A GRAMMAR OF BHOJPURI

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of
Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
LINGUISTICS

By
GOPAL THAKUR LOHAR
T. U. Regd. No. 14176-83
Ph. D. Reg. No. 24/2010 (January)

Tribhuvan University
Kathmandu, Nepal
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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We hereby recommend that this dissertation entitled **A GRAMMAR OF BHOJPURI** prepared by **Mr. Gopal Thakur Lohar** under our supervision and guidance be accepted by the research committee for the final examination in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of doctor of philosophy in linguistics.

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES

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APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled **A Grammar of Bhojpuri** was submitted by **Mr. Gopal Thakur Lohar** for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the **Degree of Doctor of Philosophy** in **Linguistics.** I hereby certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore been accepted it for the degree.

.....

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Act. Dean and Chairman
Research Committee

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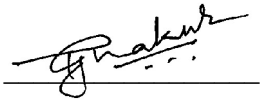
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled **A GRAMMAR OF BHOJPURI** submitted to the office of the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work prepared under the supervision of my supervisor and expert. I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in the course of writing this dissertation. The results presented in this dissertation have not been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or for any other purposes. I shall be solely responsible if any evidence is found against my dissertation.



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Gopal Thakur Lohar

ABSTRACT

This study presents a grammar of Bhojpuri within the framework of the functional-typological grammar with adaptive approach developed by T. Givón (2001a & b and 2009). Bhojpuri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in the districts of central Tarai (Madhesh); namely, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi (East and West of Susta) and Rupandehi in Nepal as well as in the adjacent Indian territories of Western Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh, and other provinces, too. It is also spoken as mother tongue worldwide, due to indentured labour in the past and foreign employment contemporarily. The main goal of this study is to analyze the forms and functions of different grammatical categories of the Bhojpuri language and compare them to the characteristic structural features of Indo-Aryan languages from the typological perspectives. Mainly based on the field study, this grammar examines morphosyntactic structures manifesting the relationship between linguistic forms and functions at both sentence and discourse levels of the form of Bara-Parsa variety of Bhojpuri.

The study is organized into 16 chapters. Chapter 1 presents major objectives of the study, literature review and significance and limitations of the study. Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 3 discusses some sociolinguistic aspects as background information. Chapters 4-14 deal with different aspects of grammar of the language, viz., phonology, morphophonology, word classes, simple verbal clauses and argument structure, grammatical relations and case-marking, noun phrases and word order, tense, aspect and modality, non-declarative speech-acts, marked topics and contrastive focus, inter-clausal and referential coherence. Chapter 15 deals with typological implications of the study. Chapter 16 presents summary and conclusions.

This study has revealed a number of interesting features of the Bhojpuri language. This language is used in different domains of language use with positive attitude of the speech community. East-west areal dialectal variations occur in the language along with ethnic and religious ones. There are 36 consonants and 8 oral vowels with their nasal counterparts in Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri presents different strategies such as deletion, raising, assimilation and coalescence between the preceding and succeeding segments during word formation. Morphosyntactically, Bhojpuri consistently displays nominative-accusative case-marking system. The case-markers are postpositional, but suffixed with pronominals. Tense-aspect-modality agreement markers are suffixal in Bhojpuri. Regular word order in Bhojpuri clauses is SOV with flexibility for different pragmatic

uses. Non-verbal predicates are significantly used for present habitual. Passivization, reflexivization and causativization are primarily morphological in Bhojpuri. A noun phrase consists of a single noun or pronoun as the simplex one and with other elements as the complex. Bhojpuri displays two genders, two numbers and three degrees of honorificity inherent in as well as marked with nouns and finite verbs morphologically. The relative clauses occur in externally and internally headed or headless position under strategies of a gap, pronoun retention and use of different correlative pronouns to relativize different grammatical relations. The non-declarative speech acts in Bhojpuri include interrogative with polar, constituent and negative polarity questions, and manipulative with imperative and hortative constructions. Reflexive, reciprocals, insertion of dative, benefactive or associative arguments and passive constructions are used in de-transitive voices. EPCs, Y-movement, left and right dislocations, dative-shifting and raising may be utilized in marked topic constructions as well as affixes and quantifiers, contrastive strength, reference and topicality, negation and polar questions in contrastive focus. The subordinate adverbial clauses are generally marked through the special non-finite verb forms in Bhojpuri. Conjoined clauses exhibit the conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative relationships among themselves and express rejection and cause too. Complement-taking verbs include perception-cognition-utterance, modality and manipulation verbs. The referential coherence is encoded by the morphological devices in terms of grammar of pronouns and the grammatical agreement. Bhojpuri displays a number of typologically interesting features similar to and different from its neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages.

This study has also revealed some striking features in the language. They may include aspirate sonorants, triphthongization, phonemic word-stress, smaller to greater order of counting upto 200, declension of adverbs in word-formation as well as for emphasis, development of genuine prefixes and infixes, allocutive agreement and absence of gender marking (in eastern variety), use of present tense copula *ba* with its negative counterpart *nʌikʰe*, verbless utterances in proverbs and relative clauses and clause-final plural maker particle *sʌ*, *sʌn* and *ja* with a consistent nominative-accusative pattern.

The annexes include details of sociolinguistic data collection and informants in the study, map of the common Bhojpuri speech zones in Nepal and India, tables of distribution of consonants and vowel sequence and samples of the analyzed texts, followed by references.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjectival
AP	adjective phrase
AUX	auxiliary
CA	Constituent Assembly
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COM	comparative
COMP	complimentizer
COND	conditional
COR	correlative
DAT	dative
DEF	definitizer
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DO	direct object
DUB	dubitative
EMPH	emphatic
F	feminine
FM	Frequency Modulation
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
H	full honorific
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INST	instrumental
INT	interrogative
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis

LOC	locative
M	masculine
MH	mid-horofic
MOD	modal particle
ND	nominal derivative
NEG	negative
NH	non-honorific
NMZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
OBL	obligatory
ONOM	onomatopoeia
OPT	optative
PART	particle
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	Past participle
PRD	Predicate
PRES	present
PRF	perfective
PROX	proximant
PST	past
PUR	purposive
QUA	quantity
REL	relativizer
SBJ	subject
SEQ	sequential participial
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous participial
Skt	Sanskrit
SPEC	specifizer
SUB	substitutive
UML	Unified Marxist-Leninist
V	verb

VD	verbal derivative
VOC	vocative
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

This study is an attempt to present a linguistic analysis of the Bhojpuri language within the framework of functional-typological grammar developed by Givón (2001a and b), with adaptive approach to grammar (Givón, 2009). Bhojpuri belongs to a group of languages usually referred to as Indo-Aryan, a branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Within Indo-Aryan trait, it is the western in the group of Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri as Grierson (1883) and Tiwari (1954 and 1960). According to the Census Report, 2012; there are 1,584,958 Nepalese citizens who speak Bhojpuri as their mother tongue, comprising 6% of the total population of Nepal.[1] The spread of Bhojpuri in Nepal is observed in the districts of Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi (east and west) and Rupandehi. The Bhojpuri speech community also resides in the adjacent Indian bordering territories of west Bihar and east Uttar Pradesh along with Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, as well as worldwide due to indenture labour in the past and foreign employment contemporarily.

Till date, Bhojpuri has been described in the framework of Sanskrit tradition, structural and transformational-generative models by some grammarians and linguists but no attempt has been made to describe this language within functional-typological perspective including adaptive approach to grammar.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Significant attempts have been made so far to describe grammar of the Bhojpuri language. But no attempts have ever been made into functional approach to language and typological approach to grammar of Bhojpuri at the propositional and multi-propositional levels. The main problem of this study is how to write a grammar of Bhojpuri from the perspective of the functional-typology with adaptive approach to grammar. The specific problems of this study are as follows:

a) What are the sociolinguistic aspects of the language?
b) What are the phonetic, phonological and the morphophonemic features of the language?

1. However, there is discrepancy between the data about the total population of Bhojpuri speakers published by CBS, 2012 and the one as expected by the speech community itself during the survey. It is estimated to be at least 2,000,000 Bhojpuri native speakers in Nepal by the Bhojpuri speech community.

c) How are the morphosyntactic features of the language realized at the propositional and multi-propositional levels in the language?
d) Why is this study typologically significant?

1.2 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to present the linguistic analysis of the Bhojpuri language from the functional-typological perspective with adaptive approach to grammar. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

a) To present the socio-linguistic aspects of the language;
b) To analyze the phonetic, phonological and the morphophonemic aspects of the sounds as well as lexicon in the language;
c) To analyze morphosyntactic properties of the language at propositional and multi-propositional levels; and
d) To present the typological implications of the study.

1.3 Review of the literature

Attempts have been made by different grammarians to describe grammar of Bhojpuri from different aspects. The important works include Beames (1868), Kellogg (1876), Hoernle (1880), Grierson (1883; 1884a-b and 1903), Tiwari (1954 and 1960), Singh (1967), Trammell (1971), Arun (1972), Nirbhik (1975), Masica (1976), Pandey (1979), Shukla (1981), Ojha (1982), Zograph (1982), Srivastava (1983), Marhé (1985), Tripathy (1987), Srivastava, S. (1999), Srivastava, V. (1999), Ashk et al. (2002 and 2003), Verma (2003), Anjoria (2004a and b), Vairagi (2004), Kushawaha (2005), Das (2006), Lohar (2006), Mehta (2006), Jaiswar (2007), Lohar (2007), Sharma and Ashk (2007), Kalwar (2008), Lohar (2008), SCERT (2008), Singh, R. (2008), Singh, V. (2008), Yadav (2008), Lohar (2009), Patel (2009), Singh (2009), Lohar (2010), Upadhyay (2010), Boodhoo (2011), Thakur (2011), Khatri (2012), Mishra and Bali (2014) and Thakur et al. (2017). These works exhibit the following approaches to linguistic analysis:

(a) Traditional approach
(b) Structural approach
(c) Transformagional-generative approach
(d) Comparative approach
(e) Functional-typological approach

1.3.1 Traditional approach

Beames (1868), Grierson (1883; 1884a-b and 1903), Nirbhik (1975), Ojha (1982), Marhé (1985), Tripathy (1987), Awadhut (1994), Srivastava (1999), Ashk et al. (2002-3), Anjoria (2004a and b), Vairagi (2004), Lohar (2006), Sharma and Ashk (2007) and Buddhoo (2011) have almost based their description and analysis of the Bhojpuri grammar on traditional model. The grammars of Bhojpuri presented on this model by different grammarians have roughly the following common characteristics:

(a) Bhojpuri is treated as a dialect of either Hindi (Beames, 1868) or Bihari (Grierson, 1883) preliminarily, but as an independent language by other grammarians later.

(b) The geographical boundary of the Bhojpuri natives' territory is surveyed by Beames (1868) and Grierson (1883 and 1903) to a greater extent within India.

(c) Grammar is primarily based on Sanskrit tradition in terms of writing system, description of parts of speech, case-marking system and other grammatical items.

(d) Grammar is prescriptive as footprints of the language to use it in purity.

(e) The grammar is mainly classified in terms of phonology and morphology.

As these studies are preliminary and traditional, they certainly have some limitations as follows:

(a) Bhojpuri is neither dialect of Hindi nor of Bihari. It has now become the third national language of Nepal and an independent language in the world arena.

(b) What Bhojpuri natives' territory has been traced out, it lacks Nepalese territory.

(c) Though Bhojpuri has a great affinity with Sanskrit, it is doubtful whether it has been a Sanskrit descendent. Grierson (1883) suggests that Sanskrit cannot be called as the origin of vernaculars of India as Sanskrit and Prakrit were the languages from the same origin but in literary and spoken forms and that each of the two influenced the other. That is why, *tʌtsʌmʌ* and *tʌdḇʌvʌ* are not from the same sources but from Sanskrit and Prakrit respectively in the separate forms from the very beginning. In this way, it is not Prakrit only that has cultivations of Sanskrit but also the vice versa: *geɦʌ* from Prakrit is found to be used at the place of *griɦʌ* in Sanskrit for 'house' (Grierson, 1883:4). So, grammar of Bhojpuri should be written in its own way.

(d) Grammar must not be prescriptive but a descriptive one. It should be described as it is used by its natives and be analyzed typologically.

(e) The grammar is described in different layers according to the specific need of the users of language.

Besides these, the traditional approach of grammar writing can also contribute in this study as what it has described is not quite irrelevant in terms of the functional-typological perspective.

1.3.2 Structural approach

Tiwari (1954 and 1960), Trammell (1971), Srivastava (1983), Verma (2003), Lohar (2008 and 2009), SCERT (2008), Singh, R. (2008), Singh, V. (2008) and Khatri (2012) have almost based their description and analysis of the Bhojpuri grammar and grammatical items on structural model. The grammar or grammatical items of Bhojpuri presented on this model by different grammarians have roughly the following common characteristics:

(a) Following Beames (1868) and Grierson (1883), Tiwari (1954 and 1960) traced out Bhojpuri natives' territory within India and Nepal empirically up to 43,000 square miles.

(b) Bhojpuri grammar is described more independently than it has been done in traditional approach, but structurally.

(c) Though it seems to be different from Sanskrit tradition, it emphasizes on structure or form rather than functions.

(d) It seems to be between Sanskrit and English in structural description.

(e) It describes Bhojpuri in different dialects but overlooks how Bhojpuri is used in Nepalese context.

Tiwari (1954 and 1960) almost agrees with Grierson (1883; 1984a and b; 1903) and reveals that dialect of Bhojpuri spoken in Baliya and Shahabad (now Bhojpur) districts is the standard one. He is the first linguist to demarcate Bhojpuri on his own field visit including Nepalese territories. The details also include a brief history of the language. Moreover, he denotes Bhojpuri being written in Kaithi script contemporarily. In this way the work can be considered as an historical and analytic grammar of Bhojpuri and can be useful to enrich historical, geolinguistic and sociolinguistic profile of Bhojpuri, to guide for a functional typological approach to Bhojpuri grammar.

Trammell (1971) focuses on phonology the northern standard dialect of Bhojpuri but almost traditionally.

Srivastava (1983) is a work on formation of the Bhojpuri language. The work is a concise but a philological analysis in depth, a comparative sociolinguistic and grammatical structure of Bhojpuri among its other neighbouring languages. Regarding composition of the Bhojpuri language, he claims that it is one of the Indo-Aryan languages composed by those Aryans who inhabited in North India with their own language and culture earlier than the Vedic language was introduced. He groups Bhojpuri with Asamese, Udiya, Bengali, Maithili and Magahi derived from the same latest root of मागधी अपभ्रंस-अवहट्ट /*magʌḍi ʌpʌḅrʌns-ʌwʌɦʌʈʈʌ*/ 'Magadhi deviations'. He claims Bhojpuri originated from mid and western Magadhi.

Ultimately, the work is a milestone, though in brief, to consolidate functional approach to language and typological approach to grammar in this study.

Lohar (2008) is a work on Bhojpuri sound system with recommendation of a writing system for standardization of the language. The paper defines grammar as a scientific system to study a particular language so that anyone who masters the vocabulary and have knowledge of grammar of a language can learn and study the language.

The paper is a preliminary effort to bring uniformity in writing of the language, but it is still missing some devoicing sonorant consonants in Bhojpuri. Besides, it gives an insight to finalize phonology while writing Bhojpuri grammar to a greater extent.

SCERT (2008) is an official work on Bhojpuri grammar and composition by State Council for Education Research and Training of Bihar, targeted for Higher Education of Class XI-XII.

The work is significant as it has officially been authorized. At the same time the vernacular is simple and clear. Peculiarity of Bhojpuri is clearly observed as needed. Ultimately, the work is fruitful for the study to write Bhojpuri Grammar proposed.

Singh, V. (2008) is a work on writing system of Bhojpuri. The author opines that the writing system of the language should be considered while writing grammar.

Lohar (2009) is a work on passivization in Bhojpuri. Like the other Indo-Aryan languages, the work classifies two types of transitive verbs: simple transitive

and ditransitive. Both exist in a pair of related sentences, traditionally called active and passive but semantically alike. Active and passive sentences are differentiated as per the role of the verb in agreement with agent or otherwise.

Lohar (2012) is a work on participial clauses in Bhojpuri. It tries to discuss both the sequential and simultaneous clauses Bhojpuri uses with their overlapping characters with cliticization.

These contributions from structural approach to grammar emphasize on structure or form overlooking functions. Besides, they contribute in the endeavour to some extent while describing forms based on functions.

1.3.3 Transformational-generative approach

Shukla (1981) is a detailed work on Bhojpuri grammar. Shukla is a native Bhojpuri speaker and linguist by training and profession. This is the first time that a native Bhojpuri speaking linguist has written Bhojpuri Grammar in transformational-generative (TG) model.

The grammatical components included in the work make it clear that the work is significant. Besides these, it prefers forms rather than function. It is based on Chomskyan notion of transformational generative grammar. It is a structuralist approach that is insufficient to describe a language as a functional phenomenon. But it can be helpful in the study to analyze Bhojpuri Grammar with description of the grammatical components under notion of functional approach to language and typological approach to grammar.

1.3.4 Comparative approach

Kellogg (1876), Hoernle (1880), Singh (1967), Arun (1972), Masica (1976), Pandey (1979), Zograph (1982), Kushawaha (2005), Mehta (2006), Jaiswar (2007), Kalwar (2008), Singh, V. (2008), Yadav (2008), Patel (2009), Singh (2009), Upadhyay (2010), Mishra and Bali (2014) and Thakur et al. (2017) are the significant works on Bhojpuri with comparative approach to other languages.

Kellogg (1876) is a work on Hindi Grammar with comparative paradigms of different parts of speech of more than a dozen of languages including Bhojpuri. Though it is not a specific grammar of Bhojpuri, it is significant for all those who are interested in the Neo-Indo-Aryan languages. As it is descriptive and comparative, it helps in the study to analyze Bhojpuri grammatical categories with implications of the neighbouring languages typologically.

Hoernle (1880) is a work on a comparative grammar of the Gaudian languages. It is in special reference to the Eastern Hindi. Hoernle adopts *Gaudian* for *Sanskrit affinities* considering it the least objectionable and the most convenient. His analogy might be considerable as all vernaculars in North-India are not Hindi. Likewise, he takes Western and Eastern Hindi synonymous with Braj and Bhojpuri respectively, claiming that the two are the principal vernaculars among others. He also admits that his subject is grammar of Bhojpuri more prominently. In this way the work can easily be considered as Bhojpuri Grammar in comparison with some other North-Indian languages what Hoernle terms as Gaudian.

Singh (1967) is the first comparative work on grammars of Bhojpuri and Hindi and Arun (1972) on comparative study of Bajjika, Hindi and Bhojpuri. Masica (1976) is a work on areal typology of South Asia. Pandey (1979) is a work on comparative study of Angika and Bhojpuri grammars. Zograph (1982) is a work on languages of South Asia that Bhojpuri belongs to.

Masica (1991) is a work on the Indo-Aryan languages. It describes features of the new Indo-Aryan languages in general. So, it is not any specific work on Bhojpuri. But we find some grammatical categories of Bhojpuri described in paradigms with the other neighbours of Bhojpuri. Srivastava, S. (1999) is a work on Bhojpuri vocabulary. As a native Bhojpuri speaker by birth she makes it clear that the work is not merely collection of all vocabularies in Bhojpuri but compilation of those typical words that are now at verge of extinction. Kushawaha (2005) is a comparative study on negative and interrogative transformation in English and Bhojpuri. Mehta (2006) is a comparative study on subject-verb agreement in Bhojpuri and English and shows form and function relation of the Bhojpuri utterances in all tenses, aspects and moods and compared them with those of English. Jaiswar (2007) is a comparative study of passivization in English and Bhojpuri. As the work is a comparative study, it focuses on the process of passivization in both the languages. Lohar (2007) is a paper on sociolects of Bhojpuri. As the other Indo-Aryan languages do, Bhojpuri has east-west geographical variation getting influenced by its neighbouring languages Maithili and Awadhi respectively. Kalwar (2008) is a comparative study on forms of suggestion in English and Bhojpuri. The work seems to be oriented on study of forms and function of suggestion in the two languages. Yadav (2008) is a dissertation on case in Bhojpuri and English. As it is centred on only a topic of grammar, it describes the case system in detail in both the languages. Patel (2009) is a study on semantic analysis of English

and Bhojpuri verbs. Singh (2009) is a detailed work on comparative study of Hindi and Bhojpuri grammars. The work starts with backgrounds of development of Indo-Aryan languages with classification of modern Indo-Aryan languages. Upadhyay (2010) is a comparative study on the grammatical categories of Nepali and Bhojpuri languages. Going through strengths and weaknesses of the work, it can be concluded that the research is comparative as well as descriptive. Still it follows Sanskrit tradition. Besides, it can help in the study to describe Bhojpuri functionally and Bhojpuri grammar typologically. Mishra and Bali (2014) significantly studies phonologies of some of the IA languages termed as dialects of Hindi. Thakur et al. (2017) is a comprehensive work on a multilingual dictionary of the Bhojpuri language. This is the first work on its kind to serve both the monolingual and the multilingual aspects of dictionary. This is Bhojpuri-Bhojpuri-Nepali-English Dictionary with transliteration of the Bhojpuri entry into IPA phonemic symbols. The work includes over 24,000 entries of Bhojpuri lexemes.

1.3.5 Functional-typological approach

Lohar (2010) is a work on relativization in Bhojpuri. It tries to discuss the morphosyntax of relativization in Bhopuri with functional-typological perspective. Thakur (2011) is a preliminary attempt to present Bhojpuri grammar from functional-typological perspective. It covers sociolinguistic context and phonetic, phonological, morphological and morphosyntactic description of the language. It also presents inter-lingual influences in Bhojpuri as well as Bhojpuri semantics. Though it can contribute in this research, the traditional and structural approaches still look significant in presentation of Bhojpuri grammar.

The extracts of the prominent works done in Bhojpuri conclude that it is a rich language with all genres of language, folklore and literature in it. It is an animate language generationally being transformed in a healthy way. To sum up, the previous works certainly helps in this study, to some extent, most of them follow either of the traditional, structural, transformational-generative and comparative approaches. The works of this researcher reviewed certainly have made efforts to follow the framework of functional-typological grammar, they are inadequate. Some domains are still missing as well as some are out of this frame-work.

Therefore, an appropriate presentation of a grammar of Bhojpuri must be based on the propositional and multi-propositional data from the formal and functional perspective as well as the data and analysis in the significantly contextual

works have to be cross-checked for reliability and validity to meet the objectives of this study to present sociolinguistic, phonetic, phonological, morphophonemic, mrophosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic properties of the Bhojpuri language from functional-typological perspective and adaptive approach to grammar.

1.4 Research methodology

1.4.1 Collection of data

This is a field-based study of the Bhojpuri language. Though the spread of Bhojpuri has been found in the Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi (east and west from Susta) and Rupandehi districts of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, the dialect spoken in Bara and Parsa is central and considered the standard one, in accordance with Lohar (2006) and Lohar and Regmi (2012). Therefore, the primary data were collected from the Bhojpuri native speakers mainly from Bara and Parsa districts, whereas, the other native speakers were also consulted with.

Different methods of field linguistics were used in collecting data. The researcher is a native speaker from Bara and this research is oriented to write grammar of the language in the standard dialect. Ultimately, it is based on purposive sampling for presentation of sociolinguistic aspects of the language as well as on random sampling for grammar. Therefore both primary and secondary data were used in the study.

As Lohar (2006) and Lohar and Regmi (2012) have already presented reports of the sociolinguistic survey of Bhojpuri and the researcher already involved in the field study, the aspects of the sociolinguistic features of the language rely upon the secondary data, collected and used in those surveys.[2]

To verify nature of aspirate sonorants in Bhojpuri consonants, the researcher consulted with a number of informants for samples. Among them, the samples from six informants were selected for analysis avoiding the technical error as far as practicable. For morphosyntactic analysis of the language, Folk-tales, radio conversations and monologues, interviews, procedural activities were collected from different sources. The four folk-tales, *An Ill-mannered Old Woman*, *Peasant Couple and the Children*, *A Family of Deaf and Dumb* and *Two Chapatis or Three?*; two radio interviews, one on contemporary politics and Bhojpuri and the other on the contemporary situation of the Bhojpuri language and literature; a magazine interview

2. Please see Annex I for the details of data collection for Lohar (2006) and Lohar and Regmi (2012).

on contemporary Bhojpuri language and literature; two radio monologues on the topics of Agriculture and Raxabandhan festival; and clauses expressing different situations in neighbourhood along with procedural activities were selected and analyzed. Moreover, a conversation between two villagers was extracted from Grierson (1884a), analyzed and included in the texts.[3]

1.4.2 Analysis and instances

Digital audio recorder, audio editor (Audacity 2.2.2), Praat and Toolbox softwares were the tools utilized to obtain, process and analyze the data. The computer softwares "Audacity 2.2.2" and “Praat” were used to analyze devoicing sonorant consonants for phonological analysis. The oral texts were analyzed by using the computer software "Toolbox". The data collected were cross-checked with other native speakers of the language. As a native speaker of Bhojpuri, the researcher's intuition about the language was also utilized.

In this study, abundance of instances have been provided at word and sentence levels in descriptions of phonological, morpho-phonological, morphological and morphosyntactic aspects of Bhojpuri. They are presented as following:

(a) The word or sentence is first presented in Devanagari script, so that, the native speakers, especially literate in only Devanagari script, can also be benefitted.

(b) Such words and sentences are transliterated in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) below Devanagari presentation.

(c) The transliterated IPA presentation is broken into morphemes. If morpheme-break is indifferent from its initial IPA presentation, this step is probably omitted.

(d) The lexical items of the morphemes are translated into English and the grammatical items are presented with their functional terminology in abbreviated form according to Leipzig glossing rules as far as practicable.

(e) At last, the free translation of the word or sentence is presented below each example.

As a model of grammatical description and analysis of the language, the functional-typological grammar developed mainly by Givón (2001a and b) with

3. Please see Annex I for details of the informants.

adaptive approach to grammar (Givón, 2009) was mainly used; however, insights from other prominent models of linguistic analysis were also utilized.[4]

1.5 Justification of the study

This study attempts to present a linguistic description and analysis on the sociolinguistic, phonological and morphosyntactic properties of the language. It is of great significance from different points of view presented below:

a) This study has laid foundation for a much more extensive research on Bhojpuri and its speech community regarding language and culture spreading in different parts of the country and abroad.
b) This research has contributed to a significant study of Bhojpuri. It has been corrected, refined and added to in order to finally arrive at a much prosperous understanding of the Bhojpuri language.
c) This study has eased the researches on different dialects of Bhojpuri in particular and other related Indo-Aryan languages spoken particularly in Madheshi community of the country.
d) The findings of this study may be used for evaluating the empirical adequacy of the assumptions made in language typology as well as linguistic theories.

1.6 Limitations of the study

This study has the following limitations:

a) This study has primarily been based on the form of the Bhojpuri language mainly spoken in Bara and Parsa districts of Nepal. The dialects spoken in Sarlahi, Rautahat, Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts have also been taken into consideration as far as practicable in the study.
b) Mainly the study purports to describe the language from the formal and functional perspective. However, the insights from other models of linguistic analysis have also been taken for analysis of the language.
c) The morphosyntactic properties of the language have been typologically compared with that of other related languages spoken in Madheshi community of Nepal as far as possible.
d) As phonological descriptions of Bhojpuri have already been presented from different points of view, the researcher has only analyzed devoicing sonorant

4. Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical framework in detail.

consonants in Bhojpuri because they have been presented as breathy sonorants previously.

e) Texts were collected from different genres of Bhojpuri. But those texts may create this study voluminous, so, only a few of them have been included in annexes, as suggested. Likewise, glossary prepared from the data has not annexed as advised because Prajñá Bhojpuri-Bhojpuri-Nepali-English Dictionary has already been published and marketed by the Nepal Academy.

1.7 Organization of the study

This study has been organized mainly into two parts: introductory and descriptive. The introductory part includes introduction, theoretical framework of the study and the sociolinguistic features of Bhojpuri. The descriptive part presents descriptions of the language. This work includes 16 chapters. Chapter 1 is introduction of the research. Chapter 2 presents theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 3 presents some sociolinguistic aspects of Bhojpuri. Chapter 4 deals with phonology and we introduce morphophonology in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, we describe the word classes and Chapter 7 presents simple verbal clauses and argument structure. Chapter 8 examines grammatical relations and case-marking and we present noun phrases and word order in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 inspects on tense, aspect and modality and Chapter 11 presents non-declarative speech-acts. Chapter 12 examines marked topics and contrastive focus constructions and Chapter 13 describes inter-clausal coherence. The referential coherence is presented in Chapter 14 and Chapter 15 presents typological implications. At last we present summary and conclusions in Chapter 16. Samples of the analyzed texts are given in Annex V, followed by references in alphabetical order.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the theoretical framework adopted as guideline for the study. It consists of four sections. Section 2.1 provides theoretical developments in grammar writing. In section 2.2 we briefly discuss functional-typological and adaptive approaches to grammar. Section 2.3 deals with assumptions of the framework. In section 2.4, we summarize the chapter with a brief account of the theoretical works we have followed and consulted during this research.

2.1 Theoretical developments in grammar writing

A number of approaches have been developed and adopted to describe a natural language since the linguistic tradition begins. Schmidhauser (2010:499) traces origin of grammar back to fourth century B. C. in ancient India followed by Greeks in the third century B. C. In the Indian traditions Panini invents सूत्र /*sutrʌ*/ 'threads or formulae', sandhi rules, कारक /*karʌkʌ*/ 'case', zero-representation and theory of sentence structure; followed by Patanjali with discovery of ध्वनि /*d̪wʌni*/ 'sound' and ष्फोट /*ʂpʰoʈʌ*/ 'underlying form' defining a sound unit in terms of वर्ण ष्फोट /*vʌrɳʌ ʂpʰoʈʌ*/ (Syal and Jindal 1999:38). Bhartṛhari and others contributed in the primitive Indian traditions.

The origin of traditional grammar or the entire European linguistics can be traced back to the Greeks with the word *grammatiké* 'grammar' meant simply the understanding of letters. It was so because linguistics was only part of philosophy, not an autonomous discipline of knowledge, consequently, Protagoras differentiated three genders in Greek *Sophistes*, Plato analyzed nominal (*ōnoma*) and verbal (*rhēma*) parts of a sentence and Aristotle added a class of *sȳndesmoi* that included all the other words such as conjunctions, articles and pronouns. Following set up of a library in the Greek colony of Alexendria, Dionysus Thrax summarized the Greek grammatical tradition.

Romans on the other hand wrote their Latin grammar influenced by the Greeks. It was the foundation of the grammatical tradition in Europe. Though they slightly modified the Greek grammatical system, it was carried out to serve the purposes of philosophy, literary criticism and rhetoric (Lyons 1968:13). As a result the theory of speculative grammar (*grammatical specultiva*) emerged in the medieval period.

In the modern era, the European structuralism emerged as a traditional theory a bit earlier to the first quarter of the 20th century and attempts of the grammarians centred on describing language not based on one's unique individual features but following models of the European classical languages. Instead of covering the actual speech categories of a particular language, such grammatical descriptions imposed the canonical models on almost all the target languages as Romans used to do. This approach, basically descriptive in nature, exhibits what languages are like but fails to explain why languages are the way they are (Dryer 2006:207).

There emerged the structural approach to the language in *Course in General Linguistics* of Ferdinand de Saussure first published posthumously by his pupils in 1915. It was based on the concepts of language like arbitrariness, *langue* and *parole*, and synchronic and diachronic study of language. Lyons (1968:38) states that Saussurean concept of structuralism influenced various schools of structural linguistics in Europe for at least fifty years in the 20th century.

Bloomfield (1923) laid foundation of American structuralism in the field of linguistics as the most dominating theoretical work for the next thirty years. Language based on the objective data is emphasized under this structural approach to only study the phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of a language. Bloomfield adopted Immediate Constituent (IC) analysis method for the syntactic study of a language in which a sentence is broken into smaller units such as clauses, phrases, words and morphemes.

Chomsky (1957) emerged as the transformational-generative approach to grammar and influenced the next two decades in the field of linguistics. Since its inception, it has gone through several modifications, but the transformational-generative grammar is the one that makes use of sequential, hierarchical and transformational breaking up (Pandey 2013:62). It accepts the Saussurean concept of *langue* and *parole* in terms of *competence* as the set of internalized rules of grammar in a native speaker's mind, and *performance* as the actual utterance produced by speaker in the process of communication respectively. In this concept, *competence* controls *performance*.

As an alternative to the formal linguistic theories of either Saussurean or Bloomfieldian structuralism or of Chomskyan transformational-generative grammar, functional approach to grammar was developed in the mid-1970s out of the work of a group of linguists mostly centred in California, including Talmy Givón, Charles Li, Sandra Thompson, Wallace Chafe, Paul Hopper, among others (DeLancy 2019:6).

Givón (1979:6) alleges the history of transformational-generative linguistics of 'boiling down to nothing but a blatant attempt to represent the formalism as "theory," to assert that "it predicts a range of facts," that "it makes empirical claims," and that it somehow "explains." It further mentions that Chomsky's TG model makes no reference to explanation of any kind, it is rather Bloomfieldian in ignoring the natural explanatory parameters of language, and rather Harrisian in motivating the formalism purely on the grounds of simplicity-economy in the name of explanation.

Givón (1979:44) blames TG grammar of combining theoretical vacuity of empiricism and the empirical irresponsibility of rationalism and further mentions that if the study of language, in Chomsky's view, must play in elucidating the nature of human cognition and human behaviour, it must be rejected as a pseudo-theory and useless methodology. It is so because neurological and cognitive development has outpaced socio-cultural development and the functional and adaptive necessities imposed by — and mediated through — the socio-cultural environment (Givón 1979:290).

According to Cristofaro (2003:7), the functional theories "seek to account for language structure in terms of language function". Givón (2001a:2) quotes Halliday (1973:7) clearly defining the functional approach to language as follows:

> … A functional approach to language means, first of all, investigating how language is used: trying to find out what are the purposes that language serves for us, and how we are able to achieve these purposes through speaking and listening, reading and writing. But it also means more than this. It means seeking to explain the nature of language in functional terms: seeking whether language itself has been shaped by use, and if so, in what ways–how the form of language has been determined by the function it has evolved to serve …

The functional linguists consider language as a means of human communication. They believe that all the natural languages have infinite number of pragmatic functions to be performed with the limited number of linguistic structures. Therefore "roughly-the-same propositional semantic contents can be packaged into a wide array of different syntactic clause-types" (Givón 2001a:17), and several pragmatic functions can be accomplished by the same formal structure. "This is where the clause-in-isolation method becomes unreliable and must be supplemented with the study of grammar in its natural communicative context" (Givón 2001a:18). The task of a linguist, according to this perspective, is aimed at explaining the relation between forms and functions of the language and analyzing how functions shape the grammatical

structures, is to describe the complex interaction of forms and functions in the language. Yadava (2004:268) exhibits focus of this model to be that "formal properties of language are constrained by communicative functions in verbal interaction".

DeLancy (2019:13) states that the generative linguistics believes there is an autonomous language "module" in the brain, and that most basic facts about language are what they are because they are constrained by the structure of this module. It regards a so-called "main, declarative, affirmative, active clause" as the "'syntactic' deep structure of all other clause-types" (Givón 2001a:19) to be transformed into under transformational rules. However, Dryer (2006:208) denies the new generative approach to be practical as a theoretical framework for describing an entire language.

Similarly, Givón (1995a:9) outlines some parameters that make functionalists distinct from formalists or transformational-generativists:

(a) Language is a socio-cultural activity.
(b) Structure serves cognitive or communicative function.
(c) Structure is non-arbitrary, motivated and iconic.
(d) Change and variation are ever-present.
(e) Meaning is context-dependent and non-atomic.
(f) Categories are less-than-descrete.
(g) Structure is malleable, not rigid.
(h) Grammars are emergent.
(i) Rules of grammar allow some leakage.

Thus, the formalist theories like structuralism and transformational-generative grammar that regard language as an autonomous and self-contained system, the formalists seldom pay attention to the discourse pragmatic functions the functionalists primarily rely on.

2.2 Functional-typological and adaptive approaches

2.2.1 Functional-typological approach

Though a kind of extremism occurred between formalists and functionalists in the beginning, a realization about each others have also been exhibited later. Givón (1984/1990) treats grammar responsibly in terms of both its adaptive motivation and typological diversity. But an explicit account of the more formal aspects of syntactic structure is overlooked as an over-reaction to the formalism in those days (Givón

2001a: xv). Similarly, Both Cartesian and anti-Cartesian formalists have also not denied function of language though they emphasize on its form.[1]

Chomsky (2009:77) observes that language serves as a medium of thought begins to be rephrased as the view that language has a constitutive function with respect to thought. Furthermore, the study of the creative aspect of language use develops from the assumption that linguistic and mental processes are virtually identical, language providing the primary means for free expression of thought and feeling, as well as for the functioning of the creative imagination (Chomsky 2009:78).

Therefore, Givon (2001a:xvi) pays heed to Chomsky's exhortation to seek universal principles, while affirming the mental reality of syntactic structures. Conclusively, Givon (2001a:xvi) mentions that the chasm between the formal generative approach to grammar and the adaptive perspective it pursue seems at times unbridgeable, but it can be narrowed down to a relatively small number of issues that are, in principle, empirical.

Givon (2001a:20) exhibits the functional basis of grammatical typology stating that "the typological approach to cross-language grammatical diversity has been historically associated with a functionalist perspective on grammar, from von Humboldt down to Greenberg". Although Whaley (1997:18) traces back the origin of this approach to the German linguists Freidrich von Schlegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt in the 1800s, it was flourished only in the mid-1970s. Greenberg (1963) infuses the field of linguistics with optimism about potentials of typology to deliver major discoveries about the nature of language and introduces the modern typological model of grammar. Obviously, it is an approach to grammar as an alternative to the transformational-generative theory advocated by Chomsky. Though it seems to be very close to the traditional grammar in a number of ways but Dryer (2006:210) reveals that it brought the notions like subject and object to the central stage which had not played any important role rather in structuralism or in generative grammar.

On the basis of the analysis of 30 languages, Greenberg (1963) claims that the languages of the world have some unique linguistic features of their own and share some features with others. The common features shared by all the languages are termed as universals classified into two types: absolute and implicational universals,

1. "We have seen that the Cartesian view, as expressed by Descartes and Cordemoy as well as by such professed anti-Cartesians as Bougeant, is that in its normal use, human language is free from stimulus control and does not serve a merely communicative function, but is rather an instrument for the free expression of thought and for appropriate response to new situations" (Chomsky 2009:65).

and found some tendencies that can be attested in languages (Comrie 1989:15-6). The statements made about the linguistic properties without referring to any other element are absolute universals, such as the statement 'all languages have oral vowels'. On the other hand, the statements that relate "the presence of one property to the presence of some other property, i.e., a given property must, or can only, be present if the other property is also present, such as 'if a language has first/second person reflexives, then it has the third person reflexives'"(Comrie 1989:17). It also proposes some parameters for the typological study of phonology, morphology and syntax, and sets some rules for avoiding biasness while selecting languages for typological studies.[2] Givón (2001a:23) explains the functional-typological approach go grammar as "in grammatical typology, one enumerates the main structural means by which different languages code the same *functional domain*".

Thus, it is Givón (1984/1990, 2001a and 2001b) that interlinked the typological approach to grammar with the functional approach to language and developed a theoretical framework 'functional-typological grammar', though Dik (1978), Greenberg et al. (1978), and Givón (1979) have made a great contribution to its development. Cristofaro (2003), Dixon and Aikhenvald (2004), Bhat (2004) and Shopen (1985, 2007a, 2007b and 2007c) among others have contributed for its further enrichment as a cumulative framework which has gradually been developed over the past few decades.

It is diachronic in nature for an attempt to explain the language at the level of language change. Functionalists believe there is, sometimes, a competition in the motivating factors. Dryer (2006:213) states that "once one motivation 'wins', then that is the way the language is". Certain aspects of language structures depending upon the language function is the distinguishing feature of the functional-typological approach. Therefore, the functional-typological research is interested in correspondence between the linguistic structures and the functional domain. Thus the individual morphosyntactic features and the functional domains they are associated with may not be similar cross-linguistically what functional-typologists argue because each individual language is unique.

2. "In attempting to construct a grammatical typology by purely structural means, one must first decide why structure A (in language a) and structure B (in language b) should be grouped together as sub-types of structural meta-type I; while structure C (in language C) and structure D (in language D) should be grouped together as sub-type of structural meta-type II" (Givón 2001a:20).

Givón (1984/1990) has introduced the functional-typological approach to grammar explaining the lapses of the formal linguistic theories of either structuralism or transformational-generative grammar. Givón (2001a and 2001b) further explains this approach to language and grammar with correction of the mistakes, including the aspects — constituency, hierarchy, grammatical relations, clause-union, finiteness and syntactic control—previously taken for granted but chosen to defer.

Going through the analogy of convention of the form and function, we come to conclude that a certain structure is required to perform a specified function. So, humane anatomy and anatomy of other animals differ from each other as they differ from one another to function separately. Likewise, an axe and a sickle are certainly different in shape and size as the axe cuts hard wood but a sickle cuts grass or straw. Consequently, "this is akin to suggesting, by analogy, that the evolutionary mechanism that gave rise to a particular life form is irrelevant to our understanding of the structure of that life form" (Givón, 2001a:7).

This framework tries to investigate how language is used, i.e., what are the purposes that languages serve for human beings and how human beings are able to achieve these goals through speaking, listening, reading and writing. Furthermore, the nature of language is explained in functional terms.

The functional explanation requires how and in what ways the forms of language may be determined by function it is developed to perform if it is formed by use of itself. Thus, this framework believes, not in competence, but in performance. According to this framework, grammar emerges and changes and the forms adjust to narrate functions. So, the meanings of the forms shaped by the functions are extended only for performance.

From the functional point of view, there are two primary functions of a human language:

a. Representation of knowledge

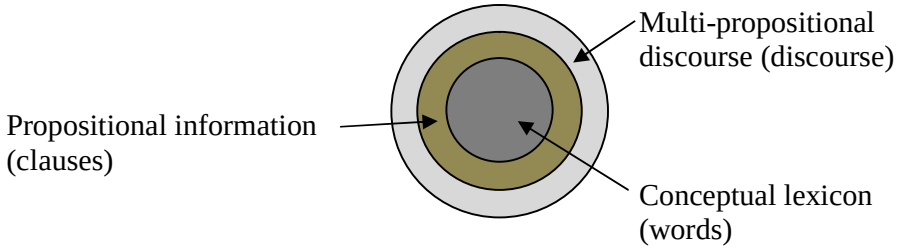
b. Communication of knowledge

According to this approach, language is a system in which the primary functions of representation and communication of knowledge are realized through the two subsystems of language: cognitive representation system and communicative coding system.

(a) The cognitive representation system

According to Givón (2001a:7), the human cognitive representation system consists of three concentrically-linked levels: the conceptual lexicon, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse. They are presented in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Three levels of cognitive representation system



Source: Givón (2001a:43)

i) The conceptual lexicon

Givón (2001a:7-8) describes the human conceptual lexicon in terms of "a repository of relatively time-stable, relatively socially-shared and relatively well-coded concepts which, taken together, constitute a cognitive map of our experimental universe: the external physical universe, the social-cultural universe and the internal-mental universe".

Following Givón (2001a:8), by time stability we mean that the meaning of a lexeme, say of the word 'cat' today will remain the same tomorrow. Similarly, socially-shared concepts mean that when grounding into communication the speaker assumes that a word has roughly the same meaning for each member of a particular speech community. Likewise, well-coded concepts mean that each chunk of lexically-stored knowledge is more-or-less uniquely, or at least strongly, associated with its own perceptual code-level though in a certain degree it might be. The conceptual lexicon is most likely organized as a network of nodes and connections. A word-node automatically activates a prototypical bunch of other closely-related word nodes. Atkinson and Shiffrin (1968:117) exhibits cognitive psychologists to have long recognized the conceptual lexicon under the label of permanent semantic memory.

ii) Propositional information

The level of propositional information is the second component of human cognitive representation system. At this level, concepts or words are combined into propositional information or clauses about states and events, relations and qualities that entities partake in. Such states, events, relations and qualities may pertain "to the

external physical world, the mental-internal world, the culturally-mediated world, or to various combinations thereof" (Givón 2001a:8).

Givón (2001a:8) quotes Atkinson and Shiffrin (1968) and Squire (1987) as mentioning episodic-declarative memory that cognitive psychologists have long recognized our capacity to process and store propositional information.

iii) Multi-propositional discourse

The third component of human cognitive representation system is the level of multi-propositional discourse. It is obvious the individual state and event clauses are simply combined into coherent discourse. Besides, human discourse is predominantly multi-propositional, i.e., its coherence transcends the bounds of its component clauses. Givón (2001a:8) quotes Loftus (1980), Gernsbacher (1990), and Ericsson & Kintsch (1995) as describing multi-propositional discourse being processed and stored in episodic-declarative memory.

Givón (2007:31) notes that early childhood and primate communication are almost absolutely mono-propositional.[3] In contrast, well developed human communication is, at the use-frequency level, overwhelmingly multi-propositional. This is mirrored in the fact that most of the grammatical system is dedicated to code multi-propositional (cross-clausal) coherence.[4] Grammar-coded discourse coherence is primarily involved with mental models of the interlocutors' current epistemic and deontic states. Furthermore, individual states or events may be combined into coherent discourse. Its coherence exceeds the limits of its component clauses. Multi-propositional discourse is also processed and stored in episodic declarative memory.

The immediate speech situation is mentally represented in the working memory/attention system. Such representation shifts from one moment to the next, and is thus temporally unstable. In contrast, displaced referents are more likely to be represented in episodic memory. Compared to working memory, "episodic representation is a much more stable mental representation and this temporal stability may have contributed toward the objectivization of verbally-coded referents, including mental predicates" (Givón 2007:30).

3. Further, Givón (2002b:5-6) elaborates that individual propositions may be combined together into coherent discourse. Human discourse is predominantly multi-propositional, in that its coherence transcends the bounds of isolated propositions. The lowest multi-propositional unit of coherence discourse is coded grammatically as a clause-chain.
4. Coherence may be taken to mean continuity, connectivity or grounding (Givón 2005:126).

(b) The communicative coding system

The symbolic communicative codes (Givón 2002b:8) of a language may be distinctly divided into the following two types:

i) The peripheral sensory-motor codes

The peripheral sensory-motor codes of human language comprise of the domain of phonetics, phonology and neurology (Givón 2001a:11). This coding system of human language serves "primarily to map lexical-conceptual meaning onto phonological words" (Givón 2002b:8). This presumably involves both coding (speech production) and decoding (speech perception) operations and is adjusted to pertinent perceptual and motor modalities.

ii) The grammatical codes

Givón (2007:4) notes that "grammar is probably the latest evolutionary addition to the mechanisms that drive human communication."[5] Although the evolutionary argument regarding grammar remains basically speculative, it is supported by a body of supportive evidence. Ontogenetically, both through hearing and signing children acquire the lexicon and the pre-grammatical pidgin much earlier than grammar.

Similarly, natural second language acquisition follows the same route. Furthermore, many non-human species like birds, dogs, horses and primates are easily taught auditory or visual lexical code labels for nouns, verbs and adjectives. This supports the proposition that the neuro-cognitive structures which underlie semantic memory are old pre-human, pre-linguistic structures (Givón 2002a:146). In contrast, "the communicative natural use of grammar (i.e., morphology and syntax) in non-human species has neither been attested, nor has any success in teaching grammar to nonhuman species been reported. Therefore, grammar is uniquely a human capacity" (Givón 2007:5).

In addition, the grammar is a much more abstract and complex code than the sensory motor codes of the lexicon. Most tangibly, the primary grammatical signal involves four major coding devices: morphology, intonation, rhythmics and sequential order of words or morphemes. Among these, some coding devices like morphology and intonation are more concrete. They involve the very same physical signals (sounds, gestures and letters) that code lexical meaning. The most concrete element of

5. "Two distinct cycles of symbolization – or code-development – must have taken place in the evolution of human language. The first involves the rise of a well-coded lexicon and its coding instrument, phonology. The second involves the rise of grammar and its coding instrument, morphosyntactic structure (Givón 2002b:4)."

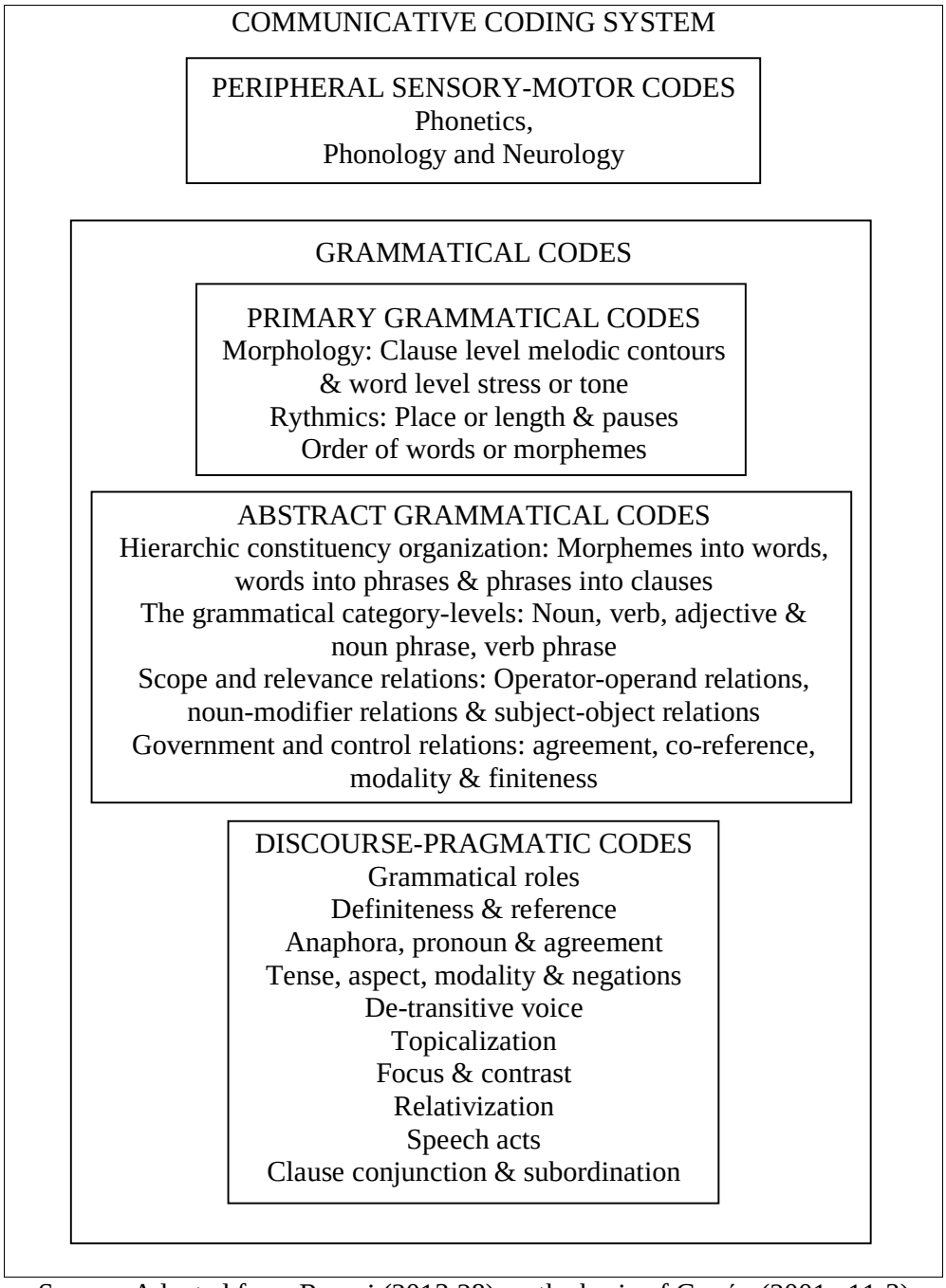
the grammatical code, grammatical morphology, is a diachronic derivative of lexical words. But these concrete devices are integrated into a complex whole with the more abstract elements of the codes like rhythmics and sequential order. These more abstract elements of the grammatical code are the second order constructs, inferred from more concrete signals. From the primary grammatical coding devices more abstract level of grammatical organization like hierarchic constituency organization, grammatical category labels, scope and relevance relations and government and control relations may be extracted (Givón, 2001a:12). The primary grammar-coding devices are in turn used to signal further more abstract levels of grammatical organization. The central question in the study of language processing is how the abstract components of grammar are extracted from its more concrete signals.

Simultaneously, grammar codes both propositional semantics and discourse coherence (pragmatics). Therefore, grammar is predominantly about the coherence relations between the propositional (clausal) and its wider discourse context. But the traditional structuralist methodology, of examining (or experimenting on) isolated clauses, has tended to obscure this overwhelming fact about what grammar does.

Some of the major grammatical sub-systems that code primarily discourse pragmatics are grammatical roles (subject, direct object); definiteness and reference; anaphora, pronouns and agreement; tense, aspect, modality and negation; de-transitive voice; topicalization; focus and contrast; relativization; speech acts; and clausal conjunction and subordination (Givón, 2001a:13).

Coding instruments of the communicative coding system, according to Givón (2001a:11-3), are presented in figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Communicative coding system



Source: Adapted from Regmi (2013:28) on the basis of Govón (2001a:11-3)

It may be clearly observed in figure 2.2 that there are three communicative coding instruments in a human language. The peripheral sensory-motor codes apply at the conceptual lexicon where the meaningful words are coded with sounds. Primary grammatical codes are used to convey propositional information where clauses are coded with grammar. The propositions (i.e., clauses) express information. Discourse-pragmatic coding entities apply in multi-propositional discourse components of

human cognitive representative system where combined clauses are coded with grammar.[6] Such clauses provide multi-propositional information. In this framework, the syntactic constructions (i.e., clause types) are taken as the focal point of grammatical description and various types of clauses or constructions are taken as grammatical coding instruments that signal discourse pragmatic function.[7] The primary grammar-coding devices are in turn used to signal more abstract levels of grammatical organization.

Functions of grammar

Grammar codes both propositional semantics and discourse coherence (pragmatics) side by side.[8] Although, it is solely located in the clause, its functional scope is not primarily about the propositional information displayed in the clause in which it dwells. Rather, grammar is predominantly about the coherent relations between propositional information (clause) and its wider discourse context.[9] The most common discourse-pragmatic domains coded by grammar are listed in (1-3) (Givón 2007: 6-7).

(1) **Noun phrase grammar**

	Structures	**Functions**
	VP grammar	**Referential coherence**
a.	Grammatical relations	referential coherence
b.	Definiteness, reference	referential coherence
c.	Anaphora, pronoun	referential coherence
d.	Deictic	referential coherence
e.	Pragmatic voice	referential coherence

6. Givón (1979:303) states, "At an evolutionary level where discourse is already multi-propositional and where coherence and topic have emerged, the clausal order of agent-patient-verb is, at least in terms of discourse frequency, also most likely to be topic-patient-verb."
7. Givón (1979:297) exhibits, "The pragmatic mode of discourse is used either in the society of intimates, where all generic information is shared, or in communication about the immediate context, where all specific information is shared. These are the two contexts where this mode of communication is used in extant human language, such as in pidgins, child language, and informal unplanned register of adults."
8. Gernsbacher, Morton Ann and T. Givón (1995: vii) state "coherence is a mental phenomenon rather than an inherent property of a written or spoken text. The fact that readers or listeners can indeed judge with high agreement that one text is more coherent than another. But neither the words on the page nor the words in the speech stream of themselves confer coherence."
9. Givón (1995b: 61) defines coherence as continuity by stating "coherence is the continuity or recurrence of some element (s) across a span (or spans) of text." He further notes that of the many elements that can recur across text, the six are more visible, concrete and the easiest to track and measure. They are: a. referents, b. temporality, c. aspectuality, d. modality/mood, e. location and f. action/script.

f.	Topicalization	referential coherence
g.	Relativization	referential coherence, event grounding

(2) **Verb phrase grammar**

	Structures	**Functions**
	VP grammar	**Event coherence**
a.	Tense	temporal grounding of event
b.	Aspect	aspectual grounding of event
c.	Modality	epistemic-deontic grounding of event
d.	Speech act	epistemic-deontic grounding of event to speaker/hearer

(3) **Cross-clausal grammar**

	Structures	**Functions**
	Cross-clausal grammar	**Event-chain coherence**
a.	Inter-clausal connective	event grounding, chain grounding
b.	Chain-initial adverbials	chain grounding
c.	Presentative constructions	referential grounding, chain grounding

As can be seen in (1-3), some grammatical systems can function in more than one discourse-pragmatic domain. Thus, for example, relativization (2g) and contrastive focus (2h) are part of the grammar of both referential coherence and event coherence/grounding. Tense (3a), aspect (3b) and modality (3c) are used to signal both temporal-aspectual-modal grounding and event coherence. And the grammar of inter-clausal connectives in (3a) integrates devices that signal both referential coherence and event-coherence, albeit often at higher hierarchic levels.

The distinctness of propositional semantics from discourse pragmatics does not mean the lack of overlap or interaction between the two. Thus, for example, morphological case marking codes both the discourse pragmatic functions of subject (nominative) and direct object (accusative), and the propositional semantic functions of agent, patient, dative, locative, instrumental or associative cases. Similarly, tense, aspect, modality (henceforth, TAM) and negation display both propositional semantic and discourse pragmatic functions. While the morphology of TAM system is part of clausal structure, its functional scope is not the propositional semantics of the atomic event or state, but rather the pragmatics, or connectivity, of the clause in relation to its

discourse context (Givón 2001a:285).[10] It is easy to see that tense is fundamentally a pragmatic rather than propositional semantic phenomenon, anchoring the proposition to a temporal point outside itself. And, the grammar of detransitive clauses ranges over both propositional semantic and discourse-pragmatic functions like agent suppression in passive, reflexive and detransitive constructions. According to Givón (2010:42), "the grammar of non-declarative (manipulative) speech acts is confined to here-and-now, you-and-I, the immediate speech situation which is more related to discourse-pragmatic context."

The differences between the transformational-generative and functional-typological approaches can be summarized as in the Table 2.1, based on Givón (1984:7-9).

10. Givón (1995a: 305) notes, "tracking the communicative use of grammar via the distribution of grammar in text has been the central tool in the methodological arsenal of the functional grammarian."

Table 2.1 Difference between transformational-generative and functional-typological grammars

	Parameters	TG Grammar	FT Grammar
1.	Structure and function	Language is conceived as structure independent of meaning and function. Syntax is autonomous.	Language is an instrument used to perform some socio-linguistic functions. No linguistic component is autonomous.
2.	Innateness	It emphasizes on the innate formal properties, i.e., the inbuilt genetic-neutral structure referred to as "universal grammar"	Language is explained in terms of pragmatic functional behavior with ecological and evolutionary mediation.
3.	Language and cognition	The formal properties of language are emphasized with notion of mentalism, i.e., structure.	Language is explained in terms of general cognitive capacities and processes.
4.	Formalization	Language is described as formal, deductive, closed and complete system, and the grammar of "competence" is deterministic automation.	Language is an instrument for carrying on communication, so, it is pragmatically based and recognizes open-ended, contingent and less than categorical nature of language behavior and cognition.
5.	Empirical integrity of the database	The linguistic data are used to construct the models of 'competence', the inbuilt system of language implanted in the brain.	The linguistic data are analyzed to examine the form and function relation and to seek how the function shapes the form of the language.
6.	Cross-language variability	It disregards the nature and significance of cross-language typological variability, and regards the syntax of the	Each and every language has unique linguistic features of its own, and so must be studied independently. No

		language like Greek, Latin and French as the basis for typological-syntactic universals.	grammatical features of a language should be imposed upon another language. Languages cannot be evaluated as 'superior' or 'inferior'.
7.	Language development, change and evolution	It separates linguistic studies into two parts: synchronic and diachronic, and believes that language universals can be formulated on purely synchronic basis. Communicative functions and socio-cultural pragmatic context are not regarded as variables in language acquisition.	It is diachronic and developmental in nature, and recognizes the determinative role of language acquisition, language change and language evolution in shaping extant language, culture and cognition.[11]
8.	Social and cultural context	It detaches linguistics from language as a socio-cultural phenomenon, expression and instrument.	It attaches linguistics with language in its biological-socio-cultural context.

Source: Adapted from Paudyal (2013:21)

2.2.2 Adaptive approach to grammar

Givón (2009) outlines the adaptive approach to grammar as an approach that is biological in the grand tradition of Aristotle and Darwin. According to Aristotle, the extant biological structures are functionally motivated. Similarly, Darwin elucidates that the extant biological structures perform their functions with the mechanism of adaptively selected evolution.

Language is one of the defining characteristics of *Homo sapiens*. It is deployed in a wide range of adaptive contexts: social interaction, cultural transmission, education, literature, theatre, music, humour and play, love and war. Of this rich array of useful

11. (Givón 1984:44-5) displays, "… we must remind orselves periodically that language never rests, it is always in the middle of change, in pronunciation, in lexicon and syntax. So thet often, in order to really understand why syntax is the way it is and how it performs its complex coding functions, one must investigate the way in which syntax–through childhood, history or evolution–came to be what it is."

applications, two core adaptive functions make all the rest possible: mental representation and communication of information (Givón, 2009:19).

Mental representation is the individual mental affair to code, make sense of, interpret and construct 'reality', be it external, mental or social. On the other hand communication is chiefly an interactive affair of two (or more) minds exchanging mentally-represented information; or, as is often the case, negotiating and constructing it jointly. Of these two core functions of language, as one can represent information in the mind/brain, mental representation is ontogenetically and phylo-genetically older, often automatically and sub-consciously, without intending to communicate it, but, nobody can intentionally communicate information that is not first represented in the mind.

As Givón (2009:21-2) quotes Geary (2005), Cheyney and Seyfarth (2007), Carter (1974) and Givón (2002a, ch. 4,5) as mentioning overwhelming evidence from animal communication, child language development and neurology that cognitive representation preceded communication in evolution, whereas, representation and communication are the two core adaptive functions of human language and it can be taken for granted that cognitive representation is present in pre-human species, and is a development pre-requisite to language. There are two specific communicative codes – phonology and grammar – that human communication added to the pre-existing cognitive representation system.

Atkinson and Shiffrin (1968) counts three major systems of mental representation in the human mind/brain recognized by cognitive scientists long before. Givón (2009:22) compares them with their linguistic equivalences as follows:

(4) **Major cognitive representational systems:**

Cognitive label	**Linguistic equivalence**
• permanent semantic memory	the mental lexicon
• episodic memory	the current text
• working memory and attention	the current speech situation

Semantic memory is the mental lexicon, a long-term repository of nouns, adjectives and verbs. Episodic ('declarative') memory is the long-term repository of propositional information about unique events, states or specific individuals, and working memory represents what is available in the mind for immediate attentional activation (Givón 2009:22-3), i.e., the human language is a combinatorial system of

the three labels in terms of lexicons (words), propositions (clauses) and multi-propositional discourse (coherence) to support human communication.

Givón (2009:28) states that the adaptive function of grammar comes into sharp relief what one notes that humans can, in some developmental, social or neurological contexts, communicate without grammar, i.e., the pre-grammatical pidgin communication." It clearly reveals that grammar is an adaptive human phenomenon as the structural and functional differences between pre-grammatical and grammatical communication may be summarized as follows (Givón 1979 and 1989):

(5) **Pre-grammatical vs. grammatical communication**

properties	**grammatical**	**pre-grammatical**
STRUCTURAL		
a. **morphology**	abundant	absent
b. **constructions**	complex, embedded, hierarchic	simple, conjoined, non-hierarchic
c. **word-order**	grammatical (subj/obj)	pragmatic (topic/comment)
d. **pauses**	fewer, shorter	copious, longer
FUNCTIONAL		
e. **processing speed**	fast	slow
f. **mental effort**	effortless	labourious
g. **error rate**	lower	higher
h. **context dependence**	lower	higher
i. **processing mode**	automated	attended
j. **development**	later	earlier
k. **consciousness**	sub-conscious	more conscious

Thus, Givón (2009:30) states that "the adaptive function of grammar is to code the communicative functions – or discourse context – of propositions/clause. So, it is adapted to represents – systematically, in the mind of the hearer-speaker – the constantly shifting epistemic and deontic mental states that the interlocutor is presumed to hold during ongoing communication. In other words, grammar is a code adapted for the mental representation of other minds, what is currently known in cognitive neuroscience as theory of mind."

Going through the notions of adaptive approach to grammar, it is considered as an enrichment to the functional-typological approach to grammar.

2.3 Assumptions of the framework

The main goal of the functional-typological grammar (FTG) with an adaptive approach, by T. Givon, is to study the diversity of the structural means of affecting the same adaptive communicative functions from the formal and functional perspectives.

Going through Regmi (2007), Dhakal (2010), Paudyal (2013), Regmi (2013) and Khatiwada (2016), some of the basic assumptions of FTG are summarized in the points as follows:

a. All components of a language like phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics are interdependent, rather being autonomous from each other.
b. Language and communication are viewed as maturation phenomena and being part of general Piagetian cognitive abilities.
c. FT approach is basically developmental in the sense that it considers how acquisition, evolution and change in a language affect its behavior.
d. Human languages consist of categories that are defined not as discrete, but rather based on prototypes with fuzzy boundaries and contingent pragmatically based rules, shading off into one another.
e. Language universals are explained at the surface level in terms of functions cross-linguistically.
f. Syntax which encodes propositional semantic information and discourse pragmatic function is functionally bound.
g. FTG follows an empirical approach and it views data of language use, variation, development, behaviour, and discourse processing and experimental cognitive psychology as part and parcel of one empirical complex.
h. FTG is concerned with the intricate relationships between form and function, which gives importance to the subtle details of distribution to enrich further grammatical description.
i. FTG uses the processes of syntactic argumentation used in generative grammar in analyzing the syntax of a particular language.
j. FTG has the rich view of linguistic structure. It allows for insight from various linguistic levels simultaneously, thus providing a variety of information of interest to linguists working within a number of different subfields of linguistics.

k. FTG generally makes use of a mix of elicited and discourse data. However, the emphasis placed upon the discourse data to provide more natural database upon which the description is based.
l. FTG, particularly, in the areas of phonology and morphology attempts to describe languages in a more user-friendly fashion by including semantic considerations in its analyses, and by employing terminology that has been used for similar phenomena in other languages.
m. FTG admits the phoneme as probably the most central concept in describing the phonology of a language. It uses generative phonology and the descriptive tools of more recent phonological theories.
n. FTG redefines syntax in terms of propositional information and discourse pragmatic function, and thus about the relation between the function of grammatical devices and their formal properties.
o. Since FTG believes in evolution it obviously also believes in universals, both formal and functional. The functional universals guide diachrony, then, diachrony produces structural universals as well as typological diversity.
p. FTG proposes that the cross-language typological diversity at whatever level must be based on a study of representative diversity of types whereas other functionalists remain committed to the existence of language universals, presumably both of meaning/function and grammatical structure.
q. FTG is strongly committed to the view of language as primarily an instrument of communication, and to the importance of this in explaining why languages are as they are (Butler, 2003a:49).
r. FTG focuses the centrality of semantics and pragmatics as the motivating factors of the syntax of a language.
s. FTG organizes the linguistic materials in terms of the three 'functional realms' coded by syntax: lexical semantics, propositional semantics and discourse pragmatics.

2.4 Summary

For this study, the perspective of FTG with adaptive approach to grammar might be summarized as an appropriate theoretical framework. It is so because Bhojpuri has certainly been described earlier but not in the shape Bhojpuri looks within. Within this framework, the Bhojpuri language has been described as it is along with explanations why Bhojpuri is the way it is. This framework prefers 'source of terms' to be under theory specific terminology, unlike the formal ones. FTG with adaptive

approach views that only descriptions are not enough to get at the essential nature of language, they must be explained for why they exist so.

This framework seeks for analysis outside the system of language, so, the explanations in the study are focused on the fact that grammatical rules do not produce words and phrases in vacuum. The structures they produce are used purposive and contextual. In this framework, we have sought explanations in coherence processing, economy, perception-cognition and iconicity. We have provided examples mostly from our discourse data and partially also from the elicited clauses. We have made efforts to highlight the typologically significant features of the language. Within this study, we have analyzed basically the propositional information and multi-propositional discourse preceded by a general overview of the conceptual lexicon (word classes). Consequently, the structures of morphology, syntax and discourse in Bhojpuri have been analyzed at lexical (i.e., conceptual), propositional (i.e., clausal) and multi-propositional (i.e., discourse) levels, making efforts "to explain why some forms coincide consequently with some functions than ones" (Regmi 2007:13).

Therefore, Givón (1984, 2001a, 2001b and 2009) were taken as the guideline for the overall theoretical framework while accomplishing this study, though insights were also sought from Shopen (1985, 2007a, 2007b and 2007c), Dixon (2010a and b, 2012), Noonan (2006), Rice (2006) and Bright (2006) among others. Besides, as Bhojpuri is an Indo-Aryan language, Grierson (1884a, 1884b, 1903a, 1903b, 1903c, 1904 and 1909), Masica (1976, 1991 and 1993), Verma (2003) and Subbārāo (2012) were proved very helpful for typological implications.

CHAPTER 3
SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with some sociolinguistic aspects of Bhojpuri. It consists of 9 sections. Section 3.1 describes the native speakers and language, section 3.2 presents language resources and organizations, we present mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in section 3.3. Section 3.4 describes domains of language use and section 3.5 presents language vitality, transmission and maintenance. Section 3.6 examines language attitudes and section 3.7 describes language development. In section 3.8 we describe dialectal variation and we conclude the chapter in section 3.9.

3.1 The native speakers and language

Bhojpuri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi (east and west) and Rupandehi districts of the Province No. 2, Bagmati, 4 and 5 of Nepal. According to the Census Report, 2012; 1,584,958 Nepalese citizens speak Bhojpuri as their mother tongue comprising 6% of the total Nepalese population.[1]

According to Ethnologue (2012), there are about 124 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2011 records the numbers of speakers for 123 languages and also an additional category of 'other unknown languages' with close to half million speakers. However, there is no reliable estimate of the actual number of languages spoken within the country.

According to the Census 2011, Bhojpuri is the language spoken by divergent groups of religions, ethnicities and cultures of Nepal, living in low land locally known as Tarai/Madhesh. There are different caste and creed living in the region such as Hindus, Muslims and Christians by faith; Baji, Tharu and other indigenous nationalities by ethnicities that comprise Madheshi and others as social communities. Native Bhojpuri speakers also live in the wide stretch of the adjacent Indian territories of western Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and other Indian provinces. Besides, it is also spoken in Mauritius, Fiji, Trinidad, Tobago, Suriname, South Africa

1. However, the researcher observed some discrepancy in between the data of the total population of Bhojpuri speakers published by CBS, 2012 and assumptions of the speech community itself during the survey. The Bhojpuri speech community claims their population to be at least 2,000,000.

and other different countries worldwide due to indentured labour in the past and foreign employment contemporarily.

From Bhojpur, a place near Baxar belonging to the district of Bhojpur in the northern Indian state of Bihar, the language named Bhojpuri and the inhabitants Bhojpurias are thought to have spread in western Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh along with some other provinces in India as well as in the adjacent Madheshi territory of Nepal from Sarlahi in the east till Rupandehi in the west. This Bhojpuri speaking belt was divided into two countries following the Sugauli Treaty reached between the then Government of Nepal and the East India Company, ruling in India on behalf of the then Government of the United Kingdom, in 1816. In reality, the Bhojpurias do not feel any linguistic and cultural boundary due to unhindered and regular movement among each other between the two states besides the political partition into two countries.

Grierson (1903:41-2) traces out some 50,000 square miles of area covered by Bhojpuri within Nepal and India as well as three main varieties of the language – the standard , the western and Nagpuria – along with Madhesi and Tharu. Tiwari (1954:9-11/1960:xxiv-vi) traces out some 43,000 square miles of area covered by Bhojpuri within the two countries and five varieties of the language – the northern standard, the southern standard, the western standard, Nagpuria, and Nepal variety which is the concern of this study. Map of the common Bhojpuri speech zone within Nepal and India is presented in Annex II.

The Bhojpuri civilization has commenced from wild lifestyle. It has still been relied basically upon agriculture. That is why; the Bhojpurias have gathered their recognition in the field of agriculture and animal farming. They grow food-grains, fruits, lentils, vegetables, oil-seeds and keep cows, buffaloes, goats and so on.
But majority of Bhojpurias still have no means other than selling labour as a consequence of medieval feudal economy giving birth to capitalism. Bhojpurias scattered in Diaspora have reached in different parts of the world due to the same reason seeking for a sale of their physical labour in global market. Furthermore, Grierson (1927:151) portrays Bhojpuri speech community as an alert and active nationality with few scruples and considerable abilities they have spread over Aryan India, each man ready to carve his fortune out of any opportunity that may present itself.

Madhesh (terrain land) is the granary of Nepal and Bhojpuri area is renowned there for the highest fertility. Bhojpurias are still there in their ancestral occupation, agriculture and animal farming.

3.1.1 Caste/Ethnic groups

The Hindu caste system still plays a dominant role in the Bhojpuri Society. Traditionally, it is a common society of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra castes. The system of untouchability still exists in Bhojpuri society. Consequently, a major part of the society is living in bitter hardships because of belonging to so-called lower castes locally known as अछोप /ʌcʰop/ or अछूत /ʌcʰut/ 'untouchable' or दलित /dʌlit/ 'down-trodden'.

Generally Brahmins, who are even not rich economically, deserve ultimate supremacy and enjoy a prestigious life till date. Kshatriya community of Rajputs and Bhumihars has still been landlords.

Vaishyas also include both, touchable and untouchable castes. But gradual economic growth in Vaishyas has been removing the problems of untouchability in recent days, at the same time, those economically weak are facing a kind of social exclusion. For example: हजाम /ɦʌjam/ 'barbar', लोहार /loɦar/ 'blacksmith', and माली /mali/ 'floriculturist' are touchable but compelled to stretch their palm before the untouchable wealthy Vaishyas. These castes are locally known as पउनी /pʌuni/ 'castes living on semi-annual remuneration of grains' and a proverb reveals how the society looks at them, पउनी के दउनी कइसन ? /pʌuni ke dʌuni kʌisʌn/ 'Paunis should gather no harvest'.

Shudras' life is more deteriorating. They are subject to do all physical labour but barred from utilizing any products facing untouchability. They build house but cannot enter after घरपूजा /ɡʌrpuja/ 'a ritual for formal entry of the house owners'. They dig the well but are not allowed to carry water. One incident is very interesting. Marriage ceremony of all castes is incomplete until डोम /ɖom/ 'Hindu scavenger' brings डाला /ɖala/ 'a bamboo container to perform wedding rituals' but he is only provided the food left over by eating in a feast.

This is the root cause why a large number of downtrodden Bhojpurias turned Muslims following Muslim invasion on the land. Today also, people are adopting Christianity high in number.

Bhojpuri society includes Hindus and Muslims on religious ground, Tharu and Baji (a name given by Tharu for non-Tharu people) on communal ground. Besides, the religious and communal tolerance is integral part of the Bhojpuri society in Nepal. Only the need is to eliminate the inhumane system of untouchability in the Hindu society.

Besides, the superstitious practices of witches, magic-spell, ghosts and animal-sacrifice are also found remnants of the medieval period.

In spite of strength and weaknesses, the Bhojpuri society has also given births to renowned personalities, e. g., First Indian President Rajendra Prasad, a world famous philosopher and writer Rahul Sankirtayan, Shakespeare of Bhojpuri playwright Bhikhari Thakur and great poet of Nepalese Bhojpuri Gopal Ashk and so on.

3.1.2 Religion

Dominantly, Bhojpuri speech community follows Hinduism and Islam. However, at present, a few of them are following religions other than the two, e. g., Christianity, Buddhism, Samanism and so on.

3.1.3 Literacy

Generally literacy in Bhojpuri speech community is still poor. Ehnologue, 2012 has data of literacy rate of the Bhojpuri speech community in the first language to be 5%–30% and that in the second language to be 50%–75% respectively. Especially women are deprived of formal education.

3.1.4 Marriage system

As the Bhojpuri speech community is heterogeneous in terms of religion, so is observed the marriage system. There is tradition of early marriage among both the Hindus and Muslims, but it is rapidly receding recently. In both the religious communities of the Bhojpuri native speakers, there is arranged marriage system still continuing in practice. Priests are required in both the communities. Moreover, the marriage is arranged by the parents of both the bride and the bridegroom. Previously they were not allowed to see each other before marriage, but such practice is now being discouraged. Besides, the practice of the second wedding ceremony, locally known as द्विरागमन /*dwiragʌmʌn*/ or गौना /*gɔna*/ or दोङा /*doŋa*/ among Hindus, is also being wiped out. These days, the practice of love marriage and court marriage is also gathering momentum in slow motion.

3.1.5 Occupation

Primarily Bhojpuri community is entirely involved in agriculture. Most of them are farmers and cattle herders. So, they have their own agro-economy following self-reliant living system by tradition. Consequently, they are either farmers or petty-farmers or peasants or shepherds. Besides, they are also engaged in business, household works, government and public services and so on these days.

3.1.6 Demography and distribution

Bhojpuri is a multi-ethnic language spoken by the different ethnic groups of people. Being a multi-ethnic language, it is spoken in far and wide regions of Nepal as well as in India both as mother tongue as well as a second language by heterogeneous groups of people irrespective of caste and creed. It is spoken in Central Madhesh-Terai in Nepal as well as in the adjacent neighbouring territories of Western Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh in India aboriginally. This language is said to have been written in Kaithi script in the past but now it is written in the Devnagari script. As the district-wise demography of the native Bhojpuri speakers of 2011 census depicts a clear picture of distribution of its demography, Table 3.1 presents the stronghold of Bhojpuri populace in Nepal.

Table 3.1: Stronghold of the Bhojpuri native speakers in Nepal

	Districts	Population	Bhojpurias	Percentage
1.	Sarlahi	769,729	6,868	0.89%
2.	Rautahat	686,722	29,481	4.29%
3.	Bara	687,708	495,307	72.02%
4.	Parsa	601,017	469,619	78.14%
5.	Chitwan	579,984	9,668	1.67%
6.	Nawalparasi	643,508	186,840	29.03%
7.	Rupandehi	880,196	322,067	36.59%
	Total	4,848,864	1,519,850	31.34%

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Census Report, 2012

The internal migration of non-Bhojpuri speakers and a shift of the Tharu population from Bhojpuri into their own ethno-linguistic identity in recent days are responsible for a very thin population of Bhojpurias in Chitwan, though it has slightly increased from that of 2001 census. Likewise, the Bhojpuri population has decreased in Rautahat and Sarlahi as the previous population made a shift from Bhojpuri to Bajjika recently.

Besides, Bhojpuri migrants are available in all the districts of Nepal except Jajarkot, Dolpa, Kalikot, Mugu, Humla and Bajura.

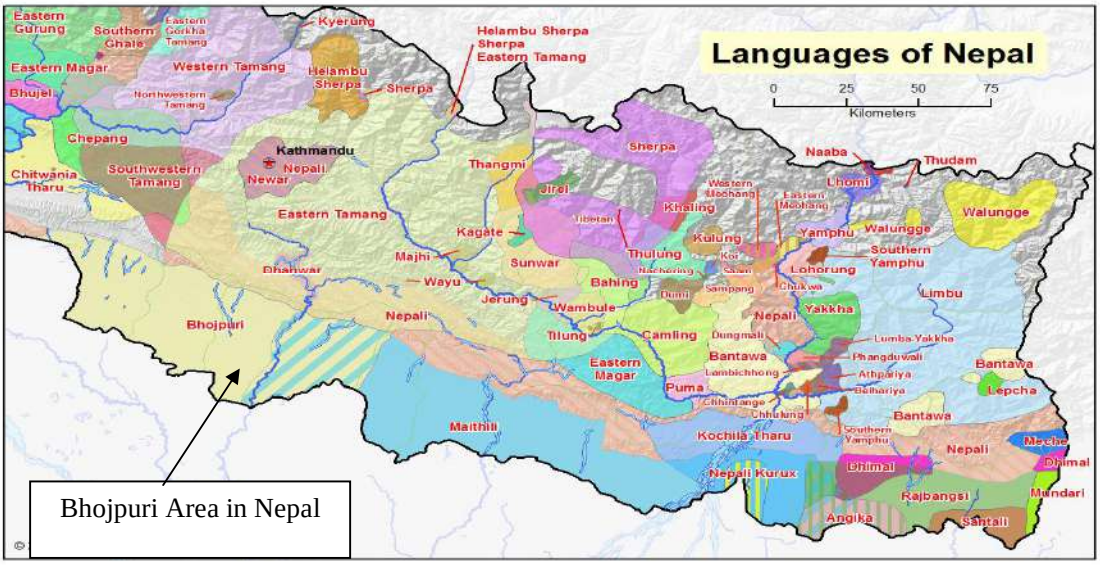
Likewise, 95.89% of the Bhojpuria population lives at their native places and others elsewhere as migrants in Nepalese territories.

Moreover, the latest census of 2011 shows Bhojpuri spoken by 159,379 Nepalese citizens as the second language in 44 districts of Nepal. It comprises 0.6 percent of the total population. In this way Bhojpuri is spoken by 1,744,337 Nepalese populace comprising 6.6 percent of the total population. Though it is the official data of Bhojpuri

speakers in Nepal, Bhojpuri speech community looks reluctant to accept it as they speculate more people speak Bhojpuri in Nepal than those shown in the census report.

Map 3.1 presents the geographical location of the Bhojpuri speech community in Nepal.

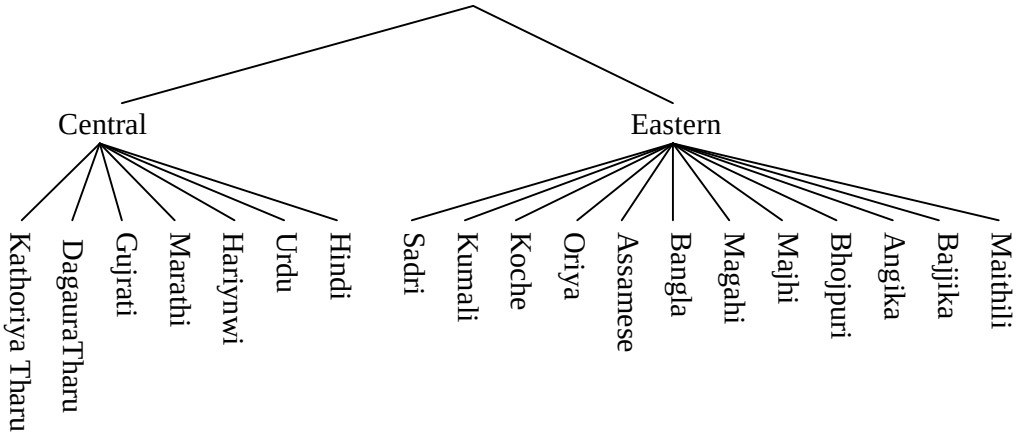
Map 3.1: Bhojpuri speaking areas in Nepal[2]



3.1.7 Linguistic affiliation

Bhojpuri is one of the members of eastern zone in the Indo-Aryan languages. Figure 3.1 presents its linguistic affiliation.

Figure 3.1: Indo-Aryan languages



Source: Yadava (2004) and Ethnologue (2012)

2. We would like to acknowledge SIL International for the map used in this study.

Figure 3.1 shows that the Bhojpuri language (bho, ISO code) belongs to the western part of the Eastern Zone of Indo-Aryan group of Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family.

Similarly, since the Public Census began in Nepal, the ratio of the Bhojpuria population has been observed as given in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2: Population of the Bhojpuri speech community in the censuses of Nepal

Year (AD)	1952-54	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Total Pop.	4,235,079	9,412,996	11,555,986	15,022,839	18,491,097	11,736,934	26,494,504
Bhojpurias	477,281	577,357	806,480	1,142,805	1,3797,17	1,712,536	159,379
Ratio	5.8%	6.13%	6.98%	7.61%	7.46%	7.53%	6.0%

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics

Studying the rate of population growth in the country, the growth in population of Bhojpurias from 1952 to 1981 is increasing whereas it has sharply decreased in 1991. Relatively it has again regained a slight increase in 2001 and a decline in 2011. The cause behind this might be an issue of study.

3.1.8 Writing system

The earlier records indicate that Bhojpuri was using its own script, Kaithi, previously (Grierson 1883:18 and 1927:151, and Sharan & Das, 2014). The very name has come from a traditional clerk caste, Kayastha, who were clerks of the medieval states using this script. In those days all official records were maintained in the same script but now it is almost extinct. Now it is written in Devanagari script. Besides, the other new Indo-Aryan Languages such as Nepali, Hindi, Maithili and Awadhi even including some Tibeto-Burman languages like Newar are also being written in Devanagari script these days. Moreover, Pandey (2007) proposed to include it in ISO/IEC 10646. Consequently, Kaithi script was added to the unicode standard in October 2009 with the release of version 5.2.

The Devanagari script used in Bhojpuri mainly transcribes the spoken form of the language into the written one. It is obvious because of the fact that there exists a close correspondence between the phonemes and their written symbols in the language unlike in Modern English, where pronunciation and its related spelling are mostly arbitrary. As pointed by Shukla (1981:62), all the alphabets in this script are not, however, distinctive and phonemic.

Thus, the Bhojpuri language being written in Devanagari script has the alphabet almost correspondent to the phonemes. Bhojpuri has eight basic vowels and 36 consonants.[3] Now their written presentation is as follows:

a) Vowels

(i) Basic vowels

The basic vowels in Bhojpuri in written form both in Kaithi and Devanagari scripts are as follows:

𑒁	𑒂	𑒃	𑒄	𑒅	𑒆	𑒇	𑒈
अ	आ	इ	उ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
ʌ	ɑ	i	u	e	ɛ	o	ɔ

(ii) Alphabetic vowels and the corresponding diacritics

Besides these, the Sanskrit tradition of vowel length as well as an extra vowel ऋ [ri] is also used for tatsamas. Likewise, ऐ /ɛ/ and औ /ɔ/ are also used as diphthongs अइ /*ʌi*/ and अउ /*ʌu*/ respectively. Similarly, ऑ /*ɔ*/ is also adopted for some English words transcribed in Bhojpuri as ऑक्सिजन /*ɔksijʌn*/ 'oxygen'. Besides, all vowels except अ /*ʌ*/ are represented in diacritics in Bhojpuri as its neighbours do. In this way, the vowels and their corresponding diacritics both in Kaithi and Devanagari scripts with IPA transliteration are as follows.

𑒁	𑒂	𑒃	𑒄	𑒅	𑒆	𑒇	𑒆	𑒆	𑒇		𑒈
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ए	ऐ	ओ	ऑ	औ
	𑒂	𑒃	𑒄	𑒅	𑒆		𑒆	𑒆	𑒇		𑒈
	𑒂	𑒃	𑒄	𑒅	𑒆	𑒇	𑒆	𑒆	𑒇	𑒈	𑒈
ʌ	ɑ	i	i	u	u	ri	e	ɛ/ʌi	o	ɔ	ɔ/ʌu

b) Consonants

Regarding consonants in Bhojpuri the retroflex nasal ण /ɳ/ has already been dropped but it is still being used in some tatsamas. Likewise, palatal and velar voiceless fricatives श /*ʃ*/ and ष /*ʂ*/ respectively have already been dropped in Bhojpuri but they are still being used for tatsamas as allophonic with alveolar voiceless fricative स /*s*/. But ष /*ʂ*/ is sometimes allophonic with ख /*kʰ*/, too. The consonants in Kaithi and Devanagari alphabets used in Bhojpuri with their IPA transliteration are presented as follows:

3. They have been described with details in Chapter 4.

𑒏	𑒐	𑒑	𑒒	𑒓	𑒔				
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	ङ़				
kʌ	kʰʌ	gʌ	g̈ʌ	ŋʌ	ŋ̊ʌ				
𑒕	𑒖	𑒗	𑒘	𑒙					
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ					
cʌ	cʰʌ	jʌ	j̈ʌ	ɲʌ					
𑒚	𑒛	𑒜	𑒝	𑒞	𑒟	𑒠			
ट	ठ	ड	ड़	ढ	ढ़	ण			
ʈʌ	ʈʰʌ	ɖʌ	ɽʌ	ɖ̈ʌ	ɽ̊ʌ	ɳʌ			
𑒡	𑒢	𑒣	𑒤	𑒥	𑒦				
त	थ	द	ध	न	ऩ				
tʌ	tʰʌ	dʌ	d̤ʌ	nʌ	n̥ʌ				
𑒧	𑒨	𑒩	𑒪	𑒫	𑒬				
प	फ	ब	भ	म	म़				
pʌ	pʰʌ	bʌ	b̤ʌ	mʌ	m̥ʌ				
𑒨𑓃	𑒩	𑒩𑓃	𑒪	𑒪𑓃	𑒫𑓃	𑒬	𑒭	𑒮	𑒯
य	र	ऱ	ल	ल़	व	श	ष	स	ह
yʌ	rʌ	r̥ʌ	lʌ	l̥ʌ	wʌ	sʌ	sʌ/kʰʌ	sʌ	ɦʌ

c) Other diacritics

The nasalization of all vowels in Bhojpuri is phonemic. In Bhojpuri nasalization is represented by a diacritic [ँ] called cʌndrʌbindu. It is presented with [˜] in this study. Likewise, all nasals in Bhojpuri are presented by a point on the main character called ʌnuswɑr or sirbindu [ं] if they drop the final vowel [ʌ] with them. Likewise, all consonants drop their inherent vowel partner in word final, and if necessary, such case is presented by ɦʌlʌnt [्]. There is one more diacritic visʌrgʌ [ः] for aspiration of the consonant final inherent vowel.

3.2 Language resources and organizations

The resources available in the Bhojpuri language are folktales and folklore, songs, religious literature and modern literature. The people of the old generations tell stories about their ancestors, supernatural stories and stories related to the animal

kingdom. They have different types of songs for different rites and rituals from birth ceremony to the funeral ceremony. The modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, films and CD/DVD are also available in abundance in the language.

Though Bhojpuri is a sound and strong language in its speech community, it has little access in education and public administration. The mother tongue education has entered into the speech community and the Bhojpuri native speakers have started to develop some materials in their mother tongue. Lohar and Regmi (2013) records availability of phonemic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials, newspapers, magazines and abundance of written literature with folklore in Bhojpuri. Likewise, Bhojpuri Society of Nepal, Bhojpuri Literature and Arts Council of Nepal based in Birganj and Bhojpuri Development Forum based in Birganj, Bhojpuri Academy of Nepal, Bhojpuri Students' Society of Nepal and Centre for Study and Research in Bhojpuri based in Kathmandu are the prominent organizations among others to promote Bhojpuri culture, language, literature and folklore.

3.3 Language proficiency and multilingualism

3.3.1 Mother tongue proficiency in Bhojpuri

The Bhojpuri speech community is almost monolingual, especially in the rural areas. But the official vernacular is Nepali and so is the medium of instruction. So, the newer generation is stepping towards multilingualism, especially among those educated as well as those living in urban areas. However, they are highly proficient in mother tongue speaking. Regarding reading and writing, those who are literate all can read and write Bhojpuri. It shows that there is cent percent proficiency in Bhojpuri speaking in the speech community. Likewise all of the literate male and female of them can read and write in their mother tongue.

3.3.2 Bi/multilingualism

No doubt the Bhojpuri natives prefer to speak Bhojpuri first. Besides, Bhojpuri individuals are found bilingual with Hindi, Nepali, Maithili and English (Lohar & Regmi, 2013). The newer generations are rapidly acquiring proficiency in Nepali as well as in English. At the same time their close access to movies, religious literature along with Indian markets, they are retaining their proficiency in Hindi as well.

As already mentioned, most of the Bhojpuri children have learnt Nepali in schools and colleges; they face maximum difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school.

3.4 Domains of language use

Domains of language evaluate the vitality of the language. Bhojpuri is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Besides, Lohar (2011) mentions that Bhojpuri has already been included in the Nepalese education system as a subject in primary section of basic schools as well as an optional subject in secondary education for class 9-10.

3.5 Language vitality, transmission and maintenance

Bhojpuri community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is very low. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue. Almost all the Bhojpuri native children speak mother tongue and almost all the parents speak Bhojpuri with their children.

Similarly, all of the young people in the Bhojpuri speech community use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication. It shows that language transmission in Bhojpuri speech community is satisfactory till now.

Bhojpuri native speakers have positive attitudes towards their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. They like their children learn/study in mother tongue.

3.6 Language attitude

In general, Bhojpuri speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language. They feel prestigious to speak their mother tongue even before the other language speakers, But sometimes they face problem of misunderstanding while speaking Bhojpuri before other dominant language speakers. Besides, they look confidant for continuity of their language even in the grandchildren's generation.

3.7 Language development

The Bhojpuri speakers are proud of their linguistic identity to have their own kinds of custom, language, life-style, way of thinking, belief. They are eager to run mother tongue schools with formations of curriculum, to safeguard their custom and costumes, they want to write grammar and compile dictionary of Bhojpuri. Furthermore, they want to implement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal and a vernacular of education in primary schools seeking help on behalf of the state and the community.

3.8 Dialectal variation

The Nepalese Bhojpuri region, geographically, from Jamuni river westward in Bara up to whole Parsa district is the central Bhojpuri region, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi western Bhojpuri region, Jamuni eastward in Bara up to Bakeya river in Rautahat mid eastern Bhojpuri region and Bakeya eastward up to Sarlahi is the eastern Bhojpuri region (Lohar, 2006).

Similarly, on the basis of community, Lohar (2006) considers the dialect spoken by Tharu community in Rautahat as Tharu Bhojpuri and on the religious basis, the dialect of Sheikh community of Muslims in central and western part of Rautahat as Sheikh dialect of Bhojpuri.

The central Bhojpuri dialect in the entire Bhojpuri speaking area is nearer to Champarani Bhojpuri in India. It means neither it is influenced by Awadhi nor by Maithili. The sentences with action verb in present tense end in copula बा /*ba*/, बानी /*bani*/, ता /*ta*/, तानी /*tani*/ with imperfective marker -अत /-ʌt/ suffixed with the main verb, as shown with खा- /*kʰa*-/ 'eat' in (1a-e):

(1) a. उहाँका आम खात बानी/खातानी ।

uɦɑ̃kɑ am

uɦɑ̃-kɑ am

3SG.H-SPEC mango

'He is eating a mango.' (Honorific)

b. हम आम खात बानी/खातानी ।

ɦʌm am

ɦʌm am

1SG.NOM mango

'I am eating a mongo.'

c. रउआ आम खात बानी/खातानी ।

rʌuɑ am kʰɑt bɑni kʰɑtɑni

rʌuɑ am kʰɑ-ʌt bɑni kʰɑ-ʌt bɑni

2SG.NOM.H mango eat-IMPF be.PRES.H eat-IMPF be.PRES.H

'You are eating a mango.' (Honorific)

d. ऊ आम खात बा/खाता ।

u am kʰɑt bɑ kʰɑtɑ

u	**am**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**ba**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**ba**
3SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	eat-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

'He is eating a mango.'

e. तू आम खात बाड़ऽ/खाताड़ऽ ।

tu	**am**	**kʰat**	**baɽʌ**
tu	**am**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baɽʌ**
2SG.NOM.MH	mango	eat-IMPF	be.2SG.PRES.MH

kʰataɽʌ

kʰa	**-ʌt**	**baɽʌ**
eat	-IMPF	be.2SG.PRES.MH

'You are eating a mango.' (Mid-honorific)

Towards east, in the mid-eastern Bhojpuri, the endings in the same situation are replaced with बाड़ी /baɽi/or ताड़ी /taɽi/, बाड़न /*baɽʌn*/, ताड़न /*taɽʌn*/ with imperfect marker -इत /*-it*/ suffixed with the main verb, as shown with खा- /*kʰa-*/ 'eat' in (2a-e):

(2) a. ऊ आम खाइत बाड़न/खाइताड़न ।

u	**am**	**kʰait**	**baɽʌn**
u	**am**	**kʰa-it**	**baɽʌn**
3SG	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'He is eating a mango.' (Honorific)

b. हम आम खाइत बाड़ी/खाइताड़ी ।

ɦʌm	**am**	**kʰait**	**baɽi**	**kʰaitaɽi**	
ɦʌm	**am**	**kʰa-it**	**baɽi**	**kʰa-it**	**baɽi**
1SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'I am eating a mongo.'

c. रउआ आम खाइत बाड़ी/खाइताड़ी ।

rʌua	**am**	**kʰait**	**baɽi**	**kʰaitaɽi**	
rʌua	**am**	**kʰa-it**	**baɽi**	**kʰa-it**	**baɽi**
2SG.NOM.H	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'You are eating a mango.' (Honorific)

d. ऊ आम खाइत बा/खाइता ।

u	**am**	**kʰait**	**ba**	**kʰaita**

u	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**bɑ**	**kʰɑ-it**	**bɑ**
3SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES	eat-IMPF	be.PRES

'He is eating a mango.'

e. तू आम खाइत बाड़ऽ/खाइताड़ऽ ।

tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑit**	**bɑɽʌ**
tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**bɑɽʌ**
2SG.NOM.MH	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.MH

kʰaitaɽʌ

kʰɑ-it **bɑɽʌ**

eat-IMPF be.PRES.MH

'You are eating a mango.' (Mid-honorific)

Besides, the ending in the same environment is also replaced by even छी /*cʰi*/ in the dialect, as shown in (3a-c).

(3) a. हम आम खाइत छी/खाइछी ।

ɦʌm	**ɑm**	**kʰɑit**	**cʰi**	**kʰɑicʰi**	
ɦʌm	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**cʰi**	**kʰɑ-it**	**cʰi**
1SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'I am eating a mongo.'

b. रउआ आम खाइत छी/खाइछी ।

rʌuɑ	**ɑm**	**kʰɑit**	**cʰi**	**kʰɑicʰi**	
rʌuɑ	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**cʰi**	**kʰɑ-it**	**cʰi**
2SG.NOM.H	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'You are eating a mango.' (Honorific)

c. तू आम खाइत छऽ/खाइछऽ ।

tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑit**	**cʰʌ**	**kʰɑit**	**cʰʌ**
tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**cʰʌ**	**kʰɑ-it**	**cʰʌ**
2SG.NOM.MH	mango	eat-IMPF	be.2.PRES.MH	eat-IMPF	be.2.PRES.MH

'You are eating a mango.' (Mid-honorific)

When we go more eastward, the use of बाड़ी /*baɽi*/, ताड़ी /*taɽi*/, बाड़ऽ /*baɽʌ*/ or ताड़ऽ /*taɽʌ*/ is completely overshadowed by छी /*cʰi*/ and छऽ /*cʰʌ*/ along with the second person honorific into आँहाँ /*ãhã*/ and consequently, the language turns to be Maithili.

Likewise, the western Bhojpuri uses बाटी /*baʈi*/, ताटी /*taʈi*/, बाटऽ /*baʈʌ*/, ताटऽ /*taʈʌ*/, बाटे /*baʈe*/ or ताटे /*taʈe*/. Besides, हो /*ɦo*/ is also used in the place in the dialect, as shown in (4a-e).

(4) a. उहाँका आम खात बाटी/खाताटी ।

uɦãka	**am**	**kʰat**	**baʈi**	**kʰataʈi**	
uɦã-ka	**am**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈi**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈi**
3SG.H-SPEC	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'He is eating a mango.' (Honorific)

b. हम आम खात बाटी/खाताटी ।

ɦʌm	**am**	**kʰat**	**baʈi**	**kʰataʈi**	
ɦʌm	**am**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈi**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈi**
1SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'I am eating a mongo.'

c. आप आम खात बाटी/खाताटी ।

ap	**am**	**kʰat**	**baʈi**	**kʰataʈi**	
ap	**am**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈi**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈi**
2SG.NOM.H	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'You are eating a mango.' (Honorific)

d. ऊ आम खात बाटे/खाताटे ।

u	**am**	**kʰat**	**baʈe**	**kʰataʈe**	
u	**am**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈe**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈe**
3SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	eat-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

'He is eating a mango.'

e. तू आम खात बाटऽ/खाताटऽ ।

tu	**am**	**kʰat**	**baʈʌ**
tu	**am**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**baʈʌ**
2SG.NOM.MH	mango	eat-IMPF	be.2SG.PRES.MH

kʰatʌʈʌ	
kʰa-ʌt	**baʈʌ**
eat-IMPF	be.2SG.PRES.MH

'You are eating a mango.' (Mid-honorific)

Hence, बाटे /*baʈe*/ or ताटे /*taʈe*/ is normally retained in central, mid-eastern and even in eastern dialects of Bhojpuri too. So, the sentence exemplified in (4d) is accepted in Central Bhojpuri without any change as well as it is also accepted in mid-eastern and eastern dialects as shown in (5).

(5) ऊ आम खाइत बाटे/खाइताटे ।

u	**ɑm**	**kʰɑit**	**bɑʈe**	**kʰɑitɑʈe**	
u	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**bɑʈe**	**kʰɑ-it**	**bɑʈe**
3SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	eat-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

'He is eating a mango.'

In the Tharu community, the place is slotted by सी /*si*/, as shown in (6a-b).

(6) a. हम आम खाइत सी/खाइसी ।

ɦʌm	**ɑm**	**kʰɑit**	**si**	**kʰɑisi**	
ɦʌm	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**si**	**kʰɑ-it**	**si**
1SG.NOM	mango	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H	eat-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'I am eating a mongo.'

b. तू आम खाइत सऽ/खाइसऽ ।

tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑit**	**sʌ**
tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-it**	**sʌ**
2SG.NOM.MH	mango	eat-IMPF	be.2SG.PRES.MH

kʰɑisʌ
kʰɑ-it sʌ
eat-IMPF be.2SG.PRES.MH

'You are eating a mango.' (Mid-honorific)

This particular dialect seems to be in rare use of honorificity. They use रउआ /*rʌua*/ or अपने /*ʌpne*/ to some extent to address the strangers in place of 'you' in English. These are the honorific second person pronouns in Bhojpuri. Besides, this researcher has also experienced the use of हिन /*ɦin*/ during communication between Tharus themselves in the slot.

On religious basis, Sheikh Bhojpuri lacks having रउआ /*rʌua*/ or अपने /*ʌpne*/. तू /*tu*/ replaces the slot. The honorificity is denoted by -अ /-ʌ/ at the end of the sentences. Otherwise the sentences are thought to be non-honorific, as shown in (7a-b).

(7) a. तू घरे चलऽ ।

tu **ɠʌre** **cʌlʌ**

tu **ɠʌr-e** **cʌl-ʌ**

2SG.NOM home-LOC move-IMP.H

'Please move for home.' (honorific)

b. तू घरे चल ।

tu **ɠʌre** **cʌl**

tu **ɠʌr-e** **cʌl**

2SG.NOM home-LOC move.IMP

'Move for home.' (non-honorific)

Central Bhojpuri does also have the similarity for family members and neighborhood. Outside, central Bhojpuri has the honorific structure रउआ घरे चलीं */rʌua ɠʌre cʌlĩ/* or अपने घरे चलल जाओ */ʌpne ɠʌre cʌlʌl jao/* for the extract above from Sheikh Bhojpuri. It is learnt that the lack of honorificity in Sheikh Bhojpuri has occurred due to marital affairs to happen between old relationships. That is why there is no necessity of honorificity to maintain formality among relatives.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter we have dealt with some sociolinguistic aspects of Bhojpuri. It is a New Indo-Aryan language spoken in western part of State No. 2 along with the bordering districts of State No. 3, 4 and 5 in Nepal and the adjacent neighbouring territories of India in western Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh though it spreads in other Indian provinces and in a number of foreign countries. The majority of Bhojpuri native speakers are Hindus but the number of Muslims, Buddhists, Samanists and Christians is also meaningful. It has acquired its name from Bhojpur, now a district and a pair of villages in Bihar. Bhojpurias retain themselves in majority in agriculture and animal farming but they have also been scattered in Diaspora initially as indentured labourers and contemporarily in different professions in foreign employment too. Hindu caste system still exists, though efforts are being made to abolish untouchability. Ethnologue, 2012 has data of literacy rate of the Bhojpuri speech community in the first language to be 5%–30% and that in the second language to be 50%–75% respectively. The early marriage system still remains both in Hindus and Muslims but rapidly receding because of new legal system.

The resources available in the Bhojpuri language are folk stories and folklore, songs, religious literature and modern literature. The people of the old generations tell

stories about their ancestors, supernatural stories and stories related to the animal kingdom. They have different types of songs for different rites and rituals from birth ceremony to the funeral ceremony. Phonemic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials, newspapers, magazines and abundance of written literature with folklore are now available in Bhojpuri along with different institutions to promote Bhojpuri culture, language, literature and folklore.

The Bhojpuri speech community is almost monolingual, especially in the rural areas. But due to the official vernacular Nepali as the medium of instruction, the newer generation is stepping towards multilingualism, especially among those educated as well as those living in urban areas. However, they are highly proficient in mother tongue speaking.

Bhojpuri is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. It has also been included as a subject in the basic and secondary education in Nepal.

Bhojpuri community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is very low.

In general, Bhojpuri speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language and they look confidant for continuity of their language even in the grandchildren's generation.

The Bhojpuri speakers are proud of their linguistic identity to have their own kinds of custom, language, life-style, way of thinking, belief and they want to implement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal and a vernacular of education in primary schools seeking help on behalf of the state and the community.

The Nepalese Bhojpuri region, geographically, from Jamuni river westward in Bara up to whole Parsa district is the central, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi western, Jamuni eastward in Bara up to Bakeya river in Rautahat mid eastern and Bakeya eastward up to Sarlahi is the eastern Bhojpuri regions. Similarly, on the basis of community, the dialect spoken by Tharu community in Rautahat is considered as Tharu Bhojpuri and on the religious basis, the dialect of Sheikh community of Muslims in central and western part of Rautahat as Sheikh dialect of Bhojpuri.

CHAPTER 4
PHONOLOGY

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the phonology of Bhojpuri. It consists of 6 sections. Section 4.1 analyzes consonants. In section 4.2 we present vowels. Section 4.3 presents distinctive features of the Bhojpuri phonemes. Section 4.4 exhibits syllable structure in the language. Section 4.5 describes phoneme and grapheme interface and we summarize findings in the chapter in section 4.6.

4.1 Inventory of the consonants

Going through Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) and Ladefoged (2001) Bhojpuri has 36 consonant phonemes discussed in this study.[1] They can be described and classified primarily according to their phonation. According to the place of articulation, the Bhojpuri consonants can be classified into nine categories: 1. Bilabial, 2. Dental, 3. Alveolar, 4. Apico-alveolar, 5. Alveo-palatal, 6. Retroflex, 7. Palatal, 8. Velar, and 9. Glottal. Likewise when classified according to their manner of articulation, they can be grouped into seven categories: 1. Stops, 2. Fricatives, 3. Affricates, 4. Nasals, 5. Flap, 6. Lateral and 7. Approximants. As in other Indo-Aryan neighbours voicing and aspiration are contrastive in Bhojpuri. In terms of voicing, there are two types of consonants: voiceless and voiced; whereas in terms of aspiration, there are also two types: aspirated and unaspirated. The Bhojpuri

1. Masica (1991:94-104) records five distinctive tongue positions: labial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar for the basic Indo-Aryan stops /p, t, ṭ, c, k/ from Sanskrit, quotes Indian phoneticians observing five nasals [m, n, ṇ, ɲ, ŋ] corresponding to those five oral stops, depicts two laterals /r, l/, one more retroflex /ṛ/, three fricatives /ʃ, s, h/, two semivowels /y, w/, five voiced counterparts /b, d, ḍ, j, g/ of the basic stops /p, t, ṭ, c, k/ respectively and aspirate pairs /pʰ, tʰ, ṭʰ, cʰ, kʰ/ and /bʰ, dʰ, ḍʰ, jʰ, gʰ/ of each of the voiceless and voiced stops respectively in general. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:58) records stops from Hindi as /p, t̪, t, ʈ, k/, /pʰ, t̪ʰ, tʰ, ʈʰ, kʰ/, /b, d̪, d, ɖ, g/ and /bʱ, d̪ʱ, ɖʱ, gʱ/. Grierson (19883:19) presents 35 consonants for what it says Bihari which Bhojpuri belongs to /k, kh, g, gh, ñ, ch, chh, j, jh, ń, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ṛ, ḍh, ṛh, ṇ, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, w, ś, sh, s, h/. Likewise, Trammel (1971:128) introduces bi-labial stops /p, p', b, b'/, apico-dental stops /t, t', d, d'/, retroflex stops /ṭ, ṭ' ḍ, ḍ'/, dorso-velar stops /k, k', g, g'/, alveo-alveolar affricates /č, č', j, j'/, groove /s, h/, lateral /l/, nasals/m, n, ṇ, ñ, ŋ/, flaps /r, r', ṛ, ṛ'/ and glides /w, y/. Tiwari (1960:9-14) records labial plosives /p, p̤, b, bɦ/, dental stops /t, th, d, dɦ/, retroflex stops /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍɦ/, velar stops /k, kh, g, gɦ/, affricates /c͡ʃ, c͡ʃh, ɟ͡ʒ, ɟ͡ʒɦ/, nasals /m, mɦ, n, nɦ, ɲ, ŋ, ŋɦ/, laterals /l, lɦ/, rolled /r, rɦ/, flapped /ṛ, ṛɦ/, fricative /s, h/ and semi-vowels /w, j/. Similarly, Shukla (1981:13) collects bilabial stops /p, pʰ, b, bʰ/, dental stops /t, tʰ, d, dʰ/, retroflex /T, Tʰ, D, Dʰ/, velar stops /k, kʰ, g, gʰ/, affricates /c, cʰ, j, jʰ/, fricatives /s, h/, nasals /m, mʰ, n, nʰ, ɳ, ɳʰ/, laterals /l, lʰ/, flaps /r, rʰ, R, Rʰ/ and glides /y, w/. Moreover, Verma (2003:520) sketches Bhojpuri consonants in terms of labial stops /p, ph, b, bh/, dental stops /t, th, d, dh/, retroflex stops /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh/, palatal stops /c, ch, j, jh/ and velar stops /k, kh, g, gh/, nasals /m, mh, n, nh, ŋ, ŋh/, fricatives /s, h/, flaps /r, rh, ṛ, ṛh/, laterals /l, lh/ and glides /w, y/.

consonants can further be classified into voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and breathy[2] ones. Table 4.1 presents inventory of the consonants in Bhojpuri.

Table 4.1: Consonant phonemes in Bhojpuri

Place → / Manner ↓		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Apico-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Vl. Unasp.	p	t		ʈ				k	
	Vl. Asp	pʰ	tʰ		ʈʰ				kʰ	
	Vd.	b	d		ɖ				g	
	Breathy	b̤	d̤		ɖ̤				g̈	
Fricative	Vl. Unasp.			s						
	Vd.									ɦ
Affricate	Vl. Unasp.					c				
	Vl. Asp.					cʰ				
	Vd.					ɟ				
	Breathy					ɟ̈				
Nasal	Vd.	m		n					ŋ	
	Asp. Son.	m̥		n̥					ŋ̊	
Lateral	Vd.			l						
	Asp. Son.			l̥						
Flap	Vd.			r			ɽ			
	Asp. Son.			r̥			ɽ̊			
Glide	Vd.	w						y		

4.1.1 Phonological oppositions in consonants

Stops conventionally include the class of plosives and are further classified according to manner of articulation such as aspiration, voicing and breathiness in terms of oppositions as unaspirated vs. aspirated, voiceless vs. voiced and voiced vs. breathy as follows:

2. Traditionally, the voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated opposition was in practice. But Ladefoged (1971:8-12; 2001:123-7), Catford (2001:52) and Ladefoged and Johnson (2011:149-50) have introduced 'murmur' sounds and explained them as 'breathy voice' in place of voiced aspirated ones, as used in Hindi, Gujarati, and other Indo-Aryan languages including Bhojpuri.

a) Bilabial stops

There are four bilabial stops in Bhojpuri: प /*p*/, फ /*pʰ*/, ब /*b*/, and भ /*b̤*/. The phoneme प /p/ is a voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop whereas फ /*pʰ*/ is a voiceless bilabial aspirated stop. Phoneme ब /*b*/ is a voiced bilabial unaspirated stop whereas भ /*b̤*/ is a breathy bilabial stop. Bhojpuri bilabial stops are the same as exhibited in Maithili (Yadav 1996:21), Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24), Hindi (Koul 2008:15) and Nepali (Adhikari 2014:10). They all show phonological contrast in all positions word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final, as shown in (1a-d).

(1) a. Minimal pairs of प /*p*/ and फ /*pʰ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
पल /*pʌl*/ 'a moment'	दपा /*dʌpa*/ 'sneak (IMP)'	कप /*kʌp*/ 'cup'
फल /*pʰʌl*/ 'fruit, result'	दफा /*dʌpʰa*/ 'clause'	कफ /*kʌpʰ*/ 'cough'
पाँक /*pãk*/ 'mud'	हापी /*ɦapi*/ 'encroachment'	बाप /*bap*/ 'father'
फाँक /*pʰãk*/ 'crack'	हाफी /*ɦapʰi*/ 'Quran orator'	बाफ /*bapʰ*/ 'vapour'
पुल /*pul*/ 'bridge'	गपी /*gʌpi*/ 'talkative'	सौंप /*sʌũp*/ 'tender (IMP)'
फूल /*pʰul*/ 'flower'	गफी /*gʌpʰi*/ 'handful'	सौंफ /*sʌũpʰ*/ 'fennel seed'

b. Minimal pairs of प /*p*/ and ब /*b*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
पल /*pʌl*/ 'a moment'	पपनी /*pʌpʌni*/ 'eye-lash'	जाप /*jap*/ 'prayer'
बल /*bʌl*/ 'force'	पबनी /*pʌbʌni*/ 'a holy fasting'	जाब /*jab*/ 'an animal's mouth cover'
पेर /*per*/ 'crush (**IMP**)'	तोपा /*topa*/ 'cover'	कप /*kʌp*/ 'a cup'
बेर /*ber*/ 'time'	तोबा /*toba*/ 'contempt'	कब /*kʌb*/ 'when'
पत्ती /*pʌtti*/ 'a blade'	खपर /*kʰʌpʌr*/ 'skull'	आप /*ap*/ 'experience(**IMP**)'
बत्ती /*bʌtti*/ 'burning thread'	खबर /*kʰʌbʌr*/ 'news'	आब /*ab*/ 'condition'

c. Minimal paris of ब /*b*/ and भ /*b̤*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
बाला /*bala*/ 'bangle'	आबा /*aba*/ 'father'	लब /*lʌb*/ 'rude'
भाला /*b̤ala*/ 'spear'	आभा /*ab̤a*/ 'dream/glow'	लभ /*lʌb̤*/ 'bow'
बाल /*bal*/ 'ear'	लबनी /*lʌbʌni*/ 'earthen pot'	

भाल /*ɓal*/ 'bear' लभनी /*lʌɓʌni*/ 'obeying'

बार /*bar*/ 'obstruct' उबार /*ubar*/ 'relieve'

भार /*ɓar*/ 'weight' उभार /*uɓar*/ 'uprise'

बर /*bʌr*/ 'bridegroom' उबरल /*ubʌrʌl*/ 'to remain, to recover'

d. Minimal pairs of फ /*pʰ*/ and भ /*ɓ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
फर /*pʰʌr*/ 'fruit'	आफार /*apʰar*/ 'uncultivated'	लफ /*lʌpʰ*/ 'palmful'
भर /*ɓʌr*/ 'fill, support'	आभार /*aɓar*/ 'gratitude'	लभ /*lʌɓ*/ 'bow'
फूल /*pʰul*/ 'flower'	गोफा /*gopʰa*/ 'angry'	
भूल /*ɓul*/ 'mistake'	गोभा /*goɓa*/ 'blossom'	
फोर /*pʰor*/ 'break'	सोफा /*sopʰa*/ 'sofa'	
भोर /*ɓor*/ 'dawn'	शोभा /*soɓa*/ 'attraction'	

b) Dental stops

There are four dental stops in Bhojpuri: त /*t*/, थ /*tʰ*/, द /*d*/ and ध /*d̤*/. The dendal stops in Bhojpuri are the same as exhibited in Maithili (Yadav 1996:21), Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24) and Hindi (Koul 2008:15). But Nepali (Adhikari 2014:10) displays they are apico-dental. The phoneme त /*t*/ is a voiceless dental unaspirated stop whereas थ /*tʰ*/ is a voiceless dental aspirated stop. The phoneme द /*d*/ is a voiced dental unaspirated stop whereas ध /*d̤*/ is a breathy dental stop. They show phonological contrast in all positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final, as shown in (2a-d).

(2) a. Minimal pairs of त /*t*/ and थ /*tʰ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
तर /*tʌr*/ 'below, soaked'	सुतरी /*sutʌri*/ 'a jute thread'	लात /*lat*/ 'foot'
थर /*tʰʌr*/ 'cowshed'	सुथरी /*sutʰʌri*/ 'beautiful'	लाथ /*latʰ*/ 'falsification'
तार /*tar*/ 'wire'	हाता /*ɦata*/ 'bounary'	बात /*bat*/ 'talk'
थार /*tʰar*/ 'a metal plate'	हाथा /*ɦatʰa*/ 'bunch'	बाथ /*batʰ*/ 'rheumatism'
तोर /*tor*/ 'your, yours'	माता /*mata*/ 'mother'	सात /*sat*/ 'seven'
थोर /*tʰor*/ 'less'	माथा /*matʰa*/ 'forehead'	साथ /*satʰ*/ 'support'

b. Minimal pairs of त /*t*/ and द /*d*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
तान /*tan*/ 'pitch'	माता /*mata*/ 'mother'	बात /*bat*/ 'talk'
दान /*dan*/ 'donation'	मादा /*mada*/ 'female'	बाद /*bad*/ 'later, collapse'
ताई /*tai*/ 'a frying pan'	बाती /*bati*/ 'a bamboo plank'	लात /*lat*/ 'foot'
दाई /*dai*/ 'grandmother'	बादी /*badi*/ 'a petitioner'	लाद /*lad*/ 'abdomen'
तिल /*til*/ 'sesame'	गतर /*gʌtʌr*/ 'organ'	बरत /*bʌrʌt*/ 'burning'
दिल /*dil*/ 'heart'	गदर /*gʌdʌr*/ 'a paddy'	बरद /*bʌrʌd*/ 'an ox'

c. Minimal pairs of द /*d*/ and ध /*ḍ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
दाम /*dam*/ 'price'	नदी /*nʌdi*/ 'a river'	बेद /*bed*/ 'veda'
धाम /*ḍam*/ 'pilgrimage'	नधी /*nʌḍi*/ 'fastener'	बेध /*beḍ*/ 'pierce'
दामा /*dama*/ 'asthma'	अदिन /*ʌdin*/ 'bad day'	नाद /*nad*/ 'tub'
धामा /*ḍama*/ 'container'	अधीन /*ʌḍin*/ 'dependent'	नाध /*naḍ*/ 'commence'
दान /*dan*/ 'donation'	सुदी /*sudi*/ 'bright fortnight'	सूद /*sud*/ 'interest'
धान /*ḍan*/ 'paddy'	सुधी /*suḍi*/ 'concern'	सूध /*suḍ*/ 'straight'

d. Minimal pairs of थ /*tʰ*/ and ध /*ḍ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
थर /*tʰʌr*/ 'cowshed'	बाथा /*batʰa*/ 'pain'	मथ /*mʌtʰ*/ 'churn'
धर /*ḍʌr*/ 'catch'	बाधा /*baḍa*/ 'obstacle'	मध /*mʌḍ*/ 'honey, honey bee'
थारी /*tʰari*/ 'a metal plate'	बथी /*bʌtʰi*/ 'pain'	साथ /*satʰ*/ 'company'
धारी /*ḍari*/ 'edge, row'	बधी /*bʌḍi*/ 'cotton garland'	साध /*saḍ*/ 'aim, target'
थान /*tʰan*/ 'bundle of cloth'	बाथा /*batʰa*/ 'pain'	नाथ /*natʰ*/ 'master, a rope through pierced nose of an animal'
धान /*ḍan*/ 'paddy'	बाधा /*baḍa*/ 'obstacle'	नाध /*naḍ*/ 'to yoke an ox'

c) Apico-alveolar stops

There are four apico-alveolar stops in Bhojpuri: ट /*ʈ*/, ठ /*ʈʰ*/, ड /*ɖ*/ and ढ /*ɖ̈*/. Maithili (Yadav 1996:21), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24) and Hindi (Koul 2008:15-6) exhibit them as retroflex, Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:56) displays they are

alveolar and Nepali (Adhikari 2014:10) mentions they are post-alveolar. The phoneme ट /ʈ/ is a voiceless apico-alveolar unaspirated stop whereas ठ /ʈʰ/ is a voiceless apico-alveolar aspirated stop. The phoneme ड /ɖ/ is a voiced apico-alveolar unaspirated stop whereas ढ /ɖ̈/ is a breathy apico-alveolar stop. Among them, ट /ʈ/ and ठ /ʈʰ/ show phonological contrast in all positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-initial; whereas ठ /ʈʰ/, ड /ɖ/ and ढ /ɖ̈/ do not show contrast in word-final, as shown in (3a-d).

(3) a. Minimal pairs of ट /ʈ/ and ठ /ʈʰ/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
टाड़ /ʈaɽ/ 'push'	घाटा /g̈aʈa/ 'loss'	काट /kaʈ/ 'cut'
ठाड़ /ʈʰaɽ/ 'standing'	घाठा /g̈aʈʰa/ 'habit'	काठ /kaʈʰ/ 'wood'
टन /ʈʌn/ 'noise of a bell'	माटा /maʈa/ 'red ant'	पाट /paʈ/ 'silk, throne'
ठन /ʈʰʌn/ 'noise of coins'	माठा /maʈʰa/ 'churned curd'	पाठ /paʈʰ/ 'a lesson'
टनकी /ʈʌnki/ 'a bird of prey'	पाटा /paʈa/ 'thigh'	साट /saʈ/ 'a sign of beating'
ठनकी /ʈʰʌnki/ 'hard crust'	पाठा /paʈʰa/ 'wrestler'	साठ /saʈʰ/ 'sixty'

b. Minimal pairs of ट /ʈ/ and ड /ɖ/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
टहल /ʈʌɦʌl/ 'command'	गटी /gʌʈi/ 'majority'	कोट /koʈ/ 'sensitive'
डहल /ɖʌɦʌl/ 'to burn'	गडी /gʌɖi/ 'a bundle'	कोड /koɖ/ 'code'
टाँड़ /ʈãɽ/ 'a bat'	हाटा /ɦaʈa/ 'market'	
डाँड़ /ɖãɽ/ 'waist, fine'	हाडा /ɦaɖa/ '	
टोला /ʈola/ 'a small village'	आटा /aʈa/ 'slapping'	
डोला /ɖola/ 'a planquin'	आडा /aɖa/ 'office'	

c. Minimal pairs of ड /ɖ/ and ढ /ɖ̈/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
डोली /ɖoli/ 'a planquin'	औडर /ɔɖʌr/ 'order'	
ढोली /ɖ̈oli/ 'a pack of twenty pieces'	औढर /ɔɖ̈ʌr/ 'obstinate'	
डाला /ɖala/ 'a bamboo container essential for wedding'		

ढाला /*ɖ̈ala*/ 'jute container'

डोल /*ɖol*/ 'a small bucket for

pulling water from a well'

ढोल /*ɖ̈ol*/ 'drum'

d. Minimal pairs of ठ /*ʈʰ*/ and ढ /*ɖ̈*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
ठाठ /*ʈʰaʈʰ*/ 'prosperity'	ढठड़ /*ɖ̈ʌʈʰʌɽ*/ 'dry stalks of corn'	
ढाठ /*ɖ̈aʈʰ*/ 'a flock'	ढढड़ /*ɖ̈ʌɖ̈ʌɽ*/ 'thick documents'	
ठाठा /*ʈʰaʈʰa*/ 'joke'		
ढाठा /*ɖ̈aʈʰa*/ 'dry stalks of corn'		
ठाड़ /*ʈʰaɽ*/ 'standing'		
ढाड़ /*ɖ̈aɽ*/ 'pour'		

d) Velar stops

There are four velar stops in Bhojpuri: क /*k*/, ख /*kʰ*/, ग /*g*/ and घ /*g̈*/. The velar stops in Bhojpuri are the same as exhibited in Maithili (Yadav 1996:22), Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24), Hindi (Koul 2008:16) and Nepali (Adhikari 2014:10).The phoneme क /*k*/ is a voiceless velar unaspirated stop whereas ख /*kʰ*/ is a voiceless velar aspirated stop. The phoneme ग /*g*/ is a voiced velar unaspirated stop whereas घ /*g̈*/ is a breathy velar stop. They show phonological contrast in both in terms of voicing and aspiration in all positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final; as shown in (4a-d).

(4) a. Minimal pairs of क /*k*/ and ख /*kʰ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
काल /*kal*/ 'time, death'	ओकर /*okʌr*/ 'his, her, hers'	रोक /*rok*/ 'ban'
खाल /*kʰal*/ 'skin'	ओखर /*okʰʌr*/ 'mortar'	रोख /*rokʰ*/ 'front part of a house'
कोइला /*koila*/ 'coal'	सकी /*sʌki*/ 'doubtful'	ताक /*tak*/ 'opportunity'
खोइला /*kʰoila*/ 'stirring'	सखी /*rekʰi*/ 'friend (female)'	ताख /*takʰ*/ 'alcove'
कीरा /*kira*/ 'insect'	भूकल /*b̤ukʌl*/ 'to bark'	पाँक /*pãk*/ 'mud'
खीरा /*kʰira*/ 'cucumber'	भूखल /*b̤ukʰʌl*/ 'to be hungry'	पाँख /*pãkʰ*/ 'feather'

b. Minimal pairs of क /*k*/ and ग /*g*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
कड़ी /*kʌɽi*/ 'beam'	जाकल /*jakʌl*/ 'to press'	नाक /*nak*/ 'nose'
गड़ी /*gʌɽi*/ 'a cart'	जागल /*jagʌl*/ 'to awake'	नाग /*nag*/ 'cobra'
काजर /*kajʌr*/ 'kajal'	नाका /*naka*/ 'entry point'	पाक /*pak*/ 'sacred'
गाजर /*gajʌr*/ 'carrot'	नागा /*naga*/ 'a hermit'	पाग /*pag*/ 'turban, syrup'
कोर /*kor*/ 'edge border'	पाकल /*pakʌl*/ 'ripe, to ripen'	लोक /*lok*/ 'world, folk'
गोर /*gor*/ 'white'	पागल /*pagʌl*/ 'mad'	लोग /*log*/ 'people'

c. Minimal pairs of ग /*g*/ and घ /*g̈*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
गर /*gʌr*/ 'neck'	बागी /*bagi*/ 'rebel'	बाग /*bag*/ 'control, a garden'
घर /*g̈ʌr*/ 'home'	बाघी /*bag̈i*/ 'bubo'	बाघ /*bag̈*/ 'a tiger'
गन /*gʌn*/ 'count (IMP)	अगोर /*ʌgor*/ 'wait/guard (IMP)'	
घन /*g̈ʌn*/ 'thick/hammer'	अघोर /*ʌg̈or*/ 'severe'	
गटी /*gʌʈi*/ 'majority'		
घटी /*g̈ʌʈi*/ 'loss'		

d. Minimal pairs of ख /*kʰ*/ and घ /*g̈*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
खाटा /*kʰaʈa*/ 'sour'	अखोर /*ʌkʰor*/ 'useless'	मेख /*mekʰ*/ 'Aries'
घाटा /*g̈aʈa*/ 'loss'	अघोर /*ʌg̈or*/ 'severe'	मेघ /*meg̈*/ 'cloud, rain'
खाँटी /*kʰãʈi*/ 'pure'	रेखा /*rekʰa*/ 'line'	माख /*makʰ*/ 'anguish'
घाँटी /*g̈ãʈi*/ 'bell'	रेघा /*reg̈a*/ 'lengthen pitch (IMP)'	माघ /*mag̈*/ 'a month in Hindu calendar'
खोर /*kʰor*/ 'core'	उखार /*ukʰar*/ 'uproot'	
घोर /*g̈or*/ 'liquidize (IMP)'	उघार /*ug̈ar*/ 'naked'	

e) Fricatives

There are two fricatives in Bhojpuri: alveolar स /s/ and glottal ह /*ɦ*/. They are the same as exhibited in Maithili (Yadav 1996:25), Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24), Hindi (Koul 2008:17) and Nepali

(Adhikari 2014:10). But Hindi (Koul 2008:17) exhibits some more fricatives which are not available in Bhojpuri. Among the two, स /s/ is a voiceless dental fricative whereas ह /ɦ/ is a voiced glottal one. They show phonological contrast in all positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final, as shown in (5).

(5) Minimal pairs of स /*s*/ and ह /*ɦ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
साल /*sal*/ 'year'	रसल /*rʌsʌl*/ 'to weld'	रेस /*res*/ 'sneaked'
हाल /*ɦal*/ 'condition, moisture in soil'	रहल /*rʌɦʌl*/ 'to be, to live'	रेह /*reɦ*/ 'dust of soil'
साला /*sala*/ 'wife's brother'	गासी /*gasi*/ 'complaint'	रास /*ras*/ 'control'
हाला /*ɦala*/ 'noise'	गाही /*gaɦi*/ 'a set of five'	राह /*raɦ*/ 'way'
सार /*sar*/ 'wife's brother'	कसल /*kʌsʌl*/ 'to tighten, tight'	बाँस /*bãs*/ 'bamboo'
हार /*ɦar*/ 'a garland, defeat'	कहल /*kʌɦʌl*/ 'to say, to tell'	बाँह /*bãɦ*/ 'arm'

f) Affricates

There are four alveo-palatal affricates in Bhojpuri: च /*c*/, छ /*c*^{h}/, ज /*j*/ and झ /*j*̈/. The affricates in Bhojpuri are exhibited alveolar in Chitotiya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61) and Nepali (Adhikari 2014:10) whereas palatal in Maithili (Yadav 1996:22), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24) and Hindi (Koul 2008:17). The phoneme च /*c*/ is a voiceless alveo-palatal unaspirated affricate whereas छ /*c*^{h}/ is a voiceless alveo-palatal aspirated affricate. The phoneme ज /*j*/ is a voiced alveo-palatal unaspirated affricate whereas झ /*j*̈/ is a breathy alveo-palatal affricate. They show phonological contrast both in terms of voicing and aspiration in all positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final; as shown in (6a-d).

(6) a. Minimal pairs of च /*c*/ and छ /*c*^{h}/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
चाल /*cal*/ 'speed, habit'	काचा /*kaca*/ 'a slice'	पाच /*pac*/ 'digestible'
छाल /*c*^{h}*al*/ 'bark, tide'	काछा /*kac*^{h}*a*/ 'under wear'	पाछ /*pac*^{h}/ 'back'
चल /*cʌl*/ 'variable/walk (IMP)'	अचल /*ʌcʌl*/ 'constant'	काच /*kac*/ 'cut'
छल /*c*^{h}*ʌl*/ 'intrigue'	अछल /*ʌc*^{h}*ʌl*/ 'be availed'	काछ /*kac*^{h}/ 'friction-wound'
चोर /*cor*/ 'thief'	पचरा /*pʌcʌra*/ 'chant'	बाच /*bac*/ 'read (IMP)'
छोर /*c*^{h}*or*/ 'end'	पछरा /*pʌc*^{h}*ʌra*/ 'wrestling'	बाछ /*bac*^{h}/ 'lessen (IMP)'

b. Minimal pairs of of च /c/ and ज /j/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
चाल /*cal*/ 'habit, speed'	मचल /*mʌcʌl*/ 'to break'	नाच /*nac*/ 'dance, theatre'
जाल /*jal*/ 'a net'	मजल /*mʌjʌl*/ 'experienced'	नाज /*naj*/ 'pride, glory'
चान /*can*/ 'moon, head'	काचल /*kacʌl*/ 'to slice'	पाँच /*pãc*/ 'five'
जान /*jan*/ 'life'	काजल /*kajʌl*/ 'kajal'	पाँज /*pãj*/ 'disobey'
चाल /*cal*/ 'habit, speed'	मचल /*mʌcʌl*/ 'to break'	नाच /*nac*/ 'dance, theatre'
जाल /*jal*/ 'a net'	मजल /*mʌjʌl*/ 'experienced'	नाज /*naj*/ 'pride, glory'

c. Minimal pairs of ज /j/ and झ /j̈/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
जोर /*jor*/ 'a rope'	बाजा /*baja*/ 'a musical instrument'	माज /*maj*/ 'clean (IMP)'
झोर /*j̈or*/ 'curry, shake (IMP)'	बाझा /*baj̈a*/ 'business, obstacle'	माझ /*maj̈*/ 'middle'
जकड़ /*jʌkʌɽ*/ 'tighten (IMP)'	बाजल /*bajʌl*/ 'to ring'	सुज /*suj*/ 'swell (IMP)'
झकड़ /*j̈ʌkʌɽ*/ 'storm'	बाझल /*baj̈ʌl*/ 'to be lost'	सुझ /*suj̈*/ 'behold (IMP)'
जर /*jʌr*/ 'root/fever'	माजा /*maja*/ 'joy'	ओज /*oj*/ 'glow, misery'
झर /*j̈ʌr*/ 'placenta'	माझा /*maj̈a*/ 'sharpener'	ओझ /*oj̈*/ 'obstacle'

d. Minimal pairs of छ /c^h/ and झ /j̈/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
छर /c^hʌr/ 'trick'	बाछल /*bac^{h}ʌl*/ 'to select and uproot'	पाछ /*pac^h*/ 'back'
झर /*j̈ʌr*/ 'placenta'	बाझल /*baj̈ʌl*/ 'to be trapped, engaged'	पाझ /*paj̈*/ 'rumination'
छोर /*c^{h}or*/ 'end'	ओछा /*oc^{h}a*/ 'short'	बाछ /*bac^h*/ 'select and uproot plants'
झोर /*j̈or*/ 'soup'	ओझा /*oj^{h}a*/ 'witch-doctor'	बाझ /*baj̈*/ 'hawk'
छार /*c^{h}ar*/ 'alkali'	माछी /*mac^{h}i*/ 'fly'	रीछ /*ric^h*/ 'bear'
झार /*j̈ar*/ 'plant'	माझी /*maj̈i*/ 'boatsman'	रीझ /*rij̈*/ 'persuasion'

g) Nasals

There are six nasals in Bhojpuri: bilabial म /*m*/, alveolar न /*n*/ and velar ङ /*ŋ*/ all voiced anaspirated modal sonorants alongwith their aspirate sonorant[3] counterparts म़ /*m̦*/, ऩ /*n̦*/ and ङ़ /*ŋ̊*/ respectively. The three nasals म /*m*/, न /*n*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/ are the same exhibited in Maithili (Yadav 1996:22-3), Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61), Awadhi

3. All aspirate sonorant consonants in Bhojpuri are discussed in the section 4.1.2 in the chapter.

(Saksena 1937/1971:24) and Hindi (Koul 2008:18). But Nepali (Adhikari 2014:10-1) exhibit न /*n*/ as apico-dental. Their aspirate sonorant counterparts are displayed breathy in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61) as म्ह /*m*^{h}/, न्ह /*n*^{h}/ and ङ्ह /*ŋ*^{h}/ and Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24) exhibits only म्ह /*mɦ*/ and न्ह /*nɦ*/. All the nasals in Bhojpuri exhibit phonological contrast, in terms of place of articulation and aspirate sonorants with their close counterparts also, as shown in (7a-f).

(7) a. Minimal pairs of म /*m*/ and न /*n*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
मर /*mʌr*/ 'die (IMP)'	गमल /*gʌmʌl*/ 'to be lost'	दाम /*dam*/ 'price'
नर /*nʌr*/ 'man'	गनल /*gʌnʌl*/ 'to count'	दान /*dan*/ 'donation'
मार /*mar*/ 'beat/kill (IMP)'	जामा /*jama*/ 'shirt'	काम /*kam*/ 'work'
नार /*nar*/ 'engage (IMP)'	जाना /*jana*/ 'labourer'	कान /*kan*/ 'ear'
माल /*mal*/ 'commodity'	जामल /*jamʌl*/ 'issue'	जाम /*jam*/ 'germinate (IMP)'
नाल /*nal*/ 'barrel'	जानल /*janʌl*/ 'to know'	जान /*jan*/ 'life/know (IMP)'

b. Minimal pairs of न /*n*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
नवे /*nʌwe*/ 'only nine'	रनल /*rʌnʌl*/ 'to plane'	अन /*ʌn*/ 'food'
ङवे /*ŋʌwe*/ 'by the side of'	रङ्ल /*rʌŋʌl*/ 'to colour'	अङ /*ʌŋ*/ 'organ'
नौ /*nɔ*/ 'nine'	राना /*rana*/ 'plane'	हिन /*ɦin*/ 'disgraced'
ङौ /*ŋɔ*/ 'slow and silent'	राङा /*raŋa*/ 'lead'	हिङ /*ɦiŋ*/ 'asafoetida'
	दाना /*dana*/ 'grains, poppy seeds'	लिन /*lin*/ 'lost in pleasure'
	दाङा /*daŋa*/ 'riot'	लिङ /*liŋ*/ 'penis, gender'

c. Minimal pairs of म /*m*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	रमल /*rʌmʌl*/ 'to be amused in'	हिम /*ɦim*/ 'ice'
	रङ्ल /*rʌŋʌl*/ 'to colour'	हिङ /*ɦiŋ*/ 'asafoetida'
	दामा /*dama*/ 'asthma'	दाम /*dam*/ 'price'
	दाङा /*daŋa*/ 'riot'	दाङ /*daŋ*/ 'a district in Nepal'
	अमिआ /*ʌmia*/ 'sour'	सम /*sʌm*/ 'starting'

अङिआ /ʌŋia/ 'blouse' सङ /sʌŋ/ 'friendship'

d. Minimal pairs of म /m/ and म़ /m̰/

Word-initial	Inter-vocalic	Word-final
	खामी /kʰami/ 'fault'	जाम /jam/ 'germinate'
	खाम़ी /kʰam̰i/ 'pillar'	जाम़ /jam̰/ 'jam'
	जमाई /jʌmai/ 'son-inl-law'	जम /jʌm/ 'freeze (IMP)'
	जम़ाई /jʌm̰ai/ 'yawning'	जम़ /jʌm̰/ 'death'
	गमार /gʌmar/ 'rural'	थम /tʰʌm/ 'tree'
	गम़ार /gʌm̰ar/ 'a species of wild wood'	थम़ /tʰʌm̰/ 'wait (IMP)'

e. Minimal pairs of न /n/ and ऩ /n̰/

Word-initial	Inter-vocalic	Word-final
	कानल /kanʌl/ 'to cry'	पेन /pen/ 'bottom'
	काऩल /kan̰ʌl/ 'to be yoked'	पेऩ /pen̰/ 'put on'
	अनार /ʌnar/ 'pomegranate'	कान /kan/ 'ear'
	अऩार /ʌn̰ar/ 'dark'	काऩ /kan̰/ 'shoulder"
	निनाइल /ninail/ 'to be sleepy'	बान /ban/ 'habit'
	निऩाइल /nin̰ail/ 'to be cooked'	बाऩ /ban̰/ 'tie up, barrage

f. Minimal pairs of ङ /ŋ/ and ङ़ /ŋ̊/

Word-initial	Inter-vocalic	Word-final
	लाङा /lɑŋɑ/ 'rude'	सङ /sʌŋ/ 'friendship'
	लाङ़ा /lɑŋ̊ɑ/ 'leapt'	सङ़ /sʌŋ̊/ 'union'

h) Flaps

There are four flaps in Bhojpuri: alveolar र /r/ and retroflex ड़ /ɽ/, both voiced and unaspirated modal sonorants with their aspirate sonorant counterparts ऱ /r̰/ and ढ़ /ɽ̊/. Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24) and Hindi (Koul 2008:18) displays र /r/ and ड़ /ɽ/ as same as in Bhojpuri but their sonorant counterparts are exhibited breathy as ऱ्ह /rh/ and ड़्ह /ɽh/ respectively whereas Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61) displays only र /r/ and its breathy counterpart ऱ्ह /rʰ/. Maithili (Yadav 1996:24) and Nepali (Adhikari

2014:11) only display र /*r*/. They all exhibit phonological contrast, in terms of place of articulation and aspirate sonorants in Bhojpuri, as shown in (8a-d).

(8) a. Minimal pairs of र /*r*/ and ऱ /*ɾ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	पारा /*para*/ 'mercury'	गर /*gʌr*/ 'neck'
	पाऱा /*paɾa*/ 'thickening of clouds'	गऱ /*gʌɾ*/ 'create, uproot'
	मारा /*mara*/ 'dead'	गार /*gar*/ 'squeeze'
	माऱा /*maɾa*/ 'parched rice of a paddy like grain locally known as China'	गाऱ /*gaɾ*/ 'thick (liquid)'
	करी /*kʌri*/ 'will do'	पर /*pʌr*/ 'lie, a locative marker'
	कऱी /*kʌɾi*/ 'curry, curry of bean's and curd'	पऱ /*pʌɾ*/ 'last year'

b. Minimal pairs of ऱ /*ɾ*/ and ढ़ /*ɽʱ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	अऱैया /*ʌɾʌia*/ 'master'	गाऱ /*gaɾ*/ 'thick (liquid)'
	अढ़ैया /*ʌɽʱʌia*/ 'multiple table of two and a half'	गाढ़ /*gaɽʱ*/ 'difficult'
		पऱ /*pʌɾ*/ 'last year'
		पढ़ /*pʌɽʱ*/ 'read (imp)

c. Minimal pairs of र /*r*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	गरल /*gʌrʌl*/ 'to be squeezed and dripped'	लर /*lʌr*/ 'row'
	गड़ल /*gʌɽʌl*/ 'to be pricked'	लड़ /*lʌɽ*/ 'fight'
	गारल /*garʌl*/ 'to squeeze'	गोर /*gor*/ 'bright complexioned'
	गाड़ल /*gaɽʌl*/ 'to bury'	गोड़ /*goɽ*/ 'leg'
	गारी /*gari*/ 'abuse'	मार /*mar*/ 'fight, kill, attack'
	गाड़ी /*gaɽi*/ 'a cart, vehicle'	माड़ /*maɽ*/ 'starch'

d. Minimal pairs of ड़ /*ɽ*/ and ढ़ /*ɽʱ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	पड़ल /*pʌɽʌl*/ 'to lie down'	गड़ /*gʌɽ*/ 'prick'

पढ़ल /*pʌɽ̊ʌl*/ 'to read'	गढ़ /*gʌɽ̊*/ 'ceyfort'
ओड़ाई /*oɽai*/ 'defence'	ओड़ /*oɽ*/ 'defend (IMP)'
ओढ़ाई /*oɽ̊ai*/ 'covering'	ओढ़ /*oɽ̊*/ 'cover (IMP)'
ओड़नी /*oɽni*/ 'a musical instrument'	पड़ /*pʌɽ*/ 'lie down (IMP)'
ओढ़नी /*oɽ̊ni*/ 'shawl'	पढ़ /*pʌɽ̊*/ 'read (IMP)'

i) Laterals

There are two laterals in Bhojpuri: ल /*l*/ and ऌ /*l̥*/. Among them ल /*l*/ is a voiced alveolar unaspirated modal lateral and ऌ /*l̥*/ is its aspirate sonorant counterpart. The former lateral is available as same as in Bhojpuri in Maithili (Yadav 1996:24), Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61), Awadhi (Saksena 1937[1971]:24), Hindi (Koul 2008:19) and Nepali (Adhikari 2014:11). But the latter is only available in Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24) as breathy counterpart of the former one. They exhibit phonological contrast in Bhojpuri, as shown in (9).

(9) Minimal pairs of ल /*l*/ and ऌ /*l̥*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	कुला /*kula*/ 'gargling'	काल /*kal*/ 'time, death'
	कुऌा /*kul̥a*/ 'hip'	काऌ /*kal̥*/ 'yesterday
	आला /*ala*/ 'stethoscope'	मेल /*mel*/ 'unity, company'
	आऌा /*al̥a*/ 'a hero in Bhojpuri folklore'	मेऌ /*mel̥*/ 'tread'
	चेलवा /*celʌwa*/ 'the disciple'	
	चेऌवा /*cel̥ʌwa*/ 'a fish'	

j) Approximants or Glides

There are two approximants of glides in Bhojpuri: व /*w*/ and य /*y*/. Both are exhibited the same in Maithili (Yadav 1996:26), Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:61), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:24), Hindi (Koul 2008:19) and Nepali (Adhikari 2014:11). Among them, व /*w*/ is a voiced bilabial unaspirated glide and य /*y*/ is a voiced palatal unaspirated glide. Both exhibit phonological contrast, as shown in (10).

(10) Minimal pairs of व /*w*/ and य /*y*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	मावा /*mawa*/ 'puss, moisture in soil'	गाव /*gaw*/ 'sing (IMP)

माया /*maya*/ 'love, affection'	गाय /*gay*/ 'a cow'
खोवा /*kʰowa*/ 'cheeze'	चाव /*caw*/ 'interest'
खोया /*kʰoya*/ 'bark'	चाय /*cay*/ 'tea'
दावा /*dawa*/ 'foundation, medicine'	
दाया /*daya*/ 'pity'	

k) Some more phonological contrasts

Though consonants of Bhojpuri have already been presented, some of them might be phonetic cross-linguistically, so, phonological contrasts between them are presented below:

(11) a. Minimal pairs of ड /*ɖ*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	गडी /*gʌɖi*/ 'a bundle of paper notes'	मूड /*muɖ*/ 'mood'
	गड़ी /*gʌɽi*/ 'a cart, coconut'	मूड़ /*muɽ*/ 'head'
	भडाक /*bʱʌɖak*/ 'noise of air from anus'	गाड /*gaɖ*/ 'guard'
	भड़ाक /*bʱʌɽak*/ 'noise of explosion'	गाड़ /*gaɽ*/ 'bury'
	सडक /*sʌɖʌk*/ 'shut up'	कोड /*koɖ*/ 'code'
	सड़क /*sʌɽʌk*/ 'road'	कोड़ /*koɽ*/ 'dig'

b. Minimal pairs of ढ /*ɖ̈*/ and ढ़ /*ɽ̊*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
	ढेढर /*ɖ̈eɖ̈ʌr*/ 'Sclera'	गूढ /*guɖ̈*/ 'mysterious'
	ढेढ़र /*ɖ̈eɽ̊ʌr*/ 'a grass-plant'	गूढ़ /*guɽ̊*/ 'retributive'
	गूढी /*guɖ̈i*/ 'mistery'	
	गूढ़ी /*guɽ̊i*/ 'retribution'	
	औढर /*ɔɖ̈ʌr*/ 'excessively pleased'	
	औढ़र /*ɔɽ̊ʌr*/ 'monopoly'	

c. Minimal pairs of र /*r*/ and ल /*l*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
रग /*rʌg*/ 'pride, juice'	मरल /*mʌrʌl*/ 'to die'	बेर /*ber*/ 'time'
लग /*lʌg*/ 'near'	मलल /*mʌlʌl*/ 'massage, clean'	बेल /*bel*/ 'wood-apple'

रोग /*rog*/ 'disease'	गरल /*gʌrʌl*/ 'to be squeezed, poison'	वीर /*bir*/ 'gallant, brave
लोग /*log*/ 'people'	गलल /*gʌlʌl*/ 'to decay'	बिल /*bil*/ 'a hole'
राग /*rag*/ 'ragas of oriental music'	बोरल /*borʌl*/ 'to drip into liquid'	नार /*nar*/ 'the portion in the hilt of a sickle'
लाग /*lag*/ 'relation'	बोलल /*bolʌl*/ 'to speak'	नाल /*nal*/ 'a drum'

d. Minimal pairs of ज /*j*/ and य /*y*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
जौन /*jɔn*/ 'who'	आजा /*aja*/ 'grandfather'	आज /*aj*/ 'today'
यौन /*yɔn*/ 'sex'	आया /*aya*/ 'a nurse'	आय /*ay*/ 'income'
जान /*jan*/ 'life'	छाजा /*cʰaja*/ 'a cover'	माज /*maj*/ 'clean'
यान /*yan*/ 'airplane'	छाया /*cʰaya*/ 'shadow'	माय /*may*/ 'mother'
	माजा /*maja*/ 'enjoyment'	
	माया /*maya*/ 'love, affection'	

e. Minimal pairs of स /*s*/ and छ /*cʰ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-vocalic**	**Word-final**
साता /*sata*/ 'a card of seven'	बसिआ /*bʌsia*/ 'stale'	बिस /*bis*/ 'twenty'
छाता /*cʰata*/ 'umbrella'	बछिआ /*bʌcʰia*/ 'the cow-calf'	बिछ /*bicʰ*/ 'select and collect'
सानल /*sanʌl*/ 'to knead'	पोसन /*posʌn*/ 'farming'	रीस /*ris*/ 'anger'
छानल /*cʰanʌl*/ 'to select, to dip fry'	पोछन /*pocʰʌn*/ 'sweeping cloth'	रीछ /*ricʰ*/ 'bear'
सेदल /*sedʌl*/ 'to heat, to bake'	आशा /*asa*/ 'hope'	कुश /*kus*/ 'cannabis'
छेदल /*cʰedʌl*/ 'to pierce'	आछा /*acʰa*/ 'good'	कुछ /*kucʰ*/ 'something'

4.1.2 Sonorant consonants

In Bhojpuri, म /*m*/, न /*n*/, ङ /*ŋ*/, ल /*l*/, र /*r*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/ have their aspirate sonorant counterparts म़ /*m̥*/, ऩ /*n̥*/, ङ़ /*ŋ̊*/, ल़ /*l̥*/, ऱ /*r̥*/ and ढ़ /*ɽ̊*/ respectively, already exhibited with phonological contrasts. But they are being treated as breathy phonemes in its neighbours and also in some Tibeto-Burman languages. They are acoustically analyzed in this subsection to classify them appropriately.

A number of male and female informants of different age and birth-places in the Bhojpuri speech community were consulted for obtaining samples for this analysis. Among them samples of three gents and three ladies were chosen in accordance with avoiding technical errors: Mr. Aphimilal Thakur and Mrs. Parameshwori Devi Thakur (my parents) above 60, me and my wife Mrs. Gajamotia Devi both between 50-60, Mr. Anand Kumar Gupta and Miss Jyoti Tiwari both under 40. My mother and wife have been born in Rautahat, My father and I have been born in Bara and Mr. Anand and Miss Jyoti have been born in Parsa districts. Oscillograms and spectrograms of their voices through praat are presented and analysed, as follows:

Figure 4.1 Acoustic presentations of म /*m*/ and म़ /*m̥*/

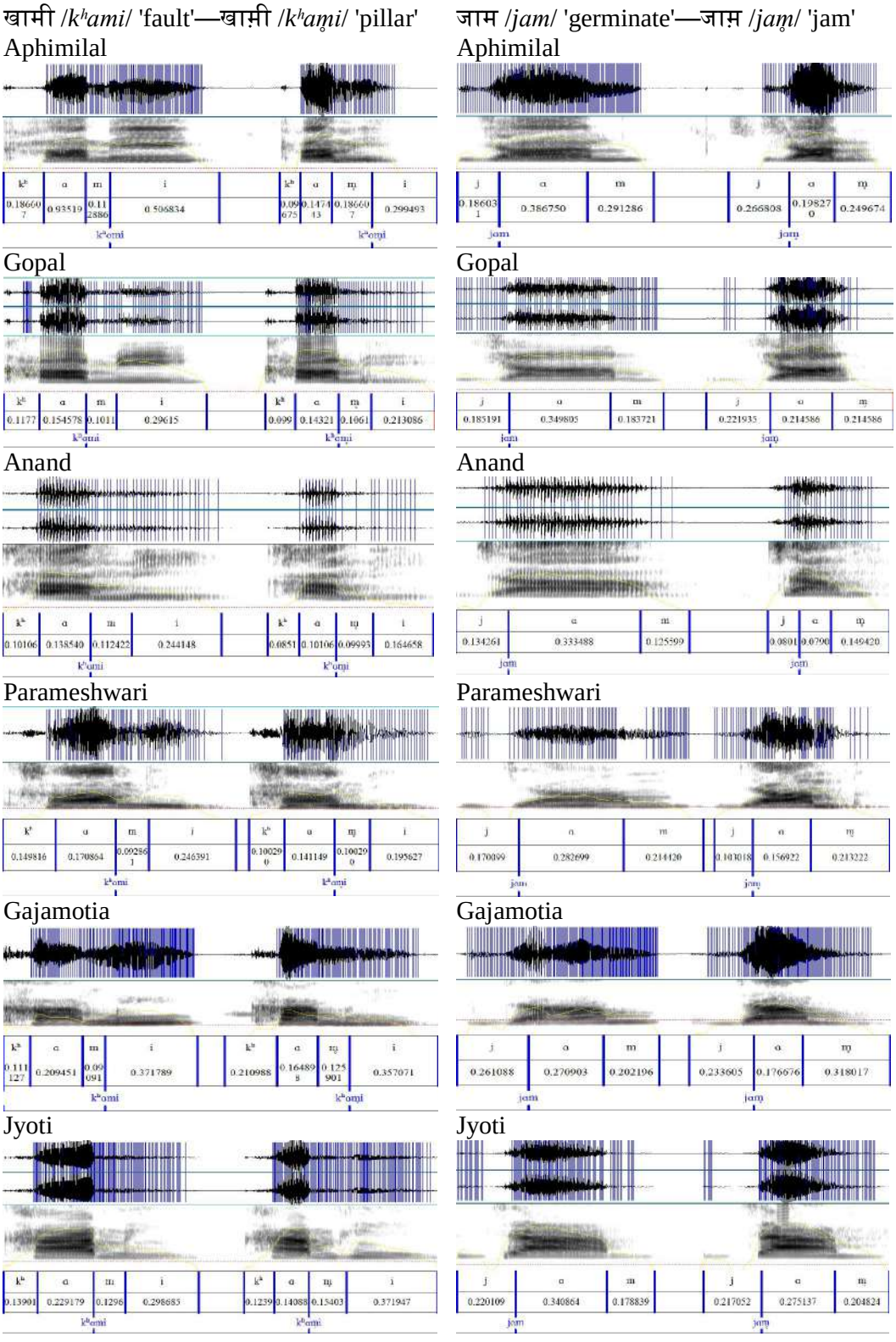
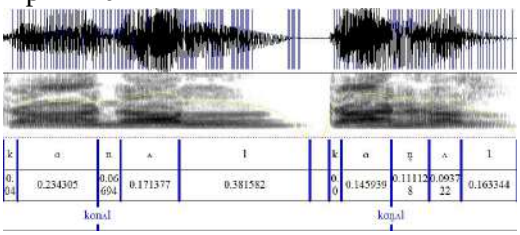


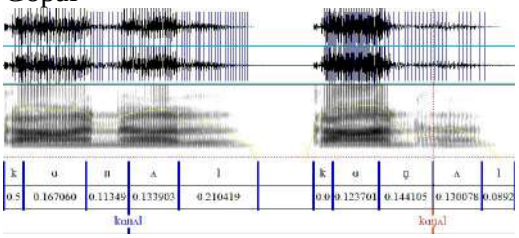
Figure 4.2 Acoustic presentations न /*n*/ and ऩ /*ɳ*/

कानल /*kanʌl*/ 'to cry'—काऩल /*kaɳʌl*/ 'to be yoked'

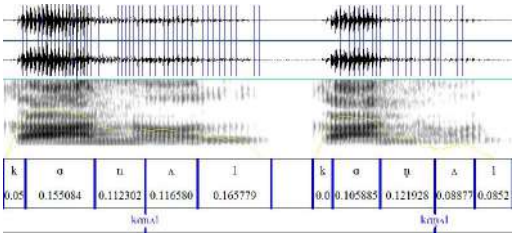
Aphimilal



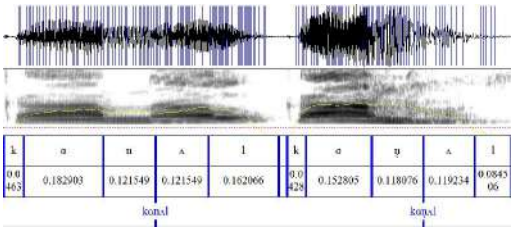
Gopal



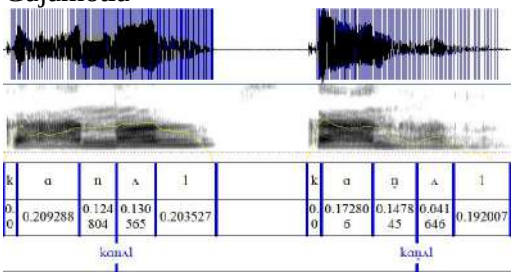
Anand



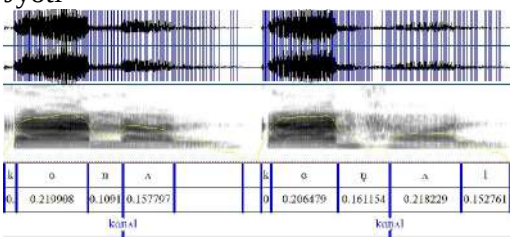
Parameshwari



Gajamotia

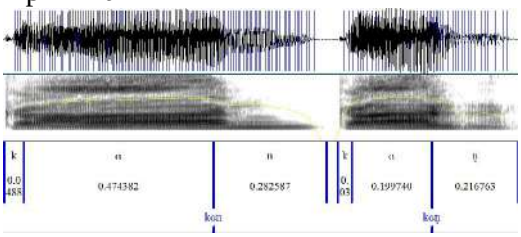


Jyoti

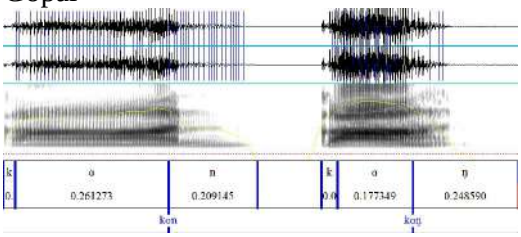


कान /*kan*/ 'ear'—काऩ /*kaɳ*/ 'shoulder'

Aphimilal



Gopal



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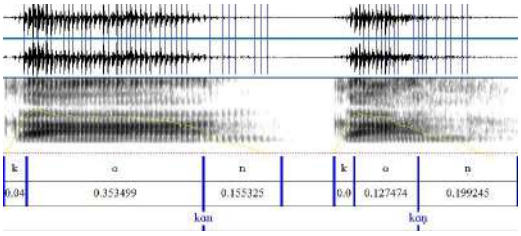
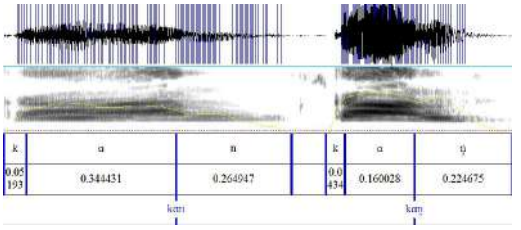
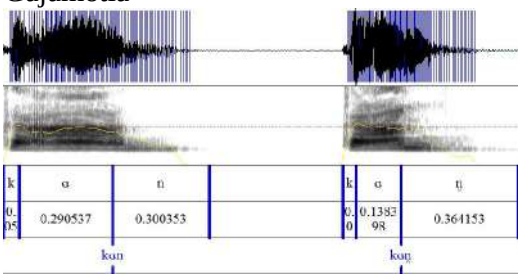


Parameshwari



Gajamotia



Jyoti

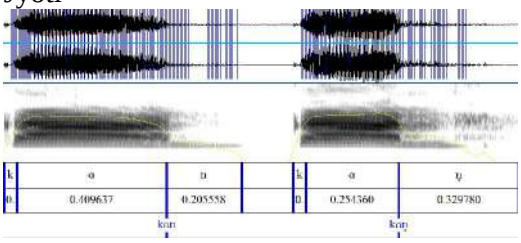
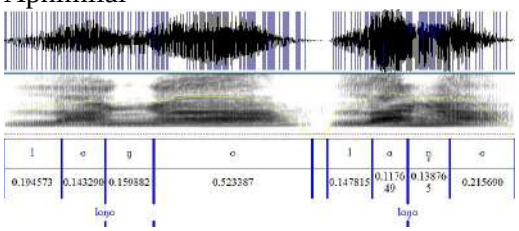


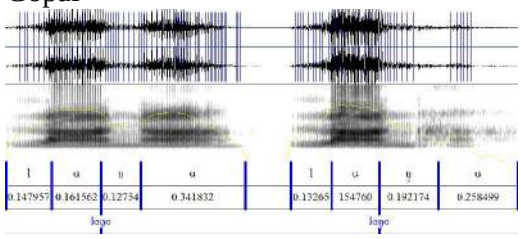
Figure 4.3 Acoustic presentations of ङ /ŋ/ and ङ़ /ŋ̊/

लाङ /laŋa/ 'rude'—लाङ़ /laŋ̊a/ 'leapt'

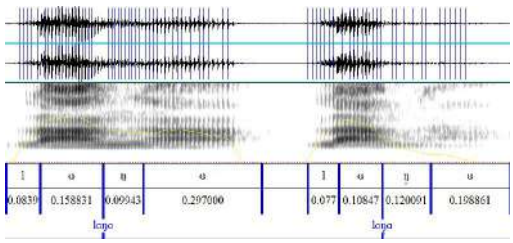
Aphimilal



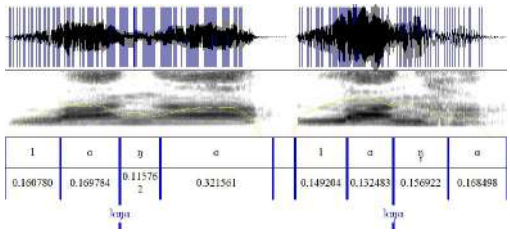
Gopal



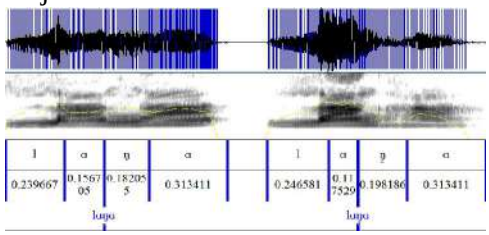
Anand



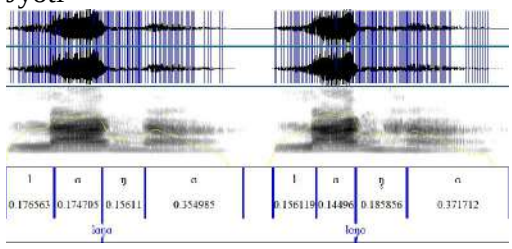
Parameshwari



Gajamotia

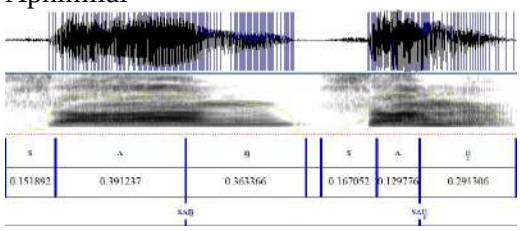


Jyoti

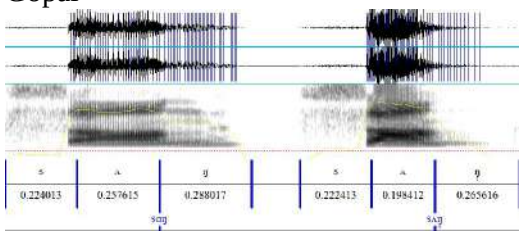


सङ /sʌŋ/ 'friendship'—सङ़ /sʌŋ̊/ 'union'

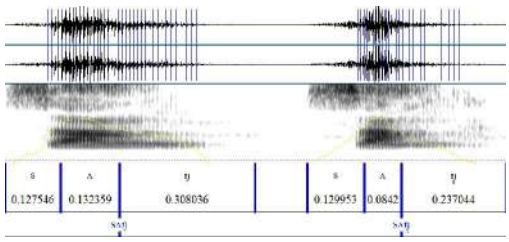
Aphimilal



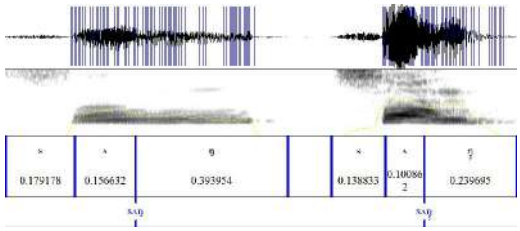
Gopal



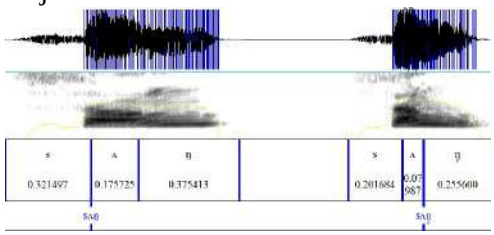
Anand



Parameshwari



Gajamotia



Jyoti

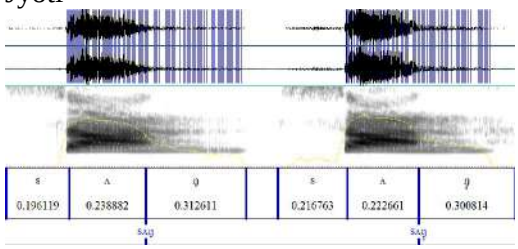
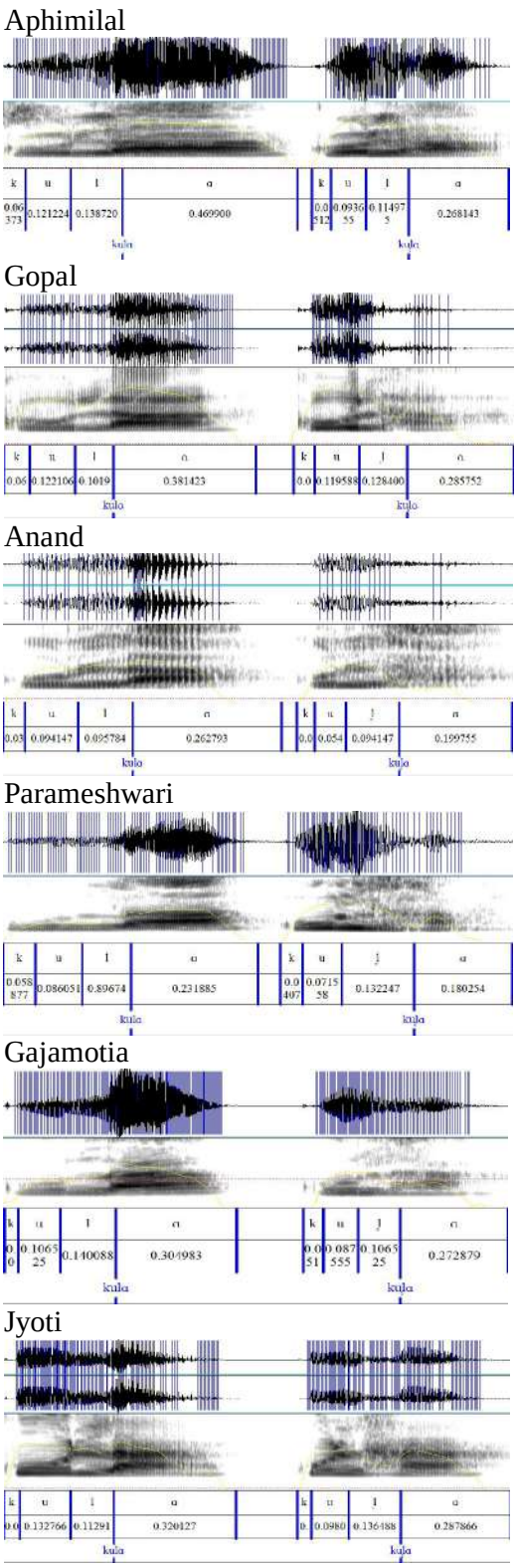


Figure 4.4 Acoustic presentations of lateral ल /l/ and ळ /ɭ/

कुला /*kula*/ 'gargle'—कुऴा /*kuɭa*/ 'hip'



काल /*kal*/ 'death, time'—काऴ /*kaɭ*/ 'yesterday'

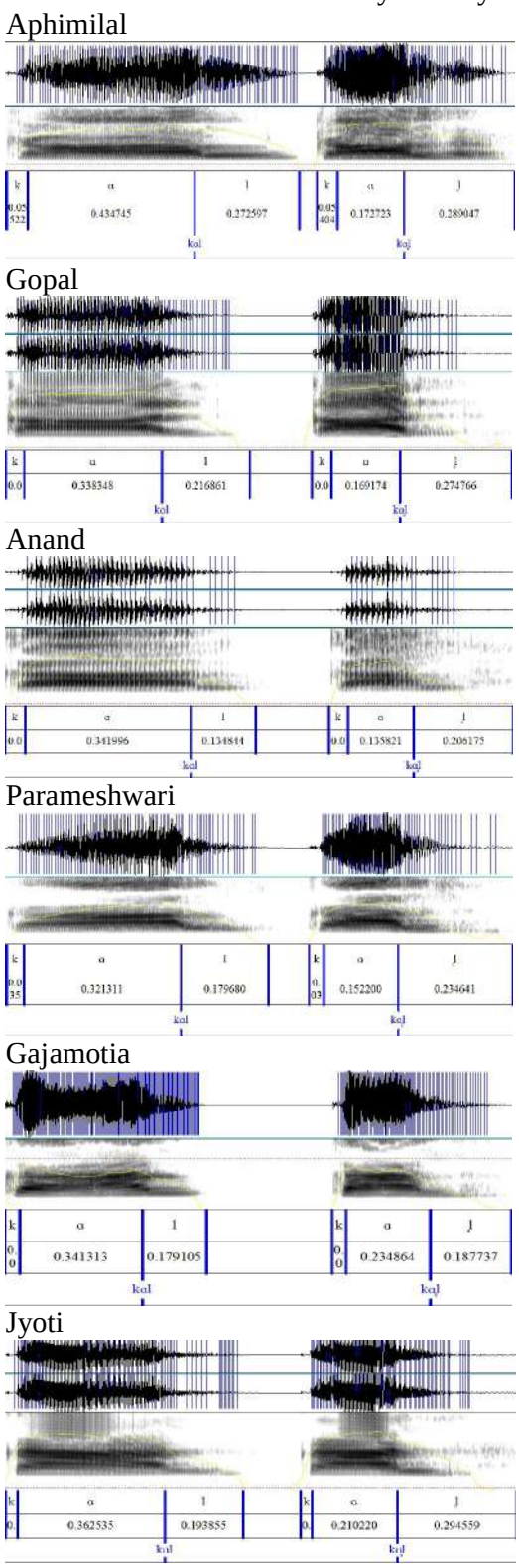
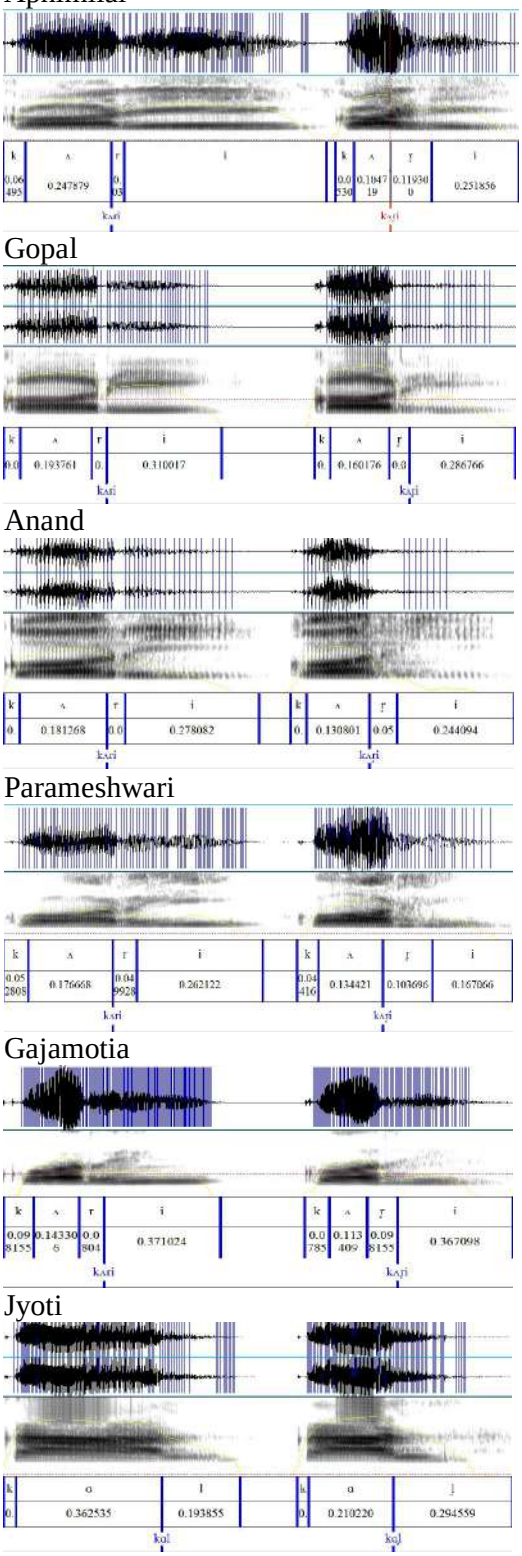


Figure 4.5 Acoustic presentations of र /r/ and ऱ /ɾ/

करी /*kʌri*/ 'do(fut)—कऱी /*kʌɾi*/ 'curry'



गार /*gar*/ 'to squeeze'—गाऱ /*gaɾ*/ 'thick (liquid)'

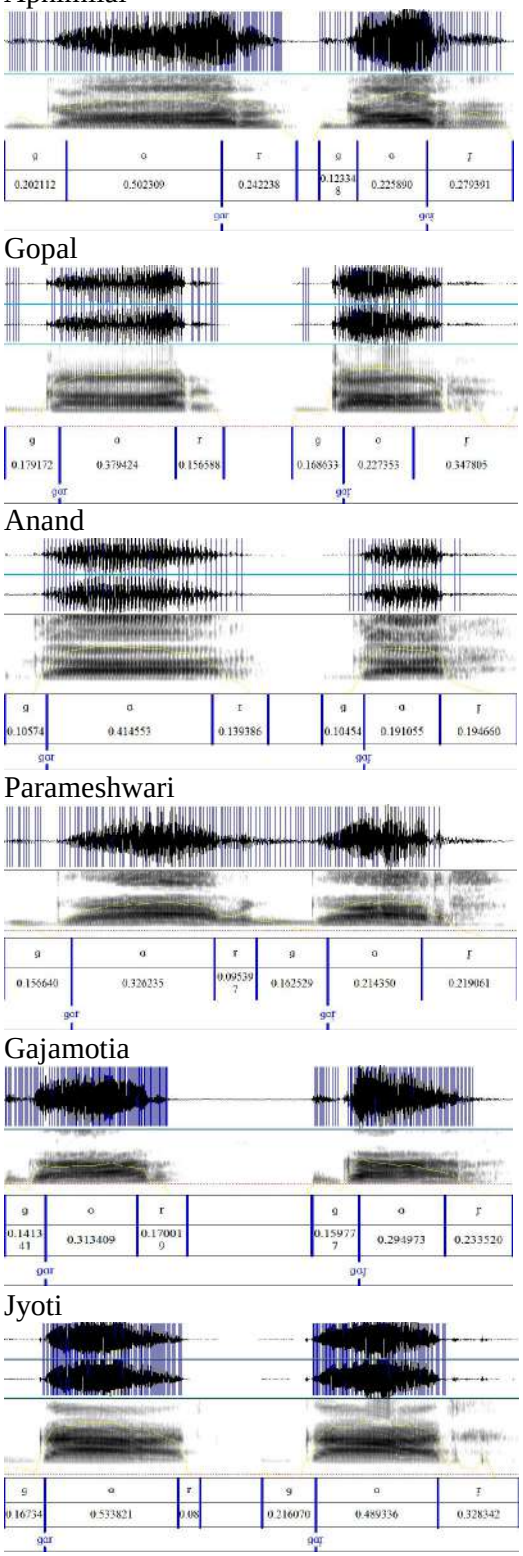
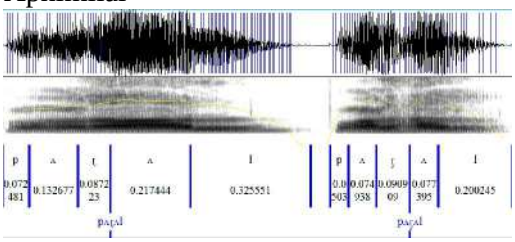


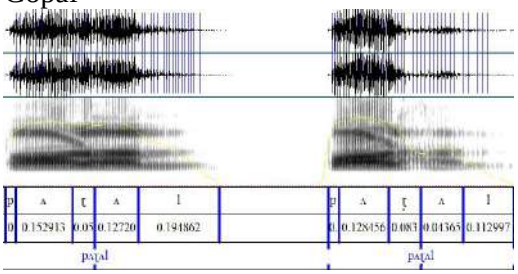
Figure 4.6 Acoustic presentations of ड़ /ɽ/ and ढ़ /ɽʱ/

पड़ल /*pʌɽʌl*/ 'to lie'—पढ़ल /*pʌɽʱʌl*/ 'to read'

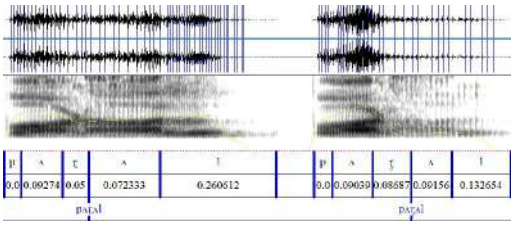
Aphimilal



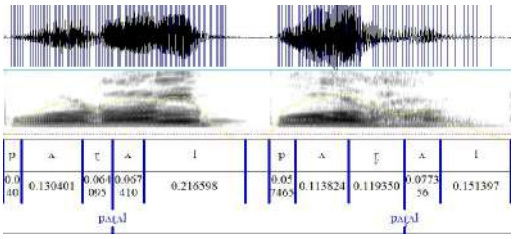
Gopal



Anand

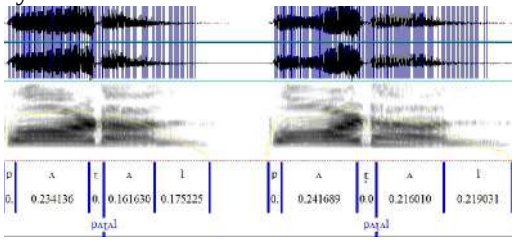


Parameshwari



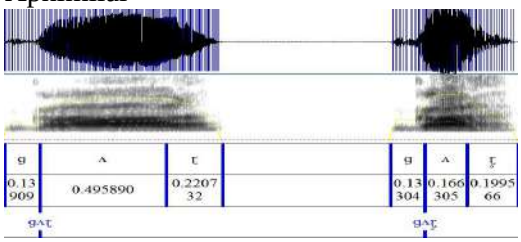
Gajamotia

Jyoti

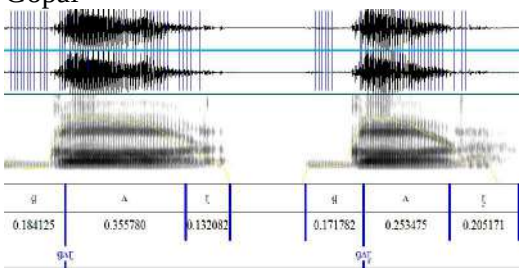


गड़ /*gʌɽ*/ 'to prick'—गढ़ /*gʌɽʱ*/ 'forte'

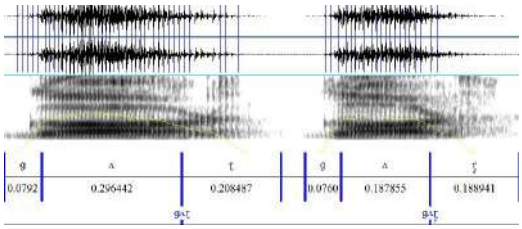
Aphimilal



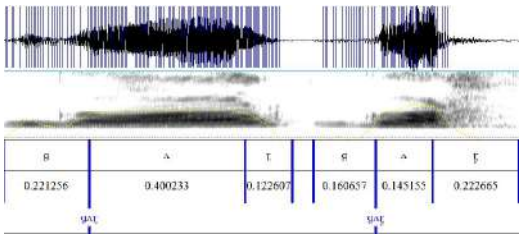
Gopal



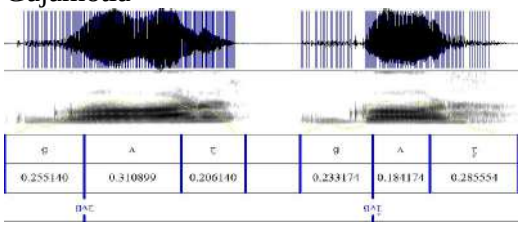
Anand



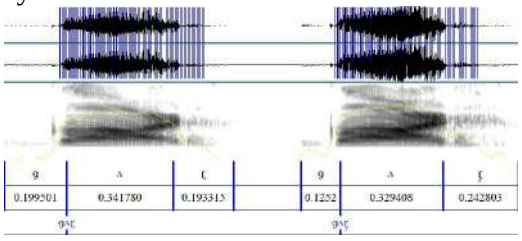
Parameshwari



Gajamotia



Jyoti



Figures 4.1-4.6 provides the findings as follows:

(a) Sonorant counterparts of म /*m*/, न /*n*/, ङ /*ŋ*/, ल /*l*/, र /*r*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/ in the word-final position have caused loss in voicing bars in the offset phase in the respective spectrograms.

(b) Intensity has also been found dropped while articulating aspirate sonorant counterparts of म /*m*/, न /*n*/, ङ /*ŋ*/, ल /*l*/, र /*r*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/.

Besides, comparisons of vowel lengths before the regular consonants and their sonorant counterparts matter to determine whether the sonorants are breathy or voiceless. Table 4.2 presents vowel lengths before म /*m*/, न /*n*/, ङ /*ŋ*/, ल /*l*/, र /*r*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/ along with their sonorant counterparts both in intervocalic and word-final positions. Similarly the lengths of regular consonants and their sonorant counterparts also matter to determine whether the sonorants are breathy or voiceless. Table 4.3 presents lengths of regular consonants and their sonorant counterparts.

