      d<sup>h</sup>ar-ie                      as-b-i  
 one-NCLS young child-NOM hold-CONJ.PTCL come-FUT-3  
 '(He) brings a child with him.'
- c. तोक मुइ छेच्कारि नि ठुकिम्कुन। (cf. DLR.04.025)  
 to-k                      mui                      c<sup>h</sup>eckari    ni                      t<sup>h</sup>uk-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-c). 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. जुवाँड आप्नार घरनिडक कह्कि... (cf. DLR.04.007)  
 juã-ḍa                      apna-r                      g<sup>h</sup>ar-ni-ḍa-k                      kaḥa-c-ki  
 son\_in\_law REFL[pro]-GEN wife-NCLS-DAT say-PRES-SA3  
 'The son-in-law said to his (own) wife...'

- b. गरु भइसलाक घाँस खिल्वार ताने... (cf. MR.02.026)  
 gaɽu b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la-k g<sup>h</sup>ās k<sup>h</sup>il-ba-r tane  
 bullock water\_buffalo-PL-DAT grass feed-INF-GEN for  
 'in order to feed grass to the cattle'
- c. अमा हामाक एकखान किताप दिले।  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a hama-k ek-k<sup>h</sup>an kitap di-l-i  
 3pl[pro] 1pl[pro]-DAT one-NCLS book give-PST-3  
 'They gave us a book (specific, indefinite).'
- d. उहाँए तोक बेटिड दिल्कु। तुइ उहाँक किखान दिल्कि?  
 uhāe to-k beṭi-ḍʌ di-l-ku  
 3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT daughter-NCLS give-PST-SA2sg  
 tui uhā-k ki-k<sup>h</sup>an di-l-ki?  
 2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT what-NCLS give-PST-SA3  
 'He<sub>[AGENT]</sub> gave you<sub>[RECIPIENT]</sub> (his) daughter<sub>[PATIENT]</sub>.  
 'What<sub>[PATIENT]</sub> did you<sub>[AGENT]</sub> give him<sub>[RECIPIENT]</sub>?' (Implying, 'You gave him nothing  
 in return.')
- e. मुइ पामरटक कहेने रामडक घुरुवानु।  
 mui pamar-ṭʌ-k kʌh-ene ram-ḍʌ-k g<sup>h</sup>ur-(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".<sup>35</sup> The dative subject is obligatorily marked with the dative-accusative case.

- (173) a. हामाक बेत्ताल भोक लागेचे।  
 hama-k bettal b<sup>h</sup>ok lag-ec-e  
 1pl[pro]-DAT very hunger apply-PRES-3  
 'We are really hungry.'
- b. त बुरा बुरिलाक गेलिक रिस उठिए। (MR.04.045)  
 tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k ge-l-ki ris uṭ<sup>h</sup>-ie  
 PCL old\_man old\_woman-PL-DAT AUX-PST-SA3 anger rise-ABS  
 'And the old man and old woman got furious.'

<sup>35</sup> For similar features in Indo-Aryan in general cf. Masica (1991:346-347) and Verma & Mohanan (eds., 1990), in Bengali cf. Klaiman (1986:180), and in Maithili cf. Yadav (1997 [1996]:82-83).

- c. उहाँक जल्लुकेर बेत्ताल डर लागेच्छि।  
 uhā-k jalluk-er bettal ḍar lag-ec-ki  
 3sg[pro]-DAT leach-GEN very fear apply-PRES-SA3  
 'He is very afraid of leaches.'
- d. एख्खाए अन्सट लागि जाच्छि हपाए घरत। (DLR.04.009)  
 ek<sup>h</sup>lae ʌnsʌt lag-i ja-c-ki hʌpae g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt  
 alone boredom apply-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3 perhaps home-LOC  
 'Perhaps he is bored at home all on his own.'

The dative subject construction is also used in conjunction with the following modal auxiliaries: the obligatives ह- *hʌ-* 'must, need to' (174a) and लाग- *lag-* 'must, should, need to', and the desiderative मेना- *mena-* 'want to' (174c). The loan obligative पर- *par-* '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.<sup>36</sup>

- (174) a. मोक सुट करे जाएने देख्बा हबे। (cf. DLR.06.019)  
 mo-k sut kʌre ja-ene dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hʌ-b-ʌ  
 1sg[obl]-DAT secret ADVL go-CONJ.PTCL see-INF be-FUT-3  
 'I will have to go secretly and see.'
- b. बदला लिबा लागे अमार सडे हामाक। (cf. MR.04.048)  
 bʌdla li-ba lag-e ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r sʌɳe hama-k  
 revenge take-INF must-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT  
 'We have to take revenge on them.'
- c. मोक मनडत कान्बा मेनाचे। (cf. GR.02.069; also MR.05.210, MR.05.218)  
 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.'

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).

<sup>36</sup> 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."



- (175) a. (हामाक) याहाँक आजि मारबा लागे। (MR.04.094)  
 (hama-k) yaha-k aj<sup>h</sup>i mar-ba lag-e  
 (1pl[pro]-DAT) 3sg[pro/prox]-DAT today kill-INF must-PRES3  
 '(We) should kill her today.'
- b. (मोक) बुरिडक बच्चा हबे (cf. MR.04.198)  
 (mo-k) bur<sup>h</sup>i-dʌ-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 देख्वा हप्कु। (cf. MR.05.018)  
 (to-k) hama-k dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hʌ-p-ku  
 (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 थाहा छ- *t<sup>h</sup>aha c<sup>h</sup>-* 'knowledge be-' ('to know') is marked with the dative-accusative case.

- (176) उहाँक थाहा छिल्लि कि... (cf. MR.04.130)  
 uhā-k t<sup>h</sup>aha c<sup>h</sup>i-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 लोकेर नाक्सा (cf. MR.03.012)  
 tin-ɖa lok-er naksa  
 three-NCLS man-GEN figure  
 'three person's figures'
- b. आप्नार बेटीर घर (cf. MR.04.088)  
 apna-r beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr  
 REFL[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 गाउँ *gaʌ* (or *gaʌ̃*) 'village'. In the Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi dialect, genitive marking merely attaches to the final ʌ (178b).

- (178) a. गाउँर (Korobāri)  
           ga-er           (or, ga-ēr)  
           village-GEN  
           'village's'
- b. नाउँर (Ghailāḍubbā, Lakharigaddi)  
           naʌ-r           (or, naʌ̃-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. बुराडर पाल *bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍʌ-r paʌ* 'old\_man-NCLS-GEN turn' (cf. MR.04.075)  
       b. घरलार टाट *g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-lʌ-r t<sup>h</sup>ʌt* 'house-PL-GEN roof\_frame' (cf. MR.02.007)  
       c. इखान खिसार मतलब *ik<sup>h</sup>an k<sup>h</sup>isar maʌtlʌb* 'DEM[prox]-NCLS story-GEN meaning' (cf. GR.01.029)  
       d. एकटा फुसेर घर *ek-tʌ p<sup>h</sup>us-er g<sup>h</sup>ʌr* '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. घरटर भितरत (cf. DLR.02.005)  
           g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-tʌ-r           b<sup>h</sup>itrat  
           house-NCLS-GEN inside  
           'inside the house'
- b. खेतखानेर ति (cf. MR.04.055)  
           k<sup>h</sup>et-k<sup>h</sup>an-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).<sup>37</sup> 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 गाउँ *hama-r gaũ* '1pl[pro]-GEN village' (cf. DLR.03.011)  
 b. तप्तार दादोड *tʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r dʌdo-dʌ* '2pl[pro]-GEN grandfather' (cf. MR.04.060)  
 c. \*/? मोर बाउड *mo-r bau-dʌ* '1sg[obl]-GEN father-NCLS'  
 d. बाउड *bau-dʌ* 'father-NCLS' = '(my/our) father'  
 e. तोर बाउड *to-r bau-dʌ* '2sg[obl]-GEN father-NCLS' (cf. GR.01.024)
- f. आला जाछु, बेटरि घर। (MR.04.107)  
*al<sup>h</sup>a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr*  
 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. इड लोक गचिमारिर हए। (cf. DLR.03.001)  
*i-dʌ lok gʌcimari-r hʌ-e*  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimāri-GEN be-PRES3  
 'This man is from Gacimāri.'
- b. आर घरट माटिरे हए (cf. DLR.02.007)  
*ar g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ṭʌ 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).

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<sup>37</sup> 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 घरेर लोकट *mo-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er lok-ṭʌ* '1sg[obl]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS' (i.e. 'my husband'; cf. DLR.06.017, DLR.06.084a)  
 b. मोर भातार *mo-r b<sup>h</sup>atar* '1sg[obl]-GEN husband' (cf. DLR.06.098)  
 c. मोर माअँ *mo-r maũ* '1sg[obl]-GEN mother'  
 d. \*मोर आइ *\*mo-r ai* '\*1sg[obl]-GEN mother'

- (183) a. पामरेर लिखाल कितापखान  
 pamar-er lik<sup>h</sup>-al kitap-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 Pāmar-GEN write-PST.PTCL book-NCLS  
 'the book written by Pāmar'
- b. तोर कादुवालि करा(ल) पानिखान (cf. GR.01.012-013)  
 to-r kaduali kar-a(l) pani-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS  
 'the water made muddy by you'
- c. मोर निसाफ कने बाला तुइ काहाँए?  
 mo-r nisap<sup>h</sup> 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 असिचे, एकदम देख्बारा। (DLR.06.008)  
 ek-ṭa raja-r beta as-ic-e, ekdam dek<sup>h</sup>-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 आस्बे। (MR.04.121)  
 tane k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r maja as-b-i  
 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 कर्बार सुबिस्ता हवे। (cf. MR.05.316)  
 [k<sup>h</sup>an pin-er bewast<sup>h</sup>a kar-ba-r] subista ha-b-i  
 [food drink-GEN arrangement(loan) do-INF-GEN]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> 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 k̄ā.

- (185) a. इड त हामार तिकार आम! (MR.05.208)  
 i-ḍa ta hama-r ti-kar am  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL 1pl[pro]-GEN towards-GEN mango  
 'This is a mango from our region!'

- b. आर हुत्ताकार ताने एकटा अच्छा लोक हए। (DLR.03.007)  
 ar hutna-kar tane ek-ta acc<sup>h</sup>a lok hΛ-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  $-t$   $-(\Lambda)t$ . 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  $\Lambda$ , hence  $-\Lambda t$  (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. दन्त  $d\Lambda n-\Lambda t$  'quarrel-LOC' (cf. DLR.04.030)  
 b. डेङ्गेने  $t^he\eta-t=e$  'leg-LOC = EMPH' (cf. MR.04.076)
- (187) a. \*मोत  $*mo-t$  \*'1sg[obl]-LOC'  
 b. मोर भितरत  $mo-r b^{hitr}\Lambda t$  '1sg[obl]-GEN within'
- c. श्रीमान श्रीमतिला एमात काटा काटि नि कर्बे! (cf. DLR.06.090)  
 sriman srimati-la em<sup>h</sup>a-t kaṭ-a kaṭ-i ni kΛr-b-i  
 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. इला घरत लेइ जाएने... (cf. MR.04.017)  
 i-la g<sup>h</sup>Λr-Λt le-i ja-ene...  
 DEM[prox]-PL home-LOC take-CONJ.PTCL go-CONJ.PTCL...  
 'After taking these home...'
- b. उहाँर घरेर लोकट एकदिन कामत चलि गेलिक। (cf. DLR.06.018)  
 uhā-r g<sup>h</sup>Λr-er lok-tΛ ek-din kam-Λt cΛl-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.'

- (189) a. एन्ति गान्धा ठाअँखानत खाबन मोक? (cf. MR.04.169)  
 enti gand<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>aΛ-k<sup>h</sup>an-At k<sup>h</sup>a-b-Λn mo-k  
 like\_this dirty place-NCLS-LOC eat-FUT-2pl 1sg[obl]-DAT  
 'Are you going to eat me in such a dirty place like this?'
- b. तमार दादोड आरह नि छे इड संसारत। (cf. MR.04.060)  
 tΛm<sup>h</sup>a-r dado-ɖΛ arhΛ ni c<sup>h</sup>-e i-ɖΛ sansar-At  
 2pl[pro]-GEN grandfather-NCLS more NEG be-PRES3 DEM[prox]-NCLS world-LOC  
 'Your grandfather is no longer in this world.'

Note that locative marking for the illative is often optional.

- (190) a. आला जाळु, बेटरि घर। (MR.04.107)  
 al<sup>h</sup>a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>Λr  
 now go-PRES-1sg daughter-GEN house  
 'Now I am going to (my) daughter's house.'
- b. हेंटकार पानिखान पाहाड(त) त नि उट्बे (cf. GR.01.005)  
 heṭ-kar pani-k<sup>h</sup>an pahar(-At) tΛ ni uṭ<sup>h</sup>-b-1  
 below-GEN water-NCLS mountain(-LOC) PCL NEG rise-FUT-3  
 'The water from below can not rise to the mountain(s).'

Secondly, the locative conveys an adessive ('on, on top of') sense.

- (191) a. चेडराड छप्परखानत बठिए... (cf. MR.01.003)  
 ceṅra-ɖΛ c<sup>h</sup>appΛr-k<sup>h</sup>an-At bΛṭ<sup>h</sup>-ie  
 young\_man-NCLS roof-NCLS-LOC sit-CONJ.PTCL  
 'The young man is sitting on the roof (and)...'
- b. इड बेछरनि गालाडत एकखान माला पिन्निचे। (cf. MR.02.011)  
 i-ɖΛ berc<sup>h</sup>ani gala-ɖΛ-t ek-k<sup>h</sup>an mala pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS woman neck-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS garland put\_on-PERF-3  
 'This woman is wearing a garland on (i.e. around) her neck.'

Thirdly, it occurs with certain temporal adverbs.

- (192) a. आर केवा बछरत  
 ar kewa bΛc<sup>h</sup>Λr-At  
 more some year-LOC  
 'during the next few years'

- b. समय समयत आस्ते रहिस। (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 c<sup>h</sup>-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) दस्रा पखिड एकदिन चुलि गेल, फेर दानार खोजित। (cf. DLR.05.023; also DLR.05.006a)  
 dasra pak<sup>hi</sup>-ḍa ek-din cul-i ge-l p<sup>h</sup>er dana-r k<sup>h</sup>oj-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 पामरटर मुखे खबरट पानु।  
 mui pamar-ṭa-r muk<sup>h</sup>-e k<sup>h</sup>abar-ṭa 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 पामरटर हाते चिट्ठि पानु।  
 mui pamar-ṭa-r hat-e ciṭṭi 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.

(195) a. manner (adverbial)

लाजे सरमे (cf. DLR.04.042)

laj-e                      sʌɾʌm-e

shame-INSTR shame-INSTR

'with (great) shame'

b. reason (adverbial)

मुइ एइखान मुखेर 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 अघिने भात नाथा जाबे?

bina      ʌgʰin-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 -ऐ əi (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: घरै (*gʰər-əi* 'home-EMPH') 'at home', बिस्तारै (*bistar-əi*) 'slowly'... बिहानै बेलुकै (*bihan-əi beluk-əi* '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 छु।

mui      accʰa cʰ-u

1sg[pro] good be-PRES1sg

'I am good.' (attributive)



- b. मुइ आच्छाए छु  
 mui acc<sup>h</sup>a-e c<sup>h</sup>-u  
 1sg[pro] good-ADVL/INSTR/EMPH? be-PRES1sg  
 'I am fine.'
- c. मोक भोक लागेचे।  
 mo-k b<sup>h</sup>ok lag-ec-e  
 1sg[obl]-DAT hunger apply-PRES-3  
 'I am hungry.' (dative subject)
- d. मुइ भोके छु।  
 mui b<sup>h</sup>ok-e c<sup>h</sup>-u  
 1sg[pro] hunger-ADVL/INSTR/EMPH? be-PRES1sg  
 'I am hungry.'
- e. सुके छे हामार बेटाड। (cf. MR.05.184)  
 suk=e c<sup>h</sup>-e hama-r beṭa-ḍa  
 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 *se* '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 हुदर। (MR.04.182)  
 hetin se ar ni ja-m-ḷa hudar  
 here ABL more NEG go-FUT-1pl over\_there  
 'From here we won't go any further over there.'
- b. बुराड कान्टाखान से घुरिए... (cf. DLR.04.015)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa kaṇṭa-k<sup>h</sup>an se g<sup>h</sup>ur-ie...  
 old\_man-NCLS vicinity-NCLS ABL turn\_around-CONJ.PTCL  
 'The old man will turn around from that place close by...'
- c. आस्रार से केनड करे बचिम? (cf. MR.04.185)  
 am<sup>h</sup>a-r se kenḍ kare bac-im  
 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. दुइ घान्टा से *dui g<sup>h</sup>anṭa se* 'two hour ABL' ('for two hours')
- b. अइबेला से *ai-bela se* 'DEM[rem/emph]-time ABL' ('since that (very) time')
- c. ...हिदर से आसा जाइ नि कर्चे। (cf. DLR.03.011)  
 hidar se as-a ja-i ni kar-c-e  
 over\_here ABL come-DVBL go-DVBL NEG do-PRES-3  
 '...since then he has not been visiting.'
- d. केतखुन से कान्बो? (MR.04.190)  
 ket-k<sup>h</sup>un se kan-b-o  
 how\_much-time ABL cry-FUT-2sg  
 'Until when will you cry?'
- e. जाबार (से) आगुत  
 ja-ba-r (se) agut  
 go-INF-GEN (ABL) before  
 'before going'

Thirdly, the ablative is used in complex postpositional constructions such as:

- (199) a. अमार मइधे से *am<sup>h</sup>ar maid<sup>h</sup>e se* '3pl[pro]-GEN amongst ABL' ('from among them')
- b. अमार बिच से *am<sup>h</sup>ar bic se* '3pl[pro]-GEN middle ABL' ('from among them')
- c. पुरुब बिति से *purub biti se* 'east towards ABL' ('from the direction of the east')
- d. पेइसाला पामरटर ठिन से अनिए राखिस।  
 peisa-la pamar-ṭa-r ṭin(a) se an-ie rak<sup>h</sup>-is  
 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।  
 i-ḍa g<sup>h</sup>ar se u-ḍa g<sup>h</sup>ar baṛa  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS house ABL DEM[rem]-NCLS house big  
 'That house is bigger than this house.'
- b. इड कलम सभारे से मँट छे।  
 i-ḍa kaḷam sab<sup>h</sup>a-r=e se maṭa c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 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 dek<sup>h</sup>-ie* '2sg[obl]-DAT see-CONJ.PTCL' in (201c).

- (201) a. चित्ताबाघेर खल्काला से हामाक डर लागेचे।  
 cittabag<sup>h</sup>-er k<sup>h</sup>lka-la se hama-k ḍar 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 ḍar 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 dek<sup>h</sup>-ie mo-k ḍar 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 पठाल टाकाला से माहाजन मारने। (Rājbanshi VS 2064b:106)  
 to-r paṭ<sup>h</sup>-al ṭaka-la se maha-jan mar-n-ḷ  
 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) d-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': *लिएने l-ie(ne)* 'take-CONJ.PTCL' (lit. 'by taking'). Both clitics are used with non-animates.

- (203) a. कलम दे *kAlAm de* 'pen INSTR' ('by pen')  
 b. कलमड दे *kAlAm-dΛ de* 'pen-NCLS INSTR' ('with the pen')
- c. उहाँ मोक लाठिखान दे टुक्ले।  
*uhā mo-k laṭʰi-kʰan de ṭʰuk-l-ɪ*  
 3sg[pro] 1sg[obl]-DAT stick-NCLS INSTR hit-PST-3  
 'He hit me with the stick.'
- d. अहड घर माटि दे लेपाल, मुद्दाल छे। (MR.03.009)  
*Λ = hΛ-dΛ gʰAr maṭi de lep-al, mucʰ-al cʰ-e*  
 DEM[rem]=CNJ-NCLS house soil INSTR plaster-PST.PTCL, wipe-PST.PTCL be-PRES3  
 'Also that house has been plastered with mud, and wiped (over).'

An instrumental/agent दारे *dare*, which is a Rājibanshi derivation of the instrumental द्वारा *dvara* found in Hindi and Nepali (and originating from Sanskrit), is sometimes used to mark a human agent.

- (204) उहाँर दारे गटे कामला करवानु।  
*uhā-r dare gaṭe kam-la kaɾ-(u)wa-n-u*  
 3sg[pro]-GEN by all task-PL do-ICAUS-PST-1sg  
 '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 *mo-r pae* '1sg[obl]-GEN INSTR' ('by me')

### 3.6.4.2.3 Terminative

The terminative clitic तक *tAk* 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 *tAlik* is the correct Rājibanshi form (206a).

- (206) a. भद्रपुर से दमक त(लि)क  
*bʰAdɾApur se dAmAk tΛ(li)k*  
 Bhadrapur ABL Damak TERM  
 'from Bhadrapur to Damak'

- b. आस्वा द्याबिस्ले, आला तक नि आसे।  
 as-ba c<sup>h</sup>ab-isl-I, al<sup>h</sup>a tək 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. कोइखुना आमा एक महिना तक नि आसे। (cf. MR.05.125)  
 koi-k<sup>h</sup>una am<sup>h</sup>a ek mʌhina tək 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 दुइ स, तिन स, पाच स एला तक... (cf. MR.05.142)  
 kʌm se kʌm dui sʌ tin sʌ etla tək  
 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 Rājbanṣhi are attached to the head with the genitive case. Locative and directional postpositions include the following.

- (207) a. पर *paɾ* 'on; upon' (cf. MR.03.004)  
 b. (बि)ति (*bi*)*ti* 'to; towards' (cf. MR.04.129)  
 c. माखाए (माखे) *mak<sup>h</sup>(a)e* 'via; through' and पाके *pake* 'through'  
 d. टिना *ṭina* 'close; vicinity' (the original meaning of *ṭina* appears to have been the noun 'place')

Complex postpositions पाछुति *pac<sup>h</sup>uti* 'behind' and आगुति *aguti* 'in front' have been interpreted as originating from the forms *pac<sup>h</sup>u-ti* and *agu-ti* respectively. The simple forms पाछु *pac<sup>h</sup>u* and आगु *agu* only occur in reduplicated constructions such as पाछु पाछु *pac<sup>h</sup>u pac<sup>h</sup>u* 'behind' and आगु आगु *agu agu* 'ahead' (cf. section 3.2.7).

- (208) a. गारिखानेर पाछुति (cf. MR.02.003)  
 gari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er pac<sup>h</sup>uti  
 cart-NCLS-GEN behind  
 'behind the cart'
- b. घरटर आगुति (cf. MR.03.010)  
 g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ṭʌ-r aguti  
 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. अ/उपरत *AprAt*, *uprAt* 'upon'  
 b. बगलत *bAglAt* 'close'  
 c. भितरत *b<sup>h</sup>itrAt* 'inside'  
 d. बिचत *bicAt* 'in between'  
 e. तलत *tAlAt* 'below'  
 f. बाहारत *baharAt* 'outside'

They function as postpositions in their own right, as the following examples indicate.

- (210) a. बुराडर बगलत (cf. MR.01.005)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-dΛ-r                      bAglAt  
 old\_man-NCLS-GEN close  
 'close to the old man'
- b. मुन्दिरतर भितरत  
 mundir-tΛ-r                      b<sup>h</sup>itrAt  
 temple-NCLS-GEN inside  
 'inside the temple'

Some directionals, such as मुखे *muk<sup>h</sup>e* 'to, towards' (note, मुख *muk<sup>h</sup>* is the noun for 'face') and (बि)ति (*bi*)*ti* 'towards; to', attach to adverbs of location without the genitive case.

- (211) a. पुरुब (बि)ति  
 purub (bi)ti  
 east towards  
 'towards (the) east'
- b. उपर से पानिखान देखिन मुखे जाछे। (GR.01.003)  
 upΛr se pani-k<sup>h</sup>an dek<sup>h</sup>in muk<sup>h</sup>e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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. जेइठिना (cf. MR.04.025)  
 jei-t<sup>h</sup>ina  
 REL[obl/ip]-place/vicinity  
 'where'

- b. अइमाखाए (cf. MR.04.088)  
 ʌi-mak<sup>h</sup>ae  
 DEM[rem/emph]-through  
 'that way'

### 3.6.4.2.5 Temporal

The temporal postpositions खुना *k<sup>h</sup>una* '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).

- (213) a. हामार गाउँ आसिस्ले सतसंगेर खुना...। (cf. DLR.03.011)  
 hama-r gaʌ as-isl-i sʌtsʌŋ-er k<sup>h</sup>una  
 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. आस्वार खुना फेर एइमाखाए आसिस। (MR.04.123)  
 as-ba-r k<sup>h</sup>una p<sup>h</sup>er ei-mak<sup>h</sup>ae 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. सुन्वार बाद *sun-ba-r bad* 'listen-INF-GEN after'  
 b. कुछु दिनेर बाद *kuc<sup>h</sup>u din-er bad* 'some day-GEN after'  
 c. केवा दिन बाद *kewa din bad* 'some day after'

The temporal postposition घुरि *g<sup>h</sup>uri* 'during' occurs after temporal adverbs. It never requires genitive case marking on the adverb. The postposition is interchangeable with the adverbialiser करे *kʌre* 'ADVL' (cf. section 5.1).

- (215) राति घुरि आसिए (cf. MR.04.025)  
 rati g<sup>h</sup>uri as-ie  
 night during come-CONJ.PTCL  
 'coming during the night'

### 3.6.4.2.6 Cause and purpose

The causal postposition कारन(त) *karʌn(ʌt)* 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-त *karʌn-ʌt* 'reason-LOC' (some writers prefer the traditional spelling कारण *karʌn*).

- (216) a. आप्ना अप्नि घरेर कामेर कारन(त) (cf. DLR.03.012)  
 apna apni g<sup>h</sup>ar-er kam-er karan(-at)  
 REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason(-LOC)  
 'because of each one's own house work'
- b. फुर्सत नि हबार कारन(त) (cf. DLR.03.012)  
 p<sup>h</sup>ursat ni ha-ba-r karan(-at)  
 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. टाटि बेन्वार ताने (cf. MR.02.007)  
 ʈaʈi ben-ba-r tane  
 wall build-INF-GEN for  
 'in order to build wall(s)'
- b. त भोज खाबार ताने (cf. MR.04.053)  
 b<sup>h</sup>oj k<sup>h</sup>a-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. सङ्गे *sage* 'with' (cf. MR.04.067)  
 b. बादे *bade* 'on behalf of'  
 c. रूपत *rupat* 'in the form of' (cf. MR.02.007)  
 d. लाखाति *lak<sup>h</sup>ati* '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 Rājibanshi equivalent is the postposition ताने *tane* 'for'.

- (219) आर हुत्नाकार ले (=ताने) एकटा अच्छा लोक हए। (DLR.03.007)  
 ar hutna-kar le ek-ʈa acc<sup>h</sup>a lok ha-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 *b<sup>h</sup>are* '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 हबे।  
 [Λm<sup>h</sup>a-r        bina]    kam ni    hΛ-b-ɪ  
 [3pl[pro]-GEN without] work NEG be-FUT-3  
 'Without them the work can't be done.'
- b. अमा बिना खाए नि जावे।  
 Λm<sup>h</sup>a    [bina    k<sup>h</sup>a-e]        ni    ja-b-ɪ  
 3pl[pro] [without eat-CONJ.PTCL] NEG go-FUT-3  
 'They will/can not leave without eating.'
- c. बिना दोसे केनड करे मारा जावे याहाँक? (GR.01.009)  
 [bina    dos-e]                    kenΛŋ kΛre    mar-a                    ja-b-ɪ  
 [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

Rājibanshi 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  $k^h a-l-i$  'eat-PST-3'  
 b. खाचे  $k^h a-c-e$  'eat-PRES-3'  
 c. खाइचे  $k^h a-ic-e$  'eat-PERF-3'

Type 2 verb stems have a stem-final *-ʌ*. Verbs of this type include, for example: ह-  $hʌ$ - 'be', रह-  $rʌhʌ$ - 'remain; live; be', कह-  $kʌhʌ$ - 'say' and बह-  $bʌhʌ$ - 'flow; plough'. The stem-final *-ʌ* is optionally deleted in certain circumstances, as the following variants indicate:

- (223) a. कहए(ने)  $kʌhʌ-e(ne)$  'say-CONJ.PTCL'  
 b. कहे(ने)  $kʌh-e(ne)$  'say-CONJ.PTCL'

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-  $rʌhʌ$ - 'stay' + *-l* 'PST3' > रोहोल  $roho-l$  'stay-PST3'  
 b. कह-  $kʌhʌ$ - 'say' + *-∅* 'IMP2sg' > कोहो  $koho-∅$  'say-IMP2sg'  
 c. ह-  $hʌ$ - 'be' + *-ओक*  $-ok$  '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 *-c<sup>h</sup>* instead of the unaspirated affricate *-c* found in all other Rājibanshi 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.

- (225) a. जा- *ja-* 'go; AUX; PASS.AUX' (irregular past root ग- *g-*)  
 b. लि- *l(i)-* 'take; AUX'  
 c. दि- *d(i)-* 'give; AUX'
- (226) a. जाछे *ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e* 'go-PRES-3' (cf. GR.01.029; Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi)  
 b. गिछे *g-ic<sup>h</sup>-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  $-c^h$  is suppressed to  $-c$  when preceding secondary agreement.

- (227) a. गिच्छि *g-ic-ki* 'go-PERF-SA3' (Ghailāḍubbā, Lakharigaddi and Korobāri)  
 b. दिच्छन *d-ic-kAN* '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. ठुकिचु *t<sup>h</sup>uk-ic-u* 'hit-PERF-1sg'  
 b. भाग्ले *b<sup>h</sup>ag-l-i* 'escape-PST-3'  
 c. बातेचे *ban<sup>h</sup>-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. ध'इचे *d<sup>h</sup>Λ(r)-ic-e* [pron. *d<sup>h</sup>Λice*] 'begin-PERF-3' (stem धर- *d<sup>h</sup>Λr-*)  
 b. क'ए *kΛ(r)-e* [pron. *kΛe*] 'do-CONJ.PTCL' (stem कर- *kΛr-*)
- c. खेटियाला बुरिडक खाबा नि पा'ले। (MR.04.204)  
*k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍΛ-k k<sup>h</sup>a-ba ni pa(r)-l-i*  
 jackal-PL old\_woman-NCLS-DAT eat-INF NEG can-PST-3  
 'The jackals couldn't eat the old woman.'
- d. अमा खाबा पाचे पुवाल। (GR.02.005)  
*Λm<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-ba pa-c-e pual*  
 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. सञ्चिढे  $sAm\dot{t}^h-i-l-l$  'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-PST-3'  
 b. सञ्चिढो  $sAm\dot{t}^h-i-b-o$  'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-FUT-2sg'  
 c. सञ्चिढे  $sAm\dot{t}^h-e-c-e$  'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-PRES-3'  
 d. सञ्चिढुतन  $sAm\dot{t}^h-i-n-u = t\Delta n$  'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-PST-1sg = PST.COND'  
 e. सञ्चिढा  $sAm\dot{t}^h-i-ba$  'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-INF'  
 f. सञ्चिढे  $sAm\dot{t}^h-i-te$  'finish-[EPENTHETIC VOWEL]-CONT.PTCL'  
 g. सञ्चिढे  $sAm\dot{t}^h-ic-e$  'finish-PERF-3'

Verb stem Type 6 can not take  $\emptyset$ -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. \*सञ्चिढ् \* $sAm\dot{t}^h-\emptyset$  \*'finish-IMP2sg' (stem सञ्चिढ-  $sAm\dot{t}^h$ -)  
 b. सञ्चिढेक  $sAm\dot{t}^h-ek$  'finish-IMP2sg'  
 c. सञ्चिढ  $sAm[\Delta]t^h-\emptyset$  'finish-IMP2sg'

- (232) a. निक्केक  $nikl-ek$  'go\_out-IMP2sg' (stem निक्कल-  $nikl$ -)  
 b. निकुल  $nik[u]l-\emptyset$  'go\_out-IMP2sg'

- (233) घस्केक  $g^h\Delta sk-ek$  'hide-IMP2sg' (stem घस्क-  $g^h\Delta sk$ -)

Finally, there are two stem-final irregularities which require consideration. Firstly, some verbs can interchange between the stem-final vowels -i or -a without causing a change in meaning (for example, अञ्चिढि-  $\Delta nc^hi$ - 'search' and अञ्चिढा-  $\Delta nc^ha$ - 'search' in Table 21 below).<sup>38</sup> 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 -i variant to the infinitive alone suggests that these kinds of verbs have a primary stem-final -a, and a variant -i.

Some verbs do not have the -i variant. Verbs such as (the non-causative) पत्त्या-  $patya$ - 'find out' in Table 21 only occur with a stem-final -a. Refer also to section 3.7.3 for discussion on causative stem irregularities.

<sup>38</sup> Other verbs of this type include: बढ्लि-  $b\Delta d^hli$ - and बढ्ला-  $b\Delta d^hla$ - 'change'; बाब्दि-  $babdi$ - and बाब्दा-  $babda$ - 'make someone one's parent'; नाञ्चिढि-  $nac^hri$ - and नाञ्चिढा-  $nac^hra$ - 'claw'; काम्नि-  $kamri$ - and काम्ना-  $kamra$ - 'bite'.

Table 21. Non-finite marking on -CC and -CCV stem-finals

	-इ -i stem-final	-आ -a stem-final
Infl. stem	अन्ध्रा- $\Lambda nc^h a-$ 'search' (Verb stem type 1)	
V-INF	अन्ध्रिवा $\Lambda nc^h i-ba$ 'search-INF'	अन्ध्रावा $\Lambda nc^h a-ba$ 'search-INF'
V-ABS	-	अन्ध्राए $\Lambda nc^h a-e$ 'search-ABS'
V-CONJ-PTCL	-	अन्ध्राए(ने) $\Lambda nc^h a-e(ne)$ 'search-CONJ.PTCL'
V-CONT.PTCL	-	अन्ध्राते $\Lambda nc^h a-te$ 'search-CONT.PTCL'
V-PST.PTCL	-	अन्ध्राआ(ल) $\Lambda nc^h a-a(l)$ 'search-PST.PTCL'
Infl. stem	पत्या- $p\Lambda ty a-$ 'find out' (Verb stem type 1)	
INF	-	पत्यावा $p\Lambda ty a-ba$ 'find out-INF'
ABS	-	पत्याए $p\Lambda ty a-e$ 'find out-ABS'
CONJ-PTCL	-	पत्याए(ने) $p\Lambda ty a-e(ne)$ 'find out-CONJ.PTCL'
CONT.PTCL	-	पत्याते $p\Lambda ty a-te$ 'find out-CONT.PTCL'
PST.PTCL	-	पत्या(ल) $p\Lambda ty a-a(l)$ 'find out-PST.PTCL'
Infl. stem	सम्ह- $s\Lambda mt^h-$ 'finish' (Verb stem type 6)	
INF	सम्हिवा $s\Lambda mt^h(i)-ba$ 'finish-INF'	-
ABS	सम्हि $s\Lambda mt^h-i$ 'finish-ABS'	-
CONJ-PTCL	सम्हिए(ने) $s\Lambda mt^h-ie(ne)$ 'finish-CONJ.PTCL'	-
CONT.PTCL	सम्हिते $s\Lambda mt^h(i)-te$ 'finish-CONT.PTCL'	-
PST.PTCL	सम्हा(ल) $s\Lambda mt^h-a(l)$ 'finish-PST.PTCL'	-

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.<sup>39</sup> 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

	-C stem-final	-आ -a stem-final
Inflect. stem	-	नुका- <i>nuka-</i> 'hide' (Verb stem type 1)
V-INF	नुक्वा <i>nuk-ba</i> 'hide-INF'	नुकावा <i>nuka-ba</i> 'hide-INF'
V-ABS	-	नुकाए <i>nuka-e</i> 'hide-ABS'
V-CONJ-PTCL	-	नुकाए(ने) <i>nuka-e(ne)</i> 'hide-CONJ.PTCL'
V-CONT.PTCL	-	नुकाते <i>nuka-te</i> 'hide-CONT.PTCL'
V-PST.PTCL	-	नुका(ल) <i>nuka-a(l)</i> 'hide-PST.PTCL'

<sup>39</sup> Other verbs of this type include: बात- *bat-* and बाता- *bata-* 'tell'; बेन- *ben-* and बेना- *ben-a-* 'make'; बेर- *ber-* and बेरा- *ber-a-* 'walk'; चर- *car-* and चरा- *car-a-* 'graze'; निद- *nid-* and निदा- *nida-* 'sleep'; फेक- *p<sup>h</sup>ek-* and फेका- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* 'throw'.

### 3.7.2 Causative stems

Two morphological causative stems are used in Rājbanṣhi: the simple causative and the indirect causative.

#### 3.7.2.1 Basic structure

The simple causative suffix is -आ -a '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  
 uṭʰ-ba > uṭʰ-a-ba  
 rise-INF > raise-INF (i.e.'cause\_to\_raise')
- b. सुन्बा > सुनाबा  
 sun-ba > sun-a-ba  
 hear-INF > tell-INF (i.e.'cause\_to\_hear')
- c. जल्बा > जलाबा  
 jʌl-ba > jʌl-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. बढ्बा > बठाबा  
 baṭʰ-ba > baṭʰ-a-ba  
 sit-INF > sit-CAUS-INF ('cause\_to\_sit')
- b. बुराडक घरत बठाए खिलान पिलान कर्बाए हल्कि। (cf. DLR.04.042)  
 burʰa-dʌ-k            gʰʌr-ʌt      baṭʰ-a-e            kʰilan    pilan      kʌr-ba=e  
 old\_man-NCLS-DAT house-LOC sit-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL feeding drinking do-INF=EMPH  
 hʌ-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. कर्वा > कराबा

$k\Lambda r$ -ba >  $k\Lambda r$ -a-ba

do-INF > do-CAUS-INF ('cause\_to\_do')

b. राजाडर सडे गटलाके भेटघाट कराए दिक्कि। (cf. MR.05.347)

raja- $\text{d}\Lambda$ -r                      sa $\eta$ e g $\Lambda$ t-la-k=e                      b<sup>h</sup>e $\eta$ g<sup>h</sup>a $\eta$   $k\Lambda r$ -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.'

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.<sup>40</sup> The indirect causative will be discussed further in section 7.5.2.

(237) जलुवाबा  $j\Lambda l$ -(u)wa-ba 'burn-ICAUS-INF' ('have someone burn')

These observations lead to the conclusion that a Rājbanśhi 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. छुट्वा  $c^h u\text{t}$ -ba 'stop-INF'

b. छुटाबा  $c^h u\text{t}$ -a-ba 'stop-CAUS-INF'

c. छुटुवाबा  $c^h u\text{t}$ -(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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<sup>40</sup> 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."

(239) मर्बा &gt; मारबा

mar-ba &gt; mar-ba

die-INF &gt; kill-INF (i.e. 'cause\_to\_die')

Secondly, some verbs have irregular stems which are used for the simple and indirect causatives.

(240) a. खाबा *k<sup>h</sup>a-ba* 'eat-INF'b. खिलाबा *k<sup>h</sup>ila-ba* 'feed-INF' (i.e. 'cause to eat')c. खिलुवाबा *k<sup>h</sup>il-(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. दुवाबा *du-a-ba* 'give-CAUS-INF'c. दिलाबा *dil-a-ba* 'give<sub>[HINDI.STEM]</sub>-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 *hΛ-ba* 'be-INF' (corresponding causative बेनाबा *benā-ba* 'make-INF')b. जाबा *ja-ba* 'go-INF' (corresponding causative लिबा *li-ba* 'take-INF')c. आस्बा *as-ba* 'come-INF' (corresponding causative आन्बा *an-ba* 'bring-INF')d. कहबा *kΛhΛ-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-गेदुवाबा *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.



- (244) a. बुन्बा > बुनुवाबा  
 bun-ba > bun-(u)wa-ba  
 plant-INF > plant-ICAUS-INF ('cause\_to\_plant')
- b. भाग्बा > भागाबा  
 b<sup>h</sup>ag-ba > b<sup>h</sup>ag-a-ba  
 flee-INF > flee-CAUS-INF ('cause\_to\_flee')

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.

- (245) a. हास्बा *has-ba* 'laugh-INF' ('to laugh')
- b. हासाबा *has-a-ba* 'laugh-CAUS-INF' (idiomatic use)
- c. हासुवाबा *has-(u)wa-ba* 'laugh-ICAUS' ('to cause to laugh'; = simple causative)
- d. दादोर नाउँड मुइ हासाए दिन्किन।  
 dado-r                  naũ    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.'

Fifthly, there are verbs which have combinations of three stems, but which contrast semantically in only two ways. Consider, for example the verb खेल- *k<sup>h</sup>el-* 'play-' in (246a). The simple causative counterpart of this is (246c), which uses indirect causative morphology. The verb stem खेला- *k<sup>h</sup>ela-* '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 खेल- *k<sup>h</sup>el-* and खेला- *k<sup>h</sup>ela-* 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.

- (246) a. खेल्बा *k<sup>h</sup>el-ba* 'play-INF'
- b. खेलाबा *k<sup>h</sup>ela-ba* 'play-INF'
- c. खेलुवाबा *k<sup>h</sup>el-(u)wa-ba* 'play-ICAUS-INF' ('cause to play'; semantically a simple causative)

- d. तुइ उहाँर सङे खेलिक (or, खेलाकि) ता  
 tui uhā-r saŋe k<sup>h</sup>el(a)-ki ta  
 2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN with play-SA3 PCL  
 'Play with him.'

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- *bəl-* '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. बासिड बल्बा (or, बलाबा) धर्ले (cf. MR.05.324)  
 basi-də bəl-ba (or, bəl-a-ba) d<sup>h</sup>ər-l-i  
 flute-NCLS speak-INF (or, speak-CAUS-INF) begin-PST-3  
 'He began to play the flute.'
- b. बासिड बलाइस (\*बलिस) (cf. MR.05.179)  
 basi-də bəl-a-is (\*bəl-is)  
 flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-SUBJ2sg (\*speak-SUBJ2sg)  
 'Play the flute!'
- c. उहाँ बल्बा धर्ले।  
 uhā bəl-ba d<sup>h</sup>ər-l-i  
 3sg[pro] speak-INF begin-PST-3  
 'He began to speak.'
- d. उहाँ बलाबा धर्ले।  
 uhā bəl-a-ba d<sup>h</sup>ər-l-i  
 3sg[pro] speak-CAUS-INF begin-PST-3  
 'He began to make it speak.' (i.e. 'He began 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).<sup>41</sup>

- (248) a. N + V  
 b. ADJ + V  
 c. V<sub>[STEM]</sub> + V  
 d. V-CONJ.PTCL + V (derivational compound)  
 e. V<sub>[MATRIX]</sub>-ABS + AUX (quasi-aspectual compound)

Conjunct verbs with nouns (i.e. constructed as (248a)) are found with a range of verbalisers.

- (249) a. थाहा पावा *t<sup>h</sup>aha pa-ba* 'knowledge receive-INF' (i.e. 'to find out'; cf. MR.04.197)  
 b. आग्रा दिवा *agra di-ba* 'duty give-INF' (i.e. 'to guard'; cf. MR.05.145)  
 c. सोदोर खावा *sodor k<sup>h</sup>a-ba* 'guest eat-INF' (i.e. 'to pay a visit')  
 d. बाहा खावा *baha k<sup>h</sup>a-ba* 'wedding eat-INF' (i.e. 'to be a guest at a wedding')

Conjunct verbs with adjectives (i.e. constructed as (249b)) seem to be less frequent, but nevertheless were encountered.

- (250) a. बाचा बेनाबा (cf. MR.05.226)  
 baca bena-ba  
 small make  
 'to make small'

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<sup>41</sup> 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 Rājibanshi equivalent (248c), and the latter to the (248a-b) type constructions.

- b. साफ़ा सुघर कर्बा (cf. MR.05.132)  
 sap<sup>h</sup>a sug<sup>h</sup>ar 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 Rājbandhi: 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).<sup>42</sup>

- (251) a. गालि दिबा  
 gali di-ba  
 rebuke give-INF  
 'to tell off; to rebuke'

- b. आरसाल कियौं दिस्लो मोक गालि? (GR.01.018)  
 arsal kiā 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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<sup>42</sup> 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 Rājbandhi conjunct verb. However, Mohanan's condition (ii) only applies to the default order in Rājbandhi, 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 b<sup>h</sup>arosaa  
 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 k<sup>h</sup>a-ba  
 beating eat-INF  
 'to take a beating; to be beaten'
- b. दउर मारबा (cf. MR.05.336)  
 dʌur mar-ba  
 run kill-INF  
 'to run (fast); to scurry'
- c. डाक दिबा (cf. MR.04.178)  
 ɖak 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.<sup>43</sup>

- (253) ...दिबे उहाँ ढोल पिटिए। (cf. MR.05.257)  
 di-b-ɪ uhã ɖ<sup>h</sup>ol 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

Rājbanṣhi makes use of the copulas ह- *ha-* 'be; become' and छ- *c<sup>h</sup>-* 'be'. Verb inflection and the copulas correlate as follows:

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<sup>43</sup> 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)

Table 23. Correlation of copula verbs and inflection

	Stem ह- h-		Stem छ- c <sup>h</sup> -
	'be' (stative)	'become' (non-stative)	
FUT	✓ (DLR.06.076)		
PRES	✓ (GR.01.029)	✓ (GR.02.057)	
PST		✓ (DLR.05.060)	✓ (DLR.05.009)
PERF	✓	✓ (DLR.05.048)	
REM.PST		✓ (DLR.06.001)	
PST.COND	✓		
SUBJ	✓ (MR.05.257)		
'PST.HAB' (for the present tense)	✓		✓ Descriptive (DLR.06.003) ✓ Locational (DLR.05.018)
IMP	✓		
-INF	✓ (DLR.06.105)		
-ABS		✓ (DLR.06.028)	
-CONJ.PTCL	✓ (MR.04.057)		
-CONT.PTCL	✓ (MR.05.235)		
-PST.PTCL	✓		

In the past tense and the past continuous/remote past the ह- h<sub>Λ</sub>- 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- h<sub>Λ</sub>- having the meaning of 'become' whenever it occurs in conjunction with a quasi-aspectual auxiliary (254).<sup>44</sup>

(254) ...ते मुइ हिदर रानि हए जामा (cf. DLR.06.050a)

...te mui hidar rani h<sub>Λ</sub>-e ja-m

...PCL 1sg[pro] over\_here queen be-ABS AUX-FUT1sg

'...then on the one hand (lit. over here) I will become a queen.'

The copula ह- h<sub>Λ</sub>- is used in the present tense for general truth statements (255a). In contrast, other cases of copula clauses use past habitual marking, such as -ए -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.

<sup>44</sup> 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.

- (255) a. भातला माजा हचे।  
 b<sup>h</sup>at-la maja h<sub>Λ</sub>-c-e  
 rice-PL tasty be-PRES-3  
 'Rice is tasty.' (general truth statement)
- b. इड लोक गचिमारिर हए। (cf. DLR.03.001)  
 i-d<sub>Λ</sub> lok g<sub>Λ</sub>cimari-r h<sub>Λ</sub>-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimāri-GEN be-PRES3  
 'This man is from Gacimāri.' (contextual truth statement)

The copula छ- *c<sup>h</sup>*- is used in the present tense for descriptive (256a) and locational (256b) contexts. In the same way as the ह- *h<sub>Λ</sub>*- copula, it makes use of past habitual morphology. Note that the location in (256b) is not overtly stated.

- (256) a. बहुत सुन्दर छिले राजकुमारट। (DLR.06.003)  
 b<sub>Λ</sub>hut sundar c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i rajkumar-<sub>Λ</sub>  
 very(Hindi) beautiful be-PST-3 prince-NCLS  
 'The prince was very handsome.'
- b. कडिड त (खताडत) छेइए नि! (cf. DLR.05.034)  
 k<sub>Λ</sub>d<sub>i</sub>-d<sub>Λ</sub> t<sub>Λ</sub> (k<sup>h</sup>Λta-d<sub>Λ</sub>-t) c<sup>h</sup>-e = ie ni  
 shell-NCLS PCL (nest-NCLS-LOC) be-PRES3 = EMPH NEG  
 'The shell is just not (in the nest)!'

The copula छ- *c<sup>h</sup>*- is also used in possessive contexts such as (257a-b).

- (257) a. घरेर लोकट छे केरे। (DLR.06.031)  
 g<sup>h</sup>Ar-er lok-<sub>Λ</sub> c<sup>h</sup>-e kere  
 house-GEN man-NCLS be-PRES3 PCL  
 '(I certainly) have a husband.'
- b. केतेला धन सम्पति छिकि याहाँर? (DLR.05.021)  
 kete-la d<sup>h</sup>Λn s<sub>Λ</sub>mpati c<sup>h</sup>-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- *r<sub>Λ</sub>h<sub>Λ</sub>*- '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.

- (258) a. दुइ भातार मगि रहे। (cf. DLR.05.002)  
 dui b<sup>h</sup>atar maḡi raḥ-e...  
 two husband wife live-PST.HAB3...  
 'Two (of them) were/used to be married (i.e. husband and wife)...'
- b. इ दुइजन भातार मगि हए।  
 i dui-j<sup>h</sup>an b<sup>h</sup>atar maḡi ha-e...  
 DEM[prox] two-PCLS husband wife live-PRES3  
 'These two are husband and wife.'

The distinction between the stative  $\text{ह- } h\Lambda$ - copula and the  $\text{छ- } c^h$ - 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  $\text{छ- } c^h$ - copula with past tense inflection. Past tense marking on the  $\text{ह- } h\Lambda$ - stem indicates the non-stative sense of the verb (259c-d).

- (259) a. मुइ बाच्चा छिनु।  
 mui bacca c<sup>h</sup>i-n-u  
 1sg[pro] small be-PST-1sg  
 'I was small.'
- b. मुइ मास्टर छिनु।  
 mui maṣṭar c<sup>h</sup>i-n-u  
 1sg[pro] teacher be-PST-1sg  
 'I was a teacher.'
- c. कि होल, माइ? (DLR.06.081)  
 ki ho-l mai  
 what be-PST3 y.sister  
 'What happened (lit. 'became'), younger sister?'
- d. ताहारबाद मनड सुना खुसि हल्कि। (cf. DLR.05.060)  
 taharbad maṇ-ḡa suna k<sup>h</sup>usi ha-l-ki  
 after\_that mind-NCLS PCL happy(Nepali) be-PST-SA3  
 'After that (his) mind became happy.'

Finally, the  $\text{छ- } c^h$ - copula does not occur with other than present or past inflection; the  $\text{ह- } h\Lambda$ - stem is used in all other finite and non-finite forms, such as the CONJ.PTCL in (260).

- (260) एक महिना रहेने मट हए असोक। (MR.04.119)  
 ek maḥina raḥ-ene maṭa ha-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 ह- *hA-* (261a), and the copula छ- *c<sup>h</sup>-* (261a) when these occur in the present tense. The copula can optionally be overtly marked in such cases.<sup>45</sup>

(261) a. एकटार नाम सुक बासि (हए)। (cf. MR.05.178b)

ek-ʈa-r                  nam suk                  basi (hA-e)  
one-NCLS-GEN name happiness flute (be-PRES3)  
'One's name (is) 'happiness flute!'

b. इड कलम उड कलम से मँट (छे)।

i-ɖA                          kAlAm u-ɖA                          kAlAm se          mʌʈA (c<sup>h</sup>-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 Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājbanṣhi.

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

<sup>45</sup> Overt copula for example in examples GR.02.049, MR.05.239 and DLR.03.001 (ह- *hA-*), and DLR.05.017, DLR.05.024a, DLR.05.028 and DLR.05.057a (छ- *c<sup>h</sup>-*).

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 Rājban̄shi 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 Rājban̄shi 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 24. Primary agreement markers

Set 1				
	FUT	PST	PST.COND	REM.PST
1sg	-u, -∅	-u	-u	-u
2sg	-o	-o	-o	-o
3sg	-i	-i	-i	-i
1pl	-A	-A	-A	-A
2pl	-An	-An	-An	-An
3pl	-i	-i	-i	-i

Set 2				
	PRES	PERF	SUBJ	PST.HAB
1sg	-u	-u	-u	-u
2sg	-is, -it	-is, -it	-is	-is
3sg	-e	-e	-e, -ok, -k	-e
1pl	-i	-i	-i	-i
2pl	-An	-An	-An, -n	-An, -n
3pl	-e	-e	-e, -ok, -k	-e

Set 3	
IMP	
2sg	-∅, -ek, (also, CC-cluster breaking for CC-final stems)
2pl	-A

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 -(ই)ল -(i)l '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 -म -*m* 'FUT', whereas the future marker for the 2sg/pl and 3sg/pl is -प -*p* 'FUT' (or -त -*t* 'FUT', in south-western Jhāpā).<sup>46</sup> The simple past and past conditional 1p marker is -न -*n* 'PST', and the 2p and 3p marker is -ल -*l* 'PST'. Likewise, the past continuous/remote past marker is -इस्न -*isn* 'REM.PST' for the 1sg/pl, and -इस्ल -*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

		Genitive agreement	Dative subject agreement
Possessor /s DS	1sg	-∅ (or, unmarked)	-∅ (or, unmarked)
	1pl	-∅ (or, unmarked)	-∅ (or, unmarked)
	2sg	-कु - <i>ku</i> '-SA2sg' -कुन (or, -कुने) - <i>kun(e)</i> '-SA2sg'	-कु - <i>ku</i> '-SA2sg'
	2pl	-कन - <i>kAn</i> '-SA2pl'	-कन - <i>kAn</i> '-SA2pl'
	3	-कि - <i>ki</i> '-SA3' -किने - <i>kine</i> '-SA3sg'	-कि - <i>ki</i> '-SA3'

#### Secondary agreement in transitive clauses

		Patient (or recipient)		
		2sg	2pl	3
Agent	1sg	-कुन - <i>ku-n</i> '-SA2sg-1sg' -उन - <i>u-n</i> '-SA2sg-1sg' (-उहु - <i>uṅ-gu</i> '-1sg-SA2')	-कन - <i>kAn-n</i> '-SA2pl-1sg'  (-उहु - <i>uṅ-gu</i> '-1sg-SA2')	-किन - <i>ki-n</i> '-SA3-1sg'  (-इङ्गि - <i>iṅ-gi</i> '1sg-SA3')
	1pl	-कुन - <i>ku-n</i> '-SA2sg-1pl'	-कन - <i>kAn-n</i> '-SA2pl-1pl'	-किन - <i>ki-n</i> '-SA3-1pl'

<sup>46</sup> The use of the marker -त -*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(al) by the use of the future in -*t*<sup>a</sup> in the 3rd pers(on)."

Table 25. (cont.)

Agent	2sg	-Ø (REFL)	n/a	-कि -ki 'SA3' -एक -ek 'SA3'
	2pl	n/a	-Ø (REFL)	-किर -ki-ra 'SA3-2pl'
	3	-कु -ku 'SA2sg' -ओक -ok 'SA2sg'	-कन -kaṇ 'SA2pl'	-कि -ki 'SA3'

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<sub>[AGENT]</sub>' in the following cases: -कुन -ku-n 'SA2sg-1sg/1pl', -कन -kaṇ-n 'SA2pl-1sg/1pl' and -किन -ki-n 'SA3-1sg/1pl'. This is due to a comparison of these forms with the corresponding 3sg/pl<sub>[AGENT]</sub> 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 -kaṇ '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 -kaṇ 'SA2pl', and therefore I have analysed -कन -kaṇ in two ways:

- (262) a. -कन -kaṇ 'SA2pl' (3sg/pl acting on 2pl)  
 b. -कन -kaṇ-n 'SA2pl-1sg/1pl' (1sg/pl acting on 2pl)  
 = -kaṇ '2pl<sub>[PATIENT]</sub>' + -n '1sg/pl<sub>[AGENT]</sub>' > -kaṇ-n 'SA2pl-1sg/1pl'

Dialects in western (Korobāri, Lakhanpur) and central Jhāpā (Pācḡāchi) use the suffix -र -ra '2pl<sub>[AGENT]</sub>' 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 गो  
 e mai-la, ja-ki-ra ta ge  
 INJ girl-PL go-SA3-2pl PCL VOC[fem]  
 'Eh girls, go then [for him/her; s/he's calling you].'
- b. पामर, जाकिर त  
 paṃar, ja-ki-ra ta  
 Pāmar go-SA3-2pl PCL  
 'Pāmar<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> go then [for him/her; s/he's calling you].'

- c. माइ, जाकि त गो  
 mai, ja-ki tΛ ge  
 girl go-SA3 PCL VOC[fem]  
 'Girl, go then [for him/her; s/he's calling you].'

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).<sup>47</sup>

- (264) a. जा *ja-∅* 'go-IMP2sg'  
 b. जाअ *ja-Λ* 'go-IMP2pl'  
 c. जाकि *ja-ki* 'go-SA3'  
 d. जाकिर *ja-ki-rΛ* 'go-SA3-2pl'
- (265) a. ठुकेच्चि *tʰuk-ec-ki* 'hit-PRES-SA3' (2sg<sub>[AGENT]</sub>, 3sg/pl<sub>[PATIENT]</sub>)  
 b. ठुकेच्चि *tʰuk-ec-ki* 'hit-PRES-SA3' (3sg/pl<sub>[AGENT]</sub>, 3sg/pl<sub>[PATIENT]</sub>)  
 c. ठुकेच्चिर *tʰuk-ec-ki-rΛ* 'hit-PRES-SA3-2pl' (2pl<sub>[AGENT]</sub>, 3sg/pl<sub>[PATIENT]</sub>)

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 -gu* 'SA2sg' and *-गि -gi* '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 *-किने -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 आसिलिग? (BLR, Dādar Bairiā)  
 wã-k tui tʰΛk-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?'

<sup>47</sup> 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 *-r* (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 Rājbanishi morpheme *-र -rΛ* '2pl<sub>[AGENT]</sub>' is unclear.

- b. कालि दिमुन। (=दिम्कुन) (Korobāri)  
kal<sup>h</sup>i di-m-(k)u-n  
tomorrow give-FUT-SA2g-1sg  
'I will give (it to you) tomorrow.'
- c. आप एइठिना खाम्कुन। (MR.04.180; Lakharigaddi)  
ap ei-t<sup>h</sup>ina k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ku-n  
PCL DEM[prox/emph]-place eat-FUT-SA2sg-1pl  
'Now we will eat you right here.'
- d. तोर मसि मुइ हकुन। (MR.05.279; Lakharigaddi)  
to-r masi mui h<sup>Λ</sup>-kun  
2sg[obl]-GEN sister\_of\_mother 1sg[pro] be-SA2sg  
'I am your aunt.'
- e. उहाँर दुक बासिडउ लेइ गेल्लिने कुवाड, आर सुक बासिडउ लेइ गेल्लिने। (MR.05.216; Lakharigaddi)  
uhā-r duk basi-ɖ<sup>Λ</sup>=u le-i ge-l-kine kua-ɖ<sup>Λ</sup>  
3sg[pro]-GEN trouble flute-NCLS=CNJ take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-SA3 crow-NCLS  
ar suk basi-ɖ<sup>Λ</sup>=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 /-[ŋ]gu/ to the first person singular endings is peculiar to the RL lect", and that the Rangeli marker /-ŋg-/ 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 -उङ्गु -uŋ-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 Bairiā/Rangeli paradigm in Appendix 1). Therefore, the agreement markers -उङ्गु -uŋ-gu and -इङ्गि -iŋ-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) मुइ तोक ठकिसुङ्गु।

mui to-k t<sup>h</sup>Λk-is-uŋ-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. गारिड आसेचे।  
 gari-ḍa as-ec-e  
 cart-NCLS come-PRES-3  
 'The cart is coming.'
- b. आर मोर एकटा बेटा छे।  
 ar mo-r ek-ṭa beta c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 and 1sg[obl]-GEN one-NCLS son be-PRES3  
 'And I have a son.'
- c. ...सुके छे हामार बेटाड। (cf. MR.05.184)  
 ...suk = e c<sup>h</sup>-e hama-r beta-ḍa  
 ...happiness = EMPH be-PRES3 1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS  
 '...He is happy, our son.'

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 उहाँर *uhā-r* '3sg[pro]-GEN' (i.e. 'her')). Likewise, in (269c) the secondary agreement marker -कु -ku 'SA2sg' agrees with the possessor तोर *tor* '2sg[obl]-GEN' (i.e. 'your').

- (269) a. एकटा गाअत एकटा बुरि छिले। (cf. MR.05.001)  
 ek-ṭa gaã-t ek-ṭa bur<sup>h</sup>i c<sup>h</sup>i-l-ɪ  
 one-NCLS village-LOC one-NCLS old\_woman be-PST-3  
 'In a village there was an old woman.'

- b. उहाँर बेटाड राजार घरत काम करेकि। (MR.05.002)  
 uhã-r beta-dΛ raja-r g<sup>h</sup>Λr-Λt kam kΛr-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. तोर बेटाड बिदेस गेल्लु।  
 to-r beta-dΛ bides ge-l-ku  
 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 परिष्कि। (cf. MR.05.214)  
 am-dΛ uhã-r hat-Λt pΛr-ip-ki  
 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. उहाँ तोर घरत काम कर्कु (or, करे)।  
 uhã to-r g<sup>h</sup>Λr-Λt kam kΛr-ku (or, kΛr-e)  
 3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN house-LOC work do-SA2sg (or, do-SUBJ3)  
 'He used to work in your house.'
- b. तुइ उहाँर घरत काम करिस।  
 tui uhã-r g<sup>h</sup>Λr-Λt kam kΛr-is  
 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. तोर हातखान काल लुकु।  
 to-r hat-k<sup>h</sup>an kalΛ c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku  
 2sg[obl]-GEN hand-NCLS black be-PRES-SA2sg  
 'Your hand is black.'



- b. इखान तोर (हकु)।  
 i-k<sup>h</sup>an to-r (hΛ-ku)  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS 2sg[obl]-GEN (be-SA2sg)  
 'This is yours.'

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').<sup>48</sup>

- (273) a. आर घरटर भितरत कि कि सामान छिकि या नि छिकि...। (cf. DLR.02.005)  
 ar g<sup>h</sup>Λr-tΛ-r b<sup>h</sup>itrΛt ki ki saman c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki ya ni  
 and house-NCLS-GEN inside what what thing be-PRES-SA3 or NEG  
 c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki...  
 be-PRES-SA3...  
 'And which (of his things) are in the house, and which are not...'
- b. (तोर) एकटा घडा छुकु। (cf. GR.02.041)  
 (to-r) ek-tΛ g<sup>h</sup>Λḍa c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku  
 (2sg[obl]-GEN) one-NCLS horse be-PRES-SA2sg  
 '(You) have a horse.'
- c. कलड रेमेसट चलाचकु।  
 kΛl-ḍΛ remes-tΛ cΛl-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 आसेचे।  
 bau-ḍΛ as-ec-e  
 father-NCLS come-PRES-3  
 '(My/our) father is coming.' (\* 'The father is coming.')

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<sup>48</sup> The degree to which the discourse prominence of a participant affects secondary agreement should be studied through further research. Yadava (1999:148-149) maintains that salience is one of the central conditions of secondary agreement in Maithili.

- b. ?/\* मोर बाउड आसेचे।  
 ?/\* mo-r            bau-ɖʌ            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 खिस्सा कहलकु।  
 to-r            dada-ɖʌ            to-k            ek-ɽa            k<sup>h</sup>issa kʌhʌ-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 खिस्सा कहलिक।  
 to-r            dada-ɖʌ            uhã-k            ek-ɽa            k<sup>h</sup>issa kʌhʌ-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 खिस्सा कहलकु।  
 \*to-r            dada-ɖʌ            uhã-k            ek-ɽa            k<sup>h</sup>issa kʌhʌ-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) आच्छाए लागिल। (cf. DLR.03.009)  
 (mo-k)            acc<sup>h</sup>a=e            lag-il  
 (1sg[obl]-DAT) good=EMPH feel-PST3  
 'I enjoyed it.'
- b. 1pl  
 ...बदला त लिबा लागे अमार सडे हामाका। (cf. MR.04.048)  
 ...bʌdla tʌ li-ba            lag-e            ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r            sʌŋe hama-k  
 ...revenge PCL take-INF must-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT  
 '...we have to take revenge on them.'

- c. 2sg  
 ...तोक ठुक्बार लाखाति लागिस्तुकु? (cf. DLR.04.036)  
 ...to-k            tʰuk-ba-r    lakʰati lag-islu-ku  
 ...2sg[obl]-DAT hit-INF-GEN like    feel-REM.PST-SA2sg  
 '...did you feel as if I was (really) hitting you?'
- d. 2pl  
 ...तमाक कि छेकारि जाबार लाखाति लागिस्लकन? (cf. DLR.04.040)  
 ...tʌmʰa-k    ki    cʰeckari ja-ba-r    lakʰati lag-islʌ-kʌn  
 ...2pl[pro]-DAT PQM really    go-INF-GEN like    feel-REM.PST-SA2pl  
 '...did you<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> feel as if I was really leaving?'
- e. 3sg  
 लोकटक त बहुत अप्सोस लागि गिच्चि... (cf. DLR.05.047)  
 lok-tʌ-k            tʌ    bʌhut            ʌpsos lag-i    g-ic-ki...  
 man-NCLS-DAT PCL greatly(Hindi) grief feel-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3...  
 'The man is really grieving.'
- f. 3pl  
 लाजे सरमे बुराडक घरत बठाए खिलान पिलान कर्बाए हल्कि। (DLR.04.042)  
 laj-e            sʌrʌm-e    burʰa-dʌ-k            gʰʌr-ʌt    bʌtʰ-a-e  
 shame-INSTR shame-INSTR old\_man-NCLS-DAT house-LOC sit-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL  
 kʰilan    pilan    kʌr-ba=e            hʌ-l-ki  
 feeding drinking do-INF=EMPH must-PST-SA3  
 'With great shame they had to sit the old man down in the house and really feed him and give him drink!'

In quasi-aspectual auxiliary constructions dative subject agreement is marked on the auxiliary.

- (277) एख्लाए अन्सट लागि जाच्चि हपाए घरत। (cf. DLR.04.009)  
 ekʰlae ʌnsʌtʌ lag-i    ja-c-ki            hʌpae    gʰʌr-ʌt  
 alone bored feel-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3 perhaps house-LOC  
 'Perhaps (he) is bored at home all on his own.'

### 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.

(278) माहाजनड बिदेस गेले।

maha-jʌn-dʌ bides ge-l-i  
 great-person-NCLS abroad go-PST-3  
 'The debt collector went abroad.'

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

		Patient (or recipient)				
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3
Agent	1sg	∅ (refl)	n/a	-कुन -ku-n ‘-SA2sg-1sg’	-कन -kʌ-n ‘-SA2pl-1sg’	-किन -ki-n ‘-SA3-1sg’
	1pl	n/a	∅ (refl)	-कुन -ku-n ‘-SA2sg-1pl’	-कन -kʌ-n ‘-SA2pl-1pl’	-किन -ki-n ‘-SA3-1pl’
	2sg	∅	∅	∅ (refl)	n/a	-कि -ki ‘-SA3’
	2pl	∅	∅	n/a	∅ (refl)	-किर -ki-rʌ ‘-SA3-2pl’
	3	∅	∅	-कु -ku ‘-SA2sg’	-कन -kʌn ‘-SA2pl’	-कि -ki ‘-SA3’

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 ठुकिल्कि। (Korobāri, Lakharigaddi, Ghailāḍubbā)

tui uhā-k tʰuk-il-ki  
 2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3  
 'You hit him.'

b. उहाँक तुइ ठुकिए केमे आसिल्गि? (informant BLR, Dādar Bairiā / Morang)

wā-k tui tʰʌk-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) मुइ उहाँक ठुकिन्किन।

mui 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.

- (281) a. रामड उहाँक ठुक्लिक।  
 ram-ɖʌ uhã-k tʰuk-il-ki  
 Rām-NCLS 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3  
 'Rām hit him.'
- b. रामड कुत्ताडक ठुक्ले।  
 ram-ɖʌ kutta-ɖʌ-k tʰuk-l-i  
 Rām-NCLS dog-NCLS-DAT hit-PST-3  
 'Rām hit the dog.'
- c. रामड बोलड ठुक्ले।  
 ram-ɖʌ bol-ɖʌ tʰuk-l-i  
 Rām-NCLS ball-NCLS hit-PST-3  
 'Rām hit the ball.'

As mentioned earlier, following a 3p patient, the 2pl agent is marked with the suffix -र -rʌ '-2pl'.

- (282) तमा उहाँक ठुक्लिकर।  
 tʌmʰa uhã-k tʰuk-il-ki-rʌ  
 2pl[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3-2pl  
 'You(pl) hit him.'

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.

- (283) उहाँक ठुक्लिक।  
 uhã-k tʰuk-il-ki  
 3sg[pro]-DAT hit-PST-SA3  
 'You/he/she/they hit him/her.'

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).

- (284) a. तोर दादाड तोक एकटा खिस्सा कहलकु।  
 to-r dada-ɖʌ to-k ek-ʈa kʰissa kʌʌ-l-ku  
 2sg[obl]-GEN e.brother-NCLS 2sg[obl]-DAT one-NCLS story tell-PST-SA2sg  
 'Your elder brother told you<sub>[RECIPIENT]</sub> a story<sub>[PATIENT]</sub>.'

- b. उहाँए तोक बेटिड दिल्कु। तुइ उहाँक किखान दिल्कि?  
 uhāe to-k beṭi-ḍa di-l-ku  
 3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT daughter-NCLS give-PST-SA2sg  
 tui uhā-k ki-k<sup>h</sup>an di-l-ki?  
 2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-DAT what-NCLS give-PST-SA3  
 'He gave you<sub>[RECIPIENT]</sub> his daughter<sub>[PATIENT]</sub>. What<sub>[PATIENT]</sub> did you give  
 him<sub>[RECIPIENT]</sub>? (Implied, 'You gave nothing to him in return.')
- c. उहाँए तोर बेटिडक मग्लानियार हातत दिल्कु।  
 uhāe to-r beṭi-ḍa-k maḡlania-r hat-at di-l-ku  
 3sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN daughter-NCLS-DAT Indian-GEN hand-LOC give-PST-SA2sg  
 'He gave his daughter<sub>[PATIENT]</sub> into the hands of the Indian<sub>[RECIPIENT]</sub>.'

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.

- (285) a. अम्मार गारिड आसेच्छि।  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r            gari-ɖʌ        as-ec-ki  
 3pl[pro]-GEN cart-NCLS come-PRES-SA3  
 'Their cart is coming.' (neutral)
- b. अम्मार गारिड आसेच्छु।  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r            gari-ɖʌ        as-ec-ku  
 3pl[pro]-GEN cart-NCLS come-PRES-SA2sg  
 'Their cart is coming (for your(2sg) benefit).'
- c. अम्मार गारिड आसेचे।  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r            gari-ɖʌ        as-ec-e  
 3pl[pro]-GEN cart-NCLS come-PRES-3  
 'Their cart is coming (for my/our benefit).'

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. माहाजनड आसेच्छु।  
 maha-jʌn-ɖʌ            as-ec-ku  
 great-person-NCLS come-PRES-SA2sg  
 'The debt collector is coming ('and you are negatively affected').'
- b. माहाजनड आसेचे।  
 maha-jʌn-ɖʌ            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<sup>h</sup> c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i  
 one-NCLS tiger be-PST-3  
 'There was a tiger.' (neutral)

Likewise, consider the following real-life discourse.

## (287) a. Grandfather

जा त तुरिखानत गाएँ-गरु प'इचे ने कि।

ja-∅        tʌ    turi-k<sup>h</sup>an-at                    gae    gʌru    pʌ(r)-ic-e    ne        ki  
go-IMP2sg PCL mustard\_field-NCLS-LOC cow bullock fall-PERF-3 PCL[TAG] PQM  
'Go to the mustard field and check whether cattle have gone there.' (i.e. 'I do not want  
cattle to harm the crops.')

देखिए आस् ने।

dek<sup>h</sup>-ie                    as-∅                    ne  
see-CONJ.PTCL come-IMP2sg PCL  
'Having seen, please come (back).'

## b. Grandson (after returning)

देखिए आसिन्कुन, कुछु नि परिचोक।

dek<sup>h</sup>-ie                    as-in-kun  
see-CONJ.PTCL come-PST-SA2sg  
kuc<sup>h</sup>u    ni    pʌr-ic-ok  
nothing NEG fall-PERF-SA2sg  
'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) देखिए आस्तु, कुछु नि परिचे।

dek<sup>h</sup>-ie                    as-n-u,                    kuc<sup>h</sup>u    ni    pʌr-ic-e  
see-CONJ.PTCL come-PST-1sg, nothing NEG fall-PERF-3  
'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 ∅-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 कियोँ टुकेलिक?  
 tui uhā-r c<sup>h</sup>ua-ɖΛ-k kiã t<sup>h</sup>uk-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 कियोँ टुक्लो?  
 tui uhā-r c<sup>h</sup>ua-ɖΛ-k kiã t<sup>h</sup>uk-l-o  
 2sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN child-NCLS-DAT why hit-PST-2sg  
 'Why did you hit his child?'
- c. बुराड मरि गिच्छु। (cf. MR.04.096)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖΛ mΛr-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 खेटिया देखि फेकालिक। (cf. MR.04.132)  
 ek-ɖa k<sup>h</sup>etia dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki  
 one-NCLS jackal see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
 'One jackal saw (her).'
- b. याहाँ देखि फेकाले। (cf. GR.01.007)  
 te yaha dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-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) केवा दिन डाकोला खोब उजाए गेइसेल्कु।

kewa din ḍako-la k<sup>h</sup>ob uja-e ge-isel-ku  
some day robber-PL very appear-ABS AUX-REM.PST-SA2sg

'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<sub>[+HUMAN]}</sub> > 3p<sub>[-HUMAN]}</sub>. 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) अम्मार गारिड आसेच्छु।

ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r gari-ḍʌ as-ec-ku  
3pl[pro]-GEN cart-NCLS come-PRES-SA2sg

'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.

- (293) a. \*/? तोर गारिड असेच्छि।  
 \*/? to-r                   gari-ḍʌ      as-ec-ki  
 \*/? 2sg[obl]-GEN cart-NCLS come-PRES-SA3  
 \*/? 'Your cart is coming (for his/her/their benefit).'
- b. तोर गारिड अम्माक ले जाबा असेच्छि।  
 to-r                   gari-ḍʌ      ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-k      l-e                   ja-ba      as-ec-ki  
 2sg[obl]-GEN cart-NCLS 3pl[pro]-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL go-INF come-PRES-SA3  
 'Your cart is coming (in order) to take them.'

A principle of "affectedness" would seem to be a common denominator in Rājbandhi 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".<sup>49</sup> Likewise, the dative subject is affected by the "experience" ("subjective experience" (Masica 1976); "nonvolitional experience" (Klaiman 1987)).

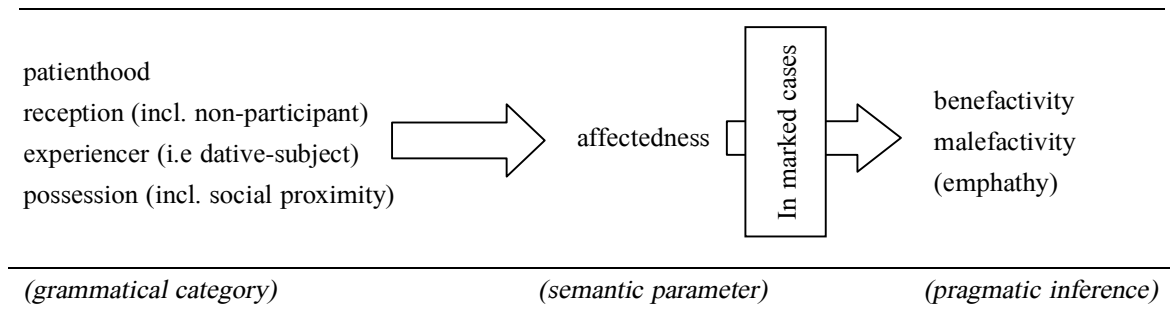


Figure 3. Semantic parameter of secondary agreement in Rājbandhi

### 3.7.5.8 Irregularities

As is evident from the text material in Appendix 3, conformity with the basic agreement rules devised in these sections is not always consistent in the Lakharigaddi and Ghailāḍubbā area. This is likely the result of a strong influence from the more eastern dialects, where secondary agreement is not found. Conversely, the Korobāri dialect in south-western Jhāpā appears to be less influenced by the eastern dialects, and is consequently more consistent.

Consider, for example (294a), where genitive agreement does not occur on the auxiliary. This is not due to an implicit 1sg/pl possessor/benefactor. It simply follows the eastern agreement paradigm where secondary agreement does not occur. Conversely, in

<sup>49</sup> Whether Rājbandhi 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 Lakharigaddi and Ghailāḍubbā dialect speakers, whereas speakers from south-western Jhāpā find (294a) grammatically incorrect.

(294) a. तोर दादोड मरि गेला (cf. MR.04.051)

to-r              dado-ḍa              mar-i      ge-l  
2sg[obl]-GEN grandfather-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST3  
'Your grandfather has died.'

b. तोर दादोड मरि गेलकु।

to-r              dado-ḍa              mar-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 Magahī), 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 Rājibanshi 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.<sup>50</sup>

In Map 4 below, one will see that Maithili falls immediately to the west of the Rājbandhi 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 Rājbandhi 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.



Map 4. Language contacts in south-eastern Nepal

<sup>50</sup> 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/."

Insofar as Rājbandhi has no (linguistically coded) complex honorific system, it would be interesting to compare its secondary agreement system with the double agreement system in non-high-caste Maithili.

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:<sup>51</sup>

"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 Santali<sup>52</sup> and Maithili as Yadava (1999:152) explains:

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<sup>51</sup> "The Austroasiatic family is represented in India today by two branches. The Muṇḍā 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. ...

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, Śungas, Guptas) - depopulation, infiltration of Non-Aryan settlers probably of Munda-affinity, and their slow re-Aryanization." (Masica 1991:40-41; 45)

<sup>52</sup> "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 उङ्गु *-uŋ-gu* '-1sg-SA2' and इङ्गि *-iŋ-gi* '-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:<sup>53</sup>

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data. There are about 10,000 Satār living in Morang district and another 15,000 Satār in Jhāpā district. Satār is the name adopted by the Santal who arrived *en masse* in Nepal as the result of northward migration at least two centuries ago." (van Driem 2001:275)

<sup>53</sup> 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, māral<sup>a</sup>kauk: māral<sup>a</sup>kau or māral<sup>a</sup>kauk...

(On Magahi p.36) The letter k may be added to any form in ai (or ai), ai (or au), or o, without changing the meaning. Thus, māral<sup>a</sup>kai or māral<sup>a</sup>kaik; māral<sup>a</sup>kaü or māral<sup>a</sup>kaük."

Jha (1958:479-480) contemplates on the origin of the suffixes in Maithili as follows:

"-k<sup>a</sup> and -ak<sup>a</sup> are of unknown origin. Have they any connection with Kāshmirī -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) (Swarnaḷatā 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:<sup>54</sup>

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similar sets suggests, for these languages at least, that the verbal pronominal affixation may have originated by analogy with NP possessive marking, probably initiated by a T(opic)S(hift) process."

Caughley (1982:210) also notes a similarity between Maithili and Dhanwar (Danuwar Rai): "Some elements of the Maithili affixation system are common to those of Danuwar Rai. The honorific ending -hun, for instance, is probably related to the Danuwar affix (also -hun) indicating Plural. It is possible therefore that the Maithili System was originally similar to that of the Indo-Aryan frontier languages but has turned the Number distinction into an honorific one."

<sup>54</sup> Compare these also to the Magahi verb paradigm. Verma (1985:38) notes that in Magahi the "Personal endings also show agreement in regard to the object of the verb in terms of formality and respect." The following Magahi forms (ibid.) demonstrate a close affinity with Maithili:

	2p Object [HON]	2p Object [-HON]	3p Object [HON]	3p Object [-HON]
1p	-iy-o	-iy-au	-iy-ai-n	-iy-ai
3p	-o	-au	-ai-n	-ai

Examples of subject and object agreement in the Magahi verb (modified from Verma 1985:38)



Table 27. Secondary agreement forms in Maithili and Darai

Maithili (simplified from Yadava 1999:141)				
		'non-nominative'		
		1p	2p	3p
'nominative'	1p	-	- <i>au(k)</i> (1→2nh) - <i>a(h)</i> (1→2mh)	- <i>ai(k)</i> (1→3nh prox) - <i>ain(h)</i> (1→3h/3hh prox)
	2p	-		- <i>u(k)</i> (2nh/mh→3nh prox) - <i>i(k)</i> (2nh/mh→3nh rem) - <i>in(h)</i> (2nh/mh→3h/hh prox) - <i>un(h)</i> (2nh/mh→3h/hh rem)
	3p	-	- <i>au(k)</i> (3nh→2nh) - <i>a(h)</i> (3nh→2mh) - <i>un(h)</i> (3h/nh→2nh/mh)	- <i>ain(h)</i> (3→3)

Maithili (modified from Williams 1973:361)								
		'Other'						
		1p	2p			3p		
			nh	mh	h	nh	h	
'Subject'	1p	-	- <i>əliy/u</i>	- <i>əliyo</i>	-	- <i>əliəi</i>	- <i>əliəin</i>	
	2p	nh	-	-	-	-	- <i>ləhi</i>	- <i>ləhi</i> , - <i>ləhun</i>
		mh	-	-	-	-	- <i>ləhəh</i>	- <i>ləhəh</i> , - <i>ləhun</i>
		h	-	-	-	-	- <i>əliəi</i>	- <i>əliəin</i>
	3p	nh	-	- <i>əlk/u</i>	- <i>əlko</i>	-	- <i>əlkəi</i>	-(ə)l(k)əin, - <i>əlkhin</i>
		h	- <i>ləin</i>	- <i>əlkhun</i> - <i>əlthun</i>	- <i>əlkhun</i> - <i>əlthun</i>	- <i>ləin</i>	-(ə)l(k)əin, - <i>əlkhin</i>	-(ə)l(k)əin, - <i>əlkhin</i>

Darai (modified from Kotapish et al. 1975:140-141)							
		'receptor cross-referent in bitransitive clauses'					
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg	3pl
'subject cross referent'	1sg			- <i>mis</i>	- <i>miu</i>	- <i>mik</i>	- <i>mikaan</i>
	1pl			(only AG marked)	(only AG marked)	(only AG marked)	(only AG marked)
	2sg	(only AG marked)	(only AG marked)			- <i>sik</i>	- <i>sikaan</i>
	2pl	(only AG marked)	(only AG marked)			- <i>uØk</i>	- <i>uØkaan</i>
	3sg, 3pl	(only AG marked)	(only AG marked)	- <i>is</i>	- <i>iu</i>	- <i>ik</i>	- <i>ikaan</i>

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 Rājbanṣhi. A comparison of the syntactic and pragmatic uses are as follows:

Table 28. Comparison of the use of secondary agreement in Maithili and Rājbanṣhi

	Maithili	Rājbanṣhi
Possessor agreement	✓	✓
Dative subject	✓	✓
Other case-controlled agreement (instrumental, locative)	✓	✓ (to some degree, a possessor in LOC)
Intransitive (pragmatically neutral, if not triggered by possessor or other case-controlled agreement)	✓ (∅-marking)	✓ (∅-marking)
Secondary (double) agreement	✓	✓
Triple agreement	✓	-
Con conversationally implicated discourse referent	✓	✓
Social proximity ('social solidarity')	✓	✓
Benefaction	✓	✓
Evidentiality	-	-

To conclude, both the morphological forms and the use of secondary agreement in Maithili and Rājbanṣhi appear quite similar. All in all, it seems likely that the secondary agreement system in far-western Rājbanṣhi 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:

- i. Verb stem Type 1 (i.e. stem-final -आ -a): खा-  $k^h a$ - 'eat',
- ii. Verb stem Type 2 (i.e. stem-final -ह -hA): कह-  $k a h A$ - 'say', and
- iii. Verb stem Type 4 (i.e. stem-final C): बठ-  $b A t^h$ - 'sit', or आस-  $a s$ - '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 -(इ)ब -(i)b for 2p and 3p, and -(इ)म -(i)m 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 /i/ to await further research.

Table 29. Future tense

	V stem-final	ह- hA- stem-final	C stem-final
1sg	खाम $k^h a-m$ 'eat-FUT1sg' खामु $k^h a-m-u$ 'eat-FUT-1sg'	कहम $k a h A-m$ 'say-FUT1sg' कहमु $k a h A-m-u$ [kA-m-u] 'say-FUT-1sg'	बठिम $b A t^h-im$ 'sit-FUT1sg' बठमु $b A t^h-m-u$ 'sit-FUT-1sg' बठिमु $b A t^h-im-u$ 'sit-FUT-1sg'
2sg	खाबो $k^h a-b-o$ 'eat-FUT-2sg'	कहबो $k a h A-b-o$ [kA-b-o] 'say-FUT-2sg'	बठबो $b A t^h-b-o$ 'sit-FUT-2sg' बठिबो $b A t^h-ib-o$ 'sit-FUT-2sg'
3sg	खाबे $k^h a-b-i$ 'eat-FUT-3'	कहबे $k a h A-b-i$ [kA-b-i] 'say-FUT-3'	बठबे $b A t^h-b-i$ 'sit-FUT-3' बठिबे $b A t^h-ib-i$ 'sit-FUT-3'
1pl	खाम $k^h a-m-A$ 'eat-FUT-1pl'	कहम $k a h A-m-A$ [kA-m-A] 'say-FUT-1pl'	बठम $b A t^h-m-A$ 'sit-FUT-1pl' बठिम $b A t^h-im-A$ 'sit-FUT-1pl'
2pl	खाबन $k^h a-b-An$ 'eat-FUT-2pl'	कहबन $k a h A-b-An$ [kA-b-An] 'say-FUT-2pl'	बठबन $b A t^h-b-An$ 'sit-FUT-2pl' बठिबन $b A t^h-ib-An$ 'sit-FUT-2pl'
3pl	खाबे $k^h a-b-i$ 'eat-FUT-3'	कहबे $k a h A-b-i$ [kA-b-i] 'say-FUT-3'	बठबे $b A t^h-b-i$ 'sit-FUT-3' बठिबे $b A t^h-ib-i$ 'sit-FUT-3'

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  $-म$   $-m$  may occur as  $-e$ . Finally, the  $-k$  in the secondary agreement morpheme  $-कि$   $-ki$  'SA3' is found to be omitted in some cases: e.g. टुक्मिन  $t^huk-m-i-n$  'give-FUT-SA3-1sg'.

Table 30. Future tense accompanied by secondary agreement

		Patient		
		2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	टुकिम्कुन (टुकेम्कुन) $t^huk-i/em-ku-n$ 'hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg/pl'	टुकिम्कन (टुकेम्कन) $t^huk-i/em-k\Lambda-n$ 'hit-FUT-SA2pl-1sg/pl'	टुकिम्किन (टुकेम्किन) $t^huk-i/em-ki-n$ 'hit-FUT-SA3-1sg/pl' टुक्मिन $t^huk-m-i-n$ 'give-FUT-SA3-1sg/pl'
	2sg	(secondary agreement not marked)	n/a	टुकिप्कि $t^huk-ip-ki$ 'hit-FUT-SA3' टुकित्कि $t^huk-it-ki$ 'hit-FUT-SA3' टुक्तेक $t^huk-t-ek$ 'hit-FUT-SA3'
	2pl	n/a	(secondary agreement not marked)	टुकित्किर $t^huk-it-ki-r\Lambda$ 'hit-FUT-SA3-2pl'
	3p	टुकिप्कु $t^huk-ip-ku$ 'hit-FUT-SA2sg' टुकित्कु $t^huk-it-ku$ 'hit-FUT-SA2sg' टुक्तेक $t^huk-t-ok$ 'hit-FUT-SA2sg'	टुकिप्कन $t^huk-ip-k\Lambda n$ 'hit-FUT-SA2pl' टुकित्कन $t^huk-it-k\Lambda n$ 'hit-FUT-SA2pl' टुक्तेकन $t^huk-t\Lambda-k\Lambda n$ 'hit-FUT-SA2pl'	टुकिप्कि $t^huk-ip-ki$ 'hit-FUT-SA3' टुकित्कि $t^huk-it-ki$ 'hit-FUT-SA3' टुक्तेक $t^huk-t-ek$ 'hit-FUT-SA3'

The future tense is primarily used for temporal reference to the future.

- (295) a. केनड करे लिबो ते बदला? (cf. MR.04.049)  
ken\ŋ kare li-b-o te b\ɖla  
how ADVL take-FUT-2sg PCL revenge  
'How will you take revenge then?'
- b. केतखुन से कान्बो? (MR.04.190)  
ket-k<sup>h</sup>un se kan-b-o  
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).

- (296) a. ते जाबो नि गे देख्वा गे? (cf. DLR.06.005)  
 te ja-b-o ni ge dek<sup>h</sup>-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. समत बट्बो? (cf. DLR.05.026)  
 samat baṭ<sup>h</sup>-b-o  
 together sit-FUT-2sg  
 'Will you (~do you want to) marry me?'
- c. देखिन मुखेर पानिखान उपरत त नि जाबे। (GR.01.004)  
 dek<sup>h</sup>in muk<sup>h</sup>-er pani-k<sup>h</sup>an uprat ta ni ja-b-i  
 south mouth-GEN water-NCLS above PCL NEG go-FUT-3  
 'Water will not (~can not) flow from the south to above.'
- d. हाल जुता त नि जाबे। (cf. GR.02.020)  
 hal jut-a ta ni ja-b-i  
 plough plough-PST.PTCL PCL NEG PASS.AUX-FUT-3  
 'Ploughing will not be possible.'
- e. घडाडर काम नि, बादाम खाबे। (cf. GR.02.011)  
 g<sup>h</sup>ḷḍa-ḍa-r kam ni, badam k<sup>h</sup>a-b-i  
 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: सुइ तोर कठाडत बठिम (or, बटु)?

mui to-r kaṭ<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa-t baṭ<sup>h</sup>-im (or, baṭ<sup>h</sup>-u)  
 1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN room-NCLS-LOC sit-FUT1sg (or, sit-SUBJ1sg)  
 'May I sit in your room?'

Response: बट् किना।

baṭ<sup>h</sup>-Ø kina  
 sit-IMP2sg PCL  
 'Sit, of course.'

(298) a. काम कर्म।  
 kam kʌr-m-ʌ  
 work do-FUT-1pl  
 'Let's work.' (inclusion of hearer unspecified)

b. काम करि।  
 kam kʌr-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. यदि तूइ उहाँक कहबो ठिक नि हप्कु।  
 jʌdi tui uhā-k kʌhʌ-b-o tʰik 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. तूइ उहाँक कहले ठिक नि हप्कु।  
 tui uhā-k kʌhʌ-le tʰik 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-I* 'alright; OK' (lit. 'be-FUT-3') seems to be lexicalised (300a), though it can be marked with secondary agreement (300b).

(300) a. बोले, 'हबे।' (MR.04.054)  
 bolI hʌ-b-I  
 QUOT be-FUT-3  
 'She said, OK.'

b. Question: हेतिना कि खाम? घरते ले जाए खाम। हबे नि?  
 hetina ki kʰa-m-ʌ gʰʌr-ʌt 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-I ni  
 be-FUT-3 NEG(PCL)  
 'Why should we eat here? We will take it home to eat, OK?'

Response: हत्कन।  
 hʌ-t-kʌn  
 be-FUT-SA2pl  
 'OK (you are allowed to).'

(301) a. कि कहबो? (cf. MR.05.072, DLR.04.009, MR.05.079)

ki kʌhʌ-b-o

what say-FUT-2sg

'What is there to say?' (Lit. 'What can you say?')

b. कि कर्बो?

ki kʌr-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 Rājibanshi is -च -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

	V stem-final	ह- hʌ- stem-final	C stem-final
1sg	खाचु <i>kʰa-c-u</i> 'eat-PRES-1sg'	कहचु <i>kʌhʌ-c-u</i> 'say-PRES-1sg'	बठेचु <i>bʌtʰ-ec-u</i> 'sit-PRES-1sg'
2sg	खाचिस <i>kʰa-c-is</i> 'eat-PRES-2sg'	कहचिस <i>kʌhʌ-c-is</i> 'say-PRES-2sg'	बठेचिस <i>bʌtʰ-ec-is</i> 'sit-PRES-2sg'
	खाचित <i>kʰa-c-it</i> 'eat-PRES-2sg'	कहचित <i>kʌhʌ-c-it</i> 'say-PRES-2sg'	बठेचित <i>bʌtʰ-ec-it</i> 'sit-PRES-2sg'
3sg	खाचे <i>kʰa-c-e</i> 'eat-PRES-3'	कहचे <i>kʌhʌ-c-e</i> 'say-PRES-3'	बठेचे <i>bʌtʰ-ec-e</i> 'sit-PRES-3'
1pl	खाचि <i>kʰa-c-i</i> 'eat-PRES-1pl'	कहचि <i>kʌhʌ-c-i</i> 'say-PRES-1pl'	बठेचि <i>bʌtʰ-ec-i</i> 'sit-PRES-1pl'
2pl	खाचन <i>kʰa-c-ʌn</i> 'eat-PRES-2pl'	कहचन <i>kʌhʌ-c-ʌn</i> 'say-PRES-2pl'	बठेचन <i>bʌtʰ-ec-ʌn</i> 'sit-PRES-2pl'
3pl	खाचे <i>kʰa-c-e</i> 'eat-PRES-3'	कहचे <i>kʌhʌ-c-e</i> 'say-PRES-3'	बठेचे <i>bʌtʰ-ec-e</i> 'sit-PRES-3'

The present tense morphemes precede secondary agreement marking as follows.

Table 32. Present tense accompanied by secondary agreement

		Patient		
		2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	टुकेचुकन <i>tʰuk-ec-ku-n</i> 'hit-PRES-SA2sg-1sg/pl'	टुकेचुकन <i>tʰuk-ec-kʌ-n</i> 'hit-PRES-SA2pl-1sg/pl'	टुकेचुकन <i>tʰuk-ec-ki-n</i> 'hit-PRES-SA3-1sg/pl'
	2sg	(secondary agreement not marked)	<i>n/a</i>	टुकेचुक <i>tʰuk-ec-ki</i> 'hit-PRES-SA3'
	2pl	<i>n/a</i>	(secondary agreement not marked)	टुकेचुकिर <i>tʰuk-ec-ki-rʌ</i> 'hit- PRES-SA3-2pl'
	3p	टुकेचुकु <i>tʰuk-ec-ku</i> 'hit-PRES-SA2sg'	टुकेचुकन <i>tʰuk-ec-kʌn</i> 'hit-PRES-SA2pl'	टुकेचुक <i>tʰuk-ec-ki</i> 'hit-PRES-SA3'

In the simple clause, the present tense is used for the present continuous (302a-b), or the present habitual (302c).

- (302) a. तुइ हाल कियॉ नि बहचिस? (cf. GR.02.036)  
 tui hal kiã ni bʌhʌ-c-is  
 2sg[pro] plough why NEG plough-PRES-2sg  
 'Why are you not ploughing?'
- b. ताहाते कानेचु। (MR.04.052)  
 tahate kan-ec-u  
 therefore cry-PRES-1sg  
 'That's why I am crying.'
- c. ...जेइदिन हामा आच्छा आच्छा साग भात नाधेचि... (cf. DLR.04.007)  
 ...jei-din hama acc<sup>h</sup>a acc<sup>h</sup>a sag b<sup>h</sup>at nad<sup>h</sup>-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- hʌ- '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 c<sup>h</sup>-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 हचे।  
 pahar-la ucʌ ucʌ hʌ-c-e  
 mountain-PL high high be-PRES-3  
 'Mountains are tall.' (general truth statement)
- b. छुवाला भात खाचे।  
 c<sup>h</sup>ua-la b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e  
 child-PL rice eat-PRES-3  
 'The children are eating rice.' (present continuous)
- c. इला पाहाड उचल उचल छे।  
 i-la pahar ucʌ ucʌ c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[prox]-PL mountain high high be-PRES3  
 'These mountains are tall.' (contextual truth statement)
- d. उहाँर सास्रिड मोर मसि हए।  
 uhã-r sasri-ɖʌ mo-r mʌsi hʌ-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 देखु घस्काए। (DLR.05.029)  
 mui i-dʌ kʌdi-k d-ec<sup>h</sup>-u g<sup>h</sup>ʌsk-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 दिमिन घस्काए।  
 mui i-dʌ kʌdi-k di-m-i-n g<sup>h</sup>ʌsk-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 देख्कुन (or, दिमुन) डिप डिपुवाए  
 t<sup>h</sup>am-Ø, ja-ba de-Ø, al<sup>h</sup>a d-ec-ku-n (or, di-m-u-n)  
 wait-IMP2sg go-INF let-IMP2sg, now AUX-PRES-SA2sg-1sg (or, AUX-FUT-SA2sg-1sg)  
 d<sup>h</sup>ip d<sup>h</sup>ip-(u)wa-e  
 [d<sup>h</sup>ip]sound [d<sup>h</sup>ip]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- *hʌ*- 'be', पा(र)- *pa(r)*- 'can' and लाग- *lag*- 'should'.

As explained in section 3.7.4, the verb ह- *hʌ*- 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 *hʌ-u* 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 -ओक -*ok* form. Though the present tense morpheme -उ -*u* in (305a) is akin to the past habitual, the past habitual sense would make use of the verb रह- *raʌh(ʌ)*- (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 मास्टर हउ।  
 mui maʃtʌr hʌ-u  
 1sg[pro] teacher be-PRES1sg (or, be-SUBJ1sg)  
 'I am a teacher.' / 'May I be a teacher!'

- b. मुइ मास्टर रह।  
 mui mastʌr rʌh-u  
 1sg[pro] teacher be-PST.HAB1sg  
 'I used to be a teacher.'
- c. मुइ मास्टर हम।  
 mui mastʌr hʌ-m  
 1sg[pro] teacher be-FUT1sg  
 'I will be a teacher.'
- d. मुइ मास्टर हचु।  
 mui mastʌr hʌ-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- *lag-* 'should' (306a) and पार- *par-* '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. ...अनडे कर्बा लागे। (cf. DLR.04.017)  
 ...ʌnʌŋ=e kʌr-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 hʌ-ba=ʌ 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'.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> As mentioned in section 2.2.1, the 3p marker in the past tense is [ɪ] (which is transcribed in the orthography as -ए *-e*). It is possible that this should be interpreted as *-i*, following the rule [i → ɪ / ɪ\_]. If -ले *-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 [ɪ] in all text data.

Table 33. Past tense

	V stem-final	ह- hA- stem-final
1sg	खानु $k^ha-n-u$ 'eat-PST-1sg'	कहनु $kAhA-n-u$ [kAnu] 'say-PST-1sg'
2sg	खालो $k^ha-l-o$ 'eat-PST-2sg'	कहलो $kAhA-l-o$ [kAlO] 'say-PST-2sg' को(हो)लो $ko(ho)-l-o$ 'say-PST-2sg'
3sg	खाले $k^ha-l-I$ 'eat-PST-3' खाल $k^ha-l$ 'eat-PST3'	कहले $kAhA-l-I$ [kAlI] 'say-PST-3' कोहोल $koho-l$ 'say-PST3'
1pl	खान $k^ha-n-A$ 'eat-PST-1pl'	कहन $kAhA-n-A$ [kAnA] 'say-PST-1pl'
2pl	खालन $k^ha-l-An$ 'eat-PST-2pl'	कहलन $kAhA-l-An$ [kAlAn] 'say-PST-2pl'
3pl	खाले $k^ha-l-I$ 'eat-PST-3' खाल $k^ha-l$ 'eat-PST3'	कहले $kAhA-l-I$ [kAlI] 'say-PST-3' कोहोल $koho-l$ 'say-PST3'
	C stem-final	CC stem-final
1sg	बट्नु $bAt^h-n-u$ 'sit-PST-1sg'	सम्ठिनु $sAMt^h-i-n-u$ 'finish-ep.vowel-PST-1sg'
2sg	बट्लो $bAt^h-l-o$ 'sit-PST-2sg'	सम्ठिलो $sAMt^h-i-l-o$ 'finish-ep.vowel-PST-2sg'
3sg	बट्ले $bAt^h-l-I$ 'sit-PST-3' बठिल $bAt^h-il$ 'sit-PST3'	सम्ठिले $sAMt^h-i-l-I$ 'finish-ep.vowel-PST-3'
1pl	बट्न $bAt^h-n-A$ 'sit-PST-1pl'	सम्ठिन $sAMt^h-i-n-A$ 'finish-ep.vowel-PST-1pl'
2pl	बट्लन $bAt^h-l-An$ 'sit-PST-2pl'	सम्ठिलन $sAMt^h-i-l-An$ 'finish-ep.vowel-PST-2pl'
3pl	बट्ले $bAt^h-l-I$ 'sit-PST-3' बठिल $bAt^h-il$ 'sit-PST3'	सम्ठिले $sAMt^h-i-l-I$ 'finish-ep.vowel-PST-3'

The past tense morphemes precede secondary agreement marking as follows.

Table 34. Past tense accompanied by secondary agreement

		Patient		
		2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	टुकिन्कुन (टुकेन्कुन) $t^huk-i/en-ku-n$ 'hit-PST-SA2sg-1sg/pl'	टुकिन्कन (टुकेन्कन) $t^huk-i/en-kA-n$ 'hit-PST-SA2pl-1sg/pl'	टुकिन्किन (टुकेन्किन) $t^huk-in-ki-n$ 'hit-PST-SA3-1sg/pl'
	2sg	(secondary agreement not marked)	n/a	टुकिल्कि (टुकेल्कि) $t^huk-i/el-ki$ 'hit-PST-SA3'
	2pl	n/a	(secondary agreement not marked)	टुकिल्किर (टुकेल्किर) $t^huk-i/el-ki-$ $rA$ 'hit-PST-SA3 2pl'
	3p	टुकिल्कु (टुकेल्कु) $t^huk-i/el-ku$ 'hit- PST-SA2sg'	टुकिल्कन (टुकेल्कन) $t^huk-i/el-kAn$ 'hit-PST-SA2pl'	टुकिल्कि (टुकेल्कि) $t^huk-i/el-ki$ 'hit-PST-SA3'

The past tense in Rājibanshi 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.

(307) a. मुइ तोक ठगेन्कुन। 'I cheated you.'

mui to-k tʰʌg-en-ku-n  
1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT cheat-PST-SA2sg-1sg  
'I cheated you.'

b. मुइ तोक भेल्लाबार ठगिचकुन।

mui to-k bʰella-bar tʰʌg-ic-ku-n  
1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT many-time cheat-PERF-SA2sg-1sg  
'I have cheated you many times.'

c. मुइ तोक ठगि लिन्कुन।

mui to-k tʰʌg-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 *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 *completion* of an action is directly implied by the time frame, or by the semantics of the verb itself.

### 3.7.7 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) VERB STEM + Aspect Marker + (CONCORD) + Tense/Mood Marker + (CONCORD)

The tense/mood and agreement markers in Rājban̄shi 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 Rājban̄shi.

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.<sup>56</sup> 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 *-e* is separated to denote the perfective.

- (309) a. देखिचु *dek<sup>h</sup>-ic-u* 'see-PERF-1sg' ('I have seen')
- b. देखिस्तु *dek<sup>h</sup>-isn-u* 'see-REM.PST-1sg' ('I saw<sub>[REMOTE]</sub>; I was looking at<sub>[PAST.CONTINUOUS]</sub>')  
 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 Rājban̄shi perfect *-इच -ic*.<sup>57</sup> 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-consonantly ... but also following the stem-deriving marker *-(i)e-*. Some examples are: *dekhece* 'has seen' (from monosyllabic *dæk<sup>h</sup>-*), *dekhieche* (from disyllabic *dæk<sup>h</sup>a-*), *diyeche* 'has given' (from *de-* 'give'). The verbal stem in *-(i)e-* followed by *-(c)ch-* may further combine with the anterior aspect marker *-I-* 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 Rājban̄shi perfect would be:

<sup>56</sup> According to Toulmin (2006:227), the proto-Kamta form of the perfect was *\*-i-tʰ*, and the proto-Kamta form of the "past perfective" (ibid.:233) was *\*-i-tʰil*.

<sup>57</sup> 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.

(310) देखिन्नु *dek<sup>h</sup>-i-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 -इस्न / -इस्ल -*isn/l* seems not to be past perfectivity.

(311) \*देखिस्नु \**dek<sup>h</sup>-i-sn-u* \*'see/look-(IM)PERFECTIVE-REM.PST-1sg' (i.e. 'I saw<sub>[REMOTE]</sub>', or 'I was looking<sub>[PAST CONTINUOUS]</sub>')

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. देखिस्नु *dek<sup>h</sup>-is-n-u* 'see/look-IMPERFECTIVE-PST-1sg' (i.e. 'I saw<sub>[REMOTE]</sub>', or 'I was looking<sub>[PAST CONTINUOUS]</sub>')  
 b. देखिसिल्कु *dek<sup>h</sup>-is-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

	V stem-final	ह- <i>hA-</i> stem-final	C stem-final
1sg	खाइचु <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-ic-e</i> 'eat-PERF-1sg'	कहिचु <i>kAh-ic-u</i> 'say-PERF-1sg'	आसिचु <i>as-ic-u</i> 'come-PERF-1sg'
2sg	खाइचिस <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-ic-is</i> 'eat-PERF-2sg'	कहिचिस <i>kAh-ic-is</i> 'say-PERF-2sg'	आसिचिस <i>as-ic-is</i> 'come-PERF-2sg'
	खाइचित <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-ic-it</i> 'eat-PERF-2sg'	कहिचित <i>kAh-ic-it</i> 'say-PERF-2sg'	आसिचित <i>as-ic-it</i> 'come-PERF-2sg'
3sg	खाइचे <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-ic-e</i> 'eat-PERF-3'	कहिचे <i>kAh-ic-e</i> 'say-PERF-3'	आसिचे <i>as-ic-e</i> 'come-PERF-3'

Table 35. (cont.)

1pl	खाइचि $k^h a-ic-i$ 'eat-PERF-1pl'	कहिचि $k\Lambda h-ic-i$ 'say-PERF-1pl'	आसिचि $as-ic-i$ 'come-PERF-1pl'
2pl	खाइचन $k^h a-ic-\Lambda n$ 'eat-PERF-2pl'	कहिचन $k\Lambda h-ic-\Lambda n$ 'say-PERF-2pl'	आसिचन $as-ic-\Lambda n$ 'come-PERF-2pl'
3pl	खाइचे $k^h a-ic-e$ 'eat-PERF-3'	कहिचे $k\Lambda h-ic-e$ 'say-PERF-3'	आसिचे $as-ic-e$ 'come-PERF-3'

The perfect morphemes precede secondary agreement marking as follows.

Table 36. Perfect accompanied by secondary agreement

		Patient		
		2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	टुकिचकुन $t^h uk-ic-ku-n$ 'hit-PERF-SA2sg-1sg/pl'	टुकिचकन $t^h uk-ic-k\Lambda n$ 'hit-PERF-SA2pl-1sg/pl'	टुकिचकिन $t^h uk-ic-ki-n$ 'hit-PERF-SA3-1sg/pl'
	2sg	(secondary agreement not marked)	n/a	टुकिचिकि $t^h uk-ic-ki$ 'hit-PERF-SA3'
	2pl	n/a	(secondary agreement not marked)	टुकिचिकिर $t^h uk-ic-ki-r\Lambda$ 'hit-PERF-SA3-2pl'
	3p	टुकिचकु $t^h uk-ic-ku$ 'hit-PERF-SA2sg' टुकिचोक $t^h uk-ic-ok$ 'hit-PERF-SA2sg'	टुकिचकन $t^h uk-ic-k\Lambda n$ 'hit-PERF-SA2pl'	टुकिचिकि $t^h uk-ic-ki$ 'hit-PERF-SA3' टुकिचिकेक $t^h uk-ic-ek$ 'hit-PERF-SA3'

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 त तुरिखानत गरु गाएँ प'इचे ने कि।

ja- $\emptyset$  t $\Lambda$  turi-k<sup>h</sup>an- $\Lambda$ t garu gae p $\Lambda$ (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 आस्बा देखि फेकाइचे... (cf. DLR.04.019)

j $\Lambda$ b as-ba dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-ic-e  
when come-INF see-ABS AUX-PERF-3

'When (the son-in-law) saw (lit. 'has seen') (him) coming...'

- b. तब सुना जुवाँड सुना कह्कि...  
 tab suna juã-dʌ suna kʌhʌ-c-ki  
 then PCL son\_in\_law-NCLS PCL say-PRES-SA3  
 'Then the son-in-law said (lit. 'says') (to her)...

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.

- (315) a. आर एकखान लुङि पिन्निचे, आर दुइखान माला पिन्निचे। (DLR.02.002)  
 ar ek-kʰan luŋi pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e ar dui-kʰan mala pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 and one-NCLS loincloth put\_on-PERF-3 and two-NCLS garland put\_on-PERF-3  
 'And he is wearing (lit. 'has put on') a loincloth, and two garlands.'
- b. पिन्निस्ते *pin<sup>h</sup>-isI-I* 'put\_on-REM.PST-3' (i.e. 'was putting on')
- c. पिन्नेचे *pin<sup>h</sup>-ec-e* 'put\_on-PRES-3' (i.e. 'is putting on')

The perfect was also found to indicate reason (note definition: "past action with present relevance") in a subordinate clause.

- (316) एकटा नि फुस कडि पाइचे, ते याहाँर एतेखान गरम! (DLR.05.027)  
 ek-ta ni pʰus kʌdi pa-ic-e te yaha-r  
 one-NCLS NEG worthless shell get-PERF-3 PCL(that) 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN  
 ete-kʰan gʌrʌm  
 this\_much-NCLS hot  
 '(It is because) he has got (~ found; received) a worthless shell that he is so proud.'

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).

- (317) बुरा तुरा त मरे तरे नि। (cf. MR.04.078)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a tur<sup>h</sup>a tʌ mar-e tʌr-e ni  
 old\_man [echo]old\_man PCL die-PST.HAB3 [echo]die-PST.HAB3 NEG  
 'The old man<sub>[DEROGATORY]</sub> hasn't died at all!'



## 3.7.7.2 Past continuous, remote past

The past continuous and remote past are formed by the suffix -इस्न -*isn* for the 1p, and -इस्ल -*isl* 'REM.PST' for the 2p and 3p.

Table 37. Past continuous, remote past

	V stem-final	ह- <i>hA</i> - stem-final	C stem-final
1sg	खाइस्नु <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-isn-u</i> 'eat-REM.PST-1sg'	कहिस्नु <i>kA<sup>h</sup>-isn-u</i> 'say-REM.PST-1sg'	आसिस्नु <i>as-isn-u</i> 'come-REM.PST-1sg'
2sg	खाइस्लो <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-isl-o</i> 'eat-REM.PST-2sg'	कहिस्लो <i>kA<sup>h</sup>-isl-o</i> 'say-REM.PST-2sg'	आसिस्लो <i>as-isl-o</i> 'come-REM.PST-2sg'
3sg	खाइस्ले <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-isl-I</i> 'eat-REM.PST-3'	कहिस्ले <i>kA<sup>h</sup>-isl-I</i> 'say-REM.PST-3'	आसिस्ले <i>as-isl-I</i> 'come-REM.PST-3'
1pl	खाइस्न <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-isn-A</i> 'eat-REM.PST-1pl'	कहिस्न <i>kA<sup>h</sup>-isn-A</i> 'say-REM.PST-1pl'	आसिस्न <i>as-isn-A</i> 'come-REM.PST-1pl'
2pl	खाइस्लन <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-isl-An</i> 'eat-REM.PST-2pl'	कहिस्लन <i>kA<sup>h</sup>-isl-An</i> 'say-REM.PST-2pl'	आसिस्लन <i>as-isl-An</i> 'come-REM.PST-2pl'
3pl	खाइस्ले <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-isl-I</i> 'eat-REM.PST-3'	कहिस्ले <i>kA<sup>h</sup>-isl-I</i> 'say-REM.PST-3'	आसिस्ले <i>as-isl-I</i> 'come-REM.PST-3'

Secondary agreement marking occurs as follows:

Table 38. Past continuous, remote past accompanied by secondary agreement

		Patient		
		2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	टुकिसिन्कुन <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isin-ku-n</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg/1pl' टुकिसिन्कुन <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isn-u-ku-n</i> 'hit-REM.PST-1sg-SA2sg-1sg'	टुकिसिन्कन <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isin-kA-n</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA2pl-1sg/1pl'	टुकिसिन्किन <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isin-ki-n</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3-1sg/1pl' टुकिसिन्किन <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isni-ki-n</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3-1sg'
	2sg	(secondary agreement not marked)	n/a	टुकिसिल्कि <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isli-ki</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3' टुकिसिल्कि <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isil-ki</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3'
	2pl	n/a	(secondary agreement not marked)	टुकिसिल्किर <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isli-ki-rA</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3-2pl' टुकिसिल्किर <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isil-ki-rA</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3-2pl'
	3p	टुकिस्लुकु <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-islu-ku</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg' टुकिसिल्कु <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isil-ku</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA2sg'	टुकिस्लकन <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-islA-kAn</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA2pl' टुकिसिल्कन <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isil-kAn</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA2pl'	टुकिसिल्कि <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isli-ki</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3' टुकिसिल्कि <i>!<sup>h</sup>uk-isil-ki</i> 'hit-REM.PST-SA3'

In general, the morpheme has a past continuous (318a-b) or past (318c) rendering.

