GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF BAJJIKA LANGUAGE

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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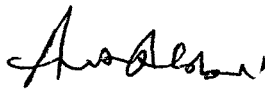**New Delhi-110 067**
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF BAJJIKA LANGUAGE", submitted by **Arti Kumari**, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of the University, is to the best of my knowledge an original work and may be placed before the examiners of evaluation.

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This dissertation entitled "**GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF BAJJIKA LANGUAGE**", submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master 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.

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To
Mummy & Papa

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Abbreviation

Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
AGR	Agreement
Aux	Auxiliary
Caus	Causative
Class	Classifier
Corel	Correlative
CP	Conjunctive Particle
D	retroflex d
Dat	Dative
Det	Determiner
DH	retroflex d^h
DO	Direct Object
Emph	Emphatic maker
Fut	Future tense
Gen.	Genitive
Hab	Habitual
H	Honorific
Imper	Imperative
Impef	Imperfective
F.	Female
Inft.	Infinitive
Instr.	Instrumental
IO	Indirect object
Loc	Locative
M	Male
NH	Non-Honorific
Nom	Nominative
O	Object
P	Particle

Perf	Perfective
Pl	Plural
Prst	Present tense
Pst	Past tense
Redup	Reduplication
Refl.	Reflexive
Rel.	Relative
Sg.	Singular
T	Retroflex t
TH	Retroflex t^h
Voc	Vocative
I	First Person
II	Second Person
III	Third Person
//	Phonemic transcription
[ ]	Phonetic transcription

Chapter 1: Introduction

CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

Bajjika is an eastern Indo-Aryan[1] language spoken by a total of about 1.5 crore people in the Northern and Central regions of the Bihar state of India. In this research an attempt is made to present a brief account of some aspects of the phonetics, morphology and the syntax of the Bajjika language. Before we embark upon the description of the various aspects of this language, we must first see, in this introductory chapter some background notes on such issues as:

(1) Sociolinguistic Data

(2) Its speakers and geographical boundaries

(3) Studies done on Bajjika language

(4) Emergence of the language and its present-day situation

1.1 Sociolinguistic Data:

Bajjika is spoken mainly in the Central and Northern regions of the state of Bihar in India. The exact dimensions of the area have been fluctuating from age to age. Today this area is known as Bajjikanchal and the history of it is quite old. According to Shatpatha Brahmins,[2] when the Aryan invaders[3] came to Koshal, they established their monarchy in the east of the river Sadanira. Nearly 21 kings from Nabhadisth to Trishbindu have been mentioned who had ruled in this area.

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[1] The Indo-Aryan (`Arya') family of languages is one of the major language families of the world. They all utilize the Devanagari script. These languages of this category are considered the `purest' descendants of Sanskrit, being spoken in Aryavarta, the `pure land of the Aryans', also known as Aryadesha or Madhyadesha. Generally included as separate languages in this family are Braj Bhasa, Kannauji, Ayodhyi, Khari Boli, Bundeli, Bagheli, Bhojpuri.

[2] The Brahmanas associated with the Yajur Veda are The Shatapatha Brahmana. This Brahmana is associated with the white Yajur Veda. It consists of 100 lectures, which provide information on ceremonies, and the philosophy of sacrifices. After the Rig-Veda, this text is considered the most important work in the entire range of Vedic literature.

[3] One of the main ideas used to interpret and generally devalue the ancient history of India is the theory of the Aryan invasion. According to this account, India was invaded and conquered by nomadic light-skinned Indo-European tribes from Central Asia around 1500-100 BC, who overthrew an earlier and more advanced dark-skinned Dravidian civilization from which they took most of what later became Hindu culture. This so-called pre-Aryan civilization is said to be evidenced by the large urban ruins of what has been called the "*Indus valley culture*" (as most of its initial sites were on the Indus river). The war between the powers of light and darkness, a prevalent idea in ancient Aryan Vedic scriptures, was thus interpreted to refer to this war between light and dark skinned peoples. The Aryan invasion theory thus turned the "Vedas", the original scriptures of ancient India and the Indo-Aryans, into little more than primitive poems of uncivilized plunderers.