Table 4.2: Vowel length before voiced consonants and their sonorant counterparts

Position	Afimi	Gopal	Anand	Parames	Gajamoti	Jyoti	Total	Average	Words
ɑ before m-intervocalic	0.193519	0.154578	0.13854	0.170864	0.209451	0.229179	1.096131	0.182689	**kʰɑmi**
ɑ before m̥-intervocalic	0.147443	0.143021	0.101066	0.141149	0.164898	0.154039	0.851616	0.141936	**kʰɑm̥i**
ɑ before m-final	0.38675	0.349805	0.333488	0.282699	0.270903	0.340864	1.964509	0.327418	**jɑm**
ɑ before m̥-final	0.19827	0.214586	0.079041	0.156922	0.176676	0.275137	1.100632	0.183439	**jɑm̥**
ɑ before n-intervocalic	0.234305	0.16706	0.155084	0.182903	0.209288	0.219908	1.168548	0.194758	**kɑnʌl**
ɑ before n̥-intervocalic	0.145939	0.123701	0.105885	0.152805	0.172806	0.206479	0.907615	0.151269	**kɑn̥ʌl**
ɑ before n-final	0.474382	0.261273	0.353499	0.344431	0.290537	0.409637	2.133759	0.355627	**kɑn**
ɑ before n̥-final	0.19974	0.177349	0.127474	0.160028	0.138398	0.25436	1.057349	0.176225	**kɑn̥**
ʌ before ŋ-intervocalic	0.14329	0.161562	0.158831	0.169784	0.156705	0.174705	0.964877	0.160813	**lɑŋɑ**
ʌ before ŋ̊-intervocalic	0.117649	0.15476	0.10847	0.132483	0.117529	0.144968	0.775859	0.12931	**lɑŋ̊ɑ**
ʌ before ŋ-final	0.391237	0.257615	0.132359	0.156632	0.175725	0.238882	1.35245	0.225408	**sʌŋ**
ʌ before ŋ̊-final	0.129776	0.198412	0.084229	0.100862	0.079875	0.222661	0.815815	0.135969	**sʌŋ̊**
u before l-intervocalic	0.121224	0.122106	0.094147	0.086051	0.106525	0.132766	0.662819	0.11047	**kulɑ**
u before l̥-intervoclic	0.093655	0.119588	0.054851	0.071558	0.087555	0.098023	0.52523	0.087538	**kul̥ɑ**
ɑ before l-final	0.434745	0.338348	0.341996	0.321311	0.341313	0.362535	2.140248	0.356708	**kɑl**
ɑ before l̥-final	0.172723	0.169174	0.135821	0.1522	0.234864	0.21022	1.075002	0.179167	**kɑl̥**
ʌ before r-intervoclic	0.247879	0.193761	0.181268	0.176668	0.143306	0.233059	1.175941	0.19599	**kʌɾi**
ʌ before r̥-intervocalic	0.104719	0.160176	0.130801	0.134421	0.113409	0.201409	0.844935	0.140823	**kʌr̥i**
ɑ before r-final	0.502309	0.379424	0.414553	0.326235	0.313409	0.533821	2.469751	0.411625	**gɑr**
ɑ before r̥-final	0.22589	0.227353	0.191055	0.21435	0.294973	0.489336	1.642957	0.273826	**gɑr̥**
ʌ before ɽ-intervocalic	0.132677	0.152913	0.09274	0.130401	0.112663	0.234136	0.85553	0.142588	**pʌɽʌl**
ʌ before ɽ̊-intervocalic	0.074938	0.128456	0.090392	0.113824	0.097641	0.241689	0.74694	0.12449	**pʌɽ̊ʌl**
ʌ before ɽ-final	0.49589	0.35578	0.296442	0.400233	0.310899	0.34178	2.201024	0.366837	**gʌɽ**
ʌ before ɽ̊-final	0.166305	0.253475	0.187855	0.145155	0.184174	0.329408	1.266372	0.211062	**gʌɽ̊**

Table 4.3: Length of voiced consonants and their sonorant counterparts:

Position	Afimi	Gopal	Anand	Parames	Gajamoti	Jyoti	Total	Average	Words
m-intervocalic	0.112886	0.101126	0.112422	0.092861	0.090919	0.129618	0.639832	0.106639	**kʰɑmi**
m̥-intervocalic	0.186607	0.106182	0.09993	0.10029	0.125901	0.154039	0.772949	0.128825	**kʰɑm̥i**
m-final	0.291286	0.183721	0.125599	0.21442	0.202196	0.178839	1.196061	0.199344	**jɑm**
m̥-final	0.249674	0.214586	0.14942	0.213222	0.318017	0.204824	1.349743	0.224957	**jɑm̥**
n-intervocalic	0.066944	0.113499	0.112302	0.121549	0.124804	0.109115	0.648213	0.108036	**kɑnʌl**
n̥-intervocalic	0.111128	0.144105	0.121928	0.118076	0.147845	0.161154	0.804236	0.134039	**kɑn̥ʌl**
n-final	0.282587	0.209145	0.155325	0.264947	0.300353	0.205558	1.417915	0.236319	**kɑn**
n̥-final	0.216763	0.177349	0.199245	0.224675	0.364153	0.32978	1.511965	0.251994	**kɑn̥**
ŋ-intervocalic	0.159882	0.127549	0.099431	0.115762	0.182055	0.156119	0.840798	0.140133	**lɑŋɑ**
ŋ̊-intervocalic	0.138765	0.192174	0.120091	0.156922	0.198186	0.185856	0.991994	0.165332	**lɑŋ̊ɑ**
ŋ-final	0.363366	0.288017	0.308036	0.393954	0.375413	0.312611	2.041397	0.340233	**sʌŋ**
ŋ̊-final	0.291306	0.265616	0.237044	0.239695	0.2556	0.300814	1.590075	0.265013	**sʌŋ̊**
l-intervocalic	0.13872	0.101964	0.095784	0.089674	0.140088	0.112913	0.679143	0.113191	**kulɑ**
l̥-intervoclic	0.114975	0.1284	0.094147	0.132247	0.106525	0.136488	0.712782	0.118797	**kul̥ɑ**
l-final	0.272597	0.216861	0.134844	0.17968	0.179105	0.193855	1.176942	0.196157	**kɑl**
l̥-final	0.289047	0.274766	0.206175	0.234641	0.187737	0.294559	1.486925	0.247821	**kɑl̥**
r-intervoclic	0.037116	0.041336	0.038107	0.049928	0.080487	0.120846	0.36782	0.061303	**kʌri**
r̥-intervocalic	0.1193	0.054253	0.056646	0.103696	0.098155	0.135232	0.567282	0.094547	**kʌr̥i**
r-final	0.242238	0.156588	0.139386	0.095397	0.170019	0.086852	0.89048	0.148413	**gɑr**
r̥-final	0.279391	0.347805	0.19466	0.219061	0.23352	0.328342	1.602779	0.26713	**gɑr̥**
ɽ-intervocalic	0.087223	0.058865	0.05987	0.064095	0.075109	0.048338	0.3935	0.065583	**pʌɽʌl**
ɽ̊-intervocalic	0.090909	0.083321	0.086871	0.11935	0.13144	0.060422	0.572313	0.095386	**pʌɽ̊ʌl**
ɽ-final	0.220732	0.132082	0.208487	0.122607	0.20614	0.193315	1.083363	0.180561	**gʌɽ**
ɽ̊-final	0.199566	0.205171	0.188941	0.222665	0.285554	0.242803	1.3447	0.224117	**gʌɽ̊**

Table 4.2 shows that vowel length before regular consonant in each case is longer than that before its sonorant counterpart. Similarly, Table 4.3 shows that length of the regular consonant is shorter than the respective sonorant counterparts in each case in average.

Findings of the spectrograms lead towards aspirate character of Bhojpuri sonorants. Likewise facts extracted from Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 lead towards voicelessness of the aspirate sonorants in Bhojpuri. Phonetically the aspirate sonorant consonants in Bhojpuri retains voicing in intervocalic position and drop it in the word-final position such as [m̥, m̤], [n̥, n̤], [l̥, l̤], [r̥, r̤], [ɽ̥, ɽ̤] and [ɲ̊, ɲ̈]. But they do not have phonemic contrast. So, the aspirate sonorant consonants in Bhojpuri in this study have been presented as म़ /*m̥*/, ऩ /*n̥*/, ल़ /*l̥*/, ऱ /*r̥*/, ड़ /*ɽ̥*/ and ञ़ /*ɲ̊*/.

4.1.3 Distribution of consonants

In sub-section 4.1.1 we tried to outline phonological contrasts of the consonants in Bhojpuri. Now we present distribution of the consonants in different positions: word-initial, inter-vocalic, word-final, pre-consonental, post-consonantal and geminate in this sub-section along with the summary. Table 4.4 provides their positional distribution.[4]

Table 4.4 Distribution of consonants in Bhojpuri

Consonants	Word-initial (#-)	Inter-vocalic (v-v)	Word–final (-#)	Preconsonantal (_C)	Post consonantal (C_)	Geminate
प /*p*/	+	+	+	+	+	+
फ /*p*^{h}/	+	+	+	+	+	–
ब /*b*/	+	+	+	+	+	+
भ /*b̤*/	+	+	+	+	+	–
त /*t*/	+	+	+	+	+	+
थ /*t*^{h}/	+	+	+	+	+	–
द /*d*/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ध /*d̤*/	+	+	+	+	+	–

4. Please see Annex III for detailed examples of positional distribution of the Bhojpuri consonants.

ट /ʈ/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ठ /ʈʰ/	+	+	+	+	+	–
ड /ɖ/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ढ /ɖ̈/	+	+	+	+	+	–
क /k/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ख /kʰ/	+	+	+	+	+	–
ग /g/	+	+	+	+	+	+
घ /g̈/	+	+	+	+	+	–
स /s/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ह़ /ɦ/	+	+	+	+	+	–
च /c/	+	+	+	+	+	+
छ /cʰ/	+	+	+	+	+	–
ज /ɟ/	+	+	+	+	+	+
झ /ɟ̈/	+	+	+	+	+	–
म /m/	+	+	+	+	+	+
म़ /m̥/	–	+	+	+	–	–
न /n/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ऩ /n̥/	–	+	+	+	–	–
ङ /ŋ/	+	+	+	+	+	–
ङ़ /ŋ̊/	–	+	+	+	–	–
र /r/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ऱ /r̥/	–	+	+	+	–	–
ड़ /ɽ/	–	+	+	+	+	–
ढ़ /ɽ̊/	–	+	+	+	–	–
ल /l/	+	+	+	+	+	+
ल़ /l̥/	–	+	+	+	–	–
व /w/	+	+	+	+	+	–
य /y/	+	+	+	+	+	+

The following generalizations can be made with regard to the distribution of the consonants in Bhojpuri as summarized in Table 4.4.

a) All the consonant phonemes occur in the inter-vocalic and word-final position in Bhojpuri.
b) Except म़ /m̰/, ऩ /n̰/, ङ़ /ŋ̊/, ऱ /r̰/, ड़ /ɾ/, ढ़ /ɾ̊/ and ल़ /l̰/; all of them occur in the word-initial position.
c) All aspirated and breathy consonants are absent in gemination because they cannot be repeated while articulated.
d) All aspirate sonorants are only present in preconsonantal position as they cannot be articulated in either postconsonantal or geminate position.
e) Voiceless but nonaspirated and voiced consonants are available in all three positions of clusters.
f) Bilabial glide व /*w*/ is only available in postconsonantal position while clustering.
g) The palatal glide य /*y*/ is only absent in preconsonantal position for clustering.

4.2 Vowels

"The basic parameters of most vowel systems are the three scales whose endpoints are traditionally called high and low, front and back, and rounded and unrounded" (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996:282). They are of two types in Bhojpuri: oral and nasal. The oral vowels in Bhojpuri are further categorized into monopththongs, diphthongs and triphthongs. In this section, we first present an inventory of the oral monophthongs and then we discuss their phonological contrasts as well as their positional distribution. Then, the nasal monophthongs will be discussed. Finally, we examine the diphthongs and triphthongs in Bhojpuri.

4.2.1 Inventory of oral monophthongs

There are eight oral monophthongs in Bhojpuri.[5] The vowel length is not contrastive except a contrast between back open आ /*a*/ and back half-open अ /ʌ/. Table 4.5 presents quadrilateral of the Bhojpuri oral monophthons.

5. Grierson (1883:21) introduces 10 oral monophthongs for Bhiharí which Bhojpuri belongs to /ɑ, ɑ́, i, í, u, ú, ĕ, e, ŏ, o/, Tiwari (1954:71/1960:3) presents 14 Bhojpuri oral vowels /iː, i, eː, e, ɛ, a, ʌ, ɑ, uː, u, oː, o, ɔː, ɔ/, Shukla (1981:26-7) displays 11 /iː, i, eː, e, æ, aː, a, oː, o, uː, u/, Trammell (1971:127-8) records 10 /i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ, ə, a, ɔ, o, u/, Verma (2003:572) and exhibits 6 /i, e, a, ā, o, u/ Bhojpuri oral vowels.

Table 4.5: Oral monophthongs in Bhojpuri

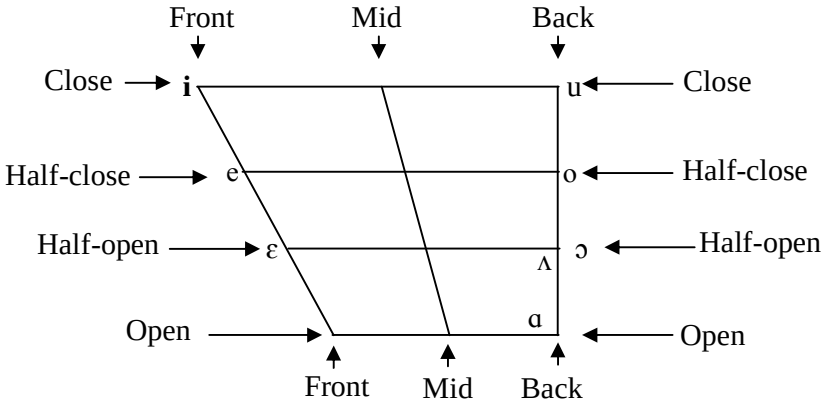


Table 4.5 shows that there are eight monophthongs in Bhojpuri in terms of high-low and front-back position of the tongue. Maithili (Yadav 1996:15) exhibits the same oral monophthongs as Bhojpuri does. Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:52) and Nepali (Adhikari 2014:5) exhibit six of them except ऐ /ɛ/ and औ /ɔ/. Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:25) exhibits eleven oral monophthongs that excludes ऐ /ɛ/ and औ /ɔ/ but adds ई /*i:*/, एऽ /*e:*/, अ /*ə*/, ओऽ /*o:*/ and ऊ /*u:*/. Hindi (Koul 2008:11) exhibits ten oral monophthongs adding ई /*i:*/ and ऊ /*u:*/ with those available in Bhojpuri. The Bhojpuri oral monophthongs are classified as close front इ /*i*/, half-close front ए /*e*/, half-open front ऐ /ɛ/, open back आ /*a*/, half open back अ /ʌ/ and औ or ऑ /ɔ/, half-close back ओ /*o*/ and close back उ /*u*/.[6]

4.2.2 Phonological contrasts in oral monophthongs

The oral monophthongs present the phonological contrast in terms of height and front-back positions of tongue in Bhojpuri.

a. Height contrasts

We present the contrasts for the vowels in terms of the height of the tongue, as in (12a-m).

(12) a. इ /*i*/ vs. ए /*e*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
इतवार /*itwar*/ 'trust'	बिल /*bil*/ 'a hole'	जी /*ji*/ 'yes, yea'
एतवार/*etwar*/ 'Sunday'	बेल /*bel*/ 'wood-apple'	जे /*je*/ 'the one'

6. The diphthongs /ʌi/ and /ʌu/ are presented by the Devanagari letters ऐ and औ as in some of the Indo-Aryan languages including Sanskrit and Nepali but Bhojpuri, with its close neighbours Awadhi, Maithili and Hindi, presents monophthongs /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ in Devanagari with the same letters.

इतर /*itʌr*/ 'scent'	कीरा /*kira*/ 'insect'	एती /*eti*/ 'this'
एतर /*etʌr*/ 'this place'	केरा /*kera*/ 'banana'	एते /*ete*/ 'hence, this much'
इति /*iti*/ 'past'	हीरा /*ɦira*/ 'diamond'	पेटी /*peʈi*/ 'box'
एती /*eti*/ 'this'	हेरा /*ɦera*/ 'good looking'	पेटे /*peʈe*/ 'at stomach'

b. इ /*i*/ vs. ऐ /*ɛ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
ईश /*is*/ 'God'	बीस /*bis*/ 'twenty'	जी /*ji*/ 'yes, yea'
ऐस /*ɛs*/ 'luxury'	बैस /*bɛs*/ 'youth'	जै /*jɛ*/ 'victory'
	गिर /*gir*/ 'fall (IMP)'	छी /*cʰi*/ 'how shame!'
	गैर /*gɛr*/ 'alien'	छै /*cʰɛ*/ 'decay'
	बीर /*bir*/ 'gallant, brave'	ई /*i*/ 'this'
	बैर /*bɛr*/ 'enmity'	ऐ /*ɛ*/ 'vocative (NH)'

c. इ /*i*/ vs. आ /*a*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
इसरा /*isra*/ 'Goddess Parvati	जीन /*jin*/ 'geanie'	जी /*ji*/ 'yea/live (IMP)'
आसरा /*asra*/ 'hope'	जान /*jan*/ 'life'	जा /*ja*/ 'go (IMP.MH)'
इ /*i*/ 'this'	दिन /*din*/ 'day'	पी /*pi*/ 'drink (IMP)'
आ /*a*/ 'and/come'	दान /*dan*/ 'donation'	पा /*pa*/ 'get (IMP)'
इलिम /*ilim*/ 'skill'	सील /*sil*/ 'shame'	सी /*si*/ 'stitch (IMP)'
आलिम /*alim*/ 'degree of learning'	साल /*sal*/ 'year'	सा /*sa*/ 'first musical note'

d. ए /*e*/ vs. ऐ /*ɛ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
एन /*en*/ 'right'	बेना /*bena*/ 'fan'	जे /*je*/ 'whatever, whoever'
ऐन /*ɛn*/ 'act'	बैना /*bɛna*/ 'advance'	जै /*jɛ*/ 'victory'
	बेल /*bel*/ 'wood-apple'	से /*se*/ 'that one, ablative'
	बैल /*bɛl*/ 'ox'	सै /*sɛ*/ 'hundred'
	गेर /*ger*/ 'red soil'	ले /*le*/ 'take it (IMP)
	गैर /*gɛr*/ 'alien'	लै /*lɛ*/ 'music'

e. ए /*e*/ vs. आ /*a*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
ए /*e*/ 'this'	बेर /*ber*/ 'time'	से /*se*/ 'to/from'
आ /*a*/ 'and/come'	बार /*bar*/ 'obstruct (IMP)'	सा /*sa*/ 'first musical note'
एन /*en*/ 'exact'	शेर /*ser*/ 'lion'	बारे /*bare*/ 'twelve'
आन /*an*/ 'alien'	सार /*sar*/ 'brother-in-law'	बारी /*bari*/ 'garden'
एसो /*eso*/ 'this year'	तेल /*tel*/ 'oil'	गे /*ge*/ 'feminine vocative'
आसो /*aso*/ 'hope too.'	ताल /*tal*/ 'musical beat'	गा /*ga*/ 'sing (IMP)'

f. ऐ /*ɛ*/ vs. आ /*a*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
ऐ /*ɛ*/ 'vocative'	मैन /*mɛn*/ 'variety of horns'	सै /*sɛ*/ 'hundred'
आ /*a*/ 'and/come'	मान /*man*/ 'prestige'	सा /*sa*/ 'first musical note'
ऐन /*ɛn*/ 'act'	सैल /*sɛl*/ 'luxury'	जै /*jɛ*/ 'glory'
आन /*an*/ 'alien'	साल /*sal*/ 'year'	जा /*ja*/ 'go (IMP.MH)'
ऐस /*ɛs*/ 'luxury'	गैर /*gɛr*/ 'alien'	है /*ɦɛ*/ 'vocative'
आस /*as*/ 'hope'	गार /*gar*/ 'crush'	हा /*ɦa*/ 'exressing joy'

g. उ /*u*/ vs. ओ /*o*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
ऊ /*u*/ 'that'	जुड़ /*juɽ*/ 'cool'	जु /*ju*/ 'be under yoke'
ओ /*o*/ 'to that'	जोड़ /*joɽ*/ 'addition'	जो /*jo*/ 'go (IMP)'
ऊल /*ul*/ 'satire'	सुना /*suna*/ 'lonely'	आजु /*aju*/ 'today'
ओल /*ol*/ 'yam'	सोना /*sona*/ 'gold'	आजो /*ajo*/ 'come'
उलार /*ular*/ 'back-loaded'	सुझ /*sujʲ*/ 'see'	आगु /*agu*/ 'front'
ओलार /*olar*/ 'cow-sitting'	सोझ /*sojʲ*/ 'straight'	आगो /*ago*/ 'fire too'

h. उ /*u*/ vs. औ /*ɔ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
उझट /*ujʲʌʈ*/ 'obscene'	पुन /*pun*/ 'virtue'	जु /*ju*/ 'be uner yoke'
औझट /*ɔjʲʌʈ*/ 'suddenly'	पौन /*pɔn*/ 'third-fourth'	जौ /*jɔ*/ 'barley'
उतार /*utar*/ 'unload'	जुन /*jun*/ 'right moment'	भू /*ɓu*/ 'earth'

औतार /*ɔtar*/ 'incarnation'	जौन /*jɔn*/ 'who'	भौ /*ɓɔ*/ 'world'
उसर /*usʌr*/ 'shallow'	कुशल /*kusʌl*/ 'living well'	सु /*su*/ 'good'
औसर /*ɔsʌr*/ 'opportunity'	कौशल /*kɔsʌl*/ 'skill'	सौ /*sɔ*/ 'hundred'

i. उ /*u*/ vs. अ /*ʌ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
उसर /*usʌr*/ 'shallow'	पुत /*put*/ 'son'	आऊ /*au*/ 'life'
असर /*ʌsʌr*/ 'effect'	पत /*pʌt*/ 'prestige'	आवऽ /*awʌ*/ 'come (IMP.MH)'
उनार /*unar*/ 'unbend (IMP)'	सुत /*sut*/ 'thread'	दू /*du*/ 'two'
अनार /*ʌnar*/ 'pomegranate'	सत /*sʌt*/ 'truth'	द /*dʌ*/ 'give (IMP.MH)'
उड़ /*uɽ*/ 'fly (IMP)'	पुल /*pul*/ 'bridge'	काटू /*kaʈu*/ 'cunning'
अड़ /*ʌɽ*/ 'defend (IMP)'	पल /*pʌl*/ 'moment'	काटऽ /*kaʈʌ*/ 'cut (IMP.MH)'

j. ओ /*o*/ vs. औ /*ɔ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
ओर /*or*/ 'towards, start'	कोर /*kor*/ 'border'	हो /*ɦo*/ 'vocative'
और /*ɔr*/ 'more, and'	कौर /*kɔr*/ 'morsel'	हौ /*ɦɔ*/ 'halt (IMP)'
ओसर /*osʌr*/ 'a cow-calf about to impregnate'	कोरा /*kora*/ 'lap'	जो /*jo*/ 'go (IMP)'
औसर /*ɔsʌr*/ 'opportunity'	कौरा /*kɔra*/ 'a morsel'	जौ /*jɔ*/ 'barley'
ओरा /*ora*/ 'towards'	कोड़ा /*koɽa*/ 'whip'	सो /*so*/ 'that'
औरा /*ɔra*/ 'amla'	कौड़ा /*kɔɽa*/ 'big cowry'	सौ /*sɔ*/ 'hundred'

k. ओ /*o*/ vs. अ /*ʌ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
ओसर /*osʌr*/ 'a cow-calf about to impregnate'	कोसल /*kosʌl*/ 'secretly collected'	धरो /*ɖʌro*/ 'let him/her keep'
असर /*ʌsʌr*/ 'effect'	कसल /*kʌsʌl*/ 'tight, tighten'	धरऽ /*ɖʌrʌ*/ 'keep (IMP)'
ओलग /*olʌg*/ 'that place'	खोरहा /*kʰorʌɦa*/ 'mouth and feed disease'	करो /*kʌro*/ 'let him/her do'
अलग /*ʌlʌg*/ 'separate'	खरहा /*kʰʌrʌɦa*/ 'rabbit'	करऽ /*kʌrʌ*/ 'do (IMP)'
ओजान /*ojan*/ 'that place'	खोल /*kʰol*/ 'cover, open (IMP)'	देखो /*dekʰo*/ 'let him/her see'

अजान /ʌjan/ 'a call for Muslim prayer' खल /kʰʌl/ 'wicked, mortar' देखऽ /dekʰʌ/ 'look (IMP)'

l. औ /ɔ/ vs. अ /ʌ/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
औसर /ɔsʌr/ 'opportunity'	कौशल /kɔsʌl/ 'skill'	सौ /sɔ/ 'hundre'
असर /ʌsʌr/ 'effect'	कसल /kʌsʌl/ 'tight'	स /sʌ/ 'plural marker'
औतार /ɔtar/ 'incarnation'	कौन /kɔn/ 'who'	लौ /lɔ/ 'trick'
अतार /ʌtar/ 'yam'	कन /kʌn/ 'grain-dust'	ल /lʌ/ 'take (IMP.MH)'
औगर /ɔgʌr/ 'augar'	सौदा /sɔda/ 'commodity'	हौ /ɦɔ/ 'stop'
अगर /ʌgʌr/ 'if/or'	सदा /sʌda/ 'always'	ह /ɦʌ/ 'is'

m. अ /ʌ/ vs. आ /a/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
अन /ʌn/ 'food grain'	कल /kʌl/ 'machine'	माजऽ /majʌ/ 'clean (IMP)'
आन /an/ 'alien, pride'	काल /kal/ 'time, death'	माजा /mal/ 'enjoyment'
अगम /ʌgʌm/ 'unknown'	हर /ɦʌr/ 'plough'	जोतऽ /jotʌ/ 'plough (IMP)'
आगम /agʌm/ 'incoming'	हार /ɦar/ 'defeat, necklace'	जोता /jota/ 'youke-rope'
अलम /ʌlʌm/ 'habit'	फर /pʰʌr/ 'fruit, seed'	पोतऽ /potʌ/ 'paint (IMP)'
आलम /alʌm/ 'crowd'	फार /pʰar/ 'plough share'	पोता /pota/ 'grandson'

b. Front-back contrasts

We present contrasts for the vowels in terms of height, as in (13).

(13) a. इ /i/ vs. उ /u/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
इनार /inar/ 'well'	किट /kiʈ/ 'fix (IMP)'	तारी /tari/ 'will sail'
उनार /unar/ 'loosen (IMP)'	कुट /kuʈ/ 'hard cover'	तारु /taru/ 'palate'
इसर /isʌr/ 'fertile'	चित /cit/ 'conscience'	थारी /tʰari/ 'a metal plate'
उसर /usʌr/ 'unfertile'	चुत /cut/ 'vagina'	थारू /tʰaru/ 'an ethnicity'
इथर /itʰʌr/ 'ether'	धीर /ḍir/ 'patient'	पेटी /peʈi/ 'a box'
उथर /utʰʌr/ 'shallow'	धुर /ḍur/ 'high boundary'	पेटु /peʈu/ 'heavy eater'

b. ए /*e*/ vs. ओ /*o*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
एने /*ene*/ 'here'	केरा /*kera*/ 'banana/	काहे /*kaɦe*/ 'why'
ओने /*one*/ 'there'	कोरा /*kora*/ 'lap'	काहो /*kaɦo*/ 'vocative'
एकर /*ekʌr*/ 'possessive (close)'	चेरी /*ceri*/ 'a maid-servant'	भाते /*ɓate*/ 'only rice'
ओकर /*okʌr*/ 'possessive (distant)	चोरी /*cori*/ 'theft'	भातो /*ɓato*/ 'rice also'
एजान /*ejan*/ 'this place'	चेला /*cela*/ 'disciple'	खेते /*kʰete*/ 'in the field'
ओजान /*ojan*/ 'that place'	चोला /*cola*/ 'life'	खेतो /*kʰeto*/ 'field also'

c. ऐ /*ɛ*/ vs. औ /*ɔ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
ऐरा /*ɛra*/ 'alien, stranger'	गैर /*gɛr*/ 'alien'	जै /*jɛ*/ 'victory'
औरा /*ɔra*/ 'myrobalan'	गौर /*gɔr*/ 'intense'	जौ /*jɔ*/ 'barley'
	पैना /*pɛna*/ 'a bamboo-stick for ploughing oxen'	लै /*lɛ*/ 'pitch'
	पौना /*pɔna*/ 'a multiple table of three-fourths'	लौ /*lɔ*/ 'tactics'
	जैन /*jɛn*/ 'a religion'	
	जौन /*jɔn*/ 'the one which'	

d. ऐ /*ɛ*/ vs. अ /*ʌ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
ऐस /*ɛs*/ 'luxury'	पैर /*pɛr*/ 'foot'	लै /*lɛ*/ 'music'
अस /*ʌs*/ 'like'	पर /*pʌr*/ 'wings'	ल /*lʌ*/ 'take (IMP.MH)'
ऐन /*ɛn*/ 'act'	खैर /*kʰɛr*/ 'catechu'	सै /*sɛ*/ 'hundred'
अन /*ʌn*/ 'food'	खर /*kʰʌr*/ 'grass'	स /*sʌ*/ 'plural marker'
	गैर /*gɛr*/ 'alien'	
	गर /*gʌr*/ 'neck'	

Going through examples (12a-m) and (13a-d), we conclude that oral monophthongs in Bhojpuri are present in phonological contrast either on the basis of heigh-low or front-back positions of the tongue in all environments: word-initial, interconsonantal and word-final.

4.2.3 Nasal monophthongs

All oral monophthongs have their nasal counterparts in Bhojpuri: इँ /ĩ/, एँ /ẽ/, ऐँ /ɛ̃/, आँ /ã/, अँ /ʌ̃/, औँ /ɔ̃/, ओँ /õ/, उँ /ũ/. They are contrastive with their oral counterparts as well as among themselves on the basis of height and front-back positions of tongue, as presented below:

a) Oral-nasal contrasts in monophthongs

(14) a. इ /i/ vs. इँ /ĩ/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
इतरा /*itʌra*/ 'be scented'	पीक /*pik*/ 'spittle'	दी /*di*/ 'will give'
इँतरा /*ĩtʌra*/ 'be proud'	पींक् /*pĩk*/ 'new shoot'	दीँ /*dĩ*/ 'give (IMP)'

b. ए /*e*/ vs. एँ /*ẽ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
एड़ा /*eɽa*/ 'principal'	पेच् /*pec*/ 'screw'	ए /*e*/ 'O'
एँड़ा /*ẽɽa*/ 'heel'	पेँच /*pẽc*/ 'twist'	एँ /*ẽ*/ 'no'

c. ऐ /*ɛ*/ vs. ऐँ /*ɛ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
ऐस /*ɛs*/ 'luxury'	पैठिआ /*pɛʈʰia*/ 'infiltrator'	ऐ /*ɛ*/ 'vocative'
ऐँस /*ɛ̃s*/ '	पैँठिआ /*pɛ̃ʈʰia*/ 'market'	ऐँ /*ɛ̃*/ 'interjection, what!'

d. आ /*a*/ and आँ /*ã*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
आड़ /*aɽ*/ 'support, bar'	पाक /*pak*/ 'pure, sacred'	आ /*a*/ 'come'
आँड़ /*ãɽ*/ 'testicle'	पाँक /*pãk*/ 'mud'	आँ /*ã*/ 'weep'

e. अ /ʌ/ and अँ /*ʌ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
अटल /*ʌʈʌl*/ 'unaffected'	चप /*cʌp*/ 'exact'	ह /*ɦʌ*/ 'is'
अँटल /*ʌ̃ʈʌl*/ 'be shared'	चँप /*cʌ̃p*/ 'abundance'	हँ /*ɦʌ̃*/ 'yea'

f. औ /ɔ/ and औँ /*ɔ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
औसत /*ɔsʌt*/ 'average'	गौत /*gɔt*/ 'fodder'	भौ /*ɓɔ*/ 'world'
औँसत /*ɔ̃sʌt*/ 'perishing'	गौँत /*gɔ̃t*/ 'urine of animal'	भौँ /*ɓɔ̃*/ 'brow'

g. ओ /*o*/ and ओं /*õ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
ओहर /*oɦʌr*/ 'weak'	गोतिआ /*gotia*/ 'blood relatives'	खो /*kʰo*/ 'eat'
ओँहर /*õɦʌr*/ 'that place'	गोँतिआ /*gõtia*/ 'knocking and treading'	खोँ /*kʰõ*/ 'cough'

h. उ /*u*/ and उँ /*ũ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
उटनी /*uʈʌni*/ 'lizard'	कुड़ा /*kuɽa*/ 'rubbish'	उ /*u*/ 's/he, it'
उँटनी /*ũʈʌni*/ 'female camel'	कुँड़ा /*kũɽa*/ 'cooking pot'	उँ /*ũ*/ 'yea'

Exemplifications in (14a-h) exhibit Bhojpuri oral and nasal monophthongs are phonemic against each other in all environments: word-initial, inter-consonantal and word-final.

b) Phonemic contrasts among nasal monophthongs

Bhojpuri nasal monophthongs are contrastive among themselves, as shown in (15).

(15) a. इँ /*ĩ*/ vs. एँ /*ẽ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
इँ /*ĩ*/ 'teasing expression'	बीँट /*bĩʈ*/ 'line in feast-eating'	हीँ /*ɦĩ*/ 'sound of horse'
एँ /*ẽ*/ 'cry'	बेँट /*bẽʈ*/ 'hilt'	हेँ /*ɦẽ*/ 'opposition exp.'

b. इँ /*ĩ*/ vs. ऐँ /*ɛ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
इँर /*ĩr̥*/ 'cook'	हिंच /*ɦĩc*/ 'over efforts'	
ऐँर /*ɛ̃r̥*/ 'lying uneasily'	हैँच /*ɦɛ̃c*/ 'twist'	

c. इँ /*ĩ*/ vs. आँ /*ã*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
इँटा /*ĩʈa*/ 'brick'	खींच /*kʰĩc*/ 'pull (IMP)'	
आँटा /*ãta*/ 'flour'	खाँच /*kʰãc*/ 'fishing container'	

d. एँ /*ẽ*/ vs. ऐँ /*ɛ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
	पैँड़ा /*pɛ̃ɽa*/ 'khoa sweet'	तैँ /*tɛ̃*/ 'thou'
	पैँड़ा /*pɛ̃ɽa*/ 'way'	तैँ /*tɛ̃*/ 'so'
	गैँड़ा /*gɛ̃ɽa*/ 'a piece'	

गैँड़ा /*gɛ̃ɽa*/ 'rhinoceros'

e. एँ /*ɛ̃*/ vs. आँ /*ã*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
एँ /*ɛ̃*/ 'sign of opposition'	बैँट /*bɛ̃ʈ*/ 'hilt'	हैँ /*ɦɛ̃*/ 'sound of laughing'
आँ /*ã*/ 'open your mouth'	बाँट /*bãʈ*/ 'share (IMP)'	हाँ /*ɦã*/ 'halt (IMP.H)
	भैँट /*ḅɛ̃ʈ*/ 'meet'	
	भाँट /*ḅãʈ*/ 'slave poet'	

f. ऐँ /*ɛ̃*/ vs. आँ /*ã*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
ऐँच /*ɛ̃c*/ 'twist'	पैँच /*pɛ̃c*/ 'credit'	
आँच /*ãc*/ 'flame'	पाँच /*pãc*/ 'five'	

g. उँ /*ũ*/ vs. औँ /*õ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
	गुँत /*gũt*/ 'urine'	
	गोँत /*gõt*/ 'crush (IMP)'	
	खुँट /*kʰũʈ*/ 'root'	
	खोँट /*kʰõʈ*/ 'pluck (IMP)'	
	ठुँठ /*ʈʰũʈʰ*/ 'topless'	
	ठोँठ /*ʈʰõʈʰ*/ 'chin'	

h. उँ /*ũ*/ vs. औँ /*ɔ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
उँट /*ũʈ*/ 'camel'	गुँड़ /*gũɽ*/ 'sugar'	
औँट /*ɔʈ*/ 'boil (IMP)'	गौँड़ /*gɔ̃ɽ*/ 'unity'	

i. उँ /*ũ*/ vs. अँ /*ʌ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
उँट /*ũʈ*/ 'camel'	खुँढ़ /*kʰuɽ̊*/ 'hoof'	
अँट /*ʌ̃ʈ*/ 'last'	खँढ़ /*kʰʌɽ̊*/ 'part'	

j. ओँ /*õ*/ vs. औँ /*ɔ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
		भोँ /*bʰõ*/ 'horn'
		भौँ /*bʰɔ̃*/ 'brow'

k. ओँ /*õ*/ vs. अँ /*ʌ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
	भोँड़ /*ḅõɽ*/ 'water root'	
	भँड /*ḅʌ̃ɽ*/ 'pot'	

l. औँ /*ɔ̃*/ vs. अँ /*ʌ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
औँट /*ɔ̃ʈ*/ 'boil (IMP)'		
अँट /*ʌ̃ʈ*/ 'last (IMP)'		

m. अँ /*ʌ̃*/ vs. आँ /*ã*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**Word-final**
अँट /*ʌ̃ʈ*/ 'last (IMP)'	कँट /*kʌ̃ʈ*/ 'misery'	
आँट /*ãʈ*/ 'courage'	काँट /*kãʈ*/ 'thorn'	

n. इँ /*ĩ*/ vs. उँ /*ũ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
इँट /*ĩʈ*/ 'brick'	बिँट /*bĩʈ*/ 'row of feast-eaters'	
उँट /*ũʈ*/ 'camel'	बुँट /*bũʈ*/ 'gram'	

o. एँ /*ẽ*/ vs. ओँ /*õ*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
	खेँढ़ी /*kʰeɽ̊i*/ 'a step of stairs'	भेँ /*ḅẽ*/ 'cry of sheep'
	खोँढ़ी /*kʰõɽ̊i*/ 'brich in lips'	भोँ /*ḅõ*/ 'horn sound'

p. एँ /*ɛ̃*/ vs. ओँ /*ɔ̃*/

Word-initial	**Inter-consonantal**	**word-final**
	पैँड़ा /*pɛ̃ɽa*/ 'way'	
	पौँड़ा /*pɔ̃ɽa*/ 'swimming'	

Going through examples (15a-p) we conclude that nasal monophthongs in Bhojpuri are present in phonological contrast either on the basis of high-low or front-

back posisions of the tongue in either of the word-initial, interconsonantal and word-final environments.

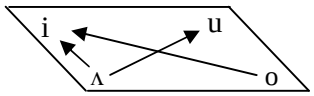
A table of vowel sequence has been attached in Annex IV.

4.2.4 Diphthongs and tripthongs

a) Diphthongs

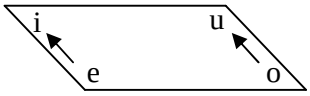
Sometimes, two vowel phonemes occur so close that they seem to be a single one. Such vowels are known as diphthongs. Bhojpuri diphthongs are presented as following:

(i) Diagonal Diphthongs:



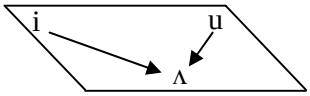
Diagonal diphthongs' movement is throughout the vowel quadrilateral: अइ /*ʌi*/, अउ /*ʌu*/ and ओइ /*oi*/ as shown in अइसन /*ʌisʌn*/ 'like this', मउसी /*mʌusi*/ 'aunt (mother's sister)', ओइसन /*oisʌn*/ 'like that'.

(ii) Vertical diphthongs



Vertical diphthongs have movements within their own area in the vowel quadrilateral: एइ /*ei*/ and ओउ /*ou*/ as shown in एइजा /*eija*/ 'here only', ओउजा /*ouja*/ 'there also'.

(iii) Centring diphthongs:



Centring diphthongs have movements towards centre in the vowel quadrilateral: इअ /*iʌ*/ and उअ /*uʌ*/ as shown in दिअरी /*diʌri*/ 'earthen lamp', दुअरी /*duʌri*/ 'door'.

(iv) Other diphthongs

Bhojpuri has other diphthongs in the directions opposite to what presented in the quadrilaterals and much more composed in different situations such as इओ /*io*/, इए /*ie*/, उओ /*uo*/, आइ /*ai*/, आउ /*au*/, इआ /*ia*/, इउ /*iu*/, उआ /*ua*/, उइ /*ui*/, उए /*ue*/, एआ /*ea*/, एउ /*eu*/, एओ /*eo*/, ओअ /*oʌ*/, ओए /*oe*/, ओआ /*oa*/ as shown in कहिओ /*kʌɦio*/ 'any time', जिए /*jie*/ 'to live', रउओ /*rʌuo*/ 'you too (H)', जाई /*jai*/ 'issue, go (FUT), चाउर /*caur*/ 'rice', दिआ /*dia*/ 'lamp', जिऊ /*jiu*/ 'organism', रउआ /*rʌua*/ 'you (H), अलुई /*ʌlui*/ 'potato', रउए /*rʌue*/ 'only you (H), देआ /*dea*/ 'go and give', जनेऊ /*jʌneu*/ 'sacred thread', देओता /*deota*/ 'deity', धोअ /*ḍoʌ*/ 'wash (IMP.H)', धोए /*ḍoe*/ 'to wash', धोआ /*ḍoa*/ 'have one wash'.

b) Triphthongs

Similar to diphthongs, Bhojpuri has some triphthongs, i.e., articulation of three vowels together and so close that they are difficult to separate from one another: अइआ /ʌia/, अउआ /ʌua/, अइओ /ʌio/, अउओ /ʌuo/, इआइ /iai/ and so on as shown in बइआ /bʌia/ 'girl or lady younger than the orator', बउआ /bʌua/ 'boy or man younger than the orator, गइओ /gʌio/ 'the cow too', रउओ /rʌuo/ 'you too (H)', दिआई /diai/ 'give (FUT).

4.3 Distinctive features

The consonant and vowel phonemes in Bhojpuri exhibit different distinctive features on the basis of the phonetics of the language on both the acoustic and articulatory parameters. The value of the distinctive features of consonants and vowels are presented on binary basis, i.e., presence (+) vs. absence (–).

4.3.1 Distinctive features of the consonants

Chomsky and Halle (1968:298-329) presents different distinctive features of the phonemes possible in languages of the world. Table 4.6 presents summary of the distinctive features of the Bhojpuri consonants under this model as follows:

Table 4.6: Distinctive features of the consonants in Bhojpuri

	Syllabic	Sonorant	Vocalic	Consonantal	Coronal	Anterior	High	Low	Back	Rounded	Nasal	Lateral	Continuant	Delayed release	Voiced	Strident	Aspirate	Breathy
प *p*	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
फ *pʰ*	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
ब *b*	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
भ *b̤*	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
त *t*	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
थ *tʰ*	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
द *d*	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
ध *d̤*	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
ट *ʈ*	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ठ *ʈʰ*	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
ड *ɖ*	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
ढ *ɖ̤*	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
क *k*	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ख *kʰ*	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
ग *g*	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
घ *g̤*	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+

स	*s*	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
ह़	*ɦ*	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
च	*c*	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
छ	*c*^{h}	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
ज	*j*	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
झ	*j̈*	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
म	*m*	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
म़	*m̥*	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
न	*n*	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
ऩ	*n̥*	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ङ	*ŋ*	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
ङ़	*ŋ̊*	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ल	*l*	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
ल़	*l̥*	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
र	*r*	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
ऱ	*r̥*	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
ड़	*ɽ*	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
ढ़	*ɽ̊*	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
व	*w*	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
य	*y*	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–

Adapted from Chomsky and Halle (1968:298-329)

4.3.2 Distinctive features of the oral monophthongs

Bhojpuri oral monophthongs present different distinctive features in accordance with different parameters. Adapting from Chomsky and Halle (1968:303-7), Table 4.7 presents those features.

Table 4.7: Distinctive features of the Bhojpuri oral monophthongs

	इ *i*	ए *e*	ऐ *ɛ*	आ *a*	अ *ʌ*	औ *ɔ*	ओ *o*	उ *u*
Sonorant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Vocalic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Anterior	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Coronal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
High	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Low	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Front	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
Back	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+

4.4 Syllable

The main focus of this section is to look at syllable pattern, the syllable weight and the complex onset in Bhojpuri.

4.4.1 Syllable pattern

Generally the canonical shape of the Bhojpuri syllable could be represented as (C)(V)(C)(C) (Verma, 2003:520). There may be the mainly six types of syllables in Bhojpuri, as shown in (16a-f).

(16) a. V as in ई /*i*/ 'this', इनार /***i**-nar*/ 'well', माई /*ma*-***i***/ 'mother', आरी /***a**-ri*/ 'a saw'

b. VC as in अब /*ʌb*/ 'now', आस /*as*/ 'hope', ओस /*os*/ 'dew', आएम /***a**-em*/ 'come.FUT.H'

c. VCC as in अंत [अन्त] /*ʌnt*/ 'end', अस्त /*ʌst*/ 'set', अंक [अङ्क] /*ʌŋk*/ 'digit', अंश [अन्स] /*ʌns*/ 'part'

d. CV as in तू /*tu*/ 'you', चानी /*ca-ni*/ 'silver', सोना /*so-na*/ 'gold', कोरो /*ko-ro*/ 'wooden beam', चिनी /*ci-ni*/ 'sugar'

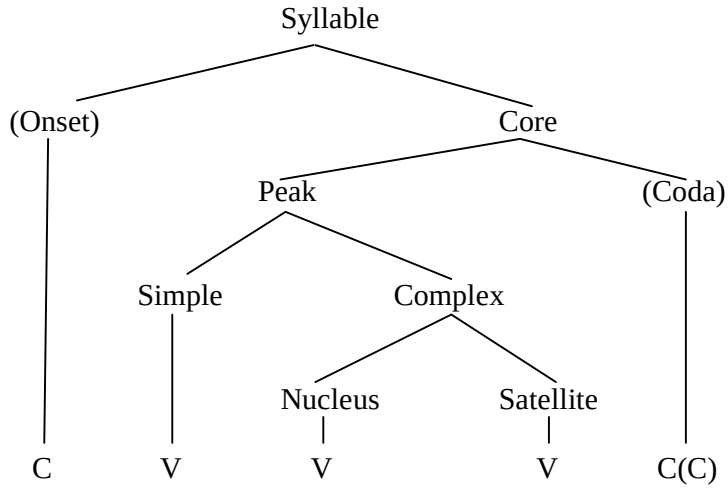
e. CVC as in तार /*tar*/ 'wire', तीर /*tir*/ 'arrow', फल /$p^hʌl$/ 'fruit', पातर /*pa-tʌr*/ 'thin', मोट /*moʈ*/ 'thick'

f. CVCC as in शंख [सङ्ख] /$sʌŋk^h$/ 'shell', संत [सन्त] /*sʌnt*/ 'saint', छम्म /$c^hʌmm$/ 'ghunghru's sound'.

4.4.2 Syllable structure

A Bhojpuri syllable has three components: the syllabic peak, the onset and the coda. Among them, the syllabic peak occupied by a vowel (V), the onset by a consonant (C) and the coda by one or two consonants C(C). The syllabic peak can also be categorized as a simple one consisting of a monophthong and as a complex consisting of a diphthong. The complex peak has a nucleus and a satellite. The peak and coda are together known as core of a syllable. Diagram 4.1 shows the syllable canon in Bhojpuri.

Diagram 4.1: Bhojpuri syllable



Source: Shukla (1981:31)

a. Simple peak

A simple peak appears with a vowel with or without a coda or by a coda of consonant clusters, as shown in (17a-b).

(17) a. हमार /*ɦʌ-**mar***/ 'my/mine', अँचार /*ʌ̃-**car***/ 'pickle', दलाल /*dʌ-**lal***/ 'broker', कला /*kʌ-**la***/ 'art'

b. सोचंत [सोचन्त] /*so-**cʌnt***/ 'sensible', अकिलमंद [अकिलमन्द] /*ʌ-kil-**mʌnd***/ 'intelligent'

b. Complex peak

A complex peak appears with or without a coda, as shown in (18).

(18) पइसा /***pʌi**-sa*/ 'money', गइबार /***gʌi**-bar*/ 'cow-boy', लठइत /*lʌ-**ʈʰʌit***/ 'villain's guard'

4.5 Phoneme-grapheme interface

The correspondence between the topography of Devanagari and Bhojpuri speech seems to be regular and systematic to a greater extent as observed in Hindi (Pandey, 2007). It is largely true for 'tadbhava' forms and recent borrowings from English and other languages. But it is almost inconsistent for the 'tatsama' forms. We discuss below the main aspects of the phonetic and phonological facts that the orthography represents.

4.5.1 Phonological facts of representation

Bhojpuri orthography excludes the effects of the phonological processes of schwa deletion, nasal assimilation (optionally) and consonant gemination, and represents forms that are to inputs to these processes.

a. Schwa deletion

Let us consider the data in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Shwa deletion in Bhojpuri

Stem	Derivation
कलम /*kʌlʌm*/ 'graft'	कलमी /*kʌlmi*/ grafted
भारत /*b̤arʌt*/ 'India'	भारती /*b̤arti*/ 'a title'
करम /*kʌrʌm*/ 'work'	करमा /*kʌrma*/ 'a wood species'
जङल /*jʌŋʌl*/ 'forest'	जङली /*jʌŋli*/ 'wild'
फरक /*pʰʌrʌk*/ 'difference'	फरकी /*pʰʌrki*/ 'corpse carrier'

There are several conditions of schwa deletion in Bhojpuri. Some of them are occurrence of the schwa in a weak position in the metrical foot, permissible clusters resulting from the deletion, absence of morphological boundary preceding the syllable with the deleted schwa, presence of an onset before the schwa, etc. But there is no clue regarding the deletion of the schwa in it as it is clear from the orthographic representations of the forms.

b. Nasal assimilation (ʌnuswɑrʌ)

Bhojpuri shares the feature of nasal assimilation along with many other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as Sanskrit, as shown in table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Nasal assimilation (anuswāra)

कंपा [कम्पा]	*kʌmpa*	'trap'
पंथ [पन्थ]	*pʌntʰ*	'way, regimen'
ठंढा [ठण्ढा]	*ʈʰʌn̈ɖa*	'cold'
संझा [सञ्झा]	*sʌn̈ja*	'evening song'
संकट [सङ्कट]	*sʌŋkʌʈ*	'trouble'

Table 4.9 shows that Bhojpuri orthography has two ways of representing the homorganic nasals, one by means of an archiphonemic device of 'anuswāra' marked as a superscript on the preceding vowel, and the other by representing the nasal as a part of a conjunct akshara. It is in the 'anuswāra' representation that the homorganic nasals are not manifested in the orthography.

Besides these, nasal phonemes can occur adjacent to a consonant, articulated at the heterogenic place, in surface pronunciation. The orthography however assigns a different akshara to the heterorganic nasal phoneme, e.g., कमती /*kʌmti*/ 'a little', धनपत

/d^{h}ʌnpʌt/ 'wealthy', जङ्ली /jʌŋli/ 'wild'. The retroflex and palatal nasals are allophones of the alveolar nasal न /n/, and as such they do not occur as isolate aksharas.

c. Consonant gemination

Morpheme-internally, consonants are geminated when they precede a proximant or a glide, i.e., य /y/, र /r/ and व /w/ as presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Consonant gemination in Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri gloss	Input form	Output form	Gloss
हत्या	/ɦʌtya/	[ɦʌttyɑ]	'murder'
पवित्र	/pʌbitrʌ/	[pʌbittr]	'sacred'
तत्व	/tʌtwʌ/	[tʌttwʌ]	'element'

Table 4.10 shows that the Bhojpuri orthography represents non-geminated input forms before proximants and glide but they turn into geminated ones when pronounced.

4.5.2 Historical phonological facts

Bhojpuri orthography also represents facts of historical phonology, as few segments of the Old Indo-Aryan. The inputs of them are Sanskrit forms altered in Bhojpuri.

a) Voiceless postalveolar श [ʃ] and retroflex fricative ष [ʂ]

Orthography of Devanagari for Bhojpuri retains श [ʃ] and ष [ʂ] but phonology has dropped them as shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Voiceless postalveolar and retroflex fricatives श [ʃ] and ष [ʂ]

Bhojpuri gloss	Input form	Output form	Gloss
शंकर	[ʃʌŋkʌr]	/sʌnkʌr/	'Lord Shiva'
देश	[deʃ]	/des/	'country'
विशेष	[viʃeʂ]	/bises/	'special'
वर्ष	[vʌrʂ]	/bʌrs/	'year'
पृष्ठ	[pɹʂt^{h}]	/prisʈ^{h}/	'page'

Table 4.11 exhibits that श [ʃ] and ष [ʂ] have been dropped out in phonology but retained in orthography, so, they have now become allophones of स /s/, i.e.,

स /s/ < श [ʃ], ष [ʂ].

b) Syllabic approximant ऋ [ɹ̩]

The segment represented as a full akshara in Devanagari is ऋ [ɹ̩], and a diacritic subscript (ृ), when it occurs as the second member of a conjunct akshara as shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Nonsyllabic रि /ri/ in Bhojpuri from syllabic ऋ [ɹ̩] in Sanskrit

Bhojpuri gloss	Input form	Output form	Gloss
ऋषि	[ɹ̩ʂi]	*/risi/*	'sage'
पृष्ठ	[pɹ̩ʂʈʰ]	*/prisʈʰ/*	'page'

The table exhibits that ऋ [ɹ̩] is the allophone of रि or री /*ri*/ in Bhojpuri.

c) Palatal and retroflex nasals ञ [ɲ] and ण [ɳ]

The segment represented as full aksharas in Devanagari is ञ [ɲ] and ण [ɳ], and a diacritic subscript (ं), when either of them occurs as the second member of a conjunct akshara as shown in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Palatal and retroflex nasals in Bhojpuri orthography

Bhojpuri gloss	Input form	Output form	Gloss
कंचन [कञ्चन]	[kʌɲcʌn]	*/kʌncʌn/*	'gold'
पंजा [पञ्जा]	[pʌɲjɑ]	*/pʌnja/*	'palm'
गणेश	[gʌɳeʃ]	*/gʌnes/*	'Lord Ganesh'
कृष्ण	[kɹ̩ʂɳ]	*/krisnʌ/*	'Lord Krishna'

The table exhibits that ञ [ɲ] and ण [ɳ] are the allophones of alveolar न /*n*/, i.e.,

न /*n*/ < ञ [ɲ], ण [ɳ].

d) Insertion

Bhojpuri inserts a vowel initially before some of the tatsama words starting from a consonant clustering with the other one, but the orthographic presentation remains the same. Table 4.14 presents exemplifications.

Table 4.14: Insertion in tatsama in Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri gloss	Input form	Output form	Gloss
स्त्री	/*stri*/	[istiri]	'woman/wife'
स्नान	/*snan*/	[ʌsnɑn]	'bath'

स्मरण	/*smʌrʌɳ*/	[ʌsmʌrʌn]	'recalling'
स्थायी	/*sthayi*/	[ʌsthɑi]	'permanent'

Table 4.14 shows that initial as well as medial insertion of a vowel is Bhojpuri usage with tatsama words. But such insertion looks either repetition of the first vowel in the tatsama word as इ /*i*/ in स्त्री /*stri*/ [istiri] and अ /ʌ/ in स्मरण /*smʌrʌɳ*/ [ʌsmʌrʌn] or as the shortened counterpart of of such vowel as अ /ʌ/ in स्नान /*snan*/ [ʌsnɑn] and स्थायी /*st^{h}ai*/ [ʌst^{h}ɑi].

Moreover, such insertion also occurs with loanwords. Table 4.15 presents it.

Table 4.15: Vowel insertion in loanwords in Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri gloss	Input form	Output form	Gloss
स्कूल	/*skul*/	[iskul]	'school'
फ्रॉक	/*p^{h}rɔk*/	[p^{h}ʌrɑk]	'frock'
ग्लास	/*glas*/	[gilɑs]	'glass'
प्लेट	/*pleʈ*/	[pʌleʈ]	'plate'

The English borrowings in Bhojpuri show that the insertion occurs as fronting counterpart of उ /*u*/ in स्कूल /*skul*/ [iskul], shortened counterpart of the falling position of ऑ /ɔ/ into आ /*a*/ in फ्रॉक /*p^{h}rɔk*/, rising-fronting counterpart of आ /*a*/ in ग्लास /*glas*/ and falling-back counterpart of ए /*e*/ in प्लेट /*pleʈ*/.

e) Metathesis

Ordering of some congiguous segments is reversed with semantic retention, as shown in (19a-d).

(19) a. पहुँच /*pʌɦũc*/ > चहुँप /*cʌɦũp*/ 'reach/access'

b. बतासा /*bʌtasa*/ > बसाता /*bʌsata*/ 'a variety of sweets'

c. करोड़ /*kʌroʈ*/ > कड़ोर /*kʌɽor*/ 'ten millions'

d. गँरुड़ /*gʌ̃ruɽ*/ > गँड़ुर /*gʌ̃ɽur*/ 'eagle'

4.5.3 Orthographic and phonological levels

Representation of the various aspects of the phonological facts in orthography is inconsistent with regard to the level of phonology. However, this situation is not peculiar in Bhojpuri, but can be found to be true for other orthographies, i.e., Hindi, Nepali as well as in other languages that have early origin and continuity, such as English.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter we have dealt with the segmental and suprasegmental features of the sound system in the Bhojpuri language. In Bhojpuri there are 36 distinctive consonant sounds.

They can be classified in terms of manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing, aspiration and sonorants. According to manner of articulation they can be classified into seven groups as stops, fricatives, affricates, laterals, nasals, flaps and glides. In terms of place of articulation they can be categorized into nine groups as bilabials, dentals, alveolar, apico-alveolar, palato-alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal. We find contrasts among these sounds in terms of voiced vs. voiceless, aspirated vs. unaspirated, voiced vs. breathy and clear vs. aspirate sonorants. All the 36 consonant phonemes occur in the inter-vocalic position. All the aspirate sonorants occur either in intervocalic or in word-final or both of intervocalic and word-final positions but not in the word-initial position. Moreover, म /*m*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/; र /*r*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/; व /*w*/ and य /*y*/; ड /*ɖ*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/ do not show word-initial contrast. The phonemes फ /*pʰ*/ and भ /*b̤*/; ड /*ɖ*/ and ढ /*ɖ̈*/; ठ /*ʈʰ*/ and ढ /*ɖ̈*/; do not show word-final contrast. In consonant clusters, we do not find gemination of either of the aspirated or breathy phonemes in Bhojpuri. Likewise, glottal voiced fricative ह़ /*ɦ*/ also doesn't occur in gemination. Similarly the glides do not occur in pre-consonantal, and the aspirate sonorants do not occur in post-consonantal and gemination in Bhojpuri.

One of the typologically striking features of the Bhojpuri language in terms of phonology is that it has aspirate sonorants in contrasts of nasals म /*m*/, न /*n*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/, lateral ल /*l*/ and flaps र /*r*/ and ढ /*ɖ̈*/.

There are four categories of vowels in Bhojpuri: oral vowels, nasal vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs. Total number of oral vowels is eight with their nasalized counterparts. Vowel length is not contrastive in Bhojpuri. All the oral monophthongal vowels occur in all the positions: word-initial, inter-consonantal and final. The syllable canon in Bhojpuri is (C)(V)(C)(C).

Bhojpuri was previously being written in Kaithi script (Verma 2003:569, Pandey 2007:1) but now Devanagari is the canonical script of Bhojpuri writing system. It seems to be regular and systematic to a greater extent, largely true for 'tadbhava' forms and recent borrowings from English and other languages, but almost inconsistent for the 'tatsama' forms. Schwa deletion, nasal assimilation, consonant

gemination and vowel insertion are the specific characteristics of Bhojpuri that the canonical writing system does not exhibit. Similarly, voiceless postalveolar fricative श [ʃ] and voiceless retroflex fricative ष [ʂ] have now become allophones of the voiceless alveolar fricative स /*s*/, syllabic approximant ऋ [ɹ] has been changed into रि /*ri*/, palatal nasals ञ [ɲ] and retroflex nasal ण [ɳ] have become allophones of the alveolar nasal न /*n*/ though they still remain in writing, especially for tatsama words. Metathiesis is also found a specific characteristic of Bhojpuri.

CHAPTER 5

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with morphophonological (morphophonemic) processes of word-formation in Bhojpuri. It consists of 7 sections. Section 5.1 deals with deletion. Section 5.2 discusses raising. Section 5.3 analyzes assimilation. We discuss epenthesis in section 5.4. Section 5.5 deals with coalescence. We discuss stress in section 5.6 and conclude findings in the chapter in section 5.7.

5.1 Deletion

A vowel is deleted to preserve or restore a syllable or word pattern that is acceptable in Bhojpuri.

5.1.1 Deletion of a vowel

A vowel is deleted from either of the preceding and succeeding segment or from the both ones.

a) Deletion of final vowel of the preceding segment

During the process of deletion, the final vowel of the preceding segment is deleted, as shown in (1a-c):

(1) a. पटी /*pʌʈi*/ 'ancestral relative' + दार /*dar*/ 'owner/donner' = पट्दार /*pʌʈdar*/ 'siblings'

b. गोटा /*goʈa*/ 'embroid' + दार /*dar*/ 'owner' = गोट्दार /*goʈdar*/ 'embroidered (sari)'

c. जोड़ा /*joɽa*/ 'pair' + दार /*dar*/ 'owner' = जोड़्दार /*joɽdar*/ 'coleague/strong'

In examples (1a-c), the final vowel इ /*i*/ is deleted from the preceding segment पटी /*pʌʈi*/ in (1a) and the final vowel आ /*a*/ from the preceding segment गोटा /*goʈa*/ in (1b) and जोड़ा /*joɽa*/ in (1c) respectively.

b) Deletion of final vowel of the succeeding segment

During deletion, the final vowel of the succeeding segment is deleted, as shown in (2a-c).

(2) a. धन् /*d̪ʌn*/ 'wealth' + पति /*pʌti*/ 'master' = धनपत /*d̪ʌnpʌt*/ 'reachman'

b. गन् /*gʌn*/ 'battallion' + पति /*pʌti*/ 'master' = गनपत /*gʌnpʌt*/ 'Lord Ganesh'

c. मुँह /*mũɦ*/ 'mouth' + खड़ा /*kʰʌɽa*/ 'vertical' = मुँहखड़ /*mũɦkʰʌɽ*/ 'having mouth upward (container)'

In examples (2a-c), the final vowel इ /*i*/ is deleted from the succeeding segment पति /*pʌti*/ in (2a-b) and the final vowel आ /*a*/ is deleted from the succeeding segment खड़ा /*kʰʌɽa*/ in (2c).

c) Deletion of final vowels from both segments

During process of deletion, the final vowels from both the segments, preceding and succeeding, are deleted, as shown in (3a-c).

(3) a. गर्दा /*gʌrda*/ 'dust' + रोका /*roka*/ 'blocker' = गर्दरोक /*gʌrdrok*/ 'dust-proof'

b. लकड़ी /*lʌkʌɽi*/ 'wood' + हारा /*ɦara*/ 'collecter' = लकड़्हार /*lʌkʌɽɦar*/ 'wood-cutter'

c. बकरी /*bʌkʌri*/ 'she-goat' + हारा /*ɦara*/ 'looker' = बकर्हार /*bʌkʌrɦar*/ 'goat-herder'

In examples (3a-c), the final vowel आ /*a*/ from both the segments is deleted in (3a), the final vowels इ /*i*/ form the preceding and आ /*a*/ from the succeeding segments are deleted in (3b-c).

Besides these, vowel deletion also occurs in a lexically controlled morphophonological process, generally observed in the non-honorific imperative forms of the verbs जा /*ja*/ 'go' and खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' as Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:82) exhibits. Hence, the root final आ /*a*/ is omitted before the imperative marker -ओ /*-o*/ to the verb root, as shown in (4a-b).

(4) a. जो इहाँ से, कौनो काम नइखे ।

jo	**iɦɑ̃**	**se**	**kɔno**	**kɑm**	**nʌikʰe**
jɑ-o	**iɦɑ̃**	**se**	**kɔno**	**kɑm**	**nʌikʰ-e**
go-IMP	here	source	any	work	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'Get out from here, there is no job.' (09.400)

b. टाएम हो गइल, बेरहटिआ खो ।

ʈɑem	**ɦo**	**gʌil**	**berɦʌʈiɑ**	**kʰo**
ʈɑem	**ɦo**	**jɑ-il**	**berɦʌʈiɑ**	**kʰɑ-o**
time	be	go-3SG.PST	refreshment	eat-IMP

'Time is appropriate, have your refreshment.'

Examples (4a-b) show that the verb root final -आ /*-a*/ from जा /*ja*/ 'go' in (4a) as well as from खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' in (4b) is deleted before affixing the imperative marker -ओ /*-o*/.

5.1.2 Deletion of a consonant

A consonant either in the final position of the preceding or initial position of the succeeding segment is deleted during assimilation.

a) Consonant deletion in preceding segment

The final consonant is deleted from the preceding segment, as shown in (5a-c):

(5) a. लोह /*loɦ*/ 'iron' + सारी /*sari*/ 'working place' = लोसारी /*losari*/ 'iron workshop'

b. बाप /*bap*/ 'father' + पुत /*put*/ 'son' = बापुत /*baput*/ 'father and son'

c. बाप /*bap*/ 'father' + मातारी /*matari*/ 'mother' = बामातारी /*bamatari*/ 'parents'

In examples (5a-c), the final consonant ह /*ɦ*/ in (5a) and प /*p*/ in (5b-c) have been deleted respectively from the preceding segments in the derivatives.

b) Consonant deletion in succeeding segment

The initial consonant is deleted from the succeeding segment, as shown in (6):

(6) a. अङ /*ʌŋ*/ 'organ' + पोछा /*pocʰa*/ 'cleaner' = अङोछा /*ʌŋocʰa*/ 'shawl'

b. गो /*go*/ 'cow' + बास /*bas*/ 'living' = गोआस /*goas*/ 'cowshed'

c. सँखुआ /*sʌ̃kʰua*/ 'Shorea robusta' + बाट /*baʈ*/ 'way' = सँखुआट /*sʌ̃kʰuaʈ*/ 'the Shorea robusta forest'

In examples (6a-c), the initial consonants प /*p*/ in (6a) and ब /*b*/ in (6b-c) have been deleted from the succeeding segments in the derivatives.

Besides these, consonant deletion also occurs in a lexically controlled morphophonological process in Bhojpuri as Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:80-1) exhibits.

The final segment -ख /*-kʰ*/ of the copular verb होख /*ɦokʰ*/ 'be' is deleted before affixing the infinitive and past participle marker -इल /*-il*/. It occurs with another morphophonemic alteration of ह /*ɦ*/ into भ /*ɓ*/ and ओ /*o*/ into अ /*ʌ*/. Similarly such deletion also occurs optionally with the imperfective marker -अत /*-ʌt*/ and future marker -एब /*-eb*/ or -इब /*-ib*/ or -एम /*-em*/ affixed with होख /*ɦokʰ*/ 'be', as shown in (7a-d).

(7) a. ई बात भइल ।

i	**bɑt**	**ɓʌil**
i	**bɑt**	**ɦokʰ-il**
this	matter	become-3SG.PST

'These are the matters.' (02.017)

b. नेटुआ में जमा चार आदमी होत रहे ।

neʈuɑ	**mẽ**	**jʌmɑ**	**cɑr**	**ɑdmi**	**ɦot**	**rʌɦe**
neʈuɑ	**mẽ**	**jʌmɑ**	**cɑr**	**ɑdmi**	**ɦokʰ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
Netua	LOC	collection	four	man	be-IMPF	live-3.PST

'Then there used to be four people in Netua.' (03.284)

c. तू किताब पढ़त होइबऽ।

tu	**kitɑb**	**pʌɽ̊ʌt**	**ɦoibʌ**
tu	**kitɑb**	**pʌɽ̊-ʌt**	**ɦokʰ-i-bʌ**
2SG.NOM	book	fall-SIM	be-FUT-2.FUT.MH

'You will be reading a book.' (13.014)

d. रउआ बिआ उखाड़त होएम।

rʌuɑ	**biɑ**	**ukʰɑɽʌt**	**ɦoem**
rʌuɑ	**biɑ**	**ukʰɑɽ-ʌt**	**ɦokʰ-em**
2SG.H	seedlings	uproot-IMPF	be-FUT.H

'You will be uprooting seedlings.' (13.012)

In examples (7a-c), the verb root final -ख /-*kʰ*/ is deleted from the copular verb होख /*ɦokʰ*/ 'be' being affixed with -इल /-*il*/ in (7a), -अत /-*ʌt*/ in (7b), -इब /-*ib*/ in (7c) and -एम /-*em*/ in (7d).

Likewise, the final segment -र /-*r*/ of the verb root कर /*kʌr*/ 'do' and धर /*d̤ʌr*/ 'put/keep/catch' is deleted before affixing the infinitive and past participle marker -इल /-*il*/ and the sequential marker के /*ke*/, as shown in (8a-d).

(8) a. ओ लोग के स्मरण कइल जाला।

o	**log**	**ke**	**ʌsmʌrʌn**	**kʌil**	**jɑlɑ**
o	**log**	**ke**	**ʌsmʌrʌn**	**kʌr-il**	**jɑ-lɑ**
3SG.DIST	PL	GEN	memory	do-INF	go-3SG.PRES

'They are commemorated.' (07.015)

b. पल में मुऔना धइले बाड़ऽ ?

pʌl	**mẽ**	**muɔnɑ**	**d̤ʌile**	**bɑɽʌ**	
pʌl	**mẽ**	**muɔnɑ**	**d̤ʌr-ile**	**bɑɽʌ**	
pocket	LOC	killing object	put-SEQ	be.2.PRES	

'Do you have a killing object in your pocket.' (09.524)

c. तनिका रोँओँ त टेँढ़ ककेदेख।

tʌnikɑ	**rõõ**	**tʌ**	**ʈẽ̊**	**kʌke**	**dekʰ**
tʌnikɑ	**rõã-o**	**tʌ**	**ʈẽ̊**	**kʌr-ke**	**dekʰ**
little	fur-EMPH	COND	curved	do-SEQ	see

'Try to bend even my hair.' (09.558)

d. जरूरत अनुसार पानी ध-धके निमन से सानेके ।

jʌrurʌt	**ʌnusʌr**	**pɑni**	**ḍʌ**	**ḍʌke**	**nimʌn**	**se**	**sɑneke**
jʌrurʌt	**ʌnusʌr**	**pɑni**	**ḍʌr**	**ḍʌr-ke**	**nimʌn**	**se**	**sɑn-eke**
need	according to	water	put	put-SEQ	good	SPEC	knead-PUR

'To knead it well, adding water as needed.' (13.159)

In examples (8a-d) the verb root final -र /-*r*/ has been deleted from the verb कर /*kʌr*/ 'do' and धर /*ḍʌr*/ 'put' when they are compounded with infinitive or past participle marker -इल /-*il*/ in (8a-b) as well as with the sequential participial marker के /*ke*/ in (8c-d) respectively.

c) Syllable deletion

Sometimes, the last syllable of the first segment is deleted, as shown in (9).

(9) a. पहर /*pʌhʌr*/ 'quarter of a day or night' + राती /*rati*/ 'night' = पराती /*pʌrati*/ 'a variety of song sung in the last quarter of night'

b. गोबर /*gobʌr*/ 'dung' + धन /*ḍʌn*/ 'property' = गोधन /*goḍʌn*/ 'property of cattle'

c. चार /*car*/ 'four' + गुन /*gun*/ 'frequency' = चउगुन /*cʌugun*/ 'four times faster'

5.2 Raising

A vowel in either of the preceding and succeeding or of both the segments is raised in Bhojpuri.

5.2.1 Vowel raising in preceding segment

During raising, a vowel is raised in the preceding segment as shown in (10a-c):

(10) a. आठ /*aʈʰ*/ 'eight' + जाम /*jam*/ 'a quarter of day or night' = अठ्जाम /*ʌʈʰjam*/ 'a countinuous prayer chanting for twenty-four hours'

b. पात /*pat*/ 'leaf' + झर /*jʌr*/ 'fall' = पत्झर /*pʌtjʌr*/ = 'autumn/fall'

c. बाँट /*bãʈ*/ 'share' + दार /*dar*/ 'owner' = बँट्दार /*bʌ̃ʈdar*/ 'share-holder'

In examples (10a-c), the low back vowel आ /*a*/ is reaised to its semi-low counterpart अ /*ʌ*/ in the preceding segments of all the derivatives. Moreover, अठ्जाम /*ʌʈʰjam*/ is a tadbhava from its Sanskrit tatsama अष्टयाम /*ʌʂʈʌyam*/ semantically the same. During process of tadbhavization, अष्ट /*ʌʂʈʌ*/ tends to be आठ /*aʈʰ*/ and याम /*yam*/ tends to be जाम /*jam*/, i.e., the affrication of palatal glide य /*y*/.

5.2.2 Vowel raising in succeeding segment

During raising, a vowel is raised in the succeeding segment during assimilation, as shown in (11a-c).

(11) a. बिख /*bikʰ*/ 'poison' + झार /*j̈ar*/ 'remove' = बिख्झर /*bikʰj̈ʌr*/ 'poison remover'

b. बिख /*bikʰ*/ 'poison' + धार /*d̤ar*/ 'owner' = बिख्धर /*bikʰd̤ʌr*/ 'poisonous'

c. शंख /*sʌŋkʰ*/ 'shell' + धार /*d̤ar*/ 'owner' = शंखधर /*sʌŋkʰd̤ʌr*/ 'Lord Vishnu'

In examples (11a-c), the low back vowel आ /*a*/ in the succeeding segment धार /*d̤ar*/ has been raised to its semi-low counterpart अ /ʌ/ in all the derivatives.

5.2.3 Vowel raising in both segments

During raising, a vowel is raised in both the segments, as shown in (12a-c).

(12) a. धान /*d̤an*/ 'paddy' + सार /*sar*/ 'store' = धन्सर /*d̤ʌnsʌr*/ 'paddy godown'

b. राह् /*raɦ*/ 'way' + बाट /*baʈ*/ 'way' = रह्बट /*rʌɦbʌʈ*/ 'wayout of a village especially for women'

c. मुर्दा /*murda*/ 'corpse' + घाटी /*g̈aʈi*/ 'bank' = मुर्दघटी /*murdg̈ʌʈi*/ 'graveyard'

In examples (12a-c) the medial low back आ /*a*/ in both the segments has raised to its semi-low counterpart अ /ʌ/ in all the derivatives.

Moreover, the process of deletion and raising occurs together either in the preceding or in succeeding or in both the segments, as shown in (13a-c).

(13) a. पानी /*pani*/ 'water' + घाट /*g̈aʈ*/ 'bank' = पनघट /*pʌng̈ʌʈ*/ 'bank of a river or pond for water pulling'

b. कान /*kan*/ 'ear' + चाटी /*caʈi*/ 'front' = कंचट /*kʌncʌʈ*/ 'upper cheek'

c. पानी /*pani*/ 'water' + चाटी /*caʈi*/ 'front' = पंचट /*pʌncʌʈ*/ 'discoloured'

In examples (13a-c), the medial low back vowel आ /*a*/ in both the segments has been raised to its semi-low counterpart अ /ʌ/ and the final इ /*i*/ in the preceding segment is deleted in (13a), the medial low back vowel आ /*a*/ in both the segments has raised to its semi-low counterpart अ /ʌ/ and the final इ /*i*/ in the succeeding segment is deleted in (13b) and the medial low back vowel आ /*a*/ in both the segments has raised to its semi-low counterpart अ /ʌ/ and the final इ /*i*/ in both segments is deleted in (13c).

5.3 Assimilation

Assimilation is conditioned by surrounding segments. It occurs where a segment becomes phonetically more similar to an influencing segment (Symons, 1993:27). It occurs with alteration of the phoneme due to contraction between the final of the preceding and initial of the succeeding segments in Bhojpuri, traditionally

treated as sandhi (Grierson 1883:33, Nirbhik 1975:40-44, Tripathy 1987:68-80, Sharma and ashka 2007:65-9) and samas or compounding (Ojha 1915[1982]:49-50, Tiwari 1954:177-82 and 1960:97-102, Nirbhik 1975:119-24, Tripathy 1987:172-92, Shrivastava 1999:118-24, Sharma and Ashk 2007:53-7 and Singh 2009:154-61 and 2013:126-35). But Tiwari (1954:92-106 and 1960:21-30) treats assimilation, though the topics are otherwise. In my observation, there are four factors involved in assimilation in Bhojpuri:

5.3.1 Progressive vs. regressive

a) Progressive assimilation

A segment influences the following segment in progressive assimilation. Bhojpuri has recorded some progressive factors of assimilation as follows:

(i) Aspiration

The initial glottal voiced fricative ह /*ɦ*/ of the succeeding segment is found to be changed into either aspirated or breathy counterpart of the final non-aspirated or voiced stop of the preceding morpheme, as shown in (14a-d):

(14) a. उत् /*ut*/ 'up' + हर् /*ɦʌr*/ 'face' = उत्थर /*utt^{h}ʌr*/ 'shallow-based plate': त् /*t*/ + ह् /*ɦ*/ = त्थ् /*tt^{h}*/.

b. सुत् /*sut*/ 'slim' + हर् /*ɦʌr*/ 'face' = सुत्थर /*sutt^{h}ʌr*/ 'beautiful'

c. छुत् /*c^{h}ut*/ 'sagrigated' + हँड़ /*ɦʌ̃ɽ*/ 'earthen-pot' = छुत्थँड़ /*c^{h}utt^{h}ʌ̃ɽ*/ 'pitcher to offer water for cattle'

d. बरद् /*bʌrʌd*/ 'ox' + हाट /*ɦaʈ*/ 'market' = बरधाट /*bʌrʌd̤aʈ*/ 'cattle market'

In examples (14a-d), त् /*t*/ is aspirated to थ् /*t^{h}*/ in (14a-c) and द् /*d*/ to its breathy counterpart ध् /*d̤*/ in (14d).

(ii) Devoicing

If the alveolar voiceless fricative स /*s*/ is final consonant of the preceding segment, the initial voiced consonant of the succeeding segment is devoiced. During this process, vowel deletion or raising, already discussed, can also happen, as shown in (15a-c):

(15) a. हिँसा /*ɦĩsa*/ 'share' + दार /*dar*/ 'owner' = हिँस्तार /*ɦĩstar*/ 'share-holder'

b. बाँस् /*bʌ̃s*/ 'bamboo' + गड़ी /*gʌɽi*/ 'burying' = बँस्कड़ी /*bʌ̃skʌɽi*/ 'bamboo-planting during wedding ceremony'

c. दस् /*dʌs*/ 'ten' + डँड़िआ /*ɖʌ̃ɽia*/ 'pillar' = दस्टँड़िआ /*dʌsʈʌ̃ɽia*/ 'ten-pillarred'

In examples (15a-c), the final low back vowel आ /*a*/ is deleted and the dental voiced unaspirated stop द /*d*/ in the succeeding segment is devoiced in contact with the final स /*s*/ of the initial segment in (15a). The medial low back vowel आ /*a*/ is raised to its semi-low counterpart अ /ʌ/ in the preceding segment its final स /*s*/ causes devoicing of the initial ग /*g*/ of the succeeding segment in (15b). Similarly, final स /*s*/ of the preceding segment causes devoicing of the initial ड /*ɖ*/ of the succeeding segment in (15c).

b) Regressive assimilation

A segment influences the preceding segment in regressive assimilation. Bhojpuri records some regressive factors involved in assimilation as follows:

(i) Voicing

If a voiceless unaspirated or aspirated phoneme comes into contact with a voiced or breathy one, it is assimilated into its voiced counterpart, as shown in (16):

(16) a. बाप् /*bap*/ 'father' + बेटी /*beʈi*/ 'daughter' = बाब्बेटी /*pabbeʈi*/ 'father and daughter': प् /*p*/ + ब् /*b*/ = ब्ब /*bb*/.

b. गत् /*gʌt*/ 'back' + दार् /*dar*/ 'performer' = गद्दार् /*gʌddar*/ 'traitor': त् /*t*/ + द् /*d*/ = द्द् /*dd*/.

c. डाक् /*ɖak*/ 'post' + घर् /*g̈ʌr*/ 'house' = डाग्घर् /*ɖagg̈ʌr*/ 'post-office': क् /*k*/ + घ् /*g̈*/ = ग्घ् /*gg̈*/.

d. अप् /ʌ*p*/ 'bad' + जस् /*jʌs*/ 'fame' = अब्जस /ʌ*bjʌs*/ 'defame': प् /*p*/ + ज् /*j*/ = ब्ज् /*bj*/.

e. गत् /*gʌt*/ 'passed' + बेर् /*ber*/ 'time' = गद्बेर् /*gʌdber*/ 'twilight': त् /*t*/ + ब् /*b*/ = द्ब् /*db*/.

(ii) Devoicing

The voiced unaspirated dental stop द् /*d*/ is changed into its voiceless counterpart त् /*t*/, if comes into contact of the voiceless ones, as shown in (17a-j):

(17) a. पद् /*pʌd*/ 'post' + करम /*kʌrʌm*/ 'work' = पत्करम /*pʌtkʌrʌm*/ 'accountability': द् /*d*/ + क् /*k*/ = त्क् /*tk*/.

b. सुद् /*sud*/ 'interest' + खोर /*kʰor*/ 'eater' = सुत्खोर /*sutkʰor*/ 'exploiter': द् /*d*/ + ख् /*kʰ*/ = त्ख् /*tkʰ*/.

c. कंद् /*kʌnd*/ 'root' + फल /*pʰʌl*/ 'fruit' = कंत्फल /*kʌntpʰʌl*/ 'roots and fruits': द् /*d*/ + फ् /*pʰ*/ = त्फ् /*tpʰ*/.

d. पद् /*pʌd*/ ‘post’ + सेखी /*sekʰi*/ ‘prestige’ = पत्सेखी /*pʌtsekʰi*/ ‘dignity’: द् /*d*/ + स् /*s*/ = त्स् /*ts*/.

e. बड़् /*bʌɖ*/ ‘big’ + खड़ा /*kʰʌɽa*/ = बट्खड़ा /*bʌʈkʰʌɽa*/ ‘weights’: ड़् /*ɽ*/ + ख् /*kʰ*/ = ट्ख् /*ʈkʰ*/.

f. अड़् /*ʌɖ*/ ‘block’ + चन /*cʌn*/ ‘work’ = अट्चन /*ʌʈcʌn*/ ‘blockade’: ड़् /*ɽ*/ + च् /*c*/ = ट्च् /*ʈc*/.

g. गोड़् /*goɽ*/ ‘foot’ + छान /*cʰan*/ ‘block’ = गोट्छान /*goʈcʰan*/ ‘a rope to tie up the feet of an animal’: ड़् /*ɽ*/ + छ् /*cʰ*/ = ट्छ् /*ʈcʰ*/

h. गोड़् /*goɽ*/ ‘foot’ + थारी /*tʰari*/ ‘towards’ = गोट्थारी /*goʈtʰari*/ ‘footward’: ड़् /*ɽ*/ + थ् /*tʰ*/ = ट्थ् /*ʈtʰ*/.

i. अड़् /*ʌɽ*/ ‘block’ + पाकड़ /*pakʌɽ*/ ‘a tree’ = अट्पाकड़ /*ʌʈpakʌɽ*/ ‘vandalist’: ड़् /*ɽ*/ + प् /*p*/ = ट्प् /*ʈp*/.

j. खाँड़् /*kʰãɽ*/ ‘glucose’ + सारी /*sari*/ ‘changer’ = खाँट्सारी /*kʰãʈsari*/ ‘sugar’: ड़् /*ɽ*/ + स् /*s*/ = ट्स् /*ʈs*/.

(iii) Apico-alveolarization

The voiceless unaspirated dental stop त् /*t*/ changes into its apico-alveolar counterpart ट् /*ʈ*/ in Bhojpuri, if voiceless unaspirated or aspirated apico-alveolar ट् /*ʈ*/ or ठ् /*ʈʰ*/ follows it. Likewise, it changes into its voiced apico-alveolar counterpart ड /*ɖ*/, if followed by the voiced apico-alveolar ड /*ɖ*/ or its breathy counterpart ढ /*ɖ̈*/, as shown in (18a-e):

(18) a. सात् /*sat*/ ‘seven’ + टाँड़ /*ʈãɽ*/ ‘bat’ = साट्टाँड़ /*saʈʈãɽ*/ ‘seven bats’: त् /*t*/ + ट् /*ʈ*/ = ट्ट् /*ʈʈ*/.

b. सात् /*sat*/ ‘seven’ + ठाँव /*ʈʰão*/ ‘place’ = साट्ठाँव /*saʈʈʰão*/ 'seven places': त /*t*/ + ठ /*ʈʰ*/ = ट्ठ् /*ʈʈʰ*/

c. सात् /*sat*/ ‘seven’ + डघड़ /*ɖʌg̈ʌɽ*/ ‘way’ = साडुघड़ /*saɖɖʌg̈ʌɽ*/ ‘seven-way cross-road’: त् /*t*/ + ड् /*ɖ*/ = ड्ड् /*ɖɖ*/.

d. सात् /*sat*/ ‘seven’ + ढाड़ /*ɖ̈aɽ*/ ‘slope’ = साड्ढाड़ /*saɖɖ̈aɽ*/ ‘seven slopes’: त् /*t*/ + ढ् /*ɖ*/ = ड्ढ् /*ɖɖ̈*/.

e. छत् /*cʰʌt*/ ‘roof’ + ढडुआ /*ɖ̈ʌɽua*/ ‘concretizer’ = छड्ढुडुआ /*cʰʌɖɖ̈ʌɽua*/ ‘roof-concretizer’: त् /*t*/ + ढ् /*ɖ*/ = ड्ढ् /*ɖɖ̈*/.

(iv) Affrication

The voiceless unaspirated dental stop त् /t/ changes into its affricate voiceless or voiced counterpart च् /c/ or ज् /j/ in contact with affricate ones, as shown in (19a-e):

(19) a. बात् /*bat*/ 'matter' + चित /*cit*/ 'mind' = बाच्चित /*baccit*/ 'conversation': त् /t/ + च् /c/ = च्च् /cc/.

b. सात् /*sat*/ 'seven' + जन /*jʌn*/ 'person' = साज्जन /*sajjʌn*/ 'seven people': त् /t/ + ज् /j/ = ज्ज् /jj/.

d. पात् /*pat*/ 'leaf' + झर /*j̈ʌr*/ 'fall' = पज्झर /*pʌjj̈ʌr*/ 'autumn/fall': त् /t/ + झ् /j̈/ = ज्झ /*jj̈*/, with vowel raising in the first segment.

e. पात् /*pat*/ 'leaf' + चर /*cʌr*/ 'graze' = पच्चर /*pʌccʌr*/ 'leaf-eater': त् /t/ + च् /c/ = च्च् /cc/, with vowel raising in the first segment.

(v) Deaspiration

The final aspirated or breathy phoneme of the preceding segment is deaspirated and changed into a unaspirated or a voiced one in regressive assimilation in Bhojpuri, as shown in (20a-i):

(20) a. माझ् /*maj̈*/ 'middle' + घर /*g̈ʌr*/ 'house' = माज्घर /*majg̈ʌr*/ 'middle room/ passage': झ् /j̈/ + घ् /g̈/ = ज्घ् /jg̈/.

b. आध् /*aḍ*/ 'half' + थान /*tʰan*/ 'whole' = आद्थान /*adtʰan*/ 'a half': ध /ḍ/ + थ /tʰ/ = द्थ् /dtʰ/.

c. घाघ /*g̈ag̈*/ 'cunning' + दास /*das*/ 'slave' = घाग्दास /*g̈agdas*/ 'a famous agro-scientist': घ् /g̈/ + द् /d/ = ग्द /gd/.

d. लाभ् /*laḃ*/ 'profit' + दर /*dʌr*/ 'rate' = लाब्दर /*labdʌr*/ 'rate of profit': भ् /ḃ/ + द् /d/ = ब्द् /bd/.

e. आठ् /*aʈʰ*/ 'eight' + पाकड़ /*pakʌɽ*/ 'doer' = अट्पाकड़ /*ʌʈpakʌɽ*/ 'naughty': ठ् /ʈʰ/ + प् /p/ = ट्प् /ʈp/.

f. काठ् /*kaʈʰ*/ 'wood' + फोरवा /*pʰorwa*/ 'breaker' = कट्फोर्वा /*kʌʈpʰorwa*/ 'woodpecker': ठ् /ʈʰ/ + फ् /pʰ/ = ट्फ /ʈpʰ/.

g. बाघ् /*bag̈*/ 'tiger' + चाल /*cal*/ 'walk' = बाग्चाल /*bagcal*/ 'tiger-walk': घ् /g̈/ + च् /c/ = ग्च् /gc/.

h. बाघ् /*baġ*/ ‘tiger’ + छाल /*cʰal*/ ‘skin’ = बाग्छाल /*bagcʰal*/ 'tiger-skin': घ् /*ġ*/ + छ् /*cʰ*/ = ग्छ् /*gcʰ*/.

i. माघ् /*maġ*/ ‘December-January’ + जर /*jʌr*/ ‘fever’ = मग्जर /*mʌgjʌr*/ 'winter-fever (fever in the month of Magh)': घ् /*ġ*/ + ज् /*j*/ = ग्ज् /*gj*/, with vowel raising in the preceding segment.

5.3.2 Contiguous vs. non-contiguous segments

a) Contiguous segments

Contiguous segments are next to each other. It records changes between first segment-final and second segment-initial vowels. In such congiuous segments the two vowels' contraction brings either presence of the third vowel or retaining the longer one or glidation. Vowel sandhi processes from Sanskrit fall under this category. Bhojpuri is a Modern Indo-Aryan language, so, it also abides by the Sanskrit sandhi rules to a greater extent.

(i) Mid-point fixation

If the segment-final low back vowel आ /*a*/ comes into contact with succeeding segment-initial close front vowel इ /*i*/, they change into half-close front vowel ए /*e*/. It is formalized as following:

(21) a. आधा /*aḍa*/ 'half' + इड़ /*iɽ*/ 'past' = अधेड़ /*ʌḍeɽ*/ 'adult'

b. सारा /*sara*/ 'all' + इह् /*iɦ*/ 'this' = सरेह् /*sʌreɦ*/ 'farming stretch'

c. लासा /*lasa*/ ‘gum’ + इढ़ /*iɽ̊*/ ‘stretch’ = लसेढ़ /*lʌseɽ̊*/ ‘paint with mud’

If the segment-final half-open back vowel अ /*ʌ*/ or open back vowel आ /*a*/ comes into contact with succeeding segment-initial close back vowel उ /*u*/, it change into half-close back vowel ओ /*o*/, as shown in (22a-d):

(22) a. लासा /*lasa*/ ‘gum’ + उठ /*uʈʰ*/ ‘rise’ = लसोठ /*lʌsoʈʰ*/ ‘sticky’

b. मासा /*masa*/ ‘mass of flesh’ + उठ /*uʈʰ*/ ‘rise’ = मसोठ /*mʌsoʈʰ*/ ‘cist’

c. रेखा /*rekʰa*/ ‘line’ + उठान /*uʈʰan*/ ‘rising’ = रेखोठान /*rekʰoʈʰan*/ ‘with newly lining of moustache’: आ /*a*/ + उ /*u*/ = ओ /*o*/.

d. करिखा /*kʌrikʰa*/ ‘black (noun)’ + उठ /*uʈʰ*/ ‘rise’ = करिखोठ /*kʌrikʰoʈʰ*/ ‘dirtiest’: आ /*a*/ + उ /*u*/ = ओ /*o*/.

If the segment-final low back vowel आ /*a*/ comes into contact with succeeding segment-initial semi-high front vowel ए /*e*/ or semi-low front vowel ऐ /*ɛ*/, it changes into semi-low front vowel ऐ /*ɛ*/, as shown in (23a-b):

(23) a. आधा /*aḍa*/ 'half' + एक /*ek*/ 'one' = आधैक /*aḍɛk*/ 'one or half': आ /*a*/ + ए /*e*/ = ऐ /*ɛ*/

b. राजा /*raja*/ 'king' + ऐसी /*ɛsi*/ 'luxury' = रजैसी /*rʌjɛsi*/ 'royal luxury'

If the segment-final low back vowel आ /*a*/ comes into contact with succeeding segment-initial semi-high back vowel ओ /*o*/ or semi-low back vowel औ /*ɔ*/, it changes into semi-low back vowel औ /*ɔ*/, as shown in (24a-b):

(24) a. आधा /*aḍa*/ 'half' + ओस /*os*/ 'dew' = अधौस /*ʌḍɔs*/ 'partially soaked with dew'

b. आधा /*aḍa*/ 'half' + औखा /*ɔkʰa*/ 'container' = अधौखा /*ʌḍɔkʰa*/ 'a madeium sized bamboo container': आ /*a*/ + औ /*ɔ*/ = औ /*ɔ*/.

(ii) Falling

If the preceding segment final low back vowel आ /*a*/ comes into contact of either semi-low back vowel अ /*ʌ*/ or itself as the second segment-initials, they are assimilated into low back vowel आ /*a*/, as shown in (25a-b):

(25) a. पराया /*pʌraya*/ 'alien' + अधीन /*ʌḍin*/ 'dependent' = परायाधीन /*pʌrayaḍin*/ 'dependent': आ /*a*/ + अ /*ʌ*/ = आ /*a*/.

b. राजा /*raja*/ 'king' + अधीन /*ʌḍin*/ 'dependent' = राजाधीन /*rajaḍin*/ 'royal slave': आ /*a*/ + अ /*ʌ*/ = आ /*a*/.

(iii) Syllable merger

If any of the low back vowel आ /*a*/, high front vowel इ /*i*/ and high back vowel उ /*u*/ comes under duplication as segment-final and segment-initial, the result is also the same, as shown in (26a-h):

(26) a. भंसा /*ƀʌnsa*/ 'cooking' + आरी /*ari*/ 'boundary' = भंसारी /*ƀʌnsari*/ 'traditional bakery': आ /*a*/ + आ /*a*/ = आ /*a*/.

b. टंटा /*ʈʌnʈa*/ 'conflict' + आधार /*aḍar*/ 'base' = टंटाधार /*ʈʌnʈaḍar*/ 'rootcause of conflict': आ /*a*/ + आ /*a*/ = आ /*a*/.

c. दरिआ /*dʌria*/ ‘river’ + आँव /*ão*/ ‘watershed’ = दरिआँव /*dʌrião*/ ‘watershed of a river’: आ /*a*/ + आ /*a*/ = आ /*a*/.

d. जड़ी /*jʌɽi*/ ‘medicinal plant’ + इलाज /*ilaj*/ ‘treatment’ = जड़ीलाज /*jʌɽilaj*/ ‘medicinal plant-treatment’: इ /*i*/ + इ /*i*/ = इ /*i*/.

e. मेही /*meɦi*/ ‘fine’ + इलिम /*ilim*/ ‘skill’ = मेहिलिम /*meɦilim*/ ‘micro-skill’: इ /*i*/ + इ /*i*/ = इ /*i*/.

f. पानी /*pani*/ ‘water’ + इनार /*inar*/ ‘well’ = पानीनार /*paninar*/ ‘water-well’: इ /*i*/ + इ /*i*/ = इ /*i*/.

g. बछरु /*bʌcʰʌru*/ ‘calf’ + उदाँव /*udão*/ ‘free’ = बछरुदाँव /*bʌcʰʌrudão*/ ‘bond-free calf’: उ /*u*/ + उ /*u*/ = उ /*u*/.

h. गहुँ /*gʌɦũ*/ ‘wheat’ + उसिनी /*usini*/ ‘boiling’ = गहुँसिनी /*gʌɦũsini*/ ‘wheat-boiling (pot)’: उ /*u*/ + उ /*u*/ = उ /*u*/.

(iv) Gliding

If high front vowel इ /*i*/ or high back vowel उ /*u*/ in final position of a segment comes in contact with any initial vowel of the succeeding segment, it changes into voiced unaspirated palatal glide य् /*y*/ or its bilabial counterpart व् /*w*/ respectively, as shown in (27a-f):

(27) a. अति /ʌti/ ‘excess’ + अखड़्जन /*ʌkʰʌɽjʌn*/ ‘oppresive act’ = अत्यखड़्जन /*ʌtyʌkʰʌɽjʌn*/ ‘excessive oppressive act’: इ /*i*/ + अ /ʌ/ = य् /*y*/.

b. पानी /*pani*/ ‘water’ + आइल /*ail*/ ‘come’ = पन्याइल /*pʌnyail*/ ‘watered’: इ /*i*/ + आ /*a*/ = य् /*y*/, with vowel raising in the preceding segment.

c. राती /*rati*/ ‘night’ + आइल /*ail*/ ‘come’ = रत्याइल /*rʌtyail*/ ‘familiarized’: इ /*i*/ + आ /*a*/ = य् /*y*/, with vowel raising in the preceding segment.

d. कड़ु /*kʌɽu*/ ‘bitter’ + आइल /*ail*/ ‘come’ = कड़्वाइल /*kʌɽwail*/ ‘bitterred’: उ /*u*/ + आ /*a*/ = व् /*w*/.

e. गरु़ /*gʌɽ̆u*/ ‘thick’ + आइल /*ail*/ ‘come’ = गऱ्वाइल /*gʌɽ̆wail*/ ‘thickened’: उ /*u*/ + आ /*a*/ = व् /*w*/.

f. बालु /*balu*/ ‘sand’ + अटल /*ʌʈʌl*/ ‘non-perilous’ = बल्वटल /*bʌlwʌʈʌl*/ ‘sandished’: उ /*u*/ + अ /ʌ/ = व् /*w*/.

b) Non-contiguous segments

Non-contiguous segments are separated from each other. This is an adjunction between preceding and succeeding segments as shown in (28a-d).

(28) a. सु /*su*/ 'nice' + अन /*ʌn*/ 'grain' = सुअन /*suʌn*/ 'good grain'

b. कु /*ku*/ 'bad' + अन /*ʌn*/ 'grain' = कुअन /*kuʌn*/ 'bad grain'

c. अन /*ʌn*/ 'bad' + कुशल /*kusʌl*/ 'good position' = अनकुशल /*ʌnkusʌl*/ 'bad happening'.

d. कु /*ku*/ 'bad' + ठाँव /*ʈʰão*/ 'place' = कुठाँव /*kuʈʰão*/ 'bad place'

Examples (28a-d) show no changes but only adjunction. So, it may or may not be accepted as part of assimilation.

5.3.3 Types of articulation

Assimilation of the following types of articulation are possible:

a) Point of articulation

Whatever we have discussed under progressive and regressive assimilations are all the assimilations occurred at points of articulation.

b) Manner of articulation

Under manner of articulation, we discuss changes in manner of articulation under process of assimilation between final and initial phonemes of any two segments comming into contact during articulation. Bhojpuri has a few characteristics in this process.

(i) Variation in nasal

The bilabial nasal म /*m*/ is changed into its alveolar counterpart before all dental and apico-alveolar stops and plato-alveolar affricates, as shown in (29a-j):

(29) a. म् /m/ + { त्/t/, थ्/t^h/, द्/d/, ध्/$d̪$/, ट्/ʈ/, ठ्/ʈ^h/, ड्/ɖ/, ढ्/ɖ̦/, च्/c/, छ्/c^h/, ज्/j/, झ्/$j̈$/ } = { न्त्/nt/, न्थ्/nt^h/, न्द्/nd/, न्ध्/$nd̪$/, न्ट्/$nʈ$/, न्ठ्/$nʈ^h$/, न्ड्/$nɖ$/, न्ढ्/$nɖ̦$/, न्च्/nc/, न्छ्/nc^h/, न्ज्/nj/, न्झ्/$nj̈$/ }

b. दम् /*dʌm*/ ‘force’ + ताड़ /*taɽ*/ ‘wire’ = दंताड़ [दन्ताड़] /*dʌntʌɽ*/ ‘rod-tambourine’: म् /*m*/ + त् /*t*/ = न्त् /*nt*/.

c. कलम् /*kʌlʌm*/ ‘pen’ + दर /*dʌr*/ ‘rate’ = कलंदर [कलन्दर] /*kʌlʌndʌr*/ ‘nomad beggar’: म् /*m*/ + द् /*d*/ = न्द् /*nd*/.

d. करम् /*kʌrʌm*/ ‘work’ + धार /*d̪ar*/ ‘current’ = करंधार [करन्धार] /*kʌrʌnd̪ar*/ ‘future pillar’: म् /*m*/ + ध् /*d̪*/ = न्ध् /*nd̪*/.

e. कम् /*kʌm*/ ‘less’ + टड़ /*ʈʌɽ*/ ‘disappear’ = कंटड़ [कन्टड़] /*kʌnʈʌɽ*/ ‘a tin container’: म् /*m*/ + ट् /*ʈ*/ = न्ट् /*nʈ*/.

f. अम् /*ʌm*/ ‘without’ + ठेलाह /*ʈʰelaɦ*/ ‘habitual’ = अंठेलाह [अन्ठेलाह] /*ʌnʈʰelaɦ*/ ‘unusual’: म् /*m*/ + ठ् /*ʈʰ*/ = न्ठ् /*nʈʰ*/.

g. कम् /*kʌm*/ ‘less’ + डेढ़ा /*ɖeɽ̊a*/ ‘one and half’ = कंडेढ़ा [कन्डेढ़ा] /*kʌnɖeɽ̊a*/ ‘one and half-eyed’. म् /*m*/ + ड् /*ɖ*/ = न्ड् /*nɖ*/.

h. लम् /*lʌm*/ ‘long’ + ढड़ /*ɖ̈ʌɽ*/ ‘shape’ = लंढड़ /*lʌnɖ̈ʌɽ*/ [लन्ढड़] ‘vandalist’: म् /*m*/ + ढ् /*ɖ̈*/ = न्ढ् /*nɖ̈*/.

i. कम् /*kʌm*/ ‘less’ + छल /*cʰʌl*/ ‘scape’ = कंछल [कन्छल] /*kʌncʰʌl*/ ‘to scape slightly due to pain’: म् /*m*/ + छ् /*cʰ*/ = न्छ् /*ncʰ*/.

j. अम् /*ʌm*/ ‘without’ + झट /*j̈ʌʈ*/ ‘quickness’ = अंझट [अन्झट] /*ʌnj̈ʌʈ*/ ‘sudden’: म् /*m*/ + झ् /*j̈*/ = न्झ् /*nj̈*/.

Likewise, it is changed into its velar counterpart before all velar stops. It is formalized in (30a-e).

(30) a. $\text{म्}\ /m/ + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{क्}/k/ \\ \text{ख्}/k^{\text{h}}/ \\ \text{ग्}/\text{g}/ \\ \text{घ्}/\ddot{\text{g}}/ \end{Bmatrix} = \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ङ्क्}/\text{ŋ}k/ \\ \text{ङ्ख्}/\text{ŋ}k^{\text{h}}/ \\ \text{ङ्ग्}/\text{ŋg}/ \\ \text{ङ्घ्}/\text{ŋ}\ddot{\text{g}}/ \end{Bmatrix}$

b. कम् /*kʌm*/ ‘less’ + काल /*kal*/ ‘time/death’ = कंकाल /*kʌŋkal*/ ‘skeleton’: म् /*m*/ + क् /*k*/ = ङ्क् /*ŋk*/.

c. झम् /*j̈ʌm*/ ‘forceful’ + खाड़ /*kʰaɽ*/ ‘standing’ = झंखाड़ /*j̈uŋkʰaɽ*/ ‘strong’: म् /*m*/ + ख् /*kʰ*/ = ङ्ख् /*ŋkʰ*/.

d. कम् /*kʌm*/ ‘less’ + गाल /*gal*/ ‘cheek’ = कंगाल /*kʌŋgal*/ = ‘poor’: म् /*m*/ + ग् /*g*/ = ङ्ग् /*ŋg*/.

e. सम् /*sʌm*/ ‘equal’ + घत् /*g̈ʌt*/ ‘power’ = संघत /*sʌŋg̈ʌt*/ ‘company’: म् /*m*/ + घ् /*g̈*/ = ङ्घ् /*ŋg̈*/.

5.3.4 Partial vs. complete

a) Partial assimilation

Assimilation to either point or manner of articulation, producing similar segments is partial assimilation, already discussed.

b) Complete assimilation

Assimilation to both point and manner of articulation, producing identical segments, is complete assimilation.

The voiceless unaspirated dental stop त् /*t*/ is subject to complete assimilation in regressive order with its voiced counterpart द् /*d*/, the voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar stop ट् /*ʈ*/ and its voiced counterpart ड् /*ɖ*/, voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate च् /*c*/ and its voiced counterpart ज् /*j*/. It is formalized in (31a-d).

(31) a. इजत् /*ijʌt*/ 'prestige' + दार /*dar*/ 'owner' = इजद्दार /*ijʌddar*/ 'prestigious': त् /*t*/ + द् /*d*/ = द्द् /*dd*/.

b. सात्/*sat*/ 'seven' + टन /*ʈʌn*/ 'tonne' = साट्टन/*saʈʈʌn*/ 'seven tonnes': त् /*t*/ + ट् /*ʈ*/ = ट्ट् /*ʈʈ*/.

c. सात् /*saʈ*/ 'seven' + डढ़िआ /*ɖʌɽ̊ia*/ 'branches' = सड्ढ़िआ /*sʌɖɖʌɽ̊ia*/ 'having seven branches': त् /*t*/ + ड् /*ɖ*/ = ड्ड् /*ɖɖ*/, with vowel raising in the preceding segment.

d. सात् /*sat*/ 'true' + जन /*jʌn*/ = सज्जन /*sajjʌn*/ 'seven people': त् /*t*/ + ज् /*j*/ = ज्ज् /*jj*/.

The breathy dental ध /*d̤*/ is completely assimilated regressively with its unaspirated voiced counterpart द /*d*/, as shown in (32a-b).

(32) a. दुध् /*dud̤*/ + दही /*dʌɦi*/ = दुद्दही /*duddʌɦi*/ 'milk and curd': द् /*d*/ + थ् /*tʰ*/ = द्द् /*dd*/.

b. गिध् /*giḍ̤*/ 'vulture' + दृष्टि /*drisʈi*/ 'vision' = गिद्दृष्टि /*giddrisʈi*/ 'cunning sight': द् /*d*/ + थ् /*tʰ*/ = द्द् /*dd*/.

The voiceless unaspirated velar stop क /*k*/ is completely assimilated with its voiced counterpart ग /*g*/, as shown in (33a-b):

(33) a. एक् /*ek*/ 'one' + गाड़ी /*gaɽi*/ 'cart' = एग्गाड़ी /*eggaɽi*/ 'a cart-load': क् /*k*/ + ग्/*g*/ = ग्ग् /*gg*/.

b. एक् /*ek*/ 'one' + गोड़े /*goɽe*/ 'legged' = एग्गोड़े /*eggoɽe*/ 'one-legged': क् /*k*/ + ग्/*g*/ = ग्ग् /*gg*/.

5.3.5 Processes involving assimilation

The following processes are common as in other languages to involve assimilation in Bhojpuri.

a) Consonants

(i) Intervocalic voicing

Voiceless consonants are voiced between vowels. In Bhojpuri, intervocalic voicing is rare though I have found some, as shown in (34a-c):

(34) a. प /*pʌ*/ + टाखा /*ʈakʰa*/ = पटाखा /*pʌʈakʰa*/ → पड़ाका /*pʌɽaka*/ 'explosive'

b. स /*sʌ*/ + टक /*ʈʌk*/ = सटक /*sʌʈʌk*/ → सडक /*sʌɖʌk*/ 'shut up'

c. झ /*jʌ*/ + टक /*ʈʌk*/ = झटक /*jʌʈʌk*/ → झडक /*jʌɖʌk*/ 'throw out'

In (34a-c) the voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar stop ट् /*ʈ*/ is observed to have been changed into its retroflex counterpart ड़् /*ɽ*/ in (34a), into its voiced apico-alveolar counterpart ड् /*ɖ*/ in (34b-c) respectively.

But in non-intervocalic position, it remains the same, as shown in (35):

(35) a. पट् /*pʌʈ*/ + का /*ka*/ = पट्का /*pʌʈka*/ 'fall on the ground'

b. सट् /*sʌʈ*/ + का /*ka*/ = सट्का /*sʌʈka*/ 'a thin stick'

c. झट् /*jʌʈ*/ + का /*ka*/ = झट्का /*jʌʈka*/ 'a stroke'

(ii) Palatalization and labialization

A consonant becomes a palato-alveolar or palatal because of the presence of front vowel (specially a high front vowel). In Bhojpuri, assimilation of the close front vowel इ /i/ and close back vowel उ /u/ has already been discussed with formalisation and exemplification in (27) under gliding.

(iii) Nasal assimilation

A nasal assimilates to the point of articulation and has already been discussed with formalization and exemplification in (29-30).

(iv) Voicing assimilation

Consonants frequently assimilate to the voicing of adjacent consonants. This process has already been discussed in (16 and 34).

b) Vowels

(i) Vowel nasalization

A vowel becomes nasalized in a nasal environment; this may be the most common process affecting vowels, as shown in (36a-d):

(36) a. गो /*go*/ + ईं /*ĩ*/ = गोंईं /*gõĩ*/ 'a game partner'

b. किँ /*kĩ*/ + टास /*ʈas*/ = किँटाँस /*kĩʈãs*/ 'kitten'

c. टो /*ʈo*/ + इआँ /*iã*/ = टोंइँयाँ /*ʈõĩyã*/ 'a small earthen pot'

d. हि /*ɦi*/ + ङ /*ŋ*/ = हिँङ /*ɦĩŋ*/ 'asafoetida'

Or, the final न् /*n*/ may be lost nasalizing the preceding vowel. This process does not seem natural in Bhojpui. But some loanword from Hindi-Urdu present this character, as shown in (37a-c).

(37) a. बयान /*bʌyan*/ → बयाँ /*bʌyã*/ 'description'

b. इम्तहान /*imtʌɦan*/ → इम्तहाँ /*imtʌɦã*/ 'examination'

c. हसिन /*ɦʌsin*/ → हसीँ /*ɦʌsĩ*/ 'beautiful'

5.4 Epenthesis

Epenthesis is the insertion of a segment.

5.4.1 Vowel insertion

There are some natural environments in Bhojpuri for vowel insertion under process of epenthesis, as shown in (38a-c):

(38) a. काठ् /*kaʈʰ*/ 'wood' + कुआँ /*kuã*/ 'well' = कट्कुइआँ /*kʌʈkuiã*/ 'wooden well': ठ् /*ʈʰ*/ + क् /*k*/ = ट्क् /*ʈk*/, with vowel raising in the preceding segment and medial insertion of close-front vowel इ /*i*/ in the succeeding segment.

b. उत्तर /*uttʌr*/ 'north' + आरी /*ari*/ 'boundary' = उतरवारी /*utʌrwari*/ 'northern': insertion of व् /*w*/ between the two segments.

c. दक्खिन /*dʌkkʰin*/ 'south' + आरी /*ari*/ 'boundary' = दक्खिनवारी /*dʌkkʰinwari*/ 'southern': insertion of व् /*w*/ between the two segments.

5.4.2 Consonant insertion

A consonant may be inserted to break up unacceptable vowel clusters. The insertion of voiced unaspirated palatal and bilabial glides य् /y/ and व् /w/ has already been discussed. But Bhojpuri has its own usage of consonant insertion, mainly in counting over a hundred, as shown in (39a-c):

(39) a. दु /*du*/ 'two' + उत्तर /*uttʌr*/ 'post' = दिलोत्तर /*dilottʌr*/ 'two and'

b. तीन /*tinʌ*/ 'three' + उत्तर /*uttʌr*/ 'post' = तिलोत्तर /*tilottʌr*/ 'three and'

c. चार /*carʌ*/ 'four' + उत्तर /*uttʌr*/ 'post' = चलोत्तर /*cʌlottʌr*/ 'four and'

This usage in Bhojpuri contradicts with Nepali and Hindi in counting numerals over a hundred. The general Sanskrit rule applied is अ /ʌ/ + उ /u/ = ओ /o/, but we see ल् /l/ inserted between the two segments along with some other changes and उ /u/ has fallen down to its semi-high counterpart instead of being assimilated with अ /ʌ/.

5.5 Coalescence

Coalescence is the process whereby two contiguous segments are replaced by one which shares features of the two original ones. Bhojpuri has such coalescent words as shown in (40a-f).

(40) a. मध्य /*mʌd̠yʌ*/ 'middle' + देश /*des*/ 'country/ = मधेश /*mʌd̠es*/ 'part of the middle country now in Nepal covering Siwalik valleys and Terai'

b. भद्दा /*b̠ʌdda*/ ‘dirty’ + देस /*des*/ ‘country’ = भदेस /*b̠ʌdes*/ ‘dirty locality’

c. गोबर /*gobʌr*/ 'cow dung' + धन /*d̠ʌn*/ 'wealth' = गोधन /*god̠ʌn*/ 'cattle property'

d. महान /*mʌɦan*/ 'great' + जन /*jʌn*/ 'person' = महाजन /*mʌɦajʌn*/ 'the great person, creaditor'

e. कु /ku/ 'negative' + टेव /tew/ 'activity' = कुटेव /kutew/ 'mistake'

f. सुन्नर /*sunnʌr*/ 'beautiful' + नैना /*nɛna*/ 'eye' = सुनैना /*sunɛna*/ 'attractive eyed'

5.6 Stress

Stress is not considered significant in Bhojpuri as it is very weak and is frequently changing from one to another syllable (Tiwari, 1960:16). Likewise, Shukla (1981:44) mentions stress in Bhojpuri as relative loudness of one syllable in contrast to another but its status is not phonemic. But in my observation, stress in Bhojpuri is significant and phonemic. The prominent word classes of nouns, adjectives and adverbs turn into causative verbs mainly into imperative mood, both functionally and semantically, if primary stress shifted to the final syllable either from its intitial or from its medial one, as shown in (41a-c).

(41) a. **Noun to verb**

सोटा /'*soʈa*/ 'a short stick' → /*so'ʈa*/ 'be slim', बतिया /*'bʌtiya*/ 'a small tender fruit, the matter' → /*bʌti'ya*/ 'talk', अगुआ /*'ʌgua*/ 'leader' → /*ʌgu'a*/ 'be in front, lead', केहुनिया /*ke'ɦuniya*/ 'the elbow' → /*keɦuni'ya*/ 'hit with elbow', बउआ /*'bʌua*/ 'to address a male younster' → /*bʌu'a*/ 'wander aimlessly'

b. **Adjective to verb**

सोझिया /*'soj̈iya*/ 'innocent' → /*soj̈i'ya*/ 'straighten', बुढ़ा /*'buɽ̊a*/ 'old' → /*bu'ɽ̊a*/ 'be old', पछुआ /*'pʌcʰua*/ 'backward' → /*pʌcʰu'a*/ 'follow', लेंढ़िया /*'lẽɽ̊iya*/ 'mentally poor' → /*lẽɽ̊i'ya*/ 'disturb to be alone', करिआ /*'kʌria*/ 'black' → /*kʌi'a*/ 'blacken'.

c. **Adverb to verb**

तहिया /*'tʌɦiya*/ 'that day' → /*tʌɦi'ya*/ 'press', नियरा /*'niyʌra*/ 'near' → /*niyʌ'ra*/ 'reach closer', बहरा /*'bʌɦʌra*/ 'outside' → /*bʌɦʌ'ra*/ 'pull out', उपरा /*'upʌra*/ 'surfacely' → /*upʌ'ra*/ 'search secretly'.

The verbs derivated by the stress-shift have been observed as the bare-stem form serving as the most direct, least polite, imperative speech-act as Givón (2001b:305) mentions, but with the last stem-vowel lowered.

5.7 Summary

We have dealt with morphophonology of Bhojpuri in this chapter. Bhojpuri shows up a few morphophonological processes such as deletion, raising, assimilation, epenthesis and coalescence. Under process of deletion in Bhojpuri morphophonology, a vowel or a consonant or a syllable from either of a segment of the preceding and succeeding ones is deleted. A vowel in either of the segment is raised in the process of raising. Likewise assimilation includes progressive vs. regressive resulting in plosivization, devoicing, voicing, apico-alveolarization, retroflexion, affrication and deaspiration in either of the preceding or succeeding segments; contiguous vs. non-contiguous resulting in mid-point fixation, falling of vowels, merger of syllables and gliding. Variation in nasal along with partial vs. complete assimilation has been discussed resulting in intervocalic voicing, palatalization and labialization, nasal assimilation. Likewise, stress in Bhojpuri is found phonemic.

CHAPTER 6
WORD CLASSES

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with word classes (lexicon) in Bhojpuri. It comprises in three sections. In section 6.1, the major lexical word classes are described with their chief properties. Section 6.2 exhibits properties of the minor word classes in the language and we summarize the findings in the chapter in section 6.3.

6.1 Major word classes

Givón (2001a:49) classifies nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs as the major lexical word classes what Bhojpuri also exhibits. They are characterized by three properties: semantic, morphological and syntactic. We discuss the properties as follows:

6.1.1 Properties of nouns

a) Semantic properties of nouns

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:90), Nepali (Adhikari 2016:32), and other natural languages exhibit, Bhojpuri nouns may be characterized and distinguished from other word classes in terms of stability, complexity, concreteness, compactness and countability. The prototypical Bhojpuri nouns in (1a-h) exhibit these properties.

(1) a. लोहा /*loɦa*/ 'iron' b. लइका /*lʌika*/ 'boy'

c. घर /*g̈ʌr*/ 'house' d. गाछी /*gacʰi*/ 'tree'

e. कुत्ता /*kutta*/ 'dog' f. घास /*g̈as*/ 'grass/

g. बच्चा /*bʌcca*/ 'child' h. चान /*can*/ 'moon, head surface'

All the Bhojpuri prototypical nouns in (1a-h) are durable, complex, concrete, compact and individuative in association with their multiple features like size, shape, weight, colour and cultural usage. Though these features remain in a noun for an extended period of time, changing nature is an inevitable feature of any entity in existence in the world. Besides, the prototypical nouns tend to change their complex features relatively slowly in comparision to the words of other classes. The fact that prototypical nouns tend to be spatially compact rather than scattered all over the perceptual space is in part a consequence of their *spatial coherence* (Givón 2001:51), therefore, the scatterd nouns as in (2a-h) do exist, but they are not perfect. Rather they occupy larger portion of the ground and cannot be individuated, as Givón (2011:37) exhibits.

(2) a. पानी /*pani*/ 'water' b. बेआर /*bear*/ 'wind'

c. महीना /*mʌɦina*/ 'month' d. बरीस /*bʌris*/ 'year'

e. बरखा /*bʌrkʰa*/ 'rain' f. गाँव /*gão*/ 'village'

g. पसेना /*pʌsena*/ 'sweat' h. बादल /*badʌl*/ 'cloud'

The non-prototypical nouns in (2a-h), however, bear syntactic and morphological properties of a noun discussed as follows:

b) Syntactic properties of nouns

The distribution of nouns in distinct syntactic slots inside the clause exhibits their syntactic properties. As exhibited in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:90) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:32), the noun is the head in a Bhojpuri noun phrase, occupying four major syntactic positions in clauses. The subject and direct object positions of nouns in a clause are illustrated in (3a-b).

(3) a. लइका जाग जाई ।

[lʌikɑ]$_{SBJ}$	**jɑg**	**jɑi**
lʌikɑ	**jɑg**	**jɑ-i**
boy	awaken	go-3SG.FUT

'The child will get up.' (09.329)

b. तें भात खा रहल बाड़े ।

tẽ	**[ḭɑt]$_{DO}$**	**kʰɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑɽe**
tẽ	**ḭɑt**	**kʰɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑ-ɽe**
2SG.NOM	boiled rice	eat	live-INF	be-2.PRES

'You are eating rice.' (13.022)

In example (3a), the noun लइका /*lʌika*/ 'boy' has occupied the subject position and in (3b) another noun भात /*ḭat*/ 'boiled rice' has occupied the object position in the clause. A noun may occupy the position of an indirect object, as in (4):

(4) ... बाबुजी भइआ के किन देनी, तरभूजा ।

bɑbuji	**[ḭʌiɑ]$_{IO}$**	**ke**	**kin**	**deni**	**tʌrḭujɑ**
bɑbu-ji	**ḭʌiɑ**	**ke**	**kin**	**de-ni**	**tʌrḭujɑ**
father-H	elder brother	DAT	buy	give-PST.H	watermelon

'… father bought my elder brother a watermelon. (13.098)

In example (4), the noun भइआ /*ḭʌia*/ 'elder brother' marked with the dative has occupied the indirect object position in the clause.

Bhojpuri noun may occupy the slot of a nominal predicate, as in (5):

(5) ई ... घर ह ।

i **ɡ̈ʌr** **ɦʌ**

i **ɡ̈ʌr** **ɦʌ**

3SG.PROX house be.3SG.PRES

'This is ... house.' (06.001)

In (5), घर /*ɡ̈ʌr*/ 'house' has occupied the slot of a nonminal predicate. Except the four major syntactic positions, Bhojpuri nouns may also occupy some more positions. The position of possessive/genitive noun modifier in the noun phrase is presented in (6):

(6) ... सारा जमीन के मालिक ऊ लोग रहे ।

sɑrɑ **jʌmin** **ke** **mɑlik** **u** **log** **rʌɦe**

sɑrɑ **jʌmin** **ke** **mɑlik** **u** **log** **rʌɦ-e**

whole land GEN owner 3SG.MAS.NOM PL live-3.PST

'... they were owner of the whole land.' (02.029)

In example (6), the noun जमीन /*jʌmin*/ 'land' occupies the position of possesor noun modifier. Bhojpuri noun may also occupy the slot of an object complement, as in (7):

(7) पानी धिकला पर बाफ बन जाला ।

pɑni **d̤ikla** **pʌr** **bɑpʰ** **bʌn** **jɑlɑ**

pɑni **d̤ik-lɑ** **pʌr** **bɑpʰ** **bʌn** **jɑ-lɑ**

water heat-SEQ LOC vapour make go-3SG.PRES

'The water changes into vapour if heated.' (09.205)

In example (7), the noun बाफ /*bapʰ*/ 'vapour' occupies the position of the object complement. Similarly, Bhojpuri nouns may occupy the slot of locative expressions, as in (8):

(8) हमर भाई त जीते बा पंजाब में ।

ɦʌmʌr **b̤ai** **tʌ** **jite** **bɑ** **pʌnjɑb** **mẽ**

ɦʌmʌr **b̤ai** **tʌ** **ji-ʌt-e** **bɑ** **pʌnjɑb** **mẽ**

1SG.GEN brother COND live-SIM-EMPH be.3SG.PRES Punjab LOC

'My brother is well alive in Panjab.' (10.090)

In example (8), the place name पंजाब /*pʌnjab*/ 'Panjab' occupies the position of the locative noun phrase.

c) Morphological properties of nouns

Morphological properties of nouns characterize the kind of bound morphemes that tend to be affixed to a noun. Bhojpuri nouns do not exhibit much complexity in

terms of their morphology.[1] However, they may be inflected in terms of number, gender, classifiers and case role of the referent.

(i) Number

As exhibited in its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:105), Maithili (Yadav 1996:69), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:115), Hindi (Koul 2008:35) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:33); Bhojpuri has two numbers: singular and plural (Grierson 1883:25, Ojha 1915[1982]:5, Tiwari 1954:415 and 1960:106, Nirbhik 1975:62, Tripathy 1987:193, Sharma and Ashk 2007:32, Shrivastava 1999:46, Singh 2009:86 and 2013:84 and Thakur 2011:60). The verb agrees with the nominal subject in Bhojpuri in terms of number. The plural number in noun is indicated by the suffix -अन /-ʌn/ and -वन /-*w*ʌn/ as shown in (9a-d).

(9)	**Singular**	**Plural**
a.	लइका	लइकन
	lʌikɑ	**lʌikʌn**
	lʌik-ɑ	**lʌik-ɑ-ʌn**
	child-M	child-M-PL
	'boy'	'boys'
b.	मेहरारू	मेहरारुअन
	mɛɦrɑru	**mɛɦrɑruʌn**
	mɛɦrɑru	**mɛɦrɑru-ʌn**
	woman/wife	woman/wife-PL
	'woman/wife'	'women/wives'
c.	गरीब	गरीबवन
	gʌrib	**gʌribwʌn**
	gʌrib	**gʌrib-wʌn**
	poor	poor-PL
	'poor'	'poors'
d.	अमीर	अमीरवन
	ʌmir	**ʌmirwʌn**
	ʌmir	**ʌmir-wʌn**
	rich person	rich person-PL

1. The morphological properties of the nouns, cross-linguistically, include class or gender markers, number, case-role markers and possessor pronouns (Givón 2001a:60-7).

'rich person' 'rich people'

But such plural marker suffixes are not so common. The more practicable plural markers are periphrastic in terms of separate plural nouns and pronouns लोग /*log*/ 'people' and सब /*sʌb*/ 'all' respectively as shown in (10a-b).

(10) **Singular** **Plural**

(a) हाकिम /*ɦakim*/ 'officer' हाकिम लोग /*ɦakim log*/ 'officers'

(b) गाछी /*gacʰi*/ 'tree' गाछी सब /*gʌcʰi sʌb*/ 'trees'

Hence, लोग /*log*/ is used in honorific and सब /*sʌb*/ in non-honorific environments respectively. Besides these, Bhojpuri has some echowords suffixed to nouns that indicate plurality or suggest manifoldedness as shown in (11a-b).

(11) a. खेतोत /*kʰetot*/ 'farms', बातोत /*batot*/ 'talks', किताबुताब /*kitabutab*/ 'books or books and so on', भातोत /*ɓatot*/ 'boild rice and other edibles'

b. आदमी-ओदमी /*admi-odmi*/ 'people' पानी-ओनी /*pani-oni*/ 'water and other drinks', तरकारी-ओरकारी /*tʌrkari-orkari*/ 'vegetable and other edibles'

Examples (11a-b) shows that the first letter of the word is repleced by -ओ /*-o*/ or -उ /*-u*/ in echoing.

The interrogative pronouns के /*ke*/ 'who (H), कौन /*kɔn*/ 'who (NH)' का /*ka*/ or कथी /*kʌtʰi*/ 'what' do not take plural marker while referring to the multiple referents but are reduplicated, as in (12a-d):

(12) a. आज घरे के-के आएम ?

ɑj ğʌre ke ke ɑem
ɑj ğʌr-e ke ke ɑ-em
today house-LOC who who come-FUT.H
'Who (all) will come at home?

b. नजदीक के भाषा सब कौन-कौन ह ?

nʌjdik ke ɓɑsɑ sʌb kɔn kɔn ɦʌ
close GEN language PL which which be.3SG.PRES
'What languages are nearer to it?' (03.113)

c. अब सरकार का-का करी ?

ʌb sʌrkɑr kɑ kɑ kʌri
ʌb sʌrkɑr kɑ kɑ kʌr-i
now government what what do-3FUT.NH

'What (all) will the government do now?

d. तू कथी-कथी खिअइबऽ ?

tu	**kʌtʰi**	**kʌtʰi**	**kʰiʌibʌ**	
tu	**kʌtʰi**	**kʌtʰi**	**kʰiɑ-i**	**bʌ**
2.NOM	what	what	feed-FUT	be.2FUT.MH

'What (all) will you have me eat?'

In examples (12a-d) the reduplicated question words encode the sense of plurality.

(ii) Gender

Like its number system, Bhojpuri has two genders: masculine and feminine (Grierson 1884a:1-7, Ojha 1915[1982]:7-10, Tiwari 1954:413 and 1960:105, Shrivastava 1999:44, Sharma and Ashk 2007:29, Singh 2009:80 and 2013:80 and Thakur 2011:56) as exhibited in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:102), Maithili (Yadav 1996:63), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:112), Hindi (Koul 2008:33) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:33). They are morphological, lexical and grammatical though dropped eastwards as in Maithili (Yadav 1996:63). Regarding morphological change, feminine is suffixed by -इ /-*i*/ and -इन /-*in*/ as shown in (13a-g).

(13)

	Masculine	**Feminine**
a.	घोड़ा	घोड़ी
	ɡ̈oɽɑ	**ɡ̈oɽi**
	ɡ̈oɽ-ɑ	**ɡ̈oɽ-i**
	horse-M	horse-F
	'horse'	'mare'
b.	भइँसा	भइँसी
	ḅʌĩsɑ	**ḅʌĩsi**
	ḅʌĩs-ɑ	**ḅʌĩs-i**
	buffalo-M	buffalo-F
	'he-buffalo'	'she-bufallo'
c.	बेटा	बेटी
	beʈɑ	**beʈi**
	beʈ-ɑ	**beʈ-i**
	issue-M	issue-F

	'son'	'daughter'
d.	आजा	आजी
	ɑjɑ	**ɑji**
	ɑj-ɑ	**ɑj-i**
	grandparent-M	grandparent-F
	'grand father'	'grand mother'
e.	अहिर	अहिरिन
	ʌɦir	**ʌɦirin**
	ʌɦir	**ʌɦir-in**
	milkperson-M	milkperson-F
	'milk-man'	'milk-woman'
f.	लोहार	लोहइन/लोहारिन
	loɦɑr	**loɦʌin/loɦɑrin**
	loɦɑ-ɑr	**loɦɑ-in/loɦɑr-in**
	black-smith-M	black-smith-F
	'black-smith'	'female black-smith'
g.	चमार	चमइन/चमारिन
	cʌmɑr	**cʌmʌin/cʌmɑrin**
	cʌm-ɑr	**cʌmʌ-in/cʌmɑr-in**
	skin-M	skin-F
	'cobbler'	'female cobbler'

Besides these, gender is lexical in Bhojpuri to a greater extent as shown in (14a-f).

(14)	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
a.	मरद /*mʌrʌd*/ 'man/husband'	मेहरारू /*meɦraru*/ 'woman/wife'
b.	साँढ़ /*sãɽ̊*/ 'bull'	गाई /*gai*/ 'cow'
c.	बाप /*bap*/ 'father'	मातारी /*matari*/ 'mother'
d.	बाबा /*baba*/ 'grand pa'	दाई /*dai*/ 'grand ma'
e.	दामाद /*damad*/ 'son-in-law'	बेटी /*beʈi*/ 'daughter'
f.	बेटा /*beʈa*/ 'son'	पतोह /*pʌtoɦ*/ 'daughter-in-law'

Grammatically, the gender is essentially marked in finite verbs but not in non-honorific environment in clauses as shown in (15a-c).

(15) a. तैँ अइलिस/ले ।

tẽ **ʌilis/e**

tẽ **ɑ-il-is/e**

2SG.NOM come-PP-2.PST

'You came.' (non-honorific)

b. तू समझलऽ।

tu **sʌmʌj̈lʌ**

tu **sʌmʌj̈-ʌl-ʌ**

2SG.NOM understand-PP-2.PST.MH

'You understood.' (mid-honorific-masculine) (06.044)

c. तू समझलू।

tu **sʌmʌj̈lu**

tu **sʌmʌj̈-ʌl-u**

2SG.NOM understand-PP-2.PST.F.MH

'You understood.' (mid-honorific-feminine)

Going through examples (15a-c), the second person non-honorific subject तेँ /*tẽ*/ is not obligatory for its finite verb to be marked for gender as in (15a), but the second person mid-honorific subject तू /*tu*/ is specified for the gender by the gender marker attached with finite verb in (15b-c). But if the finite verb is unmarked, it symbolizes masculine gender in Bhojpuri. Besides, a Bhojpuri finite verb is always marked for gender according to its subject as its neighbours Hindi (Koul, 2008:40-41) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:132-5).

Likewise, Bhojpuri adjectives are also morphologically marked for gender as shown in (37) though it is not obligatory.

(iii) Classifiers

Bhojpuri employs no classifiers with nouns. Besides, numeral adjectival pronoun is suffixed with the very much common classifier -गो /*-go*/ and used as subject or object of a clause as shown in (16a-b).

(16) a. अभीन तक एगो त आइल बा।

ʌb̤in	**tʌk**	**ego**	**tʌ**	**ɑil**	**bɑ**
ʌb̤in	**tʌk**	**ek-go**	**tʌ**	**ɑ-il**	**bɑ**
now	till	one-CLF	COND	come-INF	be.3SG.PRES

'The only one has come till now.'

b. अब एगो देखतानी ...।

ʌb	**ego**	**dekʰʌtɑni**	
ʌb	**ek-go**	**dekʰ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
now	one-CLF	see-SIM	be.PRES.H

'Now I am observing the one …' (01.091)

Example (16a-b) exhibits the classifier -गो /-*go*/ as non-humane. Its humane counterpart is -जने /-*jʌne*/ as shown in (17).

(17) कभी दूनूजने हॉट सीट पर बइठल रहनी ... ।

kʌb̤i	**dunujʌne**	**ɦɔʈ**	**siʈ**	**pʌr**	**bʌiʈʰʌl**	**rʌɦni**
kʌb̤i	**du-nu-jʌne**	**ɦɔʈ**	**siʈ**	**pʌr**	**bʌiʈʰ-ʌl**	**rʌɦ-ni**
sometimes	two-EMPH-CLF	hot	seat	LOC	sit-PP	live-PST.H

'Sometimes in the past we both had sat on the hot seat ...' (03.409)

Such phenomenon is common in Maithili and Nepali in terms of -टा /-*ʈa*/ (Yadav, 1998) and -वटा/ओटा */woʈa*/ (Pokharel, 2010) respectively. Examples (16-17) show that Bhojpuri classifiers exhibit nominative and accusative cases.

(iv) Case roles

Bhojpuri nouns are generally marked by different postpositions to indicate the case roles of the participant in a proposition. "They may pertain to either semantic roles (patient, instrument, location etc.) or grammatical relations (subject, direct object, indirect object)" (Givón 2001a:65). The role of different case markers in Bhojpuri is discussed in Chapter 8.

d) Derivational morphology

Though Bhojpuri has innumerable perfect nouns, abundant of nouns are found derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs too as exhibited in Hindi (Koul 2008:68) and other languages. Such derivations occur by using prefixes and suffixes.

Examples of nouns derived from nouns are shown in (18a-g).

(18) **Noun to Noun**

	NOUN	DERIVED NOUN
a.	हाल	बेहाल
	ɦɑl	**beɦɑl**
	ɦɑl	**be-ɦʌl**
	condition	NEG-condition
	'condition'	'bad condition'

b.	जात	कुजात
	jat	**kujat**
	jat	**ku-jat**
	caste	NEG-caste
	'caste'	'low caste'
c.	मान	अपमान
	man	**ʌpmam**
	man	**ʌp-man**
	respect	NEG-respect
	'respect'	'disrespect'
d.	दोकान	दोकानदार
	dokan	**dokandar**
	dokan	**dokan-dar**
	shop	shop-ND
	'shop'	'shopkeeper'
e.	घर	घरवइआ
	ğʌr	**ğʌrwʌia**
	ğʌr	**ğʌr-wʌia**
	house	house-ND
	'house'	'house owner'
f.	घास	घसवाह्
	ğas	**ğʌswaɦ**
	ğas	**ğas-waɦ**
	grass	grass-ND
	'grass'	'grass-cutter'
g.	बिँड़ार	बिँड़रिआ
	bĩɽar	**bĩɽʌria**
	bĩɽar	**bĩɽar-ia**
	nursery	nursery-ND
	'nursery'	'seedling uprooter'

Similarly, nouns derived from adjectives are shown in (19a-g).

(19) **Adjective to noun**

	ADJECTIVE	NOUN
a.	भोजपुरी	भोजपुरिआ
	bʱojpuri	**bʱojpuriɑ**
	bʱojpuri	**bʱojpuri-ɑ**
	Bhojpuri	Bhojpuri-ND
	'Bhojpuri'	'Bhojpuri native'
b.	राष्ट्रीय	राष्ट्रीयता
	rɑsʈrie	**rɑsʈriyʌtɑ**
	rɑsʈrie	**rɑsʈrie-tɑ**
	national	national-ND
	'national'	'nationality'
c.	ताजा	ताजापन
	tɑjɑ	**tɑjɑpʌn**
	tɑjɑ	**tɑjɑ-pʌn**
	fresh	fresh-ND
	'fresh'	'freshness'
d.	बुढ़	बुढ़ारी
	buɽ̊	**buɽ̊ɑri**
	buɽ̊	**buɽ̊-ɑri**
	old	old-ND
	'old'	'oldage'
e.	जवान	जवानी
	jʌwɑn	**jʌwɑni**
	jʌwɑn	**jʌwɑn-i**
	young	young-ND
	'young'	'youth'
f.	मोट	मोटाई /
	moʈ	**moʈɑi**
	moʈ	**moʈ-ɑi**
	fat/thick	fat/thick-ND

	'fat or thick'	'fatness/thickness'
g.	चौड़ा	चौड़ाई
	cɔɽɑ	**cɔɽɑi**
	cɔɽɑ	**cɔɽɑ-ɑi**
	broad	broad-ND
	'broad'	'breadth'

Examples from verb to noun are as follows:

(20) **Verb to noun**

	VERB	NOUN
a.	लिख	लिखाई
	likʰ	**likʰɑi**
	likʰ	**likʰ-ɑi**
	write	write-ND
	'write'	'writing/wage for so'
b.	खा	खवाई
	kʰɑ	**kʰʌwɑi**
	kʰɑ	**kʰɑ-wɑi**
	eat	eat-ND
	'eat'	'eating'
c.	निरेख	निरेखन
	nirekʰ	**nirekʰʌn**
	nirekʰ	**nirekʰ-ʌn**
	inspect	nirekʰ-ND
	'inspect'	'inspection'
d.	राख	राखी
	rɑkʰ	**rɑkʰi**
	rɑkʰ	**rɑkʰ-i**
	keep/guard	keep/guard-ND
	'keep/guard'	'keeping/guarding'
e.	राख /rɑkʰ/ 'keep'	रखवार/ 'keeper'
	rɑkʰ	**rʌkʰwɑr**
	rɑkʰ	**rɑkʰ-wɑr**
	keep/guard	keep/guard-ND

	'keep/guard'	'keeper/guard'
f.	सोह	सोहनी
	soɦ	**soɦni**
	soɦ	**soɦ-ni**
	weed	weed-ND
	'weed'	'weeding'

6.1.2 Properties of adjectives

Dixon (2010b:91) distinguishes properties of adjectives from those of nouns and verbs in a number of languages in terms of taking certain derivational suffixes, forming a comparative, modifying a noun, being used adverbially, and functioning as complement of an existential predicate. Bhojpuri falls in such group of languages including its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (2013:158-86), Maithili (Yadav 1996:124-49), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:137-56), Hindi (Koul 2008:81-93) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:61-81).

Givón (2001a:82) points out that the size, color, shape, taste and a number of qualities perceived by human senses are most typically expressed by adjectives. Most of the native adjectives in Bhojpuri are prototypical. Besides, less prototypical adjectives as well as adjectives derived from nouns and verbs are also found in abundance.

a) Semantic properties of adjectives

The most prototypical adjectives are single-feature concepts, abstracted out of more complex bundles of experience (Givón, 2001a:53). The more prototypical adjectives tend to code inherent, concrete, durable, relatively stable qualities of entities; and the less prototypical that code more temporary of less concrete states (Givón 2001a:81). Following are the prototypical and less-prototypical adjectives in Bhojpuri grouped in terms of their semantics.

(i) Prototypical adjectives

Size

Size adjectives mostly occur in antonym pair and they may denote spatial dimensions as shown in (21a-f).

(21) a. General size: बड़ /*bʌɽ*/ 'big'—छोट /*cʰoʈ*/ 'small'

b. Horizontal extension: फइली /*pʰʌili*/—सकेत /*sʌket*/ 'narrow'

c. Thickness: मोट /*moʈ*/ 'thick'—पातर /*patʌr*/ 'thin'

d. Vertical extension: लमढेङ /*lʌmɖ̈eŋ*/ 'tall'—नाट /*naʈ*/ or बौना /*bɔna*/ 'short'

e. Vertical elevation: उँच /*ũc*/ 'high'—नीच /*nic*/ 'low'

f. Length: लामा /*lama*/ 'long'—छोट /*cʰoʈ*/ 'short'

Colour

For brightness, the colour adjectives appear in antonym pairs or cover the rainbow and beyond as in (22a-b).

(22) a. Brightness: अन्नार /*ʌn̪ar*/ 'dark'—अँजोत /*ʌ̃jot*/ 'light; करिआ /*kʌria*/ 'black'—उजर /*ujʌr*/ 'white'

b. Colour: भंटा /*b̪ʌnʈa*/ or बैगनी /*bɛgʌni*/ 'violet', आसमानी /*asmani*/ 'indigo', लिलही /*lilʌɦi*/ or नीला /*nila*/ 'blue', हरिअर /*ɦʌriʌr*/ 'green', पिअर /*piʌr*/ 'yellow', संतोला /*sʌntola*/ 'orange', लाल /*lal*/ 'red', कत्थही /*kʌtt*ʰ*ʌɦi*/ or खइरिआ /*kʰʌiria*/ 'brown'

Auditory

Auditory adjectives appear in antonym pairs covering several auditory properties as in (23a-e).

(23) a. Loudness: जोड़दार /*joɽdar*/ 'loud'—लरम /*lʌrʌm*/ 'soft', हल्ला /*ɦʌlla*/ 'noisy'—शांत /*sant*/ 'quiet'

b. Absolute pitch: उँच /*ũc*/ 'high'—मंद /*mʌnd*/ 'low'

c. Relative pitch: तेज /*tej*/ 'sharp'—मधिम /*mʌd̪im*/ 'flat'

d. Harmony: मधुर /*mʌd̪ur*/ 'mellow'—कड़कस /*kʌɽkʌs*/ 'harsh'

e. Melody: सुरिला /*surila*/ 'melodious'—बेसुरा /*besura*/ 'cacophonous'

Shape

Shape adjectives describe shape of noun-coded objects in mono-, bi- or tri-dimensional space as in (24a-c).

(24) a. mono-dimensional: सोझ /*soj̈*/ 'straight', टेंढ़ /*ʈẽɽ̊*/ 'crooked or curved', झुँकल /*jũkʌl*/ 'bent', अइँठल /*ʌ̃ʈʰʌl*/ 'twisted'

b. Bi-dimensional: गोल /*gol*/ 'round', वर्गाकार /*bʌrgakar*/ 'square', त्रिभुजाकार /*trib̪ujakar*/ or तिनकोनी /*tinkoni*/ 'triangular', आयताकार /*aetakar*/ 'rectangular', समलंबाकार /*sʌmlʌmbakar*/ 'trepezoid'.

c. Tri-dimensional: गोलाकार /*golakar*/ 'spherical', घनाकार /*g̈ʌnakar*/ 'cubic', टिपाकार /*ʈipakar*/ 'conical', बेलनाकार /*belnakar*/ 'cylindrical', शुंडाकार

/*sunɖakar*/ 'pyramidal'

Taste

Taste adjectives symbolize various tastes as in (25).

(25) मीठ /*miʈʰ*/ 'sweet', खट्टा /*kʰʌʈʈa*/ 'sour', नुनगर /*nungʌr*/ 'salty', तीत /*tit*/ 'bitter or hot', कसाह़ा /*kʌsaɦa*/ 'acrid'

Tactile

Tactile adjectives code various senses of touch probably in antonym pairs as shown in (26a-c).

(26) a. Texture: रुखर /*rukʰʌr*/ 'rough'—चिकन /*cikʌn*/ 'smooth'

b. Resistance: कठोर /*kʌʈʰor*/ 'hard'—कोमल /*komʌl*/ or लरम /*lʌrʌm*/ 'soft'

c. Pointedness: तेज /*tej*/ 'sharp'—भोनास /*ɓonas*/ 'dull' or भोंथाड़ी /*ɓõtʰaɽi*/ 'blunt'

(ii) Less prototypical adjectives

Less prototypical adjectives symbolize either less concrete properties or more transitory states.

Evaluative

Evaluative adjectives probably appear in antonym pairs to signal subjective judgements of desirability along physical or social dimensions, pertaining to either inherent traits or temporary states as in (27a-d).

(27) a. निमन /*nimʌn*/ 'good'—बेजाय /*bejay*/ 'bad'

b. रूपवंत /*rupwʌnt*/ 'pretty'—कुरूप /*kurup*/ 'ugly'

c. मनचाह़ा /*mʌncaɦa*/ 'nice'—अनचाह़ा /*ʌncaɦa*/ 'nasty'

d. इच्छित /*iccʰit*/ 'desirable'—अनिच्छित /*ʌniccʰit*/ 'undesirable'

Transitory states

This is a heterogenous group of adjectives that describes external, internal, social or mental temporary states as shown in (28a-e).

(28) a. Mental-internal: नाराज /*naraj*/ 'angry', थाकल /*tʰakʌl*/ 'tired', दुःखी /*dukʰi*/ or उदास /*udas*/ 'sad', तृप्त /*tript*/ 'content', तङ /*tʌŋ*/ 'disgusted', सतर्क /*sʌtʌrk*/ 'alert'.

b. External activity: व्यस्त /*byʌst*/ 'busy'—सुस्त /*sust*/ 'idle'

c. External condition: फुहर /*pʰuɦʌr*/ or गंदा /*gʌnda*/ 'dirty'—साफ /*sapʰ*/ 'clean'

d. Speed of motion: तेज /*tej*/ 'fast'—धिमा /*ɖ̤ima*/ or आहिस्ता /*aɦista*/ 'slow'

e. Temperature: गरम /*gʌrʌm*/ or तपत /*tʌpʌt*/ 'hot', सुसुम /*susum*/ 'warm', गर्मी /*gʌrmi*/ 'tepid', ठंढा /*ʈʰʌnɖ̤a*/ 'cold'

State of living

The group of adjectives of state of living describe various states of animate beings as shown in (29a-d).

(29) a. Age: जवान /*jʌwan*/ 'young'—बूढ़ /*buɽ̊*/ 'old', नया /*nʌya*/ 'new'—पुरान /*puran*/ 'old'

b. Life: जिअत /*jiʌt*/ or जिंदा /*jinda*/ 'alive'—मरल /*mʌrʌl*/ or मूर्दा /*murda*/ 'dead'

c. Health: तंदुरुस्त /*tʌndurust*/ or स्वस्थ /*swʌst^{h}*/ 'healthy'—बेमार /*bemar*/ 'sick', रोगी /*rogi*/ 'ill'—निरोग /*nirog*/ 'well'

d. Business: व्यस्त /*byʌst*/ 'busy'—निकम्मा /*nikʌmma*/ 'idle', रोजगार /*rojgar*/ 'employed'—बेरोजगार /*berojgar*/ 'unemployed'

Position

This group of adjectives appeared in antonym pairs code distance and direction as shown in (30a-b).

(30) a. Distance: लग /*lʌg*/ or निअरा /*niʌra*/ 'near'—पाला /*pala*/ or लमहारा /*lʌmɦara*/ or दूर /*dur*/ 'far'

b. Direction: उत्तर /*uttʌr*/ 'north'—दक्खिन /*dʌkk^{h}in*/ 'south', पुरुब /*purub*/ 'east'—पछिम /*pʌc^{h}im*/ 'west', दहिना /*dʌɦina*/ 'right'—बायाँ /*bayɑ̃*/ 'left'

b) Syntactic properties of the adjectives

Bhojpuri adjectives tend to occur as predicate in copular clauses, as modifiers in the Noun Phrase and as verbal complements.

(i) Predicate adjective

(31) a. एह घर के खाम़ी बरिआर बा ।

eɦ	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**ke**	**k^{h}ɑm̰i**	***bʌriar***	**bɑ**
eɦ	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**ke**	**k^{h}ɑm̰i**	**bʌriɑr**	**bɑ**
prox	house	GEN	wooden pillar	strong	be.3SG.PRES

'The wooden pillar of this house is strong.' (09.165)

b. ई दूध गाऱ़ बा ।

i	**duḍ̲**	***gaɽ̲***	**bɑ**
i	**duḍ̲**	**gɑr̰**	**bɑ**
3SG.DEM.PROX	milk	thick	be.3SG.PRES

'This milk is thick.' (09.158)

In example (31a-b), बरिआर /*bʌriar*/ 'strong' in (31a) and गाऱ़ /*gaɽ̲*/ 'thick' in

(31b) are predicates respectively.

(ii) Modifying adjective

(32) a. लाल घर

lal **ɡʌr**

'red house' (06.032)

b. गोला बैल

gola **bɛl**

gol-ɑ **bɛl**

brown-M ox

'The brown ox.'

c. गोली गाय

goli **gɑe**

gol-i **gɑe**

brown-F cow

'The brown cow.'

d. बड़का बेटा

bʌɽka **beʈɑ**

bʌɽ-kɑ **beʈɑ**

elder-M son

'The elder son.'

e. बड़की बेटी

bʌɽki **beʈi**

bʌɽ-ki **beʈi**

elder-M daughter

'The elder daughter.'

f. ई गाछ

i **ɡɑcʰ**

i **ɡɑcʰ**

3SG.DEM.PROX tree

'this tree' (06.029)

g. ऊ गाछ

u **ɡɑcʰ**

u **gɑcʰ**

3SG.DEM.DIST tree

'that tree (vis.)' (06.030)

h. हऊ गाछ

ɦʌu **gɑcʰ**

ɦʌu **gɑcʰ**

3SG.DEM.DIST tree

'that tree (invis.)' (06.031)

i. लमढेङ आदमी चल देलख ।

lʌmɖ̈eŋ **ɑdmi** **cʌl** **delʌkʰ**

lʌmɖ̈eŋ **ɑdmi** **cʌl** **de** **-ʌl** **-ʌkʰ**

tall man walk give -PP -3.PST.NH

'The tall man left.' (06.028)

In example (32a-i), लाल /*lal*/ 'red', गोल /*gol*/ 'brown', बड़ /*bʌɽ*/ 'elder' ई /*i*/ 'this', ऊ /*u*/ 'that', हऊ /*ɦʌu*/ 'that (invis.) and लमढेङ /*lʌmɖ̈eŋ*/ 'tall' are modifying adjectives among which pronominals ई /*i*/ 'this', ऊ /*u*/ 'that' and हऊ /*ɦʌu*/ 'that (invis.) are placed as modifiers. Besides, गोल /*gol*/ 'brown' in (32b-c) with suffixes -आ /*-a*/ and -ई /*-i*/ shows gender agreement with बैल /*bɛl*/ 'ox' and गाय /*gae*/ 'cow' respectively. Likewise, बड़ /*bʌɽ*/ 'elder' in (32d-e) with suffixes -का /*-ka*/ and -की /*-ki*/ shows the same with बेटा /*beʈa*/ 'son' and बेटी /*beʈi*/ 'daughter' respectively. But such type of gender agreement in Bhojpuri is not a prominent feature.

(iii) Adjective of verbal complement

As in English (Givón 2001:85), some adjectives in Bhojpuri may take verbal compliments as shown in (33a-c).

(33) a. लोग *कठिन* बा खुश कइल ।

log ***kʌʈʰin*** **bɑ** **kʰus** **kʌil**

log **kʌʈʰin** **bɑ** **kʰus** **kʌr-il**

people difficult be.3SG.PRES happy do-INF

'People are hard to please.' (13.139)

b. राजु ओकरा समझावे खातिर *कठिन* बा ।

rɑju **okʌrɑ** **sʌmjɑwe** **kʰɑtir** ***kʌʈʰin*** **bɑ**

rɑju	**okʌrɑ**	**sʌmʌj̈-ɑ-e**	**kʰɑtir**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**
Raju	3.SG.GEN	understand-CAUS-PUR	for	difficult	be.3SG.PRES

'Raju is difficult (for her) to please.' (13.129)

c. मङरु *गलत* रहे, ढोंढ़ाई के पिटे में ।

mʌŋru	***gʌlʌt***	**rʌɦe**	**ɖ̈õɽ̊ɑi**	**ke**	**piʈe**	**mẽ**
mʌŋru	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**	**ɖ̈õɽ̊ɑi**	**ke**	**piʈ-e**	**mẽ**
Mangru	wrong	live-3.PST	Dhondhai	ACC	beat-PUR	LOC

'Mangru was wrong to beat Dhondhai.' (13.133)

In example (33a-c), कठिन /*kʌʈʰin*/ 'difficult' in (33a-b) and गलत /*gʌlʌt*/ 'wrong' in (33c) is the adjective of verbal complement.

c) Morphological properties of adjective

(i) Grammatical morphology

Bhojpuri adjectives have a type of morphology for slightness as shown in (34a-c).

(34) a. -अहूँ /*-ʌɦũ*/ as in उजर /*ujʌr*/ 'ujʌr'—उजरहूँ /*ujʌrʌɦũ*/ 'whitish', करिआ /*kʌria*/ 'black'—करिअहूँ /*kʌriʌɦũ*/ 'blackish', पिअर /*piʌr*/ 'yellow'—पिअरहूँ /*piʌrʌɦũ*/ 'yellowish', दबू /*dʌbu*/ 'coward'—दबकहूँ /*dʌbkʌɦũ*/ 'cowardish'

b. -हर /*-ɦʌr*/ as in गोर /*gor*/ 'olive'—गोरहर /*gorɦʌr*/ 'slightly olive'

c. -उआ /*-ua*/ as in मीठ /*miʈʰ*/ 'sweet'—मीठुआ /*miʈʰua*/ 'sweetish', खट्टा /*kʰʌʈʈa*/ 'sour'—खट्टुआ /*kʰʌʈʈua*/ 'sourish'

Regarding degree of adjectives, Bhojpuri has no concrete markers for comparative or superlative, but some morphemes that follow the adjectives to increase their degrees but with contextual differences as in (35a-f).

(35) a. उजर /*ujʌr*/ 'white': उजर-सपेत /*ujʌr-sʌpet*/ 'white as the crust of eucalyptus', उजर-धपधप /*ujʌr-ɖ̤ʌpɖ̤ʌp*/ 'brighty white'

b. लाल /*lal*/ 'red': लाल-टेस /*lal-ʈes*/ or लाल-टहकाड़ /*lal-ʈʌɦʌkaɽ*/ 'deeply red', लाल-कहड़वा /*lal-kʌɦʌɽwa*/ 'red due to beating' or लाल-सिमरित /*lal-simrit*/ 'scarlet red', लाल-करजनी /*lal-kʌrjʌni*/ 'red (due to eye-disease)', लाल-कंडोल /*lal-kʌnɖ̤ol*/ 'sunrise or sunset red'

c. पिअर /*piʌr*/ 'yellow': पिअर-दगदग /*piʌr-dʌgdʌg*/ 'deep yellow', पिअर-आम /*piʌr-am*/ 'jaundice yellow', पिअर-ढाबुस /*piʌr-ɖ̈abus*/ 'pus yellow'

d. करिआ /*kʌria*/ 'black': करिआ-कुचकुच /*kʌria-kuckuc*/ 'nighty black or darkish black', करिआ-रिट्ठा /*kʌria-riʈʈʰa*/ 'deep black (skin)', करिआ-जामुन /*kʌria-jamun*/ 'cloudy black', करिआ-भुजेङ /*kʌria-ɓujeŋ*/ 'karait black'.

e. हरिअर /*ɦʌriʌr*/ 'green': हरिअर-कचनार /*ɦʌriʌr-kʌcnar*/ 'bright green'

f. पातर /*patʌr*/ 'thin': पातर-लकलक /*patʌr-lʌklʌk*/ 'lean and thin'

As its neighbours Hindi (Kaul, 2008:81-82), Nepali (Pokharel, 2010) and Maithili (Grierson, 1909:63-72), Bhojpuri adjectives are suffixed with determiners that often reflect gender, as shown in (36a-d).

(36) a. -आ /*-a*/ as in पिअर /*piʌr*/ 'yellow'—पिअरा /*piʌra*/ 'the yellow one'

b. -ह्वा /*-ɦʌwa*/ as in खट्टा /*kʰʌʈʈa*/ 'sour'—खटह्वा /*kʰʌʈʌɦʌwa*/ 'the sour one'

c. -उआवा /*miʈʰ*/ 'sweet'—मीठुआवा /*miʈʰuawa*/ 'the sweet one'

d. -का /*-ka*/ (M) and -की /*-ki*/ (F) as

Adjectives

Neutral	**Mesculine**	**Feminine**
गोर	गोरका	गोरकी
gor	**gorkɑ**	**gorki**
gor	**gor-kɑ**	**gor-ki**
olive	olive-M	olive-F
'olive'	'the olive one (male)'	'the olive one (female)'
करिआ	करिआका	करिअकी
kʌriɑ	**kʌriɑkɑ**	**kʌriʌki**
kʌriɑ	**kʌriɑ-kɑ**	**kʌriɑ-ki**
black	black-M	black-F
'black'	'the black one (male)'	'the black one (female)'

(ii) Derivational morphology

Like its neighbours Maithili (Grierson 1909:63-72), Awadhi (Saksena 1937:145), Hindi (Kaul 2008:85-7), Nepali (Pokharel, 2010) and English as well; Bhojpuri has a large number of adjectives derived from either nouns or verbs. Thus, their meaning owes to the original input noun or verb, some to the semantic derivation type (Givón 2001a:87). Some examples of noun-to-adjective derivation:

(37) **Noun to adjective**

	NOUN	**ADJECTIVE**
a.	गाँव	गवाँर

	gão	**gʌwãr**
	gão	**gão-ar**
	village	village-ADJ
	'village'	'rural/ignorant'
b.	शह्र	शह्री/शह्रुआ
	sʌɦʌr	**sʌɦʌri/sʌɦʌrua**
	sʌɦʌr	**sʌɦʌr-i/ua**
	town	town-ADJ
	'town'	'urban'
c.	बेआर	बेअरगर
	bear	**beʌrgʌr**
	bear	**bear-gʌr**
	wind	wind-ADJ
	'wind'	'windy'
d.	संविधान	संवैधानिक
	sʌmbiḍan	**sʌmbɛḍanik**
	sʌmbiḍan	**sʌmbiḍan-ik**
	constitution	constitution-ADJ
	'constitution'	'constitutional'
e.	दुःख	दुःखदाई
	dukʰ	**dukʰdai**
	dukʰ	**dukʰ-dai**
	pain	pain-ADJ
	'pain'	'painful'

Some examples of verb-to-adjective derivation:

(38) **Verb to adjectives**

	VERB	**ADJECTIVE**
a.	पिट	पिटुआ
	piṭ	**piṭua**

	piʈ	**piʈ-ua**
	beat	beat-ADJ
	'beat'	'beaten'
b.	बुझ	बुझनउक
	buj̈	**buj̈nʌuk**
	buj̈	**buj̈-nʌuk**
	understand	understand-ADJ
	'understand'	understandable
c.	दाहा	दाहाटु
	daɦa	**daɦaʈu**
	daɦa	**daɦa-ʈu**
	drown	drown-ADJ
	'drown'	'risky for drowning'
d.	उठ	उठउआ
	uʈʰ	**uʈʰʌua**
	uʈʰ	**uʈʰ-ʌua**
	rise	rise-ADJ
	'rise'	'rising'
e.	उड़	उड़ंतु
	uɽ	**uɽʌntu**
	uɽ	**uɽ-ʌntu**
	fly	fly-ADJ
	'fly'	'fliable'

Besides, the infinitive and participle form of verbs in Bhojpuri are the same and the usage of participles are all used as verbal adjectives.

Moreover, several derivational morphemes derive negative adjectives from their unmarked affirmative counterparts. Such derivational morphemes occur either as prefix or as suffix. Bhojpuri does have such pairs of adjectives as its neighbours Maithili, Awadhi, Hindi and Nepali do, as shown in (39a-f).

(39) **Affirmative-negative morphemic pairs**

	AFFIRMATIVE	**NEGATIVE**
a.	संभव	असंभव

	sʌmb̪ɔ	**ʌsʌmb̪ɔ**
	sʌmb̪ɔ	**ʌ-sʌmb̪ɔ**
	possible	NEG-possible
	'possible'	'impossible'
b.	निमन	नानिमन
	nimʌn	**nɑnimʌn**
	nimʌn	**nɑ-nimʌn**
	good	NEG-good
	'good'	'bad'
c.	पढ़ल	निपढ़'illiterate'
	pʌɽ̊ʌl	**nipʌɽ̊**
	pʌɽ̊ʌl	**ni-pʌɽ̊**
	literate	NEG-literate
	'literate'	'illiterate'
d.	कामिल	बेकामिल
	kɑmil	**bekɑmil**
	kɑmil	**be-kɑmil**
	useful	NEG-useful
	'useful'	'useless'
e.	खुश	अनखुश
	kʰus	**ʌnkʰus**
	kʰus	**ʌn-kʰus**
	happy	NEG-happy
	'happy'	'unhappy'
f.	बुद्धिमान	बुद्धिहिन
	budd̪imɑn	**budd̪iɦin**
	budd̪imɑn	**budd̪i-ɦin**
	wisdom-POS	wisdom-NEG
	'wise'	'unwise'

d) Numeral adjectives

(i) Numerals

Number of nominal entities is incoded by numerals in the noun phrase wheareas notions of quantity are encoded by quantifiers. They are classified as

cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, fractionals besides which there are some others as proportionals, subtractives, distributives probably expressed in various modes (Tiwari, 1960:117).

Cardinals

Bhojpuri cardinals depict very interesting linguistic expressions in derivation of higher numerals from the lower ones as the mixtures of the arithmetical bases of addition and multiplication along with other features. In this subsection, we discuss how they are organized semantically and integrated morphologically and syntactically into the grammar of Bhojpuri.

Morphological properties of cardinals

The cardinal numerals in Bhojpuri may be categorized into basic and derived morphologically. They are as follows:

Basic cardinals

As its close neighbours Sanskrit (Kale, 1961:102), Maithili (Grierson, 1909:70-1), Awadhi (Saksena, 1937:146-7), Hindi (Koul:2008:88) and Nepali (Turnbull, 1887:11-2), the basic numerals in Bhojpuri include linguistic expression of numbers from 1 to 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 They do not undergo any morphological processes, as shown in (40).

(40)	a.	१	एक /*ek*/	'one'
	b.	२	दू/दुई /*du*/*dui*/	'two'
	c.	३	तीन /*tin*/	'three'
	d.	४	चार /*car*/	'four'
	e.	५	पाँच /*pãc*/	'five'
	f.	६	छौ /$c^{h}ɔ$/	'six'
	g.	७	सात /*sat*/	'seven'
	h.	८	आठ /$aʈ^{h}$/	'eight'
	i.	९	नौ /*nɔ*/	'nine'
	k.	१०	दस /*dʌs*/	'ten'
	l.	२०	बीस /*bis*/	'twenty'
	m.	३०	तीस /*tis*/	'thirty'
	n.	४०	चालिस /*calis*/	'forty'

o. ५० पचास /*pʌcas*/ 'fifty'

p. ६० साठ /*saʈʰ*/ 'sixty'

q. ७० सत्तर /*sʌttʌr*/ 'seventy'

r. ८० अस्सी /*ʌssi*/ 'eighty'

s. ९० नब्बे /*nʌbbe*/ 'ninety'

t. १०० सै/सौ /*sɛ*/*sɔ*/ 'hundred'

Derived cardinals

Apart from cardinal numerals exemplified in (40a-j), the rest are derived from different arithmetic bases by compounding and other morphological processes. The cardinals 11-18 are derived by adding 10 into the cardinals from 1 till 8 and 19 is obtained by subtracting 1 from 20 in terms of उन /*un*/ 'one less than'. The similar process repeats for 21-28, 31-38, 41-48, 51-58, 61-68, 71-78, 81-88 and 91-98 by adding 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 respectively into the cardinals from 1 till 8. Similarly 29, 39, 49, 59, 69 and 79 are obtained by diminishing 1 from 30, 40, 50, 60, 70 and 80 respectively described for 19. Besides, 89 and 99 are obtained by adding 80 and 90 respectively into 9. Likewise 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 are obtained by multiplying 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 respectively by 10. The similar system is found in Maithili (Grierson, 1909:71-2), Awadhi (Saxena, 1937:146-51) and Hindi (Koul:2008:88-90). Sanskrit (Kale, 1961:102-6) expresses the same except 19, 29, 39, 49, 59, 69, 79, 89 and 99 in terms of 9 followed by addition of 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 respectively as English does as well as diminishing 1 from 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 as Nepali (Turnbull, 1887:11-2) does.

Morphophonologically, दस /*dʌs*/ 'ten' is expressed as दह /*dʌɦ*/ or द्रह /*drʌɦ*/ or दऽ /*dʌ*/ or दे /*de*/ or रह /*rʌɦ*/ or रे /*re*/ from 11 till 18 whereas बीस /*bis*/ 'twenty' is expressed as इस /*is*/ preceded by उन /*un*/ 'one less than' for 19 as show in (41).

(41) a. ११ एगारह/एगारऽ/एगारे /*ega-rʌɦ*/*-rʌ*/*-re*/ one and ten 'eleven'

b. १२ बारह/बारऽ/बारे /*ba-rʌɦ*/*-rʌ*/*-re*/ two and ten 'twelve'

c. १३ तेरह/तेरऽ/तेरे /*te-rʌɦ*/*-rʌ*/*-re*/ three and ten 'thirteen'

d. १४ चउदह/चउदऽ/चउदे /*cʌu-dʌɦ*/*-dʌ*/*-de*/ four and ten 'fourteen'

e. १५ पंद्रह/पंद्रऽ/पंद्रे/पनरह/पनरऽ/पनरे /*pʌn-drʌh*/*-drʌ*/*-dre*/*-rʌɦ*/*-rʌ*/*re*/ five and ten 'fifteen'

f. १६ सोरह/सोरऽ/सोरे /*so-rʌɦ/-rʌ/-re/* six and ten 'sixteen'

g. १७ सतरह/सतरऽ/सतरे /*sʌtʌ-rʌɦ/-rʌ/-re/* seven and ten 'seventeen'

h. १८ अठारह/अठारऽ/अठारे /*ʌʈʰa-rʌɦ/-rʌ/-re/* eight and ten 'eighteen'

i. १९ उनइस /*unʌ-is/* one less than twenty 'nineteen'

The similar process continues with expression of बीस /*bis*/ 'twenty' also in form of इस /*is*/ continues from 21 till 28 and तीस /*tis*/ 'thirty' preceded by उन /*un*/ 'one less than' for 29 as shown in (42).

(42) a. २१ एकइस /*ek-ʌ-is*/ one and twenty 'twenty-one'

b. २२ बाइस /*ba-is*/ two and twenty 'twenty-two'

c. २३ तेइस /*te-is*/ three and twenty 'twenty-three'

d. २४ चउबीस /*cʌu-bis*/ four and twenty 'twenty-four

e. २५ पच्चीस /*pʌcc-is*/ five and twenty 'twenty-five'

f. २६ छब्बीस /*cʰʌbb-is*/ six and twenty 'twenty-six'

g. २७ सताइस /*sʌt-a-is*/ seven and twenty 'twenty-seven'

h. २८ अठाइस /*ʌʈʰ-a-is*/ eight and twenty 'twenty-eight'

i. २९ उंतीस /*un-tis*/ one less than thirty twenty-nine'

The similar process continues with expression of तीस /*tis*/ 'thirty' continues from 31 till 38 and चालिस /*calis*/ 'forty' preceded by उन /*un*/ 'one less than' for 39, as shown in (43).

(43) a. ३१ एकतीस /*ek-tis*/ one and thirty 'thirty-one'

b. ३२ बत्तीस /*bʌt-tis*/ two and thirty 'thirty-two'

c. ३३ तेंतीस /*tẽ-tis*/ three and thirty 'thirty-three'

d. ३४ चउँतीस /*cʌũ-tis*/ four and thirty 'thirty-four'

e. ३५ पैंतीस /*pɛ̃-tis*/ five and thirty 'thirty-five'

f. ३६ छत्तीस /*cʰʌt-tis*/ six and thirty 'thirty-six'

g. ३७ सैंतीस /*sɛ̃-tis*/ seven and thirty 'thirty-seven'

h. ३८ अँड़तीस /*ʌ̃ɽ-tis*/ eight and thirty 'thirty-eight'

i. ३९ उंचालिस /*un-calis*/ one less than forty 'thirty-nine'

The similar process continues with expression of चालिस /*calis*/ 'forty' in terms of तालिस /*talis*/ or आलिस /*alis*/ continues from 41 till 48 and पचास /*pʌcas*/ 'fifty' in form of चास /*cas*/ with उन /*un*/ 'one less than' for 49, as shown in (44).

(44) a. ४१ एकतालिस /*ek-talis*/ one and forty 'forty-one'

b. ४२ बेआलिस /*be-alis*/ two and forty 'forty-two'

c. ४३ तेंतालिस /*tẽ-talis*/ three and forty 'forty-three'

d. ४४ चउआलिस /*cʌu-alis*/ four and forty 'forty-four'

e. ४५ पैंतालिस /*pẽ-talis*/ five and forty 'forty-five'

f. ४६ छेआलिस /*cʰe-alis*/ six and forty 'forty-six'

g. ४७ सैंतालिस /*sẽ-talis*/ seven and forty 'forty-seven'

h. ४८ अँड़तालिस /*ãɽ-talis*/ eight and forty 'forty-eight'

i. ४९ उंचास /*un-cas*/ one less than fifty 'forty-nine'

The similar process continues with expression of पचास /*pʌcas*/ 'fifty' in forms of पन /*pʌn*/ or वन /*wʌn*/ or अन /*ʌn*/ continues from 51 till 58. As पचास /*pʌcas*/ is deviated from पंचाश /*pʌncaʃ*/ in Sanskrit (Kale, 1961:104) it is probably shortened to पन /*pʌn*/ or वन /*wʌn*/ or अन /*ʌn*/ as final morpheme for expression of 51 till 58 and साठ /*saʈʰ*/ 'sixty' in form of सठ /*sʌʈʰ*/ preceded by उन /*un*/ 'one less than' for that of 59, as shown in (45).

(45) a. ५१ एकावन /*ek-a-wʌn*/ one and fifty 'fifty-one'

b. ५२ बावन /*ba-wʌn*/ two and fifty 'fifty-two'

c. ५३ तिरपन /*tir-pʌn*/ three and fifty 'fifty-three'

d. ५४ चउअन /*cʌu-ʌn*/ four and fifty 'fifty-four'

e. ५५ पचपन /*pʌc-pʌn*/ five and fifty 'fifty-five'

f. ५६ छपन /*cʰʌ-pʌn*/ six and fifty 'fifty-six'

g. ५७ संतावन /*sʌnt-a-wʌn*/ seven and fifty 'fifty-seven'

h. ५८ अंठावन /*ʌnʈʰ-a-wʌn*/ eight and fifty 'fifty-eight'

i. ५९ उंसठ /*un-sʌʈʰ*/ one less than sisty 'fifty-nine'

The similar process with expression of साठ /*saʈʰ*/ 'fifty' in form of सठ /*sʌʈʰ*/ continues from 61 till 68 and सत्तर /*sʌttʌr*/ 'seventy' in form of हत्तर /*ɦʌttʌr*/ preceded by उन /*un*/ 'one less than' for that of 69, as shown in (46).

(46) a. ६१ एकसठ /*ek-sʌʈʰ*/ one and sixty 'sixty-one'

b. ६२ बासठ /*ba-sʌʈʰ*/ two and sixty 'sixty-two'

c. ६३ तिरसठ /*tir-sʌʈʰ*/ three and sixty 'sixty-three'

d. ६४ चउँसठ /*cʌũ-sʌʈʰ*/ four and sixty 'sixty-four'

e. ६५ पैंसठ /*pɛ̃-sʌʈʰ*/ five and sixty 'sixty-five'

f. ६६ छेआसठ /*cʰe-a-sʌʈʰ*/ six and sixty 'sixty-six'

g. ६७ सँड़सठ /*sʌ̃ɽ-sʌʈʰ*/ seven and sixty 'sixty-seven'

h. ६८ अँड़सठ /*ʌ̃ɽ-sʌʈʰ*/ eight and sixty 'sixty-eight'

i. ६९ उनहत्तर /*un-ɦʌttʌr*/ one less than seventy 'sixty-nine'

The similar process with expression of सत्तर /*sʌttʌr*/ 'seventy' in form of हत्तर /*ɦʌttʌr*/ continues from 71 till 78 and अस्सी /*ʌssi*/ 'eighty' in form of आसी /*asi*/ preceded by उन /*un*/ 'one less than' for that of 79, as shown in (47).

(47) a. ७१ एकहत्तर /*ek-ɦʌttʌr*/ one and seventy 'seventy-one'

b. ७२ बहत्तर /*bʌ-ɦʌttʌr*/ two and seventy 'seventy-two.

c. ७३ तिहत्तर /*ti-ɦʌttʌr*/ three and seventy 'seventy-three'

d. ७४ चउहत्तर /*cʌu-ɦʌttʌr*/ four and seventy 'seventy-four'

e. ७५ पचहत्तर /*pʌc-ɦʌttʌr*/ five and seventy 'seventy-five'

f. ७६ छिहत्तर /*cʰi-ɦʌttʌr*/ six and seventy 'seventy-six'

g. ७७ सतहत्तर /*sʌt-ɦʌttʌr*/ seven and seventy 'seventy-seven'

h. ७८ अठहत्तर /*ʌʈʰ-ɦʌttʌr*/ eight and seventy 'seventy-eight'

i. ७९ उनासी /*unasi*/ one less than eighty 'seventy-nine'

The similar process with expression of अस्सी /*ʌssi*/ 'eighty' in form of आसी /*asi*/ continues from 81 till 89 and that of नब्बे /*nʌbbe*/ 'ninety' in form नबे /*nbe*/ from 91 till 99, as shown in (48).

(48) a. ८१ एकासी /*ek-asi*/ one and eighty 'eighty-one'

b. ८२ बेरासी /*be-r-asi*/ two and eighty 'eighty-two'

c.	८३	तेरासी/तिरासी /*te/ti-r-asi*/	three and eighty 'eighty-three'
d.	८४	चौरासी/चउरासी /*cɔ/cʌu-r-asi*/	four and eighty 'eighty-four'
e.	८५	पचासी /*pʌc-asi*/	five and eighty 'eighty-five'
f.	८६	छिआसी/छेआसी /*cʰi/che-asi*/	six and eighty 'eighty-six'
g.	८७	सतासी /*sʌt-asi*/	seven and eighty 'eighty-seven'
h.	८८	अठासी /*ʌʈʰ-asi*/	eight and eighty 'eighty-eight'
i.	८९	नवासी /*nɔ-asi*/	nine and eighty 'eighty-nine'
j.	९०	नब्बे /*nʌbbe*/	nine tens 'nʌbbe'
k.	९१	एकानबे /*ek-a-nbe*/	one and ninety 'ninety-one'
l.	९२	बानबे /*ba-nbe*/	two and ninety 'ninety-two'
m.	९३	तिरानबे /*ti-ra-nbe*/	three and ninety 'ninety-three'
n.	९४	चउरानबे /*cʌu-ra-nbe*/	four and ninety 'ninety-four'
o.	९५	पंचानबे /*pʌnc-a-nbe*/	five and ninety 'ninety-five'
p.	९६	छिआनबे/छेआनबे /*cʰi/che-a-nbe*/	six and ninety 'ninety-six'
q.	९७	संतानबे /*sʌnt-a-nbe*/	seven and ninety 'ninety-seven'
r.	९८	अंठानबे /*ʌnʈʰ-a-nbe*/	eight and ninety 'ninety-eight'
s.	९९	निनानबे /*nin-a-nbe*/	nine and ninety 'ninety-nine'
t.	१००	सै/सौ /*sɛ*/ or /*sɔ*/	ten tens 'hundred'

Though the standard counting of the cardinals occurs in Bhojpuri from 1 to 100, the illiterate people still count only from 1 to 20. Therefore, they express 40, 60, 80 and 100 as दू बीस /*du bis*/ 'two twenties', तीन बीस /*tin bis*/ 'three twenties', चार बीस /*car bis*/ 'four twenties' and पाँच बीस /*pãc bis*/ 'five twenties' respectively.

Similarly, they count down the cardinals less than 20 in terms of एक कम /*ek kʌm*/ 'one less than', दू कम /*du kʌm*/ 'two less than' and so on. So, 18 is expressed as दू कम बीस /*du kʌm bis*/ 'two less than twenty' and 19 as एक कम बीस /*ek kʌm bis*/ 'one less than twenty'.

In the languages of the world, one can find unit+ten and ten+unit order commonly. When we observe counting system in Bhojpuri, the examples (41-48) expresses that the former order is maintained upto eight units after each ten upto अंठानबे /*ʌnʈʰanbe*/ 'ninety-eight' but the nineth unit after each ten is in the order of one less than

the other ten as उनइस /*unʌis*/ '19=20-1 or one less than twenty' ... ... upto उनासी /*unasi*/ '79=80-1 or one less than eighty'. But नवासी /*nʌwasi*/ '89=9+80 or nine and eithty' and निनानबे /*ninanbe*/ '99=9+90 or nine and ninety' again retain the former one.

Cardinal numerals above hundred

Above hundred, the order is certainly the bigger first, i.e., the same numerals from एक /*ek*/ 'one' to निनानबे /*ninanbe*/ 'ninety-nine' are repeated up to each next hundred. But Bhojpuri has its unique way of counting alternatively from 101 in the reverse order as we observed up to a greater extent, especially used for learning multiple tables of 11 onwards. The higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of -उत्तर /*-uttʌr*/ 'above' and this morphological process continues for 101 to 118, as shown in (49).

(49) a. १०१ एकोत्तर सै /*ek-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'one above hundred for 101'

b. १०२ दिलोत्तर सै /*di-l-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'two above hundred for 102'

c. १०३ तिलोत्तर सै /*ti-l-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'three above hundred for 103'

d. १०४ चलोत्तर सै /*cʌ-l-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'four above hundred for 104'

e. १०५ पँचोत्तर सै /*pɐ̃c-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'five above hundred for 105'

f. १०६ छहोत्तर सै /*cʰʌɦ-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'six above hundred for 106'

g. १०७ सतोत्तर सै /*sʌt-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'seven above hundred for 107'

h. १०८ अठोत्तर सै /*ʌtʰ-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'eight above hundred for 108'

i. १०९ नवोत्तर सै /*nʌw-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'nine above hundred for 109'

j. ११० दहोत्तर सै /*dʌɦ-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'ten above hundred for 110'

k. १११ एगरोत्तर सै /*egʌr-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'eleven above hundred for 111'

l. ११२ बलोत्तर सै /*bʌ-l-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'twelve above hundred for 112'

m. ११३ तेरोत्तर सै /*ter-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'thirteen above hundred for 113'

n. ११४ चउदोत्तर सै /*cʌud-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'fourteen above hundred for 114'

o. ११५ पंद्रोत्तर सै /*pʌndr-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'fifteen above hundred for 115'

p. ११६ सोरोत्तर सै /*sor-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'sixteen above hundred for 116'

q. ११७ सतरोत्तर सै /*sʌtʌr-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'seventeen above hundred for 117'

r. ११८ अठरोत्तर सै /*ʌtʰʌr-ottʌr-sɛ*/ 'eighteen above hundred for 118'

In Examples (49b-d, l) The assimilation of दू/दुई /*du/i*/ 'two' with उत्तर /*uttʌr*/ 'above' inserts infix -ल- /-*l*-/ in (49b) whereas the final -न /-*n*/ of तीन /*tin*/ 'three' and the final -र /-*r*/ of चार /*car*/ 'four' in (49c-d) as well as the final syllable -रऽ /-*rʌ*/ of बारऽ /*barʌ*/ in (49l) change into -ल- /-*l*-/ during assimilation with उत्तर /*uttʌr*/ 'above'. It is peculiarity of Bhojpuri and attests the functional adaptive approach to language. Likewise, a connecting vowel -आ /-*a*/ is interposed instead of -उत्तर /-*uttʌr*/ from 119 to 168, except in the case of 140, 150 and 160, as shown in (50).

(50) a. ११९ उनइसा सै /*unʌis-a-sɛ*/ 'nineteen above hundred for 119'

b. १२० बीसा सै /*bis-a-sɛ*/ 'twenty above hundred for 120'

c. १२५ पचीसा सै /*pʌcis-a-sɛ*/ 'twenty-five above hundred for 125'

d. १३० तीसा सै /*tis-a-sɛ*/ 'thirty above hundred for 130'

e. १४० चाल सै /*cal-sɛ*/ 'forty above hundred for 140'

f. १५० डेढ़ सै /*ɖeɽ̊-sɛ*/ 'half and a hundred for 150'

g. १६० साठ सै /*saʈʰ-sɛ*/ sixty above hundred for 160'

In the rest below 200, the form used to express 160 remains the same, i.e., the lower numeral precedes 100, as shown in (51).

(51) a. १६९ उनहत्तर सै /*un-ɦʌttʌr-sɛ*/ 'sixty-nine above hundred for 169'

b. १७० सत्तर सै /*sʌttʌr-sɛ*/ 'seventy above hundred for 170' and so on.

In examples (46b-d), -ल्- /-*l*-/ appears to be a euphonic insertion and in (47a-d), the -आ- /-*a*-/ may be as much the result of accent as an adjectival -आ- /-*a*-/ (Tiwari, 1960:121).

Let us see the multiple-table of 15 as I have learnt in childhood. It expresses the morphological forms discussed in this subsection to a greater extent.

(52) Multiple table of 15 in Bhojpuri

१५ पनरे एके पनरे /*pʌnʌre eke pʌnʌre*/ 'fifteen ones are fifteen'

३० दुना तीस /*duna tis*/ 'twos are thirty'

४५ तियो पैंतालिस /*tio pɛ̃talis*/ 'threes are forty-five'

६० चउको साठ /*cʌuko saʈʰ*/ 'fours are sixty'

७५ बम पचहत्तर /*bʌm pʌcʌɦʌttʌr*/ 'fives are seventy-five'

९० छके नबे /*cʰʌke nʌbe*/ 'sixes are ninety'

१०५ सते पँचोत्तर /*sʌte pə̃coʈʈʌr*/ 'sevens are a hundred and five'

१२० अठे बीसा /*ʌʈʰe bisa*/ 'eights are a hundred and twenty'

१३५ नौ पैंतिसा /*nɔ pɛ̃tisa*/ 'nines are a hundred and thirty-five'

१५० झमर झुमरिआ डेढ़ सय /*jʌmʌr jumʌria ɖeɽ̊ sɛ*/ 'tens are a half and a hundred'

The numerals in सै /*sɛ*/ 'hundred' are counted up to nine and then in हजार /*ɦʌjar*/ 'thousand'. The thousands are counted up to निनानबे /*ninanbe*/ 'ninety-nine' and then turn to लाख /*lakʰ*/ 'hundred thousands', the order stepping in करोड़ /*kʌroɽ*/ 'ten millions', अरब /*ʌrʌb*/ 'billion' and so on.

(ii) Ordinals

As Grierson (1884a:11, Tiwari 1954:434-5 and 1960:121-2, Nirbhik 1975:60, Tripathy 1987:108, Shrivastava 1999:67, Singh 2009:69 and 2013:66 and Thakur 2011:74) also display, Bhojpuri has ordinals upto 'sixth' as following:

(53) a. पहिल /*pʌɦil*/ or पहिलका /*pʌɦilka*/, पहिला /*pʌɦila*/ 'first'

b. दोसर /*dosʌr*/ or दूसर /*dusʌr*/ or दोसरका /*dosʌrka*/ or दूसरका /*dusʌrka*/, दूसरा /*dusʌra*/ 'second'

c. तिसर /*tisʌr*/ or तिसरका /*tisʌrka*/, तिसरा /*tisʌra*/ 'third'

d. चउठ /*cʌuʈʰ*/ or चउथ /*cʌutʰ*/ or चउथका /*cʌutʰka*/, चउथा /*cʌutʰa*/ 'fourth'

e. पाँचवा /*pə̃cwa*/ or पंचा /*pʌnca*/ 'fifth'

f. छठा /*cʰʌʈʰa*/ 'sixth'

The ordinals above 'sixth' are all formed by suffixing the numeral with -वाँ /*-wə̃*/ as: दसवाँ /*dʌsʌwə̃*/ 'tenth', पचीसवाँ /*pʌciswə̃*/ 'twenty-fifth' and so on. The ordinals in Bhojpuri are similar to that of Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:152-3) and Hindi (Koul 2008:90).

(iii) Fractions

As in its close neighnours Maithili (Yadav 1996:146-7), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:155), Hindi (Koul 2008:91-2) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:71); Bhojpuri has a number of fractions in practice (Grierson 1884a:11, Tiwari 1954:438 and 1960:124, Nirbhik 1975:60, Shrivastava 1999:68, Singh 2009:69 and 2013:66 and Thakur 2011:74), as shown in (54).

(54) a. पा /*pa*/ or पाव /*pao*/ or पउआ /*pʌua*/ 'one-fourth or $\frac{1}{4}$'

b. तिहाई /*tiɦai*/ 'one-third or $\frac{1}{3}$'

c. आध /*aɖ̤*/ or आधा /*aɖ̤a*/ or अधिआ /*ʌɖ̤ia*/ or खाँड़ा /*kʰãɽ̤a*/ 'half or $\frac{1}{2}$'

d. पौन /*pɔn*/ or पौना /*pɔna*/ 'three-fourths or $\frac{3}{4}$'

e. सावा /*sawa*/ or सवा /*sʌwa*/ or सवाई /*sʌwai*/ or सवइआ /*sʌwʌia*/ 'one and one-fourth or $1\frac{1}{4}$ or $+\frac{1}{4}$'

f. डेढ़ /*ɖeɽ̊*/ or डेढ़ा /*ɖeɽ̊a*/ 'one and a half or $1\frac{1}{2}$'

g. आढ़ा /*aɽ̊a*/ or अढ़ाई /*ʌɽ̊ai*/ or अढ़इआ /*ʌɽ̊ʌia*/ 'two and a half or $2\frac{1}{2}$'

h. साढ़े /*saɽ̊e*/ 'and a half or $+\frac{1}{2}$'

(iv) Collective numerals

There are some collective numerals in Bhojpuri (Grierson 1884a:13, Tiwari 1954:436-7 and 1960:123, Tripathy 1987:109, Shrivastava 1999:67 and Thakur 2011:74-5), as shown in (55).

