

*Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages-V*

# LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY OF KUMAUN HIMALAYAS

*(A Descriptive Areal Distribution of  
Kumauni Language)*

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Historical and Linguistic Background

Kumāni is an Indo-Aryan speech spoken in the hilly region of Kumāun Division in the Uttarakhand. It is a central constituent of the linguistic group termed as Centro-Eastern Pahari by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma. Its place among the sub-Himalayan dialects of India was already established by George A. Grierson in his monumental work LSI (Vol. IX. Pt. IV).

It was on the inspiration from Dr. Varma that I undertook a phonological analysis of Kumāni in 1965 which was completed in 1971 and was also accepted for the doctoral degree in Linguistics by the Panjab University, Chandigarh.

In a way the present work is a by-product of the above mentioned treatise. It was during the course of phonological investigation of Kumāni that I came across the bewildering variety of phonological and morphological elements, noticeable in various dialects of this language. Consequently, I made up my mind to present a complete view of all the prominent variations of some of the phonological and morphological items, through maps in a more scientific way. Besides, my another research project: Formation of Kumāni (1985) also contributed to a great extent in the collection of the data for this volume.

### 1.2 The Term 'Kumāni'

The term 'Kumāni' has been constructed by suffixing -i to the stem 'Kumāun' in the sense of 'the language of the land'. Formerly, the region around Champawat was known as 'Kumū' and the language spoken in that region was known as 'Kumaiyyā, which is still referred to as such by the speakers of other dialects of Kumāni. But with the expansion of the domain of the rulers of 'Kumū', the whole territory under their rule came to be known as Kumāun; hence all the varieties of the language spoken in this area are designated as Kumāni.

Writing about the name of the language of this area, Grierson says: 'In the south-east of the Almora District, there is a peak over 7000 ft. high named Kānadeo, the old name of which was Kūrmāchala 'the mountain of Kūrma' related to the legendary 'Kūrma' incarnation

of Lord Vishnu (*LSI*, IX, IV. P. 108)'. But Professor H. S. Joshi, objecting to the derivation of 'Kumāun' from 'Kūrmāchala', on the ground of phonetic changes, has derived it from Kurmāngaka or Kurmānaka>Kummāñno>Kummāo>Kumāun>Kumū>Kumō (Joshi, 1964: 63). But in the opinion of Y. D. Vaishnava, the term *Kumū* may be of Assyrian origin. According to him, the Asuras of Indian mythology are none but the Assyrians and Asuran-Bāna was the Assyrian ruler, Asur-Ban-Pal (768-726 B.C.). The end of their rule in Babylon came in 538 B.C. and they were forced to leave their country and came to India by land and sea. According to the *Śatpatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Yajurveda*, the immigrant Asuras had founded many small kingdoms throughout the Northern India along the submountane regions as far as Magadha during the first millennium B.C. The temples of the Assyrian god Bel or Bal at Ramak, Balar, Bahāditya and of Asur (Sun) Barāditya, Bhaumāditya, the name of the Lohāwatī River (river of blood), the town of Lohāghāt (Valley of blood) in and around Kālī Kumāun proclaim that Kumū was the colony of one of the groups of Assyrian immigrants. These Asura immigrants, like European settlers of the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian Era gave their new country the name of their own original home. The valley of Champāwat was given the name of Kummuh after the ancestral homeland Kummuh of Kassite Assyrians. Kummuh was the hilly tract in the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea near the source of the Euphrates River. Not only Kumū but also other names of places adjoining the ancient Kālī Kumāun closely resemble the Assyrian names. Sor (Pithoragarh) Sira, Elam can be found in the ancient geography of Assyria. Sor (the present Tyre) was in northern Nivevah like the Sor Valley which is in the north of Kālī Kumāun. To the east of Assyria was the very ancient country of Elam. Elam is still the name of the region in the east of Kālī Kumāun in Nepal (Nainital: An Autumn Souvenir, 1974, p. 18). This suggestion, though interesting and fascinating enough, needs historical evidences to accept the conjectural approach.

### 1.3 Historical Background

The history of the ancient and early period of this region is shrouded in mystery. Legends and Purānic references indicate that during prehistoric age, these regions were ruled by Kinnaras, Kirātas, Khasas and Vedic Aryans. During the sixth century B.C., they were invaded and conquered by some race about which historically very little is known. During the Maurya period, however, this region was a part of the



Magadha Empire and the rulers of these regions had acknowledged sovereignty of its rulers. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta is an undisputable proof that the king of Kartripura had accepted his sovereignty. Similarly, during the Vardhana Empire, this area was under its influence. But after the reign of Harsha Vardhana, this region was ruled by Tibetans for nearly two hundred years.<sup>1</sup> During the Middle Ages, Kumāun was under the dominance of Katyuri rulers who successfully ruled over it for over a century, but by the end of the twelfth century they lost a part of it to a Nepali invader, Anek Malla. Then came the age of Chandas which lasted till 1790 when they were defeated by the Gurkhas of Nepal. The present Kumāun came into being in 1814 when the Gurkhas were defeated by the Britishers.

#### 1.4 Geographical Situation

Kumāun, as delimited here, roughly comprises three north-eastern Himalayan districts of Uttar Pradesh, viz. Almora, Pithoragarh and a larger portion of Naintial, lying between 28° 43' 55" and 30° 49' north latitude and 78° 44' 33" and 81° 5' 15" east longitude. It is surrounded by the districts of Chamoli, Pauri, Bijnor, Moradabad, Rampur, Bareilly and Pilibhit in the north-west, west, south-west and south respectively. Its two boundaries constitute two international boundaries of India. In the north, it has a common boundary with Tibet and in the east with Nepal, separated by the Kālī River. Thus the Kumāun region is situated on the central Himālaya, extending from the Dumna River to the Kālī River in the north-east.

Geographically, the region has two major surface features, viz. the Himalayas in the north and the foothill belt of Tarāi and Bhābar in the south, the heights varying from over 5,000 meters to 180 meters above the sea-level. The Himalayas are roughly divisible into three zones, viz. the sub-Himalayas, the lesser Himalayas and the great Himalayas, usually consisting of snow-covered peaks. "Kumāon is a region of great diversities in population and physical setting. There are perhaps very few areas in the world presenting so many contrasts of environments. The fantastic snow-covered peaks in the north, the alpine highlands, the rice-and wheat-growing river valleys, the dense swampy forests of Tarāi and Bhābar and the large food-producing farms in the Tarāi all occur within Kumāun."<sup>2</sup>

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1 *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Vol. xciii-Feb. 6, 1972

2 21st Inter Geog. Cong. of India (1968) Guide Book, p. 10

### 1.5 Land Area and Population

The diversity of land feature in Kumāun has exercised a strong influence on the pattern of its population. The mountainous part accounting for more than 80 per cent of the total area of Kumāun has only two-thirds of its total population. According to the Census of India 1981, the details of the land area and the population of Kumāun (including non-Kumāuni speaking population) are as under:

<i>District</i>	<i>Area (sq. km.)</i>	<i>Population</i>	
Pithorāgarh	8,856.0	489,267	
Almorā	5,385.0	757,373	23,83,163
Nainital	6,794	1,136,523	

(Census of India, 1981 Series 1, India, paper of 1982, final population. According to 1971 census it was 18,53,865 (census of India, series 1, Paper I of 1972, final population, p. 24).

But the exact number of Kumāuni speakers may be difficult to ascertain owing to the fact that thousands of Kumāunis are at present scattered all over the country. Roughly, the number may be estimated at 12 Lakhs. According to the 1961 Census it was recorded as 10,30,254 on the basis of the data collected from this area alone (see, Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II-C (ii) p. 209) .

### 1.6 The People

Ethnically and linguistically, the people of Kumāun hills belong to Aryan and Shauka (Rang) races. The Shauka population comprises a very small percentage of the total population of Kumāun and are found at the mouths of all passes to Tibet. The Bhotias of Johār are also called Shaukas and are a component of the western division of the Bhotias, they spoke a Tibeto-Himalayan dialect called Rangkas. There are the eastern Shaukas living in the Parganā of Dārmā which is sub-divided into three patts, viz. Dārmā, Chaudāngs, and Byāngs. They speak a Tibeto-Himalayan dialect of their own and are much akin to Tibetans. The Shaukas of the group, falling in the territory of Pithorāgarh are collectively known as eastern Bhotias. The rest of the population belongs to Aryan race and speaks the dialects belonging to Indo-Aryan family, the only exception being the Rājīs of Askot, who speak a language of the Munḍa family, but their number is quite insignificant.<sup>3</sup>

3 For the details of these speeches, see *Tribal Languages of Uttarakhand*, Vol. I of. II

On the whole Kumāunts are very nice people and their character has been beautifully summarised by Dr. M. S. Randhawa just in a single sentence which is as under:

“The Kumāunts are modest, gentle and honest in their dealings and are remarkable for their love of truth.” (1970, Preface, VII).

### 1.7 Linguistic Area

It may be noted here that Kumāuni is not spoken throughout the length and breadth of the Kumāun Division of the present Uttar Pradesh. Out of the three districts of the Kumāun Division, viz. Almorā Pithorāgarh and Nainital, people of Pithorāgarh and Nainital also speak other languages, e.g. in Johār, Dārmā, Byāngs and Chaudāngs Paṭṭis of the Pithorāgarh District people either speak Rang dialects of Tibeto-Himalayan family or a mixed form of Kumāuni. Similarly, in the southern part of the Nainital district, viz. Tarāi and Bhābar area, it is mixed with Hindi dialects. Though a sizeable population of Kumāunts has now settled in the Tarāi area, yet the number of other settlers, such as Thārus, Buxas, Muslims and Panjabis, is also considerable. As such, these areas cannot be declared as Kumāuni speaking. Moreover, the Kumāuni settlers of these areas, out of fashion or owing to the necessity of communication with the speakers of other linguistic communities, have become totally bi-linguals and the use of their native tongue is confined to their homes only. Besides, in the east of the Pithorāgarh District along the Nepal border, all the dialects of Kumāuni, known as Soryālī, Sirālī and Askot show the influence of the neighbouring Khaskurā or Nepālī. Even in the west, certain areas of Salt and Chaukot Paṭṭis show an influence of Garhwālī, though retaining the major characteristics of Kumāuni.

### 1.8 Linguistic Boundaries

Kumāuni on the borders of Kumāun meets with many languages of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Himalayan groups. On its north, its boundaries have Shauka dialects of the Tibeto-Himalayan family and in the south have Hindi or Hindustani. Similarly, it is flanked by Nepālī in the east and by Garhwālī in the west. Thus it is needless to say that on its border areas, it has been clearly influenced by, or rather has become admixed with the languages spoken across the borders. As such, in these border areas, sometimes it becomes difficult to segregate one language from another, their isoglosses moving both ways. In some pockets, however, it has been influenced more by the dialects spoken across the border than in others. But in the course of the present study, I have taken all areas bordering on Nepāl and Garhwal as Kumāuni areas. To me,

both Garhwali and Nepali belong to the same Proto-Centro-Eastern Pahāri, of which Kumāuni is the central constituent.

Besides in these border areas, in its own tract, too, it meets, with some other non-Aryan languages. In Askot, there is a small patch of land in which the Rāji language of Ban Rauts, belonging to the Austric family, is spoken. Similarly, in Pithoragarh there are a large number of Shaukas, speaking languages belonging to Tibeto-Himalayan families, viz. Rañkas. It will be seen that all these neighbouring dialects have in one way or other contributed to the formation of the modern Kumāuni.

## 2. IMPORTANCE OF DIALECTOLOGY

*The term:* Dialect Geography, also called 'Linguistic Geography' is related to a dialectal analysis of local linguistic variations with a wider area, displaying the results in a series of maps.<sup>4</sup>

### 2.1 Importance

Now a days the study of dialects, i.e. dialectology or 'areal linguistics' has found an important place in the linguistic investigations all over the world. As the science of language progressed, it embraced within its fold more and more aspects of language, and, therefore, it was natural to bring within the purview of linguistics, the study of dialects for its potentiality of throwing a great deal of light on the evolution of languages related to dialects under investigation. As such dialectology has acquired an important place in modern linguistics.

Dialect geography, being an important part of dialectology, has naturally found an important place in these studies, for, dialect maps, besides pin-pointing the dialect areas, greatly help in interpreting the history of the development of a language, the directions of changes that occur in various features of a language due to changes in social structure of the group of its speakers; or migration of population from its original home to distant places. All these factors can broadly be established from its geographical distribution only.

For, "when a dialect feature is found in the focal areas around which the isoglosses circle, that feature which has edged out other

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4. The term 'Areal Linguistics' has been used in the Russian "Dictionary of Linguistic Terms" (Moscow, 1969: 217). According to Dr. Siddheshwar Varma (a personal note) this sub-discipline has aroused so much interest among Russian linguists that many conferences have been organized to discuss various aspects of it (vide Theoretical Problems of Soviet Linguists, Moscow, p. 40). Still, for the sake of clarity, I have preferred the old term 'dialect geography' in the present work, though the new term definitely sounds more scientific.

comparable features can be reasonably expected to be older. If a feature is found only in the relic area, its spread in the focal area can also be guessed of its survival in the relic area" (Subramoniam, 1974: 332).

Moreover, in a geographical presentation, the direction of the movement of the dialect features can be inferred from the existence of transitional areas attested in it. It also helps in determining the areas of density of communication and prestige motive which are prominent factors in the directions of change of various linguistic features in a language.

Similarly, centering of isoglosses is also an indicator of political and economic centres of the region in the past or at present. For, the prestige of the dialect or the language spoken in these areas or the patronage which it receives from the ruling and upper class of the society, has always exercised its influence on the neighbouring dialects of the region. Moreover, study of dialectal variations has a special significance for the historical analysis of the language concerned.

Linguists in general, but those specializing dialectology in particular, have been feeling the lack of comprehensive language atlases for some time back. As George Steiner has remarked: "We have until now, no language atlas which can claim to be anywhere near exhaustive. Furthermore, the four to five thousand living languages are themselves the remnants of a much larger number spoken in the past. Each year so called rare languages, tongues spoken by isolated or moribund ethnic communities, become extinct. . . One can only guess at the extent of lost languages. It seems reasonable to assert that the human species developed and made use of at least twice the number one can record today." (1975: 51).

The situation in this context, in our country is all the more alarming. The tempo of irresponsible modernism seems to be sweeping the country and scores of ethnic groups with their peculiar linguistic elements are liable to be swallowed up soon, and many of them have already lost their identity and their dialectal peculiarities have been irrevocably lost. Therefore, the linguists in India must hurry up and endeavour to preserve as much of the linguistic heritage of these fast vanishing ethnic groups, as is possible within the next decade or so. Hence, if nothing more, at least an atlas of each language and its dialects spoken in various regions of this vast sub-continent must be prepared by pooling together the existing linguistic resources of this country.

Pleading for paramount need of the study of various dialects of a language, Louis H. Gray observes, "whatever may be the purely

practical objections, economic, commercial, etc. against dialects, from the scientific point of view their disappearance is lamentable. . . It is true that dialects conserve much old material which is no more available in the standard languages yet in their divergencies from the standard language and from each other the linguists may find clues to the development of the language as a whole. We may safely say that 'no investigation of a language can be considered complete without the most exhaustive study possible of all its dialects. (1950: 29-30).

Similarly, highlighting the importance of the study of dialects, Bloomfield also states, "Local differences of speech within an area have never escaped notice, but their significance has only of late been appreciated. The eighteenth century grammarians believed that the literary and upper class standard language was older and more true to standard of reason than the local speech forms, which were due to ignorance and carelessness of common people. Nevertheless, one noticed in time that local dialects preserved one or other ancient feature which no longer existed in the standard language."

He continues-"The progress of the historical linguistics showed that the standard language was by no means the oldest type, but had arisen, under particular historical condition, from local dialects. (1963: 321). As such "the study of local differentiation in a speech area, *dialect geography* supplements the use of the comparative method." (ibid.)

## 2.2 History of Dialect Geography

The history of Dialect Geography tells us that it is a by-product of historical linguistics. It was in the year 1876 that a German scholar, George Wenker surveyed the local dialects in the northern Rhine country round Düsseldorf to find out the phonemic regularity determining development of sounds in that area which was broken in the standard language. Later on, he extended his survey to a wider area, and published six maps in 1881 as a first instalment of a *dialect atlas* of central Germany.

Encouraged by this survey, Wenker, later on undertook the task of linguistic survey of the whole German Empire with governmental aid. The results of this type of study stimulated a great interest among linguists. His work was highly appreciated by those who were interested in the historical development of languages. The publication of this atlas established that Dialect Geography confirmed the conclusion of comparative study, namely, that different linguistic changes cover different portions of an area. The new approach yielded,

however, a close range view of the network of isoglosses." (Bloomfield 1963: 323).

In the field of Dialect Geography, Germany was followed by France, where the earliest atlas, "Petit Atlas Phonétique du valais roman" by J. Gillieron was published in 1881. His assistant, E. Edmondts published between 1897-1901 an atlas consisting of 1920 maps which became a model for all subsequent linguistic atlases. Gillieron's effort was to prove that the question of phonetic regularity is only a matter of speculation, each word has its own history and must be studied as such. Though it was an extreme view, yet it did give a new dimension to the study of language as a whole. Today many institutions in France are taking keen interest in the field of dialectology. Application of structural approach to dialectology by A. Martinet has opened up new vistas in the study of dialects. In U.K. though interest in dialect investigation preceded the work of Wenker in Germany, yet Ellis, who had undertaken this task, was not able to accomplish much. It was only when Murray and Craige, the two famous editors of the Greater Oxford Dictionary realized the necessity of having a complete survey of all the dialects of Scotland which ultimately led to the establishment of the, School of Scottish Studies' in Edinburgh in 1951. This survey was conducted through two postal questionnaires containing 200 queries issued in 1951 and 1953 to each teacher working in all the schools in Scotland. The results of this survey are said to be ready for publication. Meanwhile, another questionnaire containing 907 phonological items and 175 morphological items was prepared by J. C. Catford in order to find out various contrasts available in various dialects spoken in Scotland. On the basis of this questionnaire an extensive field work was carried out there. It may have been completed and many lacs of slips may be awaiting computer analysis of the immense amount of data thus collected. Besides in Edinburgh the University of Leeds had also undertaken a project to investigate the dialects spoken in England. This study is based primarily on historically oriented questionnaire prepared by Dieth and Orten, it was being directed by the latter.

In the USA Hans Kurath and L. Bloomfield were pioneers in the field of dialect geography. A project for 'The Linguistic Atlas of USA and Canada was formally submitted to the American Council of Learned Societies in 1929 with a budget estimate of 6.6 lacs of Dollars. But on the advice of the Council, the area was, at the first instance, limited to New England only and the field work on it was carried out between 1931-33. The first volume of the New England Atlas appeared in 1939

under the editorship of Prof. Hans Kurath. Later on, the work as planned earlier, extended to other regions of the USA was under the auspices of the University of Michigan.

Moreover, in the USA projects also were launched to survey and prepare atlases of the Jewish language and the native American languages. The most notable of these may be said to be the linguistic and Cultural Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry, founded by late Uriel Weinreich and the transect programme for the Mayan languages of Norman. A. Mcquown.

The ambitious project of Sprach Atlas of German, spoken by the Swiss in Switzerland was planned in 1935 with a total of 573 points out of which 565 were in Switzerland and 8 in Italy. Field interviews in these areas were conducted in 1939-1958. The office of this atlas at Zurich had prepared the result of 573 full interviews and 52 partial interviews. Three million forms were directly transcribed. Half a million spontaneous forms had also been archived. Two volumes of the Atlas dealing with vowels and consonants were already published and six more on morphology, syntax and word geography were to follow. Besides, another work in this direction was the study of German dialects spoken in Switzerland by H. Baumgariner in 1942.

In Columbia, too, preparation of an atlas of linguistic and ethnographic facts was undertaken in 1954 under the guidance of Luist Florez with an initial questionnaire containing 8,000 items, which later on was reduced to 1884.

Similarly, in China, work on dialectology was undertaken in right earnestness in the forties. Since 1949 at Peking and in Taiwan the Academia Sinica had published some important works in this field. But the primary purpose of the Chinese studies was to compile grammars and dictionaries to differentiate the dialects of Chinese and to pin-point their peculiarities in phonology, morphology and vocabulary than for large-scale surveys and mapping. In modern China, however, more importance is being attached to the preparation of dialect monographs with ample texts. But at the same time the work known 'Chao's Report on Survey' (1949) presents a detailed information regarding informants with isoglossed maps of the Hupei dialect of Chinese.

In this direction the Japanese had displayed a special interest in native dialectology even before they came in contact with Western methodology. Inspired by Wenker's method, Ueda Manen (1867-1937) established the basis of dialect units. Arisaka Hideyo (1908-1952) was the first to carry out the phonological analysis of Japanese dialects. In



recent years important work on phonemics and Glottochronology were carried on by Hattori Shiro and Attai. Besides surveys of a limited type, many smaller areas with a provision to publish the maps, have also been conducted. The most important project in the field of linguistic geography is the National Linguistic Atlas with 230 questions which was directed for nine years by Shibata Takeshi.

In the USSR, a huge project to be completed in 8 volumes was undertaken by the Institute of Linguistics at Kiev in 1946 of which the last two volumes are to contain only isoglosses. In Belorussia, considerable interest is being evinced in dialectological works since 1948. The institute of Slavic Studies under the direction of the Soviet Academy of Sciences had conducted the survey of the Bulgarian language through field expeditions organized between 1948-50. In Rumania, too, the work on the Atlas of Rumanian dialects had made considerable progress. Its first volume was already published.

In Poland, the dialect work initiated by Nitsch was being carried on by well established institutes and pursued by teams of trained dialectologists. There are two active schools of dialectologists in Warsaw. "The Small Atlas of Polish Dialects", four volumes of which had appeared longback, are the significant ontribution of Polish dialectologists in the Post-war period. In Denmark, Italy and in some other European countries too dialect surveys and studies are being conducted by many dialectologists.<sup>5</sup>

In India, after the completion of the monumental work of George Grierson (*L.S.I.* 1916), specific studies have been carried out on various dialects with specific objects in view, but the work on dialect geography and the preparation of maps based on these studies has not received due attention. The only mentionable works in this field which have come to light are:

(i) The Linguistic Atlas of Panjabi published by the Punjabi Univeristy Patiala. This project was undertaken by the Department of Linguistics of the Punjabi University in 1969 and was completed in 1972, and published in 1973. It contains 101+21 maps showing variations in vocabulary items pertaining to parts of body, kinship terms, days of week and names of months and agricultural implements in different dialects spoken in the present state of Punjab (101) and in the pre-partition Panjab (21).

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5. N.B. These details about the work on linguistic geography/dialectology were compiled some time back. I am sure many of these may have been completed and published by now.

(2) Other works that deserve to be mentioned here are:

“Baghelkhand kā Shabd-Bhūgol” (A Word Geography of Baghelkhand), with 375 maps, by Hiralal Shukla (1971). Besides, Dr. B. D. Misra has worked on Dialect Geography of the district Banda. (His unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Lucknow, contains 52 maps, 1966). Dr. Lata Dube has presented her Ph. D. dissertation entitled “Bundeli Kshetra Ki Bundeli Ki dhwanigat Vibhedon Ki Citrāvali Kā Adhyayan” to the University of Sagar (1957) which includes 94 maps, but both these works have yet to see the light of the day.

3. “Dialect Survey of Malayalam (Ezhava Tiiya, 1974) by Dr. V.I. Subramoniam of the Kerala University, may be said to be one of the systematic venture in the field of dialectology. In this publication he has presented an exhaustive structural description, with 15 maps, of one of the dialects of Malayalam spoken by a single caste, viz. Ezhavas/Tiiyas, living throughout the state of Kerala. The field work for the project was undertaken in 1965 and completed in 1969, the estimated expenditure on the project is said to be more than Rs. 70,000 financed by the U.G.C. (Govt. of India) and the Kerala University.<sup>1</sup> Besides, Dr. Subramoniam has also conducted another investigation of the Pulaya dialect of Malayalam spoken by the Pulayas (otherwise called Cheramars), a scheduled caste, in Kerala.

Thus it may be evident from the foregoing survey that in India systemic attempts, in the field of dialectology or areal linguistics covering the entire area of a linguistic group are yet to be made. The sporadic attempts made by individuals perforce cannot achieve much because of lack of resources. It is in the light of these handicaps that the present attempt needs to be viewed and assessed by scholars interested in the study of dialectology in general.

### 2.3 The Scope of the Present Study

The main purpose of the present study is to present a detailed account of linguistic variations manifested in the varieties of dialects spoken in the different regions of Kumāun with the help of maps.

The present survey does not intend to trace the history of the various items presented here, but it is hoped that the items depicted in various maps would be of some help to those who would like to work on the historical and comparative aspects of the dialects of Kumāun. Besides, this material may also prove to be helpful in finding out the missing links of the linguistic group named ‘Dardo-Pahāri’. A

6 For details see *Dialect Survey of Malayalam*, 1974: 1-13.

study of these correlated forms, belonging to the common stock of Dardo-Pahāri is sure to offer valuable clues for the reconstruction of Dardic and Pahāri languages.

### Earlier Works on Kumāuni

Bewildering diversities of Kumāuni dialects had already aroused the interest of scholars even before the monumental work of Dr. A. G. Grierson (i.e. L.S.I. IX, IV) was published. Pt. Ganga Dutt Upreti in his work "Hill Dialects of Kumaun" had presented specimen of various sub-dialects of this region (Almora, 1909). Another work, "A Specimen of Kumāuni language" by Shri Krishna Pandey (with notes by G. D. Upreti) was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, in 1910. The first European scholar who threw light on the linguistic aspects of the languages of these regions was Mr. Atkinson (Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts). Later on, S. H. Kellog, too, in his book, "A Grammar of Hindi Language" (1938) threw some light on Kumāuni.

In addition to these, there have appeared some studies on various aspects of Kumāuni. Some of these are listed below:

1. *Maddhya Pahāri Anushilan Aur Hindi Se Uskā Sambandh*, by Guṇanand Juyal, Lucknow, 1967.
2. *An Outline of Kumāuni Grammar*, by M. L. Apte and D.P. Pattanayaka, Duke University, 1967.
3. *Kumāuni Bhāshā Kā Adhyayan* (with special reference to dialects of Pithoragarh) by B. D. Upreti, All., 1976.
4. *Kumāuni Boli Kā Varṇanātmak Adhyayan* (unpublished thesis), by Dr. Bhagat Singh, Jabalpur, 1971.
5. *Kumāuni Phonology* (unpublished thesis, Panjab University), by Dr. D. D. Sharma, 1973.
6. *A Study of Loan Words in Central Pahāri*, by Dr. D. D. Sharma, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1979.
7. *Kumāuni (a brief sketch)*, by Dr. M. L. Upreti, *Bharatiya Sahitya*, Vol. 13, No. 1-2, Agra, 1968.
8. *Pratibhā Darshan*, by Shri H. S. Joshi, Varanasi, 1968.
9. *Kumāuni Shabdāvali Kā Vyutpattiparak Adhyayan* (unpublished thesis) by K. D. Ruwali, Agra, 1972.
10. *Kurmānchalīy Krishi tathā Udyogik Shabdāvali*, by Dr. Ram Singh (unpublished thesis), Lucknow, 1962.
11. *The Formation of Kumauni Language*, (2 Vols) by Dr. D. D. Sharma, Bahri Publications, Delhi, 1985, 1987.

12. *Linguistic History of Uttarakhanda*. by Dr. D.D. Sharma, V.V.R. Hoshiarpur, 1984.
13. *Kumāuni Ki Danpuriā Upboli ka Bhashavaigyānik Adhyayan*, by Yugal Kishor Joshi (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Kumāun, 1986).
14. *Madhya Pahāri Tāntrik Sahitya Avam Usakā Bhāṣik Adhyayan* by Shakambar Datt Dhondiyal, (unpublished Thesis, Kumaun Univ. 1989).

Besides these, some more research projects on some other aspects of Kumāuni have been undertaken by various researchers in different Universities.

From the above list it may be evident that all of these studies except no. 9 and 12 are primarily concerned with the descriptive aspects of Kumāuni. None of these studies has either taken into account the geographical or horizontal distribution of the linguistic diversities of Kumāuni in a systematic way or has attempted to study the 'Vertical' differences so commonly attested in dialects of it.

Thus out of these two unexplored prominent areas of Kumāuni, I have, in the present study, preferred to work on the former, i.e. the horizontal or geographical distribution of Kumāuni with a view to locate specific areas of all the variations of a particular linguistic item and also to find out their correspondences in the languages spoken across the bordering regions.

#### 2.4 Collection of Data and Its Analysis

The data for the present volume were mostly collected by the present investigator himself. In nearly 80% cases, it was direct, i.e. based on personal recordings, and in only 20% cases it was indirect, i.e. collected through a printed questionnaire. The procedure followed in the preparation of the proforma and collection of material was as follows:

Firstly, a pilot survey was conducted during the summers 1967-70 in the central and peripheral areas of Kumāuni with the help of 210 simple sentences consisting of over 1000 items, exhibiting various aspects of phonology, grammar and vocabulary, in order to find out the diagnostic areas of convergences and divergences in different dialects of it.

There only such words were chosen as would be appropriate to indicate the maximum differences in pronunciation, and at the same time, to demonstrate most, if not all, of the characteristic patterns of a dialect. Then for the purposed of recording their local variations

informants from different dialectal areas were engaged to render those sentences, as faithfully as possible, in their own dialects.

In this all the responses of nearly 1000 informants to various items were phonetically transcribed on sheets of papers, item-wise, to sort out the points of convergence and divergence of the items in question noticeable in any of the two linguistic areas. This tabulation in a way presented more or less a clear picture of the elements of convergences and divergences, most likely to be attested in various regions of Kumāun. The over-all analysis of this material made it very clear that the area with maximum divergences, was the area of phonology and morphology, there being only a few divergences in vocabulary items. Consequently, all items manifesting pronounced divergences (minimum from the vocabulary and maximum from the phonology and grammar) were selected for a further detailed survey. These were then compressed into 88 phrases and sentences, along with their phonetic and syntactic environments, recorded in the earlier survey, following the principle that "an item in the language has no value unless it is placed in a given linguistic frame of reference" (Ghatage, 1962: 32).

These sentences, with all the variants of their components obtained from the pilot survey, were got printed on 10 full scape pages in Devnagari script, with all the variants against each items in their closest possible pronunciation to make the survey quicker and to help those informants who were to be requested to supply information through these printed questionnaires. In the proforma at the end of each series of variants some blank space, with dotted lines, was ear-marked for the entry of such variant as were not recorded in the list of variants given in the proforma.

Then the task of detailed survey was undertaken during the summer-vacations from 1970-75 for which a financial assistance was received from the IAS, Simla. In this an attempt was made to visit personally as many areas of Kumāun as possible, even the remotest areas like Jhulāghāt in the east, Dhārchūlā in the north-east, Nachant in the north, Gwāldam in the north-west and Chaukoṭ in the west, in order to locate the extent of each variation of a particular item selected for the survey, and in each case total information, as far as possible, was collected from a single informant. In some cases, however, participation of more than one speaker from the same locality was also sought. This, of course, helped me to get more representation and authentic information on the speech variety in that locality. It also served as a spontaneous check and verification of the information

supplied by the principal informant. The time spent with each informant was from 2-3 hours. While living or travelling in a dialect area, points of peculiar characteristics of the dialect were also noted from personal conversations of the residents of the locality concerned. These notes were also consulted while indexing the variants for their transfer to respective maps.

But one man, of course, could visit only a limited number of localities, and could stay there but for a short period. So I had perforce to resort to indirect method to collect information from the localities which either I could not visit personally on account of some limitations, or which were not easily accessible to me. In many cases, speakers from these areas were also contacted in the urban centres in Kumāun, viz. Haldwāni, Nainital, Almorā and Rānikhet and also at Chandigarh, and on checking it was found that the material supplied by these indirect informants was reliable to a great extent. For this purpose, the 10 page printed proforma, along with a self-addressed stamped envelope, was posted to head masters of primary and secondary schools in villages<sup>1</sup> with a request to return them after getting them filled up by their local colleagues, and the informants were requested, through a covering letter, to put a tick mark on those particular variants from the list of variants, given in the printed proforma, which were most current in that area. He/she was also requested to place a double tick mark on the variant which was more frequent, in case more than one variant was current in that area. He/She was also requested to indicate by the initial letter the name of the caste, ie. Br. Ks. H. (Brahman, Kshatriya, Harijan), if such a linguistic distinction existed there.<sup>2</sup>

It may also be mentioned here that for an effective self checking of the validity of a variation of an item, attested in a particular area, it was placed in more than one sentence. Besides, items of similar phonetic patterns and morphological categories, too, were used in various sentences to test the uniformity or diversity of their structure in different syntactic environments. This, of course, proved very useful in determining the correctness of a variant attested in a particular area supplied by a particular informant. For instance, there were 4-5 items

- 
8. I am grateful to most of the BDOs of this region for supplying me the list of primary and secondary schools falling in their respective jurisdiction.
  9. This aspect of the Kumāuni language could not, however, be worked out properly, and is not being included in the present study. It, however, is being done in a separate work, "Language, Culture & Society", (A Socio linguistic Analysis of Kumauni).

each in which the formation of the agentive or genitive, or acc.-dative case, or of a plural number was involved. Similar was the case of various verbal constructions involving various tenses, moods and aspects. In short, this was done with regard to almost all the elements indicative of respective grammatical categories or phonetic shapes.

The entire data collected from nearly 500 informants (5000 response sheets) were transferred to paper sheets for indexing and subsequent transfer to maps with variants of each item indicating area of its occurrence in each *patti* unit. This not only saved the labour of writing full form in each slip with the numbers of various *pattis* in which the occurrence of a particular variation was attested, but also helped greatly in the transfer of the whole material to various maps with more precision. Some of these showing a few variations were left out and others were patternized according to the linguistic elements involved therein.

## 2.5 Informants

It may be pointed out that the informants who were employed for the collection of the data for the present volume belonged to all age-groups and classes, though the classification of the material according to their class, age and education could not be made here. A list of all the informants with their particulars is being appended at the end of this work. A reference may be made to this list while ascertaining a particular variant indicated in a particular area. In most of the cases they were middle aged people and had very little formal education. Most of them had hardly travelled beyond the area to which they belonged. In my personal interviews, I, particularly, tried not to have information from those who were fairly educated and who had travelled beyond their regions. But in the case of indirect informants I, naturally, had to depend on educated people, but there, too, being primary and secondary school teachers, they were very moderately educated and usually had not travelled far away from the areas of their dialects.

### 2.5.1 Census Details of the Informants and of the Dialect

The details of the biographical and sociological information regarding the informants were sought at the beginning of the proforma. These included the name of the informant: his age, caste, village, panchyat area, *patti*, the nearest important town or place, its direction and distance from the village or from the locality of the informant; local name, if any, of the dialect; names of neighbouring villages speaking a different variety of the dialect; names of various castes, viz.

Brahmans, Kṣatriyas and Harijans living in his/her village or in the panchayat area; in the case of more than one community living in that area, if all speak the same variety of the dialect, if not, then the nature of difference (this valuable information though not utilized in the present work can be fully utilized in preparing micro maps of different areas).

## 2.6 Selection of Items for Maps

Theoretically, every lexical item can be presented on maps, but in such a case only a limited number of maps will be productive in gauging the boundaries of dialects in interpreting their divergences. So, naturally, I had to be somewhat selective in the matter of selecting items to be presented on maps. Moreover, presentation of large number of lexical and grammatical items would not only have required a vast number of maps, but also would have multiplied the number of features with no productivity. Besides, in a way, it would have become an impossible task for a person with limited resources and time at his disposal. Moreover, I, too, was fully aware of the fact that “a dialect atlas is a tremendous undertaking, and in practice is likely to fall short in one or another respect.” (Bloomfield, 1934:324). So, I have contented myself with 112 maps only which in my opinion can fairly represent most of the phonological and morphological peculiarities of different dialectal areas of Kumāuni, representing all sections and strata of its speakers.

## 2.7 Preparation of Maps and Presentation of Material

Though collection of data from hazardous hilly areas was not an easy task, yet equally difficult was their presentation on maps, for, precise and accurate maps of the border areas were not available owing to some restrictions on them. The maps showing demarcation of paṭṭi units or paṭwar circles, which I have taken as the smallest unit for the presentation of my material, were still more difficult to obtain.<sup>1</sup> I had to collect them in bits and then had to get the complete map of the area prepared on the basis of these pieces of maps originally obtained in different scales. As such, the base map used in this study, primarily, indicates the location of a particular Paṭṭi rather than its precise scale and shape. These maps neither show the geographical features of the land, i.e. mountains, rivers, unsurpassable terrains, high ways, etc., which

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10. The dialect and paṭṭi boundaries of these maps are based on their demarcation in 1975, though there have been some administrative changes in their position and number since then.



are mainly responsible for dialectal variations, nor the latitude and longitude of the region concerned. These aspects, however, have been given roughly in a separate map (see Index Map).

### 2.7.1 Types of Maps

The types of maps presented in this volume are mainly 'Spread maps', i.e. maps indicating occurrence of all the variants of a single item at several points, though, incidentally, in some cases these serve as 'spot maps', i.e. indicating all variants of an item found in a single place, as well. But because in this presentation each variant has been assigned a separate symbol and only these symbols have been recorded on the maps, as such these maps can also be termed as 'symbol maps'.

Although the basic demand for the clarity of these maps, was for a fewer number of symbols in each map, yet the bewildering varieties of variations in some items made it imperative for us to employ as many symbols as there were the variation groups. In this case to assign a symbol to each variant would have blurred the clarity of the map, so the only practical solution to this problem was thought to be the assignment of a symbol to a particular group of variants rather than a separate symbol for each variation, and point out their linguistic areas in the assigned patwar circle on the facing page of descriptive notes. In choosing these symbols, special care was taken that a symbol representing a particular variation or a group of variations should be so distinct from the other that it is neither confused with the other nor causes any strain to the eyes of the viewer. In this matter, too, I have tried to be consistent in assigning identical symbols to identical variations in different items, though no claim can be made for a complete consistency in all the cases.

There are some maps which in a way are crowded with information regarding phonetic variations of a single item current in a small area. As such there was a scope for drawing sub-maps or subsidiary maps for these areas to interpret the variations more clearly and precisely. But owing to some practical limitations this could not be done at this stage, and I had to remain contented with packing of all information with symbols embodying more than one phonetically different form.

In case of more than one variant occurring in a particular locality the frequency of different variants has been shown by the fewer or larger number of symbols employed to represent them. The information regarding symbols representing the group of variants has been given below on the right side of each map. Other information regarding points or convergences, points of divergences, groupings, sub-groupings,

descriptive notes, syntactic positions, and their Centro-Eastern Pahari correlates, etc., have been given on the opposite page of the map. In some cases this information has been given about more than one item of the same pattern in subsequent pages.

One thing more that needs to be mentioned here is that in all the maps the southern most area of Kumāunī, known as Bhābar has been presented as mixed area, for, it is almost a new settlement area of immigrant communities from various parts of Kumāun and from outside, too, and is frequently exposed to the influences of Hindi and Urdu. All the settlers invariably represent one or the other variety of Kumāunī and no new variants, except a few exhibiting Hindi or Urdu influences, were available there. So their representation with symbols would have badly crowded the area in a map with almost all symbols allotted to the variants of the particular item.

## 2.8 Limitations of Presentation

Although the primary aim of the present study is to illustrate the geographical variants of a particular linguistic item, yet certain allowances must be made for minor adjustments here and there, for the phonetic forms of a particular item presented in a map or in the descriptive notes on it, for the reason that the entire material was not recorded by me.

Similarly, my informants in all the cases do not represent persons from all classes, communities or age groups of the area concerned. On this account, too, there would always be a scope for discrepancies and diversities in an area represented by a particular variant in the Atlas. Particularly, diversities at the 'vertical level' are more likely to be found in a more specific survey. As such, the variants represented in these maps are more or less indicators of the usage in the area concerned rather than that of an individual community. The form in question shows only the currency of the form at least in one or the other social group living in that area. Besides, it has also been noticed that even in a single locality sometimes an individual speaker prefers the use of one form and the other another form.

Moreover, variations, apart from those associated with geographical dialects or with the idiosyncracies of individuals, are also commonly found to be correlated with one or more socially defined factors, such as the social identity of the speaker or the social context in which the communication takes place. In India one of the major reasons for linguistic atlases may be to demonstrate not only the variations in phonological and morphological patterns, but also to present ethnological

and cultural dissimilarities. But on account of my limitations this aspect of the survey also could not be presented here.

## 2.9 Geographical Distribution of the Data

From the data of various linguistic items presented in various maps it may be clear that the geographical lines formed by many (if not most) of these are not very clear and sharp. Particularly, within broader groups many of these tend to thin out and disappear, though some others are fully maintained. This state of affair is but natural in the history of any language, for, with the change of situations, caused by political, economic and educational factors, many of the older forms tend to become obsolete or disappear giving place to new ones or developing into new forms. But there are always some speakers who are more conservative in their habits and maintain the old forms longer than others. Besides, in certain areas the geographical situations also help to preserve these forms for a longer period than in their neighbouring areas. Moreover, in many areas owing to the spread of education, the distinction of 'cultivated' and 'folk' speech, as well as of 'social dialects', is fast disappearing; whereas, in others, it is still being maintained intact in all respects even in a small geographical units such as a village. All these factors combined together have made the task of delimitation of dialect boundaries somewhat complex and difficult.

But more of the differences, dealt with in the present work, are quite apparent in dialects, which belong to distant geographical units. Some of these are quite regular and are fairly maintained at all levels of linguistic analysis. For example, see maps No. A.B.C. 9, 16, 31, 34, 54, 69, 99, etc. showing differentiating elements of eastern and western Kumāuni. In the case of contiguous areas the symbols are mostly indicative of the predominance of a particular pronunciation or the use of a particular morphemic element in the area concerned. Therefore, these should not be taken as precise ones.

Thus, on the whole, it has been noticed that in some cases the bundles of isoglosses run along rather close together for a distance and then fade out, and in others they are quite distinct at one point and cross and recross each other at another point. At a certain point they may, however, take different directions, moving to east, west, north or south.

There is, however, a group of lexical and grammatical items which, more or less, show a clear cut regional distribution. For instance, allophonic variants of the phoneme /l/ or allomorphic variants of the verb substantive *chə* or *thə*, (No. 55) or of the continuative aspect in

verbal constructions. Similarly, in the distribution of /n/ and /ɳ/ in the non-initial positions, or maintenance or elision of a word final /-o/ and /-ā/ there is a clear cut regional division in eastern and western dialects of Kumāuni (see Map No. A-B).

The regional distribution of verbal stems *bhə* and *hə* (No 80) too, is more or less clear with predominance of *bhā*-in the east and east-northern regions and of *hə*- in the west and west-southern regions. (see map No. 64, 80, 81, 83).

So far as the distribution of lexical items is concerned, they, in most of the cases, are uniformly attested with a few phonetic variations, in almost all the regions, but there are some whose regional distribution is very sharp, with a trend to a particular direction, e.g. in map No. 1 the variants *dihāw-dhyāw* or in map No. 8 *Khoro*, or in map No. 35, *gəttə* or in map No. 34 *əssal*, etc. show a trend towards the west and in map No. 53 *ma* 'not', or in map No. 2 *dənāl* show a trend towards the south under the influence of the languages spoken across the borders.

Besides, there are forms which are neither common to all the dialects nor show any regional distribution in the strict term, i.e. they are attested with considerable gaps in most of the regions, forming linguistic islands, or relic areas here and there. Such forms are attested in most of the maps presented in this volume.

### 2.10 Social Distribution of the Data

The social stratification of Kumāuni is correlated with caste system. In some places the dichotomy is actualized between Brahmans and non-Brahmans and in others it shows a three way distinction or even four ways, viz. (i) Brahmans: priest and non-priest, (2) non-Brahmans: Khasiyas, Rajputs and traders, (3) Scheduled castes. Consequently, in most of the areas speech differences correlated with social stratification are attested among the speakers belonging to these castes, but at the same time there are areas in which all the speakers belonging to different castes form only one single linguistic community.

This aspect of the linguistic distributions, too, though is equally important for the linguistic geography of this region, yet on account of some personal limitations, could not be worked out in the present analysis. This is, however, being presented in a separate work.

Similarly, though there exists a formal difference in the speech forms of the educated, the semi-educated and the uneducated speakers, yet no separate analysis of this aspect of the speech variations could be undertaken. One of the reasons for not doing this is that from the

point of linguistic usages there may hardly be an item that may exclusively be termed as 'rustic' or 'cultivated'. In fact, linguistic differences between 'educated' and 'uneducated' or 'urban' and 'rural' speakers are to a large extent, in terms of Bernstein William Bright (1976: 58) confined to the 'restricted code' and 'elaborate code' only, there being no structural aspect involved there, and partly owing to the fact that even in the speech of an educated person no notable structural divergence is attested while converging with the people of his/her caste or dialect area.

Moreover, the growing tendency of discarding older popular forms in favour of newly borrowed forms or of a strong aversion to rusticity particularly vindicated by the class of newly educated people, coming into contact with people belonging to urban areas and higher strata of society, is bound to reduce these differences to zero in the near future. I shall not be surprised if many of the forms (representing older strata of the language) presented in this atlas become rare by the time this work sees the light of the day.

At the end, it may be added that the data presented in this volume are largely phonetic in character and represent phonetic symbols of broad transcription, except in the case of semi-vowels and retroflex consonants.

In the descriptive notes, I have followed the terminology of modern linguistics, though, at places, I have resorted to the traditional terminology as well, in order to make a point in question easily understandable even to a general reader.

Although I wanted to work out the frequencies of various items presented here, yet, in the absence of adequate facilities available, it could not be done at this stage. I, however, do intend to work on this and other aspects, viz. social and ethnological, if and when circumstances become favourable.<sup>1</sup> I shall also be happy to extend all possible help to any investigator who takes up this important task or plans a more detailed survey of this region.

### TERMINOLOGY, SYMBOLS AND TRANSCRIPTION

For the terminological framework in this volume I have mainly drawn upon the works of modern linguists. They, more or less, convey

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1. Work on the historical aspect of Kumāuni has been published in 2 vols. under the title of "The Formation of Kumāuni Language, (1985-87), Bahri Publications, New Delhi.

the sense given to them by descriptivists and structuralists of our age. At places, however, I have followed older terminologies also to make the sense clearer to a non-specialist reader.

In respect of phonetic symbols I have, by and large, followed the course of IPA. But certain segments, owing to typographical difficulties could not be given full phonetic values given to them by IPA symbols. For instance, retroflex and flapped sounds have been marked with a dot below them to differentiate them from the symbols used for dental plosives or rolled or lateral consonants. Similarly, the following phonetic symbols stand for their IPA phonetic correspondences given in square brackets:

y = [j], j = [ɨ], ñ - (Velar nasal), ɳ = [Retroflex nasal] , i = [ɨ], ä [ə]

Other phonetic symbols or extra diacritical marks wherever used, normally, conform with the IPA symbols and with other conventionally accepted linguistic symbols.

### **Phonemic Status and Phonetic Character of Kumāuni Sounds**

A detailed analysis of Kumāuni sounds shows (see the Formation of Kumauni Language ) that it has the following sets of segmental sounds. The classifying tables given below also give broad indications of their phonetic characters: (See pp. 25-26)

PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Vowels

Table No. 1

Tongue position	Horizontal→	Front	Central	Back
<b>Vertical</b>				
	Close/High	i		u
	Nearly close			
	Lower High	I	Λ (ä)	U
	Semi close/			
	Mid higher	e		o
	Nearly open/			
	Mid Lower		á	a
	Open/Low	E		ɔ
<hr/>				
Lip position		Spread	Neutral	Rounded/unrounded

Consonants

Table No. 2

According to tongue position	Neutral	Apical	Retroflex	Dorsal		
According to Place of articulation	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Unvoiced	P	t	c	ʈ	k	-
Vl. Asp	ph	th	ch	ʈh	kh	-
Voiced	b	d	j	ɖ	g	-
Voiced	bh	dh	jh	ɖh	gh	-
Nasals	m (mh) n(nh)	-	-	ɳ	ŋ	-
Laterals	-	-	l (lh)	-	-	-

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Palato- alveolar</i>	<i>Velar</i>
Vibrant	-	-	-	r	-
Flapped	-	-	-	r̥ (r̥h)	-
Fricative	-	s	ś	-	-
Semi-consonant	w	-	y	-	-

Segments placed in parentheses are of limited distribution and have a somewhat doubtful phonemic status, as they are attested in a few dialects only.



## ABBREVIATIONS

abl.	Ablative
adv.	Adverb
adj.	Adjective
ag./agen.	Agentive
asp.	Aspect/aspirate
aux.	Auxiliary
caus.	Causative
CEP	Centro-Eastern Pahari
comp.	Comparative/Compound
cont.	Continuative
dat.	Dative
dir.	Direct (case)
distri.	Distributive (Adj.)
emph.	Emphatic
f./fem.	Feminine
fut.	Future (tense)
gen.	Genitive (case)/gender
imp.	Impersonal/Imperative
ind./indef.	Indefinite
int./interro	Interrogative
intrans.	Intransitive (Verb)
m./masc.	Masculine
n/N.	Noun/Nasality
NP	Noun phrase
neg.	Negative
nom.	Nominative (case)

num.	Numeral (Adj.)
obj.	Object/objective (case)
p.p.	Post-position. Past participle
pass.	Passive
pers.	Personal (Pron.)
princ.	Principal (Verb)
pl.	Plural (Number)
pres.	Present (tense)
part.	Particle/participle
past	Past tense
perf.	Perfect/Perfective
pron.	Pronoun
quant.	Quantitative
qual.	Qualitative
sg.	Singular
sub.	Substantive (verb)
trans.	transitive
V.	Verb/Vowel.
VP:	Verb phrase

## TRANSCRIPTIONS AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Although phonetic values of all the phones and phonemes used for transcription in this volume have been indicated in the table of phonemic inventory, yet for the convenience of the general readership the scheme of transliteration and the nearest values of symbols in the Devanagari script are to be read as under:

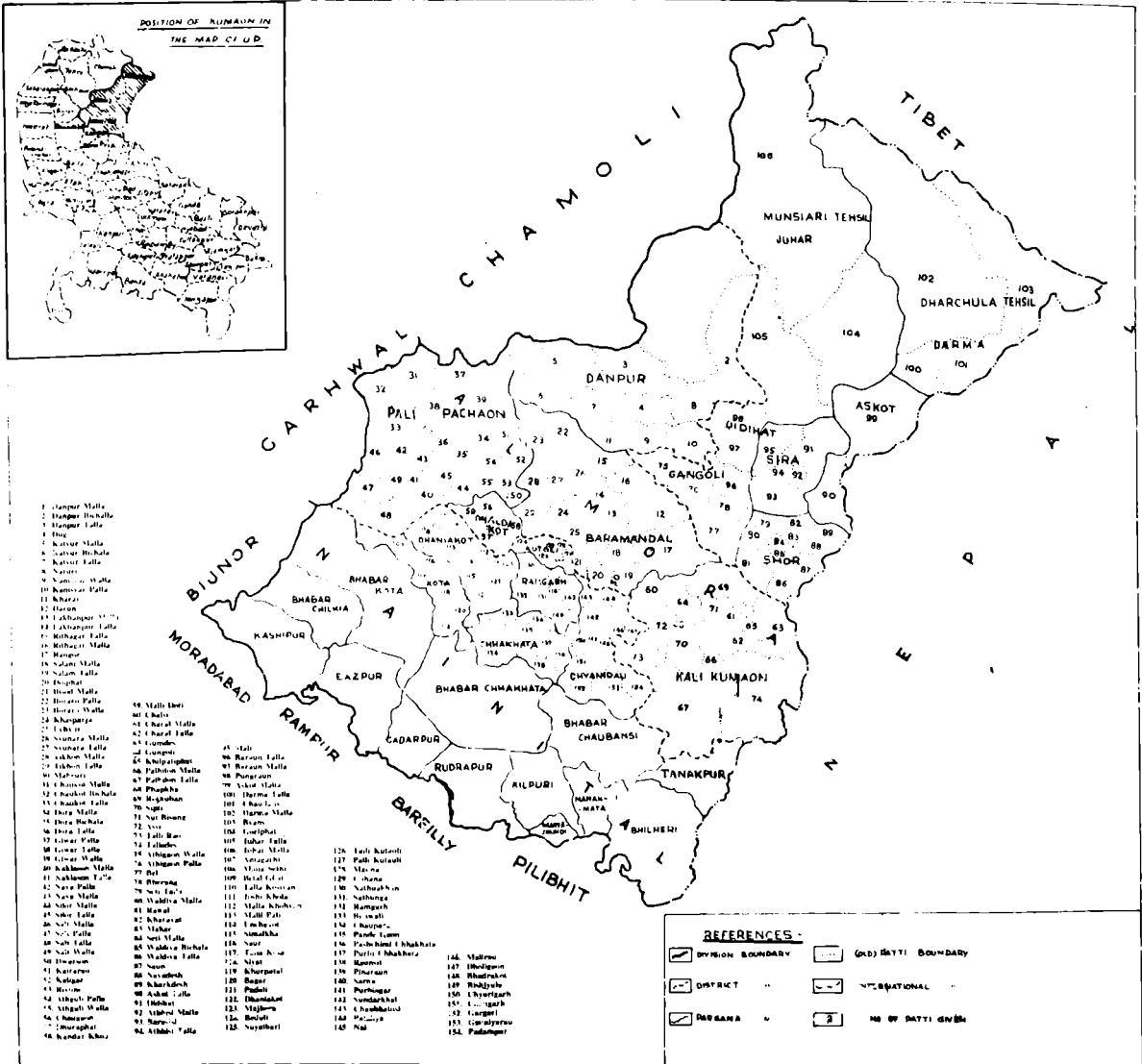
Vowels: ə (a neutral अ), ʌ (a fulfilled अ in Nepali correlates only), ə̃ (a centralized short औ), a (आ), I (इ), i/i: (ई), u (उ), u/u: (ऊ), e (ए), ɛ̃, (ऐ), E (ऐ), o (ओ), ɔ (औ) ɔ̃. (औ)

Consonants: k (क), kh (ख), g (ग), gh (घ), n/ŋ (ङ), c (च), ch (छ), j (ज), jh (झ), ñ (ञ), t (ट), th (ठ), d (ड), dh (ढ), r (ड़), rh (ढ़), ɳ (ण), t (त्), th (थ), d (द), dh (ध), n (न), p (प), ph (फ), b (ब), bh (भ), m (म), y (य), r (र), rh (रह), l (ल), l (ळ), lh (ल्ह), w (व), ʃ (श), s (स), h (ह).

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

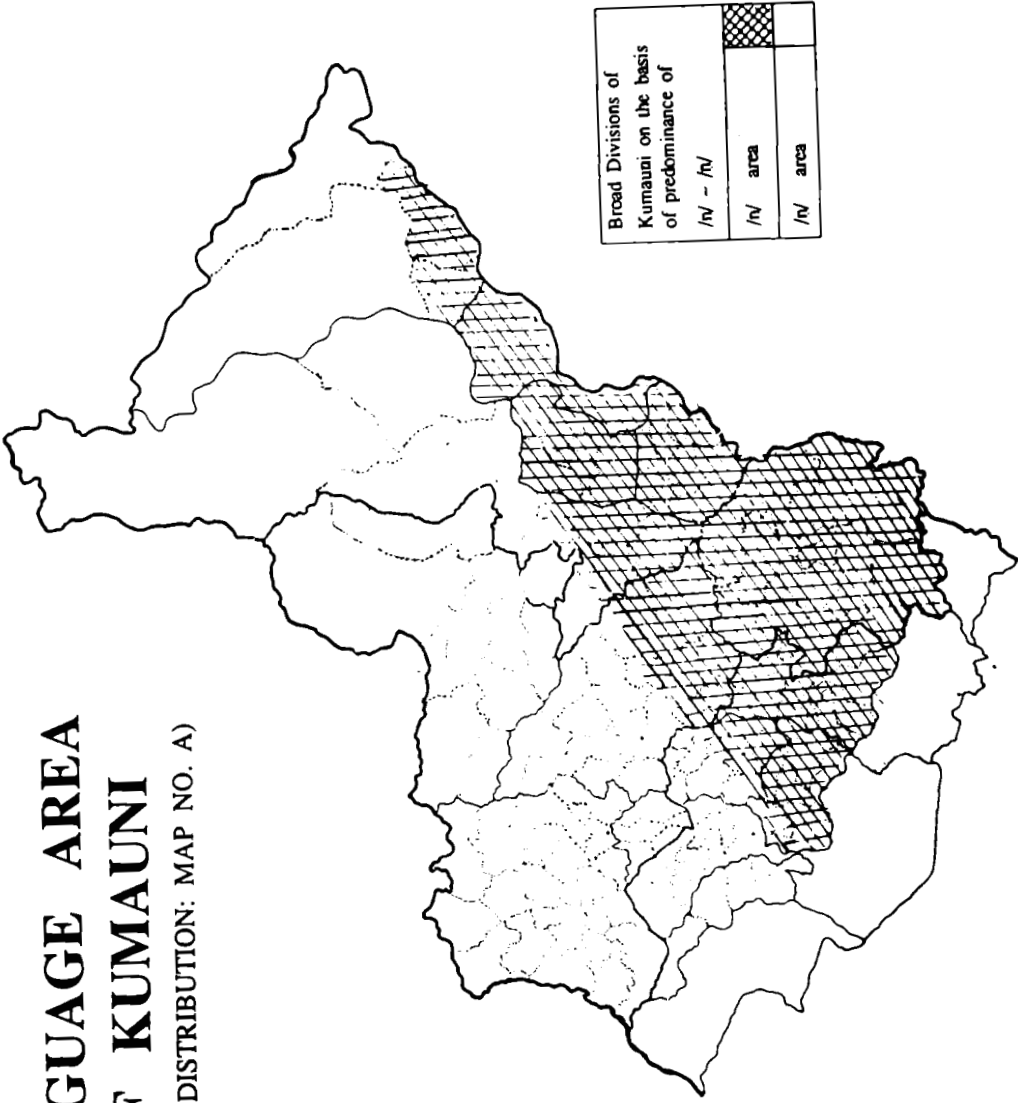
:	=	in relation to/for example
<	=	comes from/is derived from
>	=	becomes/develops into
-/-	=	or/alternate form
~	=	(above the vowel) nasalization
..	=	(above the vowel) centralization
[ ]	=	phonetic form
/ /	=	phonemic form
→	=	rewritten as
+	=	plus/second component of a compounded form
*	=	hypothetical construction or older form
Φ	=	Zero or absence of a phone/phoneme

# INDEX MAP OF KUMAUN



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. A)



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

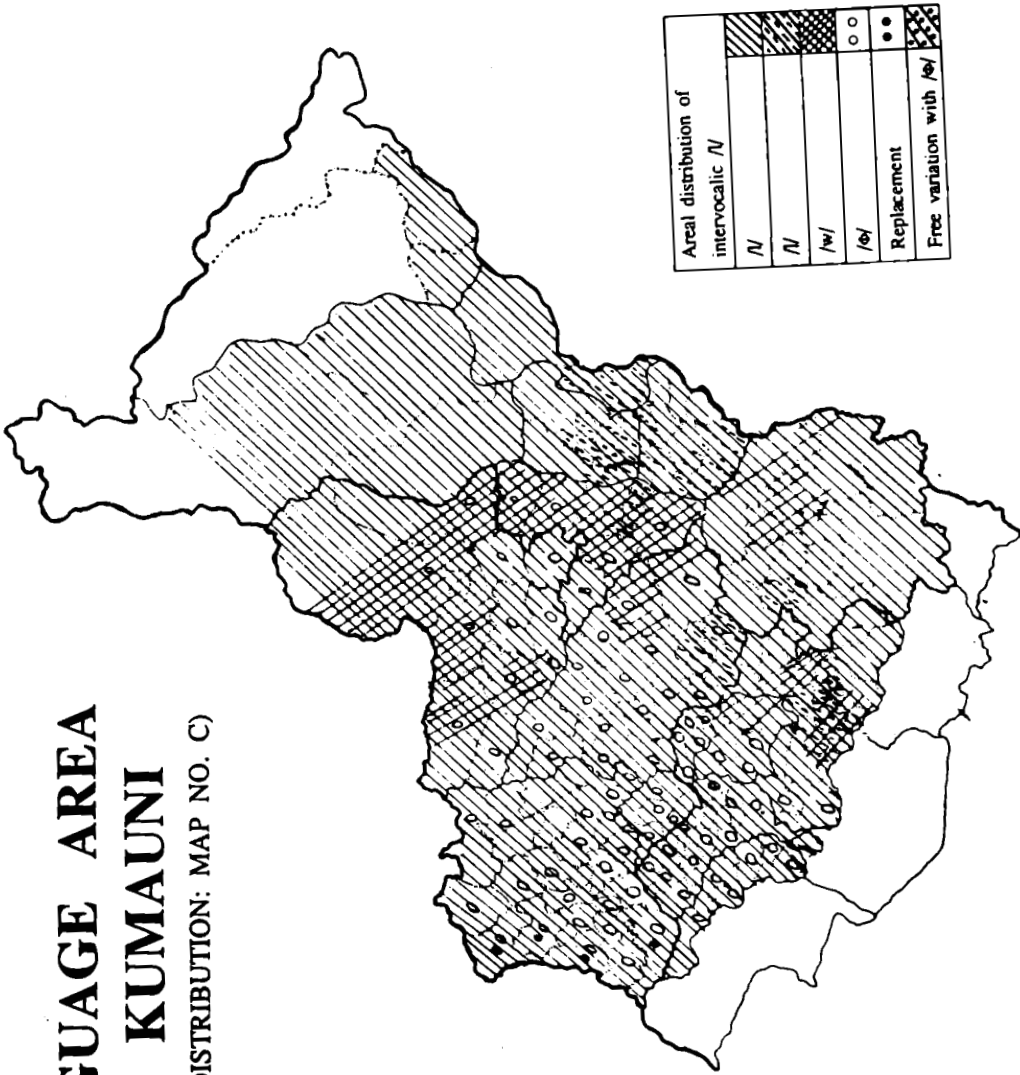
(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. B)



Broad Divisions of Kumauni on the basis of Word Finals	
Vowel ending	Consonant ending

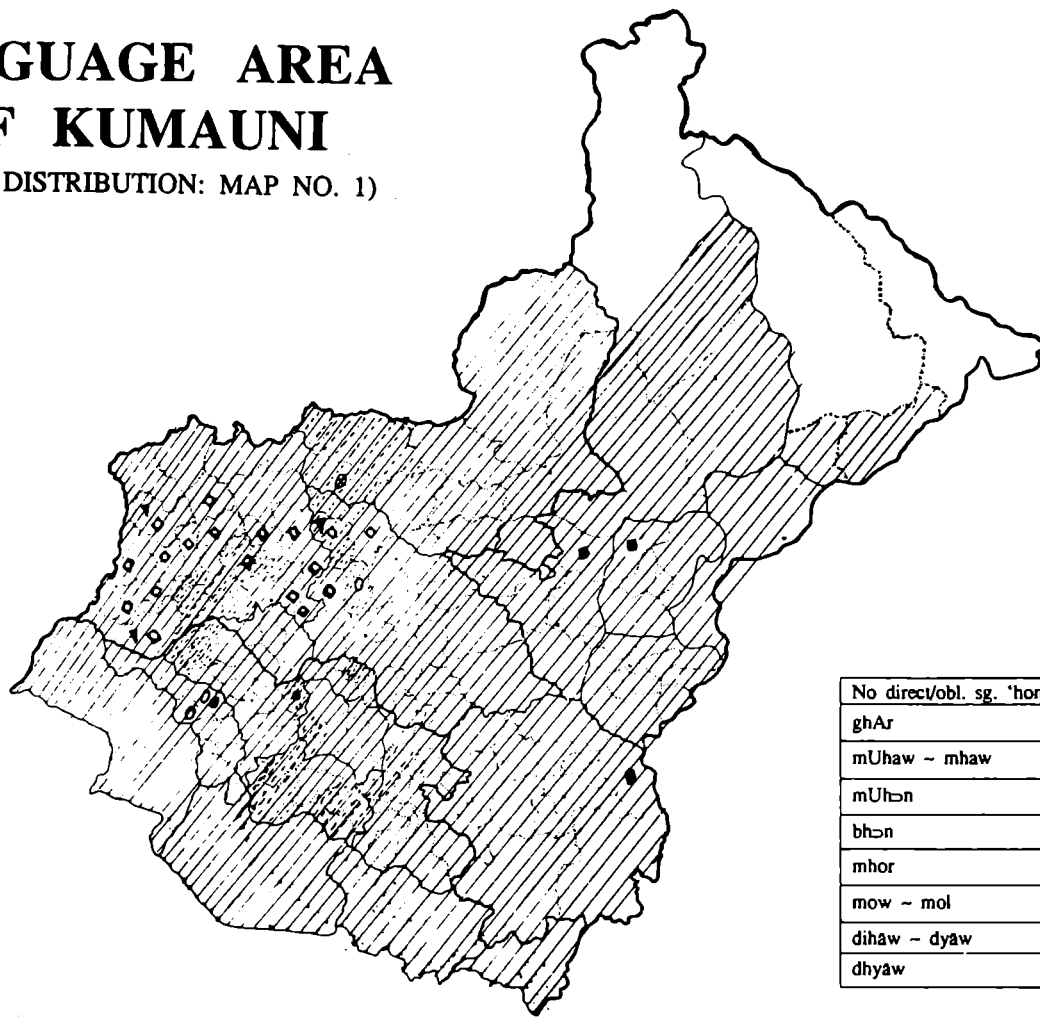
# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. C)



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 1)





**Table No. 1**  
**Areal Correlates of the Word 'house', (nom. sg.)**

*Correlates & Areas\**

1. - ghār (1-19, 22-32, 34-40, 42-48, 52, 54-99, 101-153); 2.- gh᳚r (87), 3. - mUhaw (5-6, 23, 27, 35, 40-41, 44, 128, 132, 145, 150). 4. - mhaw (6, 23, 35, 54, 108, 123, 137); 5. ~mhor (6), 6.- mU᳚n (116, 123), 7.- mol (63, 95, 97), 8. - bh᳚n (27, 116-117), 9. -dlhaw (22, 28, 33-36, 38-39, 42, 46-48, 114), 10. - dhyaw (28, 46, 48), 11.- dyaw (as in 91),

*Areal Distribution:* (Pa᳚war circle-wise) See Map No 1.

*Areally preferred groups:* A-1, 2; B-3-4, 6; C-5; E-8; f-10-11.

*Phonological tendencies:* Phonological tendencies noticeable in areal groupings may be noted as follows:- (i) elision of initial syllable due to prominent accent on the second syllable (4-5, 10-11), otherwise cf. 3, 9 in which all the syllables are maintained due to even accent, (ii) transfer of aspiration (4, 8, 10) and elision of aspiration is also noticeable in some areas (5, 8-11). Diachronically correlate No. 8 also indicates vocalization of intervocalic /w/ bh᳚n < bhavan 'house'.

*Semantic variations:* Some of these correlates (3-7) also show semantic overlapping with words denoting 'door' in other areas (see table No. 1A).

*Centro-Eastern Pahāri Correlates (CEP):* Kumauni having a central position in the Centro-Eastern Pahari group of languages has its correspondences with both Garhwali and Nepali at all levels of its linguistic structure:

1. *Garhwali-*/gh᳚:ɾ, gh᳚r, ghar, ᳚yar, dlal, dhyal, dlhal, dyal/
2. *Nepali-* /ghʌɾ/

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\*N.B. Numbers in brackets stand for patwar circle numbers given to different administrative geographical units in the maps.

**LANGUAGE AREA  
OF KUMAUNI**  
(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 2)

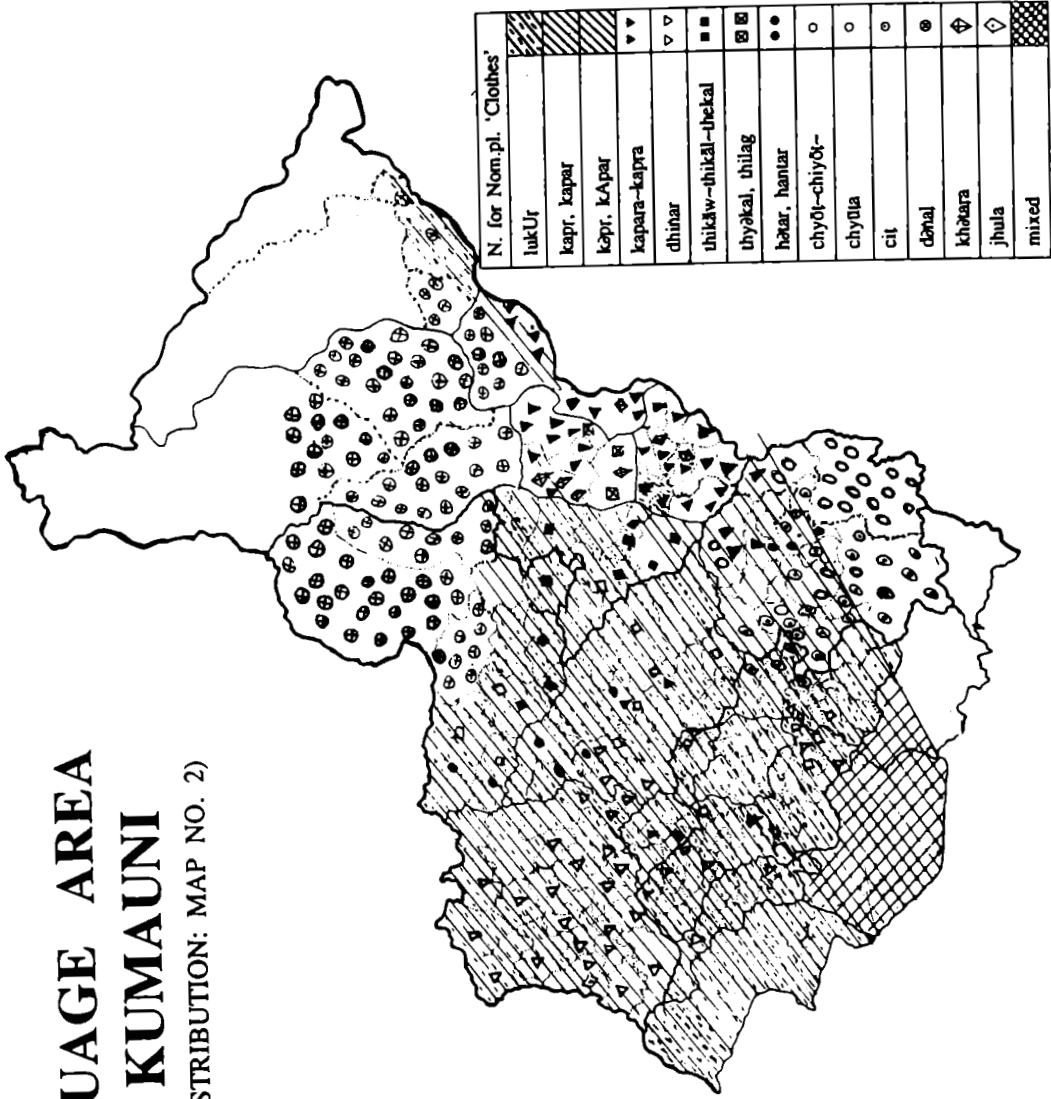


Table No. 2  
Areal Correlates of the word for 'clothes' (nom. pl.)

*Correlates & Areas*

1. - kápār (4, 6-7, 12, 14, 17, 24, 28, 31, 33, 35-38, 41-42); 2- káprá (35, 63, 71, 80); 3 - káprá (4, 17, 27, 75, 97, 123); 4 - kápárá (80, 82-83, 85-86, 89, 90-91, 95); 5- kápār (4-5, 8-9, 13, 17-18, 23, 24, 26, 28-29, 47, 52, 55-56); 6 - kəpār (4, 17, 27, 75, 97, 123); 7- IUkUr (4-7, 11-17, 22-25, 27-28, etc. see map); 8 - dhInār /a - dhInār (13-14, 27-29, 31-32, 34-38, 40-49, 54-56, 107, 110-112, 114, 120, 128, 137-139, 150); 10- thekálá (81), 11 - thIkáw 1 (7, 10-11, 57, 75, 77-78 (-) 95, 97); 12 - thyəláak/ thilág (85, 90-91); 13 - hāntár (5-7, 128, 139), 14 - hətár (5, 12-14, 18, 27, 48, 74, 123, 128, 150, 151), 15 - jhInUr (5-6, 14, 22-23, 27, 71); 16 - jhInrá (62, 71), 17 - chyŭta (69); 18 - chyōt/chiyōt (63, 69, 72); 19- ciṭ (60-62, 72-73, 144, 146, 148); 20 - dánál (1, 3, 101, 105); 21 - jhUlá (46), 22 - thánrá (101); 23 - khatárá/ 24 - khātərá (62, 78, 83, 95); 25 - kāthərá (93)

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No 2.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-6; B. 7; C. 8-9; D. 10-12; E. 13-14; F. 15-16; G. 17-19; H. 20; I. 21; J. 22 ; K. 23-25.

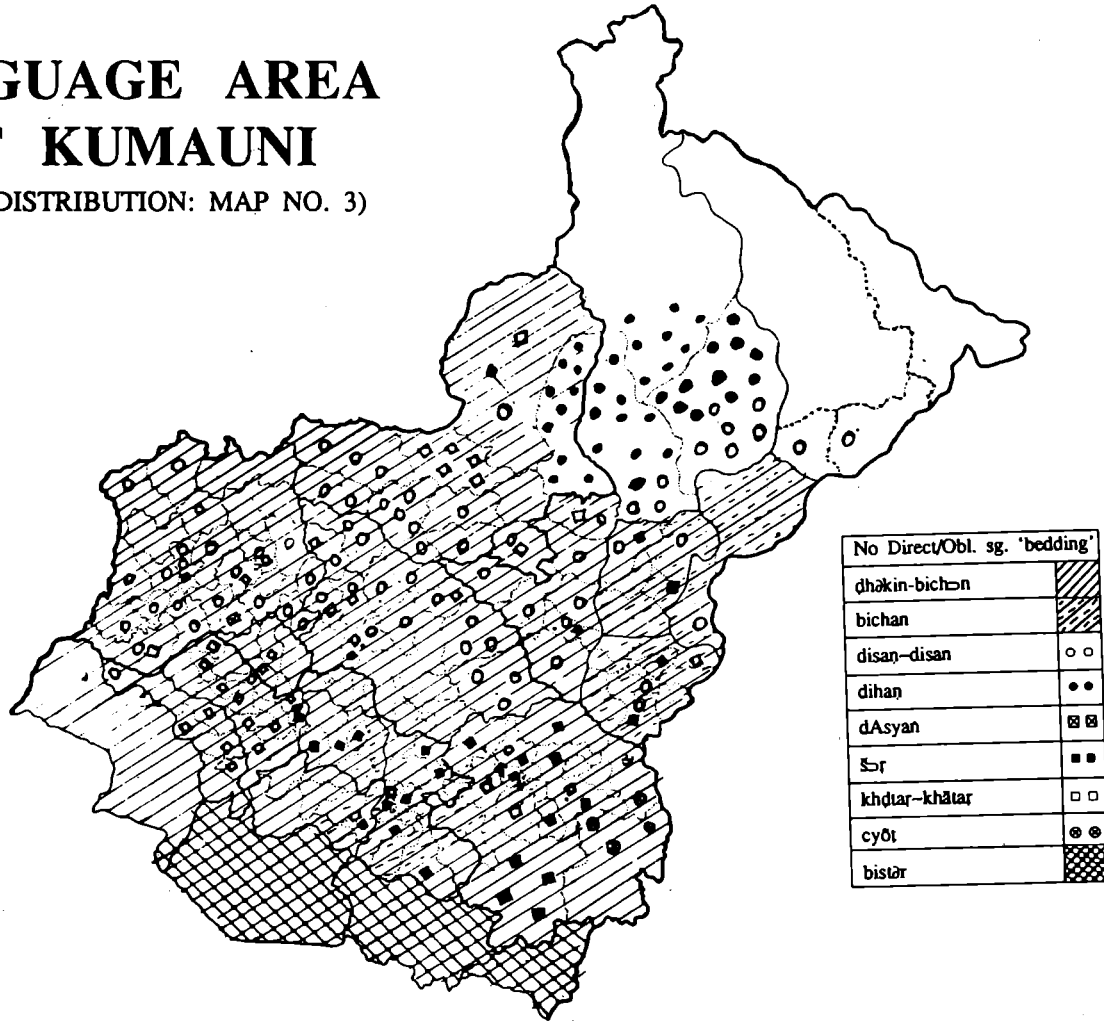
*Phonological tendencies:* Phonological tendencies noticeable in the areal groups of these correlates may be pointed out as follows:- (i) even accent (4, 7, 10, 17, 21, 23-25); (ii) higher accent on second syllable (1, 8-9, 11-15, 18, 20); (iii) higher accent on the initial syllable (3, 5-6, 16, 22); (iv) metathesis of consonants (12), and of aspiration (25).

*Semantic variations:* In some of these correlates areally conditioned semantic variations are attested. In some areas /kápār/ means 'cloth' not 'clothes', in other /thyəkál/ means only 'a piece of cloth,' /hāntár/ means 'rags'. /khātərá/ means 'bedding' or 'quilt', /jhəguli, págəri/ clothes, or special clothes, so on and so forth.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /lara, kápəra káprá, jhula/ ;  
2. *Nepali*-/ luga, káprá/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 3)



**Table No. 3**  
**Areal Correlates of the Word for 'bedding', (nom. sg.)**

**Correlates & Areas:**

1. - blstär (6, 12-14, 17, 22, 24-25, 27-28, 37-38, 42, 50, 55-56, 58, 60-62-63, 71-73 etc.); 2. - blchõn (1, 5, 8, 11-14, 17-18, 25, 27, 29, 34-35, 37, 44-45, 49, 56, 60, 62-63, 65, 72-73 etc.); 3. - blchan (73, 79, 81); 4. - bichün (82, 85-88, 90,93, 99, 137, 140, 141, 143, 149, 151), 5. - ḡhakin-blchõn (see map); 6. - ḡlsan/dlsan (1, 4-7, 9, 11-12, 14, 16-17, 22-24, 26-27, 31-32, 34-36, 38, 40, 42-43, 45-48, 52-55, 71, 77-78, 85-86, 90-91, 95-97, 101, 105, 107, 112, 123, 137, 143), 7.- cyõt (63, 74), 8. - khätar (1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 14, 16, 23-24, 27-28, 34-35, 43, 48, 56-57, 6, 70, 83, 89, 98, 110, 113-116, 118, 120, 122-123, 139, 143, 150), 9. - dálkámál (105-16); 10. - dlhan (1-2, 104-5), 11. - šɔɽ (24, 43, 60-62, 67, 69, 71-72, 78-83, 86, 91, 95, 123, 128, 133, 141,-42, 144-46, 148, 150-51),

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 3.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1; B. 2-4; C. 5; D. 6, 10; E. 7; F. 3; G. 9; H. 11.

*Phonological tendencies:* Various phonological tendencies in areally conditioned groups are attested with regard to preferences for vocalic qualities and consonants. Correlate 10 seems to be a phonetic variation of /dlsan/.

*Semantic variations:* Some of these areal correlates show semantic variations in other areas, e.g., /khätar/ may denote 'bedding' in general in one area, 'covering', 'quilt' in another area, and 'clothes' in still another area.

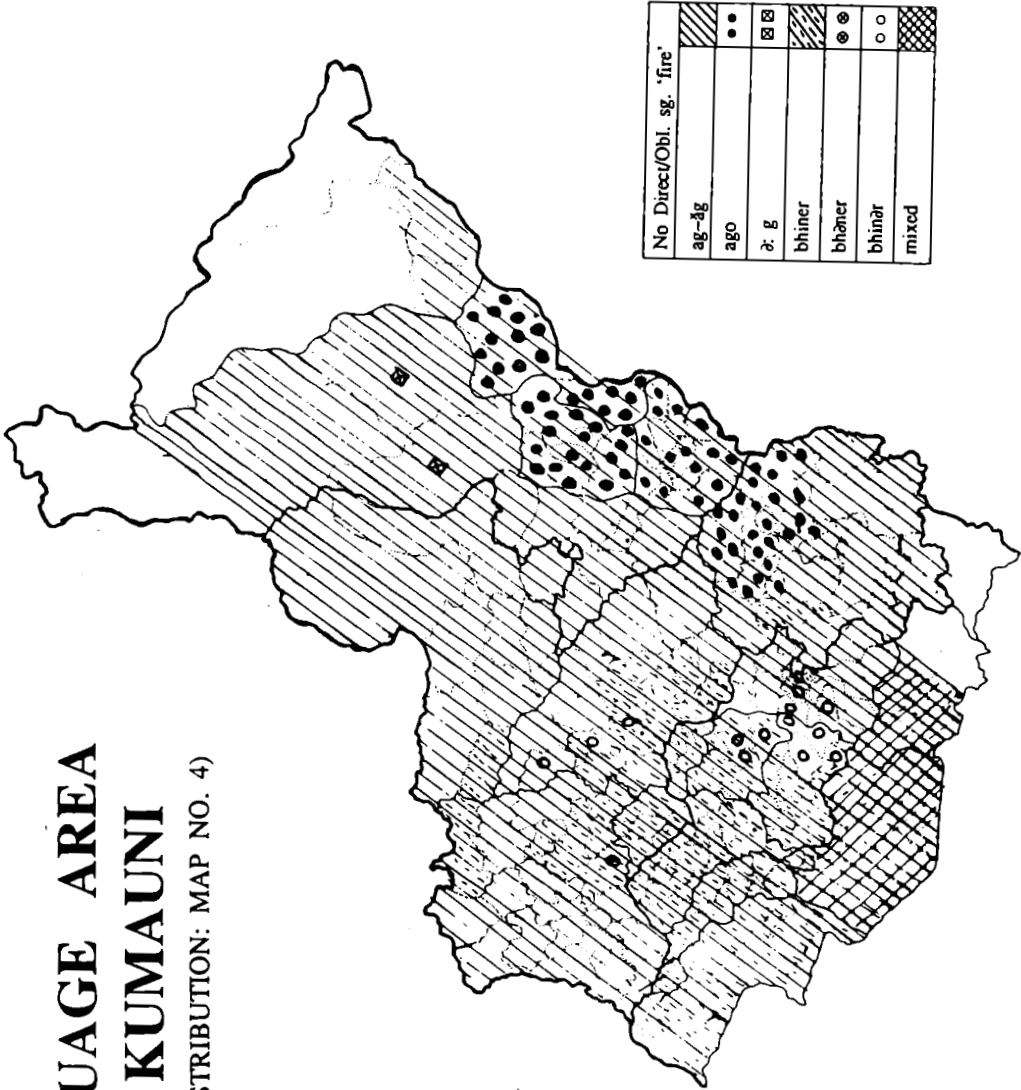
*Inflection:* These correlates do not show any inflection for direct plural and oblique singular forms, but show oblique plural formatives as ā~õ-án~án/ as in /bIstárõ ~bIstárõn kē/ 'to bedding'.

*CEP Correlates:*

1. *Garhwali* - /bistárõ, bistáru, bistära, disan, disanu, disano, ḡásan, ḡhákiṇu/ bichõṇu, bichõno.
2. *Nepali*- /acchyan, occhyan, wacchyan, bichäuna, bacchyan, wassyan/.

**LANGUAGE AREA  
OF KUMAUNI**

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 4)



	No Direct/Obj. sg. 'fire'
ag-ag	Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)
ago	Two solid black dots
ə: g	Diagonal lines (top-right to bottom-left)
bhiner	Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right) with a central dot
bhāner	Diagonal lines (top-right to bottom-left) with a central dot
bhinār	Two small open circles
mixed	Checkered pattern

**Table No. 4**  
**Areal Correlates of the Word for 'fire' (nom. sg.)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - ágo (62-63, 68, 69, 71, 79-95, 99); 2. -ag / 3-ág (1-14, 16-19, 22-24, 26-29, 31-40, 42-46, 48-49, 52-58,.....143, 153, Nep. 2, See map); 4 - ðg (104-105), 5. 'bhInár (23, 24, 27, 137-42, 148-51); 6. -bhIner (6, 13-14, 18, 25-28, 34-35, 37, 44-45, 50, 54-56, 58, 72, 107-120, 122-23, 125-26, 128, 130, 132, 135, 141, 143, 148); 7 - bháner(44).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 4.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-4; B. 5-7.

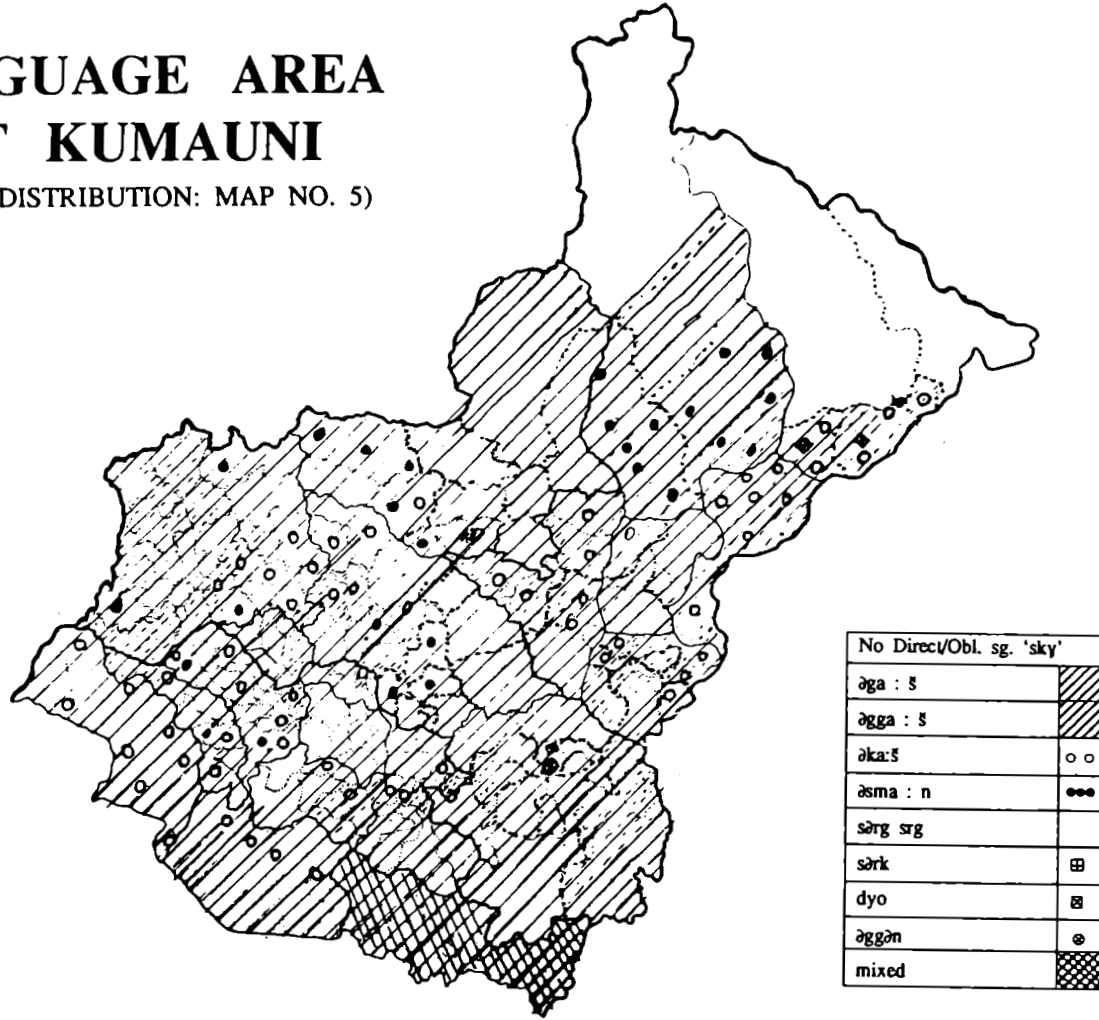
*Phonological tendencies:* Some of the important phonological tendencies noticeable in these areal groupings are:

(i) even accent (1); higher accent on initial syllable (2-5); (iii) higher accent on final syllable (6-7).

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /ag/,  
2. *Nepali* - /ago, ag/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 5)





**Table No. 5**  
**Areal Correlates of the Word for 'sky' (nom. sg.)**

**Correlates & Areas:**

1 əgaš (1-34, 36-48, 52-99, 104-118, 122, 125-26, 128-32, 135, 137-45); 2 - əggaš (1, 62, 71); 3. - əkaš (7, 9, 14, 22-23, 27-28, 35, 37, 42-43, 45-46, 52, 54, 75, 78-79, 80, 87-88, 90, 95, 97-99, 101, 107, 108, .....110 (see map)); 4. - əsman (5, 7, 11, 13, 18, 24, 44); 5 - asman (47, 105, 118), 6 - sərəg/ šərg (14, 27, 32-35, 38, 42, 45-46, 48, 50, 48, 63, 72, 74-75, 78-80, 82-83, 85-97, 101, 105-107, 123, 128, 137, 139, 145, 148); 7 - sərək (101); 8 - dyo (71); 9 - əggəṇ (71).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 5.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-3; B. 4; C. 5-7; D. 8 ; E. 9.

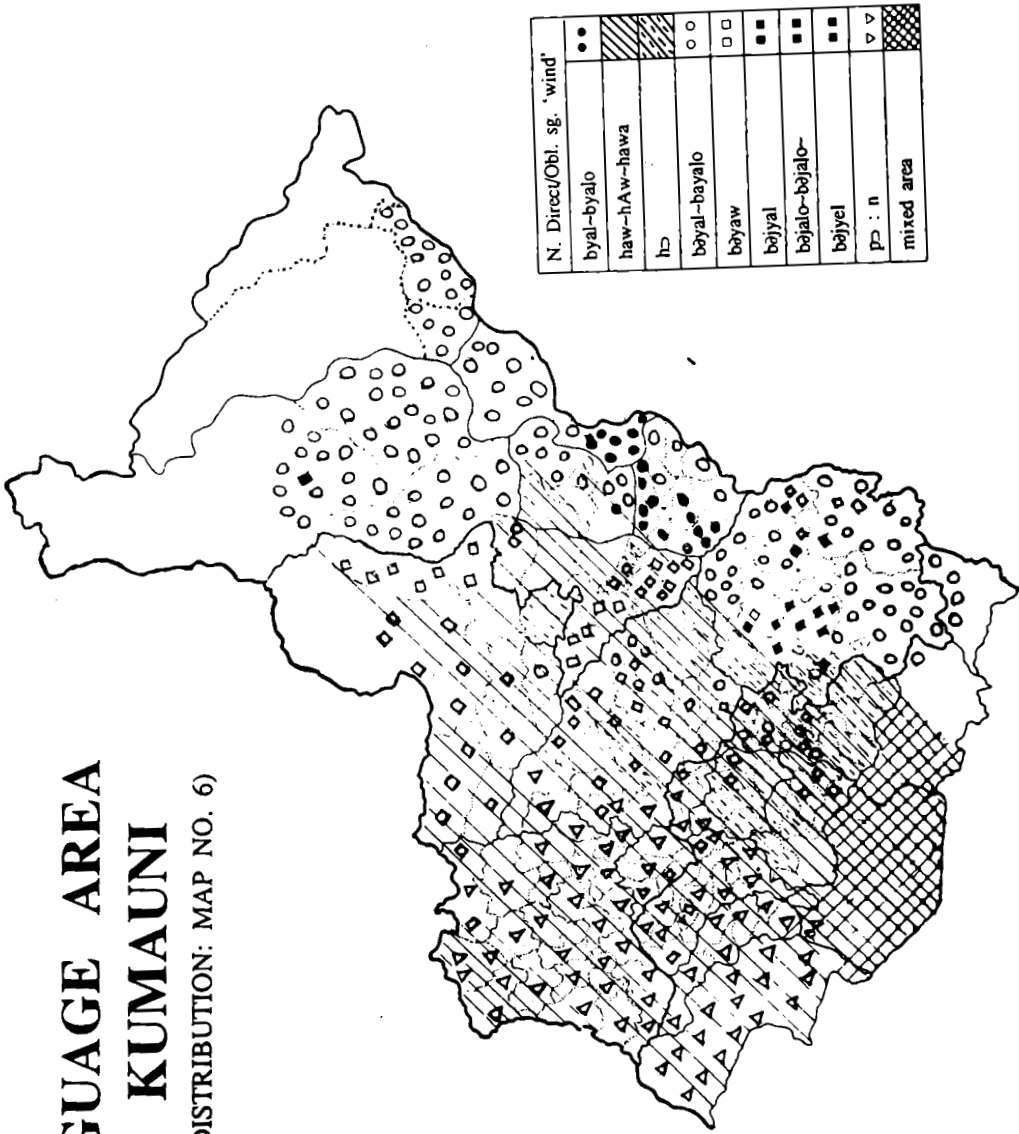
*Phonological tendencies:* With regard to these areal correlates notable phonological tendencies are as follows: - (i) Initial stress accent (2, 6, 7, 9); (ii) gemination due to initial accent (2, 9); (iii) voicing of intervocalic plosive (1-2); devoicing of final plosive (7).

