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PREFACE

Modern age has brought in an unprecedented explosion of knowledge in every branch of learning. The information about new facts and techniques, that is being made available to us day in and day out, is so much that scholars and learners are finding it difficult to keep a track of all that which is being brought to light. The linguistic science too, which has emerged as an area of vast potentialities is no exception to this boom of knowledge. Independent and interdisciplinary studies of various languages in different parts of the globe have made its importance felt equally for proper understanding of the particular language and of many areas of social sciences the world over.

In India too, there has been a phenomenal growth in the multidimensional study of languages in the last few decades. A number of studies, in recent years, have made available to us varied information about many known, little known or unknown languages of various families of this sub-continent. But, unfortunately, very little has come to light of the western and central Himalayan languages. The principal reason for the apathy to the study of these dialects may be the geographical features of their location. For, the area in which these languages have been nourished and preserved for centuries is very arid, rugged and snowbound and consequently not easily accessible. Even the Linguistic Survey of India offers very scanty information about the languages spoken in these regions, because of non-availability of the relevant material for most of the dialects to the editor of the Great Survey. There are a number of dialects of these regions about which the Survey is either quite silent or has given very sketchy or inadequate information in a few paragraphs only. But one can have all appreciation for the editor of it who has very frankly admitted
the inadequacy of the material presented by him on these languages. He has rather expressed his wish throughout the analysis of these languages for further studies on them to have a fuller view of their structures and inter-relationship.

It may be interesting to note that though the Vol. III, Pt. I of the LSI which contains linguistic information on Tibeto-Burman languages of India, was published in the year 1908, yet there has been no addition in our knowledge of these languages since their introduction to us by Grierson for the first time.

The background information regarding undertaking the study of these languages by the present author has already been given in the first part of this volume (1989).

According to our plan given in the first part of the volume, we shall be dealing with three tongues in this part of the Vol. III. The two dialects under consideration, viz., Jaḍ and Marchha, belong to the Tibeto-Himalayan group of languages, while the third one, viz., Rāji belongs to the Austro-Asiatic group of languages. The languages of the former group are spoken in the Uttarkashi district of the Garhwal division of Uttarakhand and the latter in Pithoragarh district of Kumaon.

About the linguistic material presented in this volume it may be mentioned that, except for Rāji, the entire material was recorded by the author himself at different places and times. Although more than one speaker from each linguistic area has contributed to the understanding of the structure of the languages covered in this volume, yet the author is particularly grateful to the following individuals who willingly put their services at his disposal for many days and without whose kind cooperation, execution of this difficult task would not have been possible. They include:

(1) Shri Gopal Singh (35), village—Gawana (Harsil) Distt. Uttarkashi for Jaḍ dialect.

(2) Shri Mangal Singh Parmar (80), village—Mānā, Distt. Chamoli, for Marchha dialect.

(3) Shri Bachan Singh Toliya (23), village—Mehargaon, (Malari, Niti Valley) Distt. Chamoli for Marchha,
(4) Dr. S. R. Sharma, Reader and Head, Deptt. of Hindi, Govt. P. G. College, Bageshwar (University of Kumaun) for Rāji.

Lastly, my thanks are due to M/S Mittal Publications, New Delhi who have undertaken the publication of the whole series of ‘Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages’. The first two volumes and the first part of the third volume of which have come out and are already in the hands of scholars.

D D D SHARMA
TRANSCRIPTION AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Although phonetic values of all the phonemes used for the transcription of the dialects concerned have been indicated in their phonemic inventories, yet for the convenience of the general readership the scheme of transliteration and the nearest values of the symbols in Devanagari script is being given below:

Vowels: ð/á (अ), a (आ), i (इ), iː/ī (ई), u (ऊ), uː/ū (ऋ), e (ए), E (ऐ), o (ओ), ə (औ).

Consonants: k (क), kh (ख), x (ख), g (ग), g (गः), gh (घ), ñ (ङ), c (च), č (चँ), ch (छ), čh (छँ), j (ज), z (ज़), ž (ज़), jh (झ), ñ (जङ), t (ट), th (ठ), d (द), ḍ (ढ), dh (ढ़), ḍh (ढ़ँ), n (न), t (त), th (थ), d(दः), dh(ढः), n (नः), p (प), ph (फः), b(बः), bh(भः), m (मः), y (यः), r (रः), l (लः), l (ळः), lh (लङः), w (वः), ŋ (ऋः), s (सः), s (सः), h (हः).

The phonetic signs used in this study may be interpreted as:

: = in relation to
< = comes from; is derived from,
> = becomes; develops into,
-/- = or; alternate form,
∽ = nasalization (above the vowel),
.= centralization (above the vowel),
-~ = in free variation; free form (after the morph).
[ ]  =  phonetic form
//  =  phonemic form
→   =  rewritten as.
+   =  added to, plus juncture (pause).
/ʔ/ =  glottal stop or glottalized vowel.
ϕ   =  zero phone, phoneme or morpheme.
JAD DIALECT

Introductory Notes
Phonological Structure
Grammatical Structure
Syntax
INTRODUCTION

The Area and the People

The ancestral home of the speakers of this dialect is the Himalayan Valley of Nelang, the gateway to Tibet beyond Bhagirathi valley in the former state of Tehri Garhwal and now forming the part of the hilly district of Uttar Kashi in U.P. Another settlement of these tribal people was the village Jadang, some 15-16 kms ahead of Nelang. The whole region is very rugged and barren, nothing but a few Himalayan herbal grasses grow there. The entire region falls in the gorges of the Jad Ganga at the elevation of 11,000 feet above the sea level, surrounded by pinnacualr mountain walls rising up to 20-21 thousand feet above the sea level. Till recent past the only source of livelihood of Jads of Nelang was the trade with Tibet and the livestocks of sheep and goats. But with the break of trade relations with Tibet they have migrated down the valley and have settled at Bagora (8,400'), 3 kms short of Harsil, in the district of Uttar Kashi and at Dunda some 15 kms below the district headquarters. Nowadays most of the Jads, compelled by circumstances, have adopted various professions and are fastly coming close the mainstream of national development.

About their historic past it is said that these people originally belonged to the upper regions of the erstwhile Bushhar state, now forming the part of district Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh. But H. S. Phakaliyal believes that the Jads of Uttar Kashi are the descendents of the Jads of Karnali region of Nepal who may have formed the segment of the army of

Sources of the Language

On account of its affiliation with Tibetan the principal source of its vocabulary and grammar is Tibetan, but at the same time due to its long contact with Indo-Aryan and other Himalayan dialects it has also been influenced by them at all levels of its linguistic structure. But at this point we shall take into account only some vocabulary items, including verbal roots, to vindicate the sources of this dialect.

Tibetan


Indo-Aryan

Although the principal source of its vocabulary and grammar is Central Tibetan, yet on account of its long association with Indo-Aryan dialects of Garhwal it has assimilated a few vocabulary items from it as well. Some of these are /bhørja/ to bloom, /dori/ blanket, /mai/ buffalo, /pusi/ cat, /kukro/

However, as compared with the Marchha dialect of Chamoli it has allowed very little influence of non-Tibetan dialects and has maintained its original character to a great extent, may be due to their constant contact with their counterparts across the border till recent past.

**Literature**

It has no literature except the translation of the story of the prodigal son and a brief and one a half page note on the phonology and grammar given in the *L.S.I.* (Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 91-92). As such this is the first attempt to present a detailed account of the phonological and grammatical structure of this dialect.

**Sources of Data**

The present analysis of this dialect is based entirely on the first hand recording of the linguistic material by the author himself in 1985 in Uttar Kashi from Gopal Singh Gawana of the village Harsil (Tehsil-Bhaṭwaṛi).

*The Speakers:* Although no independent data of the speakers of this dialect could be collected for this analysis, yet according to the Census of India, 1981, (series-22, Uttar Pradesh, Paper-I of 1982 (Director, Census Operations, U.P.), the number of Bhotias in Uttarkashi was 1817. The Tehsil-wise split up is as follows: Paraula—353+Rajgarhi—78+Dunda—239+Bhatwari—1147=Total 1817.
PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

Different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes attested in the sound system of this dialect are as follows:

VOWELS

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested singly or in sequences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the lip position only the back vowels /u/ and /o/ are rounded, all others are unrounded.

Phonemic Contrasts

Phonemic contrasts of these vowels may be illustrated as under:

i/e—/ci/ what? : /ce/ tongue; /mi/ man : /me/ fire
i/a—/li/ bronze : /la/ also, for; /khi/ dog : /kha/ snow
i/u—/dhi/ to ask : /dhu/ corner; /mai/ buffelo : /mau/ sheep.
i/o—/mi/ man : /mo/ female; /i:/ eldersister : /o:/ breath
i/ə—/min/ name : /mən/ medicine
Jad Dialect

u/o—/tu/ boy: /to/ anger; /pu/ hair on the body: /pō/ girl
u/a—/tu/ boy: /ta/ hair; /chu/ water: /cha/ salt
o/a—/go/ door: /ga/ saddle; /to/ anger: /ta/ hair
e/a—/šer/ dead: /šar/ fever.
e/u—/če/ joint, knot: /ču/ water
e/o—/me/ fire: /mo/ female.

Vocalic Sequences

There are no diphthongs in this dialect. However, occurrence of vowels in a sequence is not infrequent. Their sequence too is not restricted, i.e., anyone of these can occur as a first or the second member of the sequence with distinct syllabic entity. These may be illustrated as under:

**Front + Back**

io—/ciona/ anything, /thiō/ mare
iu—/ciu/ bird, /tīu/ monkey
ia—/šia/ to die, /tiā/ to mix, /chiā/ spittle, /jhiā/ family.
ea—/sea/ to dance, to eat, /zea/ to make, /čeā/ sand
eu—/seu/ apple, /teu/ adge, /peu/ calf, /kheu/ mustache
eo—/leō/ flute, /zeog/ to stare, /theo/ thumb
au—/leaū/ bull.

**Front + front**

ie—/diek/ key
ei—/sei/ earth, /phei/ that
ee—/meē/ grand father (maternal); /țee/ tamed.

**Back + back**

au—/paū/ dew, /maū/ sheep, /aū/ elder sister’s husband
uo—/muo/ younger (brother/sister)
oa—/soa/ barley, /loa/ lungs, /doa/ stone
ua—/sua/ a boil, /gindua/ ball, /ṭhua/ worthless
ao—/šao/ lame, /ñaol near, /chaol nephew, /raol he goat

Central + Back

uo—/gyo/ beard.

Distribution: Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all positions without any restriction. This feature of the dialect can be illustrated as under:

/a/; /omjok/ ear, /bhṛrjo/ to bloom, /lodə/ cheap
/a/; /aba/ father, /katara/ bald, /burja/ apricot
/i/; /ibi/ father’s mother, /rin/ cost, /ani/ father’s sister
/u/; /ubu/ breast nipple, /gindua/ ball, /ciu/ bird.
/e/; /me/ fire; /male/ chin, /nene/ maternal aunt.
/o/; /oŋja/ to come, /lo/ age, /chodo/ beak.

Allophonic Variations: The above noted vowels of the Jad dialect show certain allophonic variants in their respective phonetic environments.

Nasalized Variants: All vowels tend to be nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, as in /oŋja/ = [oŋja] to come, /nha/- [nhā] tail, /saŋma/ = [sāŋmā] clear, /kana/ = [kāŋā] blind.

Glottalization: A vowel tends to be glottalized when occurring before a glottal stop, as in /medoʔk/ flower, /caʔg/ iron, /laʔgpa/ hand.

Qualitative Variants: The mid back vowel /o/ tends to be realized as low back round vowel /ɔ/ before nasality or a nasal consonant or in a prepausal position, as in /oŋja/ = [oŋja] to come, /soŋ/ = (soŋ) was, /høed/ = [høed] used to come, /do/ =
[dɔ] is, /hot/ = [hot] was; /khin bɔro/ = [xinbɔro] is filled, /nɔt/ = /nɔt/ bright, /chodo/ = [chɔdo], beak.

**Quantitative Variants:** Quantity of vowel also is a phonetic feature. It may be realized longer or shorter in certain predictable environments. For example, a single vowel when occurring as a nominal stem has a fully long quantity, as in /iː/ elder sister, /uː/ uncle, /oː/ breath, /eː/ an interjection, /a/ mother, mother's sister, /ra/ she goat.

**CONSONANTS**

In this dialect the number of consonant phonemes, established on the basis of phonemic contrasts is 30. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The class of plosives, further attests the opposition of presence vs. absence of voice, and almost all classes of plosives attest the opposition of present vs. absence of aspiration. All these consonants with their phonetic characteristics may, schematically, be presented as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilabial</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frictionless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Manner of Articulation**

- Plosives: Stop, Affricate, Fricative, Nasal, Vibrant, Flapped, Lateral, Fricative, Frictionless
- Place of Articulation: Bilabial, Dental, Palatal, Retroflex, Velar, Glottal

**Phonetic Characteristics**

- Bilabial: Labial, Alveolar, Palatal, Velar, Glottal
- Dental: Alveolar, Palatal, Velar, Glottal
- Palatal: Alveolar, Palatal, Velar, Glottal
- Retroflex: Alveolar, Palatal, Velar, Glottal
- Velar: Labial, Alveolar, Palatal, Velar, Glottal
- Glottal: Alveolar, Palatal, Velar, Glottal
Phonemic Status of Voiced Aspirates

Although on account of a strong tendency of aspiration in the initial position of a word, most of vd. plosives and nasals are realized as their aspirate counterparts, yet all of them do not attest a phonemic contrast with their un-aspirate counterparts. As such their phonemic status in the language is doubtful. In fact, in most of the cases the voiced aspirate phones realized in this position are dialectal or idiolectal variants of their unaspirate counterparts, particularly in case of voiced plosives and nasals. e.g. /ñhul/ rupee. /ñha/ tail, /ñhēn/ relation, /mhēn/ medicine, /mhonpo/ blue, /dhē/ corngrain, /jhē/ a bow, /jhigri/ fear. Moreover, distributionally, too, these are confined to the initial position only.

However, in view of a few contrasts, may be with borrowed items, and a subjective feeling of their being a distinct sounds some of these can be accorded the status of phoneme in this dialect too, but I have given them a phonetic status only.

Distribution: Distributionally, all the consonants and semi-consonants, except, /n, r/, can occur in the initial position of a word. Among plosive consonants usually voiced plosives and nasals or liquids occur medially. But on account of being predominantly a vowel ending language, occurrence of plosives except /b, d, g/, in the final position is almost non-existent in this language. The only commonly attested consonants, occurring in this position are nasals and liquids, besides the voiced un-aspirate plosives. This aspect of the Jad dialect may be illustrated as follows:

/p/-/pitiñ/ baby, /lagpa/ arm, hand, /khap/ lid, /tēp/ reins

[ph]-/phia/ to clean, wipe, /bhed/ half, /phora/ a cup.

/b/-/bombo/ fat, /chobo/ big, /šob/ false, a lie, /nob/ west

/bh/-/bhārja/ to bloom, /phujop/ dusk.

/t/-/tara/ buttermilk, /tonje/ bee, /katara/ bald, /nōt/ bright

/th/-/thil/ base, bottom, /thwa/ hammer, /taktha/ flour
/d/—/da/ arrow, /redak/ deer, /ked/ sound, /phed/ half
[dh]—/dhuya/ to collect
/c/—/cigbo/ alone, /cila/ because
/ch/—/cho/ colour, /chana/ metal cup, /chān/ beer
/j/—/jumja/ to catch, /jokho/ body, /teja/ to flow
[jh]—/jhu/ a bow, /jhigri/ fear, /jhiāt/ family
/t/—/to/ anger, /tin/ cloud, /tiu/ monkey
/th/—/thak/ blood, /thim/ custom, law
/d/—/du/ corn grain /pond/ wrist, /danā/ equal, /bēd/ handle
[dh]—/dhobu/ ant, /dhī/ to ask, knife, /dhā/ counting
[r]—/mor/ health, /pūru/ idiot, /dori/ blanket
/k/—/konja/ clothes, /bakso/ bad, evil, /kharok/ a crow
/kh/—/khi/ dog, /jokho/ body, /khor/ circle, /ñakhār/ both
/g/—/go/ door, /gogsa/ to await, /lagpa/ arm, /tag/ tiger
[gh]—/ghāsein/ good, better, /ghāsindo/ alright
/m/—/male/ chin, /mama/ father's sister's husband, /gyām/ box
/n/—/na/ daughter-in-law, /nene/ maternal aunt, /len/ answer
/n/—/nul/ coin, silver, /diŋkha/ courtyard, /lon/ moon less night
/n/—/nīn/ day, /nōt/ bright, /nanson/ to agree, /nīn/ heart
/n/—/cinīn/ a bell, /kana/ blind
/l/—/li/ bronze /male/ chin, /thil/ sole of foot, /yul/ village
[lh]—/lahāma/ remainder, /lhande/ ghost, /laṅlha/ heaven
/r/—/rin/ cost, /kharok/ a crow, /kirkir/ round, /nor/ wealth
/s/—/ṣara/ blind, /puśi/ cat, /nuśa/ error, /śo/ curd.
/s/—/sa/ grass, /somba/ chisal, /khepsan/ fox, /bās/ bamboo
/z/-/zā/ earthen jar, /zur/ bank of river, /zugi/ finger
/h/-/horda/ air, /gyoha/ early, /laha/ work, /rāh/ cloth, /lāh/ cave
/y/-/yonba/ left side, /reya/ to beg, /nōya/ to buy
/w/-/wakso/ bad, /thwa/hammer /thawa/ clay
/nh/-/nhod/ damage, /nhombo/ pointed, /nhak/ pus
/ṇh/-/ṇhul/ rupee, silver, /ṇhā/ tail
/ṇh/-/ṇhen/ relation

From the above distributional analysis it may be evident that voiced aspirates do not occur at all in a non-initial position, from among unvoiced aspirates too, only occurrence of /th/ and /kh/ is attested sporadically. Besides, occurrence of /c, tj/ also could not be attested in the non-initial position in our data. Similarly no semi-vowel was attested in the final position.

*Phonemic Contracts*: With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes, it may be mentioned that the minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are attested in the initial position only. In non-initial positions there are only a few which attests these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, this dialect, too, seldom attests occurrence of aspirate plosives in a non-initial position. As such the scope of contrasts of aspirate and non-aspirate counterparts of voiced and voiceless consonants is extremely limited. Similarly, on account of vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending nature of these dialects the scope of the contrasts of unaspirate plosives too is confined to a few cases only (see distribution of consonants). Consequently, the distinction of presence Vs. absence of voice and aspiration too, is normally, attested in the initial position only, both these features are almost neutralized in the medial and final positions in a polysyllabic word. In the initial position, too, the voiced aspirates do no attest phonemic contrasts with their unaspirate counterparts. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in this dialect may be illustrated as follows:—
Jad Dialect

Plosives

Bilabials /p, ph, b,/

p/b—/pu/ hair on the body : /bu/ worm, insect;
   /pha/ mouse : /bya/ oil cake
p/ph—/pō/ girl : /pho/ male

Dentals /t, th, d/

t/d—/ta/ horse : /da/ arrow, month

t/th—/toŋ/ moonless night : /thoŋ/ furrow

Retroflex /t, th, d/

t/d—/tu/ /boy : /du/ corn grain,
   /tak/ rock : /dak/ thunder

d/dh—/da/ enmity : /dhā/ counting,

Patalals: /c, ch, j/

c/j—X X

c/ch—/ce/ tongue; /che/ joint, knot, /caŋ/ north : /chāŋ/ a
   kind of beer, /caʔ/ iron : /cha/ salt

Velars /k, /kh, g/

k/g—X X

kh/g—/kha/ snow : /ga/ saddle,

k/kh—/ked/ sound : /khed/ difference

Nasals: /m, n, ŋ, ŋ/ 

m/n—/komja/ to dry : /konja/ clothes
   /moha/ frost : /nuho/ younger brother

m/ŋ—/ma/ negation : /ŋa/ I, /nam/ bride : /naŋ/ in

n/ŋ—/na/ bride, daughter-in-law : /ŋa/ drum, /semjā n/
   animal : /semjuŋ/ hope, /ño/ day : /ñoŋ/ heart

n/ŋ—/na/ bride, daughter-in-law : /ŋa/ fish
Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand

\(\eta/\ddot{u} - /\gamma a/\) cattle drum; \(\ddot{v}/\) fish

\(m/mh - /m\dddot{n}/\) no, not: \(/m\dddot{n}/\) herb, medicine

\(n/nh - /n\ddot{a}/\) bride, daughter-in-law: \(/n\ddot{a}/\) tail.

**Nasal Consonants vs. Nasality**

\(\eta/\dddot{f} - /\dddot{d}\ddot{a}\eta/\) wing of the house: \(/\delta h\ddot{a}/\) counting;

\(/p\eta/\) race: \(/\ddot{p}a/\) tree

**Liquids** (\(r, 1\))

\(/ro/\) corpse: \(/lo/\) age; \(/ra/\) goat: \(/la/\) for, wages.

**Fricatives**:

\(\dddot{s}/\dddot{s}/ - /s\ddot{o}/\) curd: \(/so/\) tooth; \(/\dddot{s}\ddot{r}/\) east: \(/s\ddot{r}/\) wick

\(\dddot{s}/\ddot{z}/ - /\dddot{s}\ddot{e}r/\) gold: \(/zer/\) iron nail

\(s/\ddot{z}/ - /s\ddot{a}/\) grass: \(/z\ddot{a}/\) earthen zar

**Semi-Vowels**: \(/y, w/\)

\(y/w - /\ddot{s}ya/\) meat, flesh: \(/sw\ddot{a}/\) new

\(y/ - /\ddot{f}/\) kyomba/ spade; \(/komba/\) a step

\(w/ - /\dddot{f}/\) sw\ddot{a}/ new: \(/sa/\) grass

**Contrast between dental and retroflex plosives**

\(t/t - /tag/\) tiger, \(/\ddot{t}ak/\) rock.

\(th/\ddot{h}/ - /\ddot{th}a\ddot{n}/\) furrow: \(/\ddot{h}a\ddot{n}/\) garland.

\(d/\ddot{d}/ - /\ddot{d}a/\) arrow: \(/\ddot{d}a/\) rice; \(/\ddot{d}a\eta/\) yesterday: \(/\ddot{d}a\ddot{n}/\) honey.

In this context it may be noted that in our data we could not come across contrasts between palatal plosives and palatal affricats, as well as between trilled and flapped consonants, though it may be there.

**Phonetic Tendencies (Allophonic Variations)**

The overall phonetic tendencies of this dialect may briefly be pointed out as under:

*Incomplete articulation*: It is predominantly a vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending language, as such only a
few of plosive consonants occur in the word final position of it. However, the articulation of the few plosives that occur in this position becomes somewhat weak, may be due to higher accent on the initial syllable. Consequently, the plosion as well as the voice /aspiration is reduced in every way, leading to their indeterminate perception, which may be described as—

Devoicing: Voiced plosives /g,d,b,/ when occurring in the final position of a word or before a voiceless sound are usually devoiced. Consequently, these are realized as their voiceless counterparts, as in /mig/=[mik] eye, /lagpa/=[laqpa] hand, /ked/=[ket] sound, /khđb/=[khδp] needle, /thog/=[thok] roof, /sed=[set] strength, /cig-po/=[cik-po] alone, /tag/=[tak] tiger.

Deaspiration: Occurrence of aspirate consonants in the final position is rare, but in the initial position too the aspiration of /h/ is tremendously reduced, particularly when occurring before a back vowel as in /hat/=[‘at]=is, /hotlza/=[‘arlza/ to come.

Voicing: Unvoiced plosives tend to be voiced when preceded by voiced sounds, as in /khđŋ-pa/=[khδŋ-ba] house.

Aspiration: Moreover, besides phonemic aspiration the speakers of this dialect exhibit a strong tendency to pronounce voiced plosives, nasals and liquids with copious aspiration when these occur in the initial position of a word. Consequently, they are perceived as their aspirate counterparts, as in /pδ/= [p’δ] daughter, /ŋul/=[ŋul] silver, /mđŋ/=[mhδŋ] herb, /dų/=[dhu] corngain, /ciu/=[chiu] bird, /besum/ [bhesum] to do /dio/= [dho] to go. /oŋ/= hoŋ/ to come.

Glottalization: Voiced consonants particularly /g/ and /d/ tend to be realized as a glottal stop(s) when occurring in a prepausal or prejunctural position, as in /pherog/=[phero?] evening, /cag/=[ca?] iron, /ta’g/ [ta?] tiger, /bakso/? bad.

Tonalization: The glottal fricative /h/ tends to be realized as high falling tone in a prepausal position, as in /o’h/=[ó]
a kiss /ló/ age, /láh/ cave, /ráh/ cloth. Besides, a rising tone is also realized with initial retroflex and dental plosives (aspirate), as in /ta/ hair, /da/ rice, /da/ arrow. (not marked)

Fricativaition — In a non-initial position when occurring before another plosive the velar plosives are realized as their fricative counterparts, as in /lag-pa/ = [laq-pa] hand, /sɔkh/ = [sɔx] wings, /tag/ = [tag] tiger.

Besides, an intervocalic /h/ is also realized as [x] in it, e.g., /laha/ = [laxa] work.

Consonant Clusters

In this dialect the scope of consonant clusters is moderate. But the favourable environment for the occurrence of these are the initial and medial positions only. There is hardly any scope for the occurrence of a cluster in the final position. Moreover, in the initial /medial position too, the number of the members of these clusters is not more than two. Clusters of different combinations attested in this speech may be presented as follows:

Initial Position: Normally, the number of the constituents of a cluster in this position is two. Distributionally, (i) the first member may be a plosive / a fricative/ a liquid and the second member a semi-vowel/a liquid. These may be illustrated as under:

(a) Plosive + Semivowel

(i) +y—/gyōb/ black, /phyālipt/ butterfly, /hyundo/ centre, /kyogyala/ a cheat, /gyoha/ early, /khyo/ thou, /myabo/ poor, /chyabarol/ lizard,

(ii) +w—/gwā/ egg, /thekwa/ to leak,

(b) Fricative + Semivowel

(i) /syutī/ broom, /ṣya/ flesh, /khiṣya/ to heal,

(ii) /swā/ new, /hwaŋbal/ deaf.

Medial clusters: As compared with initial clusters the range of medial clusters is wider. The constituents of a two member medial cluster are attested as follows:
(i) Plosive + plosive

/lagpa/ arm, /nagpo/ black, /digja/ to add, /mugja/ to bark, /kogdøn/ hollow, /kogdøl/ ashes, /kobja/ to bend, /depja/ to change, /regpa/ brain, /cagdag/ chain, /naqchoba/ dark, /cogca/ how, /kodpo/ husband’s younger brother.

(ii) Plosive + liquid /semivowel/ Fricative


(iii) Nasal/liquid/fricative + plosive


(iv) Liquid/nasal + nasal

/gorma/ to crow, /khølma/ kidney.

**Final cluster:** As stated above, it being a predominantly vowel ending language has no scope for the occurrence of final clusters. At least we could not come across any example of this in our data.

**Gemination:** Gemination is not a significant feature in this dialect, though lengthening of certain classes of consonants may be realized in certain predictable environments: /phulli/ nose screw, /kumma/ thief, /menna/ without etc.

**Supra-segmental Phonemes:** Besides the above mentioned segmental phonemes, the dialect has the following supra-segmental phonemes as well.

**Nasalization:** In this dialect, nasalization is both phonemic and non-phonemic. In the non-phonemic nasalization all
vowels occurring with a nasal consonant tend to be nasalized automatically (for examples see vowels: allophonic variants). But the phonemic nasalization is quite independent of the existence of any nasal consonant or nasalized vowel in the vicinity of it, e.g., /deũ/ a fly: /deu/ fruit, /paŋ/ race: /pā/ tree.

Accent: Like many other dialects of this group in this too the normal tendency of the speakers is to put heavier stress on the initial syllable of a word, but there are a few instances of monosyllabic words in which the stress, sometimes accompanied with a sort of high falling tone, becomes significant:

/ná/ oath: /na/ bride, daughter-in-law,
/lá/ cave: /la/ for, also; /ó/ breath: /o/ a kiss
/sá/ vien: /sa/ grass.

WORD STRUCTURE

In it a word may be mono-morphemic or polymorphemic, has the following general characteristics:

(1) It may begin with any vowel or consonant but /r, ŋ/.

(2) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid, or a plosive.

(3) No native word begins or ends in a consonant cluster other than those mentioned above.

(4) Normally, no aspirate vocoid or a semivowel occurs at the end of a native word in it.

(5) In a slow tempo of speech a word necessarily admits a momentary pause on either side of it.

Syllabic Structure of Word

As in other languages of this group, in this too the immediate constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1—4, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically per-
missible sequences, between the two successive junctures and also are capable of conveying a single concept.

**Syllabic Units:** Constituents of a syllabic unit are a nucleus, which is one of the vowels set up for this language, ± consonantal margins occurring on either side of it, which can be simple (i.e., a single consonant) or complex (a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant) permissible in the language. Within the above explained distributional patterns of vowels and consonants there is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel as a nucleus or a consonant, including clusters, as an onset margin of a syllabic unit.

**Patterns of Syllabic Units**

On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the permissible structure of various syllabic units, the constituents of a word, may be one of the following patterns: 

- /V/,
- /VC/,
- /CV/,
- /CCV/,
- /CVC/,
- /CCVC/,
- /CVCC/.

These patterns besides occurring, independently in a monosyllabic word, may also become constituent syllables of a polysyllabic word.

**Monosyllabic Patterns:** In monosyllabic words the patterns of the above mentioned units may be illustrated as under:

- /V/-/ā/ aunt, /o/ breath, /u:/ uncle, /i:/ elder sister.
- /VC/-/ūt/ camel.
- /CVC/-/thil/ bottom, /zur/ bank of river, /ṭhak/ blood.

It may be mentioned that in words with more than one syllable these very patterns are repeated in various sequences.
**Dissyllabic Patterns:** The permissible syllabic sequences in a dissyllabic word are attested as under:

/CVC-CV/-/len-za/ to accept, /mon-mu/ abuse, /lag-pa/ hand.

/CCVC-CV/-/mhon-bo/ blue, /hwan-ba/? deaf, /gyañ-sa/ to fill, /han-çe/ ghost, /nhon-ba/ mad.

/CV-CVC/-/pi-tiŋ/ baby, /me-log/ charcoal, /ga-leŋ/ cow.

/(C)V-CV/-/chodo/ beak, /chobo/ big, /paga/ bread, /odi/ same, /ibi/ grand-mother.

/CVC-CVC/-/kogdöl/ ashes, /kom-bok/ bark of tree.

/CCV-CV/-/syu-ti/ broom, /gyo-ha/ early, /gyo-bo/ old age

/CCV-CVC/-/rhe-sañ/ begger.

/CCVC-CVC/-/hyam-jin/ peculiar

/(C) V-V/-/teu/ adge, /soa/ barley /ciu/ Sird, /paũ/ dew, /sao/ lame.

/CV-CCV/-/jigri/ fear, /to-gre/ hunger.

/CV-VC/-/di-êk/key, /ze-og/ to stare.

/CVC-CCVC/-/khib-šyanŋ/wolf.

From the point of frequency the most frequent disyllabic patterns is /CVC-CV/, followed by /CV-CV/. Other patterns attest only a limited number of examples.

**Trisyllabic Patterns:** The number of trisyllabic lexical words is not very large in it. The permissible syllabic sequences of this class of words are attested as under:

/CV-CV-CV/-/ko-ta-ra/ bald, /ha-na-mi/ either.

/CV-CVC-CV/-/co-don-na/ cooked, /me-jaŋ-bu/ glow-worm.

/CVC-CV-CV/-/naq-cho-ba/ dark, /thik-cho-me/ lonely.

/CV-CCV-V/-/so-bre-a/ a liar, /la-lha-ū/ easy, /to-gre-a-/ hungry.
Jad Dialect

The number of tri-syllabic words in Jad is very limited, mostly they are composed of more than one basic word.

Syllabic Division: Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables, determined by linguistic forces like accent (i.e., higher stress), quantity of the syllable peak or the patterns of the syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic grouping it fully agrees with other languages of this group, i.e., the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable, and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheral margins. As such, other things being equal, in open syllables, the consonantal onset margins of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, e.g. in /syu-ti/ and /me-log/ the consonants preceding the vowels are grouped with the vowels /-u-/ and /-e-/ for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit, and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable peaks. Thus in the above examples the syllabic division will be as /syu-ti/ and /me-log/ (the dash indicating the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in successive syllables, consists of more than one consonant, excluding semi-vowels, than the most conventional principle applicable to syllabic division is that the first member of this cluster goes with the previous syllable peak to form its coda margin and the second member is grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to form its onset margin. For instance, in /len-za/ 'to accept' and /jyam-jin/ 'peculiar' the components /-n/ and /-m/ form the coda.
margin of the first syllable peaks /e-/ and /-a-/, and /z-/ and -j-/ of the second syllable peaks /-a/ and /-i-/.

Similarly, in a pattern like /khib-šyan/ or /tiñ-bur/, too the syllabic division will follow the same principle of grouping of phones to form the syllabic unit and to affect the mechanism of syllabification.

In polysyllabic words, too, the syllabic division of the peak-margin sequence, is clearly maintained as in dissyllabic words, e.g. /rik-pa-cin/wise, /me-jan-bu/ glow-worm.

However, in a /CV-CCV(C)/ pattern the syllable cut falls in between the first /V/ and the first /C/ if the second /C/ is a semi-vowel, e.g. /kha-gyön-mo/ old man.
GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

Word Classes

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic position the word classes attested in this speech are noun, pronoun, modifiers, verb and function words/enclitics. Normally, as in other languages in this too, words of noun, pronoun and verb classes enter into various types of morphological inflections whereas others do not. As such words belonging to former group are variable, i.e., are inflected for various grammatical categories, and those belonging to the latter group are non-variable or non-flectional.

Word Formation

In it a word can be both mono-morphemic or polymorphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of poly-morphemic words are—juxtaposition, prefixation (in a few cases only), suffixation, infixation, reduplication and compounding. Of these the devices of suffixation and compounding are the most common, particularly with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal stem formations. Various structural and morphological elements involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

NOUN

Syntactically, a noun in it functions as a subject or object of a verb. It may also function as a predicative word, referring to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and cases, and is also followed by post-positions.
Noun-Classes

There are some instances in which the distinction of human and non-human or animate and inanimate nouns also is attested which may be explained as follows:

(i) All inanimate nouns are genderless and are also not inflected for plural number.

(ii) There are different mechanisms for distinguishing the gender of human and non-human beings.

(iii) The plural number is marked for human beings only.

Nominal Stems

As in other dialects of this group, in this too, three kinds of nominal stems, viz., primary, derived and compounded, are normally attested. Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, a majority of them belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, but there is a sizeable number of them which belongs either to Indo-Aryan or falls under the category of indigenous words.

Primary stems belonging to the T.B. sources are both monosyllabic and polysyllabic, e.g., /qul/ silver, /min/ name, /yul/ village, /mak/ arms, /thak/ blood, /ser/ gold, /zer/ nail, /gem/ box, /khab/ needle, /nob/ west, /sin/ wood, /cag/ iron, /mig/ eye, /me/ fire, /lagpa/ hand, /chu/ water, /sa/ grass, /li/ bonze, /karma/ stars, /tag/ tiger, /da/ arrow, /ta/ horse, /ña/ fish, /bu/ worm, /ta/ hair, etc.

Similar is the case of stems borrowed from the Indo-Aryan and other sources, e.g., /chibaro/ lizard, /kukro/ cock, /kasturi/ musk, /am/ mango, /kela/ banana, /serô/ mustard, /phulli/ nose screw, /kana/ blind, /khisa/ pocket, etc.

Stem formation: The normal mechanism of nominal stem formation in this is prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding.

Prefixation: It is not a very productive mechanism in Jad. It is attested with regard to a few nouns denoting kin relationship or in nouns formed with the negative particle /men/:
-/a-/—/a-ba/ father, /-a-ma/ mother, /a-co/ elder brother, /a-yðna/, father's sister’s husband, father-in-law, /a-ni/ father's sister, aunt.

Suffixation: It is the most common device of stem formation. The formative suffixes may have some specific sense to convey or may not. In the latter case, the formative suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a complex stem to which are added the number, gender and case suffixes. Some of the most commonly used suffixes may be illustrated as follows:

(i) -ba—/mən-ba/ physician < /mən/ medicine, /tiŋ-ba/ heal /cha-ba/ heat, /maqcho-ba/ darkness, /khðn-ba/ house, /chen-ba/ liver, /thag-ba/ rope.

(ii) -pa—/thuk-pa/ dispute, /kyak-pa/ excreta, /gog-pa/ garlic, /rek-pa/ intellect,

(iii) -po—/sak-po/ brother-in-law, /dak-po/ husband, /kod-po/ husband's brother,

(iv) -bo—/yok-bo/ servant < /yok/ service, /sal-bo/ light, /thon-bo/ height, /thak-riŋ-bo/ distance.

(v) gya-la—/khyog-ya-la/ a cheat < /khyog/ to cheat /šob-gya-la/ a liar > /šob/ a lie.

(vi) -me—/rol-ma/ droppings of birds, /khðl-ma/ kidney, /godma/ mare.

(vii) -jän—/semjän /animate < /sem/ life.

Reduplication: Reduplication of syllables, stems or formation of echo-words is also a part of stem formation in it, e.g., /chob-chob/ twinkling, /ciŋiŋ/ a bell (ono.), /nene/ maternal aunt, /mama/ father’s sister’s husband, /kaka/ mother sister’s husband.

Compound stems: The number of compound stems, having both the constituents as free forms with their independent meanings is fairly good in it. In this type of formations, both the constituents of the compounded stem may be nominal or
adjectival + nominal etc., conveying a copulative meaning. For the purpose of nominal inflections these stems too behave like primary stems. The following type of compound stems have been obtained from the data available to us.

(i) Noun + noun = Noun

/mər-ti/ oil = /mər/ butter + /ti/ water.
/buamər/ butter = /bua/ foam + /mər/ ghee.
/cag-dag/ chain < /cag/ iron, /sən-mər/ copper.
/diŋ-kha/ court yard, /gyal-mig/ eye ball, lit. king-eye.
/mig-pu/ eye-brow, /cho-lok/ flood, < /chu/ water.
/mejan-bu/ glow-worm = /me/fire + /bu/ worm.
/chodok/water mill < /chu/ wather, /cagjoa/ iron smith.
/chon-mε/ lamp < /chon/ workship + /me fire.
/mig-chu/ tears = /mig/ eye + /chu/water.
/ŋaphed/ afternoon = /ŋa/ day + /phed/ half.

Nominal inflection: As in many other languages of the group in this too there is no grammatical gender. As such a nominal stem is inflected for the number and the case categories only. These grammatical markers are mostly kept apart from one another, i.e., the case markers follow the number markers, as in /kho-yag-la/ ~ /khwa/-gun-la/ to you (pl.), /khe-yag-na/ from them, /de-yag-se/ of them, /phei-gun-so/ by them.

Article: There is no definite article in it. However, the numeral /cik/ one, which follows the noun, is used as an indefinite particle, as in /ŋa ƞare ūla hige cik gyago hɔt/ I have to write a letter, to my uncle.

Gender

As pointed out above, Jad does not recognize any grammatical gender, at least for native vocables. The natural gender which in no way affects the structure of other constituents
of a sentence is, however, distinguished (i) either by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (ii) or by prefixing or suffixing terms denoting the sense of 'male' and 'female' or 'he' and 'she' to the substantive concerned. In borrowed items, however, the original pattern of the language from which it has been borrowed may be followed.

As a consequence of this the question of gender distinction is, confined to animate beings only, all inanimate objects are genderless. In this context it may also be pointed out that in the languages the T.H. group animate beings too are treated as human and non-human for the purpose of gender differentiation, i.e. in case of human being there are distinct terms for the male and female counterparts, but in case of non-human beings these are indicated by prefixing or suffixing the term for 'he' and 'she' to the epicenous term.


Besides, there are a few domesticated animals for which too distinctive terms are used for their male and female species, as in /ta/ horse: /thō/ mare, /rao/ he goat: /rā/ she goat.

Another way of denoting gender of animate beings is to prefix or suffix the term /pho-bo/ for male and /mo-ma/ for female beings: or only for female beings, as in /ta/ horse: /god-mo/ mare; /tag/ tiger: /tag-mo/ tigress; /khi/ /pho-khi/ dog: /mokhi/ bitch; /kha-γbo/ old man; /kha-γen-mo/ old women; /gya-po/king : /gya-mo/ queen.

**Number**

As in Tibetan, in it too, nominal, pronominal and verbal stems are inflected for two numbers only, viz., singular and
plural. In fact, in nominal or pronominal inflections the singular is not marked overtly. It is the absence of plural marker which distinguishes it from the plural. The plural markers, however, follow the stem and precede the case suffixes; but in a verbal conjugation these follows the tense-aspect marker suffixes.

In this dialect plurality is marked with regard to nouns/pronouns belonging to human class only. In them it is expressed by means of plural marker suffixes, occurring in their respective semantic environments. However, with regard to inanimate objects plurality, if necessary, can be expressed by adding a numeral other than for 'one' or by adding a qualifier conveying the sense of 'some, a few, many, all, several', etc. In verbal conjugations it is mostly inferred from the number of the subject of the verb in question.

(A) Suffixal Plurality: The suffixes employed to affect plurality are:

(i) /yag/- It is added to non-first pronominal stems:
/khyo/ thou : /khoyag/ you (pl.)
/di/ he, this : /diyag/ these, they
/phei/ he, that : /pheiyag/ they, those

(ii) /yā/~ /zāk/- It is affixed to stems belonging to human class etc.
/pō/ girl, daughter, woman : /pōyā/ girls, daughters, women, etc. /mi/ man : miyā/ men; /pirīyā/ child : /priyā/ children

/pōyak-so tuyag la thon-son/ girls looked at boys.