Vishal, son of Trishbindu made a country here, which was named as Vaishali after his name. So many kings ruled the area including Sumati and unfortunately not much of the information is found regarding (the history of) Vaishali after him, so the historians call it as the black era. The end of this era is counted upto 725 B.C.When Lichvies came to rule in this area, the republic government was established there. This was supposedly the oldest republic of India. This republic has eight kuls in it – Brijji, Lichvi, Videh, Gayatrik, Bhog, Ugra, Ichvaku and Kuru. One of these eight kuls, Ichvaku was related to the rajvansh while brijji and Lichvi were more powerful. Probably that is why, this area of Vaishali was called 'vajji sangh'.

The language spoken by common people in this Vajji Sangh is known as Bajjika. This name is supposed to be given by the scholar Rahul Sankrityayan. He used this term first in his book 'Puratatva Nibandhavali' under an essay titled 'Matribhasao ki Samasya'. [A Arun, 1990). However, Grierson, before that had marked three languages spoken in Bihar, namely Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri. For Bajjika language, he used different terms like 'Western Maithili or Maithili-Bhojpuri. Later, Dr. Siyaram Tiwari logically proved that Bajjika is a separate language which is obviously different from these two languages.

Scholars like Ram Padarth Sharma and Yogendra Sharma had suggested that Bajjika is a language spoken in Vaishali. Dr. Siyaram Tiwari had given the name Brijjika to this language but the name given by Rahul Sankrityayan remained popular and accepted. Some people tried calling it Vajjika instead of Bajjika, but since /w/ is pronounced as /b/ in this language, it remained Bajjika.

1.2   Its Speakers and Geographical Boundaries

The geographical boundary of Bajjika is considered as the geographical boundary of the Vajji Sangh itself. Though it can be true but only to an extent. According to Pd. Rahul Sankrityayan, the 'Bajji Sangh' includes today's Champaran, Muzaffarpur, most of areas of Darbhanga, some areas of Sonpur and Mirzapur and Parsa of Chapra District. Whereas Dr. Siyaram Tiwari sees the whole Muzaffarpur district Samastipur district Ghorasahan, Dhaka, Patahi, Madhuban, Pipra and Kesaria thana of Champaran district and Sonpur thana, as Bajjika

speaking areas. However, inspite of talking about old geographical areas of 'Bajji Sangh', scholars like Ram Padarth Sharma tells that the modern Bajjika speaking areas includes North Western subdivisions of Hazipur, East-Western areas of Muzaffarpur subdivision, North-Western subdivisions of Sitamarhi and Northern areas of Champaran district.

However, there has been a lot of controversies regarding the decision of exact boundary of Bajjika speaking areas. Due to its geographic location, Bajjika has been in constant contact with other varieties spoken in adjacent areas such as Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri. Due to language contact Bajjika definitely has undergone changes at various levels, especially in adjacent areas. Based on its contact with other varieties of Hindi, Bajjika has been divided into – standard Bajjika, Maithili affected Bajjika, Magahi affected Bajjika and Bhojpuri affected area (division based on A. Arun, 1990, p.4).

1.3   Studies done on Bajjika Language:

Whatever works were done on or in Bajjika language in past, most of them are not known to us due to the lack of the name given to this language. Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi's 'Kavita Kaumudi' which is a collection of Bajjika songs is considered to be Maithili or Bhojpuri. There had been many instances like this, where, though the creation has been done in Bajjika, it was listed either under Maithili or Bhojpuri. In Dr. Siyaram Tiwari's book 'Bajjika Bhasha aur Sahitya', which was published by Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Dr. Shukdeo Singh's Bhojpuri aur Hindi' and Dr. Awadheshwar Arun's 'Hindi, Bhojpuri aur Bajjika ka Tulnatmak Adhyan', it has clearly been proved that Rahul Sankrityayan was the first one to talk about Bajjika as an independent language in his 'Puratatva Nibandhawali'. Ram Padarth Sharma and Yogendra Sharma are of the few known Scholars who had worked on this language. Ram Padarth Sharma has also used the term 'Vaishali bhasha' for it but 'Bajjika' remained in vast use. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Singh and Dr. Surendra Mohan Prasad are two names which cannot be left, if the progress of Bajjika language is being talked about. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Singh has written the first grammar of Bajjika and Dr. Surendra Mohan has made the first dictionary of it. Apart from this, one more achievement

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to be counted in this regard is 'Bajjika Ramayan' which is written by Dr. Awadheshwar Arun, but is yet to be published. Harendra Singh Viplav, Devendra Singh Rakesh, Jwala Sandhya Pushpa and many more people are known today, who are working for the progress of this language.

