

STUDIES IN TIBETO-HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES—III

**TIBETO-HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES
OF UTTARAKHAND**

[PART TWO]

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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 co-operation, 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 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: ə/á (अ), a (आ), i (इ), i:/ī (ई), u (उ), u:/ū (ऊ), e (ए), E (ऐ), o (ओ), ɔ (औ).

Consonants: k (क्), kh (ख्), x (ख्), g (ग्), g (ग्), gh (घ्), ñ (ङ्), c (च्), č (च्), ch (छ्), čh (छ्), j (ज्), z (ज्), ž (झ), jh (झ्), ñ̄ (ञ्), t̄ (ट्), t̄h (ठ्), d̄ (ड्), r̄ (ड्), dh̄ (ढ्), r̄h (ढ़), ŋ (ण्), t (त्), th (थ्), d (द्), dh (ध्), n (न्), p (प्), ph (फ्), b (ब्), bh (भ्), m (म्), y (य्), r (र्), l (ल्), l̄ (ळ्), lh (ल्ह्), w (व्), š (श्), ś (ष्), s (स्), h (ह्).

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

- : = 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 pinnacular 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

the Nepali king Prithvi Malla of the Nag dynasty who ruled over Jumla and extended his kingdom up to Garhwal in the 14th century A.D. (1983: 39).

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

A few examples of Tibetan vocables and verbal roots are as follows: /mik/ < *mig* eye, /to-pa/ < *grod-pa* belly, /do-ca/ < *sdod-ces* to sit, /duk/ < *dug* is, /yot/ < *yod* is, /gyəl khə̃m/ < *rgyal khams* country, /nyɪ/ < *ñis* two, /nə̃m/ < *rnams* all, /son/ > *gson* alive, /nə̃n/ < *gnang* give, /gu/ < *dgu* nine, /go/ < *bgod* divide, /ši/ < *bzhi* four, /dum/ < *bdum* seven, /ka/ < *bka* word /ta/ < *rta* horse, /duñ/ < *rdung* beat, /go/ < *mgo* head, /gya-cho/ < *rgya-m̃cho* sea, /na/ < *lnga* five, /ce/ < *lche* tongue, /cak/ < *lchags* iron, /kon/ < *skon* put, /mra/ < *smra* say, /ʈa/ < *skra* hair, /do-ba/ < *a-gro-ba* to go, /tu/ < *gru* ship; /ti/ < *adri* ask, /dawa/ < *zla-ba* moon, /ul-bo/ < *dbul-ba* poor. Similarly:, /ciu/ bird, /me/ fire, /lo/ age, /cag/ iron, /lag-pa/ hand, /phed/ half, /phora/ a cup, /da/ arrow, /ked/ sound, /ʈhak/ blood, /khi/ dog, /khor/ circle, /tag/ tiger, /nor/ wealth, /kir-kir/ round, /ñhul/ rupee, /bu/ insect, /pho/ male, /pya/ mouse, /cha/ salt, /nam/ bride, /ña/ fish, /chu/ water, etc.

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 /bhə̃rja/ to bloom, /dori/ blanket, /mai/ buffalo, /pusi/ cat, /kukro/

cock, /m̄rca/ chutney, /h̄k/ claim, /ʈhik/ right, correct, /dEjo/ dawry, /chero/ dysentry, /bali/ ear-ring, /ɖa/ enmity, /dusm̄n/ enemy, /jhigri/ fear; /maphi/ forgiveness, /chani/ hut, /ɖelo/ kernel, /joka/ leech, /jali/ net, /phulli/ nose screw, /pyaju/ onion, /m̄rca/ chillies, /p̄gri/ turban.

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-Bhatwari).

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:

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low			a

As regards the lip position only the backvowels /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—/ḍhi/ to ask : /ḍhu/ corner; /maĩ/ buffelo : /mau/ sheep.

i/o—/mi/ man : /mo/ female; /i:/ eldersister : /o:/ breath

i/ə—/min/ name : /mən/ medicine

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—/šero/ dead : /šaro/ 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, /tu/ monkey
 ia—/šia/ to die, /tia/ to mix, /chiã/ spittle, /jhiât/ family.
 ea—/sea/ to dance, to eat, /zea/ to make, /cheã/ sand
 eu—/seu/ apple, /teu/ adge, /peu/ calf, /kheu/ mustache
 eo—/leō/ flute, /zeog/ to stare, /theo/ thumb
 au—/leaũ/ bull.

Front + front

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

Back + back

au—/paũ/ dew, /maũ/ sheep, /aũ/ 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—/ṣao/ lame, /ñao/ near, /chao/ nephew, /rao/ he goat

Central + Back

ḍo—/gyḍo/ beard.

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

/ə/; /əmjok/ ear, /bhəɾjo/ 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/=[ōŋja] to come, /ñha/-[ñhã] tail, /sañma/=[sãñmã] clear, /kaŋa/=[kãñã] 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/=[ɔŋja] to come, /soŋ/=(sɔŋ) was, /hōed/=[hɔed] used to come, /do/=[

[dɔ] is, /hot/=[hɔt] was; /khin bθro/=[xɪnbθrɔ] is filled, /hɔt/=/ηɔt/ bright, /chodo/=[chodɔ], 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 /i:/ elder sister, /u:/ uncle, /o:/ breath, /e:/ 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:

Place of Articulation

		Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Manner of Articulation	Plosives	vl. p, ph	t, th	c, ch	ʈ, ʈh	k, kh	ʔ
		vd. b, (bh)	d, (dh)	j, (jh)	ɖ, (ɖh)	g, (gh)	
	Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ɳ	ŋ/ɳ	
	Vibrant				r, (rh)		
	Flapped				ɾ		
	Lateral			l (lh)			
	Fricative		s	ʃ		h	
			z				
	Frictionless continuants	w		y			

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, /mhən/ medicine, /mhonpo/ blue, /ḍhu/ corngrain, /jhu/ 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, /ŋ, ɾ, / 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, /təp/ reins

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

/b/—/bombo/ fat, /chobo/ big, /šob/ false, a lie, /nob/ west
/bh/—/bhəɾja/ to bloom, /phujop/ dusk.

/t/—/tara/ buttermilk, /toŋje/ bee, /katara/ bald, /ñot/ 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, /chəŋ/ 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/ corngrain /pond/ wrist, /daŋda/ equal, /bəd/ handle

[dh]—/dhobu/ ant, /dhi/ to ask, knife, /dhā/ counting

[r]—/mor/ health, /puŋru/ idiot, /dori/ blanket

/k/—/konja/ clothes, /bakso/ bad, evil, /kharok/ a crow

/kh/—/khi/ dog, /jokho/ body, /khor/ circle, /ñakhər/ both

/g/—/go/ door, /gogsa/ to await, /lagpa/ arm, /tag/ tiger

[gh]—/ghəsiŋ/ good, better, /ghəsindo/ alright

/m/—/male/ chin, /mama/ father's sister's husband, /gyəŋ/ box

/n/—/na/ daughter-in-law, /nene/ maternal aunt, /len/ answer

/ŋ/—/ŋul/ coin, silver, /diŋkha/ courtyard, /loŋ/ moon less night

/ñ/—/ñin/ day, /ñot/ bright, /ñanson/ to agree, /ñiŋ/ heart

/ŋ/—/ciŋiŋ/ a bell, /kaŋa/ blind

/l/—/li/ bronze /male/ chin, /thil/ sole of foot, /yul/ village

[lh]—/lhaŋma/ remainder, /lhande/ ghost, /laŋlha/ heaven

/r/—/rin/ cost, /kharok/ a crow, /kirkir/ round, /nor/ wealth

/š/—/šara/ blind, /puši/ cat, /nuša/ error, /šo/ curd.

/s/—/sa/ grass, /somba/ chisal, /khepsan/ fox, /bās/ bamboo

/z/—/zã/ earthen jar, /zur/ bank of river, /zugi/ finger

/h/—/horda/ air, /gyoha/ early, /laha/ work, /ràh/ cloth,
/làh/ cave

/y/—/yonba/ left side, /reya/ to beg, /ñoya/ to buy

/w/—/wakso/ bad, /thwa/hammer /thawa/ clay

/nh/—/nhod/ damage, /nhombo/ pointed, /nhak/ pus

/ᳵh/—/ᳵhul/ rupee, silver, /ᳵhã/ tail

/ñh/—/ñhen/ 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, t/ 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 not attest phonemic contrasts with their unaspirate counterparts. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in this dialect may be illustrated as follows:—

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—/toñ/ moonless night : /thoñ/ furrow

Retroflex /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ/

ṭ/ḍ—/ṭu/ /boy :/ ḍu /corngrain,
 /ṭak/ rock/ : /ḍak/ thunder

ḍ/ḍh—/ḍa/ enmity : /ḍhã/ counting.

Patalals: /c, ch, j/

c/j—X X

c/ch—/ce/ tongue; /che/ joint, knot, /cañ/ north : /châñ/ a
 kind of beer, /ca?/ 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, ñ, ñ̃/

m/n—/komja/ to dry : /konja/ clothes

/moha/ frost : /nuho/ younger brother

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

n/ŋ—/na/ bride, daughter-in-law : /ŋa/ drum, /semjə n/
 animal : /semjuñ/ hope, /ñin/ day : /ñiŋ/ heart

n/ñ̃—/na/ bride, daughter-in-law : /ñã/ fish

ŋ/ñ—/ɾa/ cattle drum : /ñā/ fish

m/mh—/mɔn/ no, not : /mhɔn/ herb, medicine

n/nh—/na/ bride, daughter-in-law : /nhā/ tail.

Nasal Consonants vs. Nasality

ŋ/ɸ—/daŋ/ wing of the house : /ɸhā/ counting;

/paŋ/ race : /pā/ tree

Liquids (r, l)

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

Fricatives: /š. s. h./

š/s—/šo/ curd : /so/ tooth; /šɔr/ east : /sɔr/ wick

š/z—/šer/ gold : /zer/ iron nail

s/z—/sa/ grass : /zā/ earthen zar

Semi-Vowels: /y, w/

y/w—šya /meat, flesh : /swā/ new

y/—ɸ/kyomba/ spade; /komba/ a step

w/—ɸ/swā/ new: /sa/ grass

Contrast between dental and retroflex plosives

t/ɸ—/tag/ tiger, /ɸak/ rock.

th/ɸh—/thoŋ/ furrow: /ɸhaŋ/ garland.

d/ɸ—/da/ arrow: /ɸa/ rice; /daŋ/ yesterday: /ɸaŋ/ 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, /khəb/=[khəp] 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 /hət/=[ət]=is, /hoŋza/=[ʔŋza/ to come.

Voicing: Unvoiced plosives tend to be voiced when preceded by voiced sounds, as in /khəŋ-pa/=[khəŋ-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 /pō/=[pʰō] daughter, /ŋul/=[ŋhul] silver, /mən/=[mhən] herb, /ḍu/=[ḍhu] corngrain, /ciu/=[chiu] bird, /besum/ [bhesum] to do /ḍo/=[ḍho] 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/=[pheroʔ] evening, /cag/=[caʔ] iron, /ta'g/ [taʔ] tiger, /baksoʔ/ 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 /ʈa/ hair, /ɖa/ rice, /da/ arrow. (not marked)

Fricativization—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—/gyɔb/ black, /phyālipti/ butterfly, /hyundo/ centre, /kyogyala/ a cheat, /gyoha/ early, /khyo/ thou, /myabo/ poor, /chyabaro/ lizard,

(ii) +w—/gwã/ egg, /thekwa/ to leak,

(b) Fricative + Semivowel

(i) /syuʈi/ broom, /šya/ flesh, /khiʈšya/ to heal,

(ii) /swã/ 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, /kogdoŋ/ hollow, /kogdəl/ 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*

/khepsaŋ/ fox, /lopped/ brave, /kukro/ cock, /bakso?/ bad, /caqsan/ hyeana /thakra/ loom, /nuksan/ loss, /šobrea/ a liar, /jhigri/ fear, /togre/ hunger, /bebla/ to roll down, /kebli/ skull.

(iii) *Nasal/liquid/fricative + plosive*

/semjəŋ/ animal, /jumja/ to hold, /cargo/ vulture, /puŋgu/ ass, /khulji/ leather bag, /misker/ jealous, /khorja/ to carry, /samšok/ final, /pəŋma/ marriage, /semba/ bridge, /somba/ chisal, /leŋgu/ bullock, /reldi/ bullet, /mərca/ chillies, /čaŋbo/ complete, /konja/ clothes, /thelgu/ dust, /dɔlba/ guest, /chande/ hot, /sonbo/ alive, /riŋbo/ long, /maŋpo/ many, /puŋru/ idiot.

(iv) *Liquid/nasal + nasal*

/gorma/ to cowl, /khəlma/ 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., /ḍeũ/ a fly : /deu/ fruit, /paŋ/ race : /pã/ 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 /r̥, 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, \pm 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.

/CV/—/lo/age, /da/ arrow, /na/ bride, /li/ bronze, /cho/ colour.

/CVC/—/thil/ bottom, /zur/ bank of river, /ṭhak/ blood.

/CCV/—/gwā/ egg, /šya/ flesh, /thwa/hammer, /swā/ new, /khyo/ thou.

/CCVC/—/ghyḍl/ bet, /gyḍb/ back, /kyog/ cheat, /lhḍb/ language, /lhḍm/ shoes, /šyan/ wide.

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, /lhan-ḍe/ ghost, /nhon-ba/ mad.

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

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

/CVC-CVC/—/kogdəl/ ashes, /kom-bok/ bark of tree.

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

/CCV-CVC/—/rhe-sañ/ begger .

/CCVC-CVC/—/hyam-jin/ peculiar

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

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

/CV-VC/—/di-ĕk/key, /ze-og/ to stare.

/CVC-CCVC/—/khib-šyaŋ/wolf.

From the point of frequency the most frequent dissyllabic 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-doŋ-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-ũ/ easy, /to-gre-a-/ hungry.

/CV-V-CV/—/che-ā-sa-/ desert.

/CCV-CV-CV/—/chya-ba-ṛo/ lizard.

/CV-CV-CVC/—/ze-mi-liṅ/ world.

CVC-CV-CVC/—/rik-pa-cin/ wise.

/CVC-CVC-CV/—/thak-riṅ-bo/ distance.

/CV-CCVC-CV/—/kha-gyen-mo/ old woman.

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 peripheri/ 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 /syuṭi/ 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-ṭi/ 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-gyɔn-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., / η ul/ silver, /min/ name, /yul/ village, /mak/ arms, / thak / blood, /ser/ gold, /zer/ nail, /gem/ box, /kh ∂ b/ needle, /nob/ west, /si η / wood, /cag/ iron, /mig/ eye, /me/ fire, /lagpa/ hand, /chu/ water, /sa/ grass, /li/ bonze, /k ∂ rma/ 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., /chiba $\text{r}\partial$ / lizard, /kukro/ cock, /k ∂ sturi/ musk, /am/ mango, /kela/ banana, /ser ∂ / mustard, /phulli/ nose screw, /ka ṇa / 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-yðŋ/, 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—/mðn-ba/ physician < /mðn/ medicine, /tiŋ-ba/ heal /cha-ba/ heat, /maqcho-ba/ darkness, /khðŋ-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—/khyo-gya-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) -jðn/—/semjðn /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*

/m̄r-ti/ oil = /m̄r/ butter + /ti/ water.

/buam̄r/ butter = /bua/ foam + /m̄r/ ghee.

/cag-dag/ chain < /cag/ iron, /s̄ŋ-m̄r/ 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-me/ lamp < /chon/ workship + /me fire.

/mig-chu/ tears = /mig/ eye + /chu/water.

/ñaphed/ afternoon = /ña/ 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 ŋare ūla hige cik gyago h̄t/ 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.

In the context of human beings this dialect usually distinguishes between the counterparts of the pairs in question by using distinct sets of them, e.g. /aba/ father: /ama~ã/ mother; /tu/ son, boy: /põ/ daughter, girl; /u:/ uncle: /ani/ aunt; /ayð η/ father-in-law: /ani/ mother-in-law; /meyẽ/ grand-father: /ibi/ grand mother; /mama/ maternal uncle: /nene/ maternal aunt; /ã:/ mother's sister: /kaka/ mother's sister's husband; /nuõ/ sister(y.): /šakpo/ sister's husband; /i:/ sister' (elder): /aũ/ elder sister's husband; /ayðŋ/ father's sister's husband: /ani/ fathers sister; /mi/ man: /phoyã/ woman.

Besides, there are a few domesticated animals for which too distinctive terms are used for their male and female species, as in /ta/ horse: /thiõ/ mare, /rao/ he goat: /rã/ 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-gyð-bo/ old man; /kha-gyðn-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 : /pheyag/ they, those

(ii) /yã/~zãk/—It is affixed to stems belonging to human class etc.

/põ/ girl, daughter, woman : /põyã/ girls, daughters, women, etc. /mi/ man : miyã/ men; /piriŋ/ child : /priyã/ children

/põyak-so t̪uyag la thoŋ-soŋ/ 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.

sq—		pl.	
khi	dog.	khi maŋpo	many dog (s)
„	„	khisum	three dog (s)

This latter device can be used with all types of nominal stems in the dialects, for instance, /ŋet ai-no mðŋ-po hət/ we are many brothers(s), /ŋe ʈiŋ-mu sum hət/I 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 casual 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:

	<i>Sq.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Direct	ϕ	ϕ
Acc. dative	la	la
Agentive	na	na
Ergative	so	so
Dative	la	la
Ablative	na/ na-so	na/ na-so
Genitive	-e/se	-e/se
Locative	la/-na	la/-na

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.

/ñā 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 ŋere dhaŋsa hin/ This is my home.

/di ŋei 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.

/petiŋ sebdūŋ saok/ child is eating food.

/pānaso lepti ŋilok/ leaves fall from the tree.

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

/ã piṭyak-la ŋuã teðnduk/ 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:

/ã piṭyak-la ŋuã teðndok/ mother is giving milk to the child.

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

/tu-so pō-la thoŋ-soŋ/ the boy looked at the girls.

/ŋa-so su-la lap/ to whom did I say?

ña-so ŋare nua-la doro sɔkcabðre/ I have called my younger brother here.

/di: piṭyak-la ðuã'/ he beats the child

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

/phei na-la dhoŋsun/ they beat me.

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

/khir zia-la ða 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.

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

/ŋala ŋare u la hige cikgyago hot/ I have to write a letter to my uncle.

/ŋa-la oŋgo lhyoŋ/ 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 laha -de gyoha charsok/ finish (to) this work quickly.

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

/phei 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.

/ʈu-so pō-la thoŋsoŋ/ Boy looked at the girl.

/pōyak-so ʈuyak-la thoŋ soŋ/ girls looked at boys.

/ā-so phiŋyak-la ŋua tesōŋ/ mother gave milk to the children.

/ram-so mohən-la lap cik ɖhisoŋ/ Ram asked one thing to mohan.

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

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

/di ʈu-na laha 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 ŋul č̣m hot/ How many rupees have you?

/khye-na galeŋ č̣m 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 ɸogo hot/ he has to go with his father.

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

/khyu dilli-na ŋa-la č̣e khuã/ what have you brought for me from Delhi?

/ŋa 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 ɸo goɪtak/ rice is needed to prepare *kheer*.

Ablative: The casual 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 č̣e khuã/ what have you brought from Delhi.

/pã-na-so lepi ɸilok/ leaves fall from the tree.

/rega-na-so chu ṭnjo/ 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/:

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

/ãse ŋuã/ mother's milk; /ram-se ã/ Ram's mother;

/galθŋ-se ŋua/ cow's milk;

/ram-se-ã de piɸyã-la galaŋ-se ŋua thuŋzateo/ Ram's mother gives cow's milk to the children

/phɸiyiŋ coq-da ã-se ŋua thuẽ 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 nčše-na či hoda/ what is there in this pot?

/phei yul-na mi čəm hoda/ How many people are there in that village?

/khe lagpa-na ide či hinda/ 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 casual relationship of nouns and pronouns with other nouns and pronouns in a syntactic 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 postpositions 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.

/pã tero ciu cokcok cik deboro/ a small bird is seated on the tree; /t̥iu pã 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 došo/ (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:

/ñā chu naŋdo dozeogondok/ fish live in the water,

/mi rop-naŋdo bigpa re-re lasandok/ all persons were having a stick each.

(iv) /naŋ-na/—It is used in the sense of ‘from’:

/ram naŋ-na sita so lhə̃m ɖhisoŋ/ Sita asked way from Ram

/ram naŋ-na mohə̃nso lap cik ɖhisoŋ/

Mohan asked one thing from Ram.

(v) /la/—It is used to indicate direction: /ŋa tirin phiroaē ɖhaŋsa-la lokɖi/ I am going to home today evening.

It is also used to express a state or condition:

/digun ʃaŋmu-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 /khoe ɖhaŋsa-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 siŋga-ro ɖhosuŋ ʃak/ 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 khorə̃ŋ 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:

/ñao-la/ ‘with’ (=Hindi *Sath men*) ‘in the company of’:

/khe-ñao-la hin su ə̃da/ who was the other (person) with you?

/phei-la khore aba ñaula ɔgo hɔt/ he has to go with his father.

/na/ 'in the possession of' (Hindi -- *pās*)

/khe-na galəñ čəm hɔt/ how many cows have you?

/ŋe naŋ-na khe-sa-na Siŋga ni-thet hɔt/ we have (possess) double the land than that you have (possess)

Models of Nominal Declensions

(Inflected for singular number only)

	/lagpa/ hand	/pā/ tree
Direct	lagpa	pā
Accusative	lagpa/de	pā
Agentive	lagpa-na	X
Dative	lagpa-la	pā-la
Ablative	lagpa-na/naso	pā-na/-naso
Genitive	lagpa-se	pā-se
Locative	na/naŋ-na/-tëro	pā-naŋ-na/-tëro
	/galaŋ/ cow	/ta/ horse
Direct	galañ	ta
Acc.	galaŋ-la	ta-la
Ag.	galaŋ-so	ta-so
Dat.	galaŋ-la	ta-la
Abl.	galaŋ-na	ta-na/naso
Gen.	galaŋ-se	ta-se
Loca.	galaŋ -la/-tëro	ta-tëro

PRONOUN

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

phologically these too are inflected for two numbers and six casual 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., (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 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.