For the purpose of specification /ya/ can be used with non-human objects as well, as in /konza/ cloth : /konzaya/clothes, /singa-ya naŋ-la/ in the fields.

(iii) /gun/- It is used with non-first person pronouns, as in /khwagun/ you (pl.); /digun/ these, they, /pheigun/ those, they.
(b) Non-suffixal plurality: As stated above the non-suffixal methods of indicating plurality is either to use a numeral modifier other than for, 'one' or use a modifier indicative of the sense of plurality such as: /maŋpo/ many:

These may be illustrated by the following examples.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sq} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{khi dog} & \text{khi maŋpo many dog (s)} \\
\text{...} & \text{khisum three dog (s)} \\
\end{array}
\]

This latter device can be used with all types of nominal stems in the dialects, for instance, /ŋet ai-no maŋ-po hot/ we are many brothers(s), /ŋe tìŋ-mu sum hot/l have three sister(s). Evidently, in this case no plural suffix is added to the nominal stem in question.

Case

Case is a grammatical category in it and can be established on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, also expresses a relationship between the nouns or between a noun and pronoun.

The grammatical relations expressed by these cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place, time, etc.

In it the casal relations are expressed (i) either by means of suffixes, affixes to the bare stems of substantive in the singular, and after the number suffixes in the plural or (ii) by means of post-positions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal and pronominal stems. These case suffixes or post-positions follow the number suffixes and are kept apart, as in /khwa-gun-la/ to you (pl.). Schematically all the case suffixes of this dialect may be presented as below:
### Syntactic Correlations

Various syntactic correlations expressed by these case forms may be explained as follows:

(a) **Direct case:** Morphologically, the direct case has no markers for any number. But syntactically, it is used to denote the following grammatical relations:

(i) It is the subject of a verb in the non-past tense.

/ña chu-naŋ-do dozeogondok/ fish live in water.

/ciu sokha-na phorok/ birds fly with wings.

(ii) A predicative noun referring to a subject/object.

/di ṛere ḍhaŋsa hin/ This is my home.

/di ṛei mē-se yul hin/ that is my maternal grand-father's village.

(iii) An inanimate object of a transitive verb:

/di terina pā cojondok/ he cuts down the tree with an axe.

/petin sebdun saok/ child is eating food.

/pānasō lepti ūlōk/ leaves fall from the tree.
(iv) A direct object of a verb having two objects (direct and indirect).

/ā pīṭyak-la ṛuā teṇduk/ mother gives milk to the child.

/ta-la sa na chu thod/ give grass and water to the horse.

**Accusative-dative:** The acc.-dative marker in this dialect is the postposition /la/ which follows the number suffixes. Syntactically, it is used to indicate the following types of grammatical relations:

(i) It is the case of animate object of an intransitive verb and a direct object of a transitive verb:

/ā pīṭyak-la ṛuā teṇdok/ mother is giving milk to the child.

/ta-la sa na chu thod/ give grass and water to the horse.

/ṭu-so pō-la thọṇ-soṇ/ the boy looked at the girls.

/ṇa-so su-la lap/ to whom did I say?

ña-so ḋare nua-la doro sākcaŭe/ I have called my younger brother here.

/di: pīṭyak-la ḍuā'/ he beats the child

/khyosoi khwala lap ḍoحو/ you only may have told him.

/phei na-la dhọṇs✉/ they beat me.

(ii) A verbal noun acting as a logical object also is placed in this case.

/khir zia-la ḍa goiṭak/ rice is needed to prepare *kheer*.

(iii) It is, also a case of the subject of the verb ‘have to/had to’ (compulsive aspect) etc.

/pheiła khore aba ṡaula ḍogo hot/ he has to go with his father.
/ηαla ηαre υ la hige cikgyago hot/ I have to write a letter to my uncle.

/ηα-la unfold lyo7/ I will have to come.

(iv) /de/- Besides /la/ we also find a postposition /de/ used with the logical objects of a transitive verb:

/di ła hα -de gyo7a charsok/ finish (to) this work quickly.

/ca?de me-la トルka chande chanja hin/ iron becomes hot on putting on the fire (lit. putting to iron in the fire).

/phe7i khore konza-de khoran thuok/ he himself washes his clothes.

Ergative case: As in other languages of this group, in this too, the ergative case is used to express the subject of a transitive verb in the past. In Jad the ergative case is expressed with the post-position /so/ which follows the number suffix.

/τu-so p6-la th7on7/ Boy looked at the girl.

/p6yak-so τuyak-la th7on7/ girls looked at boys.

/ā-so phityak-la ηua teson7/ mother gave milk to the children.

/ram-so mohan-la lap cik 7hison7/ Ram asked one thing to mohan.

/ηαso su-la lap/ to whom did I say.

Instrumental/Agentive: Suffixes for the instrumental/agentive case are similar to that for the ergative case. However, the instrumental aspect is expressed by /na/:

/di teri-na p6 cojondok/ he cuts down the tree with an axe.

/ciu sokha-na phorok/ birds fly with wings.

/di 髹-na łuża bejo/ he gets the work done by the child.

Sociative case: The sociative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a thing or person with some other things or persons is expressed with the help of post-position /na/ 'with':

/khye-na τul ḍ?m hot/ How many rupees have you?
/khye-na galaŋ ḍ?m hot/ How many cows have you?

The sense of accompaniment is expressed with the particle /ñaula/ 'in the company of', as in /pheila khore aba ñaula ḍogo hot/ he has to go with his father.

**Dative:** The sense of dative case is expressed with the accusative marker /la/:

/khyu dilli-na ḍa-la ḍe khuā/ what have you brought for me from Delhi?

/ṣa khyo-la konza khoŋ/ I have brought clothes for you.

It also serves as an acc.-dative marker even in the case of a verbal noun, as in/kheer zia-la ḍo goiṭak/ rice is needed to prepare kheer.

**Ablative:** The casal relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the post-positions /na/ and /so/ or /naso/, i.e., loc.+abl.

/khyu dilli-na ḍe khuā/ what have you brought from Delhi.

/pā-na-so lepti (ilok/ leaves fall from the tree.

/rega-na-so chu tānjo/ River (water) flows from the mountain.

/lagpa-na-so/ from hand, /di-na-so/ from here.

**Genitive:** The mutual relationship between two substantives is expressed with the post-position /se/:

/mē-se yul/ grand-father's village, /de-se/ his;

/āse ṣuā/ mother's milk; /ram-se a/ Ram's mother;

/galəŋ-se ṣua/ cow's milk;

/ram-se-a de pīṭyā-la galaŋ-se ṣua thuŋzateo/ Ram's mother gives cow's milk to the children

/phityiŋ coq-da ā-se ṣua thuē ogondok/ babies drink mother's milk.
Locative: In it the use of locative is restricted to inanimate nouns only, which is expressed with the post-position /na/.

/di nágse-na či hoda/ what is there in this pot?
/phei yul-na mi čêm hoda/ How many people are there in that village?
/khe lagpa-na ide či hind/ what is this in your hand?

Moreover, various time and space oriented relations of this case are expressed by various postpositions and adverbial phrases (see infra, post-positions).

Postpositions: There are certain indeclinable terms which like case suffixes indicate the casal relationship of nouns and pronouns with other nouns and pronouns in a syntatic string. As is clear from their nomenclature that they invariably follow a noun or pronoun to denote the relationship for which they stand. In this dialect they, normally, follow a noun/pronoun in the nominative case. The usages of various post-positions are attested as under:

(a) Postpositions which follow a noun or pronoun in the direct case are:

(i) /tero/-It is used to indicate the allocative sense of 'on, up, upon, above' etc.
/pā tero ciu cokcok cik deboro/ a small bird is seated on the tree; /tiu pā tero doze ogonda/ monkeys live on trees.

(ii) /Phila/-It is used in the sense 'for' or 'for the sake of', etc. /ŋa da-cik phila ḑoso/ (please) let me go for a month

(iii) /naŋdo/-It is used to indicate the allocative sense of 'in, inside', under' etc. or with/possession:
/ña chu naŋdo dozeogondok/ fish live in the water,
/mi rop-naŋdo bigpa re-re lasando/ all persons were having a stick each.
(iv) /naŋ-na/—It is used in the sense of 'from':
/ram naŋ-na sita so lhêm dhisō/ Sita asked way from Ram
/ram naŋ-na mohənsō lap cik dhisōn/
Mohan asked one thing from Ram.

(v) /la/—It is used to indicate direction: /ŋa tirin phiroæ dhāŋsa-la lokdi/ I am going to home today evening.
It is also used to express a state or condition:
/digun ːaŋmu-la laha bejok/ They are working in the cold.

Post-positions which can follow an adverb:

(vi) /so/ 'from', as in /kana-so/ where from?

(vii) /Kha/ 'at', as in /odore-kha/ at this place.

(viii) /ro/ 'at', as in /khoè dhaŋsa-ro/ at their place; /phero/ at that place; /doro/ at this place; /ka-ro/ at which place, where?

It also indicates destination or direction, as in
/phei doro oŋsum dok/ he had to come here.
/ŋa singa-ro dhosun taks/ I want to go (have go) to the field.

(ix) /naŋ-la/ It is used in the sense of 'for' or 'among'
/syak ciji naŋ-la/ for a few days;
/pheigu khorənaŋ naŋ-la-/ they among themselves.

(b) Besides, there are a few postpositions or function words which follow the inflected form of the nominal or pronominal stems in the genitive/nominative case. These are as under:

/ñoə-la/ 'with' (=Hindi Sath men) 'in the company of':
/khe-ñoə-la hin su ðda/ who was the other (person) with you?
/phe-la khore aba ūaula dogo hot/ he has to go with his father.

/na/ ‘in the possession of’ (Hindi—pās)

/khe-na gal.do m hot/ how many cows have you?

/νe naγ-na khe-sa-na Sīγa ni-thet hot/ we have (possess) double the land than that you have (possess)

**Models of Nominal Declensions**

(Inflected for singular number only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>lagpa hand</th>
<th>/pā/ tree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>lagpa</td>
<td>pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>lagpa/de</td>
<td>pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>lagpa-na</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>lagpa-la</td>
<td>pā-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>lagpa-na/naso</td>
<td>pā-na/-naso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>lagpa-se</td>
<td>pā-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>na/naγ-na/-tēro</td>
<td>pā-naγ-na/-tēro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/galaγ/ cow      /ta/ horse

Direct      galaγ      ta
Acc.        galaγ-la   ta-la
Ag.         galaγ-so   ta-so
Dat.        galaγ-la   ta-la
Abl.        galaγ-na   ta-na/naso
Gen.        galaγ-se   ta-se
Loca.       galaγ-la/-tēro | ta-tēro

**PRONOUN**

Pronouns which substitute nouns can, like nouns, function as subject, object, etc., in a syntactic construction. Mor-
Jad Dialect

phologically these too are inflected for two numbers and six casal relations, including post-positional relations, but at least the personal pronouns are not inflected for locative case.

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into six classes, viz., (i) personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative (4) Indefinative, (5) Reflexive, (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive classes are inflected for both the numbers but not others. However, on the basis of their syntactic differences these stems form two groups, viz., personal and non-personal. For, in a sentence all non-personal pronouns can function as a modifier to a noun, in their uninflected form, whereas the personal pronouns can not, though in their inflected genitive case forms these too can function as pronominal adjectives.

**Personal Pronouns**

Personal pronouns stand for nouns of 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to' and the 'person or thing spoken of'. These represent the 1st., 2nd and 3rd persons respectively and are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems, e.g.,

/ŋa/ I (1st Person), /khyo/ thou (second person), /phei/ he, she, that, /di/ he, she, this.

Interestingly, this dialect does not favour the phenomenon of suppletivism in pronominal stems, as is attested in many Tibeto-Himalayan languages of this region.

From the point of inflection, personal pronouns fully agree with the inflectional patterns of animate nouns, i.e., the case suffixes, post-positions added to them are the same and follow the same morphophonemic rules. In the case of number suffixes, they follow a different pattern, i.e. they follow only the suffixal pattern of plurality (for examples, see supra, p. 28).

Complete paradigms of these pronouns can be presented in the following tables.
### /ṇa/ 'I' (First Person)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>ṇa</td>
<td>ṇe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-dative</td>
<td>ṇa-la</td>
<td>ṇe-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.-Erg.</td>
<td>ṇa-so</td>
<td>ṇe-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>ṇa-na</td>
<td>ṇe-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ṇe/ṇere</td>
<td>ṇet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /khyo/ thou (2nd Person)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>khyo</td>
<td>khyeyag/khyogun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-dative</td>
<td>khyo-la</td>
<td>khyeyag-la/khwagun-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag./Erg.</td>
<td>khyo-so</td>
<td>khyeyag-so/khwagun-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>khyo-na</td>
<td>khyeyag-na/khwagun-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>khye</td>
<td>khye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**N.B.** A gentive suffix /-gi/ is also attested with stems /khoran/ and /choran/ as in /khoran-gi/ his, and /choran-gi/ their.

### /di/ this (Third Person)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>di-yag/digun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-dative</td>
<td>di-la</td>
<td>di-yag-la/di-gun-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.-Erg.</td>
<td>di-so</td>
<td>di-yag-so/di-gun-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>di-na</td>
<td>di-yag-na/di-gun-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>di-se</td>
<td>di-yag-se/di-gun-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>di-na/-naṇ-na</td>
<td>di-yag-na/di-gun-na/-naṇna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jad Dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>Sq.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>phei-yag/phei-gun</td>
<td>phei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. dative</td>
<td>phei-yag-la/phei-gun-la</td>
<td>phei-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag./Erg.</td>
<td>phei-yag-so/phei-gun-so</td>
<td>phei-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>phei-yag-na/phei-gun-na</td>
<td>phei-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>phei-yag-na/phei-gun-na</td>
<td>phei-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Demonstrative Pronoun**

The third person pronominal stems represent the demonstrative pronouns as well, which are used for 'pointing out' a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In this these are attested as /di/ 'this' and /phei/ 'that'.

Besides the pronominal stems, these very stems are used as adjectival stems as well. However, as pronominal stems these are regularly inflected for all numbers and cases, whereas when used as adjectives these do not undergo any inflection either for the number of the case of the noun head qualified by them.

In a syntactic string whether a particular stem is to be treated as a personal pronoun or as a demonstrative pronoun or as an adjective can be ascertained from the context and from its syntactic position only, i.e., when there is definite pointing out or modification of noun head, then they are to be taken as demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, and when they merely substitute a noun head then they are to be treated as personal pronouns. In a direct communication demonstrative pronouns are usually accompanied with kinetics as well, that is, pointing out with gestures.

/di ñere dhiñsa hin/ This is my home (pron.)

/di tu ñe aino hot/ this boy is my brother (adj.).
Interrogative Pronoun

This class of pronouns is used for enquiring about some one or some thing. There are three interrogative stems in it, viz., /su~so/ who?, /či/ what?, /kāa/ which one?, e.g. khe ēnola so ṭda/ who was with you?; /khyo sula ket gyaeda/ whom were you calling for?; /di či hōt/ what is this?; /phei kāa ṭu dō/ which one was the boy?.

In this, the term for 'which, normally occurs as a modifier and as such is not inflected for any number or case, but the other two are inflected for all cases, though for the singular number only, e.g. /su la/ to whom?, /su-so/ by whom?, /sula/ for whom?.

/soi-na/ from whom?, /soi-dō/ of whom, whose?; Similarly, /či-la/, /či-so/, /či-na/ etc.

/di-se min či ṭnda/ what is his name?
/di nāse-na či ṭeda/ what is there in this pot?
/phei kāa pagze ṭdō/ which one was that basket?

Indefinitive Pronouns

Pronouns of this class refer to an unknown or unidentified person or thing. As in other languages, in this too these are formed with interrogative stems by adding various suffixes to them, e.g.

/či-bena/ any thing, /čiona/ any thing, /gehincik/ some, /so~su/ whoever, /sure/ any one.

Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns substitute and refer to a noun or pronoun which is, as a rule, the logical subject of the sentence. In it reflexive pronouns are formed by adding /-ṛṇa/ to the pronominal bases of respective persons. In 3rd person, however, the suffixal base is supplemented by /ṛkho/. Thus we have /ṛa/ I/>ṛaraṇa/ myself; /ṛet/ we/>ṛerēn/ ourselves, /ṛkho/ you/>ṛyorṇa/ yourself; /phei/ that, /di/ he, she etc, /ṛkhorṇa/
himself etc.: /khye/ you (pl.)/khyerən/ yourselves; /khyerən/ themselves.

Relative Pronouns

As in other languages of this group, in this too there are no separate stems for relative pronouns. Usually, the interrogative and demonstrative pronouns are employed to serve the purpose of relative pronouns as well, or in most of the cases it is left out too:

/su o'na, hodi do'go hot/ who ever comes, he has to go,
/khyu či gona, to hin/ I will give, whatever you ask for.

ADJECTIVES

As in other languages of this group in this too, adjectives belong to that class of words which qualify a noun or pronoun or intensify the meaning of another adjective. Structurally, these belong to the indeclinable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic function, they are treated as a separate class of words. Structurally, these can be classified as pronominal and non-pronominal. The former are used attributively and the latter predicatively.

Pronominal Adjectives

There are two types of them, (1) Possessive and (2) Demonstrative. These may be illustrated as under:

(1) Possessive Pronominal Adjectives: These adjectives, besides the personal pronominal stems are formed from reflexive stems as well by suffixing -/re/ to them, as in /nə ʒare/ my; /khyo khyore/: you your; /di khore/ he his; /phei khore/ he his; /yokpo khore/ the servant his: /nəi mese yul/ my maternal uncle's village; /nere ʒhaŋsa/ our home; /khe tu/ thy son.

/dise kəŋpa/ his house; /nət nere laha chasər/ we have done our work.
/phei khore konzade khorə ʔhuok/ he himself washes his clothes.

(2) *Demonstrative Pronominal Adjectives*: /di ta/ ‘this horse’, /phei ta/ ‘that horse’. Moreover, adjectives belonging to this class can be termed as distinguishing too, because these distinguish a person or thing from another person or thing, e.g., in an utterance like /di ta/ ‘this horse’ the qualifier /di/ distinguishes the /ta/ ‘horse’ from other horses.

**Non-Pronominal Adjectives**

The non-pronominal adjectives which either denote a quality such as good, bad, black, red, etc., or quantity, such as enough, plenty, much etc. or number, such as some, few, many, four, five etc. or some state or condition, such as sad, jolly, cold, hot, etc. may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of the noun head qualified by them. Morphologically, these belong to non-variable class, i.e., are not inflected either for the number or for the case form of the noun head qualified by them and structurally these belong to the class of predicative adjectives. As such, normally, follow the noun head qualified by them.

*Formation of Adjectives*: Adjectives are both radical and derived. Radical adjectives are mono-morphemic, but derived are poly-morphemic.

Some of the most frequently used radical adjectives are—

**Derived Adjectives**

A few examples of the derived adjectives are as under:

(i) -bo— /son-bo/ alive, /ʔriŋ-bo/ long, /bot-bo/ loose, /mya-bo/, poor, /zaŋ-bo/ pure, /nəŋ-bo/ sharp, /jam-bo/ soft, /ʔabo/ thin, /təŋ-bo/ honest, /chaŋ-bo/ complete, /chabo/ great, big, /khyoŋ-bo/ cruel, hard,
/thon-bo/ high, /ser-bo/ yellow, /kha-gyê-bo/ old (man),
/mhan-bo/ blue, /bom-bo/ fat.

(ii) -ba — /ñîñ-ba/ old, /nag-cho-ba/ dark, /cik-ba/ similar.
/cha-ba/ warm, /ho-ba/, /wet, /yon-ba/ left.

(iii) -ma — /sañ-ma/ clean.

(iv) -mu — /lañ-mu/ cold, /lañ-mu/ beautiful (f.), /ñar-mu/
sweet.

(v) -mo — /yañ-mo/ light in weight, /kha-gyen-mo/ old
(woman).

(vi) -po — /la-po/ thin, watery, /mêñ-po/ many, /cik-po/
alone

(vii) -ho/ha — /kaho/ difficult, /la-ho/ beautiful (m). /ya-ha/
right side.

(viii) -gu — /chegu/ salted < /cha/ salt.

(ix) -a — /jhigriya/ afraid < /jhigri/ fear.

(x) -keru — /señkeru/ kind.

(xi) -Reduplication — /kir-kir/ round, /cê-m-cêm/ quiet,
/cok-cok/ a small one, /kale kale/ slow.

Placement of Adjectives

In it, like Tibeto-Burman, all qualifiers, except pronominal
adjectives, are used predicatively, e.g., /aino ñi/ brothers two,
/aino mêñpo/ brothers many, /tiñmu cig/ sister one, /tiñmu
sumu/ sister three, /mi cêm/ men how many?, /phitiñ cogda/
children small, /minda gyêt-gu/ (about) persons eight-nine.

In a noun phrase containing more than one modifier, the
sequential order of different classes of modifiers is like this.

(i) Adjective of quality or quantity precedes the numeral
modifier, e.g., /ciu čok-čok cig/ a small bird (=bird-small-
small-one): /khi nagpo-cig/ a black dog (=dog-black-one).

(ii) In case of more than one descriptive adjective, the one
denoting colour precedes others, as in /naso khi nagpo chobo
cig thon/ I saw a big black dog (=I dog-black-big-one saw),
/thok têro ciu meru cok-cokie dhedberok/ small red birds are seated on the roof (=bird red-small-small).

(iii) Similarly, in case of adjectives indicating definiteness and indifiniteness, the former type proceeds the latter type, as in /ŋa laha ghāsin ce besum ūtak/ I want to do some good work (=work-good-some/any).

(iv) However, in case of an intensifier it precedes the numeral modifier and follows the descriptive modifier, as in /ŋaso khi nagpo māŋpo cig thoŋ/ I saw a very black dog.

Degrees of Comparison: As in the case with many I.A and T.B. languages, in it too the comparison of degrees of adjectives is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object being compared in the nominative case, along with the term /sana/ prepositioned to the modifier, e.g. /hyoksi sin̄ga de temasina sana chea dok/ The lower field is bigger than the upper field; /ŋenapaŋ-na khe-sa-nal sinīga nithet h3t/ we have double the land than that you have. In case of comparison amongst more than two objects, i.e., in the superlative degree, the particle of comparison, viz. /rop-sana/ ‘from all’ is prepositioned to the modifier in question: /hyuŋma sinīgade rop-sana cheo/ The middle field, (is) the biggest. /ai chesokna ropsana sinīga ma hot/ The elder brother has more than all. However, according to Grierson III, I. 99 the particle of comparison is /səŋ/ as in /ti-a-co tin-mo səŋ chungun rin-bo tuk/ his brother is taller than his sister.

Agreement with the Noun Head: As pointed out above, in it adjectives do not show any agreement with the noun head qualified by them:

/tu ghāsin/ good boy; /pō ghāsin/ good girl.
/ta sao/ lame horse; /thio sao/ lame mare.
/khi nagpo/ back dog; /khimo nagpo/ black bitch.
/tu bombo/ fat boy; /pō bombo/ fat girl.

Even in case of pronominal adjectives there is no agreement with number of the noun head in a colloquial speech:
/di ta keru hɔt/ this horse is white, /di-ta mɔŋ po keru hɔt/ these are white horses. /ne tiⁿmu ci'g hɔt/ I have a sister; /ne tiⁿ-mu sum hɔt/ I have three sisters.

NUMERALS

Numerals are a sub-category of adjectives. In it the formal sub-classes of this class of adjectives are—(1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multipliers, (6) Approximatives.

Cardinals: The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'twenty' are as follows:


From the above it is evident that forms of the numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic and from eleven to twenty poly-morphemic, which are formed by combining the appropriate allomorphs for the term 'ten' as its first component and those of one to nine as the second component, but in the case of 'twenty' the order of the components is reversed, i.e., it become two x ten /ŋi/ two into /cu/¬/su/ ten.

In these forms the notable morphophonemic change is that the morpheme /cu/ is rewritten as /co/ before the components, /rok/ six, /bdun/ seven, /gyāt/ eight, /rgu/ nine, and as /ca/ before, /ŋa/, and as /su/ after /ŋi/. Similarly, the component /cig/ becomes /šiɡ/ when combined with /cu/.

Like other languages of this group it follows the decimal system of counting. Consequently, numerals above ten are formed by compounding the terms from one to nine to terms for 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90. Moreover, in this system the terms for the decades of 20, 30, etc. too, are formed by combining the terms for numerals for 2-9 and for 10, as the first and the second component of them, e.g.
The numerals indicative of different decades further undergo various types of morphophonemic changes when combined with numerals from 1-9 to form the series of respective decades. In this, a full syllable, representing the initial sound of the term for the decade concerned, is infixed between the full term for the decade and the term for the succeeding numeral, except in the series of thirty and sixty. This may be illustrated by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Infixed Syllable</th>
<th>Full Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sumzu/</td>
<td>/zi-bzu/</td>
<td>/sum-zi-bzu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zi-bzu/</td>
<td>/sum-zi-bzu/</td>
<td>/sum-zi-bzu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zi-bzu/</td>
<td>/sum-zi-bzu/</td>
<td>/sum-zi-bzu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zi-bzu/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zi-bzu/</td>
<td>/sum-zi-bzu/</td>
<td>/sum-zi-bzu/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals for hundred series are formed by using the term for 1-9 preceded by the term for hundred, viz, /gya/ as in /gya sum/ three hundred, /gya-bzi/ four hundred.

Numerals above the series of hundred figures are formed by adding the specific numeral to the specific hundred numeral, joined by the additive particle /na/ as in /gya sum na /nisu/ three hundred and twenty.

Higher numeral terms like thousand, ten thousand, and lakh are seldom needed by common folk. In case a necessity either the Tibetan terms /tuñ, ðhi, bum/ or the I.A. terms /hazar, dāš hazar, lakh/ etc. are used.

Ordinals: The use of ordinals is not common among the speakers of it. These terms are formed by adding the I.A. formative suffix /wā/ to the numeral in question, except for 'one' which is the same as for cardinal numeral, e.g., /gyama/ 1, /nīwā/ second, /sum-wā/ third, /zī-wā/ fourth, /nawā/ fifth, etc.
**Aggregative:** This class of numerals denotes the number of persons or things together or collectively. In it the aggregatives are formed by suffixing a formative particle \(/\text{gi}r/\) to the numerals above two, e.g., \(/\text{sum-gi}r/\) all the three, \(/\text{na-gi}r/\) all the five. The term for both is \(/\text{nu}n/\) or \(/\text{nakh}r/\).

**Multiplicatives:** This class of numerals denotes multiplicity of things in terms of 'times' or 'folds'. In it these are obtained by adding the terms \(/\text{thet}/\) to the number in question, as in \(/\text{ni-thet}/Two\text{ times, }/\text{sum }\text{thet}/\text{three times}; /\text{lhem-gya/ again, second time, }/\text{thembacig/ once, }/\text{cik-po/ single.}

**Fractionals:** The commonly used fractionals in it are—\(/\text{paw}/1\text{ four, }/\text{phed}/1\text{ two, }/\text{saw}/1-1/4, \text{etc. Moreover to express any full and a half number, the term for 'half', viz. }/\text{phed/ is pre-fixed to the next higher numeral in question, as in }/\text{pher-a-ni/ one and a half; }/\text{phura-n sum/ two and a half, etc.}

**Approximative:** The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral followed by \(/\text{zam}/'about', as in \(/\text{ga}n\text{bo }\text{nisuzam/ about rupees twenty, etc.}

Besides approximative phrases are also formed by using a set of two numerals in a consecutive or a random order, as in \(/\text{phero mina gy}t\text{-gu zam dok/ there were nearly 8-9 persons.}

**VERBAL SYSTEM**

The verbal system of this dialect is quite simple. For, the verb roots attest minimum inflection for numbers and persons in various tenses and moods.

**Classification of Verb Roots**

Structurally, verb roots in it belong to two categories, viz., primarily, and compound. Though most of the verb roots are primarily ones, yet there are some which belong to the other category as well. Moreover, on the basis of casal forms taken by them for their subject or object or on the basis of syntactic distinction of having a second noun /pronoun
other than the noun/pronoun serving as their subject, as the legitimate object of the verb concerned, these roots can be classified as transitive and intransitive as well.

The most distinguishing feature of transitive and intransitive verbs in it is that the subject of the transitive class of verbs when in the past tense is invariably placed in the ergative case, whereas that of the intransitive class of verbs is placed in the nominative/direct case.

Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may be a few verb roots which are called verbs of incomplete prediction, i.e., requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in /di nere dhañsa hin/ this is our home; /ne tinmu cig hot/ I have a sister, /ne nua sok do/ my brother is ill.

**Primary**: In this dialect, most of the roots are primary ones, e.g., /thoñ/- to see, /kum/- to bring, /be/- to do, /thuñ/ to drink, /te/- to give, /do/- to go, /ñññn/- to hear, /so/- to kill, /jum/- to catch /mug/- to cut, bite, /dhuñ/- beat, /te/- flow, /khør/- carry, /deb/- change, /da/- chew, /tob/- close, /cho/- cook, /pha/- find, /phur/- fly, /the/- float, /lob/- learn, /liê/- say, /go/- laugh, /dag/- lick, /log/- open, /ðhe/- slip, /kel/- raise, /se/- play, /yog/- throw, /kon/- wear, /dhi/- ask, /dig/- add.

**Compound Verbs**: Normally, languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour the use of compound verbs, yet these are not totally wanting too, though the number of verbal roots forming a compound stem is not more than two, of which the first is the main and the second a subsidiary and all grammatical categories are carried by the final constituent itself. /ro robja/ to assist, /khol doñ na/ to boil, /chob-chob/ to twinkle, /ðhu-yag/- to take bath, /udi gyag/- to blow, /ked gyag/- to call, /gyêb la šuk/- to chase, to follow, /sea also/ to dance /o'-te/ to kiss, /lu loñ/- to sing (=to speak song), /deba-dhi/- to sneeze, /chiä yog/- to spit (=to throw spittle), /lêb-tov/- to speak (=to produce sound), /ca lagyag/ to swim (=swimming do), /nâkel/- to swear (=to take swearing),
/toblak ŋan-/ to taste (to have taste), /kuma kuya/ to steal, /log-yal-/ to trust.

Verbs Compounded with Nouns and Adjectives

The device of compounding certain nouns and adjectives with certain verb stems, to express a single verbal concept, too, is attested in it, e.g. /ō teja/ to kiss < /ō/ a kiss; /sob-gyaja/ to tell a lie < /sob/ a lie; /toblak ŋanja/ to taste < /toblak/ taste; /kuma kuya/ to steal < /kuma/ theft; /to laŋsa/ to be angry < /to/ anger, /rorobja/ to assist < /rorob/ assistance /ked gyagya/ to call < /ked/ sound, a call; /log doŋja/ to return, to come back.

The Jad dialect has only a few verbal aspects in which the use of compound verbs is attested, they are (i) past perfect, as in /te soŋ/ gave away; /lhepson/ had come; /ŋuson/ broke to tears; /chak-syor soŋ/ broken away; (ii) present perfect, as in /chosɔɾ/ have finished (eating); /charsɔɾ/ has done; (iii) compulsive aspect, as in /dogo cuŋ soŋ/ had to go, /dogo hot/ has to go, /gyogo hot/ has to write; /ongo lyon/ will have to come; (iv) presumptive, as in /saeŋho/ may be eating, /socharja hot/ may have eaten; (v) desiderative, as in /dhisum Ńak/ want to go, /be sum Ńak/ want to do; (vi) continuative — as in /zoin casoŋ/ continued cooking, /sain casoŋ/ continued eating; (vii) habitual action — /saindojok/ eats, /bejok/ does, etc.

Transitivization: Unlike other languages of this group, in this there is some inbuilt system of deriving transitive stems from intransitive stems or vice-versa by modifying the verbal stems as we notice in Indo-Aryan languages, (as in bEθhanā to sit: bEθhānā to make to sit, Sonā to sleep : Sulānā to make to sleep). But there are some radical roots as well which are either transitive or intransitive, e.g. /do/ to go: /toŋ-/ to send; /thonja/ to see: /donja/ to show; /ʃenja/ to listen; /lojja/ to tell; /šija/ to die; /soja/ to kill; /bhoɾj/ to burn (intrans.); /porja/ to kindle; /til/ to fall; /yub-/ to fell.

But there are some other devices belonging to phonetic changes as well, as in /kilja/ to stop (Intrans.); /khilja/ to
stop (trans.); /ñelja/ to sleep; /ñolja/ to make to sleep; /cak-ja/ to be broken: /cog-ja/ to break; /thoñ-/ to see; /doñ-/ to show, /jyar-/ to stick (Intrans.); /cor-/ to stick, to paste; /suya/ to melt itself /jhuya/ to melt; /kam-ja/ to be dry; /komba/ to make dry.

**Verbal Conjugation:** In it, a verb is conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspects. In these languages a verb is; normally not conjugated for voice categories, for in the colloquial speech no favour is shown for the use of passive or impersonal constructions. Rather all expressions relating to passive or impersonal voices are transformed into the structure of an active voice.

From the point of temporal conjugation too, there is no clear distinction for the present, past and future tense. Similarly, from the point of aspects (i.e., denotation of the nature of action) the verb stems show a distinction between perfect and non-perfect only, there being no distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects of it. Both of them are freely expressed with the forms of non-progressive aspect alone.

**Sub-systems:** The verbal conjugation of this attests the following types of sub-systems, having their respective conjugational patterns. These are (1) Affirmative, (2) Negative (3), Causative. Of these the range of affirmative sub-system is the widest one.

**Affirmative sub-system:** Under this system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood of it may be presented as follows:

**Mechanism of tense formation:** In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of respective temporal suffixes, along with number and person markers. As such, the normal order of various constituents in a finite verb form is: root + tense marker, ± person and
number suffixes. In some cases the root is partially replaced in the past tense forms.

**Person-number suffixes:** Though in principle a verbal stem is expected to be inflected for 6 forms (i.e., 3 person x 2 numbers) in all the tenses, yet in actual usages a formal distinction is available for 4 forms only (Third person (1) + Second person (1) + first person (2)), there being no distinct forms for the plural numbers in 2nd and 3rd persons. As such the semantic connotation of person and number is determined by the subject of the verb in question, as in /phei sao/ he eats: /pheigun sao/ they eat; /khyo so/ thou eatest: /khyegun so/ you eat; Similarly, /phei soson/ he ate; /pheigun soson/ they ate; /phei sando/ he will eat; /pheigun sando/ they will eat; /khyo sanma/ you (sg.) will eat: /khyegun sanma/ you will eat.

**Temporal conjugation:** (Indicative Mood): All transitive and intransitive verbs, including the verb substantives are inflected for various temporal and non-temporal categories in it, but in a non-formal speech there is no strict adherence to the use of various temporal conjugations, both for tense and aspect. Consequently, present and future and indefinite and continuous tense forms are indiscriminately used for their continuous or habitual tense forms. Various forms and functions of temporal conjugations in the indicative mood may be presented as follows:

**Verb substantive:** The Jad dialect employs as many as five verb roots to serve the purpose of verb-substantive. These are -/hin/, /hot/, /tu/, /du/, /-ru/. These equational verb forms act as copulative verb forms as well. Some of these occur in complementary distribution and others seem to occur in free variation.

The verb root /hin/ indicates a definitive or assertive sense, as in /di ŋere ḍhanaśa-hin/ this is our home, /di ŋei mêse yul hin/ this is my maternal grand father’s village; /hot/—It is a general term indiscriminately used for all tenses and numbers, besides the sense of ‘to be’ it also conveys the sense
of 'to have': /khye tu kana hót/ where is your son?, /ña cikpo hót/ I am alone, /ñe țunmu sum hót/ I have three sisters. It also conveys the sense of Hindi idiom /hota hE/ as in /dise lok čm hōdā/ how many goats has he? (hoti hE), /phei yul-na mi čm hōdā/ how many persons live in that village (=hote hē)? The verb roots /ta-ða/ have a double character. These are used both as verb substantives and auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions, e.g, /ña togre ťak/ I have hunger— I am hungry, /phei teja ţok/ he used to give (=Hindi—detā thā); /goze hogāndo/ he lives (=rōhta hE), /doze hogānda/ they live, /phei do/ he was; /phei kāa pagze do/ which one was the basket? /khye ŋāola hin soď da/ who was the other with you?

Various forms of the verb-substantives available in this dialect are:

Present: /hót/ (1st, 2nd, 3rd persons, all numbers, general) and /hin/ (definitive).

Past tense: /do-ða/ (all persons and numbers) or 'to become';
/tag cig hogāndo/ There was a tiger (=Hindi-hotā thā)

Future—(as in present or /honda/ will become)
e.g. /ña nańmu doro hót/ I shall be here tomorrow (lit. I am here tomorrow).

/khyo sya ghārna gāsin chańonda/ he will become well in a few days.

/沌da/ to become /dise min ci 沌da/ what is his name?, lit.what becomes his name (Hindi—kyā hotā hE).

/chań/- to become: /ña gyōbo chań Chun/ I have become old; /khyo gyōbo chańbōro/ thou have become old; /phei gyōbo chańchuń/ he has become old. In other tenses its forms are attested as:
/tag cig' ogendo/ there was a lion; /phei khogyabo chanbora/ he had become old, /na sok lajuñ/ I had become ill, /kho g'asun cha konda/ he will be (come) alright.

Finite Verbs

A finite verb form, in it, exhibits grammatical categories of tense, aspects and moods. The markers of these categories used with number-person markers are directly affixed to the verb stem. A structural analysis of these forms in all the tenses and moods may be presented in the following paragraphs.

Present Indefinite

In this dialect the present tense of a finite verb, besides the indefinite or indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action in progress which may be technically termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action or an action of universal character. Verb forms, however, do not attest any distinction for the number categories. It is indicated by the number of the subject itself.

In this dialect the inflectional base for these forms is the bare root itself to which are suffixed the number, person and tense markers.

3rd person: The markers of the 3rd person are /ok, -jok, -rok/, as in /saok/ he eats, /berok/ he does, /phorok/ it flies, /bejok/ he does, /dok/ is going or goes, /tejok/ he gives (most-lyoccurring in free variations), as in /teok~tejok/, /beok~berok~bejok/ etc.) But, besides the indefinite the forms of present continuous are also used for it.

2nd person: The tense person marker of the second person is /ema/ which is often either left out in favour of 3rd person form or is represented by -e alone, e.g. /khyo beyema/ you do, /thuema/ you drink, /tae/ you give. Besides, in a
colloquial speech it is expressed with continuous forms, as in /khyokā-ro dojida/ where do you live; /khyo kuna-so wāida/ where are you coming from?

Ist Person: The tense person markers of the first person are-/gen, /n/ and /ē (en)/, as in /ηe byagōn/ we do, /ηa san/ I eat, /ηa thuē/ I drink, /ηe sain/ we eat, /ηe tea (> tya) gōn/ we give.

Present Continuous

Normally, the speakers of this dialect do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous, However, the continuous aspect is expressed with the help of the auxiliary /dok/ added to the present participle form of the principal verb, or of the verb /yogja/, e.g., /di digun dozid /he, they live, but /doze ogendok/ is living, /doze ogenda/ are living, /coje āndok/ is chopping off, cutting, /phorje ogendox is flying. also /bejok is doing, are doing, /ηa ḍhāśala lokde/ I am going home, /di ḍok/ she is going /thuē ogentok/ are drinking. These forms are also used to express the habitual aspect, e.g., /phei yaktān saindojok/ he is in the habit of eating (again and again). The universal present is expressed by adding /hin/ to the infinitive of the verb concerned, as in /ca? de me-la takna chande ḍhāña hin/ iron become hot on having pnt on the fire.

Present Perfect

Present perfect is not a distinct conjugational category in it. Normally, it is expressed with simple past tense, because, this dialect does not make any distinction between present perfect and simple past. However, if necessary it can be affected by adding /sār/ to the main verb root or by using the past participle form of the verb in question or by simple past tense:

/tesonə/ has given, /ā sebduň sosār/ I have taken meals, /net āre laha charsār/ we have finished our work; /āa huthok bāre tak/ I am tired; /khyoso di ēi cabāre/ what have you done this?, /sak cām poswā/ how many days have passed?, /chakṣyorson/ is broken; /syorson/ has become; /ā taň-la naso charsār/ I have already finished it.
**Static Present**

The static present or the present prefect continuous is expressed either with present continuous or with past participle form of the main verb:

/pāṅero ciu cīg ded b/ rok/ a bird is seated on the tree.

/digun ṭāṅmula laha bejok/ they have been working in the cold.

/siṅgaya naṅ-la čhu khinb̥rokg/ water is filled in the fields.

**Past Indefinite:** Like present indefinite, the past indefinite too, besides the usual denotation of indefinite/indicative sense, denotes an action in progress in the past as well. The past tense forms are obtained by adding the past formative /son/ 'went' to the root of the verb in question:

/thoṅ son/ saw < /thoṅja/ to see; /te son/ gave < /teja/ to give; /ḍhi-son/ asked < /ḍhija/ to ask; /lhep-son/ come; /nu-son wept; /syorson/ fell down, /pheī hīc cīg silson/ he read a letter.

Besides, the simple verb stem also is used to express the sense of the past tense, as in /naso cīg thoṅ/ I saw a dog, /laha charsaso sebdun so/ (we) ate food after having finished the work, /naso su-la lab/ to whom did I say?, /nā ton/ I drank, /nā niṅ/ I wept. In many cases The /n/ is realized as mere nasality as well, as in /tō/-/ton/.