*Semantic variation:* In some areas /əgaš/ and /šərg/ have different semantic values. In many of the areas /dyo/ means 'rain'.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /sərg, sərəg, əsman, asman, dyo/.
  2. *Nepali* - /šərg, əkaš, akaš, əgaš, əggaš/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 6)



N. Direct/Obl. sg. 'wind'	••
byal-byalo	▨
haw-hAw-hawa	▩
hɔ	○
bɔyal-bayalo	□
bɔyaw	◻
bɔjyal	■
bɔjalo-bɔjalo-	▣
bɔjyel	▤
pɔ : n	▽
mixed area	▩

**Table No. 6**  
**Areal Correlates of the Word for 'wind'. (nom. sg.)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - 'háwa (79, 85, Nep); 2 - 'haw (1, 3-8, 11, 13, 17, 22-29, 42, 44, 52, 54-56, 58, 64-65, 75, 83, 87, 90, 93, 95-96, 98, 107, 110, 112-13, 115, 118-20, 123, 125-26, 128, 130, 132, 137); 3 - 'háU (95, 97); 4 - 'hɔ (10, 13-14, 17, 24, 60, 73, 78, 86, 88, 128, 135-153); 5 - bəyalo (62, 69, 80, 95); 6 - byalo 10 (79, 81-82, 86, 90, 93); 7 - bəyal/byal (93); 8- bəyaw (1-7, 12-18, 24-25, 27-28, 37, 50, 57, 62-63, 71, 75, 77-78, 97, 98, 108, 113, 128, 137-39, 141-42, 144-45, 148-50); 9 - bəjyaɭ (70-73, 106); 10 - bəyalo (62, 68, 71); 11 - bəjaɭo (71), 12 - bəjaɭ (72); 13 - bəyel (63); 14 - ɖhan° (12); 15 - pɔn (22-23, 28-29, 32-40, 42-49, 58, 107, 110-114, 116-118, 120, 122-23, 125, 128); 16 - bhuy (9).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 6.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-4; B. 5-13; C. 14; D. 15; E. 16.

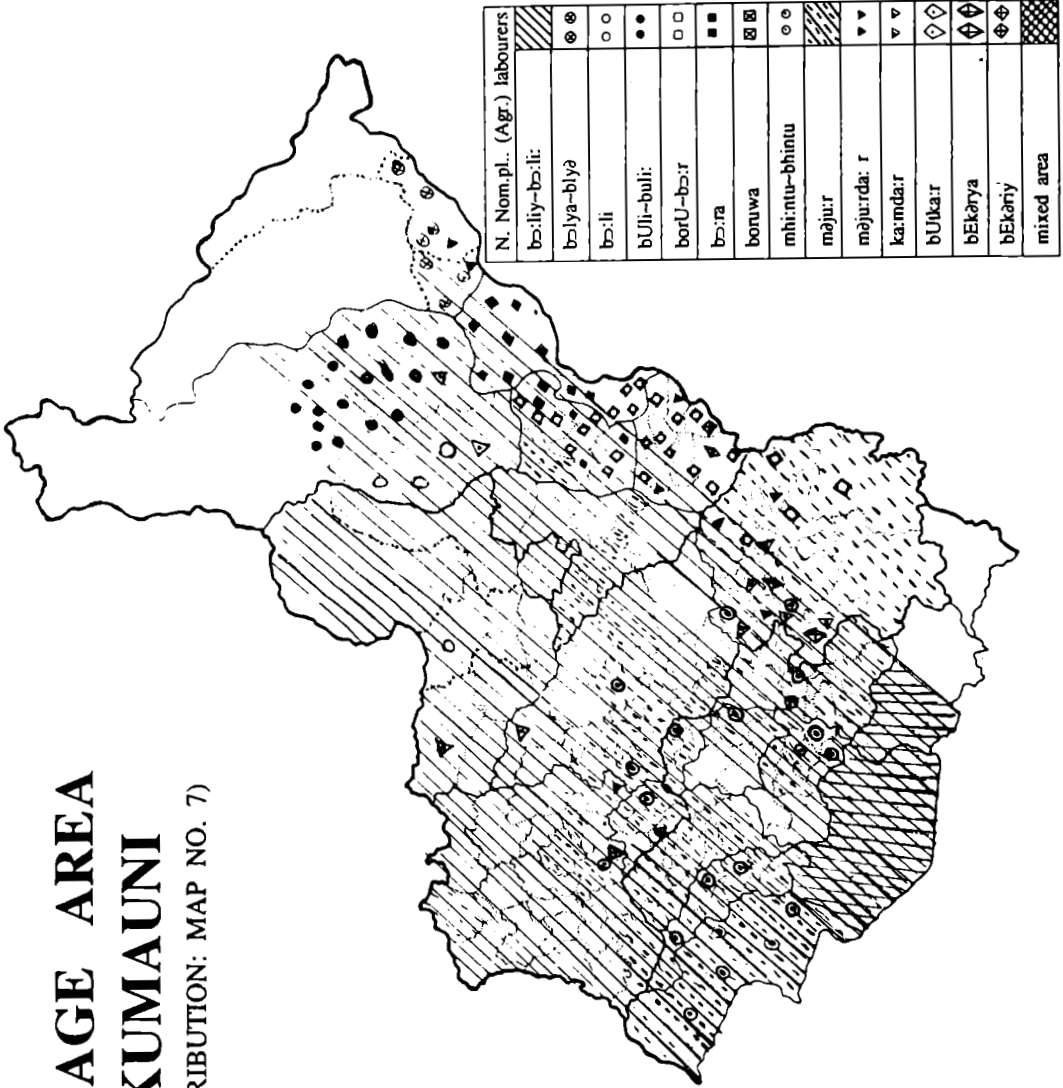
*Phonological tendencies:* Areal phonological tendencies indicated by these areal groupings may be pointed out as follows: (i) even accent (1, 5, 10-11); (ii) prominent accent on the initial syllable (2-4); (iii) higher accent on the second syllable (6-9, 12).

*Semantic variations:* Correlates 14 and 16 have the sense of 'stormy wind' in some of the areas.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - / bətau, bətō, bəthaɪ, bəthō, həwa/.  
 2. *Nepali* - /hawa, hɔwa, bayu, bɔyelo, bɔtas/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 7)



N. Nom.pl. (Agr.) labourers	
bɔ:liɣ-bɔ:li:	
bɔ:liɣ-bliɣ	
bɔ:li	
bUli-buli:	
borU-bɔ:r	
bɔ:ra	
bonuwa	
mhi:ntu-bhintu	
mɔ:ju:r	
mɔ:ju:rdɑ: r	
kɑ:mdɑ:r	
bUlka:r	
bEkɔ:ɣɑ	
bEkɔ:ɣiɣ	
mixed area	

**Table No. 7**  
**Areal Correlates of the Word for 'labourer', (nom. sg.)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - bɔliy (1.....151, see map); 2 - bɔli: (5, 7-8, 19, 27, 29, 35, 38, 55, 78, 93, 109); 3 - bɔllya (101); 4 - bɔliyä (150); 5 - bɔli (3, 104-5); 6 - bUli (104, 106); 7 - borU (62); 8- bɔrU (71), 9 - bɔ:r (62-63, 79, 83-93); 10. borUwa (87); 11 - 'bɔra' (90-91, 93, 99); 12 - bɔrbətəl (82); 13 - mhintu (14, 29, 44, 58, 60, 72, 107, 116, 118, 128, 137, 142, 148); 14 - mIhant (72); 15 - bhIntU (118); 16 - məjur (see map); 17 - məjurdar (65, 69, 71, 80, 86, 101); 18 - məjUrIdar (4, 99), 19 - bUtkar (86); 20 - kamdar (5, 22, 44, 50, 57, 60, 64, 71-73, 105); 21 - bEkərya (73, 68); 22 - palti: (69); 23 - kUlli (7, 13, 17, 18, 24, 27-36, 42, 46, 60, 62, 69-70, 73, 78, 79, 81, 83, 86, 88, 90, 95, 101, 123); 24 - kUli (13, 46).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 7.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-6 ; B. 7-12; C. 13-15; D. 16-18; E.19; F. 20; G. 21; H. 22; I. 23-24.

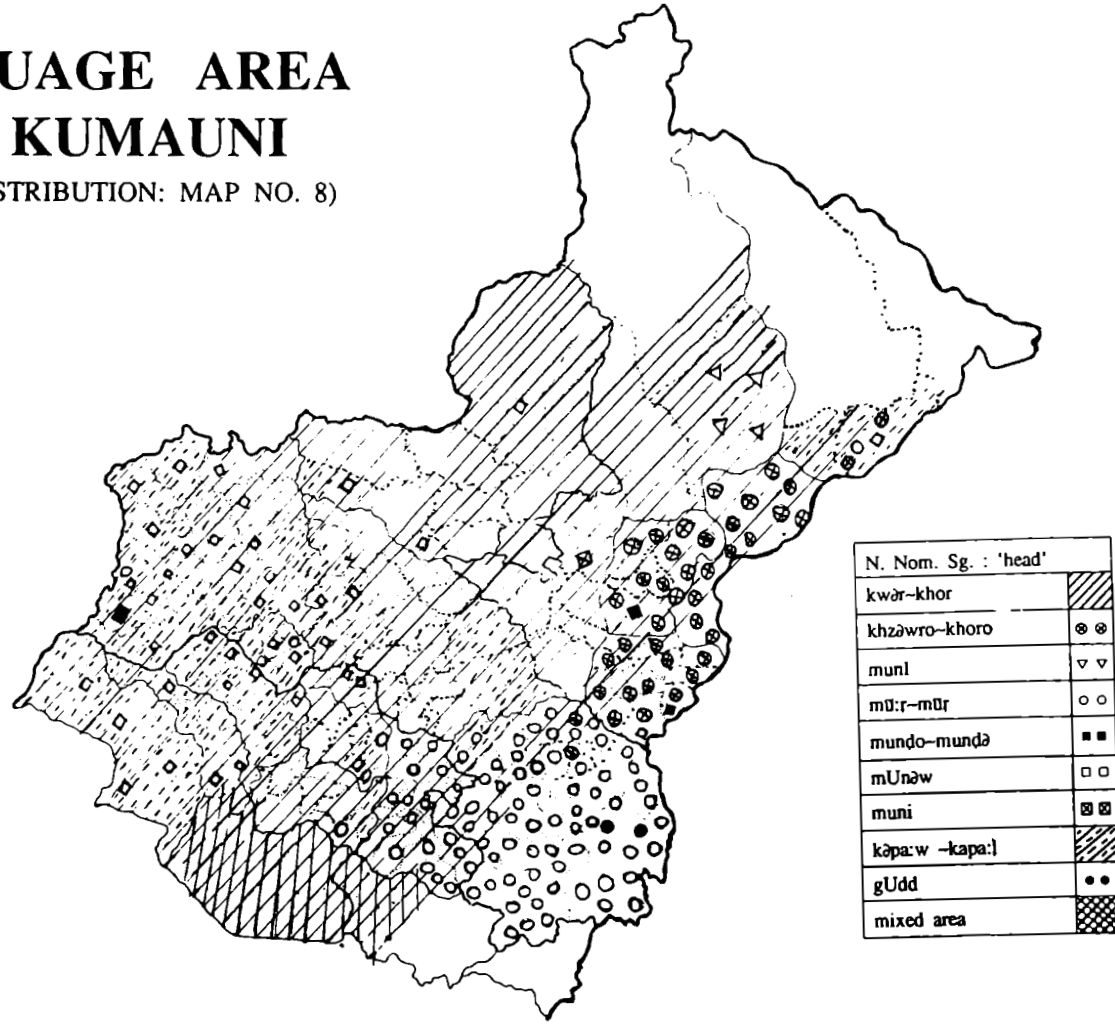
*Phonological tendencies:* Various phonological tendencies indicated by these areal groups may be pointed out as follows: (i) even accent (10, 18), (ii) higher accent on the second syllable (1-2, 6, 11, 14, 16-17), (iii) higher accent on the initial syllable (3-5, 7-9, 13, 15, 22-24), (iv) transfer of aspiration (13-15), (v) loss of final syllable due to higher accent on the penultimate syllable (1-2, 5-9, 22), (vi) loss of second syllable due to accent on the initial syllable (3-4).

*Stylistic variations:* Stylistic variations with regard to these correlates are also attested. In some areas some of these denote a particular type of 'labourer', in others they indicate 'labourer in general', correlate No 22 denotes 'agricultural labourer', working on mutual exchange basis.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /bɔlya, bhurtya, məjdur, kulli/.
  2. *Nepali*- /jyami, jami, mAjdur (häru), bɔurɔ, bəura .

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 8)



**Table No. 8**  
**Areal Correlates of the Word for 'head'. (nom. sg.)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - khoro (69, 71, 79-80, 82-83, 85-87, 90-91, 97, 99); 2 - khworo (69, 81, 90); 3 - khwəro (86-90, 93, 101); 4 - khor (14, 78, 83, 90); 5 - khwor/ 6 - khwər/ 7- khwar (See map); 8 - mUndo (87, 93); 9 - mUnd (47); 10 - mUr/ 11-mur (14, 46, 58, 60-74, 101, 138, 140, 142-153), 12 - mUnəw/munəl (1, 6, 11, 23, 27-29, 31-38, 42-43, 46, 48-49, 50, 52, 54-58, 86, 101, 107, 110-113, 119-20, 123, 125, 128, 140 (munl)-104); 13- mUnI (97); 14 - kəpaw (1, 6, 12, 19, 23, 24, 27-28, 31, 32, 35, 40-49, 54, 56, 58, 60, 75, 110-117, 120, 122-23, 128, 136, 139, 143), 15 - gUdd (74).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 8.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-7; B. 8-11; C. 12-13; D. 14; E. 15

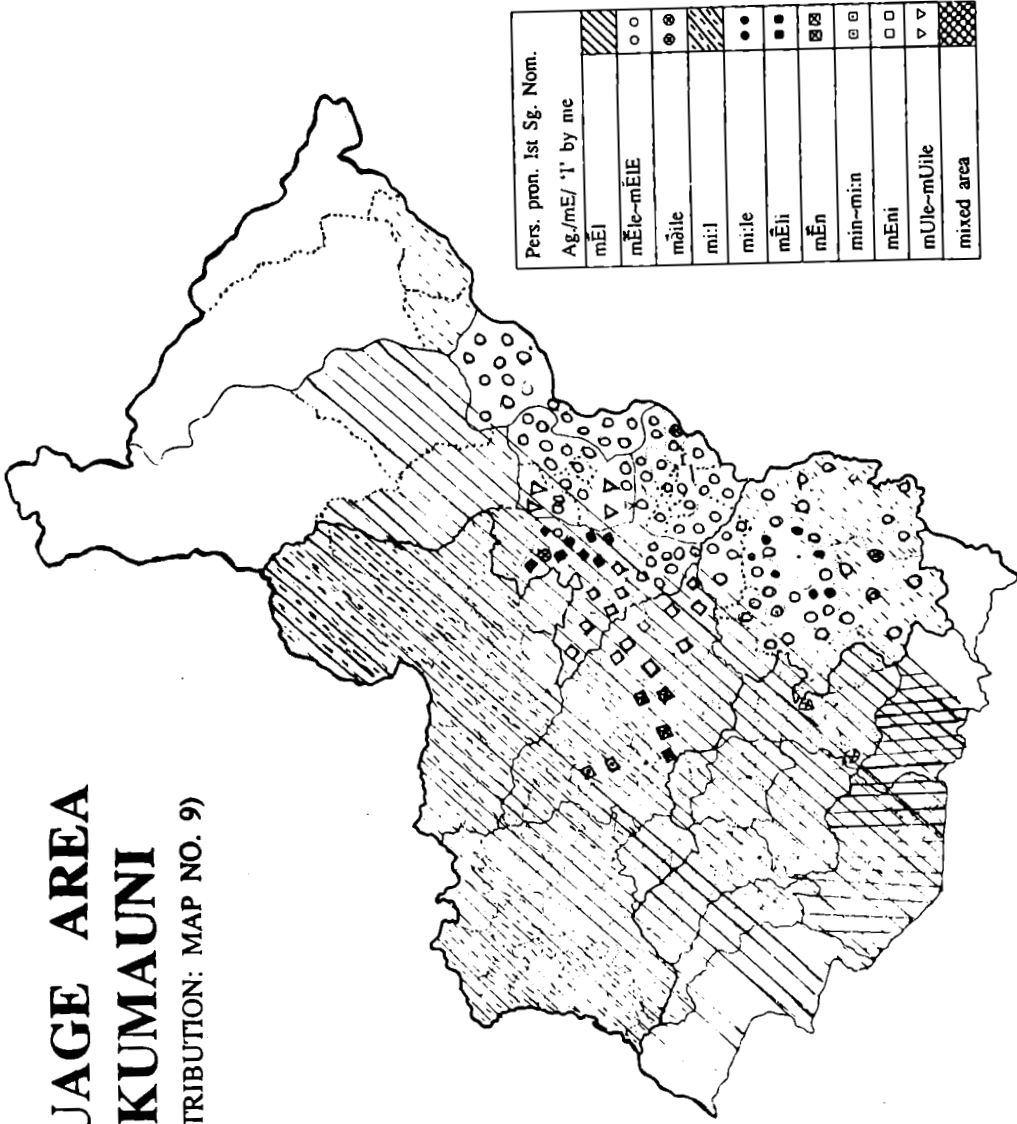
*Phonological tendencies:* Phonological tendencies observable in the areal groups of these correlates may be pointed out as follows: (i) glidalization of /o/ (2-3, 5-7), (ii) elision of final vowel due to accent on the initial syllable (4-7, 10-11), (iii) maintenance of the final vowel due to even accent on both the syllables. (1-3, 8-9)

*Semantic variations:* Some of these correlates show semantic overlapping in stylistic variations. In some areas /khwər/ stands for 'head' but /kəpaw/ for 'fore-head'. Similarly, in some areas /gudd/ means 'head', but in other it means 'skull' and is used in abusive or pejorative sense only. Similar is the case of /mUnI/, /mur/ also.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. Garhwali- /mUndo, mUnd/;
  2. Nepali - /taUko, tako, mUndo, mUnto/,

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 9)





**Table No. 9**  
**Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /mE/ 'I'**  
**(agentive-nominative case).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - mēle (61, 63, 67, 69, 70, 72, 79-83, 85-86, 88, 90-91, 95, 97, 99, 113, 128, 144, 148-49); 2 - mēIE (14, 67, 71, 77, 83, 87, 89); 3 - mēle (as in 1); 4 - mēl (see map); 5 - mēil (97, 143-44, 148, 151); 6 - milE (61-62, 70-71, 81, 95); 7 - mil (1-8, 11, 16, 22-24, 26-27, 32, 34, 37, 39, 46-49, 54-56, 60-63, 65-66, 69, 70-74, 98, 101, 107); 8 - mēni (12, 17, 75, 78); 9 - mēn/min (13, 25, 27); 10 - mēile (88, 97); 11 - mUile (93); 12 - mūl/mōl (57); 13 - mule (95); 14 - mēli (96).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 9.

*Areally preferred groups:* (stem) - mē (1-5, 8-9), mi (6-7), mu (11-13), mōi (10); (Marker): -le (1, 3, 10, 11); IE (2, 6); -li (5); -1 (4, 7); -ni~n (8, 9); zero (12, 13).

*Immediate constituents:* stem, /mē/, /mi/, mu/, + connectives /ϕ~I/, + agentive marker /le~IE~li~nI~n~ϕ/, + gender markers (including person number markers).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The connective formative /i/ is elided in all the areas in which the stem has a front vowel, but it is maintained in others in which the stem vowel is either a central or a back vowel. The correlate No 12, however, does not favour either a marker or a connective of the marker /1-/ in /mēni~mēn/ may be attributed to the sensitiveness of Kumāuni to nasality, i.e. the diffusing nasality from /m-/ of the stem has nasalized the liquid /-l/ of the marker; otherwise in 2nd person forms we have /twEli/ and in the 3rd /uli~/~/wil/ not \*twEni or\* Uni, because there is no diffusion of nasality from the stem as is in the case of /m/ in /mē/. Diachronically the original form seems to be \*mAile, as is attested in /wil~uile/ or in /tUIi/. This may be a case of syncope. Structurally correlates 4, 7, 9, 12 are synthetic and others analytical.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, the ergative-nominative personal pronoun is always used as a subject (NP) of a transitive or causative verb in the past tense as in /mēl k̄: /koch/ 'I said'.

*Appendix: Oblique forms:* Oblique forms attested with post-positional markers are: /mē, mi, mō, mu, mōi/ but /me-, my-, -/before gen./- ro/ -r/, as in /myðr-mero/

*CEP Correlates:*

1. Garhwali - /mil, mIl, mū, mūE, mina, min, mIn, mEn/.
2. Nepali- /mΛ, mΛile/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 10)

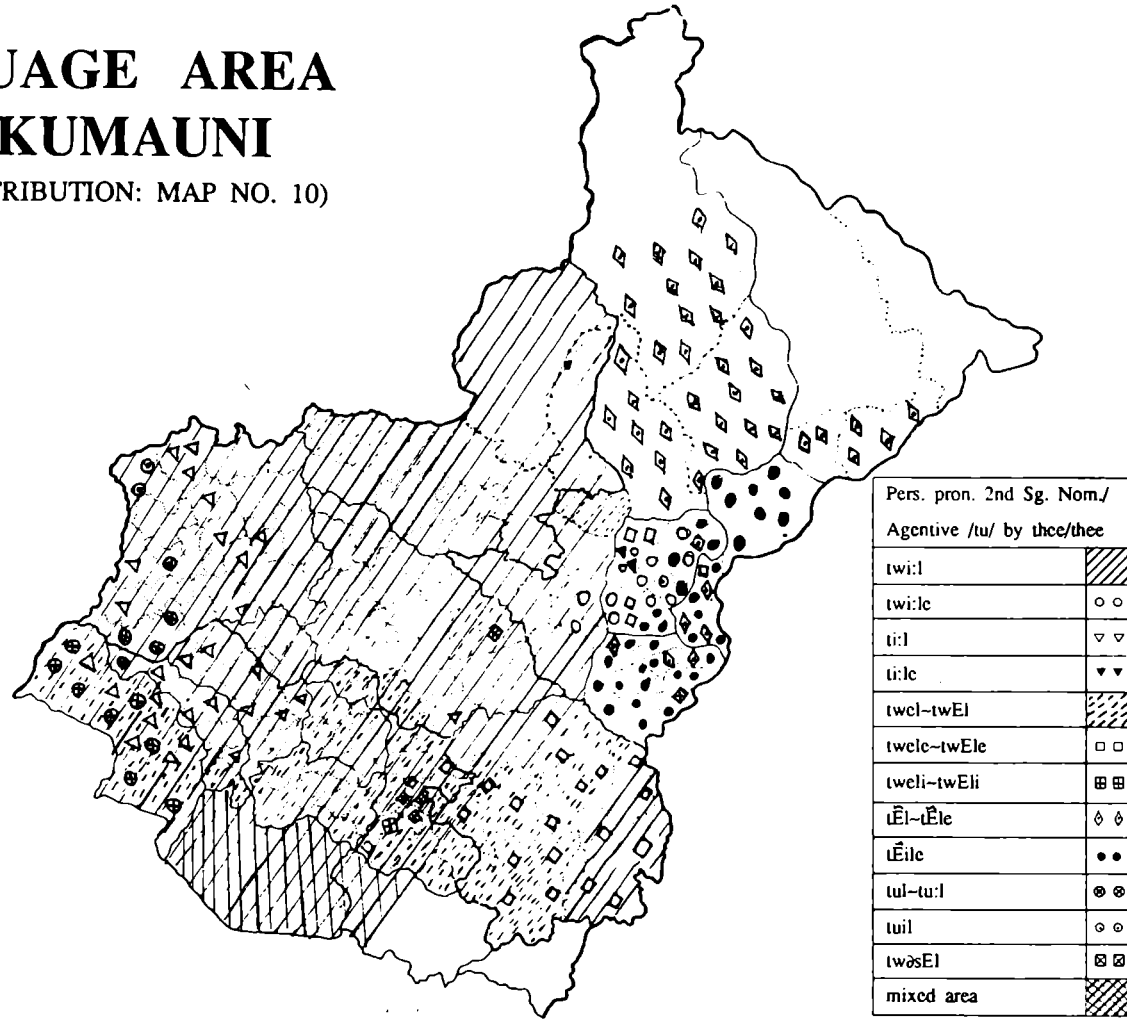


Table No. 10

## Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /tu/ 'thou' (ergative-nom. case).

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - tul/ 2, -tUl (32, 42, 48); 3 - til/ 4 - tll (19, 31, 34-36, 38, 44, 46-47, 52, 107-108, 112, 115-117, 120, 122-23); 5 - tēl (85); 6 - tēl (104); 7 - tēle (83, 89, 90, 101, 105-6), 8 - tēle (79, 81-86, 90-93, 99); 9 - twil/10 - twll (1-18, 22-29.....140, See map); 11 - twile (37; 42, 43, 65, 71, 78, 80, 91, 95, 98), 12 - twel/ 13 - twEl (4-5, 12-14, 18, 25, 57, 60, 66-68, 71, 74, 85, 90, 93, 98, 101, 119, 128, 132, 135, 137, 145, 150-51); 14 - twEle/ 15 - twElE (62-63, 67-73, 90, 93, 95, 140, 144, 149, 151); 16 - tweli/ 17 - twEli (12, 148-49, 151); 18 - tUll (32); 19 - twəsEl (87), 20 - tē (Nep)

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 10.

*Areally preferred groups; (Markers):* -1 (1-6, 9-10, 12-13, 18-19); -li (16-17); -le (7-8, 14-15); Zero (20).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /tu~tē~ti/ + connective /~Φ~i~I~E~e~/+ agentive case marker (including person, gender and number markers).

*Phonological and Morphophonemic tendencies:* There is no gender differentiation in personal pronouns. Most of the forms have a linking sound in between the stem and the suffixal morpheme. Before connectives /i~I~e~E/ the stem vowel is either elided or glidized, except in a few forms, but it remains intact before /Φ/ connective, but in this case it may, however, change its quality (cf. 2). Morphologically, correlates 1-6, 9-10, 12-13, 18-20 are synthetic, and others analytical.

From the above data it may be presumed that in morphological environments the vocalic element, may be in the stem morpheme or in the suffixal morpheme, is the primary differentiative factor in these areal correlates, the consonantal elements, however, are converging elements in both the cases.

*Syntactical usage:* Syntactically, all the ergative-nominative form of pronouns are always used as a subject (NP) of a transitive verb in the past tense, as in /twil kɔ: (ch)/ 'you said'.

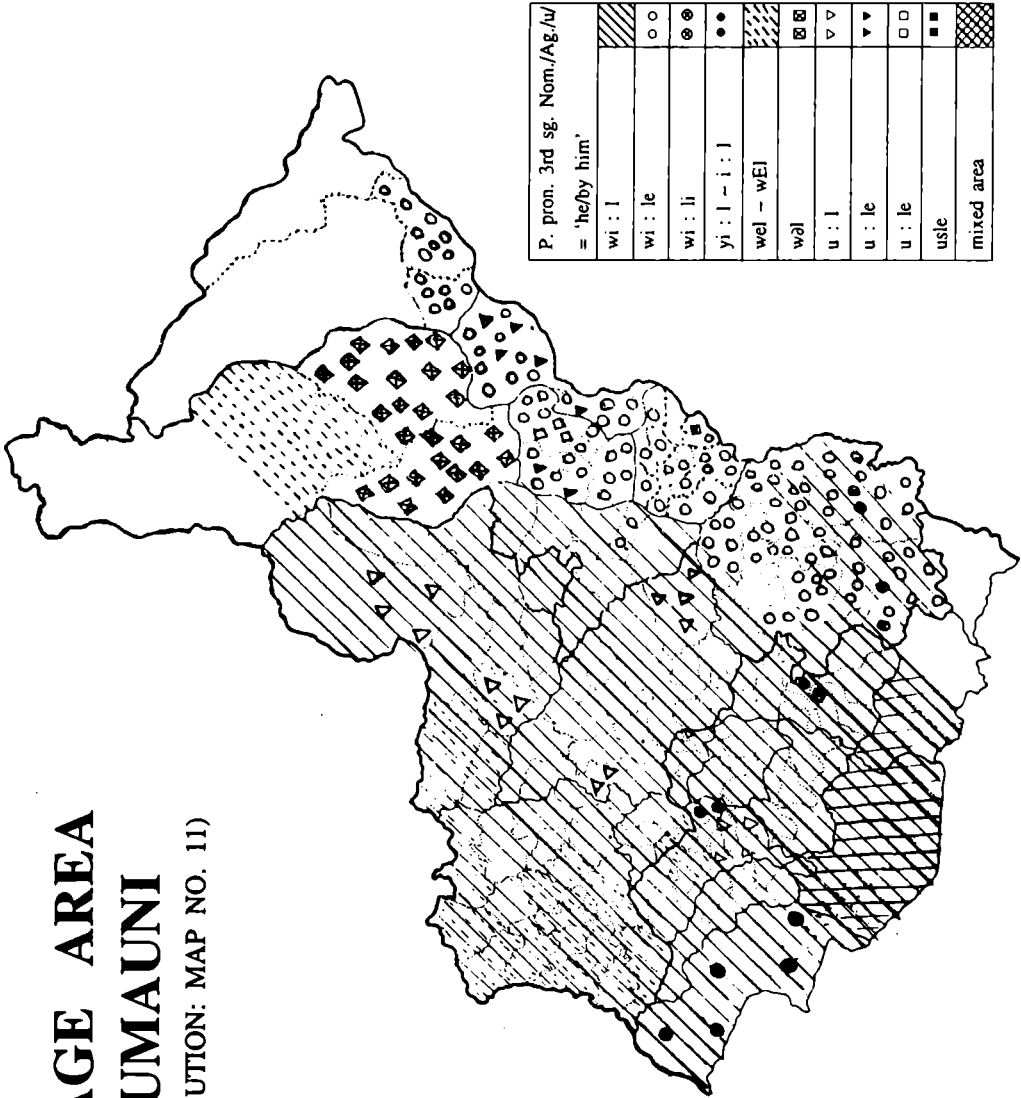
*Appendix:* Oblique correlates: Oblique forms attested with postpositional markers are: /twe~twi~tye~tu~ti~te~tE~tyE~tui~tl~twəs/

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /til, tll, tilE, tin, tina, tEn, twin, twInə/.

2. *Nepali* - /tuile, timile, tēile, tē/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 11)



P. pron. 3rd sg. Nom./Ag./u/	
= 'he/by him'	
wi : l	
wi : le	
wi : li	
yi : l - i : l	
wel - wEj	
wəl	
u : l	
u : le	
u : le	
usle	
mixed area	

Table No. 11

**Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /u/ 'he' (ergative-nominative case).****Correlates & Areas:**

1- wile/ 2 - wile (61-63, 69-72, 78-83, 85-91, 95, 101, 146); 3. -wili (148-49); 4 - wil (1-29, 34-35, etc. See map); 5. -wEl (57); 6. wol (104-5); 7 -ule (90, 95, 99); 8 - ull (91); 9,- ul (1, 7, 17, 28, 115, 123, 128); 10- yil (112, 123); 11- Usle (87); 12 -Uli (91).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No 11.

*Areally preferred groups:* (markers) -le (1-2, 7, 11), -li (3, 8, 12), -l (4-6, 9-10).

*Immediate constituents:* stem /u (w) / (obl.) + connective /i~E~ə~Ø/ +marker (agentive) /le~li~l/ (including person, number, gender).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Correlates 1-6 have a linking sound, viz., /i~E~ə/, consequently, the vocalic stem /u/, has been replaced by a semi-consonantal glide favoured by front connective vowels, but no such phenomenon is attested when there is no connective vowel, as in the cases of 7-11. Correlate 10, though originally belongs to the first category of correlates, yet it is realized some what differently. The full form of this correlate was, presumably /wil~/ule/, in which the predominant accent, associated with quantity, a characteristic of Kumāuni accent, went with the suffixal morpheme and consequently reduced the prominence of the stem morpheme so much that it was finally elided in the due course of time and was further augmented by a front glide. But it seems that in certain regions the accent, controlled by position, was so strong on the initial syllable that the final vowel of the case marker was tremendously reduced to short /i/ or into an inaudible /e/ in some areas, and was completely elided in others.

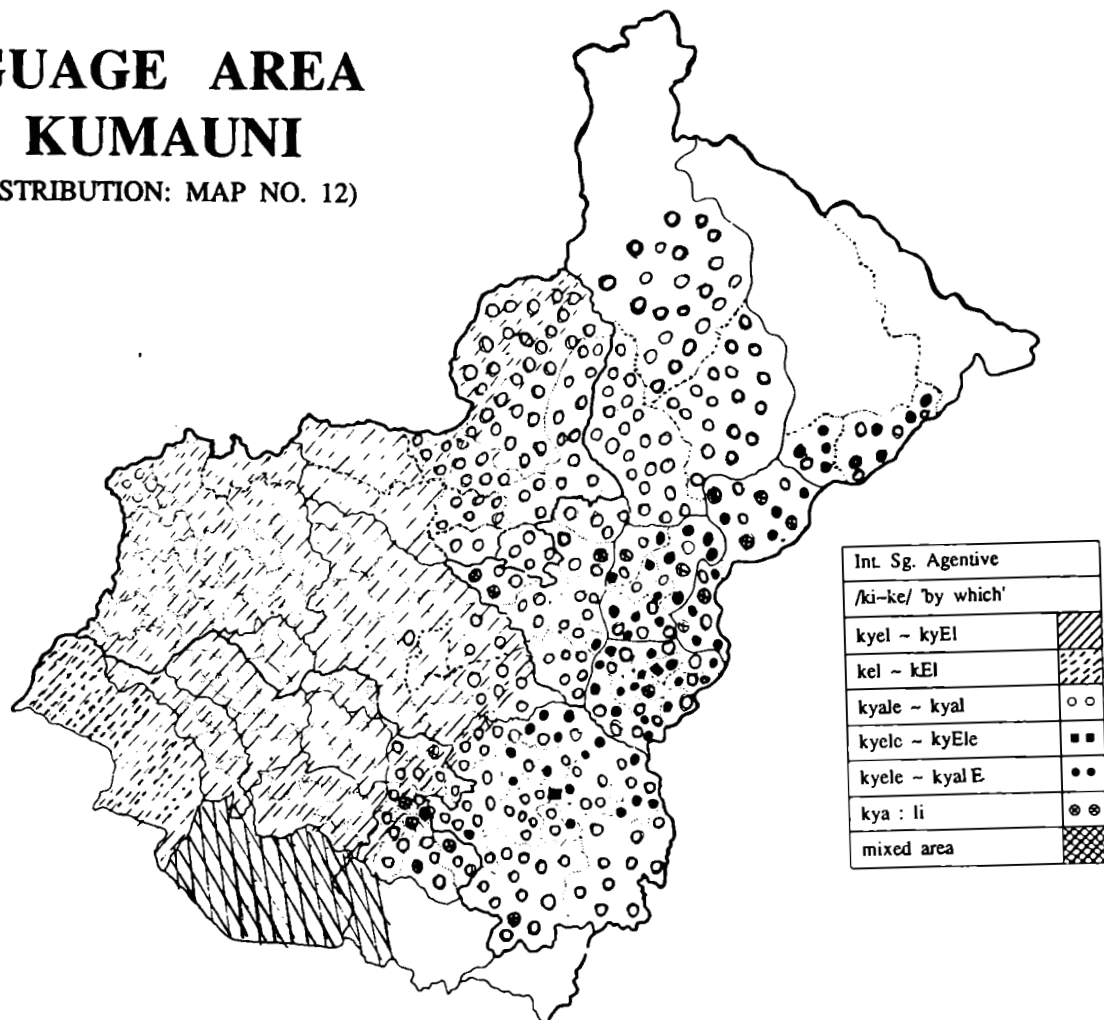
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, this ergative-nominative case is always used as a subject (NP) of a transitive or a cuasative verb in the past tense, as in /wil~ul de:~dIch/ 'he gave'.

*Appendix:* Oblique forms:/u~wi-, yi~wE-, wa-, Us/ + post positional marker.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. Garhwal - /ul, wEl, wena, wEn, tEn/.
  2. Nepali- /Usle, Uile/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 12)



**Table No. 12**  
**Areal Correlates of Interrogative Pronoun /ki~ke/ 'which'**  
**(instrumental case).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - kel (see map); 2 - kEl (23, 24, 52, 81, 90, 101); 3. - kyal (2-4, 8-10, 14, 17, 23, 32, 60-78, 83, 86-88, 90-91, 93, 95-98, 101, 105, 123, 143, 145-47, 153); 4. - kyall (75, 83, 85, 90, 95, 97, 99, 144, 148, 149, 153); 5. - kyel/ 6. - kyEl (See map); 7. - kyale/ 8. - kyale (63, 68-69, 71, 73, 78-80, 82, 85-91, 101); 9. - kyali (75, 83, 85, 90, 95, 97, 99, 144, 148, 149, 150); 10 - kyəl (101, 105-6).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 12.

*Areally preferred groups (markers):* -l- (1-3, 5-6, 10); -li (4, 9), -le (7-8).

*Immediate constituents:* stem, /ki~kl~ke~kyə~kya~kye/ + ablaut + instrumental marker /-l~ll~le~lE~li/ (+person, number, gender markers).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The ablaut /e~E/ < /i/ and the emergence of glidal /y/ seems to have been favoured by the epenthesis of the final vowel /e/ of the case marker brought about by a strong initial accent at some period in the past. Structurally, forms of correlates 1-3, 5-6 & 10 are synthetic and others analytical.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, these correlates form a part of the NP, signifying the instrument/means by which the action is performed, as in /yo rukh tUmōl kyel kāti / 'with which, did you cut this tree?'

*Appendix 1.* Correlates of the relative pronoun, third person, singular number, Instrumental case:

*Dialectal correlates:* jel~jEl~jELe~jyal~jyall~jyel~jyEl~jyEle~jyalE~jyale ~jyall ~jyäl, 'by which'.

*Immediate constituents:* stem, /ji~je~jya/ + ablaut + Instrumental marker /-ll~le~lE~li/+ person number, gender markers.

(Garhwali) /jEl, jyEl, jele, jal, jan, jyan, jyEna, jyan, jEn, jen/

*Appendix 2.* Correlates of the Relative pronoun (emph.) 'by that very'.

*Dialectal correlates:* (i) ulE~wile~wile~wEle~wäle~wille~wEl~wEli~Ulle ~ilE; (ii) UsEle~Usle~UsEl; (iii) tEl~tel~tyEl~tyEle~tyall~tyal~tyasEle (Regional preferences for /ta/ instead of /u-/ stem).

*Appendix 3.* Oblique forms -ke, kye-, kyE-, kE-, kya-, kyə+p.p.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /kel, kyal, kyan, kyase, ken, kin, kənwe, kənke/

2. Nepali - /kele, kyale/.

*Appendix: 1.* (Nepali) /jyele, jəsle, jyale/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 13)

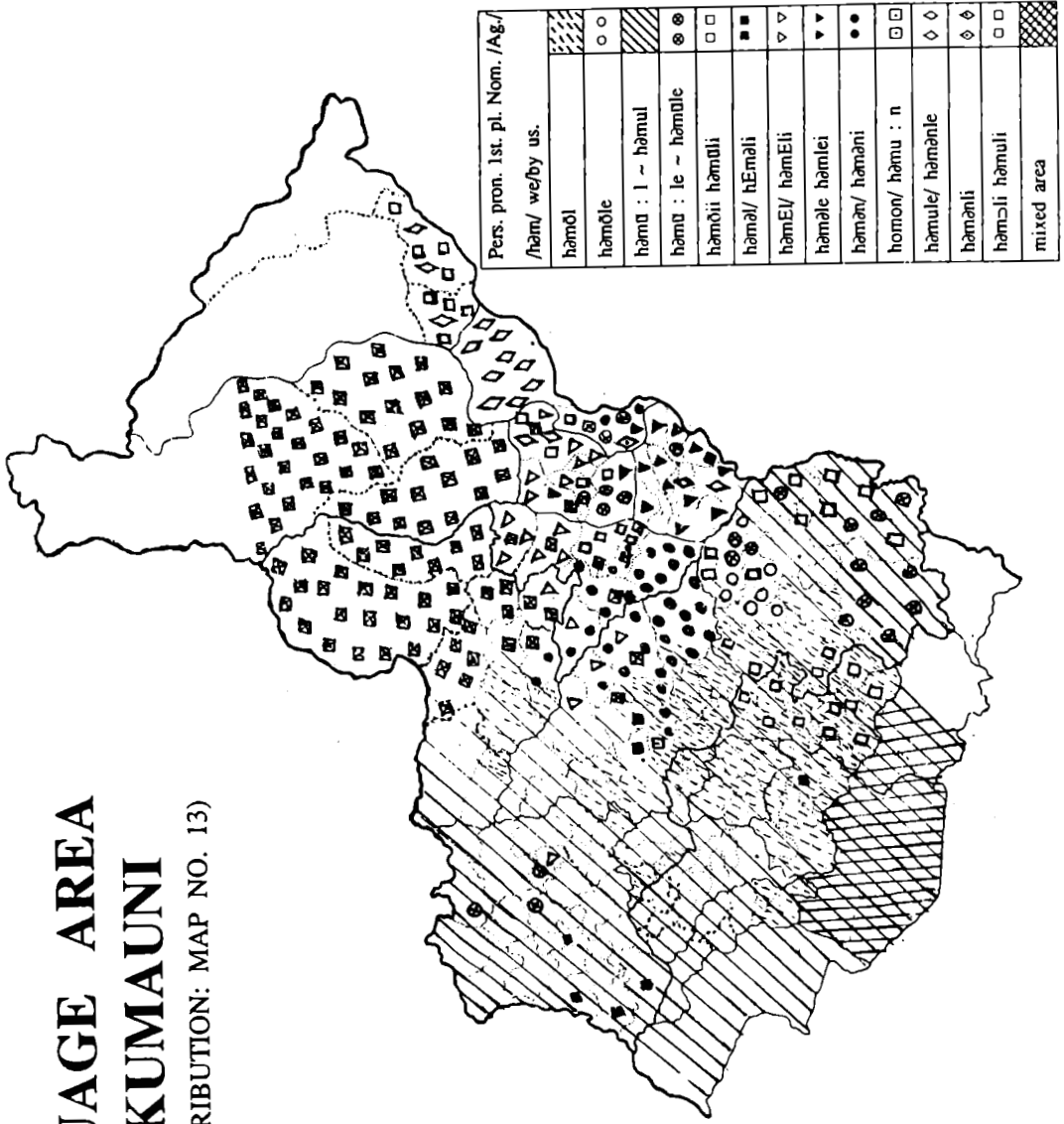




Table No. 13

## Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /häm/ 'we' (ergative case).

## Correlates &amp; Areas:

1. - hāmōl (4, 6, 7, 11, 13-14, 16-18, 25-29, 50, 57, 60-62, 70, 72-73, 93, 114, 120, 123, 128, 132, 135-146, 150-51, 153); 2. - hāmōle (64, 68-69, 71); 3 - hāmUl (33, 46, 90); 4 - hāmule/ 5 - hāmule (34, 36-37, 56, 63, 69, 71, 88-91, 93, 110); 6 - hāmūle (64, 68-71); 7. -hāmul (5-7, 12, 14, 18, 19, 22-24, 26-29, 31-46, 49, 52, 54, 56, etc. see map);, 8, - hāmUl (33, 46, 90); 9. - hāmull (60, 62, 73, 78, 93, 101, 123, 144-46, 148-49); 10- hāmāll (62, 90, 96); 11- hāmäl (14, 24, 43, 46-48, 87, 137); 12 - hāmāle/13 - hāmle (78-83, 86-90, 95); 14 - hāmll (1, 3-4, 8, 12, 14, 55, 75, 78, 90, 95, 97-98); 15 - hāmEl (12, 14-16, 24, 28, 34, 95, 97, 98); 16- hEmil (1-4, 8, 9, 90, 95, 97, 104-106); 17-hEmile (90); 18 - hEmEli (10, 91) 19-22. hāmānli (90), 23 - hāmānle (85-86, 91, 99, 101, 122), 24 - hāmānli (90); 25 - hāmUnle (85), 26 - hāmūn/hāmān (25, 78).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 13.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers):* -l (1, 3, 7-8, -11, 14-16), -le (2, 4-6, 12-13, 17, 23, 25); -li (9-10, 18, 22, 24); -ni (19, 20, 26).

*Immediate constituents:* stem /hām~hEmi / + oblique formative /ō~ū~l~ān/+ case marker /-l~le~E~li~ni~n/

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological and morpho-phonemic features of these correlates are - (i) variations in oblique formative, some areas showing preference for a nasalized back vowel (1-9, 19, 25), some for nasalized centering vowel with a nasal consonant (20-24) and others for a front vowel (14-18). Correlates 13 has only a zero formative, (ii) elision of final vowel in the case marker (7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 21), though all showing a preference for a front vowel, indicating even accent in the case of maintenance of final vowel and higher prominence on the second syllable in the case of elision. Structurally, forms of the correlates-11, 14-15 and 21 are synthetic and all others analytical.

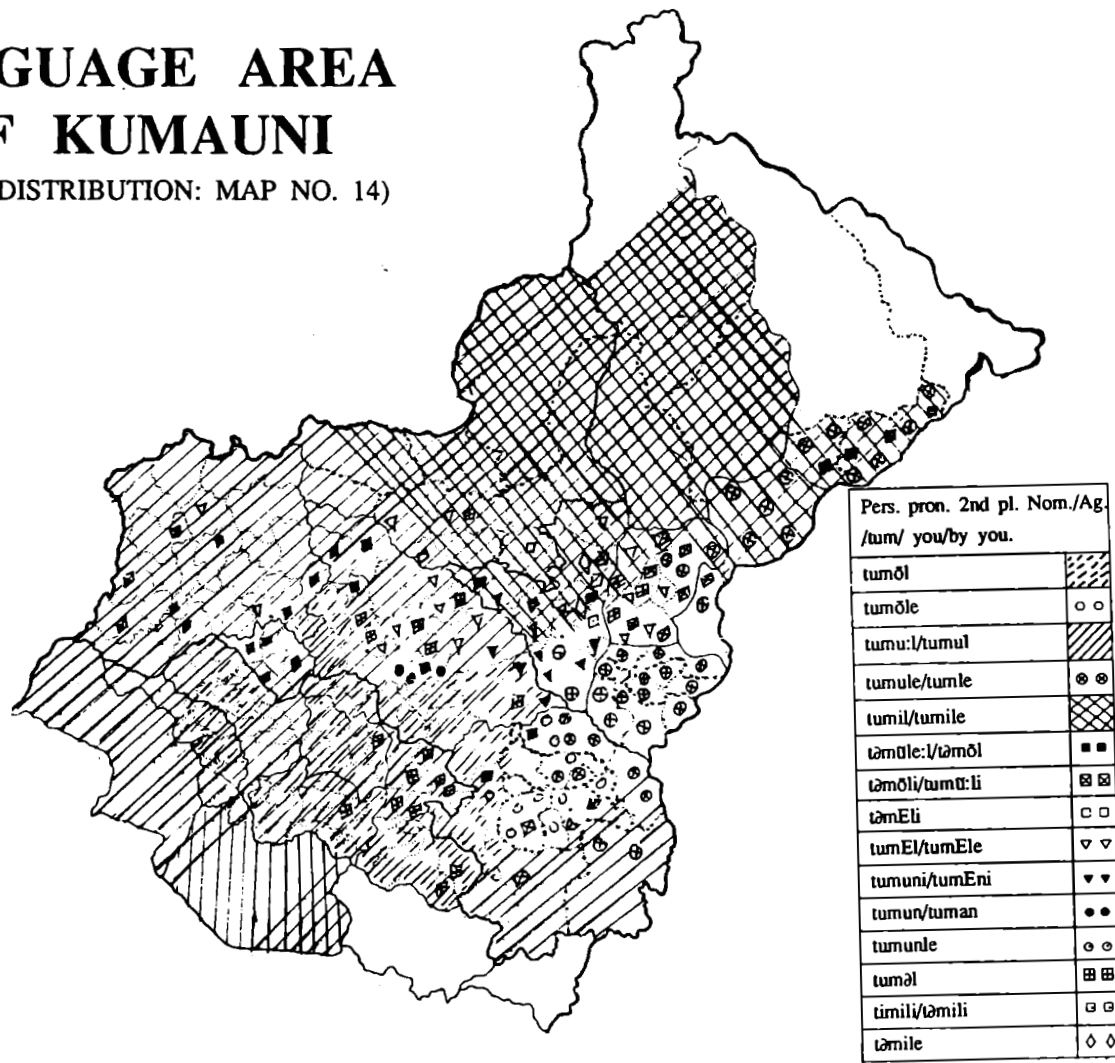
*Syntactic usage:* The diagnostic position of these correlates of the paradigm in an utterance is its occurrence as a component of an NP or as a subject to a transitive or a causative verb in the past tense, as in, /hāmul kɔ:/ 'we said'; /hāmul kəra:/ 'we got done.

*Note:* For oblique correlates see table No. 20.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /hāmūl, hāmUn, hamna, hāmnl/.  
2. *Nepali* -/hamile, hEmile, hāmle.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 14)



**Table No. 14**  
**Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /tUm/ 'you'**  
**(nom. /ergative case).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. -tUmöle (61, 64, 68-71, 90); 2 - tUmöl (11, 14, 17-18, 27-29, 35, 37, 48, 50, 60, 62, 72-73, 78, 98, 110-113, 117-118, 128, 130, 132, 135-46, 150-53); 3 - tUmül/tümül (4-7, 12, 19, 22-48, 52-56, 63-66, 73-74, etc. See map); 4 - tUmüle~IE (61-64, 68-71); 5 - tUmle/tumäle (62-63, 71, 79, 80, 82-83, 86-88, 90, 99, 101); 6 - tUmən (13) /tumun (25); 7 - tUmUnle (85); 8 - tUmūil (62, 73, 90-93, 95-97, 144-149); 9. -tUmUle (61, 80-81, 89-91); 10 - tUmilE (78, 91, 99); 11 - tUmil (1-5, 8-9, 75, 88, 90, 95, 97, 104-106); 12. - tUmIIE (78, 91); 13 - tUmEl/-li (10-11); 14 - tUməI (78); 15-tUməl (4, 14, 16-17, 24, 27, 33, 46-47, 93, 95, 98); 16 - təmölI (13, 144, 153); 17 - təmilE (87); 18. - təmöl/-mül (70, 75); 19. -tImIli (96); 20 - tUmənI/ (12, 14, 17, 43, 75, 77-78); 21, - tumun (25); 22. -tumEni (78).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 14.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers):* -le (1, 4-5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 17; -1, (2-3, 13, 15, 18); -li (8, 13-14, 16);-ni (20-22).

*Immediate constituents:* stem /tUm~tUmI~təmi~tumi/, + oblique marker /ə~u~U~I~E~a/, + Agentive marker / le~l~IE~ ni/ (including person, number and gender).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* All the correlates, other than No 5, 6, 7, 17, invariably have some linking sound in between the stem and the marker. The regional preferences, however, differ in preferring a front, back or a central vowel for it. In some cases, viz. with back vowels the connective follows the stem vowel and in others it follows the suffixal vowel, thus the quality of the connective follows horizontally, i.e. affecting a preceding or a following vowel, a characteristic of the sensitive vowel system of Kumāuni. Realization of /I/ of the stem in /tUmI/ may again be attributed to this sensitiveness of vowels. Centralization of stem vowel (16-18) is an accentual phenomenon. Phonemically it may be presented as /tUmöl/ etc. Structurally, forms of correlates 2-3, 6, 12, 13, 15 & 18 are synthetic and others analytical.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, these correlates are a part of an NP., signifying the agent of the VP, as in /tUmöl kəb de:/ 'when did you give?' /tUmən kə:/ 'you said'/ tUmənI kəɾ:/ 'you did'.

*Note:* For oblique correlates see table No. 21.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /tumul, tUmUn, tumna, tum

2. *Nepali-* / tImIle, tɪpāile, tɪmle, tɪ

**Table No. 15****Areal Correlates of Personal Pron. /In-/these (3rd pl.), erg. case***Correlates & Areas:*

1. - Inōl, 2. - Inūl, 3. - InEl, 4. - Inēl, 5. - InUl, 6. - enūl, 7. - enū:,  
8. - yānūl, 9 - yānEl, 10, - yūl, 11 - hInūl, 12. - Inōle, 13 - Inəle, 14.  
- Inle, 15. - InEle, 16. - Inūle, 17. Inōla, 18. - InEIl, 19. - InyōIl, 20.  
- Inill, 21. - Inəli, 22. - Inūnle, 23. - Inənle, 24 - Inənl, 25 - Inən,

*Areal Distribution:* As in Map No. 14

*Areally preferred groups:* (stem) in- (15, 12-25), en-(6-7), yān-(8-10), hin-(11); (Markers) -l (1-11); -le (12-17, 22-23), -li (14-12); -ni (24-25).

*Immediate constituent:* Stem + oblique formative + agentive marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* (i) Vocalic preferences for oblique marker, viz., front, back or zero; (ii) elision or maintenance of the vowel of case marker; (iii) areal preferences for case marker /l~n/.

*Syntactic usage:* See notes on table No 13.

*Appendix* Oblique correlates /Inō~Inū~Inī~InE~yānū~yenū~enū~Inyō~Inənl~InUn~In/ +\_p.p.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /yūl, yūlE, yōl, yūna, yūn, ūn, tōn/  
2. *Nepali* - /inle, inihərule/.

**Table No. 16**  
**Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /un-/ they (3rd pl.),**  
**(ergative case)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - Unōl, 2 - Unōle, 3 - Unōll, 4. - Unūl, 5. - UnUl, 6 - Unūle, 7 - UnūlE, 8. Unəl, 9 - Unəle, 10. - Unəll, 11. - Unll, 12. - Unll, 13. - Unile, 14 - Unel, 15.- UnEl, 16.- UnEle, 17- UnEli, 18. - Unle, 19. - Unlə, 20.- ūl, 21. - Unən, 22. - Unūn, 23. - Unənle, 24. - Unūnle, 25. - Unōnle, 26. - UnEnl, 27- hənulE.

*Areal Distribution:* Aś in Map No. 14.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers) :-* 1 (1, 4,-5, 8, 11, 12, 14-15, 19, 20); -le (2, 6-7, 9, 13, 16, 18, 23-25, 27); -li (3, 10, 17; -ni (26) - än~un (21-22).

*Immediate constituent:* Stem /ū~Un/, + oblique marker /-ō-ū~i~e~φ~n~Un~ōn/, + case marker /l~le~li~n~ñi~lE/

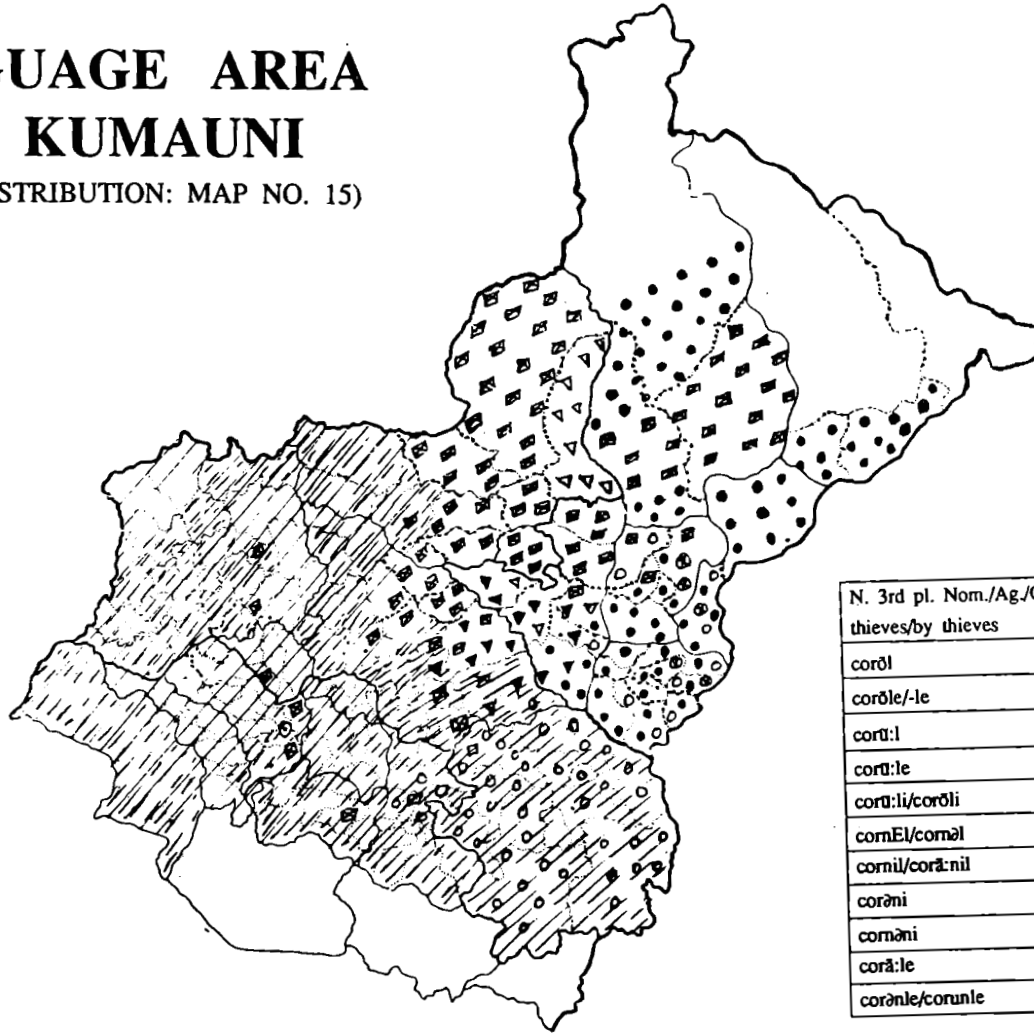
*Note:* See table No. 13-14 for divergent phonological and morphophonemic tendencies and for syntactical usage. Structurally, forms of correlates 2-3, 6-7, 9-10, 13, 16-17, 23-24 are analytical and all others synthetic.

*Appendix: Oblique correlates /Unō~Unū~Unl~Unə~UnUn~Unōn~ UnE~ū+ postposition.*

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali- /ūl, ūlE, ūna, ūnä, ūn, wEn, tōn, tōnu.  
 2. Nepali- /unle, unlhə rule/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 15)



N. 3rd pl. Nom./Ag./Cor/ thieves/by thieves	
corōl	▨
corōle/-le	○ ○
corū:l	▨
corū:le	⊗ ⊗
corū:li/corōli	□ □
comEl/coməl	⊠ ⊠
cornil/corā:nil	▽ ▽
corəni	▼ ▼
coməni	▽ ▽
corā:le	○ ○
corəne/corunle	● ●

**Table No. 17**  
**Areal Correlates of the Noun /cor/ 'thief',**  
**agentive case, plural number.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - corōl (7, 13-14, 17-18, 22-23, 25, 27, 29, 34-37, 40, etc. see map); 2 - corūl (1, 5-7, 11-12, 22-24, 27-28, 31-39, 52, 55-56, 58, 75, 97, 101, 107-08, 110-18, 120, 122-23, 125, 128, 130); 3 - corōli/corūli (60, 148-49); 4 - corōle (62, 67-71, 86-90, 153); 5. - corōle (34, 60, 62-63, 65, 69-73, 78, 83, 87-88, 145, 149); 6. -corūle (83, 88, 90-91) 7. - corōlle (122); 8. - corUnle (79, 91, 85, 86, 90, 101); 9. - corānle (80, 82, 85, 87, 90-91, 93, 99, 106); 10 - cornəl (105); 11 - comEle (78, 86); 12 - cornEl/cornəl/ (1, 3-4, 7-12, 14, 16-17, 19, 24-26, 34, 57, 78, 86, 90-91, 94-98, 104-105); 13- cornil (75), corānIl (2); 14 - cornənI (96); 15. - corānI (12-13, 17, 75, 77-78).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 15.

*Areally preferred groups:* (Markers-1 (1-2, 12); -li (3); -le (4-11); -ni (14-15).

*Constituents:* Stem (consonant ending) + oblique formative (pl.) /o, u~ō~Un~ni~ən/+connective /ϕ~ə/ + agentive case marker /-l, -le, -li, -ni, -n/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable features of these tendencies may be said: (i) morphemic areal preferences for oblique case marker-(a) preference for a nasalized back vowel (1-7), (b) preference for/un~ən/ (8-9) and /n/ (10-15); (c) preference for a centering vowel (15); (ii) emergence of a linking sound with /n/ formatives (8-14); this infixation may be in between the stem and the formative or in between the formative and the case marker, depending on accentual tendencies of the area concerned; (iii) preference for /l/ or /n/ as case markers; (iv) elision of the vowel of the case marker (1-2, 12) due to higher prominence on the second syllable; (v) maintenance of final vowel in case markers due to even accent; (vi) gemination of case marker (7). Structurally, forms of correlates 1-2, 12-15 are synthetic and all others analytical.

It may further be observed from the above that in consonant ending stems the vocalic element occurring in between the stem and the suffixial morpheme is a linking sound and the nasal consonant or the nasality is a plural oblique formative. In certain regions (10, 11, 12) the linking sound appears between the oblique marker and the case markers. The ablaut in the linking sound in 11, 12 presents an instance

of vowel harmony, being affected by the suffixal vowel. It seems that in correlates, 13, 14, the suffixal consonant may have been affected by a strong progressive nasality, the liquid being totally nasalized. In many of the regions the accentual tendency, to put a higher accent on the penultimate syllable, has resulted in the elision of the suffixal syllable, whereas it is maintained in the areas with even accent. Correlate 7 shows a tendency of gemination of the suffixal morpheme.

*Phonetic "key" differential:* It may also be presumed from the above data that in Kumāuni the phonetic "Key" differential in inflectional forms is the vocalic element of oblique formatives.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, all the correlates of this paradigm are used as a subject of a transitive verb in the past tense, as in /corŭl wikē mar de/ 'thieves killed him'.

*Appendices:* 1. Correlates of singular number are: corEl~corəl~corəle~corle~corEIE~coril/all showing ablaut in the connective formative.

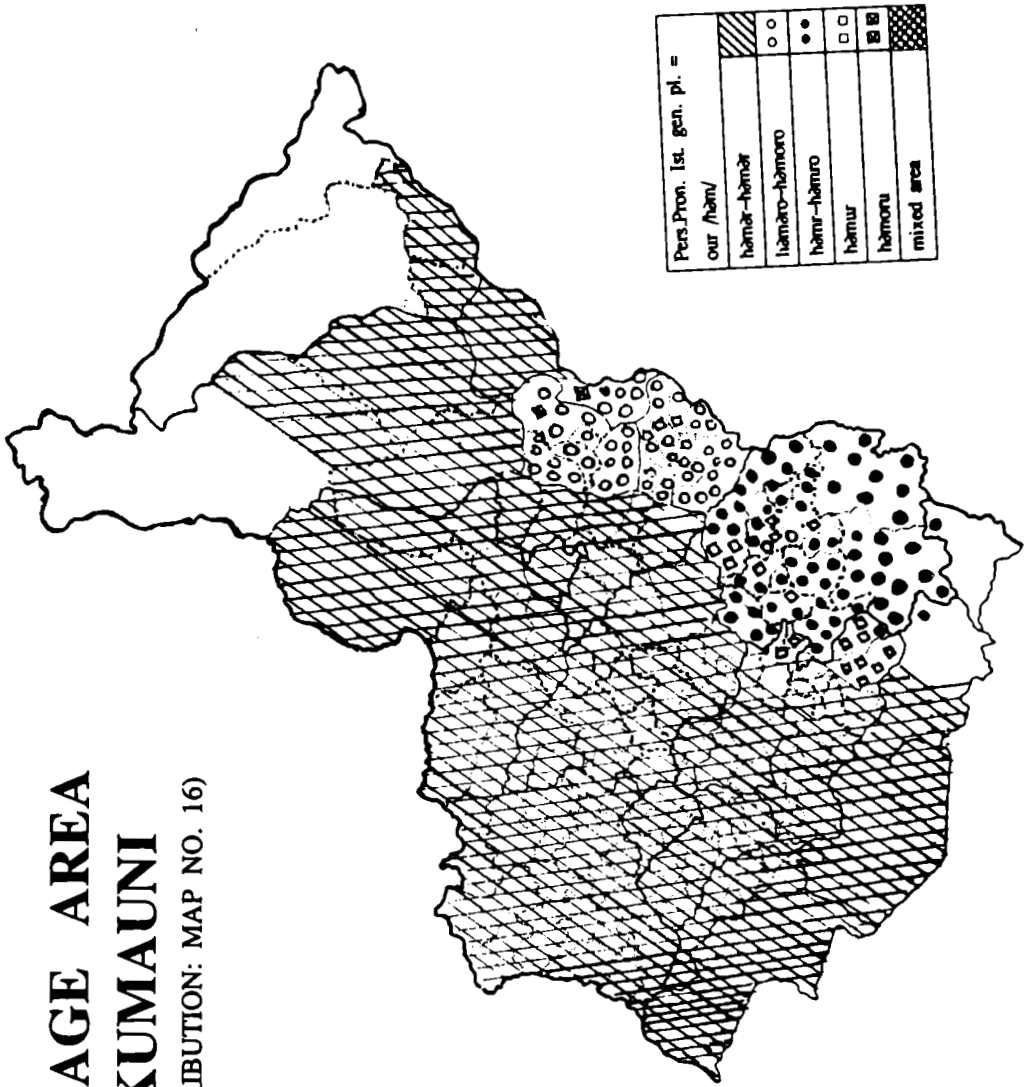
*Vowel ending stems:* Immediate constituents of substantives ending in vowels are (i) stem + nasality + case marker (in the areas 1-7), and (ii) stem + n + linking sound (ə~E/ + case marker (in others), as in /ākhāl~ākhnEl/ 'with eyes'; /dIdīl/dIdInEl/ 'by sisters'.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /corŭl, corUIE, corUl, corula, corUnä, corUn, corUnU, corUni.  
2. *Nepali-* corle, corhərul, corölle.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 16)



## Table No. 18

Areal Correlates of Personal Adjectival Pronoun /həm/ 'we'  
(genitive case).*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - həmarö (18); 2.- həmərö (62, 71, 89-90, 93, 95); 3. - həmorö (79, 80-86, 90); 4. -həmrö (64, 71, 102); 5. - hamro (63, 68, 69, 90); 6. - həmoru (90); 7 - həmrə (46, 60, 62, 65-74); 8. həmUr (61-64, 69-72, 88, 146-47, 153-54); 9. - həmər (1-7, 10-14, 16-17, 22-28, etc. See map); 10 - həmɔr (1-2, 6-9, 11-12, 14, 18-19, 22-23 etc. See map),  
*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 16.

*Areally preferred groups:* (Markers) -ro (1-5); -ru(6); -r (7-11).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /həm/, + connective formaive /a~ə~o~ɔ~φ~u/ + genitive marker /-ro~ru~r/

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* All the dialectal correlates, except 4, 5 and 7, have a linking sound in between the stem and the marker. The linking sound /-ə-/ in many cases shows colouring of /o~ɔ/ and in certain forms these have actually replaced the linking vowel /-ə-/. Forms like /həməro/ həmoru/ indicate that the vowel witnessed in these forms is due to sensitiveness of the vowel system of Kumāuni. The maintenance of the final vowel and preference for linking sound also indicate even accentual tendencies and the tendency of putting higher prominence on the second syllable respectively.

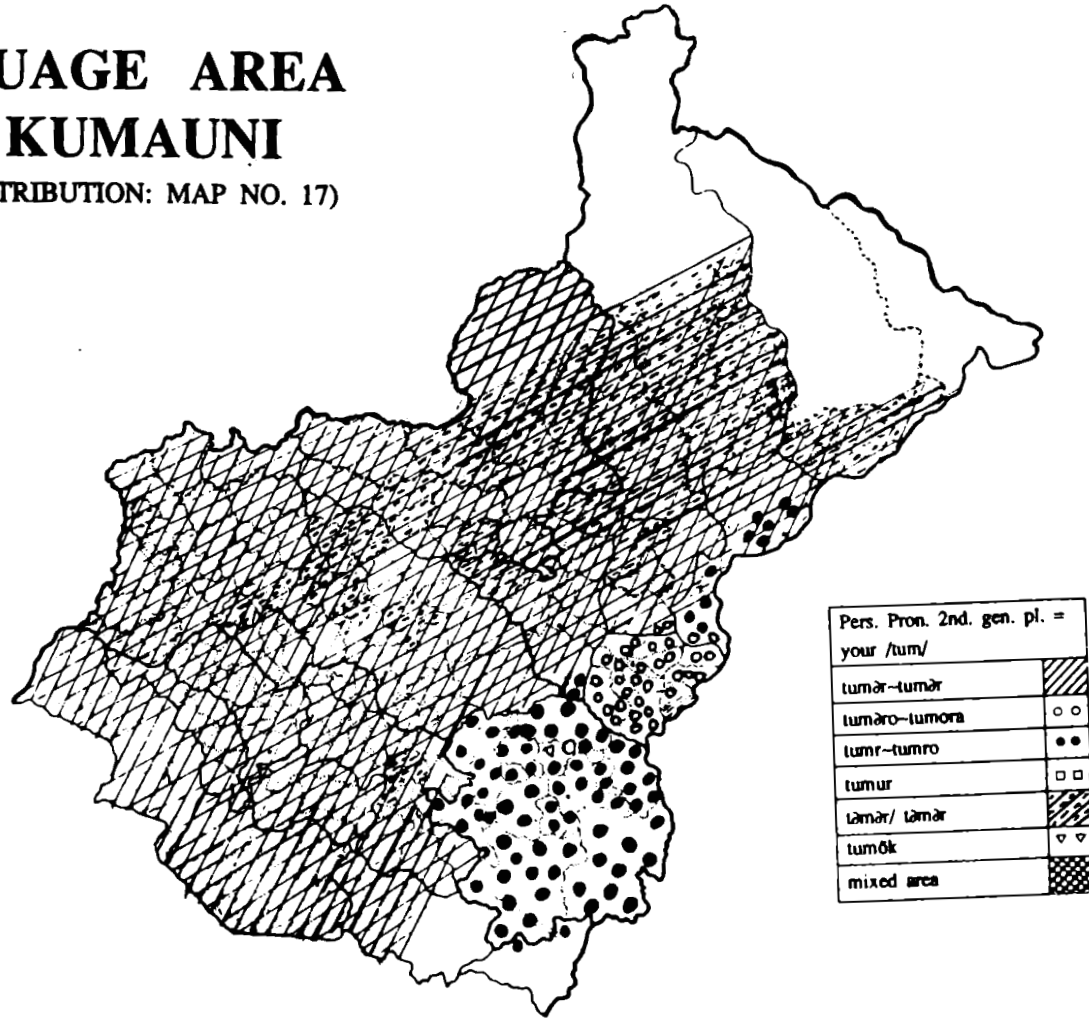
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, these correlates are a part of a noun phrase, i.e. these variants may be used as an attribute of a masculine, singular substantive or as a subject of a verb substantive, as in /həmər ghər/ 'our house or /həmər chə/ 'it is our'.

*Appendices:* When used as a pronominal adjective it shows agreement with the following noun in number and gender.

1. *Feminine correlates:* When denoting some thing feminine as an attribute or subject its correlates are:/həmərI~həmrI~həmorI~həmUri/, all masculine correlates with a coloured or replaced connective will be realized with a connective /-ə-/ only.
2. *Plural correlates:* The number of the correlates of this pronominal adjective, qualifying or denoting something plural are even less. These are. /həma- ra~həməra ~həmUra~həmár/.
3. *CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /həmär, həməro, həmaru, həmro/ -ri (f.), -ra (pl.),  
2. *Nepali* - /həmro, hamro, हाम्रो/; -ri (f.); -ra (pl.).

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 17)



Pers. Pron. 2nd. gen. pl. = your /tum/	
tumār-tumār	
tumāro-tumora	
tumr-tumro	
tumur	
tāmār/ tāmār	
tumōk	
mixed area	

## Table No. 19

Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun/Pronominal Adjective/tUm/  
'you' (genitive case).

## Correlates &amp; Areas:

1. - tUmoro (79-86, 90), 2 - tUməro (71, 88-90, 93), 3. - tUmro (68-69, 71, 90, 99), 4. - təmɔr (2, 3, 7-9, 14, 22-23, 27-28, 42, 44, 48, 52, 75, 87, 90, 95, 101, 105, 113, 145, 149-50), 5 - tUmɔr (1-2, 6-8, 11-12, 14, 17-19, 27, 25-29, etc. See map), 6 - tUmər (1, 4-7, 10-17 etc. See map), 7 - tUmrə (46, 60-67, 69-74), 8. - tUmUr (7, 17, 23, 58, 61-65, 69, 71-73, 87-88, 90-91, 98, 138, 146-147), 9 - təmər (104-06), 10 - tUmök (71).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 17.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers):* -ro (1-3), -r (4-9), -k (10)

*Immediate constituents:* stem /tUm~tAm/, + connective /o~A~u~o (amalgamated with number and gender)+genitive marker/ro~ro~r~k/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The most notable features of these tendencies may be said - (i) emergence of a linking sound in between the stem and the case marker (1-2, 5-6, 8-10). Occurrence of a back vowel as a linking sound may be attributed to the colouring of the diachronic linking vowel /A/- or to the vowel harmony which is so common in Kumāuni.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, these correlates form a part of an NP. It may occur as an attribute to a substantive i.e., as a pronominal adjective or as a subject of a verb substantive, as in /tUmər kam/ 'your work' or /tUmər chə/ 'It is your'.

1. *Feminine direct forms:* It shows an agreement in number and gender with the following noun, when denoting something feminine as an attribute or a subject. Its areal correlates are: /tUməri, tUmEri, tUmUri, təmərI, tUmrI, tUmökI/. Here the final /i/ functions as gender marker.

2. *Plural direct forms:* Similarly when modifying something plural as an attribute or as a subject its areal correlates are attested as follows: /tUmrá~tUmár~tUmər~tUməra~tUmrə~təmar~tUmök/. In these forms the connective vowel /-a-/ or the final vowel /-á/ function as a number marker as well.

Diachronically the case marker \*ro stands for something masc. sg., \*ri for some feminine sg. and pl. and \*ra for something pl.

3. *CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /tUmər, tUmUr, tUməro, tUmaro,- (ri (f.); -ra (pl.))

2. *Nepali*- /tUmro, tapāko, tumro, tAmro;- (ri (f); - ra (pl.)) .

Table No. 20

**Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /U~Un/they (remote),  
(genitive case, masc gender)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - Unəro/ 2 - Unɔro (88, 90-91, 93) 3 - Unoro (79, 80-86, 89-90), 4 - Unro (61, 62, 90, 102), 5 - Unər (1-7, 10-11, 13-14, etc. See map), 6. Unɔr (1-2, 7-9, etc. See map), 7 - Unárwe (24), 8 - Unōko (68-69, 71, 91), 9 - Unōk (60-74, 144-45, 153), 10 - Unko (71), 11 - ũk (46-47).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 18.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers):* -ro (1-4), -r (5-6) -rwe (7); -ko (8, 10), -k (9, 11).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /u/, + plural formative /-n/ nasality + linking sound /ə~o ~ɔ~ɸ/ + genitive case marker /r~r~ko~k/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The most notable diverse tendencies of these correlates are : (i) The stem /u/, when inflected for plural number, is replaced by /U/, showing both qualitative and quantitative reduction. (ii) In most of the cases a central or a back vowel is required as a linking sound in between the inflected stem and the suffixal morpheme. (iii) In some of the cases (5, 6, 9, 11) the suffixal morpheme has lost its syllabicity due to higher accent on the connectives; in others it is fastly losing its syllabic character, being realized very weakly or rather subjectively only.

*Syntactic usage:* As other pronominal adjectives, this also is a part of an NP, and is used as an attribute to a substantive or as a subject of a verb substantive, as in /unər ghər/ 'their home'. It shows an agreement in number and gender with the following noun, as in, /Unəri kUrI/ 'their house'/ Unár am/ 'their mangoes'.

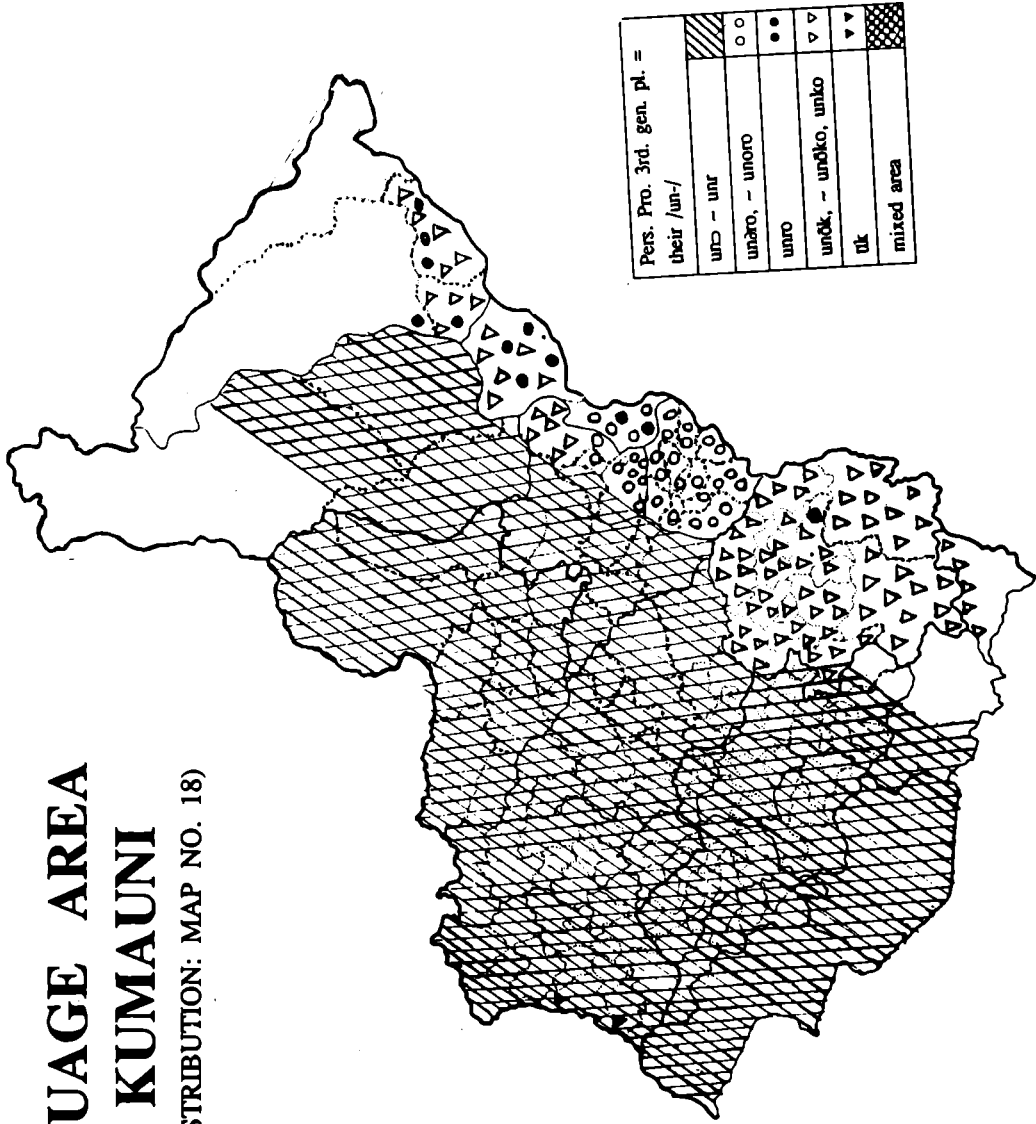
1. *Appendix:* Other number, gender correlates : (1) when denoting something feminine singular or\* plural its correlates are: /UnərI~UnErI~UnərI~UnrI~wənrI~wənr~UnōkI~UnũkI~UnkI/. (2) And when denoting something plural (masc.) its dialectal correlates are: /Unárá~Unár~Unrá~Unər~ũk~wək~Unũk Unōk/ It may be noted here that in these forms the case formative /-r + v\* / favours a front vowel as a connective or oblique formative and the case formative /k/ favours a back vowel as connective.

2. *CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /ũko, ũk, wEk, tōko, tōku, -ki (f.); - ka (pl.)/

2. *Nepali* - /unko, Unro, Unɔro/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 18)



Pers. Pro. 3rd. gen. pl. = their /un-/	
unco - unr	diagonal hatching
unaro, - unoro	open circles
unro	solid circles
unok, - unoko, unko	open triangles
uk	solid triangles
mixed area	checkered pattern

**Table No. 21**  
**Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /yō~In/ (proximate) 'these'**  
**(genitive case)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - In̄ro, 2 - Inar̄ö, 3 - Inor̄ö, 4 - Inr̄ö, 5 - InAr, 6 - In̄r, 7 - en̄r, 8 - Yān̄r, 9 - yān̄r, 10 - In̄rwe, 11 - In̄öko, 12 - In̄ök, 13 - Inko, 14 - yök.

*Areal Distribution:* As in Map No. 18.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers) :* -ro (1-4, -r- (5-9), -rwe (10), -ko (11, 13), -k (12, 14).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem - /i~yo/ + plural marker /-n/ ~ /Φ/ + linking sound / ə~a~o~ɔ~Φ/ + genitive case marker / ro~r~rwe~ko~k/

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological and morpho-phonemic tendencies in these correlates are as follows: (i) the stem/i~yo/, when inflected for plural number is replaced by /l/ ; (ii) In the variant (7) it is replaced by /e/ and in 8-9 by a glidal sound, viz. /y/; (iii) In paradigm 14, however, there is no change; (iv) Again in most of the cases a linking sound has appeared in between the inflected stem and the case marker, and (v) the suffixal morphemes have lost their syllabicity (5-10), due to higher accent on the connective and (vi) in others, in which it is phonemically retained, it is fastly losing its syllabicity; i.e. in these it is realized very weakly, mostly subjectively only.

*Syntactic usage:* Like other pronominal adjectives it is used as an attribute to a substantive or as a subject of a verb substantive, as in /In̄r gh̄r/ 'house of these'. It shows agreement in number and gender with the following noun.

*Appendix:* (1) *Gender correlates:* In̄rI~InErI~InrI~yanarI~enarI  
In̄öki~In̄üki~yökI/ (Fem.)

(2) *Number correlates:* Inara~Inár~Inra~In̄r~yüka~In̄ka~Inök (pl.)

(3) *Correlates 'of this' /yek~yEk~yak~yuk~yok/ (msc.); /yeki~yaki~yEki~yuki~yek~yok/ (fem.).*

(4) *CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /yüko, yüku, yöko, yöku/, - ki (f.); -ka (pl.).

2. *Nepali* - /Inko, inro/.

Table No. 22

## Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /u~/wo/'he' (genitive case).

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - wiko, 2 - wikö, 3 - wik, 4 - wEk~wek, 5 - wok, 6 - wok, 7 - ik, 8 - unko, 9 - uk, 10 - ok.

*Areal Distribution:* As in Map No. 18.

*Areally preferred groups (stem) -A.* 1-6 ; B. 8-9 ; C. 7 ; D. 10 : (markers) -ko (1-2-8), -k (3-7, 9-10).

*Immediate constituents:* stem + oblique formative + genitive marker.

*Phonological and Morphophonemic tendencies:* (i) All the correlates 1-6 have a linking sound (liaison) between the stem and the suffixal morpheme, consequently the vocalic stem /u/, is replaced by a semi-consonant /w/ which is an incident of the phonotactic behaviour of these phones; (ii) but no such a phenomenon occurs when there is no liaison in between the stem and the suffix, (iii) the 9th correlate i.e., /ik/ may be attributed to the peculiar accentual tendencies of the region concerned in which the higher accent on the suffixal morpheme has altogether elided the stem morpheme /u/ = [w]. (iv) The genitive marker -k in forms 3-11 is frequently elided in a quick tempo of speech. Further more, from the above data it may be presumed that besides the vocalic element of the connective, the genitive marker -k also tends to be elided in most of the cases in which there is no final suffixal vowel, the elision is indicated by the preceding connective. Consequently, forms like /wi:~wE~we:~u:~o:~i:/ are attested in a quick tempo of speech, as in, /wik paš/ = [wi: paš] 'with him'.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically these correlates are a part of an NP. It can be used as an attribute to a substantive or as a subject of a verb substantive.

*Other number-gender correlates:* (1) In modifying something feminine singular or plural as an attribute or as a subject its correlates are:

/wikI~wEkI~okI~ukI~uk~UIkI~ikI~ik~Ik/.

(2) And in modifying something plural as an attribute or as a subject its correlates are : /wiká~wik~uk~ok~ik/.

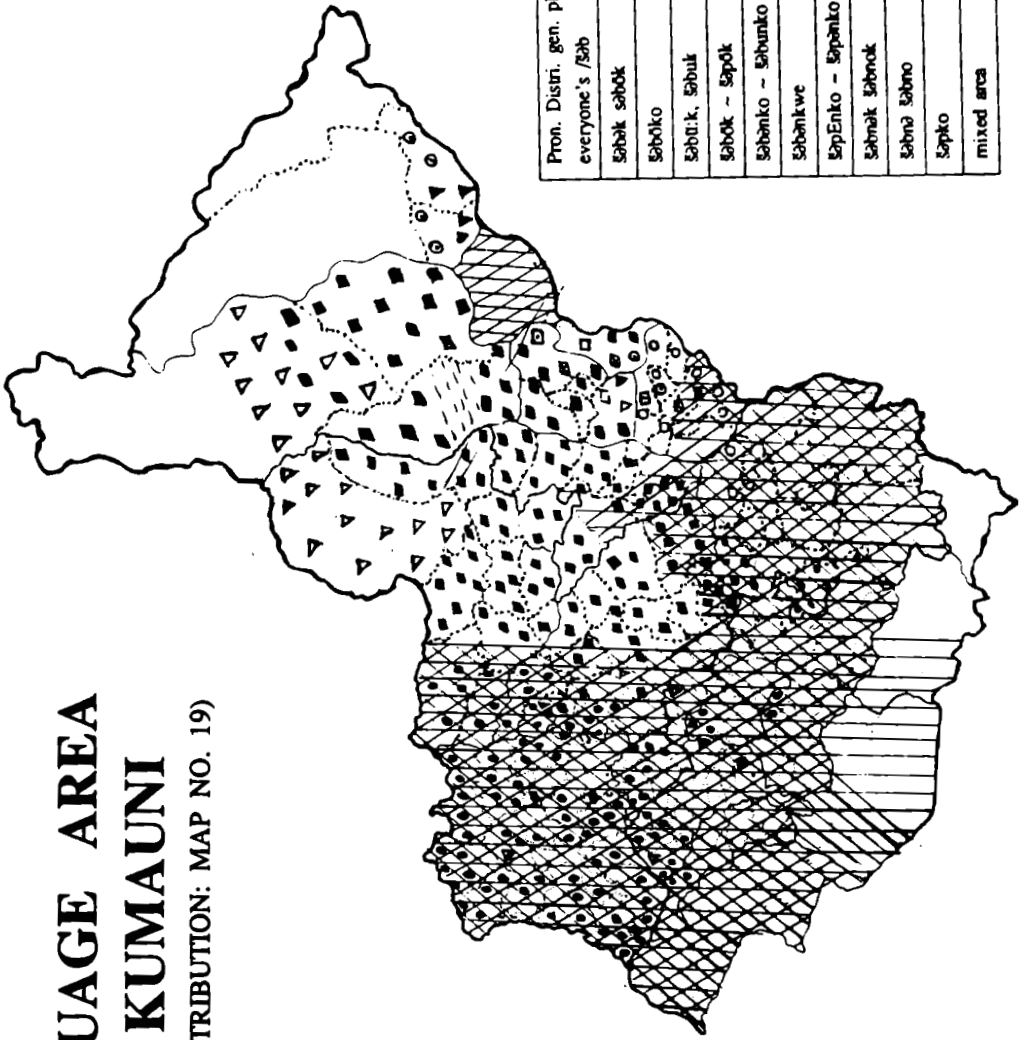
(3) *CEP Correlates* : 1. *Garhwali* - /wek, wEk, wEkU, wEko, wiko, tEkU, tEko/; -ki (f.), -ka (pl.).

2. *Nepali* - /Usko, tyʌsko/



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 19)



Pron. Distri. gen. pl. =	everyone's / Bab
Sabak sabok	▨
Saboko	○ ○
Sabok, Sabuk	● ●
Sabok - Sapok	○ ○
Sabanko - Sabunko	▣ ▣
Sabankwe	□ □
SapEnko - Sapenko	▤ ▤
Sabnak Sabnok	■ ■
Sabna Sabno	▽ ▽
Sapko	▼ ▼
mixed area	▨ ▨

Table No. 23

**Areal Correlates of Indefinite Pronoun /šAb/ 'all' (genitive case).**

*Correlatse & Areas*

1 - šabək (62, 72), 2 - šabɔk (69-72, 86, 88), 3 - šabōk (17-18, 22-24 etc. see map), 4 - šabbōk/ 5 - šabbōko (67, 71, 79-80, 83, 86-87, 90), 6 - šapōk (83, 101), 7 - šabōg (5, 128), 8 - šabbōko/ 9 - šabōko/ 10 - šabko (93, 101), 11 - šabUk (46, 48), 12 - šabūk (5-6, 22-23, etc. see map), 13 - šabuk (46-48), 14 - šabānko (85, 90-91), 15 - šabānkwe (90, 93), 16 - šabunko (85), 17 - šapānko (91), 18 - šapEnko (82), 19 - šabnək (2-6, 8-12, 14, 16-18, 24, 26-28, 34, 52, 55, 75, 78, 86-87, 90-91, 95-98, 104-05), 20 - šabnɔk (7-8, 12-14, 19, 23-28, 78, 90, 95-98), 21 - šabānə/ 22 - šabno (1, 24, 38, 106, 108, 123, 128).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 19.

*Areally preferred groups (markers):* -k (1-6, 11-13, 19-20); -g (7); -ko (8-10, 14, 16-18), -kwe (15); φ - (21-22).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /šab~šəp/ + oblique marker /φ ~ n~ən/ + connective / ə~ɔ~o~u~U~φ /, + genitive marker /-k~ko~ə~ɔ /.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Almost all the variants forming their oblique form without /n/ have a linking sound in between the oblique stem and the genitive marker, but variants having /-n/ for their oblique forms have a linking sound in between the stem and the oblique marker consequently, there is no linking sound in between the oblique stem and the case marker, but it does appear where the oblique form is without a linking sound, as in 19, 20, 22. Certain correlates (4, 5, 8) show a gemination in the stem final consonant before the oblique form. The syllabicity of the suffixal morpheme tends to be elided, some time entirely and some time partially, due to accentual peculiarities of the area concerned. In forms of correlates 21-22, even the consonantal element is entirely lost. Correlates 6, 17, 18 attest devoicing of the final consonant of the stem.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a subject of a VP. and a pronominal adjective qualifying a substantive, both attributively or predicatively. It also shows agreement with the following noun in number and gender. There is a group of post-positions which follows the possessive case (see table No 24-25). Like a pronominal adjective it shows an agreement in number and gender with the following noun,

as in /šəbʊkI~šəbnEkI-celiyā/ 'daughters of all', /šəbəñək~šəbʊk khet/ 'fields of all'.

*Appendices: (i) Plural correlates of vowel ending stems:* Plural correlates of stems, ending in vowels, are similar to those of stems ending in consonants, as shown above. That is to say, in correlates with oblique formative /ən/, the genitive marker /-k/ is appended to it with or without a linking sound, as in /bhálUnak~bhálUnko/ 'of bears' /bEnInak~bEnInko/ 'of younger sisters'. It seems that the oblique marker nasal consonant is reduced to mere nasality in these correlates. With consonant ending stems and with oblique formative /n/ the linking vowel is realized as /á/ if it modifies something plural.

*(ii) Singular-plural correlates:* Singular correlates of genitive case show only a few variations. In consonant ending stems usually a linking vowel /ə/, in some areas with colouring of /ɔ/ is added to the stem, as in /corɔk~corɔk/ 'of a thief', but with vowel ending stems no linking sound is needed, as in /bhálUk/ 'of bear', /dIdIk/ 'of sister'. Moreover, when modifying something plural or feminine the linking vowel of consonant ending stems shows ablaut, as in /corák kam/ 'deeds of the thief' /corEkI bEnI/ 'sister of the thief'. It may be clear from the above data that the feminine pronominal adjective marker /i/ is retained, but the plural pronominal adjective marker is epenthesised in most of the areas.