- (318) a. ए बुरि, तुइ कुमाखाए भागिस्लो? (MR.04.136)  
 e: bur<sup>h</sup>i tui kun-mak<sup>h</sup>ae b<sup>h</sup>ag-isl-o  
 INJ old\_woman 2sg[pro] which-direction escape-REM.PST-2sg  
 'Eh, old woman, what way were you escaping?'
- b. एनड उहाँ छागल चराइस्ले। (cf. MR.05.006)  
 enɒŋ uhã c<sup>h</sup>agɒl cɒra-isl-i  
 like\_this 3sg[pro] female\_goat graze-REM.PST-3  
 'He was grazing the goats like this.'
- c. उहाँ घरेर ति आस्वा चाहिस्ले ताहें उड सोरे आर उड बाघे उहाँक पक्रि फेकाल्कि। (cf. MR.05.013)  
 uhã g<sup>h</sup>ɒr-er ti as-ba cah-isl-i tahe u-ɖɒ  
 3sg[pro] house-GEN towards come-INF try-REM.PST-3 immediately that-NCLS  
 sor=e ar u-ɖɒ bag<sup>h</sup>=e uhã-k pɒkr-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-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 आस्ले।  
 uhã as-l-i  
 3sg[pro] come-PST-3  
 'He came.'
- b. उहाँ आसिस्ले।  
 uhã as-isl-i  
 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 माने] एक दुइ चटि माने मुइ अमार घर गिस्नु, भेटघाट करिस्नु, गपसप करिस्नु। (cf. DLR.03.009)  
 tɒ mane ek dui cɒʈi mane mui ɒm<sup>h</sup>a-r g<sup>h</sup>ɒr g-isn-u  
 PCL PCL one two time PCL 1sg[pro] 3pl[pro]-GEN house go-REM.PST-1sg  
 b<sup>h</sup>eʈg<sup>h</sup>əʈ kɒr-isn-u gɒpsɒp kɒr-isn-u  
 visit do-REM.PST-1sg chat do-REM.PST-1sg  
 '(I remember) I went to his<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> house once or twice, met (him) and had a chat (with him).'

- b. आर कहिस्ले कर भी... (cf. DLR.03.010)  
 ar kʌh-isl-ɪ kʌrʌ bʰi...  
 and say-REM.PST-3 even CNJ(Hindi)...  
 'And (I remember) the friend of my father's also said...'
- c. एक चटि हामार गाउँ आसिस्ले सतसंगेर खुना, आप हिदर से त आसा जाइ नि कर्चे। (DLR.03.011)  
 ek cʌʈi hama-r gaũ as-isl-ɪ sʌtsʌŋ-er kʰuna  
 one time 1pl[pro]-GEN village come-REM.PST-3 religious\_fellowship-GEN during  
 ap hidʌr se tʌ as-a ja-i ni kʌr-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. Rājbanishi 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 चराइस्ले। (cf. MR.05.006)  
 uhā cʰagʌl cʌrʌ-isl-ɪ  
 3sg[pro] female\_goat graze-REM.PST-3  
 'He was grazing the goats.'
- b. उ बाख्रा चराउँदै थियो।  
 u bakʰra cəraũ-dəi tʰi-yo  
 3sgLGH[pro] goat(female) graze-CONT.PTCL be<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-3sgLGH  
 'He was grazing the goats.'
- c. उस्ले बाख्रा चराएको थियो।  
 us-le bakʰra cəra-eko tʰi-yo  
 3sgLGH[pro]-ERG goat(female) graze-PST.PTCL be<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-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

भानुभक्त आचार्यको जन्म पश्चिम नेपालको एउटा सानो गाउँमा भएको थियो।

b<sup>h</sup>anub<sup>h</sup>aktə acaryə-ko jənmə pəʃcim nepal-ko eʊṭa sano gaũ-ma

Bhānubakta Āchārya-GEN birth west Nepal-GEN one small village-LOC

b<sup>h</sup>ə-eko t<sup>h</sup>i-yo

come\_about-PST.PTCL be<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-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

हिजो म तिमिकहाँ आएको थिएँ तर तिमि घरमा थिएँनौ।

hijo mə timi-kəhā a-eko t<sup>h</sup>i-ẽ

yesterday 1sg[pro] 2sgMGH[pro]-location come-PST.PTCL be<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-1sg

təɾə timi g<sup>h</sup>ər-ma t<sup>h</sup>i-en-əu

but 2sgMGH[pro] house-LOC be<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-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. जेइखुना उहाँए आसिस्ले ते मुइ बेराइस्नु।

jei-k<sup>h</sup>una uhāe as-isl-i 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.' (simultaneous actions)

## b. मुइ आसिए पुग्बार खुना उहाँए चलि आसिस्ले।

mui as-ie pug-ba-r k<sup>h</sup>una uhāe cəl-i as-isl-i

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. खेटियाला राति घुरि आसिए, जेइठिना बुरि कचु बुनिए गिस्ले, हतिन से उला कचु निक्लाचिका। (cf. MR.04.025)
- k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la rati g<sup>h</sup>uri as-ie  
 jackal-PL night during come-CONJ.PTCL  
 jei-ṭ<sup>h</sup>ina bur<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>acu bun-ie g-isl-i  
 REL[obl/ip]-place old\_woman vegetable plant-CONJ.PTCL go-REM.PST-3  
 h<sup>h</sup>atin se u-la k<sup>h</sup>acu 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. मुइ गिस्तु हाग्बा आर काहे नि काहे आसिएने मोर घरेर लोकटक काटि दिछे। (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-CONJ.PTCL  
 mo-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-er lok-ṭ<sup>h</sup>-k kaṭ-i d-ic<sup>h</sup>-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
- मुइ ते कान्बार लाखाति करिस्तु, तोक कि कान्बार लाखाति लागिस्तुकु? (cf. DLR.04.038)
- mui te kan-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati k<sup>h</sup>ar-isn-u  
 1sg[pro] PCL cry-INF-GEN like do-REM.PST-1sg  
 to-k ki kan-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati 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?'

## b. Response

नि लागे। (cf. DLR.04.039)

ni lag-e

NEG feel-PST.HAB3

'(No) I didn't.'

## 3.7.7.3 Continuous

The continuous aspect in Rājbanṣhi is conveyed in several ways. Firstly the verb रह- *rāh-* '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. मुइ जेबेला आसिए पुनु ते उहाँए खराक खाते रहए (or, खाइस्ले)।

mui je-bela as-ie pug-n-u te

1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg PCL(then)

uhāe k<sup>h</sup>arak k<sup>h</sup>a-te rāh-e (or, k<sup>h</sup>a-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 कहिस्ले कर (भी) समय समयत आस्ते रहिस। (DLR.03.010)

ar kah-isl-ī kārā (b<sup>h</sup>i) samāe samāe-t as-te

and say-REM.PST-3 even (CNJ(Hindi)) time time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL

rāh-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 रह- *rāh-* 'remain; live; be' retains its original semantics (327).

(327) बाघड सुनिए रहिष्कि (cf. MR.05.081)

bag<sup>h</sup>-ḍā sun-ie rāh-p-ki

tiger-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL remain-FUT-SA3

'The tiger remained (there) listening.'

A similar construction using the copula छ- *c<sup>h</sup>-* '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 आसिए पुगनु ते उहाँए खराक खाते छिले।  
 ?/\* mui je-bela as-ie pug-n-u  
 ?/\* 1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg  
 te uhãe k<sup>h</sup>arak k<sup>h</sup>a-te c<sup>h</sup>i-l-l  
 PCL(then) 3sg[pro] food eat-CONT.PTCL be-PST-3  
 ?/\* 'When I arrived, he was eating food.'
- b. मुइ जेबेला आसिए पुगनु ते उहाँए खराक खातेइ छिले।  
 mui je-bela as-ie pug-n-u  
 1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg  
 te uhãe k<sup>h</sup>arak k<sup>h</sup>a-te=i c<sup>h</sup>i-l-l  
 PCL(then) 3sg[pro] food eat-CONT.PTCL=EMPH be-PST-3  
 'When I arrived, he was eating food.'
- c. अइड मोटोर साइकलत उहाँए चरिएना अस्ते छे। (in narrative BRN.001; Rangeli)  
 ai-ɖa moɖor saikəl-at wãe c<sup>h</sup>ar<sup>h</sup>-iena  
 DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS motor cycle-LOC 3sg[pro] ride-CONJ.PTCL  
 as-te c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 come-CONT.PTCL be-PRES3  
 'He is coming, riding on that (very) motorcycle.'

If the copula छ- c<sup>h</sup>- '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 Rājbandhi woman is 'in a state of having sat down' and is therefore 'sitting'.<sup>58</sup>

- (329) a. तने हिनर सुना भइसट नुकाए छिकि... (cf. MR.05.148)  
 tane hidar suna b<sup>h</sup>ais-ɖa nuka-e c<sup>h</sup>-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 गारित एकटा राजबंसि बेछानि बठिए छे... (cf. MR.02.002)  
 u-k<sup>h</sup>an garu gari-t ek-ɖa rajbandhi berc<sup>h</sup>ani baɖ<sup>h</sup>-ie  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS bullock cart-LOC one-NCLS Rājbandhi woman sit-CONJ.PTCL  
 c<sup>h</sup>-e...  
 be-PRES3...  
 'There is a Rājbandhi woman sitting on that bullock cart...'

<sup>58</sup> 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 *c<sup>h</sup>-e* 'be-PRES3' is not implied in (330a), since the action of the non-finite आसिए *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. आसिए छे।  
 as-ie                      c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 come-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3  
 'S/he (is) here.' (Lit. 'Having come, s/he is here.')

b. आसिचे।  
 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 आस्बा देख्नु।  
 uhã-k              mui              as-ba              dek<sup>h</sup>-n-u  
 3sg[pro]-DAT 1sg[pro] come-INF see-PST-1sg  
 'I saw him coming.'

b. उहाँक मुइ आस्ते देख्नु।  
 uhã-k              mui              as-te                      dek<sup>h</sup>-n-u  
 3sg[pro]-DAT 1sg[pro] come-CONT.PTCL see-PST-1sg  
 'I saw him coming.'



## 3.7.7.4 Past habitual

The past habitual markers in Rājbanṣhi are as follows:

Table 39. Past habitual

	Stem-final V	<i>h</i> Λ-stem-final	Stem-final C
1sg	खाउ <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-u</i> 'eat-PST.HAB1sg'	कहु <i>kΛh-u</i> 'say-PST.HAB1sg'	आसु <i>as-u</i> 'come-PST.HAB1sg'
2sg	खाइस <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-is</i> 'eat-PST.HAB2sg'	कहिस <i>kΛh-is</i> 'say-PST.HAB2sg'	आसिस <i>as-is</i> 'come-PST.HAB2sg'
3sg	खाए <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-e</i> 'eat-PST.HAB3'	कहे <i>kΛh-e</i> 'say-PST.HAB3'	आसे <i>as-e</i> 'come-PST.HAB3'
1pl	खाइ <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-i</i> 'eat-PST.HAB1pl'	कहि <i>kΛh-i</i> 'say-PST.HAB1pl'	आसि <i>as-i</i> 'come-PST.HAB1pl'
2pl	खाअन (खान) <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-(Λ)n</i> 'eat-PST.HAB2pl'	कहन <i>kΛh-Λn</i> 'say-PST.HAB2pl'	आसन <i>as-Λn</i> 'come-PST.HAB2pl'
3pl	खाए <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-e</i> 'eat-PST.HAB3'	कहे <i>kΛh-e</i> 'say-PST.HAB3'	आसे <i>as-e</i> 'come-PST.HAB3'

The past habitual morphemes precede, or are fused with, secondary agreement marking, as shown in Table 40. The vowel *-e* in forms such as टुकेकन *t<sup>h</sup>uk-ekΛn* 'hit-SA2pl' or टुकेकि *t<sup>h</sup>uk-eki* 'hit-SA3' is regarded to be simply an epenthetic vowel, and not the past habitual 3p marking (and therefore, they are not glossed as टुकेकन *t<sup>h</sup>uk-e-kΛn* 'hit-PST.HAB3-SA2pl' or टुकेकि *t<sup>h</sup>uk-e-ki* 'hit-PST.HAB-SA3' respectively). This is based on the observation that the same vowel *-e* occurs in the form टुकेकन *t<sup>h</sup>uk-ekΛ-n* 'hit-SA2pl-1pl' though the past habitual marker for the 1pl is *-इ -i*.

Table 40. Past habitual accompanied by secondary agreement

		Patient		
		2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	टुकेकन (टुक्कन) <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-(e)ku-n</i> 'hit-SA2sg-1sg/1pl'	टुकेकन (टुक्कन) <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-(e)kΛ-n</i> 'hit-SA2pl-1sg/1pl'	टुकेकिन (टुक्किन) <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-(e)ki-n</i> 'hit-SA3-1sg/1pl'
	2sg	(secondary agreement not marked)	n/a	टुक्कि <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-ki</i> 'hit-SA3' टुक्किस्कि <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-is-ki</i> 'hit-PST.HAB2sg-SA3'
	2pl	n/a	(secondary agreement not marked)	टुक्किर <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-ki-rΛ</i> 'hit-SA3-2pl' टुक्किस्किर <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-is-ki-rΛ</i> 'hit-PST.HAB2pl-SA3-2pl'
	3p	टुकेकु (टुक्कु) <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-(e)ku</i> 'hit-SA2sg'	टुकेकन (टुक्कन) <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-(e)kΛn</i> 'hit-SA2pl'	टुकेकि (टुक्कि) <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-(e)ki</i> 'hit-SA3'

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 habituais:

"...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 Rājbandhi. 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. एकटा गाउँत एकटा बुरा रहे। (cf. DLR.04.001)

ek-ṭa gaũ-t ek-ṭa bur<sup>h</sup>a rʌh-e  
one-NCLS village-LOC one-NCLS old\_man live-PST.HAB3  
'In a village there used to live an old man.'

b. बेटीर घर जाइ आसि कर्ते रहे। (DLR.04.005)

beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-i as-i kʌr-te rʌh-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 Rājbandhi 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 लिबा लागे अमार सङ्गे हामाका" (cf. MR.04.048)

bʌdla tʌ li-ba lag-e ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r sʌŋe hama-k  
revenge PCL take-INF should-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT  
'...we have to take revenge on them.'

b. त सुना सभाए देख्ना जाए। (DLR.06.002)

tʌ suna sʌb<sup>h</sup>ae dek<sup>h</sup>-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.<sup>59</sup> (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 देख्वा जाछे। (DLR.06.002)  
 tʌ suna sʌb<sup>h</sup>ae dek<sup>h</sup>-ba ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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. त्रिया चरित्र बुझाल नि जाए (or, जाछे), सामिक मारिए सति जाए (or, जाछे)। (cf. DLR.06.000)  
 triya cʌritrʌ buj<sup>h</sup>-al ni ja-e  
 female behaviour understand-PST.PTCL NEG PASS.AUX-PST.HAB3  
 sami-k mar-ie sati ja-e (or, ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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).'
- b. इड कि कहए (or, कहचे)?  
 i-ɖʌ ki kʌhʌ-e (or, kʌhʌ-c-e)  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS what say-PST.HAB3 (or, say-PRES-3)  
 'What is this (usually) called?'
- c. आप मायाँ लाग करे काटे? (cf. DLR.06.057)  
 ap maya lag-a kʌre kaɽ-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.

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<sup>59</sup> In the text corpus, the obligative auxiliary लाग- *lag-* 'must' occurs with past habitual morphology fifteen times when preceded by the infinitive, and the abilitative auxiliary पार- *par-* '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.

(336) a. आर मर्दनाडउ भी हॉसेचे। (MR.02.014)  
 ar mardana-dʌ = u b<sup>hi</sup> has-ec-e  
 and man-NCLS = CNJ CNJ(Hindi) laugh-PRES-3  
 'And also the man is laughing.'

b. आर मर्दनाडउ भी हॉसे।  
 ar mardana-dʌ = u b<sup>hi</sup> has-e  
 and man-NCLS = CNJ CNJ(Hindi) laugh-PST.HAB3  
 'And also the man used to laugh.' (\* 'And also the man is laughing.')

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 मर्दनाडउ भी नि हॉसे।  
 ar mardana-dʌ = u b<sup>hi</sup> 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 आस्वार *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 आस्वार छिनु।  
 mui as-ba-r c<sup>hi</sup>-n-u  
 1sg[pro] come-INF-GEN be-PST-1sg  
 'I was about to come.' (prospective)

b. मुइ देखार छिनु।  
 mui dek<sup>h</sup>-ba-r c<sup>hi</sup>-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. आसिम *as-im* 'come-FUT1sg' in (339a)) is reduplicated and then followed by the verbaliser कर- *kʌr-* 'do' (339a), or ह *hʌ-* '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 आसिम आसिम करिस्तु तात त तुहें चलि आस्तो।  
 mui as-im as-im kʌr-isn-u  
 1sg[pro] come-FUT1sg come-FUT1sg do-REM.PST-1sg  
 tat tʌ tu=he cʌl-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 पुगिम पुगिम हइस्तो तात त मुहें चलि आस्तु।  
 tui pug-im pug-im hʌ-isl-o  
 2sg[pro] arrive-FUT1sg arrive-FUT1sg be-REM.PST-2sg  
 tat tʌ mu=he cʌl-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  $\emptyset$ -morpheme in the singular, and -अ -ʌ in the plural. (Refer to section 3.7.1.2 for further discussion on irregularities of CC-final stems in the imperative.)

Table 41. Imperative

		V stem-final	ह- <i>hʌ-</i> stem-final
2sg	- $\emptyset$	खा <i>kʰa-<math>\emptyset</math></i> 'eat-IMP2sg'	कोहो <i>koho-<math>\emptyset</math></i> 'say-IMP2sg'
	-ek	-	-
2pl	-ʌ	खाअ <i>kʰa-ʌ</i> 'eat-IMP2pl'	कह <i>kʌh-ʌ</i> 'say-IMP2pl'
		C stem-final	CC stem-final
2sg	- $\emptyset$	बठ् <i>bʌtʰ-<math>\emptyset</math></i> 'sit-IMP2sg'	-
	-ek	बठेक <i>bʌtʰ-ek</i> 'sit-IMP2sg'	सम्ठेक <i>sʌmtʰ-ek</i> 'finish-IMP2sg'
	CC-cluster breaking	-	समठ <i>sʌmtʰ-ʌ</i> 'finish-IMP2sg'
2pl	-ʌ	बठ <i>bʌtʰ-ʌ</i> 'sit-IMP2pl'	समठ <i>sʌmtʰ-ʌ</i> 'finish-IMP2pl'

The imperative singular has a second form -एक -*ek* 'IMP2sg' which is only found on C-final stems (340a). The -एक -*ek* imperative form is not related to the secondary agreement marker -एक -*ek* '-SA3' as the example (340a) shows. The -एक -*ek* imperative form is a pure variant; the 2sg honorific imperative is expressed with the plural imperative (340b).<sup>60</sup>

(340) a. (मोर कुर्सिखानत) बट् / बटेका  
 (mo-r kursi-k<sup>h</sup>an- $\Delta$ t) b $\Delta$ t- $\emptyset$  / b $\Delta$ t-ek  
 1sg[obl]-GEN chair-NCLS-LOC) sit-IMP2sg  
 'Sit (on my chair).' (honorifics non-specified; to an adult/child)

b. बटा  
 b $\Delta$ t- $\Delta$   
 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 -*r* $\Delta$  '-2pl' (cf. section 3.7.5.2).

(341) तुइ जाए ठुक्कि त!  
 tui ja-e t<sup>h</sup>uk-ki t $\Delta$   
 2sg[pro] go-CONJ.PTCL hit-SA3 PCL  
 'Go and hit (him on their behalf).'

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<sup>60</sup> 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., দ্যাখেক « dyākhēk < dēkhēka..."

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.

Table 42. Imperative accompanied by secondary agreement

	V stem-final	ह- <i>hΛ</i> - stem-final	C stem-final
2sg	खाकि <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-ki</i> 'eat-SA3'	कोहोकि <i>koho-ki</i> 'say-SA3' कहकि <i>kΛhΛ-ki</i> 'say-SA3'	बट्टिक <i>bΛt<sup>h</sup>-ki</i> 'sit-SA3' बठेकिक <i>bΛt<sup>h</sup>-ek-ki</i> 'sit-IMP2sg-SA3'
2pl	खाकिर <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-ki-rΛ</i> 'eat-SA3-2pl'	कोहोकिर <i>koho-ki-rΛ</i> 'say-SA3-2pl' कहकिर <i>kΛhΛ-ki-rΛ</i> 'say-SA3-2pl'	बट्टिकर <i>bΛt<sup>h</sup>-ki-rΛ</i> 'sit-SA3-2pl'

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 बुरि (cf. MR.04.085)

*t<sup>h</sup>am-∅ re bur<sup>h</sup>i*  
wait-IMP2sg VOC old\_woman  
'(Just you) wait, old woman!'

b. आप थाम, याहाँर बदला लिए छरिस्कन... (cf. MR.04.047)

*ap t<sup>h</sup>am-Λ, yaha-r badla l-ie c<sup>h</sup>Λr-im-kΛ-n*  
PCL wait-IMP2pl, 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN revenge take-CONJ.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 एनड करेक तुइ... (cf. MR.04.050)

*te enΛη kΛr-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 नि *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 त *tΛ* '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 (or, त) (cf. MR.05.247)

*koho-∅ na (or, tΛ)*  
say-IMP2sg PCL  
'(Please) say.'

- c. जानि (or, त) (DLR.06.006.)  
 ja-Ø ni (or, tʌ)  
 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 -ok '-SUBJ3' form for the 3p (this subjunctive marker is also distinct from the secondary agreement marker -ओक -ok '-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

	V stem-final	ह- hʌ- stem-final	C stem-final
1sg	खाउ $k^h a-u$ 'eat-SUBJ1sg'	कहु $kʌh-u$ 'say-SUBJ1sg'	बठु $bʌt^h-u$ 'sit-SUBJ1sg'
2sg	खाइस $k^h a-is$ 'eat-SUBJ2sg'	कहिस $kʌh-is$ 'say-SUBJ2sg'	बठिस $bʌt^h-is$ 'sit-SUBJ2sg'
3sg	खाए $k^h a-e$ 'eat-SUBJ3' खाओक $k^h a-ok$ 'eat-SUBJ3'	कहे $kʌh-e$ 'say-SUBJ3' कहोक $kʌh-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3' कोहोक $koh-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3'	बठे $bʌt^h-e$ 'sit-SUBJ3' बठोक $bʌt^h-ok$ 'sit-SUBJ3'
1pl	खाइ $k^h a-i$ 'eat-SUBJ1pl'	कहि $kʌh-i$ 'say-SUBJ1pl'	बठि $bʌt^h-i$ 'sit-SUBJ1pl'
2pl	खाअन $k^h a-ʌn$ 'eat-SUBJ2pl'	कहन $kʌh-ʌn$ 'say-SUBJ2pl'	बठन $bʌt^h-ʌn$ 'sit-SUBJ2pl'
3pl	खाए $k^h a-e$ 'eat-SUBJ3' खाओक $k^h a-ok$ 'eat-SUBJ3'	कहे $kʌh-e$ 'say-SUBJ3' कहोक $kʌh-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3' कोहोक $koh-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3'	बठे $bʌt^h-e$ 'sit-SUBJ3' बठोक $bʌt^h-ok$ 'sit-SUBJ3'

Secondary agreement is marked on the subjunctive as Table 44 shows.

Table 44. Subjunctive accompanied by secondary agreement

		Patient		
		2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	टुकेकुन (टुक्कुन) $t^huk-(e)ku-n$ 'hit-SA2sg-1sg/pl'	टुकेकन (टुक्कन) $t^huk-(e)kʌ-n$ 'hit-SA2pl-1sg/pl'	टुकेकिन (टुक्किन) $t^huk-(e)ki-n$ 'hit-SA3-1sg/pl'
	2sg	(Secondary agreement not marked)	n/a	टुक्कि $t^huk-ki$ 'hit-SA3' टुक्किस् $t^huk-is-ki$ 'hit-SUBJ-SA3'
	2pl	n/a	(Secondary agreement not marked)	टुक्किर $t^huk-ki-rʌ$ 'hit-SA3-2pl'
	3p	टुक्कु $t^huk-ku$ 'hit-SA2sg'	टुक्कन $t^huk-kʌn$ 'hit-SA2pl'	टुक्कि $t^huk-ki$ 'hit-SA3'



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

	REQUESTING PERMISSION FOR	GRANTING PERMISSION TO	
		(proximate)	(remote)
1sg	जाउ? ja-u go-SUBJ1sg 'May I go?'	2sg	जाइस। ja-is go-SUBJ2sg 'You may go.'
1pl	जाइ? ja-i go-SUBJ1pl 'May we go?'	2pl	जाअ। ja-a go-IMP2pl 'You may go.'
3sg	उहाँक जाबा दितेक। uhā-k ja-ba di-t-ek 3sg[pro]-DAT go-INF let-FUT-SA3 'Let him/her go (please).'	3sg	जाओक। ja-ok go-SUBJ3 '(S/he) may go.'
3pl	अमाक जाबा दितेक। am <sup>h</sup> a-k ja-ba di-t-ek 3pl[pro]-DAT go-INF let-FUT-SA3 'Let them go (please).'	3sg	जाओक। ja-ok go-SUBJ3 'They may go.'

## HORTATIVE

1sg	पहेले जङ्गलखानत पुगु। (MR.05.098) pāhele jaŋgala-k <sup>h</sup> an-at pug-u first jungle-NCLS-LOC reach-SUBJ1sg 'Let me (let's) first get to the jungle.'
1pl	इखान काम करि। i-k <sup>h</sup> an kam ka-i DEM[prox]-NCLS job do-SUBJ1pl 'Let's do this job.'
	इखान काम कर्म। (cf. section 3.7.6.1) kam ka-m-a work do-FUT-1pl 'Let's work.'

## COMMAND

	PROXIMATE COMMAND		REMOTE COMMAND
2sg	जा ja-∅ 'go-IMP2sg' (i.e. 'Go (now)!')	2sg	जाइस ja-is 'go-SUBJ2sg' (i.e. 'Go (later).')
2pl	जाअ ja-a 'go-IMP2pl' (i.e. 'Go (now)!')	2pl	जाअ ja-n 'go-SUBJ2pl' (i.e. 'Go (later).')

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.<sup>61</sup>

- (344) a. जाअ, मुइ लिखेचु। तमा भात नाध।  
 ja-Λ mui lik<sup>h</sup>-ec-u  
 go-IMP2pl 1sg[pro] write-PRES-1sg  
 tΛm<sup>h</sup>a b<sup>h</sup>at nad<sup>h</sup>-Λ  
 2pl[pro] rice cook-IMP2sg  
 'Go (away), I am writing. (As for you,) cook rice (now).'
- b. मुइ लेख्वा धरिमा। तमा भात नाधना।  
 mui lek<sup>h</sup>-ba d<sup>h</sup>Λr-im  
 1sg[pro] write-INF begin-FUT1sg  
 tΛm<sup>h</sup>a b<sup>h</sup>at nad<sup>h</sup>-Λn  
 2pl[pro] rice cook-SUBJ2pl  
 'I will start writing. (As for you,) cook me rice (later on).'
- c. समय समयत आस्ते रहिस। (cf. DLR.03.010)  
 sΛmΛe sΛmΛe-t as-te rΛh-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 बाघड ना पात्ता लाग्वा पारोक (कहएने)। (cf. MR.05.113)  
 ...mo-k mane bag<sup>h</sup>-ḍΛ na patta lag-ba par-ok  
 ...1sg[obl]-DAT PCL tiger-NCLS NEG knowledge apply\_to-INF can-SUBJ3  
 (kΛhΛ-ene)  
 (CMPL(say-CONJ.PTCL))  
 '...so that the tiger isn't able to know (where) I (am).'

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<sup>61</sup> 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 Rājbanishi 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.

- (346) a. आप इखान चुलि जदि मुइ लदिडत फाकाए दु... (cf. MR.05.223)  
 ap i-k<sup>h</sup>an culi j<sup>ɔ</sup>di mui l<sup>ɔ</sup>di-ɖ<sup>ɔ</sup>-t p<sup>h</sup>aka-e d-u  
 PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS hair if 1sg[pro] river-NCLS-LOC throw-ABS AUX-SUBJ1sg  
 'Now, if I throw this hair in the river...'
- b. ...अनइति सुन्दर लोक पाए जाए... (cf. DLR.06.065)  
 ʌnʌɳti sund<sup>ɔ</sup>r lok pa-e ja-e  
 like\_that beautiful man get-ABS AUX-SUBJ3  
 '...if she gets a handsome man like that...'

As with the imperative, the negative particle न<sup>ɔ</sup> *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).

- (347) a. मुइ फेल ना हउ।  
 mui p<sup>h</sup>el na h<sup>ɔ</sup>-u  
 1sg[pro] fail(loan) NEG be-SUBJ1sg  
 'May I not fail!'
- b. जाइस ना!  
 ja-is na  
 go-SUBJ2sg PCL  
 '(Please) go!'

Finally, mention should be made of an interesting use of the past tense 1pl in the subjunctive sense. Consider (348a-b) where force of the verb marked with the 1pl is "May he", or "he should". This possibly originates from the conditional sense: "If it were us, we would...". The construction is obligatorily marked by contrastive intonation: (348a) has higher intonation on the bulk of the clause followed by a clause-final fall, and (348b) has high-rising intonation on each predicate.

- (348) a. आस्न ते एख्लाए आस्न। (cf. DLR.04.008)  
 as-n-ʌ te ek<sup>h</sup>lae as-n-ʌ  
 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. कियँ नि आसेच्छि? आस्न, खान।  
 kiã ni as-ec-ki  
 why NEG come-PRES-SA3  
 as-n-ʌ k<sup>h</sup>a-n-ʌ  
 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 -le 'COND.PTCL'. The apodosis was encountered in the future (349a), present (349b), imperative (349c) and subjunctive (349d).

- (349) a. ...राजार बेटाडर सडे जाले, मुइ रानि हइ जाम। (cf. DLR.06.050b)  
 ...raja-r beta-ḍa-r saṅe 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. ...जेनेड सेनेड काथा बल्ले, बहुत दुःख मिल्ले। (cf. DLR.05.064)  
 ...jeneṅ senen kat<sup>h</sup>a ba<sup>l</sup>-le ba<sup>h</sup>ut duk<sup>h</sup>  
 what\_kind [echo]what\_kind thing speak-COND.PTCL greatly(Hindi) trouble  
 mil-c-e  
 arrange-PRES-3  
 '...if those sort of things are spoken, a lot of problems will result.'
- c. अनड ति हले, तुइ जा। (MR.05.053)  
 a<sup>n</sup>aṅ ti ha-le tui ja- $\emptyset$   
 like\_that towards be-COND.PTCL 2sg[pro] go-IMP2sg  
 'If that is so, you go.'
- d. आर नि पार्ले, छरि दिस। (DLR.06.044a)  
 ar ni pa<sup>r</sup>-le c<sup>h</sup>ar-i d-is  
 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; Ghailāḍubbā), or -हने =*hane* '= PST.COND' (350c; Korobāri).

- (350) a. आझि इला काथाअ नि बल्लुतन ते नि हारालेतन। (DLR.05.042)  
 a<sup>j</sup><sup>h</sup>i i-la kat<sup>h</sup>a=<sup>Λ</sup> ni ba<sup>l</sup>-n-u=*tan* te ni  
 today DEM[prox]-PL thing=CNJ NEG speak-PST-1sg=PST.COND PCL(then) NEG  
 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.'

- b. नि ते मुइ तोक बाहा करेन्कुन्तन, रानि बेनान्कुन्तन 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 bena-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. मुइ मन्त्रि हनुहने ते महर एकटा काठमान्डुत घर रहलेहने।  
 mui mantri hA-n-u = hAne te mA = hA-r ek-ta  
 1sg[pro] minister be-PST-1sg = PST.COND PCL(then) 1sg[obl] = CNJ-GEN one-NCLS  
 kaṭmanḍu-t g<sup>h</sup>Ar rAhA-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 -l '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. त फेर सुकाए जालअ (परे) त दाना पानि खाबाए हबे। (DLR.05.052)  
 p<sup>h</sup>er suk-a-e ja-l = A (pare) tA dana pani k<sup>h</sup>a-ba = e  
 again dry-CAUS-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL = CNJ (even) PCL grain water eat-INF = EMPH  
 hA-b-I  
 must-FUT-3  
 'Even if one is "drying up" (of hunger) one needs to eat grains and water.'
- b. तसा सत खालउ (परे) मुइ भात नि खासा। (compare with the simple conditional in MR.05.245)  
 jAdi sat k<sup>h</sup>a-l = Au (pare) mui b<sup>h</sup>at ni k<sup>h</sup>a-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.'

## 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'.

Table 46 presents the auxiliaries used in Rājbanshi with their structural and functional qualities.

Table 46. Collocation of transitivity and quasi-aspectual auxiliaries

	Aspectual and quasi-aspectual auxiliaries			
	Semantic content	Dative-subject	Structure	Functions
चल- <i>caI-</i>	‘go; walk’	-	[AUX]-[ABS] [V]- [inflection]	<i>non-permissive, completeness, (perfective)</i>
जा- <i>ja-</i>	‘go’	-	[V]-[ABS] [AUX]- [inflection]	<i>non-permissive, completeness, (perfective)</i>
फेका- <i>p<sup>h</sup>eka-</i>	‘throw’	-		<i>± benefactive, non-permissive, (perfective)</i>
दि- <i>di-</i>	‘give’	-		<i>± benefactive, non-permissive, ability (perfective), completeness</i>
लि- <i>li-</i>	‘take’	-		<i>imperfective</i>
रह- <i>raḥ-</i>	‘stay; remain’	-	[V]-[CONT.PTCL] [AUX]-inflection	<i>imperfective</i>
Modal auxiliaries				
	Semantic content	Dative-subject	Structure	Functions
Deontic			[V]-[INF] [AUX]- [inflection]	<i>obligative</i>
ह- <i>ha-</i>	‘be; become’	✓		
लाग- <i>lag-</i>	‘feel; apply to’	✓		
(पर- <i>paṛ-</i> )	(‘fall’ (loan))	✓		<i>permissive</i>
दि- <i>di-</i>	‘give’	-		<i>desiderative</i>
मेना- <i>mena-</i>	‘want to’	✓		<i>abilitative</i>
चाहा- <i>caha-</i>	‘want to; try to’	-		
Dynamic				
पार- <i>paṛ-</i>	‘be able to’	-		
(सक- <i>saḥk-</i> )	(‘finish’ (loan))	-		

### 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 ह- *ha-* ‘must; need to; should’ and लाग- *lag-* ‘must; need to; should’. Initial observations suggest that the two are fully synonymous.

- (352) a. कनेक सच्चा हबे, बुद्धि लाग्बा हबे (cf. MR.04.143)  
 kʌnek sʌc-ba hʌ-b-ɪ buddʰi lag-ba hʌ-b-ɪ  
 a\_little think-INF must-FUT-3 wisdom apply\_to-INF must-FUT-3  
 'I must think a little, I must use (my) intelligence.'
- b. बदला त लिबा लागे अमर सडे हामाका" (cf. MR.04.048)  
 bʌdla tʌ li-ba lag-e ʌmʰa-r sʌɳe hama-k  
 revenge PCL take-INF should-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT  
 '...we have to take revenge on them.'

The auxiliary पर- *paɾ-* 'must, need to' is also used though speakers feel it is a loan from Nepali and/or Maithili.

- (353) मोक हाल बहबा पले (GR.02.073)  
 mo-k hal bʌhʌ-ba paɾ-l-ɪ  
 1sg[obl]-DAT plough plough-INF must-PST-3  
 'And I had to plough.'

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 तम *tʌmʰa* '2pl[pro]' and the (explicit) direct object is मोक *mo-k* '1sg[pro]-DAT'.

- (354) a. मोक एकछिन त कान्बा दिबन ना? (MR.04.188)  
 mo-k ekcʰin kan-ba di-b-ʌn 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. अनिऐने एकठिना बट्बा दिक्कि (MR.04.069; cf. also MR.04.072)  
 an-iene ek-tʰina bʌtʰ-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.'

## 3.7.9.1.3 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 कान्बा मेनाचे। (cf. GR.02.069)

mo-k            mʌn-ɖʌ-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. आसा मोक खाबा चाहावे। (cf. MR.04.155)

am<sup>h</sup>a    mo-k            k<sup>h</sup>a-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 आप्नाक रसे रसे आप्नार घरेर बगलत जाबा ने चाहाचे ने। (MR.04.159)

uhā    apna-k            rʌse    rʌse    apna-r    g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er    bʌglʌt 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. गाअँर लोकला सुन्बा पाबे। (cf. MR.04.178)

gaʌ̃-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 सहबा नि पा'ए बगलाड छटपटिबा धरिचे।

b<sup>h</sup>ok    sʌhʌ-ba    ni    pa(r)-e            bʌglʌ-ɖʌ    c<sup>h</sup>ʌɽpʌɽi-ba    d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-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 हवा सकेचे... (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 उठ्बा *ceca-e ut<sup>h</sup>-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. बल्लिए उठ्बा *bal-<sup>ie</sup> ut<sup>h</sup>-ba* 'speak-CONJ.PTCL rise-INF' (i.e. 'speak up'; 'raise one's voice')  
 c. कानिए उठ्बा *kan-<sup>ie</sup> ut<sup>h</sup>-ba* 'cry-CONJ.PTCL rise-INF' (i.e. 'cry out aloud'; also nominalised form कानन उठाबा *kan-an ut<sup>h</sup>-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) \*बल्लि उठ्बा \**bal-i ut<sup>h</sup>-ba* \*'speak-ABS rise-INF'

Since the main verb can occur, with restrictions, in quasi-aspectual compound constructions, one can not postulate that the auxiliary-like verb in (360a-c) is mutually exclusive to quasi-aspectual auxiliaries. For example, the verbs बल- *baI-* '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. बलि दिले *baI-i di-I-I* 'speak-ABS AUX-PST-3'  
 b. कानि गेले *kan-i ge-I-I* 'cry-ABS AUX-PST-3'  
 c. \*चेचाए गेले / लिले / दिले \**ceca-e ge- / li- / di-I-I* \*'shout-ABS AUX-PST-3'

The verb उठ- *ut<sup>h</sup>-* '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.<sup>62</sup>

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 times<sup>63</sup>, whereas the derivational compound verb construction only occurs twice<sup>64</sup>. In addition, there are nine occurrences of the conjunct verb form  $V_{[STEM]} V$  (cf. section 3.7.3).<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> 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."

<sup>63</sup> Frequencies as follows: जा- *ja-* 'AUX' (n=159), फेका- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* 'AUX' (n=15), चुल- *cul-* (or, चल- *caI-*) 'AUX' (n=24), दि- *di-* 'AUX' (n=56), and लि- *li-* 'AUX' (n=7).

<sup>64</sup> Refer to:

(xvii) सचिणने देखले *sac-iene dek<sup>h</sup>-I-I* 'think-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3' (i.e. 'he thought'; cf. MR.04.112)

(xviii) विचार करिए देखेचे *bicar kaI-ie dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-e* 'thought do-CONJ.PTCL look-PRES-3' (i.e. 'he thought'; cf. MR.05.223)

<sup>65</sup> Refer to:

(xix) मार खा- *mar k<sup>h</sup>a-* 'beating eat-' (i.e. 'take a beating'), or मार खिला- *mar k<sup>h</sup>ila-* '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.<sup>66</sup> Examples of this type are:

- (363) a. आसिए पुग्वा *as-ie pug-ba* 'come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-INF' (cf. MR.05.107)  
 b. लिए आन्वा *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.<sup>67</sup> It would, however, seem that this construction is a forerunner of the quasi-aspectual auxiliary चुल- *cul-* (or, चल- *cal-*) '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 बाघ आर एकटा सोर आसिए पुगि गेलिक। (cf. MR.05.007)  
 ek-ṭa bag<sup>h</sup> ar ek-ṭa 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

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(xx) दउर मार- *daur mar-* 'running kill-' (i.e. 'run fast'; 'scurry') in MR.04.198, MR.05.054, MR.05.088 and MR.05.336

<sup>66</sup> 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 chorā* 'losing-left behind', *ā pahu cā* 'coming-arrived'."

<sup>67</sup> Also, consider the following example where it is clearly the second verb in the sequence which is the main verb:

(xxi) मरिए बचु *mar-ie bac-n-u* 'die-CONJ.PTCL save-PST-1sg' (i.e. 'I almost died'; cf. MR.05.073)

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 Rājbandhi 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 Rājbandhi 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 Rājbandhi, as with some other Indo-Aryan languages, is in the process of reanalysing the compound verb construction from a

semantic function to a more aspectual function.<sup>68</sup> 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 *p<sup>h</sup>eka-c-e* 'AUX-PRES-3'. Further study is required on this point, but one might perhaps deduce that double aspectual marking is ungrammatical.

(365) जब आस्बा देखि फेकाइचे (or perhaps, फेकाचे) तब... (DLR.04.019)

jAb as-ba dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-ic-e (or perhaps, p<sup>h</sup>eka-c-e) tAb...  
 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 आसि गेले।

pamAr-ʈA as-i ge-l-i  
 Pāmar-NCLS come-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 'Pāmar has come.'

b. \*पामरट नि आसि गेले।

\*pamAr-ʈA ni as-i ge-l-i  
 \*Pāmar-NCLS NEG come-ABS AUX-PST-3

c. \*पामरट आसि नि गेले।

\*pamAr-ʈA as-i ni ge-l-i  
 \*Pāmar-NCLS come-ABS NEG AUX-PST-3

d. पामरट नि आसे।

pamAr-ʈA ni as-e  
 Pāmar-NCLS NEG come-PST.HAB3  
 'Pāmar has not come.'

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<sup>68</sup> 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 आसिस्ले ते मुइ बेराइस्तु।

jei-k<sup>h</sup>una uhāe as-isl-ɪ te mui bera-isl-n-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 आसिए पुग्बार खुना उहाँए चलि आसिस्ले।

mui as-ie pug-ba-r k<sup>h</sup>una uhāe cɔl-i as-isl-ɪ  
 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 Rājbanṣhi "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

	Derivational compound	Quasi-aspectual compound
Structure	V-CONJ.PTCL V	V-ABS AUX AUX-ABS V
Verb collocation	More strict	Less strict
Statistical considerations	Less frequent (2 times in Appendix 3)	More frequent (261 times in Appendix 3)
Function	Semantic	Semantic and grammatical

3.7.9.2.2.1 Auxiliaries जा- *ja-*, फेका- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* and चुल- *cul-*

The compound verb in Rājibanshi 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- *ja-* 'AUX', फेका- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* 'AUX', and चुल- *cul-* (or, चल- *caI-*) '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 *maI-i gel* 'die-ABS AUX-PST3(far-eastern) ('he died'; cf. DLR.05.003a)  
 b. देखि फेकालिक *dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-I-ki* 'look-ABS AUX-PST-SA3' ('he saw'; cf. MR.04.003)  
 c. चुलि 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- *ja-* 'AUX' derives from the verb 'go' (369a). The verb चल- *caI-* also means 'go' (369b). The verb stem फाका- *p<sup>h</sup>aka-* 'throw' in (369c) is interchangeable with फेका- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* 'throw', though only the latter form is used as the quasi-aspectual auxiliary.

- (369) a. गेले *ge-I-I* 'go-PST-3' ('he went'; cf. MR.05.101)  
 b. चल *caI-A* 'go-IMP2pl' ('come on'; cf. MR.04.063)  
 c. फाकाए दु *p<sup>h</sup>aka-e d-u* 'throw-ABS AUX-SUBJ1sg' ('(if) I throw'; cf. MR.05.223)

In most cases the auxiliary जा- *ja-* 'AUX' collocates with intransitive verbs (370a-b), whereas फेका- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* '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 गेल *caI<sup>h</sup>-i ge-I* 'rise-ABS AUX-PST3' ('arose'; cf. DLR.05.010)  
 b. मरि गेलिक *maI-i ge-I-ki* 'die-ABS AUX-PST-SA3' ('he died'; cf. DLR.05.003b)  
 c. सुनि फेकाले *sun-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-I-I* 'hear-ABS AUX-PST-3' ('they heard'; cf. MR.04.196)  
 d. पक्रि फेकालिक *paIkr-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-I-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- *dek<sup>h</sup>*- means either 'look' (intransitive) or 'see' (transitive). Both cases correlate with the transitive auxiliary (371a) in the same way as the causative stem देखा- *dek<sup>h</sup>-a-* 'see-CAUS' (i.e. 'show') in (371b).

- (371) a. देखि फेकाले *dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-l* 'look/see-ABS AUX-PST-3' ('he looked/saw'; cf. MR.04.003 for example of transitive)  
 b. देखाए फेकाले *dek<sup>h</sup>-a-e p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-l* 'see-CAUS-ABS AUX-PST-3' ('he showed')

Conversely, the verb खा- *k<sup>h</sup>a-* 'eat' uses the intransitive auxiliary regardless of whether it is used in transitive or intransitive clauses (372).

- (372) उहाँक खाए गेला (GR.01.028)  
 uhā-k k<sup>h</sup>a-e ge-l  
 3sg[pro]-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PST3  
 'He ate him (up).'

The quasi-aspectual auxiliary चुल- *cul-* (or, चल- *cal-*) 'AUX' is only used with the two deictic verbs जा- *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 चुल- *cul-* and जा- *ja* with no change of meaning (373c-d), though (373d) does apparently sound like a Hindi loan. The construction चुलि *cul-i* 'AUX-ABS' possibly originates from a verb construction similar to the type आसिए पुग्बा *as-ie pug-ba* 'come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-INF' which was discussed in the previous section. In the current construction, however, the auxiliary चुल- *cul-* has no semantic content as such.

- (373) a. \*जाए गेले \**ja-e ge-l-l* \*'go-ABS AUX-PST-3'  
 b. चुलि गेले *cul-i ge-l-l* 'AUX-ABS go-PST-3' ('she left/went'; cf. MR.04.126)  
 c. चुलि आस्त्रे *cul-i as-b-l* 'AUX-ABS come-FUT-3' ('she came'; cf. MR.05.240)  
 d. आसि गेले *as-i ge-l-l* '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- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* '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 restricts the verb to the telic sense, 'to kill'. This does not apply to the auxiliary दि- *di-* 'AUX' as (374c) shows.



- (374) a. मारें (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 p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i  
 kill-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 's/he killed (it)'
- c. काकाडक दिक्कि मारिए (cf. Narratives 1 and 2 in section 8.1.5)  
 kaka-ḍa-k 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 आस्बा देखि फेकाइचे (or perhaps, फेकाचे) तब... (DLR.04.019)  
 jʌb as-ba dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-ic-e (or perhaps, p<sup>h</sup>eka-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 dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i  
 PCL DEM[pro/prox] see-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 'And (immediately; suddenly) it (the jackal) saw (it anyway).'
- c. ...अइदिन अइदिन बुराड चुलि आसेचे।  
 ...ʌi-din ʌi-din bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa cul-i 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).

(376) a. आर कुछु पर्ले सहयोग कर्बार लोक हए।

ar kuc<sup>h</sup>u p<sup>a</sup>r-le sa<sup>h</sup>ayog ka<sup>r</sup>-ba-r lok ha-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 कुछु परि जाले सहयोग कर्बार लोक हए। (DLR.03.006)

ar kuc<sup>h</sup>u p<sup>a</sup>r-i ja-le sa<sup>h</sup>ayog ka<sup>r</sup>-ba-r lok ha-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.'

### 3.7.9.2.2.2 Auxiliaries दि- di- and लि- li-

The two other auxiliaries which trigger absolutive marking on the matrix verb are दि- di- 'AUX' and लि- li- 'AUX'. (Note that both of these verbs are found in conjunct verb constructions, and that the auxiliary दि- di- '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

	Quasi-aspectual auxiliaries				
	Intransitive				
	चल- cAl-	जा- ja-	फेका- p <sup>h</sup> eka-	लि- li-	दि- di-
जा- ja- 'go'	✓	-	-	-	-
आस- as- 'come'	✓	-	-	-	-
मर- ma <sup>r</sup> - 'die'	n/a	✓	-	-	-
भास- b <sup>h</sup> as- 'float'	n/a	✓	-	-	-
देख- dek <sup>h</sup> - 'look'	n/a	-	✓	-	-
खा- k <sup>h</sup> a- 'eat'	n/a	✓	-	-	-
	Transitive				
	चल- cAl-	जा- ja-	फेका- p <sup>h</sup> eka-	लि- li-	दि- di-
बुन- bun- 'plant'	n/a	-	✓	-	✓
मार- ma <sup>r</sup> - 'kill'	n/a	-	✓	-	✓
देख- dek <sup>h</sup> - 'see'	n/a	-	✓	✓	-
खा- k <sup>h</sup> a- 'eat'	n/a	✓	-	✓	-

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 दि- di- 'AUX' and लि- li- '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 Rājbanśhi counterparts function in a similar fashion. The semantics of the verbs are दि- *di*- 'give' and लि- *li*- 'take'. This mirrors their use as benefactives: the auxiliary दि- *di*- 'AUX' rendering benefaction for others, and the auxiliary लि- *li*- 'AUX' for self-benefaction/self-directed action.

Benefaction (or, malefaction in negative contexts) with the auxiliary दि- *di*- 'AUX' can be seen in example (377a-b). In (377b) benefaction is marked by both the auxiliary and the secondary agreement marker -कि -*ki* 'SA3'.

(377) a. उड पखि उड कडिक दसा ठिन लराए दिले। (cf. DLR.05.032)

u-ḍa                      pʌkʰi u-ḍa                      kʌḍi-k      ḍʌsra ʈʰin      lʌra-e      di-l-i  
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. अइठिना हागिए हागिए राखि दिक्कि। (MR.04.027)

ʌi-ʈʰina                      haɡ-ie                      haɡ-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- *li*- '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 उड दुक बासिड चेप करे पक्रि लिक्कि

u-ḍa      duk      basi-ḍa      cep      kʌre      pʌkr-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 तुइ बाहा सादि करि लिलो। (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 लिबा लागे ने।

kʰa-e      li-ba      lag-e                      ne  
eat-ABS AUX-INF should-PRES3 PCL  
'You should eat it up (yourself).'

- d. खाए जाबा लागे ने।  
 k<sup>h</sup>a-e ja-ba lag-e ne  
 eat-ABS AUX-INF should-PRES3 PCL  
 'You should eat (finish) it up.'

Finally, the auxiliary लि- *li-* '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- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* 'AUX' would have been used in (379c) to denote "completed action".

- (379) a. मुइ तोक ठगेन्कुन।  
 mui tok t<sup>h</sup>ʌg-en-ku-n  
 1sg[pro] 2sg[pro]-DAT cheat-PST-SA2sg-1sg  
 'I cheated you.'
- b. मुइ तोक ठगि लिन्कुन।  
 mui tok t<sup>h</sup>ʌg-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 किताप उहाँ एकेछिने परि लेछे।  
 uk<sup>h</sup>an kitap uhā ek = e-c<sup>h</sup>in = e pʌr<sup>h</sup>-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 Rājibanshi analytic passive is discussed in section 7.5.1, but suffice it here to mention that the verb जा- *ja-* 'go' is used as a passive auxiliary. The matrix verb which precedes the passive auxiliary is marked with the past participle -आ(ल) -*a(l)* '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 ताहूँ नि कचु कुछु देखा जाछे। (cf. MR.04.031)  
 ...ap tahu ni kʌcu kuc<sup>h</sup>u dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 ...PCL still NEG [kacu]vegetable some see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
 '...and still no [kacu]vegetable could be seen.'
- b. अइ उड गेसट देखा जाछे ते? (MR.04.171)  
 ʌi u-ɖʌ ges-tʌ dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 [dek<sup>h</sup>a:ec<sup>h</sup>e] which almost resembles a morphological passive, with *-ae* as the passive morpheme.<sup>69</sup> 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 ग- *g-* 'PASS.AUX<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>' is used.

### 3.7.10 Non-finite forms

The following non-finite forms have been encountered in Rājbanshi:

- i. Infinitive -ब -*ba* 'INF'
- ii. Absolutive -इ -*i* 'ABS'
- iii. Conjunctive participle -इए(ने) -*ie(ne)* 'CONJ.PTCL'
- iv. Continuous participle -ते -*te* 'CONT.PTCL'
- v. Past participle -आ(ल) -*a(l)* 'PST.PTCL'
- vi. Conditional participle -ले -*le* 'COND.PTCL'
- vii. (Intentional participle -ने -*ne* (loan))

Each of these will be considered in the following respective sections.

#### 3.7.10.1 Infinitive

The infinitive marker in Rājbanshi is -ब -*ba* 'INF'. The *-b* element in this infinitive suffix is often pronounced as a bilabial approximant [w]. Some writers represent it as -ब [-wa] when following stem-final vowels, and -उब [-uwa] when following consonants.

- (381) a. खाब *k<sup>h</sup>a-ba* [k<sup>h</sup>ab/wa] 'eat-INF'  
 b. ठुक्ब *t<sup>h</sup>uk-ba* [t<sup>h</sup>ukba / t<sup>h</sup>ukuwa] 'hit-INF'  
 c. लेप्ब *lep-ba* [lepba / lepuwa] 'plaster\_with\_soil\_and\_dung-INF'

The infinitive suffix precedes case marking:

- (382) a. काम्राब *kamra-ba-r* 'bite-INF-GEN'  
 b. भास्ब *b<sup>h</sup>as-ba-r* 'float-INF-GEN'

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<sup>69</sup> The geminate /a:/ in [dek<sup>h</sup>a:ec<sup>h</sup>e] 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. कर्बा लागे *kAr-ba lag-e* 'do-INF should-PRES3' (DLR.04.017)  
 b. सुन्वा पार्वे *sun-ba par-b-I* 'hear-INF can-FUT-3' (cf. MR.04.178)  
 c. कान्वा दिबन *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- *ja-* 'go<sub>[PRES.STEM]</sub>' versus ग- *g-* 'go<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>'. Compare this with (384c) where the stem of the verb खा- *k<sup>h</sup>a-* 'eat' remains unaltered.

- (384) a. ना ते गेवे कर्लो...  
 na te ge-b=e kAr-I-o...  
 neither go<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-INF = EMPH do-PST-2sg...  
 'Neither did you go....'
- b. गेवे नि कर्लो ते किखान।  
 ge-b=e ni kAr-I-o te ki-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 go<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-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 खावे कर्लो...  
 na te k<sup>h</sup>a-b=e kAr-I-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  
 गेबअ नि कर्लो, जाबाअ नि दिलो।  
 ge-b=Λ ni kAr-I-o, ja-ba=Λ ni  
 go<sub>[PST.STEM]</sub>-INF = CNJ NEG do-PST-2sg, go<sub>[PRES.STEM]</sub>-INF = CNJ NEG  
 di-I-o  
 let-PST-2sg  
 'You neither went, nor did you let (anyone else) go.'

## b. present tense on finite verb

जाबअ नि करेचित, जाबाअ नि देचित।

ja-b =  $\Lambda$  ni k $\Lambda$ r-ec-it, ja-ba =  $\Lambda$  ni  
 go<sub>[PRES.STEM]</sub>-INF = CNJ NEG do-PRES-2sg go<sub>[PRES.STEM]</sub>-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

खाबअ नि करेचित खाबाअ नि देचित।

k<sup>h</sup>a-b =  $\Lambda$  ni k $\Lambda$ r-ec-it k<sup>h</sup>a-ba =  $\Lambda$  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 = e 'INF = EMPH') is phonetically contrastive with the future 3p marking (-बे -b- $\text{\AA}$  '-FUT-3').

## 3.7.10.2 Absolutive

The absolutive is -इ -i '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- h $\Lambda$ - copula (386c).

- (386) a. पक्री फेकालिकि p $\Lambda$ kr-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki 'catch-ABS AUX-PST-SA3' (cf. MR.05.013)  
 b. काम्राए लिछे kamra-e l-ic<sup>h</sup>-e 'bite-ABS AUX-PERF-3' (cf. MR.04.200)  
 c. हए/इ गेल h $\Lambda$ -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- p<sup>h</sup>eka- 'AUX'  
 c. दि- di- 'AUX'  
 d. लि- li- 'AUX'

In addition, the absolutive attaches to the quasi-aspectual auxiliary चुल- cul- (or, चल- ca $\text{\AA}$ -) 'AUX'. This then precedes the main verb.

- (388) चुलि जाछे cul-i ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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(ने) *-ie(ne)* 'CONJ.PTCL' after consonant-final stems, and -ए(ने) *-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 *k<sup>h</sup>a-e ge-l* 'eat-ABS AUX-PST3'  
 b. खाए गेल *k<sup>h</sup>a-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 बुरिलाक गेलिक रिस उठिए। (MR.04.045)  
 t<sub>A</sub> bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k ge-l-ki ris uṭ<sup>h</sup>-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 बुरिलाक रिस उठि गेलिक।  
 t<sub>A</sub> bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k ris uṭ<sup>h</sup>-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 (Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi).

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 <sup>ˈ</sup> in the following examples.)

- (391) a. <sup>ˈ</sup>ठुकि दिले (Korobāri)  
<sup>ˈ</sup>tʰuk-i di-l-ɪ  
 'hit-ABS AUX-PST-3
- b. <sup>ˈ</sup>ठुकिए दिले (Korobāri)  
<sup>ˈ</sup>tʰuk-ie di-l-ɪ  
 'hit-ABS AUX-PST-3
- c. ठुकिए <sup>ˈ</sup>दिले (Korobāri)  
 tʰuk-ie <sup>ˈ</sup>di-l-ɪ  
 hit-CONJ.PTCL 'give-PST-3
- d. <sup>ˈ</sup>ठुकि दिले (Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi)  
<sup>ˈ</sup>tʰuk-i di-l-ɪ  
 'hit-ABS AUX-PST-3
- e. ठुकिए <sup>ˈ</sup>दिले (Ghailāḍubbā and Lakharigaddi)  
 tʰuk-ie <sup>ˈ</sup>di-l-ɪ  
 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 -ए -e due to the stem-final vowel, and therefore the verb construction खाए गेले *k<sup>h</sup>a-e ge-l-ɪ* has two meanings which are identified from prosody.

- (392) a. उहाँ चिट्ठिखान लेखिए (तेखिए तने) <sup>ˈ</sup>दिले।  
 uhā ciṭṭʰi-k<sup>h</sup>an lek<sup>h</sup>-ie (tek<sup>h</sup>-ie tane) <sup>ˈ</sup>di-l-ɪ  
 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 चिट्ठिखान लेखि दिले।  
 uhā ciṭṭhi-kʰan 'lekʰ-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  
 3sg[pro] rice [echo]rice eat-CONJ.PTCL 'go-PST-3  
 'He ate the rice and all (and then) he left.'

- b. उहाँ भात तात 'खाए गेले।  
 uhā bʰat tat 'kʰa-e ge-l-i  
 3sg[pro] rice [echo]rice 'eat-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 'He ate up the rice and all.'

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 मरिअ जाबा पारे। (cf. DLR.05.049)  
 lok-tʰa maɾ-i=ʌ ja-ba paɾ-e  
 man-NCLS die-ABS=CNJ AUX-INF can-PRES3  
 'The man could even die.'

- b. Accusation:  
 तोर गाएड मोर गहमखान खाए गेले।  
 to-r gae-ɖʌ mo-r gʌhʌm-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:

गहमखाने खाल्कु ने, धानला ते खाए नि गेल्कु?

gʌhʌm-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 Rājibanshi 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 *-ī* (O., A. *-ī*). B. has *-e*, G. *-ī(ne)*, S. *-ī/-ē*, M. *-ūn*, K. *-ith*, Si. *-(l)lā* (Literary *-ā/-a/-ī*), but in H. and P., which use the extensions *kar*, *-ke*, one form (the "short" form) of the *Conjunctive Participle*, having lost the *-ī*, coincides with the verb stem. In Nepali the *Absolutive* in *-ī* is distinct from the *Conjunctive Participle* in *-era*, *-ī*, *-īkana*."

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 *-इए -ie* 'CONJ.PTCL'. The *-इए -ie* morpheme has the allomorph *-ए -e* which is used after stem-final vowels. Northern Jhāpā dialects (Lakharigaddi and Ghailāḍubbā) have the optional form *इएने -iene* (possibly originating from *इए तने -ie tane* 'CONJ.PTCL then'), and also *-एने -ene* after stem-final vowels. The Rangeli (Morang) dialect uses the form *-(इ)एना -(i)ena* (395c), whereas the Dādar Bairiā (Morang) dialect uses the form *-(ए)के -(e)ke* (395d).<sup>70</sup>

- (395) a. आसिए(ने) *as-ie(ne)* 'come-CONJ.PTCL' (Lakharigaddi, Ghailāḍubbā, Korobāri)  
 b. खाए(ने) *k<sup>h</sup>a-e(ne)* 'eat-CONJ.PTCL' (Lakharigaddi, Ghailāḍubbā, Korobāri)  
 c. आसिएना *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 *-(इ)हिन -(ih)in* 'CONJ.PTCL[EMPH]'. Whether other dialects also contain this feature is currently unknown.

<sup>70</sup> Toulmin (2006:220-223) maintains that in the Rangeli ("RL" / Morang) and Mahespur ("MH" / Jhāpā) dialects there are three "perfective morphemes":

	In adverbial clauses	In compound verbs	In simple verb formations
RL	<i>-[j]ε = k<sup>h</sup>una</i>	<i>-(j)ε</i>	<i>-i</i>
MH	<i>-[j]ε = ne</i>	<i>-(j)ε</i>	<i>-i</i>

According to my own analysis, the form *-इएने -iene* is as a variant form of *-इए -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 *-इ -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.

(396) a. भातला खाहिन (or, खाइन) जाम।

b<sup>h</sup>at-la k<sup>h</sup>a-hin (or, k<sup>h</sup>a-in) ja-m  
 rice-PL eat-CONJ.PTCL[EMPH] (or, eat-CONJ.PTCL[EMPH]) go-FUT1sg  
 'I will (certainly) eat the rice, and then leave.' (Or, 'I certainly won't leave before first eating the rice.')

b. कामला करिहिन जामिन।

kam-la kar-ihin ja-m-i-n  
 work-PL do-CONJ.PTCL[EMPH] go-FUT-SA3-1sg  
 'I will (certainly) finish work (on his/her/their behalf) and then leave.'

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'.

(397) आर जाएने एकदम कानिस। (cf. MR.04.050)

ar ja-ene ekdam kan-is  
 and go-CONJ.PTCL very cry-SUBJ2sg  
 'And having gone<sub>[ACTION1]</sub>, cry really hard<sub>[ACTION2]</sub>.'

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 Rājibanshi 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.

- (398) a. खन्जराडत घाँस राखिए गरु भइसलाक खिला जाछे। (MR.02.028)  
 k<sup>h</sup>ʌnjʌrɑ-ɖʌ-t                      g<sup>h</sup>ās   rak<sup>h</sup>-ie                      gʌru   b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-lɑ-k  
 feeding\_trough-NCLS-LOC grass put-CONJ.PTCL bullock water\_buffalo-PL-DAT  
 k<sup>h</sup>il-a                      ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 feed-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
 'The cattle are fed by putting grass or straw in to the feeding trough.'
- b. हाँसिए पागल (हचित) धुदि छागल।  
 has-ie                      paɡʌl   (hʌ-c-it),                      d<sup>h</sup>udi                      c<sup>h</sup>ʌɡʌl  
 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. मुइ चखुला मुझिए बेराचु।  
 mui                      cʌk<sup>h</sup>u-lɑ   muj<sup>h</sup>-ie                      bera-c-u  
 1sg[pro] eys-PL close-CONJ.PTCL walk-PRES-1sg  
 'I walk / am walking with my eyes closed.'
- d. जेहेने बाघड थिप्रिऐने जाचिक सोरटर पर... (cf. MR.05.031)  
 jehene bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ                      t<sup>h</sup>iɸr-iene                      ja-c-ki                      sor-tʌ-r                      pʌr  
 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. मुइ नि परिए आजि दुक पाचु।  
 mui                      ni                      pʌr<sup>h</sup>-ie                      aʃ<sup>h</sup>i                      duk                      pa-c-u  
 1sg[pro] NEG read-CONJ.PTCL today trouble receive-PRES-1sg  
 'Because I didn't study, I am having problems today.'
- b. कियोँ लोकट मर्बे अप्सोस करिए? (cf. DLR.05.050)  
 kiā                      lok-tʌ                      mʌr-b-i                      ʌpsos                      kʌr-ie  
 why man-NCLS die-FUT-3 grief do-CONJ.PTCL  
 'Why should the man die due to / because of grief?'
- c. त अइदिन से लोकट उड पाएने ... मनड सुना खुसि हल्लिक। (cf. DLR.05.060)  
 tʌ                      ʌi-din                      se                      lok-tʌ                      u-ɖʌ                      pa-ene  
 PCL DEM[rem/emph]-day ABL man-NCLS DEM[rem]-NCLS get-CONJ.PTCL  
 mʌʌn-ɖʌ                      suna                      k<sup>h</sup>usi                      hʌ-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- *c<sup>h</sup>*- 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 गारिखानत एकटा राजबंसि बेर्छानि बठिए छे... (cf. MR.02.002)  
 गऱु गऱि-क<sup>h</sup>ऱन-त एक-तऱ रऱजबऱऱसि बेर<sup>h</sup>ऱनि बऱत<sup>h</sup>-िए *c<sup>h</sup>*-e  
 bullock cart-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS Rājbanṣi woman sit-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3  
 'There is a Rājbanṣi woman sitting on the bullock cart...'
- b. आसिए छे।  
 ऱस-िए *c<sup>h</sup>*-e  
 come-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3  
 'He (is) here.' / 'He has come.' (Lit. 'Having come, he is here.')
- c. आर एकटा बच्चा देखिए छे। (cf. DLR.01.003)  
 ऱर एक-तऱ बऱऱ *c<sup>h</sup>*ऱऱ देक<sup>h</sup>-िए *c<sup>h</sup>*-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. मिलिएने *mil-iene* 'together' (lit. 'unite-CONJ.PTCL')  
 b. करे *kare* 'ADVL' (probably from करिए *kar-ie* 'do-CONJ.PTCL')  
 c. कहे(ने) *kah-e(ne)* 'CMPL' (lit. 'say-CONJ.PTCL')  
 d. घुरिए *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. छेटियाला एकदम भागते दिसा नि पाचे। (MR.04.201)  
 क<sup>h</sup>eṭiṭa-la ekd̪m b<sup>h</sup>ag-te diṣa ni p̪a-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.')

- b. ...गटलाए भुक्ते भुक्ते खेटियालाक पिटाए लिछे। (cf. MR.04.199)  
 ...gʌt-la=e b<sup>h</sup>uk-te b<sup>h</sup>uk-te k<sup>h</sup>etia-la-k piṭa-e l-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 ...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. एनेडे कर्ते कर्ते... (cf. DLR.05.049)  
 eneṇ=e kaṛ-te kaṛ-te  
 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-  
 rʌh(ʌ)- 'AUX(CONT)' in which case it denotes continuous aspect.

- (403) a. समय समयत आस्ते रहिस। (cf. DLR.03.010)  
 samʌe samʌe-t as-te rʌh-is  
 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)  
 tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a-dʌ mane juā-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-te  
 PCL old\_man-NCLS PCL son\_in\_law-GEN house go-CONT-PTCL  
 rʌh-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

	present continuous	past continuous
1sg	हुक्ते छु <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-u</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES1sg'	हुक्ते छिनु <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-in-u</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-1sg'
2sg	हुक्ते छिस (छिल) <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-is/t</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES2sg'	हुक्ते छिलो <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-il-o</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-2sg'
3sg	हुक्ते छे <i>t<sup>h</sup>ukte c<sup>h</sup>-e</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES3'	हुक्ते छिले <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-il-i</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-3'
1pl	हुक्ते छि <i>t<sup>h</sup>ukte c<sup>h</sup>-i</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES1pl'	हुक्ते छिन <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-in-ʌ</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-1pl'
2pl	हुक्ते छन <i>t<sup>h</sup>ukte c<sup>h</sup>-ʌn</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES2pl'	हुक्ते छिलन <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-il-ʌn</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-2pl'
3pl	हुक्ते छे <i>t<sup>h</sup>ukte c<sup>h</sup>-e</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PRES3'	हुक्ते छिले <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk-te c<sup>h</sup>-il-i</i> 'hit-CONT.PTCL be-PST-3'

Initially this would appear to function as a continuous aspect. In the Jhāpā dialects this construction is generally considered a loan.<sup>71</sup> 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 *-al* 'PST.PTCL', and has a variant -आ *-a* '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 *-a* '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 *-a* 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 *-a*, while perfectivity in the suffix -आ(ल) *-a(l)* in (404b-c) is self-evident.

- (404) a. माटिया भुइ  
 maṭi-a b<sup>h</sup>ui  
 soil-ADJR ground  
 'soily ground'
- b. सरा(ल) आलुला  
 saɾ-a(l) alu-la  
 rot-PST.PTCL potatoes-PL  
 'rotten potatoes'
- c. उस्ना(ल) उस्ना(ल) कचुला (cf. MR.04.026, MR.04.042)  
 usn-a(l) usn-a(l) kacu-la  
 boil-PST.PTCL boil-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL  
 'boiled [kacu]vegetables'

The distinction between the deverbaliser -आ *-a* 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 *-a* in the analytic passive construction is not the past participle but the deverbaliser -आ *-a* 'DVBL'. This observation

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<sup>71</sup> Nepali, for example, has a similar construction:

(xxii) आउँदै छु aũ-dəi c<sup>h</sup>-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

\*dek<sup>h</sup>-al ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 निकलाल जावे नि? (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* can not be used with the reduplicated participles in (407a); whether this is due to lexicalisation of परा लिखा *pʌr<sup>h</sup>-a lik<sup>h</sup>-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. परा लिखा लोक

pʌr<sup>h</sup>-a lik<sup>h</sup>-a lok  
read-PST.PTCL write-PST.PTCL man  
'an educated person'

b. खसि काटा तेरुवाल

k<sup>h</sup>ʌsi kaɾ-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 affect 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 दे लेपाल छे। (MR.03.005)

u-la k<sup>h</sup>ama-la(-t) maɾi de lep-al c<sup>h</sup>-e  
DEM[rem]-PL pillar-PL(-LOC) soil INSTR plaster-PST.PTCL be-PRES3  
'Those pillars are plastered with soil.'

- b. चालखान कनेक मात्र छा'अल छे। (MR.01.008)  
 cal-k<sup>h</sup>an kʌnek matrʌ c<sup>h</sup>a(r)-al c<sup>h</sup>-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* *-le* 'COND.PTCL' to the verb stem. Note that the morpheme contrasts with past tense 3p marking *-ले* *-l-i* [lɪ] 'PST-3', even though the orthographic representation is the same.

- (409) a. ते हेनड हले... (cf. GR.01.022)  
 te henʌŋ hʌ-le  
 PCL like\_this be-COND.PTCL  
 'Well, if that is so...'
- b. आला खाले इड बुरिक माजा नि आस्बे। (cf. MR.04.114)  
 a<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-le i-dʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-k maja ni as-b-ɪ  
 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 बाला -ne wala* 'NML CL' is a loan from Hindi or Nepali, it is found to be in frequent use in contemporary Rājibanshi. 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 कर्ने बाला तुइ काहाँए?  
 mo-r nisap<sup>h</sup> kʌr-ne wala tui kahae  
 1sg[obl]-GEN judgement do-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) 2sg[pro] who  
 'Who are you to judge me?'
- b. तोक छर्ने बाला नि छु मुइ। (cf. GR.01.022)  
 to-k c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ne wala ni c<sup>h</sup>-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)  
 ar mui to-k c<sup>h</sup>ar-im ni  
 and 1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT spare-FUT1sg NEG  
 'And I will not spare you.'
- b. मुइ आस्ने बाला छित्तु।  
 mui as-ne wala c<sup>h</sup>u  
 1sg[pro] come-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) be-PRES1sg  
 'I was about to come.'

## 4. Adjectives

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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 Rājban̄shi language. "Adjectives" are referred to here as those words which are primarily adjectives, such as बड *baḷa* '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 *bur<sup>h</sup>a* 'old\_man (noun); old (male; adjective)', and चेडरा *ceṅra* '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 Rājban̄shi 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

Semantic category	Adjective	Noun-like adjectives
Core semantic types		
Dimension	बड (बाडा) <i>baḷa</i> / <i>bara</i> 'large' छट <i>c<sup>h</sup>ḷa</i> 'short' लाम <i>lam<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'long'	[बाच्चा <i>bača</i> 'small' (corresponding noun: 'child' from Hindi loan बाच्चा / बच्चा / बच्छ 'boy; child; baby')]

Table 50. (cont.)

Age	नाया <i>naya</i> 'new' पुर्ना <i>purna</i> 'old'	पेद्रा <i>pedra</i> 'tiny' (corresponding noun: 'newly_born_baby') बुरा <i>bur<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'old' (corresponding noun: 'old_man') बुरि <i>bur<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'old(FEM)' (corresponding noun: 'old_woman') चेडरा <i>ceṅra</i> 'young' (corresponding noun: 'youngster') छुआ (छुवा) <i>c<sup>h</sup>ua</i> 'young' (corresponding noun: 'child')
Value	आच्छा <i>acc<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'good' बेन्डा <i>benda</i> '(ritually)_unclean' एठ <i>eṭ<sup>h</sup>ḷ</i> '(socially)_unclean'	फुस <i>p<sup>h</sup>us</i> 'without_value' (corresponding noun possibly 'thatch')
Colour	लाल <i>lal</i> 'red' काल <i>kaḷa</i> 'black' खइरा <i>k<sup>h</sup>aira</i> 'grey' साफा <i>sap<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'white'	
Peripheral semantic types		
Physical property	पुराट <i>paraṭ</i> 'hard' मट <i>maṭḷa</i> 'fat' पत्ला <i>patla</i> 'thin' भर्ति <i>b<sup>h</sup>arti</i> 'full' घन <i>g<sup>h</sup>ana</i> 'dense' आन्धर <i>and<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'dark' जानाक <i>jan<sup>h</sup>ak</i> 'light'	
Human propensity	अन्सट <i>ansaṭa</i> 'bored' आल्सिया <i>alsia</i> 'lazy'	दोमन <i>doman</i> 'uncertain' (originally <i>do man</i> 'two mind')
Speed	ढिल्ला <i>ḍ<sup>h</sup>illa</i> 'slow' कारा <i>kara</i> 'fast'	
Others		
Difficulty	आसान <i>asan</i> 'easy' कठिन <i>kaṭ<sup>h</sup>in</i> 'difficult[loan]' मुस्किल <i>muskil</i> 'difficult[loan]' सुबिस्ता <i>subista</i> 'easy[loan]'	
Similarity	<i>not found (only loans)</i>	
Qualification	<i>not found (only loans)</i>	
Quantification	<i>not found (only loans)</i>	
Position	<i>not found (only loans)</i>	
Cardinal numbers	सिर <i>sir</i> 'first' सेसा <i>sesa</i> 'last' पहिला <i>pahila</i> (पहिल्लिया <i>pahlil<sup>h</sup>ia</i> ) 'first' अन्तिम(र) <i>antim(-er)</i> 'last'	

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 *p<sup>h</sup>us* '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 चरफटिया *carp<sup>h</sup>ṭi-ia* '[carp<sup>h</sup>ṭi]-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

Rājbandhi has an open set of adjectives, such as *सुरु suru* 'thin', *लाल lal* 'red' and *पुर्ना purna* 'old'. In addition to these adjectives a closed set of nouns are used as adjectives. Consider the noun *चेडरा ceṅra* 'young\_man (noun); young (adj)' which functions as a noun in (412a) and an adjective denoting 'young' in (412b-c).

- (412) a. उड चेडरा (cf. MR.05.041)  
 u-ḍa ceṅra  
 that-NCLS young\_man  
 'that young man'
- b. चेडरा लोकेर चुलि (cf. MR.05.253)  
 ceṅra lok-er culi  
 young(man) man-GEN hair  
 'the hair of a young man'
- c. एकटा लोक चेडरा छे। (cf. MR.01.002)  
 ek-ṭa lok ceṅra c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 one-NCLS man young be-PRES3  
 'One man is young.'

The same applies for certain feminine nouns.

- (413) एकटा बुरि छुरि  
 ek-ṭa bur<sup>h</sup>i c<sup>h</sup>uri  
 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 arāna*, which by itself can mean a specific type of wild buffalo, is functioning in (414a) as a modifying element of the noun *भइस b<sup>h</sup>ais* '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 ḍ<sup>h</sup>eri* '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 भइसला (cf. MR.05.119)  
 arāna b<sup>h</sup>ais-la  
 type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL  
 'wild buffaloes'

- b. पुवाल ढेरिड (cf. MR.02.005)  
 pual d<sup>h</sup>eri-dΛ  
 straw pile-NCLS  
 'straw pile' (or, 'the pile of straw')
- c. गोरोल ठेङ्गि  
 gorol t<sup>h</sup>eq-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 ढेरिड पुवाल छे...  
 \*ek-ta d<sup>h</sup>eri pual c<sup>h</sup>-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 बुरा *bur<sup>h</sup>a* 'old<sub>man</sub> (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. बुरा लोकट गित गिदाचे।  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a lok-tΛ git gida-c-e  
 old person(man)-NCLS song sing-PRES-3  
 'The old person(man) is singing a song.'
- b. बुराड गित गिदाचे।  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-dΛ git gida-c-e  
 old<sub>man</sub>-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 चेडरा *ceṅra* 'young\_man (noun); young (adj)' is used in (417) in an adjectival sense can be seen from the use of the descriptive copula छ- *c<sup>h</sup>*-, rather than the stative copula ह- *h*Λ-.

(417) एकटा लोक चेडरा छे... (cf. MR.01.002)

ek-ṭa      lok    ceṅra    c<sup>h</sup>-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 *c<sup>h</sup>ṭ* '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 *-ḍ* 'NCLS' agrees with the noun लोक *lok* 'man; person'. Likewise, the noun classifier -खान *-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'NCLS' in example (418b) refers to the noun कलम *kalam* 'pen'.

(418) a. जाहें बड हचे छटडक खाए जाछे। (cf. GR.01.029)

jahe baṭa    hΛ-c-e      c<sup>h</sup>ṭṭ-ḍ-k      k<sup>h</sup>a-e    ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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, पुर्नाखान काम नि लागेचे।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an,                      purna-k<sup>h</sup>an 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.



(419) a. काचए कचुला (cf. MR.04.009)  
 kacΛ = e                      kΛcu-la  
 uncooked = EMPH [kacu]vegetable-PL  
 'unripe/uncooked [kacu]vegetables'

b. इला कचुला काचए।  
 i-la                      kΛcu-la                      kacΛ = 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 *kacΛ* '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 कचु काचए छे।  
 i-la                      kΛcu-la                      kacΛ = e                      c<sup>h</sup>-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 बुरा लोक (cf. DLR.01.002)  
 ek-ṭa                      bur<sup>h</sup>a lok  
 one-NCLS old    man  
 'an old man'

b. एकटा लोक बुरा छे। (cf. MR.01.002)  
 ek-ṭa                      lok    bur<sup>h</sup>a    c<sup>h</sup>-e...  
 one-NCLS man old\_man be-PRES3...  
 'One man is old.'

c. इड हत्ति बुरा छे।  
 i-ḍΛ                      hḷtti                      bur<sup>h</sup>a    c<sup>h</sup>-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 *acc<sup>h</sup>a*, 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).

(422) a. केन्ति अच्छाए नि छकन! (cf. MR.04.166)

kenti acc<sup>h</sup>a=e ni c<sup>h</sup>-a-kan

how good=EMPH NEG be-PRES-SA2pl

'It is really no good (for you)!'

b. अच्छाए देखा जाछे। (cf. DLR.03.004)

acc<sup>h</sup>a=e dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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

Adjectives			
	Noun	Adjective	Adverb
बड <i>baḍa</i> 'big; (a) big (one)'	✓ (GR.01.029)	✓ (MR.04.075)	×
आच्छा <i>acc<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'good; (a) good (one)'	✓ (DLR.04.006)	✓ (MR.05.194)	×
आच्छाए <i>acc<sup>h</sup>a=e</i> 'good=EMPH/-ADVL'; 'well'	×	✓ (MR.04.166)	✓ (DLR.03.004)
Noun-like adjectives			
	Noun	Adjective	Adverb
बुरा <i>bur<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'old man; old'	✓ (MR.04.075)	✓ (DLR.01.002)	×
बुरि <i>bur<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'old woman'	✓ (MR.04.075)	✓	×
बाच्चा <i>baça</i> 'child; small' (loan from Hindi बाच्चा / बच्चा / बच्छ)	✓ (GR.01.006)	✓ (DLR.04.008)	×
Noun compounds			
	Noun	Adjective	Adverb
Copulative compound			
<i>first element</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>second element</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>compound as a whole</i>	✓	✓	✓
Endocentric compound			
<i>first element (property)</i>	✓	×	×
<i>second element</i>	✓	×	×
<i>compound as a whole</i>	✓	×	×
Exocentric compound (bahuvrīhi)			
<i>first element</i>	✓	✓	×
<i>second element</i>	✓	×	×
<i>compound as a whole</i>	✓	(?)	×

#### 4.4 Comparative and superlative

With a lack of comparative inflection, the comparative and the superlative constructions in Rājibanshi 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 *se* 'ABL'. The quality follows the marker. The use of the copula is optional.

(423) इड कलम उड कलम से मँट (छे)।

[i-ɖʌ                      kʌlʌm]              [u-ɖʌ                      kʌlʌm]  
 [DEM[prox]-NCLS pen]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> [DEM[rem]-NCLS pen]<sub>[STANDARD]</sub>  
 se                      mʌʈʌ                      (c<sup>h</sup>-e)  
 ABL<sub>[MARKER]</sub> thick<sub>[QUALITY]</sub> (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 जदि याहाँ अनडति सुन्दर लोक देखे... (cf. DLR.06.065)

...mo-r                                      se                      jʌdi yaha  
 ...1sg[obl]-GEN<sub>[STANDARD]</sub> ABL<sub>[MARKER]</sub> if DEM[pro/prox]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub>  
 [ʌnʌʈti    sundʌr    lok]                      dek<sup>h</sup>-e...  
 [like\_that beautiful man]<sub>[QUALITY]</sub> see-SUBJ3...  
 '...if she sees a more handsome man than me...'

b. जदि याहाँ मोर से अनडति सुन्दर लोक देखे...

jʌdi yaha                                      mo-r                                      se  
 if DEM[pro/prox]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> 1sg[obl]-GEN<sub>[STANDARD]</sub> ABL<sub>[MARKER]</sub>  
 [ʌnʌʈti    sundʌr    lok]                      dek<sup>h</sup>-e...  
 [like\_that beautiful man]<sub>[QUALITY]</sub> see-SUBJ3...  
 '...if she sees a more handsome man than me...'

In a similar fashion, the superlative is constructed by placing the quantifier सभारे *sab<sup>h</sup>a-r=e* 'all-GEN=EMPH' (425a), or Hindi सब *sab* '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.

(425) a. इड कलम सभारे से मँट छे।

[i-ɖʌ kʌlʌm] sʌb<sup>h</sup>a-r=e se  
 [DEM[prox]-NCLS pen]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> all-GEN = EMPH<sub>[STANDARD]</sub> ABL<sub>[MARKER]</sub>  
 mʌʈʌ (c<sup>h</sup>-e)  
 thick<sub>[QUALITY]</sub> (be-PRES3)  
 'This pen is (the) thickest.'

b. सब से आगुति माने उहाँ आसे। (MR.05.159)

sʌb se aguti mane  
 every<sub>[STANDARD]</sub> ABL<sub>[MARKER]</sub> in\_front<sub>[QUALITY]</sub> PCL  
 uhā as-e  
 3sg[pro]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> come-PST.HAB3  
 'She used to come in front of all of them.' (Lit. 'In the frontest she used to come.')

The comparative is used in the adverbial constructions कम से कम *kʌm se kʌm* 'less ABL less' (i.e. 'at least') in (426a), and आधाड़ि से बेसि *ad<sup>h</sup>aṅi se besi* 'half ABL more' (i.e. 'more than half') in (426b).<sup>72</sup>

(426) a. कम से कम चार पाच हात हइ जाचि चुलिला। (cf. MR.05.191)

kʌm se kʌm car pac hat hʌ-i  
 less<sub>[STANDARD]</sub> ABL<sub>[MARKER]</sub> less<sub>[QUALITY]</sub> four five hand be-ABS  
 ja-p-ki culi-la  
 AUX-FUT-SA3 hair-PL  
 'His hair became at least four/five hands long.'

b. मनड याहाँर आधाड़ि से बेसि हइ गेलिक रानि बन्बारे। (cf. DLR.06.055)

mʌn-ɖʌ yaha-r ad<sup>h</sup>aṅi se  
 mind-NCLS DEM[pro/prox]-GEN half<sub>[STANDARD]</sub> ABL<sub>[MARKER]</sub>  
 besi hʌ-i ge-l-ki rani bʌn-ba-r=e  
 more<sub>[QUALITY]</sub> be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 queen become-INF-GEN = EMPH  
 'Well, her mind became more than half (favourable of) becoming a queen.'

<sup>72</sup> Abbi (2001:170) notes the same construction in Hindi: "Discontinuous reduplication is used to refer to **extremities**. Hindi *kəṃ* 'a little' but *kəṃ se kəṃ* 'minimum'; ..."

## 5. Adverbs

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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 *kare* '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. ...आच्छा से खावा धरिला (cf. DLR.04.003)

...acc<sup>h</sup>a se k<sup>h</sup>a-ba d<sup>h</sup>ar-il  
...good ABL eat-INF begin-PST3  
'...began to eat well.'

b. ताहारबाद तूइ मुइ आराम से बठिए खामा (cf. DLR.04.016)

taharabad tui mui aram se baṭ<sup>h</sup>-ie k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ṭ  
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 *kare* 'ADVL' possibly originates from the conjunctive participle of the verb कर- *kar-* 'do' (करिए *kar-ie* 'do-CONJ.PTCL' > करे *kare* 'ADVL').

The adverbialiser modifies a range of different phrases, and in most cases denotes manner (428a-b). Compare the nonspecific कलात *kala-t* 'hip-LOC' in conjunction with the adverbialiser in (428b), with the specific definite कलाडत *kala-dṭ-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 kare  
in\_a\_hurry ADVL  
'hurriedly; in a hurried manner'

- b. एत्र छुवाक कलात करे आनेचित?  
 etra c<sup>h</sup>ua-k kɔla-t kɔre an-ec-it  
 so\_big child-DAT hip-LOC ADVL bring-PRES-2sg  
 'Are you bringing such a big child (in an) "on hip" (manner)?'
- c. एत्र छुवाक कलाडत आनेच्छु?  
 etra c<sup>h</sup>ua-k kɔla-dɔ-t an-ec-ku  
 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 केनड *kenɔŋ* 'what\_kind' takes on the sense of 'in\_what\_manner' when modified by the adverbialiser in (429).

(429) केनड करे *kenɔŋ kɔre* '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) ढिप ढिप करे मारचे एकदम। (cf. MR.04.075)  
 d<sup>h</sup>ip d<sup>h</sup>ip kɔre mar-c-e ekdɔm  
 [d<sup>h</sup>ip]sound [d<sup>h</sup>ip]sound ADVL beat-PRES-3 really  
 '...really beat (them) with a [d<sup>h</sup>ip d<sup>h</sup>ip]-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 घुरि *g<sup>h</sup>uri* 'during' (cf. section 3.6.4.2.5).

- (431) रात करे (or, घुरि) (cf. DLR.06.047)  
 rat kɔre (or, g<sup>h</sup>uri)  
 night ADVL (or, during)  
 'during the night'

Finally, the adverbialiser seems to function as a clausal complementiser in बाउ करे *bau kɔre* 'father CMPL' in (432).

- (432) मोक बाउ करे कोहो त, एक टाका दिम्कुन।  
 mo-k bau kɔre koho-∅ tɔ, ek ʈaka 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) आज्ञि *aj<sup>hi</sup>* 'today'

आज्ञि मुइ एइखान मुखेर गुने हारातु। (DLR.05.043)

*aj<sup>hi</sup> mui ei-k<sup>han</sup> muk<sup>h</sup>-er gun-e*

today 1sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS mouth-GEN quality-INSTR/EMPH

*har-a-n-u*

lose-CAUS-PST-1sg

'I lost (it) today because of the quality of this very mouth.'

(434) कालि *kal<sup>hi</sup>* 'yesterday; tomorrow'

कालि से तुइ ठिक हइ जा। (cf. GR.02.075)

*kal<sup>hi</sup> se tui t<sup>h</sup>ik h<sup>Λ</sup>-i ja-∅*

tomorrow ABL 2sg[pro] alright be-ABS AUX-IMP2SG

'From tomorrow (onwards) become well.'

(435) आखरित *ak<sup>hi</sup>ri-t* 'end-LOC'

आखरित मुइ आज्ञि मरिम रे। (cf. MR.04.187)

*ak<sup>hi</sup>ri-t mui aj<sup>hi</sup> m<sup>Λ</sup>r-im re*

end-LOC 1sg[pro] today die-FUT1sg PCL

'In the end I will certainly die today.'

(436) आला *al<sup>ha</sup>* 'now'

आला मुइ जाछु बेटिर घरा। (MR.04.102)

*al<sup>ha</sup> mui ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>Λr*

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 खाम। (cf. MR.04.154)

*ap to-k k<sup>h</sup>a-m-Λ*

now 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl

'Now we will eat you.'

(438) सधाए *sad<sup>hae</sup>* 'always'

सधाए मोर जिन्दगिड गरिब रहि जाबे। (DLR.06.052)

*sad<sup>hae</sup> mo-r jindagi-ḍΛ garib rΛh-i ja-b-i*

always 1sg[obl]-GEN life(Hindi)-NCLS poor remain-ABS AUX-FUT-3

'My life will always remain poor.'

(439) कोधोए (नि) *kod<sup>h</sup>oe (ni)* 'never'

कोधोए नि उहाँ काम कर्बारा। (GR.02.052)

*kod<sup>h</sup>oe ni uhā kam kar-ba-r*

never NEG 3sg[pro] work do-INF-GEN

'He (has) never (been a) working (horse).'

(440) ताहारबाद *taharbad* 'after that'

ताहारबाद बुन्मा। (MR.04.018)

*taharbad bun-m-Λ*

after\_that plant-FUT-1pl

'After that we will plant (them).'

(441) घुरिए *g<sup>h</sup>urie* 'again' (from घुरिए(ने) *g<sup>h</sup>ur-ie(ne)* 'turn\_around-CONJ.PTCL'; see also examples

DLR.04.015; DLR.04.033)

आर नि काटेचु, ते याहाँर सडे घुरिए सधाए जन कामा रहए जामा। (cf. DLR.06.051)

*yaha-r saṅe g<sup>h</sup>urie sad<sup>h</sup>ae jaṅ kama raḥa-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) तने *tane* 'then' (cf. also sections 6.1.3 and 7.4.2.4)

तने आसिमा। (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. सान्जा *sanja* 'early evening' (cf. MR.05.026)

e. हाप्ता *hapta* 'week' (cf. MR.05.127)

f. महिना *mahina* 'month' (cf. GR.01.021)

g. बछर *bac<sup>h</sup>ar* 'year' (cf. MR.05.189)

h. चटि *caṭi* 'moment' (cf. DLR.06.056)

i. बजे *baje* 'o'clock' (cf. MR.05.086)

j. समय *samae* 'time' (cf. DLR.03.010)

k. भरखर *b<sup>h</sup>ark<sup>h</sup>ar* '(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 साल *sal*



'year', it denotes 'previous'. In some dialects it is frequently used with the conjunctive clitic आरह *ar = hΛ* 'more = CNJ; (even) more' (444b-d).

(444) a. बेमारि त आर नि छे। (GR.02.081)

bemari tΛ ar ni c<sup>h</sup>-e  
ill PCL more NEG be-PRES3  
'He is no longer ill.'

b. कनेक आरह, चल ना हुदर, हुदर, हुदर। (MR.04.147)

kΛnek ar = hΛ cΛl-Λ na hudΛr hudΛr hudΛr  
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 गे।

ar = hΛ ek-ṭa laga-e de-∅ ge  
more = CNJ one-NCLS add-CONJ.PTCL give-IMP2sg VOC[fem]  
'Add one more, please (to girl/woman).'

d. आरह आसिस।

ar = hΛ 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) एनड करे कचु बुनेचे आरह? (MR.04.007)

enΛṅ kare kacu bun-ec-e arhΛ  
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- *kΛr-* 'do-'. In example (446c) the nominal element आसा जाइ *as-a ja-i* 'come-DVBL go-DVBL' ('coming and going') is inserted between the adverb and the reduplicated verbaliser. The construction seems to

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 करेचु ताहूँ 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 कर्चिस कर्चिस।  
 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. बुराड जे आसा जाइ करेचे करेचे। (DLR.04.008)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-dA 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 पिटाच्चि पिटाच्चि खेटियालाका। (MR.04.202)  
 kukur-la je piṭa-c-ki piṭa-c-ki k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-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 *baɣlat* 'close'  
 अड्डा बगलत नुकाए रोहोला। (cf. DLR.04.031)  
 aɪ-t<sup>h</sup>a baɣlat nuka-e roho-l  
 DEM[rem/emph]-place near hide-CONJ.PTCL remain-PST3  
 '(He) remained there hiding close by.'
- (449) भितरत *b<sup>h</sup>itrət* 'inside'  
 भितरत आस।  
 b<sup>h</sup>itrət as-a  
 inside come-IMP2pl  
 'Come inside.'

- (450) बाह्यरत *baharAt* 'outside'  
 बाह्यरत जाअ  
*baharAt ja-a*  
 outside go-IMP2pl  
 'Go outside.'
- (451) उपरत *uprAt* 'above, up'  
 देखिन मुखेर पानिखान उपरत त नि जाबे। (GR.01.004)  
*dek<sup>h</sup>in muk<sup>h</sup>-er pani-k<sup>h</sup>an uprAt tA ni ja-b-i*  
 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'  
 अइड कुवा जाच्चि उपर दे। (cf. MR.05.206)  
*li-dA kua ja-c-ki upAr de*  
 DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS crow go-PRES-SA3 up ADVL  
 'The (same) crow came (flying) above.'
- (453) हेँटत *hetAt* 'below'; तलत *tAlAt* 'below'  
 चुरिखान हेँटत छे।  
*curi-k<sup>h</sup>an hetAt c<sup>h</sup>-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'  
 एकटा पखि अलगे रहे। (cf. DLR.05.002)  
*ek-tA pAk<sup>h</sup>i AlAge rAh-e*  
 one-NCLS bird separately live-PST.HAB3  
 'One of them lived alone.'
- (455) समत *sAmAt* 'together; with'  
 समत बठ्बो? (cf. DLR.05.047)  
*sAmAt baT<sup>h</sup>-b-o*  
 together sit-FUT-2sg  
 'Will you sit together (with me)?' (that is, 'Will you marry me?')
- (456) छेच्चारि *c<sup>h</sup>eckari* 'for real'  
 तोक मुइ छेच्चारि नि ठुकिम्कुन। (cf. DLR.04.025)  
*to-k mui c<sup>h</sup>eckari ni t<sup>h</sup>uk-im-ku-n*  
 2sg[obl]-DAT 1sg[pro] really NEG hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg  
 'I won't hit you for real.'

(457) मिच्चारि *mickari* 'not for real'

मिच्चारि ठुकिम्कुन। (cf. DLR.04.025)

mickari tʰuk-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 थकि गेले। (cf. GR.02.055)

ekdam tʰak-i ge-l-i

very become\_tired-ABS AUX-PST-3

'He got very tired.'

(459) बेत्ताल *bettal* 'very'

तोक बेत्ताल भोक लागेच्छु।

to-k bettal bʰok lag-ec-ku

2sg[obl]-DAT very hunger apply-PRES-SA2sg

'You are very hungry.'

(460) जुलुम *julum* 'very'

डर लागिच्चि जुलुम। (MR.05.025)

ɖar lag-ic-ki julum

fear feel-PERF-SA3 very

'He was very afraid.'

(461) पुरा *pura* 'completely'

उहाँ (मनडत) पुरा जिङ्गि लिले। (cf. DLR.06.059)

uhã (mɔn-ɖɔ-t) pura jɪŋʰ-i li-l-i

3sg[pro] (mind-NCLS-LOC) completely be\_courageous-ABS AUX-PST-3

'She became completely courageous (in her mind).'

(462) पटके नि *paṭake ni* 'not at all'

तोक पटके नि भोक लागेच्छु।

to-k paṭake ni bʰok lag-ec-ku

2sg[obl]-DAT at\_all NEG hunger apply-PRES-SA2sg

'You are not hungry at all.'

(463) खालि *k<sup>h</sup>ali* 'only'

खालि हामाक मार खिल्वार ताने (cf. MR.04.078)  
 k<sup>h</sup>ali hama-k mar k<sup>h</sup>il-ba-r tane  
 only 1pl[pro]-DAT beating feed-INF-GEN for  
 'only to give us a beating'

(464) मात्र *matra* 'only' (Nepali–Sanskrit)

चालखान कनेक मात्र छा'आल छे। (MR.01.008)  
 cal-k<sup>h</sup>an k<sup>h</sup>anek matra c<sup>h</sup>a(r)-al c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 roof-NCLS a\_little only(Nepali) thatch-PST.PTCL be-PRES3  
 'The roof has only been thatched a little.'

(465) बहुत *bahut* 'a lot' (Hindi)

लोकटक त बहुत अप्सोस लागि गिच्छि। (cf. DLR.05.047)  
 lok-ṭak-t<sup>h</sup> bahut <sup>h</sup>apsos lag-i g-ic-ki  
 man-NCLS-DAT PCL greatly(Hindi) grief feel-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3  
 'The man is really grieving.'

(466) खोब *k<sup>h</sup>ob* 'a lot' (Hindi)

खोब झग्रा लागए दिम। (cf. DLR.04.013)  
 k<sup>h</sup>ob j<sup>h</sup>ag<sup>h</sup>ra laga-e di-m-<sup>h</sup>  
 very fight begin-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl  
 'Let's really begin to fight.'

(467) एकजारा *ekjara* 'a little; (a while)'

कि कि कर्चे देखु त एकजारा। (cf. DLR.04.032)  
 ki ki ka<sup>h</sup>-c-e dek<sup>h</sup>-u t<sup>h</sup> ekjara  
 what what do-PRES-3 see-SUBJ1sg PCL a\_little  
 'Let (me) see (for) a little (while) what (they) are doing.'

(468) चारिक *carik* 'a little'

चारिक उठाए ल।  
 carik ut<sup>h</sup>-a-e l-<sup>h</sup>  
 a\_little rise-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL take-IMP2pl  
 'Take a little.'

(469) कने(क) *k<sup>h</sup>ane(k)* 'a little' (cf. MR.04.142; MR.04.170)

चालखान कनेक मात्र छा'आल छे। (MR.01.008)  
 cal-k<sup>h</sup>an k<sup>h</sup>anek matra c<sup>h</sup>a(r)-al c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 roof-NCLS a\_little only(Nepali) thatch-PST.PTCL be-PRES3  
 'The roof has only been thatched a little.'

(470) भेल्ला *b<sup>h</sup>e<sup>l</sup>la* 'lots; many'

आर्ना भइसला माने भेल्ला रहे। (MR.05.120)

arana                      b<sup>h</sup>is-la                      mane b<sup>h</sup>ella r<sup>h</sup>-e

type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL PCL many live-PST.HAB3

'There used to live many wild buffaloes.'

(471) गटलाए *gət<sup>l</sup>ae* 'all' (i.e. *gət-la=e* 'all-PL=EMPH')

गटलाए मिलिएने (cf. MR.04.205)

gət-la=e                      mil-iene

all-PL=EMPH unite-CONJ.PTCL

'all of them together'

(472) सभाए *sab<sup>h</sup>ae* 'all' (सघाए *sag<sup>h</sup>ae* in far-eastern Jhāpā)

त सुना सभाए देख्बा जाए। (DLR.06.002)

t<sup>h</sup>    suna sab<sup>h</sup>ae dek<sup>h</sup>-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:

	interrogative [ip] ‘what’	interrogative [ip] ‘which’	DEM[prox]	DEM[rem]	REL[ip]
LOC		<p>कुन ठिना <i>kun t<sup>h</sup>ina</i> (also, कुन्ठा / कुन्ठे <i>kun-t<sup>h</sup>a/e</i>) ‘which place’ (‘where’)</p> <p>कुना <i>kun<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘where’</p>	<p>इठिना <i>i-t<sup>h</sup>ina</i> ‘DEM[prox]-place’ (‘here’)</p> <p>एइठिना / एइठा <i>ei-t<sup>h</sup>(in)a</i> ‘DEM[prox/emph]-place’ (‘here’)</p> <p>हेतिना / हितिना <i>he/itina</i> (also, हिल्ना <i>hitna</i>) ‘here’</p>	<p>उठिना <i>u-t<sup>h</sup>ina</i> ‘DEM[rem]-place’ (‘there’)</p> <p>अइठिना / अइठा <i>ai-t<sup>h</sup>(in)a</i> ‘DEM[rem/emph]-place’ (‘there’)</p> <p>हुतिना / हतिना <i>hu/atina</i> (also, हल्ना <i>hātna</i>; हतान <i>hātan</i>) ‘there’</p>	<p>जेइठिना <i>jei-t<sup>h</sup>ina</i> ‘REL-place’ (‘where’)</p>
DIR		<p>कुन्धर <i>kun-d<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘which-direction’ (‘in which direction’)</p> <p>कुन माखे <i>kun mak<sup>h</sup>e</i> ‘which direction’</p> <p>कुना से <i>kun<sup>h</sup>a se</i> ‘where ABL’ (‘from where’)</p> <p>कुन पाके <i>kun pake</i> ‘around which way’</p> <p>कुन (बि)ति (कुन्ति) <i>kun (bi)ti</i> ‘to where’</p>	<p>एइधर <i>ei-d<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘DEM[prox/emph]-direction’ (‘in this direction’)</p> <p>एइमाखाए (एइमाखे) <i>ei-mak<sup>h</sup>(a)e</i> ‘DEM[prox/emph]-direction’</p> <p>हिमाखाए <i>hi-mak<sup>h</sup>ae</i> ‘in this direction’</p> <p>हिदर <i>hidar</i> ‘over here; on the one hand’</p> <p>हेता से <i>heta se</i> ‘here ABL’ (‘from here’)</p> <p>हिपाके <i>hi-pake</i> ‘around this way’</p> <p>हिति <i>hi-ti</i> ‘to here’</p>	<p>अइधर <i>ai-d<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘DEM[rem/emph]-direction’ (‘in that direction’)</p> <p>अइमाखाए (अइमाखे) <i>ai-mak<sup>h</sup>(a)e</i> ‘DEM[rem/emph]-direction’</p> <p>हुमाखाए <i>hu-mak<sup>h</sup>ae</i> ‘in that direction’</p> <p>हुदर <i>hudar</i> ‘over there; on the other hand’</p> <p>हुता / हुता से <i>hu/ata se</i> ‘there ABL’ (‘from there’)</p> <p>हुपाके <i>hu-pake</i> ‘around that way’</p> <p>हुति <i>hu-ti</i> ‘to there’</p>	<p>जेइधर <i>jei-d<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘REL-direction’ (‘in which direction’)</p>

		कुन (बि)ति से <i>kun (bi)ti se</i> ‘from what direction’	हिति से <i>hi-ti se</i> ‘from this direction’	हुति से <i>hu-ti se</i> ‘from that direction’	जेइति से <i>jei-ti se</i> ‘REL-from ABL’ (‘from which direction’)
quality	केनड(ति) <i>ken᳚᳚(ti)</i> (also, केन्ति <i>kenti</i> ) ‘like what, what type of’		एनड(ति) <i>en᳚᳚(ti)</i> (also, एन्ति <i>enti</i> ) ‘this type of; like this’	अनड(ति) <i>an᳚᳚(ti)</i> ‘like that’	जेनड(ति) <i>je-n᳚᳚(ti)</i> ‘which type of; like which’
manner	केनड(ति) करे <i>ken᳚᳚(ti) kare</i> ‘how ADVL’ (‘in what manner’)		एनड(ति) करे <i>en᳚᳚(ti) kare</i> ‘like_this ADVL’ (‘in this manner’)	अनड(ति) करे <i>an᳚᳚(ti) kare</i> ‘like_that ADVL’ (‘in that manner’)	जेनड(ति) करे <i>je-n᳚᳚(ti) kare</i> ‘like_what ADVL’ (‘in which manner’)
reason	कियाँ <i>kiā</i> ‘why’ किसेर ताने <i>kis-er tane</i> ‘what-GEN for’ (‘for what’; ‘why’)		एइताने <i>ei-tane</i> ‘DEM[prox/emph]-for’ (‘because of this’)	अइताने <i>ai-tane</i> ‘DEM[rem/emph]-for’ (‘because of that’)	जेइताने <i>jei-tane</i> ‘REL-for’ (‘because of which’)
time	केत दिन / दिना <i>ket din(a)</i> ‘how many days’	कुन खुना <i>kun-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> ‘which-time’ (‘when’)  कुन बेला <i>kun bela</i> ‘which time’  कुन दिन / दिना <i>kun din(a)</i> ‘which day’  कुन बेला से <i>kun bela se</i> ‘which time ABL’	(आला <i>al<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘now’)  (आला <i>al<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘now’)  (आझि <i>aj<sup>h</sup>i</i> ‘today’)  इपहरे <i>i-p᳚᳚are</i> ‘DEM[prox]-later’ (‘later than this’) एत्किना / एत्किनी पहरे <i>etkina/i p᳚᳚are</i> ‘at this time’ (आला से <i>al<sup>h</sup>a se</i> ‘now ABL’ (‘from now’))	उखुना <i>u-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> ‘DEM[rem]-time’ (‘then’) अइखुना <i>ai-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> ‘DEM[rem/emph]-time’ (‘right then’) उबेला <i>u-bela</i> ‘DEM[rem]-time’ (‘then’) उदिन / उदिना <i>u-din(a)</i> ‘DEM[rem]-day’ (‘that day’) अइदिन <i>ai-din</i> ‘DEM[rem/emph]-day’ उपहरे <i>u-p᳚᳚are</i> ‘DEM[rem]-later’ (‘later than that’) अत्किना / अत्किनी पहरे <i>atkina/i p᳚᳚are</i> ‘at that time’ अइबेला से <i>ai-bela se</i> ‘DEM[rem-emph]-time ABL’ (‘from then’)	जेइखुना <i>jei-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> ‘REL-time’ (‘which time’)  जेइबेला <i>jei-bela</i> ‘REL-time’ (‘which time’) जेइदिन / जेइदिना <i>jei-din(a)</i> ‘REL-day’  जेइपहरे <i>jei-p᳚᳚are</i> ‘REL-later’ (‘later than which’) जेतकिना / जेतकिनी पहरे <i>jetkina/i p᳚᳚are</i> ‘at which time’ जेइबेला से <i>jei-bela se</i> ‘REL-time ABL’ (‘from which time’)



	केतखुन से <i>ket-k<sup>h</sup>un se</i> 'how_long-time ABL' ('for how long') (कब <i>kAb</i> 'when' (Hindi loan))				(जब <i>jAb</i> 'when' (Hindi loan))
size, amount	केतेड <i>kete-dA</i> 'what size' केत्र <i>ketra</i> 'how big' केतेखान <i>kete-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'how_much-NCLS'; 'what size' (also, केतखान / केताखान <i>ket(a)-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> ) केतेक <i>ketek</i> 'how much' (only exclamatory) केत्किना <i>ket-kina</i> 'how_little(amount)' केतेला / केत्ला <i>ket(e)-la</i> 'how_many-PL' केडा <i>ke-dA</i> 'how_many-NCLS' केखान <i>ke-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'how_much-NCLS' केझना <i>ke-j<sup>h</sup>ana</i> 'how_many-PCLS' केटाका <i>ke-taka</i> 'how_many-money' ('how much' as regards monetary value)		एतेड <i>ete-dA</i> 'this size' एत्र <i>etra</i> 'this big' एतेखान (एताखान) <i>et/ae-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'this much'  एतेक <i>etek</i> 'this much'  एत्किना <i>et-kina</i> 'this little (amount)' एत्ला <i>et-la</i> 'this many'	अतेड <i>ate-dA</i> 'that size' अत्र <i>atra</i> 'that big' अतेखान <i>ate-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'that much'  अतेक <i>atek</i> 'that much'  अत्किना <i>at-kina</i> 'that little (amount)' अत्ला <i>at-la</i> 'that many'	जेतेड <i>jete-dA</i> 'size of which' जेत्र <i>jetra</i> '(large) size of which' जेताखान / जेतखान <i>jet(a)-k<sup>h</sup>an</i> 'which amount'  जेतेक <i>jetek</i> 'amount of which; how much' जेत्किना <i>jet-kina</i> 'little amount of which' जेत्ला <i>jet-la</i> 'the amount of which'

Table 52. Pronominal adjectives and adverbs (3/3)

## 6. Clitics, particles and conjunctions

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### 6.1 Clitics and particles

I have preliminarily considered the conjunctive -अ =<sub>Λ</sub> '=CNJ' and the emphatic -ए =<sub>e</sub> '=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 Rājbandhi 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 ठेङ्गते *tʰeŋ-<sub>Λ</sub>t* 'leg-LOC' > ठेङ्गते *tʰeŋ-t = 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: जुरालेखान *jura-l = e-kʰan* 'cool\_down-PST.PTCL = EMPH-NCLS'; cf. section 7.2.1.1 for the full example).

The Rājbandhi 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)."

Yadav (1997 [1996]:259-260) asserts that in Maithili two of the emphatic markers are clitics and four are affixes. Yadav (1997 [1996]:260-268) bases this analysis on three of the criteria put forward by Zwicky & Pullum (1983): degree of selection, arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations, and morphophonological idiosyncrasies.

"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),
- a. The particles can also be *accentually* independent, and
- 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  $-\text{अ} = \Lambda$  '=CNJ' (473a-b) has two allomorphs:  $-\text{उ} = u$  '=CNJ' which occurs after the vowel  $-\Lambda$  (473c) (and sometimes after the vowel  $-a$ ), and  $-\text{ह} = h\Lambda$  '=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.

- (473) a. धूपअ  $d^hup = \Lambda$  'sun = CNJ' (cf. MR.04.167)  
 b. काथाअ  $kat^ha = \Lambda$  'story = CNJ' (cf. DLR.05.042)  
 c. बुराडउ  $bur^ha-d\Lambda = u$  'old\_man-NCLS = CNJ' (cf. DLR.04.006)  
 d. मह  $m\Lambda = h\Lambda$  '1sg[pro] = CNJ' (cf. DLR.06.097)

The conjunctive clitic also attaches to nonfinite (474a-b) verb forms. In (474a) the conjunctive clitic attaches to the absolutive -इ -i 'ABS' (thus separating the absolutive from the auxiliary), and in (474b) it attaches to the infinitive -बा -ba '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 मरिअ जाबा पारे... (cf. DLR.05.049)  
 lok-t $\Lambda$  m $\Lambda$ r-i =  $\Lambda$  ja-ba par-e  
 man-NCLS die-ABS = CNJ AUX-INF can-PRES3  
 '...the man could even die...'  
 b. खाराब काथा बल्बाअ नि... (cf. DLR.05.065)  
 k $^h$ arab kat $^h$ a b $\Lambda$ l-ba =  $\Lambda$  ni  
 bad thing speak-INF = CNJ NEG  
 '...one shouldn't speak bad things either.'

The Hindi particle भी  $b^hi$  'also' (also spelt as भि) is often found to follow the above-mentioned conjunctive clitic:

- (475) आर झटिकअ भी (हइ) गेला (cf. DLR.05.005)  
 ar j $^h$  $\Lambda$ t $\dot{i}$ ki =  $\Lambda$  b $^hi$  (h $\Lambda$ -i) ge-l  
 and slim = CNJ CNJ(Hindi) (be-ABS) AUX-PST3  
 'And she also became skinny.'

The Hindi particle was also encountered in conjunction with the adverb कर  $k\Lambda r\Lambda$  'even' which is possibly related to the Hindi conjunctive participle marker -कर -kar. Note that in Hindi the conjunctive participle ('CP') can be used in the concessive sense when marked with the conjunctive भी  $b^hi$  (476c).

- (476) a. आर कहिस्ले कर (भी)... (cf. DLR.03.010)  
 ar k $\Lambda$ h-isl-i k $\Lambda$ r $\Lambda$  (b $^hi$ )  
 and say-REM.PST-3 even (CNJ(Hindi))  
 'And he even said...'  
 b. गेल कर (भी), माने लागल नि पाले।  
 ge-l k $\Lambda$ r $\Lambda$  (b $^hi$ ) mane lag-al ni pa-l-i  
 go-PST3 even (CNJ(Hindi)) PCL apply-PST.PTCL NEG receive-PST-3  
 'He even went but he didn't find (her/him/it).'

## c. Hindi

tum mere mitra ho kar bhii meraa vishvaas nahī karte  
 you my friend be CP even\_though my trust not do  
 'You don't trust me even though you are my friend.'

(Kachru 1981:39)

## 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 adverbialiser), 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. पातारिए  $patari = e$  'leaf = EMPH' (cf. MR.04.032)  
 b. कम्मरखाने  $kammār-k^hān = e$  'waist-NCLS = EMPH' (cf. MR.04.076)  
 c. घडाडके  $g^hāḍa-ḍā-k = e$  'horse-NCLS-DAT = EMPH' (cf. GR.02.078)
- d. आर घरट माने माटिरे हए (cf. DLR.02.007)  
 ar  $g^hār-tā$  mane maṭi-r = e hā-e  
 and house-NCLS PCL soil-GEN = EMPH be-PRES3  
 'And the house is made from clay/mud.'

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  $mo-r g^hār = e$  '1sg[obl]-GEN house = EMPH' (i.e. 'my HOUSE')  
 b. महे घर  $māhā-r = e g^hār$  '1sg[obl]-GEN = EMPH house' (i.e. '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.

- (479) a. मुहे (मुहें) *mu = he* '1sg[obl] = EMPH'  
 b. तुहे (तुहें) *tu = he* '2sg[obl] = EMPH'  
 c. एइखान *ei-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS' (cf. DLR.05.040)  
 d. एइखानेर *ei-k<sup>h</sup>an-er* 'DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS-GEN'  
 e. महेके *m<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>-k = e* '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 *s<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>ae* 'all' (\*सभा \*s<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>a)  
 b. गटे *g<sup>h</sup>at<sup>e</sup>* [g<sup>h</sup>at<sup>e</sup>:e] 'all' (\*गट \*g<sup>h</sup>at)

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. गटेइए *g<sup>h</sup>at<sup>e</sup>-d<sup>h</sup>* = *e* 'all-NCLS = EMPH' (cf. MR.05.056)  
 b. गटइए *g<sup>h</sup>at-t<sup>h</sup>* = *e* (pron. [g<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>ae]) 'all-NCLS = EMPH' (cf. MR.05.037)  
 c. गटलाए *g<sup>h</sup>at-la* = *e* '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 = e-da* 'one = EMPH-NCLS' ('only one')  
 b. चारहेखान *car = he-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'four = EMPH-NCLS' ('only four')  
 c. बिसेखान *bis = e-k<sup>h</sup>an* 'twenty = EMPH-NCLS' ('only twenty')  
 d. एकेलाखाति *ek = e-lak<sup>h</sup>ati* 'one = EMPH-like' ('exactly like')

The emphatic clitic on an adjective renders attenuation (483a-c). I have interpreted the suffix -ए -*e* 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 -*e*).