(55) a. जोड़ा /*joɽ̤a*/ or जोड़ी /*joɽ̤i*/ 'a pair/couple'

b. गंडा /*gʌnɖ̤a*/ 'a group of four'

c. गाही /*gaɦi*/ 'a group of five'

d. ढोली /*ɖ̤̈oli*/ 'a group of twenty'

e. सैकड़ा /*sɛkʌɽ̤a*/ 'a hundred'

6.1.3 Verbs

Prototypical verbs occupy temporal instability, i.e., they are coherent bundles of experience of relatively short duration to code rapid changes in either of states/events, condition/spatial location of some noun-coded entity (Givón 2001a:52). The properties of Bhojpuri verbs are discussed as follows:

a) Semantic properties

"Semantically, verbs contrast with nouns and adjectives in that they typically code changes rather than stasis" (Givón 2011: 54). Some prototypical verbs in Bhojpuri are exemplified in (56a-c):

(56) a. कौनो तीर नइखऽ मरले ।

kɔno	**tir**	**nʌikʰʌ**	**mʌrle**
kɔno	**tir**	**nʌikʰ-ʌ**	**mɑr-le**
any	arrow	be.NEG.PRES-2.MH	shoot-SEQ

'You haven't shot an arrow.' (09.456)

b. काल़ के गोली-टाँड़ में हमर टाँड़े टुट गइल ।

kaḷ	**ke**	**goliʈãɽ**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**ʈãɽe**	**ʈuʈ**
kaḷ	**ke**	**goliʈãɽ**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**ʈãɽ-e**	**ʈuʈ**
yesterday	GEN	tipcat	LOC	1SG.GEN	bat-EMPH	break

gʌil

ja-il

go-3SG.PST

'It was my bat that was broken in yesterday's game of tipcat.' (09.013)

c. केकरा भर से एतना कुदताड़े ?

kekra	**ḅʌr**	**se**	**etna**	**kudʌtaɽe**	
kekʌr-a	**ḅʌr**	**se**	**etna**	**kud-ʌt**	**baɽe**
whose-SPEC	support	with	so much	jump-SIM	be.2.PRES

'Whose support is there to make you jump?' (09.214)

In example (56a-c), मार /*mar*/ 'shoot' in (56a), टुट /*ʈut*/ 'break' in (56b) and कुद /*kud*/ 'jump' in (56c) are the basic verbs in Bhojpuri as in its neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:187), Maithili (Yadav 1996:150), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:232), Hindi (Koul 2008:93) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:59 and Adhikari 2016:171). The verbs लतिया /*lʌtia*/ 'kick', हट /*ɦʌʈ*/ or छोड़ /*cʰoɽ*/ 'leave', गिर /*gir*/ 'drop', फुट /*pʰuʈ*/ 'break into pieces' among others are the prototypical verbs in Bhojpuri.

Certain range of variation is found in this category as well. Some verbs are less prototypical, and may code events of longer duration, as in (57a-c):

(57) a. आज त हमर गतर गतर दुखा रहल बा ।

aj	**tʌ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**gʌtʌr**	**gʌtʌr**	**dukʰa**	**rʌɦʌl**
aj	**tʌ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**gʌtʌr**	**gʌtʌr**	**dukʰ-a**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
today	COND	1SG.GEN	organ	organ	ache-CAUS	live-INF

ba

ba

be.3SG.PRES

'My all organs are aching today.' (09.229)

b. आज कंडा के तरकारी निऩा रहल बा ।

aj	**kʌnɖa**	**ke**	**tʌrkari**	**niṇa**	**rʌɦʌl**
aj	**kʌnɖa**	**ke**	**tʌrkari**	**niṇ-a**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
today	Arum colocasia	GEN	vegetable	cook-CAUS	live-INF

bɑ

bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

'Vegetable of Arum *colocasia* is being cooked today.' (09.271)

c. बिना काम के पनघट पर मत रह ।

binɑ	**kɑm**	**ke**	**pʌnğʌʈ**	**pʌr**	**mʌt**	**rʌɦ**
binɑ	**kɑm**	**ke**	**pʌnğʌʈ**	**pʌr**	**mʌt**	**rʌɦ**
without	work	caus	a quay for water pulling	LOC	NEG	live

'Don't stay worthlessly at water pulling quay.' (09.328)

In example (57a-c), दुख /*dukʰ*/ 'ache' in (57a), निऩ /*niɳ*/ 'cook' in (57b) and रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' in (57c) are less prototypical verbs in Bhojpuri. Likewise, the verbs सुत /*sut*/ 'sleep', बइठ /*bʌiʈʰ*/ 'sit', जान /*jan*/ 'know', चाह /*caɦ*/ 'want' among others are less prototypical in the language.

As निऩ /*niɳ*/ 'cook' in (57b), many verbs also have complex temporally-sequenced sub-components, as shown in (58a-b):

(58) a. हम ओही में कुटिया बनाके रहम ।

ɦʌm	**oɦi**	**mẽ**	**kuʈiɑ**	**bʌnɑke**	**rʌɦʌm**
ɦʌm	**o-ɦi**	**mẽ**	**kuʈiɑ**	**bʌnɑ-ke**	**rʌɦ-em**
1SG.NOM	3SG.DIST-EMPH	LOC	hut	make-SEQ	live-FUT

'I'll build a hut and live there.' (07.041)

b. ओह विषय पर नया सृजना करेके पड़ी ।

oɦ	**bisɛ**	**pʌr**	**nʌyɑ**	**srijʌnɑ**	**kʌreke**
oɦ	**bisɛ**	**pʌr**	**nʌyɑ**	**srijʌn-ɑ**	**kʌr-e-ke**
3SG.DIST	subject	LOC	new	create-SPEC	do-PUR-PUR

pʌʈi

pʌʈ-i

fall-3SG.FUT

'We have to create newer ones on those subjects.' (03.351)

In (58a-b), बना /*bʌna*/ 'build' in (58a) and सृज /*srij*/ 'create' in (58b) are the verbs having complex temporally-sequenced sub-components. The verbs बिन /*bin*/ 'carve', खींच /*kʰĩc*/ 'draw' and ठोक /*ʈʰok*/ 'hunt' among others fall in the same group.

But here again one may find gradation, so that some verbs are temporally less complex, involving only a single feature of change, as in (59a-b):

(59) a. चलीं तनिका गछिया में छहाँ लीं ।

cʌlĩ	**tʌnikɑ**	**gʌcʰiɑ**	**mẽ**	**cʰʌɦɑ̃**	**lĩ**	
cʌl-ĩ	**tʌnikɑ**	**gɑcʰi-ɑ**	**mẽ**	**cʰʌɦɑ̃**	**lĩ**	
walk-IMP.H	little	small tree-SPEC	LOC	be cool	take.IMP.H	

'Let's go under the shade of the trees for a while and be cool.' (10.022)

b. बिहने जे पाछे उठी, तीन गो खाई ।

biɦʌne	**je**	**pɑcʰe**	**uʈʰi**	**tin**	**go**
biɦʌne	**je**	**pɑcʰe**	**uʈʰ-i**	**tin**	**go**
tomorrow	3SG.COND.NOM	lately	wake up-3SG.FUT	three	CLF

kʰɑi

kʰɑ-i

eat-3SG.FUT

'The one who wakes up later in the morning will eat the three.' (11.011)

Many prototype verbs code actions, i.e., events initiated deliberately by a human or animate agent capable of volition, as in (60a-b).

(60) a. फेर आज हमनी सङे बतिआतानी ।

pʰer	**ɑj**	**ɦʌmni**	**sʌŋe**	**bʌtiɑtɑni**	
pʰer	**ɑj**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**sʌŋ-e**	**bʌtiɑ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
again	today	1SG.NOM-PL	company-EMPH	talk-SIM	be.PRES.H

'Again we are talking togather today.' (03.407)

b. ऊ दुश्मन पर हमला करे जाता ।

u	**dusmʌn**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmlɑ**	**kʌre**	**jɑtɑ**	
u	**dusmʌn**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmlɑ**	**kʌr-e**	**jɑ-ʌt**	**bɑ**
3SG.NOM	enemy	LOC	attack	do-PUR	go-IMPF	3SG.PRES

'He is going to attack his enemies.' (13.032)

In example (60a-b), बतिआ */bʌtia/* 'talk' in (60a) and हमला कर */ɦʌmla kʌr/* 'attack' in (60b) are the event verbs deliberately performed by or animate agent. Verbs like हट */ɦʌʈ/* or छोड़ */cʰoɽ/* 'leave', चल */cʌl/* 'walk', बखान कर */bʌkʰan kʌr/* 'explain' among others fall under this group.

There are some other verbs that perform no action, however, encode conscious mental activity. Such verbs often denote the mental states of a human or animate participant, but neither change nor volition nor action, as in (61a-b).

(61) a. जी, अपने के हम थोड़ा सा रोकेके चाहतानी ।

ji ʌpne ke ɦʌm tʰoɽa sɑ rokeke

ji ʌpne ke ɦʌm tʰoɽa sɑ rok-e-ke

yea 2SG.H GEN 1SG.NOM little as stop-PUR-PUR

cɑɦʌtɑni

cɑɦ-ʌt bɑni

want-IMPF be.PRES.H

'Yea, I want you to halt for a while.' (01.051)

b. बटोही समझ गइल, 'ई हरवाहा बहिर बुझाता ।'

bʌʈoɦi sʌmʌj̈ gʌil i ɦʌrwɑɦɑ bʌɦir

bʌʈoɦi sʌmʌj̈ jɑ-il i ɦʌrwɑɦɑ bʌɦir

passenger understand go-3SG.PST this ploughman deaf

buj̈ɑtɑ

buj̈-ɑ-ʌt bɑ

understand-CAUS-IMPF be.3SG.PRES

'The passerby understood, 'The ploughman seems deaf.' (10.020)

In example (61a-b), चाह /*cɑɦ*/ 'want' in (61a) and समझ /*sʌmʌj̈*/ 'understand' in (61b) are verbs involving mental activity. Other verbs in this group are जान /*jɑn*/ 'know', सोच /*soc*/ 'think', सपना /*sʌpʌna*/ 'dream' and so on.

Finally, some verbs code event or state that involve neither action nor mental activity, as in (62a-b).

(62) a. गाई के झर अभीन नइखे गिरल ।

gɑi ke j̈ʌr ʌb̤in nʌikʰe girʌl

gɑe ke j̈ʌr ʌb̤in nʌikʰ-e gir-ʌl

cow GEN placenta now be.NEG.PRES-3SG fall-PP

'The placenta of the cow has not been dropped yet.' (09.082)

b. भूकंप के बाद इनार सब सुख रहल बा ।

b̤ukʌmp ke bɑd inɑr sʌb sukʰ rʌɦʌl bɑ

b̤ukʌmp ke bɑd inɑr sʌb sukʰ rʌɦ-ʌl bɑ

earthquake GEN later well PL dry up live-INF be.3SG.PRES

'The wells are drying up following the earthquake.' (09.413)

In examples (62a-b), गिर /*gir*/ 'fall' in (62a) and सुख /*sukʰ*/ 'dry up' in (62b) neither perform action nor involve mental activity.

b) Syntactic properties

Except Kashmiri, all Indo-Aryan languages are verb-final (Subbārāo 2012:40). Consequently, Bhojpuri is a verb-final language as its close IA neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:188), Maithili (Yadav 1996:151), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:247), Hindi (Koul 2008:95) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:171), i.e., the most common position of the finite verb is clause final. However, Bhojpuri verbs may take any position in a sentence due to some discourse pragmatic factors like focus and contrast.[2] Regarding frequency distribution, the verbs normally occur clause-finally and function as the main predicate of the clause, as shown in (63a-c).

(63) a. ऊ खुबसुरत बिआ ।

u	**kʰubsurʌt**	***bia***
u	**kʰubsurʌt**	**biɑ**
3SG.NOM	beautiful	be.3.SG.PRES.F

'She is beautiful.' (09.500)

b. भइआ खाए गइनी ।

bʱʌiɑ	**kʰɑe**	***gʌini***
bʱʌiɑ	**kʰɑ-e**	**jɑ-ini**
elder brother	eat-PUR	go-PST.H

'Elder brother went to eat.' (09.508)

c. बिआ उखाड़ ।

biɑ	***ukʰaɽ***
biɑ	**ukʰɑɽ**
seedlings	uproot

'Uproot the seedlings.' (09.511)

In examples (63a-c), the finite verbs verbs बिआ /*bia*/ 'is' in in (63a), गइनी /*gʌini*/ 'went' in (63b) and उखाड़ /*ukʰaɽ*/ 'uproot' in (63c) are all in clause-final position.

c) Morphological properties

TAM and pronominal agreement markers are commonly found in grammatical-inflectional morphology of verb in Bhojpuri. These properties will be

2. We have discussed the discourse pragmatic features of Bhojpuri in Chapter 13.

discussed in the subsequent chapters (Ch. 8 and 10). Here, some important classes of the verb stems and derivations from them are introduced.

(i) Verb stems

A verb stem in Bhojpuri without any affixes is used in the imperative, generally without honorificity of the subject, otherwise may be directly affixed to by number-gender agreement markers with the subject in accordance with the tense, aspect and mood markers at the same time. As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:187), Maithili (Yadav 1996:154), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:232), Hindi (Koul 2008:95) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:187-9); Bhojpuri verb stems have morphophonemic changes in the following ways to perform different functions:

Vowel alternation

The rule of the short antepenultimate applies across morpheme boundaries, leading to an important distinction that arises throughout the Bhojpuri verb system basic and shortened verbs stems (Das, 2006: 18). For example, the stem काट /*kaʈ*/ 'cut' has its infinitive and perfect participle काटल /*kaʈʌl*/ but the third person mid-honorific masculine perfective कटलन /*kʌʈʌlʌn*/ or कटलें /*kʌʈʌlẽ*/. It shows that an आ /*a*/ in the final syllable of a consonant-final root is raised to अ /ʌ/ in forming a short root. Thus, it can be interpreted as two roots काट /*kaʈ*/ the basic transitive and कट /*kʌʈ*/ as the derived intransitive counterpart that can also have its third person mid-honorific masculine perfective कटलन /*kʌʈʌlʌn*/ or कटलें /*kʌʈʌlẽ*/. Likewise, मार /*mar*/ 'hit or kill', बाँट /*bãʈ*/ 'share', बार /*bar*/ 'burn', गार /*gar*/ 'squeeze', गाड़ /*gaɽ*/ 'bury or drive', टाड़ /*ʈaɽ*/ 'block or ingnore', ढाड़ /*ɖ̈ʌɽ*/ 'pour', काच /*kac*/ 'slice' and so on are among others in this group.

But such kind of vowel alternation also causes complete semantic changes too, as presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Semantic change due to vowel alternation

Base stem	Derived stem
हार /*ɦar*/ 'be defeated'	हर /*ɦʌr*/ 'steal'
फार /*pʰar*/ 'tear'	फर /*pʰʌr*/ 'bear fruits'
बार /*bar*/ 'block'	बर /*bʌr*/ 'burn'
खान /*kʰan*/ 'beat'	खन /*kʰʌn*/ 'dig'
जाम /*jam*/ 'germinate'	जम /*jʌm*/ 'freeze'

Stem-final consonant dropping

There are some verb stems in Bhojpuri that drop final consonants if suffixed to perform the functions of infinitive participles and sequential participials as shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Stem-final consonant dropping

Verb	Infinitive/perfect participles	Sequential participials
कर /*kʌr*/ 'do'	कइल /*kʌil*/	कके /*kʌke*/
धर /*d̤ʌr*/ 'hold'	धइल /*d̤ʌil*/	धके /*d̤ʌke*/

Change of the whole stem

As in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:195), Maithili (Yadav 1996:158), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:233), Hindi (Koul 2008:93) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:173), there are two verbs; one होख /*ɦokʰ*/ 'be', frequently used as copula or presenting state of the subject, and the other जा /*ja*/ 'go'; that change into भ /*b̤ʌ*/ and ग /*gʌ*/ respectively for infinitive/perfective participle, as shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Change of the whole stem

Base stem	Infinitive/perfect participle
होख /*ɦokʰ*/ 'be'	भइल /*b̤ʌil*/
जा /*ja*/ 'go'	गइल /*gʌil*/

(ii) Verb stems and transitivity

Bhojpuri has the widespread New Indo-Aryan transitivity series of derivationaly-related intransitive, transitive, and causative verbs as Das (2006:19) has presented for Banarasi Bhojpuri.

Transitive verbs in this series are derived by suffixing -आ /-*a*/ to the shortened intransitive root and the causative verbs by suffixing -वा /-*wa*/ to the same root.

Besides, there is the second series in which the transitive verbs are the basic ones to be derived into their intransitive counterparts and the shortened forms into causative by suffixing -आ /-*a*/. Moreover, Bhojpuri has another causative derivational root formed by suffixing -वा /-*wa*/ to the shortened stem.

Sometimes, suffix -आ /-*a*/ is also added for passivization to a verb that is inherently passive or at least intransitive in its meaning. Table 6.4 presents them.

Table 6.4 Passivity, Transitivity and causativity

Passive	**Intransitive**	**Transitive/Causative**	**Causative**
मरा /*mʌra*/ 'be beaten or killed'	मर /*mʌr*/ 'die'	मार /*mar*/ 'beat or kill'	मरवा /*mʌrwa*/ 'cause to be beaten or killed'
	चढ़ /*cʌɽ̊*/ 'rise up'	चढ़ा /*cʌɽ̊a*/ 'to raise'	चढ़वा /*cʌɽ̊wa*/ 'cause to rise up'
	उड़ /*uɽ*/ 'fly'	उड़ा /*uɽa*/ 'fly'	उड़वा /*uɽwa*/ 'cause to fly'
	गिर /*gir*/ 'fall'	गिरा /*gira*/ 'fell'	गिरवा /*girwa*/ 'cause to fell'
धरा /*d̤ʌra*/ 'be kept'	ध /*d̤ʌ*/ 'be kept'	धर /*d̤ʌr*/ 'keep'	धरा /*d̤ʌra*/ or धरवा /*d̤ʌrwa*/ 'cause to keep'
बदला /*bʌdʌla*/ 'be changed'	बदल /*bʌdʌl*/ 'change'		बदलवा /*bʌdʌlwa*/ 'cause to be changed'

There are some verb stems inherently transitive and they are changed into passive, causative and bi-causative as in the Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Passivity and causativity

Passive/Intransitive	**Transitive**	**Causative**	**Bi-causative**
कहा /*kʌɦa*/ 'be said'	कह /*kʌɦ*/ 'say'	कहा /*kʌɦa*/ 'cause to say'	कहवा /*kʌɦwa*/ 'cause to be said'
गना /*gʌna*/ 'be counted'	गन /*gʌn*/ 'count'	गना /*gʌna*/ 'cause to count'	गनवा /*gʌnwa*/ 'cause to be counted'
जिता /*jita*/ 'be conquered'	जित /*jit*/ 'conquer'	जिता /*jita*/ 'help to conquer'	जितवा /*jitwa*/ 'cause to conquer'
देखा /*dekʰa*/ 'be seen'	देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see'	देखा /*dekʰa*/ 'show'	देखवा /*dekʰwa*/ 'cause to show'
पढ़ा /*pʌɽ̊a*/ 'be read'	पढ़ /*pʌɽ̊*/ 'read'	पढ़ा /*pʌɽ̊a*/ 'teach'	पढ़वा /*pʌɽ̊wa*/ 'cause to read or teach'
पकड़ा /*pʌkʌɽa*/ 'be caught'	पकड़ /*pʌkʌɽ*/ 'catch'	पकड़ा /*pʌkʌɽa*/ 'cause to catch'	पकड़वा /*pʌkʌɽwa*/ 'cause to be caught'
पिसा /*pisa*/ 'be ground'	पिस /*pis*/ 'grind'	पिसा /*pisa*/ 'help	पिसवा /*piswa*/ 'cause

		to grind'	to grind'
फेंका /*pʰẽka*/ 'be thrown'	फेंक /*pʰẽk*/ 'throw'	फेंका /*pʰẽka*/ 'help to throw'	फेंकवा /*pʰẽkwa*/ 'cause to throw'
बन्ना /*bʌn̤a*/ 'be bound'	बान्ह /*ban̤*/ 'bind'	बन्ना /*bʌn̤a*/ 'help to bind'	बन्हवा /*bʌn̤wa*/ 'cause to bind'
बोआ /*boa*/ 'be sown'	बो /*bo*/ 'sow'	बोआ /*boa*/ 'help to sow'	बोवा /*bowa*/ 'cause to sow'
बोला /*bola*/ 'be spoken'	बोल /*bol*/ 'speak'	बोला /*bola*/ 'help to speak'	बोलवा /*bolwa*/ 'cause to speak'
रखा /*rʌkʰa*/ 'be put'	राख /*rakʰ*/ 'put'	रखा /*rʌkʰa*/ 'help to put'	रखवा /*rʌkʰwa*/ 'cause to put'
समझ /*sʌmʌj̈*/ 'be understood'	समझ /*sʌmʌj̈*/ 'understand'	समझा /*sʌmʌj̈a*/ 'explain'	समझवा /*sʌmʌj̈wa*/ 'cause to explain'
सिख /sikʰ/ 'be learned'	सिख /sikʰ/ 'learn'	सिखा /sikʰɑ/ 'teach'	सिखवा /sikʰwɑ/ 'cause to teach'
सुना /*suna*/ 'be heard'	सुन /*sun*/ 'hear'	सुना /*suna*/ 'tell'	सुनवा /*sunwa*/ 'cause to tell'

Where there is the same structure in passive and causative, the passives take suffix -इल /*-il*/ as कहाइल /*kʌɦail*/ 'to be or have been said' and the causatives -वल /*-wʌl*/ as कहावल /*kʌɦawʌl*/ 'caused to be or have been said' for infinitive/perfect participles respectively. But the same form in passive and transitive are contextually differentiated, as in (64a-b).

(64) a. गणित हमर समझल बा ।

gʌnit	**ɦʌmʌr**	**sʌmj̈ʌl**	**bɑ**
gʌnit	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**sʌmʌj̈-ʌl**	**bɑ**
Mathematics	1SG-GEN	understand-PP	be.3SG.PRES

'Mathematics is understood by me.'

b. दुनिया समझल कठिन बा ।

duniɑ	**sʌmj̈ʌl**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**
duniɑ	**sʌmʌj̈-ʌl**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**
world	understand-INF	hard	be.3SG.PRES

'The world is difficult to understand.'

b) Derivational morphology

All the verbs in Bhojpuri in perfect participle forms, already discussed, are verbal adjectives. Moreover, some verbal nouns and verbal adjectives are derived by suffixing the verb-stems directly. They are featured as here under.

(i) Verbal nouns

Some verb stems are used as nouns without affixation but sometimes they occur semantically different from each other. So, they seem to be the same in form but completely different in meaning. So, they can also be treated as polysemic verb roots semantically, as shown in (65).

(65) **Verbal stems used as nouns**

Stems	**Verb**	**Verbal nouns**
पी /*pi*/	'drink'	'husbabd'
जी /*ji*/	'live'	'mind'
रट /*rʌʈ*/	'repeat'	'repetition'
लिख /*likʰ*/	'write'	'league, egg of louse'
काट /*kaʈ*/	'cut'	'option'
मार /*mar*/	'hit or kill'	'aim, stroke'
जान /*jan*/	'know'	'life'
मान /*man*/	'believe, suppose'	'honour'

Besides these, there are some nouns in Bhojpuri used as verbs without any morphological or semantic change: सोच /*soc*/ 'thought/think', रीझ /*rij*/ 'satisfaction/be satisfied', पिलुआ /*pilua*/ 'insect/be insected'. Moreover, there are morphological derivations of nouns from verbs, already discussed in 6.1.1. But Bhojpuri has the reverse derivations, i.e., verbs from nouns, as shown in (66a-e):

(66) **Noun to verb**

	Nouns	**Derived verbs**
a.	बात	बतिआ
	bɑt	**bʌtiɑ**
	bɑt	**bɑt-iɑ**
	matter	matter-VD
	'matter'	'talk'

b. लात लतिआ

lɑt **lʌtiɑ**

lɑt **lɑt-iɑ**

foot foot-VD

'foot' 'kick'

c. ठेहुन ठेहुनिआ

ʈʰeɦun **ʈʰeɦuniɑ**

ʈʰeɦun **ʈʰeɦun-iɑ**

knee knee-VD

'knee' 'kneel down'

d. गर्दन गर्दनिआ

gʌrdʌn **gʌrdʌniɑ**

gʌrdʌn **gʌrdʌn-iɑ**

neck neck-VD

'neck' 'hit on neck to drive out'

e. पिआस पिआसल

piɑs **piɑsʌl**

piɑs **piɑs-ʌl**

thirst thirst-VD

'thirst' 'to feel thirsty'

(ii) Verbal adjectives

Except perfect participles, adjectives are also derived from verbal roots by suffixation, already discussed in 6.1.2. Besides, Bhojpuri has the reverse derivation too, i.e., verbs are also derived from adjectives, as shown in (67a-f):

(67) **Adjective to verb**

	Adjectives	**Derived verbs**
a.	दुबर	दुबरा
	dubʌr	**dubrɑ**
	dubʌr	**dubʌr-ɑ**
	weak	weak-VD
	'weak'	'weaken'

b. मोट मोटा

moʈ **moʈa**

moʈ **moʈ-a**

fat fat-VD

'fat' 'fatten'

c. पिअर पिअरा

piʌr **piʌra**

piʌr **piʌr-a**

yellow yellow-VD

'yellow' 'turn yellow'

d. हरिअर हरिआ

ɦʌriʌr **ɦʌria**

ɦʌriʌr **ɦʌriʌr-a**

green green-VD

'green 'turn green'

e. झूठ झुठिआ

ǰuʈʰ **ǰuʈhia**

ǰuʈʰ **ǰuʈʰ-ia**

false false-VD

'false' 'falsify'

f. जूड़ जुड़ा

juɽ **jʌɽa**

juɽ **juɽ-a**

cool cool-VD

'cool' 'satisfy'

Besides these, there are some adjectives used as verbs without any morphological or semantic change: करिआ /*kʌria*/ 'black/blacken', खाटा /*kʰaʈa*/ 'sour/be sour', ठंढा /*ʈʰʌn̈ɖ̈a*/ 'cold/be cold'.

6.1.4 Adverbs

Payne (1997:69) exhibits adverb as "a 'catch-all' category, i.e., any word with semantic content (i.e., other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective is often put into the class of adverb". Givón (2001:87) terms it as the least homogenious of the four lexical word-classes, semantically, morphologically and syntactically. Therefore, adverbs cover an extremely wide range of concepts. As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:244), Maithili (Yadav 1996:241), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:301), Hindi (Koul 2008:130) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:82) exhibit, some of more common types of adverbs in Bhojpuri are as follows:

a) Manner adverbs

"Manner adverbs typically modify, or add to, the meaning of the verb. Semantic range of such modification is wide and heterogeneous, depending on the specific meaning of ghe verb" (Givón 2001: 88). Some typical manner adverbs in Bhojpuri are given in (68a-b):

(68) a. समय एकदम तेज जा रहल बा ।

sʌmɛ	**ekdʌm**	**tej**	**ja**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑ**
sʌmɛ	**ekdʌm**	**tej**	**ja**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑ**
time	excessively	fast	go	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

'Time is fleeting so quickly.' (03.383)

b. धीरे हाँकऽ, पुल खराब बा ।

ɖ̤ire	**ɦɑ̃kʌ**	**pul**	**kʰʌrɑb**	**bɑ**
ɖ̤ire	**ɦɑ̃k-ʌ**	**pul**	**kʰʌrɑb**	**bɑ**
slowly	drive-IMP.MH	bridge	damaged	be.3SG.PRES

'Drive slow, the bridge is damaged.' (09.038)

In (67a-b), एकदम /*ekdʌm*/ 'excessively', तेज /*tej*/ 'fast' and धीरे /*ɖ̤ire*/ 'slowly' are the manner adverbs. The other manner adverbs in Bhojpuri are अकस्मात /*ʌkʌsmat*/ 'suddenly', निरंतर /*nirʌntʌr*/ 'incessantly', जइसन /*jʌisʌn*/ 'as', तइसन /*tʌisʌn*/ 'so', बिरथा /*birtʰa*/ 'in vain', अनायास /*ʌnayas*/ or अनचेतले /*ʌncetle*/ 'accidently' and so on.

b) Instrumental adverb

It is very much difficult to set up a firm boundary between manner and instrumental adverbs. Givón (2001a:90) terms it "as more abstract *manner* but a metaphoric extension of the more concrete instrument", as shown in (69a-b) available in Bhojpuri.

(69) a. बिआ हाँथे उखाड़ ।

biɑ	**ɦãtʰe**	**ukʰʌɽ**
biɑ	**ɦãtʰ-e**	**ukʰɑɽ**
seedlings	hand-CLT	uproot.IMP.NH

'Uproot the seedlings by hand.' (Thakur, 2013: 80)

b. ऊ ओके चक्कु से मारलख ।

u	**oke**	**cʌkku**	**se**	**mɑrlʌkʰ**
u	**oɦ-ke**	**cʌkku**	**se**	**mɑr-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
3SG.NOM	3SG-ACC	knife	INS	kill-PP-3SG.PST

'He killed him with a knife.'

In example (69a-b) हाँथे /*ɦãtʰe*/ 'by hand' and चक्कु से /*cʌkku se*/ 'with a knife' are the adverbial phrase in which clitic[3] -ए /*-e*/ and instrumental case marker से /*se*/ 'with or by' characterize the nouns they mark as instrumental adverbs too.

c) Time adverbs

"As adverbs may also code a point in time, or various temporal aspects of events, their semantic scope is thus not the verb alone, but rather the entire event-clause (proposition)" (Givón 2001a:91). Some of the time adverbs in Bhojpuri are listed in (70a-b):

(70) a. नागा, ऊ लोग अब गाँव में कबोकाल आवेलन ।

nɑgɑ	**u**	**log**	**ʌb**	**gão**	**mẽ**	**kʌbokɑl**
nɑgɑ	**u**	**log**	**ʌb**	**gão**	**mẽ**	**kʌbokɑl**
hermit	3SG.DIST.NOM	PL	now	village	LOC	seldom

ɑwelʌn

ɑ-e-ʌl-ʌn

come-PRES-INF-3.H

'Hermits, they seldom come in villages nowadays.' (09.029)

b. का हरदम भाई भाई कइले रहेलु ?

kɑ	**ɦʌrdʌm**	**ɓai**	**ɓai**	**kʌile**
kɑ	**ɦʌrdʌm**	**ɓai**	**ɓai**	**kʌr-il-e**
what	all the time	brother	brother	do-INF-SEQ

rʌɦelu

3. Clitics are discussed in Section 6.2 in detail.

rʌɦ-e-ʌl-u

live-PRES-INF-2.F

'Why do you always remember your brother?' (10.074)

In example (70a-b) कबोकाल /*kʌbokal*/ 'seldom' and हरदम /*ɦʌrdʌm*/ 'always' are the time adverbs respectively. Likewise, आजु /*aju*/ 'today', काल़ /*kaḷ*/ 'yesterday', बिहान /biɦɑn/ 'tomorrow', अब /*ʌb*/ 'now', तब /*tʌb*/ 'then', कब /*kʌb*/ 'when' and so on are the time adverbs in Bhojpuri.

d) Adverbs modifying adjectives

"A distinct class of adverbs are used to quantify the *extent* of adjectives" (Givón 2001a:94). Some adverbs that function as modifying adjectives in Bhojpuri are listed in (71a-b).

(71) a. अभीन त अपने स्वास्थ्य से बहुत लाचार बानी ।

ʌb̤in	**tʌ**	**ʌpne**	**swɑstʰyʌ**	**se**	**bʌɦut**	**lɑcɑr**	**bɑni**
ʌb̤in	**tʌ**	**ʌpne**	**swɑstʰyʌ**	**se**	**bʌɦut**	**lɑcɑr**	**bɑni**
now	COND	self	health	means	very	weak	be.PRES.H

'Now you are very weak with your health.' (06.009)

b. भोजपुरी अपने-आप में बहुत धनिक भाषा बा ।

b̤ojpuri	**ʌpne**	**ɑp**	**mẽ**	**bʌɦut**	**d̤ʌnik**		**b̤ɑsɑ**	**bɑ**
b̤ojpuri	**ʌpne**	**ɑp**	**mẽ**	**bʌɦut**	**d̤ʌn**	**-ik**	**b̤ɑsɑ**	**bɑ**
Bhojpuri	self	self	LOC	very	wealth	-ADJ	language	be.3SG.PRES

'Bhojpuri is a very prosperous language in itself.' (03.056)

In example (71a-b), बहुत /*bʌɦut*/ 'very' has been placed as modifying predicate adjective लाचार /*lacar*/ 'weak' in (71a) and the noun-modifying adjective धनिक /*d̤ʌnik*/ 'wealthy' in (71b).

e) Place adverbs

Place adverbs refer to the location of the event/state encoded in the verb as illustrated in (72a-d):

(72) a. एतहाँ त कमल फुलाइल बा ।

etʌɦɑ̃	**tʌ**	**kʌmʌl**	**pʰulɑil**	**bɑ**
etʌɦɑ̃	**tʌ**	**kʌmʌl**	**pʰul-ɑ-il**	**bɑ**
here	COND	lotus	flower-CAUS-PP	be.3SG.PRES

'The lotus has been bloomed here.' (09.307)

b. बड़कु चल गइल पंजाब आ ओतहाँ आपन काम खोजके करे लगल।

bʌɽku	**cʌl**	**gʌil**	**pʌnjab**	**ɑ**	**otʌɦɑ̃**	**ɑpʌn**
bʌɽ-ku	**cʌl**	**jɑ-il**	**pʌnjab**	**ɑ**	**otʌɦɑ̃**	**ɑpʌn**
elder-DET	walk	go-3SG.PST	Punjab	and	there	3.GEN

kɑm	**kʰojke**	**kʌre**	**lɑgʌl**
kɑm	**kʰoj-ke**	**kʌr-e**	**lɑg-ʌl**
work	search-SEQ	do-PUR	continue-3SG.PST

'The elder went to Punjab and started working there.' (10.007)

c. एने छोटकु गइल हर जोते खेत में।

ene	**cʰoɽku**	**gʌil**	**ɦʌr**	**jote**	**kʰet**	**mẽ**
ene	**cʰoɽ-ku**	**jɑ-il**	**ɦʌr**	**jot-e**	**kʰet**	**mẽ**
this side	small-DET	go-3SG.PST	plough	plough-PUR	farm	LOC

'Hence, the younger went to plough in the field.' (10.008)

d. हाथ एने से ओने काँप जाला।

ɦɑtʰ	**ene**	**se**	**one**	**kɑ̃p**	**jɑlɑ**
ɦɑ̃tʰ	**ene**	**se**	**one**	**kɑ̃p**	**jɑ-lɑ**
hand	this side	ABL	that side	tremble	go-3SG.PRES

'Hand trembles hither and thither.' (04.234)

In examples (72a-d), एतहाँ /*etʌɦɑ̃*/ 'here' in (72a), ओतहाँ /*otʌɦɑ̃*/ 'there' in (72b) and एने /*ene*/ 'this side' in (72c-d), and ओने /*one*/ 'that side' are the place adverbs. Dhakal (2011) has categorized such adverbs including adverbs of time and place except interrogatives and relatives as pronominal adverbs in Darai.

f) Derivational morphology

Grierson (1883:28) states adverbs as indeclinable in Bhojpuri and other grammarians are almost silent whether Bhojpuri adverbs are declinable. But Singh (2008:36) catches sight of declinable characteristics of the Bhojpuri adverbs. Generally, the adverbs are declined to form other word classes in Bhojpuri, as shown in (73a-c).

(73) **Adverb to verb**

	Adverb	**Derived noun**	**Derived verb**
a.	आगा	अगुआ	अगुआ
	ɑgɑ	**ʌgɯɑ**	**ʌgɯɑ**

	ɑgɑ	**ɑgɑ-uɑ**	**ɑgɑ-uɑ**
	ahead	ahead-ND	ahead-VD
	'ahead'	'leader'	'lead'
b.	पाछा	पछुआ	पछुआ
	pɑcʰɑ	pʌcʰuɑ	pʌcʰuɑ
	pɑcʰɑ	**pɑcʰɑ-uɑ**	**pɑcʰɑ-uɑ**
	back	**back-ND**	**back-VD**
	'back'	'follower'	'follow/stay back'
c.	निअर		निअरा
	niʌr		**niʌrɑ**
	niʌr		**niʌr-ɑ**
	near		near-VD
	'near'		'reach closer'

6.2 Minor word classes

This sub-section deals with the different types of grammatical operators in Bhojpuri. The morphemic status of these operators is not so clear as in comparision to the major word classes.

6.2.1 Postpositions

Being a post-positional language, Bhojpuri has a number of postpositions to mark different case roles of the nominals in the proposition. They are described in detail in Chapter 8.

6.2.2 Determiners

The class of determiners includes a number of noun or noun-phrase operators, each one with its own specific functions and morpho-syntactic behaviour in the noun phrase (Givón, 2001:97). Further more, many of those are unstressed grammatical morphemes, cliticized on the noun or noun phrase, thus, they should not be counted as a lexical word-class. Almost all the pronouns[4] in Bhojpuri as in its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:172-6), Maithili (Yadav, 1996:133-41), Hindi (Koul 2008:166-8) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:68-9), excluding the personal pronouns, can function as determiners in Bhojpuri. They are discussed as follows:

4. In traditional grammar, the word 'pronoun' is used with a wide range, to cover personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, reciprocal relative pronouns and indefinite pronouns (Dixon 2010a:114-115). Pronominal system is discussed in detail in Chapter 14.

a) Demonstratives (deictics)

Typically, demonstratives code the orientation (*deixis*) of a noun vis-a-vis some spatial referens points, most commonly the location of the speaker or hearer and in many languages, the spatial orientitation of demonstratives can be expanded into temporal orientation vis-a-vis some reference point in time, and evolution that transforms them rather natural into *articles* (Givón 2001a:97). Bhojpuri possesses the demonstratives as in (74), also used as determiners or definitizers.

(74)

Proximal	**Distal**	**Far distal**
ई /*i*/ 'this'	ऊ /*u*/ 'that'	
ए /*e*/ 'this'	ओ /*o*/ 'that'	ह॒ऊ /*ɦʌu*/ 'that'
एह॒ /*eɦ*/	ओह॒ /*oɦ*/	

The demonstratives presented in (74) are used as both of the demonstrative determiners as well as the demonstrative pronouns as shown in (75a-b).

(75) a. अभी खातिर सुनल जाओ ई गीत ।

ʌb̤i	**kʰɑtir**	**sunʌl**	**jɑo**	**i**	**git**
ʌb̤i	**kʰɑtir**	**sun-ʌl**	**jɑ-o**	**i**	**git**
now	for	listen-INF	go-IMP.H	3SG.DEM.PROX	song

'Enjoy this song for a while.' (03.010)

b. एकर सीधा माने ई भइल ।

ekʌr	**siḍɑ**	**mɑne**	**i**	**b̤ʌil**
ekʌr	**siḍɑ**	**mɑne**	**i**	**b̤ʌ-il**
PROXGEN	straight	meaning	3SG.DEM.PROX	become-3SG.PST

'Its direct meaning was this.' (02.107)

In example (75a-b), ई /*i*/ in (75a) is a demonstrative determiner and in (75b) a demonstrative pronoun one.

b) Possessives

Possessives code simply the orientation (deixis) of a noun vis-a-vis some genitive reference point, most commonly the possession or relation of the speaker or hearer or the subject of conversation. Bhojpuri has the possessives as in (76), also used as determiners or definitizers.

(76)

Singular	**Plural**
ह॒मार /*ɦʌmar*/ or ह॒मर /*ɦʌmʌr*/ 'my/mine'	ह॒मनी के /*ɦʌmni ke*/ 'our/ours'
तोह॒ार /*toɦar*/ or तोह॒र /*toɦʌr*/ 'your/yours'	तोह॒नी के /*toɦni ke*/ 'your/yours'
ओकर /*okʌr*/ 'his/her/hers'	ओकनी के /*okni ke*/ 'their/theirs'

The possessives presented in (76) are used as both of the possessive determiners as well as the possessive pronouns, as shown in (77a-b).

(77) a. निश्चित रूप से भोजपुरी हमर माई के भाषा ह ।

niscit	**rup**	**se**	**ɓ̤ojpuri**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**mai**	**ke**	**ɓ̤asa**
certain	form	with	Bhojpuri	1SG.GEN	mother	GEN	language
ɦʌ							
be.3SG.PRES							

'Certainly, Bhojpuri is my mother tongue.' (03.035)

b. भइआ महाजन हो तोरा खेतवा में आधा हमार बा ।

ɓ̤ʌia	**mʌɦajʌn**	**ɦo**	**tora**	**kʰetwa**	**mẽ**	
ɓ̤ʌia	**mʌɦajʌn**	**ɦo**	**tu-ʌr-a**	**kʰet-wa**	**mẽ**	
elder brother	creditor	VOC	2SG-GEN-DEF	farm-DEF	LOC	
aɖ̤a	**ɦʌmar**	**ba**				
aɖ̤a	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**ba**				
half	1SG-GEN	be.3SG.PRES				

'O creditor brother, half of your farm is mine.' (02.038)

In (77a-b), हमार /*ɦʌmar*/ is an unstressed possessive determiner 'my' in (77a) and a stressed independent possessive pronoun 'mine' in (77b).

Likewise, the interrogative pronouns as के /*ke*/ or कौन /*kɔn*/ 'who', का /*ka*/ or कथी /*kʌtʰi*/ 'what', केकर /*kekʌr*/ 'whose'; relative and correlative pronouns as जे /*je*/ or जौन /*jɔn*/ 'who', से /*se*/ or तौन /*tɔn*/ 'that' जथी /*jʌtʰi*/ 'whatever', तथी /*tʌtʰi*/ 'that'; indefinite pronouns as कौनो /*kɔno*/, कुछ /*kucʰ*/ 'some/few', कुछिओ /*kucʰio*/ 'anything/everything' among others are used as determiners in Bhojpuri.[5]

6.2.3 Compounding and Reduplication

Compounding and reduplication significantly form different word classes in Bhojpuri are as follows:

a. Compounding

Compounding combines lexical categories (nouns, adjectives, verbs or prepositions) resulting in a compound word as a noun, a verb, or an adjective (O'Grady et. al. 1997:133). It is a prominent process of word formation in Bhojpuri similar to its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:90), Maithili (Yadav

5. Please see in Chapter 10, 11 and 12 in detail.

1996:191), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:296), Hindi (Koul 2008:72-5) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:507). In this process different word classes are compounded to form a noun, an adjective, or a verb, as shown in (78-89).[6]

(78) **Noun + noun = noun**

a. घर /*ɡ̈ʌr*/ 'house' + दुआर /*duar*/ 'door' = घरदुआर /*ɡ̈ʌrduar*/ 'home'

b. छीपा /*cʰipa*/ 'plate' + लोटा /*loṭa*/ 'water-pot' = छीपालोटा /*cʰipaloṭa*/ 'plate and glass'

c. दाल /*dal*/ 'pulse' + भात /*b̤at*/ 'boiled rice' = दालभात /*dalbat*/ 'rice and pulse'

d. तामा /*tama*/ 'copper' + घइला /*ɡ̈ʌila*/ 'pitcher' = तमघइल /*tʌmɡ̈ʌil*/ 'copper-pitcher'

e. कान /*kan*/ 'ear' + फूल /*pʰul*/ 'flower' = कनफूल /*kʌnpʰul*/ 'ear-ornament'

(79) **Adjective + noun = noun**

a. भल /*b̤ʌl*/ 'gentle' + आदमी /*admi*/ 'man' = भलादमी /*b̤ʌladmi*/ 'gentleman'

b. दूर /*dur*/ 'distant' + दशा /*dʌsa*/ 'condition' = दुर्दशा /*durdʌsa*/ 'misery'

c. सु /*su*/ 'nice' + दिन /*din*/ 'day' = सुदिन /*sudin*/ 'nice day'

(80) **Noun + verb = noun**

a. जेब /*jeb*/ 'pocket' + कतर /*kʌtʌr*/ 'cut' = जेबकतरा /*jebkʌtʌra*/ 'pickpocket'

b. पाकिट /*pakiṭ*/ 'pocket' + मार /*mar*/ 'kill' = पाकिटमार /*pakiṭmar*/ 'pickpocket'

c. भंडा /*b̤ʌnɖa*/ 'earthen pot' + फोर /*pʰor*/ 'break' = भंडाफोर /*b̤ʌnɖapʰor*/ 'exposition'

d. भात /*b̤at*/ 'boiled rice' + निऱ /*niɻ*/ 'cook' = भतनिऱा /*b̤ʌtniɻa*/ 'cook'

e. पानी /*pani*/ 'water' + भर /*b̤ʌr*/ 'fill' = पनभरा /*pʌnb̤ʌra*/ 'water-puller'

(81) **Noun + adverb = noun**

a. गाँड़ /*gãɽ*/ 'hip/anus' + तर /*tʌr*/ 'down' = गँड़तर /*gãɽtʌr*/ 'diaper'

b. खंड /*kʰʌnɖ*/ 'part' + तर /*tʌr*/ 'down' = खँड़तर /*kʰãɽtʌr*/ 'rags'

c. हाँथ /*ɦãtʰ*/ 'hand' + फेर /*pʰer*/ 'change' = हँतफेर /*ɦãtpʰer*/ 'loan without interest'

(82) **Adverb + noun = noun**

a. भीतर /*b̤itʌr*/ 'inside' + घाम /*ɡ̈ʌm*/ 'sun' = भीतरघामा /*b̤itʌɡ̈ama*/ 'cloudy sun'

b. भीतर /*b̤itʌr*/ 'inside' + मार /*mar*/ 'beating' = भीतरमार /*b̤itʌrmar*/ 'beating without external wound'

c. बाहर /*baɦʌr*/ 'outside' + बास /*bas*/ 'living' = बहरवास /*bʌɦʌrwʌs*/ 'living outside'

d. तर /*tʌr*/ 'inside' + हाँथ /*ɦãtʰ*/ 'hand' = तऱथी /*tʌɻʌtʰi*/ 'palm'

6. Some morphophonemic changes also occur during this process, already discussed in Chapter 5.

(83) **Noun + noun = adjective**

a. घोड़ा /*ɡ̈oɽa*/ 'horse' + मुह़ /*muɦ*/ 'mouth' = घोड़मुह़ /*ɡ̈oɽmuɦ*/ 'horse-faced'

b. गाय /*gae*/ 'cow' + दोम /*dom*/ 'tail' = गैदोम /*gɛdom*/ 'foolish'

c. मुह़ /*muɦ*/ 'mouth' + खंड /*kʰʌnɖ*/ 'part' = मुखंड /*mukʰʌnɖ*/ 'face'

(84) **Adjective + adjective = adjective**

a. लाल /*lal*/ 'red' + पिअर /*piʌr*/ 'yellow' = लालपिअर /*lalpiʌr*/ 'red and yellow'

b. लामा /*lama*/ 'long' + चौड़ा /*cɔɽa*/ 'wide' = लामाचौड़ा /*lamacɔɽa*/ 'long and wide'

c. छोट /*cʰoʈ*/ 'small/short' + मोट /*moʈ*/ 'thick' = छोटमोट /*cʰoʈmoʈ*/ 'small/small and thick'

(85) **Adjective + noun = adjective**

a. लामा /*lama*/ 'long' + डोड़ /*doɽ*/ 'thread' = लमडोड़ /*lʌmdoɽ*/ 'breadthless'

b. कम /*kʌm*/ 'less' + जोर /*joɽ*/ 'strength' = कमजोर /*kʌmjor*/ 'weak/feeble'

c. बड़ /*bʌɽ*/ 'big' + घर /*ɡ̈ʌr*/ 'house' = बड़घर /*bʌɽɡ̈ʌr*/ 'big house/reputed family'

(86) **Verb + verb = noun**

a. पढ़ /*pʌɽ̊*/ 'read' + लिख /*likʰ*/ 'write' = पढ़लिख /*pʌɽ̊likʰ*/ 'reading and writing'

b. नाप /*nap*/ 'measure' + जोख /*jokʰ*/ 'weigh' = नापजोख /*napjokʰ*/ 'measurement and weighing'

c. ताक /*tak*/ 'see' + तौल /*tʌul*/ 'weigh' = ताकतौल /*taktʌul*/ 'assumption'

(87) **Verb + noun = noun**

a. बोल /*bol*/ 'utter' + बम /*bʌm*/ 'Shiva chanting' = बोलबम /*bolbʌm*/ 'Shiva chanting pilgrimage'

b. बजा /*bʌja*/ 'ring' + अंतर /*ʌntʌr*/ 'difference' = बजंतर /*bʌjʌntʌr*/ 'musician'

c. लिख /*likʰ*/ 'write' + अंत /*ʌnt*/ 'end' = लिखंत /*likʰʌnt*/ 'fate'

(88) **Adverb + adverb = adverb**

a. नीचा /*nica*/ 'down' + उपर /*upʌr*/ 'up' = नीचाउपर /*nicaupʌr*/ 'up and dwon'

b. तर /*tʌr*/ 'down' + उपर /*upʌr*/ 'up' = तरुपर /*tʌrupʌr*/ 'piled up'

c. बाह़र /*baɦʌr*/ 'outside' + भीतर /*b̤itʌr*/ 'inside' = बाह़रभीतर /*baɦʌrb̤itʌr*/ 'in and out'

(89) **Verb + noun = adjective**

a. हँस /*ɦə̃s*/ 'laugh' + मुख /*mukʰ*/ 'mouth' = हँसमुख /*ɦə̃smukʰ*/ 'smiling faced'

b. सोच /*soc*/ 'think' + अंत /*ʌnt*/ 'end' = सोचंत /*socʌnt*/ 'gentle'

c. पूज /*puj*/ 'worship' + अंत /*ʌnt*/ 'end' = पूजंत /*pujʌnt*/ 'highly honoured'

In examples (78-89), we observe the process of compounding different lexemes for formation of different word classes exhibits some phonemic changes along with semantic ones with the compounds obtained.

b. Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in which the stem of a word or its part or even the whole word is repeated exactly or with a slight change. Salzmann (1998:94) states reduplication as doubling or repetition of a phoneme or phonemes in a word. As exhibited in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:184), Maithili (Asad 2015:28-54), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:322-3), Hindi (Koul 2008:93/137) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:540-52), Bhojpuri also exhibits reduplication (Tiwari 1960:159, Nirbhik 1975:33 and Singh 2013:123) in word formation. Some of them are exemplified as follows:

(90) **Complete reduplication**

a. रामराम /*ramram*/ 'exclamatory expression of sorrow calling Lord Rama'

b. बाब्बाप /*babbap*/ 'cry with calling one's father'

c. छीछी /*cʰicʰi*/ 'exclamation of hate'

d. दुर-दुर /*durdur*/ 'expressed for chasing a dog'

e. भुलभुल /*ɓulɓul*/ 'one after another continuously'

f. खट-खट /*kʰʌʈkʰʌʈ*/ 'knock at the door'

g. का-का /*ka-ka*/ 'what (plural)'

h. कथी-कथी /*kʌtʰi-kʌtʰi*/ 'what (plural)'

i. कौन-कौन /*kɔn-kɔn*/ 'who (plural)'

j. केने-केने /*kene-kene*/ 'where (plural)'

k. हाँथे-हाँथे /*ɦãtʰe-ɦãtʰe*/ 'with each hand'

(91) **Partial reduplication**

a. एने-ओने /*ene-one*/ 'hither and thither'

b. हई-हऊ /*ɦʌi-ɦʌu*/ 'this and that'

c. पातर-छितर /*patʌr-cʰitʌr*/ 'lean and thin'

d. पानी-ओनी /*pani-oni*/ 'water and else'

e. खेतोत /*kʰetot*/ 'farm and else'

f. मोंटझोंट /*mõʈjõʈ*/ 'fat and healthy'

g. मारामारी /*maramari*/ 'fighting'

h. लातालाती /*latalati*/ 'kicking'

i. ताकाताकी /*takataki*/ 'waiting impatiently'

j. देखादेखी /*dekʰadekʰi*/ 'face to face'

k पक्कापक्की /*pʌkkapʌkki*/ 'undoubtedly' l. झोंटाझोंटी /*jõʈajõʈi*/ 'hair-pulling'

6.2.4 Independent subject and object pronoun

As described above, both the demonstratives and possessives can be used as independent pronouns. In addition, subject and object pronouns can also be stressed, thus, serve as independent pronouns, in the appropriate discourse context (Givón, 2001a:99). Bhojpuri does have such illustrations, as shown in (92a-c).

(92) a. **Unstressed clitic pronouns**

ढोंढ़ाइ के जाएके रहे काठमाड़ो, ऊ पहुँच गइल दिल्ली ।

ɖõɽai	**ke**	**jaeke**			**rʌɦe**		**kaʈʰmaɽo**
ɖõɽai	**ke**	**ja**	**-e**	**-ke**	**rʌɦ**	**-e**	**kaʈʰmaɽo**
Dhondhai	GEN	go	-PUR	-PUR	live	-3.PST.NH	Kathmandu

u	**pʌɦũc**	**gʌil**	**dilli**	
u	**pʌɦũc**	**ja-il**	**dilli**	
3SG.NOM	reach	go-3SG.PST	Delhi	

'Dhondhai had to go to kathmandu, he reached Delhi.' (13.073)

b. **Stressed independent object pronouns**

हमरा ऊ ना सोहालन, इनका के त हम बहुत चाहेनी ।

ɦʌmra	**u**	**na**	**soɦalʌn**	**inka**	**ke**
ɦʌm-ra	**u**	**na**	**soɦa-ʌl-ʌn**	**inka**	**ke**
1SG-POSS	3SG.NOM	NEG	like-INF-3.H	3SG.DAT.H	DAT

tʌ	**ɦʌm**	**bʌɦut**	**caɦeni**		
tʌ	**ɦʌm**	**bʌɦut**	**caɦ**	**-e**	**-ni**
COND	1SG.NOM	very	like	PRES	-PRES.H

'I don't like HIM, HER I'm fond of.' (06.039)

c. **Stressed independent subject pronouns**

(i) हमार ह घर, तोहार ना ।

ɦʌmar		**ɦʌ**	**ɡʌr**	**toɦar**		**na**
ɦʌm	**-ar**	**ɦʌ**	**ɡʌr**	**tu**	**-ar**	**na**
1.SG.NOM	-POSS	be.3SG.PRES	house	2SG.NOM	-POSS	NEG

'MINE is the house, not YOURS.'

(ii) ऊ ना कइलख काम, ई कइली ।

u	**na**	**kʌilʌkʰ**	**kam**	**i**

u	**nɑ**	**kʌr-il-ʌkʰ**	**kɑm**	**i**
3SG.NOM	NEG	do-PP-3SG.PST.M	work	3SG.PROX.NOM

kʌili

kʌr-il-i

do-PST-3.F.MH

'HE didn't work, SHE did.'

6.2.5 Inter-clausal connectives

Inter-clausal connectives are grammatical morphemes par excellence, usually becoming either clause-final or clause-initial clitics (Givón, 2001a:99). In Bhojpuri, an SOV language, they function as verb suffixes, joining with tense-aspect-modal, speech-act and switch reference markers. The inter-clausal connectives arise from more complex adverbial constructions, and may for a while persist as such before truncation and cliticization.

a) Participial suffixes

There are sequential and simultaneous participial suffixes in Bhojpuri as observed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:360-1) and Maithili (Yadava 2005:443-9), Hindi (Koul 2008:199) and Nepali (Yadava 2005:443-9). The sequential participial in Bhojpuri is formed by suffixing the verb stems with -के */-ke/*, -ई /*-i*/ and /*ø*/ as illustrated from Lohar (2012:217) in (93a-c).

(93) a. राजु बस चढ़के काठमाड़ो गइल ।

rɑju	**bʌs**	**cʌɽ̊ke**	**kɑʈʰmɑɽo**	**gʌil**
rɑju	**bʌs**	**cʌɽ̊-ke**	**kɑʈʰmɑɽo**	**jɑ-il**
Raju	bus	ride-SEQ	Kathmandu	go-3SG.PST.M

'Raju went to Kathmandu by bus.'

b. तोहरा के देखी-देखी पागल भइले मनवा ।

tohʌrɑ	**ke**	**dekʰi**	**dekʰi**	**pɑgʌl**	**bʌile**	**mʌnwɑ**
tu-ɑr-ɑ	**ke**	**dekʰ-i**	**dekʰ-i**	**pɑgʌl**	**ɦo-il-e**	**mʌn-wɑ**
2.SG-POSS-DEF	ACC	see-SEQ	see-SEQ	mad	be-PP-SEQ	mind-DEF

'I became mad after having seen you.'

c. लइका कह चलल ।

lʌikɑ	**kʌɦ**	**cʌlʌl**
lʌikɑ	**kʌɦ**	**cʌl-ʌl**
boy	say	walk-3SG.PST

'The boy walked having said.'

The simultaneous participial in Bhojpuri is formed by suffuixing the verb stems with -त /-*t*/, -अत /-*ʌt*/ and -वत /-*wʌt*/ as illustrated from Lohar (2012:217) in (94a-c).

(94) a. हम खाना खात चिट्ठी पढ़नी ।

ɦʌm	**kʰɑnɑ**	**kʰɑt**	**ciʈʈʰi**	**pʌɽ̊ni**
ɦʌm	**kʰɑnɑ**	**kʰɑ-t**	**ciʈʈʰi**	**pʌɽ̊-ni**
1.SG.NOM	meal	eat-SIM	letter	read-PST.H

'I read a letter while having meal.'

b. ऊ रोपनी करत गीत गइलख ।

u	**ropni**	**kʌrʌt**	**git**	**gʌilʌkʰ**
u	**ropni**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**git**	**gɑ-il-ʌkʰ**
3SG.NOM	plantation	do-SIM	song	sing-PP-3SG.PST

'He sang a song while planting seedlings.'

c. अपने गीत गावत डेली बिन लेनी ।

ʌpne	**git**	**gɑwʌt**	**ɖeli**	**bin**	**leni**
ʌpne	**git**	**gɑ-wʌt**	**ɖeli**	**bin**	**le-ni**
2.SG.NOM.H	song	sing-SIM	grass-container	knit	take-PST.H

'You knitted a grass-container singing a song.'

While we go through morphology of the simultaneous participials in Bhojpuri, the -आ /-*a*/ final verb stems like खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat', जा /*ja*/ 'go', नहा /*nʌɦa*/ 'bathe' which are used for mid-honorific imperative take suffix -त /-*t*/; the consonant-final verb stems like कर /*kʌr*/ 'do', खेल /*kʰel*/ 'play', बोल /*bol*/ 'speak' which are used for non-honorific imperative take suffix -अत /-*ʌt*/; and the -आ /-*a*/ final verb roots like आ /*a*/, गा /*ga*/ 'sing', पा /*pa*/ 'get', भा /*ɓa*/ 'like' which are used for non-honorific take suffix -वत /-*wʌt*/.

b) Conjunctions

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:344-54), Maithili (Yadav 2014:149-72), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:310-2), Hindi (Koul 2008:241-4) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:113-7) exhibit, Bhojpuri (Grierson 1884a:1883:29, Ojha 1915[1982]:24-5, Tiwari 1954:305 and 1960:200, Nirbhik 1975:84, Tripathy 1987:124, Shrivastava 1999:104, Thakur 2011:127, Sharma and Ashk 2011:46 and Singh 2013:108) also utilizes conjunctions to conjoin nominals, noun phrases and clauses, as shown in (95a-c) and (96a-b).

(95) a. **Simple conjunctions**

आ /*a*/ 'and', भा /*b̤a*/ or कि /*ki*/ 'or', बाँकिर /*bãkir*/ 'but', ओहीसुके /*oɦisuke*/ or ओहीसे /*oɦise*/ or ओसे /*ose*/ 'so', तब /*tʌb*/ 'then'

b. **Complex conjunctions**

आ ओहीसे /*a oɦise*/ 'and then', बाद में /*bad mẽ*/ 'later on', आ तब /*a tʌb*/ 'and then', ओहीसे त /*oɦise tʌ*/ 'so then'

c. **Historically complex conjunctions**

तइओ /*tʌio*/ or एकरा बादो /*ekra bado*/ 'however/moreover' काहेकि /*kaɦeki*/ 'because', साथसाथ /*satʰsatʰ*/ 'furthermore', ओहीसुके /*oɦisuke*/ 'therefore' are some historically complex conjunctions used as clausal conjunctions, presented as in (95).

(96) a. हारके लइका पुछलक, '*तब* केऽन्वे करीं ?'

ɦarke	**lʌika**	**pucʰlʌk**	***tʌb***	**ke**	**ŋʌwe**	**kʌrĩ**
ɦar-ke	**lʌika**	**pucʰ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	***tʌb***	**ke**	**ŋʌwe**	**kʌr-ĩ**
defeat-SEQ	boy	ask-PP-3SG.PST	*then*	what	method	do-FUT.H

'Lastly, the boy asked, 'What should I do then?'' (06.017)

b. ऊ बिआ जे लगाएम *त* ओ में जादा खाद के जरूरत बा, पानी के जरूरत बा *आ* जादा से जादा विषादि के जरूरत बा ।

u	**bia**	**je**	**lʌgaem**	***tʌ***			
u	**bia**	**je**	**lʌga-em**	***tʌ***			
3SG.DEM.DIST	seed	3SG.COND.NOM	set.CAUS-FUT.H	*COND*			
o	**mẽ**	**jada**	**kʰad**	**ke**	**jʌrurʌt**	**ba**	
o	**mẽ**	**jada**	**kʰad**	**ke**	**jʌrurʌt**	**ba**	
3SG.DEM.DIST	LOC	excess	fertilizer	GEN	need	be.3SG.PRES	
pani	**ke**	**jʌrurʌt**	**ba**	***a***	**jada**	**se**	**jada**
pani	**ke**	**jʌrurʌt**	**ba**	***a***	**jada**	**se**	**jada**
water	GEN	need	be.3SG.PRES	*and*	excess	means	excess

bisadi	**ke**	**jʌrurʌt**	**ba**
bisadi	**ke**	**jʌrurʌt**	**ba**
pesticide	GEN	need	be.3SG.PRES

'If you use such seeds, then it needs more fertilizer, more irrigation and more pesticides.' (02.095)

The use of phrasal conjunctions can also be presented in (97a-b).

(97) a. राजा महेंद्र चउदगो अंचल आ पचहत्तरगो जिला बनवलें ।

rɑjɑ	**mʌɦendrʌ**	**cʌudʌgo**	**ʌncʌl**	**ɑ**	**pʌchʌttʌrgo**
rɑjɑ	**mʌɦendrʌ**	**cʌudʌ-go**	**ʌncʌl**	**ɑ**	**pʌchʌttʌr-go**
king	Mahendra	fourteen-CLF	zone	and	seventy-five-CLF

jilɑ	**bʌnɔlẽ**
jilɑ	**bʌn**
district	make

'King Mahendra constructed fourteen zones and seventy-five districts.' (01.052)

b. ओकरा के हमनी भोजपुरी में कहेम *चाहे* हिंद-आर्य भाषा में *चाहे* भारतीय आर्य भाषा में ।

okʌrɑ	**ke**	**ʌgʌr**	**ɦʌmni**	**bʱojpuri**	**mẽ**	**kʌɦem**
okʌrɑ	**ke**	**ʌgʌr**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**bʱojpuri**	**mẽ**	**kʌɦ-em**
3.SG.GEN	ACC	if	1SG.NOM-PL	Bhojpuri	LOC	say-FUT.H

cɑhe	**ɦind-ɑryʌ**	**bʱɑsɑ**	**mẽ**	***cɑhe***	**bʱɑrʌtie**	**ɑryʌ**	**bʱɑsɑ**
cɑhe	**ɦind-ɑryʌ**	**bʱɑsɑ**	**mẽ**	***cɑhe***	**bʱɑrʌtie**	**ɑryʌ**	**bʱɑsɑ**
or	Indo-Aryan	language	LOC	*or*	Indian	Aryan	language

mẽ
mẽ
LOC

'We can interpret it either in Bhojpuri or in any Indo-Aryan languages.' (03.102)

c) Subordinators

Clausal or phrasal subordinators are part of the grammatical morphology attached to particular embedded and/or subordinate clauses, discussed in detail in Chapter 12. However, some adverbial and relative clause subordinators in Bhojpuri are presented as in (98a-d).

(98) a. यदि /*yʌdi*/ or जदि /*jʌdi*/ 'if', जब /*jʌb*/ 'when', यद्यपि /*yʌdyʌpi*/ or जदपि /*jʌdʌpi*/ 'although' among others are the adverbial-clause subordinators.

b. जौन /*jɔn*/ 'who', जे /*je*/ 'that', जहाँ /*jʌɦɑ̃*/ 'where' among others are the relative-clause subordinators.

c. कि /*ki*/ 'that', खातिर /*kʰatir*/ 'to' or 'in order to', -ए के /*-e ke*/ 'to' among others are the verb-complement subordinators.

d. कब /*kʌb*/ 'when', जे /*je*/ 'that' among others are the noun-complement subordinators.

6.2.6 Quantifiers, numerals and ordinals

Quantifiers, numerals and ordinals are small classes of noun modifiers that code notions of quantity, extent, number or serial order and they all partake in the grammar of noun phrases discussed in Chapter 9. Besides that, numerals, ordinals, cardinals and fractions have already been described in preceding section as adjectives. Moreover, the prominent quantifiers in Bhojpuri are कुछ /*kuc*^{h}/ 'some or a few', सब /*sʌb*/ 'all', पूरा /*pura*/ 'whole', बहुत /*bʌɦut*/ 'many', तनिका /*tʌnika*/ 'little', अधिक /*ʌd̤ik*/ 'much or lots', मात्र /*matrʌ*/ 'only', इहाँ तक कि /*iɦã tʌk ki*/ 'even' and so on.

6.2.7 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are an early stage of the grammaticalization of verbs into tense-aspect-modal markers. Besides, they also act as copular verbs to express state/existence of nouns. They are discussed in Chapter 7.

6.2.8 Interjections

"Interjections are not, strictly speaking, part of the grammar, rather, high-frequency expressions, many of them old, short and condensed. Others, however, are longer and still analyzable into their component parts, and thus presumably of more recent vintage" (Givón, 2011:427). "They cover a broad range of functions, for either signalling epistemic notions such as an assent or disagreement with the interlocutor or tilting more towards the deontic, including interlocutor's past or future actions, or signalling surprise, incomprehension, query, uncertainty and social insecurity" (Givón 2001a:102). As displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:277-8), Maithili (Yadav 1996:268-71), Hindi (Koul 2008:162-4) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:124-8); some interjections in Bhojpuri; also exhibited in Ojha (Grierson 1883:29), Ojha (1915[1982]:25), Tiwari (1954:534-5 and 1960:203), Nirbhik (1975:85-6), Tripathy (1987:132), Shrivastava (1999:107-8), Thakur (2011:153), Sharma and Ashk (2011:46-7) and Singh (2013:108-9); are illustrated in (99).

(99) जी /*ji*/ 'yes', जी ना /*ji na*/ 'no', ओह /*oɦ*/ 'oh', बाह ! /*baɦ*/ 'wow', हँ ? /*ɦɜ̃*/ 'really?', आँएँ /*ãẽ*/ 'yea', ठीक /*ʈʰik*/ 'right', जानतानी ? /*jantani*/ 'y'know', कहत रनी ह /*kʌɦʌt rʌni ɦʌ*/ 'I see', अच्छा /*ʌccʰa*/ 'okay, well', अब /*ʌb*/ 'now' कौनो उपाय ना /*kɔno upay na*/ 'no way!' and so on.

Some of the particles in example (98) exhibit multiple functions on the basis on the discourse context or determined by their syntactic position. For example आँएँ /*ãẽ*/ 'yea' is generally used to respond somebody's call but if something happens against general conception, the same is used to express surprise raising a question by rising the tone.

But there are some more complex constructions from the functional domains of interjections in Bhojpuri, as in (100a-h).

(100) a. बाप रे बाप !

bɑp re bɑp

bɑp re bɑp

father O-NH father

'O my father!' (Exclamation of expressing pain)

b. हाय रे दादा !

ɦɑe re dɑdɑ

ɦɑe re dɑdɑ

hi O-NH grandfather

'O my Grand Pa!' (Exclamation of expressing terrible accident)

c. बाह् जी बाह् !

bɑɦ ji bɑɦ

bɑɦ ji bɑɦ

wow yea wow

'Wow! Excellent performance!'

d. ओर लगइलऽ !

or lʌgʌilʌ

or lʌg-ɑ-il-ʌ

end do-CAUS-PP-IMP.MH

'How a terrible end!'

e. खिँड़रिच देखले बाड़ऽ !

kʰĩɽric dekʰle bɑɽʌ

kʰiɽric dekʰ-le bɑɽʌ

wagtail see-SEQ be.2.PRES.MH

'Have you seen a wagtail?' (The exclamation of having good luck!)

f. एसो त उजरे उजरे !

eso	**tʌ**	**ujʌre**	**ujʌre**
eso	**tʌ**	**ujʌr-e**	**ujʌr-e**
this year	COND	white-EMPH	white-IMPH

'This year will completely be white!' (Weather forecast of heavy rain or famine.)

g. कामे ना आइल से उफरे परो !

kɑme	**nɑ**	**ɑil**	**se**	**upʰʌre**	**pʌro**
kɑm-e	**nɑ**	**ɑ-il**	**se**	**upʰʌr-e**	**pʌr-o**
use-CLT	NEG	come-3SG.PST	that	die of falling-EMPH	lie-OPT

'May s/he die who didn't help in need!'

h. ए जीनगी से मरले निमन !

e	**jingi**	**se**	**mʌrʌle**	**nimʌn**
e	**jingi**	**se**	**mʌr-ʌl-e**	**nimʌn**
PROX	life	than	die-PP-EMPH	good

'Death is better than this life!' (A pessimistic exclamation)

6.2.9 Clitics

In a number of languages, clitics, occurred as bound morphemes are generally treated as an acategorematic as they do not readily fit into a standard description of 'parts of speech' (Yadav 1991:123).

Zwicky and Pullum (1983:502-13) lists some criteria to differentiate clitics and inflectional affixes. Likewise Zwicky (1985:283-305) proposes some tests to distinguish clitics from particles. As displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (2013:161-6) and Maithili (Yadav 1991:123-32), clitics are examined in Bhojpuri on such parameters and tests as follows:

Bhojpuri displays clitics -ए /-*e*/, -ओ /-*o*/, -हे /-*ɦe*/, -हो /-*ɦo*/, -ही /-*ɦi*/ and -हू /-*ɦu*/ among which -ए /-*e*/ is multifunctional as it has been obtained from different sources under process of grammaticalization, including case marker postpositions such as instrumental case marker से /*se*/, locative case marker में /*mẽ*/ among others[7].

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003:7) a content item passes through the following stages under grammaticalization:

content item> grammatical word> clitic > inflectional affix

7. Thakur (2013) has examined -ए /-*e*/ as a multifunctional clitic in detail.

In Bhojpuri, -ए /-*e*/ has been obtained through such processes from different types of grammatical words:

(i) Adverb of place: भीतर /*bʱitʌr*/ > में /*mẽ*/ > ए /-*e*/ 'in' and ऊपर /*upʌr*/ > पर /*pʌr*/ > प /*pʌ*/ > पे /*pe*/ > ए /-*e*/ 'on'. In both the cases adverbs of place have been grammaticalized into locative case marker postpositions as well as into clitic/suffix used as shown in (101a-b).

(101) **Locative**

a. मने धाअ ।

mʌne	**dʰɑʌ**
mʌn-e	**dʰɑ-ʌ**
mind-LOC	remember-3SG.PRES

'Something is remembered mentally.' (Dāmodara 1953:8, 12th Century)

b. जीभें चाखऽ ।

jiḭ̃	**cɑkʰʌ**
jiḭ-e	**cɑkʰ-ʌ**
tongue-LOC	taste-3SG.PRES

'Something is tasted on tongue.' (Dāmodara 1953:6, 12th Century)

(ii) Interrogative pronoun: कौन /*kɔn*/ or के /*ke*/ > के /*ke*/ > ए /-*e*/ 'to'. In this stage the interrogative pronoun कौन /*kɔn*/ or के /*ke*/ 'who' is grammaticalized into an accusative/dative के /*ke*/ and it is further grammaticalized into clitic -ए /-*e*/ as a suffix, shown in (102a-b).

(102) **Accusative/dative**

a. हमे कह ।

ɦʌme	**kʌɦ**
ɦʌm-e	**kʌɦ**
1SG-DAT	say.IMP

'Tell me.'

b. तोहे पिटेम

toɦe	**piʈem**
tu-e	**piʈ-em**
2SG-ACC	beat-FUT.H

'I'll beat you.'

(iii) Instrumental case: द्वारा /*dwara*/ > से /*se*/ > -ए /*-e*/ 'by/with', as shown in (103).

(103) **Instrumental**

हाथें छुअ ।(७)

ɦɑtʰẽ	**cʰuʌ**
ɦɑtʰ-e	**cʰu-ʌ**
hand-INST	touch-3SG.PRES

'Something is touched by hand.' (Dāmodara 1953:6, 12th Century)

The rest of the clitics are used only for emphasis. In emphatic environments, -ए /*-e*/, -हे /*-ɦe*/ and -ही /*-ɦi*/ are exclusive as well as -ओ /*-o*/, -हो /*-ɦo*/ and -हू /*-ɦu*/ are inclusive. Diachronically, the exclusive emphatic एव /*ewʌ*/ 'only' in Sanskrit seems to have been grammaticalized into -ए /*-e*/ the inclusive emphatic अपि /*ʌpi*/ 'also' in Sanskrit seems to bave grammaticalized into -ओ /*-o*/. in Bhojpuri. The emphatic clitics in Bhojpuri has been discussed as follows:

a) The exclusive emphatic -ए /*-e*/

(104) a. रामे एसो पास करी ।

rɑme	**eso**	**pɑs**	**kʌri**
rɑm-e	**eso**	**pɑs**	**kʌr-i**
Rem-emph	this year	pass	do-3.FUT

'Only Ram will pass (the exam) this year.' (Thakur 2013:77)

b. रउए भात खाईं, हम ना खाएम ।

rʌue	**ɓɑt**	**kʰɑĩ**	**ɦʌm**	**nɑ**	**kʰɑem**
rʌuɑ-e	**ɓɑt**	**kʰɑ-ĩ**	**ɦʌm**	**nɑ**	**kʰɑ-em**
2SG.H-EMPH	boiled rice	eat-IMP.H	1SG.NOM	NEG	eat-FUT.H

'Please eat rice, I won't eat.' (13.047)

c. बाबुजी भुखले चल अइनी ।

bɑbuji	**ɓukʰle**	**cʌl**	**ʌini**
bɑbu-ji	**ɓukʰ-ʌl-e**	**cʌl**	**ɑ-ini**
father-H	hunger-INF-EMPH	walk	come-PST.H

'Father returned hungry.' (Thakur 2013:77)

d. तू नीचे बइठ ।

tu	**nice**	**bʌiʈʰ**

tu	**nicɑ-e**	**bʌiʈʰ**
2SG	downside-EMPH	sit.IMP

'Sit downside only.' (Thakur 2013:77)

In examples (104a-d), the exclusive emphatic clitic -ए /-*e*/ has been cliticized with a noun राम /*ram*/ 'Ram' in (104a), with a personal pronoun रउआ /*rʌua*/ 'you (H)' in (104b), with an adjective भुखल /*b̤ukʰʌl*/ 'hungry' in (104c) and with an adverb नीचा /*nica*/ 'downside' in (104d).

b) The exclusive emphatic -हे /-*ɦe*/

(105) a. तूहे अइहऽ, हम ना ।

tuɦe	**ʌiɦʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**nɑ**
tu-ɦe	**ɑ-i-ʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**nɑ**
2SG.NOM-EMPH	come-FUT-IMP.MH	1SG.NOM	NEG

'You will only come, not I.' (13.045)

b. नेपाली में उहे मादल हो गइल बा ।

nepɑli	**mẽ**	**uɦe**	**mɑdʌl**	**ɦo**	**gʌil**	**bɑ**
nepɑli	**mẽ**	**u-ɦe**	**mɑdʌl**	**ɦo**	**jɑ-il**	**bɑ**
Nepali	LOC	3SG.DEM.DIST-EMPH	Madal	be	go-PP	be.3SG.PRES

'The same has become Madal in Nepali.' (03.295)

Examples (105a-b) show that the exclusive emphatic clitic -हे /-*ɦe*/ is cliticized with a personal pronoun.

c) The exclusive emphatic -ही /-*ɦi*/

(106) a. हमही जाएम, ऊ ना जाई ।

ɦʌmɦi	**jɑem**	**u**	**nɑ**	**jɑi**
ɦʌm-ɦi	**jɑ-em**	**u**	**nɑ**	**jɑ-i**
1SG.NOM-EMPH	go-FUT.H	3SG.NOM	NEG	go-3SG.FUT

'I will only go, he won't go.' (13.046)

b. ... तुही खइह तीनगो ... ।

tuɦi	**kʰʌiɦʌ**	**tingo**
tu-ɦi	**kʰɑ-i-ʌ**	**tin-go**
2SG.NOM-EMPH	eat-FUT-IMP.MH	three-CLF

'… only you will eat the three ...' (11.025)

In examples (106a-b), clitic -ही /-*ɦi*/ is cliticized with personal prouns हम

/*ɦʌm*/ 'I' and तू /*tu*/ respectively.

d) The inclusive emphatic -ओ /*-o*/

(107) a. फुँकनिहारो गइल रहे पाँचे आदमी ।

pʰũknihaɾo	**gʌil**	**rʌɦe**	**pãce**	**admi**
pʰũknihaɾ-o	**jɑ-il**	**rʌɦ-e**	**pãc-e**	**admi**
funeral attendant-EMPH	go-PP	live-3.PST	five-EMPH	man

'The funeral attendants were also five only.' (11.026)

b. रउओ चलीं गाँवे ।

rʌuo	**cʌlĩ**	**gãwe**
rʌuɑ-o	**cʌl-ĩ**	**gão-e**
2SG.H-EMPH	walk-IMP.H	village-LOC

'Please (you also) come in the village.'

c. ई लउका त मीठो लागी ।

i	**lʌukɑ**	**tʌ**	**miʈʰo**	**lɑgi**
i	**lʌukɑ**	**tʌ**	**miʈʰ-o**	**lɑg-i**
PROX	pumpkin	COND	sweet-EMPH	taste-3.FUT

'This pumpkin will taste sweet also.'

d. हम त नीचो बइठेम ।

ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**nico**	**bʌiʈʰem**
ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**nicɑ-o**	**bʌiʈʰ-em**
1SG	COND	downside-EMPH	sit-FUT.H

'I will sit downside, too.'

Examples (106a-d) show that the inclusive emphatic clitic -ओ /*-o*/ has been cliticized with a noun फुँकनिहार /*phũknihar*/ 'funeral attendant' in (107a), with a personal pronoun रउआ /*rʌua*/ 'you (H) in (107b), with adjective मीठ /*miʈʰ*/ 'sweet' in (107c) and with an adverb नीचा /*nica*/ 'downside' in (107d).

e) The inclusive emphatic -हो /*-ɦo*/

(108) a. जो तुहो पंजाब ।

jo		**tuɦo**		**pʌnjɑb**
jɑ	**-o**	**tu**	**-ɦo**	**pʌnjɑb**
go	-IMP	2SG.NOM	-EMPH	Punjab

'Go to Punjab youself too.' (10.033)

b. उहो नेपालिए रहलें ।

uɦo	**nepɑlie**	**rʌɦlẽ**
u-ɦo	**nepɑl-i-e**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**
3SG.DIST.NOM-EMPH	Nepal-ADJ-EMPH	live-PP-PST.H

'He was also Nepali.' (04.078)

Examples (108a-b) show that the inclusive emphatic clitic -हो /-*ɦo*/ is cliticized with personal pronouns तू /*tu*/ 'you' and उ /*u*/ 'he' respectively.

f) The inclusive emphatic -हू /-*ɦu*/

(109) a. हमहू मानेम ।

ˌɦʌmɦu	**mɑnem**
ɦʌm-ɦu	**mɑn-em**
1SG.NOM-EMPH	realize-FUT.H

'I also admit.' (06.045)

b. तुहू चल घरे ।

tuɦu	**cʌlʌ**	**ɡ̈ʌre**
tu-ɦu	**cʌl-ʌ**	**ɡ̈ʌr-e**
2SG.NOM-EMPH	walk-IMP-MH	home-LOC

'Please (you also) go home.'

c. घरहू जाएके बा ।

ɡ̈ʌrɦu	**jɑeke**	**bɑ**
ɡ̈ʌr-ɦu	**jɑ-e-ke**	**bɑ**
home-EMPH	go-PUR-PUR	3SG.PRES

'It is essential to go home, too.'

Examples (109a-c) show that the inclusive emphatic clitic -हू /-*ɦu*/ is cliticized with personal pronouns and nouns respectively.

As already discussed, the clitics are cliticized with all word classes in Bhojpuri.

6.2.10 Particles

The particle is considered as an ever-present impression in syntax. It is peculiar in terms of semantics and distributions in contrast to those established in word classes. Thus 'particle' is a cover term for items that do not fit easily into syntactic and semantic generalizations about the language and it covers any indeclinable, or uninflectable, item; its use is particularly common for languages, like

Sanskrit, in which most words have inflected forms (Zwicky 1985:290). It often remains vague, since many linguists define particles according to a 'leftover principle' as short functional words, which are neither conjunctions, nor prepositions, nor auxiliaries etc (Zimmerling 2008).

As exhibited in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:266-8), Maithili (Yadav 1996:272-80), Hindi (Koul 2008:137-59) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:118-24); Bhojpuri particles might be classified in terms of emphatic markers, discourse markers, vocative, modal particles and dubitative particles according to Zwicky (1985) and Zimmerling (2008). Particles have also traditionally been treated as निपात /*nipat*/ as observed earlier in Bhojpuri (Sharma and Ashk 2007:52, Singh 2009:151-3 and 2013:122 and Thakur 2011:174). They have been discussed as follows:

a) Emphatic ही /*ɦi*/ and भी /*ɓ̤i*/

As emphatic clitics have already discussed, Hindi borrowings ही /*ɦi*/ and भी /*ɓ̤i*/ are exclusive and inclusive emphatic marker particles respectively in Bhojpuri, as shown in (110a-b).

(110) a. खाली प्रशंसा ही प्रशंसा रहे ।

kʰɑli	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**ɦi**	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**rʌɦe**
kʰɑli	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**ɦi**	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**rʌɦ-e**
only	praise	EMPH	praise	live-3.PST

'There were only admirations of him.' (04.091)

b. पैसा के भी अभाव रहे ।

pʌisɑ	**ke**	**ɓ̤i**	**ʌɓ̤ɑo**	**rʌɦe**
pʌisɑ	**ke**	**ɓ̤i**	**ʌɓ̤ɑo**	**rʌɦ-e**
money	GEN	also	scarcity	live-3.PST

'There was lack of money too.' (04.122)

b) Discourse markers

i. The particles जी /*ji*/, हँ /*ɦɐ̃*/, होई /*ɦoi*/

Bhojpuri has discours marker particle जी /*ji*/, हँ /*ɦɐ̃*/ and होई /*ɦoi*/ for acceptance of some proposals of the addressee. Among them, जी /*ji*/ expresses full honorificity and the others are neutral in honorificity, as show in (111a-c).

(111) a. जी जी, बहुत धन्यवाद ! ढुनराजजी ।

ji	**ji**	**bʌɦut**	**ɖ̤ʌnyʌbɑd**	**ɖ̈unrɑjji**	

ji ji bʌɦut ḍ̣ʌnyʌbɑd ḍ̈unrɑj-ji

yea yea more thank Dhunraj-H

'Yea, thank you a lot, Dhunrajji.' (03.014)

b. हँ हँ, एकदम ।

ɦɪ̃ ɦɪ̃ ekdʌm

ɦɪ̃ ɦɪ̃ ekdʌm

yea yea excessively

'Yea, of course.' (03.326)

c. होई, बिहने घरे आएम ।

ɦoi biɦʌne ɡ̈ʌre ɑem

ɦoi biɦɑn-e ɡ̈ʌr-e ɑ-em

yea tomorrow-EMPH home-LOC come-FUT.H

'Yea, I'll come home tomorrow.'

ii. The particles मत /*mʌt*/, जन /*jʌn*/, ना /*na*/

Bhojpuri has negative discourse particles मत /*mʌt*/, जन /*jʌn*/ and ना /*na*/. Initially मत /*mʌt*/ 'opinion' and जन /*jʌn*/ 'people' have been grammaticalized from noun, their Sanskrit origin in a group of the NIA languages Bhojpuri belongs to. Hence, मत /*mʌt*/ is used in imperative, जन /*jʌn*/ in optative and ना /*nʌ*/ is used in almost all environments, as shown in (112a-c).

(112) a. अब केकरो के गारी मत दे ।

ʌb kekro ke gɑri mʌt de

ʌb kekʌr-o ke gɑri mʌt de

now whose-EMPH ACC abuse NEG give

'Don't abuse anyone now onwards.' (09.142)

b. अब हमरा के जन केहू मारो ।

ʌb ɦʌmrɑ ke jʌn kɛɦu mɑro

ʌb ɦʌm-rɑ ke jʌn kɛɦu mɑr-o

now 1.SG-POSS ACC NEG anybody kill/beat-OPT

'Let nobody kill/beat me now.'

c. ना, ई काम हम ना करेम ।

nɑ i kɑm ɦʌm nɑ kʌrem

nɑ	**i**	**kɑm**	**ɦʌm**	**nɑ**	**kʌr-em**
NEG	PROX	work	1SG.NOM	NEG	do-FUT.H

'No, I won't do this.'

But ना /*na*/ is also grammaticalized to function as emphatic affirmative particle in Bhojpuri, as shown in (113a-c).

(113) a. बेंच ना द ।

bẽc	**nɑ**	**dʌ**
bẽc	**nɑ**	**dʌ**
sell	EMPH	give.IMP.MH

'Rather sell it.' (10.061)

b. त खोइँछा रोक ना, ओही में गिरा देतानी ।

tʌ	**kʰoĩcʰɑ**	**rok**	**nɑ**	**oɦi**	**mẽ**	**girɑ**
tʌ	**kʰoĩcʰɑ**	**rok**	**nɑ**	**oɦ-i**	**mẽ**	**gir-ɑ**
COND	Anchal	stretch	EMPH	3SG.DIST-EMPH	LOC	fall-CAUS

detɑni	
de-ʌt	**bɑni**
give-SIM	be.PRES.H

'Then flatten your Anchal, I'll let it fall in.' (05.013)

c. कुछियो कुछियो इहे ना त ह ?

kucʰio	**kucʰio**	**iɦe**	**nɑ**	
kucʰ-i-o	**kucʰ-i-o**	**i-ɦe**	**nɑ**	
something-EMPH-EMPH	something-EMPH-EMPH	this-EMPH	EMPH	
tʌ	**ɦʌ**			
tʌ	**ɦʌ**			
COND	be.3SG.PRES			

'Is this the only something?' (10.057)

In examples (113a-c), ना /*na*/ is pragmatically used as affirmative particle in (113a) and as emphatic particle in (113b-c).

iii.The particle फेन /*pʰen*/ or फेर /*pʰer*/

Bhojpuri has use of फेन /*pʰen*/ and फेर /*pʰer*/ 'again' as reccurring discourse particle. They have also been grammaticalized from noun and adjective respectively

in Bhojpuri as फेन /*pʰen*/ 'foam' and फेर /*pʰer*/ 'lengthy due to different bends'. They bave been exemplified as particles in (114a-b).

(114) a. फेन जाड़ आई ।

pʰen jaɽ ɑi

pʰen jaɽ ɑ-i

again winter come-3SG.FUT

'The winter will come again.'

b. अगिला मङर के फेर भेंट होई ।

ʌgilɑ mʌŋʌr ke pʰer b̤ẽʈ ɦoi

ʌgilɑ mʌŋʌr ke pʰer b̤ẽʈ ɦo-i

next Tuesday ACC again meet be-3SG.FUT

'We'll meet again on next Tuesday.' (03.432)

c) Vocatives ओ /*o*/, हो /*ɦo*/, ऐ /*ɛ*/, आरे /*are*/, रे /*re*/, गे /*ge*/

Bhojpuri has vocative particles ओ /*o*/, हो /*ɦo*/, ऐ /*ɛ*/, आरे /*are*/, रे /*re*/ and गे /*ge*/ among which ओ /*o*/ is full honorific, हो /*ɦo*/ is mid-honorific, ऐ /*ɛ*/, आरे /*are*/ and रे /*re*/ are non-honorific and गे /*ge*/ is used for close female addressee irrespective of honorificity, as shown in (115a-f).

(115) a. ओ कुटुम, खाए चलीं ।

o kuʈum kʰɑe cʌlĩ

o kutum kʰɑ-e cʌl-ĩ

VOC.H guests eat-PUR walk-IMP.H

'O guests! Let's go to have meal.'

b. काहे खड़ा बाड़ऽ हो भाई ?

kɑɦe kʰʌɽɑ bʌɽʌ ɦo b̤ai

kɑɦe kʰʌɽɑ bʌɽ-ʌ ɦo b̤ai

why stand big-IMP.MH VOC.MH brother

'O my brother! Why are you standing there?' (10.049)

c. ऐ राजु, घरे जो ।

ɛ raju ɡ̈ʌre jo

ɛ raju ɡ̈ʌr-e jɑ-o

VOC Raju home-LOC go-IMP

'O Raju! Go home.'

d. आरे मोर बबुआ, अइसन मत करऽ।

ɑre	**mor**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ʌisʌn**	**mʌt**	**kʌrʌ**
ɑre	**mor**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ʌisʌn**	**mʌt**	**kʌr-ʌ**
VOC	1SG.GEN	boy	like this	NEG	do-IMP.MH

'O my boy! Don't do like this.'

e. ना रे बबुआ, भुइआँइन हो जाई।'

nɑ	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ɓuiãin**		**ɦo**	**jɑi**	
nɑ	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ɓuiã**	**-in**	**ɦo**	**jɑ**	**-i**
NEG	VOC.NH	boy	ground	-ADJ	be	go	-FUT

'No! My child, it will be contaminated with ground.' (05.012)

f. गे बुढ़िआ दाई, पिठिआ भुइआँ में गिरा दीँ ?

ge	**buɽ̊ia**	**dai**	**piʈʈʰia**	**ɓuiã**	**mẽ**
ge	**buɽ̊ia**	**dai**	**piʈʈʰi-ɑ**	**ɓuiã**	**mẽ**
VOC.F	old woman	grandma	cake-SPEC	ground	LOC

girɑ	**dĩ**
gir-ɑ	**dĩ**
fall-CAUS	give.FUT.H

'O my Grandma! Can I let the cake fall on the ground?' (05.011)

d) Modal particles जे /*je*/

Bhojpuri displays modal function of the particle जे /*je*/ that occurs generally following the main verb in a clause. It expresses negativity in a satirical way, as swon in (116a-b).

(116) a. राउर कहल मान जे गइनी !

rɑur	**kʌɦʌl**	**mɑn**	**je**	**gʌini**
rɑur	**kʌɦ-ʌl**	**mɑn**	**je**	**jɑ-ini**
2SG.GEN	say-INF	accept	MOD	go-PST.H

'Do you think I accepted your advice?'

b. चलिए देनी जे !

cʌlie	**deni**	**je**
cʌl-i-e	**de-ni**	**je**
walk-PST-EMPH	give-PST.H	MOD

'Do you think I left here?'

e) Plural सन /*sʌn*/, स /*sʌ*/, जा /*ja*/

Bhojpuri has both suffixal and postpositional plural markers, already discussed with characteristics of nouns in this chapter. Among them, सब /*sʌb*/ 'all', लोग /*log*/ 'people' and जा /*ja*/ are themselves pronoun, noun and verb respectively. But under the process of grammaticalization[8], they have become plural marker particles. Besides, सन /*sʌn*/ and स /*sʌ*/ have been derived from सब /*sʌb*/ and placed as plural marker particles in Bhojpuri. They have clause-final position in general, as shown in (117a-c).

(117) a. छितराइल बाड़ऽ सन ।

cʰitʌrail	**baɽʌ**	**sʌn**
cʰitʌra-il	**baɽʌ**	**sʌn**
scatter-PP	be.2/3.PRES	PL

'They are all scattered.' (04.231)

b. दुनू भाई खुब खुश भइलन स ।

dunu	**ḅai**	**kʰub**	**kʰus**	**ḅʌilʌn**	**sʌ**
du-nu	**ḅai**	**kʰub**	**kʰus**	**ḅʌ-ilʌn**	**sʌ**
two-EMPH	brother	highly	happy	become-3.PST.MH	PL

'Both the brothers became overjoyed.' (10.044)

c. खाके चलनी जा ।

kʰɑke	**cʌlni**	**jɑ**
kʰɑ-ke	**cʌl-ni**	**jɑ**
eat-SEQ	walk-PST.H	PL

'We moved after meal.'

f) Dubitatives

The dubitative modality codes the speaker's doubts about the truth of the whole proposition, (Frajzyngier 2016:266-7). The dubitative mood not only marks doubt about the truth value of a proposition but also about the identity of an argument within a proposition (Whitehead 2004:18). Bhojpuri has dubitative modality marked by the particle कि /*ki*/, कानू /*kanu*/, हँनू /*ɦɐ̃nu*/ and कादो /*kado*/ occurred generally at clause-final position. Hence, कादो /*kado*/ 'mud' has been grammaticalized to be dubitative particle in Bhojpuri. Such dubitatives are shown in (118a-d).

8. Hopper and Traugott (2017: xiii) defines grammaticalization as the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functi ons and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions.

(118) a. कार्यकारी पद में आ जाई कि ?

kɑryʌkɑri	**pʌd**	**mẽ**	**ɑ**	**jɑi**	**ki**
kɑryʌkɑri	**pʌd**	**mẽ**	**ɑ**	**jɑ-i**	**ki**
executive	post	LOC	come	go-3SG.FUT	DUB

'Will they grab any executional post?' (01.079)

b. मेघवा बरसी कानू ?

meg̈wɑ	**bʌrsi**	**kɑnu**
meg̈-wɑ	**bʌrʌs-i**	**kɑnu**
cloud-DEF	fall-3.FUT	DUB

'Perhaps it rains.'

c. मङरु खेते जाई, हँनू ?

mʌŋʌru	**kʰete**	**jɑi**	**ɦɑ̃nu**
mʌŋʌru	**kʰet-e**	**jɑ-i**	**ɦɑ̃nu**
Mangaru	farm-LOC	go-3.FUT	DUB

'Mangaru will go to farm, won't he?'

d. बसवा छूट गइल कादो !

bʌswɑ	**cʰuʈ**	**gʌil**	**kɑdo**
bʌs-wɑ	**cʰuʈ**	**jɑ-il**	**kɑdo**
bus-DEF	miss	go-3.PST	DUB

'Perhaps the bus was missed.'

6.3 Summary

We discussed the properties of the word classes (lexicons) in Bhojpuri in this chapter. Syntactically, Bhojpuri nouns function as the subject, direct object, indirect object, nominal predicate, possessive noun modifier, complement and locative noun phrase position.

Bhojpuri nouns are generally inflected in terms of number, gender, classifiers and the case role of the referent. Bhojpuri employs only two classifiers: जने /*jʌne*/ or जना /*jʌna*/ as a separate word for human noun and -गो /*-go*/ for non-human countable nouns. There is three-way distinction in pronominal agreement in Bhojpuri: first, second and third persons. Plurality in Bhojpuri nominals is indicated by the suffix -अन /*-ʌn*/ or -वन /*-wʌn*/ as a suffix and सब /*sʌb*/ and लोग /*log*/ and as a separate word. Like its number system, Bhojpuri nouns are expressed in two genders: masculine and

feminine but their grammatical expressions in finite verbs fade eastwards. Bhojpuri has two types of adjectives: basic and derived. The derived adjectives are formed from nouns and verbs. The perfective forms of all verbs are eligible to be used as adjectives. Bhojpuri adjectives may be classified in terms of size, colour, age, value, physical property and human propensity. Syntactically, they may function like verbs as the head of an intransitive predicate or they may modify a noun which is the head of an NP. The verb normally occurs clause-finally and functions as the main predicate of the clause. The verb registers three person and two numbers (in first, second and third personal pronouns) combined with a complex system of tense, aspect and modality. The verbal nouns in Bhojpuri are obtained by the roots as well as by different types of suffixations. Adverbs in Bhojpuri are broadly categorized, in terms of manner, instrumental, time, place and modifying adjectives. Nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs in Bhojpuri are highly derivational among each other. Minor word classes include postpositions, determiners, pronouns (independent and possessive), inter-clausal connectives (participial suffixes, conjunctions and subordinators), quantifiers, numerals and ordinals, auxiliary verbs and interjections, clitics and particles.

CHAPTER 7

SIMPLE VERBAL CLAUSES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the different types of simple clauses in Bhojpuri. Section 7.1 introduces nonverbal or nominal clauses with presence of copula. In the section 7.2, verbal clauses are introduced with sub-classification of verbs based on argument structure and transitivity. We summarise findings of the chapter in section 7.3.

7.1 Nonverbal or nominal clauses

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:307), Maithili (Yadav 2014:32), Hindi (Koul 2008:207) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:319) display, a nominal predication typically occurs with the particular copular form. A question of phrasal identity primarily falls under such type of construction. Whether it is another noun phrase, an adjective phrase or a locative expression, it represents such permanent or temporary state. Moreover, it is also related to the semantic distinction between equation or identification, property and location, as well as to tense.

Table 7.1 shows a very clear tendency for the different phrase categories – and the semantic relationships coded by them – to be mapped systematically to certain copular forms and expressions. Besides, it does not take every single instance into account.

Table 7.1: Distribution of standard copular forms and expressions

	NP – NP (Equation/Identification)	NP – AP (Property)	NP– Loc (Location)
Present	ह /*ɦʌ*/ or बा /*ba*/ 'be' and नइख /*nʌikʰ*/ 'be.NEG.PRES'		
Past	रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' (literally), 'be' (semantically)		

The standard affirmative copula in present tense is होख /*ɦokʰ*/ or बाट /*baʈ*/ 'be', also displayed in Grierson (1884a:41), Tiwari (1960:xxxvii), Nirbhik (1975:79), Shrivastava (1999:82) and Thakur (2011:88). Diachronically, होख /*ɦokʰ*/ and बाट /*baʈ*/ have been derived from Sanskrit verb roots अस् /ʌs/ and वृत् /*vrit*/ in process of grammaticalization and both have further been shortened to ह /*ɦʌ*/ and बा /*ba*/ respectively in the same process. Likewise, नइख /*nʌikʰ*/ 'be.NEG.PRES' is the copula for negation primarily found in Bhojpuri, used with some inflections only in present tense. Likewise, रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live/stay' is used in general with some inflections for past tense of 'be'. Sanskrit रक्ष /*rʌkcʰ*/ 'preserve/keep' has been grammaticalized into रह /*rʌɦ*/

'stay/live' (Montaut 2017:125) to function as passive in a group of the NIA languages Bhojpuri belongs to. Besides, it has further been grammaticalized as a finite verb or infinitive for certain aspects in Bhojpuri, already expalained in Chapter 10 in detail.

7.1.1 Copular clauses with nominal predicates

Predicate noun phrases occur with an overt copula in Bhojpuri as presented in (1a-c).

(1) a. ... ... ऊ राजु ह ।

[u]$_{SBJ}$ **[rɑju]**$_{PRD}$ **ɦʌ**

3SG.NOM Raju be.3SG.PRES

'… … He is Raju.' (07.016)

b. ओकर आबा शिक्षक बानी ।

[okʌr abɑ]$_{SBJ}$ **[sikcʰʌk]**$_{PRD}$ **bɑni**

3SG.GEN.NH father teacher be.PRES.H

'His father is a teacher.' (09.095)

c. आम मौसमी फल ह ।

ɑm mɔsmi pʰʌl ɦʌ

[ɑm]$_{SBJ}$ **[mɔsʌm-i pʰʌl]**$_{PRD}$ **ɦʌ**

mango season-ADJ fruit be.3SG.PRES

'The mango is a seasonal fruit.' (09.203)

The unmarked word order is SBJ-PRD in such clauses as shown in (1a-c). But a reverse word order is also possible with such type of clauses for focus and other discourse purposes as shown in (2a-c).

(2) a. हमर घर ई ह ।

[ɦʌmʌr ɡ̈ʌr]$_{PRD}$ **[i]**$_{SBJ}$ **ɦʌ**

1SG.GEN house 3SG.PROX be.3SG.PRES

'My house is this.' (07.002)

b. ई घर हमर ह ।

[i ɡ̈ʌr]$_{PRD}$ **[ɦʌmʌr]**$_{SBJ}$ **ɦʌ**

3SG.DEM. PROX house 1SG.GEN be.3SG.PRES

'This house is mine.' (09.114)

c. रामदेव उनकर नाम रहे आ अलमस्त उनकर उपाधि रहे ।

rɑmdeo unkʌr nɑm rʌɦe ɑ ʌlmʌst

[ɾɑmdeo] PRD	**[unkʌr**	**nɑm]** SBJ	**ɾʌɦ-e**	**ɑ**	**[ʌlmʌst]** PRD
Ramdeo	3.SG.POSS.H	name	live-3.PST.M	and	Almast

unkʌr	**upɑḍ̤i**	**ɾʌɦe**
[unkʌr	**upɑḍ̤i]** SBJ	**ɾʌɦ-e**
3SG.POSS.H	title	live-3.PST

'Ramdev was his name and Almast was his title.' (04.056)

Likewise, copula is unmarked in final position of a clause. But it is found otherwise in clauses for focus and other purposes too, as shown in (3a-c).

(3) a. ... ... हम बानी ढूनराज ।

[ɦʌm]SBJ	**bɑni**	**[ɖ̤unɾɑj]**PRD
1SG.NOM	be.PRES.H	Dhunraj

'I am Dhunraj. … …' (03.002)

b. ओकर नाँव रहे ‘भोजपुरी कहानियाँ’ ।

okʌr	**não**	**ɾʌɦe**	**ḅ̤ojpuri**	**kʌɦɑniyã**
[okʌr	**não]**SBJ	**ɾʌɦ-e**	**[ḅ̤ojpuri**	**kʌɦɑni-yã]**PRD
3SG.GEN.NH	name	live-3.PST	Bhojpuri	story-PL

'Its name was 'Bhojpuri Stories'.' (04.108)

c. उनकर नाँव रहे रामदेव अलमस्त ।

unkʌr	**não**	**ɾʌɦe**	**ɾɑmdeo**	**ʌlmʌst**
[unkʌr	**não]**SBJ	**ɾʌɦ-e**	**[ɾɑmdeo**	**ʌlmʌst]**PRD
3.SG.POSS	name	live-3.PST	Ramdeo	Almast

'His name was Ramdev Almast.' (04.055)

Besides, clauses with discontinuous predicate are also available in Bhojpuri as shown in (4a-b).

(4) a. दोसरा भाषा से ऊ केतना नजदीक बा ?

dosʌɾɑ	**ḅ̤ɑsɑ**	**se**	**u**	**ketnɑ**	**nʌjdik**
[dosʌr-ɑ	**ḅ̤ɑsɑ**	**se]**PRD	**[u]**SBJ	**[ketnɑ**	**nʌjdik]**PRD
another-DEF	language	with	3SG.DEM.DIST	how much	close

bɑ
bɑ
be.3SG.PRES

'How much is it nearer to other language?' (03.112)

b. ई पौराणिक विश्वास बा लोग के ।

i	**pɔranik**	**biswas**	**ba**	**log**
[i]$_{SBJ}$	**[puran-ik**	**biswas]**$_{PRD}$	**ba**	**[log**
3SG.DEM.PROX	mythology-ADJ	trust	be.3SG.PRES	people

ke

ke]$_{PRD}$

GEN

'This is the mythological public belief … …' (07.033)

The presence of copula as already presented, however, is not the absolute in Bhojpuri. There is availability of copula-less clauses that reflects a pattern for languages that allow so-called copula dropping (Pustet, 2003:34; Givón 2001a:120) as well as other Indo-Aryan or neighbouring languages where copula-less sentences are allowed or normative (Masica 1991:339; Baart 1999:121). But such copula dropping in Bhojpuri is found in present tense only, as presented in (5a-c).

(5) a. साँच बात में आँच का ?

[sãc	**bat**	**mẽ**	**ãc]**$_{PRD}$	**[ka]**$_{SBJ}$
truth	saying	LOC	obstacle	what

'What is obstacle in true statement?' (09.287)

b. काजर से आँख भारी ?

kajʌr	**se**	**ãk^{h}**	**ḅari**
[kajʌr	**se]**$_{PRD}$	**[ãk^{h}]**$_{SBJ}$	**[ḅar-i]**$_{PRD}$
kajal	with	eye	load-ADJ

'Can eyes be loaded with kajal?' (09.297)

c. जेकर उदय सेकर अस्त ।

[jekʌr]$_{SBJ}$	**[udʌy]**$_{PRD}$	**[sekʌr]**$_{SBJ}$	**[ʌst]**$_{PRD}$
3SG.GEN.COND	rise	3SG.GEN.COND	fall

'The one who rises falls too.' (09.367)

A special type of subjectless copular clauses is also available in Bhojpuri. Such expressions often occur at opening of a story, as shown in (6a-b).

(6) a. कवनों देश में एगो गाँव रहे ।

kɔno	**des**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**gão**	**rʌɦe**
[kɔno	**des**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**gão]**$_{PRD}$	**rʌɦ-e**
some	country	LOC	one-CLF	village	live-3.PST

'Once upon a time there was a village in a country.' (10.001)

b. कवनो गाँव में एगो बुढ़िआ रहली ।

kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**buɽ̆ia**	**rʌɦili**
[kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**buɽ̆ia]**$_{PRD}$	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
some	village	LOC	one-CLF	old woman	live-3SG.PST-F.H

'There was an old woman in a village.' (07.001)

Moreover, there are some subjectless copular clauses to occur in between a discourse too, as shown in (7a-c).

(7) a. भंडारन के समस्या बा ।

[bʱʌnɖɑrʌn	**ke**	**sʌmʌsyɑ]**$_{PRD}$	**bɑ**
storage	GEN	problem	be.3SG.PRES

'There is problem of storage.' (02.117)

b. ए बात में कवनो दम नइखे ।

e	**bɑt**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**	**dʌm**	**nʌikʰe**
[e	**bɑt**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**	**dʌm]**$_{PRD}$	**nʌikʰ-e**
PROX	matter	LOC	any	weight	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'There is no weightage of this sort of gossip.' (01.066)

c. ... ... अंग्रेजी में एगो शब्द बा टाइपॉलॉजी ।

ʌŋreji	**mẽ**	**ego**	**sʌbd**	**bɑ**	**ʈaipɔlɔji**
[ʌŋreji	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**sʌbd]**$_{PRD}$	**bɑ**	**[ʈaipɔlɔji]**$_{PRD}$
English	LOC	one-CLF	word	be.3SG.PRES	typology

'… … there is a terminology in English, Typology.' (03.101)

Moreover, हो जा /*ɦo ja-*/ (agreeing in person, number and gender with the subject NP as well as with tense) of the standard copula is simply present in ongoing discourse, as shown in (8a-b).

(8) a. बरखा में सड़क पर पाँक हो जाला ।

bʌrkʰɑ	**mẽ**	**sʌɽʌk**	**pʌr**	**pɑ̃k**	**ɦo**	**jɑlɑ**
[bʌrkʰɑ	**mẽ**	**sʌɽʌk**	**pʌr**	**pɑ̃k]**$_{PRD}$	**ɦo**	**jɑ-lɑ**
rain	LOC	road	LOC	mud	be	go-3SG.PRES

'There is mud on the road during rainy season.' (09.475)

b. ... ... आवाद जगह जङ्गल हो जाला ।

ɑwɑd	**jʌgʌɦ**	**jʌŋʌl**	**ɦo**	**jɑlɑ**

[ɑwɑd jʌgʌɦ]$_{SBJ}$ **[jʌŋʌl]**$_{PRD}$ **ɦo ja-lɑ**

fruitful place jungle be go-3SG.PRES

'… … A piece of cultivated land turns into jungle.' (04.082)

7.1.2 Copular clauses with adjectival predicates

The clauses with a predicate adjective phrase occur with a copula almost identical with that of a predicate noun phrase in Bhojpuri, as shown in (9a-c).

(9) a. ... ... ऊ सराहनीय बा।

[u]$_{SBJ}$ **[sʌrɑɦnie]**$_{PRD}$ **bɑ**

3SG.DEM.DIST praiseworthy be.3SG.PRES

'… … that is praiseworthy.' (03.324)

b. अनेक तरह के लोक कथा सब भोजपुरी में प्रचलित बा।

ʌnek tʌrʌɦ ke lok kʌtʰɑ sʌb ɓojpuri mẽ

[ʌnek tʌrʌɦ ke lok kʌtʰɑ sʌb]$_{SBJ}$ **[ɓojpuri mẽ**

many kind GEN folk story PL Bhojpuri LOC

prʌcʌlit bɑ

prʌcʌlʌn-it]$_{PRD}$ **bɑ**

use-ADJ be.3SG.PRES

'Many kinds of folk-tales are popular in Bhojpuri.' (03.252)

c. खएर से ओठ लाल हो जाला।

kʰʌer se oʈʰ lɑl ɦo jɑlɑ

[kʰʌer se]$_{PRD}$ **[oʈʰ]**$_{SBJ}$ **[lɑl]**$_{PRD}$ **ɦo ja-lɑ**

catechu with lip red be go-3SG.PRES

'The lips turn red chewing catechu.' (09.504)

'… … within twenty or forty miles, the form turns into a different one.' (04.187)

As shown in (9a-c), the adjectival predicates somehow modify the subject noun phrase in the clause.

7.1.3 Copular clauses with locative expressions

There is overt copula in clauses with a predicate locative phrase, as shown in (10a-c).

(10) a. ... ... तोरा खेतवा में आधा हमार बा ... ...।

torɑ kʰetwɑ mẽ ɑɖ̣ɑ ɦʌmɑr bɑ

[torɑ kʰet-wɑ mẽ ɑɖ̣ɑ ɦʌmɑr]$_{PRD}$ **bɑ**

2SG.GEN farm-DEF LOC half 1SG.GEN be.3SG.PRES

'… … half of your farm is mine … …' (02.038)

b. एक जघे नइखे ।

ek **jʌgʰe** **nʌikʰe**

[ek **jʌgʌɦ-e]**$_{PRD}$ **nʌikʰ-e**

one place-LOC be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'They are not together.' (01.039)

c. घरे बुढ़िआ के एगो बेटी रहे ।

ɡ̈ʌre **buɽ̊ia** **ke** **ego** **beʈi** **rʌɦe**

[ɡ̈ʌr-e **buɽ̊ia** **ke** **ek-go** **beʈi]**$_{PRD}$ **rʌɦ-e**

house-LOC old woman GEN one-CLF daughter live-3.PST

'The old woman had a daughter at home.' (07.041)

7.1.4 Other copular or copula-like expressions

a) Existentials

The existentials function to specify the location of a known entity but to assert the existence of some previously unintroduced entity, though it seems to be similar to copular clauses with a locative expression.

It is so that the subjects of existential clauses are indefinite while the subjects of local copular clauses are definite to a greater extent. Besides, clear location is not essential in existential expressions, as shown in (11a-c).

(11) a. बाँकिर परिवार के सभे लोग बागड़े रहे ।

bãkir **pʌriwar** **ke** **sʌb̤e** **log** **baɡʌɽ̤e**

bãkir **[pʌriwar** **ke** **sʌb̤-e** **log]**$_{SBJ}$ **[baɡʌɽ̤-e]**$_{PRD}$

but family GEN all-EMPH PL deaf and dumb-EMPH

rʌɦe

rʌɦ-e

live-3.PST

'But all the family members were deaf and dumb.' (10.005)

b. निश्चित रूप से भोजपुरी हमर माई के भाषा ह ।

niscit **rup** **se** **[b̤ojpuri]**$_{SBJ}$ **[ɦʌmʌr** **mai** **ke** **b̤asa]**$_{PRD}$

certain form with Bhojpuri 1SG.GEN mother GEN language

ɦʌ

be.3SG.PRES

'Certainly, Bhojpuri is my mother tongue.' (03.035)

c. नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान रहे ओह बेरा ।

nepɑl	**rɑjkie**	**prʌgyɑ-prʌtisʈʰɑn**	**rʌɦe**	**oɦ**	**berɑ**
nepɑl	**rɑjkie**	**prʌgyɑ-prʌtisʈʰɑn]$_{PRD}$**	**rʌɦ-e**	**oɦ**	**berɑ**
Nepal	royal	academy	live-.PST.NH	3SG.DIST	time

'There was Royal Nepal Academy at that time.' (03.074)

There are also some existential expressions where there is no overt location at all, as shown in (12a-b).

(12) a. केहू बा ? सामने होखऽ ।

kɛɦu	**bɑ**	**sɑmne**	**ɦokʰʌ**
kɛɦu	**bɑ**	**sɑmne**	**ɦokʰ-ʌ**
anyone	be.3SG.PRES	front	be.PRES-IMP.MH

'Is there anyone? Please be in front.' (12:001-002)

b. ओकरा बाद नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान रहे ओह् बेरा ।

okʌrɑ	**bɑd**	**nepɑl**	**rɑjkie**	**prʌgyɑ-prʌtisʈʰɑn**	**rʌɦe**
okʌrɑ	**bɑd**	**nepɑl**	**rɑjkie**	**prʌgyɑ-prʌtisʈʰɑn**	**rʌɦ-e**
3.SG.GEN	later	Nepal	royal	academy	live-3.PST

oɦ	**berɑ**
oɦ	**berɑ**
3SG.DIST	time

'There was Royal Nepal Academy at that time.' (03.074)

The intransitive verb पड़ /*pʌɽ*/ 'lie' is also analysed as having a function similar to रह् /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' for existential, such as in (13).

(13) एक साल आकाल पड़ल ।

ek	**sɑl**	**ɑkɑl**	**pʌɽʌl**
ek	**sɑl**	**ɑkɑl**	**pʌɽ-ʌl**
one	year	famine	fall-3SG.PST

'There happened famines in a year.' (13.026)

b) Possessives

Though almost similar to the existential ones in structure, the possessive constructions are identified with either as a genitive NP with -अर /-*ʌr*/ or -आर /-*ar*/ inflectional morphemes with personal pronouns or as a postpositional phrase with के /*ke*/ 'of' or apostrophe s ('s) but राउर /*raur*/ 'your' is a typical Bhojpuri entity in second person singular genitive with honorificity, as shown in (14a-c).

(14) a. हमार लेख बहुत बाड़ऽ।

ɦʌmɑr	**lekʰ**	**bʌɦut**	**bɑɽʌ**
ɦʌm-ɑr	**lekʰ**	**bʌɦut**	**bɑɽʌ**
1SG-GEN	article	more	be.2/3.PRES

'There are many articles of mine.' (04.230)

b. ... ... राउर जिज्ञासा बा ... ...।

rɑur	**jigyɑsɑ**	**bɑ**
2SG.GEN.H	query	be.3SG.PRES

'… … it's your query … …' (03.392)

c. घरे बुढ़िआ के एगो बेटी रहे।

ɡ̈ʌre	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**ke**	**ego**	**beʈi**	**rʌɦe**
ɡ̈ʌr-e	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**ke**	**ek-go**	**beʈi**	**rʌɦ-e**
house-LOC	old woman	GEN	one-CLF	daughter	live-3.PST

'The old woman had a daughter at home.' (07.041)

7.2 Verbal predicates

Verbal predication is the pragmatic function of a verb. As displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:310), Maithili (Yadav 2014:41), Hindi (Koul 20018:211) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:322), it is a natural phenomenon in languages and analyzed on the basis of argument structure and transitivity. Verbal predicates in Bhojpuri; also displayed in Grierson (1884a:34), Ojha (1915[1982]:27-43), Tiwari (1954:243-58 and 1960:151-96), Nirbhik (1975:76-9), Shrivastava (1999:73-9), Sharma and Ashk (2007:19-23), Singh (2009:108-19 and 2013:69-79) and Thakur (2011:85-92); may be described as follows:

7.2.1 Argument structure and transitivity

Bhojpuri exhibits a clear distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs. Simply a verb is either intransitive or transitive but there is also possibility of ambivalent or polyvalent as far as transitivity is concerned. As Bhojpuri is a nominative-accusative language such as Maithili as well as English, a verb's transitivity is primarily diagnosed on the basis of absence or presence of direct objects or patients in a clause.

The four resulting argument structures as shown in Table 7.2 cover a large majority of all verbs in Bhojpuri. Besides, some verbs displaying a non-standard

pattern are also discussed along with complement-taking verbs and to some extent analytically challenging conjunct verbs too.

Table 7.2 Summary of valence patterns

Basic pattern	Intransitive	Transitive
Simple	NPSBJ V	NPSBJ NPDO V
With indirect object	NPSBJ PP/NPIO V	NPSBJ NPDO PP/NPIO V

7.2.2 Simple intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs simply code states, events or actions. Their typical pattern is to take a single argument in the form of a subject noun phrase coded in the nominative: **NPSBJ V** as shown in (15a-c).

(15) a. ... ... दुःखिया दुःख रोए ... ...

dukʰiɑ **dukʰ** **roe**

dukʰ-iɑ **dukʰ** **ro-e**

sorrow-ADJ misery cry-PRES

'… … The sufferer cries on his sorrow… …' (10.059)

b. ऊ सँझिया आइल ।

u **sʌ̃jiɑ** **ɑil**

u **sʌ̃jiɑ** **ɑ-il**

3SG.NOM in the evening come-3.PST

'He came in the evening.' (07.010)

c. लमढेङ आदमी चल देलख ।

lʌmɖ̈eŋ **ɑdmi** **cʌl** **delʌkʰ**

lʌmɖ̈eŋ **ɑdmi** **cʌl** **de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**

tall man walk give-PP-3.PST

'The tall man left.' (07.028)

A number of such verbs are process verbs and the subject noun phrase has a semantic role that could be described as a patient-of-change (Givón 2001a:125) whether human, animate or inanimate:

मर /*mʌr*/ 'die'

टुट /*ʈuʈ*/ 'break'

अँकुर /*ʌ̃kur*/ 'germinate'

मरक /*mʌrʌk*/ 'fracture'

जी /*ji*/ 'live, revive'

पिआस /*pias*/ 'be thirsty'

गिर /*gir*/ 'fall'

भूख /*ɓukʰ*/ 'be hungry'

उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'rise, stand, wake' खुल /*kʰul*/ 'open'

बढ़ /*bʌɽ̊*/ 'grow, increase, forward' भभक /*b̤ʌb̤ʌk*/ 'spill'

There are some other verbs that can take as a single argument, to a lesser extent, an agent or a patient-of-state subject:

उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'rise, stand, wake' सुत /*sut*/ 'sleep'

रो /*ro*/ 'weep, cry' सड़ /*sʌɽ*/ 'rotten'

उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'rise' is exemplified in (16).

(16) बेरा उठ गइल ।

berɑ uʈʰ gʌil

berɑ uʈʰ jɑ-il

sun rise go-3.PST

'The sun rose up.' (11.014)

7.2.3 Simple transitive verbs

Subject noun phrase coded in nominative and direct object noun phrase coded in the nominative or accusative are the arguments of the transitive verbs in Bhojpuri as found in English. The unmarked word order is subject preceding direct object: **NPSBJ NPDO V** as exemplified in (17a-b).

(17) a. ... ... तोहर मास-भात खातानी ।

toɦʌr mɑs-b̤ɑt kʰɑtɑni

toɦʌr mɑs-b̤ɑt kʰɑ-ʌt bɑni

2SG.GEN meat and rice eat-IMPF be.PRES.H

'… … I'll eat your meat and rice.' (07.029)

b. ... ... कृष्ण सुदर्शन चक्र से शिशुपाल के मार देहलें ... ... ।

krisnʌ sudʌrsʌn cʌkrʌ se sisupɑl ke mɑr

krisnʌ sudʌrsʌn cʌkrʌ se sisupɑl ke mɑr

Krishna Sudarshan cog INST Shishupal ACC kill

deɦlẽ

de-ʌl-ẽ

give-3.PST-H

'Krishna killed Shishupal with his Sudarshan Chakra, a cog.' (07.072)

The direct object in most of the transitive verbs of this type occurs as a patient-of-change role corresponding to the role of the subject of the typical

intransitive verb (cf. मर /*mʌr*/ 'die' & मार /*mar*/ 'kill'):

मार /*mar*/ 'kill'	पी /*pi*/ 'drink'
खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat'	तोड़ /*toɽ*/ 'pluck, break'
बना /*bʌna*/ 'make'	लिख /*likʰ*/ 'write'
धो /*d̤o*/ 'wash'	जमा /*jʌma*/ 'germinate, freeze'

Further classification of such verbs is also possible according to types of change following Givón (2001a:127):

(a) creation, e. g., बना /*bʌna*/ 'make'

(b) destruction, e. g., खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat'

(c) change in physical condition, e. g., तोड़ /*toɽ*/ 'pluck, break'

(d) change in surface condition, e. g., धो /*d̤o*/ 'wash'

(e) change in internal qualities, e. g., जमा /*jʌma*/ 'germinate, freeze'

There are some more transitive verbs less prototyped in this pattern, e. g., those with dative-subjects (in a semantic sense) rather than agent-subjects as in the verbs already exemplified. Among them, देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' and सुन /*sun*/ 'hear, listen' are exemplified in (18a-b).

(18) a. हम आभा में दाई के देखनी ।

ɦʌm	**ɑb̤ɑ**	**mẽ**	**dɑi**	**ke**	**dekʰni**	
ɦʌm	**ɑb̤ɑ**	**mẽ**	**dɑi**	**ke**	**dekʰ**	**-ni**
1SG.NOM	dream	LOC	grandmother	ACC	see	-PST.H

'I saw my grandmother in dream.' (09.096)

b. ... ... अपने लोग राखी के गीत सुनले होखेम ... ... ।

ʌpne	**log**	**rɑkʰi**	**ke**	**git**	**sunle**	**ɦokʰem**
ʌpne	**log**	**rɑkʰi**	**ke**	**git**	**sun-ʌl-e**	**ɦo-kʰ-em**
2.SG	PL	Raxabandhan	GEN	song	listen-INF-SEQ	be-PRES-FUT

'… … you might have enjoyed Rakhi songs … …' (07.003)

7.2.4 Intransitive verbs with an indirect object

In addition to a subject, some of the intransitive verbs take an indirect object in terms of a postpositional phrase as well as a non-nominative noun phrase. In such cases the subject is an agent and the indirect object a locative: **NPSBJ PP/NPIO V** as shown in (19a-b).

(19) a. मुस बिल में ढुँक गइल ।

mus	**bil**	**mẽ**	**ɖ̈ũk**	**gʌil**
mus	**bil**	**mẽ**	**ɖ̈ũk**	**jɑ-il**
mouse	hole	LOC	enter	go-3SG.PST

'The mouse entered the hole.' (09.375)

b. अब छोटकु पंजाब पहुँचलख ... ... ।

ʌb	**cʰoʈku**	**pʌnjɑb**	**pʌɦũclʌkʰ**
ʌb	**cʰoʈ-ku**	**pʌnjɑb**	**pʌɦũc-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
now	small-DEF	Punjab	reach-PP-3.PST

'Now the younger reached Punjab … …' (10.039)

A number of verbs of this type code events of motion:

आ /*a*/ 'come'	ढुँक /*ɖ̈ũk*/ 'enter'
जा /*ja*/ 'go'	भाग /*ɓag*/ 'flee'
लउक /*lʌuk*/ 'look, appear'	पइस /*pʌis*/ 'enter, get down'

7.2.5 Transitive verbs with an indirect object

An indirect object is added to the pattern of simple transitive verbs occurring mostly as a postpositional phrase but alternatively as a non-nominative noun phrase. Such indirect object is widely defined argument type and the noun phrases are coded as non-core participants. Hence, the subject is an agent, the direct object a patient in a changed physical location, and the indirect object a locative: **NPSBJ PP/NPIO NPDO V**, as exemplified in (20).

(20) पहिले गाँव में लोग गड़ी राखत रहे ।

pʌɦile	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**log**	**gʌɽi**	**rɑkʰʌt**	**rʌɦe**
[pʌɦil-e	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ]IO**	**[log]SBJ**	**[gʌɽi]DO**	**rɑkʰ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
first-DEF	village	LOC	people	a cart	keep-SIM	live-3.PST

'Those days, villagers used to have carts.' (09.027)

A number of verbs of this type also code events of movement caused by a human agent:

निकाल /*nikal*/ 'extract'	फेँक /*pʰẽk*/ 'throw'
हाँक /*ɦɑ̃k*/ 'drive'	बान्ह /*baɳ*/ 'tighten with rope, fasten, block'

7.2.6 Bi-transitive verbs

Bi-transitive verbs have the indirect object but human goal with a benefactive role instead of being a locational one:

दे /*de*/ 'give' — ले /*le*/ 'bring, take'

भेज /*ɓej*/ 'send' — लिख /*likʰ*/ 'write'

पढ़ा /*pʌɽ̊a*/ 'teach' — देखा /*dekʰa*/ 'show'

Some are exemplified in (21a-b).

(21) a. ... ... बोरा के बोरा खाद नेपाल सरकार विदेश से लेआके लोग के देत रहे ।

bora	**ke**	**bora**	**kʰad**	**nepal**	**sʌrkar**	**bides**
[bora	**ke**	**bora**	**kʰad]$_{DO}$**	**[nepal**	**sʌrkar]$_{SBJ}$**	**bides**
sack	GEN	sack	fertilizer	Nepal	government	foreign country

se	**leake**	**log**	**ke**	**det**	**rʌɦe**
se	**le-a-ke**	**[log**	**ke]$_{IO}$**	**de-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
source	bring-CAUS-SEQ	people	DAT	give-SIM	live-3.PST

'… … Government of Nepal used to distribute sacks of chemical fertilizer among people importing from foreign countries. (02.066)

b. ... ... ऊ मोगल राजा हुमायू के राखी भेजली ... ... ।

u	**mogʌl**	**raja**	**ɦumayu**	**ke**	**rakʰi**	**ɓejli**	
[u]$_{SBJ}$	**[mogʌl**	**raja**	**ɦumayu**	**ke]$_{IO}$**	**[rakʰi]$_{DO}$**	**ɓej**	**-li**
3SG.NOM	Mughal	king	Humayu	DAT	Raxabandhan	send	-PST.FEM.H

'… … she sent the sacred thread to the Mughal king, Humayu … … (07.0620)

This pattern extends to other verbs with movements but with only abstract interpretation: देखा /*dekʰa*/ **vt**. 'show', कह /*kʌɦ*/ **vt.** 'say, tell', as shown in (22a-b).

(22) a. माई-दाई लोग बच्चा के कथा कहके सुनावत रहनी ।

mai	**dai**	**log**	**bʌcca**	**ke**	**kʌtʰa**	**kʌɦke**
[mai	**dai**	**log]$_{SBJ}$**	**[bʌcca**	**ke]$_{IO}$**	**kʌtʰa**	**kʌɦ-ke**
mother	grandmother	PL	child	ACC	story	say-SEQ

sunawʌt	**rʌɦni**
sun-a-ʌt	**rʌɦ-ni**
listen-CAUS-SIM	live-PST.H

'Mothers and grandmothers used tell the children such stories.' (03.254)

b. ... ... ऊ लोग उपज बढ़ावल लोग के देखइलक ।

u log upʌj bʌɽ̊ɑwʌl log ke

u log upʌj bʌɽ̊ -ɑ -wʌl log ke

3SG PL product increase CAUS -INF people DAT

dekʰʌilʌk

dekʰ - ɑ -il -ʌkʰ

see -CAUS -3SG.PST -3.PST.NH

'… … they showed the people the products be increased dramatically.' (02.068)

7.2.7 Non-standard valence patterns

a) Dummy-subject or subjectless verbs

There are a few verbs that code states or events, i. e., natural conditions or weather phenomena. They are intransitive as they have neither object nor other semantic participants. Such clauses are known as dummy-subject or subjectless clauses.

The verb phrase in this environment in dummy-subject clauses might be either adjectival or verbal, as shown in (23a-c).

(23) a. आकाश में मेघ लागल बा ।

ɑkɑs mẽ meg̈ lɑgʌl bɑ

ɑkɑs mẽ meg̈ lɑg-ʌl bɑ

sky LOC cloud fill-INF be.3SG.PRES

'The sky is full of clouds.' (09.092)

b. बड़ी गर्मी बा ... ... ।

bʌɽi gʌrmi bɑ

bʌɽ-i gʌrmi bɑ

much-EMPH heat be.3SG.PRES

'It is extremely hot ... …' (09.381)

c. राते मेघ बरसल ... ... ।

rɑte meg̈ bʌrsʌl

rɑt-e meg̈ bʌrʌs-ʌl

night-EMPH rain rain-3SG.PST

'It rained last night only … …' (09.458)

Besides natural conditions or weather phenomena, Bhojpuri has some other dummy-subject or subjectless verbs that code health conditions, as shown in (24).

(24) जल्दिए देह खाली होखेवाला बा ।

jʌldie	**deɦ**	**kʰali**	**ɦokʰewala**	**ba**
jʌldi-e	**deɦ**	**kʰali**	**ɦo-kʰ-e-wala**	**ba**
soon-EMPH	body	empty	be-PRES-PUR-owner	be.3SG.PRES

'Her delivery is very close.' (10.031)

b) Intransitive verb with non-nominative experiencer

Intransitive verbs with an indirect object (subsection 7.2.4) are used for a number of constructions where nominative subjects agree with the verb whereas the human or animate experiencer appears as a non-nominative NP or PP. It is almost identical with those discussed in subsection 7.2.4 but due to the special status of the non-nominative argument, it deserves special treatment, as shown in (25a-b).

(25) a. बाँकिर ओकरा रास्ता पर पिआस लाग गइल ।

bãkir	**okʌra**	**rasta**	**pʌr**	**pias**	**lag**	**gʌil**
bãkir	**okʌra**	**rasta**	**pʌr**	**pias**	**lag**	**ja-il**
but	3.SG.GEN	way	LOC	thirst	feel	go-3SG.PST

'But she got thirsty on the way.' (07.020)

b. बोअल धान पानी बिना सुख गइल ।

boʌl	**d̪an**	**pani**	**bina**	**sukʰ**	**gʌil**
bo-ʌl	**d̪an**	**pani**	**bina**	**sukʰ**	**ja-il**
sow-PP	paddy	water	without	dry	go-3SG.PST

'The sown paddy dried without water.' (09.531)

c) Intransitive verbs with a postpositional object

When intransitive verbs with a dative or patient indirect object coded with oblique case and a postposition, such indirect objects are postpositional objects although they can be considered as primary objects in a semantic sense, as shown in (26a-b).

(26) a. जी, अपने के हम थोड़ा सा रोकेके चाहतानी ।

ji	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**ɦʌm**	**tʰoɽa**	**sa**	**rokeke**
ji	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**[ɦʌm]$_{SBJ}$**	**tʰoɽa**	**sa**	**rok-e-ke**
yea	2SG.H	GEN	1SG.NOM	little	as	stop-PUR-INF

caɦʌtani	
caɦ-ʌt	**bani**
want-SIM	be.PRES.H

'Yea, I want you to halt for a while.' (01.051)

b. चलऽ बइर खाए ।

cʌlʌ	**bʌir**	**kʰɑe**
cʌl-ʌ	**bʌir**	**kʰɑ-e**
walk-IMP.MH	plum	eat-PUR

'Let's go to eat plums.' (09.502)

d) Manipulation verbs

The human agent-subject of the main clause, headed by a manipulation verb, manipulates the behavior of a manipulee, being coreferential with the agent of the complement clause in which the verb often appears as a verbal noun coded as an indirect object, as shown in (27a-b).

(27) a. एक दिन ऊ अपना मेहरारू से साँझ में खीर बनावेके कहलख ।

ek	**din**	**u**	**ʌpnɑ**	**meɦraru**	**se**	**sãj̈**	**mẽ**
ek	**din**	**u**	**ʌpnɑ**	**meɦraru**	**se**	**sãj̈**	**mẽ**
one	day	3SG.MAS.NOM	1/2/3SG.GEN	wife	caus	evening	LOC

kʰir	**bʌnɑweke**	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**	
kʰir	**bʌnɑ-e-ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	
rice-pudding	make-PUR-PUR	say-PP-3.PST.NH	

'One day he told his wife to cook rice-pudding in the evening.' (08.005)

b. … … आ मातारी जास पनपिआई करावे ।

ɑ	**mɑtɑri**	**jɑs**	**pʌnpiɑi**	**kʌrɑwe**
ɑ	**mɑtɑri**	**jɑ-ʌs**	**pʌnpiɑi**	**kʌr-ɑ-e**
and	mother	go-3.PST.H	breakfast	do-CAUS-PUR

'… … and the mother used to go to make him have breakfast.' (10.013)

e) Perception, cognition or utterance (PCU) verbs

The subject of this kind of verbs perceives or cognizes a state or event, or utters a proposition concerning a state or event. What perceived or cognized or uttered is corresponded in the complement clause. The complement clause in this environment functions as the object of the mental or verbal activity that the main clause depicts but there are reasons for not assigning it as the direct object, as shown in (28a-c).

(28) a. एतने में छोटकु देखता कवनों राही बटोही पैंड़ा धइले चलल जात रहे ।

etne	**mẽ**	**cʰoʈku**	**dekʰʌtɑ**		**kɔno**
etne	**mẽ**	**cʰoʈ-ku**	**dekʰ-ʌt**	**bɑ**	**kɔno**
meanwhile.EMPH	LOC	small-DEF	see-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	some

rɑɦi	**bʌʈoɦi**	**pɛ̃ɽɑ**	**ɖ̤ʌile**	**jɑt**	**rʌɦe**
rɑɦi	**bʌʈoɦi**	**pɛ̃ɽɑ**	**ɖ̤ʌr-il-e**	**jɑ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
passerby	passenger	way	put-PP-SIM	go-IMPF	live-3.PST

'In the meantime, the younger saw a passerby was walking on the way.' (10.015)

b. बटोही समझ गइल, 'ई हरवाहा बहिर बुझाता।'

bʌʈoɦi	**sʌmʌj̈**	**gʌil**	**i**	**ɦʌrwɑɦɑ**	**bʌɦir**
bʌʈoɦi	**sʌmʌj̈**	**jɑ-il**	**i**	**ɦʌrwɑɦɑ**	**bʌɦir**
passenger	understand	go-3SG.PST	this	ploughman	deaf

buj̈ɑtɑ	
buj̈-ɑ-ʌt	**bɑ**
understand-CAUS-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

'The passerby understood, 'The ploughman seems deaf." (10.020)

c. हम त कहनी कि ए में दोसर कुछ नइखे।

ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**kʌɦni**	**ki**	**e**	**mẽ**	**dosʌr**	**kuchʰ**
ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**kʌɦ-ni**	**ki**	**e**	**mẽ**	**dosʌr**	**kuchʰ**
1SG.NOM	COND	say-PST.H	COMP	PROX	LOC	another	something

nʌikʰe
nʌikʰ-e
be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'I said (that) there is nothing otherwise in this.' (04.070)

7.2.8 Valence patterns of conjunct verb constructions

A combination of the host and a verbalizer comprises conjunct verbs. The host in some of the conjunct verbs is independent as it stands in no grammatical relation whatsoever to other parts of the clause, whereas with others it functions as a direct object of the verbalizer. On the basis of several diagnostics, Liljegren (2008:288) quotes Verma (1993:201) and Mohanan (1993:165) as saying some scholars suggest only some of these combinations are true conjunct verbs while the rest are normal syntactic combinations of nouns and verbs. In Bhojpuri the hosts are not only nouns but adjectives and other verbs too and such combinations cannot be treated as merely syntactic ones. As pointed out by (Masica 1993:160) such classification seems somewhat oversimplified.

a) Conjunct verbs with कर /kʌr/ 'do'

Formation of conjunct verbs with verbalizer कर /kʌr/ 'do' is the most productive and a wide variety of constructions and possible argument structures formed this way are noticed accordingly. To some extent, the host may be loaned from another language. All of such constructions are transitive. According to Verma (1993:201), conjunct verbs are subclassified into three types – lexically complex, syntactically complex and a purely analytical sequence superficially looking like a conjunct verb. Such conjuncts can be distinguished into *internal agreement conjuncts* and *external agreement conjuncts*. Hence, Table 7.3 presents a few *internal agreement conjuncts*.

Table 7.3 Internal agreement कर- /*kʌr*-/ conjuntcts

Host + Verbaliser					
हरान कर	*/ɦʌran kʌr/*	'trouble'	सुरू कर	*/suru kʌr/*	'start'
बेयान कर	*/beyan kʌr/*	'describe'	सपुरन कर	*/sʌpurʌn kʌr/*	'hand over'
जमा कर	*/jʌma kʌr/*	'gather'	रेकड कर	*/rekʌɖ kʌr/*	'record'
निर्णय कर	*/nirnɛ kʌr/*	'decide'	फिर्ता कर	*/pʰirta kʌr/*	'refund'
मुकरर कर	*/mukʌrʌr kʌr/*	'fix'	ओमिट कर	*/ɔmiʈ kʌr/*	'omit'
जिंदा कर	*/jina kʌr/*	'make live	करिआ कर	*/kʌria kʌr/*	'be shameful'

It clarifies that the direct object in such constructions comes to be an argument of the complex as a whole, whereas the complex can be analyzed as a single predicate. The host is also possible to be separated from the verbaliser by a negation. All conjunct *kʌr*- verbs with an adjective host, such as हरान कर /*ɦʌran kʌr*/ 'trouble' in (29) belong to this particular type.

(29) एह गाँव के सब लोग के तू हरान कइले बाड़ऽ।

eɦ	**gão**	**ke**	**sʌb**	**log**	**ke**	**tu**	**ɦʌrɑn**	**kʌile**
eɦ	**gão**	**ke**	**sʌb**	**log**	**ke**	**tu**	**ɦʌrɑn**	**kʌr-ile**
PROX	village	GEN	all	people	DAT	2SG.NOM	restless	do-SEQ

baɽʌ

ba-ɽʌ

be.2.PRES.MH

people in this village face trouble.' (13.027)

But it is more interesting that this type of complexes are also found with a noun as a host that no way participates as NP in the argument structure. The conjunct कान कर /*kan kʌr*/ 'listen' in (30) is an example.

(30) ऊ केकरो बात के कान ना करेला ।

u	**kekʌro**	**bɑt**	**ke**	**kɑn**	**nɑ**
u	**kekʌr-o**	**bɑt**	**ke**	**kɑn**	**nɑ**
3SG.NOM	whose-EMPH	talk	ACC	ear	NEG

kʌrelɑ

kʌr-e-lɑ

do-PUR-3SG.PRES

'He does not listen to anybody.' (13.028)

Liljegren (2008:290) suggests that a host element, which may be homonymous with another noun in the language – such as कान /*kan*/ 'ear' in कान कर /*kan kʌr*/ 'listen' – with which it is historically related, has ceased to constitute an NP in this construction, or, in the case of a loan from another language – such as Urdu noun बेयान /*beyan*/ 'description' in बेयान कर /*beyan kʌr*/ 'describe' – it may never even have been interpreted as an NP from the very beginning. According to (Verma 1993:203) such process of lexical incorporation is simply a convenient way of deriving new verbs, combining the semantics (or some aspects of it) of the host element with the "verbness" of the verbaliser with the resulting verb behaving.

Likewise some external agreement conjuncts are presented in Table 7.4

Table 7.4 External agreement कर- /*kʌr*-/ conjuncts

Host + Verbaliser					
मदत कर	*/mʌdʌt kʌr/*	'help'	माफ कर	*/map^{h} kʌr/*	'forgive'
सलाम कर	*/sʌlam kʌr/*	'greet'	ख्याल कर	*/k^{h}yal kʌr/*	'take care of'
अमल कर	*/ʌmʌl kʌr/*	'obey, follow'	हमला कर	*/ɦʌmla kʌr/*	'attack'
चार्ज कर	*/carj kʌr/*	'charge	सलाह् कर	*/sʌlaɦ kʌr/*	'consult'
दया कर	*/dʌya kʌr/*	'show goodness'	रक्षा कर	*/rʌkc^{h}a kʌr/*	'protect'

Many of the host elements are transparent loans as with the former type, such as in (31a-b), but historically, Bhojpuri has its own tradition with such hosts in abundant.

(31) a. कह् द हमरा से मिले के, हम ओके मदत करेम ।

kʌɦ	**dʌ**	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**se**	**mileke**	**ɦʌm**
kʌɦ	**dʌ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**se**	**mil-e-ke**	**ɦʌm**
say	give.IMP.MH	1SG-POSS-DEF	DAT	meet-PUR-SEQ	1SG.NOM

oke	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌrem**
oke	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌr-em**
3SG.DAT	help	do-FUT.H

'Tell (him/her) to meet with me, I'll help him/her.' (13.029)

b. हनुमान राम के खुबे मदत कइलें ।

ɦʌnumɑn	**rɑm**	**ke**	**kʰube**	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌilẽ**
ɦʌnumɑn	**rɑm**	**ke**	**kʰub-e**	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌr-il-ẽ**
Hanuman	Ram	DAT	highly-EMPH	help	do-3.PST-H

'Hanuman helped Ram a lot.' (13.030)

Besides, according to Verma (1993:204-12) and Mohanan (1993:164-70), there is a puzzling situation of the host being part of the argument structure to analyze the noun in the complex as itself assuming the role of predicate. Such predicate chooses a suitable verbaliser to be incorporated with and contributes itself to the total number of arguments of the clause but it assigns roles and case marking to its "own" arguments at the same time. However, Liljegren (2008:291) suggests it is sufficient and easier to see the valence displayed (e.g. the host coded as a direct object and the occurrence of indirect objects, i.e., certain postpositional phrases) as a property (or lexical specification) of each individual construction in its entirety. In my observation, Bhojpuri does have the situation, as shown in (32a-b).

(32) a. ऊ मवेशी के खुबे ख्याल करे ।

u	**mʌwesi**	**ke**	**kʰube**	**kʰyɑl**	**kʌre**
u	**mʌwesi**	**ke**	**kʰub-e**	**kʰyɑl**	**kʌr-e**
3SG.NOM	cattle	ACC	highly-EMPH	attention	do-3.PST

'He used to care the cattle a lot.' (13.031)

b. ऊ दुश्मन पर हमला करे जाता ।

u	**dusmʌn**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmlɑ**	**kʌre**	**jɑtɑ**	
u	**dusmʌn**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmlɑ**	**kʌr-e**	**jɑ-ʌt**	**bɑ**
3SG.NOM	enemy	LOC	invasion	do-PUR	go-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

'He is going to attack his enemies.' (13.032)

As Bhojpuri is a nominative-accusative language, ergative marker is absent

with the subject whether the clause is perfective or not. So, the arguments have to be coded as an indirect or postpositional object, e.g. मवेशी के /*mʌwesi ke*/ 'with the cattle' in (32a) and दुश्मन पर /*dusmʌn pʌr*/ 'on the enimies' in (32b). The postposition used for that argument is specified by each conjunct. Table 7.5 presents a few of them.

Table 7.5 Postpositions in the valence pattern of some कर- /*kʌr*-/ conjuncts.

IO Postposition	Conjunct verb
सङे */sʌŋe/* 'with'	रहम कर */rʌɦʌm kʌr/* 'show goodness'
	बात कर */bat kʌr/* 'talk'
	सलाह कर */sʌlaɦ kʌr/* 'consult'
से */se/* 'to'	बात कर */bat kʌr/* 'talk'
	सलाह कर */sʌlaɦ kʌr/* 'consult'
	प्रेम कर */prem kʌr/* 'love'
के */ke/* 'to'	माफ कर */map^{h} kʌr/* 'excuse'
	सलाम कर */sʌlam kʌr/* 'greet'
	ख्याल कर */k^{h}yal kʌr/* 'take care of'
पर */pʌr/* 'on'	रहम कर */rʌɦʌm kʌr/* 'show goodness'
	हमला कर */ɦʌmla kʌr/* 'attack'
में */mẽ/* 'in'	आराम कर */aram kʌr/* 'rest'
	शिकार कर */sikar kʌr/* 'hunt'

Besides these, clitic -ए /*-e*/ in Bhojpuri performs as such when human object occurs as shown in (33a-c).

(33) a. हमे माफ कर।

ɦʌme	**mɑp^{h}**	**kʌr**
ɦʌm-e	**mɑp^{h}**	**kʌr**
1SG-DAT	excuse	do

'Excuse me.' (13.033)

b. हम तोहे सलाम कइनी।

ɦʌm	**toɦe**	**sʌlɑm**	**kʌini**
ɦʌm	**tu-e**	**sʌlɑm**	**kʌr-ini**
1SG.NOM	2SG-DAT	salute	do-PST.H

'I saluted you.' (13.034)

c. राजा ओके बड़ी सजाय कइलन ।

rɑjɑ	**oke**	**bʌɽi**	**sʌjae**	**kʌilʌn**
rɑjɑ	**oke**	**bʌɽ-i**	**sʌjae**	**kʌr-il-ʌn**
king	3SG.ACC	big-EMPH	punishment	do-PP-3.PST.MH

'The king punished hem/her to the maximum.' (13.035)

There are complexes considered 'purely analytical' sequences and no 'true' conjuncts by Verma (1993:201) as they only differ from the ones already discussed in such a way that a postpositional phrase is not included in their valence pattern. As Masica (1993:157) has pointed out, it is not a very convincing argument to treat them as different phenomena on the basis that they are logically intransitive, i.e. not having a 'logical object beside the direct object-coded 'formal' host; but they are 'logically intransitive' actually in the trivial sense of translation equivalence. In Bhojpuri, काम कर *kam kʌr* 'work', पूजा कर *puja kʌr* 'worship', पेसाब कर *pesab kʌr* 'urinate' as shown in (34a-d).

(34) a. आज के दिन में कल काम करेला ।

ɑj	**ke**	**din**	**mẽ**	**kʌl**	**kɑm**	**kʌrelɑ**		
ɑj	**ke**	**din**	**mẽ**	**kʌl**	**kɑm**	**kʌr**	**-e**	**-lɑ**
today	GEN	day	LOC	machine	work	do	-PRES	-3SG.PRES

'The machine works these days.' (09.393)

b. ... अपने लोग शब्दकोश पर प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान का ओर से काम कइनी ।

ʌpne	**log**	**sʌbdʌkos**	**pʌr**	**prʌgyɑ-prʌtisʈʰɑn**	**kɑ**	**or**	
ʌpne	**log**	**sʌbdʌkos**	**pʌr**	**prʌgyɑ-prʌtisʈʰɑn**	**kɑ**	**or**	
2SG	PL	dictionary	LOC	academy	GEN	towards	
se	**kɑm**	**kʌini**					
se	**kɑm**	**kʌr-ini**					
source	work	do-PST.H					

'… you people worked on a dictionary on behalf of the Nepal Academy.' (03.053)

c. सिउजी के जल चढ़ाके पूजा कइल जाला ।

siuji	**ke**	**jʌl**	**cʌɽ̊ɑke**	**pujɑ**	**kʌil**
siu-ji	**ke**	**jʌl**	**cʌɽ̊-ɑ-ke**	**pujɑ**	**kʌr-il**
Shiva-H	ACC	holy water	offer-CAUS-SEQ	worship	do-INF

jɑlɑ

jɑ-lɑ

go-3SG.PRES

'Lord Shiva is worshipped following holy water bath.' (09.422)

d. ... पदान के नाती, मुड़िए पर पेसाब करताड़ऽ ? ...

pʌdɑn	**ke**	**nɑti**	**muɽie**	**pʌr**	**pesɑb**
pʌdne	**ke**	**nɑti**	**muɽi-e**	**pʌɽ**	**pesɑb**
wind-excretor	GEN	grand son	head-EMPH	LOC	urination

kʌrtɑɽʌ

kʌr-ʌt **bɑɽʌ**

do-IMPF be.2.PRES

… 'The foolish one, are you urinating on my head?' (07.029)

b) Conjunct verbs with हो /*ɦo*/ 'become'

The other way of forming conjunct verbs is with हो /*ɦo*/ 'become'. It is a tadbhava from Sanskrit भव /*ɓ̤ʌwʌ*/ 'be' or 'become' and so it is still भइल /*ɓ̤ʌil*/ in infinitives and perfectives too. Besides, it is used as होख /*ɦokʰ*/ alternatively. But it differs from कर /*kʌr*/ 'do' conjuncts because all of हो /*ɦo*/ 'become' conjuncts are intransitive and bound to have fewer potential arguments, Followings are some examples in (35a-c).

(35) a. लिखे में भी दिक्कत होता।

likʰe	**mẽ**	**ɓ̤i**	**dikkʌt**	**ɦotɑ**	
likʰ-e	**mẽ**	**ɓ̤i**	**dikkʌt**	**ɦo-ʌt**	**bɑ**
write-IMPF	LOC	also	difficulty	be-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

'Difficulty is being faced while writing.' (04.233)

b. साहित्य का बाद में व्याकरण पर काम हो रहल बा चाहे हो गइल।

sɑɦityʌ	**kɑ**	**bɑd**	**mẽ**	**byɑkʌrʌn**	**pʌr**	**kɑm**	**ɦo**	**rʌɦʌl**
sɑɦityʌ	**kɑ**	**bɑd**	**mẽ**	**byɑkʌrʌn**	**pʌr**	**kɑm**	**ɦo**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
literature	GEN	later	LOC	grammar	LOC	work	be	live-INF

bɑ **cɑɦe** **ɦo** **gʌil**

bɑ **cɑɦe** **ɦo** **jɑ-il**

be.3SG.PRES or be go-3SG.PST

'Following literature the work is continuing or has been completed on

grammar.' (04.251)

c. ओकरा खातिर फेर विषादि के प्रयोग भइल ।

okrɑ	**kʰɑtir**	**pʰer**	**bisɑdi**	**ke**	**prʌyog**	**b̤ʌil**
okrɑ	**kʰɑtir**	**pʰer**	**bisɑdi**	**ke**	**prʌyog**	**b̤ʌ-il**
3SG.GEN	for	again	pesticide	ACC.	use	become-3SG.PST

'For that, pesticide was used.' (02.070)

In terms of host+verbaliser, Bhojpuri has a number of हो *ɦo*-conjuncts, as पार हो */par ɦo/* 'pass/go across', भेंट हो */b̤ẽʈ ɦo/* 'meet', सुरू हो */suru ɦo/* 'begin', प्रेम हो */prem ɦo/* 'fall in love', दर्शन हो */dʌrsʌn ɦo/* 'appear', अंत हो */ʌnt ɦo/* 'end', रवाना हो */rʌwana ɦo/* 'move/set for', देर हो */der ɦo/* 'delay', जमा हो */jʌma ɦo/* 'gather', जल्दी हो */jʌldi ho/* 'haste' and so on. Many of these conjuncts consist of the same host element as some of the कर *kʌr*-conjuncts but they are not derivations because the meaning of the corresponding हो *ɦo*-conjunct is not necessarily passive. Moreover, they stand in the similar relationship to one another as any other transitive/intransitive pairs with or without a common base segment, as shown in (36a-b).

(36) a. हमरा नदी पार होएके बा ।

ɦʌmrɑ		**nʌdi**	**pɑr**	**ɦoeke**	**bɑ**
ɦʌm	**-rɑ**	**nʌdi**	**pɑr**	**ɦo-e-ke**	**bɑ**
1SG.NOM	-POSS	river	cross	become-PUR-SEQ	be.3SG.PRES

'I have to go across the river.' (09.099)

b. अगिला मङर के फेर भेंट होई ।

ʌgilɑ	**mʌŋʌr**	**ke**	**pʰer**	**b̤ẽʈ**	**ɦoi**
ʌgilɑ	**mʌŋʌr**	**ke**	**pʰer**	**b̤ẽʈ**	**ɦo-i**
next	Tuesday	ACC	again	meet	be-3SG.FUT

'We'll meet again on next Tuesday.' (03.432)

As an argument structure involving postpositionally coded participants such as हमनी दूनू जने */ɦʌmni dunu jʌne/* 'we both' in (37a) and मोहन */moɦʌn/* 'Mohan' in (37b) with many of the कर *kʌr*- and हो *ɦo*-conjuncts for which they are specified, some of these indirect objects can be described as 'human dative'.

(37) a. ओइसन कइअनगो कार्यक्रम में हमनी दूनू जने के रेडियो नेपाल से बाहरो भेंट भइल बा ।

oisʌn	**kʌiʌngo**	**kɑryʌkrʌm**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmni**	**dunu**	

oisʌn **kɛ-ʌn-go** **kɑryʌkrʌm** **mẽ** **ɦʌm-ni** **du-nu**

like that many-PL-CLF programme LOC 1SG-PL two-EMPH

jʌne **ke** **reɖio** **nepɑl** **se** **bɑɦʌro** **ɓẽʈ** **ɓʌil**

jʌn-e **ke** **reɖio** **nepɑl** **se** **bɑɦʌr-o** **ɓẽʈ** **ɓʌ-il**

people-EMPH GEN Radio Nepal abl out-EMPH meet become-PP

bɑ

bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

'We both have met at different programmes of such kinds even outside Radio Nepal.' (03.325)

b. राधा के मोहन से प्रेम हो गइल ।

rɑd̤ɑ **ke** **moɦʌn** **se** **prem** **ɦo** **gʌil**

rɑd̤ɑ **ke** **moɦʌn** **se** **prem** **ɦo** **jɑ-il**

Radha ACC Mohan DAT love be go-3SG.PST

'Radha fell in love with Mohan.' (13.036)

c) Conjunct verbs with दे /*de*-/ 'give' and other verbalizers

Except कर /*kʌr*-/ and हो /*ɦo*-/ conjuncts, दे /*de*-/ 'give' conjuncts are found in Bhojpuri in equivalence. Gambhir (1993:78-9) says it is not so obvious when DO comes to verbalizers other than BE/BECOME and it does not contribute to any larger extent to semantics to the complexes as it stands with BE/BECOME verbalizers in the Indo-Aryan languages, whereas, Masica (1993:157) phrases it "shading off" through GIVE and TAKE into individual combinations of certaing verbs and nonverbal elements of mostly idiomatic character.

In Bhojpuri, कर /*kʌr*-/ and हो /*ɦo*-/ are relevant for conjuncts with दे /*de*-/ 'give' in many ways. As alredy noted, दे /*de*-/ has already been a simple verb rather polysemous and as such is associated with a few different valence patterns, something that blurs the picture. A number of दे /*de*-/ conjuncts in Bhojpuri can be noted as मार दे /*mar de*/ 'kill', देखाई दे /*dekʰai de*/ 'appear/notice', छोड़ दे /*cʰoɽ de*/ 'leave', ध्यान दे /*d̤yan de*/ 'pay attention to', कर दे /*kʌr de*/ 'do', दान दे /*dan de*/ 'donate', फार दे /*pʰar de*/ 'tear', श्राप दे /*srap de*/ 'curse', जोड़ दे /*joɽ de*/ 'add/stitch' दे दे /*de de*/ 'give' and so on.

As Liljegren (2008:295) has examined, दे /*de*-/ also comes to be bleached, often no exact meaning can be assigned to the host element semantically and so the

complex meaning seldom can be deduced or guessed from its individual components. But in my observation, the host appears mostly as a verb and only it is meaningful since दे /*de-*/ is omitted semantically in the environment as shown in (38a-b).

(38) a. मोतियाबिन आऩर कर देला ।

motiɑbin ɑn̥ʌr kʌr delɑ

motiɑbin ɑn̥ʌr kʌr de-lɑ

cataract blind do give-3SG.PRES

'Cataract causes blindness.' (09.255)

b. ... कृष्ण सुदर्शन चक्र से शिशुपाल के मार देहलें, ... ।

krisnʌ sudʌrsʌn cʌkrʌ se sisupɑl ke mɑr

krisnʌ sudʌrsʌn cʌkrʌ se sisupɑl ke mɑr

Krishna Sudarshan cog means Shishupal ACC kill

deɦlẽ

de-lẽ

give-PST.H

'… Krishna killed Shishupal with his Sudarshan Chakra, a sharp-edged revolving cog ….' (07.072)

Likewise, noun appears as a host in दे /*de-*/ conjuncts in Bhojpuri as already shown, now exemplified in (39a-b).

(39) a. ओही में से एगो आदमी छोटका के हावभाव पर ध्यान देलक ।

oɦi mẽ se ego ɑdmi cʰoʈkɑ ke

oɦ-i mẽ se ek-go ɑdmi cʰoʈ-kɑ ke

that-EMPH LOC source one-CLF man small-DEF GEN

ɦɑob̤ɑo pʌr d̤yɑn delʌk

ɦɑob̤ɑo pʌr d̤yɑn de-ʌl-ʌkʰ

gesture LOC attention give-.PP-3SG.PST

'From among them, a man paid attention to the outlook of the younger.' (10.083)

b. दान देवेके सुपातर के ।

dɑn deweke supɑtʌr ke

dɑn de-e-ke supɑtʌr ke

donation give-PUR-SEQ capable person ACC

'A capable person should be donated.' (09.008)

As such as दे /*de*-/ 'give', ले /*le*-/ 'take' conjuncts are found in abundant and most of the hosts are the same as in दे /*de*-/ conjuncts such as मार ले /*mar le*/ 'kill/hit/enjoy', जान ले /*jan le*/ 'know/notice/kill', काट ले /*kaʈ le*/ 'cut', उब्जा ले /*ubja le*/ 'produce', कर ले /*kʌr le*/ 'do', दान ले /*dan le*/ 'have donation', फार ले /*pʰar le*/ 'tear', कस ले /*kʌrs le*/ 'place and tighten', जोड़ ले /*joɽ le*/ 'add/stitch', ले ले /*le le*/ 'take' and so on. Though it seems to be similar to a greater extent with दे /*de*-/ conjuncts, it differs sometimes in the way that the host verb supercedes the verbalizer with sense of 'have', as shown in (40a-b).

(40) a. ... बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली आ चल देली ।

buɽ̊ia	**oke**	**pʌkʌʈke**	**d̤okʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**
buɽ̊ia	**oke**	**pʌkʌʈ-ke**	**d̤okʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**
old woman	3SG.ACC	catch-SEQ	bag	LOC	place and tighten

leli	**ɑ**	**cʌl**	**deli**	
le-ʌl-i	**ɑ**	**cʌl**	**de-ʌl-i**	
take-3SG.PST-F.MH	and	walk	give-3SG.PST-F.MH	

'... the old woman pulled him down, tightened him in the bag and went.' (07.039)

b. ... रउआ कुछ उबजा लेनी ... ।

rʌuɑ	**kuchʰ**	**ubjɑ**	**leni**
rʌuɑ	**kuchʰ**	**ubjɑ**	**le-ni**
2SG.H	something	grow	take-PST.H

'... you produced something …' (02.110)

The verbalizer ले /*le*/ 'take' and दे /*de*/ 'give' are partially grammaticalized functionally (Das 2015:66), as presented in (41a-b).

(41) a. ऊ हमर झोरा ले लेलस ।

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**j̈orɑ**	**le**	**lelʌs**
u	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**j̈orɑ**	**le**	**le-ʌl-ʌs**
3SG.NOM	1SG-POSS	bag	take	take-PP-3SG.PST

'S/he took my bag.' <*In a sense that s/he should not have taken it but s/he did.*>

b. ऊ हमर झोरा दे देलस ।

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**j̈orɑ**	**de**	**delʌs**

u **ɦʌm-ʌr** **j̈orɑ** **de** **de-ʌl-ʌs**

3SG.NOM 1SG-POSS bag take take-PP-3SG.PST

'S/he gave my bag.' <*In the sense that s/he favoured me by doing so as I had forgotten it somewhere and he got it.*>

The examples (41a-b) clearly display the verbalizers ले /*le*/ 'take' and दे /*de*/ 'give' have not been completely grammaticalized. So, it is a partial grammaticalization.

Besides, जा /*ja-*/ 'go' conjuncts in Bhojpuri are found excessively. Its infinitive and perfective pattern is गइल *gʌil* 'to go' or 'gone'. Sometimes जाइल /*jail*/ is also used but rarely. It is a verbalizer with different verbs in general and passive verbalizer in particular, as shown in (41a-c).

(42) a. ई गीत सुनल जाओ ।

i **git** **sunʌl** **jɑo**

i **git** **sun-ʌl** **jɑ-o**

3SG.DEM.PROX song listen-INF go-IMP.H

'Please entertain the song.' (03.008)

b. कार्यक्रम के समय एतना जल्दी चल जाता कि मुश्किल बा ।

kɑryʌkrʌm **ke** **sʌmɛ** **etnɑ** **jʌldi** **cʌl**

kɑryʌkrʌm **ke** **sʌmɛ** **etnɑ** **jʌldi** **cʌl**

programme GEN time so much soon walk

jɑtɑ

jɑ-ʌt **bɑ**

go-IMPF be.3SG.PRES

'The time of the programme passes so quickly...' (03.382)

c. हमनी के स्वतंत्रता छीना गइल ।

ɦʌmni **ke** **swʌtʌntrʌtɑ** **cʰinɑ** **gʌil**

ɦʌm-ni **ke** **swʌtʌntrʌtɑ** **cʰin-ɑ** **jɑ-il**

1SG-PL GEN freedom seize-CAUS go-3SG.PST

'Our freedom was seized.' (02.098)

d. ऊ अब ओरा गइल ।

u **ʌb** **orɑ** **gʌil**

u **ʌb** **orɑ** **jɑ-il**

3SG.DIST now empty go-3SG.PST

'Now it was finished.' (03.244)

In (42a-d) the verbalizer जा /*ja*/ 'go' is used to function as imperative in (42a) and as passive marker verbalizer in (42b-d). But it has no separate meaning more than its hosts. So, it is default grammaticalization (Das 2015:68).

7.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed simple verbal clauses and argument structure in Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri verbs are classified in different groups in terms of clause structure and argument structure. Non-verbal predicates in Bhojpuri are nominal predicates, adjectival predicates and locative expressions. Besides these, existentials and possessives are the other copular or copula-like expressions in Bhojpuri. The nominal predicates in Bhojpuri sometimes occur without an overt copula in present tense whereas when a clause predicates the time reference other than the present, the copula verb is employed. The adjectival and locative copular clauses take the copula ह॒ /ɦʌ/ or बा /*ba*/ 'be' inflected to encode tense, aspect and participant reference marking morphemes. The verbal predicates in Bhojpuri may be divided in terms of transitivity. Basic differences are found in intransitive, transitive and bi-transitive predicates. All of these types may be divided as encoding indirect objects. Further, modality verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs in Bhojpuri are characterized by clausal complements of different types. Some predicates in Bhojpuri exhibit multiple membership due to valance patterns for conjunct verb constructions.

CHAPTER 8

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND CASE MARKING

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the grammatical relations and the case marking system in Bhojpuri. It consists of three sections. Section 8.1 deals with the grammatical relations and 8.2 with case marking system. We summarize the findings in the chapter in section 8.3.

8.1 Grammatical relations

The notion of grammatical relations is broad and ill-defined as this term can be used to refer to any grammatically dependent relations. However, in practice, it is used to denote relations between a predicate and its arguments in a clause for which some linguists use the term 'grammatical relation' or 'grammatical function' as 'syntactic function' (Falk 2006) or 'syntactic role' (Croft 2001). Subject, direct object and indirect object are the major relational categories among the most basic concepts of several models of grammar and are often regarded, either explicitly or implicitly, as universal (cf. Chomsky 1981; Dixon 1994, 2009).

In Bhojpuri, too, grammatical relations are characterized by two major formal properties referred to as coding as well as behavioural properties[1].

8.1.1 Overt coding properties

The overt coding properties of the grammatical relations are distinct features of the grammatical code, such as nominal morphology, intonation or word-order. The overt coding properties of grammatical subjects of those, the most relevant to grammatical relations universally, are word order (i.e., the NP's position in the clause vis-a-vis other grammatical relation bearing arguments and the verb), verb agreement (i.e., the NP's control of pronominal affixes on the verb) and nominal morphology (i.e., the NP's morphological case-marking). Of such properties, the word order is syntactic whearas the verb agreement and case-marking are morphological. These overt coding properties remarkably determine grammatical roles of the clausal participants. The relevance of such properties to the grammatical relations even in simple clauses varies from one language to the other, or within the same language from one case-role to the other (Givón, 2001:175-7). In this section, we examine the overt coding properties and their relevance to grammatical relations in Bhojpuri.

1. Givón (1997:7) argues that the formal properties of grammatical subjects investigated by Keenan (1976:324) can be easily extended to grammatical relations in general.

a) Nominal morphology

To determine the grammatical relations, the nominal morphology, as one of the overt coding properties, refers to the morphological case-marking of the noun phrases (NPs). On contrary to the ergative-absolutive languages, the case-marking morphology in nominative-accusative languages is keyed towards coding the grammaticalized subject (*nominative*) and direct-object (*accusative*), regardless of semantic roles or transitivity (Givón 2001a:203). In Bhojpuri, an Indo-Aryan nominative-accusative language as its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:110), Maithili (Yadav 1996:72) and Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:126), the subject of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause are maked as nominative, irrespective of the tense, aspect or person, whereas, the object of the transitive clause is marked as accusative. Examples in (1a-b) exhibit the nominative-accusative case marking pattern in Bhojpuri.

(1) a. **Intransitive clause**

बाबुजी अइनी ... ।

bɑbuji ʌini

bɑbu-ji ɑ-ini

father-H come-PST.H

'Father came ....' (09.505)

b. **Transitive clause (non-human patient/object)**

पङ्वाहा गाछ पाङेला ।

pʌŋwɑɦɑ gɑcʰ pɑŋelɑ

pʌŋwɑɦɑ gɑcʰ pɑŋ-e-lɑ

shortener tree trim-PUR-3SG.PRES

'A trimmer trims a tree.' (09.363)

In example (1a), the subject of the intransitive clause बाबुजी /*babuji*/ 'father' is encoded by the nominative marker -ø.[2] Similarly, the agent of the transitive clause in (1b) पङ्वाहा /*pʌŋwaɦa*/ 'trimmer' is unmarked nominative and the non-human object/patient of the transitive clause in (1b) गाछ /*gacʰ*/ 'tree' is unmarked accusative. But they are marked as nominative and accusative respectively semantically However, a human patient/object is marked as dative in Bhojpuri, as in (2):

2. Nominative is almost always the functional term in a nominative-accusative system, and may also be formally unmarked (Dixon 2010b:120).

(2) **Transitive Clause (human patient)**

राजा ओके बड़ी सजाय कइलन ।

rɑjɑ	**oke**	**bʌɽi**	**sʌjɑe**	**kʌilʌn**
rɑjɑ	**oke**	**bʌɽ-i**	**sʌjɑe**	**kʌr-il-ʌn**
king	3SG.ACC	big-EMPH	punishment	do-PP-3.PST.MH

'The king punished him/her to the maximum.' (13.035)

In example (2), we see that the pronominal argument ओके /oke/ 'him/her' in object/patient role is marked by the accusative case -के /-*ke*/. Thus, the nominal morphology as coding property follows a consistent nominative pattern in Bhojpuri.

b) Verb agreement

There is a very complex pattern of verb agreement/verb cross-rererencing indexing person, number, gender, honorificity and direct-inverse relations of the verb arguments in the complex of verb in Bhojpuri. They are briefly discussed as follows:

(i) Pronominal verb agreement

In a single-argument clause, references of all the three person-arguments are indexed distinctly in the complex of verb in Bhojpuri, exemplified in (3a-c).

(3) a. ऊ आइल ।

u	**ɑil**
u	**ɑ-il**
3SG.NOM	come-3SG.PST

'He came.' (08.010)

b. हम अइनी ।

ɦʌm	**ʌini**
ɦʌm	**ɑ-ini**
1SG.NOM	come-PST.H

'I came.'

c. तैँ अइले ।

tẽ	**ʌile**
tẽ	**ɑ-il-e**
2SG.NOM	come-PP-2SG.PST

'You came.'

We observed that the verb आ /*a*-/ 'come' in third person argument/subject in (3a) is indexed by -इल /-*il*/ that is a regular suffix for infinitive and perfective in Bhojpuri but it is furhter decayed and inflectd by -नी /-*ni*/ for the first person as well as by -ए /-*e*/ for the second person.

Going through the instances, it is concluded that pronominal agreement in Bhojpuri on the complex of verb is neither seen controlled by semantic roles nor by the grammatical roles of the participants, other than in S-argument. Let's observe the situation for transitive verb agreement, as in (4).

(4) हम किताब देनी ।

ɦʌm	**kitɑb**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	book	give-PST.H

'I gave a book.' (08.008)

It is changed as following when the subject/agent is changed into second and third person respectively, as in (5a-b).

(5) a. तैँ किताब देले ।

tẽ	**kitɑb**	**dele**
tẽ	**kitɑb**	**de-ʌl-e**
2SG.NOM	book	give-PP-2.PST

'You gave a book.'

b. ऊ किताब देलस/देलख ।

u	**kitɑb**	**delʌs/ʌkʰ**
u	**kitɑb**	**de-ʌl-ʌs/ʌkʰ**
3SG.NOM	book	give-PP-3SG.PST

'S/he gave a book.'

We observe in (4) and 5(a-b) that the S-argument pronominal हम /*ɦʌm*/ 'I' in (4), तैँ /*tẽ*/ 'you' in (5a) and ऊ /*u*/ 's/he' control pronominal agreement with the verb दे /*de*-/ 'give'.

(ii) Number agreement

Bhojpuri overtly indexes plurality of the verbal arguments in the verbal complex. It is marked by suffix -नी /-*ni*/, for all pronominals. However, it is coded by suffix -अन /-*ʌn*/ or लोग /*log*/ as a separate word following nominals as well as pronominals. Moreover, some plural markers with finite verbs in Bhojpuri are used

unchanged in both the numbers, so, they are unmarked for number in the endeavour. In Bhojpuri, such indexation is exclusively controlled by nominative principle, i.e., the subjects regardless of transitivity of the verb as in (6a-f).

(6) a. हमनी खेते गइनी ।

ɦʌmni	**kʰete**	**gʌini**
ɦʌm-ni	**kʰet-e**	**jɑ-ini**
1SG.NOM-PL	farm-LOC	go-PST.H

'We went to farm.' (13.005)

b. हमनी आम खइनी ।

ɦʌmni	**ɑm**	**kʰʌini**
ɦʌm-ni	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-ini**
1SG.NOM-PL	mango	eat-PST.H

'We ate mangoes.' (13.006)

c. तोहनी खेते गइलऽ ।

toɦni	**kʰete**	**gʌilʌ**
tu-ni	**kʰet-e**	**jɑ-il-ʌ**
2SG.NOM-PL	farm-LOC	go-PP-2.PST.MH

'You went to farm.' (13.007)

d. तोहनी आम खइलऽ ।

toɦni	**ɑm**	**kʰʌilʌ**
tu-ni	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-il-ʌ**
2SG.NOM-PL	mango	eat-PP-2.PST.MH

'You ate mangoes.' (13.008)

e. ओकनी खेते गइलन ।

okni	**kʰete**	**gʌilʌn**
u-ni	**kʰet-e**	**jɑ-il-ʌn**
3SG.DIST.NOM-PL	farm-LOC	go-PP-3PL.PST.MH

'They went to farm.' (13.009)

f. ओकनी आम खइलन ।

okni	**ɑm**	**kʰʌilʌn**
u-ni	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-il-ʌn**
3SG.DIST.NOM-PL	mango	eat- PP-3PL.PST.MH

'They ate mangoes.' (13.010)

In examples (6a-f), the verb agreement with respect to plurality is controlled by the subjects regardless of transitivity.

(iii) Gender agreement

Bhojpuri has dual gender system, masculine and feminine. As the non-human nominals are used as masculine in general, the masculinity is used unmarked in morpheme break of the Bhojpuri finite verbs in this study. Hence, the verb agreement is analyzed on the gender basis, as shown in (7) and (8a-c).

(7) हम माझ घर में रहेनी ।

ɦʌm	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦeni**
ɦʌm	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-eni**
1SG.NOM	middle	house	LOC	live-PRES.H

'I live in the middle room.' (09.112)

The caluse can be presented for the second and third person subjects, both in masculine and feminine as follows:

(8) a. तू माझ घर में रहेलऽ ।

tu	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦelʌ**
tu	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-elʌ**
2SG.NOM	middle	house	LOC	live-2PRES.MH

'You live in the middle room.'

b. तू माझ घर में रहेलू ।

tu	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦelu**
tu	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-elu**
2SG.NOM	middle	house	LOC	live-2PRES.F.MH

'You live in the middle room.'

c. ऊ माझ घर में रहेला ।

u	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦelɑ**
u	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-elɑ**
3SG.NOM	middle	house	LOC	live-3SG.PRES

'He lives in the middle room.'

d. ऊ माझ घर में रहेले ।

u	**maj̈**	**g̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦele**

u **mɑj̈** **g̈ʌr** **mẽ** **rʌɦ-ele**

3SG.NOM middle house LOC live-3SG.PRES.F

'She lives in the middle room.'

In the intransitive clauses presented in (7) and (8a-d), the verb agrees with the first person unchanged for feminine, but -नी /-*ni*/ is changed into -लऽ /-*lʌ*/ and -लू /-*lu*/ with the seocond person as well as into -ला /-*la*/ and -ले /-*le*/ for masculine and feminine respectively. Besides, the verb denotes gender in pronominal agreements unlike English where pronominls denote gender only in third person singular. Now we discuss the transitive clauses for gender agreement, as in (9) and (10a-d).

(9) हम आम खानी ।

ɦʌm **ɑm** **kʰɑni**

ɦʌm **ɑm** **kʰɑ-ni**

1SG.NOM mango eat-PRES.H

'I eat a mango.' (Lohar, 2009:143)

The transitive clause in (9) can be presented for second and third person agents in masculine and feminine, as shown in (10a-d).

(10) a. तू आम खालऽ ।

tu **ɑm** **kʰɑlʌ**

tu **ɑm** **kʰɑ-lʌ**

2SG.NOM mango eat-2.PRES.MH

'You eat a mango.'

b. तू आम खालू ।

tu **ɑm** **kʰɑlu**

tu **ɑm** **kʰɑ-lu**

2SG.NOM mango eat-2.PRES.F.MH

'You eat a mango.'

c. ऊ आम खाला ।

u **ɑm** **kʰɑlɑ**

u **ɑm** **kʰɑ-lɑ**

3SG.NOM mango eat-3SG.PRES

'He eats a mango.'

d. ऊ आम खाले ।

u **ɑm** **kʰɑle**

u **ɑm** **kʰɑ-le**

3SG.NOM mango eat-3SG.PRES.F

'She eats a mango.'

Going through the examples (9) and (10a-d), we find the same verb agreement as in the intransitive clauses on the gender basis already discussed. Now some bitransitive clauses are presented in (11a-c).

(11) a. ऊ ओह् लइका के कह्ली ... ।

u **oɦ** **lʌikɑ** **ke** **kʌɦli**

u **oɦ** **lʌikɑ** **ke** **kʌɦ-ʌl-i**

3SG.NOM 3SG.DIST boy caus say-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'She said to the boy …' (05.010)

b. लइका ... बुढ़िआ के कह्लक ... ।

lʌikɑ **buɽ̊iɑ** **ke** **kʌɦlʌk**

lʌikɑ **buɽ̊iɑ** **ke** **kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**

boy old woman DAT say-PP-3SG.PST

'The boy … said to the old woman …' (05.011)

c. ह्म ओके किताब देनी ।

ɦʌm **oke** **kitɑb** **deni**

ɦʌm **oɦ-ke** **kitɑb** **de-ni**

1SG.NOM 3SG.DIST-DAT book give-PST.H

'I gave him/her a book.' (08.008)

As exemplified in (11a-c), the verb agrees with the subject ऊ /*u*/ 'she' in (11a) as well as with लइका /*lʌika*/ 'the boy' in (11b) but not with लइका /*lʌika*/ 'the boy' in (11a) and बुढ़िआ /*buɽ̊ia*/ 'the old woman' in (11b) respectively. Likewise, the verb agrees with ह्म /*ɦʌm*/ 'I' and neither with ओके /*oke*/ 'him/her' nor with किताब /*kitab*/ 'book' in (11c).

On the basis of the instances, it is concluded that the verb agreement on the basis of gender only agrees with subject/agent. It is so because of lacking ergativity as we find in Hindi (Koul 2008:96-7).

(iv) Honorificity agreement

Though honourificity is displayed in its close neighbours Chotoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:228), Maithili (Yadav 1996:172), Hindi (Koul 2008:75) and Nepali

(Upadhyay 2010:84 and Adhikari 2016:157), Bhojpuri clauses express three degrees of honoroficity: nonhonorific, mid-honorific and honorific or full honorific as Maithili does. They are observed in second and third person pronominals and nouns, too, because first person remains always honorific universally. Besides, the nonhonorific usage in Bhojpuri is the highest in the discourse, so, it is unmarked in morpheme break of the Bhojpuri clauses in this study. The honorific agreement in all the three persons either in singular or plural number the verb is suffixed with -नी /-*ni*/ as shown in (12a-d).

(12) a. बाबुजी अइनी ... ।

bɑbuji ʌini

bɑbu-ji ɑ-ini

father-H come-PST.H

'Father came ....' (09.505)

b. उहाँका अइनी ।

uɦãkɑ ʌini

uɦã-kɑ ɑ-ini

3SG.NOM.H-DEF come-PST.H

'S/he came.'

c. रउआ अइनी ।

rʌuɑ ʌini

rʌuɑ ɑ -ini

2SG.NOM.H come -PST.H

'You came.'

d. हम अइनी ।

ɦʌm ʌini

ɦʌm ɑ-ini

1SG.NOM come-PST.H

'I came.'

For mid-honorific agreement the verb is suffixed with -अ /-ʌ/ in the second person and -अन /-ʌ*n*/ or -एँ /*ẽ*/ in the third person as shown in (13a-b).

(13) a. तू अइलऽ ।

tu ɑilʌ

tu **ɑ-il-ʌ**

2SG.NOM come-PP-2.PST.MH

'You came.' (MH)

b. ऊ अइलन/अइलें ।

u **ʌilʌn/ʌilẽ**

u **ɑ-il-ʌn/ẽ**

3SG.NOM come-PP.3PST.MH

'He came.' (MH)

The clause can be presented for other pronominals in second and third person for non-honorificity, as shown in (14a-b).

(14) a. तैँ अइलिस ।

tẽ **ʌilis**

tẽ **ɑ-il-is**

2SG.NOM come-PP-2.PST

'You came.' (NH)

b. ऊ अइलस्/क्/ख् ।

u **ʌilʌs/k/k^{h}**

u **ɑ-il-ʌs/ʌk/ʌk^{h}**

3SG.NOM come-PP-3SG.PST

'He came.' (NH)

But in the environment of high honorificity, the verb follows first person pattern as shown in (15a-b).

(15) a. रउआ/अपने अइनी ।

rʌuɑ/ʌpne **ʌini**

rʌuɑ/ʌpne **ɑ-ini**

2SG.NOM come-PST.H

'You came.'

b. उहाँका अइनी ।

uɦãkɑ **ʌini**

uɦã-kɑ **ɑ-ini**

3SG.NOM.H-DEF come-PST.H

'He came.' (H)

Further more the verb in the third person mid-honorific feminine argument/subject is suffixed by -इली /-*ili*/ as shown in (16).

(16) ऊ अइली ।

u	**ʌili**
u	**ɑ-ili**
3SG.NOM	come-PST.F.MH

'She came.' (MH)

The situation is same for the transitive verbs, too, as shown in (17).

(17) ... ऊ अपना मेह्रारू से ... खीर बनावेके कह्लख ।

u	**ʌpnɑ**	**meɦrɑru**	**se**	**kʰir**
u	**ʌpnɑ**	**meɦrɑru**	**se**	**kʰir**
3SG.NOM	GEN	wife	DAT	rice-pudding

bʌnɑweke	**kʌɦilʌkʰ**
bʌnɑ-e-ke	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
make-PUR-SEQ	say-PP-3SG.PST

'... he told his wife to cook rice-pudding …' (08.005)

In (17) the verb agrees with the subject, but not with object. Thus, in this section we conclude that the verb agreement in Bhojpuri is always in accordance with subject/agent, never with object/patient in all the environments of person, number, gender and honorificity.

c. Word order

As its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013), Maithili (Yadav 1996 and Yadav 2014), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971), Hindi (Koul 2008) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010 and Adhikari 2016), Bhojpuri follows SOV basic clausal word order. But it is closer to Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:302), Maithili (Yadav 1996:302) and Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:99) being a nominative-accusative language. Both the S-argument and A/O-argument have the same word order. However, this order is not obligatory. For the pragmatic effects such as topicalization and focusing, A, O and V in A/O arguments are permuted from their stipulated places within the clause to a great extent as Bhujel and other ergative-absolutive languages also do (Regmi, 2012:119-21).

(18) बाबुजी अइनी ... । (SV)

bɑbuji ʌini

babu-ji a-ini

father-H come-PST.H

'Father came ....' (09.505)

The unmarked theme structure is presented in (18) for intransitive subject where object is not essential. It is a single argument structure S. But if the word order is changed from SV to VS, the structure remains unmarked in Bhojpuri but it denotes some special meaning, as shown in (19).

(19) अइनी बाबुजी । (VS)

ʌini babuji

a-ini babu-ji

come-PST.H father-H

'Father came.' (09.505)

The change in word order in (19) signalizes the arrival of father unexpectedly. The A/O construction also accepts the change of constituent worder as shown in (20) and (21a-e).

(20) पङ्वाहा गाछ पाङेला । (SOV)

pʌŋwaɦa gac^{h} paŋela

pʌŋwaɦa gac^{h} paŋ-e-la

shortener tree trim-PUR-3SG.PRES

'A trimmer trims a tree.' (09.363)

The SOV word order exemplified in (20) can also be presented in SVO, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS patterns as shown in (21a-e).

(21) a. पङ्वाहा पाङेला गाछ । (SVO)

pʌŋwaɦa paŋela gac^{h}

pʌŋwaɦa paŋ-e-la gac^{h}

shortener trim-PUR-3SG.PRES tree

'As for a trimmer, he certainly trims a tree.'

b. पाङेला पङ्वाहा गाछ । (VSO)

paŋela pʌŋwaɦa gac^{h}

paŋ-e-la pʌŋwaɦa gac^{h}

trim-PUR-3SG.PRES shortener tree

'He is a trimmer, as for trimming a tree, he does it.'

c. पाङेला गाछ पङ्वाहा । (VOS)

pɑɲelɑ **gɑcʰ** **pʌɲwɑɦɑ**

pɑɲ-e-lɑ **gɑcʰ** **pʌɲwɑɦɑ**

trim-PUR-3SG.PRES tree shortener

'It is a tree, as for trimming, which a trimmer did.'

d. गाछ पङ्वाहा पाङेला । (OSV)

gɑcʰ **pʌɲwɑɦɑ** **pɑɲelɑ**

gɑcʰ **pʌɲwɑɦɑ** **pɑɲ-e-lɑ**

tree shortener trim-PUR-3SG.PRES

'As for tree, he is a trimmer, who trims it.'

e. गाछ पाङेला पङ्वाहा । (OVS)

gɑcʰ **pɑɲelɑ** **pʌɲwɑɦɑ**

gɑcʰ **pɑɲ-e-lɑ** **pʌɲwɑɦɑ**

tree trim-PUR-3SG.PRES shortener

'As for a tree, a trimmer trims it, he does not do anything else.'

