

PHD THESIS

**NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY OF RAJBANSHI LANGUAGE: AN EXPLORATION IN
CONSTRUCTION MORPHOLOGY**

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This thesis on Rajbanshi language titled ‘Nominal Morphology of Rajbanshi language: An Exploration in Construction Morphology’ is dedicated to all the speakers of the Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri/Koch-Rajbanshi/Kamrupi/Kamtabihari language.

Dated: 28/12/2016

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis titled "**Nominal Morphology of Rajbanshi Language: An Exploration in Construction Morphology**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institute.



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ABSTRACT

This work presents nominal morphology of the Rajbanshi language under the theoretical rubric of Construction Morphology (Booij, 2010). It provides a whole range of arguments and data for the construction grammar approach to morphology. In Construction Morphology (Booij 2010), Lexicon is not just a list of irregular & idiosyncratic information but is conceived as a richly structured component of grammar. Lexicon contains both simple words and complex words and also word formation schemas with different degrees of abstractions. The notion ‘construction’, which is a pairing of form and meaning, plays a pivotal role in CM. The morphological constructions have holistic properties in a language i.e. the meaning of morphological construction must indeed be specified as a property of the construction as a whole. Contrary to the approach of the transformational model of UG (Universal Grammar), Construction Grammar presents a uniform analysis of ‘peripheral’ as well as ‘core’ linguistic constructs without performing transformational analysis, derivation or assumption of a zero element. According to Hoffman & Trousdale (2013:2), the mental grammar of the speaker is claimed to consist of a network of schematic and substantive constructions (construct-i-cons) and it is the parallel activation of construction that underlies a set of particular utterances ‘constructs’. Booij (2010: 259) points out that CM is in harmony with the state-of-the-art theories of the balance between storage and computation, and the insight that paradigmatic relationships between words are fundamental in understanding morphological systems. Keeping in mind the theoretical model of CM (Booij, 2010), the work discusses word formation strategies and the schemas of Rajbanshi nominal derivation, compounding and reduplication and inflectional morphology and constructional idioms and multi-word expressions (MWEs). Besides inductive generalization, intuition and introspection of native speakers are cross-checked for data analysis. The language consultants were asked to narrate a story in their mother tongue. The environment was not isolated; the interlocutors’ presence and their participation in the story telling and their daily life conversations were also recorded and analyzed. Besides the spoken forms, secondary sources mainly short stories were collected from different magazine, journals, and periodicals.

The findings confirm that the constructional idioms are not just fixed word combinations and they are not merely viewed as anomalies but can be modified both lexically and syntactically, and the notion of lexicon has to be extended with complex words, their abstract schemas and partially specified constructional idioms.

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Hari Madhab Ray

Jawaharlal Nehru University

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----|--|
| σ | Syllable |
| ω | Phonological word |
| ↔ | Bidirectionality /correspondence |
| < > | Schema/ Morphological construction |
| [] | Phonetic form or surface representation |
| . | Syllable boundary |
| - | Morpheme boundary |
| → | Rewrite as or realized as; is changed to |
| () | Optional |
| XY | Variables |
| 1 | 1 st person |
| 2 | 2 nd person |
| 3 | 3 rd person |
| Adj | Adjective |
| Adv | Adverb |
| Aff | Affix |
| App | Appendix |
| C | Consonant |
| CM | Construction Morphology |
| DM | Discourse marker |
| DAT | Dative |
| DEM | Demonstrative |
| DET | Determiner |

| | |
|------|---------------------------------|
| DIM | Diminutive |
| EXCL | Exclusive |
| EP | Evidential particle |
| FEM | Feminine |
| FOR | Formal |
| GEN | Genitive |
| HON | Honorific |
| IMG | Interlinear Morphemic Gloss |
| IPA | International Phonetic Alphabet |
| INS | Instrumental |
| LPM | Lexical phonology morphology |
| LOC | Locative |
| MWE | Multiword expressions |
| MAS | Masculine |
| N | Noun |
| NEG | Negative |
| NOM | Nominative |
| NP | Noun Phrase |
| OT | Optimality theory |
| OBJ | Objective |
| PER | Person |
| PHON | Phonology |
| PROG | Progressive/ continuous |
| PL | plural |

| | |
|-------|------------------|
| Pref | Prefix |
| PRS | Present tense |
| R | relation |
| REDUP | Reduplication |
| REFLX | reflexive |
| RS | Rajbanshi script |
| SYN | Syntax |
| SEM | Semantics |
| SING | Singular |
| V | Vowel |

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CHAPTER-1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and Objectives

The objective of this work is to account for Nominal Morphology of Rajbanshi language under the theoretical framework of Construction Morphology (Booij 2010). Booij applies insights of Construction Grammar to morphological theory and word-formation. Construction Grammar (CG) is not a single theory but refers to a cluster of cognitive linguistic theories of Grammar.¹ The main principle of Construction Grammar is that the basic form of a syntactic structure (language) is ‘construction’, and ‘which’ is necessary. These constructions are organized in a network. Booij analyses the structure of morphologically complex words and lexical phrasal units of language as constructions. The notion ‘construction’ plays a pivotal role in Construction Grammar as well as in Construction Morphology (CM). It is a pairing of form (complex grammatical structure) with meaning at different levels of abstraction. The notion ‘construction’ is generalised in Construction Grammar for the representation of all grammatical knowledge—syntax, morphology and lexicon. The construction morphology grounded in Construction Grammar not only provides a lucid understanding of interface phenomena, characteristics of the lexicon, analysis of grammaticalization but also an overall theory of the architecture of language.²

According to Jackendoff (2010), “Geert Booij’s Construction Morphology is a revealing thesis of insights from Construction Grammar, grammaticalization theory, simpler syntax and psycholinguistics. Booij captures the delicate interplay of morphosyntax and phrasal syntax, as well as intricate patterns of productivity and semiproductivity in morphological and phrasal phonology, syntax and semantics. Behind it all is the hierarchical lexicon, which stores not just words but patterns at all levels of generality. This is a major contribution not only to morphology but to an overreaching theory of the architecture of language.”³

¹ Cognitive Linguistics is an approach to the analysis of natural language that focuses on language as an instrument for organizing, processing, and conveying information. Methodologically speaking, the analysis of conceptual and experiential basis of linguistic categories is of primary importance within cognitive linguistics: it primarily considers language as a system of categories. The formal structures of language are studied not as if they are autonomous, but as reflections of general conceptual organization, categorization principles, processing mechanisms, and experiential and environmental influences (Geeraerts 1995:111).

² See Chapter IV for detailed discussion on Construction Morphology

³ Comments on the cover of the book, Booij, Geert. 2010. *Construction Morphology*. Oxford University Press.

Construction Morphology (2010) has shifted the attention from syntactic construction to morphological construction which looks into word-internal structures and word-formation strategies. It is assumed in CM that each word is a linguistic sign, a pairing of form and meaning. Each word is a pairing of three types of information PHON, SYN, SEM respectively. Morphology affects all three dimensions of words, that is why we need a ‘tripartite parallel architecture’ of grammar (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, 2006; Jackendoff 2002, 2007). Lexicon, a module of the grammar is viewed as a web of words and phrasal lexical units. In other words, lexicon contains a network of relationship between individual words and morphological schemas (Booij 2010). CM argues against the split of lexicon and grammar and provides evidence that various types of information (PHON, SYN, SEM) can be accessed simultaneously. It presents relational network between lexical items and successfully demonstrates constructional schemas which can express different interface phenomenon succinctly. It motivates for a usage-based theory of language. Morphology must be usage-based in order to understand the knowledge and creation of complex words (Booij 2014:1). I would outline this approach to morphology in Chapter –IV and discuss Rajbanshi Morphology particularly nominal morphology in Chapter-V under the theoretical framework of CM.

The present study does not propose any alternative model for the analysis of complex words and phrasal lexical units of Rajbanshi language. It analyses old data by new theoretical perspectives. However, it is felt that there are alternative ways to look at words, their internal structures and word-formations. This alternative way of looking at morphology is no doubt different from the mainstream generative traditions which is often morpheme-based and mainly followed the dictionary and grammar model (Taylor 2012:8). It always neglected the constructional idioms and phrases.⁴ In the present study, the analysis of nominal morphological constructions and constructional idioms of Rajbanshi is couched within the theory of Construction Morphology.

⁴ In the Dictionary and Grammar model, knowledge of vocabulary is clearly separated from grammatical rules. It is assumed that the children learn words in the first step and then apply rules to combine those words into phrases and sentences.

1.2 Rajbanshi language

Rajbanshi (rjb) is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the districts Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, Alipurduyar, Tarai of Darjeeling, North Dinajpur, and South Dinajpur of West Bengal, Goalpara and some districts of lower Assam, Purniya of Bihar; Rangpur of Bangladesh, Jhapa and Morong of Nepal.⁵ The language is known by different names and spoken by the Rajbanshis, Koches, Paliya and others living in the adjoining areas. In recent times, some scholars do not favour the term ‘Rajbanshi’ as a name of the language because it is more prone to a particular caste and community, and they argue that the language is not only spoken by the Rajbanshis but Koches, Paliya, local Muslims. They use the term ‘Kamtapuri’ or ‘Kamtabihari’⁶. Whatever is the political scenario on the nomenclature of the term Rajbanshi or Kamtapuri or Koch-Rajbanshi, this language is no doubt different from standard Bangla, Assamese and Nepali. Rajbanshi language has its own history, grammatical structures- (phonology, morphology and syntax), lexicon, idioms and proverbs and folk literature and culture which differentiate Rajbanshi from the rest of the Indo-Aryan varieties. In the following subsections, I would briefly outline some of these issues.

1.2.1 Area and Location

According to Grierson (1926:183) Rajbanshi “.. is spoken in the following districts-Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, the Tarai of Darjeeling district, the native state of Coochbehar together with Goalpara in Assam.”⁷ Banikanta Kakati (1972:18) mentions that “The dialect (Rajbanshi) evolved under the domination of the Koch kings of Koch Behar, whose descendants ruled over Goalpara and contiguous portions of kamrupa.” J D Anderson opines that “The language of the Koches, the dominating and ruling tribe of the great Koch kingdom,... the language spoken in the ancient Koch kingdom which extended from the Himalaya to the Bay of Bengal.”⁸ The Rajbanshi language is spoken in the following areas, is presented in Table.1.1 and also shown in the map (See Appendix-I d.);

⁵ http://archive.ethnologue.com/15/show_language.asp?code=rjb (Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.), 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/15>.)

⁶ Panchanan Barma uses the term ‘Kamtabihari’ in his essay on ‘Kamtabihari Sahitya’ (Kamtabihari Literature)

⁷ Grierson-LSI, Vol. 5, Part-I: 163.

⁸ J.D. Anderson: Introduction to the Koches, P. XVII.

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---|
| 1. India | West Bengal | North Bengal- Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, North Dinajpur, South Dinajpur, Tarai of Darjeeling |
| | Assam | Dhuburi, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Goalpara |
| | Bihar | Balrampur, Barsoi, Kodoba, Azam Nagar, Prampur of Katihar district; Bathsi, Amaub of Purniya District, and Kishangonj |
| | Northeast state | North-west of Meghalaya |
| 2. Bangladesh | | Rangpur (rongpur, gaibanda, kurigram, nalmonir hat, nilphamari) and dinajpur |
| 3. Nepal | | Morong and Jhapa districts |
| 4. Bhutan | | Dubac |

Table. 1.1 Rajbanshi spoken areas⁹

1.2.2 Number of Speakers

The exact number of speakers of the Rajbanshi language would be difficult to determine because the language has different names. As Ethnologue ‘Languages of the World’ reports, it’s a language of Nepal; alternate names of the language are Gangai, Koch, Koche, Rajbangsi, Rajbansi, Tajpuria, Kamtapuri, Kamtabihari, Kamta, Kamrupi, Rangpuri, Kochbehari, Deshi, Surjapuri, Bahe, Mui-tui bangla etc.¹⁰ The number of speakers as listed in LSI, Grierson (1903:163);

| Name of district | Number of Speaker |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Jalpaiguri | 568,976 |
| Rangpur | 2,037,460 |
| Koch Behar | 562,500 |
| Darjeeling | 47,435 |

⁹ It is mainly adapted from Barma, Debendra Nath. 2012. *Rajbanshi Bhashar Itihas*. Sopan. Kolkata.

¹⁰ http://archive.ethnologue.com/15/show_language.asp?code=rjb (Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.), 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

| | |
|------------------|-----------|
| Total for Bengal | 3,216,371 |
| Goalpara | 29,280 |
| Grand Total | 3,509,171 |

Table. 1.2 LSI, Grierson: Vol-V- Number of Speakers

The Census report 2001 (Nepal) includes 130,000 speakers. A large number of the speakers of Rajbangshi were reported in the Census report 2001 (India), which is presented in Table.3

| Name of Language and mother tongue(s) grouped under each language | Number of person who returned the language (and the other tongue grouped under each) as their mother tongue |
|---|---|
| 2. BENGALI | 83,369,769 |
| 1. Bengali | 82,462,437 |
| 2. Chakma | 176,458 |
| 3. Haijong/Hajong | 63,188 |
| 4. Rajbangshi | 82,570 |
| 5. Others | 585,116 |

Table. 1.3 Number of Rajbangshi speakers, Census report 2001, India.

It would be difficult to determine the exact number of speakers of the Rajbangshi language primarily because it has got so many names. Besides, the census report is not always reliable and after the fall of the Koch-Rajbangshi dynasty, the Rajbangshi speakers are placed in different states of India namely West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and some parts of North East states and also in neighboring nations Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan. The Rajbangshis are recognised as SC in West Bengal and OBC in Assam. The Koch-Rajbangshi community in Assam would like to be recognised as ST in Indian constitution.

1.2.3. History, origin and genealogy of Rajbangshi language

This historical stage, proto-Kamta, is reconstructed as historically parallel, not subordinate, to the historical emergence of proto-Bangla and proto-Asamiya from the common Magadhan

stage. The implication of this statement is that the KRNB-lects reflect a linguistic (and cultural) tradition equally as ancient as the Bangla and Asamiya linguistic traditions (Toulmin 2010). He also reasserted Clark's proposal, following Henry Frowde, that 'Northern Bengali may be old or as older than standard Bengali' (1969:85), and Grierson's statement that 'Northern Bengal and Assam did not get their language from Bengal proper, but directly from the west' (Grierson 1903-28 Vol. 1:126). It is frequently mentioned in the literature that the Rājbanshis originated, in the east, from the Koch, Bodo and Meche tribes (Tibeto-Burman; cf. Sanyal 1965 and van Driem 2001, amongst others). Whatever is the origin of Rajbanshi caste and community, it is widely accepted that Rajbanshi is an Indo-Aryan language. The Rajbanshi abandoned their Tibeto-Burman identity and accepted Indo-Aryan speech. It is still debateable when and why the Rajbanshis left their original speech and started using the Indo-Aryan variety? The religious scriptures claim that the Kamta-Kochbihar Kingdom used the Rajbanshi language, which was language of the state and of which some records are still available.

Gordon (2005), likewise following Grierson, classifies Rajbanshi language in the "Eastern zone, Bengali-Assamese." Based on a reconstruction of the "KRNB lects", Toulmin (2006:341) argues that proto- Kamta emerged parallel to proto-Bangla and proto-Asamiya and therefore should not be considered to be a corrupt form of standard Bengali. Linguistically speaking, the notion of corrupt or substandard form of language is widely accepted by linguists as misconception or fallacies of language, and one must avoid using the term 'dialect', 'substandard form' because even the standard language is also a dialect.

It is generally assumed that Bangla has developed from Old Indo-Aryan or Vedic Sanskrit, through the intermediate stages of Prakrit and then Apabhramsa (Chatterjee 1926). It has to be explored when exactly the Rajbanshis abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech. Unfortunately works carried out in this area lack proper scientific methodology and historical grounds. Van Driem (2001:538; 535; 1176) questions whether there are perhaps traces of Tibeto- Burman languages still evident in modern Rājbanshi, "In view of the origins of the Rajbangsi, it comes as no surprise that the form of Bengali spoken by the Rajbangsis is somewhat different from standard Bengali ... No study has been made of possible Tibeto-Burman substrate influence in the Rajbangsi dialect of Bengali. ... Rajbangsi is reported to share some of its lexicon with the Tibeto-Burman language Garo and to exhibit considerable Maithili influence, but these reports have yet to be supported by a substantive account of the Rajbangsi language."

1.2.4. Name of the language (debate)

Different names are used for Rajbanshi language. These are *Kamata Bihari* (cf. Barma 1991), *Kamrupa*, *Kamrupi*, *Koch*, *Rangpuri*, *Bahe*, *Surjapuri*, *Dekhia* and *Dekhri* (cf. Toulmin 2006:13-15; Clark 1970:70-71), *Rajbansi* (Grierson 1903). Confusion and tension still remain among the speakers of the language regarding the name of their language. Some groups are in favour of naming the language as *Rajbanshi*, whereas others prefer to call it as *Kamtapuri* or *Kamta*, *Kamtabihari*, or *Koch-Rajbanshi*. However, there is no consensus on this issue. Grierson in his LSI (1903) calls it *Rajbansi* and he describes that the same lect is spoken in the Tarai and Darjeeling as *bahe* বাহে¹¹. However, there is uproar in the community, because *bahe* বাহে is an address term for the Rajbanshis, and certainly not the name of their language. Grierson (1903) mentions, “When we cross the river (The Brahmaputra) coming from Dacca we meet a well-marked form of speech in Rangpur and the districts to its North and East. It is called Rajbangsi and while undoubtedly belonging to the eastern branch has still points of difference which lead us to class it as a separate dialect.” Grierson (1903) calls the language of Dinajpur, Malda and Purniya as Northern Bengali. Hodgson (1889) in his “Miscellaneous Essays” calls this variety as ‘Koch language’.

Chatterji (1951:60) calls it ‘the dialect of Northern Bengal’. ¹² Chatterji (1926) classifies Bengali and its dialects, “the dialects of Bengali fall into four main classes, agreeing with the four ancient divisions of the country: *Rād̄ha*; *Pundra* or *Varendra*; *Vanga*; and *Kama-rupa*”. It has to be noted that the name of the language ‘*Kamrupa*’ is taken from the ancient state of Kamrup. This is one of the reasons some linguists favour the term *Kamrupi* or *Kamtapuri* or *Kamtabehari*, because the term refers to the region and location, not to a particular community. Sen (1996:148) calls it ‘Dialect of North Eastern Bengal’. Sanyal (1965:250) mentions it as ‘a local dialect of Bengal’. Barma (1915) calls it ‘*Kamtabihari*’ in his *Kamtabihar literature* (কামতাবিহারি সাহিত্য). Das (1990) calls it ‘*Kamtai bhasha*’. Barman (1388 Bng: 67,57) prefers to call the speech of the common people as *Rajbanshi*. Ray (1388 Bng: 3) after looking at different sides he is more prone to call it as ‘*Rajbanshi*’.

Goswami (1994:96) calls it ‘*Goyalpariya bhasha*’. Dutta (1982:18) calls it ‘*Deshi bhasha*’. Barma (1407 Bng) calls it “*Kamtapuri bhasha*” and he (1991) also calls it the *Kamtabihari*

¹¹ “In the Darjeeling Tarai, the dialect is influenced by the neighboring Northern Bengali, and has a special name, as a Sub-dialect, viz. Bahe.” (Grierson:1903)

¹² S.K. Chatterji: *Kirata Jana Kriti*, 1951. P. 60.

language. Barman (1975) in his compiled dictionary calls it '*Rajbanshi Bhasha*'. Sujan Barman (2011) prefers to use the term '*Kamtapuri*' bhasha but in his preface of the book, he mentions that he would love to call it '*Kamta bhasha*' because the term '*kamta*' is melodious! Bhakat (2000) calls it '*Rajbanshi*', though he also uses the term '*Koch-rajbanshi*'. The noted historian and author of 'History of Kochbehar' Dr. Khan Chaudhary Amanat Ulla Ahamed wrote an essay '*Koch and Rajbanshir Bhasha Totto*' and he mentioned that Rajbanshi is not a dialect but rather an independent language.

According to Das (1984), Rajbanshi is not only spoken by the Rajbanshi caste but locals, paliyas, muslims and other castes, so calling it Rajbanshi will exclude others. Bishnu (2009) advises not to use the name '*Kamtapuri*' rather it should be called '*Kamrupi*'. Shahidullah in his dictionary '*Anchalik bhashar abhidhan*' does not favour the name Rajbanshi. Whether Rajbanshi is a dialect or a distinct language, in its own right, is a matter of political controversy. In recent times, this issue has become central to the Kamtapuri political movement in North Bengal. Bandyopadhyay (2004:16) mentions the DPEP survey which was carried out in 1996 in West Bengal and he highlights the findings of the survey. The survey had found the first generation learners in Kochbehar, a north Bengal district, lagging behind in vocabulary... The author's point is that the seeming poverty of vocabulary might be the result of children's inability to cope with the school-language which is too alien from their mother-tongue.' (Bandyopadhyay, 2004: 16). I would also demonstrate in the following sections that the majority of the Rajbanshi lexical items are different from Bangla (See section 1.2. Rajbanshi lexicon and Appendix-II & III). I would like to use the term Rajbanshi/Kamtapuri looking at the complexity of its nomenclature.

1.2.5. Who are Rajbanshis?

Rajbanshis are a subcaste of Hindu recognized as Scheduled Caste (SC) in the Indian Constitution. The word Rajbanshi (raj+bans+i) is derived from Sanskrit meaning 'royal lineage, royal race or descendants of Kings.' Biswa Singa (1496-1533) was the founder of the Koch dynasty in Koch Behar.¹³ The region was known in the history by different names Pragajyotishpur, Louhitya, Kamrupa, Poooundravardhana and the modern name Coochbehar. Biswa Singha laid the foundation of the Koch kingdom after defeating the local chiefs. He built

¹³ Some people also believe that the first ruler of the kingdom long before Biswa Singha was king Sankhaldeba.

his capital in Coochbehar. According to Allen et. al (2012: 29), the Koch tribe, though now in parts much intermixed with the Dravidian stock, was probably at that time was purely Mongolian, and spoken a language closely allied to those of the Kacharis, Tipperas, Lalungs, Chutiyas and Garos. Grierson (1903) points out that “there is little doubt that the original Koches were the same as Bodos. The Koch, Mech, and Bara or Bodo all connoted the same tribe or at most different sects of the same tribe.” He also mentions, “the name Koch in fact connotes a Hinduised Bodo who has abandoned his ancestral religion for Hinduism and ancestral Bodo language for Bengali or Assamese. Rajbanshis are the Hinduised Koches of Rangpur and Goalpara ”.¹⁴ Chatterji (1953) reasserts that “the masses of North Bengal areas are very largely of the Bodo origin or mixed Austric-Dravidian-Mongloid. They can now be described as Koch i.e. Hinduised or semi-Hinduised Bodo who have abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech and adopted the Northern dialect of Bengali”. Though it is shrouded in history whether Rajbanshis are Aryans or non-aryans, irrespective of their origin. However, on the basis of their language, it can be said that they speak the Indo-Aryan language. Because of the contact with the neighbouring Bodo language; there are many Bodo words found in the Rajbanshi lexicon. The Koches are non-Aryan in origin. Some of them adopted Hinduism and became Rajbanshis. These Rajbanshis later on claimed to be Kshatriyas” (Sanyal 1965).

In *Yoginini Tantra*, a Sanskrit text has described the Koches as *Kubacha* or as *ku-bacaka* ‘evil/bad’ speakers. Minhasuddin Shiraj’s (1193-1259) ‘*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*’ illustrated this tribe as ‘*Koch*’. Chatterji (1926) mentions that the term ‘Koch’ has originally been derived from the Indo-Aryan origin *kawamca*, written as *kamoca* which was sanskritized as *kamboja*. Rup Kumar Barman comments that ‘there is equal possibility of tribalisation of the term *kubachaka* to *koch*. So the term ‘*koch*’ is either a tribalized from the Sanskrit term *Kuvacha* or *Koch* was sanskritised as *Kuvachaka*.’ E.T. Dalton (1872) identified the Koches as Dravidian because of their physical features. He was endorsed by Beverley in the first colonial census report in 1872. H. H. Risley described the Koches as Dravidian, and emphasised the possibility of admixture with Mongoloids. According to Hodgson, Koches belonged to the Mongoid family. Dr. Latham stressed on the Mongoloid origin of the Koches. L.A. Waddel (1911) remarks that, “Koches do not, as stated by Colonel Dalton, Mr. Risley and others, belong to the dark Dravidian origins of India but are distinctly Mongoloid though somewhat heterogeneous.” Hiuen Tsiang visited India about 640 AD, and he mentions in his description that the place is known as Kamrupa

¹⁴ Grierson, LSI (1903), VOL-III, Part-II. P.95.

occupied by a race with a dark yellow complexion, small in stature and fierce in appearance but upright and studious. They followed Brahminical religion and their king was Bhaskar Varman.

The Rajbanshis are Koches originally, some of them adopted Hinduism and become Rajbanshi and others remained Koches. However, their ancestry is debated. According to Sanyal (1965), the Rajbanshis are Koch by no-doubt. In the later period of Kshatriyization movement, under the leadership of Panchanan Barma, anybody could become a Rajbanshi by simply wearing the sacred thread 'paita'. The census report (1901) states, "a most persistent agitation was carried on by Rajbanshis of North Bengal with the object of being recognised as Kshatriyas by descent. They desired not only to be recorded separately from Koch, but also to be distinguished by the name Kshatriyas. The former request was granted without hesitation, as there is no doubt that in the present day, irrespective of any question of origin, the Rajbanshis and the Koch are separate castes. It was however out of the question to allow them to be returned by the generic and archaic name Kshatriyas."¹⁵ H.H. Risley points out "Any Dhimal can become a Rajbansi at any time if he is only prosperous enough, and instances are known in which a fee of INR. 600 has been paid for this privilege." Risley also noted that "...the average Dhimal who aspires to social elevation transforms himself into a Rajbansi by simply assuming that title."¹⁶

The Rajbanshis known as *Koches*, *Mleccha*, *Poundraka* are found in the ancient literature *Manusanghita*, *Kalika puran*, *Vhrammabaibarta Purana* and in epics like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The Hindu scripts *Kalikapuran* and *Jogini Tantra* preserve the name of several kings titled Davana, Asura, Naraka. The latter was the founder of Pragjyotishpur, present day Guwahati. Naraka's son Bhagdatta was killed by Krishna. It is found in Mahabharata that Bhagdatta was the powerful ally of Duryodhana. In the battlefield of Kurushetra, Bhagdatta was killed by Arjuna. However, the authenticity of these names, places are often questioned by scholars because these are religious scripts and need historical validation. But it is admitted that undoubtedly Rajbanshis or the people of the region were culturally, economically and politically dominant.

The Kshatriyasization movement led by the Raysaheb Panchanan Barma in the first half of the twentieth century had different repercussions for the Rajbanshis. The Kshatriya Samity started

¹⁵ The Census Report of India, 1911, page-445.

¹⁶ See Mitra, Asok. 1953. Tribe and Castes of Bengal-Land and Land Revenue Department. West Bengal Govt. Prss.

their socio-religious movement under the leadership of Raysaheb. In an auspicious day, Rajbanshi people wore the sacred thread (paita) in the bank of the river Karotoya, and they became Kshatriya after performing some rituals. Whatever was their demand on Kshatriyahood, later on, the Rajbanshi (Bratya Kshatriyas) realised that only wearing sacred thread would not solve their economic, social or religious problems. Basu (2003) points out that ‘to claim a Kshatriya descent was an outcome of Brahmanical cultural domination, British lower caste policies and the social changes brought about by the colonial rule.’ The Rajbanshis were initially loyal to the British Raj and did not support Gandhiji’s movement. Because the Rajbanshi leaders felt that Congress was the party for the rich and elite Hindu class namely Brahmins. Later on, they took part in the freedom struggle and Panchanan Barma demanded Schedule caste status for economic and financial upliftment of the Rajbanshis. Dipak Kumar Roy (2012) talks of ‘umbrella identity’ from which Rajbanshi society has grown and expanded its horizon;

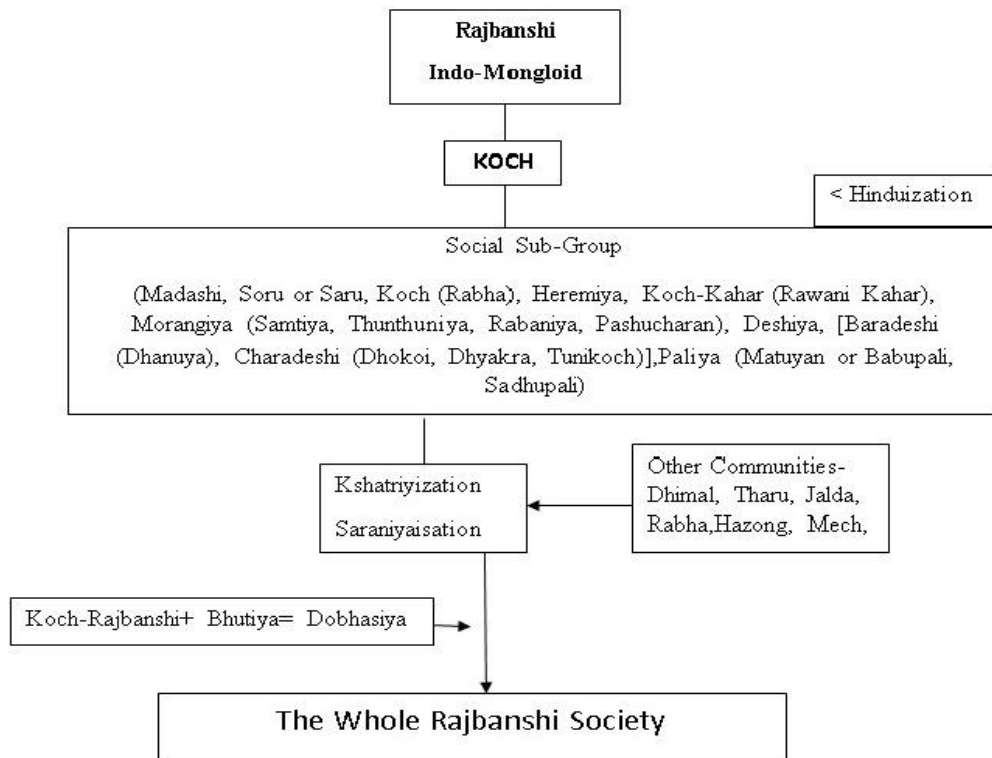


Figure.1.1 The Whole Rajbanshi Society¹⁷

¹⁷ See Roy, Dipak Kumar. 2012. Rajbangshi Samaj aro Sanskritir Kichu Katha. Sopan, Kolkata. P-27.

1.2.6. Literature, folk-literature and culture of Rajbanshi

Bhakat (2000) divides Rajbanshi literature in four periods (a) Early (origin) time (b) Ancient Time (c) Middle Age (d) Modern Time. The Caryapadas undoubtedly finds place in (a) Early (origin) Time. Toulmin (2011) quotes “The Caryapadas are an early New Indo-Aryan (NIA) collection of Buddhist mystic songs. They have variously been claimed to represent ‘Old Bengali’, ‘Old Oriya’, ‘Old Asamiya’, and ‘Old Kamta’—invariably by scholars belonging to the language group in question.” It is claimed that the Buddhist mystic songs of Caryapadas of Hindu-Buddhist period is originally written in the Rajbanshi language. But Assamese, Oriya, Bengali and Maithilis also claim these mystic songs are written in their languages. It is a matter of intensive study and requires tracing the period. A musical drama Sri Krishna Kirtan of *Badu Candidas* is an example of the old Rajbanshi language. Harihar Bipra, a great poet during the reign of king Durlabha Narayan of Kamtapur, translated both the epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in the Rajbanshi language. Other eminent poets were Hema Saraswati, Sridhara Kandali and Madhaba Kandali and Kabiratna Saraswati. The poets and writers were patronized and highly appreciated by the royal courts of Coochbehar kings. Biswa Singa and his son Nara Narayan were great patrons of literature. Sukladhaj, Chila Ray himself were interested in literature. Pitambar Das was a great poet of his (Chila ray’s) time.

Shankardev introduced Vaishnava cult in the 16th century. He took the shelter of the Koch king to spread Vaishnavism. His closed disciples Madhavadeva, Damodardeva and others built the temple in Madhupur, 50 kilometres away from Koch-Bihar. They contributed a lot in the development of Kamta-puri literature in general. It was not only the Ramayana and the Mahabharata but also other Sanskrit literature, which were translated by famous Rajbanshi poets; for instance *Markendeya Purana*, *Shri Madbhagabata Geeta*. Govindra Mishra himself translated *Geeta* in Rajbanshi. *Manik rajar Geet* of 10th to 12th centuries were also written in the Rajbanshi language. *Gopichandrer Gan*, Songs of Gopichandra, a collection of well-known ballads is also notable.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Panchanan Barma, a great social reformer, political thinker, educationist, spiritualist did a lot to promote and preserve the old original texts written in the Rajbanshi language. The Rajbanshi Kshatriya Samity started publishing a monthly magazine *Kshtriya Patrika* since 1920. The main purpose of the Patrika (Magazine) was to publish the news of the time. They wanted to publicize the achievements of the Rajbanshis and also inform the people about their present wretched conditions. The other papers or magazines

were neither accessible nor readable by the Rajbanshis. The Kshtriya Samity wanted to arouse Kshatriya consciousness among the Rajbanshis and they kept on publishing different works of religious nature ‘*Kshtriya Byabostha*’ Customs of Kshatraization; *Upanayon Byabostha* “Rules and Regulation of wearing sacred thread ceremony”, *Sandhya Pandhati* ‘Methods of Sandhy’, *Kshtriya Samitir Niyambali* ‘Rules and regulations of Kshtriya Samity’; *Mandali sthapaner niyamabali* ‘Rule and regulations to set up Mandali’; *Upanayan Grahon Niyamabali* “Rules of Sacred thread wearing ceremony”. According to Rup Kumar Barman (2015), “these publications had impact on the educated section of the Rajbanshis (*bhadralokas*), while the rest of the caste fellows were induced by them.”

Panchanan Barma collected idiomatic phrases and proverbs written in Rajbanshi language in order to revive folk literature of the Rajbanshis which was part of their century old tradition. The *katha* ‘proverbs’ and *chilka* (riddles) were collected by Barma from the remote places of erstwhile Kamtapur. He has written poems; *Dangdhari Mao*, *Beta chaoyar prati*, *Kshtriyer prati* and short stories; *Nadim paramaniker patha*, *Jagannathi Bilai* and also an erudite article on *Kamtabihari Sahitya* ‘Literature of Kamtabihar’. He presented a critical analysis of Dwij Locan’s Candika Vijay kavya. The literary works of Panchanan Barma revived the folk literature of Northern Bengal and contributed to its overall development.

To date, there has not been any in-depth, detailed, proper and systematic grammatical description of the Rajbanshi language spoken in the region as shown in the map. (See Appendix-I, d). Wilde’s (2008) PhD thesis titled ‘Phonology and Grammar of Rajbanshi’ studied the Rajbanshi Variety spoken in Jhapa and Morong districts of Nepal. Matthew Toulmin’s (2012) book ‘Language History of the Kamta and Coochbehar Region’ is another detailed work from socio-historical point of view, trying to establish different cognates of Rajbanshi while comparing with different Indo-Aryan languages namely Bangla, Assamese, Oriya, etc. Earlier linguistic studies related to Rajbanshi were carried out by Grierson (1903) in his Linguistic Survey of India vol.5 part 1. The Rajbanshi variety also finds its place in the survey of Voeglin and Robinett (1977). Bandhopadhyay (1991), in his multi-volume dictionary project calls this variety as ‘Dialectal Bengali’. Because of Tibeto-Burman genealogy and ancestry Rajbanshi was placed in the survey of Himalayan languages by Van Driem (2001). Linguistic descriptions of a particular variety of Rajbanshi were found in Rangpuri (Grierson 1877), Chaudhuri (1939) for central Jhapa Rajbanshi, P Wilde (2002, 2008) for eastern Jhapa Rajbanshi, Sanyal (1965) for Jalpaiguri variety, Matthew Toulmin for Goalpara lects, Joshy and Joshy (2007) for Cooch Behari variety, U. Goswami (1970) for Kamrupi Asamiya.

In the realm of historical linguistic studies of New Indo-Aryan language, Rajbanshi variety is also noticeable in Chatterji (1926), Kakati (1962), Shahidullah (1966), Maniruzzaman (1977). There are several essays on Rajbanshi language history and culture written by Rajbanshis and others in various periodicals and journals as for example ‘Badghdhenu’, ‘Degar’, ‘Kalbaishakhi’, ‘Bhoga’, ‘Mansuya’ to name just a few. Hodgson (1880) based on linguistic features published a list of words from Jalpaiguri or Tarai of Darjeeling. He calls the language as ‘Koch’. Goswami (1984) compares Goalparia and Kamrupi lects in his extensive wordlist. Damant (1873) presents a short list of words of Paliya and comments that the words presented could not be derived from the Aryan source.

Sahitya Academy also recognizes Rajbanshi as one of the languages and Girija Shankar Ray is conferred with ‘Bhasha Samman’ in recognition to his outstanding contribution to Rajbanshi language and literature. The Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamata Bannerjee laid the foundation stone of the proposed Rajbanshi Academy at Victor Jubilee Palace in Coochbehar on February; 10, 2012.

The Bengali script is used to represent the Rajbanshi written language. It is also used in Assam, with minor variations in representing /b/ and /r/. In the areas of Jhapa and Morong of Nepal, the Devanagari script is used for Rajbanshi language. Dharma Narayan Barma (2000) used different symbols to represent the vowels /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and also to represent some consonants.

1.2.7. Rajbanshi language and its distinct linguistic characteristics

Rajbanshi merges with Assamese in Assam and Bengali in West Bengal. Rajbanshi is closely related to Bangla and Assamese, but has its own phonological, morphological and syntactic features, that make Rajbanshi different from rest of the other Indo-Aryan languages. Rajbanshi has borrowed many lexical items from Tibeto-Burman languages namely Bodo, Garo because of its geographical proximity. The distinct phonological characteristics, the noun morphology and verb morphology and also kinship terms used in Rajbanshi are undoubtedly different from Bengali and Assamese. It has seven main vowels /i, e, æ, a, ɔ, o, u/ (See the vowel chart in Appendix-1.a). All the main vowels can be nasalized. The nasalization is distinctive and phonemic in Rajbanshi as for example [hɔʃa] হসা ‘smile’ vs. [hãʃa] হঁসা ‘duck’. Oral vowels are main vowels. They are produced in the oral cavity i.e. the position of the tongue, height of the tongue and lips rounding in the articulation of the vowels are important criteria to distinguish

vowels. Vowel length is not phonemic in the Rajbanshi language though in written Scripts, the distinction between short and long vowels are maintained. There are so many diphthongs found in Rajbnanshi as for example [ao] আও as in [k^hao] খাও ‘eat’. Consonants do not contrast in length but gemmination is very common. Rajbanshi is not a stress sensitive language i.e. stress is not a distinctive feature of Rajbanshi. It is a syllable timed language, sometimes the individual words are stressed for emphasis. The majority of word initial and word final consonant clusters are found in the borrowed words from Sanskrit and English. The indigenous consonant clusters are very few. The New Indo-Aryan languages descended from Old Indo-Aryans have started simplifying the consonant clusters (Kakati 1972, Chatterji 1926). The intonation patterns may have syntactic functions. The high-rise, mid, high-fall patterns may carry the information about the sentence and its types. Intonation peaks are generally positioned on the penultimate word of a sentence or some other particle, as for example;

1. (a) মুই বইখান পড়োং

[mui **bɔik^han** pɔron] ।

I book-CLS read-Prsnt-1st-SING

‘I read a book’

- (b) উমায় কি হাট গেইচে ?

[umay ki **baJar** geice]

He WH market go-PERF-3rd-SING

Has he gone to market?

- (c) কোয়াইরখান খোল !

[**koyair**-k^han k^hol]

Door CLS open

‘Open the door.’

Consonants are often deleted in Rajbanshi in multiple contexts, such as in clusters, between vowels and word initially in words that are cognates of words in Assamese and Bangla as for examples; /k^h/, /b/ or /v/, /r/ are deleted; [ʃɔk^hi] সখি → [ʃɔi] সেই ‘female companion’; [d̪eb] দেব or [d̪eva] দেবা → [d̪ɛɔ] দ্যাও ‘God’; [priya] প্রিয়া → [piya] পিয়া ‘beloved, intimate’. The aspirated sounds are often exchanged for unaspirated sounds and vice versa as for instance /c^h/ is pronounced /c/ as [ac^he] আছে → [ace] আচে ‘Be’, [kic^hu] কিছু → [kicu] কিছু ‘something’, [ʃ^hɔn] ঝন → [ʃɔn] জন ‘person’. The /r/ in the onset of syllable in word-initially often deleted as for example, [ram]

রাম → [am] আম ‘mango/name Ram’, [rɔŋon] রতন → [ɔŋon] অতন ‘precious’, [ranna] রান্না → [anna] আন্না ‘cook’, [rait] রাইত → [ait] আইত ‘night’. The /l/ ল and /n/ ন are frequently interchanged as for instance [nal] নাল → [lal] লাল ‘red’, [nun] নুন → [lun] লুন ‘salt’. According to Grierson (1903:164), [gula] গুলা, [gila] গিলা may be used to form the plural. He also mentions [gʰɔr] ঘর substituted for [gula], গুলা or [gila] গিলা also with genitive marker. He also found plural /la/ লা suffix in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri variety (See Chapter-II, section 2.1.2.).

Rajbanshi language does not have negative pronouns like none, no one, nobody or adverbials like nowhere, never, nowhere, etc. This does not mean that Rajbanshi speakers cannot express negative pronouns, what is expressed in one language by morphological markers that can be expressed by different grammatical feature in another language.

2. [kanɣoy haɪ na Ja-i-be] কাঙোয় হাট না যাইবে।

Someone market go-3-FUT- not

‘Nobody will go to the market.’

1.2.8. *Rajbanshi in South Asian perspective*

M. B. Emeneau (1956 a, b) addressed the issue of ‘diffusion of linguistic traits across genetic boundaries’ in his seminal article ‘India as a Linguistic Area’. He introduced the concept of *Sprachbund* or *linguistic area* in which sustained long contact among unrelated or distantly related languages, leads to convergence of certain grammatical features. He provided many examples of shared features from Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austroasiatic families. Masica (2005) also observed shared linguistic characteristics are unique to the area and specifically what might be called as ‘South Asianness’. Subbarao (2012) starts his description of *Sprachbund* in principles and parameters approach in contrast to Greenbergian implicational universals. He poses the question of whether it is thousands of years of contact and resulting multilingualism or rather the universals that fall out from the languages of this area. His specific claim is that as most of the languages of this area are SOV languages, this common feature might have caused convergence.

Rajbanshi is phonologically a South Asian language with the presence of nasal vowels, retroflex consonants, and voice and aspiration distinctions in many stops. {See Appendix-1(b) (c) for the vowel and consonant chart}. It is mostly agreed that retroflex consonants are original to the Dravidian languages and were borrowed to Indo-Aryan languages through contact.

Rajbanshi has light verb construction (LVC) which is a notable phenomenon in South Asian languages. There are two types of LVC constructions found in Rajbanshi, Conjunct verbs and Compound verbs. It consists of two word expressions that take a single subject and express one event. The second element of the construction is a verb which belongs to a closed set. The LVC phenomenon is also referred as complex predicates. In a conjunct verb construction, a conjunct verb /kɔra/ করা ‘to do; make’ or /hɔya/ হওয়া ‘to be; become; happen’, verbalizes a noun, adjective, an onomatopoeic expression, or a borrowed noun. Usually, /kɔra/ করা forms a transitive verb and /hɔya/ হওয়া forms an intransitive verb and sometimes /dɛɔya/ দেওয়া ‘to give’ and other verbs are also used.

Reduplication phenomenon is prevalent in South Asian languages and Rajbanshi is not an exception (See chapter II, Chapter V for Rajbanshi Reduplication). Though Rajbanshi, in some regards, diverges from south Asian languages, it has lost grammatical gender, number in verbs, presence of negative verb forms. The negative verb forms are found in most of the Dravidian languages (Abbi 2001).

1.2.9. The Rajbanshi Lexicon

The vocabulary of the Rajbanshi language is vast. Apart from its indigenous (desi) sources, Rajbanshi has borrowed words from Tibeto-burman language namely Bodo, Garo language because of its geographical proximity. Rajbanshi is an Indo-Aryan language and we find an ample number of *tatsama* and *tatbhabhaba* words¹⁸. Here are some indigenous words (desi) of Rajbanshi presented in Table.1.4.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| [baigon] বাইগোন ‘brinjal’ | [ʌtka] উটকা ‘search’ | [cʰɛnda] ছান্দা ‘hole’ | [caŋʈa] চাংড়া ‘cot’ |
| [tɔʃa] টসা ‘deaf’ | [ʃʰinai] ঝিনাই ‘shell’ | [nɔlldʰoŋgi] নলচঙ্গী ‘windpipe’ | [cika] চিকা ‘kind of rat’ |

¹⁸ Tatsama words are borrowed from Sanskrit in their pure form, no phonological changes with the words, Tatbhaba words borrowed from Sanskrit with some phonological changes or the words are nativized or adapted to the phonological patterns of Rajbanshi.

| | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|---|
| [ho ^h lai] হোথলাই ‘chin’ | [b ^h urb ^h ura] ভুরভুরা ‘a kind of fried rice’ | [ʃɛʃa] শ্যাশা ‘rabbit’ | [dʒaŋga] ডাংগা ‘dry land’ or ‘hit’ |
| [ʃaŋgura] টাঙ্গুরা ‘bone’ | [nɔŋgul] নগুল ‘finger’ | [d ^h oŋgol] চোসল ‘stem’ | [aʃu] আজু ‘maternal grand father’ |
| [ʃidol] শিদোল ‘a kind of dry fish preparation which is reserved for a long time’ | [nai] নাই ‘naval’ or ‘not’ | [g ^h aʃa] ঘাটা ‘road’ | [abo] আবো ‘grand mother’ |

Table. 1.4 Rajbanshi indigenous words

The masses of North Bengal areas are largely of Bodo origin or mixed Austric-Dravidian Mongoloid. They can now mainly be described as Koch i.e. Hinduised or semi-Hinduised Bodo who have abandoned their original Tibeto Burman speech and have adopted the northern dialect of Bengali. They are proud to call themselves as Rajbanshi and claim to be called Kshatriyas. Nothing much is definitely known about the Koches of North Bengal prior to the 16th century; they may be classified as western Bodos, as extension of the great Bodo race of Assam. The remnant of Bodo lexical items are still found in Rajbanshi which is why, the lexicon of Bangla is different from Rajbanshi;

| Rajbanshi Words | Bengali Words | Rajbanshi Words | Bengali Words |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [aoʃa] আওতা ‘to keep in a safe place’ | [ʃoʃoʃne rak ^h a] সযত্নে রাখা | [poyaʃi] পোয়াতি ‘pregnant woman’ | [gorb ^h obaʃi] গর্ভবতী |
| [uddiʃ] উদ্দিশ ‘search’ | [k ^h oʃa] খোঁজা | [cækar] চ্যাকার ‘fence’ | [beʃa] বেড়া |
| [kæcal] ক্যাচাল ‘quarrel’ | [ʃ ^h ogora] ঝগড়া | [Jabura] জাবুরা ‘dirt’ | [aborʃona] আবর্জনা |
| [guddi] গুড়ি ‘kite’ | [g ^h ʃi] ঘুড়ি | [tæpʃa] ট্যাপড়া ‘short height’ | [beʃe] বেটে |
| [uʃi] উড়ি ‘insect’ | [uipoka] উইপোকা | [topola] টোপলা ‘small bag’ | [putuli] পুতুলি |

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| [uɖaŋ] উদাং, [nəŋtʰa] ন্যাংটা 'open, naked' | [ulɔŋgo] উলঙ্গ, [nɔŋno] নগ্ন | [kɔʃtʰiya] কস্টিয়া 'miser' | [kripon] কৃপণ |
| [ɖubɔr] দুবোর 'door' | [ɖɔrʃa] দরজা | [kʰoɖɔra] খোদরা 'uneven, not plain' | [ɔʃɔman] অসমান |
| [giri] গিরি 'owner, master' | [malik] মালিক | [ʃupuri] সুপুরি 'guava' | [peyara] পেয়ারা |
| [cæŋtʰa] চ্যাংড়া 'boy' | [cʰele] ছেলে | [kaʃolʃupuri] কাটোল সুপুরি 'pineapple' | [anarɔʃ] আনারস |
| [cɛŋtʰi] চেংড়ি 'girl' | [meye] মেয়ে | [tʃɔʃa] টসা 'mute' | [bɔɖʰir] বধির |
| [ʃakla] জাকলা 'bamboo ladder' | [bãʃer mɔi] বাঁশের মই | [tʃɔʃi] টসি 'mute (fem)' | [bɔɖʰir] বধির |
| [ʃala] জালা, [ʃali] জালি 'unripe' | [kɔci] কচি | [ɖum] ডুম 'piece of tree' | [tukro] টুকরো |
| [tʰuma] ঠুমা 'piece of meat' | [tukro] টুকরো | [ɖɛkuya mɔra] ডেকুয়া মরা 'teenager (Mas)' | [kiʃor] কিশোর |
| [ɖʰol ɖʰola] ঢোল ঢোলা 'loose' | [ɖʰila] ঢিলা | [ɖʰɔkor pɔkor] ধকর পকর 'haste' | [tʃaɦuɔ] তাড়াছড়ো |
| [bɔtʃai] বড়াই 'plum' | [kul] কুল | [pʰaukʃali] ফাউকশালি 'non- serious' | [aʃe baʃe] আজ বাজে |
| [bʰoɖa] ভোদা 'stupid' | [boka] বোকা | [mauriya] মাউরিয়া 'orphan, without mother' | [maʃrihin] মাতৃহীন |
| [mola] মোলা 'ball made of puffed rice' | [moya] মোয়া | [makʃtai] 'water rice' | [bʰaʃer pʰena] ভাতের ফেনা |
| [ʃamʃiya] জামটিয়া 'twin, pair' | [ʃɔmoʃ] যমজ | [ʃikai] শিকাই 'waist band' | [kɔmorbonɖʰi] কোমর বন্ধী |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| [ʃulun] সুলুং ‘small hole’ | [p ^h āka] ফাঁকা | [ʃol ʃola] শোলশোলা ‘loose’ | [d ^h ila] |
| [haŋ haŋ] হাংহাং ‘widely open’ | [unmukto] উনমুক্ত | [heʃkari]হ্যাসকারি ‘neglect’ | [ɔbohela] অবহেলা |
| [kaicau] কাইচাও | [kaʃte] কাস্তে | [ʃaɔ] ‘curse’ শাও | [ɔb ^h iʃap] অভিশাপ |
| [kamla] কামলা ‘labour’ | [ʃromik] শ্রমিক | [Jiu] জিউ ‘life’ | [Jibon] জীবন |

Table 1.5 Bodo words in Rajbanshi lexicon¹⁹

Rajbanshi has borrowed and absorbed many foreign words easily into the lexicon and has made them part of the language. Once words are borrowed from the source language, it participates in different word-formation processes, it takes the classifier and case endings which ultimately enrich the language. It would be very difficult to determine the origin and etymology of words without the knowledge of historical linguistics. Here are some words which are borrowed from different foreign languages, shown in Table.1.6;

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| [ɔpiʃ] অপিস ‘office’ | [kek] কেক ‘cake’ | [puliʃ] পুলিশ ‘police’ | [tɪb ^h i] টিভি ‘TV’ |
| [inʃin] ইঞ্জিন ‘engine’ | [kap] কাপ ‘cup’ | [dakt̪ar] ডাক্তার ‘doctor’ | [kɔpi] কপি ‘coffee’ |
| [tebil] টেবিল ‘table’ | [gilaʃ] গিলাস ‘glass’ | [iʃkul] ইস্কুল ‘school’ | [biʃkut]বিসকুট ‘biscuit’ |
| [ceyar] চেয়ার ‘chair’ | [eʃteʃɔn]স্টেশন ‘station’ | [ʃaʃ] শাট ‘shirt’ | [beŋk] ব্যাঙ্ক ‘bank’ |

Table. 1.6 Loan words in Rajbanshi

¹⁹ Most of these words are collected from Barma, Debendra Nath. 2012. *Rajbanshi Bhashar Itihas*. Sopan Kolkata.

1.3. Nominal Morphology

According to Payne (2006:258), the term ‘noun’ is used to describe the class of lexical items whose prototypical members refer to entities (chair, film, leg), substances (butter, concrete, blood) and named individuals or locations (John, Paris, France). The traditional definition of grammatical categories like nouns, verbs, adjectives are purely based on semantic criteria and leave many questions unanswered. However, the grammatical category of a word is determined by its placement in a sentence i.e, syntactic distribution and by also by its affixes i.e. morphological distribution. If we consider the sentence ‘*The haldish calker kainted very partially*’ is semantically ill-formed and the words used in the sentence are not actual words of English. Given a task to determine the grammatical category of the non-sensical words of the sentence, speakers can easily identify that ‘haldish’ is an adjective, ‘calker’ is a noun, ‘kainted’ is a verb and ‘partially’ as an adverb because of the positioning of words in a sentence (syntactic distribution) and occurrence of particular type of affixes (morphological distribution).

According to Payne (2006:94), “The class of nouns in any language include words that refer to highly bounded or individuated entities, eg., ‘tree’, ‘mountain’, ‘mausoleum’, etc. These are concepts that tend not to change very much over time, and which can be referred to repeatedly in discourse as the same thing.” Hopper and Thompson (1984) describe noun as having prototypical property ‘discourse manipulability’. Traditionally, nouns can function as the subject of a sentence, object of a verb, modifier of a noun. Rajbanshi nouns can be classified into the following groups;

- (a) Proper nouns (b) Common nouns (c) Generic nouns (d) Collective nouns (e) Material nouns (f) Abstract nouns (g) Verbal nouns.

Rajbanshi has no articles. Nouns take classifiers [tʰa] টা, kʰan খান, [kɔna] কোনা), modifiers such as possessive, deictics, quantifiers, qualifiers and case endings. Genitive nouns can function as attributive adjectives to modify other nouns as for example [alu-r ɖail] আলুর ডাইল ‘pulse (prepared from) potato’; [upa-r mala] উপার মালা ‘silver necklace’; [dudʰ-er gilaʃ] দুধের গিলাস ‘a glass of milk’. The use of classifiers adheres to the grammatical properties of nouns i.e. whether a noun is animate/inanimate, count/noncount, singular/plural. Classifiers are added together with numbers, quantifiers, and case markings to make noun phrases. The traditional classification of nouns is flexible; individual words can switch from one group to another

group, though these categories may be useful in the distinctions of count/non-count and singular/plural. In this study, nominal inflectional and derivational morphological construction will be analysed under the theoretical framework of Construction Morphology (Geert Booij, 2010). The nominal morphology of Rajbanshi language will be discussed in Chapter-II and in Chapter-V nominal inflectional constructions, derivational constructions, reduplicated structures, compound constructions and also constructional schemas associated with nouns will be investigated in this study.

1.4. Research Methodology: Approach/Method/Technique

The word ‘exploration’ used in the title ‘Nominal morphology of Rajbanshi language: An exploration in Construction Morphology’ needs careful attention. I have considered ‘exploration’ close to ‘investigation’. The Concise Oxford English Dictionary describes ‘Exploration’ as a Noun and the verb ‘explore’ means; 1. Travel through an unfamiliar area in order to learn about it 2. Investigate or discuss it in detail 3. Examine by touch. The definition 2 of ‘investigation’ used in Oxford Learners Dictionaries is more suitable for this work; **1.** “Investigation is normally used as an official examination of the facts about a situation, crime, etc. 2. Investigation (into something) a scientific or academic examination of the facts of a subject or problem”²⁰. So how far is this ‘exploration’ different from ‘description’? Description is normally used in a theoretical way, an indication of the empiricist bias of modern social sciences with its emphasis on what is called ‘facts’. Very often, it is merely an old theory, a new theory has not been able to accommodate.²¹ According to Kuhn (1970: 16), ‘since any description must be partial, the typical natural history often omits from its immensely circumstantial accounts just those details that later scientists will find sources of important illumination. Thomas Kuhn thinks that three normal foci for factual scientific investigation, and they are neither always nor permanently distinct.

1. First is that class of facts that the paradigm has shown to be particularly revealing of the nature of things. By employing them in solving problems, the paradigm has made them worth determining both with more precision and in a larger variety of situations...

²⁰ <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/investigation>

²¹ See Singh, Rajendra; Agnihotri, Ramakant. 1997. *Hindi Morphology: A Word-Based Description*. Motilal Banarsidas. Delhi. P-15

1. A second usual but smaller class of factual determinations is directed to those facts that, though often without much intrinsic interest, can be compared directly with predictions from the paradigm theory....
2. A third class of experiments and observations exhausts, I think, the fact-gathering activities of normal science. It consists of empirical work undertaken to articulate the paradigm theory, resolving some of its residual ambiguities and permitting the solution of problems to which it had previously only drawn attention. This class proves to be the most important of all, and its description demands its subdivision....²²

According to Dixon (2010:1-2), the task of linguistics is to explain the nature of human language, through active involvement in the description of languages—each viewed as an integrated system—together with explanation of why each language is the way it is, allied to further scientific pursuits of prediction and evaluation. There is constant feedback between theory and description. Each description is in terms of an established theory, which in itself is made up of interrelated inductive generalization based on the descriptions provided in terms of it. As each description is completed, it is likely to lead to the refinement or revision of some aspect or aspects of theory. Morris Halle has pointed out that data on their own are meaningless; it is the theoretical framework which dictates what facts are interesting and what facts are not. Comrie (1981:4) argues that it is necessary to have data from wide range of languages and he emphasises on arriving at language universals on the basis of ‘concrete rather than abstract analyses’. On the other hand, the deductivists believe that the study of even a single language is sufficient to predict language universals. (Chomsky 1975:118) points out that ‘the principles that appear to have explanatory adequacy for English are the principles of Universal grammar’. Thus ‘a great deal can be learned about UG from the study of a single language’. They give importance to ‘innateness’ as the explanation for language universals. Subbarao and Saxena (1987) argued that the deductivist is a microinductivist and the inductivist is a micro-deductivist and therefore, a strict dichotomy between the inductive (empiricist) and deductive (rationalist) approaches cannot be maintained. They propose an integrated approach that combines these two, Limited induction base → Deduction → induction. Subbarao (2012:5) states that ‘to build an explanatory adequate theory, it is essential to have a sound database. A fruitful conflation of theory and data alone will yield the desired results’.

²² See Kuhn, Thomas S. 1971. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. University of Chicago Press. Pp-16-25.

For this study, I have used my intuitive judgements as well as other native speakers'. The data were collected from both the sources: primary and secondary. The primary sources involve the collection of data from day to day conversation, collection of short stories or folk tales from the native speakers of the Rajbanshi language. The conversations of the participants are also observed and recorded. The subjects were asked to narrate a story or stories or the folk tale in various phases of data collection in Rajbanshi. The environment was not isolated; the interlocutors' presence and their participation in the story telling and their daily life conversations were also recorded and analysed. Besides the spoken forms, I also collected many short stories (Appendix-IV a) and songs (Appendix-IV b) from the secondary sources. The morphological constructions or constructional schemas which are found in collected stories and daily conversations were searched in the secondary sources which include different periodicals, magazines, books etc. These are primarily written and published in the Rajbanshi language.

In the words of Chomsky, '--A corpus never tells you what is impossible. In fact, it does not even tell you what is possible (Aarts 2000:6). Using intuitions as the only source of evidence is methodologically problematic (Schutze 1996). Hilpert (2014:20) points out that it would still be wrong to demonise linguistic intuitions. Intuitions are in fact necessary for the analysis of idiosyncratic constructions, but they are only part of the story. Hilpert recommends using intuitions for the analysis of constructions and their constraints and to check their examples against a large data base. Experimental research in CG is still in its infancy, but there are quite a few studies out there that do not require the use of specialized software or expensive machinery (Bencini & Goldberg 2000, Gurevich et. al. 2010, Dabrowska. They have taken similar or identical stimuli but with different participants.

For the present study, twenty native speakers of the Rajbanshi language, spoken in Coochbehar district of West Bengal were consulted (See Appendix IX-List of informants).

The map of Coochbehar district is given below with subdivisions and blocks²³

²³http://coochbehar.nic.in/HTMfiles/block_demarcated_Map.html

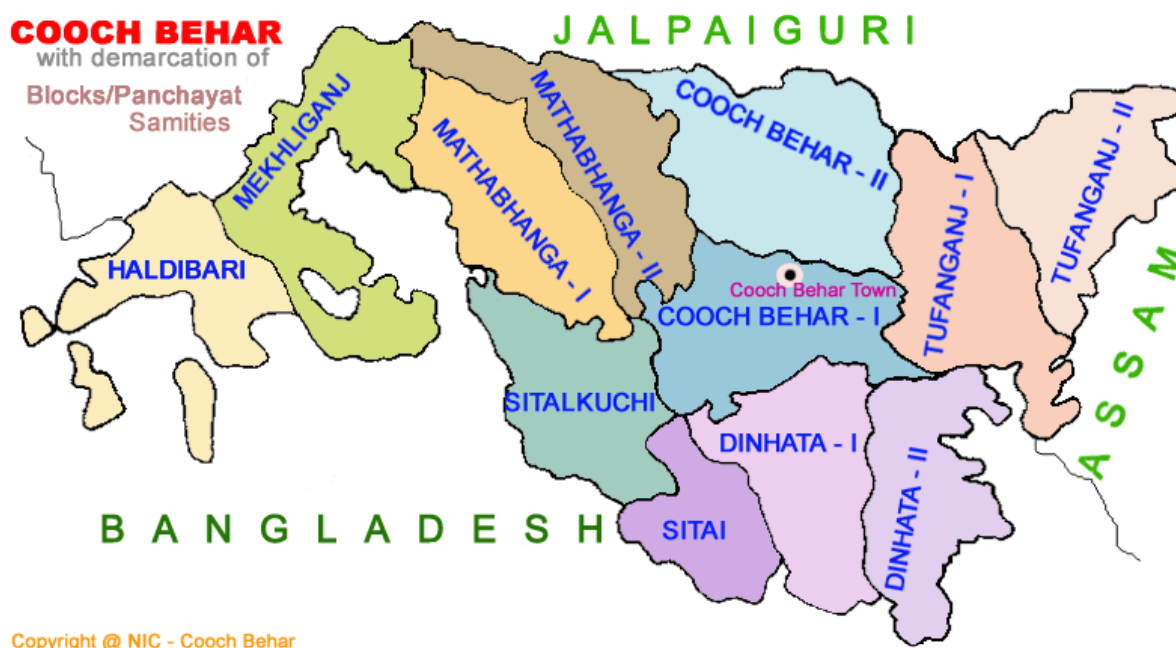


Figure.1.2 Map of Coochbehar district

1.5. Significance and implication of the study

Speakers of a language retrieve words from their mental lexicon to describe a speech event or to express their ideas, emotions and thoughts. The question arises how are the words retrieved from the mental lexicon? Does this retrieval or language processing take place one word after another or some chunks together or in a decomposed fashion? Do they also activate some related set of words? I would try to explain some of these questions raised here. The assumption is that every language uses the constructional schema, and the set of construction is common and prototypical for an individual speaker, and those constructions found similar also relate to a group of speakers who use the constructions in a given speech community. It has to be pointed out that the fixed constructs exist in the minds of speakers and interlocutors which allow conversations to be carried out efficiently. The lexical decision task combined with priming test is used in psychology which supports the existence of constructions in the mental lexicon. This work will be the first theoretical account of Rajbanshi language and its morphology from the perspective of Construction Morphology.

The model of Generative transformational grammar makes a strict division between theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics. In the sphere of foreign language teaching, generative transformational grammar had little to offer in terms of integrating those idiomatic

constructions, collocations and fixed patterns into a general theory of grammar. The insights of Construction Grammar (and hence Construction Morphology) can be fruitful in learning and teaching of foreign language which takes into account the crucial role of conventionalized but unpredictable constructional idioms. Fillmore et al. (1988:534) mention that “those linguistic processes that are thought of as irregular cannot be accounted for by constructing lists of exceptions; the realm of idiomaticity in a language contains a great deal that is productive, highly structured and worthy of serious grammatical investigations”.

The constructions have culture specific knowledge with respect to the co-occurrence of one word with another word or one word with a particular grammatical construction as for instance the following Rajbanshi constructional idiom in (3);

3. (a) [kukur-i kana] কুকুরি কানা

Dog- blind

‘unable to see in dim light’/ ‘not able to see at night’

(b) [ḍɔʃ cʰɔy ana] দশ ছয় আনা²⁴

Ten six a unit of Indian (old) currency²⁵

‘finish’

(c) [ʃɔl cʰiʈa] জল ছিটা

Water sprinkle

‘custom of sprinkling water during marriage’²⁶

In 3 (a) the word [kukuri] কুকুরি cannot be replaced by any other word for that specific meaning. The meaning is also unpredictable, and hence it has to be learned by the language users. (See Appendix-VII for more constructional idioms). These expressions have structural fixedness and rigidity. They are not amenable to lexical or structural re-formulations—only a limited set of lexical items can fill the structural slot as for example in 3(c) [ʃɔl] জল ‘water’ can be replaced by another homonymous lexical item [pani] পানি ‘water’ and retained the idiomatic meaning intact . But changing the position of lexical items [kukuri kana] কুকুরি কানা to [kana kukuri] কানা কুকুরি is not permissible, the structural fixedness and rigidity has to be maintained. The word

²⁴ See Appendix V (a)

²⁵ The unit of Indian (Old) currency, a sixteenth part of a rupee.

²⁶ In Rajbanshi society, during a wedding ceremony, a person ritually sprinkles water on the bride and groom. The male person will become father in relation and female person will become mother in relation to the bridegroom.

[kukuri] কুকুরি cannot be replaced by another lexical item [bilai kana] ‘blind cat’ বিলাই কানা or [goru kana] গরু কানা ‘blind cow’ [kana kukur] কানা কুকুর/[kukur kana] কুকুর কানা ‘blind dog’ which may have literal meaning as above.²⁷ In the constructional idiom 3 (b), none of the morpheme can be replaced by another element, even, if both the morphemes have similar or identical meanings. The morpheme order cannot be violated. The complex word [ʃolo ana] ষোলো আনা and [dʒɔʃ chʔy ana] দশ ছয় আনা have identical meanings but to express the idiomatic meaning ‘to finish’, ‘accomplish’ or ‘kill’ the former cannot be used. They stand as symbols of a given culture, and by and large it is deeply rooted in the cultural system in a community. The meaning of the idiom [kukuri kana] কুকুরি কানা does not refer to dog’s vision in general. In fact in compare to human’s vision dog’s vision is better at night.²⁸

Mischler (2009) suggests that a particular cultural model is needed to account for certain conceptual metaphors, and how they change over time. Sinclair (1991:109-10) coined the phrase ‘the open choice principle’ to describe the notion that text—sentences and discourses—can result from a large number of complex choices. The open choice principle contrasts with ‘idiom principle’ in which a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they may appear to be analyseable into segments.

It is important to note that the knowledge of these constructions are essential for native-like or near native like intuitions. The foreign language teachers and learners can get insights from CM regarding the constructional idioms and over they can be best be taught and learned respectively. Ellis et al. (2014:71-98) show that frequencies, functions and forms of the input

²⁷ The children play with this rhyme and teases a person who has this kind of ‘blindness’ or a person whose name begins with’ kan—‘ as for example [kanon] কানন. Here is an example of rhyme, [kan kan kukuri kan কান কান কান কুকুরি কান, chʔagol banɖa dʒɔʃ an ছাগোল বান্দা দড়ি আন, chʔagol gelo hoʃki ছাগোল গেলো হসকি, kana uʃʔil cɔʃki] কানা উটিল চটকি।

²⁸ Dogs are not completely color blind since they have a dichromatic color perception. Unlike humans who have three different color sensitive cone cells in their retina (red, green and blue) dogs have only two (yellow, and, blue). This does not mean that dogs can't see green or red objects! It only means that they can't distinguish green, yellow or red objects based on their color. However they can still distinguish a red ball from a green one if there is a difference in the perceived brightness of the two. Visual acuity is a measure of the spatial resolution of the visual system. It is often measured in cycles per degree (CPD), which measures how much an eye can differentiate one object from another in terms of visual angles. The maximum visual acuity of the human eye is around 50 CPD and 60 CPD. The measurements of dogs' visual acuity vary around 7.5-9 CPD and 11.6 CPD. According to these measurements dogs' visual acuity is 4 to 8 times worse than that of humans. Source: <https://dog-vision.com/>

But the canine’s biggest advantage is called the tapetum. This mirror-like structure in the back of the eye reflects light, giving the retina a second chance to register light that has entered the eye. “Although the tapetum improves vision in dim light, it also scatters some light, degrading the dog’s vision from the 20:20 that you and I normally see to about 20:80,”- Source: University of Wisconsin - Madison. "How Well Do Dogs See At Night?." ScienceDaily. ScienceDaily, 9 November 2007. www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/11/071108140336.htm

that learners are exposed to provide ideal conditions for construction learning by means of statistical learning from the input. Macwhinney (2014:33-70) throws light on the role of item based patterns in second language acquisition and also touches upon question of computational models. Erman (2009) learning formulae and idiomatic constructions is problematic for second language learners because, compared to first language learners who usually hear these kinds of constructions repeatedly, second language learners have less extensive language exposure. She finds in her study of written compositions that the subjects of second language learners underuse collocations and other formulae which makes their compositions appear less native-like.

The advent of machine readable corpus had serious implications in corpus linguistics. The large scale corpus analysis reveals the fact that fixed or partially fixed multiword units determine the character of everyday language use. It has given new impetus to collocational research and constructional patterns (Palmer 1933, Firth 1968, Sinclair 1991). Corpus linguistic research of lexico-grammatical patterns and constructional phenomena also motivated Sinclair's (1991:110) suggestion that the idiomatic principle had to complement slot and filler type open choice decision models of sentence structure.

Constructions are first and foremost something cognitive that is, a piece of speaker's linguistic knowledge... is a generalization that speakers make across a number of encounters with linguistic forms (Hilpert: 2014:9). According to Goldberg (1995:4) "C is a CONSTRUCTION iff def C is a form-meaning pair of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions."²⁹ Constructions are unpredictable and have non-compositional meanings. It has non-predictable aspects of forms which generally disobey the phrase structure rules. Fillmore et al. (1988:506-10) describe these unpredictable aspects of constructions as 'familiar pieces, unfamiliarly arranged.' The sequences which are highly frequent and highly conventionalised can be qualified as constructions. The distinction is made between constructions and construct. Phrases and sentences that instantiate more general constructions are called constructs, so the distinctions between generalizations and concrete instances, between abstract types and a token that instantiates them.

²⁹ F= form and S= Semantics

If we consider the following Rajbanshi words (in 4) in the Dictionary and grammar model (Taylor, 2012), these words will not be stored in the lexicon because they are formed by regular plural formational rules.

4. (a). বাড়ি বাড়ি বিজিলা **বাড়িগিলা** জলি উঠিল /

[baʈi baʈi biʃli **baʈi-gula** ʃoli utʰil]

House house electric lamp-PL light rise.PST

In every household electric lamps lit up.

(b) দালালগুলার অঠে থাকি বেশি দাম দিয়া দুইখান টিকিট কিনবে।

[**dalal-gula-r** oʃe tʰaki beʃi dam diya ɖui-kʰan tʰikit kinb-e]

Tout-PL-GEN there from much price give two-CL ticket buy-FUT.3.SING

‘From the touts (he) would buy two tickets in much higher price.’

(c) রাজবংশী **বেটিছাওয়াগিলা** এক সময় ফোতা গজি পিন্দিচিলো।³⁰

[raʃboŋʃi beʈicʰaɔya-gila ek ʃomoy pʰoʈa goʃi pindicilo]

Rajbanshi woman-PL one time Phota shawl wear-PERF-3

‘There was a time, the Rajbanshi women used to wear Phota, (shawls).’

In Construction Grammar, these words would be viewed as *constructs* of the plural formation construction because they are regular and frequently used expressions in Rajbanshi. The plural construction can be generalized by the schema <[X] N, SING, NOM ↔ [X]N,SING,NOM – la/gula/gila] N, PL,NOM>.

In the following example 5, Rajbanshi associative plural marker [gʰɔr] ঘর can also receive a new grammatical function is that of a linking element. The sequence [neʈar gʰɔr] নেতার ঘর ‘leaders and associates’, [bʰaiyer gʰɔr] ভাইয়ের ঘর ‘brothers and associates’, [mamar gʰɔr] মামার ঘর ‘maternal uncle and associates’ (See section 2.1.3.6.) are no longer lexical phrases but considered as complex words. What I would interpret here, the genitive marker /r র or er এর/ as a linking element because the grammatical function of genitive marker is not retained in the complex words. These words have a specific semantic interpretations. The referent nouns are

³⁰ See Rajbanshi narir Pindibar Kapera, Dipok Kumar Roy, In Baghdhenuk, 6.

always + human and the meaning is associative with the [X] element of the genitive. The word [band̥orer gʰɔr] বান্দরের ঘর does not refer to ‘monkey and its associates’ rather the quality (naughty) of some boys.

5. (a) মামার ঘর আইসচে কি ?

[mama-r gʰɔr aiʃce ki] ?

Uncle-GEN PL come.PER what

‘Have Mamas and their families (maternal uncles) come?’

(b) হালুয়ার ঘর থুকুরা বেচি আলিত ভিড়া করি থোয়।

[haluya-r gʰɔr tʰukura bæci ali-tʰ bʰiʃa kɔri tʰoy]

Ploughman-GEN ASS.PL garbage mark boundary-LOC pile do keep.PRS.PL

‘The ploughmen finds the garbage and stores in the boundary’

(c) [cɛŋʃi-r gʰɔr] চেংড়ির ঘর ‘girls’, [nɛʃar gʰɔr] নেতার ঘর ‘leaders’ [bɔiner gʰɔr] বইনের ঘর ‘sisters’

(d) [puʃuler gʰɔr] পুতুলের ঘর ‘the doll house’, [ʃafer gʰɔr] তাসের ঘর ‘the card house/easily breakable’, [band̥orer gʰɔr] বান্দরের ঘর ‘*monkeys; quality of naughtiness’

These word sequences cannot be considered short phrases rather I would assume that they are complex words which are dominated by the following schema; (See Chapter V)

<[Ni-er gʰɔr]Nj ↔ [SEM Ni ASSOCIATE PL]j>

These kinds of constructs also receive empirical support from psycholinguistic studies (Stemberger & Macwhinney 1988, Arnon & Sinder 2010). Construct-i-con is usage based and created through experience with language and continuously influenced by experience with language (Bybee, 2010). Usage based cognitive linguistic research focuses on cognitive foundations of linguistic knowledge and poses basic questions as to how linguistic patterns and item specific knowledge are stored and represented in the human mind, how this knowledge emerges and what cognitive processes are involved in the emergence of linguistic knowledge. Sidtits (2009) argues for the use of dual process model of language- holistic mode and analytic mode.³¹ Both these models interact with each other when processing schemata, fixed expressions with one or more open slots. In Cognitive and psycholinguistic research, the notion ‘construction’ plays an important role. The construction includes both unpredictable form-

³¹ The holistic mode is used to process formulae, while the analytic mode is used to generate new and creative utterances.

meaning pairings and highly frequent ones (Goldberg 2006) and hence the term ‘construction’ accommodates collocations, fixed patterns, valency, idiomaticity as well as other types of lexical and lexico-grammatical patterns. According to Hilpert (2014: 202) constructions comprise everything from mono-morphemic words to complex syntactic constructions; they connect a formal pole with a meaning pole, each of which is characterized by variation; they are hierarchically organized and inter-connected through links such as instantiation links or subpart links; they are learned through exposure to language use; they serve to evoke parts of semantic frames and to present those ideas in ways that facilitate successful communication. It is essentially the idea of item-based constructions which can be applied to collocation and valency patterns. It has to be remembered that construction grammar emerged for the treatment of idioms and idiomatic expressions (Croft and Cruse 2004: 225, Macwhinney 2005:53).

The psycholinguistic implication of the tripartite parallel architecture of grammar views that the linguistic expressions are built in all three components- the phonological (PHON), morpho-syntactic (SYN) and semantic (SEM) structure of words, combined to larger structures in a parallel fashion, by means of unification (Jackendoff 2008). Hagoort (2005) argues that this architectural design of grammar is a good starting point for the interpretation of neuro-imaging studies of language processing. Sidtits (2009) examined the patients with left hemisphere damage and he found production and comprehension of formulae was preserved but with right hemisphere damage it was lost. Booij (2010 a: 258) points out that a constructionist approach provides an interesting perspective for the interpretation of neuro-psychological finding and proper location of various linguistic tasks in the brain.

The use of repeated lexically specific sequences in parents, motherese and children’s speech play important role for the acquisition of early chunks. The repeated patterns are the starting points for the emergence of variable low-level schemas and even more flexible unfilled schemas such as ditransitive construction or other argument structure construction (Tomasello 2003, Goldberg 2006). According to Wray (2009), formulaic language is the starting point for the first language acquisition and child language development proceeds from formulaic sequence to analysed forms rather than vice versa. Peters (2009) emphasizes the role of experience as the basis for children’s eventual construction of internal representation of the language they hear. Lieven (2014:9-32) discusses experimental evidence and the role of errors in child language development. She gives an account of how children learn constructions on the basis of the input they receive. She presents an outline on how a network of constructions

can be imagined to develop in children's speech. Erman (2009) claims that particular types of collocation reflect language user's experience as social beings. Bannard and Lieven (2009) point out that novel utterances are produced and understood by analogy with previously experienced language. They claim that language is learned both by observing and by interacting with others and reuse of language is the basis of communication. According to them children analyse chunks and eventually develop more general categories or schemas and then they connect their constructions into complex networks. The present study has presented Rajbanshi nominal morphology and constructional idioms within the theoretical framework of Construction Morphology (Booij 2010).

In the next chapter, I would present a descriptive account of Nominal Morphology of Rajbanshi Language.

CHAPTER-2

2. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY OF RAJBANSHI LANGUAGE: A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

In this chapter, I will be looking at Rajbanshi Nominal Morphology. In section 2.1, I would discuss Inflectional Morphology (case markers, classifiers, grammatical Numbers, and grammatical gender), in section 2.2. Derivational Morphology (list of derivational affixes & nominal derivations), in section 2.3. Compounding and in 2.4. Reduplication. All these word-formation strategies will be dealt keeping in mind Nominal morphology of Rajbanshi language.

2.1. Inflectional Morphology

Three categories of inflections are crucial to nominal morphology in KRDS: case markers, specificity classifiers, and pronominals. Case markers indicate the grammatical function of a noun phrase (NP), while specificity classifiers indicate its discourse function (hence ‘specificity’), grammatical class, and also number (Toulmin 2011: 106)). The case markers, classifiers and pronominals are categorized under inflectional category following Zograph (1976) and Masica (1991). Both agglutinative and certain analytic elements ‘entering into paradigmatic contrasts’. Masica (1991: 251) points out that “some NIA languages do not inflect adjectives at all: Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Sinhalese do not... OIA comparative and superlative inflection of adjectives do not survive in NIA (except as isolated lexicalised forms). Comparison is expressed through a syntactic construction.” Traditionally, it is believed that inflectional morphology never changes the grammatical category of the stem, it attaches to, rather it modifies the existing stem as for example in Rajbanshi [ceŋʈa] চাংড়া ‘boy’ (N. Singular) vs. [ceŋʈa-la] চাংড়াল ‘boys’ (N. plural). In Rajbanshi nouns, inflectional markers are found in numbers, gender, and person and also in case. Though gender is not an inflectional category but we would find many nouns which are lexically marked as masculine or feminine (See section 2.1.5). In the following sections, I would discuss, 2.1.1 Case and case-markings and post-positions, 2.1.2. Grammatical numbers and plurality, 2.1.3. Grammatical class (classifiers), 2.1.4. Pronominals, 2.1.5. Gender and kinship terminology.

2.1.1. Case, Case Markings and Post-positions

Case is a characteristic feature of a noun and a pronoun (NP). It identifies the role of a noun within a sentence whether the NP is in a subject position, in object positions or participants in a sentence. It has been seen that if there is a classifier attached with the noun, the case ending will be added at the end of a noun phrase. Anderson (1991:58) says “...case is most generally understood as a category of inflectional morphology—indeed—in the Greco-Roman tradition, as the morphological (secondary) category par excellence, particularly as concerns nouns.” Masica (1991: 230) “In NIA as in any language, case is vitally a syntactic as well as morphological category. Its markers establish the function of the NP in the sentence (or partially in the case of Genitive, within another NP).” Abbi (2001: 127) mentions that one must distinguish between case and case markers. The former is a semantic relationship while the latter exhibits this relationship by some phonological word. Booij (2007:192) says that case marking is a form of dependant marking which signals the grammatical function of an NP in a clause.

There are two types of case systems (a) Nominative-Accusative and (b) Absolute-Ergative. In Nominative Accusative system, A and S receive the same case marking whereas in the Absolutive-Ergative system, this applies to O and S.³² The predicate argument structure of these two systems can be summarized below (Booij, 2010:193) in Table 2.1;

| | PREDICATE X | PREDICATE X | Y |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-----|
| Grammatical function | S | A | O |
| Nominative-Accusative | NOM | NOM | ACC |
| Absolutive-Ergative | ABS | ERG | ABS |

Table.2.1 Two types of case system

Rajbanshi case system is nominative-accusative type in which subject of transitive and intransitive predicates are marked in a similar way 1. (a, b) while the object is marked differently 1. (c), as in the following examples;

1. (a) বেটিছাওয়াটা ভাত আন্দে ।
 [beti^hçəwəjətə bʰat̪ a^hnd̪e]

³² RMW Dixon (1994:6) uses the symbol S= intransitive subject, A= transitive subject, O= transitive object.

Woman-CLF rice cook.PRS.SING

‘The woman cooks rice.’

- (b). মোর ছাওয়াকোনা একেলায় স্কুল যায়।

[mor c^haoya-kona ekelay iskul Jay]

My child-CLF alone school go.PRS.SING

‘My child goes to the school alone’

- (c) বেটিছাওয়াটা ছাওয়াকোনাক ভাত খোয়ায়।

[beti^chaoya-^ta c^haoya-kona-k b^ha^t k^hoyay]

Woman-CLF child-CLF-OBJ rice eat.CAUS.PRS.SING

‘The woman feeds (rice) the child’

- (d). নয়া কইনাটা ঢাক্সোটার তলোত কি যে নুকাইচে ?

[noya koina-^ta d^hekʃo-^ta-r ^tl-ot^t ki Je nuka-ice]

New girl-CLF box-CLF-GEN under-LOC what that hide-PERF-3rd.SING

‘The new bride has hidden something underneath the box’

Things can be more complicated due to the phenomenon of split ergativity. In 1. (d), it seems that the post-position /^tl/ তল ‘underneath’ is external to the Noun Phrase and needs further investigation, and this is beyond the scope of the present study. While discussing case and case markings, Masica (1991) talks of three kinds of layers- Layer-I, Layer-II and Layer-III. It seems that the post-position [^tl] তল will fall under layer-III. The layer-III elements are semantically regular and more specific. As Masica (1991) points out, “A Layer-III element is semantically more specific...Layer-III typically mediates such concepts as ‘on top of’, ‘under’, ‘behind’, ‘inside of’, ‘near’, etc”. Following Masica Layer-I “attach directly to the base, with morphophonemic adjustments which are occasionally complex” and Layer II ‘morphophonemic variation, while not entirely absent at Layer-II, tends to be simpler order than in Layer-I’. Though Bangla has layer-I general oblique marker [d] as in [c^heled^der] ছেলেদের ‘boys’ found in plural nouns, Rajbanshi does not have Layer-I elements and case markings are exclusively found in Layer-II and Layer-III (See App-III-I-Cases, Agreement, coindexing).