In the second person, however, the formative /ma/ is also attested instead of /son/ as in /khyo sōma/ you ate, /khyo tō ma/ you drank, etc.

Past tense forms are also employed to convey the sense of completion of an action in the immediate past or even in the present, usually expressed by present perfect, /pheiso khoṛe tu-la rhesaṅ-la te-son/ he has given his child to the beggar.

According to Grierson the most usual form of the past is the verbal noun ending in pa, as in sub-ba said, (III.I.99), but in our data we could not come across such a constructions.
Instead, the periphrastic construction with /son/ is the most usual form currently-attested in modern expressions.

**Past Continuous:** Normally, as in the present tense in the past tense too, the indefinite itself serves the purpose of the continuous as well, as in /khyo kānasə wāīda/ where were you coming from?, /di khoraŋ cikpoī-lhepson/ he was coming alone. But if specification is necessary then it can be affected with the help of participles; /pheigun khoraŋ naŋ-la ḍugpa gadin deson/ they remained fighting among themselves.

/khyo so-la ked gyaeda/ whom were you calling for? (<gyaet-a).

/phei sebdun zoĩ cason, pheigun sain cason/ he continued cooking, they continued eating.

**Habitual Past:** This aspect is expressed with simple past tense forms or with the help of verb substantives, added to the participle form of the main verb,

/ṇet saktaē khoe ḍhānasa-ro hōed/ we used to visit their home daily;

/teja tok/ used to give; /thuēndo/ used to drink, was in the habit of drinking; /sao/ used to eat: /beje/ used to do, was in the habit of doing.

**Past Perfect:** The past perfect is identical with immediate past in which the completion of the action in question is affected, even with bare stem, as in /ṇa thun/ I drank, I had drunk.

**Future Tense:** The normal function of future tense forms is to state some thing about an action or state that has yet to take place or to come into being. But in this dialect it, besides denoting the sense of absolute future or progress of an action taking place in future, also denotes the sense of optative and of the subjunctive moods, including possibility or conditional aspect of an action taking place in future.

Normally, the inflectional base of the future indefinite is the
bare root itself to which are affixed the future marker /-n, -na, hin/ which include person-number markers as well.

/go, khyola ten/ wait, I will give to you as well.
/khyo či gona, te hin (tej hind)/ I will give, whatever you will ask for.
/su' onna, hodi dogo hod/ who comes, he will go.

Person wise formative suffixes of this tense are:

3rd Person—/-ndo/ and /gāndo/ : /sando/ will eat, /byagāndo/ will do, /thuṅndo/ will drink, /tyagando/ will give.

2nd Person—/nma/ and /gān-ma/ : /sanma/ will eat, /byagānma/ will do, /thoncma/ will drink. /tyagānma/ will give.

1st Person—/-n/ and /-gān/—/san/ will eat, /byagān/ will do, /thonc/ will drink, /tyagnā/ will give.

The sense of future tense is also expressed with the present tense forms, as in /pheigun nanmu honza hin/ they are to come tomorrow (=they will come tomorrow).

Also /di honjana tene ghāsind 'onja hot/ had he come (lit. if he will come), then so nice it would have been.

Passive Sub-system: Grammatically, the passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer, but as acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject is not the logical subject, i.e., the doer, but the logical object, the person or thing towards which/whom the action is directed. In view of this the passive voice is, naturally restricted to transitive verbs only.

Like other languages of this group this too, does not favour passive constructions. For, in these languages the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative/agentive case is enough to convey the passive sense. Consequently, utterances like /phei sao/ convey the meaning 'he eats' as well as
'eating is done by him'. As such in these languages all expressions of other languages having a passive structure are rendered as in active voice with their subject in the ergative case. As a result of this a sentence like whatever is asked by you, will be given by us' will be rendered as 'whatever you will ask, we will give,' as in /khyo či gone, tehin/ whatever you ask for, we will give.

**Impersonal Voice:** Contrary to passive voice the impersonal voice is restricted to intransitive verbs. It is always in the neutral construction, as such the verb is always in the 3rd person Sg. number. For, it has either no subject at all, or if there is one, it is represented as able or unable to perform the action denoted by the verb. As such in these languages Hindi sentences like /tum se cola nōhī jata/ ‘walking is not possible by you’ (lit. it can not be walked by you) will be rendered as ‘you can not walk’ /khyo khỳānī nhusa mōn/ or /nā dod nui metak/ I can not sit.= (Hindi /-mē bEṭh nōhī sōkta/).

**Causative Sub-system:** Since, causing something to be done is an action which must be directed towards some body, all causative verbs are invariably transitive. As has already been pointed out in the context of transitivization that there is no inbuilt mechanism for deriving secondary roots from the primary roots, transitive, or intransitive in it, so the possibility of deriving causative roots, too, is ruled out. The purpose of the causative is served by the distinct transitive verb itself. Moreover, the languages of this group do not favour the use of the second causative at all.

/di laha bejok/ he does work.
/di tu-na laha bechok/ he gets the work done by the child.
/phītīŋ ā-se nua thuē ogāndok/ Children drink mother's milk.
/ā phityak-la nua thunja teo/ mother gives to drink milk to the children.
Also /thunja/ to see: /doŋja/ to show; /ṭuja/ wash; /ṭulja/ make to wash.
However, if necessary the causative forms can be obtained by appending respective tense-number person forms of the verb /teja/ ‘to give’ or /labja/ ‘to say’ to forms of the verb concerned, as in ‘the child does the work’ (affirmative) ‘he askes the child to do the work’ (causative), ‘he eats’: ‘he gives him to eat’ (causative) /thuŋja/ to drink: /thuŋja teja/ to make to drink (lit. gives to drink).

*Negative Sub-system:* In this dialect all verbal forms undergo various types of morpho-phonemic changes when used with the negative particle to negate the action of the verb concerned. Structurally, it is infixed between the verb stem and the tense-person markers, e.g., /phei do/ he is: /phei məndo/ he is not; /ŋa byagən/ I will do: /ŋa me bet/ I will not do; /ŋa tyagən/ I will give: /ŋa metet/ I will not give; /kae/ give: /matet/ do not give; /ŋa thō/ (</thuŋ/ I drank: /ŋa thuŋ met (</thuŋe/) I did not drink;

/befandok/ he will be able to do: /beja mendok/ he will not be able to do;

/ŋa benu/ I can do: /ŋa be-me-ŋu/ I can not do.

**Models of Verbal Conjugations**

/saja/ to eat

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### Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>byagândo</td>
<td>byagânma</td>
<td>byagân</td>
<td>ce-e</td>
<td>Neg.—ma bet</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/teja/ to give</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Sg. /pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>teok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>taye (ma)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ist</td>
<td>tyagân</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>1st</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tejuñ (tesoñ)</td>
<td>tejuñ</td>
<td>tet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Jad Dialect

#### Future
- 3rd: tyagendo
- 2nd: tyagənma
- 1st: tyagən
- Imp.: kae

Neg. --ma tet /thun-ja/ to drink

#### Present
- Sg. /pl.
  - 3rd: thuęk
  - 2nd: thuyēma
  - 1st: thuyē

#### Past
- 3rd: thuŋsoŋ /thōsoŋ
- 2nd: thuŋma/thōma
- 1st: thuŋ/thō

#### Future
- 3rd: thuŋəndo
- 2nd: thuŋənma
- 1st: thuŋən/thuŋən
- Imp.: thuŋ

Neg—ma thuŋ /ňuya/ to weep

- Present 3rd—ňuok 2nd—ňuo 1st—ňui
- Past—3rd—ňujoŋ 2nd ńuma 1st—ńu:
- Fut. 3rd—ňuyahin 2nd—ňuđən 1st—ńuđən
- Imp. ńu Neg.—mańu

### Moods and Aspects

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are some other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only partial
inflection of verbal stems for a particular mood or mental state of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

As such modal conjugation deals with the inflectional forms of a verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition etc. The three types of moods which are normally attested in these languages are—indicative, imperative and subjunctive, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the indicative mood have already been detailed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the remaining two.

*Imperative Mood:* Imperative mood is that form of a verb which expresses an action as an order, a polite command, a request, a warning, prohibition etc. In this type of expressions, the subject is the second person pronoun honorific or non-honorific, and is, usually, left out. By its very nature the imperative can not refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and the future times only. But in this dialect its use is mostly confined to the present time only. Moreover, as in tense forms, in the imperative too, there is no inflection for the number.

Basically, the verb stem itself is employed to serve the purpose of it, but in some cases, besides certain morphophonemic changes, the phenomenon of suppletivism also takes place; as in /beja/ to do >/cee/ do; /teja/ to give >/kae/ give; /lōbja/ to say >/thōn/ say. Some of the imperative forms are—

/soja/ to eat >/so/, /ñelja/>ñel/ sleep, /ñolja/>ñol/ make to sleep, /loñ/ take; /thuñ/ drink; /ñu/ weep, /gōt/ laugh, /dod/ sit, /ši/ die, /sot/ kill, /go/ wait, stop, /thu/ wash, /ñon/ listen, /to/ see, /thoñ/ show, /do/ move, /ta la chu/ thod/ give water to horse; /doro hoûsa, dod/ having come here, sit down, /ña doso/ let me go.

*Prohibitive Imperative:* It is used to prohibit a person from executing an action in question, and is affected with the use of the prohibitive particle /ma/, prefixed to the imperative form
of the verb concerned, with necessary morphophonemic adjustments. In case of compound verbs, however, the imperative suffixes are appended to the auxiliary.

/s0/ eat: /mesa/ don’t eat; /ce-e/ do: /mabet/ don’t do;
/k0e/ give: /matet/ don’t give; /thuñ/ drink: /mathun/ don’t drink; /magot/ don’t laugh, /ma ŋu/ don’t weep.
/odoro hoñjade hal mazed/ don’t forget to come here.

Subjunctive Mood: The subjunctive mood and its various forms are used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as wish, hope, requirement, possibility, probability, presumption, ability, compulsion, permission, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, condition, etc. For a broader analysis all these may be grouped into four groups, viz., (1) Optative, (2) Potential, (3) Presumptive, (4) Contingent. These may be illustrated as follows:

(i) Optative: It represents the action mainly as a desire, wish, request, requirement, purpose, suposition or a possibility almost always with an implied reference to future.

/khyola phero nañhea/ you should go there.
/dila doro hoñja mawä dojendok/ he should not come here.
/ña şingaro ēsim ŋak/ I wish to go to the field.
/ña yul-ro ðoso/ (please) let me go to the village,
/ðo, ciji torä tan la ðoin/ Move, let us go a little ahead.
/ña sea ma/ may I eat?, /ña byĎjama/ May I do?
/teja-ma/ should I give? /thuñja-ma/ May~should I drink?

(ii) Potential: This mood denotes, mainly possibility of occurrence of an action with reference to the present or past. It is expressed by adding present or future tense forms of the verb substantive to the present or past participle forms of the main verb:

/kho sebduñ sae ŋho/ he may be eating.
Contingent: This mood mainly denotes a condition which is contrary to the fact. It also implies a wish which cannot be fulfilled. In this the subordinate clause takes future tense form and the main clause present indefinite.

Aspects: The forms of verb indicating the type of the character of the action etc., denoted by it are called aspects. Besides the terminate and progressive aspects discussed above, some of the other aspects of linguistic communication expressed by various verbal forms are as under:

Compulsive: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed by combining the infinitive form of the main verb with the respective tense forms of the verb substantive/ ho—/: /ña ŋare u:la hige cig gyago hôt/ I have to write a letter to my uncle; /phei:lə khore aba ŋaula ñogo hôt/ he has to go with his father; /phei:de dinaso ñogo cuñsoñ/ he had to go from here.

Desiderative: The desiderative aspect is expressed with the verb /ta-da/ ‘to be, to have; to the verbal noun form of the main verb:

/ña ŋinga-ra ñhisum ŋak/ I want to go to the field.
/di doro hoñsum dok/ he wanted to come here.

Inceptive: The inceptive sense of an expression is conveyed by simple past tense:

/di ŋela thañ caso, ŋu soñ/ she started weeping (lit. wept) on seeing us (lit. having seen us).
Abilitative: Ability or inability on the part of a doer in the performance of an action is expressed with the verb /nu-/ 'can'

/na dod nui metak/ I am unable to sit.
/khyo khyɔm nusa mɔn/ you are unable to walk.

Non-Finite Verb Forms

Besides the regular finite verb forms, which are the essential constituents of the predicate, and regularly take the tense, person, number suffixes, there are also some verb forms which are derived from verbal stems but are not inflected for the above mentioned grammatical categories. Consequently, these can not be used independently as a predicate in a sentence. In this dialect their formations are attested as under:

Infinitive: Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb predicating it of any subject. In this dialect, it is obtained by suffixing the infinitive marker to the verb root. The formative suffixes attested in this context are as follows:

In Jad dialect the infinitive marker is /ja/ which is affixed to the verb root, as in /thoŋ-ja/ to see, /khum-ja/ to bring, /khor-ja/ to carry, /tob-ja/ to close, /be-ja/ to do, /d-oja/ to dwell, /te-ja/ to give, /phurja/ to fly, /dɔb-ja/ to say, /nɔl-ja/ to sleep.

Verbal Noun: A verbal noun which usually has the force of a logical object or complement of a verb or has a semantic correlation with Acc.-dative case is formed by adding /sum/ and /go/ to the root:

/di-khenjiɔn doro hoŋ-sum dok/ he wanted to come here day before yesterday.
/na tasɔ śiŋa-ro ɬhosum ṭak/ I want to go to the field just now.
/na laha ghɔsiŋ ce be-sum ṭak/ I want to do some good work.
/go/—It is also added to the verb root.
Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand

/pheide dina-so do-go con son/ he had to to go from here.

/pheila khore aba ñaula do-go hot/ he has to go with his father.

/ña la hoñ-go lhoñ/ I will also have to come.

/hodi do-go hot/ he will have to go.

The verbal noun, in spite of functioning as a noun retains its verbal character as well, and can, therefore, take an object or complement, in the same way as a finitive verb form does:

/ña hige cig gyago hot/ I have to write a letter.

Infinitive used as a verbal noun: An infinitive can also be used as a verbal noun, and as such it can take post-positional case markers as well, particularly to express the meaning of an Acc.-dative case:

/ña sebdun sea la lok de/ I am going to eat food (=for-eating).

/ña laha beja la lok de/ I am going to do work (=for-doing).

Similarly, /teja la/ for giving, /thun-ja la/ for drinking, /šia-la/ for dying.

But Grierson (III.1.99) besides /ja/, has also noted zha and sha as verbal noun markers, as in tong-zha seeing, dung-sha beating etc.

Participles: Participles are verbal adjectives qualifying noun/pronoun, but retaining some properties of the verb. There are two kinds of participles in it, viz., present and past. But contrary to Indo-Aryan languages, in these languages the participles are not affected by the grammatical categories of the noun/pronoun qualified by them.

Present Participle: The present participle indicating a concurrent action is formed by suffixing /-in,-gin,-gea/ to the verb root: In this /-gin/ is usually followed by /cig-la/ and /-in/ by /jog-la/: /begin-cig-la/ in doing </beja/ to do, /thūgin-cig-la/ while drinking, /dogin cig-la/ sitting, /gogin-cig-la/ laughing,
/tegin cig la/ giving, also /tegea jog-la/ giving, /sain-jog-la/ while eating, Also /sain/ eating, /nüin-cig-la/< /nüin/ weeping, /gagin/ laughing, /šiĩncig-la/ dying /mi thug pagagiĩ/ quarrel- ing persons.

Past/Perfect Participle: Like present participle, the past participle also can be used as an ordinary adjective to qualify a noun. Contrary to present participle, it indicates the completed state of the action related to the term modified by it. In this dialect it is formed by suffixing different formatives to the verb base, but distribution of them is not very clear. These are:


(ii) /dana/—/ta dana/ grinded, /so-dana/ eaten, /lã-dana/ taken, /te-dana/ given, /khil-dana/ stopped.

(iii) . . . /kamo/ dried, /tũ-tuã/ washed, /ši-soũ/ dead (past).

Conjunctive Participle: The primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb or still continues in the state completed earlier. Syntactically, it is used to connect one clause with another, but the sense of the clause which contains it remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite verb is added to it. In this dialect it is obtained by suffixing /ša~šya/ to the stem of the verb: The distribution of these two allomorphs is not very clear (may be variants of the same suffix):


/ša/—/ca-ša/ having done, /te-ša/ having given, /kam-ša/ having dried, /šiša/ having died, /šeša/ having killed,
/lap-ša/ having said, /ṭhu-ša/ having washed. /doro hoňsa, dod/ having came here, sit down.

Conjunctive participle is also used in the context of two actions taking place in an uninterrupted sequence. In this case the former is placed in the conjunctive participial form and the latter in the finite verb form:

/di ńala thoń-ca-so ŋu soń/ she wept as soon as she saw me (-having seen).

/pheide mun caso, ŋi l syorsoń/ having become un-conscious, he fell down.

INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They are all termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions, they have been designated as adverbs, particles, conjunctions and interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables as attested in this dialect are as follows:

ADVERBS

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restricts it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb concerned. Syntactically, the position of an adverb or verbal modifier, in a string of the components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject according to its semantic connotation.

Symantically, all the verbal modifiers can be grouped as (i) Spatial or adverb of place and direction, (2) Temporal or adverb of time, (3) Modal or adverb of manner, (4) Intensifiers or adverb of degree.

Formation of Adverbs

The only class of adverbs which has derived category is
the adverb of place. This may be illustrated as below:

(i) by adding /-ro/ to pronominal stems (for examples see infra, adv. of place).

Adverb of Place

Some of the commonly used adverbs of place or direction are; /te-ro/ up, /yok/ under, below, /heth-ro/ near, /kā-ro/ where? /do-ro/ here, /phe-ro/ there, /pheda-ro/ outside.

Adverb of Time

The few temporal adverbs are: /tasan/ now, /tirin/ today, /nañmu/ tomorrow, /doñ/ yesterday, /phenjiñ/ day before yesterday, /ná/ day after tomorrow, /saktæ/ daily, /yaktæn/ always, again and again.

Adverb of Manner

The commonly used adverbs of this class are:

/gyoha/ quickly, /kale-kale/ slowly, /cigbo-la/ all of a sudden, suddenly, /cigpo/ lonely, /ghašiñ/ nicely, properly, /onamu/ like this, /cøm-cøm/ quietly, /lugcana/ any how.

Adverb of Degree

The number of adverbs indicating the intensity of an action or degree of another adverb modified by it, is very small. The commonly used adverbs of this class are /ozøm/ so much, as in /ña ozøm gyoha hoñ minu/ I can not come so quickly; /nømla/ enough, as in /ta khwala phod-saso nømla gehind phason/ enough time has passed now, since he went; /ciįi/ a little, as in /do ciįi torā tānla doin/ move, let us move a little ahead.

**Syntactic Order of Adverbs:** As stated above, the place of an adverb in a sentence is immediately before the finite verb, as in /gyoha chasok/ finish quickly. But when there are more than one adverbs in an utterance then they occur in a
more or less fixed order. For instance, if there are two adverbs belonging to the spatial and temporal categories then the adverb of time precedes the adverb of place, as in /phei nañ mu doro onja hin/ he will come here tomorrow; /āra dañ doro lhepsoñ/ aunt came here yesterday. In case of occurrence of more than one adverbs of the same class then the general or common term precedes the specificative term, as in /na tiriñ phiroraë ḍhañsa la lokde/ I am going home today evening. In this case the term for ‘day’ (general) precedes the term for ‘time’ (specific), further in case of adverb of manner it follows the time, but precedes the adverb of place, as in /doro gyaho oñsa, dod/ having come here quickly, sit down.

It may be interesting to note that in case of a compound verb the adverb is infixed between the principal and the auxiliary verb, /na chu-la cala ghśiñ-gyagse/ I can swim well. Here the term for ‘well’ (ghśiñ) is infix ed between the terms for ‘swim’ and ‘can’. Similarly /hu-māñpo-ṭok/ tired much.

Overlapping with Adjective: There are some adverbs, particularly, intensifiers which formly overlap with adjectives. For example, in /tu ghśiñ māñpo/ ‘a very good boy’ here the intensifier ‘very’ is an adjective because it modifies the adjective ‘good’ which in its turn modifies the noun ‘boy’, but in /na tiriñ hu-māñpo-ṭok-bōre-ṭak/ I am very much tired to day, it is an adverb which modifies the verb.

Adverb Phrase: Besides the radical and derived adverbs, the language also employs adverbial phrases to convey the adverbial sense, as in /tañ-la-na-so/ before hand, already, /nēm cok-cok/ for how long?, /ghein cok-cok/ for a long time, /cigboa-la/ at once, as soon as, /chēn tōrdē/ for the whole night, etc.

PARTICLES

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the verb or verbal phrases, there are some other types of indeclinables which
in the terminology of grammar are called: 'Particles'. On the basis of their functions and syntactic position these are grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives and interjections.

These may be illustrated as follows:

Connectives

The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin two elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. In this dialect the number of words belonging to this class is very limited. For, in many instances the purpose of a connective is served by a pause juncture itself. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative and differentiative. Structurally, these may be both monomorphemic or polymorphemic. The functions of some of these may be illustrated as under:

Additive

The additive particles or the conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences are called coordinative, and those joining one or more subordinate clauses /sentences to the principal clause/ sentence are called subordinative.

Coordinative

The coordinative particles in this dialect are: /na/ 'and', and /cila/ because; /kho na ŋa/ he and I, /ram na ŋəyam/ Ram and Shyam, /ta la sa ŋa chu thod/ give grass and water to the horse. But in many cases its function is served by a mere pause juncture as well, as in /kho tejok, ŋa thuę/ he gives (and) I drink. /da ma-bet cila ŋa soca/ don't do it, because I have done it.

Subordinative

In fact, the languages of this group do not prefer subordinative syntactic constructions. In these cases the function
of the subordinative connective is served by a pause juncture and both the sentences are put in a direct form of the narration:

/phei laok, na-la togro tak/ he said, I am hungry.
/pheiso dhison, khe tu kāna hot/ he asked, where is your son.

Alternative
The pairs of alternative particles are—/ya—ya/ either—or, /na-na/ neither—nor, placed at the head of each element linked by them, as in /ya khyo ya khe nuo/ either you or your brother, /na khyo na khe nuo/ neither your nor your brother.

Constrastive

In this dialect there is no constrastive particles of its own, as in /ṣa sebduñ so chār, pheiso tarā so ma charade bāro/ I have taken my meal, (but) he has not taken it. If necessary the Indo-Aryan loan /pēr/ is used in its place,

Conditional

In subordinative sentences there is no particle expressing conditions or ‘if’ however, the particle for ‘then’ clause is /tene/: /kho ōnna, tene ṇala ōngolhoñ/ (If) you will come, then I may also come. /laha charso, tene subduñ so /Having finished the work, meal eaten.

Emphatic Particles

In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy stress/pitch on the particular word or longer quantity of the particular syllable that marks the intended emphasis. Some times shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the same purpose. But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements too are used with them. The most commonly attested emphatic particles are—/i/ and /la/.

/digun ēdore ikha dozid/ they too live at this very place.
/go, khyo-la ten/ wait, I will give to you as well.
/odoro-i/ at that very place, /khyo-so-i khawala lab o\tho/
you alone may have said.

**Negative Particle**

As in other languages of this group, in this language too there are only two negative particles, viz., /m\n/ and /ma/, attested as /mi/ and /me/ also. Distributionally, the former negates the presence of any thing in general and the latter prohibits the execution of the action in question. The usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is immediately after the element negated by it:

/khyo khy\m nhusa m\n/ you can not walk on foot.
/\xag m\npo ma-son/ many days not passed, i.e., only a few days passed.

In case of a compound verb it is placed in between the principal and the auxiliary verb:
/di-la doro o\nza maw\ doje dok/ she should not have come here.
/\n oz\m gyo\a ho\ minu/ I can not come so quickly,
/\n kho-la l\b mijuk/ I shall not allow him to speak.
/na\mu odoro o\nzade hat-ma-z\d/ Don’t forget to come here tomorrow.

**Interrogative Particles**

In it interrogative particles are— /\ci/ if, what? whether?, /\k\na/ where?

It is placed in the beginning or at the end of the utterance:
/khe tu k\n\a h\t/ where is your son?
/khena nul c\m h\t/ how much money have you?
/dise min \ci \nda/ what is his name?
/khyoso di \ci cab \re/ what have you done this?
/khe \n\ola hin su \da/ who was the other with you.
Interjections

Interjections are complete sentences which carry the sentence intonation. In this dialect their number is not much. The commonly attested interjections are /e/, /o:/ etc.

SYNTAX

In a way, various aspects of the morphosyntactic structure have been discussed in the foregoing sections of this analysis. Here we shall briefly present them in a more or less formal way. The nature and the structure of various types of sentences in it is as under:

TYPES OF SENTENCES

Normally, like other languages of this group this language too favours simple sentences. Even ideas of complex nature are expressed through more than one simple sentence. However, if necessary these can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence /clause by means of connectors or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.

Constituents of a Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—a noun phrase, constituting the subject and its extensions, and a verb phrase, constituting the predicte. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in simple sentence is—subject, ± object + Verb. As such syntactically it belongs to the SOV group:

/ña ṭu hin/ I am a boy.
/phei sebduñ sao/ he is eating food,
/ña sok lājun/ I have become unwell.
/di: piṭyak la duā/ he beats the child.
/ṭuso pōla thoṇsoṅ/ the boy saw the girl.
In transitive constructions in which the verb has more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/ā pityak-la ńua te-ändok/ mother gives milk to the child.

/kho ta-la sa na čhu tejok/ he gives grass, and water to the horse.

**Noun Phrase:** The constituents of the subject or the noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun/pronoun 'head' or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all following it, e.g.,

/tu cig/ a boy, /tu ghsin cig/ a good boy, /ciu cig/ a bird /ciu cokcok/ a small bird, /ciu meru cokcok/ a small red bird.

**Extension of Noun-phrase:** A noun phrase is extendable in the form of case markers and various types of modifiers of the noun head which may precede or follow it. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers in a simple sentence is, more or less, fixed. Normally, these occur in this order: ± demonstrative, ± pronominal adj, ± numeral, ± intensifier, ± qualitative modifier: (for examples see p. 43). For the sequential order and agreement of these modifiers see placement of Adj.)

**Verb Phrase:** A simple verb phrase or a VP, contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries or helping verbs. In case of a simple finite verb, the VP, can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative verb it may need a complement to complete it which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb:

/kho-sao/ he eats /is eating.

/di thoŋsoŋ/ he drank /was drinking.

/ńa byagən/ I shall do.

/pehi thuẽndo(-thuŋendo)/ he used to drink.

**Components of a composite verb phrase:** The constituents of a composite verb phrase are—Principal verb stem, ± one or more full verb stem, ± aux. /helping verb. Syntactically, the
place of an aux. or helping verb is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the VP concerned.

\[\text{/phi}t\text{i}n \text{ a}se \text{ } nu\text{aa} \text{ thu}\text{e} (\text{thuve}) \text{ ogendok/} (\text{small) children drink mother's milk.}\]

\[\text{/di odoroi dosak/ let it remain here.}\]

\[\text{/\text{n}a sebdu\text{n} so s\text{ar}/ I have finished eating food.}\]

**Extension of verb phrase:** A verb phrase can normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb phrase or a complement:

\[\text{/kho~pe}\text{i dore lhepso}\text{n/} \text{he came here.}\]

\[\text{/kho~pe}\text{i dan doro lhepso}\text{n/} \text{he came here yesterday.}\]

\[\text{/\text{n}a dhansa la lokde/} \text{I am going home.}\]

\[\text{/\text{n}a tirin dhansa-la lokde/} \text{I am going home today.}\]

\[\text{/\text{n}a tirin pherorae dhansa la lokde/} \text{I am going home to day evening.}\]

**Concord:** It has already been stated that this language has neither grammatical gender nor plural number in conjugation. As such there is no scope of agreement between the subject/object and the verb.

Consequently, it is attested with the person category only, which may be explained as follows:

**Concord in Subjectival Constructions:** In all subjectival constructions the agreement takes place between the subject and the verb only, the subject may be in the ergative case or in the direct case.

\[\text{/ciu sokhana phorok/} \text{bird /birds fly with wings.}\]

\[\text{/p\text{a}-nas}o \text{ le}pti dhou/ \text{leaves fall from the tree.}\]

\[\text{/dise lug c\text{am} ha da/} \text{how many goats has he?}\]

\[\text{/pe}\text{i~pe}\text{igun thu}\text{ot (thu}\text{no)/} \text{he /they drink.}\]

\[\text{/khoyo~khwagun thu}\text{e-ma/} \text{thou, you drink.}\]

\[\text{/\text{n}a~ne thu}\text{et/} \text{I, we drink (-thu}\text{ne).}\]
Similarly—/thuⁿsoŋ/ he～they drank.
/thuⁿma/ thou～you drank.
/thuŋ/ I～we drank.

Objectival Constructions: In objectival constructions the concord takes place between the object and the verb. But most of the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour objectival constructions. All the objectival constructions of Indo-Aryan languages become subjectival when rendered in them. Hence this dialect too does not attest any agreement between the object and the verb.

/ñe tiⁿmu cig hɔt/ I have a sister.
/ñe tiⁿmu mɔŋpɔŋhɔt/ I have many sisters.
/țuso pɔla thoⁿsoŋ/ a boy saw a girl.
/pɔyakso țuyak-la thoⁿson/ girls saw boys.

Types of Simple Sentences

Semantically and structurally too, a sentence can be designated as a affirmative, interrogative imperative, etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified as active, passive, impersonal and causative, etc. All these aspects of a simple sentence correlated with the morphosyntactic character of the verb have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems and modal formations. These may be seen there itself. There reproduction here will be a mere repetition of facts which have already been explained.

Compound Sentences: Compound sentences are the combination of two independent sentences, joined together by a coordinative or subordinative conjunction, but in this dialect there occurs normally a pause juncture between the two sentences instead of a conjunction. (for examples see particles.)

Coordinative Sentences: Two or more simple sentences when joined by a coordinative conjunction like ‘either... or’ ‘neither... nor’ are termed as coordinative sentences (for examples see particles) /ña sebduŋ so sɔr, pheï so tarã so ma chara debar01/ I have taken my meal, (but) he has not taken as yet.
Complex sentences: Complex sentences too, are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but in this one of the constituent sentences is subordinate or dependent on the other. The number of dependent clauses can be more than one. The clause to which the other clause/sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. The clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for this dialect.

(i) Conditional: In this type of complex sentences the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers like, ‘if’ ‘when’ and ‘then’ (expressed or understood). In which the ‘if’, ‘when’ clause is the subordinate clause and the ‘then’ clause is a principal clause. Positionally the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

/kho oñna tene ñala oñgo lhon/ (if) you come (=will come), then I also will have to come.

/di oñjana tene ghösin oñja hot/ Had he come, so nice it would have been.

/laha charsa so, tene sebdun soson/ Having finished the work (=when the work was finished), then meal was taken.

(iii) Complemental: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. In this the conjoining conjunct is, normally, left out, and its function is served by a pause juncture.

/di lao, ñala togro tak/ he said, I am hungry.

/ram so dhisön, khye min če ñnda/ Ram asked, what is your name?

(iii) Relative: In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause:

/su oñna, hodi dögo hôd/ Whosoever comes, he will go.

/khyo či gona, tej hind/ I shall give, whatever you ask for.
MARCHHA DIALECT

Introductory Notes
Phonological Structure
Grammatical Structure
Syntax
INTRODUCTION

Linguistic Area

The Marchha dialect is spoken in the Himalayan villages of Niti and Māna in the district of Chamoli (Garhwal), the north-western border district of the state Uttar Pradesh. The valleys situated on the Indian side of the above mentioned Himalayan passes are drained by rivers Dhauli and Alakananda; the confluence of which takes place at Vishnu Prayag. Joshimath, the gate way to the holy shrine of Badrinath, is flanked by these valleys, i.e., by Niti on its right side and by Māna on its left side. Māna is the last village of India bordering on Tibet. The boundary of Māna starts from Hanuman Chatti, near Badrinath and goes up to Māna pass.

In the Niti valley which is called Sansa in the local dialect, the villages inhabited by the people of Marchha tribe are Niti (Sansa), Gamshali (Syasyag), Bampa (Bwan) and Malari. It is a migratory tribe and migrates to Chamoli during winter season. There they have their own settlements. Consequently, the people of Niti migrate to Koriya and Bhimtala (Bhuintiya), of Gamshali to Chamoli, Baunla, Semla and Math, and of Bampa to Chhinka.

Prominent villages of Marchhas in the Māna valley are Māna, Indradhara, Gajkoṭi, Pathiya-Dhantoli, Hanuman Chatti, Benakuli and Auṭ. Their settlements in Chamoli are Ghingaran, Negwar, Senthura and Sirokhoma.

The Language

This language, besides the Marchhas, is also spoken by the people of the Tolchha tribe inhabiting these valleys. Grierson (L.S.I., III. I. 100) has termed it as Garhwal dialects, but we on the basis of its speakers have preferred to call it Marchha
dialec]. Moreover, according to Grierson (ibid.,) it is closely related to the Tibetan, spoken by the Jads of Tehri Garhwal, but according to our data it widely differs from that.

**Linguistic Sources**

There are at least three different linguistic sources which have actively contributed to the enrichment of this dialect. These are—(i) Tibetan, (2) Indo-Aryan and (3) Aboriginal tribal dialects.

There is no denying the fact that the Marchha dialect originally belonged to a branch of Tibetan language which had acquired a distinct entity as a lingua-franca of the people with a distinct ethnic group, popularly called Bhotias by the early writers on these regions, but now is being termed as Rang by some intellectuals of this group. I, however, without entering into the controversy of the nomenclature for this group would like to illustrate briefly of the linguistic elements traceable in it.

**Tibetan:** That the Tibetan language forms the base of these Himalayan dialects of Uttara Khand may be evident from the fact that most of the terms falling under the sphere of basic vocabulary belong to this stock. For instance, /mi/ man, /chormi/ woman, /cam9/ girl, /apa/ father, /ama/ mother, /ata/ sister, /d9ku/ uncle, /tete/ grand father, /ac9/ grand-mother, /ana/ father's sister, /ru/ father-in-law, /yu/ mother-in-law, /pec/ bird, /khui/ dog, /balan/ cow, bull, /3ui/ blood, /mhe/ fire, /phutdr/ forehead, /šya/ flesh, meat, /mar/ gree, /tha-kha/ hair, /mig/ eye, /mig-cam/ eye-brow, /cam/ wool, /kim/ house, home, /magpa/ son-in-law, /c9g/ iron, /lha/ month, /la/ mountain pass, /min/ name, /mh∂n/ medicine, /Khum/ pillow, /chidpa/ perspiration, /cha/ salt, /məndə/ red, /thəl/ back, /zaŋpo/ bridge, /mig-ti/ tears, /sa/ tooth, /sin/ wood, /mul/ silver, /zəs/ gold, /tən/ to drink, /za-/ to eat, /šis-/ to die, /taŋ-/ to see, /šes-/ to know.

**Indo-Aryan:** On account of its long and intimate contact with the Indo-Aryan speaking people of the region it has assimilated into its linguistic framework, not only a large
number of Indo-Aryan nominal and verbal stems, but also some of its structural aspects. Their number has grown so large that it will be difficult to enlist them all here. A few of them may be illustrated as follows:


**Verbal Roots**: It has also borrowed a number of roots from neighbouring dialects; (for examples see infra, primary Roots from I.A. stock).

**Local Sources**

Besides, it has also freely drawn upon the local dialects, Indo-Aryan or tribal. Some of these are as under:


**Linguistic Divergences between Dialects of Niti and Māṇa**

Though the inhabitants of both the valleys are from the same ethnic stock, except the Tolchhas, and speak the lang-
uage springing from the same sources, yet, as it is natural in the mountainous regions, both have developed certain linguistic tendencies of their own, which are attestable at all levels of linguistic analysis, viz., phonetic, lexical and morphological. However, in view of very high percentage of commonness at all levels of linguistic expressions, I have taken and analysed them as one language. Moreover, the dialectal variations attested among speakers of Niti and Mānā valleys are so systematic and predictable that these cannot be termed as two different dialects. These are so regular that conversion from one form to another form does not create any problem. Some of the most prominent of these may be pointed out and illustrated in the following paragraphs.

**Phonological**: Phonetically, the notable differences are attested with regard to preference for the quality of vowel, diphthongization, glidalization, liquifaction, voicing, aspiration etc. In the following illustrations the first vocable of the pair is from the dialect of Mānā and the second from that of Niti.

**Preference for Higher vs. Lower Vowels**: It has been noticed that in otherwise identical terms one dialect prefers a higher vowel from the same class of vowels and the other a lower one; e.g. u/o—/rokku/: /rokko/ all, /seu/: /syo/ apple, /rhūbān/: /rhopān/ to ask, /pothāi/: /putli/ butterfly, /kothā/ /kuher/ frost, /phottār/: /phutār/ oven, əa—/phättiṅ/: /phatiṅ/ ashes, /nhāntā/: /nhant/ beautiful, /khāsyo/: /khasya/ dark, /bhūicāl/: /bhūical/ earthquake, /tāṅ/: /tan-/ to live, to exist, /nāth/: /noth/ nosering, /lag/: /lāg/ hand; a/o—/khāṭṭā/: /khettō/ sour, /bārābār/: /bōrobāro/equal, /jhūṭa/: /jhuṭo/ false, /bya/: /byo/ marriage, /kōcca/: /kaco/ unripe, /dEna/: /dEno/ rightside, /jērā/: /jēro/ age, root, /gila/: /gilo/ wet, /machu/: /macha/ fish, ə/o—/jēr/: /jār/ fever, /dērī/: /dōrī/ hole, /nāṅdā/: /nando/ maternal aunt, i/E/a—/dhī/: /dhE/ he/she, /dhīnu/: /dhE nu/ the same; i—e/a—/mērc/: /mērc/ chillies, /chedpā/: /chedpā/perspiration.

**Diphthongization**: /gōiro/: /gōiro/ deep, /dhai/: /dhE/ two and a half.
**Glidization:** /gɛ/: /gɛ/ I, /yɛn/: /ɛn/ we, /khe/: /kʰɛ/ what? /cyuni/: /tsɛn/ chin, /zoɓa/: /tsɔba/ hybride, /kɛt̪i/: /kʰɛt̪i/ girl, /kheru/: /kʰɛrʊ/ why?

**Voicing:** /θɔn/: /θɔn/ infinitive marker, as in /θɔbɔn/: /θɔbɔn/ to beg, /nʰabɔn/: /nʰabɔn/ to dance, /tuŋ-bɔn/: /tuŋpɔn/to drink, /dʰa-bɔn/: dʰa-pɔn /to give/; dibɔn: (di-pɔn) to go; /-gi/: /kɛi/ past tense 1st person singular suffix, /tanki/: /tanki/ I saw, /tuŋgi/: /tuŋkɪ/ I drank, /guc/: /kuc/: to sleep, /digi/: /dikii/ went, /cɛlak/: /cɛlak/ clever, /rik/: /rik/ a bear, /chɛd/: /kʰɛt/ warm, /cyoŋgu/: /cyoŋgu/ urine.

**Assimilation:** /sâd-pɔn/; /sap-pɔn/ to kill, /kɛm-bɔn/: /kʰɛm-pɔn/ to see, /yɛm-bɔn/: /yɛm-pɔn/ to listen, /chim-bɔn/: /tʃim-pɔn/ to tie, /rɛm-bɔn/: /rɛm-pɔn/ to weave.; but /dɔ-bin/: /dɔ-min/ like that, /di-bin/: /di-min/ like this, /khɔg-po/: /kʰɔkko/ lap.

**Aspiration:** Both the dialects have a natural tendency to aspirate initial voiced plosives, nasals and liquids. It is, however, weak in Mānā dialect and strong enough in Niti dialect, as in /d’i/: /dʰi/ this, /d’u/: /dhu/ that, /g’o/; /gho/ who?, /z’an-po/; /zan-pho/ bridge, /go/; /gho/ who? /bit/; /bith/ hungry /joka/: /jwakha/ leech, /cyo-bɔn/: /ʃɛy-a-pɔn/ to press, /yaŋdɔ/: /ʃyaŋdɔ/ light in weight, /ʃokri/; /ʃɔkri/ basket, /labcha/: /ʃabca/ ring.

But there are cases in which the tendency of higher aspiration is more prominently attested in the dialect of Mānā, as in /bâkhi/: /bâki/ balance, /kɑt-bɔn/: /kɑt-pɔn/ to chop, to bite, /pɔthɔi/: /putli/ butterfly, /khusni/: /kucni/ elbow, /bakhpe/: /bagpɛ/ flour, /pakɔtʰya/: /pakoʊt/ ripe.

**Lateral Variations:** In loaned Indo-Aryan vocables containing the liquid /l/ two types of variations are attested. In the dialect of Mānā it becomes a retroflex /ɬ/ and in the dialect of Niti a bi-labial semi-vowel /w/; /dhuː/: /dhuw/ dust, /mala/: /mawa/ garland, /daɬo/: /dawɗ/ tree, /ʃyola/: /ʃyawa/ wife’s younger brother, /ghul-bɔn/: /ghoʊ-pɔn/ to swallow, /bɔìyo/: /boyo/ mad.
Besides, in a couple of examples an exchange between /r/ and /l/ is also attested, as in /šdrīr/: /šdrīl/ body, /byola/: /byoro/ bridegroom.