1.4 Emergence of the language and its present day situation:

As we have already discussed in the section 1.2 Bajjika is a language used as mother tongue by the people residing in Bajjikanchal. Though its not more than two-three decades when people of this area seriously became aware of the language they speak. The present scenario is that many books and magazines are being published in this language. In Bihar Vishwavidyalay, the Post-graduation course in Hindi includes the linguistic studies of various language spoken in Bihar and Bajjika has been included in it. Also, it has got place in the Sahityalankar examinations conducted by Hindi Vidyapith, Devghar. The work ahead is divided mainly into three chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the sound system of Bajjika language. A preliminary study of phonotactic behaviours of sounds, segmental phonology and morphophonemics is done in this chapter. The third chapter is about the morphological features of the language including the inflectional and derivational features. Discussion on syntax and major sentence types has been done in the fourth chapter. Finally after conclusion, a sample text and few maps are given in the appendices.

Chapter 2:
Phonetics and Phonology

CHAPTER 2

2.0. Introduction:

In this chapter we will briefly discuss the sketch of the segmental phonology of Bajjika and will describe the consonants and vowels. Also, their phonotactic behaviour will be discussed (section 2.1-2.5). Section 2.6 is devoted to a brief discussion of the supra segmental features of stress and intonation; the next section, i.e. 27 deals with morphophonemic alternations. Section 2.8 deals with the syllabic structures found in Bajjika.

"The study of full range of vocal sounds that human beings are capable of making is phonetics. The study of the sounds human beings employ when speaking a language is linguistic phonetics. Phonology is the study of the system underlying the selection and use of sounds in the languages of world". (Kisseberth and Kenstowicz, 1979:1). Articulatory phonetics is a sub-branch of phonetics which is concerned with the study of the articulation of speech sounds. Speech sounds are produced through various interactions of speech organs acting either on an outgoing, i.e. egressive or an incoming, i.e. ingressive airstream. Such articulation of speech sounds is peculiar to human beings only and is not shared by other animals. The human speech mechanism is capable of producing an infinite number of speech sounds. From this vast human repertoire of speech sounds, every language makes its own selection. The selection that a particular language makes constitutes its sound system, which itself comprises a very large number of speech sounds.

The purpose of speech, in general, is in order to be heard. So, when we produce a speech sound. we intend it to be transmitted and heard and hence a complete description of a sound must include its description in articulatory, acoustic and auditory terms. This. however. is not easy and since the purpose of the present work is to aid the teaching of pronunciation of a particular language, it should include the description of sounds mainly in articulatory terms and partly in auditory terms. Speech sounds of all languages are classified first and foremost, into vowels and consonants. In phonetic terms, 'vowels' are defined as the speech

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sounds which are produced by no obstruction or narrowing of a degree that would cause audible friction. All other sounds are regarded as 'consonants'.

2.1 Bajika Phonemes:

The inventory of Bajjika phonemes is set forth in Table 2.1. As shown in the table, there are 30 consonant phonemes and 8 oral vowel phonemes in Bajjika. All vowels can be nasalized and so the number of underlying vowel phonemes can be increased to 16. All underlying segments also surface as phonetic segments. Phonemes enclosed in bracket in Table 2.1 are allophones.

Table 2.1 Inventory of Bajjika phonemes

Consonants													
Places	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Manner	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	Vd	vl	vd	
Stops (-asp.)	p	b	t	d			T	D			k	g	
(+asp.)	pʰ	bʰ	tʰ	dʰ			TH	DH			kʰ	gʰ	
Affricates (-asp.)									c	j			
(+asp.)									cʰ	jʰ			
Nasals (-asp.)		m		n				(N)		(ɲ)		(ŋ)	
(+asp.)		mʰ		nʰ									
Trill (-asp.)						r							
(+asp.)						rʰ							
Fricatives						s							h
Lateral (-asp.)						l						•	
(+asp.)						lʰ							
Approximants		w								y			

Vowels	Front	Central	Back	
High	i		u	
Mid	e	ə	o	+/– ~ (nasalization)
Low	ɛ	a	ɔ	

2.2. Vowels:

Based on the articulatory features of tongue position, tongue height and lip position, the eight oral vowels in Bajjika are: /i/ high front, /e/ mid front, /ɛ/ low front, /ə/ mid central, /a/ low central, /u/ high back, /o/ mid back, and /ɔ/ low back. There are two degrees of vowel length, long and short for almost all the vowels. Lip rounding is not distinctive and only back vowels are rounded.