- (483) a. [adjective] बडाए *b<sup>h</sup>ar<sup>h</sup>* = *e* 'big = EMPH' ('quite big')  
 b. [adjective] लाले *lal = e* 'red = EMPH' ('quite red; reddish')  
 c. [adjective] आच्छाए *acc<sup>h</sup>a = e* 'good = EMPH' ('quite good')  
 d. [adverb] आच्छाए *acc<sup>h</sup>a = e* 'good = EMPH' ('well')

When negating noun phrases the emphatic clitic converts to the conjunctive clitic.

- (484) a. एकेडा आम  $ek = e-da am$  'one = EMPH-NCLS mango' ('only one mango')  
 b. एकअडा आम नि  $ek = \Lambda-da am ni$  '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. गाजेचेइ(ए) नि  $gaj-ec-e = i(e) ni$  '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 रेइ(ए) नि  $gaj-ec-e re = i(e) ni$  '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. मुइ जेबेला आसिए पुगनु ते उहाँए खराक खातेइ छिले।  
 $mui \quad je(i)-bela \quad as-ie \quad pug-n-u \quad te \quad uh\ddot{a}e \quad k^h\Lambda rak$   
 1sg[pro] what-time come-CONJ.PTCL arrive-PST-1sg PCL(then) 3sg[pro] food  
 $k^h a-te = i \quad c^h i-l-l$   
 eat-CONT.PTCL = EMPH be-PST-3  
 'When I arrived, he was eating food.'
- b. बेटिर घर जाइ आसि कतेइ रहे।  
 $be\ddot{t}i-r \quad g^h\Lambda r \quad ja-i \quad as-i \quad ka-r-te(=i)$   
 daughter-GEN house go-DVBL come-DVBL do-CONT.PTCL(=EMPH)  
 $r\Lambda h-e$   
 AUX(CONT)-PST.HAB3  
 'He (still) used to keep coming and going to (his) daughter's house.'

## 6.1.3 Discourse particles

Six discourse particles were identified: ते *te*, त *tA*, सुना *sunā*, आप *ap*, तने *tAne* and माने *mane*. Each of these will be discussed in this section.

Firstly, the particles ते *te* 'then' and त *tA* '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) a. ते गटे खेटियाला सचिऐने देखले... (MR.04.112)  
 te gAte k<sup>h</sup>etia-la sAc-iene dek<sup>h</sup>-1-I...  
 PCL all jackal-PL think-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3...  
 '(Then) all of the jackals thought...'
- b. त दत्ते झना दिले झग्रा लागण। (DLR.04.023)  
 tA dA<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup>A<sup>h</sup>na di-1-I j<sup>h</sup>agAra laga-e  
 PCL both PCLS AUX-PST-3 fight begin-ABS  
 'Then both of them began to fight.'

In this function they are optionally accompanied by the particle सुना *sunā* 'PCL' (or, सुने *sune*) (489a-b).

- (489) a. ते उहाँ सुना एनड करे कानेचे... (cf. MR.04.193)  
 te uhā suna enAη kAre kan-ec-e...  
 PCL 3sg[pro] PCL like\_this ADVL cry-PRES-3...  
 'Then she cried like this...'
- b. त सुना जुवाँड कहक्कि... (cf. DLR.04.025)  
 tA suna juā-ḍA kA<sup>h</sup>A-c-ki...  
 PCL PCL son\_in\_law-NCLS say-PRES-SA3  
 'Then the son-in-law says...'

The particles ते *te* and त *tA* 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 त *tA* as a possible adversative conjunction.)

- (490) a. मुइ ते नि जाम।  
 mui te ni ja-m  
 1sg[pro] PCL NEG go-FUT1sg  
 'As for me, I will not go.'
- b. कियँ कानेचे ते? (cf. MR.04.057)  
 kiā kan-ec-e te  
 why cry-PRES-3 PCL  
 'Why is she crying?' (counter-expectation)



- c. जुवाँ बेटिला त झग्रा लागए दिछे। (cf. DLR.04.029)  
 juã beṭi-la tʌ jʰagʌra 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 त *tʌ* '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 तने त *tʌne tʌ* '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 त *tʌ* could, on the one hand, be the reduced forms of the particle/adverb तने *tʌne* 'then', but equally possible, on the other, that तने *tʌne* 'then' could be constructed from the particle त *tʌ* and the tag particle ने *ne*.

- (491) ...होकोर दोकोर कर्नु त त पानु कहेने। (cf. DLR.05.058)  
 hokor\_dokor kaʀ-n-u tʌ tʌ pa-n-u kaʃ-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 जदि *jaḍi* 'if' in conditional constructions.)

- (492) खेटियाला जर हले, कहिस्कि ते, "तोर दादोड मरि गेल। (MR.04.051)  
 kʰeṭia-la jaʀ ha-le kaʃ-is-ki te to-r  
 jackal-PL gathering be-COND.PTCL say-SUBJ-SA3 PCL(=that) 2sg[obl]-GEN  
 dado-ḍʌ maʀ-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 तने *tʌne* '(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 हबा सकेचे... (cf. DLR.03.012)  
 ap ha-ba sake-ec-e...  
 PCL be-INF can(Nepali)-PRES-3...  
 '(And) it could be (that)...'
- b. तने हिदर सुना भइसट नुकाए छिकि... (cf. MR.05.148)  
 tʌne hidʀ suna bʰʌis-ṭʌ 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 त *ta* (above), can also occur independently as a temporal conjunction 'then'.

(494) सुना लाजे सरमे बुराडक फेर घरत बठाए खिलान पिलान कर्बाए हल्कि। (DLR.04.042)

suna laj-e                      sʌɾʌm-e                      bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ-k                      p<sup>h</sup>er g<sup>h</sup>ʌɾ-ʌt  
PCL shame-INSTR shame-INSTR old\_man-NCLS-DAT again house-LOC  
bʌɽ<sup>h</sup>-a-e                      k<sup>h</sup>ilan pilan                      kʌɾ-ba=e                      hʌ-l-ki  
sit-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL feeding drinking do-INF=EMPH must-PST-SA3

'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).<sup>73</sup> 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 जाम।  
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 जाम।  
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.

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<sup>73</sup> 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 *go* '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 *go* '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. मसि गो *masi go* 'sister\_of\_mother VOC'  
 c. आइ गे आइ *ai go ai* 'mother VOC[fem] mother' (i.e. 'Alas, mother')  
 d. दादि गे दादि *dadi ge dadi* 'grandmother VOC[fem] grandmother' (i.e. 'Alas, grandmother'; cf. MR.04.057)  
 e. तामा काहु नि जिल्लन, काहु नि हार्लन गो। (MR.05.050)  
*tam<sup>h</sup>a kahu ni jit-l-an, kahu ni har-l-an 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 जाबो नि गे देख्बा गे? (cf. DLR.06.005)  
*...te ja-b-o ni ge dek<sup>h</sup>-ba ge*  
 ...PCL go-FUT-2sg NEG VOC[fem] see-INF VOC[fem]  
 '...Don't you want to go and see?'  
 b. ...दादि गे दादि, कियौ 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 गो। (DLR.06.083)  
*te bolı dek<sup>h</sup>-a na ge*  
 PCL QUOT look-IMP2pl PCL VOC[fem]  
 'She said, "Look then!" '

The third vocative particle रे *re* (pron. [rɪ]) 'VOC' is an abbreviation of आरे *are* (pron. [arɪ]).<sup>74</sup> 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).

<sup>74</sup> Note that the vocative particle रे *re* [rɪ] is in contrast with the particle of certainty रे *re* [rɛ], 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 बुरि... (cf. MR.04.085)  
 t<sup>h</sup>am-Ø re bur<sup>h</sup>i  
 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 खेटियाला रे... (cf. MR.04.046)  
 sala-r k<sup>h</sup>etia-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. बुरा रे बुरा (cf. MR.04.074)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a re bur<sup>h</sup>a  
 old\_man VOC old\_man  
 'Eh old man!' [Neutral]
- b. थाम् रे बुरि... (cf. MR.04.085)  
 t<sup>h</sup>am-Ø re bur<sup>h</sup>i  
 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).

- (500) a. ओ ते, बस, उहाँक खाए गेल। (GR.01.028)  
 o te bʌs uhā-k k<sup>h</sup>a-e ge-l  
 INJ PCL PCL(Hindi) 3sg[pro]-DAT eat-ABS AUX-PST3  
 'Um, that's enough, (he) just ate him (up).'
- b. बुराड बस कान्टाखान से घुरिए चुलि जाबे। (DLR.04.015)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ bʌs kanṭa-k<sup>h</sup>an se g<sup>h</sup>ur-ie cul-i ja-b-i  
 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 *bolī* 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 दिष्कु। (cf. GR.02.062)  
 to-k bolī bec-i di-p-ku  
 2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT sell-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg  
 'You, apparently, are going to be sold.'
- b. काटिए तोक बोले खाए जाष्कु, बेमारि गोरुड। (GR.02.063)  
 kaṭ-ie to-k bolī k<sup>h</sup>a-e ja-p-ku bemari goru-ɖʌ  
 cut-CONJ.PTCL 2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT eat-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg 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 *bolī* being understood as a discourse marker (or the inflected verb *bol-(I)-I* 'say-PST-3'). Conversely, if बोले *bolī* 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-ɖʌ rajkumar mo-k ni l-e ja-b-i  
 and DEM[prox]=CNJ-NCLS prince 1sg[obl]-DAT NEG take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT-3  
 bol-(I)-I  
 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).'

## 6.1.7 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 घरत तिनझन रहचि। (GR.02.065)  
 ar hama je ek-ṭa ḡʰAr-At tin-jʰʌn rʌhʌ-c-i  
 and 1pl[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. आप तिनझन जे रहचि। (GR.02.067)  
 ap tin-jʰʌn je rʌhʌ-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. [rɛ/e]) implies certainty.

- (504) a. आखरित मुइ आजि मरिम रे... (cf. MR.04.187)  
 akʰri-t mui ajʰi mʌr-im re...  
 end-LOC 1sg[pro] today die-FUT1sg PCL...  
 'In the end, I will certainly die today...'
- b. तामा मोक खाबन रे, छर्बन नि। (MR.04.163)  
 tamʰa mo-k kʰa-b-ʌn re, cʰʌr-b-ʌn 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-*kʌr*- '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. तामा कर्बे कर्बन।  
 tamʰa kʌr-b=e kʌr-b-ʌn  
 2pl[pro] do-INF=EMPH do-FUT-2pl  
 'You certainly will do.'

- b. तम्ना खाबे कर्बन।  
 tʌm<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-b=e kʌr-b-ʌn  
 2pl[pro] eat-INF=EMPH do-FUT-2pl  
 'You will certainly eat.'
- c. तम्ना खाबे कर्लन।  
 tʌm<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-b=e kʌr-l-ʌn  
 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. तम्ना कर्बन (के)रे।  
 tʌm<sup>h</sup>a kʌr-b-ʌn (ke)re  
 2pl[pro] do-FUT-2pl PCL  
 'You certainly will do.'
- b. तम्ना खाबन (के)रे।  
 tʌm<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-b-ʌn (ke)re  
 2pl[pro] eat-FUT-2pl PCL  
 'You will certainly eat.'
- c. तम्ना खालन (के)रे।  
 tʌm<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-l-ʌn (ke)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 *al* 'PCL' indicates pretense, that is, the particle in (507b) indicates that the agent in (507a) was pretending.

- (507) a. माने बेमारि हए गेला (GR.02.026)  
 mane bemari hʌ-e ge-l  
 PCL ill be-ABS AUX-PST3  
 'He had become ill.'
- b. आल (GR.02.027)  
 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 *ar* 'and' is used in both phrasal (508a-b) and clausal (508c-d) conjunction.

- (508) a. एकटा बुरा आर एकटा बुरि (cf. MR.04.001)  
 ek-ʈa bur<sup>h</sup>a ar ek-ʈa bur<sup>h</sup>i  
 one-NCLS old\_man and one-NCLS old\_woman  
 'an old man and an old woman'
- b. उहाँर जुवाँड आर बेटिड (cf. DLR.04.003)  
 uhã-r juã-ɖʌ ar beʈi-ɖʌ  
 3sg[pro]-GEN son\_in\_law-NCLS and daughter-NCLS  
 'his son-in-law and daughter'
- c. दुइइन भातार मगि रहे, आर एकटा पखि अलगे रहे। (DLR.05.002)  
 dui-j<sup>h</sup>ʌn b<sup>h</sup>atar maɡi rʌh-e ar ek-ʈa pʌk<sup>h</sup>i ʌʌge rʌh-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. तुइ खेत बारिखानेरति जा आर जाएने एकदम कानिस। (cf. MR.04.050)  
 tui k<sup>h</sup>et bari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er ti ja-∅  
 2sg[pro] field planting\_plot-NCLS-GEN towards go-IMP2sg  
 ar ja-ene ekdʌm 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 *ar* does occasionally occur with these particles, as with आर सुना *ar suna* 'and PCL' in the following example:

- (509) आर सुना सब दिन अप्सोस कर्बा धरै। (cf. DLR.05.039)  
 ar suna sʌb din ʌpsos kʌr-ba d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-l-l  
 and PCL every day grief do-INF begin-PST-3  
 'And every day he began to grieve.'



The temporal adverb फेर *p<sup>h</sup>er* '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) पानिअ नि छकन, फेर धुपअ चाँए चाँए हेतिना। (MR.04.167)

pani=Λ ni c<sup>h</sup>-Λ-kΛn p<sup>h</sup>er d<sup>h</sup>up=Λ cāecāe 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 *mΛtun* '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 लेकिन *lekin* 'but' is also in use (511b).

(511) a. तुइ जाबो ते जा, मतुन/माने मुइ नि जाम।

tui ja-b-o te ja-Ø, mΛtun/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 कामअ कुछु नि, लेकिन मुइ बादाम खाचु। (GR.02.015)

mo-r tΛ kam=Λ kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni lekin mui badam k<sup>h</sup>a-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 *bəru* 'rather') are also used.

(512) a. आप बुना घरे चुलि जावा हबे... (cf. DLR.04.031)

ap buna g<sup>h</sup>Ar=e cul-i ja-ba hΛ-b-I...  
PCL rather house=EMPH AUX-ABS go-INF must-FUT-3  
'It is better to go home now...'

b. बुरु हाट ना जाइसा।

buru haṭ na ja-is  
rather market NEG go-SUBJ2sg  
'(It would be) better you didn't go to the market.'

## 6.2.3 Disjunctive conjunctions

The following disjunctive conjunctions were identified: या *ya*, वा *ba* (or, *wa*), नि *ni*, ने *ne* and ना *na*. The conjunctions या *ya* (513a), and वा *ba* are loans. Preliminary observations indicate that नि *ni* and वा *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. ...चेडरा होक या चेडरि होक... (cf. MR.05.258)

...ceṅra h-ok ya ceṅri h-ok...  
 ...young\_man be-SUBJ3 or young\_woman be-SUBJ3...  
 '...may it be a young man or (may it be) a young woman...'

b. आर इड घर कहे ना कुट्टि कहे चिना नि जाछे। (cf. DLR.02.004)

ar i-ḍa ḡʰar kʰh-e na kuṭṭi kʰh-e  
 and DEM[prox]-NCLS house say-CONJ.PTCL or priest's\_quarters say-CONJ.PTCL  
 cin<sup>h</sup>-a ni ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 मालिकट कि कहचे, तोक बोले बेचि दिप्कु। (cf. GR.02.062)

mo-r malik-ḍa ki kʰh-c-e  
 1sg[obl]-GEN master-NCLS what say-PRES-3  
 to-k bolɪ 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 मालिकट कहचे कि तोक बोले बेचि दिप्कु। (cf. GR.02.062)

mo-r malik-ḍa kʰh-c-e  
 1sg[obl]-GEN master-NCLS say-PRES-3  
 ki to-k bolɪ 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.'

- c. इखान खिसार मतलब कि हचे कि... (cf. GR.01.029)  
 i-k<sup>h</sup>an k<sup>h</sup>isa-r matlab ki ha-c-e ki...  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS story-GEN meaning what be-PRES-3 PCL(that)...  
 'What this story means is that...'

The subordinating conjunction कि *ki* is used frequently, but is nevertheless viewed by some speakers as a loan.<sup>75</sup> More natural would apparently be to use the particle ते *te* 'PCL'.

- (515) a. त बुराड सुना बगलत आसिएने सुनेचे ते/कि जुवाँ बेटिला त झाय्रा लागए दिछे (DLR.04.029)  
 tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a-dʌ suna baɡlat as-iene sun-ec-e te/ki  
 PCL old\_man-NCLS PCL near come-CONJ.PTCL hear-PRES-3 PCL(that)  
 juã beṭi-la tʌ j<sup>h</sup>agʌra laga-e d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 son\_in\_law daughter-PL PCL fight begin-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
 'Then the old man, coming closer heard that the son-in-law and daughter had begun to fight.'
- b. सुना बुरा बुरि कहचे ते/कि आप कचुला उस्नाए बुनिचि... (cf. MR.04.028)  
 suna bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i kaɦa-c-e te/ki ap kaɕu-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 काथा बल्बा नि उहाँ अइदिन से गियाने पाइ गेल। (cf. DLR.05.065)  
 k<sup>h</sup>arab kat<sup>h</sup>a baɭ-ba ni [rising\_intonation + pause]  
 bad thing speak-INF NEG  
 uhã ai-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.'

---

<sup>75</sup> 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

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### 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 g<sup>h</sup>Ar ja-∅  
2sg[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN house go-IMP2sg  
'You go to (your) own home!'

c. तम्नाए जाअ! (cf. DLR.06.016)

tAm<sup>h</sup>a=e ja-Λ  
2pl[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).

- (518) a. हामाक आशिर्बाद द  
 hama-k asirbad d- $\Lambda$   
 1pl[pro]-DAT blessing give-IMP2pl  
 'Bless us.'
- b. इला दुइडा बासि ले। (cf. MR.05.178a)  
 i-la dui- $\text{da}$  basi le- $\emptyset$   
 DEM[prox]-PL two-NCLS flute take-IMP2sg  
 'Take these two flutes.'
- c. मोक दुइडा लिहानि झाका दे त। (cf. MR.05.066)  
 mo-k dui- $\text{da}$  lihani j<sup>h</sup>aka de- $\emptyset$  t $\Lambda$   
 1sg[obl]-DAT two-NCLS blanket cover give-IMP2sg PCL  
 'Cover me with two blankets.'
- d. मोक काल कलम आनि दे।  
 mo-k kal $\Lambda$  kal $\Lambda$ m an-i de- $\emptyset$   
 1sg[obl]-DAT black pen bring-ABS AUX-IMP2sg  
 'Bring me<sub>[INDIRECT OBJECT]</sub> a black pen<sub>[DIRECT OBJECT]</sub>.'

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 बेराअ।  
 na bera- $\Lambda$   
 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 उस्नाएने बुनेक। (cf. MR.04.013; also DLR.06.032b, MR.04.050;074)  
 k $\Lambda$ cu-la usna-ene bun-ek  
 [kacu]vegetable-PL boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-IMP2sg  
 'Plant the [kacu]vegetables after boiling them.'
- b. कालि से तुइ ठिक हइ जा। (cf. GR.02.075; also MR.05.139)  
 kal<sup>h</sup>i se tui t<sup>h</sup>ik h $\Lambda$ -i ja- $\emptyset$   
 tomorrow ABL 2sg[pro] alright be-ABS AUX-IMP2SG  
 'From tomorrow (onwards) become well.'

## 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 एनड करि। (cf. DLR.04.012)

(hama) ap enaŋ kʌr-i  
(1pl[pro]) PCL like\_this do-SUBJ1pl  
'Let's do this.'

b. (हामा) छरि दि याहाँक। (MR.04.117)

(hama) cʰʌr-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 Rājbandhi: 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 Rājbandhi 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 उड चेडरा कि कहबे? (MR.05.041)

ap u-ɖʌ ceŋra ki kʌhʌ-b-i  
PCL that-NCLS young\_man what say-FUT-3  
'What will the young man say?'

b. तुइ हाल कियौं नि बहचिस? (cf. GR.02.036)

tui hal kiã ni bʌhʌ-c-is  
2sg[pro] plough why NEG plough-PRES-2sg  
'Why are you not ploughing?'

c. कियॉ सुना कानेचिस? (cf. MR.04.057)

kiã suna kan-ec-is  
why PCL cry-PRES-2sg  
'Why are you crying?'

As explained by Masica (1991:386), the adjectival question word precedes the noun which it modifies (523).

(523) कि ताकत छिकि याहॉर? (DLR.05.020)

ki takʌt c<sup>h</sup>-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 कादुबालि *kaduali* 'muddy' in (524), occurs between the interrogative pronoun and the verb.

(524) मोर पानिखान कियॉ कादुबालि करेचिस? (cf. GR.01.011)

mo-r pani-k<sup>h</sup>an kiã kaduali kʌr-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 Rājbandhi differs from Bengali where "...there is a tendency to prefer final position for the word *why* – *kæno*..." (Masica 1991:387).

(525) a. आरसाल कियॉ दिस्लो मोक गालि? (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 कियॉ कल्लो? (GR.01.014)

tʌ tui e<sup>h</sup>ʌ kiã kʌr-l-o  
PCL 2sg[pro] socially\_unclean why do-PST-2sg  
'Why did you make the water dirty?'

c. मोक गालि दिस्लो कियॉ 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?'

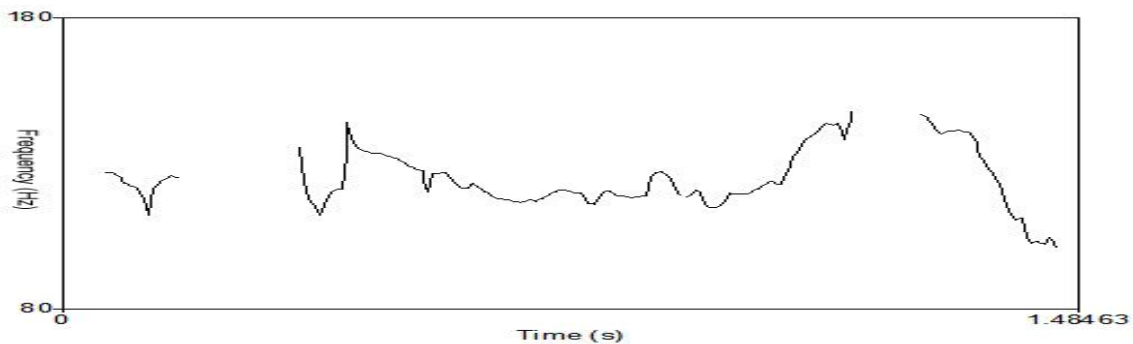
## 7.1.3.2 Yes/no questions

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 Rājbanṣhi are marked in two ways: with the clause-initial polar question marker कि *ki* '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).<sup>76</sup>

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.



तोक् ठुक्बार लाखाति लागिस्लुकु? (cf. DLR.004.036)

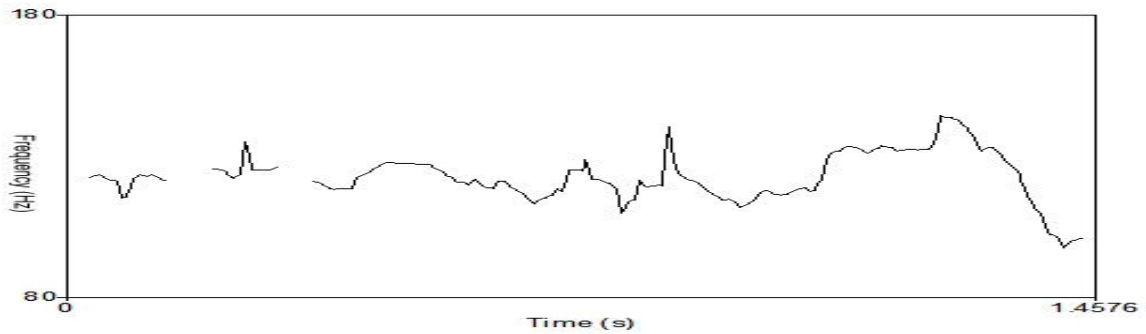
to-k                    tʰuk-ba-r            lakʰati    lag-isl-uku

2sg[obl]-DAT    hit-INF-GEN    like        feel-REM.PST-SA2sg

'...did you feel as if I was (really) hitting you?'

<sup>76</sup> Klaiman (1987:509) maintains that the interrogative particle *ki* 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?'"





तोक कि कान्बार लाखाति लागिस्लुकु? (cf. DLR.004.038)  
 to-k ki kan-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati lag-isl-uku  
 2sg[obl]-DAT PQM cry-INF-GEN like feel-REM.PST-SA2sg  
 '...did you feel as if I was (really) crying?'

Figure 4. Pitch contour for yes/no questions

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 Rājbanṣhi 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 *na* 'PCL[TAG]' or ने *ne* '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 एकछिन त कान्बा दिबन ना? (MR.04.188)  
 te mo-k ekc<sup>h</sup>in tʌ kan-ba di-b-ʌn 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. एकझन बेरामि हले, हाल जुता त नि जाबे ना? (GR.02.020)  
 ek-j<sup>h</sup>ʌn berami hʌ-le hal jut-a tʌ 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?'

Conversely, tag questions (with an optional कि *ki* 'PQM' element) in (527a-b) denote uncertainty (stress is marked in the examples below with the diacritic ' ).

- (527) a. 'पामर तहरे नाअ, ने (कि)?  
 'pamΛr tΛhΛ-r=e naΛ ne ki  
 'Pāmar 2sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH name PCL[TAG] (PQM)  
 'Your name is Pāmar, isn't it?'
- b. तहरे नाअँ ने (कि) 'पामर?  
 tΛhΛ-r=e naΛ ne (ki) 'pamΛr  
 2sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH name PCL[TAG] (PQM) 'Pāmar  
 'Isn't your name Pāmar?'

The focussed element is marked by stress-intonation.

- (528) a. 'पामरट आस्ले, ने (कि)।  
 'pamΛr-ʈΛ as-l-ɪ ne (ki)  
 'Pāmar-NCLS come-PST-3 PCL[TAG] (PQM)  
 'It was PĀMAR who came, wasn't it?'
- b. पामरट 'आस्ले, ने (कि)।  
 pamΛr-ʈΛ 'as-l-ɪ 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 न *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. माअ बाप छुकु ना नि छुकु? (MR.05.309)  
 maΛ bap c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku na ni c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku  
 mother father be-PRES-SA2sg or NEG be-PRES-SA2sg  
 'Do you have parents, or do you not?'
- b. आप बाहा हइचे कहम ना नि हइचे कहम? (DLR.06.029)  
 ap baha hΛ-ic-e kΛhΛ-m na ni hΛ-ic-e kΛhΛ-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 *arhΛ* '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) आला सुना खाएने ' किड माजा पावन आरह? (cf. MR.04.111)

al<sup>h</sup>a suna k<sup>h</sup>a-ene 'ki-ḍΛ maja pa-b-Λn arhΛ  
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) आला खान ते 'कि माजा पावन? (MR.04.104)

al<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-b-Λn te 'ki maja pa-b-Λn  
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 *arhΛ*, 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. एनड करे कचु बुनेचे।

enΛḡ kΛre kΛcu bun-ec-e  
like\_this ADVL [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-3

'[Kacu]vegetables are planted like this.' (simple non-interrogative proposition)

b. एनड करे कचु बुनेचे आरह? (MR.04.007)

enΛḡ kΛre kΛcu bun-ec-e arhΛ [rise-fall\_intonation]  
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.')

## c. एनड करे कचु बुनेचे?

enʌŋ kʌre kʌcu bun-ec-e [rise-fall\_intonation]

like\_this ADVL [kʌcu]vegetable plant-PRES-3

Gloss i (rhetorical): 'So, [kʌcu]vegetables are planted like this?' (Rhetorical; implying 'You are not planting the vegetables correctly.')

Gloss ii (yes/no question): 'Are [kʌcu]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 केतेक *ketek* 'how\_much' (stress is marked with the diacritic ' ).

## (533) a. केनड बुद्धि मुइ दिनु अमाक। (GR.02.056)

kenʌŋ 'buddʰi mui di-n-u ʌmʰa-k

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. त सुना भोके खताडत 'केतेक रहबे। (DLR.05.051)

tʌ suna bʰok=e kʰʌta-ɖʌ-t 'ketek rʌʌ-b-I

PCL PCL hunger(loan)=EMPH nest-NCLS-LOC 'how\_much remain-FUT-3

'How he sits in his nest in hunger!'

Similarly, observe that in the interrogative in (534a) stress falls on the adjectival pronoun केनड *kenʌŋ* 'what\_kind'. In the exclamative clause in (534b) stress is placed on the noun भुल *bʰul* 'mistake'.

## (534) a. केनड भुल? (cf. GR.02.018)

'kenʌŋ bʰul

'what\_kind mistake

'What (kind of) mistake?'

## b. केताखान 'भुल!

kete-kʰan 'bʰul

how\_much-NCLS 'mistake

'What (a) mistake!'

## 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 mut<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-is  
 son-GEN head eat-SUBJ2sg  
 'May you eat your son's head!' (That is, 'May your son die before you!')
- b. बड हइस! जल्दि बेहा हकु।  
 baṭa ha-is, jaḷdi beha ha-ku  
 big be-SUBJ2sg, soon marriage be-(SUBJ)SA2sg  
 'May you(r family) increase! May you soon be married!'
- c. भगवानडए बिचार करिष्कु! (or, कर्कु)  
 b<sup>h</sup>agwan-ḍa=e bicar kaṭ-ṭip-ku (or, kaṭ-ku)  
 god-NCLS=EMPH thought do-FUT-SA2sg (or, do-(SUBJ)SA2sg)  
 'May god judge you!'

The following expletives were encountered:

- (536) a. लङ्गट *laŋgaṭ* 'ill-behaved\_person' (cf. GR.01.010)
- b. सालार बुरि रे! (MR.04.080)  
 sala-r bur<sup>h</sup>i 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 Rājbanṣhi is left-branching. Noun phrase constituent order can be illustrated as follows:

Table 53. Noun phrase constituent order

Type 1				HEAD
Type 2	(POSS)		(ADJ) (QNT)	HEAD -NCLS (-CASE) (=CL) -PL
Type 3	sg	DEM -NCLS NUM	(ADJ)	HEAD (-NCLS) (-CASE) (=CL)
	pl	DEM -PL	(ADJ) (QNT)	HEAD (-PL) (-CASE) (=CL)

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 देखिचित?  
 tui jahaj dek<sup>h</sup>-ic-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 पइनि *u-dΛ pΛini* 'that-NCLS irrigation\_channel' (cf. MR.05.094)  
 b. एकटा पखि *ek-ta pΛk<sup>h</sup>i* 'one-NCLS bird' (cf. DLR.05.002)  
 c. बेटिर घर *beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>Λr* 'daughter-GEN house' (cf. DLR.04.005)  
 d. लाम चुलिला *lam<sup>h</sup>Λ culi-la* 'long hair-PL' (cf. MR.05.221)  
 e. इड काटाल भातारट (cf. DLR.06.076)  
 i-dΛ kaṭ-al b<sup>h</sup>atar-tΛ  
 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)  
 c<sup>h</sup>ΛtΛ-dΛ-k  
 small-NCLS-DAT  
 'the (socially) small (person)'  
 b. नि लागे गरम तरम कर्बा, जुरालेखान ले आन्।  
 ni lag-e gaΛam [t]Λram kaΛ-ba jura-l = e-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 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).'

- c. बुरिड एकटा बगलत जाएने... (cf. MR.04.192)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>i-dʌ ek-ta bʌglʌt ja-ene...  
 old\_woman-NCLS one-NCLS near go-CONJ.PTCL  
 '...the old woman went aside...' (lit. 'to one (place) close')

### 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 -tʌ (-ड -dʌ) and -खान -k<sup>h</sup>an, 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. भातारटक b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ-k 'husband-NCLS-DAT' (cf. DLR.06.113)  
 b. घनिडक g<sup>h</sup>ʌrni-dʌ-k 'wife-NCLS-DAT' (cf. DLR.04.007)  
 c. बारिखानेर bari-k<sup>h</sup>an-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. इड गरा i-dʌ gʌr<sup>h</sup>a 'DEM[prox]-NCLS dung\_stick' ('this dung stick')  
 b. दुइडा गरा dui-dʌ gʌr<sup>h</sup>a 'two-NCLS dung\_stick' ('two dung sticks')  
 c. एकटा गरा ek-ta gʌr<sup>h</sup>a-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 चुलि (cf. MR.05.238)  
 ete-k<sup>h</sup>an lam<sup>h</sup>ʌ 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).

- (543) a. Type 3 इखान बड लेदडा *i-k<sup>h</sup>an bAɾA ledɔŋa* 'DEM[prox]-NCLS big stick'  
 b. Type 3 एकखान बड लेदडा *ek-k<sup>h</sup>an bAɾA ledɔŋa* 'one-NCLS big stick' (cf. MR.04.075)  
 c. Type 2 मोर बड लेदडाखान *mo-r bAɾA ledɔŋa-k<sup>h</sup>an* '1sg[obl]-GEN big stick-NCLS'

Quantifiers, such as गटे *gɔte* '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.)

- (544) उला गटे छागल(ला)क (cf. MR.05.013)  
 u-la gɔte c<sup>h</sup>agɔl(-la)-k  
 DEM[rem]-PL all female\_goat(-PL)-DAT  
 'all those goats'

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

Case	Lexical head	-CASE	Grammatical head
Type 4	pronoun	-GEN	case enclitic
	other nominal constituent	-∅	case enclitic
Type 5	pronoun and other nominal constituent	-GEN	postposition
Type 6	pronoun and other nominal constituent	-GEN	complex (compound) postposition

### 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)  
 bara muskil  
 very difficult  
 'very difficult'



The adjective phrase head can be marked with conjunctive (546a) or emphatic (546b) clitics.

- (546) a. झट्किअ  $j^h\Lambda tki = \Lambda$  'slim = CNJ' ('also skinny'; cf. DLR.05.005)  
 b. काचए  $kac\Lambda = e$  '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<sup>h</sup>a kΛr-  
 clean do-  
 'to clean'
- b. साफा सुघर कर- (cf. MR.05.132)  
 sap<sup>h</sup>a sug<sup>h</sup>Λr kΛr-  
 clean clean do-  
 'to clean'

The constituent order in the adjective phrase can thus be presented as follows:

Table 55. Adjective phrase constituent order

	Modifier	Reduplicated element	Head (primary element)	
Default	(ADV)		ADJ	(= CL)
Reduplicated	(ADV)	ADJ	ADJ (same)	
Conjunct verb		(ADJ)	ADJ (different)	

#### 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 =  $t\Lambda n$  '= PST.COND' (Ghailāḍubbā), or -हने =  $h\Lambda ne$  '= PST.COND' (Korobāri)) follows primary/secondary agreement marking (548e).

- (548) a. V-T/A-Agreement as in खाचे (morpheme order Type 1)  
 k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e  
 eat-PRES-3
- b. V-T/A-Agreement as in कह्कि (morpheme order Type 1)  
 kʌhʌ-c-ki  
 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 नाघन (morpheme order Type 2)  
 na<sup>h</sup>-ʌn  
 cook-SUBJ2pl
- e. V-Tense-Agreement = CL as in बल्लुतन (morpheme order Type 3)  
 baʌ-n-u = taʌn  
 speak-PST-1sg = PST.COND

As mentioned in sections 3.7.3 and 3.7.9.2, Rājibanshi has several types of complex verb constructions. The second verb (in default order) is marked for tense, aspect, mood and agreement.

- (549) a. V<sub>[BARE.STEM]</sub> V, as in ढोल पिट्बा  
 ɖ<sup>h</sup>ol piṭ-ba  
 drum\_to\_summon beat-INF
- b. V-CONJ.PTCL V, as in कानिए उट्बा (i.e. 'to cry out aloud')  
 ka-n-ie uṭ<sup>h</sup>-ba  
 cry-CONJ.PTCL rise-INF
- c. V-ABS AUX, as in देखि फेकाल्कि  
 dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki  
 look-ABS AUX-PST-SA3
- d. V-CONT.PTCL AUX, as in आस्ते रहिस  
 a-s-te raʌh-is  
 come-CONT.PTCL AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg
- e. V-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX, as in देखा जाछे  
 dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

The following table illustrates these observations:

Table 56. Structure of the verb

Verb structure			
Verb (simple)		V	
Conjunct verb	N/ADJ	V	
Conjunct verb		V(bare stem)	V
Derivational compound verb		V -CONJ.PTCL	V
Quasi-aspectual compound verb		V -ABS	AUX
Continuous (aspect)		V -CONT.PTCL	AUX(CONT)
Passive (analytic)		V -PST.PTCL	PASS.AUX
Morpheme order			
Type1		Stem -T/A -Agr	
Type2		Stem -T/M + Agr	
Type3		Stem -T/A -Agr	=CL

## 7.3 Clause-internal word order

### 7.3.1 Basic word order

The unmarked word order in Rājban̄shi is SOV.

(550) a. Intransitive

चेडराड उपरमाखे देखे। (cf. MR.05.195)

ceŋra-ɖʌ upʌr-mak<sup>h</sup>e dek<sup>h</sup>-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 maʌ-dʌ-k ɖaka-ba caha-l-ɪ  
 3sg[pro] mother-NCLS-DAT call-INF want\_to-PST-3  
 'He wanted to call (his) mother.'

c. Dative subject construction

चेडराडक डर लागि गेलिक। (cf. MR.05.017)

ceŋra-ɖʌ-k ɖʌr 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) चेडराड उहाँक खिसाखान सुनाय्कि। (cf. MR.05.153)

ceŋra-ɖʌ uhã-k k<sup>h</sup>isa-k<sup>h</sup>an sun-a-p-ki  
 young\_man-NCLS 3sg[pro]-DAT story-NCLS hear-CAUS-FUT-SA3  
 'The young man told her<sub>[INDIRECT OBJECT]</sub> the story<sub>[DIRECT OBJECT]</sub>.'

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)

i-ɖʌ p<sup>h</sup>ul hama-r ti-kar p<sup>h</sup>ul-ɖʌ  
 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)

i-ɖʌ lok gʌcimari-r hʌ-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimāri-GEN be-PRES3  
 'This man is from Gacimāri.'

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

खेटियाला राति घुरि आसिए कचुला खाए गिच्छि। (cf. MR.04.025)  
 k<sup>h</sup>eɽia-la rati g<sup>h</sup>uri as-ie kacu-la k<sup>h</sup>a-e g-ic-ki  
 jackal-PL night during come-CONJ.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL eat-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3  
 'The jackals, coming during the night, ate the [kacu]vegetables up.'

b. Directional

बुरा बुरि घर चुलि गेल। (MR.04.024)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i g<sup>h</sup>ʌr cul-i ge-l  
 old\_man old\_woman house AUX-ABS go-PST3  
 'The old man and old woman went home.'

c. Temporal

रात करे उहाँर भातारट निदाए गेइच्छि। (cf. DLR.06.047)  
 rat kare uhã-r b<sup>h</sup>atar-ɽʌ nida-e ge-ic-ki  
 night ADVL 3sg[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS sleep-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3  
 'During the night her husband fell asleep.'

## 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 जाष्कि। (MR.05.037)  
 bag<sup>h</sup>-ḍa-r      daha-ḍa      gʌt-tʌ=e      k<sup>h</sup>un=e      k<sup>h</sup>un      hʌ-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 करिऐने सुना उहाँक कहष्कि...। (MR.05.038)  
 tʌne suna larai      tarai      kaɾ-iene      suna uhã-k      kaʌʌ-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. ह्दर खेटियाड पानि खाचे, हुदर छागलेर बाचाड पानि खाचे। (GR.01.006)  
 hidʌr      k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-ḍa      pani      k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e      hudʌr      c<sup>h</sup>agʌl-er      baca-ḍa  
 over\_here jackal-NCLS water eat-PRES-3 over\_there goat-GEN baby(animal)-NCLS  
 pani      k<sup>h</sup>a-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 फेकाले। (GR.01.007)  
 te      yaha      dek<sup>h</sup>-i      p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i  
 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 (-कि -ki 'SA3').

(556) जुवाँड कहक्कि... (cf. DLR.04.019)

juã-dʌ                      kʌhʌ-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) आनिए बुनि दिद्धे। (MR.04.023)

an-ie                      bun-i              d-ic<sup>h</sup>-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 <sup>h</sup>). Note that in the previous clause (558a) the agent has been demoted to a non-topical clause-final position.

(558) a. तोक छर्ने बाला 'नि छु मुइ। (cf. GR.01.022)

to-k                      c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ne                      wala              'ni              c<sup>h</sup>-u                      mui  
 2sg[obl]-DAT spare-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) 'NEG be-PRES1sg 1sg[pro]  
 '[I]<sub>[NON-TOPIC]</sub> [am not]<sub>[FOCUS]</sub> [the one to spare you]<sub>[TOPIC]</sub>.'

b. तोक 'खामु। (GR.01.023)

to-k                      'k<sup>h</sup>a-m-u  
 2sg[obl]-DAT 'eat-FUT-1sg  
 '(I) [will 'eat]<sub>[FOCUS]</sub> [you]<sub>[TOPIC]</sub>.'

### 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.<sup>77</sup> 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 Rājbanṣhi 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.

### 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. *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. *Question-answer focus*.
3. *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. *Scrambling*: other reorderings, particularly those involving displacement of the VP to initial position..."

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<sup>77</sup> 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 Rājbanṣhi oral narratives collected for this work reveal that approximately 20% have at least one displaced element.<sup>78</sup> 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 सुना *suna* 'PCL' in clause-final position in (559a), and clause-medial position in (559b) were not considered examples of displacement.

(559) a. चुलि आसेचे सुना। (cf. DLR.04.009)

cul-i as-ec-e suna  
AUX-ABS come-PRES-3 PCL  
'So, he keeps on coming.'

b. लदिड से सुना सिनान करिए घरत सुना चुलि आस्वे। (MR.05.240)

ladi-ḍa se suna sin-an kaɾ-ie g<sup>h</sup>ʌɾ-ʌt suna cul-i  
river-NCLS ABL PCL wash(body)-DVBL do-CONJ.PTCL house-LOC PCL AUX-ABS  
as-b-i  
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

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<sup>78</sup> 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." Bhattacharya (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 diacritic ' in subsequent examples).

(560) आप मोक आसा 'छर्वे नि। (cf. MR.04.183)

ap mo-k am<sup>h</sup>a 'c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-b-ɪ 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.<sup>79</sup>

(561) a. कोइखुना दुइ महिना तक नि आसे, उड थानडत माने। (cf. MR.05.125)

koi-k<sup>h</sup>una dui mʌhina tʌk ni as-e  
 some-time two month until NEG come-PST.HAB3  
 u-ɖʌ t<sup>h</sup>an-ɖʌ-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 लिबा लागे उहाँर सडे हामाक, अमार सडे, खेटियालार सडे।" (cf. recording of MR.04.048)

bʌdla tʌ li-ba lag-e uhā-r sʌŋe hama-k,  
 revenge PCL take-INF must-PRES3 3sg[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT,  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r sʌŋe, k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-la-r sʌŋe  
 3pl[pro]-GEN with, jackal-PL-GEN with  
 'We have to take revenge on him; (I mean) on them, on the jackals.'

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<sup>79</sup> 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 घुरि, बार बजे, उड बाघड सुना... (cf. MR.05.086)  
 rati g<sup>h</sup>uri barΛ bΛje u-ɖΛ bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖΛ suna...  
 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 *arhΛ* '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. तमार दादोड 'आरह नि छे इड संसारत। (cf. MR.04.060)  
 tam<sup>h</sup>a-r dado-ɖΛ 'arhΛ ni c<sup>h</sup>-e i-ɖΛ sansar-At  
 2pl[pro]-GEN grandfather-NCLS 'more NEG be-PRES3 this-NCLS world-LOC  
 'Your grandfather is no longer in this world.'
- b. आज्ञा जाछु बेटिर 'घरा (MR.04.107; compare with MR.04.102 and MR.04.126)  
 al<sup>h</sup>a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u beṭi-r 'g<sup>h</sup>Ar  
 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 Rājbandhi literary style (though there are also exceptions such as Rājbandhi 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.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> 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 मुइ खास्कुन। (cf. MR.05.099)  
 to-k mui 'k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ku-n  
 2sg[obl]-DAT 1sg[pro] 'eat-FUT-SA2sg-1sg  
 'I will eat you<sub>[TOPIC]</sub>.'
- b. आप मोक त तामा खाबन रे। (cf. MR.04.186)  
 ap mo-k tA tam<sup>h</sup>a 'k<sup>h</sup>a-b-ʌn re  
 PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL 2pl[pro] 'eat-FUT-2pl PCL  
 'Now you will certainly eat me<sub>[TOPIC]</sub>.'

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 'नि छबै। (MR.04.100)  
 ap tA mo-k am<sup>h</sup>a 'ni c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-b-ɪ  
 PCL PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT 3pl[pro] 'NEG spare-FUT-3  
 'Now they will not spare me<sub>[TOPIC]</sub>.'
- b. आप मोक आमा 'छबै नि। (cf. MR.04.183)  
 ap mo-k am<sup>h</sup>a 'c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-b-ɪ ni  
 PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT 3pl[pro] 'spare-FUT-3 NEG  
 'Now they will not spare me<sub>[TOPIC]</sub>.'

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mentions that literary Maithili writers are inclined to refrain from using detached orders in the written form: "Within these restrictions, words in Maithili can be arranged in any manner, in a sentence by the speaker. ... It must, however, be remarked here that in the literary language the normal IA. order of words is strictly observed."

<sup>81</sup> 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 मुइ *mui* '1sg[pro]'. The direct object which is fronted (or, displaced to the left) seems to remain in focus.

(566) तोर कादुवालि करा पानिखान 'मुइ खाचु। (GR.01.012)

to-r kaduali kAR-a pani-k<sup>h</sup>an 'mui k<sup>h</sup>a-c-u  
 2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS '1sg eat-PRES-1sg  
 '(Contrary to what you said, it is) [I]<sub>[FOCUS]</sub> (who) am drinking [the water made muddy by  
 you]<sub>[TOPIC]</sub>.'

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."

Rājbandhi 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, चल- *cal-*) 'AUX'.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> 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." Rājbandhi therefore differs from Hindi as regards the occurrence of desinence. That is, in Rājbandhi 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 -i 'ABS', but in the marked construction the absolutive is -इए -ie 'ABS'.

(567) a. त बुरा बुरिलाक 'रिस उठि गेलिक।

tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k 'ris uʈ<sup>h</sup>-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 बुरा बुरिलाक 'गेलिक रिस उठिए। (MR.04.045)

tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k 'ge-l-ki ris uʈ<sup>h</sup>-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) नि जाबे रहा इला झग्रा दनत। (cf. DLR.04.030)

ni ja-b-i rʌh-a i-la j<sup>h</sup>agara dʌn-ʌt  
 NEG PASS.AUX-FUT-3 remain-PST.PTCL DEM[prox]-PL fight quarrel-LOC  
 'One can not stay in this fighting.'

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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 metaforic) 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 Rājbanṣhi, 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. राजार बेटिड उड टप्लाड 'देख्खे खुलाएने। (cf. MR.05.236)  
 raja-r beṭi-ḍa u-ḍa ṭapla-ḍa 'dek<sup>h</sup>-b-i k<sup>h</sup>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).'
- b. माने 'चुलि गेल हपाए घुरिएने। (cf. DLR.04.033)  
 mane 'cul-i ge-l hapaē g<sup>h</sup>ur-iene  
 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. चेडराड धर्ले बासि बल्बा। (cf. MR.05.324)  
 ceṅra-ḍa d<sup>h</sup>ar-l-i basi baḷ-ba  
 young\_man-NCLS begin-PST-3 flute play(instrument)-INF  
 'The young man started to play the flute.'
- b. बुरिड धरिचे कान्बा। (cf. MR.04.192)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍa d<sup>h</sup>ar-ic-e kan-ba  
 old\_woman-NCLS begin-PERF-3 cry-INF  
 'The old woman began to cry.'
- c. मुइ नि जाम देख्खा। (cf. DLR.06.011)  
 mui ni ja-m dek<sup>h</sup>-ba  
 1sg[pro] NEG go-FUT1sg see-INF  
 'I am not going to see.'
- d. रानिर बेटिड 'जावे आन्बा। (cf. MR.05.234)  
 rani-r beṭi-ḍa 'ja-b-i an-ba  
 queen-GEN daughter-NCLS 'go-FUT-3 bring-INF  
 'The queen's daughter went to take (it).'

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- *baḍla li-* 'revenge take' ('to take revenge') in (571a), and गालि दि- *gali di-* 'rebuke give' ('to scold') in (571b).

- (571) a. केनड करे लिबो ते बदला? (MR.04.049)  
 'kenʌŋ kʌre li-b-o te bʌdla  
 'how ADVL take-FUT-2sg PCL revenge  
 'How will you take revenge then?'
- b. आरसाल 'कियाँ दिस्लो मोक गालि? (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?'

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 *कियाँ नि खाबो* *kiã ni k<sup>h</sup>a-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* *p<sup>h</sup>ul-dʌ* 'flower-NCLS'.<sup>83</sup>

- (572) a. 'कियाँ नि खाबो तुइ खराक? (MR.05.243)  
 'kiã ni k<sup>h</sup>a-b-o tui k<sup>h</sup>ʌrak  
 'why NEG eat-FUT-2sg 2sg[pro] food  
 'Why will you not eat food?'
- b. उड 'सुक बासिड दे झाटा टुक्वे कुवाडक। (cf. MR.05.199)  
 u-dʌ 'suk basi-dʌ de j<sup>h</sup>ʌtʌ t<sup>h</sup>uk-b-ɪ kua-dʌ-k  
 that-NCLS 'happiness flute-NCLS INSTR stick hit-FUT-3 crow-NCLS-DAT  
 'He threw the happiness flute at the crow.'

<sup>83</sup> 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."

- c. सुना फुलड दिक्कि 'गिराए चेडराडक। (MR.05.202)  
 suna p<sup>h</sup>ul-ɖʌ di-p-ki 'gir-a-e ceŋra-ɖʌ-k  
 PCL flower-NCLS AUX-FUT-SA3 'fall-CAUS-ABS young\_man-NCLS-DAT  
 'The flower he dropped to the young man.'
- d. 'बाडा चिन्ता लागि गेलिक उहाँक। (cf. MR.05.205)  
 'bara cinta lag-i ge-l-ki uhã-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. घडाड खाबा पाचे 'बादाम। (GR.02.003; cf. also GR.022.012 and GR.02.057)  
 g<sup>h</sup>ʌɖa-ɖʌ k<sup>h</sup>a-ba pa-c-e 'badam  
 horse-NCLS eat-INF get-PRES-3 'nut  
 'The horse gets to eat nuts (~ and not straw).'
- b. अमा खाबा पाचे 'पुवाला। (GR.02.005)  
 ʌm<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-ba pa-c-e 'pual  
 3pl[pro] eat-INF get-PRES-3 'straw  
 'They get to eat straw (~ and not nuts).'
- c. लेकिन उड बेछ्छानि छिले 'बहुत खाराब। (DLR.06.112)  
 lekin u-ɖʌ berc<sup>h</sup>ani c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i 'bʌhut k<sup>h</sup>arab  
 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 आसिए पुगि जाम तोक बच्चार ताने। (cf. MR.05.183)  
 hama as-ie pug-i ja-m-ʌ to-k bʌc-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.'



- b. डर लागिच्चि जुलुम। (MR.05.025)  
 'dʌr lag-ic-ki julum  
 'fear feel-PERF-SA3 very  
 'He was very afraid.'
- c. काम जाम छेइ नि तोर। (cf. GR.02.071)  
 kam jam 'c<sup>h</sup>-e=i(e) ni to-r  
 work [echo]work 'be-PRES3=EMPH NEG 2sg[obl]-GEN  
 'You are absolutely worthless.'

Also the adverbs कोधोए नि *kod<sup>h</sup>oe ni* 'never NEG' ('never') and कुछु नि *kuc<sup>h</sup>u 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 कर्बारा। (GR.02.052)  
 'kod<sup>h</sup>oe ni uhā kam kʌr-ba-r  
 'never NEG 3sg[pro] work do-INF-GEN  
 'He has never been a working (horse).'
- b. उहाँ कुछु नि बले। (cf. DLR.05.013)  
 uhā 'kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni bʌl-r  
 3sg[pro] 'some NEG speak-PST3  
 '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)  
 kʌcu-la tʌ 'gaj-ec-e re=i ni kod<sup>h</sup>oe  
 [kacu]vegetable-PL PCL 'sprout-PRES-3 be=EMPH NEG never  
 'The [kacu]vegetables (just) never sprout up at all!'
- b. मोर उपाय छेइए नि कुछु। (cf. MR.04.187)  
 mo-r upae 'c<sup>h</sup>-e=ie ni kuc<sup>h</sup>u  
 1sg[obl]-GEN way 'be-PRES3=EMPH NEG some  
 '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 तोर *to-r*

'2sg[obl]-GEN' and the head noun मसि *masi* 'sister\_of\_mother' in (577c).<sup>84</sup> In (577d) the article is displaced to clause-final position.

- (577) a. त एकटा उहाँ 'कडि पाइचे। (DLR.05.007)  
 tʌ ek-tʌ uhā 'kʌɖi pa-ic-e  
 PCL one-NCLS 3sg[pro] 'shell get-PERF-3  
 'He found a shell.'
- b. त भइसट एकटा याहाँक 'बुद्धि दिष्कि। (cf. MR.05.156)  
 bʰʌis-tʌ ek-tʌ yaha-k 'buddʰi di-p-ki  
 water\_buffalo-NCLS one-NCLS DEM[pro/prox]-DAT 'wisdom give-FUT-SA3  
 'The wild buffalo gave him an idea.'
- c. तोर मुइ 'मसि रे! (MR.05.277)  
 to-r mui 'masi re  
 2sg[obl]-GEN 1sg[pro] 'sister\_of\_mother PCL  
 'I am certainly your aunt.'
- d. 'घडा छुकु ते एकटा। (cf. GR.02.040)  
 'gʰʌɖa cʰ-u-ku te ek-tʌ  
 'horse be-PRES-SA2sg PCL one-NCLS  
 '(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 मोर पानिखान *mo-r pani-kʰan* '1sg[obl]-GEN water' has been reversed to a head-modifier order. Likewise, the order of the phrase constituents याहाँर मनड *yaha-r man-ɖʌ* 'DEM[pro/prox]-GEN mind-NCLS' in (578b) is reversed.

- (578) a. पानिखान मोर 'कियाँ कादुवालि करेचिस? (GR.01.011; cf. also MR.05.235)  
 pani-kʰan mo-r 'kiã kaduali kaɾ-ec-is  
 water-NCLS 1sg[obl]-GEN 'why muddy do-PRES-2sg  
 'Why are you making my water muddy?'

<sup>84</sup> 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 æktā pukur* 'a very big tank', *fundor fundor kɔækkhāni pākhā* 'a number of very beautiful fans', *birāt ekti nōkkhottro* '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."

- b. मनड याहाँर आधाङि से बेसि हइ गेलिक 'काट्बारे। (cf. DLR.06.055)  
 mʌn-dʌ yaha-r ad<sup>h</sup>aŋi se besi hʌ-i ge-l-ki  
 mind-NCLS DEM[pro/prox]-GEN half ABL more be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
 'kaʈ-ba-r = e  
 'cut-INF-GEN = EMPH  
 'Her mind became more than half favourable of cutting.'

There were only two examples of this type of construction in the text material collected but an identical construction is found in Hindi. Masica (1976:18) notes:

"A locution rather characteristic of Hindi is the postponed genitive modifier – worked to death by poets and songwriters but also fairly common in conversation."

## 7.4 Simple and complex sentences

### 7.4.1 Negation

#### 7.4.1.1 General

Rājbanṣhi makes use of two negative particles: नि *ni* 'NEG' and ना *na* 'NEG' (dialectal variant ने *ne* 'NEG'). The negative particle नि *ni* '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 *na* 'NEG'. The negative particle नि *ni* 'NEG' is also used with the conjunctive participle (579d).

- (579) a. Finite  
 त गाअँर लोकला नि पत्याले ते... (cf. DLR.06.093)  
 tʌ gaã-r lok-la ni pʌtya-l-i te...  
 PCL village-GEN man-PL NEG believe-PST-3 PCL  
 'The men of the village could not believe that...'
- b. Imperative  
 ना कोहो।  
 na koho-Ø  
 NEG say-IMP2sg  
 'Don't tell.'
- c. Subjunctive  
 ...आरह लोकला माने दिसा ना पाओका (cf. MR.05.271)  
 ...arhʌ lok-la mane disa na pa-ok  
 ...other man-PL PCL knowledge NEG receive-SUBJ3  
 '...so that the other men wouldn't find out.'

## d. Conjunctive participle

...दारि मोच नि काटिएने... (cf. MR.05.192)

...dar<sup>h</sup>i moc ni kaṭ-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) बेछरनिड त भातारटक नेइए काटबे। (DLR.06.088)

berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ḍa tʌ b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ-k ne = ie kaṭ-b-i

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 Rājibanshi renders the positive sense.

(581) ...नि कर्लड नि हचे। (cf. MR.05.255)

...ni kaṛ-la = u ni ha-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 चेडरा घर सर आर नि जाबे। (MR.05.115)

suna i-ḍa ceṅra g<sup>h</sup>ar 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.'

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 दिसा ना पाओका। (cf. MR.05.271)

...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.'

b. ...रहा नि जाबे... (cf. DLR.04.030)

...raha-a ni ja-b-i...

...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 पाओका  
 (?)...arh<sup>Λ</sup> 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 जावे...  
 (?)...ni r<sup>Λ</sup>h-a ja-b-I...  
 (?)...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 देख्वा नि जामा (cf. DLR.06.011)  
 ...mui dek<sup>h</sup>-ba ni ja-m  
 ...1sg[pro] see-INF NEG go-FUT1sg  
 '...I am not going to see.'
- b. \*मुइ नि देख्वा जामा  
 \*...mui ni dek<sup>h</sup>-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 *kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni* 'nothing' (586) may seem to point to a constituent negation.

- (586) मोर त कामअ कुछु नि, लेकिन... (cf. GR.02.015)  
 mo-r t<sup>Λ</sup> kam=<sup>Λ</sup> kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni lekin...  
 1sg[obl]-GEN PCL work=<sup>Λ</sup>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) इड घर नि (हए), उड घर (हए)।

i-dʌ                      g<sup>h</sup>ʌr    ni    (hʌ-e),              u-dʌ                      g<sup>h</sup>ʌr    (hʌ-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 <sup>1</sup> in the following examples).

(588) a. मुइ देखा जाम 'नि।

...mui      dek<sup>h</sup>-ba    ja-m              'ni  
 ...1sg[pro] see-INF go-FUT1sg 'NEG  
 '...I am not going to see (at any cost).'

b. ...रहा जाबे 'नि... (cf. DLR.04.030)

...rʌh-a                      ja-b-ɪ                      '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 Rājibanshi negation.

Table 57. Negative particle functions

	preverbal position	postverbal position
नि <i>ni</i>	negation (neutral; cf. example 585a)	negation (emphatic; cf. example 588a-b)
		politeness particle 'PCL' [high-rising intonation] (cf. example 589a)
ना <i>na</i> (ने <i>ne</i> )	negation (neutral; cf. example 583a)	negation (neutral order in subordinate clause) (cf. example 589b)
		politeness particle 'PCL' [low-falling intonation] (cf. example 589c)
		disjunctive conjunction 'or' (cf. example 589d)
		tag particle 'PCL[TAG]' (cf. example 589e)

(589) a. जा नि। (DLR.06.006)

ja-∅              ni  
 go-IMP2sg PCL  
 ('Please) go.' (or, 'Go on now!')

- b. दहिखान ठिक से लेइ जा जेसे परोक ना।  
 dʌhi-kʰan tʰik se le-i ja-∅ jese pʌr-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 देख्वा। (DLR.06.015)  
 ja-∅ na dekʰ-ba  
 go-IMP2sg PCL see-INF  
 'Go on and see!'
- d. माअ बाप छुकु ना नि छुकु? (MR.05.309)  
 maʌ 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. एकझन बेरामि हले, हाल जुता त नि जाबे ना? (GR.02.020)  
 ek-jʰʌn berami hʌ-le hal jut-a tʌ 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?'

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! कडिड त छेइए नि! (cf. DLR.05.034)  
 are kʌḍi-ḍʌ tʌ cʰ-e=ie ni  
 INJ shell-NCLS PCL be-PRES3=EMPH NEG  
 'Oh, the shell is just not there!'
- b. घडा छे, ते हाल बहबेइ 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 खाराब काथा बल्बाअ नि... (cf. DLR.05.065)  
 ...ar kʰarab katʰa bʌl-ba=ʌ ni...  
 ...and bad thing speak-INF=CNJ NEG...  
 '...and that (one) shouldn't speak bad things either.'

7.4.1.3 *The perfect, past continuous/remote past and quasi-aspectual auxiliary in the negative*

The negative of the perfect and past continuous/remote past take past habitual marking.

- (591) a. तने कह्कि, आइ, मोर माने कोए दुक नि परे। (MR.05.343)  
 tane kʌhʌ-p-ki ai mo-r mane koe duk ni pʌr-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 मरेकि तरेकि नि! (MR.04.083)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ mʌr-eki tʌr-eki ni  
 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 नाझाए लेच्छि। (cf. MR.05.031)  
 baɣ<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ sor-tʌ-k na<sup>h</sup>ra-e l-ec-ki  
 tiger-NCLS pig-NCLS-DAT claw-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3  
 'The tiger clawed the boar.'
- b. बाघड सोरटक नि नाझाकि (or, नाझाकि)।  
 baɣ<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ sor-tʌ-k ni na<sup>h</sup>ra-ki (or, na<sup>h</sup>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.



## 7.4.2 Subordination

In this section I will consider subordination, as used in subject and object complement clauses, noun and verb modifying clauses and conditional clauses.

## 7.4.2.1 Complement clauses

The following types of complementation were found in Rājbanṣhi: 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

	SU	Complement in copula clause	DO	Direct discourse marker
Clause with subordinator				
कि <i>ki</i>	-	-	✓	-
ते <i>te</i>	-	-	✓	-
Clause with complementiser				
कहे(ने) <i>kAhe(ne)</i>	-	-	✓	✓
करे <i>kAre</i>	-	-	✓	?
बोले <i>boli</i>	-	-	-	✓
Clause with infinitival complement				
-बार <i>-ba-r</i> 'INF-GEN'	✓	✓		-
-बा <i>-ba</i> 'INF'	-	-	✓	-
Clause with participial complement				
-बा <i>-ba</i> 'INF'	-	-	✓	-
-ते <i>-te</i> 'CONT.PTCL'	-	(loan construction)	✓	-

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) दुनियार लोकला देख्ले कि (याहाँ) अलवत बेर्छानि! (cf. DLR.06.102)

duṇia-r lok-la dek<sup>h</sup>-l-i ki (yaha) Alwot berc<sup>h</sup>ani  
 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'.

(594) बुराड सुनेचे ते (or, कि) जुवाँ बेटिला झग्रा लागए दिछे। (cf. DLR.04.029)

bur<sup>h</sup>a-dΛ sun-ec-e te/ki juā beṭi-la j<sup>h</sup>agΛra laga-e d-ic<sup>h</sup>-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 कहे(ने) kahe(ne) and करे kare

The conjunctive participle of the verb 'to say' कहे(ने) *kΛh-e(ne)* 'say-CONJ.PTCL' (also, कहए *kΛhΛ-e*) has been analysed as a complementiser 'CMPL' in (595a-c).<sup>85</sup> In addition, कहे(ने) *kΛh-e(ne)* '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. त गाअँर लोकला नि पत्याले ते बेछानिड काट्बे कहेने। (DLR.06.093)

tΛ gaã-r lok-la ni pΛtya-l-ɪ  
PCL village-GEN man-PL NEG believe-PST-3  
te berc<sup>h</sup>ani-dΛ kaṭ-b-ɪ kΛhene  
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. बुरिड कुछु कठिनत परिचे कहे थाहा पाले। (cf. MR.04.197)

bur<sup>h</sup>i-dΛ kuc<sup>h</sup>u kaṭ<sup>h</sup>in-Λt pΛr-ic-e kΛhe t<sup>h</sup>aha pa-l-ɪ  
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. आमाक बाराबरे हइ गेलन कहे कहबा हबे। (MR.05.049)

am<sup>h</sup>a-k barabar=e hΛ-i ge-l-Λn kΛhe kΛhΛ-ba hΛ-b-ɪ  
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. "याहँर बदला लिए छरिम्कन," कहेने दने बुरा बुरि घर चुलि गेल। (cf. MR.04.047)

yaha-r baḍla l-ie c<sup>h</sup>Λr-im-kΛ-n kΛh-ene  
3sg[pro/prox]-GEN revenge take-CONJ.PTCL let\_go-FUT-SA2pl-1sg say-CONJ.PTCL  
dΛn<sup>h</sup>e bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i g<sup>h</sup>Λr 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.'

<sup>85</sup> 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. *boli*, B. *bole*, A. *buli*, N. *bhanera*) has often been remarked upon as a Dravidian calque (Telugu *ani*, Tamil *enru*, 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) "एकदिन देख्बा हबे," कहेने रान्डियानिड मने मने सच्ले। (cf. DLR.05.022)

ek-din dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hΛ-b-I kAh(-)ene raṇḍiani-dΛ mΛn=e  
 one-day see-INF must-FUT-3 CMPL/say-CONJ.PTCL widow-NCLS mind=EMPH  
 mΛn=e sΛc-I-I  
 mind=EMPH think-PST-3

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 *bo(l)-l-I* 'say-PST-3' is used to mark direct quotations. In research to date it has not been found to function as a subordinator as such.<sup>86</sup> 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 *boli* as a quotative particle.)

(597) a. त बोले, "अइ ते कि कहबो सुना?" (cf. DLR.04.009)

tΛ bo(l)-l-I Λi te ki kAhΛ-b-o suna  
 PCL say-PST-3 INJ PCL what say-FUT-2sg PCL  
 'But she said, "Eh, what can you say?"'

b. "ह," बोले। (MR.04.064)

hΛ bo(l)-l-I  
 OK say-PST-3  
 ' "OK," they said.'

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 दिम्कुन।

mo-k bau kAre koho-∅  
 1sg[obl]-DAT father CMPL say-IMP2sg  
 tΛ ek ʈaka di-m-ku-n  
 PCL(then) one coin give-FUT-SA2sg-1sg  
 'Call me father, (and) I will give you one coin.'

<sup>86</sup> Compare with Masica (1991:403): "Assamese, while using *buli* as a clause-final subordinator, uses *bole* as a clause-initial subordinator."

## 7.4.2.1.3 Infinitival complements

The subject of a copula clause may be substituted by a clause, the predicate of which is marked with the infinitive *-ba* 'INF' and the genitive *-r* 'GEN'.<sup>87</sup>

- (599) a. इखान धुपेर (समय) इड गाछेर तलत जिराबार खबे रुस-रुसिया।  
 i-k<sup>h</sup>an d<sup>h</sup>up-er (sAMAE) [i-dΛ gac<sup>h</sup>-er tΛΛt  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS sun-GEN (time) [DEM[prox]-NCLS tree-GEN below  
 jira-ba-r] k<sup>h</sup>Λb=e rus rus-ia  
 rest-INF-GEN]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> very=EMPH [rus rus]-ADJR  
 'To rest under this tree in this sun is very refreshingly cool.'
- b. खान पिनेर व्यवस्था कर्बार सुबिस्ता हबे। (cf. MR.05.316)  
 [k<sup>h</sup>anΛ pin-er bewΛst<sup>h</sup>a kΛr-ba-r] subista hΛ-b-1  
 [food drink-GEN arrangement(loan) do-INF-GEN]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> easy(loan) be-FUT-3  
 'The arrangement for eating and drinking will be easy.'
- c. हइचोक खाबार अच्छाए। (cf. GR.02.013 for a similar structure)  
 hΛ-ic-ok [k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r] acc<sup>h</sup>ae  
 be-PERF-SA2sg [eat-INF-GEN]<sub>[SUBJECT]</sub> well  
 'You eat well.' (Lit. '(Your) eating is fine.')

<sup>87</sup> 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 *-əb* can be used to mark a subject complement (in place of the gerundial *-nai* 'GER'). This renders some support for considering the *-ba* element in the Rājbanshi *-बार* *-bar* as the infinitive. The Maithili *ṭəhl-əb* and *ṭəhəl-nai* in example (xxiii) would be represented in Rājbanshi as बेराबार *bera-ba-r* 'walk-INF-GEN' (compare with text example MR.05.316).

- (xxiii) Maithili (Yadav 1997 [1996]:235)  
 ṭəhl-əb / ṭəhəl-nai bəṛhiyā byayam əich  
 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 represented in Rājbanshi and कर्बार *kΛr-ba-r* 'do-INF-GEN' and लिख्बार *lik<sup>h</sup>-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 है। *kaun sī bāt karne kī hai* 'what PCL thing do-INF GEN is' ('what thing is worth doing')  
 b. लिखने की मेज़ *likhne kī mez* 'write-INF GEN table' ('writing table')

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) मुइ आस्वार छिनु।

mui as-ba-r c<sup>h</sup>i-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 मनडत कान्बा मेनाचे। (cf. GR.02.069)

mo-k maṅ-ḍa-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 बेटिड आच्छा से खाबा धरिल। (cf. DLR.04.003)

uhā-r beṭi-ḍa acc<sup>h</sup>a se k<sup>h</sup>a-ba d<sup>h</sup>ar-il  
3sg[pro]-GEN daughter-NCLS good ADVL eat-INF begin-PST3  
'His daughter began to eat well.'

c. मालिकट घडाडके आर गोरुडक आन्बा गिस्ले। (cf. GR.02.078)

malik-ḍa g<sup>h</sup>ḍa-ḍa-k=e ar goru-ḍa-k an-ba g-isl-i  
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.

(602) a. बुरिडक कान्बा सुनिएने गटे खेटियाला सुना... (cf. MR.04.056)

[bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ-k                      kan-ba]                      sun-iene                      gʌte k<sup>h</sup>etia-la  
 [old\_woman-NCLS-DAT cry-INF]<sub>[OBJECT.COMPL]</sub> hear-CONJ.PTCL all jackal-PL  
 suna...

PCL

'Hearing the old woman crying, all of the jackals...'

b. उहाँक मुइ आस्बा देख्नु।

[uhā-k]                      mui                      [as-ba]                      dek<sup>h</sup>-n-u  
 [3sg[pro]-DAT]<sub>[OBJECT.COMPL.A]</sub> 1sg[pro] [come-INF]<sub>[OBJECT.COMPL.B]</sub> see-PST-1sg

'I saw him coming.'

c. उहाँक मुइ आस्ते देख्नु।

uhā-k                      mui                      as-te                      dek<sup>h</sup>-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. इड काटाल भातारट (cf. DLR.06.076)

i-ɖʌ                      kaɖ-al                      b<sup>h</sup>atar-ɖʌ  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS cut-PST.PTCL husband-NCLS  
 'this cut-up husband'

b. तोर कादुवालि करा पानिखान (cf. GR.01.012)

to-r                      kaduali kaɖ-a                      pani-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS  
 'the water made muddy by you'

c. छागल चर्बार (काम / लोक) (cf. MR.05.003)

c<sup>h</sup>agʌl                      caɖ-ba-r                      (kam / lok)  
 female\_goat graze-INF-GEN (work / person)  
 'goat-grazing (work / person)'

- d. सहयोग करार (लोक) (cf. DLR.03.006)  
 sAhAyog kAr-ba-r (lok)  
 assistance do-INF-GEN (man)  
 '(a person to) help out'
- e. मोर जलम हबार (घटना) (cf. GR.01.021)  
 mo-r jAlAm hA-ba-r (g<sup>h</sup>Atna)  
 1sg[obl]-GEN birth be-INF-GEN (event)  
 '(the event of) my birth'

#### 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

जेइड चेडरा छागल चराइस्ले, सेइड / उड चेडरा...

jei-dA ceŋra c<sup>h</sup>agAl cArA-isl-ɪ sei-dA  
 who-NCLS young\_man female\_goat graze-REM.PST-3 CORR[obl]-NCLS  
 (or\_u-dA) ceŋra...  
 (or\_DEM[rem]-NCLS) young\_man...

'The young man [who was grazing the goats], that young man...'

##### b. Direct object

जेइला छागल चेडराड चराइस्ले, सेइला / उला चेडरा...

jei-la c<sup>h</sup>agAl ceŋra-dA cArA-isl-ɪ sei-la  
 which-PL female\_goat young\_man-NCLS graze-REM.PST-3 CORR[obl]-PL  
 (or\_u-la) c<sup>h</sup>agAl...  
 (or\_DEM[rem]-PL) female\_goat...

'The goats, [which the young man was grazing], those goats...'

##### c. Indirect object

जेइड बुरिक चेडराड पुछारि करिसेल्कि, उहाँ / उड बुरि...

jei-dA bur<sup>h</sup>i-k ceŋra-dA puChari kAr-isel-ki uhā  
 which-NCLS old\_woman-DAT young\_man-NCLS question do-REM.PST-SA3 3sg[pro]  
 (or\_u-dA bur<sup>h</sup>i)...  
 (or\_DEM[rem]-NCLS old\_woman)...

'That old woman [whom the young man asked], she (or, that old woman)...'

## d. Possessor

जेइड बुरिर बेटाड राजार घरत काम कर्कि, उहाँ / उड बुरि...

jei-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-r beṭa-ɖʌ raja-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt kam kʌr-ki  
which-NCLS old\_woman-GEN son-NCLS king-GEN house-LOC work do-SA3

uhā (or, u-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i)...

3sg[pro] (or, DEM[rem]-NCLS old\_woman)...

'The old woman [whose son used to work in the king's house], she (or, that old woman)...

## e. Postpositional phrase

जेइखाम जङलेर बिति जेङराड चुलि गिछे, उखान जङलत...

jei-k<sup>h</sup>an jʌŋʌl-er biti ceŋra-ɖʌ cul-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
which-NCLS jungle-GEN towards young\_man-NCLS AUX-ABS go-PERF-3

u-k<sup>h</sup>an jʌŋʌl-ʌt...

DEM[rem]-NCLS jungle-LOC...

'The jungle [which the young man had gone to], in that jungle...

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).<sup>88</sup>

## (605) a. Subject

चेङराड जेइड छागल चराइस्ले, उहाँ / सेइड चेङरा...

ceŋra-ɖʌ jei-ɖʌ c<sup>h</sup>agʌl cʌra-isl-i uhā  
young\_man-NCLS who-NCLS female\_goat graze-REM.PST-3 3sg[pro]

(or, sei-ɖʌ ceŋra)...

(or, CORR[obl]-NCLS young\_man)...

'The young man [who was grazing the goats], he (or, that young man)...

<sup>88</sup> 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 *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.



## b. Direct object

अइला छागल जेइलाक चेडराड चराइस्ले, सेइला / उला छागल...

li-la c<sup>h</sup>agAl jei-la-k ceŋra-ɖa caŋa-isl-ɪ  
DEM[rem/emph]-PL female\_goat which-PL-DAT young\_man-NCLS graze-REM.PST-3

sei-la (or,\_u-la) c<sup>h</sup>agAl...  
CORR[obl]-PL (or,\_DEM[rem]-PL) female\_goat...

'The goats, [which the young man was grazing], those goats...'

## c. Indirect object

उड रानी जाहाँक चेडराड कहण्कि "मोक दुइडा लिहानि झाका दे त" उहाँ...

u-ɖa rani jahã-k ceŋra-ɖa kaɦa-p-ki mo-k  
DEM[rem]-NCLS queen who-DAT young\_man-NCLS say-FUT-SA3 1sg[obl]-DAT  
dui-ɖa lihani j<sup>h</sup>aka de-∅ tɔ uhã...

two-NCLS blanket cover give-IMP2sg PCL 3sg[pro]...

'That queen [whom the young man said "Cover me with two blankets" to], she...'

## d. Possessor

अइड बुरि जाहाँर बेटाड ते राजार घरत काम करेकि, उहाँ / उड बुरि...

li-ɖa bur<sup>h</sup>i jahã-r beɽa-ɖa te raja-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-ɔt  
DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS old\_woman who-GEN son-NCLS PCL king-GEN house-LOC  
kam kaɽ-eki uhã (or,\_u-ɖa bur<sup>h</sup>i)...

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)...

## e. (?) Postpositional phrase

(?) अइखान जङलेर ति जेइ बिति चेडराड चुलि गिछे, उखान जङलत...

li-k<sup>h</sup>an jaŋal-er ti jei-bitɪ ceŋra-ɖa  
DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS jungle-GEN towards what-towards young\_man-NCLS

cul-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e u-k<sup>h</sup>an jaŋal-ɔt...

AUX-ABS go-PERF-3 DEM[rem]-NCLS jungle-LOC...

(?) 'That jungle [which the young man has gone to], in that jungle...'

Initial observations indicate that relative clauses in Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājbanṣhi 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 lam<sup>h</sup>Λ lam<sup>h</sup>Λ dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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. जाहें बड हचे छटडक खाए जाछे। (cf. GR.01.029)

jahe baɾΛ hΛ-c-e [rising intonation + pause]

who large be-PRES-3 [rising intonation + pause]

c<sup>h</sup>ΛtΛ-ɖΛ-k k<sup>h</sup>a-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 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 नाधनु भात (उहाँइ) गेल बन बास।

jaha-r tane mui nad<sup>h</sup>-n-u b<sup>h</sup>at (uhã = i) ge-l baɳ 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 दिलो (उड लोक) माम्लि चोर!

jaha-k te tui peisa-la di-l-o (u-ɖΛ 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).

- (608) a. जेइड लोक आसेचे, उड लोक मोर भाइ हए।  
 jei-ɖʌ                      lok    as-ec-e  
 REL[obl/ip]-NCLS man come-PRES-3  
 u-ɖʌ                      lok    mo-r                      b<sup>h</sup>ai                      hʌ-e  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS man 1sg[obl]-GEN y.brother be-PRES3  
 '[The man who is coming], that man is my younger brother.'
- b. जेइड लोक आसेचे मोर भाइ हए।  
 jei-ɖʌ                      lok    as-ec-e                      mo-r                      b<sup>h</sup>ai                      hʌ-e  
 REL[obl/ip]-NCLS man come-PRES-3 1sg[obl]-GEN y.brother be-PRES3  
 '[The man who is coming], (that man) is my younger brother.'

The subject of the relativised clause occurs by default in preverbal position (609a). It can, however, be displaced to pre-relative clause position (609b), or post-relative clause position (609c). The function of this displacement is unclear.

- (609) a. जेइला पेइसा ते मुइ पठाइसिन्कुन, (तुइ उला पेइसा) पालो?  
 jei-la    peisa    te    mui    pʌt<sup>h</sup>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  
 '[The money which I sent (for you)], did (you) get (that money)?'
- b. मुइ ते जेइला पेइसा पठाइसिन्कुन, (तुइ उला पेइसा) पालो?  
 mui    te    jei-la    peisa    pʌt<sup>h</sup>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  
 '[The money which I sent (for you)], did (you) get (that money)?'
- c. जेइला पेइसा ते पठाइसिन्कुन मुइ, (तुइ उला पेइसा) पालो?  
 jei-la    peisa    te    pʌt<sup>h</sup>a-isin-ku-n                      mui  
 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  
 '[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).

- (610) a. आम्हार जेइला गबर रहिष्कि उला गबर चेइराड साष्टिए ताष्टिए राखिष्कि। (simplified from MR.05.130)  
 am<sup>h</sup>a-r            jei-la            gʌbʌr rʌhʌ-p-ki  
 3pl[pro]-GEN which-PL dung be-FUT-SA3  
 u-la            gʌbʌr ceŋra-ɖʌ            sapt̪-ie            tapt̪-ie            rak<sup>h</sup>-ip-ki  
 that-PL dung young\_man-NCLS sweep-ABS [echo]sweep-CONJ.PTCL put-FUT-SA3  
 '[Their dung that was (there)], that dung the young man swept up.'
- b. चेइराड आम्हार गबर साष्टिए ताष्टिए राखिष्कि।  
 ceŋra-ɖʌ            am<sup>h</sup>a-r            gʌbʌr sapt̪-ie            tapt̪-ie  
 young\_man-NCLS 3pl[pro]-GEN dung sweep-ABS [echo]sweep-CONJ.PTCL  
 rak<sup>h</sup>-ip-ki  
 put-FUT-SA3  
 '[The young man]<sub>SU</sub> swept up [their dung]<sub>DO</sub>.'

#### 7.4.2.2.3 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.<sup>89</sup> 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 Rājibanshi 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) छागल चरा चेइराड  
 c<sup>h</sup>agʌl            cʌr-a            ceŋra-ɖʌ  
 female\_goat graze-PST.PTCL young\_man-NCLS  
 'the young man (who) grazed (the) goat(s)'

Additionally, consider the three juxtaposed clauses in (612). It is unlikely that the interjection अइ *ʌi* 'INJ', or the particle ते *te* '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".

<sup>89</sup> The only occurrences of relative constructions in the text material are: GR.01.027, GR.01.029, MR.05.130 and MR.02.021.

(612) अइड बुरि, अइ हामाक ते मार खिलाइस्ले, अइ याहाँए। याहाँक अझि छर्बा नि लागे। (MR.04.092-093; cf. also MR.04.171-172 and MR.02.022)

ʌi-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i  
 DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS old\_woman  
 ʌi hama-k te mar k<sup>h</sup>ila-isl-i  
 INJ 1pl[pro]-DAT PCL beating feed-REM.PST-3  
 ʌi yaha = e  
 INJ 3sg[pro/prox] = EMPH  
 yaha-k aj<sup>h</sup>i c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ba ni lag-e  
 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 attentuation) 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) Rājbandhi, and secondly, why relative clauses occur so infrequently. To what degree strategies such as those discussed in this section are used in Rājbandhi 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

	Conjunction, subordinator, complementiser	Order
Temporal	जेइखुना <i>jei-k<sup>h</sup>una</i> 'which-time'	embedded-main
	जेहेने <i>jehene</i> 'when'	embedded-main
Locational	जेइठिना <i>jei-t<sup>h</sup>ina</i> 'REL[obl/ip]-place'	embedded-main
	जेइधर <i>jeid<sup>h</sup>ar</i> 'over_where'	embedded-main
Purpose	कहेने <i>kahene</i> 'CMPL'	embedded-main
	जेसे <i>jese</i> 'so that; in order that'	embedded-main (by default) main-embedded
	कि <i>ki</i> 'that'	main-embedded
	- (infinitival adverbial clause)	-
	ताकि <i>taki</i> 'so that; in order that(loan)'	main-embedded (loan)
Reason	कियाँते <i>kiāte</i> 'because'	main-embedded embedded-main
	कारन(त) <i>karana<sup>t</sup></i> 'because'	embedded-main
Concessive	हबार ते <i>habar te</i> 'though' + CORR मतुन <i>matun</i> 'but'	embedded-main
	तिन आसा <i>tin asa</i> 'no matter how much'	embedded-main
Comparative	बाजा कि <i>baza ki</i> 'as if'	main-embedded
CONJ.PTCL	- (morphological)	embedded-main (in default order)

## 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-k<sup>h</sup>una* 'when' in (614b) precedes the main clause.

- (614) a. जेहेने बाघड थिप्रिएने जाच्चि सोरटर पर, उहाँ खल्काला दे सोरटक एकदम नाद्धाए लेच्चि। (MR.05.031)  
*jehene bag<sup>h</sup>-ḍa t<sup>h</sup>ipr-iene ja-c-ki sor-ṭa-r paṛ uḥā*  
 when tiger-NCLS jump-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-SA3 pig-NCLS-GEN on\_top 3sg[pro]  
*k<sup>h</sup>alka-la de sor-ṭa-k ekdam nac<sup>h</sup>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 रहबे घरत, अइखुना जाबा हबे। (cf. DLR.06.017)  
*jei-k<sup>h</sup>una mo-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-er lok-ṭa ni raḥa-b-ɪ g<sup>h</sup>ar-a<sup>t</sup>*  
 which-time 1sg[obl]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS NEG be-FUT-3 house-LOC  
*li-k<sup>h</sup>una ja-ba ha-b-ɪ*  
 DEM[rem/emph]-time go-INF must-FUT-3  
 'When my husband is not at home, that time I will have to go.'

The main clause is optionally marked with a correlative pronoun: *ते* *te* 'CORR/then' as in (615a), or *अइखुना* *ai-k<sup>h</sup>una* 'DEM[rem/emph]-time') as in (615b).

- (615) a. जेइखुना उड सोरट बाघडर पर झप्टिए लेच्छि, (ते) उहाँर दाहाड से खुने निक्लाए देच्छि। (cf. MR.05.034)
- jei-k<sup>h</sup>una u-ɖʌ sor-ʈʌ bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ-r pʌr j<sup>h</sup>ʌpti-e  
 which-time that-NCLS pig-NCLS tiger-NCLS-GEN on\_top PCL jump\_upon(Nepali)-ABS  
 l-ec-ki (te) uhā-r daha-ɖʌ se k<sup>h</sup>un = 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 गिस्तु झागल चर्बा, (अइखुना) एकटा बाघ आर एकटा सोर लाराइ करिस्ले। (cf. MR.05.075)
- jei-k<sup>h</sup>una mui g-isn-u c<sup>h</sup>agʌl cʌr-ba  
 which-time 1sg[pro] go-REM.PST-1sg female\_goat graze-INF  
 (ʌik<sup>h</sup>una) ek-ʈʌ bag<sup>h</sup> ar ek-ʈʌ sor larai kʌr-isl-i  
 (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 बल्चे, सेइधर सेइधर सुना आनाला दउग्बा ध'इचे। (cf. MR.05.334)
- jeid<sup>h</sup>ʌr jeid<sup>h</sup>ʌr basi-ɖʌ bʌl-c-e  
 over\_where over\_where flute-NCLS play(instrument)-PRES-3  
 seid<sup>h</sup>ʌr seid<sup>h</sup>ʌr suna arʌna-la dʌug-ba d<sup>h</sup>ʌ(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. जेइठिना बुरा बुरिला कचु बुनिए गिस्ले, हतिन से... (cf. MR.04.025)
- jei-ʈ<sup>h</sup>ina bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la kʌcu bun-ie  
 REL[obl/ip]-place old\_man old\_woman-PL [kacu]vegetable plant-CONJ.PTCL  
 g-isl-i hʌtin se...  
 go-REM.PST-3 there ABL  
 '(From) where the old man and old woman had planted the [kacu]vegetables and left, from there...'

Both the subordinator and the correlative appear by default in clause-initial position, as examples (616a-b) show. The subject of the embedded clause can, however, be fronted to clause-initial position, as indicated in (617).

(617) हामा जेइठिना भी रहि हामा थाहा पाइ जाम। (MR.05.181)

hama jei-t<sup>h</sup>ina b<sup>h</sup>i rΛh-i hama t<sup>h</sup>aha pa-i  
 1pl[pro] which-place CNJ(Hindi) be-SUBJ1pl 1pl[pro] knowledge(Nepali) get-ABS  
 ja-m-Λ  
 AUX-FUT-1pl  
 '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. पर्भा लेइ गिछे।

pΛr<sup>h</sup>-ba le-i g-ich-e  
 read-INF take-CONJ.PTCL go-PERF-3  
 'He took (it) away (in order) to read (it).'

b. मालिकट घडाडके आर गोरुडक आन्वा गिस्ले। (cf. GR.02.078)

malik-dΛ g<sup>h</sup>Λda-dΛ-k=e ar goru-dΛ-k an-ba g-isl-i  
 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.'

The fronting of the main verb to a position which precedes the adverbial clause is also possible as (619) indicates.

(619) दत्तडा बएलक ले जावे जुत्वा। (cf. GR.02.082)

dΛn<sup>h</sup>Λ-da bΛel-Λk l-e ja-b-i jut-ba  
 both-NCLS bullock(Hindi)-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT-3 plough-INF  
 '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 *kΛhene* 'CMPL' in these cases is obligatory, whereas the conjunction जेसे *jese* 'so that' is optional (620b). The verb of the subordinate clause is in the subjunctive mood.

(620) a. मोक बाघड ना पात्ता लाग्बा पारोक कहेने मुइ दस्ना ति चुलि जाम। (cf. MR.05.113; also MR.05.271)

mo-k mane bag<sup>h</sup>-dΛ na patta lag-ba par-ok kΛhene  
 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL tiger-NCLS NEG knowledge apply\_to-INF can-SUBJ3 CMPL  
 mui dΛsra ti cul-i ja-m  
 1sg[pro] other towards AUX-ABS go-FUT1sg  
 'So that the tiger is not able to find out, I will go in another direction.'



- b. (जैसे) तुइ एकटा बड लोक हइस कहेने तोक परान्कुन लिखान्कुन।  
 (jese) tui ek-ṭa bṛṭṭ lok hṭ-is kḥene  
 so\_that 2sg[pro] one-NCLS great man be-SUBJ2sg CMPL  
 to-k pṭḍ<sup>h</sup>-a-n-ku-n lik<sup>h</sup>-a-n-ku-n  
 2sg[obl]-DAT read-CAUS-PST-SA2sg-1sg read-CAUS-PST-SA2sg-1sg  
 'In order for you to become a great man, I educated you.'

It is also evident that the embedded clause can follow the main clause (621a-b; cf. also MR.05.113 and MR.05.271). The complementiser कहेने *kḥene* 'CMPL' is not permitted to occur in (subordinate) clause-final position in this case (621b).

- (621) a. (From a text written by Bishnu Rājbandhi; south-eastern Jhāpā)  
 एर साथे हामा हामार छुवालाक आरह जातलार लाखा प्रतिस्पर्धार रनत प्रस्तुत कराइ, जेसे हामार नाम 'राजबंसी'  
 हए कहेने बिस्व समुदायड जानोक।  
 e-r sat<sup>h</sup>e hama hama-r c<sup>h</sup>ua-la-k arhṭ jat-la-r lak<sup>h</sup>a  
 DEM[prox]-GEN with 1pl[pro] 1pl[pro]-GEN child-PL other ethnic\_group-PL-GEN like  
 pṛṭṭispṛṭ<sup>h</sup>a-r ṛṭṭn-ṭt pṛṭṭstut kṛ-a-i  
 competition-GEN battle-LOC present do-CAUS-SUBJ1sg  
 jese hama-r nam rājbandhi hṭ-e kḥene biswa ṣṭmudayṭ-ḍṭ  
 so\_that 1pl[pro]-GEN name Rājbandhi be-PRES3 CMPL world community  
 jan-ok  
 know-SUBJ3  
 'In addition (to this), let's present our children in the battle of competition like those of  
 the other ethnic groups so that the world community will know that our name is  
 Rājbandhi.'
- b. दहिखान ठिक से लेइ जा जेसे परोक ना (\*कहेने)।  
 dḥi-k<sup>h</sup>an ṭ<sup>h</sup>ik se le-i ja-Ø jese pṛ-ok na (\*kḥene)  
 curd-NCLS exact ADVL take-CONJ.PTCL go-IMP2sg so\_that fall-SUBJ3 NEG (\*CMPL)  
 'Take the curd carefully so that it doesn't fall.'

An exception to the above-mentioned ordering rule, is the subordinate clause marked by the subordinator कि *ki* (622) which only occurs after the main clause.

- (622) हामाक आशिर्बाद द कि हामा उखान काम पाइ।  
 hama-k asirbad d-ṭ ki hama u-k<sup>h</sup>an kam pa-i  
 1pl[pro]-DAT blessing give-IMP2pl that 1pl[pro] DEM[rem]-NCLS job get-SUBJ1pl  
 'Wish (lit. bless us) (so) that we would get that job.'

#### 7.4.2.3.3 Reason

The conjunctions कियॉ(ते) *kiā(te)* 'because' or कियॉकि *kiāki* '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 कियॉते / कियॉकि उड पखि कडि पाले, कडिर उहाँर छिले एकदम गरम। (cf. DLR.05.009)

ap kiāte/\_kiāki u-ḍa pa<sup>h</sup>i kaḍi pa-l-i  
 PCL because DEM[rem]-NCLS bird shell get-PST-3  
 kaḍi-r uḥā-r c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i ekdam gaṭam  
 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 चुलि जावे खावा अइठिनाए, कियॉ घरला देखि फेकाइचे। (cf. MR.05.110-111)

baḡ<sup>h</sup>-ḍa mo-k cul-i ja-b-i k<sup>h</sup>a-ba li-ṭ<sup>h</sup>ina=e  
 tiger-NCLS 1sg[obl]-DAT AUX-ABS go-FUT-3 eat-INF DEM[rem/emph]-place=EMPH  
 kiā ḡ<sup>h</sup>ar-la dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-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).'

#### 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 फाल्तु काम हए, मतुन...

ha-ba-r te hal baḥa-ba-r kam-k<sup>h</sup>an p<sup>h</sup>altu kam ha-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) कइनाड तिन एसा देखबार हलउ बाहा नि करिम।

kaṇina tin\_esa dek<sup>h</sup>-ba-r ha-l-au baha ni kaṛ-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.

- (626) a. बठिए छित बाजा कि मेजुवानडए!  
 bʌtʰ-ie                    cʰi-t                    baja\_ki mejuan-dʌ = e  
 sit-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES2sg as\_if    guest-NCLS = EMPH  
 'You are sitting as if you were a guest!'
- b. एइस! छबखाने धरिचोक, बाजा कि दुर्गाडए!  
 eis! cʰʌb-kʰan = e                    dʰʌr-ic-ok                    baja\_ki durga-dʌ = 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."<sup>90</sup>

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.

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<sup>90</sup> 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."

- (627) a. बुराड बगलत आसिएने सुनेचे ते... (cf. DLR.04.029)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-dʌ bʌɡlʌt as-iene sun-ec-e te  
 old\_man-NCLS near come-CONJ.PTCL hear-PRES-3 SUBORD  
 'The old man [came closer]<sub>[ACTION1]</sub> (and) [heard]<sub>[ACTION2]</sub> that...'
- b. मुइ नि परिण आझि दुक पाचु।  
 mui ni pʌr<sup>h</sup>-ie aj<sup>h</sup>i duk pa-c-u  
 1sg[pro] NEG read-CONJ.PTCL today trouble receive-PRES-1sg  
 '(Because) [I didn't study]<sub>[ACTION1 ~ CAUSE]</sub>, [I am having problems]<sub>[ACTION2 ~ RESULT]</sub>  
 today.'
- c. जेहेने बाघड थिप्रिएने जाचिक सोरटर पर... (cf. MR.05.031)  
 jehene bag<sup>h</sup>-dʌ t<sup>h</sup>ipr-iene ja-c-ki sor-ʈʌ-r pʌr  
 when tiger-NCLS jump-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-SA3 pig-NCLS-GEN on\_top  
 'The tiger went<sub>[ACTION2 ~ MAIN ACTION]</sub> (by) jumping<sub>[ACTION1 ~ MANNER]</sub> on to the  
 boar...'

Masica (1991:399) notes a tendency in New Indo-Aryan for conjunctive participle constructions to require that the first and the second adjunct have the same subject. This appears to be the case in most of the Rājbanṣhi text data currently available. Thus, in (628a) the subject of the first clause and that of the main clause are the same.

Some infringement of the same-subject rule were found in narrative material. Consider example (628b) which is quite similar to the Sinhalese referenced to by Masica (1991:400-401). Other borderline cases include sentences DLR.05.060 and MR.05.012. However, based on informants' judgement of grammaticality, these cases should most likely be considered mistakes. Example (628c) would be the corrected construction of (628b).

- (628) a. आनिए बुनि दिछे। (cf. MR.04.023)  
 an-ie bun-i d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 bring-CONJ.PTCL plant-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
 '(They) brought (them and then they) planted (them).'
- b. अत्किनि कहेने सुना बाघड आर सोरट कहलिक...। (cf. MR.05.052)  
 ʌtkini kʌh-ene suna bag<sup>h</sup>-dʌ ar sor-ʈʌ kʌhʌ-l-ki...  
 that\_much say-CONJ.PTCL PCL tiger-NCLS and pig-NCLS say-PST-SA3...  
 'He (i.e. the boy) having said that much the tiger and the boar said...'
- c. अत्किनि कहेने चेडराड भागले। तने सुना बाघड आर सोरट कहलिक...।  
 ʌtkini kʌh-ene ceɳra-dʌ b<sup>h</sup>ag-l-i  
 that\_much say-CONJ.PTCL young\_man-NCLS escape-PST-3  
 tʌne suna bag<sup>h</sup>-dʌ ar sor-ʈʌ kʌhʌ-l-ki...  
 then PCL tiger-NCLS and pig-NCLS say-PST-SA3...  
 'Having said that much the young man escaped. Then the tiger and the boar said..'

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 आझि करे गिस्तु झागल चर्बा, एकटा बाघ आर एकटा सोर लाराइ करिस्ले। (cf. MR.05.075)

jei-k<sup>h</sup>una mui aj<sup>h</sup>i kare g-isn-u c<sup>h</sup>agaI caI-ba  
 which-time 1sg[pro] today ADVL go-REM.PST-1sg female\_goat graze-INF  
 ek-ṭa bag<sup>h</sup> ar ek-ṭa sor larai kaI-isl-I  
 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 काटिए, गराला सुक्बा दिए, आसिए, सिनान पानि करिए, हाट गेले।

d<sup>h</sup>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 kaI-ie, haṭ ge-l-I  
 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 काटले।

p<sup>h</sup>ile d<sup>h</sup>an-la kaṭ-l-I  
 first rice-PL cut-PST-3  
 'First he cut the rice.'

काटिए ताटिए गराला सुक्बा दिले।

kaṭ-ie taṭ-ie gara-la suk-ba di-l-I  
 cut-CONJ.PTCL [echo]cut-CONJ.PTCL bundle\_of\_stalks-PL dry-INF AUX-PST-3  
 'Having cut the rice he dried the bundles of rice stalks.'

सुक्बा दिए तिए चुलि गेल सिनान कर्बा।

suk-ba di-e ti-e cul-i gel sin-an kaI-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.'

सिनान पानि करिए तरिए तने गेल हाट।

sin-an pani kaI-ie taI-ie tane ge-l haṭ  
 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 ले जाए बानिए दिते। (cf. GR.02.032; cf. also examples DLR.04.031, DLR.04.032 and DLR.05.056b)
- ekdʌm uhā-k dʰʌr-ie l-e ja-e ban<sup>h</sup>-i  
 very 3sg[pro]-DAT bring-CONJ.PTCL take-CONJ.PTCL go-CONJ.PTCL tie-ABS  
 di-l-ɪ  
 AUX-PST-3  
 'He held it, took it away and tied it up.'

#### 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 jʌdi* 'if', and the apodosis is marked with the correlative *ते te* 'then' (632a), or optionally *तने tʌne* '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 मासु मासु आन्वार दिन बुराड फेर आस्वे ते घरत झाग्रा लागए दिम। (DLR.04.012)
- jʌdi mac masu an-ba-r din bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ p<sup>h</sup>er as-b-ɪ  
 if fish meat bring-INF-GEN day old\_man-NCLS again come-FUT-3  
 te g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt j<sup>h</sup>agʌra 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. मासु मासु आन्वार दिन बुराड फेर आस्वे घरत झाग्रा लागए दिम। (Compare with DLR.04.012)
- [rising intonation + pause]  
 mac masu an-ba-r din bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ p<sup>h</sup>er as-b-ɪ  
 fish meat bring-INF-GEN day old\_man-NCLS again come-FUT-3  
 g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt j<sup>h</sup>agʌra 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

		Apodosis								
		FUT	PRES	PST	PERF	REM.PST	P.COND	IMP	SUBJ	PST.HAB
Protasis	FUT	DLR.06.030								
	PRES	DLR.06.050a	DLR.06.053							
	PST	(633a)						(633c)		
	PERF	(633b)						DLR.06.033		
	REM.PST									
	PST.COND						DLR.05.042			
	IMP									
	SUBJ	MR.05.223								
	PST.HAB									?

Most often in the simple conditional, the apodosis is marked with the future tense. According to one informant, the auxiliary फेकाले *p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i* 'AUX-PST-3' in (633a) could also be marked with the future फेकाबे *p<sup>h</sup>eka-b-i* 'AUX-FUT-3' or the perfect फेकाइचे *p<sup>h</sup>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 ka-r-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. जदि उहाँ उहाँर कामखान करि फेकाले ते उहाँ बहिराति खेल्बा जाबा पाबे।  
 jʌdi uhã uhã-r kam-k<sup>h</sup>an ka-r-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i  
 if 3sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN work-NCLS do-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 te uhã bahirati k<sup>h</sup>el-ba ja-ba pa-b-i  
 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.'
- b. आर नि करिचे जदि, ते खेल्बा जाबा नि पाबे।  
 ar ni ka-r-ic-e jʌdi te k<sup>h</sup>el-ba ja-ba ni pa-b-i  
 and NEG do-PERF-3 if PCL(then) play-INF go-INF NEG get-FUT-3  
 'And if s/he hasn't, s/he can't go to play.'
- c. जदि तुइ तोर कामखान सकालो, तुइ घर जा।  
 jʌdi tui to-r kam-k<sup>h</sup>an sa-k-a-l-o tui g<sup>h</sup>ar ja-Ø  
 if 2sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN work-NCLS finish-CAUS-PST-2sg 2sg[pro] home go-IMP2sg  
 '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- *ja-* 'AUX' (634a), or फेका- *p<sup>h</sup>eka-* 'AUX' (634b) are used. This applies to both the morphological and syntactic types of simple conditional.

- (634) a. बेजारखान ओर हइ जाले एइपाके आसिस।  
 bejar-k<sup>h</sup>an or h<sub>Λ</sub>-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 खेल्बा जाबा पाबे।  
 j<sub>Λ</sub>di uhā uhā-r kam-k<sup>h</sup>an k<sub>Λ</sub>r-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i  
 if 3sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN work-NCLS do-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 te uhā bahirati k<sup>h</sup>el-ba ja-ba pa-b-i  
 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 Rājbanṣhi 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-ṭa baḡ<sup>h</sup> ar ek-ṭa sor  
 one-NCLS tiger and one-NCLS pig  
 '[ [a tiger]<sub>[NP1]</sub> and [a boar]<sub>[NP2]</sub> ]<sub>[NP]</sub>'

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).



- (636) a. दुइडा गोरु आर एकटा घडा (cf. GR.02.001; see also GR.02.048)  
 dui-ḍa goru ar ek-ṭa g<sup>h</sup>ḷḍa  
 two-NCLS bullock and one-NCLS horse  
 '[ [two bullocks]<sub>[NP1]</sub> and [one horse]<sub>[NP2]</sub> ]<sub>[NP]</sub>'
- b. उड सोरे आर उड बाघे (cf. MR.05.013)  
 u-ḍḷ sor=e ar u-ḍḷ bag<sup>h</sup>=e  
 that-NCLS pig=EMPH and that-NCLS tiger=EMPH  
 '[ [that boar]<sub>[NP1]</sub> and [that tiger]<sub>[NP2]</sub> ]<sub>[NP]</sub>'
- c. सोरटए आर बाघडए (cf. MR.05.026; see also MR.05.242)  
 sor-ṭḷ=e ar bag<sup>h</sup>-ḍḷ=e  
 pig-NCLS=EMPH and tiger-NCLS=EMPH  
 '[ [the boar]<sub>[NP1]</sub> and [the tiger]<sub>[NP2]</sub> ]<sub>[NP]</sub>'
- d. उड चेडराडके आर लिहानिडके (cf. MR.05.089; see also GR.02.078, MR.05.052)  
 u-ḍḷ ceṅra-ḍḷ-k=e ar lihani-ḍḷ-k=e  
 that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS-DAT=EMPH and blanket-NCLS-DAT=EMPH  
 '[ [that young man]<sub>[NP1]</sub> and [the blanket]<sub>[NP2]</sub> ]<sub>[NP]</sub>'

Likewise, two coordinated postpositional phrases form a coordinate postpositional phrase (637)

- (637) घरलार ठाट बेन्वार ताने आर भात नाध्वार ताने (cf. MR.02.007)  
 g<sup>h</sup>ḷr-la-r ṭ<sup>h</sup>ṭ ben-ba-r tane ar b<sup>h</sup>at nad<sup>h</sup>-ba-r tane  
 house-PL-GEN roof\_frame build-INF-GEN for and cooked\_rice cook-INF-GEN for  
 '[ [for making roof frames]<sub>[PP1]</sub> and [for cooking rice]<sub>[PP2]</sub> ]<sub>[PP]</sub>'

In examples (638a-c) the conjunction आर *ar* '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 *hḷ-e* 'be-PRES3') have been added in brackets for clarity.

- (638) a. हामा काम करेचि आर खाचि 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 kaṛ-ec-i ar k<sup>h</sup>a-c-i pual  
 1pl[pro] work do-PRES-1pl and eat-PRES-1pl straw  
 'We work<sub>[STATE.OF.AFFAIRS1]</sub> and we eat straw<sub>[STATE.OF.AFFAIRS2]</sub>'

- b. कालि से तुइ ठिक हइ जा, आर बचि 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)  
 kal<sup>hi</sup> se tui t<sup>h</sup>ik h<sub>Λ</sub>-i ja-∅ ar b<sub>ΛC</sub>-i ja-b-o  
 tomorrow ABL 2sg[pro] alright be-ABS AUX-IMP2SG and save-ABS AUX-FUT-2sg  
 'From tomorrow become well<sub>[ACTION1]</sub>, and you will be saved<sub>[ACTION2]</sub>.'
- c. एकटार नाम सुक बासि (हए) आर एकटार नाम दुक बासि (हए)। (cf. MR.05.178b; see also DLR.05.002; MR.05.310)  
 ek-<sub>ta</sub>-r nam suk basi (h<sub>Λ</sub>-e)  
 one-NCLS-GEN name happiness flute (be-PRES3)  
 ar ek-<sub>ta</sub>-r nam duk basi (h<sub>Λ</sub>-e)  
 and one-NCLS-GEN name trouble flute (be-PRES3)  
 'One's name is 'happiness flute' and one's name is 'trouble flute'.'

Occasionally, the conjunctive participle is used together with the conjunction to indicate sequence, as example (639) shows.

- (639) तुइ खेत बारिखानेरति जा, आर जाएने एकदम कानिस। (cf. MR.04.050; see also MR.04.041)  
 tui k<sup>h</sup>et bari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er ti ja-∅ ar ja-ene  
 2sg[pro] field planting\_plot-NCLS-GEN towards go-IMP2sg and go-CONJ.PTCL  
 kan-is  
 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.

- (640) a. पानिअ नि छकन, फेर धुपअ चाँए चाँए हेतिना। (MR.04.167; cf. also DLR.06.072, MR.05.216, MR.05.216)  
 pani = <sub>Λ</sub> ni c<sup>h</sup>-<sub>Λ</sub>-kan p<sup>h</sup>er d<sup>h</sup>up = <sub>Λ</sub> cāecāe hetina  
 water = CNJ NEG be-PRES-SA2pl again sun = CNJ (scorching) here  
 'There is no water (for you), and (moreover), the sun is really scorching hot here.'
- b. मगिर बेसनडउ बेचिए खाले, कानेर सनालाउ बेचिए खाले। (Rājbanshi VS 2064a:122)  
 ma<sub>gi</sub>-r bes<sub>Λn</sub>-<sub>ɖ</sub>Λ = u bec-ie k<sup>h</sup>a-l-<sub>ɪ</sub>  
 wife-GEN (golden)nose-stud-NCLS = CNJ sell-CONJ.PTCL eat-PST-3  
 kan-er sa<sub>na</sub>-<sub>la</sub> = u bec-ie k<sup>h</sup>a-l-<sub>ɪ</sub>  
 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 earrings) 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 खावा दिलो।  
 na\_te k<sup>h</sup>a-l-o na\_te k<sup>h</sup>a-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 बट्बो?' कहबे। (cf. DLR.05.030)  
 na rAhA-b-I na uhā samat baṭṭ<sup>h</sup>-b-o kAhA-b-I  
 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 करेचित ना ते खाबाए देचित।  
 (na\_te) k<sup>h</sup>a-b=e kaR-ec-it na\_te k<sup>h</sup>a-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. घिउँ, मासु, माच, दहि, दुनि खाएने बुरिडर दाहाड कतकत हल्कि। (cf. MR.04.127)  
 g<sup>h</sup>iũ masu mac dahi dun<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>a-ene bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍA-r daha-ḍA  
 ghee meat fish curd milk eat-CONJ.PTCL old\_woman-NCLS-GEN body-NCLS  
 kaṭkaṭ hA-l-ki  
 chubby be-PST-SA3  
 'Eating ghee, meat, fish, curd (and) milk the old woman's body became chubby.'

- b. आपना आप्नि घरेर कामेर कारनत, फुर्सत नि हबार कारनत आसा जाइ नि हचे। (cf. DLR.03.012)
- apna apni g<sup>h</sup>ar-er kam-er karan-at p<sup>h</sup>ursat ni ha-ba-r  
REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason-LOC free\_time NEG be-INF-GEN  
karan-at as-a ja-i ni ha-c-e  
reason-LOC come-DVBL go-DVBL NEG be-PRES-3
- '...there hasn't been (any) visiting because of each one's own house work, (and) because of not having free time.'

In (642a), above, the five nouns are juxtaposed without the use of any (copulative) conjunction. The conjunction आर *ar* '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.

- (643) ...बनेर अइला फल, नस्पति, सेप आर आर्ना भइसेर दुहुनि... (cf. MR.05.176)
- ...ban-er ai-la p<sup>h</sup>al naspati sep ar b<sup>h</sup>ais-er duhuni...  
...forest-GEN DEM[rem/emph]-PL fruit pear apple and water\_buffalo-GEN milk...  
'...those fruits of the jungle, pear, apple and the milk of the wild buffaloes...'

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 *ar* 'and' (639).

- (644) a. जुवाँड आर बेटिड आच्छा से खावा धरिल, रहवा धरिल। (cf. DLR.04.003)
- juã-dã ar beti-dã acc<sup>h</sup>a se k<sup>h</sup>a-ba d<sup>h</sup>ar-il rãhã-ba  
son\_in\_law-NCLS and daughter-NCLS good ADVL eat-INF begin-PST3 live-INF  
d<sup>h</sup>ar-il  
begin-PST3
- 'The son-in-law and daughter began to eat well and live well (i.e. they settled down).'
- b. तुइ एइठिना रोहो, खा। (MR.05.175)
- tui ei-t<sup>h</sup>ina roho-∅ k<sup>h</sup>a-∅  
2sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-place remain-IMP2sg eat-IMP2sg  
'Stay right here, (and) eat.'
- c. बुराड सुना बगलत आसिएने सुनेचे ते... (cf. DLR.04.029)
- bur<sup>h</sup>a-dã suna baglat as-iene sun-ec-e te  
old\_man-NCLS PCL near come-CONJ.PTCL hear-PRES-3 SUBORD
- 'The old man came closer<sub>[ACTION1]</sub> (and) heard<sub>[ACTION2]</sub> that...'

One may also even need to postulate a case of juxtaposition for the next two examples:

- (645) a. बगलाडक तले तले लागिचे भोक, भोक सहवा नि पा'ए छट्पटिबा धरिचे।  
 i. baŋla-ɖa-k tʌle\_tʌle laŋ-ic-e bʰok  
 stork-NCLS-DAT inside feel-PERF-3 hunger  
 ii. bʰok saɦʌ-ba ni pa(r)-e cʰʌtʌtʌti-ba dʰʌr-ic-e  
 hunger endure-INF NEG can-CONJ-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. धुनि पुहाते पुहाते बुराड नुआँ जल्वार गन पावे, ते लिबे छुवालार पर खकाए। (cf. Rājbandhi VS 2064b:80)  
 i. dʰuni puha-te puha-te burʰa-ɖʌ nuã jʌl-ba-r  
 fireplace warm-CONT.PTCL warm-CONT.PTCL old\_man-NCLS cloth burn-INF-GEN  
 gʌn pa-b-i  
 smell get-FUT-3  
 ii. te li-b-i cʰua-la-r pʌr 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 Rājbandhi punctuation: several writers were of the opinion that a *purā birām* (the *Devanāgarī* 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, Rājbandhi uses (at least in written texts) the conjunction मातुन *matun* 'but' (or, मतुन *matun*). The adversative sentence consists of two contrasting clauses (conjuncts). The conjunction occurs obligatorily at the beginning of the second conjunct.

- (646) a. मोर त कामअ कुछु नि, मातुन मुइ बादाम खाचु। (GR.02.015)  
 mo-r tʌ kam=ʌ kucʰu ni matun 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.'

- b. आच्छा जान्ते उड बेछ्छानिक मातुन उड बेछ्छानि छिले बहुत खाराबा। (DLR.06.111-112)  
acc<sup>h</sup>a jan-l-ɪ u-ɖʌ berc<sup>h</sup>ani-k matun u-ɖʌ berc<sup>h</sup>ani c<sup>h</sup>i-l-ɪ  
good know-PST-3 that-NCLS woman-DAT but that-NCLS woman be-PST-3  
bʌhut k<sup>h</sup>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* *tʌ* 'PCL' and *ते* *te* '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. उदिन करे बुरिड नुकाएने आसेचे, ते फेर एकटा खेटिया देखि फेकाळिका। (cf. MR.04.131-132)  
u-din kʌre bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ nuka-ene as-ec-e  
DEM[rem]-day ADVL old\_woman-NCLS hide-CONJ.PTCL come-PRES-3  
te p<sup>h</sup>er ek-ʈa k<sup>h</sup>etia dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>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 चटि माने हामार गाउँ माने आसिस्ले सतसंगेर खुना आप हिदर से त माने आसा जाइ माने नि कर्चे। (DLR.03.011)  
ek cʌʈi hama-r gaũ as-isl-ɪ sʌtsʌŋ-er k<sup>h</sup>una  
one time 1pl[pro]-GEN village come-REM.PST-3 religious\_fellowship-GEN during  
ap hidar se tʌ as-a ja-i mane ni kʌr-c-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*), *नि* *ni*, *ने* *ne* and *ना* *na*. It would seem that *नि* *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 Rājbanśhi 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. खन्जराडत घाँस नि ते पुवाल राखिए गरु भइसलाक खिला जाछे। (MR.02.028)  
 k<sup>h</sup>ΛnjΛra-ɖΛ-t                      g<sup>h</sup>ās ya pual rak<sup>h</sup>-ie                      gΛru  
 feeding\_trough-NCLS-LOC grass or straw put-CONJ.PTCL bullock  
 b<sup>h</sup>Λis-la-k                      k<sup>h</sup>il-a                      ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 हइचे कहम ना नि हइचे कहम। (DLR.06.029)  
 te ap baha                      hΛ-ic-e                      kΛhΛ-m                      na ni                      hΛ-ic-e                      kΛhΛ-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)  
 maΛ                      bap                      c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku                      na ni                      c<sup>h</sup>-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 (कुवा *kua* 'crow') has been omitted in the second coordinated conjunct.