2.1.1.1. Nominative Case

The nominative case is a core grammatical function encompassing the S of intransitive clauses and the A of transitive clauses. In Bangla, NPs in nominative case are suffixed by [e-ra] PL.NOM.AN when the referent of the head noun is both plural and animate {Toulmin (2011: 111)}. Wilde (2009:108) points out that “the case marking system of Rajbanshi arranged on a nominative/accusative basis. The nominative case is unmarked, and it is used for the subject and complement in copula clauses.” In nominative 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns has an additional element /ra/ রা and also different stems [ham] হাম and [tom] তোম. (See App-III, A-3, H-1)

| 2. (a). SING | PLUR |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1 [mui] মুই ‘I’ | [ham-ra] হামরা ‘we’ |
| 2 [tui] তুই ‘you’ | [tom-ra] তোমরা ‘you’ |

According to Toulmin (2011:111), the marking of nominal plurality through a construction noun-GEN (-a) + ‘noun of multitude’ is well distributed in Magadhan lects and seems to be inherited from the proto Magadhan stage of linguistic history. The nominative case is unmarked in Rajbanshi. It is the main case for the subject of a sentence. Usually, nominative nouns (3.a and 3.b) and pronouns (3.c) appear at the beginning of a sentence.

3. (a) মাসরাটা কোস্টা নিলায়।

[maʃraʃa koʃʃa nɛlay]

Servant-CLF jute clean

The servant cleans up the jute-field.

(b) মংলু স্কুল যাওয়ার ধইরচে।

[mɔŋglu iʃkul jaoyar dhoirce]

Manglu school go- hold

Manglu is going to school

(c) মুই ভাত খাং।

[mui bʰaʈ kʰa-ŋ]

I. 1st.SING rice eat-PRSNT.1st. SING.

‘I eat rice’

2.1.1.2. Genitive Case

The genitive case marker is added to nouns (or pronouns) that modify other nouns. The genitive nouns often act as experiencer subjects in existential and impersonal structures. The genitive case has different allomorphs which depends on the ending of a noun. These are allomorphs [-r] , [er], [yer] ‘র, এর, য়ের’. If the stem ends with a vowel [-r] র is added (4.a) and if it ends with consonants [er] এর (4.b) or [yer] য়ের added. Two genitive markers can be found in an NP (4. c, d). (See Toulmin, 2012:113).

4. (a) [manʃi-la-r] মানষিলার

Human-PL-GEN

‘people’s’

(b) [am-er gɔc] আমের গচ

Mangoe-GEN tree

‘Mangoe tree’

(c) [nɔren-er gɔru-r gaʃi] নরেনের গরুর গাড়ি

Naren-GEN cow-GEN vehicle

‘Naren’s bullock cart’

(d) [mama-r gʰɔr-er ʃɔmi] মামার ঘরের জমি

Maternal uncle-GEN PL-GEN land

‘Maternal uncle’s land’ (associative)

The genitive case marker is attached after the classifier as for example in 4. (e);

(e) [cɔki-kʰan-er upura] চকিখানের উপুরা

Bed-CLF-GEN above

‘On the bed’

The VERB-INF-GEN has attributive and nominative functions in 4.(f);

(f) [haʃ mukʰ ɖʰoya-r ʃaga ace] হাত মুখ ধোয়ার জাগা আছে।

Hand mouth wash—INF-GEN place BE.PRES

‘Arrangement for washing hand, face.’

A handful of time and place adverbs retain the archaic genitive form by adding [-kar] কার to the base word. These items are often treated as lexical items frozen or fossilized which are stored in the mental lexicon of a speaker. (See App-III, G-1, 27, 28 & App-IV, A-1).

5. (a).

| Base word | Genitive | English Gloss |
|-------------|--------------------|--|
| [aiʃ] আইজ | [aiʃkar] আইজকার | ‘of today’ |
| [kail] কাইল | [kailkar] কাইলকার | ‘of yesterday/ tomorrow’ |
| [uɖin] উদিন | [uɖin-kar] উদিনকার | ‘of day before yesterday/ of day after tomorrow’ |

However, some temporal and place adverbs can take the productive [er/r] এর/র suffix (See APP-IV,a-1);

(b). [seɖin] সেদিন [seɖinkar] সেদিনকার ~ [seɖiner] সেদিনের ‘of that day’

2.1.1.3. Objective: (Accusative/ Dative)

There is no clear cut distinction between dative and accusative in Rajbanshi. The term used here is objective which marks both direct and indirect objects. With inanimate objects the case marking may be dropped in 6. (a) but in some sentences the case marker [-k] ক or [-ɔk/ok] অক/ওক is retained in 6.(b). (See App-III, B-4, H-2)

6. (a). [gɔrɔ-tʃa-k Joba de] গরুটাক জোবা দে ।

Cow-CLF-OBJ straw give.INF.PRES

‘Give straw to the cow’

(b). [penʃi-tʃa tʃo] পেন্টিটা থো ।

stick-CLF keep.PRS.2.INT

‘Keep aside the stick’

The dative-accusative cases has the following roles (a) it marks the recipient of a ditransitive verb, (b) it marks the object of a transitive verb if the referent is human, animate or discourse prominent and (c) it marks the logical subjects which may be experiencer. According to Masica (1991:365), “..its functions, however, are often more pragmatic than syntactic. That is in the case of non-human nouns, it stresses their patienthood, a marked status (human nouns normally being agents). In languages with other means of marking definiteness... the first of these functions is minimalised.” Abbi (2001: 129) points out that “one can classify languages in two broad categories; Nominative-accusative and Ergative-absolutive.... In Nominative-accusative systems, the subject of transitive and intransitive predicates are marked in a similar way while

the object is marked differently. In Ergative-absolutive systems, the subject of the transitive predicate is marked differently from the subject of the intransitive and object of the object of the transitive predicate that are marked similarly” (See Masica 1991, SKChatterji 1976, Abbi 2001). The dative-accusative case marking /k/ক is shown in 7. (a), (b), (c);

7. (a). মাস্টারটা ছাত্রলোক বই ফিরি দিচে ।

[maʃtar-ta cʰattro-la-k bɔi pʰire di-ce]

Teacher-CLF student-PL-OBJ book return give.PERF. 3

The teacher has returned books to the students

(b). চেংড়িটা চেংড়াটাক জুলজুল করি দেখে ।

[ceŋɽi-ta ceŋɽa-ta-k juljul kori dekʰe]

Girl-CLF boy-CLF-OBJ attentively do see.PRES.3

The girl looks at the boy attentively. (Drooling over)

(c). মোক ভোগ নাইগচে ।

[mɔk bʰog naigce]

I.SG-OBJ hungry get.PERF.

‘I am hungry’.

Contrary to this 7. (c), Bangla marks this kind of construction with the genitive as in 7. (d)

(d). আমার খিদে পেয়েছে ।

[amar kʰide peyecʰe]

I.SG-GEN hungry get

I am hungry.

According to Wilde (2009: 112), Personal pronouns are also marked with dative-accusative case when these functions as objects (See sections nominal paradigms 2.1.2.9.1.) as in 7. (e);

(e). তোক মুই কলা দেইম ।

[tɔk mui kɔla dɛi-m]

2sg.OBL.DAT I.1SG banana give-FUT.1sg

‘I will give you nothing.’

2.1.1.4. Locative Case

The locative case marks the physical or abstract positions, directions or processes (See App-III, B-5, G-6). The locative marker in Rajbanshi is /-t/ ত or /ɔt/ অত which depends on the stems.

If a word ends with a vowel sound /t/ ত is used and after consonant sounds /ɔt/ অত is used as in

8. (a), (b), (c);

8. (a). [andaru haɪ-ot ace] আন্দারু হাটোত আছে।

Andaru market-LOC is.AUC

‘Andaru is in the market.’

(b). হিমালয় পাহাড়ের নিজের বাড়িত বসিয়া মহাদেবের খুব চিন্তা।³³

[himalɔy pahaɪ-er niʃer baɪ-t bɔf-iyə məhadeber kʰub ciŋtə]

Himalaya mountain-GEN own-GEN house-LOC sit-PARTCMahadeb-GENvery think

‘Sitting at his own house in the Himalaya mountain, Mahadeb is very thoughtful.’

(c). চেংড়াটা চাংড়াখানত বসি আছে।

[çɛŋɽa-ta çəŋɽa-kʰan-ɔt bɔʃi ace]

Boy-CLF bed-CLF-LOC sit be.PRS

‘The boy is sitting on the bed.’

The locative marker is also found in the nominalised verb which conveys a particular action. Wilde (2010: 121) points out that the locative construction may collocate with verbs which portray spatial motion as in 9;

9. মানষিলা কাজের খোজোত বিদ্যাশ গেইল

[manʃi-la kaʃ-er kʰɔʃ-ot biɽəʃ ɡɛi-l]

Man-PL work-GEN search-LOC foreign go.PST

‘The people went to the foreign (different state) in search of work.’

³³ See Appendix-IV,a.

2.1.1.5. *The Instrumental*

The instrumental case marker in Rajbanshi is [-e] এ as for example in the following (10). There is distinction between this instrumental /e/ এ and emphatic clitic /e/ এ and also an adverbialiser /-e/ এ (See App-III, H-10, I-14, 15).

10. (a). মুই শেষ পযর্ন্ত মামীর হাতে খালুং ।

[mūi ʃɛʃ pɔrʃoŋto mami-r haɬ-e kʰa-l-uŋ]

I.SING end till maternal-aunt-GEN hand-LOC eat-PST-1SG

‘At last I have taken meal from maternal aunt’s hand.’

(b). রমেশ ভাল আচে।

[rɔmeʃ bʰal ace]

Ramesh good Be.PRS.1sg

‘Ramesh is good.’

(c) রমেশ ভাল আচে।

[rɔmeʃ bʰal-e ace]

Ramesh good-EMP/INST Be.PRS.1sg

‘Ramesh is fine.’

(d) তোমরাগিলা হাতে হাতে খাও ।

[tɔmra-gila haɬ-e haɬ-e kʰa-ɔ]

You-PL hand-EMPH REDUP-EMPH eat-PRS.2.PL

‘You (PL) eat in hands’

The instrumental post-position [ɖiya] দিয়া occurs after the head noun and if there is any specificity classifier in the noun phrase, the post position [ɖiya] দিয়া will occur after the classifier as in 10. (e);

(e) উমায় নাটি দিয়া সাঁপ মারিল ।

[umay naɖi diya ʃãp maril]

‘He killed a snake by a stick’

[hal-uya-ta penɖi-ta diya gɔruɖak ɖaŋgail]

‘The ploughman beat the cow with the stick’

2.1.1.6. *The Ablative Case*

The ablative post-position [tʰaki] থাকি and [hate] হাতে also occurs after the head noun and after optional specificity classifier (See App-III, I-13, 16);

11. (a) গচ থাকি আম পড়িল।

[gɔc tʰaki am pɔr-il]

Tree from mango fall-PST

‘The mango fell from the tree’

(b) দাওখান মাচাগড়ি হাতে আন।

[ɖaɔ-kʰan maca-gɔɽi hate an]

Knife-CLF cot-store from bring

‘Bring the knife from the cotstore’

The ablative post-position [tʰaki] থাকি is also used for comparative and superlative construction as in 11. (c);

(c). অমল কমলের চায়া/থাকি নম্বা।

[ɔmol kɔmoler caya/tʰaki beʃi nɔmba]

Amal Kamal-GEN COMP more tall

Amal is taller than Kamal.

2.1.1.7. *Locative postpositions*

The locative postpositions are given in 12. (C1) and these postpositions can also be used with the locative case marker /-ɔɽ or -t/ as in 12.(C2);

| 12. | C1 | C2 |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | [age] আগে ‘front’ | [ag-ɔɽ] অগোত ‘in front’ |
| | [pace] পাচে ‘behind’ | [pac-ɔɽ] পাচোত ‘(at) behind’ |
| | [upor] উপর ‘on’ | [upor-ɔɽ] উপোরত ‘on top’ |
| | [nic] নিচ ‘below’ | [nic-ɔɽ] নিচোত ‘(at) below’ |
| | [tɔl] তল ‘under’ | [tɔl-ɔɽ] তলোত ‘(at) under’ |
| | [bɔgol] বগল ‘nearby/close’ | [bɔgol-ɔɽ] বগলোত ‘(at) beside’ |

[bʰiːtor] ‘inside’

[bʰiːtoroɽ] ভিতরোত ‘(at) inside’

2.1.1.8. Directional postpositions

It refers to the direction of a particular location or an entity. The directional post-positions are given in 13;

13. (a) [bʰiːti] ভিত্তি ‘towards’; [ɽiya] দিয়া ‘towards’; [mukʰe] মুখে ‘towards’

(b) উমায় পূবমুখে চলি গেইল।

[umay **pub-mukʰe** coli geil]

S/he east-side move go.PRF..3rd

‘He has gone in east side or in east direction.’

2.1.1.9. Other postpositions

The following postpositions are used as in 14. (a), (b) and (c);

14. a. [ʃaːtʰe] সাথে ‘with’, [ʃoŋge] সঙে ‘with’, [bʰone] ভনে ‘with’

(b) তুই দীপির সাথে বাজার যা।

[tʰui ɽipi-r **ʃaːtʰe** baʃar Ja]

2.INT Dipi-GEN with market go.PRS.2.

‘You go to market with Dipi’

(c) তুই দীপি ভনে বাজার যা।

[tʰui ɽipi **bʰone** baʃar Ja]

2.INT Dipi-GEN with market go.PRS.2.

‘You go to market with Dipi’

The case forms of Rajbanshi is summarized in the table 2.2 below;

| Nominative | DAT-ACC | Genitive | Locative | Ablative | Instrumental |
|------------|---------|----------|----------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| ∅ | [-k-] ক | [-r-] র | [-t-] ত | [tʰaki] থাকি, [hate] হাতে | [e] এ, [diya] দিয়া |

Table.2.2 The case forms of Rajbanshi

2.1.2. Grammatical Numbers and plurality

According to Dixon (2010), there are three types of number systems are found in the languages of the world.³⁴ If we follow Dixon's classification (Dixon: 2010: 158) on number and number system, Rajbanshi falls in the first category.³⁵ Rajbanshi has two kinds of number, singular and plural. However, singular is unmarked and plural noun is marked by suffix *-/la/* লা, *-/gila/* গিলা, *-/gula/* গুলা, *-/gulan/* গুলান and *-/gilan/* গিলান etc. Rajbanshi nouns are also marked with definite marker *-/ta/* টা and classifier *-/kona/* কোনা, *-/khan/* খান [ʃɔn] জন and others. In the following sections, I would show how numbers are marked in Rajbanshi;

2.1.2.1. Plural markers

In Rajbanshi, the plural markers are [la] লা, [-gula] গু লা, [-gila] গিলা. According to Wilde (2009:57), "Number is marked on Rājbanshi nouns by the plural suffix -লা -la 'PL' which attaches directly to the right of the stem, and to the left of any possible case marking." The following examples of 15. (a) to (f) demonstrate the plural markers of Rajbanshi language;

15. (a) ছাড়িয়া ভিটা গেইচনু অটে যেটে মানষিলা পরবাস খাটে।³⁶

[cʰaɽ-iya bʰiʈa geiç-nu oʈe ʃeʈe manʃi-la pɔrbas kʰaʈe]

Leave-PERFland go-PST-1.SING there where man-PL foreign toil-3.PRSNT

'Having left my native place I went there where people live in a foreign land'

(b) পাকা ধানগিলা আউসি পৰি ছে।³⁷

[paka dʰan-gila auʃi pɔri.çʰe]

Ripe rice-PL fall fall.PERF

'The full grown rice has fallen'

(c) মাছুয়ালা যদি দ্যখে বিপদ হবার পায়।³⁸

³⁴According to Dixon: (2010:158), "The number systems of the following sizes are noticeable 1. A two term system, (Singular plural), is the most common, 2. A three term system, (singular, dual, plural), is well attested and 3. A four term system is not too uncommon. Most often the extra term is 'paucal', referring to 'a few'—{singular, dual, paucal, plural}. Sometimes, it does refer to three—{singular, dual, trial, plural}."

³⁶ See Barman, Abhijit. Satao. In Ghanti Phuler kotop.

³⁷ See ekal seka, udhasu ray, In Degar 4. P-144.

³⁸ See Mansuya, Niyoti, Taramohan Adhikary. P-69.

[mac^huya-**la** ꠠꠣꠣi ꠠꠢek^he bipoꠣ ꠠꠣbar pay]

Fisher-man-PL if see danger become get

‘If the fisherman sees there will be danger.’

(d). বাড়ি বাড়ি বিজিলা বাতিগিলা জলি উঠিল / ³⁹

[baꠣi baꠣi biꠣli baꠣi-**gila** ꠠꠣli uꠣ^hil]

House house electric lamp-PL light rise.PST

In every household electric lamps lit up.

(e) দালালগুলার অঠে থাকি বেশি দাম দিয়া দুইখান টিকিট কিনবে।

[ꠠꠢalal-**gula**-r oꠣe ꠣ^haki beꠣi ꠠꠢam ꠠꠢiya ꠠꠢui-k^han [ikiꠣ kinb-e]

Tout-PL-GEN there from much price give two-CL ticket buy-FUT.3.SING

‘From the touts (he) would buy two tickets in much higher price.’

(f) রাজবংশী বেটিছাওয়াগিলা এক সময় ফোতা গজি পিন্দিচিলো।⁴⁰

[raꠣbɔꠣꠣi beꠣiꠣ^hoꠣya-**gila** ek ꠣomoy p^hoꠣa gɔꠣi pinꠢicilo]

Rajbanshi woman-PL one time Phota shawl wear-PERF-3

‘There was a time, the Rajbanshi women wore Phota, shawls.’

2.1.2.2. Associative plural marker

The associate plural marker /-g^hɔr/ ঘর is used with genitive constructions only with the human nouns. It is important to note that Rajbanshi differs from Bangla while using this associate plural marker or also by use of classifiers. In Bangla /-ra/ রা is used to refer to member of a family or other in group or in family relation;

16. (a) [ꠠꠢoꠣꠣo-**ra** bangali] দত্তরা বাংলালী

Datta-PL Bengali

‘The Dattas are Bengali.’

In Rajbanshi, /-ra/রা is not found as associative plural marker instead /g^hɔr/ ঘর is used with the genitive constructions as in 16. (b);

³⁹ See Mansuya, Kanteshwari, Shashanka Barman. P-73.

⁴⁰ See Rajbanshi narir Pindibar Kapera, Dipok Kumar Roy, In Baghdhenuk, 6.

(b) নেতার ঘর খালি কথাত কাজোত নাই

[nɛt̪a-r-gʰɔr kʰali kɔt̪h̃a-t̪ kaʃ-oʈ̪ nai]

Leader-GEN-PL only words-LOC work-LOC NEG

‘The leaders are only good at words but not in works.’

(c). কাকার ঘর কোটে আছে ?

[kaka-r-gʰɔr koʈe ace] ?

Uncle-GEN-PL where BE

‘Where are uncles and his family (friends etc.)?’

Number system may include ‘associative’, which indicates a set of linked characteristics; as for example in English, ‘The Bacchans’ could refer to the whole Bacchan family or it may include in-laws, relatives and perhaps some intimate friends who have a different name. In Rajbanshi, this kind of associative meaning is expressed through a different kind of plural marker /gʰɔr/ ঘর. The marker /gʰɔr/ ঘর is added after genitive markers in 17. (a), (c), (d). However, there is a homophonous lexical item /gʰɔr/ঘর ‘room, dwelling place’ as in 17. (b).

17. a. মামার ঘর আইসচে কি?

[mama-r gʰɔr aiʃce ki] ?

Uncle-GEN PL come.PER what

Have Mamas and their families (maternal uncles) come?

It may be noted that the plural morpheme /gʰɔr/ ঘর is added only after the animate nouns. If it is attached with the inanimate nouns, the plurality is not expressed rather it only refers to the lexical item /gʰɔr/ ঘর, ‘house’ as in 17. (b).

(b) [puʈulɛr gʰɔr] পুতুলের ঘর ‘the doll house’, [t̪aʃɛr gʰɔr] তাসের ঘর ‘the card house/easily breakable’.

(c) হালুয়ার ঘর থুকুরা বেচি আলিত ভিড়া করি থোয়।⁴¹

[haluya-r gʰɔr t̪ʰukura beci aliʈ bʰiʈa kori t̪ʰoy]

ploughman-GEN PL garbage separate boundary pile do keep.PRS.3

‘The ploughmen separate the garbage and pile it up in the boundary’

⁴¹See Niyoti, In Monsuya, taramohan adhikary, P-162.

Four-CLF cow

‘Four cows’

(b) *[cair-ʈa gɔru-**la**] চাইরটা গরুলা

Four-CLF cow-PL

‘Four cows’

It is noticeable that in continuous speech, the aspirated /k^h/ খ may get deleted and the diphthongs of numeral [ɖui] দুই may be made monophthong [ɖu] দু and it sounds like [dukan] দুকান ‘two things’ as a single word as in 21. (e), (f). Once the numeral is added with the head noun, the plural marker cannot be added after that. The numeral is followed by the classifier [ʈa] টা which functions as definite. The classifier [ʈa] টা may be dropped. Numerals and classifier may follow the head noun; (See App-III, A-1, 3, 8; B-7, G-2 & App-III, A-4, D-3, H-4, I-9, 12).

21. (a). তিনটা ছাওয়ার মাও হলুং ।

[ʈin-ʈa c^haowar mao hɔ-l-uŋ]

Three-CLF child-GEN mother Be-PST-1sg

‘I have become mother of the three children’

b. তিন ছাওয়ার মাও হলুং ।

[ʈin c^haowar mao hɔluŋ]

Three child-GEN mother Be-PST-1sg

‘I have become mother of three children’

c. ছাওয়া তিনটাক ভাল করি মানুষ করা খাইবে ।

[c^haowa ʈintak b^hal kɔri manuʃ kɔra k^haibe]

‘I will have to look after three children’

d. তিনটা ছাওয়াক ভাল করি মানুষ করা খাইবে

[ʈin-ʈa c^haowak b^hal kɔri manuʃ kɔra k^hai-b-e]

‘I will have to look after three children’

e. [ɖu-kan hal] দুকান হাল

two-CLF

‘two pairs of oxen’

f. [hal d̥u-kan] হাল দুকান

pair two-CLF

‘two pairs of oxen’

g. [cair-ʈa bʰaʈ] চাইরটা ভাত

four-CLF rice

‘a little rice’

h. bʰaʈ cair-ʈa ভাত চাইরটা

rice four-CLF

‘a little rice’

2.1.2.4. Demonstrative and Plural marker

If the noun is modified by a demonstrative, the plural marker is found in the demonstrative as for example in 22. (a), (b), (c), (d), (e). The case marking is found in right side of the stem as in (c). Both the quantifier /ʃɔb/ সব ‘all’ and demonstrative /e/ এ modify the noun phrase, the plural marking is found on both words as in 22 (e).

22. (a). এইল্লা ধান ভাল

[ei-lla dʰan bʰal]

This.PROX-PL rice good

‘These rice are good.’

(b). ওইল্লা ধান বয়া

[ɔi-lla dʰan bɔya]

This.DIST-PL rice bad

‘Those rice are bad.’

(c). এইল্লা ধানের গচ হালি পইরচে ।

[ei-lla dʰan-er gɔc hali pɔir-ce]

This.PROX-PL rice-GEN tree bend fall-PRF-3PL

‘These saplings of rice have fallen ’

(d). এতলা ছাওয়া ছোটো নাই ক্যানে গুন ?⁴²

[ɛtto-la c^haowa c^hoʈo nai kene gun] ?

DEM-PL child-infant not why virtue

‘So many children but why are no good qualities entrusted upon them?’

(e). এইল্লা সবলায় জমি হামার

[ei-lla ʃɔb-la-y ʃɔmi- hamar]

This.PROX-PL every-PL-EMP land our

‘These all lands belong to us.’

Though it has been seen that either the demonstrative or the singular noun gets the plural marker, double plural markers are not permitted in this language as shown below in 23 (a);

23. (a) [ei-lla gɔru] এইল্লা গরু **b.** [ei-lla gɔru-la] এইল্লা গরুলা

DEM.PROX-PL cow

DEM.PROX-PL cow-PL

‘These cows’

‘These cows’

Masica (1991:225-226) points out “...the new agglutinative affixes, especially in the Eastern languages, tend to be optional. In those Eastern languages such as Bengali, with optional and no agreement, it is open to question whether number exists as an inflectional category, as distinct from a notion capable of facultative expression.” Wilde (2010:59) opines that the variety of Rajbanshi spoken in Nepal, “...noun classifier and plural marking is (usually) obligatory if the head noun is specific. If the head noun is generic the plural is not marked, even though plurality is implied”. In Rajbanshi, addition of classifier /tə/ টা makes the noun definite as in 24 (a);

24. (a) চেংড়াটা কোটে যায় ?

[ɕeŋɽa-tə kote Jay] ?

Boy-CLF where go-PRS. 3sg.

‘Where does the boy go?’

(b) [benci-la an] বেনচিলা আন ।

Bench-PL bring-IMP

‘Bring the benches’.

⁴² See Gitthanir utor, Ghonta phuler kotop, Abhijit Barman.

2.1.2.5. Reduplication, Plurality & collective words

The plural marking may be optional with non-human referents as in 25. (a), but it is obligatory in human referents as in 25. (b), (c). These are cases of partial reduplication and hence echo-formation as in 25.

25. (a). গরু টরুলা ঘর ঢুকাইচেন ?

[gɔru tɔru-(la) gʰɔr ghukai-cen] ?

Cow-REDUP-PL hose enter-3.HON.PER

‘Have (you) brought cows and etc. to the house’?

(b) চেংড়া টেংড়ালা ভাত খাইচে ?

[cɛŋɽa tɛŋɽa-la bʰaʈ kʰai-ce] ?

boy REDUP-PL rice eat-PERF. 3.PL

‘Have the boys and etc. eaten’?

(c). মাসি টাসির ঘর কোটে গেইচে ?

[maʃi taʃir gʰɔr koʈe gei-ce] ?

maternal-aunt REDUP-PL where go-PERF. 3PL

‘Where have maternal aunts and etc gone’?

The collective words in Rajbanshi [ʃʰak] ঝাক ‘flock’, [ɖam] দাম ‘group’, [ɖol] দল ‘group’ etc. are reduplicated as in the following 26. (a), (b), (c);

26. (a). ঝাকে ঝাকে পকি পরে ।

[ʃʰake ʃʰake pɔki pɔre]

Flock REDUP- bird fall.PRS

‘The flocks of birds fall ’

(b). চোরলা দামে দামে গরু পাচার করে ।

[corla ɖame ɖame gɔru pacar kɔre]

Thief-PL group REDUP pass do.PRS

‘The thieves pass the herd of cows to other side.’

(c). দলে দলে মানষি যায়

[ɖole ɖole manʃi Jay]

Group REDUP people go.PRS

‘The people go in groups.’

2.1.2.6. Compound words and Plurality

It is found that plural marking on compound words is obligatory if the compound is specific (human and animate) as in 27.(a) and (b). In some cases, we would also find that it is ungrammatical if the reference is inanimate but optional as in 27. (d);

27. (a). হামার গরু বাছুরলা না পাথারোত আচে।⁴³

[hamar **gɔru bac^hur-la** na pa^harot ace]

Our cow calf-PL TAG outside BE

‘Our cows and calves are grazing outside’.

(b). মোর ভাই বইনির ঘর খিব ভাল।

[mor **b^hai b^oinir g^hor** k^hib b^hal]

my brother sister-GEN PL very good

‘My brothers and sisters are very good’.

(c). তুই মোক ভাত কাপোড়লা কি দিয়ার পাবু ?

[t^hui mok **b^hat kapo^r-la** ki dⁱyar pabu?]

[you I.DAT rice clothe-PL give-GEN can-FUT-1sg]

‘Can you provide me maintenances?’

(d). মোর জমি জমালা কায় খাইবে?

[mor **J^omi J^oma-(la)** kay k^haibe] ?

My land savings -(PL) who eat-FUT-3rd.sg

‘Who will look after my possessions?’

2.1.2.7. Agreement and Plurality

Adjectives are not marked for plurality in Rajbanshi however verb is inflected differently when different persons are used as shown in the following Table 2.3.

⁴³ See Monsuya, Niyoti by Taramohan Adhikary, p-67.

| No | Singular | Plural |
|----|--|--|
| 1 | [mui Jan] মুই যাং 1.SG go.PRS.1.SG 'I go' | [hamra Jai] হামরা যাই 1.PL go.PRS.1.PL. 'We go' |
| 2 | [tui Ja] তুই যা You. INT go 'You go' | [tomra Jao] তোমরা যাও You.INT go 'you. (pl) go' |
| | [tomra Jao] তোমরা যাও You.HON go 'You go' | [tomra gila Jao] তোমরাগিলা যাও You.HON.PL go 'You.(pl) go' |
| 3 | [iyay Jay] ইয়ায় যায় He/she.PROX go.PRS.3.SG 'S/he goes' | [imiragila Jay] ইমিরাগিলা যায় They-PL go.PRS.3.SG 'S/he goes' |

Table.2.3 Agreement and plurality

2.1.2.8. Abstract and uncountable nouns:

Abstract and uncountable nouns do not take plural forms in English. As for example, *honesty*, *hope*, *hatred*, *poverty* and uncountable nouns *water*, *oil*, *sugar* are not pluralized. But in Rajbanshi, both abstract and uncountable nouns can be pluralized. Most abstract nouns are mass nouns in that they do not show the number distinction as in 28.(c), whereas most concrete nouns are count nouns and are inflected for number as in 28. (a), (b);

28. (a) জলগুলা নোংড়া ।

[ʃɔl-gula noŋɽa]

Water-PL dirty

‘The dirty water(s).’

(b) ত্যাললা ঢাল

[tʃɔl-la dʰal]

Oil-PL pour

‘(You)Pour oil(s)’

(c) মোর অশালা ভংগো হইল ।

[mor aʃa-la bʰɔŋgo hoil]

I.GEN hope-PL break be.PST

‘My hope(s) are shattered’.

2.1.2.9. Case Markings and Number System

It has been noted that Rajbanshi employs various means to express plurality. The plural markers are [la] লা, [gila] গিলা, [gula] গুলা [gilan] গিলান whereas [la] লা plural morpheme seems to be used more frequently. Word formation processes whether derivational or inflectional have to undergo different constraints in a language. These constraints are phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatics. It can block the occurrence of a new word or word forms. As for example, In English, phonological constraint can block *sillyly* as an adverb because the adjective *sily* ends with -ly sound, and hence, these sequences [li-li] may not be permitted by English phonotactics. Toulmin (2012) points out that Rajbanshi does not permit CCC clusters medially in a syllable and hence /g/ is deleted and only [la] লা plural morpheme occurs as in [kitap-gla] কিতাপ-গলা.

Human nouns rarely take locative case markers. In some cases, non-human nouns in the objective case remains affix-free, the objective case marker will be used if the speaker desires emphasis or disambiguation. In human and non-human nouns, case markers follow the classifier and it attaches to the stem according to the allomorphy rules. The objective case markings for non-human nouns with stem forms, and with case marking are shown below in Table 2.4;

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|---|--|
| Singular nouns | [cɛŋra] চেংড়া 'boy' | [digi]দিগি 'pond' | [hatti] হাতি 'elephant' | [tʰɛŋ]ঠ্যাং 'leg' | [cɔuk] চউক 'eye' |
| Nominative | [cɛŋra] চেংড়া | [digi] দিগি | [hatti] হাতি | [tʰɛŋ] ঠ্যাং | [cɔuk] চউক |
| Objective | [cɛŋra-k] চেংড়াক [cɛŋra-ʈa-k] চেংড়াটাক [cɛŋra] চেংড়া | [digi-k] দিগিক [digi-ʈa-k] দিগিটাক [digi] দিগি | [hatti-k] হাতিক [hatti-ʈa-k] হাতিটাক [hatti] হাতি | [tʰɛŋ-ok] ঠ্যাংগোক [tʰɛŋ-ʈa-k] ঠ্যাংটাক [tʰɛŋ] ঠ্যাং | [cɔuk-ok] চউকোক [cɔuk-ʈa-k] চউকটাক [cɔuk] চউক |
| Genitive | [cɛŋra-r] চেংড়ার [cɛŋra-ʈa-r] চেংড়াটার | [digi-r] দিগির [digi-ʈa-r] দিগিটার | [hatti-r] হাতির [hatti-ʈa-r] হাতিটার | [tʰɛŋ-er] ঠ্যাংগের [tʰɛŋ-ʈa-r] ঠ্যাংটার | [cɔuk-er] চউকের [cɔuk-ʈa-r] চউকটার |
| Locative | ----- | [digi-ʈ] দিগিত [digi-ʈa-ʈ] দিগিটাত | [hatti-ʈ] হাতিত [hatti-ʈa-ʈ] হাতিটাত | [tʰɛŋ-oʈ] ঠ্যাংগোত [tʰɛŋ-ʈa-ʈ] ঠ্যাংটাত | [cɔuk-oʈ] চউকোত [cɔuk-ʈa-ʈ] চউকটাত |

Table.2.4 The case markers in humans and non-humans nouns

(b). Plural nouns

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|--|
| Plural Nouns | [çeŋʈi-la] চেংড়িলা | [neʈa-la] নেতালা | [kamla-la] কামলালা | [b ^h ũi-la] ভুঁইলা [b ^h ũi-gula] ভুঁইগুলা 'lands' | [çoki-la] চকিলা [çoki-gula] চকিগুলা 'beds' |
| | [çeŋʈi-gula] চেংড়িগুলা | [neʈa-gula] [neʈar-g ^h ɔr] 'leaders' | [kamla-gula] কামলাগুলা [kamla-r-g ^h ɔr] কামলার ঘর 'labourers' | | |
| | [çeŋʈir-g ^h ɔr] চেংড়ির ঘর 'girls' | | | | |
| Nominative | [çeŋʈi-la] চেংড়িলা | [neʈa-la] নেতালা | [kamla-la] কামলালা | [b ^h ũi-la] ভুঁইলা [b ^h ũi-gula] ভুঁইগুলা | [çoki-la] চকিলা [çoki-gula] চকিগুলা |
| | [çeŋʈi-gula] চেংড়িগুলা | [neʈa-gula] নেতাগুলা | [kamla-gula] কামলাগুলা | | |
| | [çeŋʈir-g ^h ɔr] চেংড়ির ঘর | [neʈar-g ^h ɔr] নেতার ঘর | [kamla-r-g ^h ɔr] কামলার ঘর | | |
| Objective | [çeŋʈi-la-k] চেংড়িলাক | [neʈa-la-k] নেতলাক | [kamla-la-k] কামলালাক | [b ^h ũi-la] ভুঁইলা [b ^h ũi-gula] ভুঁইগুলা [b ^h ũi-la-k] ভুঁইলাক [b ^h ũi-gula-k] ভুঁইগুলাক | [çoki-la] চকিলা [çoki-gula] চকিগুলা [çoki-la-k] চকিলাক [çoki-gula-k] চকিগুলাক |
| | [çeŋʈi-gula-k] চেংড়িগুলাক | [neʈa-gula-k] নেতাগুলাক | [kamla-gula-k] কামলাগুলাক | | |
| | [çeŋʈir-g ^h ɔr-ok] চেংড়ির ঘরোক | [neʈar-g ^h ɔr-ok] নেতার ঘরোক | [kamla-r-g ^h ɔr-ok] কামলার ঘরক | | |
| Genitive | [çeŋʈi-la-r] চেংড়িলার | [neʈa-la-r] নেতালার | [kamla-la-r] কামলালার | [b ^h ũi-la-r] ভুঁইলার [b ^h ũi-gula-r] ভুঁইগুলার | [çoki-la-r] চকিলার [çoki-gula-r] চকিগুলার |
| | [çeŋʈi-gula-r] চেংড়িগুলার | [neʈa-gula-r] নেতাগুলার | [kamla-gula-r] কামলাগুলার | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | [ceŋʈir-gʰər-er] চেংড়ির ঘরের | [neʈar-gʰər-er] নেতার ঘরের | [kamla-r-gʰər-er] কামলার ঘরের | | |
| Locative | - | --- | -- | [bʰũi-la-t̚] ভুইলাত ভুইলাত | [cɔki-la-t̚] চকিলাত চকিলাত |
| | | | | [bʰũi-gula-t̚] ভুইগুলাত ভুইগুলাত | [cɔki-gula-t̚] চকিগুলাত চকিগুলাত |

Table.2.5 The plural markings and case markers

Affixes are bound elements and their position in a word is fixed. In other words, if we move the position of an affix to another position, it will result into an ungrammatical word. In Rajbanshi, we had seen, that the position of affixes can be moved in an NP. Whether these elements are treated as affixes or clitics is debateable. In the following examples 29. (a), the genitive marker [r] র্ is added after the head noun but in 29. (b) the same genitive is added after the classifier [ʈa] টা;

29. (a). হরির বক্তব্যটা দেশি আর ইংরাজীত আছিলো ।

[hɔri-r bɔktɔkbo-ʈa ʈeʃi ar iŋraʃi-t̚ aci-l-o]

Hari-3SG.GEN speech-CLF local and English-LOC Be. PST.3. NON-HON

‘Hari’s speech was in local (Rajbanhsi) and English language.’

(b) গরুর কান দুইটাত ঘাউয়া হইছে ।

[gɔru-ʈa-r kan ɖui-ʈa-t̚ gʰauya hɔice]

Cow-CLF-GEN ear two-CLF-LOC ulcer be.PRS

‘There are ulcers in the cow’s both ears.’

These morphemes are not so free that they can be termed as clitics because they do not have an independent status in the language. So, what should we call them as affixes or clitics? I would refer them as nominal markers and under the theoretical hindsight of Construction Grammar (See Chapter-III) and Construction Morphology (See Chapter-IV), I would prefer to call them as nominal constructions.

2.1.3. Grammatical Class (Classifiers)

Talmy (1992:131) points out that languages “generally subcategorize nouns grammatically along with certain semantic parameters.” Greenberg (1978:78) explains why nouns get the classifiers, “It is the noun par excellence which gives rise to classificational systems of syntactic relevance. It is not so much that the noun designates persisting entities as against actions or temporary states. It is that nouns are continuing discourse subjects and are therefore in constant need of referential devices of identification.” Many languages use specific classifying morphemes—so-called classifiers for the classification of their nouns. In these languages, nominal referents are classified according to specific characteristics of their referents which is based on semantic principles and results in the ordering of objects, living beings, concepts, actions, and events (Senft 2007: 680). According to Alaun (1977:288), A classifier concatenates with quantifier, locative, demonstrative, or predicate to form a nexus that cannot be interrupted by the noun which it classifies.

In Rajbanshi, the noun classifier is marked when the noun is singular, and the plural noun is same across all noun classes. The singular noun classifiers are [tʰa] টা, [kʰan] খান, [kɔna] কোনা, and [ʃʰɔn] ঝন. According to Toulmin (2010:126), “Classifiers /tʰa/ টা and /kʰan/ খান may occur in one of three positions in the noun phrase in MH: postnumeral, postdeterminer or postnominal (in that order of priority). The human classifier /ʃʰɔn/ জন is only permitted in the post-numeral position in MH.” There are differences between proper classifiers and quantifiers as pointed out by Senft (2007:681), classifiers classify a noun inherently, i.e. they designate and specify semantic features inherent to the nominal denotatum and divide the set of nouns of a certain language into disjunct classes whereas quantifiers classify a noun temporarily. In other words, they can be combined with different nouns in a rather free way and designate a specific characteristics feature of a certain noun that is not inherent to it. I would briefly look at Rajbanshi classifiers below;

2.1.3.1. The classifier [-tʰa] টা

The classifier [-tʰa] টা can be said to be the default singular marker in all types of nouns- animate or inanimate (See App-III-A-1,3,8; App-III-B-7 & App-III-G-2). It also expresses definiteness as in the following;

30. [gɔru-tʰa gʰaʃ kʰai] গরুটা ঘাস খাইল।

Cow-CLF grass eat-PST

The cow ate grass.

2.1.3.2. *The classifier [-k^han]* খান

It can be added with flat object or things. (See App-III-A-4, D-3, H-4, I-9,12)

31. (a) [piʃa-k^han niya ay] পিড়াখান নিয়া আয়।

Sit-CLF bring come

‘Bring the sit (stool)’

The classifier [tʃa] টা and [k^han] খান used with singular nouns but can be added after numerals as for example in 31. (b), (c);

[b]. [dʃk^han piʃa] দশ খান পিড়া

Ten-CLF sit

Ten sits (a kind of stool)

(c) [ponoro-tʃa ɔʃru] পোনোরোটা গরু

Fifteen-CLF cow

‘Fifteen cows’

2.1.3.3. *The classifier [ʃ^hɔn/ʃɔn]* বন/জন

The human classifier [ʃ^hɔn/ʃɔn] বন/জন is also used after the numerals as for example 32. (a), (b); (See App-III-D-6).

32. (a) [ɛkʃ^hɔn manʃi] একবন মানষি

One-CLF man

‘A man’

(b) [tʃinʃɔn ceŋtʃa] তিনবন চেংড়া

Three-CLF boy

‘Three boys’

(c) [lokʃ^hɔn] লোকজন

Person-CLF

‘People’

(d) [kɔy-ʃ^hɔn manʃi] কয়বন

How many person

‘How many people’

2.1.3.4. The classifier [kona] কোনা

The classifier [kona] কোনা is prevalent in Rajbanshi. It is added after the numerals as in 33. (a) and after the noun 33. (b), (c);

33. (a) [t̪in kona d̪ãt̪] তিন কোনা দাঁত

Three CLF tooth

‘Three teeth’

(b). [ɔi manʃi kona paʃi ace] ওই মানষিকোনা পাজী আছে।

That man-CLF naughty Be.PRS

‘That man is illnatured.’

(c). [pɔreʃ-er beʃi kona kʰub calak] পরেশের বেটিকোনা খুব চালাক।

Paresh-GEN daughter CLF very clever

‘Paresh’s daughter is very clever.’

The classifier [kona] কোনা has the variant [kuna] কুনা as in the following 33. (d);

(d) [micca dukuna] মিচা দুকুনা

Little two-CLF

‘A very little’

2.1.3.5. The plural classifier /gula/ গুলা, /gila/ গিলা, /la/ লা

It is added with both singular countable and noncountable nouns. This is the most productive plural markers which also occurs with human nouns as in 34.. It has variants depending upon the geographical locations. (See Section 2.1.2.1.; example.15)

34. [ɔi manʃi-la bɔya] ওই মানষিলা বয়া

That person-PL bad

‘Those people are bad’

2.1.3.6. The plural classifier /g^hɔr/ ঘর

The associate plural marker /-g^hɔr/ ঘর is used with genitive constructions with the human nouns only. Rajbanshi differs from Bangla while using this associate plural marker or classifier. (See Chapter-IV-4.1.2.2). If we look at the following table 2.6, we would find the differences between Bangla and Rajbanshi plural markers;

| Rajbanshi | Bangla |
|---|--|
| (a) [cɛŋɽa- t̪a] চেংড়াটা boy-CLF 'the boy' | (i) [c ^h eɛle- t̪i] ছেলেটি boy-CLF 'the boy' |
| (b) [cɛŋɽa- la] চেংড়াল/[cɛŋɽa- gula] চেংড়াগুলা/ [cɛŋɽa- r g^hɔr] চেংড়ার ঘর boy-PLUR 'boys' | (ii) [c ^h eɛle- ra] ছেলেরা boy-PLUR.ANIM.HUMAN 'boys' |
| (c). [cɛŋɽa- t̪a-r ^h ɛŋ] চেংড়াটার ঠ্যাং boy-CLF-GEN leg 'the boy's leg' | (iii) [c ^h eɛle- t̪i-r pa] ছেলেটির পা boy-CLF-GEN leg 'the boy's leg' |
| (d). [cɛŋɽa- la-r ^h ɛŋ] চেংড়ালার ঠ্যাং / [cɛŋɽa- gila- r ^h ɛŋ] চেংড়াগিলার ঠ্যাং Boy-PL-GEN leg 'the boys's leg' | (iv) [c ^h eɛle- ɽ-er pa] ছেলেদের পা boy-OBL.PL.AN-GEN leg 'the boys's leg' |

Table.2.6 Rajbanshi and Bangla plural markers

The Noun Classifiers of Rajbanshi are summarized below in 35;

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------|------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 35. | Singular | -t̪a টা | -k ^h an খান | [ʃɔn/ʃ ^h ɔn] জন/ বন | [kɔna]/[kuna] কানা/কুনা |
| | Plural | -la লা | [g ^h ɔr] ঘর | | |

For singular specificity classifier, Bangla has [-ta,টা -ti], [k^han]খান, [k^hani]খানি mostly conditioned by semantic factors. The classifier [-ti] টি and [-k^hani] খানি are considered as diminutive forms in Bangla (Dasgupta 2003). We could also find some lexical items in 36. (a)-(e) which also inherently qualifies some nouns. They can be categorised as classifiers but need further discussion.

36. (a) [dum] ডুম ('straight and heavy piece')

গচের ডুমটা চিড়ি ফালাও

[gɔc-er **dum**-ta ciʈi p^hɛlaɔ]

Tree-GEN piece cut throw.2.INT

'Cut the piece of the tree'

(b) [t^hum] তুম 'round and oval shape piece'

পাঠার তুমা খাইতে ভাল নাগে।

[paʈar **t^huma** k^haite b^hal nage]

He-goat piece eat good get

'Piece of mutton tastes good'

(c) [p^hala] ফালা 'piece, flat object'

বাম্বুর ফালাখান কোটে থুচিস ?

[baʃe-r **p^halak^han** koʈe t^huciʃ]?]

Bamboo-GEN piece-piece where keep.PERF.2.INT

'Where have you kept the piece of a bamboo?'

(d) [kona] কানা 'corner' 'associated with place'

তোমরা কোটেকানা যান ?

[tomora koʈe**kona** Jan]?

You.HON where.CLF go.PRS.HON

'Where do you go?'

(e) [bari] বাড়ি 'field, place' as in

[paʈa **baʈi**] পাটা বাড়ি, 'Jute field' [ʃak **baʈi**] শাক বাড়ি 'vegetable field' etc.

2.1.4. Pronominals

Pronominals in Rajbanshi can be divided broadly in two categories personal pronominals and non-personal pronominals. Here are some personal pronominals presented below in Table 2.7;

| Pronoun | SING | PLUR |
|---------|--|---|
| 1 | [mui] মুই 'I' | [hamra] হামরা 'We' |
| 2 | [tui] তুই 'You' -Hon [tomra] তোমরা 'you+Hon' | [tomra] তোমরা 'You' [tomra-gila] তোমরাগিলা 'You. PL' |
| 3 | [imay] ইমায় 's/he+Prox' [umay] উমায় 's/he +Dis' | [imiragila] ইমিরাগিলা 'they'+prox [umuragila] উমুরাগিলা 'they'+dis |

Table.2.7 Rajbanshi personal pronouns

The third person pronouns have many variants depending on its geographical locations as for example [inay] ইনায় 's/he+Prox' and [unay] উনায় 's/he+Dis' are found frequently near Jalpaiguri and Alipuduyar. It is noteworthy to mention that these forms are well defined in paradigmatic relations than in syntagmatic axis. Besides these third person pronouns, non-personal pronominals i.e. the proximal [ε-], the distal [ɔ-], the relative [J-], and the interrogative [k-] also participate in paradigmatic relations. These forms [ε-, ɔ-, k-, J-] do not exist independently, their existence is always defined in relation to the other forms. I would discuss these constructions in Chapter-V.

2.1.4.1. First Person Pronoun

The first person singular nominative pronoun is [-mui] মুই and the singular oblique form is [-mo] মো as shown below in 37;

| 37. SG.NOM | PL.NOM | SG.GEN | PL.GEN | SG.OBL | PL.OBL |
|------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|--------|
| মুই | হামরা | মোর | হামার | মো | হামা |
| [mui] | [hamra] | [mor] | [hamar] | [mo-] | [hama] |

2.1.4.2. Second Person Pronouns

Bangla has three way distinctions in second person pronouns [tui] তুই ‘intimate’; [tumi] তুমি ‘neutral’; and [apni] আপনি ‘honorific’. Rajbanshi has two way distinctions [tui] তুই ‘intimate’ and [tomora] তোমরা ‘honorific’. For honorific, second person plural (NOM) form is used to refer to the honorific singular nominative form. This is a distinct characteristic of Rajbanshi which is different from Bangla. The second person pronouns and its case forms are given below 38;

38. (a)

| SG.NOM | PL.NOM | SG.GEN | PL.GEN | SG.OBL | PL.OBL |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| [tui] তুই | [tomra] তোমরা | [tor] তোর | [tomar] তোমার | [to-] তো | [toma-] তোমা |
| [tomra] তোমরা | [tomrala] তোমরালা | [tomar] তোমার | | [tomare] তোমারে | ----- |

(b) [tui kote Jai] তুই কোটে যাইস ?

You.SING.INT where go.PRS.2.INT

‘Where do you go?’

(c) [tomora kote Jan] তোমরা কোটে যান ?

You.NOM.SG.HON where go-PRSNT-2.NOM.SIG. HON

‘Where do you go?’

2.1.4.3. Third Person Pronouns

The distinctions on third person is maintained on account of +/- proximate. Rajbanshi has proximate forms and distal forms in Third persons which are shown in 39.

| 39. | SG.NOM | PL.NOM | SG.GEN | PL.GEN | SG.OBL | PL.OBL |
|-------------|---------------|--------|--------|---------|--------|--------|
| PROX | ইয়ায়, ইমায় | ইমিরা | ইমার | ইমারলার | ই- | ইমা |
| | iyay, imay | imira | imar | imarlar | i- | ima- |
| DIST | উয়ায় | উমায় | উমার | উমারলার | উ- | উমা |
| | uyay, umay | umura | umar | umarlar | u- | uma- |

2.1.4.4. *Interrogative Pronouns*

The interrogative pronoun [ki] কি ‘what’ with its case forms are shown in 40. (a).

| 40. (a) Case | Singular | Plural |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Nominative | [ki] কি | [ki ki] কি কি |
| Objective | [ki] কি | [ki ki] কি কি |
| Genitive | [kifer] কিসের | [kifer kifer] কিসের কিসের |

The interrogative pronoun [kay] কায় ‘who’ is given in 40. (b), (c), (d). The redudlication of the pronoun brings plurality as for example in 40. (c) and (d);

(b) [kay] কায়

INT.SG.NOM

‘who’

(c) [kay kay] কায় কায়

INT.PL.NOM

‘who all’

(d) [kay haṭ jay] ? কায় হাট যায় ?

Who.SG.NOM market go-PRST.

‘who goes to the market’?

(e) [kay kay haṭ jay] ? কায় কায় হাট যায় ?

Who who market go-PRST

‘Who all go to the market’?

2.1.4.5. *Relative and correlative pronouns*

The relative and correlative pronoun /Ja/ যা, /ṭa/ তা (+/- honorific) are shown in Table 2.8;

| Case | Singular | | Plural | |
|------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Relative | Correlative | Relative | Correlative |
| Nominative | [Jay] যায় | [ṭay] তায় | [Jay Jay] যায় যায় | [ṭay ṭay] তায় তায় |

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Objective | [Jak] যাক [ɬak] তাক | [Jak Jak] যাক যাক [ɬak ɬak] তাক তাক |
| Genitive | [Jar] যার [ɬar] তার | [Jar Jar] যার যার [ɬar ɬar] তার তার |

Table.2.8 Relative and correlative pronoun

The relative and correlative non-human pronouns are [Ja], [ɬa] [fe] as in Table 2.9;

| Case | Singular | | Plural | |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------|--|--|
| | Relative | Correlative | Relative | Correlative |
| Nominative | [Ja] যা | [ɬa] তা | [Ja Ja] যা যা [ʒegula] যেগুলো [ʒeilla] যেইল্লা | [ɬa ɬa] তা তা [ʒegula] সেগুলো [ʒeilla] সেইল্লা |
| Objective | [Jak] যাক | [ɬak] তাক | [ʒegulak] যেগুলোক [ʒeillak] যেইল্লাক | [ʒegula-k] সেগুলোক [ʒeillak] সেইল্লাক |
| Genitive | [Jar] যার | [ɬar] তার | [ʒegular] যেগুলার [ʒeillar] যেইল্লার | [ʒegular] সেগুলার [ʒeillar] সেইল্লার |

Table.2.9 The relative and correlative nonhuman pronouns

Here are some examples of relative-correlative pronouns in 41.

41. (a) যায় এই দুনিয়াত নাই তায় কি প্যাটের ভোগ বুঝে ?

[Jay ei ɖuniya-t nai ɬay ki
 CMPL.NOM this world-LOC is.not COR-3SG.NOM what
 pɛɬ-er b^hog buJ^h-e] ?
 stomach-GEN hunger understand-3SG.PRSN

‘How can the person who is not present in this world understand hunger?’

(b) যার যার বিয়াও বাড়ি আইসার কথা আছিল তায় তায় আইসচে কি?

[Jar Jar biyar baɾi aiɬar kɔt^ha acilo ɬay ɬay aiɬce ki]?

REL.PL.GEN marriage house come words be.PRF COR-PL>EMPH come.PRF what
 ‘Those who are supposed to attend in the marriage ceremony have they come’

2.1.4.6. *Temporal Pronominals*

Here are temporal proximate pronouns in 42. (a) and distal pronoun in 42. (b) presented below;

42. (a) তুই কি করিস এলা ?

[tʰui ki kɔriʃ ɛla]

You.SG.INT what do.PERF now

‘what did you do now’

(b) মিঠুন সেলা কোটে গেইচিলো ?

[mi^hun ʃɛla kɔtɛ geicilo]?

Mithun then where go-PERF

‘Where did Mithun go then’

(c) গিরিটা কোনবেলা বাড়ি যাইবে ?

[giriʈa konbɛla bari Jaibe]

Master when home go-FUT

‘When will the master go home?’

2.1.4.7. *Reflexive pronouns*

In Rajbanshi, reflexive pronouns do not distinguish persons. The same forms are used for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person. Even for the honorific [tɔmar] তোমার, the same form /niJe/ নিজে is used. The case markings are found with the reflexive pronouns, the locative case marking is not noticeable, given the rarity of locative case affixes on human nouns as in 43. (a) and other examples are shown in 43. (b) – (f).

| 43. (a) Case | Singular | Plural |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Nominative | [niJe] নিজে | [niJe niJe] নিজে নিজে |
| Objective | [niJeke] নিজেকে | [niJeke niJeke] নিজেকে নিজেকে |
| Genitive | [niJer] নিজের | [niJer niJer] নিজের নিজের |

(b) মুই নিজে রাজবংশী ।

[mui niJe raʃbɔŋʃi]
1.SG.NOM self Rajbanshi

‘I am Rajbanshi myself.’

(c) ওইটা উমার নিজের গরু ।

[ɔi-ʈa umar niJeR gɔru]
3.SG-CLF 3.SG.GEN self-GEN cow

‘That’s his/her own cow’.

(d) মানিকের বড় বেটিটা নিজের পড়া নিজে পড়ে ।

[manik-er bɔɽo beʈi-ʈa niJeR pɔɽa niJe pɔɽ-e]
Manik-GEN big daughter-CLF self-GEN reading self read.PRSN.3.NONH

‘The elder daughter of Manik, studies her lesson by herself’

(e) মুই সবজী কাইটতে কাইটতে নিজের কানি নগলটা কাটি ফেলালুং ।

[mui ʃɔbʃi kait-ʈe kait-ʈe niJeR kani nɔgul-ʈa kaʈi pʰela-luŋ]
I.SG.NOM Vegetable cut cut self-GEN corner finger cut. Throw.PRF. 1.SG

‘While cutting vegetables I have cut my little finger’.

(f) ভুট্টুর ঘর নিজে নিজে তামাউক খান গাডিল ।

[bʰuʈʈu-r gʰɔr niJe niJe ʈamauk-kʰan gaʈil]
Bhuttu-GEN PL self self tobacco-CLF plant.PST.3rd.NonHOn

‘Bhutto and his family have planted the tobacco by themselves’.

2.1.5. Gender and Gender Markings

Gender is a category of morphosyntactic properties which distinguish classes of nominal lexemes: for each such class of lexemes, there is a distinct set of inflectional markings for agreeing words. In many languages, a noun's gender is overtly expressed only through the inflection of agreeing words. Many languages exhibit grammatical gender—every noun is marked as masculine, feminine and neuter. Swahili distinguishes grammaticality between ‘human’, ‘thin, extended objects’, ‘extended body parts,’ ‘abstract qualities’, ‘animals and among others’. The determination of feminine and masculine gender itself is not fixed on some biological criteria, or on gender specific entities. It is not entirely motivated by biology, it may be motivated by social roles—and how the speech community perceive an entity whether as

male or female. Every language community perceives its world differently and thus decides what should be referred to as masculine and what as feminine or neuter.

While working on the reconstructions on KRDS lects Toulmin (2011:107) points out that “..gender is not an inflectional category and hence does not figure in this reconstruction.” But if we look at the following Rajbanshi examples some nouns have inherent phonological endings of which we can qualify the noun as masculine and feminine. Rajbanshi has borrowed many words from Sanskritized sources which may have some remnants of gender markings. Rajbanshi nouns do not have gender distinctions, but some remnants may show it in the final vowels as for example /i/ ই endings for Feminine (female) and /a/ আ or consonant endings are masculine (male). This distinction of biological sex as male and female not only found in human beings but also in non-humans. According to Corbett (1991, 1993), the number of genders in a language is determined by the types of agreement.⁴⁴ Steele (1978: 585-623) refers to some “syntactic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another.”

2.1.5.1 Gender Markings on Human nouns

Generally, the /a/ আ or consonantal endings nouns are masculine and /i/ ই endings nouns are feminine as for instance in 2.10;

| Masculine | Gloss | Feminine | Gloss |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|---|
| [ceŋʈa] চ্যাংড়া | ‘boy’ | [ceŋʈi] চেংড়ি | ‘girl’ |
| [kana] কানা | ‘male blind person’ | [kani] কানি | ‘female blind person’ or wife of a blind |
| [buʈa] বুড়া | ‘old person’ | [buʈi] বুড়ি | ‘old person’ |
| [banʈa] বাংড়া | ‘short height person’ | [banʈi] বাংড়ি | ‘short height person’ |

⁴⁴ The term ‘agreement’ is discussed by Matthews (1977:12), Steele (1978:167), Lehman (1982:203), Durie (1986) and among others.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|
| [dʌŋrʌ] ডাংড়া | ‘one who has large cheek,nose, extended teeth’ | [dʌŋrʌi] ডাংড়ি | ‘one who has large cheek, nose, extended teeth’ |
| [gɛdɛrbʰu] গ্যাদেরভুষ | ‘one who is very dirty’ | [gɛdɛrbʰuʃi] গ্যাদেরভুষি | ‘one who is very dirty’ |
| [gɛdɛra] গ্যাদেরা | ‘dirty person’ | [gɛdɛri] গ্যাদেরি | ‘dirty person’ |
| [dʌyʌ] ডাউয়া | ‘one who has swollen cheek’ | [dʌyʌi] ডাউয়ি | ‘one who has swollen cheek’ |
| [gʰɔrkɔʔɔrʌ] ঘরকোটেরা | ‘one who remains closed indoor, homesick’ | [gʰɔrkɔʔuri] ঘরকোটরি | ‘female who remains closed inside house, homesick’ |
| [dʌŋdʰɔrʌ] ডাংধরা | ‘a kind of male God’ | [dʌŋdʰɔri] ডাংধরি | ‘a female god’ |
| [bʰoɖʌ] ভোদা | ‘stupid person’ | [bʰuɖi] ভুদি | ‘stupid person’ |
| [nipuʔura] নিপুতুরা | ‘sonless male’ | [nipuʔuri] নিপুতুরি | ‘sonless female’ |
| [gʰauyanada] ঘাউয়ানাডা | ‘a person who has lots of ulcers’ | [gʰauya-naɖi] ঘাউয়ানাডি | ‘a person who has lots of ulcers’ |

Table.2.10 Remnants of Gender on Human nouns

The male nouns end with consonants or vowel sound /a/ আ but the female noun ends with /ani/ অনি, /ni/ নি as for example in table 2.11;

| Masculine | Gloss | Feminine | Gloss |
|--------------------|--|-------------------------|---------------------|
| [macʰuya] মাছুয়া | ‘fisherman’ | [machuya-ni] মাছুয়ানি | ‘wife of fisherman’ |
| [gʰɔrʃeya] ঘরজেয়া | ‘a man who lives in father-in-law’s house’ | [gʰɔrʃeya-ni] ঘরজেয়ানি | ‘wife of gʰɔrʃeya’ |
| [ɖom] ডোম | ‘a person who looks after pig’ | [ɖom-ni] ডোমনি | ‘wife of a ɖom’ |

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| [baɽeya] বাড়েয়া | ‘the seller of betel-leaf’ | [baɽeyani] বাড়েয়ানি | ‘wife of baɽeya’ |
| [maɽeya] মাড়েয়া | ‘the main person’ | [maɽeyani] মাড়েয়ানি | ‘female/wife of maɽeya’ |
| [ʃaɽu] সাধু | ‘a religious person’ | [ʃaɽdani] সাউদানি | ‘a female religious person or wife of a ʃaɽu’ |
| [gʱɔɽuya] ঘরুয়া | ‘domestic, homesick’ | [gʱɔɽuyani] ঘরুয়ানি | ‘wife of gʱɔɽuya’ |

Table.2.11 The masculine and feminine nouns

2.1.5.2. Animals and birds

The words ending with /a/ আ or consonant endings are generally used for male and /i/ ই endings nouns for female as in Table 2.12;

| Masculine | Gloss (+male) | Feminine | Gloss (-male) |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| [murga] মুরগা | ‘cock’ | [murgi] মুরগী | ‘hen’ |
| [bandor] বান্দর | ‘monkey’ | [banduri] বান্দুরী | ‘female monkey’ |
| [payra] পায়রা ~ [paɽa] পাড়া | ‘pigeon’ | [payri] পায়রি ~ [paɽi] পাড়ি | ‘female pigeon’ |
| [ɽamɽa] ডামড়া | ‘calf’ | [ɽamɽi] ডামড়ি | ‘female calf’ |
| [ɽomna] ডোমনা | ‘pig’ | [ɽumni] ডুমনি | ‘female pig’ |
| [ʃiyal] শিয়াল | ‘jackal’ | [ʃiyali] শিয়ালী | ‘jackal’ |
| [ɽauk] ডাউক | ‘watercock’ | [ɽauki] ডাউকী | ‘waterhen’ |
| [hãʃa] হাঁসা | ‘male duck’ | [hãʃi] হাঁসি | ‘female duck’ |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| [pa ^h a] পাঠা | ‘male goat’ | [pa ^h i] পাঠি | ‘female goat’ |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------|

Table.2.12 Animals and Birds

The words which are presented in Table 2.10, 2.11, & 2.12 are clear cut examples of lexical items, stored in the mental lexicon as male and female.

2.1.6. Kinship terminology

The kinship terms end with /a/ আ or consonant are generally used for masculine and /i/ ই endings terms are for feminine. Some kinship terms from both affinal and non-affinal relationship are shown in Table 2.13;

| Masculine | Gloss | Feminine | Gloss |
|--|--|---|-----------------------------|
| [kaka] কাকা | ‘Uncle’ | [kaki] কাকি | ‘aunt’ |
| [pi ^h a] পিসা | ‘uncle’/ father’s sister’s husband’ | [pi ^h i] পিসি | ‘father’s sister’ |
| [ʃɔka] সখা | ‘male friend’ | [ʃɔki]~ [ʃɔi] সখি~ সই | ‘female friend’ |
| [mau ^h a] মাউসা | ‘mother’s sister’s husband’ | [ma ^h i] মাসি | ‘mother’s sister’ |
| [mama] মামা | ‘mother’s brother’ | [mami] মামি | ‘mother’s brother’ |
| [ʃala] শালা | ‘wife’s brother’ | [ʃali] শালি | ‘wife’s sister’ |
| [b ^h ai ^h ʃa]~ [b ^h ai ^h i ^h ʃa] [b ^h ai ^h ʃta] ভাইজা~ ভতিজা ভাইজতা | ‘brother’s son’ | [b ^h ai ^h ʃi]~ [b ^h ai ^h i ^h ʃi]~ [b ^h ai ^h ʃti] ভাইজি~ ভতিজি ভাইজতি | ‘brother’s daughter’ |
| [b ^h a ^h ʃur]~ [b ^h au ^h ʃan] ভাসুর ~ভাউসান | ‘husaband’s elder brother’ | [b ^h au ^h ʃani] ভাউসানি | ‘younger brother’s wife’ |
| [b ^h agina] ভাগিনা | ‘sister’s son’ | [b ^h agini] ভাগিনি | ‘sister’s daughter’ |

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| [ʃɔʃur] শশুর | ‘father-in-law’ | [ʃɔʃuri] শশুরি | ‘mother-in-law’ |
| [ʃonɔra] শোঙরা | ‘son/daughter’s friend’s father’ | [ʃunɔri] শোঙরি | ‘son/daughter’s friend’s mother’ |
| [puɔura] পুতুরা | ‘wife’s brother/sister’s son’ | [puɔuri] পুতুরি | ‘wife’s brother/sister’s daughter’ |

Table.2.13 Kinship terminology

The suffix /ni/ নি or /i/ ই added with the male counterparts to make it feminine as in Table 2.14;

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| [biyai] | ‘son or daughter’s father- in-law’ | [biyani] | ‘son or daughter’s mother-in law’ |
| [nati] নতি | ‘son or daughter’s son’ | [natini] নতিনি | ‘son or daughter’s daughter’ |
| [mitor] মিতোর | ‘friend’ | [mitini] মিতিনি | ‘friend’s wife’ |

Table.2.14 The kinship terms /i/ ই and /ni/ নি endings

2.2. Derivational Morphology

Derivational morphology creates a new word or a new lexeme. It generally changes the grammatical category of the word. It is a major source of word-formation which operates in a language. By the addition of affixes, a verb stem may turn into another verb or a noun or an adjective. According to Kakati (1962:318), “The affix ba, -bā is often added to pronominal derivatives expressing manner or quality to suggest an indefinite sense; e.g. keneba, kenebā, konoba, kono-bā, zeneba, jene-baū, kiba, ki-ba etc. With –ba, the forms kono-, kājo- give an affirmative sense ‘somebody’.” The Nominal derivation of the Rajbanshi language is briefly presented with adequate examples.

2.2.1. The suffix [ʈa] তা

Nouns can be derived from adjectives by adding suffix [ʈa] তা. It has variants /ɔʈa/ অতা or /oʈa/ ওতা / depending on the context, after the vowel [ʈa] তা is used, and after consonants [ɔʈa] অতা or [oʈa] ওতা as in the following 44;

44. (a) Adjective

Noun

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| [ʃɔrol] সরল ‘simple’ | [ʃɔrol-ɔʈa] সরলতা ‘simplicity’ |
| [ʃadʰin] স্বাধীন ‘independent’ | [ʃadʰin-ɔʈa] স্বাধীনতা ‘independence’ |
| [bɛɔʈo] ব্যস্ত ‘busy’ | [bɛɔʈo-ʈa] ব্যস্ততা ‘hurry, rush’ |
| [ɔ-ʃuʃʰo] অসুস্থ ‘unhealthy’ | [ɔ-ʃuʃʰo--ʈa] অসুস্থতা ‘unhealthiness’ |
| [ɔggɔ] অগ্ন ‘ignorant’ | [ɔggɔ-ʈa] অগ্নতা ‘ignorance/ stupidity’ |
| [baʃʈob] বাস্তব ‘real’ | [baʃʈob-ɔʈa] বাস্তবতা ‘reality’ |

We could also find morphophonemic alternations in the stems. The last consonant of the word /d/ দ changes to /t/ ত when the suffix [ɔʈa] অতা is used with the stem [nirapɔd] নিরাপদ as in 44.

(b);

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (b) [nirapɔd] নিরাপদ ‘safe’ | [nirapɔʈta] নিরাপত্তা ‘safety’ |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|

2.2.2 The suffix [na, ɔna, ona] না, অনা, ওনা

Nouns are formed by adding the suffix /na, ɔna, ona/ না, অনা, ওনা to verbs are shown below;

45.

Verb

Noun

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [bʰaba] ভাবা ‘think’ | [bʰab-ɔna] ভাবনা ‘thought’ |
| [kam] কাম ‘lust’ | [kam-ɔna] কামনা ‘lust’ |
| [gʰɔʈa] ঘটনা ‘happen’ | [gʰɔʈ-ona] ঘটনা ‘event, incident’ |

2.2.3. The Suffix /i/ ই

Nouns are formed by adding /i/ ই to the adjectives which end with /o/ sounds as in 46;

46.

Adjective

Noun

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| [unnoʈo] উন্নত ‘developed’ | [unnoʈi] উন্নতি ‘development’ |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| [ʃan̩to] শান্ত ‘peaceful’ | [ʃan̩t̪i] শান্তি ‘peace’ |
| [bʰək̩to] ভক্ত ‘devoted’ | [bʰək̩t̪i] ভক্তি ‘devotion’ |
| [birək̩to] বিরক্ত ‘annoyed’ | [birək̩t̪i] বিরক্তি ‘annoyance’ |
| [ʃək̩to] শক্ত ‘hard, strong’ | [ʃək̩t̪i] শক্তি ‘strength’ |
| [calak] চালাক ‘clever’ | [calaki] চালাকি ‘cleverness’ |

2.2.4. The suffix /mi/ মি or /ami/ আমি

Abstract nouns are formed by adding /-mi/ মি or /ami/ আমি to the base word which is an adjective or a noun as shown in 47;

| 47. Adjective/Noun | Abstract noun |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [pagla] পাগলা ‘crazy, mad’ | [paglami] পাগলামি ‘madness’ |
| [matal] মাতাল ‘drunk’ | [matlami] মাতালমি ‘drunkenness’ |
| [d̪uʃtu] দুষ্ট ‘naughty’ | [d̪uʃtami] দুষ্টামি ‘naughtiness’ |
| [boka] বোকা ‘stupid’ | [bokami] বোকামি ‘stupidity’ |
| [ceŋra] চেংড়া ‘boy’ | [ceŋrami] চেংড়ামি ‘boyishness’ |
| [cɔ̃t̪ur] চতুর ‘clever’ | [cɔ̃tura-mi] চতুরামি ‘cunning’ |
| [ʃɔ̃t̪uru] শত্রু ‘enemy’ | [ʃɔ̃tura-mi] শত্রুরামি ‘enmity’ |
| [pʰaʃil] ফাজিল ‘wicked’ | [pʰaʃilami] ফাজিলামি ‘wickedness’ |
| [ɔ̃ʃur] অসুর ‘devil’ | [ɔ̃ʃurami] অসুরামি ‘demoniac’ |

In the following examples 48, the homophonous [mi] মি suffix is added with the numeral 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 but it is not combined with 6. There is an already established word [ʃɔ̃ʃt̪ʰi] ষষ্ঠী which perhaps blocks the occurrence of *[ʃɔ̃ʃt̪ʰo-mi] ষষ্ঠমি.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 48. [pɔ̃nco] পনচো ‘five’ | [pɔ̃nco-mi] পনচোমি ‘fifth day of the arrival of Goddess Durga’ |
| [ʃɔ̃pt̪o] সপ্ত ‘seven’ | [ʃɔ̃pt̪o-mi] সপ্তমি ‘sixth day of the arrival of Goddess Durga’ |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| [ɔʃʈo] অষ্ট ‘eight’ | [ɔʃʈo-mi] অষ্টমি ‘seventh day of the arrival of Goddess Durga’ |
| [nɔbom] নবম ‘nine’ | [nɔbo-mi] নবমি ‘ninth day of the arrival of Goddess Durga’ |
| [ʃɔʃʈo] ষষ্ঠ ‘six’ | *[ʃɔʃʈo-mi] ষষ্ঠমি [ʃɔʃʈi] ষষ্ঠী ‘Sixth day of the arrival of Goddess Durga’ |

2.2.5. The morpheme /jyo/ য

The suffix /jyo/ is added with base forms. It change the phonetic shape of the adjective or noun base as for instance in 49;

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 49. Noun/Adjective | Abstract Noun |
| [mɔdʱu] মধু ‘honey; sweet’ | [maɔdʱurjyo] মাধুর্য ‘sweetness’ |
| [ʃundɔr] সুন্দর ‘beautiful’ | [ʃoundɔrjyo] সৌন্দর্য ‘beauty’ |

2.2.6. The morpheme /-uya/ উয়া

The suffix /uya/ উয়া changes the existing base noun to an agentive noun as for example in 50;

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| 50. Noun | Noun |
| [hat] হাট ‘market’ | [hatuya] হাটুয়া ‘the person who goes to the market’ |
| [gɔc] গাছ ‘tree’ | [gɔcʱuya] গাছুয়া ‘the person who climbs up tree’ |
| [katʰ] কাঠ ‘wood’ | [katʰuya] কাঠুয়া ‘wood-cutter’ |

2.2.7. The suffix /ani/ আনি

The morpheme /ani/ আনি or /ni/নি changes a verb into an abstract noun as in 51;

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| 51. Verb | Noun |
| [beɾa] বেড়া ‘roam’ | [beɾani] বেড়ানি ‘act of roaming around’ |
| [gʰuɾa] ঘুড়া ‘roam’ | [gʰuɾani] ঘুড়ানি ‘act of roaming around’ |
| [pʰira] ফিড়া ‘return’ | [pʰirani] ফিড়ানি ‘act of returning’ |

[p^hæla] ফেলা ‘throw’[p^hælani] ফেলানি ‘left over’**2.2.8. The suffix /ɔn/ অন**

By adding /ɔn/অন, /an/আন, /-n/ ন, /on/ ওন with verbs one can get a deverbal noun as for example in 52;

52. [giʃʃa] গির্জা ‘roar’ [giʃʃɔn] গির্জোন ‘act of roaring’

[ʃiŋʃa] শিংড়া ‘shake in fear’ [ʃiŋʃɔn] শিংড়োন ‘act of shaking in fear’

[ʃoʈa] শোতা ‘lie down’ [ʃoʈɔn] শোতন ‘state of lying down’

[ʃāʃa] শাঁসা ‘threat’ [ʃaʃɔn] শাঁসন ‘act of ruling, threatening’

[bʱag] ভাগ ‘share’ [bʱagɔn] ভাগন ‘open distribution of share’

[bʱɔʃa] ভজা ‘adore’ [bʱɔʃɔn] ভজোন ‘adoration’

[ʃira] জিরা ‘take rest’ [ʃiran] জিরান ‘act of taking rest’

[gɔʈa] গড়া ‘make’ [gɔʈɔn] গড়ন ‘shape’

[çola] চলা ‘move’ [çolon] চলন ‘movement, style’

[bɔla] বলা ‘become big’ [bɔlon] বলন ‘act of becoming large’

[naca] নাচা ‘dance’ [nacaɔn] নাচন ‘act of dancing’

2.2.9. The suffix /-ɖar/ দার

The morpheme /ɖar/ দার is added with a noun which results a complex noun as for instance;

53.

Noun**Noun**

[dɔkan] দোকান ‘shop’ [dɔkan-ɖar] দোকানদার ‘shopkeeper’

[ʃomi] জমি ‘land’ [ʃomi-ɖar] জমিদার ‘landlord’

[ʃik] শিক ‘stick, gun’ [ʃik-ɖar] শিকদার ‘one who posses, keeps gun’

[ʃoʈ] জোত ‘land’ [ʃoʈ-ɖar] জোতদার ‘landlord’

[ʃɔk^h] শখ ‘taste’ [ʃɔk^hin] শখিন ‘delicate’ [ʃɔk^hin-ɖar] শখিনদার ‘one who has

delicate taste’

[ɔŋʃo] অংশ [ɔŋʃi] অংশী ‘partnar’

[ɔŋʃidar] অংশীদার ‘partner’

2.2.10. The suffix /-giri/ গিরি

The suffix /-giri/ গিরি makes an abstract noun as for example;

54. [hiro] হিরো ‘hero’ [hero-giri] হিরোগিরি ‘valour’

[d̪ɛoyani] দেওয়ানি [d̪ɛoyani-giri] দেওয়ানিগিরি ‘act of maintain the family’

2.2.11. The suffix /ik/ ইক

The morpheme /ik/ ইক is also an nominalizing suffix as for instance;

55. [mal] মাল ‘goods’ [mal-ik] মালিক ‘proprietor’

[naɔ] নাও ‘boat’ [nabik] নাবিক / [naiya] নাইয়া ‘boatman’

[maʃ] মাস ‘month’ [maʃik] মাসিক ‘monthly/ menstruation cycle’

2.2.12. The suffix /-li/ লি

The suffix /li/ লি adds with adjective and turns the adjective an abstract noun. The idiosyncratic and irregular meaning can also be found as in [bokali] বোকালি;

56. [buɾa] বুড়া ‘old’ [buɾali] বুড়ালি ‘about old age’

[boka] বোকা ‘stupid’ [boka-li] বোকালি ‘one who carries child and takes care’

2.2.13. The suffix /-ri/ রি

This suffix is generally added with the verb and it makes a noun as shown in 57;

57. [d̪oɖa] ডোডা ‘roar’ [d̪oɖari] ডোডারি ‘act of roaring’

[ʃuŋga] শুংগা ‘stinging hair’ [ʃuŋgari] শুংগারি ‘catterpillar’

2.3. Compounding

It is a major word-formation process in Rajbanshi language. It involves concatenation of at least two lexemes. According to Anderson (1995: 40), "... the combination of two or more members (potentially) open lexical classes." Abbi (2001: 171) opines "when two independent words in a language are joined to create a new word, this is known as compounding...the words that are juxtaposed to form a compound already occupy an independent status in the language.. and after being coined as a compound the constituent elements of the compound lose their basic meaning and acquire a new reference." Compounds consist of two (or rarely more) lexeme stems that are juxtaposed in a single word form, and, when a language does not allow phrases consisting of two juxtaposed lexemes of the same word classes, the combination must be a compound (Haspelmath 2002: 154-155). The resultant meaning of the constituent parts of the compound can be predictable or unpredictable. Some compounds are idiomatic in the sense that their meaning cannot be determined from the meaning of their component parts. They are inseparable and cannot be replaced by another constituent parts. Morphological cohesion (Haspelmath 2002: 158) clearly takes the whole compound in its domain rather than just the head. According to Fabb Nigel (2001), "...the meaning of a compound is usually to some extent compositional, though it is not often predictable." In Rajbanshi, the compound word [bʰɔbo nɔɖi] ভব নদী 'mystical river' has a literal meaning but it refers to the 'journey of life' in the following sentence;

62. কায় করিবে মোক ভব নদী পার ?

[kay kɔri-b-e mok bʰɔbo nɔɖi par] ?

Who do-FUT- I-OBJ mystical river cross

'Who will cross me journey of life'?

2.3.1. Endocentric Compounds

Compounds where only one constituent operates as head are known as endocentric compounds (Abbi 2001: 172). The word 'endo' means 'inside'. The referent or core meaning of the word is found in the constituents of the compound and one constituent modifies another. It is generally the left constituent which modifies the right constituent as for example in 63;

63. (a) [gola gʰɔr] গোলা ঘর

Round-shaped house

‘Store house’

(b) [bʰər dupur] ভর দুপুর

Full noon

‘(full) mid-noon’

(c) [aḍʰa bɔʃi] আধা বসি

Half age

‘Middle aged’

(d) [nak ɔaŋra] নাক ডাংরা

Nose big

‘The person who has big nose’ (M)

(d) [hɔlɔl bari] হলদি বাড়ি

Turmeric house

‘Turmeric field’

(e) [biʃ pɛipɾa] বিষ পেইপড়া

Poison ant

‘a type of poisonous ant’

(f) [ʃɔiŋɔ baʃi] সইন্দা বাতি

Evening light

‘light lit up in the evening/ worship’

(g) [giɔɔli biɔʰina] গিদালী বিছিনা

Actor/singer bed

‘wide bed for many persons’

(h) [kani nɔŋul] কানি নঙুল

Corner finger

‘the little finger’

(i) [gʰaɔya naɔɔa] ঘাউয়া নাদা

Ulcer full

‘one who is full of ulcers’

2.3.2. Exocentric Compounds

In this compounding, none of the constituents of the compounds act as a head, the head or referent compound word is outside of the constituent parts. The morpheme ‘exo-’ means ‘outside’. In Indian Grammatical Tradition, this kind of compounding is referred as Bahuvrihi Samasa. Here are some examples of Exocentric compound words in 64;

64. (a) [guya muri] গুয়া মুড়ি

Nut fried rice

‘a kind of spice’

(b) [ḍal cini] ডাল চিনি

Pulse sugar

‘cardemom’

(c) [guya kaṭa] গুয়া কাটা

Nut cut

‘a ritual before marriage, bride/groom blessed and presented with clothes, gifts etc’

(d) [pan ṭola] পান তেলা

Beetel-leaf lift

‘a ritual before marriage, bride/^hgroom blessed and presented with clothes, gifts etc’

(e) [b^hai kaṭi] ভাই কাটি

Brother cut

‘a notorious girl’

(f) [ṅ-puch^a nau] অপুছা নাউ

Not-asked gourd

‘a valueless person’

(g) [buk ḡula] বুক গুলা

Chest spear

‘choke’

(h) [b^haṭ c^hoya-ni] ভাত ছোয়ানি

Rice touch-AFF.N

‘a child’s ceremonial testing of rice, vegetable etc.’

(i) [gʰɔr koʈora] ঘর কোটোরা

House frog

‘one who remains inside home’

(j) [gʰɔr Jɛya] ঘর জেয়া

House go

‘one who stays in father-in-law’s house’

(k) [bʰɔy paɖura] ভয় পাদুরা

Fear farts.Aff.N

‘coward’

(l) [ɖaŋ dʰɔra] ডাং ধরা

Hit/stick hold

‘God Dangdhara’ (M)

(m) [bɛʈa cʰaɔoya] ব্যাটা ছাওয়া

Son child

‘man’

(n) [bɛʈi cʰaɔoya] বেটি ছাওয়া

Daughter child

‘woman’

(o) [bʰaɖuri bʰaʈ] ভাদুরি ভাত

Month-bhadar rice

‘rice fed in the month of Bhadar’

(p) [bʰaʈ kapoʈ] ভাত কাপোড়

Rice clothes

‘Maintenance’

(q) [bʰoron poʃon] ভরন পোষণ

Full care

‘Maintenance’

2.3.3. *Appositional or Dwanda Samasa*

According to Abbi (2001:173), “this kind of compounding “formed simply by conjunction of two elements without any dependency relation existing between them....the two constituents could either be of polar quality of the same semantic range or incorporate the salient characteristics of the same semantic field.” The appositional compounds of the Rajbanshi language is shown below in 65, 66, 67, 68;

65. (a) [d̪in rait̪] দিন রাইত

Day night

‘round the clock’

(b) [ʃak ʃobʃi] শাক সবজী

Green vegetable cooked vegetable

‘A type of green vegetable’

(c) [t̪ɛl ʃabon] ত্যাল সাবোন

Oil soap

‘oil and soap’

(d) [bap bʰai] বাপ ভাই

‘father brother’

‘Father and brother’

(d) [bʰai bɔin] ভাই বইন

Brother sister

‘brother and sister’

(e) [bap mao] বাপ মাও

Father mother

‘parents’

(f) [bɛʃa bɛʃi] বেটা বেটি

Son daughter

‘son and daughter/ children’

(g) [guya pan] গুয়া পান

Nut beetel leaf

‘nut and beetel leave’

The constituent parts of the compounds are synonymous or homonymous in nature in 66.