2.2.1. Front Vowels:

The phonological opposition between the front vowels /i e ɛ / is shown below:

Initial	Medial	Final
/i/ 'this'	/bis/ 'twenty'	/ki/ 'what'
/ek/ 'one'	/bec/ 'sell'	/ke/ 'who'
/ɛna/ 'mirror'	/bɛna/ 'gift'	

Of the front vowels, /ɛ/ is also dipthongized in Bajjika as /əe/, or /əi/, e.g.

/ɛna/ [əena]	'mirror'	
/ɛsən/ [əĭsən]	'like this'	
/pɛr/ [pəer]	'leg'	
/mɛda/ [məeda]	'flour'	

2.2.2. Central Vowels:

The phonological contrast between the Central Vowels /ə a/ is as shown below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/ən/	'grain'	/kəl/	'hand pump'	/bəiTHə/	'sit (H)'
/an/	'ego'	/kal/	'time'	/bəiTHa/	'make him sit'
/ər/	'stick'	'rəkʰ'	'keep'	/cələ/	'lets go (H)'
/ar/	'pl marker or and'	/rakʰ/	'ash'	/cala/	'make him walk'
/as/	'hope'	/cʰal/	'bark'		

/ə/ occurs primarily in non-initial positions. In the final position it appears mainly in the honorific construction where it is a form of the verbal agreement for IIH.

2.2.3. Back Vowels:

The back vowels /u o ɔ/ are rounded and show phonological opposition in all position, e.g.

Initial		Medial		Final	
/upər/	'above'	/kus/	'a kind of grass'	/suru/	'beginning'
/opər/	'above'	/kos/	'miles'		
/os/	'frost'	/kʰopa/	'bun'	/kəhiyo/	'anytime'
/ɔrəʊ/	'woman'	/cɔla/	'wide'		

Of the back vowels, /ɔ/ is the least common, especially in the final position. Also, in Bajjika, /ɔ/ is dipthongized as /əu/ or /əo/, e.g.

/kɔa/ [kəua]	'crow'
/mɔgi/ [məugi]	'woman'
/ɔrəʊ/ [əorət]	'woman'
/cɔla/ [cəola]	'wide'

2.2.4. High Vowels:

The high vowels /i u/ contrast each other in all the three positions. Example is as shown below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/i/	'this'	/tit/	'bitter'	/bali/	'earring'
/u/	'that'	/tut/	'kind of fruit'	/balu/	'sand'

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2.2.5. Mid Vowels:

The mid vowels /e ə o/ also show phonological contrast in almost all positions.
For e.g.,

Initial		Medial		Final	
/enna/	'like this'	/bel/	'kind of fruit'	/he/	'a vocative form used for elder ladies'
/onna/	'like that'	/bol/	'speak'	/ho/	'become'
/əna/	'a coin denomination'	/bəl/	'strain'	/helə/	'swim (H)'

/ə/ occurs in the final position mainly in the imperative construction where it is a form of verbal agreement for IIP (H).

2.2.6. Low Vowels:

The low vowels /ɛ a ɔ/ show phonological contrasts as shown in the examples given below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/ɛs/	'luxury'	/pɛr/	'leg'	/jɛ/	'way to greet God'
/as/	'hope'	/par/	'across'	/ja/	'go'
/ɔrət/	'woman'			/jɔ/	'a kind of grain'

2.2.7. Dipthongs:

Most commonly posited dipthongs in Bajjika are [əi], [əu] and [əe]. Somewhat depending upon the choice of speakers also, these dipthongs can be pronounced either into a real dipthong or separately as two distinct vowels used as vowel clusters. Most of these dipthongs in Bajjika are rising dipthongs, i.e. they end in high vowels /i/ and /u/, e.g.