- (649) कुवाड उड सुक बासिड चेप करे लिपिकि पक्रिए आर फुलड दिपिकि छरिए मुखखान से। (cf. MR.05.200)  
 kua-ɖΛ                      u-ɖΛ                      suk                      basi-ɖΛ                      cep                      kΛre                      li-p-ki                      pΛkr-ie  
 crow-NCLS that-NCLS happiness flute-NCLS catch ADVL AUX-FUT-SA3 catch-ABS  
 ar                      p<sup>h</sup>ul-ɖΛ                      di-p-ki                      c<sup>h</sup>Λr-ie                      muk<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>an                      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).

- (650) रामड आस्वार ते आस्ले माने (उहाँए) मोक भेट नि पाले।  
 ram-dʌ as-ba-r te as-l-ɪ  
 Rām-NCLS come-INF-GEN PCL come-PST-3  
 mane (uhāe) mo-k b<sup>h</sup>eṭ ni pa-l-ɪ  
 but (3sg[pro]) 1sg[obl]-DAT meeting NEG get-PST-3  
 'Rām certainly came, but (he) didn't meet me.'

## 7.5 Valence decreasing and increasing

### 7.5.1 Passive constructions

The dialects of Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājbanṣhi, 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 Rājbanṣhi 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 Rājbanṣhi 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. केनङ करे मारा जाबे याहाँक? (cf. GR.01.009)

kenṅ kare mar-a ja-b-i 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 केनङ करे मारा जाबे?

?/\*mor se yaha-k kenṅ kare mar-a ja-b-i  
 ?/\*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 केनङ करे मारिम?

mui yaha-k kenṅ 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 जाचकु?

dek<sup>h</sup>-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 Rājbanṣhi, 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

həm-ra                      sã        nãi    hãś-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

ghər    bənae-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 Rājibanshi 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<sup>h</sup>*- '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 महिना हइ जाछे, आप ताहुँ नि कचु कुछ देखा जाछे। (MR.04.031)

kewa maɦina ha-i    ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e                      ap    tahu ni    kaCu                      kuC<sup>h</sup>u  
 some month be-ABS AUX-PRES-3 PCL still NEG [kacu]vegetable some  
 dek<sup>h</sup>-a                      ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
 'A few months passed, and still no [kacu]vegetable could be seen.'

b. इड सिमेन्टर बेन्बार लाखाति देखा जाछे। (MR.02.027)

i-ɖa                      simenɽi-r                      ben-ba-r                      lak<sup>h</sup>ati dek<sup>h</sup>-a  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS cement(English)-GEN build-INF-GEN like    see-PST.PTCL  
 ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
 'This looks like it has been made from cement.'

- c. जारेर खुना राम पेनठिला इसामुन देखा जाछे।  
 jar-er k<sup>h</sup>una ram-pen<sup>h</sup>i-la i-samun dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 चिन्ना- *cin<sup>h</sup>*- '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 घर कहे ना कुट्टि कहे ना मुन्दिल कहे चिन्ना नि जाछे। (DLR.02.004)  
 ar i-ḍa g<sup>h</sup>ar kʌhe na kuṭṭi kʌhe na mundil kʌhe  
 and DEM[prox]-NCLS house CMPL or priest's\_quarters CMPL or temple CMPL  
 cin<sup>h</sup>-a ni ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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.'

- b. इड घर मुन्दिल कहे आमने चिन्ना जाछे।  
 i-ḍa g<sup>h</sup>ar muṇḍil kʌhe amane cin<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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  
 əghən me dhan kaṭəl jait chəik  
 Agahan LOC paddy cut-PST.PTCL go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)  
 'Paddy is harvested in the month of Agahan.'

(Yadav 1997 [1996]:332)

- b. गरुलार घेचाला बहिरिति नि जाबार ताने राखा जाछे। (cf. MR.02.023; loan construction)  
 ga<sup>h</sup>ru-la-r g<sup>h</sup>eca-la ba<sup>h</sup>iriti ni ja-ba-r tane rak<sup>h</sup>-a  
 bullock-PL-GEN throat-PL outside NEG go-INF-GEN for put-PST.PTCL  
 ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
 '(Neck-guides) are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).'



"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 Rājbandhi 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).<sup>91</sup>

- (659) a. हाल बहवार खुना इखान जडालि काम लागेचे। (MR.02.025)  
 hal bʌhʌ-ba-r kʰuna i-kʰan jʌʌali 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. एनड करे (लोक) कचु बुनेचे आरह? (MR.04.007)  
 enʌʌ kʌre (lok) kʌcu bun-ec-e arhʌ  
 like\_this ADVL (man) [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-3 more  
 'So, [kacu]vegetables are planted (by people) like this too?'
- c. (जदि) खेतिर काम कर्लेहने ते उहाँए जान्लेहने ते केनड करे (लोकला) बुनेचे धान।  
 (jʌdi) kʰeti-r kam kʌr-l-i=hʌne te uhae jan-l-i=hʌne  
 (if) field-ADJR-GEN work do-PST-3=PST.COND then 3sg[pro] know-PST-3=PST.COND  
 te kenʌʌ kʌre (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, Rājbandhi has two morphological causative stems: the simple causative is formed with the suffix -आ -a 'CAUS', and the indirect causative with the suffix -(उ)वा -(u)wa 'ICAUS'. The following two sections will cover issues relating to

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<sup>91</sup> 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 inreji 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 Rājbanṣhi 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-  $b\Lambda t^h$ - '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. तुइ मुइ सुना आराम से बठिए खामा (cf. DLR.04.016)

tui mui suna aram se  $b\Lambda t^h$ -ie  $k^h a$ -m- $\Lambda$   
 2sg[pro] 1sg[pro] PCL rest ADVL sit-CONJ.PTCL eat-FUT-1pl  
 'You and I will sit in peace and eat.'

b. बुराडक घरत बठाए खिलान पिलान कर्बाए हल्कि। (cf. DLR.04.042)

$bur^h a$ - $\mathcal{d}\Lambda$ -k  $g^h \Lambda r$ - $\Lambda t$   $b\Lambda t^h$ -a-e  $k^h i\Lambda n$  pilan  $k\Lambda r$ -ba=e  
 old\_man-NCLS-DAT house-LOC sit-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL feeding drinking do-INF = EMPH  
 $h\Lambda$ -1-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<sub>[HINDI.STEM]</sub>-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 दिलाकि कि... (cf. MR.05.284)

ap uhā biswas dil-a-p-ki ki...  
 PCL 3sg[pro] belief give<sub>[HINDI.STEM]</sub>-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 पाए *pae* 'by' is used by some writers (662a); the postposition दारे *dare* '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 *hat-e* 'hand-INSTR' is used (662b).

(662) a. चेडराड खिस्साखान (पोरेर पाए) सुनुवाफ्कि।

ceŋra-ɖʌ kʰʌbʌr-ʈʌ (mʌgi-r pae) sun-(u)wa-p-ki  
 young\_man-NCLS news-NCLS (wife-GEN INSTR) hear-ICAUS-FUT-SA3  
 'The young man had (his wife) tell the news (to him/her).'

b. मुइ दादोडक (पामरटर हाते) खिलुवानु।

mui dado-ɖʌ-k (pamar-ʈʌ-r hat-e) kʰil-uwa-n-u  
 1sg[pro] grandfather-NCLS-DAT (Pāmar-NCLS-GEN hand-INSTR) feed-ICAUS-PST-1sg  
 'I had (Pāmar) feed (my) grandfather (by hand).'

The complementiser कहेने *kʌh-ene* 'say-CONJ.PTCL' can be used if the causee is orally requested to deliver the action.

(663) मुइ पामरटक कहेने तोक नुकुवानु।

mui pamar-ʈʌ-k kʌh-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 Rājbanṣhi. 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.

- (664) a. उहाँर बिरि खुवा आदतट छुटि गेलिक।  
 uhã-r biri k<sup>h</sup>u-a adAt-tʌ c<sup>h</sup>uʈ-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 खावा छुटानु।  
 mui uhã-k biri k<sup>h</sup>a-ba c<sup>h</sup>uʈ-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 uhã-r biri k<sup>h</sup>u-a adAt-tʌ c<sup>h</sup>uʈ-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) बहुतखान कठिने मुइ उहाँर बिरि खुवा आदतट छुटवानु।  
 bʌhʉt-k<sup>h</sup>an kʌʈin-e mui uhã-r biri k<sup>h</sup>u-a adAt-tʌ  
 very-NCLS difficult-INSTR 1sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN cigarette eat-ADJR habit-NCLS  
 c<sup>h</sup>uʈ-(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) (दादोर पाए) मोक काथा सुनुवालो।  
 (dado-r pae) mok kat<sup>h</sup>a 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 कह्- *kʌhʌ*- '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. चेडराड खिस्साखान (पोरेर पाए) सुनुवाक्कि।  
 ceŋra-ɖʌ 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. चेडराड खिस्साखान (पोरेर पाए) सुनाबा कह्कि।  
 ceŋra-ɖʌ kʰisa-kʰan (por-er pae) sun-a-ba kʌhʌ-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- *di*- 'AUX' was found to occur frequently in conjunction with the causative (668a-c). This is similar to Hindi (Tikkanen 1991:179-180).<sup>92</sup>

- (668) a. अन्तिमत कुकुरला खेटियालाक पिटाएने भागाए दिक्कि। (cf. MR.04.202)  
 ʌntim-ʌt kukur-la kʰeʈia-la-k piʈa-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. राजाडर सडे गटलाके भेटघाट कराए दिक्कि। (cf. MR.05.347)  
 raja-ɖʌ-r saŋe gaʈ-la-k=e bʰeʈgʰaʈ kaʀ-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. दादोर नाउँड मुइ हासाए दिक्कि।  
 dado-r naũ 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.'

<sup>92</sup> Other examples of the auxiliary दि- *di*- occurring 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.

## 8. Notes on discourse

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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 Rājbandhi 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 Rājbandhi, 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 Rājbandhi 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 Rājibanshi 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 Rājibanshi 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.

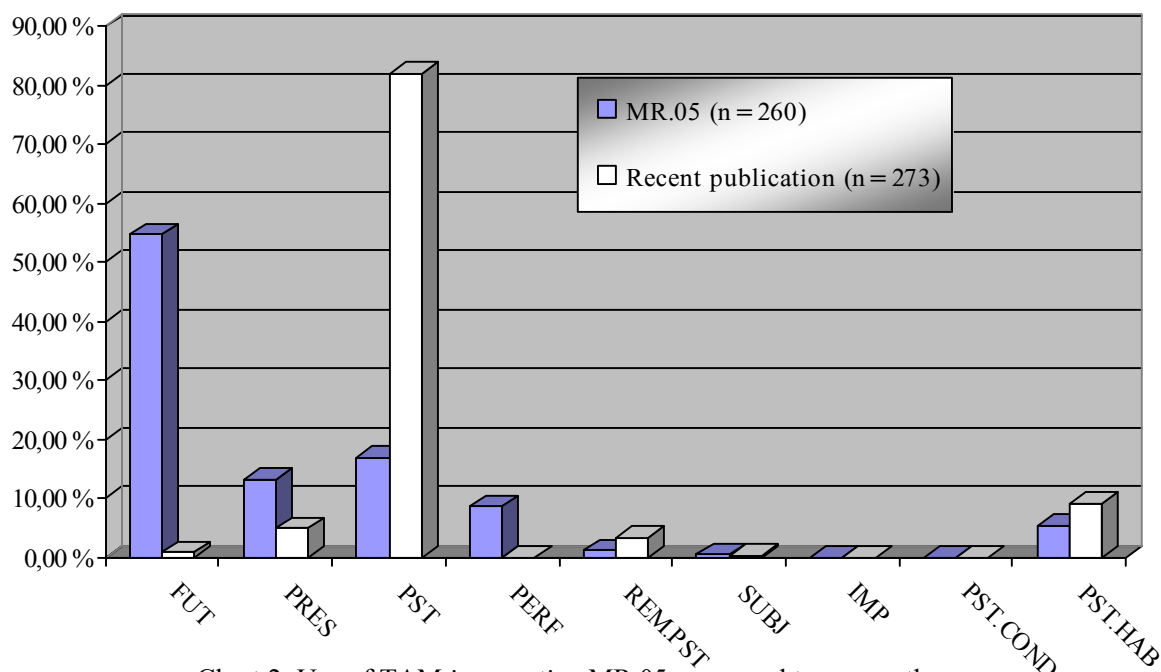


Chart 2. Use of TAM in narrative MR.05 compared to a recently published written narrative

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.

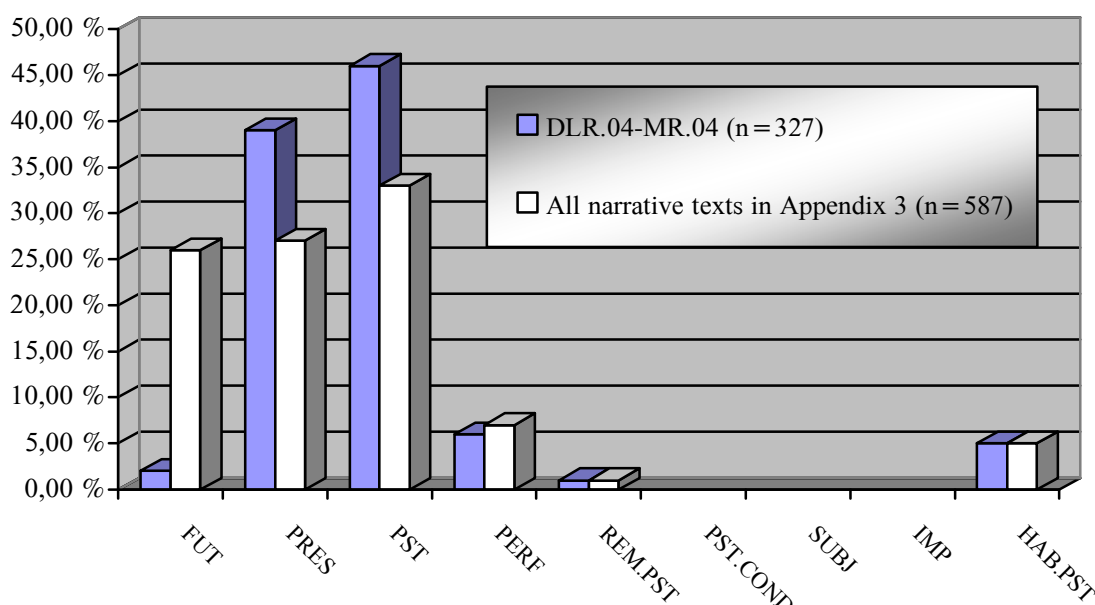


Chart 3. TAM averages in all narratives in Appendix 3

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) अन्तिमत उड बाघड जावे हारिए। (cf. MR.05.036)  
 antim-at u-dʌ bag<sup>h</sup>-dʌ ja-b-i har-ie  
 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 जाएने जाच्चि एकदम लटपटाए। (cf. MR.05.029)  
 kadʌ-k<sup>h</sup>an-at ja-ene ja-c-ki ekdʌm lʌpʌtʌ-e  
 mud-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.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 कादए काद करि देच्चि। (MR.05.030)  
 gaʈe daha-dʌ kadʌ=e kadʌ kaʌ-i d-ec-ki  
 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 Rājibanshi narrative behaves quite differently to what might have been anticipated.

### 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 Rājibanshi 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 3.7.9.2.2.1-2). 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.<sup>93</sup> Instances of the future tense can also be found showing an association with continuous states (675).

(673) कादखानत जाएने जाच्चि लटपटाए। (cf. MR.05.029)

kadΛ-k<sup>h</sup>an-Λt ja-ene ja-c-ki lΛpɾΛtΛ-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) बाघडर दाहाड गटडए खुने खुन हइ जाच्चि। (MR.05.037)

bag<sup>h</sup>-dΛ-r daha-dΛ gΛt-tΛ=e k<sup>h</sup>un=e k<sup>h</sup>un hΛ-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 घुरि उहाँक जार लाग्बा धरिच्चि। (cf. MR.05.064)

rati g<sup>h</sup>uri uhā-k jar lag-ba d<sup>h</sup>Λr-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?<sup>94</sup> 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- *kΛhΛ*- 'say', in the telic sense, is found with present (676a), past (676b) and future (676c) tense marking, as the following examples indicate.

(676) a. त सुना कहच्चि, 'ए चेडरा!' (cf. MR.05.014)

tΛ suna kΛhΛ-c-ki e ceɾɾΛ  
PCL PCL say-PRES-SA3 INJ young\_man  
'They said to him, "Eh, young man..." '

<sup>93</sup> Interestingly, Schiffrin (1981:59) notes a tendency for the English historic present to co-occur with the continuous aspect.

<sup>94</sup> 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."

- b. बाघड आर सोरट कहलिक, 'ले!' (cf. MR.05.052)  
 bag<sup>h</sup>-dΛ ar sor-tΛ kΛhΛ-l-ki le  
 tiger-NCLS and boar-NCLS say-PST-SA3 OK  
 'The tiger and the boar said, "OK." '
- c. तने सुना उहाँक कहलिक, 'ए, चेडरा!' (cf. MR.05.038-039)  
 tΛne suna uhã-k kΛhΛ-p-ki e ceηra  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT say-FUT-SA3 INJ young\_man  
 'Then he said to him: "Eh, young man!" '

Conversely, the atelic sense of the verb रह- rΛhΛ- 'remain; live; be' is found in the past (677a) and future (677b) tenses.

- (677) a. बुराड बगलत नुकाए रोहोल। (cf. DLR.04.031)  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-dΛ baglΛt nuka-e roho-l  
 old\_man-NCLS near hide-CONJ.PTCL remain-PST3  
 'The old man remained there hiding close by.'
- b. उड गेसेर पर जाएने चरिए रहबे (MR.05.128)  
 u-dΛ ges-er pΛr ja-ene cΛr<sup>h</sup>-ie rΛhΛ-b-l  
 that-NCLS tree-GEN on\_top go-CONJ.PTCL climb-CONJ.PTCL remain-FUT-3  
 '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) त सचिऐने याहाँ घर आस्ले। (DLR.06.046; cf. also examples DLR.05.033 and MR.04.177)  
 tΛ sΛc-iene yaha g<sup>h</sup>Λr as-l-l  
 PCL think-CONJ.PTCL DEM[pro/prox] house come-PST-3  
 'Thinking (this) she came home.'

(679) ते बेटीर घर से बुरिड बिदाबारि हएने आप्नार घरेर ति आसेचे। (cf. MR.04.129; cf. also examples DLR.04.018 and MR.04.131)

te beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>ar se bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍa bidabari ha-ene  
 PCL daughter-GEN house ABL old\_woman-NCLS dismissal be-CONJ.PTCL  
 apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-er ti as-ec-e  
 REFL[pro]-GEN house-GEN towards come-PRES-3

'Then the old woman, leaving her daughter's house, came towards her own house.'

(680) लडिड से सिनान करिए घरत चुलि आस्बे। (cf. MR.05.240; cf. also examples MR.05.270 and MR.05.272)

ladi-ḍa se sin-an ka<sup>r</sup>-ie g<sup>h</sup>ar-at cul-i as-b-i  
 river-NCLS ABL wash(body)-DVBL do-CONJ.PTCL house-LOC AUX-ABS come-FUT-3

'After bathing she came home from the river.'

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).<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> 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)

ḍoho velo velo uturin hed-to ha  
 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. आसा लाराइ कर्बा ध'इचे। (cf. MR.05.026)

am<sup>h</sup>a larai kʌr-ba d<sup>h</sup>ʌ(r)-ic-e  
3pl[pro] fighting do-INF begin-PERF-3  
'They had begun to fight.'

b. सोरट कादखानत जाएने जाच्चि लटपटाए। (cf. MR.05.028)

sor-ʈʌ kadʌ-k<sup>h</sup>an-ʌt ja-ene ja-c-ki lʌʈpʌʈa-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.'

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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 ɖaʌʌ                 | vende vaʌʌ     | 2. agaʌinna                            | vende vaʌʌ     | vende ɖaʌʌ    |
| 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.' |                |               |

- c. अन्तिमत सुना उड बाघड जाबे हारिए। (MR.05.036)  
 antim-at suna u-ḍa bag<sup>h</sup>-ḍa ja-b-i har-ie  
 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 अन्तिमत *antimat* '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. अन्तिमत गटे खेटियालाक पिटाएने भागाए दिल्ली। (cf. MR.04.202)  
 antim-at gaṭe k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la-k piṭa-ene b<sup>h</sup>ag-a-e d-il-ki  
 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. अन्तिमत सुना उड बाघड जाबे हारिए। (MR.05.036)  
 antim-at suna u-ḍa bag<sup>h</sup>-ḍa ja-b-i har-ie  
 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. त सुना चेडराड आप घर पुगि गिछे। (MR.05.062)  
 ta suna ceṅra-ḍa ap g<sup>h</sup>ar pug-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PCL PCL young\_man-NCLS PCL house reach-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
 'The young man had (already) arrived home.'
- b. उहाँ सुना आप्नार घर थाक्बा जाबे। (cf. MR.05.063)  
 uhā suna apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ar t<sup>h</sup>ak-ba ja-b-i  
 3sg[pro] PCL REFL[pro]-GEN house sleep-INF go-FUT-3  
 'He went to (his) own home to sleep.'
- c. राति घुरि उहाँक जार लाग्बा धरिप्कि। (cf. MR.05.064)  
 rati g<sup>h</sup>uri uhā-k jar lag-ba d<sup>h</sup>ar-ip-ki  
 night during 3sg[pro]-DAT cold feel-INF begin-FUT-SA3  
 'During the night, he began to feel cold.'

- d. मोक एनड डर लागिस्ले ना कहेने उहाँ बल्बे माअडर सडे। (cf. MR.05.079)  
 mo-k enaŋ dAr lag-isl-ɪ na kʌh-ene  
 1sg[obl]-DAT like\_this fear feel-REM.PST-3 PCL say-CONJ.PTCL  
 uhā bʌl-b-ɪ maʌ-dʌ-r sʌŋe  
 3sg[pro] speak-FUT-3 mother-NCLS-GEN with  
 'Saying, "I was so afraid", he spoke with (his) mother.'

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.<sup>96</sup>

### 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 Rājbandhi (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.

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<sup>96</sup> 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.

Title	<p>a. आरहे सालिया काथा  ar = he      salia      kat<sup>h</sup>a  last = EMPH year-ADJR story  'A story of last year'</p>	
Setting Past continuous	<p>b. केवा दिन डाकोला खोब उजाए गेइसेलकु।  kewa din    ḍako-la    k<sup>h</sup>ob uja-e      ge-isel-ku  some day robber-PL very appear-ABS AUX-REM.PST-SA2sg  'For a while robbers were appearing.'</p>	Subsection
Present	<p>c. ते एक दिन सान करे एनड थाकिए छु, छुवाडक निदुवाचु।  te ek din san    kare enḍ    t<sup>h</sup>ak-ie  PCL one day evening ADVL like_this lying-CONJ.PTCL  c<sup>h</sup>-u      c<sup>h</sup>ua-ḍa-k      nid-u(w)a-c-u  be-PRES1sg child-NCLS-DAT sleep-CAUS-PRES-1sg  'One day in the evening I was lying like this and putting the child to sleep.'</p>	
Prominent event Past	<p>d. ताए देखिन एडनार काकिड एकदम चेचाए उठेल्कु।  tae dek<sup>h</sup>in    eṅna-r    kaki-ḍa    ekḍam    ceca-e  then south yard-GEN aunt-NCLS very cry-CONJ.PTCL  uṭ-el-ku  rise-PST-SA2sg  'Then (my) aunt in the south yard really (started) shouting.'</p>	Subsection
Future (here implies ability)	<p>e. एकेछिने ढिप ढाप सुरु एकदम।  ek = e-c<sup>h</sup>in = e      ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip ḍ<sup>h</sup>ap      suru ekḍam  one = EMPH-moment = EMPH beating(sound) begin very  'Suddenly a beating noise (began).'</p>	
Future (here implies ability)	<p>f. आर कि रहबो थाकिए?  ar ki    rḷḷa-b-o      t<sup>h</sup>ak-ie  and what stay-FUT-2sg lie-CONJ.PTCL  'How could you stay lying down?'</p>	
Prominent event Past	<p>g. दउरिए छुवाडक लिए निकिल गेनु दरबजार ति।  ḍaur-ie      c<sup>h</sup>ua-ḍa-k      l-ie      nikl-i  run-CONJ.PTCL child-NCLS-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL go_out-ABS  ge-n-u      ḍarbaḷja-r      ti  AUX-PST-1sg outer_yard-GEN towards  'I took the child and ran outside to the outer yard.'</p>	

Setting (verbless predicate)	<p>h. फेर एकेछिने निसोट। p<sup>h</sup>er ek = e-c<sup>h</sup>in = e nisoṭ again one = EMPH-moment = EMPH silent 'Suddenly (it was) silent once again.'</p>	Subsection
Restatement Perfect	<p>i. चँत चँत कुछ सुना जाइचे नि। cāṭ cūṭ kuch<sup>h</sup>u suna ja-ic-e ni cāṭ(sound) cūṭ(sound) something PCL PASS.AUX-PERF-3 NEG 'No noise could be heard (whatsoever).'</p>	
Direct speech Past	<p>j. 'महरक, कि हल्कि ते! maḥarək, ki ḥa-l-ki te INJ, what be-PST-SA3 PCL 'Alas, (I wonder) what happened (to her) then.'</p> <p>k. बाडा मुस्किल! bara muskil very difficult 'Very difficult!'</p>	
Present	<p>l. सुने लाएट लिए एनड थार मारिए छु निसोट हए। sune laeṭ-ṭa l-ie enaṅ t<sup>h</sup>ara mar-ie PCL torch-NCLS take-CONJ.PTCL like_this stand kill-CONJ.PTCL c<sup>h</sup>-u nisoṭ ḥa-e be-PRES1sg silence be-CONJ.PTCL 'I took the torch and was standing like this, quietly.'</p>	Subsection
Prominent event Past	<p>m. पान दस मिनट बाद धिरिङ करे एकटा आवाज आस्ले। pan dəs minət bad d<sup>h</sup>riṅ kare ek-ṭa awaj five ten minute after d<sup>h</sup>riṅ(sound) ADVL one-NCLS sound as-l-ṭ come-PST-3 'After five to ten minutes there was a "d<sup>h</sup>riṅ" sound.'</p>	
Prominent event Past	<p>n. ताहारबाद त एकेछिने डाकोला हारात करे निक्लि गेले। tahaṛbad ṭa ek = e-c<sup>h</sup>in = e ḍako-la afterwards PCL one = EMPH-moment = EMPH robber-PL harat kare niki-l-ṭ ge-l-ṭ stamping(sound) ADVL go_out-ABS AUX-PST-3 'After that the robbers left with a stamping noise.'</p>	

		Subsection
Setting: present	{	o. ताहारबाद जाए देखेचु ते काकिडर मुकखान दिच्छि बात्तिए, आर काकाडक दिच्छि मारिए झाक गिराए।
		taharbad ja-e dek <sup>h</sup> -ec-u te kaki-ɖΛ-r afterwards go-CONJ.PTCL look-PRES-1sg PCL aunt-NCLS-GEN
Perfect: refers to previous event	{	muk-k <sup>h</sup> an d-ic-ki ban <sup>h</sup> -ie mouth-NCLS AUX-PERF-SA3 tie-ABS ar kaka-ɖΛ-k d-ic-ki mar-ie j <sup>h</sup> ak and uncle-NCLS-DAT AUX-PERF-SA3 beat-CONJ.PTCL unconscious gir-a-e 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 Past	{	p. सुना होकोर दोकोर करे दिन काकिर बन्धन खुलाए, आर काकाडक धरा-धरि करे ले गेन राते करे हस्पिटल।
		sunā hokor dokor di-n-Λ kaki-r bΛnd <sup>h</sup> Λn PCL hurry (echo)hurry AUX-PST-1pl aunt-GEN bond k <sup>h</sup> ul-a-e ar kaka-ɖΛ-k d <sup>h</sup> Λr-a d <sup>h</sup> Λr-i open-CAUS-ABS and uncle-NCLS-DAT hold-DVBL hold-DVBL kΛre l-e ge-n-Λ rat=e kΛre hΛspitΛl ADVL take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-1pl night=EMPH ADVL hospital 'In a hurry we opened up (my) aunt's bonds and carried uncle and took him (away) to the hospital during the night.'

Narrative 1. Narrative told with a Type 1 structure (3/3)

Title	<p>a. आरहे सालिया काथा  ar = he sal-ia kat<sup>h</sup>a  last = EMPH year-ADJR story  'A story of last year'</p>	
Setting		Subsection
Past continuous	<p>b. केवा दिन डाकोला खोब उजाए गेइसेल्कु।  kewa din ḍako-la k<sup>h</sup>ob uja-e ge-isel-ku  some day robber-PL very appear-ABS AUX-REM.PST-SA2sg  'For a while robbers were appearing.'</p>	
Future	<p>c. ते एक दिन सान करे एनड थाकिए रहम, छुवाडक निदुवामु।  te ek din san kare enḍ t<sup>h</sup>ak-ie  PCL one day evening ADVL like_this lying-CONJ.PTCL  rḷḷ-m c<sup>h</sup>ua-ḍḷ-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.'</p>	
Prominent event		Subsection
Future	<p>d. ताए देखिन एडनार काकिड एकदम चेचाए उठिष्कु।  tae dek<sup>h</sup>in eṇna-r kaki-ḍḷ ekḍam 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.'</p>	
Future (here implies ability)	<p>e. एकेछिने ढिप-ढाप सुरु एकदम।  ek = e-c<sup>h</sup>in = e ḍ<sup>h</sup>ip ḍ<sup>h</sup>ap suru ekḍam  one = EMPH-moment = EMPH beating(sound) begin very  'Suddenly a beating noise (began).'</p>	
Prominent event		Subsection
Future	<p>f. आर कि रहबो थाकिए?  ar ki rḷḷ-b-o t<sup>h</sup>ak-ie  and what stay-FUT-2sg lie-CONJ.PTCL  'How could you stay lying down?'</p>	
Prominent event		Subsection
Future	<p>g. दउरिए छुवाडक लिए निकिल जाम दरबजार ति।  ḍaur-ie c<sup>h</sup>ua-ḍḷ-k l-ie niki-i  run-CONJ.PTCL child-NCLS-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL go_out-ABS  ja-m ḍarbaḷja-r ti  AUX-FUT1sg outer_yard-GEN towards  'I took the child and ran outside to the outer yard.'</p>	

		Subsection
Setting (verbless predicate)	<p>h. फेर एकेछिने निसोटा। p<sup>h</sup>er ek = e-c<sup>h</sup>in = e nisot again one = EMPH-moment = EMPH silent 'Suddenly (it was) silent once again.'</p>	
Restatement Future	<p>i. चँत चँत कुछ सुना जाबे नि। cãt cõt kuc<sup>h</sup>u suna ja-b-i ni cãt(sound) cõt(sound) something PCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3 NEG 'No noise could be heard (whatsoever).'</p>	
Direct speech Past	<p>j. 'महरक, कि हल्कि ते। mãharãk, ki hã-l-ki te INJ, what be-PST-SA3 PCL 'Alas, (I wonder) what happened (to her) then.'</p> <p>k. बाडा मुस्किल! bara muskil very difficult 'Very difficult!'</p>	
		Subsection
Future	<p>l. सुने लाएट्ट लिए एनड थार मारिए रहम निसोट हए। sune laeṭ-ṭã l-ie enãṅ t<sup>h</sup>arã mar-ie PCL torch-NCLS take-CONJ.PTCL like_this stand kill-CONJ.PTCL rãhã-m nisot hã-e be-FUT1sg silence be-CONJ.PTCL 'I took the torch and was standing like this, quietly.'</p>	
Prominent event Future	<p>m. पान दस मिनट बाद धिरिङ करे एकटा आवाज आस्बे। pan dãs minãṭ bad d<sup>h</sup>riṅ kãre ek-ṭã awaj five ten minute after d<sup>h</sup>riṅ(sound) ADVL one-NCLS sound as-b-i come-FUT-3 'After five to ten minutes there was a "d<sup>h</sup>riṅ" sound.'</p>	
Prominent event Future	<p>n. ताहारबाद त एकेछिने डाकोला हारात करे निकिल जाबे। tãharbad tã ek = e-c<sup>h</sup>in = e ðako-la harat afterwards PCL one = EMPH-moment = EMPH robber-PL stamping(sound) kãre nikl-i ja-b-i ADVL go_out-ABS AUX-FUT-3 'After that the robbers left with a stamping noise.'</p>	



	Subsection
Setting: future	o. ताहारबाद जाए देखिम ते काकिडर मुकखान दिच्छि बात्तिए, आर काकाडक दिच्छि मारिए झाक गिराए।
Perfect: refers to previous event	taharbad ja-e dek <sup>h</sup> -im te kaki-ḍa-r afterwards go-CONJ.PTCL look-FUT1sg PCL aunt-NCLS-GEN muk-k <sup>h</sup> an d-ic-ki ban <sup>h</sup> -ie ar kaka-ḍa-k mouth-NCLS AUX-PERF-SA3 tie-ABS and uncle-NCLS-DAT d-ic-ki mar-ie j <sup>h</sup> ak 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 Future	p. सुना होकोर दोकोर करे दिम काकिर बन्धन खुलाए, आर काकाडक धरा-धरि करे ले जाम राते करे हस्पिटल।
	suna hokor dokor di-m-ḷ kaki-r band <sup>h</sup> an PCL hurry (echo)hurry AUX-FUT-1pl aunt-GEN bond k <sup>h</sup> ul-a-e open-CAUS-ABS ar kaka-ḍa-k d <sup>h</sup> ar-a d <sup>h</sup> ar-i kare and uncle-NCLS-DAT hold-DVBL hold-DVBL ADVL l-e ja-m-ḷ rat=e kare h <sup>h</sup> ospital 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.'

Narrative 2. Narrative told with a Type 2 structure (3/3)

### 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.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>97</sup> 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)

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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. एनड उहाँ छागल चराइस्ले। (cf. MR.05.006)  
 enaŋ uhã c<sup>h</sup>agaɭ cʌra-isl-i  
 like\_this 3sg[pro] female\_goat graze-REM.PST-3  
 'He was grazing the goats like this.'
- b. एनड उहाँ छागल चराचे।  
 enaŋ uhã c<sup>h</sup>agaɭ cʌra-c-e  
 like\_this 3sg[pro] female\_goat graze-PRES-3  
 'He was grazing (lit. is grazing) the goats like this.'

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

Text type 1	MR.05.004-010, MR.05.011-025, MR.05.026-036, MR.05.055-061, MR.05.216-226
Text type 2	MR.05.037-054, MR.05.062-079, MR.05.081-085, MR.05.093-102, MR.05.104-116, MR.05.118-133, MR.05.134-137, MR.05.147-162, MR.05.163-175, MR.05.176-185, MR.05.186-192, MR.05.227-239, MR.05.240-258, MR.05.259-269 (though, MR.05.261-262 is uncertain), MR.05.290-295, MR.05.296-308 (end of this section MR.05.310-313 is uncertain) MR.05.350-358
Switch of text types in mid-section	MR.05.193-196 (Type 1) > MR.05.198-203 (Type 2) > MR.05.205 (type 1) MR.05.206 (type 1) > MR.05.210-215 (type 2) MR.05.270-272 (type 2) > MR.05.274-283 (type 1) > MR.05.284-288 (mostly type 2) MR.05.336-338 (type 1) > MR.05.339-348 (type 2)
Predominant past	MR.05.314-322, MR.05.324-327
Uncertain	MR.05.086-092, MR.05.138-146, MR.05.328-335

### 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 Rājbanshi, 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 Rājbandhi. 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 Jespersen (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 Rājbandhi. 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 Rājbandhi 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 Rājbandhi 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 Rājbandhi, 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 Jespersen 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.<sup>98</sup> 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:

Discourse foreground/background correlations of tense-aspect-modality		
feature	foreground	background
<i>tense</i>	past	present, future, past habitual
<i>sequentiality</i>	in-sequence	out-of-sequence, anterior, perfect
<i>durativity</i>	compact/punctual	durative/continuous
<i>perfectivity</i>	perfective/completive	imperfective/incompletive
<i>modality</i>	realis	irrealis
<i>(activeness)</i>	(action/event)	(state)
<i>(syntax)</i>	(main clauses)	(subordinate clause)

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

<sup>98</sup> 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	<p>a. कोहिनिखान अनुसारे एकबार पारबतिडा आप्तार माअ-बापेर घर सोदोर खाबा जाछे।  kohini-k<sup>h</sup>an ʌnusa-r-e ek-bar parbati-ɖa apna-r  story-NCLS according_to-INSTR one-time Parbati-NCLS REFL[pro]-GEN  maʌ bap-er g<sup>h</sup>ʌr sodor k<sup>h</sup>a-ba ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  mother father-GEN house visitor eat-INF go-PRES-3  'According to the story, Ekbar Parbati went to visit her mother's and father's home.'</p> <p>b. माएर घर रहबार भेले दिन हए जाछे, हिति सिबडा दिन-दिन पारबतिडार फम पाचे।  ma-er g<sup>h</sup>ʌr rʌʌ-ba-r b<sup>h</sup>ele din hʌ-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  mother-GEN house stay-INF-GEN many day be-ABS AUX-PRES-3  hiti sib-ɖa din din parbati-ɖa-r p<sup>h</sup>ʌm pa-c-e  over_here Sib-NCLS day day Parbati-NCLS-GEN recollection get-PRES-3  'After staying there for many days, over here Sib was thinking about Parbati every day.'</p> <p>c. पारबतिडार चिन्ताए सिबडा पागलार लाखा हए जाछे।  parbati-ɖa-r cinta=e sib-ɖa pagla-r lak<sup>h</sup>a hʌ-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  Parbati-NCLS-GEN worry=EMPH Sib-NCLS madman-GEN like be-ABS AUX-PRES-3  'Due to worrying Sib became like a madman.'</p> <p>d. एनड करे एक दिना अए पारबतिडार अनुरागत पागला हए भाड धुतुरा खाए आप्तार घरला जलाए घर से निकलिए जाछे।  enʌŋ kʌre ek dina ʌe parbati-ɖa-r ʌnurag-ʌt  like_this ADVL one day 3sg[pro] Parbati-NCLS-GEN longing-LOC  pagla hʌ-e b<sup>h</sup>aŋ d<sup>h</sup>utura k<sup>h</sup>a-e  madman be-CONJ.PTCL narcotic_liquid narcotic_plant eat-CONJ.PTCL  apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-la jʌl-a-e g<sup>h</sup>ʌr se nikli-e  own-GEN house-PL burn-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL house ABL go_out-CONJ.PTCL  ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  go-PRES-3  'In this way, one day in his longing for Parbati he became a madman. He ate narcotic liquid and (seeds from a) narcotic plant, and burnt his own houses. After that he left.'</p>
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Narrative 3. Narrative told with a predominant present tense (1/2)

Extract from text by Pāni Lāl Rājbanshi, Duhāgaḍhi

	<p>e. एड्डा दिनक राजबंसिला 'भेलार घर जल्बार' कहेने कहचे।  ei-ḍa                                      din-ʌk    rajbʌŋsi-la    b<sup>h</sup>elʌr    g<sup>h</sup>ʌr    jʌl-ba-r  DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS    day-DAT    Rajbanshi-PL    Bhelar house    burn-INF-GEN  kʌh-ene                                      kʌhʌ-c-e  say-CONJ.PTCL(CMPL)    say-PRES-3  'Rajbanshis call this day "(the day) Bhelar (Sib's second name) burnt (his) house".'</p>
Section 2	<p>f. इहा काथा सुनिए पारबतिडा माअडार घर से घर आसेचे।  yaha                                      kat<sup>h</sup>a    sun-ie                                      parbati-ḍa                                      maʌ-ḍa-r  3sg[pro/prox]    story    hear-CONJ.PTCL    Parbati-NCLS    mother-NCLS-GEN  g<sup>h</sup>ʌr    se    g<sup>h</sup>ʌr    as-ec-e  house ABL    house come-PRES-3  'When Parbati heard this story she left her mother's house and returned home.'</p> <p>g. हेता आप्नार घरला जला देखिए आर सिबडाक घरत नि पाएने पारबतिडाअ सिबडार अनुरागत पागलिर लाखा हएने आप्नार सडगिलाक लिए सिबडाक अन्ध्रबा निकलेचे।  heta    apna-r                                      g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-la    jʌl-a                                      dek<sup>h</sup>-ie                                      ar  here    REFL[pro]-GEN    house-PL    burn-PST.PTCL    see-CONJ.PTCL    and  sib-ḍa-k                                      g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt    ni    pa-ene                                      parbati-ḍa=ʌ  Sib-NCLS-DAT    house-LOC    NEG    find-CONJ.PTCL    Parbati-NCLS = CNJ  sib-ḍa-r    ʌnurag-ʌt    pagli-r                                      lak<sup>h</sup>a    hʌ-ene                                      apna-r  Sib-GEN    longing-LOC    man_girl-GEN    like    be-CONJ.PTCL    REFL[pro]-GEN  saŋi-la-k                                      l-ie                                      sib-ḍa-k                                      ʌnc<sup>h</sup>i-ba                                      niki-ec-e  friend-PL-DAT    take-CONJ.PTCL    Sib-NCLS-DAT    search-INF    go_out-PRES-3  'Here, finding her houses burnt, and not finding Sib at home, Parbati became a mad girl out of longing for Sib. She took her friends and went out to look for Sib.'</p> <p>h. अमा सघाए घरे घरे जाएने सिबडाक अन्ध्राए बेराचे।  ʌm<sup>h</sup>a    saŋ<sup>h</sup>ae    g<sup>h</sup>ʌr=e                                      g<sup>h</sup>ʌr=e                                      ja-ene  3pl[pro]    all                                      house=EMPH    house=EMPH                                      go-CONJ.PTCL  sib-ḍa-k                                      ʌnc<sup>h</sup>a-e                                      bera-c-e  Sib-NCLS-DAT    search-CONJ.PTCL    walk-PRES-3  'All of them went from house to house, walked and searched for Sib.'</p>

Narrative 3. Narrative told with a predominant present tense (2/2)

Extract from text by Pāni Lāl Rājbanṣhi, Duhāgaḍhi

### 8.1.8 Irregularities

Having made these observations, I must add that much is still left to be done to adequately describe the unusual behaviour of tense in Rājbanṣhi. 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

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 Rājibanshi 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.

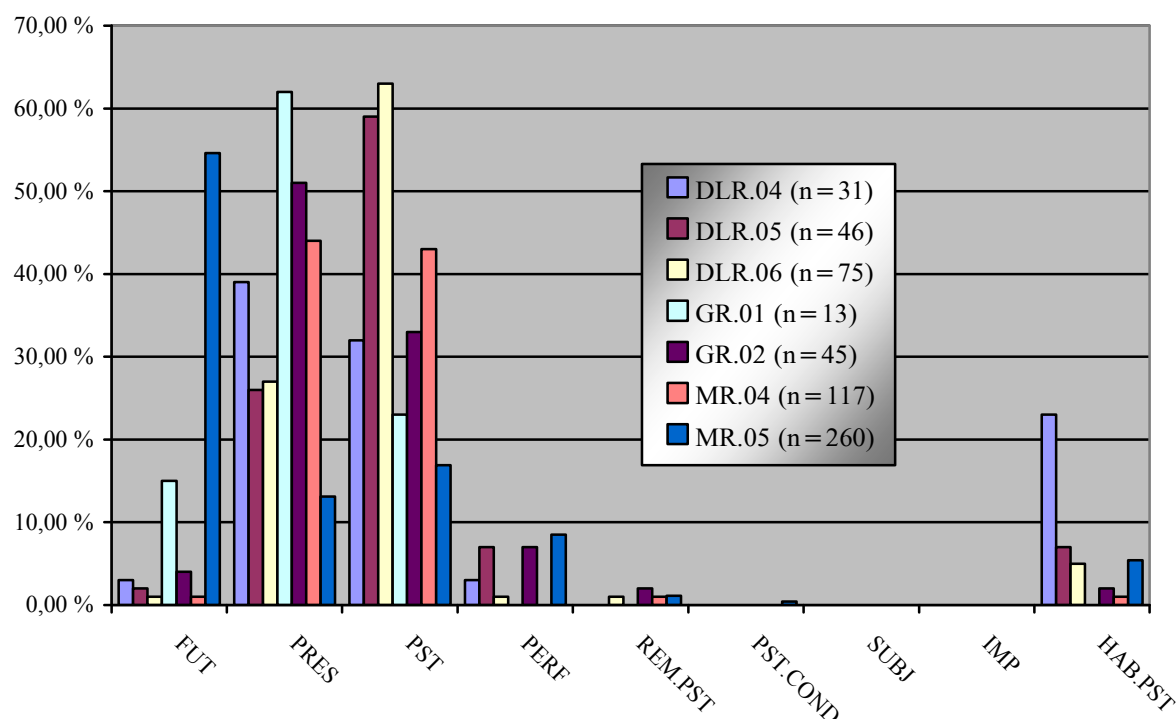


Chart 4. Use of TAM in each narrative in Appendix 3

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

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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 Jhāpā have also been mentioned.

### Secondary agreement non-marked

खा- <i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> - 'eat' (verb stem type 1).....	389
कह- <i>kʌhʌ</i> - 'say' (verb stem type 2).....	389
ह- <i>hʌ</i> - 'be' (verb stem type 2).....	389
जा- <i>ja</i> - 'go' (verb stem type 3).....	392
लि- <i>li</i> - 'take' (verb stem type 3).....	392
दि- <i>di</i> - 'give' (verb stem type 3).....	392
आस- <i>as</i> - 'come' (verb stem type 4).....	396
मार- <i>mar</i> - 'beat; kill' (verb stem type 5).....	396
सम्ठ- <i>sʌmṭ<sup>h</sup></i> - 'finish' (verb stem type 6).....	396

### Secondary agreement marked

ठुक- <i>t<sup>h</sup>uk</i> - 'hit' (verb stem type 4).....	401
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Additionally, the following charts present a preliminary paradigm from the Dādar Bairiā and Rangeli dialects of Morang.

### Secondary agreement non-marked

आस- <i>as</i> - 'come'.....	411
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### Secondary agreement marked

ठक- <i>t<sup>h</sup>ʌk</i> - 'hit'.....	412
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Verb paradigm: south-western and northern Jhāpā			
	Verb stem type 1 (stem-final vowel) खा- <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-</i> ‘eat’	Verb stem type 2 (stem-final -अ -a) कह- <i>kʌhʌ-</i> ‘say’	Verb stem type 2 (stem-final -अ -a) ह- <i>hʌ-</i> ‘be’
Future			
1sg	खाम <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-m</i> ‘eat-FUT1sg’ खामु <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-m-u</i> ‘eat-FUT-1sg’	कहम <i>kʌhʌ-m</i> ‘say-FUT1sg’	हम <i>hʌ-m</i> ‘be-FUT1sg’ हमु <i>hʌ-m-u</i> ‘be-FUT-1sg’
2sg	खावो <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-b-o</i> ‘eat-FUT-2sg’	कहवो <i>kʌhʌ-b-o</i> ‘say-FUT-2sg’	हवो <i>hʌ-b-o</i> ‘be-FUT-2sg’
3sg	खावे <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-b-i</i> ‘eat-FUT-3’	कहवे <i>kʌhʌ-b-i</i> ‘say-FUT-3’	हवे <i>hʌ-b-i</i> ‘be-FUT-3’
1pl	खाम <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ʌ</i> ‘eat-FUT-1pl’	कहम <i>kʌhʌ-m-ʌ</i> ‘say-FUT-1pl’	हम <i>hʌ-m-ʌ</i> ‘be-FUT-1pl’
2pl	खावन <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-b-ʌn</i> ‘eat-FUT-2pl’	कहवन <i>kʌhʌ-b-ʌn</i> ‘say-FUT-2pl’	हवन <i>hʌ-b-ʌn</i> ‘be-FUT-2pl’
3pl	खावे <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-b-i</i> ‘eat-FUT-3’	कहवे <i>kʌhʌ-b-i</i> ‘say-FUT-3’	हवे <i>hʌ-b-i</i> ‘be-FUT-3’
Present			
1sg	खाचु <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-c-u</i> ‘eat-PRES-1sg’	कहचु <i>kʌhʌ-c-u</i> ‘say-PRES-1sg’	हचु <i>hʌ-c-u</i> ‘be-PRES-1sg’
2sg	खाचिस <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-c-is</i> ‘eat-PRES-2sg’ खाचित <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-c-it</i> ‘eat-PRES-2sg’	कहचिस <i>kʌhʌ-c-is</i> ‘say-PRES-2sg’ कहचित <i>kʌhʌ-c-it</i> ‘say-PRES-2sg’	हचिस <i>hʌ-c-is</i> ‘be-PRES-2sg’
3sg	खाचे <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e</i> ‘eat-PRES-3’	कहचे <i>kʌhʌ-c-e</i> ‘say-PRES-3’	हचे <i>hʌ-c-e</i> ‘be-PRES-3’
1pl	खाचि <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-c-i</i> ‘eat-PRES-1pl’	कहचि <i>kʌhʌ-c-i</i> ‘say-PRES-1pl’	हचि <i>hʌ-c-i</i> ‘be-PRES-1pl’
2pl	खाचन <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-c-ʌn</i> ‘eat-PRES-2pl’	कहचन <i>kʌhʌ-c-ʌn</i> ‘say-PRES-2pl’	हचन <i>hʌ-c-ʌn</i> ‘be-PRES-2pl’
3pl	खाचे <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e</i> ‘eat-PRES-3’	कहचे <i>kʌhʌ-c-e</i> ‘say-PRES-3’	हचे <i>hʌ-c-e</i> ‘be-PRES-3’
Past			
1sg	खानु <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-n-u</i> ‘eat-PST-1sg’	कहनु <i>kʌhʌ-n-u</i> ‘say-PST-1sg’	हनु <i>hʌ-n-u</i> ‘be-PST-1sg’
2sg	खालो <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-l-o</i> ‘eat-PST-2sg’	कहलो <i>kʌhʌ-l-o</i> ‘say-PST-2sg’	हलो <i>hʌ-l-o</i> ‘be-PST-2sg’
3sg	खाले <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-l-i</i> ‘eat-PST-3’ खाल <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-l</i> ‘eat-PST3’	कहले <i>kʌhʌ-l-i</i> ‘say-PST-3’ कोहो <i>kʌhʌ-l</i> ‘say-PST3’	हले <i>hʌ-l-i</i> ‘be-PST-3’ हो <i>hʌ-l</i> ‘be-PST-3’
1pl	खान <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-n-ʌ</i> ‘eat-PST-1pl’	कहन <i>kʌhʌ-n-ʌ</i> ‘say-PST-1pl’	हन <i>hʌ-n-ʌ</i> ‘be-PST-1pl’
2pl	खालन <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-l-ʌn</i> ‘eat-PST-2pl’	कहलन <i>kʌhʌ-l-ʌn</i> ‘say-PST-2pl’	हलन <i>hʌ-l-ʌn</i> ‘be-PST-2pl’

3pl	खाले $k^ha-l-l$ 'eat-PST-3' खाल $k^ha-l$ 'eat-PST-3'	कहले $k\lambda h\lambda-l-l$ 'say-PST-3' कोहोल $koho-l$ 'say-PST-3'	हले $h\lambda-l-l$ 'be-PST-3' होल $ho-l$ 'be-PST-3'
Perfect			
1sg	खाइचु $k^ha-ic-e$ 'eat-PERF-1sg'	कहिचु $k\lambda h-ic-u$ 'say-PERF-1sg'	हइचु $h\lambda-ic-u$ 'be-PERF-1sg'
2sg	खाइचिस $k^ha-ic-is$ 'eat-PERF-2sg' खाइचित $k^ha-ic-it$ 'eat-PERF-2sg'	कहिचिस $k\lambda h-ic-is$ 'say-PERF-2sg' कहिचित $k\lambda h-ic-it$ 'say-PERF-2sg'	हइचिस $h\lambda-ic-is$ 'be-PERF-2sg'
3sg	खाइचे $k^ha-ic-e$ 'eat-PERF-3'	कहिचे $k\lambda h-ic-e$ 'say-PERF-3'	हइचे $h\lambda-ic-e$ 'be-PERF-3'
1pl	खाइचि $k^ha-ic-i$ 'eat-PERF-1pl'	कहिचि $k\lambda h-ic-i$ 'say-PERF-1pl'	हइचि $h\lambda-ic-i$ 'be-PERF-1pl'
2pl	खाइचन $k^ha-ic-\lambda n$ 'eat-PERF-2pl'	कहिचन $k\lambda h-ic-\lambda n$ 'say-PERF-2pl'	हइचन $h\lambda-ic-\lambda n$ 'be-PERF-2pl'
3pl	खाइचे $k^ha-ic-e$ 'eat-PERF-3'	कहिचे $k\lambda h-ic-e$ 'say-PERF-3'	हइचे $h\lambda-ic-e$ 'be-PERF-3'
Past continuous, remote past			
1sg	खाइस्नु $k^ha-isn-u$ 'eat-REM-PST-1sg'	कहिस्नु $k\lambda h-isn-u$ 'say-REM-PST-1sg'	हइस्नु $h\lambda-isn-u$ 'be-REM.PST-1sg'
2sg	खाइस्लो $k^ha-isl-o$ 'eat-REM-PST-2sg'	कहिस्लो $k\lambda h-isl-o$ 'say-REM-PST-2sg'	हइस्लो $h\lambda-isl-o$ 'be-REM.PST-2sg'
3sg	खाइस्ले $k^ha-isl-l$ 'eat-REM-PST-3'	कहिस्ले $k\lambda h-isl-l$ 'say-REM-PST-3'	हइस्ले $h\lambda-isl-l$ 'be-REM.PST-3'
1pl	खाइस्न $k^ha-isn-\lambda$ 'eat-REM-PST-1pl'	कहिस्न $k\lambda h-isn-\lambda$ 'say-REM-PST-1pl'	हइस्न $h\lambda-isn-\lambda$ 'be-REM.PST-1pl'
2pl	खाइस्लन $k^ha-isl-\lambda n$ 'eat-REM-PST-2pl'	कहिस्लन $k\lambda h-isl-\lambda n$ 'say-REM-PST-2pl'	हइस्लन $h\lambda-isl-\lambda n$ 'be-REM.PST-2pl'
3pl	खाइस्ले $k^ha-isl-l$ 'eat-REM-PST-3'	कहिस्ले $k\lambda h-isl-l$ 'say-REM-PST-3'	हइस्ले $h\lambda-isl-l$ 'be-REM.PST-3'
Imperative			
2sg	खा $k^ha-\emptyset$ 'eat-IMP2sg'	कोहो $koho-\emptyset$ 'say-IMP2sg'	हो $ho-\emptyset$ 'be-IMP2sg'
2pl	खाअ $k^ha-\lambda$ 'eat-IMP2pl'	कह $k\lambda h-\lambda$ 'say-IMP2sg'	ह $h-\lambda$ 'be-IMP2pl'
Past conditional			
1sg	खानुतन $k^ha-n-u=t\lambda n$ 'eat-PST-1sg=PST.COND' खानुहने $k^ha-n-u=h\lambda ne$ 'eat-PST-1sg=PST.COND'	कहनुतन $k\lambda h\lambda-n-u=t\lambda n$ 'say-PST-1sg=PST.COND' कहनुहने $k\lambda h\lambda-n-u=h\lambda ne$ 'say-PST-1sg=PST.COND'	हनुतन $h\lambda-n-u=t\lambda n$ 'be-PST-1sg=PST.COND' हनुहने $h\lambda-n-u=h\lambda ne$ 'be-PST-1sg=PST.COND'
2sg	खालोतन $k^ha-l-o=t\lambda n$ 'eat-PST-2sg=PST.COND' खालोहने $k^ha-l-o=h\lambda ne$ 'eat-PST-2sg=PST.COND'	कहलोतन $k\lambda h\lambda-l-o=t\lambda n$ 'say-PST-2sg=PST.COND' कहलोहने $k\lambda h\lambda-l-o=h\lambda ne$ 'say-PST-2sg=PST.COND'	हलोतन $h\lambda-l-o=t\lambda n$ 'be-PST-2sg=PST.COND' हलोहने $h\lambda-l-o=h\lambda ne$ 'be-PST-2sg=PST.COND'
3sg	खालेतन $k^ha-l-l=t\lambda n$ 'eat-PST-3=PST.COND'	कहलेतन $k\lambda h\lambda-l-l=t\lambda n$ 'say-PST-3=PST.COND'	हलेतन $h\lambda-l-l=t\lambda n$ 'be-PST-3=PST.COND'

	खालेहने $k^ha-l-l=h\Lambda ne$ 'eat-PST-3 = PST.COND'	कहलेहने $k\Lambda h\Lambda-l-l=h\Lambda ne$ 'say-PST-3 = PST.COND'	हलेहने $h\Lambda-l-l=h\Lambda ne$ 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'
1pl	खानतन $k^ha-n-\Lambda=t\Lambda n$ 'eat-PST-1pl = PST.COND' खानहने $k^ha-n-\Lambda=h\Lambda ne$ 'eat-PST-1pl = PST.COND'	कहनतन $k\Lambda h\Lambda-n-\Lambda=t\Lambda n$ 'say-PST-1pl = PST.COND' कहनहने $k\Lambda h\Lambda-n-\Lambda=h\Lambda ne$ 'say-PST-1pl = PST.COND'	हनतन $h\Lambda-n-\Lambda=t\Lambda n$ 'be-PST-1pl = PST.COND' हनहने $h\Lambda-n-\Lambda=h\Lambda ne$ 'be-PST-1pl = PST.COND'
2pl	खालनतन $k^ha-l-\Lambda n=t\Lambda n$ 'eat-PST-2pl = PST.COND' खालनहने $k^ha-l-\Lambda n=h\Lambda ne$ 'eat-PST-2pl = PST.COND'	कहलनतन $k\Lambda h\Lambda-l-\Lambda n=t\Lambda n$ 'say-PST-2pl = PST.COND' कहलनहने $k\Lambda h\Lambda-l-\Lambda n=h\Lambda ne$ 'say-PST-2pl = PST.COND'	हलनतन $h\Lambda-l-\Lambda n=t\Lambda n$ 'be-PST-2pl = PST.COND' हलनहने $h\Lambda-l-\Lambda n=h\Lambda ne$ 'be-PST-2pl = PST.COND'
3pl	खालेतन $k^ha-l-l=t\Lambda n$ 'eat-PST-3 = PST.COND' खालेहने $k^ha-l-l=h\Lambda ne$ 'eat-PST-3 = PST.COND'	कहलेतन $k\Lambda h\Lambda-l-l=t\Lambda n$ 'say-PST-3 = PST.COND' कहलेहने $k\Lambda h\Lambda-l-l=h\Lambda ne$ 'say-PST-3 = PST.COND'	हलेतन $h\Lambda-l-l=t\Lambda n$ 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND' हलेहने $h\Lambda-l-l=h\Lambda ne$ 'be-PST-3 = PST.COND'
Subjunctive			
1sg	खाउ $k^ha-u$ 'eat-SUBJ1sg'	कहु $k\Lambda h-u$ 'say-SUBJ1sg'	हउ $h\Lambda-u$ 'be-SUBJ1sg'
2sg	खाइस $k^ha-is$ 'eat-SUBJ2sg'	कहिस $k\Lambda h-is$ 'say-SUBJ2sg'	हइस $h\Lambda-is$ 'be-SUBJ2sg'
3sg	खाओक $k^ha-ok$ 'eat-SUBJ3'  खाए $k^ha-e$ 'eat-SUBJ3' खाक $k^ha-k$ 'eat-SUBJ3'	कोहोक $koh-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3' कहोक $k\Lambda h-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3' कहे $k\Lambda h-e$ 'say-SUBJ3'	होक $h-ok$ 'be-SUBJ3'
1pl	खाइ $k^ha-i$ 'eat-SUBJ1pl'	कहि $k\Lambda h-i$ 'say-SUBJ1pl'	हइ $h\Lambda-i$ 'be-SUBJ1pl'
2pl	खाअन $k^ha-\Lambda n$ 'eat-SUBJ2pl' खान $k^ha-n$ 'eat-SUBJ2pl'	कहन $k\Lambda h-\Lambda n$ 'say-SUBJ2pl'	हन $h-\Lambda n$ 'be-SUBJ2pl'
3pl	खाओक $k^ha-ok$ 'eat-SUBJ3' खाक $k^ha-k$ 'eat-SUBJ3' खाए $k^ha-e$ 'eat-SUBJ3'	कहोक $k\Lambda h-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3' कोहोक $koh-ok$ 'say-SUBJ3' कहे $k\Lambda h-e$ 'say-SUBJ3'	होक $h-ok$ 'be-SUBJ3'
Past habitual			
1sg	खाउ $k^ha-u$ 'eat-PST.HAB1sg'	कहु $k\Lambda h-u$ 'say-PST.HAB1sg'	हउ $h\Lambda-u$ 'be-PST.HAB1sg'; 'be-PRES1sg'
2sg	खाइस $k^ha-is$ 'eat-PST.HAB2sg'	कहिस $k\Lambda h-is$ 'say-PST.HAB2sg'	हइस $h\Lambda-is$ 'be-PST.HAB2sg'; 'be-PRES2sg'
3sg	खाए $k^ha-e$ 'eat-PST.HAB3'	कहे $k\Lambda h-e$ 'say-PST.HAB3'	हए $h\Lambda-e$ 'be-PST.HAB3'; 'be-PRES3'
1pl	खाइ $k^ha-i$ 'eat-PST.HAB1pl'	कहि $k\Lambda h-i$ 'say-PST.HAB1pl'	हइ $h\Lambda-i$ 'be-PST.HAB1pl'; 'be-PRES1pl'
2pl	खाअन $k^ha-\Lambda n$ 'eat-PST.HAB2pl' खान $k^ha-n$ 'eat-PST.HAB2pl'	कहन $k\Lambda h-\Lambda n$ 'say-PST.HAB2pl'	हन $h-\Lambda n$ 'be-PST.HAB2pl'; 'be-PRES2pl'

3pl	खाए $k^ha-e$ 'eat-PST.HAB3'	कहे $k\Lambda h-e$ 'say-PST.HAB3'	हए $h\Lambda-e$ 'be-PST.HAB3'; 'be-PRES3'
Non-finite forms			
INF	खाबा $k^ha-ba$ 'eat-INF'	कहबा $k\Lambda h\Lambda-ba$ 'say-INF'	हबा $h\Lambda-ba$ 'be-INF'
ABS	खाए $k^ha-e$ 'eat-ABS'	कहे $k\Lambda h-e$ 'say-ABS' कहि $k\Lambda h-i$ 'say-ABS'	हइ $h\Lambda-i$ 'be-ABS' हए $h\Lambda-e$ 'be-ABS'
CONJ.PTCL	खाए(ने) $k^hae(ne)$ 'eat-CONJ.PTCL'	कहे(ने) $k\Lambda h-e(ne)$ 'say-CONJ.PTCL' कहए(ने) $k\Lambda h\Lambda-e(ne)$ 'say-CONJ.PTCL'	हए(ने) $h\Lambda-e(ne)$ 'be-CONJ.PTCL'
CONT.PTCL	खाते $k^ha-te$ 'eat-CONT.PTCL'	कहते $k\Lambda h\Lambda-te$ 'say-CONT.PTCL'	हते $h\Lambda-te$ 'be-CONT.PTCL'
PST.PTCL	खाआ(ल) $k^ha-a(l)$ [ $k^ha(l)$ ] 'eat-PST.PTCL'	कहा(ल) $k\Lambda h-a(l)$ 'say-PST.PTCL'	हआ(ल) $h\Lambda-a(l)$ 'be-PST.PTCL'
Verb paradigm: south-western and northern Jhāpā			
	Verb stem type 3 (defective) जा- $ja-$ 'go'	Verb stem type 3 (defective) लि- $li-$ 'take'	Verb stem type 3 (defective) दि- $di-$ 'give'
Future			
1sg	जाम $ja-m$ 'go-FUT1sg' जामु $ja-m-u$ 'go-FUT-1sg'	लिम $li-m$ 'take-FUT1sg'	दिम $di-m$ 'give-FUT1sg'
2sg	जाबो $ja-b-o$ 'go-FUT-2sg'	लिबो $li-b-o$ 'take-FUT-2sg'	दिबो $di-b-o$ 'give-FUT-2sg'
3sg	जाबे $ja-b-i$ 'go-FUT-3'	लिबे $li-b-i$ 'take-FUT-3'	दिबे $di-b-i$ 'give-FUT-3'
1pl	जाम $ja-m-\Lambda$ 'go-FUT-1pl'	लिम $li-m-\Lambda$ 'take-FUT-1pl'	दिम $di-m-\Lambda$ 'give-FUT-1pl'
2pl	जाबो $ja-b-o$ 'go-FUT-2pl'	लिबन $li-b-\Lambda n$ 'take-FUT-2pl'	दिबन $di-b-\Lambda n$ 'give-FUT-2pl'
3pl	जबे $ja-b-i$ 'go-FUT-3'	लिबे $li-b-i$ 'take-FUT-3'	दिबे $di-b-i$ 'give-FUT-3'
Present			
1sg	जाछु $ja-c^h-u$ 'go-PRES-1sg'	लेछु $l-ec^h-u$ 'take-PRES-1sg' लेचु $l-ec-u$ 'take-PRES-1sg'	देछु $d-ec^h-u$ 'give-PRES-1sg' देचे $d-ec-u$ 'give-PRES-1sg'
2sg	जाछिस $ja-c^h-is$ 'go-PRES-2sg'	लेछिस $l-ec^h-is$ 'take-PRES-2sg' लेचिस $l-ec-is$ 'take-PRES-2sg'	देछिस $d-ec^h-is$ 'give-PRES-2sg' देचिस $d-ec-is$ 'give-PRES-2sg'
3sg	जाछे $ja-c^h-e$ 'go-PRES-3'	लेछे $l-ec^h-e$ 'take-PRES-3' लेचे $l-ec-e$ 'take-PRES-3'	देछे $d-ec^h-e$ 'give-PRES-3' देचे $d-ec-e$ 'give-PRES-3'

1pl	जाच्छि <i>ja-c<sup>h</sup>-i</i> ‘go-PRES-1pl’	लेच्छि <i>l-ec<sup>h</sup>-i</i> ‘take-PRES-1pl’ लेचि <i>l-ec-i</i> ‘take-PRES-1pl’	देच्छि <i>d-ec<sup>h</sup>-i</i> ‘give-PRES-1pl’ देचि <i>d-ec-i</i> ‘give-PRES-1pl’
2pl	जाछन <i>ja-c<sup>h</sup>-An</i> ‘go-PRES-2pl’	लेछन <i>l-ec<sup>h</sup>-An</i> ‘take-PRES-2pl’ लेचन <i>l-ec-An</i> ‘take-PRES-2pl’	देछन <i>d-ec<sup>h</sup>-An</i> ‘give-PRES-2pl’ देचन <i>d-ec-An</i> ‘give-PRES-2pl’
3pl	जाछे <i>ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘go-PRES-3’	लेछे <i>l-ec<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘take-PRES-3’ लेचे <i>l-ec-e</i> ‘take-PRES-3’	देछे <i>d-ec<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘give-PRES-3’ देचे <i>d-ec-e</i> ‘give-PRES-3’
Past			
1sg	गेनु <i>ge-n-u</i> ‘go-PST-1sg’	लिनु <i>li-n-u</i> ‘take-PST-1sg’	दिनु <i>di-n-u</i> ‘give-PST-1sg’
2sg	गेलो <i>ge-l-o</i> ‘go-PST-2sg’	लिलो <i>li-l-o</i> ‘take-PST-2sg’	दिलो <i>di-l-o</i> ‘give-PST-2sg’
3sg	गेले <i>ge-l-i</i> ‘go-PST-3’ गेल <i>ge-l</i> ‘go-PST3’	लिले <i>li-l-i</i> ‘take-PST-3’	दिले <i>di-l-i</i> ‘give-PST-3’
1pl	गेन <i>ge-n-A</i> ‘go-PST-1pl’	लिन <i>li-n-A</i> ‘take-PST-1pl’	दिन <i>di-n-A</i> ‘give-PST-1pl’
2pl	गेलन <i>ge-l-An</i> ‘go-PST-2pl’	लिलन <i>li-l-An</i> ‘take-PST-2pl’	दिलन <i>di-l-An</i> ‘give-PST-2pl’
3pl	गेले <i>ge-l-i</i> ‘go-PST-3’ गेल <i>ge-l</i> ‘go-PST3’	लिले <i>li-l-i</i> ‘take-PST-3’	दिले <i>di-l-i</i> ‘give-PST-3’
Perfect			
1sg	गिछ्छु <i>g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘go-PERF-1sg’ गेइचु <i>ge-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘go-PERF-1sg’	लिछ्छु <i>l-ic<sup>h</sup>-u</i> ‘take-PERF-1sg’ लिचु <i>l-ic-u</i> ‘take-PERF-1sg’	दिछ्छु <i>d-ic<sup>h</sup>-u</i> ‘give-PERF-1sg’ दिचु <i>d-ic-u</i> ‘give-PERF-1sg’
2sg	गिछिस <i>g-ic<sup>h</sup>-is</i> ‘go-PERF-2sg’ गेइचिस <i>ge-ic-is</i> ‘go-PERF-2sg’	लिछिस <i>l-ic<sup>h</sup>-is</i> ‘take-PERF-2sg’ लिचिस <i>l-ic-is</i> ‘take-PERF-2sg’	दिछिस <i>d-ic<sup>h</sup>-is</i> ‘give-PERF-2sg’ दिचिस <i>d-ic-is</i> ‘give-PERF-2sg’
3sg	गिछे <i>g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘go-PERF-3’ गेइचे <i>ge-ic-e</i> ‘go-PERF-3’	लिछे <i>l-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘take-PERF-3’ लिचे <i>l-ic-e</i> ‘take-PERF-3’	दिछे <i>d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘give-PERF-3’ दिचे <i>d-ic-e</i> ‘give-PERF-3’
1pl	गिछि <i>g-ic<sup>h</sup>-i</i> ‘go-PERF-1pl’ गेइचि <i>ge-ic-i</i> ‘go-PERF-1pl’	लिछि <i>l-ic<sup>h</sup>-i</i> ‘take-PERF-1pl’ लिचि <i>l-ic-i</i> ‘take-PERF-1pl’	दिछि <i>d-ic<sup>h</sup>-i</i> ‘give-PERF-1pl’ दिचि <i>d-ic-i</i> ‘give-PERF-1pl’
2pl	गिछन <i>g-ic<sup>h</sup>-An</i> ‘go-PERF-2pl’ गेइचन <i>ge-ic-An</i> ‘go-PERF-2pl’	लिछन <i>l-ic<sup>h</sup>-An</i> ‘take-PERF-2pl’ लिचन <i>l-ic-An</i> ‘take-PERF-2pl’	दिछन <i>d-ic<sup>h</sup>-An</i> ‘give-PERF-2pl’ दिचन <i>d-ic-An</i> ‘give-PERF-2pl’
3pl	गिछे <i>g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘go-PERF-3’	लिछे <i>l-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘take-PERF-3’	दिछे <i>d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e</i> ‘give-PERF-3’

	गेइचे <i>ge-ic-e</i> ‘go-PERF-3’	लिचे <i>l-ic-e</i> ‘take-PERF-3’	दिचे <i>d-ic-e</i> ‘give-PERF-3’
Past continuous, remote past			
1sg	गिस्नु <i>g-isn-u</i> ‘go-REM.PST-1sg’ गेइस्नु <i>ge-isn-u</i> ‘go-REM.PST-1sg’	लिस्नु <i>l-isn-u</i> ‘take-REM.PST-1sg’	दिस्नु <i>d-isn-u</i> ‘give-REM.PST-1sg’
2sg	गिस्लो <i>g-isl-o</i> ‘go-REM.PST-2sg’ गेइस्लो <i>ge-isl-o</i> ‘go-REM.PST-2sg’	लिस्लो <i>l-isl-o</i> ‘take-REM.PST-2sg’	दिस्लो <i>d-isl-o</i> ‘give-REM.PST-2sg’
3sg	गिस्ले <i>g-isl-i</i> ‘go-REM.PST-3’ गेइस्ले <i>ge-isl-i</i> ‘go-REM.PST-3’	लिस्ले <i>l-isl-i</i> ‘take-REM.PST-3’	दिस्ले <i>d-isl-i</i> ‘give-REM.PST-3’
1pl	गिस्न <i>g-isn-<math>\Lambda</math></i> ‘go-REM.PST-1pl’ गेइस्न <i>ge-isn-<math>\Lambda</math></i> ‘go-REM.PST-1pl’	लिस्न <i>l-isn-<math>\Lambda</math></i> ‘take-REM.PST-1pl’	दिस्न <i>d-isn-<math>\Lambda</math></i> ‘give-REM.PST-1pl’
2pl	गिस्लन <i>g-isl-<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘go-REM.PST-2pl’ गेइस्लन <i>ge-isl-<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘go-REM.PST-2pl’	लिस्लन <i>l-isl-<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘take-REM.PST-2pl’	दिस्लन <i>d-isl-<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘give-REM.PST-2pl’
3pl	गिस्ले <i>g-isl-i</i> ‘go-REM.PST-3’ गेइस्ले <i>ge-isl-i</i> ‘go-REM.PST-3’	लिस्ले <i>l-isl-i</i> ‘take-REM.PST-3’	दिस्ले <i>d-isl-i</i> ‘give-REM.PST-3’
Imperative			
2sg	जा <i>ja-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘go-IMP2sg’	ले <i>le-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘take-IMP2sg’	दे <i>de-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘give-IMP2sg’
2pl	जाअ <i>ja-<math>\Lambda</math></i> ‘go-IMP2pl’	ल <i>l-<math>\Lambda</math></i> ‘take-IMP2pl’	द <i>d-<math>\Lambda</math></i> ‘give-IMP2pl’
Past conditional			
1sg	गेनुतन <i>ge-n-u=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘go-PST-1sg=PST.COND’ गेनुहने <i>ge-n-u=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘go-PST-1sg=PST.COND’	लिनुतन <i>li-n-u=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘take-PST-1sg=PST.COND’ लिनुहने <i>li-n-u=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘take-PST-1sg=PST.COND’	दिनुतन <i>di-n-u=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘give-PST-1sg=PST.COND’ दिनुहने <i>di-n-u=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘give-PST-1sg=PST.COND’
2sg	गेलोतन <i>ge-l-o=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘go-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ गेलोहने <i>ge-l-o=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘go-PST-2sg=PST.COND’	लिलोतन <i>li-l-o=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘take-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ लिलोहने <i>li-l-o=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘take-PST-2sg=PST.COND’	दिलोतन <i>di-l-o=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘give-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ दिलोहने <i>di-l-o=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘give-PST-2sg=PST.COND’
3sg	गेलेतन <i>ge-l-i=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘go-PST-3=PST.COND’ गेलेहने <i>ge-l-i=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘go-PST-3=PST.COND’	लिलेतन <i>li-l-i=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘take-PST-3=PST.COND’ लिलेहने <i>li-l-i=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘take-PST-3=PST.COND’	दिलेतन <i>di-l-i=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘give-PST-3=PST.COND’ दिलेहने <i>di-l-i=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘give-PST-3=PST.COND’
1pl	गेनतन <i>ge-n-<math>\Lambda</math>=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘go-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ गेनहने <i>ge-n-<math>\Lambda</math>=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘go-PST-1pl=PST.COND’	लिनतन <i>li-n-<math>\Lambda</math>=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘take-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ लिनहने <i>li-n-<math>\Lambda</math>=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘take-PST-1pl=PST.COND’	दिनतन <i>di-n-<math>\Lambda</math>=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘give-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ दिनहने <i>di-n-<math>\Lambda</math>=h<math>\Lambda</math>ne</i> ‘give-PST-1pl=PST.COND’
2pl	गेलनतन <i>ge-l-<math>\Lambda</math>n=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘go-PST-2pl=PST.COND’	लिलनतन <i>li-l-<math>\Lambda</math>n=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘take-PST-2pl=PST.COND’	दिलनतन <i>di-l-<math>\Lambda</math>n=t<math>\Lambda</math>n</i> ‘give-PST-2pl=PST.COND’



	गेलनहने <i>ge-l-ʌn=hʌne</i> ‘go-PST-2pl=PST.COND’	लिलनहने <i>li-l-ʌn=hʌne</i> ‘take-PST-2pl=PST.COND’	दिलनहने <i>di-l-ʌn=hʌne</i> ‘give-PST-2pl=PST.COND’
3pl	गेलेतन <i>ge-l-l=tʌn</i> ‘go-PST-3=PST.COND’ गेलेहने <i>ge-l-l=hʌne</i> ‘go-PST-3=PST.COND’	लिलेतन <i>li-l-l=tʌn</i> ‘take-PST-3=PST.COND’ लिलेहने <i>li-l-l=hʌne</i> ‘take-PST-3=PST.COND’	दिलेतन <i>di-l-l=tʌn</i> ‘give-PST-3=PST.COND’ दिलेहने <i>di-l-l=hʌne</i> ‘give-PST-3=PST.COND’
Subjunctive			
1sg	जाउ <i>ja-u</i> ‘go-SUBJ1sg’	लु <i>l-u</i> ‘take-SUBJ1sg’	दु <i>d-u</i> ‘give-SUBJ1sg’
2sg	जाइस <i>ja-is</i> ‘go-SUBJ2sg’	लिस <i>l-is</i> ‘take-SUBJ2sg’	दिस <i>d-is</i> ‘give-SUBJ2sg’
3sg	जाओक <i>ja-ok</i> ‘go-SUBJ3’	लोक <i>l-ok</i> ‘take-SUBJ3’	दोक <i>d-ok</i> ‘give-SUBJ3’
1pl	जाइ <i>ja-i</i> ‘go-SUBJ1pl’	लि <i>l-i</i> ‘take-SUBJ1pl’	दि <i>d-i</i> ‘give-SUBJ1pl’
2pl	जाअन <i>ja-ʌn</i> ‘go-SUBJ2pl’	लन <i>l-ʌn</i> ‘take-SUBJ2pl’	दन <i>d-ʌn</i> ‘give-SUBJ2pl’
3pl	जाओक <i>ja-ok</i> ‘go-SUBJ3’	लोक <i>l-ok</i> ‘take-SUBJ3’	दोक <i>d-ok</i> ‘give-SUBJ3’
Past habitual			
1sg	जाउ <i>ja-u</i> ‘go-PST.HAB1sg’	लु <i>l-u</i> ‘take-PST.HAB1sg’	दु <i>d-u</i> ‘give-PST.HAB1sg’
2sg	जाइस <i>ja-is</i> ‘go-PST.HAB2sg’	लिस <i>l-is</i> ‘take-PST.HAB2sg’	दिस <i>d-is</i> ‘give-PST.HAB2sg’
3sg	जाए <i>ja-e</i> ‘go-PST.HAB3’	ले <i>l-e</i> ‘take-PST.HAB3’	दे <i>d-e</i> ‘give-PST.HAB3’
1pl	जाइ <i>ja-i</i> ‘go-PST.HAB1pl’	लि <i>l-i</i> ‘take-PST.HAB1pl’	दि <i>d-i</i> ‘give-PST.HAB1pl’
2pl	जाअन <i>ja-ʌn</i> ‘go-PST.HAB2pl’	लन <i>l-ʌn</i> ‘take-PST.HAB2pl’	दन <i>d-ʌn</i> ‘give-PST.HAB2pl’
3pl	जाए <i>ja-e</i> ‘go-PST.HAB3’	ले <i>l-e</i> ‘take-PST.HAB3’	दे <i>d-e</i> ‘give-PST.HAB3’
Non-finite forms			
INF	जाबा <i>ja-ba</i> ‘go-INF’	लिबा <i>li-ba</i> ‘take-INF’	दिबा <i>di-ba</i> ‘give-INF’
ABS	जाए <i>ja-e</i> ‘go-ABS’	लिइ <i>li-i</i> ‘take-ABS’	दिइ <i>di-i</i> ‘give-ABS’
CONJ.PTCL	जाए(ने) <i>ja-e(ne)</i> ‘go-CONJ.PTCL’	लिए(ने) <i>li-e(ne)</i> ‘take-CONJ.PTCL’ ले(ने) <i>l-e(ne)</i> ‘take-CONJ.PTCL’	दिए(ने) <i>di-e(ne)</i> ‘give-CONJ.PTCL’ दे(ने) <i>d-e(ne)</i> ‘give-CONJ.PTCL’
CONT.PTCL	जाते <i>ja-te</i> ‘go-CONT.PTCL’	लिते <i>li-te</i> ‘take-CONT.PTCL’	दिते <i>di-te</i> ‘give-CONT.PTCL’
PST.PTCL	जाआ(ल) <i>ja-a(l) [ja(l)]</i> ‘go-PST.PTCL’	लिआल <i>li-al</i> ‘take-PST.PTCL’	दिआल <i>di-al</i> ‘give-PST.PTCL’

Verb paradigm: south-western and northern Jhāpā			
	Verb stem type 4 (stem-final consonant) आ- <i>as-</i> ‘come’	Verb stem type 5 (stem-final -र -r) मार- <i>mar-</i> ‘beat; kill’	Verb stem type 6 (stem-final -CC) सम्ह- <i>samṭʰ-</i> finish
Future			
1sg	आसिम <i>as-im</i> ‘come-FUT-1sg’ आस्मु <i>as-m-u</i> ‘come-FUT-1sg’ आसिमु <i>as-im-u</i> ‘come-FUT-1sg’	मारिम <i>mar-im</i> ‘beat-FUT-1sg’	सम्हिमु <i>samṭʰi-m-o</i> ‘finish-FUT-1sg’
2sg	आस्वो <i>as-b-o</i> ‘come-FUT-2sg’ आसिवो <i>as-ib-o</i> ‘come-FUT-2sg’	मारवो <i>mar-b-o</i> ‘beat-FUT-2sg’	सम्हिवो <i>samṭʰi-b-o</i> ‘finish-FUT-2sg’
3sg	आस्वे <i>as-b-i</i> ‘come-FUT-3’ आसिवे <i>as-ib-i</i> ‘come-FUT-3’	मारवे <i>mar-b-i</i> ‘beat-FUT-3’	सम्हिवे <i>samṭʰi-b-i</i> ‘finish-FUT-3’
1pl	आस्म <i>as-m-Ḍ</i> ‘come-FUT-1pl’	मारम <i>mar-m-Ḍ</i> ‘beat-FUT-1pl’	सम्हिम <i>samṭʰi-m-Ḍ</i> ‘finish-FUT-1pl’
2pl	आस्वन <i>as-b-Ḍn</i> ‘come-FUT-2pl’ आसिवन <i>as-ib-Ḍn</i> ‘come-FUT-2pl’	मारवन <i>mar-b-Ḍn</i> ‘beat-FUT-2pl’	सम्हिवन <i>samṭʰi-b-Ḍn</i> ‘finish-FUT-2pl’
3pl	आस्वे <i>as-b-i</i> ‘come-FUT-3’ आसिवे <i>as-ib-i</i> ‘come-FUT-3’	मारवे <i>mar-b-i</i> ‘beat-FUT-3’	सम्हिवे <i>samṭʰi-b-i</i> ‘finish-FUT-3’
Present			
1sg	आसेचु <i>as-ec-u</i> ‘come-PRES-1sg’	मारेचु <i>mar-ec-u</i> ‘beat-PRES-1sg’	सम्हेचु <i>samṭʰ-ec-u</i> ‘finish-PRES-1sg’
2sg	आसेचिस <i>as-ec-is</i> ‘come-PRES-2sg’ आसेचित <i>as-ec-it</i> ‘come-PRES-2sg’	मारेचिस <i>mar-ec-is</i> ‘beat-PRES-2sg’ मारेचित <i>mar-ec-it</i> ‘beat-PRES-2sg’	सम्हेचिस <i>samṭʰ-ec-is</i> ‘finish-PRES-2sg’ सम्हेचित <i>samṭʰ-ec-it</i> ‘finish-PRES-2sg’
3sg	आसेचे <i>as-ec-e</i> ‘come-PRES-3’	मारेचे <i>mar-ec-e</i> ‘beat-PRES-3’	सम्हेचे <i>samṭʰ-ec-e</i> ‘finish-PRES-3’
1pl	आसेचि <i>as-ec-i</i> ‘come-PRES-1pl’	मारेचि <i>mar-ec-i</i> ‘beat-PRES-1pl’	सम्हेचि <i>samṭʰ-ec-i</i> ‘finish-PRES-1pl’
2pl	आसेचन <i>as-ec-Ḍn</i> ‘come-PRES-2pl’	मारेचन <i>mar-ec-Ḍn</i> ‘beat-PRES-2pl’	सम्हेचन <i>samṭʰ-ec-Ḍn</i> ‘finish-PRES-2pl’
3pl	आसेचे <i>as-ec-e</i> ‘come-PRES-3’	मारेचे <i>mar-ec-e</i> ‘beat-PRES-3’	सम्हेचे <i>samṭʰ-ec-e</i> ‘finish-PRES-3’
Past			
1sg	आस्नु <i>as-n-u</i> ‘come-PST-1sg’	मार्नु <i>mar-n-u</i> ‘beat-PST-1sg’	

		मा'नु <i>ma-n-u</i> 'beat-PST-1sg'	सम्तिनु <i>sAm̥tʰi-n-u</i> 'finish-PST-1sg'
2sg	आस्लो <i>as-l-o</i> 'come-PST-2sg'	मालो <i>ma-l-o</i> 'beat-PST-2sg' मा'लो <i>ma-l-o</i> 'beat-PST-2sg'	सम्ठिलो <i>sAm̥tʰi-l-o</i> 'finish-PST-2sg'
3sg	आस्ले <i>as-l-l</i> 'come-PST-3' आसिल <i>as-il</i> 'come-PST3'	माले <i>ma-l-l</i> 'beat-PST-3' मा'ले <i>ma-l-l</i> 'beat-PST-3' मारिल <i>mar-il</i> 'beat-PST3'	सम्ठिले <i>sAm̥tʰi-l-l</i> 'finish-PST-3'
1pl	आस्न <i>as-n-ʌ</i> 'come-PST-1pl'	मारन <i>mar-n-ʌ</i> 'beat-PST-1pl' मा'न <i>ma-n-ʌ</i> 'beat-PST-1pl'	सम्ठिन <i>sAm̥tʰi-n-ʌ</i> 'finish-PST-1pl'
2pl	आस्लन <i>as-l-ʌn</i> 'come-PST-2pl'	मारन <i>mar-l-ʌn</i> 'beat-PST-2pl' मा'लन <i>ma-l-ʌn</i> 'beat-PST-2pl'	सम्ठिलन <i>sAm̥tʰi-l-ʌn</i> 'finish-PST-2pl'
3pl	आस्ले <i>as-l-l</i> 'come-PST-3' आसिल <i>as-il</i> 'come-PST3'	माले <i>ma-l-l</i> 'beat-PST-3' मा'ले <i>ma-l-l</i> 'beat-PST-3' मारिल <i>mar-il</i> 'beat-PST3'	सम्ठिले <i>sAm̥tʰi-l-l</i> 'finish-PST-3'
Perfect			
1sg	आसिचु <i>as-ic-u</i> 'come-PERF-1sg'	मारिचु <i>mar-ic-u</i> 'beat-PERF-1sg' मा'इचु <i>ma-ic-u</i> 'beat-PERF-1sg'	सम्ठिचु <i>sAm̥tʰ-ic-u</i> 'finish-PERF-'
2sg	आसिचिस <i>as-ic-is</i> 'come-PERF-2sg' आसिचित <i>as-ic-it</i> 'come-PERF-2sg'	मारिचिस <i>mar-ic-is</i> 'beat-PERF-2sg' मा'इचिस <i>ma-ic-is</i> 'beat-PERF-2sg' मारिचित <i>mar-ic-is</i> 'beat-PERF-2sg' मा'इचित <i>ma-ic-it</i> 'beat-PERF-2sg'	सम्ठिचिस <i>sAm̥tʰ-ic-is</i> 'finish-PERF-2sg' सम्ठिचित <i>sAm̥tʰ-ic-it</i> 'finish-PERF-2sg'
3sg	आसिचे <i>as-ic-e</i> 'come-PERF-3'	मारिचे <i>mar-ic-e</i> 'beat-PERF-3' मा'इचे <i>ma-ic-e</i> 'beat-PERF-3'	सम्ठिचे <i>sAm̥tʰ-ic-e</i> 'finish-PERF-3'
1pl	आसिचि <i>as-ic-i</i> 'come-PERF-1pl'	मारिचि <i>mar-ic-i</i> 'beat-PERF-1pl' मा'इचि <i>ma-ic-i</i> 'beat-PERF-1pl'	सम्ठिचि <i>sAm̥tʰ-ic-i</i> 'finish-PERF-1pl'
2pl	आसिचन <i>as-ic-ʌn</i> 'come-PERF-2pl'	मारिचन <i>mar-ic-ʌn</i> 'beat-PERF-2pl' मा'इचन <i>ma-ic-ʌn</i> 'beat-PERF-2pl'	सम्ठिचन <i>sAm̥tʰ-ic-ʌn</i> 'finish-PERF-2pl'
3pl	आसिचे <i>as-ic-e</i> 'come-PERF-3'	मारिचे <i>mar-ic-e</i> 'beat-PERF-3'	सम्ठिचे <i>sAm̥tʰ-ic-e</i> 'finish-PERF-3'

		मा'इचे <i>ma-ic-e</i> 'beat-PERF-3'	
Past continuous, remote past			
1sg	आसिस्तु <i>as-isn-u</i> 'come-REM.PST-1sg'	मारिस्तु <i>mar-isn-u</i> 'beat-REM.PST-1sg' मा'इस्तु <i>ma-isn-u</i> 'beat-REM.PST-1sg'	समिठस्तु <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-isn-u</i> 'finish-REM.PST-1sg'
2sg	आसिस्तो <i>as-isl-o</i> 'come-REM.PST-2sg'	मारिस्तो <i>mar-isl-o</i> 'beat-REM.PST-2sg' मा'इस्तो <i>ma-isl-o</i> 'beat-REM.PST-2sg'	समिठस्तो <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-isl-o</i> 'finish-REM.PST-2sg'
3sg	आसिस्तले <i>as-isl-l</i> 'come-REM.PST-3'	मारिस्तले <i>mar-isl-l</i> 'beat-REM.PST-3' मा'इस्तले <i>ma-isl-l</i> 'beat-REM.PST-3'	समिठस्तले <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-isl-l</i> 'finish-REM.PST-3'
1pl	आसिस्त <i>as-isn-Λ</i> 'come-REM.PST-1pl'	मारिस्त <i>mar-isn-Λ</i> 'beat-REM.PST-1pl' मा'इस्त <i>ma-isn-Λ</i> 'beat-REM.PST-1pl'	समिठस्त <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-isn-Λ</i> 'finish-REM.PST-1pl'
2pl	आसिस्तलन <i>as-isl-Λn</i> 'come-REM.PST-2pl'	मारिस्तलन <i>mar-isl-Λn</i> 'beat-REM.PST-2pl' मा'इस्तलन <i>ma-isl-Λn</i> 'beat-REM.PST-2pl'	समिठस्तलन <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-isl-Λn</i> 'finish-REM.PST-2pl'
3pl	आसिस्तले <i>as-isl-l</i> 'come-REM.PST-3'	मारिस्तले <i>mar-isl-l</i> 'beat-REM.PST-3' मा'इस्तले <i>ma-isl-l</i> 'beat-REM.PST-3'	समिठस्तले <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-isl-l</i> 'finish-REM.PST-3'
Imperative			
2sg	आस् <i>as-∅</i> 'come-IMP2sg' आसेक <i>as-ek</i> 'come-IMP2sg'	मार् <i>mar-∅</i> 'beat-IMP2sg' मारेक <i>mar-ek</i> 'beat-IMP2sg'	समिठेक <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-ek</i> 'finish-IMP2sg' समठ <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup></i> 'finish-IMP2sg'
2pl	आस <i>as-Λ</i> 'come-IMP2pl'	मार <i>mar-Λ</i> 'beat-IMP2pl'	समठ <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-Λ</i> 'finish-IMP2pl'
Past conditional			
1sg	आस्तुतन <i>as-n-u=tΛn</i> 'come-PST-1sg=PST.COND' आस्तुहने <i>as-n-u=hΛne</i> 'come-PST-1sg=PST.COND'	मार्तुतन <i>mar-n-u=tΛn</i> 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND' मा'नुतन <i>ma-n-u=tΛn</i> 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND' मार्तुहने <i>mar-n-u=hΛne</i> 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND' मा'नुहने <i>ma-n-u=hΛne</i> 'beat-PST-1sg=PST.COND'	समिठुतन <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>i-n-u=tΛn</i> 'finish-PST-1sg=PST.COND' समिठुहने <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>i-n-u=hΛne</i> 'finish-PST-1sg=PST.COND'
2sg	आस्तोतन <i>as-l-o=tΛn</i> 'come-PST-2sg=PST.COND' आस्तोहने <i>as-l-o=hΛne</i> 'come-PST-2sg=PST.COND'	मार्लोतन <i>mar-l-o=tΛn</i> 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND' मा'लोतन <i>ma-l-o=tΛn</i> 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND' मार्लोहने <i>mar-l-o=hΛne</i> 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND'	समिठोतन <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>i-l-o=tΛn</i> 'finish-PST-2sg=PST.COND' समिठोहने <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>i-l-o=hΛne</i> 'finish-PST-2sg=PST.COND'

		मा'लोहने <i>ma-l-o=hane</i> 'beat-PST-2sg=PST.COND'	
3sg	आस्लेतन <i>as-l-I=tan</i> 'come-PST-3=PST.COND' आस्लेहने <i>as-l-I=hane</i> 'come-PST-3=PST.COND'	मालेतन <i>mar-l-I=tan</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND' मा'लेतन <i>ma-l-I=tan</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND' मालेहने <i>mar-l-I=hane</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND' मा'लेहने <i>ma-l-I=hane</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND'	समिंलेतन <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-l-I=tan</i> 'finish-PST-3=PST.COND' समिंलेहने <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-l-I=hane</i> 'finish-PST-3=PST.COND'
1pl	आसनतन <i>as-n-A=tan</i> 'come-PST-1pl=PST.COND' आसनहने <i>as-n-A=hane</i> 'come-PST-1pl=PST.COND'	मार्नतन <i>mar-n-A=tan</i> 'beat-PST-1pl=PST.COND' मा'नतन <i>ma-n-A=tan</i> 'beat-PST-1pl=PST.COND' मार्नहने <i>mar-n-A=hane</i> 'beat-PST-1pl=PST.COND' मा'नहने <i>ma-n-A=hane</i> 'beat-PST-1pl=PST.COND'	समिंनतन <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-n-A=tan</i> 'finish-PST-1pl=PST.COND' समिंनहने <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-n-A=hane</i> 'finish-PST-1pl=PST.COND'
2pl	आस्लनतन <i>as-l-An=tan</i> 'come-PST-2pl=PST.COND' आस्लनहने <i>as-l-An=hane</i> 'come-PST-2pl=PST.COND'	मार्लनतन <i>mar-l-An=tan</i> 'beat-PST-2pl=PST.COND' मा'लनतन <i>ma-l-An=tan</i> 'beat-PST-2pl=PST.COND' मार्लनहने <i>mar-l-An=hane</i> 'beat-PST-2pl=PST.COND' मा'लनहने <i>ma-l-An=hane</i> 'beat-PST-2pl=PST.COND'	समिंलनतन <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-l-An=tan</i> 'finish-PST-2pl=PST.COND' समिंलनहने <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-l-An=hane</i> 'finish-PST-2pl=PST.COND'
3pl	आस्लेतन <i>as-l-I=tan</i> 'come-PST-3=PST.COND' आस्लेहने <i>as-l-I=hane</i> 'come-PST-3=PST.COND'	मालेतन <i>mar-l-I=tan</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND' मा'लेतन <i>ma-l-I=tan</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND' मालेहने <i>mar-l-I=hane</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND' मा'लेहने <i>ma-l-I=hane</i> 'beat-PST-3=PST.COND'	समिंलेतन <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-l-I=tan</i> 'finish-PST-3=PST.COND' समिंलेहने <i>samt<sup>h</sup>i-l-I=hane</i> 'finish-PST-3=PST.COND'
Subjunctive			
1sg	आसु <i>as-u</i> 'come-SUBJ1sg'	मारु <i>mar-u</i> 'beat-SUBJ1sg'	सम्टु <i>samt<sup>h</sup>-u</i> 'finish-SUBJ1sg'
2sg	आसिस <i>as-is</i> 'come-SUBJ2sg'	मारिस <i>mar-is</i> 'beat-SUBJ2sg' मा'इस <i>ma-is</i> 'beat-SUBJ2sg'	समिंस <i>samt<sup>h</sup>-is</i> 'finish-SUBJ2sg'
3sg	आसोक <i>as-ok</i> 'come-SUBJ3' आसे <i>as-e</i> 'come-SUBJ3'	मारोक <i>mar-ok</i> 'beat-SUBJ3' मारे <i>mar-e</i> 'beat-SUBJ3'	सम्टोक <i>samt<sup>h</sup>-ok</i> 'finish-SUBJ3' सम्टे <i>samt<sup>h</sup>-e</i> 'finish-SUBJ3'
1pl	आसि <i>as-i</i> 'come-SUBJ1pl'	मारि <i>mar-i</i> 'beat-SUBJ1pl'	समिं <i>samt<sup>h</sup>-i</i> 'finish-SUBJ1pl'
2pl	आसन <i>as-An</i> 'come-SUBJ2pl'	मारन <i>mar-An</i> 'beat-SUBJ2pl'	सम्टन <i>samt<sup>h</sup>-An</i> 'finish-SUBJ2pl'

3pl	आसोक <i>as-ok</i> 'come-SUBJ3' आसे <i>as-e</i> 'come-SUBJ3'	मारोक <i>mar-ok</i> 'beat-SUBJ3' मारे <i>mar-e</i> 'beat-SUBJ3'	सम्ढोक <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-ok</i> 'finish-SUBJ3' सम्ढे <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-e</i> 'finish-SUBJ3'
Past habitual			
1sg	आसु <i>as-u</i> 'come-PST.HAB1sg'	मारु <i>mar-u</i> 'beat-PST.HAB1sg'	सम्ढु <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-u</i> 'finish-PST.HAB1sg'
2sg	आसिस <i>as-is</i> 'come-PST.HAB2sg'	मारिस <i>mar-is</i> 'beat-PST.HAB2sg' मा'इस <i>ma-is</i> 'beat-PST.HAB2sg'	सम्ढिस <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-is</i> 'finish-PST.HAB2sg'
3sg	आसे <i>as-e</i> 'come-PST.HAB3'	मारे <i>mar-e</i> 'beat-PST.HAB3'	सम्ढे <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-e</i> 'finish-PST.HAB3'
1pl	आसि <i>as-i</i> 'come-PST.HAB1pl'	मारि <i>mar-i</i> 'beat-PST.HAB1pl'	सम्ढि <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-i</i> 'finish-PST.HAB1pl'
2pl	आसन <i>as-an</i> 'come-PST.HAB2pl'	मारन <i>mar-an</i> 'beat-PST.HAB2pl'	सम्ढन <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-an</i> 'finish-PST.HAB2pl'
3pl	आसे <i>as-e</i> 'come-PST.HAB3'	मारे <i>mar-e</i> 'beat-PST.HAB3'	सम्ढे <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-e</i> 'finish-PST.HAB3'
Non-finite forms			
INF	आस्वा <i>as-ba</i> 'come-INF'	मारबा <i>mar-ba</i> 'beat-INF'	सम्ढिवा <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-i-ba</i> 'finish-INF'
ABS	आसि <i>as-i</i> 'come-ABS'	मारि <i>mar-i</i> 'beat-ABS'	सम्ढि <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-i</i> 'finish-ABS'
CONJ.PTCL	आसिए(ने) <i>as-ie(ne)</i> 'come-CONJ.PTCL'	मारिए(ने) <i>mar-ie(ne)</i> 'beat-CONJ.PTCL' मारे <i>mar-e</i> 'beat-CONJ.PTCL'	सम्ढिए(ने) <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-ie(ne)</i> 'finish-CONJ.PTCL'
CONT.PTCL	आस्ते <i>as-te</i> 'come-CONT.PTCL'	मार्ते <i>mar-te</i> 'beat-CONT.PTCL'	सम्ढिते <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-i-te</i> 'finish-CONT.PTCL'
PST.PTCL	आसा(ल) <i>as-a(l)</i> 'come-PST.PTCL'	मारा(ल) <i>mar-a(l)</i> 'beat-PST.PTCL'	सम्ढा(ल) <i>samṭ<sup>h</sup>-a(l)</i> 'finish-PST.PTCL'

Verb paradigm: south-western and northern Jhāpā						
Future						
Patient						
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	ठुकिम <i>tʰuk-im</i> ‘hit-FUT1sg’ (REFL)  ठुक्मु <i>tʰuk-m-u</i> ‘hit-FUT-1sg’ (REFL)	-	ठुकिम्कन (ठुकेम्कन) <i>tʰuk-i/em-ku-n</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg’  ठुकेमुन <i>tʰuk-em-u-n</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg’	ठुकिम्कन (ठुकेम्कन) <i>tʰuk-i/em-ka-n</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA2pl-1sg’	ठुकिम्किन (ठुकेम्किन) <i>tʰuk-i/em-ki-n</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA3-1sg’  ठुकिमन <i>tʰuk-m-i-n</i> ‘give-FUT-SA3-1sg’
	1pl	-	ठुक्म <i>tʰuk-m-Λ</i> ‘hit-FUT-1pl’ (REFL)	ठुकिम्कन (ठुकेम्कन) <i>tʰuk-i/em-ku-n</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA2sg-1pl’	ठुकिम्कन (ठुकेम्कन) <i>tʰuk-i/em-ka-n</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA2pl-1pl’	ठुक्म <i>tʰuk-m-Λ</i> ‘hit-FUT-1pl’  ठुकिम्किन (ठुकेम्किन) <i>tʰuk-i/em-ki-n</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA3-1pl’
	2sg	ठुक्बो <i>tʰuk-b-o</i> ‘hit-FUT-2sg’	ठुक्बो <i>tʰuk-b-o</i> ‘hit-FUT-2sg’	ठुक्बो <i>tʰuk-b-o</i> ‘hit-FUT-2sg’ (REFL)	-	ठुक्बो <i>tʰuk-b-o</i> ‘hit-FUT-2sg’  ठुकिप्कि <i>tʰuk-ip-ki</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA3’  ठुक्तेक <i>tʰuk-t-ek</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA3’
	2pl	ठुक्बन <i>tʰuk-b-Λn</i> ‘hit-FUT-2pl’	ठुक्बन <i>tʰuk-b-Λn</i> ‘hit-FUT-2pl’	-	ठुक्बन <i>tʰuk-b-Λn</i> ‘hit-FUT-2pl’ (REFL)	ठुक्बन <i>tʰuk-b-Λn</i> ‘hit-FUT-2pl’  ठुकित्किर <i>tʰuk-it-ki-rΛ</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA3-2pl’
	3sg	ठुक्बे <i>tʰuk-b-i</i> ‘hit-FUT-3’	ठुक्बे <i>tʰuk-b-i</i> ‘hit-FUT-3’			ठुक्बे <i>tʰuk-b-i</i> ‘hit-FUT-3’

		3pl		दुकिप्कु (दुकित्कु) $t^huk-ip/t-ku$ ‘hit-FUT-SA2sg’ दुक्तोक $t^huk-t-ok$ ‘hit-FUT-SA2sg’	दुकिप्कन (दुकित्कन) $t^huk-ip/t-k\Lambda n$ ‘hit-FUT-SA2pl’ दुक्तकन $t^huk-t\Lambda-k\Lambda n$ ‘hit-FUT-SA2pl’	दुकिप्कि $t^huk-ip-ki$ ‘hit-FUT-SA3’ दुक्तेक $t^huk-t-ek$ ‘hit-FUT-SA3’
Present						
		Patient				
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	दुकेचु $t^huk-ec-u$ ‘hit-PRES-1sg’ (REFL)	-	दुकेचु $t^huk-ec-u$ ‘hit-PRES-1sg’ दुकेचुकुन $t^huk-ec-ku-n$ ‘hit-PRES-SA2sg-1sg’	दुकेचु $t^huk-ec-u$ ‘hit-PRES-1sg’ दुकेचुकन $t^huk-ec-k\Lambda-n$ ‘hit-PRES-SA2pl-1sg’	दुकेचु $t^huk-ec-u$ ‘hit-PRES-1sg’ दुकेचुकन $t^huk-ec-ki-n$ ‘hit-PRES-SA3-1sg’
	1pl	-	दुकेचि $t^huk-ec-i$ ‘hit-PRES-1pl’ (REFL)	दुकेचि $t^huk-ec-i$ ‘hit-PRES-1pl’ दुकेचुकुन $t^huk-ec-ku-n$ ‘hit-PRES-SA2sg-1pl’	दुकेचि $t^huk-ec-i$ ‘hit-PRES-1pl’ दुकेचुकन $t^huk-ec-k\Lambda-n$ ‘hit-PRES-SA2pl-1sg’	दुकेचि $t^huk-ec-i$ ‘hit-PRES-1pl’ दुकेचुकन $t^huk-ec-ki-n$ ‘hit-PRES-SA3-1pl’
	2sg	दुकेचिस (दुकेचित) $t^huk-ec-is/t$ ‘hit-PRES-2sg’	दुकेचिस (दुकेचित) $t^huk-ec-it$ ‘hit-PRES-2sg’	दुकेचिस (दुकेचित) $t^huk-ec-is/t$ ‘hit-PRES-2sg’ (REFL)	-	दुकेचिस (दुकेचित) $t^huk-ec-is/t$ ‘hit-PRES-2sg’ दुकेचिकि $t^huk-ec-ki$ ‘hit-PRES-SA3’
	2pl	दुकेचन $t^huk-ec-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PRES-2pl’	दुकेचन $t^huk-ec-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PRES-2pl’	-	दुकेचन $t^huk-ec-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PRES-2pl’ (REFL)	दुकेचन $t^huk-ec-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PRES-2pl’ दुकेचिकर $t^huk-ec-ki-r\Lambda$ ‘hit-PRES-SA3-2pl’
	3sg	दुकेचे $t^huk-ec-e$ ‘hit-PRES-3’	दुकेचे $t^huk-ec-e$ ‘hit-PRES-3’			दुकेचे $t^huk-ec-e$ ‘hit-PRES-3’



	3pl			टुकेचकु <i>tʰuk-ec-ku</i> ‘hit-PRES-SA2sg’ टुकेचोक <i>tʰuk-ec-ok</i> ‘hit-PRES-SA2sg’	टुकेचकन <i>tʰuk-ec-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-PRES-SA2pl-1sg’	टुकेचिक <i>tʰuk-ec-ki</i> ‘hit-PRES-SA3’
Past						
		Patient				
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	टुक्नु <i>tʰuk-n-u</i> ‘hit-PST-1sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकिन्कुन (टुकेन्कुन) <i>tʰuk-i/en-ku-n</i> ‘hit-PST-SA2sg-1sg’	टुकिन्कन (टुकेन्कन) <i>tʰuk-i/en-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-PST-SA2pl-1sg’	टुकिन्किन (टुकेन्किन) <i>tʰuk-i/en-ki-n</i> ‘hit-PST-SA3-1sg’
	1pl	-	टुक्न <i>tʰuk-n-ʌ</i> ‘hit-PST-1pl’ (REFL)	टुकिन्कुन (टुकेन्कुन) <i>tʰuk-i/en-ku-n</i> ‘hit-PST-SA2sg-1pl’	टुकिन्कन (टुकेन्कन) <i>tʰuk-i/en-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-PST-SA2pl-1pl’	टुकिन्किन (टुकेन्किन) <i>tʰuk-i/en-ki-n</i> ‘hit-PST-SA3-1pl’
	2sg	टुक्लो <i>tʰuk-l-o</i> ‘hit-PST-2sg’	टुक्लो <i>tʰuk-l-o</i> ‘hit-PST-2sg’	टुक्लो <i>tʰuk-l-o</i> ‘hit-PST-2sg’ (REFL)	-	टुक्लो <i>tʰuk-l-o</i> ‘hit-PST-2sg’ टुकिल्कि (टुकेल्कि) <i>tʰuk-i/el-ki</i> ‘hit-PST-SA3’
	2pl	टुक्लन <i>tʰuk-l-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST-2pl’	टुक्लन <i>tʰuk-l-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST-2pl’	-	टुक्लन <i>tʰuk-l-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST-2pl’ (REFL)	टुक्लन <i>tʰuk-l-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST-2pl’ टुकिल्किर (टुकेल्किर) <i>tʰuk-i/el-ki-rʌ</i> ‘hit-PST-SA3 2pl’
	3sg	टुक्ले <i>tʰuk-l-i</i> ‘hit-PST-3’	टुक्ले <i>tʰuk-l-i</i> ‘hit-PST-3’			टुक्ले <i>tʰuk-l-i</i> ‘hit-PST-3’
	3pl	टुकिल् <i>tʰuk-il</i> ‘hit-PST3’	टुकिल् <i>tʰuk-il</i> ‘hit-PST3’			टुकिल् <i>tʰuk-il</i> ‘hit-PST3’

				टुकिल्कु (टुकेल्कु) $t^huk-i/el-ku$ ‘hit-PST-SA2sg’	टुकिल्कन (टुकेल्कन) $t^huk-i/el-k\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PST-SA2pl’	टुकिल्कि (टुकेल्कि) $t^huk-i/el-ki$ ‘hit-PST-SA3’
Perfect						
Patient						
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	टुकिचु $t^huk-ic-u$ ‘hit-PERF-1sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकिचु $t^huk-ic-u$ ‘hit-PERF-1sg’ टुकिचुकुन $t^huk-ic-ku-n$ ‘hit-PERF-SA2sg-1sg’	टुकिचु $t^huk-ic-u$ ‘hit-PERF-1sg’ टुकिचुकन $t^huk-ic-k\Lambda-n$ ‘hit-PERF-SA2pl-1sg’	टुकिचु $t^huk-ic-u$ ‘hit-PERF-1sg’ टुकिचुकिन $t^huk-ic-ki-n$ ‘hit-PERF-SA3-1sg’
	1pl		टुकिचि $t^huk-ic-i$ ‘hit-PERF-1pl’ (REFL)	टुकिचि $t^huk-ic-i$ ‘hit-PERF-1pl’ टुकिचुकुन $t^huk-ic-ku-n$ ‘hit-PERF-SA2sg-1pl’	टुकिचि $t^huk-ic-i$ ‘hit-PERF-1pl’ टुकिचुकन $t^huk-ic-k\Lambda-n$ ‘hit-PERF-SA2pl-1pl’	टुकिचि $t^huk-ic-i$ ‘hit-PERF-1pl’ टुकिचुकिन $t^huk-ic-ki-n$ ‘hit-PERF-SA3-1pl’
	2sg	टुकिचिस (टुकिचित) $t^huk-ic-is/t$ ‘hit-PERF-2sg’	टुकिचिस (टुकिचित) $t^huk-ic-is/t$ ‘hit-PERF-2sg’	टुकिचिस (टुकिचित) $t^huk-ic-is/t$ ‘hit-PERF-2sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकिचिस (टुकिचित) $t^huk-ic-is/t$ ‘hit-PERF-2sg’ टुकिचिकि $t^huk-ic-ki$ ‘hit-PERF-SA3’
	2pl	टुकिचन $t^huk-ic-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PERF-2pl’	टुकिचन $t^huk-ic-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PERF-2pl’	-	टुकिचन $t^huk-ic-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PERF-2pl’ (REFL)	टुकिचन $t^huk-ic-\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PERF-2pl’ टुकिचिकिर $t^huk-ic-ki-r\Lambda$ ‘hit-PERF-SA3-2pl’
	3sg 3pl	टुकिचे $t^huk-ic-e$ ‘hit-PERF-3’	टुकिचे $t^huk-ic-e$ ‘hit-PERF-3’	टुकिचे $t^huk-ic-e$ ‘hit-PERF-3’ टुकिचुकु $t^huk-ic-ku$ ‘hit-PERF-SA2sg’ टुकिचोक $t^huk-ic-ok$ ‘hit-PERF-SA2sg’	टुकिचे $t^huk-ic-e$ ‘hit-PERF-3’ टुकिचुकन $t^huk-ic-k\Lambda n$ ‘hit-PERF-SA2pl’	टुकिचे $t^huk-ic-e$ ‘hit-PERF-3’ टुकिचुकि $t^huk-ic-ki$ ‘hit-PERF-SA3’ टुकिचेक $t^huk-ic-ek$ ‘hit-PERF-SA3’

Past continuous, remote past						
		Patient				
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	टुकिस्तु <i>tʰuk-isn-u</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकिस्तु <i>tʰuk-isn-u</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1sg’ टुकिस्तुकुन <i>tʰuk-isn-u-ku-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1sg-SA2sg-1sg’ टुकिसिन्कुन <i>tʰuk-isin-ku-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1sg’	टुकिस्तु <i>tʰuk-isn-u</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1sg’  टुकिसिन्कन <i>tʰuk-isin-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2pl-1sg’	टुकिस्तु <i>tʰuk-isn-u</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1sg’  टुकिस्निकिन <i>tʰuk-isni-ki-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3-1sg’ टुकिसिन्किन <i>tʰuk-isin-ki-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3-1sg’
	1pl	-	टुकिस्न <i>tʰuk-isn-ʌ</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1pl’ (REFL)  टुकिसिन्कुन <i>tʰuk-isin-ku-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2sg-1pl’	टुकिस्न <i>tʰuk-isn-ʌ</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1pl’  टुकिसिन्कन <i>tʰuk-isin-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2pl-1pl’	टुकिस्न <i>tʰuk-isn-ʌ</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-1pl’  टुकिसिन्किन <i>tʰuk-isin-ki-n</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3-1pl’	
	2sg	टुकिस्लो <i>tʰuk-isl-o</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2sg’	टुकिस्लो <i>tʰuk-isl-o</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2sg’	टुकिस्लो <i>tʰuk-isl-o</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकिस्लो <i>tʰuk-isl-o</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2sg’ टुकिस्लिकि <i>tʰuk-isli-ki</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3’ टुकिसिल्कि <i>tʰuk-isil-ki</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3’
	2pl	टुकिस्लन <i>tʰuk-isl-ʌn</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2pl’	टुकिस्लन <i>tʰuk-isl-ʌn</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2pl’	-	टुकिस्लन <i>tʰuk-isl-ʌn</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2pl’ (REFL)	टुकिस्लन <i>tʰuk-isl-ʌn</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-2pl’ टुकिस्लिकिर <i>tʰuk-isli-ki-rʌ</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3-2pl’ टुकिसिल्किर <i>tʰuk-isil-ki-rʌ</i> ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3-2pl’