66. (a) [maʃi ʃɔmi] মাটি জমি

Soil land

‘wealth’

(b) [ʃaʃi kul] জাতি কুল

Caste lineage

‘lineage’

(c) [gʰɔr ʃɔŋʃar] ঘর সংসার

House family

‘family’

(c) [man ʃɔmman] মান সম্মান

Respect respect

‘respect/ dignity’

(d) [dʰɔn ʃɔmpottʃi] ধন সম্পত্তি

Wealth property

‘prosperity’

(e) [ʃɔmi ʃɔma] জমি জমা

Land savings

‘wealth’

(f) [ʃaka kɔʃi] টাকা কড়ি

Money conch

‘money/wealth’

(g) [bʰabna cinʃa] ভাবনা চিন্তা

Think think

‘contemplate’

(h) [caʃ abad] চাষ-আবাদ

Plough cultivation

‘Cultivation’

In the following examples (67) more than two constituents are juxtaposed;

67. (a) [ʃɔrgo mɔrʈo paʈal] স্বর্গ মর্ত পাতাল⁴⁵

Heaven earth hell

‘entire world’

(b) একে বাউড়ার আলতা সোনো ছায়া বেলাউজ শাড়ি তেল সাবোনা নিয়া দেং

[ɛke bauʈa-r alʈa ʃono cʰaya bɛlauʃ ʃaʈi ʈel ʃabona niya dɛŋ]

One man.GEN red face lotion petty coat blouse Sari oil soap take give.PRS.1

‘The man buys red ink, face lotion, petty coat, blouse, oil, soap’

Compound words may have an intervening affix in between two constituent parts which may be termed as interfix or empty form as for example in Rajbanshi;

68. আয় রে আয় নিন্দবালী আয়

[ay are ay nind-o-bali ay]

Come DM come sleep-EMP-Sand come

‘Please come angel (who makes the child sleep)’

2.3.4. Rhyming compounds

They are part of partially reduplicated compounds as in 69.

69. (a) [bʰai-bʰɔkkor] ভাই ভক্কর

Brother No-meaning

‘brother and relatives’

(b) [ʈɔri- ʈɔrkari] ~[ʈɔy ʈɔrkari] তরি তরকারি~ তয় তরকারি

No-meaning vegetables

‘vegetables and others’

⁴⁵ See haler kajot haluya goru, Appendix-IV-a.

(c) [pʰɔl pʰolɔŋɔ] ফল ফলাঙ

Fruits fruits etc

‘Fruits and the like’

2.4. Reduplication

Reduplication is one of the major word-formation processes in South Asian languages. Though the traditional grammarian ignores this process considering it to be trivial. Reduplication is not a syntactic process rather a morphological process because the units it operates on are words not phrases or sentences. According to Abbi (2001:162), “words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word (phonological word), partially or completely are known as cases of reduplication”. Spencer (1991:13) points out that “Some part of a base is repeated, either to the left, or to the right, or occasionally in the middle..the interesting thing about reduplication is that it involves adding material, just like any other form of affixation, but the identity of the added material is partially or wholly determined by the base”. There are various kinds of reduplicated structures found in Indian languages as in Figure.3;

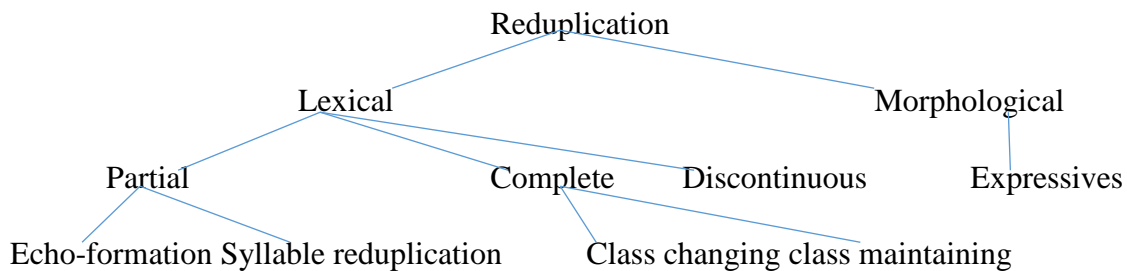


Figure.2.1 Types of Reduplicated Structures⁴⁶

In Full word reduplication, the complete words of any grammatical category are reduplicated. In the following 70. (a), the pronoun reduplication expresses plurality, the word [kaŋ] कां means ‘someone’ but when it is reduplicated [kaŋ kaŋ] कां कां the meaning becomes ‘some people’.

70. (a) कां कां अटे गेइचे आर कां कां याय नई

[kaŋ kaŋ ɔtɛ ge-i-c-e ar kaŋ kaŋ Ja-y nai]

Someone REDUP there go-V-PST.3 and someone REDUP go-PRSNT.3
 NEG

“Some people have gone there and some folks have not.”

⁴⁶ The type of Reduplicated structures is taken from, Abbi (Anvita 2001:162).

(b) তুই ইস্কুল যাওয়ার সময় সাইকেল কোটে কোটে থামাইস?

[tʰui iʃkul ʃa-ɔ-yar ʃomoy ʃaikol koʃe koʃe ʈhaima-iʃ] ?

You.2.SG school go-V- time cycle where where stop-2. SG. PST

‘What various places (where where) do you stop cycle while you go to school’ ?

Reduplication has a distributive sense. The word [ɖin] দিন ‘day’ gets a distributive meaning ‘day by day or day after day’ when reduplicated [ɖin ɖin] দিন দিন as in 71 (a);

71. (a) দিনে দিনে খসিয়া পরে মোর ওঙিলা দালানের মাটি রে গোসাইজি।

[ɖin-e ɖin-e kʰɔʃ-iya pɔre mor ɔŋgila ɖalan-er maʈi re goʃai-ʈi]

Day-LOC REDUP detach- fall I.GEN colourful building-GEN soil Gosai-HON

‘The soil are detaching from my building day by day/ day after day’

Reduplication functions as intensifier, and it has adverbial functions as in 71. (b), (c), (d);

(b) বালাবাড়িখানোত আস্তে আস্তে হাটসি।

[bala-bari-kʰan-ɔʈ aʃte aʃte haʈ-iʃ]

Sand-place-CLF-LOC slow REDUP walk-PST.2.SG.

Walk very slowly on the sand-dune.

(c) [bʰoʈɔra bʰoʈɔra ɔɔuk] (bʰoʈɔra bʰoʈɔra) ভোটোড়া ভোটোড়া চউক (ভোড্ডা ভোড্ডা)

Large REDUP eye

‘Great big eyes’.

(d) আর উয়ারে তলোত মাঝে মাঝে খবর পাবার নাইগচে যে

[ar uyare ʈɔl-ɔʈ maʃhe maʃhe kʰɔbor pabar naigce ʈe]

And its-EMP under-LOC often often news get that

‘And underneath it, it gets the news very often’

(e) কাইপতে কাইপতে মহাদেবের বগল আসি চাপিল

[kaipʈe kaipʈe mɔhadeb-er bɔgol aʃi cap-il]

Shake shake Mahadev-GEN beside come close-PST.3.SING

‘It came near to Mahadev shaking and trembling’.

2.4.1. Nominal Full reduplication

According to Wilde (2009:37), “noun reduplication is adjectival when first noun is marked with emphatic suffix=e ‘EMPH’ and the second noun is unmarked. The construction indicates exclusiveness (that is, it denotes a nothing but X’ quality).” Nominal reduplication with emphatic particle /e/ এ is shown in 72. (a), (b);

72. (a) এদিকোনা অথাও জলে জল।

[ɛd̪i-kona oṭʰao ʃɔl-e ʃɔl]

Here-CLF deep water-EMPH water

‘It’s very deep here’ (deep water)

(b) ধানবাড়িখানোত কইতোরে কইতোর।

[d̪ʰan-bari-kʰan-oṭ kɔiṭor-e kɔiṭor]

Rice-filed-CLF-LOC pigeon-EMPH pigeon

The paddy-field is full of pigeons.

The nominal reduplication along with emphatic particle –/e/ এ has a distributive connotation.

73. (a) মানষিটা গিলাসে গিলাসে জল খায়।

[manʃiṭa ɡilaf-e ɡilaf-e ʃɔl kʰa-y]

Man-CLF glass-EMP glass-EMPH water eat-PRSNT.3.SING

The drinks water glass after glass.

(b) উমায় থালে থালে খিচিড়ি নিগাইচে।

[umay ṭʰal-e ṭʰal-e kʰiciṭi niga-ice]

He.DIST plate-EMPH plate-EMPH hotchpotch take-PERF.3

He has taken hotchpotch plate after plates.

(c) এলা আস্তায় আস্তায় টিপকল হইচে।

[ɛla aʃṭa-y aʃṭa-y tiṭkɔl hɔi-ce]

Now road-EMPH road-EMPH water-tap Be-PRSNT.SING

Now water-tap is found in every roads (road after road)

Wilde (2009:37) points out that “there are also cases where reduplication accompanied by the suffix-e can function as an adverb, but have a non-distinctive connotation. Whether the suffix should be interpreted as the instrumental case, an adverbialiser suffix or the emphatic clitic is uncertain.” The example is given below in 73. (d)

(d) বেটিছাওয়াটা মনে মনে কি যে ভাবে?

[bɛtʃicʰaɔya-ta mən-e mən-e ki Je bʰab-e] ?
 Woman-CLT mind-EMPH mind-EMPH what that think-PRSNT-SING-3
 What does the woman think in mind?

2.4.2. Morphological Expressives

Rajbanshi has lots of onomatopoeic or imitative words. It consist of two nonsense repeated syllables. If the syllable is not repeated it does not make any sense or meaning in the language, only when the syllable is repeated it is classified as a word in the language and can be used in different paradigms as in the following;

74. (a) [ʃʰəm] বম ‘root form’/ no meaning

(b) [ʃʰəm ʃʰəm] বম or [ʃʰəm ʃʰəmi] বম বমি ‘a kind of jingling sound’

(c) আষাঢ় মাসের দেওয়ার বরি বমবমেয়া পড়ে

[aʃaʃʰ maʃer ɖɛɔya-r ʃʰɔʃi ʃʰəm ʃʰəm-eya pɔʃe]
 Asadh month-GEN sky-GEN rain IMIT-REDUP-PST fall. PRSNT. 3
 ‘In the month of Asadh (Rajbanshi Calendar), the rains fall in a jingling manner.

(d) বাশের আগালকোনা নিল নিল করে মোর গুকোনা তোর টুটিত পড়ে⁴⁷

[baʃ-er agal-kona nil nil kor-e, mor gu-kona ʈor ʈuʈi-ʈi pɔʃe]
 Bamboo-GEN top-CLF IMIT REDUP do- I-GEN shit-CLF you.GEN thout-
 LOC fall

‘The top of a bamboo shakes and my shit falls on your mouth’

(e) ষাড় গরুটার ভিতি ডোগ ডোগ করি চায়া রইল।

[ʃaʃ ɡɔru-ʈa-r bʰiʈi ɖog ɖog kɔri caya rɔi-l]
 Ox cow-CLF-GEN towards IMIT REDUP do look stay-PST.3

‘Looking at the Ox, (he) fixed his eyes on it’

(f) ভয়তে একেবারে মাঘ মাসিয়া জারের ঢক থুর থুরি কাপা শুরু করি দিচে।

[bʰɔyo-ʈ-e ɛkebare magʰ maʃ-iya ʃarer ʈʰɔk ʈʰur ʈʰuri kɔpa ʃuru kɔri ɖice]

⁴⁷ ‘children game’—here this is line is taken from children’s rhyme;

Fear-LOC-EMPH once Magh month- cold-GEN like IMIT REDUP tremor start do
give-PST

‘(It) started shaking and trembling in fear as if in the cold of Magh month’.

2.4.3. Other Partial Reduplication:

According to Abbi (2001:169) “this constituted of either phonological or semantic partial repetition of a word, e.g. (1) echo constructions such as Hindi *khaanaa vaanaa* ‘food etc’.. or (2) semantically reduplicated compounds like *khaanaa piinaa*” ‘eat + drink= standard of living’ considered later under compounds or (3) where only the initial syllable is repeated as in Santhali *da dal* ‘strike intensively’. In Rajbanshi Echo-formation by a replacement of a fixed sound /t/ and in some cases /b/, [ʃ], [m], [f] can be used as in 75 (a-g); 76 (a-d);

75. (a) [b^hat̪ -t̪-at̪] ভাত টাত

Rice-PRT-REDUP

‘rice and such’

(b) [baʃi ʃari] বাড়ি টাড়ি

House –PRT-REDUP

‘House and etc’

(c) [Jai-b-e t̪-aibe] যাইবে টাইবে

Go-FUT-3.SING PRT-REDUP

‘will go or something’

(d) [k^haoya ʃaoya] খাওয়া টাওয়া

Eat –PRT-REDUP

‘Eat and the like’

If the word begins with a /t/ sound it is replaced with /p^h/ or there is vowel alternation

(e) [ʃaka t̪-uka] টাকা টুকা

Money PRT-REDUP

‘money and such’

(f) [ʃaka p^h-aka] টাকা ফাকা

Money PRT-REDUP

‘money and such’

(g) [tɛkʃi tʊkʃi] টেক্সি টুক্সি

Taxi PRT-REDUP

‘Taxi and the like’

The meaning conveyed by echo-formation is, X and the like (etc). It carries a note a attitudinal lack of concern or care towards his collator (Masica 1991:80). Wilde (2009: 46) points out that ‘a certain level of either derogation or lack of respect may be implied with referring to humans’

76. (a) [mama tʌma] মামা টামা

Maternal uncle PRT-REDUP

‘Maternal uncle and others’

(b) [mama tʌma-r ɡʰɔr] মামা টামার ঘর

Maternal uncle PRT-REDUP-GEN PL

‘Maternal uncle and his family etc.’

(c) [minal tʌnal] মিনাল টিনাল

Mrinal PRT-REDUP

‘Mrinal and others’

(d) [rɔnʃit tɔnʃit] রনজিত টনজিত

Ranjit PRT-REDUP

‘Ranjit and others’

2.4.3.1. *Partial reduplication with final vowel change*

These forms are lexicalised and not productive in the language. They are formed from a word ending in a vowel /a/ or /o/ and the final vowel changes to /i/. While discussing Bangla reduplication, Dasgupta (2003:358) called this kind of reduplication process as reciprocal reduplicatives, because they are often words that express reciprocal or mutual action. These kind of reduplicated words are also found in Rajbanshi as in 77.

77. (a) [kɔɔya kɔɔyi] কওয়া কওয়ি

Speak PRT-REDUP

‘mutual speaking/ conversation’

(b) [kola kuli] কোলা কুলি

Lap PRT-REDUP

‘hugging’

(c) [nuka nuki] নুকা নুকি

Hide PRT-REDUP

‘hide and seek’

(d) [haṭa haṭi] হাতা হাতি

Beat PRT-REDUP

‘(Indulge in) mutually beating up’

2.5. Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a descriptive account of Nominal Morphology of the Rajbanshi Language. Morphology is broadly divided into Inflection and Word-formation. In Inflectional Morphology, I have discussed case markers, classifiers, grammatical number and Gender and pronominals. Rajbanshi is a Nominative-Accusative language. The case markers have several allomorphs depending on the segments it attaches to. Rajbanshi is a numeral classifier language. It has two kinds of number, singular and plural. The singular number is unmarked and the plural noun is marked by suffix *-la/* লা, *-gila/* গিলা, *-gula/* গুলা, *-gulan/* গুলান and *-gilan/* গিলান etc. Rajbanshi nouns are also marked with definite marker *-ṭa/* টা and classifier *-kona/* কোনা, *-khan/* খান [ʃɔn] জন and others. The associate plural marker *-gʰɔr/* ঘর is used with genitive constructions only with the human nouns. Adjectives are not marked for plurality in Rajbanshi however, verb is inflected differently when different personal pronouns are used.

Inflectional morphology expresses morpho-syntactic properties of lexemes. Each lexeme has paradigm of inflectional forms. Inflection is obligatory i.e. each word must be specified for the relevant inflectional properties of its word class. The main inflectional categories for nouns and adjectives are gender, number and case. Rajbanshi nouns do not have gender distinctions, but some remnants may show it on the final vowels as for example */i/* ই ending nouns are

Feminine (female) and /a/ আ or consonant endings are Masculine (male). The kinship terms end with /a/ আ or consonant are generally used for masculine and /i/ ই endings terms are for feminine.

Word-formation is the creation of new lexemes by means of affixation, conversion, reduplication, compounding. Derivation generally changes the grammatical category of the word. The Nominal derivation of the Rajbanshi language is briefly presented with adequate examples. Compounding is a major word-formation process in which two or more lexemes are concatenated to form a new word. The endocentric, exocentric and appositional compounds of Rajbanshi are discussed with adequate examples. Compounding is frequently used because of its semantic transparency but some compounds are semantically opaque. The distinction between compounds and phrases is not always clear-cut. Stem allomorphy is prevalent in compounding. The linking element in a compound may be determined by paradigmatic factors such as analogy to existing compound words. There are various kinds of reduplicated structures found in Rajbanshi. Reduplication has a distributive sense, adverbial functions and also expresses plurality, intensification etc. Rajbanshi has lots of onomatopoeic or imitative words. Which consist of two nonsense repeated syllables.

CHAPTER-3

3. MODELS OF MORPHOLOGY

3.1. What is Morphology?

The word *morphology* is derived from the Greek word *morph-* and *logos*. *Morph* means ‘shape’ or ‘form’, and *logos* means ‘knowledge about something’. The meaning of the word *morphology* is the study of shape or forms of something. In Geology, it would refer to study of landforms and configuration of lands, and in Biology, it would mean study of organism (Aronoff and Fudeman 2010:1-2). However, in Linguistics, it studies forms or shapes of the words. It delves into the internal structure of words i.e. complex words. By the term morphology in Linguistics, we mean the constructions in which bound forms appear among the constituent and morphology includes the constructions of words and parts of words. According to Nida (1949), Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words. Aronoff and Fudeman (2010:2) treat morphology in Linguistics as ‘the mental system involved in word-formation or to the branch of linguistics that deals with words, their internal structures and how they are formed’. According to Singh and Agnihotri (1997:15), morphology is no less tricky than description. We take it to mean that part of lexical relatedness which satisfies the joint requirements of formal and semantic similarity. According to Booij (2005:7), the term ‘morphology’ refers to the study of the internal structure of words, and of the systematic form-meaning correspondence between words. In other words, morphology is the sub-discipline of linguistics that deals with the systematic relationship between form and meaning of linguistic constructs at the word level (Booij 2013:1).

3.2. What does morphology study?

From the above definitions, we can summarise that (a) morphology is the level of linguistics which studies the grammatical properties of words (b) it studies the internal structure of complex words i.e. how the smaller units are organized inside the word (c) morphology also studies relationship between words, how are words related to each other in a language. If we look at the following columns in Table 3.1;

| C1 (V) | C2 (N) |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [kand̪a] কান্দা 'to cry' | [kand̪on] কান্দোন 'act of crying' |
| [and̪a] আন্দা 'to cook' | [and̪on] আন্দোন 'act of cooking' |
| [boiʃa] বইসা 'to sit' | [boiʃon] বইসোন 'act of sitting' |

Table.3.1 The relationship between words

we would find formal and semantic differences between C1 and C2. Formally, we would find an additional element /-ɔn/ অন in C2 which has an additional meaning. The meaning of C2 is more complex than C1. These two columns can tell us so many things about morphology, as for example what is a root? What is a lexeme? What is a morpheme? Which one is free and which one is bound morpheme? It is clear that C1 and C2 has a systematic relation. It would not be wrong to say that morphology studies the relation between words. The traditional definition of morpheme is a minimal meaningful unit of a language; which has a form and a grammatical function.⁴⁸ Nida (1948) discusses thirteen principles to identify morphemes in the Structuralist traditions. Hockett (1958:123) says that morphemes are the smallest individually meaningful elements in the utterances of a language.

From the above examples, it is clear that in C1 all the words are free morphemes and they are roots, the irreducible core of a word with absolutely nothing else attached to it. It is the part that is always present, possibly with some modification, in the various manifestations of a lexeme (Katamba 1993:41). The item in C1 can be called lexeme, which is abstract vocabulary form of a word. According to DiSciullo and William (1987) lexemes are the vocabulary items that are listed in the dictionary. It is an abstract concept, not a single concrete word, but a set of grammatical words. These different grammatical words are all tokens of the same type, and in a dictionary no one would expect to find it out all the different forms as separate entries. The additional segment /-ɔn/ অন is the bound morpheme which is an affix, and more specifically suffix because it attaches after the base. Bases are called stems in the context of inflectional

⁴⁸ Zellig S. Harris, Morpheme alternants in linguistic analysis, LANG.1 8.169-80 (1942); id., Discontinuous morphemes, LANG.2 1.121-7 (1945); id., From morpheme to utterance, LANG.2. 2.161-83 (1946); Rulon S. Wells, Immediate constituents, LANG.2 3.81-117 (1947); C. F. Voegelin, A problem in morpheme alternants and their distribution, LANG. 23.245-54 (1947); Charles F. Hockett, Problems in morphemic analysis, LANG.2 3.321-43 (1947); Bernard Bloch, English verb inflection, LANG.2. 3.399-418 (1947), Nida, Eugene A. 1948. The Identification of morphemes. In *Language*, Vol. 24, No. 4. (Oct. - Dec., 1948), pp. 414-441.

morphology and some morphologists don't make distinctions between them.⁴⁹ Some morphemes do not change the grammatical category of a word, only modifies the meaning of the word is known as inflectional morpheme but /-ən/ অন in column 2 is an example of derivational morpheme because it changes the grammatical category and derives a new lexeme.

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3.2.1. Word-formations

Morphology is also about word-formations i.e. how a language builds new words from the existing items. If a person knows the rules by adding /-ən/ অন, one can create an abstract noun and if he encounters a new verb [baʃa] বাড়া 'to serve', he can create a new word [baʃən] বাড়েন 'act of serving food'. Each language follows different word-formation strategies to create new words; I would briefly talk about this word-formation strategies in the languages of the world below; (See Plag (2003), Book: Aronoff (1983, 2010), Spencer (1991, 2002).

Affixation: A new word or word-form is created by adding an affix or multiple affixes. Affixes can be classified as the following;

Prefix attaches to the left of the base with which they are combined as for example Rajbanshi negative prefix /ə-/ অ in [kəʃa] কথা 'words' ↔ [əkəʃa] অকথা 'slang, bad words', [cin] চিন 'familiar' ↔ [əcin] অচিন 'unfamiliar, unknown' [ʃao] ষাও 'measureable' [əʃao] অষাও 'very deep, immeasurable', [aʃor] আদর 'care' ↔ [ənaʃor] অনাদর 'without care'. Suffix appears to the right of the base with which it is combined as for example /-al/ আল in [d̪aʃ] দাঁত 'tooth' ↔ [d̪aʃal] দাঁতাল 'long teeth' [pub] পূব 'east' ↔ [pubal] পূবাল 'coming from the east direction'. Infix is placed inside the root with which they are combined as for instance Tagalog infix <um> in /sulat/-- /sumulat/ 'one who writes', /gradwet/ -- /grumadwet/ 'one who graduated' (McCarthy and Prince 1993:101-5). Circumfix surrounds the base with which it combines i.e. it appears before and after the base as a single unit as for example in Indonesian /ke---an/ in [besar] 'big', [ke-bear-an] 'bigness, greatness' (McDonald 1976:63; Beard 1998:62). German and Dutch also

⁴⁹ See Stump, Gregory T. Inflection. In *The Handbook of Morphology*. Spencer, Andrew and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds). Blackwell Publishing, 2001. Blackwell Reference Online. 28 December 2007.

⁵⁰ See Beard, Robert. 2001. Derivation. In *The Handbook of Morphology*. Spencer, Andrew and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds). Blackwell Publishing. Blackwell Reference Online. 28 December 2007.

have circumfixes. Interfixes are also called linking elements, they do not have individual meaning. It comes in between two constituents of a compound word as for example in German /lieb-es-brief/ 'love letter'. In English, the element /o/ in *speed-o-meter* and other neoclassical compounds, interfixes can be found as historical remnants. Simulfixes are discontinuous affixes, they not only appear with left or right of the base but intertwine with it. In Semitic languages Hebrew and Arabic, a vocalic melody is inserted in between the root to make a well formed word or word forms. The root /ktb/ in Biblical Hebrew can never be pronounced on its own, but must appear in an inflected form as for example in 1 (Vander Merwe, Nande & Kroeze 1999);

| | | |
|----------|------------|-----------------------|
| 1. /ktb/ | root | no meaning on its own |
| /kətob/ | imperative | 'write!' |
| /katob/ | infinitive | 'to write' |
| /katab/ | perfective | 'wrote' |

This kind of morphology is also called Root and Pattern morphology or Non-concatenative Morphology. Multiple affixes also form new words, it is a combination of prefixes and suffixes. In English, the word *denationalization* is formed with prefix-*de*, suffix- *-al*, *-ize*, *-tion* and In Rajbanshi, the word [ʃək^h-in-ɖar-i] সখিনদার 'a person having good taste' is formed with the suffixes /in/ ইন, /ɖar/ দার and /i/ ই.

Compounding involves concatenation of at least two roots or lexemes. The new word is a new lexeme in the language. The English words *black bird*, *green house*, *hot dog*, *steam boat* etc. are new words. In Rajbanshi, the words [kiʃi kamaɪ] কিষি কামাই 'agricultural work', [guya pan] গুয়াপান 'nut beetel', [b^hai kaʃi] ভাই কাটি 'notorious girl', [buk ʃula] বুকশুলা 'choke', [niŋɖobali] নিন্দোবালি 'an angel who puts someone in sleep', [ʃɔrgo moɾto paʃal] স্বর্গ-মর্ত-পাতাল 'universe'⁵¹ are also new lexemes (See Chapter-II, 2.3; Chapter-IV, 4.4.3 & Chapter-V, 5.4).

Reduplication involves repetition of part of a root or all of a root. According to Abbi (2001: 162), "words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word (phonological word), partially or completely are known cases of reduplication." Here are some examples of Rajbanshi reduplication, [naʃau naʃau] নাটাউ নাটাউ 'to move quickly', [naɖuʃ nuɖuʃ]

⁵¹ See Fabb, Nigel.2001. "Compounding." In *The Handbook of Morphology*. Spencer, Andrew and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds). Blackwell Publishing, 2001. Blackwell Reference Online. 28 December 2007 and chapter IV section 4.4.3., and Chapter V section 5.4.

নাদুস নুদুস ‘fatty and healthy’, [ʃoŋ ʃoŋga] শোং শোংগা ‘vacant, open’, [dʊg dʊgi] ডুগডুগি ‘a kind of musical instrument’, [guya muri] গুয়ামুরি ‘a kind of spice’.⁵² (See Chapter-II, 2.4; Chapter-IV, 4.4.4 & Chapter-V, 5.5)

Autosegmental variation involves adjustments of features such as tone, stress or nasalization. Nasalization is phonemic in most of the Indo-Aryan languages and Rajbanshi being an Indo-Aryan is not an exception, as for example [pɛca] প্যাচা ‘enclose, bind’ [pɛ̃ca] প্যাঁচা ‘owl’; [ʃap] শাপ ‘curse’, [ʃãp] সাঁপ ‘snake’, [biʃ] বিশ ‘twenty’, [bĩʃ] বিন্শ ‘poison’. The change of stress in a syllable also changes the grammatical meaning or grammatical category. English being the stress sensitive language, in disyllabic noun places the stress in the initial syllable and in verb places the stress on the second syllable as for example *conduct* (N) and *con`duct* (V); *product* (N) and *pro`duct* (V).

Subtractive Morphology involves deleting some of the portions of the base, it is opposite of affixation i.e. it undergoes a process of de-affixation. To determine subtractive morphology one has to know etymological information of the words. The initial observation of the English words *beggar*, *editor* makes us believe that /-r/ is an affix which has been combined with the base *beg* and *edit*. The close examination reveals that /-r/ is deleted from the base to fit in the analogical paradigm in the lexicon (See Booij, 2010).

Other word formation processes are rarely used in the languages of the world. Even some morphologists do not consider these processes as real morphological processes because it does not involve the subconscious rules of the language. Rather, these processes are conscious word-formation strategies which have to be learned by the speakers of the language. Beard (1982) has demonstrated that there are processes of what he calls "lexemic extension," including such things as blending (e.g, brunch derived from breakfast and lunch) and acronyms (AISA derived from All India Students Association) which fall outside the realm of morphology proper. In blending, forms of two different words combined, generally the initial segments from the first word and last segment from the second word is used to make blending as for example; motor (mo) and hotel (tel) → motel; smoke (sm-o) and fog (og) → smog. In acronymy, the phonetic value of initial letters of words are not retained, and all of these are pronounced like a single word as for example DUSU (Delhi University Students Union). In clipping, polysyllabic words are made into a monosyllabic word by deleting some of its parts as for example *prof* from

⁵² See Chapter-II, 2.4; Chapter-IV, 4.4.4 & Chapter-V, 5.5.

professor, *ad* from advertisements etc. In alphabetism, the phonetic value of initial alphabets are retained and each alphabet pronounced individually as for example, JNU (Jawaharlal Neehu University), DU (Delhi University), JNUTA (Jawaharlal Nehru University Teachers Association), ABVP (Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad). We could also find a mixture of Alphabetism and Acronymy in different occurrences as GSCASH (Gender Sensitive Committee Against Sexual Harassment). In GSCASH, G and S have retained the individual phonetic value where CASH is pronounced like a word.

The object of study of morphology is the word and its internal structures, and how are the words related to one another systematically. It also studies how a single form of a word is realised in different syntactic contexts. The inflectional properties of word and its realization inside syntactic constructions is also the object of study of morphology. While discussing various word-formation processes, we could find morphological formatives where morpheme could be viewed as things or items. In this approach (Item and Arrangement), we can pinpoint the morphological operations as a concatenation of elements or items. The followings are the word formation strategies where morphemes are viewed as things: affixation-prefixation, suffixation, infixation, circumfixation, interfixation; reduplication. The interesting thing about reduplication is that it involves adding material, just like any other form of affixation, but the identity of the added or copied material is partially or wholly determined by the base. In compounding, it is also a concatenation of at least two lexical items, the morphemes are viewed as things. The other operations which heavily interact with syntax are cliticization and incorporation in which morphemes are seen as items. On the other hand, In IP (Item and Process), the morphological operations can be treated as rules or processes are; stress shift, vowel length, tone, nasalization, apophony or ablaut, morphological conversion. Although these processes can be viewed as items while proposing a zero morpheme in IA. The other word-formation processes in which the items are abbreviated or shortened are not subconscious word-formation strategies. These strategies do not have any independent meaning or grammatical functions in the language. The speakers begin from the scratch for these arbitrary combinations. These other word formation strategies can be best described by processes rather than as items.

3.3. Criteria for Identification of word

Morphology evolves around the word. The word of a language is a kind of unit that interacts with Phonology, Syntax, and Semantics. The study of morphology is also study of the interaction with these three components- PHON, SYN, SEM {(Booij 2010, Fabregas and Scalise (2012) and Jackedoff 1975, 1990)}. But what is a word? Can we have a universal definition of the word? Traditionally, it has been seen that words are the basic units of language. From psycholinguistic perspective, words have intuitive reality in the minds of the speakers. The traditional definition of word is the minimal autonomous units of a language that can stand alone. According to Bloomfield (1933), words are free forms. Their positions in the sentence are not fixed, and in reply to a question, they can stand alone. However, in English, some words fail the stand alone test in reply to a question, as for example, *whose house is this?* If the answer is *My*, The word '*my*' cannot stand alone, rather the correct answer is *mine*. This has something to do with English syntax that the functional word '*my*' is a determiner and generally appears with the noun phrase *my book, my house*. Even in our daily lives, we see many bound morphemes which are used as words; the novelists, poets, song-writers and verbal artists manipulate with the canonical structure of a language. In English, bound morphemes are also used as free morphemes or full words. Could we consider those bound morphemes as words? It depends on acceptability by the language users in a given speech community. I would not discuss this phenomenon here, but we could say that people may use those items to catch the attention of the language users, which are instances of creative use of language.

In this section, I would talk about what a word is and what a word is not in a language. What are the criteria available in the morphological literature about an expression being a word? I would also question those criteria for their authenticity? It is traditionally believed that words are orthographically autonomous units, these are uninterrupted series of letters without spaces in between, and are separated by other series of letters by blank spaces. This may be little helpful while discussing English orthography but there are other writing systems in the languages of the world mainly logographic, syllabic, alpha-syllabic and phonetic etc. will have different pictures. Even in English, the compound word *blackbird* can be written in three different ways- *black bird, black-bird, blackbird*. Another important question is; given that there are so many languages in the world which do not have a writing system; does that mean these languages do not have words? Of course, they have words. It is clear that orthographic criterion to identify word is not a universal criterion. It rather adds complexity in the

representation of words, because there are inconsistencies and ambiguities involved in the writing system in the languages of the world.

The word is listed in the lexicon, in the minds of the speaker. In the lexicalist tradition, it is not only the word which is listed in the lexicon but also irregularities and idiosyncrasies are captured in the lexicon. We would also find idioms and proverbs, and other frequently used expressions in the lexicon. William calls these items ‘listemes’ and the word is only one of the listemes in our mental lexicon. Wray and Perkins (2000:1) uses the term ‘formulaic language’ i.e. ‘a sequence, continuous or discontinuous of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be prefabricated that is stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar’. Jackendoff (1975) discusses morphological and semantic regularities in the lexicon, one can deal with derivation in several ways, and the most common is by means of redundancy rules.⁵³ The lexicon is conceived of as a prison which contains only the lawless, and only thing that its inmates have in common is lawlessness (Di Sciullo and Williams 1987:3). Lexicon in generative grammar must list various kinds of information of words, morphemes and idioms which have to be retrieved.⁵⁴

Words also meet some phonological criteria in a language. In stress sensitive language, the position of stress can tell us something about the word. It is in the domain of stress assignment. In French, stress always falls on the last syllable of word. In English, if it is disyllabic word the stress fall on the first syllable if it is noun and on the second syllable if it is verb; `Conduct (N) Con`duct (V).⁵⁵ The question remains for the syllable time languages, the position of word stress cannot be the universal criterion for determination of word in languages.

Syntactically words are treated as smallest syntactic atoms. The internal structure of words is not accessible to syntax. According to Anderson (1995), the syntax cannot have access to internal structure of words.⁵⁶ But if we look at the sentence *Ram goes to the market*, the bound

⁵³ According to Jackendoff (1975), the redundancy rules are not primarily designed for the generation of new words, rather they are used for capturing regularities in the lexicon and for the evaluation of lexical entries stored in the lexicon.

⁵⁴ See chapter III, section 3.2 the nature of mental lexicon

⁵⁵ Chomsky and Halle (1968) presented two stress rules in English: Compound stress rules and nuclear stress rules. In CSR, stress is assigned to the leftmost stressable vowel in nouns, verbs, or adjectives as for example `steam boat, `black bird etc. and in NSR, stress is assigned to the rightmost stressable vowel in a major constituent as for example [the [black `bird]].

⁵⁶ Given the formulation of LIH of Anderson: “the syntax neither manipulates nor has access to the internal structure of words” (Anderson 1992:84), Booij (2005) proposes to split the LIH in two parts: Syntax cannot manipulate internal structure of words and Syntax cannot enter into the internal structure of words. Spencer

morpheme –es [z] is also a smallest syntactic atom, and it is placed in the syntactic tree but cannot be treated as a word. Words have fixed order of elements. The elements of the words and their position cannot be changed; changing position will lead to the ungrammatical word as for example in English the word *hunters*, it cannot be reordered as **ershunt*, **huntser*, **serhunt*. The constituents of a sentence can be changed from one position to another as in 2

2. a. I will pick you up at 9’0 clock.

Or At 9’0 clock I will pick you up.

b. I get what I eat.

Or, I eat what I get.

Words cannot be broken by the insertion of an element inside it. But we have seen infix in many languages in the world (See Tagalog example in section 2.1.). The literate and illiterate speakers of a language know what a word is and what a word is not. They have clear intuitions about it. People can easily recognise a word of their language when they see or hear it. It is clearly the job of morphology to study words and its internal structure. The things presented above for word and the determination of wordhood is not a simple task rather a challenging one. The morphological typology classifies languages on the basis of how are morphemes put together in a word. There are different morphological types found in the languages of the world; analytic or isolating, agglutinating, inflectional or fusional, polysynthetic, and infixing languages (See Comrie 1988, Katamba 1991). Cross- linguistically what is seen as a word in one language may turn out to be a long sentence if we translate that word in English. It also depends on what kinds of morphological theory we follow while analysing words, whether we consider the word as whole unit, or the word which can be broken into smaller meaningful constituent morphemes. In the next section, I would discuss morpheme and classes of morpheme and the theoretical position in favour of word and as well as in favour of morpheme.

(2005:81) proposed Revised Lexical Integrity in which syntactic rules cannot alter the lexical meaning of words (including argument structure); syntactic rules have no access to the internal structure of X0 categories.

3.4. Approaches to Morphology

The notion of ‘morpheme’ was developed in the Structuralist tradition particularly in America and morphologists were occupied to dissect words into its meaningful components i.e. morphemes. In the European tradition, identifying words as linguistic units was the norm. So what units are appropriate as tools for a preliminary linguistic analysis? Is it a morpheme or a word? Saussure (1916) was leaning towards words as sign position, but the fieldwork experiences in so many Indo-European languages and languages of Africa and America scholars imposed a preference for a version of the morpheme as a sign position.⁵⁷

3.4.1. Item and Arrangement model

Item and arrangement (IA) theory grew out of the Structuralist’s preoccupation with word analysis. They broke words into their component morphemes which are items. In IA theory, each language is seen as a set of elements and patterns in which those elements occur. The main assumption is that there is no fundamental difference between underlying forms and surface forms of a morpheme. All morphology is agglutinative though it may not look agglutinating on the surface but essentially it is agglutinative on the underlying level. As for example the word *tables* results from the concatenation of two morphemes *table* and *-s*. IA model faced problems while analysing words of non-concatenative language and non-affixal word formation processes.

3.4.2. Item and process model

In Item and Process (IP) theory, complex words are formed by the operation of processes in simple words. It gives no independent status to the items, and items arise instead through the construction of processes. In this theory, the distinction between basic forms and derived forms are made. The surface form is derived from the underlying form through the application of certain processes as for example the word *tables* results when the lexeme TABLE undergoes the function ‘make plural’. IP analysis can account for non-concatenative morphology in a straightforward manner. The complex word *ran* past tense of *run* is analysed as *run*+ *past tense* + *vowel* is altered. According to Hockett (1958), what we can express in IA, can be expressed

⁵⁷ See McCarthy, Andrew Carstairs.2005. Basic terminology. In Stekauer P and R Lieber (eds). *Handbook of Wordformation*, Springer. Netherlands. Pp.5-23.

in IP and vice versa. They are most equivalent to one another mathematically. IP and IA theory are fundamentally agglutinative in nature and both face problems while dealing with fusional nature of inflectional systems, cumulative exponence and multiple exponence.

3.4.3. Word and Paradigm approach

The most basic question in morphological theory- what is the key unit of morphological analysis? Is it a word, or is it a morpheme? Word and Paradigm (WP) approach puts word at the centre for morphological analysis. The proponents of this theory felt that there are certain generalizations which can only be made at the word level and not at the morpheme level. Hockett (1954), Robins (1959), Matthews (1972), S. R. Anderson (1977, 1982) believe that words are not decomposed into smaller units such as morphemes. The primitive unit of analysis is the word. Stump (2001) points out that paradigms are primitive objects which are used in morphology to organize the inflection of words.

3.4. 4. Morpheme based morphology

In this model of morphology, morpheme is regarded as the key unit of grammatical analysis. As syntactic rules combine words to form clauses and sentences the same way morphological rules combine to form words in a language. This approach to word formation was very dominant among the Structuralists and also in the Post Bloomfieldian tradition. In this model, analysis of complex words can be defined as ‘syntax of morphemes’. The syntactic rule and morphological rule are essentially the same kinds of rules. The only difference is the domain of application; the morphological rules apply to word level whereas syntactic rules apply to the phrase or sentence level. Within this theory of morphology, ‘Word Syntax’ model was developed by Selkirk (1982) or Lieber (1992), the affixes have lexical status on a par with words. The only difference between affix and words is that, the affixes are bound morpheme whereas word is a free morpheme. In a more radical version of this approach, morphology as a subcomponent has no status in grammar, ‘morphologically complex words are the outcome of the manipulation of morphemes that take place in syntax’ (Julien 2002: 297). For the analysis of non-concatenative or non-affixational word formation processes, morpheme based approach to morphology faces some problems. The word formation processes such as zero derivation, truncation, vowel alternation and of extended exponence raise serious problems in determining

morphemes. The notion of the head also poses some problems in word syntax model. The head in a phrase (NP, VP, PP ..) is the rightmost element and also in the compound word it is right headed as for example '*the man*' and '*steam boat*' consecutively. But it seems that in derived words all the affixes are not heads as for example in '*rewrite*', the assignment of head status to prefix *re-* raises numerous problems. Here are some salient points of morpheme based morphology,

- The words are concatenation of morphemes which are found in syntagmatic axis as opposed to paradigmatic axis
- Morpheme is the key element for morphological analysis.
- Words are seen as the syntax of morphemes.
- The word formation process is unidirectional from the underlying form to the surface form
- Morphemes exist in the minds of the speakers. It has phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic information per se.
- It has also additional information what kinds of bases the morphemes would be attached to, after the addition with the base what would be the grammatical category etc.
- The output or the resultant words are not listed but unpredictable and irregular items are stored in the lexicon.
- Words stored in the lexicon are not coherently structured.
- The radical version of the morpheme based theory does not recognise morphology as a separate component Selkirk (1982), Halle and Marantz (1993), Harley (2003). It is believed that syntactic rules and morphological rules would be essentially the same kind of rules, with only the entities on which the rules operate being different, morphology on the word level, and syntax on the phrase and sentence level.

3.4.5. Word-based morphology

This approach to morphology was first mentioned in modern linguistics by Charles F. Hockett (1954) in traditional grammar which is based on Latin. It was also articulated by Robins (1959) and modified by P. H. Matthews (1972). S.R. Anderson's 'A-morphous morphology' (1982) is a classical work in this approach. In generative grammar, word based approaches to morphology began in 1976. Aronoff (1976) in 'Word formation in generative grammar' clearly articulated it. What is analysed in morpheme based theory as a 'morpheme'; it can be

conceptualized as a particular phonological and semantic similarity between set of related words by a 'schema'. The schema does not make reference to any individual morpheme, but only to whole words. The existence of morpheme in this theory is questioned, and it is assumed that morphemes are superfluous in nature. The lexicon contains words and no morpheme i.e. bound morpheme. In other words, the word is regarded as the basic unit of morphological analysis. The words have entries in the lexicon while affixes do not have an independent existence. Here are the main arguments of Word-based theory;

- It looks at the words paradigmatically in relation to other words
- Word is the central element for morphological analysis.
- It compares words in a related set of words
- Morphemes per se do not exist in isolation, they are superfluous in nature. They are the realization of the abstract schema found in the lexicon.
- After the morphological operation, the output is listed in the mental lexicon irrespective of their productivity. Aronoff (1976) says, the words created by productive rules are not listed in the lexicon.
- New words are coined not on the basis of analogy with an existing word but on the basis of abstract schema. These schemas express generalization about the form and meaning.
- Words listed in the lexicon are coherently structured
- The word-formation strategies are bidirectional or non-directional in nature.

3.4.5.1. A-morphous Morphology

There are various proposals available in the morphological literature that complex words do not have internal structures. Anderson (1992) criticises Item and arrangement approach, and its treatment of words. According to him, even syntax cannot access to the internal structure of words. In his view, morphology is Realizational, morphemes do not exist per se. There is no one to one correspondence between the form and the meaning of word. The meaning of a complex word and it cannot be established by identifying smaller units which contribute their meanings to the whole. According to him, a word cannot be divided into smaller units, and it is impossible to identify any internal structure. He also questions the intuitions of the speakers,

and presents a solution that speakers' intuitions are due to the fact that they relate to the whole words, and to each individual parts of a word.

3.4.5.2. Realizational Morphology

WP theory is also been labelled as Realizational Morphology. It is argued that there is a correspondence between the different set of grammatical properties and different forms of a word. These forms realise each one of these set of properties in a paradigm. No internal constituents are organized to make a word. All forms are organized inside the paradigm and none being derived from one another. The notion periphrasis is used in the analysis of inflectional paradigm where the cells of the paradigm are filled by the combination of analytical elements because of unavailability of specific morphological form.⁵⁸

3.4.5.3. Whole word morphology

Whole word morphology also known as seamless morphology is truly word based theory of morphology. It claims that word is the key unit of morphological analysis, and morphological operations on units are not morphemes but words. Whole word morphology was outlined in Ford and Singh (1991). A fuller monographic sketch of it appeared in Singh and Martohardjono (1997). Since then various aspects of it have been elaborated upon, and it has been tested against the empirical facts of several languages (of. Singh and Agnihotri 1997, Singh and Dasgupta 1999, Singh and Ford 2000, Becker 2000, Neuvel 2003, Singh and Neuvel 2001). Whole word morphology sees morphology not as a combination of morphs or morphemes but as a system of generalized and abstract bi-directional correspondences amongst patterns instantiated by sets of whole words that exploit the same contrast. Singh and Agnihotri (1997: 43-45) gives an outline of their proposed word-based theory. Here are some of the main points;

- The distinctions between different types of morphology are rejected in their proposal as for example derivational and inflectional, concatenative and non-concatenative, productive and unproductive, template and non-template (No multiple morphologies).
- Word is considered to be the key unit of morphological analysis.

⁵⁸ See Chapter-III, section 3.4.5.

- The segmentation of morphological operation is not allowed, the morphological operation does not allow separation between morphology and phonology and no-affixation truncation.
- The operation has no privileged direction it is rather bidirectional.
- No category is exclusively determined morphologically i.e. no conjugation, declension, or intra-extra paradigmatic kind of typology (of Chene 1975; Bybee 1980)
- Morphological integrity of the word has to be entertained (Siegel 1978)

3.5. The place of morphology in the overall architecture of Grammar

In 1859, the term *morphology* in linguistics was first used by August Scheleicher.⁵⁹ But the term *morphology* is generally attributed to J.W. V. Goethe (1749-1832⁶⁰) who coined it early in the 19th century in a biological context. Its etymology is Greek: *morph* means shape or form and *logos* is knowledge of something; so the term in general usage means study of forms or shapes. In linguistics, it has to do with the internal structure of complex words. Why the term morphology is recent invention in the 19th century? Somewhat paradoxically, morphology is both the oldest and one of the youngest subdisciplines of grammar (Haspelmath, 2002). It is oldest because, the first linguists were primarily morphologists. The morphological forms of Sumerian words attested on clay tablets from Mesopatemia (1600 BCE)⁶¹

| | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 3. | <i>badu</i> | ‘he goes away’ | <i>ingen</i> | he went |
| | <i>baduun</i> | ‘I go away’ | <i>ingenen</i> | ‘I went’ |
| | <i>basidu</i> | ‘he goes away to him’ | <i>insigne</i> | ‘he went to him’ |
| | <i>basiduun</i> | ‘I go away to him’ | <i>insigenen</i> | ‘I went to him’ |

(Jacobsen 1974:53-54)

Morphology was also prominent in the writings of the great grammarian of Antiquity Panini in 5th century BCE. Morphology played a pivotal role in the Sanskrit, Hebrew, Greek, Roman and Arab tradition. Early there was no need for the special term, the grammar itself evoked word

⁵⁹ His pioneering work was *A Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Languages*, in which he tried to reconstruct the Proto-Indo-European language.

⁶⁰ J. W. V. Goethe, German writer, intellectuals, literary figure used the term morphology, anatomy and optics. His word *Metamorphosis of plants* (1790) and *theory of colors* (1810) were well received by the scientific establishments of his time.

⁶¹ Data source Roman Jacobsen (1974:53-54) excerpted from Haspelmath (2002:1).

structure and hence morphology. This is also the reason why the term morphology was used in the 2nd half of the 19th century by August Scheleischer (1859) in the linguistic sense. In the early 19th century, morphology played a crucial role in the reconstruction of Indo-European. In 1816, Franz Bopp published the results of a study supporting the claim originally made by Sir William Jones⁶². He claimed that Sanskrit, Latin, Persian and other Germanic languages were descended from a common source. The comparative grammarians' evidence was based on a comparison of the comparative grammatical endings of words in those languages. They have studied forms of nominal declension classes and verbal conjugations extensively to reach out their analysis. Jacob Grimm published his classical work 'Deutsche Grammatik' and he showed the evolution of the grammar of Germanic languages, and the relationship of Germanic to other Indo-European languages. His principle on language change which is widely known as Grimm's law is still talked about by the historical linguistics. Karl Verner (1875) later observed some phonological features and proposed some modifications in Grimm's law which is known as Verner's law⁶³. Max Muller (1823-1900), one of the German scholars, Indologist, Philologist who under the influence of Darwin's theory of evolution contented that the study of evolution of words would throw light on the evolution of language. His specific claim was that if we study 400-500 basic roots of Indo-European ancestors of many languages of Europe and Asia that would be the key to understanding the origin of human language.⁶⁴ However, Language cannot be viewed as a living organism and such evolutionary pretensions were abandoned very early in the history of Linguistics. Morphology has been regarded as an essentially synchronic discipline mainly focusing on the study of word-structure of a language at a particular point in time rather than a particular period of time. It is worth mentioning that Saussure (1916) has shifted the paradigm from diachrony to synchrony in the study of languages.

⁶² Sir William Jones was the founder of Asiatic Society of Bengal. He knew so many languages, he was super polyglot. His observation about Sanskrit, "Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident."

⁶³ Karl Verner observed that the apparently unexpected voicing of voiceless stops occurred if they were non-word-initial and if the vowel preceding them carried no stress in Proto Indo European. The original location of stress was often retained in Greek and early Sanskrit; in Germanic, though, stress eventually became fixed on the initial (root) syllable of all words. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Verner%27s_law (date:25-05-2016)

⁶⁴ Max Muller (1874) 'Nothing, no doubt, would be more interesting than to know from historical documents that exact process by which the first man began to lisp his first words, and thus to be rid forever of all the theories on the origin of speech' (Lectures on the Science of Language)

Linguistics, in early American Structural linguistics has been considered as a body of descriptive and analytic procedures. Linguistic analysis was expected to concentrate by focusing selectively on one dimension of language structure at a time before taking the next one. The linguistic levels are; Phonology or phonemics → Morphology → Syntax → semantics. It was considered a bad idea while analysing the lower level such as phonology and taking information from the higher level such as syntax. The Structuralist's claim was each level is separate, and they proposed a doctrine of separation of levels. However, it was later realised by the Structuralists that the doctrine of separation of levels was a bad idea, because each linguistic level interacts with one another⁶⁵. Early American Structuralists were field linguists, and they started to analyse structure of new languages. They did not have adequate grammatical descriptions on those unknown languages. They initially grappled with the problem of sounds; how the sounds are used to distinguish meaning. They developed and refined the theory of Phoneme {Sapir (1925), Swadesh (1934), Twaddel, (1944), Harris (1944)}. Then the focus gradually shifted to morphology. The Structuralists investigated issues in the theory of word-structure {See Bloomfield (1933), Harris (1943), Hockett (1958), Nida (1949)}. Before the Structuralists preoccupation with internal structure of words the analysis of word structure were clubbed with sentence structure under grammar. In the traditional linguistics analysis, the word was considered to be the basic, key unit of linguistic analysis and lexicography. It was the American Structuralists who showed that words may have its internal structures, and they can be analysed in terms of morphemes. A morpheme is a minimal meaningful unit of language which has a form and grammatical function/s. According E. Nida (1949), the purpose of morphology is to, 'the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words'. They have introduced morphology as a separate sub-branch of linguistics and in their theory morpheme is regarded as the key unit of morphological analysis. During the year 1940-1960, morphology played an important role and occupied a centre stage in the grammatical theory. But after the advent of Generative grammar (Chomsky 1957), the role of morphology in the grammatical module diminishes in the overall architecture of Generative Grammar.

One of the main objectives of generative linguistics is to understand the nature of linguistic knowledge, and how these systems are acquired by humans. The adequacy of the grammar is not only observational and descriptive but explanatory in nature. The basic question is asked

⁶⁵ See Chapter IV-Construction Morphology. In CM, it is considered that each word is a pairing of three levels of information PHON, SYN, SEM. (Booij 2007, 2010).

what people know if they know a particular language. Knowing a language does not mean that a person is able to memorise innumerable set of utterances. It is believed that knowing a language involves the person's ability to produce innumerable set of sentences and also comprehend the utterances spoken by others. In other words, the person can encode and decode the utterances which s/he may not have heard before. This involves creativity which is mostly rule-governed. There is no upper limit to the length of a sentence, this characteristic of language is known as *recursivity* or *recursiveness*.⁶⁶ In the early generative linguistics, morphology were not recognised as a separate component of the grammar it was merged with Lexicon, it was believed that word-formation processes can be tackled either in phonology or in syntax. The structure of grammar in early Generative linguistics has the components (i) Lexicon and Morphology (ii) Syntax (iii) Phonetic Form and (iv) Logical form.

When structuralism was at its peak, the early generative grammarians rejected morphology as a separate linguistic module. They believed that word formation could be adequately covered under phonology and syntax. Lees (1960:67) showed the derivation of the words *appointment* and *priesthood* in the syntactic structure;

4. *The committee appoints John* *The committee's appointment of John*
 John is a priest *John's priesthood*

Though Chomsky (1970) reacted to this view of word-formation and morphology. He shows that there are empirical differences between word-level constructs and sentence level constructs. Syntactic operations are very productive but the morphological processes are not that much productive, so the morphological processes cannot be associated with syntactic processes. Only some verbs of certain kind allow nominalizations, modal verb *must* can be used as a noun, *it is must* but *shall* cannot be used '*it is shall*'. On the other hand, syntactic processes apply without exception to each phrase of a certain kind. After the application of morphological processes, the resultant word or word forms has idiosyncratic and unpredictable properties. Word-formation is also sensitive to idiosyncratic properties of the input as for example *grow-th*, *explanation*, *building*, *kick*. Syntactic processes apply to all phrase structures that share some relevant properties. When a morphological process is applied to an input, the output does not show any memory of the previous properties of the input. Here in the examples *The explanation of the problem*, the complex word '*explanation*' does not show any of the properties of the verb rather it behaves like a simple noun like '*father*'. Before the word *explain*

⁶⁶ This hypothesis put forwarded by Noam Chomsky and his colleagues is that recursion enables language, and because of this ability that humans are alone in having this language capacity.

(V) goes to the next level, the information of the word is obliterated as far as syntax is concerned.⁶⁷ The noun does not keep trace of its verbal origin *explain*.

Halle (1973) contends that internal structure of words is built in an independent generative component known as lexicon. The unpredictable and idiosyncratic properties of words involved are listed in the lexicon. Syntax only has the access to the result of the morphological processes and does not access the internal structure of complex words. Syntax only reads the result of the process which is the whole word. As time went by, the place of morphology became secure and generative grammarians began to analyse word-structures in satisfactory ways. Morphology should be regarded as an autonomous component of grammar because of the existence of arbitrary inflectional classes. Words are the central dimension of language and morphology is the key to understanding language and it shed light on a variety of aspects of the complex human activities (Aronoff, 1983:375).

The comparative grammarians while analysing grammatical structures mostly relied on morphological phenomenon. Morphology occupied a centre stage in grammatical theory in the comparative and also in the Structuralist traditions. After the advent of generative grammar, the place of morphology in the grammatical module was questioned and morphology though occupied at the centre of grammatical analysis, dimmed almost fifteen years after the publication of syntactic structures (Chomsky, 1957). In the early generative tradition, there was no place of morphology, the generative grammarians were of the opinion that if the morphology is about word-formation, creation of new words or word forms, then phonology and syntax can succinctly deal with this kind of word-formation. Generative linguists soon realized the importance of morphology. In *Remarks on Nominalization* (Chomsky 1970) and Morris Halle in *Prolegomena to a theory of word-formation* (1973) tried to establish morphology as a different sub-module in the generative tradition. That has again led to a different way of theorizing in generative grammar module.

After 1960s, the use of the term morpheme differs from the Structuralist interpretations. Three trends were noticeable, firstly, the term morpheme continues to be used but not all or some morphemes are regarded as Saussurean signs. Secondly, morpheme is used to cover root,

⁶⁷ Bracket Erasure Convention (Mohan 1982, Pesetsky 1979) states that at the end of each layer of derivation information concerning bracketing and any information concerning phonological, morphological or internal structure of words are erased before to go to the next level, the information are obliterated by this convention. It says that all words are treated in the same way when they enter in the next level.

affixes without any theoretical weight, and thirdly, the term morpheme was no longer used, it is considered inexistent and superfluous in nature. Aronoff (1975) points out that morphemes are not always signs. He substantiates his claim by proving data from English as for instance; *assume-assumption*, *presume-presumption* and *receive-reception*, *deceive-deception*, and he considers *-sume* and *-ceive* are morphemes because of their recurrent distribution and arbitrariness. Aronoff takes the position in which the word is considered as sign. On the other hand, Melcuk (1993, 2000) entirely rejects morpheme as sign position, he considers English plural morpheme is not a sign but its allomorphs /s, z, iz, ɔn/ are signs. In a word such as *presume*, it is only the word as whole that counts as a morph. According to Halle (1973) morphemes are simply roots and affixes, these are put together by rules of word-formation to create potential words. McCarthy (1981) was interested in Semitic languages where tri-consonantal root has lexical content of a word, and vocalic melody (vowels) is inserted in between roots to produce inflectional and derivational words. The vowels are represented in morphemic tier and could be regarded as Saussurean signs with discontinuous significant. For him, the term morpheme is a level of convenience without giving it much theoretical weight. Halle and Marantz (1993) in Distributive morphology assume that vocabulary items- roots and affixes are inserted at the terminal nodes both before and after vocabulary insertion so that that bundle of features realised a morphemes. Anderson (1992) and Stump (2001) do not give theoretical importance to morpheme and the existence of morpheme is questioned in their theory. They have taken the word as sign position and they believe that morphological analysis can be made at the level of whole word.

What is Grammar? Grammar is a system of rules and every speaker of a language knows it subconsciously. Chomsky and Halle (1968) use 'the term *grammar* with a systematic ambiguity. On the one hand, the term refers to the explicit theory constructed by the linguist and proposed as a description of the speaker's competence. On the other hand, it refers to the competence itself.' In Generative Linguistics, the term grammar refers to the implicit, subconscious rules and principles of language that people have in their heads. This set of rules enables the speakers to distinguish between grammatically well-formed sentences and ill-formed sentences. In traditional approaches, the term grammar refers to morphology and syntax (morpho-syntax) but in early generative linguistics the components of grammar are; morphology and lexicon, syntax, phonology, semantics. The implicit rules lie in every linguistic module. In generative linguistics, grammar is neither prescriptive nor the description of observed patterns of language use. The goal of generative linguistics is to model speaker's

linguistic knowledge. Chomsky proposes competence rather than performance is the main object of linguistic enquiry. It includes ability to create new words, new phrases and sentences; and decode the meaning of novel or unfamiliar words which speakers encounter in everyday lives. According to Chomsky, the linguistic capacity of human is innate and general character of linguistic knowledge is determined by the nature of mind which is endowed with language faculty which is determined in turn by the biology and physiology of the brain. He contends that human child is born with a blue print of language which is called Universal Grammar i.e. a general principle found in a language “belongs to universal grammar, as part of ‘preexistent’ knowledge that makes learning possible.” Chomsky (1975:118). The UG is modular in structure, it has various principles and parameters which are fixed by cultural transmission, experience. He compares Universal Grammar to an intricate electrical system which is all wired up, but not switched on. Experience and exposure to particular language will turn on these switches and can give them an appropriate setting. The children make intelligent guesses and if one choice is made, another choice is automatically made, because rules are interdependent. The children do not need to work out each rule independently as for example if a language has SVO word order, and the children acquired this rule, it precludes that the language will have preposition.

In Generative tradition, grammar is viewed as a computation system which combines smaller units into bigger units and link the structures with sounds and meanings. How many components are there in the generative module? The components found in the Generative module are; (i) A computational system that combines simple units into bigger units (Syntax), (ii) A system that relates to those units into sounds (Phonetics and Phonology), and (iii) A system that relates those units into meanings (Semantics). The view of Grammar described above is where the work and functions of morphology is taken care of by Syntax. This view of grammar is known as Constructionism, where the role of morphology is purely interpretative in nature. The radical constructionist like Harley (2006) and others do not recognise morphology as subcomponent in their grammatical module. They believed that word-formation is done in Syntax. On the other hand, the place of morphology is secured in the generative module which is known as Lexicalism. In this theory, the subcomponents of the grammar are; (i) Morphology (ii) Syntax (iii) Phonetics and Phonology and (iv) Semantics. I will be briefly highlighting both the traditions in the following sections.

3.5.1. Lexicalist Theories

The main claim of Lexicalist theory is that the grammar contains two distinct computational components: Lexicon and Syntax which can create new forms. The lexicon consists of a list of forms (mental dictionary) and morphology creates new words. Lexicon feeds units to syntax and after syntactic operations the units are transferred to LF (meaning) and PF (sounds). The architecture of the grammar as it is proposed in Lexicalism in Figure.3.1;

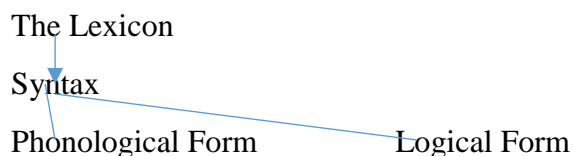


Figure-3.1 The Architecture of Grammar in Lexicalism

Historically, lexicalism was a reaction against the constructionist theory where morphologically complex words were built in syntax. The early generative semanticists {Katz and Postal (1964), McCawley 1968, Lees (1960)} have analysed words as the manifestation of a complex structure and processes similar to those that apply in syntax which have to be applied on morphological objects. In other words, there were no distinctions made between syntactic objects (phrases and sentences) and morphological objects (words). Here is an analysis of the word *where* from Katz and Postal (1964:129-35);

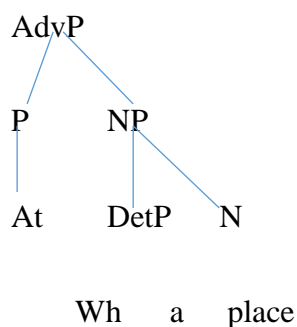


Figure.3.2 The analysis of the word ‘where’ (Katz & Postal 1964)

The internal structure of morphological object *where* in syntax realised as ‘at which place’. In order to surface at *where* it has to go through various syntactic operations. Chomsky (1970) reacted against this view of word-formations mainly on three grounds: (a) productivity, (b) idiosyncrasies and unpredictability, and (c) inaccessibility to the internal structure of words. In the lexicalist tradition, lexicon feeds syntax. Syntax receives objects which are created in lexicon. Lexicon determines whether a verb will take an object or it is without an object in a syntactic structure. The words come out of the lexicon with bundle of properties namely

meaning, grammatical category, sounds and also preferred combinations with other units. In other word, a single word projects its lexical properties to the whole structure, which is why Lexicalism is also called Projectionism. In the lexicon, as for example the word *give* has the following properties; *Give*: Category (V) Subcategory: Transitive. These properties must be met by syntax or else the sentence will be ungrammatical. The syntactic differences find their origin in the lexicon itself. The lexicon is store house of individual units, idiosyncratic units and all kinds of word formations take place in lexicon.⁶⁸ However within lexicalist traditions, two views emerge that inflectional morphology is performed in Syntax, and derivational morphology in Lexicon. Inflectional morphology interacts with Syntax in a direct way and it is also visible in agreement. There are two versions of Lexicalism: Strong and weak lexicalism. In the strong lexicalist tradition, all morphological processes including inflection is performed in the Lexicon. Halle (1973) contends that it is not possible to determine the exact inflectional form of a word before it occurs in a syntactic structure. It is assumed that lexicon is prior to syntax. He proposes that instead of supplying a single form the lexicon presents the whole inflectional paradigm and leaves the matter to syntax to choose the correct inflectional form in a syntactic structure. On the other hand, in weak lexicalism inflectional morphology is performed in syntax and not in lexicon. According to Chomsky (1965, 1970), the words come out of the lexicon with their many specified properties but their inflectional properties are unspecified in the sense that they don't have a value. It is only in the syntactic structure that unspecified property value is specified. As for case marking, the noun is inserted in the syntactic structure without case value and in the syntactic context the noun will be assigned case value as for example; nominative, locative, genitive, accusative etc.

3.5.2. Constructionist theories

The alternative generative theory to Lexicalism is Constructionism. It is argued that Syntax is the only generative component. The lexicon does not contain word-formation component. It is storehouse of units associated with some idiosyncratic meanings. In this theoretical approach, morphology has a purely interpretative role. It cannot create any new structures and only interpret structures that are created by syntax and modifies them to meet some formal

⁶⁸ See chapter III, section 3.2 the nature of mental lexicon

properties. One of the dominant theory in Constructionism is Distributive Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993).

3.5.2.1. *Distributive Morphology*

The architecture of grammar in DM (Halle and Marantz 1993) has a narrow lexicon, computational system, morphology, PF and LF. Lexicon and morphology are placed in different components. The lexicon is a list of units and does not have a generative role. The list of complex units found in the lexicon are combined through the computational system i.e. syntax. The word structure is built in syntax and therefore have syntactic properties. Morphology has a purely interpretative role and it does not have a generative role. See Table.3.2 below for the architecture of grammar in DM and in Lexicalism;

| Constructionism (DM) | Lexicalism |
|---|---|
| <p>Narrow Lexicon</p> <p>↓</p> <p>Computational system</p> <p>↙ ↘</p> <p>Morphology PF LF</p> | <p>Lexicon and Morphology</p> <p>↓</p> <p>Syntax</p> <p>↙ ↘</p> <p>PF LF</p> |

Table.3.2 Constructionism and Lexicalism

In Distributive Morphology, syntax is prior to morphology. Syntax feeds morphology and morphology cannot determine the well-formedness of a syntactic structure rather the syntactic properties of structure determine its morphology. Syntax builds the words, and morphology has to read them. Words have lexical properties which are due to syntactic requisites. No word stored in the narrow lexicon having a set special properties and these properties are only added to the representation at a later stage, once syntactic computation has been completed. As for example, syntax takes an element (Verb) a head with verbal features, a determiner and so on and builds a structure. In the narrow lexicon, the root verb does not have a grammatical category. The narrow lexicon is just a bundle of abstract features, and there is not enough information about how the features will surface. The vocabulary entry relates a set of abstract features with a morphophonological representation. It can also contain unpredictable information about its sounds and morphological class such as declension or conjugation class.

3.5.2.2. *Roots in Distributive Morphology*

The traditional definition of root is a irreducible core of a word with absolutely nothing else attached to it and which has a basic meaning (Katamba:1993). In other words, after removing all the affixes the item which is left can be qualified as root or base. However, for non-affixal processes it may not be easier to remove the morphological processes. In distributive morphology a root requires other morphemes before it can be inflected within a particular class or paradigm. Roots do not have any grammatical categories and once it is combined with other morphemes, it acquires a grammatical category as for example in 5;

5. In English, the word *grow* does not have any grammatical category in Lexicon, if it is combined with $[[\sqrt{\text{GROW}}] \emptyset \text{V}]$ it becomes a verb and in this context $[[\sqrt{\text{GROW}}] \text{th N}]$ it becomes a noun.

The notion of root in Distributive Morphology is criticised by many, one of the arguments is that the root is variable and its nature depends on the morphemes it combines with. It is doubtful that all roots cannot surface in the daily usage and it cannot attain grammatical category. In Distributive Morphology, Syntax does not have access to idiosyncratic information of items and the basic units- roots even do not have grammatical category. The only computational component is syntax in which a lot of power is assigned. It can create structures that are not well-formed in the language. The problem of over-generation of structures is overcome by giving the post-syntactic component the power of filtering the structures which is created by syntax. This phenomenon is called as the licensing environment which can restrict productivity. A vocabulary entry can determine the syntactic context where an element is introduced as for example *Cathy grows carrots and beard grows*. The root GROW will have an entry in the lexicon *grow* [+/- cause], which allows the root to be inserted in the transitive and intransitive configuration. The transitive and intransitive constructions are grammatical in the syntax, but some lexical items cannot materialise them. In DM, non-predictable semantic information (encyclopaedia) is placed in the LF component. It is not placed in the PF component because it contains non-predictable meaning that a lexical item has. The encyclopaedic entries are pairs that relate a morphophonological information to a specific meaning as in 6;

6. (a) /cat/ \leftrightarrow a feline (animal) that makes the sound meow, and like milk, fish

(b) /kick the bucket/ \leftrightarrow die (idiom)

Constructionism predicts that idioms must be formed only by elements belonging to the same syntactic domain. The verb and its internal arguments can have idiomatic meaning but not the one with its agent or causer as for example *go bananas*, *eat one's words* etc. We find data against this prediction where an agent is also included as for example *A little bird told me that...* In DM, word-formation is carried out in Syntax, idiosyncrasies are explained by storing units in different lists, and morphology is considered to be a set of operations that interpret the output of syntax, and adapt it so that several language specific morphological principles are met (Embick and Noyer 2001).

3.5.3. Constructionism vs. Lexicalism

Here are the main tenets of Constructionism and Lexicalism presented in the following table;

| Constructionism | Lexicalism |
|---|---|
| Morphology is part of the larger computational system i.e. morphology is the part of Syntax | Morphology is an independent module of the grammar and is not part of syntax. |
| The computational system is combinatorial module where units are combined, words are combined into phrases and sentences in Syntax and morphology combines morphemes, it has a purely interpretive role | The syntax and morphology are distinct components of the Grammar. Syntax takes care of the combination of words and morphemes are combined in Morphology |
| There are no substantial differences between Syntax and Morphology, words are actually built in Syntax. William (2007) argues that there are no theoretical arguments in favour of Lexicalism. | In the early 1970s, different phenomenon led many linguistics belief that principles that operate in syntax are not identical to the principles that operate in morphology. The lexicalists propose a division of labour between Syntax and morphology. |

| | |
|---|---|
| There is no place for morphology in Constructionism, the lexicon exists in the module but it does not have a generative role. | Lexicon plays a very powerful role in Lexicalism, word-formation and lexicon are merged together in the early generative module (Chomsky 1965). |
| One of the recent constructionist theory in Morphology is Distributive Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993) | The recent Lexicalist theory in Morphology is Construction Morphology (Geert Booij: 2012) based on the theory of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995) |
| The words are put together by syntax so that there is no distinct morphological component. It has Lexicon where grammatical, phonological and semantic information is stored and accessed at different points in Grammar. | The notion ‘construction’ plays a pivotal role in Construction Morphology. The lexicon which has powerful role stores constructions which are complex units associated with unpredictable meaning, and they can be combined with each other through different operations. |

Table.3.3 Tenets of Constructionism and Lexicalism

3.6. Representation of morphological knowledge

As discussed above, it is clear that in one hand, mental lexicon is the storage of information and it has also grammar which does the computation. The mental lexicon is the battleground for the theoreticians. If we consider the English word *dog* (sing) and *dogs* (plural), *ring* (present) *rang* (past); the plural form of *dogs* and the past tense *rang* are neither stored in our mental lexicon and nor retrieved from the lexicon. They are formed online by rules. According to Aronoff (2010), words formed by productive word formation processes are not stored in our mental lexicon, but those are created by irregular processes are stored in our mental lexicon. Research in psycholinguistics have proved that words are stored in our mental lexicon and at the same time the complex words may be decomposed at the time of lexical processing. What should be the structure of morphological knowledge that exists in the mental lexicon? How are the morphological complex words produced, recognized, and processed? Research on these related areas on language production, recognition, processing and language change have thrown some light on the representation of morphologically complex words in the lexicon.

Morphology can be viewed as a window on the human mind. But how those complex words are represented, is there any source of evidence? There are two kinds of evidence;

3.6.1. Experimental evidence

Psycholinguists often carry out Lexical Decision Task (LDT) in psycholinguistic research. The participants in such experiment may be asked to determine if a sequence of letters shown on computer screen is a grammatically well-formed words or ill-formed words on their language. If a word has more frequency of occurrences, it has more activation level. On the other hand, the less frequency words have less activation level. Higher activation level activated faster in language processing. Response latency is measured in milliseconds. The LDT is often combined with different kinds of priming tests. (See Baayen et al. 1995, Schreuder & Baayen 1997, De Jong et al. 2000, Clark and Berman 2004, Clark 1993, Aitchison 2004, Jaeger et al. 1996, Rumelhart and McClelland 1986, Pinker 1999, Bybee 1995, 2001, Hay 2001).

3.6.2. Naturalistic Data

These data are the actual behaviour of the language users. Both children and adult productively form new words or word forms they have not come across before. This is the evidence of naturalistic data that the children have acquired the abstract morphological pattern. Speech errors are also good examples of naturalistic data which show the internal morphological structure in lexical memory. The people suffering in different kinds of language disorders can also throw some light on the mental representation of morphologically complex words (Aitchison 2004, Eve Clark 1982, de Bleser and Bayer 1988). The native speakers of a language can create or produce new words or word forms any time if the situation demands it. This proves that the language users not only uses words from the mental lexicon but also does the computation at the time of language use. But how these two things storage and computation of morphologically complex words are simultaneously going in mind? Do we need to store the morphologically complex words? The answer to the question is human memory has such a vast capacity that it can store hundreds of thousands words. The other thing is that storage and computation is not complementary in nature rather both have good compatibility in the human mind. Psycholinguistics studies have further proved that the existence of both the systems storage and computation in the human mind. It has been suggested that information retrieval

from the memory route has more speed at the time of language processing. On other hand the computation route is slow and may take more processing time.

The dual system model of morphological knowledge (Pinker 1995) states that regular words are processed whereas the irregular words are stored in lexical memory. The stored irregular forms are linked to each other in an associative way. The language users are able to discover similarity patterns as for example in English strong verb past tense and participial forms –iŋ/k ---aŋ/k --uŋ/k for the verbs

7. *ring, spring, drink, shrink, stink, sink.*

In defense of dual system theory, Jaeger (1996) has conducted an experiment- PET scans of participants. He argued that regular and irregular verbs in English are processed by different neural systems. It was found that irregular forms are processed faster than regular forms, and also that regular past tense forms activated significantly larger areas of the brain than the irregular past task. The dual system theory may pose the question on how to differentiate between rules and associative patterns. The rules can be more productive and new words can be formed using rules to any variable whereas the associative patterns refer to specific properties of words involved.

3.6.3. Connectionist and analogy based approach

The main assumption of this approach (Rumelhart and McClelland, 1986) is that morphological knowledge is conceived of as a pattern associative memory, a set of associations between pieces of linguistic information. The strength of these associations varies with the number of times that one has been exposed to the relevant information. This theory does not make any distinction between rules and representation; as for example, if we analyse English past tense formation, it is claimed that the memory contains present tense and past tense forms of words. These words are associated with each other, there will be a network of associations of considerable strength between the phonological constituents of –iŋ/k and aŋ/k that accounts for the past tense forms to *sing* and other verbs listed in 3.6.2. (a). Explaining English regular and irregular past tense, Bybee (1988, 1995, 2001) contended that the regularities in the formal relationship between present tense and past tense are captured by abstract schemas that can be constructed on the basis of sets of words. The correlation between the phonological and semantic properties of the related set of words results in a morphological schema.

In Analogy based model, a new word is formed on the basis of a related existing word, without an abstract morphological template being involved. As for example, 'seascape' can be formed on the basis of analogy with 'landscape' without the realization of the abstract schema in the lexicon. How do we make new words? Is it by analogy, by rules or by the abstract schemas? Pinker (1999) has proposed that both ways (analogy and schema) of forming words complex words co-exist, for instance in the formation of the past tense forms of English regular verbs by abstract rules versus irregular verbs by analogy or associations.

For the description of affixes, it seems that morpheme based morphological rules and word-based schemas would equally do well. Both the rules and schemas are abstractions based on the analysis of related set of words. The crucial difference between a schema and a rule is that the schema does not make reference to individual morpheme. Schema refers only to the whole words. The bound morphemes are superfluous and inexistent and the rule will make reference to individual morpheme. They are also enlisted in the lexicon along with its other grammatical properties. What is analysed as morpheme in morpheme based morphology; is analysed as part of the phonological, morphological and semantic description of the set of derivatives in a word-based model. The word-based morphology can account for wider range of phenomenon in a straightforward fashion than in a morpheme based model. The analysis of conversion, truncated personal name, back-formation and autosegmental variation everything can be dealt with ease in word-based model.

There are various psycholinguistic and cognitive linguistic literature which favour the word based approaches to morphology. As Tomasello (2000: 238) points out, language acquisition starts with storing mental representations of concrete cases of language use. Gradually, the language learner will make abstractions across set of linguistic constructs with similar properties, thus acquiring the abstract system underlying these linguistic constructs. J. H. Paul wrote in *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (1880) that the language learner will start with learning individual words and word forms, but gradually (s)he will abstract way from the concrete words (s)he has learned, and coin new words and word forms according to the abstract schemas (Booij, 2010). The word based approach to morphology continued in the paradigmatic approaches to word formation in European non generative tradition and in recent work such as Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Riehemann 1998, 2001), and in the theoretical framework of Cognitive linguistics (Croft and Cruse 2004, Langacker 1987, 1991; Taylor 2002).

3.7. Construction Grammar

The gift of the language is the single human trait that marks us all genetically, setting us apart from the rest of the lives (Thomas, 1978). Indeed, the possession of language makes human distinct and unique being. Chomsky calls it ‘the innateness’ or unique to man. When we study human language, we are approaching what some might call the *human essence*, the distinctive qualities of mind that are, so far unique to man (Chomsky,1968). The language itself is so complex phenomenon which is not only a social enterprise but rather an amalgamation of interactions of the social and inner system. It is innate inside the mind/brain of the humans. It is a matter of exposure that humans acquire a set of rules of particular language (Hockett, 1958).

So, what is language? What do we know when we know a language? What knowledge of language we require to qualify as a competent/ideal speaker? There are several questions remain unanswered. If we ask any speaker of a language the questions raised above particularly what speakers know when they know a language; several things crops up in mind. But knowing a language means to know the grammar of that language which is different from the traditional grammar. The speakers by five or six years of age master the grammar of their language. It is the subconscious knowledge of the native speakers by which they produce unlimited number of sentences which are never produced before. They can create new words and phrases if the need arises, they can carry out the grammaticality judgement tasks whether the sentence is grammatically ill-formed or well-formed in their speech variety. The language users know where to speak what and when, they know the pragmatics and social and cultural things about their language. Our ability to speak and understand, and also to make judgements about the grammaticality of sentences reveal our knowledge of the rules of our language. This knowledge represents a complex cognitive system (Fromkin 2011: 294). The linguistic knowledge is represented in the human mind/brain is not by simple fashion. To capture this representation of linguistic knowledge different theories have been proposed. In the theory of Construction grammar, it can be captured by a list. The speakers of the language must know the constructions of their language.

According to A. E. Goldberg (2006), “the totality of our knowledge of language is captured by a network of constructions: a construct-i-con”. Then what is ‘construction’ in construction grammar refers to. The adherents of the theory of Construction Grammar, construction is

viewed as units of linguistic knowledge; a pairing of form and meaning. Construction Grammar is a general theory of syntactic representation in Cognitive Linguistics.⁶⁹ CG assumes that the basic form of syntactic structure is ‘construction’ which is a pairing of form and meaning. The constructions are organized in an inheritance network. In particular, the notion of a construction has been generalized so that it is a uniform model for the representation of all grammatical knowledge—syntax, morphology, and lexicon (See Croft, 1999).

In reaction to the componential model of generative grammar, construction grammar emerged as an alternative module of grammatical representation. In componential model, an utterance is represented in different components- sound structure (phonological component), syntax (Syntactic component) and meaning (Semantic component). Each component describes rules and constraints of its own but not separated from one another. They are connected with the linking rules or there are interface conditions between components. Different versions of this componential model has been proposed and revised again and again. It also proposes D-structure and S-structure in the module. The theories in componential model are case theory, binding theory, principles and parameters and latest version is the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995). In Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993), it is assumed that “.. the cognitive system interacts with just two such external systems: the articulatory-perceptual system A-P and the conceptual-intentional system C-I. Accordingly, there are two interface levels, Phonetic Form (PF) at the A-P interface and Logical Form (LF) at the C-I interface”. The generative linguists working on componential model framework could not come to a conclusion that how many components are there in their module? Aronoff (1993) argues that morphology which deals with internal structure of words and word-formations must occupy a separate component in the Generative module. Valluduvu (1992) suggested that context of use or pragmatics should have its own component. Within each component, the model of representation is essentially reductionist. The logical conclusion of the combinatorial model is that all properties of syntactic constructions--- i.e. grammatical structures larger than just a single word—can be captured with the general rules of the grammatical components and their interfaces, and there is no need for construction in grammatical analysis. Chomsky makes it clear, “a central element

⁶⁹ Cognitive linguistics is an approach to the analysis of natural language that originated in the late seventies and early eighties in the work of George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, and Len Talmy, and that focuses on language as an instrument for organizing, processing, and conveying informations. Given this perspective, the analysis of the conceptual and experimental basis of linguistic categories is of primary importance within Cognitive Linguistics: the formal structure of language are studied not as they are autonomous, but as reflections of general conceptual organization, categorization principles, processing mechanism and experiential and environmental influences. (See The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics)

in the work discussed here, as in recent work from which it evolves, is the effort to decompose such processes as ‘passive’, ‘relativization’ etc. into more fundamental abstract features.” (Chomsky 1981: 121). UG [Universal Grammar] provides a fixed system of principles and a finite array of finitely valued parameters. The language-particular rules reduce to choice of values for these parameters. The notion of grammatical construction is eliminated, and with it, construction particular rules (Chomsky: 1993: 4).

Words occupy a central place in the componential model of linguistic analysis. They are found in all the components namely Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics etc. They represent conventional associations of PHON (Phonology), SYN (Syntax) and SEM (Semantics) and is found in their own component the ‘Lexicon’. The componential model can represent the grammatical structures larger than words with the general rules of the components, and their interfaces without referring to ‘constructions’ in its traditional sense. The idiosyncrasies and irregularities are captured by the lexicon. It is assumed that there is no need for constructions in grammatical representation. There is no separate module for the idioms and other idiosyncratic constructions in the componential model but they are kept in the lexicon.

The followers of componential model have simply not paid attention to the analysis of idioms and other fixed constructions. The reason for their carelessness is that those items are simply listed in the lexicon. But idioms have its own structure, some are fully fixed, some are partially fixed and require analysis. Any phenomenon in scientific inquiry cannot be left out unanalysed or unexamined and simply cannot be placed in the lexicon. Idioms and other grammatical construction require proper analysis, and they should have its own component in the componential module of Grammar but not in the lexicon. It is in this line of thought, the Construction Grammar emerged as an alternative to discuss the problematic phenomena of idioms, which posed various problems in componential model.

Fillmore and Paul Kay (1988) classified constructions in two broad types: fully fixed and partially fixed. According to them, a theory of grammar should analyse idioms and constructions, instead of placing it in the lexicon; they should have its individual component, and how they interact with other components of the grammar. They argue that the existence of idioms is the main basis for the evidence of constructions. They are different from the lexical items because lexical items are substantive and atomic while the constructions are complex and schematic. Like the lexical items constructions are also an object of syntactic representation, but they have their own idiosyncratic semantics and phonological information. It has been

noted by Paul Kay that there is a continuum from substantive to schematic constructions. They move on to the further level and claim that the regular syntactic rules and their syntactic interpretations are also constructions.