[əi]	[əisən]	'like this'
	[kəise]	'how'
	[həi]	'be'
[əu]	[əur]	'and'
	[kəua]	'crow'
	[həu]	'have' [Imper, II NH]
[əe]	[əena]	'mirror'
	[məena]	'a bird'
	[həe]	'be'
[au]	[au]	'come (Imper, IIH)'
	[jaut]	'husband's brother's son'
	[lau]	'bring (Imper, IIH)'
[ai]	[ai]	'today'
	[kai]	'mosses'

2.2.8. Nasalized Vowels:

As we have already discussed, all vowels can be nasalized in Bajjika increasing the number of underlying vowel phonemes to 16. The contrast between the oral and nasal vowels is as shown in the examples given below:

Initial:

/ila/   'because of this'

/ĩta/   'brick'

/ehi/   'only this'

/ẽri/   'heel'

/uTH/   'arise'

/ūT/ 'camel'

/ɔrət/ 'woman'

/ɔTəl/ 'boiled'

/as/ 'hope'

/ãt/ 'intestine'

Medial:

/cʰiT/	'scatter'
/cʰĩT/	'kind of dye in garments'
/bel/	'kind of fruit'
/bẽt/	'stick'
/gʰor/	'liquid'
/gʰõT/	'swallow'
/gun/	'quality'
/gʰun/	'grain bug'
/pas/	'near'
/bãs/	'bamboo'
/kəTHgər/	'hard'
/kəTgər/	'thorny'

Final:

/kəhi/	'say (Imper, II NH)'
/kehĩ/	'what if'
/kəhu/	'say (Imper, IIH)'
/kəhũ/	'somewhere'

/kəha/   'cause to say'

/kəhã/   'where'

Vowels are phonetically nasalized when contiguous with a nasal consonant, e.g .

/gʰum/ [gʰũm]   'turn'

/tin/   [tĩn]   'three'

/un/   [ũn]   'wool'

/dʰan/ [dʰãn]   'grain'

/kona/ [kõna]   'corner'

/həm/ [həm]   'I'

2.3 Consonants:

Bajjika stops, like those of most Indo-Aryan languages, show a four way contrast between voiced and voiceless and aspirated and unaspirated at bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, and velar places of articulation. Phonetically the trills, laterals, and nasals also show a two-way contrast between aspirated and unaspirated. Thus, we can say that, aspiration is an overriding characteristic of the Bajjika sound system.

2.3.1. Stops:

Table 2.2 shows the occurrence of and contrast between voiced and voiceless and aspirated and unaspirated stops at initial, medial and final positions.

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Table 2.2

Stops	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	/pul/ 'bridge'	/nəpa/ 'measurement'	/sãp/ 'snake'
/pʰ/	/pʰul/ 'flower'	/nəpʰa/ 'profit'	/sapʰ/ 'clean'
/b/	/balu/ 'sand'	/ciba/ 'chew'	/jib/ 'animal'
/bʰ/	/bʰalu/ 'bear'	/cibʰa/ 'suck'	/jibʰ/ 'tongue'
/t/	/tari/ 'palm wine'	/poti/ 'grand daughter'	/bənd/ 'close'
/tʰ/	tʰari/ 'plate'	potʰi/ 'book'	/bəndʰ 'tie'
/d/	/dan/ 'charity'	/udar/ 'generous'	/məd/ 'ego'
/dʰ/	/dʰan/ 'grain'	/udʰar/ 'credit'	/mədʰ/ 'honey'
/T/	/Tik/ 'pigtail'	/kəTgər/ 'thorny'	/kaT/ 'cut'
/TH/	/Thik/ 'true'	/kəTʰgər/ 'hard'	/kaTH/ 'wood'
/D/	/Dol/ 'bucket'		
/DH/	/Dhol/ 'drum'		
/c/	/cor/ 'thief'	/əcar/ 'pickle'	/bic/ 'center'
/cʰ/	/cʰor/ 'leave'	/əcʰar/ 'shower'	/bicʰ 'layed'
/j/	/jal/ 'net'	/bajəi/ 'blown'	/bej/ 'blew'
/jʰ/	/jʰal/ 'musical instrument'	/bajʰəi/ 'entangled'	/bejʰ/ 'entangled'