/ŋa/ 'I' (First Person)

Case	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	ŋa	ŋe
Acc.-dative	ŋa-la	ŋe-la
Ag.-Erg.	ŋa-so	ŋe-so
Abl.	ŋa-na	ŋe-na
Gen.	ŋe/ŋere	ŋet

/khyo/ thou (2nd Person)

Case	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	khyo	khyeyag/khyogun
Acc.-dative	khyo-la	khyeyag-la/khwagun-la
Ag./Erg.	khyo-so	khyeyag-so/khwagun-so
Abl.	khyo-na	khyeyag-na/khwagun-na
Gen.	khye	khye

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

/di/ this (Third Person)

Case	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	di	di-yag/digun
Acc.-dative	di-la	di-yag-la/di-gun-la
Ag.-Erg.	di-so	di-yag-so/di-gun-so
Ablative	di-na	di-yag-na/di-gun-na
Genitive	di-se	di-yag-se/di-gun-se
Locative	di-na/-naŋ-na	di-yag-na/di-gun-na/ -naŋna

/phei/ that

Case	Sq.	Pl
Direct	phei	phei-yag/phei-gun
Acc. dative	phei-la	phei-yag-la/phei-gun-la
Ag./Erg.	phei-so	phei-yag-so/phei-gun-so
Ablative	phei-na	phei-yag-na/phei-gun-na
Locative	phei-na	phei-yag-na/phei-gun-na

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 or 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 ɲere ɖhiŋsa hin/ This is my home (pron.)

/di ɬu ɲe 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 ñaola so θda/ who was with you?; /khyo sula ket gyaeda/ whom were you calling for?; /di či hət/ what is this?; /phei kāa tu dɔ/ 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-dɔ/ of whom, whose?; Similarly, /či-la/, /či-so/, /či-na/ etc.

/di-se min či θnda/ what is his name?

/di nθse-na či hɔda/ what is there in this pot?

/phei kāa pagze dɔ/ 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, /gebincik/ 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 /-rθŋ/ to the pronominal bases of respective persons. In 3rd person, however, the suffixal base is supplemented by /kho/. Thus we have /ŋa/ I > /ŋarθŋ/ myself; /ŋet/ we > /ŋereŋ/ ourselves, /khyo/ you > /khyorθŋ/ yourself; /phei/ that, /di/ he, she etc, /khorθŋ/

himself etc.; /khye/ you (pl.) > /khyerðŋ/ yourselves; /khyerðŋ/ 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 oŋna, hodi ðogo hət/ 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 /ŋa ŋare/ I my; /khyo khyore/: you your; /di khore/ he his; /phei khore/ he his; /yokpo khore/ the servant his; /ŋei mese yul/ my maternal uncle's village; /ŋere ðhaŋsa/ our home; /khe tu/ thy son.

/dise khðŋpa/ his house; /ŋet ŋere laha chasðr/ we have done our work.

/phei khore konzade khorðŋ ʈhuok/ 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— /ñot/ bright, /ropɛ/ all, every, /tem/ full, /ghðsiŋ/ good, /jeŋgu/ green, /toko/ grey, /jinde/ heavy, /sao/ lame, /chande/ hot, /swã/ new, /meru/ red, /ciji/ a few, /cuŋ/ small, /šyare/ straight, /šyan/ wide, /keru/ white, /bakso/ bad.

Derived Adjectives

A few examples of the derived adjectives are as under:

- (i) -bo—/son-bo/ alive, /riŋ-bo/ long, /bot-bo/ loose, /mya-bo/, poor, /zaŋ-bo/ pure, /nðŋ-bo/ sharp, /jam-bo/ soft, /ʈabo/ thin, /taŋ-bo/ honest, /chaŋ-bo/ complete, /chabo/ great, big, /khyoŋ-bo/ cruel, hard,

- /thon-bo/ high, /ser-bo/ yellow, /kha-gyð-bo/ old (man), /mhan-bo/ blue, /bom-bo/ fat.
- (ii) -ba—/ñiŋ-ba/ old, /nag-cho-ba/ dark, /cik-ba/ similar. /cha-ba/ warm, /ho-ba/, /wet, /yon-ba/ left.
- (iii) -ma—/saŋ-ma/ clean.
- (iv) -mu—/taŋ-mu/ cold, /laŋ-mu/ beautiful (f.), /ŋar-mu/ sweet.
- (v) -mo—/yaŋ-mo/ light in weight, /kha-gyen-mo/ old (woman).
- (vi) -po—/ta-po/ thin, watery, /mðŋ-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—/semkeru/ kind.
- (xi) -Reduplication—/kir-kir/ round, /cð-m-cðm/ 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 mðŋpo/ brothers many, /tiŋmu cig/ sister one, /tiŋmu sumu/ sister three, /mi cðm/ men how many?, /phitiŋ cogda/ children small, /minda gyðt-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 thoŋ/ I saw a big black dog (=I dog-black-big-one saw),

/thok tēro 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 indefiniteness, the former type precedes the latter type, as in /ŋa laha ghəsiŋ ce besum ʔak/ 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 mðŋpo 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 siŋga de-tema siŋga sana chea dok/ The lower field is bigger than the upper field; /ŋenaŋ-na khe-sa-na siŋga nithet hot/ 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 siŋgade rop-sana cheo/ The middle field, (is) the biggest. /ai chesokna ropsana siŋga ma hot/ The elder brother has more than all. However, according to Grierson III, I. 99 the particle of comparison is /sðŋ/ as in /ti-a-co tiŋ-mo sðŋ chungun riŋ-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:

/ʔu ghəsiŋ/ good boy; /pō ghəsiŋ/ good girl.

/ta sao/ lame horse; /ʔhio sao/ lame mare.

/khi nagpo/ back dog; /khimo nagpo/ black bitch.

/ʔu 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 hət/ this horse is white, /di-ta mənpo keru hət/ these are white horses. /ne tinmu cig hət/ I have a sister; /ne tin-mu sum hət/ 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) Multipliatives, (6) Approximatives.

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

/cig/ one, /ñi/ two. /sum/ three, /ši/ four, /ña/ five; /tok/ six, /dun/ seven, /gyət/ eight. /pu/ nine, /cu/ ten, /cu-šig/ eleven, /cu-ñi/ twelve, /cu-sum/ thirteen, /cu-bzi/ fourteen, /caña/ fifteen, /corok/ sixteen, /co-bdun/ seventeen, /co-bgyət/ eighteen, /co-rgu/ nineteen, /ñisu/ twenty.

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 /ñi/ 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, /bgyət/ eight, /rgu/ nine, and as /ca/ before, /ña/, and as /su/ after /ñi/. Similarly, the component /cig/ becomes /šig/ 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.

/ñi-cu/→/ñi-su/ 20, /sum-cu/→/sum-zu/ 30, /zib-cu/→/zib-zu/ 40, /na-bcu/→/nə bzu/ 50, /tok-cu/→/tugzu/ 60, /dun-cu/→/dun-zu/ 70, /gyət-cu/→/gyeyu/ 80, /gu-bcu/→/gubzu/ 90. The term for 100 is /gya/.

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:

/ñisu/ 20, /ñisu ca-gcig/→/ñisucakšig/ 21;

/ñisu-ca-ña/ 25; /nisu-ca-bgyət/→/ñisu cobgyət/ 28;

/sumzu/ 30; /sumzic cig/ 31, but /sum-zu-rgu/ 39;

/zi-bzu/ 40; /zibzu-a-cig/ 41; /zibzu-so-bgyət/ 49;

/nə-bzu/ 50; /nə-bzu-ña-šik/ 51, etc.

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 ñisu/ 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 /toñ, ʃhi, bum/ or the I.A. terms /həzar, dəš həzar, 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 /wã/ to the numeral in question, except for 'one' which is the same as for cardinal numeral, e.g., /gyama/ ~/ñiwã/ second, /sum-wã/ third, /zi-wã/ fourth, /ñawã/ 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 /g̃r/ to the numerals above two, e.g., /sum-g̃r/ all the three, /ña-g̃r/ all the five. The term for both is /ñuñ/ or /ñakh̃r/.

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

Fractionals: The commonly used fractionals in it are—/paw/ 1/4, /phed/ 1/2, /s̃wa/ 1-1/4, etc. Moreover to express any full and a half number, the term for 'half', viz. /phed/ is prefixed to the next higher numeral in question, as in /pherã-ñi/ one and a half; /phurañ sum/ two and a half, etc.

Approximative: The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral followed by /zam/ 'about', as in /ga᳚bo ñisuzam/ 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 /phero minda gỹt-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 casual 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 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 predication, i.e., requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in /di ʋere dhaʋsa hin/ this is our home; /ʋe ʋimmu cig hot/ I have a sister, /ʋe nua sok do/ my brother is ill.

Primary: In this dialect, most of the roots are primary ones, e.g., /thoʋ-/ to see, /kum-/ to bring, /be-/ to do, /thuŋ/ to drink, /te-/ to give, /do-/ to go, /ñān-/ to hear, /so-/ to kill, /jum-/ to catch /mug-/ to cut, bite, /dhuŋ-/ beat, /te-/ flow, /khor-/ carry, /deb-/ change, /da-/ chew, /ʋob-/ close, /cho-/ cook, /pha-/ find, /phur-/ fly, /the-/ float, /lob-/ learn, /lāb-/ say, /go/ laugh, /dag-/ lick, /log-/ open, /dhe-/ 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 doŋ na/ to boil, /chob-chob/ to twinkle, /ʋhu-yag-/ to take bath, /uđi gyag-/ to blow, /ked gyag-/ to call, /gyāb la šuk-/ to chase, to follow, /sea also/ to dance /o'-te/ to kiss, /lu loŋ-/ to sing (=to speak song), /dēba-dhi-/ to sneeze, /chiā yog-/ to spit (=to throw spittle), /lāb-toŋ-/ to speak (=to produce sound), /ca lagyag/ to swim (=swimming do), /nákel-/ to swear (=to take swearing),

/toblak ñaŋ-/ 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. /ò teja/ to kiss </o'/ a kiss; /šob-gyaja/ to tell a lie </šob/ a lie; /toblak ñanja/ to taste </toblak/ taste; /kuma kuya/ to steal </kuma/ theft; /to lansa/ to be angry </to/ anger, /rorobja/ to assist </rorob/ assistance /ked gyagja/ to call </ked/ sound, a call; /log donja/ 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 soñ/ gave away; /lhepson/ had come; /ñusoñ/ broke to tears; /chak-syor soñ/ broken away; (ii) *present perfect*, as in /chosðr/ have finished (eating); /charsðr/ has done; (iii) *compulsive aspect*, as in /ðogo cuñ soñ/ had to go, /ðogo hot/ has to go, /gyogo hot/ has to write; /oñgo lyon/ will have to come; (iv) *presumptive*, as in /saetho/ may be eating, /socharja hot/ may have eaten; (v) *desiderative*, as in /ðhisum tak/ want to go, /be sum tak/ want to do; (vi) *continuative*— as in /zoin cason/ continued cooking, /sain cason/ 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 *bEṭhanā* to sit: *bEṭhānā* 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. /ðo/ to go: /toñ-/ to send; /thoñja/ to see: /donja/ to show; /ñenja/ to listen; /lobja/ to tell; /šija/ to die; /soja/ to kill; /bhðrj/ 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; /kom-ja/ 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 \times 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 sosoñ/ he ate; /pheigun sosoñ/ 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 ñere dhañsa-hin/ this is our home, /di ñei mēse yul hin/ this is my maternal grand father's village; /hət/—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 ʈu kana hət/ where is your son?, /ña cikpo hət/ I am alone, /ñe ʈunmu sum hət/ I have three sisters. It also conveys the sense of Hindi idiom /hota hE/ as in /dise lok čəm həḍā/ how many goats has he? (*hoti hE*), /phei yul-na mi cəm həḍā/ how many persons live in that village (= *hote hē*)? The verb roots /ta~da/ have a double character. These are used both as verb substantives and auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions, e.g. /ña togre ʈak/ I have hunger= I am hungry, /phei teja ʈok/ he used to give (=Hindi--*detā thā*); /goze hogəndok/ he lives (= *rəhta hE*), /doze hogənda/ they live, /phei də/ he was; /phei kāa pagze do/ which one was the basket? /khye ñaola hin soḍ da/ who was the other with you?

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

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

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

Future—(as in present or /honda/ will become)

e.g. /ña nañmu doro hət/ I shall be here tomorrow (lit. I am here tomorrow).

/khyo sya ghərna gəsiñ chañənda/ he will become well in a few days.

/ənda/ to become /dise min ci ənda/ what is his name?, lit.what becomes his name (Hindi--*kyā hotā hE*).

/chañ-/ to become : /ña gyəbo chañ chuñ/ I have become old; /khyo gyəbo chañbəro/ thou have become old; /phei gyəbo chañchuñ/ he has become old. In other tenses its forms are attested as:

/tag cig' ogðndo/ there was a lion; /phei khogyðbo
 chanbðro/ he had become old, /ña sok lãjuñ/ I
 had become ill, /kho g'ðsiñ chaʎonda/ 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, /ðok/ is going or goes, /tejok/ he gives (mostly occurring 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 -ẽ alone, e.g. /khyo beyema/ you do, /thuẽma/ you drink, /taẽ/ 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 waıda/ where are you coming from?

Ist Person: The tense person markers of the first person are-/gen, /n/ and /ê (en)/, as in /ŋə byagðn/ we do, /ŋa san/ I eat, /ŋa thuẽ/ I drink, /ɾe sain/ we eat, /ŋe tea (> tya) gðn/ 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 ðndok/ /is chopping off, cutting, /phorje ogendox is flying, also /bejok is doing, are doing, /ŋa dhaŋsala lokðe/ I am going home, /di ðok/ she is going /thuẽ ogentok/ are drinking. These forms are also used to express the habitual aspect, e.g., /phei yaktðn 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 čhaŋja 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 /sðr/ to the main verb root or by using the past participle form of the verb in question or by simple past tense:

/tesoŋ/ has given, /ña seabduñ sosðr/ I have taken meals, /ñet ñere laha charsðr/ we have finished our work; /ña huthok bðre tak/ I am tired; /khyoso di či cabðre/ what have you done this?, /sak cðm poswã/ how many days have passed?, /chaksyorsoñ/ is broken; /syorson/ has become; /ña tañ-la naso charsðr/ I have already finished it.

Static Present

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

/pãero ciu cig ded b/ rok/ a bird is seated on the tree.

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

/siñgaya nañ-la čhu khinbðrok/ 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 /soñ/ 'went' to the root of the verb in question:

/thoñ soñ/ saw < /thoñja/ to see; /te soñ/ gave < /teja/ to give; /dhi-soñ/ asked < /dhija/ to ask; /lhep-soñ/ come; /ñu-soñ wept;/syorson/ fell down, /phei hige cig silsoñ/ he read a letter.

Besides, the simple verb stem also is used to express the sense of the past tense, as in /ñaso khi cig thoñ/ I saw a dog, /laha charsaso sebdun so/ (we) ate food after having finished the work, /ñaso su-la lab/ to whom did I say?, /ña toñ/ I drank, /ña ñuñ/ I wept. In many cases The /ñ/ is realized as mere nasality as well, as in /tõ/-/toñ/.

In the second person, however, the formative /ma/ is also attested instead of /soñ/ 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 khore tu-la rhesañ-la te-soñ/ 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 /soñ/ 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 kānaso waīda/ where were you coming from?, /di khorañ cikpoī-lhepson/ he was coming alone. But if specification is necessary then it can be affected with the help of participles; /pheigun khorañ nañ-la ṭhugpa gagin desoñ/ they remained fighting among themselves.

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

/phei sebdun zoiñ 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,

/net saktaē khoe ḍhañsa-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 /ña thuñ/ 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' oŋna, hodi ɖogo hɔd/ who comes, he will go.

Person wise formative suffixes of this tense are:

3rd Person—/ndo/ and /gǎndo/ : /sando/ will eat, /byagǎndo/ will do, /thuñɔndo/ will drink, /tyagando/ will give.

2nd Person—/nma/ and /gǎn-ma/ : /sanma/ will eat, /byagǎnma/ will do, /thuñɔnma/ will drink, /tyagɔnma/ will give.

1st Person—/n/ and /-gǎn/—/san/ will eat, /byagǎn/ will do, /thuñɔn/ will drink, /tyagnǎ/ will give.

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

Also /di hoñjana tene ghɔsind '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 ċi 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 cāla 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 khyəṃ nhusa mən/ or /*ṇa dod nui metak*/ I can not sit. =(Hindi /-mē bEṭh nōhī saktā/).

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 transitivity 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 ṭu-na laha bechok/ he gets the work done by the child.

/phiṭiṇ ā-se ṇua thuē ogəndok/ Children drink mother's milk.

/ā phiṭyak-la ṇua thuṇja teo/ mother gives to drink milk to the children.

Also /thoṇja/ to see; /doṇja/ to show; /ṭhuja/ wash; /ṭhulja/ 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 /lɔbja/ 'to say' to forms of the verb concerned, as in 'the child does the work' (affirmative) 'he asks 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 infixated between the verb stem and the tense-person markers, e.g., /phei do/ he is: /phei mɔndo/ he is not; /ŋa byagɔn/ I will do: /ŋa me bet/ I will not do; /ŋa tyagɔn/ I will give: /ŋa metet/ I will not give; /kae/ give: /matet/ do not give; /ŋa thɔ/ (</thoŋ/) I drank: /ŋa thuẽ 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

<i>Present</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
3rd	(phei) saok	(pheigun) saok
2nd	(khyo) soma/so	(khyegun) so/soma
1st	(ŋa) san	(ŋe) sain
<i>Past</i>		
3rd	sosoŋ/so	sosoŋ/so
2nd	so	so
1st	so	so

Future

3rd	sando	sando
2nd	sanma	sanma
Ist	san	san
Imp.	so: Neg—mesa /beja/ to do	

Present

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
3rd	beok	beok
2nd	beyema	beyema
Ist	byagðn	beagðn

Past

3rd	casoñ	casoñ
2nd	cama	coma
Ist	ca sg-/ pl.	ca

Future

3rd	byagðndo	
2nd	byagðnma	
Ist	byagðn	
Imp.	ce-e /teja/	Neg.—ma bet to give

Present

	<i>Sg. /pl.</i>
3rd	teok
2nd	taye (ma)
Ist	tyagðn

Past

3rd	tejuñ (tesoñ)
2nd	tejuñ
Ist	tet

Future

3rd	tyagəndo	
2nd	tyagənma	
1st	tyagən	
Imp.	kae	Neg.--ma tet

/thuŋ-ja/ to drink

Present

Sg. /pl.

3rd	thuĕk
2nd	thuyĕma
1st	thuyĕ

Past

3rd	thuŋsoŋ /thōsoŋ
2nd	thuŋma/thōma
1st	thuŋ/thō

Future

3rd	thuŋəndo	
2nd	thuŋənma	
1st	thuŋən/thuŋgən	
Imp.	thuŋ	Neg—ma thuŋ

/ŋuya/ to weep

<i>Present</i>	3rd—ŋuok	2nd—ŋuo	1st—ŋui
<i>Past</i>	—3rd—ŋujoŋ	2nd—ŋuma	1st—ŋu:
<i>Fut.</i>	3rd—ŋuyăhin	2nd—ŋuəŋ	1st—ŋuəŋ
<i>Imp.</i>	ŋu	Neg.—maŋu	

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; /lɔbja/ to say > /thoŋ/ say. Some of the imperative forms are—

/soja/ to eat > /so/, /ñelja/ > ñel/ sleep, /ñolja/ > ñol/ make to sleep, /loŋ/ take; /thuŋ/ drink; /ñu/ weep, /gɔt/ laugh, /dod/ sit, /ši/ die, /sot/ kill, /go/ wait, stop, /t̥hu/ wash, /ñɔŋ/ listen, /to/ see, /thoŋ/ show, /ɖo/ move, /ta la chu thod/ give water to horse; /doro hoŋsa, dod/ having come here, sit down, /ña ɖoso/ 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.

/so/ eat: /mesa/ don't eat: /ce-e/ do: /mabet/ don't do;
 /kae/ give: /matet/ don't give; /thuñ/ drink: /mathuñ/
 don't drink; /magot/ don't laugh, /ma nu/ 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, supposition or a possibility almost always with an implied reference to future.

/khyola phero naḍhea/ you should go there.
 /dila doro hoñja mawã dojendok/ he should not come here.
 /ña šingaro ḍisum tak/ I wish to go to the field.
 /ña yul-ro ḍoso/ (please) let me go to the village,
 /ḍo, ciji torã tañ la ḍoin/ Move, let us go a little ahead.
 /ña sea ma/ may I eat?, /ña byḍjama/ 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 tho/ he may be eating.

/pheigun sebduñ so charja hət/ they may have eaten.

/khoi thaja dok čibena began dok/ they may do whatever they like.

/khyosoi khwala lab otho/ possibly you may have told him.

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.

/di hoñjana tene ghəsin hoñja həd/ Had he come here, so nice it would have been.

/khyed hoñjana nu khyed ñaula na hoñja həd/ had you come, I too would have accompanied you.

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 ñare u:la hige cig gyago hət/ I have to write a letter to my uncle: /pheila khore aba ñaula đogo hət/ he has to go with his father; /pheide dinaso đogo 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 šinga-ra đhisum ʔak/ 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 ñela thañ caso, nu 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'

/ña dod nui metak/ I am unable to sit.

/khyo khyðm nusa mðn/ 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 /thoñ-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, /lðb-ja/ to say, /ñal-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-khenjiñ doro hoñ-sum dok/ he wanted to come here day before yesterday.

/ña tasã šinga-ro ðhosum ðak/ I want to go to the field just now.

/ña laha ghðsiñ ce be-sum ðak/ I want to do some good work.

/go/—It is also added to the verb root.

/pheide dina-so ḍo-go coñ soñ/ he had to go from here.

/pheila khore aba ñaula ḍogo hōt/ he has to go with his father.

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

/hodi ḍogo hōt/ 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 finite verb form does:

/ña hige cig gyago hōt/ 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 lokḍe/ I am going to eat food (=for-eating).

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

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

But Grierson (III.I.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, /ñuin-cig-la/ < /ñuin/ weeping, /gagin/ laughing, /šiñcig-la/ dying /mi thug pagagiñ/ quarrelling 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:

- (i) /bðro/—/ta-bðro/ seen, /ñañ-bðro/ heard, /pðr-bðro/ placed, /thuñ-bðro/ drunken, /chak-bðro/ broken, /de-bðro/ seated, /pã-bðro/ wet, /ñel-bðro/ slept, /cheg-bðro/ burnt.
- (ii) /dðna/—/ta dðna/ grinded, /so-dðna/ eaten, /lã-dðna/ taken, /te-dðna/ given, /khil-dðna/ stopped.
- (iii) . . . /kamo/ dried, /tu-ɕua/ washed, /ši-soñ/ 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):

/šya/—/chyošya/ having heard; /pðr-šya/ having placed, /tušya/ having washed, /yo-šya/ having stopped, /det šya/ having sat, /sošya/ having eaten, /go-šya/ having laughed, /ñelsya/ having wept, /thuñ-šya/ having drunk.

/ša/—/ca-ša/ having done, /te-ša/ having given, /kam-ša/ having dried, /šiša/ having died, /seša/ having killed,

/lap-ša/ having said, /ṭhu-ša/ having washed. /doro hoṅsa, dod/ having come 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 ṅala thoṅ-ca-so ṅu soṅ/ she wept as soon as she saw me (-having seen).