- (iii) CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /səpuko, səbuk, səbko, səbək, səbbu, səbu/.
2. *Nepali* - /səbʌiko, səbʌnko/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 20)

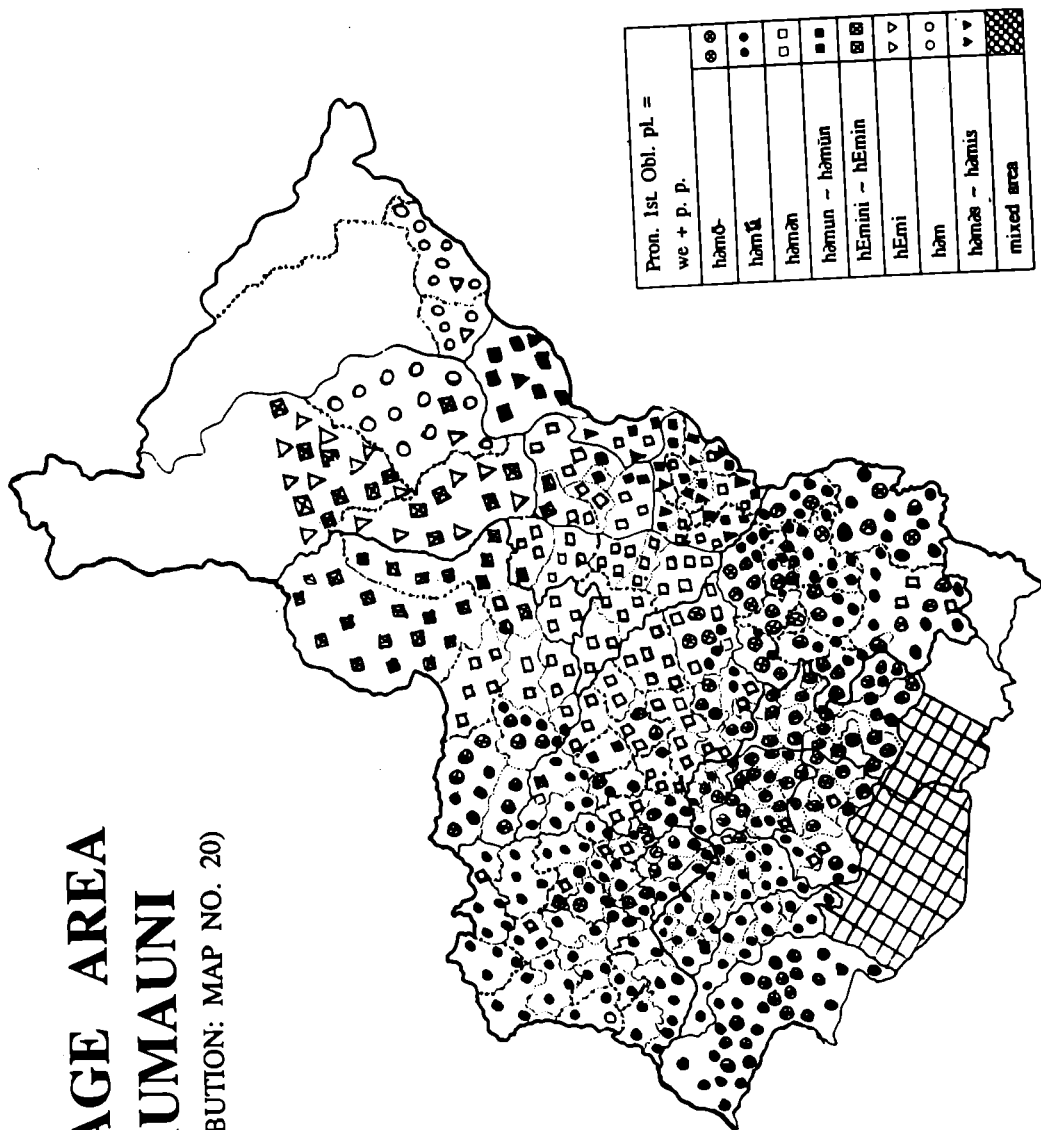


Table No. 24

## Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /həm/ 'we' (oblique case).

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - həmə- (5-7, 14, 17-18, 27, 29, 31, 44, 50, 56, etc. see map),  
 2 - həmə- (5-7, 11, 17, 19, 22-24, 27, 29, etc. see map), 3 - həmə- (46,  
 101, 4 - həmə- (101, 105-06), 5 - həmə- (3-4, 8-17, 19, 22, 24-28,  
 34, 37-38, 55, 61, etc. see map), 6 - həmə- / 7 - həmə- (26, 38, 79,  
 82-91, 93, 99), 8 - həmə- (95), 9 - həmə- (1-2, 14, 95), 10 - həmə- /  
 həmə- (1-2, 8, 22, 98, 105-6), 11 - həmə- (101, 105-06), 12 - həmə-  
 (88), 13 - həmə- (81, 83, 86-88), 14 - həmə- (119).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 20.

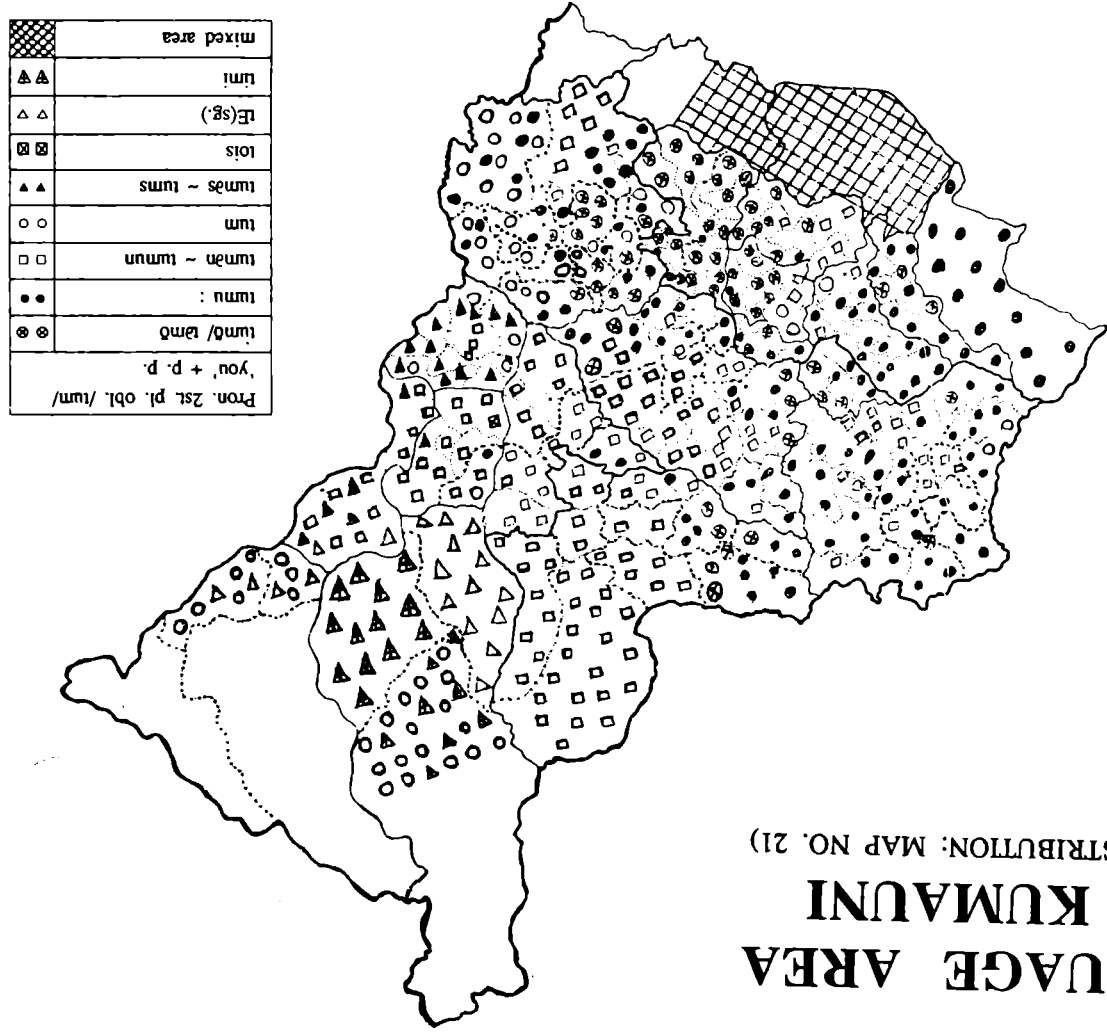
*Areally preferred groups (Markers):* o (1), u (2, 14), ø(3), E- (4,  
 11), Eə (6-7)-il (8-9),-ini (10); -is~əs (12-13).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /həm/ + oblique formative.

*Phonological and morphological tendencies:* Notable phonological tendencies noticeable in these correlates are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel due to sensitive vowel system (4, 9-11), i.e., the presence of /i/ in the formative has brought about qualitative change in the stem vowel, (ii) zero oblique formative, as in correlate No. 3. Morphologically, the most important point is that in syntactical utterances correlates No 1-4 are analytical and as such are followed by post-positions, but correlates 5-13 have become synthetic and are not followed by any post-position. However, a post-position may follow correlate No 5-7 in stylistic variations.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically the normal position of these correlates is as an object of a verb of a verbal phrase, as such it follows the subject and precedes the verb, as in /həmə kē~həmə dekhī ber/ 'having seen us', /həməhē~həmə de: / 'gave to us'.

- CEP correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /həm (thaī, etc.)/.  
 2. Nepali - /hami (lai, etc.) həmə, həmə./



## Table No. 25

## Areal Correlates of Personal Pronoun /tUm/ 'you' (oblique case)

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - tUmō/tümō (5-7, 14, 17, 27-29 etc. See map), 2 - tUmū/tümū (5-7, 11, 17, 19, 22-24, etc. See map), 3 - tUm (34, 46-47, 61-65, 68-69, 71-74, 80-81, 86, 89, 95, 101, 106, 130), 4 - t̄mu (111), 5 - t̄mi (Nep), 6 - tUmən (1-4, 8-19, 22, 24-28, 34, 37-38, 40-45, 55, 67, 75-78, 85-86, 90-98, 123, 132, 137), 7 - tUmUn/ 8 - tUmanI (26, 28, 38, 45-91), 9 - tUməs (79, 81, 83, 86-90, 99), 10 - tUms (82), 11 - t̄ (101, 105), 12 - t̄mI (104), 13 - tois (93).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 21.

*Areal groupings:* (Markers) -ō (1), -ū (2, 4), -ϕ (3), -l (5, 11), -ən (6, 8), -Un (7); -s (9-10, 12).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /tUm/ + /oblique formative.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological tendencies attested in these areal correlates are - (i) centralization of stem vowel (4,5); (ii) vowel harmony (12); (iii) absence of a linking sound (10); (iv) zero oblique formative (3, 4). Morphologically, a notable point of these correlates may be said the synthetic formation of correlates 6-11, the case element being amalgamated in these forms.

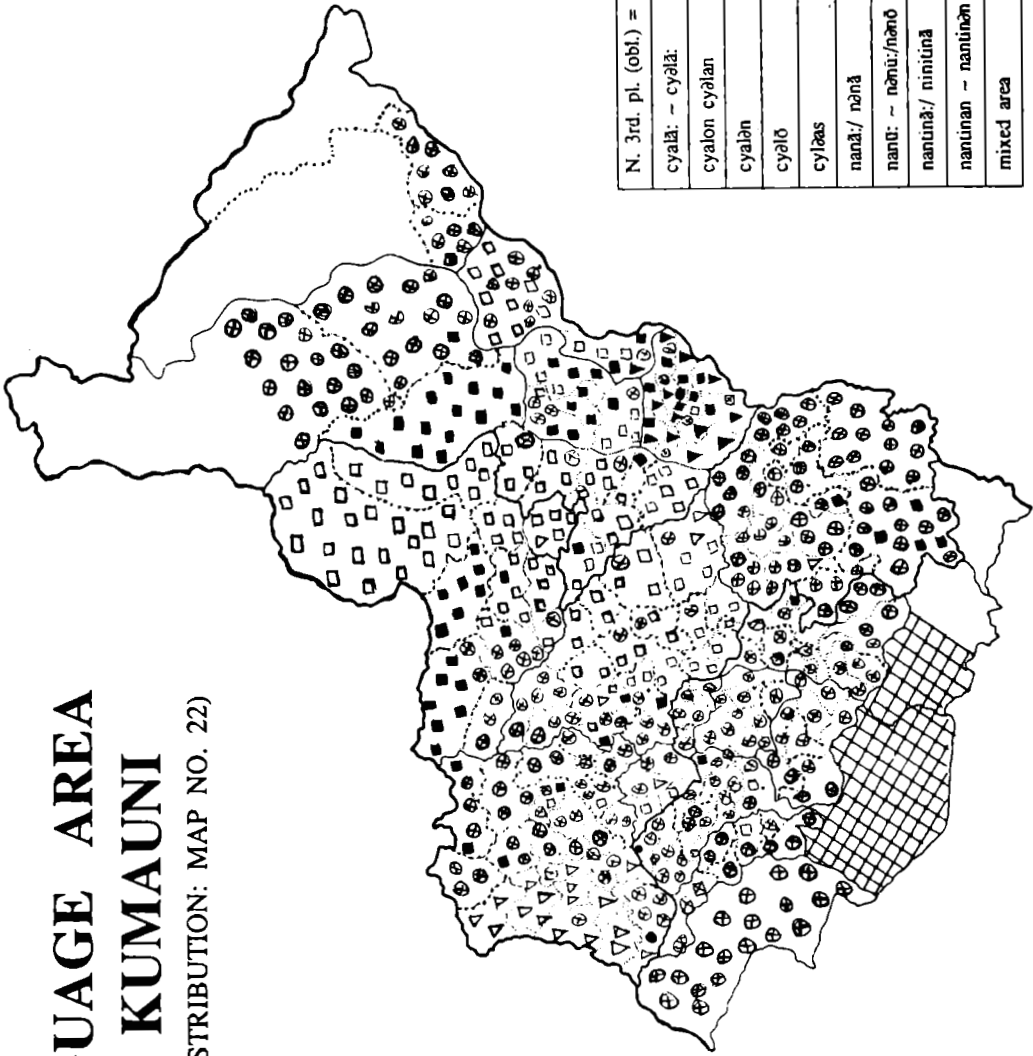
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, these correlates are used as object of a transitive verb of a verbal phrase, their normal position being after the subject and before the verbal element. Correlates 1-4 have postpositions in this position, but correlates 6-12 do not have any postposition. However, a postposition may, optionally, be added to correlates No 5-7 in stylistic variations. Morphologically forms of correlates 6-12 are synthetic and of 1-5 analytical.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /tUm (thē), tUmu./ + obl. marker.

2. *Nepali* - /timi (lai), t̄p̄ai (lai), t̄m̄ə/ + obl. marker.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 22)



N. 3rd. pl. (obl.) = lo sons	⊗ ⊗
cyalā: ~ cyālā:	■ ■
cyalān cyalān	□ □
cyalāh	● ●
cyālō	▼ ▼
cylāas	⊗ ⊗
nanā/ nānā	⊗ ⊗
nantī: ~ nānū:/nānō	▼ ▼
nantīnā/ nīnīnā	⊗ ⊗
nantīnan ~ nānīnā	□ □
mixed area	⊗ ⊗



Table No. 26

Areal Correlates of /cyəl/ cyəlo 'son' (oblique case, plural number).

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - cyálā (5-7, 11, 17, 22, 24, 27-29, etc. See map), 2 - cyälā (5-6, 12, 18, 22, 23, 31, 38-48, etc. see map), 3 - cyálán (3-5, 24, 27-28, 34, 37, 38, 67, 75, 78-79, 82-83, 85-95, 105, 118, 123, 147), 4 - cyəlán (7, 87), 5 - cyalən (1-2, 4, 7, 17, 19, 24-28, 34-35, 57, 75-78, 86, 90-91, 95-98, 101, 105, 137), 6 - chyəlō (48, 110), 7 - nənā (34, 107), 8 - nana (86), 9 - nántIna (28, 99), 10 - nantInən (8, 93), 11 - nánū (10, 17, 27, 32-33, 40-43, 47, 49, 56, 72), 12 - nənū (23, 46, 48), 13 - lōđán (7), 14 - pothən (14), 15 - bháū (17, 72)

*Areal Distribution:* See map No. 22.

*Areally preferred groups:* (stem) A. 1-6; B. 7-12; C. 13 ; D. 14, E. 15. (Markers) -a- (1-2, 7-9, 16) -án, ən (3-5, 10, 13-14); -ū (11-12, 15) -ō (6)

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Correlates of the word 'son' attested in oblique plural followed by post-positions indicate that the plural markers in oblique case of a consonant ending stems are - /ā~án~ən~ō~ū~á/, the stem vowel of the morpheme /án/ showing ablaut in various areas. This morpheme also attests morphophonemic or accentual shifts in synthetic formations, as in \*cyalən-IE>/cyälneI/ 'by sons', \* cyalän ko > /cyálnák/ 'of sons'; but cf. /cyálāk/ ~/cyəlūk/ of sons' <\* cyalā ko.

*Syntactic usage:* In an utterance these correlates are followed by case markers (synthetic or analytical), as in /nānakē/ 'to sons', /nānak lijly/~nāna huñi/ 'for sons' (for the use of dative markers see table No 24) In the agentive and genitive cases all these forms have become synthetic. However, in certain areas (79-90) the acc. case has become synthetic as in /cyalās/ 'to sons'. In some the locative case also has become synthetic, as in /wik cyalām bE/ 'from among his sons'.

*Appendix:* Oblique plural correlates of consonant ending stems like /cij-/ 'things' are attested as follow: /cijō/ ~ / cijū-/ ~ / cijən ~ /cijə(s) / ~ /cij-/.

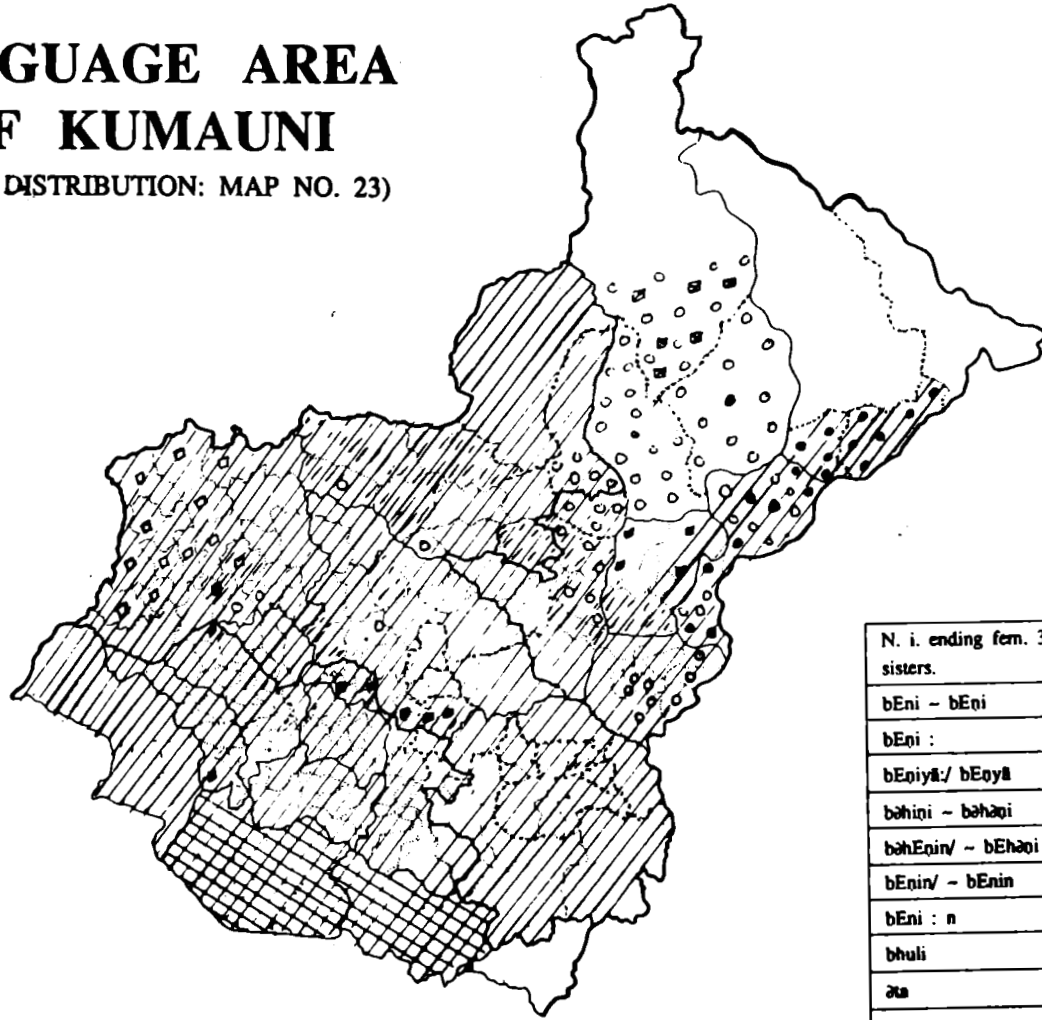
*Note:* (1) Consonant ending stem with /a/ as stem vowel show ablaut in the stem vowel before the direct plural forms, but with other vowels it does not show any change. (2) Stems ending in /U/ vowel do not have any plural marker, as in /car bhálU/4bears, but they do

attest their oblique plurals as /bhálũ~bhálUn kē/ 'to the bears', /bhálũk~bhalUnák/ 'of bears'. The correlates with nasality as plural oblique formative show intensity in the vowel, whereas with /-n/ formative do not attest any length or intensity.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /nɔ̃nō-, nɔ̃nũ-, nUnyala; laṛkō-/ + obl. marker.  
2. *Nepali* - /chora-, cyalan, cyAlā/ + obl. marker.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 23)



N. i. ending fem. 3rd pl. sisters.	
bEni - bEni	
bEni :	
bEniyā/ bEnyā	
bəhīni - bəhāni	
bəhEnin/ - bEhāni	
bEnin/ - bEnin	
bEni : n	
bhuli	
ᱠa	
mixed area	

## Table No. 27

**Areal Correlates of /bEni/ 'younger sister' (nominative (+obl.) case, plural number).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - bEnI (60-74, 78-90, 93, 95, 99, 101, 122-23, 137-153), 2 - bEṅI (1-18, 22-28, 32-48, 50, 52, 54-58, 75, 77-78, 91, 95-98, 107, etc. see map), 3 - bEnI/4 - bEṅI (3, 5-7, 10, 26, 29, 35, 44, 78, 93, 97, 110), 5 - bEṅIyā (19, 91, 110), 6 - bEṅyā (45, 95), 110, 126, 128), 7 - bAIṅI (Nep), 8 - bEṅIn (2, 6, 11, 55), 9 - bEnin (85, 86, 88, 90, 104-05), 10 - bəhInI/11 - BəhInI (32-38, 42-43, 46, 48-49), 12 - bəhEni (31), 13 - bəhəṅi (48), 14-bEhInI/bEhəṅi (46), 15 - bhUli (101, 105).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 23.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers):* - Φ (1-2, 7, 12-16), -i (3-4, 11); -n (8-10).

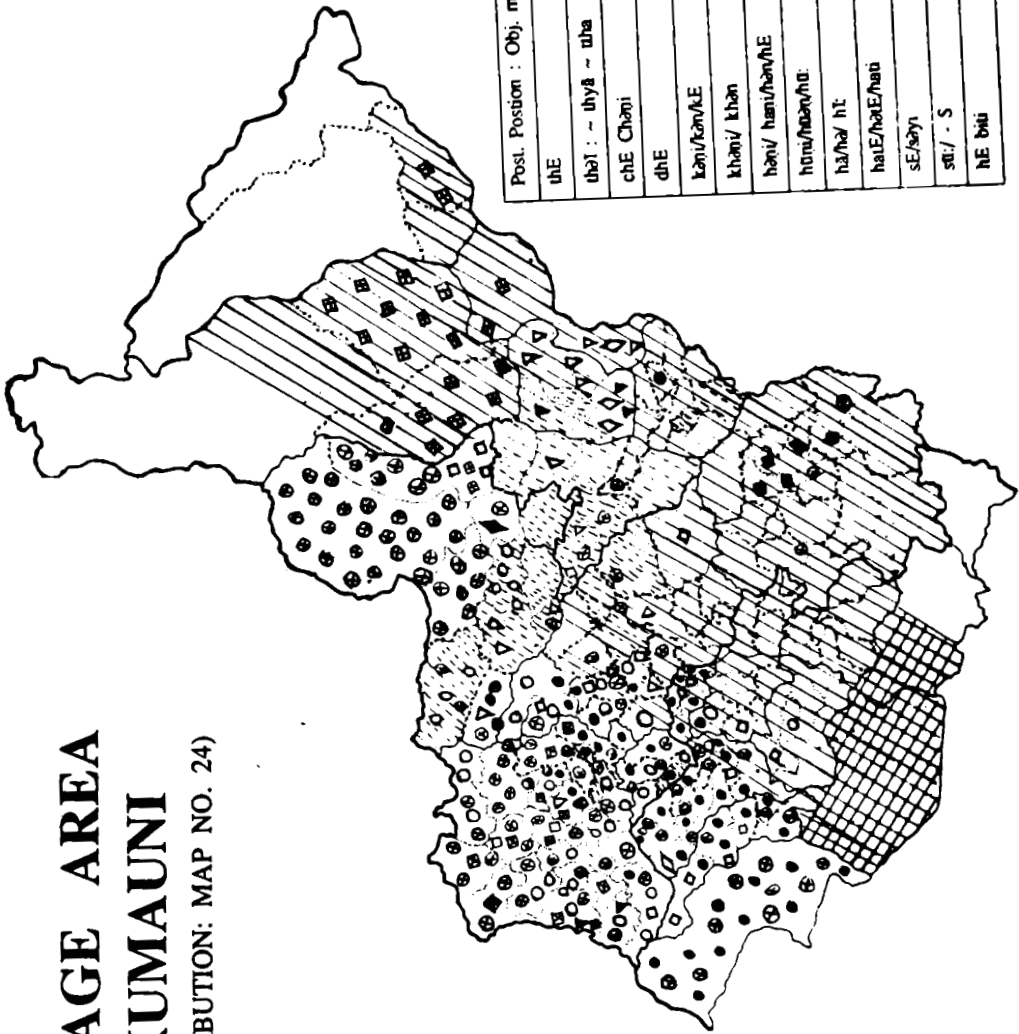
*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The direct plural markers in these correlates are attested as /i~a~in~n~Φ/. In the case of /a/ being employed as plural marker, an automatic glide emerges in between the stem vowel and the plural marker (5-6). However, in oblique cases there is no zero morpheme. All the correlates of direct case attested with zero morpheme, are attested with /I/ (i.e. i + nasality) morpheme in oblique cases as in /bEṅI kē~thē/ 'to sisters', /bEṅIk/ 'of sisters', others maintain their plural markers in all the oblique cases, as in /bEṅyā kē/ ~ /bEṅIn kē/ 'to sisters', /bEṅyāk/ ~ / bEṅinək/ 'of sisters'. As usual agentive and genitive cases have become synthetic, whereas all others are analytical, keeping apart the inflected stem from the post-positional case marker.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /bEni, bhUli (younger), didi (elder), bəhini + obl. marker.

2. *Nepali*- /bΛhini, bΛhani, didi (elder), bəini, bEni. + obl. marker.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 24)



Post. Position : Obj. marker	Obj. marker
thE	▨
thai : - thya ~ ttha	▼▼
chE Chani	▨
dhE	▽▽
kani/kani/E	□□
khan/ khan	■
hani/ hani/hani/E	●●
honi/honi/hni:	●●
ha/ha/ hi	▣▣
haE/haE/hai	○
sE/sayn	◆◆
su/ - S	◇◇
hE bui	▣▣

## Table No. 28

## Areal Correlates of Accusative-dative Markers (Postpositions). (A)

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - thE/ -thē (1, 7, 11-19, 22-29, 34-35 etc., See map), 2 - thāI/ thāī (46, 47), 3 - thā (95), 4 - thyā (90, 93), 5 - chē (4-5, 7-9, 10, 12, 16-17, 75, 77, 78, 90-91, 95-98), 6 - chāñI (5, 7, 11), 7 - dhē (6-7, 90-91), 8 - kē (1-19, 22-29, etc.), 9 - kāñ (69, 78, 122-123, 107), 10 - kāñI (4, 8, 14, 17), 11 - khāñI~khāñ (46, 61-62, 71), 12 - khāñ (61-62, 71), 13 - hāñI (23, 28, 32, 34-36, 44-45, 48, 54-55, 113, 120), 14 - hāñ (27, 43, 62, 72, 141), 15 - hUñI (6, 11, 22, 24, 27-28, 35, 48, 56, 58, 78, 110-18, 122-23, 125, 138, 136), 16 - hUñ (71, 123, 136), 17 - hāñI (32), 18 - hā (30-36, 46, 49, 52, 101, 105), 19 - hū (27, 35, 112, 118, 123), 20 - hē (101, 105-06), 21 - hI (2, 49), 22 - hātE (4, 22, 24, 33-34, 42, 110), 23 - hātE/ 24 - hātē (5, 23, 29, 34, 38, 45, 48, 54-55, 113, 120), 25 - hāti (27, 42-43, 46, 110, 137), 26 - hEblI (107), 27 - sū (108), 28 = sē (8, 46, 83), 29 - s (90-93, 99), 30 - phē

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 24.

*Areally preferred groups:* thā- (1-4); chā- (5-6); dhā- (7); kā- (8-10), khā (11-12), hā- (13-21, 26), hāt- (22-25); s- (27-29); phā- (30).

*Phonological tendencies:* Some of the notable phonological tendencies noticeable in these areally preferred correlates are : (i) Assimilation of vowels (1-2, 5-7), otherwise cf. 3; (ii) glidalization (4-), (iii) elision of final vowel due to initial accent (9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 29), (iv) ablaut in the stem vowel (15-20, 25-26), (v) reduction of a syllable with nasal consonant into mere nasality (18-21).

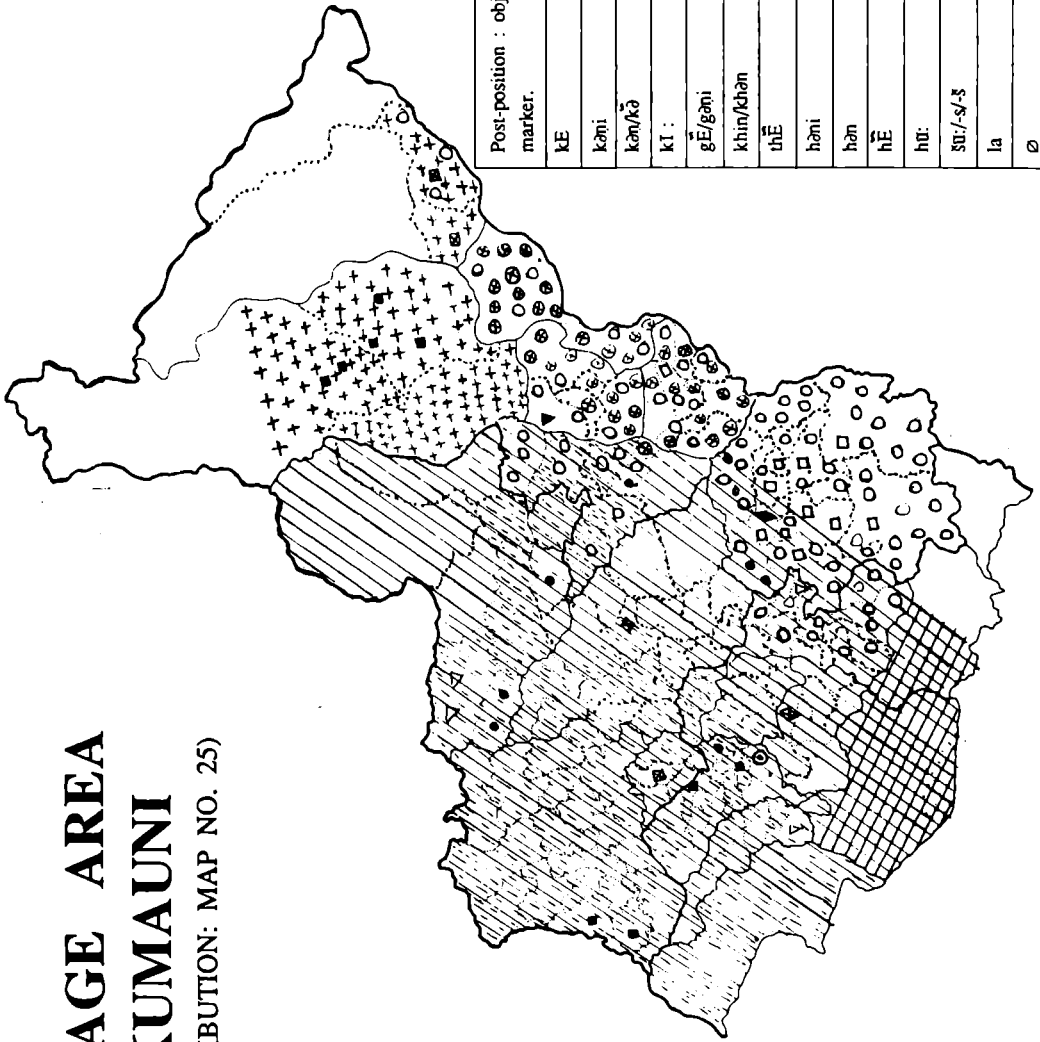
*Syntactic usage:* These areal correlates of accusative-dative markers are used, particularly, with verbs meaning 'to stay', 'to tell', 'to ask', 'to enquire' etc. when accusative sense is involved, but correlates overlapping with dative markers do not have such stylistic restrictions, as in, /mē thē~hātE k:/ "told to me" but /mE kē dekhi/ 'saw to me' (for details see table No 30). Most of these correlates are used as causative - accusative markers as well (see table No. 30). Correlates /thē/ and /chē/ also denote possession and proximity as in /mE thē ke nhē/ 'I have nothing with me'. /Unāri kuṛi thē ek pēṛ chā/ 'there is a tree near their house'.

*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* In this paradigm preferences both for post-positional morphemes and for vocalic phones are noticeable (see, areal groupings). Except correlate No. 29 all other correlates are used as post-positions, but this correlate is attested as a suffixal morpheme and consequently the resultant form has become synthetic, as in /mēs kɔ: / 'told me'. Correlates beginning with /kh-, h-/and/s -/ overlap with dative forms.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /khə̀ni, khÙni, khin, tẽ, thẽ, thɪ, mā, mɪ, se, ko, ku, kani, kẽ, -ɪ, saɪi/.
2. *Nepali* - /lai, thaɻ/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 25)



Post-position : obj./Dative marker.	
kE	▨
kami	▧
kan/kā	●●
kI :	⊙⊙
gE/gani	▽▽
khin/khan	□□
thE	■
hani	⊠
han	◆
hE	+
hi:	⬇
su:/s/š	⊗
la	▼
∅	○



Table No. 29

## Areal Correlates of Accusative-dative Marker (Postposition). (B)

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - kē (1-19, 22-29, 31-45, etc. see Map), 2 - kəŋI (4-8, 14, 17, 22, 27-29, 31-36), 3 - kəŋ/ 4 - kəŋ (69, 78, 122, 123), 5 - kə (7, 9, 60, 123), 6 - kI (Nep.), 7 - khəŋ (61-62, 70-72), 8 - khIn (83), 9 - gē (5, 23, 119, 147), 10 - gəŋI (5, 23), 11 - gə, 12 - həŋI (14, 56, 101, 112), 13 - hē (101, 105-106), 14 - həŋ (64), 15 - hū (136), 16 - thē (46, 47, 104, 106), 17 - su (78, 79, 81-88), 18 - s (9-93, 99), 19 - ϕ (1, 60-63, 66-75, 78, 80-81, 85-91, 93, 95-97, 101, 107, 123, 139, 144, 146, 149, 151, 153),

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 25.

*Areally preferred groups:* k-(1-6), kh- (7-8), g- (9-11); h- (12-15); th- (16) s- (17-18), ϕ (19).

*Syntactic usage:* These correlates of areally preferred particles are used as accusative-dative markers and follow a nominal or a pronominal stem in the oblique case, as in, /mE kē/ 'to me' /twe kē/ 'to thou' /tUmō kē/ 'to you' /həmō kē/ 'to us' /Ij kē/ 'to mother' /cijō kē/ 'to things (articles)', In certain areas it is optionally dropped as in, /mE didIyo/ 'Please give to me'. /həmən dekhIber/ 'having seen us'.

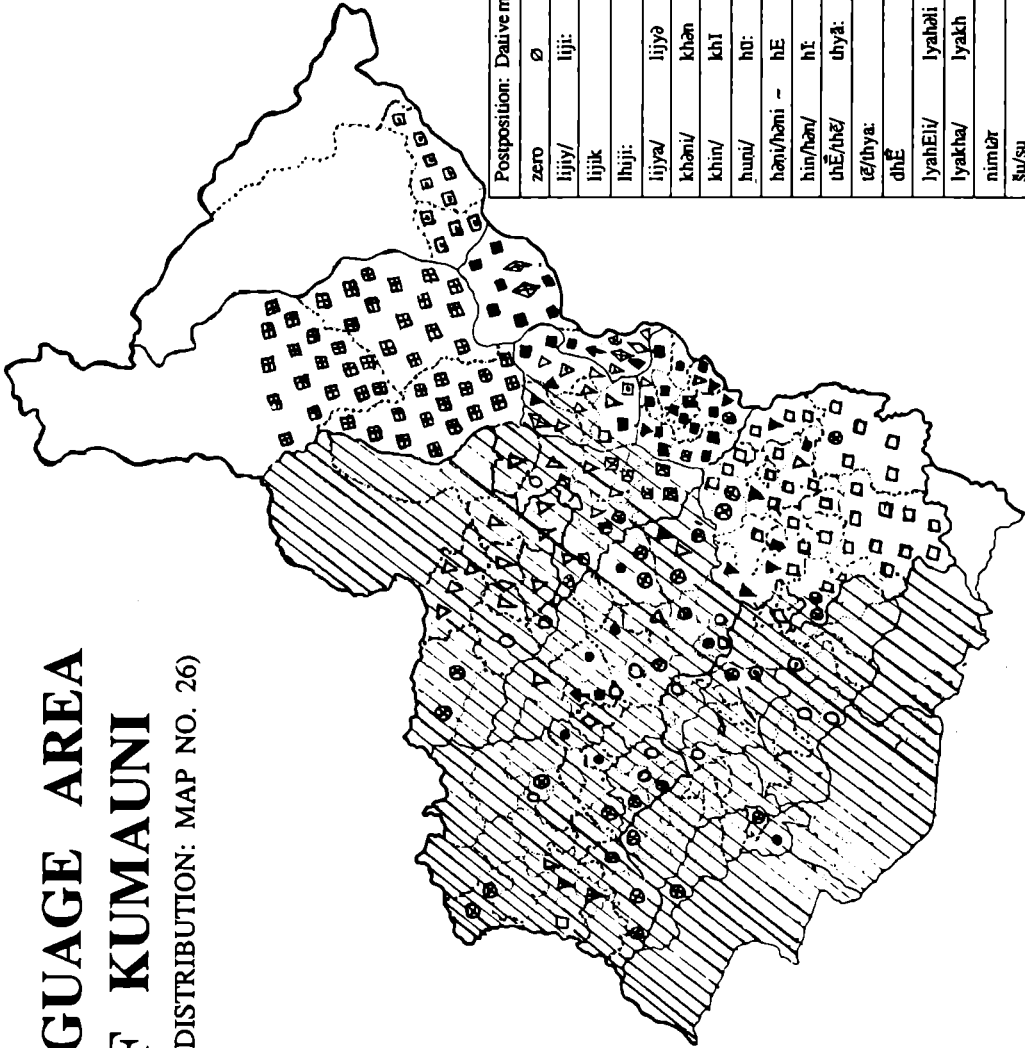
- Note:* 1. Some of the correlates overlap with dative markers of other areas (cf. table No. 28).
2. Stylistically, a dative marker instead of accusative marker is used (for correlates of dative markers see table No 30), if the head of the predicate is the verb /kəŋ/ 'to say'.

*Areal preferences:* Besides vocalic preferences, areal preferences are notable with regard to the stem consonant. It may be /k-/ (1-6), /kh-/ (7-8), /g-/ (9-11), /h-/ (12-15), /th-/ (16), /s-/ (17-18), ϕ (19).

- CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali /- thē, tē, saŋi, mā, se, khəŋi, khuni/  
2. Nepali/- lai/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 26)



Postposition: Dative marker	Symbol
zero	◊
lijjy/lijji:	▨
lijik	▩
lhjji:	●●
lijya/lijyè	⊙
khani/khan	□
khin/khī	■
huoi/hū:	○
hani/hani -	⊗
hin/han/	⊠
thE/thē/	▼
thya:	▽
tē/thya:	▽
dhE	▼
lyahEli/lyahāi	⊞
lyakha/lyakh	⊟
numār	▼
šu/su	◆
wa:stē	◇

**Table No. 30**  
**Areal Correlates of Dative Marker (Post-positions).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - *lɪjɪ*/ 2 - *lɪjɪ*: (1-2, 5-7, 11-18, 22-25 etc. see map), 3 - *lɪjɪ* (47, 142, 150) 4 - *lhɪjɪ* (12, 14, 26, 52, 119), 5 - *lɪjɪk* (96, 23-24, 28-29, 34-35, 37, 42, 46, 48, 54, 56, 110, 113, 117-18, 144), 6 - *khənɪ* (46, 70), 7 - *khən* (61-65, 69, 71-74, 93), 8 - *khɪn* (62, 79-90, 93, 99), 9 - *khɪ* (85, 99), 10 - *hɪn* (81), 11 - *hUnɪ* (7, 24, 27, 34, 56, 58, 110, 112, 123, 128, 137-38, 140), 12 - *hənɪ* (48, 57, 69, 86), 13 - *hEnɪ* (74), 14 - *hən* (60-61, 66-73, 143, 145, 147-49, 151,153), 15 - *hɪ* (75, 77-78, 85, 96-97), 16 - *hū* (11, 20, 24, 30, 97), 17 - *hē* (17, 34), 18 - *thE*/ 19 - *thē* (17, 60, 63, 68, 71-72, 79, 86-87, 91, 95-96, 122), 20 - *iē* (3-4, 8-10, 13, 17, 22, 43, 62, 75-78, 82, 87, 90-91, 93, 95, 97, 144), 21 - *lyákha*/ 22 - *lyəkhE* (93, 101), 23 - *lyākha* (93, 101), 24 - *lyahEli* (106), 25 - *lyəhəli* (104, 105), 26 - *nɪmtər*/ 27 - *nɪntər* (42, 49), 28 - *dhē* (90, 91), 29 - *ʃU* (27, 90), 30 - *tnyā* (87), 31 - *waste* (4, 28, 90, 104), 32- *khilya* (95), 33 - *zero* (90, 95, 99), 34 - *thyā* (90).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 26.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-5; B. 6 -9; C. 10-17; D. 18-20, 34; E. 21-25; F. 26-27; G. 28; H. 29; I. 30; J. 31; K. 32; L. 33;

*Phonological tendencies:* Notable phonological tendencies attested in areally preferred groups are-(i) Reduction or elision of final syllable due to higher prominence on the penultimate syllable (cf. 'A' & 'B' groups), (ii) reduction of the whole syllable into nasality (cf. 'D' group), (iii) voiced aspiration (28), (iv) Phonotactic assimilation (30), (v) metathesis (32): *khilya* < *lyakha*.

*Syntactic usage:* These areal correlates of dative-accusative markers are used to denote the purpose or object of an action. In a normal utterance correlates 1-5, 18-29, 31-32 follow a nominal or a pronominal stem in the genitive case, but correlates No. 7-17 and 30 follow a nominal or a pronominal stem in the nominative case, as in /*myär lɪjɪ*:/, / *mē hunɪ*/ /*mū khilya*/ 'for me'. Correlates with /*khə*, *hə*-, *thə*-, *dha*-/, and /*sə*-/ overlap with accusative forms (see Table No. 28-29).

*Note:* - Correlates from 6-21, 29-30 overlap with accusative markers. (for detailed correlates of accusative markers, see table No

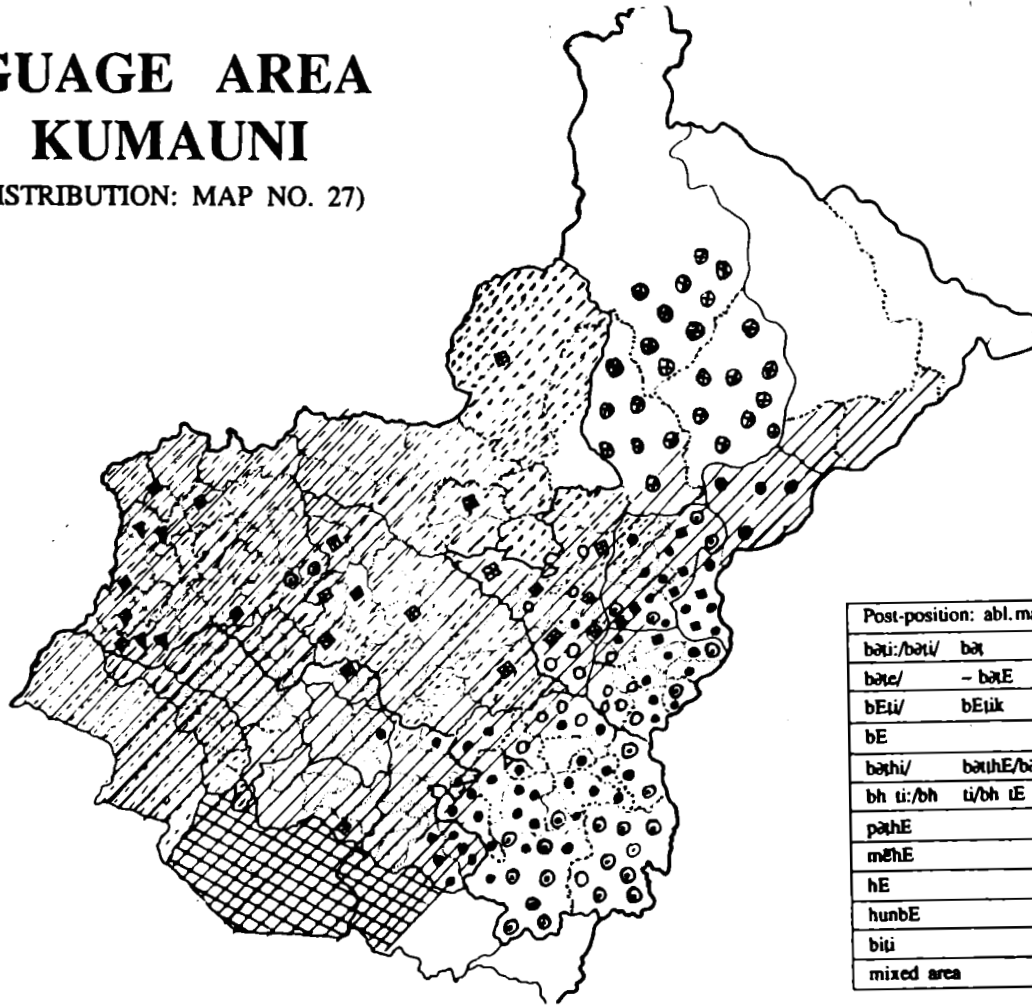
28). The zero correlate is attested with verbal nouns only as in /mũ pə̀ɾən jhán mə̀ɾəyō/ 'I am going for study.

*Stylistic variations:* A number of areal preferences and stylistic variations are attested in these correlates (see areal groupings, above).

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /khUɳi (with nom.) thē, tē, kə̀ī, wasta (with gen.) lái, sə̀ɳi, hə̀ɳi, chə̀ɳi, khə̀ɳi, kə̀ɳi, ku, khatir, nibə̀l/.
2. *Nepali*-/lagi/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 27)



Post-position: abl. marker.	
bəi:/bəi/ bəi	▨
bəe/ - bəe	○ ○
bEi/ bEik	▣ ▣
bE	▨
bəhi/ bəhE/bəhe	▣ ▣
bh i:/bh i/bh iE	● ●
pəhE	● ●
məhE	□ □
hE	○ ○
huhE	▽ ▽
biṭi	● ●
mixed area	▩

**Table No. 31**  
**Areal Correlates of Agentive/Ablative Marker (Postposition)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - bəti (1, 5-9, 12, 14-17, 22-29 etc.) 2 - bəte (52, 55, 63.....),  
 3 - bəti (6, 42, 46, 90, 96, 97, 101, 106, 110, 138), 4 - biṭi (104-105),  
 5 - bEti (1, 4, 14, 17, 23, 32, 38, 44, 46-48, 75-77, 90, 97, 125, 138),  
 6 - bE (1-7, 10-14 etc. See map), 7 - bətiḱ (27-28), 8 - bəthi (48, 61,  
 72, 91, 113, 142, 144, 147, 153), 9 - bəthE/ 10 - bəthe (14, 60, 65, 67,  
 68, 71-73, 83, 85, 86, 88, 90, 93, 99), 11 - bhəti (91, 93), 12 - bhəti  
 (90), 13 - bhəte (90), 14 - bhəte (82), 15 - hE (68, 80-82, 85-87, 90,  
 96-97, 126), 16 - mēhE (71), 17 - phē bE (118), 18 - pəthE (78).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 27.

*Areally preferred groups:* bAṭ (1-3-7), biṭ (4), bEṭ (5), bE (6, 17),  
 bəth (8-10), bhəṭ (11-14), hE (15-16), pəthE (18).

*Phonological tendencies:* The most notable phonological tendencies in these areally conditioned correlates are: (i) preference for aspiration (8-14, 19); (ii) transfer of aspiration (11-14); otherwise cf. 8-10; (iii) elision of intervocalic plosive (6, 15-18) and consequent assimilation of vowels (6, 15-17).

*Syntactic usage:* These areal correlates of ablative marker, denoting separation, are normally used after the object from which the separation is indicated, as in /kan bəti/ 'from the ear' /əgas bəti/ 'from the sky'. These correlates are also used after acc. - dative marker to denote the agency in a passive or causative construction, as in /tUm withē bəti ItUk kam 1E nE kəre səka/ 'you could not get done even this much work from him'. These correlates are also used as a second component of an adverbial phrase, as in /wā bəti/ 'from there', /yā bəti/ 'from here', /kā bəti/ 'where from'.

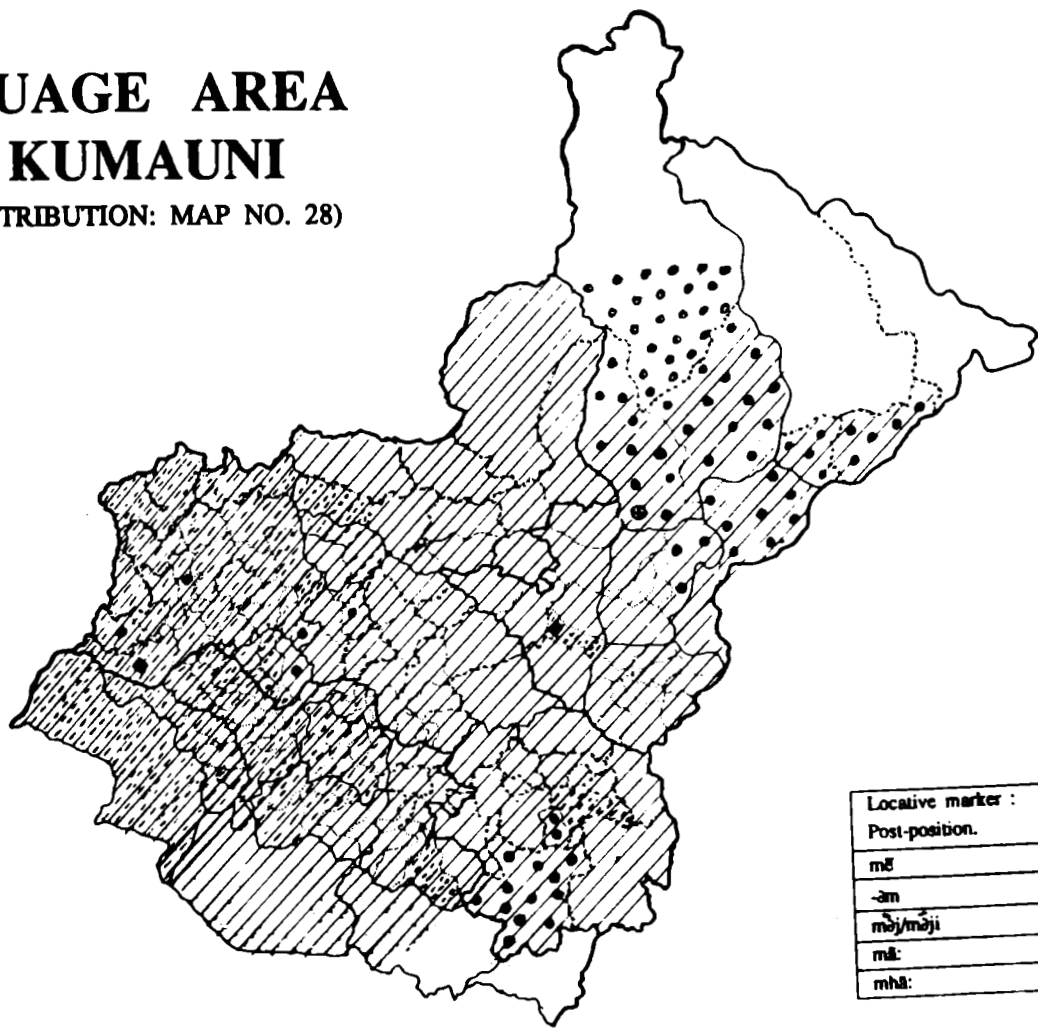
*Stylistic variations:* Correlate No. 16 shows a stylistic preference for locative marker before the ablative marker as a mechanism of intensity.






*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /bEti, bəte, bəte, bəthE, bəti, biṭki, bətiḱh, biṭin, bəthni, pə bE, pəṛən, se, si, te, ti, kəri, ei/.

2. *Nepali* - /baṭ, bəthE/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 28)



Locative marker :	
Post-position.	
mē	
-am	
māj/māji	
mā:	
mhā:	

**Table No. 32**  
**Areal Correlates of Locative Marker (Postposition).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. mē (1-19, 22-29, etc. see map), 2. -māī (Nep.), 3 - mā (27, 47, 58, 67, 95, 101, 105-106, 128), 4 - mhā (105), 5 - mājī/māj (43, 48, 50, 78), 6 - m (6, 22-24, 27, 31-38, 41-42, 44, 46, 48, 52-56, 62, 78, 107, 110, 112-18, 120, 122-23, 125, 126, 130, 137, 140, 153), 7 - ōn/ūn (136-140).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 28.

*Areally preferred groups:* mē (3-4), māj~māji (5), -māī (2), -m (6), -ūn/ōn (7).

*Syntactic usage:* These areal correlates of the locative marker are used to denote the location of an object. These follow a nominal or pronominal stem in or on which the location is indicated, as in /khet mē/ 'in the field' (hatəm/ 'in the hand' (synthetic). It also follows a verbal noun or a participial phrase, as in /dekhən mē bhəl chə/ 'it is good in looking'. /khən mē mīth chə / 'it is sweet in eating' (=it is tasty), /jebūn/ in the pocket.

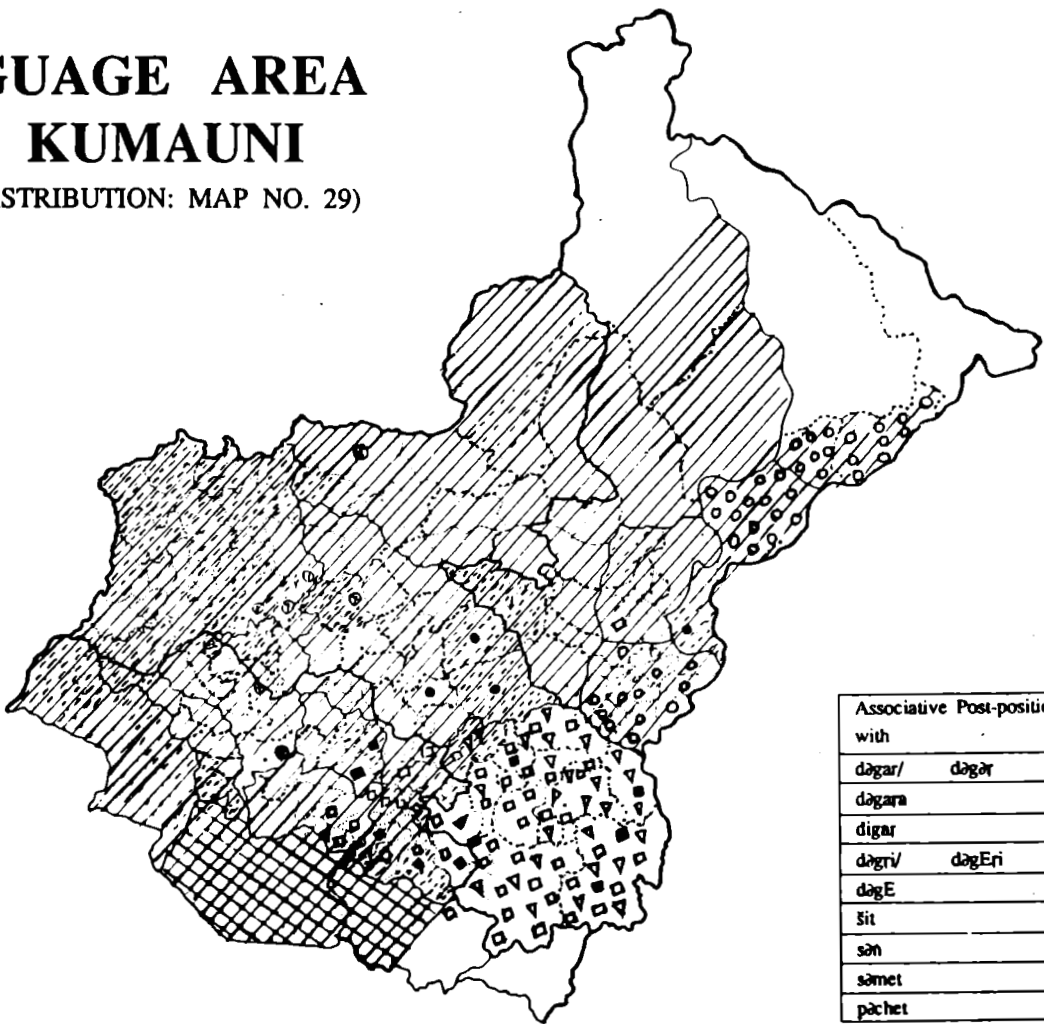
*Areal variations:* In the area of correlate No. 6, it has become synthetic, as in /kanəm/ 'in the ear', with a linking vowel in consonant ending stems. In others it is a postposition.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /mā, -m, mu, mæg, mæ/ in, /māthe, ūdu, un, pər, phəri/ ('on')
2. *Nepali-* /mā/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 29)



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**Table No. 33**

**Areal Correlate of Post-position, showing Association, accompaniment, which means 'with'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - dægár (1-29, 31, 34-38, etc. see map), 2- dægər (2, 6, 46-47, 87, 95), 3 - dIgAr (12, 17-18, 90), 4 - dægärä (79, 81-86, 97, 99, 101); (dægärä - 90, 93); 5 - dIgərI (110), 6 - dəghər (48), 7 - dægE (5, 24, 27, 52, 55, 110, 112), 8 - pəchet (60-63, 65-74), 9 - səmet (60, 73, 138), 10 - šIt (60-61, 67-74, 93, 137-139, 144-45, 148, 150-153), 11 - sən (63-64, 72, 140, 142, 153).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 29.

*Areally preferred groupings:* A. 1-7; B. 8 ; C. 9 ; D. 10-11; E. 12; F. 13.

*Phonological tendencies:* Phonological tendencies noticeable with regard to group 'A' may be pointed out as follows: (i) ablaut in vowels; (ii) elision of final syllable (1-3, 6); (iii) elision of intervocalic /r/, and consequent assimilation of vowels (7); (iv) aspiration (6); (v) even accent (4-5) (vi) higher accent on penultimate syllable (1-3, 6-7).

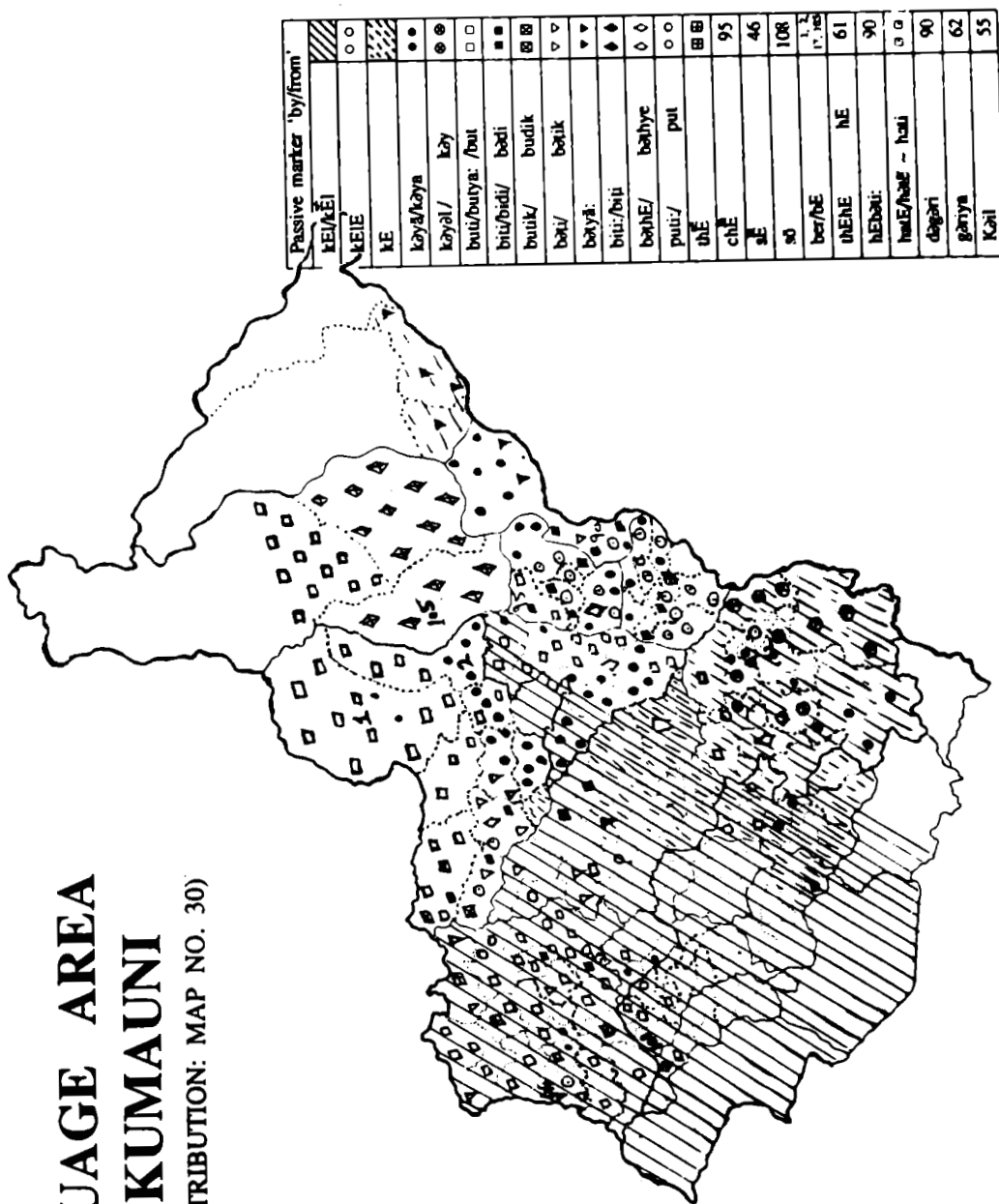
*Syntactic usage:* The diagnostic position of these associative markers in a sentence is immediately after the substantive with whom or with which the association is pointed out. Correlates 1-9 follow the substantive in the oblique or genitive case in different areas, but correlates 10-12 follow only the substantive in the oblique case as in /mē~myár dægər/~mē šIt~sən/ 'with me'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* -/dægərI, dægEri, dægä, dæg, dægE, dægä/.

2. *Nepali* -/ sita, sanna, sath/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 30)



## Table No. 34

Areal Correlates of Passive Agentive Marker (Post position),  
meaning 'by'.*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - kəi (8, 11), 2 - kE (4, 11-13, 17-19, 32, 34, 60-74, 101, 128, 137-153), 3 - kEI/ 4 - kəl (3, 11-14, 17-19, 22-29, 34-44, etc. See map), 5 - kəyā (1, 4, 10, 43, 57, 59, 66, 71), 6 - kəya (75, 78-79, 82, 87-89, 90-91, 93, 97-98, 138, 148-49), 7 - kəy (62-64, 70-71), 8 - kəyəl (62, 55), 9 - kE:IE (23, 24, 29, 34, 42, 55, 83, 111, 143, 146), 10 - bUti (1, 5, 27, 31-35 etc.) 11 - bUt (46-47, 69), 12 - bUtya (44); 13 - bUdik/budi (5-7, 40); 14 - bIti (6, 55, 80, 85-86, 90-91); 15 - bIdi (5, 7, 16, 34, 94, 95); 16 - bəti (6-7, 22, 27, 32, 35, 37, 90, 120), 17 - bE (2), 18 - bətyE/ 19 - bətyā (14, 46, 101), 20 - bəthye/ 21 - bəthE (7, 72, 78, 93), 22 - bəIK (4, 22, 28, 32), 23 - bIti (104, 106), 24 - pUti (6-7, 46, 81, 86-87, 90), 25 - pUtə/ 26 - pUt (61, 65, 71, 83, 87, 93), 27 - chē (95), 28 - ber/bE (1-2, 17, 105), 29 - thē (37, 38, 85), 30 - sē/sō (46, 108), 31 - dəgəI (90), 32 - hāte/hāti (23, 45, 83), 33 - gəIya (62), 34 - hE/hEbəti (90, 61).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 30.

*Areally preferred groupings:* A 1-9 ; B. 10-13, C. 14-15; D. 16-19, 22-23; E. 20-21, F. 24-26, G. 27; H. 28, I. 29 ; J. 30; K. 31, L. 32 M. 33, N. 34,

*Phonological tendencies:* The most notable phonological tendencies in these areally conditioned correlates are: (i) assimilation (2-4, 9) otherwise cf. 1; (ii) emergence of automatic glides (5-8, 12, 18-19), (iii) intrusion of aspiration (20-21), (iv) synchopation (3-4, 8) and consequent synthetic formations; otherwise cf. /le~IE/ in 9).

*Syntactic usage:* The diagnostic position of these correlates of passive-agentive markers in a sentence is immediately after the agent in the genitive case. However, in correlates 28-33 the agent is in the ablative case. The use of the genitive with these post positions may be called a peculiarity of Kumāuni. /tUmār kE/ 'by you'; /Unār bIti/ 'by them' /həmār bUdik, həmənchē/ 'by us'.

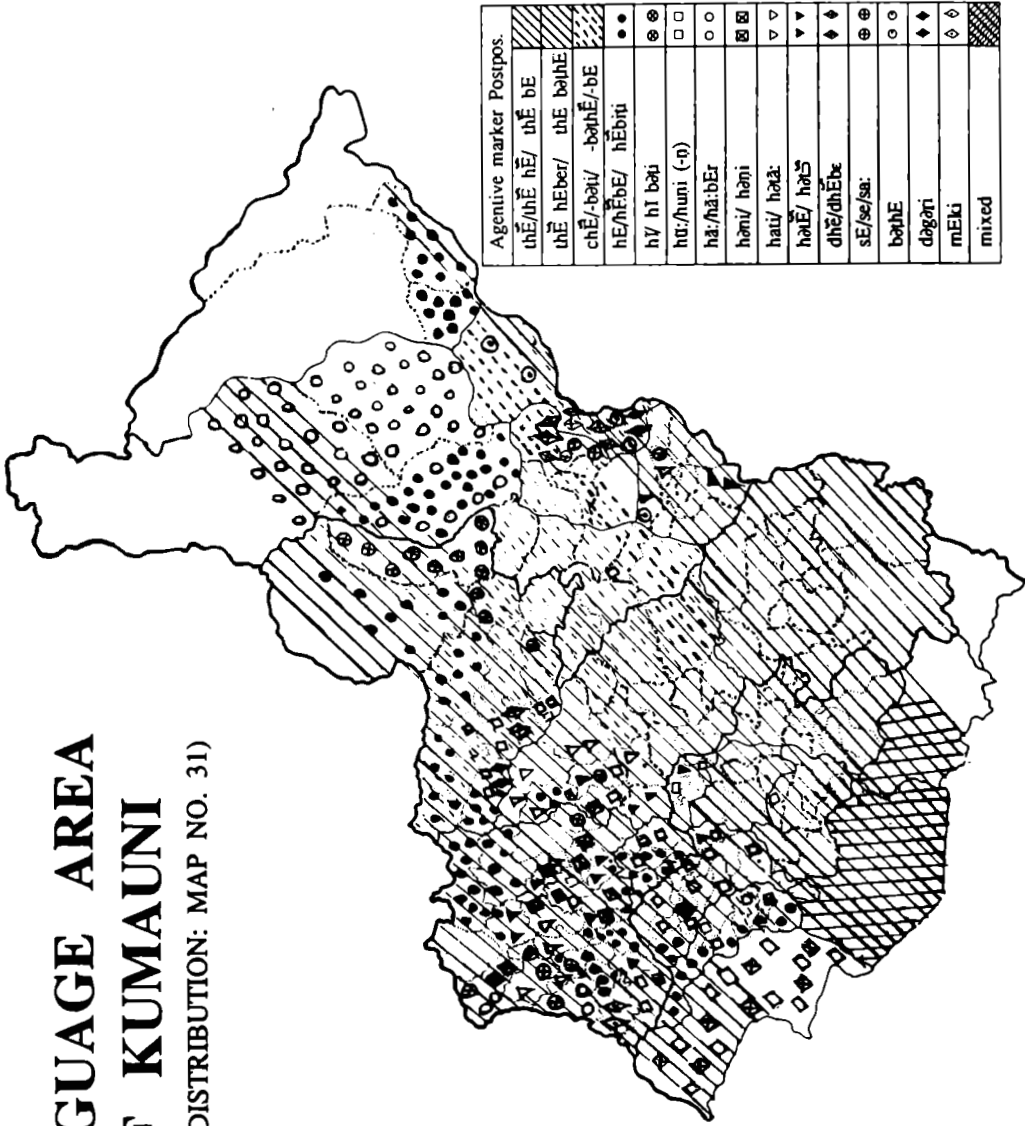
*Stylistic variations:* Besides areal preferences for respective stems the notable stylistic variations are noticed with regard to group 'A' correlates. Areas of correlates 3-4, 8-9 show a preference for a phrasal

unit comprising a verbal base + an agentive marker /e/. Similar is the case of the areas denoted by correlate No 33, in which the components of the phrase comprise a nominal base + an agentive marker. Areas from 11-31 show a preference for a mono-morphemic enclitic only.

- CEP correlates:*
1. *Garhwali-*/se, si, kətē, mā, kari, te, ei/.
  2. *Nepali-* /ba:ɬ, sʌŋə. bʌthe bʌtʰye, pUə/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 31)



**Table No. 35**  
**Areal Correlates of Causative-accusative (passive) Marker**  
**(Post position)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - thē (1, 7, 11-19, See map), 2 - thē bəi/ 3 - thē bəI (as in table No 27), 4 - thē hE (24, 60, 62 etc.), 5 - thē hE bE/ 6- thē hE ber (1, 12, 14 etc.), 7 - thaI/thyā (90), 8 - chē (4-5, 7-9 etc.), 9 - chē bE/ 10 - chē bəi (5, 97), 11 - chē bəthE (14, 78), 12 - phē/ 13 - phē bE (118), 14 - dhē/ 15 - dhē bE (6-7, 90-91), 16 - kAI/kəyāl (57), 17 - hū (123), 18 - hē (1, 3, 5-6 etc. as in 24 & 27), 19 - hebI (104-05), 20 - hā/ 21 - hābEr (32, 35, 46, 105), 22 - hI (2, 27, 32-33, 42, 52, 91), 23 - hUñI (6, 7, 11, 27 etc. see map), 24 - hənI/ 25 - hEñI (23, 28, 32, etc.), 26 - hátI/ 27 - hát (22, 24, 27, etc. as in 24), 28 - hətā (83), 29 - hətE/ 30 - hətē (23, 29, 34, etc. 12 in 24), 31 - hətō (79, 86), 32 - dəgəri (90), 33 - se/sē/ (8-9, 83, 86), 34 - bəthE (79, 90), 35 - (mē) ki (47).

*Areal Distribution* : See Map No. 31.

*Areally preferred groupings*: thə - (1-7); chə - (8-11); phə-(12-13); dhə - (14-15); kə-(16); hə - (17-22), hát - (23-31) se-(33), dəgəri (32); bəthe (34), ki (35)

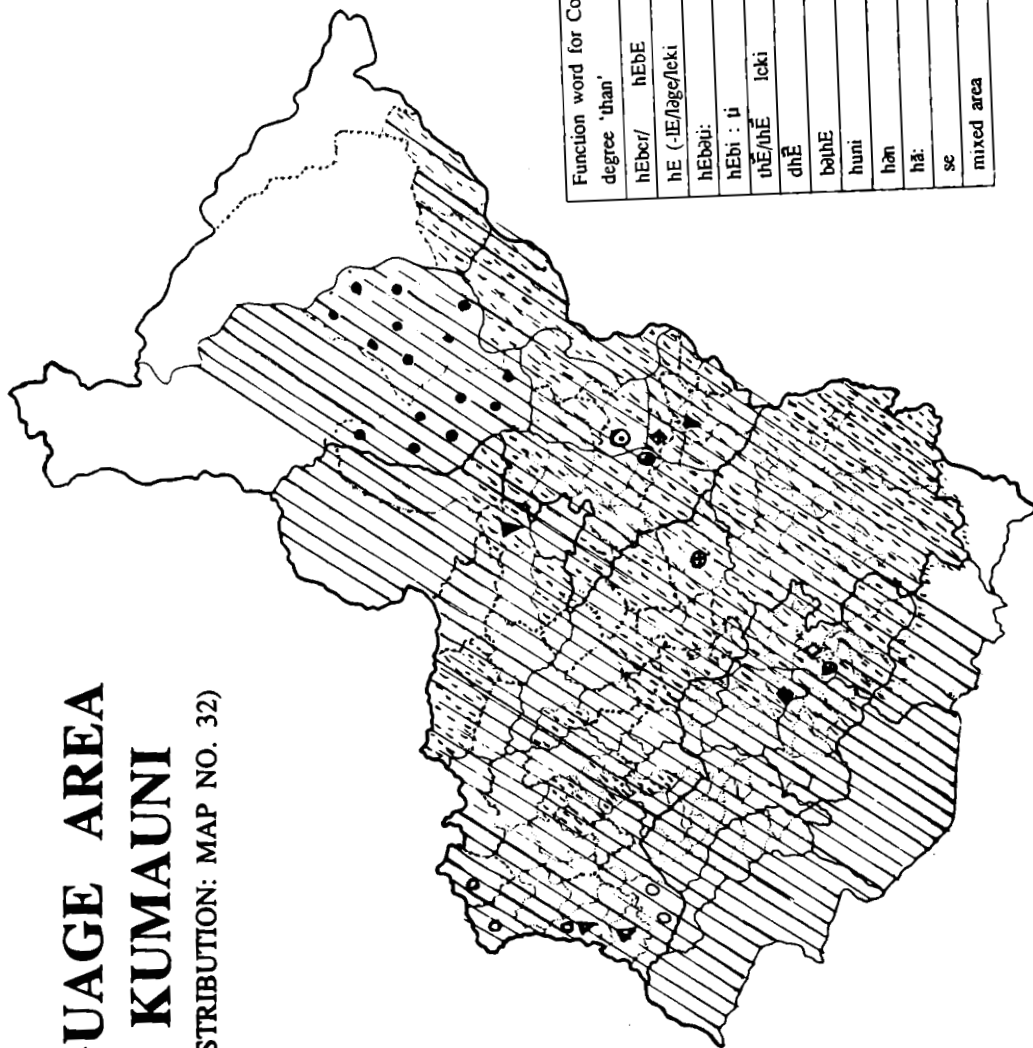
*Phonological tendencies*: See table No. 28 and 31.

*Syntactic usage*: These areal correlates of the accusative - ablative markers are used to denote the agency of an action in a passive construction. The peculiarity of stylistic usage is that in certain areas more than one post-positional markers are used, presumably to emphasise the desirability of action as is the case with correlates 5-6, as in /tUm withē~thē bE~thē hE bE ItUk kam 1E nē kəre šəka/ 'you could not get even this much work done through/from him'. In this fused phrasal unit of post-positions, the first component of the unit is accusative marker and other components are ablative markers; all denoting one single concept. Morphologically, correlates 1, 7-8, 12, 14, 16-18, 20, 22-34 are mono-morphemic and others poly-morphomic.

*CEP Correlates*: 1. Garhwali-/se, mā, thəI, thē  
 2. Nepali - /lai, sʌgo./

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 32)



Function word for Comp.	degree 'than'
hEber/	hEbE
hE (-IE/age/leki)	hEbaj:
hEbi : u	thE/thE
icki	dhE
bajhE	huni
han	ha.
se	mixed area



**Table No. 36**  
**Areal Correlates of Post-positional Particle Showing**  
**Degree of Comparison.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1 - hE/ 2 - hEIE/ 3 - hEləgE (2, 5, 8-9, 12-14, 17, 19, 23-25 etc. see map), 4 - hEber/ 5 -hE bE (1-7, 10-18, 22-29, 31-40 etc. see map), 6 - hE bəti (31-32, 46, 48), 7-həbE (37, 48), 8 - hā (79), 9 - hUŋI (140, 149), 10 - hE lekI/ 11-hEIEk (64, 80, 97), 12 - dhē (8, 85), 13 - thē lekI (17, 140), 14 - hEbIŋI (105), 15 - hEbəti (31-32, 46, 48), 16 - bəthE (78, 93), 17 - se (46-47).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 32.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1; B. 2-3; C. 4-8; D. 9-10; E. 11-12; F. 13-14; G. 15-17; H. 18.

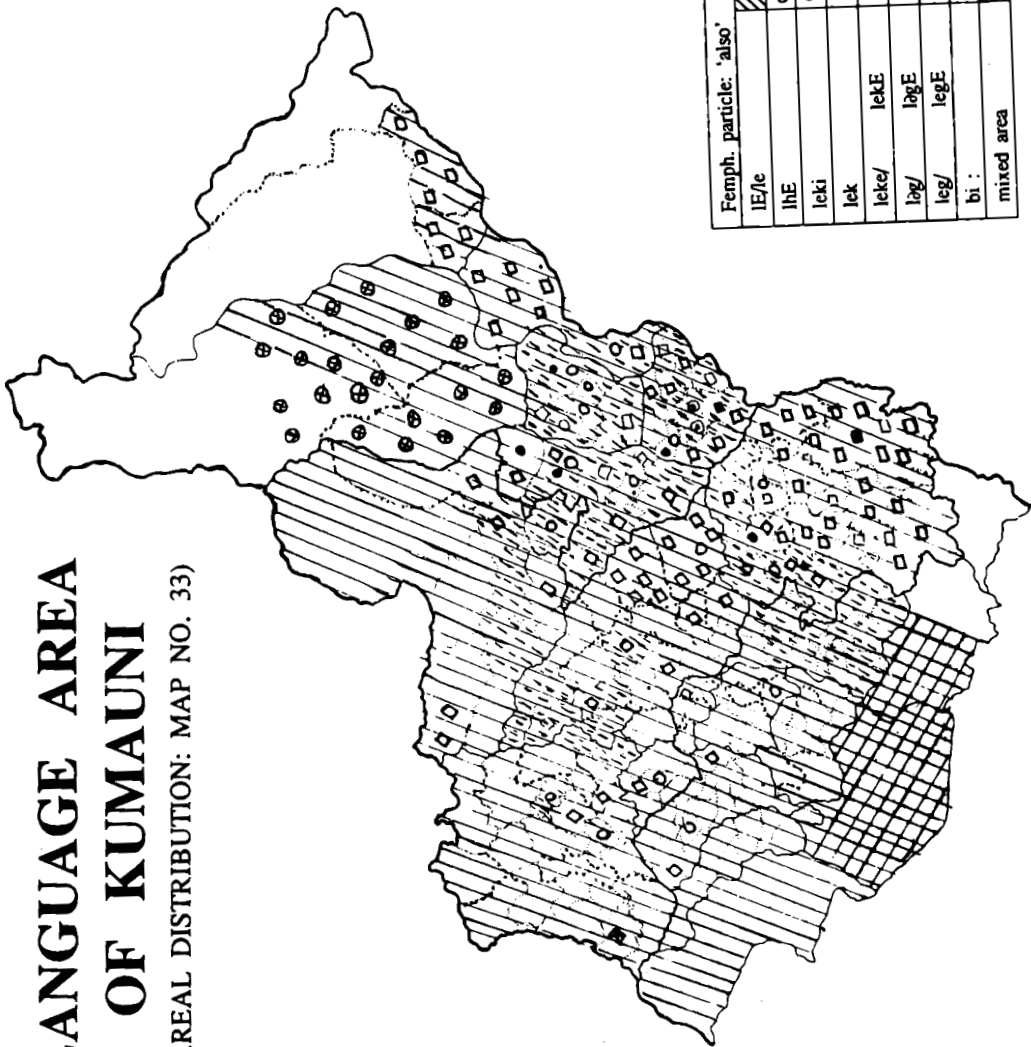
*Syntactic usage:* These correlates of areally preferred particles, denoting degree of comparison are used after the oblique form of a nominal or a pronominal stem - /u mē hE ʈul chi/ 'he was older to me; /u adIm hEIE ʈUI chi/ 'he was taller than a man'.

*Stylistic variations:* Stylistically, some areas invariably tag the emphatic particle after it. In some areas even the ablative markers /bE~bəti~berI/etc. are also added to it. As such in these poly-morphemic correlates it becomes a 'phrasal unit'. Correlates No 7 shows a preference for three morphemes, viz., /hE + beri + IE/. Mono-morphemic uses like /hE/, ~thE/, /bəti~bIti/ indicate that the use of both the morphemes is a mechanism of intensity in these areas, standing for the emphatic particle. As such, except correlate 17, all the other preferring polymorphemic units, have either the emphatic particle or the ablative marker only. Thus, structurally, correlates 1, 9, 10 and 18 are mono-morphemic and all others poly-morphemic.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali*-/se - bi, te- bi/,  
 2. *Nepali* - /bhanda, banna, ba:to, hEIE, hElage/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 33)



Femph. partic. 'also'	Symbol
IE/le	Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)
IhE	Circle with a dot inside
Ieki	Open circle
Iek	Solid black dot
IekE/	Open circle with a dot inside
Ieg/	Open square
IegE	Solid black square
bi :	Open square with a dot inside
mixed area	Grid pattern (horizontal and vertical lines)

## Table No. 37

Areal Correlates of Emphatic particle, which means 'also, even'.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1-1E 1-46 etc. See map), 2 - lhE (105), 3 - le (4, 7, 8, 14, 22, 27, etc.), 4 - lek (64, 80, 91, 97-98), 5 - lekI/ 6 - lEki (10, 34, 45, 56, 71, 78, 90-92, 95, 113), 7 - lhEki (105), 8 - leg (74), 9 - lekE (85-86), 10 - ləg (63, 71, 74, 87, 108), 11 - ləgE (27, 62, 65-72, 74, 83, 123, 128), 12 - legE (72, 86), 13 - bi (47).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 33.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-3; B. 4-9; C. 10-12; D. 13.

*Phonological tendencies:* Areally conditioned diverse phonological tendencies noticeable in these correlates may be grouped as under:

(i) *Aspirated* (2, 7) vs. *unaspirated* (all others); (ii) *Open vowel* (1-2, 6-7) vs. *semi-close vowel* (3-5, 12-13) vs. *centering vowel* (8-11); (iii) *Open syllable* (1-3, 5-7, 9, 11-12, 15) vs. *close syllable* (4, 8, 10, 13) (first morpheme); (iv) *monosyllabic* (1-4, 8, 10, 13, 15) vs. *poly-syllabic* (4-12); (v) *monomorphemic* (1-3, 13, 15) vs. *polymorphemic* (4-12); (vi) *voiced* (10-12) vs. *voiceless* (4-9); (vii) *open vowel* (9, 11-12) vs. *close vowel* (5, 6-7, 15) (second morpheme).

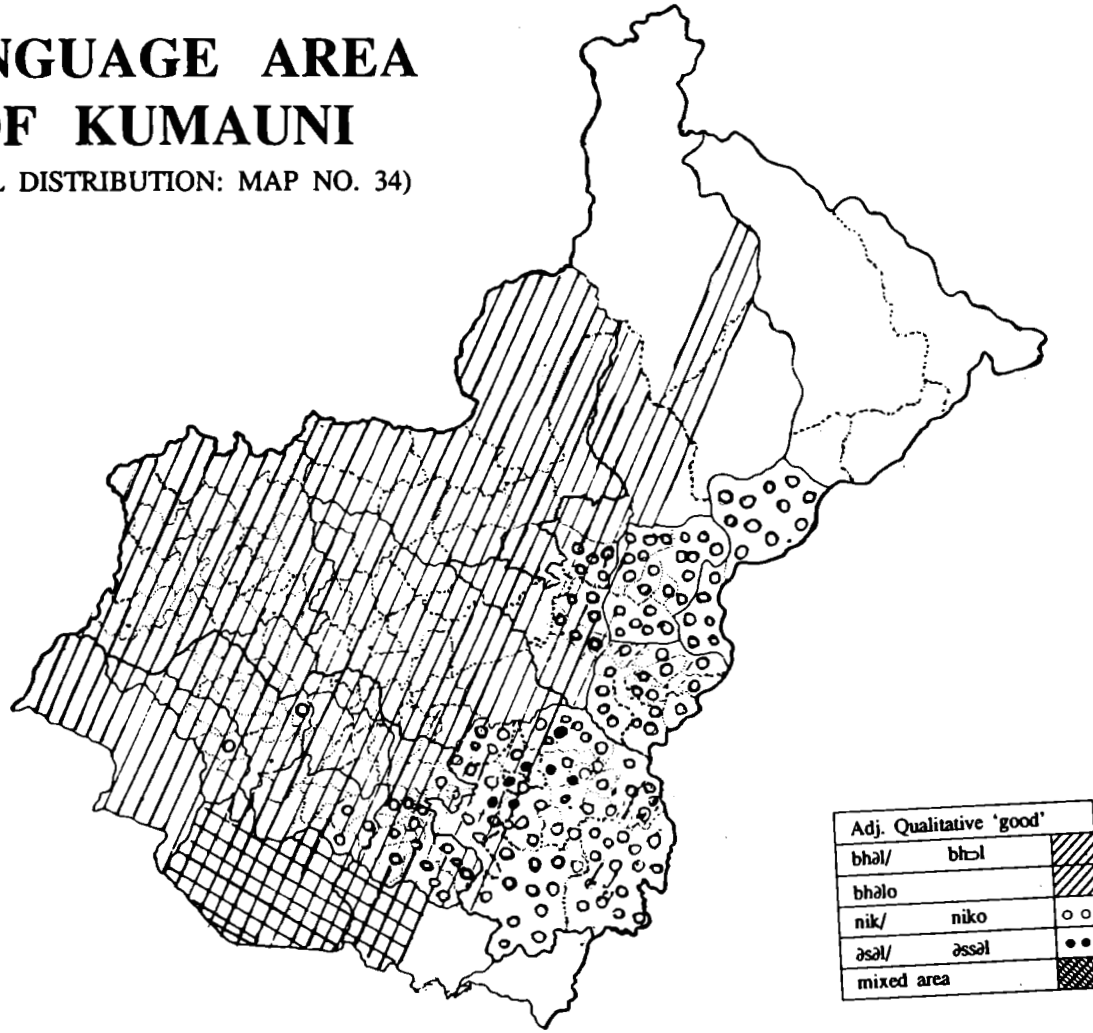
*Syntactic usage:* These correlates of the emphatic particle are used to emphasise a particular element in an utterance, as such its place in an utterance is not fixed, but it always follows the element it specifies or emphasises, e.g. /twi kē IE dyōl/ 'I will give to you as well', /jE thē IE kɔla/ 'to whom-so-ever you ask', /kəɾɔl IE, khál IE/ 'he will work and eat as well'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /bi/

2. *Nepali-* /pʌni, IE, lEki/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 34)



**Table No. 38**  
**Areal Correlates of Adjective (qualitative), meaning 'good'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. bhəl (1-18, 50, 60-61, 65, 71-78, 90-91, 110, 105-108, 110-153), 2. bhəlo (71, 79, 85), 3. nIk (60-74, 78, 83, 87-91, 95, 97), 4. nIko (62-63, 68-69, 71, 79, 80-86, 90-93), 5. nIkwe (60-99, 120, 123, 146, 153) 6. əsəl / 7. əssəl (61-62, 64, 69/17-72), 8. sUndər/ sUnər (108), 9. swanI (71), 10. bəṛhi:/bəṛhIya/bəṛhIyo (4, 5, 24, 27, 29, etc).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 34.

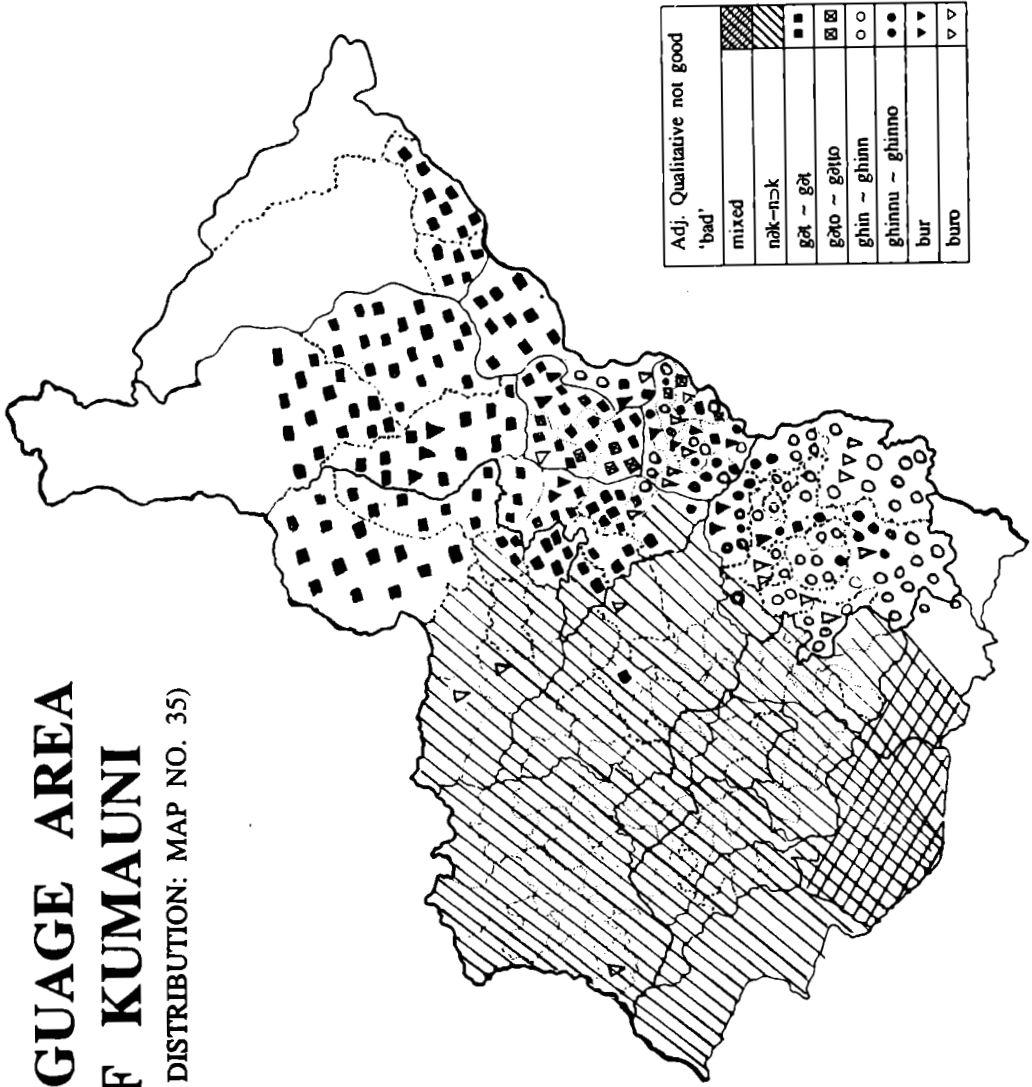
*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-2; B. 3-6; C. 7-8; D. (9), E. 10, F. 11.

*Syntactic usage:* In an utterance its diagnostic place is either immediately before the substantive it qualifies or immediately after it, as in /bhəl mēs/ goodman, /bhəli šēnI/ 'good woman'. It shows its agreement with the gender of the substantive it qualifies. It is also used as an adverb of manner with formatives of manner. Feminine correlates are: /bhəli/ nIki/ Acchi/ - (i.e. in case of stems, /bhəl/ and /nik/- the masculine marker /-o/ is replaced by /-i/ or zero.).

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* /- əchho, bhəlo, sUndər, bəṛiya, bəṛya/  
 2. *Nepali* /ramro, /ʌsʌl, ʌssʌl/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 35)



**Table No. 39**  
**Areal Correlates of Descriptive (qualitative) Adjective**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. nək 3-9, 12-14, 17, 22-28 etc. See map), 2. ɳk (5-7, 11-12, 16, 18-19, 22-25 etc.), 3. gət (78, 96, 104), 4. gɳ(1-4, 8, 10-14, 62, 75-78, 86-87, 90-91, 93-99, 101, 105-06), 5. gətɔ (95), 6. gətɔ/ 7. gɳtɔ (87-88, 93, 95), 8. ghIn (61-74, 78-90, 147), 9. ghInnu (61, 69, 71), 10. ghInno/ 11. ghInɳ (62-63, 69-71, 81-83, 86-87), 12. bUr (5, 7, 12, 47, 64, 67, 69, 72-74, 78, 80, 85-86, 90, 95), 13. bUro (71, 79, 82-86, 90-91, 105).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 35.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-2; B. 3-7; C. 8-11; D. 12-13.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Common phonological and morphophonemic tendencies noticeable in these areal correlates may be categorized as follows: (i) colouring of initial vowel by the final vowel (elided or maintained) (2, 4, 7), ; (ii) elision of final vowel due to stronger accent on the initial syllable (1-4, 8, 12); (iii) gemination of inter-vocalic consonant (6-7, 9-11).