Hence, all the six logically possible clauses (20) and (21a-e) are acceptable for different pragmatic effects in Bhojpuri. However, SOV in (20) represents the basic word order in the language. Thus, in a language in which word order is well characterized as relatively free, it is not a definite diagnostic tool to examine grammatical relations. Thus, word order has neither S nor A/O coding pattern in Bhojpuri. However, it distinguishes between agentive subject in the transitive clauses and an oblique NP in single argument clauses.

8.1.2 Behaviour-and-control properties

Apart from the overt-coding properties, there are the formal properties referred to as behaviour-and-control properties (i.e. behaviour constraints) also, to characterize grammatical relations. "Behaviour-and-control properties of GRs are, in practical terms, a list of the syntactic constructions – or 'processes' – whose behaviour can be governed, at least potentially, by the GRs subject and/or direct-object" (Givón 2001a:177). But they are not alway applicable across the board, much like the overt-coding properties, Following Keenan (1976), Givón (2001a:177-8) exhibits the following grammatical constructions – or 'process' – whose behaviour is most likely to be governed by either the subject or direct-object GR:

(22) a. promotion to direct object

b. demotion from direct object

c. passivization
d. reflexivization
e. causativization
f. equi-NP reference in complementation
g. raising
h. possessor raising
i. anaphoric co-reference in chained clauses
j. relativization
k. *wh*-questions
l. cleft-focus constructions
m. participial adverbial clauses

These properties of GRs may be applicable in a particular construction in a particular language, determined whether one has to mention the *subject* and/or *direct-object* GR in describing the grammatical behaviour of a particular construction. Moreover, in a nominative-accusative language like Bhojpuri, the morphology does not reveal unified categories of subject and direct object.

We examine the patterns of syntactic control in some syntactic constructions in the language as follows:

a) Promotion to or demotion from direct object

Let us consider the two variant syntactic frames of the verb दे /*de*/ 'give', as shown in (23a-b).

(23) a. हम राधा के किताब देनी ।

ɦʌm	**raɖ̤a**	**ke**	**kitab**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**raɖ̤a**	**ke**	**kitab**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	Radha	DAT	book	give-PST.H

'I gave a book to Radha.'

b. हम किताब राधा के देनी ।

ɦʌm	**kitab**	**raɖ̤a**	**ke**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**kitab**	**raɖ̤a**	**ke**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	book	Radha	DAT	give-PST.H

'I gave Radha a book.'

Both overt coding properties of relevant Bhojpuri objects, word-order (pre-verbial, verb-adjacent) and case-marking (no postposition), clearly tag किताब /*kitab*/ 'a

book' as the DO in (22a) as well as the word-order (pre-verbial, verb-adjacent) and case-marking (postposition के /*ke*/), clearly tag राधा /*raḍa*/ 'Radha' as the IO in (22b).

The variation between (22a) and (22b), taken as a 'grammatical process', is called promotion of IO to DO or dative-shifting. It demonstrates that the dative IO in (22a) is 'promoted into the DO' in (22b). Thus, this process is clearly governed by the GR direct-object (or its absence) and it cannot be defined or described without referring to the DO.

b) Passivization

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:339), Maithili (Yadav 1996:211), Hindi (Koul 2008:121) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:283) display, passivization is one of the behaviour-and-control properties in Bhojpuri. Let us consider the following passive clauses derived from (23a-b) in (24a-b).

(24) a. हमरा से राधा के किताब दिआइल ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**se**	**rɑḍɑ**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**diɑil**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**se**	**rɑḍɑ**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**de-ɑ-il**
1SG-GEN-DEF	by	Radha	DAT	book	give-CAUS-3SG.PST

'A book was given my be to Radha.'

b. हमरा से किताब राधा के दिआइल

ɦʌmrɑ	**se**	**kitɑb**	**rɑḍɑ**	**ke**	**diɑil**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**se**	**kitɑb**	**rɑḍɑ**	**ke**	**de-ɑ-il**
1SG-GEN-DEF	by	book	Radha	DAT	give-CAUS-3SG.PST

'Radha was given a book by me.'

Out of the construction (23a), only किताब /*kitab*/ 'a book' can be made the subject of the passive (24a), but not राधा /*raḍa*/ 'Radha'. Similarly, out of the construction (23b), only राधा /*raḍa*/ 'Radha' (DO) can be made the subject of the passive (24b), but not किताब /*kitab*/ 'a book'.

Moreover, as displayed in Maithili (Yadav 1996:211), Hindi (Koul 2008:121) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:284), unlike in English (Givón, 2001a:179), the other IO types also can be made subject of passive in Bhojpuri, as shown in (25a-b).

(25) a. ऊ गुरु किहाँ जाला ...।

u	**guru**	**kiɦɑ̃**	**jɑlɑ**

u **guru** **kiɦã** **ja-la**

3SG.NOM teacher place go-3SG.PRES

'He goes to the schoolmaster ...' (12.038)

b. ओकरा द्वारा गुरु किहाँ जाइल जाला ।

okʌra **dwara** **guru** **kiɦã** **jail** **jala**

okʌr-a **dwara** **guru** **kiɦã** **ja-il** **ja-la**

3SG.GEN-DEF by teacher place go-PP go-3SG.PRES

'The schoolmaster is gone to by him.'

c) Reflexivization

"Another behaviour-and-control property that is widely applicable to one grammatical relation – the subject – is reflexivization, the 'true' reflexive invariably is controlled by the subject, although the coreferentially-deleted argument may be ither direct or indirect object" (Givón 1997:24). That is, the only nominative subject NP becomes the reflexive pronoun[3] regardless of transitivity as exhibited in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:143), Maithili (Yadav 1996:121), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:198), Hindi (Koul 2008:151) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:47). It clearly exhibits nominative control in Bhojpuri, as in (26a-c):

(26) a. राजु अपने-आप के मदत कइलस ।

raju **ʌpneap** **ke** **mʌdʌt** **kʌilʌs**

raju **ʌpneap** **ke** **mʌdʌt** **kʌr-il-ʌs**

Raju itself DAT help do-PP-3SG.PST

'Raju favoured himself.' (13.195)

b. हम खुद से लड़नी ।

ɦʌm **kʰud** **se** **lʌɽni**

ɦʌm **kʰud** **se** **lʌɽ-ni**

1SG.NOM self ABL fight-PST.H

'I fought against myself.' (13.196)

c. हम खुद के चिन्नी ।

ɦʌm **kʰud** **ke** **ciɲni**

3. A reflexive construction, in a language, which involves a reflexive pronoun or some other reflexive marker being placed in one argument slot, will always go into O slot with a transitive verb and into a peripheral slot with an intransitive verb, i.e., it is always the A or S argument which retains its normal form (Dixon 2010b:154).

ɦʌm	**kʰud**	**ke**	**ciŋ-ni**
1SG.NOM	self	DAT	know-PST.H

'I knew myself.' (13.197)

d) Causativization

As observed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:335), Maithili (Yadav 1996:310-8), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:288-9), Hindi (Koul 2008:98-100) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:302-10), Bhojpuri exhibits causativization as the valence increasing operation. Let us consider the causative clauses, as shown in (27a-c).

(27) a. हम राजु से लुगा फिँचवइनी ।

ɦʌm	**rɑju**	**se**	**lugɑ**	**pʰĩcwʌini**
ɦʌm	**rɑju**	**se**	**lugɑ**	**pʰĩc-wʌ-ini**
1SG.NOM	Raju	by	clothes	wash-CAUS-PST.H

'I made Raju wash clothes.'

b. ऊ आज हमे खूब हँसइलस ।

u	**ɑj**	**ɦʌme**	**kʰub**	**ɦʌ̃sʌilʌs**
u	**ɑj**	**ɦʌm-e**	**kʰub**	**ɦʌ̃s-ɑ-il-ʌs**
3SG.NOM	today	1SG-ACC	excessively	laugh-CAUS-PP-3SG.PST

'S/he made me laugh a lot today.'

c. तू हमरा से पानी भरवइलऽ ।

tu	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**se**	**pɑni**	**ḅʌrwʌilʌ**
tu	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**se**	**pɑni**	**ḅʌr-wʌ-il-ʌ**
2SG.NOM	1SG-GEN-DEF	by	water	fill-CAUS-PP-2.PST.MH

'You made me pull water.'

Clauses (27a-c) show that the GR subjects हम /*ɦʌm*/ 'I' in (27a), non-honorific ऊ /*u*/ 's/he' in (27b) and mid-honorific तू /*tu*/ 'you' in (27c) have caused the GR obects or DOs राजु /*raju*/ 'Raju' in (27a) and हम /*ɦʌm*/ 'I' in (27b-c) to लुगा फिँच /*luga pʰĩc*/ 'wash clothes' in (27a), हँस /*ɦʌ̃s*/ 'laugh' in (27b) and पानी भर /*pani ḅʌr*/ 'pull water' in (27c). Thus, we conclude that the S/A in Bhojpuri clauses clearly governs process of causativization.

e) Equi-NP deletion and grammatical relations

Equi-NP deletion is a syntactic process in which the co-referential argument/NP in the complement clause is deleted. "Equi-NP deletion is the operation which deletes a subject NP in an imbedded clause under coreferentiality with either

the subject or the object of the main clause" (Craig 1977:311). Brainard (1997:122) notes "equi-NP deletion takes place between a main clause and complement clause: when an argument in the main clause is co-referential with one in the complement clause, the co-referential complement argument is deleted". Subject of the main clause, especially the nominative one in either of the intransitive and transitive clauses, controls such deletion. Thus, as Maithili (Yadav 2014:88-9), Nepali (Adhikari 2016:417-9) and Hindi (Koul 2008:188-9) display, the equi-NP deletion (or co-reference ommission) in complement clauses in Bhojpuri displays a nominative pattern of control in modality verb like चाह /*caɦ*/ 'want' either with indirect object complement (28a) or direct object complement (28b).

(28) a. **Indirect object complement clause**

हम बात करेके चाहतानी जमीन के व्यवस्थापन का बारे में ।

ɦʌm	**bɑt**	**kʌreke**	**cɑɦʌtɑni**		**jʌmin**	**ke**
ɦʌm$_i$	**bɑt**	**kʌr-e-ke**	**cɑɦ-ʌt**	**bɑni**	**[ø$_i$ jʌmin**	**ke**
1SG.NOM	matter	do-PUR-SEQ	want-SIM	be.PRES.H	land	GEN

bewʌst^{h}ɑpʌn	**kɑ**	**bɑre**	**mẽ**
bewʌst^{h}ɑpʌn	**kɑ**	**bɑre**	**mẽ]**
management	GEN	about	LOC

'I want to talk on land management.' (02.025)

b. **Direct object complement clause**

हमहू अपना लड़िका के इस्कोल में भेजेके चाहतानी ।

ɦʌmɦu	**ʌpnɑ**	**lʌɽikɑ**	**ke**	**iskol**	**mẽ**	**b̤ejeke**
ɦʌm-ɦu$_i$	**[ø$_i$ ʌpnɑ**	**lʌikɑ**	**ke]**	**iskol**	**mẽ**	**b̤ej-e-ke**
1SG.NOM-EMPH	GEN	son	acc	school	loc	send-PUR-SEQ

cɑɦʌtɑni	
cɑɦ-ʌt	**bɑni**
want-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'I also want to send my boy to school.' (12.041)

In the examples (28a-b), the deleted NPs in the complement clause (enclosed in the square brackets) are co-referential with the NPs in the respective main clauses. Regarding the equi-NP deletion, Givón (1997: 24) asserts that it applies differently to grammatical relations in different types of complement taking verbs within the same language. In English modality verbs (want, start, try), the equi-NP is relevant to the

subject of both clauses. In English manipulation verbs (force, make, tell), on the other hand, are relevant to the subject of the complement and object of the main clause.
In Bhojpuri, as in English sentence, 'she told him (ø) to leave' the human object of manipulative verbs is direct object, so the equi can be formulated in terms of the subject of the complement and the direct object of the main clause, as in (29a-b):

(29) a. बुढ़िआ फेर कहली पिट्ठी गिरावेके ।

buɽ̊ia	**pʰer**	**kʌɦili**	**piʈʈʰi**	**girɑweke**
buɽ̊iɑ$_i$	**pʰer**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**[ø$_i$ piʈʈʰi**	**gir-ɑ-e-ke]**
old woman	again	say-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH	cake	fall-CAUS-PUR-SEQ

'The old woman again told him to let a cake fall down.' (05.033)

b. बुढ़िआ नोकर के काम पर लगा देली ।

buɽ̊ia	**nokʌr**	**ke**	**kɑm**	**pʌr**	**lʌgɑ**	**deli**
buɽ̊iɑ$_i$	**nokʌr**	**ke**	**[ø$_i$ kɑm**	**pʌr**	**lʌg-ɑ]**	**de-ʌl-i**
old woman	servant	ACC	work	LOC	join-CAUS	give-PP-3SG.F.MH

'The old woman employed the servant on work.' (05.038)

In example (29a), the equi-NP of the manipulation verb कह /*kʌɦ*/ 'tell' is co-referential with the subject of the complement and the object of the main clause. Similarly in (29b), the equi-NP of the manipulation verb लगा /*lʌga*/ 'employ' is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause and object of the main clause.

f) Raising

Similar to English (Givón, 2001a:184), Bhojpuri has the syntactic arrangement governed by both the object of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate one, as shown in (30):

(30) a. **Unraised**

दर्शक लोग कहलें जे ऊ खेल जीत लेलस ।

dʌrsʌk	**log**	**kʌɦilẽ**	**je**	**u**	**kʰel**	**jit**
dʌrsʌk	**log**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**je**	**u**	**kʰel**	**jit**
spectator	PL	say-PP-3.PST.MH	COMP	3SG.NOM	game	win

lelʌs

le-ʌl-ʌs

take-PP-3SG.PST

'The spectators declared that he won the game.'

b. **Raised (active subject)**

दर्शक लोग ओके खेल के जीतल कहलें।

dʌrsʌk	**log**	**oke**	**kʰel**	**ke**	**jitʌl**	**kʌɦlẽ**
dʌrsʌk	**log**	**oɦ-ke**	**kʰel**	**ke**	**jit-ʌl**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**
spectator	PL	3SG-DAT	game	ACC	win-PP	say-PP-3.PST.MH

'The spectators declared him to have won the game.'

c. **Raised (passiseve subject)**

दर्शक लोग खेल के ओकर जीतल कहलें।

dʌrsʌk	**kʰel**	**ke**	**okʌr**	**jitʌl**	**kʌɦlẽ**
dʌrsʌk	**kʰel**	**ke**	**okʌr**	**jit-ʌl**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**
spectator	PL	game	ACC	3sg.gen	say-PP-3.PST.MH

'The spectators declared game to have been won (by him)'

In examples (30a-c), the object of the main clause and subject of the subordinate clause is raised in (30b) and (30c).

g) Zero anaphora in chained clauses and grammatical relations

"The use of *zero anaphora* as a pronominal device to mark co-reference in clause-chaining is confined in English to the subject GR" (Givón 2001a:182). It happens in the conjoined or adjacent independent clauses that share co-referential arguments. It is a pronominal device to mark co-reference in clause-chaining, confined to the subject grammatical relation in Bhojpuri. The zero in a chained (conjoined) clause could only be governed by the subject of the preceding clause as in (31a), not by its object as in (31b) in Bhojpuri:[4]

(31) a. बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली आ चल देली।

buɽ̊iɑ$_i$	**oke$_j$**	**pʌkʌɽke**	**ḍokʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**	
buɽ̊iɑ	**u-ke**	**pʌkʌɽ-ke**	**ḍokʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**	
old woman	3SG-ACC	catch-SEQ	bag	LOC	place and tighten	

leli	**ɑ**	**ø$_i$**	**cʌl**	**deli**	
le-ʌl-i	**ɑ**		**cʌl**	**de-ʌl-i**	
take-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH	and		walk	give-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH	

'The old woman pulled him down, tightened him in the bag and went.' (05.039)

b. *बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली आ चल देलख।

4. The same pattern is observed in Bhujel (Regmi 2014:150) and Dhimal (Khatiwada 2016: 87-8), though both are Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal.

buʔiɑ$_i$	**oke$_j$**	**pʌkʌɽke**	**d̪okʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**
buʔiɑ	**u-ke**	**pʌkʌɽ-ke**	**d̪okʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**
old woman	3SG-ACC	catch-SEQ	bag	LOC	place and tighten

leli	**ɑ**	**ø$_j$**	**cʌl**	**delʌk^h**
le-ʌl-i	**ɑ**		**cʌl**	**de-ʌl-ʌk^h**
take-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH	and		walk	give-PP-3SG.PST

'The old woman pulled him down, tightened him in the bag and (he) went.'

From the examples in (31a-b), it is clear that the governed zero (ø) could only be the subject of the chained clause, not the object (see Givón 2001a:182), i.e., an absent argument (zero anaphor), in the subsequent clause is coreferential with the agent/subject argument in the main clause.

h) Relativization and grammatical relations

In some languages, the zero coding strategy is used in the relative clauses, regardless of whether the focus of relativization is subject, direct object or indirect object. Japanese can be taken as example (Givón 2001a:183). In the similar way, as Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:380), Maithili (Yadav 2014:82-3), Hindi (Koul 2008:189) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:382) exhibit, relativization in Bhojpuri is irrespective of being governed by grammatical roles because all the grammatical relations are relativized employing the same strategy, as presented in (32a-d):

(32) a. **Main clause**

बाबुजी ओके मिठाई देनी ।

bɑbuji	**oke**	**miʈ^{h}ɑi**	**deni**
bɑbu-ji	**oɦ-ke**	**miʈ^{h}ɑi**	**de-ni**
father-H	3SG-DAT	sweets	give-PST.H

'Father gave sweets to him/her.'

b. **Subject relative clause**

बाबुजी जे ओके मिठाई देनी ... ।

bɑbuji	**je**	**oke**	**miʈ^{h}ɑi**	**deni**
bɑbu-ji	**je**	**oɦ-ke**	**miʈ^{h}ɑi**	**de-ni**
father-H	COMP	3SG-DAT	sweets	give-PST.H

'Father who gave sweets to him/her...'

c. **Direct object relative clause**

मिठाई जे बाबुजी ओके देनी ... ।

miʈʰai	**je**	**bɑbuji**	**oke**	**deni**
miʈʰai	**je**	**bɑbu-ji**	**oɦ-ke**	**de-ni**
sweets	COMP	father-H	3SG-DAT	give-PST.H

'The sweets that father gave to him/her...'

d. **Dative (indirect object) relative clause**

ऊ जेके बाबुजी मिठाई देनी ... ।

u	**jeke**	**bɑbuji**	**miʈʰai**	**deni**
u	**je-ke**	**bɑbu-ji**	**miʈʰai**	**de-ni**
3SG	COMP-DAT	father-H	sweets	give-PST.H

'S/he who father gave sweets to ...'

Examples in (32b-d) exemplify that the same complementizer जे /*je*/ is employed to relativize different arguments in Bhojpuri but the difference is that it is followed by dative/accusative के /*ke*/ if the IO is ralativised as in (32d).

i) Co-reference in imperatives

Brainard (1997:131) states that "imperatives are constructions in which an argument of the clause is co-referential with the addressee; thus, the argument can be said to control co-reference". In Bhojpuri, the co-referential argument may be present in the surface structure usually as the second person pronoun or it may be absent, as shown in (33a-b):

(33) a. ... समय तू धीरे-धीरे चल ।

sʌmɛ	**tu**	**d̤ire**	**d̤ire**	**cʌl**
sʌmɛ	**tu**	**d̤ire**	**d̤ire**	**cʌl**
time	2SG.NOM	slowly	slowly	walk

'O Time, you walk slowly.' (03.388)

b. ओने जो ।

one	**jo**
one	**jɑ-o**
that side	go-IMP.NH

'Go there.' (09.432)

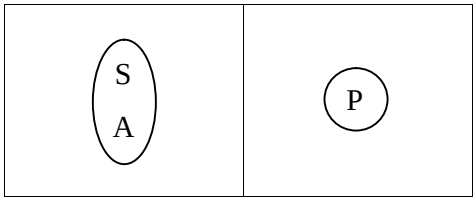
In example (33a), the argument तू /*tu*/ 'you' of the imperative verb चल /*cʌl*/ 'walk' is present in the surface whereas in (33b) the co-referential argument of the imperative verb जो /*jo*/ 'go' is covert, however, understandable because the co-referential argument for the imperative is always the second person pronoun.

8.2 Case marking system

Case is a grammatical category to identify the syntactic relationship among words in a sentence. In most cases, case typically marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clausal level, or of a noun to a pre/post position before/after another noun at the phrasal level. Simply, the inflection of nouns is called declension and such individual declensions are called cases that together form the case system. In other words, case is actually syntactical relationship of the noun to other verbal elements in the sentences. This section deals with the cases and their marking system.

Typologically, the languages of the world exhibit remarkable diversity in grammatical case marking. Givón (2001a:201-9) observes the three systems so far: active-stative (coding semantic roles), ergative-absolutive (coding transitivity) and nominative-accusative (coding pragmatic function). Bhojpuri employs the pragmatically oriented nominative-accusative case-marking strategy as its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:109), Maithili (Yadav 1996:70-1) and Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:126) do. In such languages, according to Givón (2001a:203), the case-marking morphology is keyed towards coding the grammaticalized subject (*nominative*) and direct-object (*accusative*), regardless of semantic roles or transitivity. S and A are treated the same, and P differently in Bhojpuri. This phenomenon is shown in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1: Bhojpuri case marking strategy



Source: Khatiwada (2016:90)

As shown in Figure 8.1, in Bhojpuri, the subject of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause are treated in one way (nominative) and the patient of a transitive clause is treated differently (i.e., accusative), as shown in (34a-b).

(34) a. राम आइल ।

ɾɑm ɑil

ɾɑm ɑ-il

ɾɑm come-3SG.PST

'Ram came.' (Boodhoo, 2010:28)

b. मलाह डेङी खेई ।

mʌlɑɦ ɖeŋi kʰei

mʌlɑɦ ɖeŋi kʰe-i

fisherman boat row-3SG.FUT

'The fisherman will row the boat.' (09.527)

In examples (34a-b), the subject राम /*ram*/ 'Ram' of the intransitive verb आ /*a*/ 'come' in (34a) and the agent of the transitive verb खे /*kʰe*/ 'row' are marked in the same way, i.e., zero-marked.

8.2.1 Some common patterns

"The main pattern of case-marking morphology is keyed towards coding the grammaticalized subject (nominative) and direct-object (accusative), regardless of semantic roles or transitivity as in English, Japanese, Tolowa-Athabaskan and Ute of Lunda-Ndembu along with several sub-variations, such as, case-marking on full NPs but only on pronouns or verbal pronominal affixes, as in Japanese; no grammatical case-marking on full NPs but only on pronouns, as in English; no marking on full-NP subject but marking on the full-NP object plus full marking on pronouns and affixes, as in Hebrew; no case-marking on full NPs but distinct case-marking on verbal pronominal affixes, at least for first and second persons, as in Tolowa-Athabaskan" (Givón, 2001a:203-5). Case-marking system, also classified as nominative and non-nominative[5], in my observation, has been described in Bhojpuri, as follows:

a) No case-marking affixes on noun in NPs

As observed in (34a-b) where राम /*ram*/ 'Ram' in (34a) and मलाह /*mʌlaɦ*/ 'fisherman' in (34b) are nominative and डेङी /*ɖeŋi*/ 'boat' in (34b) is accusative, remained unmarked of any case affixes. Though Grierson (1883:26) and Singh (2009:92-100) attest this characteristics of Bhojpuri for all cases but it is not the reality. Nouns of the noun phrases (NPs) are generally unmarked for cases in Bhojpuri as has already been shown in (34a-b) but non-human animate and inaminate nouns are marked with suffixes if they are not either nominative or accusative in Bhojpuri. This characteristics of case marking in Bhojpuri has already been attested in Ojha (1915[1982]:11), Tiwari (1954:189-98 and 1960:108), Nirbhik (1975:117-8),

5. Subbārāo (2012:135) maintains that "the matrix or embedded subject is (i) ergative case-marked, (ii) dative case-marked, (iii) genitive case-marked, (iv) locative case-marked, (v) acusative case-marked, or (vi) instrumental case-marked in the by-passive, or (vii) the embedded subjet is accusative case marked in non-finite embedded clauses".

Shrivastava (1999:58-65), Sharma and Ashk (2007:47-51), Thakur (2011:61-4) and Singh (2013:86-94); and also discussed here, as shown in (35a-b).

(35) a. बिआ हाँथे उखाड़ ।

biɑ	**ɦãtʰe**	**ukʰʌɽ**
biɑ	**ɦãtʰ-e**	**ukʰɑɽ**
seedlings	hand-CLT	uproot.IMP.NH

'Uproot the seedlings by hand.' (Thakur, 2013: 80)

b. घरे चल ।

ɡ̈ʌre	**cʌl**
ɡ̈ʌre-e	**cʌl**
home-CLT	walk.IMP

'Let's go home.' (Lohar, 2013: 80)

Clitic -ए /-*e*/ marks हाँथ /*ɦãtʰ*/ 'hand' in (35a) for instrumental and घर /*ɡ̈ʌr*/ 'home' in (35b) for locative cases respectively. Hence postpositions से *se* for instrumental, and में *mẽ* for locative are cliticized into suffix -ए /-*e*/ under process of grammaticalization, already discussed in Chapter 6.

In regular practice the nouns are followed by postpositions for cases, but not affixed as its neighbour Hindi (Koul, 2008: 36) and Awadhi (Sexena, 1937:126) do.

b) Postpositions with NPs for case-identification

As nouns of NPs are not generally marked in nominative-accusative languages, there are some postpositions to identify cases of nouns in NPs in Bhojpuri as follows:

(i) Postposition का /*kɑ*/

Let us observe the following phrases:

(36) a. रुपांतरण का साँथे

rupɑntʌrʌn	**kɑ**	**sãtʰe**
rupɑntʌrʌn	**kɑ**	**sɑtʰ-e**
transformation	GEN	company-LOC

'along with transformation' (01.015)

b. विश्राम का बाद

bisrɑm	**kɑ**	**bɑd**

bisrɑm kɑ bɑd

break GEN later

'after the rest' (01.083)

c. सुनील पटेल का सङे

sunil pʌʈel kɑ sʌŋe

sunil pʌʈel kɑ sʌŋ-e

Sunil Patel GEN company-LOC

'with Sunil Patel' (01.086)

d. दोकान का लगे

dokɑn kɑ lʌge

dokɑn kɑ lʌg-e

shop GEN near-LOC

'by the shop' (10.048)

Going through the phrases in (36a-d), का *ka* stands as the genitive/possessive case-marker with the preceding noun. Diachronically, genitive/possessive case marker postposition का /*ka*/ has been grammaticalization of interrogative pronoun का /*ka*/ 'what' originitated in Sanskrit किम /*kim*/ which has been shortened as की /*ki*/ in Maithili. But we also observe that succeeding word which is not necessarily noun but marked with clitic -ए /*-e*/ as shown in (36a, c-d).

(ii) Postposition के /*ke*/

The postposition के /*ke*/ is most frequently used to mark different cases in Bhojpuri. It has also been obtained under process of grammaticalization of the Bhojpuri interrogative pronoun के /*ke*/ or कौन /*kɔn*/ has been originated from Sanskrit कः /*kɐ̯*/ or का /*ka*/. The different functions of के /*ke*/ as a case-marker postposition are shown in (37a-c).

(37) a. नेपाल के सर्वोच्च अदालत

nepɑl ke sʌrboccʌ ʌdɑlʌt

nepɑl ke sʌrboccʌ ʌdɑlʌt

Nepal GEN supreme court

'Supreme Court of Nepal' (01.008)

b. माई-दाई लोग बच्चा के कथा सुनावत रहली ।

mɑi	**dɑi**	**log**	**bʌccɑ**	**ke**	**kʌtʰɑ**	**sunɑwʌt**
mɑi	**dɑi**	**log**	**bʌccɑ**	**ke**	**kʌtʰɑ**	**sun-ɑ-wʌt**
mother	grandmother	PL	child	ACC	story	listen-CAUS-IMPF

rʌɦili

rʌɦ-ʌl-i

live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'Mothers and grandmothers used tell the children such stories.' (03.254)

c. ... लइकी के नोकर मुआ देलख, ... ।

lʌiki	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**muɑ**	**delʌkʰ**
lʌiki	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**muɑ**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
girl	GEN	servant	kill	give-PP-3SG.PST

'... the servant killed the girl, …' (08.045)

As exemplified in (37a-c), के /*ke*/ marks genitive/possessive in (38a), dative in (37b) dative and anti-dative in (37c) of the nouns precede it.

(iii) Postposition से /*se*/

Some cases are marked with से /*se*/ in Bhojpuri, as shown in (38a-e).

(38) a. बाभन से लेके डोम तक

bɑb̤ʌn	**se**	**leke**	**ɖom**	**tʌk**
bɑb̤ʌn	**se**	**le-ke**	**ɖom**	**tʌk**
Brahmin	source	take-SEQ	Hindu scavenger	till

'From Brahmins till the Doms ones' (03.348)

b. भारत से नेपाल तक

b̤ɑrʌt	**se**	**nepɑl**	**tʌk**
India	ABL	Nepal	till

'From India to Nepal' (03.386)

c. नहर से दक्खिन

nʌɦʌr	**se**	**dʌkkʰin**
canal	source	south

'In south of the canal' (02.083)

d. प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान का ओर से

prʌgyɑ-prʌtiʂ̤ʰɑn	**kɑ**	**or**	**se**
academy	GEN	towards	ABL

'On behalf of the Academy' (03.053)

e. विश्व भोजपुरी सम्मेलन का तरफ से

biswʌ ɓ̤ojpuri sʌmmelʌn kɑ tʌrʌpʰ se

world Bhojpuri conference GEN side ABL

'On behalf of the World Bhojpuri Convention' (03.081)

The phrases sited in (38a-e), postposition से /*se*/ looks equivalent to 'from' in (38a-b), 'of' in (38c) and 'on' in (38d-e), as in English, that marks ablative, genitive and locative cases respectively. Its functions on clausal level are also analyzed in (39a-c).

(39) a. कई प्रकार के बेमारी से शरीर एकदम कमजोर हो गइल बा ।

kʌi prʌkɑr ke bemɑri se sʌrir ekdʌm kʌmjor

kʌe prʌkɑr ke bemɑri se sʌrir ekdʌm kʌmjor

many type GEN disease means body excessively weak

ɦo gʌil bɑ

ɦo jɑ-il bɑ

be go-PP be.3SG.PRES

'My body has been extremely weakened by several kinds of diseases.' (04.011)

b. ... सुनसरी से त भोजपुरी से कवनो प्रत्यक्ष सरोकार नइखे ।

sunsʌri se tʌ ɓ̤ojpuri se kɔno prʌtyʌkcʰ sʌrokɑr

sunsʌri se tʌ ɓ̤ojpuri se kɔno prʌtyʌkcʰ sʌrokɑr

Sunsari with COND Bhojpuri means any direct concern

nʌikʰe

nʌikʰ-e

be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'Bhojpuri is certainly not concerned with … Sunsari.' (01.025)

c. बेटी से बुढ़िआ कहली ... ।

beʈi se buɽ̊ia kʌɦili

beʈi se buɽ̊ia kʌɦ-ʌl-i

daughter ACC old woman say-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH

'The old woman talked to her daughter …' (05.042)

In instances (39a-c), के /*ke*/ stands for 'by' in (39a), 'with' in (39b) and 'to' in (39c) marking instrumental, sociative and dative cases respectively. So, it is a multi-functional case-marking postposition in Bhojpuri.

(iv) Postposition ला /*la*/, लागि /*lagi*/, खातिर /*kʰatir*/, खातिन /*kʰatin*/, खर्तिन /*kʰʌrtin*/, वास्ते /*waste*/

Postpositions ला *la*, लागि *lagi*, खातिर *kʰatir*, खातिन *kʰatin*, खर्तिन *kʰʌrtin* and वास्ते *waste* are synonymous with each other and mark benefactive case in Bhojpuri, as shown in (40a-c).

(40) a. त ए सब चीज ला प्रकृति में दूनू विकल्प बा ।

tʌ	**e**	**sʌb**	**cij**	**lɑ**	**prʌkriti**	**mẽ**	**dunu**	**bikʌlp**
tʌ	**e**	**sʌb**	**cij**	**lɑ**	**prʌkriti**	**mẽ**	**du-nu**	**bikʌlp**
COND	PROX	PL	matter	for	nature	LOC	two-EMPH	option

bɑ

bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

'For such sufferings, the nature has both options.' (08.113)

b. ... अपन पहचान खातिर अपने लोग भी जागृत होईं ।

ʌpʌn	**pʌɦcɑn**	**kʰatir**	**ʌpne**	**log**	**bi̯**	**jɑgrit**	**ɦoĩ**
ɑpʌn	**pʌɦcɑn**	**kʰatir**	**ʌpne**	**log**	**bi̯**	**jɑgrit**	**ɦo-ĩ**
one.GEN	identity	for	2SG	PL	also	aware	be-IMP.H

'... please be attentive for your own indentity.' (03.394)

c. भोजपुरी के मानक नेपाल का वास्ते पर्से जिला के होखेके चाहीं ।

bʱojpuri	**ke**	**mɑnʌk**	**nepɑl**	**kɑ**	**wɑste**	**pʌrse**	**jilɑ**
bʱojpuri	**ke**	**mɑnʌk**	**nepɑl**	**kɑ**	**wɑste**	**pʌrsɑ-e**	**jilɑ**
Bhojpuri	GEN	standard	Nepal	GEN	for	Parsa-EMPH	district

ke	**ɦokʰeke**	**cɑɦĩ**
ke	**ɦo-kʰ-e-ke**	**cɑɦ-ĩ**
GEN	be-PRES-PUR-SEQ	want-OPT

'The standard Bhojpuri should be the one from very Parsa district for Nepal.' (04.191)

As cited in (40a-c), ला /*la*/ in (40a), खातिर /*kʰatir*/ in (40b) and वास्ते /*waste*/ in (40c) all stand for 'for' as in English, marking benefactive case. Moreover, sometimes का /*ka*/ precedes खातिर /*kʰatir*/ and वास्ते /*waste*/ but it is obligatory for वास्ते /*waste*/.

(v) Postposition में /*mẽ*/

(41) ... ई अवस्था रहे अपना देश में, मधेश में ।

i	**ʌwʌstʰɑ**	**rʌɦe**	**ʌpnɑ**	**des**	**mẽ**	**mʌḍes**	**mẽ**
i	**ʌwʌstʰɑ**	**rʌɦ-e**	**ʌpnɑ**	**des**	**mẽ**	**mʌḍes**	**mẽ**
this	situation	live-3.PST	GEN	country	LOC	Madhesh	LOC

'… such was the situation of land management in our country, as well as in Madhesh.' (02.034)

In (60), में /*mẽ*/ stands for locative 'in' as in English.

(vi) Postposition पर *pʌr*

(42) ... समग्र मधेश ओकर कृषि अर्थतंत्र पर आधारित बा ।

sʌmʌgrʌ	**mʌḍes**	**okʌr**	**krisi**	**ʌrtʰʌtʌntrʌ**	**pʌr**
sʌmʌgrʌ	**mʌḍes**	**okʌr**	**krisi**	**ʌrtʰʌtʌntrʌ**	**pʌr**
whole	Madhesh	3SG.GEN	agriculture	economy	LOC

ɑḍɑrit	**bɑ**
ɑḍɑr-it	**bɑ**
base-ADJ	be.3SG.PRES

'… whole Madhesh is based on its agricultural economy.' (02.002)

In (42), Bhojpuri postposition पर /*pʌr*/ stands for 'on' as in English marking locative case.

c. Case-markers with pronominals

As it is already described a nominative-accusative language has the pronominals marked with case-marker suffixes. Bhojpuri pronouns are not marked for cases in nominative. The well-known case-marking suffixes are known to be for genitive as well as dative and anti-dative. Such suffixes are as follows:

(i) Suffix -अर **/-*ʌr*/ or -**आर **/-*ar*/**

(43) a. निश्चित रूप से भोजपुरी हमर माई के भाषा ह ।

niscit	**rup**	**se**	**ḅojpuri**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**mɑi**	**ke**	**ḅɑsɑ**
niscit	**rup**	**se**	**ḅojpuri**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**mɑi**	**ke**	**ḅɑsɑ**
certain	form	with	Bhojpuri	1SG-GEN	mother	GEN	language

ɦʌ	
ɦʌ	
be.3SG.PRES	

'Certainly, Bhojpuri is my mother tongue.' (03.035)

b. ... हमार बैल ना बिकाई ।

ɦʌmar bɛl na bikai

ɦʌm-ar bɛl na bik-a-i

1SG-GEN ox NEG sell-PASS-3.FUT

'... My oxen won't be sold.' (10.017)

c. तोहर पाचन ठीक नइखे ।

toɦʌr pacʌn ʈʰik nʌikʰe

tu-ʌr pacʌn ʈʰik nʌikʰ-e

2SG-GEN digestion right be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'Your digestion is not sound.' (09.022)

d. ए बबुआ, तोहार का नाम बा ?

e bʌbua toɦar ka nam ba

e bʌbua tu-ar ka nam ba

VOC boy 2SG-GEN what name be.3SG.PRES

'O boy! What is your name?' (09.465)

e. ओकर नाँव रहे 'भोजपुरी कहानियाँ' ।

okʌr não rʌɦe ɓojpuri kʌɦaniyã

u-ʌr nãɔ rʌɦ-e ɓojpuri kʌɦani-yã

3SG-GEN name live-3SG.PST Bhojpuri story-PL

'Its name was 'Bhojpuri Stories'.' (04.108)

f. चवर में ओकर खेत रहे ।

cʌwʌr mẽ okʌr kʰet rʌɦe

cʌwʌr mẽ u-ʌr kʰet rʌɦ-e

cultivated stretch LOC 3SG-GEN farm live-3SG.PST

'There was her farm in a cultivated stretch.' (05.003)

As exemplified in (43a, 43c, 43e and 43f), all personal pronouns are marked with suffix -अर /-*ʌr*/ for genitive but the first and second persons are only marked by -आर /-*ar*/ irrespective of gender but limited to singular number only in (43b and 43d). In plural, no case-marker suffix is allowed, rather, the postposition के /*ke*/ performs the function, already described with nominals. Besides, the final vowel in तू /*tu*/ in second and ऊ /*u*/ in third person singular is found falling with insertion of ह् /*ɦ*/ and क् /*k*/ to achieve their genitive/possessive forms as तोहर /*toɦʌr*/ or तोहार /*toɦar*/ 'your/yours' and ओकर /*okʌr*/ 'his/her' respectively.

(ii) Clitic -ए /-*e*/

(44) a. राजु हमे पिटलख ।

raju	**ɦʌme**	**piʈlʌkʰ**
raju	**ɦʌm-e**	**piʈ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
Raju	1SG-CLT	beat-PP-3SG.PST

'Raju beat me.' (Lohar, 2013: 79)

b. जा घरे, चाची तोहे एगो मिठाई दी ।

jɑ	**ɡ̈ʌre**	**cɑci**	**toɦe**	**ego**	**miʈʰai**	**di**
jɑ	**ɡ̈ʌr-e**	**cɑci**	**tu-e**	**ek-go**	**miʈʰai**	**de-i**
go	house-LOC	aunty	2SG-DAT	one-CLF	sweet	give-3SG.FUT

'Go home; aunty will give you a sweet.' (09.459)

c. गोपाल अश्कजी ओके तैयार कइनी ।

gopɑl	**ʌskji**	**oke**	**tʌiɑr**	**kʌini**
gopɑl	**ʌsk-ji**	**u-e**	**tʌiɑr**	**kʌr-ini**
Gopal	Ashk-H	3SG-ACC	prepare	do-PST.H

'Gopal Ashkji prepared it.' (03.066)

As presented in (44a-c), clitic -ए /-*e*/ has marked singular pronouns in all three persons for dative and anti-dative cases in Bhojpuri.

d. Case-marker suffixes further followed by postpositions

There is mixed property of using suffix and postposition together to mark cases in Bhojpuri, presented as follows:

(i) -रा के **/-*ra ke*/**

(45) तोहरा के खाहीभर के दिआई ।

toɦrɑ	**ke**	**kʰɑɦiḭʌr**	**ke**	**diɑi**
tu-ʌr-ɑ	**ke**	**kʰɑ-ɦi-ḭʌr**	**ke**	**de-ɑ-i**
2SG-GEN-DEF	GEN	eat-EMPH-fill	GEN	give-PASS-3SG.FUT

'You will be given only to eat.'

(ii) -रा से **/-*ra se*/**

(46) ई सब ओकरा से संबंधित चीज बा ।

i	**sʌb**	**okrɑ**	**se**	**sʌmbʌnḭt**	**cij**	**bɑ**
i	**sʌb**	**u-ʌr-ɑ**	**se**	**sʌmbʌnḭ-it**	**cij**	**bɑ**
this	PL	3SG-GEN-DEF	with	relation-ADJ	factor	be.3SG.PRES

'These all are the related factors with it.' (02.021)

(iii) -रा खातिर **/*-ra kʰatir*/, -**रा ला **/*-ra la*/**

(47) ओकरा खातिर फेर विषादि के प्रयोग भइल ।

okrɑ	**kʰɑtir**	**pʰer**	**bisɑdi**	**ke**	**prʌyog**	**ḷʌil**
u-ʌr-ɑ	**kʰɑtir**	**pʰer**	**bisɑdi**	**ke**	**prʌyog**	**ḷʌ-il**
3SG-GEN-DEF	for	again	pesticide	ACC.	use	become-3SG.PST

'For that, pesticide was used again.' (02.070)

खातिर /*kʰatir*/ is synoymous with ला /*la*/ and some other words, already presented.

(iv) -रा सङे /*-ra sʌŋe*/, -रा साथे **/*-ra satʰe*/, -**रा जौरे **/*-ra jɔre*/**

(48) ओकरा साथे-साथे, इंद्राणी भी उनका के रेशम के धागा मंत्र उच्चारित कके बाऩ देह्ली ।

okrɑ	**sɑtʰe**	**sɑtʰ**	**indrɑni**	**ḷi**	**unkɑ**	**ke**
u-ʌr-ɑ	**sɑtʰ-e**	**sɑtʰ**	**indrɑni**	**ḷi**	**un-kɑ**	**ke**
3SG-GEN-DEF	company-EMPH	company	Indrani	also	3.SG-DAT	GEN

resʌm	**ke**	**ḍɑgɑ**	**mʌntrʌ**	**uccɑrit**	**kʌke**	**bɑṇ**
resʌm	**ke**	**ḍɑgɑ**	**mʌntrʌ**	**uccɑr-it**	**kʌr-ke**	**bɑṇ**
silk	GEN	thread	magic chant	spell-ADJ	do-SEQ	bind

deɦli

de-ʌl-i

give-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'With that, Indrani also bonded Resham-thread to Indra with chanting.' (08.027)

साथे *satʰe*, सङे *sʌŋe* and जौरे *jɔre* are all synonymous in Bhojpuri.

(v) -रा में /*-ra mẽ*/, -रा पर **/*-ra pʌr*/**

(49) a. ... एकरा में सब विषय पर कुछ न कुछ लेख आवेके चाहीं ।

ekrɑ	**mẽ**	**sʌb**	**bisɛ**	**pʌr**	**kuchʰ**	**nʌ**	**kuchʰ**
i-ʌr-ɑ	**mẽ**	**sʌb**	**bisɛ**	**pʌr**	**kuchʰ**	**nʌ**	**kuchʰ**
PROX-GEN.DEF	LOC	all	subject	LOC	something	NEG	something

lekʰ	**ɑweke**	**cɑɦĩ**
lekʰ	**ɑ-we-ke**	**cɑɦ-ĩ**
article	come-PUR-SEQ	want-OPT

'The articles from all genres should come into it.' (04.238)

b. ... सिडियो ह्मरा पर बड़ा खिसिअइलें ।

siɖio ɦʌmrɑ pʌr bʌɽɑ kʰisiʌilẽ

siɖio ɦʌm-rɑ pʌr bʌɽ-ɑ kʰis-iɑ-il-ẽ

CDO 1SG-GEN LOC much-DEF anger-V-PP-3.PST.MH

'… the CDO lost his temper on me.' (04.068)

(vi) -रा मारे ***-ra mare, -***रा कर्ते ***-ra kʌrte***

(50) a. राम ओकरा मारे परेशान बा ।

rɑm okrɑ mɑre pʌresɑn bɑ

rɑm u-ʌr-ɑ mɑre pʌresɑn bɑ

Ram 3SG-GEN-DEF BEN restless be.3SG.PRES

'Ram is restless for him/her.'

b. हम तोहरा कर्ते रुकल बानी ।

ɦʌm toɦrɑ kʌrte rukʌl bɑni

ɦʌm tu-ʌr-ɑ kʌrte ruk-ʌl bɑni

Ram 2SG-GEN-DEF BEN stop-PP be.PRES.H

'I have been stopped for you.'

c. … ओकरा चल्ते राजा महेंद्र भूमि सुधार लागू कइलन ।

okrɑ cʌlte rɑjɑ mʌɦendrʌ ɓumi suɖar lɑgu

u-ʌr-ɑ cʌlte rɑjɑ mʌɦendrʌ ɓumi suɖar lɑgu

3SG-GEN-DEF BEN king Mahendra land reform effect

kʌilʌn

kʌr-il-ʌn

do-PP-3.PST.MH

'… because of that King Mahendra lauched Land Reform Act in effect.' (02.053)

The suffix -रा /*-ra*/ loses its function if followed by any postposition as already presented in (50a-c).

e) Plural pronouns followed by postpositions

As we observed only pronominals are marked by suffixes for case identification, but only in singular number. So, plural pronouns are only followed by postpositions to, for case identification as the nouns do. Almost all postpotisions to mark nouns for case-identification are used in the environment, as shown in (51a-c).

(51) a. हमनी के खेती-किसानी के काम बहुत दुरुह हो गइल बाटे ।

ɦʌmni ke kʰeti kisɑni ke kɑm bʌɦut duruɦ ɦo

ɦʌm-ni	**ke**	**kʰeti**	**kisɑni**	**ke**	**kɑm**	**bʌɦut**	**duruɦ**	**ɦo**
1SG-PL	GEN	farming	peasantry	GEN	work	very	difficult	be

gʌil **bɑʈe**

jɑ-il **bɑ**

go-PP be.3SG.PRES

'Our farming activities have worsened to the most difficult ones.' (02.009)

b. ... आउर दिन भी अपने लोग से बात करेम ।

ɑur	**din**	**b̤i**	**ʌpne**	**log**	**se**	**bɑt**	**kʌrem**
ɑur	**din**	**b̤i**	**ʌpne**	**log**	**se**	**bɑt**	**kʌr-em**
coming	day	also	2SG.H	PL	with	matter	do-FUT.H

'I will talk to you on the coming days, too.' (02.135)

c. ओ लोग के प्रयास खातिर हम धन्यवाद देवेके चाहेम ।

o	**log**	**ke**	**prʌyɑs**	**kʰɑtir**	**ɦʌm**	**d̤ʌnyʌbɑd**
u	**log**	**ke**	**prʌyɑs**	**kʰɑtir**	**ɦʌm**	**d̤ʌnyʌbɑd**
3SG	PL	GEN	effort	for	1SG.NOM	thank

deweke **cɑɦem**

de-e-ke **cɑɦ-em**

give-PUR-SEQ want-FUT.H

'I want to thank for their efforts.' (03.137)

In (51a-c), the first person plural हमनी /*ɦʌmni*/ is followed by के /*ke*/ for genitive in (51a), second person plural अपने लोग /*ʌpne log*/ by से /*se*/ for dative in (51b) and third person plural ओ लोग /*o log*/ by के /*ke*/ for genitive in (51c).

f) Double postpositions

Nouns and plural pronouns are followed by double postpositions to mark cases in Bhojpuri, as shown in (52-55).

(i) में के /*mẽ ke*/

(52) खस भाषा में के नेपाली

kʰʌs	**b̤ɑsɑ**	**mẽ**	**ke**	**nepɑli**
Khas race of Nepalese rulers	language	LOC	GEN	Nepali

'Nepali within the Khas languages' (02.074)

(ii) में से *mẽ se*

(53) थर में से भैंसी निकाल ।

tʰʌr	**mẽ**	**se**	**ḅʌĩsi**	**nikɑl**
tʰʌr	**mẽ**	**se**	**ḅʌĩsi**	**nikɑl**
shed	LOC	source	buffalo	extract.IMP

'Take out the buffalo from the shed.' (09.071)

(iii) पर के ***pʌr ke***

(54) गाछी पर के आम

gɑcʰi	**pʌr**	**ke**	**ɑm**
gɑcʰi	**pʌr**	**ke**	**ɑm**
tree	LOC	GEN	mango

'A mango of the tree'

(iv) पर से ***pʌr se***

(55) ... एगो आदमी के देह पर से उतरवाके मिलल ह ई कुछियो कुछियो ।

ego	**ɑdmi**	**ke**	**deɦ**	**pʌr**	**se**	**utʌrwɑke**
ek-go	**ɑdmi**	**ke**	**deɦ**	**pʌr**	**se**	**utɑr-wɑ-ke**
one-CLF	man	GEN	body	LOC	ABL	take off-CAUS-SEQ

milʌl	**ɦʌ**	**i**	**kucʰio**	**kucʰio**
mil-ʌl	**ɦʌ**	**i**	**kucʰ-io**	**kucʰ-io**
find-PP	be.3SG.PRES	this	something-EMPH	something-EMPH

'… this something I got making a man put off his body.' (10.103)

The double use of postpositions also exhibits function of the succeeding postposition in general, as presented in (53-56), though the preceding ones are also meaningful in Bhojpuri.

8.2.2 Case determination

On the basis of the exemplifications presented in section 8.2, characteristics of case marker affixes and postpositions can be formulated and the cases available in Bhojpuri can be determined as follows:

a) Case marker affixes and postpositions

Case-marker affixes and postpositions in Bhojpuri can be categorized as follows:

(a) Nouns are generally unmarked by case-markers except clitic -ए /-*e*/ in instrumental and locative.

(b) Pronouns are unmarked in nominative.

(c) Singular pronouns are marked with suffixes in dative, accusative/anti-dative and genitive.

(d) Nouns and plural pronouns are followed by postpositions in accusative, dative, anti-dative, instrumental, benefactive, ablative, genitive and locative.

(e) Singular pronouns marked with suffixes in different cases can further be followed by postpositions for identification of cases and the postpositions identify the case.

(f) Nouns and plural pronouns can be followed by double postpositions for identification of cases and the final postposition comes to be decisive for case.

b) Layers of case marking

On the basis of formulation of the affixes and postpositions in preceding sub-section, the cases in Bhojpuri can be identified on the basis of layers of the affixes and postpositions as presented in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Case marking in Bhojpuri

Case	Layer I	Layer II	Layer III
Nom/Agent	Ø		
Acc/Dat	-ए /-*e*/	के /*ke*/ or से /*se*/	
		-रा /-*ra*/+	के /*ke*/ or से /*se*/
Instrumental	-ए /-*e*/	से /*se*/	
Genitive	-अर /-*ʌr*/ or -आर /-*ar*/	के /*ke*/	
		में /*mẽ*/ or पर /*pʌr*/+	के /*ke*/
Locative	-ए /-*e*/	में /*mẽ*/ or पर /*pʌr*/	
Ablative		से /*se*/	
		-रा /-*ra*/+	से se
Benefactive		ला /*la*/	
		-रा /-*ra*/+	ला /*la*/
		का /*ka*/ or के /*ke*/+	लागि /*lagi*/ or खातिर /*kʰatir*/ or वास्ते /*waste*/ or मारे /*mare*/ or कर्ते /*kʌrte*/
Sociative		-रा /-*ra*/+ or का /*ka*/+ or के /*ke*/+	सङे /*sʌŋe*/ or साथे /*satʰe*/ or जौरे /*jɔre*/

8.3 Summary

The grammatical relations and case marking system in Bhojpuri was discussed in the chapter. The grammatical relations are significant play a vital role not only in the grammar of simple clauses but also in major syntactic processes. Here, the main

focus was centred on the way the grammatical relations are encoded as well as on the pattern of syntactic control in major rule governed syntactic processes in Bhojpuri. We discussed the overt coding properties of grammatical relations, i.e., nominal morphology and verb agreement. The nominal morphology presents a consistent nominative pattern of control as coding property in Bhojpuri. The pronominal verb agreement as well as the number, gender and honorificity agreement also follows the nominative pattern. The unmarked word order in Bhojpuri clause is SOV but not rigid. Besides, the changed word order remains following the nominative pattern. Under behaviour and control properties, promotion to or demotion from direct object does not affect the regular nominative pattern but passivization does so. Reflexivization and causativization are applicable to subject GR in Bhojpuri. The Equi-NP deletion (or the co-referent deletion) displays the nominative control in complement clauses. The use of zero anaphora in chained clauses is a pronominal device to mark co-reference in clause-chaining, confined to the subject GR in Bhojpuri. However, in Bhojpuri, relativization does not play any role for controlling the grammatical relations. Bhojpuri also displays pronominal verb agreement in first, second and third person pronouns with two numbers and dual genders. Bhojpuri employs nominative-accusative case-marking strategy, i.e., pragmatically oriented. Different postpositions are used in Bhojpuri for case marking with nouns but pronouns are generally suffixed as well as followed by post positions for the same purpose. The cases nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, locative, ablative and comitative are marked to code syntactic relations of the NP to the finite verb in a clause. The inanimate patient is zero marked whereas the animate and pronominal patients are marked morphologically. Bhojpuri has the dative subject construction as one of the characteristics of the New Indo-Aryan languages.

CHAPTER 9

NOUN PHRASES AND WORD ORDER

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with noun phrases and word order in Bhojpuri. It consists of three sections. In section 9.1 we describe noun phrases and word order is described in section 9.2. Lastly, in section 9.3 we summarize the findings.

9.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrase may be characterized as the syntactic constituent that serve as arguments of verbs.[1] In accordance with the typological make up of South Asian languages, Bhojpuri has head-final phrasal structures (Verma 2003:527). A noun phrase may take up a syntactic position where a noun or a pronoun can occupy. In this sub-section, we deal with the types of noun phrases, elements of noun phrases, linear order of constituents in noun phrase and dispersed/scattered NPs in Bhojpuri.
In this section we deal with the structure and major functions of the noun phrase in Bhojpuri.

9.1.1 Simplex noun phrases

As displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:285-90), Maithili (Yadav 1996:96-102), Hindi (Koul 2008:165-71) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:314-5), the noun phrases in Bhojpuri range from a single word (referential noun or personal pronoun) to syntactically complex noun phrases (conjoined nouns and relative clauses and nominalized clauses). A noun phrase can consist of a single pronoun in Bhojpuri, as in (1a-b).

(1) a. हमनी कार्यक्रम के लगभग अंत में बानी ।

ɦʌmni	**karyʌkrʌm**	**ke**	**lʌgɓʌg**	**ʌnt**	**mẽ**	**bani**
ɦʌm-ni	**karyʌkrʌm**	**ke**	**lʌgɓʌg**	**ʌnt**	**mẽ**	**bani**
1SG-PL	programme	GEN	approximately	end	LOC	be.PRES.H

'We have now been at almost end of the programme.' (03.384)

b. हम तोहे सलाम कइनी ।

ɦʌm	**toɦe**	**sʌlɑm**	**kʌini**
ɦʌm	**tu-e**	**sʌlɑm**	**kʌr-ini**
1SG.NOM	2SG-DAT	salute	do-PST.H

'I saluted you.' (13.034)

1. Givón (1993a: 247) notes that the noun phrases of different types occupy the characteristic syntactic positions - and case roles - of nouns. These syntactic positions are most typically those of subject, direct object, indirect object and nominal predicate.

In the examples (1a-b), the first person plural pronoun हमनी /*ɦʌmni*/ 'we' in (1a) and the first person singular pronoun हम /*ɦʌm*/ 'I' have occupied the position of a noun phrase as a subject or agent of the predicate, respectively. Likewise, the second person singular pronoun तोहे /*toɦe*/ 'you' has occupied the position of a noun phrase as an object in the predicate. As its neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:286) and Maithili (Yadav 1996:96) exhibit, the pronouns in Bhojpuri, being finite and referential, do not take any modifier.

A noun phrase, in Bhojpuri, may consist of a noun head with or without preceding modifiers. A bare noun head is illustrated in (2a) and a head noun with an attributive modifier is illustrated in (2b).

(2) a. राजा ओके बड़ी सजाय कइलन ।

rɑjɑ	**oke**	**bʌɽi**	**sʌjɑe**	**kʌilʌn**
rɑjɑ	**oke**	**bʌɽ-i**	**sʌjɑe**	**kʌr-il-ʌn**
king	3SG.ACC	big-EMPH	punishment	do-PP-3.PST.MH

'The king punished hem/her to the maximum.' (13.035)

b. केरा के थम में निमन गोभा लउकता ।

kerɑ	**ke**	**tʰʌm**	**mẽ**	**nimʌn**	**goḅɑ**	**lʌukʌtɑ**	
kerɑ	**ke**	**tʰʌm**	**mẽ**	**nimʌn**	**goḅɑ**	**lʌuk-ʌt**	**bɑ**
banana	GEN	plant	LOC	good	blossom	look-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

'There are attractive blossoms in the banana plants.' (09.070)

In example (2a), the bare noun head राजा /*raja*/ 'king' has occupied the position of the noun phrase whereas in (2b) the head noun गोभा /*goḅa*/ 'blossom' is modified by a modifier निमन /*nimʌn*/ 'good' to form a noun phrase.

a) Elements of the noun phrase

The noun phrases in Bhojpuri may contain a number of different elements. They are presented in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1: Lexical elements of the noun phrase

Element	**Example**	**Gloss**	**Reference**
Demonstrative	ई गीत /*i git*/	'this song'	03.010
Genitive	हमर चाहना /*ɦʌm-ʌr caɦna*/	'my will'	03.042
Number	दूगो प्रदेश/*du-go prʌdes*/	'two provinces'	01.095

Relative clause	औरत जौन हम देखनी /*ɔrʌt jɔn ɦʌm dekʰ-ni*/	'a woman that I saw'	06.034
Adjective	बड़का गाँव /*bʌɽ-ka gão*/	'big village'	09.543
Noun	संविधान /*sʌmbiḍan*/	'constitution'	01.008
Compound noun	विद्यार्थी समाज /*bidyartʰi sʌmaj*/	'Students' Society'	01.006
Pronoun	हम /*ɦʌm*/	'I'	13.034

All the NP elements, except the head noun, shown in Table 9.1 are optional in Bhojpuri. Givón (2001b:3) observes that the noun-headed NPs are relatively rare in natural communication, where the most common nominal referent is anaphoric, so are coded as a pronoun or zero.

Apart from the lexical elements of the noun phrases presented in Table 9.1, Bhojpuri noun phrases may also contain grammatical morphemes. They are presented in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2 Grammatical morphemes modifying a noun phrase

Element	Morpheme	Example	Gloss	Reference
Number marker	-अन /*-ʌn*/,	लइकन /*lʌikʌn*/ [*lʌika-ʌn*]	'children'	03.255
	लोग /*log*/	श्रोता लोग /*srota log*/	'listeners'	03.386
	सब /*sʌb*/	इकाई सब /*ikai sʌb*/	'units'	02.132
Case markers	-ए /*-e*/	ओके /*oke*/ [*u-e*]	'him/her'	13.029
		हाँथे /*ɦãtʰ-e*/	'with hand'	Thakur (2013:80)
		खेते /*kʰet-e*/	'in the farm'	13.005
	-आर /*-ar*/	हमार /*ɦʌm-ar*/	'my/mine'	02.038
	के /ke/	लइका के /*lʌika ke*/	'to the boy'	05.010
		नेपाल के /*nepal ke*/	'of Nepal'	01.008
	से /se/	नीति से /*niti se*/	'through policy'	01.046
		अपने से /*ʌpne se*/	'to you'	01.087
		खेती से /*kʰeti se*/	'from farming'	02.011
	खातिर	भाषा खातिर /*ḅasa*	'for language'	03.036

	/kʰɑtir/	*kʰatir/*		
	में /mẽ/	कार्यक्रम में */karyʌkrʌm mẽ/*	'in the programme'	01.001

The grammatical morphemes presented in Table 9.2 follow the lexical elements they are attached to. In case of the order of the grammatical morphemes, the case marker always follows the number marker in Bhojpuri.

b) Linear order of constituents in the noun phrase

More than two modifiers may come in the same noun phrase, though it is not very common to occur naturally in Bhojpuri. Except for the number and case markers (grammatical modifiers), all the lexical modifiers presented in Table 9.1 normally precede the head noun in the noun phrase.

The most common order of the noun phrase elements in Bhojpuri is presented in (3):

(3) NP→(Dem)-(Gen)-(Num)-(appositional phrase (AP))-**Head**

Examples of noun phrases demonstrating the elements in (3) are presented in examples (4a-j).

(4) a. **Demonstrative + noun**

अभी खातिर सुनल जाओ *ई गीत*।

ʌb̤i	**kʰɑtir**	**sunʌl**	**jɑo**	***i***	***git***
ʌb̤i	**kʰɑtir**	**sun-ʌl**	**jɑ-o**	**i**	**git**
now	for	listen-PP	go-IMP.H	PROX	song

'Enjoy *this song* for a while.' (03.010)

b. **Demonstrative +adjective +noun**

कम से कम भोजपुरी के *ऊ अमूल्य धरोहर* के बँचावे के काम कर रहल बा।

kʌm	**se**	**kʌm**	**b̤ojpuri**	**ke**	***u***	***ʌmulyʌ***	***d̤ʌrohʌr***
kʌm	**se**	**kʌm**	**b̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**u**	**ʌmulyʌ**	**d̤ʌrohʌr**
less	than	less	Bhojpuri	GEN	DIST	priceless	heritage

ke	**bɑ̃cɑwe**	**ke**	**kɑm**	**kʌr**	**rʌhʌl**	**bɑ**
ke	**bɑ̃c-ɑ-e**	**ke**	**kɑm**	**kʌr**	**rʌh-ʌl**	**bɑ**
ACC	save-CAUS-PUR	GEN	work	do	live-PP	be.3SG.PRES

'At least they are working for protection of *the priceless heritage* of Bhojpuri.' (03.201)

c. **Demonstrative+quantifier+noun**

खेती करेवाला औंजार, प्रविधि-तकनीकी, ई सब बात भी ठीक नइखे।

kʰeti	**kʌrewɑlɑ**	**ɔ̃jɑr**	**prʌbiḍi**	**tʌkniki**	***i***	
kʰeti	**kʌr-e-wɑlɑ**	**ɔ̃jɑr**	**prʌbiḍi**	**tʌkniki**	**i**	
farming	do-PUR-owner	tool	technique	technique	this	

sʌb	***bat***	**ḇi**	**ʈʰik**	**nʌikʰe**
sʌb	**bɑt**	**ḇi**	**ʈʰik**	**nʌikʰe**
all	matter	also	right	not to be

'Agricultural tools, techniques, *these all matters* are also not correct.' (02.007)

d. **Genitive+noun**

हमार बैल ना बिकाई ।

ɦʌmar	***bɛl***	**nɑ**	**bikɑi**
ɦʌmɑr	**bɛl**	**nɑ**	**bik-ɑ-i**
1SG.GEN	ox	NEG	sell-PASS-FUT

'My oxen won't be sold.' (10.017)

e. **Numeral+noun**

बीस बरीस।

bis	***bʌris***
twenty	year

'*Twenty years*.' (03.416)

f. **Numeral+adjective+noun**

उहो एगो नया मोड़ ले लेलक ।

uɦo	**ego**	**nʌyɑ**	**moɽ**	**le**	**lelʌk**
u-o	**ek-go**	**nʌyɑ**	**moɽ**	**le**	**le-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
DIST-EMPH	one-CLF	new	turn	take	take-PP-3SG.PST

'That also took a new turn.' (02.058)

g. **Adjectival phrase+noun**

कभी एतना कड़ा घाम होला ।

kʌḇi	**etnɑ**	**kʌɽɑ**	**ɡ̈ɑm**	**ɦolɑ**
kʌḇi	**etnɑ**	**kʌɽɑ**	**ɡ̈ɑm**	**ɦo-lɑ**
sometimes	this much	scorching	sun	be3SG.PRES

'Sometimes it is so scorching sun.' (09.111)

h. **Relative clause+noun**

खटिआ पर बइठल आदमी ।

kʰʌʧia pʌr bʌiʈʰʌl ɑdmi

kʰʌʧia pʌr bʌiʈʰ-ʌl ɑdmi

cot LOC sit-PP man

'The man who is sitting on the cot.' (Lohar, 2010:84)

i. **Demonstrative+relative clause+noun**

ऊ बाली उब्जल खेत

u bɑli ubjʌl kʰet

u bɑli ubʌj-ʌl kʰet

dist crops grow-PP farm

'That farm which the crops are growing in'

j. **Demonstrative+genitive+modifier+noun**

ऊ हमार खुबसुरत बेटी !

u ɦʌmɑr kʰubsurʌt beʈi

u ɦʌm-ɑr kʰubsurʌt beʈi

DIST 1SG-GEN beautiful daughter

'That one, my beautiful daughter!'

Pronouns generally occur alone in noun phrases without modifiers in most of the languages (Dryer 2007c:151). But in Bhojpuri, constructions in which pronouns occur with modifiers preceding the head noun as in हमनी भोजपुरिया /*ɦʌmni ḅojpuria*/ 'we Bhojpuri natives', तोहनी लइका लोग /*toɦni lʌika log*/ 'you boys', ओकनी पहड़िया /*okni pʌɦʌɽia*/ 'they, the hill people' are possible. It shows that the constituents within the noun phrase violate their linear order for pragmatic purposes. This phenomenon is discussed as follows:

c) Scattered NPs

"The most universal means of binding all NP constituents together is adjacency, a transparently iconic device that keeps together structurally what belongs together functionally, however, in languages with more flexible word-order, scattered NPs are reported to be common" (Givón 2001b: 13). Bhojpuri holds true in this regard. Basically, the elements of Bhojpuri NPs tend to occur together, generally, only after the clause final verb but also scattered, as shown in (5a-d).

(5) a. उहाँका काल़ *एगो भाषण* देनी *जे केहू ना* बुझे सकल ।

uɦɑ̃kɑ kɑl̤ *ego* *ḅasʌn* deni *je*

uɦã-kɑ	**kɑl̪**	**ek-go**	**b̪ɑsʌn**	**de-ni**	**je**	
3SG.H-SPEC	yesterday	one-CLF	lecture	give-PST.H	COMP	

keɦu	***na***	**buj̈e**	**sʌkʌl**
keɦu	**nɑ**	**buj̈-e**	**sʌk-ʌl**
anyone	NEG	understand-PUR	can-3SG.PST

'He gave *a lecture* yesterday that *no one* could understand.'

b. बेटा के काल़ *एगो किताब* किन देनी *जे आशा* करतानी ऊ पढ़ी ।

beʈɑ	**ke**	**kɑl̪**	***ego***	***kitab***	**kin**	**deni**	***je***
beʈɑ	**ke**	**kɑl̪**	**ek-go**	**kitɑb**	**kin**	**de-ni**	**je**
son	DAT	yesterday	one-CLF	book	buy	give-PST.H	COMP

asa	**kʌrtɑni**	***u***	**pʌɽ̊i**	
ɑsɑ	**kʌr-ʌt**	**bɑni**	**u**	**pʌɽ̊-i**
hope	do-IMPF	be.PRES.H	3SG.NOM	read-3SG.FUT

'I bought *a book* to my son *that I hope* he'll read.'

c. ई *छोटकु राम* चले लागल घरे ओरी *बिना कुछ* खइले ।

i	***cʰoʈku***	***ram***	**cʌle**	**lɑgʌl**	**g̈ʌre**
i	**cʰoʈ-ku**	**rɑm**	**cʌl-e**	**lɑg-ʌl**	**g̈ʌr-e**
PROX	small-DEF	Ram	walk-PUR	continue-3SG.PST	house-LOC

ori	***bina***	***kucʰ***	**kʰʌile**
ori	**binɑ**	**kucʰ**	**kʰɑ-il-e**
towards	without	something	eat-PP-SEQ

'The younger started walking homewards, without eating anything.' (10.055)

d. खास कके *डाइरेक्टर साहेब* जे एह कार्यक्रम के हरदम सुनत रहेलन *उनका* के भी हम धन्यवाद देवेके चाहतानी ।

kʰɑs	**kʌke**	***ɖairekʈʌr***	***saɦeb***	**je**	**eɦ**	**kɑryʌkrʌm**
kʰɑs	**kʌr-ke**	**ɖairekʈʌr**	**sɑɦeb**	**je**	**eɦ**	**kɑryʌkrʌm**
special	do-SEQ	director	sir	3SG.COND	PROX	programme

ke	**sunʌt**	**rʌɦelʌn**	***unka***	***ke***	**b̪i**	**ɦʌm**
ke	**sun-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ʌn**	**u-kɑ**	**ke**	**b̪i**	**ɦʌm**
ACC	listen-SIM	live-INF-3.PRES.MH	3SG.MH-GEN	DAT	also	1SG.NOM

ɖ̪ʌnyʌbɑd	**deweke**	**cɑɦʌtɑni**

ḍʌnyʌbad de-we-ke caɦ-ʌt bani

thank give-PUR-SEQ want-IMPF be.PRES.H

'Especially the Director of Radio Nepal who listens to the programme, I want to thank him too.' (03.414)

As exemplified in (5a-d), एगो भाषण */ego ḅasʌn/* 'a lecture', जे */je/* 'that' and केहू ना */keɦu na/* 'no one' in (5a); बेटा */beʈa/*, एगो किताब */ego kitab/* 'a book', जे */je/* 'that' and ऊ */u/* 'he' in (5b); छोटकु राम */cʰoʈku ram/* 'the younger' and बिना कुछ */bina kucʰ/* 'nothing' in (5c); and डाइरेक्टर साहेब */ɖairekʈʌr saɦeb/* 'the director sir', जे */je/* 'that', एह कार्यक्रम */eɦ karyʌkrʌm/* 'this program', उनका के */unka ke/* 'to him' and हम */ɦʌm/* 'I' are all NPs scattered in the respective clauses.

9.1.2 Complex noun phrases

"Above and beyond the presence of multiple modifiers, the most conspicuous sources of syntactic complexity in the NP are due to the importation, by whatever means, of clause-level syntactic organization into the noun phrase" (Givón 2001b:15). The complex noun phrases are used to further specify the description of referents, i.e., of subjects or objects either as first introduction or subsequent reintroduction into the discourse. There are three structures most commonly responsible for such complexity: relative clauses, NP conjunctions and nominalizations. As relative clauses in Bhojpuri are discused in the subsequent chapters (Ch. 12, 13 and 14), we have dealt here with the other two in order.

(a) Noun phrase conjunction

Givón (2011:209-10) presents noun-phrase conjunction "as one of the mechanisms that creates larger noun phrases without involving modifiers, thus without involving the asymmetrical head-modifier relation, obtained by putting two noun-phrases, often just two nouns, in a conjunction that involves a relatively symmetrical configuration, presumably answering to the two logical rules: ordering reversibility and implication of two propositions".

The noun phrases in Bhojpuri are either juxtaposed or conjoined by आ */a/* 'and' and भा */ḅa/* or चाहे */chaɦe/* or कि */ki/* 'or'. Generally the conjoined nominal NPs take the finite verb in third person, as shown in (6a-c).

(6) a. माई आ रहल बाड़ी ।

mʌi ʌ rʌɦʌl baɽi

mai	**ɑ**	**rʌɦ**	**-ʌl**	**baɽi**
mother	come	live	-INF	be.3.PRES.FEM.H

'Mother is coming.' (03.154)

b. बाबु आ रहल बाड़न ।

babu	**ɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**		**baɽʌn**
babu	**ɑ**	**rʌɦ**	**-ʌl**	**baɽʌn**
father	come	live	-INF	be.3.PRES.H

'Father is coming.' (03.155)

c. माई आ बाबु आ रहल बाड़न ।

mai	**ɑ**	**babu**	**ɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**		**baɽʌn**
mai	**ɑ**	**babu**	**ɑ**	**rʌɦ**	**-ʌl**	**baɽʌn**
mother	come	father	come	live	-INF	be.3.PRES.H

'Mother and father are coming.'

In examples (6a-c) the NPs माई /*mai*/ 'mother' in (6a) and बाबु /*babu*/ 'father' in (6b) are conjoined as माई आ बाबु /*mai a babu*/ 'mother and father' in (6c).

In case of the involvement of first person, the number agreement results in the first person that is used for honorificity in the second and third person in Bhojpuri, as shown in (7a-b).

(7) a. तू आम खइबऽ कि हम आम खाईं ?

tu	**ɑm**	**kʰʌibʌ**	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**ɑm**
tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-i-bʌ**	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**ɑm**
2SG.NOM	mango	eat-FUT-be.2.**FUT.MH**	COMP	1SG	mango

kʰɑĩ

kʰɑ-ĩ

eat-**FUT.H**

'Will you eat mango or will I eat mango?'

b. तू कि हम आम खाईं ?

tu	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**ɑm**	**kʰɑĩ**
tu	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-ĩ**
2.SG.NOM	COMP	1SG	mango	eat-**FUT.H**

'Will you or I eat mango?'

In examples (7a-b), the NPs तू /*tu*/ 'you' and हम /*ɦʌm*/ 'I' are conjoined due to the same predicate with them.

But if the events are separate, the clauses are joined by the conjunction in separate subject-verb agreements, no matter the subjects NPs are either in first, second or third person, as shown in (8a-b).

(8) a. सर्वोच्च अदालत अपन निर्णय देहलक आ रातारतात काम हो रहल बा ।

sʌrboccʌ	**ʌdalʌt**	**ʌpʌn**	**nirnɛ**	**deɦlʌk**	**ɑ**	**rɑtarɑt**
sʌrboccʌ	**ʌdalʌt**	**ɑpʌn**	**nirnɛ**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ɑ**	**rɑtarɑt**
supreme	court	3.GEN	decision	give-PP-3SG.PST	and	overnight

kɑm	**ɦo**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑ**
kɑm	**ɦo**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑ**
work	be	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

'The Supreme Court gave its verdict and the work is being done round the clock.' (01.008)

b. हम ओखरी में मुड़ी लगावतानी आ तू ढेंकी चलाके सज दे ।

ɦʌm	**okʰʌri**	**mẽ**	**muɽi**	**lʌgɑwʌtɑni**			**ɑ**	**tu**
ɦʌm	**okʰʌri**	**mẽ**	**muɽ**	**lʌg-ɑ-ʌt**		**bɑni**	**ɑ**	**tu**
1SG.NOM	mortar	LOC	head	set-CAUS-IMPF		be.PRES.H	and	2SG

ɖ̤ẽki	**cʌlɑke**	**sʌj**	**de**
ɖ̤ẽki	**cʌl-ɑ-ke**	**sʌj**	**de**
pounding appliance	walk-CAUS-SEQ	trim	give.IMP

'I'm placing my head in the mortar, and you, trim it by pounding.' (05.052)

b) Joint participants in a single event

In case of the participants involved in a single event, the conjoined subject-verb agreement results as shown in (9a-e).

(9) a. **3SG+3SG/PL=3PL**

i. माई आ रहल बाड़ी, आ बाबु आ रहल बाड़न ।

mɑi	**ɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑɽi**	**ɑ**	**bɑbu**	**ɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**
mɑi	**ɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑɽi**	**ɑ**	**bɑbu**	**ɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
mother	come	live-INF	be.3.PRES.F.MH	and	father	come	live-INF

bɑɽʌn

bɑɽʌn

be.3.PRES.MH

'Mother is coming, and father is coming.' (03.154-5)

ii. माई आ बाबु आ रहल बाड़न ।

mɑi	**ɑ**	**bɑbu**	**ɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑɽʌn**
mɑi	**ɑ**	**bɑbu**	**ɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑɽʌn**
mother	and	father	come	live-INF	be.3.PRES.MH

'Mother and father are coming.'

b. **2SG/PL+3SG/PL=2PL**

i. तू दुपहरवा अइलऽ, आ ऊ दुपहरवा आइल ।

tu	**dupʌɦʌrwɑ**	**ʌilʌ**	**ɑ**	**u**
tu	**dupʌɦʌrwɑ**	**ɑ-il-ʌ**	**ɑ**	**u**
2SG.NOM	in the afternoon	come-PP-2.PST.MH	and	3SG.NOM

dupʌɦʌrwɑ	**ɑil**
dupʌɦʌrwɑ	**ɑ-il**
in the afternoon	come-3SG.PST

'You came in the afternoon, and he came in the afternoon.' (06.011)

ii. ऊ आ तू दुपहरवा अइलऽ ।

u	**ɑ**	**tu**	**dupʌɦʌrwɑ**	**ʌilʌ**	
u	**ɑ**	**tu**	**dupʌɦʌrwɑ**	**ɑ-il-ʌ**	
3SG.NOM	and	2SG.NOM	in the afternoon	come-PP-2.PST.MH	

'He and you came in the afternoon'

c. **1SG/PL+3SG/PL=1PL**

i. अपने के तर्क से हम सहमत बानी, आ अपने के तर्क से ऊ सहमत बा ।

ʌpne	**ke**	**tʌrk**	**se**	**ɦʌm**	**sʌɦmʌt**	**bɑni**
2SG.H	GEN	logic	with	1SG.NOM	agreed	be.PRES.H
ʌpne	**ke**	**tʌrk**	**se**	**u**	**sʌɦmʌt**	**bɑ**
2SG.H	GEN	logic	with	3SG.NOM	agreed	be.3SG.PRES

'I do agree with your logic, and he does agree with your logic.' (01.057)

ii. अपने के तर्क से ऊ आ हम सहमत बानी ।

ʌpne	**ke**	**tʌrk**	**se**	**u**	**ɑ**	**ɦʌm**	**sʌɦmʌt**	**bɑni**
2SG.H	GEN	logic	with	3SG.NOM	and	1SG.NOM	agreed	be.PRES.H

'He and I do agree with your logic.'

d. **1SG/PL+2SG/PL=1PL**

i. हम आएम, आ तू अइह ।

ɦʌm	**ɑem**	**ɑ**	**tu**	**ʌiɦʌ**
ɦʌm	**ɑ-em**	**ɑ**	**tu**	**ɑ-iɦʌ**
1SG.NOM	come-FUT.H	and	2SG.NOM	come-2.FUT.MH

'I will come, and you will come.' (01.081)

ii. तू आ हम आएम ।

tu	**ɑ**	**ɦʌm**	**ɑem**
tu	**ɑ**	**ɦʌm**	**ɑ-em**
2SG.NOM	and	1SG.NOM	come-FUT.H

'You and I will come.'

e. **1SG/PL+2SG/PL+3SG/PL=1PL**

i. हम बहुत खुशी बानी, तू बहुत खुशी बाड़ऽ, आ ऊ बहुत खुशी बा ।

ɦʌm	**bʌɦut**	**kʰusi**	**bɑni**	**tu**	**bʌɦut**	**kʰusi**
1SG.NOM	very	happy	be.PRES.H	2SG.NOM	very	happy

bɑɽʌ	**ɑ**	**u**	**bʌɦut**	**kʰusi**	**bɑ**
be.2.PRES.MH	and	3SG.NOM	very	happy	be.3SG.PRES

'I'm very happy, you are very happy, and he is very happy.' (04.275)

ii. ऊ, तू आ हम बहुत खुशी बानी ।

u	**tu**	**ɑ**	**ɦʌm**	**bʌɦut**	**kʰusi**	**bɑni**
3SG.NOM	2SG.NOM	and	1SG.NOM	very	happy	be.PRES.H

'He, you and I are very happy.'

c) Relative order of conjoined NPs

Cooper and Ross (1975) and Givón (2001b:17) mention the hierachy of the relative order of conjoined NPs be maintained in certain order. In some languages such order is found rigid and in other languages flexible. Bhojpuri has also such usage in practice. Besides, Bhojpuri has juxtaposition of the NPs more natural than the use of conjunction. The natural order found in Bhojpuri is prsented as follows:

(i) Near >far

The spatial deictic words generally follow near>far order. But Bhojpuri has its reverse usage too, as in (10a-b):

(10) a. एने तराई से लेके ओने चीन के बोर्डर तक ई तीन सय किलोमीटर जोड़ाए ना सकी ?

ene tʌrai se leke one cin ke bordɻʌr tʌk
ene tʌrai se le-ke one cin ke bordɻʌr tʌk
Hither Terai source take-SEQ thither China GEN border till

i tin sɛ kilomiṭʌr joɾae nɑ sʌki
i tin sɛ kilomiṭʌr joɾ-ɑ-e nɑ sʌk-i
PROX three hundred kilometre connect-PASS-PUR NEG can-3.FUT

'Can this side of Terai and that side up to China boarder within three hundred kilometres not be connected?' (01.064)

b. उहाँ हिमाल से लेके इहाँ मधेश तक जोड़ल जाओ …।

uɦɑ̃ ɦimal se leke iɦɑ̃ mʌḍ̤es tʌk
uɦɑ̃ ɦimal se le-ke iɦɑ̃ mʌḍ̤es tʌk
there mountain source take-SEQ here Madhesh till

joɾʌl jɑo
joɾ-ʌl jɑ-o
connect-INF go-OPT

'Snowy mountains (there) and Madhesh (here) are connected together…' (01.043)

In examples (10a-b), the spatial deictic words एने से ओने /*ene se one*/ 'hither to thither' follow near>far order in (10a) whereas उहाँ से इहाँ /*uɦɑ̃ se iɦɑ̃*/ 'there to here' follow far>near order in (10b).

(ii) Adult>young

In terms of age the Bhojpuri conjoined NPs generally follow adult>young order but there is its reverse usage, too, as shown in (11a-b).

(11) a. रुस्तम आ सोहराब दूनू बापूत लड़के मर गइलन।

rustʌm ɑ soɦrɑb dunu bɑput lʌɾke
rustʌm ɑ soɦrɑb du nu bɑput lʌɾ-ke
Rustam and Sohrab two -EMPH father and son fight-SEQ

mʌr gʌilʌn
mʌr jɑ-il-ʌn
die go-PP-3.PST.MH

'Rustam and Sohrab, both father and son, died of fighting each other.'

b. पाँचो पांडव आ कुंती छऊ बेटामातारी बने-बने घुमलें।

pɑ̃co pɑnḍʌb ɑ kunti cʰʌu beṭɑ-mɑtɑri

põc-o	**pɑnɖʌb**	**ɑ**	**kunti**	**cʰɔ-u**	**beʈɑ-mɑtɑri**
five-EMPH	Pandavas	and	Kunti	SIX-emph	son and mother

bʌne	**bʌne**	**ɠumlẽ**
bʌn-e	**bʌn-e**	**ɠum-ʌl-ẽ**
forest-LOC	forest-LOC	wander-PP-3.PST.MH

'The five Pandavas and Kunti, all six sons and mother, wandered through the forest.'

In (9a-b), बापूत /bɑput/ 'father and son' follows adult>young order in (9a) whereas बेटामातारी /beʈɑ-mɑtɑri/ 'son and mother' follows young>adult order in (9b).

(iii) Male>female

In terms of gender, the ordering of conjoined NPs is male>female, as in (12)

(12) तोहरा अपनो *बेटा-बेटी* पर माया ना लागे ?

tohrɑ	**ʌpno**	***beʈɑ-beʈi***	**pʌr**	**mɑyɑ**	**nɑ**
tu-ʌr-ɑ	**ɑpʌn-o**	**beʈɑ-beʈi**	**pʌr**	**mɑyɑ**	**nɑ**
2SG-GEN-DEF	GEN-EMPH	son and daughter	LOC	affection	NEG

lɑge
lɑg-e
feel-3SG.PRES

'Do you have no affection for even your sons and daughters?' (09.161)

(iv) Singular> plural

The singular number generally precedes the plural one, as in (13):

(13) एको-दूगो किताब त पढ़ ।

eko	**dugo**	**kitɑb**	**tʌ**	**pʌɽ̊**
ek-o	**du-go**	**kitɑb**	**tʌ**	**pʌɽ̊**
one-EMPH	two-CLF	book	COND	read

'Read at least one or two books.'

(v) Animate>inanimate

The animate NP precedes the inanimate one, as shown in (14)

(14) रोजीगार जीअन-मरन के विषय बा ।

rojigɑr	**jiʌn**	**mʌrʌn**	**ke**	**bisɛ**	**bɑ**
employment	life	death	GEN	issue	be.3SG.PRES

'Employment is the issue of life and death.'

(vi) Large>small

In terms of size the larger NP precedes the smaller one, but Bhojpuri has its reverse order, too, as in (15a-b).

(15) a. *हाँथी* अपना पाँवे भारी आ *चिउँटी* अपना पाँवे ।

ɦãtʰi	**ʌpnɑ**	**pãwe**	**ɓ̤ari**	**ɑ**	***ciũʈi***	**ʌpnɑ**	**pãwe**
ɦãtʰi	**ʌpnɑ**	**pão-e**	**ɓ̤ari**	**ɑ**	**ciũʈi**	**ʌpnɑ**	**pão-e**
elephant	GEN	foot-INS	heavy	and	ant	GEN	foot-INS

'*The elephant* is heavy on its feet and *the ant* is on itself.'

b. चकुदार गाँव के *छोटा-बड़ा* सब भाई के बोलवलस ।

cʌkudɑr	**gão**	**ke**	***cʰoʈa-bʌɽa***	**sʌb**	**ɓ̤ai**	**ke**
cʌkudɑr	**gão**	**ke**	**cʰoʈa-bʌɽa**	**sʌb**	**ɓ̤ai**	**ke**
peon	village	GEN	junior and senior	all	brother	DAT

bolɔlʌs

bol-ɑ-wʌl-ʌs

speak-CAUS-PP-3SG.PST

'The peon called on all individuals, whether *junior or senior* ones.'

(vii) agent>patient

The agent NP generally precedes the patient one. But Bhojpuri has its reverse usage, too, the dative, as shown in (16a-b).

(16) a. *उहाँका* काल़ *एगो भाषण* देनी *जे केहू ना* बुझे सकल ।

uɦãka	**kɑl̪**	***ego***	***ɓ̤asʌn***	**deni**
uɦã-kɑ	**kɑl̪**	**ek-go**	**ɓ̤asʌn**	**de-ni**
3SG.H-SPEC	yesterday	one-CLF	lecture	give-PST.H

'*He* gave *a lecture* yesterday.'

b. काल़ *एगो किताब* किन देनी हम बेटा के ।

kɑl̪	***ego***	***kitab***	**kin**	**deni**	***ɦʌm***	**beʈɑ**	**ke**
kɑl̪	**ek-go**	**kitɑb**	**kin**	**de-ni**	**ɦʌm**	**beʈɑ**	**ke**
yesterday	one-CLF	book	buy	give-PST.H	1SG.NOM	son	DAT

'I bought *a book* to my son yesterday.'

(viii) Positive>negative

The positive NP precedes the negative one but Bhojpuri has its reverse usage, too, as shown in (17a-b).

(17) a. बेसी भा कम, लड़ाई में क्षति दूनू ओर होला ।

besi	**ɓa**	**kʌm**	**lʌɽai**	**mẽ**	**cʰʌti**	**dunu**	**or**	**ɦola**
besi	**ɓa**	**kʌm**	**lʌɽai**	**mẽ**	**cʰʌti**	**du-nu**	**or**	**ɦo-la**
more	OR	less	WAR	loc	casualty	two-EMPH	side	be-3SG.PRES

'More or less, casualties are unavoidable for both sides in war.'

b. कमबेस जे होखे, हमनी दालेभात खानी ।

kʌmbes	**je**	**ɦokʰe**	**ɦʌmni**	**dalẹ̈at**	**kʰani**
kʌmbes	**je**	**ɦo-e**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**dal-e-ɓ̈at**	**kʰa-ni**
less or more	COND	be-3.PRES	1SG-PL	rice-EMPH-lentil	eat-PRES.H

'Less or more, whatever is, we eat only rice and lentil.'

In (17a-b), बेसी भा कम /*besi ɓ̈a kʌm*/ 'more or less' maintains positive>negative order in (17a) but कमबेस /*kʌmbes*/ 'less or more' follows reverse order in (17b).

d) Noun phrases derived by nominalization

Givón (2001b:24) defines nominalization as the process via which a finite verbal clause is converted into a noun phrase. He further quotes Hopper and Thompson (1984) to describe the process in terms of the syntactic adjustments from the finite verbal-clause prototype to the nominal (NP) prototype. Thus nominalized verbs have virtually all the same properties as prototype nominals.

(i) Verb becoming a head noun

The nominalized verb in Bhojpuri functions as the head noun, as shown in (18).

(18) बिना साधना *ज्ञान* ना होला ।

binɑ	**saḍ̈nɑ**	***gyan***	**nɑ**	**ɦola**
binɑ	**saḍ̈nɑ**	**gyɑn**	**nɑ**	**ɦo-lɑ**
without	devotion	knowledge	NEG	be-3SG.PRES

'Knowledge is not possible without devotion.' (09.241)

In (18), ज्ञान /*gyan*/ 'knowledge' is a prototype noun derived from the prototype verb stem जान /*jan*/ 'know' and has acquired property of subject in the finite clause.

(ii) Verb acquiring nominalizing morphology

A verb once nominalised, as shown in (18), acquires all the properties of nominalized morphology. So, it is inflected for number and case, as shown in (19).

(19) अधूरा ज्ञान बेइज्जतो करा देला ।

ʌḍ̈urɑ	**gyɑn**	**beijjʌto**	**kʌrɑ**	**delɑ**

ʌḍuraɑ	**gyɑn**	**beijjʌt-o**	**kʌr-ɑ**	**de-lɑ**
incomplete	knowledge	insult-EMPH	do-CAUS	give-3SG.PRES

'Incomplete knowledge causes to be insulted, too.'

In (19), ज्ञान /*gyan*/ 'knowledge' is modified by अधूरा /*ʌḍura*/ 'incomplete' as well as it has stood as the third person singular agent to cause someone to be insulted, as a prototype NP does in a finite clause.

(iii) Loss of tense-aspect-modal morphology

Once a verb in Bhojpuri is nominalized, it loses the tense-aspect-modal morphology.

(20) a. **Finite clause**

हमनी कमात रहीं ।

ɦʌmni	**kʌmɑt**	**rʌɦĩ**
ɦʌm-ni	**kʌmɑ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ĩ**
1SG.NOM-PL	work-IMPF	live-PST.H

'We were working.' (02.109)

b. **Nominalized clause**

काम जे हमनी करत रहीं **...**

kɑm	**je**	**ɦʌmni**	**kʌrʌt**	**rʌɦĩ**
kɑm	**je**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ĩ**
work	SUB	1SG.NOM-PL	do-IMPF	live-PST.H

'The work we were doing...'

The finite verb कमात रहीं /*kʌmat rʌɦĩ*/ 'were woking' in (20a) carries the aspectual (durative and imperfective in sequence) morphemes followed by the past tense copula whereas the same finite verb nominalized in (20b) loses all the tense-aspect markers. Thus, the nominalized clause in Bhojpuri replaces the tense-aspect-modal markers.

(iv) Loss of pronominal agreement morphology

When the finite verb in Bhojpuri is nominalized, it loses the pronominal agreement morphology as shown in (21a-b).

(21) a. **Finite clause**

ऊ बिलाई खोजता ।

u	**bilɑi**	**kʰojʌtɑ**

u **bilɑi** **kʰoj-ʌt** **bɑ**

3SG.NOM cat search-IMPF be.3SG. PRES

'He is searching for a cat.' (13.043)

b. **Nominalized clause**

खोजी जे ऊ बिलाई के करता ।

kʰoji **je** **u** **bilɑi** **ke** **kʌrtɑ**

kʰoji **je** **u** **bilɑi** **ke** **kʌr-ʌt** **bɑ**

investigation SUB 3SG.NOM cat GEN do-IMPF be.3SG.PRES.M

'Investigation that he is continuing for a cat.'

The finite verb खोजता /*kʰojʌta*/ 'search-IMPF+be.3SG.PRES' in (21a) is characterized by the pronominal agreement of the subject. In contrast, the nominalized verb खोजी /*kʰoji*/ 'search' in (21b) loses the pronominal agreement morpheme.

(v) Subject and/or object acquiring genitive case-marking

The subject NP and/or object of the finite clause acquire genitive case marking, as shown in (22a-b).

(22) a. **Finite clause**

ऊ बिलाई खोजता ।

u **bilɑi** **kʰojʌtɑ**

u **bilɑi** **kʰoj-ʌt** **bɑ**

3SG.NOM cat search-IMPF be.3SG. PRES

'He is searching for a cat.' (13.043)

b. **Nominalized clause**

ओकर खोजी जे ऊ बिलाई के चलता ।

okʌr **kʰoji** **je** **bilɑi** **ke** **cʌltɑ**

u-ʌr **kʰoji** **je** **bilɑi** **ke** **cʌl-ʌt** **bɑ**

3SG-GEN search SUB cat GEN walk-IMPF be.3SG. PRES

'His search that is continuing for a cat.'

In example (22a), the subject of the finite clause ऊ /*u*/ 'he' is in nominative and the object बिलाई /*bilai*/ 'cat' in the accusative cases respectively, whereas, when nominalized in (22b) both are marked by the genitive case markers.

(vi) Conversion of adverbs into adjectives

The manner adverbs in the finite clause are converted into adjectives in nominalized clause, as shown in (23a-b).

(23) a. **Finite clause**

घर निमन से पोतऽ।

ɡ̈ʌr	**nimʌn**	**se**	**potʌ**
ɡ̈ʌr	**nimʌn**	**se**	**pot-ʌ**
house	good	with	paint-IMP.MH

'Paint the house well.' (09.395)

b. **Nominalized clause**

निमन पोताई जे घर खोजता।

nimʌn	**potɑi**	**je**	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**kʰojʌtɑ**	
nimʌn	**potɑi**	**je**	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**kʰoj-ʌt**	**bɑ**
good	paint	SUB	house	search-IMPF	3SG.PRES

'Good paint that the house needs...'

We see that the adverb निमन से /*nimʌn se*/ 'well' in (23a) is converted into the adjective निमन /*nimʌn*/ 'good' in (23b).

Thus, it is to be noted that the process of nominalization in Bhojpuri characterizes the syntactic adjustments from the finite verbal-clause prototype to the nominal (NP) prototype as described in Givón (2001b:25).

e) Functional dimensions of nominalization

An extensive use of clausal nominalization is found in Bhojpuri exhibited in attributive phrases, complementation, relative clauses, and independent utterances, as well as the use of derivational nominalization. Different functional dimensions of Bhojpuri nominalization is discussed below:

(i) Attributive phrases

Attributive phrases in Bhojpuri are formed with the process of nominalization, as in (24).

(24) मूर्दा लोग से आस मत कर।

murdɑ	**log**	**se**	**ɑs**	**mʌt**	**kʌr**
dead	people	ABL	hope	NEG	do.IMP

'Don't hope from the dead people.'

In example (24), the attributive adjective मूर्दा /*murda*/ 'dead' is formed from the verb मर /*mʌr*/ 'die' and used as corpse in Bhojpuri. It has been used here as an attributive phrase before लोग /*log*/ 'people'.

(ii) Complementation

Nominalized structures function as the complement of the copular verb हो /*ɦo*/ 'be/become'. Likewise, the verb रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' is frequently used as a copular verb. Both the usages are shown in (25).

(25) a. हम त भाव के भुखिआ बानी ।

ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**ɓɑw**	**ke**	**ɓukʰiɑ**	**bɑni**
ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**ɓɑo**	**ke**	**ɓukʰ-iɑ**	**bɑni**
1SG.NOM	COND	deference	GEN	hunger-ADJ	be.PRES.H

'I am hungry for deference.' (09.362)

b. छन में राजा बने भिखारी ।

cʰʌn	**mẽ**	**rɑjɑ**	**bʌne**	**ɓikʰɑri**
cʰʌn	**mẽ**	**rɑjɑ**	**bʌn-e**	**ɓikʰɑri**
moment	LOC	king	make-3.PRES	beggar

'The king becomes beggar within a wink.' (04.080)

c. लइका के केस बहुत लामा आ मुह बहुते सुथर रहे ।

lʌikɑ	**ke**	**kes**	**bʌɦut**	**lɑmɑ**	**ɑ**	**muɦ**	**bʌɦute**	**sutʰʌr**
lʌikɑ	**ke**	**kes**	**bʌɦut**	**lɑmɑ**	**ɑ**	**muɦ**	**bʌɦut-e**	**sutʰʌr**
boy	GEN	hair	very	long	and	mouth	very-EMPH	attractive

rʌɦe
rʌɦ-e
live-3.PST

'The boy's hair was extremely long and face highly attractive.' (05.046)

(iii) Relative clauses

Nominalized verbs function as the relative clauses as shown in (26a-b).[2]

(26) a. भोजपुरी समाज के जौन परिकल्पना रहे, ऊ प्रतिनिधिमूलक ढङ से व्यक्त करे ।

ɓojpuri	**sʌmɑj**	**ke**	**jɔn**	**pʌrikʌlpʌnɑ**	**rʌɦe**	**u**

2. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 13.

ɓ̤ojpuri	**sʌmɑj**	**ke**	**jɔn**	**pʌrikʌlpʌnɑ**	**rʌɦ-e**	**u**
Bhojpuri	society	GEN	SUB	hypothesis	live-3.PST	DIST

prʌtiniḓ̤imulʌk	**ɖ̈ʌŋ**	**se**	**byʌkt**	**kʌre**
prʌtiniḓ̤-mulʌk	**ɖ̈ʌŋ**	**se**	**byʌkt**	**kʌr-e**
representation-ADJ	way	means	expressed	do-3.PST

'It used to express representatively what hypothesis of the Bhojpuri society was, too.' (03.301)

b. जौन अवरोधक बा ओकरा के छोड़ेके पड़ी, ई हमर कहनाम बा।

jɔn	**ʌbroḓ̤ʌk**	**bɑ**	**okʌrɑ**	**ke**	**cʰoɽeke**
jɔn	**ʌbroḓ̤-ʌk**	**bɑ**	**u-ʌr-ɑ**	**ke**	**cʰoɽ-e-ke**
SUB	obstruction-ADJ	be.3SG.PRES	3SG-GEN-DEF	ACC	leave-PUR-SEQ

pʌɽi

pʌɽ-i

fall-3.FUT

'Whoever is obstacle has to be abandoned.' (03.356)

9.2 Word order in simple clauses

As already noted, Bhojpuri is syntactically nominative-accusative. The constituent order in Bhojpuri may be discussed as follows:

9.2.1 Order of constituents in simple clauses

The basic and variant word order of the core constituents in the simple clauses are dealt with, as follows:

a) Unmarked order

Bhojpuri, a nominative-accusative Indo-Aryan language, holds the usual word order of SOV. However, flexibility in the basic order is found in pragmatically marked constructions. The basic/unmarked word order in Bhojpuri is discussed as follows:

(i) Intransitive clause

In an intransitive clause, the subject precedes the finite verb, as in (27).

(27) **Subject-verb (SV)**

राम आइल।

[rɑm]$_{SBJ}$	**[ɑil]$_{VRB}$**
rɑm	**ɑ-il**
rɑm	come-3SG.PST

'Ram came.' (Boodhoo, 2010:28)

(ii) Transitive clause

The order of the constituents in a transitive clause is subject-object-verb (SOV) as in (28).

(28) **Subject-object-verb (SOV)**

गणेश चौधरीजी एगो किताब लिखले बानी ।

[gʌnes	**cʌuḍʌriji]$_{SBJ}$**	**[ego**	**kitɑb]$_{DO}$**	**[likʰle**	**bɑni]$_{VRB}$**
gʌnes	**cʌuḍʌri-ji**	**ek-go**	**kitɑb**	**likʰ-ʌl-e**	**bɑni**
Ganesh	Chaudhary-H	one-CLF	book	write-PP-SEQ	be.PRES.H

'Ganesh Chaudharyji has written a book.' (04.104)

c) Intransitive clause with an indirect object

In an intransitive clause with an indirect object, the order of the clausal constituents is: subject-indirect object-verb, as in (29).

(29) **Subject-indirect object-verb (S-IO-V)**

हड़ताली लोग नाका पर बैठल बाटे ।

[ɦʌɽtɑli	**log]$_{SBJ}$**	**[nɑkɑ**	**pʌr]$_{IO}$**	**[bʌiʈʰʌl**	**bɑʈe]$_{VRB}$**
ɦʌɽtɑl-i	**log**	**nɑkɑ**	**pʌr**	**bʌiʈʰ-ʌl**	**bɑ**
strike-NOML	PL	entry point	LOC	sit-INF	be.3SG.PRES

'The protesters are sitting at the entry point.' (09.028)

(iv) Transitive clause with direct and indirect objects

In a ditransitive clause with direct and indirect objects, the normal order of the constituents is: subject-indirect object-direct object-verb, as in (30).

(30) **Subject- indirect object-direct object-verb (S-IO-DO-V)**

हम ओके किताब देनी ।

[ɦʌm]$_{SBJ}$	**[oke]$_{IO}$**	**[kitɑb]$_{DO}$**	**[deni]$_{VRB}$**
ɦʌm	**u-e**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	3SG-DAT	book	give-PST.H

'I gave him/her a book.' (06.008)

e) Adjectival predicate clause

In a clause with an adjectival predicate, the order of the constituent will be subject-predicate-copula, as in (31).

(31) **Subject-predicate-copula (S-PRED-COP)**

मधेशी लोग कमजोर बा ।

[mʌḍesi	**log]$_{SBJ}$**	**[kʌmjor]$_{PRD}$**	**[bɑ]$_{COP}$**

mʌd̤es-i	**log**	**kʌmjor**	**bɑ**
Madhesh-ADJ	people	weak	be.3SG.PRES

'Madheshis are weak.' (02.078)

(vi) Nominal predicate clause

In a clause with a nominal predicate, the order of the constituents will be subject-predicate-copula, as in (32):

(32) **Subject-predicate-copula (S-PRED-COP)**

उहाँका इतिहास बानी ।

[uɦɑ̃kɑ]$_{SBJ}$	**[itiɦɑs]$_{PRD}$**	**[bɑni]$_{VRB}$**
uɦɑ̃-kɑ	**itiɦɑs**	**bɑni**
there-SPEC	history	be.PRES.H

'S/he is history.' (04.002)

(vii) Sentential complement clause

In a clause with a sentential complement, the order of constituents will be subject-complement-verb, as in (33).

(33) **Subject-complement-verb (S-COMP-V)**

हम तोहनिओ कुछ कर कहतानी ।

[ɦʌm]$_{SBJ}$	**[toɦnio**	**kuc^{h}**	**kʌr]$_{CMP}$**	**[kʌɦʌtɑni]$_{VRB}$**	
ɦʌm	**tu-ni-o**	**kuch**	**kʌr**	**kʌɦ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
1SG.NOM	2SG-PL-EMPH	something	do	say-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'I amd tell telling you, do something.'

(viii) Sentence with clausal complement

In a sentence with a clausal complement, the order of the constituents will be subject-complement-verb, as in (34).

(34) **Subject-complement-verb (S-COMP-V)**

हमनी उनका से बातचीत कइल जरूरी समझनी ।

[ɦʌmni]$_{SBJ}$	**[unkɑ**	**se**	**bɑtcit**	**kʌil**	**jʌruri]$_{CMP}$**
ɦʌm-ni	**u-kɑ**	**se**	**bɑtcit**	**kʌr-il**	**jʌruri**
1SG-PL	3SG-GEN.H	with	talk	do-INF	need

[sʌmʌj̈ni]$_{VRB}$

sʌmʌj̈-ni

understand-PST.H

'We felt essential to talk to him.' (04.004)

(ix) Sentence with clausal object complement

In a sentence with a clausal object complement, the order of the constituents will be subject-indirect object-complement-verb as in (35):

(35) **Subject-indirect object-complement-verb (S-IO-COMP-V)**

हम राजु के हँसा देनी ।

[ɦʌm]$_{SBJ}$	**[rɑju**	**ke]$_{IO}$**	**[ɦʌ̃sɑ]$_{CMP}$**	**[deni]$_{VRB}$**
ɦʌm	**rɑju**	**ke**	**ɦʌ̃s-ɑ**	**de-ni**
1SG	Raju	DAT	laugh-CAUS	give-PST.H

'I made Raju laugh.'

On the basis of examples (27-35), some properties of word order in Bhojpuri have come on the surface. In a single argument clause the word order is simply S-V. Likewise, S is the intial and V is the final constituents of all the simple clauses. In between the two, O comes to be in the middle in transitive clause. Besides, O also categorized as DO and IO along with Pred (predicates) and Comp (complements), all constituents simply fall between S and V, already presented.

b) Word order in complex clauses

Word order in complex ('marked') clauses is a bit flexible or variant in comparision with the simple ones as follows:

(i) Variant order for verbal complements

The unmarked position of the verbal complement is between the subject and verb; however, it may be shifted to the clause final position, as in (36).

(36) **Subject-verb-complement**

हमरो इच्छा भइल कि हमहुँ कुछ लिखीं-पढ़ीं ।

[ɦʌmro	**icc^{h}ɑ]$_{SBJ}$**	**[ḇ̤ʌil]$_{VRB}$**	**[ki**	**ɦʌmɦũ**	**kuc^{h}**
ɦʌm-ʌr-o	**icc^{h}ɑ**	**ḇ̤ʌ-il**	**ki**	**ɦʌm-ɦũ**	**kuc^{h}**
1SG-GEN-EMPH	desire	become-3SG.PST	COMP	1SG-EMPH	something

lik^{h}ĩ	**pʌt̰̊ĩ]$_{CMP}$**
lik^{h}-ĩ	**pʌt̰̊-ĩ**
write-OPT	read-OPT

'I also wished I should write and recite something.' (04.022)

(ii) (Constrastive) topicalization/L-dislocation

The object of a transitive clause may be topicalized/L-dislocated to create a contrastive situation, as in (37).

(37) **Object-subject-verb (OSV)**

दोहा, अपने सुनतानी ।

[doɦɑ]$_{DO}$	**[ʌpne]$_{SBJ}$**	**[sunʌtɑni]$_{VRB}$**	
doɦɑ	**ʌpne**	**sun-ʌt**	**bɑni**
couplet	2 SG.H	listen-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'Couplets(,) you listen to (them).' (03.222)

In (37), the object is promoted and subject is highlighted and the structure has become OSV.

(iii) Wh-question

In common with other IA (SOV) languages, the position of wh-question in Bhojpuri is the place of the questioned constituent, however, it can be fronted in pragmatically marked clauses, as in (38).

(38) **DAT/O-S-ACC/IO-V**

के के रउआ किताब देनी ?

[ke	**ke]$_{IO}$**	**[rʌuɑ]$_{SBJ}$**	**[kitɑb]$_{DO}$**	**[deni]$_{VRB}$**
ke	**ke**	**rʌuɑ**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
who	DAT	2SG.H	book	give-PST.H

'Who did you give the book to?' (06.005)

Simply dative is IO and accusative is DO, but they are also interchanged as dative DO and accusative IO, specially if the question is raised for identification of dative, and if so, it comes before S as shown in (39).

d) Inverse/passive (DAT/O-ACC/IO-AGT-V)

(39) Inverse passive

इंद्र के रक्षाबंधन गुरु द्वारा बान्हल गइल ।

[indrʌ	**ke]$_{IO}$**	**[rʌkc^{h}ɑbʌnd̤ʌn]$_{DO}$**	**[guru**	**dwarɑ]$_{SBJ}$**	**[bɑn̰ʌl**
indrʌ	**ke**	**rʌkc^{h}ɑ-bʌnd̤ʌn**	**guru**	**dwarɑ**	**bɑn̰-ʌl**
king	DAT	protection-bond	teacher	by	bind-INF

gʌil]$_{VRB}$

jɑ-il

go-3SG.PST

'Indra was bonded with Raxabandhan by his teacher.' (09.026)

In the case of stress on S with presence of dative DO and accusative IO in passive constructions, both the objects stand before S as shown in (39).

e) Pseudo-cleft/emphatic

To focus a particular constituent, the object may be fronted to the beginning to yield object-verb-subject-copula order, as in (40).

(40) **Pseudo-cleft/emphatic (O-V-S-COP)**

अन जिआन करेवाला कुछ लोग रहे ।

[ʌn]$_{DO}$	**[jian**	**kʌrewɑlɑ]$_{VRB}$**	**[kuc^{h}**	**log]$_{SBJ}$**	**[rʌɦe]$_{COP}$**
ʌn	**jian**	**kʌr-e-wɑlɑ**	**kuc^{h}**	**log**	**rʌɦ-e**
food	spoil	do-PUR-owner	some	people	live-3.PST

'There were some people who spoilt food.' (02.044)

If the verb is infinite and a copula is in the clause final position, O and V both precede S as, shown in (40).

9.2.2 Order of the constituents in phrases

The order of constituents in different types of phrases is discussed as follows:

a) Constituent order in the noun phrase

Constituents in Bhojpuri noun phrases have already been discussed in the Section 9.1.

b) Constituent order in the adjectival phrase

In Bhojpuri, the adjectival phrases have some internal complexity, as mentioned in Hindi (Koul 2008:173) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:317-8). Thus, the constituents in an adjectival phrase have some sort of orders. We discuss the order of constituents in the adjectival phrase as follows:

(i) Order of degree word and adjective

The words like बहुत /*bʌɦut*/ 'very', अधिक /*ʌd̤ik*/ 'more', and तनिका /*tʌnika*/ 'a bit' are the degree words in Bhojpuri, traditionally called adverbs that indicate the degree of the adjectives. Dryer (2003:43) notes that both orders, i.e., either DEG-ADJ or ADJ-DEG order is attested among Tibeto-Burman languages where the DEG-ADJ is dominating. But Bhojpuri, an Indo-Aryan sov language, has the regular order of DEG-ADJ, as in (41a-b).

(41) a. ई एगो बहुत गलत मानसिकता के उपज ह् ।

i	**ego**	**[bʌɦut]$_{DW}$**	**[gʌlʌt]$_{ADJ}$**	**mɑnsiktɑ**	**ke**	**upʌj**
i	**ek-go**	**bʌɦut**	**gʌlʌt**	**mɑnsiktɑ**	**ke**	**upʌj**
PROX	one-CLF	very	bad	mentality	GEN	product

ɦʌ

ɦʌ

be.3SG.PRES

'This is the outcome of the worst mentatlity.' (01.076)

b. ओ लोग के भाषा आउर लोग से तनिका फरक बा ।

o	**log**	**ke**	**b̤ɑsɑ**	**ɑur**	**log**	**se**	**[tʌnikɑ]$_{DW}$**
3SG	PL	GEN	language	other	people	ABL	little

[pʰʌrʌk]$_{ADJ}$ **bɑ**

different be.3SG.PRES

'Their language is a bit different from the others.' (03.169)

The examples in (41a-b) exemplify that the degree words बहुत /*bʌɦut*/ 'very' and तनिका /*tʌnika*/ 'a bit' precede the adjectives गलत /*gʌlʌt*/ 'bad' and फरक /*pʰʌrʌk*/ 'different' they intensify respectively.

(ii) Comparative construction

In the comparative construction to expression of adjective, the order is standard marker-adjective in Bhojpuri, as in (42a-b).

(42) a. बालि सुग्रीव से बरिआर रहे ।

bɑli	**sugrib**	**[se]$_{SM}$**	**[bʌriɑr]$_{ADJ}$**	**rʌɦe**
bɑli	**sugrib**	**se**	**bʌriɑr**	**rʌɦ-e**
Bali	Sugriva	comp	strong	live-3.PST

'Bali was stronger than Sugriva.'

b. एह तरे सब से उत्तम कृषिकार्य बा कहल जात रहे ।

eɦ	**tʌre**	**[sʌb**	**se]$_{SM}$**	**[uttʌm]$_{ADJ}$**	**krisikɑryʌ**	**bɑ**
eɦ	**tʌre**	**sʌb**	**se**	**uttʌm**	**krisi-kɑryʌ**	**bɑ**
PROX	such	all	than	preferable	agriculture-work	be.3SG.PRES

kʌɦʌl	**jɑt**	**rʌɦe**
kʌɦ-ʌl	**jɑ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
say-INF	go-IMPF	live-3.PST

'So, the agriculture was said to be the best choice of occupations.' (03.315)

Going through instances (42a-b), से /*se*/ 'than' is used before the adjective बरिआर /*bʌriar*/ 'strong' to change it into comparative in (42a) and before the adjective उत्तम /*uttʌm*/ 'preferable' preceded by सब /*sʌb*/ 'all' to change it into superlative in (42b).

c) Word order in the adverbial phrase

As Hindi (Koul 2008:176-9) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:316-7) exhibit, we discuss the word order in adverbial phrases in Bhojpuri as follows:

(i) Order of the manner adverb and verb

Dryer (2008: 15) asserts that there is a strong crosslinguistic tendency for manner adverbs in OV languages to precede the verb. In line with the usual order of manner adverb preceding the verb, Bhojpuri manner adverbs precede the main verb, as in (43a-b).

(43) a. जरूरत अनुसार पानी ध-धके निमन से सानेके ।

jʌrurʌt	**ʌnusɑr**	**pɑni**	**ɖʌ**	**ɖʌke**	**[nimʌn**	**se]$_{ADV}$**
jʌrurʌt	**ʌnusɑr**	**pɑni**	**ɖʌr**	**ɖʌr-ke**	**nimʌn**	**se**
need	according to	water	put	put-SEQ	good	SPEC

[sɑneke]$_{VRB}$

sɑn-e-ke

knead-PUR-SEQ

'To knead it well, adding water as needed.' (13.159)

b. ङौ से आ ।

[ŋɔ	**se]$_{ADV}$**	**[ɑ]$_{VRB}$**
secret	with	come.IMP

'Come secretly.' (09.125)

In example (43a-b), the manner adverb निमन से /*nimʌn se*/ 'well' in (43a) and ङौ से /*ŋɔ se*/ 'secretly' in (43b) precede the main verbs सान /*san*/ 'knead' and आ /*a*/ 'come' respectively. However, the manner adverb may follow the verb for some pragmatic effect, as in (44).

(44) भागल लोग लुती लेखा !

[ɓɑgʌl]$_{VRB}$	**log**	**[luti**	**lek^{h}ɑ]$_{ADV}$**
ɓɑg-ʌl	**log**	**luti**	**lek^{h}ɑ**
flee-3.PST	people	spark	as

'They fled quickly as sparkling.' (11.028)

In (44), we see that the manner adverb लुती लेखा /*luti lek^{h}a*/ 'as sparkling' is post-posed from its usual preverbal position to code the intensity of horror.

(ii) Expression of ability

In Bhojpuri, ability is expressed by the verb verb सक /*sʌk*/ 'can or be able'. It always follows the infinitive form of the main verb as the principal character of most of the OV languages, as in (45).

(45) पूर्व सभासद भी हमनी कह सकतानी ।

purb	**sʌb̤ɑsʌd**	**b̤i**	**ɦʌmni**	**[kʌɦ]$_{VRB}$**	**[sʌkʌtɑni]$_{ABV}$**
purb	**sʌb̤ɑsʌd**	**b̤i**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**kʌɦ**	**sʌk-ʌt bɑni**
former	CA Member	also	1SG-PL	say	can-IMP be.PRES.H

'We can also call him a former CA Member.' (03.016)

In example (45), we see that in line with the characteristics of the OV languages, the ability word सक /*sʌk*/ 'can' in Bhojpuri follows the main verb कह /*kʌɦ*/ 'say'.

9.2.3 Order of clauses in complex sentences

In this sub-section, the preferred/unmarked order of clauses in the complex sentences in Bhojpuri is taken into consideration as displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:344), Maithili (Yadav 2014:82-106), Hindi (Koul 2008:179-82) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:420). Specifically, the order of relative clause in relation to noun, the order of adverbial clauses and the order of complement clause in relation to the main clause are discussed here.

a) Relative clause and the head noun

Just as the adjective precedes the noun it modifies in Bhojpuri, the relative clause also precedes the relativized head noun it modifies. Besides, it may occur as post-nominal as well as internally headed or as headless.[3]

b) Adverbial clause and main clause

The adverbial clauses generally precede the main clause in Bhojpuri. They are temporal, conditional, counter-factual, concessive, purpose and participial (sequential and simultaneous) adverbial clauses.[4]

c) Complement clause and verb

In Bhojpuri, complement clauses acquires the respective position of the noun slot, i.e., they stand as a subject, direct or indirect object. Consequently, the subject

3. Chapter 13.4.2 examines the phenomenon in detail.
4. All these types of adverbial clauses are treated in Chapter 13.2.

complement clause occurs in the usual subject position and the object complement clause occurs in the object position.[5]

9.2.4 Order of bound morphemes

This sub-section deals with the order of bound morphemes in Bhojpuri. First, we examine the bound morphemes related to nominal morphology. Then, the order of tense, aspect and modal morphemes is taken into consideration. Lastly, we discuss the place of negative morphemes in Bhojpuri.

a) Order of nominal morphemes

Bhojpuri nouns generally employ the feminine, plural and case marking morphemes, all of them following their head. But the case markers are generally not bound in Bhojpuri. Among the former two, feminine marker precedes the plural one. When the case marker is bound, it is the final. But if faminized and/or pluralized, the case marker is only peripheral. They are exemplified in as in (46).

(46) a. **Masculine>plural>accusative**

लइकन के मनोरंजन करावत रहनी ।

lʌikʌn	***ke***	**mʌnorʌnjʌn**	**kʌrɑwʌt**	**rʌɦni**
lʌik-ɑ-ʌn	***ke***	**mʌnorʌnjʌn**	**kʌr-ɑ-wʌt**	**rʌɦ-ni**
child-M-PL	DAT	entertainment	do-CAUS-IMPF	live-PST.H

'They used to entertain the *boys*.' (03.255)

b. **Feminine>plural>nominative**

लइकिअन खइली स ?

lʌikiʌn	**kʰʌili**	**sʌ**
lʌik-i-ʌn	**kʰɑ-il-i**	**sʌ**
child-F-PL	eat-PP-3.PST.F.MH	PL

'Did the girls have their meal?'

c. **Feminine>plural>genitive**

चिउँटिअन के लस्कर कहाँ जा रहल बा?

ciũʈiʌn	***ke***	**lʌskʌr**	**kʌɦã**	**jɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑ**
ciũʈ-i-ʌn	***ke***	**lʌskʌr**	**kʌɦã**	**jɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑ**
ant-F-PL	*GEN*	colony	where	go	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

'Where is the colony of ants going?'

5. Complement clauses are examined in detail in Chapter 13.1.

b) Tense-aspect-modal morphology

In general, the inherent characteristics of the Bhojpuri verb stems are presented in non-honorific imperative mood. They are suffixed by -इल /-*il*/ or -अल /-*ʌl*/ or sometimes by -वल /-*wʌl*/ that present them in infinitive or perfective aspects. Generally the infinitive/perfective suffix -अल /-*ʌl*/ turns into -वल /-*wʌl*/ with the long back vowel -आ /-*a*/ final verb stem. Hence, the order of tense, aspect and modal morphemes in Bhojpuri may be observed either suffixed with the verb stem or following the infinitive/perfective paradigms.[6]

c) Negation morpheme

There are some negative morphemes in Bhojpuri either as prefix to the nouns, adjectives and infinitives/perfectives or separate prepositions to the adverbs or finite verbs, as presented in (47a-e).

(47) a. **Prefix to a noun**

बहुत अबेर हो गइल, तनिका रफ्तार बढ़ावऽ।

bʌɦut	***ʌber***	**ɦo**	**gʌil**	**tʌnikɑ**	**rʌpʰtɑr**
bʌɦut	***ʌ-ber***	**ɦo**	**jɑ-il**	**tʌnikɑ**	**rʌpʰtɑr**
very	*NEG-time*	be	go-3SG.PST	little	speed

bʌɽ̊ɑwʌ

bʌɽ̊-ɑ-wʌ

increase-CAUS-IMP.MH

'It's too late, please increase your speed.' (09.206)

b. **Prefix to an adjective**

हरदम चूप रहल बेठीक बा।

ɦʌrdʌm	**cup**	**rʌɦʌl**	***beʈʰik***	**bɑ**
ɦʌrdʌm	**cup**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	***be-ʈʰik***	**bɑ**
always	silent	live-INF	*NEG-right*	be.3SG.PRES

'To be silent all the time is wrong.'

c. **Prefix to an infinitive/perfective**

बेकहल काम मत कर।

bekʌɦʌl	**kɑm**	**mʌt**	**kʌr**

6. Tense-aspect-modality has been discussed in Chapter 10 in detail.

be-kʌɦ-ʌl **kɑm** **mʌt** **kʌr**

NEG-say-PP work NEG do.IMP

'Don't word disobediently'

d. **Preposition before finite verb**

भोजपुरी हम चाहेम तइयो ना छुटी ।

b̤ojpuri **ɦʌm** **cɑɦem** **tʌio** **nɑ** **cʰuʈi**

b̤ojpuri **ɦʌm** **cɑɦ-em** **tʌ-io** **nɑ** **cʰuʈ-i**

Bhojpuri 1SG want-FUT.H COND-EMPH NEG leave-3SG.FUT

'Bhojpuri won't be apart from me even I whish' (03.049)

e. **Negative copula नइख /*nʌikʰ*/**

ऊ हमर चाहना भी नइखे ।

u **ɦʌmʌr** **cɑɦnɑ** **b̤i** **nʌikʰe**

u **ɦʌm-ʌr** **cɑɦnɑ** **b̤i** **nʌikʰ-e**

DIST 1SG-GEN will also not to be-3.PRES

'It is not my choice, too.' (03.049)

Going through examples in (47a-e), we observe that the negative marker prefix attatched with nouns, adjectives and infinitive/perfective nonfinite verbs derive only adjectives. Likewise, ना /*na*/ and मत /*mʌt*/ are the negative prepositions before verbs. Moreover, नइख /*nʌikʰ*/ 'be.NEG.PRES' is the present negative copula primarily found in Bhojpuri.

9.3 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at noun phrases and the syntactic use of word order in Bhojpuri. Noun phrases in Bhojpuri are categorized as simplex and complex. A noun phrase can consist of a single noun or pronoun with other elements such as demonstrative, genitive, number, adjective and relative clause, noun, compound noun and pronoun in Bhojpuri. Likewise, the number and case marker morphemes are also the elements of a noun phrase. NP→(Dem)-(Gen)-(Num)-(appositional phrase (AP))-Head is the common linear order of a noun phrase. Besides, there is also availability of scattered NPs in Bhojpuri. The complex noun phrases are found in Bhojpuri to have been juxtaposed or conjoined by conjunction, joint participants in a single event, in relative order of near>far, adult>young, male>female, singular>plural, animate>inanimate, large>small, agent>patient and positive>negative but most of them are also found in reverse order in Bhojpuri.

Bhojpuri is an SOV order language. Most of the implications of the SOV word order hold true in Bhojpuri. Adjectives, demonstratives, genitives and numerals in Bhojpuri precede the head nouns they modify. However, Bhojpuri allows enough flexibility of the constituents in the pragmatically marked constructions. The degree word modifying an adjective precedes it. Manner adverbs in Bhojpuri precede the main verb in unmarked clauses. The ability word follows the main verb. In complex sentences, the relative clause precedes the head noun it modifies. Bit it may succeed the head noun or be internally headed or headless. Most of the adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri precede the main clause; however, the cause and reason adverbial clauses follow the main clause. Complement clauses in Bhojpuri occupy the slot between the subject and the main verb. All the affixal elements, except the negative morpheme, follow their heads. In a finite verbal complex, aspect markers precede the tense marker. The negative prefix in Bhojpuri may be repeated to create absolutive negative sense.

CHAPTER 10

TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY

10.0 Outline

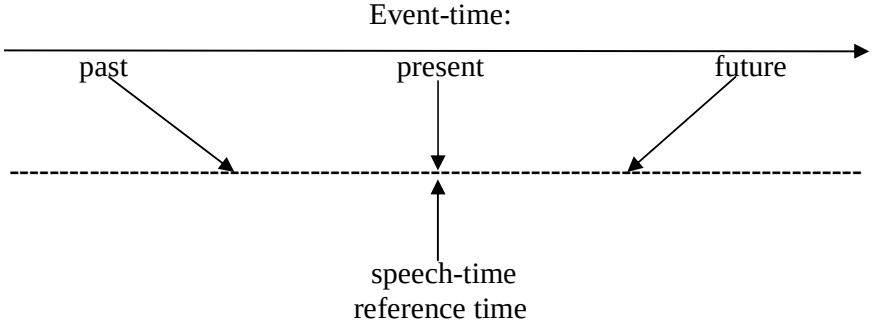
This chapter deals with the functional organization of one of the most complex grammatical subsystems; tense, aspect and modality (henceforth TAM) in Bhojpuri. It consists of five sections. Section 10.1 deals with tense. In section 10.2 we analyze aspects in Bhojpuri. Section 10.3 presents modality and section 10.4 analyzes mood and we summarize the findings in the chapter in section 10.5.

10.1 Tense

Comrie (1985:9) describes tense as grammaticalized expression of location in time. Likewise, Payne (1997:233) expresses that tense is associated with sequence of events in real time. Masica (1991:279) notes that the real tenses are present and past, to which future may be added.

Tense involves the systematic coding of the relation between two points along the ordered linear dimension of time: reference time and event time (Givón, 2001:285), describing the time of speech as the unmarked ('default') temporal reference point vis-a-a-vis which event/state calauses are anchored with. Temporal anchoring to this default reference point is called absolute tense that can be presented as:

Diagram 10.1: Tense and temporal anchoring



Source: Givón (2001a:286)

Diagram 10.1 distinguishes three major tense divisions Bhojpuri does have (Grierson 1884a:35, Ojha 1915[1982]:27-28, Tiwari 1954:262 and 1960:166, Nirbhik 1975:91, Tripathy 1987:223, Shrivastava 1999:80, Sharma and Ashk 2007:34, Singh 2009:108 and 2013:95 and Thakur 2011:102). It is so because verbs in Bhojpuri are morphologically marked for all the three tenses. Givón (2001a:286) suggests the fourth one, habitual, too. But this can apprear with tenses as an aspect as far as Bhojpuri is concerned.

As we have already declared tense depends on verbal inflectional system, it is essential to discuss on the verb stems and suffixes that change it into infinitive and participles. Bhojpuri has some typical characters with formation of infinitives and participles as both are the same in the language. There are two morphemes suffixal to Bhojpuri verbs for infinitive or participle marking, i.e., -इल /-*il*/ and -अल /-ʌ*l*/ or -वल /-*w*ʌ*l*/. Some of the verbal roots and their infinitives and participles are presented in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Verb-stems and their infinitive and participle paradigms

Verbal stems	suffixes	Infinitives/participles
खा- /*k*^{h}*a*-/ 'eat'	-इल /-*il*/	खाइल /*k*^{h}*ail*/ 'to eat/eaten'
पि- /*pi*-/ 'drink'	-अल /-ʌ*l*/	पिअल /*pi*ʌ*l*/ 'to drink/ drunk'
जा- /*ja*-/ 'go'	-इल /-*il*/	गइल /*g*ʌ*il*/ 'to go/gone'
बो- /*bo*-/ 'sow'	-अल /-ʌ*l*/	बोअल /*bo*ʌ*l*/ 'to sow/sown'
खे- /*k*^{h}*e*-/ 'row'	-अल /-ʌ*l*/ or -वल /-wʌl/	खेअल /*k*^{h}*e*ʌ*l*/ or खेवल /*k*^{h}*ew*ʌ*l*/ 'to row/rown'
मु- /*mu*-/ or मर्- /*m*ʌ*r*/ 'die'	-अल /-ʌ*l*	मुअल /*mu*ʌ*l*/ or मरल /*m*ʌ*r*ʌ*l* 'to die/died
मुआ- /*mua*-/ 'kill'	-वल /-*w*ʌ*l*/	मुआवल /*muaw*ʌ*l*/ 'to kill/killed'
मार्- /*mar*-/ 'beat/kill'	-अल -ʌ*l*	मारल /*mar*ʌ*l*/ 'to beat/beaten or to kill/killed'
दे- /*de*-/ 'give'	-अल -ʌ*l*	देल /*del*/ or देहल /*deɦ*ʌ*l*/ 'to give/given'

As shown in Table 10.1, we note labial glidation of the half open mid vowel अ /ʌ/ with half closed front vowel ए /*e*/ changing into व /*w*/ as in खेअल /*k*^{h}*e*ʌ*l*/→खेवल /*k*^{h}*ew*ʌ*l*/ 'to row/rown' and मुआवल /*muaw*ʌ*l*/ 'to kill/killed', change of intial unaspirated voiced affricate alveolar ज /*j*/ into unaspirated voiced velar stop ग /*g*/ as well as shortening of open back vowel आ /*a*/ into half open mid vowel अ /ʌ/ as in in जाइल /*jail*/→गइल /*g*ʌ*il*/ 'to go/gone'. Moreover, we note dropping of -अ /-ʌ/ or its retention with insertion of unaspirated glottal fricative ह /*ɦ*/ between half close front vowel ए /*e*/ and half open mid vowel अ /ʌ/ as in देल /*del*/→देहल /*deɦ*ʌ*l*/ 'to give/given'. Such morphophonemic changes in verb morphology will be meaningful while discussing TAM.

As displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:194), Maithili (Yadav 1996:217), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:238), Hindi (Koul 2008:105) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:93 and Adhikari 2016:199), Bhojpuri has three tense system: past, future and present.

10.1.1 Past tense

An event (or state) whose event-time proceeds the time of speech is regarded as past tense. The past tense in Bhojpuri is marked differently according to the person, number, gender and honorificity. For past tense, participle forms of verbs are used but followed by -इस /-*is*/, -ए /-*e*/, -एँ /-*ẽ*/, -अ /-ʌ/, -ऊ /-*u*/, -अस /-ʌs/, -अक /-ʌk/, -अख /-ʌk^h/, -अन /-ʌn/, -इनी /-*ini*/, -अनी /-ʌ*ni*/ or -नी /-*ni*/ for second and third perosn in accordance with gender, number and honorificity. Among them, the suffix -ए /-*e*/ is the outcome of grammaticalization of the multifunctional clitic -ए /-*e*/, already discussed in Chapter 6.2. Moreover, -इनी /-*ini*/ or -अनी /-ʌ*ni*/ or -नी /-*ni*/ is full honorific marker in all environments replacing the infinitive/participle markers -इल /-*il*/ or -अल /-ʌl/. All are exemplified in (1a-i).

(1) a. तैँ अइलिस/ले ।

tẽ **ʌilis/e**

tẽ **ɑ-il-is/e**

2SG.NOM come-PP-2.PST

'You came.' (non-honorific)

b. तू समझलऽ ।

tu **sʌmʌj̈lʌ**

tu **sʌmʌj̈-ʌl-ʌ**

2SG.NOM understand-PP-2.PST.MH

'You understood.' (mid-honorific-masculine) (06.044)

c. तू समझलू ।

tu **sʌmʌj̈lu**

tu **sʌmʌj̈-ʌl-u**

2SG.NOM understand-PP-2.PST.F.MH

'You understood.' (mid-honorific-feminine)

d. राम आइल ।

rɑm **ɑil**

rɑm ɑ-il

rɑm come-3SG.PST

'Ram came.' (Boodhoo, 2010:28)

e. छोटकु पंजाब पहुँचलक/ख ।

cʰoʈku pʌnjɑb pʌɦũclʌk/kʰ

cʰoʈ-ku pʌnjɑb pʌɦũc-ʌl-ʌk/kʰ

small-SPEC Punjab reach-PP-3SG.PST

'The younger reached Punjab.' (10.039)

f. ऊ भात खइलस

u ɓɑt kʰʌilʌs

u ɓɑt kʰɑ-il-ʌs

3SG.NOM rice eat-PP-3SG.PST

'He ate rice.'

g. हमर भइआ कहलन/लें ।

ɦʌmʌr ɓʌiɑ kʌɦilʌn/ẽ

ɦʌm-ʌr ɓʌiɑ kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌn/ẽ

1SG-GEN elder brother say-PP-3.PST.MH

'My brother said.' (10.099)

h. बाबुजी अइनी ।

bɑbuji ʌini

bɑbu-ji ɑ-ini

father-H come-PST.H

'Father came.' (010.505)

i. हम दाई के देखनी ।

ɦʌm dɑi ke dekʰni

ɦʌm dɑi ke dekʰ-ni

1SG.NOM grandmother ACC see-PST.H

'I saw grandmother.' (010.096)

On the basis of instances presented (1a-i) paradigms of verb खा- /*kʰa*-/ 'eat' and देख- /*dekʰ*-/ 'see' are presented in table 10.2 and 10.3 respectively.

Table 10.2 Paradigms of the verb खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' in past tense

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	खइनी /*kʰʌini*/	
2	M/F	NH	खइलिस /*kʰʌilis*/	खइले /*kʰʌile*/
2	M	MH	खइलऽ /*kʰʌilʌ*/	
2	F	MH	खइलू /*kʰʌilu*/	
3	M	NH	खइलक /*kʰʌilʌk*/ खइलख /*kʰʌilʌkʰ*/ खइलस /*kʰʌilʌs*/	खइलन /*kʰʌilʌn*/, खइलेन /*kʰʌilen*/, खइलें /*kʰʌilẽ*/
3	M	MH	खइलें /*kʌilẽ*/, खइलन /*kʰʌilʌn*/, खइलेन /*kʰʌilen*/	
3	F	MH	खइली /*kʰʌili*/	

Table 10.3 Paradigms of the verb देख /*dekʰ*/ in past tense

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	देखनी /*dekʰni*/	
2	M/F	NH	देखलिस /*dekʰlis*/	देखले /*dekʰle*/
2	M	MH	देखलऽ /*dekʰlʌ*/	
2	F	MH	देखलू /*dekʰlu*/	
3	M	NH	देखलक /*dekʰlʌk*/ देखलख /*dekʰlʌkʰ*/ देखलस /*dekʰlʌs*/	देखलन /*dekʰlʌn*/, देखलेन /*dekʰlen*/, देखलेँ /*dekʰlẽ*/
3	M	MH	देखलेँ /*dekʰlẽ*/, देखलेन /*dekʰlen*/, देखलन /*dekʰlʌn*/	
3	F	MH	देखली /*dekʰli*/	

As presented in illustrations (1a-i) and in table 10.2 and 10.3, some morphophonemic changes should also be noted when verbal infinitives/participles are marked for past tense in Bhojpuri. We note deletion of अ /ʌ/ from infinitive/participle marker suffix -अल /-ʌl/ with समझ- /*sʌmʌj̈*-/ 'understand' as in समझलऽ /*sʌmʌj̈lʌ*/ in (1b) and समझलू /*sʌmʌj̈lu*/ in (1c), with पहुँच- /*pʌɦũc*-/ 'reach' as in पहुँचलक/ख /*pʌɦũclʌk/kʰ*/

in (1e) and in all forms of देख- /*dekʰ*-/ in Table 10.3. Infinitives/participles of आ- /*a*-/ is आइल /*ail*/ and खा- /*kʰa*-/ is खाइल /*kʰail*/. We observe retention of आ /*a*/ in आइल /*ail*/ in (1d) but shortened to अ /ʌ/ elsewhere. In case of खाइल /*kʰail*/, आ /*a*/ has been shortened to अ /ʌ/ in all environments in past tense.

Regarding person, number and gender, Bhojpuri infinitives/participles are marked by -इस /-*is*/ or -ए /-*e*/ for non-honorific second person singular in both genders, by -उ /-*u*/ for mid-honorific second person feminine in both numbers, by -अ /-ʌ/ for mid-honorific second person masculine in both numbers. /-ø/, -अक /-ʌ*k*/, -अख /-ʌ*kʰ*/, and -अस /-ʌ*s*/ are the past tense marker suffixes for non-honorific third person singular for both genders. Likewise -एँ /-*ẽ*/ and -अन /-ʌ*n*/ mark infinitive/participles for pulurality and mid-honorific third person masculine in both numbers whereas feminine in this environment is marked by -इ /-*i*/ in past tense.

10.1.2 Future tense

An event (or state) whose event-time follows the time of speech is regarded as future tense (Givón, 2001:286). So, it refers to the event or situation after the present time/now. Bhojpuri future tense markers also vary as in other tenses. The first identification of future tense is that the tense markers either directly mark the verb stems or at least delete -ल /-*l*/ from infinitive/participle marker. -एब /-*eb*/ or -एम /-*em*/ is the general future tense marker for full honorificity in all persons, genders and numbers. Besides, -इबे /-*ibe*/, -इहे /-*iɦe*/, -इबऽ /-*ibʌ*/, -इह /-*iɦʌ*/, -इबू /-*ibu*/, -ई /-*i*/, -इहें /-*iɦẽ*/, -इहन /-*iɦʌn*/ and -इहेन /-*iɦen*/ mark variably with regards to person, number, gender and honorificity. Let us observe exemplifications in (2a-l).

(2) a. तें आम खइबे/हे ।

tẽ	**ɑm**	**kʰʌibe/ɦe**
tẽ	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-i-be/ɦe**
2.SG.NOM	mango	eat-FUT-be.2.FUT

'You shall eat mangoes.' (010.221)

b. तू आम खइबऽ/हऽ ।

tu	**ɑm**	**kʰʌibʌ/ɦʌ**
tu	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-i-bʌ/ɦʌ**
2.SG.NOM	mango	eat-FUT-be.2.FUT.MH

'You shall eat mangoes.' (010.221)

c. बोलिहऽ।

bolihʌ

bol-i-hʌ

speak-FUT-2.FUT.MH

'You will call me.' (010.450)

d. बोलबऽ।

bolbʌ

bol-ʌ-bʌ

speak-FUT-2.FUT.MH

'You will tell me.'

e. तू बिहने आम खइबू।

tu	**bihʌne**	**ɑm**	**kʰʌibu**
tu	**bihʌne**	**ɑm**	**kʰɑ-i-bu**
2SG.NOM	tomorrow	mango	eat-FUT-2.FUT.F.MH

'You will eat a mango tomorrow.'

f. ऊ तीनगो खाई।

u	**tin-go**	**kʰɑi**
u	**tin-go**	**kʰɑ-i**
3SG.NOM	three-CLF	eat-3SG.FUT

'S/he will eat the three.' (11.011)

g. मलाह डेङी खेई।

mʌlaɦ	**ɖeŋi**	**kʰei**
mʌlaɦ	**ɖeŋi**	**kʰe-i**
fisherman	boat	row-3SG.FUT

'The fisherman will row the boat.' (010.527)

h. कुटुम लोग अइहें/हन/हेन।

kuʈum	**log**	**ʌiɦẽ/ɦʌn/ɦen**
kʌʈum	**log**	**ɑ-i-ɦẽ/ɦʌn/ɦen**
guest	PL	come-FUT-3.FUT.MH

'Guests will come.'

i. हम आएम।

ɦʌm ɑem

ɦʌm ɑ-em

1SG.NOM come-FUT.H

'I will come.' (01.081)

j. रउआ जाएम ।

rʌuɑ jɑem

rʌuɑ jɑ-em

2SG.H go-FUT.H

'You will go.' (03.145)

k. पंडीजी अमार खोलेम ।

pʌnɖiji ʌmɑr kʰolem

pʌnɖit-ji ʌmɑr kʰol-em

priest-H holy granary open-FUT.H

'The priest will open the holy granary.' (010.220)

l. हम दाई के देखेब ।

ɦʌm dɑi ke dekʰeb

ɦʌm dɑi ke dekʰ-eb

1SG.NOM grandmother ACC see-FUT.H

'I will see Grandmother.'

On the basis of instances presented in (2a-l), paradigms of verb खा- /*kʰa*-/ 'eat' and देख- /*dekʰ*/ 'see' are presented in table 10.4 and 10.5 respectively.

Table 10.4 Paradigms of the verb खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' in future tense

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	खाएम /*kʰaem*/ or खाएब /*kʰaeb*/	
2	M	MH	खइबऽ /*kʰʌibʌ*/ or खइहऽ /*kʰʌɦʌ*/	
2	F	MH	खइबू /*kʰʌibu*/	
2	M/F	NH	खइबे /*kʰʌibe*/ or खइहे /*kʰʌiɦe*/	
3	M/F	MH	खइहें /*kʰʌiɦẽ*/ or खइहन /*kʰʌiɦʌn*/ or खइहेन /*kʰʌiɦen*/	
3	M/F	NH	खाई /*kʰai*/	

Table 10.5 Paradigms of the verb देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' in future tense

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	देखेम /*dekʰem*/ or देखेब /*dekʰeb*/	
2	M	MH	दखिहऽ /*dekʰiɦʌ*/ or देखबऽ /*dekʰbʌ*/	
2	F	MH	देखबू /*dekʰbu*/	
2	M/F	NH	देखिहे /*dekʰiɦe*/ or देखबे /*dekʰbe*/	
3	M/F	MH	देखिहें /*dekʰiɦẽ*/ or देखिहेन /*dekʰiɦen*/ or देखिहन /*dekʰiɦʌn*/	
3	M/F	NH	देखी /*dekʰi*/	

We observe -इबे /-*ibe*/ and -इहे /-*iɦe*/ as in (2a) mark second person non-honorific in both the numbers and genders. Likewise, -इबऽ /-*ibʌ*/ and -इह /-*iɦʌ*/ mark second person masculine in both numbers as shown in (2b-d) and -इबू /-*ibu*/ marks second person feminine in both numbers in mid-honorificity as in (2e). Besides, -इ /-*i*/ marks third person in both the numbers and genders for non-honorificity as in (2f-g) and -इहें /-*iɦẽ*/, -इहन /-*iɦʌn*/ and -इहेन /-*iɦen*/ mark third person singular and plural in both genders for mid-honorificity as in (2h). Moreover, -एम /-*em*/ or -एब /-*eb*/ mark full honorificity in all persons, numbers and genders as in (2i-l). The exemplifications in (2a-l) as well as in Table 10.4 and 10.5 show that the verb paradigms have no difference on the ground of numbers but they only differ according to person, gender and honorificity.

10.1.3 Present tense

An event (or state) whose event-time is right at the time of speech is regarded as present tense (Givón, 2001a:286). So, it refers to the event or situation at the present time. While dealing with present tense in Bhojpuri, the full form appears to be verb-stem suffixed by imperfective marker -अत /-ʌt/ followed by copula बानी /*bani*/, बाड़ऽ /*baɽʌ*/, बाड़ू /*baɽu*/, बाड़ें /*baɽẽ*/, बाड़ेन /*baɽen*/, बाड़न /*baɽʌn*/, बाटे /*baʈe*/, बाटें /*baʈẽ*/, बा /*ba*/ according to person, gender, honorificity and number. But deletion and contraction have occurred to delete ब /*b*/ from the copula and the rest morphemes to be contracted with -अत /-ʌt/. In this way the current present marker suffixes are -तानी /-*tani*/, -ताड़ऽ /-

taɽʌ/, -ताड़ू /*-taɽu*/, -ताड़े /*-taɽe*/, -ताड़ें /*-taɽẽ*/, -ताड़ेन /*-taɽen*/, -ताड़न /*-taɽʌn*/, -ताटे /*-taʈe*/, -ताटें /*-taʈẽ*/ and -ता /*-ta*/ as shown in (3a-i). Moreover, bilabial glidation happens between -आ /*-a*/ final verb stem and present tense markers, but not universally.

(3) a. हमनीका खेती करतानी ।

ɦʌmnikɑ	**kʰeti**	**kʌrtɑni**	
ɦʌm-ni-kɑ	**kʰeti**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**bɑni**
1SG.NOM-PL-DEF	farming	do-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'We are farming.' (02.005)

b. रउआ कवनो किताब लिखतानी ।

rʌuɑ	**kɔno**	**kitɑb**	**likʰʌtɑni**	
rʌuɑ	**kɔno**	**kitɑb**	**likʰ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
2SG.H	any	book	write-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'You are writing a book.' (03.104)

c. बाबुजी आवतानी ।

bɑbuji	**ɑwʌtɑni**	
bɑbu-ji	**ɑ-wʌt**	**bɑni**
father-H	come-IMPF	be.3.PRES.H

'Father is coming.'

d. पदान के नाती, चिउँटी काटताड़ऽ ।'

pʌdɑn	**ke**	**nɑti**	**ciũʈi**	**kɑʈʌtɑɽʌ**	
pʌdne	**ke**	**nɑti**	**ciũʈi**	**kɑʈ-ʌt**	**bɑɽʌ**
wind-excretor	GEN	grand son	pinch	cut-IMPF	be.2.PRES.MH

'Damn fool, you are pinching me with nails.' (05.027)

e. तू रोटी खाताड़ू ।

tu	**roʈi**	**kʰɑtɑɽu**	
tu	**roʈi**	**kʰɑ-ʌt**	**bɑɽu**
2.SG.NOM	chapati	eat-IMPF	be.2.PRES.F.MH

'You are eating chapatis.'

f. तें दूध पिअताड़े ।

tẽ	**duḍ**	**piʌtɑɽe**	
tẽ	**duḍ**	**pi-ʌt**	**bɑɽe**
2.SG.NOM	milk	drink-IMPF	be.2.PRES

'You are drinking milk.'

g. हाकिम आवताड़ें/ड़ेन/ड़न ।

ɦɑkim ɑwʌtɑɽẽ/ɽen/ɽʌn

ɦɑkim ɑ-wʌt bɑɽẽ/ɽen/ɽʌn

officer come-IMPF be.3.PRES.MH

'The officer is coming.'

h. स्वास्थ्य स्वयंसेविका आवताड़ी ।

swɑstʰyʌ swʌyʌmsewikɑ ɑwʌtɑɽi

swɑstʰyʌ swʌyʌmsewi-kɑ ɑ-wʌt bɑɽi

health volunteer-F come-IMPF be.3.PRES.F.MH

'The woman health voluneer is coming.'

i. राम आवता/ताटे ।

rɑm ɑwʌtɑ/tɑʈe

rɑm ɑ-wʌt bɑ/bɑʈe

rɑm come-IMPF be. 3SG.PRES

'Ram is coming.'

Bhojpuri verb paradigms of खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' and देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' in present tense are presented in Table 10.6 and 10.7 respectively.

Table 10.6 Paradigms of the verb खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' in present tense

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	खातानी /*kʰatani*/	
2	M	MH	खाताड़ऽ /*kʰataɽʌ*/	
2	F	MH	खाताड़ू /*kʰataɽu*/	
2	M/F	NH	खाताड़े /*kʰataɽe*/	
3	M	MH	खाताड़ें /*kʰataɽẽ*/ or खाताड़ेन /*kʰataɽen*/ खाताड़न /*kʰataɽʌn*/	
3	F	MH	खाताड़ी /*kʰataɽi*/	
3	M	NH	खाता /*kʰata*/ or खाताटे /*kʰataʈe*/	
3	F	NH	खातिआ /*kʰatia*/	खाताड़ी /*kʰataɽi*/

Table 10.7 Paradigms of the verb देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' in present tense

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	देखतानी /*dekʰʌtani*/	
2	M	MH	देखताड़ऽ /*dekʰʌtaɽʌ*/	
2	F	MH	देखताड़ू /*dekʰʌtaɽu*/	
2	M/F	NH	देखताड़े /*dekʰʌtaɽe*/	
3	M	MH	देखताड़ें /*dekʰʌtaɽẽ*/ or देखताड़ेन /*dekʰʌtaɽen*/ or देखताड़न /*dekʰʌtaɽʌn*/	
3	F	MH	देखताड़ी /*dekʰʌtaɽi*/	
3	M	NH	देखता /*dekʰʌta*/ or देखताटे /*dekʰʌtaʈe*/	
3	F	NH	देखतिआ /*dekʰʌtia*/	

On the basis of instances (3a-i) and the tables of paradigms of verb खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' and देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' we observe that -तानी /*-tani*/ is the general present tense marker in all persons, genders and numbers for full honorificity, -ताड़ऽ /*-taɽʌ*/ marks the verb stem for second person masculine in both numbers for mid-honorificity, -ताड़ू /*-taɽu*/ for second person feminine in both numbers for mid-honorificity and -ताड़े /*-taɽe*/ for second person in both genders and numbers for non-honorificity. Likewise, -ताड़ें /*-taɽẽ*/, तातें /*taʈẽ*/, -ताड़ेन /*-taɽen*/ and -ताड़न /*-taɽʌn*/ mark verb stem for third person masculine in both the numbers for mid-honorificity, -ताड़ी /*taɽi*/ for third person feminine in both numbers for mid-honorificity and -ताटे /*-taʈe*/ and -ता /*-ta*/ mark for third person in both the numbers masculine and -तिआ /*-tia*/ in feminine for non-honorificity. Moreover, bilabial glidation happens between -आ /*-a*/ final verb stem and present tense markers, but not universally. In the data presented, it is inserted with आ /*a*/ 'come' in (3c) but not with खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' in (3e).

10.2 Aspect

Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constitueny of a situation (Comrie 1976). Katamba (1993:221) notes that aspect indicates whether an event, state, process or action that is denoted by a verb is completed or in progress.

It is a category used in the grammatical description of verb (along with tense and mood), referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the duration of types of temporal activity denoted by the verb (Crystal, 2003:36). Though its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:199-208), Maithili (Yadav 1996:154), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:238), Hindi (Koul 2008:105) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:98-103 and Adhikari 2016:205-10) exhibit aspectual contrasts in similar ways, Bhojpuri records three aspectual contrasts: perfective, imperfective and perfect.

10.2.1 Perfective

While dealing with perfectivity, we should go through inherent and grammatical perfectivity of the verbs in Bhojpuri.

a) Inherent perfectivity

In Bhojpuri the inherent perfectivity of the verbs can be divided as follows:

(i) Compact short-duration verbs

थुक /*tʰuk*/ 'spit', झपक /*jʌpʌk*/ 'blink', खोंख /*kʰõkʰ*/ 'cough', लतिआ /*lʌtia*/ 'kick', कुद /*kud*/ 'jump', ठोक /*ʈʰok*/ 'hit', थपड़िआ /*tʰʌpɽia*/ 'slap'

(ii) Accomplishment-completion verbs

आ /*a*/ 'come', जा /*ja*/ 'go' ओरा /*ora*/ 'finish' पा /*pa*/ 'obtain/get', गिर /*gir*/ 'fall', मु/मर /*mu/mʌr*/ 'die', जनम /*jʌnʌm*/ 'be born', बैठ /*bʌiʈʰ*/ 'sit down', उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'stand up'

(iii)Activity-process verbs

Shorter: तोड़ /*toɽ*/ 'break', बुक /*buk*/ 'smash', मोड़ /*moɽ*/ 'bend', अइँठ /*ʌĩʈʰ*/ 'twist', डेङ धर /*ɖeŋ ɖʌr*/ 'step'

Longer: घुम/चल /*ɡum/cʌl*/ 'walk', कर /*kʌr*/ 'do/work', पढ़ /*pʌɽ̊*/ 'read', नाच /*nac*/ 'dance'

(iv)Stative verbs

Temporary: दुखिआ /*dukʰia*/ 'be sad', खुशिआ /*kʰusia*/ 'be happy', खिसिआ /*kʰisia*/ 'be angry', तात /*tat*/ 'be hot', सेरा /*sera*/ 'be cold' जान /*jan*/ 'know', चाह /*caɦ*/ 'want' पतिआ /*patia*/ 'believe', ओतहें रुक /*otʌɦẽ ruk*/ 'be there', बैठल रह /*bʌiʈʰʌl rʌɦ*/ 'be sitting' पड़ल रह /*pʌɽʌl rʌɦ*/ 'be lying down', खड़िआ /*kʰʌɽia*/ 'be standing'

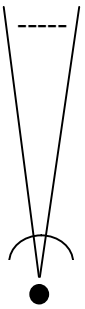
Long-lasting: लमहर हो /*lʌmʌɦʌr ɦo*/ 'be tall', बड़ हो /*bʌɽ ɦo*/ 'be big', लाल हो /*lal ɦo*/ 'be red', जनाना हो /*jʌnana ɦo*/ 'be female', रिसिआ /*risia*/ 'be furry'

b) Grammatical perfectivity

Grammatically, perfective aspect looks the situation from outside, not necessarily at any internal structure of the situation. According to Comrie (1976:18), the perfectivity denotes a complete situation with beginning, middle and end. It is concerned with temporal boundedness and duration of a situation.

Perspective of perfective aspect focuses on termination and boundedness, so, it is strongly associated with the past tense. Using the perfective aspect is akin to observing an event from far away, thus through a narrow-angle zoom lens the event is so far that it appear small, compact and well-bounded (Givón, 2001:288-9).[1]

Figure 10.1: Perfective lens focus

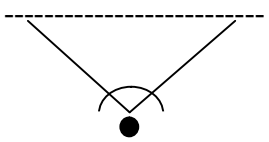


point of view
Source: Givón (2001a:289)

10.2.2 Imperfective

Perspective of the imperfective aspect focuses away from termination and boundaries. Imperfective aspect is akin to observing the event from nearby, through a wide angle ('fish-eye') lens. The event is so near that its boundaries are outside the lens's field of vision. All one can see is a continuous unbounded stretch (Givón, 2001a:289).

Figure 10.2: Imperfective lens focus



point of view
Source: from Givón (2001a:289)

The imperfective category is further sub-divided into two main divisions: ongoing process and repeated events. Imperfective category in Bhojpuri also abides

1. As perfective aspect is strongly associated with past tense, it is very clearly described in sub-section 10.2.3 of this chapter.

by such divisions as ongoing process: progressive-durative-continuous and repeated events: habitual-repetitive.

a) Progressive

The general progressive marker in Bhojpuri is -अत /-ʌt/ which is suffixed to the verb stem and followed by the past forms of copula that also show agreement with person, gender, number and honorificity. It can be combined with any tense categories: past, future and present. We discuss it as follows:

(i) Past Progressive

In past progressive aspect, the progressive marker -अत /-ʌt/ is followed by stative verb रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' which is mostly used as copula in Bhojpuri, and it is this copula that agrees with person, number, gender and honorificity of the subject/agent. Moreover, the accomplishment-completion verbs already discussed (but not all) such as सुत /*sut*/ 'sleep', उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'stand up', बैठ /*bʌiʈʰ*/ 'sit down' retains its infinitive/participle form in past progressive. Let us observe the instances (4a-j).

(4) a. पहिले हमनी अन निकासी करत रहनी ।

pʌɦile	**ɦʌmni**	**ʌn**	**nikɑsi**	**kʌrʌt**	**rʌɦni**
pʌɦil-e	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ʌn**	**nikɑsi**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ni**
first-DEF	1SG-PL	food	export	do-IMPF	live-PST.H

'We were exporting food grains in the past.' (010.391)

b. अपने खेत जोतत रहनी ।

ʌpne	**kʰet**	**jotʌt**	**rʌɦnĩ**
ʌpne	**kʰet**	**jot-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-nĩ**
2SG.NOM.H	farm	plough-IMPF	live-PST.H

'You were ploughing the farm.'

c. बाबुजी खोंखत रहनी ।

bɑbuji	**kʰõkʰʌt**	**rʌɦnĩ**
bɑbu-ji	**kʰõkʰ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-nĩ**
father-H	plough-IMPF	live-PST.H

'Father was coughing.'

d. तोहनी सुतल रहलऽ ।

toɦni	**sutʌl**	**rʌɦlʌ**

tu-ni **sut-ʌl** **rʌɦ-ʌl-ʌ**

2SG-PL sleep-PP live-PP-2.PST.MH

'You were sleeping.'

e. तू सुतल रहलू ।

tu **sutʌl** **rʌɦlu**

tu **sut-ʌl** **rʌɦ-ʌl-u**

2.SG.F.MH sleep-PP live-PP-2.PST.F.MH

'You were sleeping.'

f. तें हँसत रहले/लिस ।

tẽ **ɦɪ̃sʌt** **rʌɦe**

tẽ **ɦɪ̃s-ʌt** **rʌɦ-ʌl-e**

2.SG laugh-IMPF live-PP-2.PST

'You were laughing.'

g. ... लोग एह से पहिले भी कहत रहलन ... ।

log **eɦ** **se** **pʌɦile** **ḅi** **kʌɦʌt** **rʌɦlʌn**

log **eɦ** **se** **pʌɦil-e** **ḅi** **kʌɦ-ʌt** **rʌɦ-ʌl-ʌn**

people prox source first-DEF also say-IMPF live-PP-3.PST.MH

'... people were saying earlier too ....' (02.082)

h. पहिले लोग टोइँआँ में पानी पिअत रहे ।

pʌɦile **log** **ʈoĩã** **mẽ** **pɑni** **piʌt**

pʌɦil-e **log** **ʈoĩã** **mẽ** **pɑni** **pi-ʌt**

first-DEF people small earthen pot LOC water drink-IMPF

rʌɦe

rʌɦ-e

live-3SG.PST

'The people were drinking water in a small earthen pot earlier.' (010.544)

i. दूनू सुतल रहे ।

dunu **sutʌl** **rʌɦe**

du-nu **sut-ʌl** **rʌɦ-e**

two-EMPH sleep-PP live-3.PST

'Both were sleeping.' (11.018)

j. ... ऊ सब सुनत रहली ।

u	**sʌb**	**sunʌt**	**rʌɦili**
u	**sʌb**	**sun-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
3SG.NOM	all	listen-IMPF	live-PP-3.PST-F.MH

'... she was hearing all.' (07.025)

Hence, we observe that there are two forms of verbs, either marked with -अत /-ʌt/ as imperfective or with -अल /-ʌl/ as perfective, followed by copula रह *rʌɦ* that agrees with the subject/agent according to its person, gender, number and honorificity. Table 10.8 presents past progressive paradigms of copula रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'be' that literarily means 'live'.

Table 10.8 Paradigms of the copula रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'be' in past progressive

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	रहनी /*rʌɦnĩ*/	
2	M	MH	रहलऽ /*rʌɦlʌ*/	
2	F	MH	रहलू /*rʌɦlu*/	
2	M/F	NH	रहलिस /*rʌɦlis*/ or रहले /*rʌɦle*/	
3	M	MH	रहस /*rʌɦʌs*/ or रहलें /*rʌɦlẽ*/ रहलेन /*rʌɦlen*/ or रहलन /*rʌɦlʌn*/	
3	F	MH	रहली /*rʌɦli*/	
3	M/F	NH	रहे /*rʌɦe*/	

Going through the exemplificaions and the Table 10.8, the paradigms of copula रह /*rʌɦ*/ seem to be coincided with verb देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' as presented in Table 10.3. Moreover, a new morpheme -अस /-ʌs/ is added in third person masculine mid-honorific in both the numbers as well as -ए /-*e*/ has come to suffix the stem रह /*rʌɦ*/ instead of -लस /-*lʌs*/, -लक /-*lʌk*/, -लख /-*lʌkʰ*/ what we observe with देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' in Table 10.2. Typologically it seems close with Maithili but not with Nepali or Hindi or Awadhi.

(ii) Future Progressive

It seems to be very close to past progressive but dissociating also as the copula रह /*rʌɦ*/ as well as हो /*ɦo*/ and होख /*ɦokʰ*/ marks future progressive. Let us observe the instances (5a-k).

(5) a. हम पढ़त रहेम ।

ɦʌm pʌʈ̊ʌt rʌɦem

ɦʌm pʌʈ̊-ʌt rʌɦ-em

1SG.NOM fall-IMPF live-FUT.H

'I will be reading.' (13.011)

b. रउआ बिआ उखाड़त होएम ।

rʌuɑ biɑ ukʰɑɽʌt ɦoem

rʌuɑ biɑ ukʰɑɽ-ʌt ɦo-em

2SG.H seedlings uproot-IMPF be-FUT.H

'You will be uprooting seedlings.' (13.012)

c. बाबुजी गीता पढ़त होखेम ।

bɑbuji gitɑ pʌʈ̊ʌt ɦokʰem

bɑbu-ji gitɑ pʌʈ̊-ʌt ɦokʰ-em

father-H Geeta read-IMPF be-FUT.H

'Father will be reading Gita.' (13.013)

d. तू किताब पढ़त होइबऽ ।

tu kitɑb pʌʈ̊ʌt ɦoibʌ

tu kitɑb pʌʈ̊-ʌt ɦo-i-bʌ

2SG.NOM book fall-IMPF be-FUT-.2.MH

'You will be reading a book.' (13.014)

e. तू भात निर्हत रहबू ।

tu ɓɑt niɽ̥-ʌt ɦokʰbu

tu ɓɑt niɽ̥-ʌt ɦokʰ-bu

2SG.NOM boiled rice cook-IMPF be-2.FUT.F.MH

'You will be cooking rice.' (13.015)

f. तोहनी कबड्डी खेलत होखबऽ ।

toɦni kʌbʌɖɖi kʰelʌt ɦokʰbʌ

tu-ni kʌbʌɖɖi kʰel-ʌt ɦokʰ-bʌ

2SG-PL kabaddi play-IMPF be-2.FUT.MH

'You will be playing Kabaddi.' (13.016)

g. तें गीत गावत होखबे ।

tẽ git gɑwʌt ɦokʰbe

tẽ **git** **gɑ-wʌt** **ɦokʰ-be**

2SG.NOM song sing-IMPF be-2.FUT

'You will be singing a song.' (13.017)

h. ऊ लोग धान काटत होइहें ।

u **log** **d̤an** **kɑʈʌt** **ɦoiɦẽ**

u **log** **d̤an** **kɑʈ-ʌt** **ɦo-i-ɦẽ**

3SG PL paddy cut-IMPF be-FUT-3.MH

'They will be reaping paddy.' (13.018)

i. मोहन तबला बजावत होई ।

moɦʌn **tʌblɑ** **bʌjɑwʌt** **ɦoi**

moɦʌn **tʌblɑ** **bʌj-ɑ-ʌt** **ɦo-i**

Mohan Tabla ring-CAUS-IMPF be-3SG.FUT

'Mohan will be playing Tabla.' (13.019)

j. लइकी सुतल होई ।

lʌiki **sutʌl** **ɦoi**

lʌiki **sut-ʌl** **ɦo-i**

girl sleep-PP be-3SG.FUT

'The girl will be sleeping.' (13.020)

k. माई जागल होई ।

mɑi **jɑgʌl** **ɦoi**

mɑi **jɑg-ʌl** **ɦo-i**

mother awaken-PP be-3SG.FUT

'Mother will be awaking.' (13.021)

Going through the examples, we observe that the paradigms of रह /*rʌɦ*/, हो /*ɦo*/ or होख /*ɦokʰ*/ 'be' are identical with the future tense markers as we observe with देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' in Table 10.5 in the subsection (10.1.2) in this chapter.

(iii) Present Progressive

The identification of present tense is itself in progressive aspect as described in section 10.1.3. Formally it is close to Maithili (Yadav, 2014:42), Awadhi (Saxena, 1937:247) and Hindi (Koul 2008: 105) but not with Nepali (Adhikari 2014:199) though it is functionally similar with those all. Moreover, the form identical with those of Nepali as well as in other neighbours, too, is also available in Bhojpuri. In

this form the main verb is used in its stem form, the infinitive/participle form of रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live', i.e., रहल /*rʌɦʌl*/ follows it and further followed by copula बा /*ba*/ 'be' agreeing with the person, number, gender and honorificity of the subject/agent as shown in (6a-i).

(6) a. ... हम गीत राख रहल बानी ।

ɦʌm **git** **rɑkʰ** **rʌɦʌl** **bɑni**

ɦʌm **git** **rɑkʰ** **rʌɦ-ʌl** **bɑni**

1SG.NOM song put live-INF be.PRES.H

'... here you are with a song. Lit: I'm putting a song.' (03.007)

b. अभीन अपने सुन रहल बानी ...।

ʌb̤in **ʌpne** **sun** **rʌɦʌl** **bɑni**

ʌb̤in **ʌpne** **sun** **rʌɦ-ʌl** **bɑni**

now 2SG hear live-INF be.PRES.H

'Now you are hearing ...' (01.084)

c. तें भात खा रहल बाड़े ।

tẽ **b̤ɑt** **kʰɑ** **rʌɦʌl** **bɑɽe**

tẽ **b̤ɑt** **kʰɑ** **rʌɦ-ʌl** **bɑ-ɽe**

2SG.NOM boiled rice eat live-INF be.2.PRES

'You are eating rice.' (13.22)

d. तू घर बहार रहल बाड़ू ।

tu **g̈ʌr** **bʌɦɑr** **rʌɦʌl** **bɑɽu**

tu **g̈ʌr** **bʌɦar** **rʌɦ-ʌl** **bɑɽu**

2SG.NOM house sweep live-INF 2.PRES.F.MH

'You are sweeping house.' (13.23)

e. तोहनी घरे जा रहल बाड़ऽ ।

toɦni **g̈ʌre** **jɑ** **rʌɦʌl** **bɑɽʌ**

tu-ni **g̈ʌr-e** **jɑ** **rʌɦ-ʌl** **bɑɽʌ**

2SG-PL house-LOC go live-INF be.2.PRES.MH

'You are going home.' (13.24)

f. हमनी के श्रोता लोग सुन रहल बानी ।

ɦʌmni **ke** **srotɑ** **log** **sun** **rʌɦʌl** **bɑni**

ɦʌm-ni ke srotɑ log sun rʌɦ-ʌl bɑni

1SG-PL GEN listener PL listen live-INF be.PRES.H

'Listeners are hearing us.' (03.386)

g. बाबुजी आ रहल बाड़न ।

bɑbuji ɑ rʌɦʌl bɑɽʌn

bɑbu-ji ɑ rʌɦ-ʌl bɑɽʌn

father-H come live-INF be.3.PRES.MH

'Father is coming.' (03.155)

h. माई आ रहल बाड़ी ।

mɑi ɑ rʌɦʌl bɑɽi

mɑi ɑ rʌɦ-ʌl bɑɽi

mother come live-INF be.3.PRES.F.MH

'Mother is coming.' (03.154)

i. ... युवा शक्ति अभी खेती से मुँह मोड़ रहल बा ।

yubɑ sʌkti ʌb̰i kʰeti se mũɦ moɽ rʌɦʌl bɑ

yubɑ sʌkti ʌb̰i kʰeti se mũɦ moɽ rʌɦ-ʌl bɑ

youth force now farming ABL mouth turn live-INF be.3SG.PRES

'... the youth forces are fleeing from farming now.' (02.011)

Going through the exemplificaitons (6a-i) the paradigms of बा /*ba*/ 'be' seems to be identical with that of suffix -ता /*-ta*/ in the verb stem as presented in section 10.1.3. Moreover, there are some accomplishment-completion verbs whose infinitive/participle form is functionally used in present progressive, as shown in (7a-c).

(7) a. हड़ताली लोग नाका पर बैठल बाटे ।

ɦʌɽtali log nɑkɑ pʌr bʌiʈʰʌl bɑʈe

ɦʌɽtal-i log nɑkɑ pʌr bʌiʈʰ-ʌl bɑ

strike-NML PL entry point LOC sit-INF be.3SG.PRES

'The protesters are sitting at the entry point.' (010.028)

b. दरबार में खजाना भरल पड़ल बा ।

dʌrbɑr mẽ kʰʌjɑnɑ b̰ʌrʌl pʌɽʌl bɑ

dʌrbɑr mẽ kʰʌjɑnɑ b̰ʌr-ʌl pʌɽ-ʌl bɑ

palace LOC treasury fill-PP lie-PP be.3SG.PRES

'The treasury in the palace is lying full.' (010.138)

c. बाबुजी घरे सुतल बानी ।

bɑbuji	**ğʌre**	**sutʌl**	**bɑni**
bɑbu-ji	**ğʌr-e**	**sut-ʌl**	**bɑni**
father-H	house-LOC	sleep-PP	be.PRES.H

'Father is sleeping at home.' (13.25)

Hence, we have observed there are three forms of verbal morphology in present progressive in Bhojpuri: main verb in imperfective form with -अत /-ʌt/ marker that is further marked by -आनी /-*ani*/, -आड़ऽ /-*aɽʌ*/, -आ /-*a*/, -इआ /-*ia*/ and so on; use of रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' in indefinite/participle form followed by different forms of बा /*ba*/; and ommition of रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' with indefinite/participle form of some of the main verb (accomplishment-completion and stative) followed by बा /*ba*/ 'be' in different endings to agree with subjects/agents.

Traditional grammar used to deal with the first form as imperfect and the later as progressive. But if they all have the same function, we need not deal with them as separate entities as progressive, durative and continuous states of verbs are all ongoing process.

b) Habitual

Habitual aspect asserts a certain type of event taking place regularly. In this aspect the verb shows repetition of an action, so, it is also repetitive. Therefore, it does not imply that an instance of event taking place either now or in the reference time of orator. Givón (2001a:290) describes it in two sorts: past-habitual and habitual. But habitual aspect is expressed only in present tense initially. So, in Bhojpuri the verb inflections are described as: past habitual and present habitual.

(i) Past habitual

As we explained present progressive in this chapter, we came to get two forms of the verb: imperfective or simultaneous converbal marker -अत /-ʌt/ suffixed with the verbal stem and further inflected by agreement markers and the other with verbal stem unmarked and followed by infinive/participle form of रह /*rʌɦ*/ as well as copula बा /*ba*/ 'be' that is inflected for agreements with subject.

But there is a single form that stands for past progressive and past habitual, what we have already described.

(8) a. लइकन के मनोरंजन करावत रहनी ।

lʌikʌn ke mʌnorʌnjʌn kʌrɑwʌt rʌɦni

lʌikʌn ke mʌnorʌnjʌn kʌr-ɑ-wʌt rʌɦ-ni

children GEN entertainment do-CAUS-IMPF live-PST.H

'They used to entertain the children.' (03.255)

b. पहिले हमनी अन निकासी करत रहनी ।

pʌɦile ɦʌmni ʌn nikɑsi kʌrʌt rʌɦni

pʌɦil-e ɦʌm-ni ʌn nikɑsi kʌr-ʌt rʌɦ-ni

first-DEF 1SG-PL food export do-IMPF live-PST.H

'We used to export food grains previously.' (010.391)

c. माई-दाई लोग बच्चा के कथा सुनावत रहली ।

mɑi dɑi log bʌccɑ ke kʌtʰɑ sunɑwʌt

mɑi dɑi log bʌccɑ ke kʌtʰɑ sun-ɑ-wʌt

mother grandmother PL child ACC story listen-CAUS-IMPF

rʌɦili

rʌɦ-ʌl-i

live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'Mothers and grandmothers used tell the children such stories.' (03.254)

(ii) Present habitual

The present habitual aspect indicated habit, axioms and public postulates in Bhojpuri, which take place repeatedly. The main verb stem is suffixed by some habitual marker morphemes, as shown in (9a-n).

(9) a. हमनीका हिंदी सिनेमा में मङ्नी सुनेनी ।

ɦʌmnikɑ ɦindi sinemɑ mẽ mʌŋni suneni

ɦʌm-ni-kɑ ɦindi sinemɑ mẽ mʌŋni sun-eni

1SG-PL-SPEC Hindi cinema LOC Mangni listen-PRES.H

'We hear 'mangni' in the Hindi cinema.' (03.370)

b. माझ घर में हम रहेनी ।

mɑj̈ g̈ʌr mẽ ɦʌm rʌɦeni

mɑj̈ g̈ʌr mẽ ɦʌm rʌɦ-eni

middle house LOC 1SG.NOM live-PRES.H

'I live in the middle room.' (010.112)

c. हम खानी ।

ɦʌm kʰɑni

ɦʌm kʰɑ-eni

1SG.NOM eat-PRES.H

'I eat.' (Khatri, 2012:23)

d. रउआ आम खानी ।

rʌuɑ ɑm kʰɑni

rʌuɑ ɑm kʰɑ-eni

2SG.NOM.H mango eat-PRES.H

'You eat a mango.'

e. बाबुजी चक्कु पर सान चढ़ावेनी ।

bɑbuji cʌkku pʌr sɑn cʌɽ̊ɑweni

bɑbu-ji cʌkku pʌr sɑn cʌɽ̊-ɑ-eni

father-H knife LOC whetstone climb-CAUS-PRES.H

'My father sharpens knives on whetstone.' (010.364)

f. पङ्वाहा गाछ पाडेला ।

pʌŋwɑɦɑ gɑcʰ pɑŋelɑ

pʌŋwɑɦɑ gɑcʰ pɑŋ-elɑ

shortener tree trim-3SG.PRES

'A trimmer trims a tree.' (010.363)

g. लुगा में उटनी समाके बहुत तबाह करेली ।

lugɑ mẽ uʈʌni sʌmɑke bʌɦut tʌbɑɦ kʌreli

lugɑ mẽ uʈʌni sʌmɑ-ke bʌɦut tʌbɑɦ kʌr-eli

cloth LOC lizard enter-SEQ very painful do-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'The lizard irritates a lot if it enters into clothes.' (010.496)

h. तू मानेलऽ ।

tu mɑnelʌ

tu mɑn-elʌ

2SG.NOM realize-2.PRES.MH

'You believe.' (06.045)

i. आदमी सुतेला ।

ɑdmi sutelɑ

ɑdmi **sut-elɑ**

man sleep-3SG.PRES

'The man sleeps.' (03.036)

j. सपना ऊ आपन मातृभषे में देखेला ।

sʌpnɑ	**u**	**ɑpʌn**	**mɑtriḭʌse**	**mẽ**	**dekʰelɑ**
sʌpnɑ	**u**	**ɑpʌn**	**mɑtriḭɑsɑ-e**	**mẽ**	**dekʰ-elɑ**
dream	3SG.NOM	3.GEN	mother tongue-EMPH	LOC	see-3SG.PRES

'The dream he looks only in his mother tongue.' (03.038)

k. अपना माइए के भाषा में देखेला ।

ʌpnɑ	**mɑie**	**ke**	**ḭɑsɑ**	**mẽ**	**dekʰelɑ**
ʌpnɑ	**mɑi-e**	**ke**	**ḭɑsɑ**	**mẽ**	**dekʰ-elɑ**
GEN	mother-EMPH	GEN	language	LOC	see-3SG.PRES

'He observes it only in the language of his mother.' (03.039)

l. ओ में दोसर भाषाभाषी ट्रेनिङ लेला ।

o	**mẽ**	**dosʌr**	**ḭɑsɑḭɑsi**	**ʈreniŋ**	**lelɑ**
o	**mẽ**	**dosʌr**	**ḭɑsɑḭɑsi**	**ʈreniŋ**	**le-elɑ**
DIST	LOC	another	language speaker	training	take-3SG.PRES

'The other native language speakers get training there.' (04.155)

m. ओकरा के लोग दक्खिनी भोजपुरी कहेला ।

okʌrɑ	**ke**	**log**	**dʌkkʰini**	**ḭojpuri**	**kʌɦelɑ**
u-ʌr-ɑ	**ke**	**log**	**dʌkkʰin-i**	**ḭojpuri**	**kʌɦ-elɑ**
3SG-GEN-DEF	ACC	people	south-ADJ	Bhojpuri	say-3SG.PRES

'People call it Southern Bhojpuri.' (04.185)

n. भोजपुरी में हमर जान बसेला ।

ḭojpuri	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**jɑn**	**bʌselɑ**
ḭojpuri	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**jɑn**	**bʌs-elɑ**
Bhojpuri	LOC	1SG-GEN	life	live-3SG.PRES

'My life breathes in Bhojpuri.' (010.192)

As we go through the intances presented (9a-n), the -आ /-*a*/ final verb stems are suffixed by -नी /-*ni*/ and -ल /-*l*/ with different inflections to mark present habitual as well as insertion of -ए- /-*e*-/ between the consonant final verb stems and present markers -नी /-*ni*/ and -ल /-*l*/ with different inflections. Table 10.9 and Table 10.10

present paradigms of खा /*kʰa*/ and देख /*dekʰ*/ respectively:

Table 10.9 Paradigms of the verb खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat' in present habitual

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	खानी /*kʰani*/	
2	M	MH	खालऽ /*kʰalʌ*/	
2	F	MH	खालू /*kʰalu*/	
2	M/F	NH	खालिस /*kʰalis*/ or खालस /*kʰalʌs*/	
3	M	MH	खालें /*kʰalẽ*/ or खालेन /*kʰalen*/ खालन /*kʰʌlʌn*/	
3	F	MH	खाली /*kʰali*/	
3	M	NH	खाला /*kʰala*/	
3	F	NH	खाले /*kʰale*/	

Table 10.10 Paradigms of the verb देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' in present habitual

			Number	
Person	Gender	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1/2/3	M/F	H	देखेनी /*dekʰeni*/	
2	M	MH	देखेलऽ /*dekʰelʌ*/	
2	F	MH	देखेलू /*dekʰelu*/	
2	M/F	NH	देखेलिस /*dekʰelis*/ or देखेलस /*dekʰelʌs*/	
3	M	MH	देखेलें /*dekʰelẽ*/ or देखेलेन /*dekʰelen*/ देखेलन /*dekʰelʌn*/	
3	F	MH	देखेली /*dekʰekli*/	
3	M	NH	देखेला /*dekʰela*/	
3	F	NH	देखेले /*dekʰele*/	

Hence, we observe that the final -आ /*-a*/ of the verb stem retains and the present habitual marker -नी /*-ni*/ marks it for all persons, numbers and genders in full honorificity of the subject/agent. Likewise, -लऽ /*-lʌ*/ for masculine and -लू /*-lu*/ for

feminine in the second person, both the numbers in mid-honorificity as well as -लिस /-*lis*/ or -लस /-*lʌs*/ in second person both the numbers and genders in non-honorificity mark the verb stem. In the third person mid-honorificity, verb stem is marked by -लें /-*lẽ*/, लेन /-*len*/ or -लन /-*lʌn*/ in masculine and -ली /-*li*/ for feminine in both the numbers. Likewise, in the third person non-honorificity, the verb stem is marked by -ला /-*la*/ in masculine and -ले /-*le*/ in feminine in both the numbers. As for consonant final verb stems, the markers are the same but insertion of -ए- /-*e*-/ occurs between verb stem and present habutual marker suffixes.

Diachronically, the present habitual suffix -एला /-*ela*/ has been obtained under grammaticalization of -इला /-*ila*/ in the early period of Bhojpuri for past tense, as presented in (10).

(10) ऐसा गुसाईं बोलीला ।

ɛsɑ gusɑnĩ bolilɑ

ɛsɑ gusɑĩ bol-ilɑ

such teacher speak-3SG.PST

'The teacher said this.' (Chaurangi Nath, Early 8th Century, Singh 1958:8)

10.2.3 Perfect

The perfect is functionally the most complex and the most subtle grammatical aspect. It involves four features whose clustering in the same form is natural and fairly common but by no means universal: anteriority, perfectivity, counter-sequentiality and lingering relevance. It bears a strong but not absolute similarity to the past tense. In both, the event's or state's initiation point precedes the temporal reference point. The association is not absolute, however. While the past has only one ('absolute') reference point, the time of speech, the perfect can assume all three main temporal reference points: time of speech ('present perfect'), prior to time of speect ('past perfect') and following time of speech ('future perfect') (Givón, 2001a:293).

a) Past perfect

Past perfect aspect describes the refence point prior to the time of speech. In Bhojpuri, the participle form of the verb is suffixed by -ए /-*e*/ and it is further followed by copula रह /*rʌɦ*/ with finite morphology that concords with number, person, gender and honorificity already paradigmed in past progressive.

(11) a. शिब्बु से हम अंतरवार्ता लेले रहनी ।

sibbu	**se**	**ɦʌm**	**ʌntʌrbartɑ**	**lele**	**rʌɦni**
sibbu	**se**	**ɦʌm**	**ʌntʌrbartɑ**	**le-ʌl-e**	**rʌɦ-ni**
Shibbu	ACC	1SG.NOM	interview	take-PP-SEQ	live-PST.H

'I had interviewed Shibbu.' (03.205)

b. ओकरा में ऊ कहले रहनी ।

okʌrɑ	**mẽ**	**u**	**kʌɦile**	**rʌɦni**
okʌrɑ	**mẽ**	**u**	**kʌɦ-le**	**rʌɦ-ni**
3.SG.GEN	LOC	3SG.NOM	say-SEQ	live-PST.H

'He had said in it.' (03.206)

c. ओकर नामकरण रउए कइले रहनी ।

okʌr	**nɑmkʌrʌn**	**rʌue**	**kʌile**	**rʌɦni**
okʌr	**namkʌrʌn**	**rʌuɑ-e**	**kʌr-il-e**	**rʌɦ-ni**
3SG.GEN.NH	baptism	2SG.H-EMPH	do-PP-SEQ	live-PST.H

'You yourself had named the programme.' (03.404)

d. संगम हमनीका नाम रखले रहनी ।

sʌŋgʌm	**ɦʌmnikɑ**	**nɑm**	**rʌkʰle**	**rʌɦni**
sʌŋgʌm	**ɦʌm-ni-kɑ**	**nɑm**	**rɑkʰ-ʌl-e**	**rʌɦ-ni**
juncture	1SG-PL-DEF	name	keep-PP-SEQ	live-PST.H

'We had named it Sangam.' (03.405)

e. डाइरेक्टर साहेब सीधा बात कइले रहनी ।

ɖairekʈʌr	**sɑɦeb**	**siɖɑ**	**bɑt**	**kʌile**	**rʌɦni**
ɖairekʈʌr	**sɑɦeb**	**siɖɑ**	**bɑt**	**kʌr-il-e**	**rʌɦ-ni**
director	sir	straight	talk	do-PP-SEQ	live-PST.H

'The director had talked directly to me.' (03.419)

f. हमर भइआ कहले रहलन ।

ɦʌmʌr	**ɓʌiɑ**	**kʌɦile**	**rʌɦlʌn**
ɦʌmʌr	**ɓʌiɑ**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-e**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ʌn**
1SG.GEN	elder brother	say-PP-SEQ	live-PP-3.PST.MH

'My brother had said.' (10.095)

g. ऊ कहानी लोग गढ़ले रहे ।

u	**kʌɦɑni**	**log**	**gʌɽ̊le**	**rʌɦe**

u	**kʌɦɑni**	**log**	**gʌʔ̊-ʌl-e**	**rʌɦ-e**
3SG	story	people	create-PP-SEQ	live-3.PST

'The people had created such story.' (03.261)

Going through the exempliifations (11a-g), we observe that past perfect aspect in Bhojpuri differs from what we observe in English but similar to Maithili (Grierson 1909:149), Hindi (Koul:2008:115), Awadhi (Saxena, 1937:239) and Nepali (Adhikari 2014: 207).

b) Future perfect

The participle form of the verb suffixed by -ए /*-e*/ retains in future perfect but followed by copula हो /*ɦo*/ or होख /*ɦokʰ*/ with finite morphology already described in future progressive.

(12) a. तू बुझले होखबऽ ... ।

tu	**buj̈le**	**ɦokʰbʌ**
tu	**buj̈-ʌl-e**	**ɦokʰ-bʌ**
2SG.NOM	understand-PP-SEQ	be-2.FUT.MH

'You will have thought ...' (06.020)

b. केहू मदत करे के कहले होखी ...

kɛɦu	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌre**	**ke**	**kʌɦle**	**ɦokʰi**
kɛɦu	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌr-e**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-e**	**ɦokʰ-i**
someone	help	do-PUR	SEQ	say-PP-SEQ	be-3SG.FUT

'Someone will have offerred to help ...' (06.020)

c. हम चिट्ठी लिखले होखेम ।

ɦʌm	**ciʈʈʰi**	**likʰle**	**ɦokʰem**
ɦʌm	**ciʈʈʰi**	**likʰ-ʌl-e**	**ɦokʰ-em**
1SG.NOM	letter	write-PP-SEQ	be-FUT.H

'I will have written a letter.' (13.037)

d. तू किताब पढ़ले होइबू ।

tu	**kitɑb**	**pʌʔ̊le**	**ɦoibu**
tu	**kitɑb**	**pʌʔ̊-ʌl-e**	**ɦo-i-bu**
2SG.NOM	book	read-PP-SEQ	be-FUT-2.F.MH

'You will have read a book.' (13.038)

e. हम बात कइले होएम ।

ɦʌm	**bɑt**	**kʌile**	**ɦoem**
ɦʌm	**bɑt**	**kʌr-il-e**	**ɦo-em**
1SG.NOM	talk	do-PP-SEQ	be-FUT.H

'I will have talked.' (13.039)

f. तैँ अलुआ कोड़ले होइबे ।

tẽ	**ʌlua**	**koɽle**	**ɦoibe**
tẽ	**ʌlua**	**koɽ-ʌl-e**	**ɦo-i-be**
2SG.NOM	sweet- potato	dig-PP-SEQ	be-FUT-2

'You will have dug sweet-potatoes.' (13.040)

g. ऊ पानी पिअले होई ।

u	**pɑni**	**piʌle**	**ɦoi**
u	**pɑni**	**pi-ʌl-e**	**ɦo-i**
3SG.NOM	water	drink-PP-SEQ	be-3SG.FUT

'S/he will have drunk water.' (13.041)

c) Present perfect.