In reaction to the componential model of generative grammar, the construction grammar proposes a different grammatical module. The traditional notion of construction and its importance for theories of linguistic structure have recently received renewed attention within the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar (cf. Goldberg 2006). The basic idea of ‘Construction Grammar’ can be summarized as follows:

“In Construction Grammar, the grammar represents an inventory of form-meaning-function complexes, in which words are distinguished from grammatical constructions only with regard to their internal complexity. The inventory of constructions is not unstructured; it is more like a map than a shopping list. Elements in this inventory are related through inheritance hierarchies, containing more or less general patterns.”
(Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996: 216)

There are two approaches to morphology for analysing complex words; morpheme based morphology and word based morphology (See Chapter-III-3.4.4&3.4.5.) CG takes a word based perspective in which words are the starting points of morphological analysis. At this point, it is fairly clear that the schemas depend on the relationship between related set of words. Joan Bybee (1995) terms it as network model. Bochner (1993) emphasizes that the notion network is indeed a proper term for conceptualizing the set of relationships between words in a lexicon. Blevins (2006) calls it an *abstractive approach* since the creation of new words and word forms entirely depends on the abstractions over sets of existing words in the individual lexicon.

The notion ‘construction’ has a very important role in CG. It has been clearly articulated in a number of recent linguistic models: Construction Grammar (Croft 2001; Fried and Ostman 2004, Goldberg, 1995, 2006), the simpler syntax model (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, 2006), Cognitive Linguistics (Langacker 1987) and Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Sag 2007; Sag et al. 2003). As Jackendoff (2008: 15) points out,

“Pieces of syntactic structure can be listed in the lexicon with associated meanings, just as individual words are; these are the MEANINGFUL CONSTRUCTIONS of the language. ..Construction grammar makes no principled distinction between words and

rules: a lexical entry is more word like to the extent that it contains variables [...].
[L]exical entries are arranged in an inheritance hierarchy”.

I would discuss main tenets of Construction grammar, and the theory of Construction Morphology (Booij, 2010) in the next chapter.

3.8. Summary

In this chapter I presented a thumbnail history of morphology. We take the word-based position and consider morphology deals with the systematic relationship between form and meaning of linguistic constructs at the word level. Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words. It deals with different manifestations of word (lexeme) and how a new lexeme is formed. It is argued that new words are formed on the basis of patterns of form-meaning correspondences between existing words in the lexicon. The paradigmatic relationship is essential while forming a new word. Morphology cannot be conceived of as ‘syntax of morphemes’. Though Morphology creates new words and expands the Lexicon, the set of established words of a language; it is not only the source lexical units. The lexicon can also be expanded by borrowing, word-creation and other type of conscious word-formation processes. Word formation strategies where morphemes are viewed as things: affixation-prefixation, suffixation, infixation, circumfixation, interfixation; reduplication and where morpheme as viewed as processes: autosegmental modification, vowel alternation, conversion etc. are briefly discussed. To identify a word one needs to employ different criteria as for example phonological criteria, orthographic criteria, listedness in the mental lexicon and also lexical integrity principle. Item and arrangement (IA) theory broke words into their component morphemes which are items. It faced problems while analysing words of non-concatenative language and non-affixal word formation processes. Item and Process (IP) analysis can account for non-concatenative morphology in a straightforward manner and in this approach, complex words are formed by the operation of processes in simple words. In Word and Paradigm approach, paradigms are considered to be primitive objects which are used in morphology to organize the inflection of words. In morpheme based model of morphology, morpheme is regarded as the key unit of grammatical analysis. In a more radical version of this approach, morphology as a subcomponent has no status in grammar, morphologically complex words are the outcome of the manipulation of morphemes that take place in syntax. In the Word based tradition, word is regarded as the basic unit of morphological analysis. The words have entries

in the lexicon while affixes do not have an independent existence. The notion ‘paradigm’ plays important role in the analysis of inflectional system.

By studying corpora of language use, speech errors, effects of language impairment, etc. and experimental data such as lexical decision tasks, production tasks and results of priming test we may be able to find out how morphological knowledge is represented in the mind and how it is used in language processing. The experimental evidence suggests that in the mental lexicon, we find a correlation between the frequency of words in actual language use and their activation level. Morphology is a battleground for competing models of linguistic knowledge; and statistical and probabilistic data are important for satisfactory models of morphological knowledge. In reaction to the componential model of generative grammar, the Construction grammar proposes a different grammatical module. It is not only a theory of syntax and some fixed idiomatic expressions but a theory of overall architecture of language and linguistic knowledge. The theory of Construction grammar (and hence Construction Morphology) will be outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER-4

4. CONSTRUCTION MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we had seen that Construction Grammar is not only a theory of syntax and some fixed idiomatic expressions but a theory of overall architecture of language and linguistic knowledge. In the traditional view of language, knowing a language means one has to know its phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the language. But in the construction theory of language, knowing a language means knowing the constructions of the language, which are represented in the minds of the speaker. According to Goldberg (2003:219), the totality of our knowledge is captured by constructions: a ‘construct-i-con’. Hilpert (2014:74) says, ‘everything that speakers know when they know a language is to be represented as a construct-icon, a large network of constructions.’

Speakers are constantly producing constructions which most likely have never been produced before in exactly the same form, and hearers, most of the time, have no problems in understanding them. Since the possible sentences cannot be enumerated, knowing a language cannot be equated with knowing a set of sentences. By the same token, learning a language cannot be a matter of learning sentences that one has encountered” (Taylor 2012: 20). The same view is also expressed in Pawley and Syder 1983; Taylor 2012: 247-248; Wray 2002. Knowledge of language encompasses both knowledge of the grammatical system of a language, and knowledge of the conventions involved in using that language (Cosserio, 1952/1957:11-107).

The construction is found in the inheritance network of constructions in the lexicon. Though construction grammar claims a theory of language in its entirety, it mostly provides examples of syntactic phenomena i.e. resultative construction, passive construction etc. Booij (2010) has shifted the attention from syntactic construction to morphological construction, which looks into word-internal structures and word-formation strategies. He has developed a theory of morphology where all the word-formation processes can be analysed as constructions. Construction Morphology (2010) is grounded in Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006) and Parallel Architecture (Jackendoff, 2002) explains morphological phenomena as ‘constructions’. I would like to outline this approach to morphology and would discuss Nominal Morphology of Rajbanshi language under the theoretical framework of CM.

“In Construction Grammar, the grammar represents an inventory of form-meaning-function complexes, in which words are distinguished from grammatical constructions only with regard to their internal complexity. The inventory of constructions is not unstructured; it is more like a map than a shopping list. Elements in this inventory are related through inheritance hierarchies, containing more or less general patterns.” (Michaelis & Lambrecht, 1996: 216). In CM, it is been assumed that both phrase level and word level constructs can be interpreted as constructions (Riehemann, 1998, Koenig, 1999, Booij, 2002; 2005). The lexicon is hierarchical and allows intermediate levels of generalizations. There are intermediate schemas in between the individual words and the most abstract word formation schemas, which express generalizations about subsets of complex words of a certain type (Booij 2005).

Constructional morphology (CM) is an approach to morphology which provides better understanding and explanation of the interactions between morphology, phonology, syntax and the lexicon. In this model of morphology, similarities and differences of both the word level and sentence level constructs can be accounted for. The notion ‘construction’, which is a pairing of form and meaning, is not totally compositional but is predictable, and it plays a crucial role in Construction Morphology (CM). The key assumptions of CM are the following;

- (i) It takes the lexicalist position that the grammars of natural languages have an autonomous morphological sub-grammar. It cannot be reduced to syntax or phonology.
- (ii) The output forms i.e. new complex words are listed in the mental lexicon.
- (iii) Each word is a linguistic sign, a pairing of form and meaning. Each word is a pairing of three types of information PHON, SYN, SEM respectively. Morphology affects all three dimensions of words, that is why we need a ‘tripartite parallel architecture’ of grammar (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, 2006; Jackendoff 2002, 2007).
- (iv) It operates within the frame work of word based morphology, where morphological patterns can be seen as abstractions from the related set of words. These abstractions or schemas are responsible for creating new words or word forms.
- (v) The notion unification is the basic operation; both at the word level and the phrase level, to create well-formed linguistic expressions. Through unification, the variables in the formal structure and semantic specification of the schema are turned into constants.
- (vi) The specification of a word for a particular property is inherited from the dominating node, unless the actual lexical entry has another specification for that

property (Briscoe et al, 1993; Evans & Gazdar 1996; Kilbury et al. 2006; Lascarides and Copestake 1999).

- (vii) Lexicon, a module of the grammar is viewed as a web of words and phrasal lexical units. In other words, lexicon contains a network of the relationship between individual words and morphological schemas.
- (viii) It argues against the split of lexicon and grammar, and provides evidence that various types of information (PHON, SYN, SEM) are accessed simultaneously.
- (ix) It presents relational network between lexical items, and successfully demonstrate constructional schemas which can express different interface phenomenon succinctly.
- (x) It motivates for a usage based theory of language. Morphology must be usage-based in order to understand the knowledge and creation of complex words (Booij, 2014:1).

According to Taylor (2012:8-9), “A person’s I-language [...] is the product of her exposure to a set of E-language events; her I-language is as it is because of the properties of the E-language which triggered its acquisition. Conversely, the language that a speaker produces [...] reflects her current I-language; E-language has the properties that it has in virtue of the I-language of its speakers”. Construction Morphology depending on the findings of explanatory adequacy and language acquisition studies claim that language acquisition ‘starts with storing mental representation of concrete cases of language use’ (Herman Paul 1880). The language users will make abstractions from sets of related words which are found in their mental lexicon.

4.2 The nature of mental lexicon

In the traditional view of the dictionary and grammar model (Taylor 2012:8), idioms and fixed expressions are kept to the appendix into the dictionary.⁷⁰ These fixed expressions are outside the domain of grammatical analysis because these expressions are peripheral phenomena. “The lexicon is really an appendix of the grammar...a list of basic irregularities” (Bloomfield 1933: 274). Saussure (1916) recognised that even partially motivated complex signs must be listed.

⁷⁰ The dictionary and grammar model knowledge of vocabulary is clearly separated from grammatical rules. It is assumed that the children learn words in the first step and then apply rules to combine those words into phrases and sentences.

Bloomfield (1933) made it explicit that any item being listed in the lexicon of a language is primarily on the basis of its arbitrariness and irregularity. Aronoff (1982) explicitly discusses the relationship between morphology and lexicon. According to him, words formed by productive word-formation rules may not be stored in the lexicon. Jackendoff (1975) discusses morphological and semantic regularities in the lexicon, one can deal with derivation in several ways, the most common is by means of redundancy rules. According to Di Sciullo and Williams (1987:3), the lexicon is conceived of as a prison which contains only the lawless, and the only thing that its inmates have in common is lawlessness.

The notion of Lexicon in Generative grammar has changed over time. The lexicon must list various kinds of information of not only words but information of morphemes, idioms and proverbs and it may also list sentences. However, today the most generative linguists abandon the Bloomfieldian notion, that lexicon is merely a list of irregularities. The constructionists are not satisfied with the traditional treatment of idiomatic expressions. According to them, innumerable idioms are found in a language, they occur in everyday speech, and hence they need proper analysis. Their forms and meanings are not entirely predictable. The meaning of idioms cannot be predicted on the basis of either the words' meanings found in the dictionary nor by the rules of syntax provided by the grammar. Constructionists argue that many idiomatic expressions cannot be stored as fixed strings, but they can be stored as schemas with slots that can be filled with certain elements but not by others. They abandon the idea that strict separation of lexical and grammatical knowledge is uncalled for and claim that even the idiomatic expressions are productive allowing speakers to produce creative utterances (Culicover and Jackendoff 1999, Fillmore et al. 1988). Jackendoff (2002) says that there is no strict division between lexicon and grammar. Fillmore et al. (1988:534) opine that it appears to us that machinery needed for describing the so-called minor or peripheral constructions of the sort which has occupied us here will have to be powerful enough to be generalised to more familiar structures, in particular, those represented by individual phrase structure rules.

Words, fixed expressions, and idiomatic phrases are listed in the lexicon (Katamba 1993:82). This view of the lexicon is not sufficient enough for the constructionist. According to Booij (2010), the lexicon has to be extended with partially underspecified idioms. The fact that sets of complex words may have both common and distinctive properties justifies a model of the lexicon in which the individual existing complex words of a language are dominated by a hierarchy of schemas that represent different levels of abstraction at which generalization concerning subsets of complex words can be made (Ungerer, 2007: 667). In recent different

grammatical models, lexicon is represented as a hierarchy of types (Flickinger 1987, Sag 2007, Kilbury et al. 2006).

In CM, the lexicon is viewed as a network of relations. The words in the mental lexicon are classified according to its (a) syntactic category (b) semantic type (c) morphological subclasses. I would briefly outline this view of lexicon in the following;

(a) Syntactic Category: The words in the mental lexicon may be classified on the basis of syntactic category which can further be sub-classified in different types. This kind of classification can be described in inheritance tree where each node inherits its properties from the dominating nodes. At the bottom, we get the word as for example the word [manʃi] মানষি ‘person’ is an animate noun which is lexical word and part of a word in the larger domain. (See Figure.8)

(b) Semantic type: The words may be classified in the mental lexicon according to their semantic type; the name of objects, its properties, events etc. The semantic type may cross-classify with the syntactic type. A word can inherit properties from both the types as for example [d̪eɔyɔni-giri] দেওয়ানিগিরি ‘leadership’ is a noun and it also denotes a property (See Figure.8).

(c) Morphological subclasses: The notion of inheritance hierarchy can also be used to represent morphologically complex words (Hippisley 2001; Konig 1999; Krieger and Nerbonne 1993; Riehemann 1998, 2001). The noun is divided as simple noun and complex noun. The complex nouns can have different morphological markers. The individual word [d̪okand̪ar] দোকানদার is dominated by the schema [N-d̪ar] and it inherits the PHON, SYN, SEM properties specified by the schema. Besides the schema specify the relevant properties of each subclass. The individual word not only inherits the information from the schema but there is also an inheritance of information from the base word. This kind of inheritance is captured through co-indexation: the PHON, SYN, SEM properties of the base word ↔ the PHON, SYN, SEM properties of the derived word (See Figure.9).

In **Impoverished entry theory**, it is assumed that all the inherited information is omitted from the lexical entry of a word before it goes to the next step (Sag 2007). In **Full entry theory**, the individual lexical entries are fully specified and inheritance mechanism compute which are information abundant and which are important for the next step. (Jackendoff 1975, 1997). I would adhere to the ‘full entry theory’ here. In CM, Lexicon has to be conceived of as a web

of words (and phrasal lexical units), a module of the grammar but contains a network of relationships between individual words and morphological schemas (Booij, 2010). In other words, the lexicon is the place where the conventional use of the linguistic expression is encoded, and hence, the lexicon is the meeting point of the systematic and conventional properties of language constructs (Booij, 2010:171).

4.3 Basic terminology in construction morphology

In this section, I will be discussing the basic concepts of CM: Construction, schema, subschema, default inheritance, unification, and paradigmatic relations.

4.3.1 Construction

The notion ‘construction’ plays a central role in CM. Traditionally, construction refers to syntactic construction as for example passive construction, transitive construction etc. According to Bloomfield (1933:227), complex words have ‘an outer layer of inflectional constructions and then an inner layer of constructions of word-formations.’ In CM, Booij uses the term ‘construction’ as it is developed in Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 2006, 2009). According to Goldberg (2009: 93-94), the term construction evokes “both the notion of ‘construction’ and the notion that our knowledge of the language is ‘constructed’ on the basis of the input together with general cognitive, pragmatic and processing constraints”. Boas (2013: 234) refers to constructions as “the fundamental building blocks of language.” Constructions are found in “all levels of descriptions and are understood to involve pairings of form with semantic or discourse functions, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically filled and fully abstract phrasal patterns” (Goldberg 2003: 19).

Constructions can show greater or lesser degrees of complexity, abstractness in form and meaning, transparency and compositionality, and also relational schemas such as verb argument constructions. However, complex or abstract the constructions are, all construction types have the same basic status. According Goldberg (2006:10), constructions are not derived from each other. Constructional approaches adopt a “ [...] ‘what you see is what you get’ approach to syntactic form [...]: no underlying level of syntax or any phonologically empty elements are posited (Goldberg 2003: 219). Constructions are stored, they are conventional pairings of form and function that are entrenched in the speech community and in the minds of

individual language users as means to express particular semantic or discourse functions (Ellis 2002: 167).

How are the constructions stored in our mental lexicon? The constructionists contend that storage is maximal and it takes place at multiple levels in parallel; the individual exemplars of constructions are stored alongside emerging abstractions and generalizations of various levels of granularity and schematicity (Abbot-Smith, Kirsten & Michael Tomasello 2006; Bybee, Joan. 2013). Goldberg (2006, 2009) also lists bound morphemes as constructions, but Booij (2010) points out that they cannot be part of constructions because they are not linguistic signs. Constructions are first and foremost something cognitive that is, a piece of speaker's linguistic knowledge... is a generalization that speakers make across a number of encounters with linguistic forms (Hilpert: 2014:9). According to Goldberg (1995:4), "C is a CONSTRUCTION iff def C is a form-meaning pair of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions."⁷¹

Constructions are unpredictable and have non-compositional meanings. It has non-predictable aspects of forms which generally disobey the phrase structure rules. Fillmore et al. (1988:506-10) describe these unpredictable aspects of constructions as 'familiar pieces, unfamiliarly arranged.' The sequences are highly frequent and highly conventionalised which can be qualified as constructions. The distinction is made between constructions and construct. Phrases and sentences that instantiate more general constructions are called constructs, so the distinctions between generalizations and concrete instances, between abstract types and a token that instantiates them. If we look at the following Rajbanshi words in the Dictionary and grammar model (Taylor, 2012), these words will not be stored in the mental lexicon because they are formed by regular plural formational rules. In CG, they would be viewed as constructs of the plural formation construction because they are regular and sufficiently frequent expressions as in Rajbanshi. These kinds of constructs also receive empirical support from psycholinguistic studies (Stemberger & Macwhinney 1988, Arnon & Sinder 2010). Construct-i-con is usage based and created through experience with language and continuously influenced by experience with language (Bybee, 2010).

⁷¹ F= form and S= Semantics

1. (a) [cɛŋʈa-la] চ্যাংড়াল
 boy-PL
 ‘boys’
- (b) [gɔru-la] গরুলা
 Cow-PL
 ‘cows’
- (c) [manʃi-la] মানষিলা
 ‘Person-PL’
 ‘people’
- (d) [b^hai-la] ভাইলা
 Brother-PL
 ‘brothers’

The schema of the plural construction is <[X] N, SING, NOM ↔ [X]N,SING,NOM – la/gila/gula] N, PL,NOM> (See Chapter-I, example.4 & Chapter-V).

4.3.2 Schema and subschema

In this section, I will be discussing schema and subschema, and the difference between schema and rules. Firstly, the schema is a very general notion used in cognitive science. It is ‘a data structure for representing the generic concepts stored in memory’ (Rumelhart 1980: 34). In CM, the notion ‘construction’ or ‘constructional schema’ is used. It denotes a schematic pairing of form and meaning.⁷² Word is seen in Construction morphology as a complex piece of information. It has a particular sequence of sounds which relate to particular meaning, and it has a formal property such as syntactic category label. The function of the symbols used in the figures are ↔ means correspondence, ω phonological word σ syllable.

In the following Figure.4.1 and Figure.4.2, the tripartite parallel structure of *hunt* and *hunter* are shown respectively;

⁷² The schema and its instantiations are constructions if they are conventionalised form meaning pairings. The schema allows speakers to produce new coinages in the language. As for example [neʈa-giri, নেতাগিরি [d̪aʈagiri], দাদাগিরি where [X-giri] schema is the higher node and the lexical construction (concrete) is found in the lower node.

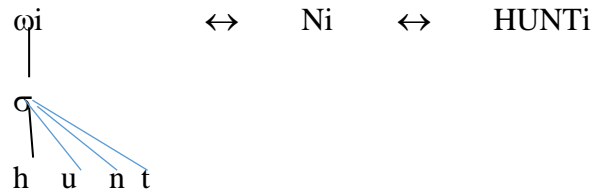


Figure.4.1 The tripartite parallel structure of the word ‘hunt’ ⁷³

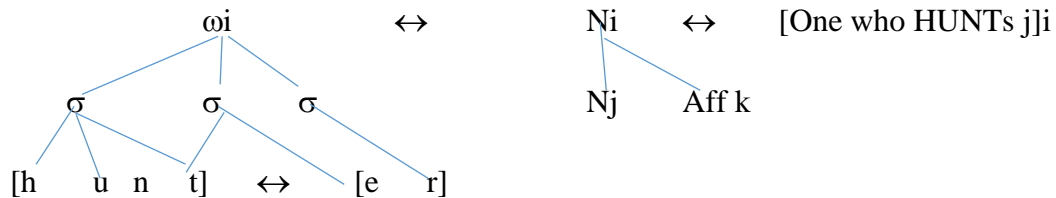


Figure.4.2 The tripartite parallel structure of the complex word ‘hunters’

A schema is an abstract generalization, item general representation which “relative to another representation of the same entity, is characterized with lesser specificity and detail” (Langacker 1991: 552). He adds the grammar lists, the full set of particular statements representing a speaker’s grasp of linguistic conventions, including those subsumed by general statements. Rather than thinking them an embarrassment, grammarians regard particular statements as the matrix from which general statements (rules) are extracted (Langacker 1987: 46). “Even when the general rule or schema exists, speakers may represent the same information redundantly by means of more specific schemas capturing various special cases” (Dabrowska 2006: 121: of. Abbot-Smith and Tomasello 2010: 81). At the time of language processing, though the constructional network is accessed at all levels in parallel but for reasons of economy, even if the corresponding high level of generalization are available, the lowest possible level of processing is preferred (Sinclair 1991: 110; Arnon and Cohen Priva 2013; Bannard and Lieven 2012: 2). The low level access is an advantage in processing for the reasons of fluency and idiomaticity (Pawley and Syder 1983).

According to Booij (2010) “... sub-schemas are empirically necessary and theoretically advantageous part of the description of patterns of word-formation in order to make generalization about subsets of words within a particular morphological category.” Subschemas express that speakers are able to make sub-generalization about subsets of compound words, and thus create new words in which the lexicalised meaning of a sub-constituent of a complex word can be formed productively (Booij, 2010: 74). Bochner

⁷³The symbol used, \leftrightarrow = correspondence, σ = syllable, ω = phonological word, Aff = affix, N = noun, V = verb

(1993:81) suggests to ‘make use of higher order schemas that combine two schemas into a third one’. And hence, the paradigmatic relationship between two schemas may lead to the formation of new words. The derivation is not sufficient enough to analyse patterns of affix replacement as for example *aggression* and *aggressive*. Aronoff (1976) also discusses similar kind of data *nominee*= *nominate*+*ee*, where /*ate*/ is being deleted. But in CM, the schema for the word *aggression* and *aggressive* is the following⁷⁴;

2. <[X-ion]N> \sim <[X-ive]A>

It is found that second order schemas provide the means for expressing systematic formal and semantic relationships between sets of complex words with the same degree of morphological complexity (Booij and Audring, 2015). The Morphological Schemas can express predictable properties of existing complex words and it indicate how the new ones can be formed on the basis of the existing schema. They also provide structure to the lexicon. The new words form by the schema make the sets of words less arbitrary in a language.

Hay & Baayen (2005) raise the basic question, how the internal structure of words is best accounted for: is it by means of lexical entries and deterministic symbolic rules or by means of probabilistic sub-symbolic networks which implicitly encoding structural similarities in connection weights. They argue that morphological structure is intrinsically or inherently graded. Their work is influenced by the word-paradigm theory and the work of Rumelhart and McClelland (1986). Even there, the basic question remains unanswered what is the difference between rules and abstract pattern? It has to be kept in mind that schemas do not exist independently, and the existence of schema is always in relation to an item found in paradigmatic context. On the other hand, rules can exist independently in the minds of the speaker. They exist as rules and also as bound morphemes (rule and list fallacy)⁷⁵. Rules are always input (source) oriented and schemas are output oriented product (Bybee 1995; Haspelmath 1989).

In Construction Morphology, it is shown that schemas are found in paradigmatic relationship. They do not have stipulated directions and would enable us to give a sensible answer to this question because we are not forced to make such an absolute distinction, thanks to the

⁷⁴ The symbol \sim is used for paradigmatic relationship.

⁷⁵ The division into rules and lists of exceptions was originally designed to prevent redundant encoding and to achieve economic description (Chomsky 1965). It makes less sense today with the modern recognition that brain has vast storage and may not use massive redundant encodings (See Langacker 1987).

availability of intermediate schemas.(Booij 2014:37). The Schemas form a hierarchy of layers of different degrees of abstractions across sets of words (Booij, 2010:36).

4.3.3. Default inheritance

The notion default inheritance is crucial while we look at hierarchical lexicon (Briscoe et al; Evans and Gazdar 1996; Kilbury et al. 2006; Lascarides and Copestake 1999). The specific properties of a word are inherited from a dominating node. In some instances, we would see the lexical entry has different kind of specification, the default inheritance mechanism can easily express the exceptional properties of words. The effect of default inheritance is that information on a higher node may be superseded by information concerning the relevant property on a lower node...not all information that is derived from higher nodes is necessarily preserved (Booij 2010:27). The information of the dominating node may be replaced by the lower node, because the lower node contains the relevant information for the word. In other words, the rules applied in the narrow scope applied first then the general rules (Kiparsky, 2001).

The notion of default inheritance is important and “the effect of default unification is that incompatible values for attributes are ignored, rather than causing unification failure” (Copestake 1993:226). It has been seen that the properties of base word may not recur in the derived word. The phonological part of the base may be modified or elided in the derived word as for example in English words ‘nation’ [neɪʃən] to - ‘national’ [næʃnəl], the diphthong /ei/ changes to monophthong /æ/. The idea of default inheritance is important, because it can express abstract generalization about word-formation schema, and also the irregularities or idiosyncrasies of the generalized schema. Schemas specify the relevant properties of each subclass, and each word inherits PHON, SYN, SEM properties specify by that schema (Sag, 2007; Jackendoff 2007, Booij, 2010:26).

Inheritance captures the relations between more abstract constructions and concrete constructions. Abstract constructions are signalled towards the top of the constructional network, and concrete or more specific constructions are found in lower levels of constructional hierarchy. Constructional properties of form and meaning are inherited in a downward direction from higher nodes towards lower nodes which are more concrete levels. Inheritance organises the constructions of a language into hierarchy. There are different kinds of inheritance links in

the construct-i-con: instance link⁷⁶ (Goldberg 1995:79), polysemy links⁷⁷ (Goldberg 1995:75), metaphorical links⁷⁸ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Goldberg 1995:81), subpart links⁷⁹ (Goldberg 1995:78) and the phenomena of multiple inheritance⁸⁰ (Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996). It is not clear whether the inherited information is to be represented just once in the grammar or it is associated with more general constructions or whether this kind of information is redundantly represented across all of the constructions that share it. Construction Grammar supports the theories of linguistic knowledge that leave a maximal amount of information to be worked out, rather to be stored, this is known as complete inheritance. In other words, inherited information is only stored once, namely with the most general construction, only the constructional schemas are stored not their basic instantiations (Bybee 2010, Stemberger and Macwhinney 1988). There are two different theories found in this regard; in **Impoverished entry theory**, it is assumed that all the inherited information are omitted from the lexical entry of a word before it goes to the next step (Sag 2007), and in **Full entry theory**, the individual lexical entries are fully specified, and inheritance mechanism compute which are information redundant and which are important for the next step (Jackendoff 1975, 1997). I would adhere to the ‘full entry theory’ here.

4.3.4. Paradigmatic relations

In Word and Paradigm theories (Stump 2001), paradigms are primitive objects used by morphology to organize the inflection of words. It also refers to which specific rules morphology may directly refer. Paradigms are the constructs that organize the correspondence between sets of features and specific forms of words, establishing systematic associations between forms and meanings in specific categories or subcategories.⁸¹

Paradigmatic relations are between units that could potentially occur in the same slot, and they substitute one another in the same slot and both paradigmatically related units co-exist in the lexicon (Haspelmath 2002:165). Language users make use of abstract schemas to form new words on the basis of the paradigmatic relationship between related words. The words are found

⁷⁶ Instant links connects constructions in hierarchical fashion, linking construction types with particular instances of those types

⁷⁷ Polysemy links connect construction that share the same form that display a variety of different senses

⁷⁸ Metaphorical links connect basic and extended senses of constructions

⁷⁹ Subpart links connect constructions that exhibit partial similarities in their respective form and meanings

⁸⁰ In multiple inheritance one construction may instantiate several constructions at the same time.

⁸¹ Paradigm is a term which refers to the set of all the different forms that a word adopts depending on the grammatical characteristics that it shows in a syntactic context. (Fabregas and Scalise 2012:76)

in the lowest nodes in the trees in a hierarchical lexicon. In a paradigmatic relation, the words also share their stem in the word-formation schema (Booij: 2002:6-9). The paradigmatic relationship allows for word-formation in both directions. Hay and Baayen (2005) provide experimental evidence for paradigmatic analogy.⁸² The reality of word-families has been confirmed by so-called family size effects. In the lexical decision tasks, the speed of the decision correlates positively with the size of the word family of a word. (Schreuder and Baayen 1997).

In the following examples, the vertical dimension shows paradigmatically related units. The substitution of one affix with another without changing the stem may also lead to new patterns of word-formations in paradigmatic relations. It can be expressed by the following schema that presupposes a paradigmatic relationship between abstract word formation schemas in Rajbanshi;⁸³

3. <[X - uya] Ni ‘human agent, M’ ↔ [X -uyani]N ‘human agent female Ni’>
 4.. (a) [nɔtɕuya] নটুয়া ‘actor’ M [nɔtɕuyani] নটুয়ানি ‘actress, F’
 (b) [gɔc^huya] গছুয়া ‘climber’ M [gɔc^huyani] গছুয়ানি ‘climber, F’

As discussed in Chapter IV-4.3.3 the section on default inheritance, it is found that morphological constructions are heavily interlinked through different kinds of links. If we take a lexical item in Rajbanshi as for example [k^ha] খা ‘eat’ and consider some of the morphological constructions that are connected to it via sub-part links. The notion of paradigm is not only restricted to inflectional constructions but is also extended to derivation, compounding and reduplication. In the following examples the verb /k^ha/ খা ‘eat’ is used in inflectional construction in 5 and derivational construction in 6, compound construction in 7 and reduplicated construction in 8;

5. Inflectional Construction

- (a) [mui k^haim] মুই খাইম
 I Eat.-Ist, Sing, FUT
 ‘I will eat’
 (b) [tui k^ha] তুই খা

⁸² See Figure 1. Examples of paradigmatic lexical relations in English from Hay and Baayen (2005:344).

⁸³ < > the symbol angle bracket demarcate a construction, ~ paradigmatic relation, ↔ for correspondence

You eat.2nd, Sing, PRS

‘You eat’

(c) [umay k^haibe] উমায় খাইবে

He/she eat-3rd Sing, FUT

‘S/he will eat’

(d) [tomora k^haiben] তোমোরা খাইবেন

You. Hon2nd, Hon, PRS

‘You will eat’

(e) [umay k^hail] উমায় খাইল

S/he eat. 3rd, Sing, PRF

‘S/he has eaten’

(f) [tui k^halu] তুই খালু

You.INT eat.2nd, Sing, PRF

‘You have eaten’

6. Derivational Construction

(a) [k^ha-ɔaiya] খাওয়াইয়া

Eat-AGENT

‘the one who eats’

(b) [k^ha-ɔok] খাদোক

Eat-AGENT

‘the one who eats a lot’

7. Compound construction

[k^ha-ɔoya ɔaɔya] খাওয়া দাওয়া

Eat-PRS.INF RED. PRS.INF

‘eating and the like’

8. Reduplicated construction

(a) [k^haiɕe k^haiɕe] খাইতে খাইতে

Eat.PRS.INF RED.PRS.INF

‘while eating’

(b) [k^hai k^hai] খাই খাই

Eat.PRS eat.PRS

‘eagerness to eat’

The lists of the constructions, which are related through subpart links by a common element are called paradigms. Complex morphological words are formed in the Dictionary and grammar model (Taylor, 2012) by means of grammatical rules. It is formed either by adding affixes to the input forms or by deleting an affix or some parts of the input forms or by some prosodic means as for example stress shift or tone changes etc. Booij (2013:264) points out that these rules are not needed in CM, because the group of words belongs to a paradigm. If speakers know group of words that are interconnected through subpart links, they can form generalisation across the word groups. Hilpert (2014:84) points out that subpart links in the construct-i-con that connect these kinds of words allow speakers to ‘fill in the blank’ when they encounter a word that they have not heard before. The empirical studies and observation in the language acquisition studies have shown that children make overgeneralization errors because knowledge of the constructional paradigms plays a major role in the regularization process.

4.3.5. Unification

Unification is the basic operation that builds grammatical structure and the unification of word formation schemas explain how multiple complex words can be formed without an intermediate complex base (Booij and Audring, 2015:10). Given the existence of word-formation schemas as abstractions over sets of complex words, such schema can be unified into more complex schemas....such unified schema thus specify the co-occurrence of word-formation patterns in the coining of complex words (Booij, 2005:44, Rumelhart 1980:40-41). “Production compilation will try to take each successive pair of productions and build a single production that has the effect of both” “[T]he participant is converting from a declarative representation and a slow interpretation of the task to a smooth, rapid procedural execution of the task (Anderson et al., 2004: 1045-1046).

The unified schemas are constructions themselves and they may possess specific constructional properties of their own. The Word formations schemas are abstractions over sets of complex words and they exist in the minds of the language users. These can be unified into more complex schemas. According to Booij (2005:47), “a language may acquire new morphological schemas as an effect of schema unification and subsequent simplification.” The schemas and

their unification take place to form new complex words in the following Rajbanshi examples in 9;

9. (a) [ʃɔk^h] শখ ↔ [ʃɔk^hin] শখিন ↔ [ʃɔk^hind̪dar] শখিনদার ↔ [ʃɔk^hind̪d̪ari] শখিনদারি
 (b) [ʃɔmi] জমি ↔ [ʃɔmin] জমিন ↔ [ʃɔmindar] জমিনদার ↔ [ʃɔmind̪d̪ari] জমিদারি
 (c) [ɔŋʃo] অংশ ↔ [ɔŋʃi] অংশী ↔ [ɔŋʃid̪dar] অংশীদার ↔ [ɔŋʃid̪d̪ari] অংশীদারি

The schema is shown in 10;

10. <[X] ↔ [[X]in] ↔ [X]in]d̪dar] ↔ [X]in]d̪d̪ari]>

It is argued that the possible but non-existing complex words may form an intermediate stage in the formation of even more complex words (Booij, 1977). The word formation schemas can be unified into a complex schema that has started a life of its own. It is possible through the process of unification which is the basic operation of word formation: a new word results from the unification of a template with one or more existing lexemes. The unification of word formation templates accounts for the systematic co-occurrence of two or more word formation patterns. Why schema is chosen over rules? Booij (2010) suggests that the actual rise of such unified templates is most probably the result of the language user's ability to establish a direct relation between a word and a complex word that is two or more derivational steps away from that word, unified templates is provided by the observation that they may have specific semantic or formal properties that do not derive from the constituent templates.

4.3.6. *Embedded productivity*

While discussing key properties of language Hockett (1958:569-586) talks about productivity as a phenomenon that a speaker of a language may say something that he has never said nor heard before, and which can be understood perfectly by its audience, without either speaker or audience being in the slightest aware of the novelty. In Chomsky's Remarks on Nominalization (1970), the issue of productivity was brought to the attention of a new generation of generative linguistics and morphologists who tried to understand the notion with the hindsight of modern linguistic theories. Zimmer (1964:18-20) argues that productivity is a psychologically real phenomenon which is more semantic or pragmatic in nature than formal. Aronoff (1976:17-18) makes a distinction between possible words and actual words and he views productivity as a relationship between possible words and actual words.

Williams (1981:250) makes use of the term ‘potentiation’ if a base undergoes some morphological process, it gains the potential subsequently to undergo some other specific process. Plag (1999) influenced by Optimality Theory (1991) discusses output constraints, the well-formedness of the final word which is the crucial factor in determining which process may apply to the output of other process. Van Marle (1985) considers productivity is a subset of morphological creativity, creativity including much that is beyond the normal rules or morphological structure. For Baayen (1992:109:10), productivity of various morphological processes may differ according to socio-pragmatic environment such as register or whether the recorded language is written or spoken, as well as according to linguistic reasons such as the transparency of the process involved.

Baayen & Renouf (1996:69) point out that ‘dictionaries unfortunately, are not reliable source for studying morphological productivity. Aronoff (1976) also argues that dictionaries do not list words which are formed by the most productive morphological processes. Bauer (2001) opines that productivity cannot be seen as directly equivalent to frequency, transparency, regularity, naturalness or default form, although each of these notions may be implicated in productivity. The term productivity is not always consistent and neither the status nor the precise nature of productivity is made particularly clear (Bauer 2005:316). According to Aronoff and Fudeman (2011:227), to say that a given morphological pattern is more productive than another is to say that there is a higher probability of a potential word in the first pattern being accepted in the language than there is a potential word in the second pattern (See Schulnik 1961, Zimmer 1964, Aronoff 1976, Kiparsky 1982, Van Marle 1985, Corbin 1987, Baayen 1992, Plag 1999, Hay 2000, Bauer 2001, Booij 1977)

Van Marle (1985) argues that “the productivity of a schematic morphological construction describes the degree of cognitive ease with which speakers can produce or process new complex words on the basis of that construction.” The productivity is gradient, it is not absolute in nature rather it is relative: more or less, one constructional schema that would be more productive than the other. More productive constructions on the scale will generally produce new words in the language and new words are not produced by unproductive constructions. A distinction is often made between productivity and creativity (Bauer 2001, Schulnik 1961, Booij 1977, Van Marle 1983) and Booij (1977) also refers to Chomsky’s (1964:22) rule governed creativity and rule changing creativity.

To study morphological constructions, corpus is useful means because it allows the researcher to count the different instantiations of schematic morphological constructions. The highly productive constructions are frequent and they are found in the corpus hundreds or thousand times (type frequency⁸⁴). On the other hand, corpus also gives low frequency instantiations as for example hapax legomena.⁸⁵ Booij (2013:258) argues that productive and non-productive word-formation processes also be viewed as constructions because the unproductive schema may also serve as a useful descriptor for a group of words.

The productivity is gradient, and there is a degree of productivity; the more productive morphological construction will have a more strong mental representation of the schema in the minds. According to Booij (2010), the unproductive word-formation process should also be viewed as constructions. Embedded productivity is a phenomenon that a word-formation process is normally unproductive, but is productive when it occurs with another word-formation process. In this case, schema unification may result in a productive schema even though one of its building blocks is unproductive (Booij, 2010:47).

4.4 Morphological constructions and its properties

Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 2006) is not just a theory of syntax, it is a theory of overall architecture of Language. Booij (2010) has shifted the focus from syntactic constructions to morphological constructions which require analysis of word internal structures. There are different word formation strategies found in the languages of the world (See Chapter III-3.2.1). Morphology is conventionally divided into two parts-Inflection and derivation. While Inflection covers those word-internal phenomena which vary with the syntactic role of a given word (e.g. case, agreement, TAM etc), the word formation deals with the creation of new lexemes (nouns, verbs, and adjectives). Word formation is also divided into derivation and compounding; compounding is restricted to cases where two or more lexemes are combined to form one (e.g. [*nind-o-bali*] নিন্দবালি ‘an angel who is supposed to give sleep’), while in derivation a simple word is combined with affix(es) or other morphological processes to form another lexeme (e.g. [*ḍokan-dar*] দোকানদার shopkeeper). The distinctions of these areas are not

⁸⁴ It is generally, type frequency is taken to reflect the lexicon and token frequency as language use.

⁸⁵ Forms that occur once in a given corpus, this phenomenon is known as hapax legomena.

entirely clear-cut. In the following sections, I would outline how these different morphological strategies inflection, derivation, compounding and reduplication are spelled out in CM.

4.4.1 Inflectional patterns

It is generally believed that inflectional morphology⁸⁶ never changes the grammatical category of a word, it modifies the semantics of the existing base in order to fit a word-form in a particular syntactic context. The word inflection is borrowed from Latin where '*flect*' means 'bend', so inflectional morphology bends the shape of a word. It does not change the core meaning of the base instead it modifies the meaning of the base as for example [ceŋɽa] চেংড়া 'boy' and [ceŋɽa-la] চেংড়াল 'boys', one is singular and another is a plural noun in Rajbanshi. *Tall* and *taller*, *tallest*- refer to different degrees of adjective of the same lexeme *TALL* in English. By this word formation process a new lexeme is never being created, it does not produce new words, the resultant words are realised in different syntactic context as for example *going* is realised for progressive aspect for the same underlying lexeme *GO*.

Words created by regular inflectional morphology are generally not listed in the dictionary as for example plural form of [ceŋɽa] চেংড়া 'boy' which is [ceŋɽa-la] চেংড়াল 'boys' will not be found in the dictionary. But the irregular and idiosyncratic forms [d̪ɔɽʃokgɔn] দর্শকগণ or [d̪ɔɽʃokmond̪oli] দর্শকমন্ডলী 'audience' will be listed because of its idiosyncratic behaviour. It is assumed that the speakers know the meaning of the resultant words. Whether the word is listed in our mental lexicon or not; it is a different theoretical issue and analysis of word lies in the theoretical position one adheres to. In various versions of morpheme based theory, inflected words are not listed in the mental lexicon but in the word-based tradition it is believed that inflected words may be listed in the mental lexicon.⁸⁷ The recent evidence in cognitive literature supports for the word based tradition where words are found in a network of relations in our mental lexicon.

Inflectional processes appear far away from the root while the derivational processes are closer to the root. If a particular base is targeted with different morphemes namely inflectional and derivational ones, the inflectional morphemes will appear after the derivational ones. Once the

⁸⁶ See chapter II, section 2.1 Inflectional morphology

⁸⁷ See discussion on morpheme based and word based tradition in Chapter III, 3.4

inflectional morpheme is added, further no morphemes can be added to the base. Inflectional morphology closes the word as for example in English *hunters* and *denationalizations*; /-er/, /de-/, /al/, /ize/, /tion/ are derivational morphemes and /s/ is a plural inflectional morpheme. The order of morpheme cannot be so strict and but we may find exceptions to this order. Aronoff (1976) provides examples of English compounds *sister-in-laws* and *sisters-in-law* where the native speakers of English produce both the forms. In Hindi, the pluralization of compound noun '*kutta billi*' 'dog and cat' as '*kutte billi*' 'dogs and cats' violates the morpheme order (Agnihotri and Singh, 2001). In the above examples, inflectional strategies are found before compound word formations (See Siegel (1978), Lexical phonology morphology (Kiparsky, 1982) and a recent version of Stratal optimality theory (Kiparsky (2000), Bermudez- Otero 1999) and Rubach 2000).

Another important notion crops into mind while discussing inflectional process is productivity (See Chapter-IV-4.3.6. embedded productivity). Syntactic processes are maximally productive and inflectional processes closely interact with syntax must be productive. Though productivity is a degree and cannot be seen as a dichotomy between being productive and unproductive. It is a relative phenomenon that one is less productive and another is more productive. Though Matthews (1974:52) talks about semi-productivity⁸⁸, I would refer to productivity as Aronoff (1976) refers it as regularity. According to him, regular productive affixes may be blocked because of the prior existence of another word with the same meaning that the potential word would have. In general, if we compare derivational processes with inflectional processes, the inflectional morphology will turn out to be more productive. In comparison with derivation and compounding, inflectional processes closely interact with syntax. The interaction is clearly visible in agreement. Morphology by itself cannot determine which of the forms, a noun, verb or an adjective will take in a particular syntactic context. It is syntax which provides the information. This kind of interaction of inflectional morphology and syntax is found in the theoretical literature of Lexicalist Theory. There are two versions of the theory, strong and weak version. In the weak version of the theory, it is believed that some inflections are performed in the lexicon and other in the syntax (Chomsky 1965, 1970; Siegel 1974). The irregular inflectional processes as for example *man~men*, *child~children*, *go~went* are performed in the lexicon. In Strong Lexicalism, all morphological processes including inflection are performed in the lexicon (Halle 1973). Derivational morphology forms a word

⁸⁸ Matthews (1974:52) talks about semi-productivity to cover idiosyncratic affixes which inexplicably fail to attach to apparently eligible forms. When these affixes are used the meaning of the resulting word may be unpredictable.

in the lexicon and then the word is placed in a syntactic context. But when inflectional morphology operates in the lexicon some of the properties of the individual words are left unresolved or undetermined by the morphology and once the word is given in a particular syntactic context, the syntactic rule will add the missing properties of the word. It has to be mentioned that there is a division of labour between syntax and lexicon. When we talk of inflectional processes even syntax on its own cannot determine the inflectional properties of the word because depending on the shape of the items a particular affix is selected in a syntactic context and also irregular items are important in determining the inflectional properties of words. On the other hand, in derivation and compounding there is no division of labour between syntax and lexicon. There may be an interaction between these two components because of the existence of irregular items.

In Realization Morphology, for the analysis of inflectional phenomena, it is assumed that there are rules that spell out the phonological form of each word-form, a word with a particular array of features (Ackerman & Stump, 2004; Anderson 1992; Spencer 2004; Stump 2001). Periphrasis is a phenomenon where the cells in the inflectional paradigm of words may be filled by word combinations instead of words and it can be seen as phrasal constructs or ‘constructional idioms’ (Booij:2010:21). Inflectional phenomena provide direct evidence for the idea that morphologically complex words should be seen as construction with holistic properties (Booij, 2010:23). In Chapter II-2.1., I discussed different inflectional construction of Rajbanshi language namely number, gender, case and specificity classifiers constructions.

4.4.2 Derivational constructions

The derivational constructions are instrumental for word-formation (See Chapter II-2.2). It creates a relatively new lexeme. In Dictionary and grammar model of traditional grammar, the productive word-formation processes are conceived of as morphological rules (Aronoff 1976, Plag 2003). Beard (2001) discusses different kinds of derivational means i.e. affixation, apophony, conversion, paradigmatic derivation, prosodic modification, reduplication. In the English example, agent meaning cannot be deduced from the suffix –er, the meaning is only invoked when the suffix –er forms a word with a verbal base as for example *write*, *paint*, *read* etc. The schema of the agent noun is in 11;

11. <[[x] v er] N ‘One who Vs’ (writer, painter, reader)>

Prefixation can be explained in the same way using the morphological construction as for example *rewrite, reread, repaint* etc. is shown in 12;

12. <[[re] V [x]vi] Vj ↔ [do it again in SEM i] j>

Multiple affixes are added to a base to create a complex word. This process can take place in a number of rounds, with the output created by one round of affixation serving as the input to a later round.⁸⁹ Siegel (1974) says morphological processes are namely thought of as applying in serial fashion, one after another that means there is a cyclic application of rules. This kind of rule application is the fundamental tenet of lexical morphology model (See Strict cycle condition, Masacaro 1976, Kiparsky 1982: 154, Goldsmith 1990: 249-73).⁹⁰ The account of multiple affixation in dictionary and grammar model is not satisfactory. As for example, the words *moral* → (*moralise*) *demoralise*; there is no intermediate step *moralise* in English lexicon. A constructional analysis posits a morphological construction in which multiple elements attach simultaneously to a host.

If a base is added with multiple affixes what should be the order of affixes? In the Dictionary and Grammar model so many proposals exist. It is said that inflection modifies an existing lexeme, it does not create a new word, and also closes the word formation process i.e. once the inflectional processes applied there will be no addition of affix to the base. On the other hand, derivation creates a new lexeme or a new word, and always creates another base in which to other morphological processes can apply. In the typological framework, Greenberg (1966:93) points out that ‘if both the derivation and inflection follow the root, or they both precede the root, the derivation is always between the root and inflection’. Siegel (1974) in her level ordering hypothesis proposes that there are two levels of affixes-Level-I and Level-II, words with level-I affixes may serve as input for words with level-II affixes, but not the vice versa. Kiparsky (1982) proposes three levels of affixes: Level-I with irregular inflection and derivation, Level-II with regular derivation and compounding, Level-III with regular inflection. Halle and Mohanan (1985) recognise four strata: Stratum-1 with class –I irregular derivation and inflection, Stratum-2 with regular derivation, Stratum 3 with compounding, and stratum-4 with regular inflection. There exist many shortcomings with the theory of Lexical

⁸⁹ Katamba (1993:53) explains multiple affixation as a phenomenon in which complex words are formed by creating bases which contain several derivational affixes.

⁹⁰ The principle states that in the lexicon rules are blocked off in such a way that each layer of derivation is self-contained. Rules are only capable of affecting structures which are built by other rules belonging to the same stratum (Katamba 1993:123).

morphology. The proponents of the theory cannot come to a conclusion that how many strata are found in the lexicon? Besides, the theory does not spell out how are the affixes from the same level may or may not be combined?

Lexical Morphology is not a perfect theory but in spite of shortcomings, the model is intuitively satisfying and presents word-formation process of English and other languages. (Mohanar 1982, 1986; Pullyblank 1986, Pandey 2002). The stratum ordering hypothesis of Lexical Morphology is also used in recent linguistic theory namely Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1991).⁹¹ Works by Kiparsky (2000), Bermudez- Otero (1999) and Rubach (2000) and among others use ranked and violable constraints in conjunction with a division among stem level, word-level, and post-lexical strata. According to them, constraints can be ranked differently at each stratum and the output of each stratum is used as the input to the next.

Hay and Plag (2004) analysed fifteen suffixes of English determining for each one of how many of its types were likely to be parsed. They propose Complexity based ordering hypothesis based on psycholinguistics considerations. Hay (2002:527) says “an affix that can be easily parsed out should not occur inside an affix that cannot.” Hay and Plag (2004) conclude that more freely an affix can be separated from its base in processing, the more freely it attaches to words that contain another affix.

Derivation processes allow language users to make new lexemes.⁹² It has been observed that there are various constraints on derivational construction; (a) Input constraints are syntactic class requirements i.e. an affix is only added to a particular syntactic category not the other (b) Input constraints are phonological in nature i.e. a suffix is attached to a particular phonological base whether it has consonant ending or vowel ending etc. (c) Stratal constraints, an affix is added to a base of a particular historical origin whether it is borrowed or native roots. (d) Base driven restrictions i.e. an affix is added depending on the morphological makeup of the base whether it is simplex base or complex base. (e) Semantic constraints i.e. an affix forces the base word to belong to a particular semantic type (f) Pragmatic, stylistic or sociolinguistic constraints also play an important role in the informal and formal usage of language, and

⁹¹ Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993) is an output oriented approach to language analysis. The idea that every grammar is a system of conflicting forces, the surface forms of a language reflect resolution of conflicts between competing constraints-Markedness and Faithfulness constraints. The selectional mechanism involves hierarchy of rankings of constraints, such that higher rank constraints have priority over lower ranked constraints.

⁹² See Chapter-II, 2.2, nominal derivation in Rajbanshi language.

selection of a particular base. In the next chapter V-5.3, I would discuss nominal derivational processes and its constructions in Rajbanshi language.

4.4.3 Compound constructions

Compounding is a major word-formation process in Rajbanshi language.⁹³ It involves concatenation of at least two lexemes. Bloomfield (1933), Jespersen (1929), Marchand (1959), Hockett (1963) have presented descriptive account of English compounds. Adams (1973) used terms such as association, appositional, locative, resemblance etc. to identify classes of non-verbal compounds. Lees (1960) argued that compounds are formed in syntax and derived by the process of transformation. Siegel (1978) argue that synthetic compounds such as truck driver, school teacher, etc. are derivable from lexical transformation. Selkirk (1983) argues that transformation has no role in compound formation. {See Lieber (1983), Anderson (1988), Spencer (1991), Katamba (1993), Jensen (1990)}. According to Anderson (1995: 40) "... the combination of two or more members (potentially) open lexical classes." Abbi (2001: 171) opines "when two independent words in a language are joined to create a new word, this is known as compounding....the words that are juxtaposed to form a compound already occupy an independent status in the language....and after being coined as a compound the constituent elements of the compound lose their basic meaning and acquire a new reference." Compounds consist of two (or rarely more) lexeme stems that are juxtaposed in a single word form, and, when a language does not allow phrases consisting of two juxtaposed lexemes of the same word classes, the combination must be a compound (Haspelmath: 154-155). The resultant meaning of the constituent parts of the compound can be predictable or unpredictable. Some compounds are idiomatic in nature and their meaning cannot be determined from the meaning of their component parts. They are inseparable and cannot be replaced by other constituent parts. Morphological cohesion (Haspelmath:158) clearly takes the whole compound in its domain rather than just the head. Nigel (2001) points out that "...the meaning of a compound is usually to some extent compositional, though it is not often predictable."

The lexicon is hierarchical and allows intermediate levels of generalizations. It is assumed that there are intermediate schemas in between the individual words and the most abstract word formation schemas, which express generalizations about subsets of complex words of a certain

⁹³ See Chapter II, section 2.3. for Rajbnashi compounding

type (Booij 2005). In Rajbanshi compounds the word [baʈi] বাড়ি is homophonous, it has the main meaning ‘home or house’ and in the compound construction semantic drift takes place and the meaning is ‘place, field’. The meaning of the following compounds is usually ‘field or place of some kind’ in 13;

13. (a) [gʰaʃ baʈi] ঘাস বাড়ি ‘grass field’
 (b) [hɔɫɖɪ baʈi] হলদি বাড়ি ‘turmeric field’
 (c) [ʃuʈi baʈi] শুটি বাড়ি ‘barley field’
 (d) [oya baʈi]’ ওয়া বাড়ি paddy field’
 (e) [koʃʈa baʈi] কোস্টা বাড়ি ‘jute field’

We can assume the following intermediate schema for NN compounds of Rajbanshi in 14;

14. [[X]N [baʈi]N]N ‘a particular X field/place’.

The meaning of the word is inherited from the subschema. (cf. Krieger & Nerbonne, 1993 and Hippisley, 2001). A number of compound-initial words have developed into intensifying prefixes that have started a life of their own, without a synchronic link to their original use (van der Sijs, 2001: 545, Booij, 2005). The morphological construction for right headed nominal compounds *black board, steam boat, school boy* etc.⁹⁴

15. [[a] Xk [b] Ni] Nj ↔ [SEM i with relation R to SEM k]j

The nature of R is not specified but is determined for each individual compound on the basis of the compound constituents, and encyclopedic and contextual knowledge (Downing 1977; Jackendoff 2009).

16. [[a] Xk [b] Ni]Nj ↔ [SEM I with relation R to SEM k]j
 | |
 [aF] [aF]

Each nominal compound is the instantiation of this constructional schema presented before. There are also cases of analogical word-formations, but analogical patterns can be strengthened into constructional idioms, i.e. patterns with productivity. According to Booij (2010a) the use of this kind of intermediate schemas, word formation patterns with one of the positions

⁹⁴ The symbol used X= major lexical categories (N, V, Adj..), a,b= Lower case for arbitrary sound sequences, i, j, k= lower case lexical indexes on the PHON, SYN, SEM properties of words, R= Relation

lexically specified, and hence constructional idioms, implies that we do not have to decide whether such morphemes are affixes or words: their specific use and meaning as parts of complex words is specified directly in the constructional idioms.

4.4.4 Reduplicated structures

Reduplication is one of the major word-formation processes in south Asian languages.⁹⁵ Though the traditional grammarian ignores this process considering it to be trivial. It is not a syntactic process rather a morphological process because the units it operates on are words, not phrases or sentences. According to Abbi (2001:162) “words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word (phonological word), partially or completely are known as cases of reduplication”. Spencer (2001:13) points out that “some part of a base is repeated, either to the left, or to the right, or occasionally in the middle...the interesting thing about reduplication is that it involves adding material, just like any other form of affixation, but the identity of the added material is partially or wholly determined by the base”.

Reduplication is a phenomenon where a linguistic item is repeated in order to convey a particular meaning. According Goldberg (2006), the meanings that cannot be derived from the constituents of a construction but are properties of construction as whole. Reduplicated structures receive a prototypical or idealised interpretation often in contrast to a less prototypical interpretation. Reduplicated structures can have all kinds of meanings in Rajbanshi (See Chapter-II-2.4 & Chapter-V-5.5). The total or partial reduplication is used to express plurality or distributive plurality as for example in 17;

17. উমায় বাড়ি বাড়ি ভিক্ষা করে ।

[umay **baʀi baʀi** b^hikka kore]

He.DIST house house alms do

‘He begs in each and every house’

The distributive plurality meaning cannot be derived from one of its constituents, it is the whole construction copying or doubling pattern which evoke the meaning of distributive plurality. This holistic meaning can be accounted by the following schema in 18;

⁹⁵ See chapter II, section 2.4. for Rajbanshi reduplication

18. <[Ni Ni] Nj ↔[DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY [SEMi]]j>

Besides, reduplication also affects category change from verb to noun or noun to verb or verb to adverb etc. In this case, the construction is exocentric in nature because there is no constituent that could have triggered the category change. The verb [k^ha] খা gets its adverbial function once it is reduplicated. Here is an example of reduplicated verb having adverbial functions as in 19;

19. চেংড়িটা খাইতে খাইতে কান্দিল ।

[cɛŋɽi-ta k^hai-tɛ k^hai-tɛ kanɽil]

Girl-CLF eat eat cry-PST

‘The girl cried while eating’

According to Hilpert (2014: 86), the symbolic link between a reduplicated structure and the idea of prototype is non-compositional; knowledge of the individual words is not sufficient to work out the intended interpretation.

4.5. Multiword expressions and Constructional idioms

The notion periphrasis is used in the analysis of inflectional paradigm. The cells of the paradigm are filled by the combination of analytical elements because of unavailability of specific morphological form. In Rajbanshi progressive construction is an example of periphrasis. It is expressed by using verbs such as [naga] ‘to touch, to get, to attach’; [ɽ^hɔra] ‘to hold, to catch’ in coordination with the main verb (**k^ha**) as for example in 20;

20. চেংড়িটা ভাত খাওয়ার নাগিচে ।

[cɛŋɽa-ta b^haɽ k^ha-ɔyar naɽice]

Boy-CLF rice eat get-PRS

‘The boy is eating rice’.

These kinds of constructions with periphrastic function are considered cases constructional idioms. They are multiword expressions which are idiomatic in nature. They are not completely frozen or fixed because some of its positions/slots are variables. According to Booij (2010:83), ‘a constructional idiom is a fixed syntactic pattern in which some positions may be filled by all kinds of words of the right category, whereas other positions are filled by specific morphemes or words.’ Multiword expressions (MWEs) are not just fixed sequences of words with an

atomic meaning but differs in their degree of compositionality and syntactic flexibility (Pitt and Katz 2000, Sag et al 2002). Wray and Perkins (2000:1) use the term ‘formulaic language’ which is ‘a sequence, continuous or discontinuous of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be prefabricated that is stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar’.

Booij (2010) uses the term ‘constructional idiom’ to refer to those multiword expressions (MWEs) which are to certain aspects flexible and not syntactically frozen (See Appendix-VII & Appendix-VIII). These items can receive new instantiations. They are also termed as partially fixed constructions, one or more positions in these kinds of constructions are fixed and other is variable. Booij (2010) points out that the lexicon has to be extended with partially underspecified idioms (Paul and Kay, Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996, Croft 2001, 2003, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, 2006).

4.6 Interface phenomenon

The properties of one level may relate to those of another. In CM, the term interface means for the ways in which different kinds of representations (phonological, formal, semantic) are linked to each other (Booij, 2005). I would briefly discuss the interface phenomena in the following subsections;

4.6.1 Morphology and Phonology

The interaction of morphology and phonology is a vast area. {See Trommer (2012), Inkelas (2014)}. The phonological output forms may govern the selection of allomorphs and resolve the competing affixes. (Booij, 1998; Booij & Veer 2015; Burzio 2005, Rabach & Booij 2001). Morphological processes can be defined in terms of prosodic categories (Lappe, 2007; McCarthy and Prince 1986). The non-isomorphic relations between morphological and prosodic constraints, and also different words are subject to different phonological systems (Booij and Lieber 1993). There are subclasses of morphological constituents for which the alignment of morphological and phonological boundaries needs to be specified (McCarthy and Prince 1993). And alignment is an interface phenomenon, a form of correspondence between morphology and phonology. Burzio (2005:2) based on Italian data points out that

phonologically controlled suppletion reveals that morphological decisions are sometimes made based on the output of the phonology.

In CM, it is argued that morphological constraints have holistic properties i.e. they do not derive its properties from the individual constituents likewise holistic phonological properties do not follow from the phonology of their constituents. Each individual morphological constituent is associated with its own phonological sub-grammar (Inkelas, 2014:45). There are two kinds of affixes cohering and non-cohering, where the former makes a prosodic domain with the stem and the later forms prosodic domain of their own as for example English deverbal agentive suffix /er/ (painter) and abstract noun forming suffix /hood/ (boyhood) respectively. In the next chapter, I will be discussing interface phenomena between morphology and phonology mainly focusing on Rajbanshi nominal morphology.

4.6.2. Morphology and Semantics

The relationship between form and meaning of a word is arbitrary. According to Saussure (1916), there is an arbitrary relationship between them, there is no inherent or logical connection between the signifier and signified. Words are linguistic signs whose meaning are arbitrary. Speakers of a language have to remember many arbitrary signs but the meaning of complex words may not be fully arbitrary, its meaning is partially motivated. The compositionality principle suggests that the meaning of a complex word is a compositional function of its constituent parts. But we had seen some linguistic signs are semantically opaque or non-compositional i.e. the meaning cannot be deduced from its constituent parts. The exocentric compounds ‘pick pocket’ in English and [kaʈol ʃupuri] কাটোল সুপুরি ‘jackfruit guava’ (pineapple) in Rajbanshi; the meaning of the constituent parts do not correspond to the overall meaning of the complex word. It can be stated that Compositionality principle is not a reliable means to determine the meanings of above compounds, and hence one has to be aware of world knowledge (encyclopaedic knowledge) and also knowledge of the context in which a word is used.

Another important thing about the meaning of words is the metaphorical use of a word and how the language users effectively interpret its meaning. There is a distinction between the notions of meaning and interpretation. The interpretation mechanism follows the pragmatic principle of *cooperation* between hearer and speaker. Polysemy of affixes and words are also

found in the languages of the world. It is the effect of semantic extension mechanism such as metaphor and metonymy and this can be understood more generally in terms of domain shift chains.⁹⁶ According to Goldberg (2006), meanings that cannot be derived from the constituents of a construction but are considered as properties of construction as a whole. The case of reduplication as discussed above clearly shows the interaction between morphology and semantics. In exocentric compounds, no constituent functions as a head, it is a clear case of interface phenomena between morphology and semantics in which holistic properties are involved (Booij and Audring 2015:11). The meaning is construction specific but the pragmatics and discourse information are also mingled in Semantic component in CM (See Chapter II-2.3)

4.6.3. Morphology and Syntax

Morphology deals with the internal structure of complex words and syntax deals with structure of phrases and sentences. In the traditional view, morphology feeds syntax since morphology provides units that are operated upon by syntactic rules. But this is not always correct we had seen cases where syntax feeds morphology; a particular syntactic unit is used to build morphologically complex words as for example *do gooder*, *do-it-yourselfer*, *fast tracker*, *look upper* (Ryder 2001). Booij (2007:190) points out the interaction between morphology and syntax is that they make use of the same word class categories: morphological rules operate on words of a certain word class (noun, verb, adj, etc), and also create words or word-forms of a specific category. Thus, there is a shared vocabulary for morphology and syntax with respect to word classes.

The interaction of morphology and syntax is not a matter of correspondence between different types of information. In this view of grammar (CM), morphology and syntax belong to the same level. The assumption of traditional grammar is that there is a pre-syntactic lexicon which provides lexical items to be inserted into the syntactic structure. It is not necessarily the case that we first build words in a pre-syntactic morphological component and then insert these words into syntactic slots in the syntactic component. Instead, syntactic constructions may form part of morphological constructions. This implies that syntactic and morphological information must be available simultaneously (Booij and Audring:2015).

⁹⁶ In this case one may go from one semantic domain to another related one and thus derive new interpretation as for example PERSON> OBJECT> ACTIVITY>SPEACE>TIME>QUALITY (Heine et all 1991:45).

4.7. Architecture of Grammar in CM

What is the overall architecture of the grammar? How many grammatical components do exist in the grammatical system? What is the place of morphology in that system? According to Julien (2002:297), morphologically complex words are the outcome of manipulation of morphemes that takes place in syntax. In CM, it is argued that grammar of natural language has autonomous morphological sub-grammar, and it cannot be reduced to syntax or phonology (Booij: 2010). Morphology is word-grammar and similar to sentence grammar in its dealing with the relationship between three kinds of information. It is only with respect to the domain of linguistic entities that morphology is different from sentence grammar since morphology has the word domain as its focus (Booij, 2010: 11). Booij (2010:5) conceives that each word is a linguistic sign, a pairing of form and meaning and ... it is a pairing of three types of information PHON, SYN, SEM respectively. It is argued that each word has a lexical index in our lexicon, and it is attached with three kinds of information PHON, SYN, SEM. It is only the words which will have lexical index, not the affixes since they are not lexical items.

Jackendoff and Culicover (2005, 2006) talk of tripartite parallel architecture of grammar. They consider morphology to be the extension of parallel architecture below the word level. The grammar is an intricate network of lexical relationships not only between morphological schemas and their instantiations—that is complex words--- but also among schemas. Complex words are not only related indirectly, by sharing a base word but also directly, because they may entertain paradigmatic relationships (Booij, 2010:15). The domain of morphology is smaller in compare to syntax but the architecture is similar to syntax. The lexical insertion is the only point of contact between them (Ackema & Neeleman, 2004). In the construction based approach to morphology, output forms emerged out not through the process of derivation where different rules compete to operate within a base to derive the suitable output forms but through the process of exposure, experience, memory. CM argues that morphology must be usage based in order to understand the knowledge of language system and creation of complex words. The architecture of grammar in a hierarchical lexicon with various degrees of schematicity that do justice to actual language use in the domain of word formation.

4.8. Summary

The notion ‘construction’ plays an important role in Construction grammar. It is a pairing of form and meaning, is not totally compositional but is predictable. The language users know the constructions of their language. It is found in the inheritance network of constructions and is useful for the analysis of morphological and lexical phrasal constructs. Morphological schemas specify the predictable properties of the complex words listed in the lexicon and they also indicate how new words and word forms can be made. The lexicon is not only an appendix of the grammar, it lists various kinds of information of words, morphemes, idioms and proverbs, formulaic sequences and may also list some sentences. Construction grammar argues that many idiomatic elements cannot be stored as fixed strings but they can be stored as schemas with slots that can be filled with certain elements and not by others. The lexicon is a meeting place of the systematic and conventional properties of language constructs.

Constructional schema denotes a schematic pairing of form and meaning. Subschemas are useful to make generalization about subsets of words and can create new words productively. Schemas and subschemas are found in paradigmatic relationship in the hierarchical lexicon. Inheritance mechanism captures the relation between more abstract construction and concrete construction. In Impoverished theory, all the inherited information are omitted from the lexical entry of words before it goes to the next step and in the Full entry theory, the individual lexical entries are fully specified and inheritance mechanism compute the relevant and redundant information before it goes to the next level. In CM, unproductive word-formation processes are also viewed as construction. Embedded productivity is a phenomenon where a word-formation schema is normally unproductive but it is productive when it occurs with another word-formation schema.

Interface phenomenon is also discussed in this chapter with examples. Morphological processes influence the phonetic forms of a word. We had seen the distinction between cohering and non-cohering affixes. In some cases, the morphological boundary and phonological boundary is symmetric and in other cases, it is non-isomorphic. Morphological strategies may impose phonological constraints on the stems they operate on. The principle of lexical integrity separates morphology from syntax. But syntactic constructs may form part of complex words and it may govern the use of case marking on words. Languages may allow analytic elements for the morpho-syntactic categories. The combination of this kind is used productively can be termed as constructional idiom. The semantics of complex words is

generally governed by compositionality principle and conceptualization rules. For a proper interpretation and use of complex words, the knowledge of pragmatics and of the world and of the context is also important. The semantic extension mechanism such as metaphor and metonymy, and polysemy of affixes and individual complex words can be understood in terms of domain shift chains.

CM argues that grammar of natural language has autonomous morphological subgrammar, and it cannot be reduced to syntax or phonology. In this theory, the grammar is conceptualized in a hierarchical lexicon with various degrees of schematicity that do justice to actual language use in the domain of word- formation.

CHAPTER-5

5. CONSTRUCTIONAL SCHEMAS AND NOMINAL MORPHOLOGICAL

CONSTRUCTIONS IN RAJBANSHI

5.1. Introduction

Construction Morphology offers interesting insights into morphological theory and overall architecture of Grammar. It handles word-formation strategies namely derivation, inflection, compounding, reduplication and other types adequately.⁹⁷ It is argued in CM that morphological schemas or templates have advantages over Word-formation Rules (Aronoff 1976). For the analysis of word-formation in general the WFRs fail to examine the systematic correlation between form and meaning, and they do not provide adequate solutions for some problematic cases. The theory of CM will provide adequate solutions for the problems and the correlation between form and meaning which can be modelled straightforwardly by means of hierarchically ordered word-formation schemas or subschemas in the hierarchical lexicon. In this chapter, I will be discussing the following, in section 5.1 Introduction in 5.2. Inflectional constructions in 5.3. Derivational constructions in 5.4. Compound constructions in 5.5. Reduplicated constructions in 5.6 Constructional idioms, in 5.7. Allomorphy in CM and 5.8 Summary of the chapter.

5.2. Inflectional Constructions

Inflectional phenomena provide excellent arguments for word-based morphology and for the constructional approach. The inflectional forms have holistic properties and they are found in paradigmatic relations.⁹⁸ In inflectional morphology, we hardly find one to one correspondence between form and its morpho-syntactic property. (See Chapter II-2.1 & Chapter IV-4.4.1) It is often impossible to assign a particular meaning to an inflectional affix. We simply cannot allow large set of inflectional homonymous suffixes in our morphological theory.⁹⁹ The notion of ‘portmanteau’ morpheme is called for in traditional approach. (See Word-formation processes, Chapter-III-3.2.1). The actual value of an inflectional affix depends on the kinds of stem it

⁹⁷ See word-formation processes, Chapter-III-3.2.1.

⁹⁸ See Chapter III-3.4. Word and Chapter-IV-4.3.4.

⁹⁹ It is often impossible to assign a specific meaning to an inflectional suffix because its actual value depends on the kind of stem it combines with and the properties of the stem, unless one allows for large sets of homonymous inflectional affixes. (Booij 2010:255).

combines with, and the properties of that stem. The classical problem of inflectional morphology is the complicated relation between form and meaning (See Spencer 2004, Blevins 2006, Ackerman et al 2009). In CM, the analysis of inflectional phenomena is quite straightforward, the morpho-syntactic properties of each word form in a paradigm are best considered as constructional properties i.e. the properties of each word form as a whole.¹⁰⁰ The Rajbanshi words in Chapter II-2.1.5.2.(Table.18) can be expressed by the following morphological schema in 1;

1. <(X-c/a) wi ↔ [N] NOM, SING, MAS ↔ SEM i>

([murga] মুরগা, [bandor] বান্দর, [payra] পায়রা, [damra] দামড়া, [fiyal] শিয়াল etc....)

In this schema, X is a phonological variable for nominal stems and w is a phonological word. The meaning-SEMi is mentioned here is that of the lexeme. The semantic interpretation of the morphosyntactic feature is not specified here, since this interpretation depends on stem it combines with, and the syntactic contexts in which a word occurs. The morphological schema makes it clear that the noun either ends with a consonant or a vowel /a/ আ. The notation X is used for any potential phonological base. The noun generally refers to morphosyntactic categories Nominative, Singular and Masculine.

2. <(X-i) wi ↔ [N] NOM, SING, FEM ↔ SEMi>

([murgī] মুরগী ‘hen’, [banduri] বান্দুরি ‘female monkey’, [payri] পায়রি ‘female pigeon’, [damri] দামড়ি ‘female calf’, [fiyali] শিয়ালি ‘female fox’ etc....)

The above schema suggests that the phonological segment (X) ends with a vowel /i/ ই. The noun is feminine, singular and can have nominative functions in the language.

Like the previous morphological construction in (1), the phonological segment X (in 3) on the left side, can end with either a vowel or a consonant. The construction [[X] ni] N has a nominative, singular, feminine function. Besides it can have an additional meaning i.e. wife of [X] as in 3.

¹⁰⁰ Inflectional phenomena provides direct evidence for the idea that morphologically complex words should be seen as construction with holistic properties (Booij, 2010:23).

3. <[X-c/v] N, Sing, Mas ↔ [[X]ni] N, Sing, Fem>

([nauya] নায়ুয়া ‘barber’ [nauyani] নায়ুয়ানি ‘female barber or wife of barber’

[maj{ar] মাস্টার ‘teacher’ [maj{arni] মাস্টারনি ‘female teacher or wife of teacher’)¹⁰¹

Periphrasis is a phenomenon where the cells in the inflectional paradigm of words may be filled by word combinations instead of words and can be seen as phrasal constructs or ‘constructional idioms’ (Booij, 2010:21). The place of a lexical item (such N, V, Adj etc) in a construction is found in an open slot i.e. it varies and the construction is marked by bound morphemes. These bound morphological elements instantiate construction dependent morphology (Booij 2010: 211-236). They are the result of reanalysis of syntactic constructions. Croft (2001:126-127) calls this kind of analysis is ‘hyponalysis’ in which “the listener reanalyses a contextual semantic/functional property as an inherent property of the syntactic unit. In the reanalysis the inherent property of the context [-] is then attributed to the syntactic unit in questions gain a new meaning or function”.

If we look at the Rajbanshi case markers that signal relationship between the dependent word and the head of construction which can be qualified as inherent or contextual inflection.¹⁰² (See Chapter-II- example 16.b,c). The case markers are subjected to reanalysis which show that the notion of ‘construction’ and ‘constructional idiom’ are indispensable for a proper account of the distribution of bound morphological elements. The inflectional markers show how the complexity of languages may increase due to preservation of old inflectional markings. Dahl (2004: 221) finds that an important source of linguistic complexity lies in the retainment of properties from earlier stages of life cycles of constructions. In example 4, we would find the plural marker /ra/ রা is the earlier relics of the number system in personal pronominal systems (See chapter-II-2.1.4.). In table 13, it is also important to note that the regular plural construction <[X]N la, gila/> supersedes the relics /ra/ রা plural marker as in [tomragila]

¹⁰¹ For more examples see Chapter-II-2.1.5.1. (b)

¹⁰² Inherent inflection refers to cases where choice of an inflectional form is determined by the speaker’s communicative intention when a word is used and not by any recognizable syntactic context. On the other hand contextual or assigned inflection is purely motivated by syntactic context as for example number agreement in verbs is contextual while number in nouns is inherent inflection in English language (Fabregas and Scalise 2012: 66-85).

তোমরাগিলা ‘You. PL’, [umuragila] উমুরাগিলা ‘they’. (See Chapter-II section 2.1.4.). The mere derivational analysis of the singular and plural forms may not establish the systematic correspondence between them. The construction morphology finds the following words in 4 in paradigmatic relations which treat their systematic correspondences in word-based perspective (See Chapter-III-3.4. & Chapter IV 4.3.4).

| 4. | Personal pronoun | SING | PLUR |
|----|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | [mui] মুই | ‘I’ | [hamra] হামরা ‘We’ |
| 2 | [tui] তুই | ‘You’ | [tomra] তোমরা ‘You’ |
| | | [tomra] তোমরা ‘you+Hon’ | [tomragila] তোমরাগিলা ‘You. PL’ |
| 3 | [imay] ইমায় | ‘s/he+Prox’ | [imiragila] ইমিরাগিলা ‘they’ |
| | [umay] উমায় | ‘s/he +Dis’ | [umuragila] উমুরাগিলা ‘they’ |

There are also a handful of time and place adverbs which retain the archaic genitive form by adding [-kar] কার to the base word as in 5. In the Dictionary and grammar model of lexicon, these items are often treated as lexical items frozen or fossilized which are stored in the mental lexicon of a speaker. The morphological construction of the words in 5 is <[Xi] Adv↔ [Xi-kar] Adv↔ [SEM of Xi]>.

| 5. Base word | Genitive | Gloss |
|--------------|--------------------|--|
| [aij] আইজ | [aijkar] আইজকার | ‘of today’ |
| [kail] কাইল | [kailkar] কাইলকার | ‘of yesterday/ tomorrow’ |
| [udin] উদিন | [udin-kar] উদিনকার | ‘of day before yesterday/ of day after tomorrow’ |

However, some temporal and place adverbs can take the productive [er/r] এর/র suffix as for instance in 6;

6. <[Xi] Adv↔ [Xi-r/er] Adv↔ [SEM of that Xi]>

([sedin] সেদিন [sedinkar] সেদিনকার ~ [sediner] সেদিনের ‘of that day’)

The genitive marker is used with proper name and place name as in 7. (a), (b), (c), (d). and in 8 (a), (b) (c). It is also used with pronominal and quantifier. The schema can be broadly generalized as $\langle [Xi-er/r]\alpha N]N \leftrightarrow [SEM\ of\ Xi]\rangle$.¹⁰³

7. (a) সুনীলের জমি

[ʃunil-er ʃɔmi]

Sunil-GEN land

‘Sunil’s land’

(b) কুচবিহারের সোনার রাজবাড়ি

[kucbihar-er ʃona-r raʃbaɽi]

Coochbehar-GEN gold-GEN palace

‘the golden palace of Coochbehar’

(c) [mauʃa-r ʃokan] মাউসার দোকান

Maternal uncle-GEN shop

‘Shop of maternal uncle’

(d) [abo-r ʃul] আবোর দুলা

Maternal grandmother-GEN earring

‘Earring of maternal grandmother’

8. (a) [kar baɽi] কার বাড়ি

Who-GEN house

‘Whose (SING) house?’

(b) [kar kar baɽi] কার কার বাড়ি

Who-GEN house

‘Whose (PL) house’

(c) [ʃɔgar baɽi] সবার বাড়ি

All-GEN house

‘Everyone’s house’

¹⁰³ The symbol α has been used to represent the grammatical category symbols since they can have various categories.

The morphological marker can receive a new grammatical function that of a linking element. In Rajbanshi, the sequence [neṭar gʰər] নেতার ঘর ‘leaders and associates’, [bʰaiyer gʰər] ভাইয়ের ঘর ‘brothers and associates’, [mamar gʰər] মামার ঘর ‘maternal uncle and associates’ (See section 2.1.3.6.) are no longer treated as lexical phrases but treated as complex words. What I would interpret here is that the genitive marker /r র or er এর/ as a linking element because the grammatical function of generative marker is not retained in the complex words. These words have specific semantic interpretations. The referent nouns are always + human and the meaning is associative in continuation with the [X] element of the genitive. The word [bandʰorer gʰər] বান্দরের ঘর does not refer to ‘monkey and its associates’ rather the quality (naughty) of some boys. These word sequences cannot be considered as short phrases, rather I would assume that they are complex words dominated by the following schema;

9. <[Ni-er gʰər]Nj ↔ [SEM Ni ASSOCIATE PL]j>

Constructions are also found in the domain of language change (Bybee et al. 1994, Heine 1993, Traugott 2003). If a language changes the constructions may disappear due to the erosion of the inflectional system. There are traces of forms but the forms have no consistent meaning or in cases, the morphological forms receive new grammatical function. Greenberg (1991) refers to this phenomenon as ‘regrammaticalization’. Grammaticalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use parts of construction with a grammatical function. Over time, the resulting grammatical item may acquire more grammatical function and also expands its host (Brinton & Traugott, 2005:9). According to Aikhenvald (2007), the rise of derivative morphemes is rightly qualified as grammaticalization, since these morphemes have become affixes. If situated at the end point of grammaticalization, these morphemes have abstract grammatical properties but such bound morphemes may still have a rather specific meaning, more lexical to more grammatical meaning—a pattern characteristics of grammaticalization. In the above morphological construction in 9, <[Ni-er gʰər]Nj ↔ [SEM Ni ASSOCIATE PL]j>, the genitive marker [r/er] loses its syntactic functions and the lexical item [gʰər] ঘর acquires a new grammatical function in combination with the genitive. It functions as associative plural marker in Rajbanshi only with + human nouns.