**Lexical Variations:** With regard to lexical items we come across two types of variations (1) native vs borrowed items, (2) tatsam vs. tadbhav items:

**Native vs. borrowed:** In this context it may be mentioned that the dialect of Mānā attests more native terms than the dialect of Nītī, it may be due to the fact that my informants, Shri Mangal Singh Parmar who was 70 year old belonged to older generation and Shri Bachan Singh Tolia who was only 20 year old belonged to the new generation. Moreover, the former was illiterate and the latter literate. As such the generation gap and the education both may have played a significant role for generating these linguistic differences. In the following paragraphs too, the first term represents the Mānā dialect and the second the Nītī dialect:


Examples of lexical items attesting partial variations in their pronunciations may be illustrated as follows: /chopa/: /chakpa/ anger; /gho-ri/: /gho-bi/ anyone; /gho-bi/: /khim-bi/ any how; /ghāndcar/: /ṛhāndcar/ before; /nḥis/: /nḥisri/ both; /pho-bōṅ/: /phoc-pēṅ/ to make dry; /lama/: /nḥama/ ewe; /dikulo/: /dibālō/ eye ball; /ṛhig/: /ṛhiṅgār/ field; /ba-pōṅ/: /tho-pōṅ/ to get; /ṭha/: /kha/ hair; /nāṅḍō/: /nārd/ husband’s
younger sister, /bāyo/: /bāno/ left, /chinpa/: /chid-pa/ liver, /nimcā/: /nipca/ mouse; /mitin/: /bhitin/ pissa; /khyāt/: /khyāgt/ sweet, /mi-gya/: /mi ng-gya/ day-after tomorrow, /sa/: /sōg/ tooth, /daṛben/: /dōre-pān/ to tremble, /cyongu/: /cyōku/ urine; /chormi/: /chorsi/ woman; /nār/: /nār/ foot; /gödro/: /garām/ river, /popo/: popkē/mother’s father, /g’o/: /g’u/ where?, /khyoka/: /khyatān/ how many; /gus/: /hunc-/ to live, to dwell; /goś/: /gwaslya/ in the evening.

Morphological Differences

The Marchha speakers of Niṭi and Mānā exhibit notable differences in the areas of morphology as well, particularly with regard to verbal conjugations, e.g. /gi-/: /ki/, no/: /ce-/, /dinā-gi/: /di-ce-ki/ I am going; /tān/: /tān/ — /dhatān/ : /dhacān/ I will give; /nā/; /cya/—/zāna huni/: /zācya huni/ may be eating; /ze/i khi/: /zekhiki/ I have eaten; /tyo-bān casya/: /tyo-pān casdi/ started weeping (for other details of conjugational variations, see infra Affirmative sub-system).

Besides, finite verbal conjugations, the non-finite verbal conjugations, also attest differences in certain areas, for instance, in addition to infinitive markers /-bān/: /-pān/, in past-participle formative suffixes too, we notice their own preferences, i.e., in the dialect of Mānā it is attested as /tya/ and in that of Niṭi as /-t/, as in /pakātya/: /paket/ ripe, cooked, /ṣidya/: /ṣist/ dead, /nāstya/: /nāst/ ill, /sustya/: /sāt/ rotten, /thāktya/: /thākāt/ tired, etc.

But in spite of the above noted a few divergences, these are so close to each other that these can not be designated as two separate dialects. The identical formations attested in the following sentences will make the point clear.

/in māst besi hini/ we are many brothers.
/git sum rhinza hini/ I have three sisters.
/daṛcā pat nhasina nhaskān/ leaves fall down the tree.
/gEt šeri go gu yā/ where is your son?
/dhEt khe mhin yā/ what is his name?
/ramzā mohānru tig kāmci ruiz/ Ram asked one thing from Mohan.
It has no literature, except the two specimen and a brief grammatical sketch of one and a half page given in the LSI (III. 1 p. 100-1). As such this analysis may be called the first detailed linguistic analysis of this dialect.

In this context it may be interesting to note that a comparison of the material recorded in 1983, with the material recorded in the LSI in the beginning of this century (1908), shows that the language has undergone tremendous changes in all aspects of it. Now, it is for the future to see whether this dialect too goes the way the Rangkas dialect of Johār has gone or is able to maintain its separate entity as the Jād dialect has done. But in the present circumstances when the contact of its speakers is totally severed with Tibet and a closer contact is developing with Indo-Aryan speakers for all purposes, it may be difficult for the coming generations to resist the ever growing influences of the neighbouring dialects and of the language of medium of instruction and mass media.

Sources of Data

The present analysis of this dialect is entirely based on first hand recording of the material by the author himself during the winter of 1983 at Gopeshwar. The principal informant for the dialect of Niti was Shri Bachan Singh Toliya, v. Mehar Goan, Malāri (Niti) and for the dialect of Mānā was Shri Mangal Singh Parmar of the village Mānā.

Speakers: No independent statistics for numbers of speakers of this dialect, could be collected for this analysis. However, according to census of India 1981, (series 22, Uttar Pradesh paper 1, of 1982) the total number of the Bhoṭia Tribes of this district has been given as under (Tehsil wise)—Joshimath—1636, Karan Prayag—443, Chamoli—1993, Ukhimath—92= total—9164.
PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

Different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes attested in the sound system of the Mārchha dialects are as follows:

VOWELS

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested singly or in sequences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
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<td>Mid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As regards the lip position only the back vowels /u/, /ʊ/ and /o/ are rounded, all others are unrounded.

Phonemic Contrasts: Phonemic contrasts of these vowels may be illustrated as under:

- i/e—/mi/ man : /mhe/ ~ /me/ fire.
- I/E—/dhı/ this : /dhE/ that, he, she.
- i/u—/bi:s/ poison : /bu:s/ husk.
There are no diphthongs in this dialect. However, occurrence of vowels in a sequence with distinct syllabic entity is often attested. In these, occurrence of /-i/ as a second member is more common than as first member. These may be illustrated as under:

**Front and Back**

ia—/oriā/ smell, odour.

**Back + Front**

ui—/Khui/ dog, /šui/ blood; /rui/ cotton, /bhuical/ earthquake.

ai—/bhai/ brother, /cātai/ mat, /kokhryai/ armpit.

**Front + front**

ei—/kolei/ pine tree.

**Central + Front**

əi—/guthāi/ fruit stone, /nirdāi/ cruel
However, this dialect does not favour many vowel sequences. Usually, /ə/ + /i/ have developed into /E/, as in /gEro/ < /gəiro/ deep, /šikEt/ < /sikait/ complaint, /dE/ < /dči/ curd, /dhE/ < /čhai/ two and a half, and back + back or back + front into a /w/ like back glide, as in /mwari/ < /muhari/ bee, /bwani/ < /bharāni/ broom, /kwela/ < /koila/ charcoal, etc.

**Distribution**

Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all positions without any restriction. This feature of the dialect can be illustrated as under:

/ə/: /ərg/ a beer, /ən/ snow, /mhrn/ medicine, /camā/ daughter.

/ɑ/: /apa/ father, /ama/ mother, /lama/ ewe, aunt (elder), /kaki/ aunt(y).

/i/: /ib/ sleep, /phitiń/ ant, /kaki/ aunt (younger) /bi:s/ poison.

/ʊ/: /un/ stone, /bu:/ worm, /šeru/ boy, son, /khu/ smoke.

/e/: /er/ up, /erī/ heel, /benthō/ air, /khe/ what?, /cimē/ mother's sister.

/E/: /dE/ curd, /gEro/ deep, /gEňa/ starts, /mEt/ a woman's paternal home.

/ɔ/: /ori/ good, /boti/ buttermilk, /tolo/ deaf, /lato/ dumb.

/o/: /ør/ and, /jō/ barley, /rař/ mustard, /ori/ bright.

**Allophonic Variations:** The above noted vowels of the Tolchha-Marchha dialect show certain allophonic variants in their respective phonetic environment.

**Nasalization:** A vowel tends to be nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, as in /camā/ = [čāmē] daughter, /ama/ = [āmā] mother, /un/ = [ūn] stone, /nilo/ = [nilo] blue, /dhoń = [dhoń] pretention, /gEňa/ = [gEňa] stars, etc.

CONSONANTS

In this dialect the number of consonant phonemes, established on the basis of phonemic contrasts is 36. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The class of plosives, affricates and dental fricatives further attest the opposition of the presence vs. absence of voice, and almost all classes of consonants, except the fricatives and frictionless continuants attest the opposition of presence vs. absence of aspiration. All the consonants with their phonetic characteristics may, schematically, be presented as under:

**Place of Articulation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Articulation</th>
<th>Bilial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Retrolax</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>Vl. p, ph</td>
<td>t, th</td>
<td>c, ch</td>
<td>t, th</td>
<td>k, kh</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vd. b, bh</td>
<td>d, dh</td>
<td>j, jh</td>
<td>d, dh</td>
<td>g, gh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>Vl. č, čh</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
<td>Unasp. m</td>
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<td>Asp.</td>
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<td>Vibrant</td>
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<td>Flapped</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>Vl. s</td>
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<td>š (§)</td>
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<td>Vd. (z)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frictionless continuants</td>
<td>w</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Marchha Dialect

Phonemic Status of Voiced Aspirates

Although on account of a strong tendency of aspiration in the initial position of a word, most of plosives and nasals are realized as their aspirate counterparts, yet there are not very many instances in which these attest a phonemic contrast with their un-aspirate counterparts. As such their phonemic status in the language is somewhat doubtful. In fact, in most of the cases the voiced aspirate phones occurring in this position are borrowings from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan dialects and are confined to the initial positions only, e.g., /gher/ circle, /ghol/ nest, /jhuṭṭo/ false, /dhal/ shield, /dhānus/ a bow, /dhān/ riches, /bhut/ ghost, /bhura/ grey, etc. However, in view of a few contrasts, may be with borrowed items, and a subjective feeling of their being distinct sounds these have been accorded the status of phonemes in this dialect, too.

Phonemic Status of Voiced Sibilant

In this, the voiced counterpart of the dental sibilant /s/, viz. /z/, is attested in Tibetan words only. It does not attest any contrast with /s/, as such its phonemic status too is doubtful.

Distribution: Distributionally, all the consonants and semiconsonants, except /ṅ, ṛ, ṇ, l/ can occur in the initial position of a word. All the plosive consonants, except /gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh/ too can occur medially. But occurrence of aspirate plosives, /h/ and of /y/ and /z/ in the final position is almost non-existent in this language.

Plosives

/k/-/kakh/ beside, /kukuro/ cock, /calak/ clever.

/kh/-/khui/ dog, /barkha/ rain, /ri:kh/ bear.

/g/-/ga/ rice, /māgpa/ son-in-law, /cag/ iron, /lag/ hand.

/gh/-/ghol/ nest, /ghogṛ/ thunder, /ghobi/ any one.

/c/-/camā/ daughter, /nuncā/ down, /pec/ bird.

/ch/-/chām/ wool, /macha/ fish, /bachru/ calf.

/j/-/jō/ barley, /bājo/ fallow land, /riwaj/ custom.
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/jh/-/jhul/ cloths, /jhilo/ loose, /juhito/ false.
/t/-/tolo/ deaf, /latol/ dumb, /ghol/ watermill.
/th/-/tkol/ correct, /gunol/ button, /atl/ eight.
/d/-/duno/ lame, /udal/ cave, /dol/ punishment.
/dh/-/dhano/ steep, /dhal/ shield, /dhon/ pretention.
/t/-/tarl/ axe, /butul/ milk, /akl/ door; /pelol/ cooked.
/th/-/thol/ back, /tolol/ lip, /tholen/ to get, /bell/ air.
/d/-/dol/ anxiety, /badol/ cloud, /sold/ cold, /phurd/ fat.
/dh/-/dhonol/ a bow, /dholol/ to give /dhon/ riches.
/b/-/bell/ wind, /bol/ butter milk, /lobo/ big, /holol/ needle.
/ph/-/phalol/ ashes, /phurd/ fat, /melol/ pardon.
/bh/-/bholol/ ghost, /bholol/ snake, /bholol/ bull.

Nasals

/m/-/mali/ bee, /amal/ mother, /chormul/ female, /chol/ wool.
/n/-/nol/ foot, /anel/ father’s sister, /ghanul/ a bell, /holol/ drug.
/nil/-/sulol/ chain, /jwulan/ moustache, /philol/ ant.
/n/-/kanol/ blind, /gntul/ stars, /nyonol/ after.

Liquids and Semi-Vowels

/r/-/rilol/ a bear, /talol/ axe, /serul/ son, /phurd/ fat.
/l/-/holol/ big, /lomul/ goat, /tolol/ deaf, /tholol/ back.
/l/-/malol/ garland, /bolol/ ox, /buralul/ cat, /badolol/ cloud.
/w/-/wadol/ distance, /mali/ bee, /kowlul/ a crow, /dhuwul/ dust.
/y/-/yol/ age, /yal/ either or, /ballyol/ day-after tomorrow,
/plulol/ a fly, /cyamal/ aunt:
Fricatives

/ʃ/—/ʃe/ son, child, /beʃe/ brother, /ʃya/ meat, /deʃ/ country.

/s/—/sod/ cold, /saro/ hard, /usu/ a few, /ləs/ cost.

/h/—/hilo/ mud, /ru/ father-in-law, /tyohar/ festival.

/r/—/beru/ lamb, /raʃo/ mustard, /baʃo/ garden, /chor/ bank of river.

/z/—/zər/ fever, /zəs/ gold, /zəŋpho/ bridge.

**Phonemic Contrasts:** With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes, it may be mentioned that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are attested in the initial position, yet in non-initial positions there are only a few which attests these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, this dialect too, seldom attests occurrence of aspirate plosives in a non-initial position. As such the scope of contrasts of aspirate and non-aspirate counterparts of voiced and voiceless consonants is extremely limited. Similarly, on account of vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending nature of these dialects the scope of the contrasts of unaspirate plosives too is confined to a few cases only (see distribution of consonants). Consequently, the four fold distinction of presence vs. absence of voice and aspiration too is, normally, attested in the initial position only, both these features are almost neutralized in the medial and final positions in a polysyllabic word. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in this dialect may be illustrated as under:

**Plosives**

*Bilabials:* /p, ph, b. bh/


Ph/b—/phaŋo/ branch of a tree : /baŋo/ left side.

b/bh—/bu/ a grain: /bhu/ snake; /bari/ a turn: /bhāri/ load.
p/ph—/pap/ sin: /bhap/ steam.

**Dentals:** /t, th, d, dh/

t/d—/tyar/ festival: /dyar/ deodar tree, /dyor/ husband’s brother.

th/d—/tharu/ a people: /daru/ wine; /thān/ today: /dān/ carpet.

p/th—/thol/ weighing: /thol/ lip.

th/dh—/dE/ curd: /dhE/ he, that; /dān/ carpet: /dhān/ riches.

th/dh—/thān/ today: /dhān/ riches, wealth.

**Palatals:** /c, ch, j, jh/

c/j—/phocpān/ to make to dry: /phojpān/ to dry.


ch/ch—/ca/ viens: /cha/ salt; /cimi/ mother’s sister: /chimi/ beans.

j/jh—/jullo/ bedding: /jhuḷḷo/ cloth.

**Retroflex:** /t, ʈh, d, ḍh/

t/d—/talo/ a patch: /dalo/ tree.

d/ḍh—/ḍuno/ lame, /ḍhono/ hollow.

**Velars:** /k, kh, g, gh/ 

k/g—/koli/ oil man, a caste: /goli/ bullet.


kh/g—/kha/ hair: /ga/ rice.

g/gh—/gol/ round: /ghol/ nest; /gūs/ evening: /ghūs/ bribe; /goslya/ dusk: /ghoslya/nest.

**Nasals:** /m, n, ŋ, ñ/

m/n—/mi/ man: /ni/ sun; /ama/ mother: /ana/ father’s sister.

m/ṅ—/ṁ/ path: /ṅ/ snow, /nṁ/ village: /nṅ/ nails of finger.
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n/ŋ—/ɔnwal/ shepherd : /ɔnwal/ an embrace.
m/ŋ—/chimi/ beans : /chën/ chisel.

n/ŋ—/khən/ a part of house/ room : /khən/ a quarry.


Liquids and Semi-vowels: /y, r, l, w/
r/l—rəs/ juice : /ləs/ price; /khvrən/ to do : /khvlpən/ leave.

y/w—/khrvrən/ to do : /khwvrən/ to bend.
l/w—/gholpən/ to dissolve : /ghwpən/ to swallow.

Fricatives: /ʒ, s, h/

/y/s—/ʃya/ meat ; /sys/ apple, /ʃspən/ to die; /sɛspən/ to know.

Contrasts of Aspirate and Non-aspirate Nasals and Liquids

n/nh—/nar/foot : /nhar /to throw.

Lateral vs. Retroflex

l/l—/mala/ goat : /maˈla/ garland.

Vibrant vs. Flapped

r/r—/pəro/ full : /pəro/ a fold of leaves.

Nasal vs. Flapped

n/n—/kwana/ corner : /kwəra/ sprout.

Palatal vs. Affricate Plosive

ch/čh—/chəm/ bags for load : /čhəm/ wool.

Dental vs. Retroflex

t/t—/phati/ ashes : /phiːti/ ant; /təb/ then : /təb/ reins,

/taŋpən/ to see : /taŋpən/ to live.

th/t—/cəthai/ one fourth : /cətai/ mat.

D/t—/pətal/ nether world : /pətal/ slab of stone.

d/d—/do/ there : /də/ pain.

dh/dh—/dhE/ he/she : /dhE/ two and a half.
Phonetic Tendencies (Allophonic Variations)

The over-all phonetic tendencies of this dialect may, briefly, be pointed out as under:

Incomplete Articulation

It is predominantly a vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending language, as such only a few of plosive consonants occur in the word final position of it. But the articulation of the few plosives that occur in this position becomes somewhat weak, may be due to higher accent on the initial syllable. Consequently, the plosion as well as the voice/aspiration is reduced in every way, leading to their in determinant perception, which may be described as—

\textit{Devoicing:} Voiced plosives \(g, d, b\) when occurring in a word final position are usually devoiced. Consequently these are realized as their voiceless counterparts, as in \(/\text{labca}/=\text{[lapca]}\) ring; \(/\text{lag}/=\text{[lak]}\) hand; \(/\text{chedpa}/=\text{[chet-pa]}\) perspiration.

\textit{Voicing:} Like devoicing voicing of unvoiced plosives also is attested in it, as in \(/\text{tobli}/<\text{[topli]}\) cap; \(/\text{narg}/<\text{[nark]}\) hell. (also see supra ‘Linguistic Divergences).

\textit{Aspiration:} Moreover, besides phonemic aspiration the speakers of this dialect exhibit a strong tendency to pronounce voiced plosives, nasals and liquids with copious aspiration when these occur in the initial position of a word. Consequently, these are perceived as their aspirate counterparts, as in \(/\text{bhu}/<\text{[bu]}\) snake, \(/\text{dhap\text{\textbeta}}/\text{[dap\text{\textbeta}]}\) to give, \(/\text{m\text{\textbeta}n}/<\text{[m\text{\textbeta}n]}\) medicine, \(/\text{dhano}/<\text{[dano]}\) hill top, \(/\text{mhe}/<\text{[me]}\) fire, \(/\text{ha}/<\text{[la]}\) month, \(/\text{beth\text{\textbeta}}/\text{[vat\text{\textbeta}]}\) wind, \(/\text{bh\text{\textbeta}l\text{\textbeta}}/\text{[b\text{\textbeta}l\text{\textbeta}]}\) bull, \(/\text{tokhri}/\text{[tokhri]}\) basket, \(/\text{nhisri}/\text{[nhisri]}\) both, \(/\text{ch\text{\textbeta}m}/\text{[ch\text{\textbeta}m]}\) wood, etc. (also see, supra ‘Linguistic Divergences).

Consonant Clusters

In this dialect the scope of consonant clusters is quite extensive. However, the favourable environment for the occurrence of these is the initial and medial position only. There is hardly any scope for the occurrence of a cluster in the final position. Moreover, in the initial/medial position too, the
number of the members of these cluster is normally two. There
may be few with three members, but there can not be more
than three. Clusters of different combinations attested in this
speech may be presented as follows:

**Initial Position:** Normally, the number of the constituents
of a cluster in this position is two. Distributionally, the
first member may be a plosive/ a fricative/ a liquid/ or nasal
and the second member a semi-vowel or a fricative. These
may be illustrated as under:

(a) **Plosive + Semi-vowel:** /dwaro/ again; /kwal/ hiccup;
/tyar/ festival; /kyapəŋ/ to conceal; /twə/ credit, /khyawa/
husband; /khwarpəŋ/ to close; /gyagspəŋ/ to break; /bwani/
broom; /gwarma/ money; /byoli/ bride; /chyrə/ lizard; /pyaj/
onion; /cyōku/ urine; /jwakha/ leech; /dyor/ brother-in-law;
/ghyalo/ noise; /jya/ tea; /khyōru/ why?.

(b) **Fricative + Semi-vowel:** /syoni/ horn; /šyāt/ oldman;
/hwemi/ face; /šya/ meat; /hyańdo/ light in weight; /swar/
Monday; /swad/ taste.

(c) **Nasal + Semi-vowel:** /myan/ seath; /mwari/ bee; /nyōn/
after, behind; /nyoli/ mongoose.

(d) **Liquid Nasal + Fricative:** /rha/ shy; /rhig/ louse; /nhantə/
good, beautiful; /nhama/ ewe, sheep; /mhən/ drug; /mhe/ fire;
/lwar/ ironsmith; /lha/ month.

**Medial Clusters**

As compared with initial clusters the range of medial clus-
ters is wider. The constituents of two member medial cluster
are attested as follows:

(i) **Plosive + Plosive:** /chidpa/ liver; /chadpa/ perspiration;
/nipca/ mouse, /məgpa/ son-in-law; /chogpa/ jealous; /cukpa/
angry; /syəkca/ sieve; /migti/ tears.

(ii) **Plosive + Liquid + Semi-vowel + Fricative:** /Chapla/flat,
/kukr̥i/ hen, /cheprə/ lungs, /tikhya/ once, /bhədyai/ cooking
pan, /lakhwa/ paralysis, /putli/ butterfly, /bachru/ calf, /təblə/
cap, /uʤyar/ cave, /kəjjya/ dispute, /tablə/ ring, /təntya/ alive,
/dəgro/ company, /bəksa/ box, /nuksan/ loss, /gyagspəŋ/ to
break/ bêjri/ sand, /khêdwal/ shepherd, /jatru/ traveller, /bhipyar/Thursday.


Fricative+Liquid/ Semi-vowel

/Khasyo/ dark, /nhisri/ both, /nhoêye/ utensils.

The constituents of a three member cluster attested in this position are:

(i) Plosive+Liquid+Semi-vowel: /Kokhryai/ armpit.
(iii) Plosive+Flapped+Semivowel: /dêgrya/ companion, /jhukryas/ faded.
(v) Liquid+Plosive+Semi-vowel: /orgya/ in olden days, /phêrkyas/ to fall, to fell.

Final Cluster

As stated above, it being predominantly a vowel ending language, has a very limited scope for the occurrence of final clusters. The only patterns attested in this position are (i) a
plosive + plosive, (ii) a liquid / fricative + plosive, (iii) a nasal + plosive: (i) /kʰaːkt/ bitter, sour, /cərt/ hot, /gupt/ secret, /kyāgt/ sweet, /səbd/ word; (ii) /sərt/ a bet, /sist/ dead, /phost/ dried, /purb/ east, /murkhi/ ear-ring, /phurd/ fat, /nərg/ hell, /mərc/ chillies; (iii) /cənt/ sharp, /nhento/ shine, /bənd/ shut; (iv) plosive + nasal—/kucni/ elbow, /nyamd/ taste.

Gemination

Gemination is not a significant feature in this dialect, though lengthening of certain classes of consonants may be realized in certain predictable environments; particularly when emphasis is intended, as in /rokko/ all, /labbo/ huge, /cəkku/ knife, /nisso/ low, /guddi/ brain, /gicco/ mouth, /əllu/ inside, /littho/ near, /khəttə/ sour. Some borrowed Indo-Aryan vocables also retain their native gemination: /phulli/ nose screw; /uttər/ north; /hissa/ share, part; /məcchər/ mosquito, /ucchyadi/ naughty.

Supra-Segmental Phonemes

Besides the above mentioned segmental phonemes, the dialect has the following supra-segmental phonemes as well.

Nasalization: In this dialect nasalization is both phonemic and non-phonemic. In the non-phonemic nasalization all vowels occurring with a nasal consonant tend to be nasalized automatically (for example see Vowels: allophonic variants). But the phonemic nasalization is quite independent of the existence of any nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel in the vicinity of it, and attests a contrast with non-nasalize, e.g., /yū/ mother-in-law: /yu/ age; /thopən/ to divide: /thəpən/ to graze; /kwarə/ sprout; /kwarə/ corner; /myan/ seath: /myə/ son-in-law; /syo/ apple: /syō/ furrow. Examples of non-phonemic nasalization are—/bəs/ bamboo, /bəki/ balance, /bhə/ eyebrow, /zəs/ gold, /bhəta/ ribs, /bəjo/ fallow land, /gūd/ gum, etc.

Length/quantity: There are certain environments in which the quantity of a vowel or of a consonant becomes significant. This phenomenon is attested particularly in the case of particularization or intensification of quality or quantity of an
object or action in question. There the length is perceived in both, the vowel as well as the coda margin or interlude, if it happens to be a plosive/nasal/sibilant, and in the vowel alone if it belongs to any other class of consonants. However, in a couple of instances the quantity of vowels /i/ and /u/ shows a significant contrast between the short and long quantities of it, e.g., /bis/ thread; /bi:s/ poison; /bu/ worm; /bu:/ grain of corn.

WORD STRUCTURE

A word in this dialect, maybe mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic, has the following general characteristics:

(i) It may begin with any vowel or consonant but /n, ɳ, l, r/.

(ii) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid, a voiced plosive or sibilant.

(iii) No native word begins or ends in a consonant cluster other than those mentioned above.

(iv) Normally, no aspirate plosive or /h/ or a semi-vowel occurs at the end of a native word in it.

(v) In a slow tempo of speech a word necessarily admits a momentary pause on either side of it.

Constituents of a Word

As in other languages of this group in this too the immediate constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1-3, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences, between the two successive junctions and also are capable of conveying a single concept.

Syllabic Units: Constituents of a syllabic unit are a nucleus which is one of the vowels set up for this language ± consonantal margins occurring on either side of it, which can be simple, (i.e., a single consonant) or complex (a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant) permissible in the language.
Within the established system of vowels and consonants, there is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel as a nucleous or a consonant, including clusters, as a margin of a syllabic unit.

**Syllabic Units Structure**

On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the permissible structure of various syllabic units, the constituents of a word, may be one of the following patterns: /vc/, /cv/, /ccv/, /vcc/, /cvcc/, /ccvcc/.

These patterns, besides occurring independently in a monosyllabic word, may also become constituent syllables of a polysyllabic word.

**Monosyllabic Patterns** : In monosyllabic words the patterns of the above mentioned units may be illustrated as under:

/vc/-/er/ up, /un/ stone, /ib/ sleep, /am/ path, /un/ snow.
/cvc/- /sg/ tooth /chm/ wool, /sd/ cold, /ur/ foot, /pe/ bird.
/ccv/- /rha/ shy, /ru/ father-in-law, /ya/ meat, /ya/ tea.
/ccvcc/- /khygt/ sweet.
/ccv/- /man/ drug, /tyar/ festival, /rhud/ high, /rhig/ louse.
/ccvcc/- /dun/ punishment, /phurd/ fat, /benc/ finger.

It may be mentioned that in words with more than one syllable these very patterns are repeated in various sequences.

**Dissyllabic Patterns** : The permissible syllabic sequences in a dissyllabic word are attested as under:

/cvc-cv/- /chukpa/ anger, /migt/ tears, /chidpa/ liver.
/mgpa/ son-in-law, /gun/hi/ button, /borkha/ rain.
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/cv-cv/—/buti/ milk, /šeru/ boy, /camā/ daughter, /laṭo/ dumb.

/ccv-cvc/—/rhapses̞n/ to ascend, /rhopən/ to arrive, /gyukən/ need.

/ccv-cv/—/mwari/ bee, /syoni/ horn, /bwani/ broom, /nhama/ goat, /byoli/ bride.

/(c) vc-cvc/—/kəmjor/ weak, /udyar/ cave, /ənwal/ an embrace, /šispən/ to die, /curpən/ to burn, /nuksan/ loss.

/(c) vc-ccvc/—/mərgyən/ neck, /jhukryas/ faded.

/cv-v/—/khui/ dog, /šūi/ blood, /rua̯/ hair on body.

/v-cv/—/ama/ mother, /apa/ father, /ori/ bright, /usu/ few.


/ccvc-cvc/—/khwarzən/ to close, /nham-pən/ to send.

/ccvc-cv/—/rhinza/ sister, /gwar-ma/ money, /hyando/ light in weight.

/ccvc-cvc/—/gyags-pən/ to break.

/ccvc-ccv/—/gwəskya/ when?

/cvcvcc/—/khəakt/ bitter, sour.

Trisyllabic Patterns: The number of trisyllabic lexical words is not very large in it. The permissible syllabic sequences of this class of words are attested as under:

/(c) vcv-v/—/oriə/ smell, odour.

/cv-ccc-v/—/kokh-rya-i/ arm-pit.

/cv-ccv-v/—/bhədya-i/ cooking pan of iron.

/cv-cv-v/—/cotha-i/ one fourth, /cətai/ mat.

/cv-cv-cv/—/kukuro/ cock, /biralu/ cat.

/(c) v-ccc-cv/—/ucchyadi/ naughty.

/cv-ccv-cv/—/ghunyari/ niche.

Quadrisyllabic Patterns: There are no quadrisyllabic words in this language. At least we were not able to record any word of this pattern in our data.
Syllabic Division: Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables: determined by linguistic forces like accent (i.e., higher stress), quantity of the syllable peak or the patterns of the syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic grouping it fully agrees with other languages of this group, i.e., the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable, and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheries or margins. As such, other things being equal, in open-syllables, the consonantal onset margin/margins of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, e.g., in /mwari/ and /nhama/ the consonants preceding the vowels are grouped with the vowels /a/ and /a/ for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit, and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable peaks. Thus in the above examples the syllabic division will be as /mwa-ri/ and /nha-ma/ (the hyphen indicating the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in successive syllables, consists of more than one consonant, excluding semi-vowels, then the most conventional principle applicable to syllabic division is that the first member of this cluster goes with the previous syllable peak to form its coda margin and the second member is grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to form its onset margin. For instance, in /nuk-san/ loss, and /šispān/ to die, the components /-k/ and /-s/ form the coda margin of the first syllable peaks /u-/ and /-i/. Similarly, in a pattern like /ccvc-cv/ and /ccvc-cvc/ too the syllabic division will follow the same principle of grouping of phones to form the syllabic unit and to affect the mechanism of syllabification.

In poly-syllabic words, however, the prominence or the peak margin sequence, is clearly maintained in the first two syllables, but in the last syllable it is weakened due to higher accent on the initial syllable, e.g., /bi-ra-łu/ cat, /ghu-nya-ri/ niche, in these the syllable peaks of the third and final syllables are weakly realized.

However, in a /cv-ccv(c)/ pattern the syllable cut falls between the first /v/ and the first /c/ if the second /c/ of the succeeding syllable is a semi-vowel, as in /ə-nwal/ shepherd, /bhə-dyai/ an iron pan, etc.
GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

Word Classes

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic position the word classes attested in this speech are—noun, pronoun, modifiers, verb and function words/enclitics. Normally, as in other languages in this too, words of noun, pronoun and verb classes enter into various types of morphological inflections, whereas others do not. As such words belonging to former group are variable, i.e., are inflected for various grammatical categories and those belonging to the latter group are non-variable or non-flectional.

Word Formation

In it a word can be both monomorphemic or polymorphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of poly-morphemic words are—juxtaposition, prefixation (in a few cases only), suffixation, infixation, reduplication and compounding. Of these the devices of suffixation and compounding are the most common, particularly with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal stem formations. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

NOUN

Syntactically, a noun in it functions as a subject or object of a verb. It may also function as a predictive word, referring to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and cases, and is also followed by postpositions.
Noun Classes

There are some instances in which the distinction of human and non-human or animate and inanimate nouns also is attested which may be explained as follows:

In case of a transitive verb, in the past tense, an inanimate or a non-human object is placed in the nominative case, but in case of a human being in the objective case:

/šeruzə kitab bāce/ The boy read a book
/gezə tig tind khui tānki/ I saw a black dog;
but /šeruzə kyeṭiru kani/ The boy saw the girl
/kyeṭizə šeru-ru kani/ The girl saw the boy.

This difference is attested with regard to double objects as well (see casal relation).

Nominal Stems

As in other dialects of this group, in this too, three kinds of nominal stems, viz., primary, derived and compounded, are normally attested. Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, a majority of them belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, but there is a sizeable number of them which belongs either to Indo-Aryan or falls under the category of indigenous words.

Primary stems belonging to the Tibeto-Burman sources are both monosyllabic and polysyllabic, e.g., /mig/ eye, /mhe/ fire, /mi/ man, /khui/ dog, /kha/ hair, /lən/ work, /šin/ wood, /chəm/ wool, /go/ head, /ṭhuk-pa/ quarrel, /mig-ti/ tears, /məgpa/ son-in-law (Also see supra ‘linguistic sources’).

Similar is the case of stems borrowed from the Indo-Aryan and other sources, e.g., /bethə/ wind, /bhicchya/ alms, /ri:kh/ a bear, /mware/ bee, /rən/ colour, /uḍyar/ cave, /dhul/ dust, /bhut/ ghost, /byo/ marriage, /gol/ round, /tar/ axe, /šeru/ son, /khoco/ belly, /sod/ cold, /ləs/ price, /saro/ hard, /bhāṭa/ rib, /ti/ water, /boti/ butter milk, /laṅsa/ manure, /ghogət/ thunder, /bEra/ song, /gEña/ stars, etc. (Also see, supra—‘linguistic sources’).
**Stem Formation**

The normal mechanism of nominal stem formation in this dialect is prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding.

*Prefixation:* It is not a very productive mechanism in Marcchha. It is attested with regard to a few nouns denoting kin relationship, as in /a-pa/ father, /a-ma/ mother, /ʔ-ku/ uncle, /a-na/ father's sister, /a-cə/ grand-mother, /ci-me/ mother's sister, /a-ta/ elder sister, /a-co/ brother(e.) /nir-dəi/ cruel (I.A.) etc.

*Suffixation:* It is the most common device of stem formation. The formative suffixes may have some specific sense to convey or may not. In the latter case, the formative suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a complex stem to which are added the number, gender and case suffixes. Some of the most commonly used suffixes may be illustrated as follows:


(ii) /-0/-a/ and /-i/: In stems belonging to Indo-Aryan stock the most commonly used suffixes for masculine stems are /o/ and /-a/ and for feminine stems /-i/, as in /byolo/ bridegroom /byoli/: bride, /jogi/ mendicant, /kukuɾo/ cock: /kukuɾi/ hen, /kəŋgi/ comb, /basuri/ flute, /gEro/ deep, /cori/ theft, etc.

(iii) /-ya/-tya/: /šis-tya/ corpse, dead, /dagɾya/ companion.

*Reduplication:* Reduplication of syllables, stems or formation of echo-words is also a part of stem formation in it, e.g., /təɾtə/ ~ te-te/ grand-father, /momo/ mother's mother, /po-po/ mother's father, /nə-nə/ mother's brother's wife, /pu-pu/ father's sister, /ka-ka/ uncle, /ba-ba/ younger sister, /ma-ma/ maternal uncle, etc.
Compound stems: The number of compound stems, having both the constituents as free forms with their independent meanings is very limited in it. In this type of formations, both the constituents of the compounded stem may be nominal or adjectival + nominal etc., conveying a copulative meaning. For the purpose of nominal inflections these stems too behave like primary stems. The following types of compound stems have been obtained from the data available to us.

(i) **Noun + Noun = Noun**

/mig-ti/ tears < /mig/eye+/ti/ water; /bu-ti/ butter milk;

(ii) **Noun + Verb = Noun**

/bhui-call/ earth quake; /ān-wall/ an embrace < /ānkā + pal/;
/bhōtijio/ brother’s son; /bāanja/ sister’s son.

(iii) **Adjective + Noun = Noun**

/ci-me/ mother’s sister = younger + mother; /do-basta/ pregnant; /kām-jor/ weak.

(iv) **Adjective + Verb = Noun**

/chān-car/ Saturday.

Nominal Inflection

Like Indo-Aryan languages this too follows grammatical gender in loan items. As such a nominal stem is inflected for the number, gender and the case categories. In some cases these grammatical markers are kept apart from one another and in others are fused together; e.g.,

/khuiz/ by the dog, dog; /khuīt/ dog’s; /khuī-ru/ to ~ for the dog; /khuī-se/ from the dog; /khuī-se-z/ by dogs; /khuī-rū-z/ to dogs.
GENDER

As pointed out above, it does not recognize any grammatical gender, at least for native vocables. The natural gender which in no way affects the structure of other constituents of a sentence is, however, distinguished (i) either by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (ii) or by prefixing terms denoting the sense of ‘male’ and ‘female’ or ‘he’ or ‘she’ to the substantive concerned. In borrowed items, however, the original pattern of the language from which it has been borrowed may be followed.

Moreover, in this dialect gender distinction is confined to human beings only, all inanimate objects and non-human beings are treated as genderless, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šeri</td>
<td>cmədo daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa</td>
<td>amama mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bed</td>
<td>rhinza sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍku</td>
<td>kaki aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapa</td>
<td>lama aunt (elder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>mama Father’s sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tətə</td>
<td>acə Father’s mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popo</td>
<td>momom mother’s mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>nono maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍku</td>
<td>cimi mother’s sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aco</td>
<td>mhasya brother’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhu</td>
<td>yu mother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chapo</td>
<td>rhinza elder sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In case of non-human beings the same epicene term is used for both the sexes of the species concerned, e.g., /balaŋ/ cow
or ox; /khui/ dog or bitch; /rha\n/ horse or mare, /pya/ bird (he or she); /nhama/ goat (he or she).

However, in terms borrowed from Indo-Aryan dialects the original pattern of gender distinction is maintained, as in /dyor/ husband's brother; /dyorani/ his wife.

/puru~jethana/ husband's elder brother : /jethani/ his wife;
/nati/ grand-son : /natini/ grand-daughter;
/bhanja/ sister's son : /bhanji/ sister's daughter;
/bh\st/ brother's son (f. ego) : bh\sti/ brother's daughter (f. ego).

In case the distinction of sex in non-human animate beings too is absolutely necessary then the terms /marad/.-/choram/ 'male' and /chormi/ 'female' are prefixed to them, e.g., /marad bag/ (male) tiger, /chormi bag/ tigress.

**NUMBER**

As in Tibetan, in it too, nominal, pronominal and verbal stems are inflected for two numbers only, viz., singular and plural. In fact, in nominal or pronominal inflections the singular is not marked overtly. It is the absence of plural marker which distinguishes it from the plural. The plural markers are employed in the direct case only. In others it is indicated by the oblique marker of the nominal stem concerned, which precedes the case marker. (see Model Declension of nouns and pronouns).

The plurality in nouns is usually expressed by means of plural marker suffixes, occurring in their respective phonetic environments. However, it can be left out if the noun is preceded by a numeral or by a qualifier, conveying the sense of some, a few, many, all, several, etc. In verbal conjugations it is mostly inferred from the number of the subject of the verb in question.

(i) **Suffixal Plurality:** The suffixes employed to affect plurality are /-se/ and /-te/. Distributionally /-se/ is affixed to nomi-
nal stems and /te/ to pronominal stems (3rd person only). In pronominal stems, besides, the suffix /-te/, the plural marker term /mise/ 'people' (plural of mi) is also added. Thus /mi/ man : /mi-se/ men; /šeru/ boy : /šeru-se/ boys; /nhama/ goat : /nhame-se/ goats; /bādor/ monkey: /bādor-se/ monkeys; /dhē/ he: /dhē-se/ they; /dal/ tree : /dal-se/ trees; /lag/ hand : /lag-se/ hands; /camd/ daughter: /camd-se/ daughters; /kyeti/ girl : /kyet-i-se/ girls; /khui/ dog : /khui-se/ dogs, etc.

**Non-suffixal Plurality:** As stated above the non-suffixal method of indicating plurality is either to use numeral modifier other than for 'one' or use a modifier indicative of the sense of plurality such as /māst/ many, /usu/ a few, /roko/ all, etc. These may be illustrated by the following examples:

/git tig rhinza yā/ I have one sister,
/git sum rhinza hini/ I have three sister(s),
/gēt kyalān balañ hini/ how many cow(s) have you?
/dhētēt māst nhama hini/ he has many goat(s).

**CASE**

Case is a grammatical category in it and can be established on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, also expresses a relationship between two nouns or between a noun and a pronoun.

The grammatical relations expressed by these cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place, time, etc.

In it the casal relations are expressed by means of postpositions added either to the bare stems of substantives in the singular, or after the oblique in the plural.
### Marchha Dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominal Stem</th>
<th>Oblique Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-tə wasta</td>
<td>-təwasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-cə/-se</td>
<td>-cə/-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-tə</td>
<td>-tə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-pan/-kəl/-tir</td>
<td>-pan /kəl/-tir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be evident from the above that these case terminations are identical for both the numbers, except for acc.-dat. In plural, however, the nominal stem undergoes morphophonemic change for the oblique form of it. Moreover, the locative case markers are used with inanimate nouns only. In animate nouns the locative sense of 'in' is expressed with ace.-dat. case markers.