	3sg,	टुकिस्ले $t^huk-isl-i$ ‘hit-REM.PST-3’	टुकिस्ले $t^huk-isl-i$ ‘hit-REM.PST-3’			टुकिस्ले $t^huk-isl-i$ ‘hit-REM.PST-3’
	3pl			टुकिस्लुकु $t^huk-islu-ku$ ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2sg’ टुकिसिल्कु $t^huk-isil-ku$ ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2sg’	टुकिस्लकन $t^huk-isla-k\Delta n$ ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2pl’ टुकिसिल्कन $t^huk-isil-k\Delta n$ ‘hit-REM.PST-SA2pl’	टुकिस्लिकि $t^huk-isli-ki$ ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3’ टुकिसिल्कि $t^huk-isil-ki$ ‘hit-REM.PST-SA3’
Past conditional						
		Patient				
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	टुक्नुतन $t^huk-n-u=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1sg=PST.COND’ (REFL) टुक्नुहने $t^huk-n-u=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-1sg=PST.COND’ (REFL)	-	टुक्नुतन $t^huk-n-u=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1sg=PST.COND’  टुकिक्नुनतन $t^huk-in-ku-n=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-SA2sg-1sg=PST.COND’ टुकेक्नुनहने $t^huk-en-ku-n=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-SA2sg-1sg=PST.COND’	टुक्नुतन $t^huk-n-u=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1sg=PST.COND’  टुकिक्ननतन $t^huk-in-k\Delta n=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-SA2pl-1sg=PST.COND’ टुकेक्ननहने $t^huk-en-k\Delta n=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-SA2pl-1sg=PST.COND’	टुक्नुतन $t^huk-n-u=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1sg=PST.COND’  टुकिक्निकनतन $t^huk-in-ki-n=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-SA3-1sg=PST.COND’ टुकेक्निकनहने $t^huk-en-ki-n=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-SA3-1sg=PST.COND’
	1pl	-	टुक्नतन $t^huk-n-\Delta=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ (REFL) टुक्नहने $t^huk-n-\Delta=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ (REFL)	टुक्नतन $t^huk-n-\Delta=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’  टुक्नहने $t^huk-n-\Delta=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’	टुक्नतन $t^huk-n-\Delta=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ (REFL)  टुक्नहने $t^huk-n-\Delta=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ (REFL)	टुक्नतन $t^huk-n-\Delta=t\Delta n$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ (REFL) टुक्नहने $t^huk-n-\Delta=h\Delta ne$ ‘hit-PST-1pl=PST.COND’ (REFL)

			<p>टुकिन्कुनतन <math>t^huk-in-ku-n=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-SA2sg-1pl=PST.COND’ टुकेन्कुनहने <math>t^huk-en-ku-n=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-SA2sg-1pl=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुकिन्कनतन <math>t^huk-in-k\Delta n=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-SA2pl-1pl=PST.COND’ टुकेन्कनहने <math>t^huk-en-k\Delta n=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-SA2pl-1pl=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुकिन्किनतन <math>t^huk-in-ki-n=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-SA3-1pl=PST.COND’ टुकेन्किनहने <math>t^huk-en-ki-n=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-SA3-1pl=PST.COND’</p>
2sg	<p>टुक्लोतन <math>t^huk-l-o=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ टुक्लोहने <math>t^huk-l-o=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लोतन <math>t^huk-l-o=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ टुक्लोहने <math>t^huk-l-o=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लोतन <math>t^huk-l-o=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ (REFL) टुक्लोहने <math>t^huk-l-o=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ (REFL)</p>	-	<p>टुक्लोतन <math>t^huk-l-o=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ टुक्लोहने <math>t^huk-l-o=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2sg=PST.COND’ टुकिल्कितन <math>t^huk-il-ki=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND’ टुकेल्कहने <math>t^huk-el-ki=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND’</p>
2pl	<p>टुक्लनतन <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’ टुक्लनहने <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लनतन <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’ टुक्लनहने <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’</p>	-	<p>टुक्लनतन <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’ (REFL) टुक्लनहने <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’ (REFL)</p>	<p>टुक्लनतन <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’ टुक्लनहने <math>t^huk-l-\Delta n=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-2pl=PST.COND’ टुकेल्कहने <math>t^huk-el-ki=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND’</p>
3sg	<p>टुक्लेतन <math>t^huk-l-I=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेतन <math>t^huk-l-I=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेतन <math>t^huk-l-I=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेतन <math>t^huk-l-I=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेतन <math>t^huk-l-I=t\Delta n</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>
3pl	<p>टुक्लेहने <math>t^huk-l-I=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेहने <math>t^huk-l-I=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेहने <math>t^huk-l-I=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेहने <math>t^huk-l-I=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>	<p>टुक्लेहने <math>t^huk-l-I=h\Delta ne</math> ‘hit-PST-3=PST.COND’</p>

			टुकिल्कुतन $t^huk-il-ku=t\Delta n$ 'hit-PST-SA2sg=PST.COND' टुकेल्कुहने $t^huk-el-ku=h\Delta ne$ 'hit-PST-SA2sg=PST.COND'	टुकिल्कनतन $t^huk-il-k\Delta n=t\Delta n$ 'hit-PST-SA2pl=PST.COND' टुकेल्कनहने $t^huk-el-k\Delta n=h\Delta ne$ 'hit-PST-SA2pl=PST.COND'	टुकिल्कितन $t^huk-il-ki=t\Delta n$ 'hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND' टुकेल्कितहने $t^huk-el-ki=h\Delta ne$ 'hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND'	
Imperative						
Patient						
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	2sg	टुक् $t^huk-\emptyset$ 'hit-IMP2sg' टुकेक $t^huk-ek$ 'hit-IMP2sg'	टुक् $t^huk-\emptyset$ 'hit-IMP2sg' टुकेक $t^huk-ek$ 'hit-IMP2sg'	टुक् $t^huk-\emptyset$ 'hit-IMP2sg' (REFL) टुकेक $t^huk-ek$ 'hit-IMP2sg' (REFL)	-	टुक् $t^huk-\emptyset$ 'hit-IMP2sg' टुकेक $t^huk-ek$ 'hit-IMP2sg' टुक्कित $t^huk-ki$ 'hit-SA3'
	2pl	टुक $t^huk-\Delta$ 'hit-IMP2pl'	टुक $t^huk-\Delta$ 'hit-IMP2pl'	-	टुक $t^huk-\Delta$ 'hit-IMP2pl' (REFL)	टुक $t^huk-\Delta$ 'hit-IMP2pl' टुक्कितर $t^huk-ki-r\Delta$ 'hit-SA3-2pl'
Subjunctive						
Patient						
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	टुकु $t^huk-u$ 'hit-SUBJ1sg' (REFL)	-	टुकेकुन $t^huk-eku-n$ 'hit-SUBJSA2sg-1sg' टुकुकुन $t^huk-ku-n$ 'hit-SA2sg-1sg'	टुकेकन $t^huk-ek\Delta-n$ 'hit-SUBJ.SA2pl-1sg' टुककन $t^huk-k\Delta-n$ 'hit-SA2pl-1sg'	टुकु $t^huk-u$ 'hit-SUBJ1sg' टुकेकिन $t^huk-eki-n$ 'hit-SUBJ.SA3-1sg' टुक्किन $t^huk-ki-n$ 'hit-SA3-1sg'
	1pl	-	टुकि $t^huk-i$ 'hit-SUBJ1pl' (REFL)	टुकि $t^huk-i$ 'hit-SUBJ1pl'	टुकि $t^huk-i$ 'hit-SUBJ1pl'	टुकि $t^huk-i$ 'hit-SUBJ1pl'

				टुकुन <i>tʰuk-ku-n</i> ‘hit-SA2sg-1pl’	टुककन <i>tʰuk-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-SA2pl-1pl’	टुक्किन <i>tʰuk-ki-n</i> ‘hit-SA3-1pl’
	2sg	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2sg’	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2sg’	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2sg’  टुक्कि <i>tʰuk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’ टुकिस्कि <i>tʰuk-is-ki</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2sg-SA3’
	2pl	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2pl’	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2pl’	-	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2pl’ (REFL)	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2pl’  टुक्किर <i>tʰuk-ki-rʌ</i> ‘hit-SA3-2pl’
	3sg	टुके <i>tʰuk-e</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’	टुके <i>tʰuk-e</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’			टुके <i>tʰuk-e</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’
	3pl	टुकोक <i>tʰuk-ok</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’	टुकोक <i>tʰuk-ok</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’	टुकोक् <i>tʰuk-ok</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’  टुककु <i>tʰuk-ku</i> ‘hit-SA2sg’	टुकोक <i>tʰuk-ok</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’  टुककन <i>tʰuk-kʌn</i> ‘hit-SA2pl’	टुके <i>tʰuk-e</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’  टुक्कि <i>tʰuk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’
Past habitual						
Patient						
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg, 3pl
Agent	1sg	टुकु <i>tʰuk-u</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB1sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकेकुन <i>tʰuk-eku-n</i> ‘hit-SA2sg-1sg’ टुकुन <i>tʰuk-ku-n</i> ‘hit-SA2sg-1sg’	टुकेकन <i>tʰuk-ekʌ-n</i> ‘hit-SA2pl-1sg’ टुककन् <i>tʰuk-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-SA2pl-1sg’	टुकेकिन <i>tʰuk-eki-n</i> ‘hit-SA3-1sg’ टुक्किन <i>tʰuk-ki-n</i> ‘hit-SA3-1sg’
	1pl	-	टुकि <i>tʰuk-i</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB1pl’ (REFL)	टुकि <i>tʰuk-i</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB1pl’  टुककन <i>tʰuk-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-SA2sg-1pl’	टुकि <i>tʰuk-i</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB1pl’  टुककन <i>tʰuk-kʌ-n</i> ‘hit-SA2pl-1pl’	टुकि <i>tʰuk-i</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB1pl’  टुक्किन <i>tʰuk-ki-n</i> ‘hit-SA3-1pl’

2sg	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2sg’	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2sg’	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2sg’ (REFL)	-	टुकिस <i>tʰuk-is</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2sg’ टुकिस्कि <i>tʰuk-is-ki</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2sg-SA3’ टुक्कि <i>tʰuk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’
2pl	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2pl’	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2pl’	-	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2pl’ (REFL)	टुकन <i>tʰuk-ʌn</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2pl’ टुक्किर <i>tʰuk-ki-rʌ</i> ‘hit-SA3-2pl’ टुकिस्किर <i>tʰuk-is-ki-rʌ</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2-SA3-2pl’
3sg	टुके <i>tʰuk-e</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB3’	टुके <i>tʰuk-e</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB3’			टुके <i>tʰuk-e</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB3’
3pl			टुकेकु <i>tʰuk-eku</i> ‘hit-SA2sg’ टुक्कु <i>tʰuk-ku</i> ‘hit-SA2sg’	टुकेकन <i>tʰuk-ekʌn</i> ‘hit-SA2pl’ टुक्कन <i>tʰuk-kʌn</i> ‘hit-SA2pl’	टुकेकि <i>tʰuk-eki</i> ‘hit-SA3’ टुक्कि <i>tʰuk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’



Verb paradigm: Dādar Bairiā and Rangeli dialects, southern Morang ; आ- as- ‘come’					
	Future		Present		Past
1sg	आसिम <i>as-im</i> ‘come-FUT1sg’		आसेसु <i>as-es-u</i> ‘come-PRES-1sg’		आस्तु <i>as-n-u</i> ‘come-PST-1sg’
2sg	आस्वो <i>as-b-o</i> ‘come-FUT-2sg’		आसेसि <i>as-es-i</i> ‘come-PRES-2sg’		आस्लो <i>as-l-o</i> ‘come-PST-2sg’
3sg/pl	आस्वे <i>as-b-i</i> ‘come-FUT-3’		आसेसे <i>as-es-e</i> ‘come-PRES-3’		आस्ले <i>as-l-i</i> ‘come-PST-3’
1pl	आस्म <i>as-n-Λ</i> ‘come-FUT-1pl’		आसेसि <i>as-es-i</i> ‘come-PRES-1pl’		आस्न <i>as-n-Λ</i> ‘come-PST-1pl’
2pl	आस्वन <i>as-b-Λn</i> ‘come-FUT-2pl’		आसेसन <i>as-es-Λn</i> ‘come-PRES-2pl’		आस्लन <i>as-l-Λn</i> ‘come-PST-2pl’
	Perfect		Past continuous, remote past		Imperative
1sg	आसिसु <i>as-is-u</i> ‘come-PERF-1sg’		आसिस्तु <i>as-isn-u</i> ‘come-REM.PST-1sg’		-
2sg	आसिसि <i>as-is-i</i> ‘come-PERF-2sg’		आसिस्तो <i>as-isl-o</i> ‘come-REM.PST-2sg’		आस् <i>as-∅</i> ‘come-IMP2sg’
3sg/pl	आसिसे <i>as-is-e</i> ‘come-PERF-3’		आसिस्ते <i>as-isl-i</i> ‘come-REM.PST-3’		-
1pl	आसिसि <i>as-is-i</i> ‘come-PERF-1pl’		आसिस्न <i>as-isn-Λ</i> ‘come-REM.PST-1pl’		-
2pl	आसिसन <i>as-is-Λn</i> ‘come-PERF-2pl’		आसिस्लन <i>as-isl-Λn</i> ‘come-REM.PST-2pl’		आसअ <i>as-Λ</i> ‘come-IMP2pl’
	Past conditional		Subjunctive		Past habitual
1sg	आस्तुहने <i>as-n-u=hΛne</i> ‘come-PST-1sg=PST.COND’		आसु <i>as-u</i> ‘come-SUBJ1sg’		आसु <i>as-u</i> ‘come-PST.HAB1sg’
2sg	आस्लोहने <i>as-l-o=hΛne</i> ‘come-PST-2sg=PST.COND’		आसिस <i>as-is</i> ‘come-SUBJ2sg’		आसिस <i>as-is</i> ‘come-PST.HAB2sg’
3sg/pl	आस्लेहने <i>as-l-i=hΛne</i> ‘come-PST-3=PST.COND’		आसे <i>as-e</i> ‘come-SUBJ3’		आसे <i>as-e</i> ‘come-PST.HAB3’
1pl	आस्नहने <i>as-n-Λ=hΛne</i> ‘come-PST-1pl=PST.COND’		आसि <i>as-i</i> ‘come-SUBJ1pl’		आसि <i>as-i</i> ‘come-PST.HAB1pl’
2pl	आस्लनहने <i>as-l-Λn=hΛne</i> ‘come-PST-2pl=PST.COND’		आसन <i>as-Λn</i> ‘come-SUBJ2pl’		आसन <i>as-Λn</i> ‘come-PST.HAB2pl’
Non-finite forms					
INF	ABS	CONJ.PTCL	CONT.PTCL	PST.PTCL	
आस्वा <i>as-ba</i> ‘come-INF’	आसे <i>as-e</i> ‘come-ABS’	आसेके <i>as-eke</i> ‘come-CONJ.PTCL’ (Dādar Bairiā) आसिएना <i>as-iena</i> ‘come-CONJ.PTCL’ (Rangeli)	आस्ते <i>as-te</i> ‘come-CONT.PTCL’		

Verb paradigm: Dādar Bairiā and Rangeli dialects, southern Morang					
Future					
		Patient			
		1p	2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	1p	-	ठकिम्गु <i>tʰʌk-im-gu</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA2’		ठकिम्गि <i>tʰʌk-im-gi</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA3’
	2p	ठक्वो <i>tʰʌk-b-o</i> ‘hit-FUT-2’	-		ठक्वो <i>tʰʌk-b-o</i> ‘hit-FUT-2’
	3p	ठक्वे <i>tʰʌk-b-i</i> ‘hit-FUT-3’	ठक्तुकु <i>tʰʌk-tu-ku</i> ‘hit-3-SA2sg’	ठक्तकन <i>tʰʌk-tʌ-kʌn</i> ‘hit-3-SA2pl’	ठक्ति <i>tʰʌk-t-i</i> ‘hit-FUT-SA3’
Present					
		Patient			
		1p	2p	3p	
Agent	1p	-	ठकेसुङ्गु <i>tʰʌk-es-uŋ-gu</i> ‘hit-PRES-1-SA2’	ठकेसिङ्गि <i>tʰʌk-es-iŋ-gi</i> ‘hit-PRES-1-SA3’	
	2p	ठकेसि <i>tʰʌk-es-i</i> ‘hit-PRES-2’	-		ठकेसि <i>tʰʌk-es-i</i> ‘hit-PRES-SA3’
	3p	ठकेसे <i>tʰʌk-es-e</i> ‘hit-PRES-3’	ठकेसु <i>tʰʌk-es-u</i> ‘hit-PRES-SA2’	ठकेसि <i>tʰʌk-es-i</i> ‘hit-PRES-SA3’	
Past					
		Patient			
		1p	2p	3p	
Agent	1p	-	ठकिन्गु <i>tʰʌk-in-gu</i> ‘hit-PST-SA2’	ठकिन्गि <i>tʰʌk-in-gi</i> ‘hit-PST-SA3’	
	2p	ठक्लो <i>tʰʌk-l-o</i> ‘hit-PST-2’	-		ठक्लो <i>tʰʌk-l-o</i> ‘hit-PST-2’ ठकिल्गि <i>tʰʌk-il-gi</i> ‘hit-PST-SA3’ (?)
	3p	ठक्ले <i>tʰʌk-l-i</i> ‘hit-PST-3’	ठकिल्गु <i>tʰʌk-il-gu</i> ‘hit-PST-SA2’	ठकिल्गि <i>tʰʌk-il-gi</i> ‘hit-PST-SA3’	

Perfect				
		Patient		
		1p	2p	3p
Agent	1p	-	ठकिसुहु $t^h\Lambda k-is-uj-gu$ 'hit-PERF-1-SA2'	ठकिसिङ्गि $t^h\Lambda k-is-ij-gi$ 'hit-PERF-1-SA3'
	2p	ठकिसि $t^h\Lambda k-is-i$ 'hit-PERF-2'	-	ठकिसि $t^h\Lambda k-is-i$ 'hit-PERF-SA3'
	3p	ठकिसे $t^h\Lambda k-is-e$ 'hit-PERF-3'	?	ठकिसि $t^h\Lambda k-is-i$ 'hit-PERF-SA3'
Past continuous, remote past				
		Patient		
		1p	2p	3p
Agent	1p	-	ठकिस्तुगु $t^h\Lambda k-isn-u-gu$ 'hit-REM.PST-1-SA2'	ठकिस्निगि $t^h\Lambda k-isn-i-gi$ 'hit-REM.PST-1-SA3'
	2p	ठकिस्तो $t^h\Lambda k-isl-o$ 'hit-REM.PST-2'	-	ठकिस्तो $t^h\Lambda k-isl-o$ 'hit-REM.PST-2'
	3p	ठकिस्तले $t^h\Lambda k-isl-l$ 'hit-REM.PST-3'	ठकिसिल्लु $t^h\Lambda k-isil-gu$ 'hit-REM.PST-SA2'	ठकिसिल्लि $t^h\Lambda k-isil-gi$ 'hit-REM.PST-SA3'
Past conditional				
		Patient		
		1p	2p	3p
Agent	1p	-	ठकिनुहने $t^h\Lambda k-in-gu=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-SA2=PST.COND'	ठकिनिहने $t^h\Lambda k-in-gi=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND'
	2p	ठक्लोहने $t^h\Lambda k-l-o=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-2=PST.COND'	-	ठक्लोहने $t^h\Lambda k-l-o=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-2=PST.COND' ठकिल्लिहने $t^h\Lambda k-il-gi=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND'
	3p	ठक्लेहने $t^h\Lambda k-l-l=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-3=PST.COND'	ठकिल्लुहने $t^h\Lambda k-il-gu=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-SA2=PST.COND'	ठकिल्लिहने $t^h\Lambda k-il-gi=h\Lambda ne$ 'hit-PST-SA3=PST.COND'

Imperative						
		Patient				
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3p
Agent	2sg	?	?	-	-	?
	2pl	?	?	-	-	?
Subjunctive						
		Patient				
		1p	2p	3p		
Agent	1p	-	ठक्कु <i>tʰʌk-ku</i> ‘hit-SA2’	ठक्कि <i>tʰʌk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’		
	2p	ठकिस <i>tʰʌk-is</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2’	-	ठकिस <i>tʰʌk-is</i> ‘hit-SUBJ2’		
	3p	ठके <i>tʰʌk-e</i> ‘hit-SUBJ3’	ठक्कु <i>tʰʌk-ku</i> ‘hit-SA2’	ठक्कि <i>tʰʌk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’		
Past habitual						
		Patient				
		1p	2p	3p		
Agent	1p	-	ठक्कु <i>tʰʌk-ku</i> ‘hit-SA2’ ठक्ते रहकु <i>tʰʌk-te rʌhʌ-ku</i> ‘hit-CONT.PTCL CONT-SA2’	ठक्कि <i>tʰʌk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’ ठक्ते रहकि <i>tʰʌk-te rʌhʌ-ki</i> ‘hit-CONT.PTCL CONT-SA3’		
	2p	ठकिस <i>tʰʌk-is</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2’	-	ठकिस <i>tʰʌk-is</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB2’		
	3p	ठके <i>tʰʌk-e</i> ‘hit-PST.HAB3’	ठक्कु <i>tʰʌk-ku</i> ‘hit-SA2’	ठक्कि <i>tʰʌk-ki</i> ‘hit-SA3’		

## Appendix 2: Lexicon

### अ ऽ

अइ-, *ai-*, *dem*, 'that (very)'  
 अइधर, *ai<sup>h</sup>ar*, *adv*, 'in that (very) direction'  
 अकुन्डा, *akunḍa*, *adj*, 'different'  
 अग्ले बग्ले (अलगे बगले), *agle bagle*, *adv*, 'here and there'  
 अघिन (अगिन), -खान, *ag<sup>(h)</sup>in*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'fire'  
 अतेक, *atek*, *adv*, 'that much'  
 अत्किना, *atkina*, *adv*, 'that little (amount)'  
 अत्र, *atra*, *adj*, 'that big'  
 अथवा, *at<sup>h</sup>awa* 'in other words(loan)'  
 अनङ(ति), *anaṅ(ti)*, *adv*, 'like that'  
 अनुराग, -खान, *anurag*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'longing'

अनुसार, *anusar*, *pp*, 'according to'  
 अन्छ- (अन्छा-), *anc<sup>h</sup>(a)-*, *v*, 'search'  
 अन्ति, *anti*, *adv*, 'like that'  
 अन्तिम, *antim*, *adv*, 'last'  
 अन्दरत, *andarata*, *pp*, 'because of(loan)'  
 अन्याय, -खान, *anyaē*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*,  
 'injustice(loan)'  
 अन्सट, *ansata*, *adj*, 'bored'  
 अप्सोस, -खान, *apsos*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'grief'  
 अमा (आमा), *am<sup>h</sup>a*, *pro*, '3pl[pro]'  
 अलगे, *alage*, *adv*, 'separately'  
 अलवत, *alwot*, *adj*, 'excellent'

### आ a

आइ, -ड, *ai*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'mother'  
 आख, -ड, *ak<sup>h</sup>a*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'fireplace'  
 आखरित, *ak<sup>h</sup>rit*, *adv*, 'in the end'  
 आख्र-, *ak<sup>h</sup>r-*, *v*, 'come off'  
 आगुत, *agut*, *adv*, 'before; previously'  
 आगुति, *aguti*, *pp*, 'in front of'  
 आग्रा दि-, *agra di-*, *v*, 'guard'  
 आङ्गोल, -ड, *anḡol*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'finger; toe'  
 आचि, -ड, *aci*, -*ḍa*, *n*, '(funeral) pyre'  
 आच्छा, *acc<sup>h</sup>a*, *adj*, 'good'  
 आच्छाए, *acc<sup>h</sup>ae*, *adv*, 'well'  
 आज्झि, *aj<sup>h</sup>i*, *adv*, 'today'  
 आट-, *aṭ-*, *v*, 'be about to(Nepali)'  
 आठ (आँठ), *a/āṭ<sup>h</sup>*, *num*, 'eight'  
 आदत, -ट, *adata*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'habit'  
 आधाङ्गि, *ad<sup>h</sup>angi*, *n*; *adj*, 'half'  
 आन-, *an-*, *v*, 'bring'

आन्धार घुट घुट (घिट घिट / कुट कुट), *and<sup>h</sup>ar*  
*g<sup>h</sup>uṭ g<sup>h</sup>uṭ / g<sup>h</sup>iṭ g<sup>h</sup>iṭ / kuṭ kuṭ*, *adj*, 'really dark'  
 आन्धार, *and<sup>h</sup>ar*, *n*; *adv*, 'dark'  
 आप, *ap*, *pcl*, 'PCL; now'  
 आपुन, *apun*, *pro*, 'onself'  
 आप्ना आप्नि, *apna apni*, *adj*, 'own(PL)'  
 आप्ने, *apne*, *pro*, 'oneself'  
 आम, -ड, *am*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'mango'  
 आमाने, *amane*, *adv*, 'clearly'  
 आर, *ar*, *cnj*, 'and; more; again'  
 आरकि, *arki*, *pcl*, 'PCL'  
 आरसाल, *arsal*, *adv*, 'last year'  
 आराम, -खान, *aram*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'rest'  
 आरे, *are*, *pcl*, 'PCL'  
 आर्ना, -ड, *arna*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'type of buffalo'  
 आल, *al*, *pcl*, 'PCL[pretense]'

आला, *al<sup>h</sup>a*, *adv*, 'now'  
 आलु, -ड, *alu*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'potatoe'  
 आलिसिया, *alsia*, *adj*, 'lazy'  
 आवाज, -ड, *awaj*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'sound'  
 आशिर्वाद, -ड / -खान, *asirbad*, -*ɖ*Λ / -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*,

'blessing(loan)'  
 आस-, *as-*, *v*, 'come'  
 आसान, *asan*, *adj*, 'easy'  
 आस्रा, *asra*, *n*, 'hope'

इ i

इ-, *i-*, *dem*, 'this'  
 इत्यादि, *ityadi* 'etcetera(Skt)'  
 इनाम, -ड / -खान, *inam*, -*ɖ*Λ / -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'reward'

इस्कूल, -ड, (*i*)*skul*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'school'

उ u

उ-, *u-*, *dem*, 'that'  
 उकुस, -ट, *ukus*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'hawk'  
 उक्च-, *ukc-*, *v*, 'slip in between bamboo roofslats'  
 उगिना, *ugina*, *inj*, 'Look!'  
 उचल, *ucal*, *adj*, 'high'  
 उजा-, *uja-*, *v*, 'appear'  
 उठ-, *uṭ<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'rise'  
 उठा-, *uṭ<sup>h</sup>a-*, *v*, 'raise'

उपर, *upar*, *adv*, 'above'  
 उपरत, *uparat*, *pp*; *adv*, 'on top of'  
 उपरमाखे, *uparimak<sup>h</sup>e*, *adv*, 'upwards'  
 उपाए (उपाय), -ड, *upae*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'way'  
 उभ्ररा-, *ub<sup>h</sup>ra-*, *v*, 'unroll'  
 उरा-, *ura-*, *v*, 'fly' (i.e. 'cause to rise')  
 उस्ना-, *usna-*, *v*, 'boil'  
 उहाँ(ए), *uhā(e)*, *pro*, '3sg[pro]'

ए e

एइ-, *ei-*, *dem*, 'this (very)'  
 एइधर, *ei-d<sup>h</sup>ar*, *adv*, 'in this (very) direction'  
 एइस, *eis*, 'INJ[disgust]'  
 एक, *ek*, *num*, 'one'  
 एकछिन, *ekc<sup>h</sup>in*, *adv*, 'one moment'  
 एकजारा, *ekjara*, *adv*, 'a little, a while'  
 एकदम, *ekdam*, *adv*, 'very'  
 एखलाए, *ek<sup>h</sup>lae*, *adv*, 'alone'

एगार, *egar*, *num*, 'eleven'  
 एडना, -खान, *eṅna*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'yard'  
 एठ, *eṭ<sup>h</sup>Λ*, *adj*, '(socially) unclean'  
 एत्किना, *etkina*, *adv*, 'this little (amount)'  
 एत्र, *etr*, *adv*, 'this big'  
 एनड(ति) (एन्ति), *enṇ(ti)* / *enti*, *adv*, 'this type of; like this'  
 एमा, *em<sup>h</sup>a*, *pro*, '3pl[pro/prox]'

ओ o

ओर ह-, *or hΛ-*, *v*, 'end'

ओकोट जोकोट, *orkoṭ jorkoṭ*, *adv/j*, 'mixed up'

क k

कइना, -ड, *kai<sup>h</sup>na*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'bride'  
 कइरा, *kaira*, *adj*, 'brown'  
 कचु, -ड, *kacu*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'kind of vegetable'  
 कटु (कट्टु), -खान, *kaṭ(t)u*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'underwear'

कठा, -ड, *kaṭ<sup>h</sup>a*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'room'  
 कठिन, *kaṭin*, *adj*, 'difficult(loan)'  
 कडि, -ड, *kaḍi*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'shell'  
 कतकत, *katkat*, *adj*, 'chubby'

कनेक, *kane*, *adv*; *quant*, 'a little'  
 कब, *kab*, *cnj*, 'when(Hindi)'  
 कम, *kam*, *adj*; *adv*, 'less'  
 कम्मर, -खान, *kammār*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'waist'  
 कर-, *kar-*, *v*, 'do'  
 करिप, *karip*, *adv*, 'approximately'  
 करे, *karē*, 'ADVL'  
 कर्छिया, *karci<sup>h</sup>ia*, *adj*, 'sided'  
 कल, -ड, *kalā*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'banana'  
 कलम, -ड, *kalām*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'pen(cil)'  
 कला, -ड, *kalā*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'hip'  
 कस्ट, *kaṣṭā*, *n*, 'trouble(loan)'  
 कह-, *ka<sup>h</sup>ā-*, *v*, 'say-'  
 काका, -ड, *kaka*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'uncle'  
 काकि, -ड, *kaki* -*ḍā*, *n*, 'aunt'  
 काङ्ग, -खान, *kaṅḡ<sup>h</sup>*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'shoulder'  
 काच गेद गेद (गद गद), *k<sup>h</sup>acā ged ged (gāḍ gāḍ)*,  
*adj*, 'really unripe'  
 काच, *kacā*, *adj*, 'unripe'  
 काछार, -ट, *kac<sup>h</sup>ar*, -*ṭā*, *n*, 'river bank'  
 काट-, *kaṭ-*, *v*, 'cut'  
 काठमान्डु, *kaṭ<sup>h</sup>manḍu*, *n*, 'Kathmandu'  
 काति, -ड, *kati*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'foundation'  
 काथा, -ड, *kaṭ<sup>h</sup>a*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'thing'  
 काद, -खान, *kad*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'mud'  
 कादुवालि, *kaduwalī*, *adj*, 'muddy'  
 कान-, *kan-*, *v*, 'cry'  
 कान, -ड, *kan*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'ear'  
 काना, -खान, *kana*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'hole'  
 कान्टा, -खान, *kaṅṭā*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'vicinity'  
 काभा, *ka<sup>h</sup>a*, *pro*, 'indefinite(uncertain)'  
 काम, -खान / -ड, *kam*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an* / -*ḍā*, *n*, 'work; job'  
 कामा, -ड, *kama*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'earner'  
 काम्रा, *kamra-*, *v*, 'bite'  
 कारन, -ड, *karān*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'reason'  
 कारा, *kara*, *adj*, 'fast'  
 काल घुट घुट (or, कुट कुट, मिस मिस), *kalā g<sup>h</sup>uṭ g<sup>h</sup>uṭ*  
 (or, *kuṭ kuṭ, mis mis*), *adj*, 'really black'  
 काल, *kalā*, *adj*, 'black'  
 काला, -ड, *kala*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'pea'  
 कालि, *ka<sup>h</sup>i*, *adv*, 'yesterday; tomorrow'

काहँ, *ka<sup>h</sup>ā/ā*, *pro*, 'anyone;  
 someone(indefinite)'  
 काहाँए, *kaha/āe*, *pro*, 'who(interrogative)'  
 काहुँ, *ka<sup>h</sup>u/ū*, *pro*, 'anyone;  
 someone(indefinite)'  
 काहें, *ka<sup>h</sup>e/ē*, *pro*, 'who(interrogative)'  
 कि, *ki*, *pro*, 'what'  
 किताप, -खान, *kitap*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'book'  
 किन-, *kin-*, *v*, 'buy'  
 किबा (किवा), *kib/wa*, *pro*, 'some(uncertain)'  
 कियोँ, *kiā*, *adv*, 'why'  
 कियोँकि, *kiāki*, *cnj*, 'because'  
 कियोँते, *kiāte*, *cnj*, 'because'  
 किसिम, *kisim*, *adj*, 'type of; kind of'  
 कुकुर, -ट, *kukur*, -*ṭā*, *n*, 'dog(Nepali)'  
 कुछु, *kuc<sup>h</sup>u*, *pro*, 'something; a  
 little(indefinite)'  
 कुट्टि, -ड, *kutti*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'priest's quarters'  
 कुत-कुता-, *kut kuta-*, *v*, 'to tickle'  
 कुतेकुते, *kute: kute*, *inj*, 'come here(to dogs)'  
 कुत्ता, -ड, *kutta*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'dog'  
 कुन, *kun*, *adj*, 'which'  
 कुना, *kun<sup>h</sup>a*, *adv*, 'where'  
 कुन्ड, -ड, *kunḍā*, -*ḍā*, *n*, '(a type of) pond'  
 कुन्धर, *kunḍ<sup>h</sup>ar*, *adv*, 'in which direction'  
 कुमा, *kuma*, *pro*, 'some(uncertain)'  
 कुवा, -ड, *kua*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'crow'  
 के, *ke*, *pro*, 'who' (possibly a loan)  
 केइ, *kei*, *pro*, 'who(interrogative; possibly a  
 loan)'  
 केतेक, *ketek*, *adv*, 'how much!'  
 केत्र, *ketra*, *adv*, 'how big'  
 केनड (केनेड), *kenā/en*, *adv*, 'how'  
 केनडति (केन्ति), *kenāṅti* (or, *kenti*), *adv*, 'like  
 what; what type of'  
 केन्द्र, -ड, *kendra*, -*ḍā*, *n*, 'centre'  
 केवा (केवा), *keb/wæ*, *pro*, 'some size;  
 amount'  
 केमे, *keme*, *adv*, 'why'  
 केरे, *kere*, *pcl*, 'PCL(certainty)'  
 कोए (कोय, कोइ), *koe/i*, *pro*, 'someone;  
 something'

कोधोए, *kod<sup>h</sup>oe*, *adv*, 'never'  
कोहिनि, -खान, *kohini*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'story'

क्रिया, -ड, *kriya*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'funeral'

ख *k<sup>h</sup>*

खइरा, *k<sup>h</sup>aira*, *adj*, 'grey'  
खका-, *k<sup>h</sup>aka-*, *v*, 'scold'  
खतम, *k<sup>h</sup>atam*, *adj*, 'finished'  
खता, -ड, *k<sup>h</sup>ata*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'nest'  
खन्जरा, -ड, *k<sup>h</sup>anjara*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'feeding trough'  
खबर, -ट, *k<sup>h</sup>abar*, *-tΛ*, *n*, 'news'  
खबे, *k<sup>h</sup>abe*, *adv*, 'very'  
खराक, *k<sup>h</sup>arak*, *n*, 'food'  
खल्का, -ड, *k<sup>h</sup>alka*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'claw'  
खसि, -ड, *k<sup>h</sup>asi*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'goat(male/castrated)'  
खस्ला, -खान, *k<sup>h</sup>asla*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'woven straw mat'  
खा-, *k<sup>h</sup>a-*, *v*, 'eat'  
खाटा चाँए चाँए (चाडः चाडः), *k<sup>h</sup>aṭa cae cae (caṭ caṭ)*, *adj*, 'really sour'  
खाटा, *k<sup>h</sup>aṭa*, *adj*, 'sour'  
खातिर, *k<sup>h</sup>atir*, *pp*, 'for the sake of'  
खादि, -ड, *k<sup>h</sup>adi*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'hole'  
खाना (खान), *k<sup>h</sup>ana/Λ*, *n*, 'food'  
खामा, -ड, *k<sup>h</sup>ama*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'pillar'

खाराब, *k<sup>h</sup>arab*, *adj*, 'bad'  
खालि, *k<sup>h</sup>ali*, *adv*, 'only'  
खासकरे, *k<sup>h</sup>askare*, *adv*, 'actually'  
खिल-खिला-, *k<sup>h</sup>il k<sup>h</sup>ila-*, *v*, 'giggle'  
खिला-, *k<sup>h</sup>ila-*, *v*, 'feed'  
खिस्सा (खिसा), -खान, *k<sup>h</sup>is(s)a*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'story'  
खुच खुच कर-, *k<sup>h</sup>uc k<sup>h</sup>uc kar-*, *v*, 'to fiddle'  
खुट्टा, -खान, *k<sup>h</sup>uṭṭa*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'wood'  
खुद-, *k<sup>h</sup>ud-*, *v*, 'dig'  
खुन, -खान, *k<sup>h</sup>un*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'blood(Nepali)'  
खुना (खुनि), *k<sup>h</sup>una/i*, *adv*, 'during'  
खुला-, *k<sup>h</sup>ula-*, *v*, 'open'  
खुसि, *k<sup>h</sup>usi*, *adj*, 'happy(Nepali)'  
खेटिया, -ड, *k<sup>h</sup>eṭia*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'jackal'  
खेत, -खान, *k<sup>h</sup>et*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'field'  
खेत्र-, *k<sup>h</sup>etr-*, *v*, 'break'  
खोज-, *k<sup>h</sup>oj-*, *v*, 'search'  
खोब, *k<sup>h</sup>ob*, *adv*, 'very(Hindi)'

ग *g*

गचिमरि, *gacimari*, *n*, 'Gacimāri'  
गटे, *gāte*, *quant*, 'every; all'  
गन, -ड, *gan(Λ)*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'smell'  
गन्य मान्य, *ganye manye*, *adj*, 'respected(loan)'  
गप (गफ), -ट, *gap<sup>(h)</sup>*, *-tΛ*, *n*, 'chat; chatting'  
गपसप, *gapsap*, *n*, 'chat; chatting'  
गबर, -खान, *gabar*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'dung'  
गर चुक चुक (फेक फेक), *gara cuk cuk (p<sup>h</sup>ek p<sup>h</sup>ek)*, *adj*, 'really white-skinned'  
गर, *gara*, *adj*, 'white-skinned'  
गरम टाँअ टाँअ, *garām ṭāṅ/Λ ṭāṅ/Λ*, *adj*, 'boiling hot'  
गरम, *garām*, *adj*, 'hot'  
गरल, -ड, *garal*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'bunch'

गरा, -ड, *gara<sup>h</sup>a*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'dung stick'  
गरिब, *garib*, *adj*, 'poor'  
गरु (गोरु), -ड, *garoru*, *n*, 'bullock'  
गर्मि, *garimi*, *adj*, 'hot'; idiomatic sense 'proud'  
गलि (गल्लि), -ड, *gal(i)*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'pathway'  
गहम, -खान, *gham*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'wheat'  
गाअँ, -ड, *gāṅ*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'village'  
गाएँ, -ड, *gāṅ/i*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'cow'  
गाज-, *gaj-*, *v*, 'sprout'  
गान्जा, -खान, *ganja*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'tobacco; drug'  
गान्धा, *ganḍha*, *adj*, 'dirty'  
गारि, -खान / -ड, *gari*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an* (Ghailāḍubbā) /



-दल (Korobāri), *n*, 'cart'  
 गाल, -ड, *gal*, -दल, *n*, 'cheek'  
 गाला, -ड, *gala*, -दल, *n*, 'neck'  
 गालि, -ड, *gali*, -दल, *n*, 'rebuke'  
 गिड गिड करे, *gid gid kare*, *adv*, 'with a stamping sound'  
 गित, -खान, *git*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'song'  
 गित, -ट, *git*, -तल, *n*, '(wording of a) song'  
 गिदा-, *gida-*, *v*, 'sing'  
 गियान, -ड, *gyan*, -दल, *n*, 'wisdom'  
 गिर-, *gir-*, *v*, 'fall'  
 गिरा-, *gira-*, *v*, 'drop'  
 गिलाप, -ट, *gilap*, -तल, *n*, 'shawl'  
 गु, -खान, *gu*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'feces'  
 गुथानि, -ड, *gut<sup>h</sup>ani*, -दल, *n*, '(manner of) weaving'  
 गुन, -खान, *gun*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'quality'

गुन्डा, -खान, *gunda*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'chaff'  
 गुवाल, -ड, *gual*, -दल, *n*, 'farmer'  
 गे, *ge*, 'VOC'  
 गेच, -ट, *gec*, -तल, *n*, 'sprout'  
 गेछ (गाछ, गेस), -ट, *ge/ac<sup>h</sup> (ges)*, -तल, *n*, 'tree'  
 गेद-गेदुवा-, *ged geduwa-*, *v*, 'slurp (one's food)'  
 गेन्जि, -ड, *genji*, -दल, *n*, 'vest'  
 गो, *go*, 'VOC'  
 गोग -ड, *gog*, -दल, *n*, 'loud voice'  
 गोरोल (ग्रीहोल), -ड, *gorol (grohol)*, -दल, *n*, 'heron'  
 ग्याँस, -खान, *gyas*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'gas(English)'  
 ग्लुकोज, -खान, *glukoj*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'glucose(English)'

घ *g<sup>h</sup>*

घटना, -ड, *g<sup>h</sup>atna*, -दल, *n*, 'event'  
 घडा, -ड, *g<sup>h</sup>ar/da*, -दल, *n*, 'horse'  
 घन गिज गिज, *g<sup>h</sup>ana gij gij*, *adj*, 'really dense'  
 घन, *g<sup>h</sup>ana*, *adj*, 'dense'  
 घर, -ट, *g<sup>h</sup>ar*, -तल, *n*, 'house'  
 घर्नि (घरनि), -ड, *g<sup>h</sup>arni*, -दल, *n*, 'wife'  
 घस्क-, *g<sup>h</sup>ask-*, *v*, 'hide'  
 घस्सि, -खान, *g<sup>h</sup>assi*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'dung'  
 घाँस (घास), *g<sup>h</sup>ā/as*, *n*, 'grass'  
 घान्टा, *g<sup>h</sup>anta*, *adv*, 'hour'  
 घाम, -खान, *g<sup>h</sup>am*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'sweat' (with noun

classifier: '(drop of) sweat')  
 घिउँ, -खान, *g<sup>h</sup>iu/ū*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'ghee'  
 घुगु, -ड, *g<sup>h</sup>ugu*, -दल, *n*, 'dove'  
 घुदि, -ड, *g<sup>h</sup>udi*, -दल, *n*, 'goat(female)'  
 घुर-, *g<sup>h</sup>ur-*, *v*, 'turn'  
 घुरि, *g<sup>h</sup>uri*, *adv*, 'during'  
 घुरिए, *g<sup>h</sup>urie*, *adv*, 'again'  
 घेचा, -ड, *g<sup>h</sup>eca*, -दल, *n*, 'neck'  
 घेर-, *g<sup>h</sup>er-*, *v*, 'surround'  
 घेरा-, *g<sup>h</sup>era-*, *v*, 'extinguish'  
 घेस्क्रेट-, *g<sup>h</sup>esket-*, *v*, 'crawl'

## च c

चँत चँत, *cāt cāt* '(a) [cāt cāt] (sound)'  
 चख चाँए चाँए, *ca<sup>k</sup>h cae cae*, *adj*, 'really salty'  
 चख चुन चुन, *ca<sup>k</sup>h cun cun*, *adj*, 'really salty'  
 चख, *ca<sup>k</sup>h*, *adj*, 'salty'  
 चखा (चखु), -ड, *ca<sup>k</sup>h<sup>a</sup>/u*, -दल, *n*, 'eye'  
 चखु, -ड, *ca<sup>k</sup>h<sup>u</sup>*, -दल, *n*, 'knife'  
 चटि, *cati*, *adv*, 'moment'  
 चप्पल, -खान, *capal*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'slipper'

चर- / चरा-, *car(a)-*, *v*, 'graze'  
 चर-, *car<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'ride'  
 चरित्र, -ड, *caritra*, -दल, *n*, 'behaviour'  
 चल- (चुल-), *cal-* (*cul-*), *v*, 'go; AUX'  
 चला-, *cala-*, *v*, 'cause to move'  
 चाउ, -ड, *cau*, -दल, *n*, 'rice(uncooked; without husk)'  
 चाच, -खान, *nac*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'dance'

चान, -ड, *tsan*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'moon'  
 चार, *car*, *num*, 'four'  
 चारिक, *carik*, *adv*, 'a little'  
 चाल, -खान, *cal*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'roof'  
 चाल, -ड, *cal*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'character'  
 चाहा-, *caha-*, *v*, 'want to; try to'  
 चिज, -खान, *cij*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'thing'  
 चिट्टि, -खान, *citti*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'letter'  
 चित, -ट, *cit*, -*ʈ*Λ, *n*, 'thought(loan)'  
 चित्ताबाघ, -ड, *cittabagʰ*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'leopard'  
 चित्त-, *cinʰ-*, *v*, 'know'  
 चिन्ता, -ड, *cinta*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'worry'  
 चिन्नात, *cinnat*, *adj*, 'messy; disorderly'  
 चिम-चिमा-, *cim cima-*, *v*, 'to ache/pinch (of the

surface of the skin)'  
 चिला, -ड, *cilʰa*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'eagle'  
 चिलिम, -ड, *cilim*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'pipe'  
 चुटे, *cuṭe*, *pp*, 'due to'  
 चुरि, -खान, *curi*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'bangle'  
 चुलि, -खान, *culi*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'hair'  
 चेडरा, -ड, *ceṅra*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*; *adj*,  
 'youngster(male); young'  
 चेडरि, -ड, *ceṅri*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*; *adj*,  
 'youngster(female); young'  
 चेचा-, *ceca-*, *v*, 'shout'  
 चेप करे, *cep kare*, *adj*, 'by catching'  
 चेम्ना, -खान, *cemra*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'skin'  
 चोर, *cor*, -*ʈ*Λ, *n*, 'thief'

## छ cʰ

छक पर-, *cʰak par-*, *v*, 'be surprised'  
 छकमछेइया, *cʰakameʰeia*, *adj*, 'extravagant'  
 छट, *cʰaṭa*, *adj*, 'short'  
 छटपट-, *cʰaṭpaṭ-*, *v*, 'be restless'  
 छप्पर, -खान, *cʰappaṛ*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'roof'  
 छब, -खान, *cʰab*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'beauty'  
 छर-, *cʰar-*, *v*, 'let go'  
 छा(र)-, *cʰa(r)-*, *v*, 'thatch'  
 छागल, -ड, *cʰagal*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'goat'  
 छात, -खान, *cʰat*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'beehive'  
 छियाँ, -खान, *cʰiā*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'shade; shadow'

छियारि, -खान, *cʰiari*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'shady place  
 (for sitting)'  
 छुआ (छुवा), -ड, *cʰua*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*; *adj*, 'child;  
 young'  
 छुट-, *cʰuṭ-*, *v*, 'stop(intr)'  
 छुटा-, *cʰuṭa-*, *v*, 'stop(trans)'  
 छेक्कारि (छेक्कार), *cʰeckar(i)*, *adv*, 'really'  
 छेतलेडा, *cʰetleṅa*, *adj*, 'shallow'  
 छोए, *cʰoe*, *n*, 'shadow(?)'

## ज j

जङल, -खान, *jaṅal*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'jungle; forest'  
 जतु, -ड, *jaṭu*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'animal'  
 जदि, *jadi*, *cnj*, 'if'  
 जन, -ड, *jan*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'labour'  
 जनड(ति) (जेनड(ति)), *ja/enṅaṅ(ti)*, *adv*, 'which type  
 of'  
 जब, *jab*, *adv*, 'when(Hindi)'  
 जर ह-, *jar ha-*, *v*, 'gather'  
 जर, -खान, *jar*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'fever'  
 जरा, -ड, *jara*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'attachment'  
 जल-, *jal-*, *v*, 'burn(intr)'

जल, -खान, *jal*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'water'  
 जलम, -ड, *jalam*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'birth'  
 जला-, *jala-*, *v*, 'burn(trans)'  
 जल्दि, *jaldi*, *adv*, 'soon'  
 जल्लुक, -ट, *jalluk*, -*ʈ*Λ, *n*, 'leach'  
 जा-, *ja-*, *v*, 'go; AUX; PASS.AUX'  
 जाक, -ट, *jak*, -*ʈ*Λ, *n*, 'stack'  
 जाग्गा, -खान, *jagga*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'land'  
 जाग्गा, -ड, *jagga*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'container used for  
 keeping fire'  
 जात, -ट, *jat*, -*ʈ*Λ, *n*, 'ethnic group'

## ठ tʰ

जान, -ड, *jan*, -dʌ, n, 'life'  
 जानाक, -खान, *janʰak*, -kʰan, *adj*; n, 'light'  
 जामा, -खान / -ड, *jama*, -kʰan (*Korobāri*) / -dʌ  
 (*Ghailāqubbā*), n, 'shirt'  
 जार, *jar*, *adj*, 'cold'  
 जाहाँ(ए), *jaha/ā(e)*, *pro*, 'who(relative)'  
 जाहाज, -खान, *jahaj*, -kʰan, n, 'aeroplane; vessel'  
 जाहान, -ड, *jahan*, -dʌ, n, 'spouse'  
 जाहें, *jahe/ē*, *pro*, 'who'  
 जि, -*ji*, 'HPCL'  
 जिङ्ग, *jiŋʰ*, v, 'be courageous'  
 जिन्दगि, -ड, *jindagi*, -dʌ, n, 'life(Hindi)'  
 जिवन, -ड, *jibʌn*, -dʌ, n, 'life'  
 जिभा, -ड, *jibʰa*, -dʌ, n, 'tongue'  
 जिरा-, *jira-*, v, 'rest'  
 जुग, -ड, *jug*, -dʌ, n, 'era'  
 जुत-, *jut-*, v, 'plough'  
 जुत, -खान, *jut*, -kʰan, n, 'way'

जुत, -ट, *jut*, -tʌ, n, 'event'  
 जुर-, *jur-*, v, 'lay nets'  
 जुरा-, *jura-*, v, 'cool down'  
 जुलुम, *julum*, *adv*, 'very'  
 जुवाँ, -ड, *juā*, -dʌ, n, 'son-in-law'  
 जे, *je*, *pro*, 'what'  
 जेअँत (जेअत), *jeā/āt*, *adj*, 'alive'  
 जेइ-, *jei-*, *pro*, 'REL[obl]'-  
 जेइधर, *jeidʰar*, *adv*, 'in which direction'  
 जेतेक, *jetek*, *adv*, 'as much as; the amount of  
 which'  
 जेत्र, *jetra*, *adv*, '(large) size of which'  
 जेर, -ड, *jerʰa*, -dʌ, n, 'herd'  
 जेसे, *jese*, *conj*, 'so that'  
 जेहेने, *jehene*, *adv*, 'when'  
 जोग जोग बेहान, *jog jog behan*, *adv*, 'very  
 clear morning'

## झ jʰ

झट्कि, *jʰʌtki*, *adj*, 'slim'  
 झना, -*jʰʌna*, 'PCLS'  
 झप्ट-, *jʰʌpt-*, v, 'jump upon(Nepali)'  
 झरझर करे, *jʰar jʰar kare*, *adv*, 'with a mud falling  
 sound'  
 झला, -ड, *jʰʌla*, -dʌ, n, 'bag'  
 झाक गिरा-, *jʰak gira-*, v, 'knock unconscious'  
 झाका, -खान, *jʰaka*, -kʰan, n, 'cover'  
 झाग्रा, -ड, *jʰag(ʌ)ra*, -dʌ, n, 'fight'

झाटा, -खान, *jʰaṭa*, -kʰan, n, 'stick(thrown to  
 bring fruit down)'  
 झान्डा, -खान, *jʰanḍa*, -kʰan, n, 'flag'  
 झार, -खान, *jʰar*, -kʰan, n, 'forest'  
 झारबारि, -खान, *jʰarbari*, -kʰan, n, 'forest'  
 झुक्या-, *jʰukya-*, v, 'cheat'

## ट t

टन-टना-, *tʌn tʌna-*, v, 'to ache' (of boils, teeth)'  
 टप्ला, -ड, *tʌpla*, -dʌ, n, 'bundle'  
 टाका, -ड, *taka*, -dʌ, n, 'coin'  
 टाङ्ग, *taŋ*, *adj*, 'tall'

टाटि, -खान, *ṭaṭi*, -kʰan, n, 'wall'  
 टाप, -ट, *ṭap*, -tʌ, n, 'footprint'  
 टुटि, -ड, *ṭuti*, -dʌ, n, 'throat'  
 टेक-, *ṭek-*, v, 'support'

## ठ tʰ

ठक-, *tʰʌk-*, v, 'hit(Morang)'  
 ठग-, *tʰʌg-*, v, 'cheat'

ठाअँ, -खान, *tʰaā/ʌ*, -kʰan, n, 'place'  
 ठाट, -खान, *tʰat*, -kʰan, n, 'roof frame'

ठाल (ठालि), -ड, *tʰal(i)*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'branch'

ठिक, *tʰik*, *adv*, 'alright'

ठिना (ठिन), *tʰin(a)*, *adv*; *n*, 'close; place'

ठुक-, *tʰuk-*, *v*, 'hit'

ठेक्के, *tʰekke*, *adv*, 'exactly'

ठेड, -खान, *tʰeɳ*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'leg'

ठेन्डा कुन कुन (or, कन कन), *tʰeɳɖa kun kun*  
(or, *kΛn kΛn*), *adj*, 'freezing cold'

### ड d

डर, -खान, *ɖΛr*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'fear'

डाक दि-, *ɖak di-*, *v*, 'call'

डाका-, *ɖaka-*, *v*, 'call'

डाको, -ड, *ɖako*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'robber'

डाङ्ग डाङ्ग करे, *ɖaŋ ɖaŋ kΛre* 'with a clashing  
sound'

डिक-, *ɖik-*, *v*, 'beat up'

डिफ्ट-, *ɖipt-*, *v*, 'guard'

डिम्मा, -ड, *ɖimma*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'egg'

डुब- (डुबा-), *ɖub(a)-*, *v*, 'sink(Nepali)'

डेगर, -ट, *ɖeɟΛr*, -*t*Λ, *n*, 'path'

डेना, -खान, *ɖena*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'wing'

### ढ dʰ

ढरा, *ɖʰΛra*, *n*, 'a kind of snake'

ढिप ढाप करे, *ɖʰip ɖʰap kΛre*, *n*, 'with a beating  
sound'

ढिप ढिपुवा-, *ɖʰip ɖʰip-(u)wa-*, *v*, 'beat with a [ɖʰ  
ip] sound'

ढिप्री, -ड, *ɖʰipri*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'mound'

ढिल्ला, *ɖʰilla*, *adj*, 'slow'

ढुक-, *ɖʰuk-*, *v*, 'enter'

ढुका-, *ɖʰuka-*, *v*, 'take inside'

ढेरि, -ड, *ɖʰeri*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'pile'

ढेसा दि-, *ɖʰesa di-*, *v*, 'lean'

ढोल पिट-, *ɖʰol pit-*, *v*, 'drum in order to  
summon'

### त t

तउलिया, -खान, *tΛulia*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'towel'

तक, *tΛk*, *pp*; *adv*, 'TERM; until'

तत, *tΛt*, *adv*, 'then'

तन, *tΛn*, *cl*, 'PST.COND'

तने, *tΛne*, *adv*; *pcl*, 'then'

तब, *tΛb*, *adv*; *corr*, 'then(Hindi)'

तम्मा (ताम्मा), *tΛ/amʰa*, *pro*, '3pl[pro]'

तरह, -खान, *tΛrʰΛ*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'aggressiveness' (in  
the sense 'idea', possibly derived from the  
Hindi (orig. Arabic) word *तर्कित्* *tarkīb* 'idea')

तर्बरा-, *tΛrbΛra-*, *v*, 'be startled'

तलत, *tΛΛt*, *pp*, 'underneath'

तले तले, *tΛle tΛle*, *adv*, 'inside; (from)  
underneath'

ताए, *tΛe*, *adv*, 'then'

ताकत, -खान, *takΛt*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'power'

ताकि, *taki*, *cnj*, 'so that(loan)'

तात, *tat*, *adv*, 'while'

ताने, *tane*, *pp*, 'for'

तारि, -ड, *tari*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'clay bottle'

तारो, -ड, *taro*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'star'

ताहाते, *tahate*, *cnj*, 'therefore'

ताहारबाद, *taharbad*, *adv*, 'afterwards'

ताहुँ (ताहु), *tahu/ū*, *cnj*, 'nevertheless; but'

ताहें (ताहे), *tahē/ē*, *adv*, 'while'

ति, *ti*, *pp*, 'towards'

तिन एसा/आसा, *tin e/asa*, *cnj*, 'no matter how  
much'

तिन, *tin*, *num*, 'three'

तुई (तुइ), *tuī/i*, *pro*, '2sg[pro]'

तुरि, -खान, *turi*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'mustard field'

तुरि, -ड, *turi*, -*ɖ*Λ, *n*, 'mustard (seed)'

ते, *te*, *pcl*, 'then; PCL'

तेरुवाल, -खान, *terual*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'machete'

त्रिया, *triya*, *n*, 'female(loan)'

थ t<sup>h</sup>थ-, t<sup>h</sup>Λ-, v, 'keep'थक-, t<sup>h</sup>Λk-, v, 'become tired'थर्कानि, -ड, t<sup>h</sup>Λrkani, -dΛ, n, 'step'थाक-, t<sup>h</sup>ak-, v, 'lie down'थान, -ड, t<sup>h</sup>an, -dΛ, n, 'place'थाम-, t<sup>h</sup>am-, v, 'wait'थार करे, t<sup>h</sup>arΛ kΛre, adv, 'standing'थाहा, t<sup>h</sup>aha, n, 'knowledge(Nepali)'थिप्र-, t<sup>h</sup>ipr-, v, 'jump'थुप, -खान, t<sup>h</sup>up, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'spit'थोप, -ट, t<sup>h</sup>op, -tΛ, n, 'patch(of trees/bushes)'

## द d

दउग- (दउर-), dΛug/r-, v, 'run'

दन, dΛn, n, 'quarrel' (only occurs in copulative compounds such as झग्रा दन j<sup>h</sup>agra dΛn 'fight')दत्ते, dΛn<sup>h</sup>e 'both'

दबाव, -ड, dΛbaw, -dΛ, n, 'pressure'

दरबजा, -खान, dΛrbΛja, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'outer yard'

दस, dΛs, num, 'ten'

दहि, -खान, dΛ(h)i, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'curd'

दादा, -ड, dada, -dΛ, n, 'elder brother'

दादि, -ड, dadi, -dΛ, n, 'grandmother'

दादो, -ड, dado, -dΛ, n, 'grandfather'

दाना, -ड, dana, -dΛ, n, 'seed'

दामाल (दमाल), -ड, da/Λmal, -dΛ, n, 'track'

दारि, -खान, dar<sup>h</sup>i, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'beard' (with noun classifier: '(strand of) beard')दारु, -खान, daru, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'liquor; medicine'

दारे, dare, pp, 'by'

दासा, -खान, dasa, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'body substance'

दाहा, -ड, daha, -dΛ, n, 'body'

दि-, d(i)-, v, 'give; allow; AUX'

दिन (दिना), din(a), adv, 'day'

दिमाग, -खान, dimag, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'brain(loan)'

दिसा, disa 'direction'

दुइ, dui, num, 'two'

दुक (दुख), duk<sup>(h)</sup>, n, 'trouble'दुद, -खान, dud, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'milk'

दुद, -ड, dud, -dΛ, n, 'breast'

दुनिया, -ड, dunia, -dΛ, n, 'world'

दुर्गति, -ड, durgΛti, -dΛ, n, 'misery(loan)'

दुर्गा, -ड, durga, -dΛ, n, 'Durgā(Hindu goddess)'

दुवार, -खान, duar, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'door'

दुस्मन, -ड, dusmΛn, -dΛ, n, 'enemy'

दुस्रा (दस्रा), du/Λsra, adj, 'second'

दुहुनि (दुत्ति), -खान, duhuni / dun<sup>h</sup>i, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'milk'

दृश्य, -ड, drisjΛ, -dΛ, n, 'view(loan)'

दे, de, 'INSTR'

देअँ, -ड, deΛ/Λ, -dΛ, n, '(local) divinity'

देख-, dek<sup>h</sup>-, v, 'see'देखा-, dek<sup>h</sup>a-, v, 'show'देफेदार, -ट, dep<sup>h</sup>edar, -tΛ, n, 'leader'

दोमन, domΛn, adj, 'uncertain'

दोस, -खान, dos, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'accusation'

दोस, -ड, dos, -dΛ, n, '(covenant) friend'

ध d<sup>h</sup>ध(र)-, d<sup>h</sup>Λ(r)-, v, 'hold; begin'धक्रा, -खान, d<sup>h</sup>Λkra, -k<sup>h</sup>an, n, 'carpet'धन, d<sup>h</sup>Λn, n, 'wealth'धन, -ड, d<sup>h</sup>Λn, -dΛ, n, 'treasure (referring

affectionately to a small child)'

धर्म, -ड, d<sup>h</sup>Λrma, -dΛ, n, 'religion'धाकर (धाक्कर), -ट, d<sup>h</sup>ak(k)Λr, -tΛ, n, 'bull(male/uncastrated)'

धादनि, -खान, *dʰadni*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'river-bank'  
 धान, -खान, *dʰan*, -*kʰan*, *n*, '(field/crop of) rice'  
 धान, -ड, *dʰan*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, '(grain of) rice (with husk)'  
 धाम्मा, -खान, *dʰamma*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'rope'  
 धिना, *dʰina* 'let's see(?); things(?)'  
 धुतुरा (धतुरा), -ड, *dʰu/ʌtura*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'narcotic  
 plant'

धुदि, -ड, *dʰudi*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'goat(female)'  
 धुनि, -ड, *dʰuni*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'fireplace'  
 धुप, -खान, *dʰup*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'sun'  
 धुवाँ, -खान, *dʰuã*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'smoke'  
 धुसा, -ड, *dʰusa*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'blanket'  
 धेत, *dʰet*, 'INJ'

न n

नकर, -ट, *nʌkʌr*, -*ʈʌ*, *n*, 'slave; servant'  
 नम्र-, *nʌmʰ-*, *v*, 'descend'  
 नरा, -ड, *nʌrʌ*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'pigeon(male)'  
 नस्पति, -ड, *nʌspʌti*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, '(Japanese) pear'  
 ना, *na*, 'NEG; PCL[tag]; or'  
 नाअँ, -ड, *naʌ/ã*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'name'  
 नाअ, -खान, *naʌ*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'boat'  
 नाक, -ट, *nak*, -*ʈʌ*, *n*, 'nose'  
 नाक्सा, -खान, *naksa*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'figure; picture'  
 नाङ्गा-, *nacʰra-*, *v*, 'claw'  
 नात्ति, -ड, *natni*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'granddaughter'  
 नाद, -ड, *nad*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'feeding trough'  
 नाध-, *nadh-*, *v*, 'cook'  
 नाना, -ड, *nana*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'grandfather'  
 नानि, -ड, *nani*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'grandmother'  
 नाम-, *namʰ-*, *v*, 'descend'

नाम, -ड, *nam*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'name(Nepali)'  
 नायाँ (नाया), *naya*, *adj*, 'new'  
 नायाँ टिल टिल, *naya til til*, *adj*, 'brand new'  
 नि, *ni*, 'NEG; PCL[tag]'  
 निकल-, *nikl-*, *v*, 'go out'  
 निद- (निदा-), *nid(a)-*, *v*, 'sleep'  
 निदुर, -ट, *nidur*, -*ʈʌ*, *n*, 'rat'  
 निसाफ, *nisapʰ*, *n*, 'judgement'  
 निसोट, *nisoʈ*, *adj*, 'silent'  
 नुआँ, -खान, *nuã*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'cloth'  
 नुका-, *nuka-*, *v*, 'hide'  
 नुन, -खान, *nun*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'salt'  
 नुरि, -ड, *nuri*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'pigeon(female)'  
 ने, *ne*, 'NEG; or'  
 नेडर, -खान, *neɳʌr*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'tail'

प p

पइडा, -खान, *pʌɖa*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'footpath'  
 पइन (पइनि), -ड, *pʌin(ʌ/i)*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'irrigation  
 channel'  
 पका, -ड, *pʌka*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'insect'  
 पक्र-, *pʌkr-*, *v*, 'catch'  
 पखि, -ड, *pʌkʰi*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'bird'  
 पटके, *pʌʈʌke*, *adv*, 'at all'  
 पठा-, *pʌʈʰa-*, *v*, 'send'  
 पता, -ड, *pʌʈa*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'grandson'  
 पत्या-, *pʌtya-*, *v*, 'find out'  
 पत्ला, *patla*, *adj*, 'thin'  
 पनि, -खान, *pʌni*, -*kʰan*, *n*, '(piece of) plastic'  
 पन्ना, -खान, *pʌnna*, -*kʰan*, *n*, '(leaf of) paper'

पर, *pʌr*, *pp*, 'on top of; above'  
 पर-, *pʌrʰ-*, *v*, 'read'  
 परा-, *pʌrʰa-*, *v*, 'teach; educate (someone by  
 ensuring their schooling)'  
 परे, *pʌre*, *conj*, 'even'  
 पहरे, *pʌhʌre*, *adv*, 'later'  
 पहिला (पहिल्लिया), *pʌhila* (or, *pʌhiltia*),  
*num*, 'first'  
 पहिले (पहिले, पहले), *pʌhele* (or, *pʌhile*,  
*pʌhʌle*), *adv*, 'first'  
 पाँइया, -ड, *pāia*, -*ɖʌ*, *n*, 'wheel'  
 पा-, *pa-*, *v*, 'receive; get'  
 पाका गुल गुल, *paka gul gul*, *adj*, 'really ripe'

फ p<sup>h</sup>

पाका, *paka*, *adj*, 'ripe'  
 पाके, *pake*, *pp*, 'through'  
 पाक्का, *pakka*, *adv*, 'really(Nepali)'  
 पागला (पागल), -ड, *pagla / pagal*, -दल, *n*,  
 'madman'  
 पाच, *pac*; cf. पान, *pan*  
 पाछुत, *pac<sup>h</sup>ut*, *adv*, 'after'  
 पाछुति, *pac<sup>h</sup>uti*, *pp*, 'behind'  
 पात, -खान, *pat*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'leaf(long; e.g. leaf of a  
 banana tree)'  
 पात, -ट, *pat*, -तल, *n*, 'leaf(short, round)'  
 पाता (पात्ता) पा-, *pat(t)a pa-*, *v*, 'find out'  
 पातारि, -खान, *patari*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'leaf(long; e.g. leaf  
 of a banana tree)'  
 पातारि, -ड, *patari*, -दल, *n*, 'leaf(short; round)'  
 पात्ला चुन चुन, *patla cun cun*, *adj*, 'really thin'  
 पात्ला झाड झाड, *patla j<sup>h</sup>añ j<sup>h</sup>añ*, *adj*, 'so thin that  
 it is see-through'  
 पात्ला, *patla*, *adj*, 'thin'  
 पात्लि, *patli*, *adj*, 'slim(of a woman)'  
 पाथि, *pat<sup>h</sup>i*, *n*, 'leaf'  
 पान, *pan*, *num*, 'five'  
 पानि, -खान, *pani*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'water'  
 पान्जार, -खान, *panjar*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'rib'  
 पार-, *pa(r)-*, *v*, 'can'  
 पाल, -ड, *pal*, -दल, *n*, 'turn(loan)'  
 पाहाड (पाहार), -खान, *pahar*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'mountain'  
 पाहारा दि-, *pahara di-*, *v*, 'guard'  
 पाहारियानि, -ड, *pahariani*, -दल, *n*, 'woman of the  
 mountain'  
 पिट-, *piṭ-*, *v*, 'beat'  
 पिटा-, *piṭa-*, *v*, 'chase'  
 पिठि, -खान, *piṭ<sup>h</sup>i*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'back'  
 पिन, *pin*, *n*, 'drinking(loan)'

पिन-, *pin<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'put on'  
 पिलान, *pilan*, *n*, 'drinking(loan)'  
 पिलियानि, -ड, *pilian*, -दल, *n*, 'dog(female)'  
 पिल्ला, -ड, *pilla*, -दल, *n*, 'dog(male)'  
 पुग-, *pug-*, *v*, 'reach'  
 पुगा-, *puga-*, *v*, 'lead/take to'  
 पुछ्-, *puc<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'ask'  
 पुछ्कारि कर-, *puc<sup>h</sup>ari kar-*, *v*, 'ask'  
 पुरा, *pura*, *adv*, 'completely'  
 पुराट, *purat*, *adj*, 'hard'  
 पुरुब, *purub*, *adv*, 'east'  
 पुर्ना, *purna*, *adj*, 'old'  
 पुवाल, -खान, *pual*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'straw'  
 पुहा-, *puha-*, *v*, 'warm'  
 पेइसा, -ड, *peisa*, -दल, *n*, 'money' (with noun  
 classifier: 'coin')  
 पेचेत पेचेत करे, *pecet pecet kare*, *adv*, 'with a  
 [pecet] sound'  
 पेट, -ट, *peṭ*, -तल, *n*, 'belly'  
 पेटानि, -खान, *peṭani*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'skirt'  
 पेद्रा, -ड, *pedra*, -दल, *n*; *adj*, 'newly born  
 baby; tiny'  
 पेन्द्वा, *penc<sup>h</sup>a*, *adj*, 'sour'  
 पेन्डि, -खान, *penṭ<sup>h</sup>i*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'stick'  
 पोखर, -ट, *pok<sup>h</sup>ar*, -तल, *n*, 'pond'  
 पोर्, *por*, *pro*, 'another; other'  
 प्यास, -खान / -ट, *pyas*, -क<sup>h</sup>an / -तल, *n*, 'thirst'  
 प्रतिस्पर्धा, -ड, *pratispard<sup>h</sup>a*, -दल, *n*,  
 'competition'  
 प्रशस्त, *prasasta*, *adj*, 'abundant'  
 प्रस्तुत कर-, *prastut kar-*, *v*, 'present'  
 प्रिथिम (पृथमी), -खान, *prith<sup>h</sup>mi*, -क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'earth;  
 planet'

फ p<sup>h</sup>

फक-फका-, *p<sup>h</sup>ak p<sup>h</sup>aka-*, *v*, 'to burn (of boils)'  
 फट फट बेहान, *p<sup>h</sup>at p<sup>h</sup>at behan*, *adv*, 'very clear  
 morning'  
 फम, -ड, *p<sup>h</sup>am*, -दल, *n*, 'recollection'  
 फल-, *p<sup>h</sup>al-*, *v*, 'grow'

फल, -ड, *p<sup>h</sup>al*, -दल, *n*, 'fruit'  
 फाका-, *p<sup>h</sup>aka-*, *v*, 'throw'  
 फान (Hindi फान्दा), -ड / -खान, *p<sup>h</sup>anda*, -दल / -  
 क<sup>h</sup>an, *n*, 'trap'  
 फाल्तु, *p<sup>h</sup>altu*, *adj*, 'extra'

फुर्सत, *p<sup>h</sup>ursat*, *n*, 'free time'  
 फुल, -ड, *p<sup>h</sup>ul*, -*द*, *n*, 'flower'  
 फुस, *p<sup>h</sup>us*, *n*; *adj*, 'thatch; without value'  
 फेउर, -ट, *p<sup>h</sup>eur*, -*त*, *n*, 'fox'  
 फेक- (फेका-), *p<sup>h</sup>ek(a)*-, *v*, 'throw; AUX'  
 फेका-, *p<sup>h</sup>eka*-, *v*, 'AUX'

फेर, *p<sup>h</sup>er*, *adv*, 'again'  
 फेल, *p<sup>h</sup>el*, *n*, 'fail(English)'  
 फेस-फेसिया, *p<sup>h</sup>es p<sup>h</sup>esia*, *adj*, 'very  
 unstable(of soil)'  
 फोहोर, *p<sup>h</sup>ohor*, *n*; *adj*, 'rubbish;  
 dirty(Nepali)'

## ब b

बएल, -ड, *bael*, -*द*, *n*, 'bullock(Hindi)'  
 बगलत, *baglat*, *pp*, 'close to'  
 बगला, -ड, *bagla*, -*द*, *n*, 'stork'  
 बच-, *bac*-, *v*, 'save'  
 बचा-, *baca*-, *v*, 'save'  
 बछर, *bac<sup>h</sup>ar*, *adv*, 'year'  
 बजे, *ba<sup>h</sup>je*, *adv*, 'o'clock'  
 बझा, -ड, *ba<sup>h</sup>ja*, -*द*, *n*, 'bundle'  
 बठ-, *bat<sup>h</sup>*-, *v*, 'sit'  
 बड, *ba<sup>h</sup>ra*; cf. बाडा, *bara*  
 बढल- (बढला-), *ba<sup>h</sup>l(a)*-, *v*, 'change'  
 बत्तु, -ड, *battu*, -*द*, *n*, 'goat(male/uncastrated)'  
 बदला, -खान, *badla*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'revenge(general  
 sense)'  
 बदला, -ड, *badla*, -*द*, *n*, 'revenge(specific act of)'  
 बन-, *ban*-, *v*, 'be; become'  
 बन, -खान, *ban*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'forest(loan)'  
 बन्धन, -ड, *band<sup>h</sup>an*, -*द*, *n*, 'bond'  
 बल-, *bal*-, *v*, 'speak'  
 बला-, *bala*-, *v*, 'speak; play(instrument)'  
 बस, *bas*, 'PCL(Hindi)'  
 बस-, *bas*-, *v*, 'sit(Nepali)'  
 बह-, *bah*-, *v*, 'plough'  
 बहिरा, *bahira*, *adj*, 'deaf'  
 बहिराति (बाहिराति, बहिरिति), *ba<sup>h</sup>ahirati* (or,  
*bahiriti*), *adv*, 'outside'  
 बहूत, *bahut*, *adv*, 'very'  
 बाँस, -ट, *bas*, -*त*, *n*, 'bamboo'  
 बा (वा), *wa*, *conj*, 'or'  
 बाइ, -ड, *bai*, -*द*, *n*, 'elder sister'  
 बाउ, -ड, *ba*, -*द*, *n*, 'father'  
 बाघ, -ड, *bag<sup>h</sup>*, -*द*, *n*, 'tiger'

बाचा (बाछा, बच्चा, बाच्छा), -ड, *ba/ac<sup>h</sup>a*, *n*;  
*adj*, 'boy; child; small'  
 बाछा, -ड, *bac<sup>h</sup>a*, -*द*, *n*, 'calf(male)'  
 बाछि, -ड, *bac<sup>h</sup>i*, -*द*, *n*, 'calf(female)'  
 बाजा (बेजा ) कि, *ba/eza ki*, *conj*, 'as if'  
 बाडा (बड), *ba<sup>h</sup>da* (or, *ba<sup>h</sup>ra*), *adv*, 'very'  
 बात- (बाता-), *bat(a)*-, *v*, 'tell'  
 बाद, *bad*, *pp*, 'after'  
 बादाम, -ड, *badam*, -*द*, *n*, 'nut'  
 बादे, *bade*, *pp*, 'on behalf of'  
 बाध, -खान, *bad<sup>h</sup>*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'field'  
 बाध, -ड, *bad<sup>h</sup>*, -*द*, *n*, '(length of a) field'  
 बातन-, *ban<sup>h</sup>*-, *v*, 'tie'  
 बान, -ड, *ban*, -*द*, *n*, 'arrow'  
 बान, -ड, *ban*, -*द*, *n*, 'knot'  
 बान्दर, -ट, *bandar*, -*त*, *n*, 'monkey'  
 बाप रे (रे बाप), *bap re* (or, *re bap*),  
 'INJ(surprise)'  
 बाप, -ट, *bap*, -*त*, *n*, 'father'  
 बाबा, -ड, *baba*, -*द*, *n*, 'priest; young boy'  
 बाबु, -ड, *babu*, -*द*, *n*, 'baby boy'  
 बाब्द- (बाब्दा-), *babd(a)*-, *v*, 'make someone  
 one's parent'  
 बार-, *bar<sup>h</sup>*-, *v*, 'grow'  
 बार, *bar*, *num*, 'twelve'  
 बारा मिच-मिचिया, *bara mic micia*, *adj*,  
 'tight(of cloth)'  
 बारा, *bara*, *adj*, 'tight'  
 बाराबर (बाराबोर), *barab/or*, *adj*, 'equal'  
 बारि, -खान, *bari*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'field'  
 बाला (वाला), *w/bala*, *cl*, 'person; thing'  
 बासि, -ड, *basi*, -*द*, *n*, 'flute'



बाहा (बाहाँ), -खान, *ba/āha*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'arm'  
बाहा (बाहे, बेहा), -ड / -खान, *baha*, *bahe*, *beha*, -*ḍa*  
(Korobāri) / -*k<sup>h</sup>an* (Lakharigaddi,  
Ghailādubbā), *n*, 'wedding'  
बाहारत, *baharat*, *pp*, 'outside'  
बाहे, *bahe*; cf. बाहा *baha*  
बिख, -खान, *bik<sup>h</sup>*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'poison'  
बिच से, *bic se*, *pp*, 'from among'  
बिचत, *bicat*, *pp*, 'among'  
बिचार, -ट, *bicar*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'thought'  
बिछना, -खान, *bic<sup>h</sup>na*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'bed sheet'  
बित-, *bit-*, *v*, 'pass (time)'  
बिति से, *biti se*, *pp*, 'from the direction of'  
बिदाबारि ह-, *bidabari ha-*, *v*, 'take leave'  
बिदेस, *bides*, *adv*, 'abroad'  
बिना, *bina*, *pp*; *adv*, 'without'  
बिरि, -ड, *biri*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'cigarette'  
बिस, *bis*, *num*, 'twenty'  
बिस्व, -ड, *biswa*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'world'  
बिस्वास, *biswas*, *n*, 'belief'  
बुझ-, *buj<sup>h</sup>*, *v*, 'understand'  
बुद्धि, -खान, *budd<sup>h</sup>i*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'wisdom;  
intelligence'  
बुद्धि, -ड, *budd<sup>h</sup>i*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'idea'  
बुन-, *bun-*, *v*, 'plant'  
बुना, *buna*, *cnj*, 'rather; better'  
बुरा, -ड, *bur<sup>h</sup>a*, -*ḍa*, *n*; *adj*, 'old man; old'

बुरालि, *bur<sup>h</sup>ali*, *adj*, 'old aged'  
बुरि, -ड, *bur<sup>h</sup>i*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'old woman'  
बुरु, *buru*, *cnj*, 'rather; better'  
बृतान्त, -ड, *britant<sup>h</sup>*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'event(loan)'  
बृहत, *brihat*, *adj*, 'large'  
बेजार, -खान, *bejar*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'market'  
बेटा, -ड, *beta*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'son'  
बेटी, -ड, *beti*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'daughter'  
बेत्ताल (बेत्ताल), *bettal*, *adv*, 'very'  
बेन- (बेना-), *ben(a)-*, *v*, 'build; make'  
बेन्डा, *benḍa*, *adj*, '(ritually) unclean'  
बेमारि (बेरामि), *bemari* / *berami*, *adj*, 'sick'  
बेर- (बेरा-), *ber(a)-*, *v*, 'walk'  
बेरानि, -ड, *berani*, -*ḍa*, *n*, '(manner of)  
walking'  
बेछानि (बेछानि), -ड, *be(x)c<sup>h</sup>ani*, -*ḍa*, *n*,  
'woman'  
बेला, -ड, *bela*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'time; sun'  
बेसि, *besi*, *adv*, 'more'  
बेहा *beha*; cf. बाहा *baha*  
बेहान (बाहान), *be/ahan*, *adv*, 'morning'  
बोल, -ड, *bol*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'ball(English)'  
बोले (बले), *bo/la*, 'QUOT'  
ब्यक्ति, -ड, *bekti*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'person(loan)'  
ब्यवस्था, -ड, *bewast<sup>h</sup>a*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'arrangement'  
व्यवहारिक, *bewaharik*, *adj*, 'practical(loan)'  
ब्लोज, -ड, *bloj*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'blouse(English)'

भ b<sup>h</sup>

भइंस (भइस), -ट, *b<sup>h</sup>ā/ais*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'buffalo'  
भगवान, -ड, *b<sup>h</sup>agwan*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'god'  
भरखर (भखर), *b<sup>h</sup>ark<sup>h</sup>ar*, *adv*, '(just) recently'  
भरे, *b<sup>h</sup>are*, *pp*, 'throughout'  
भर्छुला, -खान, *b<sup>h</sup>arc<sup>h</sup>ula*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'knife'  
भर्ति, *b<sup>h</sup>arti*, *adj*, 'full'  
भाइ, -ड, *b<sup>h</sup>ai*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'younger brother'  
भाग-, *b<sup>h</sup>ag-*, *v*, 'flee'  
भागा-, *b<sup>h</sup>aga-*, *v*, 'chase'  
भाङ्-, *b<sup>h</sup>aṅ-*, *v*, 'break'  
भाङ्, -खान, *b<sup>h</sup>aṅ*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'narcotic liquid (i.e.

powder from a specific narcotic plant  
mixed with milk)'

भाटि, *b<sup>h</sup>ati*, *adv*, 'downstream'  
भातार, -ट, *b<sup>h</sup>atar*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'husband'  
भान करे, *b<sup>h</sup>an kare*, *adv*, 'with attention'  
भान्डा, -ड, *b<sup>h</sup>anda*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'pot'  
भाबना, -ड, *b<sup>h</sup>abna*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'worry'  
भारि गद गद (or, लद लद), *b<sup>h</sup>ari gad gad*  
(*laḍa laḍa*), *adj*, 'very heavy'  
भारि, *b<sup>h</sup>ari*, *adj*, 'heavy'  
भालुक, -ट, *b<sup>h</sup>aluk*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'bear'

भास-, *b<sup>h</sup>as-*, *v*, 'float'  
 भासा, -ड, *b<sup>h</sup>asa*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'language'  
 भिका, *b<sup>h</sup>ika*, *n*, 'alm'  
 भितरत, *b<sup>h</sup>itrāt*, *pp*, 'inside'  
 भिन, *b<sup>h</sup>in*, *adj*, 'separate'  
 भी (भि), *b<sup>h</sup>i* 'also'  
 भुइ, -खान, *b<sup>h</sup>ui*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'ground'  
 भुक-, *b<sup>h</sup>uk-*, *v*, 'bark'

भुल, -ड, *b<sup>h</sup>ul*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'mistake'  
 भेट, -ट, *b<sup>h</sup>et*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'meeting'  
 भेटघाट, -ट, *b<sup>h</sup>etg<sup>h</sup>at*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'visit'  
 भेले, *b<sup>h</sup>ele*, *adv*, 'many'; cf. भेल्ला *b<sup>h</sup>ella*  
 भेल्ला (भेला), *b<sup>h</sup>ella*, *adv*, 'many; lots of'  
 भोक, *b<sup>h</sup>ok*, *n*, 'hunger'  
 भोज, -ड, *b<sup>h</sup>oj*, -*ḍa*, *n*, '(funeral) feast'

## म m

मँत (मत), -खान, *mā/āt*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'liquor'  
 मइधे, *māid<sup>h</sup>e*, *pp*, 'amongst'  
 मगि, -ड, *māgi*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'wife'  
 मग्लानिया, -ड, *māglania*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'Indian'  
 मट (मँट), *mā/āt*, *adj*, 'fat; thick'  
 मतलब, -ड, *mātlab*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'meaning'  
 मधु, -खान, *mād<sup>h</sup>u*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'honey'  
 मन, -ड, *mān*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'mind'  
 मन्ते, *mānte*, *adv*, 'immediately'  
 मन्त्रि, -ड, *māntri*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'minister'  
 मर्दना, -ड, *mārdāna*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'man'  
 मलिया, *mālia*, *adj*, 'muddy'  
 मसि, -ड, *māsi*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'aunt(sister of mother)'  
 महरक, *māharak*, 'INJ'  
 महिना, *māhina*, *adv*, 'month'  
 माअँ (माअ), -ड, *mā/ā*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'mother'  
 माइ, -ड, *māi*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'younger sister'  
 माक्रा, -ड, *mākra*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'spider'  
 माखाए (माखे), *mā<sup>h</sup>(a)e*, *pp*, 'via; through'  
 माड-, *māḍ-*, *v*, 'beg'  
 माच, -ट, *māc*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'fish'  
 माजा, -खान, *māja*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*; *adj*, 'taste; tasty'  
 माटि, -खान, *māti*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'soil'  
 मातुन (मतुन), *mā/ātun*, *cnj*, 'but'  
 मात्र (मात्रै), *mātrā* (*mātrāi*), *adv*, 'only(Nepali)'  
 मान-, *mān-*, *v*, 'appreciate'  
 माने, *māne*, *pcl*; *cnj*, 'PCL; but'  
 माम्लि, *māmli*, *adj*, 'a little' (always used in the  
 opposite sense 'a lot'; can also be used with  
 the negative माम्लि (नि), *māmli* (*ni*) in which  
 case it means the same as without the

negative)  
 मायाँ (माया, मया), -खान, *mā/āya*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*,  
 'affection; love'  
 मार-, *mār-*, *v*, 'kill'  
 माला, -खान, *māla*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'garland'  
 मालिक, -ट, *mālik*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'master'  
 मालुम पा-, *mālum pa-*, *v*, 'find out(loan)'  
 मासु, -खान, *māsu*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'meat'  
 मास्टर, -ट, *māstar*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'teacher(loan)'  
 माहाजन, -ड, *māhajān*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'debt  
 collector; rich person'  
 मिच्चारि, *mickari*, *adv*, 'not for real'  
 मिठ चुन चुन, *miṭ<sup>h</sup>ā cun cun*, *adj*, 'really  
 sweet'  
 मिठ, *miṭ<sup>h</sup>ā*, *adj*, 'sweet'  
 मिल-, *mīl-*, *v*, 'arrange; unite'  
 मिला-, *mīla-*, *v*, 'agree'  
 मिलिएने, *mīliene*, *adv*, 'together'  
 मिस्तर, -ट, *mīstar*, -*ṭa*, *n*, '(covenant) friend'  
 मुइँ (मुइ), *mūi/i*, *pro*, '1sg[pro]'  
 मुख, -खान, *muk<sup>h</sup>*, -*k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'mouth'  
 मुछ-, *muc<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'wipe'  
 मुझ-, *muj<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'close'  
 मुठि, -ड, *mūṭ<sup>h</sup>i*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'bundle'  
 मुथा, -ड, *mūṭ<sup>h</sup>a*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'head'  
 मुन्दिल (मुन्दिल), -ड, *mūnd<sup>h</sup>dil*, -*ḍa*, *n*,  
 'temple'  
 मुन्दिर, -ट, *mūndir*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'temple'  
 मुसि, *mūsi*, *n*, 'ashes'  
 मुस्किल, *mūskil*, *adj*, 'difficult(loan)'

मुहाँ, *muhā/a*, *pp*; *n*, 'as if; mouth'  
 मुहाँ, -खान, *muha/ā*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'mask'  
 मेघ, -ड, *meg<sup>h</sup>*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'cloud; sky'

मेजुवान, -ड, *mejuan*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'guest'  
 मेना-, *mena-*, *v*, 'want to'  
 मोच, *moc*, *n*, 'moustache'

### य y

या, *ya*, *cnj*, 'or'  
 याहाँ(ए), *yaha/ā(e)*, *pro*, '3sg[pro/prox]'

योजना, *yojΛna*, *n*, 'plan'

### र r

रक-, *rΛk-*, *v*, 'stop'  
 रङ, -खान, *rΛŋ*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'colour'  
 रङ्गिन, *rΛŋin*, *adj*, 'colourful'  
 रन, -ड, *rΛn*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'battle(loan)'  
 रपा, -खान, *rΛpa*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'rice sprout'  
 रसे रसे, *rΛse rΛse*, *adv*, 'slowly'  
 रस्सि, -खान, *rΛssi*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'string'  
 रह-, *rΛh(Λ)-*, *v*, 'be; remain; stay'  
 राख-, *rak<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'put'  
 राखा-, *rak<sup>h</sup>a-*, *v*, 'put'

राजकुमार, -ट, *rajkumar*, *-tΛ*, *n*, 'prince'  
 राजवंसि (राजवंशी), *rajbΛŋsi*, *n*, 'Rājbandhi'  
 राजा, -ड, *raja*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'king'  
 रात (राति), *rat(i)*, *adv*, 'night'  
 रानि, -ड, *rani*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'queen; wife of king'  
 रान्डियानि, -ड, *raŋdiani*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'widow'  
 रिस, -खान, *ris*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'anger'  
 रूप, -ट, *rup*, *-tΛ*, *n*, 'form'  
 रूपा, -खान, *rupa*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'silver'  
 रूस रुसिया, *rus rusia*, *adj*, 'refreshingly cool'  
 रे, *re/i*, 'PCL'

### ल l

लख्खि, -खान, *lΛk<sup>h</sup>ri*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'firewood'  
 लगत, *lΛgΛt*, *adv*, 'near'  
 लङ्ग, -ड, *lΛŋ*, *-dΛ*, *n*, '(finger) nail'  
 लङ्गट, -ट, *lΛŋgΛt*, *-tΛ*, *n*, 'ill-behaved person'  
 लटपटा-, *lΛtpΛtΛ-*, *v*, 'roll in mud'  
 लटा, -ड, *lΛtΛ*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'brass pot'  
 लदि, -ड, *lΛdi*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'river'  
 लरा-, *lΛra-*, *v*, 'move'  
 लाएट, -ट, *laet*, *-tΛ*, *n*, 'torch(English)'  
 लाख, *lak<sup>h</sup>*, *num*, 'hundred thousand'  
 लाखा, *lak<sup>h</sup>a*, *pp*, 'like'  
 लाखाति, *lak<sup>h</sup>ati*, *adv*, 'like'  
 लाग-, *lag-*, *v*, 'must; begin; feel'  
 लागा-, *laga-*, *v*, 'apply; begin'  
 लाज, -खान, *laj*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'shame'  
 लाठि, -खान, *lat<sup>h</sup>i*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'stick'  
 लात कुच्चर, *lat kuccΛr*, *adj*, 'stiff-necked;  
 stubborn'  
 लाम (लाम्ना), *lam<sup>h</sup>Λ/a*, *adj*, 'long'

लाराइ, -ड, *larai*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'fighting'  
 लारि, -खान, *lar<sup>h</sup>i*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'umbilical cord'  
 लाल, *lal*, *adj*, 'red'  
 लि-, *l(i)-*, *v*, 'take; AUX'  
 लिख- (लेख-), *li/ek<sup>h</sup>-*, *v*, 'write'  
 लिहा, -ड, *liha*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'feeding trough'  
 लिहानि (निहालि), -ड, *lihani* (Lakharigaddi,  
 Ghailāḍubbā); *nihali* (Korobāri), *-dΛ*, *n*,  
 'blanket'  
 लुङ्गि, -खान, *luŋgi*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'loincloth'  
 लुस करे, *lus kΛre*, *adv*, 'softly'  
 ले, *le*, 'INSTR'  
 लेकिन, *lekin*, *cnj*, 'but(Hindi)'  
 लेङ्गरि, *leŋri*, *adj*, 'lame(female)'  
 लेदड (लेदड), -खान, *ledΛŋ(a)*, *-k<sup>h</sup>an*, *n*, 'stick'  
 लेप-, *lep-*, *v*, 'plaster(with soil and dung)'  
 लेभि, -ड, *leb<sup>h</sup>i*, *-dΛ*, *n*, 'navel'  
 लोक, -ट, *lok*, *-tΛ*, *n*, 'person; man'

संसार, -ट, *sansar*, -*ṭa* (Lakharigaddi, Ghailāḍubbā) / -*kʰan* (Korobāri), *n*, 'world'  
 सएल, -ड, *sael*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'neck guide' (i.e. two wooden rods holding the bullock's head in place on the plough's or bullock cart's cross bar)  
 सक-, *sak-*, *v*, 'can(Nepali)'  
 सका-, *saka-*, *v*, 'finish'  
 सघाए, *sagʰae*, *adv*, 'all' (Eastern Jhāpā)  
 सड, -ड, *saḍ*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'friend'  
 सडि (सडगि), -ड, *saḍi*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'friend(female)'  
 सडे, *saḍe*, *pp*, 'with'  
 सच-, *sac-*, *v*, 'think'  
 सत, -ट, *sat*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'promise'  
 सतसंग, -ड, *satsaṅ*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'religious fellowship'  
 सति (प्रथा), -ड, *sati* (*pratʰa*), -*ḍa*, *n*, 'sati (rite)'  
 सघाए, *sadʰae*, *adv*, 'always'  
 सन्जोग, -ड, *sanjog*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'fortune'  
 सब, *sab*, *adj*, 'every'  
 सभाए (साभाए), *sa/abʰae*, *quant*, 'all'; cf. सघाए *sagʰae* (Eastern Jhāpā)  
 समत, *samat*, *adv*, 'together'  
 समय, *samae*, *adv*, 'time'  
 समस्या, -ड, *samasya*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'problem'  
 समाज, -ड, *samaj*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'society'  
 समित, *samit*, *pp*, 'with'  
 समुदाय, -ड, *samudaya*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'community'  
 सम्ठ-, *samtʰ-*, *v*, 'finish'  
 सम्पति, *sampati*, *n*, 'possessions'  
 सर-, *sar-*, *v*, 'rot'  
 सरक, -ट, *sarak*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'road'  
 सरम, *saram*, *n*, 'shame'  
 सल्का, *salka*, *adj*, 'informal(for sari)'  
 सल्लाह, -ड, *salla*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'advice'  
 सवारी, -ड, *sawari*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'procession(loan)'  
 सह-, *saha-*, *v*, 'endure'  
 सहयोग, -ड / -खान, *sahayog*, -*ḍa* / -*kʰan*, *n*, 'assistance'  
 साँप, ट, *sāp*, -*ṭa*, *n*, 'serpent'  
 साग, -खान, *sag*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'spinach curry (and any

other foodstuff eaten with rice)'  
 साङ्गान, -ड, *saṅʰan*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'friend(female)'  
 सात, *sat*, *num*, 'seven'  
 साथे, *satʰe*, *pp*, 'with'  
 सादि, *sadi*, *n*, 'wedding(loan)'; cf. बाहा, *baha*  
 सान, *san*, *adv*, 'evening'  
 सान्जा, *sanja*, *adv*, 'early evening'  
 साप्ट-, *sapt-*, *v*, 'sweep'  
 साफा धग धग, *sapʰa dʰag dʰag*, *adj*, 'really white'  
 साफा, *sapʰa*, *adj*, 'white'  
 सामान, *saman*, *n*, 'thing; belonging'  
 सामिक, -ड, *samik*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'husband'  
 सामुन, *samun*, *adv*, 'direction'  
 सारि, -खान, *sari*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'sari'  
 साला, -ड, *sala*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'younger brother of wife; (expletive)'  
 सास्रि, -ड, *sasri*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'mother-in-law'  
 साहाब, *sahab*, *n*, 'Sir(loan)'  
 साहास, -खान, *sahas*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'boldness'  
 सिक-, *sik-*, *v*, 'learn'  
 सिक-सिका-, *sik sika*, *v*, 'itch'  
 सिन-, *sin-*, *v*, 'wash(body)'  
 सिन्डि, -खान, *sintʰi*, -*kʰan*, *n*, 'plant marrow'  
 सिर, *sir*, *adj*, 'first'  
 सिरमाखे, *sirmakʰe*, *adv*, 'upstream(direction)'  
 सुक (सुख), *suk(ʰ)*, *n*, 'happiness'  
 सुक-, *suk-*, *v*, 'dry'  
 सुका-, *suka-*, *v*, 'dry'  
 सुघर, *sugʰar*, *adj*, 'clean'  
 सुट करे, *suṭ kare*, *adv*, 'secretly'  
 सुन-, *sun-*, *v*, 'hear'  
 सुना (सुन, सुने), *suna* (*sun / sune*), 'PCL'  
 सुना-, *suna-*, *v*, 'tell'  
 सुन्दर, *sundar*, *adj*, 'beautiful'  
 सुपारि, -ड, *supari*, -*ḍa*, *n*, 'areca nut'  
 सुबिस्ता, *subista*, *adj*, 'easy(loan)'  
 सुरु मिन मिन, *suru min min*, *adj*, 'really fine/thin'

सुरु, *suru*, *adj*, 'thin'  
 सुर्कि, -खान, *surki*, *-kʰan*, *n*, 'blood'  
 सेंप, -ट, *sē/ep*, *-tʌ*, *n*, 'apple'  
 से, *se*, 'ABL; CORR; ADVL'  
 सेइ-, *sei-*, 'CORR[obl]'-  
 सेतेक, *setek*, *adv*, 'that much'  
 सेर, -ट, *ser*, *-tʌ*, *n*, 'ser[measure of weight]'  
 सेवा, -ड / -खान, *sewa*, *-dʌ / -kʰan*, *n*,

'service(loan)'  
 सेसा, *sesa*, *adj*, 'last'  
 सोदोर, -ट, *sodor*, *-tʌ*, *n*, 'guest'  
 सोर (सौर), -ट, *so/ōr*, *-tʌ*, *n*, 'boar; pig'  
 स्कूल, *skul*; cf. इस्कूल *iskul* 'school'  
 स्त्रिमति, -ड, *srimati*, *-dʌ*, *n*, 'wife'  
 स्त्रिमान, -ड, *sriman*, *-dʌ*, *n*, 'husband'

## ह h

ह-, *h(ʌ)*-, *v*, 'be; become; must'  
 हइया-, *hʌia-*, *v*, 'rush to throw oneself'  
 हजम, *hʌjʌm*, *n*, 'digestion(Urdu)'  
 हजुर, *hʌjur*, *n*, 'Sir(Nepali)'  
 हड्डि, -खान, *hʌd̪di*, *-kʰan*, *n*, 'bone'  
 हतान, *hʌtan*, *adv*, 'there'  
 हतिन (हतिना, हत्ना), *hʌtin* (or, *hʌtina*, *hʌtna*),  
*adv*, 'there'  
 हत्ति, -ड, *hatti*, *-dʌ*, *n*, 'elephant'  
 हत्ना / हुत्ना, *hʌ/utna*, *adv*, 'there'  
 हनड, *hʌnʌŋ*, *adv*, 'like that'  
 हने, *hʌne*, *cl*, 'PST.COND'  
 हपाए, *hʌpae*, *adv*, 'perhaps'  
 हस्पिटल, *hʌspiʌl*, *n*, 'hospital(English)'  
 हँ कि हँ, *hã ki hã*, 'INJ[surprise]'  
 हाग-, *hag-*, *v*, 'defecate'  
 हाजार, *hajar*, *num*, 'thousand'  
 हाट, -खान, *haʌ*, *-kʰan*, *n*, 'marketplace'  
 हात, -खान, *hat*, *-kʰan*, *n*, 'arm; hand'  
 हाप, *hap*, *n; adj*, 'half(English)'  
 हाप्ता, *hapta*, *n; adv*, 'week'  
 हामा, *hama*, *pro*, '1pl[pro]'

हार-, *har-*, *v*, 'lose'  
 हारा-, *hara-*, *v*, 'lose something'  
 हारात करे, *harat karē*, *adv*, 'with a stamping  
 sound'  
 हाल, -ड, *hal*, *-dʌ*, *n*, 'plough'  
 हास- (हाँस-), *ha/ãs-*, *v*, 'laugh'  
 हिति, *hiti*, *adv*, 'to here'  
 हिदर, *hidʌr*, *adv* 'over here; on the one  
 hand'  
 हिम्मत, -ट, *himmʌt*, *-tʌ*, *n*, 'courage'  
 हुता (हता) से, *hu/ʌta se*, 'from there'  
 हुति, *huti*, *adv*, 'to there'  
 हुतिना / हतिना, *hu/ʌtina*, *adv*, 'there'  
 हुदर, *hudʌr*, *adv*, 'over there; on the other  
 hand'  
 हेंटत, *hē/etʌt*, *adv*, 'below'  
 हेत, *het*, 'INJ'  
 हेतिना (हितिना, हेता, हिल्ना), *hetina* (or,  
*hitina*, *heta*, *hitna*), *adv*, 'here'  
 हेनड, *henʌŋ*, *adv*, 'like this'  
 होकोर दोकोर, *hokor dokor*, *adv*, 'in a hurry'  
 होल्को, *holko*, *adj*, 'light(weight)'

## Appendix 3: Text data

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The text material here was elicited from three mother tongue speakers from the villages of Ghailāḍubbā 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
MR.01.....	552
MR.02.....	553
MR.03.....	557

Untranscribed texts on the accompanying CD include the following:

### Narratives from Morang

BLR.01	(Dādar Bairiā)
BNR.01-02	(Rangeli)
JR.01	(Ḍāngihāt)
SNR.01	(J <sup>h</sup> urkia)

Narratives from Jhāpā

AR.01-02	(Rājgaḍ <sup>h</sup> )
BPR.01	(Pat <sup>h</sup> ariā)
DPR.01	(Gauriganj)
DSR.01	(Mecinagar)
GPR.01	(Saranāmati)
GR.03-05	(Ghailāḍubbā)
JgR.01	(Kumark <sup>h</sup> od)
LLR.01	(Birtāmoḍ)
NKR.01	(Carpane)
PCR.01	(Mahespur)
PKR.01	(Ghailāḍubbā)
PLR.01	(Duhāgaḍ <sup>h</sup> i)
PR.01	(Ghailāḍubbā)
SBR.01	(Simalbāri)
SR.01	(Cakcaki)
SuR.01	(Gauriganj)

**Narrative DLR.04. The old man, the daughter and the son-in-law**

DLR.04.001 एकटा देसत एकटा बुरा रहे।

ek-ʈa des-ʌt ek-ʈa bur<sup>h</sup>a rʌh-e  
 one-NCLS country-LOC one-NCLS old\_man live-PST.HAB3  
*In a country there used to live an old man.*

DLR.04.002 त उड बुरा माने बेटिडक बाहे दिले।

tʌ u-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a mane beʈi-ɖʌ-k bahe di-l-i  
 PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS old\_man PCL daughter-NCLS-DAT marriage give-PST-3  
*That old man had his daughter married.*

DLR.04.003 ते उहाँर जुवाँड आर बेटिड आच्छा से खाबा धरिल, रहबा धरिल।

te uhā-r juā-ɖʌ ar beʈi-ɖʌ acc<sup>h</sup>a se k<sup>h</sup>a-ba  
 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN son\_in\_law-NCLS and daughter-NCLS good ADVL eat-INF  
 d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-il rʌhʌ-ba d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-il  
 begin-PST3 live-INF begin-PST3  
*And his son-in-law and daughter began to eat well and live well (i.e. they settled down).*

DLR.04.004 त बुराड माने जुवाँर घर जाते रहे।

tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ mane juā-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-te rʌh-e  
 PCL old\_man-NCLS PCL son\_in\_law-GEN house go-CONT-PTCL CONT-PST.HAB3  
*And the old man used to keep coming to the son-in-law's house.*

DLR.04.005 बेटिर घर जाइ आसि कते रहे।

beʈi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-i as-i kʌr-te rʌh-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.*

DLR.04.006 आप जेइदिन जुवाँ बेटिलार घर आच्छा आच्छा नाधे अइदिन सन्जोग मिलि जाकि ना कि करेकि बुराडउ बेटिर घर पुगि जाए।

ap jei-din juā beʈi-la-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr acc<sup>h</sup>a acc<sup>h</sup>a nad<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PCL REL[obl/ip]-day son\_in\_law daughter-PL-GEN house good good cook-PST.HAB3  
 ʌi-din sʌnjog mil-i ja-ki na ki kʌr-eki  
 DEM[rem/emph]-day fortune arrange-ABS AUX-SA3 or what do-(PST.HAB)SA3  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ=u beʈi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr pug-i ja-e  
 old\_man-NCLS=CNJ daughter-GEN house reach-ABS AUX-PST.HAB3  
*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.*

DLR.04.007 ते एकदिन जुवाँड आपनार घर्निडक कह्कि, "ए सुन् त हिदर, जेइदिन हामा आच्छा आच्छा साग भात नाधेचि, अइदिन अइदिन बुराड चुलि आसेचे।

te ek-din juā-ɖʌ apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌrni-ɖʌ-k kʌhʌ-c-ki e:  
 PCL one-day son\_in\_law-NCLS REFL[pro]-GEN wife-NCLS-DAT say-PRES-SA3 INJ  
 sun-∅ tʌ hidʌr jei-din hama acc<sup>h</sup>a acc<sup>h</sup>a sag b<sup>h</sup>at  
 hear-IMP2sg PCL over\_here REL[obl/ip]-day 1pl[pro] good good spinach\_curry rice



nad<sup>h</sup>-ec-i      ʌi-din                      ʌi-din                      bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ                      cul-i  
 cook-PRES-1pl DEM[rem/emph]-day DEM[rem/emph]-day old\_man-NCLS AUX-ABS  
 as-ec-e

come-PRES-3

*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."*

DLR.04.008 बुराड जे आसा जाइ करेचे करेचे। आस्न ते एख्लाए आस्न। एकटा बाच्चा छुवा धरिए आस्वे!"

bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ      je as-a                      ja-i                      kaɾ-ec-e      kaɾ-ec-e  
 old\_man-NCLS still come-DVBL go-DVBL do-PRES-3 do-PRES-3  
 as-n-ʌ                      te      ek<sup>h</sup>ʌae                      as-n-ʌ

come-PST-1pl PCL by\_oneself come-PST-1pl

ek-ʈa                      baca      c<sup>h</sup>ua      d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ie                      as-b-i

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

*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!"*

DLR.04.009 त बोले, "अइ ते कि कहबो सुना? बाउड आप बुरा लोकटा एख्लाए अन्सट लागि जाच्चि हपाए घरता चुलि आसेचे सुना।"

tʌ      bo-l-i                      ʌi      te      ki      kʌhʌ-b-o                      suna      bau-ɖʌ                      ap      bur<sup>h</sup>a  
 PCL say-PST-3 INJ PCL what say-FUT-2sg PCL father-NCLS PCL old\_man  
 lok-ʈʌ                      ek<sup>h</sup>ʌae                      ʌnsʌʈʌ      lag-i                      ja-c-ki                      hʌpae      g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt  
 man-NCLS alone      bored      apply-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3 perhaps house-LOC  
 cul-i                      as-ec-e                      suna

AUX-ABS come-PRES-3 PCL

*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."*

DLR.04.010 आस्वे ते तोर कि कठिन उठि गेल्लकु?

as-l-i                      te      to-r                      ki      kʌʈ<sup>h</sup>in      uʈ<sup>h</sup>-i                      ge-l-ku  
 come-PST-3 PCL 2sg[obl]-GEN what difficult rise-ABS AUX-PST-SA2sg  
*He came, but does it irritate you?"*

DLR.04.011 बोले, "नि नि। जेइदिन हामा माच मासु खाबार ताने पिलान मिलाचि अइदिन बुराड चुलि आसेचे।"

bo-l-i                      ni      ni      jei-din                      hama      mac      masu      k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r                      tane  
 say-PST-3 NEG NEG REL[obl/ip]-day 1pl[pro] fish meat eat-INF-GEN for  
 pilan                      mila-c-i                      ʌi-din                      bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ                      cul-i  
 plan[English] agree-PRES-1pl DEM[rem/emph]-day old\_man-NCLS AUX-ABS  
 as-ec-e

come-PRES-3

*He said: "No, no! (What I mean is) whenever we plan to eat fish and meat, that very day the old man comes."*

DLR.04.012 आप एनड करि। जदि माच मासु आन्वार दिन बुराड फेर आस्वे ते घरत झाग्रा लागए दिमा।

ap      enʌŋ      kaɾ-i                      jaɖi      mac      masu      an-ba-r                      din      bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ                      p<sup>h</sup>er  
 PCL like\_this do-SUBJ1pl if      fish meat bring-INF-GEN day old\_man-NCLS again

as-b-I te g<sup>h</sup>ar-at j<sup>h</sup>agara laga-e di-m- $\Lambda$   
 come-FUT-3 PCL(then) house-LOC fight begin-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl  
*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.*

DLR.04.013 खोब झग्रा लागए दिम, दते झने।

k<sup>h</sup>ob j<sup>h</sup>agara laga-e di-m- $\Lambda$  d $\Lambda$ n<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup> $\Lambda$ n=e  
 very fight begin-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl both PCLS=EMPH  
*Let's the two of us really begin to fight.*

DLR.04.014 "जब झग्रा लागए दिम, त बुराड त कान्टाखान से सुन्बे "ए एमार घर झग्रा लागिचे!"

j $\Lambda$ b j<sup>h</sup>agara laga-e di-m- $\Lambda$  t $\Lambda$  bur<sup>h</sup>a-d $\Lambda$  t $\Lambda$  ka $\eta$ a-k<sup>h</sup>an se  
 when fight begin-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl PCL old\_man-NCLS PCL vicinity-NCLS ABL  
 sun-b-I e: em<sup>h</sup>a-r g<sup>h</sup>ar j<sup>h</sup>agara lag-ic-e  
 hear-FUT-3 INJ 3pl[pro/prox]-GEN house fight begin-PERF-3  
*When we begin to fight the old man will hear us from close by and think: 'Oh, their house has begun to fight.'*

DLR.04.015 "बुराड बस कान्टाखान से घुरिए चुलि जावे।"

bur<sup>h</sup>a-d $\Lambda$  b $\Lambda$ s ka $\eta$ a-k<sup>h</sup>an se g<sup>h</sup>ur-ie cul-i  
 old\_man-NCLS PCL(Hindi) vicinity-NCLS ABL turn\_around-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS  
 ja-b-I  
 go-FUT-3  
*The old man will (just) turn around from that place close by and go.*

DLR.04.016 ताहारबाद सुना तुइ मुइ सुना आराम से बठिए खाम।

taharbad suna tui mui suna aram se b $\Lambda$ t<sup>h</sup>-ie k<sup>h</sup>a-m- $\Lambda$   
 after\_that PCL 2sg[pro] 1sg[pro] PCL rest ADVL sit-CONJ.PTCL eat-FUT-1pl  
*After that you and I will sit in peace and eat."*

DLR.04.017 त बोले, "हबे अनडे कर्बा लागे।"

t $\Lambda$  bo-l-I h $\Lambda$ -b-I  $\Lambda$ n $\Lambda$  $\eta$ =e k $\Lambda$ r-ba lag-e  
 PCL say-PST-3 be-FUT-3 like\_that=EMPH do-INF should-PRES3  
*She said: "OK, we should do it just like that."*

DLR.04.018 एकदिन बुराड पताडक लिए चुलि आसेचे।

ek-din bur<sup>h</sup>a-d $\Lambda$  pa $\eta$ a-d $\Lambda$ -k l-ie cul-i as-ec-e  
 one-day old\_man-NCLS grandson-NCLS-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS come-PRES-3  
*Then one day the old man came, bringing his grandson.*

DLR.04.019 जब आस्बा देखि फेकाइचे तब सुना जुवाँड सुना कहच्चि, "ते आप झग्रा लागाइ। बुराड चुलि आसेचे।"

j $\Lambda$ b as-ba dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-ic-e t $\Lambda$ b suna juã-d $\Lambda$  suna  
 when come-INF see-ABS AUX-PERF-3 then PCL son\_in\_law-NCLS PCL  
 k $\Lambda$ h $\Lambda$ -c-ki te ap j<sup>h</sup>agara laga-i bur<sup>h</sup>a-d $\Lambda$  cul-i  
 say-PRES-SA3 PCL PCL fight begin-SUBJ1pl old\_man-NCLS AUX-ABS  
 as-ec-e  
 come-PRES-3  
*When the son-in-law saw the old man coming he said, "Now, let's begin to fight. The old man is coming."*

DLR.04.020 त बोले, "ह, चुलि आसेचे?"

tʌ bo-l-i hʌ cul-i as-ec-e  
PCL say-PST-3 INJ AUX-ABS come-PRES-3  
*She said, "Oh, he is coming?"*

DLR.04.021 "ह, उगिना चुलि आसेचे।"

hʌ uɡina cul-i as-ec-e  
INJ look! AUX-ABS come-PRES-3  
*"Yes, look he's coming."*

DLR.04.022 "ले, आप झग्रा सुरु करि।"

le ap jʰaɡɾa suru kʌr-i  
OK PCL fight beginning do-SUBJ1pl  
*"OK, let's start fighting."*

DLR.04.023 त दत्ते झना दिले झग्रा लाग्ण।

tʌ dʌnʰe jʰʌna di-l-i jʰaɡɾa laga-e  
PCL both PCLS AUX-PST-3 fight begin-ABS  
*And both of them began to fight.*

DLR.04.024 झग्रा लाग्ण दिले।

jʰaɡɾa laga-e di-l-i  
fight begin-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*They began to fight.*

DLR.04.025 त सुना जुवाँड कह्कि, "तोक मुइ छेक्कारि नि ठुकिम्कुन। मिक्कारि ठुकिम्कुन।"

tʌ suna juā-ɖʌ kʌhʌ-c-ki to-k mui cʰeckari ni  
PCL PCL son\_in\_law-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 2sg[obl]-DAT 1sg[pro] really NEG  
tʰuk-im-ku-n mickari tʰuk-im-ku-n  
hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg not\_really hit-FUT-SA2sg-1sg  
*And the son-in-law says: "I will hit you. I won't hit you for real, but I will act as if I am hitting you."*