/pheide mun caso, ṭil syorsoṅ/ 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, /t̥he-ro/ near, /kã-ro/ where? /do-ro/ here, /phe-ro/ there, /pheda-ro/ outside.

Adverb of Time

The few temporal adverbs are: /tasañ/ now, /tiriñ/ today, /nañmu/ tomorrow, /doñ/ yesterday, /phenjiñ/ day before yesterday, /ná/ day after tomorrow, /sək̆t̆ae/ daily, /yakt̆ən/ 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, /gh̆s̆iñ/ nicely, properly, /onamu/ like this, /c̆əm-c̆əm/ 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 /oz̆əm/ so much, as in /ña oz̆əm gyoha hoñ minu/ I can not come so quickly; /n̆əmla/ enough, as in /ta khwala phod-saso n̆əmla gehind phason̆/ enough time has passed now, since he went; /ciji/ a little, as in /do ciji torã tãñla ðoin/ 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; /ãra dañ doro lhepson/ 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 /ña tiriñ phiroraẽ dhañsa la lokḍe/ 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 ghḍsiñ-gyagse/ I can swim well. Here the term for 'well' (ghḍsiñ) is infixed between the terms for 'swim' and 'can'. Similarly /hu-mḍñpo-ṭhok/ tired much.

Overlapping with Adjective: There are some adverbs, particularly, intensifiers which formly overlap with adjectives. For example, in /tu ghḍsiñ mḍñpo/ '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 /ña tiriñ hu-mḍñpo-ṭhok-bḍre-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, /nḍm cok-cok/ for how long?, /ghein cok-cok/ for a long time, /cigboa-la/ at once, as soon as, /chḍn tḍrḍḅ/ 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 ña/ he and I, /ram na šyam/ Ram and Shyam, /ta la sa na 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, ña thuẽ/ he gives (and) I drink. /da ma-bet cila ña 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, ña-la togro ʃak/ he said, I am hungry.

/pheiso ɖhison, khe ʃu kãna hət/ 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 /ŋa sebduñ so chər, pheiso tarã so ma charade bəro/ I have taken my meal, (but) he has not taken it. If necessary the Indo-Aryan loan /pər/ 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 oñna, tene ñala oñgolhoñ/ (If) you will come, then I may also come. /laha charsao, 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 ədore 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 oŋho/
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., /mən/ 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 khyə̯m nhusa mən/ you can not walk on foot.

/ʃag mən̄pə̯ ma-sōn/ 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 ōnza mawã doje dok/ she should not have come here.

/ña ozə̯m gyoha hən̄ minu/ I can not come so quickly,

/ña kho-la lə̯b mijuk/ I shall not allow him to speak.

/nānmu odoro ōnzade hat-ma-zəd/ Don't forget to come here tomorrow.

Interrogative Particles

In it interrogative particles are— /či/ if, what? whether?, /kāna/ where?

It is placed in the beginning or at the end of the utterance:

/khe ʔu kāna hət/ where is your son?

/khena n̄ul cə̯m hət/ how much money have you?

/dise min či ə̯nda/ what is his name?

/khyoso di či cab ə̯re/ what have you done this?

/khe ñãola hin su ə̯da/ 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 predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in simple sentence is—subject, \pm object + Verb. As such syntactically it belongs to the SOV group:

/ña ʈu hin/ I am a boy.

/phei sebduñ sao/ he is eating food,

/ña sok lājūn/ I have become unwell.

/di: piṭyak la duã/ he beats the child.

/ʈuso pōla thoñsoñ/ the boy saw the girl.

In transitive constructions in which the verb has more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/ã piṭyak-la ṅua te-ḁndok/ 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., /ṭu cig/ a boy, /ṭu ghḁsiṅ 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 thoṅsoṅ/ he drank /was drinking.

/ña byagḁn/ I shall do.

/phei thuḁndo(-thuḁndo)/ 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.

/phiṭiñ ãse nuã thuẽ (thuñe) ogendok/ (small) children drink mother's milk.

/di odoroi dosak/ let it remain here.

/ña sebduñ so s̄r/ 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:

/kho~phei dore lhepson/ he came here.

/kho~phei dañ doro lhepson/ he came here yesterday.

/ña ḍhañsa la lokḍe/ I am going home.

/ña tiriñ ḍhañsa-la lokḍe/ I am going home today.

/ña tiriñ pheroraẽ ḍhañsa la lokḍe/ 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.

/ciu sokhana phorok/ bird /birds fly with wings.

/pã-naso leṭi dhou/ leaves fall from the tree.

/dise lug c̄m h̄o da/ how many goats has he?

/phei~pheiḡun thuõt (thuño)/ he /they drink.

/khyo~khwagun thuẽ-ma/ thou, you drink.

/ña~ñe thuẽt/ I, we drink (-thuñe).

Similarly—/thuñsoñ/ he~they drank.
 /thuñma/ thou~you drank.
 /thuñ/ 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 tiñmu cig hət/ I have a sister.
 /ñe tiñmu mðñpohət/ I have many sisters.
 /ʃuso pōla thoñsoñ/ a boy saw a girl.
 /pōyakso ʃuyak-la thoñsoñ/ 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. 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 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) /na sebduñ so sər, phei so tarā so ma chara debðro/ 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 lhoñ/ (if) you come (=will come), then I also will have to come.

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

/laha charsa so, tene sebdun sosoñ/ 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 ʃak/ he said, I am hungry.

/ram so ʃhison, khye min çe ənda/ 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 ɖogo həd/ 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 Māṇa 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 Dhaulī and Alaknanda; 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 Māṇa on its left side. Māṇā is the last village of India bordering on Tibet. The boundary of Māṇa starts from Hanuman Chaṭṭi, near Badrinath and goes up to Māṇa 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 Koṛiya and Bhimtala (Bhuntiya), of Gamshali to Chamoli, Baunla, Semla and Math, and of Bampa to Chhinka.

Prominent villages of Marchhas in the Māṇa valley are Maṇa, Indradhara, Gajkoṭi, Pathiya-Dhantoli, Hanuman Chaṭṭi, Benakuli and Auṭ. Their settlements in Chamoli are Ghingaraṇ, Negwaṛ, Senṭuṛa 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

dialect. Moreover, according to Grierson (*ibid.*) it is closely related to the Tibetan, spoken by the Jāḍs of Tehri Gaṛhwal, 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—(1) 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 Bhoṭias 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, /camə/ girl, /apa/ father, /ama/ mother, /ata/ sister, /əku/ uncle, /tete/ grand father, /acə/ grand-mother, /ana/ father's sister, /rhu/ father-in-law, /yu/ mother-in-law, /pec/ bird, /khui/ dog, /balaŋ/ cow, bull, /šui/ blood, /mhe/ fire, /phutər/ forehead, /šya/ flesh, meat, /mar/ gree, /tha~kha/ hair, /mig/ eye, /mig-cəm/ eye-brow, /cəm/ wool, /kim/ house, home, /magpa/ son-in-law, /cəg/ iron, /lha/ month, /la/ mountain pass, /min/ name, /mhəŋ/ medicine, /Khum/ pillow, /chidpa/ perspiration, /cha/ salt, /məŋdə/ red, /thə/ back, /zaŋpo/ bridge, /mig-ti/ tears, /sa/ tooth, /siŋ/ wood, /mul/ silver, /zās/ gold, /tuŋ/ 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:

Nominal Stems: /Kaki/ aunt, /mama/ maternal uncle, /dyor/ husband's younger brother /dyorani/ husband's younger brother's wife, /jeṭhani/ husband's elder brother's wife, /bhanja/ sister's son, /bhanji/ sisters's daughter, /bhṛst/ brother's son (female ego), /bhṛsti/ brother's daughter (female ego), /tīr/ arrow, /bhīk/ alms, /swas/ asthma, /gṇja/ bald, /tṛaju/ balances, /cuṛi/ bangle, /jō/ barley, /bās/ bamboo, /cōc~ṭhun/ beak, /rikh/ a bear, /daṛi/ beard, /jogi/ mendicant, /ṛṛg/ wine, /ḍḍgar/ a belch, /ghani/ a bell, /kano/ blind, /nilo/ blue, /kasa/ bell metal, /nōni/ butter, /putṭli~puthṭi/ butterfly, /bachi~bachru/ calf, /biralu~birali/ cat, /kukuro/ cock, /bāsuri/ flute, /meṅko/ frog, /gol/ round, /roj/ daily, etc.

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:

/yū/ age, /tar/ axe, /šeru/ boy, /šid/ white, /phoco/ belly, /nṅg/ pus, /jhullo/ cloth, /mṛṛg/ door, /Khucni/ elbow, /labo/ big, /phaṅo/ branch, /phettu/ ball, /boti/ milk, /ti/ water, /rhrās/ horse, /hringza/ sister, /rhṛc/ ear, /cyuni/ chin, /sod/ cold, /lās/ price, /laṭo/ dumb, /luṅsa/ manure, /gicco/ mouth, /gEṇa/ star, /bEra/ song, /ḍalo/ tree, /szro/ hard, /tho!/ lip, /nar/ foot, /miri/ gums, /jhilo/ loose, /či/ grass, /bājo/ fallow land, /bhāṭa/ ribs, /ḍuno/ lame, /soro/ blood relation, /uḍyar/ cave, /hilo/ muddy, /bṛthō/ air, /phṛgot/ bark of tree, /thopṛṇ/ to beg, /thapṛṇ/ to divide, /gaṛ/ river, /rhig/ louse, /joṅa/ moustache, /ghuggu/ owl, /ghogṛ/ lightning.

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 Nīṭī and Māṇā 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 Māṇā and the second from that of Nīṭī.

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, /rhub̃ñ/ : /rhop̃ñ/ to ask, /poth̃ði/ : /putli/ butterfly, /koheṛa/ ; /kuheṛ/ frost, /phott̃ḍr/ /phut̃ḍr/ : oven, ḍa—/ph̃ḍtiñ/ : /phatiñ/ ashes, /nh̃ḍnt̃ḍ/ : /nh̃ant/ beautiful, /kh̃ḍsyo/ : /khasya/ dark, /bhũic̃ḍl/ : /bhũical/ earthquake, /t̃ḍñ-/ : /tañ-/ to live, to exist, /ñḍth/ : /noth/ nosering, /lag/ : /l̃ḍg/ hand; a/o—/kh̃ḍṭ̃ṭ̃a/ ; /kh̃ḍṭ̃ṭ̃o/ sour, / b̃ḍra-b̃ḍr/ : /b̃ḍrob̃ḍro/ equal, /jhuṭa/ : /jhuṭo/ false, /bya/ : /byo/ marriage, /k̃ḍcca/ : /kaco/ unripe, /ḍEna/ : /ḍEno/ rightside, /j̃ḍṛa/ : /j̃ḍṛo/ age, root, /gila/ : gilo/ wet, /machu/ : /macha/ fish, ḍ/o—/j̃ḍr/ : /j̃ḍr/ fever, /ḍḍri/ : /ḍḍri/ hole, /ñḍñḍ/ : /ñḍno/ maternal aunt, i/E—/dhi/ : /dhE/ /he/ she, /dhiñu/ : /dhE nu/ the same; i~e/ḍ—/mir̃c/ : /m̃ḍrc/ chillies, /chedpa/ : /ch̃ḍdpa/ perspiration.

Diphthngization : /g̃ḍiro/ : /gEro/ deep, /ḍhaij/ : /ḍhE/ two and a half.

Glidalization: /gye/ : /ge/ I, /yin/ : /in/ we, /khye/ : /khe/ what? /cyuni/ : /cuni/ chin, /zoba/ : /zwaba/ hybride, /kyeṭi/ : /keṭi/ girl, /kheru/ : /khyoru/ why?

Voicing: /bḥñ/ : /pḥñ/ infinitive marker, as in /thobḥñ/ : /thopḥñ/ to beg, /nhabḥñ/ : /nhapḥñ/ to dance, /tuñ-bḥñ/ : /tuñ-pḥñ/ to drink, /dha-bḥñ/ : /dha-pḥñ/ to give; /dibḥñ/ : /di-pḥñ/ to go; /-gi/ : /ki/ past tense 1st person singular suffix, /tangi/ : /tanki/ I saw, /tuñgi/ : /tuñki/ I drank, /guc/ : /kuc-/ to sleep, /digi/ : /diki/ went, /cəlag/ : /cəlak/ clever, /rig/ : /rikh/ a bear, /chəḍ/ : /chəṭ/ warm, /cyoṅgu/ : /cyōku/ urine.

Assimilation: /səḍ-pḥñ/; /sap-pḥñ/ to kill, /kəḥm-bḥñ/ : /kəḥn-pḥñ/ to see, /yḥm-bḥñ/; /yḥn-pḥñ/ to listen, /chim-bḥñ/ : /chin-pḥñ/ to tie, /rəḥm-bḥñ/ : /rəḥn-pḥñ/ to weave.; but /dḥ-bin/ : /dḥ-min/ like that, /di-bin/ : /di-min/ like this, /khog-po/ : /khəḥko/ lap.

Aspiration: Both the dialects have a natural tendency to aspirate initial voiced plosives, nasals and liquids. It is, however, weak in Māṇā dialect and strong enough in Nīti 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, /cya-bḥñ/ : /chya-pḥñ/ to press, /yañḍḥ/ : /hyañḍḥ/ light in weight, /ṭokri/; /ṭokhri/ basket, /labcha/ : /labca/ ring.

But there are cases in which the tendency of higher aspiration is more prominently attested in the dialect of Māṇā, as in /bāḥhi/ : /bāḥi/ balance, /kaḥh-bḥñ/ : /kaḥ-pḥñ/ to chop, to bite, /pothḥi/ : /putli/ butterfly, /khusni/ : /kucni/ elbow, /bakhpe/ : /bagpe/ flour, /pakhḥtya/ : /pakḥṭ/ ripe.

Lateral Variations: In loaned Indo-Aryan vocables containing the liquid /l/ two types of variations are attested. In the dialect of Māṇā it becomes a retroflex /ḷ/ and in the dialect of Nīti a bi-labial semi-vowel /w/; /dhūḷ/ : /dhūw/ dust, /maḷa/ : /mawa/ garland, /ḍaḷo/ : /ḍawḥ/ tree, /ṣyḍḷa/ : /ṣyawa/ wife's younger brother, /ghuḷ-bḥñ/ : /ghow-pḥñ/ to swallow, /bḥḷyo/ : /bḥwo/ mad.

Besides, in a couple of examples an exchange between /r/ and /l/ is also attested, as in /ʃðrīr/: /ʃðrīl/ 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 Māṇā attests more native terms than the dialect of Nīṭī, 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 Māṇā dialect and the second the Nīṭī dialect: /bekhoru/; /phðgoʈ/ rind, bark; /mðst/: /chuʈʈi/ many, enough; /phettu/: /gēd/ ball, /pðlka/: roʈʈi /loaf of bread, /ðlki/: /galo/ cheek, /khoyā/: /āñðn/ courtyard, /phyðlc/: /dE/ curd, /ðkto/: /mðrðg/ door, /nðmkhar/: /goslya/ dusk, /rhðc/: /kðnūr/ ear, /rhig/: /maʈi/ earth, /syañni/: /labo/ elder, /haga/: /aka/ excreta /sodðra/: /bunyad/ foundation, /camð/: /kyeʈi/ girl, /thod/: /ucco/ high, /rhās/: /ghwara/ horse, /gocit/: /coʈ/ injury, /beʈu/: /laccð/ lamb,; /jðkhðr/: /roj/daily, /tikun/: /yðkhuli/ alone, /mad/: /nisso/ low, /lwa/: /phepʈo/ lungs, /bud/: /bhari/ load, /cyapa/: /ðku/ mother's sister's husband, /kðldar/: /gwarma/ money, /tora/: /tuño/ pastil, /pðda/: /chuʈʈu/ plenty, /dāti/: /sðd/ sickle, /pðthal/: /chðt/ roof, /gēja/: /wðsat/ swelling, /ča/: /nðs/ vien, /chedðg/: /ghðt/ /watermill/, /ghðncar/: /hðtti/; /next/; /kim/: /ðyara/ home, /gðri/; /balðn/ cow, /cyama/: /kaki/ aunt.

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; /ghðncar/: /rðhðncar/ before; /nhis/: /nhisri/ both; /pho-bðñ/: /phoc-peñ/ to make dry; /lama/: /nhama/ ewe; /ðikuʈo/: /ðibðlo/ eye ball; /rhig/: /rhigðr/ field; /ba-pðñ/: /tho-pðñ/ to get; /ʈha/: /kha/ hair; /nðnðd/: /nðrd/ husband's

younger sister, /bāyo/: /bāño/ left, /chinpa/: /chid-pa/ liver, /nimcā/: /nipca/ mouse; /mitiñ/: /bhitñ/ pissu; /khyāḷt/: /khyāgt/ sweet, /mi-gya/: /miñ-gya/ day-after tomorrow, /sa/: /səg/ tooth, /daṛbeñ/: /dḍre-pḍñ/ to tremble, /cyongu/: /cyōku/ urine; /chormi/: /chorsi/ woman; /nar/: /nar/ foot; /gḍdro/: /gaṛḍm/ river, /popo/: popkē/mother's father, /g'o/: /g'u/ where?, /khyoka/: /khyatḍñ/ how many; /gus/: /hunc-/ to live, to dwell; /goś/: /gwaslya/ in the evening.

Morphological Differences

The Marchha speakers of Nīṭi and Māṇā 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; /tḍn/: /cḍn/ — /dhatḍn/: /dhacḍn/ I will give; /na/: /cya—/zḍna hunti/: /zḍcya hunti/ may be eating; /zḍi khi/: /zekhiki/ I have eaten; /tyo-bḍñ casya/: /tyo-pḍñ 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 /-bḍñ/: /-pḍñ/, in past-participle formative suffixes too, we notice their own preferences, i.e., in the dialect of Māṇā it is attested as /tya/ and in that of Nīṭi as /-t/, as in /pakḍtya/: /paket/ ripe, cooked, /šidya/: /šist/ dead, /nḍstya/: /nḍst/ ill, /sustya/: /sḍḍt/ rotten, /thḍktya/: /thḍkḍt/ 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 mḍst bese hini/ we are many brothers.

/git sum rhinza hini/ I have three sisters.

/ḍaḷcḍ pat nhasina~nhaskḍn/ leaves fall down the tree.

/gEt šeri go~gu yā/ where is your son?

/dhEt khe mhin yā/ what is his name?

/ramzḍ mohḍnru tig kḍmci rhuiz/ Ram asked one thing from Mohan.

/gezðghodðb logi~loki/ to whom did I say?

/jəldi du rhēz hunci/ having come here quickly, sit down.

/ge thən məst thək digi~diki/ I am very much tired today.

/gənz dhi khe ləp-yā/ what all this has been done by you?

/gE sib hətti gho hīz/ who was the other person with you?

Literature

It has no literature, except the two specimen and a brief grammatical sketch of one and a half page given in the LSI (III. I 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 Nīti was Shri Bachan Singh Toliya, v. Mehar Goan, Malāri (Nīti) and for the dialect of Māṇā was Shri Mangal Singh Parmar of the village Māṇā.

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 Mārçhha dialects are as follows:

VOWELS

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

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Lowermid	E		ɔ
Low			a

As regards the lip position only the back vowels /u/, /ɔ/ 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/ə—/mi/ man : /mə/ not; /khim/ how : /khəm/ pillar, /ci/ grass : /cə/ from.

i/a—/cime/ mother's sister : /cama/ girl; /nir/ day : /nar/ foot; /chidpa/ liver : /chadpa/ perspiration.

I/E—/dhi/ this : /dhE/ that, he, she.

I/u—/sist/ dead : /sust/ lazy ; /khim/ how, why? : /khum/ pillow.

i/u—/bi:s/ poison : /bu:s/ husk.

e/a—/khe/ what : /kha/ hair; /khwɛpɔ̃/ to bend : /khwarpɔ̃/ to close.

e/E—/bed/ elder brother : /bEd/ physician.

e/ɔ—/er/ up: /ɔr/ and, /beɳ/ handle: /bɔɳ/ forest.

E/a—/dhE/ that, he, she: /dhã/ now; /gE/ you: /ga/ rice.

ə/a—/mɔr/ ghee : /mar/ beating; /əkə/ intellect : /əkə/ famine.

ə/u—/əɳ/ snow : /uɳ/ stone.

a/u—/kha/ hair : /khu/ smoke; /rha/ shyness : /rhu/ father-in-law,

a/o—/mama/ maternal uncle : /momo/ maternal grandmother, /šya/ meat: /syo/ apple, /ɖhano/ hill: /ɖhono/ hollow.

a/ɔ—/bayya/ day after tomorrow: /bɔyo/ mad.

ə/o—/rhəpɔ̃/ to ascend: /rhəpɔ̃/ to arrive.

u/o—/buti/ butter milk: /boti/ milk; /pupu/ father's sister: /popo/ mother's father.

Vocalic Sequences: 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—/oriã/ smell, odour.

Back + Front

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

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

Front + front

ei—/kolei/ pine tree.

Central + Front

əi—/guṭhəi/ fruit stone, /nirdəi/ cruel

However, this dialect does not favour many vowel sequences. Usually, /ə/a+i/ have developed into /E/, as in /gEro/ < /gəiro/ deep, /šikEt/ < /sikait/ complaint, /dE/ < /d̥ei/ curd, /ḍhE/ < /ḍhai/ two and a half, and back+back or back+front into a /w/ like back glide, as in /mwari/ < /muhari/ bee, /bwani/ < /buharəni/ 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/ : /ərd̥g/ a beer, /əñ/ snow, /mhən/ medicine, /camə/ daughter.

/a/ : /apa/ father, /ama/ mother, /lama/ ewə, aunt (elder), /kaki/ aunt(y).

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

/u/ : /uñ/ stone, /bu:/ worm, /šeru/ boy, son, /khu/ smoke.

/e/ : /er/ up, /eṛi/ heel, /bethō/ air, /khe/ what?, /cime/ mother's sister.

/E/ : /dE/ curd, /gEro/ deep, /gEṇa/ stars, /mEt/ a women's paternal home.

/o/ : /ori/ good, /boti/ buttermilk, /ṭolo/ deaf, /laṭo/ dumb.

/ɔ/ : /ɔr/ and, /jō/ barley, /raṭɔ/ mustard, /ɔri/ 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 /camə/ = [cãm̃ə] daughter, /ama/ = [ãmã] mother, /uñ/ = [ũñ] stone, /nilo/ = [ñilo] blue, /ḍhoñ = [ḍhõñ] pretention, /gEṇa/ = [gEṇã] stars, etc.

Opener Variants: Vowels /o/ and /e/ tend to be opener and lower when accompanied with nasality, e.g., /ḍhoñ/ = [ḍhõñ] pretention, /gēd/ = [gēd] ball, /ḍon/ = [ḍõn] anxiety, /bəthō/ = [bəthõ] air, wind, /noni/ = [nõni] butter, /nyon/ = [nyõn] after.