### Syntactic Correlations

Various syntactic correlations expressed by these case forms may be explained as follows.

(a) Direct Case: Morphologically, the direct case has no marker for any number, but syntactically it is used to denote the following grammatical relationships.

(i) It is the subject of a transitive verb in present and future tenses and of intransitive in all tenses.

/pecəse pəṅkhəj urkən/ birds fly with wings.
/dalcə pat nthaskən/ leaves fall down from tree.
/pərcə garəm rhan/ river flows down from mountain.
/šeru roṭṭi zəcyə/ the child eats loaves of bread.
/dhe yəkhuli rhaciz/ he was coming all alone.

(ii) An object of transitive verb:

/šeru roṭṭi zəcyə/ the child is eating loaves of bread.
/gez tig khui taṇki/ I saw a dog.
/šeruz kitab bāce/ the boy read a book.
/dhe dəl katcən/ he cuts downs the tree.

(iii) A direct object of a verb having two objects (direct and indirect).

/ama šeruru dpu pilacən/ mother gives milk (of breast) to the child.
/dhE giru balaṅtə boti khawacən/ she, he feeds me cow's milk.

**Accusative-dative:** The Accusative-dative marker in this dialect is the suffix /-ru/ which follows the oblique forms of the noun. Syntactically, it is used to indicate the following types of grammatical relations:

(i) It is the case of animate object or indirect object of a transitive verb:

/ama ŝeru-ru dəpu pilacən/ mother gives milk to the child.

/giswa-rə ci dər ti dhE/ give grass and water to the horse.

/Šezə kyeṭi-ru kani/ a boy looked at a girl.

/ramzə sita-ru tig kəmcı rhuiʒ/ Ram asked Sita one thing.

/gən gho-ru bhətyaci hieʒ/ to whom were you calling forth?

(ii) A verbal noun acting as a logical object also is placed in this case.

/gizə ist cici babaru də rhapən-ru/rhapəntə wasta leki/

I have asked my younger brother to come here.

In the case of animate nouns, the accusative-dative case marker is used to indicate the locative sense of 'in' as well, as in /Šeru-ru/ in the boy, /camə-ru/ in the girl.

**Casal Relationship of Subject and Object of a Transitive Verb**

In the past tense casal relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb is well defined in it, i.e., in this case the subject of all transitive verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case and the object in the nominative/direct case, if it is inanimate or non-human being.

/Šezə kitab bāce/ the boy read the book.

/gezə tig tində khui taŋkə/ I saw a black dog.

Otherwise /Šezə kyeṭi-ru kani/ the boy looked at the girl, in which the human object /kyeṭi/, takes the accusative marker /-ru/-
In the case of a verb, having more than one object the casal relationship is expressed like this: the subject is placed in the ergative case, the indirect object in the accusative case and the direct object, real or logical, viz., a substantive or a verbal noun, in the nominative/direct case:

'/ramzə mohan-ru tig kəmci rhuiz/ Ram asked Mohan one thing.
/sitazə ram-ru əmcə rhuiz/ Sita asked Ram the way.

But, if both the objects are human beings then the direct object is placed in the nom. case and the indirect in the accusative case: /amazə ist šeri jogi-ru dhEkiri/ The mother gave away her son to the mendicant.

Ergative Case: As in other languages of this group, in this too, the ergative case is used to express the subject of a transitive verb, in the past tense:

'/šeruzə kitab bace/ the boy read a book.
'/šeruse kitab bace/ boys read books.
/ramzə sita-ru thuiz/ Ram asked Sita.
/gezə gho dəb loki/ to whom did I say?
/gezə tig khui taNki/ I saw a dog.

The ergative case is also used with the subject of the verb 'to have'.

'/genzə jhulloNu gu tapyä/ where have you put the clothes?
/gezə ist əku-ru ciṭṭi lekDa yä/ I have to write a letter to my uncle.

Instrumental/Agentive: The case markers for the instrumental/agentive case are similar to that for the ergative case.

/dhe tarzə/da] kaṭcən/ he cuts down the tree with an axe.
/pecə pəNkhəz urkən/ birds fly with wings.

Sociative Case: The sociative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a thing or a person with some
other things or persons is expressed with the help of post-position /sib/ ‘with’:

/dhEz ist apa sib dipən yā/ he has to go with his father.
/dhE lag sib zəc/ he is eating with hand.
/gE sib hətti gho hiz/ who was the other person with you?

**Dative**: The sense of dative case is expressed either with the accusative marker /-ru/ or with a post-position /wasta/, which follows the genitive base of a noun or pronoun:

/gən gi-ru khe bəni/ what have you brought for me?
/gez gət wasṭa jhul baki/ I have brought clothes for you.
/gi-ru tig lha-tə wasṭa dyara dimər/ let me go home for a month.

**Ablative**: The casual relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the post-position /cə/; and /se/ (with animate nouns)

/gən gucə rhəcen/ where are you coming from?
/ge dillic rhəcenə/ I am coming from Delhi.
/ḍəlcə pat phərkəsən/ leaves fall from the tree.
/ghərəo lagə (<cə) nhas-di/ pitcher fell down from hand.
/khui-se wadə/ away from the dog.

According to Grierson (LSl. III. Pt. I) the ablative marker in this dialect is /su/, as in tokri-su from hunger, jungsu from Tibet, but no such a case marker could be recorded in our data.

**Genitive**: The genitive case expresses a mutual relationship between two substantives. In this it is expressed with the suffix /-tə/:

/amətə/ mother’s, /balaŋtə/ cow’s, /gitə/ my, /gətə/ your, /dhEtə/ his, /ramtə/ ram’s, etc.
/dhigitə/ dyara hini/ This is my home.
/dhE gitə popotə nəm hini/ That is my grand-father’s village.
Marchha Dialect

/gEtə šeri gu yā/ where is your son?
/cici šeru amatə əppu tuŋkəni/ young kids drink mother's milk.
/ramtə ama šeru-ru balanțə boti khawacən/ Ram’s mother feeds cow’s milk to children to drink.

The genitive case has a morphological importance, because it serves as a base for the use of some post-positions expressing various casal relations: /gitə wastə/ for me, /gētə wastə/ for you, etc.

Locative: The use of locative is restricted to inanimate nouns only. Moreover, various time and space oriented relations of the case are expressed by various post-positions and adverbial phrases: In this dialect there are two locative markers, viz., /pan/ and /kəl/:

/pan/: It denotes location or presence (of something) in or within some thing.
/macha ti pan hunckən/ fish live in water.
/dhi nhod pan khe tyapya/ what is (put) there in this post?
/kəl/: It denotes location or position on upon or at something.
/dhE nəm kəl kyəlan mise huŋkəni/ how many people live in that village?
/bədər-se əl-kəl huŋkəni/ monkeys live on trees.
/rhigər-kəl ti pisdil/ water is filled on fields.
/get lagkəl dhi kheyə/ what is this in your hand?

Postpositions: There are certain indeclinable terms which, like case suffixes, indicate the casal relationship of nouns and pronouns with other nouns and pronouns in a syntactic string. As is clear from their nomenclature, they invariably follow a noun or pronoun to denote the relationship for which they stand. In this dialect they normally follow a noun/pronoun in the genitive case. The government of various postpositions is attested as under:
(a) post-positions which follow an inflected form of a noun or pronoun in the genitive case:

/wasta/ for, for the sake of, etc. (for examples see dative).

(b) The post-positions /kal/ ‘on’ and /pan/ ‘in’, however, follow the direct case form of an inanimate noun, as in /dalkal/ on the tree, /rhigar-kal/ in (on) the fields (see above).

Models of Nominal Declensions

/šeru/ ‘boy’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
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<td>Acc.-dat. loc</td>
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<td>šeru-un</td>
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<td>šeruzd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
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/kyeti/ ‘girl’

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/khui/ ‘dog’

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>khuiz</td>
<td>khuiz</td>
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</tbody>
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/šar/ ‘foot’

<table>
<thead>
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<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
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<td>šar-se</td>
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</table>
**Marchha Dialect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>ńar</td>
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<td>Locative</td>
<td>narpər/-kəl</td>
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/pec/ 'bird'

<table>
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<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pecət</td>
<td>pecet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/lag/ 'hand'

<table>
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<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
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<td>lag-pər/-kəl (on)</td>
<td>lagę-kəl</td>
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</tbody>
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/daʃ/ tree

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<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**PRONOUN**

Pronouns which substitute nouns can, like nouns, function as subject, object, etc., in a syntactic construction. Morpho-
logically, these too are inflected for two numbers and six casal relations, including postpositional relations, but at least the personal pronouns are not inflected for locative case.

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into six classes, viz., (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinitive, (5) Reflexive, (6) Relative. Of these pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive classes are inflected for both the numbers but not others. However, on the basis of their syntactic differences these stems form two groups, viz., personal and non-personal, for, in a sentence all non-personal pronouns can function as a modifier to a noun in their uninflected form, whereas the personal pronouns cannot, though in their inflected genitive case form these too can function as pronominal adjectives.

**Personal Pronouns**

Personal pronouns stand for nouns of "the person speaking," "the person spoken to" and "the person or thing spoken of", these represent the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons respectively and are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems:

\[ /\text{ge}/ \text{I}, /\text{in}/ \text{we}, /\text{dhE}/ \text{he}, /\text{dhEse}/ /\text{dhEtte}/ \text{they}; /\text{g\texttt{\textasciitilde}}n/ \text{thou}; /\text{gE}/ \text{you}. \]

It may be interesting to note that various stems and forms of the pronouns of this dialect recorded by Grierson in his LSI (Vol. III. Pl. I.: 101) are not attested in the present data. Various forms recorded there in are—\textit{hago~go} 'I', \textit{nge} my, \textit{nga-la} to me, by me, \textit{nga-rang} we, \textit{khyo~khye} thou, \textit{kho~khoba} he. \textit{di-ba} they, \textit{kho-ba} by him, \textit{kho-be-la} by him, to them. Apparently these stems and suffixes belong to the Tibetan stocks of pronominal stems.

From the point of inflection, personal pronouns fully agree with the inflectional patterns of animate nouns, i.e., the case suffixes/post-positions added to them are the same and follow the same morphophonemic rule. In the case of number suffixes, they follow a different pattern. Accordingly, in them the plurality is marked differently (for examples see above), i.e., in the first person the stem /ge/ is replaced with the stem
/in/, in the 2nd person the plural marker /-n/ is added to the stem and in the third person the plural marker /te/ is added to the stem, /dhE/ by the speakers of the Niti dialect and /se/ by the speakers of Māṇa dialect (for illustrations see model declensions).

**Demonstrative Pronoun**

The demonstrative pronouns are used for pointing out a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In this these are attested as /dhi/ ~/di/ 'this' and /dhu/ 'that'.

/dhi gitādyara hini/ this is my home.
/dhu gitā akutā nam hini/ that is my uncle's village.
/gānzā dhi khe lōpyā/ what have you done this?
/dhE lōn lāceki/ he is doing work (working).

Demonstrative pronouns also serve as demonstrative adjectives. But in a syntactic string whether a particular stem is to be treated as a demonstrative pronoun or as a demonstrative adjective can be ascertained from the context and from its syntactic position only, i.e., when there is definite 'pointing out' or modification of a noun head, then they are to be taken as demonstrative adjectives and when they merely substitute a noun head then they are to be treated as demonstrative pronouns. In a direct communication demonstrative pronouns are usually accompanied with kinetics as well, that is, pointing out with gestures, as in /di nhod/ this pot: /dhu nām/ that village.

**Interrogative Pronoun**

This class of pronouns is used for enquiring about someone or some thing. There are two interrogative stems in it, viz., /gho/ who, which? and /khe/ what? which?

/dhEtā khe mhin yā/ what is his name?
/di nhose pan khe yā/ what is there in his pot?
/giz ghodāb loki/ to whom did I say?
/gE sib hotti gho hīz/ who was the other person with you?

In this, these stems are inflected for singular number only. Thus: /gho/ who, /gho-ru/ to whom, /ghozā/ who, by whom, /ghotā wasta/ for whom, /gho dābcā/ from whom, /ghotā/ whose; /khe/ what, which? /khezā/ with which, /khekāl/ on/in which?

Indefinitive Pronouns

Pronouns of this class refer to an unknown or unidentified person or thing. As in other languages, in this too, these are formed with interrogative stems by adding /ri/, /bi/ to them, e.g., /kheri/ some, /kheri mise jagnat hustān/ some people are awakened; /ghori/─ /ghobi/ any one, /khebi/ any thing: /gān ghokuc bi─ /khebi thocān, ge dhacān/ whatever you ask for, I shall give.

Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns substitute and refer to a noun or pronoun which is, as a rule, the logical subject of the sentence. It has a full series of reflexive pronouns, parallel to personal pronouns which are inflected for both the numbers and all cases. Reflexive pronouns are formed variously. Besides, the Indo-Aryan reflexive stem /āpanā/ also has made an intrusion in its framework.

/ge ist─gitā lān i:n─aphi lācān/ I myself will do my work.
/in ist─apānu lān isyān lācin/ we ourselves will do our work.
/gān gEti─apānu lān gānān lE/ thou thyself do your work.
/gē gēt āpānu lān gānān─gEnu lE/ you yourselves do your work.
/dhE ist kam/lān i:n─aphi lācān/ he himself should do his work.
Marchha Dialect

/ame ist šeri jogiru dhEkiri/ mother has given her son to a mendicant.

Relative Pronoun

As in other languages of this group, in this too, there are no separate stems for relative pronouns. Usually, the interrogative or demonstrative pronouns are employed to serve the purpose of relative pronouns as well, or in most of the cases it is left out too:

/gən gho thocən, ge dhacən/ whatever you ask for, I shall give.

/dhise khen lətin lEmyər/ let them do whatever they wish to do.

/gho rhatti, dhE ditti/ whosoever comes, he will go.

Models of Pronominal Declensions

Personal Pronouns

/ge/ 'I'

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>sg.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
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<td>in/yin</td>
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<td>Acc.-dat.</td>
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<td>in-ru/yin-ru</td>
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<tr>
<td>Erg.-Ag.</td>
<td>gezą/gyezd</td>
<td>inzd/in/yinzd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>gi-se/gyi-se</td>
<td>in-se/yin-se</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>gi-tə/gyi-tə</td>
<td>in-tə/yin-tə</td>
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/gən/ 'thou'

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<td>Erg.-Ag.</td>
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**Demonstrative Pronouns**

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<td>dhi-te-zə/-sezə</td>
<td>dhi-te-se/-se-se</td>
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**Interrogative**

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**Interrogative**

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As in other languages of this group, in this too, adjectives belong to that class of words which qualify a noun or pronoun or intensify the meaning of another adjective. Structurally, these belong to the indeclinable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic functions they are treated as a separate class of words. Morphologically, these can be classified as pronominal and non-pronominal. The former are variables and the latter non-variable.

Pronominal Adjective

There are two types of them, (1) Possessive and (2) Demonstrative. These may be illustrated as under:

(1) **Possessive Pronominal Adjectives**: /gitə dyara/ my home; /gətə ṣeri/ thy son; /gEtə balan/ your cows; /dhEtə nhamese/ his goats; /gitə ist cici baba/ my own younger brother.

(2) **Demonstrative Pronominal Adjectives**: /dhi rhan/ this horse; /duhu rhan/ that horse. Moreover, adjectives belonging to this class can be termed as distinguishing to, because these distinguish a person or thing from another person or thing, e.g., in an utterance like /dhi rhan/ ‘this horse’, the qualifier /dhi/ distinguishes the /rhan/ ‘horse’ from other horses.

Non-Pronominal Adjectives

The non-pronominal adjectives which either denote a quality, such as good, bad, black, red, etc., or quantity, such as enough, plenty, much, etc. or number, such as some, few, many, four, five, etc., or some state or condition, such as sad, jolly, cold, hot, etc., may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of...
the noun head qualified by them. Morphologically, these belong to non-variable class, i.e., are not inflected either for the number or for the case form of the noun head qualified by them:

/cici babaru/ to the younger brother, /hāryo dālā-kāl/ on the green tree; /phurd šeruzā/ by the fat boy, /phurd camez/ by fat girls: /tīn-dā khui-tā/ of the black dog; /cici šeru amatā āppu tuṅkāni/ young children drink mother’s milk.

Some of the most frequently used adjectives belonging to this class are—/ori/ good, /labo/ huge, big, /rokko/ all, /usu/ a few, some, /chuṭṭi/ many, plenty, /cici/ small, short, /byadu/ thin, /choktu/ bad, /nhanto/ good.

In many cases, however, borrowed terms from the Indo-Aryan dialects have replaced the native terms: /sap/ clean, /sāsto/ cheap, /gEro/ deep, /dhi-lo/ dull, /māst/ enough, /hārek/ every, /puro/ full, /hāryo/ green, /bhura/ grey, /saro/ hard, /jhilo/ loose, /sust/ lazy, /akhri/ last, /pyara/ lovely, /nilo/ blue.

Formation of Adjective: Adjectives are both radical and derived. Radical adjectives are monomorphemic, but derived are polymorphemic. The adjectives illustrated above are all radical ones. A few examples of the most commonly used formative are:


(ii) /bin~min/—/dābin~dāmin/ like this, /dibin~dimin/ like that, /khebin~khemin/ like which?

(iii) /pa/—/chopa~chukpa/ angry, /khyāk-pa/ how many?

(iv) Reduplication—/cici/ small, young, /bhurbhurya/ round.

(v) /mā/—/mānhant/ ugly =not beautiful < /nhant/ beautiful.

(vi) Indefinite adjectives are derived from interrogatives with /-ri, -bi/ /go-ri/ any, /gho-bi/ anyone, /khe-bi/ any
thing, /khiri/ some, as in /khiri-mise/ some people, /ghori ori lōn/ any good work.

**Placement of Adjectives:** In the Marchha dialect the qualifiers of a noun, like Indo-Aryan precede the noun qualified by them, e.g., /sum rhinza/ three sisters, /māst bese/ many brothers, /tiṇḍo khui/ black dog, etc.

In a noun phrase containing more than one adjective the sequential order of different classes of qualifiers is like this: ± demonstrative, ± pronominal, ± numeral, ± intensifier, ± describing

/dhi gitā rhinza yā/ she (this) is my sister.  
/dhē dhētā cici rhinza yā/ she (that) is his younger sister.  
in māst bese hini/ we are many brothers.  
/giḍā tig tiṇḍo khui taṅki/ I saw a black dog.  
/giḍā tig chuṭṭi liṇḍo khui taṅki/ I saw a very black dog.

But in case of more than one describing adjective, the one referring to size precedes the one referring to quality or quantity. /giḍā tig chuṭṭi labo tiṇḍo khui taṅki/ I saw a very big black dog. /khyā kāl cicya cicya māndā pec bēṭhēt hini/ A very small red bird was seated on the roof.

**Degrees of Comparison:** As is the case with many Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages, in it too the comparison of degrees of adjectives is nonsuffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object being compared in the nominative case, along with the term /se/ prepositioned to the modifier, e.g.,

/ponci rhigā kāloci rhigār se labo yā/ The lower field is bigger than the upper field.  
/in-dāb gē se dugna rhigār yā/ We have double the land than you.

In case of comparison among more than two objects, i.e., in the superlative degree, the particle of comparison, viz., /rēkko se/ ‘from all’ is prepositioned to the modifier in question
The medial field is the biggest of all. (lit. big from all)
The elder brother has more land than all others.
(lit. elder brother possesses from all more land.)

Agreement with the Noun Head: As pointed out above, in it no class of adjectives shows any agreement with the noun head qualified by them:

/cici šeru/ young child, young children.
/giru usu boti dhE/ give me some milk.
/giru usu gyat wasa 10-20 ruphE khyā/ lend me for some days 10-20 rupees.
/gē dēb khyalēn zōmin yā/ how much land is in your possession?
/gē deb khyalēn bōlan hini/ how many cattle are in your possession?

NUMERALS

Numerals have a dual character in it, i.e., these can occur both attributively and predicatively. While occurring attributively they share the position of qualifiers, and are therefore, a sub-category of adjective, but in case of occurring predicatively these form the part of the predicate.

The formal sub-classes of this class of adjectives are (1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, (6) Approximatives.

Cardinals: The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are as follows:
/tig/ one, /nhis/ two, /sum/ three, /pi/ four, /nē/ five, /chē/ six, /sat/ seven, /ath/ eight, /nō/ nine, /dōs/ ten, /agyār/ eleven, etc.

As such in this dialect the native terms are, at present, used for the first five numbers only. All the rest have been borrowed from the Indo-Aryan dialects of the region.
Synchronously, the Mārchhas have adopted the Indo-Aryan system of counting. With the result, this dialect follows the decimal system of I.A. pattern. Consequently in this too numerals indicative of different decades undergo various types of morphophonemic changes when combined with numerals from 1-9 to form the series of respective decades. Similarly, numerals for hundred series are formed by using the term for 1-9 followed by the term for hundred. viz., /sɔ/, as in /tig sɔ/ one hundred, /sum sɔ/ three hundred, /sat sɔ/ seven hundred, etc., Numerals above the series of hundred figures are formed by adding the specific numeral to the specific hundred numeral without any additive particle, as in /tig sɔ sum/ one hundred and three; /nE sɔ aṭh/ five hundred and eight.

Higher numeral terms like thousand, ten thousand, and lakh are seldom needed by common folk. In case of necessity the Indo-Aryan terms /həzar, dōs həzar, lakh/ etc., are used.

**Ordinals:** The use of ordinals is not common among the speakers of it, except the first three terms which are formed by adding the formative particle /po/ to the specific ordinal terms of Indo-Aryan in question. In case of necessity the terms for others can also be obtained by suffixing /po/ to the desired numeral without any linking vowel, as in /pElɔ/~/pEl-po/ first, /nhis-po~ dusro/ second, /sum-po/ third, /pi-po/ fourth, /aṭh-po/ eighth, etc.

**Aggregative:** This class of numerals denotes the number of persons or things together or collectively. In it the aggregatives are formed by suffixing plural formative /se/ to the numeral in question, e.g.,

/nhis-se/ both, /sum-se/ all the three, /nāi~ nEse/ all the five.

/dhE nhisə-se oru rhattini/ both of them will come tomorrow.

/dhE sumāzə giru tadi/ all the three beat me.

/dhE nūise oro du rhattini/ they all the five will come here tomorrow.
**Multiplicatives:** This class of numerals denotes multiplicity of things in terms of 'times' or 'folds': In it these are obtained by adding the Indo-Aryan term /guna/ to the number in question, as in /duna~dugna/ two times, /tignat/ three times, etc., or as /tikhya/ once, /dwaro/ second time, again, /in döb gë se dugna rhigdr yā/ we have two times more land than you.

**Fractionals:** The only native fractional used in this dialect is /phyatañ/ half. All other fractionals have liberally been borrowed from neighbouring Indo-Aryan dialects, e.g. /dët/ one and a half, /dhai~dhE/ two and a half, etc.

**Approximative:** The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral preceded by /kërib/ 'about', as in /dëdd dhE bëgët këribën nE-chE mise hiz/ At that time there were about 5-6 persons.

Besides, approximative phrases are also formed by using a set of two numerals in consecutive or a in random order, as in /gëñ giru usu gyat~gyaci wasta dës-bi:s ruphE khya/ please lend some ten-twenty rupees to me for a few days.

**VERBAL SYSTEM**

The verbal system of this dialect is quite simple. For, the verb roots attest minimum inflection for numbers and persons in various tenses and moods.

**Classification of Verb Roots**

Structurally, verb roots in it belong to three categories, viz., primary, derived and compounded. Though most of the verb roots are primary ones, yet there are some which belong to the other two categories as well. Moreover, on the basis of casal forms taken by them for their subject or object or on the basis of syntactic distinction of having a second noun/pronoun other than the noun/pronoun serving as their subject, as the legitimate object of the verb concerned, these roots can be classified as transitive and intransitive as well.

The most distinguishing feature of transitive and intransitive verbs in it is this that the subject of the transitive class of
verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case, whereas that of the intransitive class of verbs is placed in the nominative/direct case.

Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may be a few verb roots which are called verbs of incomplete predication, i.e., requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in

/dhE yəkhuli yā/ he is all alone.
/ge bittēn hinik/ I am hungry.
/git sum rhinza hini/ I have three sisters.

Primary Roots

Primary roots are both, native and borrowed. Some of these are as under:

Native Roots: /lo-/ to say, /za-/ to eat, /tuŋ-/ to drink, /kan-/ to see, /guc-/ to sleep, /hunc-/ to sit, to dwell, /la-/ to do, /rha-/ to come, /di-/ to go, /cum-/ to hold, /šes-/ to know, /thus-/ to learn, /rhēc-/ to laugh, /yēn-/ to listen, /bu-/ to carry, /tu-/ to keep, /šis-/ to die, /kwēr-/ to close, /kyēl-/to leave, /kya-/ to conceal, /nha/ to dance, /khyos-/ to climb, /cho-/ to divide, etc.

Primary Roots from Indo-Aryan Stock: A considerable amount of convergence has taken place between the Marccha dialects and the local Indo-Aryan dialects of Garhwal. Synchronically, a large number of Indo-Aryan verbal roots have replaced the native roots of it. Some of these are as follows:

/kat-pən/ to cut, to chop, /phuk-pən/ to blow, /bəg-/ to flow, /bənə-/ to make, to build, /gar-/ to burry, /bhōtya-/ to call, /côba-/ to chew, /gən-/ to count, /khās-/ to cough, /dhēka-/ to cover, /khān/ to dig. /utər-/ to descend, /khec-/ to draw, /kəma-/ to earn, /khēwa-/ to feed, /bəc-/ to be saved, /ur-/ to fly, /mor-/ to mould, to fold, /bisər-/ to forget, /jor-/ to join, /kūd-/ to jump, /ol-/ to knead, /cat-/ to lick, /uṭha-/ to lift, /pila-/ to give to drink, /dhēka-/ to push, /dub-/ to sink, /rər-/ to slip, /chin-/ to snatch, /jhar-/ to sweep, /jhul-/ to take a swing, /tol-/ to weigh, etc.
Derived Roots: The commonly derived roots in it are those which belong to the category of denominative roots, derived from nominal or adjectival stems, e.g., /gəṛha-pən/ to join< /gəṭh/ a knot; /harpən/ to be defeated< /har/ defeat, /hwesə-spən/ recognize < /hošes/ recognition, /chok-pən/ to season < /chok/ seasoning, /jhutyə-pən/ to cheat < /jhut/ false, lie.

Compound Verbs

Normally, languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour the use of compound verbs, yet these are not totally wanting too, though the number of verbal roots forming a compound stem is not more than two, of which the first is the main and the second a subsidiary and all grammatical categories are carried by the final constituent itself. In this dialect the most commonly employed auxiliaries are: /di-/ to go, /la-/ to do, /ya-/ to be, /hin-/ to have, /khi-/ completion, /dha-/ to give, /hum-/ to become, /rha-/ to come, etc.

/ge zəbən zekhiki/ I have finished eating.
/in ist lən lE khini/ we have done our work.
/chuṭṭi ḍēr whē-di/ enough late has become.
/rhigər kəl ti pīs-di/ fields are filled with water.
/rokkə mise kuc-di/ all persons have gone to sleep.
/gənə di khe ləp yə/ what this has been done by you?
/amazə ist šeru jogi-ru dhEkiri/ mother gave away her son to the mendicant.

Verbs Compounded with Nouns and Adjectives

The device of compounding certain nouns and adjectives with certain verb stems, to express a single verbal concept too, is attested in it, e.g.,

/thək diki/ tierd, /ge thən məst thək diki/ I am very much tired today, /yad ləpən/ to remember, /byo-la-/ to marry, to do marriage, /chuuku-po-rhapən/ to be angry< /chuuku/ anger, /sap ləpən/ to make clean, /kəṭṭha la-/ to collet, /gwe ləg-/ to crowel, /dhokha kyə-/ to deceive, /kəjjya la-/ to do quarrel, /mha-la-/ to refuse, to forbid, /maphi lə-/ to forgive, /sajya
Marchha Dialect

dha-/ to punish, /thaŋ hu-/ to stand, /cor la/ to steal. In this /lapeŋ/ 'to do' is the commonly used compounding verb stem.

Transitivization: As in other languages of this group, in this too, there is no inbuilt system of deriving transitive stems from intransitive stems or vice-versa by modifying their stems, as we notice in Indo-Aryan languages, as in bEṭhanā to sit: bEṭhānā to make to sit; sonā to sleep: sulānā to make to sleep. But in these languages all roots are radical, i.e., in it a root is either transitive or intransitive, e.g., /yān-/ to listen: /suna/ to narrate, /śes-/ to be awakened: /syān-/ to awake; /sīs-/ to die: /śas/ to kill; /hunc-/ to sit: /bEṭhra-/ to make to sit; /rīśz-ī to laugh: /hāsa-ī to make to laugh; /lec-/ to burn (intrans.): /cur-/ to burn (trans); /bāc-/ to read himself: /pṛṛha-/ to teach; /kuc/ to sleep: /kusal-ī to make to sleep, /māl/ to grow: /bād/ to be grown.

It may also be mentioned that in most of the cases the transitive roots are either borrowed from the Indo-Aryan dialects or expressed with the helping verb-/khi-/ as in /phag khiri/ broke, /kye khiri/ concealed, < /phag-ī to be broken, < /kye-ī to be concealed. A few Indo-Aryan borrowings are:

/umāl-/ to boil itself: /umal to boil; /buj-ī to be extinguished: /buja-ī to extinguish; /cyap-/ to be pressed: /cyaps-ī to press; /phēl/ to be spread: /Phēla-ī to spread.

Verbal Conjugation

In it, a verb is conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspects. In these languages a verb is normally not conjugated for voice categories, for in the colloquial speech no favour is shown for the use of passive or impersonal constructions. Rather all expressions relating to passive or impersonal voices are transformed into the structure of an active voice.

From the point of temporal conjugation too, it attests a clear distinction for the present, past and future tenses only. Similarly, from the point of aspects (i.e., denotation of nature of action) the verb stems show a distinction between perfect and non-perfect only, there being no clear distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects of it. Both of them
are freely used for each other, though literal rendering of linguistic expressions, involving progressive aspect, is possible.

Sub-systems

The verbal conjugation of this attests the following type of sub-systems, having their respective conjugational patterns. These are (1) Affirmative (2) Negative, (3) Cousative. Of these the range of affirmative sub-system is the widest one.

**Affirmative Sub-system:** Under this system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood of it may be presented as follows:

**Mechanism of Tense Formation:** In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of respective temporal suffixes, along with number and person markers. As such the normal order of various constituents in a finite verb form is: root + tense marker + person and number suffixes. In some cases the root is partially replaced in various tense forms, for instance, the verb root /dha-/ to give, is replaced by /khyā-/ in all non first person forms. Similarly, the verb root /kan-/ to see, is replaced by /tan-/ in the past tense (see Model Conjugation).

**Person-Number Suffixes:** Though in principle a verbal stem is expected to be inflected for 6 form, (i.e., 3 person × 2 numbers) in all the tenses, yet in actual usage a formal distinction is available for 3 forms only. (3rd sg. 1+1st sg. 1+ all others—1=3, for examples see model conjugations). As such the semantic connotation of person and number is determined by the subject of the verb form in question, e.g., /rήnā~rήn/ he comes, /rήnānī~rήnī/ they, thou, you, we come; /rήnānāgī/ I come.

**Subject Incorporation:** Like many other languages of the western pronominalized group in this too, verbal forms incorporate pronominal subjects in their reduced forms or in a symbolic form. Usually, it is represented by /-g/ or /-k/ in the
Marchha Dialect

first person and by /-n/ in the second person, e.g., Māṇā—/r̥na/- to come:

**Present Tense**—/r̥na/ (3rd); /r̥nanani/ (2nd); /r̥nagi/(1st).

**Past Tense**—/r̥nya/ (3rd); /r̥ni/ (2nd); /r̥gi/ (Ist).

**Future**—/r̥tti/ (3rd); /r̥nani/ (2nd); /r̥nagi/ (Ist).

Niti:

**Present Cont.** /r̥cya/ (3rd); /r̥ceni (2nd); /r̥ce-ki/ (Ist)

**Past Cont.** /r̥E/ (3rd); /r̥n/ (2nd); /r̥ki/ (Ist).

The subject of 3rd person is not indicated by means of a subject infix or subject suffix. It is the absence of any subject marker which indicates the 3rd person.

However, in both the dialects the process of pronominalization is in decline. Consequently, in the dialect of Niti it is no more attested in present indefinite and is also lost in the 1st person of the future tense, as in /r̥n/ I will come, /zèn/ I shall eat.

In the dialect of Māṇā also the 1st person pronominal subject is no more attested in many verbal forms as in /zana-i/ < *zānagi I eat; I shall eat /za/ *zāgi I ate.

**Temporal Conjugation**: (Indicative Mood)

All transitive and intransitive verbs, including the verb substantives are inflected for various temporal and non-temporal categories in it, but in a non-formal speech there is no strict adherence to the use of various temporal conjugations, particularly with regard to indefinite and continuous tense forms. Consequently, indefinite tense forms are indiscriminately used for their continuous or habitual tense forms. Various forms and functions of temporal conjugations, in the indicative mood may be presented as follows:

**Verb Substantive**: Various forms of the verb substantive /ya/- to be; /hun/- to become, /hin/- to have, are obtained as under:
Present Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>hyâ~yâ</td>
<td>hini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>hini</td>
<td>hî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>hînki</td>
<td>hini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Past Tense: /hinzɔ~hîzɔ/ (all persons and numbers)*

*Future Tense*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd persons</td>
<td>huni</td>
<td>hunti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>huni</td>
<td>hunti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>hunt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/gEt ŋeri gu yã/ where is your son?

/gð yðkuli hînki/ I am all alone.

/in m˚st bese hini/ we are many brothers.

/gitɔ sum rhinza hini/ I have three sisters.

/dhE ər eru gho hîz/ who was the boy?

/ganz nhi dhEdɔb lodi hunti/ you only may have told him.

But in this context Grierson’s data records verb forms like dug is, yod was, jung became, which the present data does not confirm.

**Finite Verbs (Affirmative sub-system)**

A finite verb form, in it, exhibits grammatical categories of tense, aspects and moods. The markers of these categories are directly affixed to the verb stem and are followed by number-person markers. A structural analysis of these forms in all the tenses and moods may be presented in the following paragraphs.

Present Indefinite: In this dialect the present tense of a finite verb, besides the indefinite or indicative sense of no action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action in progress which may be technically termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action or an action of universal character, as in /dhE hørbgɔt~jokhãr jöttɔn guskan/ he is always eating.
In this dialect the inflectional base for these forms is the bare root itself, to which are added the tense, person-number markers. But in respect of the markers the dialects of Niti and Mānā employ divergent suffixes, e.g., in the dialect of Mānā these markers are:

/-na/ (3rd sg.); /nai/ (1st sg) and /-nani/ (all others), as in.

/dhE zəna/ he eats: /dhEse zə -nani/ they eat.

/gə/ /nzə-nani/ thou eatest: /gə zə-nani/, you eat.

/ge zə-nai (gi)/ I eat: /in zə-nani/ we eat.

But in the dialect of Niti these are attested as /-n/ (3rd sg.,) /-ni/ (1st sg.) and /-ni/ (all others), as in.

/dhE zən/ he eats: /dhEte zə -ni/ they eat.

/gən zən/ thou eatest: /gə zə-ni/ you eat.

/ge zən/ I eat: /in ze-ni/ we eat.

Besides, while the dialect of Mānā is, more or less constant in the use of the tense-person markers, the dialect of Niti shows many variations and morphophonemic changes, for instance, besides the above mentioned /-n/, /-ni/ and /-ni/, it also attests, /cən/, /cəni/ and /cən/ or /kən/; /kəni/ and /kən/ respectively (for example see Model Conjugations of /ləpən/ and /tuŋpən/).

Present Continuous: Normally, the speakers of this dialect do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous, but if absolutely necessary, it can be expressed with the help of auxiliary /cas/ to begin=Hindi—lēg, added to the bare stem of the principal verb, e.g., /di-ce-yā/ he is going; /dhE du dicyā/ he is going there; /di-ce-ni/ they, you, we are going; /dina-gi/ /di-ceki/ I am going; /ge thən ist dyara diceki/ I am going home today; /tuŋ/ to drink; /tuŋ-ce-yā/, /tuŋ-ceni/, /tuŋ-ceki/; /šeru ti tuŋ-cayā/ the child is drinking water; /kuc/- to sleep; /kuceyā/, /kuc-ceni/, /kuc-ceki/; /zə/- to eat; /zə-ce-yā/, /zə-ceni/, /zə-ceki/; /gən gucə rhəceni/ where are you coming from?; /šeru roṭti zə-ceyā/
the child is eating loaves of bread; /šeru-se roṭṭi zeceni/ children are eating loaves of bread.

**Present Perfect:** Present perfect is not a distinct conjugational category in it. Normally, it is expressed with simple past tense, because this dialect does not make any distinction between present perfect and simple past. However, if necessary it can be affected by adding respective forms of the verb roots /khye-/ to give or /di-/ to go, to the past-participle form of the main verb. Distributionally, /khye-/ is used with transitive verbs and /di-/ with intransitive verbs:

/ge zəbən zE khiki/ I have eaten food.
/in lən IE khini/ we have finished the work.
/ge diru puro IE khiki/ I have completed it.
/ge thən məst thəke diki/ I am very much tired today.
/rhigər kəl ti pəs-di/ water is filled in the fields.
/rhEdiz/ has come; /tuī khiri/ has drunk; /zEkhi/ has eaten; /kucdi/ is slept. It is also expressed with forms of verb substantive added to the past participle of the main verb: /dhE du rhəs-yə/ he is already here.

**Static Present:** The static present or the present perfect continuous is expressed through periphrastic constructions, by adding the desired form of the verb substantive to the past participle form of the main verb.

/daḷ-kəl tig pec bəthtyā=(bEθθt+yə/ a bird is seated on the tree.
/gənzə di khe ləpyə/ what all this has been done by you?
/khyalan pecə bEθθt hini/ many birds are seated.

**Past Indefinite:** As in the present indefinite, in the past indefinite too, besides the usual denotation of indefinite/indicative sense, it denotes an action in progress in the past as well. The inflectional base of it is the bare root of the verb to which are affixed the tense-person-number markers. As in the present tense, in the past tense, too, both the dialects
have different sets of suffixes. Moreover, there is no uniformity in them. Different roots take different sets. All these may be tabled as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nītī</td>
<td>-i/-i/-iz</td>
<td>-i/-i/-iz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-i/-in/-n/-ni/</td>
<td>-i/-in/-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-i/-ki</td>
<td>-i/-in/-n-iiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mānā</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-yā/-ic-cya/-êz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-ni/-nê</td>
<td>-ni/-na/-nê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>-/gi</td>
<td>-ni/-na/-nê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(for illustration see Model Conjugations)

Past tense forms are also employed to convey the sense of completion of an action in the immediate past or even in the present, usually expressed by present perfect.

**Periphrastic Constructions:** The static past or the past perfect continuous is expressed by adding respective past tense forms of the subsidiary verbs to the participle form of the main verb:

/dhE inru kānizān tyō-pān casdi/ she started weeping on seeing us.

/bāthō chuṭṭi āber tāk rhattān gusi/wind continued blowing for a long time.

/kusti hiz/ they are slept; /dhE khiki/ has given away:

/zE khiki hiz/ had been eaten; /tuī khiki hiz/ had drunk;

/tuī khiki/ drank out; /hucti hiz/ was seated, etc.

**Past Continuous:** Normally, as in the present in the past tense too, the indefinite itself serves the purpose of the continuous as well; but if specification is necessary then it can be affected with past tense forms of the verb substantive added to
the past participle forms of the principal verb or with the aux, /ca-/: 

/ghən gho-ru bhətya rhət〜bhețyaci hiz/ to whom were you calling for? 

/dhE yəkhuli rhacizə〜rhayə/ he was coming alone. 

/dhEse nhis mise rhacizə〜rhənani/ they two persons were coming. 

/ghən guça rhənani/ where are you coming from? 

**Habitual Past**: It is also expressed periphrastically: 

/in jəkhər〜roj dhət dyara rhattənt guskarəniz/ we used to visit their house daily. 

**Past Perfect**: The past perfect is identical with immediate past, in which the completion of the action in question is affected with the help of the aux. /kyə-/ to do, or /hu-/ to be: 

/ghənz jhullo-nu〜phose go tapyə/ where had you put the clothes? 

/ge di-ru lən-ru pEltən puro lEkhini/ I had already finished the work. 

/dhE-zə ist camə raja-ru dhE khiri〜dhE kya/ she gave away her daughter to the king. 

/kaki〜cyama nyar du rhattiz/ (Mana-rhayə) aunt had come here yesterday. 

**Future tense**: The normal function of future tense forms is to state some thing about an action or state that has yet to take place or to come into being. But in this dialect it, besides denoting the sense of absolute future or progress of an action taking place in future, also denotes the sense of optative and of the subjunctive moods, including possibility or conditional aspect of an action taking place in future. But in it, at least in the first person, it is expressed with present tense forms itself. 

Normally, the inflectional base of the future indefinite is the bare root itself to which are affixed the future marker /-ti, -tin,
-kən/ etc., which in its turn is followed by respective person, number markers. The future markers in the dialect of Mānā and Niti are as follows:

**Niti**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-tini/tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-tən</td>
<td>-tini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-cən/-n/-kən</td>
<td>/cini/-tin/-ni/kəni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mānā**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-ti/-kəti</td>
<td>-tini/-kətin/-tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-ni/-nani/i/cin</td>
<td>-nə/-na/-nani/-ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-nai/-kən/nagi</td>
<td>-nai/-kəni/nani/-ni/-ini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ŋ/-ən/-gi

(For illustrations see Model Conjugations).