5.3. Derivational Constructions

There is no doubt that words are enlisted in the mental lexicon and they may be classified on the basis of syntactic category, semantic type, and morphological type (See chapter IV-4.2). The syntactic category can further be sub-classified in different types as in Figure.5.1;

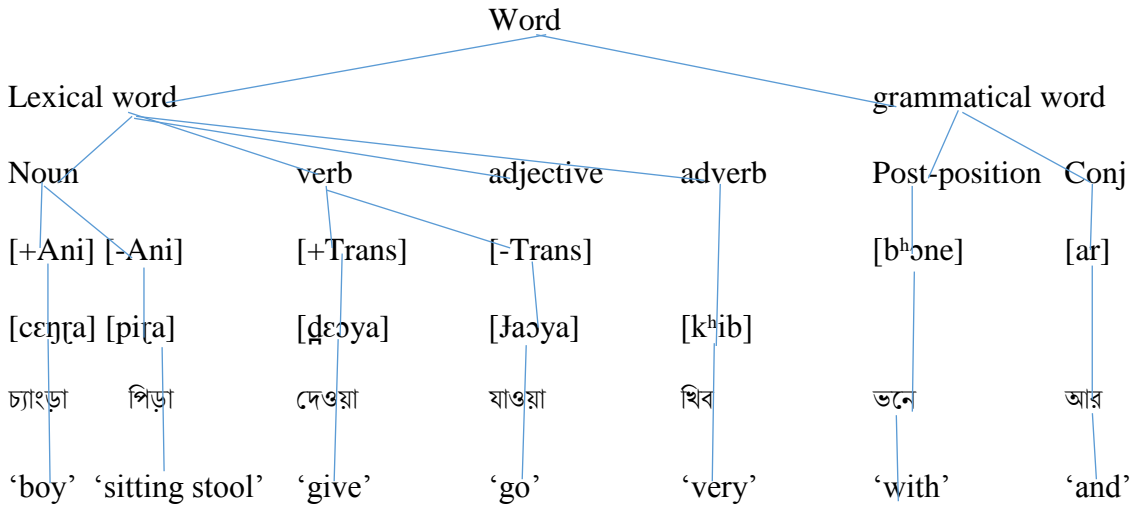


Figure.5.1 The syntactic classification of words in the mental lexicon

The notion of inheritance hierarchy can also be used to represent morphologically complex words (Hippisley 2001; Konig 1999; Krieger and Nerbonne 1993; Riehemann 1998, 2001). The noun is divided as simple noun and complex noun. The complex nouns can have different morphological markers as in Figure.5.2;

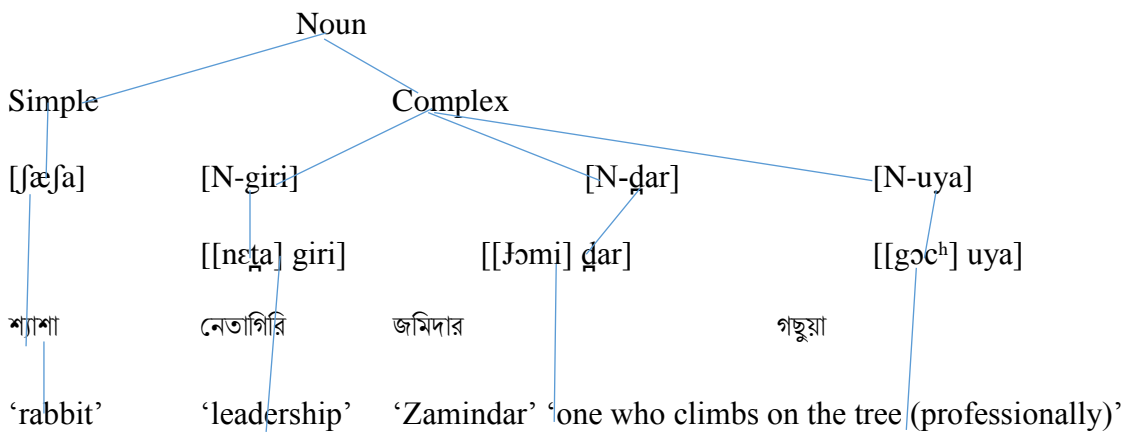


Figure.5.2 The morphological classification of words in the mental lexicon

The individual word [ʃɔmiɽar] জমিদার ‘Zamindar’ is dominated by the schema [N-ɽar] and it inherits the PHON, SYN, SEM properties specified by the schema. The schema also specifies the relevant properties of each subclass. The individual word not only inherits the information

from the schema but there is also an inheritance of information from the base word {See Section-II (2.2.12) for *Impoverished entry theory* and *Full entry theory*}. This kind of inheritance is captured through co-indexation: the PHON, SYN, SEM properties of the base word ↔ the PHON, SYN, SEM properties of the derived word. In the following example, the tripartite parallel structure of /gɔc^h/ গছ ‘tree’ is shown;¹⁰⁴

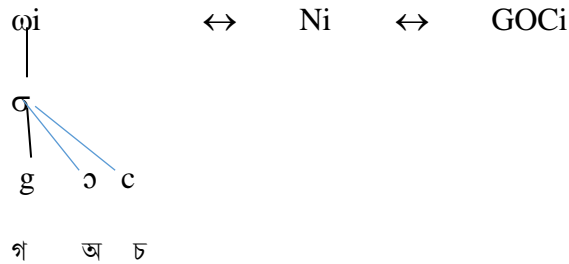


Figure.5.3 The tripartite parallel structure of the word /gɔc/ গছ

The tripartite parallel structure of complex word /gɔcuɔya/ গছুয়া ‘who climbs tree (professionally)’ is shown in Figure.5.4;

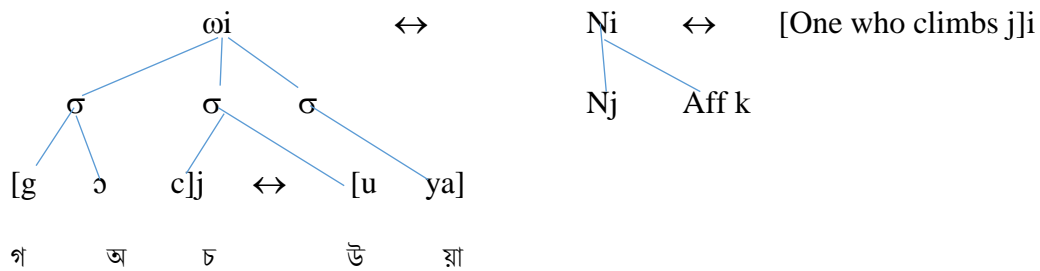


Figure.5.4 The tripartite parallel structure of the complex word /gɔc^huɔya/ গছুয়া

In the above examples, the vertical dimension shows paradigmatically related units. The substitution of one affix with another without changing the stem may also lead to new patterns of word-formations in paradigmatic relations. It can be expressed by the following schema that presupposes a paradigmatic relationship between abstract word formation schemas in Rajbanshi;¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴The symbol used, ↔= correspondence, σ= syllable, ω=phonological word, Aff=affix, N=noun, V=verb
¹⁰⁵ < > the symbol angle bracket demarcate a construction, ~ paradigmatic relation, ↔ for correspondence

| | | |
|------------|---|--|
| 10. | Noun | Noun |
| (a) | [gɔc ^h] গছ ‘Tree’ | [gɔc ^h ali] গছালি ‘Tree, small in size’ |
| (b) | [gɔc ^h uya] গছুয়া ‘climber’ M | [gɔc ^h uyani] গছুয়ানি ‘climber, F’ |
| (c) | [ʃɔmi] জমি ‘land’ | [ʃɔmin] জমিন ‘land’ |
| (d) | [ʃɔmiɖar] জমিদার ‘landlord’ | [ʃɔmiɖari] জমিদারি ‘landlordship’ |

In CM, it is assumed that the conventionalized complex words are listed in the lexicon. These words are paradigmatically related. The language users may consider these words as the concatenation of items as for example; (a) [gɔc^h+ali] গছ+আলি (b) [gɔc+uya] গছ+উয়া, [gɔc^h+uya+ni] গছ+উয়া+নি (c) [ʃɔmi+n] জমি+ন (d) [ʃɔmi+ɖar] জমি+দার, [ʃɔmi+ɖar+i] জমি+দার+ই in syntagmatic axis. However, these words are also paradigmatically related and the language users may form a word in terms of suffix substitution since the word in 10. (a) and (b) share their base [gɔc^h] গছ and in 10. (c) and (d) the base is [ʃɔmi] জমি. The paradigmatic relationship between words in the lexicon may lead to the coining of new words by means of affix substitution. The schemas for complex words (in example 10 and Figure.9) with the same degree of morphological complexity can be represented in 11 and 12.

11. <[X - uya] Ni ‘human agent,M ’ ↔ [X -uyani]N ‘human agent female Ni ’> ≈ <[X-ali] Nj ↔ [SEMj small in size]>
12. <[X-ɖar] Ni ↔ [SEM]i> ≈ <[X-n] Nj ↔ [SEM]j>

If we look at the example (reproduced here) from Chapter-II (2.2.8) with a little modification, we would find that there is a systematic form-meaning correspondences between C1 and C2.

| | | |
|------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 13. | C1 (V) | C2 (N) |
| | [giʃʃa] গির্জা ‘roar’ | [giʃʃɔn] গির্জোন ‘act of roaring’ |
| | [ʃiŋʃa] শিংড়া ‘shake in fear’ | [ʃiŋʃɔn] শিংড়োন ‘act of shaking in fear’ |
| | [ʃuʃa] শুতা ‘lie down’ | [ʃuʃɔn] শোতন ‘state of lying down’ |
| | [ʃãʃa] শাঁসা ‘threat’ | [ʃãʃɔn] শাঁসন ‘act of ruling, threatening’ |
| | [b ^h ag] ভাগ ‘share’ | [b ^h agɔn] ভাগন ‘open distribution of share’ |
| | [b ^h ɔʃa] ভজা ‘adore’ | [b ^h ɔʃɔn] ভজোন ‘adoration’ |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| [Jira] জিরা ‘take rest’ | [Jiran] জিরান ‘act of taking rest’ |
| [gɔra] গড়া ‘make’ | [gɔron] গড়ন ‘shape’ |
| [cola] চলা ‘move’ | [colon] চলন ‘movement, style’ |
| [bola] বলা ‘become big’ | [bolon] বলন ‘act of becoming large’ |
| [naca] নাচা ‘dance’ | [nacon] নাচন ‘act of dancing’ |

The Rajbanshi language users would form an abstract schema that expresses a generalization concerning the form-meaning correspondences that hold for the items in C1 and C2 is shown in 14;

14. $\langle [X]_{vi} \leftrightarrow [[X]_{vi-ɔn}]_j N \leftrightarrow [SEM \text{ ACT OF DOING } Xi]_j \rangle$

The schema above dominates the individual listed existing nouns in /ɔn/ অন and at the same time the schema specifies how a new noun of this type can be derived from verbs. It is a productive schema. By specifying both the individual /ɔn/ অন and the productive schema $[[X]_{v-ɔn}]_j N$, we would avoid the ‘rule vs. list fallacy’.¹⁰⁶ According to Booij (2013:2), listing is a way of specifying the lexical convention of a language, whereas schemas express the generative power of the grammar. Language users acquire abstract morphological schemas on the basis of the individual complex words that they have acquired in the first place.

The lexicon is a highly structured component of the grammar and there is a paradigmatic relationship between complex words and between morphological constructions. This paradigmatic relationship plays an essential role in inflectional morphology as well as in derivational morphology. How is the relationship between a schema and its instantiation modelled in the hierarchical lexicon? In Construction Morphology (Booij 2010), it is assumed that there is a default inheritance mechanism between a schema and its instantiation. The individual word [nacon] নাচন ‘act of dancing’ inherit all their predictable properties from the dominating schema by default. The default inheritance mechanism may also allow for individual word to have its idiosyncratic properties which differ from the specified the schema {See Chapter-II (2.2.12)}.

¹⁰⁶ The mistaken idea that a linguistic construct that is completely regular and hence predictable cannot at the same time be listed.

15. [buɾa] বুড়া ‘old’ [buɾali] বুড়ালি ‘about old age’
 [bʰuɾa] ভুটা ‘borrowing’ [bʰuɾali] ভুটালি ‘about borrowing’
 [boka] বোকা ‘stupid’ [boka-li] বোকালি ‘one who carries child and takes care/
 baby sitter ’

In the above examples (15), two words [buɾali] বুড়ালি, [bʰuɾali] ভুটালি inherit all their predictable properties from the dominating schema by default. But the word [boka-li] বোকালি ‘something about stupidity’ has idiosyncratic properties of its own and the meaning of this individual word is ‘babysitter/ one who takes care of baby’. The general schema can be given below in 16;

16. <[X]Adj-li]N ↔ ‘about the property of X’>

The schema for the complex words in 17 is <[X]v-ni]N ↔ ‘Act of Doing X’>.

- | 17. | C1 (V) | C2 (N) |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| | [beɾa] বেড়া ‘roam’ | [beɾani] বেড়ানি ‘act of roaming around’ |
| | [pʰira] ফিড়া ‘return’ | [pʰirani] ফিড়ানি ‘act of returning’ |
| | [gʰiɾa] ঘিড়া ‘enclose’ | [gʰiɾani] ঘিড়ানি ‘an enclose’ |
| | [gʰuɾa] ঘুড়া ‘roam’ | [gʰuɾani] ঘুড়ানি ‘act of roaming around’ |

The individual words [gʰiɾani] ঘিড়ানি ‘an enclosure’, [gʰuɾani] ঘুড়ানি ‘a kind of toy which whirls in wind’ have idiosyncratic properties. They differ from what is predicted by the above schema. The default inheritance mechanism allows this unpredictability, idiosyncratic behaviour because they do not inherit all their meaning from the meaning of a corresponding base. The meaning of [gʰiɾani] ঘিড়ানি ‘an enclosure’ and [gʰuɾani] ঘুড়ানি ‘a kind of toy which whirls in wind’ is of a concrete noun but the schema prediction was an abstract noun.

On the basis of the schema <[X]v-ni]N ↔ ‘Act of Doing X’>, a new word [pʰæłani] ফেলানি ‘left over’ can be created. The schema is not just generalization over a set of existing words but can be used productively (Jackendoff 2010:28-34, Booij 2010, 2013). The individual words [pʰæłani] ফেলানি ‘left over’, [gʰiɾani] ঘিড়ানি ‘an enclosure’, [gʰuɾani] ঘুড়ানি ‘a kind of toy which whirls in wind’ etc. are morphological constructs and schema represents morphological constructions. In morphological construction, one (affix) position is specified whereas the other position (lexical) is open, variable. According to Booij (2010:3) morphological schema or constructions is a ‘constructional idiom’ at the word level. On the basis of the systematic form-

meaning correspondences between C1 and C2 shown above (in 17), Rajbanshi language users can form an abstract schema that expresses a generalization concerning the form-meaning correspondences that hold for the items in C1 and C2.

| | | |
|------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 18. | C1 (N) | C2 (N) |
| | [mɔiʃ] মইষ ‘buffalo’ | [mɔiʃal] মইষাল ‘buffalo man’ |
| | [gaʃi] গাড়ি ‘cart’ | [gaʃiyal] গাড়িয়াল ‘cartman’ |
| | [bãʃi] বাঁশী ‘flute’ | [bãʃial] বাঁশিয়াল ‘fluteman’ |

The above words in C1 and C2 can be represented in the following schema;

<[X-al] wi N, SING,NOM ↔ [SEM, WHO LOOKS AFTER/PRACTICES Xi]>

Below some list of words and their morphological schemas are presented;

| | | |
|------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 19. | [tɛl] ত্যাল ‘oil’ | [tɛli] ত্যালি ‘oilman’ |
| | [mala] মালা ‘garland’ | [mali] মালী ‘garland keeper’ |

The schema of the above words is given below,

<[X] N, SING, Inanimate □ [[X]i] ‘One who does, deals in or involved in X’, N, Animate>

| | | |
|------------|---|--|
| 20. | [mola] মোলা ‘a kind of stuffed rice ball’ | [molaʃi] মোলাতি ‘the person who deals in stuffed rice ball’ |
| | [cun] চুন ‘lime’ | [cunaʃi] চুনাতি ‘the person who deals in lime’ |
| | [caul] চাউল ‘rice’ | [caulaʃi] চাউলাতি ‘the person who sells rice’ |
| | [baʃa] বাড়া ‘husk rice’ | [baʃaʃi] বাড়াতি ‘the person who is involved in the process of making husk rice into full rice’ |

Here is the schema;

<[X] N, Sing, Inanimate ↔ [[X]i] ‘One who is involved in X’, N, Animate>

| | | |
|------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 21. | [ɔporaʃh] অপরাধ ‘crime’ | [ɔporaʃhi] অপরাধী ‘criminal’ |
| | [ʃɔinneʃ] সইনাস ‘renunciation’ | [ʃɔinnaʃi] সইনাসী ‘saint’ |

The schema is shown below;

<[X] N, Sing, Inanimate ↔ [[X] i] ‘One who practices X’, N, Sing, Animate>

| | | |
|------------|---------------------------|---|
| 22. | [pahaʃ] পাহাড় ‘mountain’ | [pahaʃi] পাহাড়ী ‘from the hills’; ‘inhabitants of ...’ |
| | [nepal] ন্যাপাল ‘Nepal’ | [nepali] ন্যাপালি ‘from Nepal’; ‘inhabitants of..’ |

[kamʈapur] কামতাপুর ‘Kamtapur’ [kamʈapuri] ‘from Kamtapur’; ‘inhabitants of
Kamtapur’

Here is the schema;

<[X] N, Sing, Inanimate, ↔ [[X] i] N, Sing, ‘hail from X, inhabitant of X’>

23. [dʰak] ঢাক ‘drum’ [dʰaguyaʈ] ‘drummer’
[kʰela] খেলা ‘play’ [kʰeloyaʈ] খ্যালোয়াড় ‘player’

The schema is shown below;

<[X] N, Sing, Inanimate ↔ [[X] aʈ] N, Sing, Animate, ‘One who practices X’>

24. [pagla] পাগলা ‘crazy, mad’ [paglami] পাগলামি ‘madness’
[maʈal] মাতাল ‘drunk’ [maʈlami] মাতালামি ‘drunkenness’
[duʃtu] দুষ্টি ‘naughty’ [duʃtami] দুষ্টামি ‘naughtiness’
[boka] বোকা ‘stupid’ [bokami] বোকামি ‘stupidity’
[coʈur] চতুর ‘clever’ [coʈura-mi] চতুরামি ‘cunning’
[pʰaʃil] ফাজিল ‘wicked’ [pʰaʃilami] ফাজিলামি ‘wickedness’

Here is the schema;

<[X] Adj ↔ [X-mi] N Abs, ‘Attribute/Properties of X’>

5.4. Compound Constructions

The most common type of word-formation strategies in the languages of the world is compounding. It is used in productive ways to form new words in Rajbanshi. The constituent members of a compound word may also undergo processes of morpho-syntactic change and they may also lose their lexical and semantic information. (For details on compounding see Chapter IV-4.4.3.). The morphological construction of right headed English nominal compounds *black board, steam boat, school boy* etc;¹⁰⁷ as <[[a] Xk [b] Ni] Nj ↔ [SEM i with relation R to SEM k]j>. The nature of R is not specified but is determined for each individual compound on the basis of the compound constituents, and encyclopaedic and contextual

¹⁰⁷ The symbol used X= major lexical categories (N, V, Adj..), a,b= Lower case for arbitrary sound sequences, i, j, k= lower case lexical indexes on the PHON, SYN, SEM properties of words, R= Relation

conventionalised for existing and listed compound words in Rajbanshi. The abstract schema for the Rajbanshi right headed compound words can be shown in 27;

27. $\langle [Xi \ Yj] Yk \leftrightarrow [SEM Y \text{ with Relation } R \text{ to SEM } Xi] k \rangle$

In the following compound two words are juxtaposed to form a new compound. The words are closely related entity in the language. This kind of compounding is called as appositional or copulative compounding. It has been observed that if the constituent members belong to +Human category, the semantic interpretation of compound would refer to both the entities.

28. (a) [bap maɔ] বাপ মাও

Father mother

‘parents’

(b) [buɾa buɾi] বুড়া বুড়ি

Old (Mas) old (Fem)

‘Old man and women’

(c) [cɛŋɾa cɛŋɾi] চ্যাংড়া চেংড়ি

Boy girl

‘Boy and girl’

(d) [bapo b^hai] বাপো ভাই

Father brother

‘Father and brother’

(e) [maiya c^haɔya] মাইয়া ছাওয়া

Wife child

‘Wife and child’

The schema of the words in 28 is presented in 29;

29. Schema: $\langle [Xi \ Yj]N(+Human) k \leftrightarrow [SEM N \text{ combination of } Xi \ \& \ Yj] k \rangle$

If both the constituent members belong to –Human category, the compound may have general interpretation as for instance in 30;

30. (a) [gɔru c^hagol] গরু ছাগোল

Cow goat

‘cattle’

(b) [g^hɔr ɽubor]

- House door
'property'
(c) [aʃt̪a gʰat] আস্তা ঘাট
Road ghat
'roads'
(d) [haʃt̪ paɔ] হাত পাও
Hand feet
'hand and feet (face)'

The schema of the words in 30 is shown in 31;

31. Schema: <[Xi Yj] N (-Human)k ↔ [SEM N of Xi & Yj with General Properties]>

Compounding is not only concatenation of two lexical bases, in some cases more than two constituents participate in forming compound words as the following examples 32 and the compound construction as in 33;

- 32. (a)** [giɖal caʃa lok] গিদাল চাটা লোক
Actor lick people
'People having extra love for acting, drama etc'
(b) [ʃɔrgo mɔrʃo paʃal] স্বর্গ মর্ত পাতাল
Heaven earth hell
The whole cosmos
(c) [cʰaya ʃaʃi belauʃ] ছায়া শাড়ি বেলাউজ
Petti-coat Sari blouse
'Dress'
(d) [ʃono paɖar alʃa] সোনো পাউডার আলতা
Cream powder liquid
'beauty care product'

The schema of the above words in 32 is presented in 33;

33. Construction: <[X Y Z (+)]Ni ↔ [SEMi]>

Rajbanshi has lots synonymous or antonymous compound words. In copulative compounds, synonymy, near synonymy or antonyms are juxtaposed to form compound words as for example as in 34 & 36;

34. (a) [d̪ʱɔn ʃɔmpɔt̪ti] ধন সম্পত্তি

Wealth possession

‘prosperity’

(b) [mat̪i ʃɔmi] মাটি জমি

Soil land

‘wealth’

(c) [ʃat̪i kul] জাতি কুল

Caste lineage

‘lineage’

The morphological schema of the words in 34 is shown in 35;

35. Construction: <[Xi =Y]Nj ↔ [SEM of Xi]j>¹⁰⁸

36. (a) [d̪in rait̪] দিন রাইত

Day night

‘round the clock, all the days’

(b) [bʱal mɔŋdɔ] ভাল মন্দ

Good bad

‘good and bad/ ups and downs of life’

The morphological construction of the words in 36 is presented in 37;;

37. Construction: <[Xi ≅Y]j ↔ [SEM of Xi, Y GENERAL PROPERTY]j>¹⁰⁹

In exocentric compounding there is no match between formal head and semantic head of compound words. The semanticity of the compound words remain outside of the constituent members. In Indian grammatical tradition it is called as *bahuvrihi samasa*. (See Chapter-II-2.3.2). The first constituent modifies the second and the second modifies the other as for example in 38.

38. (a) [band̪ɔr muk^h] বান্দর মুখ

Monkey face

‘ugly’

(b) [bɛt̪i cʰaɔya] বেটি ছাওয়া

¹⁰⁸ The symbol = represents that X and Y has a synonymous relations.

¹⁰⁹ The symbol ≅ represents that X and Y has an antonymy relations

Daughter child

‘Woman’

(c) [bɛ[a cʰaɔya] বেটা ছাওয়া

Son child

‘Man’

The schema of the words in 38 is shown in 39;

39. Schema: <[X Y]Nj ↔ [SEM Outside of X, Y (HOLISTIC)]j>¹¹⁰

In the following compounds (40), the first constituent member is a noun while the second is a verb. The combination of these constituents has more conventionalised and idiosyncratic meaning in Rajbanshi. The contextual information is not sufficient to determine the meaning of this kind of exocentric compounds.

40. (a) [bʰai kaʈi] ভাই কাটি

Brother cut

‘a notorious girl’

(b) [ɖaŋ ɖʰɔra] ডাং ধরা

Stick/hit hold

‘God Dangdhora’ (Mas)

(c) [pani kʰaɔya] পানি খাওয়া

Water eat

‘name of a place’

(d) [pani cʰiʈa] পানি ছিটা

‘water sprinkle’

‘a ceremony’¹¹¹

(e) [bɔn bʰoʃɔn] বন ভোজন

Forest eating

‘picnic’

(f) [ʃɔl pan] জল পান

¹¹⁰ The word holistic refers to the holistic property of the compound constructions and its meaning as a whole which is seen in the construction

¹¹¹ A Person sprinkles water on the bridegroom during marriage ceremony and becomes relative to the bridegroom and his family. The bride-groom addresses the person as mother or father and establishes a social, family relations.

Water drink

‘light meal/ snacks’

(g) [kɔina d̪an] কইনা দান

Bride give

‘bride giving (marriage) ceremony’

(h) [gɔru cɔɽa] গরু চড়া

cow climb

‘Cow rearing’

The morphological construction of the words in 40 is shown in 41;

41. Schema: <[X(N) Y (V)]N_j ↔ [SEM is OUTSIDE of X, Y, HOLISTIC]_j>

The holistic interpretation of compounds exemplified by the class of exocentric compounds in which their lexical class cannot be determined with that one of the constituent members. The meaning of the compound words also cannot be derived from the constituent members. The meanings may lie outside the total meanings of the constituent members. In constructional analysis, the word class and meaning of the compound is specified as properties of the morphological construction as holistic properties.

We would also find juxtaposition of similar or closely related words and in some cases partial or full reduplicated words. In the following examples (42), the lexical position for /mul/ মূল ‘main/root’, /t̪ɔri/ তরি ‘no meaning’, /p^hɔlant̪o/ ফলাস্ত ‘no meaning’ is fixed and they have specific bound meaning. Without the construction, their existence in a language is often questionable. They carry particular bound meaning is also a part of the construction these elements occur. The elements /t̪ɔri/ তরি and /p^hɔlant̪o/ do not have any meaning if they occur in isolation though they can be qualified as a phonological word in Rajbanshi. Besides, there is no extra element which can be placed between the constituent members of a compound.

42. (a) [p^hɔl mul] ফল মূল

Fruit root

(b) [t̪ɔri tɔrkari] তরি তরকারি

(c) [p^hɔl p^hɔlant̪o] ফল ফলাস্ত

Fruit fruit-like

‘Fruit and the like’

The morphological schema of 42 is presented in 43;

43. Schema: <[Xi -X-]N ↔ [SEM of Xi and the like]>¹¹²

In the following compounds (44), two verbs (V1 and V2) are combined to create a new compound word. The interesting thing about this combination is that the resultant word is a noun. They may have idiosyncratic meaning which is not derived from the participating constituent members of a compound. This kind of combination has to be treated as construction with holistic properties since none of the constituent members have the property of a noun.

44. (a) [aiʃa ʃaɔya] আইসা যাওয়া

coming going

‘frequent visit’

(b) [mɔra baca] মরা বাচা

dying and living

‘deplorable condition’

(c) [uʃha bɔiʃa] উঠা বইসা

get up and sit down

‘restless behaviour’

(d) [dʒekha ʃuna] দেখা শুনা

see listen

‘take care’

(e) [nɛka pɔʃa] ন্যাকা পড়া

Write read

Literacy

The morphological construction is provided below;

45. [Xvi Yv2] Nj ↔ [SEMi, 2-HOLISTIC]j

In the following examples, the prepositions which has clear lexical meaning can be added to noun to form compound noun. The meaning could be literal, contextual or idiomatic. The combined sequences and their meaning is conventionalised in Rajbanshi society. In 46. (a) the word sequence [upɔr muk^h] উপর মুখ has the literal meaning ‘the face is above’. But not even a

¹¹² The symbol X is a phonological segment and -X- represents the copying material or the related part of X which can be added before or after Xi.

single Rajbanshi speaker will use this in literal sense. It is particularly used in a context when ‘a person is not able to finish his food or has left eating’. It has a derogatory sense attached to it. When I interviewed some Rajbanshi speakers, they have also told me that the word [upɔr muk^h] উপর মুখ also refers to ‘a kind of food served as offerings to Gods during worship’, and hence, it refers specially to ‘flattened rice or anything which a person eats keeping his mouth above/ in a raised position’. In 46.(b) the word [nama muk^h] নামা মুখ has a literal meaning ‘the face below’; but the literal meaning is redundant where the idiomatic usage is important which is ‘shame’. On the other hand, the word may also mean ‘food offerings to God/goddess particularly hotchpotch because one has to eat the offering lowering one’s head down.

46. (a) [upɔr muk^h] উপর মুখ

Above face

‘not able to eat enough’

(b) [nama muk^h] নামা মুখ

Down face

‘Shame’

In Rajbanshi compounds, the word [baɽi] বাড়ি is homophonous, it has the main/lexical meaning ‘home or house’ and in the compound construction, the semantic drift takes place, and the meaning is extended which means ‘a kind of place or field’. In this case, one of the constituents is lexically specified and they have a specific bound meaning when forming part of a compound (Booij 2005). A number of compound-initial words have developed into intensifying prefixes that have started a life of their own, without a synchronic link to their original use (van der Sijs, 2001: 545, Booij, 2005). This kind of phenomenon is also known as affixoids.¹¹³

The meaning of the following compounds is usually ‘field or place’ in the following examples;

47. (a) [g^haf baɽi] ঘাস বাড়ি

Grass house

‘Grass field’

(b) [hɔldɪ baɽi] হলদি বাড়ি

¹¹³ The rise of affixoids means that a lexical word develops into a word with more generalised meaning and exhibits context expansion. The word generally attaches to a large class of words than its original meaning would justify. Himmelman (2004) noted that this pattern of change may also lead to the development of new grammatical meaning and language change beginning with the affixoids and hence to grammaticalization.

Turmeric house

‘Turmeric field’

(c) [ʃuʈi baʈi] শুটি বাড়ি

Barley house

‘Barley field’

(d) [oya baʈi] ওয়া বাড়ি

Paddy house

‘Paddy field’

(e) [koʃʈa baʈi] কোস্টা বাড়ি

Jute house

‘Jute field’

The compound word functions as a single lexical unit. The ordering of the participating members is so rigid that reversing the order of sequences will create ungrammatical word in a language. In the above examples (47), the word /bari/ বাড়ি is affix like in the sense that it has a specific bound meaning when forming part of a compound. The original meaning of /bari/ বাড়ি is ‘house/home’ is being extended. We could assume the following intermediate schema for NN compounds of Rajbanshi in 48,

48. <[[X]N [baʈi]N]N ↔ [‘a particular X field/place’]>

This implies that Rajbanshi lexicon contains constructional idioms subcases of NN compounding with the second constituent lexically specified. The meaning of the word is inherited from the subschema (Krieger & Nerbonne, 1993 and Hippisley, 2001). The lexicon is hierarchical and allows intermediate levels of generalizations. It is assumed that there are intermediate schemas in between the individual words and the most abstract word formation schemas, which expresses generalizations about subsets of complex words of a certain type (Booij 2005).

5.5. Reduplicated Constructions

Reduplication is a phenomenon where a linguistic item is repeated in order to convey a particular meaning (See Chapter-II-2.4). The meaning that cannot be derived from the constituents of a construction but are considered as the holistic properties of construction

(Goldberg 2006). Reduplicated structures receive a prototypical or idealised interpretation often in contrast to a less prototypical interpretation.

Reduplicated structures can have all kinds of meanings in Rajbanshi. The total or partial reduplication is used to express plurality or distributive plurality as for example in 49;

49. উমায় বাড়ি বাড়ি ভিক্ষা করে।
 [umay baʃi baʃi bʰikka kore]
 He.DIST house house alms do
 ‘He begs in each and every house’.

The distributive plurality meaning cannot be derived from one of its constituents, it is the whole construction copying or doubling pattern which evokes the meaning of distributive plurality. This holistic meaning can be accounted by the following schema in 50;

50. <[Ni Ni] Nj ↔ [DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY [SEMi]]j>

Reduplication also affects category change from verb to noun or noun to verb or verb to adverb etc. In this case, the construction is exocentric in nature because there is no constituent that could have triggered the category change. Here is an example of reduplicated verb having adverbial functions in 51;

51. চেংড়িটা খাইতে খাইতে কান্দিল।
 [ceŋʈi-ta kʰai-ʈe kʰai-ʈe kaŋɖil]
 Girl-CLF eat eat cry-PST
 ‘The girl cried while eating’

Hilpert (2014: 86) says that the symbolic link between a reduplicated structure and the idea of prototype is non-compositional; knowledge of the individual words is not sufficient to work out the intended interpretation. If we look at the following reduplicated words of Rajbanshi in (52), we would see that it is the combination of the base and reduplicant which functions as a unit. These are cases of morphological/lexical reduplication. Without the reduplicant, the base does not exist in the language.

52. (a) [ɖog ɖog] ডোগ ডোগ ‘drooling’
 (b) [kum kum] কুম কুম ‘lipstick’

- (c) [tul tul] টুল টুল ‘watch eyelashes’
 (d) [ɖug ɖug] ডুগডুগ ‘a kind of sound produced by the instrument [ɖug ɖugi]’
 (e) [tɔn tɔn] টনটন ‘very strong and hard’
 (f) [haŋ haŋ] হাং হাং ‘empty, vacuum or long hole’
 (g) [ʃɔk ʃɔk] ঝক ঝক ‘very clean’

The morphological schema of 52 can be given in 53;

53. $\langle [Xi \ Xi] \ Yj \leftrightarrow [SEM \ of \ Xi, \ HOLISTIC \ Yj] \rangle$

If we look at the following words in 54, we would see that whole words are being reduplicated. The meaning of this reduplicated construction is undoubtedly different from the single lexical word. The reduplicated constructions may change the grammatical category of the existing word or its whole semantics. This is why we need to look at reduplicated structures as a construction with holistic properties.

54. (a) [maʃhe maʃhe] মাঝে মাঝে ‘Often’
 (b) [bare bare] বারে বারে ‘Again and again’
 (c) [gʰur gʰur] ঘুর ঘুর ‘making round and round, rotate/ making circles’
 (d) [aʃte aʃte] আস্তে আস্তে ‘Slowly’
 (e) [ʃɔk[ke ʃɔk[ke] ঝটকে ঝটকে ‘pull with sudden force’
 (f) [kaɪpte kaɪpte] কাইপতে কাইপতে ‘Trembling’
 (g) [koɪrte koɪrte] কইরতে কইরতে ‘while doing’
 (h) [kaufe kaufe] কাউসে কাউসে ‘Speedily’
 (i) [ʃoɾay ʃoɾay] জোড়ায় জোড়ায় ‘in pairs’
 (j) [ʃotte ʃotte] সোতে সোতে ‘Repeated mild touching’

The schema of this full word reduplication of 54 is given in 55.

55. $\langle [Xi \ Xi] \ Yj \leftrightarrow [SEM \ of \ Xi \ as \ HOLISTIC] \ j \rangle$

In Rajbanshi echo-formation construction, the /t/ ট sound is replaced as in the following examples 56. The echo-formation construction conveys the meaning ‘and the like’ in the language.

- 56.** (a) [biɽi t̪iɽi] বিড়ি টিড়ি
Bidi (echo) bidi
'Bidi and the like'
- (b) [d̪ail t̪ail] ডাইল টাইল
Pulse (echo) pulse
'Pulses and the like'
- (c) [guya t̪uya] গুয়া টুয়া
Nut-beetel (echo) nutbeetel
'Nut-beetel and the like'
- (d) [b^homma t̪omma] ভোম্মা টোম্মা
Fatty/healthy echo- Fatty/healthy
'Fatty/healthy and the like'

The morphological schema is presented in 57.

- 57.** <[Xi t̪-EXi] Yj ↔ [SEM Xi and the like]>

As shown in 56, echo-formation construction of Rajbanshi where the fixed sound replaced is /t̪/ ট. However, if a word begins with a /t̪/ sound instead of /t̪/ repetition, internal vowel of the lexical word is changed as in 58. (a) & (b). Apart from these specific cases, there are other occurrences where internal vowel may be changed in echo-formation construction as in 56.(c) & (d);

- 58.** (a) [t̪^hal t̪^hul] থাল খুল
'the plate and the like'
- (b) [t̪æk̪i t̪uk̪i] ট্যাকষি টুকষি
'Taxi and the like'
- (c) [b^hul b^hal] ভুল ভাল
'Errors and the like'
- (d) [d̪ək̪i d̪uk̪i] ডেকসি ডুকসি
'The big bowl and the like'

The morphological construction is given below in 59;

59. <[Xi X(V)i] Yj ↔ [SEM of Xi and the like] j>¹¹⁴

As discussed in Chapter IV-(example, 18), under the heading the partial reduplication with final vowel change, it has to be noted that these kinds of similar reduplicated forms in 60 is lexicalised in Rajbanshi. They are not productively used in the language. Dasgupta (2003:358) mentions this kind of reduplication as reciprocal reduplicatives in Bangla as they express reciprocal or mutual function.

60. (a) [b^huka b^huki] ভুকা ভুকি

‘mutual fisting’

(b) [ʈaʈa ʈaʈi] তাড়াতাড়ি

‘hurriedly’

(c) [gɔdɔda gɔdɔdi] গড্ডা গড্ডি

‘turning mutually’

(d) [ʈana ʈuna] টানা টুনা

‘mutually pulling’

(e) [ʈana ʈani] টানা টানি

‘mutual pulling’

(f) [haʈa haʈi] হাতা হাতি

‘mutual beating up’

The morphological construction of this reciprocal reduplication is shown in 61.

61. <[Xi X (V-)i]Yj ↔ [SEM of Xi, Mutual or reciprocal action] j>¹¹⁵

Wilde (2008) points out that in nominal full reduplication when the first constituent is marked with emphatic particle /e/ এ and the second member is unmarked, the construction conveys a meaning of exclusiveness i.e. ‘it denotes a nothing but X’ quality’. {See chapter II-2.4.1. example 72. (a) [ʃɔle ʃɔl] জলে জল and (b) [kɔiʈore kɔiʈor] কইতোরো কইতোর}. The morphological construction for this type of nominal reduplication and its schema is given below;

62. <[Ni-e Ni]Nj ↔ [Exclusiveness [SEM_i]]j>

¹¹⁴ The Symbol (V) represents internal vowel change

¹¹⁵ The symbol (V-) represents final vowel change

Wilde (2008) also noted that if the emphatic particle [e] এ is found in both of the constituent members, it has semantic interpretation of distributive plurality. {See chapter II-2.4.1. example 73. (a) [gilafe gilafe] গিলাসে গিলাসে (b) [t̪hale t̪hale] থালে থালে & (c) [aʃtay aʃtay] আস্তায় আস্তায়}. The morphological schema of the above words which evokes distributive plurality meaning is given below;

63. <[Ni-e Ni-e] Nj ↔ [Distributive connotation [SEMi]]j>

The pronouns can be reduplicated and can serve plural functions after reduplication. (See Chapter II-2.1.4.4., 2.1.4.5. & 2.1.4.7.). The full reduplication of pronouns can have idiomatic meaning in Rajbanshi as for example in 64.

64. (a) তোর তোর মোর মোর

[t̪or t̪or mor mor]
You.GEN You.GEN I.GEN I.GEN

‘One who always thinks about himself/herself’/ self-centric approach’

(b) যার যার তার তার

[Jar Jar tar tar]
Who.GEN who.GEN Who(COR).GEN who (COR).GEN

‘mind your own business/ think about yourself’

The morphological constructions is given in 65;

65. <[Xi Xi Yi Yi]Zj ↔ [SEM of Xi, Yi, HOLISTIC]>

5.6. Constructional Idioms and multiword units

Idioms are group of words or chunk of words strung together as a single unit. The chunk refers to a specific meaning in which the compositional meaning of the constituent parts are different from the specific meaning. The meaning of idiom can be expressed by other words or group of words. The specific meaning, a particular idiom expresses vividly and subjectively in a particular context which cannot be matched with other words or chunk of words. Katamba (1993: 291) describes “..idioms (e.g., eat humble pie i.e. ‘submit to humiliation’) are lexical entities and function very much like a single word although they contain several words and are comparable to syntactic phrases and clauses (e.g., [eat Swiss chocolate] vp).

The constituent members of the idioms neither can be changed nor can be replaced by other synonymous words. The change of any word or its parts will destroy the specific meaning of the idiom or the new combinations may turn into something else with different meaning. As for example in Rajbanshi, the idiomatic construction [kɔla kʰa] কলা খা ‘banana eat’ which actually means ‘to get nothing (derogatory)’ and the idiomatic phrase [nau baʃi tʰaki kɔcu baʃi] নাই বাড়ি থাকি কচু বাড়ি (from gourdfield to colocasia roots field) which means ‘talk rubbish/ talk nonsense’. The constituent parts of the idiomatic constructions cannot be changed or replaced by other; [kɔla] কলা ‘banana’ cannot be replaced by [am] আম ‘mango’ or [kʰa] খা ‘eat’ cannot be replaced by [pa] পা ‘get’.

Hockett (1958: 303-320) discusses idiom formation, and types of idioms. According to him, idiom formation is also an important matter in historical linguistics. In every language, new idioms are constantly being created, some destined to occur only once or twice and then to be forgotten, others are due to survive for a long time. There are certain matters which are relevant both in understanding how a language works at a given time and also in connection with linguistic change. He observes that each language favours certain patterns in the creation of new idioms. He also brings productivity to discuss idiom formation; “...the less productive a pattern is, the more likely it is that if a new form does get coined by the pattern it will have idiomatic value.” The syntactic patterns tend to be most productive, inflectional patterns next and derivational patterns least. While discussing types of idioms Hockett emphasizes on substitutes, proper names, abbreviations, English phrasal compounds, figures of speech and also slang. Saussure (1916) believed that linguistic signs are arbitrary. There is an arbitrary relationship between signifier (sequence of sounds) and the signified (concept). He notices the distinction between motivated and unmotivated signs; partially motivated and fully motivated signs. The numbers (numerals) 1, 2, 3, 8, 10 are unmotivated signs. Nothing about its form (sequence of sounds) represent the number 1, 2, 3, 8, and 10 respectively. Fully motivated signs have compositional meanings. Compositionality is defined in terms of its constituent parts. Unmotivated signs may have non-compositional meaning. Partially motivated or unmotivated signs are stored in the lexicon and they are memorized. According to Bloomfield (1933:274), the lexicon is really an appendix of grammar, a list of basic irregularities. Aronoff and Fudeman (2010) say that ‘...irregular items are stored whole in the lexicon—they are memorized.’ (See Chapter-IV-4.2).

The traditional belief of idioms is that they are once metaphorical in their origins and lost their metaphorical sense over time. These idiomatic elements exist in the minds of the speakers as frozen items or dead metaphors. Idioms are brief and clear in definitions and meaning. The subjective meaning is expressed objectively with force and vividness. It does not hurt the sentiment of the interlocutors rather it is the accumulated knowledge of a community which is expressed by simple interpretation. The structure of idioms is limited and there is less flexibility either in terms of syntax or in terms of lexical items. Idiomatic phrases are traditionally seen as being distinct from ordinary literal language because they are non-compositional in their conventional interpretations are not functions of the meanings of their individual parts (Chafe 1970; Chomsky 1965, 1980; Fraser 1970; Katz 1973; Weinreich 1969). It has been understood that the literal meaning of the idioms are rejected as inappropriate and only the nonliteral idiomatic meaning is accessed through retrieval.

Psycholinguist and cognitive linguists are of the opinion that idioms are analyseable and also compositional to some extent. Meanings of idioms are not arbitrary. People in their everyday lives use and comprehend idioms. They make use of metaphorical and metonymic knowledge which provides link between these phrases and their figurative expressions. Idioms were considered as periphery in the traditional grammatical analysis. The followers of componential model of Grammar has simply not paid attention to the analysis of idioms and other fixed constructions. The reason for their carelessness is that those items are simply listed in the lexicon. But idioms have its own structure, some are fully fixed, some are partially fixed and require proper analysis. Any phenomenon in scientific inquiry cannot be left out unanalysed or unexamined and simple cannot be placed in the lexicon. Idioms and other grammatical construction require proper analysis and they should have its own component in the componential module but not in the lexicon. It is in this line of thought, the Construction grammar emerged as an alternative to discuss the problematic phenomena of idioms which posed various problems in componential model. (See Chapter-III-3.7.1).

Possibility for analysing idioms and formulaic sequences is the idea that in Construction Grammar through inheritance hierarchies that can capture more or less general patterns. It can be stated that the constructional idioms may be organized in the higher order structures. Gibbs Jr. contends that children and second language learners presumably learn idioms from the context in a rote manner or they simply infer the meaning from the context. These lexical frozen items are also referred as Multiword expressions (MWEs). They are not just fixed sequences of words with an atomic meaning but differs in their degree of compositionality and syntactic

flexibility (Pitt and Katz 2000, Sag et al 2002). Wray and Perkins (2000:1) uses the term ‘formulaic language’, and working definitions of the MWEs;

‘a sequence, continuous or discontinuous of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be prefabricated that is stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar’.

Booij (2010) uses the term ‘constructional idiom’ to refer to those multiword expressions¹¹⁶(MWEs) which are to certain aspects flexible and not syntactically frozen. These items can receive new instantiations. They are also termed as partially fixed constructions, one or more positions in these kinds of constructions are fixed and other is variable. Booij (2010) points out that the lexicon has to be extended with partially underspecified idioms. (Paul and Kay, Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996, Croft 2001, 2003, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, 2006).

In this section, I would discuss constructional schema of different idiomatic constructions of Rajbanshi. It has to be kept in mind that the constructions have culture specific knowledge with respect to the co-occurrence of one word with another word or one word with a particular grammatical construction as for instance the following Rajbanshi constructional idiom in (66)

- 66.** (a) [kukur-i kana] কুকুরি কানা
 Dog- blind
 ‘unable to see in dim light’/ ‘not able to see at night’
- (b) [ḍɔʃ cʰɔy ana] দশ ছয় আনা¹¹⁷
 Ten six a unit of Indian (old) currency¹¹⁸
 ‘finish’
- (c) [ʃɔl cʰiʈa] জল ছিটা
 Water sprinkle
 ‘custom of sprinkling water during marriage’¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ See chapter IV-4.5 and Appendix VII & VIII for multiword and idiomatic expressions.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix V (a)

¹¹⁸ The unit of Indian (Old) currency, a sixteenth part of a rupee.

¹¹⁹ In Rajbanshi society during marriage a person ceremonially the custom of sprinkling water on the bride and groom. The person male will become father in relation and female will become mother in relation to the bridegroom.

In 66 (a) the word [kukuri] কুকুরি cannot be replaced by any other word for that specific meaning. The meaning is also unpredictable and hence it has to be learned by the language users. (See Appendix-VII for more constructional idioms). These expressions have structural fixedness and rigidity. They are not amenable to lexical or structural re-formulations—only a limited set of lexical items can fill the structural slot as for example in 66. (c) [ʃol] জল ‘water’ can be replaced by another homonymous lexical item [pani] পানি ‘water’ and retained the idiomatic meaning intact. But changing the position of lexical items [kukuri kana] কুকুরি কানা to [kana kukuri] কানা কুকুরি is not permissible, the structural fixedness and rigidity has to be maintained. The word [kukuri] কুকুরি cannot be replaced by another lexical item [bilai kana] বিলাই কানা ‘blind cat’ or [goru kana] গরু কানা ‘blind cow’ [kana kukur] কানা কুকুর/[kukur kana] কুকুর কানা ‘blind dog’ which may have literal meaning as above.¹²⁰ In constructing the constructional idiom in 66 (b), none of the morphemes can be replaced by another, even, if both the morphemes have a similar or identical meaning, even the order of morpheme cannot be changed. The complex word in 66.(c) [ʃolo ana] ষোলো আনা is synonymous to [d̪ɔʃ cʰɔy ana] দশ ছয় আনা (sixteen). To express the idiomatic meaning ‘to finish’, ‘accomplish’ or ‘kill’ the word [ʃolo ana] ষোলো আনা cannot be used. They stand as symbols of a given culture and by and large, it is deeply rooted in the cultural system in a community. The meaning of the idiom [kukuri kana] কুকুরি কানা does not refer to dog’s vision in general. In fact, in compare to human’s vision dog’s vision is better at night.¹²¹ Mischler (2009) suggests that a particular cultural model is needed to account for

¹²⁰ The children play with this rhyme and teases a person who has this kind of ‘blindness’ or a person whose name begins with’ kan—‘ as for example [kanan]. Here is the rhyme, [kan kan kukuri kan কান কান কান কুকুরি কান , cʰagol banda d̪ɔʃi an ছাগোল বান্দা দড়ি আন, cʰagol gelo hoʃki ছাগোল গেলো হসকি, kana uʰil cɔʃki] কানা উটল চটকি।

¹²¹ Dogs are not completely color blind since they have a dichromatic color perception. Unlike humans who have three different color sensitive cone cells in their retina (red, green and blue) dogs have only two (yellow, and, blue). This does not mean that dogs can't see green or red objects! It only means that they can't distinguish green, yellow or red objects based on their color. However they can still distinguish a red ball from a green one if there is a difference in the perceived brightness of the two. Visual acuity is a measure of the spatial resolution of the visual system. It is often measured in cycles per degree (CPD), which measures how much an eye can differentiate one object from another in terms of visual angles. The maximum visual acuity of the human eye is around 50 CPD and 60 CPD. The measurements of dogs' visual acuity vary around 7.5-9 CPD and 11.6 CPD. According to these measurements dogs' visual acuity is 4 to 8 times worse than that of humans. Source: <https://dog-vision.com/>

But the canine’s biggest advantage is called the tapetum. This mirror-like structure in the back of the eye reflects light, giving the retina a second chance to register light that has entered the eye. “Although the tapetum improves vision in dim light, it also scatters some light, degrading the dog’s vision from the 20:20 that you and I normally see to about 20:80,”- Source: University of Wisconsin - Madison. "How Well Do Dogs See At Night?." ScienceDaily. ScienceDaily, 9 November 2007. www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/11/071108140336.htm

certain conceptual metaphors and how they change over time. Sinclair (1991:109-10) coined the phrase ‘the open choice principle’ in which text—sentences and discourses—can result from a large number of complex choices. The open choice principle contrasts with ‘idiom principle’ in which a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they may appear to be analyseable into segments. In the following I would consider few idiomatic constructions of Rajbanshi. (See Appendix-VII for list of idiomatic constructions).

The meaning of the idiomatic constructions (67,68) refers to the holistic properties of the construction. The relationship between constituent parts and its semantic head is non-compositional as for instance in 67 [kuʃa baigon] কুজা বাইগোন ‘bend brinjal’ and in 68 [ɔ-puc^ha nau] অপুছা নাউ ‘not-asked gourd’. These items do not have any literal meaning, rather this kind of fixed combination of words is semantically extended. The meaning has to do with the social or cultural understanding and it is deeply rooted belief engrained in Rajbanshi society. In a vegetable market [kuʃa baigon] কুজা বাইগোন ‘bend brinjal’ is not of great demand and having poor quality. The Rajbanshi speakers conventionally and traditionally have learned this idiosyncratic, non-compositional items and whenever it is used in a discourse they associate the meaning as ‘valueless thing or person’. The Schema of 67 and 68 can be expressed as <[Xi Yj]Nk ↔ [SEM of Xi, Yj HOLSTIC]k>.

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 67. RS | কুজা বাইগোন |
| IPA | [kuʃa baigon] |
| IMG | Bend brinjal |
| Meaning | ‘valueless thing/person’ |
| 68. RS | অপুছা নাউ |
| IPA | [ɔ-puc ^h a nau] |
| IMG | Not-ask gourd |
| Meaning | ‘valueless thing/person’ |

The literal meaning of the word [kɔpal] কপাল in 69, 70, 71 ‘forehead’ is semantically extended. The extended meaning is associated with ‘luck or destiny’. This form-meaning-function

composite is conventionalised in Rajbanshi community. The schema can be represented as <[Xi Y-]Zj ↔ [SEM of Xi, Y-, HOLISTIC].¹²²

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 69. RS | কপাল বয়া |
| IPA | [kɔpal bɔya] |
| IMG | Forehead bad |
| Meaning | ‘bad luck’ |
| 70. RS | কপাল খাওয়া |
| IPA | [kɔpal kʰaɔya] |
| IMG | Forehead eat |
| Meaning | ‘ill luck or bad fortune’ |
| 71. RS | কপালোত আগুন নাগা |
| IPA | [kɔpal-ot agun naga] |
| IMG | Forehead.Loc fire set |
| Meaning | ‘Loose everything’/ ‘destroy’/ obliterate’ |

The number idioms are given in 72, 73, 74, 75. The usage of these idioms has fixed connotations. The context also plays role as for example in formal contexts some idioms may not be used. They can have derogatory functions. The general schema can be given for this kind of number idioms <[Xi Y-]Zj/ [Y- Xi]Zj ↔ [SEM of Xi, Y- HOLISTIC]j>

| | |
|---------------|------------------------|
| 72. RS | কাম পঁয়ষট্টি |
| IPA | [kam pɔyʃɔtʃi] |
| IMG | Work sixty-five |
| Meaning | ‘deplorable condition’ |
| 73. RS | চইদ্দবার কওয়া |
| IPA | [çoiddo-bar kɔya] |
| IMG | Fourteen-times say |

¹²² The symbol Y- represents any grammatical word or combinations of word. The symbol Z refers to any grammatical category of the construction.

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Meaning | ‘Say again and again’ |
| 74. RS | সাত খালের চেং |
| IPA | [ʃaʈ kʰal-er ceŋ] |
| IMG | Seven hole-GEN a kind of fish |
| Meaning | ‘very experienced’; ‘clever’ |
| 75. RS | সাত ঘাটের জল খাওয়া |
| IPA | [ʃaʈ gʰaʈ-er ʃol kʰaoya] |
| IMG | Seven Ghat-GEN water eat |
| Meaning | ‘being cheated several times’; ‘ knowledgeable’ |

In the following example in 76, Noun and verb combination is used for the idiomatic construction. The schema of the construction is <[Xi V]j ↔ [SEM of Xi, V HOLISTIC]>.

| | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 76. RS | কুপা কাইত |
| IPA | [kupa kaiʈ] |
| IMG | Lamp bend |
| Meaning | ‘bad condition’ |

In 77, both the constituent members are noun and also the resultant word is a noun. The meaning is totally non-compositional in nature. The schema of this construction is <[Ni Nii]Nj ↔ [SEM of Ni, Nii HOLISTIC]>.

| | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 77. RS | কাটোল সুপরি |
| IPA | [kaʈol ʃupri] |
| IMG | Jackfruit guava |
| Meaning | ‘pine apple’ |

The first constituent is a Noun and second constituent is adjective in 78. It has a nominative role and conventionalized in Rajbanshi. The morphological schema of this construction is <[Ni Adji] Nj ↔ [SEM of Ni, Adji] j>

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| 78. RS | গুটি নাল |
| IPA | [guʈi nal] |
| IMG | Piece red |

Meaning 'to gain something'

The word [cɔuk] চউক is used in the following constructions 79, 80, 81. The first constituent is noun and second one is verb in 79 and 80. The constructional schema is <[X-i Y]j ↔ [SEM of X-i, Y HOLISTIC]>. In 81, the genitive affix [er] এর is essential part of the construction which can be seen as <[Xi-er Y]j ↔ [SEM of Xi, Y HOLISTIC]>

| | |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| 79. RS | চউকোত নাগা |
| IPA | [cɔuk-oŋ naga] |
| IMG | Eye-LOC get |
| Meaning | 'enviable'; 'jealous' |
| 80. RS | চউক টিপা |
| IPA | [cɔuk tɪpa] |
| IMG | Eye press |
| Meaning | 'indicate' |
| 81. RS | চউখের কাঁটা |
| IPA | [cɔuk ^h -er kaʈa] |
| IMG | Eye.loc thorn |
| Meaning | 'Enemy'; 'unbearable' |

The word [ʃɔl] জল 'water' is used as a first participating member in 82, 83 and 84. The similar lexical item [pani] পানি 'water' cannot replace the word [ʃɔl] জল 'water'. It is fixed and conventionalised in Rajbanshi. The general construction schema is <[Xi Yi]Zj ↔ [SEM of Xi Yi HOLISTIC]>

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| 82. RS | জলভাত |
| IPA | [ʃɔl b ^h at] |
| IMG | Water cooked rice |
| Meaning | 'very easy' |
| 83 RS | জল ঢেরাই |
| IPA | [ʃɔl d ^h erai] |
| IMG | Water stupid |

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| Meaning | ‘very stupid’ |
| 84. RS | জলত ফ্যালা |
| IPA | [ʃɔlot p ^h ela] |
| IMG | Water.loc fall |
| Meaning | ‘make waste’ |

In the following constructions the first constituent is a noun and second constituent is a verb in 85, 86 and 87. All these constructions have idiomatic meaning which is conventionalized in Rajbanshi. The constructional schema of the following words is <[Ni Vi]Nj↔ [SEM of Ni, Vi HOLISTIC]j>.

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 85. RS | পটোল তোলা |
| IPA | [pɔʈol t̪ola] |
| IMG | Parbal-vegetable pluck |
| Meaning | ‘to die’ |
| 86. RS | বাঁশ দেওয়া |
| IPA | [bãʃ deɔya] |
| IMG | Bamboo give |
| Meaning | ‘injustice’ or ‘present woods at the of crematory ground while burning the dead body’ |
| 87. RS | মাথা চুলকা |
| IPA | [ma ^h ha culka] |
| IMG | Head itch |
| Meaning | ‘to get idea’ |

The examples in 88, 89, 90 are multiword units (MWE). Some positions are lexically fixed and while others can be manipulated by morpho-syntactic rules or word replacement. In the traditional grammar, these kinds of word combinations are referred to as proverbial usage.

| | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|
| 88. RS | তোর পয়রা কায় নাপে? |
| IPA | [t̪or pɔyra kay nape]? |
| IMG | You.Gen who measure |
| Meaning | ‘Very powerful or influential’ |

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| 89. RS | ঐ যে কইচে আরো কবার চাইচে |
| IPA | [ɔi Je kɔice aro kɔbar caice] |
| IMG | That that say more say want |
| Meaning | ‘belittle’ |
| 90. RS | তৈয়ার ছাওয়ার বাপ |
| IPA | [tɔiyar c ^h aoyar bap] |
| IMG | Ready child-GEN father |
| Meaning | ‘get everything readymade ’ |

The word ‘Proverb /prɒvɜːrb/ is a short sentence that people often quote, which gives advice or tells you something about life.¹²³ It can have a religious and philosophical meaning, which provide inspiration and food for thought. They exist as little pieces of wisdom or thought in the minds of the speakers in a language. Proverbs are somewhat different from *idioms* (i.e. a group of words established by usage as having a meaning not deducible from those of individual words)¹²⁴ by the fact that they tend to convey a direct message or meaning, usually in the form of a phrase or sentence. The words used tend to have a deeper meaning and are not as cryptic or hidden as those used in idioms. According to Wray and Perkins (2000), Idioms and Proverbs are also part of Formulaic language.¹²⁵

These items are conventionalized, frozen, fossilized and differ from creativity. Formulaicity or Formulaic language contrasts with productivity, the ability to use the structural system of language (syntax, semantics, morphology and phonology) in a combinatory way to create novel utterances and in an analytical way to understand them. In other words, we cannot manipulate with the structure of those items, once new words, morphemes, particles are incorporated in the formulaic structure, the idiomaticity, and the proverbial meaning of the items will be lost. The cultural social knowledge engrained in idioms and proverbs are found in folk tradition. This accumulated knowledge is the result of experience of not only of an individual but of the community or the society at large. We may call it the wisdom of the people or the learning of the community. This is achieved when acceptance of a particular knowledge system, be it herbal medicine traditions, ethnic ecology, myth chanting, agrarian calendar reckoning through

¹²³ Advanced Learner’s English Dictionary, Collins Cobuild. Harper Collins Publishers. 4thEd. 2003. P. 1150.

¹²⁴ Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Oxford University Press. 12th edition. 2011. P. 708.

¹²⁵ Formulaic language can be defined as ‘a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar’.

proverbs etc. is gained by the community. Here are some proverbs made with numerals given below;

91. তিন মাথার বুদ্ধি, নিবি মাছের মাথা নিত্য খাবি

[tin mat^ha-r budd^hi nibi mac^her mat^ha nitto k^habi]

Three head-GEN knowledge take fish-GEN head regular eat.FUT.2.SG

‘Take suggestions from three people (brains) and eat head of fish regularly.’

92. চোরের দশ দিন গিরির এক দিন

[cor-er d^ʌʃ din giri-r ek din]

Thief-GEN ten days landlord-GEN one day

‘Thieves have so many (ten) days, but the landlord has one day.’ (Cheating, stealing, cunning etc. will be caught one day)

93. টাকা হইলেক বড় চিস খোদার থাকি উনিশ বিশ

[taka hoilek b^ʊro cij k^ho^ʎa-r t^haki unij biʃ]

Money be-PST big thing Lord from nineteen twenty

‘Money is great thing, there is a little difference between God and Money’

94. তিরিশে বিদ্যা চল্লিশে ধন ইয়ার ওপাকে ঠন ঠন

[tiriʃ-e bidda collif-e d^hon iyar o.pake t^hon t^hon]

Thirty-INS education forty-INS wealth it-GEN that.side nothing

‘Acquire knowledge before thirty years and wealth before forty after that nothing is left’

95. সাকালের হাওয়া হাজার টাকার দাওয়া

[ʃakal-er ha^ʊya haʃar t^ʌka-r d^ʌo^ʎa]

Morning-GEN air thousand money-GEN medicine

‘The morning breeze is compared to medicines of thousands rupees ’

5.7. Allomorphy in CM

As discussed earlier (See Chapter-III), CM takes the position of word based morphology. It is assumed that words are stored in the lexicon with their surface phonological forms which occur in isolation. Construction Morphology is output oriented: it considers morphological schemas

as based on listed words (Booij 2010:237). In classical generative phonology, (morphology) words are listed with their underlying forms which may differ with their surface forms. In order to derive the surface forms, certain phonological (morphological) rules are applied in the underlying forms. The phonological identity of the two forms will allow for co-indexation relation to be established between the phonological form of a constituent of a complex word and that of corresponding word (Booij 2010:238). This can be supported from a language acquisition point of view. When a child has acquired the word, it will be stored with its phonetic form. The regular complex word is not stored in classical generative phonology model rather the child restructures the lexical representation of the word with rules. In CM, restructuring is not necessary because the child stores the simple as well as the complex forms of the word in his mental lexicon. As for example, the Rajbanshi Genitive marker (r/er) র, এর, Locative (t/ɔt) ত, অত, Objective (k/ɔk) ক, অক are stored along with their phonological bases. If a noun ends with a consonant, the allomorph /er, ɔt, ɔk/ এর, অত, অক is selected and if a noun ends with vowel allomorph /r, t, k/ র, ত, ক selected respectively. CM tries to find out how to select the proper phonological form of a base word that serves as basis for the computation of the phonological form of words derived from the base word. At the outset, morphological constructions are not very different from word formation rules but there are several pieces of evidence that word-formation processes and morphological constructions are different. Word formation processes are selective with regard to the elements that they take as input. On the other hand, morphological constructions are output oriented. If we recall the data set of 60 (See Chapter-II-2.2.16) reproduced here in 96 with little modification;

| 96. | C1 (N) | C2 (N) |
|-----|--|--|
| | (a)[buɖ ^h] বুধ ‘wednesday’ | [buɖaru] বুধারু ‘One who has been born on Wednesday’ |
| | (b) [ʃukor] ‘শুক্র Friday’ | [ʃukaru] শুক্রারু ‘one who has been born on friday’ |
| | (c) [ʃɔni] ‘Saturday’ | [ʃɔnaru] ‘one who has been born on Saturday’(M) |
| | (d) [b ^h ɑɖor] ‘month Bhadar’ | [b ^h ɑdru] ‘one who is born in the mother of Bhadra’ (M) [b ^h ɑɖri] ‘born in the month of Bhadar’ (F) |
| | (e) [ban] ‘flood’ | [banaʃu] ‘who is born at the time of flood’ |
| | (f) [ʃonak] ‘light/full moon’ | [ʃonaku] ‘who is born at the time of full- noon’ |

We would find that there is a correspondence between C1 and C2. The phonological base is either reduced or elongated in C2. In 96, (a) deaspiration of [ɖ^h] to [ɖ] is noticeable. The

personal name forming suffix is /ru or u or ju/. The language users store the simple forms of C1 as well as the complex forms of C2 in the mental lexicon. The allomorphy is also stored along with their phonological bases. There is also a great deal of psycholinguistic evidence that morphologically related words are co-activated in the mental lexicon (De Jong, et al. 2000). In addition to the extensive evidence for the storage of full forms, there is a growing body of evidence in the literature which supports the hypothesis that several paradigmatic relations characterize lexical representation and codetermine lexical processing (See Figure 1 Hay and Baayen 2005:344).

5.8. Summary

I have discussed nominal morphology and various constructional idioms of Rajbanshi in this chapter. I dealt with specific morphological constructs and some phrasal lexical constructs that support CM mainly number idioms, plural construction, compound construction, reduplicated and periphrasis constructions. The words, hierarchically ordered word-formation schemas and subschemas are found in the lexicon and the words may be classified on the basis of its syntactic category, semantic type and morphological type. In Inflectional morphology, we hardly find one to one correspondence between form and its morphosyntactic properties. In CM, the morphosyntactic properties of each word-form in a paradigm are best considered as the properties of each word as a whole. The conventionalized complex words are listed in the lexicon and they are paradigmatically related. The language users form a new word on the basis of abstract schemas or in terms of affix substitution. The default inheritance mechanism may also allow for individual word to have its morphosyntactic properties which differ from the specified schema.

CHAPTER-6

6. CONCLUSION

Construction Grammar has its roots in the Saussurean notion of the linguistic sign. According to Saussure (1916), a linguistic sign is an arbitrary and conventional pairing of form (signifier) and meaning (signified). The notion of the Saussurean linguistic sign is helpful to analyse words and morphemes, the notion can be extended to analyse idioms, abstract phrasal patterns or perhaps all levels of grammatical descriptions which can be broadly categorised as ‘constructions’ or ‘construct-i-cons’. The present work gives an account of Rajbanshi Nominal Morphology keeping in mind the theoretical position of Construction Morphology (Booij 2010). The descriptive account of Nominal morphology and also its exploration in Construction Morphology are shown in Chapter-II, Chapter IV & Chapter V. The theory of CM grounded in Construction Grammar does not make clear cut distinctions between lexicon and syntax, and it considers all constructions to be part of lexicon-syntax continuum (Fillmore 1988, Jurafsky 1992, Goldberg 2003, 2006). In CG, no interfaces are needed because both syntactic constructions and morphological constructions are cut from the same cloth: they form part of construct-i-con. (Hilpert 2014). The domain of morphology is smaller in comparison to syntax but the architecture is similar to syntax. The lexical insertion is the only point of contact between them (Ackema & Neeleman, 2004).

The word is an arbitrary and conventional pairing of form and meaning, and qualifies as a ‘construction’. The lexicon contains simple words and complex words, and also word-formation schemas of various degrees of abstractions. The list of Rajbanshi words are presented in Appendix-II (a, b, c) and Chapter-I (1.2.9). The descriptive traditional account of Rajbanshi nominal morphology is presented in Chapter-II and more specifically description and analysis of inflectional constructions in Chapter-II (2.1.) & in Chapter-IV (4.4.1), the derivational constructions, in Chapter-II (2.2.) & Chapter-IV (4.4.2), the compound constructions in Chapter-II (2.3.) and in Chapter-IV (4.4.3) and reduplicated constructions in Chapter-II (2.4) and in Chapter-IV (4.4.4).

The meaning of the idiom is not completely compositional and must therefore be stored in the minds of the speakers. According to (Booij 2010b:83) ‘a constructional idiom is a fixed syntactic pattern in which some positions may be filled by all kinds of words of the right category, whereas other positions are filled by specific morphemes or words.’ Multiword expressions (MWEs) are not just fixed sequences of words with an atomic meaning but differs

in their degree of compositionality and syntactic flexibility (Pitt and Katz 2000, Sag et al 2002). All these constructional idioms and multiword expressions of Rajbanshi are discussed in Chapter-IV (4.5) and in Chapter-V (5.6) and also found in Appendix-VII. Data were collected from native speakers of Rajbanshi and from written text and recorded speech. Various Rajbanshi nominal morphological constructions were found in the collected data. These are considered cases of ‘constructions’ or ‘construct-i-cons’ which are presented in Appendix-III, in Appendix-IV (a) & (b) 1. 2. 3. 4. 5, and in Appendix-V (a), (b), (c), (d).

The speakers of the language were asked to fill in the blanks in a sheet of paper which contained sixteen fill in the blank items carrying Rajbanshi idioms and number idioms. The fill in the blank items are presented with a context, which provides the speaker clue about the idioms. If the speaker does not know the idiom, s/he may not interpret the idiomatic meaning rather s/he can provide the literal meaning of the idiom/phrase. The exercise carried out with ten male and female speakers each, both groups aged twenty to forty five years.¹²⁶ The experimental design is given in Appendix VIII (Questionnaire for number idioms). The expected answers as the idioms and number idioms are the following;

1. [poʈol tuilce] পোতোল তুইলচে 2. [fatpac] সাত পাচ 3. [baro] বারো 4. [fat] সাত 5. [noy-cʰoy] নয় ছয় 6. [caice] চাইচে 7. [bij] বিশ 8. [collife] চল্লিশে 9. [dɔʃ] দশ 10. [haʃar] হাজার 11. [uniʃ] উনিশ 12. [ɛkdin] একদিন 13. [baroʃa] বারোটা 14. [cairʃa] চাইরটা 15. [cɔiddobar] চইদ্দবার 16. [dukuna] দুকুনা.

The informants 1, 3, and 5, 8 commit errors as far as the correct idioms in No. 1, No. 3 and No. 15. They have taken the literal meaning of the idioms and interpreted them as the following: No. 1 [poʈol tulir dʰorice] পোতোল তুলির ধরিচে, No. 3 [cɔiddo] চইদ্দ and No.15 [fatbar] সাতবার. The informers 1 & 6 did not fill the blank in No. 8. and informed that they did not know the answer to that question. The rest of the answers were correct as expected by the researcher. The above exercise with Rajbanshi informants provided us with the information that constructions have culture specific knowledge with respect to the co-occurrence of one word with another word or one word with a particular grammatical construction as discussed in Chapter V-5.6. Mischler (2009) suggests that a particular cultural model is needed to account for certain conceptual metaphors and the change in their constructions over time. Sinclair (1991:109-10) coined the phrase ‘the open choice principle’ to describe the notion that text—sentences and discourses—

¹²⁶ Sending questionnaire methods were also used to collect data. The informants were given a set of questions to fill in the blanks using their native intuitions.

can result from a large number of complex choices. The open choice principle contrasts with ‘idiom principle’ in which a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases constitute single choices, even though they may appear to be analysable into segments.

Chomsky (1957,1965) in Transformational grammar models employed the notion ‘construction’ and construction specific rules. Chomsky (1995:20) in UG approach while addressing the constructions points out that ‘the focus on the core system, putting aside phenomena that result from historical accident, dialect mixture, personal idiosyncrasies and the like.’ Contrary to the UG approach Construction Grammar presents a uniform analysis of ‘peripheral’ as well as ‘core’ linguistic constructs without performing transformational analysis, derivation or assumption of a zero element. According to Hoffman & Trousdale (2013:2), the mental grammar of speakers is claimed to consist of a network of schematic and substantive constructions (construct-i-cons) and it is the parallel activation of construction that underlies a set of particular utterances ‘constructs’. Pandey (2015:318) claims that grammars admit natural and universal properties of languages as well as exceptions, irregularities, inconsistent application of processes and constraints, hybridity is expected to surface in natural languages and it is not merely externally induced but also ingrained in human linguistic capacity.

Construction Grammar is usually not considered to be an elegant theory of linguistic knowledge, but in the case of phrasal compounds, it provides a very straightforward account that directly follows from its main organizational principles (Hilpert 2014:79). Hoeksema (2012) reviewed Construction Morphology (Booij, 2010) and made the following interesting observations;

“...what I missed in this chapters is some additional discussion of the meta-properties of constructional approach, such as its predominantly inductive in nature, and the lack of any general predictions about possible languages or possible systems of morphology.” (Hoeksema : 2012:185)

She also raises the question of bi-directionality and the like “... property of non-directionality, however, can also be seen as disadvantage. There is a basic difference between adding an affix and subtracting one, a difference that is captured by assuming a directional rule of affixation and by delegating affix subtraction to a process of back formation that is supposed to have a different status in the language...both zero affixes and constructions are theoretical entities for which we have no direct evidence. They are deduced from a linguistic data given some set of

assumptions (Hoeksema 2012: 183-184). On the other hand, Anshen and Aronoff (1981) consider “rules must be viewed as abstract patterns to which potential words should conform to some degree rather than as rules which completely determine the form and meaning of all new words.”

At the outset, morphological constructions are not very different from word formation rules but there are several pieces of evidence that word-formation processes and morphological constructions are different. Word formation processes are selective with regard to the elements that they take as input. On the other hand, morphological constructions are output oriented. In the construction based approach to morphology, output forms emerged out not through the process of derivation where different rules compete to operate within a base to derive the suitable output forms but through the process of exposure, experience and memory. According to Pandey (2015:319), ‘in a contact language situations when social factors and formal factors within a language are in conflict, the social factors are the winner.’ If we look at the following words [upər muk^h] উপর মুখ ‘above face/mouth’ and [nama muk^h] নামা মুখ ‘below face/mouth’ has acquired a contextual social/cultural meaning as ‘a particular kinds of food offerings to Gods’ (See Chapter-V-5.4. example 150)

1. আইজকা হরিসেবাত কি পসাদ হইবে, উপর মুখ না নামা মুখ?

[aiJka həri-ʃɛba-t̪ ki pɔʃaɖ hɔibe upər muk^h na nama muk^h]?
 Today Hari (God)-serve-LOC what food-offering Be.FUT. above face or below face

‘What will they serve today in religious gathering hotchpotch or flattend/stuffed rice?’

‘What will they serve today in religious gathering hotchpotch or flattend/stuffed rice?’

The meaning the word [upər muk^h] উপর মুখ ‘above face/mouth’ in Rajbanshi society in a religious context is ‘hotchpotch’ and [nama muk^h] নামা মুখ ‘below face/mouth’ is ‘flattened rice/stuffed rice’. In the case of competing meanings of output forms derived by grammatical rules and in particular usage, usage supersedes derivation (Pandey 2015:321). CM argues that morphology must be usage-based in order to understand the knowledge of language system. The creation of complex words is motivated by usage and the assumption for the architecture of grammar is a hierarchical lexicon with various degrees of schematicity that do justice to actual language use in the domain of word formation.

Morphology is about the internal structure of words and how new words are formed from the existing ones. With this understanding of morphology, this research work has been limited to a small section namely Nominal morphology and its constructions. The study does not cover

all the word formation processes found in the Rajbanshi language, but only the word-formation process involved in nouns and nominal constructions. The other minor processes blending, clipping, acronym etc. which are peripheral part of morphology are left out and excluded from this study. Verb morphology, ECV have also been excluded from this study but the derivations of nouns from verbs have been discussed with adequate examples. The work is not experimental in nature, and it does not conduct any test on cognition and language processing. The priming test, eye tracking and other psycholinguistics experiments were not conducted for the study.

The present study has not proposed any alternative model for the analysis of complex words and phrasal lexical units of the Rajbanshi language but presented Rajbanshi nominal morphology and constructional idioms under the theoretical framework of Construction Morphology (Booij, 2010). The study may provide us valuable input for developing study materials for language teaching, compiling lexicon/dictionary of Rajbanshi, designing a module for compound or constructional idioms decomposition for machine learning. It may also provide us a platform for developing online lexical data base for machine translation, lexical processing, information retrieval etc. (See Chapter I-1.5).

The construction dependant morphology is a phenomenon in which the occurrence of bound morphemes is linked to specific syntactic constructions. The lexically encoded allomorphy affects the identification of morphological relations between words. From the above discussion, we could say that affixes are important part of constructions. Though these are considered as bound elements but their positions in a construction is lexically fixed whereas the position for open grammatical categories (N, V, Adj etc) are variables. The affixes form part of construction in inflectional morphology (5.2), in derivational morphology (5.3), in compound construction (5.4), reduplicated constructions (5.5) and also in constructional idioms and multiword units (MWEs) (5.6.). As discussed in chapter-5 that the morphological construction can receive a new grammatical function that of linking element. In Rajbanshi, the sequence [neṭar gʰar] নেতার ঘর ‘leaders and associates’, [bʰaiyer gʰar] ভাইয়ের ঘর ‘brothers and associates’, [mamar gʰar] মামার ঘর ‘maternal uncle and associates’ (See section 2.1.3.6.) are no longer lexical phrases but are instances of complex words. What I would interpret here, the genitive marker /r র or er এর/ as a linking element because the grammatical function of genitive marker is not retained in the complex words. These words have specific semantic interpretations. The referent nouns are always + human and meaning is associative with the [X] element of the genitive. The word

[bandorer gʰor] বান্দরের ঘর does not refer to ‘monkey and its associates’ rather the quality (naughty) of some boys. These word sequences are not be considered small phrases rather I would assume that they are complex words dominated by the following schema;

$$\langle [\text{Ni-er } g^{\text{h}}\text{or}]N_j \leftrightarrow [\text{SEM Ni ASSOCIATE PL}]_j \rangle$$

The affix [-er] as the linking element and [gʰor] ঘর as part of plural construction function as a unit. The holistic properties of this construction have to be looked at for associate plural meaning. The lexical integrity principle does not allow syntactic rules to manipulate or to have access to word-internal morphological structure. The complex word [cɛŋrar gʰor] is a prototypical case of constructional idiom. It has the form of a NP, followed by a genitive marker and the particle ‘ghor’. In this NP, the slot for the possessive marker /r/ or /er/ is fixed whereas the slot for the noun is open and can be filled with all sorts of +human nouns only. In this situation a particular syntactic construction goes hand in hand with particular morphological form of words in that construction. These observations imply that we have to specify the presence of a specific suffix in the construction as exemplified above. This analysis reveals that the principle of Lexical integrity is too strong and syntax may require access to the internal morphological structure of words.

Constructions are also locus of language change (Bybee et al. 1994, Heine 1993, Traugott 2003). If a language changes they may disappear due to the erosion of the inflectional system or there are traces of forms but no consistent meaning or in cases where the morphological marker receives new grammatical function. Greenberg (1991) refers to this phenomenon as ‘regrammaticalization’. Grammaticalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use parts of construction with a grammatical function. Over time the resulting grammatical item may become more grammatical by acquiring more grammatical function and expanding its host (Brinton & Traugott, 2005:9). According to Aikhenvald (2007) the rise of derivative morphemes is rightly qualified as grammaticalization, since these morphemes have become affixes. If situated at the end point of grammaticalization, these morphemes have abstract grammatical properties but such bound morphemes may still have a rather specific meaning, more lexical to more grammatical meaning—a pattern characteristics of grammaticalization. In the above morphological construction $\langle [\text{Ni-er } g^{\text{h}}\text{or}]N_j \leftrightarrow [\text{SEM Ni ASSOCIATE PL}]_j \rangle$, the genitive marker [r/er] loses its syntactic functions and the lexical item [gʰor] ঘর acquires a new grammatical function in combination with the genitive. It functions as associative plural marker in Rajbanshi with + human nouns only. The findings confirm that the

constructional idioms are not just fixed word combinations and they are not merely viewed as anomalies but can be modified both lexically and syntactically, and the notion of lexicon has to be extended with complex words, their abstract schemas and partially specified constructional idioms.

According to Humboldt (1836:72), Language can be compared to an enormous web, in which each part stands in a more or less clearly recognisable relationship with the next one and all of them are likewise related to the whole¹²⁷. In CM, Lexicon has to be conceived of as a web of words and phrasal lexical units, a module of the Grammar but contains a network of relationships between individual words and morphological schemas. In other words, the lexicon is the meeting point of the systematic and conventional properties of language constructs (Booij, 2010:171). To conclude, CM is a theory of the architecture of the grammar, of the role of lexical units of various degrees of abstraction and of the relation of the grammar to facts of language use such as the storage and frequency of linguistic constructs of varying size. CM provides proper analytic tools for complex phenomena on the borderline between morphology and syntax. CM is in harmony with the state-of-the-art theories of the balance between storage and computation, and the insight that paradigmatic relationships between words are fundamental in understanding morphological systems (Booij 2010: 259).