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

Manner of Articulation	Bilabial	Dental	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
Plosives	Vl. p, ph	t, th		c, ch	ʈ, ʈh	k, kh
	Vd. b, bh	d, dh		j, jh	ɖ, ɖh	g, gh
Affricate	Vl.		č, čh			
Nasal	Unasp. m	n			ɳ	ŋ
	Asp.	nh				
Vibrant					r, (rh)	
Flapped					ɾ	
Lateral				l	ɭ	
				lh		
Fricative	Vl.	s		š	(ʂ)	h
	Vd.	(z)				
Frictionless continuants	w			y		

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 counter parts, 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 some what 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, /jhutto/ false, /dhal/ shield, /dhonus/ a bow, /dhon/ 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 semi-consonants, except /ŋ, ɾ, ñ, l/ can occur in the initial position of a word. All the plosive consonants, except /gh, jh, dh, 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, /mθgpa/ son-in-law, /cag/ iron, /lag/ hand.

/gh/—/ghol/ nest, /ghogθɾ/ thunder, /ghobi/ any one.

/c/—/camθ/ daughter, /nuncθ/ down, /pec/ bird.

/ch/—/chθm/ wool, /macha/ fish, /bachru/ calf.

/j/—/jō/ barley, /bājo/ fallow land, /riwaj/ custom.

/jh/—/jhul/ cloths, /jhilo/ loose, /jhuṭṭo/ false.

/t/—/ṭolo/ deaf, /laṭo/ dumb, /ghṭṭ/ watermill.

/th/—/ṭhik/ correct, /gunṭhi/ button, /aṭh/ eight.

/ḍ/—/ḍuno/ lame, /uḍyar/ cave, /ḍḍnd/ punishment.

/ḍh/—/ḍhano/ steep, /ḍhal/ shield, /ḍhoṅ/ pretention.

/t/—/tar/ axe, /buti/ milk, /akto/ door; /pakṭt/ cooked.

/th/—/thḍl/ back, /thol/ lip, /thopḍṅ/ to get, /bethō/ air.

/d/—/don/ anxiety, /badḍl/ cloud, /sod/ cold, /phurd/ fat.

/dh/—/dhḍnus/ a bow, /dhapḍṅ/ to give /dhḍn/ riches.

/p/—/pec/ bird, /apa/ father, /mḍgpa/ son-in-law, /kḍp/ cup.

/b/—/bethō/ wind, /boti/ butter milk, /lobo/ big, /khḍb/
needle.

/ph/—/phatiṅ/ ashes, /phurd/ fat, /maph/ pardon.

/bh/—/bhū:t/ ghost, /bhū: /snake, /bhḍlḍṅ/ bull.

Nasals

/m/—/mwari/ bee, 𑖀/ama/ mother, /chormi/ female, /chḍm/
wool.

/n/—/nar/ foot, /ane/ father's sister, /ghani/ a bell, /mhḍn/
drug.

/ṅ/—/saṅḍl/ chain, /jwaṅa/ moustache, /phitiṅ/ ant.

/ṇ/—/kaṅo/ blind, /gEṅa/ stars, /nyoṅ/ after.

Liquids and Semi-Vowels

/r/—/ri:kh/ a bear, /tar/ axe, /šeru/ son, /phurd/ fat.

/l/—/lobo/ big, /lama/ goat, /ṭolo/ deaf, /thḍl/ back.

/l/—/maḷa/ garland, /bḍḷd/ ox, /biraḷu/ cat, /badḍl/ cloud.

/w/—/wadḍ/ distance, /mwari/ bee, /kḍwa/ a crow, /dhuw/
dust.

/y/—/yū/ age, /ya/ either or, /bayya/ day-after tomorrow,
/phuyḍṅ/ a fly, /cyama/ aunt:

Fricatives

/š/—/šeru/ son, child, /beše/ brother, /šya/ meat, /deš/ country.

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

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

/r/—/beru/ lamb, /raŕo/ mustard, /baŕo/ garden, /chor/ bank of river.

/z/—/zðr/ fever, /zās/ gold, /zðñpho/ 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/

p/b—/pothi/ book : /boti/ butter milk, /pat/ leaf : /bat/ talk.

Ph/b—/phaño/ branch of a tree : /baño/ left side.

p/ph—/post/ poppy : /phost/ dried, /pɔŕ/ rock : /phɔŕ/ spade.

b/bh—/bu/ a grain : /bhu/ snake; /bari/ a turn : /bh̄ri/
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; /th̄n/ today : /d̄n/
carpet.

t/th—/tol/ weighing : /thol/ lip.

d/dh—/d̄E/ curd : /dh̄E/ he, that; /d̄n/ carpet : /dh̄n/
riches.

th/dh—/th̄n/ today : /dh̄n/ riches, wealth.

Palatals: /c, ch, j, jh/

c/j—/phocp̄n̄/ to make to dry : /phojp̄n̄/ to dry.

ch/j—/cha/ salt : /jya/ tea; /ch̄/ thorn : /j̄/ barley.

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

j/jh—/jullo/ bedding : /jhullo/ cloth.

Retroflex: /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh/

ṭ/ḍ—/ṭalo/ a patch : /ḍalo/ tree.

ḍ/ḍh—/ḍuno/ lame, /ḍhono/ hollow.

Velars: /k, kh, g, gh/

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

k/kh—/kim/ house : /khim/ how?; /koṛ/ leprosy : /khor̄/ en-
closure.

kh/g—/kha/ hair : /ga/ rice.

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

Nasals: /m, n, ṇ, ṇ/

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

m/ṇ—/ṇm/ path : /ṇ̄/ snow, /n̄m/ village : /n̄n̄/ nails of
finger.

n/ŋ—/čnwal/ shepherd : /čnwal/ an embrace.

m/ŋ—/chimi/ beans : /cheŋi/ chisel.

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

ŋ/ñ—/sEŋo/ plain land : /sEño/ easy.

Liquids and Semi-vowels: /y, r, l, w/

r/l—/rθs/ juice : /lθs/ price; /khyθrpθn/ to do : /khyθlpθñ/ leave.

y/w—/khyθrpθŋ/ to do : /khwθrpθŋ/ to bend.

l/w—/gholpθŋ/ to dissolve : /ghowpθŋ/ to swallow.

Fricatives: /š, s, h/

/š/s—/šya/ meat ; /syo/ apple, /šispθŋ/ to die; /sespθŋ/ to know.

Contrasts of Aspirate and Non-aspirate Nasals and Liquids

n/nh—/nar/foot : /nhar /to throw.

l/lh—/la/ pass : /lha/ month, /lid/ heavy : /lhed/ yellow.

Lateral vs. Retroflex

l/ł—/mala/ goat : /mała/ garland.

Vibrant vs. Flapped

r/ɾ—/puro/ full : /puɾo/ a fold of leaves.

Nasal vs. Flapped

ŋ/ɽ—/kwaŋa/ corner : /kwaɽa/ sprout.

Palatal vs. Affricate Plosive

ch/čh—/chθm/ bags for load : /čhθm/ wool.

Dental vs. Retroflex

t/ʈ—/phatiñ/ ashes : /phiʈiñ/ ant; /tθb/ then : /ʈθb/ reins,
/tañpθñ/ to see : /ʈañpθñ/ to live.

th/ʈ—/cθhai/ one fourth : /cθʈai/ mat.

t/ʈh—/pθtal/ nether world : /pθʈhal/ slab of stone.

d/ɖ—/do/ there : /ɖo/ pain.

dh/ɖh—/dhE/ he/she : /ɖhE/ 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 indeterminate perception, which may be described as—

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 /labca/=[lapca] ring; /lag/=[lak] hand; /chedpa/=[chet-pa] perspiration.

Voicing: Like devoicing voicing of unvoiced plosives also is attested in it, as in /ʈobli/ < /ʈopli/ cap; /nɟrg/ < /nɟrk/ hell. (also see *supra* 'Linguistic Divergences).

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 /bhu/ < /bu/ snake, /dhapən/ < /dapən/ to give, /mhən/ < /mən/ medicine, /ɖhano/ < /ɖano/ hill top, /mhe/ < /me/ fire, /lha/ < /la/ month, /bethō/ < /vatō/ wind, /bhəlan/ < /bələn/ bull, /tokhri/ basket, /nhisri/ both, /chəm/ 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; /kyapəñ/ to conceal; /twa/ credit, /khyawa/ husband; /khwarpəñ/ to close; /gyagspəñ/ to break; /bwani/ broom; /gwarma/ money; /byoli/ bride; /chyapra/ 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; /hyañdo/ light in weight; /swar/ Monday; /swad/ taste.

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

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

Medial Clusters

As compared with initial clusters the range of medial clusters 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; /syəkcə/sieve; /migti/ tears.

(ii) *Plosive + Liquid /Semi-vowel/ Fricative:* /Chapla/flat, /kukri/ hen, /cheprə/ lungs, /tikhya/ once, /bhədyai/ cooking pan, /ləkhwa/ paralysis, /putli/ butterfly, /bachru/ calf, /təbli/ cap, /uɖyar/ cave, /kəjja/ dispute, /tabla/ ring, /tañtya/ alive, /dəggrə/ company, /bəkəsa/ box, /nuksan/ loss, /gyagspəñ/ to

break/ bəʒri/ sand, /khəḍwal/ shepherd, /jətru/ traveller, /bhiḍ-
yar/Thursday.

(iii) *Nasal Liquid/ Fricative + Plosive*: /khəɾpo/ cough, /jəṇ-
pho/ bridge, /kəṃjor/ weak, /kunbo/ family, /chormi/ female,
/menko/ frog, /gəṇja/ bald, /khunṭi/ peg, /murti/ idol, /gunṭhi/
button, /semjəṇ/ animal, /səsto/ cheap, /chilko/ rind, /nimba/
lemon, /murda/ corpse, /jaṅgo/ thigh, /ləmpḥu/ lamp, /əntəɾ/
difference, /gəḷti/ mistake, /ləṇbo/ cowdung, /əmcə/ path,
/muncə/ dawn, /pərcə/ beam, /kyuldu/ in the centre, /kunḍa/
bolt.

(iv) *Liquid/ Nasal + Semi-vowel/ Fricative*: /ghunyarī/ niche,
/əɾsi/ mirror, /əṇwal/ an embrace, /pəɪwan/ brave, /əṇwal/
shepherd, /jəlyə/ twins.

Fricative + Liquid/ Semi-vowel

/Khasyo/ dark, /nhiṣri/ both, /nhoṣye/ utensils.

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

- (i) *Plosive + Liquid + Semivowel*: /Kokhryai/ armpit.
- (ii) *Fricative + Liquid + Semivowel*: /ghoslyə/ nest, /goslyə/
dusk.
- (iii) *Plosive + Flapped + Semivowel*: /dəgryə/ companion,
/jhukryas/ faded.
- (iv) *Fricative + Plosive + Liquid/ Semivowel*: /bəhryə/ bullock,
/mistri/ carpenter, /umastyā/ boiled.
- (v) *Liquid + Plosive + Semi-vowel*: /orgya/ in olden days,
/phərkya/ to fall, to fell.
- (vi) *Plosive + Plosive + Semi-vowel*: /Ucchyadi/ naughty,
/bhicchya/ alms.
- (vii) *Flapped + Plosive + Semi-vowel*: /məɾgyəṇ/ neck.
- (viii) *Nasal + Fricative + Semi-vowel*: /nəṃsyə/ daughter-in-
law.

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) /khə̀lakt/ bitter, sour, /cə̀rt/ hot, /gupt/ secret, /kyə̀gt/ sweet, /šə̀bd/ word; (ii) /šə̀rt/ a bet, /šist/ dead, /phost/ dried, /purb/ east, /murkhi/ ear-ring, /phurd/ fat, /nə̀rg/ hell, /mə̀rc/ chillies; (iii) /cə̀nt/ sharp, /nhento/ shine, /bə̀nd/ 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, /cə̀kku/ knife, /nisso/ low, /guddi/ brain, /gicco/ mouth, /ə̀llu/ inside, /littho/ near, /khə̀t̪t̪o/ sour. Some borrowed Indo-Aryan vocables also retain their native gemination: /phulli/ nose screw; /uttə̀r/ north; /hissa/ share, part; /mə̀cchə̀r/ 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., /yũ/ mother-in-law: /yu/ age; /thopə̀n̄/ to divide: /thöpə̀n̄/ to graze; /kwàra/ sprout; /kwàra/ corner; /myan/ seath: /myã/ son-in-law; /syo/ apple: /syõ/ furrow. Examples of non-phonemic nasalization are — /bã̄s/ bamboo, /bã̄ki/ balance, /bhȭ/ eyebrow, /zã̄s/ gold, /bhã̄ta/ ribs, /bã̄jo/ fallow land, /gũ̄d/ 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 polymorphemic, has the following general characteristics:

- (i) It may begin with any vowel or consonant but /ñ, ŋ, 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 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.

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/, /ccvc/, /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, /uñ/ stone, /ib/ sleep, /ə̃m/ path, /θ̃n/ snow.

/cv/—/khu/ smoke, /yu/ mother-in-law, /kha/ hair, /ga/ rice,
/mi/ man.

/cvc/—/sə̃g/ tooth /chə̃m/ wool, /sod/ cold, /nar/ foot, /pec/
bird.

/ccv/—/rha/ shy, /rhu/ father-in-law, /šya/ meat, /zya/ tea.

/ccvcc/—/khyə̃gt/ sweet.

/ccvc/—/mhə̃n/ drug, /tyar/ festival, /rhud/ high, /rhig/
louse.

/cvcc/—/d̃ə̃nd̃/ punishment, /phurd/ fat, /bə̃nc/ 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, /migti/ tears, /chidpa/ liver.

/mə̃gpa/ son-in-law, /guñhi/ button, /bə̃rkha/
rain.

/cv-cvc/—/calak/ clever, /bad̃ə̃/ cloud, /ilaj/ treatment.

/cv-cv/—/buti/ milk, /šeru/ boy, /camə/ daughter, /laʈə/ dumb.

/ccv-cvc/—/rhəpəṅ/ to ascend, /rhəpəṅ/ to arrive, /gyūkəṅ/ need.

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

/(c) vc-cvc/—/kəmjor/ weak, /uḍyar/ cave, /əṅwal/ an embrace, /šispəṅ/ to die, /curpəṅ/ to burn, /nuksan/ loss.

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

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

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

/cvc-ccv/—/gos-lya/ dusk, /mistri/ carpenter, /nəṁ-sya/ daughter-in-law.

/ccvc-cvc/—/khwarpəṅ/ to close, /nham-pəṅ/ to send.

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

/ccvcc-cvc/—/gyags-pəṅ/ to break.

/ccvc-ccv/—/gwəskya/ when?

/cvcvcc/—/khəʈakt/ 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/—/oriā/ smell, odour.

/cv-cccv-v/—/kokh-rya-i/ arm-pit.

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

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

/cv-cv-cv/—/kukuṛo/ cock, /bira!u/ cat.

/(c) v-cccv-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 periphery 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 /šispəñ/ 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-lu/ 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 tiŋd khui taŋki/ I saw a black dog;

but /šeruzə kyetiru kani/ The boy saw the girl

/kyetizə 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, /siŋ/ wood, /chəm/ wool, /go/ head, /tʰuk-pa/ quarrel, /mig-ti/ tears, /məŋgpa/ son-in-law (Also see *supra* 'linguistic sources').

Similar is the case of stems borrowed from the Indo-Aryan and other sources, e.g., /bethō/ wind, /bhiccha/ alms, /ri:kh/ a bear, /mwari/ bee, /rəŋ/ colour, /uɽyar/ cave, /dhul/ dust, /bhut/ ghost, /byo/ marriage, /gol/ round, /tar/ axe, /šeru/ son, /khoco/ belly, /sod/ cold, /ləs/ price, /saro/ hard, /bhāta/ rib, /ti/ water, /boti/ butter milk, /laŋsa/ manure, /ghogəɽ/ thunder, /bEra/ song, /gEṇa/ 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, /ð-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:

- (i) /-pa-/: /tʰuk-pa/ quarrel, /kon-pa/ dear, /chuk-pa/ anger, /məg-pa/ son-in-law, /chid-pa/ liver, /chad-pa/ perspiration, /cha-po/ elder sister's husband, /sons-pa/ inhabitant of Niti, /syas-pa/ inhabitants of Gamshali, /bwāfa/ inhabitants of Bampa.
- (ii) /-o/-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, /kukuro/ cock: /kukuri/ hen, /kəngi/ comb, /basuri/ flute, /gEro/ deep, /cori/ theft, etc.
- (iii) /-ya/-tya/: /šis-tya/ corpse, dead, /dagrya/ companion.

Reduplication: Reduplication of syllables, stems or formation of echo-words is also a part of stem formation in it, e.g., /tətə /~/ 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;

/dev-dar/ cedar tree; /tyo-har/ < /tithi-var/ festival; /pup-sasu/ < /pupu/ father's sister + /sasu/ mother-in-law; /h̄t-kuli/ palm; /indra-dh̄nuš/ rain-bow; /pE-tuṇi/ sole.

(ii) *Noun + Verb = Noun*

/bhui-cal/ earth quake; /ḍñ-wal/ an embrace < /ḍnk̄ + pal/; /bh̄tijo/ brother's son; /bhanja/ sister's son.

(iii) *Adjective + Noun = Noun*

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

(iv) *Adjective + Verb = Noun*

/ch̄n-c̄r/ 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; /khuit/ dog's; /khui-ru/ to~for the dog; /khui-se/ from the dog; /khui-se-z/ by dogs; /khui-rũ-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.,

*Masculine**Feminine*

šeri	son	camə	daughter
apa	father	ama	mother
bed	brother	rhinza	sister
əku	uncle	kaki	aunt
lapa	uncle (elder)	lama	aunt (elder)
ana	Father's sister	mama	Father's sister's husband
tətə	father's father	acə	Father's mother
popo	mother's father	momo	mother's mother
mama	mother's brother	nono	maternal aunt
əku	mother's sister's husband	cimi	mother's sister
aco	elder brother	mhasya	brother's wife
rhu	father-in-law	yu	mother-in-law
chapo	elder sister's husband	rhinza	elder sister

In case of non-human beings the same epicene term is used for both the sexes of the species concerned, e.g., /balan/ cow

or ox; /khui/ dog or bitch; /rhan/ 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~jeṭhana/ husband's elder brother : /jeṭhani/ his wife;

/nati/ grand-son : /natini/ grand-daughter;

/bhanja/ sister's son : /bhanji/ sister's daughter;

/bhṅst/ brother's son (f. ego) : bhṅsti/ brother's daughter (f. ego).

In case the distinction of sex in non-human animate beings too is absolutely necessary then the terms /mṛṛḍ/~ /chorḍm/ 'male' and /chormi/ 'female' are prefixed to them, e.g., /mṛṛḍ 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; /bādðr/ monkey : /bādðr-se/ monkeys; /dhE/ he : /dhE-se/ they; /dal/ tree : /dal-se/ trees; /lag/ hand : /lag-se/ hands; /camð/ daughter : /camð-se/ daughters; /kyeti/ girl : /kyeti-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 /mðst/ many, /usu/ a few, /roko/ all, etc. These may be illustrated by the following examples:

/git tig rhinza yã/ I have one sister,

/git sum rhinza hini/ I have three sister(s),

/gēt kyalðñ balañ hini/ how many cow(s) have you?

/dhEtEt mðst 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 casual 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.

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Direct/Nom.	ϕ	-se/-te
Acc.-dative	-ru/	-ñu/-ϕ
Ag.-Erg.	-zð/-se	-zð/-se

Dative	-tð wasta	-tðwasta
Ablative	-cð/-se	-cð/-se
Genitive	-tð	-tð
Locative	-paŋ/-kðl/-tir	-paŋ /kðl/-tir

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 acc.-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 pəŋkhəj uŋkəŋ/ birds fly with wings.

/da!cə pat nhaskəŋ/ leaves fall down from tree.

/pəŋcə gaŋəm rhan/ river flows down from mountain.

/šeru roŋŋi zəcyă/ the child eats loaves of bread.

/dhE yəkhuli rhaciz/ he was coming all alone.

(ii) An object of transitive verb:

/šeru roŋŋi zəcyă/ the child is eating loaves of bread.

/gez tig khui taŋki/ I saw a dog.

/šeruz kitab bāce/ the boy read a book.

/dhE da! katcəŋ/ he cuts down the tree.

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

/ama šeruru əpu pilacəŋ/ mother gives milk (of breast) to the child.

/dhE giru balāntə boti khəwacən/ 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 šeru-ru əpu pilacən/ mother gives milk to the child.

/ghwara-ru ci ər ti dhE/ give grass and water to the horse.

/šeruzə kyeti-ru kani/ a boy looked at a girl.

/ramzə sita-ru tig kəmcī rhuiz/ Ram asked Sita one thing.

/gən ghə-ru bhətyaci hiez/ 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 du 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 casual 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.

/šeruzə kitab bāce/ the boy read the book.

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

Otherwise /šeruzə kyeti-ru kani/ the boy looked at the girl, in which the human object /kyeti/, takes the accusative marker /-ru/-

In the case of a verb, having more than one object the casual 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 mohən-ru tig kəmcɪ 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 bāce/ the boy read a book.

/šeruse kitab bāce/ boys read books.

/ramzə sita-ru thuz/ Ram asked Sita.

/gezə gho dəb loki/ to whom did I say?

/gezə tig khui taŋki/ I saw a dog.

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

/genzə jhullənu gu tapyā/ where have you put the clothes?

/gezə ist əku-ru ciṭṭi lekṭəñ yā/ 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/ḍaḷ kaṭcən/ he cuts down the tree with an axe.

/pecə pəñkhəz uṛkən/ 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 dipθñ yã/ he has to go with his father.

/dhE lag sib zθc/ he is eating with hand.

/gE sib hθtti gho hīz/ 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:

/gθn gi-ru khe bθni/ what have you brought for me?

/gez gēt wasta jhul baki/ I have brought clothes for you.

/gi-ru tig lha-tθ wasta đyara dimyθr/ 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 /cθ/; and /se/ (with animate nouns)

/gθn gucθ rhθcen/ where are you coming from?

/ge dillic rhθceni/ I am coming from Delhi.

/đalθ pat phθrkaskθn/ leaves fall from the tree.

/ghθřo lagzθ (< cθ) nhas-di/ pitcher fell down from hand.

/khui-se wadθ/ away from the dog.

According to Grierson (*LSI*. 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 /-tθ/:

/amatθ/ mother's, /balañtθ/ cow's, /gitθ/ my, /gētθ/ your, /dhEtθ/ his, /ramtθ /ram's, etc.

/dhigitθ/ đyara hini/ This is my home.

/dhE gitθ popotθ nθm hini/ That is my grand-father's village.