DLR.04.026 आर तुइ माने कान्बार लाखाति करिस।

ar tui mane kan-ba-r lakʰati kʌr-is  
and 2sg[pro] PCL cry-INF-GEN like do-SUBJ2sg  
*And as for you, act as if you were crying."*

DLR.04.027 त बोले, "हवे।"

tʌ bo-l-i hʌ-b-i  
PCL say-PST-3 be-FUT-3  
*She said: "OK!"*

DLR.04.028 त सुना अम्ना दत्ते झना दिले मारा मारि लाग्ण, झग्रा लाग्ण दिले।

tʌ suna ʌmʰa dʌnʰe jʰʌna di-l-i mar-a mar-i laga-e jʰaɡɾa  
PCL PCL 3pl[pro] both PCLS AUX-PST-3 beat-DVBL beat-DVBL begin-ABS fight  
laga-e di-l-i  
begin-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*Then they both began to beat each other, they began to fight.*

DLR.04.029 त बुराड सुना बगलत आसिएने सुनेचे ते जुवाँ बेटिला त झाग्रा लाग्गए दिछे।

tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ suna baɣlʌt as-iene sun-ec-e te  
 PCL old\_man-NCLS PCL near come-CONJ.PTCL hear-PRES-3 SUBORD  
 juã beɽi-la tʌ j<sup>h</sup>agʌra laga-e d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 son\_in\_law daughter-PL PCL fight begin-ABS AUX-PERF-3

*Then the old man, coming closer, heard that the son-in-law and daughter had begun to fight.*

DLR.04.030 "आर हइ गेल। नि जाबे रहा इला झाग्रा दनत।

ar hʌ-i ge-l ni ja-b-i rʌh-a i-la  
 and be-ABS AUX-PST3 NEG PASS.AUX-FUT-3 remain-PST.PTCL DEM[prox]-PL  
 j<sup>h</sup>agʌra dʌn-ʌt  
 fight quarrel-LOC

*"Now that's enough! One can not stay in this fighting."*

DLR.04.031 आप बुना घरे चुलि जाबा हबे," कहेने बुराड घर नि जाएने अइठा बगलत नुकाए रोहोला।

ap buna g<sup>h</sup>ʌr=e cul-i ja-ba hʌ-b-i kʌhʌ-ene  
 PCL rather house=EMPH AUX-ABS go-INF must-FUT-3 say-CONJ.PTCL  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ni ja-ene ʌi-t<sup>h</sup>a baɣlʌt  
 old\_man-NCLS house NEG go-CONJ.PTCL DEM[rem/emph]-place near  
 nuka-e roho-l  
 hide-CONJ.PTCL remain-PST3

*The old man said: "Well, it is better for me to go home" (but he) didn't go home. He remained there hiding close by.*

DLR.04.032 "आच्छा कि कि धिना कर्चे देखु त एकजारा," कहेने नुकाए रहले।

acc<sup>h</sup>a ki ki d<sup>h</sup>ina kaɾ-c-e dek<sup>h</sup>-u tʌ ekjara kʌhʌ-ene  
 INJ what what (?) do-PRES-3 see-SUBJ1sg PCL a\_little say-CONJ.PTCL  
 nuka-e rʌhʌ-l-i  
 hide-CONJ.PTCL remain-PST-3

*He said, "OK, let's see a little what they are doing," and hid there.*

DLR.04.033 ताहारबाद जुवाँड सुना एनड करे देखेचे, ते "बुराड त देखा नि जाछे। माने चुलि गेल हपाए घुरिएने।"

taharbad juã-ɖʌ suna enʌɲ kaɾe dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-e te bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ  
 after\_that son\_in\_law-NCLS PCL like\_this ADVL look-PRES-3 PCL old\_man-NCLS  
 tʌ dek<sup>h</sup>-a ni ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e mane cul-i ge-l hʌpae  
 PCL see-PST.PTCL NEG PASS.AUX-PRES-3 PCL AUX-ABS go-PST3 perhaps  
 g<sup>h</sup>ur-iene  
 turn\_around-CONJ.PTCL

*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."*

DLR.04.034 त सुना बेछीनिडक कहचे, "दे, हिदर सुन्, बुराड माने चुलि गेल हामार झाग्राला सुनिएने।"

tʌ suna berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖʌ-k kʌhʌ-c-e de hidʌr sun-Ø  
 PCL PCL woman-NCLS-DAT say-PRES-3 INJ over\_here listen-IMP2sg  
 bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ mane cul-i ge-l hama-r j<sup>h</sup>agʌra-la sun-iene  
 old\_man-NCLS PCL AUX-ABS go-PST3 1pl[pro]-GEN fight-PL hear-CONJ.PTCL

*He said to the woman, "Listen here, the old man has gone home after/because of hearing our fighting."*

DLR.04.035 त बोले "ह?" बोले "ह।" "अच्छा होल।"

tʌ bo-l-i hʌ bo-l-i hʌ acc<sup>h</sup>a ho-l  
PCL say-PST-3 INJ say-PST-3 INJ good be-PST3  
*She said, "Yeah?" He said "Yeah." She said, "Oh, that's good."*

DLR.04.036 त सुना मगिडक कहचे, "तोक ते मुइ ठुक्बार लाखाति ते करिस्तु, तोक ठुक्बार लाखाति लागिस्तुकु?"

tʌ suna mʌgi-ɖʌ-k kʌhʌ-c-e to-k te mui tʰuk-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati  
PCL PCL wife-NCLS-DAT say-PRES-3 2sg[obl]-DAT PCL 1sg[pro] hit-INF-GEN like  
te kʌr-isn-u to-k tʰuk-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati lag-islu-ku  
PCL do-REM.PST-1sg 2sg[obl]-DAT hit-INF-GEN like feel-REM.PST-SA2sg  
*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?"*

DLR.04.037 त बेछानिड कहचिक, "ठुक्बार लाखाति नि लागे।"

tʌ berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖʌ kʌhʌ-c-ki tʰuk-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati ni lag-e  
PCL woman-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 hit-INF-GEN like NEG feel-PST.HAB3  
*Then the woman said, "(No) I didn't feel as if (you were really) hitting me."*

DLR.04.038 तब फेर बेछानिड कहचिक, "मुइ ते कान्बार लाखाति करिस्तु, तोक कि कान्बार लाखाति लागिस्तुकु?"

tʌb p<sup>h</sup>er berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖʌ kʌhʌ-c-ki mui te kan-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati  
then again woman-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 1sg[pro] PCL cry-INF-GEN like  
kʌr-isn-u to-k ki kan-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati lag-islu-ku  
do-REM.PST-1sg 2sg[obl]-DAT PQM cry-INF-GEN like feel-REM.PST-SA2sg  
*Then the woman said again, "When I was acting as if I was crying, did you feel as if I was (really) crying?"*

DLR.04.039 बोले, "नि लागे।"

bo-l-i ni lag-e  
say-PST-3 NEG feel-PST.HAB3  
*He said, "(No) I didn't."*

DLR.04.040 इला काथा सुनिए बुराड गल्लिड से कहचिक, "त जुवाँ साहाब, हामा ते जाबार लाखाति करिस्तु, तमाक कि छेचकारि जाबार लाखाति लागिस्तुकु?"

i-la kat<sup>h</sup>a sun-ie bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ gʌli-ɖʌ se  
DEM[prox]-PL thing hear-CONJ.PTCL old\_man-NCLS pathway-NCLS ABL  
kʌhʌ-c-ki tʌ juã sahab hama te ja-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati  
say-PRES-SA3 PCL son\_in\_law Sir 1pl[pro] PCL go-INF-GEN like  
kʌr-isn-ʌ tʌm<sup>h</sup>a-k ki c<sup>h</sup>eckari ja-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati lag-islu-kʌn  
do-PEM.PST-1pl 2pl[pro]-DAT PQM really go-INF-GEN like feel-REM.PST-SA2pl  
*Hearing this, the old man said from the alley, "Eh, son-in-law -Sir, when I was acting as if I<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]}</sub> was leaving did you<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]}</sub> feel as if I was really leaving?"*

DLR.04.041 इला काथा सुनिए जुवाँ बेटिला छक परि जावे।

i-la kat<sup>h</sup>a sun-ie juã beṭi-la c<sup>h</sup>ʌk pʌr-i  
DEM[prox]-PL thing hear-CONJ.PTCL son\_in\_law daughter-PL surpise-ABS  
ja-b-i  
AUX-FUT-3  
*Hearing this the son-in-law and daughter were surprised.*

DLR.04.042 सुना लाजे सरमे बुराडक फेर घरत बठाए खिलान पिलान कर्बाए हल्कि।

sunā laj-e sarām-e bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa-k p<sup>h</sup>er g<sup>h</sup>ar-at  
PCL shame-INSTR shame-INSTR old\_man-NCLS-DAT again house-LOC  
baṭ<sup>h</sup>-a-e k<sup>h</sup>ilan pilan kaṛ-ba=e ha-l-ki  
sit-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL feeding drinking do-INF=EMPH must-PST-SA3

*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 तिनडा पखि रहे।

ek-ʈa ges-at tin-ɖa pʌkʰi rʌh-e  
 one-NCLS tree-LOC three-NCLS bird live-PST.HAB3  
*There used to live three birds in a tree.*

DLR.05.002 दुइजन भातार मगि रहे, आर एकटा पखि अलगे रहे।

dui-jʰʌn bʰatar mʌgi rʌh-e ar ek-ʈa pʌkʰi ʌʌge rʌh-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 पखिर भातारट मरि गेलिक।

te ek-ʈa pʌkʰi-r bʰatar-ʈʌ mʌr-i ge-l-ki  
 PCL one-NCLS bird-GEN husband-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*Then the husband of the one bird died.*

DLR.05.003b मरि गेलिक।

mʌr-i ge-l-ki  
 die-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*He died.*

DLR.05.004 ते सुना बहुत अप्सोस कर्बा धर्ले ; रान्डियानि हइ गेल।

te suna bʌhut ʌpsos kʌr-ba dʰʌr-l-i rʌɖiani hʌ-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 झटकिअ भी गेल।

ar jʰʌʈki=ʌ bʰi ge-l  
 and slim=CNJ CNJ(Hindi) AUX-PST3  
*And she also became skinny (i.e. she lost weight).*

DLR.05.006a त सुना दस्रा पखिड सुना एकदिन आप्नार दानार खोजित बाहिराति निकलिचे।

ʈʌ suna dʌsra pʌkʰi-ɖʌ suna ek-din ʌpna-r dana-r  
 PCL PCL other bird-NCLS PCL one-day REFL[pro]-GEN grain-GEN  
 kʰoʃ-i-t bahirati niki-ic-e  
 look\_for-DVBL-LOC outside go\_out-PERF-3  
*The other bird went out one day in search for his seeds.*

DLR.05.006b निकलिचे, दाना पानि खाए।

niki-ic-e dana pani kʰa-e  
 go\_out-PERF-3 grain water eat-CONJ.PTCL  
*He went out, having eaten seeds and drunk water.*

DLR.05.007 त एकटा उहाँ कडि पाइचे, कडि पाइचे।

ʈʌ ek-ʈa uhā kʌɖi pa-ic-e, kʌɖi pa-ic-e  
 PCL one-NCLS 3sg[pro] shell get-PERF-3, shell get-PERF-3  
*He found a shell, (he) found a shell.*

DLR.05.008 ते उड कडि बस आनिऐने आप्नार खताडत राखि दिले।

te u-ḍa kḍi bas an-iene apna-r  
 PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS shell PCL(Hindi) bring-CONJ.PTCL REFL[pro]-GEN  
 kʰaṭa-ḍa-t rakʰ-i di-l-i  
 nest-NCLS-LOC put-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*And then he just took the shell and put it in his own nest.*

DLR.05.009 आप कियॉते उड पखि कडि पाले, कडिर उहॉर छिले एकदम गरमा

ap kiāte u-ḍa paḥi kḍi pa-l-i, kḍi-r uhā-r  
 PCL because DEM[rem]-NCLS bird shell get-PST-3 shell-GEN 3sg[pro]-GEN  
 cʰi-l-i ekdam gaṛam  
 be-PST-3 very hot(proud)  
*And because that bird found a shell, he became very proud (of) the shell.*

DLR.05.010 गर्मि चरि गेल उहॉर।

gaṛmi caṛi-i ge-l uhā-r  
 hot rise-ABS AUX-PST3 3sg[pro]-GEN  
*He became really proud.*

DLR.05.011 त सुना उड पखि एकदम दस्रा पखिडक, उड रान्डियानि पखिडक, कह्कि, "ए, समत बट्बो, ए, समत बट्बो?"।

ta suna u-ḍa paḥi ekdam dasra paḥi-ḍa-k u-ḍa  
 PCL PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS bird very other bird-NCLS-DAT DEM[rem]-NCLS  
 raṇḍiani paḥi-ḍa-k kaḥa-c e: samat baṭʰ-b-o e: samat baṭʰ-b-o  
 widow bird-NCLS-DAT say-PRES INJ together sit-FUT-2sg INJ together sit-FUT-2sg  
*But the bird kept on saying to the other bird, the widow bird: "Eh, will you marry me? Will you marry me?"*

DLR.05.013 त उहॉ आरकि कुल्लु नि बले, सुनिए रहि जाए।

ta uhā arki kucʰu ni ba-l-i sun-ie raḥ-i ja-e  
 PCL 3sg[pro] PCL some NEG speak-PST3 hear-CONJ.PTCL stay-ABS AUX-PST.HAB3  
*But she didn't say anything, she (just) remained there and listened.*

DLR.05.014 एक दिन, दुइ दिन, तिन दिन, चार दिन...

ek din dui din tin din caṛ din  
 one day two day three day four day  
*One day, two days, three days, four days...*

DLR.05.015 सब दिन सब दिन अइला काथा कह्कि, "ए, समत बट्बो?"

sab din sab din ai-la kaṭʰa kaḥa-p-ki e: samat baṭʰ-b-o  
 every day every day DEM[rem/emph]-PL thing say-FUT-SA3 INJ together sit-FUT-2sg  
*Every single day he said the same things (to her): "Eh, will you marry me?"*

DLR.05.016 त सुना उड रान्डियानि पखिड कह्चे, "ते याहॉ एतेक कियॉ मोक कह्चे, 'समत बट्बो, समत बट्बो?' ?"

ta suna u-ḍa raṇḍiani paḥi-ḍa kaḥa-c-e te yaha  
 PCL PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS widow bird-NCLS say-PRES-3 PCL 3sg[pro/prox]  
 etek kiā mo-k kaḥa-c-e samat baṭʰ-b-o samat baṭʰ-b-o  
 this\_much why 1sg[obl]-DAT say-PRES-3 together sit-FUT-2sg together sit-FUT-2sg  
*But the widow bird said: "Why is he saying 'Will you marry me?' so much to me?"*



DLR.05.017 कि कारन छे?

ki karʌn c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 what reason be-PRES3  
*What is the reason?*

DLR.05.018 याहँर खताडत कि छिकि, ते याहँ मोक 'समत बट्बो, समत बट्बो?' कहचे?

yaha-r k<sup>h</sup>ʌta-ɖʌ-t ki c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki te yaha mo-k  
 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN nest-NCLS-LOC what be-PRES-SA3 PCL 3sg[pro/prox] 1sg[obl]-DAT  
 sʌmʌt bʌʈ<sup>h</sup>-b-o sʌmʌt bʌʈ<sup>h</sup>-b-o kʌhʌ-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 कि ताकत छिकि याहँर?

ki takʌt c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki yaha-r  
 what power be-PRES-SA3 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN  
*What power does he have?*

DLR.05.021 केतेला धन सम्पति छिकि याहँर?

kete-la d<sup>h</sup>ʌn sʌmpʌti c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki yaha-r  
 how\_much-PL wealth possessions be-PRES-SA3 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN  
*How much wealth does he have?*

DLR.05.022 त बोले, "एकदिन देख्वा हबे," कहने रान्डियानिड मने मने सच्चे।

tʌ bo-l-i ek-din dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hʌ-b-i kʌhʌ-ene raɳɖiani-ɖʌ  
 PCL say-PST-3 one-day see-INF must-FUT-3 say-CONJ.PTCL widow-NCLS  
 mʌn=e mʌn=e sʌc-l-i  
 mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PST-3  
*One day I will have to see," the widow thought secretly.*

DLR.05.023 त फेर दस्रा पखिड एकदिन चुलि गेल, फेर दानार खोजित।

tʌ p<sup>h</sup>er dʌsra pʌk<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ ek-din cul-i ge-l p<sup>h</sup>er dana-r  
 PCL again other bird-NCLS one-day AUX-ABS go-PST3 again grain-GEN  
 k<sup>h</sup>oj-i-t  
 search-DVBL-LOC  
*One day the other bird went away again, looking for seeds again.*

DLR.05.024a त रान्डियानि पखिड कहले, "एइ समयत आप जुत छे।

tʌ raɳɖiani pʌk<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ kʌhʌ-l-i ei-sʌmʌe-t ap jut c<sup>h</sup>-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 उहँर खताडत जाए देख्वा हबे कि कि छिकि।"

uhā-r k<sup>h</sup>ʌta-ɖʌ-t ja-e dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hʌ-b-i ki ki  
 3sg[pro]-GEN nest-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL see-INF must-FUT-3 what what  
 c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki  
 be-PRES-SA3  
*I must go to his nest and see what he's got."*

DLR.05.025 त सुना जाएने उहाँर खताडत देखेचे।

tʌ suna ja-ene uhā-r kʰʌta-ɖʌ-t dekʰ-ec-e  
PCL PCL go-CONJ.PTCL 3sg[pro]-GEN nest-NCLS-LOC look-PRES-3  
*So, she goes and sees what is in his nest.*

DLR.05.026 तब सुना देखिए कहचे, "ए! अइताने याहाँ कहचे, 'समत बट्बो, समत बट्बो?'"

tʌb suna dekʰ-ie kʰʌ-c-e e: ʌi-tane yaha  
then PCL look-CONJ.PTCL say-PRES-3 INJ DEM[rem/emph]-for 3sg[pro/prox]  
kʰʌ-c-e samʌt bʌtʰ-b-o samʌt bʌtʰ-b-o  
say-PRES-3 together sit-FUT-2sg together sit-FUT-2sg  
*After seeing (what is in his nest) she says: "Eh! That is why he says: 'Will you marry me? Will you marry me?'"*

DLR.05.027 एकटा नि फुस कडि पाइचे, ते याहाँर एतेखान गरम!

ek-tʌ ni pʰus kʌɖi pa-ic-e te yaha-r ete-kʰʌn  
one-NCLS NEG worthless shell get-PERF-3 PCL 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN this\_much-NCLS  
gʌrʌm  
hot  
*(It is because) he has got a worthless shell that he is so proud.*

DLR.05.028 याहाँर त कडिड गर्मि छे।

yaha-r tʌ kʌɖi-ɖʌ gʌrmi cʰ-e  
3sg[pro/prox]-GEN PCL shell-NCLS hot be-PRES3  
*He is proud because of the shell.*

DLR.05.029 मुइ इड कडिक देखु घस्काए।

mui i-ɖʌ kʌɖi-k d-ecʰ-u gʰʌsk-a-e  
1sg[pro] DEM[prox]-NCLS shell-DAT AUX-PRES-1sg hide-CAUS-ABS  
*I will hide this shell.*

DLR.05.030 त ना रहबे ना उहाँ 'समत बट्बो?' कहबे।

tʌ na rʌʰʌ-b-i na uhā samʌt bʌtʰ-b-o kʰʌ-b-i  
PCL NEG be-FUT-3 NEG 3sg[pro] together sit-FUT-2sg say-FUT-3  
*Then, neither will it be there any longer, nor will he say: 'Will you marry me?'*

DLR.05.031 ताहारबाद मुइ उहाँर गर्मिखान देखु।"

taharbad mui uhā-r gʌrmi-kʰʌn dekʰ-u  
after\_that 1sg[pro] 3sg[pro]-GEN hot-NCLS see-SUBJ1sg  
*After that let me see how proud he is!"*

DLR.05.032 त सुना उड पखि दिले उड कडिक दस्रा ठिन लराए दिले।

tʌ suna u-ɖʌ pʌkʰi di-l-i u-ɖʌ kʌɖi-k ɖʌsra tʰin  
PCL PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS bird give-PST-3 DEM[rem]-NCLS shell-DAT other place  
lʌra-e di-l-i  
move-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*Then the bird took the shell; she moved it to another place.*

DLR.05.033 त सुना उहाँ खान पिन करिएने आस्ले, दाना पानि खाए।

tʌ suna uhā kʰʌn pin kʌr-iene as-l-i dana pani kʰa-e  
PCL PCL 3sg[pro] food drink do-CONJ.PTCL come-PST-3 grain water eat-CONJ.PTCL  
*And, after eating he came back, having eaten seeds and water.*

DLR.05.034 तब आसिए खताडत देखेचे उड पखि। "आरे! कडिड त छेइए नि!

tʌb as-ie kʰʌtʌ-dʌ-t dekʰ-ec-e u-dʌ pʌkʰi are kʌʃi-dʌ  
 then come-CONJ.PTCL nest-NCLS-LOC look-PRES-3 that-NCLS bird INJ shell-NCLS  
 tʌ cʰ-e=ie ni  
 PCL be-PRES3=EMPH NEG

*But that bird came and looked into the nest. "Oh, the shell is just not there!"*

DLR.05.035 केतेखान मुस्किल मुइ उड कडि पाइस्तु।

kete-kʰʌn muskil se mui u-dʌ kʌʃi pa-isn-u  
 how\_much-NCLS difficult ADVL 1sg[pro] DEM[rem]-NCLS shell get-REM.PST-1sg  
 How difficult is was for me to find that shell!

DLR.05.036 अइड त मोर धन सम्पति।

ʌi-dʌ tʌ mo-r dʰʌn sʌmpʌti  
 DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN wealth possessions  
 That (was) my wealth and possessions.

DLR.05.037a आप होल।

ʌp ho-l  
 PCL be-PST3  
 But what has happened has happened.

DLR.05.037b आप काहें ले गेल, काहें नि?"

ʌp kahe l-e ge-l kahe ni  
 PCL who take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST3 who PCL  
 So who has taken it, who then?"

DLR.05.038 त अप्सोस कर्बा धरें बठिएने।

tʌ ʌpsos kʌr-bʌ dʰʌr-l-i bʌtʰ-iene  
 PCL grief do-INF begin-PST-3 sit-CONJ.PTCL  
 He sat down and began to grieve.

DLR.05.039 आर सुना सब दिन अप्सोस कर्बा धरें, सब दिन अप्सोस कर्बा धरें।

ʌr suna sʌb din ʌpsos kʌr-bʌ dʰʌr-l-i sʌb din ʌpsos kʌr-bʌ dʰʌr-l-i  
 and PCL every day grief do-INF begin-PST-3 every day grief do-INF begin-PST-3  
 And every day he began to grieve, every day he began to grieve.

DLR.05.040 त सुना उहाँ खताडत बठिए कहचे, "एइखान मुखेर गुने हारातु। एइखान मुखेर गुने हारातु।

tʌ suna uhā kʰʌtʌ-dʌ-t bʌtʰ-ie kʌhʌ-c-e ei-kʰʌn  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro] nest-NCLS-LOC sit-CONJ.PTCL say-PRES-3 DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS  
 mukʰ-er gun-e har-a-n-u ei-kʰʌn mukʰ-er  
 mouth-GEN quality-INSTR/EMPH lose-CAUS-PST-1sg DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS mouth-GEN  
 gun-e har-a-n-u  
 quality-INSTR/EMPH lose-CAUS-PST-1sg  
 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."

DLR.05.042 आज्जि इला काथाअ नि बल्लुतन ते नि हारालेतन।

ʌjʰi i-lʌ katʰa=ʌ ni bʌl-n-u=tʌn te ni  
 today DEM[prox]-PL thing=CNJ NEG speak-PST-1sg=PST.COND PCL NEG

har-a-l-i = tʌn

lose-CAUS-PST-3 = PST.COND

*If I hadn't spoken these things today, the shell would not have been lost.*

DLR.05.043 आञ्जि मुइ एइखान मुखेर गुने हारानु।"

aj<sup>h</sup>i mui ei-k<sup>h</sup>an muk<sup>h</sup>-er gun-e  
today 1sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-NCLS mouth-GEN quality-INSTR/EMPH  
har-a-n-u  
lose-CAUS-PST-1sg  
*I lost (it) today because of the quality of this very mouth."*

DLR.05.044 त सुना सुकाए गेल आरकि पखिड, सुकाएने काटा हइ गेल।

tʌ suna suk-a-e ge-l arki pʌk<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ suk-a-ene kaɽa  
PCL PCL dry-CAUS-ABS AUX-PST3 PCL bird-NCLS dry-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL bone  
hʌ-i ge-l  
be-ABS AUX-PST3  
*And the bird lost weight. Losing weight he became (just like) bones.*

DLR.05.046 त सुना दस्रा पखिड, रान्डियानि पखिड सुना कहचे,

tʌ suna dʌsra pʌk<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ raɽɖiani pʌk<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ suna kʌhʌ-c-e  
PCL PCL other bird-NCLS widow bird-NCLS PCL say-PRES-3  
*Well, the other bird, the widow bird, said:*

DLR.05.047 "ए! लोकटक त बहुत अप्सोस लागि गिच्चि, आप त 'समत बट्बो, समत बट्बो?' नि कहचे।

e: lok-ɽʌ-k tʌ bʌhut ʌpsos lag-i g-ic-ki ap tʌ  
INJ man-NCLS-DAT PCL greatly(Hindi) grief feel-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3 PCL PCL  
samat baɽ<sup>h</sup>-b-o samat baɽ<sup>h</sup>-b-o ni kʌhʌ-c-e  
together sit-FUT-2sg together sit-FUT-2sg NEG say-PRES-3  
*"Oh, the man is really grieving. But he is not saying: 'Will you marry me? Will you marry me?'"*

DLR.05.048 लोकट सुकाए काटा हइ गिच्छे।

lok-ɽʌ suk-a-e kaɽa hʌ-i g-ic-e  
man-NCLS dry-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL bone be-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*The man has become (just like) bones.*

DLR.05.049 एनेडे कर्ते कर्ते त लोकट मरिअ जाबा पारे अप्सोसेर चुटे।

eneɽ = e kaɽ-te kaɽ-te tʌ lok-ɽʌ maɽ-i = ʌ ja-ba  
like\_this = EMPH do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL PCL man-NCLS die-ABS = CNJ AUX-INF  
paɽ-e ʌpsos-er cuɽe  
can-PRES3 grief-GEN due\_to  
*While continuing like this the man could even die of grief.*

DLR.05.050 ते नि, दे दिबा हबे। कियौँ लोकट मर्वे अप्सोस करिए?

te ni d-e di-ba hʌ-b-i kiã lok-ɽʌ maɽ-b-i ʌpsos  
PCL NEG give-ABS AUX-INF must-FUT-3 why man-NCLS die-FUT-3 grief  
kaɽ-ie  
do-CONJ.PTCL  
*No, I will have to give it (back to him). Why should the man die out of grief?*

DLR.05.051 त सुना भोके खताडत केतेक रहबे!

tʌ suna bʰok=e kʰʌta-ɖʌ-t ketek rʌhʌ-b-i  
 PCL PCL hunger(loan)=EMPH nest-NCLS-LOC how\_much remain-FUT-3  
*How he sits in his nest in hunger!*

DLR.05.052 त फेर सुकाए जालअ परे त दाना पानि खाबाए हबे।

tʌ pʰer suk-a-e ja-l=ʌ pʌre tʌ dana pani  
 PCL again dry-CAUS-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL=CNJ even PCL grain water  
 kʰa-ba=e hʌ-b-i  
 eat-INF=EMPH must-FUT-3  
*Even if one is losing weight (i.e. 'drying up') one needs to eat grains and water."*

DLR.05.053 तब लोकट फेर, पखिड उराएने चुलि गेल दाना पानि खाबा।

tʌb lok-tʌ pʰer pʌkʰi-ɖʌ ura-ene cul-i ge-l dana pani  
 then man-NCLS again bird-NCLS fly-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS go-PST3 grain water  
 kʰa-ba  
 eat-INF  
*Then, the man again, the bird flew off (in order) to eat grain and water.*

DLR.05.054 त रान्डियानि पखिड उड, कडिड, आनिएने खताडत राखि दिल्कि दे दिल्कि।

tʌ ranɖiani pʌkʰi-ɖʌ u-ɖʌ kʌɖi-ɖʌ an-iene  
 PCL widow bird-NCLS DEM[rem]-NCLS shell-NCLS bring-CONJ.PTCL  
 kʰʌta-ɖʌ-t rakʰ-i d-il-ki d-e d-il-ki  
 nest-NCLS-LOC put-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 give-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*The widow bird took that, the shell, and put it (back) in his nest (for him). She put it back (for him).*

DLR.05.056a ताहारबाद असिए आप्नार खताडत रहले।

taharbad as-ie apna-r kʰʌta-ɖʌ-t rʌhʌ-l-i  
 after\_that come-CONJ.PTCL REFL[pro]-GEN nest-NCLS-LOC remain-PST-3  
*Then she came back and sat in her nest.*

DLR.05.056b त उहाँ दाना पानि खाए असिए देखेचे,

tʌ uhā dana pani kʰa-e as-ie dekʰ-ec-e  
 PCL 3sg[pro] grain water eat-CONJ.PTCL come-CONJ.PTCL look-PRES-3  
*After having eaten water and seeds and coming (back), he looked.*

DLR.05.057a "आरे! कडिड त फेर महरे खताडत छे!

are kʌɖi-ɖʌ tʌ pʰer mʌhʌ-r=e kʰʌta-ɖʌ-t cʰ-e  
 INJ shell-NCLS PCL again 1sg[obl]-GEN=EMPH nest-NCLS-LOC be-PRES3  
*"Oh! The shell is in my nest again!*

DLR.05.057b काहें आनि दिले?"

kahe an-i di-l-i  
 who bring-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*Who has brought it (for me)?"*

DLR.05.058 त सुना उहाँ फेर खताडत बठिए कहबा धर्ले, "होकोर दोकोर कर्नु त त पानु, होकोर दोकोर कर्नु त त पानु" कहेने।

tʌ suna uhã pʰer kʰʌtʌ-dʌ-t bʌtʰ-ie kʌhʌ-ba dʰʌr-l-i  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro] again nest-NCLS-LOC sit-CONJ.PTCL say-INF begin-PST-3  
 hokor\_dokor kʌr-n-u tʌ tʌ pa-n-u hokor\_dokor kʌr-n-u tʌ tʌ  
 in\_a\_hurry do-PST-1sg PCL PCL get-PST-1sg in\_a\_hurry do-PST-1sg PCL PCL  
 pa-n-u kʌhʌ-ene  
 get-PST-1sg say-CONJ.PTCL

*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)."*

DLR.05.060 त अइदिन से लोक्ट, पखिड, उड पाएने ताहारबाद मनड सुना खुसि हल्कि।

tʌ ʌi-din se lok-tʌ pʌkʰi-dʌ u-dʌ pa-ene  
 PCL DEM[rem/emph]-day ABL man-NCLS bird-NCLS DEM[rem]-NCLS get-CONJ.PTCL  
 taharbad mʌn-dʌ suna kʰusi hʌ-l-ki  
 after\_that mind-NCLS PCL happy(Nepali) be-PST-SA3

*Since that day, the man having got that (shell back), after that (his) mind became happy.*

DLR.05.061 मनड सुना आच्छा हबार कारनत आच्छा से दाना पानि खाबा धर्ले।

mʌn-dʌ suna accʰa hʌ-ba-r kʌrʌn-ʌt accʰa se dana pani kʰa-ba  
 mind-NCLS PCL good be-INF-GEN reason-LOC good ADVL grain water eat-INF  
 dʰʌr-l-i  
 begin-PST-3

*Because (his) mind was feeling good, he began to eat well.*

DLR.05.062 ताहारबाद सुना दाहाडउ लाग्वा धल्कि।

taharbad suna daha-dʌ=u lag-ba dʰʌr-l-ki  
 after\_that PCL body-NCLS=CNJ apply\_to-INF begin-PST-SA3

*And after that he started to gain weight, too.*

DLR.05.063 ताहारबाद अइदिन से उहाँ उला बलिए छरि दिले।

taharbad ʌi-din se uhã u-la bʌl-ie  
 after\_that DEM[rem/emph]-day ABL 3sg[pro] DEM[rem]-PL speak-CONJ.PTCL  
 cʰʌr-i di-l-i  
 let\_go-ABS AUX-PST-3

*After that, since those days, he stopped saying those things.*

DLR.05.064 कि भाइ, जेनेड सेनेड काथा बल्ले, बहुत दुःख मिल्ले।

ki bʰai jeneŋ senen kʌtʰa bʌl-le bʌhut  
 what y.brother what\_kind [echo]what\_kind thing speak-COND.PTCL greatly(Hindi)  
 dukʰʌ mil-c-e  
 trouble arrange-PRES-3

*So, younger brother, if those sort of things are spoken, a lot of problems will result.*

DLR.05.065 काहाँकअ काहाँर पर कोए अन्याय नि कर्बा आर खाराब काथा बल्बाअ नि, उहाँ अइदिन से गियाने पाइ गेल।

kaha-k=ʌ kaha-r pʌr koe ʌnyae ni kʌr-ba ar kʰarab  
 anyone-DAT=CNJ anyone-GEN on\_top some injustice[loan] NEG do-INF and bad

kat<sup>h</sup>a b<sup>h</sup>l-ba=<sup>h</sup> ni uhã <sup>h</sup>i-din se gyan=<sup>e</sup> pa-i  
 thing speak-INF=CNJ NEG 3sg[pro] DEM[rem/emph]-day ABL wisdom=EMPH get-ABS  
 ge-l

AUX-PST3

*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.*

*(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)*

**Narrative DLR.06. The cunning behaviour of a woman**

DLR.06.000. त्रिया चरित्र बुझाल नि जाए, सामिक मारिए सति जाए।

triya caritra buj<sup>h</sup>-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 जङ्गलत एकटा राजकुमार सवारी हइस्ले।

ek-k<sup>h</sup>an jaŋgal-at ek-ṭa rajkumar sawari ha-isl-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 देख्वा जाए।

ta suna sab<sup>h</sup>ae dek<sup>h</sup>-ba ja-e  
 PCL PCL all see-INF go-PST.HAB3  
*Everyone went to see.*

DLR.06.003. बहुत सुन्दर छिले राजकुमारट।

bahut sundar c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i rajkumar-ṭa  
 very(Hindi) beautiful be-PST-3 prince-NCLS  
*The prince was very handsome.*

DLR.06.004. सभाए देख्वा जाए।

sab<sup>h</sup>ae dek<sup>h</sup>-ba ja-e  
 all see-INF go-PST.HAB3  
*Everyone went to see.*

DLR.06.005. ते गाउँ लोकला आसिएने सुना एकटा बेर्छानिक कहकि, "ते जाबो नि गे देख्वा गे?"

te gaũ-r lok-la as-iene suna ek-ṭa berc<sup>h</sup>ani-k kaha-k  
 PCL village-GEN man-PL come-CONJ.PTCL PCL one-NCLS woman-DAT say-SA3  
 te ja-b-o ni ge dek<sup>h</sup>-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-Ø ni  
 go-IMP2sg PCL  
*Go on now!*

DLR.06.007. केनेडति, माइ, आच्छा देख्वार!

kenenti mai acc<sup>h</sup>a dek<sup>h</sup>-ba-r  
 how y.sister good see-INF-GEN  
*Younger sister, how good looking he is!*



DLR.06.008. एकटा राजार बेटा आसिचे, एकदम देखार।

ek-ṭa raja-r beṭa as-ic-e ekḍam dek<sup>h</sup>-ba-r  
 one-NCLS king-GEN son come-PERF-3 very see-INF-GEN  
*The son of a king has come, (he is) really good-looking.*

DLR.06.009. त हामा सभाए देखिए आस्ना।

tḥ hama sAb<sup>h</sup>ae dek<sup>h</sup>-ie as-n-ḥ  
 PCL 1pl[pro] all see-CONJ.PTCL come-PST-1pl  
*We have all come after seeing (him).*

DLR.06.010. जा ना देख् ने।"

ja-∅ na dek<sup>h</sup>-∅ ne  
 go-IMP2sg PCL look-IMP2sg PCL  
*Go on, see!"*

DLR.06.011. बोले, "मुइ नि जाम देख्वा।"

bo-l-ḥ mui ni ja-m dek<sup>h</sup>-ba  
 say-PST-3 1sg[pro] NEG go-FUT1sg see-INF  
*She said, "I am not going to see."*

DLR.06.012. बोले, "देख्बो ते माइ देखिए रहि जाबो।

bo-l-ḥ dek<sup>h</sup>-b-o te mai dek<sup>h</sup>-ie rḥ-i ja-b-o  
 say-PST-3 see-FUT-2sg PCL y.sister see-CONJ.PTCL remain-ABS AUX-FUT-2sg  
*They said, "If you see, younger sister, you will (just) stare at him.*

DLR.06.013. हामा सभाए देख्ना।

hama sAb<sup>h</sup>ae dek<sup>h</sup>-n-ḥ  
 1pl[pro] all see-PST-1pl  
*We have all seen.*

DLR.06.014. केला लोक देख्वा आसिस्ले, केला लोक देखिए गेल।

ket-la lok dek<sup>h</sup>-ba as-isl-ḥ ket-la lok dek<sup>h</sup>-ie  
 how\_many-PL man see-INF come-REM.PST-3 how\_many-PL man see-CONJ.PTCL  
 ge-l  
 go-PST3  
*How many people have come to see, how many people have seen and gone.*

DLR.06.015. जा ना देख्वा।"

ja-∅ na dek<sup>h</sup>-ba  
 go-IMP2sg PCL see-INF  
*Go to see!"*

DLR.06.016. त बोले, "तमाए जाअ, मुइ नि जाम देख्वा।"

tḥ bo-l-ḥ tḥm<sup>h</sup>a=e ja-ḥ mui ni ja-m dek<sup>h</sup>-ba  
 PCL say-PST-3 2pl[pro]=EMPH go-IMP2pl 1sg[pro] NEG go-FUT1sg see-INF  
*She said, "You go. I am not going to see."*

DLR.06.017. त सुना एकदिन उहाँ मनडत कहचे ते, "आप जेइखुना मोर घरेर लोकट नि रहबे घरत, आप अइखुना जाबा हवे।"

tḥ suna ek-din uhā maṇ-ḍḥ-t kḥḥa-c-e te ap jei-k<sup>h</sup>una  
 PCL PCL one-day 3sg[pro] mind-NCLS-LOC say-PRES-3 PCL PCL which-time

mo-r g<sup>h</sup>Ar-er lok-ʈʌ ni rʌhʌ-b-I g<sup>h</sup>Ar-ʌt ap  
 1sg[obl]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS NEG be-FUT-3 house-LOC PCL  
 ʌi-k<sup>h</sup>una ja-ba hʌ-b-I  
 DEM[rem/emph]-time go-INF must-FUT-3

*Then one day she thought to herself, "When my husband is not at home, that time I will have to go."*

DLR.06.018. त उहाँर घरेर लोकट एकदिन सुना कामत चलि गेलिक।

tʌ uhā-r g<sup>h</sup>Ar-er lok-ʈʌ ek-din suna kam-ʌt cʌl-i  
 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS one-day PCL work-LOC AUX-ABS  
 ge-l-ki  
 go-PST-SA3

*Then one day her husband went to work.*

DLR.06.019. ताहारबाद सुना याहाँ मने मने सच्चे, "आप माने मोक सुट करे जाएने देख्वा हवे।"

taharbad suna yaha maŋ=e maŋ=e sac-l-I ap mane  
 after\_that PCL DEM[pro/prox] mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PST-3 PCL PCL  
 mo-k suʈ kʌre ja-ene dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hʌ-b-I  
 1sg[obl]-DAT secret ADVL go-CONJ.PTCL see-INF must-FUT-3  
*After that she thought to herself, "Now I will have to go secretly to see."*

DLR.06.020. त याहाँ सुना सुटकरे जाएने देखेचे।

tʌ yaha suna suʈ-kʌre ja-ene dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-e  
 PCL DEM[pro/prox] PCL secret-ADVL go-CONJ.PTCL see-PRES-3  
*Then she went secretly and saw.*

DLR.06.021. ते देखिए छेइए।

te dek<sup>h</sup>-ie c<sup>h</sup>-e=ie  
 PCL see-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3=EMPH  
*She stared and stared.*

DLR.06.022. त राजकुमारटउ देख्ले।

tʌ rajkumar-ʈʌ=u dek<sup>h</sup>-l-I  
 PCL prince-NCLS=CNJ see-PST-3  
*The prince looked too.*

DLR.06.023. ते, "याहाँ एख्लाए देख्वा आसिचे।"

te yaha ek<sup>h</sup>lae dek<sup>h</sup>-ba as-ic-e  
 PCL DEM[pro/prox] alone see-INF come-PERF-3  
*"She has come to see alone."*

DLR.06.024. याहाँअ देख्बार छिले बेछ्छानिडा।

yaha=ʌ dek<sup>h</sup>-ba-r c<sup>h</sup>i-l-I berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖʌ  
 DEM[pro/prox]=CNJ see-INF-GEN be-PST-3 woman-NCLS  
*Also she was good-looking, the woman.*

DLR.06.025. त सुना उहाँक राजकुमारट डाकालिक।

tʌ suna uhā-k rajkumar-ʈʌ ɖaka-l-ki  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT prince-NCLS call-PST-SA3  
*The prince called her.*

DLR.06.026. त बगलत गेल।

tʌ bʌgʌlʌt ge-l  
PCL close go-PST3  
*She went close up.*

DLR.06.027. त कहलिक, "ते तोर बाहा हइचकु?"

tʌ kʌhʌ-l-ki te to-r baha hʌ-ic-ku  
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. आप याहाँर मनड केनड हए गेलिक, दोमन हए गेलिक।

ap yaha-r mʌn-ɖʌ kenʌŋ hʌ-e ge-l-ki do-mʌn  
PCL DEM[pro/prox]-GEN mind-NCLS what\_kind be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 uncertain  
hʌ-e ge-l-ki  
be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*What did her mind become like: her mind became uncertain.*

DLR.06.029. ते, "आप बाहा हइचे कहम ना नि हइचे कहम?"

te ap baha hʌ-ic-e kʌhʌ-m na ni hʌ-ic-e kʌhʌ-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. आप नि हइचे कहम ते, केनेड करे कहम?

ap ni hʌ-ic-e kʌhʌ-m te kenʌŋ kʌre kʌhʌ-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. घरेर लोकट छे केरे।"

gʰʌr-er lok-ɖʌ cʰ-e kere  
house-GEN man-NCLS be-PRES3 PCL  
*I (certainly) have a husband."*

DLR.06.032a. ते सुना राजकुमारट कहलिक, "ते सचिस।

te suna rajkumar-ɖʌ kʌhʌ-l-ki te sʌc-is  
PCL PCL prince-NCLS say-PST-SA3 PCL think-SUBJ2sg  
*Then the prince said, "Well, think.*

DLR.06.032b. सचिए कोहो।

sʌc-ie koho-∅  
think-CONJ.PTCL say-IMP2sg  
*Think and then speak up.*

DLR.06.033. बाहा जदि हइचकु ते अइड काथा कोहो, नि हइचकु ते अइड काथा कोहो।"

baha jʌdi hʌ-ic-ku te ʌi-ɖʌ katʰa koho-∅ ni  
marriage if be-PERF-SA2sg PCL DEM[rem]-NCLS thing say-IMP2sg NEG  
hʌ-ic-ku te ʌi-ɖʌ katʰa 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."*

DLR.06.034. बोले, "हूँ गिछे।"

bo-l-i h<sub>Λ</sub>-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 say-PST-3 be-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*She said, "I am married (lit. my marriage has been)."*

DLR.06.035. इड काथा राजकुमारट सुनिए कहले, "नि ते..."

i-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> kat<sup>h</sup>a rajkumar-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> sun-ie k<sub>Λ</sub>h<sub>Λ</sub>-l-i ni te  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS thing prince-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL say-PST-3 NEG PCL  
*Hearing this the prince said, "Otherwise..."*

DLR.06.036. त सुना बेछाँनिड कहचे, " 'नि ते...' माने कि? 'नि ते...' माने कि?"

t<sub>Λ</sub> suna berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> k<sub>Λ</sub>h<sub>Λ</sub>-c-e ni te mane ki ni te  
 PCL PCL woman-NCLS say-PRES-3 NEG PCL meaning what NEG PCL  
 mane ki  
 meaning what  
*And then the woman said: "What does 'Otherwise'... mean? What does 'Otherwise'... mean?"*

DLR.06.037. त सुना राजकुमारट कहचिकि, "नि ते मुइ तोक बाहा करेन्कुन्तन, रानि बेनान्कुन्तन तोका"

t<sub>Λ</sub> suna rajkumar-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> k<sub>Λ</sub>h<sub>Λ</sub>-c-ki ni te mui to-k  
 PCL PCL prince-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 NEG PCL 1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT  
 baha k<sub>Λ</sub>r-en-ku-n = t<sub>Λ</sub>n  
 marriage do-PST-SA2sg-1sg = PST.COND  
 rani bena-n-ku-n = t<sub>Λ</sub>n to-k  
 queen make-PST-SA2sg-1sg = PST.COND 2sg[obl]-DAT  
*Then the prince said (to her), "Otherwise I would have married you, I would have made you a queen."*

DLR.06.038. इड काथा सुनिए बेछाँनिड छक परि गेल।

i-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> kat<sup>h</sup>a sun-ie berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> c<sup>h</sup>Λk p<sub>Λ</sub>r-i ge-l  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS thing hear-CONJ.PTCL woman-NCLS surprisement fall-ABS AUX-PST3  
*Hearing this thing the woman was amazed.*

DLR.06.039. त सुना बेछाँनिड कहचिकि, "याहाँर कोए उपाए निकलाल जावे नि?"

t<sub>Λ</sub> suna berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> k<sub>Λ</sub>h<sub>Λ</sub>-c-ki yaha-r koe upae  
 PCL PCL woman-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 DEM[pro/prox]-GEN some way  
 nikl-al ja-b-i ni  
 go\_out-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-FUT-3 NEG  
*The woman said (to him), "Isn't there a way (out of this dilemma)?"*

DLR.06.040. त राजकुमारट कहचिकि, "जुत छे आरह एकटा जुत छे।"

t<sub>Λ</sub> rajkumar-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> k<sub>Λ</sub>h<sub>Λ</sub>-c-ki jut c<sup>h</sup>-e ar<sup>h</sup>Λ ek-ɖ<sub>Λ</sub> jut c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PCL prince-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 way be-PRES3 another one-NCLS way be-PRES3  
*The prince said (to her), "There is a way, there is another way."*

DLR.06.041. "कि?"

ki  
 what  
*"What?"*

DLR.06.042. "माने तुइ तोर सिमानडक काट्बा पारो?"

mane tui to-r sriman-ḍa-k kaṭ-ba par-b-o  
 PCL 2sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-GEN husband-NCLS-DAT cut-INF can-FUT-2sg  
*"Well, can you cut (i.e. kill) your husband?"*

DLR.06.043. पारो, चलि आसिस।

par-le ca-l-i as-is  
 can-COND.PTCL AUX-ABS come-SUBJ2sg  
*If you can, come.*

DLR.06.044a. आर नि पारो, छरि दिस।"

ar ni par-le c<sup>h</sup>ar-i d-is  
 and NEG can-COND.PTCL leave-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg  
*And if you can't, let it be."*

DLR.06.044b. आर दोमन हइ गेलिक याहाँर मनड।

ar doman ha-i ge-l-ki yaha-r man-ḍa  
 and uncertain be-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 DEM[pro/prox]-GEN mind-NCLS  
*And her mind became uncertain.*

DLR.06.045. त सुना याहाँ मने मने सच्चे, "ते आप हिम्मत कर्बा हबे।"

ta suna yaha man=e man=e sac-l-i te ap  
 PCL PCL DEM[pro/prox] mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PST-3 PCL PCL  
 himmat kar-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 सचि एने याहाँ घर आस्ले।

ta sac-iene yaha g<sup>h</sup>ar as-l-i  
 PCL think-CONJ.PTCL DEM[pro/prox] house come-PST-3  
*Thinking (this) she came home.*

DLR.06.047. ते सुना रात करे उहाँर भातारट निदाए गेइच्छि।

te suna rat kare uḥā-r b<sup>h</sup>atar-ṭa nida-e ge-ic-ki  
 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 देखेचे,

te enaṅ kare dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-e  
 PCL like\_this ADVL look-PRES-3  
*She looked like this.*

DLR.06.049. "आप काटिम ते केनड करे काटिम? एके सडे एतेखान मिलन हए छिन।

ap kaṭ-im te kenṅ kare kaṭ-im ek=e saṅe ete-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 PCL cut-FUT1sg PCL how ADVL cut-FUT1sg one=EMPH with this\_much-NCLS  
 mil-an ha-e c<sup>h</sup>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).*

DLR.06.050a. जदि काटेचु, ते मुइ हिरर रानि हए जाम।

jaḍi kaṭ-ec-u te mui hidar 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. राजकुमारटर सडे जाले, राजार बेटाडर सडे जाले, मुइ रानि हइ जाम।

rajkumar-ṭar saṇe ja-le raja-r beta-ḍar saṇe  
prince-NCLS-GEN with go-COND.PTCL king-GEN son-NCLS-GEN with  
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 नि काटेचु, ते याहार सडे घुरिए सधाए जन कामा रहए जाम।

ar ni kaṭ-ec-u te yaha-r saṇe g<sup>h</sup>urie saḍ<sup>h</sup>ae jaṇ kama  
and NEG cut-PRES-1sg PCL DEM[pro/prox]-GEN with again 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. सधाए मोर जिन्दगिड गरिब रहि जाबे।"

saḍ<sup>h</sup>ae mo-r jindagi-ḍa garib rah-i ja-b-i  
always 1sg[obl]-GEN life(Hindi)-NCLS poor remain-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
*My life will always remain poor."*

DLR.06.053. फेर कहचे, "काटेचु ते मुइ रानि हचु!

p<sup>h</sup>er kaha-c-e kaṭ-ec-u te mui rani ha-c-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 काटेचु, ते मुइ जन कामा रहए जाछु, गरिब रहे जाछु।"

ni kaṭ-ec-u te mui jaṇ kama raha-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u garib  
NEG cut-PRES-1sg PCL 1sg[pro] labour earner remain-ABS AUX-PRES-1sg poor  
rah-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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 बस मनड याहार आधाडि से बेसि हइ गेल्लिक काट्बारे, रानि बन्बारे।

te bas man-ḍa yaha-r ad<sup>h</sup>aji se besi ha-i  
PCL PCL(Hindi) mind-NCLS DEM[pro/prox]-GEN half ABL more be-ABS  
ge-l-ki kaṭ-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 सुना एनेडकरे झाकाखान उठाएने मुखखान एक चटि देख्ले।

ta suna enekare j<sup>h</sup>aka-k<sup>h</sup>an u<sup>h</sup>-a-ene muk<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>an ek caṭi  
PCL PCL like\_this cover-NCLS rise-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL mouth-NCLS one time  
dek<sup>h</sup>-l-e  
see-PST-3  
*She lifted up the (bed) cover like this and looked at (his) face once.*

DLR.06.057. देखिएने कहचे, "आप मायाँ लाग करे काटे, ते केनड करे काटे?"

dek<sup>h</sup>-iene kAɦA-c-e ap maya lag-a kare kaɽ-e  
see-CONJ.PTCL say-PRES-3 PCL affection apply-DVBL ADVL cut-SUBJ3  
te kenAŋ kare kaɽ-e  
PCL how ADVL cut-SUBJ3

*Having seen him she said, "Now, should one cut (one's husband) with affection, or how should one cut (him)?"*

DLR.06.058. नि काटेचु, ते मुइ जन कामाए रहे जाछु, काटेचु, ते मुइ रानि हइ जाछु।"

ni kaɽ-ec-u te mui jAn kama=e rAh-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u  
NEG cut-PRES-1sg PCL 1sg[pro] labour earner=EMPH remain-ABS AUX-PRES-1sg  
kaɽ-ec-u te mui rani hA-i ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u  
cut-PRES-1sg PCL 1sg[pro] queen be-ABS AUX-PRES-1sg

*If I don't cut him, then I will remain a labourer, if I cut him I will become a queen."*

DLR.06.059. त सुना जब मनड(त) उहाँ पुरा जिडि लिले, त सुना दिले उहाँक काटिए।

tA suna jAb mAŋ-ɖA(-t) uhã pura jɪŋ<sup>h</sup>-i  
PCL PCL when mind-NCLS(-LOC) 3sg[pro] completely be\_courageous-ABS  
li-l-i tA suna di-l-i uhã-k kaɽ-ie  
AUX-PST-3 PCL PCL AUX-PST-3 3sg[pro]-DAT cut-ABS

*When she became completely courageous in (her) mind, then she cut him up.*

DLR.06.060. आप्नार भातारटक दिले काटिए। बस, उहाँ चुलि गेल।

apna-r b<sup>h</sup>atar-tA-k di-l-i kaɽ-ie  
REFL[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS-DAT AUX-PST-3 cut-ABS  
bas uhã cul-i ge-l  
PCL(Hindi) 3sg[pro] AUX-ABS go-PST3

*She cut up her own husband. There we are, she left.*

DLR.06.061. त जाए कहचिक, त राजकुमारटक जाए कहचे, "ते राजकुमार, मुइ आप्नार कामखान बेनाए दिनु।"

tA ja-e kAɦA-c-ki tA rajkumar-tA-k ja-e  
PCL go-CONJ.PTCL say-PRES-SA3 PCL prince-NCLS-DAT go-CONJ.PTCL  
kAɦA-c-e te rajkumar, mui apna-r kam-k<sup>h</sup>an bena-e  
say-PRES-3 PCL prince, 1sg[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN work-NCLS make-ABS  
di-n-u  
AUX-PST-1sg

*She went and said (to him), she went and said to the prince, "Well prince, I have done my job."*

DLR.06.062. "आह! बेनाए दिलो!"

ah bena-e di-l-o  
INJ make-ABS AUX-PST-2sg  
*"What! You have done it?!"*

DLR.06.063. उहाँ छक परि गेल।

uhã c<sup>h</sup>Ak pAɽ-i ge-l  
3sg[pro] surprisement fall-ABS AUX-PST3  
*He was astonished.*

DLR.06.064. बाप रे! एतेखान साहास इड बेछानिर!

bap re ete-k<sup>h</sup>an sahas i-ɖa berc<sup>h</sup>ani-r  
 INJ INJ this\_much-NCLS boldness DEM[prox]-NCLS woman-GEN  
 "Good grief! This woman has so much boldness!"

DLR.06.065 तब राजकुमारट मने मने सचेचे, "जब याहाँ आप्नार भातारटक काटि दिले, आप्नार भातारटक याहाँ काटि दिले, मुइ ते ले जाले, मोर से जदि याहाँ अनडति लोक देखे, अनडति सुन्दर लोक पाए जाए, ते महक काट्बा पारे याहाँ।

tAb rajkumar-tʌ mʌn=e mʌn=e sʌc-ec-e jʌb yaha  
 then prince-NCLS mind=EMPH mind=EMPH think-PRES-3 when DEM[pro/prox]  
 apna-r b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ-k kaɖ-i di-l-i apna-r  
 REFL[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS-DAT cut-ABS AUX-PST-3 REFL[pro]-GEN  
 b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ-k yaha kaɖ-i di-l-i mui te l-e  
 husband-NCLS-DAT DEM[pro/prox] cut-ABS AUX-PST-3 1sg[pro] PCL take-CONJ.PTCL  
 ja-le mo-r se jʌdi yaha ʌnʌŋti lok dek<sup>h</sup>-e  
 go-COND.PTCL 1sg[obl]-GEN ABL if DEM[pro/prox] like\_that man see-SUBJ3  
 ʌnʌŋti sundar lok pa-e ja-e te mʌ=hʌ-k kaɖ-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.06.067. ते उहाँ कहचे, "ले माइ, होल।

te uhā kʌhʌ-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.06.068. नि लागे, मुइ तोक नि ले जाम।

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.06.069. तुइ आप्नार घर जा।

tui apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-∅  
 2sg[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN house go-IMP2sg  
 Go to your own home!"

DLR.06.070. जब इड कहलिक तब याहाँ गेले छेतलेडत गिरिए।

jʌb i-ɖa kʌhʌ-l-ki tʌb yaha ge-l-i c<sup>h</sup>etleŋa-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.06.071. आप कि कर्बे?

ap ki kʌr-b-i  
 PCL what do-FUT-3  
 What to do now?



DLR.06.072. "ए होल, मुइ हिर भातारअ काटनु, आर मुइ हुदर रानिअ नि बन्वा पानु।  
 e ho-l mui hidar b<sup>h</sup>atar=<sub>Λ</sub> kaṭ-n-u ar mui hudar  
 INJ be-PST3 1sg[pro] over\_here husband=<sub>CNJ</sub> cut-PST-1sg and 1sg[pro] over\_there  
 rani=<sub>Λ</sub> ni b<sub>Λ</sub>n-ba par-n-u  
 queen=<sub>CNJ</sub> NEG be-INF can-PST-1sg  
*"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.*

DLR.06.074. आर एहड राजकुमार मोक नि ले जावे बोले।  
 ar e=<sub>hΛ</sub>-d<sub>Λ</sub> rajkumar mo-k ni l-e ja-b-i  
 and DEM[prox]=<sub>CNJ-NCLS</sub> prince 1sg[obl]-<sub>DAT</sub> NEG take-<sub>CONJ.PTCL</sub> go-<sub>FUT-3</sub>  
 bo-l-i  
 say-PST-3  
*And this prince too said he wouldn't take me.*

DLR.06.075. आर हिर मुइ भातारटक काटि दिनु।  
 ar hidar mui b<sup>h</sup>atar-t<sub>Λ</sub>-k kaṭ-i di-n-u  
 and over\_here 1sg[pro] husband-NCLS-DAT cut-ABS AUX-PST-1sg  
*And on the one hand (lit. over here) I cut my husband.*

DLR.06.076. आप इड काटाल भातारट मोर जरा नि लागवे, जेअंत त नि हवे।  
 ap i-d<sub>Λ</sub> kaṭ-al b<sup>h</sup>atar-t<sub>Λ</sub> mo-r j<sub>Λ</sub>ra ni  
 PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS cut-PST.PTCL husband-NCLS 1sg[obl]-<sub>GEN</sub> attachment NEG  
 lag-b-i jeAt t<sub>Λ</sub> ni h<sub>Λ</sub>-b-i  
 apply-FUT-3 living PCL NEG be-FUT-3  
*My cut-up husband can not be joined together, he can not become living.*

DLR.06.077. आप मुइ कि करिम?" तने सुना याहाँ कान्बा धर्ले।  
 ap mui ki k<sub>Λ</sub>r-im t<sub>Λ</sub>ne suna yaha kan-ba d<sup>h</sup><sub>Λ</sub>r-l-i  
 PCL 1sg[pro] what do-FUT1sg pcl PCL DEM[pro/prox] cry-INF begin-PST-3  
*What shall I do now?" Then she started crying.*

DLR.06.078. घरत आसिए कान्बा धर्ले।  
 g<sup>h</sup><sub>Λ</sub>r-At as-ie kan-ba d<sup>h</sup><sub>Λ</sub>r-l-i  
 house-LOC come-<sub>CONJ.PTCL</sub> cry-INF begin-PST-3  
*Coming home she began to cry.*

DLR.06.079. त गाअँर लोकला जर हले।  
 t<sub>Λ</sub> ga<sub>Λ</sub>-r lok-la j<sub>Λ</sub>r h<sub>Λ</sub>-l-i  
 PCL village-<sub>GEN</sub> man-PL gathering be-PST-3  
*Then the men of the village gathered together.*

DLR.06.080. "कि हल्कन? कि हल्कन?"  
 ki h<sub>Λ</sub>-l-k<sub>Λ</sub>n ki h<sub>Λ</sub>-l-k<sub>Λ</sub>n  
 what be-PST-SA2pl what be-PST-SA2pl  
*"What happened to you? What happened to you?"*

DLR.06.081. "कि होल, माइ?  
 ki ho-l mai  
 what be-PST3 y.sister  
*What happened, younger sister?*

DLR.06.082. कि होल, माइ?" कहबा धर्ले।

ki ho-l mai kʌhʌ-ba dʰʌr-l-I  
 what be-PST3 y.sister say-INF begin-PST-3  
*What happened, younger sister?" they began to say.*

DLR.06.083. ते बोले, "देख ना गे।

te bo-l-I dekʰ-ʌ na ge  
 PCL say-PST-3 look-IMP2pl PCL VOC[fem]  
*She said, "Look then!*

DLR.06.084a. मुइ गिस्तु हाग्बा आर काहें नि काहें आसिएने मोर घरेर लोकटक काटि दिछे।

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-CONJ.PTCL  
 mo-r gʰʌr-er lok-ʈʌ-k kaʈ-i d-icʰ-e  
 1sg[obl]-GEN house-GEN man-NCLS-DAT cut-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*I had gone to defecate, and (then) someone came and cut up my husband.*

DLR.06.084b. आप याहार कि हबे?

ap yaha-r ki hʌ-b-I  
 PCL DEM[pro/prox]-GEN what be-FUT-3  
*What will happen now?"*

DLR.06.085a. त लोकलाअ कहेचे, "केनडति इड बात हइ गेल ते।

tʌ lok-la=ʌ kʌh-ec-e keneŋti i-ɖʌ bat hʌ-i ge-l te  
 PCL man-PL=CNJ say-PRES-3 how DEM[prox]-NCLS event be-ABS AUX-PST3 PCL  
*Also the men said, "How did this event happen!*

DLR.06.085b. एनडति त हबाए नि सकेचे।

enʌŋti tʌ hʌ-ba=e ni sak-ec-e  
 like.this PCL be-INF=EMPH NEG can(Nepali)-PRES-3  
*Something like this is just not possible.*

DLR.06.086. त काहें आसिस्ले ते गे?

tʌ kahe as-isl-I te ge  
 PCL who come-REM.PST-3 PCL VOC[fem]  
*So, who came then?"*

DLR.06.087. ते बोले, "केइ जान, हामाअ कहबा नि पारिम (पारम) काहें आसिए काट्ले, काहें नि।"

te bo-l-I kei jan hama=ʌ kʌhʌ-ba ni par-im  
 PCL say-PST-3 who(idiom) knows(idiom) 1pl[pro]=CNJ say-INF NEG can-FUT1sg  
 kahe as-ie kaʈ-l-I kahe ni  
 who come-CONJ.PTCL cut-PST-3 who NEG  
*Then she said, "Who knows! Neither can I<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> say who came (and) cut (him), and who didn't."*

DLR.06.088. ते लोकलाअ कहले, "बेछानिड त भातारटक नेइए काट्बे।

te lok-la=ʌ kʌhʌ-l-I bercʰani-ɖʌ tʌ bʰatar-ʈʌ-k ne=ie  
 PCL man-PL=CNJ say-PST-3 woman-NCLS PCL husband-NCLS-DAT NEG=EMPH  
 kaʈ-b-I  
 cut-FUT-3  
*Also the men said, "The woman could never have cut the husband.*

- DLR.06.089. एतेखान मिलन बाला एसा।  
ete-k<sup>h</sup>an mil-an wala em<sup>h</sup>a  
this\_much-NCLS unite-DVBL NML(Hindi) 3pl[pro/prox]  
*They were such a harmonious couple.*
- DLR.06.090. स्त्रिमान स्त्रिमतिला एसात काटा काटि नि कर्बे।  
sriman srimati-la em<sup>h</sup>a-t kaṭ-a kaṭ-i ni kaṭ-b-i  
husband wife-PL 3pl[pro/prox]-LOC cut-DVBL cut-DVBL NEG do-FUT-3  
*Husbands and wives don't cut each other.*
- DLR.06.091. ते कोए लोक एमार दुस्मन छिल्कि, ते आसिएने याहाँक काटि दिले।"  
te koe lok em<sup>h</sup>a-r dusman c<sup>h</sup>-il-ki te as-iene  
PCL some man 3pl[pro/prox]-GEN enemy be-PST-SA3 PCL come-CONJ.PTCL  
yaha-k kaṭ-i di-l-i  
DEM[prox]-DAT cut-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*Some person was their enemy. He has come and cut him."*
- DLR.06.092a. त सुना आप उड मरा लोकक के कर्बे?  
ta suna ap u-ḍa mar-a lok-ak ke kaṭ-b-i  
PCL PCL PCL that-NCLS die-PST.PTCL man-DAT how\_many do-FUT-3  
*So, what will be done with that killed man now?*
- DLR.06.092b. आप त जल्बार व्यवस्था कर्बा हबे।  
ap ta jaḷ-ba-r bewast<sup>h</sup>a kaṭ-ba ha-b-i  
PCL PCL cremate-INF-GEN arrangement(loan) do-INF must-FUT-3  
*Now the cremation arrangements will have to be made.*
- DLR.06.093. त गाअँर लोकला नि पत्याले ते बेछाँनिड काट्बे कहेने।  
ta gaã-r lok-la ni patya-l-i te berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ḍa kaṭ-b-i  
PCL village-GEN man-PL NEG believe-PST-3 PCL woman-NCLS cut-FUT-3  
kaḥ-ene  
say-CONJ.PTCL  
*The men of the village could not believe that the woman will (or, could) kill her husband.*
- DLR.06.094. "आप याहाँर कोए दुस्मन छिल्कि काटि दिले।  
ap yaha-r koe dusman c<sup>h</sup>-il-ki kaṭ-i di-l-i  
PCL DEM[prox]-GEN some enemy be-PST-SA3 cut-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*"He had some enemy. (The enemy) cut (him) up.*
- DLR.06.095. आप याहाँक जल्बार व्यवस्था कर्बा लागे।"  
ap yaha-k jaḷ-ba-r bewast<sup>h</sup>a kaṭ-ba lag-e  
PCL DEM[prox]-DAT cremate-INF-GEN arrangement(loan) do-INF must-PRES3  
*Now the cremation arrangements must be done for him."*
- DLR.06.096. जब जल्बार व्यवस्था कर्ले तब त याहाँ कि कर्ले?  
jab jaḷ-ba-r bewast<sup>h</sup>a kaṭ-l-i taḅ ta yaha ki  
when cremate-INF-GEN arrangement(loan) do-PST-3 then PCL DEM[prox] what  
kaṭ-l-i  
do-PST-3  
*What did she (the woman) do when they cremated him?*

DLR.06.097. त, आप मह आप सति जाम भातारटर सडे।

tʌ ap mʌ=hʌ ap sati ja-m bʰatar-tʌ-r saŋe  
 PCL PCL 1sg[pro]=CNJ PCL sati go-FUT1sg husband-NCLS-GEN with  
*Well, "Now I too will go to the sati (i.e. cremation of wife alongside her husband) with my husband.*

DLR.06.098. "जब मोर भातारे नि, ते मह इड दुनियात रहे कि कर्मु?

jaʌb mo-r bʰatar=e ni te mʌ=hʌ i-dʌ  
 when 1sg[obl]-GEN husband=EMPH NEG PCL 1sg[pro]=CNJ DEM[prox]-NCLS  
 dunia-t rʌh-e ki kʌr-m-u  
 world-LOC remain-SUBJ3 what do-FUT-1sg  
*Since my husband is no longer (alive), if I stayed upon this earth, what would I do either?*

DLR.06.099. मह मरि जाम।"

mʌ=hʌ mʌr-i ja-m  
 1sg[pro]=CNJ die-ABS AUX-FUT1sg  
*I will die too."*

DLR.06.100. ते सुना बस, आचि बेनाले। उहाँर भातारट बस जल्ते छिले। बस, अइड आचित जाए याहाँ गिरि गेला।

te suna bʌs aci bena-l-i  
 PCL PCL PCL(Hindi) pyre make-PST-3  
 uhã-r bʰatar-tʌ bʌs jaʌl-te cʰi-l-i  
 3sg[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS PCL(Hindi) cremate-CONT.PTCL be-PST-3  
 bʌs ʌi-dʌ aci-t ja-e yaha gir-i  
 PCL(Hindi) DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS pyre-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL DEM[pro/prox] fall-ABS  
 ge-l  
 AUX-PST3  
*Then they made a pyre. Her husband('s body) was burning. Yes, she went and fell on to that pyre.*

DLR.06.101a. गिरि गेला।

gir-i ge-l  
 fall-ABS AUX-PST3  
*She fell (on to it).*

DLR.06.101b. ते सुना उहाँअ जलिएने सति चुलि गेला।

te suna uhã=ʌ jaʌl-iene sati cul-i ge-l  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro]=CNJ cremate-CONJ.PTCL sati AUX-ABS go-PST3  
*Then also she cremated herself and completed the (act of) sati.*

DLR.06.102. ते दुनियार लोकला कि देखले? कि "अलवत बेछीनि, अलवत इड बेछीनि!

te dunia-r lok-la ki dekʰ-l-i ki ʌlwot bercʰani ʌlwot  
 PCL world-GEN man-PL what see-PST-3 that excellent woman excellent  
 i-dʌ bercʰani  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS woman  
*So, what did the men of the world think? (They thought,) "An excellent woman, this woman was excellent!*

DLR.06.103. भातारटर खातिर आपुन जेअते लोकट सति चुलि गेल!

b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ-r k<sup>h</sup>atir apun jeʌt=e lok-tʌ sati cul-i  
 husband-NCLS-GEN for\_the\_sake\_of REFL[pro] living=EMPH man-NCLS sati AUX-ABS  
 ge-l  
 go-PST3

*For the sake of her husband she (sacrificed) her living being in sati.*

DLR.06.105. ते बेछ्छानि हवा लागे, ते एनङ्गति हवा लागे!

te berc<sup>h</sup>ani hʌ-ba lag-e te enʌŋti hʌ-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. मान्वा लागे!

man-ba lag-e  
 appreciate-INF must-PRES3  
*(She) should be appreciated.*

DLR.06.108. ते बेछ्छानि एनङ्गति हवा लागे!"

te berc<sup>h</sup>ani enʌŋti hʌ-ba lag-e  
 PCL woman like\_this be-INF must-PRES3  
*A woman should be like this."*

DLR.06.109. ते दुनियार लोकला कि जान्ने?

te dunia-r lok-la ki jan-l-i  
 PCL world-GEN man-PL what know-PST-3  
*But what did the men of the world know?*

DLR.06.110. "ते अलवत बेछ्छानि!"

te ʌlwot berc<sup>h</sup>ani  
 PCL excellent woman  
*"What an excellent woman!"*

DLR.06.111. आच्छा जान्ने उड बेछ्छानिका।

acc<sup>h</sup>a jan-l-i u-ɖʌ berc<sup>h</sup>ani-k  
 good know-PST-3 that-NCLS woman-DAT  
*(They) thought that woman was good.*

DLR.06.112. लेकिन उड बेछ्छानि छिले बहुत खाराब।

lekin u-ɖʌ berc<sup>h</sup>ani c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i bʌhut k<sup>h</sup>arab  
 but(Hindi) that-NCLS woman be-PST-3 very(Hindi) evil  
*But that woman was terribly evil.*

DLR.06.113. जब उहाँ आप्णार भातारटक काट्ले, ते केतेखान खाराब छिले!

jʌb uhā apna-r b<sup>h</sup>atar-tʌ-k kaɖ-l-i te kete-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 when 3sg[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN husband-NCLS-DAT cut-PST-3 PCL how\_much-NCLS

k<sup>h</sup>arab c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i

evil be-PST-3

*When she cut her husband, (you can imagine) how evil she was!*

DLR.06.114. ते लेकिन दुनियाड जान्ने अच्छा!

te lekin dunia-ḍa jan-l-i acc<sup>h</sup>a

PCL but(Hindi) world-NCLS know-PST-3 good

*But the world thought she was good.*

DLR.06.115. लेकिन उहाँ छिले खाराब।

lekin uhā c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i k<sup>h</sup>arab

but 3sg[pro] be-PST-3 evil

*But she was evil!*

*(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)*

**Narrative GR.01. The jackal and the kid**

GR.01.001 एकटा खेटिया पानि खाचे।

ek-ṭa k<sup>h</sup>eṭia pani k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e  
 one-NCLS jackal water eat-PRES-3  
*A jackal is/was drinking water.*

GR.01.002 लदिड बहचे।

ladi-dḷ bḷhḷ-c-e  
 river-NCLS flow-PRES-3  
*The river is/was flowing.*

GR.01.003 उपर से पानिखान देखिन मुखे जाछे।

upr se pani-k<sup>h</sup>an dek<sup>h</sup>in muk<sup>h</sup>e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 above ABL water-NCLS south towards go-PRES-3  
*Water flows from above towards the south.*

GR.01.004 देखिन मुखेर पानिखान उपरत त नि जावे।

dek<sup>h</sup>in muk<sup>h</sup>-er pani-k<sup>h</sup>an uprṭ tḷ ni ja-b-ṭ  
 south mouth-GEN water-NCLS above PCL NEG go-FUT-3  
*Water can not flow from the south to above.*

GR.01.005 हेंटकार पानिखान उपरत त नि उठ्बे, पाहाड(त) त नि उठ्बे।

hēṭ-kar pani-k<sup>h</sup>an uprṭ tḷ ni uṭ<sup>h</sup>-b-ṭ pahar(-ṭ) tḷ ni  
 below-GEN water-NCLS above PCL NEG rise-FUT-3 mountain(-LOC) PCL NEG  
 uṭ<sup>h</sup>-b-ṭ  
 rise-FUT-3  
*The water from below can not rise up, can not rise to the mountain(s).*

GR.01.006 हिदर खेटियाड पानि खाचे, हुदर छागलेर बाचाड पानि खाचे।

hidr k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-dḷ pani k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e hudar c<sup>h</sup>agḷ-er baca-dḷ  
 over\_here jackal-NCLS water eat-PRES-3 over\_there goat-GEN baby(animal)-NCLS  
 pani k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e  
 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 फेकाले।

te yaha dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ṭ  
 PCL DEM[pro/prox] see-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*And it (the jackal) saw (it anyway).*

GR.01.008 "एहे, इड त मोर खाबार चिज!

ehe i-dḷ tḷ mo-r k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r cij  
 INJ DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN eat-INF-GEN thing  
*"Oh! This is my food!"*

GR.01.009 बिना दोसे केनड करे मारा जावे याहाँक?"

bina dos-e kenḷ kḷre mar-a ja-b-ṭ  
 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 लड्गट!

e: lʌŋgʌt

INJ ill-behaved\_person

*"Eh you!"*

GR.01.011 पानिखान मोर कियोँ कादुवालि करेचिस?"

pani-k<sup>h</sup>an mo-r kiã kaduali kʌr-ec-is

water-NCLS 1sg[obl]-GEN why muddy do-PRES-2sg

*Why are you making my water muddy?"*

GR.01.012 "नि हजुर, तोर कादुवालि करा पानिखान मुइ खाचु।

ni hʌjur to-r kaduali kʌr-a pani-k<sup>h</sup>an mui k<sup>h</sup>a-c-u

NEG Sir(Nepali) 2sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS 1sg[pro] eat-PRES-1sg

*"No Sir, I am drinking the water made muddy by you."*

GR.01.013 मोर कादुवालि करा पानिखान चुलि जाछे।"

mo-r kaduali kʌr-a pani-k<sup>h</sup>an cul-i ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e

1sg[obl]-GEN muddy do-PST.PTCL water-NCLS AUX-ABS go-PRES-3

*The water I have made muddy is (just) flowing away."*

GR.01.014 "त तुइ एठ कियोँ कर्लो?"

tʌ tui e<sup>h</sup>ʌ kiã kʌr-l-o

PCL 2sg[pro] socially\_unclean why do-PST-2sg

*"Why did you make the water dirty?"*

GR.01.015 एठ कियोँ कर्लो पानिखान?"

e<sup>h</sup>ʌ kiã kʌr-l-o pani-k<sup>h</sup>an

socially\_unclean why do-PST-2sg water-NCLS

*Why did you make the water dirty?"*

GR.01.016 "नि हजुर, तोर एठ पानिखान मुइ खाचु।

ni hʌjur to-r e<sup>h</sup>ʌ pani-k<sup>h</sup>an mui k<sup>h</sup>a-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 पानिखान चुलि जाछे।"

mo-r e<sup>h</sup>ʌ pani-k<sup>h</sup>an cul-i ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e

1sg[obl]-GEN socially\_unclean water-NCLS AUX-ABS go-PRES-3

*My dirty water is (just) flowing away."*

GR.01.018 "आरसाल कियोँ दिस्तो मोक गालि?"

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?"*



GR.01.019 मोक गालि दिस्लो कियौ आरसाल?"

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?"*

GR.01.020 "नि, आरसाल मोर जलम नि हए, हजुर।

ni arsal mo-r jAlAm ni hA-e hAjur  
NEG last\_year 1sg[obl]-GEN birth NEG be-PRES3 Sir(Nepali)  
*"No, I wasn't born last year, Sir.*

GR.01.021 मोर त भर्खर ६ महिना हचे जलम हबारा।"

mo-r tA b<sup>h</sup>Ark<sup>h</sup>Ar six mAHina hA-c-e jAlAm hA-ba-r  
1sg[obl]-GEN PCL just\_now six month be-PRES-3 birth be-INF-GEN  
*It is only just 6 months since I was born."*

GR.01.022 "ते हेनड हले, तोक छर्ने बाला नि छु मुइ।

te henAŋ hA-le to-k c<sup>h</sup>Ar-ne wala ni  
PCL like\_this be-COND.PTCL 2sg[obl]-DAT spare-NML(Hindi) CL(Hindi) NEG  
c<sup>h</sup>-u mui  
be-PRES1sg 1sg[pro]  
*"Well, in that case I am not the one to spare you.*

GR.01.023 तोक खामु।

to-k k<sup>h</sup>a-m-u  
2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1sg  
*I will eat you.*

GR.01.024 तोर मुखवान आर तोर बाउडर मुखवान एके लाखाति देखा जाछे।

to-r muk<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>an ar to-r bau-dA-r muk<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>an  
2sg[obl]-GEN mouth-NCLS and 2sg[obl]-GEN father-NCLS-GEN mouth-NCLS  
ek=e lak<sup>h</sup>ati dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
one=EMPH like see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*Your face and your father's face look just alike.*

GR.01.025 आर मुइ तोक छरिम नि, खामु।"

ar mui to-k c<sup>h</sup>Ar-im ni k<sup>h</sup>a-m-u  
and 1sg[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT spare-FUT1sg NEG eat-FUT-1sg  
*And I will not spare you; I will eat you."*

GR.01.026 ओ, काथा खतम हइ गेल।

o kat<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>AtAm hA-i ge-l  
INJ thing finish be-ABS AUX-PST3  
*That's the end of the story.*

GR.01.027 जाहे ते दबाव देछे नि, उहाँर त कुछु दारु छेइए नि।

jahe te dAbaw d-ec<sup>h</sup>-e ni uhã-r tA kuch<sup>u</sup> daru  
who PCL pressure give-PRES3 PCL[TAG] 3sg[pro]-GEN PCL some medicine  
c<sup>h</sup>-e=ie ni  
be-PRES3=EMPH NEG  
*Whoever pressures others, you know, no-one can punish him.*

GR.01.028 ओ ते, बस, उहाँक खाए गेल।

o te bAs uhã-k k<sup>h</sup>a-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 हचे: जाहें बड हचे छटडक खाए जाछे।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an k<sup>h</sup>isa-r matlAb ki hA-c-e jahe bArA hA-c-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS story-GEN meaning what be-PRES-3 who large be-PRES-3  
 c<sup>h</sup>AtA-dA-k k<sup>h</sup>a-e ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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. एकटा गुवालि घरत दुइडा गोरु आर एकटा घडा रहए।

ek-ṭa gual-i g<sup>h</sup>ar-ṭt dui-ḍa goru ar ek-ṭa g<sup>h</sup>ḍa  
 one-NCLS farmer-ADJR house-LOC two-NCLS bullock and one-NCLS horse  
 rḥḥ-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।

tḥ g<sup>h</sup>ḍa-ḍk k<sup>h</sup>a-ba d-ec-e tḥ badam k<sup>h</sup>a-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।

g<sup>h</sup>ḍa-ḍ k<sup>h</sup>a-ba pa-c-e badam  
 horse-NCLS eat-INF get-PRES-3 nut

*The horse gets to eat nuts.*

GR.02.004 आर गोरु काम करेचे।

ar goru kam kḥ-ec-e  
 and bullock job do-PRES-3

*And the bullocks work.*

GR.02.005 अमा खाबा पाचे पुवाल।

am<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-ba pa-c-e pual  
 3pl[pro] eat-INF get-PRES-3 straw

*They get to eat straw.*

GR.02.006 त घडाड हेनड करे देखेचे।

tḥ g<sup>h</sup>ḍa-ḍ henḥ kḥre dek<sup>h</sup>-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 k<sup>h</sup>a-c-ḥn re  
 straw eat-PRES-2pl INJ  
 "So, you are eating straw!"

GR.02.008 त दनडा बएल घडाडक देखेचे।

tḥ dḥḥ-ḍa bḥel g<sup>h</sup>ḍa-ḍk dek<sup>h</sup>-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 "बादाम! काम छेइए नि बादाम!"

badam kam c<sup>h</sup>-e = ie ni badam  
 nut work be-PRES3 = EMPH NEG nut

*"Nuts! No work whatsoever! Nuts!"*

GR.02.010 घडाडर त कोइ काम नि।

gʰʌdɑ-dʌ-r tʌ 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 खाबे।

gʰʌdɑ-dʌ-r kam ni badam badam kʰa-b-ɪ  
 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 करेचि आर खाचि पुवाल।

ar hama kam kʌr-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 हइचकु खाबार!

to-r hʌ-ic-ku kʰa-ba-r  
 2sg[obl]-GEN be-PERF-SA2sg eat-INF-GEN  
*You are enjoying eating.*

GR.02.014 तुइ आच्छा 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 कामअ कुछु नि, लेकिन मुइ बादाम खाचु।

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.*

GR.02.017 उड त तम्ना भुल करेचन।"

u-dʌ tʌ tʌmʰa bʰul kʌr-ec-ʌn  
 that-NCLS PCL 2pl[pro] mistake do-PRES-2pl  
*That is the mistake you are making."*

GR.02.018 "केनड भुल?" बएलला कहचे, "केनड भुल करेचि?"

kenʌŋ bʰul bʌel-la kʌhʌ-c-e kenʌŋ bʰul kʌr-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 घडाड कहचे, "तम्ना भुल कर्चन।

gʰʌdɑ-dʌ kʌhʌ-c-e tʌmʰa bʰul kʌr-c-ʌn  
 horse-NCLS say-PRES-3 2pl[pro] mistake do-PRES-2pl  
*The horse says: "You are making a mistake.*

GR.02.020 एकझन बेरामि हले, हाल जुता त नि जावे ना?

ek-jʰʌn berami hʌ-le hal jut-a tʌ ni  
 one-PCLS ill be-COND.PTCL plough plough-PST.PTCL PCL NEG  
 ja-b-ɪ na  
 PASS.AUX-FUT-3 PCL[TAG]  
*If one becomes ill, ploughing will not be possible, isn't that correct?*

GR.02.021 हँ, एकजन रहबा धर।

hã ek-j<sup>h</sup>an r<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>-ba d<sup>h</sup>ar-Ø  
 INJ one-PCLS remain-INF begin-IMP2sg  
*Yes, one (of you) begin to stay here!*

GR.02.022 बेमारि हइ जाले, हाल जुत्वा नि ले जाबे ने।

bemari h<sup>h</sup>-i ja-le hal jut-ba ni l-e ja-b-i  
 ill be-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL plough plough-INF NEG take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT-3  
 ne  
 PCL[TAG]  
*If (one) has become ill, he (the farmer) will not take (that one) to plough, you know.*

GR.02.023 बस, फुसदे फुसदा।"

b<sup>h</sup>as p<sup>h</sup>urs<sup>h</sup>d=e p<sup>h</sup>urs<sup>h</sup>d  
 PCL(Hindi) free\_time(Nepali)=EMPH free\_time(Nepali)  
*Then there you are, you'll absolutely be free of duty."*

GR.02.024 खेतिर बेला छिले, एकटा गोरु बेमारि हए गेल।

k<sup>h</sup>et-i-r bela c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i ek-ta goru bemari h<sup>h</sup>-e ge-l  
 field-NML-GEN time be-PST-3 one-NCLS bullock ill be-ABS AUX-PST3  
*It was the time for planting, (and) one of the bullocks had become ill.*

GR.02.025 छेक्कार बेमारि नि हए, जानिए जानिए उहाँ काम छरि दिले।

c<sup>h</sup>eckar bemari ni h<sup>h</sup>-e jan-ie jan-ie uhã kam  
 really ill NEG be-PST.HAB3 know-CONJ.PTCL know-CONJ.PTCL 3sg[pro] work  
 c<sup>h</sup>ar-i di-l-i  
 let\_go-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*He hadn't really become ill, he (just) left work knowingly.*

GR.02.026 माने बेमारि हए गेल।

mane bemari h<sup>h</sup>-e ge-l  
 PCL ill be-ABS AUX-PST3  
*He had become ill.*

GR.02.027 आल।

al  
 PCL(pretense)  
*He was pretending.*

GR.02.028 हँ। बेमारि हइ जाबार अन्दरत।

hã bemari h<sup>h</sup>-i ja-ba-r andar<sup>h</sup>t  
 INJ ill be-ABS AUX-INF-GEN because\_of(loan)  
*Yes, because he had become ill.*

GR.02.029 बस, घरेर मालिकट आसिल।

b<sup>h</sup>as g<sup>h</sup>ar-er malik-d<sup>h</sup> as-il  
 PCL(Hindi) house-GEN master-NCLS come-PST3  
*Well, the master of the house came.*

GR.02.030 देखेचे, "गोरुड बेमारि!

dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-e goru-dΛ bemari  
 see-PRES-3 bullock-NCLS ill  
 (He) saw, "The bullock is ill!"

GR.02.031 याहाँक केनडः करे काम करा जावे?

yaha-k kenΛŋ kΛre kam kΛr-a ja-b-i  
 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 c<sup>h</sup>uṭ  
 3sg[pro/prox]-DAT free  
 (I'll) leave it."

GR.02.032 एकदम उहाँक धरिए ले जाए बानिए दिले।

ekdΛm uhā-k d<sup>h</sup>Λr-ie l-e ja-e ban<sup>h</sup>-ie  
 very 3sg[pro]-DAT hold-CONJ.PTCL take-CONJ.PTCL go-CONJ.PTCL tie-CONJ.PTCL  
 di-l-i  
 AUX-PST-3  
 He held it, took it away and tied it up.

GR.02.033 बस, आराम।

bΛs aram  
 PCL(Hindi) rest  
 There we are, rest.

GR.02.034 "घडा छे, ते हाल बहवेइ नि।"

g<sup>h</sup>Λḍa c<sup>h</sup>-e te hal bΛhΛ-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."

GR.02.035 बस, छरि दिले।

bΛs c<sup>h</sup>Λr-i di-l-i  
 PCL(Hindi) let\_go-ABS AUX-PST-3  
 Well, he left it be.

GR.02.036 आठ दस दिन जब हइ गेल, लोकला कहचे, "तुइ हाल कियॉ नि बहचिस?"

aṭ<sup>h</sup> dΛs din jΛb hΛ-i ge-l lok-la kΛhΛ-c-e tui hal kiã  
 eight ten day when be-ABS AUX-PST3 man-PL say-PRES-3 2sg[pro] plough why  
 ni bΛhΛ-c-is  
 NEG plough-PRES-2sg  
 After some (eight, ten) days had passed the men said: "Why are you not ploughing?"

GR.02.037 रपा बुन्बो नि?

rΛpa bun-b-o ni  
 rice\_sprout plant-FUT-2sg NEG  
 Aren't you planting rice?

GR.02.038 धान बुन्बो?"

d<sup>h</sup>an bun-b-o  
 rice plant-FUT-2sg  
*(Why aren't) you planting rice?"*

GR.02.039 "गोरु बेमारि छे, एकटा गोरु बेमारि।"

goru bemari c<sup>h</sup>-e ek-ṭa goru bemari  
 bullock ill be-PRES3 one-NCLS bullock ill  
*"One bullock is ill, one bullock is ill."*

GR.02.040 ते, "घडा छुकु ते एकटा।

te g<sup>h</sup>ḷḍa c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku te ek-ṭa  
 PCL horse be-PRES-SA2sg PCL one-NCLS  
*"(But) you have a horse.*

GR.02.041 एकटा घडा छुकु।

ek-ṭa g<sup>h</sup>ḷḍa c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku  
 one-NCLS horse be-PRES-SA2sg  
*You have a horse.*

GR.02.042 एकटा गोरु छुकु।

ek-ṭa goru c<sup>h</sup>-u-ku  
 one-NCLS bullock be-PRES-SA2sg  
*You have a bullock.*

GR.02.043 दत्तडा हाल जुतेका।

dḷṅḷ-ḍa hal jut-ek  
 both-NCLS plough plough-IMP2sg  
*Plough (with) the two of them!*

GR.02.044 हबे?"

hḷ-b-ḷ  
 be-FUT-3  
*OK?"*

GR.02.045 बोले, "हँ, हँ, हबे।"

bo-l-ḷ h̃ h̃ hḷ-b-ḷ  
 say-PST-3 INJ INJ be-FUT-3  
*He said, "Yes, yes, OK."*

GR.02.046 बुद्धि दिले।

budd<sup>h</sup>i di-l-ḷ  
 wisdom give-PST-3  
*He (the horse) advised (the bullocks).*

GR.02.047 बुद्धि दिले, हेतिन, आप परि गेले फान्दात उहाँए।

budd<sup>h</sup>i di-l-ḷ hetin ap pḷṛ-i ge-l-ḷ p<sup>h</sup>anda-t uhāe  
 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 घडाड आर एकटा बएल।

ap g<sup>h</sup>ʌɖa-ɖʌ 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 hʌ-e  
 one-NCLS bullock(Hindi) NEG be-PRES3  
*One bullock isn't (there).*

GR.02.050 एकटा बएल बेमारि हइचे।

ek-ta bʌel bemari hʌ-ic-e  
 one-NCLS bullock(Hindi) ill be-PERF-3  
*One bullock has become ill.*

GR.02.051 एकटा बएल बेमारि हइचे, ओ, दनडाक आनिए आप हाल जुतेचे।

ek-ta bʌel bemari hʌ-ic-e o dʌn<sup>h</sup>ʌ-ɖa 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 कोधोए नि उहाँ काम कर्बार, इड, घडाड।

kod<sup>h</sup>oe ni uhā kam kʌr-ba-r i-ɖʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌɖa-ɖʌ  
 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 उहाँक धर्बा हचे हाल।

ap uhā-k d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ba hʌ-c-e hal  
 PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT begin-INF must-PRES-3 plough  
*He had to begin to plough.*

GR.02.055 एकदम थकि गेले, एकदम, बाप रे!

ekɖʌm t<sup>h</sup>ʌk-i ge-l-i ekɖʌm bap re  
 very become\_tired-ABS AUX-PST-3 very INJ INJ  
*He got very tired, very, wow!*

GR.02.056 "केनड बुद्धि मुइ दिनु अमाका।

kenʌŋ budd<sup>h</sup>i mui di-n-u ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-k  
 what\_kind wisdom 1sg[pro] give-PST-1sg 3pl[pro]-DAT  
*"What kind of wisdom did I give them!"*

GR.02.057 ते एकझन सुख पाचे आर मोर हचे दुखा।

te ek-j<sup>h</sup>ʌn suk<sup>h</sup> pa-c-e ar mo-r hʌ-c-e duk<sup>h</sup>  
 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 हचे।"

mo-k ap hal bʌhʌ-ba hʌ-c-e  
 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL plough plough-INF must-PRES-3  
*Now I have to plough."*



GR.02.059 त कहचे, "ओहो!

tʌ kʌhʌ-c-e oho  
PCL say-PRES-3 INJ  
*He said: "Oh!"*

GR.02.059a केनड बुद्धि मुइ दे दिनु, ते आजि महके हाल बहवा हचे।"

kenʌŋ buddʰi mui d-e di-n-u te aʃʰi mʌhʌ-k=e  
what\_kind wisdom 1sg[pro] give-ABS AUX-PST-1sg PCL today 1sg[obl]-DAT=EMPH  
hal bʌhʌ-ba hʌ-c-e  
plough plough-INF must-PRES-3  
*What kind of wisdom did I give (them), that today I have to plough."*

GR.02.060 ते अनड कर्ते कर्ते एकदिन कान्वा ध'इचे। घडाड कानेचे।

te ʌnʌŋ kʌr-te kʌr-te ek-din kan-ba dʰʌ(r)-ic-e  
PCL like\_that do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL one-day cry-INF begin-PERF-3  
gʰʌʌ-dʌ kan-ec-e  
horse-NCLS cry-PRES-3  
*While thinking like that, one day he began to cry. The horse cried.*

GR.02.061 ते बएलड पुछारि करेच्चि, "कियाँ कान्विस?"

te bʌel-ʌ pucʰari kʌr-ec-ki kiã kan-c-is  
PCL bullock(Hindi)-NCLS question do-PRES-SA3 why cry-PRES-2sg  
*Then the bullock asked a question: "Why are you crying?"*

GR.02.062 "कानेचु। मोर मालिकट कि कहचे, तोक बोले बेचि दिष्कु।

kan-ec-u mo-r malik-ʌ ki kʌhʌ-c-e to-k boli  
cry-PRES-1sg 1sg[obl]-GEN master-NCLS what say-PRES-3 2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT  
bec-i di-p-ku  
sell-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg  
*"I am crying. What my master says is (that) you, apparently, are going to be sold.*

GR.02.063 काटिए तोक बोले खाए जाष्कु, बेमारि गोरुड।

kaʃ-ie to-k boli kʰa-e ja-p-ku bemaari goru-ʌ  
cut-CONJ.PTCL 2sg[obl]-DAT QUOT eat-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg ill bullock-NCLS  
*You, apparently, are going to be slaughtered and eaten up, you sick bullock.*

GR.02.064 काटिए तोक खाए जाष्कु।

kaʃ-ie to-k kʰa-e ja-p-ku  
cut-CONJ.PTCL 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg  
*You are going to be slaughtered and eaten up.*

GR.02.065 आर हामा जे एकटा घरत तिनझन रहचि।

ar hama je ek-ta gʰʌr-ʌt tin-jʰʌn rʌhʌ-c-i  
and 1pl[pro] PCL one-NCLS house-LOC three-PCLS live-PRES-1pl  
*And the three of us are living in one house, aren't we.*

GR.02.066 दुइडा बएल आर मुइ।

dui-ʌ bʌel ar mui  
two-NCLS bullock(Hindi) and 1sg[pro]  
*Two bullocks and I.*

GR.02.067 आप तिनजन जे रहचि।

ap tin-j<sup>h</sup>an je r<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>-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 खाए जाले...

ap to-k t<sup>h</sup> ka<sup>h</sup>-ie k<sup>h</sup>a-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, अइ त मोक मनडत कान्वा मेनाचे।"

maya lag-ec-e ai t<sup>h</sup> mo-k m<sup>h</sup>an-d<sup>h</sup>-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 खाए जावे?"

mo-k ka<sup>h</sup>-ie k<sup>h</sup>a-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, "हँ, आप काम जाम छेइ नि तोर।

bo-l-i h<sup>h</sup> ap kam jam c<sup>h</sup>-e=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 बहवा नि पाचिस।

ar hal b<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>-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 बहवा पर्ले।"

mo-k hal b<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>-ba p<sup>h</sup>r-l-i  
 1sg[obl]-DAT plough plough-INF must-PST-3  
*And I had to plough."*

GR.02.074 बोले, "हँ हँ।"

bo-l-i h<sup>h</sup> h<sup>h</sup>  
 say-PST-3 INJ INJ  
*He said: "Yes, yes."*

GR.02.075 "कालि से तुइ ठिक हइ जा, हाल बहवा जापकु ने।

kal<sup>h</sup>i se tui t<sup>h</sup>ik h<sup>h</sup>-i ja-Ø hal b<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>-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.*

GR.02.076 आर बचि जाबो।"

ar bʌc-i ja-b-o  
and save-ABS AUX-FUT-2sg  
*And you will be saved."*

GR.02.077 ते उहाँए सुना बस तरह बाताए दिल।

te uhāe suna bʌs tʌrʰʌ bata-e d-il  
PCL 3sg[pro] PCL PCL(Hindi) idea tell-ABS AUX-PST3  
*Well, um, he gave an idea.*

GR.02.078 मालिकट, घरेर मालिकट, घडाडके आर गोरुडक आन्वा गिस्ले।

malik-ɖʌ gʰʌr-er malik-ɖʌ gʰʌɖa-ɖʌ-k=e ar goru-ɖʌ-k  
master-NCLS house-GEN master-NCLS horse-NCLS-DAT=EMPH and bullock-NCLS-DAT  
an-ba g-isl-i  
bring-INF go-REM.PST-3  
*The master, the master of the house (i.e. the farmer), went to bring the horse and the bullock.*

GR.02.079 त उहाँ एकदम, बेमारि गोरुड, उहाँ एकदम तबराए उठि गेल।

tʌ uhā ekɖʌm be-mari goru-ɖʌ uhā ekɖʌm tʌrbʌrʌ-e  
PCL 3sg[pro] very ill bullock-NCLS 3sg[pro] very be\_startled-CONJ.PTCL  
utʰ-i ge-l  
rise-ABS AUX-PST3  
*The ill bullock, he really jumped right up.*

GR.02.080 "आरे! याहाँ त ठिक हइ गिचे।

are yaha tʌ tʰik hʌ-i g-ic-e  
INJ 3sg[pro/prox] PCL alright be-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*"Eh! This one has become well.*

GR.02.081 बेमारि त आर नि छे।"

be-mari tʌ ar ni cʰ-e  
ill PCL more NEG be-PRES3  
*He is no longer ill."*

GR.02.082 बस, दनडा बएलक ले जाबे जुत्वा।

bʌs dʌnʰʌ-ɖa bʌel-ʌk l-e ja-b-i jut-ba  
PCL(Hindi) both-NCLS bullock(Hindi)-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT-3 plough-INF  
*Well, he is able to take both bullocks to plough.*

GR.02.083 घडाडक आराम दे दिले।

gʰʌɖa-ɖʌ-k aram d-e di-l-i  
horse-NCLS-DAT rest give-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*He let the horse rest.*

GR.02.084 बाप रे। पोरक बुद्धि दिले, एइ देख्, मोर दुर्गति, मोक हाल बहबा पर्ले।

bap re por-ʌk buddʰi di-le ei dekʰ-∅ mo-r  
INJ INJ other-DAT wisdom give-COND.PTCL INJ[voc] look-IMP2sg 1sg[obl]-GEN  
durgʌti mo-k hal bʌhʌ-ba pʌr-l-i  
misery 1sg[obl]-DAT plough plough-INF must-PST-3  
*Oh! If one gives wisdom/advice to another, "Look (here) at my misery, I had to pull a plough."*

GR.02.085 आप्तारे बुद्धि, आप्तारे दुर्गति।

apna-r=e                      budd<sup>hi</sup>    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 आप्तारे बुद्धि, आप्ते पाचे दुर्गति।

apna-r=e                      budd<sup>hi</sup>    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 बुरा बुरि आर खेटियाला।

bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i ar k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la  
old\_man old\_woman and jackal-PL*The old man, the old woman and the jackals.*

MR.04.001 अतेदिन एकटा गाअँत एकझना बुरा आर एकझना बुरि रहए।

ʌtedin ek-ʈa gaã-t ek-j<sup>h</sup>ʌna bur<sup>h</sup>a ar ek-j<sup>h</sup>ʌna  
many\_years\_ago one-NCLS village-LOC one-PCLS old\_man and one-PCLS  
bur<sup>h</sup>i rʌʌ-e

old\_woman live-PST.HAB3

*Many years ago in a village there used to live an old man and old woman.*

MR.04.002 ते सुना, एक दिन दने भातार मगि मिलिएने कचु बुनेचे।

te suna ek din dʌn<sup>h</sup>e b<sup>h</sup>atar maɡi mil-iene kʌcu  
PCL PCL one day both husband wife unite-CONJ.PTCL [kacu]vegetable  
bun-ec-e

plant-PRES-3

*One day both the husband and the wife were planting [kacu]vegetables together.*

MR.04.003 खेटियाला देखि फेकालिक अमाक कचु बुन्वा।

k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-k kʌcu bun-ba  
jackal-PL see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 3pl[pro]-DAT [kacu]vegetable plant-INF*Jackals saw them planting [kacu]vegetables.*

MR.04.004 सुना, खेटियाला आसिएने बुरा बुरिलाक कहच्चि, "ए दादो, कि करेचिस सुना?"

suna k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la as-iene bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k kʌʌ-c-ki e:  
PCL jackal-PL come-CONJ.PTCL old\_man old\_woman-PL-DAT say-PRES-SA3 INJ  
dado ki kaɾ-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, कचु बुनेचि रे, बुरा बुरि मिलिएने।"

are kʌcu bun-ec-i re bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i 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 खेटियाला कहच्चि, "कचु बुनेचिस? धेत!"

tʌ suna k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la kʌʌ-c-ki kʌcu bun-ec-is d<sup>h</sup>et  
PCL 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 एनड करे कचु बुनेचे आरह?

enʌŋ kaɾe kʌcu bun-ec-e arʌ  
like\_this ADVL [kacu]vegetable plant-PRES-3 more  
*So, [kacu]vegetables are planted like this too?*

MR.04.008 कचुला त उस्नाएने बुन्वा लागे, तब बड बड कचु बठिष्कु।

kʌcu-la tʌ usna-ene bun-ba lag-e tʌb bʌrʌ bʌrʌ

[kacu]vegetable-PL PCL boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-INF should-PRES3 then large large

kʌcu bʌtʰ-ip-ku

[kacu]vegetable grow-FUT-SA2sg

*One should plant [kacu]vegetables after boiling them. Then really big vegetables will grow (for your benefit).*

MR.04.009 एनङ्गति काचए कचुला बुन्ले, हष्कु आरह?

enʌŋti kacʌ=e kʌcu-la bun-le hʌ-p-ku arhʌ

like\_this uncooked=EMPH [kacu]vegetable-PL plant-COND.PTCL be-FUT-SA2sg more

*If you plant unripe/uncooked [kacu]vegetables like this, will you get (anything)? (No!)*

MR.04.010 बेसि बड बड नि बसिष्कु। कचुला उस्नाए बुन्वा लागे।"

besi bʌrʌ bʌrʌ ni bʌs-ip-ku kʌcu-la usna-e bun-ba

more large large NEG grow-FUT-SA2sg [kacu]vegetable-PL boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-INF

lag-e

should-PRES3

*(They) will not grow bigger (for you). One should plant [kacu]vegetables after boiling them."*

MR.04.011 खेटियालार काथाला सुनिएने सुना बुरा बुरिला सचेचे, "हए ते हए?"

kʰetia-la-r katʰa-la sun-iene suna burʰa burʰi-la sʌc-ec-e

jackal-PL-GEN thing-PL hear-CONJ.PTCL PCL old\_man old\_woman-PL think-PRES-3

hʌ-e te hʌ-e

be-PRES3 PCL be-PRES3

*Hearing what the jackals said, the old man and old woman thought: "Is that so?"*

MR.04.012 कचुला उस्नाए बुन्ले, बड बड हबे? बड बड बट्टे?"

kʌcu-la usna-e bun-le bʌrʌ bʌrʌ hʌ-b-i bʌrʌ

[kacu]vegetable-PL boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-COND.PTCL large large be-FUT-3 large

bʌrʌ bʌtʰ-b-i

large grow-FUT-3

*If (one) plants [kacu]vegetables after boiling them will they become bigger? Will they grow bigger?"*

MR.04.013 "हए ना ते सुना। कचुला उस्नाएने बुनेक, तब बड बड फलिष्कु।"

hʌ-e na te suna kʌcu-la usna-ene bun-ek tʌb

be-PRES3 PCL PCL PCL [kacu]vegetable-PL boil-CONJ.PTCL plant-IMP2sg then

bʌrʌ bʌrʌ pʰʌl-ip-ku

large large grow-FUT-SA2sg

*"Yes, of course! Plant the [kacu]vegetables after boiling them. Then they will grow bigger (for your benefit)."*

MR.04.014 ते सुना बुरा बुरि सचेचे, "ठिके! ठिके कहले अम्ना।"

te suna burʰa burʰi sʌc-ec-e tʰik=e tʰik=e kʌhʌ-l-i

PCL PCL old\_man old\_woman think-PRES-3 alright=EMPH alright=EMPH say-PST-3

ʌmʰa

3pl[pro]

*The old man and old woman thought: "Yes, that's right. What they said is correct."*

MR.04.015 बुराड कहक्कि, "ले बुरि, आप एनड करे नि होल।

bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa kʌhʌ-c-ki le bur<sup>h</sup>i ap enʌŋ kʌre ni ho-l  
old\_man-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 OK old\_woman PCL like\_this ADVL NEG be-PST3  
*The old man said (to her), "Well, old woman, this isn't the way (to do it)."*

MR.04.016 बुनाल कचुला आप निक्लाड।

bun-al kʌcu-la ap nɪkl-a-i  
plant-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL PCL go\_out-CAUS-SUBJ1pl  
*Now, let's take out the planted [kacu]vegetables.*

MR.04.017 इला आप घरत लेइ जाएने आप उस्नाएने आन्म।

i-la ap g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt le-i ja-ene ap usna-ene  
DEM[prox]-PL PCL house-LOC take-CONJ.PTCL go-CONJ.PTCL PCL boil-CONJ.PTCL  
an-m-ʌ  
bring-FUT-1pl  
*We will take them home, and after boiling them we will bring them back.*

MR.04.018 ताहारबाद बुन्मा"

taharbad bun-m-ʌ  
after\_that plant-FUT-1pl  
*After that we will plant them."*

MR.04.019 बुरिड कहक्कि ते, "हबे, हबे, ठिक छे, ले।"

bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍa kʌhʌ-l-ki te hʌ-b-i hʌ-b-i t<sup>h</sup>ik c<sup>h</sup>-e le  
old\_woman-NCLS say-PST-SA3 PCL be-FUT-3 be-FUT-3 alright be-PRES3 OK  
*The old woman said (to him): "OK, OK, that's fine, alright."*

MR.04.020 तने सुना दने बुरा बुरि बुनाल कचुला माटिखान से खुदिए खुदिए फेर निकलाले।

tane suna dʌn<sup>h</sup>e bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i bun-al kʌcu-la maṭi-k<sup>h</sup>ʌn  
PCL PCL both old\_man old\_woman plant-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL soil-NCLS  
se k<sup>h</sup>ud-ie k<sup>h</sup>ud-ie p<sup>h</sup>er nɪkl-a-l-i  
ABL dig-CONJ.PTCL dig-CONJ.PTCL again go\_out-CAUS-PST-3  
*Then both the old man and the old woman dug up the planted [kacu]vegetables from the soil and took them out again.*

MR.04.021 निक्लाएने सुना घर लेइ गेले।

nɪkl-a-ene suna g<sup>h</sup>ʌr le-i ge-l-i  
go\_out-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL PCL house take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-3  
*They took them out and took them home.*

MR.04.022 दस्रा दिन बुरा बुरिला कचुला आच्छा से उस्नाइचे, एकदम उस्नाए तुस्नाए।

dʌsra din bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la kʌcu-la acc<sup>h</sup>a se usna-ic-e  
next day old\_man old\_woman-PL [kacu]vegetable-PL good ADVL boil-PERF-3  
ekdʌm usna-e tusna-e  
very boil-CONJ.PTCL [echo]boil-CONJ.PTCL  
*The next day the old man and old woman boiled the [kacu]vegetables well, they really boiled them this way and that.*

MR.04.023 आनिए बुनि दिछे।

an-ie bun-i d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
bring-CONJ.PTCL plant-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
(They) brought (them and then they) planted (them).

MR.04.024 कचुला बुनिए तुनिए बुरा बुरि घर चुलि गेल।

kΛcu-la bun-ie tun-ie bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i  
[kacu]vegetable-PL plant-CONJ.PTCL [echo]plant-CONJ.PTCL old\_man old\_woman  
g<sup>h</sup>Λr cul-i ge-l  
house AUX-ABS go-PST3  
Having planted the [kacu]vegetables this way and that, the old man and old woman went home.

MR.04.025 तब खेटियाला सुना कि करिच्चि, राति घुरि आसिए, जेइठिना बुरा बुरिला कचु बुनिए गिस्ले, हतिन से उला उस्नाल कचुला निक्लाए निक्लाए खाए गिच्चि।

tΛb k<sup>h</sup>eṭia-la suna ki kΛr-ic-ki rati g<sup>h</sup>uri as-ie  
then jackal-PL PCL what do-PERF-SA3 night during come-CONJ.PTCL  
jei-ṭ<sup>h</sup>ina bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la kΛcu bun-ie  
REL[obl/ip]-place old\_man old\_woman-PL [kacu]vegetable plant-CONJ.PTCL  
g-isl-i ḥatin se u-la usna-al kΛcu-la  
go-REM.PST-3 there ABL DEM[rem]-PL boil-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL  
nikl-a-e nikl-a-e k<sup>h</sup>a-e g-ic-ki  
go\_out-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL go\_out-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL eat-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3  
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.

MR.04.026 उस्नाल उस्नाल कचुला निक्लाए निक्लाए खाए गिच्चि। आर खादिलात सुना हागिए हागिए राखि दिच्चि।

usna-al usna-al kΛcu-la nikl-a-e  
boil-PST.PTCL boil-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL go\_out-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL  
nikl-a-e k<sup>h</sup>a-e g-ic-ki ar k<sup>h</sup>adi-la-t suna  
go\_out-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL eat-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3 and hole-PL-LOC PCL  
hag-ie hag-ie rak<sup>h</sup>-i d-ic-ki  
defecate-CONJ.PTCL defecate-CONJ.PTCL put-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3  
They took out the boiled [kacu]vegetables and ate them up. And in the holes they defecated.

MR.04.027 आर खादि खुदिने अइठिना हागिए हागिए राखि दिच्चि।

ar k<sup>h</sup>adi k<sup>h</sup>ud-iene Λi-ṭ<sup>h</sup>ina hag-ie  
and hole dig-CONJ.PTCL DEM[rem/emph]-place defecate-CONJ.PTCL  
hag-ie rak<sup>h</sup>-i d-ic-ki  
defecate-CONJ.PTCL put-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3  
And they dug hole(s) there and (really) defecated (right there).

MR.04.028 सुना बुरा बुरि कहचे ते, "आप कचुला उस्नाए बुनिचि, इचटि बड बड फल्वे।"

suna bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i kΛḥΛ-c-e te ap kΛcu-la usna-e  
PCL old\_man old\_woman say-PRES-3 PCL PCL [kacu]vegetable-PL boil-CONJ.PTCL  
bun-ic-i i-cΛṭi bΛrΛ bΛrΛ p<sup>h</sup>Λl-b-i  
plant-PERF-1pl DEM[prox]-time large large grow-FUT-3  
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."



MR.04.029 "बड बड बट्टवे," कहेने आसा एकदम आसा जरिए छे।

bʌɾʌ bʌɾʌ bʌtʰ-b-i kʌh-ene am<sup>h</sup>a ekdʌm asra jur-ie  
 large large grow-FUT-3 say-CONJ.PTCL 3pl[pro] very hope lay\_nets-CONJ.PTCL  
 c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 be-PRES3

(They said) "They will grow really big," and they really waited with high hopes.

MR.04.030 एक महिना हइ गेल, दुइ महिना हइ गेल, आप आझि, कालि, आप दिनला बित्ते चुलि जाछे।

ek mʌhina hʌ-i ge-l dui mʌhina hʌ-i ge-l ap aj<sup>h</sup>i  
 one month be-ABS AUX-PST3 two month be-ABS AUX-PST3 PCL today  
 kal<sup>h</sup>i ap din-la bit-te cul-i ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 tomorrow PCL day-PL pass-CONT.PTCL AUX-ABS go-PRES-3

One month went by, two months went by, today, tomorrow, the days kept passing by.

MR.04.031 केवा महिना हइ जाछे, आप ताहुँ नि कचु कुछु देखा जाछे।

kewa mʌhina hʌ-i ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e ap tahu ni kʌcu kuc<sup>h</sup>u  
 some month be-ABS AUX-PRES-3 PCL still NEG [kacu]vegetable some  
 dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

A few months passed, and still no [kacu]vegetable could be seen.

MR.04.032 कचुर पातारिए ना गेछे ना कुछु ना कुछु।

kʌcu-r patari=e na gec<sup>h</sup>=e na kuc<sup>h</sup>u na kuc<sup>h</sup>u  
 [kacu]vegetable-GEN leaf=EMPH NEG sprout=EMPH NEG some NEG some  
 No [kacu]vegetable's leaves, nor plants, absolutely nothing (could be seen).

MR.04.033 त बुरा बुरिला सुना सचेचे, "रे बाप, कचुला खोए ते सुना?"

tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la suna sʌc-ec-e re bap kʌcu-la k<sup>h</sup>oe  
 PCL old\_man old\_woman-PL PCL think-PRES-3 INJ INJ [kacu]vegetable-PL where  
 te suna  
 PCL PCL

Then the old man and old woman thought: "Hey! Where are those [kacu]vegetables then?"

MR.04.034 कचुला ते बुनिचि। खोए?

kʌcu-la te bun-ic-i k<sup>h</sup>oe  
 [kacu]vegetable-PL PCL plant-PERF-1pl where  
 We have planted [kacu]vegetables. Where are they?

MR.04.035 कचुला त गाजेचे रेइ नि, कोधोए।

kʌcu-la tʌ gaj-ec-e re=i(e) ni kod<sup>h</sup>oe  
 [kacu]vegetable-PL PCL sprout-PRES-3 be=EMPH NEG never  
 The [kacu]vegetables (just) never sprout up at all!

MR.04.036 उहुँ, नि होल।

m'm ni ho-l  
 INJ NEG be-PST3  
 No! This won't do!