Some of the syntactic uses of the future tense are:
/oru dhE du rhatti/ she will be coming here tomorrow.
/hūsi, gEru bi dhacən (dhatə-Mana)/Wait, I will give to you as well.
/gən khe bi thocən (thotən-Mana), ge dhacən (dhutən)/ Whatever you ask, I will give you.
/gho rhatti, dhE ditti/ whosoever comes, will go.
/dhEse oru rhattin (Mana)~rhattini/ they will come tomorrow.
/ge ist lən əphi ləcən/ I myself will do my work.
/in aṉənu lən isyən ɬəcini (Mana)~ɬəcin/ we ourselves will do our work.
/ge do gostəri mhə dittə/ I shall never go there.

**Passive Sub-system**

Grammatically, the passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer, but is acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject
is not the logical subject, i.e., the doer, but the logical object, the person or thing towards which whom the action is directed. In view of this the passive voice is naturally restricted to transitive verbs only.

Like other languages of this group this too does not favour passive constructions. For, in these languages the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative/agentive case is enough to convey the passive sense. Consequently, utterances like /dhEZ zE/ convey the meaning 'he ate': as well as 'eating was done by him'. As such in these languages all expressions of other languages having a passive structure are rendered as in active voice with their subject in the ergative case. But this dialect seems to have developed the passive structure as well on the pattern of the local Indo-Aryan dialects, as in /dhi ciṭṭi ḍEse ma ṭōrsin~terskān/ this letter may not be read by you.

Impersonal Voice

Contrary to passive voice the impersonal voice is restricted to intransitive verbs. It is always in the neutral construction, as such the verb is always in the 3rd person singular number, for, it has either no subject at all, or if there is one, it is represented as able or unable to perform the action denoted by the verb. As such in these languages Hindi sentences like /mujh se cāla nōhi jata/ ‘Walking is not possible by me (lit. it can not be walked by me)’ will be rendered as ‘I can not walk’.

/ge-se hunci ma ṭōrsin (Mana)~ma ṭōrskān/ sitting is not done by me=I am unable to sit.

/gE-se pEdāl mhā yūsin (Mana)~ma yunskān/ It shall not be possible for you to go on foot.

Causative Sub-system

Since causing something to be done is an action which must be directed towards some body, all causative verbs are invariably transitive. As has already been pointed out in the context of transitivization that there is no inbuilt mechanism for deriving secondary roots from the primary roots, transitive or intransitive, in it. So the possibility of deriving causative
roots too is ruled out. The purpose of the causative is served by the distinct transitive verb itself. Moreover, the languages of this group do not favour the use of the second causative as well. But the Marchha dialect on account of its long contact with local Indo-Aryan dialects has adopted the Indo-Aryan pattern and has borrowed Indo-Aryan roots.

/dhE lən ləcən/ he is doing work = working.
/dhE seru-se lən kəra-cən/ he is getting work done by the boy.

Also /kən-/ to see: /bətha-/ to show, /yən-/ to listen: /suna-/ to make to listen, /tuñ-/ to drink: /pila-/ to make to drink, /za-/ to eat: /khəwa-/ to make to eat, to feed, /bəc-/ to read: /pətha-/ to make to read, etc.

Negative Sub-system

Like Indo-Aryan, in this dialect too, no structural change is attested on account of the use of the negativization of the action indicated by a verbal form:

/ge gyən/ I shall go: /ge mhə gyən/ I shall not go.
/dhEzə zə/zəya/ he ate: /dhEz mhə zə/ he did not eat.
/dhE dibən gyökən~gyoçizə/ he should go.
/dhE mhə dibən gyökən~gyoci/ he should not go.
/ge mhə rEtəçən/ I cannot come.

Model Conjugations

/rhəpən/ to come (Niti) /rhəbən/ (Mana)

Present (Niti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>(dhE) rhən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>(gən) rhən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>(ge) rhən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present (Mānā)

| 3rd person | rhəna | rhənani |
| 2nd person | rhənani | rhənani |
| 1st person | rhənagi | rhənani |
### Present Continuous (Niti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>rhaceni</td>
<td>rhaceki</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Past Tense (Niti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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### Past Tense (Mānā)

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>rhāgi</td>
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</table>

### Past Cont. (Niti)

<table>
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<tr>
<td>All persons</td>
<td>rhaciz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Future (Niti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
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<th>2nd person</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>rhatōn</td>
<td>rhan</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Future (Mānā)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>2nd person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rhātti</td>
<td>rhōnani</td>
<td>rhānagi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/dipōn/~/dibōn/ to go

### Present (Niti/Mānā)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>gyōn/dina</td>
<td>gyōni/dinani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>gyōn/dinani</td>
<td>gyōni/dinani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>gyōn/dinagi</td>
<td>gyōni/dinani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Marchha Dialect

**Present Cont. (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>dicyā</td>
<td>deceni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>diceni</td>
<td>deceni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>diceki</td>
<td>deceni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past (Niti/Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>die/diya</td>
<td>die/dudī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>din/dini</td>
<td>din/dina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>diki/digi</td>
<td>dini/dini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Periphrastic Past (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ditiz</td>
<td>ditiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ditiz</td>
<td>ditiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ditiz</td>
<td>ditiz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past Cont. (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All persons</td>
<td>diciz</td>
<td>dicīz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future (Niti/Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>dittī/ditti</td>
<td>ditini/dittin (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ditān/dini</td>
<td>ditini/dina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>gyān/gyān</td>
<td>ditini/gyān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>zān/zāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>zān/zānani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>zān/zānai (-gi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subjunctive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>/zāpān/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>/zābān/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>/zābān/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/zāpān/ ː/zā bā n/ to eat

**Present (Niti/Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>zān/zāna</td>
<td>zān/zānani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>zān/zānani</td>
<td>zān/zānani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>zān/zānai (-gi)</td>
<td>zān/zānai (-gi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Cont. (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>zācyā</td>
<td>zāceni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>zāceni</td>
<td>zāceni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>zāceki</td>
<td>zāceni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Past (Niti/Mana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>(dhEz) zE/zəya</td>
<td>(gənz) zən/zəni</td>
<td>(gez) zə ki/zəi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>(dhEtez) zE/zəyə</td>
<td>(gəz) zən/zən</td>
<td>(inz) zən/zən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Past Cont. (Niti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>zəciz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Future (Niti/Mana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>zətti/zəti</td>
<td>zətini/zətini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>zətini/zəna</td>
<td>zəni/zənai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subj.</th>
<th>gə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

/tūpən/~/tuəbən/ to drink

### Present (Niti/Mana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>tuŋkən/tuŋna</td>
<td>tükən/tuŋnani</td>
<td>tükəni/tuŋnani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Present Cont. (Niti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>tuńc-yə</td>
<td>tuńceni</td>
<td>tuńceni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Past (Niti/Mana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>tui/tuyə</td>
<td>tū/tuŋna</td>
<td>tū/tuŋna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Past Cont. (Niti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>tūciz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### Marchha Dialect

**Future (Niti/Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
<th>Stem 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>tū-ti/tuṅ-kāti</td>
<td>tūtini/tuṅkātini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>tū-tān/tuṅnt</td>
<td>tū-tān/tuṅna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>tū-kān/tuṅkān</td>
<td>tūkān/tuṅkāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>tūku?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ka npāŋ/ ~ /kā n bə ń/ to see, /taŋpə ń/ to look at

**Present (Niti/Manna)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
<th>Stem 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>kancōn/kā nna</td>
<td>kanceni/kānnani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>kancōni/kānnani</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>kancōn/kānnagi</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Cont. (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>kancya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>kanceni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>kanceki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past (Niti/Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>kaniz~taniz/tāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>kani~taniz/tańni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>kani~tańki/tangi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past Cont. (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All persons</td>
<td>kanciz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future (Niti/Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
<th>Stem 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>kan-ti/tań-ti</td>
<td>kantini/tańtini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>kantōn/tańcin</td>
<td>kantini/tańtōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>kantōn/tańgl</td>
<td>kantini/tańna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imp.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>kānku?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>tuṅna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/kucpən/~/gucibən/ to sleep

**Present (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuckən</td>
<td>kuckən</td>
<td>kuckən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Cont. (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuc-yä</td>
<td>kucceni</td>
<td>kucceni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Perfect (Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gucit-yä</td>
<td>gucit-hini</td>
<td>gucit-hini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past Tense (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuci</td>
<td>kucin</td>
<td>kucin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past Cont. (Niti)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>kuciz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Past Perfect (Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>gucit hinz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Future (Niti/Mana)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuctı/guciti</td>
<td>kuctıni/gucitini</td>
<td>kuctıni/gucitini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>guci dhE/kucide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Subj.**

|           | kuci dhaku/gucidhagu? |
/hunc-pən/ to sit, to dwell (*Niti*)

**Present Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td>hunckən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>huncyā</td>
<td>huncyā</td>
<td>huncenī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>hunceni</td>
<td>hunceni</td>
<td>hunceni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>hunceki</td>
<td>hunceki</td>
<td>hunceni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>huncı</td>
<td>huncı</td>
<td>huncı</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>hunzti</td>
<td>hunzti</td>
<td>hunceni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>hunceki</td>
<td>hunceki</td>
<td>hunceni</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Past Cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huncətīz</td>
<td>huncətīz</td>
<td>huncətīz</td>
<td>huncətīz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past Perfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huneḍ ti hīz</td>
<td>huneḍ ti hīz</td>
<td>huncə tihīz</td>
<td>huncə tihīz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>huncəkətī</td>
<td>huncəkətī</td>
<td>huncəkətī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>huncətən</td>
<td>huncətən</td>
<td>huncətən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>huncəkən</td>
<td>huncəkən</td>
<td>huncəkən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hunci</td>
<td>hunci</td>
<td>hunci</td>
<td>hunci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subj.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huncə ku?</td>
<td>huncə ku?</td>
<td>huncə ku?</td>
<td>huncə ku?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/dhapən/khyən/ to give (*Niti*)

**Present Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>khyən</td>
<td>khyən</td>
<td>khyən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>khyən</td>
<td>khyən</td>
<td>khyə tin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>dhacən</td>
<td>dhacən</td>
<td>dhaceni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Present Cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khyec –yā</td>
<td>khyeceni</td>
<td>dhaceki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khyeceni</td>
<td></td>
<td>dhaceni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khyi</td>
<td>khyän</td>
<td>dhan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past Cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd/2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khyeciz</td>
<td>dhaciz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>dhEkhiki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Future Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khyetti</td>
<td>khyetān</td>
<td>dhacān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imp.  

|          | dhE          |

Subj.  

|          | dhE dhaku?   |

MOODS AND ASPECTS

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are some other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only partial inflection of verbal stems for a particular mood or mental state of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

As such modal conjugation deals with the inflectional forms of a verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition, etc. The three types of moods which are normally attested in these languages are—Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the Indicative Mood have already been detailed in the
foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the remaining two.

**Imperative Mood**

Imperative mood is that form of a verb which expresses an action as an order, a polite command, a request, a warning, prohibition, etc. In this type of expressions, the subject is the second person pronoun, honorific or non-honorific, and is, usually, left out. By its very nature the imperative can not refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and the future times only. But in this dialect its use is mostly confined to the present time only.

In it the imperative singular is obtained as bare root or root +e; and the plural or honorific as root +ni, as in /lE/ do (sg.): /lo/ to do; /zE/ eat (sg.): /lo/ to eat; /thwE/ take: /tho/ to take; /dE/ give: /dho/ to give; /kuci/ sleep (sg.): /kuci/ sleep (pl.); /bıcE/ read: /bıc/ to read.

However, in the dialect of Mana it is zero (sg.) and /na/ (pl.): /tn/ drink; /rh/ come; /d/ go; /rh-ru c or ti dE/ give grass and water to the horse.

/hus-i~jagi gErubi dhac d/ wait, I will give to you as well;
/dhv hunci/ sit here; /gen gEt l(on)E/ do your work;
/dEse~dhEte ist l(on) isy(on) l(o)/ they themselves should do their work.

**Prohibitive Imperative** : It is used to prohibit a person from executing an action in question, and is effected with the use of the prohibitive particle /th/, prefixed to the imperative form of the verb concerned, with necessary morphophonemic adjustments. In case of compound verbs, however, the imperative suffixes are appended to the auxiliary:

The future too is expressed with the present forms:

/6ru du rh6pen th6bisrE/ don’t forget to come here tomorrow.

First Person Imperative: It is obtained by suffixing /-ku/ to the verb stem, /diku/ should I go?; /rhaku/ may I come?; /z6ku/ may I eat.

Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood and its various forms are used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as wish, hope, requirement, possibility, probability, presumption, ability, compulsion, permission, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, condition, etc. For a broader analysis all these may be grouped with 3 groups, viz. (1) optative, (2) potential, (3) contingent. These may be illustrated as follows:

Optative

It represents the action mainly as a desire, wish, request, requirement, purpose supposition or a possibility almost always with an implied reference to future.

(i) Permission: Seeking permission by the first person, roughly conveying the sense of English term, ‘may’, ‘should’ is obtained by suffixing the interrogative particle /ku/ to the verb stem which is accompanied with terminal interrogative intonation, e.g., /di-ku/ should, may I go?; /ruh-ku/ may, should I come?; /z6-ku/ may, should I eat?

(ii) Potential: This mood denotes, mainly possibility of occurrence of an action with reference to the present or past. It is expressed by adding present or future tense forms of the verb substantive to the present or past participial forms of the main verb:

/dalKal sEt tig pec bEthaEt hini/ perhaps a bird is seated on the tree.

/g6nz sEt dhi kitab b6cE/ perhaps you may have read this book.
/ɔru ʂEt mха̱ʃya bi du rhatti/ possibly sister-in-law (elder brother’s wife) also may come here tomorrow (lit. will come).

(iii) Presumptive: This mood expresses possibility or presumed/inferred certainty with reference to the present or past. It is obtained by appending respective future tense forms of the verb substantive /hu/ to the present or past participle forms of the main verb:

/dhE ʂEt dhà zebən ẓəcyə hunti/ he may be taking food now.
/dhätE∼dhEte zE terkhiri hunti/ they may have eaten by now.
/gə nzə n hi dhEdəb lwe hunti/ you alone may have told him.

Contingent: This mood mainly denotes a condition which is contrary to fact. It also implies a wish which can not be fulfilled. In this the subordinate clause takes conjunctive participle and the main clause future or conjunctive participle.

/gE rhaniz gebi gə ʃib hyokəni/ had you come, I too would have accompanied you.
/dhE rhenizə tə ori hunizə/ had he come, so nice it would be.

However, a condition expressing the fulfilment of the action in future is expressed with absolute future forms in both the clauses.

/gən rhattən tə ge bi rhaŋ/ (If) you come then I shall also come.

Some of the other aspects of linguistic communication expressed by various verbal forms are as under:

Compulsive: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed by combining the infinitive form of the main verb with the respective tense forms of the verb substantive /ya/ or /pət/; gezə tig ciṭṭi lekhpən yə/ I have to write a letter.
/gen rhattān tə giru bi rhapān pər kəti/ If you come I will also have to come.
/dhEru ducə dipən pərE/ he had to go from here.
/gezə lənį pən hyā/ I have to do work (=to work).

Desiderative: The desiderative aspect is expressed with the verb /ca-/ to wish to desire to the infinitive form of the main verb.
/ge dhano rhigərkəl dipən cacən/ I wish to go to the field just now.
/dhE thamin du rhapən ciciz/ he wanted to come here day-before-yesterday.

Suggestive: The suggestive sense for some future action or a polite command is expressed with /gyoci/ ‘it is desirable’:
/dhEdu mhə rhapsən gyocı/ (It is suggested that) he should not come here.
/gəru səru do zərur dipən gyocı/ you must go there tomorrow.

Inceptive: The inceptive sense of an expression is conveyed with the verb /cas-/ added to the infinitive form of the main verb:
/dhE inru knizən (tEz) tyopən caseli (caslia)/ she started weeping as soon as she saw us.

Abilitative: Ability or inability on the part of a doer in the performance of an action is expressed with the verb /tərs-/ ‘can’ combined with imperative form of the main verb:
/dhi cištī gE-se mhə bāce tərskən (tərsin). this letter will not be read by you (lit. you will not be able to read this letter).
/ge-se hunci mə tərsəkən (tərsin)/ sitting will not be done by me (lit. you can not sit).
/dhE du mhə rEtə rçən/ he can not come here.
/ge mhə rEtərcən/ I can not come.
Non-Finite Verb Forms

Besides the regular finite verb forms, which are the essential constituents of the predicate, and regularly take the tense, person, number suffixes, there are also same verb forms which are derived from verbal stems, but are not inflected for the above mentioned grammatical categories. Consequently, these can not be used independently as a predicate in a sentence. In this dialect there formations are attested as under:

*Infinitive:* Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicking it of any subject”. In this dialect, it is obtained by suffixing the infinitive marker to the verb root. The formative suffixes attested in this context are —/-pən/ (Niti) and /-bən/ (Mana):

/lə-pən/ to do; /dha-pən/ to give; /rəv-pən/ to come; /di-pən/ to go; /ze-pən/to eat; /tun-pən/ to drink; /kən-pən/ to see; /kuc-pən/ to sleep; /hunc-pən/ to sit; /lo-pən/ to say, etc.

*Verbal Noun:* The verbal noun, which usually has the force of a logical object or complement of verb or has a semantic correlation with Acc.- dative case, is identical with the infinitive form of the verb:

/ge dhori~ori lən ləpən cacən/ I wish to do some good work.
/gez tig ciṭṭi lekhpən yā/ I have to write a letter.
/dhEru ducə dipən pəE/ he has to go from here.
/dhE du rhpən cicizə/ he wanted to come here.
/dhEz ist apa šib dipə nyā/ he has to go with his father.

Besides, as a verbal noun it can function as a complement or as an object of a finite verb form as well:

/œru du rharpən thə bisrE/ don’t forget to come here to-morrow.
/dhE tyō-pən casya/ he started weeping.
Infinitive used as a Verbal Noun: When used as a verbal noun an infinitive can take post-positional case markers as well, particularly to express the meaning of the acc.-dative case:

/gitɔ ist cici baba-ru du rhɔ pɔŋ-ru loki/ I asked my younger brother to come here.
/khi:r bɔnɔpɔntɔ wasa go gyõken/ rice is needed to prepare ‘kheer’.
Also /lopɔntɔwasta/ for telling; /urp/ ƞt wrsta/ for washing; /sispɔntɔ wasa/ for tilling; /sispɔntɔ wasa/ for dying; /sapɔntɔ wasa/ for killing; /tuŋpən wasa/ for drinking; /lɔpɔntɔ wasa/ for doing; /zəpən wasa/ for eating, etc.

Participles

Participles are verbal adjectives qualifying noun/pronoun, but retaining some properties of the verb. There are two kinds of participles in it, viz., present and past. But contrary to Indo-Aryan languages, in these tongues the participles are not affected by the grammatical categories of the noun/pronoun qualified by them.

Present Participle: The present participle indicating a concurrent action is formed by suffixing /tɔn, zɔn/ to the verb root: distributionally /stɔn/-/-tɔn/ is added to consonant ending stems, and /zɔn/ to vowel ending (including nasal -n) stems. In this, the stem final consonant /-c/ becomes /-s/ when followed by /t-/, e.g., /phostɔn/ drying</phoc/- to dry; /kustɔn/ sleeping</kuc/- to sleep; /zEtɔn/ eating; /təzɔn/ seeing; /yəntɔn/ listening; /urtɔn/ washing; /tuizɔn/ drinking; /dhE tɔn/ giving; /rhɔstɔn/ laughing; etc.

/ge dhErut rhɔttɔn taŋgi/ I saw him coming.
/in tɔzɔn dinat hinž/ we were going seeing.

Past Perfect Participle: Like present participle, the past participle also can be used as an ordinary adjective to qualify a noun. Contrary to the present participle, it indicates the completed state of the action related to the term modified by it. In this dialect it is formed by suffixing /-it, -ɔt, tya, -pya/ or /pın〜bin/ to the radical base of the verb: /tan-pya/ seen;
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/ləpin/ told; /urpin/ washed; /hūsit/ stopped; /śist/ dead; /tūit/ drunk; /phagsit/ broken; /kyastyā/ hidden, /lāpyā/ done; /zāit/ eaten; /kust/ slept; /lest/ burnt; /śidya/ dead; /sustyā~sorāt/ rotten; /pēkatya/ cooked; /sustyaphēl/ rotten fruit; /dhEru dipin khyākobi gya hwedi/ how many days have passed since he went; /khuśt sāru/ slept child; /dhE du rhētyā/ he is already here; /pecse zōit phēl/ fruit eaten by the bird.

But the sense of past participle is conveyed by conjunctive participle or by independent form when used predicatively:

/dhE bhu: šist hinz/ the snake was dead;
/dhE šeru kust hinz/ the child was slept.

Conjunctive Participle : The primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb or still continues in the state completed earlier. Syntactically, it is used to connect one clause with another, but the sense of the clause which contains it remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite verb is added to it. In this dialect it is obtained by suffixing /-iz/-z/ to the stem of the verb: After stems ending in vowels it enters into ‘sandhi’ and is realized as /E/.

/twēz/ having drunk; /rhēz/ having come; /kaniz~tēz/ having seen; /lwēz/ having said; /lEz/ having done; /dhEz/ having given; /kuciz/ having slept; /rhēciz/ having laughed; /leciz/ having burnt, etc.

/du rhEz, hunci/ having come here, sit down.
/zEza dina/ go after having taken meals.
/dhE rhēz dhiya/ he, having come, went away.
/do diz, henci/ having gone there, sit down.
/dhE ihru tEz duya/ he went away on seeing us.

Conjunctive participle is also used in the context of two actions taking place in an uninterrupted sequence. In this case the former is placed in the conjunctive participle form
and the latter in the finite verb form:

/dhE inru têz tyopâñ casdi/ she started weeping on seeing us (lit. having seen us she began weeping).

**INDECLINABLES**

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They are all termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions they have been designated as Adverbs, Particles, Conjunctions and Interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables as attested in this dialect are as follows:

**ADVERBS**

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restricts it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb concerned. Syntactically, the position of an adverb or verbal modifier, in a string of the components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject according to its semantic connotation.

Semantically all the verbal modifiers can be grouped as (1) Spatial or adverb of place and direction, (2) Temporal or adverb of time, (3) Modal or adverb of manner, (4) Intensifiers or adverb of degree. Some of these may be illustrated as below:

**Formation of Adverbs**

The only class of adverbs that takes a formative element is the adverb of manner and the formative element is the particle /IE/ equivalent to English /-ly/, as in /tupp IE/ quietly, /ori -IE/ properly, carefully, /so-so IE/ slowly. Besides, a few echo formations are also attested. /jhât-pât/ quickly, /maṭho-maṭho/ slowly, etc.

**Adverb of Place**

Some commonly used adverbs of place or directions are: /du/ here; /do/ there; /pañ/ down; /all/ inside; /er/ up; /kâl/
above; /lithe/ near; /dagūr/ outside; /pi-tārip/ all around; /kyuldu/ between; /gu/ where? /dwaro/ again; /gūs/ evening, etc.

**Adverb of Time**

A few more temporal adverbs which do not fall into any derivative pattern are—/thin/ today; /ro/ tomorrow; /miya-mingya/ day-after-tomorrow; /bagyal/ the forth day from today; /nyar/ yesterday; /thā min/ day-before-yesterday; /gwā skya/ when?; /nyon/ after; /āldi/ shortly; /jokār- roj/ daily; /dha pā tya/ at this time; /dhātE/ uptill now; /hā bagār/ always; /aber-su/ lately; /dhano/ just now; /pElān/ before hand, already, /gotāri/ never; /khiś min/ as soon as.

**Adverb of Manner**

The commonly used adverbs of this class are—/tupplE/ quietly; /sā sā-lE/—/matho-matho/ slowly; /jāt-pēt/ /jā ldi/ quickly; /orilE/ properly; /ḍcan ḍk/ suddenly, all of a sudden; /yākhulE-yākhuli/ alone, etc.

**Adverb of Degree**

The number of adverbs indicating the intensity of an action or degree of another adverb modified by it, is very small. The commonly used adverbs of this class are—/māst/ very; /chuṭṭi/ very, much; /dukha- dyākha/ so much:

/ge dyākha jāldi māhrE tārcū/ I can not come so quickly.

/dhE chuṭṭi āber tānE rhāst gusi/ he continued laughing for a long time.

/ge thān māst thāke diki/ I am very much tired today.

**Syntactic Order of Adverbs**

As stated above, the place of an adverb in a sentence is immediately before the finite verb, as in /dhE sā-sā lE/ he come slowly slowly. But when there are more than one adverb in an utterance then they occur in a more or less fixed order. For
instance, if there are two adverbs belonging to the spatial and temporal categories then the adverb of time precedes the adverb of place, as in /cyama nyar du rhattiz/ aunt came here yesterday. In case of occurrence of more than one adverb of the same class then the specificative term precedes the general or common term, as in /dhE nyar gwaslya du rhattiz/ he came here yesterday evening. In this case the term for ‘day’ precedes the term for ‘time’. Further, in case of adverb of manner it follows the time, but precedes the adverb of place, as in /dhE nyar yākhuli rhaciz/ he was coming all alone yesterday; /joldt du rhēz hunci/ having come here, sit down quickly.

Overlapping with Adjective: There are some adverbs, particularly, intensifiers which formally overlap with adjectives, for example in /in mast bese hini/ ‘we are many brothers’, the intensifier /mast/ is an adjective because it modifies the noun brother, but in /ge mast thāke diki/ ‘I am veay much tired’, it is an adverb which modifies the verb phrase /thāke diki/.

Adverb Phrase: Besides the simple adverbs, the adverbial sense is also expressed with adverbial phrases, as in /ājō tē/ up till now; /dhā pātya/ at this time; /dhā tē/ up till-now; /chut-ṭi ēber su/ for a long time; /gostānE/ for how long?, /chuṭṭi ēber ṭō nE/ for a very long time; etc.

PARTICLES

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the verb or verbal phrases, there are some other types of indeclinables which in the terminology of grammar are called ‘particles’. On the basis of their functions and syntactic position, these are grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives and interjections. These may be illustrated as follows:

Connectives: The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin two elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. In this dialect the number of words belonging to this class is very limited. For, in many instances the purpose of a connective is served by a pause juncture it-
self. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative and differentiative. Structurally, these may be both monomorphemic or polymorphemic.

Particles or the conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences are called coordinative, and those joining one or more subordinate clauses/sentences to the principal clause/sentence are called subordinative. The functions of some of these may be illustrated as under:

**Coordinative:** The coordinative particles may be additive, correlative, contrastive or alternative. The additive particle in this dialect is /ər/ ‘and’, as in /dhE ər ge/ he and I, /ram ər šyam/ Ram and Shyam; /rhas~ghwarəru ər ti dhE/ give grass and water to the horse. But at the syntactic level in many cases, its function is served by a mere pause juncture as well, as in /dhE khyən, ge tunkən/ he gives (and) I drink; /dhE bənatən gusi, dhE tə zəttən gusi/ he went on cooking (and) they went on eating.

**Alternative:** The pairs of alternative particles are: /kit . . . ki/ ‘either . . . or’, /nə . . . nə/ ‘neither . . . nor’, placed at the head of each element linked by them, as in /kit gE ki gEt be/ either you or your brother; /nəboti nəzya/ neither milk nor tea.

**Contrastive:** In this the contrastive particles are—/khyoru-ki/ because, /lekin/ but; /dəkhu lən bi/ even then, etc.

**Correlative:** In subordinative sentences the particles expressing conditions are placed at the head of both the sentences; but in this dialect there being no term for ‘if’ no particle is used in such expressions:

/gərəniz, ge bi hyokəni/ had you come, I would also may have come.

/jəb lən lətərkə, təb zə bən zəki/ when the work was finished, then food was eaten (lit. when the work did, then food ate).

/gən rhattən, təb giru bi rhapsən pərkəti/ (If) you come, then I will also have to come.
Subordinative: In fact, the languages of this group do not prefer subordinative syntactic constructions. In these cases the function of the subordinative connective is served by a pause juncture and both the sentences are put in a direct form of the narration:

/dhEz ləki, ge bethən hιñki/ he said, I am hungry.
/dhE ruiz, gEt šeri gu yə/ he asked, where is your son?

Emphatic Particles: In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy stress/pitch on the particular word or longer quantity of the particular syllable that marks the intended emphasis. Sometimes shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the same purpose. But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements too are used with them. The most commonly attested emphatic particles are -/hi/, /bi/, /kun~khu/ /jərur/ :

/dhE dukun~dukhu guskuən/ he lives at this very place.
/dhEse bi dukhu~dukən guskuəni/ they too live at this very place.
/gənzən hι~gənzənu dhEdəb lwe hunti/ you alone may have told him.
/geru do jərur dipən gyocizə/ you must have gone there.

Negative Particle: As in other languages of this group in this language too there are two negative particles, viz., /mə/ and /θə/. Distributionally, the former negates the presence of any thing or action in general and the latter prohibits the execution the action in question the usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is immediately before the element negated by it:

/dhEru du mhə rəpən gyoci/ he should not have come here.
/šeru kitab mhə bəce/ the boy did not read the book.
/daš kəl pat məhini/ there are no leaves on the tree.
/oru du rəpən thə bisre/ don’t forget to come here tomorrow.
Interrogative Particles: In it interrogative particles used with reference to ‘yes’ ‘no’ type answers are—/khi/ ‘if, what, whether’ and /ku/ ‘should’, the former may be placed in the beginning or at the end of an utterance with 2nd and 3rd persons and the latter is affixed to the verb root concerned with 1st person, both are accompanied with a terminal interrogative intonation:

/khi gân rhattân/ will you come?
/dhE kyetti/ will he give?
/ge rhaku?/ should/may I come.
/ge diku?/ should/may I go.

Interjections: Interjections are complete sentences which carry the sentence intonation. In this dialect their number is not much. The commonly attested interjections are /yo/, /ye/, etc. /yo apa/ O father; /ye/ šeri /ye son/!

SYNTAX

In a way, various aspects of the morphosyntactic structure have been discussed in the foregoing sections of this analysis. Here we shall briefly present them in a more or less formal way. The nature and the structure of various types of sentences in it is as under:

Types of Sentences

Normally, like other languages of this group this language too favours simple sentences. Even ideas of complex nature are expressed through more than one simple sentence. However, if necessary these can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence/clause by means of connectors or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.
Constituents of a Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—a noun phrase, constituting the subject and its extensions, and a verb phrase, constituting the predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in a simple sentence is—subject ± object + verb or NP + VP. As such syntactically it belongs to the SOV group.

/-gitə sum rhinza hini/ I have three sisters.
/macha tipan huncəkən/ fish live in water.
/šeru rotı 2çeya/ the child is eating loaves of bread.
/šeruz kyeťiru kaniz/ the boy looked at the girl.

In transitive constructions in which the verb has more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object.

/ama šeru-ru 2pu pilacən/ mother feeds the children breast milk.

Noun Phrase

The constituents of the subject or the noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun/pronoun ‘head’ or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all preceding it, e.g., /tig pec/ a bird; /phurd šeru/ fat boy; /nhant kyeťi/ beautiful girl; /tińdə khui/ black dog.

Extension of Noun Phrase: A noun phrase is extendable in the form of case markers and various types of modifiers of the noun head which may precede or follow it. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers in a simple sentence is, more or less, fixed. Normally, these occur in this order: ± demonstrative, ± pronominal adj., ± numeral, ± intensifier, ± qualitative modifier:

/gitə khui/ my dog; /gitə tińdə khui/ my black dog;
/tig chuṭṭi labo tińdə khui/ a very big black dog.

(also see placement of adjectives).
From the above examples it may be evident that in case of extension of an NP, numerical modifier precedes a qualitative modifier, and in case of more than one qualitative modifiers referring to 'colour' and 'size', the one referring to size precedes the one referring to colour:

(see above the last example).

/khyākāl cicya cicya māndā pec bēhāt hini/

very small red birds are seated on the roof.

Verb Phrase

A simple verb phrase or a VP, contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries or helping verbs. In case of a simple finite verb, the VP can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative verb it may need a complement to complete it, which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb:

/ge yākhuli hiṅki/ I am all alone.

/dhē Šeru-ru tacān/ he beats the child.

/dal-cā pat phārkaskān/ leaves fall from the tree.

/gā dipān cacān/ I want to go.

/ge rāpān pārketi/ I will have to come.

Components of a Composite Verb Phrase

The constituents of a composite verb phrase are—principal verb stem, ± one or more full verb stem, ± aux./helping verb. Syntactically, the place of an auxiliary or helping verb is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the verb phrase concerned:

/cyama nyar du rātīs (=rāt+hīz) aunt had come here yesterday.

/dhē iṇ-ru kānizān tyōpān cas-di/ she started weeping on seeing us.

/gān gho-ru bhātya rāt hīz/ to whom were you calling forth.
they may have finished eating.

**Extension of Verb Phrase:** A verb phrase can, normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb phrase or a complement:

/đhEte zE tərkhirihunti/ I am going home.
/đhEse guskān/i they live.
/šeruz kitab bācE/ the boy read the book.
/šeruse kitable bācE/ boys read books.
/đhEz tui/ he drank; /đhEtez tūiz/ they drank;
/gEz tiū/ you drank; /gez tuńki/ I drank, etc.

**Concord**

It has already been stated that this language has no grammatical gender, as such the scope of agreement between the subject, object and the verb is limited to the number and the person categories only, which may be explained as follows:

**Concord in Subjectival Constructions:** In all subjectival constructions the agreement takes place between the subject and the verb only, the subject may be in the ergative case or in the direct case.

Interestingly, the verb is not inflected for all numbers and persons. As such no one-to-one concord between the subject and the verb may be available in it.

/đhE guskān/ he lives: /đhEse guskān/i they live.
/šeruz kitab bācE/ the boy read the book.
/šeruse kitable bācE/ boys read books.
/đhEz tui/ he drank; /đhEtez tūiz/ they drank;
/gEz tiū/ you drank; /gez tuńki/ I drank, etc.

**Objectival Constructions:** In objectival constructions the concord takes place between the object and the verb. But most of the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour objectival constructions. All the objectival constructions of Indo-Aryan languages become subjectival when
rendered in them. Hence this dialect too does not attest any agreement between the object and the verb.

/dhEz tig kyetiru kanîz/ he saw a girl.
/dhEz khyalañ kyetiru kanîz/ he saw many girls,
/genz jhulloνu gu tapyā/ where had you put the clothes?
/dhEru dipîñ tig gya hyēdi/ one day has passed since he went.
/dhEru dipîñ khyâkobi gya hwēdi/ how many days have passed since he went.

In the above sentences the verb does not show any agreement with the object. In the above examples the verb form is not at all affected either by the number or gender of the object in question.

Types of Simple Sentences

Semantically and structurally too, a sentence can be designated as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative, etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified as active, passive, impersonal and causative, etc. All these aspects of a simple sentence correlated with the morphosyntactic character of the verb have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems and modal formations. These may be seen there itself. Their reproduction here will be a mere repetition of facts which have already been explained.

Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are the combination of two independent sentences, joined together by a coordinative or correlative conjunction or by an additive conjunction. In this dialect, the additive conjunct is, usually, left out and its function is served by a pause juncture.

/dhE khyâν, ge tuṅkâν/ he gives, (and) I drink.

Coordinative Sentences

Two or more simple sentences when joined by coordinative conjunctions like 'either ... or', 'neither ... nor' are termed as coordinative sentences (for examples see coordinative particles)
Subordinative Sentences

Subordinative sentences too, are a combination of more than one clause/sentences, but in this one of the constituent sentences is subordinate or dependent on the other. The number of dependent clauses can be more than one. The clause to which the other clauses/sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following types of subordinative sentences have been noted in this dialect.

(i) **Conditional:** In this type of subordinative sentences the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers like ‘if/when’ and ‘then’ (expressed or understood). In which the ‘if/when’ clause is the subordinate clause and the ‘then’ clause is principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

/gon rhattan tōb giru bi rhapsan por kēti/ (If) you come, then I will also have to accompany you.

/jēb lōn lōtērki tōb zāban zēki/ when the work was finished, then food was taken.

(ii) **Complemental:** In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or a complementary object of the principal clause. In this the conjoining conjunct is, normally, left out and its function is served by a pause juncture:

/dhēz ruīz, gen gu guskēn/ he asked, where do you live?
/dhēz lē, ge bet-thān hiŋki/ he said, I am hungry.

(iii) **Correlative:** In this type of complex sentences the relative clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun functions as a subject or complement of the principal clause:

/dhi-se khān lātin lē myōr/ let them do, whatever they want.

/gho rhatti, dhē ditti/ who (soever) will come, (he) will go.
/gon khe-bi thocēn, ge dhacēn/ I shall give, whatever you ask for.
RAJI DIALECT

Introductory Notes
Phonological Structure
Grammatical Structure
Syntax
INTRODUCTION

The Language

Basically, the language of the Rajis of Askot belongs to the Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family. In the north after, Kinnauri, it is the only language which exhibits its closest affinity with Munda languages, presently being spoken by Munda tribals in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Bengal. Though spoken by a smallest Indian tribe, yet it occupies a significant place in the linguistic scenario of the north, presently the home of Indo-Aryan tongues.

Linguistic Area

The home of Raji dialect constitutes small hilly forest tracts near Jauljibi in Askot, forming parts of the Tehsils of Didihat and Dharchula in the district of Pithoragarh in Uttarakhand. Some people of this tribe are found in the adjoining areas of Western Nepal as well. The present settlements of Rajis are found in villages Kimtola, Bhaktirua, Gainagaon, Chifaltara (Tehsil Dharchula), Chaurani, Katukanyal, Kantali, Altari (Tehsil Didihat), Khirdwari (Tehsil Champawat).

The Speakers

Rajis or Ban Rauts, the speakers of this dialect, belong to a smallest tribe in India. Till recent they lived in a most primitive state, living in caves and covering only the private parts of their body with leaves. The local people used to call them Ban Manus (wild human beings). Even now most of them are nomads and prefer to live in isolation in the hearts of the woods, in mountain caves or in dwellings made of twigs and leaves. They still follow the primitive ways in their
habits and modes of living. Most of them make their living by gathering wild food plants, tubers, roots, fruits, hunting of wild animals or fishing or by doing shifting cultivation wherever they can, though now, on account of state control on their unrestricted nomadic movements and activities in the forest, some of them have taken up to a primitive type of agriculture on the banks of rivers on small patches of land leased by the forest department. Some of them also work as farm hands in the agricultural operations of the local people. Besides, these sons of the woods have learnt the skill of preparing wooden utensils for the local people which they barter with them with things of their requirement. By nature they are very shy and avoid mixing up with alien people. Now, under Tribal Welfare schemes these people too are being brought nearer the mainstream of national life and consequently their life pattern is undergoing a notable change.

The Rajis constitute a distinct ethnic and cultural group, though they claim to be the descendents of the Rajput rulers of Askot in the hoary past. But the fact of their belonging to Aryan Rajputs is refuted by many anthropologists because of the existence of Mongoloid and Khasa traces in them. They are, however, associated with the mythical race of the 'Rajya Kiratas' who in ancient times ruled and held a dominating position in these Himalayan regions which formed the 'Kirata Manḍala' named after its rulers.

The Number of Speakers

In the absence of agriculture or any other economic base of sustenance, the population of this tribe has not only been static for the last 160 years or so, but dwindled many a time. The first record of their number comes from the assessment of Mr. Traill in 1823, when the total number of families was only 20. The Raji families numbered between 30 and 40 during the last decades of the 19th century. In 1969, the U.P. Harijan Welfare Department estimated the Raji population as 254 souls, which declined by 10.23% in hardly two years time, i.e., in 1971, the enumeration was 228. Yet another survey revealed their number as 297 in 1975, while the latest survey conducted by the Harijan Welfare Department of U.P. in 1981 has assessed
their total population as 371 which constitutes 2.14 per cent of the total tribal population of the district. The distribution of this in nine villages, falling in three tehsils of the district Pithoragarh, is as follows—Dharchula: 173, Didihat: 154 and Champawat: 44 (Joshi, S. C. et al., 1983 : 194-95).

Linguistic Situation

The inhabitants of Rajis of Dharchula and Didihat are distantly surrounded by the speakers of Tibeto-Himalayan dialects on the north-east and by Aryan speakers on the south-west. Though on account of their secluded living and shy nature they always shun their contact with outside world, yet the little contact they could have with their neighbours for time immemorial does have influenced the stock and structure of their ancient tongue. Lately, with their increased contact with local populace has compelled them to employ Kumauni or Nepali as link language for the purpose of communicating with them, which has naturally influenced their tongue to some extent. But so far as their in-group communication is concerned they strictly adhere to the use of their native tongue. It is this attitude of Rajis which has helped in preserving the ancient tongue through the ages. Now, of course, their is a danger that under the impact of their economic well being and modernization the handful of Rajis, like Joharis of Malla Johar, may forgo their mother tongue in favour of the regional language for ever. Consequently, it may be irrevocably lost to us.

Linguistic Background

As is evident from the structural analysis of Raji the basic linguistic stock and structure of it was that of the Munda language, that was spoken by the forefathers of these aborigines of the Himalayan regions, from Kashmir to Nepal in prehistoric times, but their constant and intimate contact with the speakers of the Tibeto-Himalayan and Aryan languages of the region for time immemorial has exercised its influence on its stock as well as structure. As a result of this now the Raji vocabulary attests an admixture of Tibetan, Aryan, Munda and native stocks. Some of these may be illustrated as under:
Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand

**Tibetan sources:** /mhE/ fire, /mi/ man, /khu/> su{n}/ three, /nhi/ two, /pən/ five, /sin/ tree, /ya/ path, /kui/ dog, /mhike/ eye, /sya/ meat, /de/ today, /chu+ya/ source of water, /deho/ cloud, /chwE/ to sit, /tu- to drink/, /ya/ to stand, /ši- to die, /mabu/ snake.