/gEtə šeri gu yā/ where is your son?

/cici šeru amatə əppu tuŋkəni/ young kids drink mother's milk.

/ramtə ama šeru-ru balaŋtə boti khəwacən/ 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 casual relations: /gitə wasta/ for me, /gētə wasta/ 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., /paŋ/ and /kəl/:

/paŋ/: It denotes location or presence (of something) in or within some thing.

/macha ti paŋ hunckən/ fish live in water.

/dhi nhod paŋ khe tyapyā/ 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?

/bādər-se dəl-kəl huŋkəni/ monkeys live on trees.

/rhigər-kəl ti pīsdi/ water is filled on fields.

/get lagkəl dhi kheyā/ what is this in your hand?

Postpositions: There are certain indeclinable terms which, like case suffixes, indicate the casual 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 */kəl/* 'on' and */paŋ/* 'in', however, follow the direct case form of an inanimate noun, as in */dalkəl/* on the tree, */rhigər-kəl/* in (on) the fields (see above).

Models of Nominal Declensions

/šeru/ 'boy'

	sg.	pl.
Direct	šeru	šeru-se
Acc.-dat. loc	šeru-ru	šeru-uŋ
Erg.-Ag.	šeruzə	šerūzə
Ablative	šeru-se	šerū-se
Genitive	šeru-tə	serūtə

/kyeṭi/ 'girl'

Direct	kyeṭi	kyeṭi-se
Acc.-dat-loc.	kyeṭi-ru	kyeṭi-ŋu
Erg.-Ag.	kyeṭiz	kyeṭiz
Ablative	kyeṭi-se	kyeṭi-se
Genitive	kyeṭit	kyeṭit

/khui/ 'dog'

Direct	khui	khui-se
Acc.-dat.-loc.	khui-ru	khui-se-ŋu
Erg.-Ag.	khui-z	khui-sez
Ablative	khui-se	khui-se-se
Genitive	khuit	khui-set

/nar/ 'foot'

Direct	nar	nar-se
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Acc.-Dat.	ńar	ńare-ŋu
Erg.-Ag.	ńarz	ńarez
Ablative	ńarcð (ńarz)	ńarez
Genitive	ńarðt	ńaret
Locative	narpðr/-kðl	narepðr/-kðl.

/pec/ 'bird'

Direct	pec	pec-se
Acc.-Dat. loc	pecð-ru	pecenu
Erg.-Ag.	pecðz	pecez
Ablative	pecð-se	pece-se
Genitive	pecðt	pecet

/lag/ 'hand'

Direct	lag	lag-se
Acc.-Dat.	lag-ru/lag	lagēnu/lag
Erg.-Ag.	lagz	lagēz
Ablative	lag-se/-cð (lagz)	lage-se/-cð
Genitive	lagtð	lagēt
Locative	lag-pðr/-kðl (on)	lagē-kðl

/ðal/ tree

Direct	ðal	ðal-se
Acc.-Dat.	ðal-ru/ðal	ðalenu/ðal
Erg.-Ag.	ðalz (ðawz)	ðalēz (ðawēz)
Ablative	ðalçð	ðalēçð
Genitive	ðaltð	dawētð
Locative	ðal-kðl (on)	ðawē-kðl

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 casual 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 can not, 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:

/ge/ I, /in/ we, /dhE/ he, /dhEse/~dhətte/ they; /gən/ thou; /gE/ 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—*hago~go* ‘I’, *nge* my, *nga-la* to me, by me, *nga-rang* we, *khyo~khye* thou, *kho~khoba* he, *di-ba* they, *kho-ba* by him, *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 gitəḍyara hini/ this is my home.

/dhu gitə ḍkutə nəm hini/ that is my uncle's village.

/gənzə dhi khe ləpyā/ what have you done this ?

/dhE lən ləceki/ 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 nəm/ 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?

/dhEtə khe mhin yā/ what is his name?

/di nhose paṇ khe yā/ what is there in his pot?

/giz ghodəb loki/ to whom did I say?

/gE sib hōtti 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, /ghozə/ who, by whom, /ghotə wasta/ for whom, /gho dəbcə/ from whom, /ghotə/ whose; /khe/ what, which? /khezə/ with which, /khekəl/ 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 hustin/ some people are awakened; /ghori/~/ghobi/ any one, /khebi/ any thing: /gən ghokuc bi~khebi thocən, ge dhacən/ 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 /əpəna/ also has made an intrusion in its framework.

/ge ist~gitə lən i:n~aphi ləcən/ I myself will do my work.

/in ist~apənu lən isyən ləcin/ we ourselves will do our work.

/gən gEt~əpənu lən gənən lE/ thou thyself do your work.

/gē gēt əpənu lən gənən~gEnu lE/ you yourselves do your work.

/dhE ist kam/lən i:n~aphi ləcən/ he himself should do his work.

/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:

/gðn gho thocðn, ge dhacðn/ whatever you ask for, I shall give.

/dhise khen lətin lEmyðr/ 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'	
	sg.	pl.
Direct	ge/gye	in/yin
Acc.-dat.	giru/gyi-ru	in-ru/yin-ru
Erg.-Ag.	gezð/gyezð	inzð/in/yinzð
Ablative	gi-se/gyi-se	in-se/yin-se
Genitive	gi-tð/gyi-tð	in-tð/yin-tð

	/gðn/ 'thou'	
Direct	gðn	gE/gen
Acc.-dat.	gEru	gēru
Erg.-Ag.	gðnzð	gēzð
Ablative	gE-se	gē-se

Genitive	gE-tə	gē-tə
	/dhE/ 'he'	
Direct	dhE	dhm-te/-se
Acc.-dat.	dhE-ru	dhē-te-ru/-se-ru
Erg.-Ag.	dhEzə	dhəte-zə/-sēz
Ablative	dhE-se	dhəte-se/-se-se
Genitive	dhEtə	dhəte-tə/-se-tə

Demonstrative Pronouns

	/dhi/ 'this'	
Direct	dhi	dhite/dise
Acc.-dat.	dhi-ru	dhi-te-ru/-seru
Erg.-Ag.	dhizə	dhi-te-zə/-sezə
Ablative	dhi-se	dhi-te-se/-se-se
Genitive	dhi-tə	dhitet/-setə
Locative	dhi-kəl	dhi-te-kəl

/dhu/ 'that' (only singular)

Direct	dhu
Acc.-dat.	dhu-ru
Erg.-Ag.	dhuzə
Ablative	dhu-se
Genitive	dhutə
Locative	dhu-kəl

*Interrogative**/gho/ who?, /khe/ what? (only singular)*

	Sg.	Sg.
Direct	gho	khe
Acc.-dat.	gho-ru	—

Erg.-Ag.	ghozθ	khezθ
Ablative	gho-dθbcθ	—
Genitive	ghotina	—
Locative	—	khe-kəl.

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 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* : /gitθ d̥yara/ my home; /gētθ šeri/ thy son; /gEtθ balañ/ your cows; /dhEtθ nhamese/ his goats; /gitθ ist cici baba/ my own younger brother.

(2) *Demonstrative Pronominal Adjectives* : /dhi rhañ/ this horse; /dhu rhañ/ 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 /dhi rhañ/ 'this horse', the qualifier /dhi/ distinguishes the /rhañ/ '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, /h̄ryo ɖaɭθ-kəl/ on the green tree; /phurd šeruzθ/ by the fat boy, /phurd camez/ by fat girls; /tiñ-d̄ khui-t̄θ/ of the black dog; /cici šeru amat̄θ əppu tuñk̄ni/ 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, /s̄sto/ cheap, /ḡEro/ deep, /ɖhilo/ dull, /m̄st/ enough, /h̄rek/ every, /puro/ full, /h̄ryo/ 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 formatives are:

- (i) /d̄θ~d/—/phurd/ fat, thick, /li:d/ heavy, /yañd̄θ/ light, /c̄ɖɪt/ hot, /mad/ low, /bold~boldu/ soft, /p̄ɖd̄θ/ plenty, /m̄ñd̄/ red, /lhed/ yellow, /kȳɖgt~kȳɖɪt/ sweet, /rhu:d/ tall, /thod/ high, /ch̄d̄θ/ warm, /p̄ɖrd/ wide, /ci:d/ white, /tiñd̄θ/ black, /so:d̄θ/ cold.
- (ii) /bin~min/—/d̄ɖbin~d̄ɖmin/ like this, /d̄ibin~d̄imin/ like that, /k̄hebin~k̄hemin/ like which?
- (iii) /pa/—/chopa~chukpa/ angry, /k̄hȳθk-pa/ how many?
- (iv) Reduplication—/cici/ small, young, /bhurbhurya/ round.
- (v) /m̄θ/—/m̄ñhant/ ugly=not beautiful < /nhant/ beautiful.
- (vi) Indefinitive adjectives are derived from interrogatives with /-ri, -bi/ /go-ri/ any, /gho-bi/ anyone, /k̄he-bi/ any

thing, /khiri/ some, as in /khiri-mise/ some people,
/ghori ori lðn/ any good work.

Placement of Adjectives: In the Mārchha dialect the qualifiers of a noun, like Indo-Aryan precede the noun qualified by them, e.g., /sum rhinza/ three sisters, /mðst bese/ many brothers, /tiñdð 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 gitð rhinza yã/ she (this) is my sister.

/dhE dhEtð cici rhinza yã/ she (that) is his younger sister.

/in mðst bese hini/ we are many brothers.

/gizð tig tiñdð khui tañki/ I saw a black dog.

/gizð tig chuṭṭi liñdð khui tañki/ 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. /gizð tig chuṭṭi labo tiñdð khui tañki/ I saw a very big black dog. /khyã kəl cicya cicya mðndð pec bEṭhðt 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 rhigð kðloci rhigðr se labo yã/ The lower field is bigger than the upper field.

/in-dðb gE se dugna rhigðr yã/ 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., /rðkko se/ 'from all' is prepositioned to the modifier in question

/kilduci rhig̃r r̃kko se labo yā/

The medial field is the biggest of all. (lit big from all)

/labo bed-d̃b r̃kko se te z̃min yā/

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 wasta 10-20 ruphE khyā/.

lend me for some days 10-20 rupees.

/gē d̃b khyal̃n̄ z̃min yā/ how much land is in your possession?

/gē deb khyal̃n̄ b̃lañ 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, /n̄his/ two, /sum/ three, /pi/ four, /ñE/ five, /chE/ six, /sat/ seven, /aṭh/ eight, /n̄o/ nine, /d̃s/ ten, /agyar/ 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.

Synchronically, the Mārçhas 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., /sə/, as in /tig sə/ one hundred, /sum sə/ three hundred, /sat sə/ 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 sə sum/ one hundred and three; /ñE sə 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, dəs 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 /pElə/~/pEl-po/ first, /nhi-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.,

/nhi-se/ both, /sum-se/ all the three, /ñði~ñEse/ all the five.

/dhE nhið-se oru rhattini/ both of them will come tomorrow.

/dhE sumãzə giru tadī/ all the three beat me.

/dhE ñðise oro du rhtini/ 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, /tigna/ three times, etc., or as /tikhya/ once, /dwaro/ second time, again, /in dðb gẽ se dugna rhigðr yã/ 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. /ðer/ one and a half, /ðhai~ðhE/ two and a half, etc.

Approximative: The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral preceded by /kðrib/ 'about', as in /dðdð dhE bðgðt kðribðn ñE-chE mise hĩz/ 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 /gðn giru usu gyat~gyaci wasta dðs-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 casual 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 yðkhuli yã/ he is all alone.

/ge bittðn hiñki/ 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, /tuñ-/ 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, /rhðc-/ to laugh, /yðn-/ to listen, /bu-/ to carry, /tu-/ to keep, /šis-/ to die, /kwar-/ to close, /kyðl-/ 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 Marchha dialects and the local Indo-Aryan dialects of Gaṛhwal. Synchronically, a large number of Indo-Aryan verbal roots have replaced the native roots of it. Some of these are as follows:

/kaṭ-pðñ/ to cut, to chop, /phuk-pðñ/ to blow, /bðg-/ to flow, /bðña-/ to make, to build, /gaṛ-/ to burry, /bhðṭya-/ to call, /cðba-/ to chew, /gðñ-/ to count, /khās-/ to cough, /ðhðka-/ to cover, /khðñ/ to dig. /utðr-/ to descend, /khēc-/ to draw, /kðma-/ to earn, /khðwa-/ to feed, /bðc-/ to be saved, /uṛ-/ to fly, /moṛ-/ to mould, to fold, /bisðr-/ to forget, /joṛ-/ to join, /kūd-/ to jump, /ol-/ to knead, /caṭ-/ to lick, /uṭha-/ to lift, /pila-/ to give to drink, /dhðka-/ to push, /ðub-/ to sink, /rðṛ-/ to slip, /chin-/ to snatch, /jhaṛ-/ 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., /gəṭha-pəṇ/ to join < /gāṭh/ a knot; /harpəṇ/ to be defeated < /har/ defeat, /hwesə-spəṇ/ recognize < /hoṣes/ recognition, /chōk-pəṇ/ to season < /chok/ seasoning, /jhutya-pəṇ/ 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 zəbəṇ zekhiki/ I have finished eating.

/in ist ləṇ lE khini/ we have done our work.

/chuṭṭi əber whē-di/ enough late has become.

/rhigər kəl ti pīs-di/ fields are filled with water.

/rokko mise kuc-di/ all persons have gone to sleep.

/gəṇə di khe ləp yā/ what this has been done by you?

/amazə ist šeru jōgi-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/ tired, /ge thəṇ məst thək diki/ I am very much tired today, /yad ləpəṇ/ to remember, /byo-la-/ to marry, to do marriage, /chukpo-rhapəṇ/ to be angry < /chukpo/ anger, /sap ləpəṇ/ to make clean, /kəṭṭha la-/ to collet, /gwe ləg-/ to crowel, /dhokha kyə-/ to deceive, /kəjjya la-/ to do quarrel, /mhə-lə-/ to refuse, to forbid, /maphi lə-/ to forgive, /sajya

dha-/ to punish, /ṭhaṛo hu-/ to stand, /cor la/ to steal. In this /lapeñ/ '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., /yḍn-/ to listen : /suna/ to narrate, /šes-/ to be awakened : /syḍn-/ to awake; /šis-/ to die : /sas/ to kill; /hunc-/ to sit : /bEṭha-/ to make to sit; /rhḍz-/ to laugh : /hḍsa-/ to make to laugh; /lec-/ to burn (intrans.) : /cur-/ to burn (trans); /bāc-/ to read himself : /pḍṛha-/ to teach; /kuc/ to sleep : /kusal-/ to make to sleep, /mḍl/ to grow : /bḍd/ 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-/ to be broken, </kye-/ to be concealed. A few Indo-Aryan borrowings are:

/umḍl-/ to boil itself : /umal to boil; /buj-/ to be extinguished : /buja-/ to extinguish; /cyap-/ to be pressed : /cyaps-/ to press; /phEl/ to be spread : /PhEla-/ to spread.

Verbial 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) 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 various tense forms, for instance, the verb root /dha-/ to give, is replaced by /khyð-/ in all non first person forms. Similarly, the verb root /kan-/ to see, is replaced by /tañ-/ in the past tense (see Model Conjugation).

Person-Number Suffixes: Though in principle a verbal stem is expected to be inflected for 6 forms, (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., /rhðna~rhðn/ he comes, /rhðnani~rhðni/ they, thou, you, we come; /rhðnagi/ 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

first person and by /-n/ in the second person, e.g., Māṇā—/rhə-/ to come :

Present Tense—/rhəna/ (3rd); /rhanani/ (2nd), /rhənagi/(1st).

Past Tense—/rhəya/ (3rd) ; /rhəni/ (2nd) ; /rhəgi/ (1st).

Future—/rhətti/ (3rd) ; /rhənani/ (2nd) ; /rhənagi/ (1st).

Nīti :

Present Cont. /rhəcya/ (3rd); /rhəceni (2nd) ; /rhəcce-ki/ (1st)

Past Cont. /rhE/ (3rd) ; /rhən/ (2nd) ; /rhəki/ (1st).

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 Nīti it is no more attested in present indefinite and is also lost in the 1st person of the future tense, as in /rhan/ I will come, /zən/ 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/ < *zənagi I eat; I shall eat /zəi/ *zəgi 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:

<i>Present Tense</i>	sg.	pl.
3rd person	hyā~yā	hini
2nd person	hini	hī
1st person	hiñki	hini

Past Tense: /hinzə~hizə/ (all persons and numbers)

Future Tense

3rd persons	huni	hunti
2nd person	huni	hunti
1st person	hunt	hunt.

/gEt šeri gu yā/ where is your son?

/gə yəkuli hiñki/ I am all alone.

/in məst bese hini/ we are many brothers.

/gitə sum rhinza hini/ I have three sisters.

/dhE šeru gho hiz/ who was the boy?

/gənz nhi dhEdəb 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 hərbəgət~jəkhər jəttən guskən/ 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 Nīti and Māṇā employ divergent suffixes, e.g., in the dialect of Māṇā these markers are:

/-na/ (3rd sg.); /nai/ (1st sg) and /-nani/ (all others), as in.

/dhE zḁna/ he eats : /dhEse zḁ -nani/ they eat.

/gḁ/ /nzḁ-nani/ thou eatest : /gē zḁ-nani/, you eat.

/ge zḁ-nai (gi)/ I eat : /in zḁ-nani/ we eat.

But in the dialect of Nīti these are attested as /-n/ (3rd sg.)

/-ñ/ (1st sg.) and /-ni/ (all others), as in.

/dhE zḁn/ he eats : /dhEte zḁ-ni/ they eat.

/gḁn zḁn/ thou eatest : /gē zḁ-ni/ you eat.

/ge zḁñ/ I eat : /in ze-ni/ we eat.

Besides, while the dialect of Māṇā is, more or less constant in the use of the tense-person markers, the dialect of Nīti shows many variations and morphophonemic changes, for instance, besides the above mentioned /-n/, /-ni/ and /-ñ/, it also attests, /cḁn/, /cḁni/ and /cḁñ/ or /-kḁn/, /kḁni/ and /-kḁñ/ respectively (for example see Model Conjugations of /lḁpḁñ/ and /tuṅpḁñ/).

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—*lḁg*, 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 thḁn ist ḁyara diceki/ I am going home {today; /tuñ/ to drink; /tuñ-ce-yā/, /tuñ-ceni/, /tuñceki/; /šeru ti tuñ-cayā/ the child is drinking water; /kuc-/ to sleep; /kuceyā/, /kuc-ceni/, /kuc-ceki/; /zḁ-/ to eat; /zḁ-ce-yā/, /zḁ-ceni/, /zḁ-ceki/; /gḁn gucḁ rhḁceni/ where are you coming from?; /šeru roṭṭi zḁ-ceyā/

the child is eating loaves of bread ; /šeru-se roṭṭi zḁceni/ 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 zḁbḁñ zE khiki/ I have eaten food.

/in lḁn IE khini/ we have finished the work.

/ge diru puro IE khiki/ I have completed it.

/ge thḁn mḁst thḁke diki/ I am very much tired today.

/rhigḁr kḁl ti piś-di/ water is filled in the fields.

/rhEdīz/ has come; /tuī khiri/ has drunk ; /zEkhiki/ 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 rhḁs-yā/ 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.

/ḁaḁ-kḁl tig pec bḁṭṭhyā=(bEṭḁt+yā/ a bird is seated on the tree.

/gḁnzḁ di khe lḁpyā/ what all this has been done by you?

/khyalañ pecḁ bEṭḁt hini/ many birds are seated.

Pcs' 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:

<i>Nītī</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
3rd person	-i/-ī/-iz	-i/-ī/-iz
2nd person	-i/-in/-n/-ni/	-i/-in/-n
1st person	-ī/-ki	-ī/-in/-n-iz
<i>Mānā</i>		
3rd person	-ya	-yā/-īc-cya/-ēz
2nd person	-ni/-nθ	-ni/-na/-nθ
1st Person	-/-gi	-ni/-na/-nθ

(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 kθnizθn tyō-pθn casdi/ she started weeping on seeing us.

/bθthō chuṭṭi θber tθk rhattθn gusi/wind continued blowing for a long time.

/kusti hīz/ they are slept ; /dhE khiki/ has given away:

/zE khiki hīz/ had been eaten ; /tuī khiki hīz/ had drunk;

/tuī khiki/ drank out ; /hucti hīz/ 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-/:

/gəŋ ghō-ru bhəṭya rhāt~bhəṭyaci hīz/ to whom were you calling for ?

/dhE yəkhuli rhacizə~rhayā/ he was coming alone.

/dhEse nhis mise rhacizə~rhəṇani/ they two persons were coming.

/gəŋ gucə rhəṇani/ where are you coming from?

Habitual Past: It is also expressed periphrastically:

/in jəkhər~roj dhēt ḍyara rhattənt guskərniz/ 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:

/gənz jhullo-nu~phose go tapyā/ where had you put the clothes?

/ge di-ru ləŋ-ru pEləŋ 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-rhayā) 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,

-kəñ/ etc., which in its turn is followed by respective person, number markers. The future markers in the dialect of Mānā and Nīti are as follows:

<i>Nīti</i>	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
3rd person	-ti	-tini/tin
2nd person	-təñ	-tini
1st person	-cəñ/-ñ/-kəñ	/cini/-tin/-ni/kəni
 <i>Mānā</i>		
3rd person	-ti/-kəti	-tini/-kətin/-tin
2nd person	-ni/-nani/i/cin	-nə/-na/-nani/-ini
1st person	-nai/-kəñ/nagi -ñ/-əñ/-gi	-nai/-kəni/nani/-ni/-ini

(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 dhacəñ (dhatə-Mana)/Wait, I will give to you as well.

/gəñ khe bi thocəñ (thotəñ-Mana), ge dhacəñ (dhutəñ)/

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 ləñ əphi ləcəñ/ I myself will do my work.

/in əpənu ləñ isyəñ ləcini (Mana)~ləcin/ we ourselves will do our work.

/ge do gostəri mhə ditta/ 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 citti ʔgEse mð bace tðrsin~terskðn/ 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 cðla nðhī 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 mð tð/rsin (Mana)~mð tðrskðn/ sitting is not done by me=I am unable to sit.

/gE-se pEdəl mhð yūsin (Mana)~mð yunskðn/ 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, /bāc-/ to read: /pəṛha-/ 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 zE~zəya/ he ate: /dhEz mhə zE/ he did not eat.

/dhE dibən gyōkən~gyocizə/ he should go.

/dhE mhə dibən gyōkən~gyoci/ he should not go.

/ge mhə rEtəcən/ I can not come.