The participle form of the verb suffixed by -ए /-*e*/ retains in present perfect followed by the copula बा /*ba*/ with finite morphology already discussed in present progressive.

(13) a. हमनी डिक्शनरी पर काम कइले बानी ।

ɦʌmni	**ɖiksnʌri**	**pʌr**	**kʌm**	**kʌile**	**bɑni**	
ɦʌm-ni	**ɖiksnʌri**	**pʌr**	**kʌm**	**kʌr-il-e**	**bɑni**	
1SG.NOM-PL	dictionary	LOC	less	do-PP-SEQ	be.PRES.H	

'We have worked on dictionary.' (03.079)

b. भोजपुरी-हिंदी-अंग्रेजी में लोक शब्दकोश ऊ लोग निकलले बा ।

ɓ̤ojpuri	**ɦindi**	**ʌŋreji**	**mẽ**	**lok**	**sʌbdʌkos**	**u**	**log**
ɓ̤ojpuri	**ɦindi**	**ʌŋreji**	**mẽ**	**lok**	**sʌbdʌkos**	**u**	**log**
Bhojpuri	Hindi	English	LOC	folk	dictionary	3SG.NOM	PL

nikʌlle	**bɑ**
nikɑl-ʌl-e	**bɑ**
bring out-PP-SEQ	be.3SG.PRES

'In Bhojpuri-Hindi-English, they have published a Folk-dictionary.' (03.083)

c. हम भोजपुरी के छौ गो रूप नेपाल में देखले बानी ।

ɦʌm	**ɓ̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**cʰɔ**	**go**	**rup**	**nepɑl**	**mẽ**
ɦʌm	**ɓ̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**cʰɔ**	**go**	**rup**	**nepɑl**	**mẽ**
1SG.NOM	Bhojpuri	GEN	six	CLF	form	Nepal	LOC

dekʰle	**bɑni**
dekʰ-ʌl-e	**bɑni**
see-PP-SEQ	be.PRES.H

'I have seen six varieties of Bhojpuri in Nepal.' (03.163)

d. भोजपुरिया समाज ओइसन भी कहले बा ।

ɓ̤ojpuriɑ	**sʌmɑj**	**oisʌn**	**ɓ̤i**	**kʌɦile**	**bɑ**
ɓ̤ojpuri-ɑ	**sʌmɑj**	**oisʌn**	**ɓ̤i**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-e**	**bɑ**
Bhojpuri-DEF	society	like that	also	say-PP-SEQ	be.3SG.PRES

'Bhojpuri society has said this too.' (03.197)

e. उहाँके एगो किताब लिखले बानी ।

uɦɑ̃ke	**egɔ**	**kitɑb**	**likʰle**	**bɑni**
uɦɑ̃-ke	**ek-gɔ**	**kitɑb**	**likʰ-ʌl-e**	**bɑni**
there-SPEC	one-CLF	book	write-PP-SEQ	be.PRES.H

'He has written a book.' (04.104)

10.3 Modality

The modality codes the speaker's attitute toward proposition, primarily two types of judgement made by the speaker concerning the propositional information carried in the clause: epistemic and evaluative (Givón, 2001a:300).

It is indicated by special grammatical marking system in the verb, which interacts with any tenses. As discussed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:219), the two modalities can further be subcategorized. Epistemic modality covers truth, probability, certainty, belief and evidence; whereas, evaluative modality covers desirability, preference, intent, ability, obligation and manipulation. But they are not mutually exclusive, so, they intersect in highly specific ways.

10.3.1 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality has its scope over the whole proposition and deals with the truth-value of that proposition (Butler, 2003:969). It codes the semantic levels such as truth, degree of probability, certainty, evidence, belief, etc. Traditionally, there are four epistemic modalities: presupposition, realis assertion, irrealis assertion and negative assertion. When a proposition is taken for granted to be true and left

unchallenged by the hearer, it is said to be presupposition. Realis refers to something which has happened or is happening, so, it may be extended to refer something which is certain to happen (Dixon 2012:22). In a realis assertion the speaker asserts a proposition to be true and has evidence for its truth-value if questioned. Irrealis refers to something which has not (yet) happened and it often also is used for something which did not happen in the past, but might have (Dixon 2012:22). So, within irrealis, there are generally a number of modality choices, covering necessity, possibility, potential, etc The proposition in irrealis assertion is the one that the speaker asserts weakly to be either possible, likely or uncertain, or necessary, desired or undesired. Hence, the speaker is not ready to back up the assertion if challenged. In negative assertion, the proposition is strongly asserted to be false, most commonly in contradticiton to the hearer's explicit or assumed beliefs.

Further more, the four traditional modalities are grouped into two super modalities in which the first two come to be factual and the rest two non-factual epistemic modalities. In Bhojpuri, distribution of epistemic modality can be described as follows:

a) Inherent modality of lexical verbs

Much like inherent aspects, lexical verbs (or adjectives) in Bhojpuri also carry some inherent modality – either presupposition or realis or irrealis or negations. This can easily be revealed by applying the reference test, since verbs spread their modal scope over their oject NPs. Let us consider the indefinite object in the following:

(14) a. ऊ बिलाई पोसेला । (Fact)

u bilɑi poselɑ

u bilɑi pos-elɑ

3SG.NOM cat keep-3SG.PRES.NH

'He keeps a cat.' (13.042)

b. ऊ बिलाई खोजता । (Irrealis)

u bilɑi kʰojʌtɑ

u bilɑi kʰoj-ʌt bɑ

3SG.NOM cat search-IMPF be.3SG. PRES

'He is searching for a cat.' (13.043)

c. ऊ बिलाई ना राखे । (Negation)

u bilɑi nɑ rɑkʰe

u	**bilɑi**	**nɑ**	**rɑkʰ-e**
3SG.NOM	cat	NEG	keep-3.PRES

'He doesn't keep a cat.' (13.044)

The vast majority of verbs, no matter, carry an inherently realis modality, it is more economical to list the relatively few lexical verbs with irrealis, negation, or presupposition scope, such as:

(i) Inherent irrealis verbs

चाह /*caɦ*/ 'want', खोज /*kʰoj*/ 'search', सपना /*sʌpna*/ 'dream of', मान /*man*/ 'suppose', पतिया /*pʌtia*/ 'believẽ in', सोच /*soc*/ 'think of'

(ii) Inherent negative verbs

छुट /*cʰuʈ*/ 'lack', गवाँ /*gʌwã*/ 'miss,' इनकार /*inkar*/ 'refuse', गिर /*gir*/ 'decline'

(iii)Inherent presupposition verbs

जान /*jan*/ 'know', बिसर /*bisʌr*/ 'forget', दुःख /*dukʰ*/ 'regret'

b) Modality and tense-aspect

The reference test, when applied to tense-aspect, establishes the following correlations between modality and tense-aspect in Bhojpuri as in Table 10.11.

Table 10.11 Distribution of modality in tense-aspect

modality	tense	aspect
fact	past	perfective
	present	perfect
		progressive
non-fact	future	habitual
		progressive

In more concreate way epistemic modality in Bhojpuri can be subcategorized as follows: probability, evidentiality, certainty and negation.

(i) Probability

The main function of this modality is to indicate that the situation described in the proposition is probably true. It may occur with any of the tenses.

(15) a. आज त दिनभर अपने लोग राखी के गीत सुनले होखेम ।

ɑj	**tʌ**	**dinb̤ʌr**	**ʌpne**	**log**	**rɑkʰi**	**ke**	**git**
ɑj	**tʌ**	**din-b̤ʌr**	**ʌpne**	**log**	**rɑkʰi**	**ke**	**git**
today	COND	day-fill	2SG.H	PL	Raxabandhan	GEN	song

sunle **ɦokʰem**

sun-ʌl-e **ɦokʰ-em**

listen-PP-SEQ be-FUT.H

'Today you might have enjoyed Rakhi songs throughout the day.' (07.003)

b. तोहरे भाई मरल होई ।

toɦʌre **ɓ̤ai** **mʌrʌl** **ɦoi**

toɦ-ʌr-e **ɓ̤ai** **mʌr-ʌl** **ɦo-i**

2SG-GEN-EMPH brother die-PP be-3.FUT

'Your own brother might have died. (10.089)

b. माई जागल होई ।

mɑi **jɑgʌl** **ɦoi**

mɑi **jɑg-ʌl** **ɦo-i**

mother awaken-PP be-3.FUT

'Mother will be awaking.' (13.021)

c. तोहनी कबड्डी खेलत होखबऽ ।

toɦni **kʌbʌɖ̤ɖ̤i** **kʰelʌt** **ɦokʰbʌ**

tu-ni **kʌbʌɖ̤ɖ̤i** **kʰel-ʌt** **ɦokʰ-bʌ**

2SG.NOM-PL kabaddi play-IMPF be-2.FUT.MH

'You will be playing Kabaddi.' (13.016)

(ii) Evidentiality

Evidentiality has a binary contrast in grammaticalization: direct evidentiality (directly experienced) and indirect evidentiality (indirect evidence) in Bhojpuri. In both the contexts, the intransitive verb जा /*ja*/ 'go' is used grammaticalized to exhibit direct or indirect evidences. The context can only differentiate direct and indirect evidentiality in Bhojpuri as shown in (16a-b).

(16) a. मधुशाला तक अनुवाद होके आ गइल बा ।

mʌɖ̤uʂalɑ **tʌk** **ʌnuwɑd** **ɦoke** **ɑ** **gʌil** **bɑ**

mʌɖ̤uʂalɑ **tʌk** **ʌnuwɑd** **ɦo-ke** **ɑ** **jɑ-il** **bɑ**

Madhushala till translation be-SEQ come go-PP be.3SG.PRES

'Even Madhushala (bar) has come to have been translated (a copy I do have).' (03.358)

b. रात में लइकन सुत गइलन ।

rɑt	**mẽ**	**lʌikʌn**	**sut**	**gʌilʌn**
rɑt	**mẽ**	**lʌikʌn**	**sut**	**jɑ-il-ʌn**
night	LOC	children	sleep	go-PP.3PL.PST

'The children slept at night (the parents assumed).' (010.009)

As exemplified in (16a-b), the speaker has expressed direct experience of the translation of मधुशाला /*maḍusala*/ 'bar' in (16a) but such evidence is not found in (16b) of sleeping of the children at night.

(iii) Certainty

Certainty denotes that the speaker is emphasizing that the proposition is true. In Bhojpuri, the certainty is marked by -बे *-be* with the verb stem as shown in (17a-b).

(17) a. सपना त हम भोजपुरी में देखबे करेनी ।

sʌpnɑ	**tʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**b̤ojpuri**	**mẽ**	**dekʰʌbe**	**kʌreni**
sʌpnɑ	**tʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**b̤ojpuri**	**mẽ**	**dekʰ-ʌb-e**	**kʌr-eni**
dream	COND	1SG.NOM	Bhojpuri	LOC	see-INF-EMPH	do-PRES.H

'The dream I certainly entertain in Bhojpuri.' (03.041)

b. जब परिवार में सभे बहिरे बा त कुछ गड़बड़ त होखबे करी ।

jʌb	**pʌriwɑr**	**mẽ**	**sʌb̤e**	**bʌɦire**	**bɑ**	**tʌ**
jʌb	**pʌriwɑr**	**mẽ**	**sʌb̤-e**	**bʌɦir-e**	**bɑ**	**tʌ**
when	family	LOC	all-EMPH	deaf-EMPH	be.3.PRES	COND

kucʰ	**gʌɽbʌɽ**	**tʌ**	**ɦokʰʌbe**	**kʌri**
kucʰ	**gʌɽbʌɽ**	**tʌ**	**ɦokʰ-ʌb-e**	**kʌr-i**
something	wrong	COND	be-INF-EMPH	do-3SG.FUT

'If all of the family members are deaf and dumb, certainly some disorders are expected to happen.' (10.028)

In examples (17a-b) the verb कर /*kʌr*/ is placed to perform its grammaticalized function of certainty following emphasized form of the main verb.

(iv) Negation

Negation is a process or construction in grammatical and semantic analysis which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning (Crystal, 2003:310). In Bhojpuri, मत /*mʌt*/ and ना /*na*/ are the negation particles that precede the verb to negativize the clause or sentences. Moreover, मत /*mʌt*/ precedes the verb in imperative sentence, while ना /*na*/ with all other cases, also used by Great

Poet Vidyapati (14th-15th Century A. D.). in his verse. Hence, मत /*mʌt*/ 'opinion' with its root in Sanskrit that continues in a group of NIA languages, it is grammaticalized to function as a negative particle in Bhojpuri, Hindi and Awadhi, too.

(18) a. अभी मत कुछ कहऽ।

ʌb̤i	**mʌt**	**kuch**	**kʌɦʌ**
ʌb̤i	**mʌt**	**kuch**	**kʌr-ʌ**
now	NEG	something	do-IMP.MH

'Don't tell me anything now.' (010.132)

b. अब केकरो के गारी मत दे।

ʌb	**kekro**	**ke**	**gɑri**	**mʌt**	**de**	
ʌb	**ke-ʌr-o**	**ke**	**gɑri**	**mʌt**	**de**	
now	who-GEN-EMPH	ACC	abuse	NEG	give.IMP	

'Don't abuse anyone now onwards.' (010.142)

c. ओछ कपड़ा मत पेन्ह।

och	**kʌpɽɑ**	**mʌt**	**peɳ**
short	cloth	NEG	wear.IMP

'Don't wear short clothes.' (010.171)

d. बेसी लोग के खाए के ना पुगत रहे।

besi	**log**	**ke**	**khɑe**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**pugʌt**	**rʌɦe**
besi	**log**	**ke**	**khɑ-e**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**pug-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
more	people	GEN	eat-PUR	caus	NEG	suffice-IMPF	live-3.PST

'Majority of the people did not have sufficient food.' (02.043)

e. तोहरा के जिआन करे खातिर ना मिली।

toɦrɑ	**ke**	**jiɑn**	**kʌre**	**khɑtir**	**nɑ**	**mili**
tu-ʌr-ɑ	**ke**	**jiɑn**	**kʌr-e**	**khɑtir**	**nɑ**	**mil-i**
2SG-GEN-DEF	DAT	spoil	do-PUR	for	NEG	get-3SG.FUT

'You will be availed nothing for spoiling.' (02.045)

f. ऊ लगानी अपने के फिर्ता ना होई।

u	**lʌgɑni**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**phirtɑ**	**nɑ**	**ɦoi**
u	**lʌgɑni**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**phirtɑ**	**nɑ**	**ɦo-i**
3SG	investment	2SG.H	GEN	return	NEG	be-3SG.FUT

'That investment of yours won't be turned back.' (02.101)

g. जइसे ससि काँप राहु डर ना। (Vidyapati Verse 147)

jʌise	**sʌsi**	**kãp**	**raɦu**	**ɖʌr**	**na**
jʌise	**sʌsi**	**kãp**	**raɦu**	**ɖʌr**	**na**
rel	moon	tremble	Rahu	fear	NEG

'Such as the moon trembles, but not Rahu, before eclipse.' (Gupt 1910:76)

10.3.2 Evaluative (deontic) modality

The evaluative (deontic) modality describes the internal or external ability of the willful agent with respect to the completion or the predicate system. It may be combined with any of the tenses.

There are two kinds of evaluative (deontic) modalities in Bhojpuri: ability and obligation. They are coded by the verbal affixes.

a) Ability

The ability indicates that the agent of the verb has the mental or physical ability to complete the action of the main verb. It is indicated in the complex of the verb by the ability copula सक /*sʌk*/ 'can' with agreement morphology.

(19) a. बेसी आग पर सेदल जर सकेला।

besi	**ag**	**pʌr**	**sedʌl**	**jʌr**	**sʌkela**
besi	**ag**	**pʌr**	**sed-ʌl**	**jʌr**	**sʌk-ela**
more	fire	LOC	bake-INF	root	can-3SG.PRES

'To bake something on high fire can burn.' (010.185)

b. अपराध फाँसी के फंदा तक पहुँचा सकेला।

ʌpraɖ̤	**pʰãsi**	**ke**	**pʰʌnda**	**tʌk**	**pʌɦũca**	**sʌkela**
ʌpraɖ̤	**pʰãsi**	**ke**	**pʰʌnda**	**tʌk**	**pʌɦũc-a**	**sʌk-ela**
crime	execution	GEN	noose	till	reach-CAUS	can-3SG.PRES

'The crime can push upto noose of execution.' (010.247)

c. हम दउर सकेनी।

ɦʌm	**dʌur**	**sʌkeni**
ɦʌm	**dʌur**	**sʌk-eni**
1SG.NOM	run	can-PRES.H

'I can run.' (Khatri, 2012:40)

d. तू एह लकड़ी के बेध सकेलऽ।

tu	**eɦ**	**lʌkʌɽi**	**ke**	**beɖ̤**	**sʌkelʌ**

tu **eɦ** **lʌkʌɽi** **ke** **beḍ** **sʌk-elʌ**

2SG.NOM PROX twig ACC pierce can-2.PRES.MH

'You can pierce this twig.' (010.102)

e. रउआ लोग एक बेर उब्जा सकतानी ।

rʌuɑ **log** **ek** **ber** **ubjɑ** **sʌkʌtɑni**

rʌuɑ **log** **ek** **ber** **ubjɑ** **sʌk-ʌt** **bɑni**

2SG.H PL one time grow can-IMPF be.PRES.H

'You can grow for once.' (02.091)

b) Obligation

The obligation indicates that the agent is obliged to perform the action of the verb. It is indicated by obligation morpheme -एके /*-eke*/ suffixed to the main verb. Moreover, the subject turns into either DO or IO.

(20) a. हमरा नदी पार होएके बा ।

ɦʌmrɑ **nʌdi** **pɑr** **ɦoeke** **bɑ**

ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ **nʌdi** **pɑr** **ɦo-eke** **bɑ**

1SG-GEN-SPEC river cross become-OBL be.3SG.PRES

'I have to go across the river.' (010.099)

b. तोरा भीखमङे रहेके बा ।

torɑ **ɓikʰmʌŋe** **rʌɦeke** **bɑ**

tu-ʌr-ɑ **ɓikʰmɑŋɑ-e** **rʌɦ-eke** **bɑ**

2SG-GEN-SPEC beggar-EMPH live-OBL be.3SG.PRES

'You have to remain a beggar.' (07.042)

c. नया बहुरिआ के बहुत गासी सुनेके पड़ेला ।

nʌyɑ **bʌɦuriɑ** **ke** **bʌɦut** **gɑsi** **suneke** **pʌɽelɑ**

nʌyɑ **bʌɦuriɑ** **ke** **bʌɦut** **gɑsi** **sun-eke** **pʌɽ-elɑ**

new bride DAT more complaint listen-OBL lie-3SG.PRES

'The new bride has to accept a lot of complaints.' (010.034)

As we have already observed the subject/agent has been demoted to DO/IO in the examples to express obligation. But it is omitted also.

(21) a. डाढ़ खेले चलेके बा ।

ɖɑɽ̊ **kʰele** **cʌleke** **bɑ**

ɖaɽ̊ kʰel-e cʌl-eke ba

pig-cry play-PUR walk-OBL be.3SG.PRES

'We have to go for pig-cry game.' (03.233)

b. अपने से बात करेके बा ।

ʌpne se bat kʌreke ba

ʌpne se bat kʌr-eke ba

2SG.H with talk do-OBL be.3SG.PRES

'I have to talk to you.' (010.011)

c. जिनगी में बहुतो कंटक से बँचेके पड़ेला ।

jingi mẽ bʌɦuto kʌnʈʌk se bɑ̃ceke pʌɽela

jingi mẽ bʌɦut-o kʌnʈʌk se bɑ̃c-eke pʌɽ-elɑ

life LOC more-EMPH foe ABL save-OBL lie-3SG.PRES

'We have to protect from several foes in life.' (010.261)

d. जौन अवरोधक बा ओकरा के छोड़ेके पड़ी, ई हमर कहनाम बा ।

jɔn ʌbroɖʌk ba okʌrɑ ke cʰoɽeke

jɔn ʌbroɖ-ʌk ba u-ʌr-ɑ ke cʰoɽ-eke

COND obstruction-ADJ be.3SG.PRES 3SG-GEN-DEF ACC leave-OBL

pʌɽi

pʌɽ-i

fall-3SG.FUT

'The obstacle, whatever is, has to be abandoned.' (03.356)

10.4 Mood

Mood functions as the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood. As its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:209), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:238), Maithili (Yadav 1996:162), Hinid (Koul 2008:116) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:103 and Adhikari 2016:211) display different moods, moods in Bhojpuri has been displplayed variably in Grierson (1884a:35), Tiwari (1954:256-8 and 1960:161-2), Nirbhik (1975:128-9), Triphathy (1987:260-1), Shrivastava (1999:90), Sharma and Ashk (2007:73), Thakur (2011:105-6) and Singh (2013:161-2). In my observation, Bhojpuri has the following distinctive moods: declarative (indicative), interrogative, imperative, optative and conditional. Agreement morphology is retained between subject and verb (main verb or copula) for persons, numbers, genders, honorificity and tenses in declarative and interrogative moods.

10.4.1 Declarative (indicative) mood

Declarative (indicative) mood is expressed by the regular forms of verbs used in statement or in assertive sentences. It asserts the truth value of propositions. It is considered as the basic mood in Bhojpuri in basic word order SOV (Subject-Object-Verb). It is liable to be changed into interrogative with question intonation or addition of some question words.[2]

10.4.2 Interrogative mood

The declarative sentences can be changed into interrogative, by means of question words or with rising intonation. There are four types of interrogative sentences found in Bhojpuri: content question (using question word), yes/no question (using rising tone), tag question and alternative question.[3]

10.4.3 Imperative mood

Crystal (2003:227) exhibits the imperative mood referring to verb forms or sentence/clause types, typically used in the expression of commands, e.g., Go away! In imperative mood, the form of verb is used for direct order or command in the second person. So, this mood is restricted to the second person.[4]

10.4.4 Optative mood

A wish or a desire, blessing and curse are expressed in optative mood in Bhojpuri as we experience in other languages, too.

(22) a. भोजपुरी के उन्नति, भोजपुरी के विकास होखो, ई हमर चाहना ह ।

ɓ̈ojpuri	**ke**	**unnʌti**	**ɓ̈ojpuri**	**ke**	**bikɑs**	**ɦokʰo**
ɓ̈ojpuri	**ke**	**unnʌti**	**ɓ̈ojpuri**	**ke**	**bikɑs**	**ɦokʰ-o**
Bhojpuri	GEN	promotion	Bhojpuri	GEN	development	be-OPT

i	**ɦʌmʌr**	**cɑɦnɑ**	**ɦʌ**
i	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**cɑɦnɑ**	**ɦʌ**
PROX	1SG-GEN	will	be.3SG.PRES

'May Bhojpuri promote and prosper! It is my motto.' (03.042)

b. जइसे आइल ओइसही जाओ ।

jʌise	**ɑil**	**oisʌɦi**	**jɑo**

2. Agreement morphology in declarative mood has already been described and exemplified in section 10.1 in this chapter.
3. Interrogative mood is discussed in detail in Chapter 11.
4. The imperative mood is discussed in detail in Chapter 11.

jʌise	**ɑ-il**	**oise-ɦi**	**jɑ-o**
as	come-3SG.PST	similarly-EMPH	go-OPT

'As s/he came, may s/he go.' (010.509)

c. जइसे जी ओइसे जिओ ।

jʌise	**ji**	**oise**	**jio**
jʌise	**ji-i**	**oise**	**ji-o**
as	live-3.FUT	similarly	live-OPT

'May s/he live as s/he can.' (010.515)

d. तू फेल हो जा !

tu	**pʰel**	**ɦo**	**jɑ**
tu	**pʰel**	**ɦo**	**jɑ**
2SG.NOM	fail	be	go.OPT.MH

'May you fail!' (Khatri, 2012:33)

10.4.5 Conditional (subjunctive) mood

Conditional or subjunctive mood is in contrast to declarative or imprerative mood. It refers to the verb form or sentence/clause types, used in the expression in subordinate clause. The conditional is occurred in 'hypothetical' construction. In another word, in conditional or subjunctive mood, a sentence, consists of an antecedent (or a condition) and a consequent.

(23) a. यदि समग्र मधेश एक प्रदेश होता त समग्र मधेश बहुभाषी प्रदेश रही ।

yʌdi	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**ɦotɑ**	
yʌdi	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**ɦo-ʌt**	**bɑ**
if	whole	Madhesh	one	province	be-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

tʌ	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**bʌɦub̤asi**	**rʌɦi**
tʌ	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**bʌɦub̤asi**	**rʌɦ-i**
COND	whole	Madhesh	multilingual	live-3SG.FUT

'If the whole Madhesh is formed as a single province, it will be a multilingual province.' (01.028)

b. ... एक टुकड़ा जमीन अगर रहित त हम ओ में काम करके कुछ उबजाके खइती ... ।

ek	**ʈukɽɑ**	**jʌmin**	**ʌgʌr**	**rʌɦit**	**tʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**o**	**mẽ**
ek	**ʈukɽɑ**	**jʌmin**	**ʌgʌr**	**rʌɦ-it**	**tʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**o**	**mẽ**
one	piece	land	if	live-3.PST.IRR	COND	1SG.NOM	that	LOC

kam kʌrke kuchʰ ubjake kʰʌiti

kam kʌr-ke kuchʰ ubja-ke kʰa-iti

work do-SEQ something grow-SEQ eat-3.PST.IRR.H

'… if I had a piece of land would work on it and live on growing something ...' (02.032)

c. जिंदगी सलामत रही त बार बार मुलाकात होई ।

jindʌgi sʌlamʌt rʌɦi tʌ bar bar

jingi sʌlamʌt rʌɦ-i tʌ bar bar

life healthy live-3SG.FUT COND time time

mulakat ɦoi

mulakat ɦo-i

face to face be-3SG.FUT

'If life is normal our meeting will continue.' (03.023)

d. अगर एकर उल्टा केहू करता त ओकरा के पिटे में कवनो हरज नइखे ।

ʌgʌr ekʌr ulʈa keɦu kʌrʌta tʌ

ʌgʌr i-ʌr ulʈa keɦu kʌr-ʌt ba tʌ

if PROX-GEN reverse anyone do-.IMPF be.3SG.PRES COND

okʌra ke piʈe mẽ kɔno ɦʌrʌj nʌikʰe

okʌra ke piʈ-e mẽ kɔno ɦʌrʌj nʌikʰe

3SG.GEN ACC beat-PUR LOC any objection not to be

'If someone is doing reverse of it, there is no objection to beat him/her.' (03.196)

10.4.6 Allocutive agreement

As dialectal variation in Bhojpuri we presented in Chapter 3, the mid-eastern and eastern dialects of Bhojpuri exhibit allocution in verb agreement. This is the characteristics of Magadhi which Bhojpuri has been originated from, diachronically. Such allocative agreements have already been exhibited in Magahi (Rakesh and Kumar 2013:185-9), Maithili (Bickel, Bisang and Yadava 1999:508-11) and Bajjika (Zahid 2017:106 and Kashyap 2019:51-2). Bhojpuri displays such characteristics of allocutive agreement, as shown in (24).

(24) a. हम भात खइली ।

ɦʌm ḅat kʰʌili

ɦʌm ḅat kʰa-il-i

1SG.NOM rice eat-INF-PST.H

'I ate rice.' (Addressee neutral)

b. हम भात खइलिअइन ।

ɦʌm	**b̤at**	**kʰʌili**
ɦʌm	**b̤at**	**kʰɑ-il-i-ʌin**
1SG.NOM	rice	eat-INF-PST.H-2.H

'I ate rice.' (For full honorific addressee)

c. हम भात खइलिऔ ।

ɦʌm	**b̤at**	**kʰʌili**
ɦʌm	**b̤at**	**kʰɑ-il-i-ɔ**
1SG.NOM	rice	eat-INF-PST.H-2MH

'I ate rice.' (For mid-honorific addressee)

d. हम भात खइलिअऊ ।

ɦʌm	**b̤at**	**kʰʌili**
ɦʌm	**b̤at**	**kʰɑ-il-i**
1SG.NOM	rice	eat-INF-PST.H-2NH

'I ate rice.' (For non-honorific addressee)

e. मोहन साँझे सुतऽले ।

moɦʌn	**sãj̈e**	**sutʌle**
mohʌn	**sãj̈-e**	**sut-ʌl-e**
Mohan	evening-EMPH	sleep-INF-3PRES

'Mohan sleeps early in the evening.' (Addressee neutral)

f. मोहन साँझे सुतऽलइन ।

moɦʌn	**sãj̈e**	**sutʌlʌin**
mohʌn	**sãj̈-e**	**sut-ʌl-ʌin**
Mohan	evening-EMPH	sleep-INF-3PRES.2H

'Mohan sleeps early in the evening.' (For full honorific addressee)

g. मोहन साँझे सुतऽलौ ।

moɦʌn	**sãj̈e**	**sutʌlɔ**
mohʌn	**sãj̈-e**	**sut-ʌl-ɔ**
Mohan	evening-EMPH	sleep-INF-3PRES.2MH

'Mohan sleeps early in the evening.' (For mid-honorific addressee)

h. मोहन साँझे सुतऽलऊ ।

moɦʌn	**sãj̈e**	**sutʌlʌu**

mohʌn sãj̈-e sut-ʌl-ʌu

Mohan evening-EMPH sleep-INF-3PRES.2NH

'Mohan sleeps early in the evening.' (For non-honorific addressee)

i. मङरु बिह्यान आई ।

mʌŋʌru biɦan ɑi

mʌŋʌru biɦan ɑ-i

Mangaru tomoroww come-3SG.FUT

'Mangaru comes tomorrow.' (Addressee neutral)

j. मङरु बिह्यान अतइन ।

mʌŋʌru biɦan ʌtʌin

mʌŋʌru biɦan ɑ-wʌt-ʌin

Mangaru tomoroww come-INF-3.FUT.2H

'Mangaru comes tomorrow.' (For full honorific addressee)

k. मङरु बिह्यान अतौ ।

mʌŋʌru biɦan ʌtɔ

mʌŋʌru biɦan ɑ-wʌt-ɔ

Mangaru tomoroww come-INF-3FUT.2MH

'Mangaru comes tomorrow.' (For mid-honorific addressee)

l. मङरु बिह्यान अतऊ ।

mʌŋʌru biɦan ʌtʌu

mʌŋʌru biɦan ɑ-wʌt-ʌu

Mangaru tomoroww come-INF-3.FUT.2NH

'Mangaru come tomorrow.' (For non-honorific addressee)

In the examples shown in (23a-l), the first four sentences (23a-d) express present tense, the next four sentences (23e-h) exhibit past tense and the last four sentences (24i-l) show future tense. Among them sentences in (24a, e, i) are neutral with respect to addressee. Then the other sentences, irrespective of tense, have the infinite verbs are suffixed with -अइन /-ʌ*in*/ for full honorific, -औ /-ɔ/ for mid-honorific and -अऊ /-ʌ*u*/ for non-honorific addressee, no matter, whether the addressees are seen in the sentences or not. No addressee reports presence in the examples but the allocutive suffixes signal their presence.

10.5 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the tense, aspect and modality in Bhojpuri. The Bhojpuri verbs are inflected with suffixes -इल /*-il*/ and -अल /*-ʌl*/ or -वल /*-wʌl*/ for infinitive or participle that plays significant roles in TAM. This language exhibits morphologically marked past, present and future tenses with verbs. The past tense in Bhojpuri is marked by the suffixes -इस /*-is*/, -ए /*-e*/, -एँ /*-ẽ*/, -अ /*-ʌ*/, -ऊ /*-u*/, -अस /*-ʌs*/, -अक /*-ʌk*/, -अख /*-ʌkʰ*/, -अन /*-ʌn*/, -इनी /*-ini*/, -अनी /*-ʌni*/ or -नी /*-ni*/ for second and third persons in accordance with gender, number and honorificity. Moreover, -इनी /*-ini*/ or -अनी /*-ʌni*/ or -नी /*-ni*/ is full honorific marker in all environments replacing the infinitive/participle markers -इल /*-il*/ and -अल /*-ʌl*/ or -वल /*-wʌl*/. The suffix -एब /*-eb*/ or -एम /*-em*/ generally marks future tense with verb roots in Bhojpuri. Besides, -इबे /*-ibe*/, -इहे /*-iɦe*/, -इबऽ /*-ibʌ*/, -इह /*-iɦʌ*/, -इबू /*-ibu*/, -ई /*-i*/, -इहें /*-iɦẽ*/, -इहन /*-iɦʌn*/ and -इहेन /*-iɦen*/ mark variably with regards to person, number, gender and honorificity. Similarly, present tense in Bhojpuri appears in the form of verb-stem suffixed by imperfective marker -अत /*-ʌt*/ followed by copula बानी /*bani*/, बाड़ऽ /*baɽʌ*/, बाड़ू /*baɽu*/, बाड़ें /*baɽẽ*/, बाड़ेन /*baɽen*/, बाड़न /*baɽʌn*/, बाटे /*baʈe*/, बाटें /*baʈẽ*/, बा /*ba*/ according to person, gender, honorificity and number. But deletion and contraction have occurred to delete ब /*b*/ from the copula and the rest morphemes to be contracted with -अत /*-ʌt*/. Aspectual contrasts in Bhojpuri may be broadly categorized into perfective, imperfective and perfect. Perfective aspects in Bhojpuri are inherent and grammatical. In terms of their inherent perfectivity Bhojpuri verbs may be classified into compact short-duration verbs, accomplishment-completion verbs, activity-process verbs and stative verbs. In terms of grammatical perfectivity they focus on termination and boundedness. Similarly, the imperfective aspect includes past progressive, future progressive, present progressive, past habitual and present habitual. Besides, perfect aspects are categorized as past perfect, future perfect and present perfect. Modality in Bhojpuri may be divided into epistemic and evaluative (deontic) types. The truth, probability, certainty, belief and evidence expressed in terms of presupposition, realis assertion, irrealis assertion and negative assertion are epistemic modalities. Similarly, ability and obligation fall under deontic modality. Bhojpuri also expresses some distinctive moods in terms of declarative (indicative), interrogative, imperative, optative and conditional (subjunctive) along with the allocutive agreement eastwards.

CHAPTER 11
NON-DECLARATIVE SPEECH ACTS

11.0 Outline

Up to this point, we have dealt almost exclusively with declarative speech-acts, i.e., with clauses where the speaker's main communicative goal was informative (Givón 2001b:287). This chapter deals with the non-declarative speech acts in Bhojpuri. It consists of five sections. In section 11.1, we deal with interrogative speech acts and section 11.2 deals with manipulative speech acts. Section 11.3 examines de-transitive voices and in section 11.4, we discuss passivization. Section 11.5 presents the summary of this chapter.

11.1 Interrogative speech acts

Within the class of interrogative clauses, languages typically distinguish two subtypes: those for which the information requested is a simple affirmation or disaffirmation (yes or no), and those for which the requested information is a more elaborate locution – a phrase, a proposition, or an entire discourse (Payne 1997:295). They are also known as polar and constituent questions respectively, both available in Bhojpuri and also partially displayed in Nirbhik (1975:135), Tripathy (1987:261), Shrivastava (1999:111), Sharma and Ashk (2007:73) and Singh (2013:162) but Thakur (2011:145) has made efforts to exhibit them properly. Thus, in my observation, as its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:315), Maithili (Yadav 1996:290), Hindi (Koul 2008:222) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:436) Bhojpuri exhibit them in similar ways as follows:

11.1.1 Polar questions

The conventional wisdom about polar (yes/no) questions, based on a long logical tradition, has been that the speaker asking the question is neutral with respect to the expected answer – positive or negative (Givón 2011:312). It provides a logical condition for polar question, as in (1):

(1) **Logical tradition about yes/no questions:**

Given proposition P, tell me, is it true or false?

However, it is also the fact about languages that the speakers do not only ask yes/no-questions with neutral expectations, but with some bias towards either the affirmative or negative response.

Payne (1997:295-6) exhibits a change in word worder in VO languages, use of interrogative particles mainly in OV languages, and employment of intonation patterns in languages universally to form yes/no questions. Cross-linguistically, as

Givón (2001b: 294-5) notes "languages may use intonation, morphology and word order to code yes/no-questions."[1] Intonation alone can distinguish a yes/no question from its declarative counterpart in Bhojpuri. as in (2a-b):

(2) a. ई कवनो बात *बा*?

i **kɔno** **bɑt** ***ba***

PROX any matter be.3SG.PRES

'IS this any matter of concern?' (01.065)

b. ओकरा बाद में नेपाल में *अइनी*?

okʌrɑ **bɑd** **mẽ** **nepɑl** **mẽ** ***ʌini***

u-ʌr-ɑ **bɑd** **mẽ** **nepɑl** **mẽ** ***ɑ-ini***

3.SG-GEN-DEF later LOC Nepal LOC come-PST.H

'After that, did you COME to Nepal?' (04.036)

In examples (2a-b), yes/no questions are equivalent to their declarative counterparts except the slightly raised intonation assigned to the finite verbs (italicised in Devanagari and IPA as well as capitalized in its free English translation). Thus, the basic pattern of marking the neutral yes/no question in Bhojpuri is the assignment of rising intonation to the questioned constituent of a sentence.

Moreover, a single word as well as a phrase can also be yes/no questions in Bhojpuri, as shown in (3a-b).

(3) a. छोटा ?

cʰoʈɑ

cʰoʈ-ɑ

small-SPEC

'A small one?' (04.128)

b. आ बारा जिला के कलेया तक ले ?

ɑ **bɑrɑ** **jilɑ** **ke** **kʌleyɑ** **tʌk** **le**

and Bara district GEN Kalaiya till till

'And upto Kalaiya of the Bara district?' (04.192)

However, in terms of the speaker's epistemic bias toward either the affirmative or negative response, yes/no questions in Bhojpuri may be further divided as follows:

1. Yes–No questions are sometimes referred to as "closed questions," because the set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (*yes* and *no*) Kroeger (2005: 203).

a) Focused polar question

When a state/event is assumed to have occurred, but a particular component element of it – subject, object, verb, adverb – is not fully known to the speaker, this element is thus the crux of a *focused yes/no-question* (Givón 2001b:293). Often the question intonation pattern involves a sentence-final rising pitch, in contrast to a final falling pitch in declarative sentences, but this is by no means universal, and in some languages this is the only available strategy (Kroeger 2005:203-4). Bhojpuri uses only intonation to mark the constituent of focused yes/no question. Following are the examples:

(i) Polar question neutral (or verb focus)

(4) ओकरा बाद में नेपाल में *अइनी*?

okʌrɑ	**bɑd**	**mẽ**	**nepɑl**	**mẽ**	***ʌini***
okʌrɑ	**bɑd**	**mẽ**	**nepɑl**	**mẽ**	***ɑ-ini***
3.SG.GEN	later	LOC	Nepal	LOC	come-PST.H

'After that, did you COME to Nepal?' (04.036)

(ii) Polar question (subject focus)

(5) *तू* एह लकड़ी के बेध सकेलऽ ?

tu	**eɦ**	**lʌkʌɽi**	**ke**	**beḍ**	**sʌkelʌ**
tu	**eɦ**	**lʌkʌɽi**	**ke**	**beḍ**	**sʌk-elʌ**
2SG.NOM	prox	twig	ACC	pierce	can-2.PRES.MH

'Can YOU pierce this twig?' (011.102)

(iii) Polar question (dative focus)

(6) आजकाल *रउरा भाई* के नइखीं देखत ?

ɑj	**kɑḷ**	***rʌura***	***ḅai***	**ke**	**nʌikʰĩ**	**dekʰʌt**
ɑj	**kɑḷ**	***rʌur-a***	***ḅai***	**ke**	**nʌikʰ-ĩ**	**dekʰ-ʌt**
today	yesterday	2SG.DET.H-DEF	brother	gen	be.NEG.PRES-H	see-IMPF

'YOUR BROTHER is not seen anywhere nowadays?' (12.011)

(iv) Polar question (patient focus)

(7) बड़ा बड़बड़ाताड़ऽ, *कुस्मा* पिले बाड़ऽ ?

bʌɽɑ	**bʌɽbʌɽɑtɑɽʌ**		***kusma***	**pile**
bʌɽ-ɑ	**bʌɽbʌɽɑ-ʌt**	**bɑɽʌ**	**pi-ʌl-e**	***kusma***
great-SPEC	jabber-IMPF	be.2.PRES	drink-PP-SEQ	intoxicated squash

bɑɽʌ

bɑɽʌ

be.2.PRES

'You are jabbering a lot, have you drunk INTOXICATED SQUASH?' (11.223)

(v) Polar question (adjunct focus)

(8) पिठिआ *भुइआँ* में गिरा दीँ ?

piʈʈʰiɑ **ḅuiã** **mẽ** **girɑ** **dĩ**

piʈʈʰi-ɑ **ḅuiã** **mẽ** **gir-ɑ** **de-ĩ**

cake-DEF ground LOC fall-CAUS give-FUT.H

'Can I let the cake fall on the GROUND?' (05.011)

In example (4), the questioned part of the proposition is the verb. Similarly, in (5-8) different constituents (italicised in Devanagari and IPA as well as capitalized in its free English translation) of the sentence are questioned with slightly raised intonation.

b) Alternative polar question

In alternative polar question, "both the affirmative and negative, or even a longer list of alternatives, are overtly expressed" (Givón 2001b:292). In Bhojpuri, the questioned alternatives are juxtaposed to each other with a coordinator कि /*ki*/ 'or', as in (9a-d):

(9) a. लोग के जबान पर ऊ चीज *बा कि ना*?

log **ke** **jʌbɑn** **pʌr** **u** **cij** ***ba*** ***ki*** ***na***

people GEN tongue LOC DIST matter be.3SG.PRES or NEG

'IS there the thing present on the public tongue OR NOT?' (03.108)

b. *सौंसे प्याज* चाहीं कि *प्याज के बकलोइया* चाहीं ?

sɔ̃se ***pyaj*** **cɑɦĩ** **ki** ***pyaj*** ***ke*** ***bʌkloia*** **cɑɦĩ**

sɔ̃se **pyɑj** **cɑɦ-ĩ** **ki** **pyɑj** **ke** **bʌkloiɑ** **cɑɦ-ĩ**

whole onion want-3.OPT or onion GEN scale want-3.OPT

'Is the whole onion required or its barks only? (03.133)

c. तू *आम खइबऽ* कि *पँड़ गनबऽ*?

tu ***am*** ***kʰʌibʌ*** **ki** **pẽɽ** **gʌnbʌ**

tu **ɑm** **kʰɑ-ibʌ** **ki** **pẽɽ** **gʌn-bʌ**

2.SG.NOM mango eat-2.OPT.MH or tree count-2.OPT.MH

'Will you have RESULT or DETAILS OF PROCESS?' (011.221)

d. एह खेत के घास *गऱ्बऽ* कि *कट्बऽ*?

eɦ **kʰet** **ke** **ɡɑs** ***gʌɾ̗bʌ*** **ki** ***kʌʈbʌ***

eɦ	**kʰet**	**ke**	**ɡɑs**	**gʌɽ̥-bʌ**		**ki**	**kɑʈ-bʌ**
prox	farm	GEN	grass	uproot-2.OPT.MH		or	cut-2.OPT.MH

'Will you UPROOT or CUT the grass in this farm?' (011.350)

In example (9a), the alternative question between affirmative and negative is presented whereas in (9b-d) the alternative questions of choices between two different works as well as different ways of doing the same work are presented (italicised in Devanagari and IPA as well as capitalized in its free English translation) are simply juxtaposed to each other with कि /*ki*/ 'or' between the choices.

c) Tag question

Tag question form in Bhojpuri is difficult to be found equivalent to that in English. But functionally, such fragrant of sentences can be found.

(10) a. एह तरे हमरा प्रेरणा मिलल रामदेवजी से, *जन्नी*?

eɦ	**tʌre**	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**prerʌnɑ**	**milʌl**	**rɑmdeoji**	**se**
eɦ	**tʌre**	**ɦʌm-rɑ**	**prerʌnɑ**	**mil-ʌl**	**rɑmdeo-ji**	**se**
prox	such	1SG-DAT	inspiration	get-3SG.PST	Ramdeo-H	ABL

jʌnni

jɑn-ni

know-PST.H

'In this way I got inspiration from Ramdevji, did you know?' (04.102)

b. हमरा लगे गोरखापत्र त आवेला ना, जन्नी ?

ɦʌmrɑ	**lʌge**	**gorkʰapʌtrʌ**	**tʌ**	**ɑwelɑ**	**nɑ**
ɦʌm-rɑ	**lʌge**	**gorkʰapʌtrʌ**	**tʌ**	**ɑ-welɑ**	**nɑ**
1SG-POSS	with	Gorkhapatra	COND	come-3SG.PRES	NEG

jʌnni

jɑn-ni

know-PST.H

'First of all Gorkhapatra doesn't come to me, did you understand?' (04.171)

Moreover, Khatri (2012:30) describes tag question in Bhojpuri to be marked with antecedent clause कि ना /*ki na*/ 'or not'. In my opinion, it is a yes/no question but not a tag one.

11.1.2 Constituent questions

"In content (or information) questions, a questionword replaces one of the constituents of the corresponding declarative sentence, to be always the focused

element of the question, representing the crucial piece of new information that is being requested" (Kroeger 2005:205). "W*h*-questions (also called 'constituent questions') may be then the *focus* of being either of the subject, object, verb, predicate, adverb, indirect object, time, place, manner, reason etc" (Givón 2001b:300).

a) Single constituent questions

Bhojpuri employs the interrogative question words to encode different types of constituent questions normally for a single inquiry: के /*ke*/ or कौन /*kɔn*/ 'who', के के /*ke ke*/ or केकरा के /*kekra ke*/ 'whom', का /*ka*/ or कथी /*kʌtʰi*/ 'what or which', केकर /*kekʌr*/ or किनकर /*kinkʌr*/ 'whose', कतेक /*kʌtek*/ or केतना /*ketna*/ 'how much/many', कै /*kɛ*/ 'how many', कब /*kʌb*/ or कहिआ /*kʌɦia*/ 'when', कहाँ /*kʌɦã*/ or केने /*kene*/ 'where', कइसन /*kʌisʌn*/ or कइसे /*kʌise*/ 'how' and काहे /*kaɦe*/ 'why'.

Most languages use one of two basic strategies: either the questionword appears at the beginning of the sentence, as in English, to be called "Wh-fronting" or the question word appears in the place where the constituent which it replaces would normally occur in a declarative sentence, to be called *in situ* 'in place' (Kroeger 2005:205). Bhojpuri falls in the second category. Some of the single constituent questions in Bhojpuri are presented in (11a-q):

(11) a. कुत्ता के के मुअइलख ?

kuttɑ ke *ke* muʌilʌkʰ

kuttɑ ke *ke* mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ

dog ACC who die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'WHO killed the dog?' (06.056)

b. इहाँका के हँईं ?

iɦãkɑ *ke* ɦãĩ

iɦã-kɑ *ke* ɦãĩ

here-SPEC who be.3.PRES.H

'WHO is s/he?' (11.538)

c. **के** के रउआ किताब देनी ?

***ke* ke rʌuɑ kitɑb deni**

***ke* ke rʌuɑ kitɑb de-ni**

who DAT 2SG.H book give-PST.H

'WHO did you give the book TO?' or 'WHOM did you give the book?' (06.005)

d. राउर सिद्धांत *का* ह ?

raur **sidd̤ant** ***ka*** **ɦʌ**

raur **sidd̤ant** ***ka*** **ɦʌ**

2SG.GEN.H principle what be.3SG.PRES

'WHAT is your principle?' (01.034)

e. हमनीका *का* करेम ?

ɦʌmnikɑ ***ka*** **kʌrem**

ɦʌm-ni-kɑ ***ka*** **kʌr-em**

1SG-PL-SPEC what do-FUT.H

'WHAT can we do?' (02.103)

f. हरि हरि *कज्जोन* कएल हमे पाप ? (Vidyapati's verse 71)

ɦʌri **ɦʌri** ***kɔn*** **kɛl** **ɦʌme** **pɑp**

ɦʌri **ɦʌri** ***kɔn*** **kʌr-il** **ɦʌm-e** **pɑp**

God God what do-PP 1SG.NOM-EMPH sin

'O My God! WHAT sin I committed?' (Gupt 1910:38)

g. नजदीक के भाषा सब *कौन-कौन* ह ?

nʌjdik **ke** **b̤ɑsɑ** **sʌb** ***kɔn*** ***kɔn*** **ɦʌ**

close GEN language PL *which* *which* be.3SG.PRES

'WHAT are the languages nearer to it?' (03.113)

h. *कौना* राहे जइबऽ ?

kɔna **rɑɦe** **jʌibʌ**

kɔn-a **rɑɦ-e** **jɑ-ibʌ**

which-SPEC way-LOC go-2.FUT.MH

'WHICH way will you go on?' (011.435)

i. ई कविता *केकर* रचल बा ?

i **kʌbitɑ** ***kekʌr*** **rʌcʌl** **bɑ**

i **kʌbitɑ** ***ke-ʌr*** **rʌc-ʌl** **bɑ**

PROX poem who-GEN create-PP be.3SG.PRES

'WHOSE creation is this poem?' (011.286)

j. *केतना* तरिका से भोजपुरी बोलल जाला ?

ketna **tʌrikɑ** **se** **b̤ojpuri** **bolʌl** **jɑlɑ**

ketna **tʌrikɑ** **se** **ɓojpuri** **bol-ʌl** **jɑ-lɑ**

how many method with Bhojpuri speak-INF go-3SG.PRES

'HOW MANY ways is Bhojpuri spoken in?' (03.120)

k. दोसरा भाषा से ऊ *केतना* नजदीक बा ?

dosʌrɑ **ɓɑsɑ** **se** **u** ***ketna*** **nʌjdik** **bɑ**

du-ʌr-ɑ **ɓɑsɑ** **se** **u** ***ketna*** **nʌjdik** **bɑ**

two-ORD-DEF language with DIST how much close be.3SG.PRES

'HOW MUCH is it nearer to other language?' (03.112)

l. *कै* बरीस भइल ई भोजपुरी समाचार के ?

kɛ **bʌris** **ɓʌil** **i** **ɓojpuri** **sʌmɑcɑr** **ke**

kɛ **bʌrʌs** **ɓʌ-il** **i** **ɓojpuri** **sʌmɑcɑr** **ke**

how many year become-3SG.PST PROX Bhojpuri news ACC

'HOW MANY years has the Bhojpuri news passed?' (03.415)

m. धनपत *कब* आइल ?

ɖʌnpʌt ***kʌb*** **ɑil**

ɖʌnpʌt ***kʌb*** **ɑ-il**

Dhanpat when come-3SG.PST

'WHEN did Dhanpat come?' (06.009)

n. *कहिआ* के बात ह ?

kʌɦia **ke** **bɑt** **ɦʌ**

kʌɦia **ke** **bɑt** **ɦʌ**

when GEN matter be.3SG.PRES

'WHEN did it happen?' (11.073)

o. ऊ *कहाँ* बाड़ी अभी ?

u ***kʌɦã*** **bɑɽi** **ʌɓ̃i**

u ***kʌɦã*** **bɑɽi** **ʌɓ̃i**

3SG.NOM where be.3.PRES.F.MH now

'WHERE is she now?' (03.146)

p. पुनु कइसे नुकि गेलि ? (Vidyapati verse 58)

punu **kʌise** **nuki** **ɡeli**

punu **kʌise** **nuk-i** **jɑ-il-i**

again how hide-SEQ go-PP-2.PST.H

'HOW did you hide again?' (Gupt 1910:32)

q. तू *काहे* बागी भइल बाड़ऽ ?

tu	***kaɦe***	**bɑgi**	**ɓʌil**	**bɑɽʌ**
tu	***kaɦe***	**bɑgi**	**ɓʌ-il**	**bɑɽʌ**
2SG.NOM	why	rebel	become-PP	be.2.PRES.MH

'WHY have you become a rebel?' (011.115)

Bhojpuri question for reason काहे /*kaɦe*/ 'why' is the outcome of grammaticalization of Sanskrit question for procedure केन /*kenʌ*/ 'how' for the same function during Apabhransh period (Dāmodara 1953:27, 12th Century) and then regrammaticalized into the recent form as presented here in (11q). Besides, its procedural function contemporarily has taken the form कइसे /*kʌise*/ 'how' presented in (11p) under grammaticalization.

b) Multiple constituent questions

Givón (2001b: 305) states the most common strategy in a constituent question is to presuppose the entire clause except for one element and then question that focused element, however, it is possible to formulate multiple constituent questions in some languages. Such multiple question strategy in Bhojpur may be achieved in abundance, as shown in (12a-c):

(12) a. तोहे *के कथी* कहलख ?

toɦe	***ke***	***kʌtʰi***	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**
tu-e	***ke***	***kʌtʰi***	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
2SG-DAT	who	what	say-PP-3.PST

'WHO told you WHAT?' (13.181)

b. ऊ *कहाँ कौना* लगे *का* करी ?

u	***kʌɦã***	***kɔna***	**lʌge**	***ka***	**kʌri**
u	***kʌɦã***	***kɔn-a***	**lʌge**	***ka***	**kʌr-i**
3SG.NOM	where	who-SPEC	with	what	do-3SG.FUT

'With WHOM WHAT will he do and WHERE?' (13.182)

c. *कहिआ कौन कथी* लेके *कथी* करे इहाँ आइल रहे ?

kʌɦia	***kɔn***	***kʌtʰi***	**leke**	***kʌtʰi***	**kʌre**	**iɦã**	**ɑil**
kʌɦia	***kɔn***	***kʌtʰi***	**le-ke**	***kʌtʰi***	**kʌr-e**	**iɦã**	**ɑ-il**
when	who	what	take-SEQ	what	do-PUR	here	come-PP

rʌɦe

rʌɦ-e

live-3.PST

'WHO came here, WHAT to do with WHICH means and WHEN?' (13.183)

In example (10a), के /*ke*/ 'who' and कथी /*kʌtʰi*/ 'what' are employed to form multiple constituent questions. Similarly, in (10b), कहाँ /*kʌɦã*/ 'where', कौना /*kɔna*/ 'whom' and का /*ka*/ 'what' are employed and in (10c) कहिआ /*kʌɦia*/ 'when', कौन /*kɔn*/ 'who' and कथी /*kʌtʰi*/ 'what/which' are employed to form multiple constituent questions.

c) Plurality in constituent questions

Generally, the constituent question words are not pluralized, i.e., they do not take the Bhojpuri plural marking morpheme -अन /-*ʌn*/. But they take the peripheral plural words लोग /*log*/ 'people' and सब /*sʌb*/ 'all'. Besides, to encode the plurality of the questioned element, the question word is also repeated in the language, as in (13a-d):

(13) a. कौन-कौन चीज के तरे लागी खेती करे में ?

kɔn	**kɔn**	**cij**	**ke**	**tʌre**	**lagi**	**kʰeti**	**kʌre**	**mẽ**
kɔn	**kɔn**	**cij**	**ke**	**tʌre**	**lag-i**	**kʰeti**	**kʌr-e**	**mẽ**
what	what	matter	what	such	use-3FUT	farming	do-PUR	LOC

'What are the essential components and how they should be used in farming?' (02.014)

b. कइसन-कइसन औंजार के प्रयोग कइल जाई ?

kʌisʌn	**kʌisʌn**	**ɔ̃jar**	**ke**	**prʌyog**	**kʌil**	**jai**
kʌisʌn	**kʌisʌn**	**ɔ̃jar**	**ke**	**prʌyog**	**kʌr-il**	**ja-i**
how	how	tool	GEN	use	do-INF	go-3.FUT

'What types of tools will be used?' (02.015)

c. काल़ दुआर पर के लोग आइल रहलन ?

kal̩	**duar**	**pʌr**	**ke**	**log**	**ail**	**rʌɦlʌn**
kal̩	**duar**	**pʌr**	**ke**	**log**	**a-il**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ʌn**
yesterday	door	LOC	who	PL	come-INF	live-PP-3.PST.H

'Who had come on the door yesterday?' (13.184)

d. बाजार में का सब किनलऽ ?

bajar	**mẽ**	**ka**	**sʌb**	**kinlʌ**
bajar	**mẽ**	**ka**	**sʌb**	**kin-ʌl-ʌ**
market	LOC	what	PL	buy-PP-2.PST.MH

'What did you buy in the market?' (13.185)

In the instances (11a-d), examples (11a-b) present repetition of the question words कौन /*kɔn*/ 'who' and कइसन /kʌisʌn/ 'how' and examples (11c-d) present peripheral plural marker लोग /*log*/ and सब /*sʌb*/ following the question words के /*ke*/ 'who' and का /*ka*/ 'what' respectivesly.

11.1.3 Negative polarity indefinities

Mazaudon (2003:310) states that "the most common way to say 'no one', 'nothing', 'never' etc is to use an interrogative word followed by the intensifier 'also/even' in all the languages of the area, including Nepali, and that the negative polarity identities can also be used in questions". In line with this areal feature, Bhojpuri employs clitic -ओ /*-o*/ or -हु /*-ɦu*/ 'also', the emphatic marker and the negative polarity indefinites may also be used in question, as shown in (14a-c):

(14) a. तोहरा बात के कौनो इतवार नइखे ?

toɦrɑ	**bɑt**	**ke**	**kɔno**	**itwɑr**	**nʌikʰe**
tu-ʌr-ɑ	**bɑt**	**ke**	**kɔn-o**	**itwɑr**	**nʌikʰ-e**
2SG-GEN-SPEC	saying	GEN	who-EMPH	trust	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'Is there no trust in your utterance?' (011.373)

b. गद्दारी में केहू साथ दी ?

gʌddɑri	**mẽ**	**keɦu**	**sɑtʰ**	**di**
gʌddɑri	**mẽ**	**ke-ɦu**	**sɑtʰ**	**de-i**
betrayal	LOC	who-EMPH	company	give.3.FUT

'Will anybody accompany with betrayal?' (011.048)

c. तोहर बल कहाँ गइल ?

toɦʌr	**bʌl**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**gʌil**
toɦʌr	**bʌl**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**jɑ -il**
2SG.GEN	strength	where	go -3SG.PST

'You exhibited no strength. Lit: Where did you lose your strength?' (11.002)

In example (14a-b) the clitic -ओ /*-o*/ and -हु /*-ɦu*/, the inclusive emphatic markers are employed to intensify the non-occurrence of the event. Similarly in (14c) the question word कहाँ /*kʌɦɑ̃*/ 'where' is employed to express negative polarity indefinites.

11.2 Manipulative speech acts

Givón (2001b:311) considers manipulative speech acts as the verbal acts by which the speaker attempts to get the hearer to act. Givón (2011:305) further states divergence of the manipulative speech acts in terms of the relative power, authority or social position claimed by the speaker vis-a-vis hearer, and that the higher the speaker's position is vis-a-vis the hearer, the more direct or less polite the manipulative speech-act is. The imperative, hortative and optative are the manipulative speech acts found in Bhojpuri, being discussed as follows:

11.2.1 Imperative

As Givón (2001b:305) mentions, the bare-stem form of the verb serves as the most direct, least polite, mperative speech-act, often with the last stem-vowel silenced. As attested in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:209), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:268), Maithili (Yadav 1996:285), Hindi (Koul 2008:255) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:105 and Adhikari 2016:211) to a greater extent, Bhojpuri meets the criteria in similar way (Nirbhik 1975:128, Tripathy 1987:261, Shrivastava 1999:111, Sharma and Ashk 2007:73, Thakur 2011:148 and Singh 2013:162). Regarding the subject-manipulee, always a second person singular or plural (i.e. the hearer), is generally expressed by a pronoun but not essential.

(15) a. ए बबुआ, एगो पिट्ठी तोड़ ।

e	**bʌbuɑ**	**ego**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽ**
e	**bʌbuɑ**	**ek-go**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽ**
ADD	boy	one-CLF	cake	pluck.IMP

'O my child, pluck a cake.' (05.010)

b. उठऽ हे मुहझौंसी !

uʈʰʌ	**ɦe**	**muɦjʌũsi**
uʈʰ-ʌ	**ɦe**	**muɦjʌũs-i**
wake-IMP.MH	VOC	burnt-faced-F

'Wake up my burned-faced darling!' (11.025)

c. … अपने छठ के देखीं ।

ʌpne	**cʰʌʈʰ**	**ke**	**dekʰī**
ʌpne	**cʰʌʈʰ**	**ke**	**dekʰ-ī**
2SG.H	Chhath	ACC	see-IMP.H

'Please (you) look at the Chhath festival.' (03.352)

As we observe in (15a-b), the addressee is present. In (15c) the second person subject manipulee is also available, which we do not get in English. But Bhojpuri has also imperative constructions exactly alike English, as shown in (16a-c) in terms of absence of the addressee in the forms of clauses.

(16) a. बिछौना के बाँईं कात देख ।

bicʰɔnɑ	**ke**	**bɑ̃ĩ**	**kɑt**	**dekʰ**
bed	GEN	left	end	see.IMP

'Look at the left end of the bed.' (010.540)

b. जो इहाँ से ।

jo	**iɦɑ̃**	**se**	**kɔno**	**kɑm**	**nʌikʰe**
jɑ-o	**iɦɑ̃**	**se**	**kɔno**	**kɑm**	**nʌikʰe**
go-IMP	here	source	any	work	not to be

'Get out from here.' (010.400)

c. होई, कुछ देर बाद करीं ।

ɦoi	**kucʰ**	**der**	**bɑd**	**kʌrĩ**
ɦo-i	**kucʰ**	**der**	**bɑd**	**kʌr-ĩ**
be-3SG.FUT	something	late	later	do-IMP.H

'Yea, please do in a little while.' (010.012)

If the subject manipulee is plural, sometimes, the collective marker स /*sʌ*/ or सन /*sʌn*/ is employed. But it is not compulsory to encode the subject-verb agreement. Moreover, honorificity matters for the verb final particles and Bhojpuri imperatives have three layers: non-honorific, mid-honorific and full honorific.

a) Non-honorific

For non-honorific manipulee, the verb ends with suffix -ओ /-*o*/ or -ए /-*e*/ with some of the verb stems with vowel final and the consonant final stems remain the same, as shown in (17a-c):

(17) a. जो इहाँ से ।

jo	**iɦɑ̃**	**se**
jɑ-o	**iɦɑ̃**	**se**
go-IMP	here	ABL

'Get out from here.' (011.400)

b. लभकके दे ... ।

lʌb̤ʌkke de

lʌb̤-ke de

bow-SEQ give.IMP

'Bow and give me stretching your hand' (05.018)

c. ए बबुआ, एगो पिट्ठी तोड़ ।

e bʌbuɑ ego piʈʈʰi toɽ

e bʌbuɑ ek-go piʈʈʰi toɽ

ADD boy one-CLF cake pluck

'O my child, pluck a cake.' (05.010)

The examples (17a-c) exhibit the bare stem form of the verbs in Bhojpuri that functions as the imperative mood in non-honorific environment. Diachronically this form has been grammaticalized from its previous function of third person present habitual aspect, as shown in (18a-b).

(18) a. काने सुण ।

kɑne sun

kɑn-e sun

ear-INST hear-3SG.PRES

'Something is heard in the ear.' (Dāmodara 1953:6, 12th Century)

b. हाथें ले ।

ɦɑtʰẽ le

ɦɑtʰ-e le

hand-INST take-3SG.PRES

'Something is taken in the hand.' (Dāmodara 1953:7, 12th Century)

b) Mid-honorific

The verb stem with -आ /-*a*/ final remains the same and other stems end with suffix -अ /-ʌ/, as shown in (19a-b).

(19) a. जा घरे ।

jɑ gʌ̈re

jɑ gʌ̈r-e

go.IMP.MH house-LOC

'Go home.' (011.447)

b. उठऽ हे मुहझौंसी !

uʈʰʌ ɦe muɦjʌũsi

uʈʰ-ʌ ɦe muɦjʌũs-i

wake-IMP.MH VOC burnt-faced-F

'Wake up my burned-faced darling!' (11.025)

c) Full honorific

Verb stem ends with suffix -ईं /-*ĩ*/ for full honorificity in Bhojpuri imperative, as shown in (20a-b):

(20) a. ... अपने छठ के देखीं ।

ʌpne cʰʌʈʰ ke dekʰĩ

ʌpne cʰʌʈʰ ke dekʰ-ĩ

2SG.H Chhath ACC see-IMP.H

'Please (you) look at the Chhath festival.' (03.352)

b. होई, कुछ देर बाद करीं ।

ɦoi kucʰ der bɑd kʌrĩ

ɦo-i kucʰ der bɑd kʌr-ĩ

be-3SG.FUT something late later do-FUT.H

'Yea, please do in a little while.' (011.012)

d) Negative imperative

Negative imperative in Bhojpuri is formed through the negative particles ना /*na*/ or मत /*mʌt*/ preceding the imperative form of verb, as shown in (21a-b):

(21) a. ए ङ्वे संपत्ति के नाश ना करऽ ।

e ŋʌwe sʌmpʌtti ke nɑs nɑ kʌrʌ

e ŋʌwe sʌmpʌtti ke nɑs nɑ kʌr-ʌ

PROX method property GEN ruin NEG do-IMP.MH

'Don't misuse property in this way.' (011.366)

b. ओछ कपड़ा मत पेन्ह ।

ocʰ kʌpɽɑ mʌt peɳ

short cloth NEG wear.IMP

'Don't wear short clothes.' (011.171)

c. गलती बात कौनो मत लिखीं ।

gʌlti bɑt kɔno mʌt likʰĩ

gʌlti	**bɑt**	**kɔn-o**	**mʌt**	**likʰ-ī**
mistake	matter	who-EMPH	neg	write-IMP.H

'Please don't write anything wrong.' (04.109)

Bhojpuri has the usage of negative imperative for affirmative emphasis, sometimes conditionally, as shown in (22):

(22) निमन ढेउवा देता त बेंच ना द ।

nimʌn	**ʤeuɑ**	**detɑ**		**tʌ**	**bẽc**	**nɑ**	**dʌ**
nimʌn	**ʤeuɑ**	**de-ʌt**	**bɑ**	**tʌ**	**bẽc**	**nɑ**	**dʌ**
good	penny	give-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	COND	sell	NEG	give.IMP.MH

'If he pays high, sell it now.' (11.061)

11.2.2 Hortative

According to Givón (2011:306), the hortative speech act is more polite or less direct manipulative speech act whereby the speaker invites a second-person manipulee to join them in action. As attested with different suffixes in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:215), Maithili (Yadav 1996:299), Hindi (Koul 2008:110) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:105 and Adhikari 2016:252), the suffix -ईं /*ĩ*/ is attached to the bare verb root in Bhojpuri for the referents, as shown in (23a-b):

(23) a. बड़ा घाम बा । चलीं तनिका गछिया में छहाँ लीं ।

bʌɽɑ	**ɡɑm**	**bɑ**	**cʌlĩ**	**tʌnikɑ**	**gʌcʰiɑ**	**mẽ**
bʌɽ-ɑ	**ɡɑm**	**bɑ**	**cʌl-ĩ**	**tʌnikɑ**	**gɑcʰi-ɑ**	**mẽ**
big-SPEC	sun	be.3SG.PRES	walk-HORT	little	small tree-DET	LOC

cʰʌɦɑ̃	**lĩ**
cʰʌɦɑ̃	**le-ĩ**
be cool	take-HORT

'The sun is scorching. Let's go under the shade of the trees for a while and be cool.' (11.022)

b. आवऽ, घरे चलीं ।

ɑwʌ	**ɡʌre**	**cʌlĩ**
ɑ-wʌ	**ɡʌr-e**	**cʌl-ĩ**
come-IMP.MH	house-LOC	walk-HORT

'Come on, let's go home.'

Hortative speect acts also express negation in Bhojpuri, as shown in (24):

(24) a. मौसम ठंढा बा । आज खीरा ना खाईं ।

mʌusʌm	**ʈʰʌnɖ̈a**	**ba**	**aj**	**kʰira**	**na**	**kʰaĩ**
mʌusʌm	**ʈʰʌnɖ̈a**	**ba**	**aj**	**kʰira**	**na**	**kʰa-ĩ**
weather	cold	be.3SG.PRES	today	cucumber	NEG	eat-HORT

'The weather is cold. Let's not eat cucumber today.'

b. आज घरे ना चलीं ।

aj	**g̈ʌre**	**na**	**cʌlĩ**
aj	**g̈ʌr-e**	**na**	**cʌl-ĩ**
today	house-LOC	NEG	walk-HORT

'Let's not go home today.'

Non-declarative speech acts such as optative and negation have already been examined in Chapter 9.

11.3 De-transitive voice

The functional domain of de-transitive voice is coded, in any particular language, by a family of syntactic constructions whose number and functional distribution may vary considerably form one language to the next. The most universal aspects of de-transitive voice remain its underlying functional sub-domains of reflexive, reciprocal, middle-voice and adjectival-resultative semantically (Givón, 2001b:91).

Such primarily-semantic de-transitive voice constructions are those that tamper with transitivity in terms of these three semantic parameters: decreased agentivity of the agent/subject, decreased affectedness of the patient/object and decreased telicity or perfectivity of the verb (Givón, 2001b: 92).

In case of Bhojpuri, the primarily semantic sub-domains of the de-transitive voice are reflexive and reciprocal described as follows:

11.3.1 Reflexive

The subject and object of the event or state, regardless of their semantic roles, are co-referent, i.e., the subject acts upon (or relates to) itself (Givón, 2001b: 95). That is why reflexive clauses need not be transitive, neither semantically nor syntactically. As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:143), Maithili (Yadav 1996:121), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:198), Hindi (Koul 2008:184) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:47-8) exhibit reflexive in similar way to a greater extent, there are two free morphemes: the अपने /*ʌpne*/, the full honorific second person pronominal subject, or खुद /*kʰud*/ 'self' in Bhojpuri to denote reflexive clauses, as shown in (25a-d):

(25) a. **Semantic Tr, syntactic Tr**

बाबुजी अपने काट लेनी ।

bɑbuji ʌpne kɑʈ leni

bɑbu-ji ʌpne kɑʈ le-ni

father-H self cut take-PST.H

'Father cut himself.' (13.186)

b. **Semantic Intr, syntactic Tr**

रउआ अपने से नफरत करेनी ।

rʌuɑ ʌpne se nʌpʰrʌt kʌreni

rʌuɑ ʌpne se nʌpʰrʌt kʌr-eni

2SG.H self DAT hatred do-PRES.H

'You hate yourself.' (13.187)

c. **Semantic (partial) Tr, Syntactic Intr**

ऊ अपने के कोसेला ।

u ʌpne ke koselɑ

u ʌpne ke kos-elɑ

3SG.NOM self ACC curse-3SG.PRES

'He curses himself.' (13.188)

d. **Semantic Intr, syntactic Intr**

ऊ उपने जइसन देखेला ।

u ʌpne jʌisʌn dekʰelɑ

u ʌpne jʌisʌn dekʰ-elɑ

3SG.NOM self as such see-3SG.PRES

'He looks like himself.' (13.189)

e. **Reflexive reduplicated**

(i) ई अपने-आप में क्यूस्चनेबल बा ।

i ʌpne-ɑp mẽ kyuscʌnebʌl bɑ

i ʌpne-ɑp mẽ kyuscʌnebʌl bɑ

3SG.DEM.PROX self LOC questionable be.3SG.PRES

'This is questionable within itself.' (01.047)

(ii) ऊ लोग अपने-अपने के चुनलन ।

u log ʌpne-ʌpne ke cunlʌn

u	**log**	**ʌpne-ʌpne**	**ke**	**cun-ʌl-ʌn**	
3SG.NOM	PL	self	DAT	elect	-3.PST.H

'They elected themselves.' (13.192)

11.3.2 Reciprocals

"Two (or more) like events, coded by the very same verb, are represented jointly in a single clause, with the subject of the first being the object of the second, and vice versa. The two participants are thus reciprocally co-referent and act upon (or relate to) each other" (Givón, 2001b: 96). "Syntactically, a reciprocal construction represents the two states/events as a single clause, where the two reciprocal participants are represented as the conjoined subjects of the clause, and the object is either zero-marked or replaced by some reciprocal marker or pronoun" (Givon 2011:245-6).

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:145), Maithili (Chandrana 2017:128), Hindi (Koul 2008:269) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:61) display in similar ways, एक-दोसर /*ek-dosʌr*/ 'one another', एक-आपस /*ek-apʌs*/ or अपने-अपने /*ʌpne-ʌpne*/ 'each other' are used to denote reciprocals in Bhojpuri, as shown in (26a-d).

(26) a. **Semantic Tr, syntactic Tr**

रुस्तम आ सोहराब एक-दोसर के मार देहलन ।

rustʌm	**ɑ**	**sohrɑb**	**ek-dosʌr**	**ke**	**mɑr**	**dehlʌn**
rustʌm	**ɑ**	**sohrɑb**	**ek-dosʌr**	**ke**	**mɑr**	**de-ʌl-ʌn**
Rustam	and	Sohrab	one another	ACC	kill	give-PP-3.PST.MH

'Rustam and Sohrab killed one another.' (13.190)

b. **Semantic Intr, syntactic Tr**

हमनी एक-दोसरा के जानत रहनी ।

hʌmni	**ek-dosrɑ**	**ke**	**jɑnʌt**	**rʌhni**
hʌm-ni	**ek-dosʌr-ɑ**	**ke**	**jɑn-ʌt**	**rʌh-ni**
1SG-PL	one another-DET	DAT	know-IMPF	live-PST.H

'We had known each other.' (13.191)

c. **Semantic (partial) Tr, syntactic Intr**

ऊ लोग अपने-अपने के चुनलन ।

u	**log**	**ʌpne**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**cunlʌn**
u	**log**	**ʌpne**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**cun-ʌl-ʌn**
3SG.NOM	PL	self	self	DAT	elect-PP-3.PST.MH

'They elected each other.' (13.192)

d. **Semantic Intr, syntactic Intr**

ऊ लोग एक-आपस में एके जइसन लउकेलन ।

u	**log**	**ek-ɑpʌs**	**mẽ**	**eke**	**jʌisʌn**	**lʌukelʌn**
u	**log**	**ek-ɑpʌs**	**mẽ**	**ek-e**	**jʌisʌn**	**lʌuk-elʌn**
3SG.NOM	PL	each other	LOC	one-EMPH	as	look-3.PRES.MH

'They look similar to each other.' (13.193)

11.3.3 Insertion of dative, benefactive or associative arguments

The co-reference constraints on reflexives and reciprocals make it much more natural for reflexive and reciprocal clauses – even with active verbs – to involve dative, benefactive or associative arguments. Such semantically less-transitive configurations make it possible for both constructions to abide by their co-reference conatraints, as shown in (27a-i).

(27) a. **Agent-Dative (Reflexive)**

ऊ खुद के एगो सौगात भेजलस ।

u	**kʰud**	**ke**	**ego**	**sɔgɑt**	**b̪ejlʌs**
u	**kʰud**	**ke**	**ek-go**	**sɔgɑt**	**b̪ej-ʌl-ʌs**
3SG.NOM	self	DAT	one-CLF	present	send-PP-3.PST

'He sent himself a gift.' (13.194)

b. **Agent-Benefactive (Reflexive)**

राजु अपने-आप के मदत कइलस ।

rɑju	**ʌpneɑp**	**ke**	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌilʌs**
rɑju	**ʌpneɑp**	**ke**	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌr-il-ʌs**
Raju	itself	DAT	help	do-PP-3.PST

'Raju favoured himself.' (13.195)

c. **Agent-Associative (Reflexive)**

हम खुद से लड़नी ।

ɦʌm	**kʰud**	**se**	**lʌɽni**
ɦʌm	**kʰud**	**se**	**lʌɽ-ni**
1SG.NOM	self	ABL	fight-PST.H

'I fought against myself.' (13.196)

d. **Dative-Patient (Reflexive)**

हम खुद के चिन्नी ।

ɦʌm kʰud ke ciŋ̊ni

ɦʌm kʰud ke ciŋ̊-ni

1SG.NOM self DAT know-PST.H

'I knew myself.' (13.197)

e. **Agent-Dative (Reciprocal)**

ऊ लोग एक दोसरा के चिट्ठी लिखलन ।

u log ek-dosrɑ ke ciʈʈʰi likʰlʌn

u log ek-dosrɑ ke ciʈʈʰi likʰ-ʌl-ʌn

3SG.NOM PL one another DAT letter write-PP-3.PST.MH

'They wrote each other a letter.' (13.198)

f. **Agent-Benefactive (Reciprocal)**

हमनी एक-आपस में दशैं के सौगात भेजनी ।

ɦʌmni ek-ɑpʌs mẽ dʌsʌĩ ke sɔgɑt bẹ̈jni

ɦʌm-ni ek-ɑpʌs mẽ dʌsʌĩ ke sɔgɑt bẹ̈j-ni

1SG-PL each other LOC Dashain GEN present send-PST.H

'We sent each other Dashain presents.' (13.199)

g. **Agent-Associative (Reciprocal)**

ऊ लोग नियमित रूप से सङेसङे गीत गवलें ।

u log niyʌmit rup se sʌŋesʌŋe git

u log niyʌm-it rup se sʌŋesʌŋe git

3SG.NOM PL rule-ADJ form with together song

gɔlẽ

gɑ-wʌl-ẽ

sing-PP-3.PST.MH

'They sang together regularly.' (13.200)

h. **Dative-Dative (Reciprocal)**

ऊ लोग एक दोसरा के देखते रहल ।

u log ek-dosrɑ ke dekʰte rʌɦʌl

u log ek-dosr-ɑ ke dekʰ-ʌt-e rʌɦ-ʌl

3SG.NOM PL one another-DET DAT see-SIM-EMP live-3.PST

'They saw each other regularly.' (13.201)

i. **Dative-Associative (Reciprocal)**

हमनी एक-आपस में सहमती कइनी ।

ɦʌmni	**ek-ɑpʌs**	**mẽ**	**sʌɦmʌti**	**kʌini**
ɦʌm-ni	**ek-ɑpʌs**	**mẽ**	**sʌɦmʌti**	**kʌr-ini**
1SG-PL	each other	LOC	agreement	do-PST.H

'We agreed with each other.' (13.202)

11.4 Passive voice

The prototypical passive voice is used primarily for agent suppression or de-topicalization. The fact that a non-agent argument – most commonly the patient – then topicalized is but the default consequence of agent suppression (Givón, 2001b:125). Thus, the patient/object is generally promoted in passive construction but it is not absolute and Givón (2001b:128) suggests two major types of passive-voice constructions defined as follows:

(28) **Prototype promotional passive:**

Main feature

a. The non-agent topic-of-passive undergoes full promotion to subjecthood.

Associated features

b. The subject/agent of the active can appear in the passive clause, in which case it bears an oblique case-marking.

c. Consequently, the syntax of the passive clause tends to diverge rather markedly from that of the direct-active.

d. The range of non-agent case-roles that can become the subject/topic of the passive is highly restricted, most commonly either to the semantic patient or the grammatical direct object.

e. Consequently, passivization tends to be restricted to transitive verbs.

(29) **Prototypical non-promotional passive**

Main feature

a. The non-agent topic-of-passive does not undergo full promotion to subjecthood, but rather retains its characteristic active-clause grammatical role.

Associated features

b. The agent/subject of the active is typically missing.

c. Consequently, the syntax of the passive clause tends to resemble that of the direct-active.

d. There is no restriction on the non-agent case-roles that can become the topic of the passive.

e. Consequently, passivization can also apply to intransitive verbs.

Like the other Indo-Aryan languages, Bhojpuri has two types of transitive verbs: simple transitive & ditransitive. Both exist in a pair of related sentences, traditionally called active and prototypically promotional passive in which the topic-of-passive can control verb agreement. Moreover, passivization is also applied to Bhojpuri intransitive verbs, known as prototypically non-promotional passive in which the topic-of-passive retains its original case-marking, but the agent can be overtly mentioned in an oblique case as promotional. Both types of Bhojpuri usage of passive voice is also displayed in Tiwari (1854:261 and 1960:165), Nirbhik (1975:129), Tripathy (1987:258), Shrivastava (1999:91), Sharma and Ashk (2007:92), Thakur (2011:124) and Singh (2013:105).

Firstly, we deal with the promotional passive. For example, consider the following sentences:

(30) a. **Active**

तू किताब पढ़ले होइबू ।

tu	**kitɑb**	**pʌɽ̊le**	**ɦoibu**
tu	**kitɑb**	**pʌɽ̊-ʌl-e**	**ɦo-ibu**
2SG.NOM	book	read-PP-SEQ	be-2.FUT.F.MH

'You will have read a book.' (13.038)

b. **PAT topic-of-patient (Agt-Pat)**

तोहरा से किताब पढ़ाइल होई ।

toɦrɑ	**se**	**kitɑb**	**pʌɽ̊ail**	**ɦo**
tu-ʌr-ɑ	**se**	**kitɑb**	**pʌɽ̊-ɑ-il**	**ɦo-i**
2SG-GEN-SPEC	by	book	read-PASS-PP	be-3.FUT

'The book will have been read by you.'

c. **Active**

हम राधा के किताब देनी ।

ɦʌm	**rɑd̤ɑ**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**rɑd̤ɑ**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	Radha	DAT	book	give-PST.H

'I gave the book to Radha.' (06.006)

d. **DAT topic-of-passive**

हमरा द्वारा राधा के किताब दिआइल ।

ɦʌmra	**dwara**	**raɖa**	**ke**	**kitab**	**diail**
ɦʌm-ʌr-a	**dwara**	**raɖa**	**ke**	**kitab**	**de-a-il**
1SG-GEN-SPEC	by	Radha	DAT	book	give-PASS-3SG.PST

'A book was given to Radha by me.'

In examples (30a-d), (30a) and (30c) are active sentences consisting of NPs, both as a subject and an object, and a transitive verb. Sentences (30b) and (30d) are considered as passive sentences, consisting of a subject NP, a postpositional phrase of the NP+ से /*se*/ or द्वारा /*dwara*/ 'by' and transitive verb with the perfect particle suffix -इल /*-il*/ or -अल /*-ʌl/* following the verb root suffixed by -आ /*-a*/ for passivization. In (30b) the passivized verb is further followed a copula हो /*ɦo*/ 'be' in agreement with the promoted patient/dative NP as new subject.

Despite the vital grammatical differences, the pairs of sentences shown above in (30a-b) and (30c-d) are semantically the same. Both have the same truth condition, i. e., whatever assertion is made in (30a) is also made in (30b), and vice versa.

Moreover, the semantic relations between the set of NPs and the transitive verbs in active sentences are likely manifested by the NPs and transitive verb in the passive sentences. Therefore, the subject NP तू /tu/ 'you' in active sentence (30a) and तोहरा से /*toɦra se*/ 'by you' in passive sentence (30b) and हम /*ɦʌm*/ 'I' in (30c) and हमरा द्वारा /*ɦʌmra dwara*/ 'by me' in (30d) have the same role of agent. Similarly, the NP किताब /*kitab*/ 'book' in (30a-d), is the patient.

Moreover, the agent in active sentence is not only suppressed but deleted too in passivization, as shown in (31a-b).

(31) a. **Active**

लोग दरी खनलन ।

log	**dʌri**	**kʰʌnlʌn**
log	**dʌri**	**kʰʌn-ʌl-ʌn**
people	grave	dig-PP-3.PST.MH

'They dug the grave.'

b. **PAT topic-of-passive (deletion of agent)**

दरी खनाइल ।

dʌri	**kʰʌnail**

dʌri **kʰʌn-ɑ-il**

grave dig-PASS-3SG.PST

'The grave was dug.' (11.022)

Except deletion of the agent/subject लोग /*log*/ 'they' in (31b) the pair (31a-b) deliver the same meaning. But Bhojpuri has also tradition of passivization of intransitive verbs. Consider the following sentences:

(32) a. **Active**

हम हँसिले/हँसेनी ।

ɦʌm **ɦʌ̃sile/ɦʌ̃seni**

ɦʌm **ɦʌ̃s-ile/-eni**

1SG.NOM laugh-1.PRES.H

'I laugh' (Lohar, 2009: 145)

b. **Passive-of-intransitive**

हमरा से हँसाला/हँसल जाला ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**se**	**ɦʌ̃sɑlɑ**	**ɦʌ̃sʌl**	**jɑlɑ**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**se**	**ɦʌ̃s-ɑ-ilɑ**	**ɦʌ̃s-ʌl**	**jɑ-ilɑ**
1SG-GEN-SPEC	by	laugh-PASS-3SG.PRES	laugh-PP	go-3SG.PRES

'It's laughed by me' (Lohar, 2009: 145)

In sentences (32a-b), (32b) is passive beyond transitivity. Besides, Bhojpuri has also passive voice with bare dative as well as beyond patient/dative topic-of-passive, as shown in (33a-j):

(33) a. **Active**

ऊ मेघिया के बहुत मानेला ।

u	**meg̈iɑ**	**ke**	**bʌɦut**	**mɑnelɑ**
u	**meg̈iɑ**	**ke**	**bʌɦut**	**mɑn-elɑ**
3SG.NOM	Meghia	DAT	very	like-3.PRES

'He likes Meghia a lot.' (06.023)

b. **DAT topic-of passive (bare dative)**

मेघिया ओकरा द्वारा बहुत मानल जाली ।

meg̈iɑ	**okrɑ**	**dwɑrɑ**	**bʌɦut**	**mɑnʌl**	**jɑli**
meg̈iɑ	**u-ʌr-ɑ**	**dwɑrɑ**	**bʌɦut**	**mɑn-ʌl**	**jɑ-ili**
Meghia	3SG-GEN-SPEC	by	very	like-PP	go-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'Meghia is liked by him a lot.'

c. **Active**

मोहन राधा ला गौलस ।

moɦʌn raḍ̤a la gɔlʌs

moɦʌn raḍ̤a la gɑ-wʌl-ʌs

Mohan Radha for sing-PP-3SG.PST

'Mohan sang for Radha.' (13.213)

d. **BEN topic-of-passive**

मोहन द्वारा राधा ला गावल गइल ।

moɦʌn dwarɑ raḍ̤a la gɑwail

moɦʌn dwarɑ raḍ̤a la gɑ-wɑ-il

Mohan by Radha for sing-PASS-3SG.PST

'Radha was sung for by Mohan.' (13.214)

e. **Active**

मङरु ढोंढ़ाइ सङे सुतेला ।

mʌŋru ɖ̤õʈ̤ai sʌŋe sutelɑ

mʌŋru ɖ̤õʈ̤ai sʌŋ-e sut-elɑ

Mangru Dhondhai with-EMPH sleep-3SG.PRES

'Mangaru sleeps with Dhondhai.' (13.215)

f. **ASSOC topic-of passive**

मङरु द्वारा ढोंढ़ाइ सङे सुताला ।

mʌŋru dwarɑ ɖ̤õʈ̤ai sʌŋe sutalɑ

mʌŋru dwarɑ ɖ̤õʈ̤ai sʌŋ-e sut-ɑ-ilɑ

Mangru by Dhondhai with-EMPH sleep-PASS-3SG.PRES

'Dhondhai is slept-with by Mangaru.' (13.216)

g. **Active**

लङ्टु चटाई पर सुतेला ।

lʌŋʈu cʌʈai pʌr sutelɑ

lʌŋʈu cʌʈai pʌr sut-elɑ

Langtu mat LOC sleep-3SG.PRES

'Langtu sleeps on a mat.' (13.217)

h. **LOC topic-of-passive**

लङ्टु से चटाई पर सुताला ।

lʌŋʈu se cʌʈai pʌr sutalɑ

lʌŋʈu se cʌʈai pʌr sut-ɑ-ilɑ

Langtu by mat LOC sleep-PASS-3SG.PRES

'A mat is slept on by Langtu.' (13.218)

i. **Active**

राम झटकल चलल ।

rɑm jʌʈkʌl cʌlʌl

rɑm jʌʈʌk-ʌl cʌl-ʌl

Ram march fast-PP walk-3SG.PST

'Ram walked fastly.' (13.219)

j. **MANN topic-of-passive**

राम द्वारा झटकल चलाइल ।

rɑm dwɑrɑ jʌʈkʌl cʌlail

rɑm dwɑrɑ jʌʈʌk-ʌl cʌl-ɑ-il

Ram by march fast-PP walk-PASS-3SG.PST

'There was fast walking by Ram.' (13.220)

As we find in Nepali (Givón, 2001b:148) and other neighbouring languages, instrumantals can also be topic-of-passive in Bhojpuri. This is due to case-marking identity of the instrumental, as shown in (34a-d):

(34) a. **Active**

नहर्नी नौह् काटेला ।

nʌɦʌrni nɔɦ kɑʈelɑ

nʌɦʌrni nɔɦ kɑʈ-elɑ

nail-cutter nail cut-3SG.PRES

'A nail-cutter cuts nails.' (13.221)

b. **INSTR topic-of-passive**

नहर्नी से नौह् कटाला ।

nʌɦʌrni se nɔɦ kʌʈalɑ

nʌɦʌrni se nɔɦ kɑʈ-ɑ-ilɑ

nail-cutter by nail cut-PASS-3SG.PRES

'Nails are cut by a nail-cutter.' (13.222)

c. **Active**

राम लाठी से कुदल ।

rɑm laʈʰi se kudʌl

rɑm laʈʰi se kud-ʌl

Ram stick INS jump-3SG.PST

'Ram jumped with a stick.' (13.223)

d. **INSTR topic-of-passive (deletion of agent)**

(राम द्वारा) लाठी से कुदाइल ।

rɑm dwɑrɑ laʈʰi se kudɑil

rɑm dwɑrɑ laʈʰi se kud-ɑ-il

Ram by stick means jump-PASS-3SG.PST

'The stick was used to jump (*by Ram).' (13.224)

In case of topicalization of a human DO or dative, it controls the verb agreement in Bhojpuri, as shown in (35a-f):

(35) a. **Active (NOM control)**

लछुमन सुपनेखा के पिटलन ।

lʌcʰumʌn supnekʰɑ ke piʈlʌn

lʌcʰumʌn supnekʰɑ ke piʈ-ʌl-ʌn

Lachhuman Supnekha acc beat-PP-3.PST.MH

'Lachhuman beat Supnekha.' (13.225)

b. **Passive (human DO control)**

लछुमन से सुपनेखा पिटइली ।

lʌcʰumʌn se supnekʰɑ piʈʌili

lʌcʰumʌn se supnekʰɑ piʈ-ɑ-ili

Lachhuman by Supnekha beat-PASS-3SG.PST.F.MH

'Supnekha was beaten by Lachhuman.' (13.226)

c. **Active (NOM control)**

सुपनेखा लछुमन के पिटली ।

supnekʰɑ lʌcʰumʌn ke piʈli

supnekʰɑ lʌcʰumʌn ke piʈ-ʌl-i

Supnekha Lachhuman ACC beat-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'Supnekha beat Lachhuman.' (13.227)

d. **Passive (human DO control)**

सुपनेखा से लछुमन पिटइलन ।

supnekʰɑ se lʌcʰumʌn piʈʌilʌn

supnekʰɑ se lʌcʰumʌn piʈ-ɑ-il-ʌn

Supnekha by Lachhuman beat-PASS-PP-3.PST.MH

'Lachhuman was beaten by Supnekha.' (13.228)

e. **Active (NOM control)**

माई बाबुजी के खिअइली ।

mai babuji ke kʰiʌili

mai babu-ji ke kʰiɑ-il-i

mother father-H ACC feed-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'Mother fed father.' (13.229)

f. **Passive (DAT control)**

बाबुजी माई द्वारा खिआवल गइनी ।

babuji mai dwarɑ kʰiɑwʌl gʌini

babu-ji mai dwarɑ kʰiɑ-wʌl jɑ-ini

father-H mother by feed-PP go-PST.H

'Father was fed by mother.' (13.230)

But the dative control is lost if the dative marker के /*ke*/ is retained in passive, as shown in (36a-b):

(36) a. **Active (NOM control)**

माई बाबुजी के खिअइली ।

mai babuji ke kʰiʌili

mai babu-ji ke kʰiɑ-il-i

mother father-H ACC feed-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'Mother fed father.' (13.229)

b. **DAT topic-of-passive (neutral)**

माई द्वारा बाबुजी के खिआवल गइल ।

mai dwarɑ babuji ke kʰiɑwʌl gʌil

mai dwarɑ babu-ji ke kʰiɑ-wʌl jɑ-il

mother by father-H DAT feed-PP go-3SG.PST

'Father was fed by mother.' (13.231)

11.4.1 Process of Passivization

Therefore, it is essential to discuss the process of passivization of Bhojpuri infinitives first. To this context it is accepted that majority of the principal verbs in

Bhojpuri are initially active and are passivized following certain processes.Table 11.1 presents patterns of passivization in Bhojpuri

Table 11.1 Patterns of passivization in Bhojpuri

Root	**Infinitive**		
	Active	**Passive**	
खा /*kʰa*/ 'eat'	खाइल /*kʰail*/	खवाइल *kʰʌwail*	खाइल गइल /*kʰail gʌil*/
जा /*ja*/ 'go'	गइल /*gʌil*/	जवाइल /*jʌwail*/	जाइल गइल /*jail gʌil*/
पा /*pa*/ 'get'	पावल /*pawʌl*/	पवाइल /*pʌwail*/	पावल गइल /*pawʌl gʌil*/
गा /*ga*/ 'sing'	गावल /*gawʌl*/	गवाइल /*gʌwail*/	गावल गइल /*gawʌl gʌil*/
पी /*pi*/ 'drink'	पीअल /*piʌl*/	पिआइल /*piail*/	पीअल गइल /*piʌl gʌil*/
सी /*si*/ 'tailor'	सिअल /*siʌl*/	सिआइल /*siail*/	सिअल गइल /*siʌl gʌil*/
मार /*mar*/ 'kill'	मारल /*marʌl*/	माराइल /*marail*/	मारल गइल /*marʌl gʌil*/
जार /*jar*/ 'burn'	जारल /*jarʌl*/	जरल /*jʌrʌl*/	जारल गइल /*jarʌl gʌil*/
चोरा /*cora*/ 'steal'	चोरावल /*corawʌl*/		चोरावल गइल /*corawʌl gʌil*/
काट /*kaʈ*/ 'cut'	काटल /*kaʈʌl*/	काटाइल /*kaʈail*/	काटल गइल /*kaʈʌl gʌil*/
पीट /*piʈ*/ 'beat'	पीटल /*piʈʌl*/	पिटाइल /*piʈail*/	पीटल गइल /*piʈʌl gʌil*/
जीत /*jit*/ 'victory'	जीतल /*jitʌl*/	जीताइल /*jitail*/	जीतल गइल /*jitʌl gʌil*/
गोर /*gor*/ 'whiten'	गोरल /*gorʌl*/	गोराइल /*gorail*/	गोरल गइल /*gorʌl gʌil*/
बिन /*bin*/ 'knit'	बिनल /*binʌl*/	बिनाइल /*binail*/	बिनल गइल /*binʌl gʌil*/
निऩ /*niɳ*/ 'cook'	निऩल /*niɳʌl*/	निऩाइल /*niɳail*/	निऩल गइल /*niɳʌl gʌil*/
हँस /*ɦə̃s*/ 'laugh'	हँसल /*ɦə̃sʌl*/	हँसाइल /*ɦə̃sail*/	हँसल गइल /*ɦə̃sʌl gʌil*/
रो /*ro*/ 'weep'	रोअल /*roʌl*/	रोआइल /*roail*/	रोअल गइल /*roʌl gʌil*/
ले /*le*/ 'take'	लेल /*lel*/ or लेहल /*leɦʌl*/	लिआइल /*liail*/	लेल गइल /*lel gʌil*/ or लेहल /*leɦʌl gʌil*/
दे /*de*/ 'give'	देल /*del*/ or देहल /*deɦʌl*/	दिआइल /*diail*/	देल गइल /*del gʌil*/ देहल /*deɦʌl gʌil*/

The presentation of the verb patterns above shows that there are two ways of passivization in Bhojpuri: (a) occurring some phonemic changes; and (b) use of the infinitive into perfective followed by the root verb *ja* 'go' infinitive.

a) Passivization with phonemic changes

We see that suffix morpheme -इल /-*il*/ or -अल /-ʌ*l*/ symbolizes initial infinitive for active verbs. When they are passivized, mid-open vowel -आ- /-*a*-/ precedes it as infix. For example,

Root	**Infinitive**	
	Active	**Passive**
पी /*pi*/ 'drink'	पीअल /*pi*ʌ*l*/	पिआइल /*piail*/

But when the root ends with आ /ɑ/, an unaspirated voiced bilabial glide व /*w*/ comes between the final आ /*a*/ of the root and initial आ /*a*/ of the passive suffix. For example,

Root	**Infinitive**	
	Active	**Passive**
खा /*k*^{h}*a*/ 'eat'	खाइल /*k*^{h}*ail*/	खावाइल /*k*^{h}ʌ*wail*/

In this way it can be concluded that passivization in infinitive verbs of Bhojpuri occurs with just insertion or आ /*a*/ or वा /*wa*/, considered to be the allomorphs of आ /*a*/ between the root and infinitive morpheme -इल /-*il*/. But in this case, the final -आ /-*a*/ of the root is changed into half-open back vowel -अ /-ʌ/ in most of the cases.

b) Passivation with perfective particle followed by जा *ja*-infinitive

Passivization of the active infinitive verbs followed by जा *ja*-infinitive is a bit simple. The principal verb-infinitive ending with suffix -इल /-*il*/ or -अल /-ʌ*l*/ is simply used into perfective mood followed by जा *ja*-infinitive. For example,

Root	**Infinitive**	
	Active	**Passive**
खा /*k*^{h}*a*/ 'eat'	खाइल /*k*^{h}*ail*/	खाइल गइल /*k*^{h}*ail g*ʌ*il*/
जा /*ja*/ 'go'	गइल /*g*ʌ*il*/	जाइल गइल /*jail g*ʌ*il*/
पा /*pa*/ 'get'	पावल /*paw*ʌ*l*/	पावल गइल /*paw*ʌ*l g*ʌ*il*/

Unlikely, there are some principal verb-roots in Bhojpuri in passive. They are activised if needed, generally by adding infix or suffix -आ- /-*a*-/ or -आ /-*a*/. Table 11.2 presents it.

Table 11.2 Activation of passive roots in Bhojpuri

Root	
Passive	**Active**
मर /*mʌr*/ 'die'	मार /*mar*/ 'kill'
जर /*jʌr*/ 'burn'	जार /*jar*/ 'cause to burn'
कट /*kʌʈ*/ 'be cut'	काट /*kaʈ*/ 'cut'
बर /*bʌr*/ 'burn'	बार /*bar*/ 'cause to burn'
फँस /*pʰʌ̃s*/ 'trap'	फँसा /*pʰʌ̃sa*/ 'cause to trap'
गिर /*gir*/ 'fall'	गिरा /*gira*/ 'cause to fall'
उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'rise'	उठा /*uʈʰa*/ 'help to rise'
हट /*ɦʌʈ*/ 'retreat'	हटा /*ɦʌʈa*/ 'cause to retreat'
हँस /*ɦʌ̃s*/ 'laugh'	हँसा /*ɦʌ̃sa*/ 'cause to laugh'
बढ़ /*bʌɽ̊*/ 'grow'	बढ़ा /*bʌɽ̊a*/ 'cause to grow'

As passivization is the focal point of the discussion, it's not necessary to discuss the activization process. But the presented verb patterns above illustrate that Bhojpuri has both, the active verbs to be passivized and vice versa.

11.4.2 Functional domains of passive voice

The passive sentences in Bhojpuri perform the following functions:

a) Neutralization of the subject

(37) a. तरुआर के हमला ढाल रोकेला।

tʌruar ke ɦʌmla ɖ̈al rokela

tʌruar ke ɦʌmla ɖ̈al rok-ela

sword GEN invasion shield block-3SG.PRES

'A shield blocks attacks of sword.' (011.273)

b. तरुआर के हमला ढाल से रोकाला।

tʌruar ke ɦʌmla ɖ̈al se rokala

tʌruar ke ɦʌmla ɖ̈al se rok-a-ila

sword GEN invasion shield by block-PASS-3SG.PRES

'The attacks of sword are blocked by a shield.'

c. लोग गाही में खपड़ा गनेलन ।

log	**gaɦi**	**mẽ**	**kʰʌpʌɽa**	**gʌnelʌn**
log	**gaɦi**	**mẽ**	**kʰʌpʌɽa**	**gʌn-elʌn**
people	a set of five	LOC	roofing tile	count-3.PRES.MH

'People count roofing tiles in sets of five.'

d. गाही में खपड़ा गनाला ।

gaɦi	**mẽ**	**kʰʌpʌɽa**	**gʌnala**
gaɦi	**mẽ**	**kʰʌpʌɽa**	**gʌn-a-ila**
a set of five	LOC	roofing tile	count-PASS-3SG.PRES

'The roofing tiles are counted in sets of five.' (011.035)

In examples (37a-d), sentence (37a) and (37c) are active and (37b) and (37d) are their passive counterparts respectively in which the instrument/subject ढाल /*ɖ̈al*/ 'shield' is neutralized/suppressed in (37b) whereas the agent/subject लोग /*log*/ 'people' is not only suppressed but deleted in (37d).

b) Neutralization of honorificity

(38) a. बाबुजी चक्कु सनिआवेनी ।

babuji	**cʌkku**	**sʌniawe**	**ni**
babu-ji	**cʌkku**	**sʌnia-we**	**ni**
father-H	knife	sharpen-PRES.H	

'My father sharpens a knife.' (011.364)

b. बाबुजी से चक्कु सनिआला ।

babuji	**se**	**cʌkku**	**sʌniala**	
babu-ji	**se**	**cʌkku**	**sʌnia-la**	
father-H	by	knife	sharpen-3SG.PRES.H	

'A kinfe is sharpened by my father.'

In (38a-b), the honorificity in the active clause (38a) in the verb according to honorific agent बाबुजी /*babuji*/ 'father(H)' is neutralized in its passive counterpart in (38b) due to promotion of the patient चक्कु /*cʌkku*/ 'knife'. It has also been expressed in (39a-b).

c) Expression of capacity

(39) a. पङ्वाहा गाछ पाङेला ।

pʌŋwaɦa gacʰ paŋela

pʌŋwaɦa gacʰ paŋ-ela

shortener tree trim-3SG.PRES

'A trimmer trims a tree.' (011.363)

b. पङ्वाहा से गाछ पाङाला ।

pʌŋwaɦa se gacʰ paŋala

pʌŋwaɦa se gacʰ paŋ-a-la

shortener by tree trim-PASS-3SG.PRES

'A tree is trimmed by a trimmer.'

'A trimmer has the ability to trim a tree.'

d) Description of scientific experiment

As a universal usage, the scientific experiment is always expressed or described in passive voice, as shown in (40a-b).

(40) a. रासायनिक परिवर्तन में ताप उत्पन्न होला ।

rasayʌnik pʌriwʌrtʌn mẽ tap utpʌnnʌ ɦola

rasayʌnik pʌriwʌrtʌn mẽ tap utpʌnnʌ ɦo-la

chemical change LOC heat generation be-3SG.PRES

'Heat is generated in a chemical change.'

b. भौतिक परिवर्तन में ताप उत्पन्न ना होखे ।

ɓɔtik pʌriwʌrtʌn mẽ tap utpʌnnʌ na ɦokʰe

ɓɔtik pʌriwʌrtʌn mẽ tap utpʌnnʌ na ɦokʰ-e

physical change LOC heat generation NEG be-3SG.PRES

'Heat is not generated in a physical change.'

Both the sentences in (40a-b) are passive in scientific expression.

11.5 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the various types of non-declarative speech acts formed by employing various morphosyntactic strategies in Bhojpuri. The non-declarative speech acts in Bhojpuri include interrogative, imperative, optative and hortative constructions. Polar questions in Bhojpuri are constructed simply through the slightly raised intonation added to the questioned part of its declarative counterpart. Alternative polar questions are made either simply juxtaposing the alternates or mediated by alternative marker कि /*ki*/. The constituent questions (wh-questions) in Bhojpuri are formed with the help of different interrogative pronouns,

adjectives and adverbs. Wh-questions have the same word order as of the declarative sentences with the interrogative words के /*ke*/ or कौन /*kɔn*/ 'who', के के /*ke ke*/ or केकरा के /*kekra ke*/ 'whom', का /kɑ/ or कथी /kʌtʰi/ 'what or which', केकर /*kekʌr*/ or किनकर /*kinkʌr*/ 'whose', कतेक /*kʌtek*/ or केतना /*ketna*/ 'how much/many', कै /*kɛ*/ 'how many', कब /*kʌb*/ or कहिआ /*kʌɦia*/ 'when', कहाँ /*kʌɦã*/ or केने /*kene*/ 'where', कइसन /*kʌisʌn*/ 'how' and काहे /*kaɦe*/ 'why'. Multiple wh-questions are formed with the help of different wh-questions placed in the same proposition. Imperative constructions are made by bare verb stem suffixed by -ओ /-*o*/ or -ए /-*e*/ in non-honorific, by -आ /-*a*/ final stem remaining the same and other stems suffixed by -अ /-ʌ/ in mid-honorific and by -ईं /-*ĩ*/ for full honorific environments. The hortative construction almost remains the same as full honorific environment of the imperative one. Reflexive, reciprocals, insertion of dative, benefactive or associative arguments and passive voice are used in de-transitive voices.

CHAPTER 12

MARKED TOPICS AND CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

12.0 Outline

This chapter deals with marked topics and contrastive focus in Bhojpuri. It consists of three sections. Section 12.1 deals with marked topic constructions and section 12.2 with contrastive focus constructions. In section 12.3, we summarize findings of the chapter.

12.1 Marked topic constructions

"By 'marked' topic-coding constructions one means constructions that code referents of relatively low accessibility. Their low accessibility may be due to being new in the discourse, i.e., being introduced for the first time or being re-introduced into the discourse after a considerable gap of absence, or due to referential competition or contrast" (Givón, 2001b:254).

Thus it is an elaboration of the grammar of discontinuous topics that apply primarily to full NPs contrasting with unstressed pronouns and zeros, which code continuous referents. The marked topic-constructions in Bhojpuri are discussed as follows:

12.1.1 Existential-presentative constructions

a) Functional dimensions

Existential-presentative constructions (hereafter EPCs), also known as indefinite subject constructions, are typically used to introduce important new referents into the discourse (Givón, 2001b:255).[1]

In Bhojpuri, indefinite referents are coded by EPCs कौनो /kɔno/ 'some or a/an' and एगो /ego/ 'a/an' used as an indefinite article, as shown in (1a-b).

(1) a. *कौनो गाँव में एगो बुढ़िआ रहली ।*

kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**buɽ̊ɪɑ**	**rʌɦili**
kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**buɽ̊ɪɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
some	village	LOC	one-CLF	old woman	live-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH

'There was *an old woman* in *a village*.' (05.001)

b. *चवर में ओकर खेत रहे ।*

1. The rather weak subjecthood of the locative 'subject' of existential-presentative clauses is not surprising, given that the prototypical subject of neutral clauses is overwhelmingly definite, anaphoric, rcurrent and topical. The subject of existential-presentative clauses, on the other hand, is an indefinite non-anaphoric referent that is being introduced into the discourse for the first time (Givón, 2001a:193).

cʌwʌr	**mẽ**	**okʌr**	**kʰet**	**rʌɦe**
cʌwʌr	**mẽ**	**u-ʌr**	**kʰet**	**rʌɦ-e**
cultivated stretch	LOC	3SG-GEN	farm	live-3.PST

'There was *her farm* in *a cultivated stretch*.' (05.003)

The examples in (1a-b) are the opening lines of a rural folk-tale to amuse children. The referent गाँव /*gão*/ is brought to the consideration applying the EPC introduced by कौनो /*kɔno*/ 'a' or 'some (lit)' and बुढ़िआ /*buɽ̊ia*/ 'old woman' is brought to the stage applying the EPC introduced by एगो /*ego*/ 'a'. Similarly, in (1b), another important inanimate referent खेत /*kʰet*/ 'farm' is introduced as a discontinuous topic by a full NP. In both the cases the referents are brought to the stage as a subject.

Such referents are also brought as an object in Bhojpuri as shown in (2a-c).

(2) a. *कौनो छर* चलावऽ।

kɔno	**cʰʌr**	**cʌlɑwʌ**	
kɔno	**cʰʌr**	**cʌl-ɑ-wʌ**	
some	trick	walk-CAUS-IMP.MH	

'Play *some trick*.' (09.081)

b. … *एगो पिट्ठी* तोड़ दे… ।

ego	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽ**	**de**
ek-go	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽ**	**de**
one-CLF	cake	pluck	give.IMP

'… pluck *a cake* …' (05.010)

c. हम ओके *किताब* देनी ।

ɦʌm	**oke**	**kitɑb**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**u-ke**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	3SG-DAT	book	give-PST.H

'I gave her *a book*.' (06.008)

In (2a-b) the referents छर /*cʰʌr*/ 'trick' and पिट्ठी /*piʈʈʰi*/ 'cake' have been introduced as objects by EPCs कौनो /*kɔno*/ 'some' in (2a) and एगो /*ego*/ 'a' in (2b) respectively. Sometimes EPCs are unseen but contextually understood in Bhojpuri as खेत /*kʰet*/ 'farm' presented in (1b) and किताब /*kitab*/ 'book' in (2c) respectively.

b) Syntactic dimensions

(i) Verb type

As common to the most of the languages (Givón, 2001b:255), the verb in EPCs is existential रह /*rʌɦ*/ or ह /*ɦʌ*/ or बा /*ba*/ 'be' which is overt in example (1a-b). But other verbs onto the scene are also used on the occasion as presented in (2a-c). Besides, some locational verbs such as बैठ /*bʌiʈʰ*/ 'sit', उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'stand', रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' रुक /ruk/ '*stay*' or entrance verbs such as आ /*a*/ 'come/arrive' लउक /*lʌuk*/ 'appear', पहुँच /*pʌɦũc*/ 'approach' along with departure verb जा /*ja*/ 'go' are frequently used in EPCs, as shown in (3a-c).

(3) a. ऊ हमर बड़की माई *रहली* जे डेङ बढ़इनी आ बइठइनी ।

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**bʌɽki**	**mai**	***rʌɦli***
u	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**bʌɽ-ki**	**mai**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
3SG.NOM	1SG-GEN	elder-F	mother	live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

je	**ɖeŋ**	**bʌɻ̊ʌini**	**ɑ**	**bʌiʈʰʌini**
je	**ɖeŋ**	**bʌɻ̊-ɑ-ini**	**ɑ**	**bʌiʈʰ-ɑ-ini**
COND	step	forward-CAUS-PST.H	and	sit-CAUS-PST.H

'It *was* my elder aunt who stepped in and made me sit.' (06.021)

b. ऊ औरत *हिअ* जौन हम देखनी ।

u	**ɔrʌt**	***ɦiʌ***	**jɔn**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰni**
u	**ɔrʌt**	**ɦiʌ**	**jɔn**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰ-ni**
DIST	woman	be.3SG.PRES.F	COMP	1SG.NOM	see-PST.H

'She *is* a woman that I saw.' (06.034)

c. आज हमनी जे पर बात करे *जातानी* ऊ *ह* प्रेम ।

ɑj	**ɦʌmni**	**je**	**pʌr**	**bɑt**	**kʌre**	***jatani***	
ɑj	**ɦʌm-ni**	**je**	**pʌr**	**bɑt**	**kʌr-e**	**jɑ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
today	1SG-PL	COND	LOC	matter	do-PUR	go-IMPF	be.PRES.H

u	***ɦʌ***	**prem**
u	**ɦʌ**	**prem**
3SG	be.3SG.PRES	love

'What we *are going* to talk about today *is* love.' (06.042)

(ii) Word-order and indefinite subject

A more controversial issue involves word-order in EPCs. It has been taken for

granted for a long time that rigid SV languages (SVO, SOV) exhibit the inverse order VS in EPCs (Hetzron, 1971, 1975; Givón, 1976b,c, inter alia). Though Bhojpuri is a flexible SOV language, it also exhibits the inverse order VSO or OVS in EPCs that have already been discussed in Chapter 8.1.1. Moreover, Bhojpuri tends to front the indefinite subject as discussed in (3a).

(iii) The semantic predicate of the EPC

The existential verb in the EPC has no lexical-semantic contents, it is semantically bleached (Givón, 2001b:258). In Bhojpuri some other predicate is present with the indefinite subject clauses under the same intonation contour of the EPC. It is most commonly either a REL-clause, an adjective, a LOC-phrase, a noun complement, a genitive or an associative phrase preceding the the indefinite subject in Bhojpuri as shown in (4a-f).

(4) a. **REL-clause**

त ओह में का होत रहे कि बिल्कुल कृषि कार्य से जुड़ल एगो प्रचलन रहे।

tʌ	**oɦ**	**mẽ**	**kɑ**	**ɦot**	**rʌɦe**	**ki**	**bilkul**
tʌ	**oɦ**	**mẽ**	**kɑ**	**ɦo-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**	**ki**	**bilkul**
COND	DIST	LOC	what	be-IMPF	live-3.PST	COMP	completely

krisi	**kɑryʌ**	**juɽʌl**	**ego**	**prʌcʌlʌn**	**rʌɦe**
krisi	**kɑryʌ**	**juɽ-ʌl**	**ek-go**	**prʌcʌlʌn**	**rʌɦ-e**
agriculture	work	join-INF	one-CLF	practice	live-3.PST.NH

'What used to happen in it that it was a practice uniquely attached with farming.' (03.234)

b. **Adjective**

कौनो *क्रांतिकारी* बात त ओ में रहे ना।

kɔno	***krantikari***	**bɑt**	**tʌ**	**o**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦe**	**nɑ**
kɔno	**krɑnti-kɑri**	**bɑt**	**tʌ**	**o**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-e**	**nɑ**
any	revolution-ADJ	matter	COND	DIST	LOC	live-3.PST.NH	NEG

'There was no *revolutionary* matter in that.' (04.072)

c. **LOC-phrase**

फलना के खेत में पिट्ठी के गाछ रहे।

pʰʌlnɑ	**ke**	**kʰet**	**mẽ**	**piʈʈʰi**	**ke**	**gɑcʰ**	**rʌɦe**
pʰʌlnɑ	**ke**	**kʰet**	**mẽ**	**piʈʈʰi**	**ke**	**gɑcʰ**	**rʌɦ-e**
someone	GEN	farm	LOC	cake	GEN	tree	live-3.PST

'There was a cake-tree in the farm of someone.' (03.262)

d. **Noun-complement**

ओ में हमर पहिलही लेख में रहे *प्रकृति के प्रकोप*।

o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**pʌɦilʌɦi**	**lekʰ**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦe**	***prʌkriti***
o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**pʌɦil-ʌɦi**	**lekʰ**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-e**	**prʌkriti**
DIST	LOC	1SG.GEN	first-EMPH	article	LOC	live-3.PST	nature

ke ***prʌkop***

ke **prʌkop**

GEN calamity

'Among others, there was my own article, the first one, *on natural calamity*.' (04.079)

e. **Possessive phrase**

ओ शुरुआती किसान आंदोलन के नारा रहे ...

o	***suruati***	***kisan***	***andolʌn***	***ke***	**nɑrɑ**	**rʌɦe**
o	**suruɑt-i**	**kisɑn**	**ɑndolʌn**	**ke**	**nɑrɑ**	**rʌɦ-e**
DIST	begining-ADJ	peasant	movement	GEN	slogan	live-3.PST

'There were slogans *of those initial peasants' movements* … (02.037)

f. **Associative phrase**

ओही किताब में व्याकरण *पाठ के जौरे-जौरे* रहल।

oɦi	**kitɑb**	**mẽ**	**byɑkʌrʌn**	**pɑʈʰ**	**ke**	**jɔre**	**jɔre**
o-ɦi	**kitɑb**	**mẽ**	**byɑkʌrʌn**	**pɑʈʰ**	**ke**	**jɔre**	**jɔre**
DIST-EMPH	book	LOC	grammar	lesson	GEN	with	with

rʌɦʌl

rʌɦ-ʌl

live-3.PST

'There was grammar with each lesson of the very book.' (03.069)

12.1.2 Y-movement

"Functionally, Y-movement ('contrastive topicalization') is used typically when a referent is contrasted with another referent of roughly the same semantic class. The first referent creates certain expectations, which Y-moved referent then counters. Though it is contrastive, the Y-moved referents also tend to be typically topical and anaphorical. They tend to be overwhelmingly definite or generic like other anaphoric topicalizing constructions, but not REF-indefinite. Their anaphoric predictability is

also underscored by their characteristic low anaphoric distance. Typically, their discourse antecedent is found within the preceding 2-3 clauses, already discussed in this subsection." (Givón, 2001b:262)

Besides, an important property of Y-movement clauses is that they fall under a single intonation contour. In this way they contrast with L-dislocation where the fronted constituent is separated from the rest of the clause by a pause. They are discussed in Bhojpuri as follows:

(5) a. **Subject contrast**

काहे कि कर्म श्रेष्ठ ह बाँकिर जन्म ना।

kɑɦe	**ki**	**kʌrmʌ**	**sresʈʰ**	**ɦʌ**	**bɑ̃kir**	**jʌnm**	**nɑ**
why	COMP	work	superior	be.3SG.PRES	but	birth	NEG

'Because work is superior but BIRTH is not. (07.082)

b. **Object contrast**

… गाजर हमरा मन परेला।

gɑjʌr	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**mʌn**	**pʌrelɑ**
gɑjʌr	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**mʌn**	**pʌr-elɑ**
carrot	1SG-GEN-SPEC	mind	fall-3SG.PRES

'... CARROTS I like.' (06.038)

12.1.3 Left dislocation

a) Functional dimentions

"L-dislocation is typically a device to mark topical referents, most commonly definite and anaphoric ones that have been out of the focus of attention for a while and is being brought back into the discourse.[2] That the L-dislocation referent must be anaphorically topical and attested by the fact that it may be either definite or generic but never REF-indefinite" (Givón, 2001b:265). The anaphoric distance (AD) of L-dislocated referents, as Givon (2001b:265) has noted, is one of the highest of all referent-coding devices. It can be exemplified in Bhojpuri as shown in (6a-s).

(6) a. त हम जब पत्रिका लेके गइनी त *सिडियो*, ऊ हमरा पर बड़ा बोललें, बड़ा खिसिअइलें।

tʌ	**ɦʌm**	**jʌb**	**pʌtrikɑ**	**leke**	**gʌini**	**tʌ**

2. Dislocation (left and right) refers to the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause. Sometimes dislocation is referred to as extraposition. Left-dislocation is sometimes referred to as pre-posing and right-dislocation as post-posing (Payne, 1997:273).

tʌ	**ɦʌm**	**jʌb**	**pʌtrikɑ**	**le-ke**	**jɑ-ini**	**tʌ**
COND	1SG.NOM	when	newspaper	bring-SEQ	go-PST.H	COND

siɖio	**u**	**ɦʌmʌrɑ**	**pʌr**	**bʌɽɑ**	**bollẽ**
siɖio	**u**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**pʌr**	**bʌɽ-ɑ**	**bol-ʌl-ẽ**
CDO	DIST	1SG-GEN-SPEC	LOC	much-DEF	speak-PP-3.PST.MH

bʌɽɑ	**kʰisiʌilẽ**
bʌɽ-ɑ	**kʰis-iɑ-il-ẽ**
much-SPEC	anger-CAUS-PP-3.PST.MH

'So, when I went carrying the magazine, then *the CDO*, he lost his temper on me.' (04.068)

b. ना कहेके सेहो अपशब्दो भी बोल देलें ।

nɑ	**kʌɦeke**	**seɦo**	**ʌpsʌbdo**	**ḭi**	**bol**
nɑ	**kʌɦ-eke**	**se-o**	**ʌpsʌbd-o**	**ḭi**	**bol**
NEG	say-OBL	COND-EMPH	abuse-EMPH	also	speak

delẽ
de-ʌl-ẽ
give-PP-3.PST.MH

'He abused me, too.' (04.069)

c. हम त कहनी कि ए में दोसर कुछ नइखे ।

ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**kʌɦni**	**ki**	**e**	**mẽ**	**dosʌr**	**kucʰ**
ɦʌm	**tʌ**	**kʌɦ-ni**	**ki**	**e**	**mẽ**	**dosʌr**	**kucʰ**
1SG.NOM	COND	say-PST.H	COMP	PROX	LOC	another	something

nʌikʰe
nʌikʰ-e
be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'I said, "There is nothing otherwise in this."' (04.070)

d. आदमी का डर त रहलही रहे ।

ɑdmi	**kɑ**	**ɖʌr**	**tʌ**	**rʌɦlʌɦi**	**rʌɦe**
ɑdmi	**kɑ**	**ɖʌr**	**tʌ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ɦi**	**rʌɦ-e**
man	GEN	fear	COND	live-PP-EMPH	live-3.PST

'I had already been afraid.' (04.071)

e. कौनो क्रांतिकारी बात त ओ में रहे ना ।

kɔno	**krantikari**	**bat**	**tʌ**	**o**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦe**	**na**
kɔno	**kranti-kari**	**bat**	**tʌ**	**o**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-e**	**na**
any	revolution-ADJ	matter	COND	DIST	LOC	live-3.PST	NEG

'There was no revolutionary matter in that.' (04.072)

f. खाली सामाजिक विषय रहे ।

kʰali	**samajik**	**bisɛ**	**rʌɦe**
kʰali	**sʌmaj-ik**	**bisɛ**	**rʌɦ-e**
only	society-ADJ	issue	live-3.PST

'There were only social matters.' (04.073)

g. पर *सिडियो साहेब,* हमरा के बइठा देहले ऊ ।

pʌr	***siɖio***	***saɦeb***	**ɦʌmʌra**	**ke**	**bʌiʈʰa**	**deɦlẽ**
pʌr	**siɖio**	**saɦeb**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-a**	**ke**	**bʌiʈʰ-a**	**de-ʌl-ẽ**
but	CDO	sir	1SG-GEN-SPEC	ACC	sit-CAUS	give-PP-3.PST.MH

u
u
DIST

'But *the CDO*, he detained me there.' (04.075)

h. ११ बजे गइनी, ४ बजे ले बइठल रहनी ।

egare	**bʌje**	**gʌini**	**car**	**bʌje**	**le**	**bʌiʈʰʌl**	**rʌɦni**
egarʌ	**bʌje**	**ja-ini**	**car**	**bʌje**	**le**	**bʌiʈʰ-ʌl**	**rʌɦ-ni**
eleven	O'clock	go-PST.H	four	O'clock	till	sit-PP	live-PST.H

'I went there at 11 am and sat till 4 pm.' (04.076)

i. ओकरा बाद में एगो दोसर कोई आदमी आइल ।

okʌra	**bad**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**dosʌr**	**koi**	**admi**
okʌra	**bad**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**dosʌr**	**koi**	**admi**
3.SG.GEN	later	LOC	one-CLF	socond	someone	man

ail
a-il
come-3.PST

'After that, some other person arrived there.' (04.077)

j. *ऊ आदमी,* उहो नेपालिए रहलें बाकिर भोजपुरी क्षेत्र के रहलें ।

u	***admi***	**uɦo**	**nepalie**	**rʌɦlẽ**	**bãkir**

u	**ɑdmi**	**u-o**	**nepɑl-i-e**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**bãkir**
DIST	man	DIST-EMPH	Nepal-ADJ-EMPH	live-PP-3.PST.MH	but

ɓ̤ojpuri	**cʰetrʌ**	**ke**	**rʌɦilẽ**
ɓ̤ojpuri	**cʰetrʌ**	**ke**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**
Bhojpuri	region	GEN	live-PP-3.PST.MH

'*That man*, he was also Nepali but belonged to the Bhojpuri speaking zone.' (04.078)

k. ओ में हमर पहिलही लेख में रहे प्रकृति के प्रकोप ।

o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**pʌɦilʌɦi**	**lekʰ**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦe**	**prʌkriti**
o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**pʌɦil-ɦi**	**lekʰ**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-e**	**prʌkriti**
DIST	LOC	1SG-GEN	first-EMPH	article	LOC	live-3.PST	nature

ke	**prʌkop**
ke	**prʌkop**
GEN	calamity

'Among others, there was my own article, the first one, on natural calamity.' (04.079)

l. त ओ में लिखा गइल रहे का कि छन में राजा बने भिखारी ।

tʌ	**o**	**mẽ**	**likʰɑ**	**gʌil**	**rʌɦe**	**kɑ**	**ki**
tʌ	**o**	**mẽ**	**likʰ-ɑ**	**jɑ-il**	**rʌɦ-e**	**kɑ**	**ki**
COND	DIST	LOC	write-PASS	go-PP	live-3.PST	what	COMP

cʰʌn	**mẽ**	**rɑjɑ**	**bʌne**	**ɓ̤ikʰɑri**
cʰʌn	**mẽ**	**rɑjɑ**	**bʌn-e**	**ɓ̤ikʰɑri**
moment	LOC	king	make-3.PRES	beggar

'But it was written there, "The king can be turned beggar within a wink."' (04.080)

m. माने गरीब आदमी राजा बन जाला आ राजा आदमी गरीब बन जाला ।

mɑne	**gʌrib**	**ɑdmi**	**rɑjɑ**	**bʌn**	**jɑlɑ**	**ɑ**	**rɑjɑ**	**ɑdmi**
mɑne	**gʌrib**	**ɑdmi**	**rɑjɑ**	**bʌn**	**jɑ-ilɑ**	**ɑ**	**rɑjɑ**	**ɑdmi**
meaning	poor	man	king	make	go-3SG.PRES	and	king	man

gʌrib	**bʌn**	**jɑlɑ**
gʌrib	**bʌn**	**jɑ-ilɑ**
poor	make	go-3SG.PRES

'It means a poor becomes a king and a king turns into a poor one.' (04.081)

n. जङ्गल जे बाटे से आवाद हो जाला आ आवाद जगह जङ्गल हो जाला ।

jʌŋʌl	**je**	**baʈe**	**se**	**awad**	**ɦo**	**jala**	**a**
jʌŋʌl	**je**	**ba**	**se**	**awad**	**ɦo**	**ja-ila**	**a**
jungle	COND	be.3SG.PRES	COND	fruitful	be	go-3SG.PRES	and

awad	**jʌgʌɦ**	**jʌŋʌl**	**ɦo**	**jala**
awad	**jʌgʌɦ**	**jʌŋʌl**	**ɦo**	**ja-la**
fruitful	place	jungle	be	go-3SG.PRES

'A forest turns into cultivated land and a piece of cultivated land turns into jungle.' (04.082)

o. एही विषय पर रहे लेख ।

eɦi	**bisɛ**	**pʌr**	**rʌɦe**	**lekʰ**
e-ɦi	**bisɛ**	**pʌr**	**rʌɦ-e**	**lekʰ**
PROX-EMPH	subject	LOC	live-3.PST	article

'The article was on the very subject.' (04.083)

p. ऊ, जे सिडिओ का लगे देखलें हमरा के त कहले जे ई त प्रकृति के बात बा ।

u	**je**	**siɖio**	**ka**	**lʌge**	**dekʰlẽ**	**ɦʌmra**		**ke**
u	**je**	**siɖio**	**ka**	**lʌge**	**dekʰ-ʌl-ẽ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-a**		**ke**
3SG	COND	CDO	GEN	with	see-PP-3.PST.MH	1SG-GEN-SPEC		ACC

tʌ	**kʌɦilẽ**	**je**	**i**	**tʌ**	**prʌkriti**	**ke**	**bat**
tʌ	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**je**	**i**	**tʌ**	**prʌkriti**	**ke**	**bat**
COND	say-PP-3.PST.MH	COMP	PROX	COND	nature	GEN	matter

ba
ba
be.3SG.PRES

'*He*, who saw me there near the CDO, said, "It is the matter of nature."' (04.084)

q. अपना राजा के ई बात नइखे ।

ʌpna	**raja**	**ke**	**i**	**bat**	**nʌikʰe**
ʌpna	**raja**	**ke**	**i**	**bat**	**nʌikʰ-e**
GEN	king	GEN	PROX	matter	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'This is not the matter of our king.' (04.085)

r. हिनका के काहे बइठइले बानी ? छोड़ दीं ।

ɦinka	**ke**	**kaɦe**	**bʌiʈʰʌile**	**bani**

ɦin-kɑ	**ke**	**kɑɦe**	**bʌiʈʰ-ɑ-il-e**	**bɑni**	
PROX.H-SPEC	ACC	why	sit-CAUS-PP-SEQ	be.PRES.H	

cʰoɽ dĩ

cʰoɽ dĩ

leave give.FUT.H

'Why have you detained him? Please release him.' (04.086-7)

s. त *सिडिओ साहेब*, उनका से हमरा जे बा से चार-साढ़े चार बजे छुट्टी भइल त अइनी ।

tʌ	***sidio***	***saɦeb***	**unkɑ**	**se**	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**je**
tʌ	**sidio**	**saɦeb**	**un-kɑ**	**se**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**je**
COND	CDO	sir	3SG.H-SPEC	ABL	1SG-GEN-SPEC	COND

bɑ	**se**	**cɑr**	**saɽ̊e cɑr**	**bʌje**	**cʰuʈʈi**
bɑ	**se**	**cɑr**	**saɽ̊e cɑr**	**bʌje**	**cʰuʈʈi**
be.3SG.PRES	COND	four	four and half	O'clock	relief

ḛʌil	**tʌ**	**ʌini**
ḛʌ-il	**tʌ**	**ɑ-ini**
become-3SG.PST	COND	come-PST.H

'Then *the CDO*, I got released from him and came back at four or half past four pm.' (04.088)

The clauses in (6a-s) are part of an interview with the senior Bhojpuri literary figure Pandit Deep Narayan Mishra who has expressed his experience of working as a language activist during Panchayat system in Nepal. In (6a) the topic/agent of the discourse सिडियो /*sidio*/ 'CDO' appears in the chunk of narrative, who the speaker has gone to present a magazine to. After a gap the same referent is brought on the stage, who lost his temper on the speaker in (6g). Another referent ऊ आदमी /*u admi*/ 'that man' is brought on the stage in (6j) being introduced as a native Nepali speaker settled in Bhojpuri speaking zone wih his repetition as ऊ /*u*/ 'he' in (6p) pleading for release of the speaker. At last, after a considerable gap, the first referent is repeated in (6s), who the speaker got released from. In all cases the speaker has brought the referents under strategy of topicalization through L-dislocation in the narrative.

b) Syntactic dimensions

L-dislocation typically involves the three syntactic characteristics: a separate intonation contour for the dislocated NP, neutralizaion of the case-marking of the

topic NP, and an anaphoric pronoun resumption of the topic NP within the clause (Givón, 2001b:266). Bhojpuri also exhibits such characteristics, as shown in (7a-d).

(7) a. **Subject L-dislocation (generic)**

नागा, ऊ लोग अब गाँव में बहुत कम आवेलन।

nɑgɑ	**u**	**log**	**ʌb**	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**bʌɦut**	**kʌm**	**ɑwelʌn**
nɑgɑ	**u**	**log**	**ʌb**	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**bʌɦut**	**kʌm**	**ɑ-welʌn**
hermit	3SG	PL	now	village	LOC	very	less	come-3.PRES.MH

'Hermits, they seldom come in villages nowadays.' (09.029)

b. **Subject L-dislocation (definite)**

गणेश चौधरीजी, उहाँके एगो किताब लिखले बानी 'भोजपुरी के सौ बरस'।

gʌnes	**cʌuḍʌriji**	**uɦɑ̃ke**	**ego**	**kitɑb**	**likʰle**
gʌnes	**cʌuḍʌri-ji**	**uɦɑ̃-ke**	**ek-go**	**kitɑb**	**likʰ-le**
Ganesh	Chaudhary-H	there-SPEC	one-CLF	book	write-SEQ

bɑni	**ḅojpuri**	**ke**	**sɔ**	**bʌrʌs**
bɑni	**ḅojpuri**	**ke**	**sɔ**	**bʌrʌs**
be.PRES.H	Bhojpuri	GEN	hundred	year

'Ganesh Chaudharyji, he has written a book 'A Hundred Years of Bhojpuri''. (04.104)

c. **Object L-dislocation (generic)**

अन, पहिले हमनी निकासी करत रहनी।

ʌn	**pʌɦile**	**ɦʌmni**	**nikɑsi**	**kʌrʌt**	**rʌɦni**
ʌn	**pʌɦil-e**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**nikɑsi**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ni**
food	first-EMPH	1SG-PL	export	do-IMPF	live-PST.H

'The food grains, we were exporting it in the past.' (09.391)

d. **Object L-dislocation (definite)**

रास्ता, हे के आप त कुछ दिन में।

rɑstɑ	**ɦe**	**ke**	**ɑp**	**tʌ**	**kucʰ**	**din**	**mẽ**
way	PROX	GEN	scale	COND	something	day	LOC

'The way, scale it ahead within a few days.' (09.005)

Going through the citations (7a-d), नागा */naga/* 'hermit' is the topic NP L-dislocated in generic position and the ऊ लोग */u log/* 'they' is its anaphoric expression in (7a). The same phenomana are exhibited by गणेश चौधरीजी */gʌnes cʌḍʌriji/* 'Ganesh

Chaudharyji' and उहाँके /*uɦake*/ 'he', अन /*ʌn*/ 'food grains' and ø; and रास्ता /*rasta*/ 'way' and हे के /*ɦe ke*/ 'this (accusative)' in (7b-d) respectively. The L-dislocated NP in each case has a raised intonation, is free of case-marking and an anaphoric pronoun has been resumed except (7c) though understood functionally as a Bhojpuri specific character.

12.1.4 Right dislocation

a) Functional consideration

Givón (2001b:267) quotes Hyman (1975), Byarushengo et. al. (1976) and Tenenbaum (1977) to state that R-dislocation is an afterthought or repair device that speakers used[3] when they assumed that the referent is highly accessible, thus to be coded as an anaphoric pronoun; but then, after brief reflection (represented by a pause), decided that maybe the referent was not quite as accessible, and so was better re-coded as full NP.

When we turn to right periphery phenomena, the first observation is that there is considerably less cross-linguistic variation. So, Bhojpuri also exhibits some types of R-dislocations.

(i) Afterthoughts

As all the languages do, Bhojpuri adds something once a sentence is completed as a modification, as shown in (8a-c).

(8) a. आ जौन एक आना-दू आना पानी नेपाल के मिलेवाला भइल, त नहर खनाइल, जमीन बरबाद हो गइल, *बाँकिर पानी नइखे*।

ɑ	**jɔn**	**ek**	**ɑnɑ**	**du**	**ɑnɑ**		**pɑni**
ɑ	**jɔn**	**ek**	**ɑnɑ**	**du**	**ɑnɑ**		**pɑni**
and	COMP	one	sixteenth of a rupee	two	sixteenth of a rupee		water
nepɑl	**ke**	**milewɑlɑ**	**bʱʌil**	**tʌ**	**nʌɦʌr**		
nepɑl	**ke**	**mil-e-wɑlɑ**	**bʱʌ-il**	**tʌ**	**nʌɦʌr**		
Nepal	dat	get-PUR-owner	become-3SG.PST	COND	canal		
kʰʌnɑil	**jʌmin**	**bʌrbɑd**	**ɦo**	**gʌil**	***bãkir***	***pani***	
kʰʌn-ɑ-il	**jʌmin**	**bʌrbɑd**	**ɦo**	**jɑ-il**	**bãkir**	**pɑni**	
dig-PASS-3.PST	land	spoil	be	go-3.PST	but	water	
nʌikʰe							

3. Right dislocation is sometimes referred to as afterthought topicalization (Payne, 1997:273).

nʌikʰ-e

be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'And for nearly ten percent of water ascertained to Nepal, the canal was dug, land was spoilt, *but there is no water*.' (02.087)

b. त दोसरा कौनो भाषा में बोलल रोग जइसन हो गइल रहे, *नेपाली के छोड़के*।

tʌ	**dosrɑ**	**kɔno**	**ɓɑsɑ**	**mẽ**	**bolʌl**	**rog**
tʌ	**dosʌr-ɑ**	**kɔno**	**ɓɑsɑ**	**mẽ**	**bol-ʌl**	**rog**
COND	second-SPEC	any	language	LOC	speak-INF	disease

jʌisʌn	**ɦo**	**gʌil**	**rʌɦe**	**nepɑli**	**ke**	**cʰoɽke**
jʌisʌn	**ɦo**	**jɑ-il**	**rʌɦ-e**	**nepɑli**	**ke**	**cʰoɽ-ke**
as such	be	go-PP	live-3.PST	Nepali	ACC	leave-SEQ

'Then, it happened to be like a disease to utter in any language, *except Nepali*.' (04.044)

c. मरदु कहलें, 'खीर बनी, *बाँकिर लइकन के सुतला के बाद*।'

mʌrdu	**kʌɦlẽ**	**kʰir**	**bʌni**	**bɑ̃kir**
mʌrdu	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**kʰir**	**bʌn-i**	**bɑ̃kir**
husband.H	say-PP-3.PST.MH	rice-pudding	make-3.FUT	but

lʌikʌn	**ke**	**sutlɑ**	**ke**	**bɑd**
lʌikʌn	**ke**	**sut-ʌl-ɑ**	**ke**	**bɑd**
children	GEN	sleep-PP-SEQ	SEQ	later

'The husband said, "The pudding will be cooked, *but after the children sleep*."' (08.007)

In examples (8a-c), the full NP in the R-dislocated clauses in italics are afterthoughts or repair device that speakers used when they assumed that the referent is highly accessible, thus to be coded as an anaphoric pronoun; but then, after brief reflection (represented by a pause), decided that maybe the referent was not quite as accessible, and so was better re-coded as full NP.

(ii) Background construction

As almost all the other languages, Bhojpuri displays a background construction by insertion of a pronoun to represent the R-dislocated noun, as presented in (9a-b).

(9) a. ई एगो कठिन मथेला बा, दहिना ठाँवबदली ।

i	**ego**	**kʌʈʰin**	**mʌtʰelɑ**	**bɑ**	**dʌɦinɑ**	**ʈʰɑ̃obʌdli**

i	**ek-go**	**kʌʈʰin**	**mʌtʰelɑ**	**bɑ**	**dʌɦinɑ**	**ʈʰɑ̃obʌdli**
PROX	one-CLF	difficult	topic	be.3.PRES	right	dislocation

'This is a difficult topic, right dislocation.' (12.095)

b. ऊ आसान आदमी नइखे, गाँव के मुखिया ।

u	**ɑsɑn**	**ɑdmi**	**nʌikʰe**	**gɑ̃o**	**ke**	**mukʰiɑ**
u	**ɑsɑn**	**ɑdmi**	**nʌikʰ-e**	**gɑ̃o**	**ke**	**mukʰiɑ**
3SG.NOM	easy	man	be.NEG.PRES-3SG	village	GEN	chieften

'He is not an easy man, the village-chieften.' (12.096)

b) Syntactic dimensions

The same three syntactic features that characterize L-dislocation – anaphoric pronoun, intonation break and neutralized case-marking – also tend to apply to R-dislocation. They are exemplified in Bhojpuri as follows:

(i) Subject inversion

In subject inversion, the occurrence of NP expressions can be implicitly projected by the verb in a position following the complete verb phrase, as already discussed in Chapter 9.1.1.

(ii) VP-internal ordering

As the SVO languages does, Bhojpuri an SOV language has also freedom of ordering post-verbal positions, which gives rise to a suffling of constructions labelled as 'heavy NP shift':

(10) a. हम ओ के किताब देनी ।

ɦʌm	**o**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**o**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	3SG	DAT	book	give-PST.H

'I gave her a book.' (06.008)

b. हम देनी ओ के किताब ।

ɦʌm	**deni**	**o**	**ke**	**kitɑb**
ɦʌm	**de-ni**	**o**	**ke**	**kitɑb**
1SG.NOM	give-PST.H	3SG	DAT	book

'I gave her the book.'

c. हम देनी किताब ओ के ।

ɦʌm	**deni**	**kitɑb**	**o**	**ke**

ɦʌm	**de-ni**	**kitɑb**	**o**	**ke**
1SG.NOM	give-PST.H	book	3SG	DAT

'I gave her a book.'

In the examples in (10a-c), (10a) exhibits the normal word order in Bhojpuri where the verb देनी /*deni*/ 'gave' is in clause-final position. But in (10b-c) it has brought just next to the subject where the word-order is S-V-IO-Poss-O-V in (10b) and S-V-DO-IO-Poss. It is a heavy NP shift in Bhojpuri under R-dislocation.

(iii) Right node raising

When right-periphery placement strategies are combined with coordinate constructions, the effect is so-called Right-node raising. These are strings in which one structure may be "temporarily set on one side" in a parsing sequence while a second is introduced, both then being completed by a single right-most expression, as shown in (11a-c).

(11) a. बाबुजी चिन्हइनी आ हम बतिअइबो कइनी, मामाजी से ।

bɑbuji	**ciɲʌini**		**ɑ**	**ɦʌm**
bɑbu-ji	**ciɲ-ɑ-ini**		**ɑ**	**ɦʌm**
father -H	identify-CAUS-PST.H		and	1SG.NOM

bʌtiʌibo	**kʌini**	**mɑmɑji**	**se**
bʌtiɑ-ib-o	**kʌr-ini**	**mɑmɑ-ji**	**se**
talk-PP-EMPH	do-PST.H	maternal uncle-H	with

'Father introduced and I talked too, with my maternal uncle.' (12.097)

b. माई हमरा के आ बाबुजी भइआ के किन देनी, एकहून गो लमहर तरभूजा ।

mɑi	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**ke**	**ɑ**	**bɑbuji**	**bʱʌiɑ**	**ke**
mɑi	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**ke**	**ɑ**	**bɑbu-ji**	**bʱʌiɑ**	**ke**
mother	1SG-GEN-SPEC	DAT	and	father-H	elder brother	DAT

kin	**deni**	**ekɦungo**	**lʌmʌɦʌr**	**tʌrbʱujɑ**	
kin	**de-ni**	**ek-ɦun-go**	**lʌmʌɦʌr**	**tʌrbʱujɑ**	
buy	give-PST.H	one-each-CLF	big	watermelon	

'Mother bought me and father bought my elder brother, one big watermelon to each.' (12.098)

c. राम खइलख खीर आ श्याम खइलख रोटी ।

rɑm	**kʰʌilʌkʰ**	**kʰir**	**ɑ**	**syɑm**	**kʰʌilʌkʰ**	**roʈi**

rɑm	**kʰɑ-il-ʌkʰ**	**kʰir**	**ɑ**	**syɑm**	**kʰɑ-il-ʌkʰ**	**roʈi**
Ram	eat-PP-3.PST	rice-pudding	and	Shyam	eat-PP-3.PST	chapati

'Ram ate rice-pudding and Shyam ate chapatis.' (12.099)

12.1.5 Dative-shifting

As Givón (2001a:471) notes, the dative object of bi-transitive clauses is almost always more topical than the patient, and thus tends to claim the direct-object role, often automatically. Since topical objects are most commonly pre-established in the preceding discourse, dative objects in discourse tend to be overwhelmingly definite and anaphoric (Greenberg, 1974; Givón, 1984). It is not surprising then that dative-shifting in many languages – making the dative the direct object – also has the effect of definitizing. This is already evident in Bhojpuri as another device to topicalize for some pragmatic purpose. The basic order of a ditransitive cluse in Bhojpuri is S-IO-DO-V. In contrast, while employed the dative-shifting strategy, the referent in dative case occurs either in the clause-initial or clause-final position. We exemplify the clause-initial DO in (12a-d).

(12) a. त *उनका के* भगवान कृष्ण राखी के त्योहार मनावे के सलाह देलें ।

tʌ	***unka***	***ke***	**ɓ̤ʌgwɑn**	**krisnʌ**	**rɑkʰi**	**ke**
tʌ	**unkɑ**	**ke**	**ɓ̤ʌgwɑn**	**krisnʌ**	**rɑkʰi**	**ke**
COND	3SG.GEN	GEN	Lord	Krishna	Raxabandhan	GEN

tyoɦɑr	**mʌnɑwe**	**ke**	**sʌlɑɦ**	**delẽ**
tyoɦɑr	**mʌnɑ-we**	**ke**	**sʌlɑɦ**	**de-ʌl-ẽ**
festival	celebrate-PUR	GEN	advice	give-PP-3.PST.MH

'Then Lord Krishna advised him to celebrate Raxabandhan Festival.' (07.068)

b. जी, *अपने के* हम थोड़ा सा रोकेके चाहतानी ।

ji	***ʌpne***	***ke***	**ɦʌm**	**tʰoɽɑ**	**sɑ**	**rokeke**	**cɑɦʌtɑni**	
ji	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**ɦʌm**	**tʰoɽɑ**	**sɑ**	**rok-eke**	**cɑɦ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
yea	2SG.H	GEN	1SG	little	as	stop-OPT	want-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'Yea, I want you to halt for a while.' (01.051)

c. जा घरे । *तोहे* चाची एगो मिठाई दी ।

jɑ	**ɠʌre**	***toɦe***	**cɑci**	**ego**	**miʈʰɑi**	**di**
jɑ	**ɠʌr-e**	**tu-e**	**cɑci**	**ek-go**	**miʈʰɑi**	**de-i**
go	house-LOC	2SG-DAT	aunty	one-CLF	sweet	give-3SG.FUT

'Go home. Aunty will give you a sweet.' (09.459)

d. ... लक्ष्मीजी ... *ओकरा के* रक्षाबंधन बान्हके अपन भाई बनइली ... ।

lʌkcʰmi-ji	***okʌra***	***ke***	**rʌkcʰabʌnd̪ʌn**	**baṇke**	
lʌkcʰmi-ji	**u-ʌr-a**	**ke**	**rʌkcʰa-bʌnd̪ʌn**	**baṇ-ke**	
Laxmi-H	3.SG-GEN-SPEC	DAT	protection-bond	bind-SEQ	

ʌpʌn	**b̪ai**	**bʌnʌili**
apʌn	**b̪ai**	**bʌna-il-i**
GEN	brother	make-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'... Lady Laxmi accepted him as her brother by binding Raxabandhan …' (07.050)

In examples (12a-d), the dative उनका के /*unka ke*/ 'him (H)' in (12a), अपने के /*ʌpne ke*/ 'you (H)' in (12b), तोहे /*toɦe*/ 'you' in (12c) and ओकरा के /*okra ke*/ 'him' in (12c) are in the clause-initial position as dative-shift.

Likewise, the dative-shift in clause-final position is presented in (13a-c).

(13) a. ओ में हम सब से पहिले एकरा खातिर धन्यवाद देम आ आभार भी व्यक्त करेम हमनी के गुरु *प्रा. डॉ. योगेंद्र प्रसाद यादवजी के* ... ।

o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm**	**sʌb**	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**ekra**	**kʰatir**
o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm**	**sʌb**	**se**	**pʌɦil-e**	**e-ʌr-a**	**kʰatir**
DIST	LOC	1SG.NOM	all	ABL	first-EMPH	PROX-POSS-SPEC	for

d̪ʌnyʌbad	**dem**	**a**	**ab̪ar**	**b̪i**	**byʌkt**	**kʌrem**
d̪ʌnyʌbad	**de-ɦem**	**a**	**ab̪ar**	**b̪i**	**byʌkt**	**kʌr-em**
thank	give-FUT.H	and	gratitude	also	express	do-FUT.H

ɦʌmni	**ke**	**guru**	***praɖyapʌk***	***ɖɔkʈʌr***	***yogendrʌ***	***prʌsad***
ɦʌm-ni	**ke**	**guru**	**praɖyapʌk**	**ɖɔkʈʌr**	**yogendrʌ**	**prʌsad**
1SG-PL	GEN	teacher	professor	doctor	Yogendra	Prasad

yadʌbji	***ke***
yadʌb-ji	**ke**
Yadava-H	DAT

'For this I express my thanks and gratefulness to our Guru Prof. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava …' (03.078)

b. अभीन बतावेके हम चाहतानी अपने के ।

ʌb̪in	**bʌtaweke**	**ɦʌm**	**caɦʌtani**		**ʌpne**	**ke**
ʌb̪in	**bʌta-weke**	**ɦʌm**	**caɦ-ʌt**	**bani**	**ʌpne**	**ke**
now	tell-OBL	1SG.NOM	want-IMPF	be.PRES.H	2SG.H	DAT

'I want to inform you now.' (03.218)

c. ... इंद्राणी भी रेशम के धागा मंत्र उच्चारित करके बाऩ देहली उनका के।

indrɑni	**bi̯**	**resʌm**	**ke**	**d̤ɑgɑ**	**mʌntrʌ**	**uccɑrit**	**kʌrke**
indrɑni	**bi̯**	**resʌm**	**ke**	**d̤ɑgɑ**	**mʌntrʌ**	**uccɑr-it**	**kʌr-ke**
Indrani	also	silk	GEN	thread	magic	chant-ADJ	do-SEQ

bɑn̰	**dẽhli**		**unkɑ**	**ke**
bɑn̰	**de-ʌl-i**		**un-kɑ**	**ke**
bind	body-PP-2.PST.F.MH		3.SG-SPEC	DAT

'But with that, Indrani also bonded Resham-thread to Indra with chanting.' (07.027)

In (13a-c), प्रा. डॉ. योगेंद्र प्रसाद यादव के /*pra̤dyapʌk ɖɔkʈʌr yogendrʌ prʌsad yadʌb ke*/ 'to Prof. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava' in (13a), अपने के /*ʌpne ke*/ 'you (H)' in (13b) and उनका के /*unka ke*/ 'him (H)' in (13c) are in the clause-final position in dative-shift.

12.1.6 Raising

Raising is one of the most curious phenomena in syntax. It may be first described as a synchronic grammatical process in the following terms:

A verb of mental activity – knowledge, perception, intention and the like – has two senses, one involving a nominal argument, the other as a propositional argument. Within a propositional argument, NP is the important topic, most commonly the clausal subject. That important topic is foregrounded through raising, and is converted from an argument of the subordinate clause to a grammatical argument – either subject or object – of the main clause (Givón, 2001b:272).

It may or may not be found in all the languages but Bhojpuri does have the phenomena of two types: raising to object and raising to subject.

a) Raising to object

Raising to object in Bhojpuri most commonly involves verbs of intention चाह /*cahi̯*/ 'want or wish', perception देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see', बुझ /*buj*/ 'think', लाग /*lag*/, मान /*man*/ 'believe' and cognition समझ /*sʌmʌj̈*/ 'understand', जान /*jan*/ 'know' etc as a syntactic blend of the structure of the verb's two senses – the one involving a nominal object, and the other involving a clausal complement, as shown in (14a-o).

(14) a. **Nominal object**

ऊ *मोहन* के चहली।

u	**mohʌn**	**ke**	**cʌhili**

u **moɦʌn** **ke** **cɑɦ-ʌl-i**

3SG.NOM Mohan DAT want-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'She wanted *Mohan*.' (12.100)

b. **Clausal complement**

ऊ चहली *कि मोहन हँसो*।

u **cʌɦli** **ki** **moɦʌn** **ɦɑ̃so**

u **cɑɦ-ʌl-i** **ki** **moɦʌn** **ɦɑ̃s-o**

3SG.NOM. want-PP-3.PST.F.MH comp Mohan laugh-OPT.NH

'She wished *that Mohan would laugh*.' (12.101)

c. **Raised ('blend')**

ऊ *मोहन के हँसल* चहली ।

u **moɦʌn** **ke** **ɦɑ̃sʌl** **cʌɦli**

u **moɦʌn** **ke** **ɦɑ̃s-ʌl** **cɑɦ-ʌl-i**

3SG.NOM Mohan DAT laugh-INF want-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'She wanted *Mohan to laugh*.' (12.102)

d. **Nominal object**

हम आभा में दाई के देखनी ।

ɦʌm **ɑḭɑ** **mẽ** **dɑi** **ke** **dekʰni**

ɦʌm **ɑḭɑ** **mẽ** **dɑi** **ke** **dekʰ-ni**

1SG.NOM dream LOC grandmother ACC see-PST.H

'I saw *grandmother* (in dream).' (09.096)

e. **Clausal complement**

हम सपना में देखनी कि दाई जिंदा बाड़ी ।

ɦʌm **sʌpnɑ** **mẽ** **dekʰni** **ki** **dɑi** **jindɑ**

ɦʌm **sʌpnɑ** **mẽ** **dekʰ-ni** **ki** **dɑi** **jindɑ**

1SG.NOM dream LOC see-PST.H COMP grandma alive

bɑɽi

bɑɽi

be.3.PRES.F.MH

'I saw in dream that grandmother was alive.' (12.103)

f. **Raised ('blend')**

हम सपना में दाई के जिंदा देखनी ।

ɦʌm	**sʌpnɑ**	**mẽ**	**dɑi**	**ke**	**jindɑ**	**dekʰni**
ɦʌm	**sʌpnɑ**	**mẽ**	**dɑi**	**ke**	**jindɑ**	**dekʰ-ni**
1SG.NOM	dream	LOC	grandma	DAT	alive	see-PST.H

'I saw my grandmother alive (in dream).' (12.104)

g. **Nominal object**

हम *ओके* मननी।

ɦʌm	**oke**	**mʌnni**
ɦʌm	**u-ke**	**mɑn-ni**
1SG.NOM	3SG-DAT	believe-PST.H

'I believed *her*.' (12.105)

h. **Clausal complement**

हम मननी कि ऊ हमर जान रहली।

ɦʌm	**mʌnni**	**ki**	**u**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**jɑn**
ɦʌm	**mɑn-ni**	**ki**	**u**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**jɑn**
1SG.NOM	believe-PST.H	comp	3SG.NOM	1SG-GEN	life

rʌɦli
rʌɦ-ʌl-i
live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'I believed *that she was my life*.' (12.106)

i. **Raised ('blend')**

हम ओके आपन जान मननी।

ɦʌm	**oke**	**ɑpʌn**	**jɑn**	**mʌnni**
ɦʌm	**u-ke**	**ɑpʌn**	**jɑn**	**mɑn-ni**
1SG.NOM	3SG-DAT	GEN	life	believe-PST.H

'I believed *her my life*.' (12.107)

j. **Nominal object**

हम *एगो चमत्कार* खोजनी।

ɦʌm	***ego***	***cʌmʌtkar***	**kʰojni**
ɦʌm	**ek-go**	**cʌmʌtkɑr**	**kʰoj-ni**
1SG.NOM	one-CLF	miracle	search-PST.H

'I expected *a miracle*.' (12.108)

k. **Clausal complement**

हम खोजनी *कि एगो चमत्कार होखो*।

ɦʌm	**kʰojni**	***ki***	***ego***	***cʌmʌtkar***	***ɦokʰo***
ɦʌm	**kʰoj-ni**	**ki**	**ek-go**	**cʌmʌtkɑr**	**ɦokʰ-o**
1SG.NOM	search-PST.H	comp	one-CLF	miracle	be-OPT

'I expected *that a miracle would happen*.' (12.109)

l. **Raised ('blend')**

हम *एगो चमत्कार भइल* खोजनी ।

ɦʌm	***ego***	***cʌmʌtkar***	***b̤ʌil***	**kʰojni**
ɦʌm	**ek-go**	**cʌmʌtkɑr**	**b̤ʌ-il**	**kʰoj-ni**
1SG.NOM	one-CLF	miracle	become-PP	search-PST.H

'I expected *a miracle to happen*.' (12.110)

m. **Nominal object**

हम *गुरु* के समझनी ।

ɦʌm	***guru***	**ke**	**sʌmʌj̈ni**
ɦʌm	**guru**	**ke**	**sʌmʌj̈-ni**
1SG.NOM	teacher	DAT	understand-PRES.H

'I understood *my teacher*.' (12.111)

n. **Clausal complement**

हम समझनी *गुरुजी हमनी के आदर्श बानी*।

ɦʌm	**sʌmʌj̈ni**	***guruji***	***ɦʌmni***	***ke***	***adʌrs***
ɦʌm	**sʌmʌj̈-ni**	**guru-ji**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**ɑdʌrs**
1SG.NOM	understand-PST.H	teacher-H	1SG-PL	GEN	ideal

bani

bɑni

be.PRES.H

'I understood *the teacher was our ideal*.' (12.112)

o. **Raised ('blend')**

हम *गुरु के आपन आदर्श भइल* समझनी ।

ɦʌm	***guru***	***ke***	***apʌn***	***adʌrs***	***b̤ʌil***
ɦʌm	**guru**	**ke**	**ɑpʌn**	**ɑdʌrs**	**b̤ʌ-il**
1SG.NOM	teacher	DAT	one.GEN	ideal	become-PP

sʌmʌj̈ni

sʌmʌj̈-ni

understand-PST.H

'I understood *the teacher to be my ideal*.' (12.113)

b) Raising to subject

Sometimes the passive variant of raising to objects is involved in raising to subject, as shown in (15a-d).

(15) a. **Semantic leitmotif**

ऊ खुबसुरत बिआ ।

u **kʰubsurʌt** **biɑ**

u **kʰubsurʌt** **biɑ**

3SG.NOM beautiful be.3.SG.PRES.F

'She is beautiful.' (09.500)

b. **Unraised verbal complement**

हमनी मानेनी *कि ऊ खुबसुरत बिआ*।

ɦʌmni **mɑneni** **ki** **u** **kʰubsurʌt** **biɑ**

ɦʌm-ni **mɑn-eni** **ki** **u** **kʰubsurʌt** **biɑ**

1SG-PL accept-PRES.H COMP 3SG beautiful be.3SG.PRES.F

'We consider *that she is beautiful*.' (12.114)

c. **Raised to object**

हमनी *ओके खुबसुरत* मानेनी ।

ɦʌmni ***oke*** ***kʰubsurʌt*** **mɑneni**

ɦʌm-ni **u-ke** **kʰubsurʌt** **mɑn-eni**

1SG-PL 3SG-DAT beautiful accept-PRES.H

'We consider *her beautiful*.' (12.115)

d. **Raised to subject**

ऊ खुबसुरत मानल जाली ।

u ***kʰubsurʌt*** **mɑnʌl** **jɑli**

u **kʰubsurʌt** **mɑn-ʌl** **jɑ-ili**

3SG beautiful believe-PP go-3.PRES.F.MH

'*She* is considered *beautiful*.' (12.116)

Raising to object is considered to be a transformational prerequisite to raising to subject according to generative approach. But it collapses in the case of verbs that allow raising to subject but not raising to object, as shown in (16a-d).

(16) a. **Semantic leitmotif**

ऊ आइल ।

u **ɑil**

u **ɑ-il**

3SG come-3SG.PST

'He came.' (12.117)

b. **Unraised verbal complement**

ऊ कहली *कि ऊ आइल* ।

u **kʌɦili** ***ki*** ***u*** ***ail***

u **kʌɦ-ʌl-i** **ki** **u** **ɑ-il**

3SG say-PP-3.PST.F.MH comp 3SG come-3SG.PST

'She said *that he came*.' (12.118)

c. ***Raised object**

* ऊ *ओके* कहली *आ चुकल* ।

u ***oke*** **kʌɦili** ***a*** ***cukʌl***

u **u-ke** **kʌɦ-ʌl-i** **ɑ** **cuk-ʌl**

3SG 3SG-DAT say-PP-3.PST.F.MH come finish-PP

* 'She said *him to have come*.' (12.119)

d. **Raised subject**

ऊ आ चुकल बतावल जाला ।

u ***a*** ***cukʌl*** **bʌtɑwʌl** **jɑlɑ**

u **ɑ** **cuk-ʌl** **bɑt-ɑ-wʌl** **jɑ-lɑ**

3SG come finish-PP tell-PASS-PP go-3SG.PRES

'*He* is said *to have come*.' (12.120)

A different lexical verb may be involved in the passive-marked raised-to-subject variant, though semantically and diachronically related as in the pairing of देख /*dekʰ*/ 'see' and लाग /*lag*/ 'seem' as shown in (17a-d).

(17) a. **Semantic leitmotif**

बाबुजी खोंखत रहनी ।

bɑbuji **kʰõkʰʌt** **rʌɦni**

bɑbu-ji **kʰõkʰ-ʌt** **rʌɦ-ni**

father-H cough-IMPF live-PST.H

'Father was coughing.' (12.121)

b. **Unraised verbal complement**

हम देखनी *कि बाबुजी खोंखत रहनी*।

ɦʌm	**dekʰni**	***ki***	***babuji***	***kʰõkʰʌt***	***rʌɦni***
ɦʌm	**dekʰ-ni**	**ki**	**bɑbu-ji**	**kʰõkʰ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ni**
1SG.NOM	see-PST.H	comp	father-H	cough-IMPF	live-PST.H

'I saw *that father was coughing*.' (12.122)

c. **Raised object**

हम बाबुजी के खोंखत देखनी।

ɦʌm	***babuji***	***ke***	***kʰõkʰʌt***	**dekʰni**
ɦʌm	**bɑbu-ji**	**ke**	**kʰõkʰ-ʌt**	**dekʰ-ni**
1SG	father-H	DAT	cough-IMPF	see-PST.H

'I saw *father coughing*.' (12.123)

d. **Raised subject**

बाबुजी खोंखत लगनी।

babuji	***kʰõkʰʌt***	**lʌgni**
bɑbu-ji	**kʰõkʰ-ʌt**	**lɑg-ni**
father-H	cough-IMPF	feel-PST.H

'*Father* seemed (to me) *to be coughing*.' (12.124)

बाबुजी खोंखत लउकनी।

babuji	***kʰõkʰʌt***	**lʌukni**
bɑbu-ji	**kʰõkʰ-ʌt**	**lʌuk-ni**
father-H	cough-IMPF	look-PST.H

'*Father* was seen *coughing*.' (12.125)

There are two types of evaluative adjectives which raising to subject may also occur with. The first type includes आसान */asan/* 'easy', कठिन */kʌʈʰin/* 'hard' that semantically focuses on someone other than the raised NP. That other person is the subject of the semantic leitmotif proposition, whose object is the raised NP, as shown in (18a-d).

(18) a. **Semantic leitmotif**

ऊ राजु के समझावेली।

u	**rɑju**	**ke**	**sʌmjɑweli**

u raju ke sʌmʌj̈-ɑ-weli

3SG Raju DAT understand-CAUS-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'She convinces Raju.' (12.126)

b. **Unraised verbal subject**

ओकरा खातिर *राजु के समझावल* कठिन बा ।

okʌrɑ	**kʰɑtir**	***raju***	***ke***	***sʌmj̈awʌl***	**kʌʈʰin**
u-ʌr-ɑ	**kʰɑtir**	**raju**	**ke**	**sʌmʌj̈-ɑ-wʌl**	**kʌʈʰin**
3SG-GEN-SPEC	for	Raju	DAT	understand-CAUS-INF	difficult

bɑ

bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

'To convince Raju is difficult (for her).' (12.127)

c. **Post-posed verbal subject/complement**

ई कठिन बा ओकरा खातिर कि राजु के समझाओ ।

i	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**okʌrɑ**	**kʰɑtir**	***ki***	***raju***
i	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**u-ʌr-ɑ**	**kʰɑtir**	**ki**	**raju**
PROX	difficult	be.3SG.PRES	3SG-GEN-SPEC	for	COMP	Raju

ke **sʌmj̈ɑo**

ke **sʌmʌj̈-ɑ-o**

DAT understand-CAUS-3.OPT

'It is difficult (for her) to convince Raju.' (12.128)

d. **Raised subject of complement**

राजु ओकरा समझावे खातिर कठिन बा ।

raju	**okʌrɑ**	**sʌmj̈ɑwe**	**kʰɑtir**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**
raju	**u-ʌr-ɑ**	**sʌmʌj̈-ɑ-we**	**kʰɑtir**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**
Raju	3.SG.GEN	understand-CAUS-PUR	for	difficult	be.3SG.PRES

'Raju is difficult (for her) to please.' (12.129)

The evaluative adjectives सही /*sʌɦi*/ 'right' and गलत /*gʌlʌt*/ 'wrong' fall under the second type of evaluative adjectives that semantically focuses on the subject of the leitmotif proposition, and it is that subject that is topical and raised, as shown in (19a-d).

(19) a. **Semantic leitmotif**

मऊरु ढोंढ़ाई के पिटलख ।

mʌŋru	**d̈õʈai**	**ke**	**piʈlʌkʰ**
mʌŋru	**d̈õʈai**	**ke**	**piʈ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
Mangru	Dhondhai	ACC	beat-PP-3.PST

'Mangru beat Dhondhai.' (12.130)

b. **Unraised verbal subject**

मङरु खातिर *ढोंढ़ाई के पिटल* गलत रहे ।

mʌŋru	**kʰɑtir**	***d̈õʈai***	***ke***	***piʈʌl***	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦe**
mʌŋru	**kʰɑtir**	**d̈õʈai**	**ke**	**piʈ-ʌl**	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
Mangru	for	Dhondhai	ACC	beat-INF	wrong	live-3.PST

'For Mangru *to beat Dhondhai* was wrong.' (12.131)

c. **Post-posed verbal subject/complement**

ई गलत रहे, मङरु खातिर ढोंढ़ाई के पिटल ।

i	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦe**	**mʌŋru**	**kʰɑtir**	**d̈õʈai**	**ke**	**piʈʌl**
i	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**	**mʌŋru**	**kʰɑtir**	**d̈õʈai**	**ke**	**piʈ-ʌl**
PROX	wrong	live-3.PST	Mangru	for	Dhondhai	ACC	beat-INF

'It was wrong for Mangru to beat Dhondhai.' (12.132)

d. **Raised subject of complement**

मङरु गलत रहे, ढोंढ़ाई के पिटे में ।

mʌŋru	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦe**	**d̈õʈai**	**ke**	**piʈe**	**mẽ**
mʌŋru	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**	**d̈õʈai**	**ke**	**piʈ-e**	**mẽ**
Mangru	wrong	live-3.PST	Dhondhai	ACC	beat-SEQ	LOC

'Mangru was wrong to beat Dhondhai.' (12.133)

c) Functional dimensions

(i) Semantic correlates: Raising and affectedness

If correlates are rephrased, as Givón (2001b:275) quotes Postal (1974), with consequences of having vs. not having a direct object that is directly encountered or experienced by the main-clause subject, that is with patient-role property of affectedness, as shown in (20a-b).

(20) a. **Un-raised**

हमरा खटकल कि दुर्योधन सही रहे ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**kʰʌʈkʌl**	**ki**	**duryoḍʌn**	**sʌɦi**	**rʌɦe**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**kʰʌʈʌk-ʌl**	**ki**	**duryoḍʌn**	**sʌɦi**	**rʌɦ-e**
1SG-GEN-SPEC	strike-3SG.PST	comp	Duryodhan	correct	live-3.PST

'It struck me that Duryodhan was right.' (12.134)

b. **Raised**

दुर्योधन हमरा सही खटकल ।

duryoḍʌn	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**sʌɦi**	**kʰʌʈkʌl**
duryoḍʌn	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**sʌɦi**	**kʰʌʈʌk-ʌl**
Duryodhan	1SG-GEN-SPEC	correct	strike-3SG.PST

'Duryodhan struck me as right.' (12.135)

(ii) Pragmatic correlates: Raising and topicality

There are strong reasons for suspecting that raising a referent from a dependent clause to a grammatical argument role in the main clause has the topicalizing pragmatic effect noted for other promotion rules – dative shifting and passivization. The general principles that seem to govern all three constructions seem to be promoted referents as more topical than their unpromoted counterparts and referents promoted to subject as more topical than those promoted to object (Givón, 2001b:276).

We will survey the argument in Bhojpuri in order.

Definiteness and referentiality

As similar as Y-movement, L-dislocation and clefting, raising, at least with some of the verbs, seems to select definite or generic referents but reject REF-indefinites, as shown in (21-22).

(21) **Raising to object**

a. **Generic**

हमनी शहीद परिवार के सम्मान करेनी ।

ɦʌmni	**sʌɦid**	**pʌriwar**	**ke**	**sʌmmɑn**	**kʌreni**
ɦʌm-ni	**sʌɦid**	**pʌriwar**	**ke**	**sʌmmɑn**	**kʌr-eni**
1SG-PL	martyr	family	DAT	honour	do-PRES.H

'We respect martyrs' families.' (12.136)

b. **Definite**

हमनी ए विधवा परिवार के सम्मान करेनी ।

ɦʌmni	**e**	**biḍwɑ**	**pʌriwar**	**ke**	**sʌmmɑn**	**kʌreni**
ɦʌm-ni	**e**	**biḍwɑ**	**pʌriwar**	**ke**	**sʌmmɑn**	**kʌr-eni**
1SG-PL	PROX	widow	family	DAT	honour	do-PRES.H

'We respect this widow family.' (12.137)

c. **REF-indefinite**

*हमनी एगो विधवा परिवार के सम्मान करेनी।

ɦʌmni	**ego**	**biḍwɑ**	**pʌriwɑr**	**ke**	**sʌmmɑn**	**kʌreni**
ɦʌm-ni	**ek-go**	**biḍwɑ**	**pʌriwɑr**	**ke**	**sʌmmɑn**	**kʌr-eni**
1SG-PL	one-CLF	widow	family	DAT	honour	do-PRES.H

*'We respect a widow family.' (12.138)

(22) **Raising to subject**

a. **Generic**

लोग कठिन बा खुश कइल।

log	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**kʰus**	**kʌil**
log	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**kʰus**	**kʌr-il**
people	difficult	be.3SG.PRES	happy	do-INF

'People are hard to please.' (12.139)

b. **Definite**

ई लइका कठिन बा खुश कइल।

i	**lʌikɑ**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**kʰus**	**kʌil**
i	**lʌikɑ**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**kʰus**	**kʌr-il**
PROX	boy	difficult	be.3SG.PRES	happy	do-INF

'This child is hard to please.' (12.140)

c. **REF-indefinite**

*एगो लइका कठिन बा खुश कइल।

ego	**lʌikɑ**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**kʰus**	**kʌil**
ek-go	**lʌikɑ**	**kʌʈʰin**	**bɑ**	**kʰus**	**kʌr-il**
one-CLF	boy	difficult	be.3SG.PRES	happy	do-INF

*'A child is hard to please.' (12.141)

Subjecthood, GRs and accessibility

It is impossible, under most circumstances, to raise an NP to object unless it is the subject of the leitmotif ('underlying') clause, as shown in (23a-d).

(23) **Raising to object**

a. **Unraised**

हम मानेनी कि मोहन राधा से प्रेम करस।

ɦʌm	**mɑneni**	**ki**	**moɦʌn**	**rɑḍɑ**	**se**	**prem**	**kʌrʌs**

ɦʌm	**mɑn-eni**	**ki**	**moɦʌn**	**rɑɖɑ**	**se**	**prem**	**kʌr-ʌs**
1SG	accept-PST.H	comp	Mohan	Radha	with	love	do-3.PST.H

'I believe that Mohan loved Radha.' (12.142)

b. **Raised subject of active**

हम मोहन के मननी राधा से प्रेम कइल ।

ɦʌm	**moɦʌn**	**ke**	**mʌnni**	**rɑɖɑ**	**se**	**prem**	**kʌil**
ɦʌm	**moɦʌn**	**ke**	**mɑn-ni**	**rɑɖɑ**	**se**	**prem**	**kʌr-il**
1SG	Mohan	DAT	believe-PST.H	Radha	with	love	do-INF

'I believed Mohan to have loved Radha.' (12.143)

c. ***Raised object of active**

*हम राधा के मननी मोहन के उनका से प्रेम कइल ।

ɦʌm	**rɑɖɑ**	**ke**	**mʌnni**	**moɦʌn**	**ke**	**unkɑ**	**se**
ɦʌm	**rɑɖɑ**	**ke**	**mɑn-ni**	**moɦʌn**	**ke**	**unkɑ**	**se**
1SG.NOM	Radha	DAT	believe-PST.H	Mohan	GEN	3SG.GEN	with

prem	**kʌil**
prem	**kʌr-il**
love	do-INF

'*I believed Radha to Mohan have loved (her).' (12.144)

d. **Raised subject to passive**

हम राधा के मननी मोहन द्वारा प्रेम कइल गइल ।

ɦʌm	**rɑɖɑ**	**ke**	**mʌnni**	**moɦʌn**	**dwarɑ**	**prem**	**kʌil**
ɦʌm	**rɑɖɑ**	**ke**	**mɑn-ni**	**moɦʌn**	**dwarɑ**	**prem**	**kʌr-il**
1SG.NOM	Radha	DAT	believe-PST.H	Mohan	by	love	do-PP

gʌil	
jɑ-il	
go-PP	

'I believed Radha to have been loved (by Mohan).' (12.145)

Similarly, most verbs or adjectives that allow raising to subject require the raised NP to be the subject of the leitmotif ('underlying') clause in Bhojpuri, as shown in (24-25).

(24) **Raising to subject (verb)**

a. **Unraised**

अइसन बुझाला कि आशा राजु से नफरत करेली ।

ʌisʌn	**buj̈alɑ**	**ki**	**ɑsɑ**	**rɑju**	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	
ʌisʌn	**buj̈-ɑ-ilɑ**	**ki**	**ɑsɑ**	**rɑju**	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	
such	understand-PASS-3SG.PRES	comp	hope	Raju	with	hatred	

kʌreli

kʌr-eli

do-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'It seems that Asha hates Raju.' (12.146)

b. **Raised subject to active**

आशा राजु से नफरत करत बुझाली ।

ɑsɑ	**rɑju**	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌrʌt**	**buj̈ali**
ɑsɑ	**rɑju**	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**buj̈-ɑ-ili**
hope	Raju	with	hatred	do-IMPF	understand-PASS-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'Asha seems to hate Raju.' (12.147)

c. ***Raised object to active**

*राजु आशा ओके नफरत करत बुझाला ।

rɑju	**ɑsɑ**	**oke**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌrʌt**	**buj̈alɑ**
rɑju	**ɑsɑ**	**u-ke**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**buj̈-ɑ-ilɑ**
Raju	hope	3SG-DAT	hatred	do-IMPF	understand-PASS-3SG.PRES

'*Raju seems to Asha hate (him).' (12.148)

d. **Raised subject to passive**

राजु आशा द्वारा नफरत कइल बुझाला ।

rɑju	**ɑsɑ**	**dwɑrɑ**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌil**	**buj̈alɑ**
rɑju	**ɑsɑ**	**dwɑrɑ**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌr-il**	**buj̈-ɑ-ilɑ**
Raju	hope	by	hatred	do-PP	understand-PASS-3SG.PRES

'Raju seems to be disliked (by Asha).' (12.149)

(25) **Raising to subject (adjective)**

a. **Unraised**

राजु खातिर आशा से नफरत कइल गलत रहे ।

rɑju	**kʰɑtir**	**ɑsɑ**	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌil**	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦe**
rɑju	**kʰɑtir**	**ɑsɑ**	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌr-il**	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
Raju	for	hope	with	hatred	do-INF	wrong	live-3.PST

'It was wrong for Raju to hate Asha.' (12.150)

b. **Raised subject of active**

आशा से नफरत करे में राजु गलत रहे ।

ɑsɑ	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌre**	**mẽ**	**rɑju**	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦe**
ɑsɑ	**se**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌr-e**	**mẽ**	**rɑju**	**gʌlʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
hope	with	hatred	do-PUR	LOC	Raju	wrong	live-3.PST

'Raju was wrong to hate Asha.' (12.151)

c. ***Raised object of active**

*आशा राजु खातिर ओके नफरत करे में गलत रहली ।

ɑsɑ	**rɑju**	**kʰɑtir**	**oke**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌre**	**mẽ**	**gʌlʌt**
ɑsɑ	**rɑju**	**kʰɑtir**	**u-ke**	**nʌpʰrʌt**	**kʌr-e**	**mẽ**	**gʌlʌt**
hope	Raju	for	3SG-DAT	hatred	do-PUR	LOC	wrong

rʌɦili
rʌɦ-ʌl-i
live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'*Radha was wrong for John to hate (her).' (12.152)

12.2 Contrastive focus constructions

Dixon (2010a:174) clarifies that "... topic is a discourse strategy, serving to link together successive clauses, focus involves one argument (or the predicate) being accorded prominence within a single clause. "The contrastive focus constructions cover a range of communicative contexts, including contexts of contrary belief or counter expectation at one end and various emphatic devices on the other" (Givón 2011:293). Within this range, different devices, i.e., intonation (focused elements tend to be stressed), constituent order (focused elements tend to be dislocated) and morphological affixes or discourse particles, are utilized to encode the contrastive focus in pragmatically marked constructions. These devices exhibit a considerable overlap among them.[4] The contrastive focus constructions in Bhojpuri are discussed as follows:

12.2.1 Contrastive affixes and quantifiers

Some noun modifiers such as 'even', 'all', 'every', 'other', 'first', 'only', 'self', 'really' and 'just' seem to attract contrastive focus almost obligatorily (Govón, 2001b:233). In Bhojpuri, affixes come first and seem natural whereas quantifiers are

4. Givón (2001b: 221) maintains that "in the discussion of contrastive focus, a certain overlap with other domains of grammar is unavoidable. This is so partly because complex functional domains are bound to intersect. Thus for example, many contrastive devices overlap with the domain of 'topic'.

also in use in abundant, some of them borrowed from its neighbours. They are presented as follows:

a) Focus marker suffix -ओ /-*o*/ and particle भी /*b̤i*/

The suffix -ओ /-*o*/ is used to establish a marked focus relation between a referent of a proposition and the proposition itself. The discourse environment in which -ओ/-*o*/ is employed varies from assertions to counter-propositions. They are all clearly related and may be subsumed under the term assertive focus. Noun phrases, adverbial or verbal phrases, and postpositional phrases may all be placed in focus with the suffix -ओ /-*o*/ immediately following the focused constituent. Following are the examples:

(26) a. ओ में बाभनो के ना छोड़लक आ डोमो के ना छोड़लख लोग ।

o	**mẽ**	**baḭno**	**ke**	**na**	**cʰoɽlʌk**	**a**
o	**mẽ**	**baḭʌn-o**	**ke**	**na**	**cʰoɽ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**a**
DIST	LOC	Brahmin-EMPH	ACC	NEG	leave-PP-3.PST	and

ɖomo	**ke**	**na**	**cʰoɽlʌkʰ**	**log**
ɖom-o	**ke**	**na**	**cʰoɽ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**log**
scavenger-EMPH	ACC	NEG	leave-PP-3.PST	people

'... The people neither excluded Brahmins nor Doms (the so-called lowest untouchable Hindu caste of scavenger) in that.' (03.347)

b. ... जे एक चटाई जमीन जिनगी में कहिओ नइखे देखले ऊ लोग किसान के नेता हो गइल ।

je	**ek**	**cʌʈai**	**jʌmin**	**jinʌgi**	**mẽ**	**kʌɦio**	**nʌikʰe**
je	**ek**	**cʌʈai**	**jʌmin**	**jinʌgi**	**mẽ**	**kʌɦia-o**	**nʌikʰ-e**
COMP	one	mat	land	life	LOC	when-EMPH	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

dekʰle	**u**	**log**	**kisan**	**ke**	**neta**	**ɦo**	**gʌil**
dekʰ-ʌl-e	**u**	**log**	**kisan**	**ke**	**neta**	**ɦo**	**ja-il**
see-PP-SEQ	3SG	PL	peasant	GEN	leader	be	go-3.PST

'... those who have not observed land equvalent to an area of even a mat have now become leaders of the peasants.' (02.059)

c. ... भोजपुरी हम चाहेम तइयो ना छुटी ... ।

ḭojpuri	**ɦʌm**	**caɦem**	**tʌio**	**na**	**cʰuʈi**
ḭojpuri	**ɦʌm**	**caɦ-em**	**tʌi-o**	**na**	**cʰuʈ-i**
Bhojpuri	1SG	want-FUT.H	then-EMPH	NEG	leave-3SG.FUT

'… Bhojpuri won't be apart from me even I wish …' (03.049)

In example (26a) the noun बाभन /*baḅʌn*/ 'Brahmin' and डोम /*ɖom*/ 'Hindu scavenger' suffixed with emphasis marker -ओ /*-o*/ are in focus. Similarly in (26b), the adverb कहिआ /*kʌɦia*/ 'when' suffixed suffixed with emphasis marker -ओ /*-o*/ is in focus. Likewise, in (26c), conditional तइ /*tʌi*/ 'then' suffixed with emphasis marker -ओ /-o/ is in focus.

Besides, the Hindi borrowing भी /*ḅi*/ is also a focus particle in Bhojpuri, as shown in (27a-b).

(27) a. ... आ ऊ हमर चाहना भी नइखे ।

ɑ	**u**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**cɑɦnɑ**	**ḅi**	**nʌikʰe**
ɑ	**u**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**cɑɦnɑ**	**ḅi**	**nʌikʰ-e**
and	DIST	1SG.GEN	will	also	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'... and it is not even my choice, too.' (03.049)

b. ... दल के लोग एह से पहिले भी कहत रहल ... ।

dʌl	**ke**	**log**	**eɦ**	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**ḅi**	**kʌɦʌt**	**rʌɦʌl**
dʌl	**ke**	**log**	**eɦ**	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**ḅi**	**kʌɦ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
party	GEN	people	PROX	source	before	also	say-IMPF	live-3.PST

'... politicians were telling this even earlier, too.' (02.082)

In example (27a) the noun चाहना /*cɑɦna*/ 'will' follwed by the focus marker particle भी /*ḅi*/ 'also' is in focus. Similarly in (27b), the adverb पहिले /pʌɦile/ 'before' followed by focus marker particle भी /*ḅi*/ 'also' is in focus.

In some instances except the emphasis marker -ओ /*-o*/ or particle भी /*ḅi*/ 'also', some other emphasis markers -नू /*-nu*/ or -ऊ /*-u*/ or clitic -ए /*-e*/ is also used to code a proposition which is contrary to expectation. Sometimes, it also happens semantically. Following are the examples:

(28) a. 'बनौले रहल ह, दूनू एके बेर मर गइल ।'

bʌnɔle	**rʌɦʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**dunu**	**eke**	**ber**	**mʌr**
bʌn-ɑ-wʌl-e	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**du-nu**	**ek-e**	**ber**	**mʌr**
make-CAUS-PP-SEQ	live-PP	be	two-EMPH	one-EMPH	time	die

gʌil

jɑ-il

go-3.PST

'The couple was lucky, both of them died together.' (12.020)

b. पागल आ प्रेमी एके में गनालन ।

pɑgʌl	**ɑ**	**premi**	**eke**	**mẽ**	**gʌnɑlʌn**
pɑgʌl	**ɑ**	**premi**	**ek-e**	**mẽ**	**gʌn-ɑ-il-ʌn**
lunatic	and	lover	one-EMPH	LOC	count-PASS-PP-3.PRES.MH

'The lunatic and lover are counted as the same.' (12.094)

c. अनुवाद अपनेआप में एगो सृजना भी ह ।

ʌnuwɑd	**ʌpneɑp**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**srijʌnɑ**	**ɓi**	**ɦʌ**
ʌnuwɑd	**ʌpneɑp**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**srijʌnɑ**	**ɓi**	**ɦʌ**
translation	itself	LOC	one-CLF	creation	also	be.3SG.PRES

'Translation is a creation in itself.' (03.360)

In example (28a), the speaker has presented a proposition that is contrary to the general expectation with information of the death of a couple at the same time, marked with -नू /*-nu*/ with दू /*du*/ 'two'. In (28b) the speaker emphasizes that पागल /*pagʌl*/ 'lunatic' and प्रेमी /*premi*/'lover' to be the same, marked by -ए /*-e*/ with एक /*ek*/ 'one' despite the fact that they are two different personalities. Likewise, in (28c) the speaker wants to express similarity between अनुवाद /*ʌnuwad*/ 'translation' and सृजना /*srijʌna*/ 'creation' though the two phenomena are different from each other.