MR.04.037 इला कचु कुछु हइचे, हपाए।"

i-la kʌcu kuc<sup>h</sup>u hʌ-ic-e hʌpae  
DEM[prox]-PL [kacu]vegetable some be-PERF-3 perhaps  
*Something has perhaps happened to these [kacu]vegetables."*

MR.04.038 ते सुना एकदिन करे, बुरा बुरि दत्ते झनाए जाएने सुना खुदेचे।

te suna ek-din kʌre bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i dʌn<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup>ʌna=e ja-ene  
PCL PCL one-day ADVL old\_man old\_woman both PCLS=EMPH go-CONJ.PTCL  
suna k<sup>h</sup>ud-ec-e  
PCL dig-PRES-3  
*So, one day, both the old man and the old woman came and dug.*

MR.04.039 ते एकदम खेटियार गुला पेचेत पेचेत करे निकलेच्छि।

te ekdʌm k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-r gu-la pecet pecet kʌre nikl-ec-ki  
PCL very 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.*

MR.04.040 ते सुना बुरा बुरि कहचे, "हारे राम! इला, खेटियाला त हामाक ठग्ले!

te suna bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i kʌhʌ-c-e hare ram i-la k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la  
PCL PCL old\_man old\_woman say-PRES-3 INJ Rām(god) DEM[prox]-PL jackal-PL  
tʌ hama-k t<sup>h</sup>ʌg-l-i  
PCL 1pl[pro]-DAT cheat-PST-3  
*The old man and old woman said: "Oh my god (lit. Hare Rām)! These jackals have cheated us!*

MR.04.041 ए... इला त उस्नाए तुस्नाए कचु तचु बुनुवाए दिले हामाक, आर आसिएने कचुला खाए गिछे, हागिए हागिए राखि दिछे।

e: i-la tʌ usna-e tusna-e kʌcu  
INJ DEM[prox]-PL PCL boil-CONJ.PTCL [echo]boil-CONJ.PTCL [kacu]vegetable  
tʌcu bun-(u)wa-e di-l-i hama-k ar as-iene  
[echo][kacu]vegetable plant-ICAUS-ABS AUX-PST-3 1pl[pro]-DAT and come-CONJ.PTCL  
kʌcu-la k<sup>h</sup>a-e g-ic-e hag-ie hag-ie  
[kacu]vegetable-PL eat-ABS AUX-PERF-3 defecate-CONJ.PTCL defecate-CONJ.PTCL  
rak<sup>h</sup>-i d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
put-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*Eh! They really made us boil those [kacu]vegetables and (then) plant them, and (then) they have come and eaten the [kacu]vegetables and have defecated.*

MR.04.042 इला, उस्नाल उस्नाल कचुला गटलाए खेटियाला खाए गिछे।

i-la usna-al usna-al kʌcu-la gʌt-la=e k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la  
DEM[prox]-PL boil-PST.PTCL boil-PST.PTCL [kacu]vegetable-PL all-PL=EMPH jackal-PL  
k<sup>h</sup>a-e g-ic-e  
eat-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*The jackals have eaten all of these boiled [kacu]vegetables.*

MR.04.043 इला, खादिलात हागिए हागिए राखि दिछे।"

i-la k<sup>h</sup>adi-la-t hag-ie hag-ie rak<sup>h</sup>-i  
DEM[prox]-PL hole-PL-LOC defecate-CONJ.PTCL defecate-CONJ.PTCL put-ABS  
d-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
AUX-PERF-3  
*They have defecated in these holes."*

MR.04.044 बुरा बुरिला पाता पाए गेलिक खेटियालार चाल।

bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la pata pa-e ge-l-ki k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la-r cal  
 old\_man old\_woman-PL knowledge get-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 jackal-PL-GEN trickery  
*The old man and old woman found out (about) the trickery of the jackals.*

MR.04.045 त बुरा बुरिलाक गेलिक रिस उठिए।

tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i-la-k ge-l-ki ris uʈ<sup>h</sup>-ie  
 PCL old\_man old\_woman-PL-DAT AUX-PST-SA3 anger rise-ABS  
*And the old man and old woman got furious.*

MR.04.046 "सालार खेटियाला रे, हामाक ठगलन?

sala-r k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la re hama-k ʈ<sup>h</sup>ʌg-l-ʌn  
 y.brother\_of\_wife-GEN jackal-PL INJ 1pl[pro]-DAT cheat-PST-2pl  
*"Eh you damned jackals! Did you cheat us?"*

MR.04.047 आप थाम, याहाँर बदला लिए छरिम्कन," कहेने दने बुरा बुरि घर चुलि गेल।

ap t<sup>h</sup>am-ʌ yaha-r baɖla l-ie c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-im-kʌ-n  
 PCL wait-IMP2pl 3sg[pro/prox]-GEN revenge take-CONJ.PTCL let\_go-FUT-SA2pl-1sg  
 kʌh-ene dʌn<sup>h</sup>e bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i g<sup>h</sup>ʌr cul-i ge-l  
 say-CONJ.PTCL both old\_man old\_woman house AUX-ABS go-PST3  
*Now (just you) wait. 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.*

MR.04.048 बुराड बुरिडक कहलिक, "ए, बुरि, आप बदला त लिबा लागे अमार सडे हामाक।"

bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ-k kʌhʌ-l-ki e: bur<sup>h</sup>i ap baɖla  
 old\_man-NCLS old\_woman-NCLS-DAT say-PST-SA3 INJ old\_woman PCL revenge  
 tʌ li-ba lag-e ʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r sʌŋe hama-k  
 PCL take-INF must-PRES3 3pl[pro]-GEN with 1pl[pro]-DAT  
*The old man said to the old woman, "Hey, old woman, we have to take revenge on them."*

MR.04.049 "केनड करे लिबो ते बदला?"

kenʌŋ kʌre li-b-o te baɖla  
 how ADVL take-FUT-2sg PCL revenge  
*"How will you take revenge then?"*

MR.04.050 "ते एनड करेक तुइ: तुइ खेत बारिखानेर ति जा, आर जाएने एकदम कानिस।

te enʌŋ kʌr-ek tui tui k<sup>h</sup>et bari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er ti  
 PCL like\_this do-IMP2sg 2sg[pro] 2sg[pro] field planting\_plot-NCLS-GEN towards  
 ja-∅ ar ja-ene ekɖʌm kan-is  
 go-IMP2sg and go-CONJ.PTCL very cry-SUBJ2sg  
*"Well, you do this: go to the fields, and having gone (to the fields) cry really hard.*

MR.04.050a त सुना खेटियाला जर हप्कु। गटे खेटियाला आसिप्कु ना?

tʌ suna k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la jʌr hʌ-p-ku gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la as-ip-ku  
 PCL PCL jackal-PL gathering be-FUT-SA2sg all jackal-PL come-FUT-SA2sg  
 na  
 PCL[TAG]  
*Then the jackals will gather (for you). All of the jackals will come (on your behalf), won't they?*

MR.04.051 खेटियाला जर हले, कहिस्कि ते, "तोर दादोड मरि गेल।

k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la jʌr hʌ-le kʌh-is-ki te to-r  
 jackal-PL gathering be-COND.PTCL say-SUBJ-SA3 PCL 2sg[obl]-GEN  
 dado-ɖʌ mʌr-i ge-l  
 grandfather-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST3  
*If the jackals come together say (to them): 'Your grandfather has died.*

MR.04.052 ताहाते कानेचु।"

tahate kan-ec-u  
 therefore cry-PRES-1sg  
*That's why I am crying."*

MR.04.053 "त गटलाके सुना भोज खाबार ताने घरत लिए आनिस।"

tʌ gʌt-lʌ-k=e suna b<sup>h</sup>oj k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r tane g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt l-ie  
 PCL all-PL-DAT=EMPH PCL feast eat-INF-GEN for house-LOC take-CONJ.PTCL  
 an-is  
 bring-SUBJ2sg  
*(Then) bring every one of them home to eat a feast."*

MR.04.054 बोले, "हवे।"

bo-l-i hʌ-b-i  
 say-PST-3 be-FUT-3  
*She said, "OK."*

MR.04.055 त बुरिड सुना जाणे खेतखानेरति कानेचे, एकदम उँ उँ करे।

tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ suna ja-ene k<sup>h</sup>et-k<sup>h</sup>an-er-ti kan-ec-e  
 PCL old\_woman-NCLS PCL go-CONJ.PTCL field-NCLS-GEN-towards cry-PRES-3  
 ekdʌm ũ ũ kʌre  
 very uh uh ADVL  
*(So) the old woman went to the field and cried, really (cried) like: "Uh, uh".*

MR.04.056 बुरिडक कान्बा सुनिणे गटे खेटियाला सुना, "आरे, इड त हामार दादिर लाखाति लागेचे, कान्बार लाखाति।

bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ-k kan-ba sun-iene gʌʈe k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la suna are  
 old\_woman-NCLS-DAT cry-INF hear-CONJ.PTCL all jackal-PL PCL INJ  
 i-ɖʌ tʌ hama-r dadi-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati lag-ec-e kan-ba-r  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL 1pl[pro]-GEN grandmother-GEN like feel-PRES-3 cry-INF-GEN  
 lak<sup>h</sup>ati  
 like

*Hearing the old woman crying all of the jackals (said), "Alas! That (sounds) like our grandmother, as if (she is) crying."*

MR.04.057 कियोँ कानेचे ते?" कहेने गटे खेटियाला सुना जर हएने कह्कि, "दादि गे दादि, कियोँ कानेचिस गे? कियोँ सुना कानेचिस?"

kiã kan-ec-e te kʌh-ene gʌʈe k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la suna jʌr hʌ-ene  
 why cry-PRES-3 PCL say-CONJ.PTCL all jackal-PL PCL gathering be-CONJ.PTCL

kʌhʌ-c-ki dadi ge dadi kiã kan-ec-is ge kiã  
 say-PRES-SA3 grandmother VOC[fem] grandmother why cry-PRES-2sg VOC[fem] why  
 suna kan-ec-is  
 PCL cry-PRES-2sg  
*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?"*

MR.04.058 "आरे, कि कर्बन रे?"

are ki kʌr-b-ʌn re  
 INJ what do-FUT-2pl INJ  
*"Alas! What will you do?"*

MR.04.059 तम्हार दादोड मरि गेल रे। ताहाते कानेचु।

tʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r dʌdo-ɖʌ mʌr-i ge-l re tahate kan-ec-u  
 2pl[pro]-GEN grandfather-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST3 INJ therefore cry-PRES-1sg  
*Your grandfather has died! That's why I am crying.*

MR.04.060 तम्हार दादोड आरह नि छे इड संसारत, मरि गेल।"

tʌm<sup>h</sup>a-r dʌdo-ɖʌ arhʌ ni c<sup>h</sup>-e i-ɖʌ sʌnsar-ʌt  
 2pl[pro]-GEN grandfather-NCLS more NEG be-PRES3 DEM[prox]-NCLS world-LOC  
 mʌr-i ge-l  
 die-ABS AUX-PST3  
*Your grandfather is no longer in this world. He has died."*

MR.04.061 "हारे भगवान, हए?"

hare b<sup>h</sup>ʌgwan hʌ-e  
 INJ god be-PRES3  
*"Oh my god! Is that so?!"*

MR.04.062 "अइ त, अइताने कानेचु।

ʌi tʌ ʌi-tane kan-ec-u  
 INJ PCL DEM[rem/emph]-for cry-PRES-1sg  
*"Yes, that is why I am crying.*

MR.04.063 चल। आप कि कर्बन? बुराड मरि गिल्कन, आप जाएने भोज क्रिया कर्बन ना?"

cʌl-ʌ ap ki kʌr-b-ʌn bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ mʌr-i g-il-kʌn ap  
 go-IMP2pl PCL what do-FUT-2pl old\_man-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PST-SA2pl PCL  
 ja-ene b<sup>h</sup>oj kriya kʌr-b-ʌn na  
 go-CONJ.PTCL feast funeral do-FUT-2pl PCL[TAG]  
*Come on. Now what will you do? Your grandfather has died. You will go and eat a funeral  
 feast, won't you?"*

MR.04.064 "ह," बोले।

hʌ bo-l-i  
 OK say-PST-3  
*"OK" they said.*

MR.04.065 "जाबा लागे त।

ja-ba lag-e tʌ  
 go-INF should-PRES3 PCL  
*"(We) should go then.*

MR.04.066 चल, चल, चल!"

cʌl-ʌ cʌl-ʌ cʌl-ʌ  
 go-IMP2pl go-IMP2pl go-IMP2pl  
 Come on, come on, come on!"

MR.04.067 गटे खेटियाला मिलिएने बुरिडर सडे गेले।

gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-la mil-iene bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ-r saŋe 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.

MR.04.068 बुरिड गटे खेटियालाक घर लिए अनिल।

bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-la-k g<sup>h</sup>ʌr l-ie an-il  
 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 आनिएने एकठिना बट्बा दिक्कि।

an-iene ek-ʃ<sup>h</sup>ina bʌʃ<sup>h</sup>-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.

MR.04.070 सुना आनिएने, "ताहें ताम्रा बठन, मुइ अइ आरकि एकछिन कानेचु" कहेने बुरिड कान्वा धर्ले।

suna an-iene tahe tam<sup>h</sup>a bʌʃ<sup>h</sup>-ʌn mui ʌi arki ekc<sup>h</sup>in  
 PCL bring-CONJ.PTCL while 2pl[pro] sit-SUBJ2pl 1sg[pro] INJ PCL one\_moment  
 kan-ec-u kʌh-ene bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ kan-ba d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-l-i  
 cry-PRES-1sg say-CONJ.PTCL old\_woman-NCLS cry-INF begin-PST-3  
 She brought them, and saying: "While you sit I will cry for a moment," the old woman began to cry.

MR.04.071 ते बुराड हिदर नुकाएने एकखान लेदड लिएने भिनड घरत छिकि।

te bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ hidʌr nuka-ene ek-k<sup>h</sup>an ledʌŋ l-iene  
 PCL old\_man-NCLS here hide-CONJ.PTCL one-NCLS stick take-CONJ.PTCL  
 b<sup>h</sup>in-ɖʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌt c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki  
 separate-NCLS house-LOC be-PRES-SA3  
 The old man, having hidden over here and taken a stick, was in another house.

MR.04.072 ताहें हिदर बुरिड खेटियालाक बट्बा दिले।

tahe hidʌr bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-la-k bʌʃ<sup>h</sup>-ba di-l-i  
 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 बुरिड आरकि कानन उठाले।

taharbad suna bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ arki kan-ʌn uʃ<sup>h</sup>-a-l-i  
 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, एनड करे कानेचे बुरिड, "बुरा रे बुरा, लेदड धरिए दउर, बुरा। बुरा रे बुरा, लेदड धरिए दउर, बुरा।"

ap kan-ec-e enʌŋ kʌre kan-ec-e bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a re bur<sup>h</sup>a  
 PCL cry-PRES-3 like\_this ADVL cry-PRES-3 old\_woman-NCLS old\_man INJ old\_man  
 ledʌŋ d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ie dʌur-∅ bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>a re bur<sup>h</sup>a ledʌŋ  
 stick hold-CONJ.PTCL run-IMP2sg old\_man old\_man INJ old\_man stick

d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ie dʌur-Ø bur<sup>h</sup>a  
hold-CONJ.PTCL run-IMP2sg old\_man

*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."*

MR.04.075 बुराडर पाला बुरिड अनडति करे कान्वा सुनिए एकखान बड लेदडा लिएने खेटियालाक ढिप ढिप ढिप करे मार्चे एकदम।

bur<sup>h</sup>a-dʌ-r palʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-dʌ ʌnʌŋti kʌre kan-ba sun-ie  
old\_man-NCLS-GEN turn old\_woman-NCLS like\_that ADVL cry-INF hear-CONJ.PTCL  
ek-k<sup>h</sup>an bʌrʌ ledʌŋa l-iene k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-la-k d<sup>h</sup>ip d<sup>h</sup>ip  
one-NCLS large stick take-CONJ.PTCL jackal-PL-DAT [d<sup>h</sup>ip]sound [d<sup>h</sup>ip]sound  
d<sup>h</sup>ip kʌre mar-c-e ekdʌm

[d<sup>h</sup>ip]sound ADVL beat-PRES-3 very

*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.*

MR.04.076 ए, काहॉर मुथाते लागेचे, काहॉर ठेडते लागेचे, काहॉर कम्मरखाने भाडि गिछे।

e: kaha-r mut<sup>h</sup>a-t=e lag-ec-e kaha-r t<sup>h</sup>eŋ-t=e  
INJ someone-GEN head-LOC=EMPH apply\_to-PRES-3 someone-GEN leg-LOC=EMPH  
lag-ic-e kaha-r kʌmmʌr-k<sup>h</sup>an=e b<sup>h</sup>aŋ-i g-ic-e  
apply\_to-PERF-3 someone-GEN waist-NCLS=EMPH break-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*Oh, someone's head was hit, someone's leg was hit, someone's lower back was broken.*

MR.04.077 एकदम अकुन्डा खेटिया एकदम छोए काटिए भागेचे।

ekdʌm ʌkundu k<sup>h</sup>eʃia ekdʌm c<sup>h</sup>oe kaʃ-ie b<sup>h</sup>ag-ec-e  
very different jackal very shadow? cut-CONJ.PTCL escape-PRES-3  
*Every single one of the jackals escaped head over tails in every direction.*

MR.04.078 "बाप रे बाप! बुरा तुरा त मरे तरे नि, खालि हामाक मार खिल्वार ताने इड बुरि अनिस्ले।

bap re bap bur<sup>h</sup>a tur<sup>h</sup>a tʌ mʌr-e tʌr-e ni  
INJ INJ INJ old\_man [echo]old\_man PCL die-PST.HAB3 [echo]die-PST.HAB3 NEG  
k<sup>h</sup>ali hama-k mar k<sup>h</sup>il-ba-r tane i-dʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i  
only 1pl[pro]-DAT beating feed-INF-GEN for DEM[prox]-NCLS old\_woman  
an-isl-i

bring-REM.PST-3

*"Oh! The old man (impolite) hasn't died at all, the old woman only brought us to give us a beating.*

MR.04.080 सालार बुरि रे!

sala-r bur<sup>h</sup>i re  
y.brother\_of\_wife-GEN old\_woman INJ  
*Damned old woman!"*

MR.04.081a हेत, भाग, भाग" कहेने ए एकदम काहँ घेस्केटिते घेस्केटिते भागेचे, काहॉर एकदम कम्मरखान भाडि गिच्छि, "अइया, अइया, अइया" कहते कहते एकदम भागि गेल।

het b<sup>h</sup>ag-ʌ b<sup>h</sup>ag-ʌ kʌh-ene e: ekdʌm kah<sup>h</sup>  
INJ escape-IMP2pl escape-IMP2pl say-CONJ.PTCL INJ very someone  
g<sup>h</sup>esketi-te g<sup>h</sup>esketi-te b<sup>h</sup>ag-ec-e kaha-r ekdʌm  
crawl-CONT.PTCL crawl-CONT.PTCL escape-PRES-3 someone-GEN very

kʌmmʌr-kʰan bʰaŋ-i g-ic-ki ʌia ʌia ʌia kʌhʌ-te  
 waist-NCLS break-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3 Ouch! Ouch! Ouch! say-CONT.PTCL  
 kʌhʌ-te ekdʌm bʰag-i ge-l  
 say-CONT.PTCL very escape-ABS AUX-PST3  
*Saying "Uh! Let's get out of here, let's get out of here," eh, some of them fled while crawling,  
 some of their lower backs were broken, while saying "ouch, ouch, ouch" they really fled.*

MR.04.081b गटे खेटियाला सुना भागि गेल।

gʌte kʰeʈia-la suna bʰag-i ge-l  
 all jackal-PL PCL escape-ABS AUX-PST3  
*All of the jackals fled.*

MR.04.082 त खेत बारिखानेर ति सुना जाएने कहचे, "सालार बुरा बुरि रे!

tʌ kʰet bari-kʰan-er ti suna ja-ene kʌhʌ-c-e  
 PCL field planting\_plot-NCLS-GEN towards PCL go-CONJ.PTCL say-PRES-3  
 sala-r burʰa burʰi re  
 y.brother\_of\_wife-GEN old\_man old\_woman INJ  
*Then going to the fields they said, "Damned old man and woman!*

MR.04.083 बुराड मरेकि तरेकि नि!

burʰa-dʌ mʌr-eki tar-eki ni  
 old\_man-NCLS die-(PST.HAB)SA3 [echo]die-(PST.HAB)SA3 NEG  
*(Her) old man hasn't died at all!*

MR.04.084 उला हामाक खालि डिकन खिल्वार ताने, मार खिल्वार ताने।

u-la hama-k kʰali dʌk-ʌn kʰil-ba-r tane mar  
 DEM[rem]-PL 1pl[pro]-DAT only beat\_up-DVBL feed-INF-GEN for beating  
 kʰil-ba-r tane  
 feed-INF-GEN for  
*They only (brought) us to give us a thrashing, just for a beating.*

MR.04.085 बुरा बुरिलार बुद्धि थाम् रे बुरि! हामाक झुक्यालो, हामाक ठग्लो?

burʰa burʰi-la-r buddʰi tʰam-Ø re burʰi hama-k  
 old\_man old\_woman-PL-GEN wisdom wait-IMP2sg VOC old\_woman 1pl[pro]-DAT  
 jʰukya-l-o hama-k tʰʌg-l-o  
 cheat-PST-2sg 1pl[pro]-DAT cheat-PST-2sg  
*The wisdom of the old man and old woman! (Just) you wait, old woman. Did you cheat us, did  
 you cheat us?*

MR.04.086 थाम् आप!"

tʰam-Ø ap  
 wait-IMP2sg PCL  
*Just you wait!"*

MR.04.087 त सुना गटे खेटियाला मार तार खाएने आप्ना आप्नि चुलि गेल।

tʌ suna gʌte kʰeʈia-la mar tar kʰa-ene apna apni  
 PCL PCL all jackal-PL beating [echo]beating eat-CONJ.PTCL REFL[pro] REFL[pro]  
 cul-i ge-l  
 AUX-ABS go-PST3  
*Then all the jackals, having taken a real beating, went to their own places.*



MR.04.088 त सुना केवा महिनाबाद बुरिड सुना एकदिन करे आप्नार बेटिर घर जाछे, अइमाखाए, खेतेर माखाए।

tʌ suna kewa məhina-bad bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ suna ek-din kʌre apna-r  
PCL PCL some month-after old\_woman-NCLS PCL one-day ADVL REFL[pro]-GEN  
beti-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e ʌi-mak<sup>h</sup>ae k<sup>h</sup>et-er mak<sup>h</sup>ae

daughter-GEN house go-PRES-3 DEM[rem/emph]-via field-GEN via

*Then one day, after a few months, the old woman went to her daughter's place, that way, through the fields.*

MR.04.089 ते गटे खेटियाला देखि फेकालिका

te gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki  
PCL all jackal-PL see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3

*Then all of the jackals saw (her anyway).*

MR.04.090 "अइ अइ अइ, बुरिड बुरिड बुरिड रे!"

ʌi ʌi ʌi bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ re  
INJ INJ INJ old\_woman-NCLS old\_woman-NCLS old\_woman-NCLS INJ

*"Hey, hey, hey (look): the old woman, the old woman, the old woman!"*

MR.04.091 "हए त!"

hʌ-e tʌ  
be-PRES3 PCL  
*"Yes, so it is!"*

MR.04.092 "अइड बुरि, अइ हामाक ते मार खिलाइस्ले, अइ याहाँए।

ʌi-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i ʌi hama-k te mar k<sup>h</sup>ila-isl-r  
DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS old\_woman INJ 1pl[pro]-DAT PCL beating feed-REM.PST-3  
ʌi yaha=e

INJ 3sg[pro/prox]=EMPH

*"That old woman, that one who gave us a beating, that one exactly.*

MR.04.093 याहाँक आज्जि छर्बा नि लागे।

yaha-k aj<sup>h</sup>i c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ba ni lag-e  
DEM[pro/prox]-DAT today spare-INF NEG should-PRES3

*We shouldn't spare her today.*

MR.04.094 याहाँक आज्जि मारबा लागे, खाबा लागे।"

yaha-k aj<sup>h</sup>i mar-ba lag-e k<sup>h</sup>a-ba lag-e  
DEM[pro/prox]-DAT today kill-INF should-PRES3 eat-INF should-PRES3

*(We) should kill her today, (we) should eat her."*

MR.04.095 गटे खेटियाला उड बुरिडक लिलिक घेरिए, "हँ बुरि, आप कुना जाबो?"

gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eʈia-la u-ɖʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ-k l-il-ki  
all jackal-PL DEM[rem]-NCLS old\_woman-NCLS-DAT AUX-PST-SA3

g<sup>h</sup>er-ie hʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i ap kun<sup>h</sup>a ja-b-o

surround-CONJ.PTCL INJ old\_woman PCL where go-FUT-2sg

*All of the jackals surrounded the old woman (and said), "Hey, old woman, where will you go?"*

MR.04.096 अँ ताहें बुराड मरि गिचुकु कहेने हामाक केनडति मार खिलाइस्लो!

ʌ tahe bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ mar-i g-ic-ku kʌhʌ-ene hama-k  
INJ while old\_man-NCLS die-ABS AUX-PERF-SA2sg say-CONJ.PTCL 1pl[pro]-DAT

keneṅti mar k<sup>h</sup>ila-isl-o  
 how beating feed-REM.PST-2sg  
*Eh, when you said, "(Your) old man has died", what a beating you gave us!*

MR.04.097 आप त तोक नि छर्म, हँ!  
 ap tʌ to-k ni c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-m-ʌ h̃  
 PCL PCL 2sg[obl]-DAT NEG spare-FUT-1pl INJ  
*Now we are not going to leave you, no!*

MR.04.098 आप त हामा तोक खाम।"  
 ap tʌ hama to-k k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ʌ  
 PCL PCL 1pl[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl  
*Now we are going to eat you."*

MR.04.099 बुरिड सुना कहचे, "हारे राम! हए त!  
 bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ suna kʌhʌ-c-e hare ram hʌ-e tʌ  
 old\_woman-NCLS PCL say-PRES-3 INJ Rām(god) be-PRES3 PCL  
*The old woman said, "Oh my god (lit. Hare Rām)! That's right!*

MR.04.100 आप त मोक आमा नि छर्वे।  
 ap tʌ mo-k am<sup>h</sup>a ni c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-b-ɪ  
 PCL PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT 3pl[pro] NEG spare-FUT-3  
*Now they will not spare me.*

MR.04.101 आमा त मोक आप खावे।  
 am<sup>h</sup>a tʌ mo-k ap k<sup>h</sup>a-b-ɪ  
 3pl[pro] PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL eat-FUT-3  
*They will eat me now."*

MR.04.102 आप केनड करे बचिम ते?" कहेने बुरिड सुना कहच्चि खेटियालाक, "देख! आला मुइ जाछु बेटरि घर।  
 ap kenʌŋ kare bʌc-im te kʌh-ene bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ suna  
 PCL how ADVL save-FUT1sg PCL say-CONJ.PTCL old\_woman-NCLS PCL  
 kʌhʌ-c-ki k<sup>h</sup>eɽia-la-k dek<sup>h</sup>-ʌ al<sup>h</sup>a mui ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u beɽi-r  
 say-PRES-SA3 jackal-PL-DAT look-IMP2pl now 1sg[pro] go-PRES-1sg daughter-GEN  
 g<sup>h</sup>ʌr  
 house  
*Thinking, "Now how will I escape?" the old woman said to the jackals, "Look, now I am going to (my) daughter's house.*

MR.04.103 आप आला मोर दाहाड देख नि, सुकाए एकदम केन्ति काटा!  
 ap al<sup>h</sup>a mo-r daha-ɖʌ dek<sup>h</sup>-ʌ ni suk-a-e ekdʌm  
 PCL now 1sg[obl]-GEN body-NCLS look-IMP2pl PCL dry-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL very  
 kenti kaɽa  
 how bone  
*Now look at my body, being all dried up (it is) just bones!*

MR.04.104 आला खाबन ते कि माजा पाबन?  
 al<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-b-ʌn te ki maja pa-b-ʌn  
 now eat-FUT-2pl PCL what taste get-FUT-2pl  
*If you eat (me) now, what taste will you get?*

MR.04.105 खालि गटे दाहाडत हड्डिए हड्डि छे।

k<sup>h</sup>ali gʌte daha-ɖʌ-t hʌɖɖi=e hʌɖɖi c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 only all body-NCLS-LOC bone=EMPH bone be-PRES3  
 (My) whole body is just bones.

MR.04.106 मासु तासु त कुछु छेइए नि।

masu tasu tʌ kuc<sup>h</sup>u c<sup>h</sup>-e=ie ni  
 meat [echo]meat PCL some be-PRES3=EMPH NEG  
 There is absolutely no meat or such (to eat).

MR.04.107 आला जाछु बेटिर घर।

al<sup>h</sup>a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-u beɖi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr  
 now go-PRES-1sg daughter-GEN house  
 Now I am going to my daughter's house.

MR.04.108 आप बेटिर घर एक महिना रहम, दहि दुनि खाम, माच मासु खाम, कनेक दासा लाग्बे, कतकत हबे दाहाड।

ap beɖi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ek mʌhina rʌhʌ-m dʌhi dun<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>a-m mac  
 PCL daughter-GEN house one month live-FUT1sg curd milk eat-FUT1sg fish  
 masu k<sup>h</sup>a-m kʌnek dasa lag-b-ɪ kʌtkʌt hʌ-b-ɪ  
 meat eat-FUT1sg a\_little body\_substance apply\_to-FUT3sg chubby be-FUT3sg  
 daha-ɖʌ  
 body-NCLS

*I will stay at my daughter's house for one month, I will eat curd and milk, I will eat fish and meat. I will gain a little weight, (my) body will become chubby.*

MR.04.109 तने आसिम।

tʌne as-im  
 PCL come-FUT1sg  
 Then I will come.

MR.04.110 ते सुना उखुना खाअन।

te suna u-k<sup>h</sup>una k<sup>h</sup>a-ʌn  
 PCL PCL DEM[rem]-time eat-SUBJ2pl  
 You may eat me then.

MR.04.111 आला सुना खाएने किड माजा पाबन आरह, एन्ति हड्डिए हड्डि?"

al<sup>h</sup>a suna k<sup>h</sup>a-ene ki-ɖʌ mʌja pa-b-ʌn arhʌ enti hʌɖɖi=e  
 now PCL eat-CONJ.PTCL what-NCLS taste get-FUT-2pl more like\_this bone=EMPH  
 hʌɖɖi  
 bone  
 Eating me now what taste would you get, eh? (Just) bones like this."

MR.04.112 ते गटे खेटियाला सच्चिएने देख्ले,

te gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eɖia-la sʌc-iene dek<sup>h</sup>-ɪ-ɪ  
 PCL all jackal-PL think-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3  
 All of the jackals thought,

MR.04.113 "ठिके हए।

t<sup>h</sup>ik=e hʌ-e  
 alright=EMPH be-PRES3  
 "That's right.

MR.04.114 आला खाले इड बुरिक, अँह अँह, माजा नि आस्वे।

al<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>a-le i-dʌ bur<sup>h</sup>i-k m'm maja ni as-b-ɪ  
 now eat-COND.PTCL DEM[prox]-NCLS old\_woman-DAT INJ taste NEG come-FUT-3  
*If we eat this old woman now, no, there won't be any taste.*

MR.04.115 आला त गटे दाहाड हड्डिए हड्डि छिकि, सुक्ति बुरिड।

al<sup>h</sup>a tʌ gʌte dʌhʌ-dʌ hʌd̪di=e hʌd̪di c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki sukti bur<sup>h</sup>i-dʌ  
 now PCL all body-NCLS bone=EMPH bone be-PRES-SA3 skinny old\_woman-NCLS  
*Now the whole of (her) body is (just) bones, the skinny old woman.*

MR.04.116 जाओक।

ja-ok  
 go-SUBJ3  
*May she go!*

MR.04.117 छरि दि याहाँक।

c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-i d-i yaha-k  
 let\_go-ABS AUX-SUBJ1pl DEM[pro/prox]-DAT  
*Let's let her go.*

MR.04.118 बेटर घर जाओक।

beṭi-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-ok  
 daughter-GEN house go-SUBJ3  
*May she go to (her) daughter's house.*

MR.04.119 एक महिना रहेने मट हए आसोक।

ek mʌhina rʌh-ene mʌʈʌ hʌ-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.*

MR.04.120 ताहारबाद याहाँक खाम।

taharbad yaha-k k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ʌ  
 after\_that DEM[pro/prox]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl  
*After that we will eat her.*

MR.04.121 तने खाबार माजा आस्वे।"

tʌne k<sup>h</sup>a-ba-r maja as-b-ɪ  
 then eat-INF-GEN taste come-FUT-3  
*Then she will be tasty."*

MR.04.122 ते सुना कहलिक, "ले, ले, ते, ले, जा!

te suna kʌhʌ-l-ki le le te le ja-∅  
 PCL PCL say-PST-SA3 OK OK PCL OK go-IMP2sg  
*Then they said (to her), "OK, OK, OK go!*

MR.04.123 आस्वार खुना फेर एइमाखाए आसिस।"

as-ba-r k<sup>h</sup>una p<sup>h</sup>er ei-mak<sup>h</sup>ae as-is  
 come-INF-GEN during again DEM[prox/emph]-via come-SUBJ2sg  
*When it is time to come, come this way again."*

MR.04.124 "हँ, हबे हबे" कहे बुरिड कहलिक।

hã hã-b-i hã-b-i kãh-e bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖã kãhã-l-ki  
 INJ be-FUT-3 be-FUT-3 say-CONJ.PTCL old\_woman-NCLS say-PST-SA3  
*"Yes, OK, OK" the old woman said (to them).*

MR.04.125 ते सुना खेटियाला दिलिक बुरिडक छरिए।

te suna k<sup>h</sup>eɽia-la d-il-ki bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖã-k c<sup>h</sup>ãr-ie  
 PCL PCL jackal-PL AUX-PST-SA3 old\_woman-NCLS-DAT let\_go-CONJ.PTCL  
*Then the jackals let the old woman go.*

MR.04.126 बुरिड चुलि गेले आप्नार बेटिर घर।

bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖã cul-i ge-l-i apna-r beɽi-r g<sup>h</sup>ãr  
 old\_woman-NCLS AUX-ABS go-PST-3 REFL[pro]-GEN daughter-GEN house  
*The old woman went to her daughter's house.*

MR.04.127 बेटिर घर एक महिना रहले, खाले। एकदम घिउँ, मासु, माच, दहि दुति खाएने बुरिडर दाहाड कतकत हलिक।

beɽi-r g<sup>h</sup>ãr ek mãhina rãhã-l-i k<sup>h</sup>a-l-i ekdãm g<sup>h</sup>iũ masu mac  
 daughter-GEN house one month live-PST-3 eat-PST-3 very ghee meat fish  
 dãhi dun<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>a-ene bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖã-r daha-ɖã kãtkãt hã-l-ki  
 curd milk eat-CONJ.PTCL old\_woman-NCLS-GEN body-NCLS chubby be-PST-SA3  
*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.*

MR.04.128 एक महिना रहेने एक दिन बुरिड बेटिडक कहलिक, "बेटि, आप मुइ जाम घर।"

ek mãhina rãh-ene ek din bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖã beɽi-ɖã-k  
 one month live-CONJ.PTCL one day old\_woman-NCLS daughter-NCLS-DAT  
 kãhã-c-ki beɽi ap mui ja-m g<sup>h</sup>ãr  
 say-PRES-SA3 daughter PCL 1sg[pro] go-FUT1sg house  
*After staying for one month, one day the old woman said to the daughter, "Daughter, I will go home now."*

MR.04.129 ते बेटिर घर से बुरिड बिदाबारि हएने आरकि आप्नार घरेर ति सुना आसेचे।

te beɽi-r g<sup>h</sup>ãr se bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖã bidabari hã-ene arki  
 PCL daughter-GEN house ABL old\_woman-NCLS dismissal be-CONJ.PTCL PCL  
 apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ãr-er ti suna as-ec-e  
 REFL[pro]-GEN house-GEN towards PCL come-PRES-3  
*Then the old woman, leaving her daughter's house, came towards her own house.*

MR.04.130 सुना उहाँक थाहा छिलिक कि, "हिमाखाए जाले त मोक खेटियाला छबे नि, खाए जाबे।"

suna uhã-k t<sup>h</sup>aha c<sup>h</sup>-il-ki ki hi-mak<sup>h</sup>ae  
 PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT knowledge(Nepali) be-PST-SA3 SUBORD here-via  
 ja-le tã mo-k k<sup>h</sup>eɽia-la c<sup>h</sup>ãr-b-i ni k<sup>h</sup>a-e ja-b-i  
 go-COND.PTCL PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT jackal-PL spare-FUT-3 NEG eat-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
*She knew that, "If I go via this way the jackals will not spare me, they would eat me up."*

MR.04.131 त उदिन करे सुना दम्ना दामालेर माखाए बुरिड आरकि नुकाएने आसेचे।

tã u-din kãre suna dãsra damal-er mak<sup>h</sup>ae bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖã arki  
 PCL DEM[rem]-day ADVL PCL next track-GEN via old\_woman-NCLS PCL

nuka-ene as-ec-e  
hide-CONJ.PTCL come-PRES-3  
*So, that day the old woman came via another path, hiding.*

MR.04.132 ते फेर सुना एकटा खेटिया देखि फेकाल्कि।  
te p<sup>h</sup>er suna ek-ṭa k<sup>h</sup>etia dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki  
PCL again PCL one-NCLS jackal see-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*But one jackal saw (her) again (anyway).*

MR.04.133 त उहाँ सुना गटे खेटियालाक डाकाएने लिए अनिल्कि।  
tḷ uhā suna gṭe arhḷ k<sup>h</sup>etia-la-k ḍaka-ene l-ie  
PCL 3sg[pro] PCL all other jackal-PL-DAT call-CONJ.PTCL take-CONJ.PTCL  
an-il-ki  
bring-PST-SA3  
*And calling the other jackals, he brought them (over).*

MR.04.134 आनिएने कहक्कि, "ए, बुरिड हुमाखाए भागेचकन, भागेचकन, भागेचकन।"  
an-iene kḷhḷ-c-ki e: bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍḷ hu-mak<sup>h</sup>ae  
bring-CONJ.PTCL say-PRES-SA3 INJ old\_woman-NCLS DEM[rem]-via  
b<sup>h</sup>ag-ec-kḷn b<sup>h</sup>ag-ec-kḷn b<sup>h</sup>ag-ec-kḷn  
escape-PRES-SA2pl escape-PRES-SA2pl escape-PRES-SA2pl  
*Bringing them (over) he/it said (to them), "Eh, (your) old woman is escaping, escaping, escaping that way."*

MR.04.135 गटे खेटियाला जाएने फेर बुरिडक घेरि लिक्कि।  
gṭe k<sup>h</sup>etia-la ja-ene p<sup>h</sup>er bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍḷ-k g<sup>h</sup>er-i l-il-ki  
all jackal-PL go-CONJ.PTCL again old\_woman-NCLS-DAT surround-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*All the jackals went and once again surrounded the old woman.*

MR.04.136 "ए बुरि, तुइ कुमाखाए भागिस्तो?  
e: bur<sup>h</sup>i tui kun-mak<sup>h</sup>ae b<sup>h</sup>ag-isl-o  
INJ old\_woman 2sg[pro] which-direction escape-REM.PST-2sg  
*"Eh, old woman, what way were you escaping?"*

MR.04.137 आप तोक त नि छर्म हामा।  
ap to-k tḷ ni c<sup>h</sup>ḷr-m-ḷ hama  
PCL 2sg[obl]-DAT PCL NEG spare-FUT-1pl 1pl[pro]  
*Now we will not spare you!*

MR.04.138 हँ, भागेचिस?  
hā b<sup>h</sup>ag-ec-is  
INJ escape-PRES-2sg  
*So, you are running away?*

MR.04.139 कुना छर्म?  
kun<sup>h</sup>a c<sup>h</sup>ḷr-m-ḷ  
where spare-FUT-1pl  
*Why should we spare you?*

MR.04.140 आप त हामा तोक खाम, मट हए आसिचिस त, हँ।"

ap tʌ hama to-k kʰa-m-ʌ mʌtʌ hʌ-e as-ic-is  
PCL PCL 1pl[pro] 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl fat be-CONJ.PTCL come-PERF-2sg  
tʌ hʌ  
PCL INJ

*Now we will eat you; you have come after being fattened up, yes."*

MR.04.141 फेर सुना बुरिड सचेचे, "आप त आमा मोक खाए जावे।

pʰer suna burʰi-dʌ sʌc-ec-e ap tʌ amʰa mo-k kʰa-e  
again PCL old\_woman-NCLS think-PRES-3 PCL PCL 3pl[pro] 1sg[obl]-DAT eat-ABS  
ja-b-i  
AUX-FUT-3

*Again the old woman thought, "Now they will eat me up.*

MR.04.142 आप केनड करे बचाम आप्नाक ते?

ap kenʌŋ kʌre bʌc-a-m apna-k te  
PCL how ADVL save-CAUS-FUT1sg REFL[pro]-DAT PCL  
*Now how will/can I save myself?*

MR.04.143 एहे! आप कुछ उपाए लाग्बा हवे, कनेक सच्चा हवे, बुद्धि लाग्बा हवे।"

ehe ap kucʰu upae lag-ba hʌ-b-i kʌnek sʌc-ba hʌ-b-i buddʰi  
INJ PCL some way apply\_to-INF must-FUT-3 a\_little think-INF must-FUT-3 wisdom  
lag-ba hʌ-b-i  
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 कह्कि बुरिड, "ए खेटियाला, सुन! आखरित तामा मोक खावन रे, हए नि? आखरि त मुइ आजि मरिम रे।

suna kʌhʌ-c-ki burʰi-dʌ e: kʰeʃia-la sun-ʌ akʰri-t tamʰa  
PCL say-PRES-SA3 old\_woman-NCLS INJ jackal-PL hear-IMP2pl end-LOC 2pl[pro]  
mo-k kʰa-b-ʌn re hʌ-e ni akʰri tʌ 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 एनड करि ना? एनड कर, आप हेत्ना कि खावन?

enʌŋ kʌr-i na enʌŋ kʌr-ʌ 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 हेत्ना आप ठाँखानअ नि ठिक छकन।

hetna ap tʰaʌ-kʰan=ʌ ni tʰik cʰ-ʌ-kʌn  
here PCL place-NCLS=CNJ NEG alright be-PRES-SA2pl  
*Here even the place is no good (for you).*

MR.04.147 कनेक आरह चल ना हुदर, हुदर, हुदर।

kʌnek arʰa cʌl-ʌ 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.*

MR.04.148 अइ हत्ना ठाअँखान ठिक छे, कनेक छियँअ छे।

li hAtna tʰaŋ-kʰan tʰik cʰ-e kʌnek cʰiã=ʌ cʰ-e  
 INJ there place-NCLS alright be-PRES3 a\_little shade=CNJ be-PRES3  
*The place over there is OK, (and) there is a little shade, too.*

MR.04.150 अइठिना खाअन।"

li-tʰina kʰa-ʌn  
 DEM[rem/emph]-place eat-SUBJ2pl  
*You may eat me in that place."*

MR.04.151 "हँ, ले, ले, च, च" कहेने गटे खेटियाला बुरिडर सडे सडे, पाछु पाछु आसिल्कि।

hŋ le le cʌ cʌ kʌh-ene gʌtʌ kʰeʃia-la  
 INJ OK OK go-IMP2sg go-IMP2sg say-CONJ.PTCL all jackal-PL  
 burʰi-dʌ-r sʌŋe sʌŋe pacʰu pacʰu as-il-ki  
 old\_woman-NCLS-GEN with with behind behind come-PST-SA3  
*Saying "Yes, OK, OK, go, go!" all of the jackals followed after the old woman.*

MR.04.152 तब फेर उखान ठाअँत पुगि गेले।

tʌb pʰer u-kʰan tʰaŋ-t pug-i ge-l-i  
 then again DEM[rem]-NCLS place-LOC reach-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*Then again they reached that place.*

MR.04.153 त कह्कि, "ले बुरि, आप तोक खाम।

tʌ kʌhʌ-c-ki le burʰi ap to-k kʰa-m-ʌ  
 PCL say-PRES-SA3 OK old\_woman PCL 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl  
*They said, "OK, old woman, now we will eat you.*

MR.04.154 आप तोक खाम, छर्म नि।"

ap to-k kʰa-m-ʌ cʰʌr-m-ʌ ni  
 now 2sg[obl]-DAT eat-FUT-1pl spare-FUT-1pl NEG  
*Now we will eat you, we will not spare you."*

MR.04.155 आप फेर सुना बुरिड सचेचे, "आरे, आप त फेर आमा मोक खाबा चाहाबे।

ap pʰer suna burʰi-dʌ sʌc-ec-e are ap tʌ pʰer amʰa  
 PCL again PCL old\_woman-NCLS think-PRES-3 INJ PCL PCL again 3pl[pro]  
 mo-k kʰa-ba caha-b-i  
 1sg[obl]-DAT eat-INF want\_to-FUT-3  
*Then the old woman thought again, "Oh no, they want to (i.e. are going to try to) eat me again.*

MR.04.156 आप केनड करे बचाम ते?"

ap kenʌŋ kʌre bʌc-a-m te  
 PCL how ADVL save-CAUS-FUT1sg PCL  
*Now how shall I save (myself)?"*

MR.04.158 आप बुरिड आरकि आप्नाक, माने, आप्नार घरेर बगलत जाछे ने।

ap burʰi-dʌ arki apna-k mane apna-r gʰʌr-er bʌglʌt  
 PCL old\_woman-NCLS PCL REFL[pro]-DAT PCL own-GEN house-GEN near  
 ja-cʰ-e ne  
 go-PRES-3 PCL  
*The old woman was taking herself, I mean, bit by bit close to (her) own home.*



MR.04.159 उहाँ आफ्नाक रसे रसे आफ्ना घरेर बगलत जाबा ने चाहाचे ने।  
 uhā apna-k rase rase apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-er baɡlat 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, tried to) keep taking herself slowly close to (her) own home.*

MR.04.160 "ए बुरि, ले! आप खामा" कहच्चि सभाए।  
 e: bur<sup>h</sup>i le ap k<sup>h</sup>a-m-Λ kΛhΛ-c-ki sΛb<sup>h</sup>ae  
 INJ old\_woman OK PCL eat-FUT-1pl say-PRES-SA3 all  
 "Eh old woman, OK! Now we will eat (you)," said all (of the jackals to her).

MR.04.161 फेर सुना उहाँ सच्चे, "इला त..."  
 p<sup>h</sup>er suna uhā sac-l-i i-la tΛ  
 again PCL 3sg[pro] think-PST-3 DEM[prox]-PL PCL  
 Again she thought, "They are..."

MR.04.162 "देख! आप आखरित मुइ मरिम रे।  
 dek<sup>h</sup>-Λ ap ak<sup>h</sup>ri-t mui mar-im re  
 look-IMP2pl PCL end-LOC 1sg[pro] die-FUT1sg PCL  
 "Look, in the end I am certainly going to die.

MR.04.163 तामा मोक खावन रे, छर्बन नि।  
 tam<sup>h</sup>a mo-k k<sup>h</sup>a-b-Λn re c<sup>h</sup>ar-b-Λn 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.

MR.04.164 इखान, ठाँखान, हेत्ना देख नि।  
 i-k<sup>h</sup>an t<sup>h</sup>añ-k<sup>h</sup>an hetna dek<sup>h</sup>-Λ ni  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS place-NCLS here look-IMP2pl PCL  
 Look at this place here, won't you!

MR.04.165 केन्ति गुहे गु छकन अग्ले बग्ले।  
 kenti gu = he gu c<sup>h</sup>-Λ-kΛn ʌɡle baɡle  
 how stool = EMPH stool be-PRES-SA2pl here\_and\_there  
 How much faeces (you have) here and there.

MR.04.166 एकदम फोहोर, एकदम केन्ति आच्छाए नि छकन।  
 ekdΛm p<sup>h</sup>ohor ekdΛm kenti acc<sup>h</sup>a = e ni c<sup>h</sup>-Λ-kΛn  
 very dirty very how good = EMPH NEG be-PRES-SA2pl  
 Really dirty, it is really no good (for you)!

MR.04.167 पानिअ नि छकन, फेर धुपअ चाँए चाँए हेतिना।  
 pani = Λ ni c<sup>h</sup>-Λ-kΛn p<sup>h</sup>er d<sup>h</sup>up = Λ cāecāe hetina  
 water = CNJ NEG be-PRES-SA2pl again sun = CNJ (scorching) here  
 There is no water (for you) either, and moreover, the sun is really scorching hot here.

MR.04.168 एकदम फोहोरे फोहोर, गुहे गु छकन अग्ले बग्ले।  
 ekdΛm p<sup>h</sup>ohor = e p<sup>h</sup>ohor gu = he gu c<sup>h</sup>-Λ-kΛn  
 very dirty(Nepali) = EMPH dirty(Nepali) stool = EMPH stool be-PRES-SA2pl

ʌgle\_bʌgle

here\_and\_there

*Really terribly dirty, (you) really (have) faeces here and there.*

MR.04.169 एन्ति गान्धा ठाअँखानत खावन सुना मोक?

enti gand<sup>h</sup>a tʰaã-k<sup>h</sup>an-ʌt k<sup>h</sup>a-b-ʌn suna mo-k  
like\_this dirty place-NCLS-LOC eat-FUT-2pl PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT  
*Are you going to eat me in such a dirty place like this?*

MR.04.170 आरह कनेक चल ना, आरह कने हुदर।

arhʌ kʌnek cʌl-ʌ na ar=hʌ kʌne hudʌr  
more a\_little go-IMP2pl PCL more=EMPH a\_little over\_there  
*Go a little further, won't you, a little further over there.*

MR.04.171 अइ उड गेसट देखा जाछे ते?

ʌi u-ɖʌ ges-tʌ dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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?*

MR.04.172 उड गेसटर बगलत, हत्ना पानिअ छकन, गटे छकन।"

u-ɖʌ ges-tʌ-r bʌglʌt hʌtna pani=ʌ c<sup>h</sup>-ʌ-kʌn gʌte  
DEM[rem]-NCLS tree-NCLS-GEN near there water=CNJ be-PRES-SA2pl all  
c<sup>h</sup>-ʌ-kʌn  
be-PRES-SA2pl  
*Close to that tree there is also water (for you), everything is there (for you)."*

MR.04.173 अनड करिएने सुना बुरिड आमाक कहल्कि।

ʌnʌŋ kʌr-iene suna bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ am<sup>h</sup>a-k kʌhʌ-l-ki  
like\_that do-CONJ.PTCL PCL old\_woman-NCLS 3pl[pro]-DAT say-PST-SA3  
*The old woman said like that to them.*

MR.04.174 ते सुना गटे खेटियाला कहल्कि ते, "ठिके, हेत्ना गुहे गु छे।

te suna gʌte k<sup>h</sup>eɽia-la kʌhʌ-l-ki te tʰik=e hetna gu=he gu  
PCL PCL all jackal-PL say-PST-SA3 PCL alright=EMPH here stool=EMPH stool  
c<sup>h</sup>-e  
be-PRES3  
*Then all of the jackals said (to her), "OK, it is filthy here (lit. here are faeces upon faeces).*

MR.04.175 कुना हेत्ना खाम?

kun<sup>h</sup>a hetna k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ʌ  
where here eat-FUT-1pl  
*Why should we eat (her) here?"*

MR.04.176 चल, चल, चल।" कहेने उहाँर सडे सुना चलि गेल।

cʌl-ʌ cʌl-ʌ cʌl-ʌ kʌh-ene uhã-r sʌŋe suna cʌl-i  
go-IMP2pl go-IMP2pl go-IMP2pl say-CONJ.PTCL 3sg[pro]-GEN with PCL AUX-ABS  
ge-l  
go-PST3  
*Saying, "Go, go, go" they went with her.*

MR.04.177 बुरिडर सडे सडे सुना आस्ले।

bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ-r                      sʌŋe sʌŋe suna as-l-i  
old\_woman-NCLS-GEN with with PCL come-PST-3  
*They came (right along) with the old woman.*

MR.04.178 जब हुत्ना आसि गेले, हतितन से डाक दिले, गाअँर लोकला सुन्वा पाबो।

jʌb hutna as-i                      ge-l-i                      hʌtin se                      ɖʌk di-le                      gaʌ-r  
when there come-ABS AUX-PST-3 there ABL call give-COND.PTCL village-GEN  
lok-la sun-ba par-b-i  
man-PL hear-INF can-FUT-3  
*When they reached there, if called, the men/people of the village could hear.*

MR.04.179 त सुना आप खेटियाला कह्कि ते, "ले बुरि, आप माने हेतितन से हुदर नि जाम।

tʌ suna ap k<sup>h</sup>etia-la kʌhʌ-c-ki                      te le bur<sup>h</sup>i                      ap mane hetin  
PCL PCL PCL jackal-PL say-PRES-SA3 PCL OK old\_woman PCL PCL here  
se hudʌr                      ni ja-m-ʌ  
ABL over\_there NEG go-FUT-1pl  
*And then the jackals said (to her), "OK, old woman, now we won't go from here to there (any more).*

MR.04.180 आप एइठिना खाम्कुन।

ap ei-t<sup>h</sup>ina                                      k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ku-n  
PCL DEM[prox/emph]-place eat-FUT-SA2sg-1pl  
*Now we will eat you right here.*

MR.04.181 एकदम हेत्ना पानि तानि गटे छे, देख् ता"

ekdʌm hetna pani tani                      gʌte c<sup>h</sup>-e                      dek<sup>h</sup>-∅                      tʌ  
very here water [echo]water all be-PRES3 look-IMP2sg PCL  
*Here is water and everything, look!*

MR.04.182 "हेतितन से आर नि जाम हुदरा"

hetin se ar                      ni ja-m-ʌ                      hudʌr  
here ABL more NEG go-FUT-1pl over\_there  
*From here we won't go any further over there."*

MR.04.183 त सुना बुरिड कह्ने, "हारे राम! आज्नि त आप मोक आम्ना छर्बे नि।

tʌ suna bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ                      kʌhʌ-c-e                      hare ram                      a<sup>j</sup><sup>h</sup>i tʌ ap  
PCL PCL old\_woman-NCLS say-PRES-3 INJ Rām(god) today PCL PCL  
mo-k                      am<sup>h</sup>a                      c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-b-i                      ni  
1sg[obl]-DAT 3pl[pro] spare-FUT-3 NEG  
*Then the old woman said, "Oh my god (lit. Hare Rām)! Now they will not spare me.*

MR.04.184 आप त मुइ मरिमा।

ap tʌ mui                      mʌr-im  
PCL PCL 1sg[pro] die-FUT1sg  
*Now I am going to die.*

MR.04.185 ते "आम्मार से केनड करे बचिम?" कहेने ते सुना सच्छे।

te am<sup>h</sup>a-r                      se kenʌŋ kʌre                      bʌc-im                      kʌh-ene                      te suna  
PCL 3pl[pro]-GEN ABL how ADVL save-FUT1sg say-CONJ.PTCL PCL PCL

sΛc-l-1

think-PST-3

*How I am to be saved from them?" she thought.*

MR.04.186 ते सुना "ठिके छे। आप मोक त तामा खावन रे।

te suna tʰik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e ap mo-k tΛ tam<sup>h</sup>a  
 PCL PCL alright=EMPH be-PRES3 PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL 2pl[pro]  
 k<sup>h</sup>a-b-Λn re  
 eat-FUT-2pl PCL  
*Then (she said), "Alright, now you will certainly eat me.*

MR.04.187 आखरित मुइ आजि मरिम रे, मोर उपाय छेइए नि कुछु।

ak<sup>h</sup>ri-t mui aj<sup>h</sup>i mΛr-im re mo-r upae c<sup>h</sup>-e=ie ni  
 end-LOC 1sg[pro] today die-FUT1sg PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN way be-PRES3=EMPH NEG  
 kuc<sup>h</sup>u  
 some  
*In the end I will certainly die today, there is no way (out) for me at all.*

MR.04.188 ते मोक एकछिन त कान्वा दिवन ना?"

te mo-k ekc<sup>h</sup>in tΛ kan-ba di-b-Λn 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?"*

MR.04.189 "हँ हँ, कानेक!

hΛ hΛ kan-ek  
 INJ INJ cry-IMP2sg  
*"OK, OK, cry.*

MR.04.190 केतखुन से कान्बो?

ket-k<sup>h</sup>un se kan-b-o  
 how\_much-time ABL cry-FUT-2sg  
*Until when will you cry?*

MR.04.191 कानेक।"

kan-ek  
 cry-IMP2sg  
*Cry!"*

MR.04.192 तब सुना बुरिड सुना एकटा बगलत जाएने सुना धरिचे कान्वा।

tΛb suna bur<sup>h</sup>i-dΛ suna ek-ta bΛglΛt ja-ene suna  
 then PCL old\_woman-NCLS PCL one-NCLS near go-CONJ.PTCL PCL  
 d<sup>h</sup>Λr-ic-e kan-ba  
 begin-PERF-3 cry-INF  
*Then the old woman went aside and began to cry.*

MR.04.193 ते उहाँ सुना एनड करे कानेचे आप, "ए बुरा, लेदड धरिए दउर बुरा!

te uhΛ suna enΛj kΛre kan-ec-e ap e: bur<sup>h</sup>a ledΛj  
 PCL 3sg[pro] PCL like\_this ADVL cry-PRES-3 PCL INJ old\_man stick

d<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ie                  dʌur-Ø                  bur<sup>h</sup>a  
 hold-CONJ.PTCL run-IMP2sg old\_man  
*She cried like this, "Eh. old man, run (over here) bringing a stick, old man."*

MR.04.194 ए काल कुकुर, खइरा कुकुर, कुतेकुते! कुतेकुते!" कहेने आरकि उहाँ कानेचे।  
 e: kalʌ kukur k<sup>h</sup>ʌira kukur kute:\_kute                  kute:\_kute                  kʌh-ene  
 INJ black dog grey dog come\_here(to\_dogs) come\_here(to\_dogs) say-CONJ.PTCL  
 arki uhā kan-ec-e  
 PCL 3sg[pro] cry-PRES-3  
*Saying "Eh, black dogs, grey dogs, come here! Come here!" she cried.*

MR.04.195 "कुतेकुते! कुतेकुते!" कहेने माने कानेचे।  
 kute:\_kute                  kute:\_kute                  kʌh-ene                  mane kan-ec-e  
 come\_here(to\_dogs) come\_here(to\_dogs) say-CONJ.PTCL PCL cry-PRES-3  
*She cried (to the dogs), "Come here! Come here!"*

MR.04.196 उड, कुतेकुते आवाजड जब गाअँत पुगि गेले, गाअँर कुकुरला सुनि फेकाले।  
 u-ɖʌ                  kute:\_kute                  awaj-ɖʌ                  jʌb                  gaʌ-t                  pug-i  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS come\_here(to\_dogs) sound-NCLS when village-LOC reach-ABS  
 ge-l-i                  gaʌ-r                  kukur-la sun-i                  p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i  
 AUX-PST-3 village-GEN dog-PL hear-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*When the dog-calling sound reached the village, the dogs in the village heard (it).*

MR.04.197 त बुराडउ सुना सुनि फेकाले। बुरिड माने कुछु कठिनत परिचे कहे थाहा पाले।  
 tʌ bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ=u                  suna sun-i                  p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-i                  bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ                  mane kuc<sup>h</sup>u  
 PCL old\_man-NCLS=CNJ PCL hear-ABS AUX-PST-3 old\_woman-NCLS PCL some  
 kʌt<sup>h</sup>in-at                  pʌr-ic-e                  kʌhe t<sup>h</sup>aha                  pa-l-i  
 difficult-LOC fall-PERF-3 CMPL knowledge(Nepali) receive-PST-3  
*The old man heard as well. He found out that the old woman had fallen into some trouble.*

MR.04.198 "आप बुरिडक बच्चा हबे" कहेने गटे गाअँर कुकुरलाक जर करिणे बुराड एकदम खेटियालार ति दउर मारिचे।  
 ap bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ-k                  bʌc-ba                  hʌ-b-i                  kʌh-ene                  gaʌe gaʌ-r  
 PCL old\_woman-NCLS-DAT save-INF must-FUT-3 say-CONJ.PTCL all village-GEN  
 kukur-la-k                  jʌr                  kʌr-iene                  bur<sup>h</sup>a-ɖʌ                  ekdʌm k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-la-r                  ti  
 dog-PL-DAT gathering do-CONJ.PTCL old\_man-NCLS very jackal-PL-GEN towards  
 dʌur mar-ic-e  
 running kill-PERF-3  
*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.*

MR.04.199 गाअँ घरेर जेत्ला कुकुरला छिले, गटलाए भुक्ते भुक्ते खेटियालाक पिटाए लिछे।  
 gaʌ                  g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er                  jetla                  kukur-la c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i                  gaʌ-la=e                  b<sup>h</sup>uk-te  
 village house-GEN however\_many dog-PL be-PST-3 all-PL=EMPH bark-CONT.PTCL  
 b<sup>h</sup>uk-te                  k<sup>h</sup>eʃia-la-k                  piʃa-e                  l-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 bark-CONT.PTCL jackal-PL-DAT chase-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*However many dogs there were in the village and the houses, they all chased the jackals while barking and barking.*

MR.04.200 अकुन्डा कुकुर जाएने खेटियालाक काम्राए लिच्छे।

akunḍa kukur ja-ene k<sup>h</sup>etia-la-k kamra-e l-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
different dog go-CONJ.PTCL jackal-PL-DAT bite-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*All of the dogs went (and) bit the jackals.*

MR.04.201 खेटियाला एकदम भाग्ने दिसा नि पाचे।

k<sup>h</sup>etia-la ekdam b<sup>h</sup>ag-te disa ni pa-c-e  
jackal-PL very escape-CONT.PTCL direction NEG get-PRES-3  
*The jackals really fled in confusion.*

MR.04.202 कुकुरला जे पिटाच्छि पिटाच्छि खेटियालाक। अन्तिमत गटे खेटियालाक पिटाएने भागाए दिक्कि।

kukur-la je piṭa-c-ki piṭa-c-ki k<sup>h</sup>etia-la-k antim-at gaṭe  
dog-PL still chase-PRES-SA3 chase-PRES-SA3 jackal-PL-DAT end-LOC all  
k<sup>h</sup>etia-la-k piṭa-ene b<sup>h</sup>ag-a-e d-il-ki  
jackal-PL-DAT chase-CONJ.PTCL escape-CAUS-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*The dogs chased and chased the jackals. In the end the dogs chasing all of the jackals made them flee.*

MR.04.203 आर बुरिड सुना बचि गेले।

ar bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍa suna bac-i ge-l-i  
and old\_woman-NCLS PCL save-ABS AUX-PST-3  
*And the old woman was saved.*

MR.04.204 खेटियाला बुरिडक खाबा नि पा'ले।

k<sup>h</sup>etia-la bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍa-k k<sup>h</sup>a-ba ni pa(r)-l-i  
jackal-PL old\_woman-NCLS-DAT eat-INF NEG can-PST-3  
*The jackals couldn't eat the old woman.*

MR.04.205 त सुना अन्तिमत बुरा, बुरि, कुकुरला गटलाए मिलिएने घर आसिला।

tḷ suna antim-at bur<sup>h</sup>a bur<sup>h</sup>i kukur-la gaṭ-la=e mil-iene  
PCL PCL end-LOC old\_man old\_woman dog-PL all-PL=EMPH unite-CONJ.PTCL  
g<sup>h</sup>ar as-il  
house come-PST3  
*Then in the end the old woman and old man and the dogs, all of them together came home.*

MR.04.206 एनड करे माने बुरिड आप्नार जानड बचाले।

enḍ kare mane bur<sup>h</sup>i-ḍa apna-r jan-ḍa bac-a-l-i  
like\_this ADVL PCL old\_woman-NCLS REFL[pro]-GEN life-NCLS save-CAUS-PST-3  
*In this way the old woman saved her own life.*

MR.04.207 खिसा खतम, पेइसा हजम।

k<sup>h</sup>isa k<sup>h</sup>atam peisa haJam  
story finish money digestion[Urdu]  
*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 एकटा गाअत एकझना बुरि छिले।

ek-ʈa gaã-t ek-j<sup>h</sup>ana bur<sup>h</sup>i c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i  
 one-NCLS village-LOC one-PCLS old\_woman be-PST-3  
*In a village there was an old woman.*

MR.05.002 उहाँर बेटाड राजार घरत काम करेकि।

uhã-r beta-ɖa raja-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-at 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.*

MR.05.003 उहाँ माने राजार घरत झागल चर्बार काम करे।

uhã mane raja-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-at c<sup>h</sup>agal car-ba-r kam kar-e  
 3sg[pro] PCL king-GEN house-LOC female\_goat graze-INF-GEN work do-PST.HAB3  
*He used to work as a goatherd in the king's house.*

MR.05.004 सुन एकदिन करे झागल चर्बा चुलि गिछे जङलखान ति।

sun ek-din kare c<sup>h</sup>agal car-ba cul-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e jɒŋal-k<sup>h</sup>an ti  
 PCL one-day ADVL female\_goat graze-INF AUX-ABS go-PERF-3 jungle-NCLS towards  
*One day he went to the jungle to graze goats.*

MR.05.005 झारबारिखान ति गिछे।

j<sup>h</sup>arbari-k<sup>h</sup>an ti g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 forest-NCLS towards go-PERF-3  
*He went to the forest.*

MR.05.006 त सुना, एनड उहाँ झागल चराइस्ले।

ta suna enɒj uhã c<sup>h</sup>agal cara-isl-i  
 PCL PCL like\_this 3sg[pro] female\_goat graze-REM.PST-3  
*He was grazing the goats like this.*

MR.05.007 त सुना एकटा बाघ आर एकटा सोर सुना आसिए पुगि गेलिकि।

ta suna ek-ʈa bag<sup>h</sup> ar ek-ʈa sor suna as-ie pug-i  
 PCL PCL one-NCLS tiger and one-NCLS pig PCL come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS  
 ge-l-ki  
 AUX-PST-SA3  
*(And) then a tiger and a boar arrived.*

MR.05.008 एकदम आमा एकदम लाराइ कर्बा चाहाच्चि।

ekdam am<sup>h</sup>a ekdam larai kar-ba caha-c-e  
 very 3pl[pro] very fighting do-INF want\_to-PRES-3  
*They really wanted to fight.*

MR.05.009 लाराइ कर्बा चाहाचे।

larai kar-ba caha-c-e  
 fighting do-INF want\_to-PRES-3  
*They wanted to fight.*

MR.05.010 उला देखिने सुना उड नकरिया चेडराडक एकदम डर लागि गेल्लि।  
 u-la dek<sup>h</sup>-iene suna u-ḍa naḱar-ia ceṅra-ḍa-k ekdam  
 that-PL look-CONJ.PTCL PCL that-NCLS servant-ADJR young\_man-NCLS-DAT very  
 ḍar lag-i ge-l-ki  
 fear feel-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*Seeing them the working young (man) became very afraid.*

MR.05.011 सान घुरि हबा लागि गिच्छि एकदम।  
 san g<sup>h</sup>uri ha-ba lag-i g-ic-ki ekdam  
 evening during be-INF apply\_to-ABS AUX-PERF-SA3 very  
*The evening was about to start.*

MR.05.012 बेलाड डुबिने आप कनेक सान हबा आटिस्लिक्कि उखुना।  
 bela-ḍa ḍub-iene ap kaṅek san ha-ba  
 sun-NCLS sink(Nepali)-CONJ.PTCL PCL a\_little evening be-INF  
 aṭ-isl-ki u-k<sup>h</sup>una  
 be\_about\_to(Nepali)-REM.PST-SA3 DEM[rem]-time  
*The sun had set and the evening was about to begin.*

MR.05.013 ते उहाँ सुना एकदम उला गटे द्यागललाक जर करिने घरेर ति आस्बा चाहिस्ले ताहें एकदम उड सोरे आर उड बाघे उहाँक पक्रि फेकाल्कि।  
 te uhā suna ekdam u-la gaṭe c<sup>h</sup>agaḷ-la-k jaṛ  
 PCL 3sg[pro] PCL very DEM[rem]-PL all female\_goat-PL-DAT gathering  
 kaṛ-iene g<sup>h</sup>ar-er ti as-ba caḥ-isl-i tahe ekdam  
 do-CONJ.PTCL house-GEN towards come-INF try-REM.PST-3 immediately very  
 u-ḍa sor=e ar u-ḍa baḡ<sup>h</sup>=e uhā-k paḱr-i  
 that-NCLS pig=EMPH and that-NCLS tiger=EMPH 3sg[pro]-DAT catch-ABS  
 p<sup>h</sup>eka-l-ki  
 AUX-PST-SA3  
*He gathered all of the goats together and tried to come home, but (just) then the boar and the tiger caught him.*

MR.05.014 त सुना कह्कि, "ए चेडरा, हामा दुइजना हेतिन लाराइ कर्म।  
 ta suna kaḥa-c-ki e ceṅra hama dui-j<sup>h</sup>ana hetin larai kaṛ-m-a  
 PCL PCL say-PRES-SA3 INJ young\_man 1pl[pro] two-PCLS here fighting do-FUT-1pl  
*They said to him, "Eh, young man. The two of us are going to fight here.*

MR.05.015 तोक देख्बा ह्क्कु, काहें जितेचि काहें हारेचि।  
 to-k dek<sup>h</sup>-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.*

MR.05.016 हबे ना?"  
 ha-b-i na  
 be-FUT-3 or  
*OK?"*

MR.05.017 नकरिया चेडराडक एकदम डर लागि गेल्लि!  
 naḱar-ia ceṅra-ḍa-k ekdam ḍar lag-i ge-l-ki  
 servant-ADJR young\_man-NCLS-DAT very fear feel-ABS AUX-PST-SA3  
*The working young (man) was really afraid.*



MR.05.018 आप बाघड, "ए! हामाक देख्वा हप्कु।"

ap bag<sup>h</sup>-dΛ e hama-k dek<sup>h</sup>-ba hΛ-p-ku  
 PCL tiger-NCLS INJ 1pl[pro]-DAT look-INF must-FUT-SA2sg  
*The tiger said, "Eh! You will have to watch us."*

MR.05.019 'हामा लाराइ कर्म' कहले साभाके डर लाग्बे ना?

hama larai kΛr-m-Λ kΛhΛ-le sab<sup>h</sup>a-k=e dΛr lag-b-i na  
 1pl[pro] fighting do-FUT-1pl say-COND.PTCL all-DAT=EMPH fear need-FUT-3 or  
*If they say, 'We will fight', any one (of us) would be afraid, wouldn't (we)!*

MR.05.020 आप अइठिना आगुति बाघड रहले, केनड डर लाग्बे!

ap Λi-t<sup>h</sup>ina aguti bag<sup>h</sup>-dΛ rΛhΛ-le kenΛŋ dΛr  
 PCL DEM[rem/emph]-place in\_front tiger-NCLS be-COND.PTCL what\_kind fear  
 lag-b-i  
 feel-FUT-3  
*If a tiger was there in front, (we) would be (so) afraid!*

MR.05.021 त सुना उहाँ डरे, "ठिके छे, हजुर,

tΛ suna uhā dΛr-e t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e hΛjur  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro] fear-INSTR alright=EMPH be-PRES3 Sir(Nepali)  
*So out of fear he said, "OK sir."*

MR.05.022 आप तामा जदि अनड कर्बन, ठिके छे।

ap tam<sup>h</sup>a jΛdi ΛnΛŋ kΛr-b-Λn t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PCL 2pl[pro] if like\_that do-FUT-2pl alright=EMPH be-PRES3  
*If that is what you are going to do, OK.*

MR.05.023 मुइ देखि दिम्कन।"

mui dek<sup>h</sup>-i di-m-kΛ-n  
 1sg[pro] look-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2pl-1sg  
*I will watch (for you)."*

MR.05.024 सुना उड नकरिया चेडराड अइठिना बठिणे रहले।

sunu u-dΛ nΛkΛr-ia ceŋra-dΛ Λi-t<sup>h</sup>ina bΛt<sup>h</sup>-iene  
 PCL that-NCLS servant-ADJR young\_man-NCLS DEM[rem/emph]-place sit-CONJ.PTCL  
 rΛhΛ-l-i  
 remain-PST-3  
*So the working young (man) sat and remained sitting there.*

MR.05.025 डर लागिच्चि जुलुम।

dΛr lag-ic-ki julum  
 fear feel-PERF-SA3 very  
*He was very afraid.*

MR.05.026 एकदम सान्जा सान हइ गिछे बेलाड आर आमा सोरटए आर बाघडए एकदम लाराइ कर्बा ध'इचे आरकि।

ekdam sanja san hΛ-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e bela-dΛ ar am<sup>h</sup>a  
 very early\_evening late\_evening be-ABS AUX-PERF-3 time-NCLS and 3pl[pro]  
 sor-tΛ=e ar bag<sup>h</sup>-dΛ=e ekdam larai kΛr-ba d<sup>h</sup>Λ(r)-ic-e arki  
 pig-NCLS=EMPH and tiger-NCLS=EMPH very fighting do-INF begin-PERF-3 PCL  
*The time was already late evening and they, the boar and the tiger, really began to fight.*

MR.05.028 लाराइ कर्ते कर्ते, लाराइ कर्बार खुनि केनड करेच्चि सोरट, कादखानत जाएने जाच्चि लटपटाए।

larai kʌr-te kʌr-te larai kʌr-ba-r kʰuni kenʌŋ  
fighting do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL fighting do-INF-GEN during what\_kind  
kʌr-ec-ki sor-ʈʌ (ki) kadʌ-kʰan-ʌt ja-ene ja-c-ki  
do-PRES-SA3 pig-NCLS (that) mud-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL AUX-PRES-SA3  
lʌʈpʌʈa-e  
roll(in\_mud)-ABS

*While they were fighting, while they were fighting, what the boar did (was that) he went into the mud and rolled around (in it).*

MR.05.029 कादखानत जाएने जाच्चि एकदम लटपटाए, लटपटाए।

kadʌ-kʰan-ʌt ja-ene ja-c-ki ekdʌm lʌʈpʌʈa-e  
mud-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL AUX-PRES-SA3 very roll(in\_mud)-ABS  
lʌʈpʌʈa-e  
roll(in\_mud)-ABS

*He went into the mud and really rolled around in it.*

MR.05.030 गटे दाहाड कादए काद करि देच्चि।

gʌʈe daha-ʈʌ kadʌ=e kadʌ kʌr-i d-ec-ki  
all body-NCLS mud=EMPH mud do-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3  
He made his whole body muddy.

MR.05.031 जेहेने बाघड थिप्रिने जाच्चि सोरटर पर, उहाँ खलकाला दे सोरटक एकदम नाझ्झाए लेच्चि।

jehene bagʰ-ʈʌ tʰipr-iene ja-c-ki sor-ʈʌ-r pʌr uhã  
when tiger-NCLS jump-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-SA3 pig-NCLS-GEN on\_top 3sg[pro]  
kʰʌlka-la de sor-ʈʌ-k ekdʌm nacʰra-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 it.*

MR.05.033 ते सोरटर दाहाड से माटिलाए एकदम झरझर करे गिरेच्चि।

te sor-ʈʌ-r daha-ʈʌ se maʈi-la=e ekdʌm jʰʌrjʰʌr  
PCL pig-NCLS-GEN body-NCLS ABL soil-PL=EMPH very mud\_falling(sound)  
kʌre gir-ec-ki  
ADVL fall-PRES-SA3

*Mud dripped off the boar's body with a mud-dripping sound.*

MR.05.034 आर जेइखुना एकदम उड सोरट बाघडर पर झप्टिए लेच्चि, एकदम काम्राच्चि, ते उहाँर दाहाड से खुने निक्लाए देच्चि।

ar jei-kʰuna ekdʌm u-ʈʌ sor-ʈʌ bagʰ-ʈʌ-r pʌr  
and which-time very that-NCLS pig-NCLS tiger-NCLS-GEN on\_top  
jʰʌʈʰi-e l-ec-ki ekdʌm kamra-c-ki te uhã-r  
jump\_upon(Nepali)-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3 very bite-PRES-SA3 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN  
daha-ʈʌ se kʰun=e nikl-a-e d-ec-ki  
body-NCLS ABL blood(Nepali)=EMPH go\_out-CAUS-ABS AUX-PRES-SA3

*And when the boar was jumping on to the tiger and biting (the tiger), he made blood come from his (the tiger's) body.*

MR.05.035 अनङ करे लाराइ कर्ते कर्ते कर्ते...

anəŋ kare larai kar-te kar-te kar-te  
like\_that ADVL fighting do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL  
*In this manner they fought and fought and fought.*

MR.05.036 अन्तिमत सुना उड बाघड जावे हारिए।

antim-at suna u-ɖa bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖa ja-b-i har-ie  
end-LOC PCL that-NCLS tiger-NCLS AUX-FUT-3 lose-ABS  
*In the end the tiger lost.*

MR.05.037 बाघडर दाहाड गटडए खुने खुन हइ जाष्कि।

bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖa-r daha-ɖa gaɬ-tɬ=e k<sup>h</sup>un=e k<sup>h</sup>un hɬ-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.*

MR.05.038 तने सुना लाराइ ताराइ करिएने सुना उहाँक कहष्कि,

tane suna larai tarai kar-iene suna uhã-k kɬhɬ-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:*

MR.05.039 "ए, चेडरा!

e ceŋra  
INJ young\_man  
*"Eh, young man!"*

MR.05.040 ले, कोहो त, हामा दुइझना ते लाराइ कर्न, काहें जित्त?"

le koho-Ø tɬ hama dui-j<sup>h</sup>ana te larai kar-n-ɬ kahe jit-n-ɬ  
OK say-IMP2sg PCL 1pl[pro] two-PCLS PCL fighting do-PST-1pl who win-PST-1pl  
*OK, say, the two of us fought. Which one (of us) won?"*

MR.05.041 आप उड चेडरा कि कहबे?

ap u-ɖa ceŋra ki kɬhɬ-b-i  
PCL that-NCLS young\_man what say-FUT-3  
*What will the young man say?*

MR.05.042 'बाघ, तुइ हारि गेलो' कहबे बाघड उहाँक खाए जाष्कि।

bag<sup>h</sup> tui har-i ge-l-o kɬhɬ-b-i bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖa uhã-k k<sup>h</sup>a-e  
tiger 2sg[pro] lose-ABS AUX-PST-2sg say-FUT-3 tiger-NCLS 3sg[pro]-DAT eat-ABS  
ja-p-ki  
AUX-FUT-SA3  
*If he says, "Tiger, you lost", the tiger will eat him up.*

MR.05.043 आप सोरटक 'तुइ हारि गेलो' कहबे, सोरट उहाँक मारि फेकाष्कि।

ap sor-tɬ-k tui har-i ge-l-o kɬhɬ-b-i sor-tɬ  
PCL pig-NCLS-DAT 2sg[pro] lose-ABS AUX-PST-2sg say-FUT-3 pig-NCLS  
uhã-k mar-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-p-ki  
3sg[pro]-DAT kill-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3  
*And if he says to the boar, "You lost", the boar would kill him.*

MR.05.044 आप बाडा मुस्किल!

ap bara muskil  
PCL very difficult  
*Very difficult!*

MR.05.045 याहाँ सुना बिचार करिए देखले,

yaha suna bicar kaɾ-ie dek<sup>h</sup>-l-ɪ  
DEM[pro/prox] PCL thought do-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3  
*He got an idea. (Lit. He saw (it) by thinking.)*

MR.05.047 "अँ हँ आमाक एनड ति कर्ले नि हबे।

ã hã am<sup>h</sup>a-k enaŋ ti kaɾ-le ni ha-b-ɪ  
INJ INJ 3pl[pro]-DAT like\_this towards do-COND.PTCL NEG should-FUT-3  
*"No, I shouldn't do like this to them.*

MR.05.049 आप आमाक बाराबरे हइ गेलन" कहे कहबा हबे।

ap am<sup>h</sup>a-k barabar=e ha-i ge-l-aŋ kaɬ-e kaɬa-ba  
PCL 3pl[pro]-DAT equal=EMPH be-ABS AUX-PST-2pl say-CONJ.PTCL say-INF  
ha-b-ɪ  
should-FUT-3  
*Now, I should say to them that they were even."*

MR.05.050 सुना उड चेडराड सुना कहक्कि, "तामा काहु नि जित्लन, काहु नि हार्लन गो।

suna u-ɖa ceŋra-ɖa suna kaɬa-p-ki tam<sup>h</sup>a kahu ni  
PCL that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS PCL say-FUT-SA3 2pl[pro] no-one NEG  
jit-l-aŋ kahu ni har-l-aŋ go  
win-PST-2pl no-one NEG lose-PST-2pl VOC  
*So, the young man said (to them), "Neither of you won, neither of you lost.*

MR.05.051 तामा दने झना बाराबोर हलन।"

tam<sup>h</sup>a daŋ<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup>ana barabor ha-l-aŋ  
2pl[pro] both PCLS equal be-PST-2pl  
*You were both even."*

MR.05.052 अत्किनि कहेने सुना बाघड आर सोरट कहल्कि, "ले, ठिके छे।

atkini kaɬ-ene suna bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖa ar sor-ta kaɬa-l-ki le  
that\_much say-CONJ.PTCL PCL tiger-NCLS and pig-NCLS say-PST-SA3 OK  
t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e  
alright=EMPH be-PRES3  
*He having said that much the tiger and the boar said, "OK, alright.*

MR.05.053 अनड ति हले, तुइ जा।"

aŋaŋ ti ha-le tui ja-∅  
like\_that towards be-COND.PTCL 2sg[pro] go-IMP2sg  
*If that is so, you go."*

MR.05.054 सुना उड चेडरा एकदम होकोर दोकोर करे गटे छागलला जर करिएने घरेर ति दउर मारबे एकदम।

suna u-ɖa ceŋra ekdam hokor\_dokor kaɾe gaɽe c<sup>h</sup>agaɬ-la  
PCL that-NCLS young\_man very in\_a\_hurry ADVL all female\_goat-PL

jar kar-iene g<sup>h</sup>ar-er ti d<sup>l</sup>ur mar-b-ɪ ekd<sup>l</sup>am  
 gathering do-CONJ.PTCL house-GEN towards run kill-FUT-3 very  
*So the young man hurriedly gathered all the goats together and ran off home.*

MR.05.055 तने उड, बाघड सुना सचेचे, "आरे!

tane u-ɖ<sup>l</sup> bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖ<sup>l</sup> suna s<sup>l</sup>c-ec-e are  
 PCL that-NCLS tiger-NCLS PCL think-PRES-3 INJ  
*Then the tiger thought, "Oh!*

MR.05.056 साला रे! मोर दाहाड एकदम गटेडए सुर्किए सुर्कि हइ गिछे।

sala re mo-r daha-ɖ<sup>l</sup> ekd<sup>l</sup>am g<sup>l</sup>te-ɖ<sup>l</sup>=e  
 y.brother\_of\_wife VOC 1sg[obl]-GEN body-NCLS very all-NCLS=EMPH  
 surki=e surki h<sup>l</sup>-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 blood=EMPH blood be-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*Damned (young man)! My body has become bloody all over.*

MR.05.057 आर सोरेर दाहाड कुछु नि हकि।

ar sor-er daha-ɖ<sup>l</sup> kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni h<sup>l</sup>-ki  
 and pig-GEN body-NCLS some NEG be-SA3  
*And nothing has happened to the boar's body.*

MR.05.058 फेर बले, 'बाराबोर हन।'

p<sup>h</sup>er bale barabor h<sup>l</sup>-n-<sup>l</sup>  
 again QUOT equal be-PST-1pl  
*But still he said we were even.*

MR.05.059 अँ हँ, मोक कनेक चित नि बुझिल।

ã hã mo-k k<sup>l</sup>nek cit ni buj<sup>h</sup>-il  
 INJ INJ 1sg[obl]-DAT a\_little thought NEG understand-PST3  
*No, I don't quite understand.*

MR.05.060 मुइ पाक्का हार्नु।

mui pakka har-n-u  
 1sg[pro] really(Nepali) lose-PST-1sg  
*I truly lost.*

MR.05.061 इड चेडरा माने, अँ हँ, ठिक नि कोहोला।"

i-ɖ<sup>l</sup> ceɳra mane ã hã t<sup>h</sup>ik ni koho-<sup>l</sup>  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS young\_man PCL INJ INJ alright NEG say-PST3  
*As for this young man, no, he didn't say correctly."*

MR.05.062 त सुना चेडराड आप घर पुगि गिछे।

t<sup>l</sup> suna ceɳra-ɖ<sup>l</sup> ap g<sup>h</sup>ar pug-i g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PCL PCL young\_man-NCLS PCL house reach-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*The young man had (already) arrived home.*

MR.05.063 राजार घरत जाएने आप्नार छागल तागलला गुहालि घरत ढुकाए तुकाए उहाँ सुना आप्नार घर थाक्वा जाबे राति घुरि।

raja-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-at ja-ene apna-r c<sup>h</sup>ag<sup>l</sup> tag<sup>l</sup>-la  
 king-GEN house-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL REFL[pro]-GEN female\_goat [echo]female\_goat-PL  
 guhal-i g<sup>h</sup>ar-at d<sup>h</sup>uka-e tuka-e uhã  
 farmer-ADJR house-LOC take\_inside-CONJ.PTCL [echo]take\_inside-CONJ.PTCL 3sg[pro]

suna apna-r g<sup>h</sup>ar t<sup>h</sup>ak-ba ja-b-ɪ rati g<sup>h</sup>uri  
 PCL REFL[pro]-GEN house sleep-INF go-FUT-3 night during  
*He went to the king's house, took his goats inside the barn and then went to (his) own home to sleep the night.*

MR.05.064 थाकवा जावे ते एकदम राति घुरि उहाँक जार लागवा धरिष्कि।  
 t<sup>h</sup>ak-ba ja-b-ɪ te ekdɒm rati g<sup>h</sup>uri uhã-k jar lag-ba  
 sleep-INF go-FUT-3 PCL very night during 3sg[pro]-DAT cold feel-INF  
 d<sup>h</sup>ar-ip-ki  
 begin-FUT-SA3  
*When he went to sleep, during the night, he began to feel cold.*

MR.05.065 एकदम डरे जर आसिष्कि।  
 ekdɒm d̪ar-e jar as-ip-ki  
 very fear-INSTR fever come-FUT-SA3  
*He caught a fever due to being afraid.*

MR.05.066 सुना उहाँर आइडक कहष्कि, "आइ, मोक दुइडा लिहानि झाका दे ता।  
 suna uhã-r ai-d̪ak kʌhʌ-p-ki ai mo-k dui-ɖa  
 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN mother-NCLS-DAT say-FUT-SA3 mother 1sg[obl]-DAT two-NCLS  
 lihani j<sup>h</sup>aka de-∅ tʌ  
 blanket cover give-IMP2sg PCL  
*Then he said to his mother, "Mother, cover me with two blankets.*

MR.05.067 मोक आज्जि एकदम डर लागिचे।"  
 mo-k aj<sup>h</sup>i ekdɒm d̪ar lag-ic-e  
 1sg[obl]-DAT today very fear feel-PERF-3  
*I was really afraid today."*

MR.05.068 सुना उहाँर माअड सुना कहष्कि, "आरे!  
 suna uhã-r maʌ-d̪a suna kʌhʌ-p-ki are  
 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN mother-NCLS PCL say-FUT-SA3 INJ  
*His mother said (to him), "Oh!*

MR.05.069 कि हल्कु ते रे?  
 ki hʌ-l-ku te re  
 what be-PST-SA2sg PCL VOC  
*What happened (to you) then?*

MR.05.070 केनड करे सुना?  
 kenʌŋ kʌre suna  
 what\_kind ADVL PCL  
*How (did that happen)?*

MR.05.071 कि हल्कु?"  
 ki hʌ-l-ku  
 what be-PST-SA2sg  
*What happened (to you)?"*

MR.05.072 बले, "आइ, कि कहवो?"

bʌle ai ki kʌhʌ-b-o  
 QUOT mother what say-FUT-2sg  
*He said, "Mother, what can you say?"*

MR.05.073 आजि बले मरिए बच्नु।"

ajʰi bʌle mʌr-ie bʌc-n-u  
 today QUOT die-CONJ.PTCL save-PST-1sg  
*Today I almost died."*

MR.05.074 "कि हल्कु सुना, केनड करे?"

ki hʌ-l-ku suna kenʌŋ kʌre  
 what be-PST-SA2sg PCL what\_kind ADVL  
*"What happened (to you), how (did that happen)?"*

MR.05.075 त सुना चेडराड सुना कहक्कि, "जेइखुना ते मुइ आजि करे ते गिस्नु छागल चर्बा जडलखानत, एकटा बाघ आर एकटा सोर लाराइ करिस्ले।

tʌ suna ceŋra-ɖʌ suna kʌhʌ-p-ki jei-kʰuna te mui ajʰi  
 PCL PCL young\_man-NCLS PCL say-FUT-SA3 which-time PCL 1sg[pro] today  
 kʌre te g-isn-u cʰagʌl cʌr-ba jʌŋʌl-kʰan-ʌt ek-tʌ  
 ADVL PCL go-REM.PST-1sg female\_goat graze-INF jungle-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS  
 bagʰ ar ek-tʌ sor larai kʌr-isl-i

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 बाघड माने हारि गिस्ले।

ar bagʰ-ɖʌ mane har-i g-isl-i  
 and tiger-NCLS PCL lose-ABS AUX-REM.PST-3  
*And as for the tiger, he lost.*

MR.05.078 ताहूँ माने मुइ जान बच्चार ताने, 'ए तामा दने झनाए बाराबोर हलन' कहक्किन।

tahu mane mui jan bʌc-ba-r tane e tamʰa dʌnʰe jʰʌna=e barabor  
 but PCL 1sg[pro] life save-INF-GEN for INJ 2pl[pro] both PCLS=EMPH equal  
 hʌ-l-ʌn kʌhʌ-n-ki-n  
 be-PST-2pl say-PST-SA3-1sg  
*But, in order to save my life, I said (to them), 'Eh, you were both even.' "*

MR.05.079 मोक एनड डर लागिस्ले ना, आइ, कि कहवो...!" कहेने उहाँ बल्बे आइडर सडे, माअडर सडे।

mo-k enʌŋ ɖʌr lag-isl-i na ai ki kʌhʌ-b-o  
 1sg[obl]-DAT like\_this fear feel-REM.PST-3 PCL mother what say-FUT-2sg  
 kʌh-ene uhā bʌl-b-i ai-ɖʌ-r sʌŋe maʌ-ɖʌ-r sʌŋe  
 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 बाघड सुना आमार घरेर पाछुति आसिएने राति घुरि सुनिए रहक्कि, कि कि बल्बे धिना इड चेडरा।"

bagʰ-ɖʌ suna amʰa-r gʰʌr-er pacʰuti as-iene rati gʰuri  
 tiger-NCLS PCL 3pl[pro]-GEN house-GEN behind come-CONJ.PTCL night during  
 sun-ie rʌhʌ-p-ki ki ki bʌl-c-e dʰina i-ɖʌ  
 hear-CONJ.PTCL remain-FUT-SA3 what what speak-PRES-3 let's\_see DEM[prox]-NCLS

ceŋra

young\_man

*During the night, the tiger came behind their house and remained (there) listening, "What is the young man saying, let's see."*

MR.05.082 सुना उहाँ सुनि फेकाप्कि, बाघड,

suna uhã sun-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-p-ki bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ

PCL 3sg[pro] hear-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3 tiger-NCLS

*He heard; the tiger (heard).*

MR.05.083 "ए, मुइ त हारि गिस्तु।

e mui tʌ har-i g-isn-u

INJ 1sg[pro] PCL lose-ABS AUX-REM.PST-1sg

*"Eh, so I lost.*

MR.05.084 तुइ त मोक हतिना ठग्लो।

tui tʌ mo-k hʌtina t<sup>h</sup>ʌg-l-o

2sg[pro] PCL 1sg[obl]-DAT there cheat-PST-2sg

*You cheated me there (after all).*

MR.05.085 ठिक छे।"

t<sup>h</sup>ik c<sup>h</sup>-e

alright be-PRES3

*OK."*

MR.05.086 राति घुरि बार बजे, उड बाघड सुना आमार घरेर उखान, टाटिखान काना करिए एकदम ढुकिचे।

rati g<sup>h</sup>uri barʌ bʌje u-ɖʌ bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ suna am<sup>h</sup>a-r g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er

night during twelve o'clock that-NCLS tiger-NCLS PCL 3pl[pro]-GEN house-GEN

u-k<sup>h</sup>an tʌti-k<sup>h</sup>an kana kʌr-ie ekdʌm ɖ<sup>h</sup>uk-ic-e

that-NCLS wall-NCLS hole do-CONJ.PTCL very enter-PERF-3

*During the night, at twelve o'clock, the tiger made a hole in the wall of their house and entered.*

MR.05.087 एकदम लिहानि झाका लिए थाकि छिले चेडराड।

ekdʌm lihani j<sup>h</sup>aka l-ie t<sup>h</sup>ak-i c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i ceŋra-ɖʌ

very blanket cover take-CONJ.PTCL sleep-CONJ.PTCL be-PST-3 young\_man-NCLS

*Having covered himself with the blanket the young man sleeping.*

MR.05.088 लिहानिर समित उहाँक लिएने एकदम जडलेर माखाए दउर मारिचे बाघड।

lihani-r sʌmit uhã-k li-ene ekdʌm jʌŋʌl-er mak<sup>h</sup>ae dʌur

blanket-GEN with 3sg[pro]-DAT take-CONJ.PTCL very jungle-GEN direction run

mar-ic-e bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ

kill-PERF-3 tiger-NCLS

*The tiger took him along with the blanket and ran into the jungle.*

MR.05.089 जाते जाते एकदम मुखखानत एकदम उड चेडराडके आर लिहानिडके एकदम एके सडे, एकदम काम्राइचे।

ja-te ja-te ekdʌm muk<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>an-ʌt ekdʌm u-ɖʌ

go-CONT.PTCL go-CONT.PTCL very mouth-NCLS-LOC very that-NCLS

ceŋra-ɖʌ-k=e ar lihani-ɖʌ-k=e ekdʌm ek=e sʌje

young\_man-NCLS-DAT=EMPH and blanket-NCLS-DAT=EMPH very one=EMPH with



ekdam kamra-ic-e

very hold\_in\_mouth-PERF-3

*While he went he held the young man and the blanket together in his mouth.*

MR.05.090 एकदम चेडराड जे निदाचे निदाचे कुछु उहाँ मालुम नि पाए।

ekdam ceŋra-ɖʌ je nida-c-e nida-c-e kuc<sup>h</sup>u uhã  
very young\_man-NCLS still sleep-PRES-3 sleep-PRES-3 some 3sg[pro]  
malum ni pa-e

knowledge(loan) NEG get-PST.HAB3

*The young man was still sleeping and sleeping, he didn't know anything.*

MR.05.091 पात्ताए नि पाए उहाँ।

patta=e ni pa-e uhã  
knowledge=EMPH NEG get-PST.HAB3 3sg[pro]

*He didn't realise anything.*

MR.05.092 निदाएका निदाए उहाँ।

nida-eka nida-e uhã  
sleep-PST.PTCL(Nepali) sleep-2sg[MGH](Nepali) 3sg[pro]

*He was in deep sleep.*

MR.05.093 सुना जाते जाते सुना एकटा पइनि आसिक्कि।

suna ja-te ja-te suna ek-ɽa pʌini as-ip-ki  
PCL go-CONT.PTCL go-CONT.PTCL PCL one-NCLS irrigation\_channel come-FUT-SA3  
*While he was going he (the tiger) came to an irrigation channel.*

MR.05.094 उड पइनिड सुना जेनड ति बाघड थिप्रिबा चाहावे, अइ थिप्रिवारे खुनि, सुना उड चेडराड जाक्कि लुस करे गिरिए माटिखानत।

u-ɖʌ pʌini-ɖʌ suna jenʌ ti bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ t<sup>h</sup>ipri-ba caha-b-ɪ  
that-NCLS irrigation\_channel-NCLS PCL when towards tiger-NCLS jump-INF try-FUT-3  
ʌi t<sup>h</sup>ipri-ba-r=e k<sup>h</sup>uni suna u-ɖʌ ceŋra-ɖʌ ja-p-ki  
INJ jump-INF-GEN=EMPH time PCL that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS AUX-FUT-SA3  
lus kʌre gir-ie maɽi-k<sup>h</sup>an-ʌt  
softly ADVL fall-ABS soil-NCLS-LOC

*When that tiger tried to go over that irrigation channel, right at the time of jumping, that young man fell softly on to the ground.*

MR.05.095 आर बाघड थाहाए नि पावे।

ar bag<sup>h</sup>-ɖʌ t<sup>h</sup>aha=e ni pa-b-ɪ  
and tiger-NCLS knowledge(Nepali)=EMPH NEG get-FUT-3  
*And the tiger didn't realise it at all.*

MR.05.096 चल, चल, चल।

cʌ cʌ cʌ  
go-PST3 go-PST3 go-PST3  
*He went and went and went.*

MR.05.097 सुना उहाँ कहवे ते, "थाम्।

suna uhã kʌhʌ-b-ɪ te t<sup>h</sup>am-∅  
PCL 3sg[pro] say-FUT-3 PCL wait-IMP2sg  
*Then he (the tiger) said, "(Just) wait.*

MR.05.098 पहले जङलखानत पुगु।

pʌhele jʌŋʌl-kʰan-ʌt pug-u  
 first jungle-NCLS-LOC reach-SUBJ1sg  
*First let me reach the jungle.*

MR.05.099 जङलखानत पुगिए तने तोक मुइ खाम्कुन," कहेने उहाँ जाएने जङलखानत अनड करे उध्राएने देखे ते लिहानि मात्रै रह्कि।

jʌŋʌl-kʰan-ʌt pug-ie tʌne to-k mui kʰa-m-ku-n  
 jungle-NCLS-LOC reach-CONJ.PTCL PCL 2sg[obl]-DAT 1sg[pro] eat-FUT-SA2sg-1sg  
 kʌh-ene uhã ja-ene jʌŋʌl-kʰan-ʌt ʌŋʌŋ kʌre  
 say-CONJ.PTCL 3sg[pro] go-CONJ.PTCL jungle-NCLS-LOC like\_that ADVL  
 ubʰra-ene dekʰ-b-ɪ te lihani matrei rʌhʌ-p-ki  
 unroll-CONJ.PTCL see-FUT-3 PCL blanket only(Nepali) remain-FUT-SA3  
*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.05.101 "आरे! कुना गेले?

are kunʰa ge-l-ɪ  
 INJ where go-PST-3  
*"Eh! Where did he go?"*

MR.05.102 कि होल?"

ki ho-l  
 what be-PST3  
*What happened?"*

MR.05.104 हिर सुना जेनड उहाँ गिर्बे, गिरिल मन्ते सुना, एक घान्टाबाद, सुना बाहान ह्कि।

hidʌr suna jenʌŋ uhã gir-b-ɪ gir-il mʌnte suna ek  
 over\_here PCL when 3sg[pro] fall-FUT-3 fall-PST3 immediately PCL one  
 gʰanʈa-bad suna bahan hʌ-p-ki  
 hour-after PCL morning be-FUT-SA3  
*Over here (i.e. opening of new scene), when he fell, immediately after falling, one hour later, morning dawned.*

MR.05.105 देखे ते, "आरे!

dekʰ-b-ɪ te are  
 look-FUT-3 PCL INJ  
*He looked (i.e. he realised), "Eh!"*

MR.05.106 मुइ त पइनडत थाकिचु!

mui tʌ pʌinʌ-ʈʌ-t tʰak-ic-u  
 1sg[pro] PCL irrigation\_channel-NCLS-LOC sleep-PERF-1sg  
*I have slept in an irrigation channel.*

MR.05.107 केनड करे हेत्ना आसिए पुगि गेनु मुइ?"

kenʌŋ kʌre hetna as-ie pug-i ge-n-u mui  
 what\_kind ADVL here come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS AUX-PST-1sg 1sg[pro]  
*How did I arrive here?"*

MR.05.108 सुना अगले बगले देखे ते बाघेर टापला।

suna ʌgle\_bʌgle dek<sup>h</sup>-b-ɪ te bag<sup>h</sup>-er ʈap-la  
PCL here\_and\_there look-FUT-3 PCL tiger-GEN footprint-PL  
*He looked around and saw tiger's footprints.*

MR.05.109 "हँ हँ," उहाँ सुना मनड से कहबे, "हँ हँ।

hʌ hʌ uhā suna maŋ-dʌ se kʌhʌ-b-ɪ hʌ hʌ  
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 जदि घुरिए घर जाम फेर बाघड मोक चुलि जाबे खाबा अइठिनाए।

ap mui jʌdi g<sup>h</sup>urie g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ja-m p<sup>h</sup>er bag<sup>h</sup>-dʌ mo-k  
PCL 1sg[pro] if turn-CONJ.PTCL house go-FUT1sg again tiger-NCLS 1sg[obl]-DAT  
cul-i ja-b-ɪ k<sup>h</sup>a-ba ʌi-ʈ<sup>h</sup>ina=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 कियौ घरला देखि फेकाइचे।

kiā g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-la dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-ic-e  
why house-PL look-ABS AUX-PERF-3  
*Because it (the tiger) has seen my houses (already).*

MR.05.112 अँ हँ, आप मुइ घर नि जाम।

ʌ hʌ ap mui g<sup>h</sup>ʌr ni ja-m  
INJ INJ PCL 1sg[pro] house NEG go-FUT1sg  
*No, I will not go home now.*

MR.05.113 आप मुइ एइमाखाए एइमाखाए माने एकदम दस्रा ति चुलि जाम मोक माने बाघड ना पात्ता लाग्वा पारोका।"

ap mui ei-mak<sup>h</sup>ae ei-mak<sup>h</sup>ae mane ekdam dʌsra  
PCL 1sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-direction DEM[prox/emph]-direction PCL very other  
ti cul-i ja-m mo-k mane bag<sup>h</sup>-dʌ 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 चेडरा घर सर आर नि जाबे।

suna i-dʌ ceɽra g<sup>h</sup>ʌr sʌr ar ni ja-b-ɪ  
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 अइखुन से सुना एकदम घर बारि छरिएने एके चटि उहाँ कुन्धर कुन्धर बेराते बेराते एकखान जडलत पुगि जाबे।

ar ʌi-k<sup>h</sup>un se suna ekdam g<sup>h</sup>ʌr bari c<sup>h</sup>ʌr-iene  
and DEM[rem/emph]-time ABL PCL very house village leave-CONJ.PTCL  
ek=e cʌʈi uhā kund<sup>h</sup>ʌr kund<sup>h</sup>ʌr bera-te  
one=EMPH moment 3sg[pro] what\_direction what\_direction walk-CONT.PTCL

bera-te ek-k<sup>h</sup>an jʌŋʌl-ʌt pug-i ja-b-i  
walk-CONT.PTCL one-NCLS jungle-LOC reach-ABS AUX-FUT-3

*And from that time he left the house and village. All in one go, while walking here and there he reached a jungle.*

MR.05.118 एकटा सुना गेस छिल्कि उखान जङ्गलत।

ek-ʈa suna ges c<sup>h</sup>-il-ki u-k<sup>h</sup>an jʌŋʌl-ʌt  
one-NCLS PCL tree be-PST-SA3 that-NCLS jungle-LOC

*In that jungle there was a tree.*

MR.05.119 उड गेसेर तलत सुना आर्ना भइसला रहकि।

u-ɖʌ ges-er tʌʌt suna arʌna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la rʌhʌ-ki  
that-NCLS tree-GEN underneath PCL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL live-SA3

*Under that tree there used to live wild buffaloes.*

MR.05.120 आर्ना भइसला माने भेल्ला रहे।

arʌna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la mane b<sup>h</sup>ella rʌh-e  
type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL PCL many live-PST.HAB3

*There used to live many wild buffaloes.*

MR.05.121 सुना आर्ना भइसला एकदम अइठिना रहे।

suna arʌna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la ekɖʌm ʌi-t<sup>h</sup>ina rʌh-e  
PCL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL very DEM[rem/emph]-place live-PST.HAB3

*The wild buffaloes used to live right there.*

MR.05.122 त जाएने सुना उड गेसेर पर जावे चरिए।

tʌ ja-ene suna u-ɖʌ ges-er pʌr ja-b-i cʌr<sup>h</sup>-ie  
PCL go-CONJ.PTCL PCL that-NCLS tree-GEN on\_top AUX-FUT-3 climb-ABS

*He went and climbed up that tree.*

MR.05.123 आर्ना भइसला माने हतिना रहे राति घुरि।

arʌna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la mane hʌtina rʌh-e rati g<sup>h</sup>uri  
type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL PCL there remain-PST.HAB3 night during

*As for the buffaloes, they used to be there during the night.*

MR.05.124 बाहाने उठिएने आम्ना सुना फेर चर्बा जाए जङ्गलखानेर ति।

bahan=e u<sup>h</sup>-iene am<sup>h</sup>a suna p<sup>h</sup>er cʌr-ba ja-e  
morning=EMPH rise-CONJ.PTCL 3pl[pro] PCL again graze-INF go-PST.HAB3

jʌŋʌl-k<sup>h</sup>an-er ti  
jungle-NCLS-GEN towards

*In the morning they used to get up and go into the jungle to graze.*

MR.05.125 चर्ते चर्ते कोइखुना माने आम्ना एक महिना तक नि आसे, कोइखुना दुइ महिना तक नि आसे, उड थानडत माने।

cʌr-te cʌr-te koi-k<sup>h</sup>una mane am<sup>h</sup>a ek mʌhina tak  
graze-CONT.PTCL graze-CONT.PTCL some-time PCL 3pl[pro] one month until  
ni as-e koi-k<sup>h</sup>una dui mʌhina tak ni as-e u-ɖʌ

NEG come-PST.HAB3 some-time two month until NEG come-PST.HAB3 that-NCLS  
t<sup>h</sup>an-ɖʌ-t mane

place-NCLS-LOC PCL

*While grazing sometimes they didn't use to come for one month, sometimes they didn't use to come for two months, to that place (I mean).*

MR.05.127 आर कोए दिन आसि जाए एक हाप्तात।

ar koe din as-i ja-e ek hapta-t  
and some day come-DVBL go-DVBL one week-LOC  
*And sometimes they used to come and go in one week.*

MR.05.128 उड गेसेर पर जाएने चरिए रहबे

u-dʌ ges-er pʌr ja-ene cʌr<sup>h</sup>-ie rʌhʌ-b-i  
that-NCLS tree-GEN on\_top go-CONJ.PTCL climb-CONJ.PTCL remain-FUT-3  
*He went and climbed up that tree, and stayed there.*

MR.05.130 सुना जेइखुना आर्ना भइसला बाहाने उठिएने चर्बा जाबे, ते आम्मार जेइला गबर रह्कि उला गबर सुना गटेलाए उड चेइरा साप्टिए ताप्टिए राखिक्कि।

suna jei-k<sup>h</sup>una arʌna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la bahan=e u<sup>t</sup><sup>h</sup>-iene  
PCL which-time type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL morning=EMPH rise-CONJ.PTCL  
cʌr-ba ja-b-i te am<sup>h</sup>a-r jei-la gʌbʌr rʌhʌ-p-ki u-la gʌbʌr  
graze-INF go-FUT-3 PCL 3pl[pro]-GEN which-PL dung be-FUT-SA3 that-PL dung  
suna gʌte-la=e u-dʌ ceŋra sapt-ie tapt-ie  
PCL all-PL=EMPH that-NCLS young\_man sweep-ABS [echo]sweep-CONJ.PTCL  
rak<sup>h</sup>-ip-ki  
put-FUT-SA3

*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.*

MR.05.131 त जेइखुना आर्ना भइसला सुना आसिएने देखे, "आरे!

tʌ jei-k<sup>h</sup>una arʌna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la suna as-iene  
PCL which-time type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL PCL come-CONJ.PTCL  
dek<sup>h</sup>-b-i are  
see-FUT-3 INJ  
*And when the wild buffaloes came and saw, "Eh!*

MR.05.132 हामार थानडत काहे इला साफा सुघर कर्चे?" सुना छक परि जाबे।

hama-r t<sup>h</sup>an-dʌ-t kahe i-la sap<sup>h</sup>a sug<sup>h</sup>ʌr kʌr-c-e  
1pl[pro]-GEN place-NCLS-LOC who DEM[prox]-PL clean(Nepali) clean do-PRES-3  
suna c<sup>h</sup>ʌk pʌr-i ja-b-i  
PCL surrisement fall-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
*Who cleans up in our place?" they were amazed.*

MR.05.133 "आरे! काहे कर्चे इखान जडलत?

are kahe kʌr-c-e i-k<sup>h</sup>an jʌŋʌl-ʌt  
INJ who do-PRES-3 DEM[prox]-NCLS jungle-LOC  
*"Eh! Who does (this) in this jungle?"*

MR.05.134 फेर सुना दस्रा दिन, फेर आम्मा चर्बा जाबे।

p<sup>h</sup>er suna dʌsra din p<sup>h</sup>er am<sup>h</sup>a cʌr-ba ja-b-i  
again PCL other day again 3pl[pro] graze-INF go-FUT-3  
*Then again another day they went to graze.*

MR.05.135 फेर आम्मा चर्बा जाबार खुना उड, चेइराड आसिएने, फेर दिक्कि गबरला साफा करिए, आम्मार थानेर गबरला।

p<sup>h</sup>er am<sup>h</sup>a cʌr-ba ja-ba-r k<sup>h</sup>una u-dʌ ceŋra-dʌ  
again 3pl[pro] graze-INF go-INF-GEN during that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS

as-iene p<sup>h</sup>er di-p-ki gAbAr-la sap<sup>h</sup>a kAr-ie am<sup>h</sup>a-r  
 come-CONJ.PTCL again AUX-FUT-SA3 dung-PL clean(Nepali) do-ABS 3pl[pro]-GEN  
 t<sup>h</sup>an-er gAbAr-la  
 place-GEN dung-PL

*Again, when they went grazing, the young man came again and cleaned the dung (for them), the dung in their place.*

MR.05.136 अनङ् कर्ते कर्ते एक दिन, दुइ दिन, अनङ् कर्ते कर्ते माने आर्ना भइसला छक परि जावे।

ANANj kAr-te kAr-te ek din dui din ANANj kAr-te  
 like\_that do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL one day two day like\_that do-CONT.PTCL  
 kAr-te mane arAna b<sup>h</sup>Asis-la c<sup>h</sup>Ak pAr-i  
 do-CONT.PTCL PCL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL surpiselement fall-ABS  
 ja-b-i

AUX-FUT-3

*(Continuing) doing that (for) one day, doing that for two days, the wild buffaloes were amazed.*

MR.05.137 "इला काहे साफा कर्चे?"

i-la kahe sap<sup>h</sup>a kAr-c-e  
 DEM[prox]-PL who clean(Nepali) do-PRES-3  
 "Who cleans these up?"

MR.05.138 त सुना आर्ना भइसेर एकझना सुना लेङ्गि रहिष्कि, लेङ्गि आर्ना भइसा।

tA suna arAna b<sup>h</sup>Asis-er ek-j<sup>h</sup>ANA suna leŋri  
 PCL PCL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-GEN one-PCLS PCL lame[FEM]  
 rAha-p-ki leŋri arAna b<sup>h</sup>Asis  
 live-FUT-SA3 lame[FEM] type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo  
*One of the (female) wild buffaloes was lame, a lame buffalo.*

MR.05.139 उहाँक कहिष्कि ते, "तुइ आजि हेल्ना डिप्टि दे।

uhā-k kAha-p-ki te tui aj<sup>h</sup>i hetna dīpt-i de-∅  
 3sg[pro]-DAT say-FUT-SA3 PCL 2sg[pro] today here guard-ABS AUX-IMP2sg  
*(They) said to her, "You guard here today.*

MR.05.140 काहे हेल्ना साफा कर्चे हामार इड, थानड?

kahe hetna sap<sup>h</sup>a kAr-c-e hama-r i-dA t<sup>h</sup>an-dA  
 who here clean(Nepali) do-PRES-3 1pl[pro]-GEN DEM[prox]-NCLS place-NCLS  
*Who cleans up here in this place of ours?*

MR.05.141 आर तोर ताने हामा, सभाए आर्ना भइसला, एकटा करे गालत घास आर एकटा करे गालत पानि आनि दिमा।

ar to-r tane hama sAb<sup>h</sup>ae arAna b<sup>h</sup>Asis-la  
 and 2sg[obl]-GEN for 1pl[pro] all type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL  
 ek-ṭa kAre gal-at g<sup>h</sup>as ar ek-ṭa kAre gal-at pani  
 one-NCLS ADVL cheek-LOC grass and one-NCLS ADVL cheek-LOC water  
 an-i di-m-A  
 bring-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl

*And for you, all of us wild buffaloes will bring you grass in one cheek and water in one cheek."*

MR.05.142 कम से कम आर्ना भइसला माने दुइ स, तिन स, पाच स एत्ला तक छिले।

kAm se kAm arAna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la mane dui sʌ tin  
less ABL less type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL PCL two hundred three  
sʌ pac sʌ etla tʌk c<sup>h</sup>i-l-i

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, ठिके छे, हबे," कहलिका

te t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e hʌ-b-i kʌhʌ-l-ki  
PCL alright=EMPH be-PRES3 be-FUT-3 say-PST-SA3

"Alright, OK," she said (to them).

MR.05.144 सुना लेडरि आर्ना भइसट सुना थानडते रहि गेल।

suna leŋri arAna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-tʌ suna t<sup>h</sup>an-dʌ-t=e  
PCL lame[FEM] type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-NCLS PCL place-NCLS-LOC=EMPH  
rʌh-i ge-l

remain-ABS AUX-PST3

The lame wild buffalo remained right there.

MR.05.145 मतलब आग्रा दिले।

matlab agra di-l-i  
meaning duty give-PST-3

I mean, she was on guard there.

MR.05.146 आरह आर्ना भइसला सुना चर्बा गेले।

arhʌ arAna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la suna cʌr-ba ge-l-i  
other type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL PCL graze-INF go-PST-3

The other wild buffaloes went grazing.

MR.05.147 आम्ना चर्बा गिछे।

am<sup>h</sup>a cʌr-ba g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
3pl[pro] graze-INF go-PERF-3

They had gone grazing.