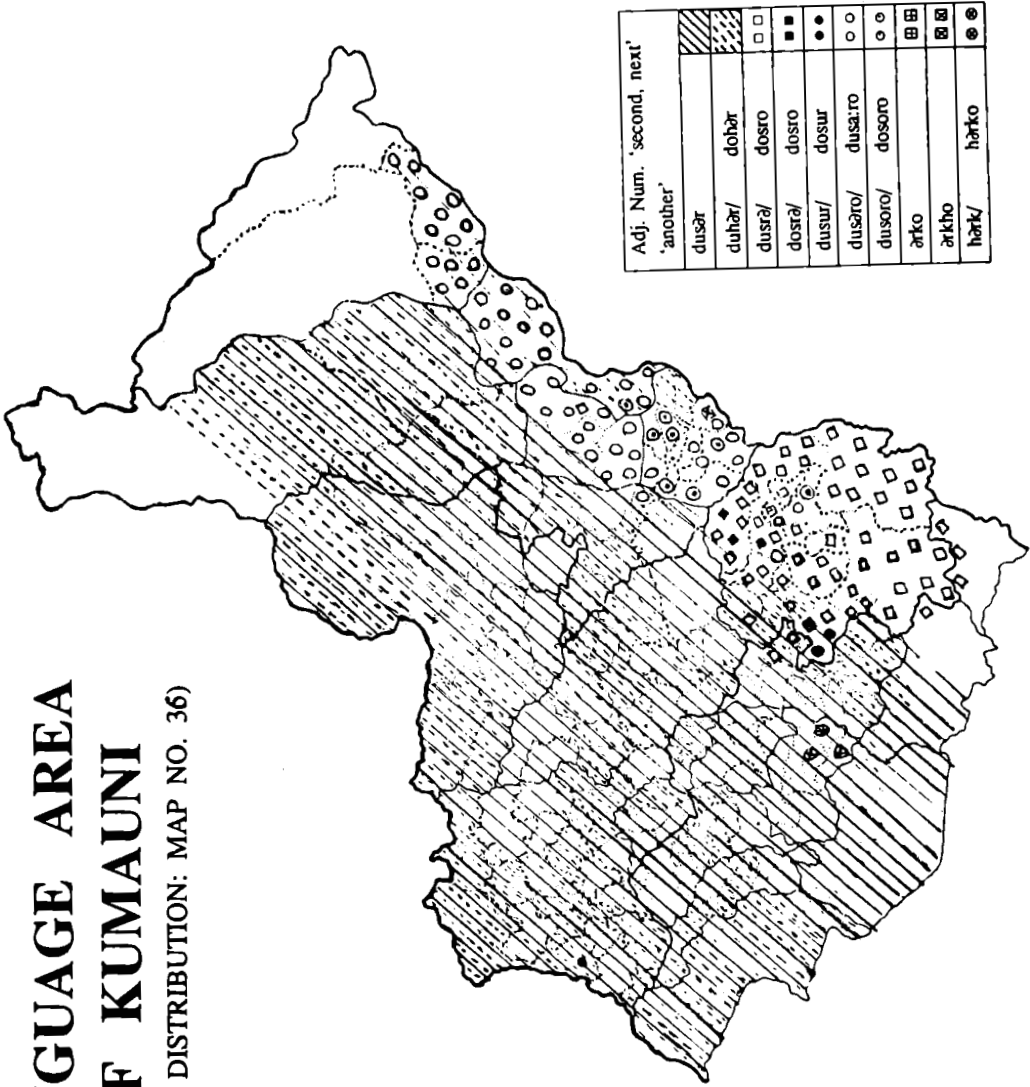
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, these correlates of a lexical free form are used as qualifiers or modifiers. In an utterance their position is immediately before or after a substantive, as in /nək kam/ 'bad deed' or /yo kam nək chə/ 'this action is bad'. It may, however, function as an adverb, as in, /mE nək mánu/ 'I do not like (= I take it badly), and it may also function as a noun, as in / nək chə/ 'it is bad'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /bUro, bUru, bur, nəkho, nəkhəro/.

2. *Nepali*-/nɳramro, dukhə, gɳtɔ/.

**LANGUAGE AREA  
OF KUMAUNI**

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 36)





## Table No. 40

**Areal Correlates of Ordinal Numeral Adjective (definite), for the word 'second', 'the other'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. dUsoro (80, 83, 86), 2. dosoro (62, 83), 3. dUsaro (78, 85), 4. dUsəro (61-62, 64, 79, 87, 90, 93, 99, 101), 5. dosUrU (64, 73), 6. dUsrə (60-74, 91, 146-47), 7. dosro (69, 71), 8. dosra/dusr (65, 72), 9. dohər/ 10. dUhər/duhər (1-7, 11-16, 104, etc. See map), 11. həkko (137-139), 12. ərkho/ərko (61, 83).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 36.

*Areally preferred groups:* dus - (1-8), duh- (9-10) hər- (11); ər - (12).

*Phonological tendencies:* Areally conditioned phonological tendencies noticeable in these correlates of ordinal numeral adjective are: (i) Ablaut in the stem vowel; (ii) vowel harmony (1, 2, 5); (iii) loss of second syllable (6-8); (iv) replacement of /s/ by /h/ (9-10); (v) preference for a new morpheme (11-12); transfer of aspiration (11).

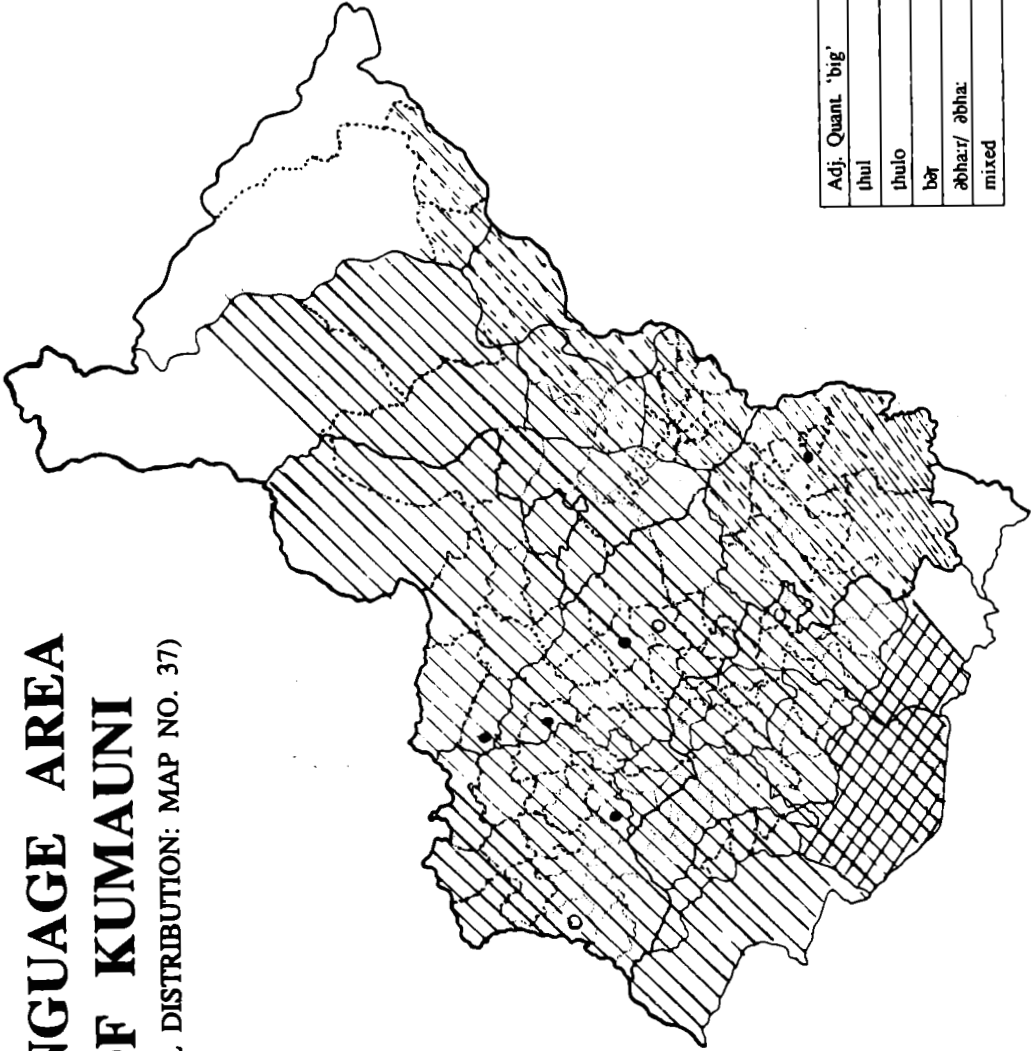
*Syntactical usage:* In an utterance, when followed by a noun it always qualifies that noun, but it is used as a subject when the noun is understood, as in /dUsər ko chi:/ 'who was the second?'/ dUsər-duhər cyəl/ 'second son'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /hēko, hEko, hEku, dusuru, dUsəro, dUsro, ɔr.

2. *Nepali* - /(h)lɾko, lɾko, dosro, duhlɾo.

**LANGUAGE AREA  
OF KUMAUNI**

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 37)



Adj. Quant. 'big'	
thui	
thulo	
ber	
abha:r/ abha:	
mixed	

Table No. 41

**Areal Correlates of Descriptive Adjective for the word 'big'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. *ṭhUlo* (62-72, 78-81), 2. *ṭhUl* (1-19, 22-78 etc.), 3. *bəro* (62), 4. *bəṛ* (13, 46, 146), 5. *əbhar* (14, 44, 62), 6. *əbha:* (23), 7. *moṭ*, 8. *kəs*,

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 37.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-2 ; B. 3-4; C. 5-6; D. 7; E. 8; F. 9.

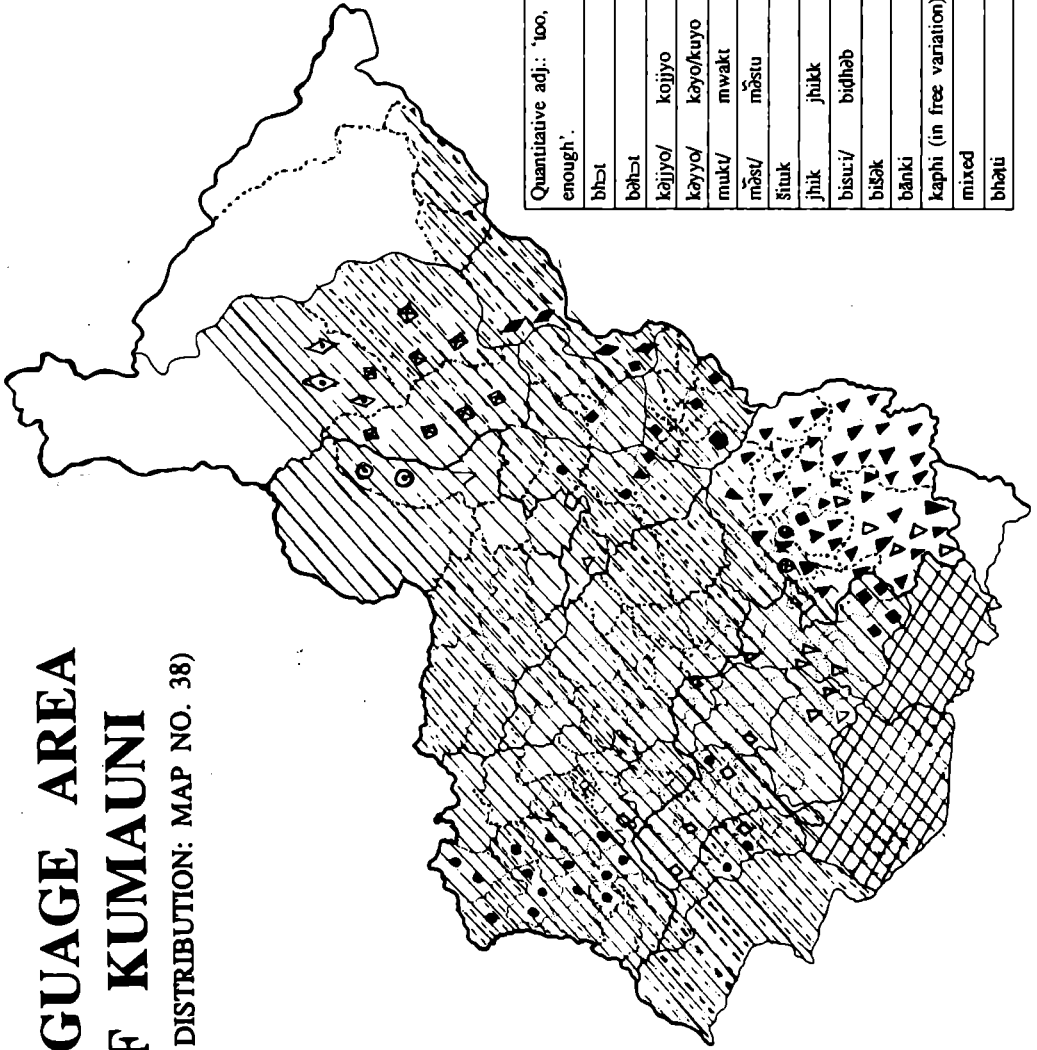
*Phonological tendencies:* Areally conditioned phonological tendencies noticeable in these correlates are: (i) maintenance of final vowel due to even accent (1, 3, 5) ; (ii) elision of final vowel due to primary accent on the initial syllable (2, 4, 7, 8); (iii) elision of final consonant due to long quantity of the vowel which is an accompaniment of primary pitch accent (6); (iv) stylistic preference for an enclitic (8).

*Syntactic usage:* In an utterance the position of these adjectival correlates is after an adverb of measurement and immediately before the noun it qualifies, as in /*Itən ṭhUl rukh...*/ 'such a big tree', /*ṭhUl cyəl kã chə:*/ 'where is the eldest, elder son?'. It shows an agreement in number and gender with the noun or pronoun it modifies.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /*bəro, bəru, bəṛ, ṭhulo* (elder)/.  
2. *Nepali-*/ṭhulo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 38)



Quantitative adj.: 'too, enough'.	
bhət	▨
bəhət	●●
kəjyo/	▼▼
kəjyo	▽▽
kəyo/kuyo	⊙⊙
mukt/	⊗⊗
māsi/	▨▨
māstu	□□
štuok	■
juik	■
bisu:/	⊗
bidhəb	⊗
bisək	⊙
bānki	⊙
kaphi (in free variation)	⊙
mixed	▨
bhətu	◆◆

## Table No. 42

## Areal Correlates of Adverb of Degree (intensive) or Adjective (indefinite numeral), meaning, 'many, very'.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. bhɔt (1, 3, 5.....153, see map), 2. bAhɔt (12, 33-38, 40, 41, 45, 49, 78, 97, 117-18, 123, 137), 3. kəjjo (61-68, 74-78), 4. kojjo (69), 5. kəjjo/kojjo (17, 66-68, 71, 74), 6. kəjjo/kəjjo (66-67, 75, 143, 147, 149-151), 7. kUyo (2), 8. mUkt° (68), 9. mwəkt (72), 10. məst (3-10 etc. See map), 11. məstU (91, 95, 97), 12. šItUk (44, 54, 108, 113, 120, 123, 138), 13. káphi (4, 14, 28, 36, 45, 75, 78, 101, 123, etc.), 14. jhIkəI/ 15. jhIkəE (79, 93), 16. jhIk (68, 78, 79, 81, 90, 93, 101, 153), 17. blsu (105), 18. khəli (104), 19. bākI (106).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 38.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-2; B. 3-5; C. 6-7; D. 8-9; E. 10-11; F. 12; G. 13; H. 14-16; I. 19; J. 18; K. 19.

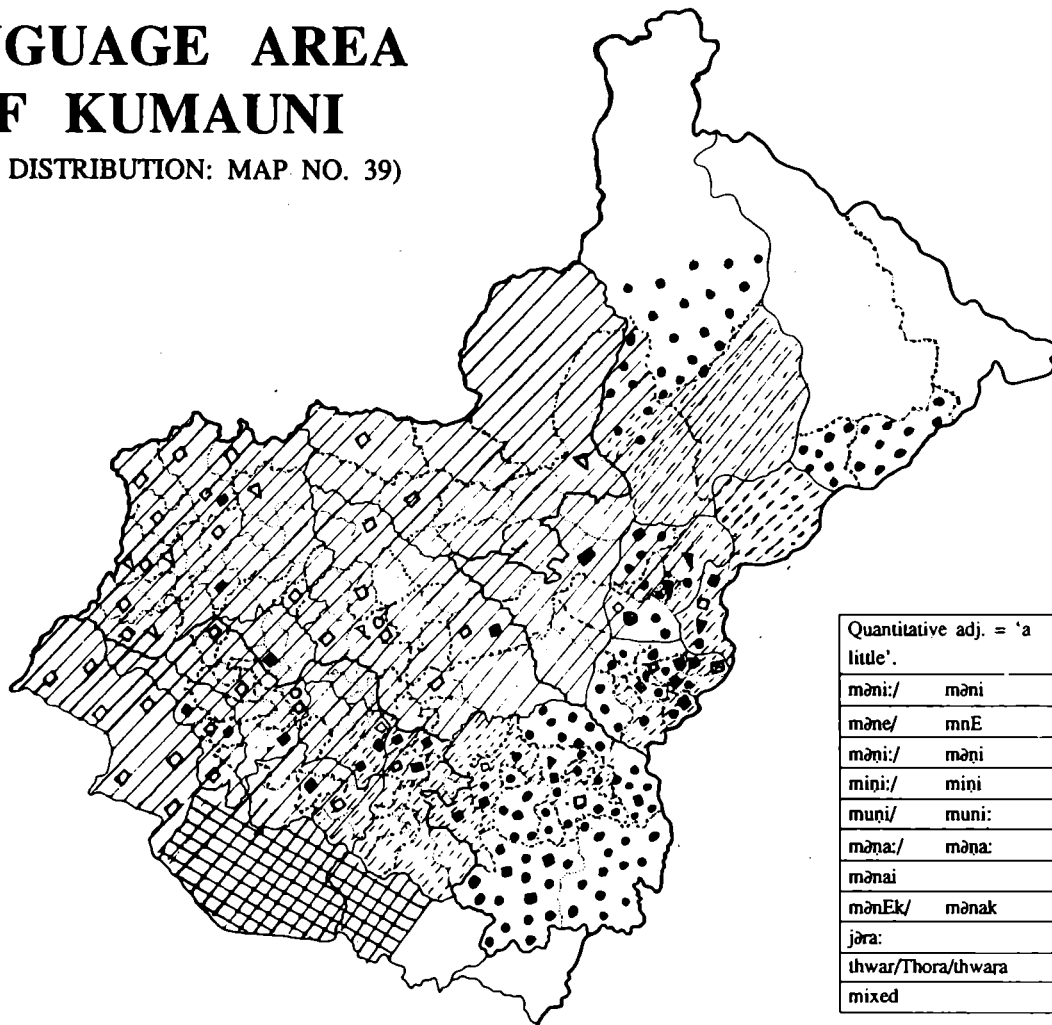
*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The notable phonological and morphophonemic features in different areas are - (1) transfer of aspiration (1); (ii) gemination (3-4, 14-15); (iii) assimilation (15).

*Syntactic usage:* The syntactical position of these correlates in a simple utterance is immediately before or after the substantive it qualifies, as in /bhɔt ɖer hE gE/ 'it has become too late; /wik pas bhɔt rUpē chē/chən/ 'he has many rupees'. However, many correlates of this parameter overlap with adverbial correlates, as in /bhɔt ʈUI chə/ (it) is very big'.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /bəri, bhɔt, bhIndi, bindi (f.), bhIndya, bindya bIndhi, bhInī, kaphi (Masc.), məst, jada/.
2. *Nepali-* /dherəi/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 39)



Quantitative adj. = 'a little'		
məni:/	məni	▨▨
məne/	mənE	••
məni:/	məni	▨▨
miṇi:/	miṇi	○○
muni/	muni:	▽▽
məna:/	məna:	▼▼
mənai		⊗⊗
mənEk/	mənək	⊗⊗
jəra:		□□
thwar/Thora/thwara		■ ■
mixed		▨▨

**Table No. 43**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Degree or Indefinite Adjective,**  
**meaning, 'a little, a few'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. mənɪ/ 2. mənɪ (60-62, 72-73, 86-88, 91, 104-105, 137, 141-43, 148-53), 3. mənā (71, 90-93), 4. mənē (62, 69, 81-82, 86), 5. mənE (62-74, 80-93, 101, 106), 6. mənē (72, 95), 7. mənəɪ/ 8. mənái (93), 9. mənEk/mənak (85, 89), 10. mənɪ/11. mənɪ (1-19, 23-25, 31-45, 48, 52-58, 75-78, 91, 95-99, 107-08, 110, 112-16, 120-130, 132, 136, 138, 140, 146), 12. mɪnɪ (123), 13. mɪni (24), 14. mUɪ (2, 24, 39, 42, 46, 48), 15. mənā (91), 16. nəməɪ (Nep.), 17. jəra (5, 7, 12, 18, 22, 24 etc.), 18. thora/19. thor (88, 90), 20. thwár/ 21. thwára (12, 38, 45, 57, 63, 65, 67-68, 71-73, 85, 87, 95, 97, 117-118, 123, 135, 140-145).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 39.

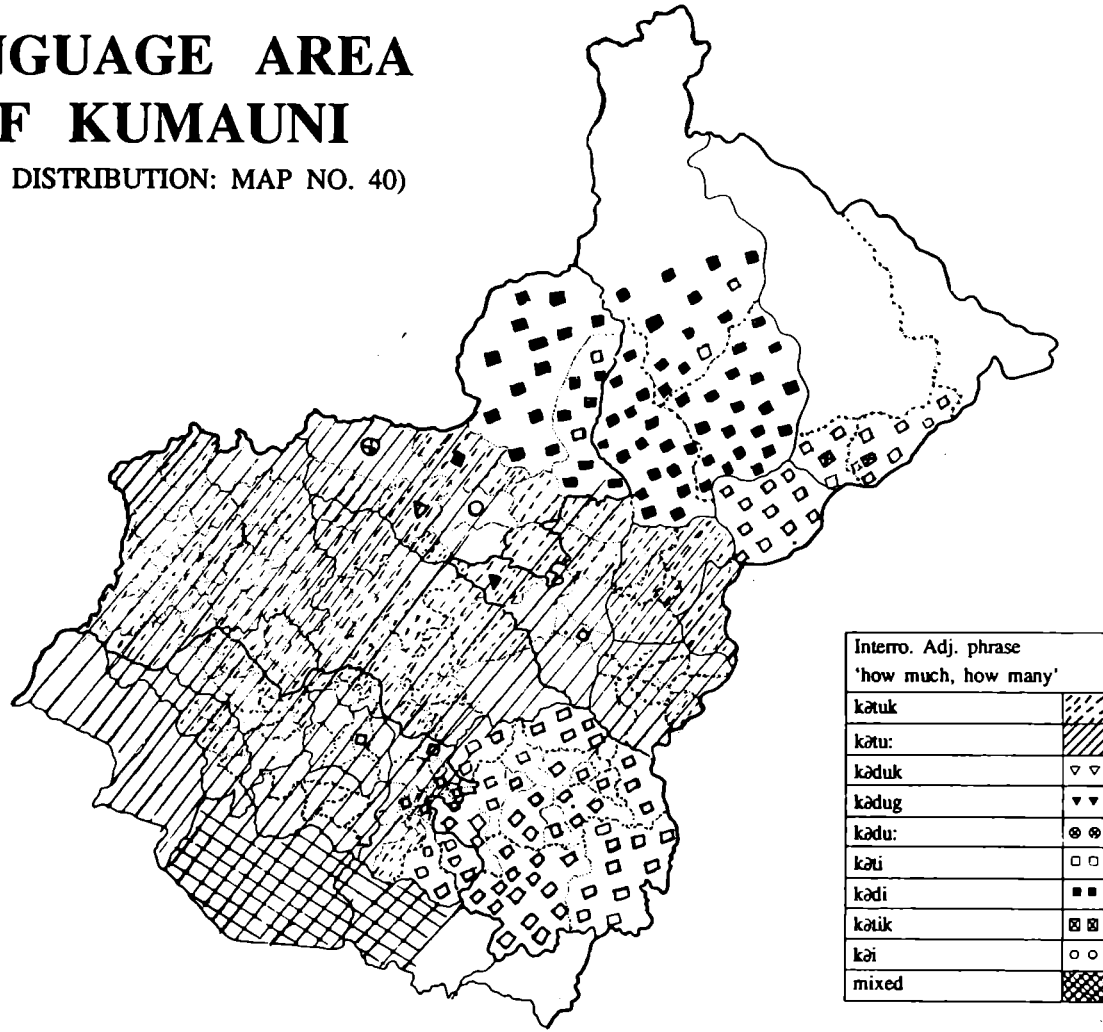
*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological and morpho-phonemic aspects of these correlates are: (i) assimilation of vowels (4-6); otherwise cf. 7, 16; (ii) glidialization of /o/ and epenthesis of final vowel (20-21) (cf. 18); (iii) vowel harmony (12-13); (iv) metathesis of phones (16) otherwise cf. 7.

*Syntactic usage:* It is used both as a qualifier and intensifier. Its place in the syntactical structure of the language is immediately before the word it qualifies or intensifies as in /mənɪ Eram kəri liya/ 'please take a little rest', /mənɪ bhəlikE lijäya/ 'please take (a little) carefully'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali- / jəra, thwəra, kənek (a little), mənɪ  
 2. Nepali- /Δlikatɪ, Δlikati, mənɪ, nəməɪ/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 40)





## Table No. 44

Areal Correlates of Adverb of Degree of Interrogative Adjective,  
meaning 'how much, how many'.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. katUk (4-19, etc. see map), 2. kətu: (3, 6, 7, 8, etc.), 3. kəttu (56, 58, 75, 78, 87, 90, 93, 97, 98, 110, 112, 116-118, 123, 128, 148, 151), 4. kədUg (75), 5. kədək (7), 6. kətI (2, 43, 60-74, 78, 99, 101, 106, 141, 144-49, 153), 7. kədu (5) 8. kətIk (101), 9. kədI (1, 2, 104-109), 10. kəi (4).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 40.

*Areally preferred groups (Markers):* -tuk (1), -tu (2-3), -dug (4), -dək (5), -ti (6-7), -di (9), -tik (8), -i (10).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Diverse phonological and morpho-phonemic features, noticeable in these correlates, may be noted as follows: (i) elision of final phone under strong stress on the final syllable (2-3, 6-7); (ii) lengthening and qualitative change in the vowel of the final syllable (2, 3, 7); (iii) gemination of intervocalic consonant (3); (iv) voicing of intervocalic voiceless plosives (4, 5, 9); (v) progressive diffusion of voice to the final voiceless plosive (4); (vi) elision of an interior plosive (10), cf. 6-7.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, its place in an utterance is immediately before a substantive, as in /kətUk dIn hEgəʔ/ 'how many days have passed?'. It can, however, function as an adverb to modify a following adjective, as in /wik cyəl kətUk tʰul chə/ 'how old (=big) is his son?'.  
 CEP Correlates: 1. Garhwali- /kəti, kətig, kək, kəkʰ, kəthga, kətha, kətna/.  
 2. Nepali- /kati/.

**Table No. 45****Areal Correlates of Indefinite Numeral Adjective, meaning 'this much, these many'***Correlates & Areas:*

1. Ituk 1-7, 10-14, 17-18, 22-28, etc. See map), 2. Itu: (3, 6, 8, 14, 16, 19 etc.), 3. etUk/ 4. yetUk (12, 78, 91, 108, 110, 123, 125), 5. yatu: (k)/ 6. yətUk (13, 40, 45, 46), 7. yətUkI (54, 128, 132, 135, 144, 148), 8. ItUkE (Emph.) 9. IdUgE (Emph.), 10. Idug (1, 4-7, 14, 22-23, 27, 75), 11. IdIk (104, 105), 12. ItkE/ 13. ItkhE (4, 9, 60, 62, 83, 90, 95, 105, 123), 14. yətti/ 15. etü (60-65, 68-73, 101), 16. yəti (60, 63, 66, 69, 70, 144, 153), 17. Iti (67, 74), 18. yedi (2), 19. yei (4), 20. Ittanu (71), 21. etnu (71), 22. Etən/yətən (150).

*Areally preferred groups* (Stem): i. (1-2, 8-13, 17, 20); yə. (5-7, 14, 18); ye~e (3-4, 15-16, 19, 21-22): (Markers) - tuk (1-8); -dug (9-10), -dik (ii), -tkE (12), -tkhE (13); -ti (14-18); -i (19), -nu~n (20-22).

*Phonological tendencies:* Notable phonological features, noticeable in these correlates are as under: (i) glidialization of initial /i/ (4-7, 14, 16, 18); (ii) elision of final plosive (2, 5); (iii) qualitative and quantitative change in the preceding vowel due to higher accent (2, 5); (iv) voicing of intervocalic and final plosives (9-11, 18); (v) elision of second vowel due to strong accent (12-13); (vi) gemination of intervocalic plosives (14-15, 20); (vii) additional aspiration (13).

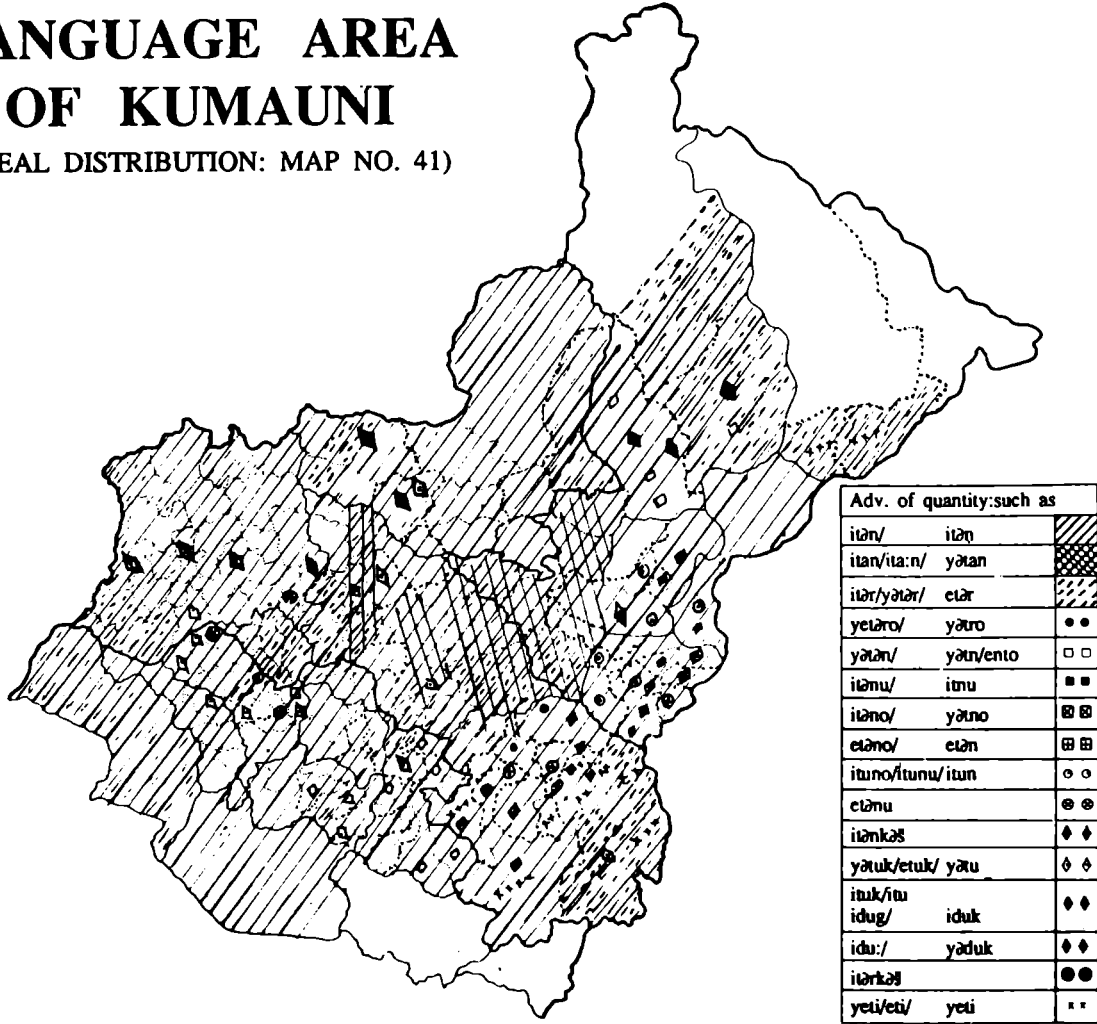
*Syntactic usage:* The diagnostic position of these correlates in an utterance is immediately before a substantive, with a paralinguistic emphasis, as *ĩn* /tUm withẽ ItUk kam IE nE kərwe šəka: /'could you not get done even this much work from him?' /ItUk adIm kã jál/ 'where will go these many people?'. Some of these correlates have an overlapping with adverb of degree (cf. table No 46).

*Stylistic variation:* Some of the areas prefer to use an intensity marker /E/ (8-9, 12-13) or /i/ (14-19), even in a normal utterance, which mean 'even this much'.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /Itig, Itga, Ithga, Itæg, Itg, Itha, Ithu, Ithya, yəthya Itno, Itna/.  
2. *Nepali* - /yeti/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 41)



Adv. of quantity: such as		
itān/	itān	▨
itān/itān/	yātan	▩
itār/yātār/	etār	▧
yētāro/	yātō	••
yātān/	yātān/ento	□□
itānu/	itnu	■
itāno/	yātno	▣
etāno/	etān	▤
itāno/itānu/itān		○
etānu		⊗
itānkāś		◇
yātuk/etuk/	yātu	◊
ituk/itū		◆
idug/	iduk	♦
idu/	yāduk	◈
itānkāś		●
yeti/eti/	yeti	••

**Table No. 46**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Degree, meaning 'such a'**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. Itān/ 2. Itāṅ (1-153, see map), 3. yātān (73, 105, 135, 144, 148, 150, 153), 4. ItUn (85), 5. ItnU/Itānu (61, 69, 71, 83, 86, 90-91), 6. etān (72), 7. yātno (70, 73), 8. Itāno (85-86, 88, 95), 9. ItUnU (80, 90, 93), 10. ItUno (81), 11. yotono (78), 12. etno (62), 13. etnU/etānu (68, 71, 72, 87), 14. Itan/ 15. Itāṅ (4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 22-25, 27, 28, 75, 77, 86, 97, 123, 125, 128, 130, 136-37), 16. Itāṅ kās (43, 55, 123), 17. yātUk (7, 35, 52, 118, 145), 18. etUk/etu: (24, 108, 110, 123, 128) 19. Ittu/ Itu: (18, 26, 27, 35, 40, 46, 74, 93, 105, 137), 20. IdUk/Ituk (5, 7, 105), 21. Itār (2, 5-7, 12-13, 17-18, 22-24, 27, 29, 32, 37, 42-50, 54-57, 60, 63, 74-77, 111, 114, 119, 125, 128, 137, 142, 146, 149), 22. yātār/etār (40, 101, 104, 106), 23. etro/etāro (64, 69), 24. yeI/yāti (62, 63, 69, 73, 101), 25. yetI (63, 71-72), 26. Itārkās (54, 110, 112, 120, 122).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 41.

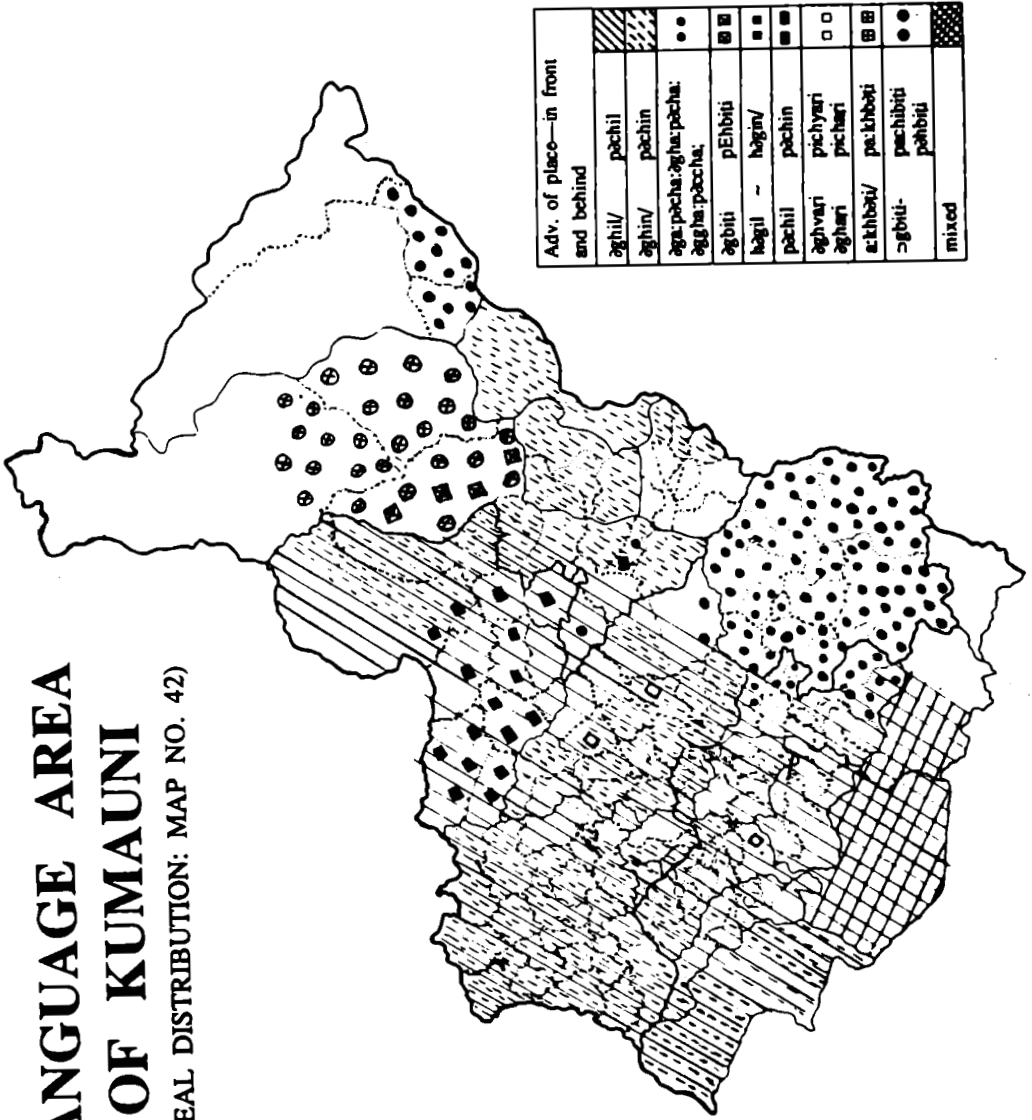
*Phonetic and Morphophonemic tendencies:* The most important phonological features of these correlates are: (i) glidialization of initial vowel (3, 7, 11, 17, 22, 24, 25); (ii) elision of /ə/ due to strong initial accent (7, 12, 13, 23); (iii) elision of final vowel due to heavy accent on the second syllable (1-4, 6, 14-16, 21-22); (iv) elision of final plosive and consequent intensification of preceding vowel and gemination of consonant due to accent (19).

*Syntactic Usage:* In the syntactical structure of the language the diagnostic position of these intensifiers is immediately before the adjective, intensified by these, as in /Itāṅ thUl rukh/ 'such a big tree'. However, some of the correlates show overlapping with adjectives (cf. table No. 45).

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /Itk, Itga, Ithga, Ithya, Itha, Itāg, Itug, Ituk, Itāg, yāti, ItUn, ItnU, Itna, Itno, Itur, Itār/.
2. *Nepali*- यति, यतिro, Itāno, ItUno/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 42)



Adv. of place—in front and behind	Symbol
aghil/ pachil	Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)
aghin/ pachin	Diagonal lines (top-right to bottom-left)
aga: pacha: agha: pacha:	Two solid black dots
agha: pacha:	Two squares with diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)
agbiti	Two squares with diagonal lines (top-right to bottom-left)
hagil -- hagin/	Two solid black squares
pachil pachin	Two solid black squares
aghvari pichvari	Two solid black squares
aghari pichari	Two solid black squares
akhbati/	Two squares with diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)
-gbiti-	Two solid black squares
pachibiti	Two solid black squares
pabbiti	Two solid black squares
mixed	Checkered pattern

**Table No. 47**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Place, meaning,**  
**'infront of and behind'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. əghII-pəchII (1-9, 11-18 etc. see map), 2. əghil-pIchari (118), 3. əghəl-pəchəl (144, 53), 4. Ighil-plchil (90-91), 5. əgha-pəcha (17, 60-63, 66-75, 78, 153-54), 6. əgā-pəchā (101), 7. əga-pəcha (101), 8. aga-pacha (Nep.), 9. əggha-pəccha/ 10. əggha-pəcha (61-65, 68-69, 71-72, 146), 11. əgharI-picharI (13, 118), 12. əghIn-pəchIn (1, 2, 7, 12 etc.), 13. əghIn-pIcharI (44, 45, 55), 14. həgII-pachIn/hEgII-pəchII (1-10, 55, 78), 15. əgbIɽI-pEhbIɽI/ 16. əgbIɽi-pEhEbIɽi (104-05), 17. əghIɽi-pachIbIɽi (106), 18. əgbtəi-pákh bəti (105).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 42.

*Areally preferred groups:* A. 1-4; B.5 -10; C. 11; D. 12-13; E. 14; F. 15-18.

*Phonological and Morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic features of these areally preferred correlates are: (i) vowel harmony (3-4); (ii) deaspiration (6-8, 15-16); (iii) gemination (9-10); (iv) prothesis, (h) (14).

*Syntactic usage:* Structurally, the position of these correlates in a sentence is (i) immediately before the verb; (ii) before an interrogative word in interrogative sentences; (iii) before a prohibitive or negative word in a negative sentence, as in /wik əghII-pəchII kIIe jāchE/ 'why do you go in front or behind of him'; /wik əghIn-pəchIn jən jāe/ 'don't go infront or behind of him'.

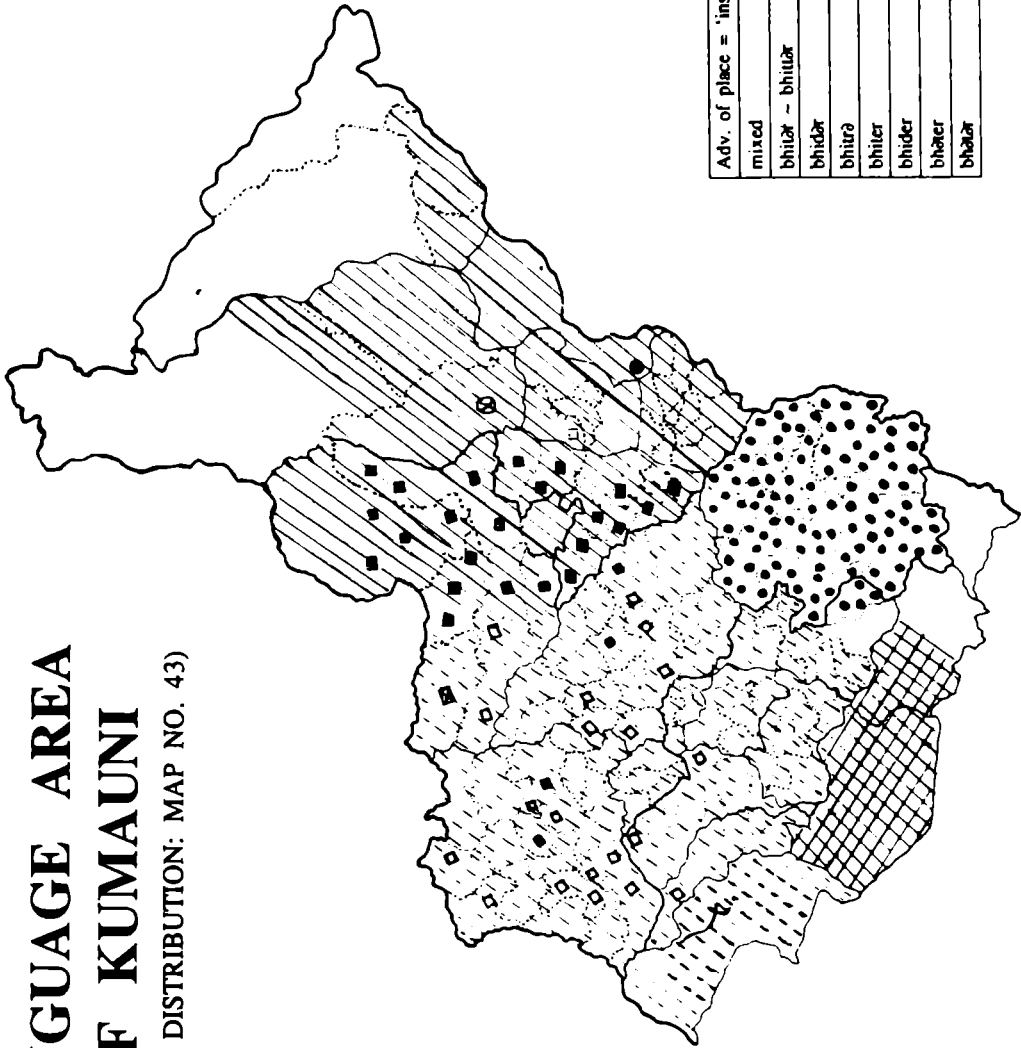
*Areal preferences:* Areal preferences are noticeable with regard to final phone /l~n / or / ri/. Some areas prefer even to have a post-position after the adverbical form (cf. correlates 16-17).

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /əgori-pichori, əgori-pIchari, əgwari-pIchwari, egnE-pIchnE, əgnəI-pichnəI, əgna-pIchna, əgnc-pEthər, Ethrə-pEthrə, Ethər - pEthər/.

2. *Nepali* - /əgari-pIchari, əghi-pIchi, aga-pacha, Agā-pachā/

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 43)



Adv. of place = 'inside'
mixed
bhūtār - bhūtār
bhīdār
bhītār
bhīter
bhīder
bhāter
bhāzār

**Table No. 48****Areal Correlates of Adverb of Place, meaning 'inside'***Correlates & Areas:*

1. bhIt̄ar (2, 4, 8, 10———133, see map), 2. bh̄at̄ar (1-4, 9-12, 14, 134, 36, 73, 75, 77-78, 97), 3. bh̄Iter (4-7, 11-12 etc., see map), 4. bh̄Ider, 5. bh̄id̄ar (105), 6. 'bh̄It̄ar (62, 69, 71-73), 7. 'bh̄It̄r̄a/  
8. 'bh̄It̄r̄a (60-74, 90).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 43.

*Phonological tendencies:* Some of the notable phonological tendencies in these areal correlates are (i) voicing of intervocalic voiceless plosive (4-5); (ii) lengthening of consonant due to strong initial accent (6-7); (iii) elision of post-accentual vowel (7-8).

*Areal accentual preferences:* An interesting phonological aspect of these correlates may be said, various areal preferences with regard to their accentual patterns, some showing preference for even accent, some for higher pitch on the final syllable and some for higher stress on the initial syllable.

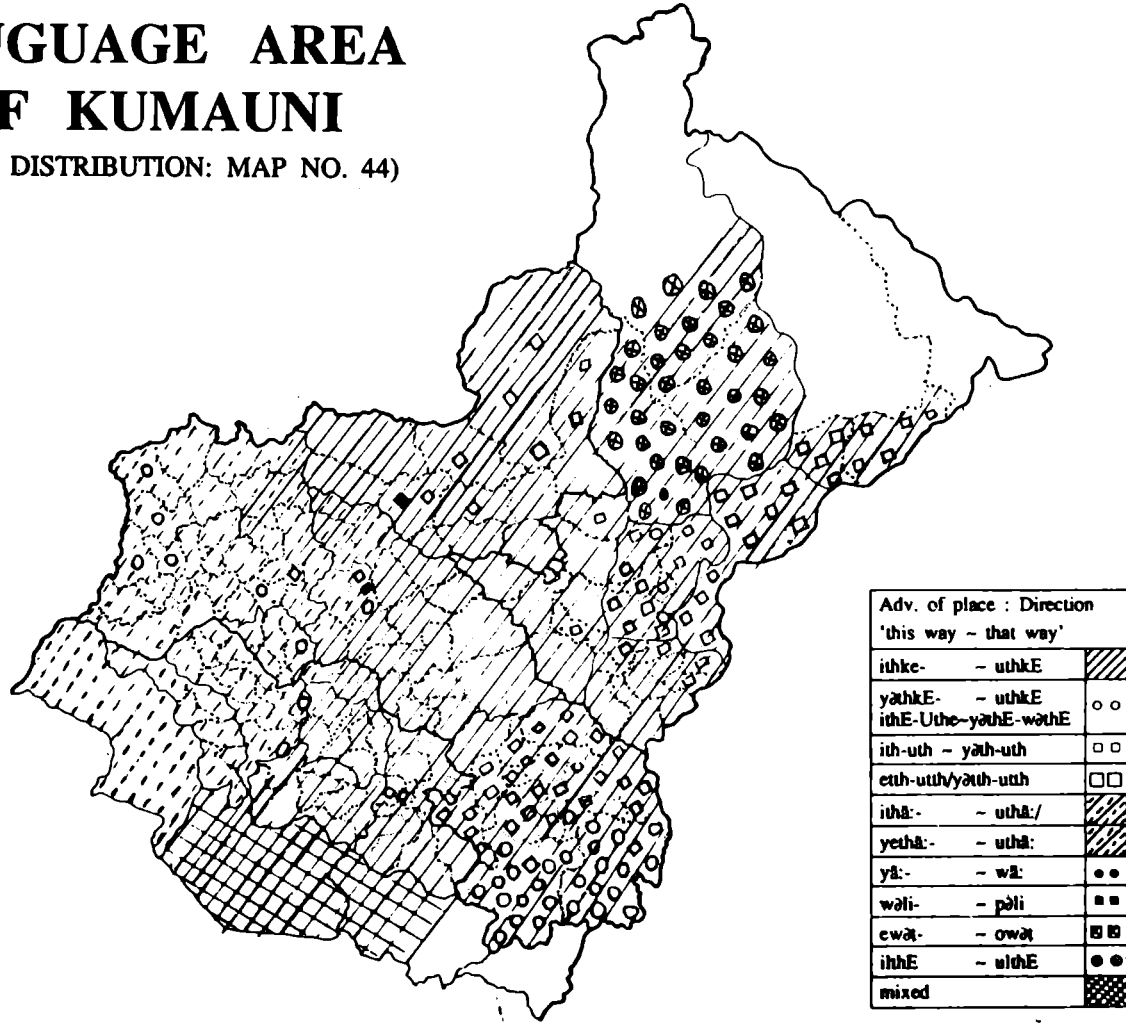
*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /bh̄Er-bh̄It̄ar, bh̄Er-bh̄It̄r̄a/.

2. *Nepali-* /bah̄Ir-bh̄It̄r̄a, b̄Iir-bh̄It̄r̄a, bh̄Er-bh̄It̄r̄a/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 44)



**Table No. 49**

**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Place (direction), showing motion, meaning 'to this side and to that side'**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. IthkE - UthkE (7, 12-13 etc. See map), 2. yāthkE - UthkE (3, 4, 7 etc. see map), 3. yatthəkE - UtthəkE (69), 4. yāthE - Uth, 5. IthE - UtthE/ 6. IthE - Uthe (27, 32, 42, 46, 58, 62, 67, 75, 90, 93, 123). 7. yāthE - wāthE (93, 99), 8. Ith-Uth (93, 99), 9. yāth-Uth (55), 10. Ith-Uth/11. yāth-Uth (61-64, 68-72, 79, 82, 88), 12. Ithā-Uthā (93, 99), 13. yāthā-Uthā (6, 22, 27-28, 34, 37, 38, 42, 45, 46, 48-58, 111, 114, 123, 125), 14. Ithā - Uthā (5, 6, 22-23 etc. see map), 15. yā - wā (105), 16. wāli-pāli (7, 27), 17. ewəṭ-owəṭ (62), 18. IthE - UtthE (104-106).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 44.

*Areally preferred groups (Stem):* ith-uth (1, 6, 8, 12, 14); it-uth- (5, 10, 12), yāth- (3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 13), yā-wā (15), wāli pāli (16), ewəṭ-owəṭ (17), ilth-ulth (18).

*Immediate constituents:* Adverb of place + direction marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Some of the notable phonological and morphophonemic tendencies noticeable in these correlates are : (i) preference for a glide in the initial position (2-4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15); (ii) absence of direction marker (8-11, 16-17); (iii) nasality as a morpheme (direction marker) (12-15); diachronically /Ithā/ seems to be a finished form of \*Ith hā, hā being a correlate of dative - accusative marker in Kumauni (see table No. 28-29). Similarly, synthetic forms like /yāthE - UthE/ (4-7) seem to have developed from analytical forms, like /Ith-kE/, /Uth-kE/ by dropping the plosive element under accentual tendencies:

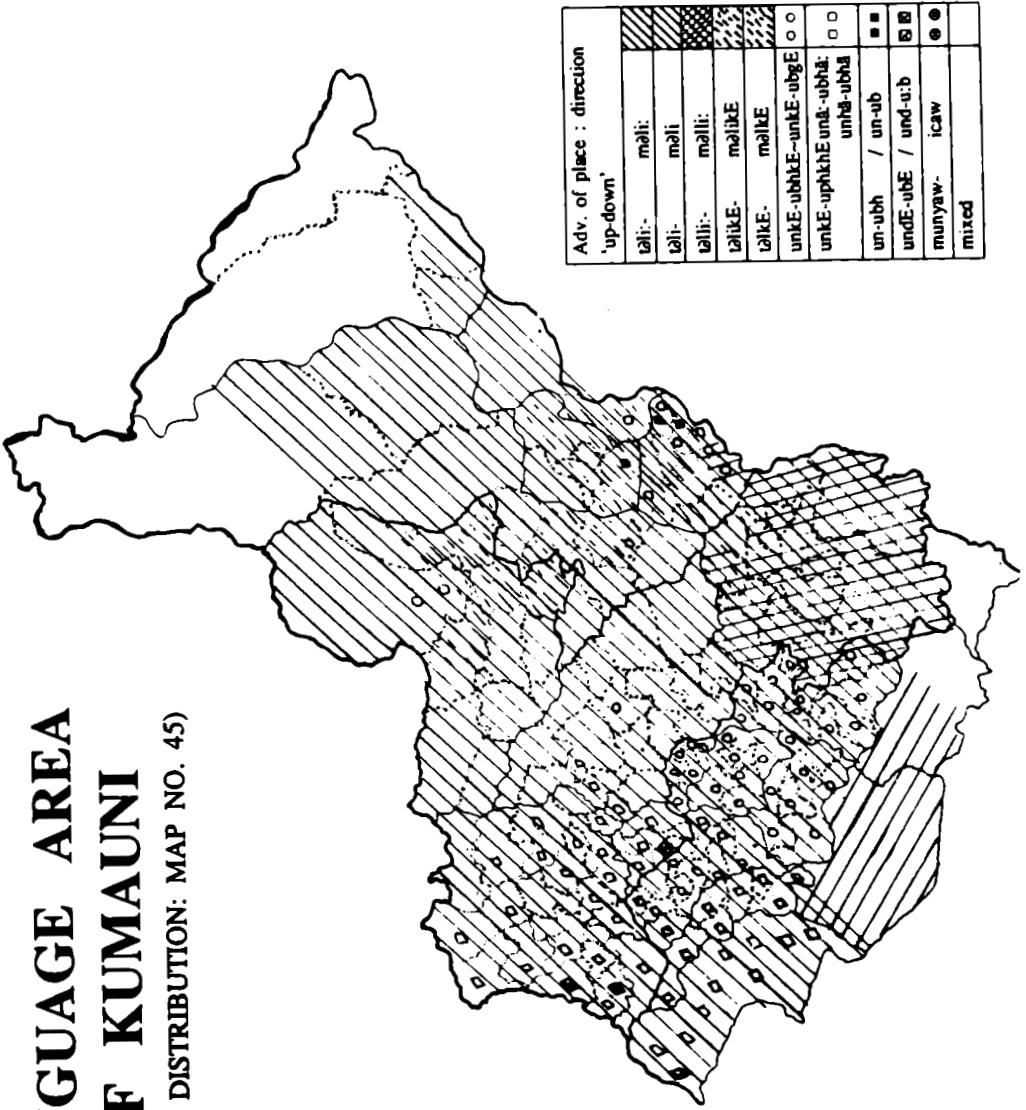
*Syntactic usage:* In a normal utterance it constitutes a part of predicate and its position is immediately before the verb. In negative statements, however, it precedes the negative particle, as in /bhānā kē IthkE UthkE ni kār/ 'don't displace the utensils to this side or that side'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /InE-unE, Inē-unē, Ina-Una, InāI-phUnḍāi, IthāI-UthāI, Ithē-Uthē, yāth-tāth, Ikh-Ūkh, yākh-Ukh, yākh-wākh, IthkE/yāthkE-UthkE, yāth-Uth/.

2. *Nepali* - /yāta-Uta, yāta-Uta, yāta-Uti, Ithā-Uth/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 45)



## Table No. 50

Areal Correlates of Adverb of Place (direction), showing motion, meaning 'downward and upward'.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. UnkE-UbhgE/ 2. UnkE-UbgE (1, 14, 36, 87-90, 123, 126, 128, 130, 132, 135-143, 150-51), 3. UnkE-UbkE (79, 86), 4. UnkE-UphkhE (125), 5. Unā-Ubhā (28-58 etc. see map), 6. Unhā-Ubhā (46, 48), 7. Unə-Ubə (88, 93), 8. UndE-UbE (46-47), 9. Un-Ub (93), 10. təli-məli/11. təll-məll (1, 4-7 etc. see map), 12. təlli-məlli (61-73, 83, 86, 153), 13. təlkE-məlkE/ 14. təlke-məlkE (2, 10, 18, 69, 78, 79, 81, 83, 85-86, 90-91, 93, 97), 15. təlkE-məlkE (3, 74, 97), 16. mUṇI-māth (118), 17. munyāw-icyāw (57).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 45.

*Areally preferred groups:* Un-ubh (1, 5, 6), Un-ub (2, 3, 7, 8-9) un-uph (4), təli-məli (10-15), muṇi-math (16), unya-icya (17).

*Immediate constituents:* Adverb of place + enclitic /kE/~gE/, indicating direction.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable divergent phonological and morphophonemic tendencies of these correlates are— (i) elision of enclitic (6-12, 16); (ii) reduction or elision of post-accentual syllable peak (14, 15); (iii) phonotactic effect of voicing (1-2); (iv) gemination of inter-vocalic consonant (12); (v) higher prominence on the first syllable (1-4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16); or (vi) on the second syllable (5-7, 10, 12, 17).

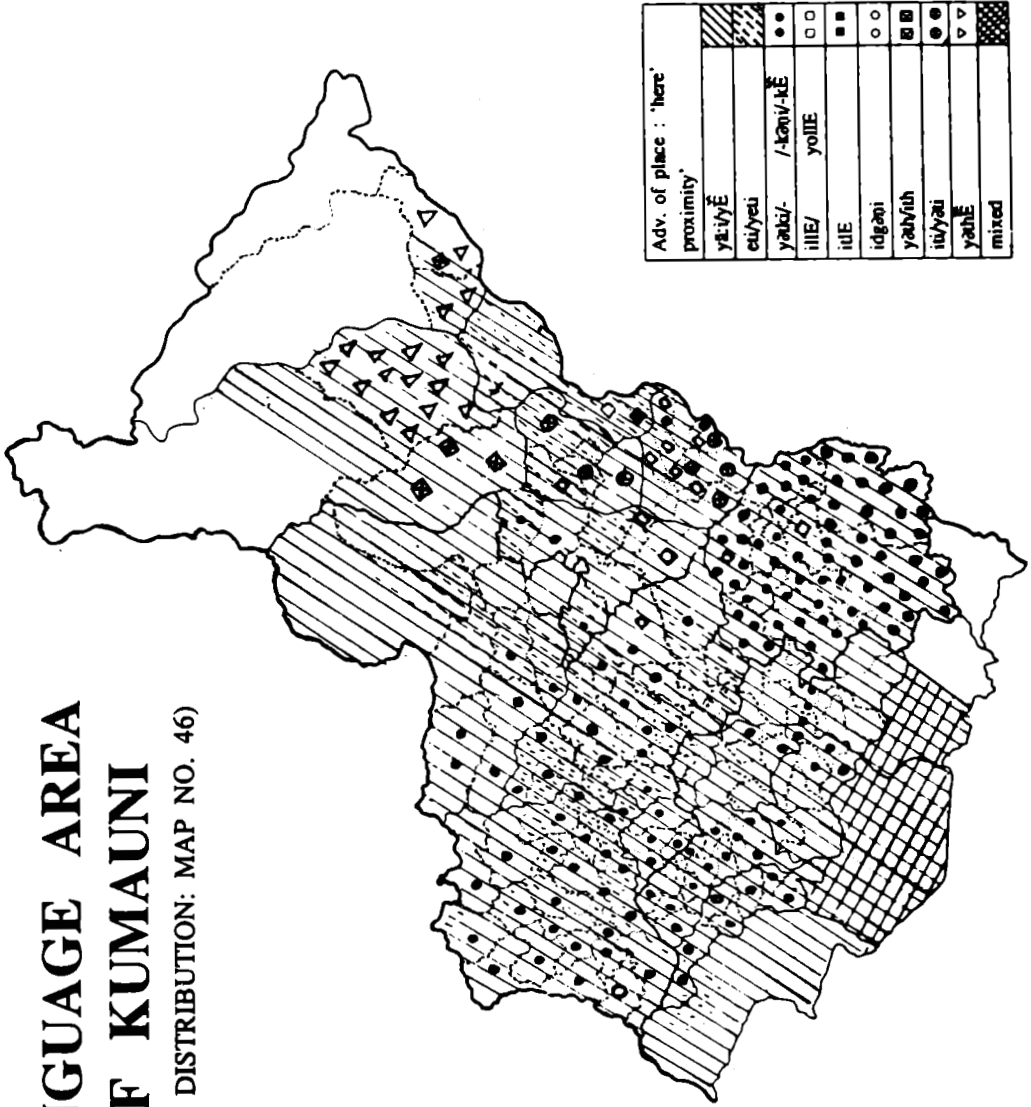
*Syntactic usage:* In a simple statement the natural position of these adverbs of place and direction is immediately before the verb, as in /jyoṛIkē UnkE-UbhgE ni kəṛ/ 'don't move the string down ward and upward'.

*Stylistic variations:* Stylistically, there are areas which invariably use the directional particle /kE~gE/ (1-4, 13-15) and others do not.

- CEP Correlates: 1. *Garhwali*- /Undəi-Ubkəi, Undu-Ubu, Und-Ub, Uddəi-Ubbəi, tɔl-ēcə, əcə-ɔl, təl-mathi, təli-məli/.
2. *Nepali* - /ʌʌ-mathi, tala-mathi, təli-məli, ubə-unə/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 46)



## Table No. 51

**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Place, with emphatic sense, meaning 'at this very place' (adv. of place).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. yāī (12, 14, 17, 22 etc. see map), 2. yāī (N.T), 3. yē (1-7, 9-11, 19, 22-29, 34-35, 398, 44, 52, 55, 64, 66, 91, 93, 97-98, 101, 105-06, 113, 153), 4. eti (4, 8, 9, 29, 38, 43-49, 78, 91, 95-96, 119, 123, 128), 5. Iti (79, 81, 85, 86, 91, 93), 6. yāti (1, 14, 17, 18, 22-23, 28, 31, 33, 35, 40, 50, 55-56, 75, 78, 91, 107, 112, 120, 123, 132, 141-43, 148), 7. yāti (13, 18, 78, 90), 8. yātE (64, 71), 9. yātki (5, 57, 130, 142), 10. yātkē (23, 56, 60-74, 148), 11. yātke (61, 72), 12. yātikE (4, 6, 7 etc.), 13. yātikE (71), 14. yettikE (48, 125), 15. yettikāni (42, 54), 16. yātkāni (42, 54), 17. yātkān - 18. yātkEnar (69), 19. yātlai/ 20. yāllai (69), 21. IllE (62, 77, 82-83, 86-90, 95), 22. Illai (83, 88, 90), 23. Illai (79), 24. Ittilai (93), 25. ItE (87, 90), 26. Idgāni (46), 27. ItE/yāthē (101, 104, 105), 28. yāmki (46), 29. yeāmnkhE (47).

*Immediate constituents:* Adverb of place + emphatic particle /i/ + locational marker /kE~kAnI~IE/

*Areally preferred groups:* yā (2-3), et - (4) yet - (14-15), yāt- (6-13, 16-19), yāl - (20), It - (5, 24-25) id - (26), il - (21-23), Yām-, ye- (28-29).

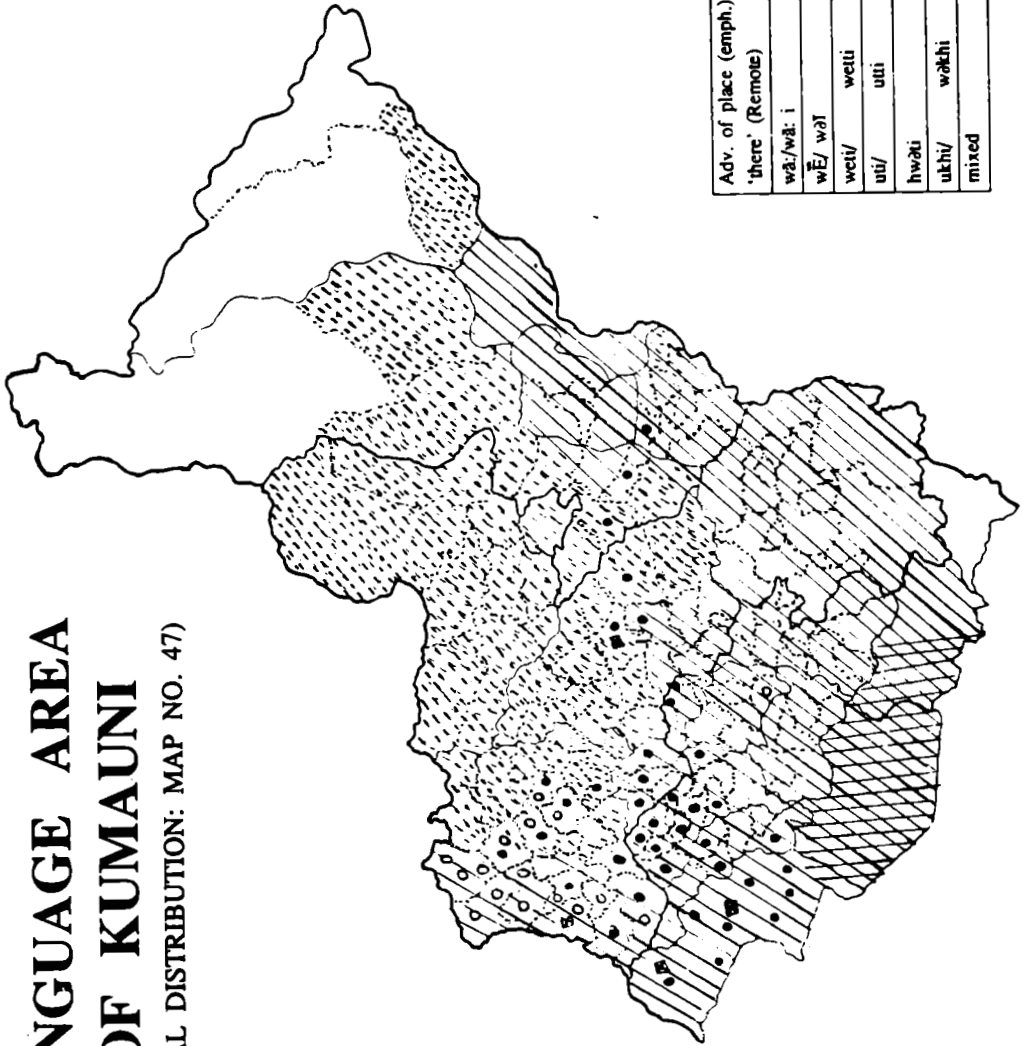
*Phonetic and morphophonemic tendencies:* These correlates of adverb of place show a number of interesting phonetic and morphophonemic tendencies in their respective areas. The most notable of these are - (i) glidialization of initial /i/ or /e/ (6-20); (ii) assimilation of emphatic particle with the vowel of adverbial base or post-position (3-18, 21, 24, 27); (iii) phonotactic assimilation of dental + lateral consonants (21-23); (iv) gemination of base consonant before suffixal morpheme (emphatic particle) (7-8, 12-15); (v) phonotactic voicing (26).

*Syntactic usage:* The diagnostic position for the occurrence of this adverbial phrase is immediately before the verb in an utterance, as in /əllE u yāī chi/ 'he was here just a few minutes ago', /ekē yāī rhān dīya/ 'please leave it here (at this very place).

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /ekhemə, Ikhmē, ekhimē, ekhIm, yākhmi, yākhmū, yākhmē, yekhimū, yekhmī, yākhimū, Ikhi, ethma, yāma/.
2. *Nepali* - /yAlAi, yAhi, yāi, yelaī/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 47)



Adv. of place (emph.) 'there' (Remote)	Symbol
wā/wā: i	Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)
wE/ wāT	Diagonal lines (top-right to bottom-left)
weti/ weti	Open circles
uti/ uti	Solid circles
hwāu	Grid pattern
ukhi/ wāhi	Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right) with solid circles
mixed	Checkered pattern

**Table No. 52**

**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Place with Paralinguistic Emphasis, meaning 'at the very place'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. wāī (9, 12-14, 17 etc. see map), 2. wəī (22, 24), 3. wē (1-8, 10-19, 22-23, 27-29, 34-37, 39, 44-45, 50, 52, 54-55, 77, 88-89, 97-98, 101, 105-06, 110, 123), 4. wā (4, 5, 12, 24, 26, 35, 38, 40, 46, 56, 72, 75, 77-78, 86, 93, 110, 123, 128, 146, 148), 5. wEtti/ 6. wetti (31-38, 42, 46, 48-49, 140). 7. weti (46), 8. Utti (12, 13, 14, 34, 38, 40, 42-43, 48, 78-79, 97, 110, 119, 125), 9. Uti (35, 55-56, 58, 97, 107-116, 123, 128), 10. hwətī (14), 11. wəkhī/ukhī (46-47).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 47.

*Areally preferred groups:* (Stem) wā- (1, 3, 4), wə- (2, 11) wet- (5-7), ut- (8-9), hwət- (10), wəkh (11).

*Immediate constituents:* Adverb of place + emphatic particle.

*Phonetic and morphophonemic tendencies:* Important phonological and morphophonemic points involved in these correlates are: (i) assimilation of vowels (3); (ii) gemination of consonants under paralinguistic environments; (iii) absence of emphatic particle (4); (iv) glidialization of /U/ and vowel harmony (5-7, 10); (v) occurrence of prothetic /h/ (10); (vi) ablaut in stem vowel due to advance vowel (1-2), otherwise cf. 4.

*Syntactic usage:* The natural diagnostic position of these correlates of emphatic adverb of place in an utterance is immediately before the verb, as in /tUm wāī jāwa/ 'you go to that very place', /tū wāī rēchč/ 'they (f.) live at that very place'. However, it may be used predicatively as well, in a stylistic or attitudinal variations, as in /tUm jāwa wāī/ 'you go to that very place'.

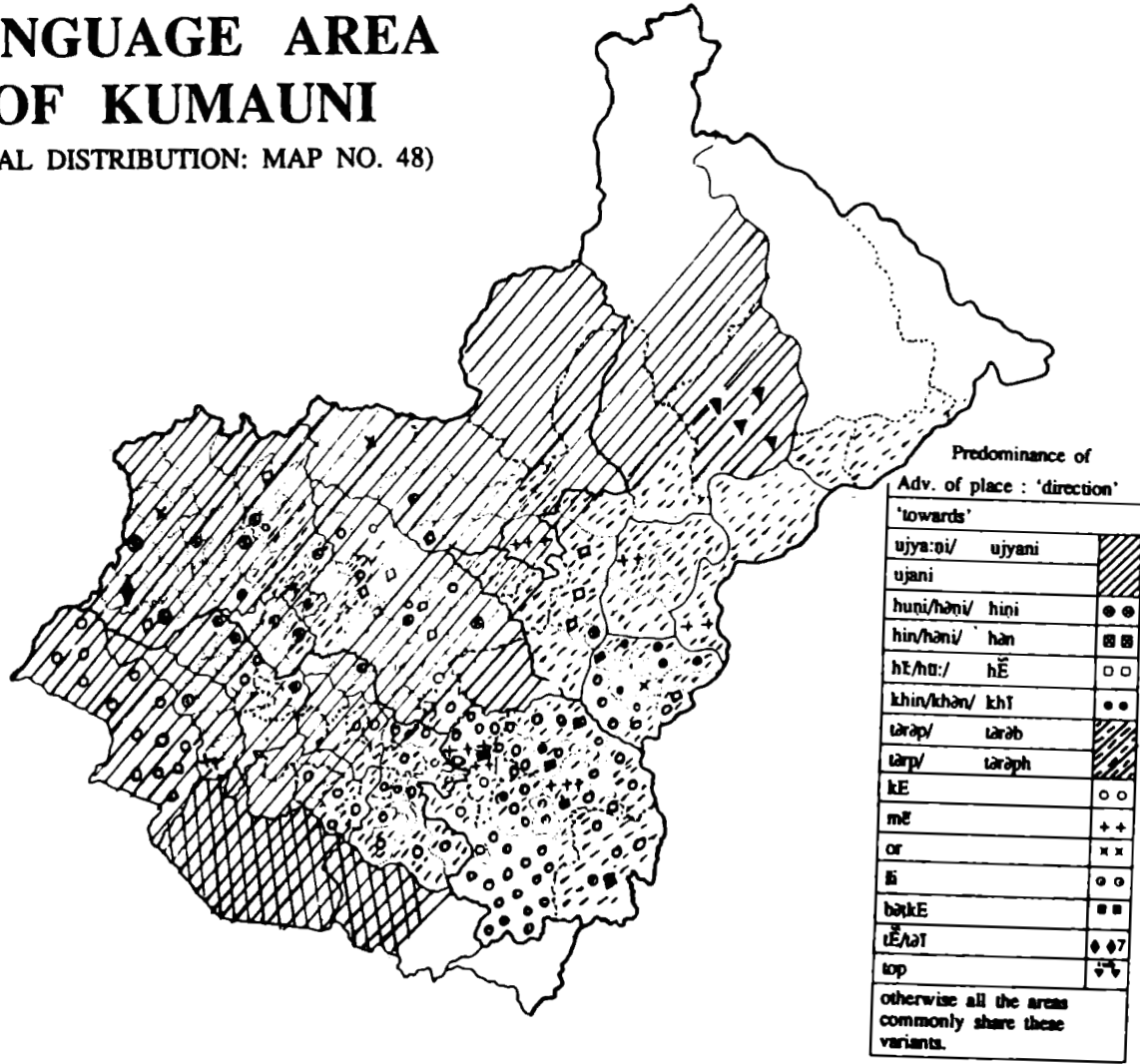
*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali-/Ukhi, wəkhī, təkhi/.

2. Nepali- /Uhī, tyʌtʌī, wāī/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 48)



## Table No. 53

## Areal Correlates of Adverb of Place, showing Direction, meaning 'towards'

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. Ujyáni (1-7, 9, 11, 41 see map), 2. Ujyāni 62, 75, 137, 139, 142, 146, 150), 3. UjánI 4, 12, 23, 32, 34, 38, 42-45, 50, 57, 91, 98, 115, 118, 119, 123, 125, 136-37, 142), 4. hUñI/hüni (7, 14, 34, 35, 43-48, 78, 110, 112, 123, 128), 5. hāñi/hāni (35, 44, 69, 71, 74), 6. hIñi (12), 7. hIn/hān (80, 72), 8. hī/hē (27, 55, 78, 86, 97), 9. hū (11, 14, 24, 26-27, 39, 48, 98, 145), 10. khān (71), 11. khī (79, 83), 12. khIn (79, 82, 83, 86), 13. tārāph (46, 88, 90, 91), 14. tārāp (1, 3, 5, 8, etc.) 15. tārph (71, 79, 88), 16. tārāb (108), 17. tārāp (68, 81, 83, 90), 18. tIr (Nep.), 19. ši (117), 20. mē (10, 60, 62, 72, 90, 95, 119, 128), 21. or (5, 33, 85), 22. kE (2, 14, 16, 18, 22-23, 27, 34, 60-73, 81, 86-87, 112, 114, 128, 135, 137-41, 144-150, 153).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 48.

*Areally preferred groups:* uja - (1-3), hun-, hu- (4,9), hā- (5); hin-, hi (6-8), khān, khin, khī (10-12), tārāp (13-17), tārā (18), ši (19), kE (22), mē (20).

*Phonological tendencies:* These correlates of adverb of direction, being enclitics, do not have any scope for a morphophonemic analysis. Notable phonological tendencies are: (i) glidialization (1-2); (ii) deaspiration (14, 16, 17); (iii) even accent (4-6, 13, 14, 16); (v) initial accent (7-9, 15, 17).

*Syntactic usage:* The syntactical position of these correlates of adverb of direction in a simple utterance is immediately after the object toward which the action is directed. The interesting aspect of this formation in Kumauni is that correlates 1-12, and 18-21 follow the nominative form of the noun or pronoun, but forms 13-17 and 21 follow the genitive form of it, as in /əgaš hū ki cañ cha/ ~ /əgašEki tārāp ki...../ 'what are you looking towards the sky'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwal - / tārāp, tārāpā, tārāp, tIr, -m/  
2. Nepali-/tIrʌ/.

**Table No. 54**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Time 'at that time'**  
**(particularization of time)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. Utək (7, 27-28, 38, 50, 56, 58, 75, 107-08, 110-130, 136-39, 144, 151), 2. Untək (137, 139), 3. Ustək (116, 118-120, 123, 125, 128, 130, 137-143, 146, 149-151), 4. UsItək (150), 5. Utəntək (27, 48, 107, 137, 139, 149-150), 6. Utəntuk/Utərtuk (22, 27-29, 32, 35, 43, 112, 116, 146), 7. Utəntu: (52), 8. UtənjUg (46-47), 9. UtənjUk (48), 10. Utənja (79), 11. Ubəkhət (3, 5, 7, 17-18, 22, 27, 29, 35 etc.), 12. wibəkhət (1-12, etc. see map), 13. Ubhət (1, 5-7 etc.), 14. Ubhət 15. UbhE (7, 35), 16. UbhətE (5), 17. Ubhətkər (N.T.), 18. wiwəkt (62, 69, 71-73, 153). 19. wibəgt/wibəgət (19-64, 69, 71-73, 101), 20. UsEbəkhət (73, 83, 87-91), 21. Uswe bəkhət (72), 22. wi bətali/bəthali (78-81, 86-87, 93), 23. UsEbəthali (82-83, 86), 24. UntəkE (137-38), 25. təhəni (40, 43), 26. təhI (31-33, 38, 42, 46-49), 27. UsE/Uswe (60, 73, 78, 86, 91, 151, 153), 28. Udar (105-106), 29. udyā/Udheli (40, 91).

*Areally preferred groups:* U-(1, 11, 13-17, 28, 29), Un (2, 24), Us- (3-4, 20-21, 23, 27), Utən-(5-10), wi- (18, 22), tə-(24-25): Second component- tək- (1-5), -tuk- (6-7, 24), -jug, -juk (8-9), -ja (10), -bəkhət (11-12, 20), - bhət - (13-17), wəkt, -bəgt (18-19), -bətali, -bəthali (22-23), -həni, -hi (25-26), -dar, -dya (28-29).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The most notable phonetic tendencies, attested in these correlates may be said as follows: (i) transfer of aspiration from the succeeding aspirated plosive to the preceding unaspirated plosive and consequent elision of the plosive element of the second plosive, i.e., /bhət/ ~ /bəkhət/ (13-17); otherwise cf. 11-12, 20-21; (ii) voicing of intervocalic breathed plosive, cf. bəget~bəkhət~wəkt. (iii) aspiration (23); otherwise cf. 22 or it may be vice-versa.

*Usage:* The syntactical position of this adverbial phrase, indicating time, is not fixed. It may precede or follow the subject or may occur at the end of the sentence, but does not come immediately before the verb, as in /Utək u wāi chi/ ~ / u wāi chi Utək/ 'he was there at that time'.

*CPE Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /Ubari, ubəri, webəkhət, wi bəkt, wEbəgət, tEbət, tabar, tbari, tE wəkt/.  
 2. *Nepali* - /tyatibela, tyas bela, tyo-samly, wibəkt, utənja/.

**Table No. 55**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Time (multiplicative), 'once'**  
**(only)' (= one time).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. yək bəkhət/bəkht (1-153), 2. ek bəgət (47), 3. ek wəkt (69), 4. ek bəktE (7), 5. ye: bəkhə: (3), 6. ek ber (63), 7. yək ber (67, 69-74, 79, 95, 149), 8. ek bari (7, 8, 33, 46), 9. ek bEr (63), 10. ek bEri (72), 11. yək bere (64, 88), 12. ek bar (1, 8, 33, 46), 9. ek bEr (63), 13. ek bhərən (91), 14. ek tək (123), 15. yək tək (28, 38, 52, 112, 115-119, 123, 125), 16. ek tək (108), 17. yək phyár (7, 16, 153), 18. ek phyár/phyári (57), 19. ek dhā (48), 20. yəkkE dhā (48), 21. ek bətali (81), 22. yəkE bətali (81), 24. ek báli (105), 25. yəkh bhōr (104)

*Areally preferred groups:* bəkhət (1-5), ber (6-12); bhərən (13); tək (14-16), phyár (17-18); dhā (19-20); bətáli (21-22); báli (23), bhōr (24).

*Syntactic Usage:* In a simple statement the natural position of these correlates of adverb of time is immediately before the finite verb or before a verbal conjunct, as in /ek bəkhət khán t̪hik hūch/ 'it is proper to eat only once'. /yək bəkhət dIya/ 'give once'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali- /ek, yek, eki-bar, -bari, -bəgət/.  
 2. Nepali-/ek~yək baji~coti, eute s̪m̪ly-mā, yək b̪ti/.

Table No. 56

**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Time (expressing a fixed point of time), meaning 'just now, only a few seconds ago' etc.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. ēIE (14, 34, 36-37, 43, 46, 60, 73, 78, 90, 93, 97, 113, 123, 128, 137-39, 141, 143, 145, 150, 151, 153), 2. ēIIIE (17, 22, 24, 27, 32, 38, 42, 48, 54, 58, 60, 68-72, 93, 107, 116, 120, 123, 128, 142, 145-46), 3. EIIIE (2, 5-6 etc.), 4. əIIIE (1, 3-8 etc.), 5. əIE (4, 7, 12, 42, 45, 57, 77, 86), 6. aIE (4, 10, 17, 62, 71, 95), 7. allIE (62), 8. alE-alE (46-47), 9. əIEəIE (4, 7, 12, 42, 45, 57, 77, 86, 95), 10. EIEi (118), 11. EIEIE (118, 144), 12. EnnE (143, 144, 146, 148), 13. ənnE (10, 66, 148), 14. altək (71), 15. yət jāIE/16. El jāIE (11, 151), 17. El janlhE (105), 18. tāIE (44), 19. āji (9, 42).

*Areal Distribution:* As above.

*Areally preferred groups:* əI-, al-, EI- (1-11, 14, 16-17), En-, ən- (12-13), yət (15) tā (18), āji (19).

*Immediate constituents:* Components of these correlates of adverb of time are two particles, viz. indicative + emphatic. In some cases it is demonstrative adj. + duration of time indicator + intensity marker (16) 'up to this time'.

*Phonological tendencies:* Notable phonological aspects of these correlates are as follows: (i) gemination of /l/ or /n/ before emphatic particle (2-4, 7, 12-13); (ii) ablaut in the initial vowel (4-9, 13); (iii) reduplication as a mechanism of intensification (8-11).

*Syntactic usage:* In an utterance the place of this adverb of time is not fixed. In stylistic variation it may occur immediately before or after the subject or at the end of the sentence, as in /EIIIE u yāi chi~u EIIIE yāi chi~u yāi chi EIIIE/ 'just now he was here'.

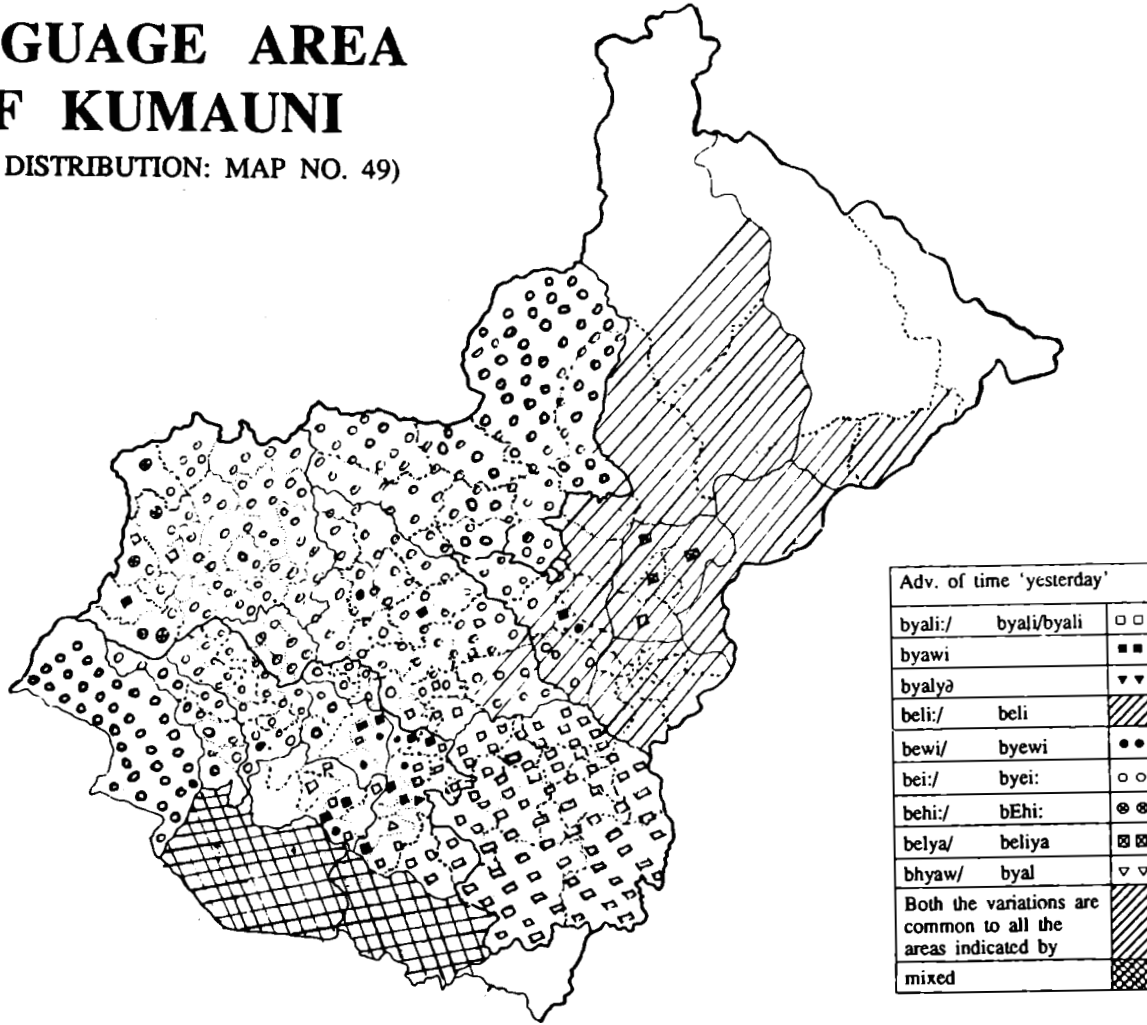
*Stylistic variations:* Stylistically, the limit of time is expressed (i) by intensity marker /E~IE/; (ii) by reduplication (8, 11); (iii) by /jā IE/ or /tək/ 'upto', as in /beli jāIE/ 'upto yesterday', /bhol jāIE/ 'uptil tomorrow'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /əbi-əbi, əbbi-əbbi. ibarē, əbari-əbari, thəī, Ebi-Ebi/.

2. Nepali-/āile, bharkhāli/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 49)



**Table No. 57**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Time, meaning 'yesterday'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. byáli (62, 63, 66-73, 78, 93, 135-136, 146, 153), 2. byáli (12, 27, 42, 46, 60-74, 78, 138, 140, 144-45, 147-153), 3. beli:/byeli: (4-7, 14, 17, 35c. see map), 4. byályə, (148), 5. belya (91), 6. bewi (27, 78, 112, 138, 140-145), 7. beliya (91, 95), 8. byáwi: (14, 47, 78, 137-144, 145-151), 9. byáli (18-29, 78, 137, 139, 141, 147, 151), 10. 'byei: (7, 24), 11. bei (1-18, 22-29, 32-49, 52-58, 75, 77, 97-98, 107, 110-132), 12. 'behi (33, 48), 13. 'behI (46), 14. bEhi: (32), 15. byáni (62).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No 49.

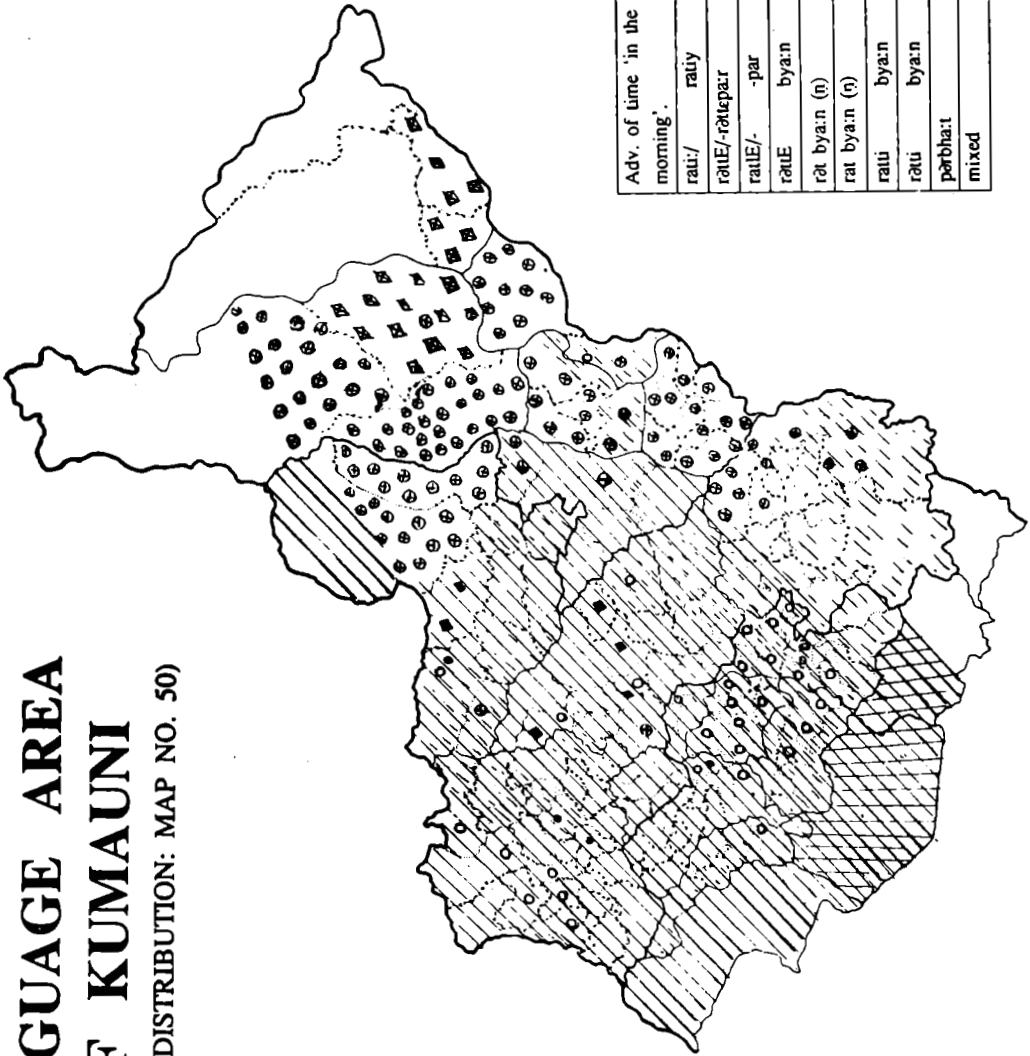
*Areally preferred groups:* A (1-3), B (4-9), C (10-11); D. (12-14), E (15).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Divergent phonological and morphophonemic tendencies noticeable in these correlates are: (i) correlate No 7 shows that the full form of this adverb would be \*/beliya/, which is also supported by orthographic correlates. In this light following morpho-phonemic changes may be noted: (i) elision of final syllable due to strong accent on preceding syllables (1-3, 8-13); (ii) lengthening of vowel due to primary pitch accent on it (1, 3, 8, 10, 12, 14); (iii) reduction or elision of vowel due to primary stress accent on the preceding syllable (2, 4-7, 9, 11, 14); (iv) elision of inter-vocalic /l/ (10-14); (v) intrusion of aspiration (12-15) (vi) areal tendencies for free variation of /l/ with /l̥/ (9) and /w/ (6, 8), (vii) the glidal /y/ in the initial syllable again seems to be a product of accentual intensity leading to shortening of the vowel and consequently compensating it with a glide.