¹²⁷ See Pandey 2015:318

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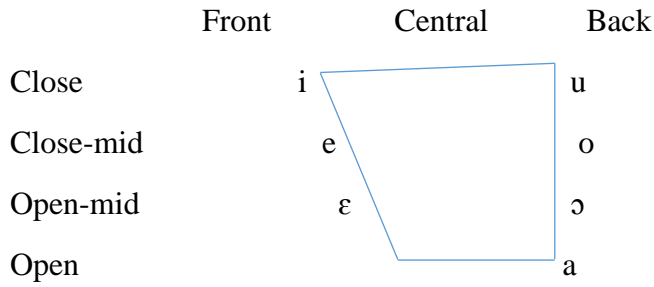
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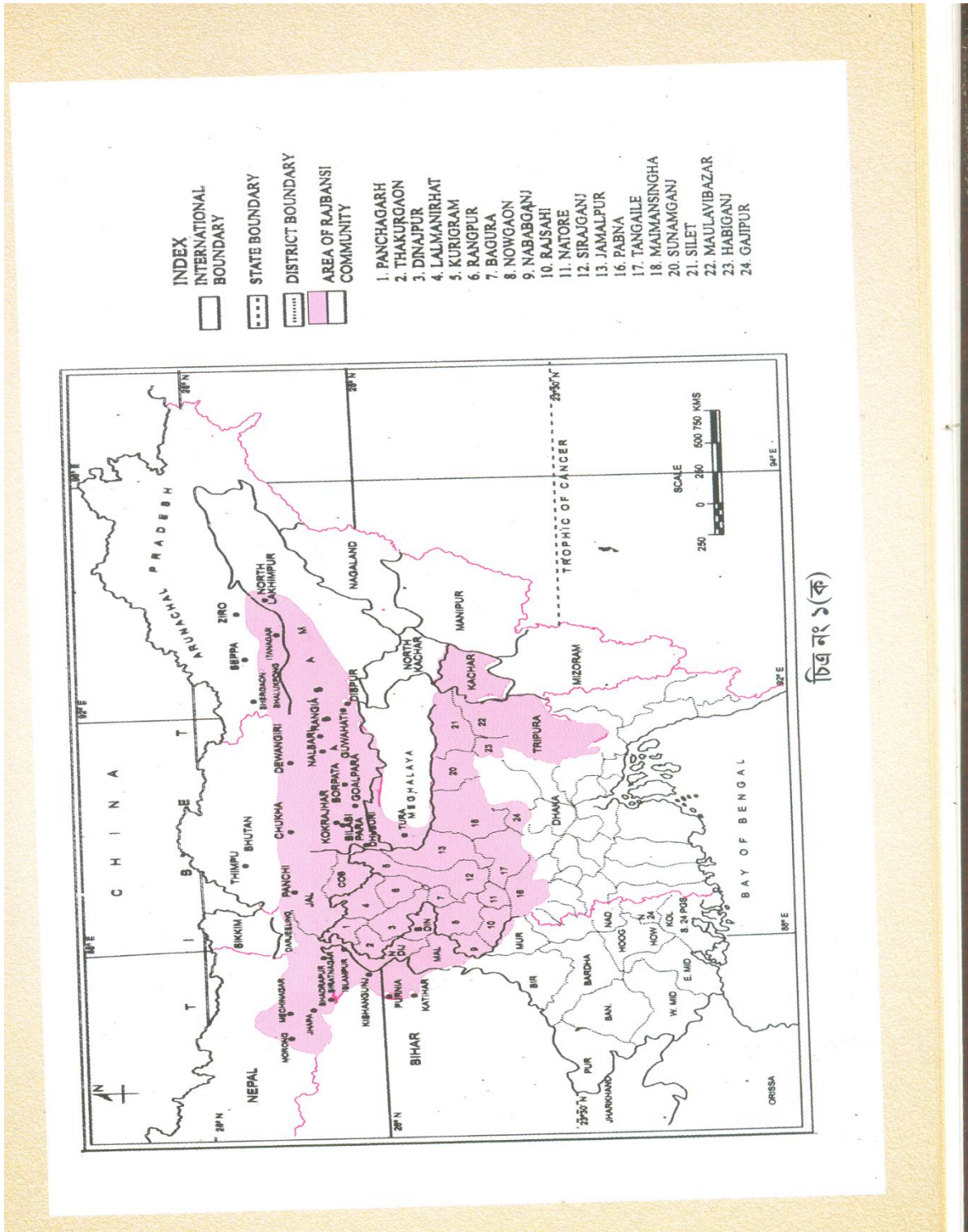
b. Rajbanshi Vowels chart



c. Rajbanshi Consonants chart

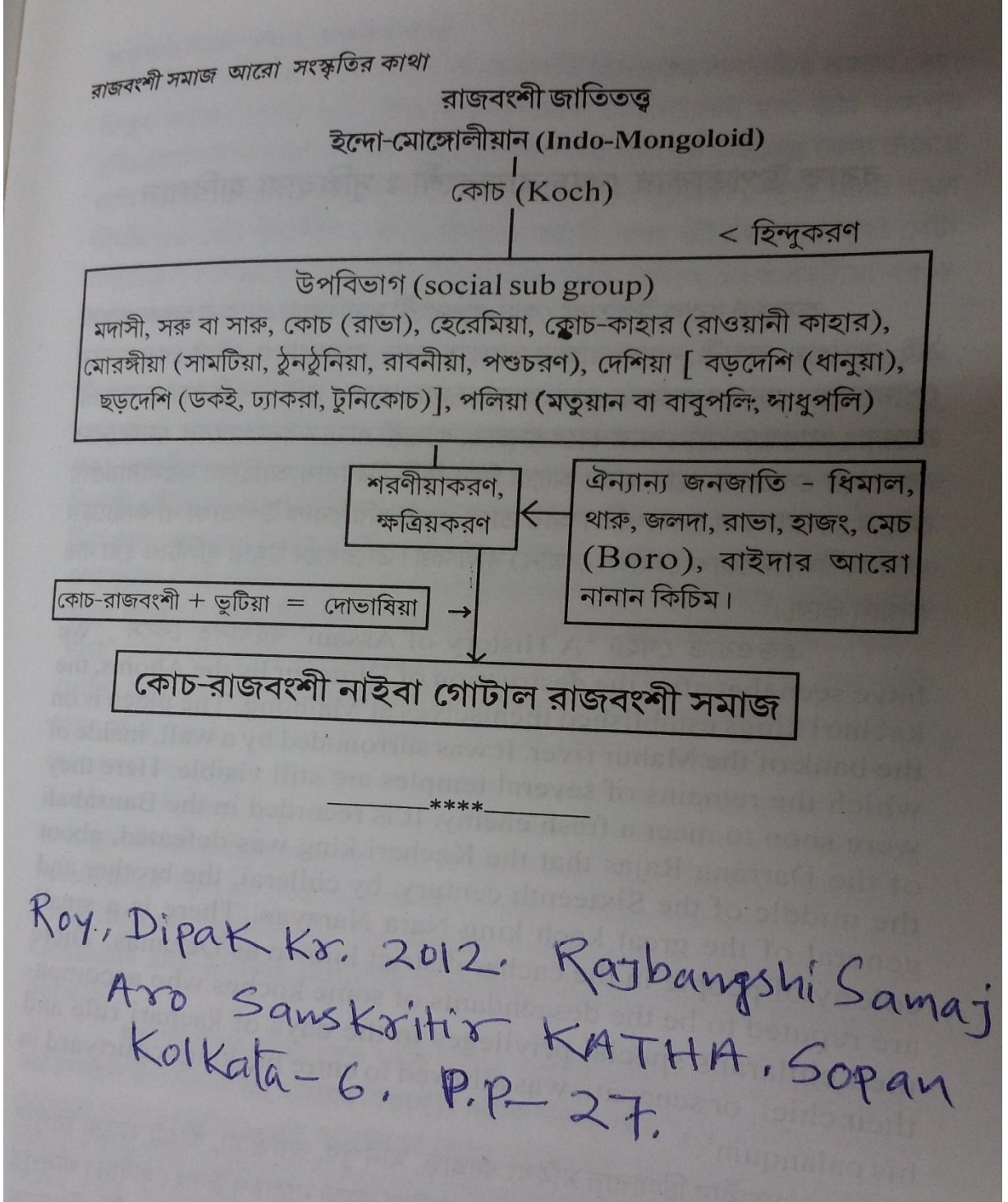
| Place & Manner | Labial | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|---------|
| Plosives (stops) | | | | | | | |
| Voiceless | | | | | | | |
| Unaspirated | p | t̪ | | t̠ | c | k | |
| Aspirated | p ^h | t̪ ^h | | t̠ ^h | c ^h | k ^h | |
| Voiced | | | | | | | |
| Unaspirated | b | d̪ | | d̠ | ɟ | g | |
| Aspirated | b ^h | d̪ ^h | | d̠ ^h | ɟ ^h | g ^h | |
| Nasal | m | | n | | | ŋ | |
| Fricative | | | s | | ʃ | | h |
| Tap/Flap | | | r | | | | |
| Lateral | | | l | | | | |

d. The Rajbanshi Spoken Areas



Source- Barma, Debendra Nath. 2012. *Rajbanshi Bhashar Itihas*. Sopan. Kolkata

e The Whole Rajbangshi Society



f. Map of West Bengal



APPENDIX-II**a. Basic Word lists**

This list includes from Swadesh's list (1955), and from Gudschinsky's (1956) list. The words are alphabetically arranged by Samarin (1967).

| SN | EW | RW | SN | EW | RW |
|-----------|-----------|---|-----------|-----------|---|
| 1 | All | [ʃogay] সগায় | 104 | Mountain | [pahaɾ] পাহাড়, [pɔrbot] পর্বত |
| 2 | And | [ar] আর | 105 | Mouth | [muk ^h] মুখ |
| 3 | Animal | [ʃonɬuru] যন্ত্রু | 106 | Name | [nam] নাম |
| 4 | Ashes | [c ^h ai] ছাই | 107 | Narrow | [c ^h ot[to] ছোট, [ʃilʃila] সিলসিলা |
| 5 | At | [upura] উপুরা [-t] ত | 108 | Near | [bɔgol] বগল, [paʃ] পাশ, [nikot] নিকট |
| 6 | Back | [pacot] পাচোত, [pacpak] পাচপাক | 109 | Neck | [gɔrd ^h ɔna] গর্ধনা, [g ^h ar] ঘাড় |
| 7 | Bad | [k ^h arap] খারাপ ~ [bɔya] বয়া | 110 | New | [nɔya] নয়া, [nouɬon] নৌতন |
| 8 | Bark | [b ^h uka] ভুকা | 111 | Night | [rait] রাইত, [rat̪i] রাতি |
| 9 | Because | [karon] কারন | 112 | Nose | [nak] নাক |
| 10 | Belly | [pæɾ] প্যাট | 113 | Not | [na] না |
| 11 | Big | [dɔngor] ডাঙর, [bɔto] বড় | 114 | Old | [purana] পুরানা, [buɾa] বুড়া |
| 12 | Bird | [pɔki] পকি | 115 | One | [ɛk] এক |
| 13 | Bite | [kamɾa] কামড়া | 116 | Other | [ɔinno] ওইন্য |
| 14 | Black | [kala] কাল | 117 | Person | [manʃi] মানশি |
| 15 | Blood | [rɔkto] রক্ত, [tɛʃ] ত্যাজ | 118 | Play | [k ^h ɛla] খেলা |
| 16 | Blow | [p ^h oka] ফোকা | 119 | Pull | [tana] টানা |
| 17 | Bone | [taŋgura] টাংগুরা [ɔʃi] অস্তি | 120 | Push | [t ^h ɛla] ঠেলা |

| | | | | | |
|----|---------|---|-----|---------------|---|
| 18 | Breast | [dud ^h] দুধ, [buk] বুক | 121 | Rain | [j ^h ɔri] বরি [biʃti] বিশি |
| 19 | Breathe | [nikaʃ] নিকাশ | 122 | Red | [nal] নাল, [lal] লাল |
| 20 | Burn | [poɾa] পোড়া | 123 | Right/correct | [t ^h ik] ঠিক |
| 21 | Child | [c ^h aowa] ছাওয়া | 124 | Rightside | [ɖain paʃ] ডাইন পাশ |
| 22 | Claw | [t ^h aba] থাবা | 125 | River | [nɔdi] নদী |
| 23 | Cloud | [mæŋ ^h] ম্যাঘ | 126 | Road | [g ^h aɾa] ঘাটা, [raʃta] রাস্তা, [pɔt ^h] পথ |
| 24 | Cold | [t ^h and̪a] ঠান্ডা, [ʃiɽ] শিত | 127 | Root | [mul ʃipa] মূল শিপা |
| 25 | Come | [aiʃa] আইসা | 128 | Rope | [dɔɽi] দড়ি, [rɔʃi] রশি, [baɽi] বাটি |
| 26 | Count | [gɔna] গনা | 129 | Rotten | [pɔca] পচা, [ʃɔra] সরা |
| 27 | Cut | [kaɾa] কাটা | 130 | Round | [gol] গোল |
| 28 | Day | [ɖin] দিন | 131 | Rub | [g ^h ɔʃa] ঘসা |
| 29 | Die | [mɔra] মরা | 132 | Sand | [bala] বালা, [balu] বালু, [bali] বালি |
| 30 | Dig | [k ^h oɾa] খোড়া | 133 | Salt | [nun] নুন, [lobon] লবন |
| 31 | Dirty | [mɔila], মইলা [noɽra] নোংড়া, [gædera] গ্যাদেরা | 134 | Say | [kɔ] ক, [kɔoya] কওয়া |
| 32 | Dog | [kukur] কুকুর | 135 | Scratch | [culka] চুলকা, [ʃotta] সোতা |
| 33 | Drink | [k ^h aowa] খাওয়া | 136 | Sea | [ʃomuddro] সমুদ্র |
| 34 | Dry | [ʃukan] শুকান | 137 | See | [dɛk ^h a] দেখা |
| 35 | Dull | [boka] বোকা | 138 | Seed | [bici] বিচি, [biʃ] বীজ |
| 36 | Dust | [d ^h ula] ধুলা | 139 | Sew | [ʃelai] সেলাই |
| 37 | Ear | [kan] কান | 140 | Sharp | [coka] চোকা [ɖ ^h ar] |
| 38 | Earth | [pit ^h ibi] পিথিবি, [ɖuniya] দুনিয়া | 141 | Short | [c ^h oɽo] ছোটো, [k ^h aɽo] খাটো |
| 39 | Eat | [k ^h aowa] খাওয়া | 142 | Sing | [n kɔra] গান করা |

| | | | | | |
|----|------------|---|-----|-------------|---|
| 40 | Egg | [dɪma] ডিমা, [dɪm] ডিম | 143 | Sit | [boɪʃa] বইসা |
| 41 | Eye | [cɔuk ^h] চউখ | 144 | Skin | [camɾa] চামড়া, [c ^h al] ছাল |
| 42 | Fall | [pɔɾa] পড়া | 145 | Sky | [akaʃ] অকাশ [d̪eoya] দ্যাওয়া |
| 43 | Far | [d̪ur] দুর | 146 | Sleep | [nin] নিন |
| 44 | Fat/grease | [cɔrbi] চৰি | 147 | Small | [c ^h oɽo] ছোটো, [kɔm] কম |
| 45 | Father | [baba] বাবা | 148 | Smell | [baʃna] বাসনা |
| 46 | Fear | [b ^h ɔy] ভয় | 149 | Smoke | [d ^h uma] ধুমা |
| 47 | Feather | [d̪apna] ডাপনা, [pak ^h na] পাখনা | 150 | Smooth | [t̪ult̪ula] তুলতুলা, [nɔrom] নরম |
| 48 | Few | [kɔto] কত | 151 | Snake | [ʃãp] সাঁপ, [bɪʃ poka] বিষ পোকা |
| 49 | Fight | [ʃudd ^h o] যুদ্ধ, [ʃuʃʃo] যুজ্জ | 152 | Snow | [bɔrop ^h] বরফ, [t̪uʃaɾ] তুশাড় |
| 50 | Fire | [agun] আগুন [ʃüi] জুঁই | 153 | Some | [kɔto] কত, [kɔɽla] কতলা |
| 51 | Fish | [mac] মাচ | 154 | Spit | [ʃæp] স্যাপ |
| 52 | Five | [pãc] পাঁচ [pɔnco] পনচো | 155 | Split | [bægol] ব্যাগল, [alga] আলগা, [pit ^h ok] পিথোক |
| 53 | Float | [b ^h aʃa] ভাসা | 156 | Squeeze | [cipa] চিপা |
| 54 | Flow | [b ^h aʃi bera] ভাসি বেড়া | 157 | Stab/pierce | [d ^h uka] ঢুকা / [p ^h oɾa] ফোড়া |
| 55 | Flower | [p ^h ul] ফুল | 158 | Stand | [k ^h aɾa] খাড়া |
| 56 | Fly | [uɾa] উড়া | 159 | Star | [t̪ara] তারা [t̪aragɔni] তারাগনি |
| 57 | Fog | [ben] ব্যাঙ | 160 | Stick | [naɽhi] নাঠি, [d̪anta] ডান্টা, [ʃ ^h ik] ঝিক |

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------|--|-----|----------|--|
| 58 | Foot | [tʰæŋ] ঠ্যাং | 161 | Stone | [ʃil] শিল, [paʰhor] পাথোর, [boʃʃi] বজড়ি |
| 59 | Four | [cair] চাইর | 162 | Straight | [soja] সোজা |
| 60 | Freeze | [jɔma] জমা | 163 | Suck | [cofa] চোসা |
| 61 | Fruit | [pʰɔl] ফল | 164 | Sun | [bæla] ব্যালা, [ʃurjo] সূর্য |
| 62 | Full | [bʰɔrti] ভর্তি | 165 | Swell | [pʰula] ফুলা |
| 63 | Give | [deɔya] দেওয়া | 166 | Swim | [pɔŋra] পঙরা, [ʃaʃar] সাতার |
| 64 | Good | [bʰal] ভাল | 167 | Tail | [neʃu] ন্যাটু, [neʃ] ন্যাজ |
| 65 | Grass | [gʰaʃ] ঘাস | 168 | That | [ɔi] ওই |
| 66 | Green | [ʃɔbuʃ] সবুজ | 169 | There | [ɔte] এটে |
| 67 | Guts | [naʃibʰuʃi] নাড়িভুড়ি | 170 | They | [imirala] ইমিরালা, [umurala] উমুরালা |
| 68 | Hair | [cul] চুল | 171 | Thick | [gʰɔno] ঘন, [gaʃo] গাঢ় |
| 69 | Hand | [hat] হাত | 172 | Thin | [patla] পাতলা, [ʃɔkʃoka] সক সকা |
| 70 | He | [imay] ইমায়, [umay] উমায় | 173 | Think | [cinʃa] চিন্তা, [bʰaba] ভাবা |
| 71 | Head | [matʰa] মাথা | 174 | This | [ei] এই |
| 72 | Hear | [ʃuna] শুনা | 175 | Thou | [tomak] তোমাক |
| 73 | Heart | [hriɖoy] হ্রিদয় | 176 | Three | [tin] তিন |
| 74 | Heavy | [bʰari] ভারি | 177 | Throw | [dʰæla] ঢালা |
| 75 | Here | [ɛte] এটে | 178 | Tie | [banda] বান্দা |
| 76 | Hit | [agʰat] অঘাত, [mara] মারা, [daŋga] ডাংগা | 179 | Tongue | [ʃiba] জীবা |
| 77 | Hold/take | [dʰɔraধরা / neɔya নেওয়া] | 180 | Tooth | [dāt] দাঁত |

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| 78 | Horn | [ʃiŋg ^h] শিং | 181 | Tree | [gɔc] গচ |
| 79 | How | [kɛŋ kɔri] ক্যাং করি | 182 | Turn | [g ^h ura] ঘুরা |
| 80 | Hunt | [ʃikar kɔra] শিকার করা | 183 | Two | [d̪ui] দুই |
| 81 | Husband | [b ^h atar], [ʃoyami], [bɔr], [pɔti] | 184 | Vomit | [c ^h aɖa] ছাদা, [bɔmi] বমি |
| 82 | I | [mui] মুই | 185 | Walk | [haʈa] হাটা, [cɔla] চলা |
| 83 | Ice | [bɔrɔp ^h] বরফ, [him] হিম | 186 | Warm | [gɔrom] গরম, [kuʃum kuʃum] কুসুম কুসুম |
| 84 | If | [ʃɔdi] যদি | 187 | Wash | [d ^h oya] ধোয়া |
| 85 | In | [mɔidd ^h o] মইধ্য [maʃ ^h oʈ] মাঝোত | 188 | Water | [ʃɔl] জল, [pani] পানি |
| 86 | Kill | [mara] মারা | 189 | We | [hamra-gila] হামরাগিলা |
| 87 | Knee | [haʈuya] হাটুয়া | 190 | Wet | [b ^h iʃa] ভিজা |
| 88 | Know | [ʃana] জানা | 191 | What | [ki] কি |
| 89 | Lake | [bil] বিল, [k ^h al-pagaʈ] খাল পাগাড় | 192 | When | [konbela] কোনবেলা, [konʃɔmoy] কোনসময় |
| 90 | Laugh | [haʃa] হাসা | 193 | Where | [koʈe] কোটে |
| 91 | Leaf | [pata] পাতা [paʈari] পাতারি | 194 | White | [d̪ ^h ɔla] ধওলা, [ʃaɖa] সাদা |
| 92 | Leftside | [bam paʃ] বাম পাশ | 195 | Who | [kay] কায় |
| 93 | Leg | [t ^h æŋ] ঠ্যাং, [pao] পাও | 196 | Wide | [oʃar] ওসাড |
| 94 | Lie | [mica] মিচা, [miʃʈa] মিস্তা [ʃuʈa] শুতা | 197 | Wife | [maiya] মাইয়া, [bɔu] বউ |
| 95 | Live | [bāca] বাঁচা | 198 | Wind | [bataʃ] বাতাস, [haɔya] হাওয়া |
| 96 | Liver | [lib ^h ar] লিভার | 199 | Wing | [ɖapna] ডাপনা, [pak ^h na] পাখনা |
| 97 | Long | [lɔmba] লম্বা, [dig ^h la] দীঘলা | 200 | Wipe | [moca] মোচা, [nika] নিকা |

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| 98 | Louse | [ukun] উকুন > [cikina] চিকিনা, [d ^h æla] ঢালা | 201 | With | [fat ^h e] সাথে, [b ^h one] ভনে, [ʃoŋge] সঙ্গে |
| 99 | Man/male | [manʃi] মানষি, [bæʃa c ^h aowa] বেটাছাওয়া | 202 | Woman | [bɛʃi c ^h aowa] বেটিছাওয়া |
| 100 | Many | [mæla] ম্যালা, [onekla] অনেকলা | 203 | Woods | [kat ^h] কাঠ, [ʃoŋgolbaʃi] জঙলবাড়ি |
| 101 | Meat/flesh | [manʃo] মাংস, [mɔʃom] মসম, [goʃto] গোস্তো | 204 | Worm | [cæra] চাড়া |
| 102 | moon | [can] চান, [cɔŋɔro] চন্দ্র | 205 | Ye | [tomak] তোমাক |
| 103 | Mother | [ma] মা, [maɔ] মাও | 206 | Year | [bɔcor] বছর, [ʃal] সাল |

The following words are added by Gudschinsky (1956)

| | | | | | |
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| 207 | Brother | [b ^h ai] ভাই | 213 | Seven | [ʃat] সাত |
| 208 | Clothing | [kapoʃ-copoʃ] কাপোড়- চোপোড় | 214 | Shoot | [guli mara] গুলি মারা |
| 209 | Cook | [ranna kora] রান্না করা, [randuni] রান্দুনি | 215 | Sister | [bɔin] বইন, [bɔini] বইনি |
| 210 | Dance | [naca] নাচা | 216 | Spear | [bɔllom] বল্লম |
| 211 | Eight | [at] আট | 217 | Twenty | [biʃ] বিশ, [kuʃi] কুড়ি |
| 212 | Hundred | [ɛkʃo] একশো, [ʃo] শ | 218 | Work | [kam] কাম, [kamai] কামাই, [kaʃ] কাজ |

b. Abbi's word lists for North Indian Context

| SN | *EW | RW | SN | *EW | RW |
|----|-----------------|---|----|----------|---|
| 1 | Bindi | [tʃip] টিপ, [pʰoʈa] ফোটা | 47 | Lion | [bagʰ] বাঘ [ʃiŋgʰo] সিংহ |
| 2 | Flour (kneaded) | [aʈa] আটা | 48 | Lips | [tʰot] চোঁট |
| 3 | jura (bun) | [kʰopa] খোঁপা | 49 | Liquor | [mɔd] মদ |
| 4 | roṭi | [ruʈi] রুটি ~ [uʈi] উটি | 50 | Mango | [am] আম |
| 5 | banana | [kɔla] কলা | 51 | Medicine | [oiʃudʰ] ওইশোধ |
| 6 | bangles | [cuʈi] চুড়ি, [ʃaka] সাকা | 52 | Milk | [dudʰ] দুধ, [kʰauḍa] খাউদা |
| 7 | blouse | [belauj] বেলাউজ | 53 | Mirror | [ayna] আয়না |
| 8 | book | [bɔi] বই | 54 | Money | [taka] টাকা, [paiʃa] পাইসা, [kɔʈi] কড়ি |
| 9 | Brother, elder | [dada] দাদা, [bɔʈda] বড়দা, [meʃda] মেজদা, [cʰoʈda] ছোটদা | 55 | mosquito | [mɔʃa] মশা |
| 10 | Brother's wife | [bɔudi] বৌদি | 56 | Mouse | [cika] চিকা, |
| 11 | Cat | [bilai] বিলাই | 57 | Nails | [nɔkʰ] নখ, [ʃipi] শিপি |
| 12 | chilli | [mɔruc] মরুচ, [lonka] লনকা | 58 | Necklace | [haʈ] হাড় |
| 13 | Cold (ailment) | [ʃɔddi] সর্দি ~ [ʃɔrdi] সরদি | 59 | Nose-pin | [pʰul] ফুল, [naker pʰul] নাকের ফুল, [naker nolo] নাকের নোলো |
| 14 | comb | [ciruni] চিরুনি, [kakoi] কাকোই | 60 | Oil | [tɔl] ত্যাল |
| 15 | copper | [tama] তামা | 61 | Onion | [piyaic] পিয়াইচ [piyaʃi] পিয়াজী |
| 16 | Cough | [ʃiain] শিয়াইন | 62 | Pain | [biʃi] বিশি, [bedona] ব্যাদনা |
| 17 | Cow | [gɔru] গরু | 63 | Peacock | [mɔyur] ময়ূর |

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| 18 | Crow | [kauya] কাউয়া | 64 | Plait | [tiki] টিকি |
| 19 | Cry | [kanda] কান্দা | 65 | Pond | [dighi] দিঘি [pukur] পুকুর |
| 20 | dog | [kukur] কুকুর | 66 | Potato | [alu] আলু > [bilatu alu], বিলাতি আলু [madḍa alu] মাড্ডা আলু |
| 21 | Door | [ḍorja] দর্জা, [ḍubor] দুবোর, [koyair] কোয়াইর | 67 | Rice (cooked) | [bhat] ভাত > [pōnthā] পস্থা, [kḥakra] খকড়া, [bafi] বাসি, [maruya] মারুয়া, [jḥarjḥara] বারবারা |
| 22 | down | [nic] নীচ [nicot] নীচোত | 68 | Rice (raw) | [caul] চাউল |
| 23 | drizzle | [cḥæp cḥæpa jḥori] ছ্যাপ ছ্যাপা বরি | 69 | Road | [gḥaṭa] ঘাটা, [raṣṭa] রাস্তা, [pōnth] পস্থ |
| 24 | Earring | [ḍul] দুল, [kaner ḍul] কানের দুল | 70 | Round | [gol] গোল, [gola] গোলা |
| 25 | Elephant | [hatti] হাতি, [hoṣṭi] হস্তি, [haṭi] হাতি | 71 | Run | [ḍourā]V দৌড়া [ḍour N] দৌড় |
| 26 | Eye-brow | [bḥuru] ভুরু | 72 | Sari | [ṣari] শাড়ি |
| 27 | Fever | [ḥor] জ্বর | 73 | Shawl | [ṣal] শাল, [gōḥi], গজি [caḍor] চাদর |
| 28 | Finger | [noḡul] নঙুল | 75 | Sister, elder | [ḍidi] দিদি |
| 29 | Fish | [mac] মাচ | 76 | Sister's husband | [bōnu] বনু, [jamai babu] জামাই বাবু, [jambu] জাম্বু |
| 30 | Flour (dry) | [aṭa] আটা | 77 | Small | [cḥoṭo], ছোটো [micca kona] মিচা কোনা, [olpo] অল্প |
| 31 | Food | [kḥabar] খাবার, [kḥaoyar] খাওয়ার | 78 | Snake | [ṣāp] সাঁপ > [ḍarai] ডারাইস, [alat] আলাত, [goma] গোমা, [kḥeri] খেরি, [ḍḥara] চোরা, |

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| | | | | | [boɾa] বোরা, [dumuk ^h a] দুমুখা |
| 32 | Forest | [aɾa] আড়া, [p ^h ɔreʃt] ফরেস্ট, [ʃɔngol] জঙোল | 79 | Spectacles | [cɔʃma] চশমা |
| 33 | garlic | [rɔʃun] রসুন | 80 | Spices | [mɔʃla] মসলা |
| 34 | God | [b ^h ɔgoban] ভগবান, [deɓota] দ্যাবতা | 81 | Spoon | [camuc] চামুচ |
| 35 | Goddess | [dɛbi] দেবী | 74 | Shirt | [ʃaɪ] শাট |
| 36 | Gold | [ʃona] সোনা | 82 | Sugar | [cini] চিনি, [ʃɔkkor] শকর |
| 37 | Grandfather (F) | [t ^h akurda] ঠাকুরদা | 83 | Tasty | [ʃaɪ] স্বাদ |
| 38 | Grandfather (M) | [aʃu] আজু | 84 | Tea | [ca] চা [capaɾa] চাপাতা |
| 39 | Grandmother (F) | [t ^h akurma] ঠাকুরমা | 85 | Thumb | [buɾa nɔgul] বুড়া নগুলা |
| 40 | Grandmother (M) | [abo] আবো | 86 | Turmeric | [holɔdi] হলদি |
| 41 | Green vegetable | [ʃak] শাক | 87 | Up | [upura] উপুরা |
| 42 | Hot | [gɔrom] গরম | 88 | Village | [geram] গেরাম |
| 43 | House | [baɾi] বাড়ি | 89 | Teeth | [dɔɪt] দাঁত |
| 44 | House fly | [maci] মাচি | | | |
| 45 | Itch | [culkani] N [culka] V | | | |
| 46 | Language | [b ^h aʃa] ভাষা, [buli] বুলি | | | |

c. Some Rajbanshi Words

| SN | *EW | RW | SN | *EW | RW |
|----|------------------------|-----------------|----|------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | belon (rolling pin) | [dɔlna] ডলনা | 50 | Hunger | [b ^h og] ভোগ |
| 2 | Rolling board | [dɔlna] ডলনা | 51 | Ill | [ɔʃuʃt ^h o] অসুস্থ |
| 3 | charpoi | [caŋgra] চাংড়া | 52 | Iron smith | [t ^h aɾari] ঠাটারি |

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| 4 | Dal (pusle) | [dail] ডাইল | 53 | King | [raja] রাজা ~ [aJa] আজা |
| 5 | kɔɽ ^h aii (Cauldron) | [tɔcla] তচলা, [noiya] নইয়া, [kɔɽai] কড়াই | 54 | Land lord | [giri] গিরি, [Jotdar] জোতদার |
| 6 | Tawa | [taɔya] তাওয়া | 55 | Lazy | [aljiya] আলসিয়া |
| 7 | Oven | [aka] আকা | 56 | Letter | [ciɽi] চিঠি |
| 8 | Abuse | [gail] গাইল, [p ^h ɛdɛla] ফ্যাদেলা | 57 | Lonely | [ɛklay] একলায়, [niJJon] নির্জন, [niJ ^h um] নির্ভুম |
| 9 | Air | [bataɽ] বাতাস, [haɔya] হাওয়া | 58 | Love | [b ^h alobafa] ভালোবাসা, [prem] প্রেম, [piriɽi] পীরিতি |
| 10 | Ant | [peipɽa] পেইপড়া | 59 | Mad | [pagla] পাগলা |
| 11 | Aroma | [baɽna] বাসনা | 60 | Maize | [b ^h ut ^h ta] ভুট্টা |
| 12 | Bald | [tak] টাক, [takuya] টাকুয়া, [candiya] চান্দিয়া | 61 | Memory | [p ^h ɔm] ফম, [ɽɔron ɽɔk ^h ti] স্মরন শক্তি |
| 13 | Bathe | [gaɔ d ^h oya] গাও ধোয়া, [ɽenan kɔra] স্নান করা | 62 | Mine | [mor] মোর |
| 14 | Market | [hat] হাট, [baɽar] বাজার | 63 | Monkey | [bandor] বান্দর |
| 15 | Begin | [ɽuru] শুরু, [aramb ^h o] আরাভ | 64 | Price | [dam] দাম |
| 16 | Behind | [pac ^h ot] পাচোত, [pacila] পাচিলা | 65 | Paint | [c ^h apa] ছাপা, [aka] আঁকা |
| 17 | Blind | [kana] কানা, [ɔnd ^h o] অন্ধ | 66 | Pig | [ɽuyor] শুয়োর |
| 18 | Brass | [tama] তামা | 67 | Priest | [bamon] বামোন, [puɽari] পুজারী |
| 19 | Brave | [jahofi] সাহসী | 68 | Read | [pɔra] পড়া |
| 20 | Bull | [biriɽ] বিরিশ, [ɽat] ষাড় | 69 | Rice (crushed) | [k ^h ud ^h i] খুদি |

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| 21 | Butterfly | [projapoti] প্রজাপতি | 70 | Rice (paddy) | [dʱan] ধান |
| 22 | Buy | [kina] কিনা | 71 | Rice (puffed) | [muri] মুড়ি, [kʰɔi] খই |
| 23 | Cheap | [ɔʃtʰa] সস্তা | 72 | Rice (husk) | [tuʃ] তুষ |
| 24 | Coconut | [nairkel] নাইরকেল | 73 | Sell | [bæca] ব্যাচা |
| 25 | Corpse | [mɔra] মরা | 74 | Sheep | [bʰɛʀa] ভেড়া |
| 26 | Costly | [dʱami] দামী | 75 | Shop | [dʱokan] দোকান |
| 27 | Cry | [kandon] কান্দোন | 76 | Silver | [rupa] রুপা ~[upa] উপা |
| 28 | Daily | [putidin] পুতিদিন | 77 | Sometimes | [majʰe majʰe] মাঝে মাঝে |
| 29 | Danger | [bipod] বিপদ | 78 | Sparrow | [dʱoiyol] দইয়োল |
| 30 | Deaf | [tɔʃa] টসা | 79 | Sugar cane | [kufair] কুশাইর |
| 31 | Donkey | [gadʰa] গাধা | 80 | Sweet potato | [ʃægalu] স্যাগালু |
| 32 | Double | [dʱui guna] দুই গুনা | 81 | Tailor | [kʰɔilpa] খইলপা, [dʱorji] দর্জি |
| 33 | Draught | [kʰɔʀa] খড়া | 82 | Teach | [ʃika] শিখা, [pɔʀa] পড়া |
| 34 | Earn | [ay] আয়, [kamai] কামাই, [mɔʃuri] মজুরী | 83 | Teacher | [maʃtar] মাস্টার, [guru] গুরু |
| 35 | End | [ʃɛʃ] শ্যাষ | 84 | Thirst | [tikʃa] টিকসা |
| 36 | Enemy | [ʃottru] শত্রু | 85 | Train | [relgaʀi] রেলগাড়ি |
| 37 | Farmar | [haluya] হালুয়া, [kiʃok] কিশোক | 86 | War | [Judʱho] যুদ্ধ |
| 38 | Feed | [kʰoɔya] খোয়া | 87 | Wheat | [gom] গোম |
| 39 | Flood | [bɔnna] বন্যা, [ban] বান | 88 | Well | [kuya] কুয়া, [indara] ইন্দারা |
| 40 | Front of | [agot] আগোত, [agpaʃe] আগপাশে | 89 | Worship | [puʃa] পূজা |
| 41 | Goat | [cʰagol] ছাগোল | 90 | Write | [nekʰa] নেখা [lekʰa] লেখা |

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|-----------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------|---|
| 42 | Gold smith | [baniya] বানিয়া | 91 | Wheat | [gom] গোম |
| 43 | Halves | [aḍḥa] আধা | 92 | Weave | [buna] বুনা [gɔʔa] গড়া, [bana] বানা |
| 44 | Hard | [ʃɔkto] শক্ত | 93 | Her | [uyar] উয়ার |
| 45 | Heels | [uca] উচা | 94 | Curse | [ʃaɔ] শাও, [ɔbʰiʃap] অভিশাপ |
| 46 | Her | [uyar], [umar] | 95 | Yours | [umar] উমার, [umarlar] উমারলার |
| 47 | High | [ũca] উচা | | | |
| 48 | Honey | [mɔdʰu] মধু | | | |
| 49 | [horn] | [ʃiŋg] শিং | | | |

APPENDIX-III

Basic Sentence lists (Anvita Abbi. 2001:248)

A. SIMPLE

Abbi's list

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

1. Ram is eating a mango

রাম একটা আম খাওয়ার ধইরচে ।

[ram **ɛk-ta** am k^hao-yar d^hoirce]

Ram one-CLF eat-GEN hold-PRS.3.SING

2. Sita is eating a ripe mango

সীতা একটা পাকা আম খাওয়ার নাইগচে ।

[ʃi^ta ɛk-ta paka am k^hao-yar naigce]

Sita one-CLF ripe mango eat-GEN touch-PRS.3.SING

3. Ram cut the mango

[ram **am-ta** kaʃi-l] রাম আমটা কাটিল ।Ram **mango-CLF** cut-PST.3.SING

4. The children cut the mango with a knife

ছাওয়লা কাটাইখান দিয়া আমটা কাটিল ।

[c^hao^ya-la **kaʃai-k^han** diya am-ta kaʃ-il]

Child-PL knife-CLF by mango-CLF cut-PST-3.PL

5. Rizwan cut the fingers while cutting the mango

রিজুয়ান আমটা কাটির সময় নগুললা কাটিল ।

[riʃuan am-ta kaʃir ʃomoy **nɔgul-la** kaʃil]

Rizwan mango-CLF cut-GEN time finger-PL cut-PST.3.SIN

6. Ruth ate the mango in the bus

[ru^t am-ta baʃ-o^t k^hai-l] রুথ আমটা বাসোত খাইল ।

Ruth mango-CLF bus-LOC eat-PST.3.SING

7. Salma ate the mango in the morning

সালমা আমটা (সকাল) সকালে খাইল ।

[ʃalma am-ta (ʃɔkal) ʃɔkale k^hai-l]

Salma mango-CLF morning (RED)morning-INS eat-PST.3.SING

8. The child ate up all the sweets

ছাওয়াটা সৌগ মিষ্টিলা খাইল ।

[c^hao^ya-ta ʃoug **mifʃi-la** k^hai-l]

Child-CLF all sweet-PL eat-PST.3.SING

B. NEGATIVES

Abbi's list

1. I don't go to school.

মুই স্কুল না যাং ।

[mui i]kʌl na ʃa.ŋ]

I.SING.NOM school not go.PRS.I.SG

2. We will not go to Jaipur tomorrow.

হামরা কাইল জয়পুর যামো না ।

[hamra kail ʃɔypur ʃa-m-o na]

We tomorrow Jaipur go-FUT-1.PL not

3. I did not go to school yesterday

মুই কাইলকা স্কুল যাং নাই ।

[mui kailka i]kʌl ʃa-ŋ nai]

I.SING.NOM yesterday school go-PRS.1.SG not

4. The child did not hit his/her sister

ছাওয়াটা উয়ার বইনোক নাই ডাঙায় ।

[cʰaɔya-ta uyar bɔin-ok nai ɖaŋgay]

Child-CLF his/her sister-DAT not hit-PRS.3.SG

5. Because they did not study they failed in the exams

উমুরা পরীক্সাত ফেল কইরচিল কারন উমুরা পড়াশুনা করে নাই ।

[umura pɔrikʃa-t pʰel kɔir-cilo]

They exam-LOC fail do-PST.3.PL

karon umura pɔʃafuna kɔre nai]

because they study do not

6. Neither my mother came nor my sister

না মোর মাও আইসচিল না মোর বইন

[na mor maɔ ais-cilo na mor bɔin]

Not I.GEN mother come-PST.3.SING I.GEN sister

7. The old elephant did not die

বুড়া হাতিটা মরে নাই ।

[buʃa hattɪ-ta mɔre nai]

Old elephant-CLF die.PRS.3.SG not

*C. IMPERATIVES***Abbi's list****Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing**

1. Come in

[b^hiʈira ay] ভিত্তিরা আয়।

Inside come.2.INT

[b^hiʈira ai-fo] ভিত্তিরা আইসো।

Inside come-2.PL/HON.SING

2. Don't come in

[b^hiʈira na aʃ-iʃ] ভিত্তিরা না আসিস।

Inside not come.2.INT

[b^hiʈira na ai-ʃen]

Inside not come-2.PL/HON.SING

3. Please sit down

[d̪oʃa kəri boiʃ-o] দয়া করি বইসো।

Mercy do sit-2.INT

[d̪oʃa kəri boiʃ-pen] দয়া করি বইসপেন।

Mercy do sit-2.HON

4. Sit/ Sit down

[boiʃ] বইস

Sit-2.INT

[boiʃ-o] বইসো

Sit-2.FOR

5. Admission is prohibited

[b^hiʈira ʃaɔya niʃeɖ^h] ভিত্তিরা যাওয়া নিষেধ।

Inside go prohibited

6. Get lost!

[d̪ur hɔ] দুর হ

Far be.PRS

*D. CONDITIONAL AND COORDINATION***Abbi's list****Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing**

1. If you don't give me the sweets I will cry

তোমরা যদি মোক মিষ্টি না দ্যান তাহইলে মুই কান্দিম।

[tomra ʃɔɖi mok miʃti na d̪ɛ-n]

You.FOR if I.DAT sweets not give-PRS.2.FOR

2. If you will hit me I will cry
 তুই যদি মোক ডাংগাইস মুই কান্দিম ।
 [tʰui ʃɔɖɪ mok ɔŋgajʃ mui kaŋɖim]
 You.INT.SNG if I.DAT hit-2.INT.SNG I cry-1.SNG
3. If he had come earlier he would have seen the letter
 যদি উমায় একেনা আগোত আসিল হয় তাহইলে চিঠিখান দেখির পাইল হয় ।
 [ʃɔɖɪ umay ɛkena agoʈ aʃil həy]
 If he.DIST little early-LOC come-PST.3.SNG BE
 ʃahɔile ciʰi-kʰan ɖɛkʰir pail həy]
 then letter-CLF see-INF get.PST be
4. If he asks me I will certainly tell the whole story
 উমায় যদি মোক পুছ করে তাহইলে মুই সব ঘটনাটা খুলি কইম ।
 [umay ʃɔɖɪ mok puçʰ kore ʃahɔile]
 He.DIST if I.DAT ask do then
 mui ʃɔb gʰɔʈna-ʈa kʰuli kɔi-m]
 I all incident-CLF open say-FUT.1.SG.
5. If he can come then he should
 উমায় যদি আসির পায় তাহইলে উয়ার আইসা উচিত ।
 [umay ʃɔɖɪ aʃir pay ʃahɔile]
 He-DIST if come-INF get then
 uyar aifə ucit]
 He-GEN come should
6. Ram and Sita both went to watch the movie
 রাম আর সীতা দুইবনে বই দেখির গেইচিলো ।
 [ram ar ʃita ɖuiʃɔne bɔi ɖɛkʰir gei-cilo]
 Ram and Sita both movie watch go-PST.3.PL
7. Children ate and drank cold water
 ছাওয়ালা খাইল আর ঠান্ডা জললা খাইল ।
 [çʰaɔya-la kʰa-il ar ʰandʱa ʃɔl-la kʰa-il]
 Child-PL eat-PST and cold water-PL eat-PST
8. Mary is beautiful but ill-natured
 মেরী সুন্দরী কিন্তু বদ স্বভাবের ।
 [meri ʃundori kiŋʈu bɔɖ ʃɔbʰaber]
 Mary beautiful but bad habit-GEN

9. Sohail will help but not Reshma [ʃohel ʃahaʃʃo kɔir-be kiŋtu reʃma na kɔirbe]
Soahi help do-FUT but Reshma not do-FUT

*E. INCLUSIVE/EXCLUSIVE*¹²⁸

Abbi's list

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

1. Yesterday we had gone to see the movie (-addresse) কাইলকা হামরা বই দেখির গেছিলোং ।
[kailka hamra bɔi ɖɛk^hir gɛ-c^hilonɔŋ]
Yesterday we cinema see-GEN go-PST-2.PL
2. yesterday we had gone to see the movie (+addresse) কাইলকা হামরা বই দেখির গেছিলোং ।
[kailka hamra bɔi ɖɛk^hir gɛ-c^hilonɔŋ]
Yesterday we cinema see-GEN go-PST-2.PL
3. Let us go now (- addresse) [ɔlo ɛla ʃai] চলো এলা যাই ।
Move-2. PL now go-PRS.2.PL
4. Let us go now (+address) [ɔlo ɛla ʃai] চলো এলা যাই ।
Move-2. PL now go-PRS.2.PL
5. We got punishment, how bad ! (-addresse) এইটা খুব খারাপ হইচে হামরা শাস্তি পাইচি ।
[ɛi-ta k^hub k^harap hoice hamra ʃaʃʃi pa-ic-i]
This.PROX-CLF very bad BE.PRS we punishment get-
PER-2.PL
6. We got punishment, how bad (+addresse) এইটা খুব খারাপ হইচে, হামরা শাস্তি পাইচি ।
[ɛi-ta k^hub k^harap hoice hamra ʃaʃʃi pa-ic-i]
This.PROX-CLF very bad BE.PRS we punishment get-
PER-2.PL

¹²⁸ The inclusive/exclusive distinction in the pronominal system is not found in Rajbanshi language. In Malayalam third person it is found. See Abbi (2001:)

F. INTERROGATIVES

Abbi's list

1. What is your name?

2. Where do you stay?

3. How are you?

4. When are you going home?

5. When are you going to Delhi?

6. Who is he/she?

7. How much did you get?

8. Have you eaten?

9. Shall I come tomorrow?

10. Did you see the papers today?

11. Will you be cooking today at home?

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

[tomar nam ki] ? তোমার নাম কি ?

You.FOR name what

[tomra koʔε tʰak-en] ? তোমরা কোটে থাকেন ?

You.FOR where stay-PRS.2.FOR.SIN.

[tomra kemon ac-en] ? তোমরা কেমন আছেন ?

You.FOR how be.PRS.2.FORM.SING

তোমরা কোনভালা বাড়ি যাবার ধইরচেন ?

[tomra konbʰala baʃi ʃab-ar dʰoir-cen] ?

You.FOR when home go-GEN hold-PRS.2.SIN.FOR

তোমরা কোনভালা দিল্লী যাবার নাইগচেন ?

[tomra konbʰala ʒilli ʃa-b-ar naig-cen] ?

You when Delhi go...GEN. get-PRS.2.SIN.FOR

[umay kay] ? উমায় কায় ?

She/He.DIST who

[tui koʔo pa-l-u] ? তুই কত পালু ?

You.SING.INT how much get-PST-2.SING.INT

[tui ki kʰa-ciʃ] ? তুই কি খাচিস ?

You.SING.INT what eat-PST.2.SING.INT

[mui ki kail aʃ-im] ? মুই কি কাইল আসিম ?

I what tomorrow come-FUT.1.SING

তুই কি আইজকার পেপার পইড়িচিস ?

[tui ki aiʃkar pepar pɔir-ciʃ] ?

You what today-GEN paper read-PST.2.SING.INT

তুই কি আইজ বাড়িত ভাত অন্দিবু ?

[tui ki aiʃ baʃi-t̪ bʰaʃ and̪-ibu]

- You.SING.INT today home-LOC rice cook-
FUT.2.SING.INT
12. What do you think he was thinking? তুই কি মনে করিস উয়ায় কি ভাবির ধইরচিলো ?
[tʰui ki mone korɪʃ umay ki bʰabir dʰɔir-cilo]
- You.SING.INT mind-INS he.DIS what think-GEN hold-
PST.2.SING.INT
13. Which one is your brother? তোর ভাই কায় হয় ?
[tʰor bʰai kay hɔy] ?
- You.GEN brother who be.PRS.2.SING

G. RELATIVIZATION, PARTICIPALIZATION, ADJECTIVES

Abbi's list

1. The boy who had fever died yesterday

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

যেই চেংড়াটার জ্বর আছিলো উয়ায় কাইলকা মারা গেইচে

[Je cɛŋɾa-ta-r Jɔr acilo uyay kailka mara geice]

That boy-CLF-GEN fever BE.PST.3.SING he yesterday die go.PST.3.SING

2. Call the boy who broke the glass

যে চেংড়াটা গিলাসটা ভাইছিল তাক ডাকাও ।

[Je cɛŋɾa-ta gilaf-ta bʰaiɳ-cʰilo tʰak dʰakaɔ]

That boy-CLF glass-CLF break.PST.3.SIN you.DAT call.PRS.2.INT.SING

3. Call the boy who broke the glass day before yesterday

যে চেংড়াটা গিলাসটা ভাইছিল তাক ডাকাও ।

[Je cɛŋɾa-ta uɖinka gilaf-ta bʰaiɳ-cʰilo tʰak dʰakaɔ]

That boy-CLF day before yesterday glass-CLF break-PST.3.SING you.DAT call.PRS.2.INT.SING

4. Throw away the broken branch

ভাঙা ডালটা ফ্যালে দে ।

[bʰaŋga dʰal-ta pʰɛle de]

Broken branch-CLF throw give.PRS.2.SING.INT

5. The tailcut monkey was a nuisance

নেটুকাটা বান্দরটা বজ্জাত ।

[netukata bandor-ta boʃʃat]

Tail-cut monkey-CLF nuisance

6. The cap which was hung on the nail, fell
 যে টুপিটা গানজালোত টাঙা আছিলো পরি গেইচে ।
 [ʃe tʊpi-ta ganʃal-ot̪ taŋa acilo pəri gei-ce]
 That cap-CLF nail-LOC fasten BE.PST. fall go.PST.
7. The fevered boy died
 অসুগী/ জ্বরুয়া চেংড়াটা মরি গেইচে ।
 [ɔʃugi/ʃɔruya ceŋʔa-ta mɔri geice]
 Ill boy-CL die go.PST.SING
8. Call the glass breaker boy
 গেলাস ভাঙা চেংড়াটাক ডাকাও ।
 [gelaf bʰaŋa ceŋʔa-ta-k ɔkaɔ]
 Glass break boy-CLF-DAT call.PRS.2.INT.SING
9. Call the tea drinker boy
 চা খাওয়া চেংড়াটাক ডাকাও ।
 [ca kʰaɔya ceŋʔa-ta-k ɔkaɔ]
 Tea eat boy-CLF-DAT call.PRS.2.SING.INT
10. The hung cup fell down
 টাঙি থোয়া কাপটা পরি গেইচে ।
 [taŋi tʰɔya kap-ta pəri geice]
 Hung kept cup-CLF fall go.PST.SING
11. The innocent child
 [nid̪d̪ɔʃ cʰaɔya-ta] নির্দোষ ছাওয়াটা
 Innocent child-CLF
12. The child is innocent
 [cʰaɔya-ta nid̪d̪ɔʃ] ছাওয়াটা নির্দোষ
 Child-CLF innocent

H. CAUSATIVES, PASSIVES/INCAPABILITIES

Abbi's list

1. Mother fed the baby

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

মাও ছাওয়াটাক খোয়াইল

[maɔ cʰaɔya-ta-k kʰɔya-i-l]

Mother child-CLF eat.CAUS-V-PST

2. Mother made the aaya (nurse) feed the baby

মাও আয়াটাক দিয়া ছাওয়াটাক খোয়াইল

[maɔ aya-ta-k ɖiya cʰaɔya-ta-k kʰɔya-i-l]

Mother nurse-CLF-DAT by child-CLF-DAT eat.CAUS-V-PST.3

3. Father got all the papers thrown away by the servant
 চাকরটা দিয়া বাবা সব পেপারগুলো ফ্যালা দেইল
 [cakor-ta d̪iya baba ʃɔb pepar-gula pʰɛle d̪e-i-l]
 Servant-CLF by father all paper-PL throw give-V-PST.3
4. The girl is getting the verandah cleaned by the maid
 চেংড়িটা দাসিটা দিয়া বারান্দাখান সামটাইল
 [cɛŋɽi-ta d̪aʃi-ta d̪iya baranda-kʰan ʃamta-i-l]
 Girl-CLF maid-CLF by veranda-CLF clean-V-PST.3
5. Shila asked Ratna to make Sita rise
 শিলা রত্নাক কইচিলো সীতাক জাগের জইন্যে
 [ʃila rɔt̪na-k kɔi-c-i-l-o ʃiʈa-k jag-er ʃɔinne]
 Shile Ratna-DAT say-PRF-V-PST-3 Sita-DAT rise-INF for
6. The teacher made the child study
 মাস্টারটা ছাওয়াটাক পড়াইচে
 [maʃtar-ta cʰaɔya-ta-k pɔra-i-ce]
 Teacher-CLF child-CLF-DAT read-PRF
7. The forest officer is making wood-cutter cut the trees
 ফরেস্ট অপিসার গচ কাটা লোক দিয়া গচ কাটের ধইরচে
 [pʰɔrɛʃt ɔpiʃar gɔc kaʈa lok d̪iya gɔc kaʈer d̪ʰɔir-ce]
 Forest officer tree cut person by tree cut-GEN hold-PRS
8. Trees were cut
 গচলা কাটা হইচে
 [gɔcla kaʈa hɔice]
 Tree-PL cut be.PRS
9. The sister is making the little brother sleep
 বইনটা ছোটো ভাইটাক নিন্দির ধইরচে
 [bɔin-ta cʰoʈa bʰai-ta-k ninɽir d̪ʰɔirce]
 Sister-CLF little brother-CLF-DAT sleep.GEN hold.PRS
10. Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb
 রাজীব গান্ধীক বম দিয়া মারা হইচিলো
 [raʃib gand̪ik bom d̪iya mara hɔicilo]
 RajiV Gandhi-DAT bomb by kill be.PST
11. If he had made him study computers he would have got the job by now
 উমায় যদি উয়াক কমপিউটার পড়াইল হয় উমায় কতদিনে চাকরী পাইল হয়
 [umay ʃɔd̪i uyak kɔmpiuʈar pɔra-il hɔy aiʃka umay kɔt̪d̪ine cakri pail hɔy]
 কতদিনে চাকরী পাইল হয়
12. Alas, my parents have made me study science!
 ওহ কি মোর পোড়া কপাল ! মোর বাপ্-মাও মোক সাইন্সোত পড়াইচে

- [oh ki mor **poɽa kɔpal** mor **bap-maɔ** mok ʃainʃoɽ
pɔraice]
- Oh what my burn forehead my father-mother i.DAT
scince read-PRF
13. The bottle broke (by me) বোতলটা ভাইংচে
[boɽol-ʈa b^haiŋce]
Bottle-CLF break-PRF
14. Rice is eaten in the southern India. দক্ষিণ ভারততে ভাত খাওয়া হয়
[ɽɔkk^hin b^harotoɽ b^haɽ k^haɔya hoɽ]
South India-LOC rice eat.PRS be.PRS
15. A girl was raped last night কাইলকা রাইতোত একটা চেংড়ি ধর্ষিত হইচে
[kailka raiɽ-oɽ ekʈa ceŋɽi ɽ^hɔɽʃiɽo hoice]
Yesterday night-LOC one-CLF rape be.PRF
16. I was beaten furiously by the goondas/hooligans. মোক গুন্ডালা ঢুলকি সেকিচে
[mok guŋɽala ɽ^hulki ʃekice]
I.DAT goonda-PL beat heat.PRF
17. The food cannot be eaten fast by the child ছাওয়া টগটপে খাইতে পারে না
[c^haɔya k^haɔyar ɽɔp ɽɔpe k^haiɽe pare na]
Child eat.GEN fast REDfast eat can not
18. Because of cold, writing cannot be done by me. ঠান্ডার জইন্য মোর দ্বাডায় ল্যাখা যাইবে না
[ʈ^handɔ-r ʃoinne mor ɽaray lek^ha Ja-i-be na]
Cold-GEN for I.GEN by write go-V-FUT- not

I. CASES, AGREEMENT, COINDEXING

Abbi's list

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

1. The boy is playing চেংড়াটা খ্যালের ধইরচে ।
[ceŋɽa-ʈa k^hɛler d^hɔir-ce]
Boy-CLF play-GEN hold-3rd.SING
2. The boy is playing with a ball চেংড়াটা একটা বল দিয়া খ্যালের ধইরচে ।

3. The boy ate a banana
 [cɛŋra-ta ekta bɔl ɖiya kʰɛler dʰɔir-ce]
 Boy-CLF ball by play-GEN hold-3rd.SING
 চেংড়াটা একটা আম খাইছিলো।
 [cɛŋra-ta ek-ta am kʰaicʰilo]
 Boy-CLF obe-CLF mango eat-PST-3rd.SING
4. The boy played well
 চ্যাংড়াটা ভালো খেলাইছিলো।
 [cɛŋra-ta bʰalo kʰela-icʰilo]
 Boy-CLF good play-PST.3.SING
5. The girl had eaten the meals
 চেংড়িটা ভাত খাইছিলো।
 [cɛŋri-ta bʰaʈ kʰai-cʰilo]
 Girl-CLF rice eat-PST-3.SING
6. Mother will cook now
 মাও এলা ভাত আন্দিবে।
 [maɔ ɛla bʰaʈ andi-be]
 Mother now rice cook-FUT.3.SING
7. I am sad
 [mui ɖukkʰo pacuŋ] মুই দুঃখ পাচুং
 I sorrow get-PST.1.SING
 [mor ɖukkʰo hoice] মোর দুঃখ হইচে।
 I.GEN sorrow get.PRS
8. Ram is hungry/thirsty/ in pain
 [ram-er bʰog naig-ce] রামের ভোগ নাইগচে।
 Ram-GEN hunger get-PRS.3.SING
 [ram-er tikʃa naig-ce] রামের টিকসা নাইগচে।
 Ram-GEN thirst get-PRS.3.SING
 [ram-er biʃi naig-ce] রামের বিষি নাইগচে।
 Ram-GEN pain get-3.PRS.3.SING
9. Pick up the book and keep it on the table
 বইখান তোল আর টেবিলের উপুরা রাখ।
 [bɔi-kʰan ʈol ar tebil-er upura rakʰ]
 Book-CLF pick and table-GEN above keep.PRS.2.SING
10. Give the hosre the feed
 ঘোড়াটাক পোয়াল/ ঘাস দে।
 [gʰoɽa- ta-k poyal/gʰaʃ ɖe]

- Horse-CLF-DAT straw/grass give.PRS.2.SING.
11. Wash the clothes please
[ɖɔya kɔri kapɔɾ-la ɖʰon] দয়া করি কাপোড়লা ধোন।
Mercy do clothe-PL wash-2.SING.HON
12. Ram wrote a letter to his mother yesterday
উয়ার মাক কাইলকা রাম একান চিঠি লেইখিছিলো।
[uyar mak kailka ram **ɛkan** ciʰi leikʰcʰilo]
His mother-DAT yesterday Ram one-CLF letter write-PST.3.SING
13. Curd is made from milk
[ɖuɖʰ **ʰaki** ɖɔi hɔy] দুধ থাকি দই হয়।
Milk **from** curd become.PRS
14. Ravan fought with Ram
রাবন রামের সাথে যুদ্ধ কইরছিলো।
[rabon ram-er **saʰe** ʃuʃʃo kɔir-cʰilo]
Ravan Ram.GEN with fight do.PST.3.SING
15. Hanuman burnt Lanka with his tail
হনুমান নেটু দিয়া লনকাত আগুন নাগাইছিলো।
[hɔnuman neʃu **ɖiya** lonka-tʰ agun nagai-cʰilo]
Hanuman tail by Lanka-LOC fire set-PST.3.SING
16. The leaves fall from trees in autumn
শরতকালে গচ থাকি পাতা ঝড়ি পরে।
[ʃɔɾɔʃ-kal-e gɔc **ʰaki** paʃa jʰɔɾi pɔre]
Autumn time-INS tree from leaf fall fall.PRS.
17. Give me some money for my daughter
মোর বেটির জইন্য কিছু টাকা দেও।
[mor beʃi-r ʃɔinne kicu ʃaka ɖɛɔ]
I.GEN daughter-GEN for some money give.PRS.2.SING.
18. Nobody is at home
[**kangoy** baʃi-tʰ nai] কাঙোয় বাড়িত নাই।
Nobody home-LOC not
19. I bought everything in ten rupees
মুই সবগুলোয় দশ টাকাত নিয়া আইসচুং।
[mui ʃɔb-gula-y ɖɔʃ ʃaka-t niya aiʃ-cung]
I.NOM all-PL-EMP ten ruppies bring come-PST.1.SING
20. Flowers are blooming in the graden
বাগানোত ফুলগুলো ফুটির ধইরচে।
[bagan-ɔʃ pʰul-gula pʰuʃir ɖʰɔir-ce]
Garden-LOC flower-PL bloom- hold-PRS.3.

21. The book is on the table [bɔi-kʰan tɛbil-er upura-t̚] বইখান টেবিলের উপুরাত ।
Book-CLF table-GEN top-LOC
22. Clothes are kept on the top of the box কাপোড়লা ঢ্যাকসোটোর উপুরাত রাখা আছে ।
[kapoɽ-la dʰɛkʃo-t̚a-r upura-t̚ rakʰa ace]
Clothe-PL box-CLF-GEN abobe-LOC keep BE.PRS
23. Books are kept at the bottom of the box বইলা ঢ্যাকসোটোর নীচোত /তলোত রাখা আছে ।
[bɔi-la dʰɛkʃo-t̚a-r nic-ot̚/ t̚ɔl-ot̚ rakʰa ace]
Book-PL box-CLF-GEN below-LOC/ under-LOC keep BE.PRS
24. There is a garden behind my house হামার বাড়ির পাচোত একান বাগান আছে ।
[hamar baɽi-r pac-ot̚ ɛ-kan bagan ace]
Our house-GEN behild-LOC one-CLF garden be.PRS
25. There is a mango tree in front of my house. হামার বাড়ির আগোত একটা আম গচ আছে ।
[hamar baɽi-r ago-t̚ ek-t̚a am gɔc ace]
Our house-GEN front-LOC one-CLF mango tree Be.PRS
26. Sister will go shopping only with her friends বইন উয়ার সাথীলা ভনে বাজার যাইবে ।
[bɔin uyar ʃaɽʰi-la bʰɔne baʃar ʃai-be]
Sister her friend-PL with market go-FUT.3.PL
27. Ram's sister's wedding is tomorrow কাইলকা রামের বইনের বিয়াও ।
[kailka ram-er bɔin-er biyaɔ]
Tomorrow Ram-GEN sister-GEN marriage
28. Ram's cap is blue [ram-er t̚upi nil] রামের টুপি নীল ।
Ram-GEN cap blue
29. Buy twenty five rupees's sugar (i.e. for 25 rupees) [pɔciʃ t̚aka-r cini kini-ʃ] পচিশ টাকার চিনি কিনিস ।
Twenty five rupee-GEN sugar buy-PRS. 2.
30. Don't turn the book's pages [bɔi-yer piʃt̚ʰa-la ul[aiʃ na] বইয়ের পিষঠালা উল্টাইস না ।
Book-GEN page-PL turn not
31. Before I went to her house I changed my clothes উমার বাড়ি যাওয়ার আগত মুই কাপোড় বদলাচুং ।
[umar baɽi ʃaoya-r ago-t̚ mui kapoɽ bɔdla-culun]

- His/her house go-GEN before-LOC clothe change-PST.1.SING
 32. After coming back from the movie I went to sleep বই দেখি আইসার পর মুই নিন গেচুলুং।
 [bɔi dekʰi aiʃar pər mui nin ɡɛculuŋ]
 Movie see. Come.GEN after I sleep go.PST.1.SING

J. COMPARATIVE/ CONTRASTIVE

Abbi's list

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

1. River water is cleaner than lake water
 দোলার জলের চায়া নদীর জল ভাল।
 [ɖola-r ʃɔl-er caya nɔɖi-r ʃɔl bʰal]
 Lake-GEN water better river-GEN water good
2. The Ganga water is the cleanest
 [ɡɔŋɡa-r ʃɔl ʃɔb caya bʰal] গঙার জল সব চায়া ভাল।
 Ganga-GEN water all better good
3. Bombay weather is wet but Delhi weather is dry
 বোম্বাই-য়ের আবহাওয়া ত্যাকত্যাঁকা কিন্তু দিলীর আবহাওয়া শুকনা।
 [bombai-yer abhaoya tʃɛkʃɛka kiŋtʃu ɖilli-r abhaoya ʃukna]
 Bombay-GEN weather wet but Delhi-GEN weather dry
4. India is corrupt but Japan is not
 ভারতবর্ষ কোরাপ্ট কিন্তু জাপান নোমায়।
 [bʰarotʃɔrʃɔ korapt kiŋtʃu ʃapan nomay]
 India corrupt but Japan not
5. My uniform is whiter than his uniform
 মোর পোশাকটা উয়ার পোশাকটার চায়া বেশী সাদা।
 [mor poʃak-ʃa uyar poʃak-ʃa-r caya beʃi ʃaɖa]
 Mine clothe-CLF his clothe-CLF-GEN better more white

K. ECHO-FORMATIONS

Abbi's list

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

1. Please have some tea, etc.
 মনে কিছু ধরেন না চা-টা খাও।
 [mɔne kichʰu dʰoren na ʃa-ʃa kʰaɔ]
 Mind-INS something hold-2.HON not tea-RED eat
2. He has gone to buy some (book)stationary etc.
 উমায় কিছু বই টই কিনির গেইছে।

- [umay kich^hu bɔi tɔi kinir geic^he]
He.DIST some book –REDUP buy- go-PERF.3.SING
3. He got some chairs etc. উমায় চেয়ার চেয়ার উমার বিয়াত পাইচে।
on his marriage [umay **ceyar -teyar** uyar biya-t pa-ice]
He.DIST chair-RED his marriage-LOC get-PERF.3.SING
4. Sit etc. (imperative) [**bɔif tɔi**] বইস টইস
Sit.2.SING.INT RED
5. I cannot walk etc. মুই হাটির টাটির পাং না।
[mui **hatir ta**tir paŋ na]
I walk-GEN REDUP-GEN get.PRS.1.SING not
6. Why do you get angry etc? তুই রাগ টাগ হইস ক্যানে ?
[tɔi **rag ta**g hɔ-iʃ kene] ?
You.INT angry REDUP become-PRS.2.SING.INT why
7. Children go to study carrying bag etc. ছাওয়ালা ব্যাগ ট্যাগ নিয়া পড়ির যায়।
[c^haɔya-la **bæg ta**g niya pɔʃir Jay]
Child-PL bag REDUP take study go.3.PRS
8. The throat does not go bad by singing etc. গান টান কইরলে গালা খারাপ হয় না।
[gan **ta**n kɔirle gala k^harap hɔy na]
Singing REDUP do throat bad be not

L. CLASSIFIERS

Abbi's list

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

1. Two books were stolen

দুকান বই চুড়ি হইছিলো।

[**ɖ**ukan bɔi curi hɔi-cilo]

Two-CLF book steal become-PST

2. Longish bamboo was lying there

সব চায়া লম্বা বাঁশটা অটে পড়ি আছিলো।

[ʃɔb caya lɔmba **bā**ʃ-ta ɔʃe pɔʃi acilo]

3. Round moon (The moon is round)

চানটা গোল

[can-ta gol]

- Moon-CLF round
 4. One girl/boy [ɛk-ta cɛŋra] একটা চেংড়া
 One-CLF boy
 [ɛkta cɛŋri] একটা চেংড়ি
 One-CLF girl

M. REDUPLICATION

Abbi's list

1. He was walking
slowly slowly

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

উমায় আস্তে আস্তে হাটছিলো

[umay **aste aste** haɫ-cilo]

He slow RED walk-PST.3.SING

2. He came again and
again

উমায় বার বার আইসছিলো

[umay **bar bar** aiɸ-cilo]

He again RED come-PST.3.SING

3. What all did he eat?

উমায় কি কি খাইছিলো

[umay **ki ki** k^{hai}-cilo] ?

He what REDUP eat.PST.3.SING

4. Who all came to the
party?

কায় কায় নিমন্তান বাড়িত আইসছিলো?

[**kay kay nimonṭan baɽiṭ** aiɸ-cilo]?

Who invitation place-LOC come-PST.3.PL

5. When when (how
often) will you go to
Ranchi?

কোনভালা কোনভালা তুই রাচী যাবু ?

[**konb^hala konb^hala** tui rāci ʃa-bu] ?

When REDUP you.INT Ranchi go.FUT.2.SING

6. Where all Ram
found Sita's
ornaments?

কোটে কোটে রাম সীতার গওনা খুজি পাইছিলো ?

[**koṭe koṭe** ram ʃiṭar goona khuʃi paic-ilo] ?

Where REDUP Ram Sita-GEN ornaments find get.PST.3.SING

7. He got tired of
sitting sitting

উমায় বসি বসি হাপসি গেইল

[umay **boʃi boʃi** hapɸi geil]

8. I got bored writing letters.
He sit REDUP tired go.PST.3.SING
মুই চিঠি লেইখতে লেইখতে হাপসি গেচুং
[mui ci^hi **leik^hte leik^hte** hapʃi gecun]
I letter write REDUP tired go-PST.1.SING
9. She spoke while eating
উমায় খাইতে খাইতে কথা কইল
[umay **k^hai^hte k^hai^hte** ko^hʰa kɔi-l]
He eat eat words say-PST.3.SING
10. The child fell down while walking on the footpath
ছাওয়াটা রাস্তাত হাইটে হাইটে পড়ি গেল
[c^haoya-ta raʃʰa-t^h **hai^h-te hai^h-te** pɔri gei-l]
Child-CLF road-LOC walk REDUP fall go.PST.3.SING
11. While/As he was watching, the thieves ran away with the cash
উমায় দেইখতে দেইখতে চোরলা পাইসা নিয়া পালে গেল
[umay **deik^hte deik^hte** cor-la paiʃa niya pale ge-il]
He see see thief-PL cash take run go.PST.3.PL
12. Give me the hot hot coffee
মোক গরম গরম চা দে
[mok **gɔrom gɔrom** ca dɛ]
I.DAT hot REDUP tea give.PRS.2.INT
13. Red red apples are juicy
নাল নাল আপেললা রসালো
[**nal nal** apel-la rɔʃalo]
Red REDUP apple-PL juicy
14. Bring sweet sweet mangoes
মিষ্টি মিষ্টি আম নিয়া আয়
[**mifʃi mifʃi** am niya ay]
Sweet REDUP mango bring come.2.SING.INT
15. How are you going to jump over these high high hedges?
এই উচা উচা বেড়াগুলা তুই ক্যাং করি ঝাপাবু?
[ei **uca uca** be^hʰa-gula tui ken kori ʃ^hapa-bu?]
This.PROX high REDUP hedge-PL you.SING.INT how do jump.FUT.2.INT
16. Give me little little of every variety of sweets
সব মিষ্টিলার একেনা একেনা করি মোক দে
[ʃɔb mifʃi-la-r **ekena ekena** kori mok dɛ]
All sweet-PL-GEN litte REDUP do I.DAT give.PRS.2.SING.INT

17. Don't come after me (Hindi: pic^he pic^he) মোর পাচে পাচে না আসিস
[mor **pace pace** na aʃiʃ]
I.GEN behind REDUP not come.PRS.2.SING.INT
18. Sometime or the other (Hindi: kab^hi na kab^hi) he will come back to me একদিন না একদিন উমায় মোর কাছোত ফিরি আইসপে
[ɛkɔ̃din na ɛkɔ̃din umay mor kac^h-oʈ p^hire aiʃ-pe]
One-day not REDUP he I.GEN near-LOC return come.FUT.2.SING

N. COMPOUND VERBS

Abbi's list

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

1. The old elephant died বুড়া হাতিটা মারা গেইচে
[buɾa **hatti-ʈa** mara gɛ.ice]
Old elephant-CLF die go.PST
2. By the time papa came home his friend had left বাবা যে সময় বাড়ি আইসছিলো তার আগোতে বাবার বন্ধুলা চলি গেইচে
[baba ʃe ʃomoy baɾi aiʃc^hilo ʈar agoʈe babar bɔ̃ndʱula cɔli geic^he]
Father the that time house come-PST its before father-GEN friend move go.PRF
3. Give me the letter মোক চিঠিখান দিয়া দে
[mok ciʈ^hi-k^han (ɔ̃iya) ɔ̃de]
I.DAT letter-CLF give give.PRS
4. Get out! চলি যা
[cɔli ʃa]
Move go
5. Please knit a sweater (for me). দয়া করি মোর জইন্য একটা সোয়েটার বানান
[ɔ̃ɔya kɔri mor ʃoinne ɛk-ʈa ʃoyʈar bana-n]
Mercy do for one-CLF sweater make-PRS. 2.HON
6. Please knit a sweater for yourself দয়া করি নিজের জইন্য একটা সোয়েটার বানান
[ɔ̃ɔya kɔri niʃ-er ʃoinne ɛk-ʈa ʃoyeʈar banao

- Mercy do own-GEN for one-CLF sweter make-PRS. 2.SING]
7. See Lakshmi sing! দেখ লক্ষ্মী গান করে
[d̪ɛkʰ lɔkkʰi gan kɔre]
See Lakshmi song do.PRS.3.SING
8. He sat down. উমায় বসি পড়িল
[umay bɔʃi pɔɽ-il]
He sit fall-PST.3.SING

O. CONJUNCT VERBS/ CONVERBS

Abbi's list

Having eaten his meal papa
went out for a stroll

2. Read the letter loud
(Hindi Paɽʰ kar ʃunao)

3. See the house properly
(Hindi:ghum kar)

4. He did not do well having
cheated his own mother.

5. Go and see (Hindi: ja kar
dekʰo)

6. He hit me and ran away

Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing

বাবা ভাত খায়া হাটির গেইচে

[baba bʰaɽ kʰaya haɽi-r geicʰe]

Father rice eat.PSTCL walk go.PST.3. SING

চিঠিখান জোরে জোরে পড়

[ciɽʰi-kʰan ʃore ʃore pɔɽ]

Letter-CLF loud REDUP-INS read

বাড়িটা ভাল করি দেখ

[baɽi-ɽa bʰal kɔri dekʰ]

House-CLF good do see.PRS.2.SING.INT

উমায় উয়ার নিজের মাক ঠগেয়া ভাল করির পায় নাই

[umay uyar niʃer mak ɽʰgeya bʰal kɔr-ir pay nai]

He his own mother-DAT cheated good do get not

[Jaya d̪ɛkʰ] যায়া দেখ

Go see

উমায় মোক ডাংগেয়া পালে গেইচে

[umay mok ɽaŋgeya pale geice]

He I.DAT hit run go.PST.2.SING.

*P. INFINITIVES, COMPLEMENTS***Abbi's list****Rajbanshi sentence with interlinear glossing**

1. I don't like your
coming here

তুই এটে আসিস মুই এইটা পছন্দ করোং না

[tʰui ɛ-tʰe aʃiʃ mui ei-ta pɔcʰondo kɔr-on na]

You.INT here.PROX-CLF I this-CLF like.PRS.1. do.PRS.1.SING
not

2. Who does not like
to eat well?

ভাল খাওয়ার কায় না চায়

[bʰal kʰaɔyar kay na cay] ?

Good eat-GEN who not want

3. Because of his
coming back his
mother could survive

ক্যানেনা উমায় ফিরি আইসচে উয়ার মাও বাচিবার পায়

[kenena umay pʰire aiʃce uyar maɔ bacibar pay]

Because he return come-PERF his mother live.GEN get

4. He told me that he
was leaving the town
soon

উমায় মোক কইচিলো যে উমায় খুব শিগগির শহর ছাড়ি যাওয়ার ধইরচে

[umay mok kɔi-cilo ʃe umay khub ʃigɡir ʃɔhor cʰaʃi ʃaɔyar dʰoirce]

He I.DAT say-PST.3.SING that he very soon town leave go-GEN
hold.P

5. She said that she
likes to cook

উমায় কইচিলো যে উমায় ভাত আন্দা পছন্দ করে

[umay kɔi-cilo ʃe umay bʰaʈ anda pɔconɔdo kɔre]

She say-PST.3.SING that she rice cook like do.PRS.3.SING

6. My sister told me
that it rained heaviliy
last night.

মোর বইন কইচিলো যে কাইলকা রাইতোত খুব ঝড়ি হইচিলো

[mor bɔin kɔicilo ʃe kailka rai-tɔt kʰub ʃɔʃi hoicilo]

I.GEN sister say.PSTthat yesterday night-LOC very rain be.PST.

APPENDIX-IV

a. Story [haler kajot haluya goru] হালের কাজত হালুয়া গরু

1. RS পুরানী যুগ স্যালকার কথা
 IPA [puraniʃug ʃæl-kar koʃʰa.
 IMG Old age then-GEN words
 Meaning ‘Its about old days, an incident of those days’
2. RS হিমালয় পাহাড়ের নিজের বাড়িত বসিয়া মহাদেবের খুব চিন্তা।
 IPA [himalɔy pahaɾ-er niʃ-er baɾ-iʈ bɔʃiʃya məhadeb-er kʰub cinta.]
 IMG Himalay mountain-GEN own-GEN house-LOC sit Mahadev-GEN very think
 Meaning ‘Sitting in his own abode in the mountain Himalay, Mahadev contemplates deeply ’
- 3.RS একে সিস্তি স্তিতি প্রলয় প্রলয় সৌগে উয়ার হাতোত
 IPA [ɛke ʃiʃʃi, iʃʰiti, prɔloy ʃɔuge uyar hatot.]
 IMG One creation situation destruction all his hand-LOC
 Meaning ‘As the creation, situation, destruction-everything is in his hand’
- 4.RS আর উয়ারে তলোত মাঝে মাঝে খবর পাওয়ার নাইকচে যে,
 IPA [ar uyare tɔl-ot majʰe majʰe kʰɔbor paoyar naigce je,]
 IMG And his- under-LOC sometime REDUP news get.INF.GEN attach-PERF.PRS
 that
 Meaning ‘And very often from there (he) is getting news that.. ’
5. RS পৃথিবী যে খাবারের যোগান দিবার নাইকচে উয়াতে সৌগ মানষির খাবার নাটা পড়ির নাইকচে।
 IPA [prithibi ʃe kʰabar-er Jogan diba-r naig-ce uyate manʃi-r kʰabar naʈa pɔri-r naig-
 ce.]
 IMG Earth that food-GEN supply give-INF attach-PRF.PRS.3 human-GEN less fall
 attach-PRF.PRS.3
 Meaning ‘The supply of food comes from earth is less (not sufficient) for all people ’
- 6.RS প্যাটভরে সগায় খাবারে পায় না।

IPA [pæʈbʰɔre ʃɔgay kʰabare na pay]

IMG Stomach full all eat not get

Meaning ‘All cannot get to eat stomach full’

7.RS খুব চিন্তায় অস্থির হয় ছটফটানি শুরু কইছে মহাদেব

IPA [kʰub cintay ɔʃtʰir hɔya ɕʰɔʈpʰɔʈani ʃuru kɔir-ce mɔhadeb.]

IMG Very thought restless become tense start do.PRF.PRS.3 Mahadev

Meaning ‘Very thoughtfull Mahadev become restless and tense ’

8. RS কি করা যায় এলা।

IPA [ki kɔra jay ɛla.]

IMG What do go.PRS.3 now

Meaning ‘What can be done now?’

9.RS সারাদিন চিন্তা করি নিশার জ্বালায় বারে বারে গাজা টাইনবার ধইরচে।

IPA [ʃaraɖin ciŋʈa kɔri niʃar ʃalay bare bare gāja ʈainbar ɖʰɔir-ce]

IMG All day think do smoking-GEN sensation again again Ganja pull-GEN hold.PRF.PRS.3

Meaning ‘Thinking it all day (he) started smoking ganja again and again’

10.RS ভাঙ্গও খাইলেক কয় ছিলুমা ত্যাও হইল না।

IPA [bʰaŋ-o kʰai-l kɔy ɕʰilum, tɔŋ-o hɔi-l na]

IMG Bhang-EMPH eat-PST.3 many chillim, even-EMPH be-PST.3 not

Meaning ‘Took bhang some chillim, even it was not enough.’

11. RS মানষিগিলার চিন্তাত মহাদেব এমুন চিন্তাত পড়ি গেইচে যে,

IPA [manʃi-gila-r cintay mɔhadeb ɛmun ciŋʈa-ʈ pɔri gei-ce Je,]

IMG Human-PL-GEN thought Mahadev much think-LOC go.PST.PRS.3 that

Meaning ‘Having thoughtful about the people Mahadev fell in deep thoughts that’

12. RS উয়ার নিশায় জইমবার ধইরচে না।

- IPA [uyar niʃay ʃɔim-bar dʰɔir-ce na]
- IMG His smoke freeze-INF.GEN hold.PRF.PRS.3 not
- Meaning ‘He is not able to concentrate on his smoking’
- 13. RS** মহাদেবের বাহন ষাড় গরুটা উয়ার বগলোত ঘুর ঘুর করি ব্যাডেবার নাইকচে।
- IPA [mɔhadeb-er bahon ʃaʃ gɔru-ʈa uyar bɔgol-ɔʈ ɡʰur ɡʰur kɔri bære-bar naik-ce]
- IMG Mahadeb-GEN vehicle ox cow-CLF his near-LOC move REDUP do roam-GEN attach-PRF.PRS.3
- Meaning ‘The vehicle of Mahdev Ox, the cow is moving and roaming repeatedly near him’
- 14. RS** ব্যাটা ষাড় গরুটার তো কোনোয় কামাই নাই।
- IPA [bæʈa ʃaʃ gɔru-ʈa-r to kono kamaɪ nai]
- IMG Son ox cow-CLF-GEN nothing work not
- Meaning ‘The (son) useless Ox, the cow has no work to do’
- 15. RS** কোনো সমে যেদু মহাদেব কোনোটে ব্যাডেবার যান তো সাথোত যাওয়ায় খানেক কামাই।
- IPA [kono ʃome ʃedu mɔhadeb kono-ʈe bæʃe-bar ʃa-n to ʃaʈʰ-ot Jaoyay kʰanek kamaɪ]
- IMG Some time if Mahadev somewhere-CLF move-INF.GEN go.PRS.3.HON then with-LOC go.PRS.EMPH little work
- Meaning ‘At times, if Mahadev would like to go somewhere, to be with him is the only work.’
- 16.RS** তাছাড়া ফাকোতে ঘুরি ব্যাড়ায়া।
- IPA [tachaʃa pʰakote ɡʰuri bæʃæy]
- IMG Besides without roam move.PRS.3
- Meaning ‘Besides, (it) roams around aimlessly’
- 17. RS** আর খালি ইয়াক চিসাং উয়াক চিসাং করি রয়।
- IPA [ar kʰali i-yak dʰiʃa-ŋ uyak dʰiʃa-ŋ kɔri rɔy]
- IMG And empty he.PROX-DAT hit.PRS.1.SG he.DIST-DAT hit-PRS.1.SING do stay.PRS.3
- Meaning ‘And uselessly (it) goes to hit (with horn) to people here and there’

- 18. RS** য়ালায় স়ালায় হুডমুড করি পাহাড়ের ওইন্য সউগ মুনি তপসিসগুলার আশ্রমোত যেয়া সোন্দায়
- IPA [Jælay jælay huɽ muɽ kɔri, pahaɽ-er ɔinno ʃɔug muni topoʃʃi-gula-r aʃʃorom-ot Jaya ʃonda-y]
- IMG Now then sound REDUP do, mountain-GEN other all saint seer-PL-GEN abode-LOC go enter-PRS.3.SING
- Meaning ‘Any time, now and then (it) enters the house of saints and seers in the mountains recklessly’
-
- 19. RS** আর ফলে মুলে তরি-তরকারি সৌগ খায়া শ্যাষ করে
- IPA [ar pʰɔle mule, tɔri-tɔrkari ʃɔug kʰaya ʃæʃ kɔre]
- IMG And fruit root, REDUP- vegetable all eat finish do
- Meaning ‘And (it) eating all kinds of vegetables, fruits and etc. (it) finishes.’
-
- 20.RS** শিং দিয়া ঝটকে ঝটকে সউগ মাটির ভাঙগুলা ভাঙি ফ্যালায়।
- IPA [ʃiŋ ɽiya ʃʱɔʃke ʃʱɔʃke ʃɔug maɽi-r bʰaŋɔ-gula bʰaŋi pʰɛla.y.]
- IMG Horn by hit-shake REDUP all soil-GEN pot-PL break fall.PRS.SING.3
- Meaning ‘While hitting and shaking by horn all the earthen pots (it) breaks.’
-
- 21.RS** এক কথায় ষাড় গরুটার কুকর্মের সীমায় নাই।
- IPA [ɛk kɔtʰa-y ʃaɽ gɔru-ʃa-r ku-kɔrm-er ʃima-y nai.]
- IMG One word-EMP ox cow-CLF-GEN bad-work-GEN limitation-EMPH not
- Meaning ‘In a word there is no limit of badworks of the cow, OX’
-
- 22. RS** কিন্তু এতো অইত্যাচারের পরেও কায়ো কোন আপত্তি কৈরবার পায় না।
- IPA [kinɽu ɛto ɔittacar-er pɔre-o kayo kono apɔtti kɔir-bar pay na.]
- IMG But this much menace-GEN after-EMPH somebody nothing objection do-GEN get not
- Meaning ‘Evan after all these troubles nobody does not make any objections’
-
- 23.RS** ব্যাটা ষাড় গরুটার ঐত্যাচার সগায় মুখ মুঝি সহ্য্য করে।
- IPA [bæʃa ʃaɽ gɔru-ʃa-r ɔittacar ʃɔgay mukʰ buʃʰi ʃɔijjo kɔre.]
- IMG Son ox cow-CLF-GEN menace all mouth understand tolerate do.PRS.3

Meaning ‘The useless cow Ox’s menance all the people tolerate with patience.’

24.RS এদি ষাড় গরুটাও খুব আনন্দে আচে।

IPA [ɛɖi ʃaɾ ɡɔru-ʈa-o k^hub anonde ace]

IMG This side ox cow-CLF-EMPH very glad be.PRS.3

Meaning ‘Now the cow, ox is very glad.’

25. RS কাজ নাই কামাই নাই খালি ডুগডুগি বাজাই

IPA [kaʃ nai kama-i nai, k^hali ɖuɡɖuɡi bajai]

IMG Work not work-EMPH not only instrument play.PRS.3

Meaning ‘There is no work, no toil only play instrument (ɖuɡ ɖuɡi).’

26.RS চিন্তায় ছটফটানি দেখিয়া ষাঁড় গরুটা মহাদেবক পুচ করে

IPA [cinta-y ɕ^hɔʈp^hɔʈani dek^hiya ʃaɾ ɡɔru-ʈa məhadēb-ok puc^h kɔre]

IMG Think-EMP restlessness see Ox cow-CLF Mahadev-LOC ask do.PRS.3

Meaning ‘Having seen him in deep thoughts, restlessness the cow, Ox asks ’

27. RS কী হৈচে প্রভু?

IPA [ki hɔi-ce prɔb^hu?

IMG What be.PRF.PRS.3 master

Meaning ‘What happened master’?

28. RS যেই না এং করি পুছ কইরচে, ষাড় গরুটা আর যায় কোটে

IPA [ʃei-na ɛŋ kɔri puc^h kɔic-ce, ʃaɾ ɡɔru-ʈa ar ʃay kɔʈe]

IMG That-TAG this do ask do-PRF.PRS.3, ox cow-CLF and go.PRS.3 where

Meaning The moment (it) asked, the ox, cow where would it go?