MR.05.148 तने हिदर सुना आर्ना भइसट नुकाए छिकि, उड लेडरि आर्ना भइसट।

tʌne hidʌr suna arAna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-tʌ nuka-e  
PCL over\_here PCL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-NCLS hide-CONJ.PTCL  
c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki u-dʌ leŋri arAna b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-tʌ

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 "काहें धिना इला, गबरला साफा कर्चे?" कहेने देखबार ताने।

kahe d<sup>h</sup>ina i-la gʌbʌr-la sap<sup>h</sup>a kʌr-c-e kʌh-ene  
who let's\_see DEM[prox]-PL dung-PL white do-PRES-3 say-CONJ.PTCL  
dek<sup>h</sup>-ba-r tane

see-INF-GEN for

'Let's see who cleans up this dung', in order to see (this).

MR.05.150 जेनडे फेर उला आर्ना, गटेला, आम्ना, भइसला चर्बा गेले अइखुना सुना गेसट से सुट करे नमिणे उहाँ आरकि एकदम उला, गबरला साफा करिस्ले।

jenəŋ=e p<sup>h</sup>er u-la arana gəte-la am<sup>h</sup>a b<sup>h</sup>ais-la  
 what\_kind=EMPH again that-PL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo all-PL 3pl[pro] water\_buffalo-PL  
 car-ba ge-l-i li-k<sup>h</sup>una suna ges-tə se suṭ kare  
 graze-INF go-PST-3 DEM[rem/emph]-time PCL tree-NCLS ABL secret ADVL  
 nām<sup>h</sup>-iene uhā arki ekdam u-la gəbar-la sap<sup>h</sup>a kar-isl-i  
 descend-CONJ.PTCL 3sg[pro] PCL very that-PL dung-PL clean(Nepali) do-REM.PST-3  
*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.*

MR.05.151 अइखुना उड लेडरि भइसट चेप करे पक्रि फेकाप्कि उड चेडराडका।

li-k<sup>h</sup>una u-ḍə leŋri b<sup>h</sup>ais-tə cep kare pakr-i  
 DEM[rem/emph]-time that-NCLS lame[FEM] water\_buffalo-NCLS catch ADVL catch-ABS  
 p<sup>h</sup>eka-p-ki u-ḍə ceŋra-ḍə-k  
 AUX-FUT-SA3 that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS-DAT  
*Then the lame buffalo caught that young man.*

MR.05.152 तने पक्रिए कहप्कि ते, "बाबा, तुइ काहे?"

tane pakr-ie kaḥa-p-ki te baba tui kahe  
 PCL catch-CONJ.PTCL say-FUT-SA3 PCL young\_boy 2sg[pro] who  
*Then she caught him and said (to him), "Boy, who are you?"*

MR.05.153 चेडराड सुना आप्नार गटे इखान, खिसाखान सुनाप्कि।

ceŋra-ḍə suna apna-r gəte i-k<sup>h</sup>an k<sup>h</sup>isa-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 young\_man-NCLS PCL REFL[pro]-GEN all DEM[prox]-NCLS story-NCLS  
 sun-a-p-ki  
 hear-CAUS-FUT-SA3  
*The young man told the whole of his story (to her).*

MR.05.154 एन्ति से एन्ति, एन्ति से एन्ति, एन्ति से एन्ति।

enti se enti enti se enti enti se enti  
 like\_this ABL like\_this like\_this ABL like\_this like\_this ABL like\_this  
*"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.)*

MR.05.155 "मुइ बहुत दुःखे कस्टे हेत्ना आसिचु," कहेने गटे काथाला माने उहाँक सुनाप्कि, उड लेडरि आर्ना भइसटका।

mui bəhut duk<sup>h</sup>-e kaṣṭ-e hetna as-ic-u  
 1sg[pro] very(Hindi) trouble(loan)-INSTR trouble(loan)-INSTR here come-PERF-1sg  
 gəte ka<sup>h</sup>a-la mane uhā-k sun-a-p-ki u-ḍə leŋri  
 all thing-PL PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT hear-CAUS-FUT-SA3 that-NCLS lame[FEM]  
 arana b<sup>h</sup>ais-tə-k  
 type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-NCLS-DAT  
*Saying, "I have come here with great trouble," he told her everything, to the lame wild buffalo.*

MR.05.156 त लेडरि आर्ना भइसट सुना एकटा याहाँक बुद्धि दिप्कि,

tə leŋri arana b<sup>h</sup>ais-tə suna ek-tə  
 PCL lame[FEM] type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-NCLS PCL one-NCLS



yaha-k budd<sup>h</sup>i di-p-ki  
 DEM[pro/prox]-DAT wisdom give-FUT-SA3  
*Then the lame wild buffalo gave him an idea.*

MR.05.157 "ते ठिके छे, तुइ बहुत दुक पाइचिस।"

te t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e tui b<sup>h</sup>hut duk pa-ic-is  
 PCL alright=EMPH be-PRES3 2sg[pro] greatly(Hindi) trouble get-PERF-2sg  
*"Well, alright. You have had a lot of trouble."*

MR.05.158 आर्ना भइसलार मइधे एकइना माने आमार राजा छिल्लिक।

ar<sup>h</sup>na b<sup>h</sup>ais-la-r ma<sup>h</sup>id<sup>h</sup>e ek-j<sup>h</sup>ana mane am<sup>h</sup>a-r  
 type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL-GEN among one-PCLS PCL 3pl[pro]-GEN  
 raja c<sup>h</sup>-il-ki  
 leader be-PST-SA3  
*Amongst the wild buffaloes one was their leader.*

MR.05.159 सब से आगुति माने उहाँ आसे।

sab se aguti mane uhā as-e  
 every ABL in\_front PCL 3sg[pro] come-PST.HAB3  
*She used to come in front of all of them.*

MR.05.160 "ते, ठिके छे, हामार आर्ना भइसटर जेरड आस्ले, तुइ एकदम पान सुपारि लिएने हइयाएने ठेडलात परि जाइस।

te t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e hama-r ar<sup>h</sup>na  
 PCL alright=EMPH be-PRES3 1pl[pro]-GEN type\_of\_wild\_buffalo  
 b<sup>h</sup>ais-t<sup>h</sup>-r jer<sup>h</sup>-d<sup>h</sup> as-le tui ekdam  
 water\_buffalo-NCLS-GEN herd-NCLS come-COND.PTCL 2sg[pro] very  
 pan supari li-ene h<sup>h</sup>ia-ene  
 leaf\_of\_betel\_nut areca\_nut take-CONJ.PTCL rush\_to\_throw\_oneself-CONJ.PTCL  
 t<sup>h</sup>ej-la-t pa<sup>r</sup>-i ja-is  
 foot-PL-LOC fall-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg  
*"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.)"*

MR.05.161 'तुइ आजि से मोर माअ गे' कहेने माने बाब्दाए दिस।

tui aj<sup>h</sup>i se mo-r ma<sup>h</sup> ge k<sup>h</sup>h-ene mane  
 2sg[pro] today ABL 1sg[obl]-GEN mother VOC[fem] say-CONJ.PTCL PCL  
 babda-e d-is  
 make\_one's\_parent-ABS AUX-SUBJ2sg  
*Make her your parent by saying 'From today forwards you are my mother.'*

MR.05.162 तने तोक कुछु नि कहण्कु।"

tane to-k kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni k<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>-p-ku  
 PCL 2sg[obl]-DAT some NEG say-FUT-SA2sg  
*Then they will say nothing to you (i.e. 'she will not tell you off')."*

MR.05.163 सुना उहाँ जेनडः जेनडः करे सिकाष्कि सेनडः सेनडः करे चेडराड सुना आप उला आर्ना भइसला आस्वार बेला एकदम ठेडलात जाएने अनडः करे परि जाबे।

suna uhã jenɒŋ jenɒŋ kɔre sik-a-p-ki senɒŋ senɒŋ  
PCL 3sg[pro] what\_kind what\_kind ADVL learn-CAUS-FUT-SA3 that\_kind that\_kind  
kɔre ceŋra-ɖɔ suna ap u-la arɒna bʰɔis-la  
ADVL young\_man-NCLS PCL PCL that-PL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL  
as-ba-r bela ekɖɔm tʰeŋ-la-t ja-ene ɒɒŋ kɔre pɔr-i  
come-INF-GEN time very foot-PL-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL like\_that ADVL fall-ABS  
ja-b-i

AUX-FUT-3

*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.*

MR.05.164 "तुइ मोर आजि से माअ गे" कहे ठेडलात परि जाबे।

tui mo-r ajʰi se maɒ ge kɒh-e tʰeŋ-la-t  
2sg[pro] 1sg[obl]-GEN today ABL mother VOC[fem] say-CONJ.PTCL foot-PL-LOC  
pɔr-i ja-b-i

fall-ABS AUX-FUT-3

*Falling at the (i.e. her) feet he said, "From today you become my mother."*

MR.05.165 तने गटे आर्ना भइसला एकदम जाष्कि थार हए, रकि जाष्कि।

tɒne gɒte arɒna bʰɔis-la ekɖɔm ja-p-ki tʰarɒ hɒ-e  
PCL all type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL very AUX-FUT-SA3 standing be-ABS  
rɒk-i ja-p-ki

stop-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3

*Then all of the wild buffaloes stood still, they stopped.*

MR.05.166 ते "कि होल, कि होल?"

te ki ho-l ki ho-l  
PCL what be-PST3 what be-PST3

*"What happened, what happened?"*

MR.05.167 तने सुना उड आर्ना भइसट उठाष्कि चेडराडक।

tɒne suna u-ɖɒ arɒna bʰɔis-tɒ utʰ-a-p-ki  
PCL PCL that-NCLS type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-NCLS rise-CAUS-FUT-SA3  
ceŋra-ɖɒ-k

young\_man-NCLS-DAT

*Then that wild (i.e. leader) buffalo lifted the young man up.*

MR.05.168 सुना कहष्कि, "बाबा, तुइ काहे हइस?"

suna kɒhɒ-p-ki baba tui kahe hɒ-is  
PCL say-FUT-SA3 young\_boy 2sg[pro] who be-PRES2sg

*She said (to him), "Boy, who are you?"*

MR.05.169 तने उहाँक सुना गटलाए, काथाला उहाँ आप्नार सुनाबे एन्ति से एन्ति, एन्ति से एन्ति...

tɒne uhã-k suna gɒt-la=e katʰa-la uhã apna-r  
PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT PCL all-PL=EMPH thing-PL 3sg[pro] REFL[pro]-GEN

sun-a-b-i enti se enti enti se enti  
 hear-CAUS-FUT-3 like\_this ABL like\_this like\_this ABL like\_this  
*Then he told her the whole of his own story, "This happened and then this happened, this happened and then this happened."*

MR.05.170 "मुइ घर छरिऐने हेत्ना आसिचु।

mui g<sup>h</sup>ar c<sup>h</sup>ar-iene hetna as-ic-u  
 1sg[pro] house leave-CONJ.PTCL here come-PERF-1sg  
*I left home and came here.*

MR.05.171 एनडति एनडति मुइ दुक पाइचु।"

en<sup>h</sup>ti en<sup>h</sup>ti mui duk pa-ic-u  
 like\_this like\_this 1sg[pro] trouble get-PERF-1sg  
*This is how, this is how I have been in trouble."*

MR.05.172 सुना उड आर्ना भइसटक सुना उहाँक, उड चेडराडक, देखिऐने माया लागि जाष्कि।

suna u-<sup>ɖ</sup>la arana b<sup>h</sup>ais-<sup>ɖ</sup>la-k suna uhā-k  
 PCL that-NCLS type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-NCLS-DAT PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT  
 u-<sup>ɖ</sup>la ce<sup>ŋ</sup>ra-<sup>ɖ</sup>la-k dek<sup>h</sup>-iene maya lag-i ja-p-ki  
 that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS-DAT see-CONJ.PTCL affection feel-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3  
*That wild buffalo saw him, that young man, and felt affection for him.*

MR.05.173 तने उहाँ सुना उहाँक कहष्कि, "ठिके छे, आज्जि से तुइ हामा सभारे बेटा।

tane uhā suna uhā-k k<sup>h</sup>la-p-ki t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e aj<sup>h</sup>i se  
 PCL 3sg[pro] PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT say-FUT-SA3 alright=EMPH be-PRES3 today ABL  
 tui hama s<sup>l</sup>b<sup>h</sup>a-r=e be<sup>ɖ</sup>a  
 2sg[pro] 1pl[pro] all-GEN=EMPH son  
*Then she said to him, "OK, from today onwards you are the son of all of us."*

MR.05.174 तोक कोए माने चिन्ता भाबना कर्बा नि लागे।

to-k koe mane cinta b<sup>h</sup>abna ka-r-ba ni lag-e  
 2sg[obl]-DAT some PCL worry worry do-INF NEG must-PST.HAB3  
*You do not need to worry about anything.*

MR.05.175 तुइ एइठिना रोहो, खा।

tui ei-<sup>t</sup>hina roho-∅ k<sup>h</sup>a-∅  
 2sg[pro] DEM[prox/emph]-place remain-IMP2sg eat-IMP2sg  
*Stay right here, (and) eat."*

MR.05.176 सुना बनेर अइला फल, नस्पति, सेंप, कि कहचे, फलला आर आर्ना भइसेर दुहुनि, एइला माने खाए जडलेर चेडराड।

suna ban-er li-la p<sup>h</sup>al n<sup>l</sup>s<sup>ɾ</sup>ati sep ki k<sup>h</sup>la-c-e p<sup>h</sup>al-la  
 PCL forest-GEN DEM[rem/emph]-PL fruit pear apple what say-PRES-3 fruit-PL  
 ar arana b<sup>h</sup>ais-er duhuni ei-la mane  
 and type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-GEN milk DEM[prox/emph]-PL PCL  
 k<sup>h</sup>a-e j<sup>l</sup>ŋ<sup>l</sup>-er ce<sup>ŋ</sup>ra-<sup>ɖ</sup>la  
 eat-PST.HAB3 jungle-GEN young\_man-NCLS

*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.*

MR.05.177 तने सुना आप अनड करे रहते रहते सुना उला आर्ना भइसलार राजा आर्ना भइसट उहाँक सुना दुइडा बासि दिक्कि।

tane suna ap anad kare rah-te rah-te suna u-la  
 PCL PCL PCL like\_that ADVL remain-CONT.PTCL remain-CONT.PTCL PCL that-PL  
 arana b<sup>h</sup>ais-la-r raja arana b<sup>h</sup>ais-ta  
 type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL-GEN king type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-NCLS  
 uhã-k suna dui-ḍa basi di-p-ki  
 3sg[pro]-DAT PCL two-NCLS flute give-FUT-SA3  
*Then in that way while he stayed, the leader of those wild buffaloes gave him two flutes.*

MR.05.178a धर, इला दुइडा बासि ले।

d<sup>h</sup>ar-Ø i-la dui-ḍa basi le-Ø  
 take-IMP2sg DEM[prox]-PL two-NCLS flute take-IMP2sg  
*"Take, take these two flutes.*

MR.05.178b एकटार नाम सुक बासि आर एकटार नाम दुक बासि।

ek-ta-r nam suk basi ar ek-ta-r nam duk basi  
 one-NCLS-GEN name happiness flute and one-NCLS-GEN name trouble flute  
*One's name is 'happiness flute' and one's name is 'trouble flute'.*

MR.05.179 हामा कोइखुना कोइठिना भी चर्बा चुलि जाले, तुइ माने हेतिना रहबार खुनि तोक जदि दुक पर्ले इड, दुक बासिड बलाइस।

hama koi-k<sup>h</sup>una koi-t<sup>h</sup>ina b<sup>h</sup>i ca-r-ba cul-i ja-le  
 1pl[pro] some-time some-place CNJ(Hindi) graze-INF AUX-ABS go-COND.PTCL  
 tui mane hetina rah-ba-r k<sup>h</sup>uni to-k jadi duk  
 2sg[pro] PCL here remain-INF-GEN during 2sg[obl]-DAT if trouble  
 par-le i-ḍa duk basi-ḍa bal-a-is  
 occur-COND.PTCL DEM[prox]-NCLS trouble flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-SUBJ2sg  
*If we have gone to graze sometime, somewhere, while you are staying here, if you get into any trouble, then play the trouble flute.*

MR.05.180 आर सुक हले इड, सुक बासिड बलाइस।

ar suk ha-le i-ḍa suk basi-ḍa  
 and happiness be-COND.PTCL DEM[prox]-NCLS happiness flute-NCLS  
 bal-a-is  
 speak-CAUS-SUBJ2sg  
*And if you are happy, then play the happiness flute.*

MR.05.181 हामा जेइठिना भी रहि, हामा थाहा पाइ जाम।

hama jei-t<sup>h</sup>ina b<sup>h</sup>i rah-i hama t<sup>h</sup>aha pa-i  
 1pl[pro] which-place CNJ(Hindi) be-SUBJ1pl 1pl[pro] knowledge(Nepali) get-ABS  
 ja-m-a  
 AUX-FUT-1pl  
*Wherever we are staying we will find out.*

MR.05.182 दुक बासिड बलाबो, हामा थाहा पाइ जाम, कि 'अइ हामार बेटाडक दुक पाइचे आला।'

duk basi-ḍa bal-a-b-o hama t<sup>h</sup>aha pa-i  
 trouble flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-FUT-2sg 1pl[pro] knowledge(Nepali) get-ABS

ja-m- $\lambda$  ki  $\lambda$ i hama-r beta- $\text{d}\lambda$ -k duk pa-ic-e al<sup>h</sup>a  
 AUX-FUT-1pl what INJ 1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS-DAT trouble get-PERF-3 now  
*If you play the trouble flute we will know that, oh, our son is now in trouble.*

MR.05.183 हामा जेइठिना रहलउ हामा आसिए पुगि जाम तोक बच्चार ताने।  
 hama jei- $\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ ina r $\lambda$ h $\lambda$ -l= $\lambda$ (u) hama as-ie pug-i  
 1pl[pro] which-place be-COND.PTCL=CNJ 1pl[pro] come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS  
 ja-m- $\lambda$  to-k b $\lambda$ c-ba-r tane  
 AUX-FUT-1pl 2sg[obl]-DAT save-INF-GEN for  
*No matter where we are, we will come in order to save you.*

MR.05.184 आर सुक बासिड बलाबो ते हामाक माने लागबे, हँ, सुके छे हामार बेटाड।  
 ar suk basi- $\text{d}\lambda$  b $\lambda$ l-a-b-o te hama-k mane lag-b-i  
 and happiness flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-FUT-2sg PCL 1pl[pro]-DAT PCL feel-FUT-3  
 h $\lambda$  suk=e c<sup>h</sup>-e hama-r beta- $\text{d}\lambda$   
 INJ happiness=EMPH be-PRES3 1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS  
*And if you play the happiness flute, then we will know: 'He is happy, our son.' "*

MR.05.185 कहेने दुइडा बासि दिक्कि  
 k $\lambda$ h-ene dui- $\text{d}\lambda$  basi di-p-ki  
 say-CONJ.PTCL two-NCLS flute give-FUT-SA3  
*Saying this (i.e. for this purpose) she gave two flutes (to him).*

MR.05.186 त "ठिके छे" सुना उड चेडरा उ दुइडा बासि लिऐने सुना रहेबे।  
 t $\lambda$   $\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e suna u- $\text{d}\lambda$  ce $\eta$ ra u dui- $\text{d}\lambda$  basi  
 PCL alright=EMPH be-PRES3 PCL that-NCLS young man that two-NCLS flute  
 li-ene suna r $\lambda$ h $\lambda$ -b-i  
 take-CONJ.PTCL PCL remain-FUT-3  
*OK, that young man took the two flutes and stayed (there).*

MR.05.187 सुना आप सुक बासिड सुना बलाबे, रहेबे, खाबे।  
 suna ap suk basi- $\text{d}\lambda$  suna b $\lambda$ l-a-b-i r $\lambda$ h $\lambda$ -b-i k<sup>h</sup>a-b-i  
 PCL PCL happiness flute-NCLS PCL speak-CAUS-FUT-3 live-FUT-3 eat-FUT-3  
*He played the happiness flute, stayed, ate.*

MR.05.188 उहाँर कोए चिन्ता भाबना नि रहिक्कि।  
 uh $\tilde{a}$ -r koe cinta b<sup>h</sup>abna ni r $\lambda$ h $\lambda$ -p-ki  
 3sg[pro]-GEN some worry worry NEG be-FUT-SA3  
*He had no worries.*

MR.05.189 त सुना अनड कते कते रहते रहते सुना एकदम बार बछर हइ जाक्कि।  
 t $\lambda$  suna  $\lambda$ n $\lambda$  $\eta$  k $\lambda$ r-te k $\lambda$ r-te r $\lambda$ h $\lambda$ -te r $\lambda$ h $\lambda$ -te  
 PCL PCL like.that do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL live-CONT.PTCL live-CONT.PTCL  
 suna ek $\text{d}\lambda$ m ba $\eta$  b $\lambda$ c<sup>h</sup> $\lambda$ r h $\lambda$ -i ja-p-ki  
 PCL very twelve year be-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3  
*While doing that, while staying, twelve years went by.*

MR.05.190 उहाँर चुलिला एकदम लाम लाम हइ जाक्कि।  
 uh $\tilde{a}$ -r culi-la ek $\text{d}\lambda$ m lam<sup>h</sup> $\lambda$  lam<sup>h</sup> $\lambda$  h $\lambda$ -i ja-p-ki  
 3sg[pro]-GEN hair-PL very long long be-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3  
*His hair became very long.*

MR.05.191 कम से कम एकदम चार पाच हात हइ जाप्कि चुलिला।

kam se kam ekdam car pac hat ha-i ja-p-ki culi-la  
 less ABL less very four five hand be-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3 hair-PL  
*His hair became at least four/five hands long (one hand = finger tip to elbow; approximately 50 cms).*

MR.05.192 बार बछर से दारि मोच नि काटिऐने दारिला लाम लाम हएने एकदम लोकट किबा रड हइ जाबे।

barA baC<sup>h</sup>ar se dar<sup>h</sup>i moc ni kaṭ-iene darhi-la lam<sup>h</sup>A lam<sup>h</sup>A  
 twelve year ABL beard moustache NEG cut-CONJ.PTCL beard-PL long long  
 ha-ene ekdam lok-ṭA kiba rAṅ ha-i ja-b-i  
 be-CONJ.PTCL very man-NCLS some colour be-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
*Since he didn't cut his beard or moustache for twelve years, his beard (and hair) became really long. He looked wierd!*

MR.05.193 एक दिन करे सुना एकदम सुक बासिड बलाचे उहाँ गेसटत बठिऐने।

ek din kare suna ekdam suk basi-ḍA baI-a-c-e uḥā  
 one day ADVL PCL very happiness flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-PRES-3 3sg[pro]  
 ges-ṭA-t baṭ<sup>h</sup>-iene  
 tree-NCLS-LOC sit-CONJ.PTCL  
*One day he played the happiness flute while sitting in the tree.*

MR.05.194 सुना एकदम गेसटर उपर से एकटा, कुवाड एकटा आच्छा फुल मुखखानत लिएने जाछे।

suna ekdam ges-ṭA-r upar se ek-ṭa kua-ḍA ek-ṭa acc<sup>h</sup>a  
 PCL very tree-NCLS-GEN above ABL one-NCLS crow-NCLS one-NCLS good  
 p<sup>h</sup>ul muk<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>an-At li-ene ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 flower mouth-NCLS-LOC take-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-3  
*In the tree above him a crow brought a beautiful flower in its mouth.*

MR.05.195 चेडराड सुना उपरमाखे देखे।

ceṅra-ḍA suna upar-mak<sup>h</sup>e dek<sup>h</sup>-b-i  
 young man-NCLS PCL above-direction see-FUT-3  
*The young man looked upwards.*

MR.05.196 देखे ते, "आरे छे!

dek<sup>h</sup>-b-i te are c<sup>h</sup>e  
 see-FUT-3 PCL INJ INJ  
*He saw (it), "Eh!"*

MR.05.197 इड फुल त हामार तिकार फुलड।"

i-ḍA p<sup>h</sup>ul tA hama-r ti-kar p<sup>h</sup>ul-ḍA  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS flower PCL 1pl[pro]-GEN towards-GEN flower-NCLS  
*This flower is a flower from our region."*

MR.05.198 उहाँक बाडा आच्छा लागि जाप्कि।

uḥā-k bara acc<sup>h</sup>a lag-i ja-p-ki  
 3sg[pro]-DAT very good feel-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3  
*He liked (that flower) very much.*

MR.05.199 तने सुना उहाँ एकदम उड फुलड लिबार ताने उड सुक बासिड दे एकदम झाटा ठुक्वे कुवाडक।

tane suna uḥā ekdam u-ḍA p<sup>h</sup>ul-ḍA li-ba-r tane u-ḍA  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro] very that-NCLS flower-NCLS take-INF-GEN for that-NCLS

suk basi-ḍa de ekḍam j<sup>h</sup>atā t<sup>h</sup>uk-b-ɪ  
 happiness flute-NCLS INSTR very stick\_thrown\_to\_bring\_fruit\_down hit-FUT-3  
 kua-ḍa-k  
 crow-NCLS-DAT

*Then, in order to take the flower, he threw the happiness flute at the crow.*

MR.05.200 ते कुवाड उड सुक बासिड चेप करे लिप्कि पक्रिए आर फुलड दिप्कि छरिए मुखखान से।  
 te kua-ḍa u-ḍa suk basi-ḍa cep kare li-p-ki  
 PCL crow-NCLS that-NCLS happiness flute-NCLS catch ADVL AUX-FUT-SA3  
 p<sup>h</sup>kr-ie ar p<sup>h</sup>ul-ḍa di-p-ki c<sup>h</sup>ar-ie muk<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>an se  
 catch-ABS and flower-NCLS AUX-FUT-SA3 let\_go-ABS mouth-NCLS ABL  
*Then the crow caught the happiness flute (in mid air) and let go of the flower from its mouth.*

MR.05.201 त सुना सुक बासिड लिऐने उराऐने चुलि जाप्कि कुवाड।  
 ta suna suk basi-ḍa li-ene ura-ene cul-i  
 PCL PCL happiness flute-NCLS take-CONJ.PTCL fly-CONJ.PTCL AUX-ABS  
 ja-p-ki kua-ḍa  
 go-FUT-SA3 crow-NCLS  
*Then the crow took the flute and flew off.*

MR.05.202 सुना फुलड दिप्कि गिराए चेडराडक।  
 suna p<sup>h</sup>ul-ḍa di-p-ki gir-a-e ceṅra-ḍa-k  
 PCL flower-NCLS AUX-FUT-SA3 fall-CAUS-ABS young\_man-NCLS-DAT  
*The flower he dropped to the young man.*

MR.05.203 सुना देखे इड फुलड।  
 suna dek<sup>h</sup>-b-ɪ i-ḍa p<sup>h</sup>ul-ḍa  
 PCL see-FUT-3 DEM[prox]-NCLS flower-NCLS  
*He looked at the flower.*

MR.05.204 कुवाड त मोर बासिड लेइ गेले।  
 kua-ḍa ta mo-r basi-ḍa le-i ge-l-ɪ  
 crow-NCLS PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN flute-NCLS take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-3  
*"The crow took my flute away."*

MR.05.205 सुना आप बाडा चिन्ता लागि गेलिक उहाँक।  
 suna ap bara cinta lag-i ge-l-ki uhā-k  
 PCL PCL very worry feel-ABS AUX-PST-SA3 3sg[pro]-DAT  
*Then he got very worried.*

MR.05.206 केवा दिनबाद फेर सुना अइड कुवा एकटा आमार तिकार आम लिऐने जाच्चिक उपर दे।  
 kewa din-bad p<sup>h</sup>er suna li-ḍa kua ek-ṭa am<sup>h</sup>a-r  
 some day-after again PCL DEM[rem/emph]-NCLS crow one-NCLS 3pl[pro]-GEN  
 ti-kar am li-ene ja-c-ki upar de  
 towards-GEN mango take-CONJ.PTCL go-PRES-SA3 up ADVL  
*A few days later that same crow came (flying) above holding a mango from their region.*

MR.05.207 याहाँ देखेचे, "आरे!  
 yaha dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-e are  
 DEM[pro/prox] see-PRES-3 INJ  
*He (the young man) saw it, "Eh!"*

MR.05.208 इड त हामार तिकार आम!

i-ɖʌ tʌ hama-r ti-kar am  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL 1pl[pro]-GEN towards-GEN mango  
*This is a mango from our region!*

MR.05.209 मुइ त बाचार खुना एनडति आमला खाउ।"

mui tʌ baca-r kʰuna enʌɽti 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 मेनाए जाकि।

uhã-k ekɖʌm u-ɖʌ 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 बासिड दे झाटा टुक्के उहाँ।

suna ekɖʌm duk basi-ɖʌ de jʰata tʰuk-b-ɪ  
 PCL very trouble flute-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 बासिड चेष करे पक्रि लिपकि।

u-ɖʌ duk basi-ɖʌ cep kʌre pʌkr-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.*

MR.05.213 उड, आमड सुना मुखखान से दिपकि गिराए।

u-ɖʌ am-ɖʌ suna mukʰ-kʰan 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 परिपकि,

am-ɖʌ suna uhã-r hat-ʌt pʌr-ip-ki  
 mango-NCLS PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN hand-LOC fall-FUT-SA3  
*The mango fell into his hand.*

MR.05.215 चेडराडर हातत चेष करे पाइ जावे।

ceɽra-ɖʌ-r hat-ʌt cep kʌre pa-i ja-b-ɪ  
 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 बासिडउ लेइ गेलिकने कुवाड, आर सुक बासिडउ लेइ गेलिकने।

uhã-r duk basi-ɖʌ=u le-i ge-l-kine kua-ɖʌ  
 3sg[pro]-GEN trouble flute-NCLS=CNJ take-CONJ.PTCL go-PST-SA3 crow-NCLS  
 ar suk basi-ɖʌ=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.*



MR.05.217 आप त उहाँर सडे कुछु नि छिकि।

ap tʌ uhā-r saŋe kuc<sup>h</sup>u ni c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN with some NEG be-PRES-SA3  
 Now he had nothing.

MR.05.218 अनड कर्ते कर्ते रहते रहते सुना एक दिन करे उड, चेडराडक सुना सिना कर्बा जाबा मेनाइच्चि लदि।

ʌnʌŋ kʌr-te kʌr-te rʌhʌ-te rʌhʌ-te suna ek  
 like\_that do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL live-CONT.PTCL live-CONT.PTCL PCL one  
 din kʌre u-ɖʌ ceŋra-ɖʌ-k suna sin-a kʌr-ba ja-ba  
 day ADVL that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS-DAT PCL wash(body)-DVBL do-INF go-INF  
 mena-ic-ki lʌdi  
 want\_to-PERF-SA3 river  
 Time passed like that (while doing that, while staying), (and) one day the young man wanted to  
 go to bathe (in/to) the river.

MR.05.219 तने उहाँ सिना कर्बा गिछे।

tʌne uhā sin-a kʌr-ba g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PCL 3sg[pro] wash(body)-DVBL do-INF go-PERF-3  
 Then he has gone to bathe.

MR.05.220 सिना कर्बा गिछे।

sin-a kʌr-ba g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e  
 wash(body)-DVBL do-INF go-PERF-3  
 He has gone to bathe.

MR.05.221 ते एकदम उहाँर लाम लाम चुलिला मइधे एकखान चुलि गिच्चि आखिए सिना कर्ते कर्ते।

te ekdʌm uhā-r lam<sup>h</sup>ʌ lam<sup>h</sup>ʌ culi-la mʌid<sup>h</sup>e ek-k<sup>h</sup>ʌn culi  
 PCL very 3sg[pro]-GEN long long hair-PL among one-NCLS hair  
 g-ic-ki ak<sup>h</sup>ri-e sin-a kʌr-te kʌr-te  
 AUX-PERF-SA3 come\_off-ABS wash(body)-DVBL do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL  
 Then, one (strand of) hair from amongst his very long hair came off while he was bathing.

MR.05.223 सुना उहाँ बिचार करिए देखेचे "आप इखान चुलि जदि मुइ लदिडत फाकाए दु, लदिर माचला ओकोट जोकोट लागिने मरि जाबे।

suna uhā bicar kʌr-ie dek<sup>h</sup>-ec-e ap i-k<sup>h</sup>ʌn culi jʌdi  
 PCL 3sg[pro] thought do-CONJ.PTCL look-PRES-3 PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS hair if  
 mui lʌdi-ɖʌ-t p<sup>h</sup>ʌka-e d-u lʌdi-r mac-la orkoṭ  
 1sg[pro] river-NCLS-LOC throw-ABS AUX-SUBJ1sg river-GEN fish-PL mixed\_up  
 jorkoṭ lag-iene mʌr-i ja-b-ɪ  
 [echo]mixed\_up apply\_to-CONJ.PTCL die-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
 He thought, "Now, if I throw this hair in the river, the river fish will get entangled and will die.

MR.05.224 आप जदि मुइ एनडे धादनिखानते राखि दु इखान चुलि ते कुवा, इला पखिला आस्रार ठेडलात लागिने ओकोट जोकोट लागिने आस्रा मरि जाबे।

ap jʌdi mui enʌŋ=e d<sup>h</sup>adni-k<sup>h</sup>ʌn-t=e rak<sup>h</sup>-i d-u  
 PCL if 1sg[pro] like\_this=EMPH riverbank-NCLS-LOC=EMPH put-ABS AUX-SUBJ1sg  
 i-k<sup>h</sup>ʌn culi te kua i-la pʌk<sup>h</sup>i-la am<sup>h</sup>a-r t<sup>h</sup>ej-la-t  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS hair PCL crow DEM[prox]-PL bird-PL 3pl[pro]-GEN leg-PL-LOC

lag-iene orkoṭ jorkoṭ lag-iene am<sup>h</sup>a = ʌ  
 apply\_to-CONJ.PTCL mixed\_up [echo]mixed\_up apply\_to-CONJ.PTCL 3pl[pro] = CNJ  
 mʌr-i ja-b-i  
 die-ABS AUX-FUT-3

*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 केनड कर्ले हवे ते?"

kenʌŋ kʌr-le hʌ-b-i te  
 what\_kind do-COND.PTCL must-FUT-3 PCL  
*What should I do then?"*

MR.05.226 तने सुना उहाँ उखान चुलि एकखान पनित सुना एकदम दुकाएने एकटा टप्लार लाखाति बाचा बेनाएने सुना लदिडत दिवे भासाए।

tʌne suna uhā u-k<sup>h</sup>an culi ek-k<sup>h</sup>an pʌni-t suna ekdʌm  
 PCL PCL 3sg[pro] that-NCLS hair one-NCLS plastic-LOC PCL very  
 ḍ<sup>h</sup>uk-a-ene ek-ṭa ṭʌpla-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati baca bena-ene suna  
 enter-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL one-NCLS bundle-GEN like small make-CONJ.PTCL PCL  
 ʌdi-ḍʌ-t di-b-i b<sup>h</sup>as-a-e  
 river-NCLS-LOC AUX-FUT-3 float-CAUS-ABS

*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 राजार बेटिड सुना अइदिन करे ठिक करे सुना गिछे लदि सिन्वा आप्नार सडलार सडे।

ar hudʌr suna raja-r beṭi-ḍʌ suna ʌi-din kʌre  
 and over\_there PCL king-GEN daughter-NCLS PCL DEM[rem/emph]-day ADVL  
 ṭ<sup>h</sup>ik kʌre suna g-ic<sup>h</sup>-e ʌdi sin-ba apna-r sʌŋ-la-r  
 exactly ADVL PCL go-PERF-3 river wash(body)-INF REFL[pro]-GEN friend-PL-GEN  
 sʌŋe  
 with

*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 सडलार सडे सुना लदि सिनान कर्ते कर्ते कर्ते उड, टप्लाड भास्ते भास्ते भास्ते आस्वा देखि फेकाबे।

sʌŋ-la-r sʌŋe suna ʌdi sin-an kʌr-te kʌr-te  
 friend-PL-GEN with PCL river wash(body)-DVBL do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL  
 kʌr-te u-ḍʌ ṭʌpla-ḍʌ b<sup>h</sup>as-te b<sup>h</sup>as-te  
 do-CONT.PTCL that-NCLS bundle-NCLS float-CONT.PTCL float-CONT.PTCL  
 b<sup>h</sup>as-te as-ba dek<sup>h</sup>-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-b-i  
 float-CONT.PTCL come-INF see-ABS AUX-FUT-3

*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 देखे ते, "आरे!

uhā dek<sup>h</sup>-b-i te are  
 3sg[pro] look-FUT-3 PCL INJ  
*She looked, "Eh!"*

MR.05.230 इड कुन टप्ला?"

i-ɖʌ                      kun   tʌpla  
DEM[prox]-NCLS what bundle  
*What kind of a bundle is this?"*

MR.05.231 आरह चेडरिला देखि फेकाप्कि।

arɦʌ   ceɽri-la                      dekʰ-i   pʰeka-p-ki  
other young\_woman-PL see-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3  
*The other girls saw (it).*

MR.05.232 त सुना आरह चेडरिला दउगिएने लिबा जाबे टप्लाड।

tʌ   suna arɦʌ   ceɽri-la                      dʌug-iene                      li-ba   ja-b-i   tʌpla-ɖʌ  
PCL PCL other young\_woman-PL run-CONJ.PTCL take-INF go-FUT-3 bundle-NCLS  
*The other girls ran and went to take the bundle.*

MR.05.233 आसा जाले एकदम भेलाखान पानि हइ जाप्कि, एकदम डुबि जाबा चाहाचे।

amʰa   ja-le                      ekɖʌm bʰel(l)a-kʰan   pani   hʌ-i   ja-p-ki                      ekɖʌm  
3pl[pro] go-COND.PTCL very   lots\_of-NCLS water be-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3 very  
ɖub-i                      ja-ba                      caha-c-e  
sink(Nepali)-ABS AUX-INF try-PRES-3  
*If (i.e. when / every time) they (i.e. the other girls) went, the water level rose up and tried to drown (them).*

MR.05.234 रानिर बेटिड सुना एक चटि जाबे आन्बा।

rani-r                      beɽi-ɖʌ                      suna ek   cʌɽi   ja-b-i                      an-ba  
queen-GEN   daughter-NCLS PCL one moment go-FUT-3 bring-INF  
*The queen's daughter went once to take (it).*

MR.05.235 ते जेनड उहाँ जाबे, पानिखान कम हते चुलि जाप्कि उहाँर।

te   jenʌŋ                      uhã                      ja-b-i                      pani-kʰan                      kʌm   hʌ-te                      cul-i  
PCL what\_kind 3sg[pro] go-FUT-3 water-NCLS less be-CONT.PTCL AUX-ABS  
ja-p-ki                      uhã-r  
go-FUT-SA3 3sg[pro]-GEN  
*When she went the (lit. 'her') water (level) went down (lit. became less).*

MR.05.236 तने राजार बेटिड, सुना उड टप्लाड देखे खुलाएने।

tʌne raja-r                      beɽi-ɖʌ                      suna u-ɖʌ                      tʌpla-ɖʌ                      dekʰ-b-i  
PCL king-GEN daughter-NCLS PCL that-NCLS bundle-NCLS look-FUT-3  
kʰula-ene  
open-CONJ.PTCL  
*Then the king's daughter opened the bundle and looked (at it).*

MR.05.237 देखे ते, "हारे राम!

dekʰ-b-i   te   hare ram  
see-FUT-3 PCL INJ Rām(god)  
*She looked, "Oh my god (lit. Hare Rām)!"*

MR.05.238 इखान दस्रा किसिमेर चुलि! एताखान लाम चुलि!

i-kʰan                      dʌsra kisim-er                      culi   eta-kʰan                      lamʰʌ   culi  
DEM[prox]-NCLS other type-GEN hair this\_much-NCLS long hair  
*This is another type of hair, such a long hair!*

MR.05.239 काहॉर चुलि हए इखान?

kaha-r culi hΛ-e i-k<sup>h</sup>an  
 who-GEN hair be-PRES3 DEM[prox]-NCLS  
*Whose hair is this?"*

MR.05.240 लडिड से सुना सिनान करिए घरत सुना चुलि आस्वे।

ladi-ḍΛ se suna sin-an ka-r-ie g<sup>h</sup>Λr-Λt suna cul-i  
 river-NCLS ABL PCL wash(body)-DVBL do-CONJ.PTCL house-LOC PCL AUX-ABS  
 as-b-i  
 come-FUT-3  
*After bathing she came home from the river.*

MR.05.241 आप घरत आसिएने आप्णार कठाडत ढुकिएने उहाँ भात पानि दिबे छरिए।

ap g<sup>h</sup>Λr-Λt as-iene apna-r kaṭ<sup>h</sup>a-ḍΛ-t d<sup>h</sup>uk-iene  
 PCL house-LOC come-CONJ.PTCL REFL[pro]-GEN room-NCLS-LOC enter-CONJ.PTCL  
 uhā b<sup>h</sup>at pani di-b-i c<sup>h</sup>Λr-ie  
 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 राजाडए आर रानिडए "आप्णार बेटिड भात कियॉ नि खाचे?" कहेने सुना पुछिण्कि, "माइ, कि हल्कु तोर?"

raja-ḍΛ=e ar rani-ḍΛ=e apna-r beṭi-ḍΛ b<sup>h</sup>at  
 king-NCLS=EMPH and queen-NCLS=EMPH REFL[pro]-GEN daughter-NCLS cooked\_rice  
 kiā ni k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e kaḥ-ene suna puc<sup>h</sup>-ip-ki mai ki  
 why NEG eat-PRES-3 say-CONJ.PTCL PCL ask-FUT-SA3 y.sister what  
 hΛ-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 कियॉ नि खाबो तुइ खराक?"

kiā ni k<sup>h</sup>a-b-o tui k<sup>h</sup>Λrak  
 why NEG eat-FUT-2sg 2sg[pro] food  
*Why will you not eat food?"*

MR.05.244 बले, "एकटा सत कर मोर सडे।

bale ek-ṭa sat ka-r-Λ mo-r saṇe  
 QUOT one-NCLS promise do-IMP2pl 1sg[obl]-GEN with  
*She said, "Make me one promise.*

MR.05.245 जदि एकटा सत कर्बन, तने" बले "मुइ भात खाम।"

jadi ek-ṭa sat ka-r-b-Λn tane bale mui b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>a-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 "ते कि हल्कु?"

te ki hΛ-l-ku  
 PCL what be-PST-SA2sg  
*"Well then, what happened to you?"*

MR.05.247 ले, कोहो ना।"

le koho-Ø na  
OK say-IMP2sg PCL  
*Well, tell (us), please."*

MR.05.248 बले, "एकटा सत कर्बा हप्कन।"

ba le ek-ta sat ka-r-ba ha-p-ka-n  
QUOT one-NCLS promise do-INF must-FUT-SA2pl  
*She said, "You have to make a promise."*

MR.05.249 बले, "ले, हँ, सते सत।"

ba le le ha sat=e sat  
QUOT OK INJ promise=EMPH promise  
*They said, "Yes, yes, promise, promise." (i.e. We promise.)*

MR.05.250 सुना माअ बापलाक सत खिलाएने पाछुत कहबे, "मुइ लदि सिन्वा गिस्तु।"

suna ma-a ba-p-la-k sat k<sup>h</sup>ila-ene pa-c<sup>h</sup>u-t ka-ha-b-i mui  
PCL mother father-PL-DAT promise feed-CONJ.PTCL after-LOC say-FUT-3 1sg[pro]  
la-di sin-ba g-isn-u  
river wash(body)-INF go-REM.PST-1sg  
*Then, making them promise (lit. having fed them a promise) she said to (her) mother and father, "I went to bathe in the river."*

MR.05.251 एकखान चुलि पाइचु, सात हातेर चुलि।

ek-k<sup>h</sup>an culi pa-ic-u sat hat-er culi  
one-NCLS hair get-PERF-1sg seven hand-GEN hair  
*I got a (strand of) hair, a seven hand (long strand of) hair.*

MR.05.252 इखान जदि बेछानि र चुलि हए, ते उहाँर सडे मुइ साङ्गान लागाम।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an ja-di ber-c<sup>h</sup>ani-r culi ha-e te uha-r sa-ge mui  
DEM[prox]-NCLS if woman-GEN hair be-PRES3 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN with 1sg[pro]  
sa-ghan laga-m  
friend[FEM] apply-FUT1sg  
*If this is the hair of a woman, then I will become her (covenant) friend.*

MR.05.253 जदि इखान मर्दनार चुलि हए, चेडरा लोकेर चुलि हए, ते उहाँर सडे मोक माने बाहा करि दिबा हप्कन।

ja-di i-k<sup>h</sup>an ma-r-da-na-r culi ha-e ce-ra lok-er culi  
if DEM[prox]-NCLS man-GEN hair be-PRES3 young(man) man-GEN hair  
ha-e te uha-r sa-ge mo-k mane baha ka-r-i di-ba  
be-PRES3 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN with 1sg[obl]-DAT PCL wedding do-ABS give-INF  
ha-p-ka-n  
must-FUT-SA2pl  
*If this is a man's hair, the hair of a young man, then you must let me marry him.*

MR.05.254 जदि इड काथा तामा मान्बन ते मुइ भात खाम, नि ते मुइ भात नि खाम।"

ja-di i-da ka-ta tam-ba na-man-ba-na te mui ba-ta  
if DEM[prox]-NCLS thing 2pl[pro] agree-FUT-2pl PCL 1sg[pro] cooked\_rice  
ka-ma ni te mui ba-ta ni ka-m  
eat-FUT1sg NEG PCL 1sg[pro] cooked\_rice NEG eat-FUT1sg  
*If you agree to this I will eat rice, otherwise I will not eat rice."*

MR.05.255 ते सुना आप, राजाड सत करि फेकाइचे आप नि कर्लउ नि हचे।

te suna ap raja-ɖa sat kʌr-i p<sup>h</sup>eka-ic-e ap ni  
 PCL PCL PCL king-NCLS promise do-ABS AUX-PERF-3 PCL NEG  
 kʌr-lʌ=u ni hʌ-c-e  
 do-COND.PTCL=CNJ NEG be-PRES-3

*Since the king had (already) made a promise, he could not avoid it. (Lit. 'It is not (possible for him) not to do it.')*

MR.05.256 त सुना आप, "ठिके छे।

tʌ suna ap t<sup>h</sup>ik=e c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PCL PCL PCL alright=EMPH be-PRES3  
 Then he said, "Alright."

MR.05.257 आप अन्ति हले बेटि..." कहने सुना हत्ना दिबे उहाँ ढोल पिटिए।

ap ʌnti hʌ-le beti kʌh-ene suna hʌtna di-b-ɪ  
 PCL like\_that be-COND.PTCL daughter say-CONJ.PTCL PCL there AUX-FUT-3  
 uhā ɖ<sup>h</sup>ol piṭ-ie  
 3sg[pro] drum\_to\_summon beat-ABS

*He said, "If that is so, daughter..." and he beat a drum (in order to summon people).*

MR.05.258 एन्ति एन्ति सात हातेर चुलि बाला चेडरा होक या चेडरि होक, काहुँ जदि आनिएने दन, जदि काहुँ पात्ता लाग्बा पारे, ते उहाँक माने एत्ला इनाम, माने दुइ चार हाजार, एक दुइ लाख टाका आर जाग्गा साग्गा" दिबार माने उहाँ ढोल पिटि दिबे।

enti enti sat hat-er culi wala ceṅra h-ok ya  
 like\_this like\_this seven hand-GEN hair NML(Hindi) young\_man be-SUBJ3 or  
 ceṅri h-ok kahu jʌdi an-iene d-ʌn jʌdi kahu  
 young\_woman be-SUBJ3 anyone if bring-CONJ.PTCL give-SUBJ2pl if anyone  
 patta lag-ba par-e te uhā-k mane etla inam mane  
 knowledge apply\_to-INF can-SUBJ3 PCL 3sg[pro]-DAT PCL this\_many reward PCL  
 dui car hajar ek dui lak<sup>h</sup> ṭaka ar jagga sagga  
 two four thousand one two hundred\_thousand coin and land [echo]land  
 di-ba-r mane uhā ɖ<sup>h</sup>ol piṭ-i di-b-ɪ  
 give-INF-GEN PCL 3sg[pro] drum\_to\_summon beat-ABS AUX-FUT-3

*"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).*

MR.05.259 ते गटलाके थाहा हइ जाबे उड काथा।

te gʌṭ-lʌ-k=e t<sup>h</sup>aha hʌ-i ja-b-ɪ u-ɖʌ kat<sup>h</sup>a  
 PCL all-PL-DAT=EMPH knowledge(Nepali) be-ABS AUX-FUT-3 that-NCLS thing  
 Then everyone found out about that thing.

MR.05.260 तने एकटा बुरि सुना इड काथा उहाँअ थाहा पाबे।

tʌne ek-ṭa bur<sup>h</sup>i suna i-ɖʌ kat<sup>h</sup>a uhā=ʌ  
 PCL one-NCLS old\_woman PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS thing 3sg[pro]=CNJ  
 t<sup>h</sup>aha pa-b-ɪ  
 knowledge(Nepali) get-FUT-3

*Then also one old woman found out about this thing.*

MR.05.261 त उहाँर सङे एकखान नाअ छिल्कि।

tʌ uhā-r saŋe ek-kʰan naʌ cʰ-il-ki  
PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN with one-NCLS boat be-PST-SA3  
*She had a boat.*

MR.05.262 त उड बुरि सुना आप पात्ता लाग्बार ताने लदिडत जाए उखान नाअखानक सुना कहले, "ले रे, नाअ,

tʌ u-ɖʌ burʰi suna ap patta lag-ba-r tane  
PCL that-NCLS old\_woman PCL PCL knowledge apply\_to-INF-GEN for  
lʌdi-ɖʌ-t ja-e u-kʰan naʌ-kʰan-ʌk suna le re  
river-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL that-NCLS boat-NCLS-DAT PCL say-PST-3  
suna kʌhʌ-l-i le re naʌ  
PCL say-PST-3 OK OK boat  
*In order to find out, that old woman went to the river and said to the boat, "OK, boat.*

MR.05.263 जदि तुइ सतेर नाअ हबो, ते उड चेडरा अथवा उड चेडरि काहे हए, उहाँ कुत्ता छे, अइधर मोक तुइ ले जावो ने।"

ʃadi tui sat-er naʌ hʌ-b-o te u-ɖʌ ceŋra ʌtʰʌwa  
if 2sg[pro] truth-GEN boat be-FUT-2sg PCL that-NCLS young\_man or(loan)  
u-ɖʌ ceŋri kahe hʌ-e uhā kunʰa cʰ-e ʌidʰʌr  
that-NCLS young\_woman who be-PRES3 3sg[pro] where be-PRES3 over\_there  
mo-k tui l-e ja-b-o ne  
1sg[obl]-DAT 2sg[pro] take-CONJ.PTCL go-FUT-2sg PCL  
*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."*

MR.05.264 नाअखान एकदम सिरमाखे जाप्कि।

naʌ-kʰan ekdʌm sir-makʰe ja-p-ki  
boat-NCLS very upstream-direction go-FUT-SA3  
*The boat went straight upstream.*

MR.05.265 जेइधर उड चेडराड छिले, अइधर जाप्कि।

jeidʰʌr u-ɖʌ ceŋra-ɖʌ cʰi-l-i ʌidʰʌr ja-p-ki  
over\_where that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS be-PST-3 over\_there go-FUT-SA3  
*It went to the place where the young man was.*

MR.05.266 तने एकठिना जाएने सुना नाअखान जाप्कि रकिए।

tʌne ek-tʰina ja-ene suna naʌ-kʰan ja-p-ki rʌk-ie  
PCL one-place go-CONJ.PTCL PCL boat-NCLS AUX-FUT-SA3 stop-ABS  
*Then the boat went to one place and stopped.*

MR.05.267 ते उहाँ थाहा पाइ जावे, "ए एइठिनाए माने छे चेडराड।"

te uhā tʰaha pa-i ja-b-i  
PCL 3sg[pro] knowledge(Nepali) get-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
e ei-tʰina=e mane cʰ-e ceŋra-ɖʌ  
INJ DEM[prox/emph]-place=EMPH PCL be-PRES3 young\_man-NCLS  
*Then she found out, "Oh, (so) this is the place where the boy is."*

MR.05.268 सुना उहाँ अनड करे भेल्ला दिन से हल्ना पाहारा दिबे।

suna uhā ʌnʌŋ kʌre bʰella din se hʌtna pahara di-b-i  
PCL 3sg[pro] like\_that ADVL many day ABL there guard give-FUT-3  
*In this manner she was on guard for many days.*

MR.05.269 पाहारा दिबे, अन्छाबे, अन्छाबे।

pahara di-b-1      ʌnc<sup>h</sup>a-b-1      ʌnc<sup>h</sup>a-b-1  
 guard give-FUT-3 search-FUT-3 search-FUT-3  
*She guarded, searched, searched.*

MR.05.270 तत सुना एक दिन करे उड चेडरा सुना फेर सिना कर्बा आस्बे लदिडत जडलखान से।

tʌt suna ek din kʌre u-ɖʌ      ceŋra      suna p<sup>h</sup>er sin-a      kʌr-ba  
 then PCL one day ADVL that-NCLS young\_man PCL again wash-DVBL do-INF  
 as-b-1      lʌdi-ɖʌ-t      jʌŋʌl-k<sup>h</sup>an      se  
 come-FUT-3 river-NCLS-LOC jungle-NCLS ABL  
*Then one day that young man came again to bathe (in/to) the river from the jungle.*

MR.05.271 लदिडत सिन्बा आस्वार से पहले उड, बुरिड आप्नार नाअखान डुबाएने राखबे ताकि आरह लोकला माने थाहा ना पाओका।

lʌdi-ɖʌ-t      sin-ba      as-ba-r      se pʌhʌle u-ɖʌ  
 river-NCLS-LOC wash(body)-INF come-INF-GEN ABL first that-NCLS  
 bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ      apna-r      naʌ-k<sup>h</sup>an      ɖub-a-ene  
 old\_woman-NCLS REFL[pro]-GEN boat-NCLS sink(Nepali)-CAUS-CONJ.PTCL  
 rak<sup>h</sup>-b-1      taki      ar<sup>h</sup>ʌ lok-la      mane t<sup>h</sup>aha      na      pa-ok  
 put-FUT-3 so\_that(Nepali) other man-PL PCL knowledge(Nepali) NEG receive-SUBJ3  
*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 जेनडे सुना उड चेडराड आस्बे सिना कर्बा, जाएने सुना बुरिड पुगि जाबे।

jenʌŋ=e      suna u-ɖʌ      ceŋra-ɖʌ      as-b-1      sin-a      kʌr-ba  
 when=EMPH PCL that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS come-FUT-3 wash(body)-DVBL do-INF  
 ja-ene      suna bur<sup>h</sup>i-ɖʌ      pug-i      ja-b-1  
 go-CONJ.PTCL PCL old\_woman-NCLS reach-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
*When the young man came to bathe, the old woman arrived.*

MR.05.273 "बाबा, तुइ मोक चिन्लो?"

baba      tui      mo-k      cin<sup>h</sup>-l-o  
 young\_boy 2sg[pro] 1sg[obl]-DAT know-PST-2sg  
*"Boy, do you know me?"*

MR.05.274 जाएने सुना उड चेडराड कहक्कि, "मुइ नि चिन्तु त।

ja-ene      suna u-ɖʌ      ceŋra-ɖʌ      kʌʌ-c-ki      mui      ni  
 go-CONJ.PTCL PCL that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS say-PRES-SA3 1sg[pro] NEG  
 cin<sup>h</sup>-n-u      tʌ  
 know-PST-1sg PCL  
*The young man went and said (to her), "No, I don't know (you)."*

MR.05.275 तुइ काहे?"

tui      kahe  
 2sg[pro] who  
*Who are you?"*

MR.05.276 त उहाँ कहक्कि, "चिन्लो नि?"

tʌ      uhã      kʌʌ-c-ki      cin<sup>h</sup>-l-o      ni  
 PCL 3sg[pro] say-PRES-SA3 know-PST-2sg NEG  
*Then she said (to him), "Don't you know (me)?"*



MR.05.277 तोर मुइ मसि रे!

to-r mui mʌsi re  
2sg[obl]-GEN 1sg[pro] sister\_of\_mother PCL  
*I am certainly your aunt.*

MR.05.278 बाप रे! तोक अन्धाबा त कुना नि पुगनु मुइ।

bap re to-k ʌnc<sup>h</sup>a-ba tʌ kun<sup>h</sup>a 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 मुइ हकुन।

to-r mʌsi mui hʌ-kun  
2sg[obl]-GEN sister\_of\_mother 1sg[pro] be-SA2sg  
*I am your aunt.*

MR.05.280 देख् नि, केनङ हइचकु चुलिला।

dek<sup>h</sup>-∅ ni kenʌŋ hʌ-ic-ku culi-la  
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, केन्ति मलिया हइचकु।

daha-ɖʌ kenti mʌl-ia hʌ-ic-ku  
body-NCLS how mud-ADJR be-PERF-SA2sg  
*How muddy (your) body has become."*

MR.05.283 आस्, मुइ सिना कराइ दिम्कुन," कहेने सुना हत्ना आमा दने झनाए गफ कर्ते जावे।

as-∅ mui sin-a kʌr-a-i di-m-ku-n  
come-IMP2sg 1sg[pro] wash(body)-DVBL do-CAUS-ABS AUX-FUT-SA2sg-1sg  
kʌh-ene suna hʌtna am<sup>h</sup>a dʌn<sup>h</sup>e j<sup>h</sup>ʌna=e gʌp<sup>h</sup> kʌr-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 उहाँ सुना एकदम बिस्वास दिलाकि कि, 'तोर माने मुइ मसिए हकुन' कहेने,

ap uhā suna ekdʌm 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 mʌsi=e hʌ-ku-n kʌh-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. कियौते उहाँकअ थाहा नि छिल्कि।

kiāte uhā-k=ʌ t<sup>h</sup>aha ni c<sup>h</sup>-il-ki  
because 3sg[pro]-DAT=CNJ knowledge(Nepali) NEG be-PST-SA3  
*because he didn't know, either.*

MR.05.285 'माने हवाअ पारे', कहेने सुना उहाँर सङे जावे सिनान कर्बा।

mane hʌ-ba=ʌ par-e kʌh-ene suna uhā-r sʌŋe ja-b-i  
PCL be-INF=CNJ can-PRES3 say-CONJ.PTCL PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN with go-FUT-3

sin-an kʌr-ba  
wash(body)-DVBL do-INF  
*He said, "It could also be (so)," and went with her to bathe.*

MR.05.286 ते सुना उहाँ नाअखानेर उपरते राखिष्कि उहाक।  
te suna uhā naʌ-kʰan-er uprʌt=e rakʰ-ip-ki uhā-k  
PCL PCL 3sg[pro] boat-NCLS-GEN above=EMPH put-FUT-SA3 3sg[pro]-DAT  
*She put him right above the boat.*

MR.05.287 तलत नाअखान छिकि, उपरत सुना थार दे उहाँक राखिष्कि।  
tʌʌt naʌ-kʰan cʰ-i-ki uprʌt suna tʰarʌ d-e  
underneath boat-NCLS be-PRES-SA3 above PCL standing give-CONJ.PTCL  
uhā-k rakʰ-ic-ki  
3sg[pro]-DAT put-PERF-SA3  
*The boat was below, she put him standing above the boat.*

MR.05.288 ते सिना कर्ते कर्ते एनडे एकदम, "ले, सति जुगेर नाअ, तुइ च घरेर ति," कहवे, ताहें नाअखान एकदम लडिडर भाटिमाखाए चल चल चल...  
te sin-a kʌr-te kʌr-te enʌŋ=e ekdʌm le  
PCL wash(body)-DVBL do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL like\_this=EMPH very OK  
sat-i jug-er naʌ tui cʌ-∅ gʰʌr-er ti kʌhʌ-b-i tahe  
truth-ADJR era-GEN boat 2sg[pro] go-IMP2sg house-GEN towards say-FUT-3 then  
naʌ-kʰan ekdʌm ʌdi-ɖʌ-r bʰaʈi-makʰae cʌ-l cʌ-l cʌ-l  
boat-NCLS very river-NCLS-GEN downstream-direction go-PST3 go-PST3 go-PST3  
*While they were bathing like this she said, "OK, you boat of the era of truth, go home." Then the boat went downstream the river, went, went, went...*

MR.05.290 एके चटि राजार घर पुगाए दिष्कि।  
ek=e cʌʈi raja-r gʰʌr pug-a-e di-p-ki  
one=EMPH moment king-GEN house reach-CAUS-ABS AUX-FUT-SA3  
*All in one go it took them to the king's house.*

MR.05.291 सुना राजार घर पुगि जावे चेडराड।  
suna raja-r gʰʌr pug-i ja-b-i ceŋra-ɖʌ  
PCL king-GEN house reach-ABS AUX-FUT-3 young\_man-NCLS  
*The young man reached the king's house.*

MR.05.292 ते राजार घर पुगि जावे ते सुना एकदम राजाड छकमछेइया करे बेटिडर सडे उहाक, उड चेडराडक, दिष्कि बाहे।  
te raja-r gʰʌr pug-i ja-b-i te suna ekdʌm raja-ɖʌ  
PCL king-GEN house reach-ABS AUX-FUT-3 PCL PCL very king-NCLS  
cʰʌkʌmcʰeia kʌre beʈi-ɖʌ-r sʌŋe uhā-k u-ɖʌ  
extravagant ADVL daughter-NCLS-GEN with 3sg[pro]-DAT that-NCLS  
ceŋra-ɖʌ-k di-p-ki bahe  
young\_man-NCLS-DAT give-FUT-SA3 marriage  
*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 दिबे।

baha taha kʌr-i di-b-i  
 wedding [echo]wedding do-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
*He let them wed and all.*

MR.05.294 बाहा करि दिबे सुना।

baha kʌr-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 चेडराड सुना राजाडर घरत रहबा धर्बे।

tʌt suna baha taha hʌ-ene ceŋra-ɖʌ suna  
 then PCL wedding [echo]wedding be-CONJ.PTCL young\_man-NCLS PCL  
 raja-ɖʌ-r gʰʌr-ʌt rʌhʌ-ba dʰʌr-b-i  
 king-NCLS-GEN house-LOC live-INF begin-FUT-3  
*After being wed, the young man started to live at the king's house.*

MR.05.296 माने जब आमार कठाडत जाबे, ते हतिना देख्बे उहाँ दुइडा बासि।

mane jʌb amʰa-r kʌtʰa-ɖʌ-t ja-b-i te hʌtina dekʰ-b-i uhā  
 PCL when 3pl[pro]-GEN room-NCLS-LOC go-FUT-3 PCL there see-FUT-3 3sg[pro]  
 dui-ɖʌ basi  
 two-NCLS flute  
*But when he went into their room, he saw two flutes.*

MR.05.297 इला उहाँ देखिने थाहा पाइ जाबे, "आरे!

i-la uhā dekʰ-i-ene tʰaha 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 बासिला त मोर बासिला।"

i-la basi-la tʌ 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 बासि," उहाँ कइनाडक कह्कि।

i-la tʌ mo-r basi uhā kʌina-ɖʌ-k kʌhʌ-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 "तुइ इला बासि केनड करे पालो?" कहेने उहाँर कइनाडक उहाँ पुछारि कर्बे।

tui i-la basi kenʌŋ kʌre pa-l-o kʌh-ene  
 2sg[pro] DEM[prox]-PL flute what\_kind ADVL get-PST-2sg say-CONJ.PTCL  
 uhā-r kʌina-ɖʌ-k uhā pucʰari kʌr-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 कइनाड सुना कह्कि, "ए, इला बासि, कुवाडए दुइ दिने आनिचे।

tʌ uhā-r kʌina-ɖʌ suna kʌhʌ-p-ki e i-la basi  
 PCL 3sg[pro]-GEN bride-NCLS PCL say-FUT-SA3 INJ DEM[prox]-PL flute

kua-dʌ=e                      dui din=e                      an-ic-e  
 crow-NCLS=EMPH two day=EMPH bring-PERF-3  
*His bride said (to him), "Eh! A crow brought these flutes in two days (i.e. one day at a time).*

MR.05.302 एक दिन करे एकटा बासि एडनाखानत गिराले।  
 ek din kʌre ek-ʈa                      basi eɲna-kʰan-ʌt                      gir-a-l-i  
 one day ADVL one-NCLS flute yard-NCLS-LOC fall-CAUS-PST-3  
*One day (it) dropped one flute in the yard.*

MR.05.303 आर केवा दिनबाद दुस्रा एकटा बासि गिराले।  
 ar kewa din-bad dusra ek-ʈa                      basi gir-a-l-i  
 and some day-after second one-NCLS flute fall-CAUS-PST-3  
*And a few days later it dropped another flute.*

MR.05.305 तने सुना मुइ उक्चिएने राखि दिह्छु।"  
 tʌne suna mui                      ukc-iene                      rakʰ-i  
 PCL PCL 1sg[pro] slip\_in\_between\_bamboo\_roofslats-CONJ.PTCL put-ABS  
 d-icʰ-u  
 AUX-PERF-1sg  
*Then I have put them away, slipping them in between the bamboo roofslats."*

MR.05.306 "हेत! इला, त मोर बासिला!  
 het i-la                      tʌ mo-r                      basi-la  
 INJ DEM[prox]-PL PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN flute-PL  
*"Eh! These are my flutes!"*

MR.05.307 त सुना "एन्ति से एन्ति, एन्ति से एन्ति माने उला बासि मोर हए" कहेने हतिना कह्कि।  
 tʌ suna enti                      se                      enti                      se                      enti                      mane u-la                      basi  
 PCL PCL like\_this ABL like\_this like\_this ABL like\_this PCL that-PL flute  
 mo-r                      hʌ-e                      kʌh-ene                      hʌtina kʌhʌ-p-ki  
 1sg[obl]-GEN be-PRES3 say-CONJ.PTCL there say-FUT-SA3  
*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.05.308 त राजाड सुना पुछारि करिष्कि, "त बाबु,  
 tʌ raja-dʌ                      suna puçʰari kʌr-ip-ki                      tʌ babu  
 PCL king-NCLS PCL question do-FUT-SA3 PCL baby\_boy  
*Then the king asked him, "Eh, baby boy!"*

MR.05.309 माअ बाप छुकु ना नि छुकु?"  
 maʌ                      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?"*

MR.05.310 उहाँ कहल्कि ते, "माअ छे एकटा।  
 uhã                      kʌhʌ-l-ki                      te                      maʌ                      cʰ-e                      ek-ʈa  
 3sg[pro] say-PST-SA3 PCL mother be-PRES3 one-NCLS  
*He (the young man) said (to him), "(I have) one mother.*

MR.05.311 आर मोर माने आर्ना माअ भी छे।"

ar mo-r mane arana maA b<sup>h</sup>i c<sup>h</sup>-e  
and 1sg[obl]-GEN PCL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo mother CNJ(Hindi) be-PRES3  
*And I have wild buffalo-mothers too."*

MR.05.312 बले, "अन्ति हले, देखा काहें हकु।"

bale Anti ha-le dek<sup>h</sup>-a-Ø kahe ha-ku  
QUOT like\_that be-COND.PTCL see-CAUS-IMP2sg who be-SA2sg  
*He (the king) said, "If that is so, show (me) who is (your mother)."*

MR.05.313 "आप केनड करे देखाम ते," सुना उहाँ उड, बुरि माअडक सुना डाकाले, अइठिना सडे रहबा धर्ले।

ap kenAŋ kare dek<sup>h</sup>-a-m te suna uhā u-ɖa bur<sup>h</sup>i  
PCL what\_kind ADVL see-CAUS-FUT1sg PCL PCL 3sg[pro] that-NCLS old\_woman  
maA-ɖa-k suna ɖaka-l-i li-t<sup>h</sup>ina saŋe rAha-ba d<sup>h</sup>ar-l-i  
mother-NCLS-DAT PCL call-PST-3 DEM[rem/emph]-place with live-INF begin-PST-3  
*"And how shall I show (them) then?" (So) he called his old mother and (they) began to stay there together.*

MR.05.314 तने सुना उहाँ आर्ना माअलाक सुना उहाँ डाकाबा चाहाले।

tane suna uhā arana maA-la-k suna uhā ɖaka-ba  
PCL PCL 3sg[pro] type\_of\_wild\_buffalo mother-PL-DAT PCL 3sg[pro] call-INF  
caha-l-i  
want\_to-PST-3  
*Then he wanted to call the wild buffalo mothers.*

MR.05.315 ते उहाँ, "मोर जदि आर्ना भइस माअ देखन ते, ताम्राक दुइडा तिनडा माने पोखर खुद्बा हप्कन।"

te uhā mo-r jadi arana b<sup>h</sup>ais maA dek<sup>h</sup>-b-Aŋ  
PCL 3sg[pro] 1sg[obl]-GEN if type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo mother see-FUT-2pl  
te tam<sup>h</sup>a-k dui-ɖa tin-ɖa mane pok<sup>h</sup>ar k<sup>h</sup>ud-ba ha-p-kAŋ  
PCL 2pl[pro]-DAT two-NCLS three-NCLS PCL pond dig-INF must-FUT-SA2pl  
*So (he said), "If you want to see my wild buffalo mother(s), then you<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> must make (them) two or three ponds."*

MR.05.316 बले, "कियाँ, पोखर खुदले, आमाक माने खान पिनेर व्यवस्था कर्बार सुबिस्ता हबे।

bale kiā pok<sup>h</sup>ar k<sup>h</sup>ud-le am<sup>h</sup>a-k mane k<sup>h</sup>ana pin-er  
QUOT why pond dig-COND.PTCL 3pl[pro]-DAT PCL food drink-GEN  
bewast<sup>h</sup>a kaŋ-ba-r sub<sup>h</sup>ista ha-b-i  
arrangement(loan) do-INF-GEN easy(loan) be-FUT-3  
*He said, "You see, if ponds are dug for them it will be easy to arrange for eating and drinking.*

MR.05.317 अत्ला माने मोर माअ छे।"

atla mane mo-r maA c<sup>h</sup>-e  
that\_many PCL 1sg[obl]-GEN mother be-PRES3  
*I have that many mothers."*

MR.05.318 त, "ठिके।"

ta t<sup>h</sup>ik=e  
PCL alright=EMPH  
*"Alright."*

MR.05.319 राजार घरेर किसेर दुक्क!

raja-r g<sup>h</sup>ar-er 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 दुइ तिनडा पोखर बेनाए।

suna di-l-i raja-ḍa dui tin-ḍa pok<sup>h</sup>ar 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 गुन्डा, पानि, नुन दिले।

suna pok<sup>h</sup>ar-ta suna ekdam gunḍa pani nun di-l-i

PCL pond-NCLS PCL very chaff water salt give-PST-3

*In the pond he put chaff, water and salt.*

MR.05.324 सुना चेङराड धर्ले एकदम बासि बल्बा एकदम दुकेर बासिड।

suna ceṅra-ḍa d<sup>h</sup>ar-l-i ekdam basi ba-l-ba ekdam

PCL young\_man-NCLS begin-PST-3 very flute play(instrument)-INF very

duk-er basi-ḍa

trouble-GEN flute-NCLS

*Then the young man started to play the trouble flute.*

MR.05.325 बल्बा धर्ले एकदम।

ba-l-ba d<sup>h</sup>ar-l-i ekdam

play(instrument)-INF begin-PST-3 very

*He really started to play.*

MR.05.326 जेनड जेनड एकदम बासिड बल्बा ध'इचे, आर्ना भइसला बासिर आवाजड सुनिए एकदम गिड गिड गिड करे दउर्बा ध'इचे आप्नार थानेर ति।

jenḍ jenḍ ekdam basi-ḍa ba-l-ba d<sup>h</sup>Λ(r)-ic-e

what\_kind what\_kind very flute-NCLS play(instrument)-INF begin-PERF-3

arḍa b<sup>h</sup>Λis-la basi-r awaj-ḍa sun-ie ekdam

type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL flute-GEN sound-NCLS hear-CONJ.PTCL very

giḍ giḍ giḍ kare ḍΛur-ba d<sup>h</sup>Λ(r)-ic-e

stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound) ADVL run-INF begin-PERF-3

apna-r t<sup>h</sup>an-er ti

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 ठेक्के जाएने थानत पुगि गेले।

ekdam giḍ giḍ giḍ ekdam

very stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound) very

t<sup>h</sup>ekke ja-ene t<sup>h</sup>an-at pug-i ge-l-i

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 पुगिए देख्ले, "आरे!

t<sup>h</sup>an-dΛ-t pug-ie dek<sup>h</sup>-l-ɪ are  
place-NCLS-LOC reach-CONJ.PTCL look-PST-3 INJ  
*After arriving at the place, they looked, "Eh!"*

MR.05.329 खोए? हामार बेटाड त छेइए नि त!

k<sup>h</sup>oe hama-r βeɽa-dΛ tΛ c<sup>h</sup>-e=ie ni tΛ  
where 1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS PCL be-PRES3=EMPH NEG PCL  
*Where? Our son is not here (at all)!*

MR.05.331 कुना गेले?

kun<sup>h</sup>a ge-l-ɪ  
where go-PST-3  
*Where did he go?*

MR.05.332 कि हल्कि मोर बेटाडर?

ki hΛ-l-ki mo-r βeɽa-dΛ-r  
what be-PST-SA3 1sg[obl]-GEN son-NCLS-GEN  
*What happened to my son?*

MR.05.333 हामार बेटाडर कि हल्कि?"

hama-r βeɽa-dΛ-r ki hΛ-l-ki  
1pl[pro]-GEN son-NCLS-GEN what be-PST-SA3  
*What happened to our son?"*

MR.05.334 सुना एकदम जेइधर जेइधर बासिड बल्चे, सेइधर सेइधर सुना आमा आनाला दउग्बा धइचे।

suna ekdΛm jeid<sup>h</sup>Λr jeid<sup>h</sup>Λr basi-dΛ bΛl-c-e seid<sup>h</sup>Λr  
PCL very over\_where over\_where flute-NCLS play(instrument)-PRES-3 over\_there  
seid<sup>h</sup>Λr suna am<sup>h</sup>a arΛna-la dΛug-ba d<sup>h</sup>Λ(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 बासिड बलाएका बलाए, बलाएका बलाए।

suna hidΛr yaha basi-dΛ bΛl-a-eka  
PCL over\_here DEM[pro/prox] flute-NCLS speak-CAUS-PST.PTCL(Nepali)  
bΛl-a-e bΛl-a-eka bΛl-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 हुदर सुना आनाला जेइधर जेइधर बासिड बल्चे, सेइधर सेइधर एकदम दउर मार्चे।

hudΛr suna arΛna-la jeid<sup>h</sup>Λr jeid<sup>h</sup>Λr basi-dΛ  
over\_there PCL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo(loan)-PL over\_where over\_where flute-NCLS  
bΛl-c-e seid<sup>h</sup>Λr seid<sup>h</sup>Λr ekdΛm dΛur 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 दउर्ते दउर्ते उड दुकेर बासिर आवाजड सुन्ते दउर्ते , सुन्ते दउर्ते।

dΛur-te dΛur-te u-dΛ duk-er basi-r awaj-dΛ  
run-CONT.PTCL run-CONT.PTCL DEM[rem]-NCLS trouble-GEN flute-GEN sound-NCLS

sun-te dʌur-te sun-te dʌur-te  
 hear-CONT.PTCL run-CONT.PTCL hear-CONT.PTCL run-CONT.PTCL  
*They ran and ran, heard the sound of that trouble flute and ran, heard (it) and ran.*

MR.05.338 अनङ कर्ते कर्ते कर्ते अन्तिमत जाएने राजा रानिर एङनाखानत जाएने ठेक्के पुगि जावे भइसला गटलाए  
 गिड गिड गिड करे।  
 ʌnʌŋ kʌr-te kʌr-te kʌr-te ʌntim-ʌt ja-ene  
 like\_that do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL do-CONT.PTCL end-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL  
 raja rani-r eŋna-kʰan-ʌt ja-ene tʰekke pug-i  
 king queen-GEN yard-NCLS-LOC go-CONJ.PTCL exactly(Nepali) reach-ABS  
 ja-b-i bʰʌis-la gʌt-la=e gid gid  
 AUX-FUT-3 water\_buffalo-PL all-PL = EMPH stampeding(sound) stampeding(sound)  
 gid kʌre  
 stampeding(sound) ADVL  
*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).*

MR.05.339 सुना चेङराड ठेक्के सुना एकदम ठेङत परि जावे।  
 suna ceŋra-ɖʌ tʰekke suna ekdʌm tʰeŋ-ʌt pʌr-i ja-b-i  
 PCL young\_man-NCLS exactly(Nepali) PCL very leg-LOC fall-ABS AUX-FUT-3  
*Then the young man immediately fell at (their) feet.*

MR.05.340 "बाबु, तुइ हेल्ता केनङ करे आसिए पुगि गेलो?  
 babu tui hetna kenʌŋ kʌre as-ie pug-i ge-l-o  
 baby\_boy 2sg[pro] here what\_kind ADVL come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS AUX-PST-2sg  
*"Boy, how did you come here?"*

MR.05.341 तोर कि दुक परिल्कु?"  
 to-r ki duk pʌr-il-ku  
 2sg[obl]-GEN what trouble occur-PST-SA2sg  
*What trouble have you got?*

MR.05.342 ले, कोहो।  
 le koho-∅  
 OK say-IMP2sg  
*OK, say!"*

MR.05.343 तने कहष्कि, "आइ, मोर माने कोए दुक नि परो  
 tʌne kʌhʌ-p-ki ai mo-r mane koe duk ni pʌr-e  
 PCL say-FUT-SA3 mother 1sg[obl]-GEN PCL some trouble NEG occur-PST.HAB3  
*Then (he) said to (them/her), "Mother, I don't have any trouble.*

MR.05.344 मुइ तामाके भेट कर्बार ताने इड बासि बलानु।  
 mui tamʰa-k=e bʰeʃ kʌr-ba-r tane i-ɖʌ basi  
 1sg[pro] 2pl[pro]-DAT = EMPH meeting do-INF-GEN for DEM[prox]-NCLS flute  
 bʌl-a-n-u  
 speak-CAUS-PST-1sg  
*I played this flute in order to meet you.*



- MR.05.345 मुइ एनड एनड करे हेतिने आस्तु," गटे वृतान्तला सुनाकि।  
 mui enaŋ enaŋ kare hetin=e as-n-u gaŋe britantΛ-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 "एनड एनड एनड करे सुना मुइ हेत्ना आसिए पुगि गेनु।"  
 enaŋ enaŋ enaŋ kare suna mui hetna as-ie pug-i  
 like\_this like\_this like\_this ADVL PCL 1sg[pro] here come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS  
 ge-n-u  
 AUX-PST-1sg  
*"I arrived here like this, like this, like this."*
- MR.05.347 तने सुना राजाडर सडे गटलाके भेटघाट कराए दिक्कि।  
 tane suna raja-dΛ-r saŋe gaŋ-la-k=e b<sup>h</sup>etg<sup>h</sup>aŋ kΛr-a-e  
 PCL PCL king-NCLS-GEN with all-PL-DAT=EMPH visit do-CAUS-ABS  
 di-p-ki  
 AUX-FUT-SA3  
*Then he had them all meet with the king.*
- MR.05.348 त सुना आप्नार उला पोखरलार, उला पानिला गटेलाए खिलाकि।  
 tΛ suna apna-r u-la pok<sup>h</sup>Λr-la-r u-la pani-la gaŋe-la=e  
 PCL PCL REFL[pro]-GEN that-PL pond-PL-GEN that-PL water-PL all-PL=EMPH  
 k<sup>h</sup>ila-p-ki  
 feed-FUT-SA3  
*Then he fed (them) those (things) in the ponds, all of that water (and the other things).*
- MR.05.350 पानिला गटेलाए खिलान पिलान हएने एक दुइ घान्टा हतिना रहेने, तने सुना उला, भइसला, आर्ना  
 भइसला सुना, "ले, बाबु,  
 pani-la gaŋ-la=e k<sup>h</sup>ila-n pil-an hΛ-ene ek dui  
 water-PL all-PL=EMPH feed-DVBL drink(cause\_to)-DVBL be-CONJ.PTCL one two  
 g<sup>h</sup>anŋa hatina rΛh-ene tane suna u-la b<sup>h</sup>Λis-la  
 hour there remain-CONJ.PTCL then PCL that-PL water\_buffalo-PL  
 arΛna b<sup>h</sup>Λis-la suna le babu  
 type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL PCL OK baby\_boy  
*Having drunk and eaten all of the water and the other things (i.e. the salt and chaff), they  
 stayed there for one or two hours, (and) then those buffaloes, the wild buffaloes said, "OK,  
 boy!"*
- MR.05.351 आप तुइ बाहा सादि करि लिलो।  
 ap tui baha sadi kΛr-i li-l-o  
 PCL 2sg[pro] wedding wedding do-ABS AUX-PST-2sg  
*Now you are (already) married.*
- MR.05.352 आप तुइ रहिस, खाइस।  
 ap tui rΛh-is k<sup>h</sup>a-is  
 PCL 2sg[pro] remain-SUBJ2sg eat-SUBJ2sg  
*So, you stay, eat.*

MR.05.354 हामा आरकि जेइठिना से आस्न अइठिना जाछि।

hama arki jei-tʰina se as-n-ʌ ʌi-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 कोइ किसिमेर दुक पर्ले, बासिड बलाइस।

ap koi kisim-er duk paɾ-le basi-ɖʌ baɭ-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 आसिए पुगि जाम।

hama mane as-ie pug-i ja-m-ʌ  
 1pl[pro] PCL come-CONJ.PTCL reach-ABS AUX-FUT-1pl  
*We will arrive (immediately)."*

MR.05.357 अइठिन से सुना उला आर्ना भइसला जडलेर ति जाबे।

ʌi-tʰina se suna u-la arʌna bʰʌis-la  
 DEM[rem/emph]-place ABL PCL that-PL type\_of\_wild\_buffalo water\_buffalo-PL  
 jaŋʌl-er ti ja-b-i  
 jungle-GEN towards go-FUT-3  
*From right there those wild buffaloes went back to the jungle.*

MR.05.358 आर उड, चेडराड सुना आप फेर अइठना, राजाडर घरेर सुना एकटा जुवाँ हएने माअडक आनिएने आच्छा से रहबा धर्वे, खाबा धर्वे।

ar u-ɖʌ ceŋra-ɖʌ suna ap pʰer ʌi-tʰina  
 and that-NCLS young\_man-NCLS PCL PCL again DEM[rem/emph]-place  
 raja-ɖʌ-r gʰʌr-er suna ek-ʈa juã hʌ-ene  
 king-NCLS-GEN house-GEN PCL one-NCLS son\_in\_law be-CONJ.PTCL  
 maʌ-ɖʌ-k an-iene accʰa se rʌhʌ-ba dʰʌr-b-i kʰa-ba  
 mother-NCLS-DAT bring-CONJ.PTCL well ADVL live-INF begin-FUT-3 eat-INF  
 dʰʌr-b-i  
 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 खिसा खतम, पेइसा हजम।

kʰisa kʰʌtʌm peisa hʌjʌm  
 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)*

**Text DLR.01.**

DLR.01.001 इखान फोटोत एकटा लोक घरटर उपरत चरिए घर छा'चे।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an p<sup>h</sup>oʈo-t ek-ʈa lok g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʈʌ-r uprat  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS photo-LOC one-NCLS man house-NCLS-GEN above  
 cʌr<sup>h</sup>-ie g<sup>h</sup>ʌr c<sup>h</sup>a(r)-c-e  
 climb-CONJ.PTCL house thatch-PRES-3

*In this photo a man has climbed on to the house (and) is house-thatching.*

DLR.01.002 आर एकटा बुरा लोक बठिएने पुवालला मुठि करेचे।

ar ek-ʈa bur<sup>h</sup>a lok bʌʈ<sup>h</sup>-iene pual-la muʈ<sup>h</sup>i kʌr-ec-e  
 and one-NCLS old man sit-CONJ.PTCL straw-PL bundle do-PRES-3

*And an old man is sitting (and) bundling straw.*

DLR.01.003 आर एकटा बच्चा छुवा थार दिए देखिए छे।

ar ek-ʈa baca c<sup>h</sup>ua t<sup>h</sup>arʌ de de<sup>h</sup>-ie c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 and one-NCLS small child standing give-CONJ.PTCL look-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3

*And a child is standing and watching.*

DLR.01.004 आर एकटा बगलत आमेर गेछ, या कुन गेछ, एकटा माने गेछ, देखा जाछे।

ar ek-ʈa ba<sup>g</sup>lat am-er ges ya kun ges ek-ʈa mane ges  
 and one-NCLS near mango-GEN tree or what tree one-NCLS PCL tree  
 dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*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)*

**Text DLR.02.**

DLR.02.001 इखान फोटोत एकटा बाबाजि साफा गेन्जि पितिचे।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an p<sup>h</sup>oʈo-t ek-ʈa baba-ji sap<sup>h</sup>a genji pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS photo-LOC one-NCLS holy\_man-HPCL white vest put\_on-PERF-3

*In this photo there is a holy man wearing a white undershirt.*

DLR.02.002 आर एकखान लुङ्गि पितिचे, आर दुइखान माला पितिचे।

ar ek-k<sup>h</sup>an luŋi pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e ar dui-k<sup>h</sup>an mala pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 and one-NCLS loincloth put\_on-PERF-3 and two-NCLS garland put\_on-PERF-3

*And he is wearing a loincloth, and two garlands.*

DLR.02.003 आर बठिएने घरेर दुवारे दुवारे गान्जा खाचे।

ar bʌʈ<sup>h</sup>-iene g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er duar=e duar=e ganja k<sup>h</sup>a-c-e  
 and sit-CONJ.PTCL house-GEN door=EMPH door=EMPH tobacco/drug eat-PRES-3

*And he is sitting right in the doorway and smoking tobacco/drugs.*

DLR.02.004 आर इड घर कहे ना कुट्टि कहे ना मुन्दिल कहे चित्ता नि जाछे।

ar i-ɖʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌr kʌhʌ-e na kutʈi kʌhʌ-e na mundil kʌhʌ-e  
 and DEM[prox]-NCLS house CMPL or priest's\_quarters CMPL or temple CMPL

cin<sup>h</sup>-a ni ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e

know-PST.PTCL NEG PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*And one can not tell (i.e. from the photograph) whether this is a house, or priest's quarters or a temple.*

DLR.02.005 आर घरटर भितरत कि कि सामान छिकि या नि छिकि कुछु देखा नि जाछे।

ar g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʈʌ-r b<sup>h</sup>itrʌt ki ki saman c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki ya ni  
and house-NCLS-GEN inside what what thing be-PRES-SA3 or NEG  
c<sup>h</sup>-i-ki kuc<sup>h</sup>u dek<sup>h</sup>-a ni ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e

be-PRES-SA3 some see-PST.PTCL NEG PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*And one can not see which (of his things) are in the house and which are not.*

DLR.02.006 आन्धार देखा जाछे।

and<sup>h</sup>ar dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e

dark see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*One can see it is dark.*

DLR.02.007 आर घरट माने माटिरे हए, लेपा मुद्धा कराल देखा जाछे।

ar g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʈʌ mane maʈi-r=e hʌ-e  
and house-NCLS PCL soil-GEN=EMPH be-PRES3

lep-a muc<sup>h</sup>-a kʌr-al dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e

plaster-DVBL wipe-DVBL do-PST.PTCL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*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).*

*(Text recorded June 2003, Kathmandu)*

### Text DLR.03.

DLR.03.001 देख् भाइ, इड लोक गचिमारिर हए।

dek<sup>h</sup>-Ø b<sup>h</sup>ai i-ɖʌ lok gʌcimari-r hʌ-e

look-IMP2sg y.brother DEM[prox]-NCLS man Gacimāri-GEN be-PRES3

*Look, younger brother, this man is from Gacimāri.*

DLR.03.002 याहाँर नाम बाधालु राजबंशि।

yaha-r nam bad<sup>h</sup>alu rajbʌŋsi

3sg[pro/prox]-GEN name Bādhālu Rājbanshi

*His name is Bādhālu Rājbanshi.*

DLR.03.003 लोकट माने खेतिपातिरे काम कर्चे आर सतसंगि लोकट हए।

lok-ʈʌ mane k<sup>h</sup>et-i-pat-i-r=e kam kʌr-c-e ar  
man-NCLS PCL field-NML-leaf-NML-GEN=EMPH work do-PRES-3 and

sʌtsʌŋ-i lok-ʈʌ hʌ-e

religious\_fellowship-ADJR man-NCLS be-PRES3

*The man works in farming, and he is a (religiously) devout person.*

DLR.03.004 आर घरत जाहान बाच्चा सभाए गटलाए माने आच्छाए माने देखा जाछे।

ar g<sup>h</sup>ar-at jahan baca sab<sup>h</sup>ae gaṭ-la=e mane acc<sup>h</sup>a=e mane  
and house-LOC spouse child(Hindi) all all-PL=EMPH PCL good=EMPH PCL  
dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*And in the house his wife and children, all (of them), can be seen well.*

DLR.03.005 आर लोकट समाज सेवि गन्य मान्य ब्यक्ति हए।

ar lok-ṭa samaj sew-i ganye\_manye bekti ha-e  
and man-NCLS society(loan) service(loan)-ADJR respected(loan) person(loan) be-PRES3  
*And this man is a society-serving, respected person.*

DLR.03.006 आर कुछु परि जाले माने सहयोग कर्बार लोक हए।

ar kuc<sup>h</sup>u par-i ja-le mane sahyog kar-ba-r lok ha-e  
and some occur-ABS AUX-COND.PTCL PCL assistance do-INF-GEN man be-PRES3  
*And if something (i.e. a problem) comes up, he is someone to help out.*

DLR.03.007 आर हुत्नाकार ताने एकटा आच्छा लोक हए।

ar hutna-kar tane ek-ṭa acc<sup>h</sup>a lok ha-e  
and there-GEN for one-NCLS good man be-PRES3  
*And he is a good man for that area.*

DLR.03.008 बाउड माने कहिस्ले, बोले : "तोर मिस्तर बाउ हकु"।

bau-ḍa mane kah-isl-i boli to-r mistar bau ha-ku  
father-NCLS PCL say-REM.PST-3 QUOT 2sg[obl]-GEN friend father be-SA2sg  
*My father used to say, he said: "He is your friend-father."*

DLR.03.009 त माने एक दुइ चटि माने मुइ अमार घर गिस्तु, भेटघाट करिस्तु, गपसप करिस्तु, आच्छाए लागि।

ta mane ek dui caṭi mane mui am<sup>h</sup>a-r g<sup>h</sup>ar g-isn-u  
PCL PCL one two time PCL 1sg[pro] 3pl[pro]-GEN house go-REM.PST-1sg  
b<sup>h</sup>etg<sup>h</sup>aṭ kar-isn-u gapsap kar-isn-u acc<sup>h</sup>a=e lag-il  
visit do-REM.PST-1sg chat do-REM.PST-1sg good=EMPH feel-PST3

*I went to his<sub>[SG.HONORIFIC]</sub> house once or twice, met (him) and had a chat (with him). I enjoyed it.*

DLR.03.010 आर कहिस्ले कर भी, 'समय समयत आस्ते रहिस।'

ar kah-isl-i kara b<sup>h</sup>i samae samae-t as-te  
and say-REM.PST-3 even CNJ(Hindi) time time-LOC come-CONT.PTCL  
rah-is  
AUX(CONT)-SUBJ2sg

*And the friend of my father's also said: "Keep visiting once in a while."*

DLR.03.011 एक चटि माने हामार गाउँ माने आसिस्ले सतसंगेर खुना आप हिदर से त माने आसा जाइ माने नि कर्चे।

ek caṭi mane hama-r gaũ mane as-isl-i satsaṅ-er  
one time PCL 1pl[pro]-GEN village PCL come-REM.PST-3 religious\_worship-GEN  
k<sup>h</sup>una ap hidar se ta mane as-a ja-i mane ni kar-c-e  
during PCL over\_here ABL PCL 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.*

DLR.03.012 आप हवा सकेचे, आप्ना आप्नि घरेर समस्या, आप्ना आप्नि घरेर कामेर कारनत फुर्सत नि हबार कारनत आसा जाइ नि हचे।

ap hΛ-ba sΛk-ec-e apna apni g<sup>h</sup>Λr-er samΛsya apna  
PCL be-INF can(Nepali)-PRES-3 REFL[pro] REFL[pro] house-GEN problem REFL[pro]  
apni g<sup>h</sup>Λr-er kam-er karΛn-Λt p<sup>h</sup>ursΛt ni hΛ-ba-r karΛn-Λt  
REFL[pro] house-GEN work-GEN reason-LOC free\_time NEG be-INF-GEN reason-LOC  
as-a ja-i ni hΛ-c-e  
come-DVBL go-DVBL NEG be-PRES-3

*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)*

### Text MR.01.

MR.01.001 इखान फोटोत तिनडा लोक छे।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an p<sup>h</sup>ofo-t tin-ḍa lok c<sup>h</sup>-e  
DEM[prox]-NCLS photo-LOC three-NCLS man be-PRES3  
*In this photo there are three people.*

MR.01.002 एकटा लोक बुरा छे, एकटा लोक चेडरा छे, आर एकटा लोक छुवा छे।

ek-ṭa lok bur<sup>h</sup>a c<sup>h</sup>-e ek-ṭa lok ceṅra c<sup>h</sup>-e ar ek-ṭa  
one-NCLS man old be-PRES3 one-NCLS man young be-PRES3 and one-NCLS  
lok c<sup>h</sup>ua c<sup>h</sup>-e  
man young(child) be-PRES3  
*One man is old, one is young and one is a child.*

MR.01.003 चेडराड छप्परखानत बठिए छप्परखान छा'चे।

ceṅra-ḍa c<sup>h</sup>appa-r-k<sup>h</sup>an-Λt baṭ<sup>h</sup>-ie c<sup>h</sup>appa-r-k<sup>h</sup>an c<sup>h</sup>a(r)-c-e  
young\_man-NCLS roof-NCLS-LOC sit-CONJ.PTCL roof-NCLS thatch-PRES-3  
*The young man is sitting on the roof and thatching the roof.*

MR.01.004 बुराड तलत माटिखानत बठिए पुवालला गरल करेचे।

bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa taΛat maṭi-k<sup>h</sup>an-Λt baṭ<sup>h</sup>-ie pua-lΛ ga-ral ka-r-ec-e  
old\_man-NCLS underneath soil-NCLS-LOC sit-CONJ.PTCL straw-PL bunch do-PRES-3  
*The old man is sitting below on the ground bundling straw.*

MR.01.005 आर छुवाड बुराडर बगलत थार दे छे।

ar c<sup>h</sup>ua-ḍa bur<sup>h</sup>a-ḍa-r ba-glΛt t<sup>h</sup>ara de c<sup>h</sup>-e  
and child-NCLS old\_man-NCLS-GEN near standing give-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3  
*And the child is standing close to the old man.*

MR.01.006 घरटर टाटिखानत कानाला देखा जाछे।

g<sup>h</sup>Λr-ṭa-r ṭaṭi-k<sup>h</sup>an-Λt kana-la dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
house-NCLS-GEN wall-NCLS-LOC hole-PL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*Holes can be seen in the walls of the house.*

MR.01.007 टाटिखानत देसन लागए गराला थार करे राखाल छे।

taṭi-k<sup>h</sup>an-at d<sup>h</sup>esən laga-e ga<sup>r</sup>ha-la t<sup>h</sup>arə kare rak<sup>h</sup>-al  
 wall-NCLS-LOC leaning apply-CONJ.PTCL dung-stick-PL standing ADVL put-PST.PTCL  
 c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 be-PRES3

*Dung-sticks have been put standing, leaning up against the wall.*

MR.01.008 चालखान कनेक मात्र छा'आल छे।

cal-k<sup>h</sup>an kənek matra c<sup>h</sup>a(r)-al c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 roof-NCLS a little only(Nepali) thatch-PST.PTCL be-PRES3

*The roof has only been thatched a little.*

MR.01.009 घरटर बगलत एकटा गेस छे।

g<sup>h</sup>ar-ta-r baɡlat ek-ṭa ges c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 house-NCLS-GEN near one-NCLS tree be-PRES3

*Near to the house is a tree.*

MR.01.010 पुवालला माटिखानत छे।

pual-la maṭi-k<sup>h</sup>an-at c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 straw-PL soil-NCLS-LOC be-PRES3

*There is straw on the ground.*

MR.01.011 टाटखान देखा जाछे।

t<sup>h</sup>at-k<sup>h</sup>an dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 roof\_frame-NCLS see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*The frame of the roof can be seen.*

MR.01.012 गलिडत टाटिला बान्नाल छे।

ɡali-ḍa-t ṭaṭi-la ban<sup>h</sup>-al c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 pathway-NCLS-LOC woven\_fence\_wall-PL tie-PST.PTCL be-PRES3

*In the pathway woven fence walls have been tied (i.e. put up).*

MR.01.013 गलिडर माखाए एडनाखानत जाबा लागे।

ɡali-ḍa-r mak<sup>h</sup>ae eṇna-k<sup>h</sup>an-at ja-ba lag-e  
 pathway-NCLS-GEN via yard-NCLS-LOC go-INF must-PRES3

*One must enter the courtyard via the pathway.*

*(Text recorded March 2004, Kathmandu)*

## Text MR.02.

MR.02.001 इखान फोटोत एकखान गरु गारि देखा जाछे।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an p<sup>h</sup>oto-t ek-k<sup>h</sup>an ga<sup>r</sup>u ga<sup>r</sup>i dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS photo-LOC one-NCLS bullock cart see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*In this photo a bullock cart can be seen.*

MR.02.002 उखान गरु गारित एकजना राजबंसि बेछीनि बठिए छे, आर एकटा राजबंसि लोक गारिखानेर बगलत थार दे छे।

u-k<sup>h</sup>an ga<sup>r</sup>u ga<sup>r</sup>i-t ek-j<sup>h</sup>ana rajbaṅsi berc<sup>h</sup>ani baṭ<sup>h</sup>-ie  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS bullock cart-LOC one-PCLS Rājbaṅshi woman sit-CONJ.PTCL

c<sup>h</sup>-e ar ek-ṭa rajbaṅsi lok gari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er baḡlat t<sup>h</sup>ara  
 be-PRES3 and one-NCLS Rājbaṅshi man cart-NCLS-GEN near standing  
 de c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 give-CONJ.PTCL be-PRES3

*There is a Rājbaṅshi woman sitting on that bullock cart, and a Rājbaṅshi man is standing by the bullock cart.*

MR.02.003 गारिखानेर पाछुति एकटा फुसेर घर छे।

gari-k<sup>h</sup>an-er pac<sup>h</sup>uti ek-ṭa p<sup>h</sup>us-er ḡ<sup>h</sup>ar c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 cart-NCLS-GEN behind one-NCLS thatch-GEN house be-PRES3  
*Behind the bullock cart there is a thatched house.*

MR.02.004 घरटर बगलत एकटा पुवाल ढेरि देखा जाछे।

ḡ<sup>h</sup>ar-ṭa-r baḡlat ek-ṭa pual ḍ<sup>h</sup>eri dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 house-NCLS-GEN near one-NCLS straw pile see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*Close to the house a pile of straw can be seen.*

MR.02.005 पुवाल ढेरिडर बगलत बाँसला छे।

pual ḍ<sup>h</sup>eri-ḍa-r baḡlat bās-la c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 straw pile-NCLS-GEN near bamboo-PL be-PRES3  
*Close to the pile of straw there are bamboos.*

MR.02.006 आर पुवाल ढेरिडर बगलत, पाछुति, दुइ चारटा गेसला देखा जाछे।

ar pual ḍ<sup>h</sup>eri-ḍa-r baḡlat pac<sup>h</sup>uti dui car-ṭa ges-la dek<sup>h</sup>-a  
 and straw pile-NCLS-GEN near behind two four-NCLS tree-PL see-PST.PTCL  
 ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*And close to the pile of straw, behind it, four trees can be seen.*

MR.02.007 बाँसला घर बेन्वार ताने, टाटि बेन्वार ताने, घरलार टाट बेन्वार ताने आर लखिर रुपत भात नाधवार ताने खासकरे काम लागेचे।

bās-la ḡ<sup>h</sup>ar ben-ba-r tane ṭaṭi ben-ba-r tane ḡ<sup>h</sup>ar-la-r  
 bamboo-PL house build-INF-GEN for wall build-INF-GEN for house-PL-GEN  
 ṭ<sup>h</sup>aṭ ben-ba-r tane ar lak<sup>h</sup>ri-r rup-at b<sup>h</sup>at  
 roof\_frame build-INF-GEN for and firewood-GEN form-LOC cooked\_rice  
 nad<sup>h</sup>-ba-r tane k<sup>h</sup>askare kam lag-ec-e  
 cook-INF-GEN for actually work apply\_to-PRES-3

*Bamboo is actually used for making houses, making walls, making roof frames and for making firewood in order to cook rice.*

MR.02.008 इड लोक एकटा हाप हाति साफा जामा पिनिचे।

i-ḍa lok ek-ṭa hap hat-i sap<sup>h</sup>a jama pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS man one-NCLS half(English) hand-ADJR white shirt put\_on-PERF-3  
*This man is wearing (lit. has put on) a half-sleeved white shirt.*

MR.02.009 आर एकखान तउलिया पिनिचे।

ar ek-k<sup>h</sup>an taulia pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 and one-NCLS towel put\_on-PERF-3  
*And he is wearing (lit. has put on) a towel (i.e. around his waist).*



MR.02.010 आर ठेडलात चप्पल तप्पल कुछु नि पिन्ने।

ar tʰeŋ-la-t cappaɪ tappaɪ kucʰu ni pinʰ-e  
and foot-PL-LOC slipper [echo]slipper some NEG put\_on-PST.HAB3  
*And he hasn't put slippers on his feet.*

MR.02.011 इड बेछ्छानि गालाडत एकखान माला पिन्निचे, आर पेटानि पिन्निचे।

i-dʌ bercʰani gala-dʌ-t ek-kʰan mala pinʰ-ic-e ar  
DEM[prox]-NCLS woman neck-NCLS-LOC one-NCLS garland put\_on-PERF-3 and  
petʌni pinʰ-ic-e  
skirt put\_on-PERF-3  
*This woman is wearing a garland around her neck and is wearing a robe/skirt.*

MR.02.012 हातत चुरि पिन्निचे, आर एकटा ब्लोज पिन्निचे।

hat-ʌt curi pinʰ-ic-e ar ek-ta bloj pinʰ-ic-e  
hand-LOC bangle put\_on-PERF-3 and one-NCLS blouse(English) put\_on-PERF-3  
*She is wearing bangles on her hand(s), and she is wearing a blouse.*

MR.02.013 आर इड बेछ्छानि हाँसेचे।

ar i-dʌ bercʰani has-ec-e  
and DEM[prox]-NCLS woman laugh-PRES-3  
*And this woman is laughing.*

MR.02.014 आर मर्दनाडउ भी हाँसेचे।

ar mardʌna-dʌ=u bʰi has-ec-e  
and man-NCLS=CNJ CNJ(Hindi) laugh-PRES-3  
*And the man is also laughing.*

MR.02.015 गरु गारिखानेर पर पुवालला छे।

garu gari-kʰan-er paɾ puaɪ-la cʰ-e  
bullock cart-NCLS-GEN on\_top straw-PL be-PRES3  
*There is straw on the bullock cart.*

MR.02.016 आर गरु गारिर पाँइयाला देखा जाछे।

ar garu gari-r pāia-la dekʰ-a ja-cʰ-e  
and bullock cart-GEN wheel-PL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*And bullock cart's wheels can be seen.*

MR.02.017 इडक "गरु गारिर पाँइया" कहचे।

i-dʌ-k garu gari-r pāia kaɦʌ-c-e  
DEM[prox]-NCLS-DAT bullock cart-GEN wheel say-PRES-3  
*This is called a bullock cart's wheel.*

MR.02.018 इखानक "गरु गारिर जडालि" कहचे।

i-kʰan-ʌk garu gari-r jaɳali kaɦʌ-c-e  
DEM[prox]-NCLS-DAT bullock cart-GEN cross-bar say-PRES-3  
*This is called a bullock cart's cross-bar.*

MR.02.019 उड गरु गारिड(क) थाम्बार ताने टेकानि दिछे।

u-dʌ garu gari-dʌ(-k) tʰam-ba-r tane tekaɪni d-icʰ-e  
DEM[rem]-NCLS bullock cart-NCLS(-DAT) hold-INF-GEN for support give-PERF-3  
*That gives support in order to hold the bullock cart (upright).*

MR.02.020 गरु गारिखानक उठाए राख्बार ताने टेकानि दिछे।

garu gari-k<sup>h</sup>an-ak u<sup>h</sup>-a-e rak<sup>h</sup>-ba-r tane tekani d-ic<sup>h</sup>-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).*

MR.02.021 इला, जेइला लाम लाम देखा जाछे, इला(क) 'गरु गारिर सएल' कह्चे।

i-la jei-la lam<sup>h</sup>Λ lam<sup>h</sup>Λ dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
DEM[prox]-PL REL[obl/ip]-PL long long see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
i-la(-k) garu gari-r sael kΛhΛ-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.*

MR.02.022 इड लाम छे ना? इड(क) माने 'गरु गारिर सएल' कह्चे।

i-ɖΛ lam<sup>h</sup>Λ c<sup>h</sup>-e na i-ɖΛ mane garu gari-r  
DEM[prox]-NCLS long be-PRES3 PCL DEM[prox]-NCLS PCL bullock cart-GEN  
sael kΛhΛ-c-e  
neck\_guide say-PRES-3  
*This long thing (here), you know, this is called a bullock cart's neck-guide.*

MR.02.023 उला गरुलार घेचाला बहिरिति नि जाबार ताने राखा जाछे।

u-la garu-la-r g<sup>h</sup>eca-la bΛhiriti ni ja-ba-r tane rak<sup>h</sup>-a  
DEM[rem]-PL bullock-PL-GEN throat-PL outside NEG go-INF-GEN for put-PST.PTCL  
ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*Those (neck-guides) are put (there) in order that the bullocks' throats would not slip off (the cross-bar).*

MR.02.024 दुइडा छे।

dui-ɖa c<sup>h</sup>-e  
two-NCLS be-PRES3  
*There are two of them.*

MR.02.025 हाल बह्बार खुना इखान जडालि काम लागेचे। आर जडालिखानेर दने बगलेर कानालात सएलला राखा जाछे।

hal bΛhΛ-ba-r k<sup>h</sup>una i-k<sup>h</sup>an jaɳjali kam lag-ec-e ar  
plough plough-INF-GEN during DEM[prox]-NCLS cross-bar work apply\_to-PRES-3 and  
jaɳjali-k<sup>h</sup>an-er dΛn<sup>h</sup>e baɳal-er kana-la-t sael-la rak<sup>h</sup>-a  
cross-bar-NCLS-GEN both close-GEN hole-PL-LOC neck\_guide-PL put-PST.PTCL  
ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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.*

MR.02.026 बाँस थोपलार बगलत गरु भइसलाक घाँस खिल्बार ताने एकटा नाद राखाल देखा जाछे।

bās t<sup>h</sup>op-la-r baɳlat garu b<sup>h</sup>ais-la-k g<sup>h</sup>ās k<sup>h</sup>il-ba-r tane  
bamboo patch-PL-GEN near bullock buffalo-PL-DAT grass feed-INF-GEN for  
ek-ɖa nad rak<sup>h</sup>-al dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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.*

MR.02.027 इड सिमेन्टि र बेन्वार लाखाति देखा जाछे।

i-ɖʌ simentɪ-r ben-ba-r lak<sup>h</sup>ati dek<sup>h</sup>-a  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS cement(English)-GEN build-INF-GEN like see-PST.PTCL  
 ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*This looks like it has been made from cement.*

MR.02.028 खन्जराडत घाँस या पुवाल राखिए गरु भइसलाक खिला जाछे।

k<sup>h</sup>ʌnjɾaɖʌ-t g<sup>h</sup>ʌs ya pual rak<sup>h</sup>-ie gʌru  
 feeding\_trough-NCLS-LOC grass or straw put-CONJ.PTCL bullock  
 b<sup>h</sup>ʌis-la-k k<sup>h</sup>il-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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.*

(Text recorded March 2004, Kathmandu)

### Text MR.03.

MR.03.001 इड घर फुसेर छे।

i-ɖʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌr p<sup>h</sup>us-er c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS house thatch-GEN be-PRES3  
*This house is thatched.*

MR.03.002 इड घरेर टाटिला देखा जाछे।

i-ɖʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er ʈaɪi-la dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS house-GEN wall-PL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*This house's walls can be seen.*

MR.03.003 आर इड घरेर टाटिला माटि दे लेपाल छे।

ar i-ɖʌ g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-er ʈaɪi-la maɪi de lep-al c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 and DEM[prox]-NCLS house-GEN wall-PL soil INSTR plaster-PST.PTCL be-PRES3  
*And the walls of this house have been plastered with mud.*

MR.03.004 कातिलार पर तिनडा खामाला छे।

kati-la-r pʌr tin-ɖa k<sup>h</sup>ama-la c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 foundation-PL-GEN on\_top three-NCLS pillar-PL be-PRES3  
*On the foundations there are three pillars.*

MR.03.005 उला खामाला(त) माटि दे लेपाल छे।

u-la k<sup>h</sup>ama-la(-t) maɪi de lep-al c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[rem]-PL pillar-PL(-LOC) soil INSTR plaster-PST.PTCL be-PRES3  
*Those pillars are plastered with soil.*

MR.03.006 आर थर्कानिअ भी कातिडत देखा जाछे।

ar t<sup>h</sup>ʌrkani=ʌ b<sup>h</sup>i kati-ɖʌ-t dek<sup>h</sup>-a ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 and step=CNJ CNJ(Hindi) foundation-NCLS-LOC see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*And also a step can be seen on the foundation.*

MR.03.007 इड घरेर बगलत आरह एकटा घर छे।

i-ɖa                      g<sup>h</sup>ar-er      baɣlat arha      ek-ɖa      g<sup>h</sup>ar      c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS house-GEN near    another one-NCLS house be-PRES3  
*Close to this house there is another house.*

MR.03.008 उड घरेर छप्परखानत टिन छे।

u-ɖa                      g<sup>h</sup>ar-er      c<sup>h</sup>appaɣ-k<sup>h</sup>an-at      ɖin                      c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS house-GEN roof-NCLS-LOC tin(English) be-PRES3  
*On the roof of that house there is tin (i.e. grooved aluminium).*

MR.03.009 अहड घर माटि दे लेपाल, मुछाल छे।

ʌ = ha-ɖa                      g<sup>h</sup>ar      maɖi de      lep-al                      muc<sup>h</sup>-al                      c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[rem]=CNJ-NCLS house soil INSTR plaster-PST.PTCL wipe-PST.PTCL be-PRES3  
*Also that house has been plastered with mud, and wiped (over).*

MR.03.010 आर घरटर आगुति एकटा लिहार लाखाति छे।

ar      g<sup>h</sup>ar-ɖa-r                      aguti      ek-ɖa      liha-r      lak<sup>h</sup>ati      c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 and house-NCLS-GEN in\_front one-NCLS pot-GEN like    be-PRES3  
*And in front of the house there is something like a pot.*

MR.03.011 उड, लिहाडर बगलत एकटा आख छे।

u-ɖa                      liha-ɖa-r                      baɣlat ek-ɖa                      ak<sup>h</sup>ʌ                      c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 DEM[rem]-NCLS pot-NCLS-GEN near    one-NCLS fireplace be-PRES3  
*Close to that pot is a fireplace.*

MR.03.012 इखान फोटोत तिनडा लोकेर नाक्सा देखा जाछे।

i-k<sup>h</sup>an                      p<sup>h</sup>oto-t      tin-ɖa      lok-er                      naksa dek<sup>h</sup>-a  
 DEM[prox]-NCLS photo-LOC three-NCLS person-GEN figure see-PST.PTCL  
 ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
 PASS.AUX-PRES-3  
*In this photo three person's figures can be seen.*

MR.03.013 आगुति एकटा बेछानि छे, आर पाछुति दुइडा छुवाला

aguti      ek-ɖa      berc<sup>h</sup>ani c<sup>h</sup>-e      ar      pac<sup>h</sup>uti dui-ɖa      c<sup>h</sup>ua-la  
 in\_front one-NCLS woman be-PRES3 and behind two-NCLS child-PL  
*In the front there is a woman, and behind (there are) two children.*

MR.03.015 बेछानिड सल्का सारि पित्तिचे।

berc<sup>h</sup>ani-ɖa      saɣka                      sari pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 woman-NCLS informal[sari] sari put\_on-PERF-3  
*The woman is wearing an informal sari.*

MR.03.016 आर ब्लोज पित्तिचे।

ar      bloj                      pin<sup>h</sup>-ic-e  
 and blouse(English) put\_on-PERF-3  
*And she is wearing a blouse.*

MR.03.017 आर छुवाला गेन्जि कटुला लागाइचे।

ar      c<sup>h</sup>ua-la      genji kaɖu-la                      laga-ic-e  
 and child-PL vest underwear-PL wear-PERF-3  
*And the children are wearing vests and underwear.*

MR.03.018 इला घरेर पाछुति गेसलार पातारिला देखा जाछे।

i-la                   g<sup>h</sup>ar-er           pac<sup>h</sup>uti ges-la-r           patari-la dek<sup>h</sup>-a  
DEM[prox]-PL house-GEN behind tree-PL-GEN leaf-PL see-PST.PTCL  
ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*Behind these houses trees' leaves can be seen.*

MR.03.019 ठालिला देखा जाछे, आर दुइडा घरेर आगुति, बगलत, हेत्ना कातिला खेब्राल मुहाँ देखा जाछे।

t<sup>h</sup>ali-la   dek<sup>h</sup>-a           ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e                   ar   dui-ḍa   g<sup>h</sup>ar-er   aguti  
branch-PL see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3 and two-NCLS house-GEN in\_front  
baḡlaṭ hetna kati-la           k<sup>h</sup>ebr-al                   mūha dek<sup>h</sup>-a           ja-c<sup>h</sup>-e  
near here foundation-PL break-PST.PTCL as\_if see-PST.PTCL PASS.AUX-PRES-3

*Branches can be seen, and in front of the two houses, close to them, the foundations here look as if they are broken.*

MR.03.020 एङनाखानत कुछुला राखाल देखा जाछे।

eṅna-k<sup>h</sup>an-aṭ   kuc<sup>h</sup>u-la rak<sup>h</sup>-al           dek<sup>h</sup>-a           ja-c<sup>h</sup>-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.*

MR.03.021 इला कि हए थाहा नि होल।

i-la                   ki   ha-e           t<sup>h</sup>aha                   ni   ho-l  
DEM[prox]-PL what be-PRES3 knowledge(Nepali) NEG be-PST3  
*What these are, I don't know.*

*(Text recorded March 2004, Kathmandu)*