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/k/	/kal/ 'time'	/səkra/ 'narrow'	/bik/ 'sell'
/kʰ/	kʰal/ 'skin'	/səkʰra/ 'kind of snake'	/bikʰ/ 'poison'
/g/	/gāo/ 'village'	/gəgri/ 'pitcher'	/bag/ 'garden/
/gʰ/	/gʰao/ 'wound'	/gʰəgʰri/ 'skirt'	/bagʰ/ 'tiger'

/D/ and /DH/ phonemes occur intervocalically and word-finally only if preceded by a nasal consonant, which is usually assimilated to the retroflex place of articulation /D/ and /DH/, e.g.

Medial   Final

/əNDa/   'egg'   /kʰəNDa/   'palanguin'

/THəDHa/   'cold'

/DH/ phoneme in word final position and post vocalically changes to /RH/, e.g.

/pəDH/ [pəRH]   'read'

/bəDH/ [bəRH]   'grow'

2.3.2. Nasals:

The phonological opposition between the nasals / m n/ is shown in the examples given below,

Initial   Medial   Final

/mali/ 'gardener'   /kəma/ 'earn'   /kam/ 'job'

/nali/ 'drain'   /kəna/ 'cause to weep'   /kan/ 'ear'

The contrast between aspirated and unaspirated nasals /m mʰ/ and /n nʰ/ can be seen word medially or word finally. For e.g.,

/ləmər/   'stretched'   /kəna/   'cause to weep'

/ləmʰər/   'tall'   /kənʰa/   'shoulder'

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Voiced unaspirated dental nasal /n/ has three more voiced allophones namely palatal nasal /ɲ/ that occurs before palatal consonants, velasr nasal /ŋ/, occurring before velar consonants and retroflex nasal /N/, occurring before retroflex consonants, e.g.,

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/n/	/nica/	'down'	/keniyã/	'bride'	/kʰun/	'blood'
/ɲ/			/cirĩɲa/	'bird'		
/ŋ/			/luŋgi/	'a dress'	/Taŋg/	'leg'
			/jəŋgəl/	'forest'	/jaŋgʰ/	'thigh'
/N/			/əNDA/	'egg'		
			/iNDa/	'well'		

Like other Indo Aryan Languages, Bajjika has borrowed many words from Sanskrit, either directly or indirectly through Hindi. Most of educated speakers know this and tend to use them, which has had an impact upon the phonology of Bajjika. The literate and educated speakers try to retain the original pronunciation of the borrowed words. In less literary styles, however, they abandon it. This is highly evident in the variation that occurs, between the retroflex nasal [N] and the dental nasal [n] as shown below:

[baN] ~ [ban]   'arrow'

[praN] ~ [pran]   'life'

2.3.3. Liquids:

The liquids, i.e., trill and lateral, show phonological opposition in the following positions, e.g.

Initial		Medial		Final	
/rel/	'train	/baru/	'light' (IMP, IIH)	/ber/	'time'
/lel/	'take'	/balu/	'sand'	/bel/	'a fruit'

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/rog/	'disease'	/cera/	'a reptile'	/lar/	'saliva'
/log/	'people'	/cela/	'follower'	/lal/	'red colour'

The variation between the retroflex /R/ and the dental /r/ can be illustrated on the pattern of the treatment suggested above for the retroflex and dental nasals. The retroflex /R/ can not be treated as a phoneme, e.g.,

[kəRa] ~ [kəra]   'hard'

[pəhaR] ~ [pəhar]   'mountain'

[bəRa] ~ [bəra]   'big'

2.3.4. Fricatives:

The fricatives /s h/ show full phonological opposition in all position, e.g.,

Initial		Medial		Final	
/sat^h/	'with'	/pəsar/	'spread'	/rəs/	'juice'
/hãt^h/	'hand'	/pəhar/	'mountain'	/rəh/	'stay' (IMP, II NH)

2.3.5. Approximants:

The approximants (w y) are seen in Bajjika at non-initial positions, e.g.,

Medial

/iswər/   'God'

Final

/təwa/ 'utensil on which chapatti is made'

/diya/   'lamp'

/maya/   'money'