29. RS রাগে জুলিয়া আগুন হয়া তিরশুল তুলিয়া

IPA [rag-e ʃɔli-ya agun hɔya ʈirʃul ʈuliya]

IMG Anger-INS burn fire become trident lift

Meaning (He) becomes angry like fire lift trident

- 30.RS** ষাঁড় গরুটার ভিতি ডোগ ডোগ করি চায়া রইল
 IPA [ʃaɾ ɡɔru-ʈa-r bʰiɽi ɖɔɡ ɖɔɡ kɔri caya rɔi-l]
 IMG Ox cow-CLF-GEN towards look REDUP do wait stay.PST.3
 Meaning ‘Look Fixed on the ox, cow (he) stayed perplexed.’
- 31.RS** আর কইল ব্যাটা তোর কি, মুই দেবের দেব মহাদেব, মুই চিন্তা করি কুল পাং না
 IPA [ar kɔil, “bæʈa tor ki, mui dɛb-er dɛb, mɔhadeb, mui cinta kɔri kul paŋ na]
 IMG Son your what, I.NOM god-GEN god, Mahadeb, I.NOM think do. Lineage get.PRS.1.SING not
 Meaning ‘You useless, does it matter to you, I am the God of all gods, I am not able to find out a solution.’
- 32. RS** আর তুই ব্যাটা আচ্চিস কি হৈচে জানিবার।
 IPA [ar tui bæʈa acciʃ ki hɔice jan̩-bar.]
 IMG And you son come what become know.GEN
 Meaning ‘And you useless swine you want to know what has happened?’
- 33.RS** ব্যাটা ভাগ ,দূর হ এটে থাকি।’
 IPA [bæʈa bʰag, d̩ur hɔ ɛtɛ tʰakiʰ].]
 IMG Son run, far be here from
 Meaning (You) swine get lost from here.
- 34.RS** এক হাতোত তিরশুল তার উপুরা ভাগ ব্যাটা
 IPA [ɛk haɽ-ot̩ t̩irʃul, t̩ar upura bʰag bæʈa]
 IMG One hand-LOC trident, his above move son
 Meaning ‘In one hand trident and above all you useless swine get lost.’
- 35.RS** ষাঁড় গরুটা আর যায় কোটে,
 IPA [ʃaɾ ɡɔru-ʈa ar ʃay kɔtɛ],
 IMG Ox cow-CLF then go,PRS.3. where
 Meaning Where does the ox (the cow) run away?

- 36.RS** নেটু খাড়া করি প্রানের ভয়ে দিলেক দৌড়, দৌড়ের উপুরা দৌড়
- IPA [neʈu kʰaʈa kori pran-er bʰoye d̪ilek d̪ouʈ , d̪ouʈ-er upura d̪ouʈ]
- IMG Tail stand do life-GEN fear-INS give run, run-GEN above run
- Meaning ‘Erecting (its) tail to save its life, (it) started running and running’
-
- 37. RS** ফির এদিয়া সারা রাত্তি থাকি মহাদেবের নিন নাই।
- IPA [pʰir eɖiya ʃara ratt̪iri tʰaki məhadeb-er nin nai.]
- IMG Again this side all night from Mahadeb-GEN sleep not
- Meaning [And once again in all night Mahadeb could not sleep]
-
- 38. RS** পৃথিবীর চিন্তায় পৃথিবীর মানষির চিন্তায়, মানষিগুলার খাবারের সমস্যার চিন্তায়
- IPA [pitʰibir cinta-y, pitʰibi-r manʃi-r cinta-y, manʃi-gula-r kʰabar-er ʃomɔʃʃa-r cinta-y]
- IMG Earth-GEN think-EMPH, earth-GEN human-GEN think-EMPH, human-PL-GEN food-GEN problem think-EMPH
- Meaning ‘thinking of earth, thinking about people of the earth, thinking about the problem of food of people’
-
- 39. RS** একবার এদি একবার ওদি গড্ডা গড্ডি করি কাটাইল
- IPA [ek-bar eɖi, ek-bar oɖi gɔɖɖa gɔɖɖi kori kaʈail]
- IMG One-time this side, one-time that side several turnings do pass.PST.3
- Meaning ‘Once this side and another time that side, making several turnings spent (the time).’
-
- 40.RS** মাও দুর্গা এই তালোতে একবার পুচ করিল ,
- IPA [mao durga ei tɔlot-e ek-bar pucʰ kori-l],
- IMG Mother Durga this time-INS one-time ask do.PST.3
- Meaning ‘The goddess Durga on this time once asked’
-
- 41. RS** কি হৈচে তোমার,
- IPA [ki hoi-ce tomar],
- IMG What be-PRF.PRS your.2.SING.HON

Meaning ‘What has happened to you’?

42. RS নিন যাইবেন না তোমরা ?

IPA [nin Jai-ben na tomra] ?

IMG Sleep go-FUT.2.HON.SIN TAG you.2.SING.HON

Meaning ‘Wouldn’t you go to sleep’?

43.RS মহাদেব রাগে গুম হয় কৈল – না।

IPA [mohadeb rage gum hoya koi-l – na.]

IMG Mahadeb anger-INS become say-PST no

Meaning ‘Mahadeb in anger reolied- ‘no’’

44.RS মহাদেবের হাভভাব বুঝিয়া মাও দুর্গা আর কাথা না বাড়ে বিত করি রৈল।

IPA [mohadeb-er hab^hhab buj^hiya mao durga ar kot^ha na ba^{re} j^hit kori roi-l]

IMG Mahadeb-GEN mood understand mother Durga and words extend silent do stay.PST.3

Meaning Understanding Mahadeb’s mood, goddess Durga without saying anything kept silent

45.RS পাঁচদিন বাদে বিছিনা থাকি উঠি মহাদেব নন্দীক ডাকে কৈল ,

IPA [pacdin bade bic^hana t^haki ut^hi mohadeb nondi-k dake koi-l]

IMG Five days after bed from rise Mahadeb Nondi-DAT call say.PST.3

Meaning ‘Getting up from bed after five days, calling up Nondi Mahadeb told ’

46. RS ষাঁড় গরুটাক ডাকান।

IPA [ʃaɾ gɔru-ʈa-k dækan]

IMG Ox cow-CLF-DAT call-PRS.2.HON.

Meaning ‘Call the ox (the cow).’

47.RS এদি নন্দী ষাঁড় গরুটাক ডাকামাত্র দৌড়ি আসিল।

IPA [edi nondi ʃaɾ gɔru-ʈa-k dɛka-matro douri aʃi-l]

IMG This Nondi Ox cow-CLF-DAT call-only running come.PST.3
 Meaning Now, the moment Nandi called the Ox (the cow), it came running

48. RS উয়ায় আর যায় কোটে।

IPA [uyay ar jay koʈe.]

IMG it.DIST more go.PRS where

Meaning ‘Where can it go?’

49. RS ভয়তে একেবারে মাঘ মাসিয়া জারার ঢক থুর থুরি কাঁপা শুরু করি দিচে।

IPA [bʰɔyɔ-te ekebare magʰ maʃiʲa Jarer dʰɔk tʰurtʰuri kapa ʃuru kɔri ʈi-ce.]

IMG Fear-INS one-time Magh month cold like REDUP shiver start do
 give.PRF.PRS.3

Meaning ‘(It) started shivering tremendously in fear like in the coldness of the
 month of Magh’

50.RS কাইপতে কাইপতে মহাদেবের বগল আসি চাপিলা।

IPA [kaip-te kaip-te məhadeb-er bɔgol aʃi cap-il]

IMG Shiver-INS REDUP Mahadeb-GEN near come close-PST.3

Meaning ‘While shivering (it) came near to Mahadeb’

51.RS বগল চাপে আর মনে মনে ভাবে, আজি বুঝি মোক কি কইরতে কি করে

IPA [bɔgol cape ar mɔne mɔne bʰabe , aʃi buʃʰi mok ki kɔirte ki kɔre]

IMG Near close and mind REDUP think, today uncertain i.DAT what do-INS what
 do

Meaning ‘(It) comes nearer and thinks in mind today (he) is going to do something to
 me.’

52. RS না কি কোনোটে ঘুরিবারে যাইবো।

IPA [na ki kono-ʈe ɣʱuribare jaibe]

IMG TAG what somewhere roam-GEN go-FUT.2.SING

Meaning ‘Or will he go somewhere to roam around?’

53. RS বগোল চাপা মাত্র মহাদেব কৈল, এই ব্যাটা ভাল করি শুন

- IPA [bɔgɔl capamatro mɔhadeb kɔil, ei bæʈa bʰal kɔri ʃun]
 IMG Near close only Mahadeb say.PST, this son (idiot) good do listen
 Meaning ‘While (it) reached near Mahadeb said hey idiot listen to it carefully.’
- 54. RS** ষাঁড় গরুটা ভয়ে কইল, কন প্রভু কি করা খাইবে ?
 IPA [ʃaʈ gɔru-ʈa bʰɔye kɔi-l, kɔn pɔbʰu, ki kɔra kʰai-be?]
 IMG Ox cow-CLF fear say.PST, say.PRS.3.SING.HON master, what do eat-FUT-1
 Meaning The timid ox (the cow) said, say master, who do I need to do?
- 55. RS** মহাদেব কইল, শুন পিথিবীতে যা, যায়া মানষিলাক কবু
 IPA [mɔhadeb kɔi-l, “ʃun pɪtʰibi-t̪ ʃa, ʃaya manʃi-la-k kɔ-bu],
 IMG Mahadeb say-PST, listen earth-LOC, reach human-PL-DAT say-FUT.2.SING.INT
 Meaning Mahadeb said, Listen, go to the earth, having reached there will say to the people.
- 56. RS** দেবের দেব মহাদেবের আদেশ ,তোমরা সগায় মনদিয়া শোনো।
 IPA [d̪ɛb-er d̪ɛb mɔhadeb-er adeʃ, ‘tomora ʃɔgay mɔn diya ʃuno]
 IMG God-GEN Mahadeb-GEN order, you all mind give hear
 Meaning This the order of God of gods, Mahadeb; you all listen to it carefully
- 57. RS** আজি থাকি সগায় দিনে তিনবার গাও ধুবেন আর একবার খাইবেন।
 IPA [aʃi t̪ʰaki ʃɔgay d̪ine t̪in bar gaɔ dʰub-en ɛk-bar kʰai-ben]
 IMG Today from all day three times body wash.FUT.2 one-time eat-FUT.2
 Meaning From today onwards all of you will take bath three times and will eat only once in a day.
- 58.RS** আজি থাকিই এই নিয়ম মানি চলা খাইবে।
 IPA [aʃi t̪ʰaki ei niyom mani çɔla kʰai-be.]
 IMG Today from this rule follow move eat-FUT.2
 Meaning ‘From today onwards you will have to abide by this rule.’

- 59.RS** এই নিয়মের নড়চড় করা চইলবে না।
 IPA [ei niyom-er nɔɾɔɾ kɔɾa ɔɔil-be na.]
 IMG This rule-GEN touch do move-FUT not
 Meaning ‘this rule cannot be violated’
- 60.RS** খানেক পরে আরো একবার ড্যাকে কইল, ব্যাটা ক দেখি ক্যাং করি কি কবার কলুং?
 IPA [kʰanek pɔre aro ɛk-bar ɔɛke kɔi-l, bæɾa kɔ deɕi kɔŋ kori ki kɔbar kɔ-luŋ?]
 IMG Little later again one-time call say-PST, son tell see, how do what say-GEN say.PST.1.SING
 Meaning A little later called (it) once again and said, son (idiot) tell me what did I say to you and how?
- 61.RS** ষাঁড় গরুটা কইল, মুই পিথিবীত যাইম, যারা পিথিবীর মানষিগুলাক কইম
 IPA [ʃaɾ ɡɔru-ɾa kɔi-l, “mui prithibi-t̪ Jai-m, Jaya prithibi-r manʃi-gula-k kɔ-im]
 IMG Ox cow-CLF say-PST I earth-LOC go-FUT.1, reached earth-GEN human-PL-DAT say-FUT.1
 Meaning The Ox (the cow) said, I will go to the earth, having reached there I will say to the people of the earth
- 62. RS** দেবের দেব মহাদেবের আদেশ আজি থাকি তোমরা সৌগ মানষিগুলা দিনে রাইতে একবার খাইবেন আর তিনবার গাও ধুবেনা।
 IPA [deɓ-er deɓ məhadɛb-er aɔeʃ aʃi t̪ʰaki tɔmra ʃoug manʃi-gula ɔine raite ɛk-bar kʰai-ben ar t̪inbar gaɔ d̪ʰu-ben]
 IMG God-GEN god Mahadeb-GEN order today from you all human-PL day night-INS one-time eat-FUT.2 and three time body wash.FUT.2
 Meaning This the order of God of gods, From today onwards all of you will take bath three times and will eat only once in a day..
- 63.RS** যাং প্রভু, এই কাথা কয়্য ষাড় গরুটা ঘাটা কাড়াইল পিথিবীর ভিত্তি
 IPA [“Ja-ŋ prɔbʰu”- ei katʰa kɔyay ʃaɾ ɡɔru-ɾa ɡʰaɾa karai-l prithibi-r bʰiti.]
 IMG Go.PRS.1 master this word said ox cow-CLF road start.PST earth-GEN towards
 Meaning ‘(I am) going master, having said that the ox (the cow) started to go towards the earth.’

- 64.RS** মহাদেব ড্যাকে কইল, রইশ খাড়া হ
- IPA [mɔhadeb dʒeke kɔi-l, rɔiʃ, kʰaɾa hɔ]
- IMG Mahadeb call say-PST, wait.PRS.2, stand be.PRS
- Meaning Calling (it) Mahadeb said, wait, stand up!
- 65. RS** আর একবার ক, কি কবু পিথিবীত য়ায়া ?
- IPA [ar ɛk-bar kɔ, ki kɔ-bu priʰibi-t̪ ʒaya] ?
- IMG Once one-time say. What say-FUT.2 earth-LOC go
- Meaning ‘Tell it once more, what will you say while you reach earth?’
- 66. RS** ষাড় গরুটা কইল মুই পিথিবীত য়াইম , য়ায়া পিথিবীর মানষিগুলাক কইম
- IPA [ʃaɾ ɡɔru-t̪a kɔ-il, “mui priʰibi-t̪ ʒa-im, ʒaya priʰibi-r manʃi-gula-k kɔ-im]
- IMG Ox cow-CLF say-PST.3 I earth-LOC go-FUT.1, go earth-GEN human-PL-DAT say-FUT.1
- Meaning ‘The ox (the cow) said, I will go to the earth and having reached there I will tell the people of the earth.’
- 67. RS** দেবের দেব মহাদেবের আদেশ আজি থাকি তোমরা সৌগ মানষিগুলা দিনে রাইতে তিনবার খাইবেন আর একবার গাও ধুবেন।
- IPA [d̪ebe-r d̪eb mɔhad̪eb-er aɟeʃ aʒi t̪ʰaki t̪omra ʃoug manʃi-gula ɟine raite t̪in-bar kʰai-ben ar ɛk-bar ɡaɔ d̪ʱu-ben]
- IMG God-GEN god Mahadeb-GEN order today from you all human-PL day night-INS three-time eat-FUT.2 and one time body wash.FUT.2
- Meaning This the order of God of gods, From today onwards all of you will take bath three times and will eat only once in a day.
- 68. RS** সগায় মানষিগুলা দিনে রাইতে তিনবার খাইবেন আর একবার গাও ধুবেন।
- IPA [ʃɔɡay manʃi-gula ɟine raite t̪in-bar kʰai-ben, ar ɛk-bar ɡaɔ d̪ʱu-ben]
- IMG All human-PL day night three-times eat-FUT.3 and one-time body wash-FUT.3
- Meaning All the people will eat three times and will take bath once in a day (and night)
- 69. RS** সগায় মানষিগুলা দিনে রাইতে তিনবার খাইবেন আর একবার গাও ধুবেন।
- IPA [ʃɔɡay manʃigula ɟine raite tinbar kʰaiben, ar ɛkbar ɡaɔ d̪ʱuben.”

IMG All human-PL day night three-times eat-FUT.3 and one-time body wash-FUT.3

Meaning All the people will eat three times and will take bath once in a day (and night)

70.RS মহাদেব নন্দী ওইন্য সগাকে কইলেক্, শুনিচেন তোমরা সগায়

IPA [mɔhadeb nɔndi ɔinno ʃɔgake kɔi-lek, ʃuni-cen tomra ʃɔgay]

IMG Mahadeb Nandi others all-INS say-FUT.3.SING. hear-PRF.PRS.2 you all

Meaning ‘Mahadeb told Nandi and all others, all of you have listened’

71. RS মুই উয়াক কবার কলুং কি অর উমায় কবার চায় কি

IPA [mui uyak kɔ-bar kɔ-luŋ ki, ar uyay kɔ-bar cay ki]

IMG I he.DAT say-GEN say-PST.1.SING what, and he.DIST say.GEN want what

Meaning ‘I wanted him to say something and he wants to say something else’

72. RS আর একবার রাগ করি কইল, ভাল করি করি ক বেটা, না কইলে তোর আজি বিপদ আছে

IPA [ar ɛk-bar rag kɔri kɔi-l—‘bʰal kɔri kɔ bæʈa, na kɔ-ile ʈor aʃi bipɔɖ ace.’]

IMG More one-time angry do say.PST.3—good do what say son (idiot), not say-PST.3 your today danger be.PRS

Meaning ‘Became angry once again, said, say it properly son (idiot), else today you are in danger.’

72. RS ষাড় গরুটা কইল, মুই যাযা কইম, তোমরা সৌগ মানষিগুলা দিনে রাইতে তিনবার গাও ধুবেন আর একবার খাইবেন

IPA [ʃaʈ gɔru-ʈa kɔ-il—‘mui ʃaya kɔ-im, ʈomra ʃɔug manʃi-gula ɖine raiʈe ʈin-bar gaɔ ɖʰu-ben ar ɛk-bar kʰai-ben]’

IMG Ox cow-CLF say-PST I gone say-FUT.1,SING, you all human-PL day-INS night-INS three times body wash-FUT.2 and one-time eat-FUT.2.

Meaning The ox (the cow) said, having gone there I will say you all people will eat once and will take bath three times a day (and night)

73. RS মহাদেব নন্দী ওইন্য সগাকে কৈলেক্ শুনিচেন তোমরা সগায়

IPA [mɔhadeb nɔndi ɔinno ʃɔgake kɔi-lek, ʃuni-cen tomra ʃɔgay]

IMG Mahadeb Nandi others all say-PST.3. hear.PRF.2 you all

Meaning ‘Mahadeb said to Nandi and others, you all have heard him.’

- 74. RS** মুই উয়াক কবার কলুং কি আর উয়য় কবার চায় কি
IPA [mui uyak kɔ-bar kɔ-l-uŋ ki, ar uyay kɔ-bar cay ki?]
IMG I him say.INF.GEN say-PST-1.SING what and he.EMPH say.INF.GEN want what
Meaning I told him to say something and he says something else
- 75.RS** মহাদেব কইল যা ব্যাটা এই বার
IPA [mɔhadeb kɔ-il, “ʃa bɛʃa ei-bar.”]
IMG Mahadeb say-PST.3. go.PRS son (idiot) this time
Meaning ‘Mahadeb said. Now you go idiot this time.’
- 76. RS** পৃথিবীর মানষিগুলার বগলোত যায় মোর আদেশ শোনেয়া চটকরি ঘুরি আয়া
IPA [prithibi-r manʃi-gula-r bɔgol-ot ʃaya mor aɖeʃ ʃoneya cɔʃkɔri ɣuri ay]
IMG Earth-GEN human-PL-GEN near-LOC gone order heard quickly return come
Meaning Having gone to the people of earth (you) tell my order and quickly come back
- 77. RS** দেরি যাতে না হয়।
IPA [ɖeri ʃaʃe na hɔy]
IMG Late so that not be.PRS
Meaning So that there is no late
- 78.RS** ঝাঁড় গরুটা মহানন্দে পৃথিবীর ভিত্তি ঘাটা বারাইল।
IPA [ʃaʃ ɣɔru-ʃa mɔhanɔnde prithibi-r bʰiti ɣhata bara-il.]
IMG Ox cow-CLF glad earth-GEN towards road extend-PST.3
Meaning The cow (Ox) with great pleasure started to go towards the earth
- 79.RS** পৃথিবীর মানষিগুলো গরুটাক আইসা দেখি খুব খুশি।
IPA [prithibi-r manʃi-gula ɣɔru-ʃa-k aiʃa ɖɛkʰi kʰub kʰuʃi.]
IMG Earth-GEN human-PL cow-CLF-DAT come see very happy
Meaning ‘Having seen the cow the people of earth are very happy.’
- 80.RS** মহাদেব যেমুন দেবতা তেমন গরুটাও মহাদেবের বাহন বুলিয়া মানষিগুলারটে দ্যাবতার নাকান্

IPA [mohadeb Jemun d̪eboṭa t̪emun g̪oru-ṭa-ɔ mohadeb-er bahon buliya manʃi-gula-r-ṭe d̪eboṭa-r nakʰan.]

IMG Mahadeb like god like cow-CLF-EMPH Mahadeb-GEN vehicle for human-PL-GEN-INS god-GEN like

Meaning ‘The way treat people Mahadeb as God, like that way even the cow as the carrier of Mahadeb treated like a god.’

81.RS মানষিগুলা গরুটার বাদে নানান কিসিম খাবার জোগার করি ফ্যালাইল

IPA [manʃi-gula g̪oru-ṭa-r bade nanan kiʃim kʰabar Jogar kori pʰæla-il]

IMG Human-PL cow-CLF-GEN for different variety food arrange do throw.PST

Meaning ‘The people have arranged different kinds of food for the cow.’

82. RS যে খাবারগুলা খাবার হিসাবে গরুটার খুব পছন্দ।

IPA [Je kʰabar-gula kʰabar hiʃabe g̪oru-ṭa-r kʰub p̪ɔʰɔŋɔ]

IMG That food-PL food calculate cow-CLF-GEN very like.PRS

Meaning ‘Those foods which the cow cow like as a food very much’

83. RS আর মানষিগুলার আদর যত্ন পায় আরামে আনন্দে মাতোয়ারা মানষিগুলাক আসল কাথাটা কৈতে ভুলি গেইচে।

IPA [ar manʃi-gula-r aḍor J̪ɔṭno paya arame anon̪de maṭoyara manʃi-gula-k aʃol koṭʰa-ṭa ko-iṭe bʰuli ge-ice]

IMG And human-PL-GEN pamper care get glad lost human-PL-DAT real word-CLF say forget go.PRF.PRS

Meaning ‘Getting good care from the people became lost in comform gladness forgot to tell the real word.’

84.RS যাইহোক রাত্টিটা আরামে কাটেয়া পরেরদিন সাকালে এক টিপি ফল ফলাস্ত খায়া সৌগ মানষিগুলাক ড্যাকেয়া কৈলা।

IPA [Jaihoc raṭri-ṭa arame kaṭeya p̪orer ḍin ʃokale ek d̪ʰipi pʰol pʰolanto kʰaya ʃoug manʃi-gula-k d̪ɛkeya ko-i-l]

IMG However, night-CLF comfort-INS spent next day morning one heap fruits fruits-etc ate all human-PL-DAT call say.PST.1

Meaning However having spent the night in comfort, next day in the morning having eaten a heap of fruits and etc called them and said

85.RS তোমরা সগায় মন দিয়া ভাল করি শোন মোর কাথা।

IPA [ʈomora ʃogay mən ɖiya bʰal kəri ʃono mor kaʈʰa]

IMG You all mind by good do listen mine words

Meaning ‘You all must listen to my words carfully.’

86.RS দেবের দেব মহাদেব উমার আদেশ সোনেবার বাদে মোক পাঠাইচে

IPA [ɖeb-er ɖeb, məhadɛb umar aɖɛʃ ʃonebar baɖe mok paʈʰai-ce..]

IMG God-Gen god, Mahadeb his order make-listen for i.DAT send-PRF.PRS

Meaning ‘The God of all gods, Mahadeb has sent me to tell you his order.’

87.RS আজি থাকি তোমরা সউগ মানষিগুলা দিনে রাইতে তিনবার খাইবেন আর একবার গাও খুবেন।

IPA [“aʃi ʈʰaki ʈomora ʃoug manʃi-gula ɖine raiʈe ʈin bar kʰai-ben ar ek-bar gaɔ dʰu-ben]

IMG Today from you all human-PL day night three times eat-FUT and one-time body wash-FUT

Meaning From today onwards you all humans will eat three times and take bath once in a day (and night)

88.RS গরুটা নিজের কর্তব পালন করি ঘুরি আসিল হিমালয় পাহাড়ত মহাদেবের বাড়ি।

IPA [gɔru-ʈa niʃ-er kɔʈɔbbɔ palon kəri ɡʰuri aʃi-l himalɔy pahaʈ-ɔʈ məhadɛb-er baʈi]

IMG Cow-CLF own-GEN duty follow do move come-PST himalaya mountain-LOC Mahadeb-GEN house

Meaning ‘Fulfilling his duty the cow came back to the house of Mahadeb in the mountain of Himalaya.’

89.RS আর এদি মহাদেব বাড়িত এক মনে চিন্তা করা শুরু কইরচে ,

IPA [ar ɛɖi məhadɛb baʈi-ʈ ek mɔne ɔʃi ciŋʈa kɔra ʃuru kɔir-ce]

IMG And this side Mahadeb home-LOC one mind sit think do start do-PRF.3

Meaning ‘And this side, sitting at his home Mahadeb has started thinking silently’

90. RS ষাঁড় গরুটা কি হইতে যে কি কইতে যে কি করির নাইকচে।

IPA [ʃaʈ ɡɔru-ʈa ki hoʈte ʃe ki kɔir-ir naig-ce]

IMG Ox cow-CLF what become that what do.INF.GEN attach-PRF.PRS.

Meaning What the ox (the cow) has been doing from one thing to another one?

91.RS গরুটা ঘুরি আসিয়া মহাদেবক ভক্তি দিয়া কইল ,

IPA [gɔru-ta gʰuri aʃiya məhadɛb-ok bʰɔkti diya kɔi-l]

IMG Cow-CLF roam come Mahadeb-LOC adore give say.PST.3

Meaning Coming back from the tour the cow touching Mahadeb's feet said,

92. RS মুই মোর কর্তব পালন করি আসিলুং।

IPA [mui mor kɔrtɔbbo palon kɔri aʃi-luŋ]

IMG I I.GEN duty fulfill do come-PST.1.SING

Meaning I have come back after fulfilling my duty

93.RS মহাদেব খুশি হয় কইল, বেশ! তা ক দেখি কি কয়া আসুলু?

IPA [məhadɛb kʰuʃi hɔya kɔ-il, beʃ! ta kɔ dekʰi ki kɔya aʃi-luʔ]

IMG Mahadeb happy become say-PST.3 good! Then say see what said come-PST.2.SING

Meaning Being happy mahadeb said, good, then tell (me) what have you told them?

94.RS গরুটা কৈল, তোমরা য্যাং করি কবার কইচেন অমুন করি কচুং,

IPA [gɔru-ta kɔ-il "tɔmora ʃɛŋ kɔri kɔba-r kɔi-cen ɔmun kɔri kɔ-cuŋ]

IMG Cow-CLF say-PST you this way (do) say-INF.GEN say-PRF.3.HON.SING that way say-PRF.1.SING

Meaning The cow said the way you wanted me to say I have said it that way.

95. RS মানে রাত্তি দিনে তিনবার খাইবেন আর একবার গাও ধুবেন

IPA [mane, ratt̪ri-d̪ine t̪in-bar kʰai-ben ar ek-bar gaɔ d̪ʰu-ben]

IMG Means, night-day-INS three-times eat-FUT.2. and one-time body wash-FUT.2

Meaning 'That means in a day (and night) will eat three times and take bath once.'

96. RS মহাদেব চটকি উটি কৈল, সর্বনাশ, তুই সর্বনাশ করি ফ্যালাচিশ্

IPA [məhadɛb cɔtki ut̪i kɔ-il, "ʃɔrbonaʃ-- t̪ui ʃɔrbonaʃ kɔri pʰɛlai-c-ɪʃ.]

- IMG Mahadeb surprise rise say-PST.3 finish- you finish do throw-PRF-2.PRS
 Meaning ‘Having surprised Mahadeb said, finish! You have have finished.’
- 97.RS** দুই ব্যালার খাবার যোগাতে হিমসিম নাগি গেইচে অর তার উপুরা তিনবেলা
 IPA [ɖui bela-r kʰabar Jogaiɽe himjim nagi gei-ce, ar ʈar upura ʈin-bela]!”
 IMG Two-times-GEN food arrange trouble attach go.PRF.PRS. and its above three-times
 Meaning ‘It is very difficult to arrange for two times’s milk and in addition three times.’
- 98.RS** এই কথা শুনিয়া মহাদেবের ঠাঙ্গের রক্ত চাটাং করি মাথাত উঠি গেইল
 IPA [ei kɔʈʰa ʃuniya məhadɛb-er ʈʰæŋ-er rɔkto caʈaŋ kori maʈʰa-ʈ uʈʰi ge-il]
 IMG This word heard Mahadeb-GEN leg-GEN blood sudden do head-LOC rise go.PST.3
 Meaning Having heard that Mahadeb’s blood of leg has reached to his head (became very angry)
- 99. RS** একেরে জুলিয়া জুইয়োট পোড়ার ঢক মনে হয় যেনে ধুমা বিরির নাগিলা
 IPA [ekere ʃɔliya ʃuiy-ot poʈar ɖʰɔk mone hoy ʃene ɖʰuma biri-r nag-il.]
 IMG Almost burnt fire-LOC fall-INF.GEN like seems like smoke emit-GEN attach-PST.3
 Meaning ‘Almost it seems (he) is burned down in the fire looks like smoke has started emitting.’
- 100.RS** খানিক ভাবনা চিন্তা করি মহাদেব মনে মনে বুঝিলেন,
 IPA [kʰanik bʰabona cinʈa kori məhadɛb mone buʃʰi-l-en]
 IMG Little thinking think do Mahadeb mind-INS understand.PST-3.SING.HON
 Meaning ‘having thought a little Mahadeb understood in his mind’
- 101. RS** দেবালয় থাকি দ্যাওয়া আদেশ তো নড় চড় করা যাইবে না।
 IPA [ɖɛbalɔy ʈʰaki ɖɛɔya aɖɛʃ ʈo nɔʈɔʈ kɔra ʃai-be na]
 IMG Heaven from given order EMPH move do go-FUT not
 Meaning ‘The order given from the heaven cannot be withdrawn.’

- 102.RS** এদি কুলাও তো যাইবে না।
 IPA [ɛd̪i kula-ɔ̃ ʈo ʃai-be na]
 IMG This side afford-EMP EMPH go-FUT. Not
 Meaning ‘This side it wont be easy to afford it’
- 103. RS** দাখা যাউক দেখি বাড়তি খাবারের বাদে কি করা যায়?
 IPA [d̪ɛkʰa ʃauk d̪ɛkʰi baʈti kʰabar-er bade ki kora Jay] ?
 IMG See see- seeadditional food-GEN for what do go.PRS.
 Meaning ‘Let’s see, what can be done for the additional food?’
- 104. RS** মহাদেব মাথা ঠান্ডা করিয়া ষাঁড় গরুটাক বগলত ড্যাকে কইল ,
 IPA [mohad̪ɛb maʈʰa ʈʰand̪a kori ʃaʈ̪ g̪oru-ʈa-k b̪ogol-ot d̪ɛke ko-il]
 IMG Mahadeb head cold do Ox cow-CLF-DAT near-LOC call say-PST.3
 Meaning ‘Keeping his head (temperament) cool, Mahadeb calling the Ox (the cow) said,’
- 105.RS** তোক কচুং যে পৃথিবীর মানষিগুলাক কয়া আয় উমরা যাতে তিনবার গাও ধোয় আর একবার খায়।
 IPA [ʈok ko-cuŋ ʃe p̪riʈʰibi-r manʃi-gula-k koya ay umura ʃaʈ̪e ʈin-bar gaɔ dʰoy ar ek-bar kʰa-y]
 IMG You-DAT say-PRF.1.SING that earth-GEN human-PL-DAT said come they so that three times body wash and one-time eat-PRS.3
 Meaning I told you to say the people of the earth so that they bathe three times and eat one time
- 106. RS** আর তুই কয়া আসলু তার উল্টাটা।
 IPA [ar tui ʃaya koya aʃ-lu tar ulʈa-ʈa]
 IMG And you said came.PST.2 that.GEN opposite-CLF
 Meaning ‘And you said exactly the opposite’
- 107. RS** এদি কুলাও তো যাইবে না।
 IPA [ɛd̪i kulaɔ̃ ʈo ʃai-be na]

IMG This side manage go-FUT.3 not

Meaning ‘This side it is not easy to manage’.

108. RS দ্যাখা যাউক দেখি বাড়তি খাবারের বাদে কি করা যায়?

IPA [d̪ɛkʰa ɟauk d̪ɛkʰi baɽti kʰabar-er baɽe ki kora ɟay]

IMG See go see additional food-GEN for what do go.PRS.3

Meaning ‘Lets see what can be done for the additional food’

109.RS তায় তুই যখন উলটা আদেশ দিয়া আসিলু

IPA [t̪ay t̪ui ɟokʰon ul̪ta aɽeʃ diya aʃ-lu]

IMG So you.2.INT then opposite order give come-PST.2.SING.INT

Meaning ‘So, you have come to give opposite order’

110. RS তায় এলা বাড়তি খাবার তোরে আবাদ করা খাইবে।

IPA [t̪ay ɛla baɽti kʰabar tore abad kora kʰai-be]

IMG That’s why now additional food your-INS cultivate do.PRS eat-FUT.2.SI

Meaning ‘That is why you will have to cultivate the additional amount of food.’

111.RS যুগের পর যুগ থাকি চলি আইসা বুড়ার রাজা ষাড গরুটা মাথা নিচা করিয়া খাড়েয়া রইল

IPA [ɟug-er pɔr ɟug t̪haki ɔli aɽsa “buɽa-t̪ raja” ʃaɽ gɔru-t̪a maɽʰa nica kɔriya kʰaɽeya rɔ-il]

IMG Age-GEN after age from move come old-GEN king ox cow-CLF head down do satnd stay-PST.3

Meaning ‘Having passed on from ages after ages the king of old the ox, the cow keeping its head down stood still.’

112.RS মহাদেব নন্দী ভিঙীক ড্যাকেয়া কৈল

IPA [mɔhaɽɛb nɔndi bʰiŋgi-k d̪ɛkeya ko-il]

IMG Mahadeb Nandi Bhingi-DAT called say-PST.3

Meaning ‘Calling Nanindi and Bhingi, Mahadeb said,’

113.RS চাইরোপাকে স্বর্গ মর্ত পাতালোত তোলাই করি দেও যে

IPA [cair-opake ʃɔrgo mɔr̪to paɽal-ot̪ d̪ʰolai kɔri d̪ɛo je]

- IMG Four-side heaven earth hell-LOC announce do. Give that
 Meaning In all directions- heaven hell and earth, announce that
- 114. RS** কালি থাকি মহাদেবের ষাড় গরুটা নাংগোল টানির বাদে হালুয়ার ঘরের ভুইত যাইবে
 IPA [kali tʰaki məhadeb-er ʃaɽ gɔru-ta naŋgol tani-r bade haluya-r gʰɔr-er bʰuiɽ Jai-be.]
 IMG Tomorrow from mahadeb-GEN ox cow-CLF plough pull-GEN for farmer PL-GEN land go-FUT.3
 Meaning ‘From tomorrow onwards, the ox (the cow) of Mahadeb will go to the field of farmer to pull the ploughing instrument.’
- 115.RS** সারাদিন কিষিকামাইত নাগি থাইকবে।
 IPA [ʃaraɽin kriʃi kamaɽt nagi tʰaik-be.]
 IMG All day cultivation work-LOC attach stay-FUT.3
 Meaning ‘All the day will be engaged in cultivation works’
- 116.RS** অবশ্যই মোর বাহণের থাকি উয়াক সারাইম না -উয়য় মোর বাহোন রয়য় থাকিবে
 IPA [ɔboʃfoi mor bahon-er pɔtʰ tʰaki uyak ʃara-im na- uyay mor bahon rɔy-ay tʰaki-be]
 IMG Certainly my.GEN vehicle-GEN designation from him replace-FUT.1.SING not he.DIST i.GEN vehicle stay stay.FUT.3
 Meaning ‘Certainly I will not replace him for my vehicle, he will remain my vehicle.’
- 117.RS** সেদিন থাকি পৃথিবীর মাটিত হালুয়া গুলার ষাঁড় গরু দিয়া চাষ- আবাদ করিবার নিয়ম চালু হইচে, এলাও চইলচে
 IPA [ʃedin tʰaki pɽitʰibi-r maɽi-tʰ haluya-gula-r ʃaɽ gɔru ɽiya ɽaʃ abad kori-bar niyom calu hɔi-ce, əlaɔ ɽɔi-lce.]
 IMG That day from earth-GEN soil-LOC farmer-PL-GEN oc cow by plough cultivate do.GEN rule start be.PST.3, now move.PST.PRS
 Meaning From that day pnwards in the lands of earth the farmers have started using ox, the cow for ploughing, still going on
- 118.RS** সেদিন থাকি ষাঁড় গরুটার নাম বদলি হয় হইচে হালের কাজেত হালুয়া গরু !
 IPA [ʃedin tʰaki ʃaɽ gɔru-ta-r nam bɔdli hɔya hɔi-ce “hal-er kaʃ-oɽ haluya gɔru]

- IMG That day from ox cow-CLF-GEN name change become-PRF.PRS plough-GEN
work-LOC plough cow
- Meaning From that day onwards the name of Ox, the cow changed to ‘Ploughing cow for
plouging work’

b. Songs: (Bhawaiya gaan)*(i) [p^hand̩e pɔɽiya bɔga kande] ফান্দে পড়িয়া বগা কান্দে*

1. ফান্দে পড়িয়া বগা কান্দে রে
[p^hand̩e pɔɽiya bɔga kande re]
Trap-INS fall heron cry EMPH
'Falling in a trap heron cries'
2. ফান বসাইচে ফান্দীর ভাই
[p^han bɔʃa-ice p^hand̩ir b^hai]
Trap sit.PRF.PRS.3 trap-GEN brother
'The trapper has set the trap'
3. পুটি মাছ দিয়া
[puɽi mac^ho ɽiya]
A kind of small fish fish-EMPH give.
'with Puti fish'
4. ওরে মাছের লোভে ভোদা বগা
[ore mac^h-er lob^h-e b^hoɽa bɔga]
Address word fish-GEN greed-INS stupid
heron
'The stupid heron in greed of fish'
5. পড়ে উড়াও দিয়া রে
[pɔɽe uɽaɔ ɽiya re]
Fall-INS fly give EMPH
'falls in the trap'
6. ফান্দে পড়িয়া বগা কান্দে রে
[p^hand̩e pɔɽiya bɔga kande re]
Trap-INS fall heron cry EMPH
'Falling in a trap heron cries'
7. ফান্দে পড়িয়া রে বগা করে টানাটানা
[p^hand̩e pɔɽiya re bɔga kore ʃanaɽuna]
Trap-INS fall EMPH heron do pull

- ‘Faliing in a trap the heorn pulls’
8. ওরে আহা রে কুকুরার সুতা
[ore aha re kunkura-r ʃuʈa]
Address word INT EMPH fibre
‘Oh! Alas the string of Kunkura’
9. হলু লোহার গুনা রে
[hɔlu loha-r guna re]
Be-PST iron-GEN iron-string DM
‘it has become iron-string’
10. ফান্দে পড়িয়া বগা কান্দে রে।
[pʰandɛ pɔʈiya bɔga kandɛ re]
Trap-INS fall-EMPH heron cry-PRS DM
‘Falling in the trap the heron crys’
11. ফান্দে পড়িয়া রে বগা করে হায় রে হায়
[pʰandɛ pɔʈiya bɔga kɔre hay re hay]
Trap-INS fall-EMPH heron do.PRS alas
EMPH alas
‘Falling in the trap the heron feels sorry’
12. ওরে আহা রে দারুন বিধি
[ore aha re ɖaruno biɖʰi]
DM INT DM harsh fate
‘Oh, it’s a ground reality’
13. সাথী ছাড়িয়া যায় রে।
[ʃaʈʰi cʰaʈiya Jay re]
Companion leave.EMPH go.PRS EMPH
‘The companions leaves’
14. ফান্দে পড়িয়া বগা কান্দে রে।
[pʰandɛ pɔʈiya bɔga kandɛ re]
Trap-INS fall-EMPH heron cry-PRS DM
‘Falling in the trap the heron crys’
15. উড়িয়া যায় চকোয়া পঙ্খী

- [uɽiya Jay cəkoya pənkʰi]
Fly.EMPH go.PRS Cakoya bird
'The chakoya bird flies'
16. বগীক কয়া দেয়রে ঠারে
[bɔgi-k kɔya dɛyre tʰare]
Heron-FEM-DAT say give instantly
'(It) says to the heron instantly'
17. তোমার বগা বন্দী হইচে
[tɔmar bɔga bɔndi hɔi-ce]
Your heron trap be.PRF
'your heron is entrapped'
18. ধরলা নদীর পারে রে।
[dʰɔrola nɔdi-r pare re]
Dharola river-GEN bank EMPH
'at the bank of Dharola river'
19. ফান্দে পড়িয়া বগা কান্দে রে
[pʰandɛ pɔɽiya bɔga kande re]
Trap-INS fall-EMPH heron cry-PRS DM
'Falling in the trap the heron crys'
20. এই কথা শুনিয়া রে বগী দুই পাখা মেলিল
[ei kɔtʰa ʃuniya re bɔgi dui pakʰa mɛli-lo]
This words heard EMPH heron-FEM feather
expand-PRF
'Having heard this the female heron started
to fly'
21. ওরে ধরলা নদীর পারে যাইয়া দরশন দিল।
[ore dʰɔrola nɔdi-r pare Jaya dʰɔɽɔfɔno dilo]
DM Dharola river-GEN bank-INST go-PRF
meet give-PST.3.SG
'having reached reached at the bank of
Dharola river met the male heron'
22. বগাক দেখিয়া বগী কান্দে রে

[bɔga-k dek^hiya bɔgi kanɔ re

Heron-DAT seen heron-FEM cry-PRS
EMPH

‘After having seen the male heron the
female heron cries’

23. বগীক দেখি বগা কান্দে রে

bɔgi-k dek^hiya bɔga kanɔ re

heron-FEM-DAT seen male heron cry-PRS
EMPH

‘having seen the female heron the male
heron also cries’

24. ফান্দে পড়িয়া বগা কান্দে রো।

[p^handɔ pɔɽiya bɔga kanɔ re]

Trap-INS fall-EMPH heron cry-PRS DM

‘Falling in the trap the heron crys’

(ii) [pɔɽid^hɔn kɔŋ ʈomar age] পতিধন কং তোমার আগে

1 পতিধন কং তোমার আগে

[pɔɽid^hɔn kɔŋ ʈomar age]

Husband say.PRS.1.SG your in front

‘My dear husband I say in front of you’

2 ও মোর কইতে শরম নাগে

[o mor kɔɽte ʃɔrom nage]

Oh i.GEN say.INF shy get.PRS

‘I am very shy to say this’

3 সগায় বউয়োক সিনেমা দ্যাখায়

[ʃɔgay bɔuyok ʃinema dek^hay]

Everybody wife-DAT cinema see.PRS

‘everybody takes his wife to watch movie’

4 মোক না দ্যাখান ক্যানে।

[mok na dek^han kɛne]

I.DAT not see.PRS why

- ‘why don’t you take me to cinema’
5 সগায় বউ নিয়া টাউন বন্দর যায়
 [ʃogay bəu niya **ʃaun bəndor** ʃay]
 Everybody wife take town market go.PRS
 ‘Everybody goes to the town and market with wives’
- 6** ছায়া শাড়ি বেলাউজ
 [cʰaya ʃaʃi belauʃ]
 Petty coat sari blouse
- 7** ও মোর কতয় কিনিয়া দেয়
 [o mor kətɔy kiniya ɖey]
 Oh I.GEN many buy give.PRS
 Oh they buy so many
- 8** নাগায় ঘড়ি চশমা
 [nagay gʱɔʃi ʃʃoma]
 Get.PRS wrist-watch spectacle
 ‘Wear wrist watch sunglasses’
- 9** বান্দে আরো ঢালুয়া খোপা
 [bande aro ɖʱaluya kʱopa]
 Tie up and big bun
 ‘and they tie up big bun’
- 10** জোড়ায় জোড়ায় ঘুরিয়া ব্যারায়
 [ʃoʃay ʃoʃay gʱuriya bæray]
 Pair pair roam around
 ‘they roam around in pairs’
- 11** মনের আনন্দে রে
 [mɔn-er anonɖe re]
 Mind-GEN glad EMPH
 ‘very happy mentally’
- 12** সগায় বউয়োক সিনেমা দ্যাখায়
 [ʃogay bəuyok ʃinema ɖɛkʰay]

- Everybody wife-DAT cinema see.PRS
 ‘everybody takes his wife to watch movie’
- 13 মোক না দ্যাখান ক্যানে।
 [mok na dʒəkʰan kəne]
 I.DAT not see.PRS why
 ‘why don’t you take me to cinema’
- 14 হামার টারির সগারে বউ ঠাকুর দেখির যায়
 [hamar ʈari-r ʃogare bou ʈʰakur dʒəkʰir Jay]
 Our neighbour-GEN all-INS wife god see-GEN
 go.PRS
 ‘All the wives from our neighbourhood go to see
 Gods’
- 15 সোনো পাউডার আলতা কুমকুম
 [ʃono paudʒar alʈa kumkum]
 ‘Lotion Powder liquid lipstick’
- 16 কতই কিনিয়া দেয়
 [kətʌy kiniya dʒey]
 Many buy give.PRS
 ‘Buy and give so many things’
- 17 কিনি দেয় কুবাল ফিতা
 [kini dʒey kubal pʰiʈa]
 Buy give big fibre
 ‘buy and give kind of big fibre’
- 18 কতয় দেখি পরিল ঝোপা
 [kətʌy dʒəkʰi pəril ʃʰopa]
 So many see fall-PST bunch
 ‘having seen this people throng’
- 19 বাসনা করা ত্যলের বোতল
 [baʃna kəra ʈʌler botol]
 Scent do oil-GEN bottle
 ‘scented bottle of oil’

- 20 ডগড়া সরায় না রে
[dɔgɔɖa ʃoray na re]
Stick move not EMPH
'the scent remains'
- 21 সগায় বউয়োক সিনেমা দ্যাখায়
[ʃogay bɔuyok ʃinema ɖɛkʰay]
Everybody wife-DAT cinema see.PRS
'everybody takes his wife to watch movie'
- 22 মোক না দ্যাখান ক্যানে।
[mok na ɖɛkʰan kɛne]
I.DAT not see.PRS why
'why don't you take me to cinema'
- 23 ভাত রান্দা আর গোবর ফেলা
[bʰaɖ anɖa ar gobor pʰæla]
Rice cook and cow-dung throw.PRS
'to cook rice and to fetch cow-dung'
- 24 বিচন তোলা আর কোস্টা নিলা
[bicon ɖola ar koʃta nila]
Paddy-sapling lift jute clean
'lift paddy-sapling and clean weed from jute-field'
- 25 দিনে রাইতে মরাটানা কামাই
[ɖine raiɖe mɔraɖana kamaɪ]
Day-INS night-INS dead-pull work
'all the day and night very hard work, toiling'
- 26 ফুরায় না রে
[pʰuray na re]
End-PRS not EMPH
'(It) doesnot end'
- 27 সগায় বউয়োক সিনেমা দ্যাখায়
[ʃogay bɔuyok ʃinema ɖɛkʰay]
Everybody wife-DAT cinema see.PRS

- ‘everybody takes his wife to watch movie’
28 মোক না দ্যাখান ক্যানে।
 [mok na d̪ekʰan kəne]
 I.DAT not see.PRS why
 ‘why don’t you take me to cinema’
- 29** লেখাপড়া নাই শিখং মুই
 [nɛkʰapɔɾa nai ʃikɔŋ mui]
 Write read not learn-PRS.1 I
 ‘I do not know how to read and write’
- 30** দিবার নাই মোর ডং
 [d̪ibar nai mor dɔŋ]
 Give.GEN not mine Dong
 ‘I cannot give Dong’
- 31** সেই বাদে তুই আকা ফেলা
 [ʃei bade t̪ui aka pʰɛla]
 That for you oven throw
 ‘That is why you don’t give me importance’
- 32** তোমরায় করিছেন মোক।
 [t̪omray kɔɾicʰen mok]
 You.EMPH do.PRF I.DAT
 ‘You made me’
- 33** দেখিয়াও তোমরা দেখেন না
 [d̪ɛkʰiyao t̪omra d̪ɛkʰen na]
 See you see.HON not
 ‘Having looked at even you do not see’
- 34** মোর মনটা কি চায় না।
 [mor mɔŋt̪a ki cay na]
 My mind-CLF what want not
 My mind does not it want?
- 35** হাঁয় বিধি মোর কপাল পোড়া

[hay biḍ^{hi} mor kɔpal pɔra]

Oh fate mine forehead burn

‘Oh God, my fate is unlucky’

36 কাকোয় দোষণ না রে

[kakaoy ɔɔʃoŋ na]

Someone fault-PRS.1

‘Even I don’t blame anyone’

(iii) [hay mui ʃɔkin ɔɔkiya] হায় মুই সকিন দেখিয়া

1 হায় মুই সকিন দেখিয়া বসিনুং রে কাইন

[hai mui ʃɔkin ɔɔk^{hi}ya bɔʃinuŋ re kain]

Oh I second-wife seen sit-PST.1 EMPH marriage

‘Even after seeing the second wife I prepared for second marriage’

2 দিনে রাইতে না পৰে

[ɔɔine raiṭe na pɔre]

Day-INS night-INS not fall

‘Even after day and night (it) doesn’t fall’

3 মোর সোনা হাতের গাইন। ২

[mor ʃona haṭ-er gain]

Mine gold hand-GEN wood-stick

‘Wood-stick of golden hand’

4 দিনে রাইতে ব্যাৰাং বারা বানি

[ɔɔine raiṭe beɾaŋ bara bani]

Day night roam husk rice grind

‘All the day and night I grind husk rice’

5 পাতা পইরলে পরে চউখের পানি

[paṭa pɔirle pɔre ɔɔuk^her pani]

Leaf fall-GEN-PST-EMPH later eye-GEN water

‘Whenever eyelashes fall, the tears come’

6 সকালে উঠিয়া রে ফেলাং ডাং য়ের ঘটঘটি

- [ʃɔkale utʰiya re p^helaŋ ɖanyer g^hatg^hatʰi]
 Moring-INS getting up EMPH throw-PRS buffalo-GEN dung
 ‘Getting up in the morning I have to fetch buffalo dung’
- 7 হাসি মুখে কয় মোক দে খাবার আনি। ২
 [hafɪ muk^he kɔy mok ɖe k^habar ani]
 Smile face say.PRS I.DAT eat bring
 ‘(He) smiling says bring food for me’
- 8 একদিন মরা যদি কামাই করে
 [ekɖin mɔra ʃɔɖi kamaɪ kɔre]
 One-day dead if work do.PRS
 ‘If (he) works for one day’
- 9 তিন দিন মরাটা বসিয়া থাকে
 [tɪn ɖin mɔraɽa bɔʃiya tʰake]
 Three days dead-CLF sit stay
 ‘three days (he) would take rest’
- 10 পরনের কাপড় মোর গেইছে ফাড়িয়া
 [pɔron-er kapɔɽ mor geic^he p^haɽiya]
 Wear-GEN clother mine go-PRF tear
 ‘My clothings are all torned up’
- 11 ছোট্ট দ্যওরায় দেয় মোক কাপড় কিনিয়া। ২
 [c^hot^to ɖɛoray mok ɖɛy kapɔɽ kɪniya]
 Younger brother I.DAT give cloth buy
 ‘Younger brother buys clothes for me’
- 12 গোসা হওয়া ভাতারটা মোর মরিয়্যো না যায়
 [goʃa hɔoya b^haɽaɽa mor mɔriyao na Jay]
 Angry be husband-CLF mine die not go-PRS
 ‘My angry husband even does not die’
- 13 তবুশিন মনের মোর জ্বালা ফুরায়। ২
 [tɔbuʃin mɔn-er mor ʃala p^huray]
 Even after that mind-GEN mine burn end-PRS
 ‘Even after that my agony of mind will not end’

- 14 এই বার নাইয়ের গেইলে রে মুই
[ei bar naiyor gɛile re mui]
This time go home go.PST EMPH I
'I go home this time'
- 15 না আসিম ঘুরিয়া
[na aʃim gʰuriya]
Not come-FUT back
'wont come back'
- 16 বিদায় দ্যং রে চ্যাংড়া মাথা তুলিয়া । ২
[biɖay ɖɛŋre cɛŋra maʈʰa ʈuliya]
Leave give-PRS.1 boy head lift
'I would proudly bid you good-bye 'boy''

(iv) [bɛceya na kʰaif ɖɔyal ɖaɖa] ব্যাচেয়া না খাইস দয়াল দাদা

- 1 ব্যাচেয়া না খাইস দয়াল দাদা অচিন দ্যাশতে
[bɛceya na kʰaif ɖɔyal ɖaɖa ɔcin ɖɛʃote]
Sell not eat kind elder brother unknown coutry-LOC
'Please do not get me married in an unknown country, my dear elder brother'
- 2 ব্রহ্মপুত্রের ধু ধু বালা দেখিয়া ভয় নাগে
[bɔrompurter-er ɖʰuɖʰu bala ɖɛkʰiya bʰɔy nage]
Brahmaputra-GEN empty sand seen fear get
'Having seen the empty sand of river Brahmaputa I am scared'
- 3 কাচার ভাঙ্গনের কথা শুনি
[kacar bʰaŋgoner kɔʈʰa ʃuni]
Bank break-GEN words hear
Having heard the news of breaking of bank
- 4 মোর মনটায় না চলে
[mor mɔntay na cɔle]
Mine mind-CLF-EMPH not move
'My mind does not want to continue'

- 5 এই চ্যাংড়াটা তোর বাদে বিয়ার ঘটক দে
 [ei cɛŋɽa-ta ʈor baɖe biyar gʰoʈok ɖe]
 This boy-CLF your for marriage matcht-maker give
 ‘This boy has send a matchmatker for your marriage’
- 6 দাবির কথা শুনিলে মাই মোর মরিবার মনায়
 [ɖabir kɔʰa ʃunile mai mor mɔribar mɔnay]
 Demand-GEN words heard mother mine die want
 ‘Hearing about demand I want to die my dear sister’
- 7 অতগুলো দিলে মাই
 [ɔʈogula ɖile mai]
 This-PL give sister
 ‘If I give this much’
- 8 মোর সংসার চলিবার নয়।
 [mor ʃɔŋʃar ɔlibar nɔy]
 Mine family move-GEN not
 ‘my family wont run’
- 9 ছোট্ট হাতে বড় হইচং দক্ষিন পারতে
 [cʰoʈʈo haʈe bɔʈo hɔicon ɖɔkkʰin parɔʈe]
 Small from big be.PST.1 south side-LOC
 ‘I have grown up from small to big at south side’
- 10 কেমন করি থাকিম দাদা অই না বিদেশে
 [kɛmon kɔri ʈʰakim ɖaɖa ɔi na bɔiɖɛʃe]
 How do sat-FUT.1 elder-brother that not foreign
 How would I sat at that foreign land?
- 11 না কান্দিস না কান্দিস মাই
 [na kanɖis na kanɖis mai]
 Not cry-FUT.2 not cry-FUT.2 sister
 ‘Don’t cry don’t cry sister’
- 12 অই সংসারের নীতি
 [ɔi ʃɔŋʃar-er niʈi]

- This family rule
‘this is the rule of the land’
- 13 নারী হইলে যাওয়া খায় পরার বাড়িতে
[nari hoile Jaoya k^hay p̄or̄ar baṛite]
Woman be go.PRS eat other-GEN house-LOC
‘Being a woman (one) has to go other’s (husband) house’
- 14 ভর যুবতী হইচং দাদা
[b^hor Jubot̄i hoiconṅ d̄ada]
Full youth be.PRF elder-brother
‘I am full grown (attained marraigable age) elder-brother’
- 15 আর না যায় থাকা
[ar na Jay t̄haka]
And not go.PRS stay
‘And I cannot stay longer’
- 16 বাড়ির বগলোত দেখি শুনি
[baṛir b̄ogol-oṭ̄ d̄ek^hi juni]
House-GEN nearby-LOC seeing hearing
Looking someone nearby house
- 17 মোক দেও রে বিয়া
[mok d̄eo re biya]
I.DAT give-PRS EMPH marriage
‘give me marriage’
- 18 দুরের সাগাইর আদর মাই থাকে চিরদিন
[d̄ur-er ſagai-r aḍor mai t̄hake ciroḍin]
Far away-GEN relative-GEN care sister stay forever
‘The relatives from faraway land get care and respect forever’
- 19 বাড়ির বগলোত সাগাই কইরলে
[baṛir b̄ogoloṭ̄ſagai k̄oirle]
House-GEN nearby relative
‘the relatives of nearby house’
- 20 না থাকে সম্মান।

[na tʰake ʃonman]

Not stay respect

‘there is no respect’

(v) [cʰaɽiya aifonʃoyamir baɽi] ছাড়িয়া আইসোং সোয়ামির বাড়ি

- 1 ছাড়িয়া আইসোং সোয়ামির বাড়ি
[cʰaɽiya aiconʃoyamir baɽi]
Left come.PRF husband-GEN house
‘Having left husband’s house’
- 2 যাবার চাং মুই বাপের বাড়িত রে। ২
[Jabar caŋ mui bap-er baɽi-tʰ re]
Go-GEN want.PRS.1 I father-GEN house-LOC DM
‘I would like to go to my ancestral home’
- 3 বসিয়া আচং মুই শিঙ্গিমারীর ঘাটে
[boʃiya acong mui ʃiŋgimari-r gʰaɽe]
Sit be.PRF I Shingimari-GNE ghat
‘(I) have been sitting at the ghat of (river) Shingimari’
- 4 নাইয়া রে এতবেলা হইল
[naiya re eɽobɛla hoil]
Boatman DM this time be.PST
‘Its too late, boatman’
- 5 ক্যানো নৌকা নাই তোর ঘাটে
[kene nouka nai ɽor gʰaɽe]
Why boat not your ghat-INS
‘Why your boat is not placed at the ghat?’
- 6 নাইয়া রে
[naiya re]
Boatman DM
‘Oh boatman!’
- 7 সুখচড়ত মোর বাপের বাড়ি

- [ʃuk^hcɔr-ot̪ mor bape-r baʃi]**
 Sukhchar-LOC mine father-GEN house
 ‘My ancestral home is at Sukhchar’
- 8** বিয়াও দিচে মোক ঘটক ধরি রে। ২
[biyao ðice mok ɡʰɔʃok ðʰɔri re]
 Marriage give I.DAT matchmaker hold DM
 ‘The matchmaker arranged for my marriage’
- 9** ব্যাচেয়া খাইচে মোক দারুন বরের হাতে
[bæceya k^haice mok ðarun bɔrer haʃe]
 Sell eat.PRF I.DAT good bride-groom-GEN hand-INS
 ‘My marriage with a good bride-groom!’
- 10** নাইয়া রে
[naiya re]
 Boatman DM
 ‘Oh boatman!’
- 11** সতিনের কথা শুনি
[ʃɔʃiner kɔʃ^ha ʃuni]
 Secondwife of husband-GEN words hear
 ‘Having heard the words of husband’s another wife (concubine)’
- 12** সদায় ইনায় মোক ধরে। ২
[ʃɔðay inay mok d^hɔre]
 Always he i.DAT hold
 ‘He always abuses me’
- 13** নাইয়া রে
[naiya re]
 Boatman DM
 Oh boatman!
- 14** মুই নারীটা কপাল পোড়া
[mui naʃi-ʃa kɔpal poʃa]
 I woman-CLF forehead burn

- ‘I got a bad destiny’
15 বাপো ভাই মোর মায়া ছাড়া রে । ২
 [bapo b^hai mor maya c^haɽa re]
 Father-and brother mine mercy left DM
 ‘My brother and father they are without mercy’
- 16** সোনার যৌবন মোর করিম ক্যানে মাটি
 [ʃonar ʃoubon mor kər-im kəne maɽi]
 ‘Gold-GEN youth mine do-FUT why soil
 ‘why shouldn’t I unsue mine golden youth?’
- 17** নাইয়া রে
 [naiya re]
 Boatman DM
 ‘Oh boatman!’
- 18** চউখের জলে মোর আঞ্চল ভিজিয়া থাকে
 [cɔuk^her ʃole mor ancɔl b^hiʃiya t^hake]
 Eye-GEN water-INS mine clothe wet stay
 ‘My clothes get wet through my tears’
- 19** নাইয়া রে
 [naiya re]
 Boatman DM
 ‘Oh boatman!’
- 20** নারী হয় জন্ম নিচং
 [naɽi hɔya ʃɔnmo nicoŋ]
 Woman be.PRF birth take.PRF
 ‘I have taken birth as woman’
- 21** মনের মতন মানুষ না পাইলোং ।
 [mɔner mɔɽon manuʃ na pailoŋ]
 Mind-GEN like person not get-PST-1
 ‘did not get a person of (my) choice’
- 22** অল্প বয়সে ছাড়িলুং বিয়ার সোয়ামি

[ɔlpo bɔyɔfɛ cʰaɾilun biyar ʃoyami]

Little age leave-PST- 1 marriage husband

‘(I) left my husband at an early age’

23 নাইয়া রে

[naiya re]

24 পার করায় দেও চিঞ্জিরা নদী মোকে ॥ ২

[par koray dɛɔ **cincira nɔɟi** moke]

Cross do give Cincira river I.DAT

‘Take me to the other side of the river Cincira’

APPENDIX-V

(a) Recorded Speech with interlinear morphemic gloss

(1) [hɔnumani faɖʰon] হনুমানি সাধন

- SL. No Rajbanshi data, IPA, Meaning
- 1 হামরা ধান কাটচি ওয়া গাডছি, ভাদোর মাস
[hamra ɖʰan kaɖci oya gaɖci, bʰaɖor maʃ]
We paddy cut.HAB paddy-sapling seed Bhador month
'We used to cut paddy sapling, used to seed it, it was month of Bhador'
- 2 মঙ্গা আচোলো খুব
[mɔŋga acolo kʰub]
Starvation be.PST very
'It was the time of famine'
- 3 যিতির না মুই ওয়া গাড়ির গেছুং
[ʃiɽiner na mui oya gaɽir gecʰuŋ]
Jiten-GEN TAG I paddy-sapling seed-GEN go.PRF
'I have gone to seed paddy sapling to Jitin's field'
- 4 ওইটা চিড়া এত চাইরটা নিয়া গেইচে
[ɔiɽa ciɽa ɛɽ cair-ɽa niya geice]
That-CLF mixed-flattned rice this four-CLF take go.PRF
'That mixed falttened rice, a very little has brought'
- 5 নিদানি বিচন তোলা অটে
[niɖani bicon ɽola ɔɽe]
Old paddy-sapling lift there
'There we uproot the old paddy sapling'
- 6 গগন ঠাকুরদার বাড়ির অটে
[gɔgon ɽʰakurɖa-r baɽi-r ɔɽe]
Gagan grandfather-GEN house-GEN there
'It is near to grandfather Gagan's house'
- 7 মোক এলা কয় কি
[mok ɛla kɔy ki]
I.DAT now say.PRS what

- ‘What (he) says to me now’
- 8 এলা একেনা হনুমানি সাধন দিলং হয়
[ɛla ɛkena hɔnumani ʃaɖʰon ɖilonɔ ɦɔy]
Now once Hanumani invocation give-PRS be.PRS
‘Now we can give hanumani chant (an act of chanting)’
- 9 হনুমানি সাধন তো তোমারটেও আছে মোরটেও আছে
[hɔnumani ʃaɖʰon to tomartɛo ace mortɛo ace]
Hanumani chanting EMPH you.CLF.EMPH be.PRS I.CLF.EMPH
be.PRS
‘The invocation of Hanuman, you have and I have also’
- 10 তা মুই কং বনু তুই আগোত একেনা দেতো রে
[ta mui kɔŋ bɔnu tuɪ agoɖ ɛkena ɖɛto re]
EMPH I say.PRS brother-in-law you first.LOC one give.PRS EMPH
‘Then I say brother-in-law you try it first’
- 11 মোর মন্তরটা ভুল হয় না কি ?
[mor mɔntɔr-ta bʰul ɦɔy na ki]
My invocation-CLF wrong be.PRS TAG what
‘If my chanting is wrong’
- 12 তা তোরটা হইলে এলায় মোরটা এলায় দিম
[ta toɾta hoile ɛlay moɾta ɛlay ɖim]
EMPH your-CLF be.PST then my-CLF now give.FUT.1SG
‘If your chanting is right then I would do mine’
- 13 কতটা একটা খোপ উমায় একেবারে উকুরির কয়
[kɔɖta ɛkta ʰop umay ɛkebare ukurir kɔy]
Big.CLF one-CLF bunch he once uproot say.PRS.3SG
‘Its big bunch of Paddy-sapling, he asks me to uproot at once/at a stretch’
- 14 মুই তো ভাবোং মিচাং কং
[mui to bʰaibɔŋ micaŋ kɔŋ]
I EMPH think-PRF false say.PRS.1.SG
‘I think a while and lie’
- 15 মুই অইজইন্যো কং হনুমানী সাধনটা একটে দিচিতো
[mui oɪʒɪnɲo kɔŋ hɔnumani ʃaɖʰon-tæ ɛkɛ dicitɔ]
I that is why say.PRS.1SG Hanumani invocation-CLF one-CLF
give.PRF.EMPH
‘That’s why I say I have given chanting of Hanuman at a place’
- 16 মোর মন্তরটা যদি ভুল হয় রে তা তোর ঠিক আছে তো
[mor mɔntɔr-ta ʒɔɖɪ bʰul ɦɔy re ta toɾ ʰik ace to]
My invocation-CLF if wrong be.PRS you right be.PRS I.CLF.EMPH
‘If my chanting is wrong, you are right’

- My chanting-CLF if wrong be.PRS EMPH then your right be.PRS EMPH
‘If my chanting goes wrong, your chanting is right’
- 17 তা তুই আগোতে দেখাতো
[ta tui agoṭe dek^hato]
EMPH you before see.PRS
‘Then why don’t you show it before’
- 18 উমায় কয়টা উকরাইল কয়টা বড় বড় খোপ
[umay koyta ukraɪl koyta bɔɾ bɔɾ ʔop]
He few-CLF uproot-PST few-CLF big big bunch
‘He has uprooted few big bunches’
- 19 উকরিয়া এলা কয় কি
[ukriya ɛla kɔy ki]
Uprooted now say.PRS what
‘Having uprooted he says’
- 20 দেওয়ানি এলা এদোং কেমন হইল ?
[dɛɔyɔni ɛla ɛḍoŋ kemon hɔil]
Leader now like what be.PST
‘Now what has happened sir’
- 21 মুই তো ভাবির পয়া আগোতে ভাইবচোং
[mui ʔo b^habir paya agoṭe b^haibcoŋ]
I EMPH think get before think-PRF
‘I have already thought about it’
- 22 এদোং কেমন হইল
[ɛḍoŋ kemon hɔil]
Like how be.PST
‘How did it happen?’
- 23 এলা উঠিরও না পায় বসিরও না পায়
[ɛla u^hiro na pay bɔʃiro na pay]
Now rise not get sit-GEN not get
‘Now (he) is able to rise or sit down’
- 24 মুই কং বনু তোর মন্তর তো ভুল
[mui kɔŋ bɔnu ʔor monʔor ʔo b^hul]
I say.PRS.1 brother-in-law your chanting EMPH wrong
I say, brother in law your chanting is wrong
- 25 তাইলে মোর মন্তরও ভুল হইল হয়
[taile mor monʔoro b^hul hɔil hɔy]

- Then my chanting-EMPH wrong be.PRS
‘Evenn my chanting would have been wrong’
- 26 একে গুরুর শিক্ষা
[ɛke gurur ʃikkʰa]
One-INS mastar education
‘We got education from the same mastar’
- 27 মুই এলা দম নেং
[mui ɛla ɖɔm nəŋ]
I now rest take.PRS.1
‘Now I take rest’
- 28 উমায় কমরটা সোতায়
[umay kɔmorɔtæ ʃottay]
He waiste-CLF touch
‘He toches his waist’
- 29 সোত্তে সোত্তে বসিয়া বসিয়া কোনমতে বিচন ককানা তুলিল
[ʃotte ʃotte bɔʃiya bɔʃiya konomɔtɛ bicon kɔkana ɖulil]
Touch touch sit sit somehow paddy-sapling few uproot-PST
‘Touching his waist while sitting he uprooted some paddy-saplings’
- 30 এই এত্তখন সময় নিয়া গেইলং বাঘমারার দোলাৰ মইধ্যত
[ɛi ɛtto kʰɔn ʃɔmoy niya gei-l-ɔŋ bagʰ mara-r ɖola-r mɔiddʰ-ɔt]
This this moment time bring go-PRF.1.PL tiger die.GEN field middle-
LOC
It was very late (they) brought in the middle of Baghmara field
- 31 এত্তখন সময় এক্কেৰে চিয়া চাইৰটা খাইচি
[ɛtto-kʰan ʃɔmay ɛkkere ciya cairɔ kʰaici]
This moment time once grind rice few eat-PST
‘This was very late (we) had very little grind rice’
- 32 ওই দমতে তোমারও একেনা দম হয় গেলো
[ɔi ɖomɔtɛ ɖomaro ɛkena ɖɔm hɔya gɛlo]
Thay rest-LOC your-EMPH little rest be.PRF go-PST
‘In that rest you could take also little rest’
- 33 তারপরে এলা অটে থাকি আসি ভাত খামো
[ɔarpore ɛla ɔtɛ tʰaki aʃi bʰaɔ kʰamo]
After now there from come rice eat-FUT-2.PL
‘After that we will have our food’
- 34 ভাদর মাসি মঙ্গা আচোলো
[bʰaɖor maʃi mɔŋga acolo]

- Bhador month famine be.PST
‘It was famine of month Bhador’
- 35 এতলা জলোত গাইরলোং ওয়া
[ɛttola ʃoloʃ gairlonɔ oya]
This-PL water-LOC plant-PST sapling
‘Planted sapling in this much water’
- 36 বাড়ি আসিলোং তবেশিনি **আন্দুনি** জল নিয়া জায়া চড়ায়
[bari aʃilonɔ tʃobeʃini **anduni** ʃol niya ʃaya cɔʃay]
Home came then cook water take go prepare.PRS
‘When we came back home then the cook starts preparing food ’
- 37 দেইকচিস বেলা এত্তি
[dɛikciʃ bɛla ɛttɪ]
See.PST sun here
‘See, it was very late’
- 38 আর মুই **গোয়াইল ঘর** কোনাত থাকি আচোং
[ar mui **goyail ghɔr** konat tʃhaki acoŋ]
And I cowshed-house corner-LOC lie be.PRF
‘And I was lying down in the corner of the cowshed’
- 39 আর পুব মুকে তো দুবোর
[ar pub muke to dɔbor]
And east face EMPH door
‘The door was facing in the east direction’
- 40 **আন্দন ঘর** কোনা দক্ষিনের ঘরোত
[**andon ghɔr** kona dʃkʰiner ghɔrot]
Kitchen house CLF south-GEN room-LOC
‘The kitchen is in the south facing room’
- 41 মোর দেকা যায় **ঝক ঝক** করি
[mor dɛka Jay **ʃɔk ʃɔk** kori]
I.GEN see go.PRS clearly do
‘I am able to see everything clearly’
- 42 মুই কোনো কং না
[mui kono kɔŋ na]
I something say.PRS.1 not
‘I don’t say anything’
- 43 উমায় কওয়ার নাইগচে **নাই নাই নাই**
[umay kooyar naigce **nai nai nai**]

- He say.GEN get.PRF not not not
'She is saying not not not '
- 44 ডেকসিটা আনিয়া জল্লা আকাত ঢালি দিল
[dɛkʃi-ta aniya ʒolla akaɾ dʰali d̪il]
Bowl-CLF bring water-PL oven empty give.PST
'Brought the big bowl of water and empty it in the oven'
- 45 ডেকসিটা ব্যাঙ্কাইল
[dɛkʃi-ta bɛkkail]
Big bowl-CLF take out-PST
'Took out the big bowl (from the oven)'
- 46 মুই দেকিরে নাইগচোং বোল টুল টুল করি
[mui dɛkire naigcoŋ bol ʈul ʈul kəri]
I see get-PRF DM attentively do
'I was looking at it very attentively'
- 47 কামলা মানুষ মুই কোনো কওয়ার ধরচুং না
[kamla manuʃ mui kono kɔyar dʰɔrcuŋ na]
Labour man I something say-GEN hold-PRS not
'I am a labour, was not saying anything'
- 48 তারপর কয় কি আইজ দশ ছয় আনা করিম
[tarpɔr kɔy ki aiʒ d̪ɔʃ cʰɔy ana kərim]
After say what today ten six penny do-FUT.1
'Then (he) says Today I am going to finish you'
- 49 আং করি কয় দশ ছয় আনা করিম
[æŋ kəri kɔy d̪ɔʃ cʰɔy ana kərim]
Like that do ten six penny do-FUT-1
I am going to finish you like this..
- 50 ফির জললা আনিল, আনি আকার জললা ছেকিল
[pʰir ʒɔl-la anil, ani aka-r ʒolla cʰɛkil]
Again water-PL bring-PST brought oven-GEN water-PL drain
'Again (she) brought water, then drained the water of the oven'
- 51 কোনোমতে ডাইল ভাজা আর ভাত আন্দিল
[konomɔtɛ d̪ail bʰaʒæ ar bʰaɾ and̪il]
Somehow pulse fry and rice cook-PST
'(She) somehow cooked rice, pulses and fried item '
- 52 গরম ভাত অদি নামেয়া ফির দেইল
[gɔrom bʰaɾ ɔd̪i nameya pʰir d̪eil]
[gɔrom bʰaɾ ɔd̪i nameya pʰir d̪eil]

- Hot rice instantly down again give.PST
‘Instantly bringing it down from the oven she started serving’
- 53 উমায় বইসচে **ডাইনপাকে**
[umay boiʃce ɖainpake]
He sat right side
‘He sat on the right side’
- 54 আর মুই বইসচোং হেদি
[ar mui boiʃcoŋ heɖi]
And I sat that side
‘And I sat on that direction’
- 55 উয়াকে আগোত দেওয়া খাইবে
[uyake agoɖ ɖeɔya kʰaibe]
He-DAT.EMPH before give eat.FUT
‘He will have to serve first’
- 56 তারপরে তো মোক দিবে
[tarpore to mok ɖibe]
After-EMPH EMPH I.DAT give.FUT
‘After that I will be served’
- 57 খাওয়ার ধরচি
[kʰaɔyar dʰɔrci]
Eat.GEN hold.PRS
‘(We) are having our food’
- 58 ওই গেলাসটাত ফির জল নাই
[ɔi gelaʃtət pʰir ʃol nai]
That glass-CLF-LOC again water not
‘That glass of water is empty (no water)’
- 59 হাত ধুইয়া তাত ধুইয়া থাল খুল আকেলে শেষ কইরচে
[haɖ ɖʰuiya tət ɖʰuiya tʰal tʰul akele ʃeʃ koirce]
Hand wash RED wash plate RED wash end do.PRF
‘After dishwashing and handwashing (the water) must have finished’
- 60 আন্দুনিও ধকর পকর করি ভাত আন্দিচে
[andunio ɖʰɔkor pɔkor kori bʰaɖ andice]
Cook-EMPH hurriedly do rice cook-PRF
‘The cook has made all these preparations hurriedly’
- 61 ভাতগিলা আনিয়া নম্বা মানুষ হালিয়া দেওয়া খায় না গরম ভাত
[bʰaɖgila aniya nɔmba manuʃ haliya ɖeɔya kʰay na ɡɔrom bʰaɖ]

- Rice-PL bring tall person bend give eat TAG hot rice
‘When she comes to serve hot rice, very tall person she has to bend’
- 62 উমায় গেলাসটা তুলি গালোত নাগে দেয়
[umay gɛlasta t̪uli galot̪ nage d̪ɛy]
He glass-CLF lift cheek-LOC aim give.PRS
‘He lifts the glass and almost touch her cheek’
- 63 অল্পে একেনা এক আঙ্গুল ফাক
[ɔlpɛ ɛkena ɛk aŋgul pʰak]
A little tiny one finger distance
‘It is a very little distance, almost one finger’
- 64 আর কয় দশ ছয় আনা করিম , দশ ছয় আনা করিম
[ar kɔy d̪ɔʃ ɕʰɔy ana kɔrim, d̪ɔʃ ɕʰɔy ana kɔrim]
And say.PRS ten six penny do.FUT.1 ten six penny do.FUT.1
And (he) says I am going to murder you today, murder you today
- 65 মুই কং এই যে খান হয়
[mui kɔŋ ei ʃe kʰan hɔy]
I say.PRS this that eating be.PRS
‘I say, I may not be able to eat’
- 66 যদি এলায় একটা বসে দেয়
[ʃɔd̪ɪ ɛlay ɛkʰa bɔʃɛ d̪ɛy]
If now one-CLF sit give
‘If he is going to beat her up’
- 67 তেইতো এলায় কান্দিবে না মোকে ভাত দিবে
[t̪ɛit̪o ɛlay kandiɓe na moke bʰat̪ d̪ibe]
Then now cry-FUT not me rice give-FUT
‘Then What she will do cry or will give me food’
- 68 আর প্যাটোত তো হাং হাং করি ভোগ নাগিচে
[ar pɛt̪ot̪ to haŋ haŋ kori bʰog nagice]
And stomach-LOC EMPH empty hunger get-PRF
‘my stomach was empty, (I was damn hungry)’
- 69 বাপ রে বাপ
[bap re bap]
Father DM father
‘Oh God!’
- 70 তারপরে উয়াক দেয় এক হাতা গরম ভাত
[t̪arpore uyak d̪ɛy ɛk haʈa gɔrom bʰat̪]
After he.DAT give.PRS one spoon hot cooked rice

- ‘Then (She) gives him one spoon cooked rice
- 71 মোর ফুরায় তাড়াতাড়ি
[mor p^huray t̪aɽaɽaɽi]
Mine finished fastly
‘I finish it quickly’
- 72 মুই গরম ভাত খিব খাবার পাং হ্যাঁ
[mui gɔrom b^haɽ k^hib k^habar paŋ hẽ]
I hot cooked rice very eat get.PRS Yes
‘Yes, I can eat hot cooked rice a lot’
- 73 আঁকা থাকি যদি নামে দেয় না তোমরা একবার খাইতে খাইতে মুই তিনবার খাইম
[ãka t̪^haki JoɽI name dey na to̪mra ekbar k^haite k^haite mui tinbar k^haim]
Oven from if down give not you one-time eat eat I three time eat.FUT
‘Even if it is too hot, just got it from the oven before you finish one I could finish three ’
- 74 মোর গরম ভাত খাওয়া অভ্যাস আছে
[mor gɔrom b^haɽ k^haɔya əbb^haʃ ace]
I.GEN hot rice eat habit Be.PRS
‘I have the habit of eating hot cooked rice’
- 75 মোর খালি প্যাটটা ভইরলে হয়
[mor k^hali pɛt̪ta b^hairle hoy]
I.GEN only stomach-CLF full be.PRS
‘If only my stomach gets full’
- 76 বাল তারপর অত্তি দশ ছয় আনা করেন না চোইদ্দ ছয় আনা করেন
[bal t̪arpɔɽ ətt̪i d̪ɔʃ ɕ^hɔy ana kɔren na ɕoiddo ɕ^hɔy ana kɔren]
Slang then there ten six penny do.HON not fourteen six penny do.PRS.HON
‘Then you beat here or do not beat her, it is upto you’
- 77 এই বখনে একনা তকারি দিয়ার আইসে
[ei ʃ^hɔk^hone ekna t̪ɔkari ðiyar aife]
This when once vegetable give come
‘Whenever (she) comes to serve vegetables ’
- 78 হালি দেওয়া খায় না গরম ডাইল
[hali deɔya k^hay na gɔrom ðail]
Bend give.PRS. eat TAG hot pulse
‘(She) has to bend to serve, its very hot pulse’
- 79 ওই গেলাসটা তোলে তুলিয়া গালের বগোলোত আনে

- [ɔi gɛlaʃta ʈole ʈuliya galɛr bɔgoloʈ anɛ]
That glass-CLF lift.PRF cheek-GEN near-LOC bring.PRS
'Lifting that glass, bring it near her cheek'
- 80 দশ ছয় আনা করিম
[dʌʃ ɕʰɔy ana kɔrim]
Ten six penny do.FUT.1.SG
'I am going to beat/finish you'
- 81 ও বাপো গেলাসটা বোধায় দেয় নাগে
[o bapo gɛlaʃta bodʰay dɛy nage]
Oh father-EMPH glass-CLF probably get
'Oh my God! The glass almost touches her cheek'
- 82 এদং করিয়া মুই খালি কাউসে কাউসে খাং
[ɛdɔŋ kɔriya mui kʰali kauʃɛ kauʃɛ kʰaŋ]
Like this do.PRF I empty speedily eat.PRS.1
'Like this, I eat very hurriedly'
- 83 প্যাটটা আগোত ভরুক বাপো ভাল নোমায়
[pɛʈ-ʈa agoʈ bʰoruk bapo bʰal nomay]
Stomach-CLF before fill father-EMPH good not.PRS
'The stomach has to be full at first, you never know'
- 84 কান্দিবে না মোকে দিবে
[kanɖibe na moke dibe]
Cry-FUT not I.DAT give-FUT
'(She) will cry or she will serve to me'
- 85 তারপর খাইতে খাইতে এদোং করিয়া মোরতো প্যাট ভরি গেলো
[ʈarpɔr kʰaite kʰaite ɛdɔŋ kɔriya moɾto pɛʈ bʰori gɛlo]
After that eating eating like do,PRF mine-EMPH stomach full go-PST
'While eating like this my stomach gets full'
- 86 আর এত্ত কোনা একেনা বিচন উকরাচি খায়া দায়া
[ar ɛʈʈokona ɛkena bicon ukraci kʰaya ɖaya]
And this little little paddy-sapling uproot-PST eat RED-eat
'After eating and the like (we) uprooted only few bunch of paddy saplings'
- 87 আর এলা ঢবগারচওড়া গেলো মাসিক কইল উয়ার শঙ্করিক
[ar ɛla dʰɔbgarcɔɾa gɛlo mafik kɔil uyar ʃɔʃurik]
And now Dhabgarcaora go-PST aunt-DAT say-PST his mother-in-law
'And (he) has gone to Dhabgarcaura and said it to aunt, his mother in law'
- 88 দেওয়ানিক বাড়ি যাওয়ার না দেন

- [d̪eoyanik baʃi Jaɔyar na d̪ɛn]
Leader-DAK house go-GEN not give.PRS.HON
'Please not allow sir to go home'
- 89 তখন তো খানটা কাউকাসাং করি খাইলোং
[t̪ɔkʰon t̪o kʰanʈa kaukaʃaŋ kɔri kʰailoŋ]
Then EMPH eating-CLF mess do eat-PST-1
Then we could not eat properly our food, it was a mess'
- 90 মাচ বুলি যাং মাছ আনোং যেয়া
[mac buli Jaŋ mac anoŋ Jeɣya]
Fish for go-PRS.1 fish bring.PRS.1 go.PRS
(1) go to get fish, I bring fish
- 91 মুই এলা কং ভাত যে খান খাইচোং গরম ভাত
[mui ɛla kɔŋ bʰaʈ Je kʰan kʰaicoŋ gɔrom bʰaʈ]
I now say.PRS cooked rice that eat-PRF hot rice
'Now I say, I eat a lot that hot cooked rice'
- 92 আর চাউল আদা সের আলায় মোর ফাও যাইবে না
[ar caul aɖe fer əlay mor pʰao Jaibe na]
And rice half kilo then mine nothing go-FUT TAG
'And mine half kilo rice will go invain'
- 93 আর ভাত খাইম এলায় এত দুকুনা
[ar bʰaʈ kʰaim ɛlay ɛt̪dukuna]
And rice eat.FUT.1 now this two-CLF
'And I will eat this very little food'
- 94 না নাগে মুই কং ও বাহে মাসি আর একদিন খাইম
[na nage mui kɔŋ o bahe maʃi ar ɛkɖin kʰaim]
Not get I say.PRS oh dear aunt and one day eat-FUT.1
'I don't need, I say Oh dear aunt! I will eat another day'
- 95 মাইয়া ছাওয়া মোর তো বাঁচা খাইবে চাউল আদা সের আনিয়া
[maiya ch̪aoya mor t̪o baca kʰaibe caul aɖa ʃer aniya]
Wife child mine EMPH save eat-FUT.1 rice half kilo bring.PRF
'Habing brought half kilo of rice I will have save may family'
- 96 মুই তো আর আইতোত খাইম না
[mui t̪o ar aiʈot̪ kʰaim na]
I EMPH and night-LOC eat-FUT not
'And I wont eat at night'
- 97 আগোত তো অভাব আচোলো খুব

- [agot̪ to ɔb^han acolo k^hub]
Before-LOC EMPH scarcity be.PST very
'It was very insufficient earlier'
- 98 তা কং না খাং মাসি আর একদিন খাইম
[t̪a kɔŋ na k^haŋ maʃi ar ɛkɔ̃ɪn k^haim]
Then say.PRS.1 not eat.PRS.1 aunt and one day eat.FUT.1
'Then I say aunt, I wont eat today, I will eat another day'
- 99 মাচ এলায় খাইম একেনা আর ভাত এলায় খাইম এত দুকুনা
[mac ɛlay k^haim ɛkena ar b^haʈ ɛlay k^haim ɛt̪ ɖukuna]
Fish now eat.FUT-1 one-CLF and rice now this two-CLF
'I will eat one fish and rice a very little'
- 100 চাউল্লা এলায় মোর ফাও যাইবে
[caulla ɛlay mor p^hao ʃaibe]
Rice-PL now mine unnessary go-FUT-3
'I will loose the rice unnessarily'
- 101 আর তাতে উয়ার আগ দেইকচোং ডাঙ্গার
[ar t̪aʈe uyar ag ɖɛikcoŋ ɖaŋgar]
And then his anger see.PRF hit
'And then I had seen his anger, his hitting'
- 102 আর উয়ার বউ কয় কি জখনে গালোত এও করে
[ar uyar bɔu kɔy ki ʃɔk^hone gal-oʈ ɛo kɔre]
And his wife say.PRS what whenever cheek-LOC DM do.PRS
'And his wife says, whenever he brings (the glass) near to her cheek'
- 103 ডাইল টাইল দেওয়া হয় যায যাওয়ার মুকত কইল্লে হয় কইল্লে হয়
[ɖail t̪ail ɖɛɔya hɔya ʃay ʃaɔyar mukot̪ kɔille hɔy kɔille hɔy]
Pulse RED pulse give be.PRF go-GEN face-LOC be.PRS do.FUT be.PRS
'She has finished serving pulse and etc and she is about to leave and say you can do it, you can do it'
- 104 বেটিছাওয়া মানশির গালা চিকোন না
[bɛt̪iɕaɔya manʃir gala cikon na]
Daughter child person-GEN neck narrow TAG
The woman got a very creaky voice
- 105 মুই কং বাপো এটা ফির মরে ক্যা রে
[mui kɔŋ bapo ɛt̪a p^hir mɔre kɛ re]
I say.PRS.1 father.EMPH this-CLF again die why DM
'I say Oh God, why does she want to get hit'
- 106 যদি উঠিয়া নাগে দেয় তেইতো হয় খাইবে

[ʃɔɖɪ ut^hiya nage ɖey ʃeɪto hɔya Jaibe]
 If rise get give-PRS then.EMPH be go.FUT.
 ‘If (he) gets up and start beating her then it will happen’

(2) [ɔnnoɖababu] *অন্নদাবাবু*

SL. Rajbanshi data, IPA, Meaning

No

- 1 কংগ্রেচ আশলে বিয়াও হইল কোটে?
 [kɔŋrec ambole biyaɔ hɔil kote]
 Congress regime marriage-EMPH be.PST where
 ‘A marriage has taken place at the time of Congress regime’
- 2 [panik^haoya-t̪] পানিখাওয়াত
 Water eat-LOC
 ‘at Pani khaoya’
- 3 ওই আর অ্যাটে হইল, এই যে অন্নদা, অন্নদাবাবু
 [ɔi ar ɛɛ hɔil ei Je ɔnnoɖa ɔnnoɖa babu]
 That and here be.PST this that Annada Annada sir
 ‘That, it took place there, this Annada, Annada Sir’
- 4 এই যে অমুল্যকার শশুরবাড়ির অটে
 [ei Je ɔmullokar ʃɔʃur baɽir ɔɛ]
 This that Amulya-uncle-GEN father-in-law house-GEN there
 ‘(It) is near to the father in law’s house of uncle Amulya’
- 5 হামার খড়বড়ুর শশুরবাড়ির অটে
 [hamar k^hɔɽbɔɽur ʃɔʃur baɽi-r ɔɛ]
 Our kharbaru-GEN father-in-law house-GEN there
 ‘ It is near to the father-in-law’s house of Our Kharbaru ’
- 6 তা বিয়ার বাড়ি গেইচে
 [t̪a biyar baɽi geice]
 Then marriage-GEN house go.PRF
 ‘Then people have gone to the wedding place’
- 7 অদি তো পানিখাওয়ার লোকগিলা কেমন গিদাল চাটা
 [ɔɖi t̪o panik^haoyar lok-gila kemon gid̪al caɽa]
 There EMPH water-eat-GEN people-PL how actor lick
 ‘There the people of Panikhaoya is actor loving’

- 8 এই যে বিষহারার দল
[ei Je **bifoharar** d̪ol]
This that poison loose-GEN group
'That group of Bishhara actor'
- 9 অটে দোতারার দল
[ɔt̪e **do̪torar** d̪ol]
There two strings-GEN group
'there group of musicians play two strings instrument (dotara)'
- 10 অইল্লা গিদালচাটা লোক
[ɔilla gid̪al ca̪ta lok]
That-PL actor lick people
'Those acting loving people'
- 11 গিদালচাটা লোক জানিস তো
[gid̪al ca̪ta lok Janiʃto]
Actor lick people know-EMPH
'You must be knowing this acting loving people'
- 12 গিদালি লোক খানেক ফয়চা থাকে
[gid̪ali-lok kʰanek pʰɔyca tʰake]
Actor-people little clown stay
'These acting loving people are little clownish'
- 13 তা বিয়াও খাবার গেইচে
[t̪a biyaɔ kʰabar geice]
Then marriage-EMPH eat go-PRF
'Then they went to attend the marriage'
- 14 তা বিয়াও খায়া অন্নদাবাবু চেয়ারোত বসি ঠ্যাং ঝকায়
[t̪a biyaɔ kʰaya ɔnno̪d̪ababu ceyaro̪t̪ bɔʃi tʰɛŋ ʃʰɔkay]
Then marriage eating Annada sir chair-LOC sitting leg shake.PRS
'After reaching there in the wedding party Annada sir sitting on the chair shakes his legs'
- 15 আং করি ঠ্যাং বোলে ঝকায়
[ɛŋ kori tʰɛŋ bole ʃʰɔkay]
Like this do leg like shake.PRS
'He shakes legs like this'
- 16 আর পাকুনি ওই মাংসের তকারি দেয়
[ar **pakuni** oi maŋʃer t̪kari d̪ey]
And cook that meat-GEN vegetable give.PRS.3
'And the cook distributes pieces of meat'

- 17 আর মনে করে বোল আর একেনা দেং
 [ar mone kore j^hol ar ekena dɛŋ]
 And mind do soup and little give.PRS
 ‘He thinks in mind that a little soup of meat I must distribute’
- 18 খালি মাংস দুই টুমা দিলুং
 [k^hali maŋʃo dui t^huma dɪluŋ]
 Only meat two pieces give.PST.1
 ‘Only I have given two pieces of meat’
- 19 বোল একেনা দিলে ভাত দুইটা খাইল হয়
 [ʃ^hol ekena dɪle b^haʈ duiʈa k^hail hɔy]
 Soup a little give rice two-CL eat-PRS be.PRS
 ‘If he gives a little soup they can eat rest of the rice’
- 20 আর দেওয়ানি যে কইচে বচ
 [ar dɛɔyani ʃe kɔice bɔc]
 And the leader that say.PRF ok
 ‘And the leader has said okay’
- 21 আরো এলাচ করির পায় উমায়
 [aro ɛlac kɔrir pay umay]
 More cardemomom do.GEN get he
 ‘He cannot give more’
- 22 অ্যায় তারপরে ঝারে পাতোতে দেউক
 [ɛy ʈarpore ʃhare paʈote dɛuk]
 DM after whose plate-EMPH-LOC give.PRS
 ‘Then (he) whomsoever serves’
- 23 উমায় বচ কবার নাগিচে
 [umay bɔc kɔbar nagice]
 He ok say.GEN get.PRF
 ‘He is saying okay’
- 24 আর ঠ্যাং ঝাকাইচে
 [ar t^hɛŋ ʃhɔkaɪce]
 And leg shkes.PRF
 ‘And he shakes his leg’
- 25 আরে কম যদি জিনিস আইনচিস আন্দুনিক কবু ভাই
 [are kɔm ʃɔɽi ʃiniʃ ainciʃ aŋdunik kɔbu b^hai]
 DM less if things bring-PRF cook-DAT say.FUT brother
 ‘If you have brought less things then you say to the cook that brother..’