**Austro-Asiatic (Munda) sources:** /!h?ko/ evening, /!h?per/ darkness, /mən/ face, /ga/ river, /a/k/ hand, /le?k/ peak, /le?to/ soft muddy, /lado/ belly, /də ro/ paddy, /ga/ lake, big river, /polo/ skirt, /pəya/ son, /hələ/ a plough, /a/ he, /na/ I, /nə, nə/ thou, /kcyə/ mud, /kələ/ banana, /gulyau/ fruit, /gulyou/ male genetic organ, /gulə/ jaggery, etc.

**Indo Aryan:** The number of vocabulary items pertaining to Indo-Aryan stock is fairly large in it, as it stands today. Some of these attested in our data are as under:

/bhauwa/ brother, /dajyu/ elder brother, /ghiŋ/ purified butter, /dudhə/ milk, /hədə/ bone, /gƏdə/ ground floor, /thulo/ elder, big, /bəjər/ lightning, /ratə/ morning, /rajyu/ reign, /khəbə/ news; /mhintu/ labour, /hərə/ heaven, /əga/ sky, /hali/ wife’s sister, /hawl/ wife’s brother, /təhwar/ festival, /dəlyə/ white, /bədhiya/ good, /dari/ beard, /jərau/ root, /kəŋkal/ destitute, /jəkeru/ quarrel, /behaw/ marriage, /də'i/ curd, /nihə/ nails, /joka/ leech, /bəhə/ bamboo, /ghənau/ hot, /kəkəu/ a crow, /nhiko/ good, /dəkə/ ten, /khat/ seven, /hatə/ sixty, /dhe/ day, /jəura/ rope, /cəmək/ to shine, /dihu/ to see, etc.

**Miscellaneous:** There is a large stock of vocables, the origin of which is not easily traceable. These seem to have been inherited by Raji from its native stock to which the local dialects of the region also may have contributed. Some of the vocables belonging to this class may be enumerated as follows:

flood, /ughã/ cave, /gaḍre/ night, /nau/ home, /i:s/ to sleep, /kʰi/ to say, /ghi/ to do, /oː/ to fill, /kɔːt/ to carry, to take away, /kaːd/ to break, etc.

(for more examples see verb roots).

Sources of Data

The present analysis of Raji is based totally on secondary resources of data. In the absence of sufficient and reliable material available to him, George A. Grierson too did not offer any comment on it in his Survey (Vol, III. Pt. I). The few words and phrases recorded by him too are not reliable. Therefore, little help has been taken from it. Then comes the list of a few words and phrases recorded by B. D. Pandey in his book ‘Kumāun Kā Itihās’ (1937: 520-23). Though this recording of the material on Raji too is not by a linguist, yet I have made some use of it, for its being an earliest specimen of the dialect. The only authentic work on it is the doctoral dissertation of Dr. Shobha Ram Sharma, which he submitted to the Agra University in 1969. Though I could not have an access to this dissertation, yet a brief account of it in Hindi was available to me in the form of an article which appeared in “Pahār”-2 (1987: 145-56). In fact, this article along with a few personal communications are the prime sources of data of the analysis presented in the following pages.

Although I too had an opportunity to visit Askot and Jauljibi in 1978 in connection with collection of data for the ‘Linguistic Geography of Kumaun’, but could not find time to visit the Raji localities around them, nor did I have then a plan to work on the tribal languages of the region. So far the present analysis I stand indebted to Dr. Shobha Ram Sharma, for his unreserved co-operation in supplying desired information on the rare material on the Raji dialect. I am sure more details on the forms and structure of this language, which is on the verge of extinction, will be available to us when Dr. Sharma’s work on it sees the light of the day.
PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

Different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes attested in the sound system of Raji are as follows:

VOWELS

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested singly or in sequences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ð (ɐ)</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-low</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonemic Contrasts

Phonemic contrasts of these vowels may be illustrated as under:

a : o—/na/ I : /no/ our; /tara/ star : /təro/ daughter.
ð : e—/dəha/ ten :/ deho/ cloud.
i : E—/mi/ man : /mE/ fire.
u : E—/mu/ nose : /mE/ fire.
a : E—/dha/ why so? : /dhE/ how much?
i : a—/ji/ to go : /ja-/ to eat.
ɔ : E—/lɔ/ to come ; /lE-/ to reach.
a : ɔ—/ra/ to make noise : /rɔ/ to fly.

Distribution

Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all positions.
without any restriction. This feature of the dialect can be illustrated as under:

/a/ : /ətɔr/ now, /dɔkh/ ten, /hɔrɔg/ heaven, /gə/ one.
/a/ : /aik/ his, /swa/ tooth, /sina/ nose, / tara/ star, /pari,/ four.
/e/ : /ki:le/ tomorrow, /de/ day, Sunday, /le?k/ peak, /deho/ cloud.
/o/ : /yoŋu/ path, /mito/ woman, /lado/ belly, /loha/ iron, /deho/ cloud.

**Allophonic Variations**

The above noted vowels of Raji show certain allophonic variants in their respective phonetic environment. These are as follows:

/ə/→[E] : The central vowel /ə/ tends to be realized as /e/→/E/ when followed by a front vowel, e.g., /puhəi/→ /puhEi/ joint, /khəi/→ [khEi] said, /ghəi/→ [ghEi] did, /bihəi/→[behEi] twenty;

**Glidalization:** Vowels occurring in a sequence of front/central+back are realized with a front glide, viz., /y/, and in
the sequence of back+back with a back glide, viz., /w/:  
/cuia/ →/cuiya/ grand daughter, /p têm/ →/p têm/ son,  
/si àn/ →/si àn/ to die, /hi àe/ →/hi àyâe/ became, was,  
/gh àia/ →/gh ài ya/ did, /bh àua/ →/bh àu wa/ brother,  
/guleu/ →/guleyu/ penis.

*Murmurred Vowels:* Short vowels occurring as off glides of a glottalized vowel seem to be realized as murmurred vocoids (Here marked with zero below them):  
(This needs a verification).

*Free Variation:* In many instances, particularly in the final positions, back vowels /u, o, å/ seem to freely vary among themselves, e.g., /gâhwa~gâhwâ/ where?, /gulye~gulyou/ penis, /lumrò~lumrò/ tail, /dàro~dàrou~/darâu/ paddy, /wâhâ~hwài~hwa/ this, /ài~a~âi/ that, /wù~wì/ some.

*Non-phonemic Vocoids:* Besides the sets of phonemic vowels Raji sound system seems to have a set of non-phonemic vocoids which are realized as voiceless å, i, u and are a by-product of the glottal construction that takes place before the articulation of the checked consonants of it.  
Although I could not have the opportunity of listening to a native speaker of Raji, yet the description and the notation of this phenomenon of Raji indicates that it is a non-phonemic vocoid and is realized after the checked consonant or the vowel, if there is any, e.g., /myà/ t-â/ wife, /cù?-caâ/,-cù?caâ/,-cù?cau/ breast of a woman etc. (In this analysis it has been marked as ?/).  

[ë]—According to Dr. S. R. Sharma, Raji has a unique vowel, which is realized with the checked consonants, occurring in the medial position of a word. According to him it is an open short-back. Here I have transcribed it as /ë/. The examples of it given by him are:
Raji Dialect

/myəʔ't'-ə-iyanl/  wife that,  /duʔk'-ə-iyanl/  maternal grandfather that.

Nasalisation: In this dialect all vowels, syllabic or non-syllabic, tend to be nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, e.g., /yaʔ/ = [yàn] way, path; /gхиʔ/ = [gхиn] purified butter, /goθəʔn/ = [goθən] ground floor, /dхиʔ/ = [dhи,] day, /kuʔn/= [kuʔn] three, /naʔ/ = [naʔ] I, /ciʔnaʔ/ = /ciʔin3/ a corn, /miʔ/ = /miʔ/ man.

Coalescence of Vocalic Sequences: Vocalic sequences of the patterns of /a+i/ and /a+u/ tend to be coalesced into pure vowels. The former set is usually fused into /e/ or /E/ and the latter into /o/, e.g., /ghai/+/ghE/ to do, /dəi/→/de/ to day, /khəi]/+/khE/ to say, /pəyau]/+/pəyo/ son, /dərau]/+/dəro/ paddy.

Vocalic Sequences: This dialect seems to be very rich in respect of vocalic sequences. There are all types of sequences, including identical vowels. The number of these sequences too is not restricted to two, these can be up to four and anyone of these can occur as a first or the second number of the sequence, though not always with distinct syllabic entity. Occurrence of /ə, i, u/ as a first member is as common as their occurrence as a second member. These may be illustrated as under:

Front + Back

/diukha/ sun, /sǐsi/ helplessness, /hiʔe/ became, was,

Back + Back

/pəyau/ son, /jərau/ rope, /nau/ home, /sau/ hair, /garoun/ girl, /jıura/ rope.

Front + Front

/piie/ came, /hiie/ had, were.

Back + Front

/kui/ dog, /jair/ eat, /aik/ his, /cuiya/ grand daughter,

Central + Central

/hwəʔə/ was; /pittəʔ/ white gram.

Central + Front

/həkəʔi/ hand, /əi/ he, /puhəʔi/ joint, /puʔhəʔi/ knee.
/kōiya/ said, /ghōiya/ did.

Central + Back

/bhōuwa/ brother, /cōana/ gram, /kōrōt(ō)ūgha/ meanness.

Back + Central

/c-ōi-/ lived, /pū-ōha/ knee.

CONSONANTS

In this dialect the number of consonant phonemes is 30, all of them showing a binary division of place of articulation and manner of articulation. The class of plosives attests an opposition of presence vs absence of voice and presence vs absence of aspiration. All the consonants with their broad phonetic features may, schematically, be presented as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilabial</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosives Vl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Phones placed in parentheses are of doubtful phonemic status.
**Phonemic Contrasts**

With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes, it may be mentioned that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are primarily attested in the initial position, though in non-initial positions too there are a few which attests these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, this dialect, too, seldom attest occurrence of voiced aspirate plosives in a non-initial position. As such the scope of contrasts of aspirate and non-aspirate counterparts of voiced consonants is extremely limited. Similarly, on account of vowel ending nature of this dialect the scope of the contrasts of unaspirate plosives too is confined to a few cases only (see distribution of consonants). Consequently, the four-fold distinction of presence vs. absence of voice and aspiration too is, normally attested in the initial position only, both these features are almost neutralized in the medial and final positions in polysyllabic word. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in this dialect may be illustrated as under:

Because of the limited data at our disposal we could not have sufficient examples of phonemic contrasts for all the phonemes recognized for Raji. The few contrast that we could find are as follows:

- p/b—/kəpəsi/ a wild plant: /kəbəsi/ to become dry as cotton.
- t/d—/ti/ water: /de/ to day, /təro/ daughter: /dəro/ rice, paddy;
- c/ch—/cuiya/ grand daughter: /chuyya/ source of water.
- k/g—/kət’/ to earry: /gət’/ to take.
- kh/gh—/khəi/ to say: /ghəi/ to do.
- m/n—/ma/?/ woman: /na/ I.
- y/w—/sya/ meat: /swa/ tooth.

There seems to be only one sibilant in it, viz., the dental /s/. 
Distribution: Positional distribution of Raji consonant phonemes may be illustrated as follows:

**Plosives**

\[
/p/-/pilo/ \text{ skirt, } /pari/ \text{ four, } /pEgaro/ \text{ child, } /rupiya/ \text{ rupee.}
\]
\[
/ph/-/phEsra/ \text{ decision, } /pho/ \text{ to climb.}
\]
\[
/b/-/baba/ \text{ father, } /tibi/ \text{ rain, } /birali/ \text{ cat, } /be\sim/bE/ \text{ to give.}
\]
\[
/bh/-/bh\delta\thuwa/ \text{ brother, } /bhEnya/ \text{ sister, } /bhatt/ \text{ cooked rice, } /bhE/ \text{ to beg.}
\]
\[
/t/-/turku/ \text{ six, } /ti/ \text{ water, } /mi\tau\tau/ \text{ wife, } /kh\tau/t/ \text{ seven.}
\]
\[
/th/-/gw\delta/\tau/ha/ \text{ where?, } /\text{thuth}\delta\ro/ \text{ snout.}
\]
\[
/d/-/deho/clouud, /lado/belly, /dada/\text{elder brother.}
\]
\[
/dh/-/dh\in/ \text{ day, } /dudh\delta/\text{ milk, } /\text{dh}\delta\text{y}a/ \text{ white.}
\]
\[
/c/-/c\\uparrow/\text{ grand son, } /ci/\tau/na/ \text{ a corn, } /ca/\tau/na/ \text{ gram.}
\]
\[
/ch/-/chu/-/to sit, /\text{m}\tau\text{nchE}/ \text{ human being, } /\text{ucchyal}/ \text{ throw up.}
\]
\[
/j/-/ju/\tau/\text{a/ head, } /j\delta/\text{ka/ leech, } /ja/ \text{ eat, } /jagiro/ \text{ night.}
\]
\[
/jh/-/jhi/\tau/\text{k}\sim/jhi/\text{k}\delta/l/ \text{ much, many.}
\]
\[
/t/-/\text{t}\tau/\text{th/ eight, } /\text{pu}\tau/\text{thi/ back, } /kh\tau/\text{ti/ expenses.}
\]
\[
/th/-/\text{tha/\tau}h/ \text{ up, } /\text{th}\delta/\text{k}\omega/ \text{ evening, } /\text{to/t}\delta/\text{h}\delta/n/ \text{ ground floor.}
\]
\[
/d/-/do/ \text{ one, } /h\delta/\delta/\text{n/ bone, } /\text{dh}\delta/\text{y}a/ \text{ white, } /\text{ga/}\text{d/} \text{ river.}
\]
\[
/dh/-/\text{dha/\text{n-gu/ old ox, } /b\delta/\text{hiya/ good, } /m\delta/\text{huwa/ a corn.}
\]
\[
/r/-/\text{gar/\tau}\text{a/ rice, } /\text{dhuhar}/ \text{ to burn, } /ju/\tau/\text{a/ head, } /\text{ghum}\delta/\tau/ \text{ wheat.}
\]
\[
/k/-/kui/ \text{ dog, } /\text{thak}\omega/ \text{ evening, } /\text{kile/ tomorrow, } /\text{dak/ } 100.
\]
\[
/kh/-/khu/\tau/\text{n/ three, } /kh\tau/t/ \text{ seven, } /\text{diukha/ sun, } /d\delta/\text{k}/ \text{ ten, } /\text{khE/ to say.}
\]
\[
/g/-/gud\delta/\text{n/ belly, } /\text{ga/}\text{d/} \text{ river, } /\text{ga/}\text{ga/ sky, } /p\delta/\text{g/ mouth.}
\]
\[
/gh/-/\text{ghum}\delta/\tau/ \text{ wheat, } /\text{ghE/ to do, } /\text{ugha/ cave, } /\text{ghi/}\tau/ \text{ ghee.}
\]

**Nasals**

\[
/m/-/mi/ \text{ man, } /mE/ \text{ fire, } /\text{ghum}\delta/\tau/ \text{ wheat, } /\text{mito/ woman.}
\]
In/-/na/ I, /sins/ nose, /mànchE/ human being, /hôn-/ to strike.


/ñ/ — /khuñ/ three, /siñ/ tree. /hañ/ branch, /yoñ/ path, /hölñu/ a plough, /giroñ/ husband.

**Liquids**


**Semi-vowels**

/y/ — /yañ/ path, /pàyau/ son, /chuyya/ spring of water.

/w/ — /wE/ to give, /swa/ tooth, /bhùwa/ brother, /bihaw/ marriage.

**Fricatives**


/h/ — /hañ/ branch, /deho/ cloud, /loha/ iron, /ha/ 100, /cuh/ grandson.

Although we do not have enough data to say something decisively about the occurrence of various consonantal phonemes in different positions in Raji, yet from the limited data available to us, we can, of course, see the general tendency of the dialect with regard to this phenomenon in it.

Accordingly, the dialect does not favour occurrence of /t, n, ñ/ in the initial position. In the medial position too, occurrence of /ph, bh, jh/ is not attested. In the final position occurrence of plosives is restricted to a very limited examples of retroflex and gutturals only. From among other classes of consonants too, occurrence /m, l, y/ is not attested, at least, in our data.

**Checked Consonants:** Like Munda, Raji possesses checked consonants, i.e., pre-glottalized un-exploded stops, which occur in a non-initial position of a word. In this the consonants
belonging to this class are /k', c', t', p', d'/, There is no normal type of release of breath in their articulation. This class of consonants is invariably preceded by the glottal closure and it is just possible that it is responsible for their abrupt ending, e.g., /morék'/ peacock, /ga?d'/ rivulet, /le?k'/ peak, /mi?t'an'/ wife, /cu?c'au/ breast of a woman.

**Implosives:** According to Dr. Sharma Raji possesses a few implosive sounds as well, particularly in the articulation of a retroflex consonant occurring in the initial position, as in /thó? ko/ evening, /thi?'peř/ darkness. In the articulation of /th/ in these examples, instead of the air being released is sucked in. This phenomenon is not attested either in Munda or in Tibetan. It is difficult to say how Raji developed it. The description of the tongue position given by Dr. Sharma regarding the articulation of /th-/ in the above examples makes it somewhat doubtful. For in the articulation of an implosive /th/ the tongue does not come down abruptly or with a jerk. Instead in an implosive articulation it remains in the same state even when the contact is over. Because in the above examples the plosive in question is followed by glottal stop, therefore, it may be a case of glottalisation instead of implosivisation. As such this peculiar phenomenon of Raji stands for further investigation.

**Phonetic Tendencies (Allophonic Variations)**

The few phonetic tendencies of this dialect may briefly be pointed out as under:

**Devoicing:** Voiced plosives g, d, b, when occurring in the post-glottalized position of a word are usually devoiced. Consequently, these are realized as their voiceless counterparts, as in /mhi?ke/ eye<T. mig. Phonemically /h/ is a voiced fricative in it, but according to Dr. Sharma, there is a voiceless /h/ as well, though no environment for the occurrence of this has been explained.

**Aspiration:** Besides phonemic aspiration the speakers of this dialect seem to exhibit a strong tendency to pronounce
nasals and liquids with copious aspiration when these occur in the initial position of a word. Consequently, these are perceived as their aspirate counterparts, as in /mhE~mE/ fire, /mhi? ke~mi? ke/ eye, /nhi~ni/ two, /nhi-ko~ni:ko/ good. In some cases this tendency is attested with plosive consonants as well, as in /dhangu~dangu/ old ox.

Free Variation: As but natural the speakers of this dialect, in the absence of standardisation attest a number of variations in their pronunciation. Some of these are as follows:

/r~l/: /gurən/~/gulən/ jaggery, /kərə~kələi/ banana;
/r~ɾ/: /gəra/~/gəra/ rice,
/ⁿ~m/: /luɾro/~/lumro/ tail, /hamu~haⁿũ/ hair of human being
/h~kh/: /dəh/~/dəkh/ ten
/s~kh/: /sun/~/khuŋ/ three, /məsur~makhur/ a pulse,
/sat~khat/ seven
/n~nh/: /niko/~/nhiko/ good, /nhi~ni/ two
/m~mh/: /mE/~/mhE/ fire, /mhi?ke/ /~/ mi?ke/ eye,
/əmmə/ /əməh/ grand mother,
/ⁿg~ⁿ/ gang~gaⁿ/ big river, /nəŋ~nən/ thou

Consonant Clusters

In this dialect the scope of consonant clusters is moderate. However, the favourable environment for the occurrence of these is the initial and medial position only. There is hardly any scope for the occurrence of a cluster in the final position. Moreover, in the initial /medial position too, the number of the members of these clusters is not more than two. There may be a few with three members, but we could not come across these in our data. Clusters of different combinations attested in this speech may be presented as follows:
Initial Position: Normally, the number of the constituents of a cluster in this position is two. Distributionally, the first member may be a plosive/fricative/nasal and the second member a semi-vowel/fricative. These may be illustrated as under:

(a) Plosive + Semi-vowel
/gwalya/ herdsman, /thren
do/ wood, /bhy
guya/ frog,

(b) Fricative + Semi-vowel
/sya/ meat, /swa/ tooth, /hwə/ was, /hwa/ leaf.
/hwagiro̱sni/ widow

(c) Nasal + Fricative
/nhi/ two, /mhı̱ːko/ eye, /mhE/ fire,

Non-initial Position: In a non-initial cluster too the pattern of these clusters is more or less the same as is attested in the initial position:

/gwalya/ cowherdsman, /bhəgwa̱n/ god, /ghoya/ horse, /uchya/ throw up, /halwe/ wife's younger brother, /ləgyo/ bread, /bokya/ bull goat, /dajyu/ elder brother, /raju/ rule, /kalt/ to sell, /khətrəu/ Saturday, /nəbwariti/ younger brother's wife.

Final Cluster

As stated above it, being predominantly a vowel ending language, has a very limited scope for the occurrence of final clusters. The only patterns attested in this position are a few geminated consonants, as in /khatt/ seven, /atəh/ eight, /bhatt/ cooked rice.

Gemination: Gemination is not a significant feature in this dialect, though lengthening of certain classes of consonants is attested in certain predictable environments:

/jəmmə/ all, pl. marker, /chuyya/ spring of water,
/puṣthi/ back, /bəjjər/ lightning, /bhəllo/ flood,
/atəh/ eight, /khatt/ seven.
SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

As in other languages of this group, in this too the immediate constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1-4, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences, between the two successive junctures and also are capable of conveying a single concept.

Syllabic Units: Constituents of a syllabic unit are a 'nucleus' which is one of the vowels set up for this language±consonantal margins occurring on either side of it, which can be simple (i.e., a single consonant) or complex (a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant) permissible in the language, within the established system of vowels and consonants, there is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel, as a nucleus or a consonant, including clusters, as a margin of a syllabic unit.

Patterns of Syllabic Units

On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the permissible structure of various syllabic units, the constituents of a word, may be one of the following patterns: /V/, /VC/, /CV/, /CCV/, /VCC/, /CVC/, /CCVC/

These patterns, besides occurring independently in a monosyllabic word, may also become constituent syllables of a polysyllabic word.

Monosyllabic Patterns: In monosyllabic words the pattern of the above mentioned units may be illustrated as

/V/—/oʔ/ yes
/VC/—/aʔk/ hand, /i:s/ sleep,
/CV/—/daʔ/ one, /ti:/ water, /mE/ fire, /ha/ hundred.
/CVC/—/sunʔ/khunʔ three, /daʔk/ hundred, /gaʔd/ river
/CCV/—/swaʔ/ tooth, /syaʔ/ meat, /nhiʔ/ two, /chwE/ to sit.
/VCC/—/aʔt/ eight, /khatt/ seven, /bhatt/ cooked rice.
/CCVC/—/hwʔt/ how much.
It may be mentioned that in words with more than one syllable these very patterns are repeated in various sequences.

**Dissyllabic Patterns**: The permissible syllabic sequences in a dissyllabic word are attested as under:

/CVC-CV/-/bissa/ twenty, /puttihi/ back, /ghoraya/ horse, /turku/ six, /dhan-gu/ old ox.

CCVC-CV/-/dholya/ white, /manchE/ man, /hEnya/ sister, /bhunya/ pig.

/CV-CVC/-/gudan/ belly, /gothadn/ ground floor, /dudhadn/ milk, /ghumor/ wheat, /giron/ husband.


/CCV-CV/-/gwatha/ where?

/CCV-CCV/-/gwalya/ herds man, /rhisya/ sister.

/CVC-CVC/-/bargwan/ god, /barhar/ soyabean.

/CV-V/-/nou/ home, /hi/ he.

**Trisyllabic Patterns**: The number of trisyllabic lexical words is not very large in it. The permissible syllabic sequences of this class of words are attested as under:

/CVCCV (C) V/-/gulyau/ fruit, /paccaha/ fifty, /ndbwari/ daughter-in-law.

/CV-CV (C) V/-/jdrau/ root, /diukha/ sun, /lutdro/ ear, /birali/ cat.

/CV-CVC-CCV/-/bisundyl/ testicles.

/CCV-CV-CCV/-/bhyagutya/ frog.

/CV-V-CV/-/cuiya/ grand daughter, /jiboro/ tongue, /bhduwa/ brother.

/CCV-CV-CV/-/mhEku/ household,

/CV-CV-VC/-/kapa-ukh/ cotton plant, /garo-un/ girl,

/CV-V-V/-/piie/ came, /hiie/ were, became, /ghia/ did

/CV-CV-V/-/bi-hai/ twenty,
From the point of frequency the most frequent trisyllabic pattern is /CV-CV-CV/. Other patterns attest only in a limited number of examples.

*Quadrisyllabic Patterns:* Quadrisyllabic words are rare in this language. The syllabic sequences of this class of words are attested as follows:


**Syllabic Division**

Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables determined by linguistic forces like accent (i.e., higher stress), quantity of the syllabic peak or the patterns of the syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic grouping it fully agrees with other languages of this group, i.e., the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheri or margins. As such, other things being equal, in open syllables, the consonantal onset margin/margins of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, e.g., in /deho/ and /tibi/ the consonants preceding the vowels are grouped with the vowels /e/ and /-i/ for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit, and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable peaks. Thus in the above examples the syllabic division will be as /de-ho/ and /ti-bi/. Similarly /gwê-tha/, /rhi-sya/ etc. (the dash indicating the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in successive syllables, consists of more than one consonant, excluding semi-vowels, then the most conventional principle applicable to syllabic division is that the first member of this clusters goes with the previous syllable peak to form its coda margin and the second member is grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to firm its onset margin. For instance, in /turku/ six and /bhêgwan/ 'god' the components /-r/ and /-g/ form the coda margin of the first syllable peaks /-u-/ and /-ə-/ and /-k/ and /-w-/ of the second syllable peaks /-u/ and /-a-/ Similarly, in a pattern like /bhyêgutya/ and /mhê-ku-ṭi/ too the syllabic
division will follow the same principle of grouping of phones to form the syllabic unit and to affect the mechanism of syllabification.

However, in case the second component of the complex interlude is a semi-vowel or liquid then normally the syllable cut falls in between the first syllable peak and the complex interlude, as in /gho-tya/ horse, /dholya/ white, /bhu-nya/ pig, /bhy2-gu-tya/ frog, etc.

**Supra-segmental Phonemes**

Besides the above mentioned segmental phonemes, the dialect has the following supra-segmental phonemes as well.

_Nasalization:_ In this dialect nasalization is both phonemic and non-phonemic. In the non-phonemic nasalization all vowels occurring with a nasal consonant tend to be nasalized automatically (for examples see vowels: allophonic variants). But the phonemic nasalization is quite independent of the existence of any nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel in the vicinity of it, e.g., /hɔː/ no: /ha/ hundred, /cunji/ small, younger /cûji/ sit down.

Free variation of naslity with nasal consonants is also a common feature of it, e.g., /pɔːpɔŋ/ five, /hɔːhɔŋ/ no, why?

_Length/Quantity:_ Length in Raji seems to be only a phone-tic feature. But there are certain environments in which the quantity of a vowel or of a consonant is realized longer than the intrinsic one. This phenomenon is attested particularly in the case of particularization or intensification of the quality or quantity of an object or action in question which normally accompanies a stress accent, as in /tiːbi/ rain, /suːna/ gold, /khatt/ seven, /jɔːmmɔ/ all, /puθi/ back, etc.

_Glottal Constriction:_ The most noteworthy supra-segmental feature of Raji is glottal constriction, associated with the pronunciation of checked consonants. According to Dr. Sharma, there is an abrupt blockade of throat before the articulation
of the checked consonant, and at the release stage there is a phonetic realization of an unvoiced short vowel like /ə/, i, u/, for instance, an utterance like /ců?ca/ is realized as [ců?caə], [ců?cau] or [ců-caʔ]; [myəʔt-ə] wife, [duʔək-ə] grand father.

Accent: Accent does not seem to be a significant phenomenon in Raji dialect. In the opinion of Dr. Sharma it is of a musical nature and is manifested in the form of higher vibration in vocal cords.

Word Structure

In this dialect the phonological structure of a word, may be monomorphemic or polymorphemic, has the following general characteristics:

1. It may begin with any vowel or consonant but /n, ŋ, r/.
2. Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, or the nasal /n/.
3. No native word begins or ends in a consonant cluster of the plosive class.
4. Normally, no plosive except the gutturals or a semi-vowel occurs at the end of a native word in it.

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

Word Classes

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic position the word classes attested in this speech are noun, pronoun, modifiers, verb and function words/enclitics. Normally, as in other languages in this too, words of noun, pronoun and verb classes enter into various types of morphological inflections, whereas others do not.

Word Formation

In it a word can be both mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic. The morphological processes employed for the forma-
tion of poly-morphemic words are—juxtaposition, prefixation (in a few cases only), suffixation, infixation, reduplication and compounding. Of these the devices of suffixation and compounding are the most common, particularly with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal stem formations. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

**NOUN**

Syntactically, a noun in it functions as a subject or object of a verb. It may also function as a predicative word, referring to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and cases, and is also followed by post-positions, indicative of various case relations.

**Noun Classes**

There are some instances in which the distinction of human and non-human or animate and inanimate nouns also is attested which may be explained as follows:

(i) Animate nouns take gender suffixes to distinguish their gender, but inanimates do not, e.g. 

(ii) These two categories also exhibit a distinction in the use of a plural marker, i.e., an animate noun admits /jhi?k/ as a plural marker, but an inanimate noun admits /jəmmə/, as in /jhi?k pəyau/ sons, /jəmmə hwa/ many leaves.

(iii) The consonantal element of the genitive suffixes is /k-/ in case of animate nouns and /g-/ in case of inanimates.

**Nominal Stems**

As in other dialects of this group, in this too three kinds of nominal stems, viz., primary, derived and compounded are normally attested. Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, some of them belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, but there is a sizeable number of them which
belong either to Indo-Aryan or fall under the category of indigenous words.

Primary stems belonging to the T. B. sources are both monosyllabic and poly-syllabic, e.g., /mi/ man, /mhi?ke/ eye, /swa/ tooth, /mhE/ fire, /syA/ meat, /nhi/ two, /suñ/ three, /kui/ dog, /yan/ path, /sin/ tree, /ma-bu/ snake, /chuyya/ source of water.


**Stem Formation**

It is quite probable that devices of nominal stem formation, like prefixation, suffixation reduplication and compounding are employed in this dialect as well, but in the absence of sufficient data we could not get examples of all these patterns, e.g., we could get only one example of prefixation, viz., /âmmâ~êmhe/. Similar is the case of suffixation. However, examples of the peculiar Munâ feature, viz., infixation are there, which may be illustrated as follows:

**Infexion**

Like Munâ, in it infixation is a common device of stem formation, e.g., /hamu~hañu/ hair of human being, >/ha-ð-mo~ha-ð-no/ tuft of hair on the head, /pðyau/ son>/pð-ð-yau/ nephew, /pueR/ joint >/pu-ð-hER/ knee, /dëi/ today >/dë-ð-i/ just now.

According to Dr. S. R. Sharma, besides -a, infixes like -g-, -tu-, -t-, -d-, etc., too are employed in it, as in /bêr/ plain land >/bêgêr/ valey; /ã/ now >/ã-ja-l/ in the mean time; /han-o-be/ to leave >/hañ-o-tu-be/ to leave freely; /ti/ water >/tindâu/ wet; /go-ndau/ ape (black faced); /pð?h/ to give >/pñah/ charity; /pðh/ tothrow >/pñoñ/ bow.
Reduplication

Reduplication of stems or formation of echo-words is also a part of stem formation in it, e.g., /baba/ father, /dada/ elder brother.

Nominal Inflection

As in many other languages of this group, in this too there is no grammatical gender. As such a nominal stem is inflected for the number and the case categories only. In some cases these grammatical markers are kept apart from one another and in others are fused together.

Gender

As pointed out above, Rāji does not recognize any grammatical gender, at least for native vocables. The natural gender which in no way affects the structure of other constituents of a sentence is, however, distinguished (i) either by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (ii) or by prefixing terms denoting the sense of ‘male’ and ‘female’ or ‘he’ and ‘she’ to the substantive concerned. In borrowed items, however, the original pattern of the language from which it has been borrowed may be followed.

As a consequence of this the question of gender distinction is confined to animate beings only, all inanimate objects are genderless. In this context it may also be pointed out that in the languages of the T. H. group animate beings too are treated as human and non-human for the purpose of gender differentiation, i.e., in case human beings there are distinct terms for the male and female counterparts, but in case of non-human beings these are indicated by prefixing the term for ‘he’ and ‘she’ to the epicenous term:

This feature of Rāji may be illustrated as under:

(i) Independent terms for male and female counterparts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhōuwa</td>
<td>rhisya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Raji Dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pōngə</th>
<th>uncle</th>
<th>ci:mə</th>
<th>aunt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mənchE</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>maə</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kui</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>chərɪ</td>
<td>bitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɪga</td>
<td>bull</td>
<td>gərəe</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bokya</td>
<td>he goat</td>
<td>paɾ</td>
<td>she goat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Prefixation of /ba/ 'father' or 'male' and /ma/ 'mother' or 'female':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba-mabu snake (m.)</td>
<td>ma-mabu snake (f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-bhunya pig (m.)</td>
<td>ma-bhunya pig (f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-seʔ na god</td>
<td>ma-seʔ na goddess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Suffixation in Indo-Aryan loan terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cuh grand son</td>
<td>cuiya grand daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halwe wife's brother</td>
<td>hali wife's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghoɾa horse</td>
<td>ghoɾi mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hirna deer</td>
<td>hirni doe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group in this too the gender of the substantives does not affect the forms of the adjective or of the verb:

/nhi-ko pəyau/ good boy: /nhiko garounʔ/ good girl.
/əi pəyau jiyahi/ that boy goes: /əi garounʔ jiyahi/ that girl goes.

Number

In Rāji there is no inflection for the number category. The plurality in nouns is expressed by means of attributes, /jhiʔk/ /jhiʔk-əl/ much, many and /jəmmə/ all. Distributionally, the former is used with animate nouns and the latter with inanimate nouns, e.g.
But besides the native way of expressing plurality, it has, under the influence of borrowing, adopted the Indo-Aryan system of suffixal plurality for borrowed items. This may be attested in the following way:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a→e : } & /ghořya/ \text{ horse : } /ghoře/ \text{ horses} \\
/\text{bokya/ male goat : } /\text{bokye/ male goats} \\
i→\text{yā/ye : } & /\text{ghori/ mare : } /\text{ghoriyā/ mares} \\
/\text{chori/ bitch : } /\text{choriyā/ bitches} \\
/\text{ku-i/ dog : } & /\text{ku-i-ye/ dogs} \\
\text{e→ā : } & /\text{gare/ cow : } /\text{gara/ cows, kine.}
\end{align*}
\]

In inanimate noun plurality is usually not marked: /sin/ tree, trees, /polo/ skirt, skirts.

The plural marker attribute /jhi?k-āl/ is also not used where a numeral attribute or any other attribute conveying the sense of plurality precedes or follows the animate noun in question, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{kui/ dog: } /\text{kui suṁ/ three dogs; } /\text{mi/ man : } /\text{mi paṁ/ five men, etc.} \\
/\text{aik hiyē/ pāyau nhi/ he had sons two.} \\
/\text{khōṭṭi ghōiya rupiya paṁ/ spend rupees five.}
\end{align*}
\]

Case

Case is a grammatical category in it and can be established on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, also expresses a relationship between two nouns or between a noun and a pronoun.
The grammatical relations expressed by these cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place, time, etc.

In it the casal relations are expressed (i) either by means of suffixes affixed to the bare stems of substantives in the singular, and after the number suffixes in the plural or (ii) by means of postpositions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal and pronominal stems. In some of the cases these case suffixes are tied up with number suffixes and in others are kept apart. Schemetically all the case suffixes of Rāji may be presented as below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>1E</td>
<td>1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-dative</td>
<td>ā /ye/ya/khāni/khani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag-Ergative</td>
<td>1a/la/1E/le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>yā/-ndal/-ndāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>lɔ/ya/bəti/bətə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-k/-ka/-ku/kE/-ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-g/-ga/-gu/-gE/-go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-yā/-ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Syntactic Correlations**

Various syntactic correlations expressed by these case forms may be explained as follows:

(a) **Direct Case**: Morphologically, the direct case has no markers for any number. But syntactically, it is used to denote the following grammatical relationship:

(i) It is the subject of an intransitive verb:

'/ni sînā/ you will die; /lhai-kīrE-na/ I sing;
/jatər rōga? gopya/ Gopi went after having taken meals.
(ii) A predicative noun referring to a subject/object:
/ningāhā namāk/ what is your name?
/dewā lago koner/ it is raining.

(iii) An object of a transitive verb:
/nīṅ pāya kinc hiyān/ when was born your son?
/tila pātryā/ bring water.
/durbasa lE phitkar gāsinna/? Durbasa gave curse (=cursed).
/ọi bọ?k hātya/? he killed the goat.

(iv) A direct object of a verb having two objects (direct and indirect):
/ọyā rupiya iọā bEryu/ I will give this rupee (money) to mother.
/pāyau-yē kuh be/ give tāru (a root vegetable) to the son.

(v) Unlike Tibeto-Himalayan or Indo-Aryan it is also the subject of a transitive verb even in the past tense:
/ọi cepa/? he saw, /ọi ka/? he sent.
/ọi jommmā mhintu ghāiya/ he laboured very hard.
/hyāi~ọi bọ? k hātya/ he killed the goat.

Accusative-dative: The acc.-dative markers in this dialect are the suffixes /-ā, yē, ya/, the postposition /khani/ which follows the number suffixes. Syntactically, it is used to indicate the following types of grammatical relations:

(i) It is the case of animate object or indirect object of a transitive verb:
/ọyā rupiya iē-ā bEryu/ (I) will give these rupees to mother.
/pāyau-yē kuh be/ give the tāru (a root vegetable) to the son.

From the examples of the direct case (given above under ni-v) it may be evident that in a colloquial speech objective
markers are normally left out; e.g.

/həmurE-a-na/ I beat him.
/əi bəʔk həʔtya/ he killed the goat.

**Casal Relationship of Subject and Object of a Transitive Verb**

The casal relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb is not so well defined in it as we find it in other T.H. languages. In it, even the subject of a transitive verb is not placed in the ergative case. Like the object it too is placed in the nominative/direct case: (for examples see above Direct Case, v).

In the case of a verb, having more than one object the casal relationship is expressed like this: The subject is placed in the direct case, the indirect object in the accusative case and the direct object, real or logical, viz., a substantive or a verbal noun, in the nominative/direct case:

/əi pəyau-yē dudhən....../ he (gives) milk to the son.

**Ergative Case**: As in other languages of this group, in this too, the ergative case is used to express the subject of a transitive verb in the past. It has 4 allomorphs, viz., /lu~lə~le~lE/ all occurring in free variation, due to non-standardization of the dialect. In these the consonantal element is a static one, but vowels show dialectal or indiolectal variations.

/bhəwuwa cənji lE rajyu lihua?/

The younger brother got the kingdom.

/bhəwuwa cw̥eʃəl E əi pa khəbər ka?/

The younger brother (by) sent message to him (near him).

/dhesu-lE ti ja?/ Dhesu drank (lif. ate) water.

**Instrumental/Agentive**: suffixes for the instrumental/agentive case are similar to that for the ergative case. However, the instrumental aspect is expressed by /lE/.

**Associative Case**: The associative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a thing or a person with some
It is also expressed with post-positions like /dagar-dagara/ along with, /ma'ta?/ with, as in /baba dagar/ along with father.

**Dative:** The sense of dative case is expressed either with the accusative markers /y?-, -ndl, -ndal/ or with a post-position /tai/ which follows the genitive base of a noun or pronoun:

/ice k?-tai h?na posya/ for whom have these been sent for?

~

/tiy?/ for water/<ti/, /m?naiy?/ for the forest/<m?n?n/.

**Ablative:** The casal relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the post-positions /lo, -IE. -ya, b?ta, b?ti/. In these the first two are native and the last two borrowings from IA dialects.

/hdrag b?ta p?y?/ came down/ from the heaven.

/t?-IE/ from that time,/since then.

**Genitive:** The genitive case expresses a mutual relationship between two substantives. In this it is expressed with the post-positions: /-k, -ku, -kE, -ko/ which freely vary with their voiced counterparts. According to Sharma (Pah?r-2 : 151) the voiceless alternants are used with animate nouns and voiced with inanimates nouns, but I think there is a free variation, cf.

/Birwa kE cim?/ the aunt of Birwa (a name)

/gopyagE garoun?/ the daughter of Gopya.

In a colloquial speech the employment of these markers is usually left out, as in /ning?p?ya/ your son, /?i ya/ near him, /kali ti: h?y? k?l?si/ water of the K?li was cold.

**Locative:** The use of locative is restricted to inanimate nouns only. Moreover, various time and space oriented relations of this case are expressed by various postpositions and adverbial phrases:

The most important suffixes are—/y?/ or /ya/:
/mənən-h-yə/ in the forest; /dəga-ya/ in the sky; /dhin-ya/ in the day; /gadə-yə/ in the river, /uga-ya/ in the cave, /yañ-ya/ on the way.

**Postpositions**: There are certain indeclinable terms which like case suffixes indicate the casal relationship of nouns and pronouns with other nouns and pronouns or verb in a syntactic string. As is clear from their nomenclature, these invariably follow a noun or pronoun to denote the relationship for which they stand. Most of the case markers discussed above are basically postpositions.