2.3.6 Gemination:

Gemination is an important characteristic of Bajjika consonant system. It is phonetically conditioned, occurring only intervocalically where the preceding vowel is stressed. Such geminate consonants behave like consonant clusters in

the syllabic structure of the language where the first consonant goes with the preceding vowel and the second consonant with the following one. For example,

/dd/	nəddi	'river'
/tt/	jutta	'shoe'
	pittər	'metal'
/kk/	okkər	'his'
	cəkkər	'circle'
/ll/	bəlla	'bangle'
	kəlləh	'fight'
/mm/	nəmma	'tall'
	həmmər	'mine'
	təmma	'copper'

2.4 Consonant Clusters:

The use of consonant clusters, especially in initial and final positions, denotes a marked degree of formality and the speaker's knowledge of languages like Sanskrit and Hindi. Uneducated speakers of Bajjika use the least number of clusters. Examples of words containing consonant clusters occurring non-initially and non-finally by the Bajjika speakers are given below:

pT	kəpTi	'small bowl'
	uptap	'over full'
pk	upkar	'debt'
pr	kəpra	'cloth'
	uprag	'complain'

un	ləbni	'bowl to collect palm juice
	pəbni	'fast/festival'
br	əbri	'this time'
	ləbri	'outspoken'
mn	təmni	'farming'
mr	cəmra	'leather'
	həmra	'me'
tr	pətra	'horoscope'
	jətra	'good luck'
dm	ədmi	'people'
md^h	səmd^{h}i	'son's/daughter's father-in-law'
nd	gənda	'dirty'
nk	tənke	'little'
	hunka	'him (H)'
ng	nungər	'salty'
ng^h	pəng^{h}or	'watery'
cn	nocni	'itch'
	becnai	'to sell'
cr	kəcri	'pəkaura'
	sənicri	'name'
cc^h	kucc^{h}o	'something'
c^{h}r	məc^{h}ri	'fish'

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cʰh	jacʰhi	'are you going?'
/kkʰ	sukkʰəl	'dry'
	bʰukkʰəl	'hungry'
/kr/	bəkri	'goat'
	ləkri	'wood'
/kʰn/	likʰnai	'to write'
	əkʰni	'now'
	kəkʰni	'when'
/gr/	jʰəgra	'fight'
/lh/	dulha	'bridegroom'
	culha	'cooking burner'
/rb/	dʰərti	'earth'
/rtʰ	pərtʰən	'dry flour used while making chapati
/rd/	gərdən	'neck'
	mərdəl	'mashed'
/rc/	mircai	'chilli'
/rk/	bərka	'elder'
	ləirka	'kid'
/rh/	sirhənna	'at the side of the head'
/hm/	mehman	'guest'
/hn/	kəhna	'saying'
	uləhna	'complain'

/sm/ ·   dusmən   'enemy'

/st/   mistiri   'technician'

Three consonants cluster:

/ŋgn/ əŋgna   'courtyard'

/ŋgr/ nəŋgri   'tail'

/ŋgl/ jəŋgla   'window rod'

/ŋgʰ/ oŋgʰi   'sleepy'

       kəŋgʰi   'comb'

2.5 Vowel Clusters:

Bajjika two-vowel clusters (that is a phonetic process of dipthongization as discussed in 2.2.7), and a few of the possible three-vowel clusters are listed below in 2.5.1 and 2.5.2.

2.5.1 Two-Vowel Clusters:

[əi]	əi -	/əisən/	'like this'
	-əi-	/bəiTH/	'sit (Imper, IINH)'
[əe]	əe-	/əele/	'came (Imper, II NH, III NH)'
	-əe-	/bəel/	'ox' [əo] əo - /əokad/ limit
	-əe	/həe/	'be'
[əu]	əu	/əuTəl/	'boiled'
	-əu-	/təul/	'measure'
	-əu	/həu/	'have'