This particle may follow the pronominal referent for the purpose of focusing, as in (29a-b):

(29) a. गोपालजी ई गीत अपने के भी बहुत पसंद आई आ घर में जे लोग सुन रहल बानी ऊ लोग भी पसन करेम ।

gopɑlji	**i**	**git**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**ɓi**	**bʌɦut**	**pʌsʌnd**
gopɑl-ji	**i**	**git**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**ɓi**	**bʌɦut**	**pʌsʌn**
Gopal-H	PROX	song	2SG.H	DAT	also	more	choice

ɑi	**ɑ**	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**je**	**log**	**sun**	**rʌɦʌl**
ɑ-i	**ɑ**	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**mẽ**	**je**	**log**	**sun**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
come-3.FUT	and	house	LOC	COND	PL	listen	live-INF

bɑni	**u**	**log**	**ɓi**	**pʌsʌn**	**kʌrem**	
bɑni	**u**	**log**	**ɓi**	**pʌsʌn**	**kʌr-em**	
be.PRES.H	3SG.DIST	PL	also	choice	do-FUT.H	

'Gopalji, this song you will also like most and even those who are hearing

us at home, too.' (03.088)

b. खास कके डाइरेक्टर साहेब जे एह कार्यक्रम के हरदम सुनत रहेलन उनका के भी हम धन्यवाद देवेके चाहतानी ।

kʰɑs	**kʌke**	**ɖairekʈʌr**	**saɦeb**	**je**	**eɦ**
kʰɑs	**kʌr-ke**	**ɖairekʈʌr**	**saɦeb**	**je**	**eɦ**
special	do-SEQ	director	sir	COND	PROX

karyʌkrʌm	**ke**	**sunʌt**	**rʌɦelʌn**	**unkɑ**	**ke**
karyʌkrʌm	**ke**	**sun-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-elʌn**	**un-kɑ**	**ke**
programme	ACC	listen-IMPF	live-3.PRES.MH	3SG-GEN	DAT

ḅi	**ɦʌm**	**ɖʌnyʌbɑd**	**deweke**	**cɑɦʌtɑni**	
ḅi	**ɦʌm**	**ɖʌnyʌbɑd**	**de-we-ke**	**cɑɦ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
also	1SG	thank	give-PUR-OBL	want-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'Especially the Director of Radio Nepal who listens to the programme, I want to thank him too.' (03.414)

In (29a) the focus marker particle भी /*ḅi*/ 'also' follows अपने के /*ʌpne ke*/ 'you (dative)' as well as ऊ लोग /*u log*/ 'they (nominative)'. Likewise, in (29b) it follows उनका के /*unka ke*/ 'him (dative)'. In both the cases, the focus particle follows pronominal referents in (29a-b). It may also focus an incomplete action encoded in infinitive form of the verb, as in (30a-c):

(30) a. बहुत जादा खर्च करे के भी बात चलल बा ।

bʌɦut	**jadɑ**	**kʰʌrc**	**kʌre**	**ke**	**ḅi**	**bɑt**	**cʌlʌl**
bʌɦut	**jadɑ**	**kʰʌrc**	**kʌr-e**	**ke**	**ḅi**	**bɑt**	**cʌl-ʌl**
very	excess	expenditure	do-PUR	GEN	also	matter	walk-PP

bɑ
bɑ
be.3SG.PRES

'It's even matter of over-spending.' (07.105)

b. फिर भी आज नेपाल में बज्जिका के एगो स्वतंत्र भाषा के रूप में अगाड़ी लेआवे के भी प्रयास हो रहल बा ।

pʰir	**ḅi**	**ɑj**	**nepɑl**	**mẽ**	**bʌjjikɑ**	**ke**	**ego**
pʰir	**ḅi**	**ɑj**	**nepɑl**	**mẽ**	**bʌjjikɑ**	**ke**	**ek-go**
return	also	today	Nepal	LOC	Bajjika	ACC	one-CLF

swʌtʌntrʌ ḇasɑ ke rup mẽ ʌgɑɽi leɑwe

swʌtʌntrʌ ḇasɑ ke rup mẽ ʌgɑɽi le-ɑ-we

independent language GEN form LOC ahead bring-CAUS-PUR

ke ḇi prʌyɑs ɦo rʌɦʌl bɑ

ke ḇi prʌyɑs ɦo rʌɦ-ʌl bɑ

pur also effort be live-INF be.3SG.PRES

'Besides that, even efforts are continuing to proceed Bajjika as an indepenent language in Nepal these days.' (03.136)

c. जेठ के गर्मी में एको पल बितावल कठिन होला ।

jeʈʰ ke gʌrmi mẽ eko pʌl bitɑwʌl

jeʈʰ ke gʌrmi mẽ ek-o pʌl bit-ɑ-wʌl

May-June GEN summer LOC one-EMPH moment pass-CAUS-INF

kʌʈʰin ɦolɑ

kʌʈʰin ɦo-lɑ

difficult be-3SG.PRES

'Even a moment is difficult to pass in summer of Jeth (May-June).' (09.001)

In (30a-c), the focus marker particle भी /*ḇi*/ 'also' follows the infinitive कर् /*kʌr*/ 'do' in (30a) and ले /*le*/ 'bring' in (30b), in both the cases actions are incomplete. Likewise, the focus marker suffix -ओ /*-o*/ 'even' with एक /*ek*/ 'one' empasizes on the infinitive verb बितावल /*bitawʌl*/ 'to pass' leaving it incomplete in (30c).

The focus marker suffix or particle also appears in categorical propositions, primarily in the negative and with interrogative or relative adverb कहाँ /*kʌɦɑ̃*/ 'where'. Followings are the examples:

(31) a. आज सड़क पर एकोगो गाड़ी ना देखनी ह ।

ɑj sʌɽʌk pʌr ekogo gɑɽi nɑ dekʰni

ɑj sʌɽʌk pʌr ek-o-go gɑɽi nɑ dekʰ-ni

today road LOC one-EMPH-CLF vehicle NEG see-PST.H

ɦʌ

ɦʌ

be.3SG.PRES

'I have not seen even a single vehicle on the road today.' (09.143)

b. तोहरा अपनो बेटा-बेटी पर माया ना लागे ?

toɦrɑ	**ʌpno**	**beʈɑ-beʈi**	**pʌr**	**mɑyɑ**	**nɑ**
tu-ʌr-ɑ	**ɑpʌn-o**	**beʈɑ-beʈi**	**pʌr**	**mɑyɑ**	**nɑ**
2SG-GEN-SPEC	GEN-EMPH	son and daughter	LOC	affection	NEG

lɑge

lag-e

feel-3.PRES

'Do you have no affection for even your own sons and daughters?' (09.161)

c. तोहर बल कहाँ गइल ?

toɦʌr	**bʌl**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**gʌil**
tu-ʌr	**bʌl**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**jɑ-il**
2SG-GEN	strength	where	go-3SG.PST

'You exhibited no strength. Lit: Where did you lose your strength?' (09.002)

d. बड़कु कहलख, 'हमरा कहाँ से बेटा होई ? भइल होखी तोरा भउजाई के ।'

bʌʈku	**kʌɦilʌkʰ**	**ɦʌmʌrɑ**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**se**	**beʈɑ**
bʌʈ-ku	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**se**	**beʈɑ**
elder-DET	say-PP-3.PST	1SG-GEN-SPEC	where	ABL	son

ɦoi	**ɓʌil**	**ɦokʰi**	**torɑ**	**ɓʌujɑi**	**ke**
ɦo-i	**ɓʌ-il**	**ɦo-kʰi**	**tu-rɑ**	**ɓʌujɑi**	**ke**
be-3SG.FUT	be-PP	be-3SG.FUT	2SG-GEN	elder sister-in-law	GEN

'The elder said, "How can I give birth to a son? (Lit: Where can I give birth to a son from?) It will have happened to your elder sister-in-law."' (12.042)

In (31a-d), the focus marker suffix -ओ /-*o*/ 'even' emphasizes एक /*ek*/ 'one' in (31a) as well as आपन /*apʌn*/ 'your' for negation in (31b). Likewise, the focus marker interrogative adverb of place कहाँ /*kʌɦɑ̃*/ 'where' marks negativity in Bhojpuri in interrogative syntactic structure and emphasizes negative expression of बल /*bʌl*/ 'strength' in (31c) and 'giving birth to a son' in (31d).

b) Emphatic marker -ए /-e/ and particle ही /ɦi/

The emphatic marker suffix -ए /-*e*/ 'only' focuses an action as a proposition that the speaker uses it in contrast of other actions might be possible in listener's hypothesis. It is exemplified in (32a-e).

(32) a. हमरा गहुँए चाहीं ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**gʌɦũe**	**cɑɦĩ**	
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**gʌɦũ-e**	**cɑɦ-ĩ**	
1SG-GEN-DAT	wheat-EMPH	want-OPT	

'I need wheat only.' (09.547)

b. ओकर नामकरण रउए कइले रहनी ।

okʌr	**nɑmkʌrʌn**	**rʌue**	**kʌile**	**rʌɦni**
u-ʌr	**nɑmkʌrʌn**	**rʌuɑ-e**	**kʌr-il-e**	**rʌɦ-ni**
3SG-GEN	baptism	2SG.H-EMPH	do-PP-SEQ	live-PST.H

'You yourself had named the programme.' (03.404)

c. दुइए गन ।

duie	**gʌn**
du-e	**gʌn**
two-EMPH	count.IMP

'Count two only.' (09.521)

d. जल्दिए देह खाली होखेवाला बा ।

jʌldie	**deɦ**	**kʰɑli**	**ɦokʰewɑlɑ**	**bɑ**
jʌldi-e	**deɦ**	**kʰɑli**	**ɦokʰ-e-wɑlɑ**	**bɑ**
soon-EMPH	body	empty	be-PUR-owner	be.3SG.PRES

'Her delivery is very close.' (12.031)

e. त एहू विषय में बात त उठिए रहल बा ।

tʌ	**eɦu**	**bisɛ**	**mẽ**	**bɑt**	**tʌ**	**uʈʰie**	**rʌɦʌl**
tʌ	**e-ɦu**	**bisɛ**	**mẽ**	**bɑt**	**tʌ**	**uʈʰ-e**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
COND	PROX-EMPH	issue	LOC	matter	COND	rise-EMPH	live-INF

bɑ
bɑ
be.3SG.PRES

'Then the concern is being raised even on this issue.' (01.054)

In (32a-e), the emphatic marker suffix -ए /*-e*/ has brought a noun गहुँ /*gʌɦũ*/ 'wheat' into focus. Likewise, second person pronoun रउआ /*rʌua*/ 'you(H)' in (32b), numeral adjective दू /*du*/ 'two' in (32c), adverb of time जल्दी /*jʌldi*/ 'soon' in (32d) and an intransitive verb उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'rise' in (32e).

As a Hindi borrowoing, ही /*ɦi*/ 'only' is a focus marking particle along with its

other Bhojpuri synonyms such as खाली /*kɦali*/, मात्र /*matrʌ*/ and केवल /*kewʌl*/ exemplified in (33a-d):

(33) a. त ए तरे एकेगो जिला यानी बारा जिला में ही ई फरक पर गेल ।

tʌ	**e**	**tʌre**	**ekego**	**jilɑ**	**yɑni**	**bɑrɑ**
tʌ	**e**	**tʌre**	**ek-e-go**	**jilɑ**	**yɑni**	**bɑrɑ**
COND	PROX	such	one-EMPH-CLF	district	in other words	Bara

jilɑ	**mẽ**	**ɦi**	**pʰʌrʌk**	**pʌr**	**gel**
jilɑ	**mẽ**	**ɦi**	**pʰʌrʌk**	**pʌr**	**jɑ-il**
district	LOC	EMPH	difference	fall	go-3SG.PST

'Then even in the same district Bara, we can observe difference.' (03.151)

b. खाली प्रशंसा ही प्रशंसा रहे ।

kʰɑli	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**ɦi**	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**rʌɦe**
kʰɑli	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**ɦi**	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**rʌɦ-e**
only	praise	EMPH	praise	live-3.PST

'There were only admirations of him.' (04.091)

c. बाँकिर ई एगो रेशम के तार मात्र से जिंदगी आवाद होखेवाला नइखे ।

bɑ̃kir	**i**	**ego**	**resʌm**	**ke**	**tɑr**	**mɑtrʌ**	**se**	**jindʌgi**
bɑ̃kir	**i**	**ek-go**	**resʌm**	**ke**	**tɑr**	**mɑtrʌ**	**se**	**jingi**
but	PROX	one-CLF	silk	GEN	wire	merely	means	life

ɑwɑd	**ɦokʰewɑlɑ**	**nʌikʰe**	
ɑwɑd	**ɦokʰ-e-wɑlɑ**	**nʌikʰ-e**	
fruitful	be-PUR-owner	be.NEG.PRES-3SG	

'But the life cannot be cultivated merely with such a silky thread.' (07.088)

d. ओ में भी केवल प्रशंसा ही रहे ।

o	**mẽ**	**ḭi**	**kewʌl**	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**ɦi**	**rʌɦe**
o	**mẽ**	**ḭi**	**kewʌl**	**prʌsʌnsɑ**	**ɦi**	**rʌɦ-e**
DIST	LOC	also	only	praise	EMPH	live-3.PST

'There was only admiration in that also.' (04.096)

In (33a-d), the emphatic particle ही /*ɦi*/ 'only' has focussed the Bara district following postposition में /*mẽ*/ 'in' in (33a), the noun प्रशंसा /*prʌsʌnsa*/ 'praise' in (33b) and (33d). Likewise, the focus quantifier खाली /*kʰali*/ has brought प्रशंसा /*prʌsʌnsa*/ 'praise' in (33b), मात्र /*matrʌ*/ has brought तार /*tar*/ 'wire' in (33c) and केवल /*kewʌl*/ has

brought प्रशंसा /*prʌsʌnsa*/ 'praise' in (33d) into focus. Going through the citations, we also absorve the repeatation of the focus particles in (33b) and (33d).

Moreover, the emphatic particle ही /*ɦi*/ 'only' comes in Bhojpuri as a suffix of focus too, as shown in (34a-d):

(34) a. ओही किताब में पाठ के जौरे-जौरे रहल ।

oɦi	**kitɑb**	**mẽ**	**pɑʈʰ**	**ke**	**jɔre**	**jɔre**	**rʌɦʌl**
o-ɦi	**kitɑb**	**mẽ**	**pɑʈʰ**	**ke**	**jɔre**	**jɔre**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
DIST-EMPH	book	LOC	lesson	GEN	with	with	live-3SG.PST

'It was distributed with each lesson of the very book.'

b. आदमी का डर त रहलही रहे ।

ɑdmi	**kɑ**	**ɖʌr**	**tʌ**	**rʌɦlʌɦi**	**rʌɦe**
ɑdmi	**kɑ**	**ɖʌr**	**tʌ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ɦi**	**rʌɦ-e**
man	GEN	fear	COND	live-PP-EMPH	live-3.PST

'I had already been afraid. (Lit: Certainly, the man had fear.)' (04.071)

c. त राजनीति खातिर भी समय निकालही के परी ।

tʌ	**rɑjniti**	**kʰɑtir**	**b̤i**	**sʌmɛ**	**nikɑlɦi**	**ke**	**pʌri**
tʌ	**rɑjniti**	**kʰɑtir**	**b̤i**	**sʌmɛ**	**nikɑl-ɦi**	**ke**	**pʌr-i**
COND	politics	for	also	time	extract-EMPH	OBL	fall-3SG.FUT

'Then, even I have to manage time for politics.' (03.045)

d. ओ में हमर पहिलही लेख में रहे प्रकृति के प्रकोप ।

o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**pʌɦilʌɦi**	**lekʰ**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦe**	**prʌkriti**
o	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**pʌɦil-ɦi**	**lekʰ**	**mẽ**	**rʌɦ-e**	**prʌkriti**
DIST	LOC	1SG-GEN	first-EMPH	article	LOC	live-3.PST	nature

ke	**prʌkop**
ke	**prʌkop**
GEN	calamity

'Among others, there was my own article, the first one, on natural calamity.' (04.079)

In (34a-d), ही /*ɦi*/ has been suffixed with a demonstrative pronoun ओ /*o*/ 'that (DIST)', with an intransitive verb रहल /*rʌɦʌl*/ 'live' in use of a copua, with a transitive verb निकाल /*nikal*/ 'extract' and with and adjective पहिल /*pʌɦil*/ 'first' respectively.

c) Non-reflexive अपने /*ʌpne*/ 'self'

The reflexive morpheme अपने /*ʌpne*/ 'slef' or 'own' is employed in non-

reflexive sense to serve as an intensifier that emphasizes the notion that the implicit subject or agent of the clause or the preceding noun phrase take part in the event itself. This emphasis on one participant implies the exclusion of other possibilities. In Bhojpuri, it is also the form of an honorific second person nominative but that is not relevant here. Following are the examples:

(35) a. आखिर बुढ़िआ के बेटी के लइका मुड़ी ढेंकी में खानके मुआ देलक, ओकर समुचा लुगा-कपड़ा आ गहना गुरिया अपने पेन्ह लेलक आ ओकरे मास-भात बनाके तैयार क देलक।

ɑkʰir	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**ke**	**beʈi**	**ke**	**lʌikɑ**	**muɽi**	**ɖ̈ēki**	**mẽ**
ɑkʰir	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**ke**	**beʈi**	**ke**	**lʌikɑ**	**muɽ**	**ɖ̈ēki**	**mẽ**
lastly	old woman	GEN	daughter	GEN	boy	head	pounder	LOC

kʰɑnke	**muɑ**	**delʌk**	**okʌr**	**sʌmucɑ**	**lugɑkʌpɽɑ**
kʰɑn-ke	**mu-ɑ**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**u-ʌr**	**sʌmucɑ**	**lugɑ-kʌpɽɑ**
pound-SEQ	die-CAUS	give-PP-3.PST	3SG-GEN	all	clothes

ɑ	**gʌɦnɑguriɑ**	**ʌpne**	**peɳ**	**lelʌk**
ɑ	**gʌɦnɑ-guriɑ**	**ʌpne**	**peɳ**	**le-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
and	ornaments	self	wear	take-PP-3.PST

'Eventually, the boy killed the girl pounding her head in the mortar and himself wore her all clothes and ornaments ...' (05.053)

b. त गायन आ वार्तालाप दूनू के सङे-सङे ले चले के भोजपुरी के अपने एगो विशाल परंपरा रहल बा।

tʌ	**gɑen**	**ɑ**	**bɑrtɑlɑp**	**dunu**	**ke**	**sʌŋe**
tʌ	**gɑen**	**ɑ**	**bɑrtɑlɑp**	**du-nu**	**ke**	**sʌŋ-e**
COND	singing	and	dialogue	two-EMPH	ACC	with-EMPH

sʌŋe	**le**	**cʌleke**	**ke**	**b̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**ʌpne**	**ego**
sʌŋ-e	**le**	**cʌl-e**	**ke**	**b̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**ʌpne**	**ek-go**
with-EMPH	take	walk-PUR	GEN	Bhojpuri	GEN	self	one-CLF

bisɑl	**pʌrʌmpʌrɑ**	**bɑ**
bisɑl	**pʌrʌmpʌrɑ**	**bɑ**
enormous	tradition	be.3SG.PRES

'Then, Bhojpuri has an immense tradition of its own to carry on singing and dialogue together.' (03.275)

c. लेकिन समय के अपने गति बा, ऊ चलते रही।

lekin **sʌmɛ** **ke** **ʌpne** **gʌti** **bɑ** **u** **cʌlte**

lekin **sʌmɛ** **ke** **ʌpne** **gʌti** **bɑ** **u** **cʌl-ʌt-e**

but time GEN self speed be.3SG.PRES 3SG walk-IMPF-EMPH

rʌɦi

rʌɦ-i

live-3.SG.FUT

'But the time has its own speed, it will be going on.' (03.391)

In (35a-c), the reflexive morpheme अपने /*ʌpne*/ has been used as 'slef' in (35a) and as 'own' in (35b-c) respectively but not as reflexive.

12.2.2 Contrastive strength

A language may have a variety of contrastive grammatical devices probably functionally related but by no means interchangeable (Givón, 2001b:224).

In this sub-section three levels of contrastiveness in Bhojpuri will be considered, coded by three grammatical devices, all apparently ranking above 'neutral'.

a) Contrastive stress devices

There are three devices in Bhojpuri characterized by contrastive stress on the focus constituent – stress-focus, cleft, and pseudo-cleft. Let us take a simple clause in neutral position:

(36) राजु गाय दुही ।

rɑju **gɑe** **duɦi**

rɑju **gɑe** **duɦ-i**

Raju cow milk-3SG.FUT

'Raju will milk the cow.' (06.013)

(i) Stress focus

The stress is expressed with loudness of a constituent in Bhojpuri. Under contrastive focus, the loudness of the different constituent is raised. In this context the simple clause in (36) can be uttered in different ways to express stress-focus as shown in (37a-c):

(37) a. ***राजु*** गाय दुही ।

raju **gɑe** **duɦi**

raju **gɑe** **duɦ-i**

Raju cow milk-3SG.FUT

'RAJU will milk the cow.' (06.013)

b. राजु ***गाय*** दुही ।

raju ***gae*** **duɦi**

raju ***gae*** **duɦ-i**

Raju cow milk-3SG.FUT

'Raju will milk the COW.' (06.013)

c. राजु गाय ***दुही***।

raju **gae** ***duɦi***

raju **gae** ***duɦ-i***

Raju cow milk-3SG.FUT

'Raju WILL MILK the cow.' (06.013)

In (37a-c) the subject राजु /*raju*/ 'Raju' in (37a), the object गाय /*gae*/ 'cow' in (37b) and the verb दुही /*duɦi*/ 'will milk' are stressed respectively to remove neutrality expressed in (36).

(ii) Cleft

As Nepali (Adhikari 2013:393) exhibits, the same expression in (36) can be clearer in cleft construction as follows:

(38) a. राजुए बा जे गाय दुही ।

rajue **bɑ** **je** **gae** **duɦi**

raju-e **bɑ** **je** **gae** **duɦ-i**

Raju-EMPH be.3SG.PRES COND cow milk-3SG.FUT

'It's Raju who will milk the cow.' (06.014)

b. इहे गाय ह जे राजु दुही ।

iɦe **gae** **ɦʌ** **je** **raju** **duɦi**

i **-e** **gae** **ɦʌ** **je** **raju** **duɦ-i**

PROX -EMPH cow be.3SG.PRES COND Raju milk-3SG.FUT

'It's the cow that Raju will milk.' (06.015)

In (38a-b) the subject राजु /*raju*/ 'Raju' in (38a) and the object गाय /*gae*/ 'cow' in (38b) have been brought to cleft structure to express contrastive focus.

(iii) Pseudo-cleft

The neutral expression in (36) can also be presented in pseudo-cleft structure for more contrastive expression as shown in (39a-d):

(39) a. जे गाय दुही ऊ ***राजु*** ह ।

je **gae** **duɦi** **u** ***raju*** **ɦʌ**

je gɑe duɦ-i u rɑju ɦʌ

COND cow milk-3SG.FUT COND Raju be.3SG.PRES

'The one who will milk the cow is RAJU.' (06.016)

b. राजु गाय के का करी कि ***दुही***।

rɑju gɑe ke kɑ kʌri ki *duɦi*

rɑju gɑe ke kɑ kʌr-i ki duɦ-i

Raju cow GEN what do-3SG.FUT COMP milk-3SG.FUT

'What Raju will do to the cow is MILK it.' (06.017)

c. राजु का करी कि ***गाय दुही***।

rɑju kɑ kʌri ki *gae duɦi*

rɑju kɑ kʌr-i ki gɑe duɦ-i

Raju what do-3SG.FUT COMP cow milk-3SG.FUT

'What Raju will do is MILK THE COW.' (06.018)

d. राजु कथी दुही, त ***गाय***।

rɑju kʌtʰi duɦi tʌ *gae*

rɑju kʌtʰi duɦ-i tʌ gɑe

Raju what milk-3SG.FUT COND cow

'What Raju will milk is the COW.' (06.019)

In (39a-d), the subject the subject राजु /*raju*/ 'Raju' in (39a), the verb दुही /*duɦi*/ 'will milk' in (39b), the verb phrase (VP) in (39c) and the object गाय /*gae*/ 'cow' in (39d) are expressed in pseudo cleft for contrastive focus to omit neutrality expressed in (36).

As in English (Givón, 2001b:224), stress-focus is least constrained and cleft constructions are the most. But pseudo-cleft seems to apply more permissively than cleft.

b) Y-movement

Much like cleft clauses, Y-movement or contrastive topicalization is restricted to primarily nominal arguments of the clause, often fronting of the contrasted topic involved – if it is in a non-initial position in the clause but only stressed if it is normally at the clause-initial position (Givón, 2001b:225). Let us consider the following examples:

(40) a. ओकर दुगो बहिन बाड़ी स, मेघिआ आ फुलिआ ।

okʌr dugo bʌɦin baɽi sʌ meğia ɑ

u-ʌr **du-go** **bʌɦin** **baɽi** **sʌ** **meg̈ia** **a**

3SG-GEN two-CLF sister be.3.PRES.F.MH PL Meghia and

pʰulia

pʰulia

Phulia

'He has two sisters, Meghia and Phulia.' (06.022)

b. ऊ मेघिया के बहुत मानेला ।

u **meg̈ia** **ke** **bʌɦut** **manela**

u **meg̈ia** **ke** **bʌɦut** **man-ela**

3SG Meghia DAT very like-3SG.PRES

'He likes Meghia a lot.' (06.023)

c. फुलिआ के त ऊ फरछाहिओं ना चलेला ।

phulia **ke** **tʌ** **u** **pʰʌrcʰaɦiõ** **na** **cʌlela**

phulia **ke** **tʌ** **u** **pʰʌrcʰaɦĩ-o** **na** **cʌl-ela**

Phulia GEN COND 3SG shadow-EMPH NEG walk-3SG.PRES

'Phulia, he can't stand.' (06.024)

d. ऊ फुलिआ हिअ जेकरा ऊ फरछाहीं ना चलेला ।

u **phulia** **ɦiʌ** **jekʌra** **u** **pʰʌrcʰaɦĩ** **na**

u **phulia** **ɦiʌ** **je-ʌr-a** **u** **pʰʌrcʰaɦĩ** **na**

3SG Phulia be.3SG.PRES.F COND-GEN-DAT 3SG shadow NEG

cʌlela

cʌl-ela

walk-3SG.PRES

'It's Phulia that he can't stand.' (06.025)

In (40a-d), the first two (40a-b) clauses are context and the second two (40c-d) are the continuation in which फुलिआ /*pʰulia*/ is Y-moved with lower stress in (40c) but it is in cleft-focus with stronger focus in (40d). Y-movement also expresses contrast that arises from breaking implicit expectations among members of a group, i.e., type, genus, as shown in (41a-b).

(41) a. ऊ मेघिआ के फरछाहीं ना चलेला ।

u **meg̈ia** **ke** **pʰʌrcʰaɦĩ** **na** **cʌlela**

u meg̈iɑ ke pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ nɑ cʌl-elɑ

3SG Meghia GEN shadow NEG walk-3SG.PRES

'He can't stand Meghia.' (06.026)

b. ना, ऊ फुलिआ हिअ जेकरा ऊ फरछाहीं ना चलेला ।

nɑ u phuliɑ ɦiʌ jekʌrɑ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ

nɑ u phuliɑ ɦiʌ je-ʌr-ɑ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ

NEG 3SG Phulia be.3SG.PRES.F COND-GEN-DAT 3SG shadow

nɑ cʌlelɑ

nɑ cʌl-elɑ

NEG walk-3SG.PRES

'No, it's Phulia that she can't stand.' (06.027)

Hence, (41a) is the context and (41b) is response.

c) Restrictive modifiers

Restrictive modifiers narrow down the domains of the referent noun, while non-restrictive ones do not. Restrictive modifiers may or may not be stressed but the non-restrictive ones left unstressed (Givón, 2001b:226). Bhojpuri also expresses the context of restrictive modifiers, as shown in (42a-d):

(42) a. ई गाछ

i gɑcʰ

i gɑcʰ

PROX tree

'this tree' (06.029)

b. ऊ गाछ

u gɑcʰ

u gɑcʰ

DIST tree

'that tree' (VIS) (06.030)

c. हऊ गाछ

ɦʌu gɑcʰ

ɦʌu gɑcʰ

DIST tree

'that tree' (INVIS)

d. गछिआ

gʌcʰiɑ

gɑcʰ-iɑ

tree-DEF

'the tree'

In (42a-d), there are demonstrative adjectives ई /*i*/ 'this', ऊ /*u*/ 'that (VIS)', and ह॒ऊ /ɦʌu/ 'that (INVIS)' that restrict neutrality of any गाछ /*gacʰ*/ 'tree' in (41a-c). Likewise, in (42d) the definitizer -इआ /-*ia*/ stands for definiteness of the tree equivalent to the English definite article 'the'.

Similarly, the adjective is also suffixed with definitizer for definiteness, as shown in (43a-b):

(43) a. लाल घर

lɑl ɡ̈ʌr

red house

'a red house' (06.032)

b. ललका घर

lʌlkɑ ɡ̈ʌr

lɑl-kɑ ɡ̈ʌr

red-DEF house

'the red house' (06.033)

12.2.3 Contrastive focus, reference and topicality

a) Reference and topicality

Reference denotes here semantic reference, i.e., whether a referent does or does not refer to some entity established verbally in the universe of discourse. Thus semantice reference is a narrower subcase of the pragmatics of topicality that means primarily two pragmatic aspects of reference: referential accessibility (anaphoric) and thematic importance (cataphoric).

b) Referentiality and contrast

Both cleft-focus and Y-movement tend to apply primarily to highly topical, anaphorically accessible arguments. Semantically the NP under contrastive focus may be either definite-referential or generic, but not referential-indefinite (Sun and Givón, 1985). So, these constructions are not used to introduce new participants into the discourse. Bhojpuri discourse uses both, generic and definite-referential but bars referential-indefinite, as shown in (44a-c):

(44) a. ऊ औरत हिअ जौन हम देखनी ।

u	**ɔrʌt**	**ɦiʌ**	**jɔn**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰni**
u	**ɔrʌt**	**ɦiʌ**	**jɔn**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰ-ni**
DIST	woman	be.3SG.PRES.F	COMP	1SG	see-PST.H

'It's a woman that I saw.' (06.034)

b. ई उहे औरत हिअ जे हम देखनी ।

i	**uɦe**	**ɔrʌt**	**ɦiʌ**	**je**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰni**
i	**u-e**	**ɔrʌt**	**ɦiʌ**	**je**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰ-ni**
PROX	3SG-EMPH	woman	be.3SG.PRES.F	COND	1SG	see-PST.H

'It's the woman that I saw.' (06.035)

c. *ऊ ई औरत हिअ जे हम देखनी, ना कि ई आदमी ।

u	**i**	**ɔrʌt**	**ɦiʌ**	**je**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰni**	**nɑ**
u	**i**	**ɔrʌt**	**ɦiʌ**	**je**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰ-ni**	**nɑ**
DIST	PROX	woman	be.3SG.PRES.F	COND	1SG	see-PST.H	NEG

ki	**i**	**ɑdmi**
ki	**i**	**ɑdmi**
COMP	PROX	man

'*It's this woman that I saw, not this man.' (06.036)

In (44a-c), the generic or non-referring contrastive focus is presented in (44a) and the definite-referential in (44b). But the referential-indefinite construction in (44c) is marked in Bhojpuri as in other languages including English.

The very same restriction bars referential-indefinite nouns in Y-movement contrasts in Bhojpuri, as shown in (45a-c):

(45) a. (हमरा अलुई मन ना परे), गाजर हमरा मन परेला ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**ʌlui**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌre**	**gɑjʌr**	**ɦʌmrɑ**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**ʌlui**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌr-e**	**gɑjʌr**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**
1SG-GEN-DAT	potato	mind	NEG	fall-3.PRES	carrot	1SG-GEN-DAT

mʌn	**pʌrelɑ**
mʌn	**pʌr-elɑ**
mind	fall-3SG.PRES

'(I don't like potatoes), carrots I like.' (06.038)

b. (हमरा ऊ ना सोहालन), इनका के त हम बहुत चाहेनी ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**u**	**nɑ**	**soɦɑlʌn**	**inkɑ**	**ke**	**tʌ**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**u**	**nɑ**	**soɦɑ-il-ʌn**	**in-kɑ**	**ke**	**tʌ**
1SG-GEN-DAT	3SG	NEG	like-INF-3.PRES.MH	3SG-GEN	DAT	COND

ɦʌm bʌɦut cɑɦeni

ɦʌm bʌɦut cɑɦ-eni

1SG very like-PRES.H

'(I don't like him), her I'm fond of.' (06.039)

c. *(हम ओतहाँ एगो औरत के बैठल देखनी,) कौनो आदमी के ना देखनी ।

ɦʌm	**otʌɦɑ**	**ego**	**ɔrʌt**	**ke**	**bʌiʈʰʌl**	**dekʰni**	**kɔno**
ɦʌm	**otʌɦɑ**	**ek-go**	**ɔrʌt**	**ke**	**bʌiʈʰ-ʌl**	**dekʰ-ni**	**kɔno**
1SG	there	one-CLF	woman	DAT	sit-PP	see-PST.H	any

ɑdmi ke nɑ dekʰni

ɑdmi ke nɑ dekʰ-ni

man DAT NEG see-PST.H

'*(I saw a woman sitting there,) a man I didn't see.'

In (45a-c), the generic or non-referring contrast is presented in (45a) and definite contrast in (45b). The referential-indefinite nouns are also seen in Y-movement contrast in (45c) but it is a marked construction in Bhojpuri as in English. The very same contrast also applies to the most common topicalization rule, L-dislocation, as shown in (46a-c):

(46) a. आदमी, उनका त केहू मन ना परल ।

ɑdmi	**unkɑ**	**tʌ**	**kɛɦu**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌrʌl**
ɑdmi	**un-kɑ**	**tʌ**	**kɛɦu**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌr-ʌl**
man	3SG-DAT	COND	anyone	mind	neg	fall-3SG.PST

'As for man, she didn't like any.' (06.040)

b. दुलारचन, ऊ उनका मन ना परस ।

dulɑrcʌn	**u**	**unkɑ**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌrʌs**
dulɑrcʌn	**u**	**un-kɑ**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌr-ʌs**
Dularchan	DIST	3SG-DAT	mind	NEG	fall-3.PST.H

'As for Dularchan, she didn't like him.' (06.041)

c. *केहू आदमी, उनका ऊ मन ना परल ।

kɛɦu	**ɑdmi**	**unkɑ**	**u**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌrʌl**

kɛɦu	**ɑdmi**	**un-kɑ**	**u**	**mʌn**	**nɑ**	**pʌr-ʌl**
any	man	3SG-DAT	3SG	mind	NEG	fall-3SG.PST

'*As for a man, she didn't like him.'

In (46a-c), the generic or non-referring contrast is presented in (46a) and definite contrast in (46b). A referential-indefinite noun is seen in L-dislocation in (46c) but it is a marked construction in Bhojpuri as in English.

The shared restriction suggests that it is cataphoric topicality rather than contrast that is at the bottom of the restriction on referential-indefinite NPs in all these constructions.

c) Topicality and contrast

"The restrictions on referential-indefinite nouns in cleft, Y-movement and L-dislocation suggest that the referent coded by these constructions must be anaphorically accessible, i.e., established in the preceding discourse" (Givón, 2001b:229) . Thus it is perfectly acceptable to introduce a topic for the first time with a pseudo-cleft construction in a discourse-initial context as shown in (47a), but rather odd with a cleft as in (47b) – unless the contrasted NP has been already topicalized in the preceding discourse, as in (47c):

(47) a. **Pseudo-cleft (initial)**

आज हमनी जे पर बात करे जातानी ऊ ह प्रेम ।

ɑj	**ɦʌmni**	**je**	**pʌr**	**bɑt**	**kʌre**	**jɑtɑni**		**u**
ɑj	**ɦʌm-ni**	**je**	**pʌr**	**bɑt**	**kʌr-e**	**jɑ-ʌt**	**bɑni**	**u**
today	1SG-PL	COND	LOC	matter	do-PUR	go-IMPF	be.PRES.H	3SG

ɦʌ	**prem**
ɦʌ	**prem**
be.3SG.PRES	love

'What we're going to talk about today is love.' (06.042)

b. **Cleft (initial)**

ऊ प्रेम ह जे पर हमनी आज बात करे जातानी ।

u	**prem**	**ɦʌ**	**je**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmni**	**ɑj**	**bɑt**
u	**prem**	**ɦʌ**	**je**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ɑj**	**bɑt**
DIST	love	be.3SG.PRES	COND	LOC	1SG-PL	today	matter

kʌre	**jɑtɑni**	
kʌr-e	**jɑ-ʌt**	**bɑni**
do-PUR	go-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'It's LOVE that we're going to talk about today.' (06.043)

c. **Cleft (medial)**

तू समझलऽ हमनी दौलत पर बतिअइतीं, बाँकिर ऊ ह प्रेम जे पर हमनी आज बात करे जातानी ।

tu	**sʌmʌjlʌ**	**ɦʌmni**	**dɔlʌt**	**pʌr**	**bʌtiʌitĩ**
tu	**sʌmʌj-ʌl-ʌ**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**dɔlʌt**	**pʌr**	**bʌtiɑ-i-tĩ**
2SG	understand-PP-2.PST.MH	1SG-PL	wealth	LOC	talk-FUT-IRR.H

bãkir	**u**	**ɦʌ**	**prem**	**je**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmni**	**ɑj**
bãkir	**u**	**ɦʌ**	**prem**	**je**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ɑj**
but	DIST	be.3SG.PRES	love	COND	LOC	1SG-PL	today

bʌt	**kʌre**	**jʌtʌni**
bʌt	**kʌr-e**	**jɑ-ʌt** **bʌni**
matter	do-PUR	go-IMPF be.PRES.H

'You thought we were going to talk about wealth, but it's LOVE that we're going to talk about today.' (06.044)

Either in the same paragraph or chain, a certain buildup of contrary expectations has to take place in the preceding portion of the thematic unit before a referent is coded by a cleft-focus. So, a paragraph boundary tends to obliterate the efficacy of the formation of contrary expectations, as shown in (48a-b):

(48) a. **Expectations set up within the current paragraph**

तू मानेलऽ कि ए लइकी के नोकर मुआ देलख, निश्चित रूप से एह बात में दम बा, हमहू मानेम । तब्बो तू पूरा पूरा गलतफहमी में बाड़ऽ । ऊ त ओकर बापे ह जे ओके मुआ देलख ।

tu	**mʌnelʌ**	**ki**	**e**	**lʌiki**	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**muɑ**
tu	**mʌn-elʌ**	**ki**	**e**	**lʌiki**	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**mu-ɑ**
2SG	realize-2.PRES.MH	COMP	PROX	girl	GEN	servant	die-CAUS

delʌkʰ	**niscit**	**rup**	**se**	**eɦ**	**bʌt**	**mẽ**	**dʌm**
de-ʌl-ʌkʰ	**niscit**	**rup**	**se**	**eɦ**	**bʌt**	**mẽ**	**dʌm**
give-PP-3.PST	certain	form	SPEC	PROX	matter	LOC	weight

bɑ	**ɦʌmɦu**	**mʌnem**	**tʌbbo**	**tu**	**purɑ**	**purɑ**
bɑ	**ɦʌm-ɦu**	**mʌn-em**	**tʌb-o**	**tu**	**purɑ**	**purɑ**
be.3SG.PRES	1SG-EMPH	realize-FUT.H	then-EMPH	2SG	full	full

gʌlʌtpʰʌɦmi	**mẽ**	**bɑɽʌ**	**u**	**tʌ**	**okʌr**	**bɑpe**

gʌlʌtpʰʌɦmi	**mẽ**	**baɽʌ**	**u**	**tʌ**	**u-ʌr**	**bap-e**
falsehood	LOC	be.2.PRES	3SG	COND	3SG-GEN	father-EMPH

ɦʌ	**je**	**oke**	**muɑ**	**delʌkʰ**
ɦʌ	**je**	**o-ke**	**mu-ɑ**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
be.3SG.PRES	COND	3SG-ACC	die-CAUS	give-PP-3.PST

'You think that servant killed the girl, and it sure makes sense, I admit. But you're absolutely wrong. It was her father who killed her.' (06.045)

b. **Expectations set up across paragraph boundary**

तू मानेलऽ कि ए लइकी के नोकर मुआ देलख, निश्चित रूप से एह बात में दम बा, हमहू मानेम। तब्बो तू पूरा पूरा गलतफहमी में बाड़ऽ।

tu	**mɑnelʌ**	**ki**	**e**	**lʌiki**	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**muɑ**
tu	**mɑn-elʌ**	**ki**	**e**	**lʌiki**	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**mu-ɑ**
2SG	realize-2.PRES.MH	COMP	PROX	girl	GEN	servant	die-CAUS

delʌkʰ	**niscit**	**rup**	**se**	**eɦ**	**bɑt**	**mẽ**	**dʌm**
de-ʌl-ʌkʰ	**niscit**	**rup**	**se**	**eɦ**	**bɑt**	**mẽ**	**dʌm**
give-PP-3.PST	certain	form	SPEC	PROX	matter	LOC	weight

bɑ	**ɦʌmɦu**	**mɑnem**	**tʌbbo**	**tu**	**purɑ**	**purɑ**
bɑ	**ɦʌm-ɦu**	**mɑn-em**	**tʌb-o**	**tu**	**purɑ**	**purɑ**
be.3SG.PRES	1SG-EMPH	realize-FUT.H	then-EMPH	2SG	full	full

gʌlʌtpʰʌɦmi	**mẽ**	**baɽ**
gʌlʌtpʰʌɦmi	**mẽ**	**baɽʌ**
falsehood	LOC	be.2.PRES

'You think that servant killed the girl, and it sure makes sense, I admit. But you're absolutely wrong.' (06.045)

ऊ त ओकर बापे ह जे ओके मुआ देलख।

u	**tʌ**	**okʌr**	**bɑpe**	**ɦʌ**	**je**	**oke**
u	**tʌ**	**u-ʌr**	**bɑp-e**	**ɦʌ**	**je**	**o-ke**
3SG	COND	3SG-GEN	father-EMPH	be.3SG.PRES	COND	3SG-ACC

muɑ	**delʌkʰ**
mu-ɑ	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
die-CAUS	give-PP-3.PST

'It was her father who killed her.' (06.045)

The upshot of discussion in (48a-b) appears to be a one-way conditional

association between contrastive focus and topicality: Contrastive focus ⊃ Topic.

12.2.4 Assertion scope and contrastive focus: Negation and yes/no-questions

If an optional element is mentioned in a clause, it must be itself the focus of the asserted information (Govón 2001b:230).

a) Negation and focus attraction

"In the case of affirmative declarative clauses, the inference is normative and probabilistic. In the case of negative clauses, it becomes obligatory ('grammaticalized') to all intent and purpose" (Givón, 2001b:231). Bhojpuri has such usage, as shown in (49).

(49) धनपत कुत्ता के ना मुअइलख ।

d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**muʌilʌkʰ**
d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ**
Dhanpat	dog	ACC	NEG	die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'Dhanpat didn't kill the dog.' (06.046)

The negative clause in (49), there is no optional constituent and when uttered without contrastive stress, the inference is that the event 'killing a dog' did not happen. Hence, the entire verb phrase is under the scope of negation. But immediately after insertion of an optional constituent, on the other hand, the normative inference changes radically and the scope of negated assertion narrows down excluding everything except the optional constituent, as shown in (50a-d):

(50) a. धनपत कुत्ता के जानबूझके ना मुअइलख ।

d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**jɑnbuj̈ke**		**nɑ**	**muʌilʌkʰ**
d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**jɑn-buj̈-ke**		**nɑ**	**mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ**
Dhanpat	dog	ACC	know-understand-SEQ		NEG	die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'Dhanpat didn't kill the dog knowingly.' (06.047)

b. धनपत कुत्ता के शुक के ना मुअइलख ।

d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**suk**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**muʌilʌkʰ**
d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**suk**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ**
Dhanpat	dog	ACC	Friday	DAT	NEG	die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'Dhanpat didn't kill the dog on Friday.' (06.048)

c. धनपत कुत्ता के खीसे ना मुअइलख ।

d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**kʰise**	**nɑ**	**muʌilʌkʰ**

d̪ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**kʰis-e**	**nɑ**	**mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ**
Dhanpat	dog	ACC	anger-REAS	NEG	die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'Dhanpat didn't kill the dog in anger.' (06.049)

d. धनपत कुत्ता के घरे ना मुअइलख ।

d̪ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**g̈ʌre**	**nɑ**	**muʌilʌkʰ**
d̪ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**g̈ʌr-e**	**nɑ**	**mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ**
Dhanpat	dog	ACC	house-LOC	NEG	die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'Dhanpat didn't kill the dog at home.' (06.050)

In (50a-d), because of the optional constituent asserted in (50a), the probability of accident is strong for killing the dog. Likewise, the probability of killing the dog on some other day than on Friday is strong in (50b), probability of being normal condition than in anger is strong in (50c) and that at somewhere else, not at home in (50d). In this way the general inference is radically changed because of assertion of some optional constituent.

b) Yes/no-question and focus attraction

Generally a yes/no question is wide open if it has only obligatory arguments and it can take the entire VP, including even the subject, as shown in (51):

(51) का धनपत कुत्ता के मुअइलख ?

kɑ	**d̪ʌnpʌt**	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**muʌilʌkʰ**
kɑ	**d̪ʌnpʌt**	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ**
what	Dhanpat	dog	ACC	die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'Did Dhanpat kill the dog?' (06.051)

If an optional constituent is present in (51), it attracts the focus of the yes/no-question, even without contrast, in the similar way as we discussed in (50).

12.2.5 Other focus attractive devices

There are some other elements to display similar behaviour how optional constituents attract both the focus of assertion and contrastive focus, such as wh-quenstions and contrastive quantifiers. As contrastive quantifiers have already been discussed, wh-questions are under discussion in this section. As in the cleft clauses, the contrastive focus in wh-questions tends to be attracted to the क- /kʌ-/ 'wh-' word in Bhojpuri rather than to other constituents, as shown in (52a-b):

(52) a. कुत्ता के **के** मुअइलख ?

kuttɑ ke *ke* muʌilʌkʰ

kuttɑ ke ke mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ

dog ACC who die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'Who killed the dog?' (06.056)

b. धनपत ***कथी*** के मुअइलख ?

d̤ʌnpʌt *kʌtʰi* ke muʌilʌkʰ

d̤ʌnpʌt kʌtʰi ke mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ

Dhanpat what ACC die-CAUS-PP-3.PST

'What did Dhanpat kill?' (06.057)

12.3 Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed the marked topics and contrastive focus in Bhojpuri. Different devices like discourse particles, intonation and constituent order may be utilized for focus and topicalization purposes. In Bhojpuri, the constituents of the clause may be freely dislocated within the clause to a great extent to topicalize, focus, contrast, emphasize and intensify the meaning of a constituent. Apart from the extensive use of discourse particles, different strategies are employed to mark a topic in terms of constituent order. Existential-presentative constructions कौनो /kɔno/ 'some or a/an' and एगो /ego/ 'a/an' used as an indefinite article are indefinite referents in Bhojpuri. Similarly, the verb in EPCs is existential रह /*rʌɦ*/ or ह /*ɦʌ*/ or बा /*ba*/ and some locational verbs such as बैठ /*bʌiʈʰ*/ 'sit', उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'stand', रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' रुक /ruk/ '*stay*' or entrance verbs such as आ /*a*/ 'come/arrive' लउक /*lʌuk*/ 'appear', पहुँच /*pʌɦũc*/ 'approach' along with departure verb जा /*ja*/ 'go' are frequently used in EPCs 'be'. Though Bhojpuri is a flexible SOV language, it also exhibits the inverse order VSO or OVS in EPCs. It is most commonly either a REL-clause, an adjective, a LOC-phrase, a noun complement, a genitive or an associative phrase preceding the the indefinite subject in Bhojpuri in EPCs. Though the Y-movement is contrastive, the Y-moved referents also tend to be typically topical and anaphorical, falling under a single intonation contour. As in a number of languages, Bhojpuri exhibits characteristics of a separate intonation contour for the dislocated NP, neutralizaion of the case-marking of the topic NP, and an anaphoric pronoun resumption of the topic NP within the clause in left-dislocation. Similarly, Bhojpuri exhibits afterthoughts and background constructions through anaphoric pronoun, intonation break and neutralized case-

marking in right-dislocation as observed in left-dislocation. As in many languages dative shifting is evident in Bhojpuri to make the dative the direct object. Raising may or may not be found in other languages but Bhojpuri exhibits raising to object and raising to subject for marked topic constructions.

The inclusive marker suffix -ओ /-*o*/ and the Hindi borrowing particle भी /*b̤i*/ function for the meaning 'also/too' in Bhojpuri. Besides them, -नू /-*nu*/ or -ऊ /-*u*/ or clitic -ए /-*e*/ is also used to code a proposition which is contrary to expectation. The individuative Emphatic marker suffix -ए /-*e*/ and Hindi borrowed particle ही /*ɦi*/ 'only' may also be employed to contrast a particular adverbial from other alternates. Besides them Bhojpuri uses खाली /*kɦali*/, मात्र /*matrʌ*/, केवल /*kewʌl*/ and the non-reflexive अपने /*ʌpne*/ 'self' to mark individuity. Contrastive strength in Bhojpuri is marked with contrastive stress devices, Y-movement and restrictive modifiers. Contrastive focus in Bhojpuri is also marked by reference and topicality, assertion scope in terms of negation and yes/no-questions and other devices like wh-questions and contrastive questions.

CHAPTER 13
INTER-CLAUSAL COHERENCE

13.0 Outline

This chapter deals with inter-clausal coherence in Bhojpuri. It consists of seven sections. Section 13.1 deals with verbal complements, and subordinate adverbial clauses are explained in section 13.2. Likewise, we describe participial adverbial clauses in section 13.3 and relative clauses in section 13.4. Clause chaining is discussed in section 13.5 and conjoined clauses are discussed in section 13.6. Finally, we summarize the chapter in section 13.7.

13.1 Complement clauses

Different strategies are utilized in Bhojpuri for sentential complementation, mainly determined by complement-taking verb. Besides, due to the degree of semantic bond between the complement-taking predicate and the verbal element of the complement (Givón, 2001b:39), most of them fall, quite clearly, into one of the two main types: (a) finite complements, and (b) non-finite complements, as attested in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:355), Maithili (Yadav 1996:348 and Yadav 2014:48), Hindi (Koul 2008:181) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:370-2). Bhojpuri also observes the same (Thakur 2011:136). Hence the complements of the first type are simply extraposed and syntactically relatively independent from the main clause and the complements of the second type are almost invariably embedded into the main clause and have a time reference entirely determined by the main clause.

13.1.1 Complement-taking PCU predicates

In Bhojpuri, कह /*kʌɦi*/ 'say, tell' is the verb that takes PCU predicates, as shown in (1a-b).

(1) a. छोटकु कहलख, ‘ना हो, हमार बैल ना बिकाई ।’

cʰoʈku	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**	**nɑ**	**ɦo**	**ɦʌmɑr**	**bɛl**	**nɑ**
cʰoʈ-ku	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**nɑ**	**ɦo**	**ɦʌmɑr**	**bɛl**	**nɑ**
small-DET	say-PP-3SG.PST	NEG	VOC	1SG.GEN	ox	NEG

bikɑi

bik-ɑ-i

sell-PASS-FUT

'The younger said, "No. My oxen won't be sold."' (10.017)

b. मातारी ओकरा के कहलक, ‘देख ना, तोहरा भउजी के देह अझुराह बा ।

matari okʌra ke kʌɦlʌkʰ dekʰ na

matari u-ʌr-a ke kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ dekʰ na

mother 3SG-GEN-DET DAT say-PP-3SG.PST see EMPH

toɦʌra ḅʌuji ke deɦ ʌj̈uraɦ ba

tu-ʌr-a ḅʌuji ke deɦ ʌj̈uraɦ ba

2SG-GEN-SPEC elder sister-in-law GEN body pregnant be.3SG.PRES

'The mother said to him, "Look, your elder sister-in-law is pregnant now."' (10.030)

A zero strategy or juxtaposition is exhibited in the instances (1a-b), where the complement, always a direct-quote utterance, occurs after the main clause and its complement-taking predicate without any overt complementizer or other linking device.

The complements can also be presented with a complementizer कि /*ki*/ in Bhojpuri and, if so, the complement is always heavily shifted to the end, as shown in (2a-c).

(2) a. हम ई कहेके चाहतानी कि एक मधेश एक प्रदेश में भोजपुरी के कौनो तरह से बाँटल ना जाई।

ɦʌm i kʌɦeke caɦʌtani ki ek

ɦʌm i kʌɦ-e-ke caɦ-ʌt bani ki ek

1SG PROX say-PUR-OBL want-IMPF be.PRES.H COMP one

mʌḍ̱es ek prʌdes mẽ ḅ̱ojpuri ke kɔno tʌrʌɦ se

mʌḍ̱es ek prʌdes mẽ ḅ̱ojpuri ke kɔno tʌrʌɦ se

Madhesh one province LOC Bhojpuri GEN any as means

bãʈʌl na jai

bãʈ-ʌl na ja-i

divide-INF NEG go-3SG.FUT

'I want to tell you, "Bhojpuri will not be split under One Madhesh One Province."' (01.087)

b. त बात करत रहनी ह कि ओह बेरा अइसन किसिम के किसान आंदोलन भइल।

tʌ bat kʌrʌt rʌɦni ɦʌ ki oɦ

tʌ bat kʌr-ʌt rʌɦ-ni ɦʌ ki oɦ

COND matter do-IMPF live-PST.H be.3SG.PRES COMP DIST

bera ʌisʌn kisim ke kisan andolʌn ḅ̱ʌil

bera ʌisʌn kisim ke kisan andolʌn ḅ̱ʌ-il

time such type GEN peasant movement become-3SG.PST

'Now I was telling you, "The peasants' movements were launched in this

way in those days.'" (02.050)

c. ए पर बलि त थोड़ा-सा हँसलें भी कि 'आरे दरिद्र ब्राह्मण तोरा भीखमङे रहेके बा सारा जिनगी ?'

e	**pʌr**	**bʌli**	**tʌ**	**tʰoɽɑ**	**sɑ**	**ɦɑ̃slẽ**	**ɓi**	**ki**
e	**pʌr**	**bʌli**	**tʌ**	**tʰoɽɑ**	**sɑ**	**ɦɑ̃s-ʌl-ẽ**	**ɓi**	**ki**
PROX	LOC	Bali	COND	little	as	laugh-PP-3.PST.MH	also	COMP

ɑre	**dʌridrʌ**	**brɑɦmʌn**	**torɑ**	**ɓikʰmʌŋe**	**rʌɦeke**
ɑre	**dʌridrʌ**	**brɑɦmʌn**	**torɑ**	**ɓikʰmɑŋɑ-e**	**rʌɦ-e-ke**
VOC	poor	Brahmin	2SG.GEN	beggar-EMPH	live-PUR-OBL

bɑ	**sɑrɑ**	**jingi**
bɑ	**sɑrɑ**	**jingi**
be.3SG.PRES	whole	life

'Bali laughed shortly at him and said, "O poor Brahmin! Do you want to remain a lifelong beggar?'" (07.042)

The examples in (2a-c) show a very broadly applied कि /*ki*-/ strategy, where a particle or complementizer कि /*ki*/ follows the complement-taking predicate and precedes the extraposed (heavy-shifted) finite complement clause.

Likewise, Non-verbal "utterances" are treated in this way too, i.e., thoughts are presented from the thinking agent's perspective, as if they were uttered verbally, as shown in (3).

(3) जब पनपिआई के बेरा भइल त मातारी सोचली, 'लइका के पनपिआई जरुर खिआवेके चाहीं।'

jʌb	**pʌnpiɑi**	**ke**	**berɑ**	**ɓʌil**	**tʌ**	**mɑtɑri**
jʌb	**pʌnpiɑi**	**ke**	**berɑ**	**ɓʌ-il**	**tʌ**	**mɑtɑri**
when	breakfast	GEN	time	be-3SG.PST	COND	mother

socʌli	**lʌikɑ**	**ke**	**pʌnpiɑi**	**jʌrur**	**kʰiɑweke**
soc-ʌl-i	**lʌikɑ**	**ke**	**pʌnpiɑi**	**jʌrur**	**kʰiɑ-we-ke**
think-PP-3.PST.F.MH	son	GEN	breakfast	certainly	feed-PUR-OBL

cɑɦĩ

cɑɦ-ĩ

want-OPT

'When the sun rose up, the mother thought, "The son must get breakfast now."' (10.009)

The complement of the utterance predicates presented so far are all extraposed

(vis-à-vis the basic SOV word order) and are expected to be so when used this way. But that is never allowed with any form of the verb कह /*kʌɦ*-/ 'say, call', as shown in (4a-b).

(4) a. लइका एगो पिट्ठी तोड़के बुढ़िआ के कहलक, 'गे बुढ़िआ दाई, पिठिआ भुइआँ में गिरा दीँ ?'

lʌikɑ	**ego**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽke**	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**ke**	**kʌɦilʌk**
lʌikɑ	**ek-go**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽ-ke**	**buɽ̊-i-ɑ**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
boy	one-CLF	cake	pluck-SEQ	old-F-DET	DAT	say-PP-3.PST

buɽ̊iɑ	**ke**	**kʌɦilʌk**	**ge**	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**dai**	**piʈʈʰiɑ**
buɽ̊-i-ɑ	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ge**	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**dai**	**piʈʈʰi-ɑ**
old-F-DET	DAT	say-PP-3.PST	VOC.F	old-F-DET	grandma	cake-DET

ɓuiã	**mẽ**	**girɑ**	**dĩ**
ɓuiã	**mẽ**	**gir-ɑ**	**de-ĩ**
ground	LOC	fall-CAUS	give-OPT

'The boy plucked a cake and said to the old woman, "O my Old Grandma, can I let the cake fall on the ground?"' (05.011)

b. 'ऊ हमर जान बँचा देलक' कहत दुखा बहुत खुश भइल आ राजु के धन्यवाद देत मिठाई बँटलख।

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**jɑn**	**bʌ̃cɑ**	**delʌk**	**kʌɦʌt**	**dukʰɑ**
u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**jɑn**	**bʌ̃c-ɑ**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**kʌɦ-ʌt**	**dukʰɑ**
3SG	1SG.GEN	life	save-CAUS	give-PP-3.PST	say-SIM	Dukha

bʌɦut	**kʰus**	**ɓʌil**	**ɑ**	**rʌju**	**ke**	**ɖʌnyʌbɑd**
bʌɦut	**kʰus**	**ɓʌ-il**	**ɑ**	**rɑju**	**ke**	**ɖʌnyʌbɑd**
very	happy	become-3SG.PST	and	Raju	DAT	thank

det	**miʈʰɑi**	**bʌ̃ʈlʌkʰ**
de-ʌt	**miʈʰɑi**	**bʌ̃ʈ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
give-SIM	sweet	divide-PP-3.PST

'Saying, "He saved my life", Dukha became very very happy and distributed sweets thanking Raju.' (13.075)

Straightforwardly and literally, the verb कह /*kʌɦ*/ 'say' refers back to what was actually uttered, but when especially combined with another utterance predicate and/or कि /*ki*/ preceding the utterance, it becomes an end-of-quotation marker by effect, particularly in its participial shape कहत /*kʌɦʌt*/ or कहके /*kʌɦke*/.

(5) a. 'ऊ हमर जान बँचा देलक' कहत दुखा बहुत खुश भइल ... ।

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**jɑn**	**bʌ̃cɑ**	**delʌk**	**kʌɦʌt**	**dukʰɑ**

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**jɑn**	**bɑ̃c-ɑ**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**kʌɦ-ʌt**	**dukʰɑ**
3SG	1SG.GEN	life	save-CAUS	give-PP-3.PST	say-SIM	Dukha

bʌɦut kʰus ḛʌil

bʌɦut kʰus ḛʌ-il

very happy become-3SG.PST

'Saying, "He saved my life", Dukha became very very happy …'" (13.075)

b. माई-दाई 'तू काथी बनबे ?' कहके कुछ एह तरे सुनावे ।

mɑi	**dɑi**	**tu**	**kɑtʰi**	**bʌnbe**	**kʌɦke**
mɑi	**dɑi**	**tu**	**kʌtʰi**	**bʌn-be**	**kʌɦ-ke**
mother	grandma	2SG	what	make.PASS-2.FUT	say-SEQ

kucʰ	**eɦ**	**tʌre**	**sunɑwe**
kucʰ	**eɦ**	**tʌre**	**sun-ɑ-we**
something	PROX	method	listen-CAUS-3.PST

'Grandmothers used to tell the children having said like this "What will you be?"' (03.303)

a) Propositional attitude predicates

Those predicates that express an attitude regarding the complement proposition, especially concerning its verisimilitude value, are propositional attitude predicates. They are closely related to and sometimes difficult to distinguish from utterance predicates. They express certainty on the part of the subject or the matrix clause concerning the immediately preceding argument or phrase, as shown in (6a-b).

(6) a. ई बर्तनो के दोकानवाला सोचलक, 'अइसन अलबटाह से काहे लागल जाओ ?'

i	**bʌrtʌno**	**ke**	**dokɑnwɑlɑ**	**soclʌk**	**ʌisʌn**
i	**bʌrtʌn-o**	**ke**	**dokɑn-wɑlɑ**	**soc-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ʌisʌn**
PROX	utensil-EMPH	GEN	shop-owner	think-PP-3.PST	such

ʌlbʌʈɑɦ	**se**	**kɑɦe**	**lɑgʌl**	**jɑo**
ʌlbʌʈɑɦ	**se**	**kɑɦe**	**lɑg-ʌl**	**jɑ-o**
deaf and dumb	with	why	join-INF	go-OPT

'The utensil-seller also thought, "Why to talk long to a dumb?"' (10.054)

b. किसान सोचलख, 'होए ना होए ई त साँढ़े के खुँड़ारी बुझाता । ठीक बा, ओके पिटके बेलावेके परल ।'

kisɑn	**soclʌkʰ**	**ɦoe**	**nɑ**	**ɦoe**	**i**	**tʌ**

kisɑn	**soc-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ɦo-e**	**nɑ**	**ɦo-e**	**i**	**tʌ**
peasant	think-PP-3.PST	be-3.PST	NEG	be-3.PST	PROX	COND

sãʈ̊e	**ke**	**kʰũɽɑri**	**buj̈ɑtɑ**		**ʈʰik**
sãʈ̊-e	**ke**	**kʰũɽɑri**	**buj̈-ɑ-ʌt**	**bɑ**	**ʈʰik**
bull-EMPH	GEN	footsteps	understand-PASS-IMPF	3SG.PRES	right

bɑ	**oke**	**piʈke**	**belɑweke**	**pʌrʌl**
bɑ	**u-ke**	**piʈ-ke**	**belɑ-ew-ke**	**pʌr-ʌl**
be.3SG.PRES	3SG-ACC	beat-SEQ	drive away-PUR-OBL	fall-3SG.PST

'The farmer thought, "Much probably, they are the footsteps of a bullock. Well, it must be driven back with beating."' (13.076)

Propositional attitudes may also be expressed as noun complementation, the general structure remaining the same, as shown in (7).

(7) एने छोटकु जइसही ओह आदमी के देखलक, एकरा बुझाइल, 'हमरा भाई के कहल कुछियो कुछियो इहे ना त ह ?'

ene	**cʰoʈku**	**jʌisʌɦi**	**oɦ**	**ɑdmi**	**ke**	**dekʰlʌk**
ene	**cʰoʈ-ku**	**jʌise-ɦi**	**oɦ**	**ɑdmi**	**ke**	**dekʰ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
this side	small-DET	as fast as-EMPH	DIST	man	DAT	see-PP-3.PST

ekʌrɑ	**buj̈ɑil**	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**b̤ai**	**ke**
e-ʌr-ɑ	**buj̈-ɑ-il**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**b̤ai**	**ke**
PROX-GEN-DAT	understand-PASS-3.PST	1SG-GEN-DEF	brother	GEN

kʌɦʌl	**kucʰio**	**kucʰio**	**iɦe**	**nɑ**	**tʌ**
kʌɦ-ʌl	**kucʰ-io**	**kucʰ-io**	**i-e**	**nɑ**	**tʌ**
say-PP	something-EMPH	something-EMPH	this-EMPH	NEG	COND

ɦʌ

ɦʌ

be.3SG.PRES

'Hence, as soon as the younger saw him, he thought, "Something what my elder brother told is this one only."' (10.057)

b) Commentative predicates

Commentative (or factive) predicates provide a comment on a complement proposition that is assumed to be real (Noonan, 1985:117). As the complement often occurs as reported discourse and there is probably some overlap, the distinction between these and utterance predicates is not always very obvious. Typically, the

complement clause is formed as a question, with काहे /*kaɦe*/ 'why' and कइसन /*kʌisʌn*/ 'what kind', as shown in (8a-b):

(8) a. हमरा काहे नु मुड़बथी धइले बा।

ɦʌmrɑ	**kɑɦe**	**nu**	**muɽbʌtʰi**	**ɖ̤ʌile**	**bɑ**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**kɑɦe**	**nu**	**muɽbʌtʰi**	**ɖ̤ʌr-il-e**	**bɑ**
1SG-GEN-DEF	why	EMPH	headache	catch-PP-SEQ	be.3SG.PRES

'I don't know why I have an headache.' (09.073)

b. बेटी से बुढ़िआ कहली, 'देख त मोटड़ी खोलके आज कइसन सावज ले आइल बानी ?'

beɽi	**se**	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**kʌɦili**	**dekʰ**	**tʌ**	**moɽʌɽi**
beɽi	**se**	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**dekʰ**	**tʌ**	**moɽʌɽi**
daughter	DAT	old woman	say-PP-3.PST.F.MH	see.IMP	COND	bundle

kʰolke	**ɑj**	**kʌisʌn**	**sɑwʌj**	**le**	**ɑil**	**bɑni**
kʰol-ke	**ɑj**	**kʌisʌn**	**sɑwʌj**	**le**	**ɑ-il**	**bɑni**
open-SEQ	today	how	prey	bring	come-PP	be.PRES.H

'The old woman talked to her daughter, "Open the bundle and see what type of prey I've brought today."' (05.042)

Besides, when the subject of the complement clause and the matrix clause are coreferent, the complement can occur as a verbal noun as presented in (9).

(9) जौन अवरोधक बा ओकरा के छोड़ेके पड़ी, ई हमर कहनाम बा।

jɔn	**ʌbroɖ̤ʌk**	**bɑ**	**okʌrɑ**	**ke**	**cʰoɽeke**
jɔn	**ʌbroɖ̤-ʌk**	**bɑ**	**u-ʌr-ɑ**	**ke**	**cʰoɽ-e-ke**
COND	obstruction-NML	be.3SG.PRES	3SG-GEN-DET	DAT	leave-PUR-OBL

pʌɽi	**i**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**kʌɦnɑm**	**bɑ**
pʌɽ-i	**i**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**kʌɦnɑm**	**bɑ**
fall-3SG.FUT	PROX	1SG- GEN	saying	be.3SG.PRES

'Whoever is obstacle has to be abandoned, it is my view.' (03.356)

c) Predicates of knowledge acquision

Many complement-taking predicates that have to do with acquisition of knowledge use, the same strategies as for utterances, so, the complement is presented as an utterance, either by the agent of the matrix clause, as presented in (10a), or by some other, explicit or implicit, source participant, as shown in (10b-c).

(10) a. बटोही समझ गइल, 'ई हरवाहा बहिर बुझाता।'

bʌʈofi	**sʌmʌj̈**	**gʌil**	**i**	**ɦʌrwaɦa**	**bʌɦir**
bʌʈofi	**sʌmʌj̈**	**ja-il**	**i**	**ɦʌrwaɦa**	**bʌɦir**
passenger	understand	go-3SG.PST	this	ploughman	deaf

buj̈ata

buj̈-a-ʌt **ba**

understand-PASS-IMPF be.3SG.PRES

'The passerby understood, "The ploughman seems deaf."' (10.020)

b. मेवाड़ के महारानी कर्मावती के बहादुर शाह द्वारा मेवाड़ पर हमला कइल जाए के पूर्व सूचना मिलल।

mewaɽ	**ke**	**mʌɦarani**	**kʌrmawʌti**	**ke**	**bʌɦadur**	**saɦ**	**dwara**
mewaɽ	**ke**	**mʌɦarani**	**kʌrmawʌti**	**ke**	**bʌɦadur**	**saɦ**	**dwara**
Mewad	GEN	queen	Karmawati	GEN	Bahadur	Shah	by

mewaɽ	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmla**	**kʌil**	**jae**	**ke**	**purb**	**sucna**
mewaɽ	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmla**	**kʌr-il**	**ja-e**	**ke**	**purb**	**sucna**
Mewad	LOC	invasion	do-PP	go-PUR	GEN	pre	information

milʌl

mil-ʌl

get-3SG.PST

'Queen Karmawati of Mewad got informed that Bahadur Shah was about to attack on Mewad.' (07.060)

c. सियार मुर्गी के बच्चन से सुनलख कि तुरंते आकाश गिरेवाला बा।

siar	**murgi**	**ke**	**bʌccʌn**	**se**	**sunlʌkʰ**	**ki**
siar	**murgi**	**ke**	**bʌcca-ʌn**	**se**	**sun-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ki**
jackal	hen	GEN	young-PL	source	hear-PP-3SG.PST	COMP

turʌnte	**akas**	**girewala**	**ba**
turʌnt-e	**akas**	**gir-e-wala**	**ba**
soon-EMPH	sky	fall-PUR-owner	be.3SG.PRES

'The jackal heard from the chickens that the sky was to fall immediately.' (13.077)

d) Immediate perception predicates

The same construction is used in the chaining of differenct-subject clauses with at least two verbs coding directly perceived events, ताक /*tak*/ 'look, see', देख /*dekʰ*/ 'watch' and ख्याल कर /*kʰyal kʌr*/ 'note', in which the finite complement-taking

predicate occurs with a particle त /*tʌ*/, followed by a finite complement clause, as shown in (11a-c).

(11) a. शिकारी लोग एनेओने ताकत रहे कि एगो बानर के एगो गाछ के डाढ़ पर बैठके अमधुर खात देखलख।

sikɑri log eneone tɑkʌt rʌɦe ki ego
sikɑri log eneone tɑk-ʌt rʌɦ-e ki ek-go
hunter PL to and fro see-IMPF live-3.PST COMP one-CLF

bɑnʌr ke ego gɑcʰ ke ɖaʡ̆ pʌr bʌiʈʰke
bɑnʌr ke ek-go gɑcʰ ke ɖaʡ̆ pʌr bʌiʈʰ-ke
monkey DAT one-CLF tree GEN branch LOC sit-SEQ

ʌmd̪ur kʰɑt dekʰlʌkʰ
ʌmd̪ur kʰɑ-ʌt dekʰ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
guava eat-SIM see-PP-3.PST

'The hunters were looking to and fro and saw that a monkey was eating guavas sitting on the branch of a tree.' (13.078)

b. ऊ देखता कि छोटका उतरी आ मारकीन त पेन्ले बा बाँकिर एकर मन तनिको मलीन नइखे।

u dekʰʌtɑ ki cʰoʈkɑ
u dekʰ-ʌt bɑ ki cʰoʈ-kɑ
3SG see-IMPF be.3SG.PRES COMP small-CLF

utʌri ɑ mɑrkin tʌ peɳle
utʌri ɑ mɑrkin tʌ peɳ-ʌl-e
funeral cloth in neck and butter white cloth COND wear-INF-SIM

bɑ bɑ̃kir ekʌr mʌn tʌniko mʌlin
bɑ bɑ̃kir e-ʌr mʌn tʌnikɑ-o mʌlin
be.3SG.PRES but PROX-GEN mind little-EMPH faded

nʌikʰe
nʌikʰ-e
be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'He noticed though the younger was in funeral dress, he was not mentally sorrowful.' (10.084)

c. एतने में छोटकु देखता कवनों राही बटोही पैंड़ा धइले चलल जात रहे।

etne mɛ̃ cʰoʈku dekʰʌtɑ kɔno

etne	**mẽ**	**cʰoʈ-ku**	**dekʰ-ʌt**	**bɑ**		**kɔno**
meanwhile.EMPH	LOC	small-DET	see-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES		some
rɑɦi	**bʌʈoɦi**	**pɛ̃ʈɑ**	**ɖʌile**	**cʌlʌl**	**jɑt**	**rʌɦe**
rɑɦi	**bʌʈoɦi**	**pɛ̃ʈɑ**	**ɖʌr-il-e**	**cʌl-ʌl**	**jɑ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
passerby	passenger	way	put-PP-SEQ	walk-INF	go-IMPF	live-3.PST

'In the meantime, the younger saw a passerby was walking on the way.' (10.015)

While all the complements with PCU-predicates exemplified earlier represented direct discourse, whereas the perceived event presented with this particular construction is indirect.

13.1.2 Complement-taking modality predicates

a) Modal predicates

As modality, in Bhojpuri as well as in its close neighbours too, belongs to TAM system as a whole and is expressed morphologically, as well as conjuntively, there are few examples of complement-taking predicates with a purely modal meaning. Such predicate in Bhojpuri is सक- /*sʌk*-/ 'be able to, can'. This verb regularly takes an infinitival complement, as shown in (12a-c).

(12) a. दोहराके फेर अपने ओइसनके बिआ घर में नइखीं राख सकत ।

doɦrɑke	**pʰer**	**ʌpne**	**oisʌnke**	**biɑ**	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**mẽ**
doɦrɑ-ke	**pʰer**	**ʌpne**	**oisʌn-ke**	**biɑ**	**ɡ̈ʌr**	**mẽ**
repeat-SEQ	again	2SG.H	same-EMPH	seed	house	LOC

nʌikʰĩ	**rɑkʰ**	**sʌkʌt**
nʌikʰ-ĩ	**rɑkʰ**	**sʌk-ʌt**
be.NEG.PRES.H	keep	can-IMPF

'You cannot keep the same seeds at your home for the second time.' (02.092)

b. ऊ लोग पूरा परिवार के मार सकत रहे ।

u	**log**	**purɑ**	**pʌriwɑr**	**ke**	**mɑr**	**sʌkʌt**	**rʌɦe**
u	**log**	**purɑ**	**pʌriwɑr**	**ke**	**mɑr**	**sʌk-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
3SG	PL	full	family	ACC	kill	can-IMPF	live-3.PST

'They were able to kill the whole family.' (13.079)

c. हम आज घरे ना जाए सकनी ।

ɦʌm	**ɑj**	**ɡ̈ʌre**	**nɑ**	**jɑe**	**sʌkni**

ɦʌm	**ɑj**	**g̈ʌr-e**	**nɑ**	**jɑ-e**	**sʌk-ni**
1SG.NOM	today	house-LOC	NEG	go-PUR	can-PST.H

'I could not go home today.' (13.080)

As this exemplifies clause union rather than a full lexical union, it is supported by the fact that it is still possible to split the two predicates and insert other constituents between them, as presented in (13).

(13) ओकनी के केहू ना कह सकत रहे ।

okni	**ke**	**kefiu**	**nɑ**	**kʌɦ**	**sʌkʌt**	**rʌɦe**
u-ni	**ke**	**kefiu**	**nɑ**	**kʌɦ**	**sʌk-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
3SG-PL	DAT	anybody	NEG	say	can-IMPF	live-3SG.PST

'Nobody was able to tell them.'

Necessity or ability can also be expressed with complement clauses of complement-taking nouns, as shown in (14a-e).

(14) a. त ओह व्याकरण के कौनो अलग से किताब ना आइल ।

tʌ	**oɦ**	**byɑkʌrʌn**	**ke**	**kɔno**	**ʌlʌg**	**se**	**kitɑb**	**nɑ**
tʌ	**oɦ**	**byɑkʌrʌn**	**ke**	**kɔno**	**ʌlʌg**	**se**	**kitɑb**	**nɑ**
COND	DIST	grammar	GEN	any	separate	ABL	book	NEG

ɑil
ɑ-il
come-3SG.PST

'But any separete book of grammar did not take shape.' (03.068)

b. बाँकिर ए विषय के भी ओ लोग के आ हमनी के बुझल-समझल जरूरी बा ।

bɑ̃kir	**e**	**bisɛ**	**ke**	**b̤i**	**o**	**log**	**ke**	**ɑ**	**ɦʌmni**
bɑ̃kir	**e**	**bisɛ**	**ke**	**b̤i**	**o**	**log**	**ke**	**ɑ**	**ɦʌm-ni**
but	PROX	subject	ACC	also	DIST	PL	GEN	and	1SG-PL

ke	**buj̈ʌl**	**sʌmj̈ʌl**	**jʌruri**	**bɑ**
ke	**buj̈-ʌl**	**sʌmʌj̈-ʌl**	**jʌruri**	**bɑ**
GEN	understand-INF	understand-INF	need	be.3SG.PRES

'But this factor is also necessary for them as well as for us to understand.' (03.138)

c. ओकरा बाद पूर्व सभासद भी हमनी कह सकतानी ।

okrɑ	**bɑd**	**purb**	**sʌb̤ɑsʌd**	**b̤i**	**ɦʌmni**	**kʌɦ**

u-ʌr-ɑ	**bɑd**	**purb**	**sʌbˌɑsʌd**		**bˌi**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**kʌɦ**
3SG-GEN-DEF	later	former	CA	Member	also	1SG-PL	say

sʌkʌtɑni

sʌk-ʌt **bɑni**

can-IMPF be.PRES.H

'We can also call him a former CA Member.' (03.016)

b) Achievement predicates

Achievement predicates are almost similar to modal predicates; the difference is noted as it lies in implicativity in the typical cases. As it is implicative, it signals unsuccessful vs. failed performance or realization, as exemplified in (15a-c).

(15) a. बटोही फेर से पुछे के कोशिस कइलख ... ।

bʌʈoɦi	**pʰer**	**se**	**pucʰe**	**ke**	**kosis**	**kʌilʌkʰ**
bʌʈoɦi	**pʰer**	**se**	**pucʰ-e**	**ke**	**kosis**	**kʌr-il-ʌkʰ**
passenger	again	with	ask-PUR	GEN	efforts	do-PP-3SG.PST

'The passerby tried to ask again ...' (10.018)

b. जब हमनी एक दोसरा के इयाद कइनी त फेर आ गइनी ।

jʌb	**ɦʌmni**	**ek-dosʌrɑ**	**ke**	**iyɑd**	**kʌini**	**tʌ**
jʌb	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ek-dosʌr-ɑ**	**ke**	**iyɑd**	**kʌr-ini**	**tʌ**
when	1SG-PL	one another-DET	GEN	memory	do-PST.H	COND

pʰer **ɑ** **gʌini**

pʰer **ɑ** **jɑ-ini**

again come go-PST.H

'When we remembered each other, we came to be together.' (03.030)

c. ओह बेरा जमीन के कमी का चल्ते एक तरफ लोग भूखे मरे त बेसी जमीनवाला लोग के जमीन पर्ता रहला का चल्ते उत्पादन ना होखे ।

oɦ	**berɑ**	**jʌmin**	**ke**	**kʌmi**	**kɑ**	**cʌlte**	**ek**	**tʌrʌpʰ**	**log**
oɦ	**berɑ**	**jʌmin**	**ke**	**kʌmi**	**kɑ**	**cʌlte**	**ek**	**tʌrʌpʰ**	**log**
DIST	time	land	GEN	lack	GEN	REAS	one	side	people

bˌukʰe	**mʌre**	**tʌ**	**besi**	**jʌminwɑlɑ**	**log**	**ke**
bˌukʰ-e	**mʌr-e**	**tʌ**	**besi**	**jʌmin-wɑlɑ**	**log**	**ke**
hunger-REAS	die-3.PST	COND	more	land-owner	people	GEN

jʌmin pʌrtɑ rʌɦlɑ **kɑ** **cʌlte** **utpɑdʌn** **nɑ** **ɦokʰe**

jʌmin pʌrtɑ rʌɦ-ʌl-ɑ kɑ cʌlte utpɑdʌn nɑ ɦokʰ-e
land barren live-PP-SEQ GEN REAS production NEG be-3.PST
'Those days, people died of hunger in lack of land and on the other hand the huge area of land of the land-lord used to be barren.' (02.035)

Achievement or non-achievement can also be expressed with complement clauses of complement-taking adjectives, as shown in (16a-b).

(16) a. औगर से काठ छेदल आसान बा ।

ɔgʌr se kɑʈʰ cʰedʌl ɑsɑn bɑ
ɔgʌr se kɑʈʰ cʰed-ʌl ɑsɑn bɑ
augur means wood pierce-INF convenient be.3SG.PRES
'It is easy to pierce wood with an augur.' (09.186)

b. डेङी खेवल आसान नइखे ।

ɖeŋi kʰewʌl ɑsɑn nʌikʰe
ɖeŋi kʰe-ʌl ɑsɑn nʌikʰ-e
boat row-INF easy be.NEG.PRES-3SG
'Rowing boat is not easy.' (09.525)

c) Phasal predicates

As concerning modals have already been pointed out, several phasal notions, which have to do with termination and continuation, have been indicated by means of complementation. However, inception can be expressed with at least two different complementation strategies: infinitival and verbal noun.

In infinitival strategy, perfective form of लाग /*lag*/ 'start' is utilized in Bhojpuri, as presented in (17a-c).

(17) a. जब ओ लोग के ई भय भइल कि अब नुकइला से काम ना चली त ऊ लोग धीरे-धीरे आपन जमीन बेंचे लागल ।

jʌb o log ke i ɓɛ ɓʌil ki ʌb
jʌb o log ke i ɓɛ ɓʌ-il ki ʌb
when that people GEN this fear become-3SG.PST COMP now
nukʌilɑ se kɑm nɑ cʌli tʌ u log
nukɑ-il-ɑ se kɑm nɑ cʌl-i tʌ u log
hide-PP-SEQ means work NEG walk-3SG.FUT COND 3SG people
ɖire ɖire ɑpʌn jʌmin bẽce lɑgʌl

d̤ire d̤ire ɑpʌn jʌmin bẽc-e lɑg-ʌl

slowly slowly 3.GEN land sell-SIM continue-3.PST

'When they were afraid of hiding land, they started selling it slowly.' (02.056)

b. ओ में जुट गइल लोग और भी आ खूला जगह पर लागल होखे ।

o mẽ juʈ gʌil log ɔr b̤i ɑ kʰulɑ jʌgʌɦ

o mẽ juʈ jɑ-il log ɔr b̤i ɑ kʰul-ɑ jʌgʌɦ

DIST LOC join go-3.PST people more also and open-ADJ place

jʌgʌɦ pʌr lɑgʌl ɦokʰe

jʌgʌɦ pʌr lɑg-ʌl ɦokʰ-e

PLace LOC continue-3SG.PST be-SIM

'Some more people joined it and the gatherings also started to be organized at open places.' (04.099)

c. जब बुढ़िआ खाए लगली त लइका कहे लागल, 'लोलो रे लोलो, अपने बेटिया के मास-भात खइले रे लोलो !'

jʌb buɽ̊iɑ kʰɑe lʌgli tʌ lʌikɑ

jʌb buɽ̊iɑ kʰɑ-e lɑg-ʌl-i tʌ lʌikɑ

when old woman eat-SIM continue-PP-3.PST.F.MH COMP boy

kʌɦe lɑgʌl lolo re lolo ʌpne beʈiɑ

kʌɦ-e lɑg-ʌl lolo re lolo ɑpʌn-e beʈi-ɑ

say-SIM continue-3SG.PST hush VOC hush GEN-EMPH daughter-DET

ke mɑsb̤ɑt kʰʌile re lolo

ke mɑs-b̤ɑt kʰɑ-il-e re lolo

GEN meat & rice eat-PP-2.PST VOC hush

'When the old woman started eating, the boy began to say, "Hush! eat with pleasure, it's your own daughter's meat and rice."' (05.055)

With another nearly synonymous phasal predicate सुरू कर /*suru kʌr*/ 'start' the verbal noun strategy is also possible, as shown in (18).

(18) ऊ चारे आदमी कौनो ना कौनो एगो पाट सुरू करे ।

u cɑre ɑdmi kɔno nɑ kɔno ego pɑʈ suru

u cɑr-e ɑdmi kɔno nɑ kɔno ek-go pɑʈ suru

DIST four-EMPH man some EMPH some one-CLF drama begin

kʌre

kʌr-e

do-3.PST.NH

'Only the four people used to perform a drama.' (03.298)

There is also evidence that the phasal notion of continuation can be expressed through two less usual strategies for purpose with the complement taking predicate रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'remain', one being a participial and the other a co-predicative particle, as presented in (19a-b) respectively.

(19) a. साँप आ नेउर एक-दोसरा के देखते रह गइलन ।

sɑ̃p	**ɑ**	**neur**	**ek-dosrɑ**	**ke**	**dekʰte**	**rʌɦ**
sɑ̃p	**ɑ**	**neur**	**ek-dosrɑ**	**ke**	**dekʰ-ʌt-e**	**rʌɦ**
snake	and	mongoose	one another	ACC	see-SIM-EMPH	live

gʌilʌn

jɑ-il-ʌn

go-PP-3.PST.MH

'The snake and the mongoose remained looking at each other.' (13.082)

b. लइका मुँह बावते रह गइल ।

lʌikɑ	**mũɦ**	**bɑote**	**rʌɦ**	**gʌil**
lʌikɑ	**mũɦ**	**bɑ-wʌt-e**	**rʌɦ**	**jɑ-il**
boy	mouth	yawn-SIM-EMPH	live	go-3SG.PST

'The boy remained yawning the mouth.' (13.083)

d) Desiderative predicates

The verbal noun strategy is also put to use in subject-controlled complements of desiderative predicates, as shown in (20a-c).

(20) a. बाँकिर भोजपुरी के उन्नति, भोजपुरी के विकास होखो, ई हमर चाहना ह ।

bɑ̃kir	**ɓ̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**unnʌti**	**ɓ̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**bikɑs**
bɑ̃kir	**ɓ̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**unnʌti**	**ɓ̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**bikɑs**
but	Bhojpuri	GEN	promotion	Bhojpuri	GEN	development

ɦokʰo	**i**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**cɑɦnɑ**	**ɦʌ**
ɦokʰ-o	**i**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**cɑɦnɑ**	**ɦʌ**
be-OPT	PROX	1SG- GEN	will	be.3SG.PRES

'But may Bhojpuri promote and prosper, it is my motto.' (03.042)

b. ऊ भोजपुरी के शब्दकोश भी बनेके चाहीं कहके काम सुरू करेके चाहले रहे ।

u	**bʱojpuri**	**ke**	**sʌbdʌkos**	**bʱi**	**bʌneke**	**cʌhĩ**
u	**bʱojpuri**	**ke**	**sʌbdʌkos**	**bʱi**	**bʌn-e-ke**	**cʌh-ĩ**
3SG	Bhojpuri	GEN	dictionary	also	make-PUR-OBL	want-OPT

kʌhike	**kɑm**	**suru**	**kʌreke**	**cʌhle**	**rʌhe**
kʌh-ke	**kɑm**	**suru**	**kʌr-e-ke**	**cʌh-ʌl-e**	**rʌh-e**
say-SEQ	work	begin	do-PUR-OBL	want-PP-SEQ	live-3.PST

'S/he wanted to start works thinking a dictionary of Bhojpuri should be compiled.' (03.075)

c. अपने के हम थोड़ा सा रोकेके चाहतानी ।

ʌpne	**ke**	**hʌm**	**tʰoɽɑ**	**sɑ**	**rokeke**	**cʌhʌtani**	
ʌpne	**ke**	**hʌm**	**tʰoɽɑ**	**sɑ**	**rok-e-ke**	**cʌh-ʌt**	**bɑni**
2SG.H	GEN	1SG	little	as	stop-PUR-OBL	want-IMPF	be.PRES.H

'I want you to halt for a while.' (01.051)

Finally, some utterance predicates that have already been pointed out, using the कि /*ki*/ strategy, especially those concerning "thinking", can equally well be considered desiderative, as shown in (21).

(21) अष्टावक्र सोचलें कि जनक के सभागार में एकोगो विद्वान नइखन ।

ʌsʈɑbʌkrʌ	**soclẽ**	**ki**	**jʌnʌk**	**ke**	**sʌbʱɑgɑr**	**mẽ**
ʌsʈɑbʌkrʌ	**soc-ʌl-ẽ**	**ki**	**jʌnʌk**	**ke**	**sʌbʱɑgɑr**	**mẽ**
Astavakra	think-PP-3.PST.MH	comp	Janak	GEN	meeting hall	LOC

ekogo	**bidwɑn**	**nʌikʰʌn**
ek-o-go	**bidwɑn**	**nʌikʰ-ʌn**
one-EMPH-CLF	learned person	be.3.NEG.PRES-3PL

'Astabakra thought that there were no intellectuals in King Janak's meeting hall.' (13.085)

13.1.3 Complement-taking manipulation predicates

a) Permissive predicates

When the verb दे /*de*/ 'give' is used as complement-taking verb 'let', it occurs in two different constructions, both with permissive semantics. One is the verbal noun strategy, also occurring in various other complement clauses, followed by the postposition के /*ke*/ 'to', as shown in (22a-b). This is used in the indicative.

(22) a. कउअन के आम ना खाए देवे खातिर ऊ हरदम गुलेती चलावत रहेला ।

kʌuʌn	**ke**	**ɑm**	**nɑ**	**kʰɑe**	**dewe**	**kʰɑtir**	**u**
kʌuɑ-ʌn	**ke**	**ɑm**	**nɑ**	**kʰɑ-e**	**de-e**	**kʰɑtir**	**u**
crow-PL	ACC	mango	NEG	eat-PUR	give-PUR	for	3SG

ɦʌrdʌm	**guleti**	**cʌlɑwʌt**	**rʌɦelɑ**
ɦʌrdʌm	**guleti**	**cʌlɑ-wʌt**	**rʌɦ-elɑ**
always	catapult	target-SIM	live-3SG.PRES

'He targets catapult all the time at crows not to let them eat mangoes.' (13.086)

b. का साँझ के केहू हमनी के अपना घरे रहे दी ?

kɑ	**sɑ̃ɉ**	**ke**	**keɦu**	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**ʌpnɑ**
kɑ	**sɑ̃ɉ**	**ke**	**keɦu**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**ʌpnɑ**
what	evening	GEN	somebody	1SG-PL	DAT	GEN

ɡʌre	**rʌɦe**	**di**
ɡʌr-e	**rʌɦ-e**	**de-i**
house-LOC	live-PUR	give.3.FUT

'Will someone let us stay at his/her home in the evening?' (13.087)

The other strategy that involves the particle त /*tʌ*/ is used in the imperative, with the literal rendering 'let x (out), and x will do y'. However, the complement clause in the strategy above is embedded, the complement clause in this construction is S-like and extraposed. The main verb does not assign case to the manipulee/complement clause agent in this construction.

(23) ओके जाए त दीं ।

oke	**jɑe**	**tʌ**	**dī**
u-ke	**jɑ-e**	**tʌ**	**de-ī**
3SG-DAT	go-PUR	COND	give-IMP.H

'Let him/her go first.' (13.088)

b) Causative predicates

While the most important means of expressing causativity is morphological – a matter we will return to shortly – manipulation that involves a lower degree of agentive control (Givón 2001b:45) is often expressed through what is basically utterance predicates, also using the same strategies. Hereby the manner of causation or persuation is also made explicit (Noonan 1985:126). The complement clause is either imperative or hortative, as shown in (24a-c).

(24) a. एक दिन मातारी अपना बेटा सब से कहली, ‘बउआ, अब घरही रहला से काम ना चली ।

बड़का, तू जो पंजाब कमाए, छोटका रही घरे के कामधंधा देखी ।'

ek din matari ʌpna beʈa sʌb se kʌɦili
ek din matari ʌpna beʈa sʌb se kʌɦ-ʌl-i
one day mother SG.GEN son PL DAT say-PP-3.PST.F.MH

bʌua ʌb ɡ̈ʌrɦi rʌɦila se kam na
bʌbua ʌb ɡ̈ʌr-ɦi rʌɦ-ʌl-a se kam na
boy now house-EMPH live-PP-SEQ caus work NEG

cʌli bʌʈka tu jo pʌnjab kʌmae
cʌl-i bʌʈ-ka tu ja-o pʌnjab kʌma-e
walk-3SG.FUT elder-SPEC 2SG go-IMP Punjab work-PUR

cʰoʈka rʌɦi ɡ̈ʌre ke kamḍ̈ʌnḍ̈a dekʰi
cʰoʈ-ka rʌɦ-i ɡ̈ʌr-e ke kam-ḍ̈ʌnḍ̈a dekʰ-i
small-SPEC live-3SG.FUT house-LOC GEN work see-3SG.FUT

'One day the mother said to her sons, "My sons, we can gain nothing living at home. My elder son, go to Punjab for earning, the younger will look after the household works."' (10.006)

b. ओतहाँ पहुँचके गुरुजी लइकन के अपना लगे बोलइनी ।

otʌɦɑ̃ pʌɦũcke guru-ji lʌikʌn ke ʌpna lʌge bolʌini
otʌɦɑ̃ pʌɦũc-ke guru-ji lʌika-n ke ʌpna lʌge bola-ini
there reach-SEQ teacher-H child-PL ACC SG.GEN with call-PST.H

'Having reached there, the teacher called the children towards him.' (13.089)

c. नेपाल प्रहरी के खेलाड़ी सशस्त्र प्रहरी के अपना से मुकाबला के नेवता देलख ।

nepal prʌɦʌri ke kʰelaʈi sʌsʌstrʌ prʌɦʌri ke ʌpna se
nepal prʌɦʌri ke kʰelaʈi sʌsʌstrʌ prʌɦʌri ke ʌpna se
Nepal police GEN player armed police DAT self with

mukabla ke neota delʌkʰ
mukabla ke neota de-ʌl-ʌkʰ
competition GEN invitation give-PP-3.PST

'Players of the Nepal Police invited ones from the Armed Police for a competetion.' (13.090)

However, when the agent control is strong, the preferred strategy is to utilize the morphological causative construction. This can either be in the form of direct causation, in essence deriving a transitive verb from an intransitive such as बइठा /*bʌiʈʰa*/ 'make sit

down, seat' from बइठ /*bʌiʈʰ*/ 'sit down', लटका /*lʌʈka*/ 'hang (something)' from लटक /*lʌʈʌk*/ 'hang (by itself)'; or in the form of indirect causation such as पिआ /*pia*/ 'have (someone) drink' from पि /*pi*/ 'drink', कहवा /*kʌɦwa*/ 'have (someone) tell' from कह /*kʌɦ*/ 'tell' and मरवा /*mʌrwa*/ 'have (someone) kill' from मार /*mar*/ 'kill', as shown in (25a-d).

(25) a. हमरा के बइठा देहले ऊ सिडियो साहेब ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**ke**	**bʌiʈʰɑ**	**deɦlẽ**	**u**	**siḍio**	**sɑɦeb**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**ke**	**bʌiʈʰ-ɑ**	**de-ʌl-ẽ**	**u**	**siḍio**	**sɑɦeb**
1SG-GEN-SPEC	ACC	sit-CAUS	give-PP-3.PST.MH	DIST	CDO	sir

'The CDO detained me there.' (04.075)

b. राणा लोग विद्रोहिअन के फाँसी लटका देत रहे ।

rɑnɑ	**log**	**bidroɦiʌn**	**ke**	**pʰãsi**	**lʌʈkɑ**	**det**
rɑnɑ	**log**	**bidroɦi-ʌn**	**ke**	**pʰãsi**	**lʌʈʌk-ɑ**	**de-ʌt**
Rana	PL	rebel-PL	ACC	execution	hang-CAUS	give-IMPF

rʌɦe
rʌɦ-e
live-3.PST

'Ranas used to hang the rebels.' (13.091)

c. प्रहरी अभियुक्त से सबकुछ कहवा लेलख ।

prʌɦʌri	**ʌbʱiyukt**	**se**	**sʌbkucʰ**	**kʌɦwɑ**	**lelʌkʰ**
prʌɦʌri	**ʌbʱiyukt**	**se**	**sʌbkucʰ**	**kʌɦ-wɑ**	**le-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
police	suspect	source	everything	say-CAUS	take-PP-3.PST

'The police had the suspect tell everything.' (13.092)

d. तानाशाह विरोधिअन के मारवा देला ।

tɑnɑsɑɦ	**biroḍʱiʌn**	**ke**	**mɑrwɑ**	**delɑ**
tɑnɑsɑɦ	**biroḍʱi-ʌn**	**ke**	**mɑr-wɑ**	**de-lɑ**
dictator	opponent-PL	ACC	kill-CAUS	give-3SG.PRES

'The dictator gets the opponents killed.' (13.093)

In this form, clause union is complete, and we can also define it as a total lexical union (Noonan, 1985:75) or co-lexicalization of the "cause" and the "caused event". This is therefore not, in a strict sense, an instance of complementation.

13.2 Adverbial subordinate clauses

As Thompson and Longacre (1985:200-1) describes, the clauses using

participial construction, either in same-subject or in different-subject clause chaining would certainly qualify as "absolute" adverbial clause, because of their wide scope and their lack of explicit signals as to the exact semantic relationship between non-final and final clauses. Their function in the discourse is often inferred from the context. As already pointed out, it is not always very obvious where to draw the line between such partially independent chained clauses and clauses that to a larger extent are interpretable as adverbial and dependent vis-à-vis one particular main clause.

As mentioned in Chitoniya Tharu (2013:362), Maithili (Yadav 2014:107), Hindi (Koul 2008:198) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:384), a number of different construction types are available in Bhojpuri for clauses functioning adverbially as observed in Shukla (1981:203-6), Tripathy (1987:165-6), Shrivastava (1999:115-6), Sharma and Ashk (2007:77), Thakur (2011:140-3) and Singh (2013:164-5). Among them, Shukla and Tripathy are structural and Thakur is funtional-typological while others are traditional. In my observation, some of the adverbial subordinate clauses appear in a more general application, and others more restricted to certain subfunction, examined as follows:

13.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

Givón (2001b:330) notes a large number of grammaticalized connectives to specify the temporal relation of an adverbial clause to its main clause. Some of the most common ones are as follows:

a) Precedence

In the temporal clauses mentioned so far, there is either an implied simultaneity or a sequence of events where the subordinate (or cosubordinate) जब /*jʌb*/ 'when'-clause refers to an event taking place before the event named main clause. On the other hand, according to Givón (2001b:327), the event in the पहिले /*pʌɦile*/ 'before'-clause has not yet been realised in so-called precedence clauses in relation to the event mentioned in the main clause (Thompson & Longacre, 1985:182). In Bhojpuri, precedence is denoted by से पहिले /*se pʌɦile*/ 'before' as shown in (26a-c).

(26) a. भीतर जाए से पहिले जूता-चप्पल निकाल दीं ।

b̤itʌr	**jɑe**	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**jutɑ-cʌppʌl**	**nikɑl**	**dĩ**
b̤itʌr	**jɑ-e**	**se**	**pʌɦil-e**	**jutɑ-cʌppʌl**	**nikɑl**	**de-ĩ**
inside	go-PUR	ABL	first-DET	shoes & sandals	extract	give-IMP.H

'Please take your shoes and sendals off befoure stepping in.' (13.057)

b. कुछ करे से पहिले सोचीं, पाछे ना।

kucʰ	**kʌre**	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**socĩ**	**pɑcʰe**	**nɑ**
kucʰ	**kʌr-e**	**se**	**pʌɦil-e**	**soc-ĩ**	**pɑcʰe**	**nɑ**
something	do-PUR	ABL	first-DET	think-IMP.H	lately	NEG

'Look before you do something, not later.' (13.058)

c. तोहरा कहला से पहिलही हम जानत रहनी।

toɦrɑ	**kʌɦlɑ**	**se**	**pʌɦilʌɦi**	**ɦʌm**	**jɑnʌt**
toɦ-ʌr-ɑ	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ɑ**	**se**	**pʌɦil-ɦi**	**ɦʌm**	**jɑn-ʌt**
2SG-GEN-SPEC	say-PP-SEQ	ABL	first-EMPH	1SG	know-SIM

rʌɦni
rʌɦ-ni
live-PST.H

'I had already known it before you said.' (13.059)

b) Subsequence

Several dependent clauses with an obvious temporal reading are in fact not much different from the sequential chaining discussed in preceding section. But when it is a matter of subsequence, and the subject remains the same, the participial construction is used, as shown in (27a-b).

(27) a. जब हमनी एक-दोसरा के इयाद कइनी त फेर आ गइनी।

jʌb	**ɦʌmni**	**ek-dosʌrɑ**	**ke**	**iyɑd**	**kʌini**	**tʌ**
jʌb	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ek-dosʌr-ɑ**	**ke**	**iyɑd**	**kʌr-ini**	**tʌ**
when	1SG-PL	one another-SPEC	DAT	memory	do-PST.H	COND

pʰer	**ɑ**	**gʌini**
pʰer	**ɑ**	**jɑ-ini**
again	come	go-PST.H

'When we remembered each other, we came to be together.' (03.030)

b. जब हमनी के हड़बड़ी रही, ओह समय में कहेम, ‘समय तू धीरे-धीरे चल।’

jʌb	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**ɦʌɽbʌɽi**	**rʌɦi**	**oɦ**	**sʌmɛ**	**mẽ**
jʌb	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**ɦʌɽbʌɽi**	**rʌɦ-i**	**oɦ**	**sʌmɛ**	**mẽ**
when	1SG-PL	GEN	haste	live-3.SG.FUT	DIST	time	LOC

kʌɦem	**sʌmɛ**	**tu**	**d̤ire**	**d̤ire**	**cʌl**

kʌɦ-em sʌmɛ tu ḍire ḍire cʌl

say-FUT time 2SG slowly slowly walk.IMP

'When we are in haste, we utter, 'O Time, walk slowly." (03.388)

As was the case in clause chaining, the corresponding construction when the subject in the dependent clause is different from the subject in the main clause is a finite clause, as shown in (28a-c).

(28) a. हम जब पत्रिका लेके गइनी त सिडियो हमरा पर बड़ा बोललें, बड़ा खिसिअइलें ।

ɦʌm jʌb pʌtrikɑ leke gʌini tʌ siḍio

ɦʌm jʌb pʌtrikɑ le-ke jɑ-ini tʌ siḍio

1SG when newspaper bring-SEQ go-PST.H COND CDO

ɦʌmrɑ pʌr bʌɽɑ bollẽ bʌɽɑ

ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ pʌr bʌɽ-ɑ bol-ʌl-ẽ bʌɽ-ɑ

1SG-GEN-SPEC LOC much-SPEC speak-PP-3.PST.MH much-SPEC

kʰisiʌilẽ

kʰis-iɑ-il-ẽ

anger-CAUS-PP-3.PST.MH

'When I went to him carrying the magazine, the CDO lost his temper on me.' (04.068)

b. आखिर जब घरे पहुँचली त धोकरी में लइका त रहले ना रहे ।

ɑkʰir jʌb ɡ̈ʌre pʌɦũcli tʌ ḍokʌri mẽ

ɑkʰir jʌb ɡ̈ʌr-e pʌɦũc-ʌl-i tʌ ḍokʌri mẽ

lastly when house-LOC reach-PP-3.PST.F.MH COND bag LOC

lʌikɑ tʌ rʌɦle nɑ rʌɦe

lʌikɑ tʌ rʌɦ-ʌl-e nɑ rʌɦ-e

boy COND live-INF-EMPH NEG live-3SG.PST

'When she reached home, the boy was not found in the bundle.' (05.030)

c. बुढ़िआ जब नहा-धोआके अइली, तब ओकरा आगु मास-भात परोसके लइका अपने छाऩी पर चढ़ गइल ।

buɽ̊iɑ jʌb nʌɦɑ ḍoɑke ʌili tʌb

buɽ̊iɑ jʌb nʌɦɑ ḍo-ɑ-ke ɑ-il-i tʌb

old woman when bathe wash-PASS-SEQ come-PP-3.PST.F.MH then

okrɑ ɑgu masḅɑt pʌroske lʌikɑ ʌpne

u-ʌr-ɑ	**ɑgu**	**mɑs-b̤ɑt**	**pʌros-ke**	**lʌikɑ**	**ʌpne**	
3SG-GEN-SPEC	front	meat & rice	serve-SEQ	boy	self	

cʰɑn̰i	**pʌr**	**cʌṛ**	**gʌil**
cʰɑn̰i	**pʌr**	**cʌṛ**	**jɑ-il**
thatched roof	LOC	climb	go-3SG.PST

'When the old woman returned after bathing, the boy himself climbed on the thatched roof after serving meat and rice before her.' (05.054)

While the subsequential reading is contextually implicit rather than explicit in the examples given so far, a separate temporal conjunction जब /*jʌb*/ or जब कि /*jʌb ki*/ 'when' can also be added to त /*tʌ*-/ construction to make this reading obvious, and also distinguish it more clearly from simple clause chaining, as shown in (29a-b).

(29) a. जब बुढ़िआ खाए लगली त लइका कहे लागल, 'लोलो रे लोलो, अपने बेटिया के मास-भात खइले रे लोलो !'

jʌb	**buṛ̤iɑ**	**kʰɑe**	**lʌgli**		**tʌ**	**lʌikɑ**
jʌb	**buṛ̤iɑ**	**kʰɑ-e**	**lɑg-ʌl-i**		**tʌ**	**lʌikɑ**
when	old woman	eat-SIM	continue-PP-3.PST.F.MH		COMP	boy

kʌɦe	**lɑgʌl**	**lolo**	**re**	**lolo**	**ʌpne**	**beṭiɑ**
kʌɦ-e	**lɑg-ʌl**	**lolo**	**re**	**lolo**	**ʌpne**	**beṭ-i-ɑ**
say-SIM	continue-3SG.PST	hush	VOC	hush	self	issue-F-SPEC

ke	**mɑsb̤ɑt**	**kʰʌile**	**re**	**lolo**
ke	**mɑs-b̤ɑt**	**kʰɑ-il-e**	**re**	**lolo**
GEN	meat & rice	eat-PP-2SG.PST	VOC	hush

'When the old woman started eating, the boy began to say, 'Hush! Eat with pleasure, it's your own daughter's meat and rice.' (05.055)

b. दैंत्यराज बलि जब सयगो यज्ञ पूरा करके स्वर्ग के राज छिने के प्रयत्न कइलन तब इंद्र आदि देवता सब भगवान विष्णु से जाके प्रार्थना करे लगलन।

dɛ̃tyʌrɑj	**bʌli**	**jʌb**	**sɛgo**	**yʌgyʌ**	**purɑ**	**kʌrke**
dɛ̃tyʌrɑj	**bʌli**	**jʌb**	**sɛ-go**	**yʌgyʌ**	**purɑ**	**kʌr-ke**
demon king	Bali	when	hundred-CLF	oblation	complete	do-SEQ

swʌrg	**ke**	**rɑj**	**cʰine**	**ke**	**prʌyʌtnʌ**	**kʌilʌn**
swʌrg	**ke**	**rɑj**	**cʰin-e**	**ke**	**prʌyʌtnʌ**	**kʌr-il-ʌn**
heaven	GEN	kingdom	seize-PUR	GEN	effort	do-PP-3.PST.MH

tʌb indrʌ adi deotɑ sʌb ɓʌgwɑn bisnu se jɑke
tʌb indrʌ adi deotɑ sʌb ɓʌgwɑn bisnu se jɑ-ke
then Indra etc god PL Lord Vishnu DAT go-SEQ

prɑrtʰnɑ kʌre lʌglʌn
prɑrtʰnɑ kʌr-e lɑg-ʌl-ʌn
prayer do-SIM continue-PP-3.PST.MH

'When the demon king Bali completed hundred oblations (yagyas) and made efforts to confiscate heaven, Indra and his all ally gods went to Lord Vishnu and commenced His prayers.' (07.038)

Such construction seems like a relative clause, like a number of similar temporal adverbial constructions in the world's languages (Thompson & Longacre, 1985:180-1), as shown in (30a-b).

(30) a. जब बइठकी के दिन होखे त लोग कथा-पतुतर कहे ।

jʌb bʌiʈʰki ke din ɦokʰe tʌ log kʌtʰɑ pʌtutʌr
jʌb bʌiʈʰki ke din ɦokʰ-e tʌ log kʌtʰɑ pʌtutʌr
when leisure GEN day be-3.PST COND people story dialogue

kʌɦe
kʌɦ-e
say-3.PST.M

'When it was leisure-time, people used to tell stories and folk-tales.' (03.251)

b. अपने जब ई बात कह रहल बानी त हमरा इयाद आवता ।

ʌpne jʌb i bɑt kʌɦ rʌɦʌl bɑni tʌ
ʌpne jʌb i bɑt kʌɦ rʌɦ-ʌl bɑni tʌ
2SG.H when PROX matter say live-INF be.PRES.H COND

ɦʌmrɑ iɑd ɑwʌtɑ
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ iɑd ɑ-wʌt bɑ
1SG-GEN-DAT memory come-IMPF be.3SG.PRES

'While you are revealing this, I am remembering.' (03.205)

Perfective participle clauses with an adverb such as बाद /*bad*/, पर /*pʌr*/ 'after' are also used in temporal subsquence, as shown in (31a-b).

(31) a. बटैया हक के कानूनी करार देला के बाद किसान लोग में एगो उत्साह आइल रहे ।

bʌʈʌiɑ ɦʌk ke kɑnuni kʌrɑr delɑ ke bɑd

bʌʈʌia	**ɦʌk**	**ke**	**kanuni**	**kʌrar**	**de-ʌl-a**	**ke**	**bad**
tenential	right	GEN	legal	declaration	give-PP-SEQ	GEN	later

kisan	**log**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**utsaɦ**	**ail**	**rʌɦe**
kisan	**log**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**utsaɦ**	**a-il**	**rʌɦ-e**
peasant	PL	LOC	one-CLF	enthusiasm	come-PP	live-3SG.PST

'Following declaration of legal tenantial rights, enthusiasm was observed among peasants.' (02.039)

b. शास्त्रीय संगीत तान पर पहुँचला पर निमन लागेला ।

sastrie	**sʌŋgit**	**tan**	**pʌr**	**pʌɦũcla**	**pʌr**	**nimʌn**
sastrʌ-ie	**sʌŋgit**	**tan**	**pʌr**	**pʌɦũc-ʌl-a**	**pʌr**	**nimʌn**
classics-ADJ	music	pitch	LOC	reach-PP-SEQ	LOC	good

lagela

lag-ela

feel-3SG.PRES

'Classical music gets attraction when it reaches on its high pitch.' (09.007)

c) Subsequence cum instrument

The temporal subsequence reading of converbal construction shades off into expressing instrument or supplying the main verb with a manner specification and is especially relevant for participials formed from transitive verbs of motion, such as ले /*le*/ 'take', दे /*de*/ 'give', निकाल /*nikal*/ 'take out', पकड़ /*pʌkʌɽ*/ 'catch/grab', फेंक /*pʰẽk*/ 'throw'; as shown in (32a-e):

(32) a. ... ओह हिँस्सा के साथ में ***लेके*** चलेके पड़ी ।

oɦ	**ɦĩssa**	**ke**	**sʌtʰ**	**mẽ**	***leke***	**cʌleke**	**pʌɽi**
oɦ	**ɦĩssa**	**ke**	**sʌd**	**mẽ**	***le-ke***	**cʌl-e-ke**	**pʌɽ-i**
DIST	share	ACC	true	LOC	bring-SEQ	walk-PUR-OBL	fall-3SG.FUT

'... we should go ahead with such portions.' (03.345)

b. ... एगो आदमी के देह पर से पाँच हजार रोपेया ***देके*** उतरवाके मिलल ह ई कुछियो कुछियो ।

ego	**admi**	**ke**	**deɦ**	**pʌr**	**se**	**pãc**	**ɦʌjar**	**ropea**
ek-go	**admi**	**ke**	**deɦ**	**pʌr**	**se**	**pãc**	**ɦʌjar**	**ropea**
one-CLF	man	GEN	body	LOC	ABL	five	thousand	rupee

deke	**utʌrwake**	**milʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**i**

de-ke	**utar-wa-ke**	**mil-ʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**i**	
give-SEQ	take off-CAUS-SEQ	find-PP	be.3SG.PRES	this	

kuchio **kuchio**

kuch-io **kuch-io**

something-EMPH something-EMPH

'… this something was obtained in five thousand rupees making a man putting this dress off his body.' (10.103)

c. ... बोरा के बोरा खाद नेपाल सरकार विदेश से ***लेआके*** लोग के ***देत*** रहे ।

bora	**ke**	**bora**	**kʰad**	**nepal**	**sʌrkar**	**bides**
bora	**ke**	**bora**	**kʰad**	**nepal**	**sʌrkar**	**bides**
sack	GEN	sack	fertilizer	Nepal	government	foreign country

se	***leake***	**log**	**ke**	***det***	**rʌɦe**
se	***le-a-ke***	**log**	**ke**	***de -ʌt***	**rʌɦ-e**
ABL	take-CAUS-SEQ	people	DAT	give-SIM	live-3.PST

'… Government of Nepal used to distribute sacks of chemical ferlilizer among people importing from foreign countries.' (02.066)

d. बड़कु कमाइल ढेउवा में से दस हजार रोपेया ***देत*** कहलख्, ...

bʌɽku	**kʌmail**	**ɖ̈eua**	**mẽ**	**se**	**dʌs**	**ɦʌjar**	
bʌɽ-ku		**kʌma-il**	**ɖ̈eua**	**mẽ**	**se**	**dʌs**	**ɦʌjar**
elder-CLF		earn-PP	penny	LOC	source	ten	thousand

ropea	***det***	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**
ropea	***de-ʌt***	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
rupee	give-SIM	say-PP-3.PST

'The elder gave ten thousand rupees from his earning and said, ...' (10.045)

e. ... भरमुठी कसके ***पकड़ले*** बा लोग ... ।

ḅʌrmuʈʰi	**kʌske**	***pʌkʌɽle***	**ba**	**log**
ḅʌr-muʈʰi	**kʌs-ke**	***pʌkʌɽ-ʌl-e***	**ba**	**log**
full-fist	tighten-SEQ	grab-INF-SIM	be.3SG.PRES	people

'... they have caught it tightening their fist …' (07.101)

d) Simultaneity

Simultaneity involves two overlapping events and includes what Givón (2001b:330) refers to as 'point coincidence'. Like Chantyal (Noonan 1999), Bhujel (Regmi 2007) and Maithili (Yadava 2005), Bhojpuri also employs simultaneous

participials to express an activity that is simultaneous or temporally overlapping with another activity expressed by the matrix predicate (Lohar 2012:218). According to Thompson and Longacre (1985:188-9), the backgrounded event is usually expressed with a verbal noun. Sometimes Bhojpuri also presents this form functionally. If the subject in the foregrounded and backgrounded events is the same, the verbal noun occurs alone as shown in (33a), or with a postposition में /*mẽ*/ 'in', सङे /*sʌŋe*/ 'with' or बेरा /*bera*/ 'while' and the simultaneity is expressed by suffix ओ /*-o*/, -अत /*-ʌt*/ or -वत /*-wʌt*/ with the verbal root as presented in (33b-e).

(33) a. पुरुवास आपन बहिन के देहल वचन के सम्मान ***करत*** सिकंदर के जीवन दान दे देलें ।

puruwas	**apʌn**	**bʌɦin**	**ke**	**deɦʌl**	**bʌcʌn**	**ke**	**sʌmmʌn**
puruwas	**apʌn**	**bʌɦin**	**ke**	**de-ʌl**	**bʌcʌn**	**ke**	**sʌmmʌn**
Puruwas	GEN	sister	GEN	give-PP	pledge	GEN	honour

kʌrʌt	**sikʌndʌr**	**ke**	**jiwʌn**	**dʌn**	**de**	**delẽ**
kʌr-ʌt	**sikʌndʌr**	**ke**	**jiwʌn**	**dʌn**	**de**	**de-ʌl-ẽ**
do-SIM	Alexander	GEN	life	donation	give	give-PP.3.PST.MH

'Puruwas left Alexander alive abiding by the pledge he had offered to his sister.' (07.066)

b. हम रेडियो ***सुनत*** हिसाब बनावेनी ।

ɦʌm	**reɖio**	***sunʌt***	**ɦisʌb**	**bʌnʌweni**	
ɦʌm	**reɖio**	***sun-ʌt***	**ɦisʌb**	**bʌnʌ-weni**	
1SG	Radio	listen	-SIM	mathematics	make-PRES.H

'I do Mathematics while listening to Radio.' (13.048)

c. अपने डेली बिनाई ***सङे गीतो*** गावेनी ।

ʌpne	**ɖeli**	**binʌi**	***sʌŋe***	***gito***	**gʌweni**
ʌpne	**ɖeli**	**bin-ʌi**	***sʌŋ-e***	***git-o***	**gʌ-weni**
2SG.H	grass-container	knit-NML	with-DEF	song-EMPH	sing-PRES.H

'Even you sing a song while knitting grass-container.' (13.049)

d. होरी ***खेलत में*** झोरी भुला गइल ।

ɦori	***kʰelʌt***	***mẽ***	**j̈ori**	**ḅulʌ**	**gʌil**
ɦori	***kʰel-ʌt***	***mẽ***	**j̈ori**	**ḅul-ʌ**	**jʌ-il**
holi	play-SIM	LOC	purse	forget-PASS	go-3SG.PST

'My bag was lost while playing Holi, the festival of colour.' (13.050)

e. ऊ ***खात बेरा*** पानी ना पिए ।

u ***kʰat*** ***bera*** **pɑni** **nɑ** **pie**

u ***kʰa-ʌt*** ***bera*** **pɑni** **nɑ** **pi-e**

3SG eat-SIM time water NEG drink-PRES

'He dosn't drink water while eating.' (13.051)

But if there is a subject shift between the foregrounded and the backgrounded events, Bhojpuri participials show simultaneity by emphatic suffix or clitic -ए /-*e*/. But sometimes this emphasis is shown by either duplicating the converb or by adding मातर /*mat*ʌ*r*/ 'immediately as' as an adverb after the participial, as shown in (34a-c).

(34) a. बैलगड़ी जङल में ***पहुँचते मातर*** बाघ मुँह बावत झपटल ।

bɛlgʌɽi **jʌŋʌl** **mẽ** ***pʌɦũcte*** ***matʌr*** **bɑg̈** **mũɦ**

bɛlgʌɽi **jʌŋʌl** **mẽ** ***pʌɦũc-ʌt-e*** ***matʌr*** **bɑg̈** **mũɦ**

bullock-cart jungle LOC reach-SIM-EMPH just tiger mouth

bawʌt **j̈ʌpʈʌl**

ba-wʌt **j̈ʌpʌʈ-ʌl**

open-SIM pounce-3SG.PST

'The tiger pounced opening its mouth immediately as the bullock-cart entered into jungle.' (13.052)

b. हमरा ***गिरते मातर*** बाबुजी ***दउरत*** अइनी ।

ɦʌmrɑ ***girte*** ***matʌr*** **bɑbuji** ***dʌurʌt*** **ʌini**

ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ **gir-ʌt-e** **matʌr** **bɑbu-ji** **dʌur-ʌt** **ɑ-ini**

1SG-GEN-SPEC fall-SIM-EMPH just father-H run-SIM come-PST.H

'Immediately as I fell down, father came running.' (13.053)

c. जाना के खेत में ***पहुँचते पहुँचते*** हम पनपिआई ***लेके*** गइनी ।

jɑnɑ **ke** **kʰet** **mẽ** ***pʌɦũcte*** ***pʌɦũcte*** **ɦʌm**

jɑnɑ **ke** **kʰet** **mẽ** ***pʌɦũc-ʌt-e*** ***pʌɦũc-ʌt-e*** **ɦʌm**

labourer GEN farm LOC reach-SIM-EMPH reach-SIM-EMPH 1SG

pʌnpiɑi ***leke*** **gʌini**

pʌnpiɑi ***le-ke*** **jɑ-ini**

refreshment take-SEQ go-PST.H

'Just the labourers reached in the farm, I went there with refreshment.' (13.054)

There is a parallel strategy to use an agentive verbal noun and हो /*ɦo*/ or रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'become' meant 'to be an onlookers or goers', etc. But with these constructions, it is not always clear which event is backgrounded and which one is foregrounded, as shown in (35a-b).

(35) a. जब ऊ दारू पिअत घरे गइल, ओकर बेटा देखनिहार रहे ।

jʌb	**u**	**dɑru**	**piʌt**	**g̈ʌre**	**gʌil**	**okʌr**	**beʈɑ**
jʌb	**u**	**dɑru**	**pi-ʌt**	**g̈ʌr-e**	**jɑ-il**	**u-ʌr**	**beʈɑ**
when	3SG	wine	drink-SIM	house-LOC	go-3SG.PST	3SG-GEN	son

dekʰniɦɑr	**rʌɦe**
dekʰ-niɦɑr	**rʌɦ-e**
see-doer	live-3.PST

'When he came home drinking wine, his son was the witness.' (13.055)

b. जब लोग लौटनिहार भइल, त मेघ बरसे लागल ।

jʌb	**log**	**lɔʈniɦɑr**	**b̤ʌil**	**tʌ**	**meg̈**
jʌb	**log**	**lɔʈ-niɦɑr**	**b̤ʌ-il**	**tʌ**	**meg̈**
when	people	return-doer	become-3.PST	cond	rain

bʌrse	**lagʌl**
bʌrʌs-e	**lag-ʌl**
rain-SIM	continue-3SG.PST

'When the people got ready to return, It started raining.' (13.056)

e) Point coincidence

The point coincidence adverbial clause encodes the semantics that two events/states occur almost at the same time; however, there is a narrow interval between them. Givón (2001b:330) exemplifies point coincidence with an English example '*when he opened the door, she shot him*.' In Bhojpuri, this situation is encoded as the temporal complementizer कि /*ki*/ and जब /*jʌb*/ 'when'-clause as initial one, as shown in (36a-b):

(36) a. ... जब लइका नीचा लभल कि बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली ... ।

jʌb	**lʌikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**lʌb̤ʌl**	**ki**	**buʈ̊iɑ**	**oke**
jʌb	**lʌikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**lʌb̤-ʌl**	**ki**	**buʈ̊-i-ɑ**	**u-e**
when	boy	down	bow-3SG.PST	COMP	old-F-DET	3SG-ACC

pʌkʌʈke	**d̤okʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**	**leli**

pʌkʌɽ-ke **ḍokʌri** **mẽ** **kʌs** **le-ʌl-i**

catch-SEQ bag LOC place and tighten take-PP-3.PST.F

'…when the boy bowed down, the old woman pulled him down and tightened him in the bag…' (05.039)

b. जब हम बजार जात रहनी, एगो भिखमाङा मिलल ।

jʌb **ɦʌm** **bʌjɑr** **jɑt** **rʌɦni** **ego** **ḭikʰmaŋɑ**

jʌb **ɦʌm** **bʌjɑr** **jɑ-ʌt** **rʌɦ-ni** **ek-go** **ḭikʰmaŋɑ**

when 1.SG market go-IMPF live-PST.H one-CLF beggar

milʌl

mil-ʌl

meet-3SG.PST

'While I was going to market, I met a beggar.'

f) Accompnaying circumstance

The participials can also express an accompanying circumstance, or a means specification with reference to the same subject and the same event, as shown in (37a-c):

(37) a. ... रास्ता पर कुछियो, कुछियो ***किनके खात*** जइहे ।

rɑstɑ **pʌr** **kucʰio** **kucʰio** ***kinke*** ***kʰat***

rɑstɑ **pʌr** **kucʰ-io** **kucʰ-io** ***kin-ke*** ***kʰa-ʌt***

way LOC something-EMPH something-EMPH buy-SEQ eat-SIM

jʌiɦe

jɑ-iɦe

go-IMP

'… having bought some thing, you will go eating it.' (10.045)

b. ओही में समय ***निकालके*** कुछ लिखता ।

oɦi **mẽ** **sʌmɛ** ***nikalke*** **kucʰ**

o-ɦi **mẽ** **sʌmɛ** ***nikal-ke*** **kucʰ**

DIST-EMPH LOC time extract-SEQ something

likʰʌtɑ

likʰ-ʌt **bɑ**

write-IMPF be.3SG.PRES

'They are writing something getting leisure from the that.' (04.268)

c. ... विदेश ***जाके*** कुछ ***कमाके*** ले आईं ... ।

bides ***jake*** **kuch** ***kʌmake*** **le** **ɑĩ**

bides ***ja-ke*** **kuch** ***kʌma-ke*** **le** **ɑ-ĩ**

foreign country go-SEQ something earn-SEQ bring come-OPT.H

'... having gone to foreign countries, I should earn and bring back at home.' (02.011)

Moreover, an accompanying circumstance, or further specification of the action carried out by the subject, is sometimes, expressed with the more restricted co-predicative participle, as shown in (38a-c).

(38) a. ऊ एह छोटकु के किरिया काठी पेन्हल ***देखते*** समझ गइल, ... ।

u **eɦ** **choʈku** **ke** **kiriɑ** **kɑʈʰi** **peɳʌl**

u **eɦ** **choʈ-ku** **ke** **kiriɑ** **kɑʈʰi** **peɳ-ʌl**

3SG PROX small-DET ACC death ritual cloth wear-PP

dekʰte **sʌmʌj̈** **gʌil**

dekʰ-ʌt-e **sʌmʌj̈** **jɑ-il**

see-SIM-EMPH understand go-3SG.PST

'When he found him in funeral dress, he understood, …' (10.067)

b. बेटी मोटड़ी ***खोलते*** खुस हो गइल ।

beʈi **moʈʌʈi** ***kʰolte*** **kʰus** **ɦo** **gʌil**

beʈi **moʈʌʈi** ***kʰol-ʌt-e*** **kʰus** **ɦo** **jɑ-il**

daughter bundle open-SIM-EMPH happy be go-3SG.PST

'The daughter became happy when she opened the bundle.' (05.044)

c. एतना कहते ऊ दउरत गइल अपना ममहर आ मामा के बोलवले चल आइल ।

etnɑ ***kʌɦte*** **u** ***dʌurʌt*** **gʌil** **ʌpnɑ**

etnɑ ***kʌɦ-ʌt-e*** **u** ***dʌur-ʌt*** **jɑ-il** **ʌpnɑ**

this much say-SEQ-EMPH 3SG run-SIM go-3SG.PST GEN

mʌmɦʌr **ɑ** **mɑmɑ** **ke** ***bolɔle*** **cʌl** **ɑil**

mʌmɦʌr **ɑ** **mɑmɑ** **ke** ***bola-wʌl-e*** **cʌl** **ɑ-il**

maternal home and uncle ACC call-INF-SIM walk come-3SG.PST

'Saying this, he ran away to his maternal home and came callling his uncle with him.' (10.075)

g) Terminal boundary

Terminal boundary in temporal adverbial clauses functions as termination of an action continuing from the past. In Bhojpuri it is expressed with particles जौले

/*jɔle*/ or जब ले /*jʌb le*/ or जब तक /*jʌb tʌk*/ 'till/until' or simply with जब /*jʌb*/ 'when', as shown in (39a-b):

(39) a. जौले गुरुजी क्लास ना छोड़नी, विद्यार्थी लोग हिसाब बनावत रहल ।

jɔle	**guruji**	**klas**	**na**	**cʰoɽni**	**bidyarthi**	**log**	**ɦisab**
jɔle	**guru-ji**	**klas**	**na**	**cʰoɽ-ni**	**bidyarthi**	**log**	**ɦisab**
until	teacher-H	CLF	NEG	leave-PST.H	student	PL	mathematics

bʌnawʌt	**rʌɦʌl**
bʌna-wʌt	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
make-SIM	live-3.PST

'Till the teacher left the class, the students continued doing mathematics.' (13.239)

b. जब रङ्ग सुध जाई, हमे कहिह ।

jʌb	**rʌŋʌl**	**sudʰ**	**jai**	**ɦʌme**	**kʌɦiɦʌ**
jʌb	**rʌŋ-ʌl**	**sudʰ**	**ja-i**	**ɦʌm-e**	**kʌɦ-iɦʌ**
when	colour-PP	finish	go-3SG.FUT	1SG-DAT	say-IMP.MH

'When the painting is finished, tell me.' (13.240)

h) Initial boundary

Initial boundary in temporal adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri is expressed with particles जब से /*jʌb se*/ or जहिआ से /*jʌɦia se*/ 'from when' or simply with a starting point of an action or state, as shown in (40a-b):

(40) a. हम जब से अइनी, तू महटिआवते बाड़ऽ ।

ɦʌm	**jʌb**	**se**	**ʌini**	**tu**	**mʌɦʈiawʌte**	**baɽʌ**
ɦʌm	**jʌb**	**se**	**a-ini**	**tu**	**mʌɦʈia-wʌt-e**	**baɽʌ**
1SG	when	ABL	come-PST.H	2SG	ignore-SIM-EMPH	be.2.PRES.MH

'From the moment I came, you are ignoring me.' (13.232)

b. जब कुछ सिखल शुरू करऽ, लागले रहऽ ।

jʌb	**kucʰ**	**sikʰʌl**	**suru**	**kʌrʌ**	**lagle**	
jʌb	**kucʰ**	**sikʰ-ʌl**	**suru**	**kʌr-ʌ**	**lag-ʌl-e**	
when	something	learn-INF	begin	do-IMP.MH	continue-INF-EMPH	

rʌɦʌ	
rʌɦ-ʌ	
live-IMP.MH	

'When you start learning, just keep going.' (13.233)

i) Intermediacy

Intermediacy in the temporal adverbial clauses denotes an action or state between the other two functions or states, as shown in (41a-b):

(41) a. चितवा के गाँव में आवे से लेके जाए तक ले केहू रात में चैन से ना सुतल।

citwɑ	**ke**	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ɑwe**	**se**	**leke**	**jɑe**	**tʌk**
citwɑ	**ke**	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ɑ-we**	**se**	**le-ke**	**jɑ-e**	**tʌk**
leopard	GEN	village	LOC	come-SEQ	source	till-SEQ	go-SEQ	till

le	**kefiu**	**rɑt**	**mẽ**	**cɛn**	**se**	**nɑ**	**sutʌl**
le	**kefiu**	**rɑt**	**mẽ**	**cɛn**	**se**	**nɑ**	**sut-ʌl**
till	anybody	night	LOC	peace	with	NEG	sleep-3SG.PST

'Between entrance of the leopard in the village and its fleeing away, nobody slept peacefully at night.' (13.234)

b. जब मङरु आपन काम ओरा लेवे आ ढोंढ़ाई अभिन शुरुओ ना कइले रहे, ओही बेरा मालिक के देखे आवेके चाहीं।

jʌb	**mʌŋru**	**apʌn**	**kɑm**	**orɑ**	**lewe**	**ɑ**	**ɖ̈õr̥ai**	**ʌb̥in**
jʌb	**mʌŋru**	**apʌn**	**kɑm**	**orɑ**	**le-e**	**ɑ**	**ɖ̈õr̥ai**	**ʌb**
when	Mangru	GEN	work	empty	take-SEQ	and	Dhondhai	now

suruo	**nɑ**	**kʌile**	**rʌfie**	**ofii**	**berɑ**	**mɑlik**	**ke**
suru-o	**nɑ**	**kʌr-ile**	**rʌfi-e**	**o-fii**	**berɑ**	**mɑlik**	**ke**
start-EMPH	NEG	do-SEQ	live-SEQ	DIST-EMPH	time	master	GEN

dekʰe	**ɑweke**	**cɑfiĩ**
dekʰ-e	**ɑ-we-ke**	**cɑfi-ĩ**
see-PUR	come-PUR-OBL	want-OPT

'When Mangru has accomplished and Dhondhai has not yet started, that's when master should come to inspect.' (13.235)

13.2.2 Conditional adverbial clauses

As many languages have the case (Thompson and Longacre 1985:193), Bhojpuri also has no absolute distinction between temporality and conditionality. Although there are some distinct morphological or complemental markings available to signal conditionality, there might be some overlap in coding between clauses with an implied temporality, or to some extent causality, vis-à-vis clauses with conditional semantics. Givón (2001b:330) classifies conditional adverbial clauses as irrealis and counter-fact. As observed in its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:371), Maithili

(Yadav 1996:369), Hindi (Koul 2008:256) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:372), Bhojpuri has the conditional adverbial clauses as also displayed in Tiwari (1960:175 and 1984:512), Nirbhik (1975:94), Sharma and Ashk (2007:41), Thakur (2011:105) and Singh (2013:97). In this study they are discussed as follows:

a) Irrealis conditionals

Irrealis conditional clauses do not have truth values, so, they fall under the scope of non-fact modality. Besides, their truth value relies upon the truth value of their associated main clause that itself is also under irrealis scope and thus has no truth value either.

Typically, irrealis conditionals have an implied futurity, with the main clause itself marked by either future, modal or some other irrealis operator (Givón, 2001b:331). In Bhojpuri, the main clause and the irrealis conditional are both in future. Generally the irrealis conditionals start from अगर /ʌgʌr/ or यदि /yʌdi/ or जदि /jʌdi/ 'if' as well as from जब /jʌb/ 'when', as shown in (42a-c):

(42) a. अगर एकर उल्टा केहू करता त ओकरा के पिटे में कवनो हरज नइखे ।

ʌgʌr	**ekʌr**	**ulʈa**	**kefiu**	**kʌrʌta**		**tʌ**
ʌgʌr	**e-ʌr**	**ulʈa**	**kefiu**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**ba**	**tʌ**
if	PROX-GEN	reverse	anyone	do-.IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	COND

okʌra	**ke**	**piʈe**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**	**fiʌrʌj**	**nʌikʰe**
u-ʌr-a	**ke**	**piʈ-e**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**	**fiʌrʌj**	**nʌikʰ-e**
3SG-GEN-SPEC	ACC	beat-SIM	LOC	any	objection	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'If someone is doing reverse of it, there is no objection to beat him/her.' (03.196)

b. जब किसान के घर से निकल जाई त ओकर भाव दोबर हो जाई ।

jʌb	**kisan**	**ke**	**ɡʌr**	**se**	**nikʌl**		**jai**	**tʌ**
jʌb	**kisan**	**ke**	**ɡʌr**	**se**	**nikʌl**		**ja-i**	**tʌ**
when	farmer	GEN	house	source	come	out	go-3SG.FUT	COND

okʌr	**b̤ao**	**dobʌr**	**fio**	**jai**	
u-ʌr	**b̤ao**	**dobʌr**	**fio**	**ja-i**	
3SG-GEN	rate	double	be	go-3SG.FUT	

'When it is out of the farmers' houses, its rate will again be doubled.' (02.123)

c. जब तू सामान देबऽ, तब हम भुक्तानी देहेम ।

jʌb	**tu**	**saman**	**debʌ**		**tʌb**	**fiʌm**	**bʰuktani**	**defiem**

jʌb	**tu**	**sɑmɑn**	**de-bʌ**	**tʌb**	**ɦʌm**	**bʰuktɑni**	**de-em**
when	2SG	material	give-IMP.MH	then	1SG	payment	give-FUT.H

'When you give me the commodity, I will pay.' (13.236)

b) Counter-fact ('hypothetical') conditionals

As Thompson & Longacre (1985:195) classifies, hypothetical conditionals belong mainly to imaginary type. They describe a condition that is probable or possible, although to a certain extent imagined. Most conditionals that refer to the future are also coded this way.

But Givón (2001b:332) classifies counter-fact conditionals to fall under the firmer, negative epistemic scope of non-fact unlike the irrealis conditionals whose truth value is pending. It involves propositions that could, would or should have been true – if other propositions were also true, as shown in (43a-c):

(43) a. कृषि अर्थ-व्यवस्था के जब तक सुधार ना होई तब तक देश के भी सुधार ना होई ।

krisi ʌrtʰ-bewʌstʰɑ	**ke**	**jʌb**	**tʌk**	**suɖar**		**nɑ**	**ɦoi**
krisi ʌrtʰ-bewʌstʰɑ	**ke**	**jʌb**	**tʌk**	**suɖar**		**nɑ**	**ɦo-i**
agro-economy	GEN	when	till	improvement		NEG	be-3SG.FUT

tʌb	**tʌk**	**des**	**ke**	**b̤i**	**suɖar**	**nɑ**	**ɦoi**
tʌb	**tʌk**	**des**	**ke**	**b̤i**	**suɖar**	**nɑ**	**ɦo-i**
then	till	country	GEN	also	improvement	NEG	be-3SG.FUT

'Unless the agro-economy is improved, improvement can't be seen in the country.' (02.003)

b. एक टुकड़ा जमीन अगर रहित त हम ओ में ... कुछ उबजाके खइती ... ।

ek	**ʈukʈɑ**	**jʌmin**	**ʌgʌr**	**rʌɦit**	**tʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**o**	**mẽ**
ek	**ʈukʈɑ**	**jʌmin**	**ʌgʌr**	**rʌɦ-it**	**tʌ**	**ɦʌm**	**o**	**mẽ**
one	piece	land	if	live-3.IPST	COND	1SG	DIST	LOC

kucʰ	**ubjɑke**	**kʰʌiti**
kucʰ	**ubjɑ-ke**	**kʰɑ-iti**
something	grow-SEQ	eat-IPST.H

'… if I had a piece of land, I would have lived on growing something on it ...' (02.032)

c. लइका खाइत त बरिआर रहित ।

lʌikɑ	**kʰɑit**	**tʌ**	**bʌriɑr**	**rʌɦit**
lʌikɑ	**kʰɑ-it**	**tʌ**	**bʌriɑr**	**rʌɦ-it**
boy	eat-3.IPST	COND	strong	live-3.IPST

'If the boy had taken meal, he would have been strong.'

c) Conditionals with intermediate truth value

As noted by Thompson and Longacre (1985:190-1), as well as by Givón (2001b:333-4), in addition to the two extreme modal points on the semantic dimension of conditionals – irrealis ('possibly true') and counter-fact ('not true') – Bhojpuri has a third gradation, most particularly of events/states that are are judged to be unlikely but not altogether impossible.

Under this heading, conditionals partly match what Thompson & Longacre (1985:190-1) refers to as reality conditionals whereas Givón (2001b:334) refers to as low-probability conditionals, generally marked with past-time reference कहिओ /*kʌɦio*/ 'whenever' along with जब /*jʌb*/ 'if'-clause and तब /*tʌb*/ 'then'-clause or अगर /*ʌgʌr*/ or यदि /*yʌdi*/ 'if'-clause and त /*tʌ*/ 'then'-clause occur with the conditionality in counterfactual expressions, as shown in (44a-c).

(44) a. कहिओ कमाए जाए त ऊ बनिहारी जौले ओरावे ना तौले फेर कमाए ना जाए ।

kʌɦio	**kʌmae**	**jae**	**tʌ**	**u**	**bʌniɦari**	**jɔle**
kʌɦio	**kʌma-e**	**ja-e**	**tʌ**	**u**	**bʌniɦari**	**jɔle**
some day	work-PUR	go-3.PST	COND	3SG	wages	until

orawe	**na**	**tɔle**	**pʰer**	**kʌmae**	**na**	**jae**
ora-we	**na**	**tɔle**	**pʰer**	**kʌma-e**	**na**	**ja-e**
empty-3.PST	NEG	till then	again	work-PUR	NEG	go-3.PST

'Whenever he earned something, he didn't go to earn again until the wages finished completely.' (13.004)

b. मधेश अगर भारत के भूखंड रहित त का जहाँ बान्ह लागल बा उहाँ बाऩ लागित ?

mʌd̤es	**ʌgʌr**	**b̤arʌt**	**ke**	**b̤ukʰʌnd̤**	**rʌɦit**	**tʌ**	**ka**
mʌd̤es	**ʌgʌr**	**b̤arʌt**	**ke**	**b̤ukʰʌnd̤**	**rʌɦ-it**	**tʌ**	**ka**
Madhesh	if	India	GEN	territory	live-3.IPST	COND	what

jʌɦã	**baṇ̤**	**lagʌl**	**ba**	**uɦã**	**lagit**
jʌɦã	**baṇ̤**	**lag-ʌl**	**ba**	**uɦã**	**lag-it**
where	barrage	erect-PP	be.3SG.PRES	there	erect-3.IPST

'If Madhesh was an Indian territory, would the barrage be erected where it has been now?' (02.080)

c. ओकर बाबा अगर जिअत रहतें त अब तक सय बरीस के भइल रहतें ।

okʌr	**bɑbɑ**	**ʌgʌr**	**jiʌt**	**rʌɦtẽ**		**tʌ**
u-ʌr	**bɑbɑ**	**ʌgʌr**	**ji-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-tẽ**		**tʌ**
3SG-GEN	grandfaher	if	live-SIM	live-3.IPST.MH		COND

ʌb	**tʌk**	**sɛ**	**bʌris**	**ke**	**ḅʌil**	**rʌɦtẽ**	
ʌb	**tʌk**	**sɛ**	**bʌrʌs**	**ke**	**ḅʌ-il**	**rʌɦ-tẽ**	
now	till	hundred	year	GEN	become-PP	live-3.IPST.MH	

'If his grand father had been alive, he would have been a hundred years old.' (13.063)

The proposition in the 'if'-clause in (44a-c) is contrary to the fact. In (44a) the person speaking knows for sure that s/he has no land, in (44b) the speaker clearly knows neither Madhesh belongs to India nor even the positive answer of his question makes any difference in the barrage location, similarly in (44c) the speaker knows for sure that the person referred to is dead; therefore the 'then'-clauses here express what would have been the case if that had been otherwise, whereas if the verisimilitude value is pending (Givón, 2001b:332), as is the case with the hypothetical conditionality already exemplified, the proposition of the 'then'-clause may still be true.

A hypothetical conditionality on the contrary to the counterfactuality in (44) can be seen in the almost parallel sentence in (45).

(45) ओकर बाबा अगर जिअत बानी त अब सय बरीस के भइल होखेम ।

okʌr	**bɑbɑ**	**ʌgʌr**	**jiʌt**	**bɑni**	**tʌ**	**ʌb**	**sɛ**
okʌr	**bɑbɑ**	**ʌgʌr**	**ji-ʌt**	**bɑni**	**tʌ**	**ʌb**	**sɛ**
3SG.GEN.NH	grandfaher	if	live-SIM	be.PRES.H	cond	now	hundred

bʌris	**ke**	**ḅʌil**	**ɦokʰem**
bʌrʌs	**ke**	**ḅʌ-il**	**ɦokʰ-em**
year	GEN	become-PP	be-FUT.H

'If his grand father is alive, he will have been a hundred years old.' (13.064)

d) Concessive conditionals

Concessive conditionality is almost identical with hypothetical conditionality but the conditional clause is infinite in Bhojpuri in participle form with emphasis -ओ /-*o*/ followed by postposition पर *pʌr* 'afterwards', as shown in (46):

(46) हमरा रोकलो पर ऊ ना रुकल ।

ɦʌmrɑ	**roklo**	**pʌr**	**u**	**nɑ**	**rukʌl**

ɦʌm-ʌrɑ	**rok-lo**	**pʌr**	**u**	**nɑ**	**ruk-ʌl**
1SG-GEN-SPEC	block-SEQ.EMPH	LOC	3SG	NEG	stop-3SG.PST

'He didn't stop even I tried a lot.' (13.065)

Influenced by Hindi, the emphasis can be expressed by भी /*b̤i*/ 'also' following पर /*pʌr*/ 'after' the participle form of the verb in conditional infinite clause, as shown in (47):

(47) ओकरा कहला पर भी हम रुकेवाला ना भइनी ।

okrɑ	**kʌɦlɑ**	**pʌr**	**b̤i**	**ɦʌm**	**rukewɑlɑ**	**nɑ**
u-ʌr-ɑ	**kʌɦ-lɑ**	**pʌr**	**b̤i**	**ɦʌm**	**ruk-e-wɑlɑ**	**nɑ**
3SG-GEN-DEF	say-SEQ	LOC	also	1SG	stop-PUR-able	NEG

b̤ʌini

b̤ʌ-ini

become-PST.H

'I wasn't able to stop even he had told me.' (13.066)

Moreover, Bhojpuri has tradition of emphasizing the agent of the conditional clause in concessive conditionality, as shown in (48):

(48) अंगरक्षको के सुरक्षा देला पर ऊ सुरक्षित होखेवाला ना रहे ।

ʌŋgrʌkcʰʌko	**ke**	**surʌkcʰɑ**	**delɑ**	**pʌr**	**u**
ʌŋgrʌkcʰʌk-o	**ke**	**surʌkcʰɑ**	**de-ʌl-ɑ**	**pʌr**	**u**
bodyguard-EMPH	GEN	protection	give-PP-SEQ	LOC	3SG

surʌkcʰit	**ɦokʰewɑlɑ**	**nɑ**	**rʌɦe**
surʌkcʰɑ-it	**ɦokʰ-e-wɑlɑ**	**nɑ**	**rʌɦ-e**
protection-ADJ	be-PUR-able	NEG	live-3SG.PST

'He wasn't able to be safe, even his bodyguard had guaranteed safty.' (13.067)

Likewise, Bhojpuri has an adverbial phrase जब कि /*jʌb ki*/ 'even if' to mark concessive conditionality, as shown in (49):

(49) जब कि ऊ निमन से सजल रहली, लोग के चित्त पर चढ़ेवाली ना रहली ।

jʌb	**ki**	**u**	**nimʌn**	**se**	**sʌjʌl**	**rʌɦili**	**log**
jʌb	**ki**	**u**	**nimʌn**	**se**	**sʌj-ʌl**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**log**
when	COMP	3SG	good	with	adorn-PP	live-PP-3.PST.F.MH	people

log	**ke**	**citt**	**pʌr**	**cʌr̝e**	**wɑli**	**nɑ**	**rʌɦili**
log	**ke**	**citt**	**pʌr**	**cʌr̝-e**	**wɑlɑ-i**	**nɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
people	GEN	mind	LOC	climb-PUR	able-F	NEG	live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'Though she was well adorned, she had not been attractive among people.' (13.068)

13.2.3 Cause or reason adverbial clauses

As noted by Thompson & Longacre (1985:181), it is no surprise that causal relationship is expressed in the same way as temporal relationship, or rather than the constructions themselves are neutral between a time and a cause interpretation.

As Givón (2001b:335) further points out, cause (along with reason) can itself be subdivided as agentive external, non-agentive external, eventive external, non-eventive external, eventive internal and non-eventive internal.

Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:368), Maithili (Yadav 1996:364 and Yadav 2010:119), Hindi (Koul 2008:54) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:375) display cause or reason clauses in similar ways. Cause or reason clauses in Bhojpuri are examined as shown in (50a-f):

(50) a. **agentive external cause for event**

… एह से कि हम देखले बानी त हमरा इयाद बा ।

eɦ	**se**	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰle**	**bɑni**	**tʌ**
eɦ	**se**	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰ-ʌl-e**	**bɑni**	**tʌ**
PROX	with	COMP	1SG	see-PP-SEQ	be.PRES.H	COND

ɦʌmrɑ	**iɑd**	**bɑ**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ	**iɑd**	**bɑ**
1SG-GEN-DAT	memory	be.3SG.PRES

'… because I have observed, so, I can remember.' (03.246)

b. **Non-agentive external cause for event**

दू-चार प्रतिशत शब्द भोजपुरी से फरक बा, ओही से ऊ भोजपुरिए के भाषा ह ।

du	**cɑr**	**prʌtisʌt**	**sʌbd**	**ɓojpuri**	**se**	**pʰʌrʌk**	**bɑ**
du	**cɑr**	**prʌtisʌt**	**sʌbd**	**ɓojpuri**	**se**	**pʰʌrʌk**	**bɑ**
two	four	percent	word	Bhojpuri	abl	different	be.3SG.PRES

oɦi	**se**	**u**	**ɓojpurie**	**ke**	**ɓɑsɑ**	**ɦʌ**
o-ɦi	**se**	**u**	**ɓojpuri-e**	**ke**	**ɓɑsɑ**	**ɦʌ**
DIST-EMPH	source	3SG	Bhojpuri-EMPH	GEN	language	be.3SG.PRES

'There are nearly two to four percent of words different from Bhojpuri, therefore, it is a variety of Bhojpuri itself.' (04.202-3)

c. **Eventive external reason for action**

नाचवाला बेसी तामझाम करे लागल त हम चल देनी ।

nɑcwɑlɑ	**besi**	**tɑmjʰɑm**	**kʌre**	**lɑgʌl**	**tʌ**
nɑc-wɑlɑ	**besi**	**tɑmjʰɑm**	**kʌr-e**	**lɑg-ʌl**	**tʌ**
dance-owner	more	overpreparation	do-SIM	continue-3SG.PST	COND

ɦʌm	**cʌl**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**cʌl**	**de-ni**
1SG	walk	give-PST.H

‘Because the theatre started lingering, I left.’ (13.237)

d. **Non-eventive external reason for action**

एह से कि बड़ा गर्मी रहे, पंखा खोलके बैठ गइनी ।

eɦ	**se**	**ki**	**bʌɽɑ**	**gʌrmi**	**rʌɦe**	**pʌŋkʰɑ**	**kʰolke**
eɦ	**se**	**ki**	**bʌɽ-ɑ**	**gʌrmi**	**rʌɦ-e**	**pʌŋkʰɑ**	**kʰol-ke**
prox	CAUS	COMP	big-DEF	heat	live-3.PST	fan	open-SEQ

bʌiʈʰ	**gʌini**
bʌiʈʰ	**jɑ-ini**
sit	go-PST.H

‘Because it was extremely hot, I sat switching the fan on.’ (13.238)

e. **Eventive internal reason for action**

ओकरा भरमुठी होखेके चाहीं, ओही से भरमुठी कसके पकड़ले बा ... ।

okʌrɑ	**ɓʌrmuʈʰi**	**ɦokʰeke**	**cɑɦĩ**	**oɦi**	**se**
u-ʌr-ɑ	**ɓʌr-muʈʰi**	**ɦokʰ-e-ke**	**cɑɦ-ĩ**	**o-ɦi**	**se**
3.SG-GEN-DAT	full-fist	be-PUR-OBL	want-OPT	DIST-EMPH	caus

ɓʌrmuʈʰi	**kʌske**	**pʌkʌɽle**	**bɑ**
ɓʌr-muʈʰi	**kʌs-ke**	**pʌkʌɽ-ʌl-e**	**bɑ**
full-fist	place and tighten-SEQ	grab-INF-SIM	be.3SG.PRES

'S/he wants to have complete handful, therefore s/he has tightened his/her fist …' (07.100-1)

f. **Non-eventive internal reason for action**

मङरु पढ़े ना पाके घरे चल आइल ।

mʌŋru	**pʌɽ̊e**	**nɑ**	**pɑke**	**ɡ̈ʌre**	**cʌl**	**ɑil**
mʌŋru	**pʌɽ̊- e**	**nɑ**	**pɑ-ke**	**ɡ̈ʌr-e**	**cʌl**	**ɑ-il**
Mangru	read-SEQ	NEG	get-SEQ	home-LOC	walk	come-3SG.PST

'Having not allowed to study, Mangru returned home.' (Lohar, 2012:218)

13.2.4 Concessive adverbial clauses

There is no unique strategy probably for forming concessive clauses. It is almost similar to that of concessive conditionality already presented. A conjunction with "adversative" reading can, for instance, be used for this purpose with or without the contrary-to-expectation particles meant 'also, even'. As displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:273), Maithili (Yadav 1996:373 and Yadav 2014:131) and Hindi (Koul 2008:205), concessive adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri has been presented as shown in (51a-b).

(51) a. शादा खाना खाइओके ऊ निरोग ना रहल ।

sadɑ	**kʰɑnɑ**	**kʰɑioke**	**u**	**nirog**	**nɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**
sadɑ	**kʰɑnɑ**	**kʰɑ-io-ke**	**u**	**nirog**	**nɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
simple	food	eat-EMPH.SEQ	3SG	healthy	NEG	live-3SG.PST

'He didn't keep healthy in spite of having plain food.' (13.069)

b. लोक सेवा त देनी, बाँकिर नाम ना निकली ।

lok	**sewɑ**	**tʌ**	**deni**	**bɑ̃kir**	**nɑm**	**nɑ**	**nikli**
lok	**sewɑ**	**tʌ**	**de-ni**	**bɑ̃kir**	**nɑm**	**nɑ**	**nikʌl-i**
public	service	COND	give-PST.H	but	name	NEG	release-3.FUT

'I competed in the Public Service Commission, though my name won't be published.' (13.070)

13.2.5 Substitutive adverbial clauses

Substitutive clause is the one in which the action is completed by one instead of the other. Givón (2001b:336) describes it as closely akin to concessive ones, coding an event or state that is expected, via some pragmatic presupposition, however subtle, to be the case but it isn't. As discussed in Maithili (Yadav 2014:133), the substitutive functions in Bhojpuri are expressed with phrase के /*ke*/ or का /*ka*/ followed by साँतिर /*sɑ̃tir*/ or जगे /*jʌge*/ or बदले /*bʌdle*/ equivalent to 'at the place of' or 'instead of', as shown in (52a-c).

(52) a. हम रात में भात का साँतिर रोटी खानी ।

ɦʌm	**rɑt**	**mẽ**	**ḅɑt**	**kɑ**	**sɑ̃tir**	**roʈi**	**kʰɑni**
ɦʌm	**rɑt**	**mẽ**	**ḅɑt**	**kɑ**	**sɑ̃tir**	**roʈi**	**kʰɑ-ni**
1SG.NOM	night	LOC	boiled rice	GEN	SUB	chapatti	eat-PRES.H

'I have chapattis in stead of rice in the evening.'

b. कलेया का जगे हम गौर चल गइनी ।

kʌleyɑ kɑ jʌge ɦʌm gʌur cʌl gʌini

kʌleyɑ kɑ jʌge ɦʌm gʌur cʌl jɑ-ini

Kalaiya GEN place 1SG.NOM Gaur walk go-PST.H

'Instead of Kalaiya, I went to Gaur.' (13.071)

c. खेती-किसानी कइला के बदले ई खेतोत बेंचके सहर में बइठे के मिलो ।

kʰeti kisɑni kʌilɑ ke bʌdle i kʰetot

kʰeti kisɑni kʌr-il-ɑ ke bʌdle i kʰet-ot

farming peasantry do-PP-SEQ GEN instead of PROX farm-ONM

bẽcke sʌɦʌr mẽ bʌiʈʰe ke milo

bẽc-ke sʌɦʌr mẽ bʌiʈʰ-e ke mil-o

sell-SEQ town LOC live-PUR OBL get-OPT

'We may live in a town selling all the farm-land, instead of being involved in farming.' (02.010)

Besides, a comparative form 'X-ing a, is better than X-ing b' to express substitutive function is also possible to be used. In Bhojpuri, the conjunction of comparision से /*se*/ 'that' is used to perform the very function, as shown in (53):

(53) लोग के कहलऽ से हमरा के कहतऽ ।

log ke kʌɦilʌ se ɦʌmrɑ ke kʌɦtʌ

log ke kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌ se ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ ke kʌɦ-tʌ

people GEN say-PP-2.PST.MH CAUS 1SG-GEN-DEF DAT say-2.IPST.MH

'What you told people, you would have told me that.' (13.072)

A substitutive reading of an utterance-complement with direct-quote marker कि /*ki*/ is also possible and may very well be the preferred way of expressing substitution. This interpretation is also supported by उल्टा /*ulʈa*/ 'on the contrary to', as shown in (54a-b):

(54) a. जइसे हम कहनी कि ढोंढ़ाइ के जाएके रहे काठमाड़ो, पहुँच गइल दिल्ली ।

jʌise ɦʌm kʌɦni ki ɖo̤ʈai ke jɑeke rʌɦe

jʌise ɦʌm kʌɦ-ni ki ɖo̤ʈai ke jɑ-eke rʌɦ-e

as 1SG say-PST.H COMP Dhondhai GEN go-OBL live-3.PST

kɑʈʰmɑɽo pʌɦũc gʌil dilli

kaʈʰmaɽo pʌɦũc ja-il dilli

Kathmandu reach go-3SG.PST Delhi

'As I said that Dhondhai had to go to kathmandu, he reached Delhi.' (13.073)

b. गाँव में परिवार के लोग शिल्ड आ मेडल के पैंड़ा ताकत रहे, उल्टा खेलाड़ियन के लाश देखे के परल ।

gão mẽ pʌriwar ke log silḍ a meḍʌl ke pɛ̃ɽa

gão mẽ pʌriwar ke log silḍ a meḍʌl ke pɛ̃ɽa

village LOC family GEN people shield and medal GEN way

takʌt rʌɦe ulʈa kʰelaɽiʌn ke las dekʰeke

tak-ʌt rʌɦ-e ulʈa kʰelaɽi-ʌn ke las dekʰ-eke

seek-IMPF live-3.PST reverse player-PL GEN corpse see-OBL

pʌrʌl

pʌr-ʌl

fall-3SG.PST

'The family members in the village ware waiting for shield and meddal, on the contrary, they had to see dead bodies of the players.' (13.074)

13.2.6 Additive adverbial clauses

There is not much evidence of any entirely unique form expressing additive semantics. Moreover, as displayed in Maithili (Yadav 2014:132), Bhojpuri has additive clause marker अलावा /*ʌlawa*/ 'besides/in addition to' and साथे /*satʰe*/ 'in addition to' as well as the conjunction आ /*a*/ 'and' occurs with inclusive emphatic marker -ओ /-*o*/ before and after the conjunction to function additive clause, as shown in (55a-c):

(55) a. त मुड़ी पर हाँथ धके रोए के अलावा बाँकी कुछियो ना रही ।

tʌ muɽi pʌr ɦãtʰ ḍʌke roe ke ʌlawa

tʌ muɽ pʌr ɦãtʰ ḍʌr-ke ro-e ke ʌlawa

COND head LOC hand put-SEQ weep-SIM COM ADD

bãki kucʰio na rʌɦi

bãki kucʰ-i-o na rʌɦ-i

remaining some-EMPH-EMPH NEG live-3SG.FUT

'Then nothing willl remain except hue and cry.' (03.217)

b. ओकर खाइल का साथे पिअलो देखनी ।

okʌr kʰail ka satʰe piʌlo dekʰni

u-ʌr	**kʰɑ-il**	**kɑ**	**sɑtʰe**	**pi-ʌl-o**		**dekʰ-ni**
3SG-GEN	eat-INF	GEN	ADD	drink-INF-EMPH		see-PST.H

'I saw her/him not eating only but drinking also.'

c. ओह पाट के कहियोके आ गाइयोके सुना देवे ।

oɦ	**pɑʈ**	**ke**	**kʌɦioke**	**ɑ**	**gɑioke**	**sunɑ**
oɦ	**pɑʈ**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-io-ke**	**ɑ**	**gɑ-io-ke**	**sun-ɑ**
DIST	drama	ACC	say-EMPH-SEQ	and	sing-EMPH-SEQ	listen-CAUS

dewe

de-we

give-3.PST

'They used to perform it by conversating as well as by singing.' (03.299)

Besides, the emphasis is expressed by भी /*ḅi*/ 'also' in Bhojpuri in Hindi influence, as shown in (56).

(56) आल़ा में अपने वार्ता भी सुनेम आ गीत भी सुनेम ।

ɑl̥ɑ	**mẽ**	**ʌpne**	**bɑrtɑ**	**ḅi**	**sunem**	**ɑ**	**git**	**ḅi**
ɑl̥ɑ	**mẽ**	**ʌpne**	**bɑrtɑ**	**ḅi**	**sun-em**	**ɑ**	**git**	**ḅi**
Alha	LOC	2SG.H	talk	also	listen-FUT.H	and	song	also

sunem

sun-em

listen-FUT.H

'You can enjoy pieces of dialogues as well as songs.' (03.271)

Moreover, Bhojpuri has an adverbial phrase के बादो /*ke bado*/ 'besides' to express additive cluase but with adversality.

(57) हुमायू मुसलमान भइला के बादो राखी के लाज रखलें ।

ɦumɑyu	**musʌlmɑn**	**ḅʌilɑ**	**ke**	**bɑdo**	**rɑkʰi**	
ɦumɑyu	**musʌlmɑn**	**ḅʌ-il-ɑ**	**ke**	**bɑd-o**	**rɑkʰi**	
Humayu	Muslim	become-PP-SEQ	GEN	later-EMPH	Raxabandhan	

ke	**lɑj**	**rʌkʰlẽ**	
ke	**lɑj**	**rɑkʰ-ʌl-ẽ**	
GEN	prestige	keep-PP-3.PST.MH	

'Besides he was a Muslim, Humayu expressed high regard to the sacred thread or Rakhi.' (07.063)

13.2.7 Purpose clauses

Dependent clauses expressing the purpose for an event to be carried out usually have an implicit human subject coreferential with the (normally) explicit subject of the main clause (Givón, 2001b:337). Such clauses are seen to have been displayed variably as in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:369), Maithili (Yadav 2014:115-6), Hindi (Koul 2008:202) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:378-9), the purpose in Bhojpuri is denoted by clitic -ए /*-e*/ suffixed with the verbal root. The finite verb in sentences is almost invariably an intransitive motion verb आ /*a*/ 'come', जा /*ja*/ 'go', etc, as shown in (58a-b):

(58) a. एक दिन बुढ़िआ खेत देखे गइली ।

ek	**din**	**buɽ̊ia**	**kʰet**	**dekʰe**	**gʌili**
ek	**din**	**buɽ̊-i-ɑ**	**kʰet**	**dekʰ-e**	**jɑ-il-i**
one	day	old-F-DEF	farm	see-PUR	go-PP-3.SG.PST.F.MH

'One day, the old woman went to see her farm.' (05.007)

b. चलऽ बैर खाए ।

cʌlʌ	**bʌir**	**kʰɑe**
cʌl-ʌ	**bʌir**	**kʰɑ-e**
walk-IMP.MH	plum	eat-PUR

'Let's go to eat plums.' (09.502)

Sometimes, the purposive clitic -ए /*-e*/ is also followed by -के /*-ke*/ as shown in (59):

(59) डाढ़ खेले चलेके बा ।

ɖɑɽ̊	**kʰele**	**cʌleke**	**bɑ**
ɖɑɽ̊	**kʰel-e**	**cʌl-e-ke**	**bɑ**
pig-cry	play-PUR	walk-PUR-OBL	be.3SG.PRES

'We have to go to play pig-cry.' (03.233)

Moreover, postpositions used to mark benefactive case such as ला /*la*/ or लागि /*lagi*/ or खातिर /*kʰatir*/ or वास्ते /*waste*/ 'for' are also used to express purpose in Bhojpuri, as shown in (60a-c):

(60) a. त ए सब चीज ला प्रकृति में दूनू विकल्प बा ।

tʌ	**e**	**sʌb**	**cij**	**lɑ**	**prʌkriti**	**mẽ**	**dunu**	**bikʌlp**
tʌ	**e**	**sʌb**	**cij**	**lɑ**	**prʌkriti**	**mẽ**	**du-nu**	**bikʌlp**
COND	PROX	PL	matter	for	nature	LOC	two-EMPH	option

bɑ

bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

'For such sufferings, the nature has both options.' (07.113)

b. सब से पहिले सिद्धांत तय करेके पड़ेला संघीयता के कौनो स्वरूप बनावे खातिर ।

sʌb	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**sidd̤ant**	**tɛ**	**kʌreke**	**pʌɽela**
sʌb	**se**	**pʌɦil-e**	**sidd̤ant**	**tɛ**	**kʌr-e-ke**	**pʌɽ-elɑ**
all	source	first-DEF	princiPLe	fix	do-PUR-OBL	lie-3SG.PRES

sʌŋg̈iyʌtɑ	**ke**	**kɔno**	**swʌrup**	**bʌnɑwe**	**kʰɑtir**
sʌŋg̈iyʌtɑ	**ke**	**kɔno**	**swʌrup**	**bʌnɑ-e**	**kʰɑtir**
federalism	GEN	any	model	make-PUR	for

'First of all, a principle should be finalized to fix a certain model of federalism.' (01.033)

c. तोहरा के जिआन करे खातिर ना मिली ।

toɦrɑ	**ke**	**jiɑn**	**kʌre**	**kʰɑtir**	**nɑ**	**mili**
tu-ʌr-ɑ	**ke**	**jiɑn**	**kʌr-e**	**kʰɑtir**	**nɑ**	**mil-i**
2SG-GEN-SPEC	GEN	spoil	do-PUR	for	NEG	get-3SG.FUT

'You won't be given for spoiling.' (02.045)

13.3 Participial adverbial clauses

Givón (2001b:238) exhibits that "Like complements of modality and manipulation verbs, participial adverbial clauses are tightly integrated with their main clause. Functionally first, this integration involves two majorc omponents of coherence: in terms of referential coherence, they tend to have the *same-subject* as their main clause; and in terms of temporal coherence, they tend to exhibit rigid *tense-aspect-modal* restrictions vis-a-vis their main clause, most commonly either simuntaneity or anteriourity."

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:376), Maithili (Yadav 2005:443-9 and Yadav 2014:137), Hindi (Koul 2008:194-5) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:361-2) display participial clauses variably, the sequential (anterior) and simultaneous participial clauses in Bhojpuri are discussed as follows:

13.3.1 Sequential participial clause

Sequential participial clauses are extensively used in narrative and procedural discourses. A sequential participial clause basically refers to 'anteriority', i. e., the event occurring immediately prior to the event encoded in the following verb, which may be another sequential participial or a finite verb in the matrix clause (Yadava, 2005). In other words, the major function of the sequential participial clause is to encode the event that is assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate (Noonan, 1999), as shown in (61a-b):

(61)a. हम पानी पीके रात कटनी ।

ɦʌm	**pɑni**	**pike**	**rɑt**	**kʌʈni**
ɦʌm	**pɑni**	**pi-ke**	**rɑt**	**kɑʈ-ni**
1SG	water	drink-SEQ	night	pass-PRES.H

'I passed the night having taken water.' (13.241)

b. माई खाएक कके हमनी के खिआके सुतेली ।

mɑi	**kʰɑek**	**kʌke**	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**kʰiake**	**suteli**
mɑi	**kʰɑek**	**kʌr-ke**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**kʰiɑ-ke**	**sut-eli**
mother	food	do-SEQ	1SG-PL	DAT	feed-SEQ	sleep-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'Mother sleeps having food cooked and fed us.' (13.242)

The participial पीके /*pike*/ 'drunk' happens prior to the finite verb of the matrix clause कटनी /*kʌʈni*/ 'passed' in (61a) and कके /*kʌke*/ 'done' happens prior to the other participial खिआके /*kʰiake*/ 'fed' before the finite verb सुतेली /*suteli*/ 'sleep' of the matrix clause in (61b).

Apart from the core meaning, i. e., anteriority or temporal priority as shown in (61a-b), in common with other South Asian languages (Yadava, 2005 and Regmi, 2008), Bhojpuri employs non-specialized sequential clauses exploring a variety of extra-contextual meanings including cause as shown in (62a) and manner as shown in (62b):

(62)a. मङरु पढ़े ना पाके घरे चल आइल ।

mʌŋru	**pʌʈ̊e**	**nɑ**	**pɑke**	**ɡ̈ʌre**	**cʌl**	**ɑil**
mʌŋru	**pʌʈ̊-e**	**nɑ**	**pɑ-ke**	**ɡ̈ʌr-e**	**cʌl**	**ɑ-il**
Mangru	read-PUR	NEG	get-SEQ	house-LOC	walk	come-3SG.PST

'Having not allowed to study, Mangru returned home.' (13.243)

b. हम सारा रात रोके बितइनी ।

ɦʌm	**sɑrɑ**	**rɑt**	**roke**	**bitʌini**
ɦʌm	**sɑrɑ**	**rɑt**	**ro-ke**	**bit-ɑ-ini**
1SG.NOM	whole	night	weep-SEQ	pass-CAUS-PST.H

'I passed the whole night weeping.' (13.244)

13.3.2 Simultaneous participial clause

Like Chantyal (Noonan, 1999), Bhujel (Regmi, 2007) and Maithili (Yadava, 2005), Bhojpuri also employs simultaneous participial clause to express an activity that is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate, as shown in (63a-b):

(63)a. ऊ देवास गावत घरे आइल ।

u	**dewɑs**	**gɑwʌt**	**ɡ̈ʌre**	**ɑil**
u	**dewɑs**	**gɑ-ʌt**	**ɡ̈ʌr-e**	**ɑ-il**
3SG	prayers	sing-SIM	house-LOC	come-3SG.PST

'He came home while chanting prayer.' (13.245)

b. लइका बिस्कुट खात इस्कूल गइल ।

lʌikɑ	**biskuʈ**	**kʰɑt**	**iskul**	**gʌil**
lʌikɑ	**biskuʈ**	**kʰɑ-ʌt**	**iskul**	**jɑ-il**
boy	biscuit	eat-SIM	school	go-3SG.PST

'The boy went to school eating biscuits.' (13.246)

Bhojpuri also employs double simultaneity except the matrix predicate, especially to mark a particular behavior, as shown in (64):

(64) तू त खऱ़वा खात पनिआ पिअत चलेलऽ ।

tu	**tʌ**	**kʰʌr̥wɑ**	**kʰɑt**	**pʌniɑ**	**piʌt**	**cʌlelʌ**
tu	**tʌ**	**kʰʌr̥-wɑ**	**kʰɑ-ʌt**	**pɑni-ɑ**	**pi-ʌt**	**cʌl-elʌ**
2SG	COND	grass-SPEC	eat-SIM	water-SPEC	drink-SIM	walk-2.PRES.MH

'You walk very slowly.' (13.247)

(Literally: 'You walk eating grass and drinking water.')

Sometimes, simultaneous converbal suffix adds a further clitic -ए /-*e*/ as emphatic marker to emphasize the situation, as shown in (65):

(65) लइकी रोअते चल आइल ।

lʌiki	**roʌte**	**cʌl**	**ɑil**
lʌiki	**ro-ʌt-e**	**cʌl**	**ɑ-il**
girl	weep-SIM-EMPH	walk	come-3SG.PST

'The girl came weeping.' (13.248)

Normally Bhojpuri verb roots take suffix -अल /-*ʌl*/ to express infinitive as well as past participle aspect. But there are some verbs, that further take clitic -ए /-*e*/ as emphatic marker, to express simultaneous participial clause. Sometimes both the suffixes are grammaticalized into -ले /-*le*/, as shown in (66):

(66) बाबुजी चोर के पकड़ले अइनी ।

bɑbuji	**cor**	**ke**	**pʌkʌɽle**	**ʌini**
bɑbu-ji	**cor**	**ke**	**pʌkʌɽ-ʌl-e**	**ɑ-ini**
father-H	thief	ACC	catch-PP-SEQ	come-PST.H

'Father came catching the thief.' (13.249)

Moreover, the simultaneous participial clause gives meaning of the sequential one making too narrow escape between the converb and the verb of the matrix predicate, as shown in (67):

(67) लइका खाते सुत गइल ।

lʌikɑ	**kʰɑte**	**sut**	**gʌil**
lʌikɑ	**kʰɑ-ʌt-e**	**sut**	**jɑ-il**
boy	eat-SIM-EMPH	sleep	go-3SG.PST

'The boy slept as soon as he ate.' (13.250)

13.4 Relative clauses

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:379-88), Maithili (Yadav 2014:82-106), Hindi (Koul 2008:187-98) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:381-8) exhibit relative clauses in the similar ways, Bhojpuri also exhibits relative clauses as observed in Tripathy (1987:267), Shrivastava (1999:114-5), Sharma and Ashk (2007:77), Thakur (2011:109). This section attempts to discuss the morphosyntax of relativization in Bhopuri with functional-typological perspective. It follows the three parameters Payne (1997:326) proposes:

(i) The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head;

(ii) The mode of expression of the relativized noun phrase, and;

(iii)The very grammatical relations that can be relativized.

13.4.1 Non-finite and finite relative clauses

(68) a. खटिआ पर बइठल आदमी ।

kʰʌʈia pʌr bʌiʈʰʌl ɑdmi

kʰʌʈia pʌr bʌiʈʰ- ʌl ɑdmi

cot LOC sit-PP man

'The man who is sitting on the cot.' (Lohar, 2010:84)

b. मङरु के किनल हँसुआ ।

mʌŋru ke kinʌl ɦɑ̃suɑ

mʌŋru ke kin-ʌl ɦɑ̃suɑ

Mangru GEN buy-PP sickle

'The sickle that Mangaru bought.' (Lohar, 2010:84)

c. जौन विषय में हम शोध करेके चाहतानी ऊ बा भोजपुरी व्याकरण ।

[jɔn bisɛ mẽ ɦʌm soḍ̤ kʌreke

jɔn bisɛ mẽ ɦʌm soḍ̤ kʌr-e-ke

REL subject LOC 1SG research do-PUR-OBL

cɑɦʌtɑni] u bɑ ḅ̤ojpuri byɑkʌrʌn

cɑɦ-ʌt bɑni u bɑ ḅ̤ojpuri byɑkʌrʌn

want-IMPF be.PRES.H COR be.3SG.PRES Bhojpuri grammar

'The topic of my research is Bhojpuri Grammar.' (03.094)

d. जेकर केस उज्जर बा ऊ आदमी हमर बाबा हउअन ।

jekʌr kes ujjʌr bɑ u ɑdmi ɦʌmʌr

[je-ʌr kes ujjʌr bɑ] u ɑdmi ɦʌm-ʌr

REL-GEN hair white be.3SG.PRES COR man 1SG-GEN

bɑbɑ ɦʌuʌn

bɑbɑ ɦʌuʌn

grandfather be.3.PRES

'The man whose hair is white is my grand-father.' (Lohar, 2010:84)

The clauses in (68a-b) are considered non-finite participial relative clauses as the verb in each clause is inflected with participial marker suffix -अल /-ʌl/. They either restrict or modify the head noun. But the clauses in brackets in (68c-d) are initiated by correlative relative clauses with relative pronouns जौन /*jɔn*/ 'who' and जेकर /*jekʌr*/ 'whose', so, they are considered finite relative clauses. As in both the

cases the relative clauses modify the head noun, non-finite or participial and finite or correlative relative clauses are nominal modifiers in Bhojpuri.

13.4.2 The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head

In Bhojpuri, there are three types of relative clauses in terms of their positions with respect to the head noun: externally headed, internally headed and headless.

a. Externally headed relative clause

In Bhojpuri, there are two types of externally headed relative clauses: pre-nominal and post-nominal relative clauses.

i. Pre-nominal relative clause

The pre-nominal relative clause precedes the head noun:

(69) जेकरा से हम रास्ता पुछनी ऊ हमर सारी हिअ ।

jekrɑ	**se**	**ɦʌm**	**rɑstɑ**	**pucʰni**	**u**	**ɦʌmʌr**
[je-ʌr-ɑ	**se**	**ɦʌm**	**rɑstɑ**	**pucʰ- ni]**	**u**	**ɦʌm-ʌr**
REL-GEN-DEF	DAT	1SG	way	ask-PST.H	COR	1SG-GEN

sɑri	**ɦiʌ**
sɑri	**ɦiʌ**
sister-in-law	be.3SG.PRES.F

'The woman whom I asked the way is my sister-in-law.' (Lohar, 2010:84)

The clause in brackets that is placed before the head noun and "normally" modifies ऊ /*u*/ 'she' and restricts the head NP हमर सारी /*ɦʌmʌr sari*/ 'my sister-in-law' is a correlative relative clause.

ii. Post-nominal relative clause

In Bhojpuri, the correlative relative clause can also succeed the head NP:

(70) लेकिन किसान के समस्या लेके ऊ आवता जे कवनो संघ में नइखे ।

lekin	**kisɑn**	**ke**	**sʌmʌsyɑ**	**leke**	**u**	**ɑwʌtɑ**	
lekin	**kisɑn**	**ke**	**sʌmʌsyɑ**	**le-ke**	**u**	**ɑ-ʌt**	**bɑ**
but	peasant	GEN	problem	take-SEQ	COR	come-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

je	**kɔno**	**sʌŋ̊**	**mẽ**	**nʌikʰe**	
[je	**kɔno**	**sʌŋ̊**	**mẽ**	**nʌikʰ-e]**	
REL	any	association	LOC	be.NEG.PRES-3SG	

'But those who are coming ahead with peasants' problems do not belong to any of the organizations.' (02.125)

The clause in brackets that is placed after the head noun and has "nominally" modified and restricted the head NP ऊ /*u*/ 's/he' is a correlative relative clause.

b. Internally headed relative clause

The head noun can also occur within the relative clause in Bhojpuri:

(71) ओ लोग के जेतना भी प्रयास बा, सराहनीय बा ।

[o	**log**	**ke**	**jetnɑ**	**b̤i**	**prʌyɑs**	**bɑ]**
3SG.DIST	PL	GEN	how much.REL	also	effort	be.3SG.PRES

sʌrɑɦnie	**bɑ**
praiseworthy	be.3SG.PRES

'Whatever the efforts they have made are all praiseworthy.' (03.324)

In this example, the head noun प्रयास /*prʌyas*/ 'efforts' is within the relative clause.

c. Headless relative clause

We also find some relative clauses in Bhojpuri, which themselves refer to the noun that they modify. They are considered headless Bhojpuri relative clauses, as shown in (72)

(72) a. बिहने जे पाछे उठी, तीनगो खाई ।

biɦʌne	**je**	**pɑcʰe**	**uʈʰi**	**tingo**	**kʰɑi**
[biɦʌne	**je**	**pɑcʰe**	**uʈʰ-i]**	**tin-go**	**kʰɑ-i**
tomorrow	REL	lately	wake-3SG.FUT	three-CLF	eat-3SG.FUT

'Whoever wakes up later in the morning will eat the three.' (13.011)

b. जे रही, रहो ।

je	**rʌɦi**	**rʌɦo**
je	**rʌɦ-i**	**rʌɦ-o**
REL	live-3SG.FUT	live-OPT

'Whoever will live here, let him/her live.' (Lohar, 2010:86)

The clauses बिहने जे पाछे उठी /*biɦʌne je pacʰe uʈʰi*/ 'whoever wakes up later in the morning' in (72a) and जे रही /*je rʌɦi*/ 'whoever will live here' in (72b) are the headless relative clauses.

13.4.3 The mode of expression of the relativized NP

The grammatical role of the relativized noun phrase can be different from the role of its head noun within the relative clause. Such role can be identified in a natural language by using different syntactic strategies. In this sub-section, the main

strategies that can be used in Bhojpuri relative clauses will be discussed. They include gap, pronoun retention and the use of different correlative pronouns.

a) The gap strategy

The relativized noun phrase can be left out in a relative clause or we can say, there can be a 'gap' after the correlative pronoun in a relative clause. This strategy helps identify the grammatical relation of the 'left out' noun phrase within the relative clause:

(73) ऊ जे सिडिओ का लगे देखलें हमरा के त कहले जे ई त प्रकृति के बात बा ।

u	**je**	**siɖio**	**kɑ**	**lʌge**	**dekʰlẽ**	**ɦʌmrɑ**	**ke**
u	**[je**	**siɖio**	**kɑ**	**lʌge**	**dekʰ-ʌl-ẽ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**	**ke]**
COR	REL	CDO	GEN	with	see-PP-3.PST.MH	1SG-GEN-SPEC	ACC

tʌ	**kʌɦilẽ**	**je**	**i**	**tʌ**	**prʌkriti**	**ke**	**bɑt**
tʌ	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**je**	**i**	**tʌ**	**prʌkriti**	**ke**	**bɑt**
COND	say-PP-3.PST.MH	COMP	PROX	COND	nature	GEN	matter

bɑ

bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

'He, who saw me there near the CDO, said, "It is the matter of nature."' (04.084)

Hence a gap is created after the relativizer जे /*je*/ 'that' for the relativized NP ऊ /*u*/ 'it'. The grammatical role of this NP is the subject.

b) The pronoun retention strategy

In this strategy, a pronoun that explicitly references the grammatical relation of the relativized NP by its position, its form, or both is retained within the relative clause:

(74) ऊ उहे लइका ह जे हम ओकर चेहरा कहिओ ना बिसरेम ।

u	**uɦe**	**lʌikɑ**	**ɦʌ**	**je**	**ɦʌm**	**okʌr**	**ceɦrɑ**	**kʌɦio**
u	**uɦe**	**lʌikɑ**	**ɦʌ**	**je**	**ɦʌm**	**o-ʌr**	**ceɦrɑ**	**kʌɦio**
3SG	COR	boy	be.3SG.PRES	REL	1SG	3SG-GEN	face	any time

nɑ **bisʌrem**

nɑ **bisʌr-em**

NEG forget-FUT.H

'That is the boy whose face I can never forget.' (Lohar 2010:87)

The relative clause in the brackets has retained the possessive pronoun ओकर /*okʌr*/ 'his/her'. This pronoun indicates the grammatical relation of the relativized NP. However, this type of strategy is not very frequently used in Bhojpuri.

c) The correlative strategy

The correlative pronouns जे /*je*/ … से /*se*/ or जौन /*jɔn*/ … तौन /*tɔn*/ (human singular), जेकनी /*jekʌni*/ … तेकनी /*tekni*/ (human plural) and जे /*je*/ … से /*se*/ or जथी /*jʌtʰi*/ … तथी /*tʌtʰi*/ (non-human); correlative adjectives जइसन /*jʌisʌn*/ … तइसन /*tʌisʌn*/ (condition), जेतना /*jetna*/ … तेतना /*tetna*/ (quantity); and correlative adverbs जहाँ /*jʌɦã*/ … तहाँ /*tʌɦã*/ (place), जहिआ /*jʌɦia*/ … तहिआ /*tʌɦia*/ 'time', जइसे /*jʌise*/ … तइसे /*tʌise*/ (manner) are used as relativeizer in the relative clauses in Bhojpuri:

(75) a. जौने हँड़लगनी तौने भंसिआ ।

jɔne	**ɦɑ̃ɽlʌgʌni**	**tɔne**	**ɓʌnsiɑ**
[jɔn-e	**ɦɑ̃ɽlʌgʌni]**	**tɔn-e**	**ɓʌnsiɑ**
REL-EMPH	the woman eating in cooking pot	COR-EMPH	cook

'The wo/man who eats in the cooking pot is the cook.' (Lohar, 2010:88)

b. घर में जे लोग सुन रहल बानी ऊ लोग भी पसन करेम ।

ɡ̈ʌr	**mẽ**	**je**	**log**	**sun**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑni**	**u**	**log**	**ɓi**
[ɡ̈ʌr	**mẽ**	**je**	**log**	**sun**	**rʌɦ-ʌl]**	**bɑni**	**u**	**log**	**ɓi**
house	LOC	REL	PL	listen	live-INF	be.PRES.H	COR	PL	also

pʌsʌn	**kʌrem**
pʌsʌn	**kʌr-em**
choice	do-FUT.H

'Those who are hearing us at home will also like it.' (03.088)

c. जे/जथी खाएके मन लागे से/तथी खाईं ।

je/jʌtʰi	**kʰɑe**	**ke**	**mʌn**	**lɑge**	**se/tʌtʰi**	**kʰɑĩ**
[je/jʌtʰi	**kʰɑ-e**	**ke**	**mʌn**	**lɑg-e]**	**se/tʌtʰi**	**kʰɑ-ĩ**
whatever.REL	eat-PUR	GEN	mind	wish-3SG.PRES	COR	eat-IMP.H

'Whatever you like, please eat.' (Lohar 2010:88)

d. जइसन परहोंक तइसन वीक । (Vidyapati verse 129)

[jʌisʌn	**pʌrʌɦõk]**	**tʌisʌn**	**bik**
REL	first sale	COR	whole sale

'Morning shows the day. Lit: The sale is how the first sale starts.' (Gupt 1910:67)

e. जइसे डगमग नलनिक नीरे । तइसे डगमग धनिक शरीरे । (Vidyapati verse 148)

jʌise	**ɖʌgmʌg**	**nʌlnik**	**nire**	**tʌise**	**ɖʌgmʌg**	**ḍʌnik**
jʌise	**ɖʌgmʌg**	**nʌlni-k**	**nir-e**	**tʌise**	**ɖʌgmʌg**	**ḍʌni-k**
REL	shaking	pond-GEN	water-EMPH	COR	shaking	lady-GEN

sʌrire

sʌrir-e

body-EMPH

'The body of the lady is shaking how the water in the pond is tiding.' (Gupt 1910:76)

f. जहाँ जहाँ नयन विकाश । तँहि तँहि कमल परकाश ।। (Vidyapati verse 55)

jʌɦã	**jʌɦã**	**nʌyʌn**	**bikɑs**	**tɑ̃ɦi**	**tɑ̃ɦi**	**kʌmʌl**	**pʌrkɑs**
REL	REL	eye	development	COR	COR	lily	light

'The lily blossoms where the eyes behold.' (Gupt 1910:30)

The relativizer जौने /*jɔne*/ 'who' in (75a) presents the grammatical role of the relativized NP as the subject (human singular). Similarly in (75b) the relativizer जे /*je*/ 'who' shows the relativized NP is the subject (human plural) and in (75c) जे/जथी /*je/jʌtʰi*/ 'whatever' is the direct object of the honorific imperative verb खाईं /*kʰaĩ*/ 'please eat'. Likewise, the relativizer जइसन /*jʌisʌn*/ 'how' in (75d) is modifier of the relativised NP वीक /*bik*/ 'sale', the relativizer जइसे /*jʌise*/ 'how' in (75e) modifies the verb डगमग /*ɖʌgmʌg*/ 'shaking' and जहाँ जहाँ /*jʌɦã jʌɦã*/ 'wherever' modifies the eye's development to correlate with the lady's beholding in (75f).