Model Conjugations

/rhəpən/ to come (*Niti*) /rhəbən/ (*Mana*)

Present (Nīti)

	Sg.	Pl.
3rd person	(dhE) rhən	(dhEte) rhəni
2nd person	(gən) rhən	(gē) rhəni
1st person	(ge) rhən	(in) rhəni

Present (Mānā)

3rd person	rhəna	rhənani
2nd person	rhənani	rhənani
1st person	rhənagi	rhənani

Present Continuous (Nīti)

3rd person	rhəcya	rhaceni
2nd person	rhaceni	rhaceni
1st person	rhaceki	rkaceni

Past Tense (Nīti)

3rd person	rhE	rhē
2nd person	rhən	rhən
1st person	rhaki	rhən

Past Tense (Mānā)

3rd person	rhəya	rhēcya
2nd person	rhəni	rhəna
1st person	rhəgi	rhəna

Past Cont. (Nīti)

All persons	rhaciz	rhaciz
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Future (Nīti)

3rd person	rhatti	rhattin (i)
2nd person	rhatən	rhattin (i)
1st person	rhañ	rhani

Future (Mānā)

3rd person	rhətti	rhəttin
2nd person	rhənani	rhənani
1st person	rhənagi	rhənani

/dipəñ/~ /dibəñ/ to go

Present (Nīti/Mānā)

	Sg.	Pl.
3rd person	gyəñ/dina	gyəni/dinani
2nd person	gyəñ/dinani	gyəni/dinani
1st person	gyəñ/dinagi	gyəni/dinani

Present Cont. (Niti)

3rd person	dicyā	deceni
2nd person	diceni	deceni
1st person	diceki	deceni

Past (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	die/diya	die/dudī
2nd person	din/dini	din/dina
1st person	diki/digi	dini/dini

Periphrastic Past (Niti)

3rd person	ditiz	ditiz
2nd person	ditiz	ditiz
1st person	ditiz	ditiz

Past Cont. (Niti)

All persons	diciz	diciz
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Future (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	ditti/ditti	ditini/dittin (i)
2nd person	ditən/dini	ditini/dina
1st person	gyəñ/gyəñ	ditini/gyəni
<i>Imperative</i>	di	dinə
<i>Subjunctive</i>	diku?	

/zəpəñ/~ /zə bə ñ/ to eat

Present (Niti/Mana)

	Sg.	Pl.
3rd person	zəñ/zəna	zəni/zənani
2nd person	zəñ/zənani	zəni/zənani
1st person	zəñ/zənai _i (-gi)	zəni/zənai (-gi)

Present Cont. (Niti)

3rd person	zəcyā	zəceni
2nd person	zəceni	zəceni
1st person	zəceki	zəceni

Past (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	(dhEz) zE/zəya	(dhEtez) zE/zəyā
2nd person	(gənz) zən/zəni	(gēz) zən/zən
1st person	(gez) zə ki/zəi	(inz) zən/zən

Past Cont. (Niti)

All persons	zəcīz	zəcēz
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Future (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	zətti/zəti	zətini/zətini
2nd person	zətin/zəni	zətini/zəna
1st person	zəñ/zənai	zəni/zənai
<i>Imp.</i>	gE	zen
<i>subj.</i>	zəku?	

/tūpəñ/~ /tuñbəñ/ to drink

Present (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	tuñkəñ/tuñna	tuñkəni/tuñnani
2nd person	tūkəñ/tuñnani	tūkəni/tuñnani
1st person	tūkəñ/tuñgi	tūkəni/tuñnani

Present Cont. (Niti)

3rd person	tuñc-yā	tuñceni
2nd person	tuñceni	tuñceni
1st person	tuñceki	tuñceni

Past (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	tuī/tuyā	tuīz/tuīz
2nd person	tū/tuñna	tū/tuñna
1st person	tuñki/tuñgi	tū/tuñna

Past Cont. (Niti)

All persons	tūciz	tūcīz
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Future (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	tū-ti/tuñ-kəti	tūtini/tūñkətini
2nd person	tū-təñ/tuñnt	tū-təñ/tuñna
1st person	tū-kəñ/tuñkə ñ	tūkəni/tuñkəni
<i>Imperative</i>	tuñ	tuñna
<i>Subj.</i>	tūku?	

/kə npəñ/~kə n bə ñ/ to see, /tañpə ñ/ to look at

Present (Niti/Manna)

3rd person	kancəñ/kə nna	kanceni/kənnani
2nd person	kancəni/kənnani	-do-
1st person	kancəñ/kənnagi	-do-

Present Cont. (Niti)

3rd person	kancya	kanceni
2nd person	kanceni	kanceni
1st person	kanceki	kanceni

Past (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	kaniz~taniz/tāya	kani~tañi/tEz
2nd person	kani~taniz/tañni	kani~tañi/tañna
1st person	kani~tañki/tangi	kani~tañi/tañna

Past Cont. (Niti)

All persons	kanciz	kanciz
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Future (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	kan-ti/tañ-ti	kantini/tañtini
2nd person	kantəñ/tañcin	kantini/tañtəñ
1st person	kantəñ/tañgl	kantini/tañna
<i>Imp.</i>	kan	tañna
<i>Subj.</i>	kəñku?	

/kucpə̀n/~gucibə̀n/ to sleep

Present (Niti)

3rd person	kuckə̀n	kuckə̀ni
2nd person	kuckə̀n	kuckə̀ni
1st person	kuckə̀n	kuckə̀ni

Present Cont. (Niti)

3rd person	kuc-yā	kucceni
2nd person	kucceni	kucceni
1st person	kucceni	kucceni

Present Perfect (Mana)

3rd person	gucit-yā	gucit-hini
2nd person	gucit-hini	gucit-hini
1st person	gucit-hiṅgi	gucit-hini
(Niti)	kuc-di	

Past Tense (Niti)

3rd person	kuci	kucī
2nd person	kucin	kucīn
1st person	kuciki	kucin

Past Cont. (Niti)

All persons	kuciz	kucīz
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Past Perfect (Mana)

All persons	gucit hinz	gucit hinz
(Niti)	kucti hīz	kucti-hīz

Future (Niti/Mana)

3rd person	kucti/guciti	kuctini/gucitini
2nd person	kuctə̀n/gucin	kuctə̀n/gucini
1st person	kuckə̀n/gucyə̀ n	kuckə̀ni/gucini
<i>Imperative</i>	guci dhE/kucide	
<i>Subj.</i>	kuci dhaku/gucidhagu?	

/hunc-pə̀n/ to sit, to dwell (*Niti*)

Present Tense

3rd person	hunckə̀n	hunckə̀ni
2nd person	hunckə̀n	hunckə̀ni
1st person	hunckə̀n	hunckə̀ni

Present Cont.

3rd person	huncyā	hunceni
2nd person	hunceni	hunceni
1st person	hunceki	hunceni

Past Tense

3rd person	hunci	hunci
2nd person	hunzti	hunci
1st person	hunceki	hunceni

Past Cont.

All persons	huncə̀tīz	huncə̀tīz
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Past Perfect

All persons	huncə̀ ti hīz	huncə̀ tibīz
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Future Tense

3rd person	huncə̀kə̀ti	huncə̀kə̀ti
2nd person	huncə̀tə̀n	huncə̀tə̀ni
1st person	huncə̀kə̀n	huncə̀kə̀ni

Imperative hunci

Subj. huncə̀ ku?

/dhapə̀n/khyə̀n/ to give (*Niti*)

Present Tense

3rd person	khyə̀n	khyə̀ni
2nd person	khyə̀n	khyə̀ tin
1st person	dhacə̀n	dhaceni

Present Cont.

3rd person	khyec -yā	khyeceni
2nd person	khyeceni	khyeceni
1st person	dhaceki	dhaceni

Past Tense

3rd person	khyi	khiz
2nd person	khyə̃n	khiz
1st person	dhaki/khiki	dhan

Past Cont.

3rd/2nd person	khyeciz	khyeciz
1st person	dhaciz	dhaciz

Past Perfect

All persons	dhEkhiki	dhEkhiki
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Future Tense

3rd person	khyetti	khyettin
2nd person	khyetə̃n	khyetə̃n
1st person	dhacə̃n	dhacə̃ni

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.): /lθni/ do (pl.) < /lθ/ to do; /zE/ eat (sg.): /zθni/ eat (pl.) < /zθ-/ to eat; /thwE/ take: /thoni/ take (pl.) < /tho-/ to take; /dhE/ give: /dhani/ give (pl.) < /dha-/ to give; /kuci/ sleep (sg.): kucini/sleep (pl.); /bācE/ read: /bācθni/ read (pl.) < /bāc-/ to read.

However, in the dialect of Mana it is zero (sg.) and /na~ni/ (pl.): /tuñ/ /tuñ-na/ drink; /rhθ/; /rhθni/ come; /di/: /dina/ go; /rhās-ru ci or ti dhE/ give grass and water to the horse.

/hūsi~jagi gErubi dhacθ n/ wait, I will give to you as well;

/dhu hunci/ sit here; /gen gEt lθn lE/ do your work;

/dhEse~dhEte ist lθn isyθn lθni/ 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 /thθ/, 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:

/di/ go : /thθ -di/ don't go; /tuñ/ drink: /thθ-tuñ/ don't drink; /lE/ do : /thθ lE/ don't do; /zE/ eat : /thθ zE/ don't eat.

The future too is expressed with the present forms:

/ɔru du rhəpeñ thəbɪsrE/ 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?; /zəku/ 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?; /zə-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:

/ɖa|kəl šEt tig pec bEʃhət hini/ perhaps a bird is seated on the tree.

/gənz šEt dhi kitab bācE/ perhaps you may have read this book.

/ɔru šEt mhašya 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 šEt dhā zebeñ zɔcya hunti/ he may be taking food now.

/dhātE~dhEte zE terkhiri hunti/ they may have eaten by now.

/gɔ nzɔ n hī dhEdɔb 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 rhɔniz gebi gē šib hyokɔni/ had you come, I too would have accompanied you.

/dhE rhenizɔ tɔ ɔri hunizɔ/ 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.

/gɔn rhattɔn tɔ ge bi rhañ/ (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 /pɔr/; gezɔ tig ciṭṭi lekhpɔñ yā/ I have to write a letter.

/gen rhattən tə giru bi rhapəñ pəɽ kəti/ If you come I will also have to come.

/dhEru ducə dipəñ pəɽE/ he had to go from here.

/gezə lənlə pəñ hyã/ 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 dipəñ cacəñ/ I wish to go to the field just now.

/dhE thamiñ du rhapəñ 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':

/dhEru du mhə rhəpəñ gyoci/ (It is suggested that) he should not come here.

/gəru əru do zəɽur dipəñ gyoci/ 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) tyopəñ 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 citi gE-se mhə bāce tərskəñ (~tərsin)/. this letter will not be read by you (lit. you will not be able to read this letter).

/ge-se hunci mə tərsəkəñ (~tərsin)/ sitting will not be done by me (lit. you can not sit).

/dhE du mhə rEtə rcəñ/ he can not come here.

/ge mhə rEtərcəñ/ 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 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 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 obtained by suffixing the infinitive marker to the verb root. The formative suffixes attested in this context are—/—pāñ/ (*Niti*) and /—bāñ/ (*Mana*):

/lā -pāñ/ to do; /dha-pāñ/ to give; /rhā -pāñ/ to come; /di-pāñ/ to go; /ze-pāñ/ to eat; /tuṅ-pāñ/ to drink; /kāñ-pāñ/ to see; /kuc-pāñ/ to sleep; /hunc-pāñ/ to sit; /lo -pāñ/ 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 dhorī~ori lāñ lāpā ñ cacāñ/ I wish to do some good work.

/gez tig ciṭṭi lekhpāñ yā/ I have to write a letter.

/dhEru ducā dipāñ pāṛE/ he has to go from here.

/dhE du rhāpāñ cicizā/ he wanted to come here.

/dhEz ist apa šib dipā ñyā/ 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:

/ōru du rhāpāñ thā bisrE/ 'don't forget to come here tomorrow.

/dhE tyō-pāñ casya/ he started weeping.

Infinitive used as a Verbal Noun : When used a verbal noun an infinitive can take post-positional case markers as well, particularly to express the meaning of the acc.-dative case:

/gitə ist cici baba-ru du rhə pəñ-ru loki/ I asked my younger brother to come here.

/khi:r bənapəntə wasta go gyōken/ rice is needed to prepare 'kheer'.

Also /lopŋtəwasta/ for telling; /urp/ ŋt wrsta/ for washing; /sispəntə wasta/ for tilling; /šispəntə wasta/ for dying; /sappəntə wasta/ for killing; /tuŋpeñ wasta/ for drinking; /ləpəntə wasta/ for doing; /zəpəñ wasta/ 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 /təñ, zəñ/ to the verb root: distributionally /stəñ/~/-təñ/ is added to consonant ending stems, and /zəñ/ to vowel ending (including nasal -ñ) stems. In this, the stem final consonant /-c/ becomes /-s/ when followed by /t-, e.g., /phostəñ/ drying < /phoc-/ to dry; /kustəñ/ sleeping < /kuc-/ to sleep; /zEtəñ/ eating; /tēzəñ/ seeing; /yəntəñ/ listening; /urtəñ/ washing; /tuīzəñ/ drinking; /dhEtəñ/ giving; /rhəstəñ/ laughing; etc.

/ge dhEru rhəttəñ taŋgi/ I saw him coming.

/in təzəñ dinat hinz/ 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, -ət, tya, -pya/ or /piñ~biñ/ to the radical base of the verb: /tañ-pya/ seen;

/l̥piṅ/ told; /urpiṅ/ washed; /hūsit/ stopped, /šist/ dead; /tūit/ drunk; /phagsit/ broken; /kyastyā/ hidden, /l̥pyā/ done; /z̥it/ eaten; /kust/ slept; /lest/ burnt; /šidya/ dead; /sustya~s̥r̥t̥/ rotten; /p̥katya/ cooked; /sustyaph̥l/ rotten fruit; /dhEru dipiṅ khy̥kobi gya hwedi/ how many days have passed since he went; /khušt s̥ru/ slept child; /dhE du rh̥tyā/ he is already here; /p̥cse z̥it ph̥l/ 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; /rh̥z/ having come; /kaniz~tēz/ having seen; /lwēz/ having said; /lEz/ having done; /dhEz/ having given; /kuciz/ having slept; /rh̥ciz/ having laughed; /leciz/ having burnt, etc.

/du rhEz, hunci/ having come here, sit down.

/zEz̥ dina/ go after having taken meals.

/dhE rh̥z 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 tēz tyopəñ 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 */lE/* equivalent to English */-ly/*, as in */tupp lE/* quietly, */ɔri -lE/* properly, carefully, */sə-sə lE/* slowly. Besides, a few echo formations are also attested. */jhəṭ-pəṭ/* quickly, */maṭho-maṭho/* slowly, etc.

Adverb of Place

Some commonly used adverbs of place or directions are: */du/* here; */do/* there; */pañ/* down; */əlli/* inside; */er/* up; */kəl/*

above; /litho/ near; /dagðr/ outside; /pi-tðrp/ 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—/thðn/ today; /ɔro/ tomorrow; /miya~mingya/ day-after-tomorrow; /bagya/ the forth day from today; /nyar/ yesterday; /thð miñ/ day-before-yesterday; /gwð skya/ when?; /nyon/ after; /jðldi/ shortly; /jðkðr~roj/ daily; /dha pð tya/ at this time; /dhātE/ uptill now; /hð bəgət/ always; /aber-su/ lately; /dhano/ just now; /pElð n/ before hand, already, /gotðri/ never; /khim min/ as soon as.

Adverb of Manner

The commonly used adverbs of this class are—/tupplE/ quietly; /sə sɔ-lE/~maṭho-maṭho/ slowly; /jhəṭ-pəṭ/ /jð ldi/ quickly; /orilE/ properly; /ðcan ðk/ suddenly, all of a sudden; /yðkhulE~yðkhuli/ 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—/mðst/ very; /chuṭṭi/ very, much; /dukha~dyðkha/ so much:

/ge dyðkha jðldi mhðrE tðrcəñ/ I can not come so quickly.

/dhE chuṭṭi ðber tðnE rhðst gusi/ he continued laughing for a long time.

/ge thðn mðst thðke 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 sɔ-sɔ 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; /jθldi 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 mθst bese hini/ 'we are many brothers', the intensifier /mθst/ is an adjective because it modifies the noun brother, but in /ge mθst thθke diki/ 'I am veay much tired', it is an adverb which modifies the verb phrase /thθke diki/.

Adverb Phrase: Besides the simple adverbs, the adverbial sense is also expressed with adverbial phrases, as in /θjō tē/ up till now; /dhā pθtya/ at this time; /dhā tē/ up till-now; /chuṭ-ṭi θber su/ for a long time; /gostθnE/ for how long?, /chuṭṭi θber tθ 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 /ɔr/ 'and', as in /dhE ɔr ge/ he and I, /ram ɔr šyam/ Ram and Shyam; /rhās~ghwara~ru ci ɔr 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 khyān, ge tuñkān/ he gives (and) I drink; /dhE bñatān gusi, dhE t̄ z̄ttān gusi/ he went on cooking (and) they went on eating.

Alternative: The pairs of alternative particles are : /kit . . . ki/ 'either . . . or', /n̄ . . . n̄/ 'neither . . . nor', placed at the head of each element linked by them, as in /kit gE ki gEt be/ either you or your brother; /n̄boti n̄zya/ neither milk nor tea.

Contrastive: In this the contrastive particles are—/khyoruki/ because, /lekin/ but; /d̄khu l̄ñ 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:

/gē rh̄niz, ge bi hyok̄ni/ had you come, I would also may have come.

/j̄b l̄n l̄t̄arki, t̄b z̄ b̄ñ z̄ki/ when the work was finished, then food was eaten (lit. when the work did, then food ate).

/ḡñ rhatt̄n, t̄b giru bi rhap̄ñ p̄k̄ti/ (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 hiŋki/ he said, I am hungry.

/dhE rhuiz, gEt šeri gu yā/ 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. 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 -/hī/, /bi/, /kun~khu/ /jərur/ :

/dhE dukun~dukhu guskən/ he lives at this very place.

/dhEse bi dukhu~dukən guskəni/ they too live at this very place.

/gənzən hī~gənzənu dhEdəb lwe hunti/ you alone may have told him.

/geru do jərūr dipəñ 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 /thə/. 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 rəpəñ gyoci/ he should not have come here.

/šeru kitab mhə bāce/ the boy did not read the book.

/də! kəl pat məhini/ there are no leaves on the tree.

/əru du rəpəñ 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 gðn rhattðn/ 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 \pm object + verb or NP+VP. As such syntactically it belongs to the SOV group.

/gitə sum rhinza hini/ I have three sisters.

/macha tipaṅ huncəḱkəṅ/ fish live in water.

/šeru roṭṭi zəcyā/ the child is eating loaves of bread.

/šeruz kyetiṛu 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 əpu pilacəṅ/ 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 kyeti/ beautiful girl; /tiṅdə 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: \pm demonstrative, \pm pronominal adj., \pm numeral, \pm intensifier, \pm qualitative modifier:

/gitə khui/ my dog; /gitə tiṅdə khui/ my black dog;

/tig chuṭṭi labo tiṅdə 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, numeral 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).

/khyākəl cicya cicya mən̄də pec bEṭhət 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 yəkhuli hiŋki/ I am all alone.

/dhE šeru-ru tacən/ he beats the child.

/dəl-cə pat phərkaskən/ leaves fall from the tree.

/gə dipən cacən/ I want to go.

/ge rhəpən pəṛketi/ I will have to come.

Components of a Composite Verb Phrase

The constituents of a composite verb phrase are—principal verb stem, \pm one or more full verb stem, \pm 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 rh ətīz (=rhət+hīz) aunt had come here yesterday.

/dhE in-ru kənizən työpən cas-di/ she started weeping on seeing us.

/gən gho-ru bhəṭya rhat hīz/ to whom were you calling forth.

/dhEte zE tārkhiri hunti/ 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:

/ge kim~dyara diceki/ I am going home.

/ge th̄n kim~dyara diceki/ I am going home today.

/ge th̄n goš~gwaslya ist kim dicEki/ I am going my home today in the evening.

/git̄ khui tīnd̄ hini/ my dog is black.

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.

/dhE gusk̄n/ he lives : /dhEse gusk̄ni/ they live.

/šeruz kitab b̄cE/ the boy read the book.

/šeruse kitable b̄cE/ boys read books.

/dhEz tui/ he drank; /dhEtez tūiz/ they drank;

/gez tiū/ you drank; /gez tūnki/ 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 kyeṭiru kanīz/ he saw a girl.

/dhEz khyalañ kyeṭiru kanīz/ he saw many girls,

/genz jhulloṇu gu tapyã/ where had you put the clothes?

/dhEru dipiñ tig gya hyēdi/ one day has passed since he went.

/dhEru dipiṇ khyṭkobi 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 khyṭn, ge tuñkṇn/ 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.

/gəŋ rhattəŋ təb giru bi rhapəŋ pəʃ kəti/ (If) you come, then I will also have to accompany you.

/jəb ləŋ lətərki təb zəbəŋ zəki/ 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:

/dhEz ruiz, gen gu guskəŋ/ he asked, where do you live?

/dhEz lE, ge bet-thəŋ 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 khəŋ lətin lE myəʃr/ let them do, whatever they want.

/gho rhatti, dhE ditti/ who (soever) will come, (he) will go.

/gəŋ khe-bi thocəŋ, ge dhacəŋ/ 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 Mandala' 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, there 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 pre-historic 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:

Tibetan sources: /mhE/ fire, /mi/ man, /khuñ> sun/ three, /nhī/ two, /pān/ five, /siñ/ tree, /yañ/ path, /kui/ dog, /mbike/ eye, /šya/ meat, /de/ today, /chuyya/</chu+yañ/ source of water, /deho/ cloud, /chwE/ to sit, /tuñ-/ to drink/, /yāki/ to stand, /ši-/ to die, /mabu/ snake.