*Syntactic usage:* Structurally, these correlates of adverb of time occur either immediately before the verb or at the end of a sentence in a stylistic variation, as in /u 'byáli yā a : (ch) /~/ u a /:/ (ch) yā byáli/ 'he came here yesterday', or it may be followed by post-position and another adverb. /u byáli yāi chi/ 'he was here yesterday'. /u beli bəti yāi chə/ 'he is here since yesterday'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali-/ byáli, byale/.  
 2. Nepali- /hijo, hiju/.

**LANGUAGE AREA  
OF KUMAUNI**  
(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 50)



Adv. of time 'in the morning'	
raui/ raiy	▨
raue/-rauepar	▧
raue/-par	⊗
raue bya:n	●
ra bya:n (n)	○
ra bya:n (r)	○
raui bya:n	■
raui bya:n	■
parbhat	⊠
mixed	▩



**Table No. 58**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Time (intensive sense), meaning**  
**'early in the morning'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. rátye (1, 4-10 etc. see map), 2. rətEi (7, 12, 13 etc.), 3. rátiē (48), 4. ráttE (2, 79, 82, 90-96, 99, 104-106, 150), 5. rətEi (72, 78), 6. ráttEi/ 7. ráttli (29, 62-63, 69, 71, 81, 83, 85-88, 95), 8. ráttēi (69, 80, 85, 91) 9. ráttE par (6, 26), 10. rətE par (5-8, 11, 27, 34, 37, 39), 11. ráti phar (46), 12. rátti pər (29, 31, 34, etc.), 13. ráttāni (90), 14. rətE phəjər (123), 15. phəjərE (123), 16. rətbyan (4, 5, 7, 12, 14, 23, 25, 34, 37-38, 43, 46, (n) -61, 78, 87, 90 etc.), 17. rətE byan (5-6, 27, 35, 97, 123), 18. rat byan (n) (24, 82), 19. rətE byanE (24, 35, 45), 20. rətE phəjər~phəjəl (46-47, 123), 21. pərbhate (91), 22. pərbhatE (101), 23. pərbhatli (Nep.).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No 50.

*Componential elements:* Nominal stem /rat, phəjər, pərbhat/ + adverbial formative + emphatic particle /e~E~i/ + locational marker.

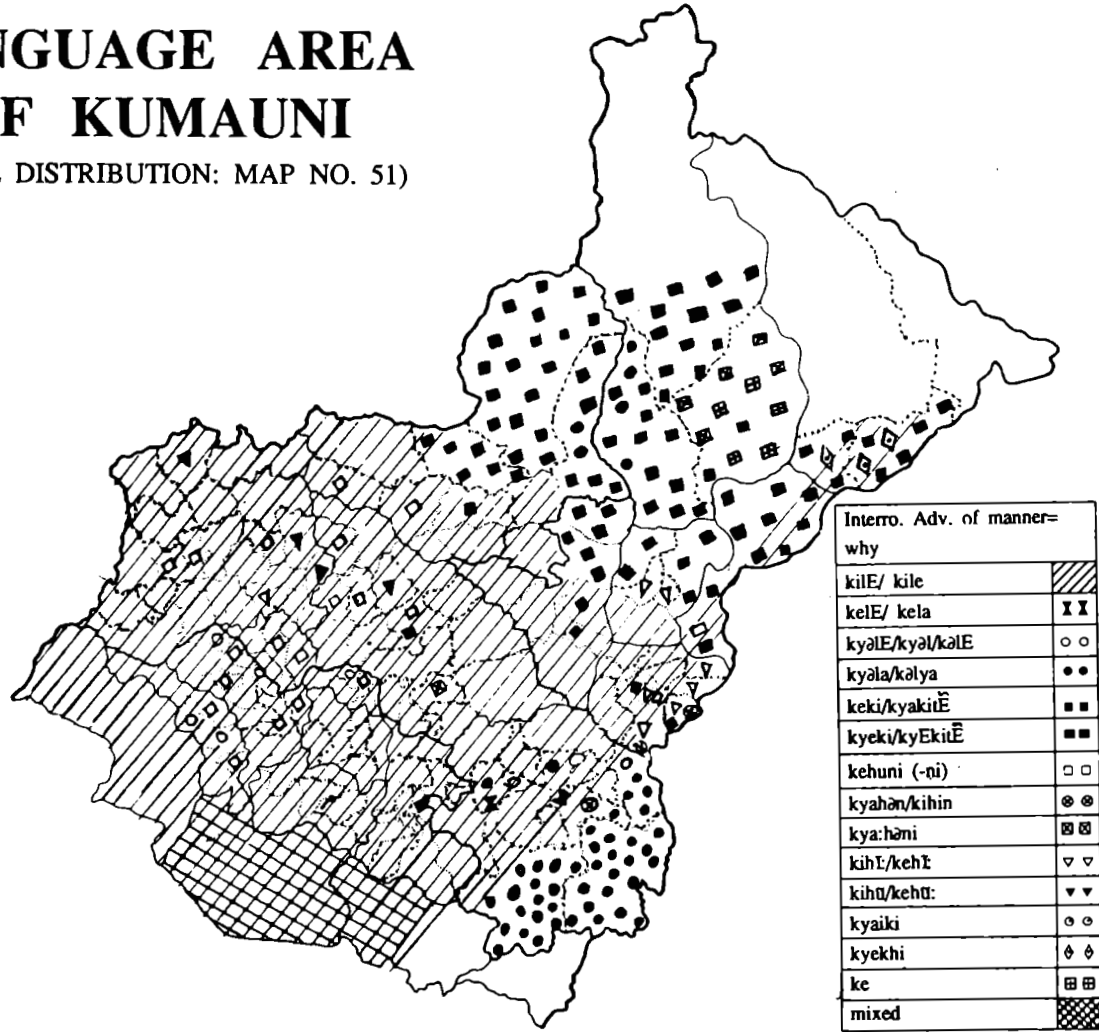
*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The most notable phonological and morphophonemic aspects of these correlates are - (i) Ablaut in stem vowel (1-10, 13-17, 19-20); (ii) gemination of /t/ before adverbial formative; (iii) assimilation of formative and emphatic particle (4, 9-10, 14, 17, 19-20); (iv) glidialization (1).

*Syntactic usage:* The diagnostic position of these correlates of the intensive adverb of time is immediately preceding or following the verb, as in /mē rátye ayŭ/~mē ayŭ rátye/ 'I came early in the morning'. In certain areas it may be followed by a locative post positional marker (9-13); correlates 16-20 have a phrasal construction, which mean "when the night was over". Semantically, correlates 1-3 indicate the sense 'when it was still a night'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali-/suber, suberi, subere, ratye, phəjəl, phəjəli, bĪnsəriyamā, pərbatəi/.  
 2. Nepali-/ subere, bĪhanli. pərbhatli, pərbhate/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 51)



**Table No. 59**  
**Areal Correlates of Adverb of Reason, which means**  
**'why', 'what for'.**

**Correlates & Areas:**

1. kIIE (4-19 etc. see map), 2. kIle (32), 3. kəlE (71), 4. kəla (71), 5. keIE (72) 6. kEla (62), 7. kyəlE (62, 71, 110, 112), 8. kyəl (117-18, 125), 9. kyəla (63, 71-72, 153), 10. kyəlEk (110), 11-12. ke (104), 13-14. keki (85, 90-91, 105), 15. kyeki (tē)/ 16. kyEki (tē) (1, 4, 14, 78, 87, 90-91, 95, 97, etc.), 17. kyE (104), 18. kyakitē (1, 4, 14, 78, 87, 90, 91, 95, 97, 100-101, 105-106), 19. kehUṇi (ni) (6, 7, 14, 23, 27-28, 34, 42-43, 56, 58, 83, 90, 111, 113, 116, 120-123, 128), 20. kyahən (62), 21. kihIn (86), 22. klhī/kehI (55, 85-88, 93), 23. kihū (26), 24. kehə (31, 52), 25. klhIn (86), 26. kyaki (147), 27. kyaIki (93), 28. kyekhI (101), 29. kekhən/ 30. kyakhən (61-62, 70-72), 31. kEki (147), 32. kihəṇi (32-38), 33. kehū (11, 20, 30, 97), 34. kewaste (38), 35. kIlaki (80), 36. kyəlya (71), 37. kešu (27, 90).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 51.

*Areally preferred groups (First Component):* ki- (1-2), 21-25, 32, 35), kə- (3-4), ke- (5-6, 11-12, 14, 19, 29, 31, 33-34, 37), kyə- (7-10, 36); kya- (18, 20, 26-27, 30); kye- (15, 17, 28); (Second Component): le~IE (1-3, 5, 7, 10), -lek~ləki (10, 35); -la (4, 9, 36), -tē (14-16, 18), -huni (19, 24, 32), -hən (20), -hin~hī (21-22, 25, 28), -hū (23, 33); -ki (26-27, 31), -khi (28), -khən (29-30), -waste (34), -šu (37).

*Immediate constituents:* Immediate constituents of this interrogative adverb are: interrogative pronoun + dative marker.

*Phonological tendencies:* Besides vocalic preferences in areally conditioned groups (see point of divergence) one of the notable phonological tendency is (i) glidialization (7-10, 15-18, 20, 26-38, 35).

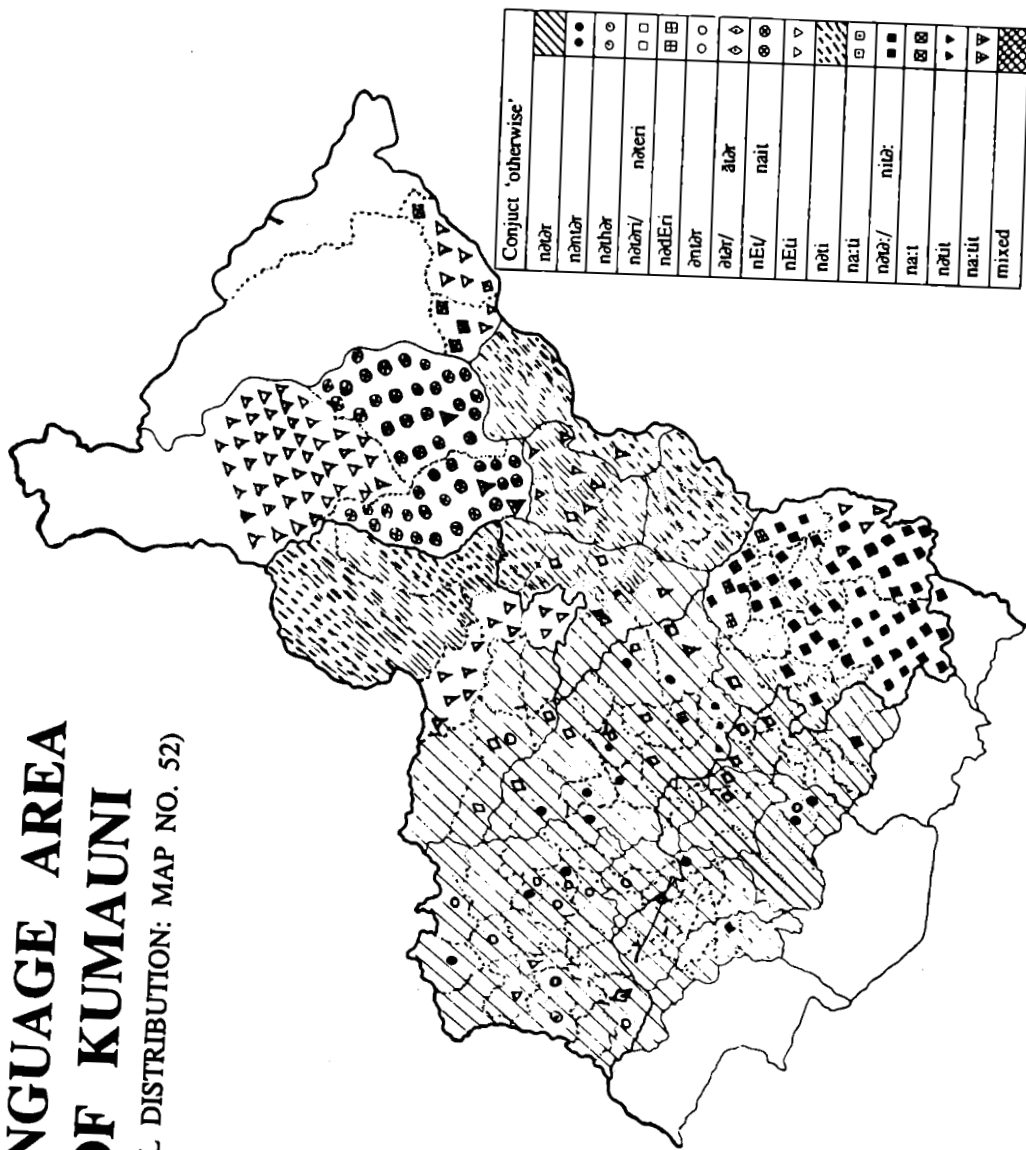
*Syntactic usage:* These areal correlates of the interrogative adverb denoting purpose, or reason of some action are used immediately before the verb, as in /kIIE lacha/ 'why did you bring', /KIIE kəcha/ 'why do you say' / me kIIE kōl/ 'why should I say'.

*Areal preferences and stylistic variations:* Areal preferences are particularly noticeable with regard to the choice of the second component of the phrasal unit. Stylistically, in some areas (14-16, 18) the dative marker follows the genitive form instead of nominative one.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali- /kIIE, kləi, kyak/.  
 2. Nepali- /kInə., kyeki, kyai/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 52)



Conjunct 'otherwise'	
nəhər	▨
nəhəhər	●●
nəlhəhər	○○
nəhəh/ nəhən	□□
nəhEn	田田
əhəhər	○○
əhəh/ əhəh	⊖ ⊖
nEh/ nəit	⊗ ⊗
nEh	▽▽
nəh	▨▨
nə:li	□□
nəhə:/ nəhə:	■ ■
nə:1	⊗ ⊗
nə:it	▼▼
nə:li	▽▽
mixed	▨▨

## Table No. 60

Areal correlates of conjunctive phrase, meaning 'otherwise'.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. nət̄ər (1, 4-49, 52-60, 73, 78, 87, 90-91, 95-98, 107, 110-135),  
 2. nət̄ərI (12-17, 22, 25, 60, 75, 97, 142, 147), 3. nət̄ErI (6, 11, 13,  
 60, 95, 97, 143-44), 4. nət̄ər (6, 12, 14, 17, 19-28, 31, 34, 54, 78,  
 123, 137, 139), 5. nət̄hər (46), 6. nət̄ErI (18), 7. ət̄ər/ 8. ət̄ər (48),  
 9. ənt̄ər (7, 34-38, 42, 48, 54-56, 112, 117, 137), 10. nət̄it (93), 11. nēt̄  
 (1, 104-105), 12. nēt̄i (3, 8, 10, 17, 33, 43, 74, 77, 90-91, 95, 101,  
 106), 13. n̄ t̄l (1, 2, 57, 62, 64, 68, 72-73, 78-79, 81, 83, 85-95, 97,  
 99, 108, 128), 14. nət̄ə: (61-74, 87, 93, 118), 15. nət̄/nət̄ (69, 71, 101),  
 16. nət̄it (79, 80, 82), 17. nət̄It (105), 18. nIt (71), 19. nāu (2).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 52.

*Areally preferred groups:* A (1-6); B (7-9); C (10-12); D (13-15); E (16-17); F (18-19).

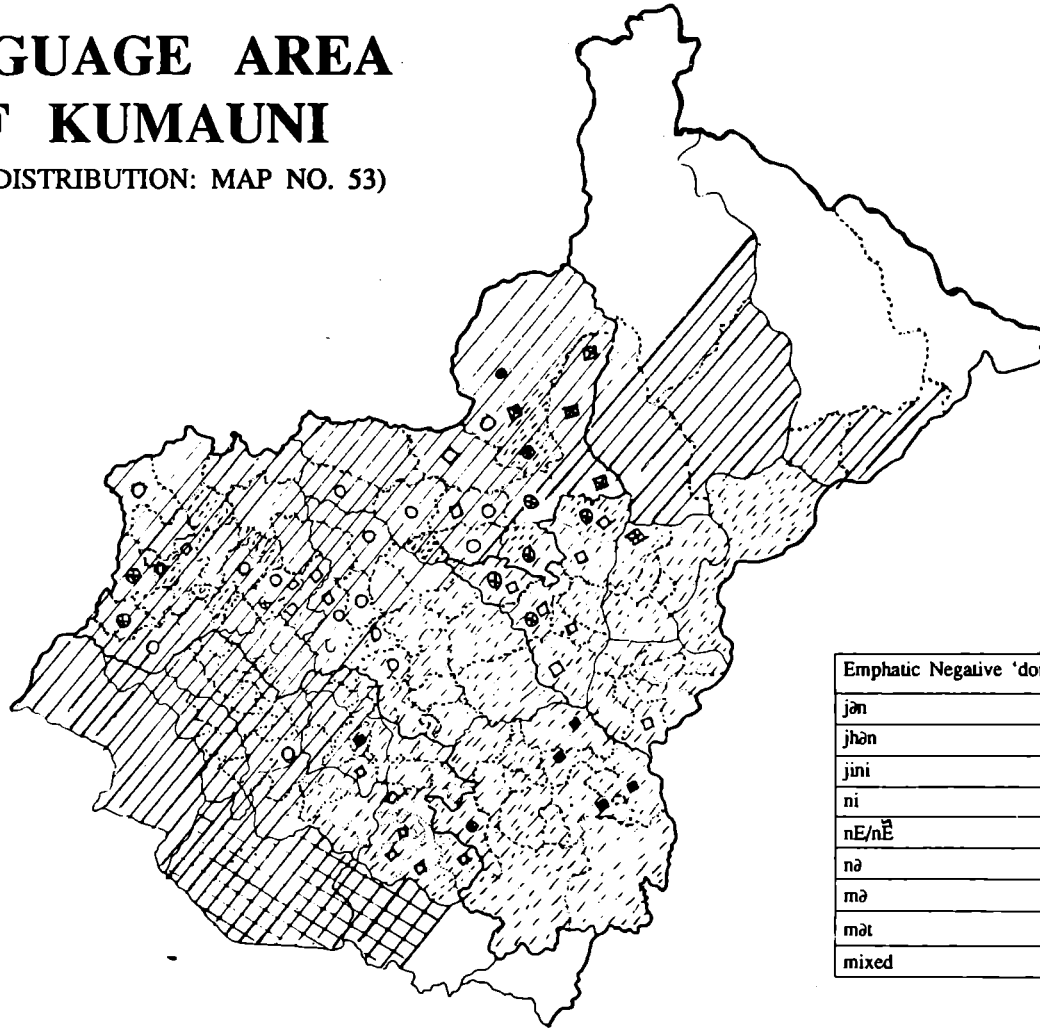
*Phonological tendencies:* Some of the areally conditioned phonological tendencies of these correlates may be noted as follows: (i) preference for final vowel and consequent syllabic increase (2-3, 6, 12-14, 16-17, 19); (ii) vowel harmony (3, 6); (iii) assimilation of vowels (11-12), otherwise cf., 10, (iv) voicing of inter-vocalic plosive (6), (v) reduction of nasal consonant to mere nasality (7-8), (vi) metathesis of phones (9), (vii) intrusion of /n/ (4). Processive stages of this correlate may also be presumed as, first metathesis of phones of /nə/ and then augmentation of /n/, otherwise cf. 9., (viii) Aspiration (5).

*Syntactic usage:* The natural place of this conjunctive phrase in conditional compound structure is after the protasis and before the apodosis, as in /u mē hE t̄hUl chi nət̄ər mE ukē gIrE dIchi/ 'he was elder to me; otherwise I would have brought him down'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali- /nət̄ər, nət̄əri, nət̄rə, nEt̄ər, nIt̄rə, nIt̄ər, nət̄hər, nət̄həri, nIt̄hər/.  
 2. Nepali- /nət̄rə, nIt̄rə, nət̄rə/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 53)



Emphatic Negative 'don't'	
jə̃n	
jhə̃n	
jini	
ni	
nE/nĒ	
nə̃	
mə̃	
mət	
mixed	

**Table No. 61**

**Areal Correlates of Intensive Negative Particle, meaning 'don't'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. jən (1, 11-14, 17-19 etc. See map), 2. jhən (5-7, 11-14 etc. see map), 3. jɪni (1, 62-63, 69, 71, 141), 4. nẽ (28, 43, 52, 55, 98), 5. nE (3, 4, 75, 77-78, 86, 140, 150-51, 153-54, 6. nI (1, 4, 6-7, 9, 22-25, 27-29, 32, 35, 42, 48, 54, 56, 72, 110), 7. na (1, 8, 10, 46-47, 55, 98), 8. mə (1-2), 9. mət (95).

*Areal Distributing* : See Map No. 53.

*Areally preferred groups*: A (1-3); B. (4-7), C. (8), D. (9).

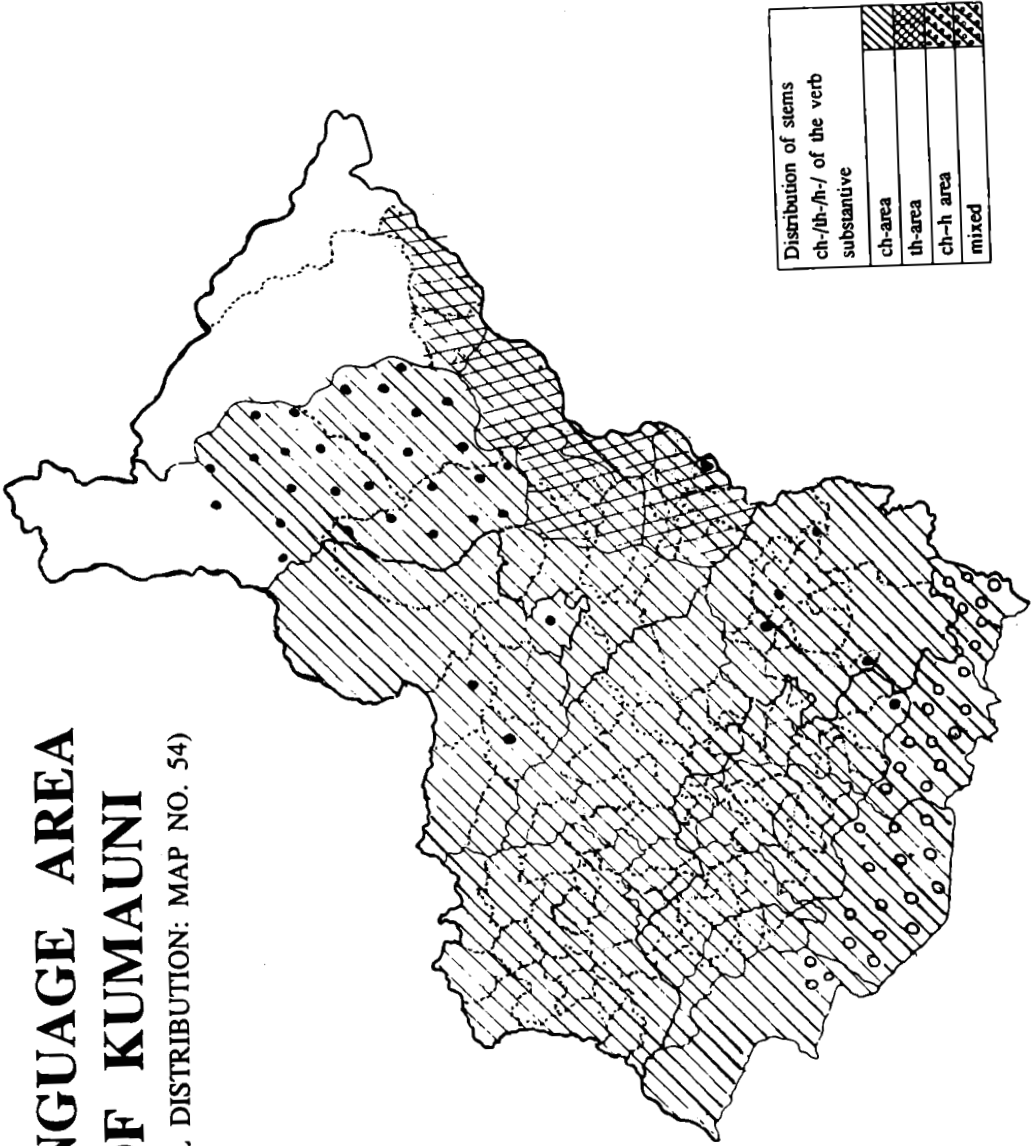
*Syntactic usage*: These correlates of the emphatic negative particle are used to negate some action emphatically. In a simple utterance it normally precedes the verb which is always in the imperative mood, second person, as in /tu jən jæ/ 'thou don't goest'; /tUm jən jəya/ 'you don't go'.

*Phonological tendencies*: Notable phonological tendencies are - (i) aspiration (2); (ii) preference for open vowel (4-5), (iii) preference for close vowel (3,6); (iv) preference for centering vowel (1-2, 7-9).

*CEP Correlates*: 1. *Garhwali*- /ni, na, nə/.  
2. *Nepali* - /nɒ, jɒn/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 54)





**Table No. 62**  
**Areal Correlates of the Existential Verb 'to be'.**

*Correlates:* 1. /chə-/ , 2. /thə-/ , 3. /hə-/ ,

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 54.

*Areal preferences:* Three areal preferences viz. /chə-, thə-, hə-/ have been noticed for the verb stem (see map No 54). Generally, stem /thə-/ is attested in past tense forms, and stem /hə-/ when occurring as an auxiliary.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* In a quick tempo of speech, in many cases the inflection marker is reduced to inaudibility. Various moods and tenses in Kumauni are generally expressed with the verb 'to be' as an auxiliary. Thus when used as copula, it is often dropped in many linguistic areas (see Table No, 69, 79, 72, etc.).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, roots /Chtə/ and thə/are used as a verb substantive or as an auxiliary in the present and past tenses, and /hə/ for fut. agreeing in number, person and gender with its subject, there being, normally, no differentiation for gender in pres. in most of the areas.

*Appendices:* The maximum number of variations are attested in the 3rd person (sg., pl.) and 1st person plural forms (see table No. 63-71). First person singular and second person (sig., pl.) show minimum variations. (1) 1st sg. /chō~chū (thō, thū) hō~hū/ (present); (2) 2nd sg. /chE, hE/, (3) 2nd pl. /cha, chə, ha/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 55)

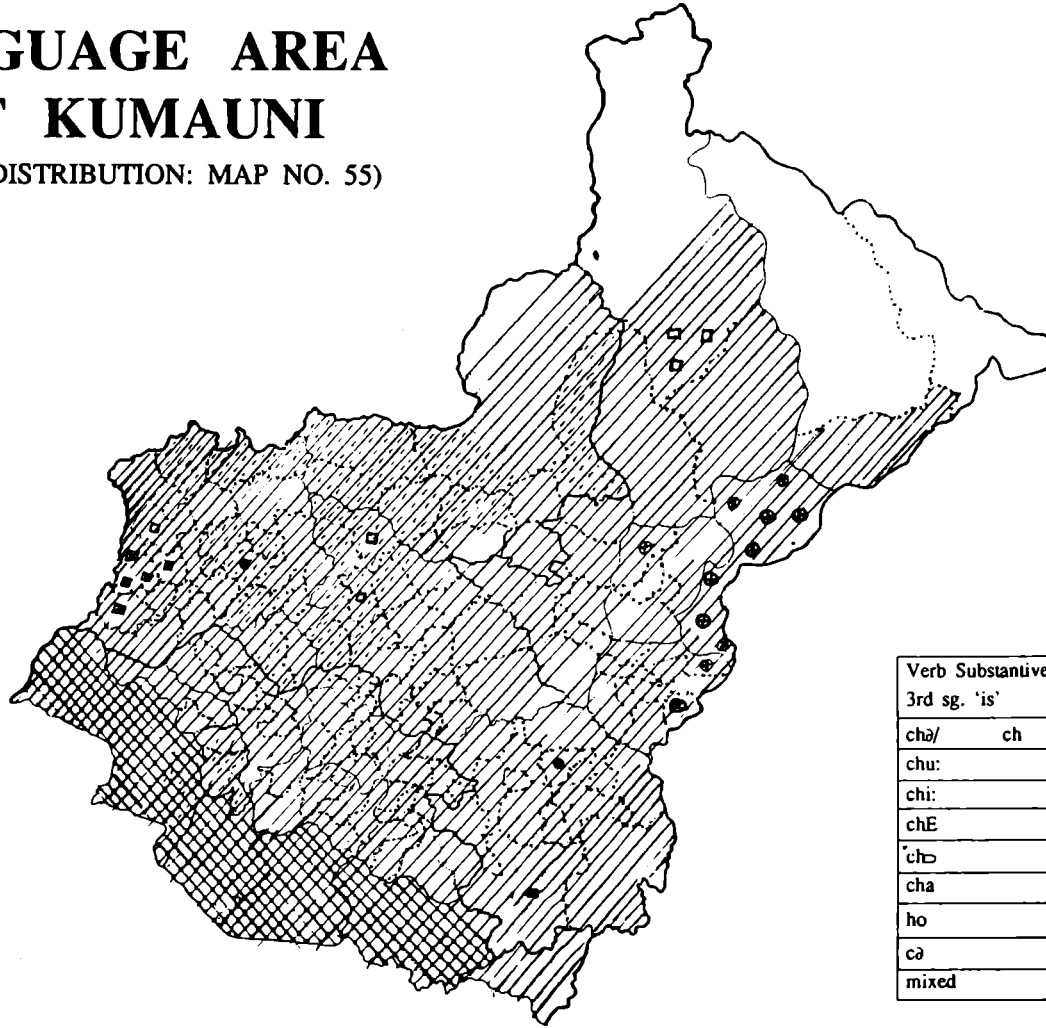


Table No. 63

Areal Correlates of the Existential Verb /chə-, thə-, hə-/ 'to be',  
present indefinite tense, 3rd sig.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. chə (1, 2, 5, 8, 9 etc. see map), 2. chu (2-7, 16, 22-29, 34-38, 43, 52-57, 75, 77, 118-19, 148), 3. cha (42, 46, 67, 128), 4. chĒ (46), 5. chɔ (35, 71), 6. chyō (14, 61, 63, 69, 70, 71), 7. thyō (81, 83, 86, 90, 93, 99), 8. cə (47), 9. ho (87, 90, 95), 10. hE (104).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 55.

*Areally preferred groups:* chə- (1-6); thə- (7); cə- (8); hə- (9-10).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /chə- - thə-, hə/ + flectional marker (third person, singular number).

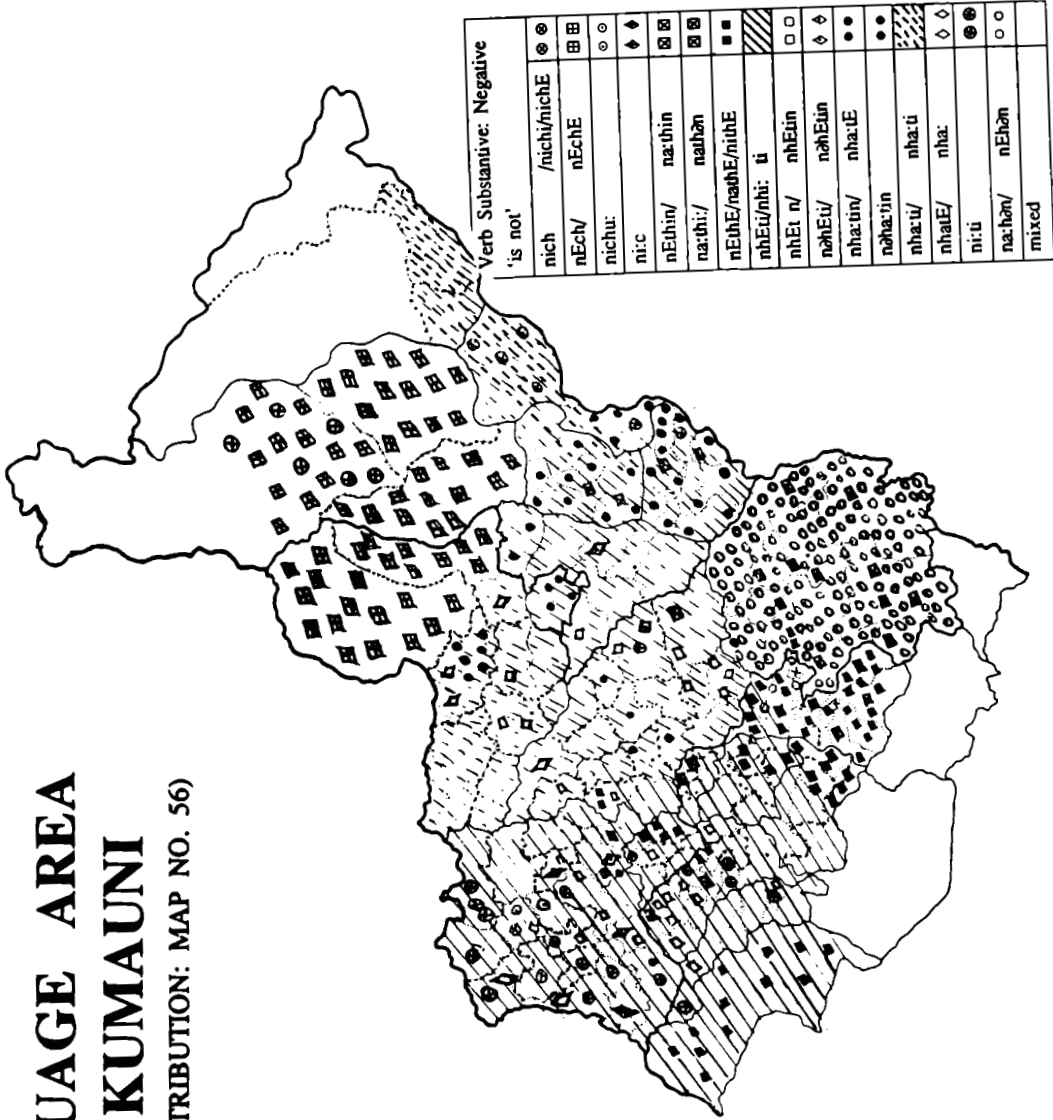
*Phonological and morphophonemic aspect:* The flectional marker is often elided in a quick tempo of speech. When used as copula the whole form is often dropped in many linguistic areas.

*Syntactic usage:* It is used as a verb substantive or an auxiliary agreeing with its subject in the third person, singular number, there being no differentiation for gender in most of the areas.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /cə-, chə-/.  
2. Nepali - /chʌ, ho/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 56)



Verb Substantive: Negative	
'is not'	
nich	⊙ ⊙
/nichi/nichE	⊙ ⊙
nEch/ nEchE	⊞ ⊞
nichu:	⊙ ⊙
ni:c	⬆ ⬆
nEhin/ nɑ:thin	⊞ ⊞
nɑ:thi:/ nɑ:thɑn	⊞ ⊞
nEhE/nɑ:thE/nithE	■ ■
nhEti/nhi: ti	▨ ▨
nhE: n/ nhEun	□ □
nhEti/ nhEun	◇ ◇
nha:tin/ nha:tE	● ●
nha:tin	● ●
nha:ti/ nha:ti	▨ ▨
nha:tE/ nha:	◇ ◇
ni:ti	⊙ ⊙
nɑ:hɑn/ nEhɑn	○ ○
mixed	

Table No. 64

**Areal Correlates of Verb Substantive (Negative) 'is not' present  
indefinite tense, 3rd sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. nichə (12, 31-38, 46-49, 55, 56, 90, 107, 115, 120), 2. nEchə (1-2, 104-106), 3. nIchi (112), 4. nIchē (32, 42, 46, 48, 88, 99, 112), 5. nEchē (1, 105, 110, 125, 148, 151), 6. nIchu (36, 38, 43), 7. nIthi (115), 8. nIthē (72), 9. nāthi (93), 10. nāthən (17, 62-68, 71-74, 114, 144, 153), 11. nEthIn (83, 87), 12. nathē (144, 146), 13. nEthē (28, 37, 58, 128, 137, 139-153), 14. nhEti (1-2, 5-7, etc. see map), 15. nhīti (44), 16. nhEtən (7, 17, 25, 28, 35, 38, 40, 43, 45, 56, 107-08, 112-13, 120, 123), 17. nhētIn (23, 34, 113), 18. nhētē (18, 35, 43, 119, 125-128, 135, 137, 142), 19. nhē (4-7, 11, 13, 22, 26-29, 42, 52, 55, 98), 20. nāhētI (4, 7, 12, 14, 34, 40, 55, 96), 21. nāhētIn (23), 22. nhāitən (14, 25, 90, 93, 132, 133), 23. nhātIn (3, 10, 16, 48, 55, 79-83, 86-90, 93, 95, 98), 24. nhāti (4-8, 12-19, 22-24, 27, 34, 75, 78, 82, 85, 86, 90-91, 95, 97, 119), 25. nhāti (119), 26. nhā (3, 8, 12, 19, 22, 32, 46, 75), 27. nāhtən (24, 60), 28. nahātI (78), 29. nāhāti (9, 12, 14, 17, 22-24, 34, 55, 75-78, 82, 91, 95-98), 30. nīI (115), 31. nāhən (60-74, 146-47), 32. nEhən (74), 33. nyEha (62), 34. N+Φ: nē, 35. nā, 36. nī,

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 56.

*Immediate constituents:* Negative particle /ni~nE~na~nə/ + existential verb /chə~thə~hə~Φ/ + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The most interesting phonological and morphophonemic aspects in these correlates are: (i) transfer of aspiration from existential verb to the negative particle (14-29); (ii) split of aspiration (31-33); (iii) loss of aspiration (30); (iv) elision of copula (34-36).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a part of VP. in a negative sentence and its subject is always in the third person, singular number, other correlates of the verb substantive are attested as /nichō, nithū/ etc., when the subject is first person, and as /nichE~nEthE/etc. when it is second person singular number, and as /nichə~nEthə/ etc. when it is second person plural number.

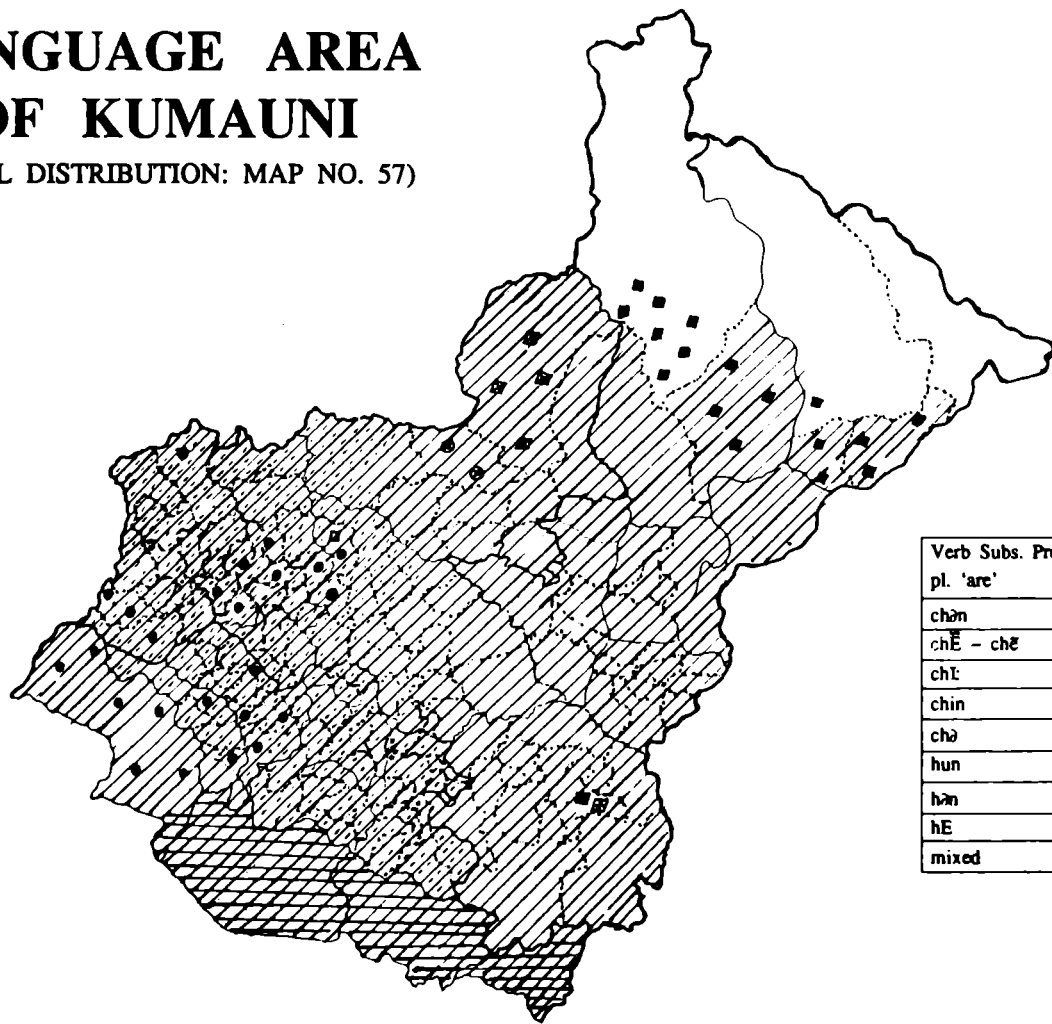
*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* Broadly speaking there are only two areal preferences noticeable with regard to the choice of verb substantive, viz., /chə-/ and /thə-/. The other form with /nh-/ are, infact, cases of transfer of aspiration from /th/, leaving the plosive

element alone, i.e., /nhāti < nāthi/, /nhātən < nathən/. Correlates from 34-36 show only optional dropping of the copula. However, certain areas have only /h-/ as the verbal element (31-33). This may be due to elision of the plosive element of /th-/ ~ /ch-/ or it may be /hΛ-/ itself. It is a matter for future investigation.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /nichə, nicə/.  
 2. *Nepali-* /chΛinΛ/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 57)



Verb Subs. Pres: 3rd pl. 'are'	
chān	
chĒ - chĕ	
chĪ	
chin	
chā	
hun	
hān	
hĒ	
mixed	

**Table No. 65**

**Areal Correlates of the Existential Verb /chə- hə-/ 'to be', present indefinite tense, 3rd pl.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. chən (1-2, 4-5, 27 etc. see map), 2. chIn (23), 3. chē (28-29, 31 etc. see map), 4. chI (23, 28, 31, 34, 35, 45-48, 52, 54-55, 112, 115-116, 120, 122), 5. chē (150), 6. chə : (101, 105-106), 7. hən (3), 8. hE (1), 9. hUn (Nep.) (62).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No 57.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /chə- hə-/ + flection marker (3rd person plural number).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) correlates 4, 6 indicate that /E/ and /e/ of correlates No. 3, 5, 8 are a product of assimilated forms of \*ʌ + i.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a constituent of a VP, agreeing with its subject in the third person plural number, there being no gender differentiation in most of the areas. It can be used independently as verb substantive or as an auxiliary in a compound verb, as in /ʊ chən/ 'they are'.

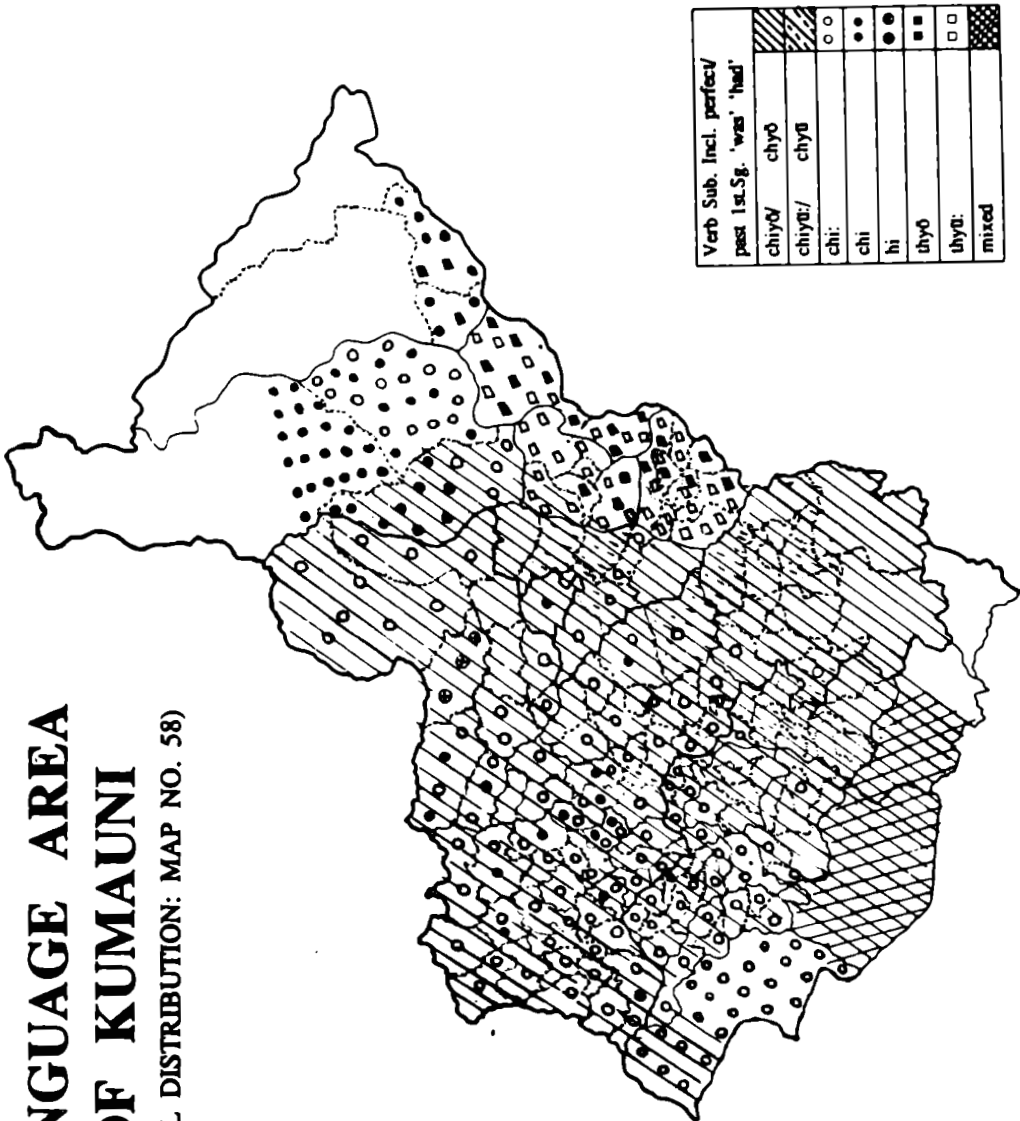
*Stylistic variations and Areal preferences:* Areal preferences are noticed for /ch-/ or /h-/ stems: /ch-/ (1-6) and /h-/ (7-9).

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /chən, chēn chē, chI/;  
2. *Nepali* - /chʌn, chʌ, hUn/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 58)



c

## Table No. 66

## Areal Correlates of the Verb Substantive /chə-, thə-/ 'to be' (past indefinite tense, 1st sg.)

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. chiyō (63, 71, 91), 2. chyō (8, 31, 61-72, 75, 90-98, 135-153),  
 3. chiyū (14, 63, 96-97), 4. chyū (4, 17, 24, 34, 60-62, 69-71, 73, 75,  
 77-80, 85, 93, 95, 140, 145-46), 5. chIy/ 6. chi (1-7, 10-18, 22-60,  
 74-75, 77-78, 85, 90, 101, 104-128, 130, 132, 137, 143), 7. -hI (3),  
 8. thyō (83, 86-87, 90, 93, 101), 9. thyū (79-83, 86, 88, 90).

*Descriptive notes:*

*Immediate constituents:* stem /chə-/ ~/thə-/ verb-substantive + past formative /i/ + inflection marker 1st sg.

*Phonological and morphophonemic features:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic features of these variants are: (i) emergence of an automatic glide before a vocalic suffix after the past formative /i/ (1-5, 7, 8-9), (ii) elision of flectional person marker (5-7).

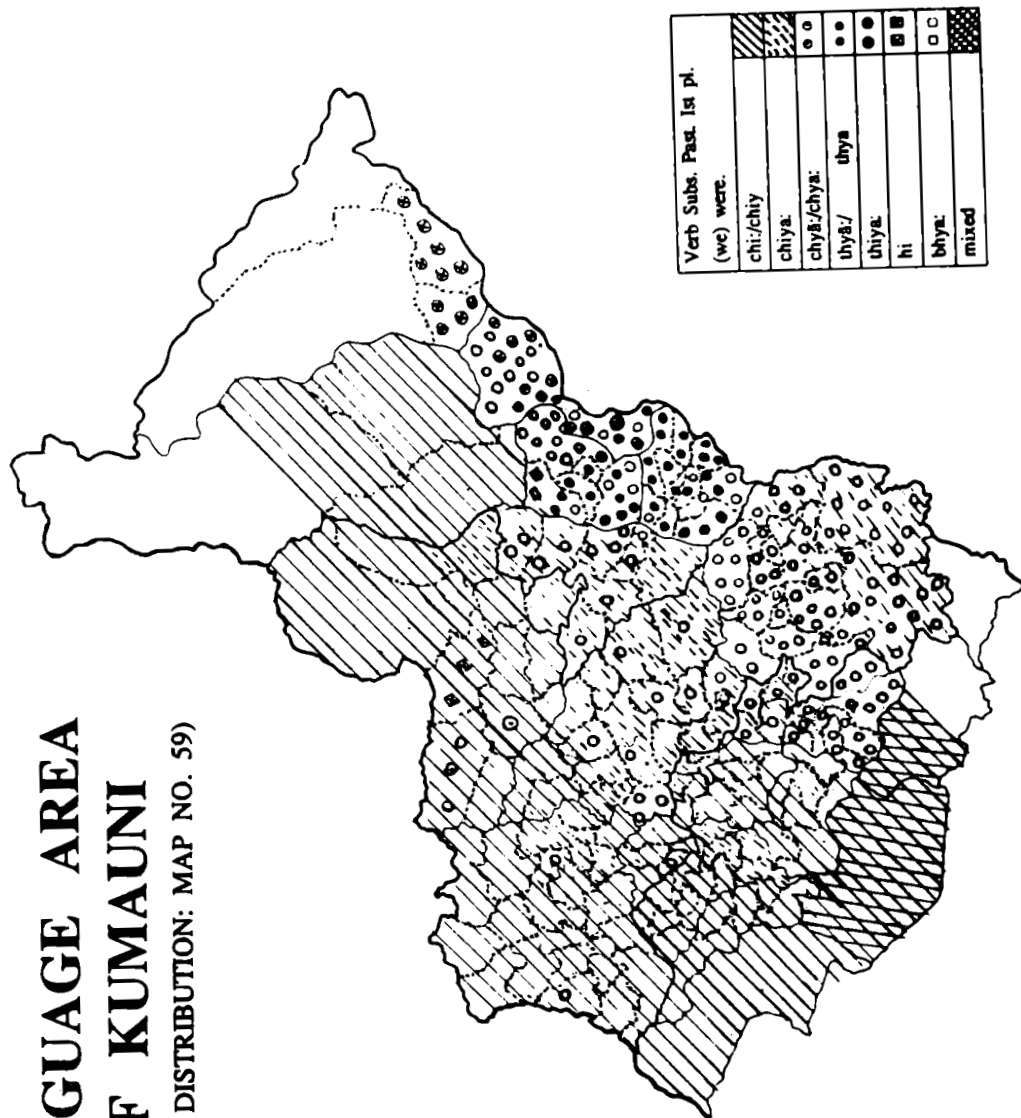
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a constituent part of a predicate as such it may be used independently or as an auxiliary to denote some action in the past, may be simple, progressive, indefinite, habitual or conditional. Its subject is always in the nominative case and it agrees in number and gender with its subject, as in /mēchyō/ 'I was', /mē dIchyō/ 'I used to give', /mē nhE jāchi/ 'I would have gone', (also see table No. 113-114), /mēján lāgi rEchyō/ 'I was going', etc.

*Areal preferences:* In this paradigm areal preferences for the stem /ch-/ , /th-/ and /h-/ are attested. For plural correlates see Table No. 67.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /chayo, chay, chài, chau, chɔ/.  
 2. Nepali-/thičē, thie, thyo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 59)



**Table No. 67**

**Areal Correlates of the Verb Substantive /chə-, thə-, hə- / 'to be',  
past indefinite tense, 1st pl.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. chIyā (2, 11-17, 22-28, 34, 43, 55-56, 66, 74-75, 77, 95, 95-98, 123, 128, 137, 142-149), 2. chIy (28, 43, 107, 108, 122, 128, 141-42, 148, 150). 3. chyā (5, 12, 13, 17-19, 24, 26, etc.), 4. chi (1-18, 22-60, 75, 105-07, 110-116, 119-151), 5. thyā (79, 82-83, 86-88, 90, 93), 6. thya/thiya/ 7. chyE (47, 81-83, 86-88, 90, 93, 99-101), 8. bhə-ya (ōner) (95), 9. hi (3).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 59.

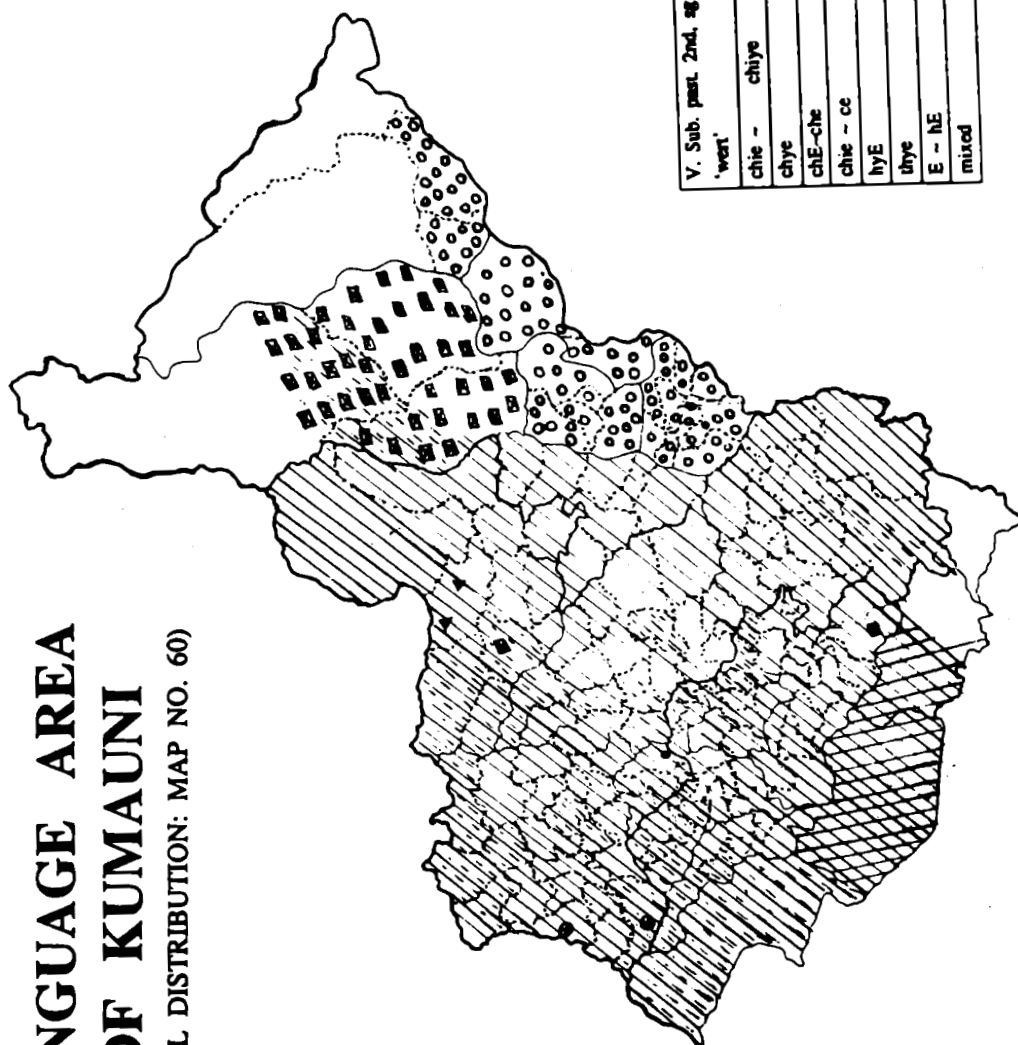
*Immediate constituents:* Stem /chə-, thə-, bhə-, hə-/ + perfective formative /i/ + inflection marker (first person, plural number).

*Note:* For morphophonemic aspect and usage, see table No 59.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /chaya, chəya, chay, cha, tha/.  
2. *Nepali* - /thyΛɑ, thið, the, thya/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 60)



V. Sub. past. 2nd. sg.	
'went'	
chie - chiye	
chyE	
chE-chE	
chie - cc	
hyE	
thye	
E - hE	
mixed	

## Table No. 68

## Areal Correlates of the Verb Substantive 'to be' (past indefinite tense, 2nd person sg.)

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. chiye/ 2. chie (5, 6, 13, 24, 27, 29, 32, 35, 37, 45, 48, 56, 71, 90, 97, 108, 110, 112-14, 117, 120, 123, 128, 132, 136, 142, 146), 3. chye/ 4. chE (1-28, 31-56, 60-80, 90-98, 101, 107, 110-120, 123-128, 135-153), 5. thiye/ 6. thye/ 7. the (79-83, 86-93, 99-101), 8. hye (3), 9. hE (7, 104-105, 153).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 60.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /chə-, thə-, hə-/ + past formative + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* See tables 68-69.

*Syntactical usages:* Syntactically, it is a constituent of the VP., as such it may be used independently as a verb substantive or as an auxiliary to denote a simple, progressive, perfective, habitual or conditional action in the past, as in /tu chiye /'thou wert', /tu dekhno chiye/ 'thou wert seeing', /tu še gochiye/ 'you had slept', /tu jächiye/ 'thou used to go' or 'had you gone.....'etc. It agrees with its subject in 2nd person, sg.

*Areal preferences:* For the areas of the stem preferences see map No. 54.

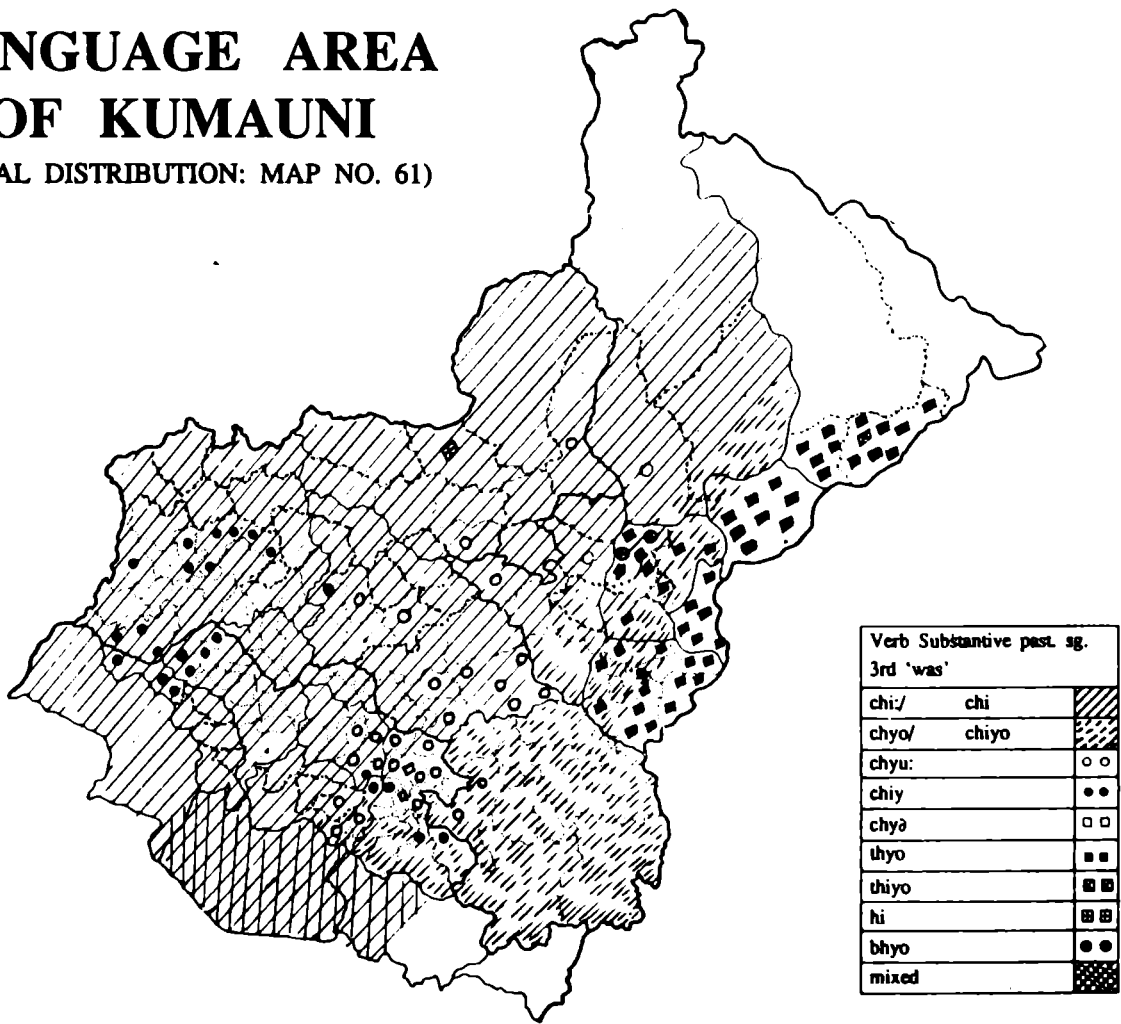
*Appendix:* Plural correlates of 2nd person plural are as follows: /chiya~chya; thiya~thya, ha/, showing the same phonological tendencies and occurring in the same areas as attested in the case of singular correlates (also see Table No. 95 c).

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /chəi, chəy, chay, chE, chəyo, chə, thə/.

2. *Nepali*- /thie, thiis, thye/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 61)



**Table No. 69**

**Areal Correlates of the Verb Substantive /chə-, thə-, hə-/ 'to be',  
past indefinite tense, 3rd sg.**

**Correlates & Areas:**

1. chyō (14, 61-74, 78, 80, 85-86, 90-96, 99, 138, 145, 147, 150-151), 2. chyū (2, 9, 14, 17, 18, 27, 57, 72-73, 75, 77, 97, 105, 137-144, 146, 148), 3. chiy (28, 34, 36, 43, 46, 74, 107-108, 110, 139, 140, 150, 153), 4. chi (1-2, 4-19, 22-60, 75, 85, 96-98, 101, 104-107, 110-116, 120-128, 130, 132, 135, 137, 139-149, 153), 5. chiyū (14), 6. chiyo (71), 7. chIyā (28, 34, 36), 8. chyā (71, 145, 149), 9. thiyo (101), 10. thyo (78-93, 99, 101), 11. bhyo (95), 12. hi (3).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 61.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /chə-, thə-, bhə-, hə-/ + past formative /i/ + inflection marker /o/.

*Phonological morphophonemic aspect:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic features are: (i) emergence of an automatic glide, before suffixal back vowel (1-2, 7-11, 12); (ii) assimilation of past formative with flecational marker (5); (iii) elision of flecational formative (3-6, 12), when used as an auxiliary the /ch-/ stem attests elision of the entire formative and of the inflection marker in some areas.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a constituent of the predicate. It may be used independently or as an auxiliary to denote an action in the past. Its subject is in the nominative case and it agrees with it in number, gender and person, as in /u chi/ 'she was' /Ū chīn/ 'they (f.) were', /u chyū/ 'he was', but when used as an auxiliary to indicate the perfective aspect of the verb, its subject is always in the agentive case and it agrees in number with its object, as in /mēl~həmōl dud pi hāl chi/ 'I~we had drunk milk'. Further, when used as an auxiliary it has two more correlates, viz., /ch-/ , /c-/ , which may be called tempo alternants.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Preferences for /ch-/ (1-9), /th-/ (10-11); /bh-/ (12) and /h-/ (13) stems have been noted in various areas (see map).

*Note:* (i) For plural correlates see table No 71. (ii) For negative correlates see table No 70.

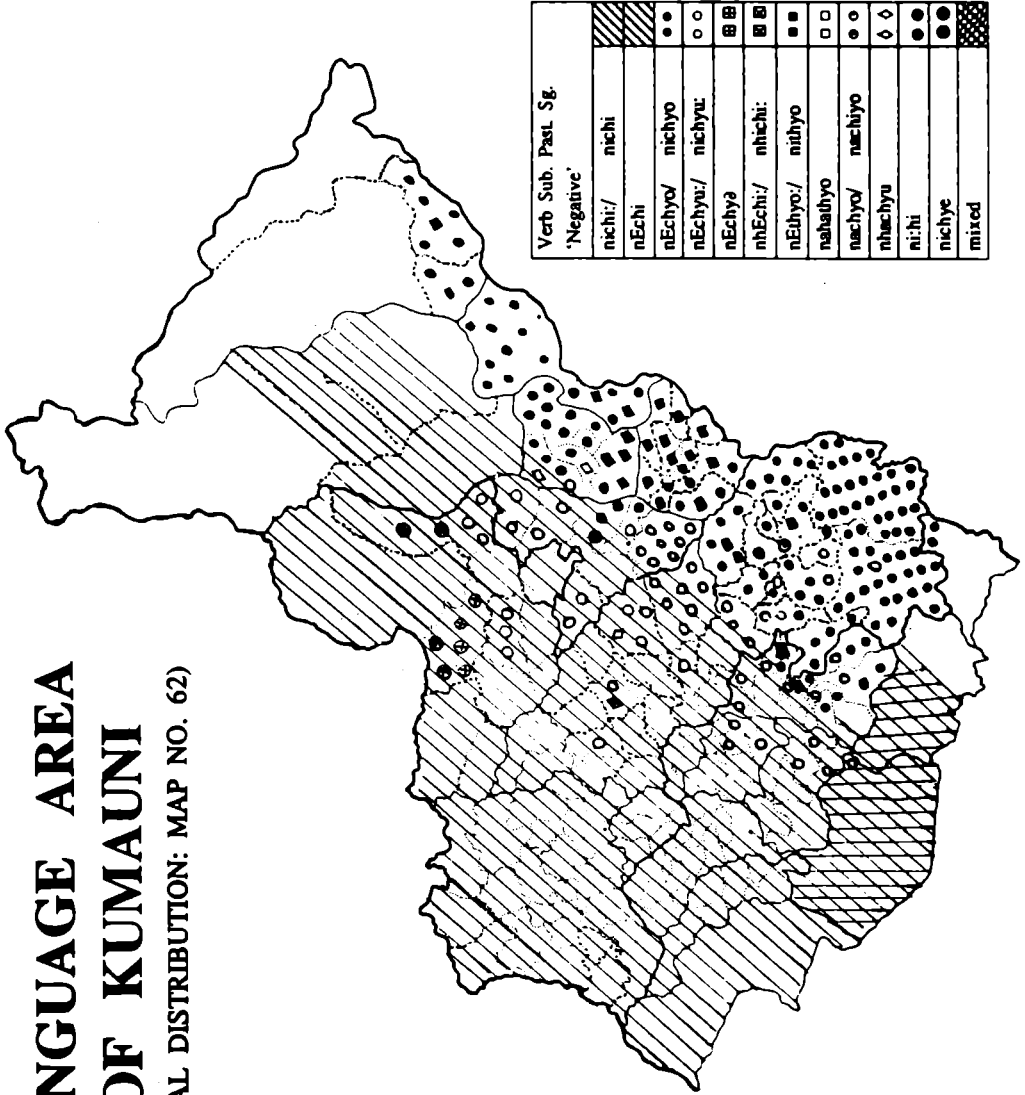
*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /chəyo, chayō, chai, chay, chE, chᳵ, thᳵ, chəyu, chau/.

2. *Nepali* - /thiyo, thyo/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 62)



**Table No. 70****Areal Correlates of the Negative Aspect of the Verb Substantive,  
in the past tense, 3rd sg.***Correlates & Areas:*

1. nEchyu (12, 14, 17, 18, 27, 60, 66, 68, 72, 75, 137-48, 153),
2. nEchyo (61-62, 64, 67, 69-74, 142, 146, 149), 3. nEchyə (147-48),
4. nEchi (1, 4-7, 9, 12, 17-19, 37, 43, 52, 55, 57, 60, 63, 74-75, 135, 138, 143, 146, 149-150), 5. nEchE (47), 6. nichye (2), 7. nEchyə (147-148), 8. nEthē (140, 145, 148), 9. nEthyo (62, 79-83, 88-90, 93, 101),
10. nhāū (123), 11. nhEchi (14), 12. nichī (1, 6-8, 10-17, etc. see map),
13. nhichī (118), 14. nichyo (78, 80, 85-86, 90-91, 93, 95-96, 99, 101),
15. nāthī/ nEthī (71), 16. nichE (46-47), 17. nachīyo (71), 18. nahāthyō (95),
19. nhāū/nhēū (91), 20. nachyo (62, 71), 21. nEchyo/chiyo (63, 65, 78, 80, 85-86, 90-91, 93, 95-96, 99, 101, 146), 22. nihi (3).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 62.

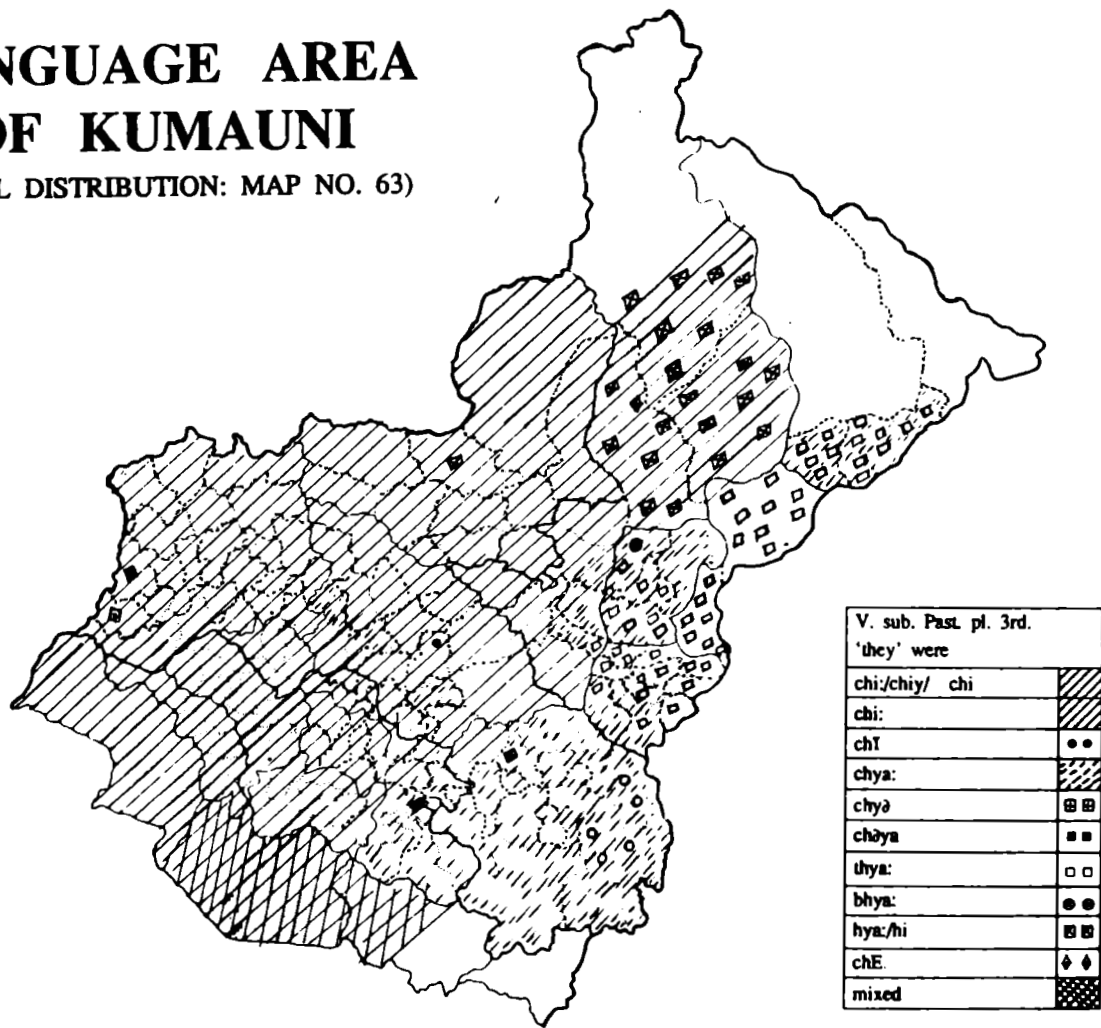
*Immediate constituents:* - Negative particle + verb stem + past formative and inflection marker (3rd sg.)

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The most interesting phonological and morphophonemic aspect of these correlates are: transfer of aspiration with special reference to /th-/ stem correlates (10, 13, 15, 19); but there is no such phenomenon when the accent is on the verbal element, with paralinguistic emphasis, and in this case the negative particle follows it. For further notes on morphophonemic aspects and usage see table No. 69.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /ni- chəyo, chayo, chay, chau, thai, chE, chɔ, thɔ/.
2. *Nepali*- /thie nʌ, nE thyo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 63)



**Table No. 71**

**Areal Correlates of the Verb Substantive /chə- , thə- , hə-/, past indefinite tense, 3rd. pl.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. chIya (63, 74, 95), 2. chāya (46), 3. chya (18, 24, 61-73, 80, 85, 86, 91, 95, 99, 142, 145-49, 150), 4. chyə (71, 148), 5. chi (1-2, 4-19, 22-60, 77-78, 96-97, 101, 105, 153), 6. chī (13), 7. bhya (14, 95), 8. bhæ/ bháy; 9. thya (78-93, 99, 101), 10. hī (3).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 63.

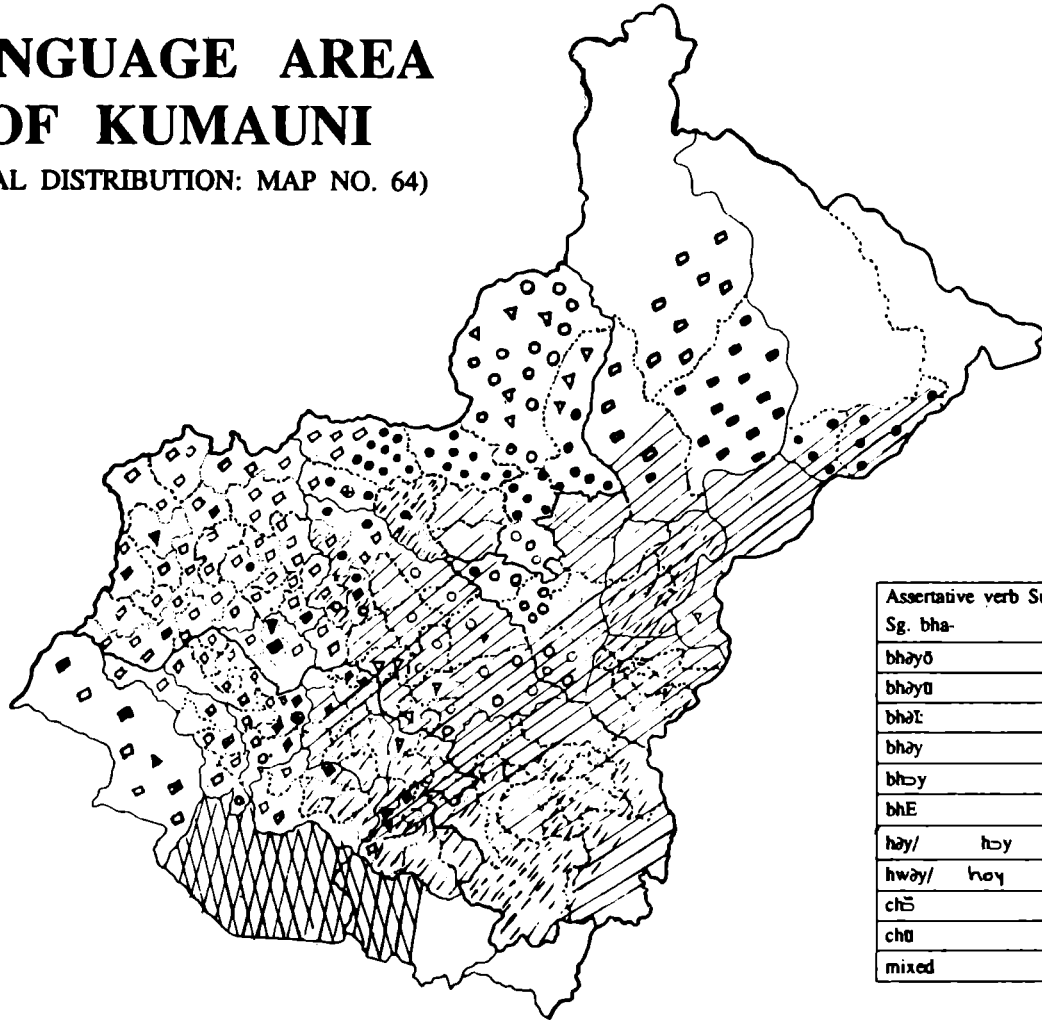
*Immediate constituents:* Verb stem + past formative + inflection marker (third person, plural number).

*Note:* For morphophonemic aspect and syntactic usage see table No. 66.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Gārhwalī* - /Chaya, chay, chai, cha, thə/.  
2. *Nepalī*- /thie, thya/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 64)



Assertative verb Sub. 1st. Sg. bha-	
bhayō	
bhōyō	
bhāi:	○○
bhāy	●●
bhoy	⊙⊙
bhE	■ ■
hāy/ hōy	□ □
hwāy/ hwōy	⊠ ⊠
chō	▽ ▽
chō	▼ ▼
mixed	

## Table No. 72

**Areal Correlates of the Existential Verb /chə-/, bhə-/, /hə-/ in an assertive statement. 1st sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. bhəyō (7, 11, 23, 27-28, 62-73, 90, 87, 91, 93, 108, 125, 128, 135-148), 2. bhəyū (4, 8, 9, etc. see map), 3. bhəī (1, 10, 12-17, 27-28, 75-77, 118-19, 123, 132), 4. bhəy (2-3, 5-7, 22-23, 27, 85, 101), 5. bhəy (6, 7, 123), 6. bhE (27, 38, 48, 50, 105, 125, 128, 130, 136, 149), 7. həy (5, 22-23, 28-48, 52-58, 107, 110-120, 151), 8. hwəy (46, 56, 118, 122-23), 9. hoy (123), 10. chō (1, 2, 18, 25, 72, 90, 143, 150, 151), 11. chū (12, 33, 56, 118).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 64.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem (bhə-, hə-, chə-) + formative elements (tense, person, number, gender marker amalgamated into one).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) correlates 1-2, 4-5, show an emergence of an automatic glide /y/ when the stem vowel /ə/ is followed by a back vowel, but no glide is attested when it is followed by a front vowel, as in the case of correlate No 3. (ii) A higher accent on the initial syllable has resulted in the loss of the final syllable in 4-5, and (iii) in correlate No 6 the stem vowel and the formative vowel have assimilated into /E/, otherwise compare correlate No 3, (iv) No 8 also shows a glidal tendency under the influence of a higher stress on the initial syllable.

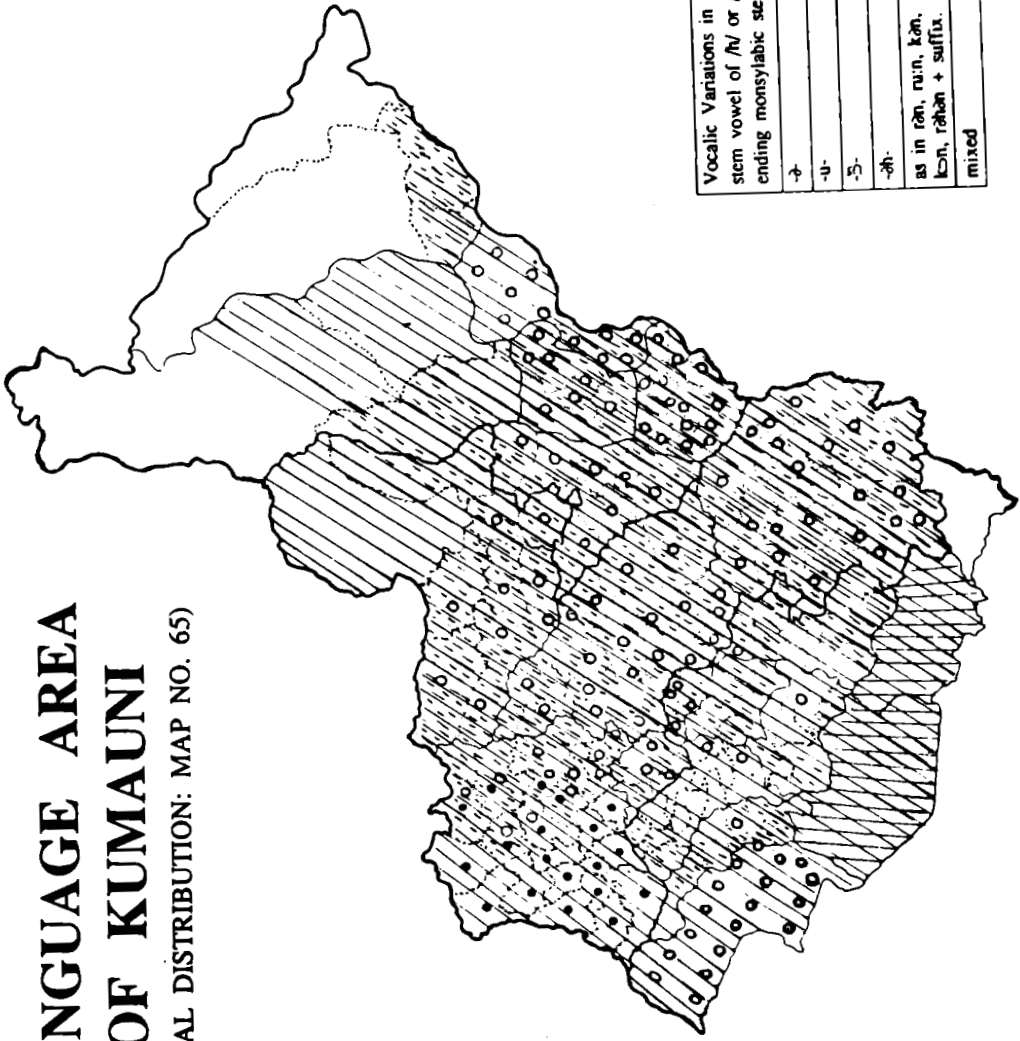
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, this suppletive form /bhə-/ of the verb substantive is invariably used to emphasise a factual statement with regard to the subject in the present tense, the subject being in the nominative case, as in /mē tUmər bhE bhəyō/ '(It is a fact that) I am your brother'.

*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* Correlate areas from 1-9 prefer a suppletive form of the verb substantive to indicate this particular aspect of the statement, but areas of correlates 10-11 show an overlapping in ordinary and emphatic statements preferring /ch-/ for both the statement.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /chu, chəū, chō, thəhəru, thErya, hway/.
2. *Nepali* - /bhlə, bhəyē, bhlye, bhlyo, bhyo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 65)



▨	▧	▩	▪	▫	▬	▭
→	-u-	-i-	-e-	-o-	as in rān, rān, kōn, kōn, rāhān + suffix.	mixed

Vocalic Variations in the stem vowel of /h/ or /r/ ending monosyllabic stems.

**Table No. 73****Areal Correlates of the Stem Vowel before the Infinitive Formative in /ə/ ~/əh/ ending stems.***Correlates & Areas:*

1. kən (mē) (37, 74, 105, 135-151), 2. kōn- (17-18, 60-73, 87, 91, 101, 144-49, 153), 3. kōṅ- (5-7, 12-29, 32-37, 42, 45-58, 75, 77, 78, 91, 97, 107-08, 113, 117-120, 125-128, 130, 132), 4. kōṅa- (71), 5. kṭn- (61, 64, 69, 71, 86-93, 145-47), 6. kUn- (60, 62-63, 69, 71, 82-83, 87, 90, 95), 7. kōṅ (without p.p.) (25, 40, 49, 52, 56), 8. kṭṅ- (1-9, 11-19, 22, 24, 28, 34-35, 39, 52, 53, 56, 75, 78, 93-98, 107, 114, 118, 123, 137), 9. kəṅəm (44, 48, 56, 110, 122), 10. kəṅmi (1), kōṅmi (16), 11. kUnkhin (79, 86), 12. kōṅEki (99), 13. kōḥəṅi (6, 13, 48, 55-56, 112), 14. kə - (35, 42, 45), 15. bolənmē (101), 16. bUlōnmhē (106), 17. bhəṅənmē (93) (Nep.), 18. kṭṅ (without p. p. ) (22, 23, 26, 31, 34, 40, 55-56, 93, 123).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 65.

*Areally preferred groups:* kə + v<sup>x</sup> + (1-12), kə + VN (13-14); bol-, bul- (15-16); bhḥṅ- (17).

*Constituents:* Stem /kə/ + formative vowel + infinitive gerundial formative /n/.

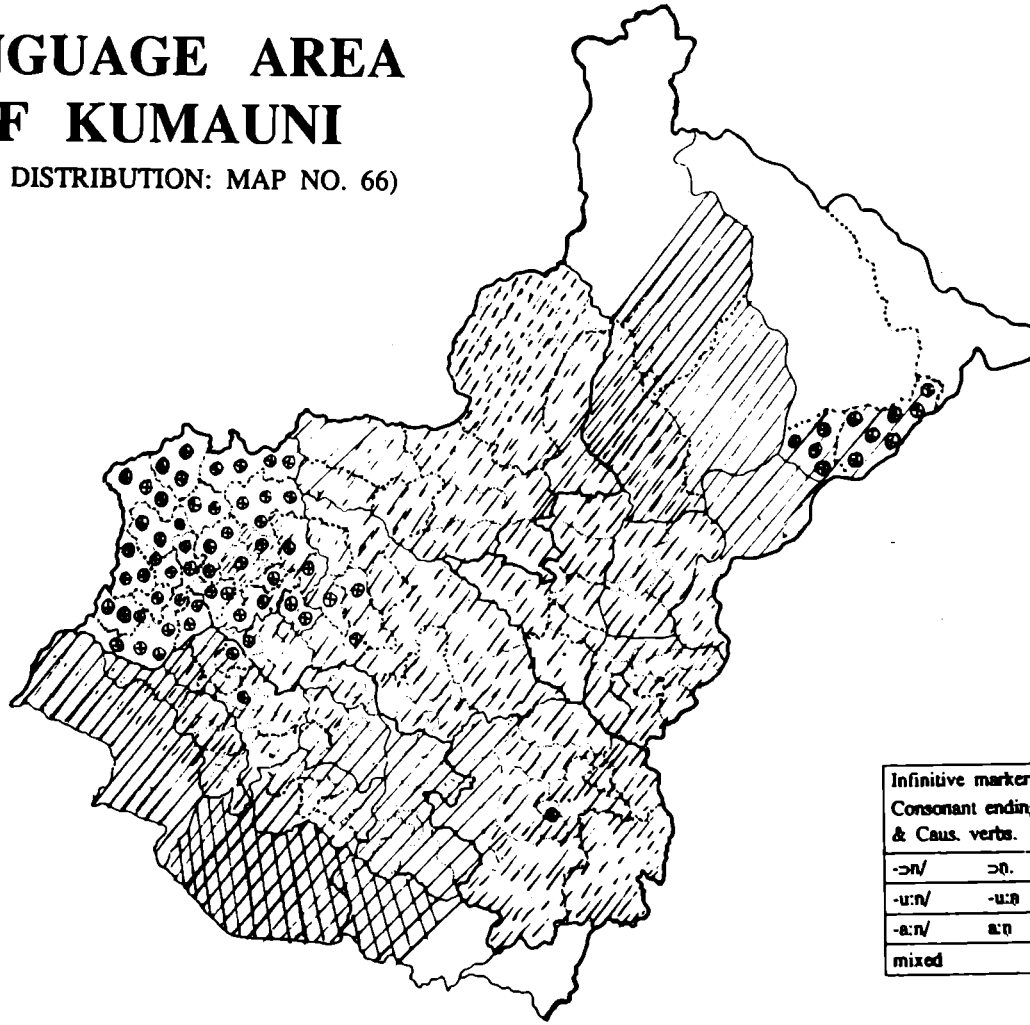
*Morphophonemics:* Morphophonemically, the most notable point is the ablaut in the formative vowel.





- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /bwələṅ, bwaln, boləṅ, boln, bonnu, bonnə/.
2. *Nepali* - /bhḥṅṅṅ, bhḥṅṅ, bhḥṅyaki, bhḥṅyai/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 66)



Infinitive markers in Consonant ending trans. & Caus. verbs.		
->n/	>n.	
-u:n/	-u:n	
-a:n/	a:n	
mixed		

## Table No. 74

**Areal Correlates of the Verb for 'to kindle' 'to burn' in the infinitive form.***Correlates & Areas.*

1. jəgōn (60-83, 90, 95, 128, 135-153), 2. jəgūn (3, 5, 7, 8, 19, 22, 23, 27, 39, 52, 112-116, 120-23, 136), 3. jəgūn (27, 65, 69, 71, 83, 86-87, 90-91, 98, 117, 146-47), 4. jəgan (33, 46-49, 114), 5. jəgōn (5, 6, 8, 10-12, 15-17, 23-25, 29, 34, 38, 54, 96-97, 108, 119, 125, 128, 130, 132), 6. jəlōn (4, 6, 12-14, 17, 22, 27, 35, 37, 50, 52, 54-55, 75, 78, 90, 107, 113, 118, 138, 141, 146), 7. jəlūn (7, 9, 11 etc.), 8. jəlōn (14, 18, 71, 88, 90-91, 99, 105-106), 9. jəlān (24, 31-38, 62, 111), 10. bālān (2, 4, 7, 12, 27, 28, 42, 78, 91, 95, 97, 105, 123), 11. bālān (71, 72, 78, 93, 104), 12. bāwān (48), 13. bāln (61-68, 71, 86-87), 14. bāwān (2, 48, 110 - ), 15. ball<sup>^</sup> (Nep.), 16. ləgūn (79), 17. sllkōn (14, 29, 57, 60, 62, 72-75, 137, 139, 141-42, 145, 148-51), 18. sllkūn (4, 13-14, 62-98), 19. sllkyūn (71), 20. sllkōn (12, 13, 18, 32, 42, 48, 78, 97). (N.B. No. 6 & 8, 17 & 20 are similar).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 66.

*Areally preferred groups:* jəg- (1-5), jəl - (6-9); bāl - (10-15), ləg- (16), silk - (17-20).

*Immediate constituents:* stem / jəg ~jəl ~bāl ~ləg ~ sllk/ + transitive formative /ɔ̄ ~ u ~ a ~ə~ø/ + infinitive marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* Areal preferences with respect to transitive formatives are notable in all the preferred stems.

*Syntactic usages:* Syntactically, it is used as a first constituent (infinitive) of a compound verb indicating an incipient or compulsive aspect of an action in the past or in the future, as in /u jəgūn lāgo/ 'he started kindling' or /wikē jəgūn pəro,~pəral/ 'he had to kindle, will have to kindle; /jəgūn chə/ 'It is to be kindled'. In the former use the NP. is in the nominative case and has the direct form, but in the latter usage it is in the accusative case, hence the subject is in the oblique case with post-positional objective marker. But in the case of /jəgūn chə/ the subject is always in the agentive case, as in /mēl jəgūn chə/ 'I have to kindle'. It is used as a gerund or a verbal adjuncts with all oblique markers, as in /kən mē/ 'in saying'; /khān hUnI/ 'for eating; /khān hE sIwa/ 'except eating'; /khānāk liji/ 'for eating' etc. It is also used in iterative expression, as in /kərən - kərən / 'doing repeatedly' /jəgūn - jəgunE/ 'kindling repeatedly'.

The remarkable feature of the infinitive usage in the above mentioned environments in Kumauni is that it does not show any inflection in any of the above mentioned usages. This shows a marked difference with Hindi usage, as in /kārne, jane/, etc., but shows an affinity with Dogri or Panjabi.

*Areal preferences:* Areal preferences are noticeable both with regard to the stem and the transitive formative (see areal groupings, above).