13.4.4 Grammatical relations that can be relativized

Most of the grammatical relations such as subject, object (direct and indirect), oblique, possessive, instrument, source and locative can be relativized in Bhojpuri.

a) Subject

The NP in the subject position can be relativized:

(76) जे करी से पाई ।

je	**kʌri**	**se**	**pɑi**
je	**kʌr-i**	**se**	**pɑ-i**
REL	do-3SG.FUT	COR	get-3SG.FUT

'The one who works will be benefited.' (09.378)

The relativized NP is जे /*je*/ 'who' placed in the subject position.

b) Direct object

The NP in the direct object position can be relativized:

(77) जेके हम आपन बुझनी, ऊ हमे बिरान बुझलख ।

jeke	**ɦʌm**	**ɑpʌn**	**buj̈ni**	**u**	**ɦʌme**	**birɑn**
je-ke	**ɦʌm**	**ɑpʌn**	**buj̈-ni**	**u**	**ɦʌm-e**	**birɑn**
REL-DAT	1SG	own	think-PST.H	COR	1SG-DAT	alien

buj̈lʌkʰ

buj̈-ʌl-ʌkʰ

think-PP-3SG.PST

'The one who I believed ignored me.' (Lohar, 2010:89)

The NP जेके /*jeke*/ 'whom' is relativized in the direct object position.

c) Indirect object

The NP in the indirect object position can be relativized:

(78) जेके तू हँसुआ देलऽ ओके हम हँथउड़ी देनी ।

jeke	**tu**	**ɦɑ̃suɑ**	**delʌ**	**oke**	**ɦʌm**	**ɦɑ̃tʰʌuɽi**
[je-ke	**tu**	**ɦɑ̃suɑ**	**de-ʌl-ʌ]**	**o-ke**	**ɦʌm**	**ɦɑ̃tʰʌuɽi**
REL-DAT	2SG	sickle	give-PP-2SG.PST.MH	COR-DAT	1SG	hammer

deni

de-ni

give-PST.H

'Who you gave a sickle; I gave him/her a hammer.' (Lohar, 2010:89)

The NP जेके /*jeke*/ 'whom' is relativized in the indirect object position.

d. Oblique

The NP in oblique position can be relativized in Bhojpuri:

(79) जे पुरान बा ओकरे निरंतरता में कौनो नया चीज के जन्म होई ।

je	**purɑn**	**bɑ**	**okre**	**nirʌntʌrtɑ**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**
je	**purɑn**	**bɑ**	**u-ʌr-e**	**nirʌntʌrtɑ**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**
REL	old	be.3SG.PRES	COR-GEN-EMPH	continue-NML	LOC	any

nʌyɑ	**cij**	**ke**	**jʌnm**	**ɦoi**
nʌyɑ	**cij**	**ke**	**jʌnm**	**ɦo-i**
new	matter	GEN	birth	be-3SG.FUT

'Something new can be born only as a continuity of the old one.' (03.330)

The NP जे पुरान /*je puran*/ 'the one which is old' is in the oblique case and is relativized in (79).

e) Possessive

The NP in the possessive position can be relativized in Bhojpuri:

(80) जेकर उदय सेकर अस्त ।

jekʌr	**udʌy**	**sekʌr**	**ʌst**
je-ʌr	**udʌy**	**sekʌr**	**ʌst**
REL-GEN	rise	COR-GEN	set

'The one who rises sets too.' (09.367)

The NP जेकर उदय /*jekʌr udʌy*/ 'the one whose rise' is in the possessive position and is relativized.

f) Instrument

The NP in the case of instrument can be relativized:

(81) जथी से काटाए तथी से काट ।

jʌtʰi	**se**	**kɑʈae**	**tʌtʰi**	**se**	**kɑʈ**
[jʌtʰi	**se**	**kɑʈ-ae]**	**tʌtʰi**	**se**	**kɑʈ**
REL	INS	cut-OBL	COR	INS	cut.IMP

'Cut it with whatever it can be.' (Lohar, 2010:90)

The NP जथी से /*jʌtʰi se*/ 'with whatever' is relativized in the position of instrument.

g) Source

The NP in the case of source can be relativized:

(82) जहाँ से आइल ओतहें जाई ।

jʌɦɑ̃	**se**	**ɑil**	**otʌɦɛ̃**	**jɑi**
[jʌɦɑ̃	**se**	**ɑ-il]**	**otʌɦɑ̃-e**	**jɑ-i**
where.REL	SOU	come-3SG.PST	there.COR-EMPH	go-3SG.FUT

'Where it came from will go there.' (Lohar, 2010:90)

The NP जहाँ से /*jʌɦɑ̃ se*/ 'from where' is in in the case of source and is relativized.

h) Locative

The NP in the locative case can be relativized in Bhojpuri.

(83) जहाँ जिअन उहाँ मरन ।

[jʌɦɑ̃	**jiʌn]**	**ũɦɑ̃**	**mʌrʌn**
where.REL	life	there.COR	death

'Where there is life, there is death. (09.510)

The NP /*jʌɦã jiʌn*/ 'where there is life' is in the locative case and is relativized. Table 13.1 presents relatives and correlatives with consecutive interrogative counterparts in Bhojpuri in a parallel way.

Table 13.1 Interrogatives, relatives and correlatives in Bhojpuri

Interrogatives	Relatives	Correlatives
के /*ke*/, कौन /*kɔn*/, केकनी /*kekni*/ 'who'	जे /*je*/, जौन /*jɔn*/, जेकनी /*jekni*/	से /*se*/, सेकनी /*sekni*/, तौन /*tɔn*/, तेकनी /*tekni*/ ऊ /*u*/, ओकनी /*okni*/
कथी /*kʌtʰi*/ 'what'	जथी /*jʌtʰi*/	तथी /*tʌtʰi*/
केकर /*kekʌr*/, किनकर /*kinkʌr*/ 'whose'	जेकर /*jekʌr*/, जिनकर /*jinkʌr*/	सेकर /*sekʌr*/, तेकर /*tekʌr*/, ओकर /*okʌr*/, उनकर /*unkʌr*/, तिनकर /*tinkʌr*/
कखनी /*kʌkʰni*/, कखुनी /*kʌkʰuni*/ 'when'	जखनी /*jʌkʰni*/, जखुनी /*jʌkʰuni*/	तखनी /*tʌkʰni*/, तखुनी /*tʌkʰuni*/, ओखनी /*okʰni*/
कहाँ /*kʌɦã*/, कहवाँ /*kʌɦʌwã*/, केने /*kene*/ 'where'	जहाँ /*jʌɦã*/, जहवाँ /*jʌɦʌwã*/, जेने /*jene*/	तहाँ /*tʌɦã*/, तहवाँ /*tʌɦʌwã*/, तेने /*tene*/, उहाँ /*uɦã*/, ओने /*one*/, उहवाँ /*uɦʌwã*/,
कब /kʌb/, कहिआ /*kʌɦia*/ 'when'	जब /*jʌb*/, जहिआ /*jʌɦia*/	तब /*tʌb*/, तहिआ /*tʌɦia*/
कइसन /*kʌisʌn*/ 'how'	जइसन /*jʌisʌn*/	तइसन /*tʌisʌn*/, ओइसन /*oisʌn*/

13.5 Clause chaining

The use of clause chaining is one of the more salient features of Bhojpuri discourse and the feature fits it into the category of chaining languages as Thompson and Longacre (1985:175-6) and Longacre (1985:238-9) describe. Such clause chains express sequences of events or actions carried out and consist of one or several non-final clauses, followed by the final one. Each non-final clause is relating to the one immediately preceding it and the one following it, but not necessarily to the final clause. Such circumstance is somewhat intermediate between coordination and subordination, which Liljegren (2008:310) terms as cosubordinate clause.

13.5.1 Same-subject chaining

The construction used in the non-final clauses in the same-subject chaining is a non-finite participial, a verb form without any participant agreement, and the subject left implicit.

(84) a. माई खाएक कके हमनी के खिआके सुतेली ।

mai	**kʰaek**	**kʌke**	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**kʰiake**	**suteli**
mai	**kʰaek**	**kʌr-ke**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**kʰia-ke**	**sut-eli**
mother	food	do-SEQ	1.SG-PL	DAT	feed-SEQ	sleep-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'Mother sleeps having food cooked and fed us.' (Lohar, 2012:218)

b. तू त खऱ्वा खात पनिआ पिअत चलेलऽ ।

tu	**tʌ**	**kʰʌɾ̥wa**	**kʰat**	**pʌnia**	**piʌt**
tu	**tʌ**	**kʰʌɾ̥-wa**	**kʰa-ʌt**	**pani-a**	**pi-ʌt**
2.SG	COND	grass-DEF	eat-SIM	water-DEF	drink-SIM

cʌlelʌ

cʌl-elʌ

walk-2SG.PRES.M.MH

'You walk very slowly.' Lit: 'You walk eating grass and drinking water.' (Lohar, 2012:218)

c. खेती छोड़ दीं, टुकुर-टुकुर ताकत रहीं आ ई विश्व साम्राज्यवादी लोग के द्वारा उबजावल गइल सामान हमनीका प्रयोग करत रहीं ।

kʰeti	**cʰoɽ**	**dĩ**	**ʈukur-ʈukur**	**takʌt**	**rʌɦĩ**	**a**	
kʰeti	**cʰoɽ**	**dĩ**	**ʈukur-ʈukur**	**tak-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ĩ**	**a**	
farming	leave	give.HORT	worthlessly	seek-SIM	live-HORT	and	
i	**biswʌ**	**samrajyʌbadi**	**log**	**ke**	**dwara**	**ubjawʌl**	**gʌil**
i	**biswʌ**	**samrajyʌbad-i**	**log**	**ke**	**dwara**	**ubja-wʌl**	**ja-il**
PROX	world	imperialism-ADJ	PL	GEN	by	grow-PP	go-PP

saman	**ɦʌmnika**	**prʌyog**	**kʌrʌt**	**rʌɦĩ**
saman	**ɦʌm-ni-ka**	**prʌyog**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-ĩ**
material	1SG-PL-DEF	use	do-SIM	live-HORT

'Let's abandon farming, continue looking at them worthlessly and using products of these global imperialists.' (02.108)

d. बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली आ चल देली ।

buɻ̊ia	**oke**	**pʌkʌɽke**	**ḍokʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**	
buɻ̊-i-ɑ	**o-e**	**pʌkʌɽ-ke**	**ḍokʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**	
old-F-DEF	3SG-DAT	catch -SEQ	bag	LOC	place and tighten	

leli	**ɑ**	**cʌl**	**deli**	
le-ʌl-i	**ɑ**	**cʌl**	**de-ʌl-i**	
take-PP-3.PST-F.MH	and	walk	give-PP-3.PST-F.MH	

'The old woman pulled him down, tightened him in the bag and went.' (05.039)

13.5.2 Different-subject chaining

While the chaining exemplified in the preceding section expresses sequencing of events or actions with one and the same subject, another construction type is being used when there is a subject switch after a non-final clause: a non-final clause as the ones found in (84a-c), in which a finite verb is followed by the particle आ /*a*/, is in turn followed by another (non-final or final) clause.

(85) a. बन राखे बाघ आ बाघ राखे बन ।

bʌn	**rɑkʰe**	**bɑg̈**	**ɑ**	**bɑg̈**	**rɑkʰe**	**bʌn**
bʌn	**rɑkʰ-e**	**bɑg̈**	**ɑ**	**bɑg̈**	**rɑkʰ-e**	**bʌn**
jungle	keep-PRES	tiger	and	tiger	keep-PRES	jungle

'The jungle protects tiger and the tiger protects jungle.' (09.118)

b. लइका जइसही पिट्ठी देवे तनिका नीचा उतरके लभल, बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली आ घरे चल देली ।

lʌikɑ	**jʌisʌɦi**	**piʈʈʰi**	**dewe**	**tʌnikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**utʌrke**
lʌikɑ	**jʌise-ɦi**	**piʈʈʰi**	**de-we**	**tʌnikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**utʌr-ke**
boy	as fast as-EMPH	cake	give-PUR	little	down	descend-SEQ

lʌb̤ʌl	**buɻ̊ia**	**oke**	**pʌkʌɽke**	**ḍokʌri**	**mẽ**
lʌb̤-ʌl	**buɻ̊-i-ɑ**	**o-e**	**pʌkʌɽ-ke**	**ḍokʌri**	**mẽ**
bow-3SG.PST	old-F-DEF	3SG-DAT	catch-SEQ	bag	LOC

leli	**ɑ**	**g̈ʌre**	**cʌl**	**deli**	
le-ʌl-i	**ɑ**	**g̈ʌr-e**	**cʌl**	**de-ʌl-i**	
take-PP-3.PST.F.MH	and	house-LOC	walk	give-PP-3.PST-F.MH	

'As the boy descended a little and bowed to give her the cake, the old woman pulled him down, tightened him in a bag and went home.' (05.019)

c. चल हम ओखरी में मुड़ी लगावतानी आ तू ढेंकी चलाके सज दे ।

cʌl	**ɦʌm**	**okʰʌri**	**mẽ**	**muɽi**	**lʌgɑwʌtɑni**		**ɑ**	**tu**
cʌl	**ɦʌm**	**okʰʌri**	**mẽ**	**muɽi**	**lʌgɑ-ʌt**	**bɑni**	**ɑ**	**tu**
walk	1SG	mortar	LOC	head	set-SIM	be.PRES.H	and	2SG

ɖ̈ẽki	**cʌlɑke**	**sʌj**	**de**
ɖ̈ẽki	**cʌl-ɑ-ke**	**sʌj**	**de**
pounding appliance	walk-CAUS-SEQ	trim	give.IMP

'I'm placing my head in the mortar and trim it by pounding.' (05.052)

13.6 Conjoined clauses

Languages often have morphosyntactic means of linking two clauses of equal grammatical status, i.e. **coordination,** distinct from **subordination** in that in subordination, one clause is grammatically dependent on the other (Payne 1997:336).

But Givón (2001b:348) rejects the traditional independent-dependent dichotomy between the subordinate and co-ordinate clauses, arguing that the dichotomy is unrealistic both functionally and syntactically. It further postulates "while the different types of conjoined clauses may vary among themselves in the degree and type of their connectivity, their pragmatic links tend to be local (narrow scoped). In this, they contrast with pre-posed adverbials but resemble the post-posed ones." Haspelmath (2007: 34) suggests the term 'coordination' as syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements.

The coordinator, which is further subcategoraized as conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination and causal coordination; described in Bhojpuri as follows:

13.6.1 Conjunctive coordinator (conjunction)

As attested in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal :2013:346-8), Maithili (Yadav 2014:148-55), Hindi (Koul 2008:241-44) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:68 and Adhikari 2016:117), Bhojpuri has two ways of expressions of conjunctions: suffix -हूँ /*ɦũ*/, -हो /*-ɦo*/, -ओ /*-o*/ 'too/also', and particle आ /*a*/ 'and', as shown in (86a-d).

(86) a. ओह बीच में ***हमहूँ*** व्यस्त रहीं, ***अपनहूँ*** लोग के व्यस्तता रहल होई।

oɦ	**bic**	**mẽ**	***ɦʌmɦũ***	**byʌst**	**rʌɦĩ**	***ʌpnʌɦũ***	**log**
oɦ	**bic**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm-ɦũ**	**byʌst**	**rʌɦ-ĩ**	***ʌpne-ɦũ***	**log**
DIST	middle	LOC	1SG-EMPH	busy	live-PST.H	2SG.H-EMPH	PL

ke	**byʌstʌtɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	**ɦoi**

ke **byʌst-tɑ** **rʌɦ-ʌl** **ɦo-i**

GEN busy-NML live-PP be-3SG.FUT

'I was also busy those days, you might have busy schedule too.' (03.027-28)

b. ***आ*** हमनी के सहकर्मी भी बानी, ***इहो*** इनकर परिचय बा ।

a **ɦʌmni** **ke** **sʌɦkʌrmi** **b̤i** **bɑni** ***iɦo***

ɑ **ɦʌm-ni** **ke** **sʌɦkʌrmi** **b̤i** **bɑni** ***i-ɦo***

and 1SG-PL GEN colleague also be.PRES.H PROX-EMPH

inkʌr **pʌricɛ** **bɑ**

in-ʌr **pʌricɛ** **bɑ**

PROX-GEN introduction be.3SG.PRES

'And he is our colleague too, this is also his introduction.' (03.017-19)

c. भोजपुरी नेपालो में बोलल जाला, भारतो में बोलल जाला ।

b̤ojpuri ***nepalo*** **mẽ** **bolʌl** **jɑlɑ** ***b̤arʌto***

b̤ojpuri ***nepal-o*** **mẽ** **bol-ʌl** **jɑ-ilɑ** ***b̤arʌt-o***

Bhojpuri Nepal-EMPH LOC speak-INF go-3SG.PRES India-EMPH

mẽ **bolʌl** **jɑlɑ**

mẽ **bol-ʌl** **jɑ-ilɑ**

LOC speak-INF go-3SG.PRES

'Bhojpuri is spoken in Nepal also, in India too.'

d. खास कके भोजपुरी के व्याकरण आ शब्दकोश पर बहुत कम काम भइल बा ।

kʰɑs **kʌke** **b̤ojpuri** **ke** **byɑkʌrʌn** **ɑ** **sʌbdʌkos** **pʌr**

kʰɑs **kʌr-ke** **b̤ojpuri** **ke** **byɑkʌrʌn** **ɑ** **sʌbdʌkos** **pʌr**

special do-SEQ Bhojpuri GEN grammar and dictionary LOC

bʌɦut **kʌm** **kɑm** **b̤ʌil** **bɑ**

bʌɦut **kʌm** **kɑm** **b̤ʌ-il** **bɑ**

very less work become-PP be.3SG.PRES

'Particulary there have been several works done on grammar and dictionary of Bhojpuri.' (03.060)

13.6.2 Disjunctive coordination (disjunction)

As displayed in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:348-51), Maithili (Yadav 2014:164-7), Hindi (Koul 2008:285) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:114), Bhojpuri has several ways of expressions of disjunctions: suffix -हे /*-ɦe*/, -ही /*-ɦi*/, -ए /*-e*/ 'only' and particle ना /*na*/ 'no' together or particles भा /*b̤a*/, चाहे /*cɑɦe*/ 'or' as shown in (87a-f):

(87) a. ***तूहे*** अइहऽ, हम ***ना***।

tuɦe **ʌiɦʌ** **ɦʌm** **nɑ**

tu-ɦe **ɑ-iɦʌ** **ɦʌm** **nɑ**

2SG-EMPH come-IMP.MH 1SG NEG

'You will only come, not I.' (13.045)

b. ***हमही*** जाएम, ऊ ना जाई।

ɦʌmɦi **jaem** **u** **nɑ** **jai**

ɦʌm-ɦi **jɑ-em** **u** **nɑ** **jɑ-i**

1SG-EMPH go-FUT.H 3SG NEG go-3SG.FUT

'I will only go, he won't go.' (13.046)

c. ***रउए*** भात खाईं, हम ना खाएम।

rʌue **ḅat** **kʰaĩ** **ɦʌm** **nɑ** **kʰaem**

rʌuɑ-e **ḅat** **kʰɑ-ĩ** **ɦʌm** **nɑ** **kʰɑ-em**

2SG.H-EMPH rice eat-IMP.H 1SG NEG eat-FUT.H

'Please eat rice yourself, I won't eat.' (13.047)

d. ओ में ***बाभनो*** के ***ना*** छोड़लक आ ***डोमो*** के ***ना*** छोड़लख लोग।

o **mẽ** ***baḅno*** **ke** ***na*** **cʰoɽlʌk** **ɑ**

o **mẽ** **baḅʌn-o** **ke** ***na*** **cʰoɽ-ʌl-ʌkʰ** **ɑ**

DIST LOC Brahmin-EMPH ACC NEG leave-PP-3.PST and

ɖomo **ke** ***na*** **cʰoɽlʌkʰ** **log**

ɖom-o **ke** **nɑ** **cʰoɽ-ʌl-ʌkʰ** **log**

scavenger-EMPH ACC NEG leave-PP-3.PST PL

'… neither the Brahmins nor the Doms (Hindu scavengers) were exceptions.' (03.347)

e. ... रउआ अगर काट लेतानी ***भा*** खेत से उखाड़ लेतानी ...।

rʌuɑ **ʌgʌr** **kɑʈ** **letani** ***ḅa*** **kʰet** **se** **ukʰɑɽ**

rʌuɑ **ʌgʌr** **kɑʈ** **le-ʌt** **bɑni** ***ḅa*** **kʰet** **se** **ukʰɑɽ**

2SG.H if cut take-IMPF be.PRES.H or farm source uproot

letani

le-ʌt **bɑni**

take-IMPF be.PRES.H

'... if you are cutting or uprooting from the farm ...' (02.115)

f. भोजपुरी के लोक-साहित्य कहल जाओ ***चाहे*** लोकवार्ता कहल जाओ ।

bʱojpuri	**ke**	**lok**	**saɦityʌ**	**kʌɦʌl**	**jao**	***caɦe***	**lokbarta**
bʱojpuri	**ke**	**lok**	**saɦityʌ**	**kʌɦ-ʌl**	**ja-o**	***caɦe***	**lokbarta**
Bhojpuri	GEN	folk	literature	say-INF	go-OPT	or	folklore

kʌɦʌl jao

kʌɦ-ʌl ja-o

say-INF go-OPT

'Let's say folk-literature or folklore of Bhojpuri.' (03.190)

13.6.3 Adversative coordination

As Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:352), Maithili (Yadav 2014:164-7), Hindi (Koul 2008:284-5) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:114) exhibit adversative coordination, Bhojpuri has particle बाकिर /*bakir*/ 'but' that conjoins two noun phrases or clauses that are adverse from each other, as shown in (88a-c). The बाकिर /*bakir*/ particle is also somewhere बाँकिर /*bãkir*/ but in Hindi influence, लेकिन /*lekin*/ is also being used contemporarily.

(88) a. ... उहो नेपालिए रहलें बाकिर भोजपुरी क्षेत्र के रहलें ।

uɦo	**nepalie**	**rʌɦilẽ**	**bakir**	**bʱojpuri**	**cʰetrʌ**
u-o	**nepal-i-e**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**bãkir**	**bʱojpuri**	**cʰetrʌ**
DIST-EMPH	Nepal-ADJ-EMPH	live-PP-3PST.MH	but	Bhojpuri	region

ke rʌɦilẽ

ke rʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ

GEN live-PP-3PST.MH

'... he was also Nepali but belonged to the Bhojpuri speaking zone.' (04.078)

b. बनल नहर बाँकिर ओ में पानी नइखे ।

bʌnʌl	**nʌɦʌr**	**bãkir**	**o**	**mẽ**	**pani**	**nʌikʰe**
bʌn-ʌl	**nʌɦʌr**	**bãkir**	**o**	**mẽ**	**pani**	**nʌikʰ-e**
make-3SG.PST	canal	but	DIST	LOC	water	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

'The canal was prepared but there is no water in it.' (02.076)

c. आजो बा लेकिन ... बहुत कम हो गइल बा ।

ajo	**ba**	**lekin**	**bʌɦut**	**kʌm**	**ɦo**	**gʌil**

ɑj-o	**bɑ**	**lekin**	**bʌɦut**	**kʌm**	**ɦo**	**jɑ-il**
today-EMPH	be.3SG.PRES	but	very	less	be	go-PP

bɑ

bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

'It still exists but highly endangered.' (03.278)

13.6.4 Rejection

As displayed in Maithili (Yadav 2014:168-9) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:114-5), rejection can be expressed simply with a phrase- or clause-initial negation ना *na* ... ना *na* 'neither ... nor' in Bhojpuri, as shown in (89a-b).

(89) a. पूरे-पूरे कवनो भी व्यक्ति अपन परंपरा के भूला ना सकेला ना कवनो नया परंपरा के ऊ पूरा सिख सकेला ।

pure	**pure**	**kɔno**	**b̤i**	**byʌkti**	**ʌpʌn**	**pʌrʌmpʌrɑ**
purɑ-e	**purɑ-e**	**kɔno**	**b̤i**	**byʌkti**	**ɑpʌn**	**pʌrʌmpʌrɑ**
full-EMPH	full-EMPH	any	also	individual	GEN	tradition

ke	**b̤ulɑ**	**nɑ**	**sʌkelɑ**	**nɑ**	**kɔno**	**nʌyɑ**
ke	**b̤ul-ɑ**	**nɑ**	**sʌk-elɑ**	**nɑ**	**kɔno**	**nʌyɑ**
ACC	forget-CAUS	NEG	can-3SG.PRES	NEG	any	new

pʌrʌmpʌrɑ	**ke**	**u**	**purɑ**	**sikʰ**	**sʌkelɑ**
pʌrʌmpʌrɑ	**ke**	**u**	**purɑ**	**sikʰ**	**sʌk-elɑ**
tradition	ACC	3SG	full	learn	can-3SG.PRES

'Any person can neither forget his/her tradition outright nor can s/he learn a new one completely.' (03.329)

b. ना निमन गीत गाएम ना दरबार देखे जाएम ।

nɑ	**nimʌn**	**git**	**gɑem**	**nɑ**	**dʌrbɑr**	**dekʰe**	**jɑem**
nɑ	**nimʌn**	**git**	**gɑ-em**	**nɑ**	**dʌrbɑr**	**dekʰ- e**	**jɑ-em**
NEG	good	song	sing-FUT.H	NEG	palace	see-PUR	go-FUT.H

'Neigher I sing well nor I'll go to visit Royal Palace.'

13.6.5 Causal coordination

As attested in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:353-4), Bhojpuri has also some particles such as कारण कि /*karʌn ki*/ or काहे कि /*kaɦe ki*/, एह् से कि /*eɦ se ki*/ 'because' or 'because of' or 'for' that coordinate the cause clauses. They are simply known as

causal coordination, as shown in (90a-c).

(90) a. काहे कि कर्म श्रेष्ठ ह, जन्म ना ।

kaɦe	**ki**	**kʌrmʌ**	**sresʈʰ**	**ɦʌ**	**jʌnm**	**na**
why	COMP	work	superior	be.3SG.PRES	birth	NEG

'Because the work is superior, not the birth one.' (07.082)

b. एह से कि हम देखले बानी त हमरा इयाद बा ।

eɦ	**se**	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰle**	**bani**	**tʌ**	**ɦʌmra**
eɦ	**se**	**ki**	**ɦʌm**	**dekʰ-ʌl-e**	**bani**	**tʌ**	**ɦʌm-ʌr-a**
PROX	with	COMP	1SG	see-PP-SEQ	be.PRES.H	COND	1SG-GEN-DAT

iad	**ba**
iad	**ba**
memory	be.3SG.PRES

'Because I have observed, so, I can remember.' (03.246)

c. मोबाइल के कारण चिट्ठी लिखल बन हो गइल ।

mobail	**ke**	**karʌn**	**ciʈʈʰi**	**likʰʌl**	**bʌn**	**ɦo**	**gʌil**
mobail	**ke**	**karʌn**	**ciʈʈʰi**	**likʰ-ʌl**	**bʌn**	**ɦo**	**ja-il**
mobile	GEN	cause	letter	write-INF	closed	be	go-3SG.PST

'Letter-writing was closed because of mobile phones.' (09.267)

13.7 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the inter-clausal coherence in Bhojpuri. The complement clauses in Bhojpuri are in the form of complement-taking PCU (Perception-Cognition-Utterance) predicates that include propositional attitude predicates, commentative predicates, knowledge acquision predicates and immediate perception predicates; complement-taking modality predicates including modal predicates, achievement predicates, phasal predicates and desiderative predicates; complement-taking manipulation predicates that include permissive predicates and causative predicates. The subordinate adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri are either marked through the subordinating morphemes attached to the dependent clause or through the special non-finite verb forms. Temporal adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri include precedence, subsequence, subsequence cum instrument, simultaneity, point coincidence, accompanying circumstance, terminal boundary, initial boundary and intermediacy. Bhojpuri conditional adverbial clauses are irrealis, counter-fact, conditionals with intermediate value and concessive conditionals. Bhojpuri also

exhibits cause and reason adverbial clauses, concessive adverbial clauses, additive adverbial clauses, substitutive adverbial clauses and purpose adverbial clauses. Participial adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri encode the sequential and simultaneous temporal senses. The sequential adverbial clause indicates a temporal sequence in clause chains whereas the simultaneous adverbial clause expresses an activity that is simultaneous with or temporally overlapping with another activity expressed by the matrix predicate.

Relative clauses in Bhojpuri include relativization of the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object and indirect object as we observe cross-linguistically. But Bhojpuri also exhibits oblique, possessive, instrument, source and locative cases relativized. Clause chaining in Bhojpuri includes chains of same and different subjects of the clauses. Coordinated or conjoined clauses in Bhojpuri exhibit conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative relationships among the conjoined clauses. The concepts of rejection and clausal coordination are also found to be conjoined in Bhojpuri.

CHAPTER 14
REFERENTIAL COHERENCE

14.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the devices of referential coherence in Bhojpuri. It consists of eight sections. In section 14.1, we discuss the morphosyntactic devices that are commonly used for referential coherence in languages. In section 14.2, the pronominal system in Bhojpuri is described. In section 14.3, we deal with the anaphoric reference in Bhojpuri and section 14.4 deals with the reference and definiteness. In section 14.5, we deal with topic continuity and section 14.6 deals with action continuity. The thematic continunity in discourse is examined in section 14.7 and we present the summary of the findings of the chapter in section 14.8.

14.1 Major morpho-syntactic devices

Referential coherence – how referents (participants) are introduced or re-introduced into the discourse, and how they may be continued or terminated – is a vast topic that intersects with many domains of the grammar (Givón 2011:156). "The grammar of independent pronouns and grammatical agreement lies at the intersection of two functional domains: covering semantic domain of classifying the participants in terms of person (speaker/hearer), number, gender/class, deixis and case-role; and discourse pragmatic domain of clitic, inflectional or zero-anaphors to play a crucial role to determine the grammatical subject and object as well as the reference and definiteness of the participant" (Givón 2001b:399).

Therefore, while dealing with the referential coherence in Bhojpuri, we first observe the grammar of pronouns and grammatical agreement based on the semantic domain and then we discuss the grammar of anaphoric reference, a sub-domain of referential coherence.

14.2 Pronominal system

As attested in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:136-56), Maithili (Yadav 1996:103-23), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:157-211), HIndi (Koul 2008:75-80) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:48-53 and Adhikari 2016:40-61), we have dealt with personal, reflexive[1], reciprocal[2], demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, possessive[3], relative and correlative pronouns in Bhojpuri pronominal system.

1. Explained in Chapter 11.3.1.
2. Explained in Chapter 11.3.2.
3. Explained under paradigms of personal pronouns in this section.

14.2.1 Personal pronouns

Person, number, honorificity and case roles are categories of the Bhojpuri pronouns (Grierson 1884a:14-7, Ojha 1915[1982]:18-9, Tiwari 1960:126-32 and 1984:440-7, Nirbhik 1975:48, Tripathy 1987:92-3, Shrivastava 1999:48-9, Sharma and Ashk 2007:10-1, Thakur 2011:66-8 and Singh 2013:55). There are three persons: first, second and third; two numbers: singular and plural and three degrees of honorificity: non-honorific, mid-honorific and honorific. Regarding the gender, pronouns are not suffixed or take any other particles for gender, rather, the gender of a personal pronoun is fixed by gender suffix with the finite verbs. Likewise, the case roles are generally classified by suffixing the nominative/agentive case for other case roles. Such suffixes are also attached with the pronouns in nominative case to change them into accusative, dative and possessive cases only. The other case roles are fixed by postpositional morphemes in Bhojpuri, as nominals do, already described in Chapter 6. The personal pronouns in Bhojpuri refer deictically to the speech-act participants. Personal pronouns are free standing and take case markers and postpositions in the same way as do the full noun phrases. Personal pronouns in Bhojpuri in nominative, accusative, dative and possessive case roles are presented in the tables below:

Table 14.1 Personal pronouns in Bhojpuri: First person

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	हम /*ɦʌm*/	हमनी /*ɦʌmni*/, हम्मन /*ɦʌmmʌn*/
Accusative	हमे /*ɦʌme*/, हम के /*ɦʌm ke*/, हमरा के /*ɦʌmra ke*/	हमनी के /*ɦʌmni ke*/, हम्मन के /*ɦʌmmʌn ke*/, हमरनी के /*ɦʌmrʌni ke*/
Dative	हमे /*ɦʌme*/, हम के /*ɦʌm ke*/, हमरा के /*ɦʌmra ke*/, हमरा ला/खातिर /*ɦʌmra la/kʰatir*/	हमनी के /*ɦʌmni ke*/, हम्मन के /*ɦʌmmʌn ke*/, हमनी ला/खातिर /*ɦʌmni la/kʰatir*/, हम्मन ला/खातिर /*ɦʌmmʌn la/kʰatir*/
Possessive	हमार /*ɦʌmar*/, हमर /*ɦʌmʌr*/	हमनी के /*ɦʌmni ke*/, हम्मन के /*ɦʌmmʌn ke*/

Going through Table 14.1, we observe that first person pronouns in Bhojpuri are irrespective of honorificity because the finite verb in a clause is always take full honorific marker. Likewise, they never take any gender-marker ulike Hindi, as shown in (1a-b):

(1) a. हम किसान के बेटा बानी ।

ɦʌm	**kisɑn**	**ke**	**beʈɑ**	**bɑni**
1SG	farmer	GEN	son	be.PRES.H

‘I am a son of the farmer.’ (14.251)

b. हम किसान के बेटी बानी ।

ɦʌm kisɑn ke beʈi bɑni

1SG farmer GEN daughter be.PRES.H

‘I am a daughter of the farmer.’ (14.252)

Table 14.2 Personal pronouns in Bhojpuri: Second person

Case	Hon.	Singular	Plural
Nominative	NH	तें /*tẽ*/, तू /*tu*/	तोहनी /*toɦni*/, तोहन /*toɦʌn*/, तू लोग /*tu log*/
	MH	तू /*tu*/	
	H	रउआ /*rʌua*/, अपने /*ʌpne*/, आप /*ap*/	रउनी /*rʌuni*/, रउअनी /*rʌuʌni*/, रउआ लोग /*rʌua log*/, अपने लोग /*ʌpne log*/, आप लोग /*ap log*/
Accusative	NH/MH	तोहे /*toɦe*/, तो/तोह के /*to/toɦ ke*/ तोहरा के /*toɦra ke*/	तोहनी के /*toɦni ke*/, तोहन के /*toɦʌn ke*/, तू लोग के /*tu log ke*/
	H	रउआ के /*rʌua ke*/, अपने के /*ʌpne ke*/, आप के /*ap ke*/	रउनी के /*rʌuni ke*/, रउअनी के /*rʌuʌni ke*/, रउआ लोग के /*rʌua log ke*/, अपने लोग के /*ʌpne log ke*/, आप लोग के /*ap log ke*/
Dative	NH/MH	तोहे /*toɦe*/, तोहरा के /*toɦra ke*/, तोहरा ला/खातिर /*toɦra la/kʰatir*/	तोहनी के /*toɦni ke*/, तोहनी ला/खातिर /*toɦni la/kʰatir*/, तोहन के /*toɦʌn ke*/, तू लोग के /*tu log ke*/, तोहन ला/खातिर /*toɦʌn la/kʰatir*/, तू लोग ला/खातिर /*tu log la/kʰatir*/
	H	रउआ के /*rʌua ke*/, अपने के /*ʌpne ke*/, रउआ ला/खातिर /*rʌua la/kʰatir*/, अपने ला/खातिर /*ʌpne*	रउनी के /*rʌuni ke*/, रउअनी के /*rʌuʌni ke*/, रउआ लोग के /*rʌua log ke*/, अपने लोग के /*ʌpne log ke*/, आप लोग के /*ap log ke*/ रउनी ला/खातिर /*rʌuni la/kʰatir*/, रउअनी ला/खातिर /*rʌuʌni la/kʰatir*/, रउआ लोग ला/खातिर /*rʌua log la/kʰatir*/, अपने लोग

			ला/खातिर /*ʌpne log la/kʰatir*/, आप लोग ला/खातिर /*ap log la/kʰatir*/
Possessive	NH/MH	तोर /*tor*/, तोहार /*toɦar*/, तोहर /*toɦʌr*/	तोहनी के /*toɦni ke*/, तोहन के /*toɦʌn ke*/, तू लोग के /*tu log ke*/
	H	राउर /*raur*/, अपने के /*ʌpne ke*/	रउनी के /*rʌuni ke*/, रउअनी के /*rʌuʌni ke*/, रउआ लोग के /*rʌua log ke*/, अपने लोग के /*ʌpne log ke*/, आप लोग के /*ap log ke*/

Like the first person pronouns, the second person Bhojpuri pronouns also do not take any gender marker but they differ in terms of honorificity. तें /*tẽ*/ is the special non-honorific second person singular nominative in Bhojpuri, otherwise, non-honorific or mid-honorific second person pronouns are the same. Similarly, the gender is marked with the suffix attached to the finite verb, as shown in (2a-b):

(2) a. तू किसान के बेटा बाड़ऽ।

tu kisan ke beʈa baɽʌ

2SG farmer GEN son be.2.PRES

'You are a son of the farmer.' (14.253)

b. तू किसान के बेटी बाड़ू।

tu kisan ke beʈi baɽu

2SG farmer GEN daughter be.2.PRES.F.MH

'You are a daughter of the farmer.' (14.254)

Table 14.3 Personal pronouns in Bhojpuri: Third person

Case	Hon.	Singular		Plural	
		Proximal	Distant	Proximal	Distant
Nominative	NH/MH	ई /i/	ऊ /*u*/	एकनी /*ekni*/, हेकनी /*ɦekni*/	ओकनी /*okni*/, होकनी /*ɦokini*/
	H	इहाँका /*iɦãka*/	उहाँका /*uɦãka*/	इहाँ सभन /*iɦã sʌb̤ʌn*/, ई लोग /*I log*/	उहाँ सभन /*uɦã sʌb̤ʌn*/, ऊ लोग /*u log*/
Accusative	NH/MH	एके /*eke*/,	ओके /*oke*/,	एकनी के /*ekni*	ओकनी के /*okni*

		हेके /*ɦeke*/, एकरा के /*ekra ke*/, हेकरा के /*ɦekra ke*/	होके /*ɦoke*/, ओकरा के /*okra ke*/, होकरा के /*ɦokra ke*/	*ke*/, हेकनी /*ɦekni ke*/	*ke*/, होकनी /*ɦokini ke*/
	H	इनका के /*inka ke*/, हिनका के /*ɦinka ke*/	उनका के /*unka ke*/, हुनका के /*ɦunka ke*/	इनकनी के /*inkʌni ke*/, हिनकनी के /*ɦinkʌni ke*/, ए लोग के /*e log ke*/	उनकनी के /*unkʌni ke*/, हुनकनी के /*ɦunkʌni ke*/, ओ लोग के /*o log ke*/
Dative	NH/MH	एके /*eke*/, एकरा के /*ekra ke*/, एकरा ला/खातिर /*ekra la/kʰatir*/, हेकरा के /*ɦekra ke*/, हेकरा ला/खातिर /*ɦekra la/kʰatir*/	ओके /*oke*/, ओकरा के /*okra ke*/, ओकरा ला/खातिर /*okra la/kʰatir*/, होकरा के /*ɦokra ke*/, होकरा ला/खातिर /*ɦokra la/kʰatir*/	एकनी के /*ekni ke*/, हेकनी के /*ɦekni ke*/, एकनी ला/खातिर /*ekni la/kʰatir*/, हेकनी ला/खातिर /*ɦekni la/kʰatir*/	ओकनी के /*okni ke*/, होकनी के /*ɦokini ke*/, ओकनी ला/खातिर /*okni la/kʰatir*/, होकनी ला/खातिर /*ɦokini la/kʰatir*/
	H	इनका के /*inka ke*/, हिनका के /*ɦinka ke*/, इनका ला/खातिर	उनका के /*unka ke*/, हुनका के /*ɦunka ke*/, उनका ला/खातिर	इनकनी के /*inkʌni ke*/, हिनकनी के /*ɦinkʌni ke*/, ए लोग के /*e log ke*/, इनकनी	उनकनी के /*unkʌni ke*/, हुनकनी के /*ɦunkʌni ke*/, ओ लोग के /*o log ke*/,

		/*inka la/kʰatir*/, हिनका ला/खातिर /*ɦinka la/kʰatir*/	/*unka la/kʰatir*/, हुनका ला/खातिर /*ɦunka la/kʰatir*/	ला/खातिर /*inkʌni la/kʰatir*/, हिनकनी ला/खातिर /*ɦinkʌni la/kʰatir*/, ए लोग ला/खातिर /*e log la/kʰatir*/	उनकनी ला/खातिर /*unkʌni la/kʰatir*/, हुनकनी ला/खातिर /*ɦunkʌni la/kʰatir*/, ओ लोग ला/खातिर /*o log la/kʰatir*/
Possessive	NH/MH	एकर /*ekʌr*/, हेकर /*ɦekʌr*/	ओकर /*okʌr*/, होकर /*ɦokʌr*/	एकनी के /*ekni ke*/, हेकनी के /*ɦekni ke*/	ओकनी के /*okni ke*/, होकनी के /*ɦokini ke*/
	H	इनकर /*inkʌr*/, हिनकर /*ɦinkʌr*/, इहाँ के /*iɦ̃ã ke*/	उनकर /*unkʌr*/, हुनकर /*ɦunkʌr*/, उहाँ के /*uɦ̃ã ke*/	इनकनी के /*inkʌni ke*/, हिनकनी के /*ɦinkʌni ke*/, ए लोग के /*e log ke*/,	उनकनी के /*unkʌni ke*/, हुनकनी के /*ɦunkʌni ke*/, ओ लोग के /*o log ke*/

Similar to the second person pronouns, the third person Bhojpuri pronouns differ from each other in terms of honorificity either as non-honorific/mid-honorific and full honorific. But they also follow the same trend as first and second person pronouns do in terms of gender, as shown in (3a-b):

(3) a. ऊ किसान के बेटा ह।

u kisɑn ke beʈɑ ɦʌ

3SG farmer GEN son be.3SG.PRES

'He is a son of the farmer.' (14.255)

b. ऊ किसान के बेटी हिअ।

u kisɑn ke beʈi ɦiʌ

3SG farmer GEN daughter be.3SG.PRES.F

'She is a daughter of the farmer.' (14.256)

Moreover, the third person Bhojpuri pronouns differ from each other in terms of spatial distance. They are either proximal or distant, as shown in (4a-b):

(4) a. ई एकर बेटी हिअ।

i	**ekʌr**	**beʈi**	**ɦiʌ**
i	**e-ʌr**	**beʈi**	**ɦiʌ**
PROX	PROX-GEN	daughter	be.3SG.PRES.F

'This is his/her (prox) daughter.' (14.257)

b. ऊ ओकर बेटी हिअ।

u	**okʌr**	**beʈi**	**ɦiʌ**
u	**u-ʌr**	**beʈi**	**ɦiʌ**
DIST	DIST-GEN	daughter	be.3SG.PRES.F

'That is his/her (dist) daughter.' (14.258)

Going through Table 14.1-14.3, we conclude that Bhojpuri exhibits the distinction between three persons (first vs. second vs. third), two numbers (singular vs. plural) and three degrees of honorificity (non-honorific vs. mid-honorific vs. honorific) in nominative personal pronouns. They are suffixed by -नी /*-ni*/ or -अन /*-ʌn*/ or postposition लोग /*log*/ or सभन /*sʌbʱʌn*/ as plural marker. Similarly, they are suffixed by -ए /*-e*/ or followed by के /*ke*/ for their accusative case roles. They retain with these accusative marker suffixes and along with postposition ला /*la*/ or खातिर /*kʰatir*/ for their dative case roles, as well as, suffixed by -आर /*-ar*/ or -अर /*-ʌr*/ or with postposition के /*ke*/ for their possessive case roles in Bhojpuri. Moreover, the possessive suffix -आर /*-ar*/ is observed only with first and second person but -अर /*-ʌr*/ with all three persons. Diachronically, it signals -आर /*-ar*/ is the later development.

14.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Bhojpuri has demonstrative pronouns (Grierson 1884a:18-22, Tiwari 1960:132-7 and 1984:447-53, Nirbhik 1975:49-50, Tripathy 1987:93, Shrivastava 1999:49, Sharma and Ashk 2007:11-2, Thakur 2011:68-9 and Singh 2013:55-6) almost similar to what we have described third person singular non-honorific nominative ones. But while we discuss demonstrative pronouns, they appear in three forms: proximant, distal and remote spatially. They are used to refer to both animate and inanimate entities. The animate entity may be human or non-human. Demonstrative pronouns are also used to code the definiteness of the referent in

discourse.[4] Table 14.4 presents the demonstrative pronouns in terms of proximal/distal/remote contrast.

Table 14.4: Demonstrative pronouns in Bhojpuri

Proximant	Distal	Remote
ई /*i*/	ऊ /*u*/	हऊ /*ɦʌu*/

Demonstrative pronouns listed in Table 14.4 show that Bhojpuri exhibits proximate and distal in terms of distance and remote, both for a far distant object as well as for deictic reference. In discourse, these pronouns also take part in referential coherence and definiteness of the referent. Referential definiteness encoded in demonstrative pronouns is discussed further below in this chapter.

14.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Bhojpuri also observed in Grierson (1884a:25-6), Tiwari (1960:141-4 and 1984:458-62), Nirbhik (1975:53-5), Tripathy (1987:93), Shrivastava (1999:50), Sharma and Ashk (2007:13), Thakur (2011:69) and Singh (2013:56) are shown in Table 14.5.

Table 14.5: Interrogative pronouns in Bhojpuri

का /*ka*/ or कथी /*kʌtʰi*/	'what'
के /*ke*/ or कौन /*kɔn*/	'who'
कौन /*kɔn*/	'which'

The interrogative pronouns in Bhojpuri can be exemplified, as in (5a-e):

(5) a. राउर संघीयता बनावे के उद्देश्य ***का*** ह ?

rɑur sʌŋg̈iyʌtɑ bʌnɑwe ke uddesyʌ *ka* ɦʌ

rɑur sʌŋg̈iyʌtɑ bʌnɑ-e ke uddesyʌ *ka* ɦʌ

2SG.GEN.H federalism make-PUR GEN purpose what be.3SG.PRES

'... WHAT is the motto of your federal structure?' (01.031)

b. धनपत ***कथी*** के मुअइलख ?

d̤ʌnpʌt *kʌtʰi* ke muʌilʌkʰ

d̤ʌnpʌt *kʌtʰi* ke mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ

Dhanpat what ACC die-CAUS-PP-3SG.PST

'WHAT did Dhanpat kill?' (06.057)

c. कुत्ता के ***के*** मुअइलख ?

4. Givón (2011: 162) notes that the distal pre-nominal demonstratives are often used as definite articles in natural discourse in the Ute language, .

kuttɑ ke *ke* muʌilʌkʰ

kuttɑ ke *ke* mu-ɑ-il-ʌkʰ

dog ACC who die-CAUS-PP-3SG.PST

'WHO killed the dog?' (06.056)

d. कहिआ कौन ***कथी*** लेके कथी करे इहाँ आइल रहे ?

kʌɦiɑ kɔn *kʌtʰi* leke kʌtʰi kʌre iɦɑ̃ ɑil

kʌɦiɑ kɔn *kʌtʰi* le-ke kʌtʰi kʌr-e iɦɑ̃ ɑ-il

when who what take-SEQ what do-PUR here come-PP

rʌɦe

rʌɦ-e

live-3SG.PST

'Who came here what to do with WHICH means and when?' (14.183)

e. तोहरा ***कौन*** विषय में चाव बा ?

tu-ʌr-ɑ *kɔn* bisɛ mɛ̃ cɑw bɑ

2SG-GEN-DAT which subject LOC interest be.3SG.PRES

'WHICH subject do you have your interest in?' (09.162)

The interrogative pronoun का /*ka*/ has also been observed in Apabhransh in the 14th Cenury A. D. as shown in (6). But it has been grammaticalized to be genitive case marker postposition in Bhojpuri, already discussed in Chapter 8.

(6) का पढ़िअ काहां ?

kɑ pʌɽ̊iʌ kɑɦɑ̃

kɑ pʌɽ̊-iʌ kɑɦɑ̃

what read-3SG.FUT where

'What will be studied and where?' (Jyotirīśwara 1940:27, early 14th century)

The demonstrative pronouns shown in table 14.5 are variable according to number, honorificity and case roles already presented in table 13.1 in the preceding chapter.

14.2.4 Indefinite pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Table 14.5 may also be used as indefinite pronouns when they are followed by the inclusive emphatic particle -हु /-*ɦu*/ or -ओ /-*o*/ 'also/even'. Table 14.6 shows the indefinite/non-referring pronouns in Bhojpuri.

Table 14.6: Indefinite/non-referring pronouns in Bhojpuri

केहू /*keɦu*/, कौनो /*kɔno*/	'whoever'
कुछिओ /*kucʰio*/	'whatever'
कौनो /*kɔno*/	'whichever'

The indefinite/non-referring pronouns in Table 14.6 are illustrated in (6):

(7) a. अगर एकर उल्टा ***केहू*** करता त ओकरा के पिटे में कवनो हरज नइखे ।

ʌgʌr	**ekʌr**	**ulʈa**	***keɦu***	**kʌrʌta**		**tʌ**
ʌgʌr	**ekʌr**	**ulʈa**	***keɦu***	**kʌr-ʌt**	**ba**	**tʌ**
if	PROXGEN	reverse	anyone	do-.IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	COND

okʌra	**ke**	**piʈe**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**	**ɦʌrʌj**	**nʌikʰe**
u-ʌr-a	**ke**	**piʈ-e**	**mẽ**	**kɔno**	**ɦʌrʌj**	**nʌikʰe**
3SG-GEN-DAT	ACC	beat-PUR	LOC	any	objection	not to be

'If ANYONE is doing reverse of it, there is no objection to beat him/her.' (09.373)

b. तोहरा बात के ***कौनो*** इतवार नइखे ?

toɦra	**bat**	**ke**	***kɔno***	**itwar**	**nʌikʰe**
tu-ʌr-a	**bat**	**ke**	***kɔn-o***	**itwar**	**nʌikʰe**
2SG-GEN-SPEC	saying	GEN	who-EMPH	trust	not to be

'There is NO trust in your utterance.' (09.373)

c. एह दुनिआ में ***कुछिओ*** अटल नइखे ।

eɦ	**dunia**	**mẽ**	***kucʰio***	**ʌʈʌl**	**nʌikʰe**
eɦ	**dunia**	**mẽ**	***kucʰ-io***	**ʌʈʌl**	**nʌikʰe**
prox	world	LOC	something-EMPH	unaffected	not to be

'NOTHING remains unaffected in this world.' (09.478)

d. जा खेते, ***कौनो*** अरैया नइखे ।

ja	**kʰete**	***kɔno***	**ʌr̥ʌia**	**nʌikʰe**
ja	**kʰet-e**	***kɔno***	**ʌr̥ʌia**	**nʌikʰe**
go	farm-LOC	any	master	not to be

'Go to the farm, there is NOBODY master there.' (09.156)

14.2.5 Relative and correlative pronouns

As attested in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:155-6), Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971:185-91), Maithili (Yadav 1996:116-9), Hindi (Koul 2008:77) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:52 and Adhikari 2016:52-53), Bhojpuri has relative pronouns

beginning wth ज् /*j*/ parallet to the interrogative pronouns beginning with क् /*k*/. But the correlative pronouns start with either of स् /*s*/ or त् /*t*/ or उ /*u*/ or ओ /*o*/.[5]

14.3 Anaphoric coherence

Cross-linguistically, according to Givón (2001a: 417), the anaphoric coherence is mostly represented by the following four grammatical devices:

(8) a. Anaphoric zero

b. Unstressed anaphoric pronouns

c. Stressed independent pronouns

d. Definite (vs. indefinite) full-NPs

The topic/participant refers to an argument of a clause, co-referential with an argument of a clause which is immediately (or almost immediately) preceding or following (Dixon, 2010a:171).[6] A natural language may employ one or more devices for marking an argument as topic. The most common devices include constituent order, special particle or clitic, a bound pronoun, noun classifier, case marking, voice alternations and switch reference (Dixon, 2010a:174). There are a number of different means which languages may employ to mark an argument as topic/participant (Payne, 1997:345).

(8) a. Anaphoric zeros

b. Verb coding (or anaphoric/grammatical agreement)

c. Unstressed (clitic) pronouns

d. Stressed independent pronouns

e. Demonstrative pronouns

f. Full noun phrase

g. Specific noun phrases

h. Special constituent order

i. Voice alternations

j. Switch reference system

Givón (1983: 17) presents a scale of cross-linguistic coding devices that are employed to indicate topic continuity in discourse and grades them from the most continuous to the most discontinuous as follows:

5. Relatives and correlatives have functionally been displayed in Chapter 13.4.3.

6. Dixon (2010a:171-2) further suggests that in some languages any core argument may be topic in each clause, but a fair number of languages have grammatical conditions on what may be topic.

(9) Most continuous/ accessible topic

↑ Zero anaphora
Unstressed anaphoric pronouns/bound pronouns or grammatical agreement
Stressed independent pronouns
R-dislocated DEF-NPs
Neutral ordered DEF-NPs
L-dislocated DEF-NPs
Y-moved NPs (‘contrastive topicalization’)
Cleft/focus constructions
↓ Referential indefinite NPs

Most discontinuous/inaccessible topic

In this section, we discussed the specific discourse contexts in which the coding devices given in (9) are employed to indicate topic continuity in Bhojpuri discourse, ranking from the most continuous to the most discontinuous.

14.3.1 Zero anaphora

Zero anaphora or anaphoric zero is used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity (Givón 1983:17). The antecedents of the anaphoric zero may be a full-NP, anaphoric zero or pronoun, are found significantly in the immediately preceding clauses (Givón 2001a:418). As attested in Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal 2013:408), Bhojpuri also attests this divece. Consider the following examples:

(10) a. कवनो गाँव में एगो बुढ़िआ रहली ।

kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**buɽ̊ia**	**rʌɦili**
kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**buɽ̊-i-ɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
some	village	LOC	one-CLF	old-F-DEF	live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'There was an old woman in a village.' (05.001)

b. ऊ सुभाव से तनिका खुसराह रहली ।

u	**subɒo**	**se**	**tʌnikɑ**	**kʰusrɑɦ**	**rʌɦili**
u	**subɒo**	**se**	**tʌnikɑ**	**kʰusrɑɦ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
3SG	nature	means	little	wicked	live-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'She (the old woman) was wicked by nature. (05.002)

The topic/participant in (10b) is coded by anaphoric zero, which is used for the most continuous tipic. The referent of this zero is full-NP which has been expressed as बुढ़िआ /*buɽ̊ia*/ 'old woman' in (10a).

14.3.2 Unstressed anaphoric pronouns

Like anaphoric zero, the unstressed anaphoric pronouns are also in the context of maximal referential continuity. The antecedents of such pronouns are found in the immediately preceding clauses. Consider the following examples:

(11) a. लइका जइसही पिट्ठी देवे तनिका नीचा उतरके लभल,

lʌikɑ	**jʌisʌɦi**	**piʈʈʰi**	**dewe**	**tʌnikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**utʌrke**
lʌikɑ	**jʌise-ɦi**	**piʈʈʰi**	**de-we**	**tʌnikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**utʌr-ke**
boy	as fast as-EMPH	cake	give-PUR	little	down	descend-SEQ

lʌb̰ʌl

lʌb̰-ʌl

bow-3SG.PST

'As the boy climbed down a little and bowed to give her the cake,' (05.019)

b. बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली आ घरे चल देली ।

buɽ̊iɑ	**oke**	**pʌkʌʈke**	**d̤okʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**
buɽ̊iɑ	**u-e**	**pʌkʌʈ-ke**	**d̤okʌri**	**mẽ**	**kʌs**
old-F-DEF	3SG-ACC	grab-SEQ	bag	LOC	place and tighten

leli	**ɑ**	**g̈ʌre**	**cʌl**	**deli**
le-ʌl-i	**ɑ**	**g̈ʌr-e**	**cʌl**	**de-ʌl-i**
take-PP-3.PST.F.MH	and	house-LOC	walk	give-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'The old woman pulled him down, tightened him in a bag and went home.' (05.019)

The unstressed anaphoric third person pronoun ओके *oke* in (11b) is co-referent to लइका *lʌika* 'boy', which is in (11a), the immediately preceding clause. In (11b) the choice of the anaphoric pronoun rather than an anaphoric zero is prompted by the clause-rank discontinuity, viz., subordinate-main clause switch. Such choice may also be prompted by the thematic discontinuity (i.e., end of the clause chain) and grammatical-role discontinuity (i.e., subject-object switch) in a language (Givón, 2001a:418).

14.3.3 Stressed independent pronouns

Zero anaphora and independent pronouns are used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity whereas the stressed independent pronouns are used in the contexts of referential discontinuity. The stressed independent pronouns are used when there is potential ambiguity because of the occurrence of two or more referents of the equal rank.

(12) a. बाबुजी मेहमान के खाए बोलइनी ।

bɑbuji mɛɦmɑn ke kʰɑe bolʌini

bɑbu-ji mɛɦmɑn ke kʰɑ-e bol-ɑ-ini

father-H guest DAT eat-PUR tell-CAUS-PST.H

'Father called the guest for meal.' (14.153)

b. उहाँका नहाए चल गइनी ।

uɦɑ̃kɑ nʌɦɑe cʌl gʌini

uɦɑ̃-kɑ nʌɦɑ-e cʌl jɑ-ini

there-SPEC bathe-PUR walk go-PST.H

'He went to bathe.' (14.154)

In (12a) there are two potential referents, बाबुजी /*babuji*/ 'father' and मेहमान /*meɦman*/ 'guest' for the third person pronoun उहाँका /*uɦaka*/ 'he (honorific)' in (12b). Thus, in (12b) the personal pronoun has been stressed so that it refers to 'father', not the 'guest'.

14.3.4 R-dislocation, neutral word order and L-dislocation

Word-order, viz., the order of definite noun phrases, is one of the major coding devices for topic continuity. A natural language may employ two devices: R-dislocation vs. L-dislocation. These two devices are particularly applicable to the rigid word-order such as English (SVO) or Japanese (SOV). Such languages present the specific scalar prediction for the continuity or discontinuity of the topics as in (13).

(13) R-dislocation > neutral word-order> L-dislocation

The scale in (13) predicts that the left-most on the scale codes more continuous and right-most more discontinuous ones (Givón, 1983:19). Almost similar type of scale of prediction given in (13) can be made in the languages with pragmatically controlled flexible word-order language as in (14).

(14) a. VS > SV

b. vo > ov

The scale in (14a-b) implies that the left-most element codes the more continuous topics and right-most the less ones.

Before we discuss whether the implicational scale in (14a-b) can apply in Bhojpuri, we examine the word order phenomena in the language. The order of the constituents of simple transitive clause, viz. S, O and v as in (15a) may be permuted from their stipulated places, e.g.,

(15) a. पङ्वाहा गाछ पाङेला । (SOV)

pʌŋwaɦa gacʰ paŋela

pʌŋwaɦa gacʰ paŋ-ela

shortener tree trim-3SG.PRES

'A trimmer trims a tree.' (09.363)

b. पङ्वाहा पाङेला गाछ। (SVO)

pʌŋwaɦa paŋela gacʰ

pʌŋwaɦa paŋ-ela gacʰ

shortener trim-3SG.PRES tree

'As for a trimmer, he certainly trims a tree.'

c. गाछ पाङेला पङ्वाहा। (OVS)

gacʰ paŋela pʌŋwaɦa

gacʰ paŋ-ela pʌŋwaɦa

tree trim-3SG.PRES shortener

'As for a tree, a trimmer trims it, he does not do anything else.'

d. गाछ पङ्वाहा पाङेला। (OSV)

gacʰ pʌŋwaɦa paŋela

gacʰ pʌŋwaɦa paŋ-ela

tree shortener trim-3SG.PRES

'As for tree, he is a trimmer, who trims it.'

e. पाङेला गाछ पङ्वाहा। (VOS)

paŋela gacʰ pʌŋwaɦa

paŋ-ela gacʰ pʌŋwaɦa

trim-3SG.PRES tree shortener

'It is a tree, as for trimming, which a trimmer did.'

f. पाङेला पङ्वाहा गाछ। (VSO)

paŋela pʌŋwaɦa gacʰ

paŋ-ela pʌŋwaɦa gacʰ

trim-3SG.PRES shortener tree

'He is a trimmer, as for trimming a tree, he does it.'

It is to be noted that all the six logically possible clauses (15a-f) are acceptable in Bhojpuri. However, we can argue that SOV in (15a) is the neutral or basic constituent order in the language. To support for this argument, we can present the following two reasons:

(a) SOV is a common neutral word-order in other Indo-Aryan languages, especially the close neighbours of Bhojpuri such as Chitoniya Tharu, Maithili and Awadhi[7] with Hindi (Koul 2008:216) and Nepali (Upadhyay 2010:88) including some Tibeto-Burman languages like Chapang (Caughley, 1982), Newar (Malla, 1985), Gurung (Glover, 1974), Dolkha Newar (Genetti, 2007), Kham (Watters, 2001), Khwopa Newar (Regmi, 2012), Bhujel (Regmi, 2012) and Kaike (Regmi, 2013) and Dhimal (Khatiwada 2016).

(b) The native speakers have a strong feeling that SOV is the basic constituent order in Bhojpuri. Moreover, it is the most frequent, least marked and pragmatically neutral (Whaley, 1997:106).

The clauses in (15b-f) show the permutation of the constituents in the simple transitive clause. However, the change in order generally triggers a change in the meaning of the permutated elements from its stipulated place, already exemplified. Moreover, Table 14.7 shows the permutation of the constituents and its semantic and pragmatic effects:

Table 14.7: Permutations of the constituents of the clauses

Permutations of the constituents	**Functional elements**	**Pragmatic effects**
pʌŋwɑɦɑ gɑcʰ pɑŋ-e-lɑ	SOV	'A trimmer trims a tree.'
pʌŋwɑɦɑ pɑŋ-e-lɑ gɑcʰ	SVO	As for a trimmer, he certainly trims a tree.
gɑcʰ pɑŋ-e-lɑ pʌŋwɑɦɑ	OVS	As for a tree, a trimmer trims it, he does not do anything else.
gɑcʰ pʌŋwɑɦɑ pɑŋ-e-lɑ	OSV	As for tree, he is a trimmer, who trims it.
pɑŋ-e-lɑ gɑcʰ pʌŋwɑɦɑ	VOS	It is a tree, as for trimming, which a trimmer does.
pɑŋ-e-lɑ pʌŋwɑɦɑ gɑcʰ	VSO	He is a trimmer, as for trimming a tree, he does it.

Table 14.7 exhibits mainly two types of pragmatic effects of the permutation of constituents in (15b-f). They are topicalization and focusing. The topicalized constituent is placed clause initially. In (15b) subject is topicalized. In (15c) and (15d) verb has been topicalized. Similarly in (15e) and (15f) object is topicalized. The focused

7. Please see Chapter 8.2.

constituent is placed clause medially. The subject is focused in (15c) and (15e) whereas the object is focused in (15d). The verb is similarly focused in (15b) and (15f).

Let us examine the implicational predictions given in (14a) in the clauses presented in (16a-b).

(16) a. बाबुजी अइनी ... । (SV)

bɑbuji	**ʌini**
bɑbu-ji	**ɑ-ini**
father-H	come-PST.H

'Father came ....' (09.505)

b. अइनी बाबुजी । (VS)

ʌini	**bɑbuji**
ɑ-ini	**bɑbu-ji**
come-PST.H	father-H

'The one who came is father.' (09.505)

Certainly, the constituents in (16a) are in normal order but the subject is in position of R-dislication in (16b). Hence clause (16b) codes the more continuous topics than clause in normal order in (16a).

Likewise, let us examine the implicational predictions given in (14b) in the clauses presented in (17a-b).

(17) a. पङ्वाहा पाङेला गाछ । (SVO)

pʌŋwɑɦɑ	**pɑŋelɑ**	**gɑcʰ**
pʌŋwɑɦɑ	**pɑŋ-elɑ**	**gɑcʰ**
shortener	trim-3SG.PRES	tree

'As for a trimmer, he certainly trims a tree.'

b. गाछ पङ्वाहा पाङेला । (OSV)

gɑcʰ	**pʌŋwɑɦɑ**	**pɑŋelɑ**
gɑcʰ	**pʌŋwɑɦɑ**	**pɑŋ-elɑ**
tree	shortener	trim-3SG.PRES

'As for tree, he is a trimmer, who trims it.'

By examining the implicational prediction given in (14b) in the clauses presented in SVO and OSV order in (16a-b) respectively, it is clear that the VO order in (17a) codes the more continuous topics than OV order in (17b).

14.3.5 Pronouns and zero anaphors vs. R-dislocated definite full-NPs

The antecedents of zero or bound pronouns are found most commonly in the directly preceding clause, as aleady noted (in 14.3.1). The antecedent co-referent of the stressed independent pronoun is found within two to three clauses back. In contrast, the antecedent co-referent of definite full-NPs is found much further away in the preceding discourse, often not even in the same chain or paragraph, as shown in (18a-i).

(18) a. कवनों देश में एगो गाँव रहे।

kɔno des mẽ ego gão rʌɦe
kɔno des mẽ ek-go gão rʌɦ-e
some country LOC one-CLF village live-3.PST
'Once upon a time there was a village in a country.' (10.001)

b. गाँव में एगो गरीब परिवार रहे।

gão mẽ ego gʌrib pʌriwar rʌɦe
gão mẽ ek-go gʌrib pʌriwar rʌɦ-e
village LOC one-CLF poor family live-3.PST
'There was a poor family in the village.' (10.002)

c. परिवार में एगो मुसमात के दूगो बेटा रहे।

pʌriwar mẽ ego musmat ke dugo beʈa rʌɦe
pʌriwar mẽ ek-go musmat ke du-go beʈa rʌɦ-e
family LOC one-CLF widow GEN two-CLF son live-3.PST
'In the family, a wido had two sons.' (10.003)

d. दूनू बेटन के शादी हो गइल रहे आ पुतोह सब बसत रहली।

dunu beʈʌn ke sadi ɦo gʌil rʌɦe ɑ
du-nu beʈɑ-ʌn ke sadi ɦo jɑ-il rʌɦ-e ɑ
two-EMPH son-PL GEN marriage be go-PP live-3.PST and

putoɦ sʌb bʌsʌt rʌɦli
putoɦ sʌb bʌs-ʌt rʌɦ-ʌl-i
daughter-in-law PL live-IMPF live-PP-3.PST.F.MH
'Both the sons were married and the daughter-in-laws were living in the family.' (10.004)

e. बाँकिर परिवार के सभे लोग बागड़े रहे।

bãkir pʌriwar ke sʌ̣be log bɑgʌɽe rʌɦe

bãkir	**pʌriwar**	**ke**	**sʌḇ-e**	**log**	**bʊgʌɽ-e**	**rʌɦ-e**
but	family	GEN	all-EMPH	PL	deaf & dumb-EMPH	live-3.PST

‘But all the family members were deaf and dumb.’ (10.005)

f. एक दिन मातारी अपना बेटा सब से कहली, ‘बउआ, अब घरही रहला से काम ना चली । बड़का, तू जो पंजाब कमाए, छोटका रही घरे के कामधंधा देखी ।’

ek	**din**	**mʊtari**	**ʌpnʊ**	**beʈʊ**	**sʌb**	**se**	**kʌɦili**
ek	**din**	**mʊtari**	**ʌpnʊ**	**beʈʊ**	**sʌb**	**se**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**
one	day	mother	GEN	son	PL	DAT	say-PP-3.PST.F.MH

bʌuʊ	**ʌb**	**ġʌrɦi**	**rʌɦilʊ**	**se**	**kʊm**	**nʊ**
bʌbuʊ	**ʌb**	**ġʌr-ɦi**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-ʊ**	**se**	**kʊm**	**nʊ**
boy	now	house-EMPH	live-PP-SEQ	caus	work	NEG

cʌli	**bʌʈkʊ**	**tu**	**jo**	**pʌnjʊb**	**kʌmʊe**
cʌl-i	**bʌʈ-kʊ**	**tu**	**jʊ-o**	**pʌnjʊb**	**kʌmʊ-e**
walk-3SG.FUT	elder-DEF	2SG	go-IMP	Punjab	work-PUR

cʰoʈkʊ	**rʌɦi**	**ġʌre**	**ke**	**kʊmḍʌnḍʊ**	**dekʰi**
cʰoʈ-kʊ	**rʌɦ-i**	**ġʌr-e**	**ke**	**kʊm-ḍʌnḍʊ**	**dekʰ-i**
small-DEF	live-3SG.FUT	house-LOC	GEN	work	see-3SG.FUT

‘One day the mother said to her sons, 'My sons, we can gain nothing living at home. My elder son, go to Punjab for earning, the younger will look after the household works.'’ (10.006)

g. बड़कु चल गइल पंजाब आ ओतहाँ आपन काम खोजके करे लगल ।

bʌʈku	**cʌl**	**gʌil**	**pʌnjʊb**	**ʊ**	**otʌɦã**	**ʊpʌn**
bʌʈ-ku	**cʌl**	**jʊ-il**	**pʌnjʊb**	**ʊ**	**otʌɦã**	**ʊpʌn**
elder-DEF	walk	go-3SG.PST	Punjab	and	there	GEN

kʊm	**kʰojke**	**kʌre**	**lʊgʌl**
kʊm	**kʰoj-ke**	**kʌr-e**	**lʊg-ʌl**
work	search-SEQ	do-PUR	continue-3SG.PST

‘The elder went to Punjab and started working there.’ (10.007)

h. एने छोटकु गइल हर जोते खेत में ।

ene	**cʰoʈku**	**gʌil**	**ɦʌr**	**jote**	**kʰet**	**mẽ**
ene	**cʰoʈ-ku**	**jʊ-il**	**ɦʌr**	**jot-e**	**kʰet**	**mẽ**
this side	small-DEF	go-3SG.PST	plough	plough-PUR	farm	LOC

‘Hence, the younger went to plough in the field.’ (10.008)

i. जब पनपिआई के बेरा भइल त सोचली मातारी, मुसमात, ‘लइका के पनपिआई जरुर खिआवेके के चाहीं।’

jʌb	**pʌnpiai**	**ke**	**berɑ**	**ɓ̤ʌil**	**tʌ**	**socʌli**
jʌb	**pʌnpiai**	**ke**	**berɑ**	**ɓ̤ʌ-il**	**tʌ**	**soc-ʌl-i**
when	breakfast	GEN	time	be-3SG.PST	COND	think-PP-3.PST.F.MH

mɑtɑri	**musmɑt**	**lʌikɑ**	**ke**	**pʌnpiai**	**jʌrur**	**kʰiaweke**
mɑtɑri	**musmɑt**	**lʌikɑ**	**ke**	**pʌnpiai**	**jʌrur**	**kʰia-we-ke**
mother	widow	son	GEN	breakfast	certainly	feed-PUR-OBL

cɑɦĩ

cɑɦ-ĩ

want-OPT

‘When the sun rose up, mother thought mother, the widow, 'The son must get breakfast now.'’ (10.009)

The most topical referent in the discourse in (8a-i) is मुसमात /*musmat*/ ‘widow’. In (18c), it enters in on the stage coded as full-NP. After that, other referents like बेटा /*beʈa*/ ‘son’ enters on the stage in the same clause and पुतोह /*putoɦ*/ ‘daughter-in-law’ in (18d) comes to the stage. Lastly in (18i), the most topical referent मुसमात /*musmat*/ ‘widow’ is coded as R-dislocated full-NP to avoid the referential competition among other referents. Thus, the antecedent co-referent of definite full-NP, as Givón (2001a: 419) asserts, is found far away if compared to zero anaphora or its antecedent pronoun.

14.3.6 R-dislocated DEF-NPs

As R-dislocation has already examined (in Ch. 12.1.4), Right-dislocated DEF-NP is used when the speaker believes the referent was not quite as accessible, and is better recoded as full NP. Examples in (19) illustrate the R-dislocated DEF-NP in Bhojpuri.

(19) a. ई एगो कठिन मथेला बा, दहिना ठाँवबदली।

i	**ego**	**kʌʈʰin**	**mʌtʰelɑ**	**bɑ**	**dʌɦinɑ**	**ʈʰɑ̃obʌdli**
i	**ek-go**	**kʌʈʰin**	**mʌtʰelɑ**	**bɑ**	**dʌɦinɑ**	**ʈʰɑ̃obʌdli**
PROX	one-CLF	difficult	topic	be.3SG.PRES	right	dislocation

'This is a difficult topic, the rirht dislocation.' (10.095)

b. ऊ आसान आदमी नइखे, गाँव के मुखिया।

u	**ɑsɑn**	**ɑdmi**	**nʌikʰe**	**gão**	**ke**	**mukʰiɑ**
DIST	easy	man	not to be	village	GEN	chieften

'He is not an easy man, the village-chieften.' (10.096)

c. मरदु कहलें, 'खीर बनी, बाँकिर लइकन के सुतला के बाद ।'

mʌrdu	**kʌɦlẽ**	**kʰir**	**bʌni**	**bãkir**
mʌrdu	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**kʰir**	**bʌn-i**	**bãkir**
husband.H	say-PP-3.PST.MH	rice-pudding	make-3SG.FUT	but

lʌikʌn	**ke**	**sutlɑ**	**ke**	**bɑd**
lʌik-ʌn	**ke**	**sut-ʌl-ɑ**	**ke**	**bɑd**
child-PL	GEN	sleep-PP-SEQ	GEN	later

'The husband said, "The pudding will be cooked, *but after the children sleep*."' (08.007)

The R-dislocated DEF-NP in example (19a) is दहिना ठाँवबदली */dʌɦina ʈʰãobʌdli/* 'the right dislocation', it is encoded by the pronoun ई /*i*/ 'this' in subject/agent position whereas the referent is repeated as the full NP employing R-dislocation strategy in the same proposition. In example (19b), the R-dislocated DEF-NP is गाँव के मुखिया */gão ke mukʰia/* 'the village-chiften', encoded by the pronoun ऊ /*u*/ 'he' in the subject/agent position whereas the referent is repeated as the full NP employing R-dislocation in the same proposition. Besides, in example (19c) the referentiality is indicated by zero anaphora, however, as an afterthought, the same referent लइकन के /*lʌikʌn ke*/ 'the children-DAT) presented as definite Full-NP.

14.3.7 Y-moved NPs (contrastive topicalization)

Givón (2001b:262) notes that Y-movement is used typically when a referent is contrasted with another referent of roughly the same emantic class. The first referent creates certain expectations, which the Y-moved referent then counters. Y-moved NPs often involve fronting of the contrasted topic. In Bhojpuri there are two ways to mark contrastive topicalization. The first one is to move the noun phrases functioning as the the objects to the clause initial positions as in (20).

(20) गाछ पङ्वाहा पाङेला । (OSV)

gɑcʰ	**pʌŋwɑɦɑ**	**pɑŋelɑ**
gɑcʰ	**pʌŋwɑɦɑ**	**pɑŋ-elɑ**
tree	shortener	trim-3SG.PRES

'As for tree, he is a trimmer, who trims it.'

In (20) direct object गाछ /*gac*^{h}/ 'tree' is placed to the clause initial position for the contrastive topicalization.

Likewise, let us observe the situation for subject in (21a-b).

(21) a. हम पूरा परिवार का लगे गइनी — माई, बाबुजी, हमर तीनजने भाई, दूगो बहिन आ आउर लोग का लगे — तू बुझले होखबऽ जे केहू मदत करे के कहले होखी, बाँकिर ना, सबकेहू इनकार कर देलख ...

ɦʌm	**purɑ**	**pʌriwɑr**	**kɑ**	**lʌge**	**gʌini**	**mɑi**	**bɑbuji**
ɦʌm	**purɑ**	**pʌriwɑr**	**kɑ**	**lʌge**	**jɑ-ini**	**mɑi**	**bɑbu-ji**
1SG	full	family	GEN	with	go-PST.H	mother	father-H

ɦʌmʌr	**tinjʌne**	**ɓ̈ai**	**dugo**	**bʌɦin**	**ɑ**	**ɑur**
ɦʌm-ʌr	**tin-jʌn-e**	**ɓ̈ai**	**du-go**	**bʌɦin**	**ɑ**	**ɑur**
1SG-GEN	three-CLF-DEF	brother	two-CLF	sister	and	more

log	**kɑ**	**lʌge**	**tu**	**buj̈le**	**ɦokʰʌbʌ**	**je**
log	**kɑ**	**lʌge**	**tu**	**buj̈-ʌl-e**	**ɦokʰ-ʌbʌ**	**je**
people	GEN	with	2SG	understand-PP-SEQ	be-IPST.MH	COMP

keɦu	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌre**	**ke**	**kʌɦile**	**ɦokʰi**	**bɑ̃kir**
keɦu	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌr-e**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-e**	**ɦokʰ-i**	**bɑ̃kir**
someone	help	do-PUR	OBL	say-PP-SEQ	be-3.IPST	but

nɑ	**sʌbkeɦu**	**inkɑr**	**kʌr**	**delʌkʰ**
nɑ	**sʌbkeɦu**	**inkɑr**	**kʌr**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
NEG	all	refuse	do	give-PP-3.PST

'I went through the whole family – mom, dad, my three brothers, two sisters, the lot – you'd have thought someone would offer to help, but heck, they all refused ...' (06.020

b. ऊ हमर बड़की माई रहली जे डेङ बढ़इनी आ बइठइनी ।

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**bʌɽki**	**mɑi**	**rʌɦili**	**je**	**ɖeŋ**
u	**ɦʌm-ʌr**	**bʌɽ-ki**	**mɑi**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**je**	**ɖeŋ**
DIST	1SG-GEN	elder-F	mother	live-PP-3.PST.F.MH	COND	step

bʌɽ̊ʌini	**ɑ**	**bʌiʈʰʌini**
bʌɽ̊-ɑ-ini	**ɑ**	**bʌiʈʰ-ɑ-ini**
forward-CAUS-PST.H	and	sit-CAUS-PST.H

'It was my elder aunt who stepped in and made me sit.' (06.021)

Hence, the subject बड़की माई /*bʌɽki mai*/ 'elder aunt' is placed to the clause initial position in (21b) for the contrastive topicalization. The second way is to suffix -ए /*-e*/ or -ओ /*-o*/ 'to' with verb particles for the noun phrases which we want to topicalize, as in (22a-b).

(22) a. ऊ धनपत के बहुत मानेली ।

u	**d̪ʌnpʌt**	**ke**	**bʌɦut**	**mɑneli**
u	**d̪ʌnpʌt**	**ke**	**bʌɦut**	**mɑn-eli**
3SG	Dhanpat	DAT	very	like-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'She likes Dhanpat a lot.' (06.023)

b. गनपत के त ऊ फरछाहिंओ ना चलेली ।

gʌnpʌt	**ke**	**tʌ**	**u**	**pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩo**	**nɑ**	**cʌleli**
gʌnpʌt	**ke**	**tʌ**	**u**	**pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ-o**	**nɑ**	**cʌl-eli**
Ganpat	GEN	COND	3SG	shadow-EMPH	NEG	walk-3SG.PRES.F.MH

'Ganpat, she can't stand.' (06.024).

14.3.8 Cleft/focus constructions

Bhojpuri does not present the cleft/focus constructions as we find in the fixed word-order language English or Korean. In Bhojpuri, the functions of the noun phrases are specified by using the case inflections. The noun phrases functioning as the subjects or objects are placed just before the verbs or predicates, as in (23).

(23) गाछ पङ्वाहा पाङेला । (OSV)

gɑcʰ	**pʌŋwɑɦɑ**	**pɑŋelɑ**
gɑcʰ	**pʌŋwɑɦɑ**	**pɑŋ-elɑ**
tree	shortener	trim-3SG.PRES

'As for tree, he is a trimmer, who trims it.'

In (23) the subject पङ्वाहा /*pʌŋwaɦa*/ 'trimmer' is moved from its clause initial position to the pre-verbal position for the focus.

14.3.9 Referential indefinite NPs

As Givón (1983: 25) suggests, referential-indefinite NPs, being introduced into the discourse for the first time, should be considered maximally surprising/disruptive/discontinuous, as least as far as their continuity vis-à-vis the preceding discourse context is concerned, owever, they may have persistent

properties, which would then indicate their potential topical/thematic importance in the subsequent discourse. In English, for instance, 'a pen' in the clause “My son bought a pen.” is an indefinite but a referential noun phrase. In Bhojpuri, such noun phrases code the most discontinuous topics, as in (24a-b).

(24) a. राजु गाय दुही ।

raju gae duɦi

raju gae duɦ-i

Raju cow milk-3SG.FUT

'Raju will milk a cow.' (06.013)

b. हम ओके किताब देनी ।

ɦʌm oke kitab deni

ɦʌm u-e kitab de-ni

1SG 3SG-DAT book give-PST.H

'I gave him a book.' (06.008)

In (24a) गाय /*gae*/ 'a cow' and in (24b) किताब /*kitab*/ 'a book' are indefinite and referential noun phrases in Bhojpuri in most dicontinuous topics.

14.4 Reference and definiteness

"The grammatical coding of reference in human language turns out to be highly sensitive to the discourse-pragmatic – extra-clausal – context, especially when communicative pragmatics conflicts with propositional semantics, snf as the antecedence of definite NPs in naturally-produced text is almost always to be found outside the atomic clause and one must invoke various *hearer-anchored* systems that transcend the speaker’s propositional meaning, definiteness turns out to be a pragmatic rather than semantic entity textually or cognitively" (Givón 2001a:437).

The correlation between reference and definiteness in Bhojpuri is discussed as follows:

14.4.1 Grammatical marking of indefinite and definite reference

As Khatiwada (2016:173) describes Dhimal, there is no separate set of definite and indefinite articles, in Bhojpuri unlike in English, however, some strategies are employed to indicate whether a referent is definite or indefinite. The indefinite pronominal adjective कौनो /*kɔno*/ ‘any/some’ and the numeral with classifier एगो /*ek-go*/ 'one-CLF' function as indefinite reference marker in Bhojpuri. The definite

referent, on the other hand, is marked by the demonstratives like its neighbours Maithili, Awadhi, Hindi and Nepali too, as shown in (25a-b):

(25) a. रास्ता में ***कौनो*** आदमी करम लेले ... रहे ... ।

rɑstɑ	**mẽ**	***kɔno***	**ɑdmi**	**kʌrʌm**	**lele**	**rʌɦe**
rɑstɑ	**mẽ**	***kɔno***	**ɑdmi**	**kʌrʌm**	**le-ʌl-e**	**rʌɦ-e**
way	LOC	some	man	funeral segregation	take-PP-SEQ	live-3.PST

'On the way, a man was sagrigated for death ritual.' (10.056)

b. एने छोटकु ***ओह*** आदमी के देखलक ... ।

ene	**cʰoʈku**	***oɦ***	**ɑdmi**	**ke**	**dekʰlʌk**
ene	**cʰoʈ-ku**	***oɦ***	**ɑdmi**	**ke**	**dekʰ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
this side	small-DEF	DIST	man	DAT	see-PP-3SG.PST

'Hence, the younger saw THAT man …' (10.057)

In example (25a), the indefinite adjective कौनो /*kɔno*/ 'some' is employed to code the nominal आदमी /*admi*/ 'man' as indefinite.[8] In contrast, in example (52b), the same noun आदमी /*admi*/ 'man' is modified by the demonstrative adjective ओह /*oɦ*/ 'that', where the noun is definite in Bhojpuri.

(26) a. कौनों देश में एगो गाँव रहे ।

kɔno	**des**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**gɑ̃o**	**rʌɦe**
kɔno	**des**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**gɑ̃o**	**rʌɦ-e**
some	country	LOC	one-CLF	village	live-3.PST

'Once upon a time there was a village in a country.' (10.001)

b. गाँव में एगो गरीब परिवार रहे ।

gɑ̃o	**mẽ**	**ego**	**gʌrib**	**pʌriwɑr**	**rʌɦe**
gɑ̃o	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**gʌrib**	**pʌriwɑr**	**rʌɦ-e**
village	LOC	one-CLF	poor	family	live-3.PST

'There was a poor family in the village.' (10.002)

c. परिवार में एगो मुसमात के दूगो बेटा रहे ।

pʌriwɑr	**mẽ**	**ego**	**musmɑt**	**ke**	**dugo**	**beʈɑ**	**rʌɦe**
pʌriwɑr	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**musmɑt**	**ke**	**du-go**	**beʈɑ**	**rʌɦ-e**
family	LOC	one-CLF	widow	GEN	two-CLF	son	live-3.PST

8. When the speaker has no reason to assume that a reference is identifiable to the hearer, on whatever ground, the referent is considered indefinite (Givón 1997:158).

‘In the family, a widow had two sons.’ (10.003)

Besides, Bhojpuri has usage that neither take any indefinite or definite particles for the referents, rather, they are semantically identified with context, as shown in (26a-c).

In example (26a), the indefinite adjective कौनो /*kɔno*/ ‘some’ is employed to code the nominal देश /*des*/ ‘country’ and numeral एगो /*ego*/ ‘one-CLF’ to code another noun गाँव /*gão*/ ‘village’ as indefinite. In contrast, in example (26b), the nominal गाँव /*gão*/ ‘village’ is neither coded by any indefinites nor by any demonstratives. But contextually, it is obvious that its second entry in the discourse confirms its definiteness. Similar is the case of the nominal परिवार /*pʌriwar*/ ‘family’ in the examples (26b-c).

In many other languages, the grammatical morphology marks just as distinctly the contrast between referring and non-referring indefinites (Givón 2001a: 450). We look at some of the more common grammaticalized patterns of marking referring-indefinite nominals as follows:

Examples (25-26) clarify that the numeral एगो /*ego*/ ‘one-CLF’ is used to mark indefiniteness and demonstratives to mark definiteness in Bhojpuri. Besides, indefiniteness and definiteness are identified contextually, too.

14.4.2 Suffixes for definiteness

Similar to Maithili (Yadav, 1998), Bhojpuri has definiteness marker suffixes -आ /*-a*/, -वा /*-wa*/, -आवा /*-awa*/ and -का /*-ka*/ attached with nominals as well as with adjectives for definiteness, as shown in (27a-d):

(27) a. लइका ***एगो पिट्ठी*** तोड़के बुढ़िआ के कहलक, ‘गे बुढ़िआ दाई, ***पिठिआ*** भुइआँ में गिरा दीँ ?’

lʌikɑ	***ego***	***piʈʈʰi***	**toɽke**	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**ke**	**kʌɦilʌk**
lʌikɑ	***ek-go***	***piʈʈʰi***	**toɽ-ke**	**buɽ̊-i-ɑ**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
boy	one-CLF	cake	pluck-SEQ	old-F-DEF	ACC	say-PP-3.PST

ge	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**dɑi**	***piʈʈʰia***	**ḛuiã**	**mẽ**	**girɑ**	**dĩ**
ge	**buɽ̊-i-ɑ**	**dɑi**	***piʈʈʰi-a***	**ḛuiã**	**mẽ**	**gir-ɑ**	**de-ĩ**
VOC.F	old-F-DEF	grandma	cake-DEF	ground	LOC	fall-CAUS	give-HORT

‘The boy plucked A CAKE and said to the old woman, 'O my old Grandma, can I let THE CAKE fall on the ground?'’ (05.011)

b. ऊ ***दुपहरवा*** आइल ।

u ***dupʌɦʌrwa*** **ɑil**

u ***dupʌɦʌr-wa*** **ɑ-il**

3SG afternoon-DEF come-3SG.PST

‘He came in the afternoon.’ (06.011)

c. ना, ऊ ***साँझिया*** आइल ।

nɑ **u** ***sɑ̃ĭja*** **ɑil**

nɑ **u** ***sɑ̃ĭ- ia*** **ɑ-il**

NEG 3SG evening-DEF come-3SG.PST

‘No, he came in THE EVENING.’ (06.012)

d. आ लोप होई त ई समाज के बहुत ***बड़का*** घाटा होई ।

ɑ **lop** **ɦoi** **tʌ** **i** **sʌmɑj** **ke** **bʌɦut**

ɑ **lop** **ɦo-i** **tʌ** **i** **sʌmɑj** **ke** **bʌɦut**

and extinct be-3SG.FUT COND PROX society GEN very

bʌɽka **ɡɑʈɑ** **ɦoi**

bʌɽ-ka **ɡɑʈɑ** **ɦo-i**

big-CLF loss be-3SG.FUT

‘And if extinct, it will be THE GREAT loss of this society.’ (03.204)

e. ई ***एगो मीठ*** आम बा ।

i **ego** **miʈʰ** **ɑm** **bɑ**

i **ek-go** **miʈʰ** **ɑm** **bɑ**

PROX one-CLF sweet mango be.3SG.PRES

‘This is A SWEET mango.’ (14.259)

f. ई त *मिठुआवा* आम बा ।

i **tʌ** **miʈʰuɑwɑ** **ɑm** **bɑ**

i **tʌ** **miʈʰ-ɑwɑ** **ɑm** **bɑ**

PROX COND sweet-DEF mango be.3SG.PRES

‘This is THE SWEET mango.' (14.260)

In the examples (27a-f) the numeral एगो /*ego*/ ‘one-CLF’ codes पिट्ठी /*piʈʈʰi*/ ‘cake’ as indefinite and the suffix -आ /*-a*/ with the same nominal codes it as definite

in (27a). The suffix -वा /-*wa*/ with दुपहर /*dupʌɦʌr*/ 'afternoon' in (27b), -इआ /-*ia*/ with साँझ /*sãj*/ 'evening' in (27c) and -का /-*ka*/ with बड़ /*bʌɽ*/ in (27d) code the adverbs and the adjective as definite. Similarly, the numeral एगो /*ego*/ 'one-CLF' codes the adjective मीठ /*miʈʰ*/ 'sweet' as indefinite in (27e) and the suffix -आवा /-*awa*/ with the same adjective in (27f) codes it as definite.

14.5 Topic (referential) continuity

In this section, the morphosyntacti devices employed to evoke the same referents now and again in the Bhojpuri multi-propositional discourse are examined. Such devices may comprise of anaphoric pronouns, demonstratives, relative clauses and clause chaining. How the markers of discourse referentiality code the continuity of the topic in a narrative Bhojpuri discourse, we discuss as follows:

(28) a. कवनो गाँव में एगो किसान रहे।

kɔno	**gão**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**kisɑn**	**rʌɦe**
kɔno	**gão**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**kisɑn**	**rʌɦ-e**
some	village	LOC	one-CLF	peasant	live-3.PST

'There was a peasant living in a village.' (08.001)

b. ऊ बहुत गरीब रहे।

u	**bʌɦut**	**gʌrib**	**rʌɦe**
u	**bʌɦut**	**gʌrib**	**rʌɦ-e**
3SG.NOM	very	poor	live-3.PST

'He was very poor.' (08.002)

c. बाँकिर *ओकरा* एक दर्जन लइका-लइकी रहे।

bãkir	***okʌra***	**ek**	**dʌrjɔn**	**lʌikɑ-lʌiki**	**rʌɦe**
bãkir	**okʌr-ɑ**	**ek**	**dʌrjɔn**	**lʌikɑ-lʌiki**	**rʌɦ-e**
but	3.SG.GEN-SPEC	one	dozen	son-daughter	live-3.PST

'He had a dozen of children.' (08.003)

d. बेचारा कहिओ निमन से खाहु ना सके।

becɑrɑ	**kʌɦio**	**nimʌn**	**se**	**kʰɑɦu**	**nɑ**	**sʌke**
becɑrɑ	**kʌɦio**	**nimʌn**	**se**	**kʰɑ-ɦu**	**nɑ**	**sʌk-e**
helpLess	any day	good	means	eat-EMPH	NEG	can-3.PST

'The helpless peasant never had enough food to eat.' (08.004)

e. एक दिन ऊ *अपना* मेहरारू से साँझ में खीऱ बनावेके कहलख।

ek	**din**	***u***	***ʌpna***	**mɛɦraru**	**se**	**sãj̈**	**mẽ**
ek	**din**	**u**	**ʌpna**	**mɛɦraru**	**se**	**sãj̈**	**mẽ**
one	day	3SG.NOM	1/2/3SG.GEN	wife	DAT	evening	LOC

kʰiɽ̊	**bʌnaweke**	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**
kʰiɽ̊	**bʌna-e-ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
rice-pudding	make-PUR-PUR	say-PRF-3.PST

'One day he told his wife to cook rice-pudding in the evening.' (08.005)

f. मेहरारू कहली, 'लइकन के पाएके मुह में सटी ?'

mɛɦraru	**kʌɦli**	**lʌikʌn**	**ke**	**paeke**	**muɦ**	**mẽ**
mɛɦraru	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**lʌikʌn**	**ke**	**pa-e-ke**	**muɦ**	**mẽ**
wife	say-3SG.PST-F	children	GEN	get-SIM-PUR	mouth	LOC

sʌʈi
sʌʈ-i
touch-3.FUT

'The wife said, 'Would it be possible to taste due to the children?'' (08.006)

g. मरदु कहलें, 'खीर बनी, बाँकिर लइकन के *सुतला* के बाद ।'

mʌrdu	**kʌɦilẽ**	**kʰir**	**bʌni**	**bãkir**
mʌrdu	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ẽ**	**kʰir**	**bʌn-i**	**bãkir**
husband.H	say-PRF-3.PST.H	rice-pudding	make-3SG.FUT	but

lʌikʌn	**ke**	***sutla***	**ke**	**bad**
lʌikʌn	**ke**	**sut-ʌl-a**	**ke**	**bad**
children	GEN	sleep-PRF-SEQ	SEQ	later

'The husband said, 'The pudding will be cooked, but after the children sleep.'' (08.007)

h. दिने में दूध, चिनी, मसाला आ चाउर के इंतजाम हो गइल ।

dine	**mẽ**	**duɽ̤**	**cini**	**mʌsala**	**a**	**caur**	**ke**	**intjam**
din-e	**mẽ**	**duɽ̤**	**cini**	**mʌsala**	**a**	**caur**	**ke**	**intjam**
day-EMPH	LOC	milk	sugar	spice	and	rice	GEN	arrangement

ɦo	**gʌil**
ɦo	**ja-il**
be	go-3SG.PST

'Milk, sugar, spices and rice were collected during the day time.' (08.008)

i. रात में लइकन सुत गइलन ।

rat mẽ lʌikʌn sut gʌilʌn

rat mẽ lʌikʌn sut ja-il-ʌn

night LOC children sleep go-3.PST-PL

'The children slept at night.' (08.009)

j. दूनू मरद मेहरारू खीऱ बनावे लागल ।

dunu mʌrʌd-mehraru kʰiṛ bʌnawe lagʌl

du-nu mʌrʌd-mehraru kʰiṛ bʌna-e lag-ʌl

two-EMPH husband-wife rice-pudding make-PUR continue-3.PST

'Both the husband and wife started cooking of the rice-pudding.' (08.010)

k. बाद में जब खीऱ चलावेके परल तब मेहरारू कहली, 'मार मु *धइके*! छोलनी त *मिलते* नइखे, कहाँ धरा गइल बा ?'

bad mẽ jʌb kʰiṛ cʌlaweke pʌrʌl

bad mẽ jʌb kʰiṛ cʌl-a-e-ke pʌr-ʌl

later LOC when rice-pudding walk-CAUS-PUR-PUR fall-3SG.PST

tʌb mehraru kʌɦili mar mu *ɖʌike* cʰolni

tʌb mehraru kʌɦ-ʌl-i mar muɦ ɖʌr-ke cʰolni

then wife say-PRF-3.PST-F hit mouth catch-SEQ spatula

tʌ *milte* nʌikʰe kʌɦã ɖʌra gʌil

tʌ mil-ʌt-e nʌikʰe kʌɦã ɖʌr-a ja-il

COND get-SIM-EMPH not to be where put-CAUS go-PRF

ba

ba

be.3SG.PRES

'Later, when the pudding was to be stirred, the wife said, 'O my God! I'm not getting spatula, where has it been placed?" (08.011)

l. बड़की बेटी आँख *मिजते* कहलख, 'गे माई हेदा नू बा ।'

bʌʈki beʈi *milte* ãkʰ kʌɦlʌkʰ ge mai

bʌʈ-ki beʈi mil-ʌt-e ãkʰ kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ ge mai

elder-F daughter get-SIM-EMPH eye say-PRF-3.PST VOC.F mother

ɦeda nu ba

ɦeda nu ba

here EMPH be.3SG.PRES

'Rubbing her eyes, the elder daughter said, "O Mom! Here you are."' (08.012)

m. मेहरारू *ओकरा* के चूप रहेके इशारा *करत* छोलनी ले लेली ।

mɛɦraru	***okra***	**ke**	**cup**	**rʌɦeke**	**isara**	***kʌrʌt***
mɛɦraru	**okʌr-a**	**ke**	**cup**	**rʌɦ-e-ke**	**isara**	**kʌr-ʌt**
wife	3SG.GEN-SPEC	caus	silent	live-PUR-PUR	gesture	do-SIM

cʰolni	**le**	**leli**
cʰolni	**le**	**le-ʌl-i**
spatula	bring	take-3.PST-F

The wife gestured her to keep quiet and took the spatula. (08.013)

n. बाद में करछुल के जरुरी परल ।

bad	**mẽ**	**kʌrcʰul**	**ke**	**jʌruri**	**pʌrʌl**
bad	**mẽ**	**kʌrcʰul**	**ke**	**jʌruri**	**pʌr-ʌl**
later	LOC	ladle	GEN	need	fall-3SG.PST

'Later, a ladle was needed.' (08.014)

o. फेर ऊ करछुल *ताके* लगली ।

pʰer	***u***	**kʌrcʰul**	***take***	**lʌgli**
pʰer	**u**	**kʌrcʰul**	**tak-e**	**lag-ʌl-i**
again	3SG.NOM	ladle	seek-SIM	continue-3.PST-F

'Again, she started searching for the ladle.' (08.015)

p. तवले मझिला लइका कहलख, 'माई, हेदे नु *धइले* बानी ।'

tɔle	**mʌj̈ila**	**lʌika**	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**	**mai**	**ɦede**	**nu**
tɔle	**maj̈il-a**	**lʌika**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**mai**	**ɦeda**	**nu**
till then	second-SPEC	son	say-PRF-3.PST	mother	here	EMPH

d̤ʌile	**bani**
d̤ʌr-il-e	**bani**
put-INF-SIM	be.PRES.H

'The middlenost son said in a while, 'Mom, I'm keeping it only here." (08.016)

q. एही तरे कटोरा, छीपा, छिपुली, गिलास, लोटा जब जब खोजाइल त लइकन किहाँ से भुल भुल *मिले* लागल ।

ɛɦi	**tʌre**	**kʌʈora**	**cʰipa**	**cʰipuli**	**gilas**	**loʈa**	**jʌb**

eɦ-i	**tʌre**	**kʌʈora**	**cʰipa**	**cʰipuli**	**gilas**	**loʈa**	**jʌb**
PROX-EMPH	such	bowl	dish	small dish	glass	water-pot	when

jʌb	**kʰojail**	**tʌ**	**lʌikʌn**	**kiɦã**	**se**
jʌb	**kʰoj-a-il**	**tʌ**	**lʌika-ʌn**	**kiɦã**	**se**
when	search-CAUS-3SG.PST	COND	child-PL	place	source

ḭulḭul	***mile***	**lagʌl**
ḭul-ḭul	**mil-e**	**lag-ʌl**
continuously	get-SIM	continue-3SG.PST

'Likewise, whenever the bowl,s PLates, glasses and water pots were searched for these all appeared from children one after another.' (08.017)

r. बाद में मेहरारू कहली, 'रे कोरपोंछुआ ! तू काहे बाँकी रहबे ? तोहरा कुछ ना मिलल ह धरेके ?'

bad	**mẽ**	**meɦraru**	**kʌɦli**	**re**	**korpõcʰua**
bad	**mẽ**	**meɦraru**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**re**	**korpõcʰu-a**
later	LOC	woman	say-3.PST-F	VOC.NH	youngest-M.SPEC

tu	**kaɦe**	**bãki**	**rʌɦbe**	**toɦra**	**kucʰ**	**na**
tu	**kaɦe**	**bãki**	**rʌɦ-be**	**toɦra**	**kucʰ**	**na**
2SG.NOM	why	remaining	live-2.FUT.NH	2SG.GEN	something	NEG

milʌl	**ɦʌ**	**ḍʌreke**
mil-ʌl	**ɦʌ**	**ḍʌr-e-ke**
get-PRF	be.3SG.PRES	put-PUR-OBL

'At last, the wife said, 'O my youngest boy! why will you only be left? Did you not get something to keep with?" (08.018)

s. *उहो* कवन कम रहे ! आँख *मिजते* कहलख, '*हई* गरम मसाला हम *धइले* नु बानी जेबी में ।'

uɦo	**kɔn**	**kʌm**	**rʌɦe**	**ãkʰ**	***mijte***
u-o	**kɔn**	**kʌm**	**rʌɦ-e**	**ãkʰ**	**mij-ʌt-e**
3SG.NOM-EMPH	what	less	live-3.PST	eye	rub-SIM-EMPH

kʌɦlʌkʰ	***ɦʌi***	**gʌrʌm**	**mʌsala**	**ḍʌile**	**nu**	**bani**
kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ	**ɦʌi**	**gʌrʌm**	**mʌsala**	**ḍʌr-il-e**	**nu**	**bani**
say-PRF-3.PST	PROX	hot	spice	put-INF-SIM	EMPH	be.PRES.H

jebi	**mẽ**

jeb **mẽ**

pocket LOC

'How he could be lagging behind! He also said rubbing his eyes, 'I've also kept hot spices in my pocket." (08.019)

t. अंत में किसान कहलख, 'जे दुःख छोड़नी गउरा घाट, से दुःख त लागले बा !'

ʌnt	**mẽ**	**kisɑn**	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**	**je**	**dukʰ**	**cʰoɽni**
ʌnt	**mẽ**	**kisɑn**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**je**	**dukʰ**	**cʰoɽ-ni**
end	LOC	peasant	say-PRF-3.PST	3SG.COND	misery	leave-PST.H

gʌurɑ	**ɡ̈ɑʈ**	**se**	**dukʰ**	**tʌ**	**lɑgle**	**bɑ**
gʌurɑ	**ɡ̈ɑʈ**	**se**	**dukʰ**	**tʌ**	**lɑg-ʌl-e**	**bɑ**
Gaura	bank	3SG.COND	misery	COND	continue-INF-EMPH	be.3SG.PRES

'At last, the peasant said, 'What we planned, all in vain." (08.20)

The text presented in examples (28a-t) is a folk-tale popular in Bhojpuri speech community. The markers of topic (referential) continuity are italicized in the text both in Devanagari and IPA. They have been analyzed as follows:

a) he third person singular anaphoric pronouns ऊ /*u*/ 'he' in nominative form in (28b, e), ओकरा /*okʌra*/ 'his' in genitive form in (28c), अपना /*ʌpna*/ 'his' in genitive form in (28e) refer to किसान /*kisan*/ 'peasant' in (28a). Likewise, ओकरा /*okʌra*/ 'her' in accusative form in (28m) refers to बड़की बेटी /*bʌɽki beʈi*/ in (28l), ऊ /*u*/ 'she' in nominative form in (28o) refers to मेहरारू /*meɦraru*/ 'wife' in (28m) and उहो /*uɦo*/ 'he too' in nominative form with inclusive emphatic marker in (28s) refers to कोरपोंछुआ /*korpõcʰua*/ 'the youngest one' in (28r).

b) The proximant demonstrative हई /*ɦʌi*/ 'this' in (28s) codes both continuity and specifity of the referent.

c) The clauses with non-finite participial form of the verb marked by sequential suffix -आ /*-a*/ , i.e., सुतला के बाद /*sutla ke bad*/ 'after having slept' in (28g), by sequential suffix -के /*-ke*/, i.e., मु धइके /*mu ḍʌike*/ 'having caught the head' and by simultaneous suffix -अत /*-ʌt*/, i.e., मिलते /*milte*/ 'being found' in (28k), आँख मिजते /*ãkʰ mijte*/ 'rubbing eyes' in (28l, s) are found in Bhojpuri. Both types the participial clauses occur as 'middle clauses' coreferential which the subject of the finite clause is coreferential with.

d) The correlative relative clauses in (28t) as quote of the initial referent of the story also contribute with topic continuity in Bhojpuri.

14.6 Action continuity

Action continuity pertains primarily to *temporal sequentiality* within thematic paragraph, but also to temporal *adjacency* therein. (Givón, 1983:8). The events/actions, in a natural language, are primarily organized in the thematic paragraph in the natural sequential order in which they actually occurred in the narrative discourse. Such continuity is, in general, coded by the tense-aspect-modality within the clause. In Bhojpuri, the events that advance in time line (the narrative backbone) are generally indicated by verbs in the perfective aspect including the conjunct and disjunct distinction whereas more permanent concept, those state or global contexts which persist over duration of entire episode of thematic coherence are marked by time stable verb form, as shown in (29a-i):

(29) a. कवनो गाँव में दू बेक्ति रहत रहे ।

kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**du**	**bekti**	**rʌɦʌt**	**rʌɦe**
kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**du**	**bekti**	**rʌɦ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
some	village	LOC	two	person	live-IMPF	live-3.PST

'There lived a couple in a village.' (11.001)

b. मरदा बहुत आसकती रहे ।

mʌrdɑ	**bʌɦut**	**ɑskʌti**	**rʌɦe**
mʌrʌd-ɑ	**bʌɦut**	**ɑskʌti**	**rʌɦ-e**
husband-SPEC	more	lazy	live-3.PST

'The husband was very lazy.' (11.002)

c. ओके कवनों कमाएके ना कहे ।

oke	**kɔno**	**kʌmɑe**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**kʌɦe**
u-e	**kɔno**	**kʌmɑ-e**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**kʌɦ-e**
3SG-DAT	any	work-PUR	OBL	NEG	say-3.PST

'Nobody used to tell him to work.' (11.003)

d. कहिओ कमाए जाए त ऊ बनिहारी जौले ओरावे ना तौले फेर कमाए ना जाए ।

kʌɦio	**kʌmɑe**	**jɑe**	**tʌ**	**u**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**jɔle**
kʌɦio	**kʌmɑ-e**	**jɑ-e**	**tʌ**	**u**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**jɔle**
some day	work-PUR	go-3.PST	COND	DIST	wages	until

oɾɑwe	**nɑ**	**tɔle**	**pʰer**	**kʌmɑe**	**nɑ**	**jɑe**
oɾɑ-we	**nɑ**	**tɔle**	**pʰer**	**kʌmɑ-e**	**nɑ**	**jɑ-e**
empty-3.PST.CAUS	NEG	till then	again	work-PUR	NEG	go-3.PST

'Whenever he earned something, he didn't go to earn again until the wages finished completely.' (11.004)

e. एक दिन ऊ कहीं से कुछ गहुँ बनिहारी में ले आइल ।

ek	**din**	**u**	**kʌɦĩ**	**se**	**kucʰ**	**gʌɦũ**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**mẽ**
ek	**din**	**u**	**kʌɦĩ**	**se**	**kucʰ**	**gʌɦũ**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**mẽ**
one	day	3SG	somewhere	ABL	some	wheat	wages	LOC

e	**ɑil**
le	**ɑ-il**
bring	come-3SG.PST

'One day he brought some wheat as his wages from somewhere.' (11.005)

f. रात में रोटी बनल ।

ɾɑt	**mẽ**	**roʈi**	**bʌnʌl**
ɾɑt	**mẽ**	**roʈi**	**bʌn-ʌl**
night	LOC	chapati	make-3SG.PST

'Chapatis were baked at night.' (11.006)

g. रोटी रहे पाँचगो ।

roʈi	**rʌɦe**	**pɑ̃cgo**
roʈi	**rʌɦ-e**	**pɑ̃c-go**
chapati	live-3.PST	five-CLF

'There were five chapatis.' (11.007)

h. अब मरद-मेहरारू में झगड़ा ठन गइल, मरद कहे ‘हम तीन गो खाएम’ आ मेहरारू कहे ‘हम तीन गो खाएम ।’

ʌb	**mʌrʌd-meɦiɾɑru**	**mẽ**	**ɟʌgʌʈɑ**	**ʈʰʌn**	**gʌil**	**mʌrʌd**
ʌb	**mʌrʌd-meɦiɾɑru**	**mẽ**	**ɟʌgʌʈɑ**	**ʈʰʌn**	**jɑ-il**	**mʌrʌd**
now	husband-wife	LOC	quarrel	thicken	go-3SG.PST	husband

kʌɦe	**ɦʌm**	**tingo**	**kʰɑem**	**ɑ**	**meɦiɾɑru**	**kʌɦe**
kʌɦ-e	**ɦʌm**	**tin-go**	**kʰɑ-em**	**ɑ**	**meɦiɾɑru**	**kʌɦ-e**
say-3.PST	1SG	three-CLF	eat-FUT.H	and	wife	say-3.PST

ɦʌm	**tingo**	**kʰɑem**

ɦʌm tin-go kʰɑ-em

1SG three-CLF eat-FUT.H

'Now the couple started quarrelling, the husband said, "I'll eat three chapatis" and the wife said "I'll eat the three."' (11.008-9)

i. बाद में सहमती भइल, 'बिहने जे पाछे उठी, तीन गो खाई' आ दुनू सुत गइलन ।

bɑd	**mẽ**	**sʌɦmʌti**	**ɓ̤ʌil**	**biɦʌne**	**je**	**pɑcʰe**
bɑd	**mẽ**	**sʌɦmʌti**	**ɓ̤ʌ-il**	**biɦʌne**	**je**	**pɑcʰe**
later	LOC	agreement	become-3SG.PST	tomorrow	COND	lately

uʈʰi	**tin**	**go**	**kʰɑi**	**ɑ**	**dunu**	**sut**
uʈʰ-i	**tin**	**go**	**kʰɑ-i**	**ɑ**	**du-nu**	**sut**
wake-3.FUT	three	CLF	eat-3SG.FUT	and	two-EMPH	sleep

gʌilʌn

jɑ-il-ʌn

go-PP-3.PST.MH

'Later they came in an agreement, "The one who wakes up later in the morning will eat the three" and both slept.' (11.010-11)

Example (29) is a few paragraphs of a Bhojpuri folk-tale. When we go through, (29a-i) seems to be the first thematic paragraph of the narrative in which clauses (29a-d) do not perform any action. The narrator uses such clauses to set up the environment for actions in the narrative, so, these are taken as setting. But conjunct ले आइल /*le ail*/ 'to bring' performs action in (29e) and continuity in action is seen in बनल /*bʌnʌl*/ 'to be made' in (29f), both in past perfective. Again, we observe (29g) does not perform action but sets the plot for further actions in the narrative, so, it is also setting. When we go through (29h), झगड़ा ठनल /*jʌgʌɽa ʈʰʌnʌl*/ 'to break quarrelling' performs action as well as in (29i) सहमती भइल /*sʌɦmʌti ɓ̤ʌil*/ 'to reach an agreement' perfroms an action and the paragrap is summed up by the verb for setting सुत गइलन /*sut gʌilʌn*/ 'slept' in (29i). The infinite clauses have discourse function of expressing steps in a natural sequential order in a procedural discourse in Bhojpuri. In such clauses, the verb is affixed exclusively by a sort of directive suffix -एके /*-eke*/. Let us consider a procedural text that presents the steps of preparing भाभरा /*ɓ̤aɓ̤ra*/ 'spicy bread' in Bhojpuri speech community.

(30) a. रहरी के भाभ निकालेके ।

rʌɦʌri ke ɓ̤aɓ̤ nikɑleke

rʌɦʌr	**ke**	**ḇaḇ**	**nikɑl-e-ke**
pigeon pea	GEN	rude flour	extract-PUR-OBL

'To obtain rude flour of citisus cajan.' (14.155)

b. नून मिलावेके।

nun	**milɑweke**
nun	**mil-ɑ-we-ke**
salt	add-CAUS-PUR-OBL

'To add salt.' (14.156)

c. चिनी मिलावेके।

cini	**milɑweke**
cini	**mil-ɑ-we-ke**
sugar	add-CAUS-PUR-OBL

'To add sugar.' (14.157)

d. गरम मसाला मिलावेके।

gʌrʌm	**mʌsɑlɑ**	**milɑweke**
gʌrʌm	**mʌsɑlɑ**	**mil-ɑ-we-ke**
hot	spice	add-CAUS-PUR-OBL

'To add hot spices.' (14.158)

e. जरूरत अनुसार पानी ध-धके निमन से सानेके।

jʌrurʌt	**ʌnusɑr**	**pɑni**	**ḏʌ**	**ḏʌke**	**nimʌn**
jʌrurʌt	**ʌnusɑr**	**pɑni**	**ḏʌr**	**ḏʌr-ke**	**nimʌn**
need	according to	water	put	put-SEQ	good

se	**sɑneke**
se	**sɑn-e-ke**
SPEC	knead-PUR-OBL

'To knead it adding water as needed.' (159)

f. ओकर लोइआ बनावेके।

okʌr	**loiɑ**	**bʌnɑweke**
u-ʌr	**loiɑ**	**bʌnɑ-we-ke**
3SG-GEN	lump	make-PUR-OBL

'To make lumps of it.' (14.160)

g. लोइआ के बेलके रोटी बनावेके।

loiɑ ke belke roʈi bʌnɑweke

loiɑ ke bel-ke roʈi bʌnɑ-we-ke

lump ACC roll-SEQ chapati make-PUR-OBL

'To make chapatis by rolling the lumps.' (14.161)

h. चुल़ी पर तावा बैठावेके ।

cuḷi pʌr tɑwɑ bʌiʈʰɑweke

cuḷi pʌr tɑwɑ bʌiʈʰ-ɑ-we-ke

oven LOC pan sit-CAUS-PUR-OBL

'To place pan on the oven.' (14.162)

i. तावा धिकला पर हलका तेल धरेके ।

tɑwɑ ḍ̤ikɭɑ pʌr ɦʌlkɑ tel ḍ̤ʌreke

tɑwɑ ḍ̤ik-ʌl-ɑ pʌr ɦʌlkɑ tel ḍ̤ʌr-e-ke

pan heat-PP-SEQ LOC slight oil put-PUR-OBL

'To pour edible oil slightly after the pain is heated.' (14.163)

j. तेल धिकला पर रोटी धरेके ।

tel ḍ̤ikɭɑ pʌr roʈi ḍ̤ʌreke

tel ḍ̤ik-lɑ pʌr roʈi ḍ̤ʌr-e-ke

oil heat-SEQ LOC chapati put-PUR-OBL

'To place a chapati on the pan following oil is heated.' (14.164)

k. मंद आँच पर उलिट-पलिटके सिंझावेके ।

mʌnd ɑ̃c pʌr uliʈ pʌliʈke sĩj̈ɑweke

mʌnd ɑ̃c pʌr uliʈ pʌliʈ-ke sĩj̈-ɑ-we-ke

low flame LOC reverse reverse-SEQ sizzle-CAUS-PUR-OBL

'To sizzle it by stirring the chapati up and down on low flame.' (14.165)

l. हलका ललहुँ रङ आ सोऩाई गमकला पर तावा पर से रोटी निकाल देवेके ।

ɦʌlkɑ lʌlʌɦũ rʌŋ ɑ soṇɑi gʌmʌkɭɑ pʌr

ɦʌlkɑ lɑl-ɦũ rʌŋ ɑ soṇɑi gʌmʌk-ʌl-ɑ pʌr

slight red-ADV colour and burning-smell smell-PP-SEQ LOC

tɑwɑ pʌr se roʈi nikɑl deweke

tɑwɑ pʌr se roʈi nikɑl de-we-ke

pan LOC ABL chapati extract give-PUR-OBL

'To take the chapati out when it looks slight reddish and smell a bit burning.' (14.166)

m. इहे राउर भाभरा ह ।

iɦe	**rɑur**	**ɓaɓrɑ**	**ɦʌ**
i-e	**rɑur**	**ɓaɓrɑ**	**ɦʌ**
PROX-EMPH	2SG.GEN.H	spicy bread	be.3SG.PRES

'This is your ɓaɓrɑ 'spicy bread'.' (14.167)

n. जएगो भाभरा बनावेके बा, उपरका प्रक्रिया के दोहरावत जाएके ।

jɛgo	**ɓaɓrɑ**	**bʌnɑweke**	**bɑ**	**upʌrkɑ**
jɛ-go	**ɓaɓrɑ**	**bʌnɑ-we-ke**	**bɑ**	**upʌr-kɑ**
as many as-CLF	spicy bread	make-PUR-OBL	be.3SG.PRES	up-DEF

prʌkriyɑ	**ke**	**doɦrɑwʌt**	**jɑeke**
prʌkriyɑ	**ke**	**doɦrɑ-wʌt**	**jɑ-e-ke**
process	ACC	repeat-SIM	go-PUR-OBL

'To repeat the process above to bake the ɓaɓrɑ 'spicy bread' as far as needed.' (14.168)

o. अब रउआ भाभरा खा सकेनी ।

ʌb	**rʌuɑ**	**ɓaɓrɑ**	**kʰɑ**	**sʌkeni**
ʌb	**rʌuɑ**	**ɓaɓrɑ**	**kʰɑ**	**sʌk-eni**
now	2SG.H	spicy bread	eat	can-PRES.H

'Now you can eat ɓaɓrɑ 'spicy bread'.' (14.169)

In (30a-m), (30a-l) express the steps to be followed in order to prepare भाभरा /*ɓaɓra*/ 'spicy bread' in Bhojpuri speech community. These steps have been presented in natural order with the clauses in infinite form of the verb. But the last clause (30m) is finite that symbolizes completion of the actions. Likewise (30n) expresses repetition of the processes above according to necessity and (30o) symbolizes readiness for utilization. In this way (30m) and (30o) are not the procedural directives but symbolization of completion of the steps.

14.7 Thematic continuity

Thematic continuity refers to the fact that discourse tends to revolve around recurring "themes", e.g., "how to make a blowgun", or "latest styles". Inference is probably the major process whereby thematic continuity is recovered (Payne, 1997:344).

Givón (1983:8) claims that the thematic continuity is the overall matrix for all other continuities in the discourse, i.e., it coincides with topic and action continuity to quite an extent within the thematic paragraph. Unlike, action and topic continuity,

thematic continuity is very difficult to specify as topics/participants may change within the discourse without necessarily changing either action or thematic continuity whereas action continuity may change without necessarily changing thematic continuity. The verb-final or clause chain suffixes code thematic continuity in SOV languages that Bhojpuri belongs to. In this section, we investigate such devices to code thematic continuity in a narrative discourse in Bhojpuri, as shown in (31a-s).

(31) a. कवनो गाँव में एगो बुढ़िआ रहली ।

kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ego**	**buɽ̊ɪɑ**	**rʌɦli**
kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**buɽ̊-ɪɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
some	village	LOC	one-CLF	old-F-SPEC	live-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH

'There was an old woman in a village.' (05.001)

b. ऊ सुभाव से तनिका खुसराह रहली ।

u	**subɑo**	**se**	**tʌnikɑ**	**kʰusrɑɦ**	**rʌɦli**
u	**subɑo**	**se**	**tʌnikɑ**	**kʰusrɑɦ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**
3SG	nature	means	little	wicked	live-PP-3SG.PST.F.MH

'She was wicked by nature.' (05.002)

c. चवर में ओकर खेत रहे ।

cʌwʌr	**mẽ**	**okʌr**	**kʰet**	**rʌɦe**
cʌwʌr	**mẽ**	**u-ʌr**	**kʰet**	**rʌɦ-e**
cultivated stretch	LOC	3SG-GEN	farm	live-3.PST

'There was her farm in a cultivated stretch.' (05.003)

d. खेत में एगो पिट्ठी के गाछ रहे ।

kʰet	**mẽ**	**ego**	**piʈʈʰi**	**ke**	**gɑcʰ**	**rʌɦe**
kʰet	**mẽ**	**ek-go**	**piʈʈʰi**	**ke**	**gɑcʰ**	**rʌɦ-e**
farm	LOC	one-CLF	cake	GEN	tree	live-3.PST

'There was a cake-tree in the farm.' (05.004)

e. पिट्ठी खुब फरल रहे ।

piʈʈʰi	**kʰub**	**pʰʌrʌl**	**rʌɦe**
piʈʈʰi	**kʰub**	**pʰʌr-ʌl**	**rʌɦ-e**
cake	highly	bear fruits-PP	live-3.PST

'The cake-tree was laddened with fruits.' (05.005)

f. सुनहटा में लइकन खुब पिट्ठी तोड़के खात रहलन ।

sunɦʌʈɑ	**mẽ**	**lʌikʌn**	**kʰub**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽke**	**kʰɑt**
sunɦʌʈɑ	**mẽ**	**lʌikʌn**	**kʰub**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽ-ke**	**kʰɑ-ʌt**
solitude	LOC	children	highly	cake	pluck-SEQ	eat-IMPF

rʌɦilʌn

rʌɦ-ʌl-ʌn

live-PP-3.PST.MH

'The children used to pluck and eat the cakes in abundance in solitude.' (05.006)

g. एक दिन बुढ़िआ खेत देखे गइली ।

ek	**din**	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**kʰet**	**dekʰe**	**gʌili**
ek	**din**	**buɽ̊-i-ɑ**	**kʰet**	**dekʰ-e**	**jɑ-il-i**
one	day	old-F-SPEC	farm	see -PUR	go-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'One day, the old woman went to see her farm.' (05.007)

h. ओही बेरा एगो लइका गाछ पर चढ़के पिट्ठी तोड़के खात रहे ।

oɦi	**berɑ**	**ego**	**lʌikɑ**	**gɑcʰ**	**pʌr**	**cʌɽ̊ke**	**piʈʈʰi**
oɦ-i	**berɑ**	**ek-go**	**lʌikɑ**	**gɑcʰ**	**pʌr**	**cʌɽ̊-ke**	**piʈʈʰi**
DIST-EMPH	time	one-CLF	boy	tree	LOC	climb-SEQ	cake

toɽke	**kʰɑt**	**rʌɦe**
toɽ-ke	**kʰɑ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
pluck-SEQ	eat-IMPF	live-3.PST

'At the same time a boy had been on the tree PLucking and eating cakes.' (05.008)

i. बुढ़िओ के पिट्ठी खाएके मन कइलक ।

buɽ̊io	**ke**	**piʈʈʰi**	**kʰɑe**	**ke**	**mʌn**	**kʌilʌk**
buɽ̊-i-o	**ke**	**piʈʈʰi**	**kʰɑ-e**	**ke**	**mʌn**	**kʌr-il-ʌkʰ**
old-F-EMPH	GEN	cake	eat-PUR	GEN	mind	do-PP-3.PST

'The old woman also wanted to eat cakes.' (05.009)

j. ऊ ओह लइका के कहली, ‘ए बबुआ, एगो पिट्ठी तोड़ दे, हमहुँ खाईं ।’

u	**oɦ**	**lʌikɑ**	**ke**	**kʌɦili**	**e**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ego**
u	**oɦ**	**lʌikɑ**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**e**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ek-go**
3SG	DIST	boy	DAT	say-PP-3.PST.F.MH	ADD	boy	one-CLF

piʈʈʰi	**toɽ**	**de**	**ɦʌmɦũ**	**kʰɑĩ**
piʈʈʰi	**toɽ**	**de**	**ɦʌm-ɦũ**	**kʰɑ-ĩ**
cake	pluck	give.IMP	1SG-EMPH	eat-HORT

'She said to the boy, "O my child, pick up a cake and let me eat."' (05.010)

k. लइका एगो पिट्ठी तोड़के बुढ़िआ के कहलक, ‘गे बुढ़िआ दाई, पिठिआ भुइआँ में गिरा दीँ ?’

lʌikɑ	**ego**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽke**	**buɽ̊ia**	**ke**	**kʌɦilʌk**
lʌikɑ	**ek-go**	**piʈʈʰi**	**toɽ-ke**	**buɽ̊ia**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
boy	one-CLF	cake	pluck-SEQ	old-F-DEF	DAT	say-PP-3.PST

ge	**buɽ̊ia**	**dai**	**piʈʈʰia**	**ḛuiã**	**mẽ**	**girɑ**
ge	**buɽ̊ia**	**dai**	**piʈʈʰi-ɑ**	**ḛuiã**	**mẽ**	**gir-ɑ**
VOC.F	old-F-DEF	grandma	cake-DEF	ground	LOC	fall-CAUS

dĩ

de-ĩ

give-HORT

'The boy plucked a cake and said to the old woman, "O my Grandma, can I let the cake fall on the ground?"' (05.011)

l. बुढ़िआ कहली, ‘ना रे बबुआ, भुइआँइन हो जाई ।’

buɽ̊ia	**kʌɦili**	**nɑ**	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ḛuiãin**	**ɦo**
buɽ̊-i-ɑ	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**nɑ**	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**	**ḛuiã-in**	**ɦo**
old-F-DEF	say-PP-3.PST.F.MH	NEG	VOC	boy	ground-ADJ	be

jɑi

jɑ-i

go-3.FUT

'The old woman said, "No! My child, it will be contaminated with ground."' (05.012)

m. लइका कहलक, ‘त खोइँछा रोक ना, ओही में गिरा देतानी ।’

lʌikɑ	**kʌɦilʌk**	**tʌ**	**kʰoĩcʰɑ**	**rok**	**nɑ**
lʌikɑ	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**tʌ**	**kʰoĩcʰɑ**	**rok**	**nɑ**
boy	say-PP-3.PST	COND	front end of the sari	stretch	EMPH

oɦi	**mẽ**	**girɑ**	**detɑni**	
oɦ-i	**mẽ**	**gir-ɑ**	**de-ʌt**	**bɑni**
DIST-EMPH	LOC	fall-CAUS	give-IMPH	be.PRES.H

'The boy said, "Flatten your front end of the sari then, I'll let it fall in."' (05.013)

n. बुढ़िआ कहली, ‘ना रे बबुआ, खोइँछाइन हो जाई ।’

buɽ̊ia	**kʌɦili**	**nɑ**	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**
buɽ̊ia	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**nɑ**	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**
old woman	say-PP-3.PST.F.MH	NEG	VOC	boy

kʰoĩcʰain	**ɦo**	**jai**	
kʰoĩcʰa-in	**ɦo**	**ja-i**	
front end of the sari-ADJ	be	go-3.FUT	

'The old woman said, "No! My child, it will be contaminated with the anchal."' (05.014)

o. तब लइका कहलक, 'अच्छा त मुह बाओ ना, मुहे में गिरा देतानी ।'

tʌb	**lʌika**	**kʌɦilʌk**	**ʌccʰa**	**tʌ**	**muɦ**	**baɑo**	**nɑ**
tʌb	**lʌika**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ʌccʰa**	**tʌ**	**muɦ**	**ba-o**	**nɑ**
then	boy	say-PP-3.PST	OK	COND	mouth	open-IMP	EMPH

muɦe	**mẽ**	**giraɑ**	**detani**	
muɦ-e	**mẽ**	**gir-ɑ**	**de-ʌt**	**bɑni**
mouth-EMPH	LOC	fall-CAUS	give-IMPH	be.PRES.H

'Then the boy said, "OK! Then open your mouth, I'll let it fall in."' (05.015)

p. तब बुढ़िआ कहली, 'ना रे बबुआ, मुहाइन हो जाई ।'

tʌb	**buɽ̊ia**	**kʌɦili**	**nɑ**	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**	**muɦain**
tʌb	**buɽ̊ia**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**nɑ**	**re**	**bʌbuɑ**	**muɦ-ain**
then	old-F-DEF	say-PP-3.PST.F.MH	NEG	VOC	boy	mouth-ADJ

ɦo	**jai**
ɦo	**ja-i**
be	go-3.FUT

'But the old woman said, "No! My child, it will be contaminated in the mouth."' (05.016)

q. हारके लइका पुछलक, 'तब केङवे करीं ?'

ɦarke	**lʌika**	**pucʰlʌk**	**tʌb**	**ke**	**ŋʌwe**	**kʌrĩ**
ɦar-ke	**lʌika**	**pucʰ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**tʌb**	**ke**	**ŋʌwe**	**kʌr-ĩ**
defeat-SEQ	boy	ask-PP-3.PST	then	what	method	do-HORT

'Lastly, the boy asked, "What should I do then?"' (05.017)

r. बुढ़िआ कहली, 'लभकके दे चभकके ध लेम ।'

buɽ̊ia	**kʌɦili**	**lʌb̤ʌkke**	**de**	**cʌb̤ʌkke**	**d̤ʌ**
buɽ̊ia	**kʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**lʌb̤-ke**	**de**	**cʌb̤ʌk-ke**	**d̤ʌr**
old-F-DEF	say-PP-3.PST.F.MH	bow-SEQ	give	grab-SEQ	put

lem

le-ɦem

take-3.FUT.H

'The old woman said, "Bow and stretch your hand, I'll also stretch myself and grab it."' (05.018)

s. लइका जइसही पिट्ठी देवे तनिका नीचा उतरके लभल, बुढ़िआ ओके पकड़के धोकरी में कस लेली आ घरे चल देली।

lʌikɑ	**jʌisʌɦi**	**piʈʈʰi**	**dewe**	**tʌnikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**utʌrke**
lʌikɑ	**jʌise-ɦi**	**piʈʈʰi**	**de-we**	**tʌnikɑ**	**nicɑ**	**utʌr-ke**
boy	as fast as-EMPH	cake	give-PUR	little	down	descend-SEQ

lʌb̤ʌl	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**oke**	**pʌkʌɽke**	**d̤okʌri**	**mẽ**
lʌb̤-ʌl	**buɽ̊iɑ**	**u-e**	**pʌkʌɽ-ke**	**d̤okʌri**	**mẽ**
bow-3SG.PST	old woman	3SG-ACC	grab-SEQ	bag	LOC

kʌs	**leli**	**ɑ**	**g̈ʌre**	**cʌl**
kʌs	**le-ʌl-i**	**ɑ**	**g̈ʌr-e**	**cʌl**
place and tighten	take-PP-3.PST.F.MH	and	house-LOC	walk

deli

de-ʌl-i

give-PP-3.PST.F.MH

'As the boy climbed down a little and bowed to give her the cake, the old woman pulled him down, tightened him in a bag and went home.' (05.019)

The examples (31a-s) are a few paragraphs of a Bhojpuri folk-tale, expressing thematic continuity. All matrix clauses have the verbs in past perfective. Besides, the sequential converb तोड़के /*toɽke*/ 'having plucked' in (31f), (31h) and (31k), चढ़के /*cʌɽ̊ke*/ 'having ascended' in (31h), लभकके /*lʌb̤ʌkke*/ 'having bowed' and चभकके /*cʌb̤ʌkke*/ 'having grabbed' in (31r) and उतरके /*utʌrke*/ 'having descended' and पकड़के /*pʌkʌɽke*/ 'having grabbed' in (31s) have discourse function of coding the thematic continuity in Bhojpuri although such sequential participials also mark action continuity in Bhojpuri discourse.

Moreover, sequential participials in the matrix clauses with finite verbs in present habitual also mark thematic continuity as well as action continuity in Bhojpuri.

(32) a. बैशाख-जेठ के तपत घाम में पीठ जराके,

bʌisɑkʰ	**jeʈʰ**	**ke**	**tʌpʌt**	**g̈ɑm**	**mẽ**	**piʈʰ**	**jʌrɑke**

bʌisakʰ jeʈʰ ke tʌpʌt ɡ̈am mẽ piʈʰ jʌra-ke

April-May May-June GEN hot sun LOC back burn-SEQ

'Having burned back in scorching sun of April-May,' (14.170)

b. आषाढ़-सावन के कादो-पानी में गोड़ सड़ाके,

asaʈ̊ sawʌn ke kado-pani mẽ goʈ sʌʈake

asaʈ̊ sawʌn ke kado-pani mẽ goʈ sʌʈ-a-ke

June-July July-August GEN mud & water LOC foot rot-PASS-SEQ

'having decayed feet in mud and water in June-July,' (14.171)

c. आ भादो-आसिन में भुखे सहिआके

a b̤ado asin mẽ b̤ukʰe sʌɦiake

a b̤ado asin mẽ b̤ukʰ-e sʌɦia-ke

and Aug-Sept Sept-Oct LOC hunger-INS starve-SEQ

'and having starved long in August-October,' (14.172)

d. कात्तिक-अगहन में किसान धान घरे ले आवेला ।

kattik ʌgʌɦʌn mẽ kisan d̤an ɡ̈ʌre le

kattik ʌgʌɦʌn mẽ kisan d̤an ɡ̈ʌr-e le

Oct-Nov Nov-Dec LOC peasant paddy house-LOC bring

awela

a-wela

come-3SG.PRES

'the peasants and farmers bring paddy at home.' (14.173)

In each clause in (32a-c) the sequential verbs with suffix -के /-*ke*/ along with the matrix clause in (32d) code thematic continuity in Bhojpuri.

The present habitual passive clauses in procedural chaning, as presented in (33a-e), also code thematic continuity in Bhojpuri.

(33) a. पहिले खेत जोताला ।

pʌɦile kʰet jotala

pʌɦil-e kʰet jot-a-ila

first-SPEC farm plough-PASS-3SG.PRES

'First, the farm is ploughed.' (14.174)

b. तब हेङावल जाला ।

tʌb ɦeŋawʌl jala

tʌb ɦeŋa-wʌl ja-la

then harrow-INF go-3SG.PRES

'Then, it is harrowed.' (14.175)

c. बेर बेर जोतल हेङावल जाला ।

ber ber jotʌl ɦeŋawʌl jala

ber ber jot-ʌl ɦeŋa-wʌl ja-la

time time plough-INF harrow-INF go-3SG.PRES

'It is ploughed and harrowed time and again.' (14.176)

d. तब बिआ गिरावल जाला ।

tʌb bia girawʌl jala

tʌb bia gir-a-wʌl ja-la

then seed fall-CAUS-INF go-3SG.PRES

'Then, the seeds are sown.' (14.177)

e. कुछ दिन में बिआ जामेला ।

kuchʰ din mẽ bia jamela

kuchʰ din mẽ bia jam-ela

some day LOC seed germinate-3SG.PRES

'The seeds are germinated in a few days.' (14.178)

f. तब कुछ दिन बढ़ेला ।

tʌb kuchʰ din bʌɽ̊ela

tʌb kuchʰ din bʌɽ̊-ela

then some day grow-3SG.PRES

'Then, seedlings grow up for some days.' (14.179)

g. तब उखाड़के दोसर खेत में रोपाला ।

tʌb ukʰaɽke dosʌr kʰet mẽ ropala

tʌb ukʰaɽ-ke dosʌr kʰet mẽ rop-a-ila

then uproot-SEQ another farm LOC plant-PASS-3SG.PRES

'Then they are uprooted from nursery and planted in other farms.' (14.180)

14.8 Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed the major devices of referential coherence in Bhojpuri. The grammar of pronouns and grammatical agreement are the morphological devices to encode referential coherence. Independent personal pronouns are used as arguments in a clause whereas pronominal affixes are attached

to the verbal complex. Personal pronouns show three persons, two numbers, and three degrees of honorificity distinction.

The gender of the bound pronouns is incorporated into verbal morphology as agreement affixes, also incorporating number and honorificity of the bound pronouns. The third person pronouns also show proximal and distal distinction. Bhojpuri pronouns include demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite which play a vital role in referential coherence. The topic coding devices found in Bhojpuri discourse are zero anaphora, unstressed anaphoric pronouns, stressed independent pronouns, R-dislocation, neutral word order and L-dislocation, zero anaphors vs. R-dislocated definite full-NPs, R-dislocated DEF-NPs, Y-moved NPs, cleft/focus constructions and referential indefinite NPs.

Bhojpuri exploits some discourse-pragmatic strategies to mark the definiteness of the referents. Bhojpuri does not possess the English like set of definite and indefinite articles. However, indefinite pronominal adjective कौनो /*kɔno*/ 'any/some' and the numeral with classifier एगो /*ek-go*/ 'one-CLF' function as indefinite reference marker in Bhojpuri. Definiteness, in contrast, is marked by the demonstrative pronouns. Bhojpuri also employs contextual definiteness.

In the domain of action continuity tense/aspect markers and participial clauses are used as morphosyntactic devices in Bhojpuri. The narrative and procedural discourse show the sequentiality of events. The thematic continuity is coded by sequential participial clauses in Bhojpuri.

CHAPTER 15
TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

15.0 Outline

The main goal of this chapter is to explore the typological implications of the study. A natural language in general is structured according to different patterns at the level of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, revealing a number of structural features (Finegan, 1989:224). No matter how different structural features a particular language exhibits, the basic principles known as language universals that regulate the structure of a language, underscore the unity underlying the diversity across the languages of the world. In order to explore such typological implications of the study, in this chapter, we first make an attempt to compare the structural features in the Bhojpuri language to the common characteristic features of the New Indo-Aryan languages proposed mainly in Masica (1976[2005]), Masica (1991), Zograph (1982), Abbi (2001) and Cardona and Jain (2003) then we highlight some striking features of the language.

This chapter consists of two sections. Section 15.1 presents phonological implications and section 15.2 discusses morphosyntactic implications.

15.1 Phonological implications

In this section we try to compare the structural features of Bhojpuri with the common Indo-Aryan features in the domains of phonology. Bhojpuri shares a number of phonological feature characteristics to the Indo-Aryan languages in general, however, exhibits some phonological features that cut across the language family. Such features have been referred to as the South Asian features rather than Indian areal features in this study (cf. Masica 1976 and Abbi 2001). As far as possible, we explore the language universals which underscore the unity.

15.1.1 Consonants

(a) Stop positions

"There are five basic tongue positions for Indo-Aryan stops as have also been noted in Sanskrit: labial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar: प /*p*/, त /*t*/, ट /*ʈ*/, च /*c*/ and क /*k*/" (Masica, 1991:94). Bhojpuri attests bilabial, dental and velar stops as Masica (1991:94) displays but it has apico-alveolar stops in place of retroflex ones and alveo-palatal affricates in place of palatal stops. It can be regarded as functional adaptation as we observe its close neighbours in a greater extent, already discussed in Chapter 3.1.

Besides these, as Maithili (Jha, 1993:93 & Yadav, 1996:21), Awadhi (Saksena 1971:29) and Hindi (Koul, 2008:12) retain retroflex stops but Nepali (Adhikari, 2016:10) records post-alveolar, Darai (Dhakal, 2011:51) and Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal, 2013:61) record them as alveolar and Rājbansi (Wilde, 2008:24) as apico-retroflex. Diachronically, the Sanskrit retroflex stops have been adapted to apico-alveolar in Bhojpuri being typologically nearer to Chitoniya Tharu and Darai, Nepali, and Rājbansi respectively and attests functional-typoligical as well as adaptive approach to grammar.

(b) Nasals

Corresponding to the five oral stops in Sanskrit, the basic nasal articulations were also counted to be five by the ancient Indian phoneticians: म /*m*/, न /*n*/, ण /*ɳ*/, ञ /*ɲ*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/ (Masica 1991:95). But Bhojpuri has already dropped ण /*ɳ*/ and ञ /*ɲ*/ and now they have become allophones of न /*n*/ as its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu, Maithili, Awadhi and Nepali do, already mentioned in Chapter 4.1.1. Among them, the former two occur in all three initial, medial and final positions of a word and the last one only occurs at medial and final position in all its neighbours but Bhojpuri displays its word-initial position, already discussed. Moreover, Bhojpuri exhibits म़ /*m̥*/, ऩ /*n̥*/ and ङ़ /*ŋ̊*/ as the aspirate sonorant counterparts, phonetically breathy in inter-vocalic as well as voiceless in word-final position, in opposition to म /*m*/, न /*n*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/ respectively. But Rājbanshi (Wilde, 2008:24) and Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal, 2013:61) record them as the aspirated nasals whereas Awadhi (Saksena, 1971:44) records only म्ह /*mɦ*/ and न्ह /*nɦ*/. It attests basic Bhojpuri nasals to be nearer to Chitoniya Tharu, Maithili, Rājbansi, Awadhi, Hindi and Nepali respectively functionally and typologically but their aspirate sonorant counterparts are its own inventory that attests adaptive approach to grammar in Bhojpuri.

(c) Laterals and flaps

All NIA dialects have a lateral ल /*l*/ and a flap र /*r*/ (Masica 1991:97) and so Bhojpuri does have. Besides, Bhojpuri exhibits their aspirate sonorant counterparts, ल़ /*l̥*/ and ऱ /*r̥*/ respectively, whereas Awadhi (Saksena, 1971:48-9), Rājbanshi (Wilde, 2008:24) and Chitoniya Tharu (Paudyal, 2013:61) exhibit them as aspirated ones. Likewise, Bhojpuri has also the retroflex flap ड़ /*ɽ*/ in opposition to flap र /*r*/, and its aspirate sonorant counterpart ढ़ /*ɽ̊*/. Though Hindi, Nepali, Maithili and Awadhi, the close Indo-Aryan neighbours of Bhojpuri, have allophonic pairs of ड /*ɖ*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/, ढ

/ɖ̈/ and ढ़ /ɽ̊ʱ/; they are only phonemic in Bhojpuri. So, Bhojpuri is functionally and typologically nearer to its close neighbours but the presence of phonemic retroflex flap is its own inventory along with the aspirate sonorant counterparts of all the three. It attests the functional and typoligical closeness of Bhojpuri with its neighbours with its own adaptive character in developing devoicing sonority.

(d) Fricatives

The Indo-Aryan languages traditionally count three sibilants श /ʃ/, ष /ʂ/ and स /s/ along with a glottal ह /ɦ/ as fricatives (Masica 1991:99). In practice, the retroflex fricative ष /ʂ/ has already been dropped except in Sanskrit and the palatal fricative श /ʃ/ has also been dropped in so many languages including Bhojpuri, Nepali, Maithili and Awadhi but Hindi (Koul 2008:17) retains श /ʃ/ as the same and ष /ʂ/ as glottal counterpart of ख /kʰ/. So, Bhojpuri has a single sibilant fricative alveolar स /s/ and other two are its allophones. However, the glottal fricative ह /ɦ/ has been retained in Bhojpuri along with its close neighbours. It attests its functional adaptive character and groups it typologically with Chitoniya Tharu, Maithili, Awadhi and Nepali.

(e) Semivowels

The semivowels य /y/ and व /w/ are a somewhat shaky part of the NIA inventory (Masica, 1991:99). Grierson (1903a:6) denotes, "Eastern languages cannot tolerate an initial य /y/ or व /w/". Thus, in a number of languages including Bhojpuri, their occurrence is practically restricted to semi-predictable intervocalic glides. It is attested to a greater extent in NIA group the OIA word-initial य /y/ in relative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs turns to be ज /j/ in NIA including Bhojpuri, already discussed in Chapter 13.4. Similarly OIA word-initial व /w/ turns to ब /b/ or ओ /o/ in NIA including Bhojpuri. But Bhojpuri has also tolerance of their word-initial presence, especially for tatsama and other borrowings.

(f) Voicing

All the NIA languages except Tamil have a voicing opposition in the basic stop series ब /b/, द /d/, ड /ɖ/, ज /j/ and ग /g/ vs. प /p/, त /t/, ट /ʈ/, च /c/ and क /k/ (Masica, 1991:100) and so does Bhojpuri.

(g) Aspiration

Normally, all IA languages including Sanskrit have an aspirated series of both voiceless and voiced stops, exhibiting a four-way contrast between प /p/, फ /pʰ/, ब /b/ and भ /bʰ/ at all five basic points of articulation (Masica, 1991:101). Bhojpuri also

exhibits the minimal pairs of non-aspirated and aspirated counterparts in all environments but it shows the breathy counterparts भ /b̤/, ध /d̤/, ढ /ɖ̤/, झ /j̈/ and घ /g̈/ of ब /b/, द /d/, ड /ɖ/, ज /j/, and ग /g/. Thus, Bhojpuri has an inventory of 36 consonants.

15.1.2 Vowels

The Indo-Aryan languages have three categories of vowels: monophthongs, diphthongs and nasal vowels. Bhojpuri does have the three categories and an extra one, i.e., thriphthongs, presented as follows:

a) Oral monophthongs

The NIA languages in South Asia have a minimal six-vowel system of two types: Oriya type with parallel front and back vowels इ /i/, ए /e/, आ /a/; उ /u/, ओ /o/, औ /ɔ/ and Nepali/Marathi type with a height contrast in the central vowels इ /i/, ए /e/; आ /a/, अ /ə/; ओ /o/, उ /u/ (Masica, 1991:109). Pokharel (2000) gets अ /ʌ/ instead of अ /ə/ and so happens in Bhojpuri with two more additional lower-mid front and back vowels ऐ /ɛ/ and औ /ɔ/. Thus, Bhojpuri follows Nepali type of vowels with addition of the two as इ /i/, ए /e/; ऐ /ɛ/, आ /a/; अ /ʌ/, औ /ɔ/; ओ /o/, उ /u/ as they are found in Maithili (Jha, 1991:108), whereas Hindi has two more long vowels ई /ī/ and ऊ /ū/ (Koul, 2008:12-3) as Awadhi does have (Saksena, 1937:57-8). In this way Bhojpuri has 8 monophthongs, typologically more nearer to Nepali type with adaptive inventory, too.

b) Nasal monophthongs

Oral-nasal contrast in the monophthongs is the NIA characteristics. Bhojpuri has also the equal number of nasal monophthongs as it does have the oral ones, already discussed in Chapter 3.

c) Diphthongs

Diphthongs, in terms of combinations of two vowel sounds within one syllable, are not the essential part of the NIA languages in general, though Masica (1991:116) quotes Ferguson and Chowdhury (1960) as recognizing some diphthongs in Bengali. Bhojpuri does have some diphthongs already discussed in Chapter 3. Besides, Bhojpuri exhibits some triphthongs, too.

15.1.3 Syllabicity

Historical phonology of the Indo-Aryan exhibits a number of changes to have occurred to be present as the syllabicity of the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages. They can be noted as follows:

a) Schwa deletion

The word-final schwa -अ /-ʌ/ is deleted in many of the NIA languages. Bhojpuri has an obligatory schwa deletion. But Bhojpuri does have schwa deletion in word medial also, as in हमरा /*ɦʌmra*/ 'mine/to me', गमला /*gʌmla*/ 'vase', as some of its close neighbours Maithili (Yadav 1996:52), Hindi (2008:30) and Nepali (Adhikari 2016:19) do to a greater extent.

b) Reduction of gemination

In case of consonant gemination in MIA, many of the NIA languages including Bhojpuri reduce such gemination into a single consonant along with final schwa deletion and lengthening of the vowel preceding such consonant, as shown in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1 Reduction of gemination

MIA	Hindi	Awadhi	Nepali	Maithili	Bhojpuri	Gloss
सत्त /*sʌttʌ*/	सात /*sat*/	सात /*sat*/	सात /*sat*/	सात /*sat*/	सात /*sat*/	'seven'
भत्त /*b̤ʌttʌ*/	भात /*b̤at*/	भात /*b̤at*/	भात /*b̤at*/	भात /*b̤at*/	भात /*b̤at*/	'boiled rice'
दूद्ध /*dudd̤ʌ*/	दूध /*dūd̤*/	दूध /*dūd̤*/	दूध /*dud̤*/	दूध /*dud̤*/	दूध /*dud̤*/	'milk'
अट्ठ /*ʌʈʈʰʌ*/	आठ /*aʈʰ*/	आठ /*aʈʰ*/	आठ /*aʈʰ*/	आठ /*aʈʰ*/	आठ /*aʈʰ*/	'eight'

The process is sometimes accompanied by spontaneous (and regionally random) nasalization of the vowel. But Bhojpuri has a different character of retention of the vowel as usual and the nasalization to compensate gemination, as shown in Table 15.2.

Table 15.2 Nasalization of the vowel or replacing the consonant with nasal

MIA	Hindi	Awadhi	Nepali	Maithili	Bhojpuri	Gloss
अक्खी /*ʌkkʰi*/	आँख /*ãkʰ*/	आँख /*ãkʰ*/	आँखा /*ãkʰa*/	आँखि /*ãĩkʰ*/	आँख /*ãkʰ*/	'eye'
सप्प /*sʌppʌ*/	साँप /*sãp*/	साँप /*sãp*/	साँप /*sãp*/	साँप /*sãp*/	साँप /*sãp*/	'snake'
मूग्ग /*muggʌ*/	मूँग /*mũ̃g*/	मूँग /*mũ̃g*/	मूँग /*mũg*/	मूँग /*mũg*/	मुङ /*muŋ*/	'bean'

Table 15.2 shows that the final इ /*i*/ has shifted before the word-final consonant in Maithili as आँखि /*ãĩkʰ*/ and with deletion of the final अ /*ʌ*/, the word final ग /*g*/ has been changed into its nasal counterpart ङ /*ŋ*/ as in मुङ /*muŋ*/ whereas Nepali develops a new final vowel आ /*a*/ following nasalization as in आँखा /*ãkʰa*/.

c) Loss of nasal

In the case of the MIA-VNC-sequences, the vowel is lengthened and nasalized and the nasal is dropped in many NIA languages including Bhojpuri, as shown in Table 15.3.

Table 15.3 Loss of nasal

MIA	Hindi	Awadhi	Nepali	Maithili	Bhojpuri	Gloss
कंप /*kʌmpʌ*/	काँप /*kãp*	काँप /*kãp*	काम /*kam*/	काँप /*kãp*	काँप /*kãp*	'tremble'
बंध /*bʌnd̤ʌ*/	बाँध /*bãd̤*/	बाँध /*bãd̤*/	बाँध /*bãd̤*/	बाऩ /*baṇ*/	बाऩ /*baṇ*/	'bond/dam'
संझा /*sʌnjʌ*/	साँझ /*sãj*/	साँझ /*sãj*/	साँझ /*sãj*/	साँझ /*sãj*/	साँझ /*sãj*/	'twilight'

Table 15.3 shows that Maithili and Bhojpuri go beyond the generalization as they only change the nasal into its devoicing sonorant counterpart in compensation of the final vowel as in बाऩ /*baṇ*/. Moreover, Nepali lengthens the vowel and limits the word only upto the nasal as usual as in काम /*kam*/.

d) Clusters

Unlike its close neighbours Hindi, Nepali and even Maithili, consonant clusters in Bhojpuri are very limited both in type and position of occurrence (Verma, 2003:570). In this section, we have already seen reduction of gemination in Bhojpuri of the tatsama but production of gemination is also a typical character of Bhojpuri showing a penchant for geminates word-medially and tending to retain them in inherited forms where Hindi prefers simplification with compensatory lengthening (Verma 2003:571), such as Bhojpuri उज्जर /*ujjʌr*/, Hindi उजला /*ujʌla*/, Sanskrit उज्ज्वलऽ /*ujjvʌlʌ*/ 'white/bright'; Bhojpuri पित्तर /*pittʌr*/, Hindi पीतल /*pītʌl*/, Prakrit पित्तलऽ /*pittʌlʌ*/ 'brass'; Bhojpuri बज्जर /*bʌjjʌr*/, Hindi बज्र /*bʌjrʌ*/, Prakrit वज्जऽ /*vʌjjʌ*/, Sanskrit वज्र /*vajrʌ*/ 'thunderbolt'. Bhojpuri also has some medial nasal geminates as its own development such as सुन्नर /*sunnʌr*/ 'beautiful', सुन्ना /*sunna*/ 'zero', गुम्मा /*gumma*/ 'a winter grass plant'. Besides these, the aspirated stops in word-medial position adjacent to a nasalized vowels turn into devoicing nasal sonorants in Bhojpuri, such as Hindi अँधेरा /*ãd̤era*/, Nepali अँध्यारो /*ãd̤yaro*/, Bhojpuri अऩार /*ʌṇar*/ 'darkness'; Sanskrit स्कंभ /*skʌmb̤ʌ*/, Hindi खंभा /*kʰʌmb̤a*/, Bhojpuri खाम़ा /*kʰaṃa*/ 'pillar'; Sanskrit स्कंध /*skʌnd̤ʌ*/, Hindi कंधा /*kʌnd̤a*/, Nepali काँध /*kãd̤*/, Bhojpuri काऩ /*kaṇ*/ 'shoulder'.

e) Syllable canon

The canonical shape of the Bhojpuri syllable can be represented as CVCC (Verma 2003:570; Shukla 1981:33). Hindi bears CCVCC as the canonical syllable structure (Koul 2008:24). Awadhi syllables as canon are identical with the Devanagari akshara either with its inherent vowel or the other vowels following it as a diacritic (Saksena, 1937:86). The Bhojpuri syllable structure has already been discussed in Chapter 4.

Typological implications in terms of phonology have been presented in Table 15.4 in comparision to NIA languages and Bihari group.

Table15. 4: Phonological features of the NIA languages and Bhojpuri[1]

	Phonological features	NIA	Bihari	Bhojpuri
1.	Stops	+	+	+
	Labial	+	+	+
	Dental	+	+	+
	Apico-alveolar	–	+	+
	Retroflex	+	+	–
	Palatal	+	+	–
	Velar	+	+	+
2.	Nasals	+	+	+
	Labial	+	+	+
	Dental	+	–	–
	Alveolar	–	+	+
	Retroflex	+	–	–
	Palatal	+	–	–
	Velar	+	+	+
3.	fricatives	+	+	+
	Alveolar	+	+	+
	Palatal	+	–	–
	Retroflex	+	–	–
	Glottal	+	+	+
4.	Affricates	+	+	+
	Palatal	+	+	–
	Palato-alveolar	–	+	+
5.	Laterals and flaps	+	+	+
	Alveolar	+	+	+
	Retroflex laterals	+	–	–
	Retroflex flaps	+	+	+
6.	Glides	+	+	+

1. The table has been prepared on the basis of Grierson (1883:19-24), Masica (1991:86-132) and Chapter 4 of this study.

7.	Aspiration	+	+	+
8.	Voicing	+	+	+
9.	Breathy contrasts	+	+	+
10.	Sonorant contrasts	+	+	+
	Breathy	+	+	–
	Devoicing	–	+	+
11.	Vowel system	5	8	8
	Nasalized vowels	+	+	+
	Diphthongs	+	+	+
	Triphthongs	–	+	+

Similarly, Table 15.5 exhibits phonological comparision of Bhojpuri between its close neighbours Chitoniya Tharu, Maithili, Awadhi, Darai, Hindi, Nepali and Rājbanshi.

Table15. 5: Phonological features of Bhojpuri and its close neighbours

	Phonological features	Bhojpuri	Chotoniya Tharu	Maithili	Awadhi	Darai	Hindi	Nepali	Rājbanshi
1.	Stops	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
	Labial	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Dental	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	4
	Apico-dental	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–
	Apico-alveolar	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Alveolar	–	4	–	–	4	–	–	–
	Post-alveolar	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–
	Apico-retroflex	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
	Retroflex	–	–	4	4	–	4	–	–
	Velar	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
2.	Nasals	6	6	3	7	3	4	3	6
	Labial	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2
	Dental	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	2
	Apico-dental	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
	Alveolar	2	2	1	1	1	1	–	–

	Retroflex	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–
	Palatal	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
	Velar	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2
3.	fricatives	2	2	2	2	2	6	2	2
	Labio-dental	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
	Dental	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
	Alveolar	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	–
	Velar	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
	Glottal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4.	Affricates	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Dental	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
	Palatal	–	–	–	4	–	4	–	–
	Palato-alveolar	4	–	4	–	–	–	–	–
	Alveolar	–	4	–	–	4	–	4	–
5.	Laterals and flaps/trills	6	4	2	–	2	4	2	4
	Dental laterals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
	Dental flaps/trills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
	Alveolar laterals	2	2	1	6	1	1	1	–
	Alveolar flaps/trills	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	–
	Palatal laterals	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
	Retroflex flaps	2	–	1	2	–	2	–	–
6.	Glides	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
7.	Aspiration	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8.	Voicing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9.	Breathy contrasts	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10.	Sonorant contrasts	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Breathy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Devoicing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11.	Vowel system	8	6	8	11	6	10	6	6
	Nasalized vowels	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Diphthongs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Triphthongs	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Going through Table 15.4 and Table 15.5 we observe that Bhojpuri maintains the major NIA features in general and has acquired a few unique features yet to be explored in other NIA languages. In terms of the phonological inverntories, Bhojpuri has the same number of the stops, affricates and glides as its close neighbours do have. But other consonants and vowels do not match with its neighbours. Moreover, devoicing sonorant contrasts in consonants, triphthongs and phonemic stress observed in Bhojpuri have not been explored in its other neighbours.

In this section, we went through the 36 consonants in terms of stops, nasals, laterals, flaps, fricatives, affricates and semi-vowels with their characteristics of voicing, aspiration and devoicing sonority; the 8 monopthongs with their nasal counterparts with diphthongs and triphthongs in Bhojpuri; its syllable canon with characteristics of schwa deletion, reduction of gemination, loss of nasal and clusters also presented characters of Bhojpuri in comparision to the NIA and Bihari chacteristics in Table 15.4 as well as to its close neighbours in Table 15.5. These all phenomena attest NIA characteristics of Bhojpuri typologically in general with some of its own functional adaptive inventories, already discussed.

15.2 Morphosyntactic implications

As in phonology, in some features, Bhojpuri maintains the correspondence with the genetically related languages and in some features it cuts across the NIA language family as Grierson (1903a; 1903b; 1903c; 1904) states. In many features Bhojpuri offers the universal patterns.

15.2.1 Affixation

NIA lexical creativity involves suffixes and prefixes to form new word to meet contemporary needs and such words are generally complex (Masica 1991:81). Besides, the NIA nominal inflections characterize primarily nouns, pronouns, adjectives and also certain numerals and adverbs in some languages (Masica 1991:217). Bhojpuri has also followed the usage of prefixes and suffixes along with infixes too. Such affixation inflects nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs with nominals in Bhojpuri.

a) Suffix

Grierson (1903a:7) states in broader sense that all the languages of the eastern group show a greater tendency of the inflexional synthesis than do those of the western of the NIA. The general suffix -इ /-*i*/ in the NIA languages mark feminine

gender for human nouns in the languages having two gender system and smaller size for inanimante ones corresponding word with -आ /-*a*/, -औ /ɔ/ or -ओ /-*o*/, as in बेटा /*beʈa*/-बेटी /*beʈi*/ 'son-daughter' in Hindi, Awadhi, Maithili and Bhojpuri as well as in छोरा /*cʰora*/-छोरी /*cʰori*/ equivalent in Nepali for human nouns and कटोरा /*kʌʈora*/-कटोरी /*kʌʈori*/ 'bowl/small bowl' in Hindi, Awadhi, Maithili and Bhojpuri as well as कचौरा /*kʌcʌura*/-कचौरी /*kʌcʌuri*/ in Nepali for the same (Masica, 1991:77). Persian suffix adjectival -इ /-*i*/ in place of Sanskrit -इय /-*iyʌ*/ is common in NIA languages (Masica, 1991:71) as हिंदुस्तान /*ɦindustan*/-हिंदुस्तानी /*ɦindustani*/ 'India/Indian', हिंद /*ɦind*/-हिंदी /*ɦindi*/ 'Hind/Hindi', नेपाल /*nepal*/-नेपाली /*nepali*/ 'Nepal/Nepali', अवध /*ʌwʌd̤*/-अवधी /*ʌwʌd̤i*/ 'Awadh/Awadhi', मैथिल /*mʌtʰil*/-मैथिली /*mʌitʰili*/, भोजपुर /*b̤ojpur*/-भोजपुरी /*b̤ojpuri*/ 'Bhojpur/Bhojpuri' and भारत /*b̤arʌt*/-भारतीय /*b̤arʌtiyʌ*/ 'India/Indian' (Skt.). NIA pronouns are inflected with suffixes for number and case that Bhojpuri also follows as already discussed in Chapter 14.

The nominal suffix for gender marking, already discussed, also marks the gender in NIA adjectives, e. g., छोटा /*cʰoʈa*/-छोटी /*cʰoʈi*/ 'small/small-F', बड़ा /*bʌɽa*/-बड़ी /*bʌɽi*/ 'big/big-F' in Hindi and Awadhi, साना /*sana*/-सानी /*sani*/ 'small/small-F' in Nepali for the same. The gender marker suffixes occur in Bhojpuri and Maithili with defiteness for the same time -का /-*ka*/ for masculine and -की /-*ki*/ for feminine as in छोटका /*cʰoʈka*/-छोटकी /*cʰoʈki*/ 'short/short-F' for the same.

Pronominal differentiation for gender is not as common in NIA as in European languages, e.g., 'he/she/it' in English. As its close neighbours Hindi, Nepali and Awadhi, Bhojpuri has dual gender system, though dimming eastward, but not any inflectional categories with pronouns in this regard. Rather the gender is marked with inflections in finite verbs for feminine. So, Bhojpuri pronouns are inflected for number, case and defineteness as its close neighbours. Besides, Bhojpuri has a separate plural marker morpheme सब /*sʌb*/ literally meant as 'all' as Masica (1991:271) notes that it is characterized as plural suffix in 'eastern languages' such as Maithili and Magahi. Though Bhojpuri displays several inflexional processes in nominal and verbal morphology, it uses separate postpositions and few particles as its neighbour Hindi does so. Bhojpuri uses सब /*sʌb*/ 'all' as a plural marker for inanimate, non-human animate and non-honorific human nouns. It is replaced by लोग /*log*/

'people' in honorific environment. Besides, Bhojpuri has particle जा /*ja*/ to mark plural in clause-final position. Grierson (1903b:2) states, "in Hindi, the oblique form of the genitive postposition is के /*ke*/, but in Bhojpuri, the only dialect of Bihari, in which it has an oblique form का /*ka*/, and this oblique form of the genitive is used to form the nominative plural, a peculiar construction unknown to Hindi." Thus, the oblique form हमनीका /*ɦʌmnika*/ or हमनी के /*ɦamni ke*/ 'of us' is used to mean 'we' in Bhojpuri. The typical letter for the genitive case in the eastern group is र /*r*/ (Grierson, 1903a:8), also available in Bhojpuri pronouns. Dative-accusative marker in the eastern group is हे /*ɦe*/ or के /*ke*/ (Grierson, 1904:4) maintained in Bhojpuri with a new development of clitic -ए /*-e*/. Grierson (1903a:8) records, "the sign for the dative case in Bengali, Assamese and Bihari is के /*ke*/", Bhojpuri maintains it. As the case marking system of Bhojpuri has already been discussed in Chapter 8 and Paudyal (2013:432-3) compares Chitoniya Tharu with other neighbours in case marking typology, Table 15.6 compares Bhojpuri case markers with its close neighbours.

Table 15.6 Case markers in Bhojpuri and its close neighbours

Languages	NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT	INS	ABL	GEN	COM	LOC
Bhojpuri	ø	–	के /*ke*/, -ए /*-e*/	से /*se*/, -ए /*-e*/	से /*se*/	का /*ka*/, के /*ke*/, -र /*-r*/	सङे /*sʌŋe*/, जौरे /*jɔre*	में /*mẽ*/, पर /*pʌr*/, -ए /*-e*/
Chotoniya Tharu	ø	–	-के /*-ke*/	-कऽ /*-kʌ*/				
Maithili	ø	–						
Awadhi	ø	–						
Darai	ø	–						
Hindi	ø	ने /*ne*/						
Nepali	ø	-ले /*-le*/						
Rājbanshi		–						

Though Grierson (1903a:8) mentions the Bihari group to have a copula बाटे /*baʈe*/ in present tense, it is the unique property of Bhojpuri with its negative counterpart नइखे /*nʌikʰe*/. Verbs in the NIA languages are suffixed for tense, aspect, modality, number, gender and honorificity at the same time, already discussed in Chapter 9 with reference to Bhojpuri.

The NIA adverbs are also inflected with suffixes generally for exclusive and inclusive emphasis. Clitic -ए /*-e*/ is an exclusive emphatic marker and -ओ /*-o*/ an inclusive emphatic marker suffix in Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. Clitic -ए /*-e*/ is an outcome of grammaticalization from different source word classes, so, it is multifunctional, already discussed in Chapter 6.2. Hindi has independent particle ही /*ɦi*/ 'only' and भी /*ɓi*/ 'also' respectively, whereas Nepali replaces them as -अइ /*-ʌi*/ as a suffix as well as नै /*nʌi*/ and पनि /*pʌni*/ as independent particles for the same.

Suffixing numerals in NIA languages is not so common. But in the languages they are suffixed with are observed with classifiers. The classifiers so far are -गो /*-go*/ in Bhojpuri, -टा /*-ʈa*/ in Maithili, -ठू /*ʈʰu*/ in Awadhi and -ओटा /*-oʈa*/ in Nepali in general. Hindi uses classifier ठो /*ʈʰo*/ as a separate word. Bhojpuri also has जने /*jʌne*/ to classify human honorific as its close neighbours Maithili, Awadhi and Nepali do. Hindi uses लोग /*log*/ instead.

The general nominal inflectional categories in the NIA languages are gender, number, case and definiteness. Case is universal in all the languages while gender is not. Bhojpuri nouns are inflected for all the inflectional categories, already discussed in Chapter 6.1.

b) Prefix

Though Verma (2003:574) mentions Bhojpuri having all inflectional elements in terms of suffixes, Masica (1991:215) mentions presence of a few derivational prefixes in Indo-Aryan, most of them borrowed from either Sanskrit or Persian, which Bhojpuri belongs to. Thus, some prefixal elements have also been common in the language especially for nouns and adjectives. Such prefixes are generally used for antonymy as well as for comparison, as shown in Table 15.7.

Table 15.7: Borrowed prefixes

Prefix	Noun/adjective	Derivative
बे /*be-*/ 'without'	घर /*ɡ̈ʌr*/ 'house'	बेघर /*beɡ̈ʌr*/ 'homeless'
नि /*ni-*/ 'without'	डर /*ɖʌr*/ 'fear'	निडर /*niɖʌr*/ 'fearless'
ना /*na-*/ 'no'	लाएक /*laek*/ 'able'	नालाएक /*nalaek*/ 'worthless'
सु /*su-*/ 'good'	भग /*b̤ʌg*/ 'behaviour'	सुभग /*sub̤ʌg*/ 'well-mannerred'
कु /*ku-*/ 'bad'	रीति /*riti*/ 'usage'	कुरीति /*kuriti*/ 'malpractices'

But the chief character of Bhojpuri prefixes is overlooked as Singh (2008:36-7) argues and it is the truth. Table 15.8 shows Bhojpuri prefixes with lexical items.

Table 15.8: Bhojpuri prefixes

Prefix	Lexeme	Derivative
म- /*mʌ-*/	मोर /*mor*/ 'fold/twist'	ममोर /*mʌmor*/ 'fold/twist repeatedly'
द- /*dʌ-*/	बोर /*bor*/ 'press to sink'	दबोर /*dʌbor*/ 'press to sink repeatedly'
स- /*sʌ-*/	लोर /*lor*/ 'tears'	सलोर /*sʌlor*/ 'mix up repeatedly in liquid'
ह- /*ɦʌ-*/	लोर /*lor*/ 'tears'	हलोर /*ɦʌlor*/ 'stir surfacely with hands'
झँ- /*jʌ̃-*/	झोर /*j̈or*/ 'jerk'	झँझोर /*jʌ̃j̈or*/ 'jerk repeatedly to remove'

c) Infix

Infixing happens in terms of glidation during clause-combining in the NIA languages including Bhojpuri, already discussed in Chapter 4.1.3. But Bhojpuri does have exceptions in counting numbers above hundred, already discussed in the same section of the chapter. Besides these, Bhojpuri has its own infixes, as shown in Table 15.9.

Table 15.9: Bhojpuri infixes

Infix	Lexeme	Derivative
-अँक- /-*ʌ̃k-*/	घोर /*ɡ̈or*/ 'mix with liquid'	घँकोर /*ɡ̈ʌ̃kor*/ 'mix repeatedly with liquid'
-अँक- /-*ʌ̃k-*/	झोर /*j̈or*/ 'jerk'	झँकोर /*jʌ̃kor*/ 'repeated force of wind and rain'
-अक- /-*ʌk-*/	बोर /*bor*/ 'press to sink'	बकोर /*bʌkor*/ 'vomit'
-अत- /-*ʌt-*/	पार /*par*/ 'across'	पतार /*pʌtar*/ 'spread (paddy seedlings)'
-अँव- /-*ʌ̃w-*/	झार /*j̈ar*/ 'hit to remove'	झँवार /*jʌ̃war*/ 'shake repeatedly to cook'

To summarize affixation, the use of negative affixes exhibiting striking similarities among IA languages is presented in Table 15.10.

Table 15.10 Negative affixes

Languages	Affixes		Separate probihitives
	Prefix	Suffix	Preceding/Succeeding
Bhojpuri	अ /ʌ/, अन /ʌn/ नि /ni/, बे /be/		ना /na/, नाहीं /naɦĩ/, बिना /bina/, मत /mʌt/, जन /jʌn/, नइखे /nʌikʰe/
Chotoniya Tharu			ना /na/, झिन /jʰin/, बिना /bina/, नाहीं /naɦĩ/, हइने /ɦʌine/, नइखो /nʌikʰo/
Maithili	बे- /be-/		नई /nʌi/, नहि /nʌiɦ/
Awadhi	अ /ʌ/, अन /ʌn/ नि /ni/, बे /be/		नाहीं /naɦĩ/, बिना /bina/, जिन /jiʌn/
Darai	नई /nʌi/, निज /nijʌ/		झुन /jun/
Hindi	अ /ʌ/, नि /ni/, बे /be/		न /nʌ/, ना /na/, नहीं /nʌɦĩ/, मत /mʌt/
Nepali	न /nʌ/	न /nʌ/	
Rājbanshi			नि /ni/, ना /na/

The negative affixes in Bhojpuri and its close IA neighbours shown in Table 15.10 exhibit striking features of similarity and differences. Nasal न /n/ is seen as a common sound to express negativity. But only Nepali is seen to have negative prefix whereas Chitoniya Tharu and Rājbanshi do not have negative affixes. Similarly, Nepali does not exhibit any separate prohibitive. The rest have negative prefixes as well as separate prohibitive. In terms of negative prefixes Bhojpuri is almost identical with Awadhi and Hindi. Thus, affixation in Bhojpuri implicates empirically it maintains the major characteristics of its close neighbours as well as it has acquired some peculiarities, too.

d) Verb morphology

The ल /l-/ past is the peculiarity of the eastern group with Marathi (Grierson, 1903a:8). Another prominent feature of the eastern languages is ब /b-/ future (Grierson 1903a:8). Bhojpuri maintains both the features. But it has also adopted म /m-/ future. As Dhakal (2011:354) and Paudyal (2013:434) compare tense marking system of some NIA languages, Table 15.11 displays tense marking system of Bhojpuri in comparison with its close neighbours.

Table 15.11 Tense marking system in Bhojpuri and its close neighbours

Languages	Tense markers		
	Past	**present**	**Future**
Bhojpuri	-ल /-*l*/	-ल /-*l*/	-ब /-*b*/, -म /-*m*/, -ई /-*i*/
Chitoniya Tharu	-ल /-*l*/	-स /-*s*/	-ब /-*b*/, -त /-*t*/
Maithili	-ल /-*l*/	-छ /-c^h/	-ब /-*b*/, -त /-*t*/
Awadhi	-य /-*y*/	-त /-*t*/	-ई /-*i*/
Darai	-ल /-*l*/	-त /-*t*/	-
Hindi	-य /-*y*/	-त /-*t*/	-ग /-*g*/
Nepali	-य /-*y*/	-छ /-c^h/	-ल /-*l*/
Rājbanshi	-ल /-*l*/, -न /-*n*/	-च /-*c*/	-ब /-*b*/, -म /-*m*/

Table 15.11 shows that Bhojpuri shares the past marker with its neighbours except Awadhi, Hindi and Nepali. So, Bhojpuri and its close neighbour NIA languages in two groups: -ल /-*l*/ past and -य /-*y*/ past except Rājbanshi as it has one more past marker -न /-*n*/. Likewise Bhojpuri is unique among its neighbours with its present marker -ल /-*l*/ whereas its neighbours Awadhi, Darai and Hindi are grouped with the present marker -त /-*t*/ and the others with -स /-*s*/, -छ /-c^h/ or -च /-*c*/. Similarly, Bhojpuri shares the future marker -ब /-*b*/ with Chitoniya Tharu, Maithili and Rājbanshi; -म /-*m*/ with only Rajbanshi and -ई /-*i*/ with Awadhi.

Masica (1991:257) mentions the NIA verbal system, like the nominal, normatively involving successsive layers of 'inflectional' elements to the right of the lexical base to basically mark tense, aspect and mode. Verma (2003:579) mentions Bhojpuri having an elaborate inflectional system for tense, aspect and mode with further marking for agreement in terms of person, number, honorificity and gender. But gender in verb morphology is not so common in the NIA as Bhojpuri also drops eastwards. We have highlighted the verb morphology in detail in Chapter 10.

e) Adverb morphology

As its close neighbours Maithili, Awadhi and Nepali, adverbs in Bhojpuri are inflected for both exclusive and inclusive emphasis. The exclusive emphatic marker is -ही /-*ɦi*/ and -हू /-*ɦu*/ is the inclusive one in Bhojpuri. Awadhi and Hindi have separate

particles ही /*ɦi*/ and भी /*ɓi*/ respectively. Nepali exhibits -अइ /-*ʌi*/ in exclusive environment but a separate particle पनि /*pʌni*/ in the inclusive one.

f. Pronominals

Pronouns fall in minor word classes cross-linguistically. Though NIA pronominals are not identical for all languages, they are striking phonologically. Personal pronouns in Bhojpuri and its close neighbours are compared in Table 15.12.

Table 15.12 Pronouns in Bhojpuri and its close neighbours

Pronouns	**1SG**	**1PL**	**2SG**	**2PL**	**3SG**	**3PL**
Bhojpuri	हम /*ɦʌm*/	हमनी /*ɦʌmni*	तू /*tu*/	तोहनी /*tohni*/	ऊ /*u*/	ओकनी /*okni*/
Chotoniya Tharu	मुईं/मु /*muĩ*/*mu*/	हमरा /*ɦʌmʌra*/	तुई/तू /*tui*/*tu*/	तोहरा /*toɦʌra*/	उवा /*uwa*/	ओकरा /*okʌra*/
Maithili	हम /*ɦʌm*/	हमसब /*ɦʌmsʌb*/	तौँ /*tõ*/	तौँसब /*tõsʌb*/	ऊ /*u*/	ऊसब /*usʌb*/
Awadhi	मै /*mʌi*/	हम /*ɦʌm*/	तुई /*tui*/	तुम /*tum*/	ऊ /*ū*/	उई /*ui*/
Darai	मै /*mʌi*/	हमे /*ɦʌme*/	तोई /*toi*/	तोईसब /*toisʌb*/	ऊ /*u*/	ऊसब /*usʌb*/
Hindi	मैं /*mɛ̃*/	हम /*ɦʌm*/	तू /*tu*/	तुम /*tum*/	वह /*wʌɦ*/	वे /*we*/
Nepali	म /*mʌ*/	हामी /*ɦʌmi*/	तिमी /*timi*/	तिमीहरू /*timiɦʌru*/	ऊ /*u*/	उनीहरू /*uniɦʌru*/
Rājbanshi	मुई /*mui*/	हामा /*ɦama*/	तुई /*tui*/	तम़ा /*tʌm^{h}a*/	उहाँ /*uɦã*/	अम़ा /*ʌm^{h}a*/

Table 15.12 exhibits occurance of म /*m*/ as a common phenomenon in first person singular in all the IA languages where it is final in Bhojpuri and Maithili but initial in others. Likewise, initial ह /*ɦ*/ and medial म /*m*/ are common in Bhojpuri with its neighbours except Awadhi and Hindi where म /*m*/ is final in first person plural. In the second person, त /*t*/ is common in the second person in both the numbers. In the third person, ऊ /*u*/ is common in intitial position in singular except Hindi. Besides these, the other phonogical occurings in pronominals among IA languages are slao similar. Thus, the IA languages exhibit striking similarities in pronominal forms.

Grierson (1903a:8) notes, "the singular possessive pronoun in the east has ओ /*o*/ for its medial vowel but in the West it has ए /*e*/ or आ /*a*/, e.g., in Bihari 'my' is मोर /*mor*/, in Oria मोरा /*mora*/ but in Hindi it is मेरा /*mera*/". Bhojpuri has मोर /*mor*/ as frequent occurings in poems and songs.

The pronominal subject in Hindi is obligatory, whereas it is optional in the eastern group (Grierson 1903a:7). Subbārāo (2012:27) also attests it as a South Asian characteristic which Bhojpuri goes with.

Masica (1991:337) displays "verbless constructions (N P + N P, N P + Adj) are normative in eastern NIA and in Sinhalese". Bhojpuri exhibits such constructions, already discussed in Chapter 7.

Grierson (1903a:8) displays the relative and its connected pronouns ending in ए /*e*/ in the east, but usually in ओ /*o*/ in the west. Bhojpuri follows the eastern pattern, already discussed in Chapter 13.

The system of affixation discussed in this subsection empirically attests that Bhojpuri maintains the NIA features to a greater extent but has developed some peculiar characteristics yet to be explored in its closed neighbours.

15.2.2 Word order

The NIA languages exhibit SOV as a basic word order in the main clauses. The SOV word order is not only the characteristic feature of the NIA languages but also a South Asian feature proposed in Masica (1976:190). Subbārāo (2012:28) exhibits relatively free word order in Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda languages; a bit less in Tibeto-Burman. Greenberg (1963) has proposed a number of implicational universals associated with the basic SOV constituent order. Some of them are as follows:

- There is a strong tendency for possessor noun phrases to precede the possessed noun phrases in verb-final languages.
- There is a strong tendency for verb-final languages to have postpositions.
- There is a strong tendency for verb-final languages to place relative clause before the head noun.
- In verb-final languages the modifying element precedes the modified element.

Bhojpuri also follows these universals as an SOV language in its word orders. The summary of the implicational universals attested in the word orders is given in Table 15.13.

Table 15.13 Summary of the word orders and the Bhojpuri language

Greenberg's universal	**Parameters**	**Correlation**	
		Implications	Correlation in Bhojpuri
2	Genitive and head noun	GEN-head	head-GEN
4	Adpositions	Postpositions	Postpositions
5	Adjective and head noun	head-ADJ	ADJ-head
8	Yes/no question	Intonational	Sentence final
9	Affixes	Suffix	Suffix>prefix>infix
12	Interrogative word	no invariant rule	no invariant rule
16	Auxiliary and verb	verb-AUX	verb-AUX
18	Head noun and modifier	modifier-head	modifier-head
22	Comparision of superiority	standard-marker-ADJ	standard-marker-ADJ
24	Relative clause and head noun	Relative clause-head noun	Relative clause-head noun

Table 15.13 shows that Bhojpuri as an SOV language confirms all the implicational universals with regard to word orders proposed in Greenberg (1963) allowing ADJ-N, DEM-N and NUM-N order in common with other NIA languages (see Chapter 8.2 for details).

15.2.3 Morphological valence increasing strategies

The morphological valence increasing strategies such as morphological causative is present in the Bhojpuri language along with its close neighbours Maithili, Awadhi, Hindi and Nepali. Morphological causatives are one of the areal features proposed in Masica (1976:189)

15.2.4 Reflexive and numeral classifiers

As in the neighbouring NIA languages Bhojpuri has lexical reflexives (see 10.3.1 for details). The numeral classifiers; as in Maithili, Awadhi and Nepali; are present in the Bhojpuri language (see 5.1.1 for details). In Hindi numeral classifiers are almost absent. The numeral classifiers are one of the South Asian areal features (Masica, 1976:189).

15.2.5 Verbs with nominal and adjectival functions

This feature is common in the NIA languages along with TB languages too (Regmi, 2013:270). So, it is present in the Bhojpuri language (see chapter 6.1.3 for details).

15.2.6 Evidentiality in the verb complex

In Bhojpuri evidentiality, i.e., witnessed or highly reliable vs. not witnessed or hearsay or not highly reliable is expressed by the verbals (see 10.3.1 for details). This feature is common in the NIA languages.

15.2.7 Dative subject construction

This is a common NIA feature and so Bhojpuri does have. Moreover, this feature is a South Asian areal feature of the language (Misica, 1976:190 and Subbārāo 2012:137).

15.2.8 Participials

Participial forms are common in the NIA languages and Bhojpuri does have simultaneous and sequential participials, though is not only one of the characteristic features of the Indo-Aryan languages but also a South Asian areal feature (Misica, 1976:108-40).

15.2.9 Complex predicates

Complex predicates are the South Asian areal features (Masica, 1976). Bhojpuri also presents this feature (see 6.1 for details).

15.2.10 Cleft coustruction

Although Subbārāo (2012:41) attests cleft construction only in Sinhala among Indo-Aryan languages, Bhojpuri does have such feature already discussed in Chapter 12.

15.2.11 Other features

Apart from the features discussed above Bhojpuri also exhibits some features which are common in the Indo-Aryan languages. They include relative pronouns, passive constructions, inflectional gender and writing system. We present the summary of the main morphosyntactic features of the Bhojpuri language with regard to the general characteristics in the NIA languages and the Bihari group in Table 15.14.

Table15.14 Morphosyntactic features of the NIA languages and Bhojpuri[2]

	Morphosyntactic features	NIA	Bihari	Bhojpuri
1.	Affixation	+	+	+
	Suffix	+	+	+
	Prefix	+	+	+
	Infix	–	+	+
2.	Person/number marking	+	+	+
3.	Gender marking	+	+	(fading eastward)
4.	Lexical reflexive	+	+	+
5.	Adjectival word order (A-N)	+	+	+
	Demonstrative word order (Dem-N)	+	+	+
	Numeral word order (Num-N)	+	+	+
	General adjectival word order (Dem-Num-A)	+	+	+
6.	Ergativity	+	–	–
7.	Antidative	+	+	+
8.	Compound case			
9.	'Vertical' verbs	+	+	+
10.	Morphological valence increasing strategies	+	+	+
11.	Evidentiality	+	+	+
12.	Honorificity in pronominals & finite verbs	+	+	+
13.	Numeral classifiers	+	+	+
15.	Verbal with nominal and adjectival functions	+	+	+
15.	Finite subordinate clauses	+	+	+

Thus, the typological implications discussed in this chapter attest the theoretical framework of functional-typological and adaptive approach to grammar for this study.

2. The table has been prepared on the basis of Grierson (1883), Masica (1991:86-132) and Chapter 6-13 of this study.

CHAPTER 16
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

16.0 Outline

This chapter exhibits summary of the major findings of the study and concludes it. It consists of two sections. In section 16.1, we present a summary of the major findings of the study and we conclude the study by highlighting the most striking features of Bhojpuri in section 16.2.

16.1 Major findings

In this section, we present the major findings, i.e., the major features of the language in the domains of sociolinguistics, phonology, morphophonology, morphology, syntax and coherent pragmatics.