**PRONOUN**

Pronouns which substitute nouns, can, like nouns, function as subject, object, etc., in a syntactic construction. Morphologically these too are inflected for two numbers and six case relations, including postpositional relations.

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into six classes, viz., (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinitive, (5) Reflexive, (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive classes are inflected for both the numbers, but not others. However, on the basis of their syntactic differences these stems form two groups, viz., personal and non-personal. For, in a sentence all non-personal pronouns can function as a modifier to a noun, in their uninflected form, whereas the personal pronouns cannot, though in their inflected genitive case form these too can function as pronominal adjectives.

**Personal Pronouns**

Personal pronouns stand for nouns of 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to', and the 'person or thing spoken of'. These represent the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons respectively and are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems: /nə-nə/ 1, We; /nən/ thou, you; /əi/ he, /pəkho/ they.
Pronominal Inclusion and Exclusion: The dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion of the addressee in the first person plural number is not as widely practised in Rāji as we find it in other T.H. and Munda languages. But at the same time it is not completely absent too. Traces of it are definitely found in it, e.g., /jawāre-na/ means (we) eat', in which the term /na/ (we) does not include the addressee, but in /jawāre nhā-ā/ 'we eat' the term /nhā/ 'we' includes the addressee as well.

However, another phenomenon, viz., the use of honorific and non-honorific terms in the 2nd person pronouns, so commonly attested in T.H. languages, is totally absent in it. It is neither attested in the pronominal forms nor in verbal forms.

Demonstrative Pronoun

The pronominal stems representing the demonstrative pronouns are used for 'pointing out' a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In this these are attested as, /hwāi/ this, /cī~ai/ that, as in /suṅgi miṭī/ who is that man?, /hwāi ningā polo/ this is your skirt.

Interrogative Pronoun

Pronouns of this class are used for enquiring about some one or some thing. There are three interrogative stems in it, viz., /hān/ what? why?; /su-hī/ why?; /kā/ who?: /de hān cijani/ what did (you) eat?, /ni: hāk ciwān/ why have you come? /hān kāhā cīga/ why don't (you) go?, /niṅ hān namāk/ what is your name?

Indefinitive Pronoun

Pronouns of this class refer to an unspecified or unidentified person or thing. In this these are attested as /wī~wī~ārē~ dhai/ any, some, /tā?da/ some, a few, as in /wī pōyu/ a certain boy, /mi tā?da/ some people.

Reflexive Pronoun

Reflexive pronouns substitute and refer to a noun or pronoun which is, as a rule, the logical subject of the sentence.
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Reflexive pronouns are the same as the genitive form of the personal pronoun in question.

/pE h ṭa lo-həʔ ka ɖi nəg nau/ but he could not come to his village.

Relative Pronoun

In this language there are no native stems of relative pronouns. Usually, the IA stems are employed to serve the purpose of relative pronouns or in most of the cases it is left out too: In Rāji these loan terms are attested as /jE, jE, jô/ or sporadically as /gE~gE/ as well.

ADJECTIVES

As in other languages of this group in this too, adjectives belong to that class of words which qualify a noun or intensify the meaning of another adjective. Structurally, these belong to the indeclinable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic function these are treated as a separate class of words.

Moreover, pronominal adjectives can be termed as distinguishing too, because these distinguish a person or thing from another person or thing, e.g., in an utterance like /hwa ghorīya/ ‘this horse’ the qualifier /hwa/ distinguishes the /ghorīya/ ‘horse’ from other horses, Similarly/ nin pəya your son.

But adjectives which either denote a quality, such as a good, bad, black, red, etc. or quantity, such as enough, plenty, much etc. or number, such as some, a few, many, four, five, etc. or some state or condition, such as sad, jolly, cold, hot, etc., may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of the noun head qualified by them. Morphologically, these belong to non-variable class, i.e., are not inflected either for the number or for the case form of the noun head qualified by them:

/nhiko pəyau/ good boy: /nhiko garoun/ good girl.
/tu:ha pəyau/ a young boy: /tu:ha hîʔkəl pəyau/ young boys.
Some of the most frequently used adjectives belonging to this class are—/nhiko/ good, /har/ bad, /tu:ha/ small, young, /thulo/ big, tall, elder, /kölisi/ cold, /cənji/ small, /dhodya/ white, /bəri/ big, very, elder, /ghəncu/ hot, /pani/ separate, /whət/ this 'much, /ət/ that much, /dhe/ how much, /gErikil/ less, /əndəl/ safe, /dəthələdə/ alone, /dha/ like this, /hən/ of what kind?

Placement of Adjectives

Although like Munda languages Rəji prefers predicative placement of an adjective, but in some cases, under Indo-Aryan influence, their attributive uses are also attested. Consequently, there can be a free variation between /pəyau tu:ha~tu:ha pəyau/ small boy, /tuha jhi?k-əl pəyau~pəyau tuha jhi?k-əl/ small boys. A few more examples are—

/dhīn də/ one day; /bhauwa thulo/ elder brother, /aik hīye pəyau nhi/ he had sons two, /kali ti: hīye bəri kələsi/ Kali water was very cold, /Khətt ghəiya rupiya Nhi/ spent rupees two, /bhauwa thulo ugha-ya də roga?/ elder brother entered a cave, (lit. brother elder cave-in one went).

bhauwa thulo hwəsyə cuhəgəko jhi?kəl/ lit. brother elder was meat liking very much.

Degrees of Comparison

As is the case with many Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages, in it too the comparison of degrees of adjectives is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is effected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object being compared in the nominative case, along with the term /jhi?k/ prepositioned to the modifier, e.g. /nhiko/ good /jhi?k
nhiko/ better (=lit. more good), /ārgo/ high: /jhi?k ārgo/ higher (lit. more high/tall).

In case of comparison among more than two objects, i.e., in the superlative degree the particle of comparison, viz., /ait Et/ is prepositioned to the modifier in question:

/nhiko/ good : /ait nhiko/ best (=good from all).
/ārgo/ high : /ait ārgo/ highest. (lit. high from all).

Intensifiers

There are three intensifiers in it, viz., /bāri/, /jhi?k, jhi?kāl/ and /jōmmā/ ‘very’, which freely precede or follow the attribute the quality or quantity of which is intensified by them:

/āi sya cuhāgō?ko jhi?kāl/ he meat liked very much,
i.e., he liked meat very much.
/āl jōmmā mhintu ghāiya/ he very hard worked=he worked very hard.
/dhyo jhi? kāl hīye, days many became=It was very long time.
/kali ti: hīie bāri kālāsi:/ the water of Kali is very cold.
/na cehiro ḍa ce?pa/ I bird one saw.

NUMERALS

Numerals have a dual character in it, i.e., these can occur both attributively and predicatively. Whether occurring attributively or predicatively they share the position of qualifiers, and are, therefore, a sub-category of adjective, e.g., /dhīn ḍa/ day one, /ḍa bāmān hīye/ there was a Brahman. The attributive use of a numeral may be attributed to its contact with Indo-Aryan dialects.

The formal subclasses of this class of adjectives are (1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, (6) Approximatives.

From the above it is evident that forms of numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic and from eleven to nineteen polymorphemic which are formed by combining the term for the numeral to be deducted from twenty and the term for deduction, i.e., the term for the numeral to be deducted + the term for deduction (= less) + the term for twenty. But the term for twenty is again a mono-morphemic one.

Historically, the terms for 2-5 belong to Tibeto-Burman stock and 7-10, and 20 to Indo-Aryan stock. The term for one is a native one and for six belongs to the Munda stock.

Like Munda languages it follows the vigesimal system of counting. Consequently, numerals above ten are formed by compounding the terms from nine to one to terms for twenty. The terms for the decades of 30, 40 etc., are formed as 20+10=30, 2×20=40, 2×20+10=50 etc.

Examples for other classes of numerals could not be obtained, due to limited data at our disposal, for this analysis.

VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system of this dialect is quite simple. For, the verb roots attest minimum inflection for numbers and persons in various tenses and moods.

Classification of Verb Roots

Structurally, verb roots in it belong to two categories, viz., Primary and Compounded. Though most of the verb roots are primary ones, yet there are some which belong to the other category as well. Moreover, on the basis of casal forms taken
by them for their subject or object or on the basis of syntactic
distinction of having a second noun/pronoun other than the
noun/pronoun serving as their subject, as the legitimate object
of the verb concerned, these roots can be classified as transitive
and intransitive as well.

Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may
be a few verb roots which are called verbs of incomplete
predication, i.e., requiring a predicative word, usually a noun
or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb
form, as in/piīye bhāllo gaḍā-yā/ came flood river-in=the river
was flooded.

Verb Roots: So far as the question of verb roots is con-cern-
ed Rāji has been influenced the least by its contact with Indo-
Aryan dialects of the region. Verb roots in it are both mono-
syllabic as well as poly-syllabic. Some of these may be enum-
erated as under:

(i) Mono-syllabic roots: -/ka/ to send, /ji-/ to go, /lo-/ to
come, /hi/ to be, become, /ro-/ to fly, /si-/ to die, /ghE-/ to do,
/be-bE/ to give, /pho-/ to climb, /i:s-/ to sleep, /or-/ to fill,
/kɔ?t/ to carry, /ka?q-/ to break, /kalt-/ to sell, /gun-/ to do,
/gɔ?t/ to take, /dhɔt/ to move, /cuʤ-/ to throw, /cin-/ to call,
/ci?p/ to wash, /dɔ?u/ to dig, /nok-/ to give a loud call, /LE-/ to
reach, /khE-/ to say, /chu-/ to sit, /ha-/ to speak, /ra-/ to make
noise, etc.

(ii) Poly-syllabic: The number of poly-syllabic roots is not
much. Some of these are- /dhuhat/ to burn, /cihEʃ/ to laugh,
/marɔ?t/ to distribute. /hɔɔi-/ to sit, /lahi?k-/ to sing, etc.

Derived roots: The commonly derived roots in it are those
which belong to the category of Frequentatives, Reciprocal,
Reflexive and Causative.

Compound Verbs

Normally, languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group do not
favour the use of compound verbs, yet these are not totally
wanting too, though the number of verbal roots forming a
compound stem is not more than two, of which the first is the
main and the second a subsidiary and all grammatical categories are carried by the final constituent itself.

Räji, due to its contact with Indo-Aryan dialects, has developed this tendency to a limited extent, the few auxiliaries attested in a few cases are – /be/ to give, /hākiba/ to finish, etc., as in /orabe/ to fill up < /or/ to fill + /be/ to give; /ha?robe/ to give up < /ha?/ to leave + /be/ to give; /khE-be/ to tell, /ja hāki:ba/ to finish eating, eat up, etc. From the above examples it is evident that these constituents are joined by a linking sound which normally is /o/ or /a/.

There are a few cases which indicate that prefixation of a negative particle to the verb roots brings about a change in the meaning of the verb, which is entirely different from its original meaning, e.g., /ce?p/ to see + /1E/ to reach > /ce?p-a-1E/ to understand > /hāce?palE/ to forget; /ha?o-bE/ to give up > /hā ha?o-be/ to accept.

**Verbal Conjugation**

In it, a verb is conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspects. In these languages a verb is, normally, not conjugated for voice categories, for in the colloquial speech no favour is shown for the use of passive or impersonal constructions. Rather all expressions relating to passive or impersonal voices are transformed into the structure of an active voice.

From the point of temporal conjugation it attests a clear distinction for the present, past and future tenses. Similarly, from the point of aspects (i.e., denotation of nature of action), the verb forms show a distinction between perfect and non-perfect, between progressive and non-progressive and definitive and indefinite.

**Sub-systems:** The verbal conjugation of this dialect attests the following type of sub-systems, having their respective conjugational patterns. These are – (1) Affirmative, (2) Negative, (3) Causative, (4) Reflexive (5) Reciprocal (6) Frequentative. Of these the range of affirmative sub-system is the widest one.
**Affirmative Sub-system:** Under this system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood of it may be presented as follows:

**Mechanism of Tense Formation:** In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of respective temporal suffixes, along with number and person markers. As such the normal order of various constituents in a finite verb form is: root + tense marker + person and number suffixes. In this dialect there are no distinct person-number markers. Some times a single suffix represents the categories of tense-person and number combinedly.

**Person-Number Suffixes:** Though in principle a verbal stem is expected to be inflected for 6 forms, (i.e., 3 person x 2 numbers) in all the tenses, yet in actual usage no formal distinction is available for various persons and numbers, e.g., /jəwərə/ I eat, we eat, he eats etc., /jə/ ate, /jəwərə hərə/ will eat (all persons & numbers). As such the semantic connotation of person and number is determined by the subject of the verb form in question.

**Subject-Object Incorporation:** Rəji partially exhibits the phenomenon of incorporation of the pronominal object and subject in the verb form which occur in this very order.

It may, however, be pointed out here that though like pronominalized languages Rəji admits pronominal object and subject as suffixes to the verb form, yet, as in other pronominalized languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, these are neither contracted nor represented by symbolic elements such as /-c, -t, -k, -g/ etc. In this context the examples forwarded to me by Dr. S. R. Sharma are as under:

/əhənu-re-a-na/ I strike him (lit. strike-he-I).

/əhənu-re-na-ai/ he strikes me (lit. strike-I-he).

~

/əhə əa-ə həvi/ what did he eat?
It may be interesting to note here that in absence of inflec-tional differences in the nominative and objective case forms of these pronouns, the question of the pronominal suffix as being a subject or object is determined, as in isolating languages, by the placement and the order of the pronouns in question.

Moreover, like Munda, in this too pronominal suffixation does not bring about any morphological change in the verb form, e.g., /jaw̄re-na/ I eat, /jaw̄re-a/ he eats, /jaw̄re-nən/ you eat, i.e., the verb form does not register any change with the change of its subject.

In the examples given by Pandey (1937: 520-22) the second person pronoun is attested as /ni/, as in /de hə ci jani/ what did you eat to day? (lit. today what ate you?), /bhatt kE jani/ have you eaten rice?

The presence of -n- in the following verbal forms may be the second person pronominal suffix.

/gwətha mə ci-piyə-n/ where are you coming from?

/de hə ci-ja-ni/ what did you eat today?

/bhatt kE ja-ni/ have you eaten rice?

/nik-ci-ku-nE/ are you O.K?

/həlnu ayə cibiən/ have you ploughed?

In fact, a close examination of the above examples indicates that Raji is not a pronominalized language in the same sense as are Kinnauri or Limbu, etc. For, in this the untruncated use of the pronouns suggests that the above type of subject-object and verb relationship is a syntactic peculiarity of it, which entitles it to be grouped with the languages of VOS pattern. This feature of Raji is corroborated by the following examples as well:

/hiiye rajı ta-jəmməaiko pəyau/ all the Rajıs became his progeny. (lit. became Raji we all his sons).

/piiye bhəllo gaʃəyə/ the river was flooded. (lit. came flood river-in).
Temporal Conjugation: (Indicative Mood)

All transitive and intransitive verbs, including the verb substantive are inflected for various temporal and non-temporal categories in it, but in a non-formal speech there is no strict adherence to the use of various temporal conjugations, the same term may be used for the present or past tenses or perfective or imperfective aspects, or for other aspects of verbal expressions. From the temporal point of view a rough distinction is maintained in the form of future and non-future tenses.

However, it fully maintains the distinction of definiteness and indefiniteness of the action in question. Consequently, the definiteness of the action in present or past tenses is indicated by suffixing /-ə/ to the relevant indefinite verb form in question, e.g.

/ghəiya khətt rupiya nhi/ (he) has spent two rupees.
/ghəiya-ə khətt rupiya Nhi/ (he) has definitely spent two rupees.

Here in the latter expression the speaker is pretty sure that the person in question has spent the amount, whereas in the former it is just a statement of indefinite nature.

Similarly, /əi ka/ means 'he sent' (it is just possible that he may have sent), but /əi ka-ə/ 'he sent' means that the speaker knows it well that he has sent.

It may be interesting to note that in case of a copulative sentence the copula is left out if the sense of definiteness is to be expressed with the use of the definitive suffix, /-ə/, as in /mənchE-ə/ he is a human being (definitely); /mənchE-bəri-ə/ he is a big wig (definitely), cf. Mundə -/hər-ə mətən-ə/ the man is great.

Finite Verb: (Affirmative Sub-System)

A finite verb form in it exhibits grammatical categories of tense, aspects and moods. The markers of these categories are directly affixed to the verb stem which represent the number-person categories as well. A structural analysis of these forms
in all the tenses and moods may be presented in the following paragraphs.

**Present Indefinite:** In this dialect the present tense of a finite verb, besides the indefinite or indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action in progress which may be technically termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action or an action of universal character, as in /əi am jawəre/ he eats mango, or is eating mango or he is in the habit of eating mango.

There the inflectional base for these forms is the verb root itself, to which are added various suffixes to denote the sense of indefinite present. The formative suffixes of this tense are -/e.-ware, -rE, -i:rE, -re, -ő and -yahı/. Some of these are phonetically conditioned variants and some occurring in free variation: /ghə?t/ to go, to move > /ghe?t-e/ goes, moves;

/ja-/ to eat > /jawəre/ he eats, I eat; /hənurE/ I strike;
/nE tənore/ I drink < /tun/ to drink;
/na wərīgun/ we are big (grown up).

In a colloquial speech the bare root alone as well is used to denote the sense of the present tense:

**Present Definites:** It is obtained by suffixing the definitive suffix /-ə/ to the present indefinite form of the verb.

/ghə?t/ to move > //ghət-e/ moves> /ghə?t-e-ə/ he has moved (def.).
/ja-/ to eat > /jawəre/ he eats > /jawəre-ə/ he has eaten (def.).

It is identical with present perfect.

**Present Continuous:** Normally, the speakers of this dialect do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous, but if absolutely necessary, it can be expressed with the help of the continuative suffix /hər/ added to the present indefinite form of the verb, e.g., /lha?ik/ to sing > lha?iki:re/ sings, sing > /na lha?iki:re hər/ I am singing,
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\[\text{jæ}/\text{eats, eat} > \text{jawðre}/\text{eats, eat} > \text{jawðre hår}/\text{is eating, am eating,}
\text{nikucya~hɔn-cyɔ hɔnawɔni}/\text{why do you strike/ -are striking?}

Besides, we also have forms with the suffix /-ner/:

\text{hɔn ghEla ciguner}/\text{why are you soing?}
\text{dewɔ lagokoner}/\text{it is raining; gɔwɔtha jigar}/\text{where are you going?}

Present Perfect: This dialect does not maintain a distinction between present definite and present perfect. The forms of the present definite also denote the sense of the completion of an action in the present time (for examples see above present definite).

It is also expressed by the suffix /-pɔn/: /akhu wipɔn/ who has come?; /ɔtɔr ɔgɔra kEhin/ it has become late now.

\text{de hɔ cijani}/ what have (you) eaten today?
\text{bhatt kEjani}/ have (you) eaten rice?

Static Present: The static present or the present perfect continuous is expressed through periphrastic constructions, by adding the desired form of the aux. /ku-/ to the perfect participle form of the main verb:

\text{bhayɔr bhatt piyɔkunas/ a Brahman is already (has come already) there outside.}

It is also expressed with the suffix /-pɔn,-pin/:

\text{thɔkɔ kE pu-ɔn~puwɔn/ it has become evening.}
\text{gajiro kE kho-ɔn/ It has become morning (night finished).}
\text{nibako ciwi-ɔn/ what for have you come?}

Past Indefinite: As the present indefinite the past indefinite besides the usual denotation of indefinite/ indicative sense, denotes a habitual action in the past as well. The inflectional base of it is the verb root itself to which are added various phonetically conditioned suffixes. Their distribution is as under:
(i) /-ə/: This definitive suffix is added to monosyllabic roots ending in the vowel /-a/ : /ka-/ to send > /ka-ə/ sent, used to sent; /ja-/ to eat > /ja-ə/ ate, used to eat.

(ii) /-ie/: It is added to verb roots ending in /-i/, e.g., /hi~hiː/ to become > /hiie~hiːye/ was, became, used to be, /ji/ to go > /jyːiye/ used to go, /si-/ to die /siːye/ died, used to die.

(iii) /?k-a-ga/: It is added to stems ending in /-ɔ/, as in /lo-/ to come > /loʔka/ came, used to come, /rɔ/ to fly > /rɔʔga/ flew.

(iv) /a~wa/: It is added to roots ending in /-u/, as in /dihu/ to be seen > /dihuwa~dihuwa/ was seen, /lihu/ to get > /lihuwa~lihuwa/ used to get, /hɔ dihuwa/ was not being seen.

(v) /-i~u/: These affixes are suffixed to the present tense base of the verb roots ending in a consonant, e.g., /ghɔʔt/ to move, /ghɔʔte/ moves > /ghɔʔt-ei/ used to move; /lhaʔik/ to sing, > /lhaʔik-i:rE/ sings > /lhaʔik-i:rE-i/ sang. used to sing.

(vi) /-a/: It is added to roots ending in /-E/: In this case two types of morphophonemic changes take place. Firstly, the root vowel /-E/ is diphthongized and secondly, a front glide, viz. /y/ is developed as an onglide of /a/, as in /ghE/ to do /ghɔia~ghɔiyə/ did, used to do, /khE/ to say > /khɔia~ khɔiyə/ said, used to say.

Past Continuous: Normally, as in the present tense in the past tense too, the indefinite itself serves the purpose of the continuous as in /ja-ə/ ate, was eating.

But if specification is necessary then it can be effected, as in the present, by adding the suffix /hɔɾ/ to the verb form of the past indefinite, as in /ɔi siːye-hɔɾ/ he was dying;

/ɔi bɔyari hɔba-ə-hɔɾ/ he was playing on (instrument) for yesterday.

Habitual Past: The habitual past is not a separate conjugational category in it. It is identical with past indefinite, e.g., /ja-ə/ he ate, he used to eat, /hiie/ was, used to be.
Past Perfect or Past Definite: The past perfect is identical with definite past in which the completion of the action in question is effected by adding the definitive suffix /-ɛ/ to the past indefinite forms of the given verbal stem, e.g.

/kəd/ sent, had sent; /pho-ɔ/ ascended, had ascended;
/əi kaltə-ɔ/ he sends/ he sent; /əi pho-ɔ/ he ascended;

/ho ja-ɔ høi/ what has he ate, what did he eat?
/əi sie/ he died, he had died; /rɔga/ went away:
/piiye bhołlo gaʃɛ-ya/ come flood river-in (lit.);
/haðə-ɔ/ started, became; /hɔd-ɔ/ passed away,
/hɔəi-ɔ/ lived, remained; /lihu-a-ɔ/ got, /ləɡwa-ɛ/ started.

Future Tense

The normal function of future tense forms is to state something about an action or state that has yet to take place or to come into being. But in this dialect it, besides denoting the sense of absolute future or progress of an action taking place in future, also denotes the sense of optative and of the subjunctive moods, including possibility or conditional aspect of an action taking place in future.

Normally, the flectional base of the future indefinite is the form of present indefinite itself to which are affixed the future markers /-hɔɬɾ~riyu/ or /ruyu/: /lhaʔk-i:ɾE/ I sing>/lhaʔik-i:

ɾE-hɔɬɾ/ I shall sing;

/jawəɾe I eat, he eats> /jawəɾe-hɔɬɾ/ I/ you shall eat.
/rupiya ɔy iəi bEɾiyu/ (I) will give these rupees to mother.

In Pandey (1937) we get the following sentences conveying the sense of future:

/ni siɛn/ thou willst die.
/bagho tijari/ the leopard will eat up (you).
/hanon ci-gunir/ what will you do, (if I beat you)
Future Continuous: The sense of certainty or possibility of an action taking place in future is expressed in two ways.

(1) by suffixing the future marker /hw₂/ and the person-number marker /-rE/ to the verb root, as in
/əl ji-hwə-rE/ he would be/ may be going.
/nā lhaiʔk hwə-rE/ (probably) I would be singing.
(2) by adding /hwār/ to the verb root:
/əi ji-hwār/ he may be going/ would be going.

Passive Sub-system: Grammatically, the passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer, but as acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject is not the logical subject, i.e., the doer, but the logical object, the person or thing towards which/whom the action is directed. In view of this the passive voice, is, naturally, restricted to transitive verb only.

Like other language of this group this too, does not favour passive constructions. But like these languages the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative/agentive case is not found in it to convey the passive sense. Consequently, all expressions of other languages having a passive structure are rendered as in active voice with their subject in the direct case. As a result of this a sentence like ‘whatever is asked by you will be given by us’, will be rendered as ‘whatever you will ask, we will give’.

Impersonal Voice: Contrary to passive voice the impersonal voice is restricted to intransitive verbs. It is always in the neutral construction, as such the verb is always in the 3rd person sg. number. For, it has either no subject at all, or if there is one, it is represented as able or unable to perform the action denoted by the verb. As such in this language Hindi sentences like mujh se uṣhā nəhi jātā: ‘getting up is not possible by me (lit. it cannot be got up by me), will be render-
ed as 'I cannot get up': /hə hōi sòkiya-na/ (lit. 'not get up can-1').

Causative Sub-system: Since 'causing something to be done' is an action which must be directed towards some body, all causative verbs are invariably transitive.

In Rāji causative forms are obtained by suffixing/-awə; -o, -wə/ to the verb root, e.g.

/hən-/ to strike, to beat > /hən-awə/ to get beaten;
/sè?p-/ to see > /sè?p-awə/ to show, to make to see;
/ha?k-/ to fight, to quarrel > /ha?k-o/ to make to fight:
/jhər-/ to awake > /jhər-awə/ to awaken, get awakened;
/pəsina/ to cook, bake > /pəsinaawə/ to get baked.

Frequentative Sub-system: Verbal forms expressing the sense of an action being performed frequently or repeatedly are obtained by reduplicating the verbal stem, with permissible morphophonemic changes, e.g., /ja/ to eat > /jəja~jijə/ he eats again and again; /əi jəja-ə/ he ate repeatedly; /hən/ to strike > /həhənu/struck repeatedly, again and again, etc.

These forms, besides the frequency of the action in question, also denote the intensity of the action. Consequently, the above noted forms convey the sense of 'he ate a lot', 'he struck severely' etc., as well.

In case of the verb substantive, /hī-/ it conveys the sense of the action in the past as well, as in /hī/ to be, is >/hī-hī/ was.

Reciprocal Sub-system: Like Mundā Rāji has a perfect system of expressing the sense of reciprocity of an action. The reciprocal base of the verb in question is obtained by infixing the affix /-ə-/ in the verb stem itself:

/hən-/ to strike > /hə-ə-nu/ to strike each other;
/bəyə-/ to give > /bə-ə-yə/ to give to one another;
/sè?p-/ to see > /sè?p-ə-p/ to see each other;
/kəh-/ to abuse > /kə-əh/ to abuse one another.
But there are instances in which this type of infixation also brings about a semantic change in the verb root, sometimes entirely opposite to its original meaning, as in /h₃i/ to get up, but /h₃-ₐ-i/ to sit.

**Reflexive Sub-system:** The unique feature of the verbal system of Rāji is the use of reflexive verbs. It is obtained by suffixing the causative suffix, /-aw/ to the reduplicated base of the verb root.

/ce?p/ to see > /ce?p-awɗ/ to show > /ci-cep-awɗ/ to make oneself seen.
/kalt/ to sell > /kaltawɗ/ to make to sell > /kɗkaltawɗ/ to get oneself sold.
/hənu/ to strike > /hən-awɗ/ to make others to strike > /hə-hənawɗ/ to get oneself beaten.

**Negative Sub-system:** Rāji does not exhibit any special features of negative sub-system, i.e., no structural change is brought about by the use of negative particle in the verb forms. It is obtained by prefixing /hən~hɗ/ ‘no’ or /ta/ ‘don’t’ to the verb stem in question.

e.g., /ghE/ to go: /həghE/ not to go; /ce?p/ to see: /həce?p/ not to see; /ghəʔt/ go (imp): /ta ghəʔt/ don’t go;

/əi ja/ he eats: /əi həja/ he does not eat;

/əi ghəiya/ he did: /əi hə ghəiya/ he did not do.

**Model of Conjugation**

**Verb Substantive hi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>na hi I am</th>
<th>na hi we are</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nə/ci hi thou art</td>
<td>hwen/ cu-hi you are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḥət/kh hə he is</td>
<td>wE hi they are.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>na hi I was</td>
<td>hwe-ko-ha we were</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nəmwə-ke-ha</td>
<td>nəmwa-ko-ha you were</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thou wast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Raji Dialect

ab/tər hyā  he was  hwe-ko-ha  they were
kahiri -be, I may
be,  I shall be ‘go’

Present

gari gorä  I go  ḍryuga  we go
næn jE  thou goest  nəi ghatE/næri uŋa  you go

rE jE  he goes  ghatE  they go

Past

gari jE  I went  na ga  we went
næn cEka  thou wentest  nE ghatE  you went

rE kwa  he went  wəka-le  they went.

gətE  ‘go’ (imp.)
gəta- ‘going’
gəta- ‘gone’

Verbal Derivatives

Besides the regular finite verb forms, which are the essential constituents of the predicates and regularly take the tense-person-number suffixes, there are also some verb forms which are derived from verbal stems, but are not inflected for the above mentioned grammatical categories. Consequently, these cannot be used independently as a predicate in a sentence. In this dialect these formations are attested as under:

Infinitive: ‘Infinitive’ is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject. In this dialect, it is the bare root itself, but its use as a verbal noun is not attested in it. Other categories of the verbal derivatives are attested in a very limited number. In fact, the only other categories of verbal derivatives attested in it are—conjunctive participle and agentive noun.

Conjunctive Participle: It is obtained by suffixing /tər/ or /tE/ to the verb root, e.g., /ja/ to eat > /ja-tər~ja-tE/ having eaten.

It is also expressed with the perfective suffix /-ə/, added to the past tense form of the verb. It is, however, only the
syntactic position of this use which distinguishes between these two functions of it, e.g., /dī kal tā-tā/ ‘he sold’, but /dī kattā-tā roga-tā/ having sold he went.

In Rāji even indefinite past can be used to express this sense, e.g., /jhārEi/ he was awakened, having awakened.

Agentive noun: It is derived by prefixing /ci~cu/ to the verb root, as in /dī ci-si hi:hi/ he is about to die, he is dying, /nāg-cu jāwāre hwār/ you may be about to eat. Here it is not very clear whether the sense conveyed by it is of the present participle or agentive noun.

MODAL CONJUGATION

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are some other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only partial inflection of verbal stems for a particular mood or mental state of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

As such modal conjugation deals with the inflectional forms of a verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition etc. The three types of moods which are normally attested in these languages are—Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the Indicative Mood have already been detailed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the remaining two.

Imperative Mood

Imperative mood is that form of a verb which expresses an action as an order, a polite command, a request, a warning, prohibition, etc. In this type of expressions, the subject is the second person pronoun, honorific or non-honorific, and is usually, left out. By its very nature the imperative cannot refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and the future times only. The verb stem itself is used as an imperative base.
Raji Dialect

/prohibitive imperative/

It is used to prohibit a person from executing an action in question and is effected with the use of the prohibitive particle /ta/, prefixed to the imperative form of the verb concerned, with necessary morphophonemic adjustments. In case of compound verbs, however, the imperative prefixes are appended to the auxiliary:

/ta ghɔʔt/ don’t move; /ta ghE/ don’t do.
/gajiro ta ghɔt/ don’t go (out) in night.
/ta rakɔni/ don’t make noise.

/subjunctive mood/

The subjunctive mood and its various forms are used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as wish, hope, requirement, possibility, probability, presumption, ability, compulsion, permission, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, condition, etc.

But this dialect does not exhibit verbal differences to express the above mentioned mental attitudes of the speaker. These are rather expressed with simple tense forms of the verb, e.g. the sense of probability, possibility, or presumption is expressed with the help of future tense forms, as in /dį ji-įwɔr/
he may be going, it is presumed that he is going, it is just possible that he is going/ he would be going, etc.

Similarly, the sense of a wish or the possibility of an action taking place in the past is expressed by suffixing /-ni/ to the past tense forms, as in /əi ghəʔt-u/ he moved > /əi ghəʔt-u-ni/ if he had moved, possibly he has moved; /boʔrəka-ni/ had the bird flown, if the bird could fly or could have flown.

Some of the other aspects of linguistic communication expressed by various verbal forms are as under:

*Inceptive:* The inceptive sense of an expression is conveyed with the verb /ləg-/ or /ḥaɾ-/: /bəjəɾə cəṃkən həɾe/ it started lightning; /təʔe bhəduwa thulu mənən-yəɾajyu goE ləgwa/

ever since the elder brother started ruling in the forest: /dəɾə-IE tibi həɾə-ɖ/ it started raining along with hail storm.

However, in the absence of sufficient data at our disposal other aspects of modul expressions could not be obtained for this analysis.

**INDECLINABLES**

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They are all termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions they have been designated as Adverbs, Particles, Conjunctions and Interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables as attested in this dialect are as follows:

**Adverb**

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restricts it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb concerned. Normally, the position of an adverb of verbal modifier, in the string of the components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject according to its semantic connotation.
Semantically, all the verbal modifiers can be grouped as (1) spatial or adverb of place and direction, (2) temporal or adverb of time, (3) modal or adverb of manner, (4) intensifiers or adverb of degree.

**Adverb of Place**

Some of the commonly used adverbs of place or direction are—/gwòtha~gahwa~gòhwò/ to which side?; /hi?tya~etyò/ here, this way; /dhai~yas/ up, /berÈ/ drown; /ta?d/ away; /ghÈre/ behind; /kÈi/ towards; /lòga/ near; /dhi/ down, /lÈnka/ far, /jnyantane/ before; /gòhwò/ no where; /àijhi?k-alÈ mÈnÈn-yò hàdìì (lit.) he usually forest in live; /èi mÈnÈn-yò sya khò? ð-uwahar/ (lit.,) he forest in hunting was.

**Adverb of Time**

A few temporal adverbs are-/de~dòi/ today; /kile/ tomorrow; /nìwò/ day after tomorrow; /òlÈ/ now; /òjal/ in the mean time; /ògòra/ late; /pÈ/ then; /hiyÈn/ when; /haindÈi/ at last; /de hò cijani/ what did you eat/ ate to day?; /rupiya ðyò de bÈriyu-na/ I shall give this money on Sunday. /èi hiya ghòì-a/ when did he do?

**Adverb of Manner**

The commonly used adverbs of this class are:

/hàjjÈ/ slowly, /pandÈlÈ-È/ itself, alone,

/èi hàjjÈ ghòìt-e-i/ /he moved/ was moving slowly.

**Adverb of Degree**

The number of adverbs indicating the intensity of an action or degree of another adverb modified by it, is very small. The commonly used adverbs of this class are—/bòri/ very, /jhi?k/ very.

/èi bàì hàjjÈ ghòìt-e-i/ he was moving very slowly.

/èi hùiye jhi?k tàì-na/ he was far away from me.

**PARTICLES**

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the verb or verbal phrases there are some other types of indeclinables which
in the terminology of grammar are called particles. On the basis of their functions and syntactic position these are grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives and interjections. Some of these may be illustrated as follows:

**Connectives**: The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin two elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. In this dialect the number of words belonging to this class is very limited. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative and differentiative. The functions of some of these may be illustrated as follows.

**Additive**: The additive particles or the conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences or words is /rə/ ‘and’, as in /əi rə na/ he and I; /ram rə ʂyam/ Ram and Shyam; /bhəllo rə/[gad]/ flood and river; /mE rə ti/ fire and water.

**Contrastive**: The only contrastive particle attested in our data is /pE/ as in /əi jəmmə mhintu ghəiya, pE hə-lo həkaə əi bhəuwa nə nau/ (though) he tried very much, but that brother could not come home.

**Negative Particle**: As in other languages of this group in this too, there, are two negative particles, viz., /hə-hən/ and /ta/. Distributionally, the former negates the presence of any thing in general and the latter prohibits the execution of the action in question. The usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is immediately before the element negated by it (for example see Negative sub-system).

**Interrogative Particles**: In it there are no interrogative particles which may be used with reference to ‘yes’, ‘no’ type answers. It is only the sentence intonation which transforms an affirmative/declarative sentence to an interrogative sentence:

/bhatt kE-jani/ have you eaten rice?
/nI:k ci-ku-nE/ are you OK?= how are you?
/hələnu ayo ci-biən/ have you ploughed (the field)?
Interjections: Interjections are complete sentences which carry the sentence intonation. In this dialect, their number is not much. The commonly attested interjections are:

/~hā?k-ə/o no; /pāṭi/ yes, /hā/ no, /ho/ Oh!

Overlapping of Indeclinables: There are many indeclinables which overlap with various other classes of words, e.g., /de/ today, Sunday; /hān/ no, What?; /kina-ci/ sometime, had become; /maṭa/ with, monkey; /whāya/ afterward, on happening.

SYNTAX

Normally, Rāji prefers short and simple sentences. Even ideas of a complex nature are expressed through simple sentences. In a story, recorded by Dr. S. R. Sharma, in its original form (Pahār-2, p. 156), there is only one compound sentence in the whole story, e.g.

/dhyo jhi-k-əl hīdeye/ time long passed (lit.)

/hāṛg bōṭa piye ba-ḍa/ heaven from descended man-one (lit.)

/ai k hī ḍyau nhi/ his became son-two (lit.)

/bhūwa ṭhulo hwāṛ sya cu-hāṛg? k-o-jhi-k-əl/ brother elder was meat liking very much (lit.)

/ŋi jhi-k-alE māṇi-ya hōṛi-b/ he usually forest-in lived (lit.)

Syntactic Patterns

A synchronic analysis of the sentence patterns attested in Rāji reveals four types of syntatic structures in it. These may be illustrated as follows:

(i) VOS Pattern: The verb + object + subject pattern is attested with sentences having incorporating verb-structure, which is perhaps the original pattern of it.

/hānu-rE-a-na/ (lit. strike-he-I) = I strike him.
forest; /bhauwa thulo ugha-ya-da roga-∂/ elder brother went in the cave.

Complex Sentence

A deep structure analysis of expressions like /run hitE di ce?pa-∂/ on being light (day) he saw=‘when it became light (morning) then he saw’ indicate that at a deeper level it can have sentences of a complex nature as well.

Concord

In Rāji there is hardly any scope for the concord between the subject/object and the verb in respect of number gender and person.
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/henu-rE-na-ai/ (strike-I-he)= he strikes me.
/jawre-ləgyə-ja-na/ (lit. eat bread-one-I)
\sim /həja-ə whəi/ (what ate he)= What did he eat?
/hįe rajj ta-jəmma ajko pəyau/ lit. were Raji we all his children)= We all Rajis were his children.

(ii) OVS Pattern: This pattern is also attested in sentences containing incorporating verb structure.
/masi-sya cu-jawre-ai (lit. fried-meat eater-was-he)= he used to eat fried meat).

(iii) SVO Pattern: It is very common pattern which is frequently attested in colloquial expressions, e.g.,
/aik hįe pəyau nhi/ his were son-two= he had two sons.
\sim pE hə-ləhə? ka-ə di bhuwa nəg nau/ (lit. but not could come this brother his village)= but this brother could not come back to his village.

(iv) SOV Pattern: Rāji seems to have developed this pattern due to its close contact with Aryan languages of the region. Rather this loaned structure of Rāji is getting precedence over the native structure of it, e.g.
/da bamən hįie/ a Brahman was= there was a Brahman.
/əi jəmmə mhintu ghəiya/ he worked very hard.
/dhin-da əi mənən-ər khəduba har/ one day he was hunting in the forest (lit. day-one he forest in hunting (play hunt) was.)
/bhuwa əhulo ugha-ya-ə roga-ə/ the elder brother entered a cave (lit. brother-elder cave-in-one went);
/dhesu 1E tija/ Dhesu drank water.

In this context it may also be interesting to note that though Rāji has overwhelmingly developed an agglutinating structure, yet there are a few sentences which indicate that it
had an incorporating character too, e.g., /hə-para-hwə-hə?k-ku:rö/ (lit. walk-he-not-do-can)=he cannot walk. According to Dr. S. R. Sharma, it is a complex sentence in which different constituents of it are not distinctly recognizable.

Constituents of a Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—one or more noun phrases acting as a subject or object of the verb, and a verb phrase.

Noun Phrase

The constituents of noun phrase in an SOV or SVO pattern can be a single unqualified noun or pronoun (head) or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all following it:

/piie bhə́llo/ came flood; /hiie raʔtə/ became morning;
/hərə́g bə́ta piie ba-ɖa/ heaven-from descended man-one;
/aik hiie pəyau nhi/ his were sons two.

Räji does not favour a string of more than two qualifiers with a noun head.

Verb Phrase

The native structure of Räji does not favour use of subsidiary or copulative verbs with the main verb, as such there is hardly any scope for a VP to have more than one verb root as its constituents. The simple verb form are employed to convey various aspects of verbal expressions pertaining to various tenses, and moods. Consequently, the same form of the verb is employed to convey the sense of ‘he did, he has done, he used to do, he was doing’, etc.

However, extension of a verb phrase is possible in the form of an adverb or adverbial phrase preceding or following it, as in /əi jhiʔk-əlE mənən-yə həði-ə/ he, usually lived in the
forest; /bh düuwa ᷄hulo ugha-ya-dão roga- öde/ elder brother went in the cave.

**Complex Sentence**

A deep structure analysis of expressions like /run hiiE di ce?pa- öde/ on being light (day) he saw = ‘when it became light (morning) then he saw’ indicate that at a deeper level it can have sentences of a complex nature as well.

**Concord**

In Rāji there is hardly any scope for the concord between the subject/object and the verb in respect of number, gender and person.
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