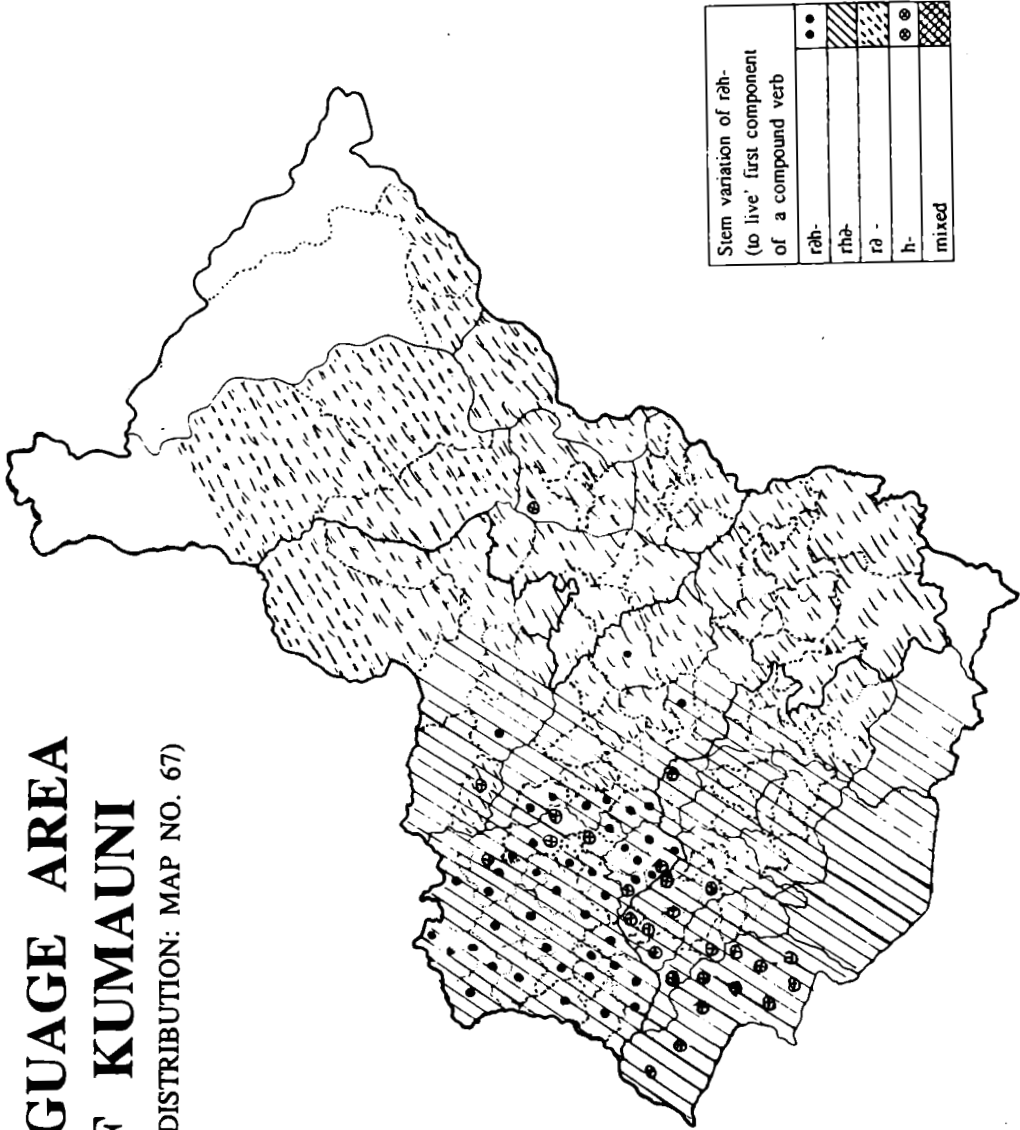
*Appendix:* Further examples of infinitive forms: - /kən, kũŋ, kōŋ, kũn, kɔn ~ kən ~kənU, kəhən/, 'to say' / pəkən~pəkũn~pəkōn/ 'to cook'; /ān~ũn~ōn/ 'to come'.

*Note:* Vocalic variants in stems are attested mostly in transitive formatives and causal formatives and in a few diaphonic stems only, otherwise, cf. /kərən/ 'to do', /hɪtən/ 'to walk', /khán/ 'to eat', /ján/ 'to go'.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - / jəgən jəgōŋ, jəlan, balnu/.  
2. *Nepali*- /balno, baln, jəlaunu, ballə/.

**LANGUAGE AREA  
OF KUMAUNI**

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 67)



Stem variation of rah- (to live' first component of a compound verb	● ●	▨	▨	⊙	⊙
rah-					
rhe-					
ra-					
h-					
mixed					

## Table No. 75

## Areal Correlates of the Verb /rəh-/ 'to remain', infinitive form.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. rhōṅ (5, 6, 7 etc. see map), 2. rhōn (17, 18, 48, 78, 132, 137-149, 153), 3. rəhōṅ (40, 55-58), 4. rhūṅ (1, 3, 5, 7, 11-15, 19, 22, 24, 26-27, 34, 42, 52, 56, 97, 118, 125, 136, 137), 5. rhən (88, 90, 135, 138, 140-42, 147, 150-51), 6. rəhəṅ (31, 35, 40, 46, 49, 55, 56), 7. rəhEṅ (7, 23, 34), 8. rəhəṅ (12, 18, 28, 33, 37, 42), 9. rəyēṅ/rEṅ (47), 10. rūṅ (27, 28, 78, 118, 123), 11. rūn (17, 27, 64, 79, 80, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90-97, 123, 151), 12. rōṅ (2, 4, 6, 8, etc. see map), 13. rōn (1, 60-74, 90-99, 101, 105, 144-148), 14. rən (60-74, 81-93, 101, 104-06, 110, 145, 148-153), 15. hōṅ (6, 52, 95, 110, 112-13, 117, 128), 16. hūṅ (39, 115), 17. hūn (57). (N.B. Read Correlate 6 & 8 as one).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 67.

*Areally preferred groups:* rh - (1-5), rəh - (6-8), rəy - (9), r + V<sup>x</sup> + n (10-14), hə + V<sup>x</sup> + n (15-17).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /rə- ~rəh- ~ rhə- ~ hə-/ + participial infinitival formative /n/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic points may be said (i) ablaut in the stem vowel: (ii) loss of aspiration (9-14); (iii) loss of initial syllable peak (1-5, 10-14); (iv) entire loss of the initial syllable (15-17).

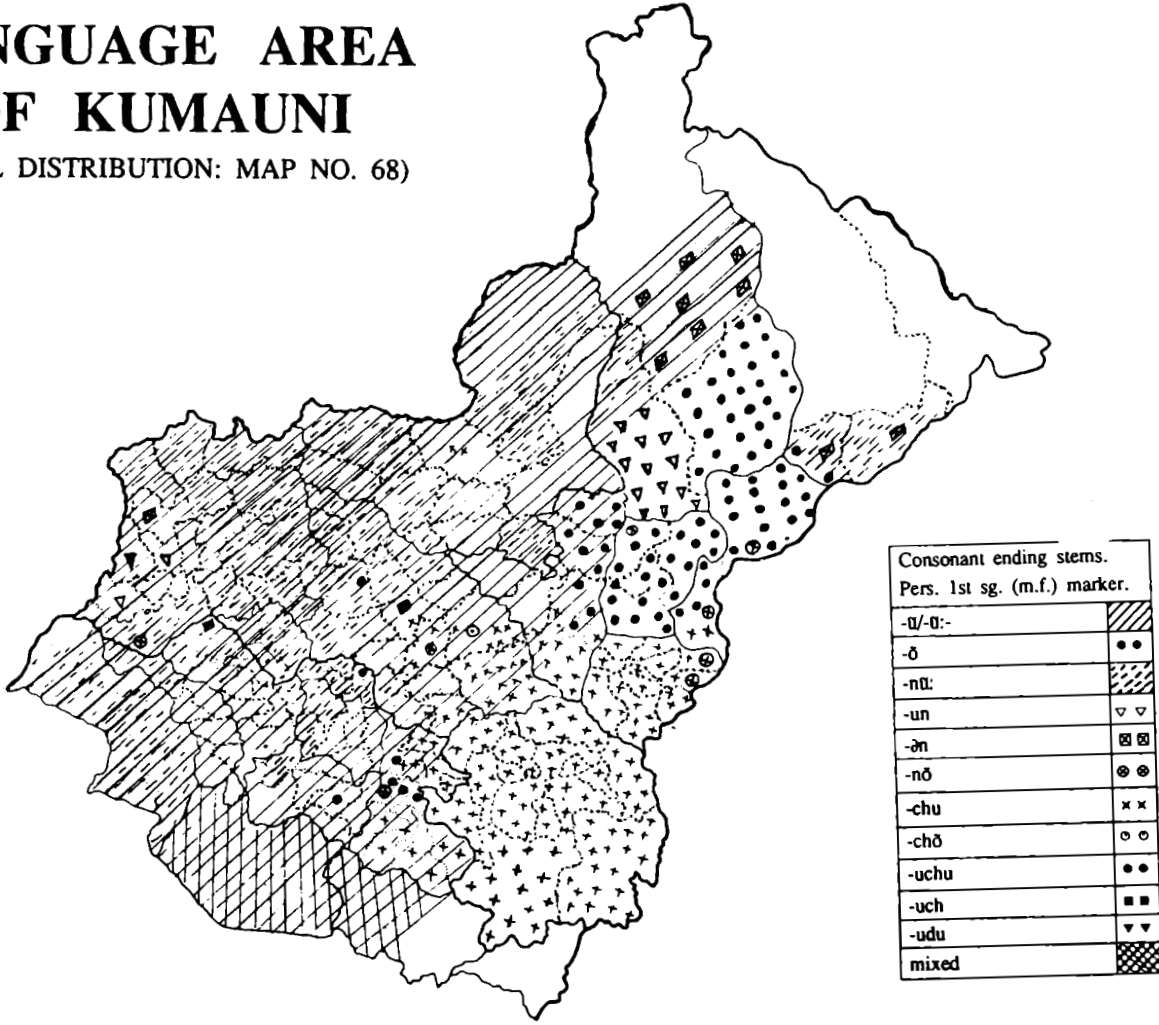
*Syntactical usage:* syntactically, it constitutes the first component, i.e., the principal verb, of a compound verb, as in /rhōṅ dīya/ 'leave it'; /mē wāi rhōṅ dyōl/ 'I shall leave there (=let remain)'. It does not show any inflection for the number, gender or person of the subject or of the object.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /rən, rEṅ, rEṅi, rəṅi, rəhəṅ/.

2. Nepali - /hUnə, rəhənə, rən/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 68)



## Table No. 76

## Areal Correlates of the Verb /mánən/ 'to like', present indefinite tense (1st sg.).

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. mánŭ (1-9, 14-18, etc. see map), 2. mánun (42, 47, 105), 3. mánō (72, 142), 4. mánŋŭ (1, 7, 10, 23 etc.), 5. mánənŭ (7, 11, 22, etc.), 6. mánənō (48, 93), 7. mánŋŭ (6, 23, 29, 44, 48), 8. mánUn (42, 47, 105), 9. mánŋ (33, 101, 110), 10. mánŋō/mánənō (88, 90, 105), 11. mánUchU (27, 78, 90-99, 128, 137, 145, 148-50), 12. mánUch (14), 13. mánchU (3, 12-14, 17, 60-73, 78-90, 114, 142, 145-46, 153), 14. mánchō (12), 15. mánUdU (46), 16. cĪtōchU (99, 105), 17. cĪtāŋŭ (101, 105).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 68.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /mán-/ , /cĪt-/ (+infinitive formative /ŋ/ ) + inflectional marker, with or without the auxiliary /ch/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) In some of the correlates the stem vowel shows ablaut under a strong stress accent; (ii) in most of the cases (1-10) the auxiliary /ch-/ is dropped; (iii) in 11-12 a liaison occurs in between the principal stem and the auxiliary, (iv) there are some areas (4, 7, 9-10) which show an elision of the liaison in between the stem and the infinitive formative /ŋ/.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a predicate and its subject is always in the nominative singular, first person, as in, /mánənŭ/ 'I like' or 'prefer', showing agreement in number, gender and person with the subject.

*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* Besides a preference for the stem /cĪt-/ in 16-17, there are other areas which show a preference for infinitive forms (cf. 4-10). In some cases the auxiliary is dropped altogether and in others it is maintained, some do not show any trace of inflection marker. Structurally, forms of correlates 11, 13-16 are analytical, all others have become synthetic.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - / (əccho) manudu, mandu, maṇdu, maṇəndusəmjudu, səmjədu/.  
2. *Nepali* - (ramro) manchu, madAchu, mannu, mannɔ/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 69)

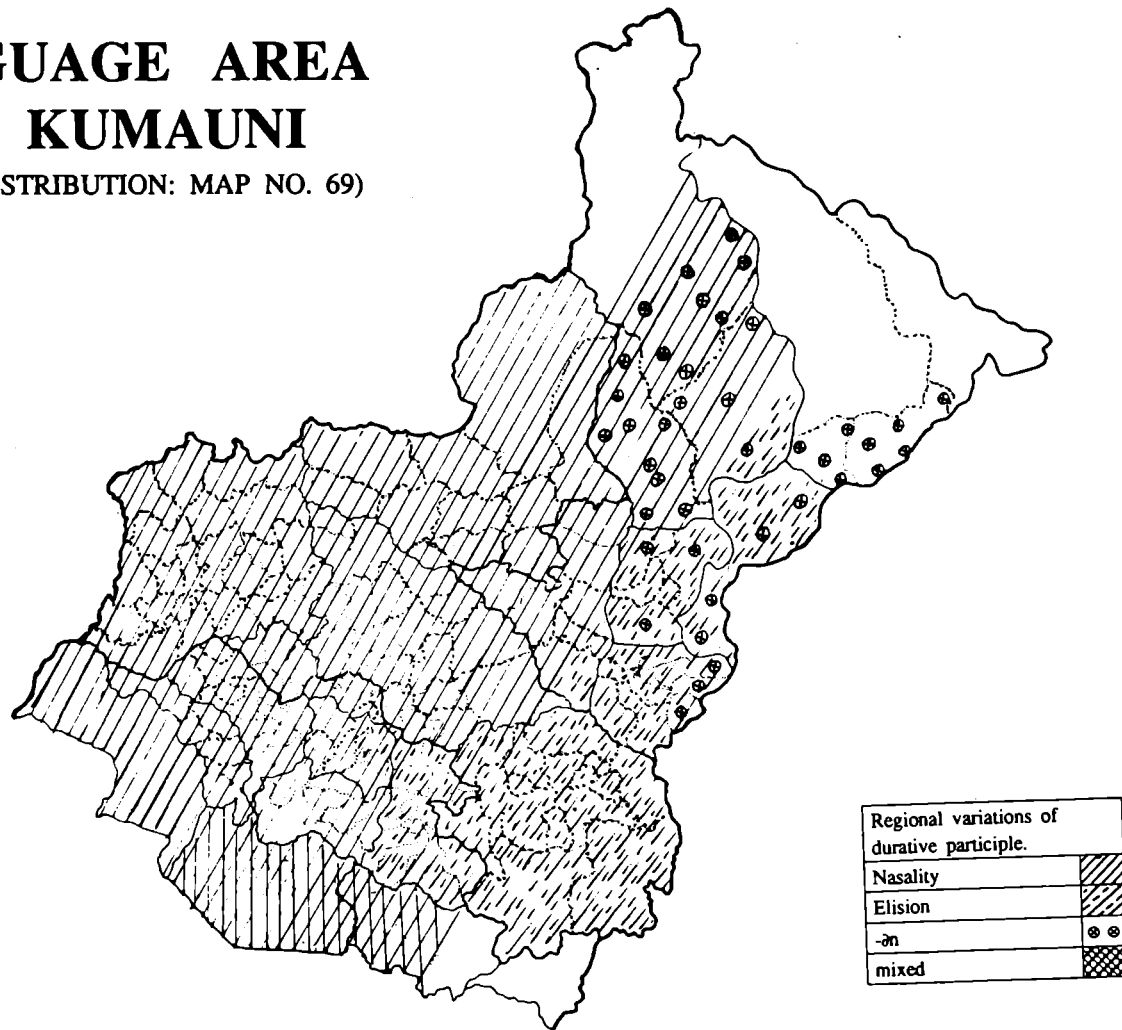




Table No. 77  
Areal Correlates of the Verb /di/ 'to give', present indefinite  
tense, 3rd sg.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. dIch, 2. dĪch, 3. dyŭch, 4. dyUch, 5. dIchə, 6. dIchU, 7. di,  
8. dĪ, 9. dŭ, 10. dyŭ, 11. dyō, 12. dyə, 13. dIn, 14. dInchə, 15. dIna.

*Areal Distribution* : See Map No. 69.

*Immediate constituents*: Stem /di-/ + durative, participle (including person and number marker) + tense marker (auxiliary).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects*: The most notable points in this regard are: (i) epenthesis of the final vowel \* u, o and consequent glidialization of the stem vowel /i/ (3-4, 10-12); (ii) reduction of /i/ in forms with tense marker (1-2, 5-6, 13-15); (iii) elision of copula (7-13, 15). Structurally, forms of correlates 5-6, 14, are analytical, others are synthetic.

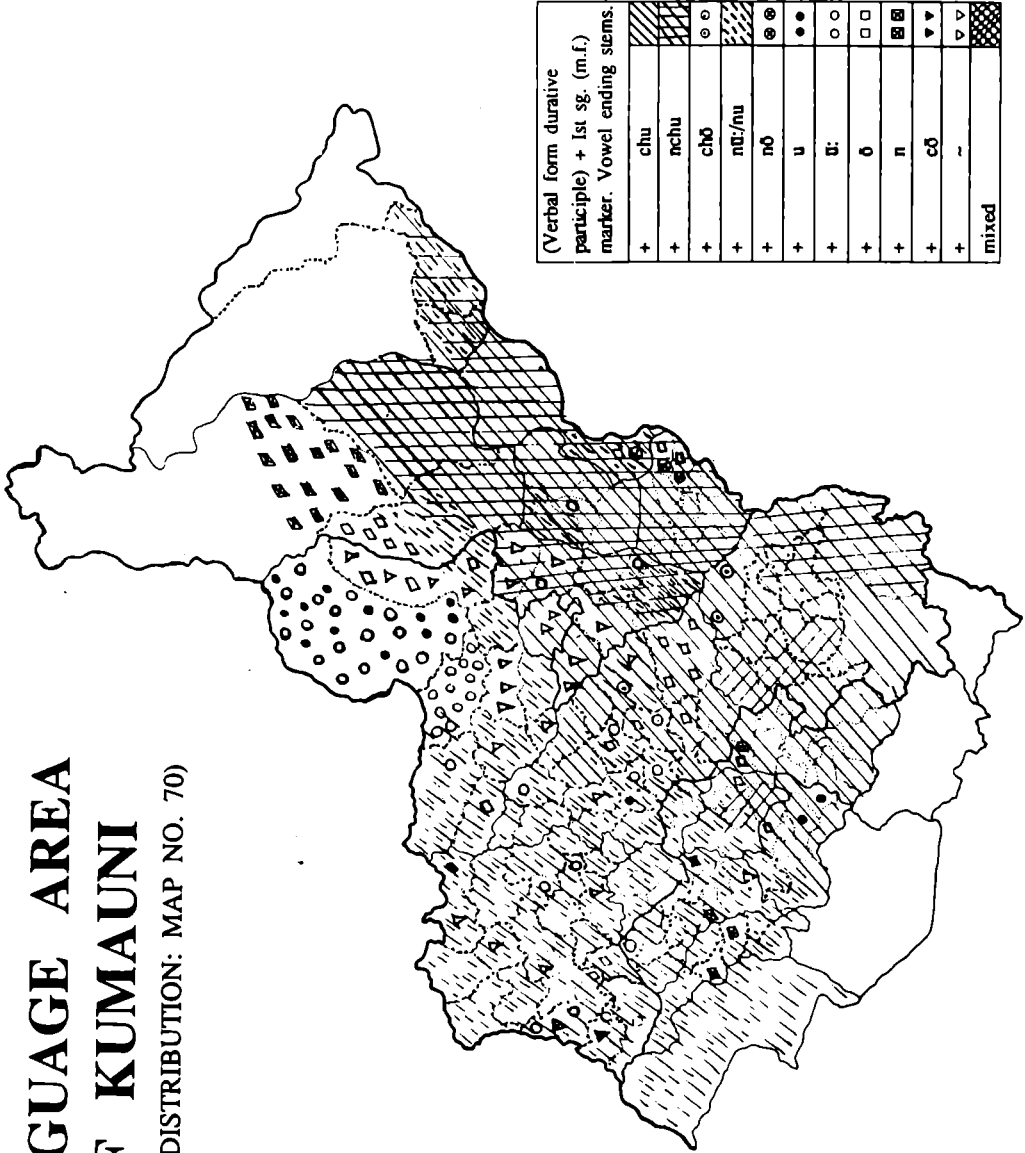
*Syntactic usage*: Syntactically, it is used as a part of the predicate, agreeing with its subject in person and number, as in /u dIch~dyŭ/ 'he gives'. (for negative forms see table No 81).

*CEP Correlates*: 1. *Garhwali* - /dInçə, diçə, dinduçə, denduçə, dindçə, dyōnd/.

2. *Nepali* - /dInchΛ/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 70)



(Verbal form durative participle) + 1st sg. (m.f.) marker. Vowel ending stems.	
+	chu
+	nchu
+	chō
+	nu:/nu
+	nō
+	u
+	ti:
+	ō
+	n
+	cō
+	~
	mixed

**Table No. 78**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /pIn/ 'to drink', Present Indefinite**  
**Tense, 1st, sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. pIchU (4, 12, etc. see map), 2. pIchU (34, 36 etc.), 3. pInchU (90, 99), 4. pIchu (75), 5. pIchō (12, 13, 69), 6. pInū (5-8 etc. see map), 7. pinō (6, 88), 8. pInU (101, 105) 9. pIn (106, 115, 117-18, 123), 10. pyu (1, 24, 137, 139), 11. pyū (1, 3, 5, 14, 22, 24, 25, 34, 46, 55, 78, 97, 142), 12. pyō (2, 6, 13, 14, 17, 18, 40-41, 136, 142-143), 13. pI (2, 4, 7, 11-12, 27, 37, 38, 43, 55, 91, 97), 14. 'kháchU (79, 81, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91, 95-96, 98), 15. 'khánchU (85-86, 90, 99), 16. 'khánu (78), 17. khā (2, 10).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 70.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /pi-, ~kha-/ (+ infinitive formative) + inflectional marker (with or without the auxiliary /ch-/).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspect:* - (i) In most of the cases the stem vowel shows a qualitative change, (ii) it is realized as a glide or a semi-vowel in 10-12 before a back vocalic suffixal morpheme, (iii) in correlates 1-2, 10-14 the infinitive formative is either elided or replaced by mere nasality, (iv) in correlates 5-13 the auxiliary /ch-/ or copula is dropped, but it is retained in others. (v) correlate No 4 shows geminating tendency.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a VP. with a subject in the nominative case, singular number and first person, there being no gender differentiation, as in /mē pIchU/ 'I drink' (m.f. both)

*Stylistic variations and Areal preferences:* With regard to the stem only two areal preferences, viz., /pi-/ and /kha-/ are attested, but many preferences are noticeable in the case of infinitive formative and inflection markers.

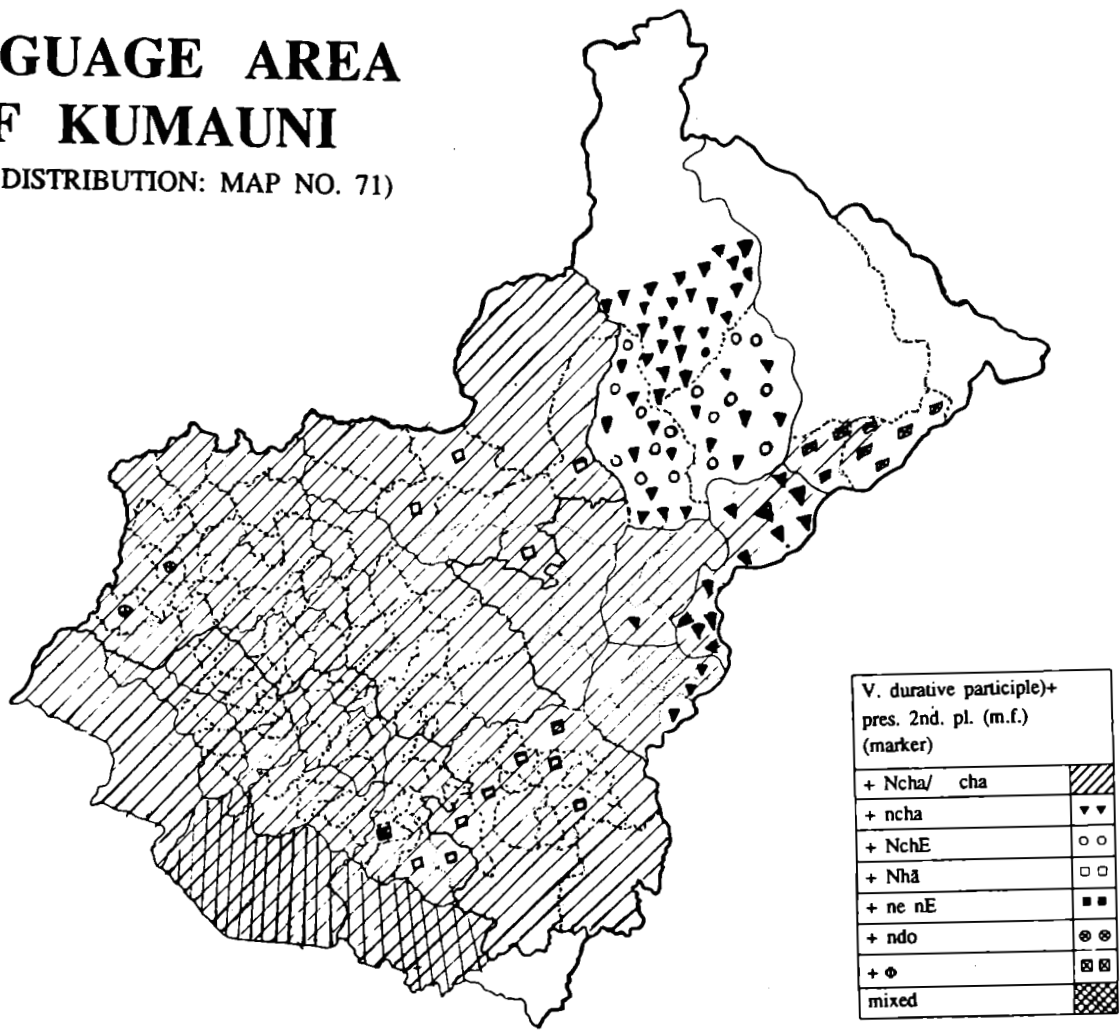
*Structural variation:* Structurally, forms of correlates 6-13 and 16-17 are synthetic all other are analytical.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /pinchu, pinchəu, pinchō, pinduchaū, pindu, pindu chəu, pinduchō, khanchō/.

2. *Nepali* - /pInchu, plūchu, khanchU, pInō/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 71)



## Table No. 79

Areal Correlates of the Verb /rən-/ 'to remain, to live' present  
indefinite tense, 2nd pl.*Correlates & Areas:*

1. rācha (14, 24, etc.), 2. rōcha (1-9, etc.), 3. rūcha (4, 5, etc.),  
4. rUncha (90), 5. rāncha (87-90, 104, 105), 6. rānch (106), 7. rānchE  
(105), 8. rāhācha (31, 33, 35, 40-43, 46-49, 107, 128), 9. rāhācha (32,  
36, 38, 42, 48), 10. rūha (3), 11. rōha (2, 10), 12. rān (101, 151), 13.  
rēdo (42, 46), 14. bāhāncha (104).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /rā-/ + durative participle /-n/~nasality  
+ auxiliary /ch-/ + inflectional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* Notable phonological  
and morphophonemic aspects of these correlates are : - (i) Replacement  
of durative particle /-n/ by nasality (1-3, 8-11), (ii) ablaut in the stem  
vowel (2-3, 10).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a constituent of a predicate  
and has for its subject /tUm/, personal pronoun, second person, plural  
number, masculine gender, or honorific plural.

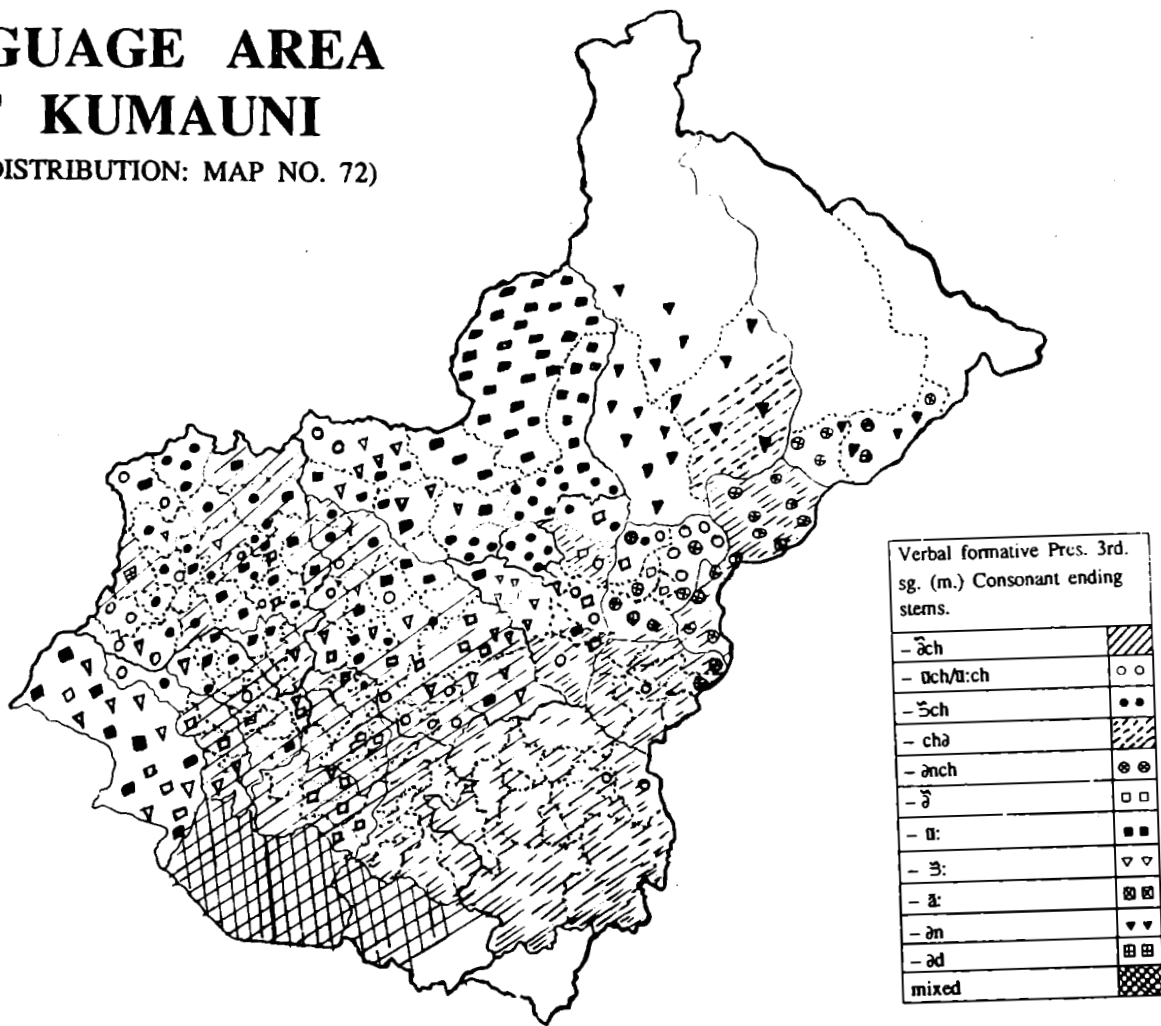
*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* With regard to the  
principal verb two areal preferences, viz., /rā-/ + /rāh-/ are attested and  
with regard to the auxiliary all but one (10) have /ch-/. The correlates  
No 10 and 11 have /h-/ as their auxiliary.

*Structural variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates 6, 11-12  
are synthetic and all others analytical.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /rādāwa, rĒndāwā, rādān, rāndān,  
rōdān, rāndo, rĒndo, rānda, rāndā/.
2. *Nepali*- /bāschəu, bāsno hunchā, rāhān chāU;  
rānch/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 72)



**Table No. 80**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /kər-/ 'to do', Present Indicative**  
**Tense (affirmative) 3rd sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. kərəch (4, 14, etc. see map), 2. kərūch (5, 11 etc.), 3. kərōch (2, 6, etc.), 4. kərch (60-74, 79-90, 95, 97, 99, 141, 146-48, 153), 5. kərchə (69, 104), 6. kərəchɔ (71), 7. kərərch (88, 90, 99, 101), 8. kərch (61), 9. kərə (12, 13, 24, 29, 34, 55, 78, 90-97, 117-81, 123, 135-39, 142-43), 10. kərū (1, 2, 4-7, 11, 17, 24, 26-27, 32, 34-37, 43-45, 52, 54, 56, 78, 110), 11. kərō (4-7, 12-18, 24, 27, 36, 48, 58, 75, 108, 119-20, 123, 125, 136, 145), 12. kərā (115, 125), 13. kənə (3), 14. kən (106), 15. kənhE (105), 16. kərəd (46), 17. gərərch (93).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 72.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /kər-/ + durative participle + auxiliary (tense marker).

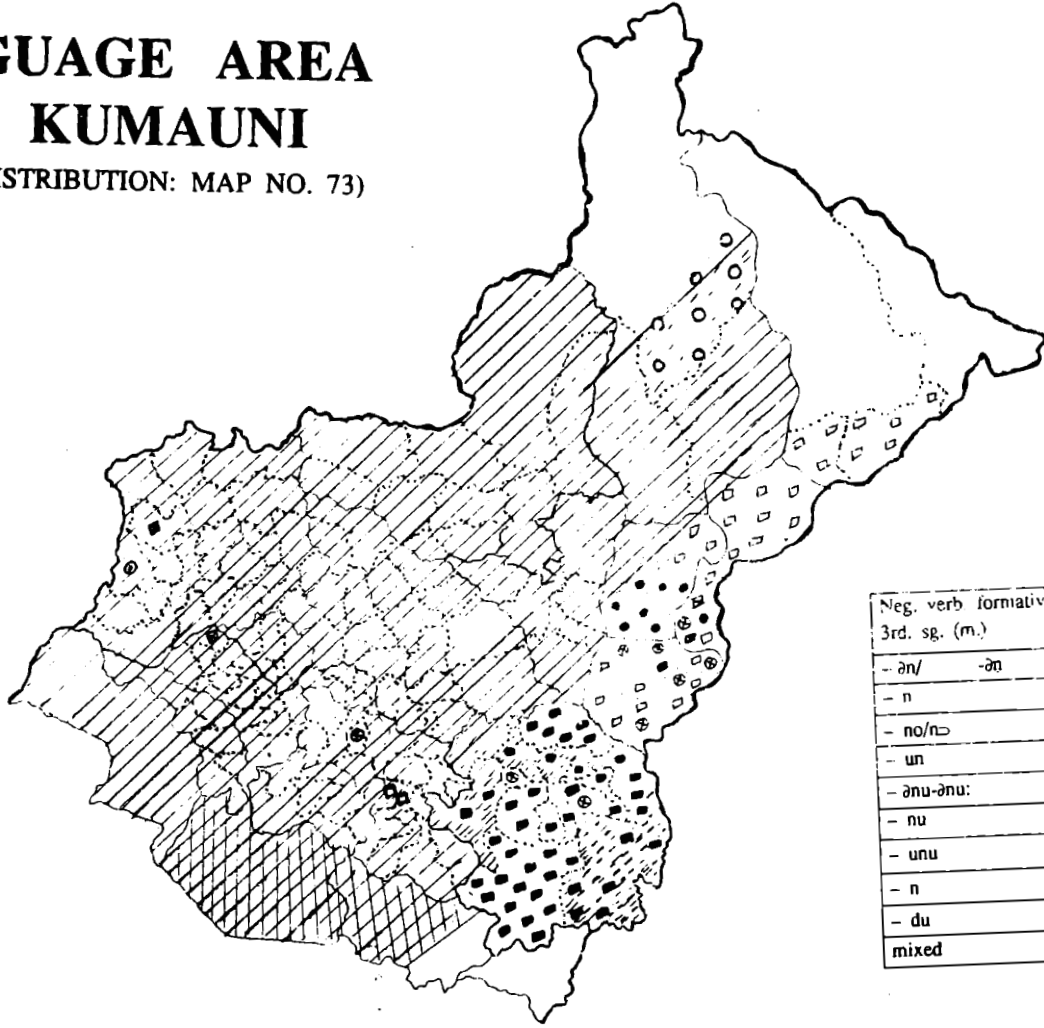
*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) In many areas the durative participle /-n/ - which includes number, gender and person markers is reduced into mere nasality, in others it shows only a zero morpheme. (ii) A notable morphophonemic aspect of this paradigm is that in many areas the consonant /-r-/ of the stem /kər-/ is dropped before the durative participle /-n/ (13-15); (iii) the linking vowel /ə/ shows ablaut in some areas (2-3, 10-12), (iv) in most of the areas the tense marker /ch-/ is either dropped or loses its aspiration (10-16).

*Syntactical usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a constituent of a predicate, agreeing with its subject which is in the third person, sig. masc.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /kərəd, kərduçə, kərdu, kərūçə/.  
 2. *Nepali*-गर्दार्चल, गर्चल, गर्दार्चल/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 73)



Neg. verb formative. Pres. 3rd. sg. (m.)		
- ən/	- ən	
- n		
- no/nɔ		
- un		
- ən-ənʉ:		
- nu		
- unu		
- n		
- du		
mixed		



## Table No. 81

Areal Correlates of the Negative Aspect of the Verb /kər-/ 'to do',  
present indefinite tense 3rd sg.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. N+kərən (1, 3 etc.), 2. + kərən (1, 5 etc.), 3. + kərən (71-74),  
4. + kərUn (33, 90, 110), 5. + kərənU (80, 85, 90, 99), 6. + kərənU  
(61-73, etc.) 7. + kərUnu (90-93), 8. + kərno (79, 82, 90), 9. + kərno  
(62, 68 etc.) 10. + kərənū (85-87, 90, 150), 11. + kərno (Nep.), 12.  
+ kər (106), 13. + kərədu (46).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 73.

*Immediate constituents:* Negative particle + stem /kər-/ + formative  
(number, gender, person, and tense), aspect - non-progressive, mood-  
indicative.

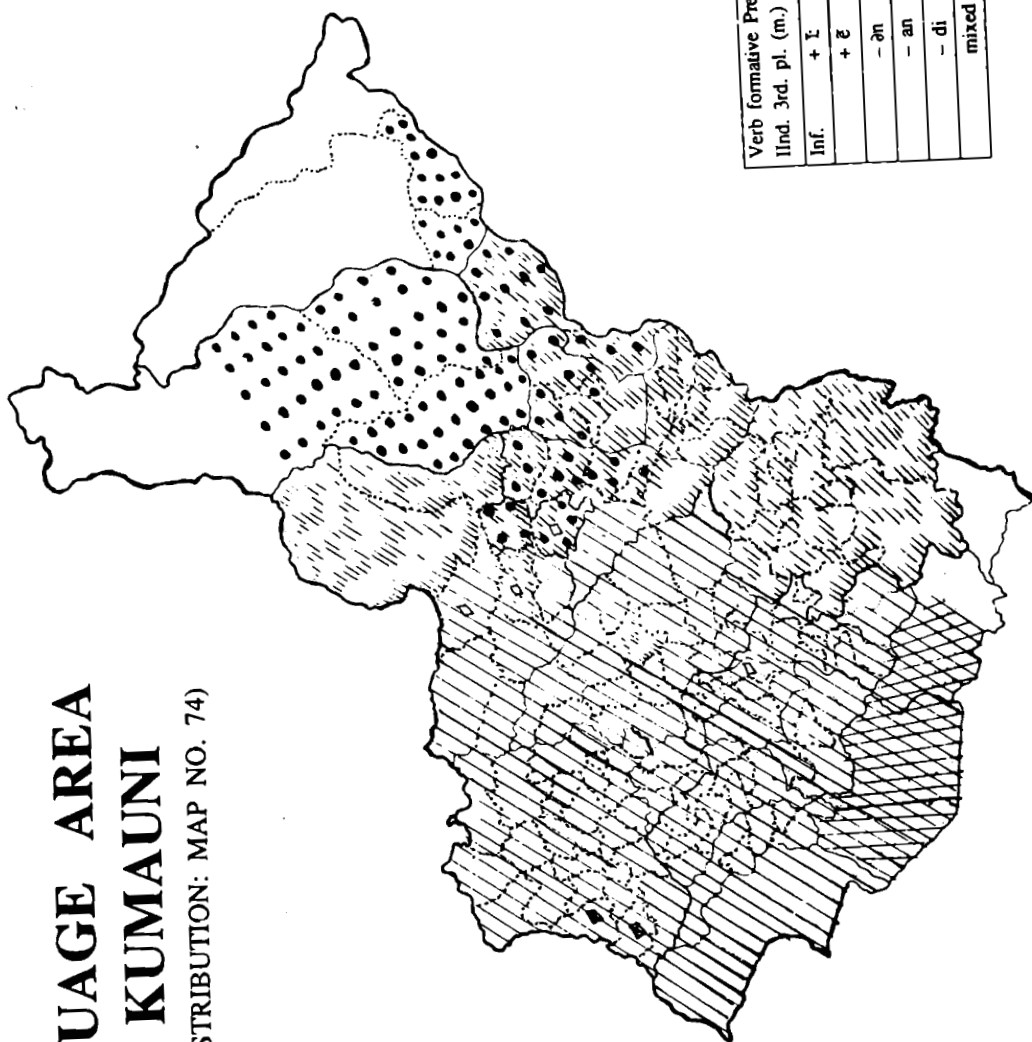
*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The most important  
phonological and morphophonemic aspects involved in these correlates  
are: (i) ablaut in formative vowel, (ii) elision of copula, (iii) elision  
of /-r/ before the formative /-n/ (12), (iv) assimilation of /-r/ with  
/-n/ (11).

*Syntactical usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes the part of a VP.  
and its subject is in the third person sg. and masc., as in /u nE kərən/  
'he does not do'.

*Note:* For affirmative correlates see table No. 80.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 74)



Verb formative Pres.	
Ind. 3rd. pl. (m.)	
Inf.	
+ ɪ	
+ ɛ	
- ɔn	
- an	
- di	
mixed	

## Table No. 82

Areal Correlates of the Verb /kən-/ 'to say', Present Tense,  
Indicative mood, 3rd pl. masc.*Correlates & Areas:*

1. kənI (12, 18, 23, 27, 31-40, 42-48, 52, 54-56, 107, 110-17, 120-23, 135-145, 149-151), 2. kunI (5-7, 11-12, 14, 17, 19, 22-24, 26-28, 34-38, 42, 54, 56-57, 75, 97, 118, 123, 125, 128, 130, 137, 143, 146), 3. kōnI (4-9 etc. see map), 4. kənan (61, 67, 74, 87, 95), 5. kūnan (1-2, 4, 8, 10, 60-69, 71-72, 74, 77-91, 93, 95-97, 99), 6. kōnan (60, 66, 68-73, 78, 90-91, 93, 95, 147), 7. bhəṇnan (93), 8. kənan (96-97-104-6), 9. kūnan (8, 10, 78, 90-91, 95-97), 10. kōnan (101, 105), 11. bhəṇnan (93), 12. kənē (142), 13. kunē (3,4), 14. boldachē (46-47), 15. bolən (101, 106).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No 74.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /kə~bhəṇ ~bol-/ + durative participle /-n/ + inflectional marker /i~an~ən~E~chē/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* (i) The stem vowel of /kə/ shows two ablauts, viz., /ɔ~u/ in various regions; (ii) no ablaut is noticed with /bhəṇ-/ and /bold-/ stems; (iii) the inflectional marker /an/ also shows reduction both in quality and quantity in its respective areas; (iv) the /E/ of correlates 13-14 seems to be a case of assimilation from \*kənai.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a constituent part of a predicate and has for its subject /t̪~Un/, i.e., third person, plural number, masculine gender. With feminine subject there will be an auxiliary /chə-/ with /chē~chī~chən/ correlates, instead of /ni~nan~nən/, as in, /kēchē/ cf. Table No. 85.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* In these correlates three preferences for stems, i.e., /kə ~bhəṇ~ bol/ and five preferences, i.e., /i~an~ən~E~chē/ for inflectional markers are attested. Moreover, /bhəṇ-/stem indicates an influence from Nepali and /bol-/from Garhwali, as these are attested in the border areas common with Nepal and Garhwal respectively.

*Structural Variations:* Structurally, except the forms of variation No 15 all are synthetic.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /bwaldi, bwalden, boldena, bolden, boldən, bolde, bolda, bUldIn/.  
2. Nepali - bhāṇḍachān, bhāṇchān, bhəṇnan/.

**Table No. 83**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /rən/ 'to live', Present Indefinite**  
**Tense, 3rd pl. masc.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. rəni (12, 31-32, 54, etc.), 2. rūni (5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17-19, 22-29, 34-39, 55-57, 75, 98, etc.), 3. rōni as in (4-7, 12-18, 22-29, 34, 38, 43, 53, etc.), 4. rənē (142), 5. rūnE/rōnē (3, 4, 10, 55), 6. rən (101), 7. rənən (90, 104-06), 8. rūnən (8, 78, 90-93, 95-96), 9. rōnən (101), 10. rənan (1, 14, 62, 73, 74, 78, 87-88, 93, 95, 143), 11. rūnan (1, 60-69, 71-74, 78-91, 93, 95, 99), 12. rōnan (2, 60-62, 66-73, 78-79, 91, 93, 147), 13. rēdi (46-47), 14. rəhni (32-35, 38, 42-43, 46-49), 15. bəhnən (104). For descriptive notes see table No 82 (kəni), for feminine correlates see table No 85 (/rēchē/-).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 74.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /rəh-, rə-, bəh-/ + durative participle /-n/ + inflection marker /i~E~ən~an~di/

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* (i) The stem vowel /-ə/ shows three ablauts, viz. /u, ə, E/ in different regions; (ii) no ablaut is attested with the stem /bəh-/; (iii) the inflection marker /-an/ also shows variations in some regions; (iv) the inflection marker /E/ seems to be a case of vocalic assimilation form \* rənəi.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a constituent part of a VP. and has for its subject any NP in the third person, plural number, masculine gender, for its feminine correlates see table No. 85.

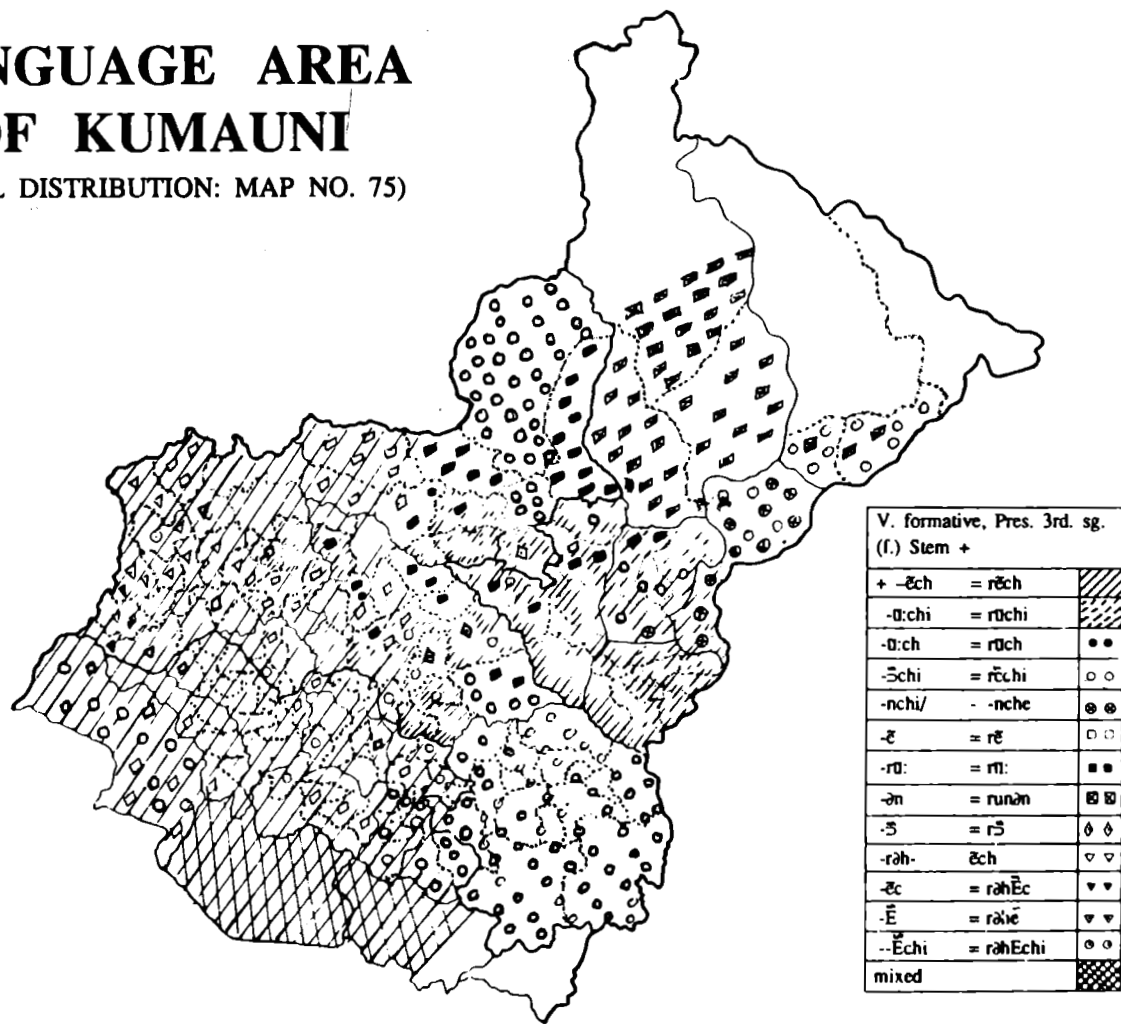
*Stylistic and areal preferences:* In this paradigm two preferences for the stem /rə- ~rəh-, bəh-/ and four preferences for the inflection marker, i.e., /i~E~ən~an/ are attested. Moreover, the correlate No 13 indicate an affinity with Garhwali and the correlate No 15 with Nepali.

*Structural Variations:* Structurally, all the forms 1-15 are synthetic.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /rEndi, rEndIn, rEndən, rəndən, rōdənə, rōdən, rənda/  
 2. *Nepali* - /bAschən, bAstchə, rAhanchən, bAstən, rənan/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 75)



**Table No. 84****Areal Correlates of the Verb /rən-/ 'to live' Present Indefinite Tense, 3rd sg. (f.)***Correlates & Arcas:*

1. rēch (5-7, 14 etc.), 2. rīch (112), 3. rūchi (4, 9, 11-14, 18-19, 23-24, 34, 55, 65, 71, 77-96, 137). 4. rūch (7, 27), 5. rōchi (1, 8, 12-14, 17-18, 57, 60-75, 90-99, 101, 132, 144-153), 6. rānche (87), 7. rānchI (90, 93, 99), 8. rānchi (88, 95), 9. rē (5, 6, 13-14, 24, 27, 31, 34-35, 45, 52-56, 96, 108, 117-119, 123, 125, 135, 139, 142, 145), 10. rī (N.T), 11. rū (2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 16, 17, 24, 27, 75-76, 95, 97), 12. rān (47, 101, 104-106), 13. rāhēch (32-33, 35, 38, 42-43, 46-49), 14. rāhēc (46-48), 15. rāhē (46), 16. rāhēcI (33), 17. rēd (46-47), 18. rō: (7, 10, 12-13).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 75.

*Immediate constituents:* Principal stem /rə-/ + gender marker + auxiliary + person and number marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) In most of the cases the durative participle /-n/ is elided or changed into nasality. (ii) In many correlates (1-5, 9-11, 13-17) the gender marker is amalgamated with the stem vowel. (iii) Similarly, the tense marker /ch-/ is also dropped in many of the correlate areas (9-12, 15, 17-18).

*Syntactical usage:* Syntactically, it forms a part of a VP with a subject in the nominative case singular number, third person, feminine gender, as in, /Ij kā rēch/ 'where does mother live?'

*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* With regard to the principal verb areal preferences are noticed in two forms, viz. /rə-/~/rāh-/ . Preferences with regard to the auxiliary are also attested.

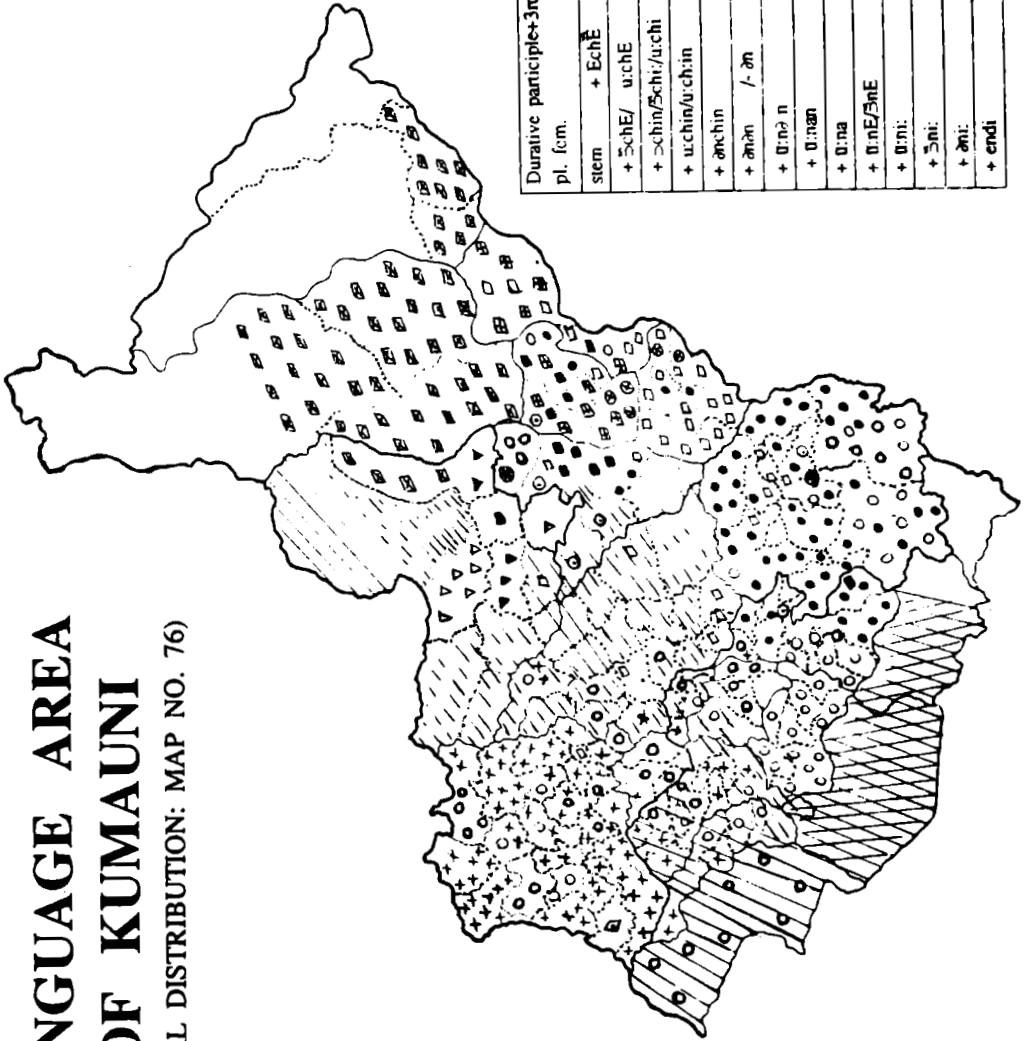
*Structural variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates 3, 5-8, and 16 are analytical and all other synthetic.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /rən, rEn, rEnd, rōdi, rEnda, rānd, rānde, rāndi, rEndi/.

2. *Nepali* - /bāsche, bāstche, rāhānche, rānchi/

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 76)



Durative participles+3rd	
pl. form.	
stem + EchE	○ ○
+ EchE/ u:chE	○ ○
+ EchE/ EchE/ u:chi	● ●
+ u:chin/ u:chin	□ □
+ ech:chin	⊗ ⊗
+ ach:an /- an	⊗ ⊗
+ 0:na n	■ ■
+ 0:nan	⊗ ⊗
+ 0:na	▼ ▼
+ 0:naE/ 3naE	▼ ▼
+ 0:ni:	▨ ▨
+ 3:ni:	▨ ▨
+ 3:ni:	× ×
+ endi	◇ ◇

## Table No. 85

**Areal Correlates of the Verb /rən--rəh-/ 'to live, to remain',  
Present Tense, Indicative mood, Third p. pl., fem. gender.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. rēchē (22, 25, etc.) 2. rōchIn (69, 78, 91, 146, 148, 153),  
3. rōchin (60-65, 69, 70-73, 78, 83, 144-148), 4. rōchI (57, 68, 101),  
5. rōchi/rēchi (62, 67, 95, 146-48), 6. rūchIn (9, 12, 19, 24, 55, 62,  
64, 78-90, 97, 99), 7. rūchin (71, 83), 8. rānchIn (88, 93), 9. rānān (101,  
104-5), 10. rūnān (8, 90-97), 11. rūnan (90), 12. runān (90-93),  
13. rōnan (2, 91-95), 14. rūna (2, 4), 15. rūnē/rōnē (3, 10), 16. rūnī  
(1, 5-7, 11, 14), 17-18, 24-27, 34-35, 52, 56, 75, 77, 107-08, 118, 123,  
137, 141), 17. rōnī (1, 5-7, 12-18, 21-23, 27, 29, 75, 110, 123-132),  
18. rānī (22, 31-36, 39-45, 52, 54, 108, 110, 115, 117, 112-23, 143),  
19. rōchē/rūchē (62), 20. rUcchI (97), 21. rōcchi (68, 75), 22. rēdi (46-  
47), 23. rān (101, 106), 24. rāhāni (29, 32, 37, 38, 40-49), 25. bāhnān  
(104).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 76.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /rə-/ + durative participle /-n/ or nasality + auxiliary + inflectional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic tendencies noticeable in these correlates are: (i) the stem vowel /ə/ shows /o ~u/ as ablauts; (ii) in /rēchē/ it is a case of vowel harmony, the stem vowel being sensitive to the quality of the vowel /ē/ in /chē/; (iii) the inflectional marker /an/ also shows reduction in its quality and in quantity in many areas. Correlate 23 does not have any auxiliary. Correlates 10-19 overlap with masculine correlates. (cf. Table No. 83)

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it forms a part of a VP and shows an agreement in person, number, and gender with its subject.

*Structural variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates 9-18 & 23-25 are synthetic, all others analytical.

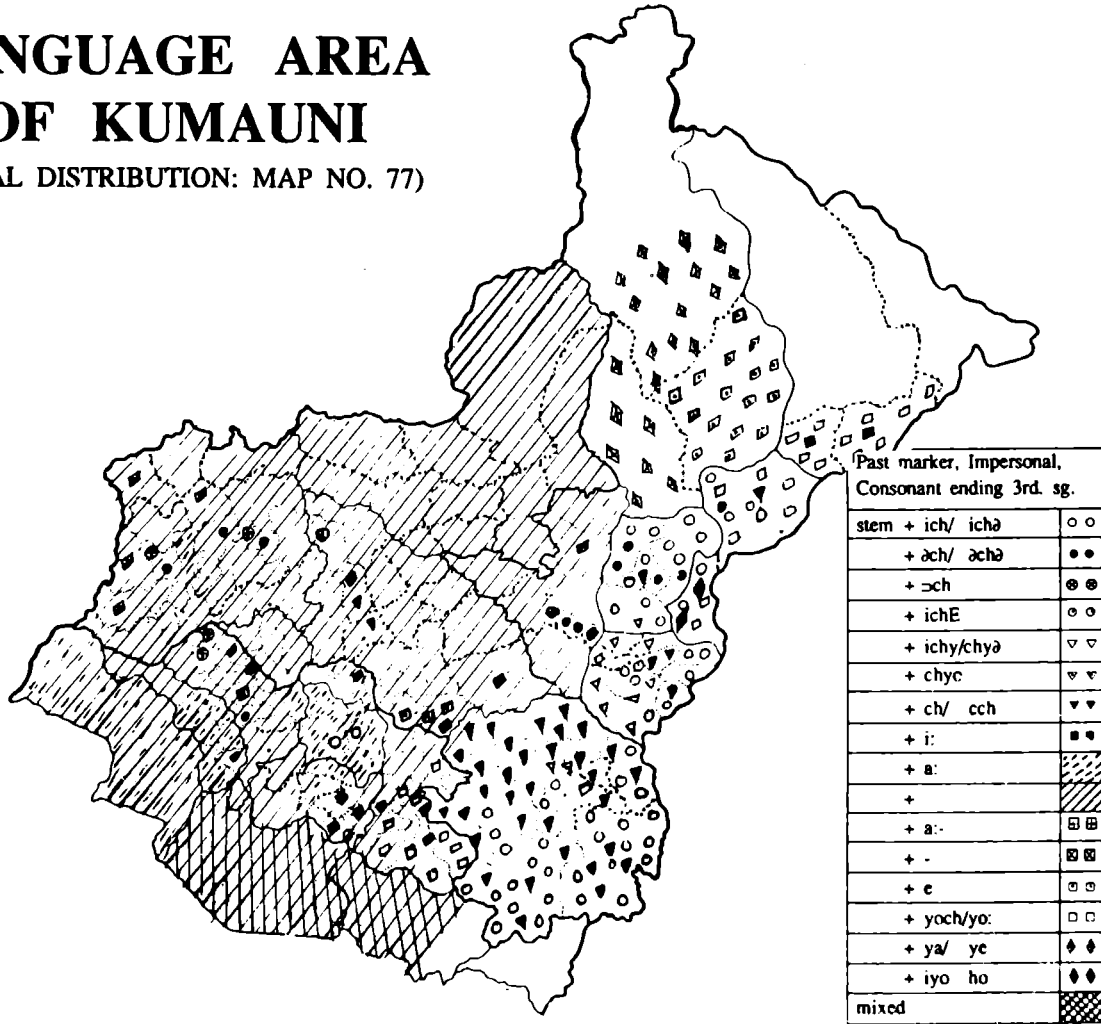
*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /rEndIn, rEndān, rāndIn, rōdIn, rāndān, rāndi/.

2. *Nepali*- /bāschān, bāstchān, rāhān chān, rānchIn/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 77)



## Table No. 86

Areal Correlates of the Verb /kər-/ 'to do', in the past tense,  
Indicative mood, Impersonal voice. (consonant ending)*Correlates & Areas:*

1. kərIch (62, 63, 66, 85-95, 138, 141, 142, 146, 151), 2. kərəch (36, 42, 78, 115), 3. kərɔch (23, 34, 42, 78, 110, 112), 4. kərəchə (91, 95, 115), 5. kərIchə (28, 86-88, 90, 99), 6. kərIchE (85, 95), 7. kərIchya (81, 82, 86), 8. kərchyə (83), 9. kərchyə (61, 79, 85-86), 10. kərchyə (83), 11. kərch (24, 27, 38, 60-74, 83, 87, 91-93, 147), 12. kɔch (33), 13. kəch (32, 42, 46), 14. kəri (17, 19, 27, 60, 78, 90, 101, 111, 120, 128, 137-39, 148, 150, 153), 15. kəra (43, 101, 116-118, 120, 123, 125, 135-36, 140, 142), 16. kərɔ (1-19, 22-58, 77, 78, 95-98, 107-108, 112, 148), 17. kər (47), 18. ka:r (46), 19. kɔr (32, 38, 97), 20. kəre (19, 114), 21. kəryoch (149), 22. kəryo (62, 80, 90), 23. kəriyo (146-53), 24. kərIyoho (90), 25. kəryaho (90), 26. kəye (105-06), 27. kE (104), 28. gəryo (95).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 77.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /kər-/ + perfective formative /i/ + auxiliary /ch- ~hə/ + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonmic tendencies:* In this paradigm interesting aspects of phonological and morphonemic tendencies are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel (12, 17-19, 23, 27); (ii) epenthesis of inflection marker (3, 12, 17-19, 21-28); (iii) elision of perfective formative (2-4, 8-13, 15-19), (iv) elision of auxiliary (14-20, 22-23, 26-28), (v) emergence of automatic glides (7-10, 21-28).

*Syntactical usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes part of a predicate with its subject in the agentive case, there being no inflection for any number, gender and person. However, it shows its agreement with the number of the object, as in /mēl~tUmōl kam kəri/ 'I, you did work', /mēl~wil kəryo kam kərI/ 'I/he did many works'. Thus it refers directly to the act itself, leaving out of the account of the person or persons connected with it, on account of its impersonal use.

*Stylistic variations:* It may be noted here that existence of forms like /kərIch/ and /kərchyə/ and /kərəch/ suggest that in some areas the perfective formative /i/ is appended to the stem of the principal verb and in others it is appended to the stem of auxiliary verb and these proto-correlates were somewhat like \*kəricho and \*kərchio.

*Structural Variations:* structurally, forms of correlates 14-20 and 26-28 are synthetic, all others are analytical.

*Note:* For negative correlates of these see table No. 89.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /kə:əɾ, ka:r, karU, kare, kəri, kəre, kərye, kaya/.

2. *Nepali* - /gʌɾyo, gʌɾ~e/.

## Table No. 87

**Areal Correlates of the Verb /dekh-/ 'to see' in the Past Tense,  
Indicative Mood, Impersonal (also personal)***Correlates & Areas:*

1. dekhIch (35, 48, 57, 62, 66-70, 73-74, 78, 83, 85-88, 90-97, 99, 112-113, 128, 140, 147, 148, 151), 2. dekhəch (32, 42, 46, 48, 62-63, 95, 110, 122, 142), 3. dekhɔch (8, 33, 78, 95), 4. dekhch (88-91), 5. dyəkhch (62, 69, 71, 82), 6. dyəkhcha (61, 64, 47, etc.), 7. dekhyəch (79), 8. dekhchyə (85, 96), 9. dekhIyo (148), 10. dekhyo (88, 101, 144), 11. dekhɔ (1-7, 9, 11-19, 22-56, 75-78, 95-98, 107, 110-114, 120-137, 146, 149, 153), 12. dekhi (17, 32, 37, 60, 911, 128, 137, 139-146, 150), 13. dekha (27, 58, 115-116, 123, 126, 128, 130, 142), 14. dekhI (106), 15. dekh (17, 108, 123, 13), 16. dIkhi (104-05), 17. dyəkhɔ (3, 4, 10, 12, 18), 18. dyəkh (47, 138), 19. dhekich (90), 20. dhekIchɹ (90-93), 21. dekIchə (95), 22. dhekchə (90), 23. dhek (93), 24. dhekyu (93), 25. dhekhi (101), 26. dekhIcha (86, 90-91), 27. dyəkhcha (38), 28. dekhIchya (81), 29. dekhəchya (71), 30. dyakh (46).

*Areal Distribution:* As in Map No. 77.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /dekh-/ + perfective formative /i~ɔ/ + auxiliary (when impersonal) and + inflectional marker (when personal).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* With regard to the stem vowel it may be said that it shows glidal tendency in certain areas (6, 17-18, 27); it also shows reduction in one case (16); with regard to the perfective formative the notable morphophonemic point is (i) glidalization of it (7, 10, 24) and (ii) elision (5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 27); (iii) reduction of /i/ into /ɹ/ (1, 9, 14, 16, 21, 25, 26, 28). Another notable point may be said complete elision of the auxiliary in many of the cases and transfer of its aspiration in some cases (19-20, 22-25).

*Syntactic usages:* Syntactically, it is used as a part of a predicate. Its subject is always in the agentive case when impersonal. The interesting feature of this paradigm in Kumāuni is its use both as a personal and impersonal voice. Correlates from 1-25 belong to impersonal voice, as these do not show any inflection according to the person, number and gender of the subject, but in this case the object must have an accusative marker (post-position), as in /mēl tUmokē dekhIch/ 'I saw you'. But

in the personal voice it shows inflection both for the person and number and the object is without any accusative marker (post-position), as in /mēl tUm dekhicha/ 'I saw you', /mēl ũ dekhI/ 'I saw them'.

*Structural Variation:* Structurally, all correlates except 6, 8, 2<sup>^</sup> and 26-29 are synthetic.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /dekhi, dyakhi, dyakh, dyakhca, dyakhca, dekhyā, dekhIn, dekhyā cha/.
  2. *Nepali* - /dekhe, dekhē, dekhī, dhekyo, dhekya/.

Table No. 88

**Areal Correlates of the Verb /bUl-/ 'to call', to send for', Past Indicative Mood, Impersonal and Personal Ist. sg. (vowel ending).**

**Correlates & Areas:**

1. bUlach (4, 6-11 etc.), 2. bUla: (3-60, 73, 75, 78, 85, 97-98, 108-151), 3. bala: (117, 123, 125), 4. boläy (101), 5. bUIE (104-05), 6. bUlanE (106), 7. bUlān (101), 8. bUlōnochyī (61), 9. bUlhach (33), 10. māṭhyE (105), 11. bhāṭyE (105), 12. bulayō (2, 90, 140), 13. bUlayū (1, 2, 4, 13, 17, 32, 46, 56, 60-73, 78, 80-95, 107, 113, 122-23, 137, 139, 143-44, 146), 14. bolayū (69, 71), 15. balachū (70), 16. bUlacho (72), 17. bUlaī (1, 28, 42, 54, 75, 77-78, 105), 18. bUlay (9, 46-47, 64), 19. bUlahō (71), 20. bulahū (71).

*Areal Distribution:* As in Map No. 77.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem (bul-~māṭh-~bhāṭ-) + formative + auxiliary (ch-~h-) + person - number markers.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) The auxiliary /ch-/ is elided in many correlates (1-9), this being the normal tendency with stems ending in a vowel, as in /kha-/ 'to eat' /pi-/ 'to drink' etc., (ii) correlates 4, 17, 18 indicate that the /E/ of the correlates 5-6, 10-11 is due to assimilation of /a + y ~ i/ under accentual environments. (iii) Emergence of a glide, viz. /y/ before a back vowel (maintained or elided) is attested in many of the correlates. (iv) The back vowel /a/ shows an advanced variant before a front vowel or /y/ glide.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a predicate. It has two voices, (i) impersonal (1-11) and (ii) personal (12-20). Impersonal correlates are used with an objective marker in the NP and do not show any inflection for the number and gender of the subject, but in the personal voice the subject has the direct form and shows inflection for number and gender agreeing with the subject, as in /mē kē~thē bUla:/ ~ /mē bulayō/ 'I was called'.

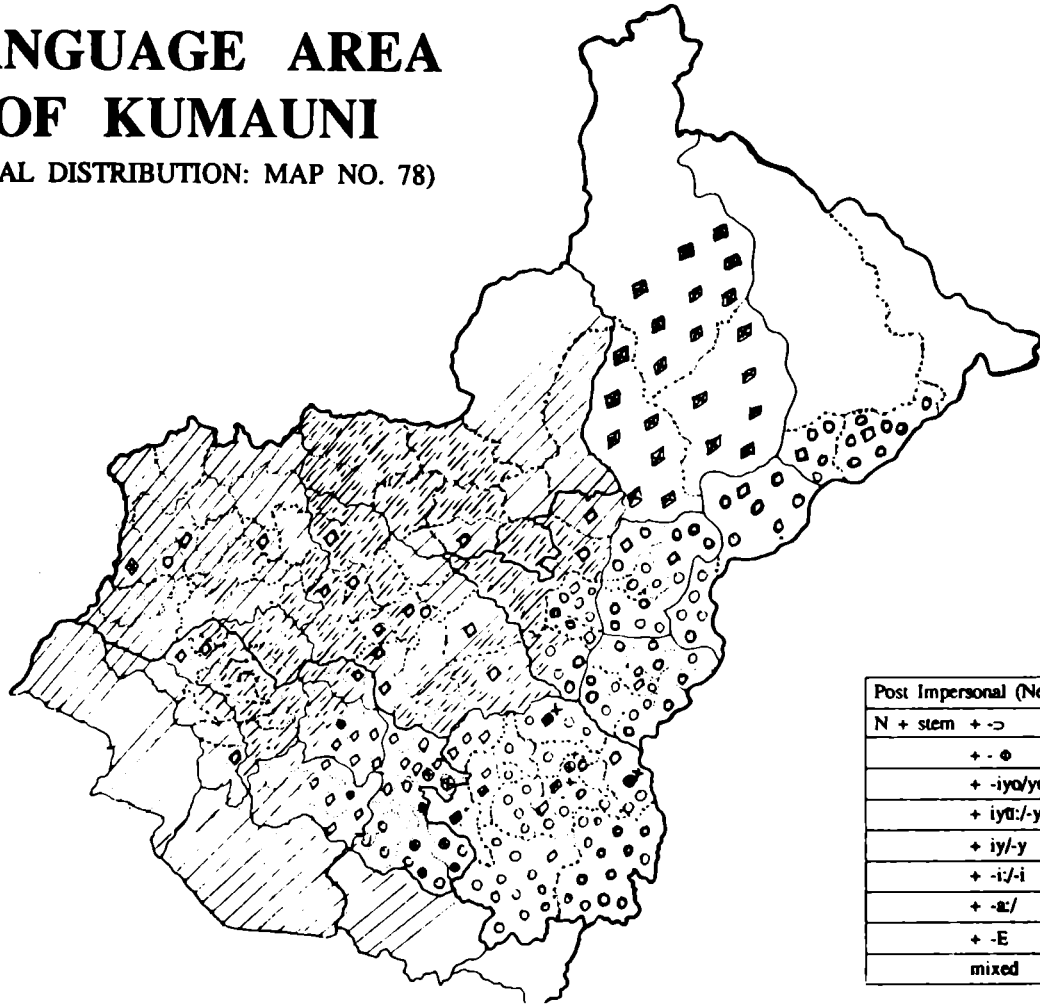
*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* Areal preferences are noticed both with regard to verbal stem and formatives as indicated above. The use of personal or impersonal voices is only a stylistic variation.

*Structural Variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates, 8, 15-16, 19-20 are analytical and all others synthetic.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /bulāū, bUlayū, bUlayō, bulaī, bulay (cho), bulaycə (with p.p.)/.  
2. *Nepali* - /bulayo (with p.p.), bulae (without p.p.).

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 78)



Post Impersonal (Negative)		
N + stem	+ ->	
	+ - ●	
	+ -iyo/yo	
	+ iyɪ:-/yu:	
	+ iy/-y	
	+ -i/-i	
	+ -a/	
	+ -E	
	mixed	

**Table No. 89****Areal Correlates of the Verb /kār-/ 'to do', Past Indefinite Tense  
(negative), Impersonal****Correlates & Areas:**

1. (nE)+ kəriyo (71), 2. +kəryo (14, 42, 61-74, 78-95, 99, 146, 149-51), 3. +kə:ryo (90, 93, 101), 4. + kəryū (137, 142, 148, 153), 5. + kəryΛ (146-47, 153), 6. + kəri (9, 12, 14, 17, 23, 24-28, 34, 43, 60, 66-67, 78, 90, 97, 108, 120, 128, 135-150), 7. + kərI (17, 60, 85, 90, 95-97, 101, 142-145, 150), 8. + kər (3-7, 10 etc.), 9. + kər (1-2, 4-8, 11-18, 22-23, 29-57, 75, 97-98, 107, 111-113, 122-126, 140, 145), 10. + kəy (33), 11. + kəy (32, 38, 46, 48), 12. + kE (104-106), 13. + kərIn (72), 14. + kərīdi (37), 15. + kərīdyo (86, 91), 16. + gə:ryo (93).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 78.

*Immediate constituents:* (Neg. particle)+ Stem /kār-/ + perfective formative + inflectional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic features:* The important difference noticeable in these active correlates as compared with their affirmative correlates is (i) absence of the auxiliary /ch-/ forms (cf. table No. 86). However, phrasal constructions with the auxiliary /di/ (13-15) are a peculiarity of this paradigm. For other aspects of morphophonemics see table No. 86.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, its use is identical with that of affirmation forms (see table No. 86).

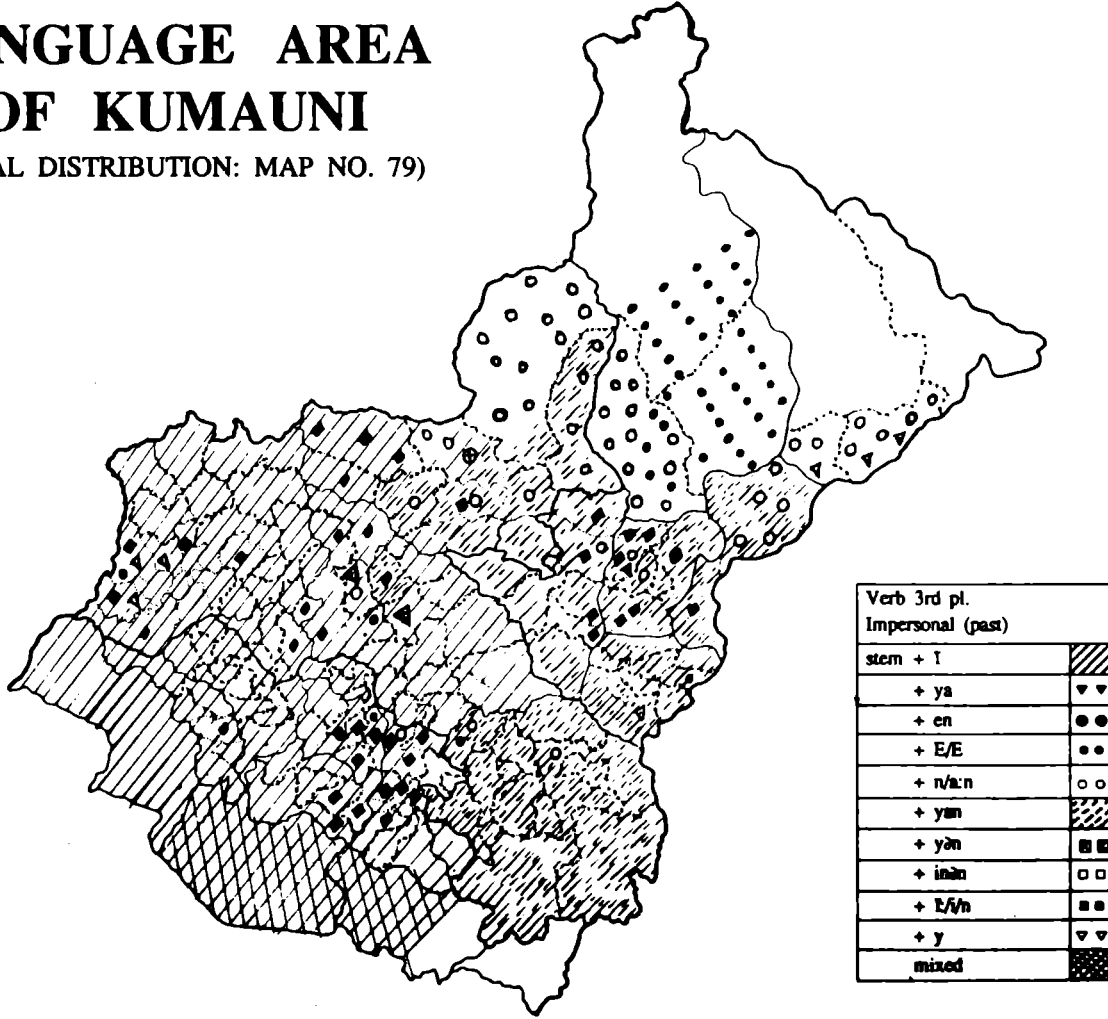
*Structural Variation:* Structurally, all variants, except 13-15, are synthetic.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /(ni) kəryo, kəryu, kərye, kəy, kər, kəri, kəre, karu, kari/.  
2. *Nepali*- /gΛre nΛ, nE gəryo/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 79)



## Table No. 90

**Areal Correlates of the Verb /khá-/ 'to eat', Past Indefinite Tense, Transitive, Impersonal***Correlates & areas:*

1. 'kháI (5-7, 9-58, 75-78, 95-98, 107-08, 110, 153), 2. kháya/kháy (42, 46-47, 101), 3. khEn (3), 4. khE/kheI (14, 24, 88, 104-06), 5. 'kháyan (14, 60-93, 99, 147), 6. 'kháyən (91, 95), 7. khəyan (85), 8. 'kháInən (96), 9. 'kháēn (5, 78, 90, 93-97), 10. khan (1-2, 4, 7, 8, 27, 60, 71, 90-91, 95, 97, 101, 105, 114, 143).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 79.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /kha-/ + past formative /i/ + inflection marker (past tense + plural number) /in~an~ən~ϕ~I/

*Phonological and morphophonemic features:* Notable points of morphophonemics are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel, (ii) assimilation of past formative and inflection marker (3-4, 10), (iii) emergence of glidal /y/ (2, 5-7).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a part of a predicate agreeing with a subject in the agentive case, there being no inflection for person and gender, as in /mēl~wil~həmōl 'rwät 'kháI/ 'I~he~we ate bread'. However, it shows agreement in number, with its object.

*Appendix:* Singular correlates: Correlates for a singular object have been noted as follows: /khach, 'kháIch, 'kháIc, khac, 'kháy, khE, kha/, as in /mēl~tul~Unōl bhat khach/ 'I~thou~they ate rice (sg.).

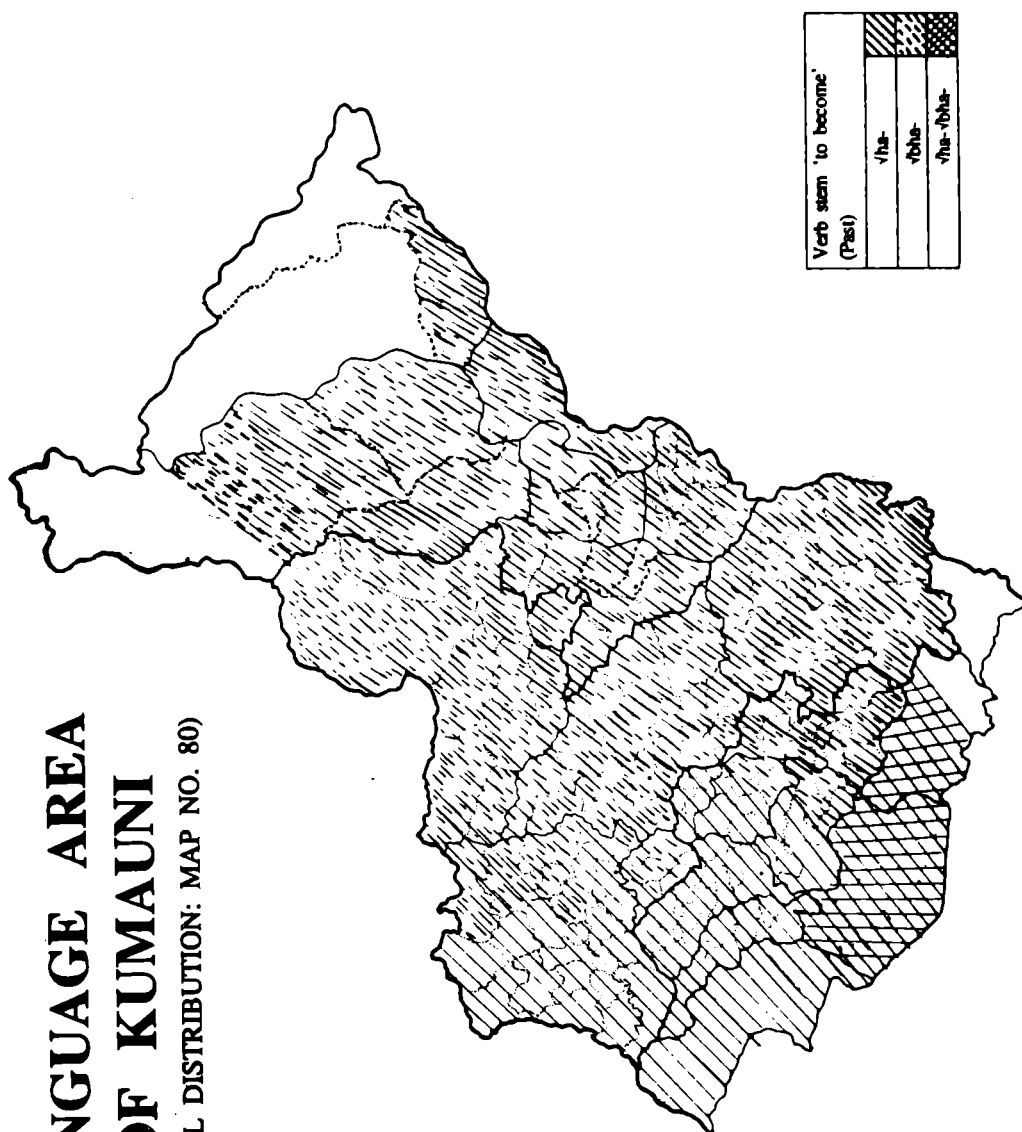
*Structural Variations:* Structurally, all the forms of these correlates are synthetic.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /khəI, khEI, khaI, khaya, khay, khaIn, khEn/.

2. *Nepali*- /khaē, khayə, khau/.

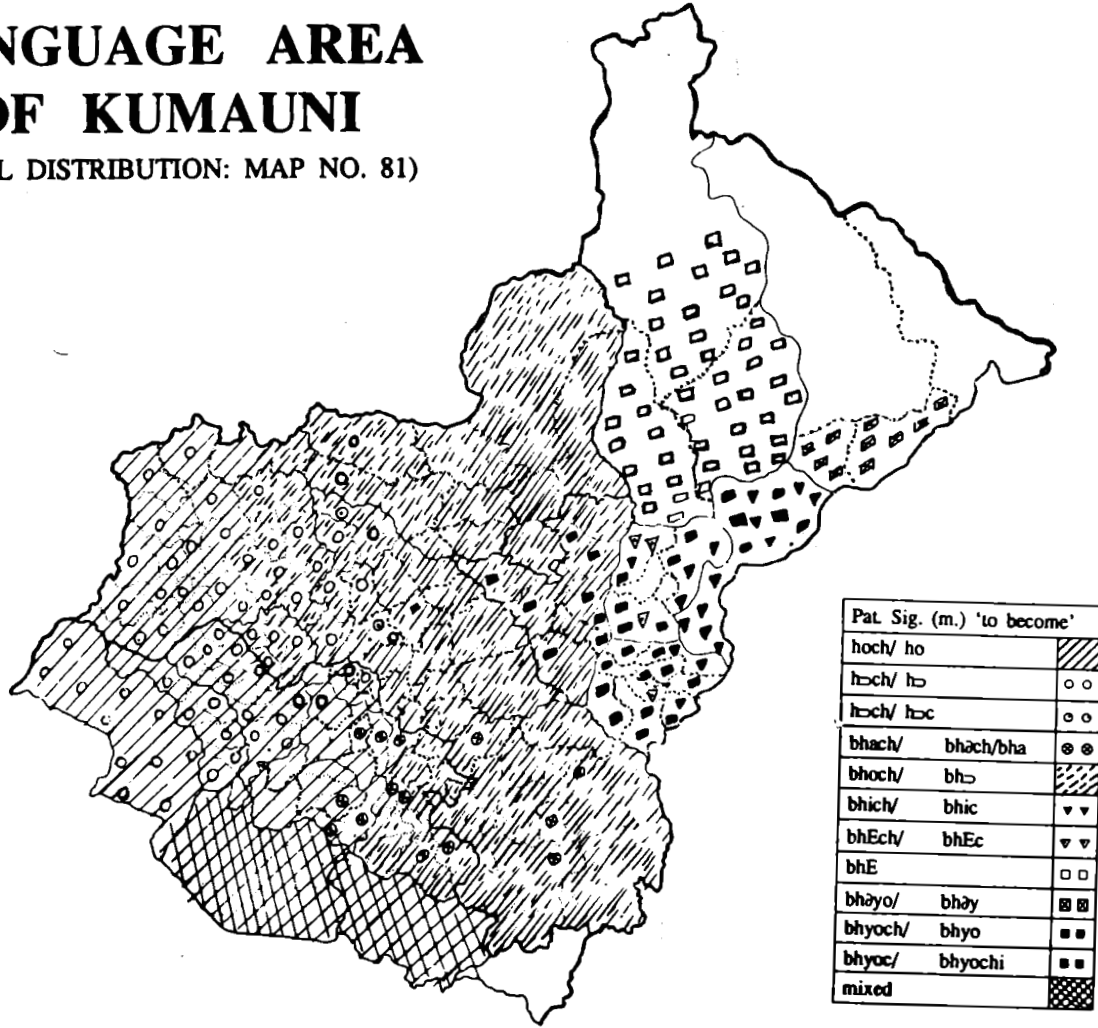
# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 80)



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 81)



Pat. Sig. (m.) 'to become'	
hoch/ ho	▨
hoch/ hɔ	○○
hoch/ hɔc	○○
bhach/ bhach/bha	⊠⊠
bhoch/ bhɔ	▨
bhich/ bhic	▼▼
bhEch/ bhEc	▼▼
bhE	□□
bhəyo/ bhəy	⊠⊠
bhyoch/ bhyo	■
bhyoc/ bhyochi	■
mixed	▩

## Table No. 91

Areal Correlates of Verb /hUn-/ 'to become', Past Indefinite Mood,  
3rd Person, Sg. Number*Correlates & Areas:*

1. hoch (5, 23, 28, 32-50, 54-58, 107, 110-115, 118, 120, 123, 126, 128, 132), 2. h<sub>o</sub>ch (22, 27, 36, 42, 110, 125), 3. h<sub>a</sub>ch (37-38), 4. ho (5, 17, 26, 35, 55-56, 97, 108, 111, 119, 112-125, 128, 135-36, 151), 5. h<sub>o</sub> (5-6, 29, 45, 52, 55, 123, 128, 130), 6. h<sub>a</sub> (22, 24), 7. hEr<sub>o</sub>ch (8, 12, 19, 31, 33), 8. hEr<sub>o</sub> (12, 44, 75, 117, 144), 9. h<sub>a</sub>r<sub>o</sub> (48, 95-96), 10. hEr<sub>a</sub>ch, (46), 11. hErE (46, 105), 12. 'hErE (54), 13. hEryoch (88), 14. horyoch (90), 15. hweryo (85), 16. hwera (140), 17. hEgo (54) 18. 'bh<sub>a</sub>ch (60-61, 66, 137-139, 147, 151, 153), 19. bha (137-142, 150), 20. bh<sub>o</sub>ch (1, 4-6, 9, 11-14, 23, 28-29, 35, 57-75, 78, 91, 95, 98, 123, 128, 140-148, 153), 21. bh<sub>o</sub> (3, 4-10, 12-18, 22-27, 34-38, 43, 60-64, 69, 71, 73, 75, 78, 135, 145, 148-49), 22. 'bhIch (82, 90, 91, 95, 99), 23. 'bhIc (87), 24. bhEc (93, 95), 25. bhE (27, 104, 106), 26. bhayo/bh<sub>a</sub>y (101), 27. bhyoch (14, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85-87, 93, 95-97), 28. bhyo (75, 78, 80, 88, 95-98, 99).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 80-81.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /h<sub>a</sub>-, bh<sub>a</sub>-/ + auxiliary /r<sub>a</sub>-/ ~ /g<sub>a</sub>-/ ~ zero + verb substantive (tense marker).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic aspects are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel; (ii) emergence of a glide in the stem vowel (15-16, 27-28); (iii) emergence of glide in the formative vowel (13-15, 26); (iv) elision of auxiliary (4-6, 11-12, 15-17, 19, 21, 25, 26, 28); (v) elision of aspiration (23-24); (vi) elision of final vowel of verb substantive, (vii) assimilation of stem + formative vowel (7-8, 10-13), i.e., /hE/ = \*hLi.

*Syntactic usage:* Structurally, though it is a past indefinite form, yet syntactically it is used to denote a perfective aspect in the present time, as in /j<sub>o</sub>b u t<sub>h</sub>U<sub>l</sub> hoch/ 'when he grew (-became) young (=big) (past indefinite), but /t<sub>U</sub>mar khU<sub>t</sub> m<sub>e</sub> ke hoch/ 'what has become (happened) in your foot'. From some of the above correlates (7-17) it will be clear that to express this sense clearly they use an additional auxiliary /r<sub>a</sub>, g<sub>a</sub>/. However, to indicate some definite action in the past a perfective formative /i/ is suffixed to the verb substantive, e.g., /hochi/ 'became'; /hErochi/ 'had become'.

*Structural Variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates 1-6, 18-28 are simple & synthetic, others compounded & analytical.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Areal preferences are particularly noticeable with regard to the main verb, viz., /hə-, bhə-/. Preferences with regard to an auxiliary /rə-, gə-, φ/ also are notable.