- 26 এই জিনিস এইটা দিয়া সন্তাষণ করবু
 [ei Jiniʃ eiʈa ɖiya ʃombʰaʃon kɔrbu]
 This thing this-CLF give serve do-FUT
 ‘This is the thing, you will have serve only this’
- 27 তুই কাকো বোল দে আর কাকো ঠুমা দে তার মুই নাই
 [tʰui kako ʃʰol ɖe ar kako tʰuma ɖe ʈar mui nai]
 You someone soup give someone piece give that I not
 ‘Whether you serve someone soup or pieces of meat, I am not responsible’
- 28 তার ওকান আরো কোন দেওয়ানিগিরি
 [ʈar okan aro kon ɖeɔyanigiri]
 Its that-CLF and what leadership
 ‘What is that leadership?’
- 29 সাগাইগিলা বইসচে চইতোরপাকে আইন্নাত
 [ʃagaigila boiʃce ɔiʈorpake ainnaʈ]
 Relative-PL sit.PRF everyside front courtyard
 ‘The relatives sat everyside on the front courtyard’
- 30 উমায় এক দোতোরোত বসিয়া বগোলোলত বসিয়া ঠ্যাং ঝকায় আর বচ
 [umay ek ɖotoʈoroʈ boʃiya boʃoloʈ boʃiya tʰeŋ ʃʰokay ar bɔc]
 He one corner-LOC sit near-LOC sit leg shake and okay
 ‘He sits at the corner and shakes his legs and says okay’
- 31 দেওয়ানি বচ করি ফ্যালাইচে
 [ɖeoyani bɔc kori pʰelaice]
 Leader okay do throw.PRF
 ‘The leader has said okay’
- 32 তারপরে এলা দেওয়া শ্যাম হইচে
 [ʈarpore ɛla ɖeoya ʃɛʃ hoice]
 After now give end be.PRF
 ‘Then the food serving came to an end’
- 33 আর গিদাললা কয়
 [ar gidalla koy]
 And actor-PL say.PRS.3
 ‘The actors say’
- 34 ইমার এত্তি বোলে বচ
 [imar ɛtt̩ bole bɔc]
 His there EP okay
 ‘At there place its okay’

- 35 আর হামরা এলা কি করি রে
[ar hamra ɛla ki kɔri re]
And we now what do DM
'And now what are we going to do?'
- 36 দেওয়ানিক নিমন্তান দেওয়া খায়
[d̪ɛɔyanik nimɔnt̪an d̪ɛɔya kʰay]
Leader-DAT invitation give eat.PRS.
'We will have to invite this leader'
- 37 এই যে সগায় খায়া-দায়া দেওয়ানিক অনুরোধ
[ei Je ʃɔgɔy kʰaya-d̪aya d̪ɛɔyanik ɔnuɔd̪h]
This that all eat RED eat leader-DAT request
'After eating and the like, all of them request to the leader'
- 38 দেওয়ানি, আর গাঞ্চা গালাত বান্ধে দেওয়ানি অনুরোধ
[d̪ɛɔyani, ar ganca galat̪ band̪e d̪ɛɔyani ɔnuɔd̪h]
Leader and towel neck-LOC tie leader request
'They tie up the towel at the neck and request earnestly to the leader'
- 39 তোমার ঝেনো চরন ধুলি পাই
[t̪ɔmar ʃhɛno ɔron d̪huli pai]
Your must leg dust get
'You must grace the occasion with your grand presence'
- 40 দেওয়ানি তো ভাবে নাই মানে এইটা কইবে মোক
[d̪ɛɔyani t̪o bʰabe nai mane eiʃta kɔibe mok]
Leader EMPH think not men this-CLF say.FUT I.DAT
'The leader never thought that they will say this things to him'
- 41 তো সবায় কয়
[t̪o ʃɔbay kɔy]
DM all say.PRS
'All of them say'
- 42 আর এক্কেবারে ভক্তি দেয়
[ar ɛkkebare bʰɔkt̪i d̪ɛy]
And at a time kowtow give.PRS
And all of them at once touch his feet
- 43 বর আরো কি ভক্তি দেয়, দিয়া কয়
[bɔr aro ki bʰɔkt̪i d̪ɛy, d̪iya kɔy]
Bride-groom and what kowtow give.PRS give.PRF say.PRS
'it surpasses touching feet of the bridegroom, and they say'

- 44 বাপ কি সম্মানোত পরলুং রে
[bap ki ʃommanoʈ pɔrluŋ re]
Father what respect-LOC fall-PST DM
‘Oh my God, What a respect I am getting’
- 45 দেওয়ানি কয় মনে মনে কি সম্মানোত পরলুং
[d̪eoyani kɔy mɔne mɔne ki ʃommanoʈ pɔrluŋ]
Leader say.PRS mind mind respect-LOC fall.PST
The contemplates in mind that what a respect I am getting
- 46 তা দেওয়ানি ফির গেইচে অটে
[t̪a d̪eoyani pʰir geice ɔt̪e]
Then leader again go.PRF there
‘Then the leader has gone there’
- 47 আর দেওয়ানি এই ডাইনপাকে বইসো
[ar d̪eoyani ei ɖainpake boiʃo]
And leader this rightside sit.PRS
‘And the leader you please sit at the rightside’
- 48 তোমার সিট এদি ডাইনপাকে বইসো
[tomar ʃit̪ eɖi ɖainpake boiʃo]
Your sit this side rightsie sit.PRS
‘Your sit is this side, please sit at the right hand side’
- 49 ডাইনপাকে বসাইচে
[ɖainpake boʃaice]
Right-side sit.pRF
(He) was sat at the rightside
- 50 আন্দুনিটা আসিয়ায় বোনো উয়াকে দেয়
[and̪uni-t̪a aʃiyay ʃʰeno uyake d̪ey]
Cook-CLF come then him-EMP give
‘While coming he could serve him first’
- 51 জাবার সময়ও বোনো উয়াকে দেয়
[ʃabar ʃomoyo ʃʰeno uyake d̪ey]
Go.GEN time.EMPH then him.EMP give.PRS
‘While returning he could give him’
- 52 শ্যাষ নিগরানি অটে ডাইনপাকে
[ʃɛʃ nigrani ɔt̪e ɖainpake]
End remnant there rightside
‘All the remnants at the right side’

- 53 এলা আন্দুনিক কয়া দিচে
 [ɛla andʊnik kɔya d̪ice]
 Now cook-DAT say.PRF give.PRF
 ‘The cook has been told about this’
- 54 হয় আইসপার সময় তুই পুরা দিবু
 [hɔy aɪspar ʃɔmɔy t̪ui pura d̪ibu]
 Be come-GEN time you full give.FUT
 ‘While coming you give him full spoon’
- 55 আর যাওয়ার সময় ফির দিবু
 [ar Jaɔyar ʃɔmɔy pʰir d̪ibu]
 And go..GEN time again give-FUT
 ‘And while returning you would give him’
- 56 দুইবার দিলে দেওয়ানির মন শান্তি
 [d̪uɪbar d̪ile d̪eɔyanir mɔn ʃant̪i]
 Two time give leader-GEN mind happy
 ‘After getting two times the leader is happy’
- 57 বাপ ভালো তো মাংস দেয়
 [bap bʰalo t̪o maŋʃo d̪ey]
 Father good EMPH meat give.PRS
 ‘Oh God, they distribute quite a good amount of meat’
- 58 আর তিনবার দেয়
 [ar t̪inbar d̪ey]
 And three times give.PRS
 ‘And gives him thrice’
- 59 আর খাওয়ার না পায়
 [ar kʰaɔyar na pay]
 And eat.GEN not get.PRS
 ‘And he is not able to eat’
- 60 চাইরবার দেয়
 [cairbar d̪ey]
 Four time give
 ‘he serve him four times’
- 61 আর না না নাগে
 [ar na na nage]
 And not not get
 ‘And I don’t want more’

- 62 এতো দেয়
[eʈo ɖɛy]
This much give
'Give him too much'
- 63 দেওয়ানি কোনো অসুস্ত না হন
[ɖɛɔyani kono ɔʃuʈoʃʈo na hɔn]
Leader some unhappy not be.PRS.HON
'The leader don't be unhappy'
- 64 তোমার অতি তো বচ
[ʈɔmar ɔʈʈ ʈo bɔc]
Your there EMPH okay
'At your place its 'okay''
- 65 হামার এতি বোল এলাচ, যতপান
[hamar ɛʈʈi bol ɛlac ʃɔʈʈɔpan]
Our here EP cardamom as much as you want
'At your place it is less, but at our place as much as you want'
- 66 তারপর দেওয়ানি তো উপর মুখ
[ʈarɔr ɖɛɔyani ʈo ʊpɔr muk]
After leader EMPH above face
'After that the leader got ashamed'
- 67 আর তো পায় না
[ar ʈo pay na]
And EMPH get.PRS not
'And he is able to finish it'
- 68 আর না না না
[ar na na na]
And not not not
'And he says not'
- 69 তাতো দেয় এক ডাবি
[ʈaʈo ɖɛy ɛk ɖabi]
Even after give.PRS one bigspoon
'Even after that they give him one more spoon'
- 70 আর কত খায়
[ar kɔʈo kʰay]
And this eat.PRS
'And how much will he eat?'

- 71 তারপর এই যে গেলাস অটে পাচদুবোরোত অদি করি মুক ধুইয়া
 [ʈarpɔr ei Je gɛlaʃ ɔʈɛ pac ɖubɔrot ɔɖi kɔri muk ɖhuiya]
 After this that glass there back door-LOC there do face wash.PRF
 After washing his face he escapes from the back exit with utter sham
- 72 ওই গুয়া টুয়া বিড়ি টিড়ি খাওয়া নাই
 [ɔi guya ʈuya biʈi ʈiʈi kʰaɔya nai]
 That nut-beetel- RED bidi RED bidi eat.PRF not
 ‘Even without taking nutbeetel’
- 73 দেওয়ানি অদি এক্কেরে ফুট বাড়ি
 [ɖɛɔyɔni ɔɖi ɛkkere pʰuʈ baʈi]
 Leader there once run home
 ‘The leader runs home’
- 74 অন্নদাবাবু উয়ার নাম
 [ɔnnɔɖababu uyar nam]
 Annadababu his name
 His name is Annadabau
- 75 আগোত ইয়ার কাপোড় দিচিলো
 [agoʈ iyar kapoʈ dicilo]
 Early-LOC it cloth give.PRF
 ‘He used to give clothes of the Society’
- 76 সোসাইটির কাপোড় দিচিলো
 [ʃɔʃaiʈir kapoʈ dicilo]
 Society-GEN cloth give-PST
 (He) gave clothes of the society

(3) [kɔinar maɔ] কইনার মাও

| SL. No | Rajbanshi data, IPA, Meaning |
|-----------|---|
| 1 | মানিকের না কইনা দেখির গেচুং বডার [manik-er na kɔina ɖeki-r geicoŋ bɔɖar] Manik-GEN TAG bride see go-PST border (I) went to see Manik’s bride in border |
| 2 | এই যে গল্প ছাড়ি দিচোং কোন গল্প |

- [ei Je ɡɔlpo cʰaɽi dɪcoŋ kon ɡɔlpo]
This that story leave give what story
'I started chitchatting, what a story!'
- 3 তা একটা ভোম্মা টোম্মা মানুষ দেখোং
[ta ek-ta bʰomma ʈomma manuʃ
ɽɛkoŋ]
EMP one-CLF fat RED-fat man see-PRS
'I see a very fatty person'
- 4 মুই ভাবোং কত যকো শিকখিতো রে বাপো যদি ফির গল্প ভুল
হয়
[mui bʰaboŋ kɔʈo ʃoko ʃikkʰiʈo re bapo
ʃɔɽi pʰir ɡɔlpo bʰul hɔy]
I think-PRS what like educated EMP
father if agagin story mistake be
'I think the person must be a very educated
one and if he commits mistake while
narrating story'
- 5 উমায় আও করির নাইগচে না
[umay aɔ kɔrir naigce na]
He tals do get-PRS not
'He is not talking'
- 6 চুপ করি আছে
[cup kɔri ace]
Silent do be
'(He) is maintaing silence'
- 7 আর অনেক গল্প করলুং করি একেবারে মোর সন্দেহ বাজিল
[ar ɔnek ɡɔlpo kɔrluŋ kɔri eke-bare mor
ʃɔndɛho baʃil]
And many story do-PST doing one-time
I.GEN doubt ring.PST
'After narrating so many stories once I
started doubting'
- 8 এই লোকটা বহু গল্প করলুং একটা তো কতা কয় না

- [ei lok-ʈa bɔhu ɡɔlpɔ kɔrluŋ ɛkʈa
ʈɔ kɔʈa kɔy na]
This person-CLF many story do-PST one-
CLF EMP words say not
That person not even uttered a single word,
(I) have narrated so many stories
- 9 যদি মোর ভুল হইতে পারে গল্প কইরতে কইরতে
[ʈɔdi mor bʰul hoite pare ɡɔlpɔ kɔirʈe
kɔirʈe]
If I.GEN mistake from become story do
RED do (while doing)
'(I) may make mistakes while narrating
stories'
- 10 হিড়িম করি ধরি ফ্যালাইলে হয়।
[hiʈim kɔri ɖʰori pʰɛlai-l-e hoɣ]
Sudden do hold fall-PST-EMPH be
'All of a sudden (he) can catch my
mistakes'
- 11 মুইও আইসচোং বিদ্যাশ
[mui-o aɪsɔŋ biɖɛʃ]
I-EMPH come-PST foreign
'I have also come to the foreign land'
- 12 মোর মান-সন্মান কোনো থাইকপে না।
[mor man ʃɔmman kono ʈʰaikpe na]
I.GEN dignity respect nothing stay-FUT
not
'My honour-dignity nothing will stay'
- 13 মুই আইসোং বিদ্যাশ তা গল্পটা একেনা কম করলুং
[mui-o aɪsɔŋ biɖɛʃ ʈa ɡɔlpɔ-ʈa ɛkena kɔm
kɔrluŋ]
I-EMPH come-PRF foreign then story-
CLF little less do.PST
'I have come to a foreign land so I narrated
less stories '
- 14 আর কইনার মাও বসি আচে কুত্তি
[ar kɔina-r maɔ bɔʃi ace kuttʰi]

- And bride-GEN mother sit be where
And where is the mother of the bride
sitting?
- 15 ওই টিপকলের অতি
[ɔi tʃɪpkəl-er ɔtʃi]
That tap-GEN that
'Almost nearer to the Tap'
- 16 আর হামরা বসি আচি এটে
[ar hamra bɔʃi aci ɛtɛ]
And we sit be. Here
'And we are sitting here'
- 17 তা আস্তে আস্তে আগায় আস্তে আস্তে আগায়
[ta aʃte aʃte agay aʃte aʃte agay]
Then slow slow ahead slow slow ahead
'Then (she) slowly comes ahead'
- 18 এতি আসি তা সড়কের এমুরিত আসিল
[ɛtʃi aʃi ta ʃɔʃok-er emurit aʃil]
Here come then road-GEN this side come-
PST
'She comes this side of the road and sat
there'
- 19 মুই কং কইনার মাক মুই বগলোত চাপাইম।
[mui kɔŋ kɔinar mak mui bɔgoloʃt ʃapaim]
I say.PRS bride-GEN mother-DAK I near
close.FUT
'I say I will bring the mother of the bride
nearer to us'
- 20 কি মনে কইরচেন মুই সেই মানুষ নং
[ki mɔne kɔircen mui ʃei manuʃ nɔŋ]
What mind do-PRS I that person not
What do you think, I am not that kind of
person
- 21 কইনার মাও কেমন তায় কেমন বগল না চাপে
[kɔinar maɔ kemon ʃay kemon bɔgol na
cape]

- 22
Bride-GEN mother how she how near not
come
'How is she, the mother of the bride does
not come nearer?'
- মুই হলুং বরের বাপ
[mui hɔluŋ bɔrer bap]
I be.PST groom-GEN father
'I am the father of the groom'
- 23
আর কইনার মাও বগল না চাপে
[ar kɔina-r maɔ bɔgol na cape]
And bride-GEN mother near not close
And bride of the mother does not come
close
- 24
তারপরে আর কয় এইল্লা গল্প খায়া দায়া না হয়
[tarpɔre ar kɔy eilla ɡɔlpo kʰaya ɖaya na
hɔy]
Then and say.PRS this-PL story eat RED
et not be.PRS
'Then she says this kind of story cannot be
heard in full stomach'
- 25
একেবারে ভাত চাইরটা বেড়ে যাওয়ার চায়
[ekebare bʰaɽ cairta bere jaɔyar cay]
Once rice little go out go-GEN want.PRS
'The rice inside the stomach want to come
out'
- 26
এমন হাইস্যের গল্প দিচুং ছাড়ি
[ɛmon haiʃsɔ-r ɡɔlpo diɕɔŋ ɕʰaɽi]
Like humourous-GEN story give.PRF leave
'I have started narrating humours story'
- 27
কইনার মাও কয়
[kɔinar maɔ kɔy]
Bride-GEN mother say.PRS
'The mother of the bride says'

- 28 এইল্লা গল্প করা খায় না খাইতে
[eilla ɡɔlpo kɔra kʰay na kʰaite]
This-PL story do eat not eat.PRS
‘This kind of story one should narrate
before eating’
- 29 ভুড়ি বেড়ে যাওয়ার চায়
[bʰuɽi beɽe jaɔyar cay]
Stomach come go want.PRS
‘The stomach wants to come out’
- 30 এমন গল্প দিচোং ছাড়ি
[ɛmon ɡɔlpo dicioŋ cʰaɽi]
This kind story give.PRF leave.PRF
‘I have started narrating this kind of story’
- 31 আর শালা কইস আর মোটা মানুষটা পরে এলা কয়
[ar, ʃala, kɔis, ar moɽa manuʃ-ʈa pore ɛla-
kɔy]
And slang say.PRS and fat man-CLF later
now say.PRF
And then that fat person he says
- 32 আরে ইমারে ছাওয়া একটা তোমারে অত্তি আছে
[are imare cʰaɔya ɛkʈa ʈomare oʈʈi ace]
DM his.EMPH child one-CLF your-CLF
there have
And one of his children is there at your side
- 33 কোটে বোলে গোদাটারীত পোশানী দিচে
[koɽe bole ɡoɽaɽariʈ poʃani ɽice]

- 34 Where EV GodaTari-LOC pet give
 ‘he has kept her somewhere at Godatari ’
 মুই এলা মনে মনে কং
 [mui ɛla mɔne mɔne kɔŋ]
 I now mind mind say.PRS.1
 Now, I say in my mind
- 35 বাপ তাকে দেখি মুই ভয় খাচুং রে
 [bap tʰake dʰɛki mui bʰɔy kʰaɕuŋ re]
 Father him-EMP see I fear eat-PRF DM
 ‘Oh God, having seen him I was scared of’
- 36 বেলাকের ভাড উবায় সারা রাইতোত আর সারা দিন নিন পারে
 [belak-er bʰar ubay ʃara rai-tɔt ar ʃara ɖin
 nin pare]
 Illegal export-GEN weight carry all night-
 LOC and all day sleep goes
 ‘He does carry goods of illegal export at
 night and all the day sleeps’
- 37 বেলাকের ভাড উবা মানুষ ডে
 [belaker bʰaɾ uba manuʃ de]
 Illegal export weight carry person DM
 ‘He is the man who does carry goods of
 illegal export’
- 38 মুই কং বাপ তাকে দেখি মুই ভয় খাচুং
 [mui kɔŋ bap tʰake dʰɛki mui bʰɔy kʰaɕuŋ]

I say.PRS father him see I faet eat.PRF

‘I say, oh God having seen him I was scared
of’

(4) [permer miya] প্রেমের মিয়া

| SL. No | Rajbanshi data, IPA, Meaning |
|--------|---|
| 1 | <p>আর একটা মানুষ আসি গল্প করিল কি [ar ek-ta manuʃ aʃi ɡɔlpo koril ki] And one-CLF person come story do.PST what ‘One person came and narrated a story’</p> |
| 2 | <p>হামার অতি না, জয়বাংলাত বাড়ি বোলে [hamar ɔtʃi na, ʃɔybaŋla-t̪ baʃi bole] We there TAG win Bengal-LOC house EMPH ‘At our place, (his) house in Bangladesh surely’</p> |
| 3 | <p>হামার অতি না ধানের পালা দেখি একটা মানশি মরি গেইচে [hamar ɔtʃi na dʱan-er pala dekʰi ekʈa manʃi mɔri geice] We there TAG paddy-GEN see one-CLF person die go.PST.3.SG ‘At our place having seen a pile of paddy (rice) one person has died’</p> |
| 4 | <p>ধান পালা দিচে একটে [dʱan pala dʱice ekʈe] Paddy pile give one-CLF ‘Rice was piled up in a place’</p> |
| 5 | <p>কতুলা যে ধান পালা দিচে [kɔtʉla ʃe dʱan pala dice] So much that paddy pile give ‘There was so much pile of rice stored’</p> |
| 6 | <p>পালাটা দেখিয়ায় মানুষ বোলে মরি গেইচে [palaʈa dekʰiyay manuʃ bole mɔri geice] Pile-CLF see-PERF person EMPH die gp.PST.3.SG ‘having seen the pile of rice one person has died’</p> |
| 7 | <p>খোলাস্বাডিত ধনির বাড়ির ধান [kʰolam baʃit̪ dʱɔnir baʃir dʱan] Courtyard-LIC ric-GEN house-GEN paddy(rice)</p> |

- ‘(It was piled up) at the courtyard, the rice is of the rich’s house’
- 8 বিরাট পালা হয়ত একশ মন হইতে পারে দুইশ মন হইতে পারে
 [biraṭ pala hōyṭo ek-ʃo mən hōiṭe pare ḍui-ʃo mən hōiṭe pare]
 Big pile Be one-hundred mon be can two-hundred mon be can
 ‘It is a big pile of rice, it could be one hundred man or two hundred
 mon’
- 9 পালাটা দেখিয়ায় তা পালাটা কি রকমের হয়
 [pala-ṭa ḍekiyay ṭa palaṭa ki rōkomer hōy]
 Pile-CLF seen then pile-CLF what kind BE
 ‘Having seen the pile then what kind of pile it would look like’
- 10 ধানের পালাটা দেখিয়ায় মানুষটা বোলে মরি গেইচে
 [ḍʰan-er pala-ṭa ḍekiyay manuṣ-ṭa bole mori geice]
 Paddy-GEN pile-CLF seen person-CLF EMPH die go-PST
 ‘Having seen the pile of rice, the person has died’
- 11 মুই এলা কং আরে ভালে তো উমায় গল্প কইরলে রে
 [mui ɛla kəŋ are bʰale ṭo umay ɡɔlpɔ koirle re]
 I now say DM good EMP he story do-PST EMP
 ‘Now I say, He has narrated a pretty fictitious interesting story’
- 12 হামরা তো দেখির নাই যাই
 [hamra ṭo ḍekʰiro nai Jai]
 We EMP see.GEN-EMPH not go.PRS
 ‘We even have not gone to seee’
- 13 ধানের পালা দেখি মানুষ মরি গেইচে
 [ḍʰaner pala ḍekʰi manuṣ mōri geice]
 Paddy-GEN pile see person die go.PST
 ‘Having seen a pile of rice a person has died’
- 14 তা মুই এলা কং মানুষটাক তোমার গল্প শ্যাস হইল
 [ṭa mui ɛla kəŋ manuṣṭak ṭomar ɡɔlpɔ ʃɛʃ hōil]
 Then I now say.PRS person-CLF-LOC your story end Be.PST
 ‘Then I ask the person have you finished narrating story’
- 15 কয় হুঁ বর্তমান শ্যাস
 [kɔy hũ bōṛṭoman ʃɛʃ]
 Say yes present end
 ‘(He) says at present I am done with my story’
- 16 উমায় যখন গল্প কইরলে তা মোরও একান করা খায়
 [umay ʃəkʰon ɡɔlpɔ koirle ṭa moro ɛkan kōra kʰay]

- He then story do.PST then I.GEN-EMPH one-CLF do .eat
‘He has narrated a story, then I must also narrate a story’
- 17 গল্পের নাইন ঠিক না হইলে ফির হবার নয়
[gɔlp-er nain tʰik na hɔile pʰir hɔbar nɔy]
Story-GEN line right not Be. PST again become not
‘There should be a right link in the story’
- 18 পরমান দিতে হইবে গল্পের
[pɔrman d̪ite hɔibe gɔlp-er]
Evidence give be.FUT story-GEN
‘(You) may have to provide evidence to support your story’
- 19 হামরা ওটা দেখি নাই আর মোরটা দ্যাখে দেইম
[hamra oʈa d̪ekʰi nai ar mor-ʈa d̪ekʰe d̪eim]
We that.CLF see not and my.CLF see give-FUT.1
‘We have not seen that but I would show mine’
- 20 তা মুই কলুং হামার অটে না পেমের মিয়া
[ʈa mui kɔluŋ hamar oʈe na pemeɾ miya]
EMPH I say.PST we there TAG Premer Miya
‘Then I said, at our place there is a person named Pemeɾ miya’
- 21 কাইতের বাড়ির পেমের মিয়াক জানেন, মোচরমান
[kaiʈer baʈir pemeɾ miyak Jan-en, mocorman]
Kaiter house-GEN Pemeɾ Miya-DAT know.HON, Mahamedan
‘Do you know Pemeɾ miya of Kayeter bari, He is a Mahamedan’
- 22 তা হজ করির যাইবে
[ʈa hɔʃ kɔrir ʃaibe]
EMP haj do-GEN go-FUT.3.SG
‘He is about to go to visit religious place (Haj)’
- 23 তা ভাইয়োক ঙখন আগবারের থুয়ার যায়
[ʈa bʰaiyok ʃɔkʰon aɡbarer tʰuyar Jay]
EMPH brother-DAT then escort keep-GEN go.PRS.3
‘when escorting his brother to the nearest place’
- 24 তোক যেমন আগবারের থুয়ার যায় কুচবিহারোত
[ʈok ʃemon aɡbarer tʰuyar Jay kucbiharoʈ]
You. DAT like escort keep go coochbehar
‘Even they escort you till Coochbehar’
- 25 হাট দিনহাটাত যেয়া থুইয়া আসি
[haʈ d̪inhata-ʈ ʃeya tʰuiya aʃi]
move Dinhata-LOC go keep come

- ‘Lets go and I would escort you to Dinhata’
- 26 টেনোত তুলি দিয়া আসি
[tenoʈ tʊli ɖiya aʃi]
Train-LOC lift give come
‘To board on the train’
- 27 অইনাকান উয়াকো আগবাবে থুয়ার যাইবে
[ɔinakan u-yak-o agbare tʰuyar Jaibe]
Like that he-DAT-EMPH escort keep go-FUT-3.SG
‘Like that someone would escort him’
- 28 তা বড় ভাই হজ যাইবে ছোট ভাই আগবাডে থুয়ার যাইবে দিনহাটা
[ʈa bɔʈo bʰai hɔʃ Jaibe cʰoʈo bʰai agbaɽe tʰuyar Jaibe ɖinhata]
EMPH elder brother Haj Go.FUT youger brother escort go-FUT
Dinhata
‘The elder brother would go to Haj and the younger brother would escort him to Dinhata’
- 29 দিনহাটাত গাড়িত তুলি দিয়া আইসমো এলায় বাড়ি
[ɖinhataʈ gaɽiʈ tʊli ɖiya aɪsmo əlay baɽi]
Dinhata-DAT vehicle-LOC lift come-FUT now house
‘After he board at the vehicle at Dinhata we would come back home’
- 30 ভাই ঝখন যাইবে
[bʰai ʃʰɔkʰon Jaibe]
Brother then go-FUT.3.SG
‘Its brother who is leaveing’
- 31 তা অটে যেয়া ভাইও এলায় কয় দাদা মুইও গেলুং হয়
[ʈa ɔʈe ʃeya bʰaio əlay kɔy ɖaɖa muio ɡelun ɔy]
Then there go brother-EMPH say.PRS elder-brother I.EMPH go.PRF
be.PRS
‘Having reached the younger brother says to elder brother that even I would like to to there’
- 32 আরে যদি যাইসে তা বাড়িত কও
[are ʃɔɖi Jaɪʃe ʈa baɽiʈ kɔ]
DM if go.PRF.EMPH then house-LOC say.PRS
‘If you want to want you should have said at home’
- 33 তোর ও টাকাটা মুই নেং
[ʈor o ʈakaʈa mui neŋ]
Your-EMPH money-CLF I take.PRS

- ‘I would have taken some money for you too’
- 34 মোরে জোকায় তো মুই টাকা আইনচোং
[more Jokay to mui taka aincoŋ]
Mine-EMPH like EMPH I money bring.PRF
‘I have brought money for my expense’
- 35 টাকাটা তো তোর টা হয় না
[takata to tor ta hoy na]
Money-CLF EMPH your-CLF be.PRS not
‘From this money your expense cannot be carried out’
- 36 আর যদি যাইসে চাবি দিচে ছোট আলমারিটার
[ar Jodi Jaiŋe cabi dice c^{ho}to almaritar]
And if go.PRF key give.PRF small almariah-CLF-GEN
‘And if you would like to go, (he) has given the key of the small almirah’
- 37 বড়টার দেয় নাই ছোটটার দিচে
[b^oro^tar dey nai c^{ho}to^tar dice]
Big-CLF-GEN give.PRS not small-CLF-GEN give.PRS
‘(He) has given the key of the small almirah not the big one’
- 38 যারা একটা ঢাপোর ধরি আয় যারা
[Jaya ekta d^hepor d^hori ay Jaya]
Gone one-CLF packet bring come gone
‘Having reached home get a packet of money and come’
- 39 তারপরে উমায় আইসচে বাড়িত
[tarpore umay aiŋce ba^oit]
Then he come-PRF house-LOC
‘Then he has come back home’
- 40 উমায় আছে অটে বোল
[umay ace o^te bol]
He be.PRS there EV
‘He stays there’
- 41 বাড়িত আসিয়া ছোট আলমারিটা খুলিচে
[ba^oit a^siya c^{ho}to almari-k^han k^huilce]
House-LOC come small almirah-CLF open-PRF
‘Having reached home he has opened the small almirah’
- 42 খুলিয়া খালি **দুবরখান** ম্যালাইচে
[k^huliay k^hali **dubork^han** melaice]
Opened only door-CLF open-PRF

- ‘Only he has opened the door of the almirah’
- 43 ম্যালায় অদি পরি শ্যাস
[mɛleya ɔɖi pəri ʃɛʃ]
open.PER there fall end
‘having opened it he died instantly’
- 44 টাকা খালি দ্যাখে তিসা তিসা
[taka kʰali ɖɛkʰe tʰiʃa tʰiʃa]
Money only see.PRF full full
‘(The almirah) was only filled with money and only money’
- 45 পেমের মিয়ার নাকান টাকা কাইতের বাড়িত কারোঠে নাই
[pemɛr miyar nakan taka kait̪ɛr baɖit̪ karot̪hɛ nai]
Pemer Miya-GEN like money kait̪ɛr bari-LOC someone-there not
‘The money pemer miya has, not even a single person in kait̪ɛrbari has it like him’
- 46 অদন টাকা উমায় জীবনে দ্যাখে নাই বোধায়
[ɔɖon taka umay jibone ɖɛkʰe nai boɖʰay]
Like that money he life-INS see.PRS not probably
‘He probably has not seen that kind of money in his life’
- 47 ওটে এলা সংবাদ গেইল
[ot̪ɛ ɛla ʃɔŋbaɖ geil]
There now news go-PST
‘The news reached there’
- 48 সংবাদ পাইল উমায়
[ʃɔŋbaɖ pail umay]
News get.PST he
‘He got the news’
- 49 নাই তোমার বাহি মরি গেইচে
[nai tom̪ar bʰai mɔri geice]
TAG your brother die go.PRF
‘Your brother has died’
- 50 আর কিরে খালি ছোটোটার চাবি দিলুং তাতে চন্দুরা খালু রে
[ar kire kʰali cʰot̪o-t̪ar cabi ɖilun̪ t̪at̪ɛ cɔŋɖura kʰalu re]
DM what only small-CLF-GEN key give.PRF there surprise eat.PST
DM
‘I have only given the key of the small almirah, not the big one even after that you were surprised’

- 51 বড়টার চাবি দেং এ নাই রে
[bɔʔot̪ar cabi d̪eŋ e nai re]
Big-CLF-GEN key give not DM
'Even I have not given the key of big one'
- 52 দুইটা চাইরটা বুড়া মানুষ অটে আচে
[d̪uiʔa cair-t̪a buʔa manuʃ ɔʔe ace]
Twi-CLF four-CLF old person there be.PRS
'Some old persons were sitting there'
- 53 মুই কং বুড়া দা মোর কথাটা সইত্য না মিত্তা কন
[mui kɔŋ buʔa da mor kɔʔh̪aʔa ʃɔiʔt̪o na mitt̪a kɔn]
I say.PRS old brother i.GEN words-CLF right not false say.PRS
'I say and address them old brother (granny) tell me whether my words are right or wrong'
- 54 কয় তোমার কথাটা সইত্য
[kɔy tomar kɔʔh̪aʔa ʃɔiʔt̪o]
Say your story-CLF right
'(They) say your story is right'
- 55 আমি গল্প করিব পরমান দিব
[ami ɡɔlpɔ kɔribo pɔrman d̪ibo]
I story do.FUT evidence give.FUT
'I narrate a story I will provide evidence'

(5) [pɔrer beʃi ʔɔnt̪ɔna] পরের বেটি টনটনা

SL. No Rajbanshi data, IPA, Meaning

- 1 তা সেদিন একটা গল্প করলুং না মুই
[ʔa ʃe-d̪iŋ ekʔa ɡɔlpɔ kɔrluŋ na mui]
EMPT that day one-CLF story do-PST TAG I
'I have narrated a story that day'
- 2 কার বোলে ওই যে বউ শ্বশুর শ্বশুরিক বাপো না কয় মাও না কয়
[kar bole ɔi ʃe bɔu ʃɔʃur ʃɔʃurik bapo na kɔy maɔ na kɔ]

Someone-GEN EMPH that that daughter-in-law father-in-law mother-in-law-DAT father not say.PRS mother not say

‘Someones daughter-in-law does not even address her father-in-law nad mother-in-law’

3 তা বেটা এলা কয় বাপ রে

[t̪a bɛt̪a ɛlay kɔy bap re]

Then son now say.PRS INT EMP

‘Then (his) son says what!’

4 মোর মাও বাপোক ইমায় বাপ মাও না কয়

[mor maɔ bapok imay bap maɔ na kɔy]

My mother father-DAT she father mother not say.PRS

She does not even address my father and mother as father and mother

5 তা উয়ারও বাপ মাও আইসে না

[t̪a uyaro bap maɔ aiʃe na]

Then her-EMP father mother come.PRS TAG

‘Later her father and mother come’

6 উমায়ও আও বাও কিচ্ছু না কয়

[umayo aɔbaɔ kiccu na kɔy]

He-EMP words (RED)words something not say.PRS

‘He even does not utter a single words to them’

7 খাবারও না কয় ওই চুপ করি বসি থাকে

[kʰabaro na kɔy oi cup kori bɔʃi t̪ʰake]

Eat-EMP not say that silent do sit stay.PRS

‘He even does not say to eat only sit silently’

8 তা অনেকদিন থাকিয়া জামাইর বাড়ি যাই

[t̪a ɔnek-d̪in t̪ʰakiya Jamair baʒi Jai]

- Then many day stay. Son-in-law-GEN house go.PRS
 ‘(We) go to son-in-law’s house so many times’
- 9 কি জামাই বাহে আও না কয় খাবারও না কয়
 [ki Jamai bahe aɔ na kɔy kʰabarɔ na kɔy]
 What son-in-law bahe words not say eat.EMPH not say.PRS
 ‘What a son-in-law! Does not even talk to us or does not tell us to eat’
- 10 উয়ার বাপ কয় মাও কয় বিয়াই আইসো খাই
 [uyar bap kɔy maɔ kɔy biyai aiʃo kʰai]
 His father say.PRS mother.PRS biyai come eat.PRS
 ‘His father and mother call and say ‘biyai’ come and eat’
- 11 উমায় কোনো না কয়
 [umay kono na kɔy]
 He something not say.3.PRS
 ‘He does not even say anything’
- 12 বাপো না কয় মাও না কয়
 [bapo na kɔy maɔ na kɔy]
 Father not say.PRS mother not say.PRS
 ‘(She) neither address as father or as mother’
- 13 তা এলা গেইচে
 [ʈa ɛla geice]
 Then now go.PRF
 ‘Now, it has gone’
- 14 বোলে জামাই তোমার সবে আমি ভাল দেকি
 [bole jamai ʈomar ʃɔbe ami bʰal ɖeki]
 EP sone-in-law your all I good see
 ‘I find everything good about you son in all but’
- 15 [ʈa ʈomar bebohar kemon enakan]
 DM your behavior how like-CLF
 ‘but how is your behavior’
- 16 তা কি ?
 [ʈa ki] ?

- Then what
- ‘What are you talking about’
- 17 তোমার বাড়ি তো ম্যালা গেইলোং
- [tɔmar baʈi tɔ mɛla geilon]
- Your house EMPH many go-PST
- ‘(We) have gone to your house so many times’
- 18 ডাক হাঁক তোমার তো দেখি নাই
- [ɔak hak tɔmar tɔ deki na]
- Call your EMPH sse not
- ‘you don’t address and call us’
- 19 আমি ডাকাও ক্যাং করি
- [ami ɔakao keŋ kori]
- I call how do
- ‘How could I call/address you?’
- 20 তোমার বেটি আমার বাপোক মাও করি না ডেকায়
- [tɔmar beti amar bapok bap maɔ kori na deɔkay]
- Your daughter my father-DAT father mother do not call.PRS
- ‘Your daughter does not address my father and mother’
- 21 আমার চেটের ঠ্যাকা খাইচে তোমাক ডাকাবো আমি
- [amar ceʈer tʰɛka kʰaice tɔmak ɔakabo ami]
- My slang-GEN shortage eat.PRF you-DAT call-FUT I
- ‘I am not in great danger that I will have to call you’
- 22 হাঁ তারপরে চন্দুরা খাইচে, চন্দুরা খাইচে
- [ha ʈarpɔre ɔndura kʰaice. ɔndura kʰaice]
- Yes after surprise eat-PRF surprise eat.PRF
- ‘After that (he) was very astonished, really astonished!’
- 23 তোমার বেটি হামার বাপ মাক না ডাকায় বাপ মাও করি
- [tɔmar beʈi hamar bap mak na ɔkay bap maɔ kori]
- Your daughter my father mother-DAT not call-PRS father-mother do.PRS
- ‘Your daughter does address my parents as father and mother’

- 24 আর আমি তোমাক ড্যাকাবো বাপ মাও করি
[ar ami tomak d̪əkabo bap maɔ kɔri]
And I you.DAT call-FUT father mother do
'And why would I call you as father-mother?'
- 25 আমার চেটেটের ঠ্যাকা খাইচে
[amar cɛt̪er t̪ʰeka kʰaice]
I slang-GENT shortage eat.PRF
'I am not in great danger'
- 26 কথার উত্তর দিয়ার পায় নাই
[kɔt̪ʰar ut̪t̪or diyar pay nai]
Words-GEN answer give-GEN get not
'(He) cannot provide answer to the question'
- 27 উত্তর দিয়ার পায় নাই কথার
[ut̪t̪or d̪iɽar pay nai kɔt̪ʰar]
Answer give-GEN get not words
'Could not provide answer to that words'
- 28 শ্যাম পর্যন্ত বেটিক একেবারে শাসন
[ʃɛʃ pɔrjɔnt̪ɔ bɛt̪ik ɛkebare ʃaʃon]
End till daughter-DAT once threat
'At last (he) threatens his daughter'
- 29 কি এই কথা আমি শুনলাম জামাইয়ের মুখে
[ki ei kɔt̪ʰa ami ʃunlam ʃamajyer mukʰe]
What this words I hear.PST son-in-law mouth-INS
'What did I hear from son-in-laws'
- 30 বেটি টনটনা বেটি টনটনা
[bɛt̪i t̪ɔnt̪ɔna bɛt̪i t̪ɔnt̪ɔna]
Daughter right daughter right
'the daughter is right/fine'
- 31 পরে উমায়ও ডাকাইচে
[pɔre umayɔ d̪akaice]
Later he-EMPH call-PRF
'Later he also calls'
- 32 এই নাকান করি ঠিক করা খায় মাইনসের বেটিক
[ei nakan kɔri t̪ʰik kɔra kʰay mainser bɛt̪ik]
This like do.PRS right do eat person-GEN daughter-DAT

- ‘This is the way one has to teach a lesson to other’s daughter’
- 33 হাঁ বুদ্ধি করি
[ha buddʒI kɔri]
Yes, intelligence do
‘Yes, one need to apply brain’
- 34 মোর বাপ মাক মাও বাপ না কবু তুই
[mor bap mak maɔ bap na kɔbu]
My father mother mother father not say-FUT
‘You wont address my mother and father ’
- 35 তা মোর চেটের ঠাকানাই পরে
[tʌ mor ʧɛtɛr tʰɛka nai pɔrɛ]
Then my slang-GEN shortage not fall.PRS
‘Even I am not in great danger’
- 36 তোঁর বাপ মাক মুই
[tʰɔr bap mak mui]
Your father mother i
‘I wont address your father mother also’
- 37 মোর সোজা কথা
[mor soʒa kotʰa]
My straight words
‘I am straight forward’
- 38 মোর বাড়ি আইসা খাইবে তোঁর
[mor baʒi aiʃa kʰaibe tʰɔr]
My house come eat-FUT your
‘You will have to come to my house’
- 39 মুই না গেইলেও চইলবে
[mui na geileɔ ʧoilbe]

- I not go-PST move-FUT
'Even if I don't go, its fine'
- 40 হাঁ স্বশুর বাড়ি যদি না জাং চইলবার নয়
[ha ʃɔʃur baʃi jɔɖi na jaŋ ɔɔilbar nɔy]
Yes father-in-law house if not go.PRS move.GEB not
'If I do not go to my father in law's house its totally fine'
- 41 তা তোর আইসা খাইবে
[ta ʈor aiʃa kʰaibe]
But your come eat.FUT
'but you will have to come'
- 42 বেটিক যখন দিচিস আইসা খাইবে
[beʈik jʰɔkʰon dicitʃ aiʃa kʰaibe]
Daughter-DAT when give.PRF come eat.FUT
'You have given to your daughter, ypu will have to come'
- 43 তুই কোটে এও বাচির পাইস
[tʰui koʈe ɛɔ bacir paiʃ]
You where save-GEN get.PRF
'You can not be spared'
- 44 পরে ডাঙ্গায়ও নাই মাইরেও নাই
[pɔre ɖaŋgayeɔ nai maireɔ nai]
Later hit-EMPH not die-EMPH not
'(He) did not even beat (her) up '
- 45 আপনার থাকি ঠিক হইল না
[apnar tʰaki tʰik hɔil na]
Own from right be.PST TAG
'(She) becomes right/properly behaved automatically'
- 46 সি নাকান হামার অত্তি ককনা হইচে অইনাকান

[ʃei nakan hamar ɔʃʃi kəkana hoice ɔinakan]

These like our here few become like these

‘Even at our place some people have become like this’

47 কিন্তুক সেটা জ্ঞান করা খাইবে

[kinʃuk ʃɛʃa ɡɛɳ kɔra k^haibe]

But-DAT that knowledge do eat-FUT

‘But one has to be aware about this’

48 ঝার মানুষ ঝার বেটা তার

[j^har manuʃ j^har beʃa ʃar]

Whose person whose son his

‘but the son should be aware of this’

49 যদি জ্ঞান না করে তাক তো আর ঠিক করা যাইবে না

[jɔɖi ɡɛn na kɔre ʃakʃo ar t^hik kɔra jaibe na]

If knowledge not do him-EMPH and right do go-FUT na

‘If it does not come to the knowledge, it cannot be made right ’

50 হাঁ এই হইচে ব্যাপার

[ha ei hoice bepar]

Yes this be.PRF matter

‘Yes this is the matter’

51 তা মুই কং আরে কথা সাততে গেইলে না

[ʃa mui kɔŋ are kɔ^ha ʃaʃte geile na]

Then I say DM words seven_CLF go.PRF TAG

‘Then I say if you go to different places’

- 52 অনেক শিখাও যায় কওয়াও যায়
 [ʔnek ʃikao jay kɔyao jay]
 Many learn go.PRS say go.PRS
 ‘(You) can learn so many words and also can say so many words’
- 53 কিন্তু গল্প বইল এইল্লা মিত্যা নমায়
 [kinɽu ɡɔlpɔ bɔil eilla mit̪ta nomay]
 But story EP this-PL false not.AGR
 ‘but all these stories are not false’
- 54 হাঁ হুজুর পোমান
 [ha-huʃur poman]
 Ha god evidence
 ‘On God grace evidence is there’

(b) CD Raw Data

APPENDIX-VI

Nominal Constructions

- 1 [tɛl] ত্যাল ‘oil’ [tɛli] ত্যালি ‘oilman’
[mala] মালা ‘garland’ [mali] মালী ‘garland keeper’
- 2 [mola] মোলা ‘a kind of stuffed rice ball’ [molaɽi] মোলাতি ‘the person who deals in stuffed rice ball’
[cun] চুন ‘lime’ [cunati] চুনাতি ‘the person who deals in lime’
[caul] চাউল ‘rice’ [caulaɽi] চাউলাতি ‘the person who sells rice’
[baɽa] বাড়া ‘husk rice’ [baɽaɽi] বাড়াতি ‘the person who is involved in the process of making husk rice into full rice’
- 3 [ɔporadʰ] অপরাধ ‘crime’ [ɔporadʰi] অপরাধী ‘criminal’
[ʃoinneɽ] সইনাস ‘renunciation’ [ʃoinnaɽi] সইনাসী ‘saint’
- 4 [pahaɽ] পাহাড় ‘mountain’ [pahaɽi] পাহাড়ী ‘from the hills’; ‘inhabitants of ...’
[nepal] ন্যাপাল ‘Nepal’ [nepali] ন্যাপালি ‘from Nepal’; ‘inhabitants of..’
[kamɽapur] কামতাপুর ‘Kamtapur’ [kamɽapuri] ‘from Kamtapur’; ‘inhabitants of Kamtapur’
- 5 [dʰak] ঢাক ‘drum’ [dʰaguyaɽ] ‘drummer’
[kʰela] খেলা ‘play’ [kʰeloyaɽ] খ্যালোয়াড় ‘player’
- 6 [ʃoyɽan] শয়তান ‘enemy’ [ʃoyɽani] শয়তানি ‘enmity’
- 7 [ʃaɽru] শত্রু ‘enemy’ [ʃaɽruɽa] শত্রুতা ‘enmity’
- 8 [ʃaɽru] শত্রু ‘enemy’ [ʃaɽrurami] শত্রুরামি ‘enmity’

- 9 [ɖaʃ] দাস ‘male servant’ [ɖaʃi] ‘maid servant’
 [kumar] কুমার ‘prince’ [kumari] কুমারী ‘princess’
 [ceŋra] চেংড়া ‘boy’ [ceŋri] চেংড়ি ‘girl’
- 10 [nauya] নাপিত ‘barber’ [nauyani] ‘female barber or wife of barber’
 [maʃtar] মাস্টার ‘teacher’ [maʃtarni] মাস্টারনি ‘female teacher or wife of teacher’
- 11 [mɔiʃ] মইষ ‘buffalo’ [mɔiʃal] মইষাল ‘buffalo man’
 [gaʃi] গাড়ি ‘cart’ [gaʃiyal] গাড়িয়াল ‘cartman’
 [bãʃi] বাঁশী ‘flute’ [bãʃial] বাঁশিয়াল ‘fluteman’
- 12 [naɔ] নাও ‘boat’ [naiya] নাইয়া ‘boatman’

APPENDIX-VII***Constructional Schema (Idiomatic Constructions)***

- | | |
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| 1. RS | অভাবে স্বভাব নষ্ট |
| IPA | [ɔb ^h ab-e ʃɔb ^h ab nɔʃtɔ] |
| IMG | Shortage-INS habit damage |
| Meaning | ‘illnatured/ tendency of stealing’ |
| 2. RS | অছারির বাইগোন |
| IPA | [ɔc ^h ar-ir baigon] |
| IMG | ɔchari-GEN brinjal |
| Meaning | ‘valueless person or rejected thing |
| 3. RS | অপুছা নাউ |
| IPA | [ɔ-puc ^h a nau] |
| IMG | Not-ask gourd |
| Meaning | ‘valueless person’ |
| 4. RS | আগালোত হাল জোড়া |
| IPA | [agal-ot hal joɾa] |
| IMG | Front-LOC plough start |
| Meaning | ‘say something without understanding/thinkning ’ |
| 5. RS | আভং ফুলের মধু |
| IPA | [ab ^h ɔŋ p ^h ul-er mɔd ^h u] |
| IMG | Abhong flower-GEN honey |
| Meaning | ‘chastity, purity’/ ‘the object is untouchable’/ ‘very tasty’ |
| 6. RS | আশায় আশায় ভাসা |
| IPA | [aʃa-y aʃa-y b ^h aʃa] |
| IMG | Hope-EMP REDUP-EMP float |
| Meaning | ‘lose everyting because of hope’ |
| 7. RS | আকাশের চান |
| IPA | [akaʃer can] |

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| IMG | Sky-GEN moon |
| Meaning | ‘very precious’ |
| 8. RS | আলালি দুলালি |
| IPA | [alali dulali] |
| IMG | alali Name-dulali (alali comes only with dulali) |
| Meaning | ‘very pampered’ |
| 9. RS | কপাল বয়া |
| IPA | [kɔpal bɔya] |
| IMG | Forehead bad |
| Meaning | ‘bad luck’ |
| 10. RS | কপাল খাওয়া |
| IPA | [kɔpal kʰaɔya] |
| IMG | Forehead eat |
| Meaning | ‘ill luck or bad fortune’ |
| 11. RS | কপালোত আগুন নাগা |
| IPA | [kɔpal-ot agun naga] |
| IMG | Forehead.Loc fire set |
| Meaning | ‘Loose everything’/ ‘destroy’/ ‘obliterate’ |
| 12. RS | কইতোরের খোপ |
| IPA | [kɔitor-er kʰop] |
| IMG | Pigeon-GEN nest |
| Meaning | ‘very small room’ |
| 13. RS | কমর পরা |
| IPA | [kɔmor pɔra] |
| IMG | Waist fall |
| Meaning | ‘decrease’/ ‘decline’/ ‘loss’ |
| 14. RS | কাম পঁয়ষট্টি |
| IPA | [kam pɔyʃɔtʃi] |
| IMG | Work sixty-five |

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| Meaning | ‘deplorable condition’ |
| 15. RS | কলা খা |
| IPA | [kɔla kʰa] |
| IMG | Banana eat. |
| Meaning | ‘to get nothing’ |
| 16. RS | কুপা কাইত |
| IPA | [kupa kaiɽ] |
| IMG | Lamp bend |
| Meaning | ‘bad condition’ |
| 17. RS | কুজা বাইগোন |
| IPA | [kuja baigon] |
| IMG | Bend brinjal |
| Meaning | ‘valueless person’ |
| 18. RS | কুকুরি কানা |
| IPA | [kukuri kana] |
| IMG | Dog blind |
| Meaning | ‘not able to see clearly in the evening’ |
| 19. RS | কাম চোরা / কাম চুনি |
| IPA | [kam cora/ kam cunni] |
| IMG | [work steal.M/ work steal.F] |
| Meaning | ‘idle person’ |
| 20. RS | কওয়া কথা |
| IPA | [kɔo-ya kɔtʰa] |
| IMG | Say-PARTCPL words |
| Meaning | ‘right words’/ ‘blunt’ |
| 21. RS | কচু কাঁটা |
| IPA | [kɔcu kaɽa] |
| IMG | Esculent root Cut |

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| Meaning | ‘threaten’/‘abuse’ |
| 22. RS | খোদার কশম |
| IPA | [kʰoɽa -r kɔʃom] |
| IMG | God-GEN words |
| Meaning | ‘true’ |
| 23. RS | খসা পাসুনের ডারি |
| IPA | [kʰɔʃa paʃun-er ɽari] |
| IMG | open handle |
| Meaning | ‘valueless person’ |
| 24. RS | খ্যেডের পালা |
| IPA | [kʰɛɽ-er pala] |
| IMG | Straw-GEN heap |
| Meaning | ‘extra thing’ |
| 25. RS | গহীন জলের মাছ |
| IPA | [gɔhin ʃɔl-er macʰ] |
| IMG | Deep water-GEN fish |
| Meaning | ‘very clever’/ ‘cunning’ |
| 26. RS | গন্দি শোঙ্গা |
| IPA | [gɔndi ʃoŋga] |
| IMG | Insect smell |
| Meaning | ‘fastidious’ |
| 27. RS | গাও ছারা |
| IPA | [gaɔ cʰara] |
| IMG | Body leave |
| Meaning | ‘to avoid something’ |
| 28. RS | গাও ভারী |
| IPA | [gaɔ bʰari] |
| IMG | Body weight |
| Meaning | ‘to become pregnant’ |

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| 29. RS | গালার কাটি |
| IPA | [gala-r kaʈi] |
| IMG | Neck.Gen stick |
| Meaning | Intimate, very close |
| 30. RS | গালার মালা |
| IPA | [gala-r mala] |
| IMG | Neck.Gen garland |
| Meaning | ‘To think all the time’/ ‘contemplate’ |
| 31. RS | কাটোল সুপারি |
| IPA | [kaʈol ʃupari] |
| IMG | Jackfruit beetel-nut |
| Meaning | ‘pine apple’ |
| 32. RS | গোমের গুড়াত জল দেওয়া |
| IPA | [gom-er guʈa-t̪ ʃol d̪eoya] |
| IMG | Wheat-GEN mixture-LOC water give |
| Meaning | ‘hurt someone physically’; ‘threaten someone’ |
| 33. RS | গুটি নাল |
| IPA | [guʈi nal] |
| IMG | Piece red |
| Meaning | ‘to gain something’ |
| 34. RS | ঘটের ঠাকুর নড়া |
| IPA | [gʱɔt-er t̪ʱakur noʈa] |
| IMG | Small earthen pot-GEN god move |
| Meaning | ‘the main god is angry’, ‘the chief or head of the family is angry’ |
| 35. RS | ঘর ঘুংটি / ঘর ঘোংটা |
| IPA | [gʱɔr gʱuŋʈi/ gʱɔr gʱoŋʈa] |
| IMG | Room search.F / room search.M |
| Meaning | ‘very reserved, narrow minded’ |

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| 36. RS | ঘাটাল ঘাটা |
| IPA | [g ^h aʈal g ^h aʈa] |
| IMG | Road-al road |
| Meaning | ‘criticize’ |
| 37. RS | ঘুঘুর ফান দেখা |
| IPA | [g ^h u ^g hur p ^h an dɛk ^h a] |
| IMG | Dove.gen trap see |
| Meaning | ‘Danger’ |
| 38. RS | ঘুঘু নাচা |
| IPA | [g ^h u ^g hu naca] |
| IMG | Dove dance |
| Meaning | ‘To make someone in danger’ |
| 39. RS | চউকোত নাগা |
| IPA | [cɔuk-oʈ naga] |
| IMG | Eye-LOC get |
| Meaning | ‘enviable’; ‘jealous’ |
| 40. RS | চউক টিপা |
| IPA | [cɔuk [tɪpa] |
| IMG | Eye press |
| Meaning | ‘indicate’ |
| 41. RS | চউখের কাঁটা |
| IPA | [cɔuk ^h -er kaʈa] |
| IMG | Eye.loc thorn |
| Meaning | ‘Enemy’; ‘unbearable’ |
| 42. RS | চইদ্দবার কওয়া |
| IPA | [cɔiddo-bar kɔoya] |
| IMG | Fourteen-times say |
| Meaning | ‘Say again and again’ |

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| 43. RS | চারা খুড়িতে বোরা |
| IPA | [cera k ^h uɽi-te bora] |
| IMG | Earth dig-INS python |
| Meaning | ‘open pandora’s box’ |
| 44. RS | চিলা চড়ক দেখা |
| IPA | [cila cəɽok dek ^h a] |
| IMG | Eagle a kind of play see |
| Meaning | ‘harass’ |
| 45. RS | ছাল ডাংরা |
| IPA | [c ^h al dɑŋra] |
| IMG | Skin big |
| Meaning | ‘don’t listen’ |
| 46. RS | ছনুয়া ভিটাত ট্যাংগা আম |
| IPA | [c ^h ɔnuya b ^h iʈat tɛŋga am] |
| IMG | Infertile land-LOC sour mango |
| Meaning | ‘valueless person’ |
| 47. RS | জলভাত |
| IPA | [jɔl b ^h at] |
| IMG | Water cooked rice |
| Meaning | ‘very easy’ |
| 48. RS | জল ঢেরাই |
| IPA | [jɔl d ^h ɛrai] |
| IMG | Water stupid |
| Meaning | ‘very stupid’ |
| 49. RS | জলত ফ্যালা |
| IPA | [jɔlot p ^h ɛla] |
| IMG | Water.loc fall |
| Meaning | ‘make waste’ |

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| 57. RS | দুরার পিটি |
| IPA | [ɖurar piʈi] |
| IMG | Turtle back |
| Meaning | ‘very hard object’ |
| 58. RS | দো মুখা সাঁপ |
| IPA | [do muk ^h a ʃãp] |
| IMG | Two mouth snake |
| Meaning | ‘Double standard’ |
| 59. RS | ধোয়া তুলসীর পাতা |
| IPA | [d ^h oya tuloʃi-r paʈa] |
| IMG | Washed basil.GEN leaf |
| Meaning | ‘pure, chastity, purity’ |
| 60. RS | ডাইল ঘাটা |
| IPA | [ɖail g ^h aʈa] |
| IMG | Pulse stir |
| Meaning | ‘main work’ |
| 61. RS | টুলকি সেকা |
| IPA | [ɖulki ʃeka] |
| IMG | Drum warm |
| Meaning | ‘beat mercilessly’ |
| 62. RS | ঢোল বাজা |
| IPA | [ɖ ^h ol baja] |
| IMG | Drum beat |
| Meaning | ‘to bring bad name’ |
| 63. RS | নাক কাঁটা |
| IPA | [nak kaʈa] |
| IMG | Nose cut |
| Meaning | ‘shameful’ |

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| 64. RS | নেটু কাঁটা |
| IPA | [neʈu kaʈa] |
| IMG | Tail cut |
| Meaning | ‘got punishment’ |
| 65. RS | নেটু গাজা |
| IPA | [neʈu gaja] |
| IMG | Tail sprout |
| Meaning | ‘to become intelligent, clever’ (in a derogatory way) |
| 66. RS | পুটি মাছের জিউ |
| IPA | [puʈi mac ^h -er ʃiu] |
| IMG | A kind of fish fish-GEN life |
| Meaning | ‘got tired easily’ |
| 67. RS | পিলাই চমকা |
| IPA | [pilai cɔmka] |
| IMG | Spleen or gum surprise |
| Meaning | ‘got scared’; ‘causing fear and surprise’ |
| 68. RS | পাটার জাগ |
| IPA | [paʈa-r ʃag] |
| IMG | Jute-GEN bundle |
| Meaning | ‘in a line’ |
| 69. RS | পাকা ধানোত মই দেওয়া |
| IPA | [paka dʰan-ot moi deoya] |
| IMG | Ripe rice-LOC ladder give |
| Meaning | ‘to make harm’ |
| 70. RS | পটোল তোলা |
| IPA | [pɔʈol ʈola] |
| IMG | Parbal-vegetable pluck |
| Meaning | ‘to die’ |
| 71. RS | ফুলের মালা দেওয়া |

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| IPA | [p ^h ul-er mala dɛɔya] |
| IMG | Flower-GEN garland give |
| Meaning | ‘to give award, respect’ |
| 72. RS | বাঁশ দেওয়া |
| IPA | [bãɽ dɛɔya] |
| IMG | Bamboo give |
| Meaning | ‘injustice’ or ‘present woods at the of crematory ground while burning the dead body’ |
| 73. RS | বান্ধা মুরগী |
| IPA | [bandʱa murgi] |
| IMG | Fasten chicken |
| Meaning | ‘the object in hand’ |
| 74. RS | বাইগোন বাড়িত একহাঁটু জল |
| IPA | [baigon baʽi-ʽɽ ek haʽu ʽɔ] |
| IMG | Brinjal field-LOC knee water |
| Meaning | ‘very deplorable condition’ |
| 75. RS | ভ্যারোট পরা |
| IPA | [b ^h ɛr-ot pɔra] |
| IMG | Mud-LOC fall |
| Meaning | ‘in a bad state’ |
| 76. RS | স্যাওম্যাও বিলাই / ভিজা বিলাই |
| IPA | [ʽɛɔ mɛɔ bilai/ b ^h ija bilai] |
| IMG | Silent or secret cat /Wet cat |
| Meaning | ‘Very cunning’ |
| 77. RS | সিজা শাকত নুন দেওয়া |
| IPA | [ʽija ʽakot nun dɛɔya] |
| IMG | Boiled vegetable-LOC salt give |
| Meaning | ‘helping someone when the person does not need help’ |

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| 78. RS | শগুনের জিউ |
| IPA | [ʃɔɡun-er Jiu] |
| IMG | Vulture-GEN breath/life |
| Meaning | ‘long life’ |
| 79. RS | শ্যাওড়া গছের পেতানি |
| IPA | [ʃɔɽa ɡɔc ^h -er pettani] |
| IMG | A kind of tree tree-GEN ghost.FEM |
| Meaning | ‘very ugly/bad looking’ |
| 80. RS | মার কশম |
| IPA | [ma-r kɔʃom] |
| IMG | Mother-GEN promise |
| Meaning | ‘truth’ |
| 81. RS | মাইরে বিদ্যা সত্যি |
| IPA | [maire biɽɽa ʃɔtti] |
| IMG | Primise word Study truth |
| Meaning | ‘truth’ |
| 82. RS | মাথা চুলকা |
| IPA | [mat ^h a culka] |
| IMG | Head itch |
| Meaning | ‘to get idea’ |
| 83. RS | সাত খালের চেং |
| IPA | [ʃat̪ k ^h al-er cɛŋ] |
| IMG | Seven hole-GEN a kind of fish |
| Meaning | ‘very experienced’; ‘clever’ |
| 84. RS | সাত ঘাটের জল খাওয়া |
| IPA | [ʃat̪ ɡ ^h at̪-er ʃɔl k ^h aoya] |
| IMG | Seven Ghat-GEN water eat |
| Meaning | ‘being cheated several times’; ‘knowledgeable’ |
| 85. RS | হাতুরা কবুরাজ |

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|---------|--|-----------------------------|----------------------|------|
| IPA | [haɽ-ura kɔburaj] | | | |
| IMG | Hand-use | ayurvedic doctor | | |
| Meaning | 'Quacker' | | | |
| 86. RS | হাউসের সাগাই | | | |
| IPA | [hauɽ-er | ʃagai] | | |
| IMG | Interest-GEN relative | | | |
| Meaning | 'good relation', to maintain cordial relation | | | |
| 87. RS | হ্যান্ডা খুটার নাঙ্গল দিয়া হাল বোয়া | | | |
| IPA | [hendɔ | k ^h uɽa-r naŋgol | diya | hal |
| | boya] | | | |
| IMG | A kind of tree | wood | ploughing instrument | give |
| Meaning | 'impossible work' | | | |
| 88. RS | হোকশের ডেলি | | | |
| IPA | [hokoɽ-er | ɖeli] | | |
| IMG | Eagle-GEN | pot made from bamboo | | |
| Meaning | 'in a mess'; 'dirty and unorganized state of one's hair' | | | |
| 89. RS | হরির লুটের বাতাসা | | | |
| IPA | [hɔri-r | luɽ-er bataɽa] | | |
| IMG | (GOD)Hari-GEN | loot-GEN | sugar-ball | |
| Meaning | 'accessible thing' | | | |
| 90. RS | হাড়ির টিকা | | | |
| IPA | [haɽi-r | ɽika] | | |
| IMG | Utensil-GEN | buttock (bottom) | | |
| Meaning | 'very black' | | | |
| 91. RS | হাটুয়া ডাং | | | |
| IPA | [haɽuya ɖaŋ] | | | |
| IMG | Market | hit | | |
| Meaning | 'beat publicly' | | | |

| | |
|---------|--|
| 92. RS | তোৰ পয়রা কায় নাপে? |
| IPA | [t̪or pɔyɾa kay nape]? |
| IMG | You.Gen who measure |
| Meaning | ‘Gained power or has got property/ no worries’ |
| 93. RS | আকাৰিৰ তাও বাকারিত ৰাৰে |
| IPA | [akari-r taɔ bakari-t̪ jʰare] |
| IMG | Place-GEN anger Place-LOC shake/thrash |
| Meaning | ‘frustrated’ |
| 94. RS | ঐ যে কইচে আরো কবার চাইচে |
| IPA | [ɔi Je kɔice aro kɔbar caice] |
| IMG | That that say more say want |
| Meaning | ‘belittle’ |
| 95. RS | নাউ বাড়ি থাকি কচু বাড়ি |
| IPA | [nau baʈi tʰaki kɔcu baʈi] |
| IMG | [gourd filed from esculent root field] |
| Meaning | ‘digress from the main topic’ |
| 96. RS | তৈয়ার ছাওয়ার বাপ |
| IPA | [tɔiyar cʰaoyar bap] |
| IMG | Ready child-GEN father |
| Meaning | ‘get everything readymade’ |
| 97. RS | উজোত না পায় কুজোত কিলায় |
| IPA | [uʃ-ɔt̪ na pay kujɔt̪ kilay] |
| IMG | Power-LOC not lesspower hit |
| Meaning | ‘express anger with the powerless’ |
| 98. RS | গছ বিলাই |
| IPA | [gɔcʰ bilai] |
| IMG | Tree cat |
| Meaning | ‘Squirrel’ |

APPENDIX-VIII

Questionnaire for number idioms

নামঃ _____ বয়সঃ _____

ঠিকানাঃ _____

পইরবেন দিয়া মনোযোগ লাইনগুলো নিচের করি দয়া)। তারপর শূন্যস্থানে যে শব্দটা বইসেপে সেইটার নিচে তা দাগ দিবেন অথবা শূন্যস্থান পূরন কইরবেন।

(১) খাড্ডি বুড়িকোনার বয়স ম্যালাহইবে কাছাকাছি এর-শো এক -। একদিন বুড়িটার শরীর খারাপ হইচো সেদিন বোলে বুড়িটা হাসপাতালোত ভর্তি হইচো দুইদিন পর বুড়িটার অবস্থা নাজেহালভাব বাচং মরং ,। তারপর বুড়িটা _____ ,।

তুইলচে জল (ঘ) তুইলচে আলু (গ) ধইরচে তুলির পোটল (খ) তুইলচে পোটোল (ক)

(২) রমেশ চালাক চ্যাংড়া। পুতিবার ক্লাসোত ফাস্টে হয়। উমায় নাইনে পড়ো সবসময় রমেশ) _____ সাতপাঁচ , করে কাজ ভাবিয়া (এক-দুই , পাচসাত , দশ-পাচ

কথা খিব তুই (৩) কইসা আর বেশি করি ভাকার ভাকার না করিসা না শুনুং তোর) _____ তের , বারো , পাঁচ , চৌদ্দ , কথা পেঁচালি (ছয়)

নোমায় ভাল স্বভাব বেটিছাওয়াটার ঐ (৪)। কয়টা যে বিয়াও কইরচে তার ঠিক নাই উমায় হইল) _____ আট , দশ , ভাতরী (সাত , পাঁচ , এগার , পনেরবেটিছাওয়া

খচ্চর খুব ব্যাটাটা মানিকের (৫)। উয়ার ঠাকুরদা একটা পুতুল আনি দিচো নগদে পুতুলটা) _____ নয় , দশ-আট , ছয়- , একদুই পাচফ্যালাইল করি (পাচ-নয় , সাত-।

ওই (৬) যে কইচে আরো কওয়ার) _____ চাইচে(পাইবে , পাইচে , ধইরচে ,।

) _____ উনিশ থাকি খোদার চিস বড় হইলেক টাকা (৭) একুশ(উনিতিরিশ , আঠারো , বিশ ,।

) _____ বিদ্যা তিরিশে (৮) চল্লিশে ঠন ওপাকে ইয়ার ধন (পয়তিরিশে , পঞ্চাশে ,।

) _____ ভুকাং মুই (৯) পনের , বিশপাড়া উত্তর যায় বাড়া মোর , বাড়া জনের (বারো , একশ , দশ ,।

) _____ হাওয়া বেলার সকাল (১০) একশদাওয়া টাকার (কোটি , হাজার , পাচ , দশ ,।

) _____ কাকো গেইলে বাচির , নোমায় কম কাং দুইজন উমুরা (১১) আঠারো হওয়া বিশ কাকো (সতেরো , উনিশ , একুশ , খায়া

দশ চোরের (১২) দিন গিরির) _____ একদিন(দশদিন , ছয়দিন , পাঁচদিন ,।

ধইরচে বোয়ার হাল রইদোদ দুপুরি এই থাকি সকাল কামলাটা (১৩)। কোনোয় খায় নাই উয়ার আইজকা _____) তেরোবাজীচে (বিশটা , বারোটা , দশটা ,।

) _____ মিচ্চা মোক মা (১৪) চাইরটাদে ভাত (তিনটা , চাইর , দশটা , পাঁচটা ,।

না আসিল খাওয়ার নিমন্ত্রন বাড়িত হামার আইজকা উমায় (১৫)। কতবার কওয়া খাইবে কম সে কম মুই উয়াক ?

) _____ পনের বারকচুং (সাতবার ,চৌদ্দবার ,দশবার ,।

) _____ মোকো ?খাইস ভুভুরা কি তুই (১৬)চাইরকোনাগেইচে মন খাওয়ার মোরো ,ক্যানে দে (একেনা ,দুকুনা ,পাঁচকোনা ,।

ধইন্যবাদ।

APPENDIX-IX***List of Informants***

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1 | Information |
| Name | Prabhash Chandra Barman |
| Age | 75 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class-IV |
| Languages known | MT- Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Farmer, Agricultural work |
| Address | Vill+Post-BR Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Good orator and good story teller |
| 2 | Information |
| Name | Rajendra Nath Roy |
| Age | 56 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class-X |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Farmer, Agricultural work |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Additional Information | Introvert |
| 3 | Information |
| Name | Nanda Kumar Barman |
| Age | 65 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class VIII |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Farmer, agricultural work |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Spiritual and religious minded person |
| 4 | Information |
| Name | Upendra Nath Barman |
| Age | 67 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class-V |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Farmer, agricultural work |
| Address | Vill+Post-BR Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist- Coochbehar, WB |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Additional Information | Very hardworking |
| 5 | Information |
| Name | Kshitish Barman |
| Age | 68 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class-II |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Farmer, Agricultural work |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Soft spoken |
| 6 | Information |
| Name | Mrinal Chandra Barman |
| Age | 38 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class-XII |
| Languages known | MT- Rajbanshi OT- Bengali, (Hindi and English) |
| Profession | Business, LIC agent |
| Address | Vill- Dakshin Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Additional Information | Practical |
| 7 | Information |
| Name | Ratan Chandra Barman |
| Age | 39 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class-II |
| Languages known | MT- Rajbanshi OT- (Bengali) |
| Profession | Farmer, Agricultural work |
| Address | Vill+Post-BR Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist- Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Very hardworking, went to Bangalore as a labour |
| 8 | Information |
| Name | Ranjit Barman |
| Age | 39 yrs |
| Sex | Male |
| Educational qualifications | Class-VI |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Farmer, Agricultural work |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |

Additional Information Hard working

9 Information

Name Mrinal Ray

Age 26 yrs

Sex Male

Educational qualifications Class-BA

Languages known MT-Rajbanshi

OT- Bengali, (English and Hindi)

Profession Civic Volunteer, Student

Address Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB

Additional Information Loves technology, mobile etc

10 Information

Name Shymal Barman

Age 32 yrs

Sex Male

Educational qualifications Class-VI

Languages known MT-Rajbanshi

OT- Bengali and Hindi

Profession Driver and Agriculture related work

Address Vill+ Post-Jatigara, Kalirhat PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Additional Information | Went to Shillong and can speak Hindi, moderate |
| 11 | Information |
| Name | Jatribala Ray |
| Age | Passed away (80+) |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Illiterate |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT- NO |
| Profession | House wife, agricultural work |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Family person, soft spoken |
| 12 | Information |
| Name | Shantibala Das |
| Age | 82 yrs |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Class-IV |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Housewife and agricultural work |
| Address | Vill+Post-Kalirhat, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Additional Information | Spiritual, recites verses of Madghbhat Gita in religious gathering |
| 13 | Information |
| Name | Bhabani Ray |
| Age | 55 |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Class-III |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-(Bengali) |
| Profession | Housewife, Agricultural work |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Family, soft spoken, simple |

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 14 | Information |
| Name | Ulleshwari Ray |
| Age | 52 yrs |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Illiterate |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-No |
| Profession | Housewife, Agricultural work |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Family, hard working |

15 Information

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Name | Bhobeshwari Ray |
| Age | 55 yrs |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Illiterate |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT- No |
| Profession | Housewife, agricultural work |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Hardworking family, straight forward |

16 Information

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Name | Anita Ray |
| Age | 50 yrs |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Class-VIII |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali |
| Profession | Housewife, Agricultural work |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | hardworking |
| 17 | Information |
| Name | Kanan Ray |
| Age | 37 yrs |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Class-MA |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali, English, Hindi |
| Profession | Nurse in Govt, Hospital |
| Address | Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB |
| Additional Information | Dedicated to family and work |

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 18 | Information |
| Name | Sefali Ray |
| Age | 29 yrs |
| Sex | Female |
| Educational qualifications | Class-MA |
| Languages known | MT-Rajbanshi OT-Bengali, (English) |
| Profession | Student |

Address Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata,
Dist-Coochbehar, WB

19 Information

Name Shibani Ray

Age 29 yrs

Sex Female

Educational qualifications Class-MA

Languages known MT-Rajbanshi
OT-Bengali, English

Profession Student

Address Vill-Dakshin Bharali, Post-Sitai, PS-Sitai, Sub-Dinhata,
Dist-Coochbehar, WB

20 Information

Name Dipali Ray

Age 25

Sex Female

Educational qualifications Class-MA (pursuing PHD)

Languages known MT-Rajbanshi
OT-Bengali, Hindi, English

Profession Student

Address Vill-Konachatra, Post-BR. Chatra, PS-Sitai, Sub-
Dinhata, Dist-Coochbehar, WB