16.1.1 Sociolinguistic features

Bhojpuri is a New Indo-Aryan language spoken in western part of State No. 2 along with the bordering districts of Bagmati Pradesh, State No. 4 and 5 in Nepal. It is also spoken in the adjacent neighbouring territories of India in western Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh, along with other Indian provinces and in a number of foreign countries. The majority of Bhojpuri native speakers are Hindus but the number of Muslims, Buddhists, Samanists and Christians is also meaningful. It has acquired its name from Bhojpur, now a district and a pair of villages in Bihar. Bhojpurias retain themselves in majority in agriculture and animal farming but they have also been scattered in Diaspora initially as indentured labourers and contemporarily in different professions in foreign employment, too. Hindu caste system still exists, though efforts are being made to abolish untouchability. Ehnologue, 2012 has data of literacy rate of the Bhojpuri speech community in the first language to be 5%–30% and that in the second language to be 50%–75% respectively. The early marriage system still remains both in Hindus and Muslims but rapidly receding because of public awareness and new legal system.

The resources available in the Bhojpuri language are folk stories and folklore, songs, religious literature and modern literature. The people of the old generations tell stories about their ancestors, supernatural stories and stories related to the animal kingdom. They have different types of songs for different rites and rituals from birth to the funeral ceremony. Phonemic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials, newspapers, magazines and abundance of written literature with

folklore are now available in Bhojpuri along with different institutions to promote Bhojpuri culture, language, literature and folklore.

The Bhojpuri speech community is almost monolingual, especially in the rural areas. But due to the official vernacular Nepali as the medium of instruction, the newer generation is stepping towards multilingualism, especially among those educated as well as among those living in urban areas. However, they are highly proficient in mother tongue speaking.

Bhojpuri is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Bhojpuri community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is very low. In general, Bhojpuri native speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language and they look confident for continuity of their language even in the grandchildren's generation. The Bhojpuri speech community is proud of their linguistic identity to have their own kinds of custom, language, life-style, way of thinking, belief and they want to implement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal and a vernacular of education in primary schools seeking help on behalf of the state and the community.

The Nepalese Bhojpuri region, geographically, from Jamuni river westward in Bara up to whole Parsa district is the central, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi western, Jamuni eastward in Bara up to Bakeya river in Rautahat mid eastern and Bakeya eastward up to Sarlahi is the eastern Bhojpuri region. Similarly, on the basis of community, the dialect spoken by Tharu community in Rautahat is considered as Tharu Bhojpuri and on the religious basis, the dialect of Sheikh community of Muslims in central and western part of Rautahat as Sheikh dialect of Bhojpuri.

16.1.2 Phonological features

There are 36 distinctive consonant sounds in Bhojpuri. They can be classified in terms of manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing, aspiration and breathiness. According to manner of articulation they can be classified as stops, fricatives, affricates, laterals, nasals, flaps, and glides. In terms of place of articulation they can be categorized as bilabials, dentals, alveolar, apico-alveolar, palato-alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal. We find contrasts among these sounds in terms of voiced vs. voiceless, aspirated vs. unaspirated, voiced vs. breathy and voiced vs.

aspirate sonorants. All the consonant phonemes occur in the inter-vocalic position. All the aspirate sonorants occur either in intervocalic or in word-final or both of intervocalic and word-final positions but not in the word-initial position. Moreover, म /*m*/ and ङ /*ŋ*/; र /*r*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/; व /*w*/ and य /*y*/; ड /*ɖ*/ and ड़ /*ɽ*/ do not show word-initial contrast. The phonemes फ /*pʰ*/ and भ /*b̤*/; ड /*ɖ*/ and ढ /*ɖ̈*/; ठ /*ʈʰ*/ and ढ /*ɖ̈*/; do not show word-final contrast. In consonant clusters, we do not find gemination of either of the aspirated or breathy phonemes in Bhojpuri. Likewise, glottal voiced ह़ /*ɦ*/ also doesn't occur in gemination. Similarly the glides do not occur in pre-consonantal, and the aspirate sonorants do not occur in post-consonantal position and gemination in Bhojpuri. One of the typologically striking features of the Bhojpuri language in terms of phonology is that it has aspirate sonorants in contrasts of nasals, lateral and flaps.

There are four categories of vowels in Bhojpuri: oral vowels, nasalized vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs. Total number of oral vowels is eight with their nasalized counterparts. Length is not contrastive in Bhojpuri. All the oral monophthongal vowels occur in all the positions: word-initial, inter-consonantal and final. The syllable canon in Bhojpuri is (C)(V)(C)(C). Bhojpuri has only one suprasegmental feature: intonation.

Bhojpuri was previously being written in Kaithi script but now Devanagari is the canonical script of Bhojpuri. It seems to be regular and systematic to a greater extent, largely true for 'tadbhava' forms and recent borrowings from English and other languages, but almost inconsistent for the 'tatsama' forms. Schwa deletion, nasal assimilation, consonant gemination and vowel insertion are the specific characteristics of Bhojpuri that the canonical writing system does not exhibit. Similarly, voiceless postalveolar fricative श [ʃ], retroflex fricative ष [ʂ] have now become allophones of the alveolar fricative स /*s*/, syllabic approximant ऋ [ɹ] has been changed into रि /*ri*/, palatal nasal ञ [*ɲ*] and retroflex nasal ण [*ɳ*] have become allophones of alveolar nasal न /*n*/ though they still remain in writing, especially for tatsama words. Metathesis is also found a specific characteristic of Bhojpuri.

16.1.3 Morphophonological features

Bhojpuri shows up a few morphophonological processes such as deletion, raising, assimilation, epenthesis and coalescence. Under process of deletion, a vowel or a consonant or a syllable from either of a segment of the preceding and succeeding

ones or from both is deleted. A vowel in either of the segment is raised in the process of raising. Likewise assimilation includes progressive vs. regressive resulting in plosivization, devoicing, voicing, retroflexion, affrication and deaspiration in either of the preceding or succeeding segments; contiguous vs. non-contiguous resulting in mid-point fixation, falling of vowels, merger of syllables and gliding. Variation in nasal along with partial vs. complete assimilation results in intervocalic voicing, palatalization, labialization and nasal assimilation.

16.1.4 Morphological features

Bhojpuri nouns are marked morphologically in terms of number, gender, classifiers and the case role of the referent. Bhojpuri employs only two classifiers: जने /*jʌne*/ or जना /*jʌna*/ as a separate word for human noun and -गो /-*go*/ as a suffix for non-human countable nouns. There is three-way distinction in pronominal agreement in Bhojpuri: first, second and third persons. Plurality in Bhojpuri nominals is indicated by the suffix -अन /-*ʌn*/ or -वन /-*wʌn*/ and सब /*sʌb*/ or लोग /*log*/ as a separate word. Like its number system, Bhojpuri nouns are expressed in two genders: masculine and feminine but their grammatical expressions in finite verbs fade eastwards. Bhojpuri has two types of adjectives: natural and derived. The derived adjectives are formed from nouns and verbs. The perfective forms of all verbs are eligible to be used as adjectives. Bhojpuri adjectives may be classified in terms of size, colour, age, value, physical property and human propensity. Syntactically, they may function like verbs as the head of an intransitive predicate or they may modify a noun which is the head of an NP. The verb normally occurs clause-finally and functions as the main predicate of the clause. The verb registers three persons and two numbers (in first, second and third personal pronouns) combined with a complex system of tense, aspect and modality. The verbal nouns in Bhojpuri are obtained by the roots as well as by different types of suffixations. Adverbs in Bhojpuri are broadly categorized, in terms of manner, instrumental, time, place and modifying adjectives. Nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs in Bhojpuri are highly derivational among each other. Minor word classes include postpositions, determiners, pronouns (independent and possessive), inter-clausal connectives (participial suffixes, conjunctions and subordinators), quantifiers, numerals and ordinals, auxiliary verbs, interjections, clitics and particles.

16.1.5 Syntactic features

Syntactically, Bhojpuri nouns occupy the subject, direct object, indirect object, nominal predicate, possessive noun modifier, complement and locative noun phrase position. Bhojpuri verbs may be classified in different groups in terms of clause structure and argument structure. Non-verbal predicates in Bhojpuri are nominal predicates, adjectival predicates and locative expressions. Besides these, existentials and possessives are the other copular or copula-like expressions in Bhojpuri. The nominal predicates in Bhojpuri sometimes occur without an overt copula in present tense whereas when a clause predicates the time reference other than the present, the copula verb is employed. The adjectival and locative copular clauses take the copula ह /ɦʌ/ or बा /*ba*/ 'be' inflected to encode tense, aspect and participant reference marking morphemes. The verbal predicates in Bhojpuri may be divided in terms of transitivity. Basic differences are found in intransitive, transitive and bi-transitive predicates. All of these types may be divided as encoding indirect objects. Further, modality verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition-utterance (P-C-U) verbs in Bhojpuri are characterized by clausal complements of different types. Some predicates in Bhojpuri exhibit multiple memberships due to valance patterns for conjunct verb constructions. The grammatical relations play a vital role not only in the grammar of simple clauses but also in major syntactic processes. The nominal morphology as coding property presents a consistent nominative pattern of control in Bhojpuri. The pronominal verb agreement as well as the number, gender and honorificity agreement also follows the nominative pattern. The unmarked word order in Bhojpuri clause is SOV but not rigid. Besides, the changed word order remains following the nominative pattern. Under behaviour and control properties, promotion to or demotion from direct object does not affect the regular nominative pattern but passivization does so. Reflexivization and causativization are applicable to subject GR in Bhojpuri. The Equi-NP deletion (or the co-referent deletion) in complement clauses displays the nominative control. The use of zero anaphora in chained clauses is a pronominal device to mark co-reference in clause-chaining, confined to the subject GR in Bhojpuri. However, in Bhojpuri, relativization does not play any role for controlling the grammatical relations. Bhojpuri also displays pronominal verb agreement in first, second and third person pronouns with two numbers and dual genders. Bhojpuri employs pragmatically oriented nominative-accusative case-marking strategy.

Different postpositions are used in Bhojpuri for case marking with nouns but pronouns are generally suffixed as well as followed by postpositions for the same purpose. The cases nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, locative, ablative and comitative are marked to code syntactic relations of the NP to the finite verb in a clause. The inanimate patient is zero marked whereas the animate and pronominal patients are marked morphologically. Bhojpuri has the dative subject construction as one of the characteristics of the New Indo-Aryan languages.
Noun phrases in Bhojpuri are categorized as simplex and complex. A noun phrase can consist of a single noun or pronoun with other elements such as demonstrative, genitive, number, adjective and relative clause, noun, compound noun and pronoun in Bhojpuri. Likewise, the number and case marker morphemes are also the elements of a noun phrase. NP→(Dem)-(Gen)-(Num)-(appositional phrase (AP))-**Head** is the common linear order of a noun phrase. Besides, there is also availability of scattered NPs in Bhojpuri. The complex noun phrases are found in Bhojpuri to have been juxtaposed or conjoined by conjunction, joint participants in a single event, in relative order of near>far, adult>young, male>female, singular>plural, animate>inanimate, large>small, agent>patient and positive>negative but most of them are also found in reverse order in Bhojpuri.

Bhojpuri is an SOV order language. Most of the implications of the SOV word order hold true in Bhojpuri. Adjectives, demonstratives, genitives and numerals in Bhojpuri precede the head noun they modify. However, Bhojpuri allows enough flexibility of the constituents in the pragmatically marked constructions. The degree word modifying an adjective precedes it. Manner adverbs in Bhojpuri precede the main verb in unmarked clauses. The ability word follows the main verb. In complex sentences, the relative clause precedes the head noun it modifies. Most of the adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri precede the main clause; however, the cause and reason adverbial clauses follow the main clause. Complement clauses in Bhojpuri occupy the slot between the subject and the main verb. All the affixal elements, except the negative morpheme, follow their heads. In a finite verbal complex, aspect markers precede the tense marker. The negative prefix in Bhojpuri may be repeated to create absolutive negative sense.

The Bhojpuri verbs are inflected with suffixes -इल /-*il*/ and -अल /-ʌ*l*/ or -वल /-*wʌl*/ for infinitive or participle that plays significant roles in TAM. This language

exhibits morphologically marked past, present and future tenses with verbs. The past tense in Bhojpuri is marked by the suffixes -इस /-*is*/, -ए /-*e*/, -एँ /-*ẽ*/, -अ /-*ʌ*/, -ऊ /-*u*/, -अस /-*ʌs*/, -अक /-*ʌk*/, -अख /-*ʌkʰ*/, -अन /-*ʌn*/, -इनी /-*ini*/, -अनी /-*ʌni*/ or -नी /-*ni*/ for second and third persons in accordance with gender, number and honorificity. Moreover, -इनी /-*ini*/ or -अनी /-*ʌni*/ or -नी /-*ni*/ is full honorific marker in all environments replacing the infinitive/participle markers -इल /-*il*/ and -अल /-*ʌl*/ or -वल /-*wʌl*/. The suffix -एब /-*eb*/ or -एम /-*em*/ generally marks future tense with verb roots in Bhojpuri. Besides, -इबे /-*ibe*/, -इहे /-*iɦe*/, -इबऽ /-*ibʌ*/, -इह /-*iɦʌ*/, -इबू /-*ibu*/, -ई /-*i*/, -इहें /-*iɦẽ*/, -इहन /-*iɦʌn*/ and -इहेन /-*iɦen*/ mark variably with regards to person, number, gender and honorificity. Similarly, present tense in Bhojpuri appears in the form of verb-stem suffixed by imperfective marker -अत /-*ʌt*/ followed by copula बानी /*bani*/, बाड़ऽ /*baɽʌ*/, बाड़ू /*baɽu*/, बाड़ें /*baɽẽ*/, बाड़ेन /*baɽen*/, बाड़न /*baɽʌn*/, बाटे /*baʈe*/, बाटें /*baʈẽ*/, बा /*ba*/ according to person, gender, honorificity and number. But deletion and contraction have occurred to delete ब /*b*/ from the copula and the rest morphemes to be contracted with -अत /-*ʌt*/. Aspectual contrasts in Bhojpuri may be broadly categorized into perfective, imperfective, perfect and habitual. Perfective aspects in Bhojpuri are inherent and grammatical. In terms of their inherent perfectivity Bhojpuri verbs may be classified into compact short-duration verbs, accomplishment-completion verbs, activity-process verbs and stative verbs. In terms of grammatical perfectivity they focus on termination and boundedness. Similarly, the imperfective aspect includes past progressive, future progressive, present progressive, past habitual and present habitual. Besides, perfect aspects are categorized as past perfect, future perfect and present perfect. Modality in Bhojpuri may be divided into epistemic and evaluative (deontic) types. The truth, probability, certainty, belief and evidence expressed in terms of presupposition, realis assertion, irrealis assertion and negative assertion are epistemic modalities. Similarly, ability and obligation fall under deontic modality. Bhojpuri also expresses some distinctive moods in terms of declarative (indicative), interrogative, imperative, optative and conditional (subjunctive).

The non-declarative speech acts in Bhojpuri include interrogative, imperative, optative and hortative moods. Polar questions in Bhojpuri are constructed simply through the slightly raised intonation added to the questioned part of its declarative counterpart. Alternative polar questions are made either simply juxtaposing the

alternates or mediated by alternative marker कि /*ki*/. The constituent questions (wh-questions) in Bhojpuri are formed with the help of different interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Wh-questions have the same word order as of the declarative sentences with the interrogative words के /*ke*/ or कौन /*kɔn*/ 'who', के के /*ke ke*/ or केकरा के /*kekra ke*/ 'whom', का /kɑ/ or कथी /kʌtʰi/ 'what or which', केकर /*kekʌr*/ or किनकर /*kinkʌr*/ 'whose', कतेक /*kʌtek*/ or केतना /*ketna*/ 'how much/many', कै /*kɛ*/ 'how many', कब /*kʌb*/ or कहिआ /*kʌɦia*/ 'when', कहाँ /*kʌɦɑ̃*/ or केने /*kene*/ 'where', कइसन /*kʌisʌn*/ 'how' and काहे /*kaɦe*/ 'why'. Multiple wh-questions are formed with the help of different wh-questions placed in the same proposition. Imperative constructions are made by bare verb stem suffixed by -ओ /-*o*/ or -ए /-*e*/ in non-honorific, by -आ /-*a*/ final stem remaining the same and other stems suffixed by -अ /-ʌ/ in mid-honorific and by -ईं /-*ĩ*/ for full honorific environments. The hortative construction almost remains the same as full honorific environment of the imperative one. Reflexive, reciprocals, insertion of dative, benefactive or associative arguments and passive voice are used in de-transitive voices.

Different devices like discourse particles, intonation and constituent order may be utilized for focus and topicalization purposes. In Bhojpuri, the constituents of the clause may be freely dislocated within the clause to a great extent to topicalize, focus, contrast, emphasize and intensify the meaning of a constituent. Apart from the extensive use of discourse particles, different strategies are employed to mark a topic in terms of constituent order. Existential-presentative constructions कौनो /*kɔno*/ 'some or a/an' and एगो /*ego*/ 'a/an' used as an indefinite article are indefinite referents in Bhojpuri. Similarly, the verb in EPCs is existential रह /*rʌɦ*/ or ह /*ɦʌ*/ or बा /*ba*/ and some locational verbs such as बइठ /*bʌiʈʰ*/ 'sit', उठ /*uʈʰ*/ 'stand', रह /*rʌɦ*/ 'live' रुक /ruk/ '*stay*' or entrance verbs such as आ /*a*/ 'come/arrive' लउक /*lʌuk*/ 'appear', पहुँच /*pʌɦũc*/ 'approach' along with departure verb जा /*ja*/ 'go' are frequently used in EPCs 'be'. Though Bhojpuri is a flexible SOV language, it also exhibits the inverse order VSO or OVS in EPCs. It is most commonly either a REL-clause, an adjective, a LOC-phrase, a noun complement, a genitive or an associative phrase preceding the the indefinite subject in Bhojpuri in EPCs. Though the Y-movement is contrastive, the Y-moved referents also tend to be typically topical and anaphorical, falling under a single

intonation contour. As in a number of languages, Bhojpuri exhibits characteristics of a separate intonation contour for the dislocated NP, neutralizaion of the case-marking of the topic NP, and an anaphoric pronoun resumption of the topic NP within the clause in left-dislocation. Similarly, Bhojpuri exhibits afterthoughts and background constructions through anaphoric pronoun, intonation break and neutralized case-marking in right-dislocation as observed in left-dislocation. As in many languages dative shifting is evident in Bhojpuri to make the dative the direct object. Raising may or may not be found in other languages but Bhojpuri exhibits raising to object and raising to subject for marked topic constructions.

The inclusive marker suffix -ओ /-*o*/ and the Hindi borrowing particle भी /*ḍ̣i*/ function for the meaning 'also/too' in Bhojpuri. Besides them, -नू /-*nu*/ or -ऊ /-*u*/ or clitic -ए /-*e*/ is also used to code a proposition which is contrary to expectation. The individuative emphatic marker suffix -ए /-*e*/ and Hindi borrowed particle ही /*ɦi*/ 'only' may also be employed to contrast a particular adverbial from other alternates. Besides them Bhojpuri uses खाली /*kɦali*/, मात्र /*matrʌ*/, केवल /*kewʌl*/ and the non-reflexive अपने /*ʌpne*/ 'self' to mark individuity. Contrastive strength in Bhojpuri is marked with contrastive stress devices, Y-movement and restrictive modifiers. Contrastive focus in Bhojpuri is also marked by reference and topicality, assertion scope in terms of negation and yes/no-questions and other devices like wh-questions and contrastive questions.

16.1.6 Coherent pragmatics

The complement clauses in Bhojpuri are in the form of complement-taking PCU (Perception-Cognition-Utterance) predicates that include propositional attitude predicates, commentative predicates, knowledge acquision predicates and immediate perception predicates; complement-taking modality predicates including modal predicates, achievement predicates, phasal predicates and desiderative predicates; complement-taking manipulation predicates that include permissive predicates and causative predicates. The subordinate adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri are either marked through the subordinating morphemes attached to the dependent clause or through the special non-finite verb forms. Temporal adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri include precedence, subsequence, subsequence cum instrument, simultaneity, point coincidence, accompanying circumstance, terminal boundary, initial boundary and intermediacy. Bhojpuri conditional adverbial clauses are irrealis, counter-fact, conditionals with intermediate value and concessive conditionals. Bhojpuri also

exhibits cause and reason adverbial clauses, concessive adverbial clauses, additive adverbial clauses, substitutive adverbial clauses and purpose adverbial clauses. Participial adverbial clauses in Bhojpuri encode the sequential and simultaneous temporal senses. The sequential adverbial clause indicates a temporal sequence in clause chains whereas the simultaneous adverbial clause expresses an activity that is simultaneous with or temporally overlapping with another activity expressed by the matrix predicate.

Relative clauses in Bhojpuri include relativization of the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object and indirect object as we observe cross-linguistically. But Bhojpuri also exhibits oblique, possessive, instrument, source and locative cases relativized. Clause chaining in Bhojpuri includes chains of same and different subjects of the clauses. Coordinated or conjoined clauses in Bhojpuri exhibit conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative relationships among the conjoined clauses. The concepts of rejection and clausal coordination are also found to be conjoined in Bhojpuri.
The grammar of pronouns and grammatical agreement are the morphological devices to encode referential coherence. Independent personal pronouns are used as arguments in a clause whereas pronominal affixes are attached to the verbal complex. Personal pronouns show three persons, two numbers, and three degrees of honorificity distinction.
The gender of the bound pronouns is incorporated into verbal morphology as agreement affixes, also incorporating number and honorificity of the bound pronouns. The third person pronouns also show proximal and distal distinction. Bhojpuri pronouns include demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite which play a vital role in referential coherence. The topic coding devices found in Bhojpuri discourse are zero anaphora, unstressed anaphoric pronouns, stressed independent pronouns, R-dislocation, neutral word order and L-dislocation, zero anaphors vs. R-dislocated definite full-NPs, R-dislocated DEF-NPs, Y-moved NPs, cleft/focus constructions and referential indefinite NPs.

Bhojpuri exploits some discourse-pragmatic strategies to mark the definiteness of the referents. Bhojpuri does not possess the English like set of definite and indefinite articles. However, indefinite pronominal adjective कौनो /*kɔno*/ ‘any/some’ and the numeral with classifier एगो /*ek-go*/ 'one-CLASS' function as indefinite reference marker in Bhojpuri. Definiteness, in contrast, is marked by the demonstrative pronouns. Bhojpuri also employs contextual definiteness.

In the domain of action continuity tense/aspect markers and participial clauses are used as morphosyntactic devices in Bhojpuri. The narrative and procedural discourse show the sequentiality of events. The thematic continuity is coded by sequential participial clauses in Bhojpuri.

16.2 Conclusions

Bhojpuri is an SOV nominative-accusative New Indo-Aryan language. It reveals a number of striking features that may be typologically interesting. Phonologically it has six aspirate sonorant consonants; three of them are nasal, one is retroflex, one is flap and the last one is lateral. Triphthongization in Bhojpuri is also its own inventory. Stress is phonemic in Bhojpuri to obtain causative verb-roots. It exhibits smaller-greater order of counting in general and the number higher than 100 is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of -उत्तर /*-uttʌr*/ 'above' and this morphological process continues from 101 till 118. Likewise, a connecting vowel -आ /*-a*/ is interposed instead of -उत्तर /*-uttʌr*/ from 119 to 168, except in the case of 140, 150 and 160. In the rest below 200, the form used to express 160 remains the same, i.e., the lower numeral precedes 100. The present tense copula बा /*ba*/ 'be' with its negative counterpart नइख /*nʌikʰ*/ 'not to be' is its uniqe property. Besides, declension of adverbs for not only emphasis but also for derivation of other word classes is also typologically significant in Bhojpuri. Besides these, Bhojpuri has developed its own prefixes and infixes, peculiar in the NIA languages. Likewise, the verbless utterances in relative clauses are also significant. The clause-final plural marker particles सन /*sʌn*/, स /*sʌ*/ and जा /*ja*/ are uniqe in the language. Appearance of allocutive agreement and absence of grammatical gender-marking eastwards are interesting phenomena in Bhojpuri.

Besides these, an attempt to discuss noun phrases and word order, marked topics and contrastive focus and reference coherence in Bhojpuri is some how different from the grammars of Bhojpuri displayed earlier.

To conclude, the grammars of Bhojpuri previously look based upon Sanskrit, English, Bengali and Hindi what Singh (2008) has very clearly questioned upon. Thus, this study appears as a grammar of Bhojpuri on its own following the theoretical framework of functional-typological and adaptive approaches to grammar mainly developed by Givón (2001a, 2001b and 2009), though insights from others have also been followed where necessary.

ANNEX I: Details of data collection

1. Sociolinguistic survey of Bhojpuri (Lohar 2006 & Lohar and Ragmi 2012)

Lohar (2006) mentions at least 200 Bhojpurias of different age, sex, literacy abilities have been contacted from Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Nawalparasi (East and West of Susta) and Rupandehi districts to acquire information about their language use, attitude towards mother tongue and other tongues, lexical and syntactic similarity and diversity within the dialects they use. To gather such information, a list of 4,500 words from different walks of life and universe was adapted from the one developed by Central Department of Linguistics, TU. The basic vocabulary was prepared in the dialect of Bhojpuri spoken in Bara and Parsa districts. Following the similar process, a list was developed containing 300 basic sentences. Besides these, a sociolinguistic questionnaire was used. Apart from the written data collection the informants were also interviewed and interacted. Doing these activities in the field visit, the following libraries were visited:

(a) Central Library of Tribhuvan University
(b) Library of the Central Department of Linguistics, TU
(c) Nepal-India Library
(d) Library of the Central Bureau of Statistics
(e) Library of the Nepal Academy

Similarly, Lohar and Regmi (2012) mentions the following tools used during the field visit for the sociolinguistic survey of Bhojpuri:

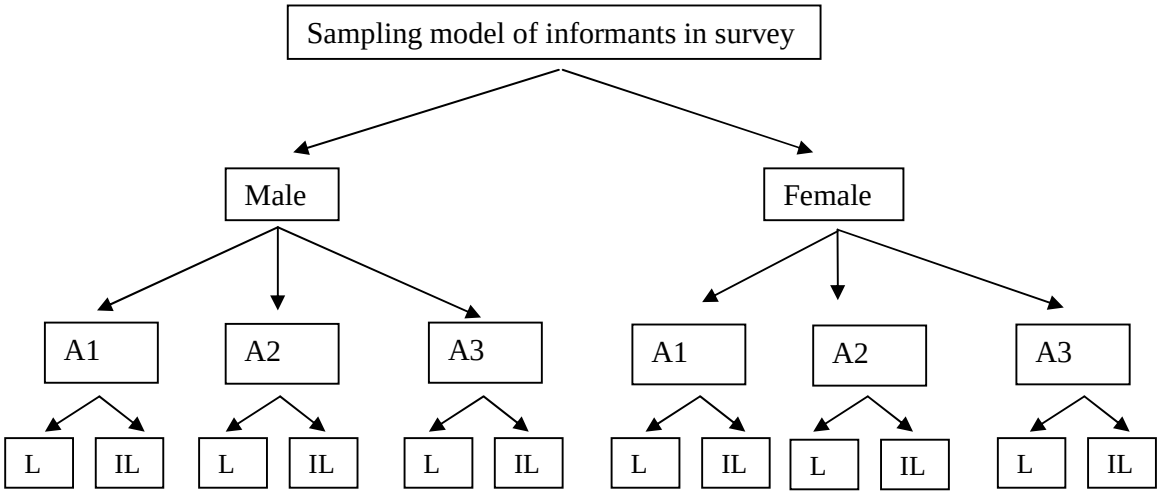
(a) Sociolinguistic questionnaire (SLQ): A, B and C to gather information on language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and their language attitudes.
(b) Wordlist comparisons (WLC) of 210 words from different walks of life basically prepared in Nepali.
(c) Participatory method (PM) to get information about domains of language use, dialect mapping, bi/multilinguaglism and appreciative inquiry.

During the field visit of this survey, there were five survey points selected to visit on the basis of pre-information about geographical and ethnic variation in the language of the Bhojpuri speech community: Maisthan of Birganj Metropolitan City in Parsa, Kachorwa in Simraungadh Municipality in Bara, Garuda Bazar of Garuda

Municipality and Bhagawanpur of the Rajpur Municipality in Rautahat in State No. 2 and Dhakdhai in Rohini Rural Municipality in Rupandehi in State No. 5.

Likewise, at each survey point, the informants were selected from different categories of sex, age and educational background[1] as presented in the figure below:

Figure : Sampling model in the survey



A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)

2. Informants for acoustic analysis of aspirate sonorant consonants

1. Mr. Chhote Lal Yadav, 43, Bindbasini Rural Municipality Ward No. 5, Hansawa, Parsa District.
2. Mrs. Sabita Yadav, 33, Bindbasini Rural Municipality Ward No. 5, Hansawa, Parsa Parsa District.
3. Mr. Noor Alam, 40, Adarsh Kotwal Rural Municipality Ward No. 8, Jamuniya, Bara District.
4. Mrs. Pinky Khatun, 37, Adarsh Kotwal Rural Municipality Ward No. 8, Jamuniya, Bara District.
5. Mr. Afimi Lal Thakur, 83, Simraun Gadh Municipality Ward No. 8, Kachorwa, Bara District.
6. Mrs. Parameshwari Devi, 80, Dewahi Gonahi Municipality Ward No. 3, Tharu Tole Dewahi, Rautahat District.
7. Mrs. Gajamotiya Devi, 54, Gadhimai Municipality Ward No. 3, Gamhariya, Rautahat District.

[1]. For the purpose of the survey, the age range of the informants has been categorized into three sets: 15-29 (A1), 30-59 (A2) and 60 and above (A3).

8. Mr. Anand Kumar Gupta, 35, Paterwa Sugauli Rural Municipality Ward No. 5, Nichuta, Parsa District.
9. Ms. Jyoti Tiwari, 30, Jagarnathpur Rural Municipality Ward No. 2, Janaki Tola, Parsa District.
10. Mr. Rambabu Yadav 57, Mahagadhimai Municipality Ward No. 2, Bariyarpur, Bara District.

3. Informants for text collection

a) The folk-tales
   1. *An Ill-mannered Old Woman* told by Late Bachiya Devi from Rautahat.
   2. *Peasant Couple and the Children* told by Late Hira Bhagat Yadav from Bara.
   3. *A Family of Deaf and Dumb* told by Mr. Baliram Patel from Bara.
   4. *Two Chapatis or Three?* told by Late Harihar Yadav from Bara.

b) Radio interviews
   1. General Secretary of the Nepal Bhojpuri Students' Society Sunil Kumar Patel from Parsa on the contemporary politics and Bhojpuri in Radio Programme *Bhor Kab Hoi* of Nava Jyoti FM interviewed by the researcher as presenter.
   2. The researcher on the contemporary situation of the Bhojpuri language and literature in Radio Programme *Bhojpuria Sanes* of Radio Nepal interviewed by Presenter Dhun Raj Sharma.

c) Radio monologues
   1. The researcher in Radio Programme *Bhor Kab Hoi* of Nava Jyoti FM on the topic of Agriculture
   2. The researcher in Radio Programme *Bhor Kab Hoi* of Nava Jyoti FM on the topic of Raxabandhan Festival.

d) Magazine interview

   Litterateur Late Pandit Deep Narayan Mishra from Parsa on contemporary Bhojpuri language and literature by the researcher for the Madhupark magazine.

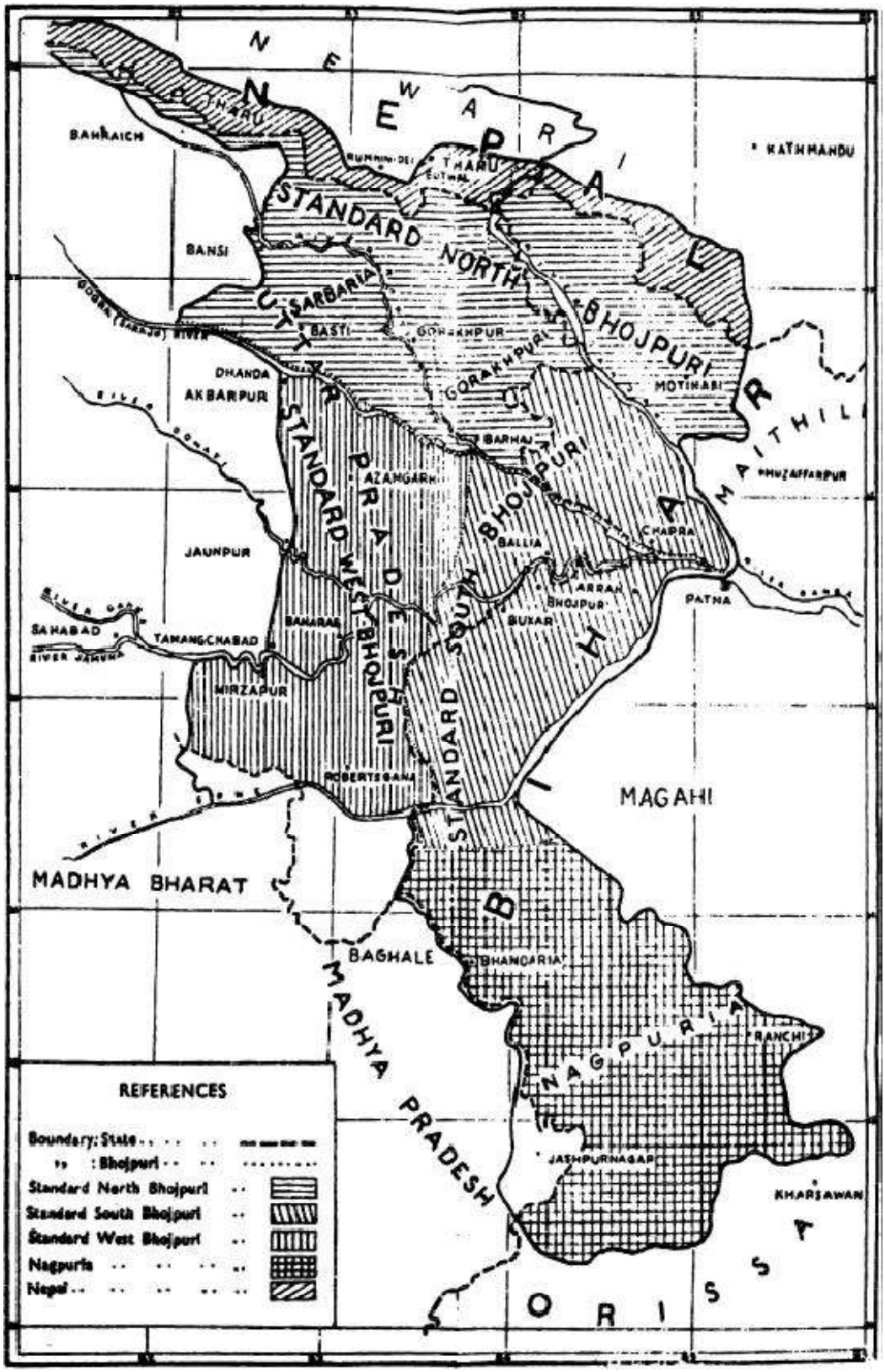
e) Procedural activities, family situations and different clauses to exemplify phonemic contrasts collected from the community by the researcher.

f) Rural dialogue

   A Conversation between two Villagers extracted from Grierson (1884a).

ANNEX II: Common Bhojpuri speech zone

MAP OF THE COMMON BHOJPURI SPEECH ZONE WITHIN NEPAL & INDIA WITH ITS DIALECTAL VARITIES



Source: Tiwari (1960)

Annex III: Positional distribution of Bhojpuri consonants

	Word-initial (#-)	Inter-vocalic (v-v)	Word–final (-#)	preconsonantal (_C)	post consonantal (C_)	geminate
प /p/	पल /pʌl/ 'moment'	छपर /cʰʌpʌr/ 'roof'	छाप /cʰɑp/ 'brand'	हप्ता /ɦʌptɑ/ 'week'	कंपा /kʌmpɑ/ 'trap'	खप्पर /kʰʌppʌr/ 'skull'
फ /pʰ/	फल /pʰʌl/ 'fruit'	बाफल /bɑpʰʌl/ 'to boil'	बाफ /bɑpʰ/ 'vapour'	रफ्तार /rʌpʰtɑr/ 'velocity'	रप्फु /rʌppʰu/ 'patch'	
ब /b/	बर /bʌr/ 'bridegroom'	लबार /lʌbɑr/ 'lier'	राब /rɑb/ 'semi-liquid'	लरबर /lʌrbʌr/ 'loose'	लंबु /lʌmbu/ 'tall'	जब्बड़ /jʌbbʌɽ/ 'strong'
भ /ɓ/	भर /ɓʌr/ 'support'	लभल /lʌɓʌl/ 'to bow'	लाभ /lɑɓ/ 'profit'	चभकी /cʌɓki/ 'whip'	चंभु /cʌmbʰu/ 'cunning'	
त /t/	तार /tɑr/ 'wire'	गतर /gʌtʌr/ 'organ'	गत /gʌt/ 'condition'	कत्की /kʌtki/ 'related to Katik'	कप्तान /kʌptɑn/ 'captain'	अत्तो /ʌtto/ 'obstacle'
थ /tʰ/	थर /tʰʌr/ 'cow-shed'	बाथा /bɑtʰɑ/ 'pain'	माथ /mɑtʰ/ 'head'	हँथ्खेल /ɦɑ̃tʰkʰel/ 'tease'	पंथ /pʌntʰ/ 'way'	
द /d/	दर /dʌr/ 'rate'	वादा /wɑdɑ/ 'promise'	पद /pʌd/ 'post'	सद्भाव /sʌdɓɑo/ 'goodwill'	फंदा /pʰʌndɑ/ 'trap'	गद्दा /gʌddɑ/ 'heavy stick'
ध /ɖ/	धार /ɖɑr/ 'current'	बाधा /bɑɖɑ/ 'obstacle'	गध /gʌɖ/ 'noise'	साधना /sɑɖnɑ/ 'meditation'	बंधा /bʌnɖɑ/ 'bonded'	
ट /ʈ/	टहल /ʈʌɦʌl/ 'service'	हटल /ɦʌʈʌl/ 'to be relieved'	हाट /ɦɑʈ/ 'market'	कट्नी /kʌʈni/ 'reaping'	कंटक /kʌnʈʌk/ 'risky'	कट्टर /kʌʈʈʌr/ 'hard-liner'
ठ /ʈʰ/	ठेकना /ʈʰeknɑ/ 'support'	गठल /gʌʈʰʌl/ 'thick'	गाँठ /gɑ̃ʈʰ/ 'knot'	गँठ्जोड़ /gɑ̃ʈʰjoɽ/ 'coalition'	चिट्ठी /ciʈʈʰi/ 'letter'	
ड /ɖ/	डर /ɖʌr/ 'fear'	आडा /ɑɖɑ/ 'office'	कोड /koɖ/ 'code'	कड्कल /kʌɽkʌl/ 'to harden'	कंडा /kʌnɖɑ/ 'yam'	कबड्डी /kʌbʌɖɖi/ 'Kabaddi'

ढ /d̤/	ढाक /d̤ɑk/ 'base drum'	औढर /ɔd̤ʌr/ 'kind'	रूढ /rud̤/ 'prime'	रूढता /rud̤tɑ/ 'primeness'	लंढर /lʌnd̤ʌr/ 'vandalist'	
क /k/	कमल /kʌmʌl/ 'lotus'	लकम /lʌkʌm/ 'habit'	पाँक /pɑ̃k/ 'mud'	भक्ठाउँ /bʰʌkʈʰɑũ/ 'defunct'	मरकल /mʌrkʌl/ 'broken'	फक्कड़ /pʰʌkkʌɽ/ 'penny-less'
ख /kʰ/	खाल /kʰɑl/ 'skin'	राखी /rɑkʰi/ 'Raxabandhan'	पाँख /pɑ̃kʰ/ 'feather'	रखवार /rʌkʰwɑr/ 'keeper'	अधखल /ʌd̤kʰʌl/ 'partially emply'	
ग /g/	गाल /gɑl/ 'cheek'	लगी /lʌgi/ 'a long stick'	आग /ɑg/ 'fire'	अगवार /ʌgwɑr/ 'light grain'	अनकर /ʌnkʌr/ 'now own'	झग्गड़ /jʌggʌɽ/ 'conflict'
घ /g̈/	घेंट /g̈ẽʈ/ 'neck'	बाघा /bɑg̈ɑ/ 'blood obstruction'	बाघ /bɑg̈/ 'tiger'	बघवन /bʌg̈wʌn/ 'tiger-forest'	पनघट /pʌngʰʌʈ/ 'water-shed'	
स /s/	सान /sɑn/ 'sharpener'	असल /ʌsʌl/ 'good'	नाश /nɑs/ 'ruin'	अस्त /ʌst/ 'setting'	अंश /ʌns/ 'share'	हिँस्सा /ɦĩssɑ/ 'share'
ह /ɦ/	हानी /ɦɑni/ 'loss'	सहल /sʌɦʌl/ 'to bear'	राह /rɑɦ/ 'way'	दोह्रा /doɦrɑ/ 'double'	गोरहा /gorɦɑ/ 'dung-cake'	
च /c/	चरल /cʌrʌl/ 'to graze'	रचल /rʌcʌl/ 'to create'	आँच /ɑ̃c/ 'flame'	रचना /rʌcnɑ/ 'creation'	खर्चा /kʰʌrcɑ/ 'expences'	उँच्च /ũcc/ 'high'
छ /cʰ/	छल /cʰʌl/ 'intrigue'	काछल /kɑcʰʌl/ 'to ignore'	गाछ /gɑcʰ/ 'tree'	पछतावा /pʌcʰtɑwɑ/ 'repentance'	बरछी /bʌrcʰi/ 'pierce'	
ज /j/	जाल /jɑl/ 'net'	काजर /kɑjʌr/ 'kajal'	राज /rɑj/ 'secracy'	राजधानी /rɑjd̤ɑni/ 'capital'	कर्जा /kʌrjɑ/ 'loan'	धुमगज्जर /d̤umgʌjjʌr/ 'crowd'
झ /j̈/	झाल /j̈ɑl/ 'cimbal'	झाँझर /j̈ɑ̃ j̈ʌr/ 'feeble'	झाँझ /j̈ɑ̃ j̈/ 'a leg ornament'	ओझराह /oj̈rɑɦ/ 'knotted'	मुर्झाइल /murj̈ɑil/ 'pale'	
म /m/	मार /mɑr/ 'heat/kill'	अमार /ʌmɑr/ 'holy store'	आम /ɑm/ 'mango'	जमकल /jʌmkʌl/ 'motionless'	कुस्मा /kusmɑ/ 'spicy milk'	जम्मा /jʌmmɑ/ 'total'
म़ /m̰/		जम़ाई /jʌm̰ɑi/ 'yawning'	जम़ /jʌm̰/ 'death'	गम़्डल /gʌm̰ɽʌl/ 'earred'		
न /n/	नार /nɑr/ 'yoke'	राना /rɑnɑ/ 'plane'	पान /pɑn/ 'betel'	पंथ /pʌntʰ/ 'path'	मग्न /mʌgn/ 'lost in joy'	अधन्नी /ʌd̤ʌnni/ 32nd of a Rupee

ऩ /ɳ̊/		काऩा /kaɳ̊a/ 'Lord Krishna'	बाऩ /baɳ̊/ 'barriage'	बान्त़ा /baɳ̊ta/ 'bonded'		
ङ /ŋ/	ङौ /ŋɔ/ 'secret'	आङा /aŋa/ 'a paddy-species'	रङ /rʌŋ/ 'colour'	संकेत /sʌŋket/ 'symbol'	खलङा /kʰʌlŋa/ 'wooden house'	
ङ़ /ŋ̊/		लाङ़ा /laŋ̊a/ 'under pace'	जाङ़ /jaŋ̊/ 'thigh'	सङ़्ता /sʌŋ̊ʰta/ 'unity'		
र /r/	राखी /rakʰi/ 'Raxabandhan	करिआ /kʌria/ 'black'	आर /ar/ 'boundary'	पार्खी /parkʰi/ 'experienced'	लत्री /lʌtri/ 'legacy'	अर्रा /ʌrra/ 'vocation for goats'
ऱ /ɾ̊/		कर्ही /kʌɾ̊i/ 'cury'	पर्ह /pʌɾ̊/ 'last year'	गऱ्लाहा /gʌɾ̊laɦa/ 'created'		
ड़ /ɽ/		गड़ल /gʌɽʌl/ 'to be pricked'	आड़ /aɽ/ 'shade'	बुड़ता /buɽta/ 'sinking'	उक्ड़ा /ukɽa/ 'morning shift'	
ढ़ /ɽ̊/		पढ़ल /pʌɽ̊ʌl/ 'to read'	रूढ़ /ruɽ̊/ 'harsh/hard'	रूढ़ता /ruɽ̊ta/ 'roughness'		
ल /l/	लाख /lakʰ/ 'hundred thousand'	खाला /kʰala/ 'skin'	नाल /nal/ 'barrel'	आल्ता /alta/ 'neil polish'	नकलाह् /nʌklaɦ/ 'immitator'	अल्ला /ʌlla/ 'God'
ऌ /l̥/		छाऌी /cʰal̥i/ 'fat'	काऌ /kal̥/ 'yesterday'	पोल्वा /pol̥wa/ 'to have convinced'		
व /w/	वार /war/ 'attack'	छावा /cʰawa/ 'back of the leg under knee'	नाँव /naw/ 'boat'		पङ्वाहा /pʌŋwaɦa/ 'trimmer'	
य /y/	यौन /yɔn/ 'sex'	काया /kaya/ 'body'	माय /may/ 'mother'		खोंड़या /kʰõɽya/ 'heavy sword'	अय्यास /ʌyyas/ 'luxurious'

ANNEX IV: Vowel sequence

	ʌ	ɑ	i	u	e	ɛ	o	ɔ
ʌ			बइर /bʌir/ 'plum'	झउर /jʌur/ 'obstacle'	गएर /gʌer/ 'alien'		ह्ओ /ɦʌo/ 'stop'	
ɑ			गाई /gɑi/ 'cow'	बाउर /bɑur/ 'bad'	खाए /kʰɑe/ 'to eat'		जाओ /jɑo/ 'go (OPT)'	
i	जिअल /jiʌl/ 'live'	बिआ /biɑ/ 'seedlings	दिई /dii/ 'give (FUT)'	तिउर /tiur/ 'oven'	जिए /jie/ 'to live'		जिओ /jio/ 'live (OPT)	बतिऔन /bʌtiɔn/ 'splints'
u	जुअल /juʌl/ 'be yoked'	पुआ /puɑ/ 'cake'	बुई /bui/ 'fear'		जुए /jue/ 'to be yoked'	कडुऐना /kʌɽuɛnɑ/ 'winter grass'	जुओ /juo/ 'be yoked (OPT)'	मुऔना /muɔnɑ/ 'weapon'
e	खेअल /kʰeʌl/ 'row'	देआद /deɑd/ 'cousins'	खेई /kʰei/ 'row (FUT)'	नेउर /neur/ 'mongoose'			नेओरत /neorʌt/ 'disciplined'	
ɛ		ऐआस /ɛɑs/ 'sensual'						
o	बोअल /boʌl/ 'sow'	छोआ /cʰoɑ/ 'molasses'	डोई /ɖoi/ 'laddle'	बोऊ /bou/ 'sow (IMP.H)'	ओए /oe/ 'yea'		रोओ /roo/ 'cry (OPT)'	रोऔना /roɔnɑ/ 'weepener'
ɔ								
ʌ̃								
ɑ̃								
ĩ								
ũ	पहुँअल /pʌɦũʌl/ 'revive'				गहुँए /gʌɦũe/ 'wheat'		गहुँओ /gʌɦũo/ 'wheat'	
ẽ								
ɛ̃								
õ								
ɔ̃								

	ʌ̃	ɑ̃	ĩ	ũ	ẽ	ɛ̃	õ	ɔ̃
ʌ								
ɑ								
i								करिऔँधा /kʌriɔ̃ɖɑ/ 'blackish green'
u								
e								
ɛ								
o								
ɔ								
ʌ̃			हँईं /ɦʌ̃ĩ/ 'be.H)	हँउँक /ɦʌ̃ũk/ 'fan'	तँएँ /tʌ̃ẽ/ 'thou'		गँव /gʌ̃õ 'pretention'	
ɑ̃			बाँईं /bɑ̃ĩ/ 'left'	आँउँ /ɑ̃ũ/ 'dysentery'	आँए /ɑ̃ẽ/ 'yea'		गाँव /gɑ̃õ/ 'village'	
ĩ		टोइँआँ /ʈoĩɑ̃/ 'earthen pot'	दिईं /dĩi/ 'give.H)	टिँउँ /ʈĩũ/ 'tease'	टोइँएँ /ʈoĩẽ/ 'earthen pot'		टोइँऔँ /ʈoĩõ/ 'earthen pot'	
ũ		हुँआँ /ɦũɑ̃/ 'howl'	उँईं /ũĩ/ 'yea'		धुँएँ /ɖũẽ/ 'smoke		धुँऔँ /dʰũõ/ 'smoke'	
ẽ		ज्ञान /gẽɑ̃n/ 'knowledge'	जेइँएँ /jeĩẽ/ 'how.REL'	एँउँ /ẽũ/ 'yea'			जेंओं /jẽõ/ 'how.REL'	
ɛ̃								
õ		रोआँ /rõɑ̃/ 'hair'	भटकोईं /ɓʌʈkõĩ/ 'wild plant'		गौँएँ /gõẽ/ 'mobike sound'		रौँऔँ /ʈõõ/ 'hair'	
ɔ̃					गौँएँ /gɔ̃ẽ/ 'slow'			

ANNEX V: Samples of the collected texts[1]

Text 01: A Radio Interview with Sunil Patel, General Secretary of Bhojpuri Students' Society of Nepal on 069-1-16

01.001

सुनील जी, सब से पहिले अपने के कार्यक्रम में स्वागत बा ।

sunilji	**sʌb**	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**karyʌkrʌm**	**mẽ**	**swagʌt**
sunil-ji	**sʌb**	**se**	**pʌɦil-e**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**karyʌkrʌm**	**mẽ**	**swagʌt**
Sunil-H	all	source	first-EMPH	2SG.H	DAT	programme	LOC	welcome

ba

ba

be.3SG.PRES

Sunilji, Welcome to the programme.

01.002

धन्यवाद !

d̪ʌnyʌbad

d̪ʌnyʌbad

thank

Thank you.

01.003

जी सुनील जी, त बतावल जाओ अभीन रउआ का कर रहल बानी ?

ji	**sunilji**	**tʌ**	**bʌtawʌl**	**jao**	**ʌb̪in**	**rʌua**	**kʌr**	**rʌɦʌl**
ji	**sunil-ji**	**tʌ**	**bʌt-a-wʌl**	**ja-o**	**ʌb̪in**	**rʌua**	**kʌr**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
yea	Sunil-H	COND	tell-CAUS-INF	go-IMP.H	now	2SG.H	do	live-INF

bani

bani

be.PRES.H

Yea.Sunil, Let me know what are you doing these days?

01.004

खास कके हम अभीन पढ़ाई में ही व्यस्त रनी ह ।

kʰas	**kʌke**	**ɦʌm**	**ʌb̪in**	**pʌt̪ai**	**mẽ**	**ɦi**	**byʌst**	**rʌni**
kʰas	**kʌr-ke**	**ɦʌm**	**ʌb̪in**	**pʌt̪ai**	**mẽ**	**ɦi**	**byʌst**	**rʌɦ-ni**
special	do-SEQ	1SG.NOM	now	study	LOC	EMPH	busy	live-PST.H

ɦʌ

ɦʌ

be.3SG.PRES

I have been engaged in my study primarily these days.

01.005

एल एल बी के बाद अभीन एल एल एम के तेयारी में बानी ।

el	**el**	**bi**	**ke**	**bad**	**ʌb̪in**	**el**	**el**	**em**	**ke**	**teyari**	**mẽ**	**bani**
el	**el**	**bi**	**ke**	**bad**	**ʌb̪in**	**el**	**el**	**em**	**ke**	**teyari**	**mẽ**	**bani**
L	L	B	GEN	later	now	L	L	M	GEN	preparation	LOC	be.PRES.H

I'm now in preparation for LLM after LLB.

01.006

आ राउर नेपाल भोजपुरी विद्यार्थी समाज का कर रहल बा ?

a	**raur**	**nepal**	**b̪ojpuri**	**bidyarthi**	**sʌmaj**	**ka**	**kʌr**	**rʌɦʌl**
a	**raur**	**nepal**	**b̪ojpuri**	**bidyarthi**	**sʌmaj**	**ka**	**kʌr**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**

1. As limitations of the study in Chapter one, Text 01, 06, 08 and 011 have been included in the annexes from 13 samples comprising 396 pages. The rest texts have already been safe with the researcher.

and 2SG.GEN.H Nepal Bhojpuri student society what do live-INF
ba
ba
be.3SG.PRES
And what is your Bhojpuri Students' Society of Nepal doing these days?
01.007
नेपाल भोजपुरी विद्यार्थी समाज विगत में भी राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, साहित्यिक कार्यक्रम में संलग्न रहल ।

nepal	**ḅojpuri**	**bidyarthi**	**sʌmaj**	**bigʌt**	**mẽ**	**ḅi**	**rajnitik**	**samajik**
nepal	**ḅojpuri**	**bidyarthi**	**sʌmaj**	**bigʌt**	**mẽ**	**ḅi**	**rajnitik**	**sʌmaj-ik**
Nepal	Bhojpuri	student	society	past	LOC	also	political	society-ADJ

sahityik	**karyʌkrʌm**	**mẽ**	**sʌnlʌgnʌ**	**rʌhʌl**	
sahityʌ-ik	**karyʌkrʌm**	**mẽ**	**sʌnlʌgnʌ**	**rʌh-ʌl**	
literature-ADJ	programme	LOC	involved	live-3SG.PST	

Bhojpuri Students' Society of Nepal was involved in political, social and literary programmes in the past also.
01.008
आ अभीन के अवस्था में ई जेठ १४ गते संविधान आओ कहके नेपाल के सर्वोच्च अदालत अपन निर्णय देहलक आ रातारतात काम हो रहल बा ।

a	**ʌḅin**	**ke**	**ʌwʌsthɑ**	**mẽ**	**i**	**jeʈh**	**cʌudʌ**	**gʌte**	**sʌmbiḍan**
a	**ʌḅin**	**ke**	**ʌwʌsthɑ**	**mẽ**	**i**	**jeʈh**	**cʌudʌ**	**gʌte**	**sʌmbiḍan**
and	now	GEN	situation	LOC	this	May-June	fourteen	day	constitution

ɑo	**kʌhke**	**nepal**	**ke**	**sʌrboccʌ**	**ʌdalʌt**	**ʌpʌn**	**nirnɛ**
ɑ-o	**kʌh-ke**	**nepal**	**ke**	**sʌrboccʌ**	**ʌdalʌt**	**apʌn**	**nirnɛ**
come-OPT	say-SEQ	Nepal	GEN	supreme	court	3.GEN	decision

dehlʌk	**ɑ**	**ratarat**	**kam**	**ho**	**rʌhʌl**	**ba**
de-ʌl-ʌkh	**ɑ**	**ratarat**	**kam**	**ho**	**rʌh-ʌl**	**ba**
give-3SG.PST-NH	and	overnight	work	be	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

And recently Supreme Court of Nepal gave its verdict expecting the constitution to come on May 27 and the work is being done round the clock.
01.009
ए अवस्था में देश के संघीयता में ले जाए खातिर मदेस के माओवादी लोग के प्रस्ताव में दूगो प्रदेश में बाँटल गइल ।

e	**ʌwʌsthɑ**	**mẽ**	**des**	**ke**	**sʌŋğiyʌtɑ**	**mẽ**	**le**	**jɑe**	**khatir**
e	**ʌwʌsthɑ**	**mẽ**	**des**	**ke**	**sʌŋğiyʌtɑ**	**mẽ**	**le**	**jɑ-e**	**khatir**
PROX	situation	LOC	country	GEN	federalism	LOC	bring	go-PUR	for

mʌdes	**ke**	**maobadi**	**log**	**ke**	**prʌstɑo**	**mẽ**	**dugo**
mʌḍes	**ke**	**mao-bad-i**	**log**	**ke**	**prʌstɑo**	**mẽ**	**du-go**
Madhesh	GEN	Mao-ism-ADJ	people	GEN	proposal	LOC	two-CLF

prʌdes	**mẽ**	**bãʈʌl**	**gʌil**
prʌdes	**mẽ**	**bãʈ-ʌl**	**jɑ-il**
province	LOC	allocate-PRF	go-3SG.PST

In this context, Madhesh was divided into two provinces on proposal of the Maoists, to bring the country into federalism.
01.010
जे में चितवन के अलग कइल गइल ।

je	**mẽ**	**citwʌn**	**ke**	**ʌlʌg**	**kʌil**	**gʌil**
je	**mẽ**	**citwʌn**	**ke**	**ʌlʌg**	**kʌr-il**	**jɑ-il**

3SG.COND.NOM LOC Chitwan GEN separate do-PRF go-3SG.PST
In which Chitwan was separeted from both of them.
01.011
और कङरेस लोग के प्रस्ताव में ओने झापा, सुनसरी के ओने पहाड़ के सङे राखेके और कंचनपुर, कैलाली के भी पहाड़ के सङे राखेके

ɔr	**kʌŋres**	**log**	**ke**	**prʌstao**	**mẽ**	**one**	**ǰapa**	**sunsʌri**	**ke**
ɔr	**kʌŋres**	**log**	**ke**	**prʌstao**	**mẽ**	**one**	**ǰapa**	**sunsʌri**	**ke**
and	congress	people	GEN	proposal	LOC	that side	Jhapa	Sunsari	GEN

one	**pʌɦaɽ**	**ke**	**sʌŋe**	**rʌkʰeke**	**ɔr**	**kʌncʌnpur**	**kɛlali**
one	**pʌɦaɽ**	**ke**	**sʌŋ-e**	**rakʰ-e-ke**	**ɔr**	**kʌncʌnpur**	**kɛlali**
that side	hill	GEN	with-LOC	keep-PUR-PUR	and	Kanchanpur	Kailali

ke	**b̤i**	**pʌɦaɽ**	**ke**	**sʌŋe**	**rʌkʰeke**
ke	**b̤i**	**pʌɦaɽ**	**ke**	**sʌŋ-e**	**rakʰ-e-ke**
GEN	also	hill	GEN	with-LOC	keep-PUR-PUR

And on the proposal of Congress leaders, Jhapa and Sunsari are being joined with mountains as well as Kailali and Kanchanpur are being placed so.
01.012
ई से जौन देश के संघीयता के खाका बन रहल बा, ई पूरे मदेस के अहित में त बढ़ले बा,

i	**se**	**ǰɔn**	**des**	**ke**	**sʌŋǧiyʌta**	**ke**	**kʰaka**	**bʌn**	**rʌɦʌl**
i	**se**	**ǰɔn**	**des**	**ke**	**sʌŋǧiyʌta**	**ke**	**kʰaka**	**bʌn**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
this	means	COMP	country	GEN	federalism	GEN	roadmap	make	live-INF

ba	**i**	**pure**	**mʌdes**	**ke**	**ʌɦit**	**mẽ**	**tʌ**	**bʌɽle**
ba	**i**	**pura-e**	**mʌd̤es**	**ke**	**ʌɦit**	**mẽ**	**tʌ**	**bʌɽ-ʌl-e**
be.3SG.PRES	this	full-EMPH	Madhesh	GEN	enemy	LOC	COND	be-PP-EMPH

ba
ba
be.3SG.PRES
From this, the roadmap of the federalism of the country being architected is, first of all, against the interest of Madhesh.
01.013
साथ-साथ भोजपुरी के देखल जाओ त एने पर्सा से लेके ओने पुरुब जोड़ देवल जाता और रूपंदेही, नवलपरासी के पछिम कइल जाता।

satʰ	**satʰ**	**b̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**dekʰʌl**	**ǰao**	**tʌ**	**pʌrsa**	**se**
satʰ	**satʰ**	**b̤ojpuri**	**ke**	**dekʰ-ʌl**	**ǰa-o**	**tʌ**	**pʌrsa**	**se**
company	company	Bhojpuri	ACC	see-INF	go-OPT	COND	Parsa	source

leke	**one**	**purub**	**joɽ**	**dewʌl**	**ǰata**			**ɔr**
le-ke	**one**	**purub**	**joɽ**	**de-wʌl**	**ǰa-ʌt**	**ba**		**ɔr**
take-SEQ	that side	east	connect	give	-INF	go-SIM	be.3SG.PRES	and

rupʌndeɦi	**nʌwʌlpʌrasi**	**ke**	**pʌcʰim**	**kʌil**	**ǰata**	
rupʌndeɦi	**nʌwʌlpʌrasi**	**ke**	**pʌcʰim**	**kʌr-il**	**ǰa-ʌt**	**ba**
Rupandehi	Nawalparasi	GEN	west	do-INF	go-SIM	be.3SG.PRES

With that, as far as Bhojpuri region is concerned, Parsa and eastward part is attached with the east and Rupandehi and Nawalparasi are separated towards west.
01.014
और बीच में चितवन में एगो बफर स्टेट खड़ा कइल जाता।

ɔr	**bic**	**mẽ**	**citwʌn**	**ke**	**ego**	**bʌpʰʌr**	**esʈet**	**kʰʌɽa**	**kʌil**
ɔr	**bic**	**mẽ**	**citwʌn**	**ke**	**ek-go**	**bʌpʰʌr**	**esʈet**	**kʰʌɽa**	**kʌr-il**
and	middle	LOC	Chitwan	GEN	one-CLF	buffer	state	stand	do-INF

jata
ja-ʌt ba
go-SIM be.3SG.PRES
And Chitwan is being constructed a buffer state in the middle.
01.015
ई संघीयता के जौन ढाँचा बनी, ई भविष्य में हमनी के संतति के साँथे और देश के समग्र आर्थिक-सामाजिक रुपांतरण का साँथे एगो बहुत बड़का बएमानी होखे जा रहल बा।

i	**sʌŋg̈iyʌta**	**ke**	**jɔn**	**ɖ̈ãca**	**bʌni**	**i**	**b̤ʌbisyʌ**	**mẽ**
i	**sʌŋg̈iyʌta**	**ke**	**jɔn**	**ɖ̈ãca**	**bʌn-i**	**i**	**b̤ʌbisyʌ**	**mẽ**
this	federalism	GEN	COMP	model	make-3SG.FUT	this	future	LOC

ɦʌmni	**ke**	**sʌntʌti**	**ke**	**sãtʰe**	**ɔr**	**des**	**ke**	**sʌmʌgrʌ**
ɦʌm-ni	**ke**	**sʌntʌti**	**ke**	**satʰ-e**	**ɔr**	**des**	**ke**	**sʌmʌgrʌ**
1SG-PL	GEN	descendent	GEN	company-LOC	and	country	GEN	whole

artʰik	**samajik**	**rupantʌrʌn**	**ka**	**sãtʰe**	**ego**
ʌrtʰ-ik	**sʌmaj-ik**	**rupantʌrʌn**	**ka**	**satʰ-e**	**ek-go**
economy-ADJ	society-ADJ	transformation	GEN	company-LOC	one-CLF

bʌɦut	**bʌɽka**	**bɛmani**	**ɦokʰe**	**ja**	**rʌɦʌl**	**ba**
bʌɦut	**bʌɽ-ka**	**bɛmani**	**ɦokʰ-e**	**ja**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**ba**
very	big-CLF	treachery	be-PUR	go	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

This model of the federalism, if applied, will be a great treachery with our successors as well as with the overall economic and social transformation of the country in future.
01.016
एकरा संदर्भ में हमनी संभव होखे जहाँ तक बहुत जल्दी जे नीति निर्माणकर्ता लोग बा, जे हमनी के सभासद लोग बा, और लोग बा, ऊ लोग के साँथ में अंतरक्रिया कार्यक्रम और आगामी दिन में रणनीति कइसन होखेके चाहीं, ऊ कार्यक्रम करे जा रहल बानी स हमनी।

ekra	**sʌndʌrb̤**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmni**	**sʌmb̤ɔ**	**ɦokʰe**	**jʌɦã**	**tʌk**	**bʌɦut**	**jʌldi**
i-ra	**sʌndʌrb̤**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**sʌmb̤ɔ**	**ɦokʰ-e**	**jʌɦã**	**tʌk**	**bʌɦut**	**jʌldi**
this-POSS	context	LOC	1SG-PL	possible	be-OPT	where	till	very	soon

je	**niti**	**nirmankʌrta**	**log**	**ba**	**je**	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**sʌb̤asʌd**
je	**niti**	**nirmankʌrta**	**log**	**ba**	**je**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**sʌb̤asʌd**
REL	policy	maker	PL	be.3SG.PRES	REL	1SG-PL	GEN	CA Member

log	**ba**	**ɔr**	**log**	**ba**	**u**	**log**	**ke**	**sãtʰ**	**mẽ**
log	**ba**	**ɔr**	**log**	**ba**	**u**	**log**	**ke**	**satʰ**	**mẽ**
PL	be.3SG.PRES	and	people	be.3SG.PRES	COR	PL	GEN	company	LOC

ʌntʌrkriya	**karyʌkrʌm**	**kʌre**	**ja**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bani**	**sʌ**	**ɦʌmni**
ʌntʌrkriya	**karyʌkrʌm**	**kʌr-e**	**ja**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bani**	**sʌ**	**ɦʌm-ni**
interaction	programme	do-PUR	go	live-INF	be.PRES.H	PL	1SG-PL

In this context, as far as soon it is possible, we are going to organize a programme with those who are policy-makers, our CA members and others to interact with them and to formulate a future strategy.
01.017
जी, त रउआ कहनी कि बीच में से, खास कके प्रचंडजी के लेआवल जवन प्रस्ताव बा ओ में, चितवन काट लेहल जा रहल बा।

ji	**tʌ**	**rʌua**	**kʌɦni**	**ki**	**bic**	**mẽ**	**se**	**kʰas**	**kʌke**
ji	**tʌ**	**rʌua**	**kʌɦ-ni**	**ki**	**bic**	**mẽ**	**se**	**kʰas**	**kʌr-ke**
yea	COND	2SG.H	say-PST.H	COMP	middle	LOC	source	special	do-SEQ

prʌcʌnɖji	**ke**	**leawʌl**	**jɔn**	**prʌstao**	**ba**	**o**	**mẽ**
prʌcʌnɖ-ji	**ke**	**le-a-wʌl**	**jɔn**	**prʌstao**	**ba**	**o**	**mẽ**

Prachand-H GEN bring-CAUS-PP REL proposal be.3SG.PRES COR LOC

citwʌn kaʈ lefiʌl ja rʌfiʌl ba
citwʌn kaʈ le-ʌl ja rʌfi-ʌl ba
Chitwan cut take-INF go live-INF be.3SG.PRES

Yes, you said that Chitwan is being cut out in the middle as proposed by Prachanda.

01.018

आ नेपाली कॉङ्रेस आ नेकपा एमाले के भी ओ में कहला से फरक ना परी ।

ɑ nepɑli kɔŋres ɑ nekʌpɑ emɑle ke b̤i o mẽ
ɑ nepɑl-i kʌŋres ɑ nekʌpɑ emɑle ke b̤i o mẽ
and Nepal-ADJ congress and CPN UML GEN also that LOC

kʌfiʌlɑ se pʰʌrʌk nɑ pʌri
kʌfi-ʌl-ɑ se pʰʌrʌk nɑ pʌr-i
say-PRF--SEQ means difference neg fall-FUT

And if the Nepali Congress and the CPN (UML) are included, there won't be any difference.

01.019

दूनू के अभी जे ह से संघीयता के सवाल पर चोंच में चोंच मिल रहल बा ।

dunu ke ʌb̤i je fiʌ se sʌŋğiyʌtɑ ke sʌwɑl pʌr
du-nu ke ʌb̤i je fiʌ se sʌŋğiyʌtɑ ke sʌwɑl pʌr
two-EMPH GEN now REL be.3SG.PRES COR federalism GEN issue LOC

cõc mẽ cõc mil rʌfiʌl ba
cõc mẽ cõc mil rʌfi-ʌl ba
beak LOC beak match live-INF be.3SG.PRES

Both have the same voice on the issue of federalism.

01.020

त ई दूनू पार्टी का तरफ से त ना कहल जाए बाँकिर ए दूनू पार्टी के नेता लोग का तरफ से ।

tʌ i dunu pɑrʈi kɑ tʌrʌpʰ se tʌ nɑ
tʌ i du-nu pɑrʈi kɑ tʌrʌpʰ se tʌ nɑ
COND 3SG.DEM.PROX two-EMPH party GEN side source COND NEG

kʌfiʌl jɑe bãkir e dunu pɑrʈi ke netɑ log kɑ
kʌfi-ʌl jɑ-e bãkir e du-nu pɑrʈi ke netɑ log kɑ
say-INF go-OPT but PROX two-EMPH party GEN leader PL GEN

tʌrʌpʰ se
tʌrʌpʰ se
side source

Yea. Better to say on behalf of the leaders of the two parties rather than both the parties.

01.021

काहे कि ओहू पार्टी में आदिवासी जनजाति, मधेसी पृष्ठभूमि के जवन लोग बा ओ से सहमत नइखे ।

kɑfie ki ofiu pɑrʈi mẽ ɑdibɑsi jʌnʌjɑti mʌd̤esi
kɑfie ki o-fiu pɑrʈi mẽ ɑdibɑsi jʌnʌjɑti mʌd̤es-i
why COMP 3SG-EMPH party LOC indigenous ethnicity Madhesh-ADJ

prisʈʰb̤umi ke jɔn log bɑ o se sʌfimʌt
prisʈʰb̤umi ke jɔn log bɑ o se sʌfimʌt
background GEN COMP people be.3SG.PRES 3SG.DIST with agreed

nʌikʰe
nʌikʰ-e
be.NEG.PRES-3SG

Because the IndiGENous Nationalities and Madheshis involved in those parties do not agree with that.

01.022
लेकिन नेतृत्व लोग मान न मान मैं तेरा मेहमान भा अपने मूहें मिया मीट्ठू कहे के हिसाब से जौन ऊ लोग लेआ रहल बा ।

lekin	**netritwʌ**	**log**	**mɑn**	**nʌ**	**mɑn**	**mɛ̃**	**terɑ**	**meɦmɑn**	**ḛɑ**	**ʌpne**
lekin	**netritwʌ**	**log**	**mɑn**	**nʌ**	**mɑn**	**ɦʌm**	**toɦʌr**	**meɦmɑn**	**ḛɑ**	**ʌpne**
but	leadership	PL	like	NEG	like	1SG	2SG.GEN	guest	or	self

mũɦe	**miyɑ**	**miʈʈʰu**	**kʌɦe**	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**jɔn**	**u**	
mũɦ-e	**miyɑ**	**miʈʈʰu**	**kʌɦ-e**	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**jɔn**	**u**	
mouth-INST	Muslim Priest	sweet	say-PUR	GEN	manner	with	REL	COR	

log	**leɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑ**
log	**leɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑ**
PL	bring	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

But the leadership is bringing the proposal in a self-appreciated way.
01.023
कि पुरुब में तीनगो जिला झापा, मोरङ आ सुनसरी ओकरा के पहाड़ के जवरे राख देवे के ।

ki	**purub**	**mẽ**	**tingo**	**jilɑ**	**ʝɑpɑ**	**morʌŋ**	**ɑ**	**sunsʌri**
ki	**purub**	**mẽ**	**tin-go**	**jilɑ**	**ʝɑpɑ**	**morʌŋ**	**ɑ**	**sunsʌri**
COMP	east	LOC	three-CLF	district	Jhapa	Morang	and	Sunsari

okʌrɑ	**ke**	**pʌɦɑɽ**	**ke**	**jɔre**	**rʌkʰ**	**dewe**	**ke**	
okʌrɑ	**ke**	**pʌɦɑɽ**	**ke**	**jɔre**	**rɑkʰ**	**de-we**	**ke**	
3SG.GEN	GEN	hill	GEN	with	keep	give-PUR	GEN	

That three districts in the east; Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari; will be placed with hills.
01.024
आ ओकरा साथे एने जे बा से कैलाली कंचनपुर के भी पहाड़ का साथे राख देवेके ।

ɑ	**okʌrɑ**	**sɑtʰe**	**ene**	**je**	**bɑ**	**se**	**kɛlali**	
ɑ	**okʌrɑ**	**sɑtʰ-e**	**ene**	**je**	**bɑ**	**se**	**kɛlali**	
and	3.SG.GEN	company-LOC	this side	REL	be.3SG.PRES	COR	Kailali	

kʌncʌnpur	**ke**	**ḛi**	**pʌɦɑɽ**	**kɑ**	**sɑtʰe**	**rɑkʰ**	**dewe**	**ke**	
kʌncʌnpur	**ke**	**ḛi**	**pʌɦɑɽ**	**kɑ**	**sɑtʰ-e**	**rɑkʰ**	**de-we**	**ke**	
Kanchanpur	ACC	also	hill	GEN	company-LOC	keep	give-PUR	GEN	

And with that Kailali and Kanchanpur are also proposed to be kept with hills.
01.025
त ओने कैलाली, कंचनपुर आ झापा, मोरङ, सुनसरी से त भोजपुरी के कवनो प्रत्यक्ष सरोकार नइखे ।

tʌ	**one**	**kɛlali**	**kʌncʌnpur**	**ɑ**	**ʝɑpɑ**	**morʌŋ**	**sunsʌri**	**se**	
tʌ	**one**	**kɛlali**	**kʌncʌnpur**	**ɑ**	**ʝɑpɑ**	**morʌŋ**	**sunsʌri**	**se**	
COND	that side	Kailali	Kanchanpur	and	Jhapa	Morang	Sunsari	with	

tʌ	**ḛojpuri**	**ke**	**kɔno**	**prʌtyʌkcʰ**	**sʌrokɑr**	**nʌikʰe**	
tʌ	**ḛojpuri**	**ke**	**kɔno**	**prʌtyʌkcʰ**	**sʌrokɑr**	**nʌikʰ-e**	
COND	Bhojpuri	GEN	any	direct	concern	be.NEG.PRES-3SG	

Then, Bhojpuri is certainly not concerned with Kailali, Kanchanpur, Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari.
01.026
बाँकिर चितवन से भोजपुरी के प्रत्यक्ष सरोकार बा ।

bɑ̃kir	**citwʌn**	**se**	**ḛojpuri**	**ke**	**prʌtyʌkcʰ**	**sʌrokɑr**	**bɑ**
bɑ̃kir	**citwʌn**	**se**	**ḛojpuri**	**ke**	**prʌtyʌkcʰ**	**sʌrokɑr**	**bɑ**
but	Chitwan	with	Bhojpuri	GEN	direct	concern	be.3SG.PRES

But Bhojpuri is directly concerned with Chitwan.
01.027

त ए संदर्भ में जब रउआ बात उठाइए देनी त भोजपुरी भाषा-संस्कृति आ भोजपुरी भाषी क्षेत्र के अनुकूलता में ई क्षेत्र के तरे बनेके चाहीं ?

tʌ	**e**	**sʌndʌrb̤**	**mẽ**	**jʌb**	**rʌua**	**bat**	**ut̪ʰaie**	**deni**
tʌ	**e**	**sʌndʌrb̤**	**mẽ**	**jʌb**	**rʌua**	**bat**	**ut̪ʰa-ie**	**de-ni**
COND	PROX	context	LOC	when	2SG.H	matter	raise-SEQ.EMPH	give-PRES

tʌ	**b̤ojpuri**	**b̤asa**	**sʌnskriti**	**ɑ**	**b̤ojpuri**	**b̤asi**	**cʰetrʌ**	**ke**
tʌ	**b̤ojpuri**	**b̤asa**	**sʌnskriti**	**ɑ**	**b̤ojpuri**	**b̤asi**	**cʰetrʌ**	**ke**
COR	Bhojpuri	language	culture	and	Bhojpuri	speaking	region	GEN

ʌnukultɑ	**mẽ**	**i**	**cʰetrʌ**	**ke**	**tʌre**	**bʌneke**	**cɑɦĩ**
ʌnukultɑ	**mẽ**	**i**	**cʰetrʌ**	**ke**	**tʌre**	**bʌn-e-ke**	**cɑɦ-ĩ**
favour	LOC	PROX	region	what	such	make-PUR-PUR	want-FUT

Then, if you raised the issue in this context, how can this province be allocated in accordance with the Bhojpuri language and culture and the Bhojpuri speaking region?

01.028

अइसे पहिलका जे मधेसवादी दल लोग के माङ रहल ह समग्र मधेस एक प्रदेश होएके चाहीं त यदि समग्र मधेश एक प्रदेश होता त समग्र मधेश बहुभाषी प्रदेश रही ।

ʌise	**pʌɦilkɑ**	**je**	**mʌd̤esbɑdi**	**dʌl**	**log**	**ke**	**mɑŋ**	**rʌɦʌl**
ʌise	**pʌɦil-kɑ**	**je**	**mʌd̤es-bɑd-i**	**dʌl**	**log**	**ke**	**mɑŋ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**
this way	first-CLF	REL	Madhesh-ISM-ADJ	party	PL	GEN	demand	live-PP

ɦʌ	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**ɦoeke**	**cɑɦĩ**	**tʌ**
ɦʌ	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**ɦo-e-ke**	**cɑɦ-ĩ**	**tʌ**
be.3SG.PRES	whole	Madhesh	one	province	be-PUR-PUR	want-OPT	COND

yʌdi	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**ɦotɑ**	**tʌ**
yʌdi	**sʌmʌgrʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**ɦo-ʌt**	**bɑ**	**tʌ**
if	whole	Madhesh	one	province	be-SIM	be.3SG.PRES	COND

sʌmʌgrʌ	**mʌd̤es**	**bʌɦub̤asi**	**rʌɦi**
sʌmʌgrʌ	**mʌd̤es**	**bʌɦub̤asi**	**rʌɦ-i**
whole	Madhesh	multilingual	live-3SG.FUT

As the pro-Madheshi political parties have demanded initially that the whole Madhesh be a single province and if the whole Madhesh is formed as a single province, whole Madhesh will be multilingual.

01.029

एकरा भीतर एगो प्रशासनिक इकाई के रूप में भोजपुरी स्वायत्त प्रदेश, मैथिली स्वायत्त प्रदेश, अवधी स्वायत्त प्रदेश, थारू स्वायत्त प्रदेश या कोचिला स्वायत्त प्रदेश के अभ्यास कइल जा सकता ।

ekʌrɑ	**b̤itʌr**	**ego**	**prʌsɑsʌnik**	**ikɑi**	**ke**	**rup**	**mẽ**
ekʌr-ɑ	**b̤itʌr**	**ek-go**	**prʌsɑsʌn-ik**	**ikɑi**	**ke**	**rup**	**mẽ**
PROX.GEN-SPEC	inside	one-CLF	administration-ADJ	unit	GEN	form	LOC

b̤ojpuri	**swɑettʌ**	**prʌdes**	**mɛtʰili**	**swɑettʌ**	**prʌdes**	**tʰɑru**
b̤ojpuri	**swɑettʌ**	**prʌdes**	**mɛtʰili**	**swɑettʌ**	**prʌdes**	**tʰɑru**
Bhojpuri	autonomous	region	Maithili	autonomous	region	Tharu

swɑettʌ	**prʌdes**	**yɑ**	**kocilɑ**	**swɑettʌ**	**prʌdes**	**ke**	**ʌb̤yɑs**	**kʌil**
swɑettʌ	**prʌdes**	**b̤ɑ**	**kocilɑ**	**swɑettʌ**	**prʌdes**	**ke**	**ʌb̤yɑs**	**kʌr-il**
autonomous	region	or	Kochila	autonomous	region	GEN	exercise	do-INF

jɑ	**sʌkʌtɑ**	
jɑ	**sʌk-ʌt**	**bɑ**
go	can-SIM	be.3SG.PRES

Within this, Bhojpuri autonomous region, Maithili autonomous region, Awadhi autonomous region, Tharu autonomous region or Kochila autonomous region can be

brought under practice as an administerial unit.
01.030
लेकिन एगो भौगोलिक सुगमता के हिसाब से समग्र मधेश एक प्रदेश संभव बा ।

lekin	**ego**	**b̪ɔgolik**	**sugʌmta**	**ke**	**ɦisab**	**se**	**sʌmʌgrʌ**
lekin	**ek-go**	**b̪ɔgolik**	**sugʌmta**	**ke**	**ɦisab**	**se**	**sʌmʌgrʌ**
but	one-CLF	geographical	convenience	GEN	manner	means	whole

mʌd̪es	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**sʌmb̪ɔ**	**ba**
mʌd̪es	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**sʌmb̪ɔ**	**ba**
Madhesh	one	province	possible	be.3SG.PRES

But on behalf of the geographical convenience whole Madhesh a single province is possible.
01.031
दोसर बात, यदि एगो भाषा के एगो संस्कृति के चिरके रउआ तीनगो प्रदेश बनावेके चाहतानी त राउर संघीयता बनावे के उद्देश्य का ह ?

dosʌr	**bat**	**yʌdi**	**ego**	**b̪asa**	**ke**	**ego**	**sʌnskriti**	**ke**
dosʌr	**bat**	**yʌdi**	**ek-go**	**b̪asa**	**ke**	**ek-go**	**sʌnskriti**	**ke**
soCOND	matter	if	one-CLF	language	GEN	one-CLF	culture	GEN

cirke	**rʌua**	**tingo**	**prʌdes**	**bʌnaweke**	**caɦʌtani**	
cir-ke	**rʌua**	**tin-go**	**prʌdes**	**bʌna-e-ke**	**caɦ-ʌt**	**bani**
split-SEQ	2SG.H	three-CLF	province	make-PUR-PUR	want-IMPF	be.PRES.H

tʌ	**raur**	**sʌŋg̈iyʌta**	**bʌnawe**	**ke**	**uddesyʌ**	**ka**	**ɦʌ**
tʌ	**raur**	**sʌŋg̈iyʌta**	**bʌna-e**	**ke**	**uddesyʌ**	**ka**	**ɦʌ**
COND	2SG.GEN.H	federalism	make-PUR	GEN	purpose	what	be.3SG.PRES

Another matter, if you want to allocate three provinces sPLitting a single linguistic or a single cultural area, what is the motto of your federal structure?
01.032
रउआ आर्थिक विकास पर जोड़ देवेके चाहतानी कि सांस्कृतिक विकास पर ?

rʌua	**arthik**	**bikas**	**pʌr**	**jor**	**deweke**
rʌua	**ʌrth-ik**	**bikas**	**pʌr**	**jor**	**de-e-ke**
2SG.H	economy-ADJ	development	LOC	force	give-PUR-PUR

caɦʌtani		**ki**	**sanskritik**	**bikas**	**pʌr**
caɦ-ʌt	**bani**	**ki**	**sʌnskriti-ik**	**bikas**	**pʌr**
want-IMPF	be.PRES.H	COMP	culture-ADJ	development	LOC

Do you want to emphasize economic development or cultural development?
01.033
सब से पहिले सिद्धांत तय करेके पड़ेला संघीयता के कौनो स्वरूप बनावे खातिर ।

sʌb	**se**	**pʌɦile**	**sidd̪ant**	**tɛ**	**kʌreke**	**pʌɽela**
sʌb	**se**	**pʌɦil-e**	**sidd̪ant**	**tɛ**	**kʌr-e-ke**	**pʌɽ-e-la**
all	source	first-EMPH	principLe	fix	do-PUR-PUR	lie-PUR-3SG.PRES

sʌŋg̈iyʌta	**ke**	**kɔno**	**swʌrup**	**bʌnawe**	**kʰatir**
sʌŋg̈iyʌta	**ke**	**kɔno**	**swʌrup**	**bʌna-e**	**kʰatir**
federalism	GEN	any	model	make-PUR	for

First of all, a principle should be finalized to fix a certain model of federalism.
01.034
राउर सिद्धांत का ह ?

raur	**sidd̪ant**	**ka**	**ɦʌ**
raur	**sidd̪ant**	**ka**	**ɦʌ**
2SG.GEN.H	principle	what	be.3SG.PRES

What is your principle?
01.035
जब राउर सिद्धांते गोलमाल बा त का होई ?

jʌb	**raur**	**sidd̪ante**	**golmal**	**ba**	**tʌ**	**ka**
jʌb	**raur**	**sidd̪ant-e**	**golmal**	**ba**	**tʌ**	**ka**
when.REL	2SG.GEN.H	principle-EMPH	suspicious	be.3SG.PRES	COR	what

ɦoi
ɦo-i
be-3SG.FUT

If your principle is itself suspicious, what can be expected?
01.036
जइसे पछिम में बर्दिया, कैलाली के पहाड़ से मिलावल जा रहल बा।

jʌise	**pʌcʰim**	**mẽ**	**bʌrdia**	**kɛlali**	**ke**	**pʌɦaɽ**	**se**
jʌise	**pʌcʰim**	**mẽ**	**bʌrdia**	**kɛlali**	**ke**	**pʌɦaɽ**	**se**
instancially	west	LOC	Bardiya	Kailali	GEN	hill	with

milawʌl	**ja**	**rʌɦʌl**	**ba**
mil-a-wʌl	**ja**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**ba**
match-CAUS-INF	go	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

For example, Bardiya and Kailali are allocated with hills in the west.
01.037
लेकिन बाँके, बर्दिया, कैलाली, कंचनपुर जवन बा, ओकर दिन के तापमान देखल जाओ, सांस्कृतिक बनावट देखल जाओ त ऊ पछिमी पहाड़ से ना मिली।

lekin	**bãke**	**bʌrdia**	**kɛlali**	**kʌnchʌnpur**	**jɔn**	**ba**	**okʌr**	**din**
lekin	**bãke**	**bʌrdia**	**kɛlali**	**kʌnchʌnpur**	**jɔn**	**ba**	**okʌr**	**din**
but	Banke	Bardiya	Kailali	Kanchanpur	REL	be.3SG.PRES	COR.GEN	day

ke	**tapman**	**dekʰʌl**	**jao**	**sanskritik**	**bʌnawʌʈ**	**dekʰʌl**	**jao**
ke	**tapman**	**dekʰ-ʌl**	**ja-o**	**sʌnskriti-ik**	**bʌnawʌʈ**	**dekʰ-ʌl**	**ja-o**
GEN	temperature	see-INF	go-OPT	culture-ADJ	construction	see-INF	go-OPT

tʌ	**u**	**pʌcʰimi**	**pʌɦaɽ**	**se**	**na**	**mili**
tʌ	**u**	**pʌcʰim-i**	**pʌɦaɽ**	**se**	**na**	**mil-i**
COND	3SG	west-ADJ	hill	with	NEG	match-3SG.FUT

But observe the daytime temperature or cultural setup of Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur, it does not match with that of the western hills.
01.038
और जहाँ तक अर्थ व्यवस्था के हिसाब से कहल जाओ, त अर्थ व्यवस्था में हेट्रोजेनिअस इकनॉमिक सिस्टम होई दूनू जघे के।

ɔr	**jʌɦã**	**tʌk**	**ʌrtʰbewʌstʰa**	**ke**	**ɦisab**	**se**	**kʌɦʌl**	**jao**	**tʌ**
ɔr	**jʌɦã**	**tʌk**	**ʌrtʰbewʌstʰa**	**ke**	**ɦisab**	**se**	**kʌɦ-ʌl**	**ja-o**	**tʌ**
and	where	till	economy	GEN	manner	source	say-INF	go-OPT	COND

ʌrtʰbewʌstʰa	**mẽ**	**ɦeʈrojeniʌs**	**ikʌnɔmik**	**sisʈʌm**	**ɦoi**	**dunu**
ʌrtʰbewʌstʰa	**mẽ**	**ɦeʈrojeniʌs**	**ikʌnɔmik**	**sisʈʌm**	**ɦo-i**	**du-nu**
economy	LOC	heterogeneous	economic	system	be-3SG.FUT	two-EMPH

jʌg̈e	**ke**
jʌgʌɦ	**ke**
place	GEN

So far as the economy is under discussion, there will be heteroGENeus economic systems of economy at both the PLaces.
01.039

एक जघे नइखे ।

ek	**jʌg̈e**	**nʌikʰe**
ek	**jʌgʌɦ**	**nʌikʰ-e**
one	place	be.NEG.PRES-3SG

They are not together.

01.040

समान अर्थ व्यवस्था से संचालन नइखे कइल जा सकत ।

sʌmɑn	**ʌrtʰbewʌstʰɑ**	**se**	**sʌncɑlʌn**	**nʌikʰe**		**kʌil**	**jɑ**
sʌmɑn	**ʌrtʰbewʌstʰɑ**	**se**	**sʌncɑlʌn**	**nʌikʰ-e**		**kʌr-il**	**jɑ**
same	economy	with	circulation	be.NEG.PRES-3SG		do-INF	go

sʌkʌt
sʌk-ʌt
can-IMPF

They cannot be run under the same economy.

01.041

समान नीति नइखे लादल जा सकत ।

sʌmɑn	**niti**	**nʌikʰe**	**lɑdʌl**	**jɑ**	**sʌkʌt**
sʌmɑn	**niti**	**nʌikʰ-e**	**lɑd-ʌl**	**jɑ**	**sʌk-ʌt**
same	policy	be.NEG.PRES-3SG	load-INF	go	can-SIM

The same policy cannot be yoked.

01.042

ओइसही ओने झापा, मोरङ, सुनसरी के बात बा;

oisʌɦi	**one**	**j̈ɑpɑ**	**morʌŋ**	**sunsʌri**	**ke**	**bɑt**	**bɑ**
oise-ɦi	**one**	**j̈ɑpɑ**	**morʌŋ**	**sunsʌri**	**ke**	**bɑt**	**bɑ**
similarly-EMPH	that side	Jhapa	Morang	Sunsari	GEN	matter	be.3SG.PRES

Similar is the concern of Japa, Morang and Sunsari.

01.043

और उहाँ हिमाल से लेके इहाँ मधेश तक के जोड़ल जाओ त वातावरण में हाई लेभेल के फ्लक्चुएसन होई ।

ɔr	**uɦɑ̃**	**ɦimɑl**	**se**	**leke**	**iɦɑ̃**	**mʌd̤es**	**tʌk**	**ke**	**joɽʌl**
ɔr	**uɦɑ̃**	**ɦimɑl**	**se**	**le-ke**	**iɦɑ̃**	**mʌd̤es**	**tʌk**	**ke**	**joɽ-ʌl**
and	there	mountain	source	take-SEQ	here	Madhesh	till	GEN	connect-INF

jɑo	**tʌ**	**bɑtɑbʌrʌn**	**mẽ**	**ɦɑi**	**leb̤el**	**ke**	**pʰlʌkcuesʌn**	**ɦoi**
jɑ-o	**tʌ**	**bɑtɑbʌrʌn**	**mẽ**	**ɦɑi**	**leb̤el**	**ke**	**pʰlʌkcuesʌn**	**ɦo-i**
go-OPT	COND	environment	LOC	high	level	GEN	fluctuation	be-3SG.FUT

And a high level fluctuation in the ecology will be experienced if the areas from the snowy mountains till Madhesh are connected together.

01.044

दोसर बात कि उहाँ के रहन-सहन में फ्लक्चुएसन बा ।

dosʌr	**bɑt**	**ki**	**uɦɑ̃**	**ke**	**rʌɦʌnsʌɦʌn**	**mẽ**	**pʰlʌkcuesʌn**	**bɑ**
dosʌr	**bɑt**	**ki**	**uɦɑ̃**	**ke**	**rʌɦʌnsʌɦʌn**	**mẽ**	**pʰlʌkcuesʌn**	**bɑ**
next	matter	COMP	there	GEN	life-style	LOC	fluctuation	be.3SG.PRES

The next matter is that there is fluctuation in the life-styles of those PLaces.

01.045

कृषि उत्पादन से लेके आर्थिक गतिविधि में फ्लक्चुएसन बा ।

krisi	**utpɑdʌn**	**se**	**leke**	**ɑrtʰik**	**gʌtibiḍi**	**mẽ**
krisi	**utpɑdʌn**	**se**	**le-ke**	**ʌrtʰ-ik**	**gʌtibiḍi**	**mẽ**
agriculture	production	source	take-SEQ	economy-ADJ	activity	LOC

pʰlʌkcuesʌn ba
pʰlʌkcuesʌn ba
fluctuation be.3SG.PRES
There is fluctuation in the agricultural products and economic activities.
01.046
त, रउआ एगो नीति से कइसे ए के संचालन करेम ?
tʌ rʌuɑ ego niti se kʌise e ke sʌncalʌn
tʌ rʌuɑ ek-go niti se kʌise e ke sʌncalʌn
COND 2SG.H one-CLF policy means how PROX GEN circulation
kʌrem
kʌr-em
do-FUT.H
Then, how can you circulate them all under a single policy?
01.047
ई अपने-आप में क्यूस्चनेबल बा ।
i ʌpneɑp mẽ kyuscʌnebʌl ba
i ʌpneɑp mẽ kyuscʌnebʌl ba
3SG.PROX itself LOC questionable be.3SG.PRES
This is questionable within itself.
01.048
और ई फेडरल स्ट्रक्चर देश के आर्थिक विकास के कइसे आगे ले जाई ?
ɔr i pʰedɻʌrʌl estɽʌkcʌr des ke ɑrtʰik bikɑs
ɔr i pʰedɻʌrʌl estɽʌkcʌr des ke ʌrtʰ-ik bikɑs
and 3SG.PROX federal structure country GEN economy-ADJ development
ke kʌise ɑge le jɑi
ke kʌise ɑge le jɑ-i
GEN how forward bring go-3SG.FUT
And how can such federal structure proceed the economic development of the country?
01.049
एकरा पिछे और ई फेडरल स्ट्रक्चर बा जौन राजनीतिक हिसाब से कइसे हमनी के देश के भविष्य के संबोधन करी, एकर जवाब त देवेके परी ।
ekʌrɑ picʰe ɔr i pʰedɻʌrʌl estɽʌkcʌr ba
ekʌr-ɑ picʰe ɔr i pʰedɻʌrʌl estɽʌkcʌr ba
PROX.GEN-SPEC in the back and 3SG.PROX federal structure be.3SG.PRES
jɔn rɑjnitik ɦisɑb se kʌise ɦʌmni ke des ke ḭʌbisyʌ
jɔn rɑjnitik ɦisɑb se kʌise ɦʌm-ni ke des ke ḭʌbisyʌ
COMP political manner means how 1SG-PL GEN country GEN future
ke sʌmboḭʌn kʌri ekʌr jʌbɑb tʌ deweke
ke sʌmboḭʌn kʌr-i ekʌr jʌbɑb tʌ de-e-ke
GEN address do-3SG.FUT PROX.GEN answer COND give-PUR-PUR
pʌri
pʌr-i
fall-3SG.FUT
So, how can such federal structure address the future of our country, this question must be answered?
01.050
जइसे, राजा महेंद्र के बनावल पाँच विकास क्षेत्र, चउदे अंचल, पचहत्तर जिला काहे अनुपयुक्त भइल ?
jʌise rɑjɑ mʌɦendrʌ ke bʌnɑwʌl pɑ̃c bikɑs cʰetrʌ
jʌise rɑjɑ mʌɦendrʌ ke bʌnɑ-wʌl pɑ̃c bikɑs cʰetrʌ

instancially king Mahendra GEN make-PP five development region

cʌude ʌncʌl pʌcɦʌttʌr jila kaɦe ʌnupʌyukt ḛʌil
cʌudʌ ʌncʌl pʌcɦʌttʌr jila kaɦe ʌnupʌyukt ḛʌ-il
fourteen zone seventy-five district why useless become-3SG.PST

For example, why did the five development regions, fourteen zones and seventy-five districts built by King Mahendra become non-productive?

01.051

जी, अपने के हम थोड़ा सा रोकेके चाहतानी ।

ji ʌpne ke ɦʌm tʰoɽa sa rokeke caɦʌtani
ji ʌpne ke ɦʌm tʰoɽa sa rok-e-ke caɦ-ʌt bani
yea 2SG.H GEN 1SG little as stop-PUR-PUR want-IMPF be.PRES.H

Yea, I want you to halt for a while.

01.052

राजा महेंद्र चउदगो अंचल आ पचहत्तरगो जिला बनवलें आ पाँच विकास क्षेत्र जौन बनवले ऊ राजा वीरेंदर बनवलें ।

raja mʌɦendrʌ cʌudʌgo ʌncʌl a pʌcɦʌttʌrgo jila
raja mʌɦendrʌ cʌudʌ-go ʌncʌl a pʌcɦʌttʌr-go jila
king Mahendra fourteen-CLF zone and seventy-five-CLF district

bʌnɔlẽ a pãc bikas cʰetrʌ jɔn bʌnɔlẽ
bʌn-ɔ-lẽ a pãc bikas cʰetrʌ jɔn bʌn-ɔ-lẽ
make-CAUS-PST.H and five development region REL make-CAUS-PST.H

u birendʌr bʌnɔlẽ
u birendʌr bʌn-ɔ-lẽ
COR Birendra make-CAUS-PST.H

King Mahendra constructed fourteen zones and seventy-five districts and the one who construted five development regions was King Birendra.

01.053

जी ।

ji
ji
yea
Yea.

01.054

त एहू विषय में बात त उठिए रहल बा ।

tʌ eɦu bisɛ mẽ bat tʌ uʈʰie rʌɦʌl ba
tʌ e-ɦu bisɛ mẽ bat tʌ uʈʰ-ie rʌɦ-ʌl ba
COND PROX-EMPH issue LOC matter COND rise-EMPH live-INF be.3SG.PRES

Then the concern is being raised even on this issue.

01.055

कि अगर भारत आ चीन से जोड़ेवाला क्षेत्र के बेसी विकास होई ।

ki ʌgʌr ḛarʌt a cin se joɽewala cʰetrʌ ke
ki ʌgʌr ḛarʌt a cin se joɽ-e-wala cʰetrʌ ke
COMP if India and China with connect-PUR-owner region GEN

besi bikas ɦoi
besi bikas ɦo-i
more development be-3SG.FUT

that if the regions attached with both of India and China are more developed

01.056

त पुरुब के चारगो अंचल मेची, कोशी, सगरमाथा आ जनकपुर आ पछिम के दूगो अंचल त शुरू से

लेके अभी तक भारत आ चीन से जुड़लही बा त कहाँ विकास हो गइल ?

tʌ	**purub**	**ke**	**cɑrgo**	**ʌncʌl**	**meci**	**kosi**	**sʌgɑrmɑtʰɑ**	**ɑ**
tʌ	**purub**	**ke**	**cɑr-go**	**ʌncʌl**	**meci**	**kosi**	**sʌgɑrmɑtʰɑ**	**ɑ**
COND	east	GEN	four-CLF	zone	Mechi	Koshi	Sagarmatha	and

jʌnʌkpur	**ɑ**	**pʌcʰim**	**ke**	**dugo**	**ʌncʌl**	**tʌ**	**surue**
jʌnʌkpur	**ɑ**	**pʌcʰim**	**ke**	**du-go**	**ʌncʌl**	**tʌ**	**suru-e**
Janakpur	and	west	GEN	two-CLF	zone	COND	begining-EMPH

se	**leke**	**ʌb̤i**	**tʌk**	**b̤ɑrʌt**	**ɑ**	**cin**	**se**	**joɽlʌɦi**
se	**le-ke**	**ʌb̤i**	**tʌk**	**b̤ɑrʌt**	**ɑ**	**cin**	**se**	**joɽ-ʌl-ɦi**
source	take-SEQ	now	till	India	and	China	with	connect-PP-EMPH

bɑ	**tʌ**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**bikɑs**	**ɦo**	**gʌil**	
bɑ	**tʌ**	**kʌɦɑ̃**	**bikɑs**	**ɦo**	**jɑ-il**	
be.3SG.PRES	COND	where	development	be	go-3SG.PST	

Then four zones of the east; Mechi, Koshi, Sagarmatha and Janakpur; and two zones of the west have already been attatched with India and China from the very beginning. But what kind of development has happened there?

01.057

जी-जी । अपने के तर्क से हम सहमत बानी ।

ji	**ji**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**tʌrk**	**se**	**ɦʌm**	**sʌɦmʌt**	**bɑni**
ji	**ji**	**ʌpne**	**ke**	**tʌrk**	**se**	**ɦʌm**	**sʌɦmʌt**	**bɑni**
yea	yea	2SG.H	GEN	logic	with	1SG.NOM	agreed	be.PRES.H

Yea, I do agree with your logic.

01.058

आ जहाँ तक ई लोग के तर्क बा कि हमनी के चीन से लेके भारत तक के हमनी के एक्सेस रही त का हमनी अलग स्वतंत्र राज्य बना रहल बानी ?

ɑ	**jʌɦɑ̃**	**tʌk**	**i**	**log**	**ke**	**tʌrk**	**bɑ**	**ki**	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**
ɑ	**jʌɦɑ̃**	**tʌk**	**i**	**log**	**ke**	**tʌrk**	**bɑ**	**ki**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**
and	where	till	PROX	people	GEN	logic	be.3SG.PRES	COMP	1SG-PL	GEN

cin	**se**	**leke**	**b̤ɑrʌt**	**tʌk**	**ke**	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**ekses**	**rʌɦi**
cin	**se**	**le-ke**	**b̤ɑrʌt**	**tʌk**	**ke**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**ekses**	**rʌɦ-i**
China	with	take-SEQ	India	till	GEN	1SG-PL	GEN	ACCess	live-3SG.FUT

tʌ	**kɑ**	**ɦʌmni**	**ʌlʌg**	**swʌtʌntrʌ**	**rɑjyʌ**	**bʌnɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑni**
tʌ	**kɑ**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ʌlʌg**	**swʌtʌntrʌ**	**rɑjyʌ**	**bʌnɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑni**
COND	what	1SG-PL	separate	independent	state	make	live-INF	be.PRES.H

And as far as these people argue that we shall have easy ACCess towards both of China and India, then, are we constructing separate independent states?

01.059

कि एगो स्टेट के भा प्रोभिंस के दोसर प्रोभिंस से एक्सेस ना रही, हमनी रोड से नइखीं जोड़ सकत, आर्थिक व्यवस्था से नइखीं जोड़ सकत ।

ki	**ego**	**esʈeʈ**	**ke**	**b̤ɑ**	**proɓins**	**ke**	**dosʌr**	**proɓins**	**se**
ki	**ek-go**	**esʈeʈ**	**ke**	**b̤ɑ**	**proɓins**	**ke**	**dosʌr**	**proɓins**	**se**
COMP	one-CLF	state	GEN	or	province	GEN	next	province	source

ekses	**nɑ**	**rʌɦi**	**ɦʌmni**	**roɖ**	**se**	**nʌikʰĩ**		**joɽ**
ekses	**nɑ**	**rʌɦ-i**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**roɖ**	**se**	**nʌikʰ-ĩ**		**joɽ**
ACCess	NEG	live-3SG.FUT	1SG-PL	road	with	be.NEG.PRES-H		connect

sʌkʌt	**ɑrtʰik**	**bewʌstʰɑ**	**se**	**nʌikʰĩ**	**joɽ**	**sʌkʌt**	
sʌk-ʌt	**ʌrtʰ-ik**	**bewʌstʰɑ**	**se**	**nʌikʰ-ĩ**	**joɽ**	**sʌk-ʌt**	
can-IMPF	economy-ADJ	system	with	be.NEG.PRES-H	connect	can-IMPF	

So that one state or province cannot have ACCess with the other and we cannot connect them with roads or economic systerms.
01.060
ए में हमनी त देख सकतानी कि भारत में ओने डिब्रुगढ़ से लेके अमृतसर तकले जब जोड़ा सकता ?

e	**mẽ**	**ɦʌmni**	**tʌ**	**dekʰ**	**sʌkʌtɑni**		**ki**	**ɖɑrʌt**	**mẽ**
e	**mẽ**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**tʌ**	**dekʰ**	**sʌk-ʌt**	**bɑni**	**ki**	**ɖɑrʌt**	**mẽ**
PROX	LOC	1SG-PL	COND	see	can-IMPF	be.PRES.H	COMP	India	LOC

one	**ɖibrugʌɽ̊**	**se**	**leke**	**ʌmritsʌr**	**tʌk**	**le**	**jʌb**	
one	**ɖibrugʌɽ̊**	**se**	**le-ke**	**ʌmritsʌr**	**tʌk**	**le**	**jʌb**	
that side	Dibrugarh	source	take-SEQ	Amritsar	till	till	when	

joɽɑ	**sʌkʌtɑ**		
joɽ-ɑ	**sʌk-ʌt**	**bɑ**	
connect-CAUS	can-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	

In this context we can observe that if Dibrugarh and Armitsar can be connected in India,
01.061
जी-जी ।
ji ji
ji ji
yea yea
Yea.
01.062
त अगर मधेश आ पहाड़ जवन जमा-जुमा बेसी से बेसी तीन सय किलोमीटर पड़ी,

tʌ	**ʌgʌr**	**mʌɖes**	**ɑ**	**pʌɦɑɽ**	**jɔn**	**jʌmɑjumɑ**	**besi**
tʌ	**ʌgʌr**	**mʌɖes**	**ɑ**	**pʌɦɑɽ**	**jɔn**	**jʌmɑjumɑ**	**besi**
COND	if	Madhesh	and	mountain	REL	altogether	more

se	**besi**	**tin**	**sɛ**	**kilomiʈʌr**	**pʌɽi**	
se	**besi**	**tin**	**sɛ**	**kilomiʈʌr**	**pʌɽ-i**	
source	more	three	hundred	kilometre	lie-3SG.FUT	

Then Madhesh and hills or mountains which are hardly three hundred kilometres,
01.063
जी-जी ।
ji ji
ji ji
yea yea
Yea.
01.064
एने तराई से लेके ओने चीन के बोर्डर तक ई तीन सय किलोमीटर जोड़ाए ना सकी ?

ene	**tʌrɑi**	**se**	**leke**	**one**	**cin**	**ke**	**bordʌr**	**tʌk**	**i**
ene	**tʌrɑi**	**se**	**le-ke**	**one**	**cin**	**ke**	**bordʌr**	**tʌk**	**i**
this side	Terai	source	take-SEQ	that side	China	GEN	border	till	PROX

tin	**sɛ**	**kilomiʈʌr**	**joɽɑe**	**nɑ**	**sʌki**	
tin	**sɛ**	**kilomiʈʌr**	**joɽ-ɑ-e**	**nɑ**	**sʌk-i**	
three	hundred	kilometre	connect-PASS-PUR	NEG	can-FUT	

Can Terai up to China boarder within three hundred kilometres not be connected?
01.065
ई कवनो बात बा ?

i	**kɔno**	**bɑt**	**bɑ**
i	**kɔno**	**bɑt**	**bɑ**
3SG.PROX	any	matter	be.3SG.PRES

Is this any matter of concern?
01.066
ए बात में कवनो दम नइखे ।
e bɑt mẽ kɔno dʌm nʌikʰe
e bɑt mẽ kɔno dʌm nʌikʰ-e
PROX matter LOC any weight be.NEG.PRES.3SG
There is no weightage of this sort of gossip.
01.067
अब अपने से थोड़ा-सा, रउआ चूकि कानून के विद्यार्थी बानी, त कानूनी हिसाब से अगर ए बात के विचार कइल जाओं त एगो आशंका इहो लोग कर रहल बा ।
ʌb ʌpne se tʰoɽɑ sɑ rʌuɑ cuki kɑnun ke bidyɑrtʰi bɑni
ʌb ʌpne se tʰoɽɑ sɑ rʌuɑ cuki kɑnun ke bidyɑrtʰi bɑni
now 2SG.H with little as 2SG.H as law GEN student be.PRES.H
tʌ kɑnuni ɦisɑb se ʌgʌr e bɑt ke bicɑr kʌil
tʌ kɑnun-i ɦisɑb se ʌgʌr e bɑt ke bicɑr kʌr-il
COND law-ADJ manner means if PROX matter GEN think do-INF
jɑõ tʌ ego ɑsʌŋkɑ iɦo log kʌr rʌɦʌl
jɑ-o tʌ ek-go ɑsʌŋkɑ i-o log kʌr rʌɦ-ʌl
go-OPT COND one-CLF suspicion PROX-EMPH people do live-INF
bɑ
bɑ
be.3SG.PRES
As you are a student of law, there is also being suspicion on the legal ground.
01.068
खास कके, प्रचंडजी के जवन प्रस्ताव बा, ओ प्रस्ताव में कि अगर पुरुब मधेश आ पछिम मधेश के बीच में बफर जोन के हिसाब से बीच के एगो तटस्थ प्रदेश अगर ना रही त हो सकता जे बिहान दूनू प्रदेशवा मिलके निर्णय क लिहन स आ एक जगे हो जइहन स ।
kʰɑs kʌke prʌcʌndji ke jɔn prʌstɑo bɑ o prʌstɑo
kʰɑs kʌr-ke prʌcʌnd̪-ji ke jɔn prʌstɑo bɑ o prʌstɑo
special do-SEQ Prachand-H GEN REL proposal be.3SG.PRES COR proposal
mẽ ki ʌgʌr purub mʌd̪es ɑ pʌcʰim mʌd̪es ke bic
mẽ ki ʌgʌr purub mʌd̪es ɑ pʌcʰim mʌd̪es ke bic
LOC COMP if east Madhesh and west Madhesh GEN middle
mẽ bʌpʰʌr jon ke ɦisɑb se bic ke ego tʌʈʌstʰ
mẽ bʌpʰʌr jon ke ɦisɑb se bic ke ek-go tʌʈʌstʰ
LOC buffer zone GEN manner means middle GEN one-CLF neutral
prʌdes ʌgʌr nɑ rʌɦi tʌ ɦo sʌkʌtɑ je
prʌdes ʌgʌr nɑ rʌɦ-i tʌ ɦo sʌk-ʌt bɑ je
province if neg live-3SG.FUT COND be can-IMPF be.3SG.PRES COMP
biɦɑn dunu prʌdeswɑ milke nirnɛ kʌ liɦʌn
biɦɑn du-nu prʌdes-wɑ mil-ke nirnɛ kʌr le-i-ʌn
tomorrow two-EMPH province-DEF unite-SEQ decision do take-3FUT.MH
sʌ ɑ ek jʌge ɦo jʌiɦʌn sʌ
sʌ ɑ ek jʌge ɦo jɑ-i-ʌn sʌ
PL and one place be go-3.FUT-MH PL
Especially, whatever is the proposal of Prachandaji, it is sceptical that the eastern and western Madhesh provinces may decide to be unified if there is not a buffer zone between them.

01.069
त ई एगो थ्रेट पॉलिटिक्स के तरह ई लेहल जा रहल बा ।

tʌ	**i**	**ego**	**tʰreʈ**	**pɔliʈiks**	**ke**	**tʌrʌɦ**	**i**	**leɦʌl**
tʌ	**i**	**ek-go**	**tʰreʈ**	**pɔliʈiks**	**ke**	**tʌrʌɦ**	**i**	**le-ʌl**
COND	3SG.PROX	one-CLF	threat	politics	GEN	as	3SG.PROX	take-INF

jɑ	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑ**
jɑ	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑ**
go	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

Then, it is being taken as a threat politics.
01.070
त अपने कानूनी हिसाब से तनिका बताईं कि अइसन अवस्था में ए बात के सरल बनावे खातिर कवन-कवन उपाय हो सकता ?

tʌ	**ʌpne**	**kɑnuni**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**tʌnikɑ**	**bʌtɑĩ**	**ki**	**ʌisʌn**
tʌ	**ʌpne**	**kɑnun-i**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**tʌnikɑ**	**bɑt-ɑ-ĩ**	**ki**	**ʌisʌn**
COND	2SG.H	law-ADJ	manner	means	little	tell-CAUS-IMP.H	COMP	such

ʌwʌstʰɑ	**mẽ**	**e**	**bɑt**	**ke**	**sʌrʌl**	**bʌnɑwe**	**kʰɑtir**	**kɔn**	**kɔn**
ʌwʌstʰɑ	**mẽ**	**e**	**bɑt**	**ke**	**sʌrʌl**	**bʌnɑ-e**	**kʰɑtir**	**kɔn**	**kɔn**
situation	LOC	PROX	matter	GEN	simPLe	make-PUR	for	what	what

upɑe	**ɦo**	**sʌkʌtɑ**		
upɑe	**ɦo**	**sʌk-ʌt**	**bɑ**	
technique	be	can-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	

Then please express your opinion on legal ground what measures can be taken to ease this concern?
01.071
जइसे ओह लोग के शंका बा ऊ पूरे तरह से नाजायज बा ।

jʌise	**oɦ**	**log**	**ke**	**sʌŋkɑ**	**bɑ**	**u**	**pure**	**tʌrʌɦ**
jʌise	**oɦ**	**log**	**ke**	**sʌŋkɑ**	**bɑ**	**u**	**purɑ-e**	**tʌrʌɦ**
as far as	DIST	PL	GEN	suspicion	be.3SG.PRES	COR	full-EMPH	as

se	**nɑjɑej**	**bɑ**	
se	**nɑjɑej**	**bɑ**	
source	illogical	be.3SG.PRES	

As they have suspicion, it is completely illogical.
01.072
जइसे दूगो स्टेट दूगो प्रोभिंस एक लगे आवे के निर्णय करता, ऊ निर्णय के सहमती केंद्र सरकार के करेके परी ।

jʌise	**dugo**	**esʈeʈ**	**dugo**	**proḭins**	**ek**	**lʌge**	**ɑwe**	**ke**
jʌise	**du-go**	**esʈeʈ**	**du-go**	**proḭins**	**ek**	**lʌge**	**ɑ-e**	**ke**
instancially	two-CLF	state	two-CLF	province	one	with	come-PUR	ACC

nirnɛ	**kʌrʌtɑ**		**u**	**nirnɛ**	**ke**	**sʌɦmʌti**	**kendrʌ**
nirnɛ	**kʌr-ʌt**	**bɑ**	**u**	**nirnɛ**	**ke**	**sʌɦmʌti**	**kendrʌ**
decision	do-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	COR	decision	GEN	agreement	centre

sʌrkɑr	**ke**	**kʌreke**	**pʌri**
sʌrkɑr	**ke**	**kʌr-e-ke**	**pʌr-i**
government	ACC	do-PUR-PUR	fall-3SG.FUT

For example, if any two of the provinces decide to be unified, this decision must be endorsed by the central government.
01.073
और हमनी के स्टेट में हरदम केंद्र के इमरजेंसी कंट्रोल रही ।

ɔr	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**estet̪**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌrdʌm**	**kendrʌ**	**ke**	**imʌrgensi**	**kʌnt̪rol**
ɔr	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**estet̪**	**mẽ**	**ɦʌrdʌm**	**kendrʌ**	**ke**	**imʌrgensi**	**kʌnt̪rol**
and	1SG-PL	GEN	state	LOC	always	centre	GEN	emergency	control

rʌɦi
rʌɦ-i
live-3SG.FUT
And there will always be an emergency control of the centre on our state.
01.074
स्टेट यदि स्वायत्त ढङ से फंक्सन नइखे करत, काम नइखे करत त केंद्र जब भी हस्तक्षेप कर सकता, हस्तक्षेपकारी भूमिका हो सकता।

estet̪	**yʌdi**	**swaettʌ**	**d̈ʌŋ**	**se**	**pʰʌŋksʌn**	**nʌikʰe**	**kʌrʌt**
estet̪	**yʌdi**	**swaettʌ**	**d̈ʌŋ**	**se**	**pʰʌŋksʌn**	**nʌikʰ-e**	**kʌr-ʌt**
state	if	autonomous	manner	means	function	be.NEG.PRES.3SG	do-IMPF

kam	**nʌikʰe**	**kʌrʌt**	**tʌ**	**kendrʌ**	**jʌb**	**b̤i**	**ɦʌstʌkcʰep**	**kʌr**
kam	**nʌikʰ-e**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**tʌ**	**kendrʌ**	**jʌb**	**b̤i**	**ɦʌstʌkcʰep**	**kʌr**
work	be.NEG.PRES-3SG	do-IMPF	COND	cemtre	when	also	intervention	do

sʌkʌta		**ɦʌstʌkcʰepkari**	**b̤umika**	**ɦo**	**sʌkʌta**	
sʌk-ʌt	**ba**	**ɦʌstʌkcʰepkari**	**b̤umika**	**ɦo**	**sʌk-ʌt**	**ba**
can-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES	interventional	role	be	can-IMPF	be.3SG.PRES

If the state does not function autonomously, it does not work, the centre can intervene any time, its intervening role is alwasy expected.
01.075
केंद्र हरदम रहके निगरानी करत रही।

kendrʌ	**ɦʌrdʌm**	**rʌɦke**	**nigrani**	**kʌrʌt**	**rʌɦi**
kendrʌ	**ɦʌrdʌm**	**rʌɦ-ke**	**nigrani**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-i**
cemtre	always	live-SEQ	inspection	do-SIM	live-3SG.FUT

The centre will always be observing it.
01.076
ई एगो मतलब बहुत गलत मानसिकता के उपज ह।

i	**ego**	**mʌtlʌb**	**bʌɦut**	**gʌlʌt**	**mansikta**	**ke**	**upʌj**
i	**ek-go**	**mʌtlʌb**	**bʌɦut**	**gʌlʌt**	**mansikta**	**ke**	**upʌj**
3SG.PROX	one-CLF	meaning	very	bad	mentality	GEN	product

ɦʌ
ɦʌ
be.3SG.PRES
So, this is the outcome of the worst mentatlity.
01.077
जवन पुरान हमनी के शासन-सत्ता रहल हः एगो जाति के, एगो भाषा के ऊ हट जाई कि ?

jɔn	**puran**	**ɦʌmni**	**ke**	**sasʌnsʌtta**	**rʌɦʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**ego**
jɔn	**puran**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ke**	**sasʌnsʌtta**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**ek-go**
REL	old	1SG-PL	GEN	ruling power	live-PP	be.3SG.PRES	one-CLF

jati	**ke**	**ego**	**b̤asa**	**ke**	**u**	**ɦʌt̪**	**jai**	**ki**
jati	**ke**	**ek-go**	**b̤asa**	**ke**	**u**	**ɦʌt̪**	**ja-i**	**ki**
race	GEN	one-CLF	language	GEN	COR	abolish	go-3SG.FUT	INT

The power of state of a single race, a single language, will it be abolished?
01.078
बिहान के दिन में मधेशिया प्रधानमंत्री बन जाई कि ?

bihan	**ke**	**din**	**mẽ**	**mʌd̤esia**	**prʌd̤anmʌntri**	**bʌn**	**jai**	**ki**
bihan	**ke**	**din**	**mẽ**	**mʌd̤esi**	**prʌd̤anmʌntri**	**bʌn**	**ja-i**	**ki**

tomorrow GEN day LOC Madheshi prime minister make go-3SG.FUT INT
Will a Madheshi be the prime minister in the future?
01.079
कार्यकारी पद में आ जाई कि ?
kaɾyʌkaɾi pʌd mẽ a jai ki
kaɾyʌkaɾi pʌd mẽ a ja-i ki
executive post LOC come go-3SG.FUT COMP
Will they grab any executional post?
01.080
ई डर जवन समाइल बा नु, इहाँ के खास कके नितांत बाहुनवादी प्रवृत्ति में, ऊ डर के ऊ लोग संबोधन करता जइसन हमरा लागता ।
i ɖʌr jɔn sʌmail ba nu iɦã ke kʰas kʌke
i ɖʌr jɔn sʌma-il ba nu iɦã ke kʰas kʌr-ke
PROX fear REL enter-PP be.3SG.PRES EMPH here GEN special do-SEQ
nitant baɦunbadi pɾʌbritti mẽ u ɖʌr ke u log
nitant baɦunbad-i pɾʌbritti mẽ u ɖʌr ke u log
special Brahminism-ADJ mentality LOC COR fear GEN 3SG.DIST PL
sʌmboɖ̤ʌn kʌɾʌta jʌisʌn ɦʌmɾa lagʌta
sʌmboɖ̤ʌn kʌr-ʌt ba jʌisʌn ɦʌm-ɾa lag-ʌt ba
address do-IMPF be.3SG.PRES as such 1SG-POSS expect-IMPF be.3SG.PRES
Such type of threat on the mentality of strict Brahminists, they are addressing it, I think.
01.081
जी त अपने के जौरे फेर से हम आएम ।
ji tʌ ʌpne ke jɔɾe pʰer se ɦʌm aem
ji tʌ ʌpne ke jɔɾe pʰer se ɦʌm a-em
yea COND 2SG GEN with again spec 1SG come-FUT.H
Yea, I will come with you again after a while.
01.082
अभिन पलहा हो गइल बा एगो छोट सा व्यापारिक विश्राम के ।
ʌb̤in pʌlʌɦa ɦo gʌil ba ego cʰoʈ sa byaparik
ʌb̤in pʌlʌɦa ɦo ja-il ba ek-go cʰoʈ sa byapar-ik
now turn be go-PP be.3SG.PRES one-CLF small as commerce-ADJ
bisɾam ke
bisɾam ke
break GEN
Now is the turn of a short commercial break.
01.083
जी, व्यापारिक विश्राम का बाद में कार्यक्रम में अपने लोग के फेर से स्वागत बा ।
ji byaparik bisɾam ka bad mẽ kaɾyʌkɾʌm mẽ ʌpne log
ji byapar-ik bisɾam ka bad mẽ kaɾyʌkɾʌm mẽ ʌpne log
yea commerce-ADJ break GEN later LOC programme LOC 2SG PL
ke pʰer se swagʌt ba
ke pʰer se swagʌt ba
GEN again SPEC welcome be.3SG.PRES
Yea, following the short commercial break you are again welcomed in the programme.
01.084
अभीन अपने सुन रहल बानी ज्ञान-विज्ञान, अर्थ राजनीति, कला संस्कृति के संगम नवज्योति एफ.

एम. ८८.२ मेगाहर्ज ।

ʌb̤in	**ʌpne**	**sun**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bani**	**gyan**	**bigyan**	**ʌrtʰ**	**rajniti**
ʌb̤in	**ʌpne**	**sun**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bani**	**gyan**	**bigyan**	**ʌrtʰ**	**rajniti**
now	2SG	hear	live-INF	be.PRES.H	knowledge	science	economy	politics

kʌla	**sʌnskriti**	**ke**	**sʌŋgʌm**	**nʌbʌjyoti**	**epʰ**	**em**	**ʌʈʰasi**	**bunka**
kʌla	**sʌnskriti**	**ke**	**sʌŋgʌm**	**nʌbʌjyoti**	**epʰ**	**em**	**ʌʈʰasi**	**bunka**
art	culture	GEN	juncture	Nava Jyoti	F	M	eighty-eight	point

du	**megaɦʌrj**
du	**megaɦʌrj**
two	Megahertz

Now you are hearing Nava Jyoti FM 88.2 MHz, a juncture of knowledge, science, economy, politics, arts and culture.

01.085

अभी प्रसार हो रहल बा कार्यक्रम भोर कब होई ।

ʌb̤i	**prʌsar**	**ɦo**	**rʌɦʌl**	**ba**	**karyʌkrʌm**	**b̤or**	**kʌb**
ʌb̤i	**prʌsar**	**ɦo**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**ba**	**karyʌkrʌm**	**b̤or**	**kʌb**
now	broadcast	be	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES	programme	dawn	when

ɦoi	
ɦo-i	
be-3SG.FUT	

Now it's being on air the program 'When does the dawn come?'

01.086

आ आज के कार्यक्रम में भोजपुरी साहित्य के समसामयिक विषय पर बातचीत कर रहल बानी नेपाल भोजपुरी विद्यार्थी समाज के महासचिव सुनील पटेल का सङे ।

ɑ	**ɑj**	**ke**	**karyʌkrʌm**	**mẽ**	**b̤ojpuri**	**saɦityʌ**	**ke**	**sʌmsamʌik**	
ɑ	**ɑj**	**ke**	**karyʌkrʌm**	**mẽ**	**b̤ojpuri**	**saɦityʌ**	**ke**	**sʌmsamʌik**	
and	today	GEN	programme	LOC	Bhojpuri	literature	GEN	contemporary	

bisɛ	**pʌr**	**batcit**	**kʌr**	**rʌɦʌl**	**bani**	**nepal**	**b̤ojpuri**	**bidyarthi**
bisɛ	**pʌr**	**batcit**	**kʌr**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bani**	**nepal**	**b̤ojpuri**	**bidyarthi**
issue	LOC	talk	do	live-INF	be.PRES.H	Nepal	Bhojpuri	student

sʌmaj	**ke**	**mʌɦasʌcib**	**sunil**	**pʌʈel**	**ka**	**sʌŋe**	
sʌmaj	**ke**	**mʌɦasʌcib**	**sunil**	**pʌʈel**	**ka**	**sʌŋ-e**	
society	GEN	Secretary General	Sunil	Patel	GEN	with-LOC	

And at today's programme, we are conversating on the contemporary issues of the Bhojpuri literature with Secretary GENeral of the Nepal Bhojpuri Students' Society, Sunil Patel.

01.087

जी, त सुनीलजी, अब अपने से थोड़ा-बहुत हम ई कहेके चाहतानी कि एक मधेश एक प्रदेश में भोजपुरी के कौनो तरह से बाँटल ना जाई ।

ji	**tʌ**	**sunilji**	**ʌb**	**ʌpne**	**se**	**tʰoɽa**	**bʌɦut**	**ɦʌm**	**i**	
ji	**tʌ**	**sunil-ji**	**ʌb**	**ʌpne**	**se**	**tʰoɽa**	**bʌɦut**	**ɦʌm**	**i**	
yea	COND	Sunil-H	now	2SG	with	little	more	1SG	3SG.PROX	

kʌɦeke	**caɦʌtani**	**ki**	**ek**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**mẽ**		
kʌɦ-e-ke	**caɦ-ʌt**	**bani**	**ki**	**ek**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**mẽ**	
say-PUR-PUR	want-IMPF	be.PRES.H	COMP	one	Madhesh	one	province	LOC	

b̤ojpuri	**ke**	**kɔno**	**tʌrʌɦ**	**se**	**bãʈʌl**	**na**	**jai**	
b̤ojpuri	**ke**	**kɔno**	**tʌrʌɦ**	**se**	**bãʈ-ʌl**	**na**	**ja-i**	
Bhojpuri	GEN	any	as	means	split-INF	NEG	go-3SG.FUT	

Yea, Sunilji, now I want to tell you to some extent that Bhojpuri will not be split

under One Madhesh One Province.
01.088
भोजपुरी कौनो स्वायत्त प्रदेश हो जाई ।
bʱojpuri kɔno swaettʌ prʌdes ɦo jai
bʱojpuri kɔno swaettʌ prʌdes ɦo ja-i
Bhojpuri some autonomous region be go-3SG.FUT
Bhojpuri will be formed an autonomous region.
01.089
मैथिली कौनो स्वायत्त प्रदेश हो जाई ।
mɛtʰili kɔno swaettʌ prʌdes ɦo jai
mɛtʰili kɔno swaettʌ prʌdes ɦo ja-i
Maithili some autonomous region be go-3SG.FUT
Maithili will be formed an autonomous region.
01.090
त ऊ बढ़ियाँ रही ।
tʌ u bʌɽ̊iã rʌɦi
tʌ u bʌɽ̊iã rʌɦ-i
COND 3SG better live-3SG.FUT
Then it will be better.
01.091
अब एगो देखतानी कि एक मधेश एक प्रदेश के बारे में एगो त ई खास कके कॉङ्ग्रेस, एमाले आ माओवादी ए में एगो देवेके नइखन चाहत स ।
ʌb ego dekʰʌtani ki ek mʌd̤es ek prʌdes
ʌb ek-go dekʰ-ʌt bʌni ki ek mʌd̤es ek prʌdes
now one-CLF see-IMPF be.PRES.H COMP one Madhesh one province
ke bare mẽ ego tʌ i kʰas kʌke kɔŋres
ke bare mẽ ek-go tʌ i kʰas kʌr-ke kʌŋres
GEN about LOC one-CLF COND 3SG.PROX special do-SEQ congress
emale ɑ maobadi e mẽ ego deweke
emale ɑ maobad-i e mẽ ek-go de-e-ke
UML and Maoism-ADJ PROX LOC one-CLF give-PUR-PUR
nʌkʰʌn caɦʌt sʌ
nʌkʰ-ʌn caɦ-ʌt sʌ
BE.NEG.PRES-3MH want-IMPF PL
Now it's being observed that especially the Congress, UML and Maoists are not willing to accept One Madhesh One Province.
01.092
दोसर त कथी बा कि एकरा के सैद्धांतिक रूप से अगर मान भी लेहल जाए त बिहान झापा के कौनो नागरिक आ कंचनपुर के नागरिक जेकरा काठमांडू जाए में कठिनाई पड़ता त एक मधेश एक प्रदेश अगर बनी त ओकर राजधानी जाए-आवे में त मान लीं जनकपुर राजधानी भइल त पछिमवाला के कठिन, अगर बुटवल राजधानी भइल त पुरुबवाला के कठिन, आ अगर वीरगंज बनी त बात त बराबरे भइल ?
dosʌr tʌ kʌtʰi bɑ ki ekʌrɑ ke sɛdd̤antik
dosʌr tʌ kʌtʰi bɑ ki ekʌr-ɑ ke sɛdd̤antik
socond COND what be.3SG.PRES COMP PROX.GEN-SPEC GEN theoretical
rup se ʌgʌr man b̤i leɦʌl jae tʌ biɦan j̈apɑ
rup se ʌgʌr man b̤i le-ʌl ja-e tʌ biɦan j̈apɑ
form means if obey also take-PP go-OPT COND tomorrow Jhapa

ke kɔno nagʌrik ɑ kʌncʌnpur ke nagʌrik jekʌrɑ
ke kɔno nagʌrik ɑ kʌncʌnpur ke nagʌrik jekʌr-ɑ
GEN some citizen and Kanchanpur GEN cotizen REL.GEN-SPEC

kɑʈʰmɑnɖu jɑe mẽ kʌʈʰinɑi pʌɽʌtɑ tʌ ek
kɑʈʰmɑnɖu jɑ-e mẽ kʌʈʰinɑi pʌɽ-ʌt bɑ tʌ ek
Kathmandu go-PUR LOC difficulty lie-IMPF be.3SG.PRES COND one

mʌɖes ek prʌdes ʌgʌr bʌni tʌ okʌr rɑjɖɑni
mʌɖes ek prʌdes ʌgʌr bʌn-i tʌ okʌr rɑjɖɑni
Madhesh one province if make-3SG.FUT COND 3SG.GEN.NH capital

jɑe ɑwe mẽ tʌ mɑn lĩ jʌnʌkpur rɑjɖɑni
jɑ-e ɑ-e mẽ tʌ mɑn lĩ jʌnʌkpur rɑjɖɑni
go-PUR come-PUR LOC COND realize take.IMP.H Janakpur capital

ɓʌil tʌ pʌchimwɑlɑ ke kʌʈʰin ʌgʌr buʈwʌl rɑjɖɑni
ɓʌ-il tʌ pʌchim-wɑlɑ ke kʌʈʰin ʌgʌr buʈwʌl rɑjɖɑni
become-3SG.PST COND west-owner GEN difficult if Butwal capital

ɓʌil tʌ purubwɑlɑ ke kʌʈʰin ɑ ʌgʌr birgʌnj
ɓʌ-il tʌ purub-wɑlɑ ke kʌʈʰin ɑ ʌgʌr birgʌnj
become-3SG.PST COND east-owner GEN difficult and if Birganj

bʌni tʌ bɑt tʌ bʌrɑbʌre ɓʌil
bʌn-i tʌ bɑt tʌ bʌrɑbʌr-e ɓʌ-il
make-3SG.FUT COND matter COND equal-EMPH become-3SG.PST

The second concern is that if it is ACCepted theoretically, either the citizen of Jhapa or Kanchanpur who face difficulty to reach the capital city, Kathmandu, will face the same to reach the provincial capital if One Madhesh One Province is made as the westerner will have inconvenience if its capital is fixed in Janakpur, easterner will have inconvenience if its capital is fixed in Butwal and both will face the same if it is fixed in Birganj.

01.093

काठमांडू जाए में लागता जेतना खर्चा, जेतना समय, जेतना समस्या ऊ त बराबरे रही ?

kɑʈʰmɑnɖu jɑe mẽ lɑgʌtɑ jetnɑ kʰʌrcɑ
kɑʈʰmɑnɖu jɑ-e mẽ lɑg-ʌt bɑ jetnɑ kʰʌrc-ɑ
Kathmandu go-PUR LOC invest-IMPF be.3SG.PRES REL.QUA expence-SPEC

jetnɑ sʌmɛ jetnɑ sʌmʌsyɑ u tʌ bʌrɑbʌre rʌɦi
jetnɑ sʌmɛ jetnɑ sʌmʌsyɑ u tʌ bʌrɑbʌr-e rʌɦ-i
REL.QUA time REL.QUA problem COR COND equal-EMPH live-3SG.FUT

Will the time and expences to reach Kathmandu at present not remain the same for them in future too?

01.094

अइसन किसिम के तर्क मतलब उठ रहल बा।

ʌisʌn kisim ke tʌrk mʌtlʌb uʈʰ rʌɦʌl bɑ
ʌisʌn kisim ke tʌrk mʌtlʌb uʈʰ rʌɦ-ʌl bɑ
such type GEN logic meaning rise live-INF be.3SG.PRES

Such types of arguments are also be;ding raised.

01.095

त संभावना ई बाटे जे एगो ना बनके दूगो प्रदेश बने के बेसी संभावना देखल जा रहल बा।

tʌ sʌmɓɑonɑ i bɑʈe je ego nɑ bʌnke
tʌ sʌmɓɑonɑ i bɑ je ek-go nɑ bʌn-ke
COND probability 3SG.PROX be.3SG.PRES COMP one-CLF NEG make-SEQ

dugo	**prʌdes**	**bʌne**	**ke**	**besi**	**sʌmb̤aonɑ**	**dekʰʌl**	**jɑ**	**rʌɦʌl**	
du-go	**prʌdes**	**bʌn-e**	**ke**	**besi**	**sʌmb̤aonɑ**	**dekʰ-ʌl**	**jɑ**	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	
two-CLF	province	make-PUR	GEN	more	probability	see-INF	go	live-INF	

bɑ
bɑ

be.3SG.PRES

Then the probability of two instead of one is also being observed.

01.096

आ नेपाली कॉङ्ग्रेस आ एमाले के नेता लोग के त अपन मनोलड्डू, त ऊ लोग त मधेश के पाँचगो बनावे जा रहल बा ।

ɑ	**nepɑli**	**kɔŋres**	**ɑ**	**emɑle**	**ke**	**netɑ**	**log**	**ke**	**tʌ**	**ʌpʌn**
ɑ	**nepɑl-i**	**kʌŋres**	**ɑ**	**emɑle**	**ke**	**netɑ**	**log**	**ke**	**tʌ**	**ɑpʌn**
and	Nepal-ADJ	congress	and	UML	GEN	leader	PL	GEN	COND	3.GEN

mʌnolʌḍḍu	**tʌ**	**u**	**log**	**tʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ke**	**pɑ̃cgo**	**bʌnɑwe**	
mʌnolʌḍḍu	**tʌ**	**u**	**log**	**tʌ**	**mʌd̤es**	**ke**	**pɑ̃c-go**	**bʌnɑ-e**	
wish	COND	3SG.	PL	COND	Madhesh	GEN	five-CLF	make-PUR	

jɑ	**rʌɦʌl**	**bɑ**
jɑ	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**bɑ**
go	live-INF	be.3SG.PRES

And leaders of the Nepali Congress and UML as their mental calculation are going to form five provinces in Madhesh.

01.097

अपने के हिसाब से अगर एक मधेश एक प्रदेश ना बनल तब के अवस्था में राउर भाषा के हिसाब से ओकरा के ओ ढङ से देखल जाओ त भोजपुरी के विकास के हिसाब से संघीयता के तरे होखेके चाहीं ?

ʌpne	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**ʌgʌr**	**ek**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**nɑ**
ʌpne	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**ʌgʌr**	**ek**	**mʌd̤es**	**ek**	**prʌdes**	**nɑ**
2SG	GEN	mathematics	means	if	one	Madhesh	one	province	NEG

bʌnʌl	**tʌb**	**ke**	**ʌwʌstʰɑ**	**mẽ**	**rɑur**	**b̤ɑsɑ**	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**
bʌn-ʌl	**tʌb**	**ke**	**ʌwʌstʰɑ**	**mẽ**	**rɑur**	**b̤ɑsɑ**	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**
make-3SG.PST	then	GEN	situation	LOC	2SG.GEN.H	language	GEN	manner

se	**okʌrɑ**	**ke**	**o**	**d̈ʌŋ**	**se**	**dekʰʌl**	**jɑo**	**tʌ**
se	**okʌr-ɑ**	**ke**	**o**	**d̈ʌŋ**	**se**	**dekʰ-ʌl**	**jɑ-o**	**tʌ**
means	3.SG.GEN-SPEC	GEN	DIST	manner	with	see-INF	go-OPT	COND

b̤ojpuri	**ke**	**bikɑs**	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**sʌŋg̈iyʌtɑ**	**ke**	**tʌre**
b̤ojpuri	**ke**	**bikɑs**	**ke**	**ɦisɑb**	**se**	**sʌŋg̈iyʌtɑ**	**ke**	**tʌre**
Bhojpuri	GEN	development	GEN	manner	with	federalism	GEN	such

ɦokʰeke	**cɑɦĩ**
ɦokʰ-e-ke	**cɑɦ-ĩ**
be-PUR-PUR	want-3SG.FUT

If One Madhesh One Province is not formed, what type of federal structure will be applied with respect to the promotion of Bhojpuri which is your native language?

Text 06: House and Family situations

06.001

ई हमर घर ह ।

i	**ɦʌmʌr**	**g̈ʌr**	**ɦʌ**
i	**ɦʌmʌr**	**g̈ʌr**	**ɦʌ**
3SG.PROX	1SG.GEN	house	be.3SG.PRES

This is my house.

06.002

हमर घर ई ह ।

ɦʌmʌr	**g̈ʌr**	**i**	**ɦʌ**
ɦʌmʌr	**g̈ʌr**	**i**	**ɦʌ**
1SG.GEN	house	3SG.PROX	be.3SG.PRES

My house is this.

06.003

हमर ई घर ह ।

ɦʌmʌr	**i**	**g̈ʌr**	**ɦʌ**
ɦʌmʌr	**i**	**g̈ʌr**	**ɦʌ**
1SG.GEN	3SG.PROX	house	be.3SG.PRES

This is my house.

06.004

ई घर हमर ह ।

i	**g̈ʌr**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**ɦʌ**
i	**g̈ʌr**	**ɦʌmʌr**	**ɦʌ**
3SG.PROX	house	1SG.GEN	be.3SG.PRES

This house is mine.

06.005

के के रउआ किताब देनी ?

ke	**ke**	**rʌuɑ**	**kitɑb**	**deni**
ke	**ke**	**rʌuɑ**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
who	dat	2SG.H	book	give-PST.H

Who did you give the book to?

06.006

राधा के हम किताब देनी ।

rɑd̤ɑ	**ke**	**ɦʌm**	**kitɑb**	**deni**
rɑd̤ɑ	**ke**	**ɦʌm**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
Radha	dat	1SG.NOM	book	give-PST.H

I gave the book to Radha.

06.007

रउआ राधा के का देनी ?

rʌuɑ	**rɑd̤ɑ**	**ke**	**kɑ**	**deni**
rʌuɑ	**rɑd̤ɑ**	**ke**	**kɑ**	**de-ni**
2SG.H	Radha	dat	what	give-PST.H

What did you give to Radha?

06.008

हम ओ के किताब देनी ।

ɦʌm	**o**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**deni**
ɦʌm	**o**	**ke**	**kitɑb**	**de-ni**
1SG.NOM	3SG.DIST	dat	book	give-PST.H

I gave her a book.

06.009
धनपत कब आइल ?
d̤ʌnpʌt kʌb ɑil
d̤ʌnpʌt kʌb ɑ-il
Dhanpat when come-3SG.PST
When did Dhanpat come?
06.010
ऊ सँझिया आइल ।
u sʌ̃jïɑ ɑil
u sʌ̃jïɑ ɑ-il
3SG evening come-3SG.PST
He came in the evening.
06.011
ऊ दुपहरवा आइल ।
u dupʌɦʌrwɑ ɑil
u dupʌɦʌrwɑ ɑ-il
3SG in the afternoon come-3SG.PST
He came in the afternoon.
06.012
ना, ऊ सँझिया आइल ।
nɑ u sʌ̃jïɑ ɑil
nɑ u sʌ̃jïɑ ɑ-il
neg 3SG evening come-3SG.PST
No, he came in the evening.
06.013
राजु गाय दुही ।
rɑju gɑe duɦi
rɑju gɑe duɦ-i
Raju cow milk-3SG.FUT
Raju will milk the cow.
06.014
राजुए बा जे गाय दुही ।
rɑjue bɑ je gɑe duɦi
rɑju-e bɑ je gɑe duɦ-i
Raju-EMPH be.3SG.PRES REL cow milk-3SG.FUT
It's Raju who will milk the cow.
06.015
इहे गाय ह जे राजु दुही ।
iɦe gɑe ɦʌ je rɑju duɦi
i-ɦe gɑe ɦʌ je rɑju duɦ-i
3SG.PROX-EMPH cow be.3SG.PRES. REL Raju milk-3SG.FUT
It's the cow that Raju will milk
06.016
जे गाय दुही ऊ राजु ह ।
je gɑe duɦi u rɑju ɦʌ
je gɑe duɦ-i u rɑju ɦʌ
REL cow milk-3SG.FUT 3SG Raju be.3SG.PRES
The one who will milk the cow is Raju.

06.017

राजु गाय के का करी कि दुही ।

raju	**gae**	**ke**	**ka**	**kʌri**	**ki**	**duɦi**
raju	**gae**	**ke**	**ka**	**kʌr-i**	**ki**	**duɦ-i**
Raju	cow	GEN	what	do-3SG.FUT	COMP	milk-3SG.FUT

What Raju will do to the cow is milk it.

06.018

राजु का करी कि गाय दुही ।

raju	**ka**	**kʌri**	**ki**	**gae**	**duɦi**
raju	**ka**	**kʌr-i**	**ki**	**gae**	**duɦ-i**
Raju	what	do-3SG.FUT	COMP	cow	milk-3SG.FUT

What Raju will do is milk the cow.

06.019

राजु कथी दुही, त गाय ।

raju	**kʌtʰi**	**duɦi**	**tʌ**	**gae**
raju	**kʌtʰi**	**duɦ-i**	**tʌ**	**gae**
Raju	what	milk-3SG.FUT	COND	cow

What Raju will milk is the cow.

06.020

हम पूरा परिवार का लगे गइनी — माई, बाबुजी, हमर तीनजने भाई, दूगो बहिन आ आउर लोग का लगे — तू बुझले होखबऽ जे केहू मदत करे के कहले होखी, बाँकिर ना, सबकेहू इनकार कर देलख ...

ɦʌm	**pura**	**pʌriwar**	**ka**	**lʌge**	**gʌini**	**mai**	**babuji**	**ɦʌmʌr**	
ɦʌm	**pura**	**pʌriwar**	**ka**	**lʌge**	**ja-ini**	**mai**	**babu-ji**	**ɦʌmʌr**	
1SG.NOM	full	family	GEN	with	go -PST.H	mother	father-H	1SG.GEN	

tinjʌne	**ʈai**	**dugo**	**bʌɦin**	**a**	**aur**	**log**	**ka**	**lʌge**	**tu**
tin-jʌne	**ʈai**	**du-go**	**bʌɦin**	**a**	**aur**	**log**	**ka**	**lʌge**	**tu**
three-CLF	brother	two-CLF	sister	and	more	people	GEN	with	2SG

buj̈le	**ɦokʰʌbʌ**	**je**	**keɦu**	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌre**	**ke**	**kʌɦle**
buj̈-ʌl-e	**ɦokʰ-ʌb-ʌ**	**je**	**keɦu**	**mʌdʌt**	**kʌr-e**	**ke**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-e**
think-INF-SEQ	be-FUT-2.MH	COMP	someone	help	do-PUR	INF	say-INF-SEQ

ɦokʰi	**bãkir**	**na**	**sʌbkeɦu**	**inkar**	**kʌr**	**delʌkʰ**
ɦokʰ-i	**bãkir**	**na**	**sʌbkeɦu**	**inkar**	**kʌr**	**de-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
be-3SG.FUT	but	neg	all	refuse	do	give-3SG.PST

I went through the whole family - mom, dad, my three brothers, two sisters, the lot - you'd have thought someone would offer to help, but heck, they all refused ...

06.021

ऊ हमर बड़की माई रहली जे डेङ बढ़इनी आ बइठइनी ।

u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**bʌɽki**	**mai**	**rʌɦli**	**je**	**ɖeŋ**
u	**ɦʌmʌr**	**bʌɽ-ki**	**mai**	**rʌɦ-ʌl-i**	**je**	**ɖeŋ**
3SG.COR	1SG.GEN	elder-F	mother	live-3SG.PST-F	REL	step

bʌɽ̊ʌini	**a**	**bʌiʈʰʌini**	
bʌɽ̊-a-ini	**a**	**bʌiʈʰ-a-ini**	
forward-CAUS-PST.H	and	sit-CAUS-PST.H	

It was my elder aunt who stepped in and made me sit.

06.022

ओकर दुगो बहिन बाड़ी स, मेघिआ आ फुलिआ ।

okʌr	**dugo**	**bʌɦin**	**baɽi**	**sʌ**	**meğia**	**a**	**pʰulia**	

okʌr du-go bʌɦin baɽi sʌ meğia ɑ pʰulia
3SG.GEN two-CLF sister be.3SG.PRES.F PL Meghia and Phulia
He has two sisters, Meghia and Phulia.
06.023
ऊ मेघिया के बहुत मानेला ।
u meğia ke bʌɦut manelɑ
u meğia ke bʌɦut mɑn-ʌl-ɑ
3SG Meghia DAT very like-INF-3SG.PRES.M
He likes Meghia a lot.
06.024
फुलिआ के त ऊ फरछाहिओं ना चलेला ।
phulia ke tʌ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦiõ nɑ cʌlelɑ
phulia ke tʌ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ-o nɑ cʌl-ʌl-ɑ
Phulia GEN COND 3SG shadow-EMPH NEG walk-INF-3SG.PRES.M
Phulia, he can't stand.
06.025
ऊ फुलिआ हिअ जेकरा ऊ फरछाहीं ना चलेला ।
u phulia ɦiʌ jekʌrɑ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ nɑ
u phulia ɦiʌ jekʌr-ɑ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ nɑ
COR Phulia be.3SG.PRES REL.GEN-SPEC 3SG shadow NEG
cʌlelɑ
cʌl-ʌl-ɑ
walk-INF-3SG.PRES.M
It's Phulia that he can't stand.
06.026
ऊ मेघिआ के फरछाहीं ना चलेला ।
u meğia ke pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ nɑ cʌlelɑ
u meğia ke pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ nɑ cʌl-ʌl-ɑ
3SG Meghia GEN shadow NEG walk-INF-3SG.PRES.M
She can't stand Meghia.
06.027
ना, ऊ फुलिआ हिअ जेकरा ऊ फरछाहीं ना चलेला ।
nɑ u phulia ɦiʌ jekʌrɑ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ nɑ
nɑ u phulia ɦiʌ jekʌr-ɑ u pʰʌrcʰɑɦĩ nɑ
NEG COR Phulia be.3SG.PRES.F REL.GEN-SPEC 3SG shadow NEG
cʌlelɑ
cʌl-ʌl-ɑ
walk-INF-3SG.PRES.M
No, it's Phulia that she can't stand.
06.028
लमढेङ आदमी चल देलख ।
lʌmɖeŋ ɑdmi cʌl delʌkʰ
lʌmɖeŋ ɑdmi cʌl de-ʌl-ʌkʰ
tall man walk give-INF-3.PST
The tall man left.
06.029
ई गाछ
i gɑcʰ
i gɑcʰ

3SG.DEM.PROX tree
'this tree'
06.030
ऊ गाछ
u gɑcʰ
u gɑcʰ
3SG.DEM.DIST tree
'that tree' (vis.)
06.031
हऊ गाछ
ɦʌu gɑcʰ
ɦʌu gɑcʰ
3SG.DEM.DIST tree
'that tree' (invis.)
06.032
लाल घर
lɑl ɡ̈ʌr
lɑl ɡ̈ʌr
'red house'
06.033
ललका घर
lʌlkɑ ɡ̈ʌr
lɑl-kɑ ɡ̈ʌr
red-CLF house
'the red house'
06.034
ऊ औरत हिअ जौन हम देखनी ।
u ɔrʌt ɦiʌ jɔn ɦʌm dekʰni
u ɔrʌt ɦiʌ jɔn ɦʌm dekʰ-ni
COR woman be.3SG.PRES.NH REL 1SG see-PST.H
It's a woman that I saw.
06.035
ई उहे औरत हिअ जे हम देखनी ।
i uɦe ɔrʌt ɦiʌ je ɦʌm dekʰni
i u-ɦe ɔrʌt ɦiʌ je ɦʌm dekʰ-ni
PROX COR-EMPH woman be.3SG.PRES.NH REL 1SG see-PST.H
It's the woman that I saw.
06.036
ऊ ई औरत हिअ जे हम देखनी, ना कि आदमी ।
u i ɔrʌt ɦiʌ je ɦʌm dekʰni nɑ ki ɑdmi
u i ɔrʌt ɦiʌ je ɦʌm dekʰ-ni nɑ ki ɑdmi
COR PROX woman be.3SG.PRES.NH REL 1SG see-PST.H NEG COMP man
It's this woman that I saw, not this man.
06.037
ऊ इहे औरत हिअ जे हम देखनी, ना कि ई आदमी ।
u iɦe ɔrʌt ɦiʌ je ɦʌm dekʰni nɑ ki
u i-ɦe ɔrʌt ɦiʌ je ɦʌm dekʰ-ni nɑ ki
COR PROX-EMPH woman be.3SG.PRES.NH REL 1SG see-PST.H NEG COMP
i ɑdmi

i **ɑdmi**
PROX man
It's the woman I saw, not the man.
06.038
(हमरा अलुई मन ना परे), गाजर हमरा मन परेला ।
ɦʌmrɑ **ʌlui** **mʌn** **nɑ** **pʌre** **gɑjʌr** **ɦʌmrɑ**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ **ʌlui** **mʌn** **nɑ** **pʌr-e** **gɑjʌr** **ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ**
1SG-POSS-SPEC potato mind NEG fall-3SG.PRES carrot 1SG-POSS-SPEC
mʌn **pʌrelɑ**
mʌn **pʌr-ʌl-ɑ**
mind fall-INF--3SG.PRES.NH
(I don't like potatoes), carrots I like.
06.039
(हमरा ऊ ना सोहालन), इनका के त हम बहुत चाहेनी ।
ɦʌmrɑ **u** **nɑ** **soɦɑlʌn** **inkɑ** **ke** **tʌ** **ɦʌm**
ɦʌm-ʌr-ɑ **u** **nɑ** **soɦɑ-ʌl-ʌn** **inkɑ** **ke** **tʌ** **ɦʌm**
1SG-POSS-SPEC 3SG NEG like-INF-3.MH 3SG.DAT.MH DAT COND 1SG
bʌɦut **cɑɦeni**
bʌɦut **cɑɦ-eni**
very like-PRES.H
(I don't like him), her I'm fond of.
06.040
आदमी, उनका त केहू मन ना परल ।
ɑdmi **unkɑ** **tʌ** **keɦu** **mʌn** **nɑ** **pʌrʌl**
ɑdmi **unkɑ** **tʌ** **keɦu** **mʌn** **nɑ** **pʌr-ʌl**
man 3SG.GEN COND anyone mind neg fall-3SG.PST
As for man, she didn't like any.
06.041
दुलारचन, ऊ उनका मन ना परस ।
dulɑrcʌn **u** **unkɑ** **mʌn** **nɑ** **pʌrʌs**
dulɑrcʌn **u** **unkɑ** **mʌn** **nɑ** **pʌr-ʌs**
Dularchan COR 3SG.GEN.H mind NEG fall-3.PST.H
As for Dularchan, she didn't like him.
06.042
आज हमनी जे पर बात करे जातानी ऊ ह प्रेम ।
ɑj **ɦʌmni** **je** **pʌr** **bɑt** **kʌre** **jɑtɑni** **u**
ɑj **ɦʌm-ni** **je** **pʌr** **bɑt** **kʌr-e** **jɑ-ʌt** **bɑni** **u**
today 1SG-PL REL LOC matter do-PUR go-IMPF be.PRES.H COR
ɦʌ **prem**
ɦʌ **prem**
be.3SG.PRES love
What we're going to talk about today is love.
06.043
ऊ प्रेम ह जे पर हमनी आज बात करे जातानी ।
u **prem** **ɦʌ** **je** **pʌr** **ɦʌmni** **ɑj** **bɑt** **kʌre**
u **prem** **ɦʌ** **je** **pʌr** **ɦʌm-ni** **ɑj** **bɑt** **kʌr-e**
COR love be.3SG.PRES. REL LOC 1SG-PL today matter do-PUR
jɑtɑni
jɑ-ʌt **bɑni**

go-IMPF be.PRES.H
It's LOVE that we're going to talk about today.
06.044
तू समझलऽ हमनी दौलत पर बतिअइतीं, बाँकिर ऊ ह प्रेम जे पर हमनी आज बात करे जातानी ।

tu	**sʌmʌj̈lʌ**	**ɦʌmni**	**dɔlʌt**	**pʌr**	**bʌtiʌitĩ**	**bãkir**
tu	**sʌmʌj̈-ʌl-ʌ**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**dɔlʌt**	**pʌr**	**bat-iɑ-itĩ**	**bãkir**
2SG	understand-INF-2.PST.MH	1SG-PL	wealth	LOC	talk-PASS-FUT.H	but

u	**ɦʌ**	**prem**	**je**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌmni**	**ɑj**	**bat**	**kʌre**
u	**ɦʌ**	**prem**	**je**	**pʌr**	**ɦʌm-ni**	**ɑj**	**bat**	**kʌr-e**
COR	be.3SG.PRES	love	REL	LOC	1SG-PL	today	matter	do-PUR

jɑtɑni
jɑ-ʌt bɑni
go-IMPF be.PRES.H
You thought we were going to talk about wealth, but it's LOVE that we're going to talk about today.
06.045
तू मानेलऽ कि ए लइकी के नोकर मुआ देलख, निश्चित रूप से एह बात में दम बा, हमहू मानेम । तब्बो तू पूरा पूरा गलतफहमी में बाड़ऽ । ऊ त ओकर बापे ह जे ओ के मुआ देलख ।

tu	**mɑnelʌ**	**ki**	**e**	**lʌiki**	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**muɑ**
tu	**mɑn-ʌl-ʌ**	**ki**	**e**	**lʌiki**	**ke**	**nokʌr**	**muɑ**
2SG	realize-INF-2.PRES.MH	COMP	PROX	girl	GEN	servant	kill

delʌkʰ	**niscit**	**rup**	**se**	**eɦ**	**bɑt**	**mẽ**	**dʌm**	**bɑ**
de-ʌl-ʌkʰ	**niscit**	**rup**	**se**	**eɦ**	**bɑt**	**mẽ**	**dʌm**	**bɑ**
give-INF-3.PST	certain	form	spec	prox	matter	LOC	weight	be.3SG.PRES

ɦʌmɦu	**mɑnem**	**tʌbbo**	**tu**	**purɑ**	**purɑ**	**gʌlʌtpʰʌɦmi**	**mẽ**
ɦʌm-ɦu	**mɑn-em**	**tʌb-o**	**tu**	**purɑ**	**purɑ**	**gʌlʌtpʰʌɦmi**	**mẽ**
1SG-EMPH	realize-FUT.H	then-EMPH	2SG	full	full	falsehood	LOC

bɑɽʌ	**u**	**tʌ**	**okʌr**	**bɑpe**	**rʌɦe**	**je**	**o**	**ke**
bɑɽʌ	**u**	**tʌ**	**okʌr**	**bɑp-e**	**rʌɦ-e**	**je**	**o**	**ke**
be.2.PRES	COR	COND	3SG.GEN	father-EMPH	live-3.PST	REL	3SG	ACC

muɑ delʌkʰ
muɑ de-ʌl-ʌkʰ
kill give-INF-3.PST
You think that servant killed the girl, and it sure makes sense, I admit. But you're absolutely wrong. It was her father who killed her.
06.046
धनपत कुत्ता के ना मुअइलख ।

d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**muʌilʌkʰ**
d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
Dhanpat	dog	ACC	neg	die-CAUS-INF-3.PST

Dhanpat didn't kill the dog.
06.047
धनपत कुत्ता के जानबूझके ना मुअइलख ।

d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**jɑnbuj̈ke**	**nɑ**	**muʌilʌkʰ**
d̤ʌnpʌt	**kuttɑ**	**ke**	**jɑn-buj̈-ke**	**nɑ**	**mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
Dhanpat	dog	ACC	know-understand-SEQ	NEG	die-CAUS-INF-3.PST

Dhanpat didn't kill the dog knowingly.
06.048
धनपत कुत्ता के शुक के ना मुअइलख ।

d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke suk ke nɑ muʌilʌkʰ
d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke suk ke nɑ mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
Dhanpat dog ACC Friday dat NEG die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Dhanpat didn't kill the dog on Friday.
06.049
धनपत कुत्ता के खीसे ना मुअइलख ।
d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke kʰise nɑ muʌilʌkʰ
d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke kʰis-e nɑ mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
Dhanpat dog ACC anger-LOC NEG die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Dhanpat didn't kill the dog in anger.
06.050
धनपत कुत्ता के घरे ना मुअइलख ।
d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke g̈ʌre nɑ muʌilʌkʰ
d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke g̈ʌr-e nɑ mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
Dhanpat dog ACC house-LOC NEG die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Dhanpat didn't kill the dog at home.
06.051
का धनपत कुत्ता के मुअइलख ?
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke muʌilʌkʰ
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt kuttɑ ke mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
what Dhanpat dog ACC die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Did Dhanpat kill the dog?
06.052
का धनपत जानबूझके कुत्ता के मुअइलख ?
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt jɑnbuj̈ke kuttɑ ke muʌilʌkʰ
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt jɑn-buj̈-ke kuttɑ ke mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
what Dhanpat know-understand-SEQ dog ACC die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Did Dhanpat kill the dog deliberately?
06.053
का धनपत शुक का दिने कुत्ता के मुअइलख ?
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt suk kɑ dine kuttɑ ke muʌilʌkʰ
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt suk kɑ din-e kuttɑ ke mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
what Dhanpat Friday GEN day-LOC dog ACC die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Did Dhanpat kill the dog on Friday?
06.054
का धनपत खीसे कुत्ता के मुअइलख ?
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt kʰise kuttɑ ke muʌilʌkʰ
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt kʰis-e kuttɑ ke mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
what Dhanpat anger-LOC dog ACC die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Did Dhanpat kill the dog in anger?
06.055
का धनपत घरे कुत्ता के मुअइलख ?
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt g̈ʌre kuttɑ ke muʌilʌkʰ
kɑ d̤ʌnpʌt g̈ʌr-e kuttɑ ke mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
what Dhanpat house-LOC dog ACC die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Did Dhanpat kill the dog at home?
06.056
कुत्ता के के मुअइलख ?
kuttɑ ke ke muʌilʌkʰ

kuttɑ ke ke mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
dog ACC who die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
Who killed the dog?
06.057
धनपत कथी के मुअइलख ?
d̪ʌnpʌt kʌtʰi ke muʌilʌkʰ
d̪ʌnpʌt kʌtʰi ke mu-ɑ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
Dhanpat what ACC die-CAUS-INF-3.PST
What did Dhanpat kill?

Text 08: Result of High numbered Children: Narrated by Late Hira Bhagat Yadav.
08.001
कवनो गाँव में एगो किसान रहे।
kɔno gɑ̃o mẽ ego kisɑn rʌɦe
kɔno gɑ̃o mẽ ek-go kisɑn rʌɦ-e
some village LOC one-CLF peasant live-3.PST
There was a peasant living in a village.
08.002
उ बहुत गरीब रहे।
u bʌɦut gʌrib rʌɦe
u bʌɦut gʌrib rʌɦ-e
3SG very poor live-3.PST
He was very poor.
08.003
बाँकिर ओकरा एक दर्जन लइका-लइकी रहे।
bɑ̃kir okʌrɑ ek dʌrjʌn lʌikɑ-lʌiki rʌɦe
bɑ̃kir okʌr-ɑ ek dʌrjʌn lʌikɑ-lʌiki rʌɦ-e
but 3.SG.GEN-SPEC one dozen son-daughter live-3.PST
He had a dozen of children.
08.004
बेचारा कहिओ निमन से खाहु ना सके।
becɑrɑ kʌɦio nimʌn se kʰɑɦu nɑ sʌke
becɑrɑ kʌɦio nimʌn se kʰɑ-ɦu nɑ sʌk-e
helPLess any day good means eat-EMPH NEG can-3.PST
The helPLess peasant never had enough food to eat.
08.005
एक दिन ऊ अपना मेहरारू से साँझ में खीऱ बनावे के कहलख।
ek din u ʌpnɑ meɦrɑru se sɑ̃ɟ mẽ kʰiɾ̥
ek din u ʌpnɑ meɦrɑru se sɑ̃ɟ mẽ kʰiɾ̥
one day 3SG 3SG.GEN wife DAT evening LOC rice-pudding
bʌnɑwe ke kʌɦilʌkʰ
bʌnɑ-e ke kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
make-PUR PUR say-INF-3.PST
One day he told his wife to cook rice-pudding in the evening.
08.006
मेहरारू कहली, 'लइकन के पाके मुह में सटी ?'
meɦrɑru kʌɦli lʌikʌn ke pɑeke muɦ mẽ
meɦrɑru kʌɦ-ʌl-i lʌikɑ-ʌn ke pɑ-ke muɦ mẽ

wife say-INF-3.PST.F.MH child-PL GEN get-SEQ mouth LOC
sʌʈi
sʌʈ-i
touch-3.FUT
The wife said, 'Would it be possible to taste due to the children?'
08.007
मरदु कहलें, ‘खीर बनी, बाँकिर लइकन के सुतला के बाद ।’
mʌrdu kʌɦilẽ kʰir bʌni bãkir lʌikʌn ke
mʌrdu kʌɦ-lẽ kʰir bʌn-i bãkir lʌikɑ-ʌn ke
husband.MH say-PST.MH rice-pudding make-3SG.FUT but child-PL GEN
sutlɑ ke bɑd
sut-ʌl-ɑ ke bɑd
sleep-INF-SEQ GEN later
The husband said, 'The pudding will be cooked, but after the children sleep.'
08.008
दिने में दूध, चिनी, मसाला आ चाउर के इंतजाम हो गइल ।
dine mẽ duʤ̣ cini mʌsɑlɑ ɑ cɑur ke intjɑm ɦo
din-e mẽ duʤ̣ cini mʌsɑlɑ ɑ cɑur ke intjɑm ɦo
day-EMPH LOC milk sugar spice and rice GEN arrangement be
gʌil
jɑ-il
go-3SG.PST
Milk, sugar, spices and rice were collected during the day time.
08.009
रात में लइकन सुत गइलन ।
rɑt mẽ lʌikʌn sut gʌilʌn
rɑt mẽ lʌikʌn sut jɑ-il-ʌn
night LOC children sleep go-INF.3PL.PST
The children slept at night.
08.010
दूनू मरद मेहरारू खीऱ बनावे लागल ।
dunu mʌrʌd-meɦrɑru kʰiŋ̣ bʌnɑwe lɑgʌl
du -nu mʌrʌd-meɦrɑru kʰiŋ̣ bʌnɑ-e lɑg-ʌl
two -EMPH husband-wife rice-pudding make-PUR continue-3.PST
Both the husband and wife started cooking of the rice-pudding.
08.011
बाद में जब खीऱ चलावेके परल तब मेहरारू कहली, ‘मार मु धइके ! छोलनी त मिलते नइखे, कहाँ धरा गइल बा ?’
bɑd mẽ jʌb kʰiŋ̣ cʌlɑweke pʌrʌl tʌb
bɑd mẽ jʌb kʰiŋ̣ cʌl-ɑ-e-ke pʌr-ʌl tʌb
later LOC when rice-pudding walk-CAUS-PUR-PUR fall-3SG.PST then
meɦrɑru kʌɦli mɑr mu ɖʌike cʰolni tʌ
meɦrɑru kʌɦ-ʌl-i mɑr muɦ ɖʌr-ke cʰolni tʌ
wife say-INF-3.PST.FMH hit mouth put-SEQ spatula COND
milte nʌikʰe kʌɦã ɖʌrɑ gʌil bɑ
mil-ʌt-e nʌikʰ-e kʌɦã ɖʌr-ɑ jɑ-il bɑ
get-IMPF-EMPH be.NEG.PRES-3SG where put-PASS go-PP be.3SG.PRES
Later, when the pudding was to be stirred, the wife said, 'O my God! I'm not getting spatula, where has it been PLaced?'

08.012

बड़की बेटी आँख मिजते कहलख, ‘गे माई हेदा नू बा।’

bʌɽki	**beʈi**	**ãkʰ**	**mijte**	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**	**ge**	**mai**	**ɦeda**
bʌɽ-ki	**beʈi**	**ãkʰ**	**mij-ʌt-e**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ge**	**mai**	**ɦeda**
elder-F	daughter	eye	rub-SIM-EMPH	say-INF-3.PST	VOC.F	mother	here

nu	**ba**
nu	**ba**
EMPH	be.3SG.PRES

Rubbing her eyes, the elder daughter said, "O Mom! Here you are."

08.013

मेहरारू ओकरा के चूप रहेके इशारा करत छोलनी ले लेली।

meɦraru	**okra**	**ke**	**cup**	**rʌɦe**	**ke**	**isara**	**kʌrʌt**	**cʰolni**
meɦraru	**okʌr-a**	**ke**	**cup**	**rʌɦ-e**	**ke**	**isara**	**kʌr-ʌt**	**cʰolni**
wife	3SG.GEN-SPEC	caus	silent	live-PUR	GEN	gesture	do-SIM	spatula

le	**leli**
le	**le-ʌl-i**
take	take-INF-3.PST.F.MH

The wife gestured her to keep quiet and took the spatula.

08.014

बाद में करछुल के जरुरी परल।

bad	**mẽ**	**kʌrcʰul**	**ke**	**jʌruri**	**pʌrʌl**
bad	**mẽ**	**kʌrcʰul**	**ke**	**jʌruri**	**pʌr-ʌl**
later	LOC	ladle	GEN	need	fall-3SG.PST

Later, a ladle was needed.

08.015

फेर ऊ करछुल ताके लगली।

pʰer	**u**	**kʌrcʰul**	**take**	**lʌgli**
pʰer	**u**	**kʌrcʰul**	**tak-e**	**lag-ʌl-i**
again	3SG	ladle	seek-SIM	continue-INF-3.PST.F.MH

Again, she started searching for the ladle.

08.016

तवले मझिला लइका कहलख, ‘माई, हेदे नु धइले बानी।’

tɔle	**mʌjila**	**lʌika**	**kʌɦlʌkʰ**	**mai**	**ɦede**	**nu**	**ḍʌile**
tɔle	**maj̈il-a**	**lʌika**	**kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**mai**	**ɦeda**	**nu**	**ḍʌr-il-e**
till then	second-DEF	son	say-INF-3.PST	mother	here	EMPH	put-INF-SIM

bani	
bani	
be.PRES.H	

The middle-most son said in a while, 'Mom, I'm keeping it only here.'

08.017

एही तरे कटोरा, छीपा, छिपुली, गिलास, लोटा जब जब खोजाइल त लइकन किहाँ से भुल भुल मिले लागल।

eɦi	**tʌre**	**kʌʈora**	**cʰipa**	**cʰipuli**	**gilas**	**loʈa**	**jʌb**	**jʌb**
eɦ-i	**tʌre**	**kʌʈora**	**cʰipa**	**cʰipuli**	**gilas**	**loʈa**	**jʌb**	**jʌb**
PROX-EMPH	such	bowl	dish	small dish	glass	water-pot	when	when

kʰojail	**tʌ**	**lʌikʌn**	**kiɦã**	**se**	**b̤ul-b̤ul**	**mile**
kʰoj-a-il	**tʌ**	**lʌika-ʌn**	**kiɦã**	**se**	**b̤ul-b̤ul**	**mil-e**
search-PASS-3.PST	COND	child-PL	PLace	source	continuously	get-SIM

lɑgʌl
lɑg-ʌl
continue-3.PST
Likewise, whenever the bowls, plates, glasses and water pots were searched for and these all appeared from children one after another.
08.018
बाद में मेहरारू कहली, 'रे कोरपोंछुआ ! तू काहे बाँकी रहबे ? तोहरा कुछ ना मिलल ह धरेके ?'
bɑd mẽ mɛɦrɑru kʌɦili re korpõcʰuɑ tu
bɑd mẽ mɛɦrɑru kʌɦ-ʌl-i re korpõcʰu-ɑ tu
later LOC woman say-INF-3.PST.F.MH VOC.NH youngest-DEF.M 2SG
kɑɦe bɑ̃ki rʌɦbe toɦrɑ kucʰ nɑ milʌl
kɑɦe bɑ̃ki rʌɦ-ʌb-e toɦrɑ kucʰ nɑ mil-ʌl
why remaining live-FUT-IMP.NH 2SG.GEN something NEG get-PP
ɦʌ ɖʌreke
ɦʌ ɖʌr-e-ke
be.3SG.PRES. put-PUR-PUR
At last, the wife said, 'O my youngest boy! why will you only be left? Did you not get something to keep with?'
08.019
उहो कवन कम रहे ! आँख मिजते कहलख, 'गरम मसाला हम धइले नु बानी जेबी में ।'
uɦo kɔn kʌm rʌɦe ɑ̃kʰ mijte kʌɦlʌkʰ gʌrʌm
u-ɦo kɔn kʌm rʌɦ-e ɑ̃kʰ mij-ʌt-e kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ gʌrʌm
3SG-EMPH what less live-3.PST eye rub-SIM-EMPH say-INF-3.PST hot
mʌsɑlɑ ɖʌile nu bɑni jebi mẽ
mʌsɑlɑ ɖʌr-il-e nu bɑni jeb mẽ
spice put-INF-SIM EMPH be.PRES.H pocket LOC
How he could be lagging behind! He also said rubbing his eyes, 'I've also kept hot spices in my pocket.'
08.020
अंत में किसान कहलख, 'जे दुःख छोड़नी गउरा घाट, से दुःख त लागले बा !'
ʌnt mẽ kisɑn kʌɦlʌkʰ je dukʰ cʰoɽni gʌurɑ ğɑʈ
ʌnt mẽ kisɑn kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ je dukʰ cʰoɽ-ni gʌurɑ ğɑʈ
end LOC peasant say-INF-3.PST REL misery leave-PST.H Gaura bank
se dukʰ tʌ lɑgle bɑ
se dukʰ tʌ lɑg-ʌl-e bɑ
COR misery COND continue-PP-EMPH be.3SG.PRES
At last, the peasant said, 'What we planned, all in vain.'

Text 11: Two Chapatis or Three? Narrated by Late Harihar Yadav.

11.001

कवनो गाँव में दू बेक्ति रहत रहे।

kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**du**	**bekti**	**rʌɦʌt**	**rʌɦe**
kɔno	**gɑ̃o**	**mẽ**	**du**	**bekti**	**rʌɦ-ʌt**	**rʌɦ-e**
some	village	LOC	two	person	live-IMPF	live-3.PST

There lived a couple in a village.

11.002

मरदा बहुत आसकती रहे।

mʌrdɑ	**bʌɦut**	**ɑskʌti**	**rʌɦe**
mʌrʌd-ɑ	**bʌɦut**	**ɑskʌti**	**rʌɦ-e**
husband-DEF	more	lazy	live-3.PST

The husband was very lazy.

11.003

ओके कवनों कमाएके ना कहे।

oke	**kɔno**	**kʌmɑe**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**kʌɦe**
oke	**kɔno**	**kʌmɑ-e**	**ke**	**nɑ**	**kʌɦ-e**
3SG.DAT	any	work-PUR	PUR	NEG	say-3.PST

Nobody used to tell him to work.

11.004

कहिओ कमाए जाए त ऊ बनिहारी जौले ओरावे ना तौले फेर कमाए ना जाए।

kʌɦio	**kʌmɑe**	**jɑe**	**tʌ**	**u**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**jɔle**
kʌɦio	**kʌmɑ-e**	**jɑ-e**	**tʌ**	**u**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**jɔle**
some day	work-PUR	go-3.PST	COND	DIST	wages	until

orɑwe	**nɑ**	**tɔle**	**pʰer**	**kʌmɑe**	**nɑ**	**jɑe**
orɑ-we	**nɑ**	**tɔle**	**pʰer**	**kʌmɑ-e**	**nɑ**	**jɑ-e**
empty-3.PST.CAUS	NEG	till then	again	work-PUR	NEG	go-3.PST

Whenever he earned something, he didn't go to earn again until the wages finished completely.

11.005

एक दिन ऊ कहीं से कुछ गहुँ बनिहारी में ले आइल।

ek	**din**	**u**	**kʌɦĩ**	**se**	**kucʰ**	**gʌɦũ**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**mẽ**	**le**
ek	**din**	**u**	**kʌɦĩ**	**se**	**kucʰ**	**gʌɦũ**	**bʌniɦɑri**	**mẽ**	**le**
one	day	3SG	somewhere	source	something	wheat	wages	LOC	take

ɑil
ɑ-il
come-3.PST

One day he brought some wheat as his wages from somewhere.

11.006

रात में रोटी बनल।

rɑt	**mẽ**	**roʈi**	**bʌnʌl**
rɑt	**mẽ**	**roʈi**	**bʌn-ʌl**
night	LOC	chapati	make.PASS-3.PST

Chapatis were baked at night.

11.007

रोटी रहे पाँचगो।

roʈi	**rʌɦe**	**pɑ̃cgo**
roʈi	**rʌɦ-e**	**pɑ̃c-go**
chapati	live-3.PST	five-CLF

There were five chapatis.
11.008
अब मरद-मेहरारू में झगड़ा ठन गइल ।
ʌb mʌrʌd-meɦraru mẽ jʌgʌʈa ʈʰʌn gʌil
ʌb mʌrʌd-meɦraru mẽ jʌgʌʈa ʈʰʌn ja-il
now husband-wife LOC quarrel thicken go-3.PST
Now the couple started quarrelling.
11.009
मरद कहे 'हम तीन गो खाएम' आ मेहरारू कहे 'हम तीन गो खाएम ।'
mʌrʌd kʌɦe ɦʌm tingo kʰɑem ɑ meɦraru kʌɦe
mʌrʌd kʌɦ-e ɦʌm tin-go kʰɑ-em ɑ meɦraru kʌɦ-e
husband say-3.PST 1SG three-CLF eat-FUT.H and wife say-3.PST
ɦʌm tingo kʰɑem
ɦʌm tin-go kʰɑ-em
1SG three-CLF eat-FUT.H
The husband said he woud eat three of them and the wife said she would eat the three.
11.010
बाद में सहमती भइल ।
bɑd mẽ sʌɦmʌti ɓʌil
bɑd mẽ sʌɦmʌti ɓʌ-il
later LOC agreement become-3.PST
Later they came in an agreement.
11.011
'बिहने जे पाछे उठी, तीनगो खाई' आ दुनू सुत गइलन ।
biɦʌne je pɑcʰe uʈʰi tingo kʰɑi ɑ dunu
biɦʌne je pɑcʰe uʈʰ-i tin-go kʰɑ-i ɑ du-nu
tomorrow REL lately rise-3.FUT three-CLF eat-3.FUT and two-EMPH
sut gʌilʌn
sut ja-il-ʌn
sleep go-INF-3PL.PST.MH
'The one who wakes up later in the morning will eat the three.' and both slept.
11.012
बिहने पाछे उठे के हाराबाजी लाग गइल ।
biɦʌne pɑcʰe uʈʰe ke ɦarabaji lag gʌil
biɦʌne pɑcʰe uʈʰ-e ke ɦarabaji lag ja-il
tomorrow lately wake-PUR GEN competition continue go-3.PST
They launched a competition to wake late next morning.
11.013
कौनो उठबे ना करे ।
kɔno uʈʰʌbe nɑ kʌre
kɔno uʈʰ-ʌb-e nɑ kʌr-e
any wake-FUT-EMPH NEG do-3.PST
Nobody wanted to wake up.
11.014
बेरा उठ गइल ।
berɑ uʈʰ gʌil
berɑ uʈʰ ja-il
sun rise go-3.PST
The sun rose up.

11.015
टोला-परोसा के लोग देखलख ।

ʈolɑ	**pʌrosɑ**	**ke**	**log**	**dekʰlʌkʰ**
ʈolɑ	**pʌrosɑ**	**ke**	**log**	**dekʰ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
locality	neghbourhood	GEN	people	see-INF-3.PST

The neighbours marked them.
11.016
एह किसान के फाटक बने रहे ।

eɦ	**kisɑn**	**ke**	**pʰɑʈʌk**	**bʌne**	**rʌɦe**
eɦ	**kisɑn**	**ke**	**pʰɑʈʌk**	**bʌn-e**	**rʌɦ-e**
prox	peasant	GEN	bamboo door panel	closed-EMPH	live-3.PST

The door of the farmer rmained closed.
11.017
लोग झँखिआके देखलख ।

log	**ɟ̈ʌ̃kʰiɑke**	**dekʰlʌkʰ**
log	**ɟ̈ʌ̃kʰiɑ-ke**	**dekʰ-ʌl-ʌkʰ**
people	peep-SEQ	see-INF-3.PST

They pept in.
11.018
दूनू सुतल रहे ।

dunu	**sutʌl**	**rʌɦe**
du-nu	**sut-ʌl**	**rʌɦ-e**
two-EMPH	sleep-PP	live-3.PST

Both were sleeping.
11.019
लोग कहे लागल,

log	**kʌɦe**	**lɑgʌl**
log	**kʌɦ-e**	**lɑg-ʌl**
people	say-SIM	continue-3.PST

They started whispering,
11.020
'बनवले रहल ह, दूनू एके बेर मर गइल ।'

bʌnɔle	**rʌɦʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**dunu**	**eke**	**ber**	**mʌr**	**gʌil**
bʌnɑ-wʌl-e	**rʌɦ-ʌl**	**ɦʌ**	**du-nu**	**ek-e**	**ber**	**mʌr**	**jɑ-il**
make-PP-SEQ	live-INF	be	two-EMPH	one-EMPH	time	die	go-3.PST

'The couple were lucky, both of them died together.'
11.021
लोग फरकी बनवलख, जरना खोजलख आ आगी, कोदारी लेके चलल मुर्दघटी में ।

log	**pʰʌrki**	**bʌnɔlʌkʰ**	**jʌrnɑ**	**kʰojlʌkʰ**	**ɑ**	**ɑgi**
log	**pʰʌrki**	**bʌnɑ-wʌl-ʌkʰ**	**jʌrnɑ**	**kʰoj-ʌl-ʌkʰ**	**ɑ**	**ɑgi**
people	funeral cot	make-INF-3.PST	firewood	collect-INF-3.PST	and	fire

kodɑri	**leke**	**cʌlʌl**	**murdg̈ʌʈi**	**mẽ**
kodɑri	**le-ke**	**cʌl-ʌl**	**murdg̈ʌʈi**	**mẽ**
spade	take-SEQ	walk-3.PST	graveyard	LOC

They made a funeral cot, collected firewood and paced towards graveyards with fire and spade.
11.022
दरी खनाइल ।

dʌri	**kʰʌnɑil**

dʌri kʰʌn-ɑ-il
grave dig-PASS-3.PST
The grave was dug.
11.023
दूनू लाश के चीरा पर ध दिआइल ।
dunu las ke cirɑ pʌr ḍʌ diɑil
du-nu las ke cirɑ pʌr ḍʌr de-ɑ-il
two-EMPH dead body ACC pyre LOC put give-PASS-3.PST
Both the dead bodies were PLaced on the pyre..
11.024
जब आग लगावे पर भइल त मरदा कहलख,
jʌb ɑg lʌgɑwe pʌr ḅʌil tʌ mʌrdɑ
jʌb ɑg lʌg-ɑ-we pʌr ḅʌ-il tʌ mʌrʌd-ɑ
when.REL fire set-CAUS-PUR LOC become-3.PST COR husband-DEF
kʌɦilʌkʰ
kʌɦ-ʌl-ʌkʰ
say-INF-3.PST
When they were about to set fire, the husband said,
11.025
'उठऽ हे मुहझौंसी ! तुहे खइह तीनगो, हम दुइएगो खाएम ।'
uʈʰʌ ɦe muɦ̃ʌũsi tuɦe kʰʌiɦʌ tingo
uʈʰ-ʌ ɦe muɦ̃ʌũs-i tu-ɦe kʰɑ-i-ɦʌ tin-go
rise-IMP.MH VOC burnt-faced-F 2SG-EMPH eat-FUT-IMP.MH three-CLF
ɦʌm duiego kʰɑem
ɦʌm du-ie-go kʰɑ-em
1SG two-EMPH-CLF eat-FUT.H
'Wake up my burned-faced darling! you will eat the three, I'll have only two.'
11.026
फुँकनिहारो गइल रहे पाँचे आदमी ।
pʰũknɪɦɑro gʌil rʌɦe pãce ɑdmi
pʰũknɪɦɑr-o jɑ-il rʌɦ-e pãc-e ɑdmi
pyrer-EMPH go-PP live-3.PST five-EMPH man
There were only five pyrers in the funeral procession.
11.027
अब त फुँकनिहार लोग के जान पर बिते लागल ।
ʌb tʌ pʰũknɪɦɑr log ke jɑn pʌr bite lɑgʌl
ʌb tʌ pʰũknɪɦɑr log ke jɑn pʌr bit-e lɑg-ʌl
now COND pyrer PL GEN life LOC pass-SIM continue-3.PST
They perplexed like any thing.
11.028
भागल लोग लुती लेखा !
ḅɑgʌl log luti lekʰɑ
ḅɑg-ʌl log luti lekʰɑ
flee-3.PST people spark as
They fled quickly as sparkling.
11.029
फुँकनिहार लोग अगाड़ि अगाड़ि आ जिअल मुर्दा पछाड़ि पछाड़ि ।
pʰũknɪɦɑr log ʌgɑɽi ʌgɑɽi ɑ jiʌl murdɑ pʌcʰɑɽi
pʰũknɪɦɑr log ʌgɑɽi ʌgɑɽi ɑ ji-ʌl murdɑ pʌcʰɑɽi

pyrer PL ahead ahead and revive-PP dead body following
pʌcʰɑɽi
pʌcʰɑɽi
following
The funeral attendants were ahead and the revived dead bodies were following them.
11.030
आखिर गाँव में पहुँचल लोग।
ɑkʰir gɑ̃o mẽ pʌɦũcʌl log
ɑkʰir gɑ̃o mẽ pʌɦũc-ʌl log
lastly village LOC reach-3.PST people
They returned back to village.
11.031
बात सबकेहु के सामने आइल।
bɑt sʌbkeɦu ke sɑmne ɑil
bɑt sʌbkeɦu ke sɑmne ɑ-il
matter all GEN front come-3.PST
The matter was exposed among all.
11.032
समाज में ओ मरद-मेहरारू के फटकार पड़ल।
sʌmɑj mẽ mʌrʌd- meɦrɑru ke pʰʌʈkɑr pʌɽʌl
sʌmɑj mẽ mʌrʌd-meɦrɑru ke pʰʌʈkɑr pʌɽ-ʌl
society LOC husband-wife ACC chiding lie-3.PST
The couPLe were shouted at from all sides.
11.033
दूनू लाजे कठुआ गइलन।
dunu laje kʌʈʰuɑ gʌilʌn
du-nu laj-e kʌʈʰuɑ jɑ-il-ʌn
two-EMPH shame-INST feel cold go-INF-3PL.PST
Both were badly ashamed.

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