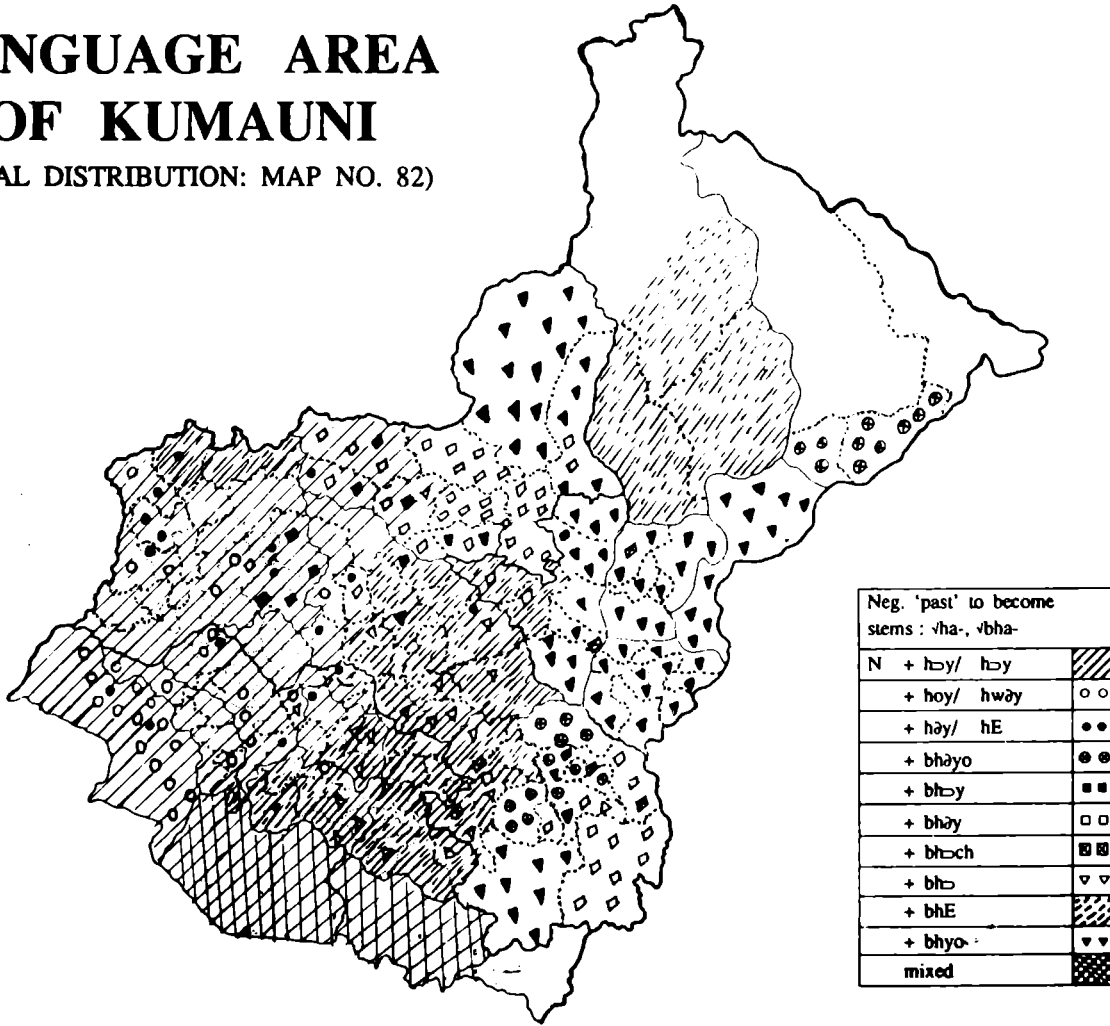
*Note:* For negative correlates cf. table No 92.

*CEP Correlate:* 1. *Garhwali* - /hwaya, hway, hwəy, hoytɕə, huyocə, hwe rəɪ, hwe.

2. *Nepali* - /bhlyeko chʌ, bhlyo/

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 82)



Neg. 'past' to become stems : √ha-, √bha-	
N + hɔy/ hɔy	▨
+ hoy/ hwəy	○ ○
+ həy/ hE	● ●
+ bhəyo	⊙ ⊙
+ bhɔy	■ ■
+ bhəy	□ □
+ bhɔch	⊠ ⊠
+ bhɔ	▽ ▽
+ bhE	▩
+ bhyo	▽ ▽
mixed	⊞

Table No. 92

**Areal Correlates of the Verb /hUn-/ 'to become', Past Indefinite Tense, Indicative Mood (Negative).**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. (nE)+ həy (29, 32, 33, 42, 54, 110), 2. + hɔy (5-6, 22-23 etc.), 3. + hoy (32, 42, 45, 101, 107, 114-15, 120, 123, 136), 4. + hwəy (5, 35, 46-47, 107, 117-18), 5. + hwáy (46), 6. + hEšəki (1, 12, 27, 37, 97, 137), 7. + hEpUj (6, 16, 34, 130), 8. + bhəyo (69, 70-71), (61-62, 65, 69, 71, 73, 101), 9. + bhɔy (1, 5-7, 15, 52, 55, 71), 10. + bhəy (2-11, 62, 63, 66, 72-76), 11. + bhɔch (63, 68, 72, 78, 95), 12. + bhɔ (4, 7, 12, 17-18, 24, 57, 60-62, 71, 73, 123, 137-153), 13. + bhE (12-19, 24-26, 31, 34, 37, 60, 64, 72, 75, 105-106, 119, 123, 126, 132, 135-37, 141-149, 153), 14. bhyo (1, 2, 9, 14, 62, 69, 71, 75, 77-99), 15. bhɔy (5-7, 15, 52, 55, 71), 16. + kərigE (22, 27 etc.), 17. kərigoy (22, 27, 34, 43).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 82.

*Immediate constituents:* Negative particle + stem /hə ~bhə/ + perfective formative + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Important points of morphophonemics in this paradigm are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel; (ii) emergence of glide in the stem vowel (4-5); (iii) emergence of glide before inflectional marker (1-5, 8-10, 14-15, 17); (iv) assimilation of stem + perfective formative (6-7, 13), (v) elision of inflectional marker (1-8, 9-13, 15-17); (vi) epenthesis of inflectional marker (2-3, 9-12, 15, 17); (vii) elision of stem vowel (14).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used to denote some action in the past. It agrees in number and gender with its object, the subject is always in the genitive case followed by a passive marker, as in /tUmar kEl yo kam nE~ni həy~bhəy/ 'you could not do this work'.

Note: For affirmative and assertive correlates see table No. 91.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /ni + hoyo, hwəyo, hwáy, hwəy, hwai, hoi, hwe/.

2. *Nepali* - /bhΛE nΛ. bhΛyoi nΛ/.



**Table No. 93**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /ho~ hUn-/ 'to become' Negative Aspect, Future Tense, 3rd. sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. N + -ho (2, 4-5, etc.) 2. +hɔ (7, 9-10, 12, 14, 24, 34, 46, 49, 60, 62, 66, 75-78, 97-98, 125, 130, 137, 142, 146), 3. +həɔ (1, 6, 10-12, 14, 29, 34-36, 40, 42, 48, 107, 113, 141-42, 145, 146), 4. +həo (4, 5, 31, 55, 75, 120, 152), 5. +hoa (52, 78, 113, 126, 128, 136, 143), 6. +ho (6, 13, 36, 43, 46, 50, 55, 60, 145-46, 149), 7. +howa (58, 113-14, 135-42, 150-151), 8. +həwa (48, 55, 110, 123), 9. +həwo (85), 10. +hwəwa (137, 139, 150), 11. +hUnU (83), 12. +hUnI (12), 13. +hUn (3, 12-13 etc.), 14. +hən (6), 15. +hol (34), 16. +hɔl (5-6, 12, 22-28, 35-48, 52-56, 78, 108, 112, 115, 119-20, 123, 128), 17. +həl (44), 18. N + hUner~həner-bhɔ (57, 78, 141-42), 19. +bhyo (14), 20. +bhəy (1, 4, 11, 16, 22, 27, 34, 116, 123, 128), 21. +bhE (as in 20), 22. +hoy (123), 23. +həy (32, 45, 128), 24. +hEšəkən (25, 72, 118).

*Immediate Constituents:* Negative particle /nə~ni~nE/ + stem /ho~bhə/ + inflection marker (fut. 3rd. sg.).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The notable phonological and morphophonemic aspect of these correlates is - (i) emergence of an automatic glide before suffixal vocalic morphemes (7-10, 19-20, 22-23).

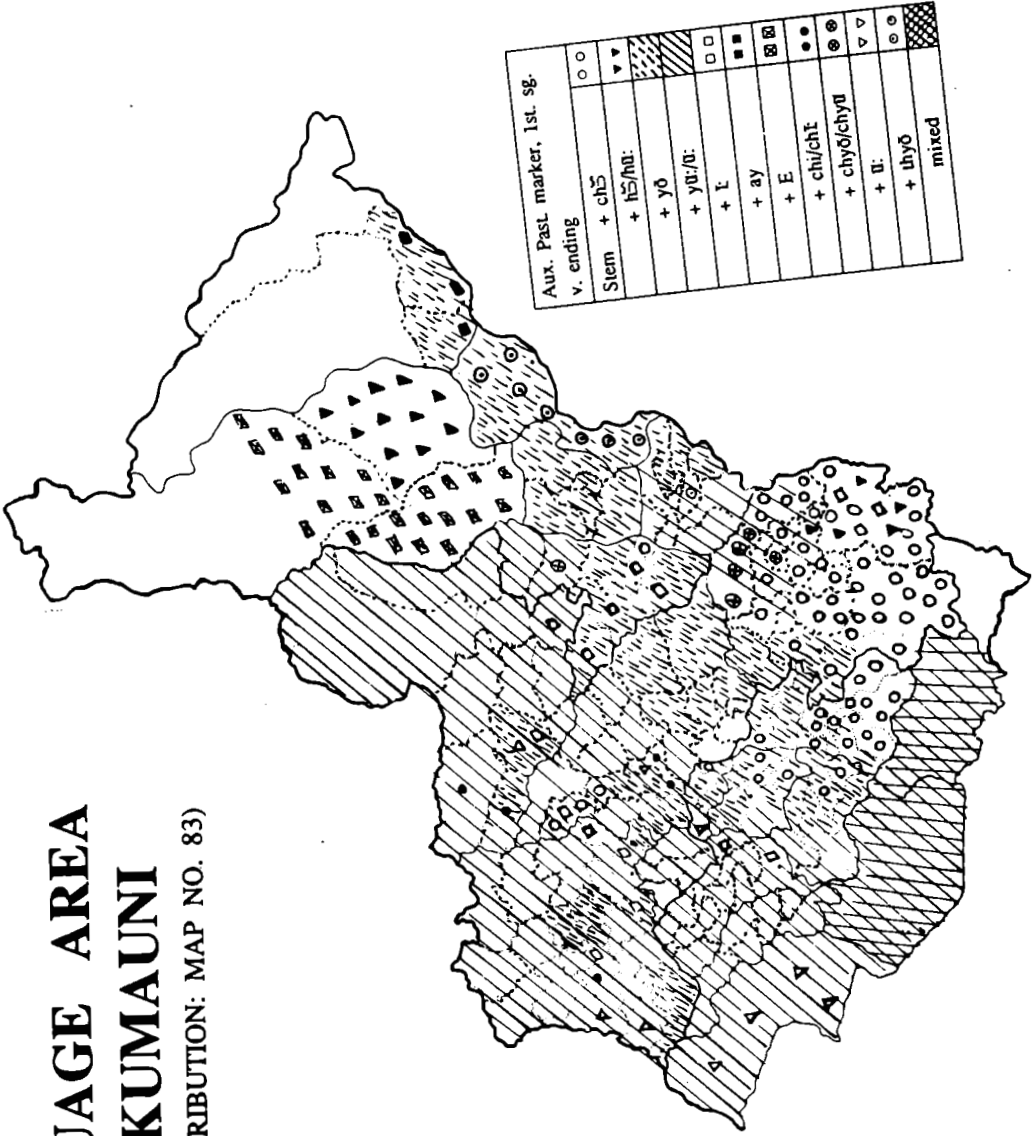
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used to negate some action in future. Correlates 19-23 show a stylistic peculiarity of employing a participial construction to negate the action. Correlates 15-17 show identity with affirmative forms as well.

*Note:* Its affirmative/assertive correlates are: /holo~holu~hwəl~hwálU~hol~hɔl~həl/.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-*/ni + hUn, hUn, -hUnə, -hUniyā-hUnyā, -honyā, -holo, -holu, ni hwe səkUdU/.
2. *Nepali-* /hUd/ i nλ. hunə səgdλi nλ/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 83)



## Table No. 94

Areal Correlates of the Verb/la-/ 'to bring', Past Indefinite Tense,  
1st person sg. number.*Correlates & Areas:*

1. lachō (23, 27, 62-63, 65, 70-73, 78, 128, 137, 139-143, 148-153), 2. lEchyō 3. lahō/lahū (62, 71, 74), 4. 'láyō (2, 6, 12-18, 29, 44, 50, 60-61, 73, 78, 95, 107, 128, 135, 138-146, 150-51), 5. 'áyū (1, 4-9 etc.), 6. 'láhū (71), 7. 'lái (10, 14, 23, 43-44, 74-75, 77-78), 8. 'lyáyō (7, 23, 27, 35-36, 48, 63, 83, 90-91, 95-96, 101, 125, 130), 9. lyáyū (1, 5, 7 etc. see map), 10. 'lyáū (24, 123), 11. "lyái (7, 13, 16, 52), 12. "lyāyū (24, 58), 13. lyū (46-47), 14. 'lyáy (101), 15. lyachi (5, 6, 14, 17, 42), 16. lhayū/lhaū (3, 7), 17. lhE (104-05), 18. lE (103-06), 19. lEreyō/reýū (69).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 83.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem + auxiliary + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic features:* In these correlates, notable features of morphophonemics are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel, (ii) elision of auxiliary (4-14, 16-18); (iii) palatalization of the stem consonant (8-15); (iv) aspiration of the stem consonant (16-17); (v) assimilation of stem vowel and flexional marker (17-19); (vi) loss of plosive element of the auxiliary (3).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used to denote some action in the past (indefinite) with its subject being in the nominative case (1st. sg.). It shows a full agreement in number and person with its subject. Correlates No. 19 shows that the present perfective form also can loosely be used to denote a past indefinite action.

*Structural Variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates 1-3, 15 & 19 are analytical and all other synthetic.

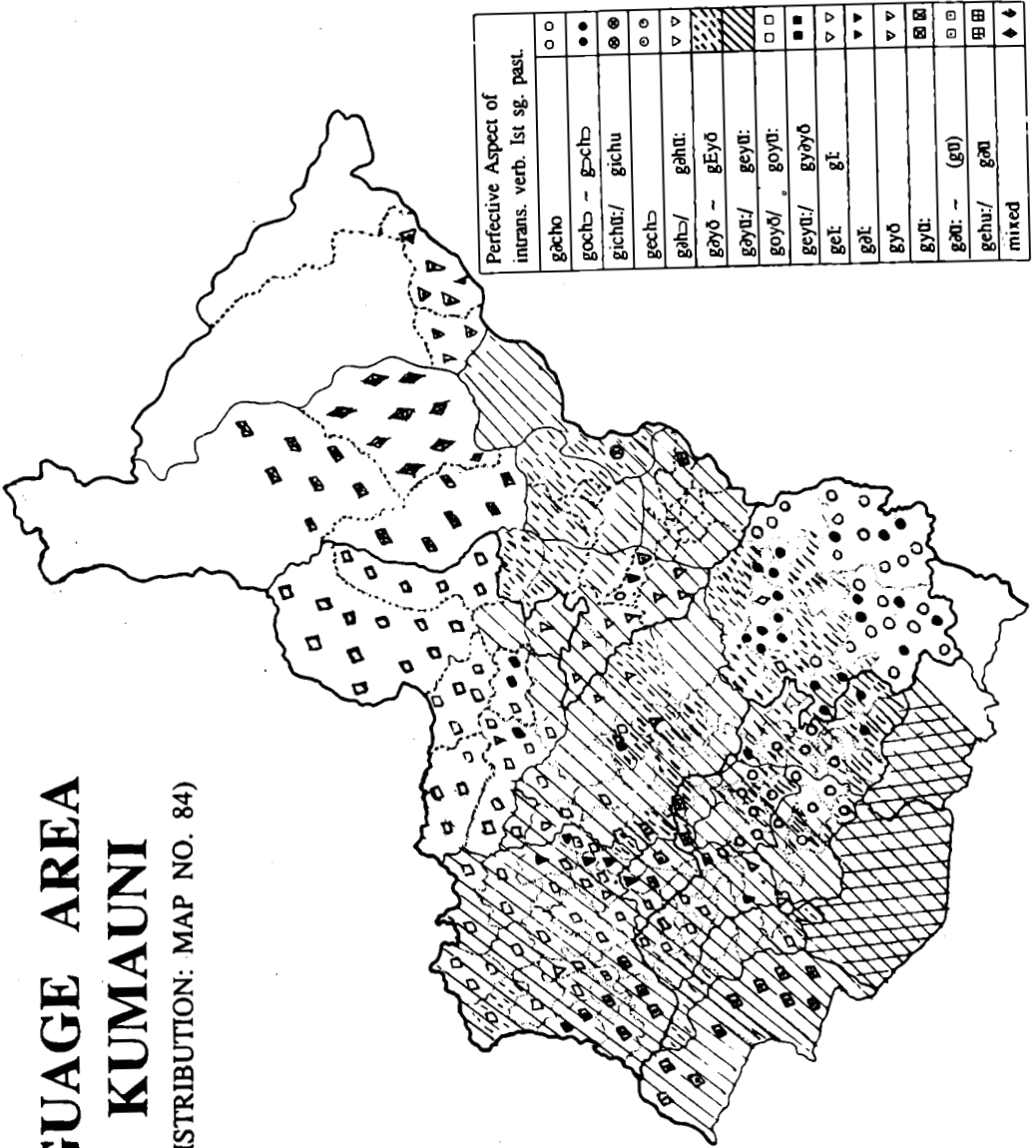
*Appendix:* Areal correlates of the second person plural: /lacha~lEcha~lyacha~lyaya~lee~lhacha~lhaya~lhae~lhyae~lyakha.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Gahrwali- /laū, lhaū, layū, lyayū, lyEýū, lyāyū, lyū, lhyō, lhū, lhō/.

2. Nepali - lyaē, lae, lyae, leyo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 84)



Perfective Aspect of intrans. verb. 1st sg. past.	Symbol
gācho	○ ○
gōcho - gōcho	● ●
gichū:/ gichu	⊗ ⊗
gēcho	⊙ ⊙
gāh- / gāhū:	▽ ▽
gōyō - gEyo	▨ ▨
gōyū:/ geyū:	□ □
gōyō/ , gōyū:	■ ■
gēyū:/ gēyōyō	▽ ▽
gēt gī	▽ ▽
gāī	▽ ▽
gyō	▽ ▽
gyū:	⊠ ⊠
gāū: - (gu)	⊠ ⊠
gēhū:/ gāū	⊠ ⊠
mixed	◆ ◆

## Table No. 95

Areal Correlates of the Verb /gə-/ (suppletive) for /ján-/ 'to go',  
Past Tense, Indicative Mood, First Person, Singular Number.*Correlates & Areas:*

1. gəchō (63-66, 68, 72, 74, 78, 137-139, 141, 142, 145, 148-151), 2. gochō (61-62, 71-72, 153), 3. gochū (62, 65, 67, 73, 78, 153), 4. gIchu (90), 5. gIchU (105), 6. gechō (105), 7. gəhō/gEhū (71, 72, 104), 8. gəyō (1, 12-14, 18, 25, 29, 32, 50, 60-62, 69, 72, 90-97, 107-08, 113, 119, 125, 128, 135, 138-150), 9. gəyū (8, 9 etc. see map), 10. gEyō (6, 73, 95, 151), 11. gEyū (23, 46, 55, 57, 111, 128, 130), 12. goyō (6, 7, 11, 14, 27, 43, 48, 54), 13. goyū (1-6, 11, 14, 22-23, 27, 31-42, 48-49, 52, 55, 56, 110, 112, 113, 118-119, 123), 14. geyū (4, 7, 63), 15. geī (7, 10, 13, 16, 23, 43, 55, 75, 77), 16. gəī (18, 52, 55, 56, 75, 78), 17. gyəyō (14, 46, 62, 143), 18. gyō (78, 101), 19. gū (28-29, 47, 48, 58, 88, 123), 20. gyū (105, 06), 21. gəū (56, 120, 125), 22. gī (7).

*Immediate constituents:* suppletive stem + auxiliary + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Important phonological and morphophonemic aspects of these correlates are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel; (ii) elision of auxiliary stem (8-22), (iii) emergence of automatic glide before suffixal morpheme (back vowel (8-14, 17-18, 20); (iv) loss of stem vowel (18-20, 22); (v) loss of plosive element of the auxiliary (7).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of a predicate, agreeing in number, gender, and person with its subject in the nom. case. As a full verb it denotes some indefinite action in the past, as in, /mē gəchō/ 'I went', but as a secondary verb it denotes a perfective aspect in the present tense, as in/mē E gəchō~gəyo/ 'I have come', /mE bhUli gəchō/ 'I have forgotten' /mē še gəchō/ 'I have slept. The principal verb precedes it with a completive formative /i/.

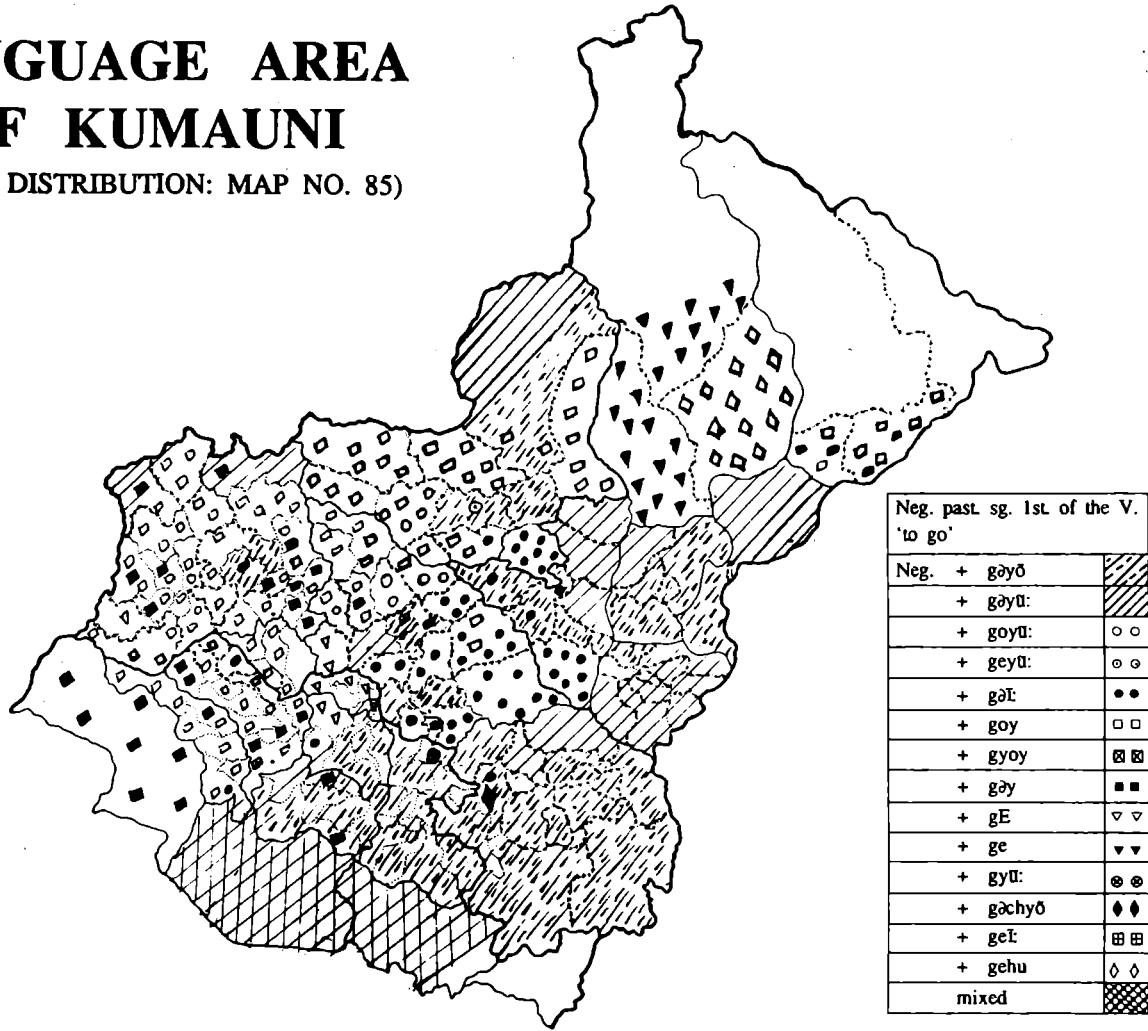
*Structural Variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates 1-7 are analytical and all others synthetic.

*Note:* For negative paradigm see table No. 96.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali- /gəū, gū, gyəū, gyū, gyō, gəyū/.  
2. Nepali- /gəko chu, -i sake (suti sake) 'I have gone to sleep), gyō.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 85)



## Table No. 96

Areal Correlates of the Verb /ja-/ 'to go', Past Indefinite Tense  
(Suppletive), Negative Correlates of 1st. sg.*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - (nE) gəyō (1, 4, 8, 14, 18, etc.), 2. - (ni) gəyū (4, 6, 8-9, 12 etc. see map), 3. + goyū (7, 26, 28, 40-41, 43, 60, 62, 66), 4.+ geyū (4), 5. + geI/gāI (10, 12-13, 17, 25, 72, 77, 119, 128, 132), 6. + goy (2-7, 11, 22, etc.) 7. +gəy (14, 27, 32, 35, 37, 42, 46, 48, 54, 58, 101, 108, 111, 116, 122, 123, 126, 128, 136, 138), 8. + gyo (14), 9. + gE (29, 47, 125, 128, 130), 10. + ge (105-06), 11. +gehū (104).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 85.

*Immediate constituents:* Negative particle (nE~ni~nə) + stem + functional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic features:* Interesting aspects of the negative construction may be said that it does not allow an auxiliary verbal stem, as is attested in the case of affirmative constructions (cf. table No. 95). As usual the phenomenon of emergence of a glide before back vowel is attested in these correlates as well.

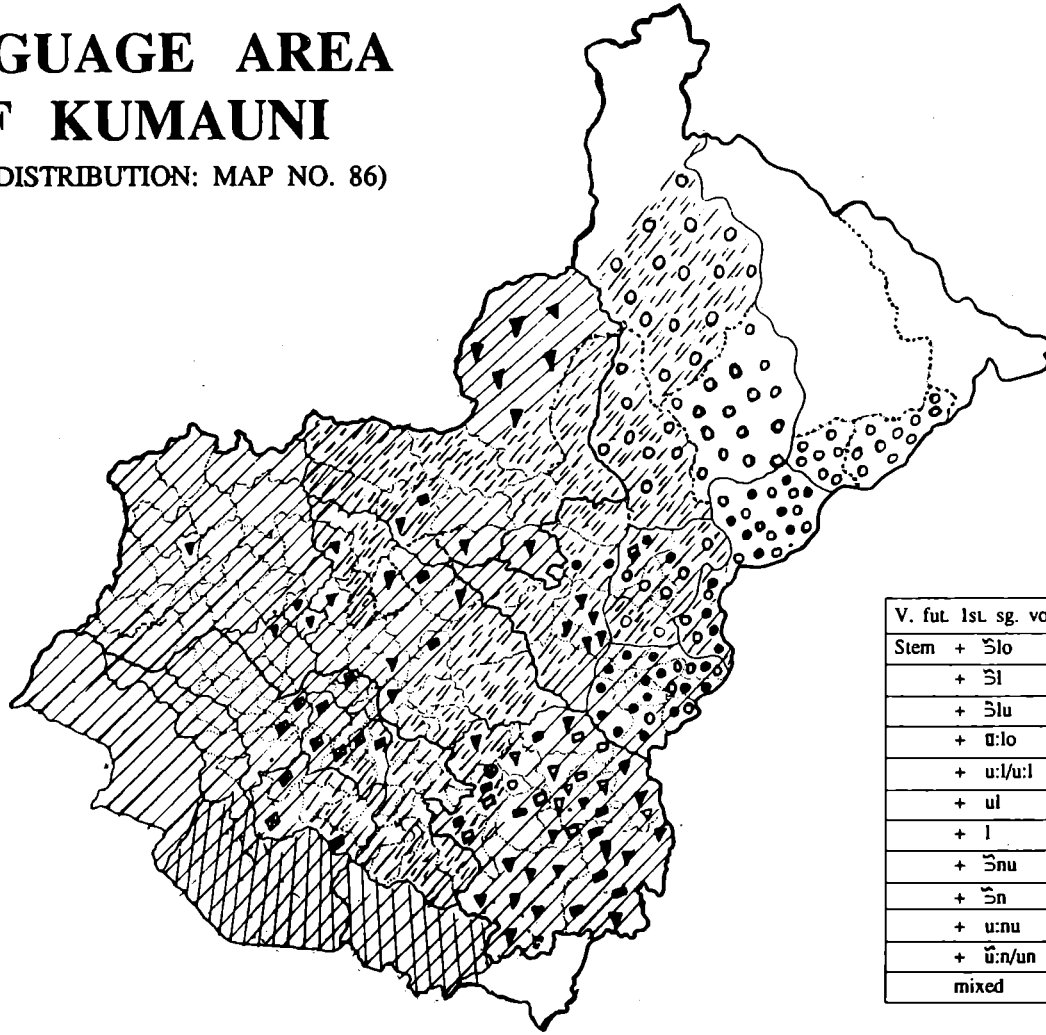
*Syntactical usage:* In this regard the notable difference from affirmative forms is that as a full verb its parameter is confined to the past indefinite tense only. It is not used as an auxiliary to denote the perfective aspect as is attested in the case of affirmative forms.

*Structural variations:* Structurally, all correlates except No. 10, are of synthetic nature.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /ni-gəyū, -gyo, -gi, gəū. -gái/-  
2. Nepali-/gəi na, gəe na, nai gəyo, naɡyo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 86)



V. fut. 1st. sg. vowel ending		
Stem +	ɔ̄lo	○ ○
+	ɔ̄l	▨
+	ɔ̄lu	⊗ ⊗
+	ū:lo	● ●
+	u:l/u:l	▨
+	ul	▨
+	l	⊠ ⊠
+	ɔ̄nu	□ □
+	ɔ̄n	■ ■
+	u:nu	▽ ▽
+	ū:n/un	▼ ▼
	mixed	▩



**Table No. 97**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /di-/ 'to give', Future Tense,**  
**Indicative Mood, 1st sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1- dyō: lo (83, 86-99, 101), 2-dyōl (2-8, 12-14, 17-18, 22-27, 37, 60, 67, 72-78, 83, 90-97, 101, 105-06, 113, 135-153), 3-dyūlo (79-89), 4-dyōlu (72), 5- dyūl (5, 11, 19, 22, 34, 90, 98), 6- dyul (11, 12, 14, etc. see map), 7- dyUl (1, 4, 5, 7, 18 etc.), 8- dUl (108), 9- dIl (122-23, 128, 138, 141-42), 10- dyōnU (61-62, 69-72, 95), 11- dyūnU (62-64, 71), 12- dyōn (7, 13, 15, 62, 69, 71, 74), 13- dyUn (9, 16, 23, 25-28, 43, 56, 6-62, 66-69, 74, 79), 14- dInū (42, 107), 15- dIchō (12), 16- dyūn (1, 9-10, 28, 73, 78, 96).

· *Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 86.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /di/ + tense marker /l~n/ + inflection marker.

· *Phonological and morphophonemic features:* Notable phonological and morphonemic aspects of this paradigm are: (i) emergence of glide (1-7, 10-13, 16); (ii) epenthesis of the vowel inflection marker; (iii) elision of inflection marker (5-9, 12-13, 22); (iv) nasalization of tense marker /l/ (10-14).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of VP denoting some action in future. Its subject is always in the nominative case. It fully agrees in number, and person with its subject as in, /mē dyōl/ 'I will give'. Correlate 15 shows its overlapping with present indefinite. Structurally all correlates, except No. 15 are synthetic.

*Stylistic and areal preference:* Areal preferences are particularly noticeable with regard to the choice of futurative formative /l~n/.

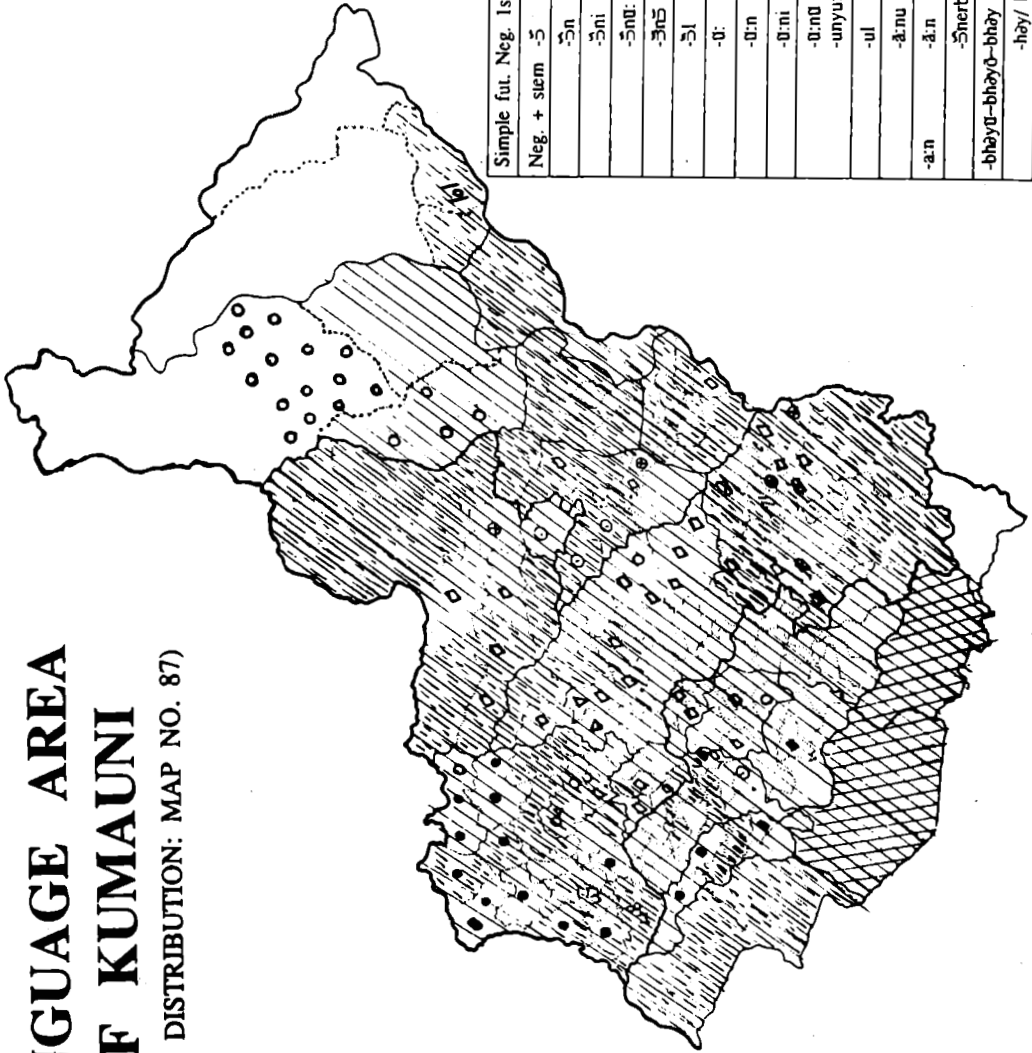
*Note:* (1) Its plural correlates have /-la~na/, as tense and inflection markers, as in /həm dyōla/ 'we shall give', (2) similarly second person sg. correlates are /dyāle/ and pl./dyāla/, third sg. /dyāl/ and 3rd pl. / dyāla/ < [dyāla].

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /dyōlo, dyōlu, dyōl, dyulo, dyulu, dyūl, dwelu/.

2. *Nepali* - /diūla, dyūla, dyōlo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 87)



Simple fut. Neg. 1st. sg.	
Neg. + stem	5
-n	o o
-ni	o o
-nu:	71
-ns	o o
-l	5, 6
-:	
-n	v v
-ni	o o
-nu	v v
-nyu:	
-ul	47
-nu	4, 10
-n	o o
-Snerbhay	o o
-bhay0-bhay0-bhay	o o
-hay/ hcy	■ ■
-nyu:-bhay0/ bhay0:	o o

**Table No. 98**  
**Areal Correlates of the Trans. Verb /bat-/ 'to tell' in Negative**  
**Future Tense, 1st. sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - (N) batō (see map), 2. + batū (1, 2, 5-9 etc.), 3. + b tau (Nep.), 4. + batan (32-39, 46-47, 107, 114), 5. + batūn (27-28, 35, 117), 6. + batōn (37, 54-55, 105-06, 123, 140, 146), 7. +batōnI (10), 8. + batūni (17), 9. +batōnō (62, 69, 72, 73, 135), 10. /11. + batunyū/ batōnyu (78), 12. + bUtōnyū (8), 13. + batōni (12, 75), 14. + batōl (5, 6), 15. + batōnū (101), 16. + bUtōnō (73), 17. - batūnbhyo (14), 18. + batūnbhāyō (60), 19. + batuner-bhāy (3, 4, 6-7, 11-12, 17, 23, 24, 27, 55-57, 78, 8, 97, 123, 126, 128, 132, 146-149), 20. + bhāyō (141), 21.+bhyū (62), 22. + hāy (32, 116, 120), 23. + hāy (123).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 87.

*Immediate constituents:* Negative particle + stem (bat) + markers (persons, number and gender, amalgamated into one).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) correlates No 12 and 16 show an ablaut in the stem vowel due to its sensitiveness to the back vowel /ō/ in the formative; (ii) glidialization (11-12, 17-23). Structurally, correlates 1-17 are simple & synthetic and 18-23 compounded and analytical.

*Syntactic usage:* These forms of the transitive verb /bat-/ 'to tell' are used as a part of VP. to negate some action in future, as in /mē nE batō/ 'I shall not tell'; otherwise /mē batōl 'I will tell' (assertive).

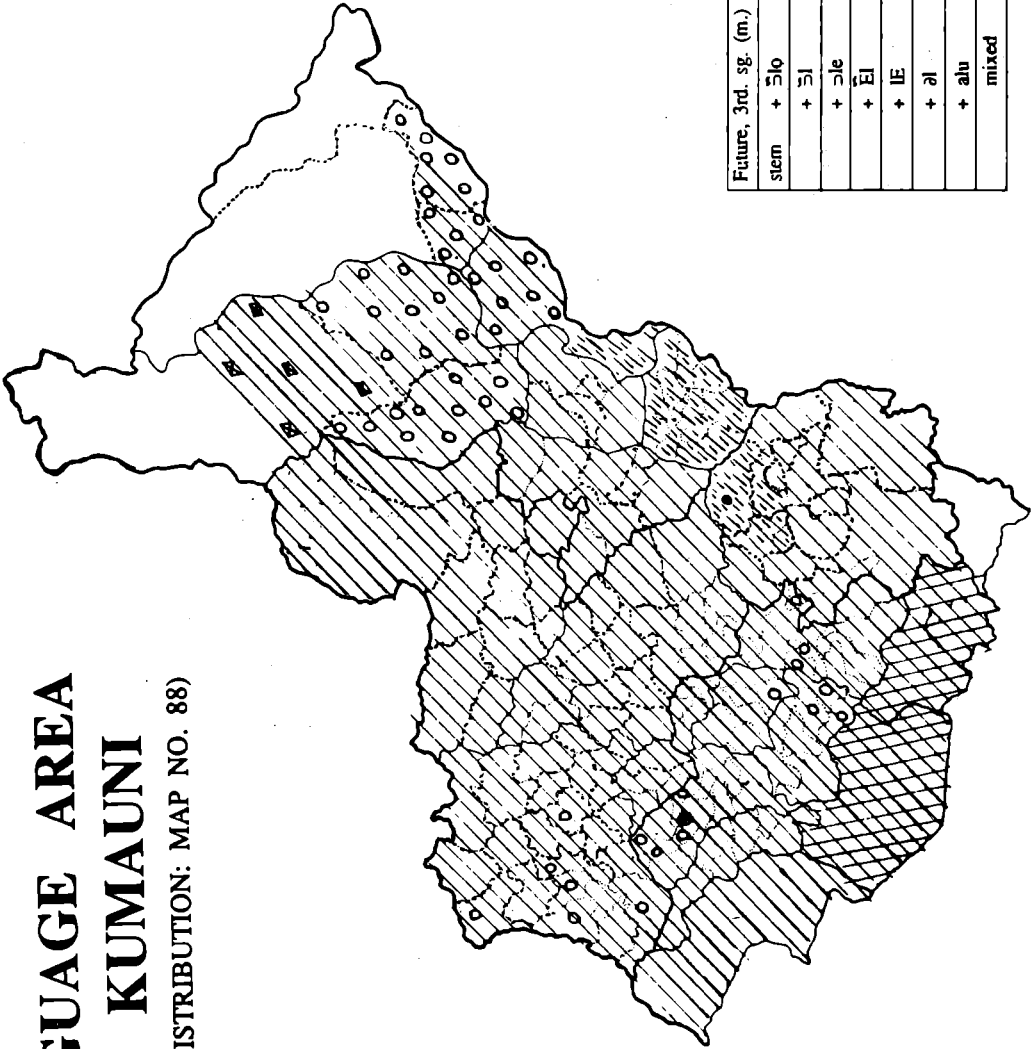
*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* Areas from No. 18-23 prefer to have the emphatic verb substantive to emphasise the negation. Correlates from 19-23 are used as modifiers of the subject, parallel to Hindi /wala/ as in /batane wala/

*Appendix:* For affirmative/assertive correlates see Table No. 97.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /batānu, batōnu, batōnya, batālu, batōlo, batōlu/  
 2. *Nepali* - /bhāndi nA, bhāndai nA, bhānne chāi nA, nA batōlo, nA batālu/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 88)



Future, 3rd. sg. (m.)	
stem + 5lo	
+ 5l	
+ 5le	
+ 5l̄	
+ 5l̄e	
+ 5l	
+ 5le	
+ 5l̄	
+ 5l̄e	
mixed	

**Table No. 99**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /rən-/ 'to remain', Future Tense,**  
**3rd sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. - rɔl (1-19, 22-29, 32-45, etc. see Map), 2. - rɔlo, (63, 69, 71, 79, 81-82, 85-88, 90), 3. - rɔlE (106), 4. - rɔle (69), 5. - rəlo (Nep.), 6. - rəl (43, 48, 101, 105, 110, 112, 137-140, 147-150), 7. - rēl (113), 8. - rəhəl (32, 35, 42, 46, 48), 9. - rəhɔl (22, 31, 33, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48-49, 69).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 88.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /rə-/ + tense marker /l-/ inflection marker /o~u~e/ (fut. 3rd. sg.)

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The notable phonological and morphophonemic aspects of these correlates are: (i) epenthesis of final vowel or colouring of it (1, 2, 4, 9); (ii) elision of the vowel inflection marker (1, 6-9).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used both as a finite or subsidiary to denote some action in future, both indefinite and continuous. When used as a finite verb it denotes indefinite state of action in future, as in /u jāl rɔl/ 'he will remain here', but when used as an auxiliary it denotes continuity of action in future tense, as in /kam hUnE rɔl/ 'work will continue to be done'/ u jāne rɔl/ 'he will go on'.

*Structural variations:* Structurally, forms of these correlates are synthetic one.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /rəl, rɔl, ralu, ra:lu, rəlu, rɔlu, rɔlo, rElu, rəhlu, rahlu. (also dyalu, dyalo, dyəlo, dyolo, delo)/.
2. *Nepali* - rɔhla. (also *dela* in *didela*), rɔlo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 89)

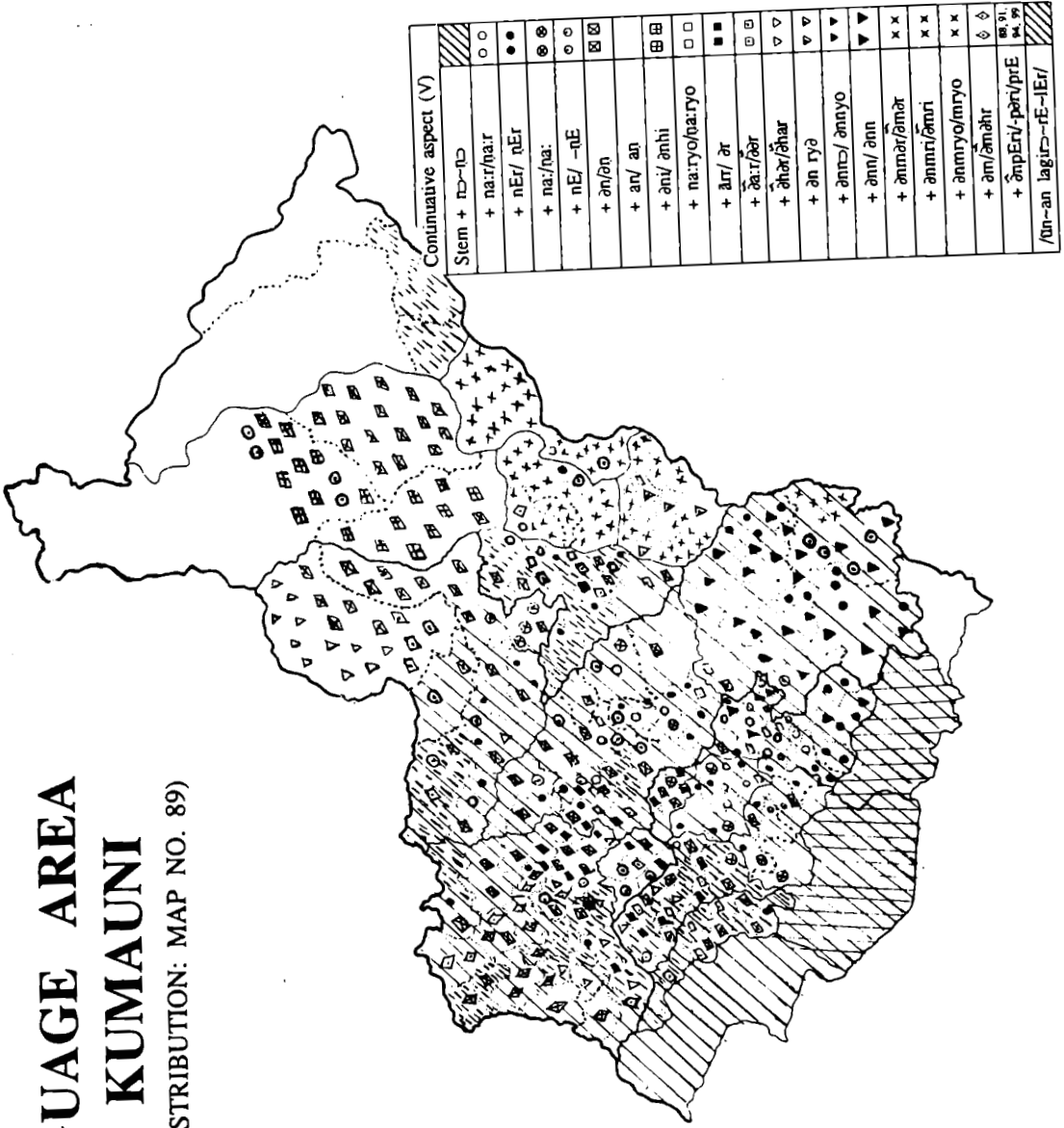


Table No. 100

**Areal Correlates of Present Continuous Tense, Indicative Mood,  
3rd Pl. Masc. of the Verb /ja-/ 'to go'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1- jənarçə (9, 13, 27, 62, 72, 137-141, 148-151), 2 - jənErçə (23, 34, 66, 75, 137, 139-42), 3 - jəchu (93), 4. jənEryə (37, 60, 137-38, 140, 142, 146, 149), 5 - jənaryə (12-14, 18, 78, 123, 141-43, 145, 150-51), 6 - jənEryū (19, 27), 7 - jənaryū (21, 37, 67, 90, 143-46, 149), 8 - jənaryə (95), 9 - jánrəyū (86), 10 - jənErī (78), 11 - jaŋəyū (1-8, 14, 17, 22-28, 32-35, 38, 45, 52-55, 78, 98, 113, 116, 118, 120, 123, 126), 12 - jaŋEyū (11, 14, 27, 35, 90, 91, 97, 108, 123), 13 - janEī (6, 12, 56, 123), 14 - janəī (N.T.), 15 - janEī (7, 12-13, 15-16, 34, 55, 75, 119, 139), 16 - jəəryū (29, 77, 107, 111, 118), 17 - jəaryū (56, 78, 117), 18 - jəaryə (14, 83, 97), 19 - jəarū (50), 20 - jārū (28, 34, 42, 48, 50, 58, 113, 115, 119, 125, 114), 21. jəroyū (110), 22 - jārīyū (97), 23 - jəhəryū (34, 40, 44, 48-49, 110, 112, 114), 24 - jāməyū (32, 33, 46), 25 - jamū (46-47), 26 - jāmU (42), 27 - jánmərəyū (79, 81, 83, 95), 28 - 'jámərəyū (83, 86, 91), 29 - 'jhánmərəyə (90, 91, 99), 30 - jháməryū (99), 31 - jánmərəyə (80-82-83, 87-95), 32 - jánmərəyə (87-88, 90-95), 33 - jəmərəyū (86, 90), 34 - jám-ryū (86, 90), 35 - jámhərəyə (36, 45, 48, 95), 36 - jəmhərəyū (31, 34, 83, 95), 37 - jánpErīyə (99), 38 - jánnoçə (61, 63, 71-74), 39 - jánnohū (70), 40 - jánnohə (62, 71, 72), 41 - 'jánhə (105), 42 - 'jánhū (104-05), 43 - jáhū (42), 44 - jánneyə (72), 45 - 'jánn yū (71), 46 - 'jánnəyə (25, 27, 57, 61, 65, 68-69, 72, 132, 145-46), 47 - 'jánnEyū (27, 57, 60-64, 69, 73, 78, 130, 144, 147), 48 - jənnayə (73), 49 - jánEyū (5, 25), 50 - jáŋū (58, 112, 116, 122), 51 - jānū (27, 55-56, 107, 128, 136), 52 - jaŋyū (1, 4, 6-7, 34, 78, 96-98, 137), 53 - janyū (11, 14, 24, 60, 143), 54 - janə (101), 55 - jhanū (106), 56 - 'jánlágIrəyə (44, 97, 101), 57 - jánlErəyū (35).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 89.

*Immediate constituents:* Principal stem + infinitive formative (n) + continuative durative formative /rə~Φ/ + predicative auxiliary (ch-, h-, Φ) + flecional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* These correlates show a number of phonological and morphophonemic phenomena in their respective areas: (i) some showing a linking sound in between the durative formative and continuative formative, and (ii) others showing emergence of an automatic glide between the auxiliary and the inflection

marker as a liaison to avoid a concatenation of consonants or vowels; (iii) variation in the quality of linking vowel due to its sensitiveness to its environments, (iv) a qualitative and quantitative reduction (ablaut) in the stem vowel under certain accentual environments.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a part of the predicate with an NP. in the nominative case to indicate the progressive state of action or of the action to be performed in the near future, as in /mē ghəɾjəɳEryō/ 'I am going home' which means 'I am in the process of going or I shall be going today, tomorrow or even day after tomorrow'. It shows agreement in number, gender and person with its subject.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* A number of areal preferences are attested in the above correlates, particularly with regard to the secondary verb (continuative formative). Some showing a preference for /rə-/ , others for /hə-/ and some for zero. There are areas which not only have the auxiliary /rə-/ but also augment one more auxiliary, viz., /lág-/ 'to begin'. Preferences for inflectional markers are also varied and obvious.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /jāno, jaɳū chō, -chū, -chaū, -chəū/.
  2. *Nepali* /jādAi chu, glɪ rɬhe chū, glɪɪ rɬhekoçhū; janehū, jhanɾɪɪryō/.



Table No. 101

**Areal Correlates of the progressive aspect of the verb /dekh-/ 'to see', 'to look', present indefinite tense, 2nd. pl.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1-dyākhnarcha (14, 18, 32, 72, 78, 123, 125, 130, 137-145, 148-151), 2-dyākhnarcha (13, 142), 3-dyākhnarcha (52), 4-dekhāncha (126), 5-dyākhnarcha (37), 6-dekhnocha (12, 13, 25, 27, 45, 56, 60, 62, 67, 69-78, 90, 101, 120, 128, 135-36, 141-43, 146, 149, 153), 7-dekhnocha (7, 11-12, 14, 17, 19, 22-28, 34-35, 54-57, 98, 107-08, 113, 116, 123, 128, 137, 140), 8-dekhānocha (17, 35, 36, 52, 54, 98), 9-dyākhnarcha (95), 10-dekhāncha (34, 44, 54, 97), 11-dekh nācha (38), 12-dekhñEcha (72, 112), 13- dekhInEcha 14-dekhārācha (118), 15-dekhānnocha (27, 34, 60-74, 144-47), 16-dekhnncha (62, 64, 71, 153), 17- dekhānnaha (71, 73), 18-dekhnaha (7, 69), 20-dekhāharcha (9, 44, 48-50, 93, 110-114), 21-dekhāārācha (14, 29, 43, 117-18), 22-dekhāārcha (42, 96), 23-dekhāāryocha (78), 24-dekhārācha (97, 125), 25-dekhānryocha (85), 26-dlkhāncha (46), 27-dekhāhEcha (42), 28-dekhāhācha (48), 29-dekhānpārIcha (99), 30-dhyākānpārIcha (90), 31-dekhānpErEcha (93), 32-dekhānpErchya (88), 33-dekhāmārācha (34), 34-dekhānmārcha (81-83, 87-95), 35-dekhānmācha (91-93), 35a-dekhāncha/dekhācha (39), 36-dekhānmārIcha (90), 37-dekhāmārIchya (90), 38-dekhānmrāyocha (80), 39-dhekānmāryocha (86), 40-dekhānlāgIrocha (35, 58, 87), 41-dekhānlErocha (40), 42-dekhñlErācha (107, 112...) 43-dekhānlErcha (35, 37, 107, 112, 119, 123, 130).

*Areal Distribution:* See above (also Map No. 89).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /dekh-/ + durative participle /-n/ ~N + liaison + auxiliary (continuative formative) + verb substantive (chā-, thā-, hā, φ) + flectional marker, agreeing in number and person with the subject.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The most notable phonological and morphophonemic aspects in these correlates are: (i) in certain correlates a liaison vowel is preferred in between the durative participle and the auxiliary, (ii) some correlates (15-16, 17, 19) show gemination of the durative participle /n/ before the formative vowel, (iii) occurrence of an automatic glide also is attested in certain areal correlates (25, 32, 37-39).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a constituent of a VP to indicate a progressive state of action in the present or in the past, as in /tUm dekhnar cha/ 'you are looking', /tUm dekhna chya/ 'you

were looking', seeing'. It shows an agreement with its subject, in number, gender and person, which is in the nominative case.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Besides preferences in auxiliaries and in verb substantive there are many areas which show a preference for the verbal stem /ca-/, instead of /dekh-/, other constituents being the same as noted for /dekh-/. In these correlates some correlate areas (33-39) have added a locative marker (m-) in between the durative participle /-n/ and the auxiliary /rə-/, consequently, giving rise to a verbal adjunct in which appearance of a liaison vowel to avoid a concatenation of /n/ + m + r, has separated this /m/ from /dekhənəm/ and has put it with the auxiliary which is realized as /dekhən - mər-/ with a clear juncture in between /n/ and /m/-

*Structural variations:* Structurally, the number of verbal components of these correlates varies between 2-4.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /dekhṇa chəi, dekhṇo chə, dekhṇa chəu, -cha, -chəwa, dekhṇu chəi/.
  2. *Nepali* - /herdli chlu, heri rɔheka chlu, heri rɔhe chlu, can pɛrɔhya/.

Table No. 102

**Areal Correlates of the Present Continuous Tense, Indicative Mood,  
third pl. masc. of the verb /kər-/ 'to do'**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1-kəmErī (19, 27, 28, 77-78, 81, 97, 137-42, 146), 2-kərnarī (1, 12-14, 18, 22, 78, 130, 137-145, 148-151), 3-kəmi: (12, 128), 4-kərnərē (141-42), 5-kəmī (11, 22, 56, 78, 123), 6-kərənṛāī (146), 7-kəmErāī (9, 34, 36, 60, 140-141, 144-45), 8-kəmEryā (14, 62-63, 71, 74, 90, 97, 143, 147), 9-kərənṛāī/kərərāī (7, 110), 10-kərənryān (85-86), 11-kərənī (5-7, 12, 23, 26-28, 34, 37, 39, 75, 98, 112, 116, 118, 123, 125, 128, 136), 12-kərən(n)āī (4-6, 7, 11, 13-17, 22-27, 32-38, 45, 54-57, 97-98, 107-108, 113, 122-23, 126, 132, 137, 144-146, 153), 13. kərāni (118), 14-kəmi (25, 25), 15-kərārī (58, 115, 125), 16-kərāni (118), 17-kərənē/ 18-kərnē (106), 19-kəmEī (7, 25, 75, 119, 135, 145), 20-kənyā (101), 21-kərənaryan (95-97), 22-kənEī (7, 25, 75, 119, 135), 23-kərnin (5), 24-kənnin (3), 25-kərəmāī (33), 26-kərəmī (46-47), 27- kəmāī (33, 46), 28- kərəməryan (83, 86, 91, 95), 29- kərnməryān (90), 30-kərənməryān (79, 81-83, 87-91, 93, 95), 31- kərəməryan (85), 32-kəməryān (86), 33- kərəryan (78), 34- kərərāī/-rī (48, 50, 54, 111, 117), 35- kəhərāī (48), 36-kərəhərāī (40, 42, 44, 48-49, 112-114), 37-kərəmhərāī (32-38, 43, 46, 48), 38. kərEhē (42), 39-kərnhən (105), 40-kənhən/kəhən (105), 41-kəmyān (60-73), 42-kərənnyan (69-73), 43-kərnīyan (63, 74), 44- kərənīlāgīrāī (24, 44, 95), 45-Kərən (n)lāgīryan (97, 101), 46-kərən(n)IErāī (34, 35, 37, 40-43, 75, 110, 113, 119-125, 128), 47-kərən(n) IErī (113, 118), 48-kərənneMechən (96), 49-gərənṛEryan (93), 50-gərənṛEran (93), 51-kərnṛəryan (99).

*Areal Distribution:* See above (also Map No. 89).

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /kər/+ durative participle /-n/ ~N + liaison + auxiliary (continuative formative) + flecional marker, agreeing in number, gender and person with the subject.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* Notable points of phonological and morphophonemic aspects are: (i) sensitiveness of liaison vowel which may come either after the stem or the particle /-n/; (ii) gemination of durative particle before a vocalic suffix (flecional marker); (iii) emergence of glides in certain areas.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a constituent of a VP indicating progressive state of the action in the present tense.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* As usual areal preferences are noticeable with regard to the auxiliary, inflection markers, and infixation of locative marker /-m/. (for details see table No. 100-101).

*Structural variations:* Structurally, forms of correlates 3, 5, 11-20, 21-27 are simple and all others are compounded, involving verbal components from 2-3.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali-* /kəma-, kəna-chē, -chən, -chin, -china, -chī/.
  2. *Nepali-* /gɑrdʌi chʌn, gɑri rʌheka chʌn, gɑri rʌhe chʌn, gɑrdan, gadd pʌiryɑn/.

**Table No. 103**  
**Areal Correlates of Progressive Aspect of the Verb**  
**/bUl/~bol/~ 'to call'.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1-bUlōnar/bwəlōnar- (12, 18, 27, 138-151), 2-bUlōnEr- (5, 9, 13, 40, 75, 137-153), 3-bUlōnar-(95), 4-bUlōnre- (85, 86), 5-bUlōn᳚- (5, 62, 69-72, 86, 135, 145), 6-bUlōn᳚- (66), 7-bolōn᳚- (69, 72, 135), 8-bwəlōn᳚- (71), 9-bolōnn᳚- (73), 10-bəlunn᳚- (71), 11-bəlōnn᳚- (61-62, 144, 147), 12-bUlōna- (12, 18, 19, 128, 142), 13-bUlōnā- (7, 16-17), 14-bUlōn᳚- (4-7, 11, 14, 19, 22-27, 34-35, 52, 55, 56, 60, 98, 101, 118, 123, 126, 128, 130, 144), 15-b᳚lōno- (6, 17, 26, 62, 110, 112-13, 120, 137), 16-bUlō᳚- (1-6, 14, 17, 22-28, 32, 35, 52-57, 60, 77, 98, 114, 118, 120, 125), 17-bwəlō᳚- (122), 18-bəlō᳚-(62, 108), 19-bəlō᳚- (44, 118, 125), 20-bulōn᳚- (54, 67), 21- bUlōnryō- (80), 22-bUlōnaryō- (28, 78, 83, 113, 116), 23-bolōaryō- (14, 74), 24-bwəlōnaro- (141, 148, 150), 25-bUlāhā- (33, 42, 48), 26-bUlāhar- (7, 40, 44, 48, 49, 110, 112), 27- bUlōār- (96), 28-bUlōn (hī)- (105), 29-bolō᳚o (hya)- (3), 30-bUlōnI(ha)- (104, 106), 31-bUlōār᳚- (97), 32-bUlāmā- (31-35, 38, 42, 46), 33-bUlā᳚mE- (46-47), 34-bəlōmāre (93), 35-bUlāmār- (36, 38, 43, 87), 36-bUlonmāryō (83), 37-bUlōmār- (90), 38-bUlōnmār (74, 81-83, 87, 90-91, 95), 39-bolōmār- (82), 40-bUlonmārI-(87, 88, 90-91), 41-bolō᳚māro- (86), 42-bulō᳚māryō-(85), 43-bUlōnmāsyō (79), 44-bUlonpārI(thya) (99), 45-bUlōnpErE (chya) (93), 46-bUlōnpErI (chya)- (88), 47-bUlō᳚ lā᳚r᳚- (12-14, 22-24, 34-36, 45, 50, 58, 63, 78, 95, 97, 107, 110, 123, 128, 136), 48-bUlō᳚lEro- (118), 49-bUlā᳚lEr- (111, 113, 115), 50-bUlanlā᳚rE (thya) (101), 51-bUlanlErE- (32, 37), 52-bəlhanlar᳚- (48).

*Areal Distribution:* As in Map No. 89 and also see above.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /bol/~bul-/ + transitive formative /a᳚᳚᳚ + durative formative + /n/ + liaison (a᳚E᳚᳚᳚/Φ + continuative formative auxiliary (rə - Φ) + flectional marker, agreeing in number and person with the subject, ch᳚ (participle base of existential verb).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The verbal stem shows ablaut, glidial or non-glidial, under various accentual tendencies. In certain correlates (21-23, and 42-43) emergence of a glide also is attested. There are some (8-11) which attest gemination of the durative participle /n/ before the flectional marker. Many of the variants also show emergence of a linking sound to avoid a non-preferred concentration of consonants.

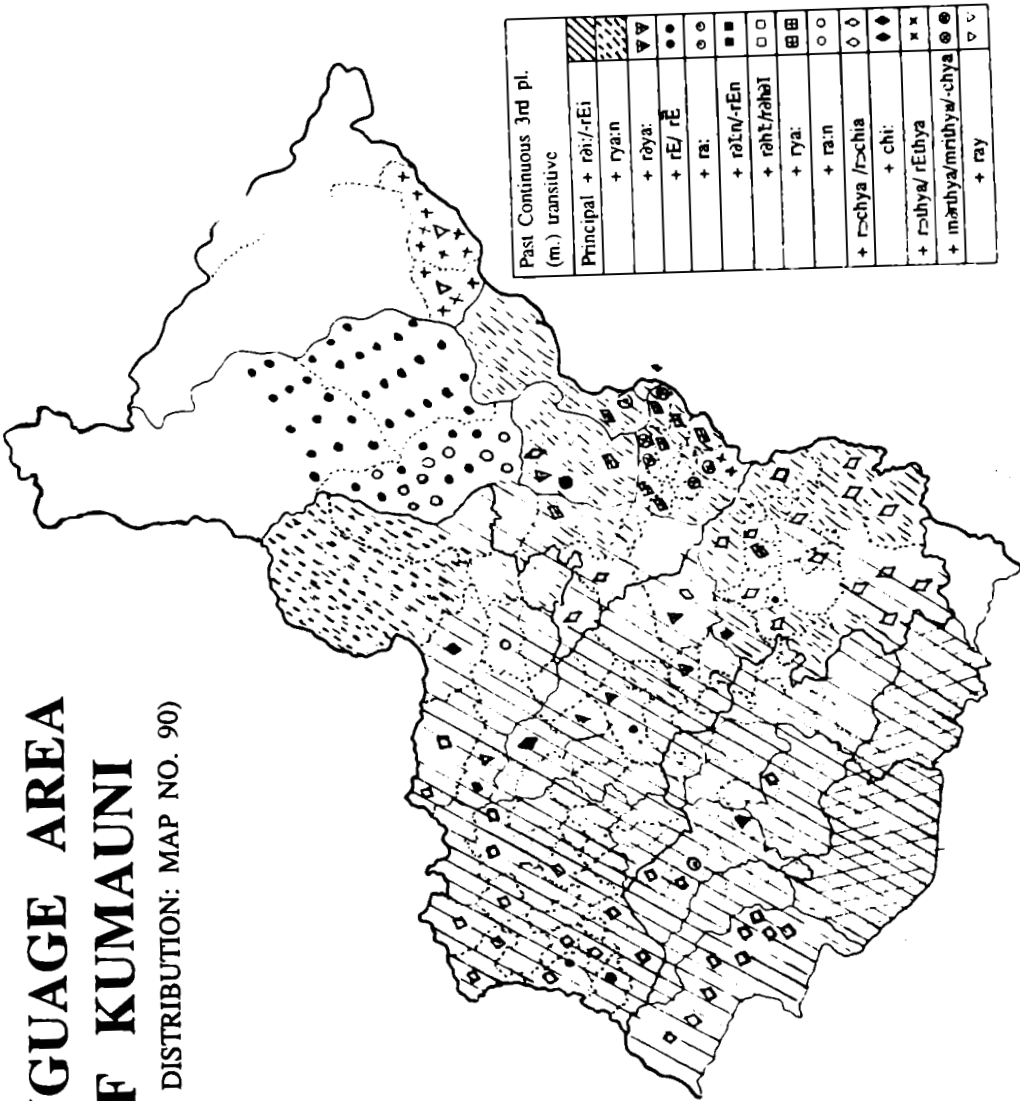
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a constituent of a predicate to indicate progressive state of action in the present or in the past, as in /tu bolũᅇchE/ 'thou art calling' or /tu bolũ chye/ 'thou wert calling', the agreement with the subject being indicated by the auxiliary verb /chə-/ and by the flectional marker.

*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* Areal preferences are attested with regard to the vocalic element in durative formative and the auxiliary. Correlates 32-43 add a locative marker /-m/, before the continuative auxiliary /-rə/, thus have become verbal adjunct in these variants.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /bulāᅇa-, bUlōᅇa-, bulōᅇo-, (-chaya, -cha, chəi, -tho)/
  2. *Nepali* - /bolaudli (thiis), bulai rᅇheko- (-thiyo), bUlōᅇpᅇirli/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 90)



Past Continuous 3rd pl. (m.) transitive	
Principal + rāi/-rEi	▨
+ rya:n	▧
+ rōya:	▽
+ rE/ rĒ	●
+ ra:	○
+ rāi/n/-rEn	■
+ rāht/rāht	□
+ rya:	▣
+ ra:n	○
+ r-cha /r-chia	◇
+ chi:	◆
+ r-ṭhya/ rĕhya	×
+ m-ṭhya/m-ṭhiya/-chya	⊗
+ ray	▽

## Table No. 104

## Areal Correlates of the Auxiliary Verb /rə-, rəh-/ 'to remain' Past Continuous Tense, Progressive Aspect, 3rd pl.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. +rəya (14, 17, 18, 27, 95), 2. + rəī (4-19, 22-29, 34, 45, 48, 54-58, 75, 77, 98, 107-08, 110-112, 115-153), 3. +rEI (13, 17, 24, 27, 29, 37, 42, 43, 75, 112-13, 128, 138-40, 144), 4. +rəīn (6), 5. +rēn (3), 6. +ray (6, 101), 7. +ryān (1, 4, 8, 10, 13, 55, 60-65, 69-74, 78, 81-99, 147), 8. +rya (71, 79, 80, 83, 87, 88, 90, 93, 97), 9. +rE (24, 60, 105-06), 10. +ra (90, 95, 114), 11. +rɔ (11, 12, 17, 23, 42, 149), 12. +rəhī (17, 35, 46, 111, 113), 13. + rəhāī (5, 31-35, 38-40, 42, 46, 48-49, 118, 136), 14. +rɔchī (62-66, 71, 95), 15. + rɔchya (69, 72), 16. + lEɔchī (5, 75), 17. + mərəthya (82, 86), 18. + mərīthya (88), 19.+ mərīchya (91), 20. + rəhəmɔchī (33), 21. - (kánna) rEchya (61), 22. -(kánna)-rEchya (86).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 90.

*Immediate constituents:* Continuative stem /rə~rəh/ + inflection marker (past tense, third person, singular number).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* The notable aspect of morphophonemic is emergence of an automatic glide before a suffixal back vowel (1, 6-8, 15, 17-19, 21-22).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of VP with third person, plural number as its subject in the past tense. It may be used as a finite verb or constitute as an auxiliary to a compound verb in continuative sense, as in /khánErəya/ 'kept on eating'.

*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* For regular correlates, stylistic variations and areal preferences see table No. 75.

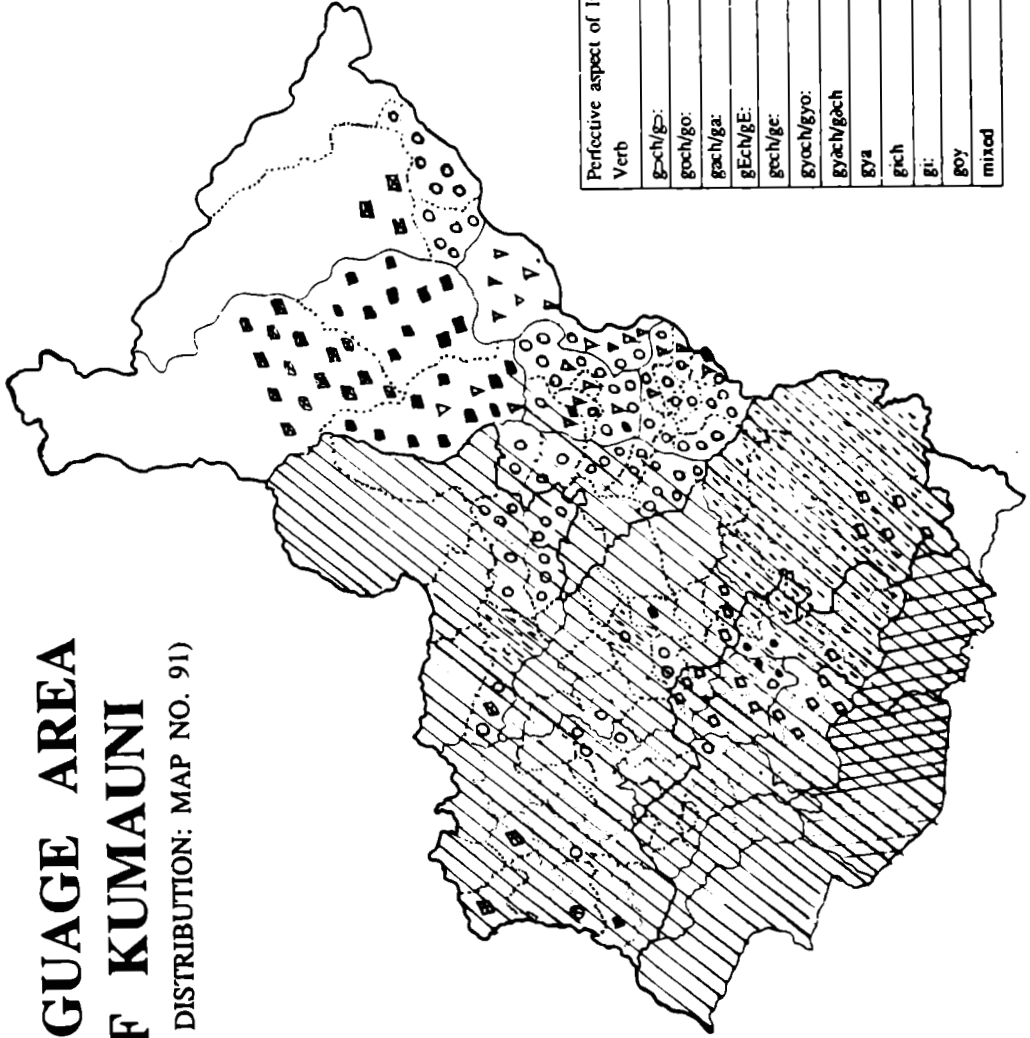
*Structural variations:* Structurally forms of correlates 1-13 are simple and 14-23 compounded.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /chaya, cháy, ləgya rEn, raya, rəyya, rəya, rəi, rə, rɛni rēn/-  
2. *Nepali* - /rʌhe, thie, - thyo, -thya/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 91)



Perfective aspect of Intras.	
Verb	Symbol
gach/ga:	□ (diagonal lines)
goch/go:	□ (horizontal lines)
gach/ga:	□ (vertical lines)
gEch/gE:	■ (grid)
gach/ge:	□ (circle)
gyochn/gyo:	○ (circle)
gyochn/goch	● (circle)
gya	□ (circle)
gich	▽ (triangle)
gi:	▼ (triangle)
goy	◻ (square)
mixed	◻ (cross-hatch)

Table No. 105

**Areal Correlates of the Verb /ho- + ja-/ 'to become', Past Perfect Tense (suppletive) 3rd sg.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1- \*hE~hə!~hwe gɔch (46, 61-75, 86, 95, 143-148), 2-hwe~hE~hə goch (5, 6, 11, 17, 22, 23, 27, 31-49, 52, 54, 56, 60-66, 75, 95, 107, 110-12, 115, 119-20, 123, 128, 143-46), 3- hwegIch (82, 87-88, 93, 95, 99, 105), 4-hwegEch (87, 93), 5-hwe~hE gach (67, 136, 151), 6-hEgəch (143, 145), 7-hE~hwe ga (19, 61, 125, 128, 130, 135, 142, 150-51), 8-hwē~hE~hə go (1-7, 11-18, 22-29, 34-58, 60, 71, 75, 107-08, 110-119, 122-26, 132, 137, 141-146, 149), 9-hE~hwe go (7, 14, 62, 64....), 10-hwe ge (105-06), 11-hEgE (13, 47, 104, 105), 12-hE~hwe gyoch (4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 28, 43, 55, 79-87, 91, 93, 97, 123, 140), 13-hE~hwe gyo (4, 8, 9, 25, 43, 77-81, 86-87, 95-98, 101), 14-hwe gyəch (140), 15- hwe~hE gya (46), 16-hEgoy (6, 32, 38), 17-hEgi (90).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 91 and also above.

*Immediate constituents:* Primary stem /ho/ + perfective marker /i/ + auxiliary stem (suppletive) /gə/ + inflection marker + tense marker /chə~φ/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic aspects may be said: (i) the stem vowel of the principal verb is assimilated with the perfective marker /i/, in some areas a glidal /w/ also has risen in this environment. (ii) The stem vowel of the auxiliary shows ablaut for the inflection of number, gender, and person, due to sensitivity of the vowel system, (iii) the inflection marker is infact epenthesised here. (iv) In many cases (7-11, 13, 15-17) the copula is elided.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, verb root /ho-/ is used as principal and the root /gə-/ as an auxiliary to denote the perfective aspect of the verb in the present tense, as in /kam hE goch/ 'the work is done' /u nhEgo/ 'he has gone'.

*Structural variations:* Structurally, all the forms are compound one, but correlates 1-6, 12 & 14 are 3 member compounds and others 2 member compounds.

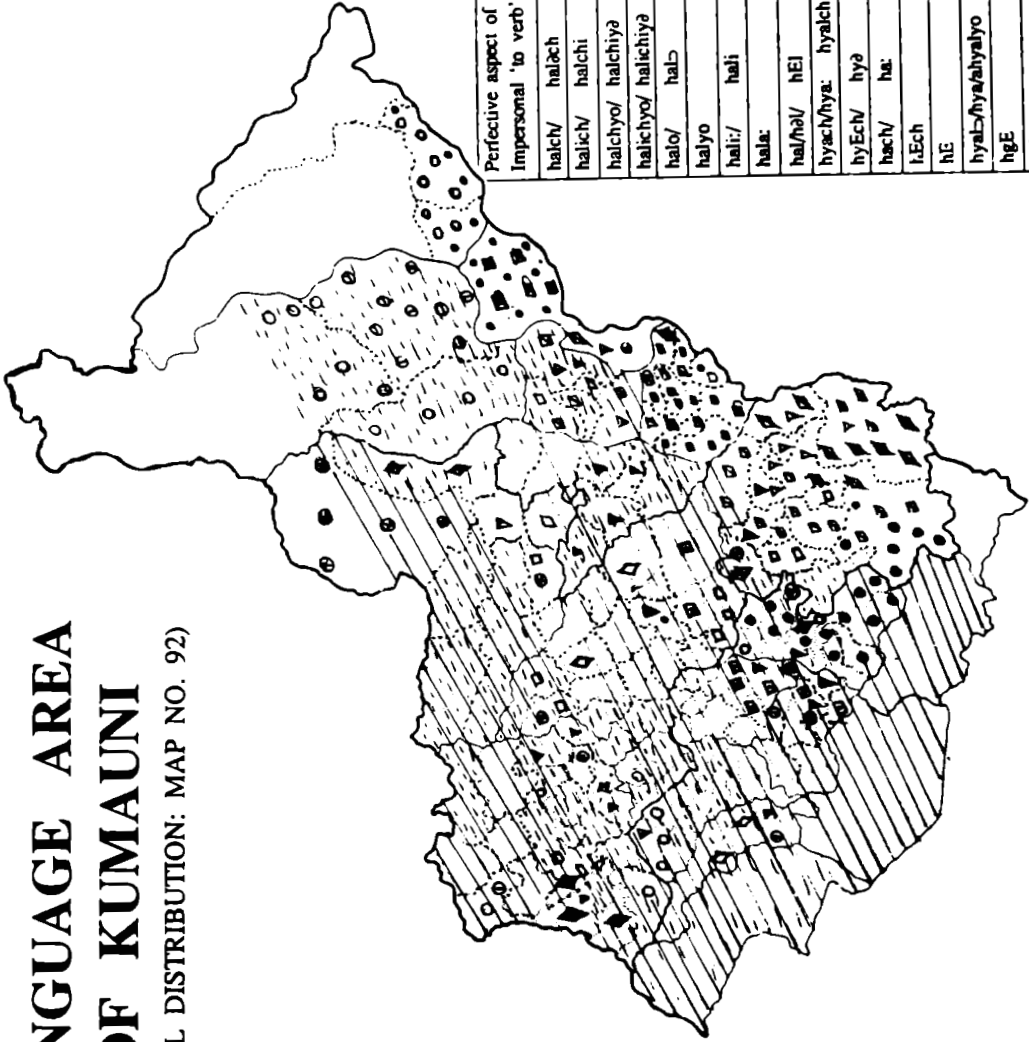
*Appendix:* Areal correlates of third person, singular number, feminine gender are: /hwe~hE~hə + gya~gyo~gəy~gE~ge~gEchi~gEch~gech~gIch~gyech/.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali -/hwe-gi, -ge, -gE, -gai, -gay, -gaya, -gyaya/.

2. Nepali - /bhli sAkyo, bhli gAe ko chA/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 92)



Perfective aspect of Impersonal 'to verb'	Symbol
halch/ haläch	□ □
halich/ halchi	⊗ ⊗
halchyo/ halchiya	■ ■
halchyo/ halchiya	■ ■
halo/ halo	▨ ▨
halyo	● ●
hali/ hali	⊙ ⊙
hala:	○ ○
hal/hal/ NEI	○ ⊙
hyach/hya: hyalch	⊗ ⊗
hyEch/ hyə	▼ ▼
hasch/ ha:	▼ ▼
l.Ech	▽ ▽
NE	▨ ▨
hyal=hya/hyalyo	◇ ◇
hgE	◆ ◆
yal	◆ ◆

**Table No. 106**  
**Areal Correlates of the Perfective Indicative Auxiliary**  
**Verb /hal-/~ha-/ 'have'**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. + háləch (19, 95), 2. + hálɔchyo (90), 3. + hálIch (81, 82, 86, 99), 4. +hálch (9, 22-23, 42-43, 61-75, 79, 83, 86-91, 93-95, 141-42), 5. +hálchI (80, 82), 6. + hálchyo (85), 7. hálchyə (83), 8. +hálIchyo (90), 9. +hálIchyə (83, 86, 88), 10. +hálIchya 11. +hálo (3, 4, 23, 27, 50, 75, 93, 98, 118-19, 128), 12. + 'hályo (14, 73, 87, 90, 101, 144-153), 13. + 'hálɔ (1-7, 11-17, 22-39, 45, 52, 54, 56-57, 78, 95, 97-98, 107, 116, 118, 123, 125-132, 137-38, 140-42, 145, 151), 14. + 'háli (1, 9, 23, 60, 90, 137, 139, 146-47), 15. + 'hála (32, 119, 136), 16. + 'hále (123), 17. +hEl (38, 125), 18. + 'hál (32, 34, 48, 55-56, 73, 101, 106, 108, 110, 143, 148), 19. +hEl (104-05), 20. + 'hálthyo (90), 21. + 'hálIthyo (90), 22. + 'hyálchyə (62-63), 23. + 'hyálch (65, 71), 24. + 'hyách (42), 25. +hyEch (93), 26. 'hyá (17, 18, 33, 135, 138, 140-42), 27. +hyE (8, 52, 96), 28. + 'háchi (97), 29. 'hách (44, 46, 78, 91, 150), 30. +hEch (42, 85, 90-91, 110, 120), 31. + 'hE (2-7, 14, 22, 28-29, 34-37, 40, 44-45, 48, 54-60, 73-78, 91, 95, 105, 110-114, 119, 122, 148), 32. +ha (13, 64, 71, 75, 137, 142), 33. (kE) 'hác (48), 34. +yal (46-47), 35. +IIhE (115), 36. +gE (42, 55, 60, 148), 37. +ghE (2).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 92.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem (hál~hə~gE) + perfective formative + auxiliary (chə) + flectional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* (i) The perfective formative /i~I~ɔ~ə/ is elided in some areas, (ii) in others the aux. is dropped, (iii) there are certain areas which attest the glidal tendencies both in the principal stem (22-27) as well as in the auxiliaries (6-10, 20-22). (iv) The vowel of the principal stem shows ablaut in many correlates. (v) In 24-33 the /-l/ of /hál/ and (vi) in 34-35 the aspiration is elided in a quick tempo of speech.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of compound verb indicating the completed aspect in all tenses, the principal verb occurring immediately before it with formative /i/. Its subject is always in the agentive case in the present and past tenses or in presumptive perfect, and it agrees in number and gender with its object, as in /mēl kam kərl háləch/ 'I have done the work' (pres.) /wil bhat khE 'hál chi/ 'he had eaten rice' (past); /wil kam kəri hál hUnEl/ 'he might have done the work' (presumption). In this case it has /hun-/ instead of

/ch-/ as its auxiliary; but its subject is always in the nominative case when it indicates some action in the future, as in, /mE kəɾI hálUl/ 'I will have done'.

*Stylistic variations:* Areal preferences are particularly noticeable with regard to the auxiliaries. Certain showing preference for /thə-/ instead of /chə-/. The principal stem /hə-/ also is replaced with /gə-~ghə-/ in some variants (37-38).

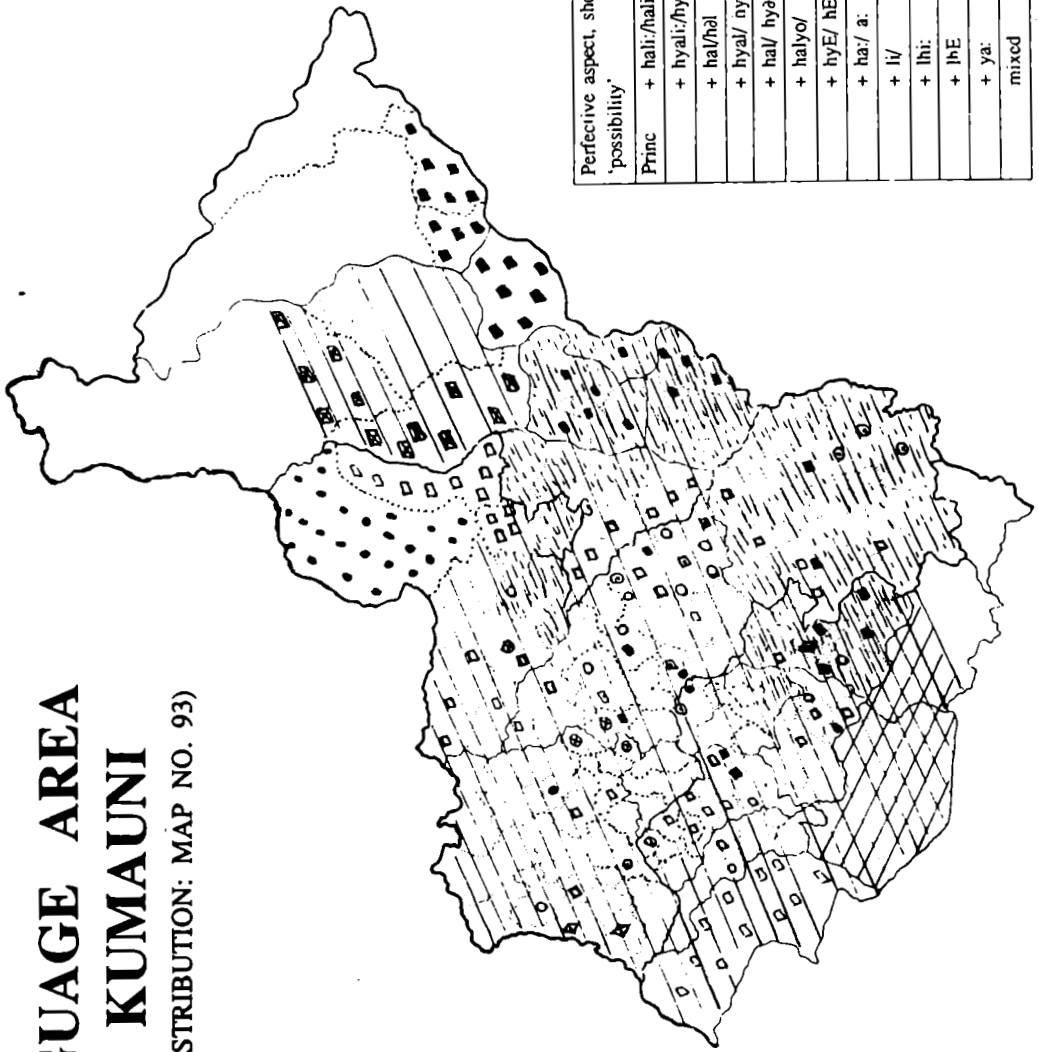
*Note:* For past tense correlates see table No 69 and for correlates occurring with /hUn-/ indicating possibility see table No 108.

*Structural variations:* Structurally, the aux. /chə-/ is dropped in the forms of the correlates 11-19, 26-27, 31-32, 34-37 and is maintained fully or partially in others.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /(kəɾi) áləc , ál, -yale, -hyála,-hyáli, -hyál, -le, -li/.
  2. *Nepali*- /(gʌɾi) sʌkyo, sʌkye, halyo, halya/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 93)



Perfective aspect, showing 'possibility'	
Princ	+ hali/hali
	+ hyali/hyali
	+ ha/hal
	+ hyal/ nya
	+ hal/ hyal
	+ halyo/
	+ hyE/ hE
	+ ha/ a:
	+ li/
	+ lhi:
	+ lhE
	+ ya:
	mixed

**Table No. 107**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /di-/ 'to give', Past Perfect Tense**  
**(Intensive Aspect) 3rd. plural (Impersonal)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. dIdI (13, 14, 18 etc. see map), 2. dIdI (25, 75), 3. dedeI (5-7, 11-12, 17, 23, 27-28, 31-35, 40, 46-49, 52, 54, 75, 107, 110-114, 141-42), 4. Didya (87, 95), 5. didIya (71), 6. didIyan (60-97), 7. dIdyan (1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 55, 67, 71-78, 85, 91-98, 147), 8. dIdIyān (90), 9. dIdIna (80), 10. dihālya (88, 90, 101), 11. dihālI (4, 7, 8, 12, 14, 17-18, 22-24, 27-29, 35, 38, 45, 50, 52, 55, 93, 107, 117-18, 123, 128, 135-38, 142-49) 12. dihālIn (3, 99), 13. dihElI/dihElē (6, 23, 125), 14. dihEl (104-105), 15. dihālyan (1, 14, 68-72, 79, 85-91), 16. dihāl (2, 6, 17, 28, 55, 101, 105-06, 111, 128, 141), 17. dihyālI (16, 22, 34-35, 43-44, 136, 139, 153), 18. dighEl (2).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 93 and also above.

*Immediate constituents:* Principal verb /di-/ + Auxiliary verb /di--hāl/ + tense marker (including number, gender and person).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic tendencies of these correlates are (i) glidalization of past formative /i/ (5-8, 10, 15); (ii) glidalization of the stem vowel of the auxiliary (15); (iii) amalgamation of tense marker with the stem vowel (1-2, 11, 13, 17, 18); (iv) elision of tense marker (14-16), ablaut in the stem (Aux.) vowel (10-19).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a first component of a compound verb, denoting intensive perfective aspect of the verb 'to give' in the past tense. Its subject is always in the agentive case, showing agreement with the number of the object only, as in, /mēl~twEl~corōl šəb rUpē didI~didyan/ 'I, you, thieves have given~gave all rupees'.

*Regional preferences:* Regional preferences are noticeable with regard to the auxiliary, correlates from 1-9 showing preference for /di/, and from 10-19 for /hāl/, and 20 for /ghE/.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /dedI, deden, dedIn, dedIni, dilya, dilyān, dilIn/.
  2. *Nepali* - /didiyo, didya, pharkai die, dihalya, dihalye/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 94)

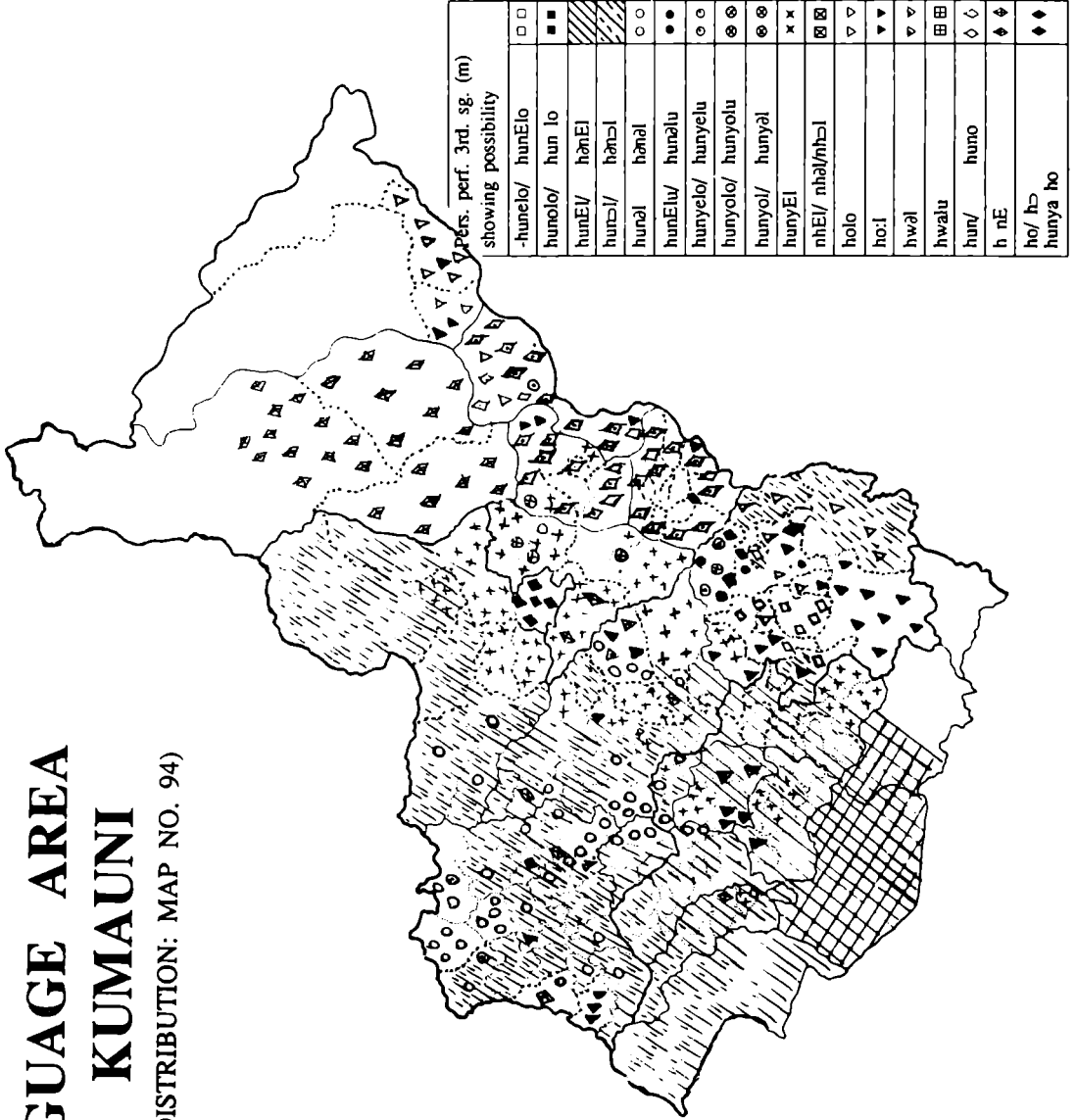




Table No. 108

**Areal Correlates of /hu~ho/ 'to become' in Presumptive Perfect Tense, Third Person, Singular Number, Masculine Gender.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. hUnelo (71), 2. hUnolo (69, 71, 85), 3. hUnol (24, 123), 4. hUnelo (70, 72), 5. hənEl (5, 7, 13, 34, 37, 75, 96, 114), 6. hənɔl (5, 6, 14, 16 etc. see map) 7. hənəl (5, 6, 12, 18 etc. see map) 8. hUnəl (7, 27, 35, 71, 97), 9. hUnɔl (2, 3, 4, 7 etc. see map), 10. hUnElU (62, 71, 78, 97), 11. hUnElo (61, 64), 12. hUnɔlo (85), 13. hUnəlu (69), 14. hUnyol (u) (95), 15. hUnyElo (61, 69), 16. hUnyolo (78), 17. hUnyol (13), 18. hUnyel (4, 8, 9, 13-17, 23, 25, 60, 66, 75, 77-78, 90-91, 95, 97, 120, 128, 130, 135-36, 153), 19. hUnyelU (99), 20. hunyo (146), 21. hUnyaho (62), 22. nhol (54), 23. nhəl (10, 33, 34, 75, 76, 118), 24. hwəl (12, 55, 140-41), 25. hwalU (46), 26. holo (62-63, 68, 99, 101). 27. hōl (12, 14, 43, 60, 62, 72-73, 87, 90-91, 96, 101, 132), 28. hál (106), 29. hUnɔ (93), 30. hUnu (83, 85, 86), 31. hUnyəl (98), 32. hənE (104-05), 33. hɔ (91), 34. ho (43, 79), 35. hunEl (1, 7, 12-14, 17, 19, 23, 28, 34-35, 45, 60, 65, 71-75, 78, 107, 110-113, 122, 135-153).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 94.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem + presumptive perfective formative + futurate suffix + flectional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* The most notable phonological and morphophonemic features of these correlates are : (i) sensitiveness of linking vowel to the vowel of the flectional marker, presumably its proto-correlate had no linking vowel +hUnlo, (ii) epenthesis of flectional marker; (iii) elision of inflection marker (3, 5-8, 20, 29-30, 32-34); (iv) quantitative and qualitative reduction of inflection marker (1-2, 11-13, 15-16, 19, 25-26); (v) glidalization of presumptive formative (14-21); (vi) glidalization of stem vowel (24-25); (vii) elision of stem vowel (22-23); (viii) elision of futurate marker (20-21, 29, 30, 32-32); (ix) elision of the presumptive formative (24-28, 33, 34).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of the predicate, may be as finite verb or as a subsidiary, indicating presumption of completion of some action in the past, including immediate past. When used as a constituent part of a verbal phrase its subject is always in the agentive case, and it agrees with its object in number and gender for grammatical flection, as in /Unōl səb kam kərIhál hUnEl/ (possibly)

'they may have finished all work'. But it may be used independently to indicate presumption of some action, as in, /u wāi hUnEI/ 'he may be there' (possibly) and in this use it agrees with its subject for number, gender and person.