Austro-Asiatic (Munda) sources: /tʰ?ko/ evening, /tʰ?per/ darkness, /mān/ face, /gad/ river, /a?k/ hand, /le?k/ peak, /le?to/ soft muddy, /lado/ belly, /də?ro/ paddy, /gañ/ lake, big river, /polo/ skirt, /pāya/ son, /həlθn/ a plough, /ai/ he, /na/ I, /nān, nāg/ thou, /kācyar/ mud, /kelθi/ banana, /gulyau/ fruit, /gulyou/ male genetic organ, /gulθn/ 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:

/bhāuwa/ brother, /dajyu/ elder brother, /ghiñ/ purified butter, /dudhān/ milk, /hāḍḍān/ bone, /goḍtʰān/ ground floor, /tʰulo/ elder, big, /bājjāṛ/ lightning, /ratḍ/ morning, /rajyu/ reign, /khābāṛ/ news; /mhintu/ labour, /hāṛāg/ heaven, /āga/ sky, /hali/ wife's sister, /halwe/ wife's brother, /tiḥwar/ /festival, /dhālyā/ white, /bāddhiya/ good, /dari/ beard, /jārau/ root, /kāñkal/ destitute, /jhākeru/ quarrel, /behaw/ marriage, /dā'i/ curd, /niḥān/ nails, /joka/ leech, /bāhE/ bamboo, /ghānau/ hot, /kākḍu/ a crow, /nhiko/ good, /dākh/ ten, /khat/ seven, /haṭḍ/ sixty, /dhe/ day, /jāura/ rope, /cāmāḍk/ 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:

/hamu/ hair, /puheṛ/ joint, /pu-ḍ-heṛ/ knee, /hañ/ branch, /ḍaḍ/ hillock, /besundya/ tasticles, /hēnḍ/</sEn/ plain land, /pān/ uncle, /ci:mḍ/ aunt, /i:kwḍ/ sister's husband, /luñro/ tail, /ki:ri :~ki:ḍi :/ tiger, leopard, /maṭa?/ monkey, /bhunya/ pig, /cūh/ grand son, /cu-i-ya/ grand daughter, /gḍrouñ/ girl, /mānān/ forest, /tibi/ rain, /ti/ water, /bhāllo/

flood, /ugha/ cave, /gad̪re/ night, /nau/ home, /i:s/ to sleep, /kh̪i/ to say, /gh̪i/ to do, /oḍ/ to fill, /k̪ʔt/ to carry, to take away, /kaḍ/ 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.

	front	central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə (ɚ)	o
Mid-low	E		ɔ
Low			a

Phonemic Contrasts

Phonemic contrasts of these vowels may be illustrated as under:

- a : o—/na/ I : /no/ our; /tara/ star : /təro/ daughter.
- i : u—/sina/ nose : /sūna/ gold, /siñ/ tree : /suñ/ three.
- ə : a—/təro/ daughter : /tara/ star.
- ə : e—/dəha/ ten : /deho/ cloud.
- i : E—/mi/ man : /mE/ fire.
- u : E—/mu/ nose : /mE/ fire.
- ə : o—/bəʔkya/ vehicle of deity : /boʔkya/ bull goat.
- a : E—/dha/ why so? : /dhE/ how much?
- i : a—/ji/ to go : /ja-/ to eat.
- ɔ : E—/lə/ 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:

/ə/ : /ətər/ now, /dəkh/ ten, /hərəg/ heaven, /gə/ one.

/a/ : /aik/ his, /swa/ tooth, /sina/ nose, / tara/ star, /pari,/ four.

/i/ : /ni~nhi/ two, /ku-i/ dog, /mito/ woman, /birali/ cat, /ikwə/ sister's husband.

/i/ : /i:s/ sleep, /ti:/ water, /ti: bi:/ rain, /kile/ tomorrow.

/u/ : /khuñ/ three, /ghumər/ wheat, /ku-i/ dog, /turku/ six, /ugha/ cave.

/ū/ : /məkhu:r/ a pulse, /su:na/ gold, /ju:ra/ head /kəpau: kh/ cotton plant.

/e/ : /ki:le/ tomorrow, /de/ day, Sunday, /le?k/ peak, /deho/ cloud.

/E/ : /swE/ to sit, /pEgaro/ child, /bhEnya/ sister, /mE~mhE/ fire.

/o/ : /yoŋu/ path, /mito/ woman, /lado/ belly, /loha/ iron, /deho/ cloud.

/ɔ/ : /jibərɔ/ tongue, /derɔ/ paddy, /pitərɪ/ devil.

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;

/ə/ → /ɔ/ : /jibərɔ/ [jibɔɔ] tongue.

/o/ → /ɔ/ : finally and before a nasal /giron/ → /giron/ husband, /dərɔ/ → [dərɔ] rice, paddy.

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, /pəau/ → /pəyau/ son,
 /siən/ → /siyən/ to die, /hiə/ → /hiyə/ became, was,
 /ghəia/ → /ghəiya/ did, /bhəua/ → /bhəuwa/ brother,
 /guleu/ → /guleyu/ penis.

Murmured Vowels: Short vowels occurring as off glides of a glottalized vowel seem to be realized as murmured vocoids (Here marked with zero below them):

/dəro?u/ paddy, /pəya?u/ son, /ghəno?u/ hot, /kakəu/ a crow.

/bo?ə/ bird, /ma?ə/ woman, /kəyarə?ə/ mud, /lihua?ə/ got.

(This needs a verification).

Free Variation: In many instances, particularly in the final positions, back vowels /u, o, ə/ seem to freely vary among themselves, e.g., /gəhwa ~ gəhwə/ where?, /gulyeu ~ gulyou/ penis, /lumro ~ lumrə/ tail, /dəro ~ dərou ~ /darəu/ paddy, /whai ~ hwəi ~ hwa/ this, /ai ~ a ~ əi/ that, /wii ~ wi/ 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 ə, 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., /myə? t-ə/ wife, /cū?-caə/, /cū?cai/ /cū?cau/ breast of a woman etc. (In this analysis it has been marked as /?/).

[e]—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 /e/. The examples of it given by him are:

/myəʔt'-e-iyəñ/ wife that, /duʔk'-e-iyəñ/ 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., /yañ/=[yãñ] way, path; /ghĩñ/=[ghĩñ] purified butter, /goʔhəñ/=[goʔhəñ] ground floor, /dhiñ/=[dhĩñ] day, /khuñ/=[khũñ] three, /na/=/nã/ I, /ciʔna/=/ciʔiñã/ a corn, /mi/=/mĩ/ 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., /ghəi/→/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 upto 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, /sīəsi/ helplessness, /hiəe/ became, was,

Back + Back

/pəyau/ son, /jərau/ rope, /nau/ home, /sau/ hair, /garouñ/ girl, /jəura/ rope.

Front + Front

/piie/ came, /hiie/ had, were.

Back + Front

/kui/ dog, /jair/ eat, /aik/ his, /cuiya/ grand daughter,

Central + Central

~
/hw ə ə/ was; /pittəə/ white gram.

Central + Front

/həkəi/ hand, /əi/ he, /puhəi/ joint, /puəhəi/ knee.

/kḥiya/ said, /ghḥiya/ did.

Central + Back

/bhḥuwa/ brother, /cḥaṇa/ gram, /kḥrḥ(ḥ)ḥgha/ meanness.

Back + Central

/ḥ-ḥi-ḥ/ lived, /pu-ḥhḥi/ 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:

Place of Articulation

		Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Manner of Articulation	Plosives V1	p, ph	t, th	c, ch	ṭ, ṭh	k, kh	ʔ
	Vd	b, bh	d, dh	j, jh	ḍ, ḍh	g, gh	
	Nasals	m	n		(ṇ)	ṅ	
		(mh)	(nh)				
	Vibrant				r		
	Flapped				ɾ		
	Lateral			l(lh)			
	Fricative		s	(š)		h	
	Semi-vowel	w		y			

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 attest these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, this dialect, too, seldom attest occurrence of vd. 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;

t/dh—/ta/ don't : /dha/ why so?, /ti/ water : /dhi/ down.

c/ch—/cuiya/ grand daughter : /chuyya/ source of water.

k/g—/kəʔt'/ to carry : /gəʔt'/ to take.

kh/gh—/khəi/ to say : /ghəi/ to do.

m/n—/maʔ/ 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/—/polo/ skirt, /pari/ four, /pEgaro/ child, /rupiya/ rupee.

/ph/—/phEsla/ decision. /pho/ to climb.

/b/—/baba/ father, /tibi/ rain, /birali/ cat, /be~bE/ to give.

/bh/—/bhəuwa/ brother, /bhEnya/ sister, /bhatt/ cooked rice, /bhE/ to beg.

/t/—/turku/ six, /ti/ water, /mi?tañ/ wife, /khatt/ seven.

/th/—/gwətha/ where?, /thuthəro/ snout.

/d/—/deho/clouud, /lado/belly, /dada/elder brother.

/dh/—/dhiñ/ day, /dudhəñ/ milk, /dhəɖya/ white.

/c/—/cúh/ grand son, /ci?na/ a corn, /ca?na/ gram.

/ch/—/chu-/ to sit, /mənchE/ human being, /ucchyal/ throw up.

/j/—/juɾa/ head, /jəka/ leech, /ja/ eat, /jagiro/ night.

/jh/—/jhi?k~jhi?kəl/ much, many.

/t̪/—/ətt̪h/ eight, /put̪hi/ back, /khətt̪/ expenses.

/t̪h/—/t̪haɪh/ up, /t̪hə?kə/ evening, /tothəñ/ ground floor.

/ɖ/—/ɖo/ one, /həɖəñ/ bone, /dhəɖya/ white, /gaɖ/ river.

/ɖh/—/ɖhañ-gu/ old ox, /bəɖhiya/ good, /məɖhuwa/ a corn.

/ɾ/—/gəɾa/ rice, /dhuhaɾ/ to burn, /juɾa/ head, /ghuməɾ/ wheat.

/k/—/kui/ dog, /t̪həkə/ evening, /kile/ tomorrow, /ɖak/ 100.

/kh/—/khuñ/ three, /khatt/ seven, /diukha/ sun, /dək̪h/ ten, /khE/ to say.

/g/—/gudəñ/ belly, /gaɖ/ river, /əga/ sky, /pəg/ mouth.

/gh/—/ghuməɾ/ wheat, /ghE/ to do, /ug̪ha/ cave, /ghiñ/ ghee.

Nasals

/m/—/mi/ man, /mE/ fire, /ghuməɾ/ wheat, /mito/ woman.

/n/—/na/ I, /sina/ nose, /m̄nchE/ human being, /h̄n-/ to strike.

/ŋ/—/ci?na/ a corn, /co?na/ gram.

/ñ/—/khuñ/ three, /siñ/ tree. /hañ/ branch, /yoŋ/ path, /h̄l̄θ̄ñu/ a plough, /giroñ/ husband.

Liquids

/r/—/ruppo/ silver, /pari/ four, /birali/ cat, /ət̄r/ now.

/l/—/lado/ stomach, /birali/ cat, /kilE/ tomorrow, /iskol/ school.

Semi-vowels

/y/—/yañ/ path, /p̄yau/ son, /chuyya/ spring of water.

/w/—/wE/ to give, /swa/ tooth, /bh̄uwa/ brother, /bihaw/ marriage.

Fricatives

/s/—/siñ/ tree, /su:na/ gold; /sya/ meat, /i:s/ sleep (imp).

/h/—/hañ/ branch, /deho/ cloud, /loha/ iron, /ha/ 100, /cuh/ grandson.

Although we do not have enough data to say some thing 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., /morəʔk'/ peacock, /gaʔd'/ rivulet, /leʔk'/ peak, /miʔt'aŋ/ wife, /cuʔc'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 /ʈhəʔ ko/ evening, /ʈhiʔpe/ darkness. In the articulation of /ʈh/ 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 /ʈh-/ in the above examples makes it somewhat doubtful. For in the articulation of an implosive /ʈh/ 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 /mhiʔke/ 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 /ḍhangu~ḍangu/ 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/: /gurḍn/~gulḍn/ jaggery, /kērḍ~kēlḍi/ banana;

/r~ṛ/: /gḍra/~gḍṛa/ rice,

/ñ~m/: /luñro/~lumro/ tail, /hamū~hañū/ hair of human being

/h~kh/: /dḍh/~dḍkh/ ten

/s~kh/: /suñ/~khuñ/ three, /mḍsur~makhur/ a pulse, /sat~khat/ seven

/n~nh/: /niko/~nhiko/ good, /nhi~ni/ two

/m~mh/: /mE/~mhE/ fire, /mhi?ke/ /~/ mi?ke/ eye,

/ḍmmḍ/ /ḍmhḍ/ grand mother,

/ñg~ñ/ gang~gañ/ big river, /nḍng~nḍñ/ thou

/ñ~N/: /pañ~pā/ five, /hḍñ~hḍ/ no

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/ a fricative/ a nasal and the second member a semi-vowel/ a fricative. These may be illustrated as under:

(a) *Plosive + Semi-vowel*

/gwalya/ herdsman, /ṭhyḍnṭo/ wood, /bhyḍgutya/ frog,

(b) *Fricative + Semi-vowel*

/sya/ meat, /swa/ tooth, /hwḍ/ was, /hwa/ leaf.
/hwagironsi/ widow

(c) *Nasal + Fricative*

/nhi/ two, /mhiʔke/ 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, /bhḍgwan/ god, /ghoṛya/ horse,
/uchya/ throw up, /halwe/ wife's younger brother, /lḍgyo/
bread, /bokya/ bull goat, /dajyu/ elder brother, /rajyu/
rule, /kalt/ to sell, /khḍtrḍu/ Saturday, /nḍbwari/ 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, /aṭṭh/ 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:

/jḍmmḍ/ all, pl. marker, /chuyya/ spring of water,
/puṭṭhi/ back, /bḍjjḍr/ lightning, /bhḍllo/ flood,
/aṭṭh/ 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 \pm 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/—/o?/ yes

/VC/—/a?k/ hand, /i:s/ sleep,

/CV/—/da/ one, /ti:/ water, /mE/ fire, /ha/ hundred.

/CVC/—/suñ~khun/ three, /ɖak/ hundred, /gaɖ/ river

/CCV/—/swa/ tooth, /sya/ meat, /nhi/ two, /chwE/ to sit.

/VCC/—/aʈʈ/ eight, /khatt/ seven, /bhatt/ cooked rice.

/CCVC/—/hwð?t/ 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, /put̪̃hi/ back, /ghoɾya/ horse,
/turku/ six, /ḍhañ-gu/ old ox.

CCVC-CV/—/dhɔ̃ya/ white, /m̃nchE/ man, /bhEnya/
sister, /bhunya/ pig.

/CV-CVC/—/gud̃ñ/ belly, /goṭ̃h̃ñ/ ground floor, /dud̃h̃ñ/
milk /ghumoɾ/ wheat, /giroñ/ husband.

/CV-CV/—/baba/ father, /mito/ woman, /ugha/ cave, /deho/
cloud, /tibi/ rain, /sina/ nose.

/CCV-CV/—/gw̃tha/ where?

/CCV-CCV/—/gwalya/ herds man, /rhisya/ sister.

/CVC-CVC/—/bh̃gwan/ god, /b̃ṛh̃r/ soyabean.

/CV-V/—/nou/ home, /ḍi/ 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, /p̃ccaḥa/ fifty, /ñḍbwari/
daughter-in-law.

/CV-CV (C) V/—/j̃ḍrau/ root, /diukha/ sun, /lut̃ro/ ear,
/birali/ cat.

/CV-CVC-CCV/—/bisundya/ testicles.

/CCV-CV-CCV/—/bhỹgutyā/ frog.

/CV-V-CV/—/cuiya/ grand daughter, /jib̃ro/ tongue,
/bh̃uwa/ brother.

/CCV-CV-CV/—/mhEkuɾi/ household,

/CV-CV-VC/—/k̃pa-ukh/ cotton plant, /garo-uñ/ girl,

/CV-V-V/—/piie/ came, /hiie/ were, became, /gh̃ia/ did

/CV-CV-V—/bi-h̃ḍi/ 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:

/CVC-CV-CVC-CV/—/hwañ-gi-roñsi/ widow.

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 periphery 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 /gwə-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 form its onset margin. For instance, in /turku/ six and /bhəgwan/ '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 /bhyəgutya/ and /mhE-ku-ri/ 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-rya/ horse, /dhɔ̃|ya/ white, /bhu-nya/ pig, /bhỹɔ̃-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., /h̃ɔ̃/ no: /ha/ hundred, /cunji/ small, younger /cũji/ sit down.

Free variation of nasality with nasal consonants is also a common feature of it, e.g., /pã̃~pɔ̃n/ five, /h̃ɔ̃~hɔ̃n/ no, why?

Length/Quantity: Length in Raji seems to be only a phonetic 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 /ti:bi/ rain, /su:na/ gold, /khatt/ seven, /j̃ɔ̃mm̃ɔ̃/ all, /pʊ̃θi/ 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 /cū?ca/ is realized as [cū?caə], [cū?cau] or [cū-ca?i]; [myə?t-ə] wife, [du?ək-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 /ñ, ŋ, ɾ/.
- (2) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, or the nasal /ñ/.
- (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.
/ba-mabu/ male snake: /ma-mabu/ female snake.
- (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 /jɔmmɔ/, as in /jhi?k pəyau/ sons, /jɔmmɔ 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, /yañ/ path, /siñ/ tree, /ma-bu/ snake, /chuyya/< /chu-yañ/ source of water.

Similar is the case of stems borrowed from the Indo-Aryan and other sources, e.g., /ti/ water, /ðga/ sky, /hðrðg/ heaven, /juṛa/ head, /joka/ leech, /ghiñ/ ghee, /gothðñ/ ground floor, /ghorya/ horse, /bhatt/ cooked rice, /chuyya/ source of water, /hañ/ branch, /ruñ/ light, /rā-ko/ torch, /puṭṭhi/ back, /tuna/ ear, /tara/ star, /gad/ river, /ðig/ cattle, /ða/ one, /mata?/ monkey, /khatt/ seven, /kðpal/ forehead, /nihðñ/ nails, /sē?na/ god, deity, /kðñkal/ destitute.

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., /ðmmð~ðmhð/. Similar is the case of suffixation. However, examples of the peculiar Munḍa feature, viz., infixation are there, which may be illustrated as follows:

Infixation

Like Munḍa, in it infixation is a common device of stem formation, e.g., /hamu~hañu/ hair of human being, >/ha-ð-mo~ha-ð-ño/ tuft of hair on the head, /pðyau/ son>/pð-ð-yau/ nephew, /puhEṛ/ joint>/pu-ð-hEṛ/ knee, /dði/ today>/dð-ð-i/ just now.

According to Dr. S. R. Sharma, besides -ð, infixes like -g-tu-, -t-, -d-, etc., too are employed in it, as in /bðr/ plain land>/bðgðr/ valey; /ðl/ now>/ð-ja-l/ in the mean time; /hañ-o-be/ to leave>/hañ-o-tu-be/ to leave freely; /ti/ water>/tindðu/ wet; /go-ndðu/ ape (black faced); /pð?h/ to give>/pðnah/ charity; /pðh/ to throw>/pðnoñ/ 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

<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
baba	father	ma	mother
bhəuwa	brother	rhisya	sister

pəngə	uncle	ci:mə	aunt.
mənchE	man	maə	woman
kui	dog	chəʔi	bitch
dīga	bull	gāre	cow
bokya	he goat	paʔ	she goat

(ii) Prefixation of /ba/ 'father' or 'male' and /ma/ 'mother' or 'female':

<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
ba-mabu	snake (m.)	ma-mabu	snake (f.)
ba-bhunya	pig (m.)	ma-bhunya	pig (f.)
ba-se? na	god	ma-se?na	goddess

(iii) Suffixation in Indo-Aryan loan terms:

<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
cuh	grand son	cuiya	grand daughter
halwe	wife's brother	hali	wife's sister
ghoʔa	horse	ghoʔi	mare
hirna	deer	hirni	doe.

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 garouñ/ good girl.

/əi pəyau jiyahi/ that boy goes: /əi garouñ 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, /jhi?k/ /jhi?k-əl/ much, many and /jəmmə/ all. Distributionally, the former is used with animate nouns and the latter with inanimate nouns, e.g.

/pəyau/ son : /jhi?k pəyau/ sons
 /garouñ/ girl : /jhi?k garouñ/ girls
 /na/ I : /na-jhi?k-əl/ we.
 /ləgyə/ bread : /jəmmə ləgyə/ breads
 /ʰyənʈə/ wood : /jəmmə ʰyənʈə/ pieces of wood.

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:

a→e	: /ghoɾya/ horse	: /ghoɾe/ horses
	/bokya/ male goat	: /bokye/ male goats
i→yā/ye	: /ghoɾi/ mare	: /ghoɾiyā/ mares
	/chəɾi/ bitch	/chəɾiyā/ bitches
	/ku-i/ dog	: /ku-i-ye/ dogs
e→ā	: /gare/ cow	: /garā/ cows, kine.

In inanimate noun plurality is usually not marked : /siñ/ tree, trees, /polo/ skirt, skirts.

The plural marker attribute /jhi?kəl/ 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.,

/kui/ dog: /ku-i suñ/ three dogs; /mi/ man : /mi pañ/ five men, etc.

/aik hīye/ pəyau nhi/ he had sons two.

/khəʈt̪ ghəɪya ruɪya pañ/ spend rupees five.

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 casual 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.

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Direct	lE	lE
Acc.-dative	ã /ye/ya/khəni/khani	
Ag-Ergative	la/lə/lE/le	
Dative	yə/-ndal/-ndəl	
Ablative	lə/ya/bəti/bəta	
Genitive	-k/-ka/-ku/kE/-ko	
	-g/-ga/-gu/-gE/-go	
Locative	-yə/-ya	

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 siəu/ you will die; /lhai-kīrE-na/ I sing;

/jatəɾ rəga? gopya/ Gopi went after having taken meals.

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

/ningəhə namək/ what is your name?

/dewə lago koner/ it is raining.

(iii) An object of a transitive verb:

/niñ pəya kinə hiyən/ when was born your son?

/tila pətryə/ bring water.

/durbasa lE phiṭkar gəsinna?/ Durbasa gave curse (=cursed).

/na ci:hiro-ḍa ce?pa/ I saw a bird.

/əi bə?k hətya?/ he killed the goat.

(iv) A direct object of a verb having two objects (direct and indirect):

/əyə rupiya iḍā bEriyu/ I will give this rupee (money) to mother.

/pəyau-yē kuh be/ give tərur (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:

/əi cepa?/ he saw, /əi ka?/ he sent.

/əi jəmmə mhintu ghəiya/ he laboured very hard.

/hyəi~əi bə? k hətya/ 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:

/əyə rupiya iḍ-ā bEriyu/ (I) will give these rupees to mother.

/pəyau-yē kuh be/ give the tərur (a root vegetable) to the son.

From the examples of the direct case (given above under *ii-v*) it may be evident that in a colloquial speech objective

markers are normally left out; e.g.

/hðmurE-a-na/ I beat him.

/ði bð?k hð?tya/ he killed the goat.

Casal Relationship of Subject and Object of a Transitive Verb

The casual 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 casual 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:

/ði pðyau-yē dudhðñ...../ 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~lð~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.

/bhðuwa cðñji lE rajyu lihua?/

The younger brother got the kingdom.

/bhðuwa cwīeyð lE ði pa khðbðr 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

other things or persons is expressed with the help of post-position /IE/ 'with': /ɖarɖn̄ IE tibi haʔɖʔɖ/ It rained along with hail stones.

It is also expressed with post-positions like /dɖgɖɾ̄~dɖgɖɾ̄a/ along with, /mataʔɖ/ with, as in /baba dɖgɖɾ̄/ along with father.

Dative: The sense of dative case is expressed either with the accusative markers /yɖ, -ndal, -ndɖl/ or with a post-position /tai/ which follows the genitive base of a noun or pronoun:

/ice kɖ-tai hɖna posya/ for whom have these been sent for?