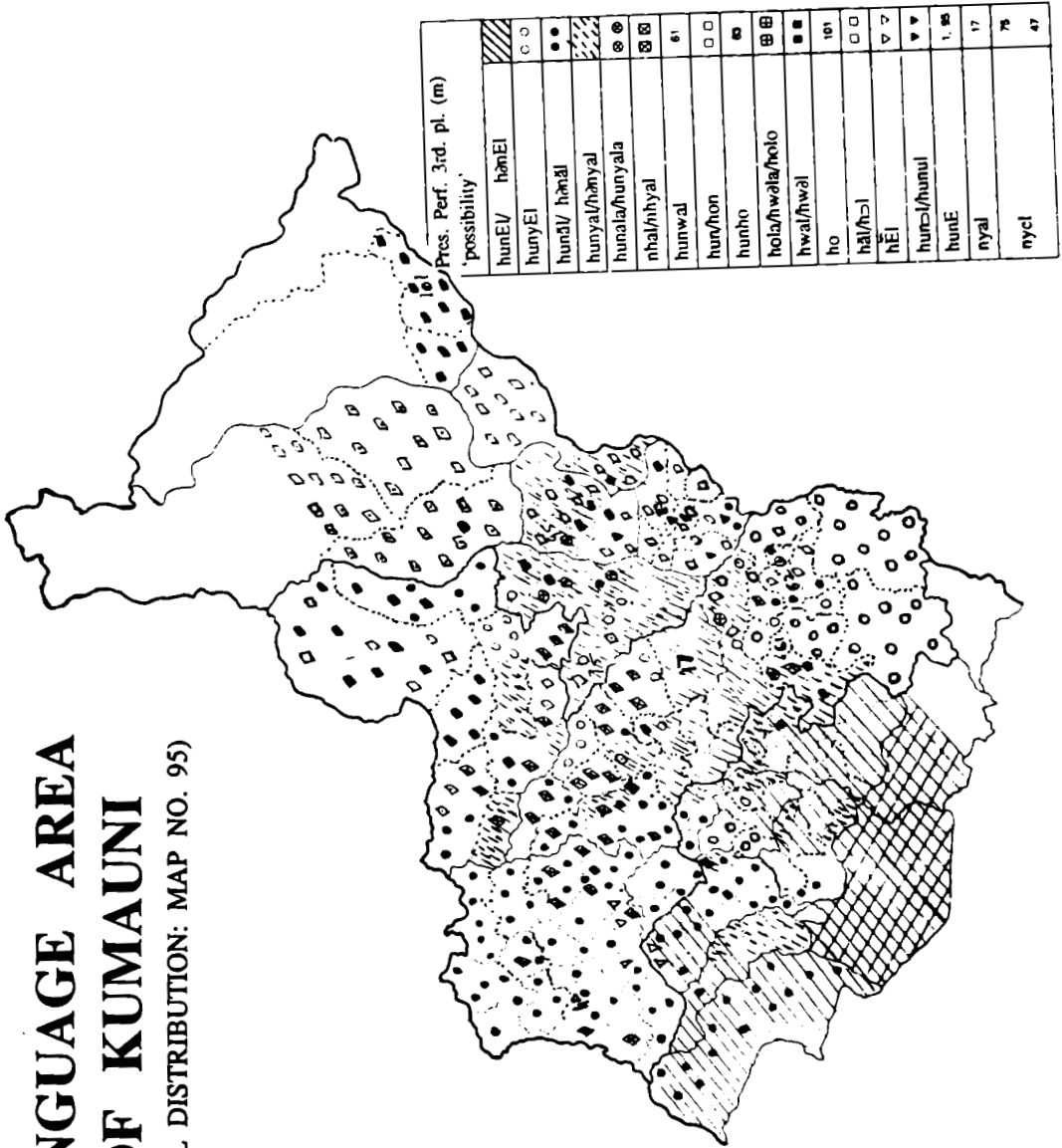
*Note:* For plural correlates see table No. 109. In this too, morphophonemic features and syntactical usages are similar to that discussed above for singular correlates, when used in the sense of presumptive perfect tense, it agrees with its object, but when used in the sense of simple presumptive, it agrees with its subject, as in /ū tUmōkē cEra hUnEI/ 'they may be waiting for you'.

*Structural variations:* Structurally, all forms, except of 21, are simple and synthetic.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* - /holo, holu, hol, hwəlo, whəlu, whəl/.
  2. *Nepali*- /hola, holo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 95)



**Table No. 109**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb /hUn-/ 'to become'**  
**Presumptive Perfect Tense, 3rd, pl. Masc.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. hUnEl (11, 17, etc.), 2. hUnyEl (8, 12-13 etc.), 3. hUnála (95, 97), 4. hənál (5-7, 14 etc.), 5. hUnyál (4, 6, 11 etc), 6. hUnál (2, 14, 23 etc.), 7. hənEl (5, 32, 71 etc.), 8. nhEl (12, 35), 9. hUnyála (61, 72, 96), 10. hUnyálo (69), 11. hənəl (46, 48), 12. nhəl (46), 13. nhál (5-7, 12 etc.), 14. nhálay (17), 15. nhyEl (10), 16. nyál (17), 17. nəl (42), 18. hUnUlo (62), 19. hUnho (83), 20. hUnwal (61), 21. ho (101), 22. hUn (62, 79-95, 99), 23. hwəla (46-47), 24. 'hwál (1-3, 7, 13, 24, 55, 65, 72, 73, 89-93, 97, 101, 105, 115), 25. 'hwəl (105), 26. hēl (40, 44, 55), 27. hál (5, 9, 14, 75, 105-06), 28. hUnōn (93), 29. hUnun (81, 85, 96), 30. hUnē (95).

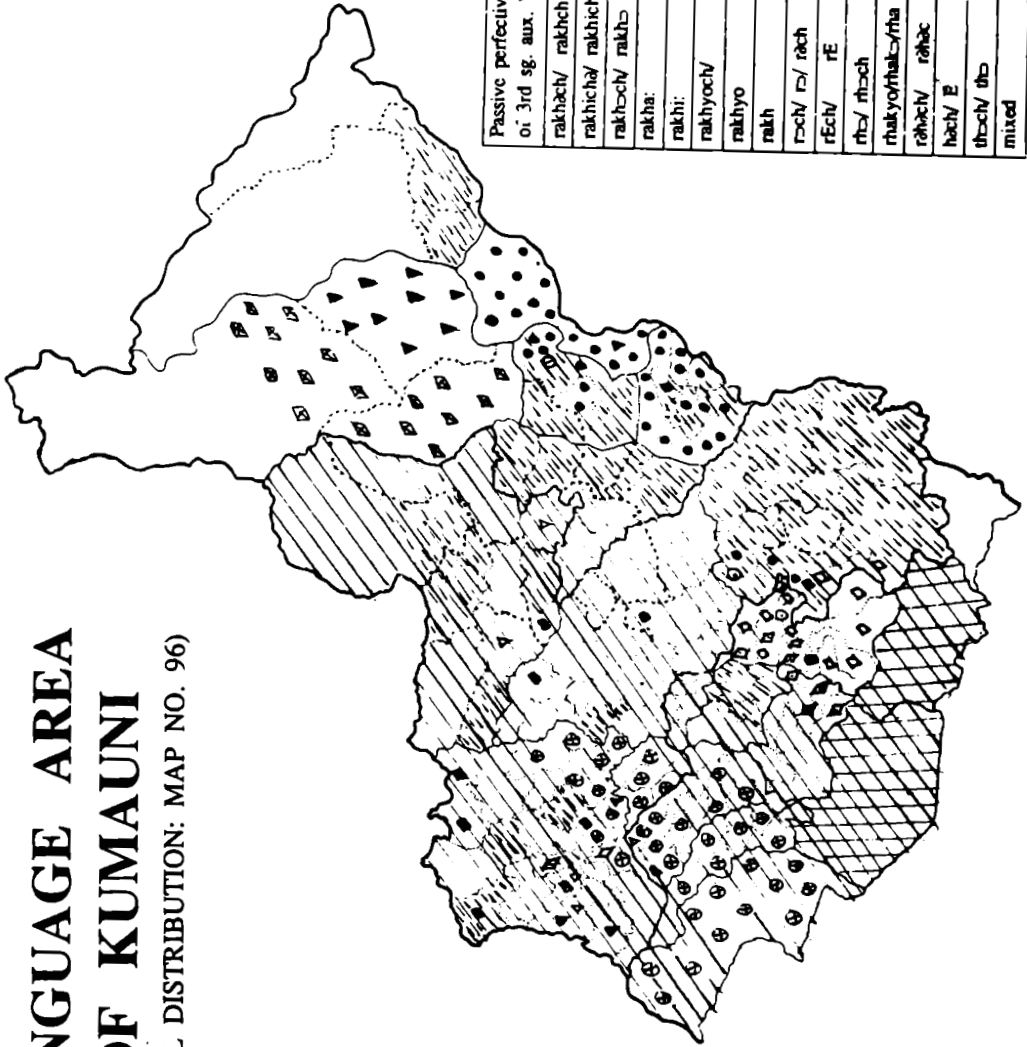
*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 95.

*Note:* For morphophonemic and syntactical notes see table No. 108.

*CEP Correlates* :1. *Garhwali* - /hola, hwala, hwəla/.  
 2. *Nepali* -/ hola, holan/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 96)



Passive perfective asp. oi: 3rd sg. aux. V.	▨
rakhach/ rakhch	●●
rakhichā/ rakhich	▨
rakhoch/ rakh	○●
rakha:	○○
rakhi:	○●
rakhyoch/	□
rakhyo	■
rakh	■
rach/ rā/ rach	▽▽
rEch/ rE	▽▽
rhis/ rhoch	◇◇
rhiyof/rhak-/rha	◇◇
röhach/ röhac	▨
hach/ E	▨
thoch/ th	●●
mixed	▨

Table No. 110  
**Areal Correlates of Contingental Consummative  
 Verb /rəkh--thə-/ 'have' (= to keep).**

*Correlates & Areas.*

1. 'rákhəch, 2. 'rákhIch (60, 73, 80-90, 99, 140-42), 3. rákhIchə (72, 88, 91, 93), 4. 'rákhIchyə (83), 5. 'rákhchI (14), 6. 'rákhchə (1, 3, 6, 9, 28, 32, 35, 38-43, 60-73, 77, 79, 83, 86, 87, 91, 93, 95, 97), 7. 'rákhch (101, 120, 128, 140, 143), 8. 'rakhə(ch) (1-8, 11-19, 22-29, 34-39, 45, 50, 42-58, 75, 78, 93-98, 107, 111, 123-126, 132, 135, 137, 142, 145, 150, 153), 9. 'rákha (58, 118, 128, 130, 136, 140-142, 150), 10. 'rákhi (27, 60, 91, 146-47, 149), 11. rákhyoch (14), 12. rákhyo (73, 144-148, 151, 153), 13. rákh (11, 13, 22, 32, 37, 45, 73, 108, 148), 14. rEch (90), 15. (kə)rE: (46-47), 16. rɔh (42-48, 110, 114), 17. rɔ: (ch) (7, 27, 48, 110, 114), 18. rəch (46), 19. ra: (ch) (62, 69, 71-74, 125), 20. rháka (136-37), 21. rháki (137), 22. rhákyo (144, 149), 23. rhákɔ (138), 24. rha (42, 137-39, 143), 25. rəhəch (-c) (42, 48), 26. rəhɔ (33), 27. thɔch (54, 56, 58, 110-115, 118, 122), 28. thɔ (44, 52, 56, 58, 112-118, 123), 29. (kə)e: (105-06), 30. (kE) hch (105), 31. (kə)rE: (90).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 96 and also above.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /rakh~rəh~thə-/ + formative + tense marker (auxiliary) /ch-/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Some of the notable points of morphophonemics in this paradigm are: (i) epenthesis of formative vowel (2-4); (ii) elision of copula (8-10, 12-13, 15, 17, 19-24, 26, 28, 29, 30), (iii) lengthening of vowel before elision of copula; (iv) transfer of aspiration (20-24).

*Syntactical usages:* Syntactically, it is used as a constituent (auxiliary) of a predicate indicating consummation of an action with an emphatic sense in all tenses. Its subject is always in the agentive case when denoting some action in the present or in the past or in a presumptive perfect, and it agrees in number and gender with its object, as in, /mēl šəb thik kərl rákha (ch)/ 'I have done every thing perfectly in order' (=everything is perfectly in order). /mēl šəb thik kərl' rákh chi/ 'I had put everything in a perfect order'; (wil šəb thik kərl 'rákh hUnE/ '(presumably) he may have arranged everything properly', but its subject is always in the nominative case when denoting some action

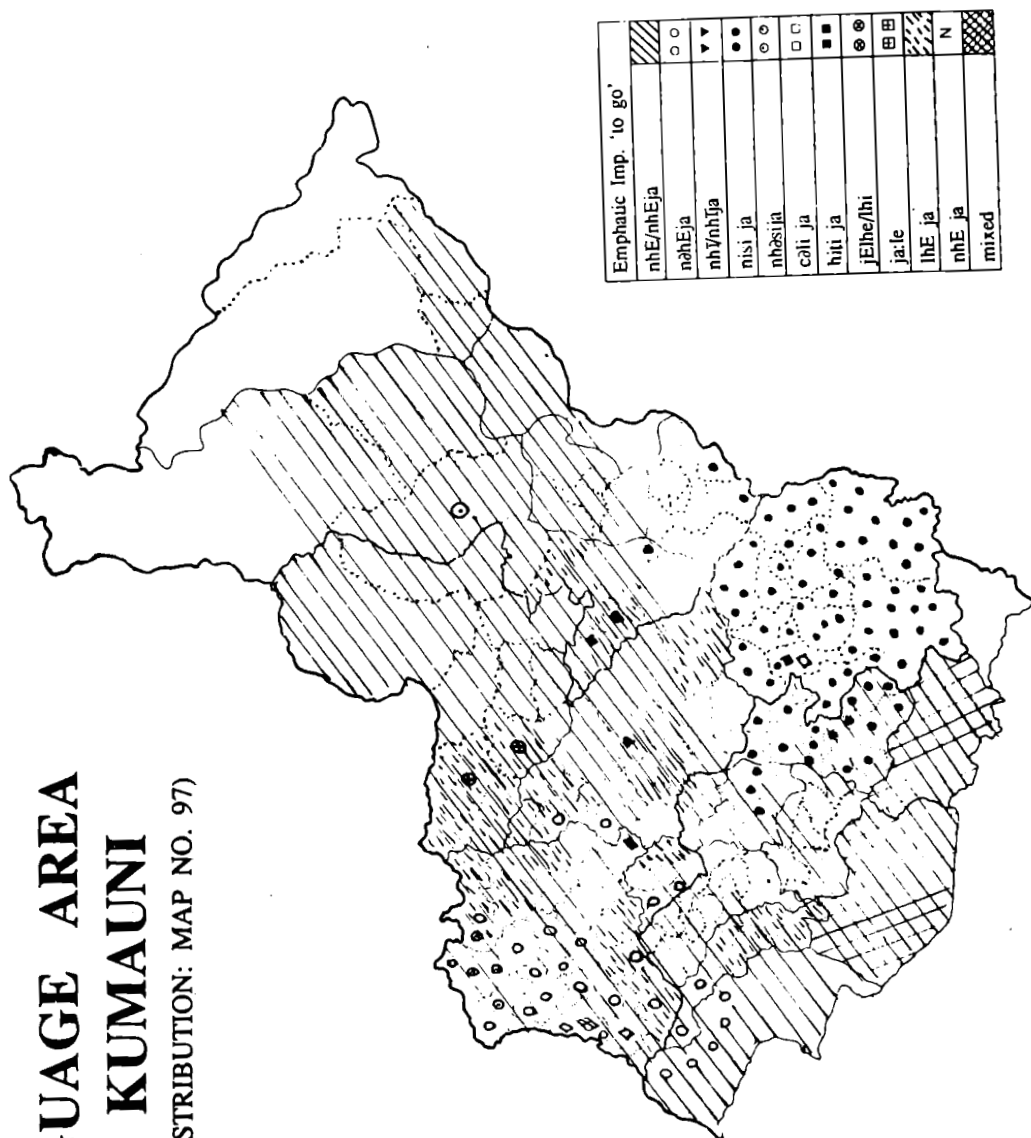
in the future, as in, /mẽ s̄b ʈhik k̄rI 'rákhU/ 'I shall be keeping everything in perfect order'. The principal verb has only a past formative /i/.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Besides transfer of aspiration in /rakha/ → /rhaka/ other areal preferences and stylistic preferences are noticeable with regard to the verbal stems /rákh-/ /r̄ḥ-/ and /th̄-/ . Preference for /rákh-/ is attested in 1-13 and 20-23, for /r̄ḥ-/ in 14-19 & 24-26 and for /th̄-/ in 27-28.

- CEP Correlates:*
1. *Garhwali* -/ (k̄ryu) c̄ə, rhakyo/.
  2. *Nepali* - / (ḡl̄reko) ch̄l, rakhnu bh̄leko ch̄l (ḡl̄ri) rakhch̄l/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 97)





## Table No. 111

## Areal Correlates of the Verb /nhə~nəʂ~cəl~ja-/ 'to go' denoting Perfective Aspect.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. nhE- (1-56, 75 etc. see map), 2. nhē- (141-144), 3. nhI- (71), 4. nəhE-(23, 28 etc. etc. see map), 5. hI- (14), 6. lhE-(5-7, 13-14 etc.) 7. niʂI-(60-78, 87, 142, 144-153), 8. nəʂI-(48), 9. nh ʂI-(19), 10. cəlI-(46-47, 72), 11. hIt(i)di-(50, 72, 75), 12. ja (lyəo) (46), 13. jE (lhiyo) (5, 7).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 97.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /nha~nIʂ~cəl~hIt~ja/ + perfective marker /-i/ + (auxiliary).

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* In many areas the stem vowel /a/ and the formative /i/ are assimilated in /E/ (1, 2, 4, 6, 13).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of a VP. (first component of a compound verb) to denote perfective aspect of some action in the present or in the past, as in /u nhə goch/ 'he has gone', /tu nhE gochye/ 'you had gone'. It is also used to denote some future action with determination, as in, /mē bhol nhE jōl/ 'I shall (positively) leave tomorrow'. Moreover, it is used as a principal verb to denote an order or request in an imperative mood, besides others, correlates 12-13 pertain to this particular aspect only, as in /tUm nhE jáo/~tUm ja lyəo/ 'you go'. It is an impersonal verb and as such is not inflected for number, gender and persons.

*Stylistic variations and areal preferences:* With regard to the imperative mood areal preferences are particularly notable. Areas of correlates 1-11 prefer the auxiliary /ja/, but areas of correlates from 12-14 have /ja~hIt/ as principal and /di~li/ as auxiliary.

*Appendix:* Further examples: In this paradigm (perfective) the following correlates of the verb 'to sleep' as principal, have been noted as /ʂe~se~ʂI~ʂi~ʂInpəɽI~pəɽI~sepəɽI/, as in /u ʂe goch/, 'he has slept' /tu ʂIn pəɽI go chye/ 'you had slept', etc.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Areally conditioned stylistic preferences are attestable in respect of choice of the principal as well as the auxiliary verb stems.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali -/cəli-/

2. Nepali - /gʌi sʌkeko, hiŋi gʌeko, ni (ja), nʌi (jha)/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 98)

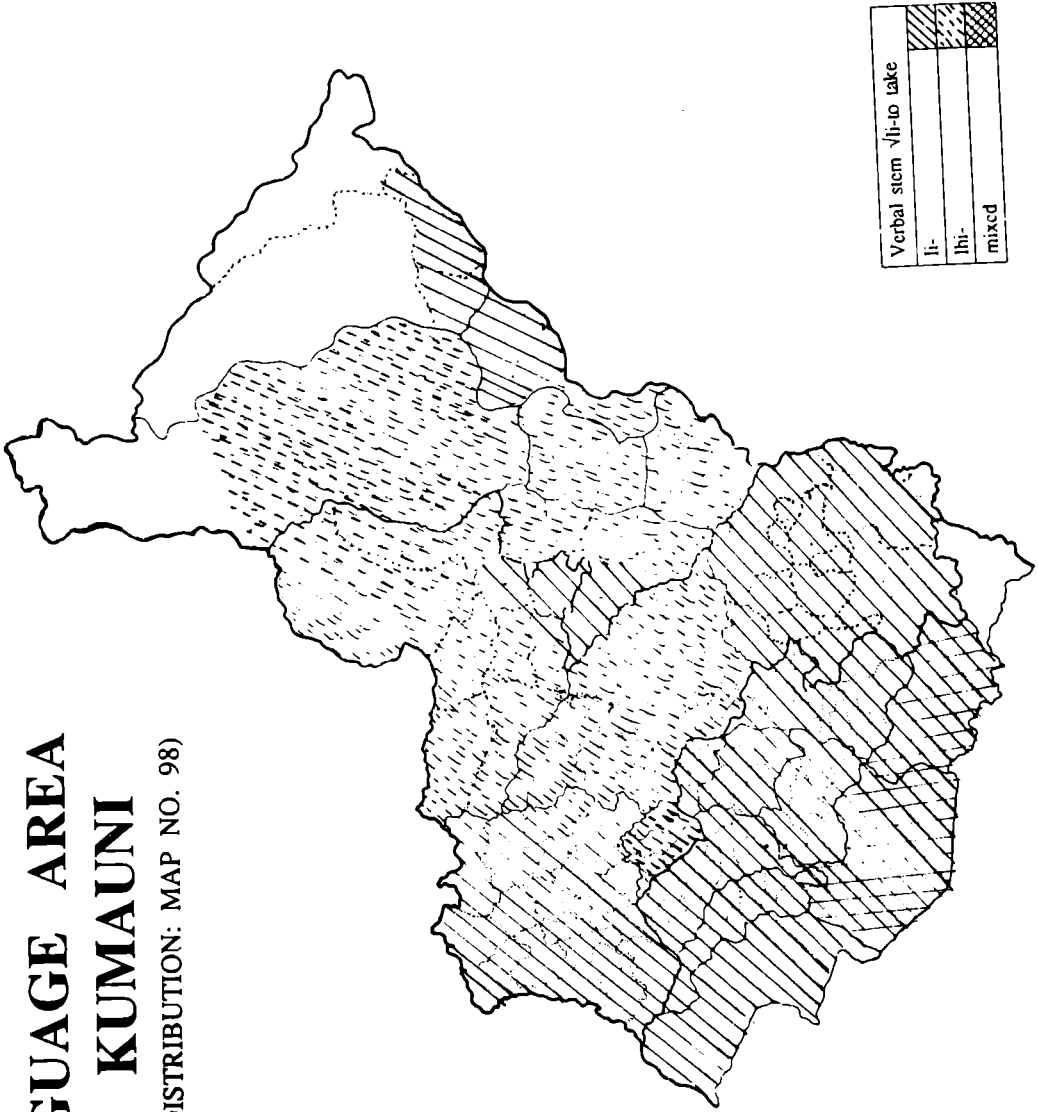


Table No. 112  
Areal Correlates of the Verb /li/, in Imperative  
(polite) Mood. (2nd. pl.).

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. +Ilya (12, 14, 19, 23, 29, 34, 63 etc. see map), 2. +Ilyo~→ (1, 4-19, 22-49, 52-58, 60, 65, 75, 78, 87, 90-91, 95-98, 107-08, 110, 120, 123, 128, 132, 137-38, 142-48), 3. +liy (0, 73, 82, 87, 88, 90), 4. +lhIya (12, 17, 79, 95, 130, 146, 150), 5. +lhIyo~→ (1-7, 11-18, 23-28, 40, 52, 56-57, 77, 90, 105, 136), 6. +lhly (80, 81, 83, 86-87), 7. +lhe/lhE (93, 99, 105), 8. +lhi (60, 85, 86, 90-91, 93, 97, 104), 9. +lho (3, 6-7), 10. +lya (2, 138, 140-45, 148-151, 153), 11. +lyo (6-7, 12, 23, 27, 34, 36, 44, 46-47, 73, 95, 141), 12. +lyəo (2), 13. +li (18, 60-66, 69-74, 83-86, 90-91, 93, 96, 147-149, 151), 14. +le (62-63, 67-68, 78, 93, 99). 15. +lhEj/lhəj (105-106).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 98.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /li/ + imperative formative /a ~ o ~ϕ/ (2nd. pl.)

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Notable points of phonological and morphophonemic tendencies in these correlates are: (i) emergence of an automatic glide as a linking sound (1-6, 10-12); (ii) amalgamation of formative and stem vowels (7-8, 13-14); (iii) elision of stem vowel and formative in a quick tempo of speech (15).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of a VP. It may be used as full verb, as in /tum Ilya/ 'you take' and as an aux. /tum liliya/ in the former case it denotes a polite command, but as an auxiliary it denotes permission, as in /tUm kərI liya/ 'you are permitted to do', but with /li/ it also shows intensive aspect, as in /li Ilya/ 'have' (you). Its agreement is always with second person plural number, there being no gender differentiation in this paradigm. Plural correlates of (7-8, 12-15) overlap with singular correlates of other areas.

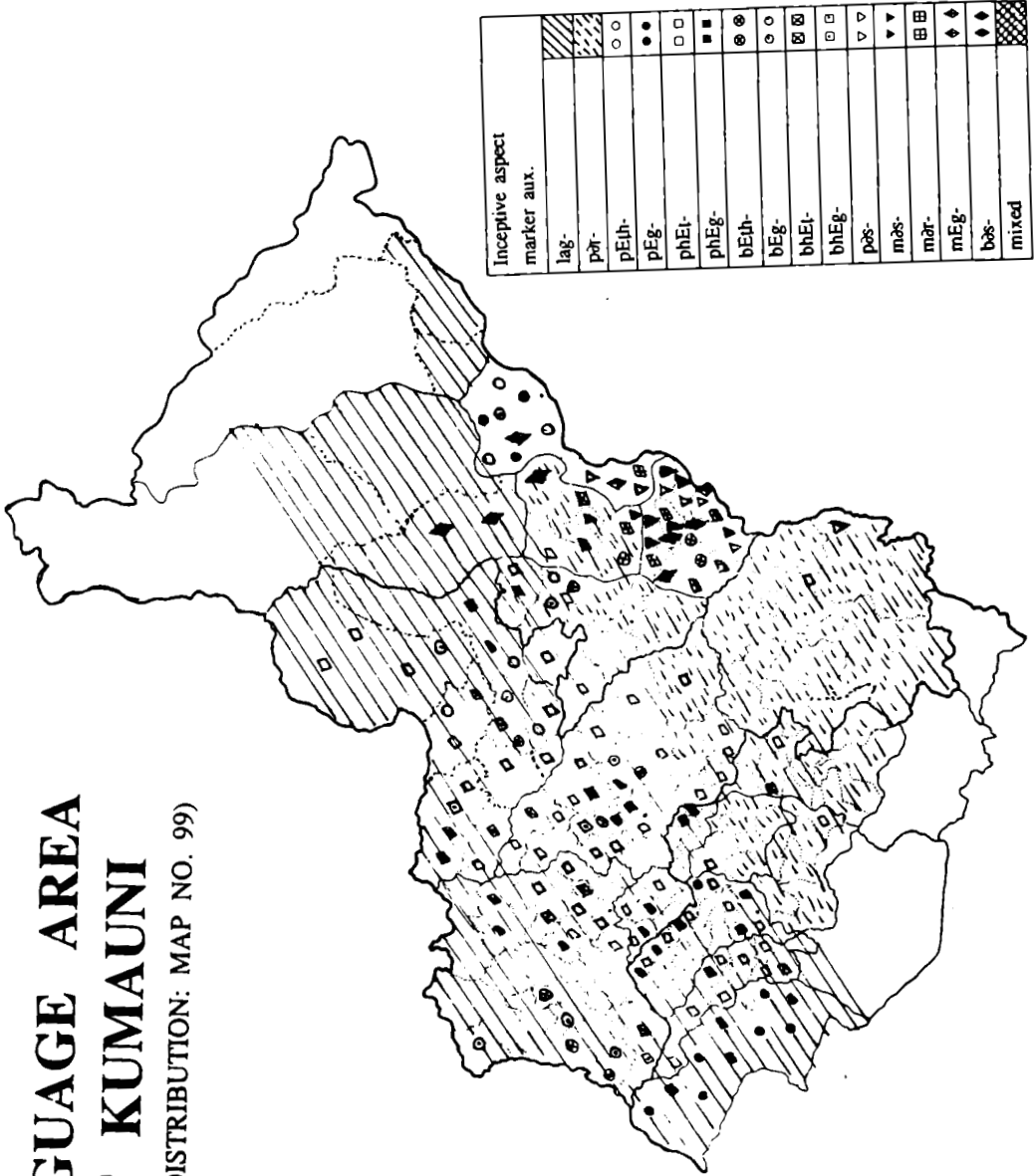
*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Areal preference with regard to aspiration is attested in correlates No. 4-9.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - / (le~lhe~li) - le, -lyo, Iya, -lyə, lyəwa/.

2. *Nepali* - / (le) - leu, leo, Ihiy/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

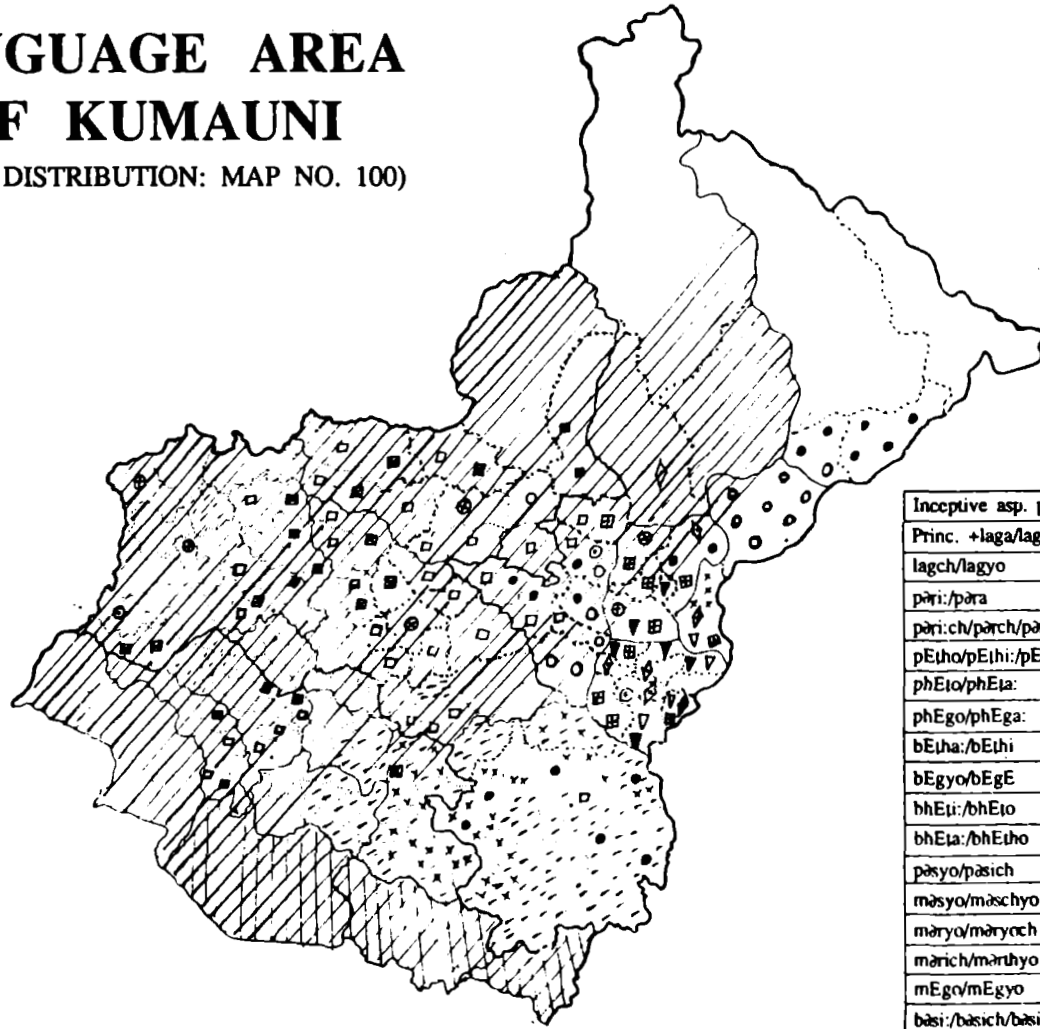
(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 99)



Inceptive aspect marker aux.	Symbol
lag-	Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)
pɔɪ-	Diagonal lines (bottom-left to top-right)
pɛɪh-	Open circles
pɛg-	Solid circles
phɛɪ-	Open squares
phɛg-	Solid squares
bɛɪh-	Circles with a central dot
bɛg-	Circles with a central dot
bhɛɪ-	Circles with a central dot
bhɛg-	Circles with a central dot
pəs-	Open triangles
məs-	Solid triangles
mər-	Open squares
mɛg-	Open squares
bəs-	Open squares
mixed	Cross-hatch pattern

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 100)



Inceptive asp. past. sg. (m.)	
Princ. +laga/laga/lagi/lag	
lagch/lagyo	••
pāri:/pāra	
pāri:ch/pārch/pāryo	xx
pEiho/pEihi:/pEi:hch	o o
phEio/phEia:	l o
phEgo/phEga:	■ ■
bEi:ha:/bEi:hi	⊗ ⊗
bEgyo/bEgE	o o
bhEti:/bhEto	⊠ ⊠
bhEia:/bhEiho	⊠ ⊠
pāryo/pāsich	▽ ▽
māryo/māsichyo	▽ ▽
māryo/māryoch	⊠ ⊠
mārich/mārthyo	⊠ ⊠
mEgo/mEgyo	◆ ◆
bāsi:/bāsich/bāsigyo	◊ ◊

Table No. 113

**Areal Correlates of the Auxiliary Verb /lag-/ 'to start' showing Progressive (inceptive) Aspect, Past Tense, Indicative Mood, Third Person, sg. masc. gender.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1.+ 'lág (7, 12, 29, 40, 95, 111, 123), 2. +'lágo (1, 4-7, 11-12 etc. see map), 3. +'lága (117, 130), 4. 'lági (1, 9, 18, 56, 60, 78, 101, 106, 140, 146, 151), 5. +'lágch (63, 71-74, 91, 96), 6. +lágyo (75, 83, 93, 101), 7. 'lágIgyo (97), 8. 'lág (2, 14, 16, 24, 32, 34-36, 42, 48, 73, 110, 118), 9. +lEg (110, 113), 10.+pəŕ (14, 108, 110, 128, 145), 11. + pəŕo (14, 108, 110, 128, 145), 12.+pəŕa (18), 13. + pəŕi (38, 43, 60-64, 87, 135-142, 150), 14. + pəŕyo (65, 72, 73, 143-149, 151), 15. + pəŕy (72), 16. + pəŕIgo (68-69, 70), 17. + pəŕIch (140, 151, 153), 18.+pəŕch (62-63, 69, 71-74, 90, 143), 19. +pəŕIchə (62, 90), 20. +pEŧh (57, 77-78), 21. +pEŧha/ 22. +pEŧhi (96-97), 23. +pEŧhch (99), 24.+phEto (5, 10, 11, 12), 25. +phEŧa (58, 118, 123, 128), 26. +phEŧE (54, 6), 27. +phEgo/-ga (2, 52, 112, 116, 125), 28. +ph (123, 128), 29. +bEŧh / 30. +bEŧha (14, 43), 31. +bhEŧə (5, 6, 22, 39, 98), 32. +bhEŧa/-to (119, 145), 33. +bhEŧ/bhEŧi (3, 55), 34. +bhəgo (27, 48), 35. +bEgyo/bEgE (46-47), 36. +pəsyo (86-87), 37. +pəslch (90), 38. məsyo (86, 88-89, 90), 39. +məschyə (82), 40. +məssyo (93), 41.+məryo (75, 95), 42. + məŕEthyo (79, 83, 87, 93), 43. + məŕIch (90-91), 44. + məryoch (81, 83), 45. +mEgyo (80, 90), 46. +mEgo (90), 47. +bəsi (105), 48. +bəsIch (91), 49. + bəsIgyo (85), 50. +(n) (104), 51. + (m) (33, 46), 52. hi (3).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map Nos. 99-100.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem+perfective formative + auxiliary + flectional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* (i) Preservation of auxiliaries like /chə~gə-/ indicate that in most of the cases it has been dropped now, (ii) emergence of a glide before suffixal morpheme also is attested (6-7, 14-15, 37-42, 44-45, 49); (iii) The most interesting morphophonemic aspect of these correlates are transfer of aspiration from non-initial phone to the initial phone (24-28, 31-34).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as an aux. to denote a progressive (inceptive) aspect of the verb, showing an incipient state of action in the past, in a composite verb. The first member of which has a nominal function (infinitival) and the verbal aspect is denoted

by the auxiliaries. It shows a full agreement with its subject which is always in the nominative case, as in /u 'ján lágo/ 'he started going'. In some areas (41-46, 50-52) it shows over-lapping with continuative aspect of the verb.

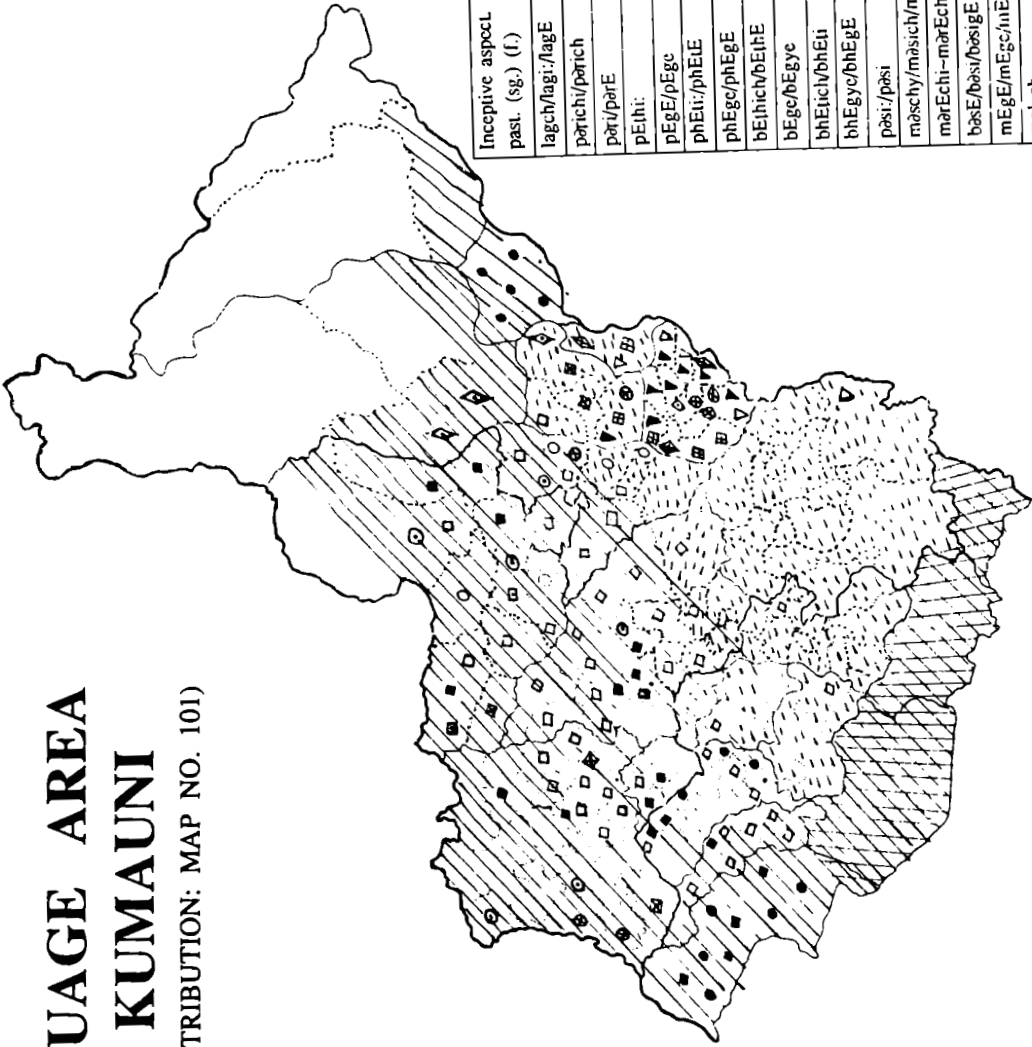
*Note:* For its correlates in the feminine gender see Table No. 114.

*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Areal groupings of these correlates are as follows: /lág-/ 1-9, /pəɾ-/ 10-19, /tʰ-/ 20-23, /phEt-/ 24-28, /bEtʰ-/ 29-35; /pəs-/36-37, /məs-/ 38-40, /mər-/ 41-46; /bəs-/ 47-49.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /bEtʰi-gaya, -gyaya, -gyay, -gay, -gE, bEtʰig, bEtʰɔ, bEtʰi, -ləge, -lEge, məsigəi/.
2. *Nepali* - /lagyo, laglo, pʌsigyo, pʌsyo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 101)



Inceptive aspect	▨
past. (sg.) (f.)	▨
lagch/lagi/lagE	▨
perich/periE	▨
paE	○
pE	●
pEge/pEge	□
phE/phE	■
phEge/phEge	⊗
bE/bE	⊙
bEge/bEge	⊗
bhE/bhE	⊙
bhEge/bhEge	⊗
paE	▽
masich/masich/masich	▽
marEch-marEch	▨
basE/basE/basE	◇
mEge/mEge/mEge	◇
mal ch	89
mixed	▨



## Table No. 114

**Areal Correlates of the Auxiliary Verb /læg/ for 'to start'  
Indicating Processive (inceptive) Aspect, Past Indefinite Tense,  
3rd. sg. fem.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. 'lægich (27, 34-38, 42-43, 48, 55, 56, 72-73, 83, 87, 90, 95, 107, 110, 112, 120, 128, 140, 153), 2. 'lægIchI (63), 3. 'lägi (5-7, 12-19, 22-50, 54-58, 60, 67, 75, 77-78, 90-91, 98, 101, 106-07, 113, 115, 118-19, 123, 126, 128, 136-37, 146), 4. 'läge (5), 5. lägya (46), 6. lägyo (93), 7. pərIchI (61, 69), 8. pərIch (62, 66, 74, 78, 83, 90-91, 95, 143-144, 147-153), 9. pərchi (69, 71), 10. pərye/pərE (17, 18, 25, 62 etc.) 11. pəri (60, 62, 63, 65, 71-72, 78, 87, 108, 123, 135-151), 12. pərIgech (46), 13. pEge (23, 99, 123), 14. pEthi (3, 9, 78, 96-97), 15. phEti (7, 10-11-17, 22-24, 27-28, 35, 44-45, 54-56, 75, 78, 98, 101, 110, 116-119, 122-23, 128, 130, 139, 146), 16. phEtE (1, 13, 17, 18, 95), 17. phEge (2, 5, 8, 14, 24, 27, 35, 39, 56, 110-12, 116, 125, 128), 18. phEga (125), 19. bEthäch (97), 20. bEthE (93), 21. bEthIlg (46), 22. bEgye (97), 23. bəgye (1, 4, 14, 32, 42), 24. bhEti (ch) (6, 55), 25. bhagech (48), 26. bhəgye (34, 54), 27. pəsi (74, 86, 88), 28. pəsI(ch) (87, 90), 29. mEgE (80, 90), 30. mEgye (54, 87, 90), 31. məscyə (79, 82, 88), 32. məsIch (83, 89, 93), 33. məsIlg (86), 34. mərEchi (90, 93), 35. mərEch/ 36. mərIch (81, 91), 37. bəsE (91), 38. bəsi (105), 39. bəsIlgE (85), 40. hI (104).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 101.

*Note:* For phonological morphophonemic and syntactical aspects, see notes on Table No. 113.

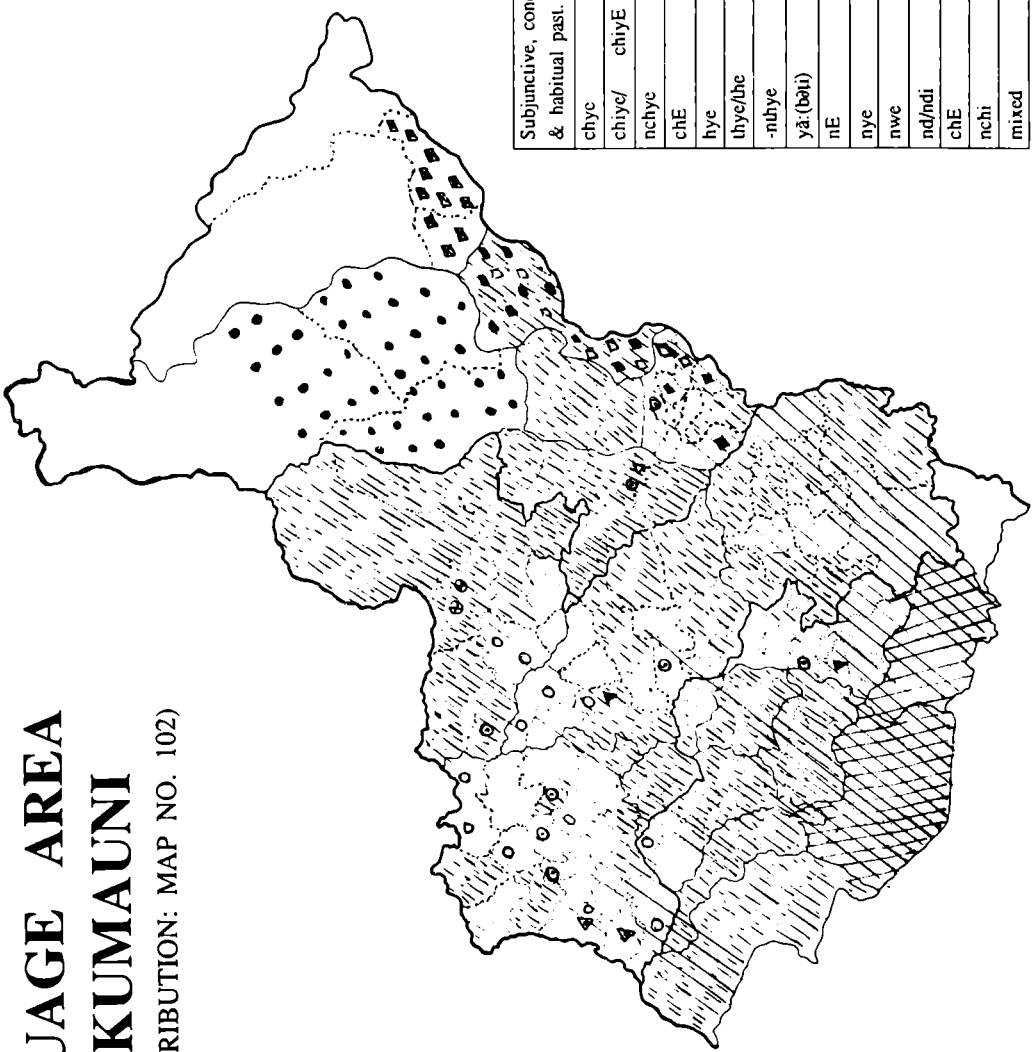
*Areal preferences:* In these correlates the areal preferences have been noted as follows: /læg-/ 1-6, /pər-/ 7-13, /pEth-/ 14, /phEt-/ 15-18, /bEth-/ 19-23, /bhEt-/ 24-26, /pəs-/ 27-30, /mE-/ 31-33, /məs-/ 34-37, /mər-/ 38-40, /bəs-/ 41-44.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali*- /bEthi ge, -gyei, -gay, -gi, -ləgye, bEthi, lagi, lægi, məsige/.

2. *Nepali* - /lagi, pəsi, pəsigo/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 102)



	Subjunctive, conditional & habitual past. 2nd sg.
chyc	▨
chyc/ chiyE	○ ○
nchyc	● ●
chE	○ ○
hyc	⊗ ⊗
thyc/thc	■ ■
-nhye	□ □
yā:(bēti)	⊠ ⊠
nE	▨
nye	▼ ▼
nwc	▽ ▽
nd/ndi	▽ ▽
chE	○ ○
nchi	104
mixed	▨

Table No. 115  
Areal Correlates of the Conditional Past  
Tense of the Verb /ja-/ 'to go'

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. jánE: (4-8 etc. see map), 2. jánEt (48-49, 60, 73, 78-99, 105, 108, 110-115, 120, 123, 125, 128, 135-150, 153), 3. jányet (27, 151), 4. jáánwet (78), 5. jhánE (90, 93), 6. jēchet (83), 7. jāchye/ 8. jāchye (1-9, 12-17, 27-34, 40, 44, 52, 55-58, 60-62, 69-78, 86, 90, 97, 107, 112-118, 122-26, 130, 136-138, 140-143, 146, 149), 9. jāchE (6, 25, 34, 36, 43, 78, 128), 10. jāchE (6, 36, 150), 11. jāchet (82), 12. āachIyE (22, 37, 38, 48), 13. jāchIye (7, 27....), 14. jánchye (106), 15. jánchyet (105), 16. jāhye (3), 17. jāthyE (83), 18. jāthe (81, 87), 19. jāyabətti (101), 20. jandI/jand (46-47), 21. gəyāt (101).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 102.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /ja-, gə-/ + conditional formative /n~chə--th-/ + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* (i) the stem vowel shows ablaut in most of the cases, (ii) the conditional formative /-n/ is reduced to mere nasality in the areas of correlates 6-13, 16-17. In many the past formative /i/ has emerged as a fullfledged glide /-y-/ before a vocalic suffix (3, 7-8, 12-19, 21).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of protasis in a conditional statement denoting some action in the past, as in /tu jánE: mē IE jánō/ 'had you gone, I would also have gone'. It shows an agreement in number, gender and person with its subject.

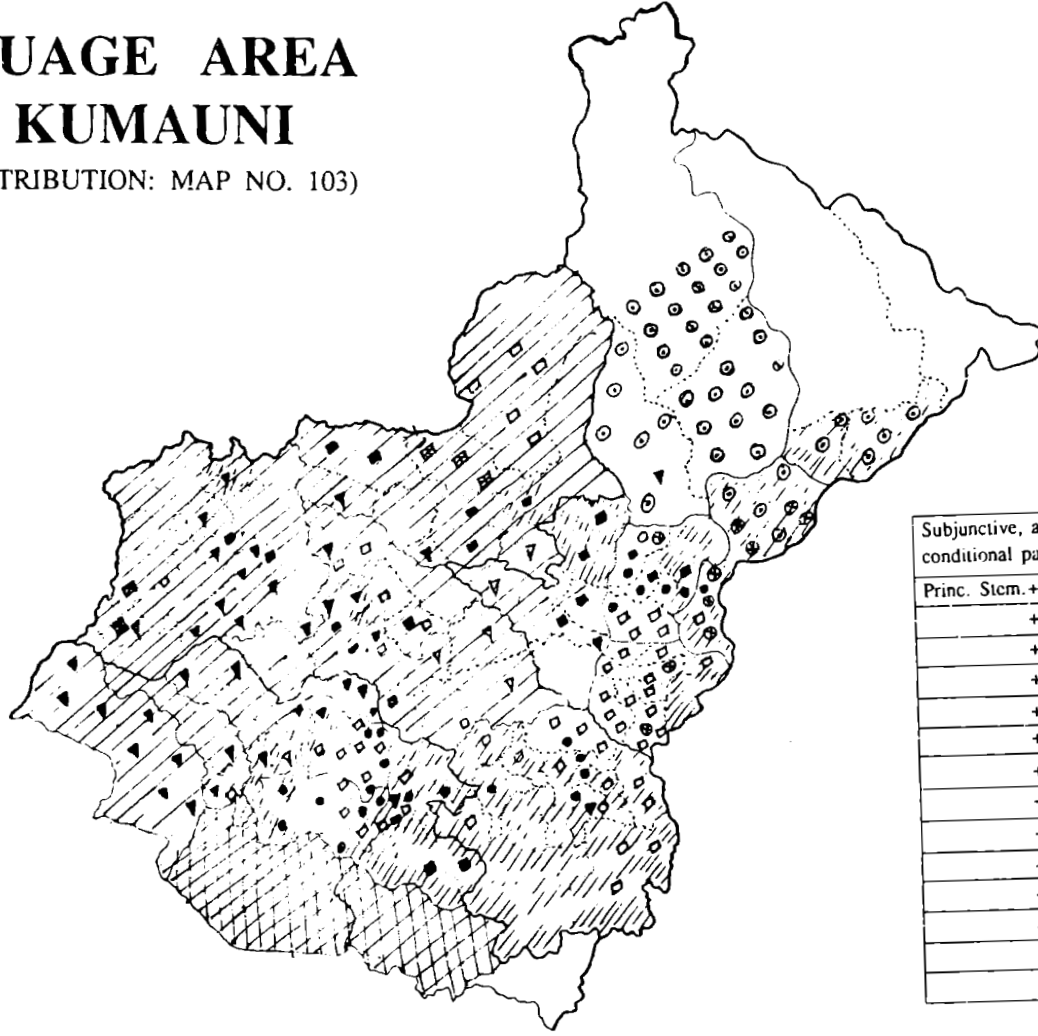
*Stylistic areal preferences:* Areal preferences are noticeable with regard to conditional formatives. In one case (21) the stem also shows suppletivism, i.e., a preference for /gə-/. With regard to the aux. it has been noted that correlates 1-5 and 19-21 do not favour it, 6-16 prefer /ch-/ and 17-18 prefer /th-/.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /jandu, janda, jandi/.

2. Nepali- /janthyo, janthes, jəe, janthye, jhənE/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAONI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 103)



Subjunctive, and conditional past 1st. sg.	
Princ. Stem. + chi:	
+ chiyɔ	○ ○
+ chyɔ	● ●
+ nchi	○ ○
+ n̄	
+ nɔ:	□ □
+ nyɔ:	■ ■
+ n̄	▽ ▽
+ n	▽ ▽
+ nthyɔ	
+ thyɔ/thyɔ	⊗ ⊗
+ hi	⊠ ⊠
+ hdi	⊞ ⊞
mixed	

## Table No. 116

Areal Correlates of the Verb /ja-/ 'to go' in the Conditional Past,  
1st sg. denoting possibility.*Correlates & Areas:*

1. jánō (8, 18, 37, 48, 60-73, 87-99, 101, 113, 120, 123, 138-148, 153), 2. jányū (4, 5, 8, 9, 14, 19, 24, 28, 34, 36, 78, 91, 95-98, 150, 153), 3. jánū (1, 14, 19, 22-28, 42, 60-73, 79-93, 137, 140-42, 149-50), 4. jánī (10, 13, 17), 5. ján (6, 11, 23-24, 27-28, 34-38, 40, 45, 50, 54, 62, 78, 85, 105, 108, 111, 119, 123, 125, 128, 130, 136, 142, 150), 6. jhánū/ 7. 'jhánō (90, 93), 8. 'jáchi/ 9. 'jáchi (1-7, 12-18, 35c. see map), 10. 'jächyō (61, 69, 72, 90-93, 146), 11. 'jächyū (62, 95), 12. 'jā chyō (60, 142), 13. 'jācchyō (69, 72), 14. 'jächyū (137-41, 150), 15. 'jāchū (82), 16. 'jánchī (101, 104-06), 17. 'jánthyū (83, 86), 18. 'jhāánthyō (86), 19. 'jāhī (3), 20. jandu (46-47), 21. janthyō (83), 22. jāthyō (86).

*Areal distribution:* See Map No. 103.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /ja~jha~a/ + conditional formative /-n/ or nasality + past formative /o ~ Ø ~ i ~ chi~thi/ + flectional marker /o~u/.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* Notable points of phonological and morphophonemic aspects are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel; (ii) nasalization of conditional formative; (iii) glidialization of past formative /i/; (iv) elision of past formative; (v) elision of flectional marker.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a VP. in the apodosis, as in /tu jánĒ: mēle jánū/ 'had you gone, I would also have gone'.

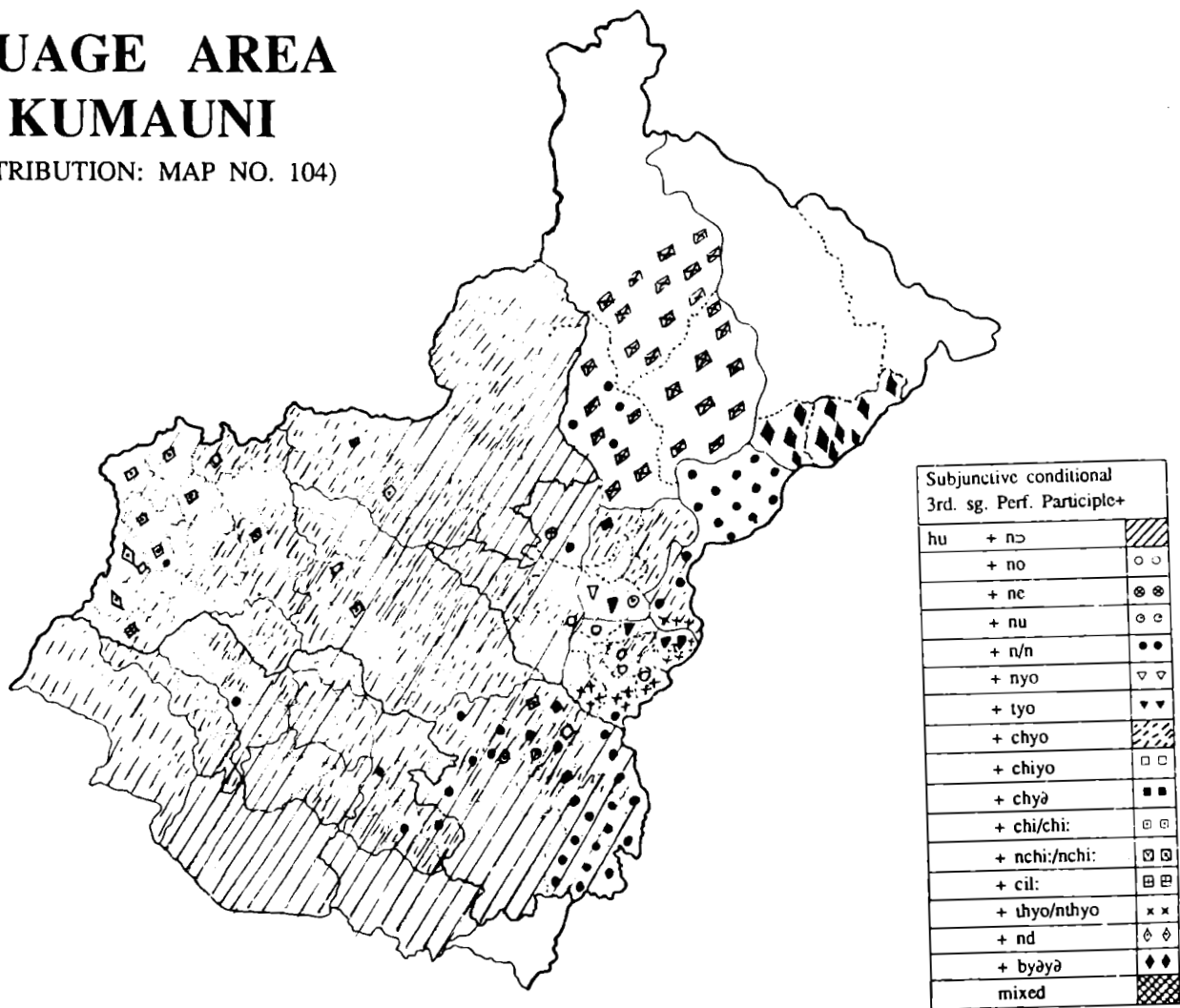
*Stylistic and areal preferences:* Stylistic and areal preferences are noticeable with regard to past formative aux. /thə-/ and /chə-/. It is for /chə-/ in the areas of correlates 9-17, for /th-/ in 18-23, and for zero in 1-8.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. Garhwali - /jando, jandu/.

2. Nepali - /janthī, janthē, janthyō, janō, jhanthyō/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 104)



**Table No. 117**  
**Areal Correlates of the Modal Verb /hUn-/ 'to become',**  
**Subjunctive, 3rd sig. expressing condition.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. prvx+i+hUno (2, 4-9—153), 2. +hUnU (68, 71, 93), 3.+hUnət (73, 90, 99, 105, 150), 4. + hUnot (71, 78, 79, 85, 87), 5. +hənɔ (22, 27, 29), 6. +hUnet (97), 7. +hənə (t) (42), 8. hUn (ɔ) (60-64, 71-74, 86, 90, 97, 153), 9. +həçhyo (6, 27-28, 31, 36, 40, 48-49, 54, 110, 112, 126, 128), 10. +hUçhyot (93), 11. + hUtyot (82, 89, 93), 12. +hochit (38, 42), 13. +hocit (48), 14. hUchi (7, 24, 31-34), 15. +hUchIyo (27, 37, 46), 16. +həñchi (104-106), 17. hUcçhyo (1, 4.....153 see map), 18. +hUcçhyət (5, 69, 95), 19. +hUnthyo (86, 90), 20. +hUthyo (81, 83, 87-88), 21. +hūd (46-47), 22. +rōn t (61-63), 23. +rūno (39, 123), 24. +rɔntə (72), 25. +rēçhyo (138), 26.+rōthyot (83), 27. +rōçhyo (12), 28. +(ū)ɔt (88, 90-91, 97), 29. + (ayo)bhəyā (101), 30. (ayā) bəti (101).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 104.

*Immediate constituents:* (Principal stem + past formative /i/ ) + auxiliary /hə-; rə-, bhə- /+ participial formative + perfective formative /i/ + inflection marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic features:* Notable points of morphophonemics are: (i) reduction of participle formative /n/ into nasality (10-15, 17-18, 20-21); (ii) gemination of formative or auxiliary before suffixal morphemes (9, 17); (iii) emergence of glide before suffixal morpheme (10-11, 15, 17-20, 26, 28, 29).

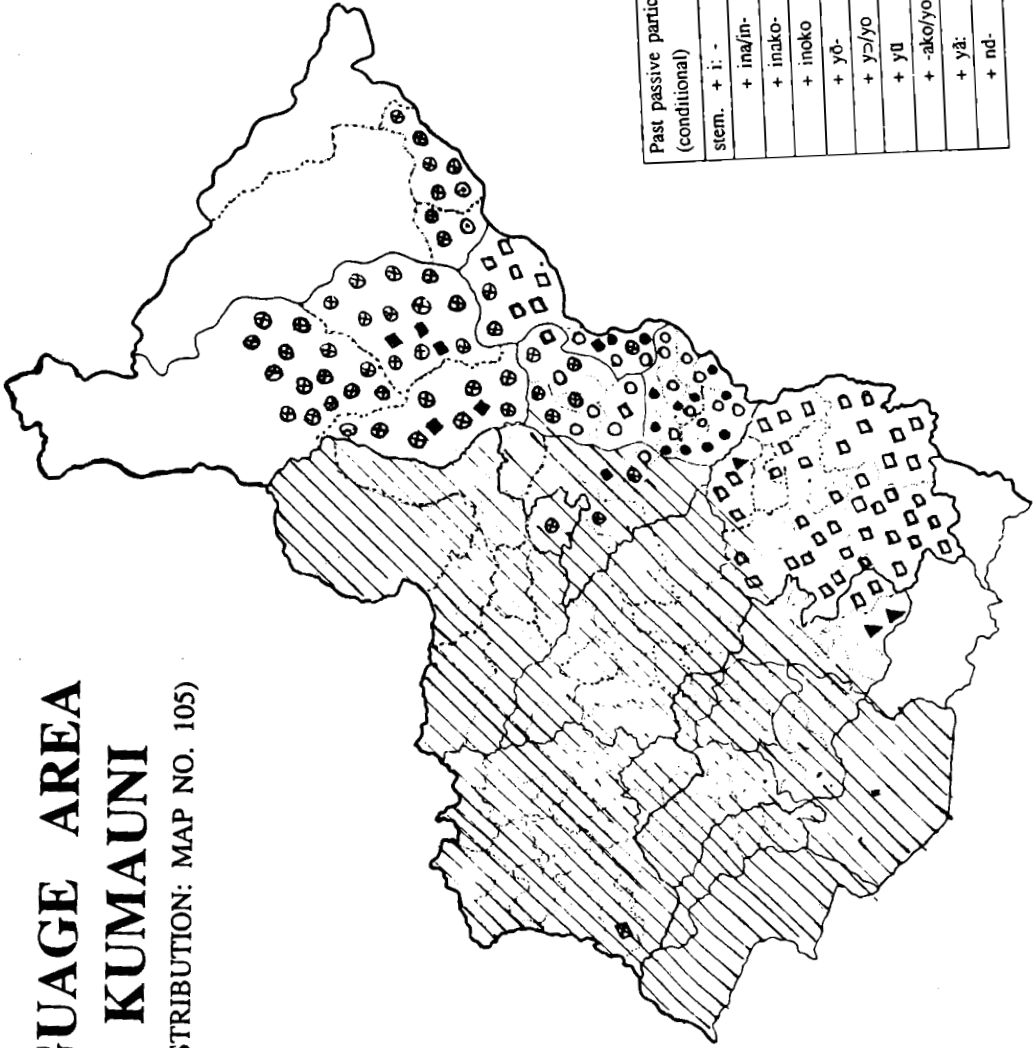
*Syntactic usage:* See table No. 118.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /(ayū) hundo, hondu, hundu, hunda, rEndu, rəndu/.

2. *Nepali*- (aeko) bhले, bhले, thiyō, bhलया/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 105)



Past passive participle (conditional)	
stem. + i. -	▨
+ ina/in-	○ ○
+ inako-	● ●
+ inoko	● ●
+ yō-	■ ■
+ y>/yo	□ □
+ yū	⊗ ⊗
+ -ako/yoko-	▼ ▼
+ yā:	⊙ ⊙
+ nd-	⊠ ⊠



Table No. 118  
Areal Correlates of the Verb /a-/ 'to come'  
Conditional Past Passive Participial.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. ai+(hvχch) (1-2, 4-9. etc. see map), 2. aIna- (78, 83-95), 3. aInu- (80), 4. aInako- (79, 82, 85-87, 90), 5. aIn- (86), 6. aI- (3), 7. ayō- (90, 96, 105-06), 8. ayō- (60, 62, 64, 69, 71, 73, 91, 93, 99), 9. ayū- (10, 78, 90, 91, 95), 10. ayoko (69), 11. ayā (101), 12. E + rōn (39, 61-62), 13. E+rvx+chvx (12, 138), 14. E+r+thə- (83), 15. ayū+bhya- (101), 16. and chE - (46-47), 17. a+rūn- (62-63, 72), 18. unət (97).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 105.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /a-/ perfective formative /i/ + participial formative /-n/ + auxiliaries /hə-, rə-/ + flectional marker.

*Phonological and morphophonemic features:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic points of these correlates are: (i) assimilation of stem vowel and perfective formative (12-14) when the 1st aux. is /rə-/, (ii) emergence of glide before flectional suffixal morpheme (7-11, 15), (for auxiliaries see table No. 117).

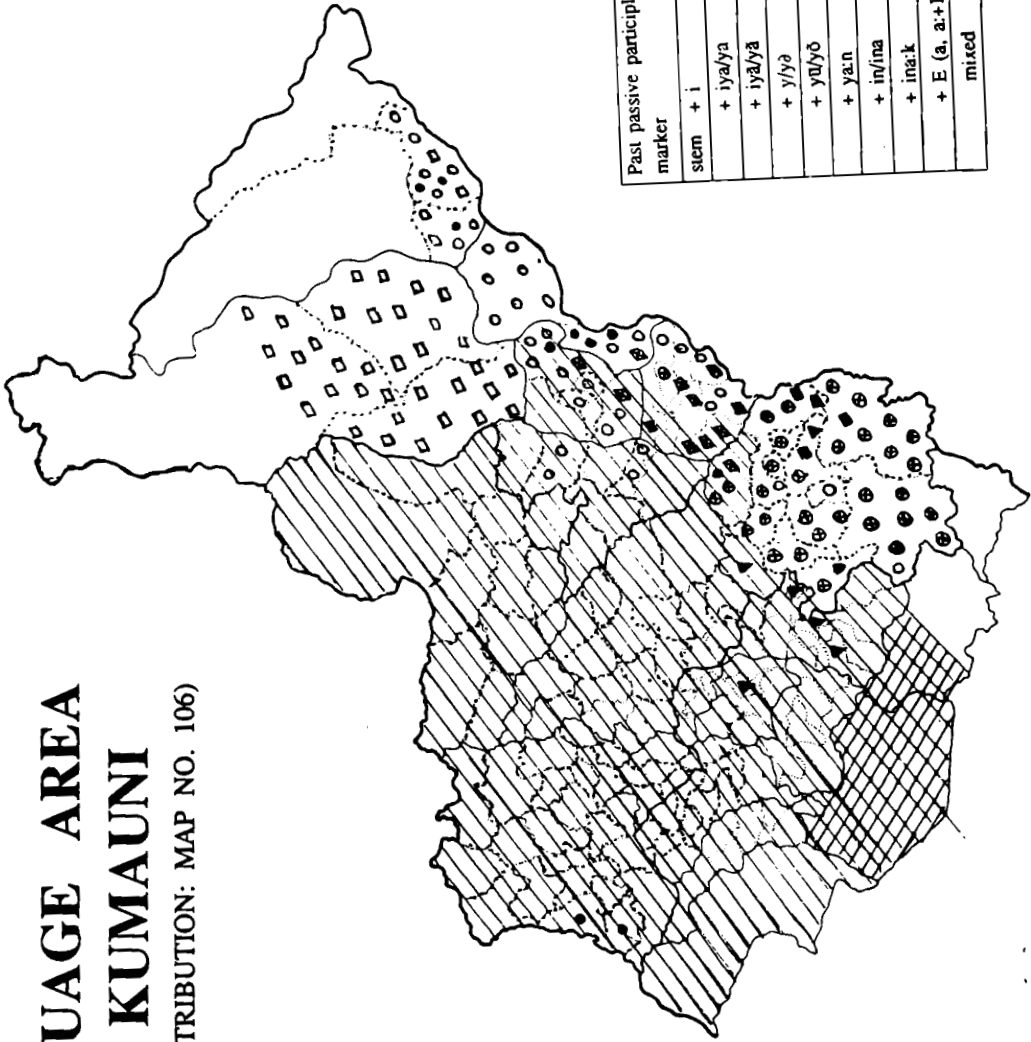
*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is used as a part of a VP in a protasis, showing conditional action. Its subject is always in the nominative case and it agrees with it in number, gender and person; /u ái huchyo/ 'had he come', /u ái huchi/ 'had she come' / ũ ái huchya/ 'had they come'.

*Stylistic variations:* Correlates with /rə-/ as an auxiliary (14-16) show a stylistic variation with past indefinite tense, as in /u achi-u Erochi/ 'he came' he had come, or /u unət/ 'had he come' (simple condition).

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /ayo, ayū, Ejənd, ando, Ege/.  
2. *Nepali*- /aeko, ayo (bhAya), aya (bhAya)/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 106)



Past passive participle marker		
stem	+	i
+ iyalya	○	○
+ iyālyā	●	●
+ y/lyə	⊗	⊗
+ yūlyō	□	□
+ ya:n	■	■
+ in/ina	⊠	⊠
+ ina:k	⊞	⊞
+ E (a, a.+1)	▼	▼
mixed	▨	▨

**Table No. 119**  
**Areal Correlates of Past Passive Participle of /ja-/ 'to go'.**

**Correlates & Areas:**

1. jái (1-60, 71, 74... etc. see map), 2. jəi/ jE (24, 33, 42), 3. jáya (71, 82, 86), 4. jálya (66, 91), 5. jəya (46-47), 6. jáyũ (104-05), 7. jáyo (101, 105-06), 8. jáy (63, 65, 69), 9. jáI (3, 115), 10. jáIũ (86), 11. jáyyə (142), 12. jáIn (79, 83, 85), 13. jáIna (43, 69, 81, 85, 87, 90, 93), 14. jáInák (91), 15. jháýā (90, 161), 16. jhályā (91), 17. gəi (7, 9, 13. etc. see map), 18. gəyā (69, 71), 19. gəy/gay (62, 69, 70-73), 20. g ya (90), 21. gyei (7), 22. gya (14, 72, 78, 83, 87-90, 93, 97, 99, 146), 23. gyan (62-63), 24. gE (62, 147), 25. gəIn (79).

**Areal Distribution:** See Map No. 106.

**Immediate constituents:** stem /ja~gə-/ + past passive participle formative /i~a~la~In~Ina~an/.

**Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:** Important phonological and morphophonemic features of these correlates are: (i) ablaut in the stem vowel; (ii) emergence of vocalic glide before suffixial back vowel (3-8, 15-16, 18-23), (iii) automatic aspiration (15-16); (iv) suppletive stem (17-25).

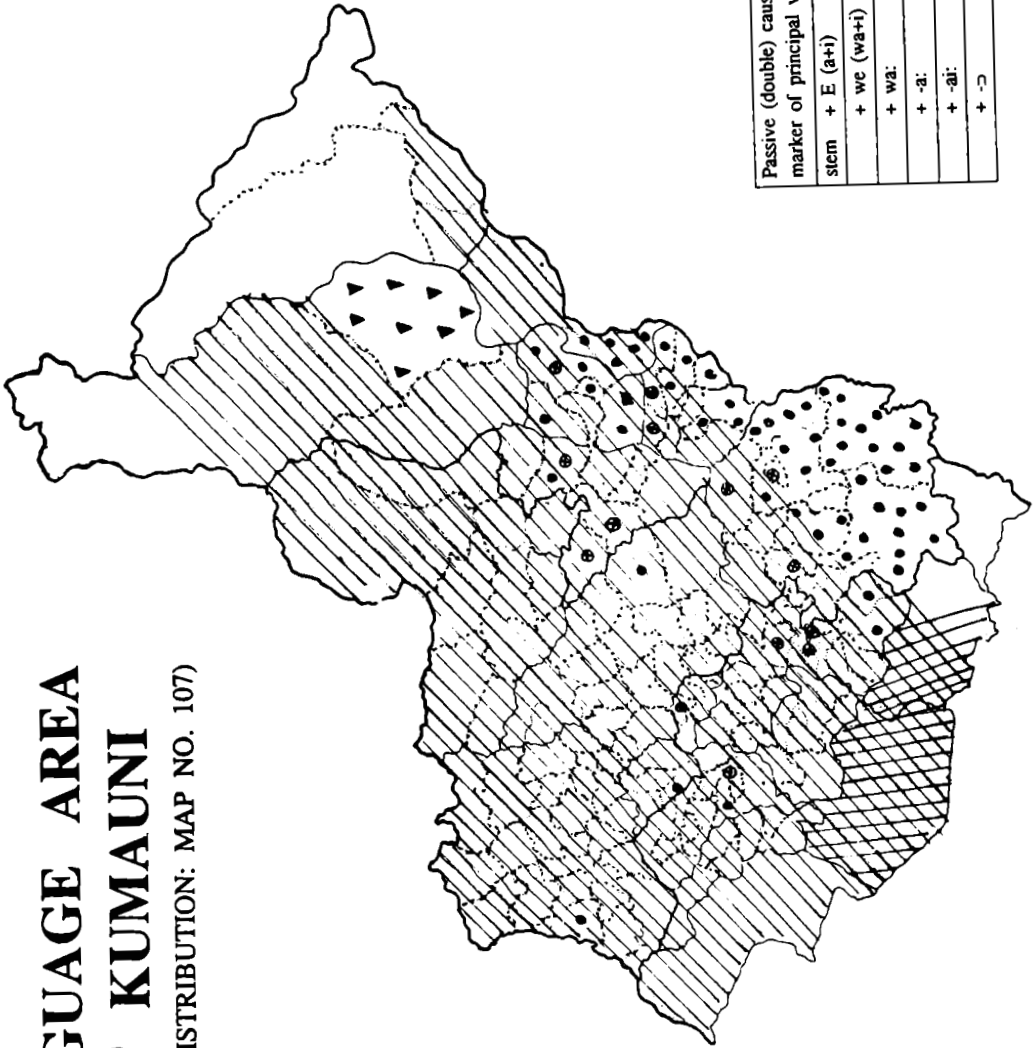
**Syntactic usage:** Syntactically, it is used as a modifier to an NP. The modified head is in the objective case, as in /wikē jái kətUk dIn hEgəV/ 'how many days passed since he left', there being no inflection for number, gender and person.

**Stylistic variations and areal preferences:** Stylistically, areas of correlates 1-16 prefer the root/ ján-/ and of 17-25, the suppletive root /gə-/.

**CEP Correlates:** 1. Garhwali - /jaya, jəya, gəya./  
 2. Nepali - /gʌe, gʌeko, gəya/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 107)



Passive (double) causative marker of principal verb.	
stem	+ E (a+i)
	+ we (wa+i)
	+ wa:
	+ -a:
	+ -ai:
	+ ->

## Table No. 120

## Areal Correlates of the Verb /kər-/ 'to do', Causative Aspect.

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. kərE+\*l+vx (1-2, 4—153 see map), 2. kəraI-(93), 3. kərwE-(1-3, 5-7, —153 see map), 4. kərwa- (61, 69, 72, 79, 82, 125), 5. kərəwE-(7, 17, 46, 78, 85, 93, 108, 113, 125), 6. kərəwa-(75, 91, 97, 122, 145, 148-49), 7. kərUwE- (87), 8. kəra- (12, 46, 57, 62-63, 66, 70-71, 78, 83, 86-87, 90-91, 95, 97, 115 153).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 107.

*Immediate constituents:* stem /kər-/ + causative formative /a/ + perfective formative /i/

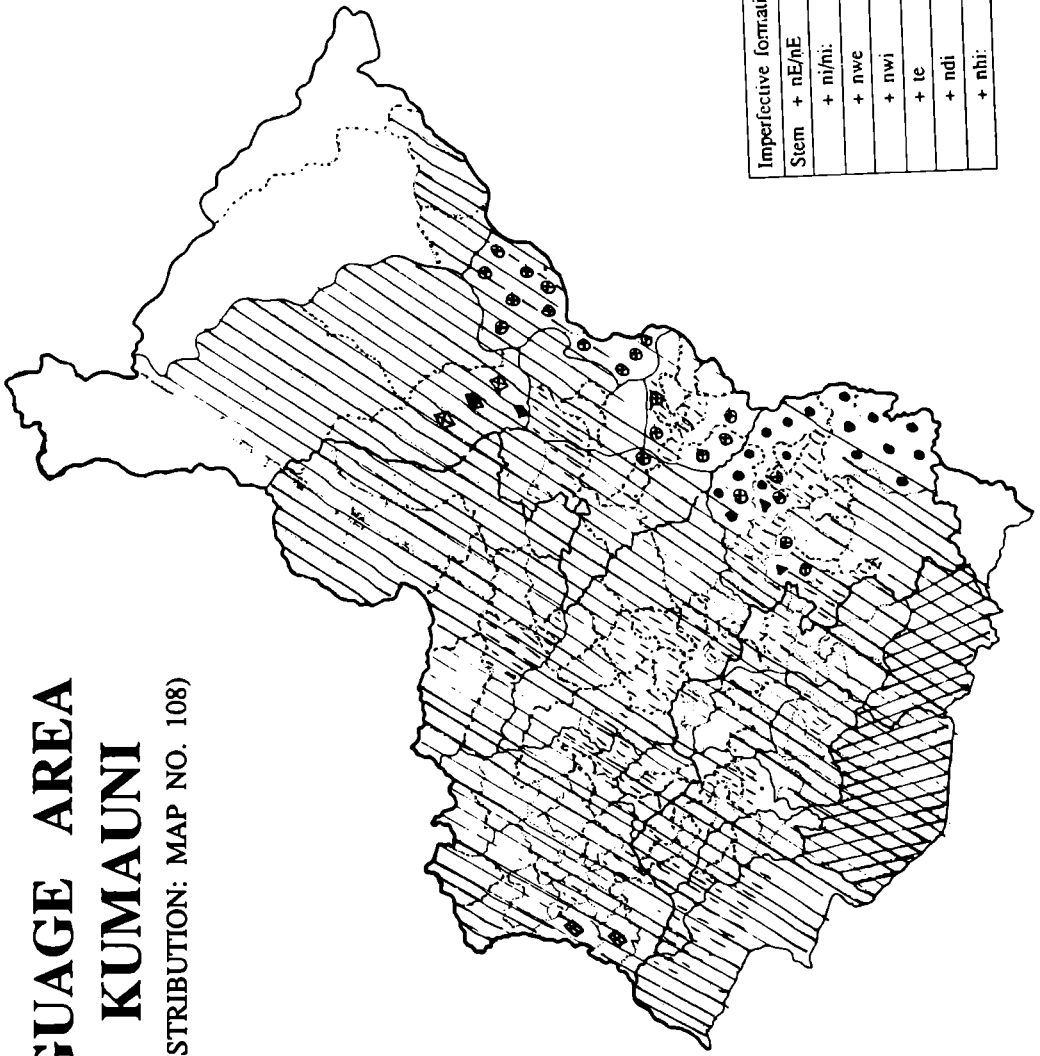
*Phonological and morphophonemic aspect:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic points of these correlates are: (i) assimilation of causative and perfective formatives (1, 3, 5, 7); (ii) emergence of an automatic glide (3-7); (iii) absence of /w/ glide (1-2, 8) which is conspicuously present with vowel ending stems, as in /kəwE/ or /kəwa/ from /kə/ 'to eat', but is an areal preference with consonant ending stems.

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, this paradigm constitutes a part of a VP., there being no inflection for number, gender and person. This flecational differentiation is indicated by the auxiliary /li~di/ which is in the imperative mood (see table No. 112). It shows a full agreement with its subject in the nominative case/ tUm withē kam kərE~kərwE liya/ 'you get the work done from him'.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali-* /kərwəi, kərwE, kərwa, kərwai, kəwE/.
2. *Nepali* - /gərai (leu), gəraunUs, gəraun hwəs/.

# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 108)



Imperfective formative	
Stem + nE/nE	▨
+ ni/ni:	••
+ nve	⊗
+ nwi	▼
+ te	▨
+ ndi	⊞
+ nhi:	⊞

**Table No. 121**  
**Areal Correlates of the Verb/ ho-, hUn-/ 'to become', denoting**  
**Processive Aspect, Continuous Tense.**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. hUnE-(1-154), 2. hUne- (1, 79), 3. hənE-(5-7, 12, 22, 24, 27-49, 52-55, 66, 72-73, 105-107, 110-113, 123), 4. hUnwe- (61, 68-72, 78, 81-82, 86, 99), 5. hUnwi-(72-72), 6. hote (11, 13-14, 42, 52, 73, 80, 85, 95, 97, 137, 145), 7. hEte- (62, 64), 8. hUndI-(46-47), 9. hUnE-(9, 14, 23, 28, 34, 36, 39, 97, 113, 117).

*Areal Distribution:* See Map No. 108.

*Immediate constituents:* stem /ho-, hU-/ + continuative formative + intensive formative.

*Phonological and morphophonemic aspects:* Notable phonological and morphophonemic aspects of this paradigm are: (i) assimilation of formative + intensive formative (1-3, 9) \*hUnAi > hUnE~hUne, (ii) emergence of automatic glide (4-5) \*hUnUi~-c > hUnwe, (iii) vowel harmony or colouring of vowel (7), (iv) absence of intensive formative (8).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it constitutes a part of the predicate, occurring as a first component of a compound verb, indicating progressive state of action in the past, present or future tenses, there being no inflection for number, gender and person of the subject. However, it shows agreement in number, gender and person with its object, as in /dyo hUnE goch/ 'it went on raining' /lɔ̃ɕ hUnE rɛch/ 'quarrel continued/ went on becoming' /kam hUne rɔ̃l/ 'works will be going on'. (for the forms of /rə-/ see table No 99)

*Note:* Similarly, /kəmE-/ 'doing', /khánE-/ 'eating' /jánE-/ 'going', etc.

*CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /hɔ̃ndu, hundo, hunda, hundi (f.) huni (f.), huɳE, hoɳu/.  
 2. *Nepali*- /hundɫi, hUndɫi, hUnoi/.

**Table No. 122**  
**Areal Correlates of Continuative Aspect of the Primary**  
**Verb /pək-/ 'to cook' (Impersonal)**

*Correlates & Areas:*

1. pəkōnE (4, 6-7...153), 2. pəkūnE (3-10, 12-19, 23-29, 34-35, 52, 56, 58, 61-62, 69, 71, 75, 78-79, 83-99, 106-07, 116-120, 123, 125, 128, 140. 136-37, 146-47), 3. pəkūṅE (2, 7, 22, 24, 97), 4. pəkanE (1, 27, 31-39, 42-48, 55, 75, 110-11, 128), 5. pəkaṅE (42), 6. pəkuni (71), 7. pəkate (7, 13, 18, 24, 28, 40, 35c.), 8. pəkōnwī (72), 9. pəkūnwe (69, 78, 79, 81, 86, 90), 10. pəkwenwe (71), 11. pəkūṅEmē (97), 12. pəkūnEmē (85), 13. pəkā (mē) (46), 14. pəkāh (chi), 15. pəknhī-(105), 16. pəkōnna (thyo), 17. pəkunI (rɔchyo) (69), 18. pəkun (māryothyo) (83), 19. pəkā (mEchi) (46), 20. pəkəndI (46-47).

*Areal Distribution:* See above, also as in Map No. 108.

*Immediate constituents:* Stem /pək-/ + transitive formative + continuative formative (assertive).

*Phonological and morphophonemic tendencies:* Important points of phonology and morphophonemics in these variations are: (i) choice of transitive formative, i.e. /ɔ ~ o ~ u ~ a/, (ii) glidal tendencies (8-10), (iii) gemination of formative /n/ (16).

*Syntactic usage:* Syntactically, it is a part of predicate (principal verb). Its subject is in the nominative case, but is not affected by the number, gender and person of the subject. It is indicated by the auxiliary following it. Its use is confined to the past and future tenses only, as in /mē pəkūnE rəyū/ 'I continued cooking' /mē pəkanE rōl/ 'I shall go on cooking'. (for the correlates of the aux. /rə-/ see table Nos. 99 & 104)

*Appendix:* Further examples of /kha/: /khánE~kháne~khənE~khánE~khate~khánwe~kháne~khánhi~khandI/.

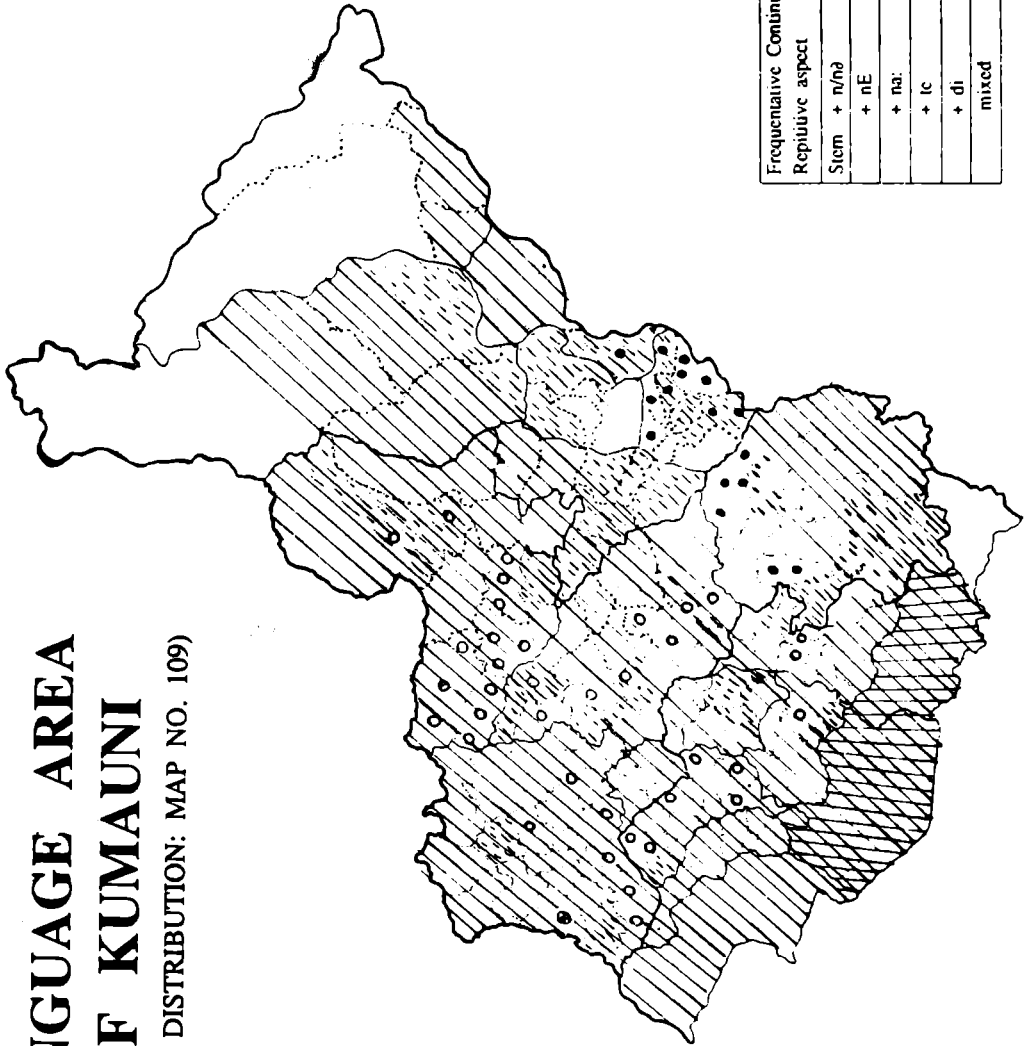
*Note:* For the past tense correlates of the secondary verb /rəh, rən/ see table No. 104. For the future tense correlates of the secondary verb /rəh, rən/ see table No. 99.

- CEP Correlates:* 1. *Garhwali* - /pəkāṅu, pəkāndu, pəkānde, pəkṅu, pəkōṅ/.  
 2. *Nepali*- /pəkaũdli, pəkaũnde, pəkōnoi (thyo) pəkaṅna-, pəkunno-/.



# LANGUAGE AREA OF KUMAUNI

(AREAL DISTRIBUTION: MAP NO. 109)



Frequentative Continuitive	
Repetitive aspect	
Stem	
+ n/nə	
+ nE	
+ na:	
+ tc	
+ di	
mixed	