/tiiyɖ/ for water < /ti/, /mɖnaiyɖ/ for the forest < /mɖn̄n̄n̄/.

Ablative: The casual relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the post-positions /lo, -IE. -ya, bɖʔa, bɖʔi/. In these the first two are native and the last two borrowings from IA dialects.

/hɖrɖg bɖʔa piiye/ came down/ from the heaven.

/tɖ-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 (Pahāɾ-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 cimɖʔ/ the aunt of Birwa (a name)

/gopyagE garouñ/ the daughter of Gopya.

In a colloquial speech the employment of these markers is usually left out, as in /niñgɖpɖya/ your son, /ɖi pa/ near him, /kali ti: h̄iye kɖlɖsi/ water of the Kāli 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—/yɖ/ or /ya/:

/mənəñ-yə/ in the forest; */əga-ya/* in the sky; */dhiñ-ya/* in the day; */gaḍə-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 casual 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: */na~nə/* I, We; */nəñ/* 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 Munḍa languages. But at the same time it is not completely absent too. Traces of it are definitely found in it, e.g., /jawṭre-na/ means (we) eat', in which the term /na/ (we) does not include the addressee, but in /jawṭre nhṭ-ṭ/ 'we eat' the term /nhṭ/ '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, /hwṭi/ this, /ṭi~ai/ that, as in /suṅgi miṭi/ who is that man?, /hwṭi ningṭ 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., /hṭñ/ what? why?; /su-hi/ why?; /kṭ/ who?; /suṅgi-mi/ who?: /de hṭñ cijani/ what did (you) eat?, /ni: hāk ciwiṭn/ why have you come? /hṭñ kṭhā ciga/ why don't (you) go?, /niñ hṭñ namṭk/ 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 /wii~wi~ṛe~ḍhai/ any, some, /tṭṭṭa/ some, a few, as in /wī pṭyau/ a certain boy, /mi tṭṭṭa/ 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.

Reflexive pronouns are the same as the genitive form of the personal pronoun in question.

/pE h̃ ə lə-hə? ka ʔi n̄g 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, jẼ, jə/ or sporadically as /gE~gẼ/ 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 ghoṛya/ 'this horse' the qualifier /hwa/ distinguishes the /ghoṛya/ 'horse' from other horses, Similarly/ nin p̄ya your son.

But adjectives which either denote a quality, such 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 p̄yau/ good boy: /nhiko garouñ/ good girl.

/tu:ha p̄yau/ a young boy: /tu:ha hi?kəl p̄yau/ young boys.

/tuha garouñ/ small girl: /tu:ha jhi?kəl garouñ/ small girls.

Some of the most frequently used adjectives belonging to this class are—/nhiko/ good, /har/ bad, /tu:ha/ small, young, /ṭhulo/ big, tall, elder, /kələsi/ cold, /cəñji/ small, /dhəḍya/ white, /bəri/ big, very, elder, /ghəñəu/ hot, /pani/ separate, /whə?t/ this 'much, /ə?t/ that much, /dhE/ how much, /gEriki/ less, /əndəl/ safe, /dətḥələḍ/ alone, /dha/ like this, /həñ/ of what kind?

Placement of Adjectives

Although like Munḍa languages Rāji 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—

/dhiñ ḍa/ one day; /bhəuwa ṭhulo/ elder brother,

/aik hīye pəyau nhi/ he had sons two,

/kali ti: hīye bəri kələsi/ Kali water was very cold,

/Khəṭṭ ghəiya rupiya nhi/ spent rupees two,

/bhəuwa ṭhulo ugha-ya ḍa roga?/ elder brother entered a cave, (lit. brother elder cave-in one went).

/bhəuwa ṭhulo hwəsyā cuhāgə?ko 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), */ðrgo/* high: */jhi?k ðrgo/* 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).

/ðrgo/ high : */ait ðrgo/* highest. (lit. high from all).

Intensifiers

There are three intensifiers in it, viz., */bðri/*, */jhi?k, jhi?kəl/* and */jðmmə/* 'very', which freely precede or follow the attribute the quality or quantity of which is intensified by them:

/ði sya cuhãgð?ko jhi?kəl/ he meat liked very much,
i.e., he liked meat very much.

/əl jðmmə mhintu ghðiya/ he very hard worked=he worked very hard.

/dhyo jhi? kəl hīðe, days many became=It was very long time.

/kali ti: hīie bðri kəlðsi:/ the water of Kali is very cold.

/na cehiro ða 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., */dhiñ ða/* day one, */ða baməñ h:īye/* 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.

Cardinals: The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'twenty' are as follows : /gə~ɖa/ one, /nhi/ two, /suñ~khuñ/ three, /pari/four/, /pã~pəñ/ five, /turku/ six, /khatt~satt/ seven, /ət̪t̪h/ eight, /nəwə/ nine, /dðh~dðkh/ ten, /nəw-kəm-bihəi/ eleven, /ət̪t̪h-kəm-bihəi/ twelve, /khatt-kəm-bihəi/ thirteen, /turkə-kəm-bihəi/ fourteen, /pã-kəm-bihəi/ fifteen, /pari-kəm-bihəi/ sixteen, /suñ-kəm-bihəi/ seventeen, /nhi-kəm-bihəi/ eighteen, /ɖa-kəm-bihəi/ nineteen, /bihəi/ twenty.

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 $20+10=30$, $2 \times 20=40$, $2 \times 20+10=50$ 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 casual 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/piiye bhəllo gaḍə-yə/ came flood river-in=the river was flooded.

Verb Roots: So far as the question of verb roots is concerned 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 enumerated as under:

(i) *Mono-syllabic roots:* -/ka/ to send, /ji-/ to go, /lə-/ to come, /hī/ to be, become, /rə-/ to fly. /sī-/ to die, /ghE-/ to do, /be~bE/ to give, /pho-/ to climb, /i:s-/ to sleep, /oṛ-/ to fill, /kəʔt/ to carry, /kaʔd-/ to break, /kalt-/ to sell, /gun-/ to do, /gəʔt/ to take, /dhət/ to move, /cuḍ-/ to throw, /cin-/ to call, /ciʔp/ to wash, /dəu/ 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- /dhuhaṛ/ to burn, /cihEṛ/ to laugh, /marəʔt/ to distribute. /həḍi-/ to sit, /lhaiʔk-/ 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.

Rāji, 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, /hθkiba/ to finish, etc., as in /oṛabe/ to fill up < /oṛ/ to fill + /be/ to give; /haʔrobe/ to give up < /haʔ/ to leave + /be/ to give; /khE-be/ to tell, /ja hθki: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., /ceʔp/ to see + /IE/ to reach > /ceʔp-a-IE/ to understand > /hθceʔpalE/ to forget; /haḍ-o-be/ to give up > /hθ haḍ-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 × 2 numbers) in all the tenses, yet in actual usage no formal distinction is available for various persons and numbers, e.g., /jawðre/

I eat, we eat, he eats etc., /jað/ ate, /jawðre hwðr/ 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: Rāji 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 Rāji 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:

/hðnu-re-a-na/ I strike him (lit. strike-he-I).

/hðnu-re-na-ai/ he strikes me (lit. strike-I-he).

~
/hð ja-ð hwði/ what did he ate?

It may be interesting to note here that in absence of inflectional 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 Munḍa, in this too pronominal suffixation does not bring about any morphological change in the verb form, e.g., /jawḍre-na/ I eat, /jawḍre-a/ he eats, /jawḍre-nḍn̄/ 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 hḍ 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.

/gwḍtha m̄ã ci-piyḍ-n/ where are you coming from?

~
/de hḍ ci-ja-ni/ what did you eat today?

/bhatt kE ja-ni/ have you eaten rice?

/n̄ik-ci-ku-nE/ are you O.K?

/hḍl̄nu ayo cibiḍn/ have you ploughed?

In fact, a close examination of the above examples indicates that Rāji 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 Rāji is corroborated by the following examples as well:

/h̄iye raji ta-jḍmmḍaiko pḍyau/ all the Rajis became his progeny. (lit. became Raji we all his sons).

/piye bh̄allo gaḍḍyḍ/ 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. Munḍa /-haɾ-ə mərən-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 /*ði am jawðre/* 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.-wðre, -rE, -i:rE, -re, -õ and -yahĩ/*. Some of these are phonetically conditioned variants and some occurring in free variation: /*ghð?t/* to go, to move > /*ghe?t-e/* goes, moves;

/*lha?ik/* to sing > /*na lha?iki:rE/* I sing.

/*ja-/* to eat > /*jawðre/* he eats, I eat; /*hðnurE/* I strike;

/*nE tuñore/* I drink < /*tuñ/* to drink;

/*na wðrigun/* 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 */-ð/* to the present indefinite form of the verb.

/*ghð?t/* to move > //*ghðt-e/* moves > /*ghð?t-e-ð/* he has moved (def.).

/*ja-/* to eat > /*jawðre/* he eats > /*jawðre-ð/* 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 /*hãr/* added to the present indefinite form of the verb, e.g., /*lha?ik/* to sing > /*lha?iki:re/* sings, sing > /*na lha?iki:re hãr/* I am singing,

/ja-/ eat > /jawðre/ eats, eat > /jawðre hār/ is eating, am eating,
/nikucya~hðñ-cyð hðnawðni/ why do you strike/ -are striking?

Besides, we also have forms with the suffix /-ner/:

/hðñ ghEla ciguner/ why are you soing?

/dewð lagokoner/ it is raining; /gwðtha jigār/ 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 /-pðn/ : /akhu wipðn/ who has come?; /ðtðr ðgðra kEhin/ it has become late now.

~
/de hð cijani/ what have (you) eaten today?

/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:

/bhayðr bhaṭṭ piyðkunas/ a Brahman is already (has come already) there outside.

It is also expressed with the suffix /-pðn,-pin/:

/ṭhçkə kE pu-ðn~puwðn/ it has become evening.

/gajiro kE kho-ðn/ It has become morning (night finished).

/nibāk ciwi-ðn/ 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) /-ð/: This definitive suffix is added to monosyllabic roots ending in the vowel /-a/ : /ka-/ to send > /ka-ð/ sent, used to sent; /ja-/ to eat > /ja-ð/ ate, used to eat.

(ii) /-ie/: It is added to verb roots ending in /-i/, e.g., /hī~hī:/ to become > /hīie~hīiye/ was, became, used to be, /ji/ to go > /jyðiye/ used to go, /si-/ to die /sīiye/ died, used to die.

(iii) /ʔk-a~ga/: It is added to stems ending in /-ɔ/, as in /lɔ-/ to come > /lɔʔka/ came, used to come, /rɔ/ to fly > /rɔʔga/ flied.

(iv) /a~wa/: It is added to roots ending in /-u/, as in /dihu/ to be seen > /dihua~dihuwa/ was seen, /lihu/ to get > /lihua~lihuwa/ used to get, /hð 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., /ghəʔt/ to move, /ghəʔte/ moves > /ghəʔt-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 /ghəia~ghəiya/ did, used to do, /khE/ to say > /khəia~khəiya/ 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-ð/ ate, was eating.

But if specification is necessary then it can be effected, as in the present, by adding the suffix /hār/ to the verb form of the past indefinite, as in /ði sīiye-hār/ he was dying;

/ði bəyari həba-ð-hār/ 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-ð/ he ate, he used to eat, /hīie/ 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 /-ə/ to the past indefinite forms of the given verbal stem, e.g.

/kaə/ sent, had sent; /pho-ə/ ascended, had ascended;
 /əi kaltə-ə/ he sends/ he sent; /əi pho-ə/ he ascended;
 ~
 /hə ja-ə hwəi/ what has he ate, what did he eat?;
 /əi siie/ he died, he had died; /rəgaə/ went away:
 /piie bhəllo gadə-yə/ come flood river-in (lit.);
 /hadə-ə/ started, became; /həd-ə/ passed away,
 /həəi-ə/ lived, remained; /lihu-a-ə/ got, /ləgwa-ə/ started.

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 flecional base of the future indefinite is the form of present indefinite itself to which are affixed the future

markers /-hwə̃r~riyu/ or /ruyu:/ /lha?k-i:rE/ I sing> /lha?ik-i:
 rE-hwə̃r/ I shall sing;

/jawə̃re I eat, he eats> /jawə̃re-hwə̃r/ I/ you shall eat.

/rupiya əy iə̃ bEriyu/ (I) will give these rupees to mother.

In Pandey (1937) we get the following sentences conveying the sense of future:

/ni siən/ thou willst die.

/bagho tijari/ the leopard will eat up (you).

/hanon ci-gunir/ what will you do, (if I beat you)

/kə̀naci wipə̀r/ when will you come?

/kilek gahin/ (we) will go tomorrow.

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 /hwə̀/ and the person-number marker /-rE/ to the verb root, as in

/ə̀l ji-hwə̀-rE/ he would be/ may be going.

/nā lhai?k hwə̀-rE/ (probably) I would be singing.

(2) by adding /hwā̀r/ to the verb root:

/ə̀i ji-hwā̀r/ 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 uthā nāhi 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': /h̄[~] h̄oi s̄kiya-na/ (lit. [not get up can-I]).

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 /-aw̄ð; -o, -w̄ð/ to the verb root, e.g.

/h̄n-/ to strike, to beat > /h̄n-aw̄ð/ to get beaten;

/ce?p-/ to see > /ce?p-aw̄ð/ to show, to make to see;

/ha?k-/ to fight, to quarrel > /ha?k-o/ to make to fight;

/jh̄r-/ to awake > /jh̄r-aw̄ð/ to awaken, get awakened;

/p̄sina/ to cook, bake > /p̄si:naw̄ð/ 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 > /j̄ðja~jij̄ð/ he eats again and again; /ði j̄ðja-ð/ he ate repeatedly; /h̄nu/ to strike > /h̄ðh̄nu/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, /h̄i-/ it conveys the sense of the action in the past as well, as in /h̄i/ to be, is > /h̄i-h̄i/ was.

Reciprocal Sub-system: Like Munḍa 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 /-ð-/ in the verb stem itself:

/h̄nu-/ to strike > /h̄ð-ð-nu/ to strike each other;

/b̄yā-/ to give > /b̄ð-ð-yā/ to give to one another;

/ce?p-/ to see > /ce?ð-p/ to see each other;

/k̄h-/ to abuse > /k̄ð-ðh/ to abuse one another.

But there are instances in which this type of infixation also brings about a semantic change in the verb root, some times entirely opposite to its original meaning, as in /h^hi/ to get up, but /h^h-∂-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-aw∂/ to show > /ci-cep-aw∂/ to make oneself seen.

/kalt/ to sell > /kaltaw∂/ to make to sell > /k∂kaltaw∂/ to get oneself sold.

/h∂nu/ to strike > /h∂n-aw∂/ to make others to strike > /h∂-h∂naw∂/ 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 /h^h∂n^h~h^h∂/ 'no' or /ta/ 'don't' to the verb stem in question.

e.g., /ghE/ to go: /h^h∂ghE/ not to go; /ce?p/ to see: /h^h∂ce?p/ not to see; /gh∂?t/ go (imp): /ta gh∂?t/ don't go;

/∂i ja/ he eats: /∂i h^h∂ja/ he does not eat;

/∂i gh∂iya/ he did: /∂i h^h∂ gh∂iya/ he did not do.

Model of Conjugation

Verb Substantive hi

<i>Present</i>	<i>Ist</i>	na hi I am	na hi we are
		n∂/ci hi thou art	hwen/ cu-hi you are
		h∂t/kh hā he is	wE hi they are.
<i>Past</i>		na hi I was	hwe-ko-ha we were
		n∂mw∂-ke-ha thou wast	n∂mwa-ko-ha you were

	əb/təɾ hyã he was kahiri -be, I may be, I shall be 'go'	hwe-ko-ha they were
Present	gari goɾa I go nəñ jE thou goest	əɾyuga we go nəi ghatE/nari uŋga you go
Past	rE jE he goes gari jE I went nəñ cEka thou wentest	ghətE they go na ga we went nE ghətE you went
	rE kwa he went gətE 'go' (imp.) gəta- 'going' gəta- 'gone'	wəka-le they went.

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 /təɾ/ or /tE/ to the verb root, e.g., /ja/ to eat > /ja-təɾ~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., /ði kal t̪-ð/ 'he sold', but /ði katt̪-ð roga-ð/ having sold he went.

In Rāji even indefinite past can be used to express this sense, e.g., /jh̪r̪Ei/ he was awakened, having awakened.

Agentive noun : It is derived by prefixing /ci~cu/ to the verb root, as in /ði ci-sī hī:hi/ he is about to die, he is dying, /n̪g-cu jaw̪re hw̪r̪/ 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.

- /ti: la p̄trȳ/ bring water.
 /bhit̄r lo/ come inside.
 /ni khot chuji/ sit down comfortably.
 /m̄n̄n̄-ȳθ raju ghE/ (do) rule in the forest.
 /n̄n̄ ghE/ you do (fut.)=you should do.
 /na khE/ should I say?
 /gh̄ʔ/ go; /ghE/ do; /khE/say; /ceʔp/ see; /pi-/ come.
 /hit lo/ come here: /na b̄ȳã/ give to me;
 /chwE/ sit down; /ȳθki/ get up; /bhatt ja/ eat rice;
 /ti tuñ/ drink water.

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 gh̄ʔt/ don't move; /ta ghE/ don't do.
 /ḡʔjiro ta gh̄ʔt/ don't go (out) in night.
 /ta rak̄ni/ 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 /ði ji-ḥwar/

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 /ði ghəʔt-u/ he moved > /ði ghəʔt-u-ni/ if he had moved, possibly he has moved; /boðrəka-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 /haɾ-/: /bəjjəɾə cəmkən haɾə/ it started lightning; /təʔe bhəuwa ʔulo mənəñ-yərajyu goE ləgwa/ ever since the elder brother started ruling in the forest: /darə-IE tibi haɾə-ə/ it started raining along with hail storm.

However, in the absence of sufficient data at our disposal other aspects of modal 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—/gw̄θha~gahwa~ḡhw̄θ/ to which side?; /hi?tya~etyθ/ here, this way; /d̄hai~yas/ up, /berE/ drown; /t̄a?d̄/ away; /ghEre/ behind; /kEi/ towards; /l̄ga/ near; /d̄hi/ down, /l̄n̄ka/ far, /jnyantane/ before; /ḡhw̄θ/ no where; /āijhi?k-alE m̄n̄n̄-ȳθ h̄θīθ (lit.) he usually forest in live; /θi m̄n̄n̄-ȳθ sya kh̄θ? d̄-uwahar/ (lit.) he forest in hunting was.

Adverb of Time

A few temporal adverbs are—/de~d̄θi/ today; /kile/ tomorrow; /n̄iw̄θ/ day after tomorrow; /θlE/ now; /θjal/ in the mean time; /θḡθra/ late; /pE/ then; /hiȳθn/ when; /haindEi/ at last; /de h̄θ cijani/ what did you eat/ ate to day?; /rupiya θȳθ de b̄Eriyu-na/ I shall give this money on Sunday. /θi hiya gh̄θi-a/ when did he do?

Adverb of Manner

The commonly used adverbs of this class are:

/h̄θjjE/ slowly, /pand̄θl̄θ-θ/ itself, alone,

/θi h̄θjjE gh̄θ?t-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—/b̄θri/ very, /jhi?k/ very.

/ēi b̄θi h̄θjjE gh̄θ?t-e-i/ he was moving very slowly.

/āi h̄iye jhi?k t̄aḍ-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 under.

Additive: The additive particles or the conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences or words is /rð/ 'and', as in /ɔi rð na/ he and I; /ram rð šyam/ Ram and Shyam; /bhəllə rð!gəð/ flood and river; /mE rð ti/ fire and water.

Contrastive: The only contrastive particle attested in our data is /pE/ as in /ɔi jəmmə mhintu ghəiya, pE hə-lə həkəð ɔi 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?

/həllənə ayo ci-biðn/ 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:

/hə?k~oə/ yes hən~hə-hə/ no; /pəi/ yes, /əhā/ no, /ho!/ Oh!

Overlapping of Indeclinables: There are many indeclinables which overlap with various other classes of words, e.g., /de/ today, Sunday; /hən/ no, What?; /kina-ci/ sometime, had become; /maṭa?/ with, monkey; /whəya/ 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 hīəye/ time long passed (lit.)

/həɾəg bəṭa piye ba-ḍa/ heaven from descended man-one (lit.)

/aik hīe pəyau nhi/ his became son-two (lit.)

/bhəuwa ṭhulo hwəḍə sya cu-hāgə? k-o-jhi?k-əl/

brother elder was meat liking very much (lit.)

/əi jhi?k-əI mənən-yə həḍi-ə/ he usually forest-in lived (lit.)

Syntactic Patterns

A synchronic analysis of the sentence patterns attested in Rāji reveals four types of syntactic 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.

/hənu-rE -a-na/ (lit. strike-he-I)=I strike him.

forest; /bhəuwa ʈhulo ugha-ya-da roga-ə/ elder brother went in the cave.

Complex Sentence

A deep structure analysis of expressions like /ruñ hītE əi ce?pa-ə/ 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.

/jawəre-ləgyə-ḍa-na/ (lit. eat bread-one-I)

~
/həja-ə whəi/ (what ate he)=What did he eat?

/hiē raji ta-jəmmə aiko pəyau/ lit. were Rāji we all his children)= We all Rājis were his children.

(ii) *OVS Pattern*: This pattern is also attested in sentences containing incorporating verb structure.

/masi-sya cu-jawəre-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 hiē pəyau nhi/ his were son-two=he had two sons.

~
pE hə-ləhə? ka-ə əi bhəuwa 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.

/ḍa bamən hiē/ a Brahman was=there was a Brahman.

/əi jəmmə mhintu ghəiya/ he worked very hard.

/dhiṅ-ḍa əi mənən-yə khəḍuba har/ one day he was hunting in the forest (lit. day-one he forest in hunting (play hunt) was.)

/bhəuwa ṭhulo ugha-ya-ḍa roga-ə/ the elder brother entered a cave (lit. brother-elder cave-in-one went);

/dhesu lE 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:rEd/ (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 bhəllo/ came flood; /hīie ra?tə/ became morning;

/hərdəg bəʈa piie ba-ɖa/ heaven-from descended man-one;

/aik hīie pəyau nhi/ his were sons two.

/bhəuwa ʈulo ugha-ya-ɖa roɡə/ brother-elder cave-in-one went.

Rāji does not favour a string of more than two qualifiers with a noun head.

Verb Phrase

The native structure of Rāji 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 jhi?k-alE mənən-yə hōðī-ə/ he, usually lived in the

forest; /bhəuwa ʈhulo ugha-ya-ḍa roga-ə/ elder brother went in the cave.

Complex Sentence

A deep structure analysis of expressions like /ruñ hīitE əi ceʔpa-ə/ 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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