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[oi]	oi -	/oisən/	'like that'
	-oi-	/koila/	'coal'
	-oi	/koi/	'someone'
[oe]	-oe -	/dʰoela/	'for washing'
[iə]	-iə-	/siəl/	'sewn'
	-iə	/jiɛ/	'(may you) live long'
[eo]	-eo-	/deor/	'husband's younger brother'
[ea]	-ea-	/bear/	'wind'
[ua]	-ua-	/juari/	'gambler'
	-ua	/jua/	'gambling'
[ai]	-ai	/lai/	'popped rice balls'
[ae]	-ae	/mãe/	'mother'
	-ae-	/kʰael/	'eaten'
[ao]	-ao-	/bicʰaon/	'bed'
[au]	-au	/mau/	'wife'
		/bikau/	'for sale'
[ia]	-ia	/gʰia/	'a vegetable'
[iu]	-iu	/gʰiu/	'ghee'
[iə]	-iə	/kʰaiə/	'is eating'
[io]	-io-	kəhio	'anytime'
[ie]	-ie-	/piela/	'for drinking'

DISS

P,4471 = BAJ;2

P3
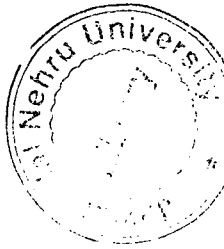
2.5.2. Three Vowel Clusters:

[əua]	/kəua/	'crow'
	/bəua/	'baby'
[əia]	/dəia/	'elder sister'
[əio]	/təio/	'then also'
[uia]	/suia/	'needle'
[oia]	/kʰoia/	'cover'
[iəu]	/diəu/	'give (Imper IIH)'
[iau]	/kʰiau/	'(make) eat (Imper IIH)'
[aiə]	/jaiə/	'(he) is going (Imper III NH)'

2.6 Stress and Intonation:

Stress in Bajjika is less significant and plays only a marginal role in distinguishing words, like other varieties spoken in Bihar. A very preliminary study of the position of primary word stress is given below:

All monosyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs are always stressed, e.g.,

['i]	'this'
['ki]	'what'
['rakʰ]	'ash'
['kʰaem]	'(I) will eat'

A great majority of disyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verb infinitives receive stress on their penultimate syllable, e.g.,

['ədmi]	'man'
['kekra]	'whom'
['ləlka]	'the red one'
['marbəi]	'(I) will beat'

However, inflected causative verb forms receive stress on the ultimate syllable, e.g.,

[cʰo'ra]   'cause to leave'

[nə'ha]   'cause to bath'

A number of disyllabic nouns and adjectives in Bajjika may receive stress on the ultimate syllable when it is either closed (ends in a consonant), or ends with a sequence of vowels, which is dipthongized in actual pronounciation, e.g.

[bi'lai]   'cat'

[lə'rai]   'fight'

[cə'Tor]   'food lover'

The majority of trisyllabic nouns, pronouns and adjectives receive stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

[un'calis]   'thirty-nine'

[kə'reja]   'heart'

[tər'həttʰi]   'palm'

However, some of the trisyllabic nouns, and adjectives receive stress on the antepenultimate and ultimate syllables also, e.g.

Antepenultimate

['duniyã]   'world'

['bənʰiyã]   'better'

['buniyã]   'kind of sweet'

Ultimate

[hõsi'yar]   'alert'

Almost all Bajjika nouns and adjectives of four syllables have stress on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g.

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[ek'pəeriya]   'narrow path'

[mə'jəkia]   'humorous'

[nə' cəniyã]   'dancer'

There are however, some exceptions which receive stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.,

[əgər'bətti]   'incense'

All verbs of four syllables receive stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

[dʰəke' ləicʰəi]   'pushing (IMP, IINH)'

[pəhũ'caem]   '(I) will take'

2.6.2. Intonation:

Two types of intonation pattern, falling intonation and rising intonation can be seen in Bajjika language. Discussed below are the most general environments for two types of intonational patterns.

2.6.2.1. Falling Intonation

Declarative sentences (see chapter 4) in Bajjika have a falling intonation (shown by ↓):

ram   gʰər   mẽ   həi.↓

Ram   home   Loc   be-Prst-III NH

'Ram is at home'.

u   a   gelkʰin.↓

He   come   go-Prst-IIIH.

'He came'.

Information question (chapter 4, 4.1.3.1), formed with the use of question words have a falling final intonation, e.g.

u   ke   həi.↓?

He   who   be-Prst-IIINH

'Who is he?'

toh-ər   nam   ki   həu?↓

you-Gen   name   what   be-Prst-IINH

'What's your name?'

Yes-No question containing a sentence – initial question word ki 'what' have a falling final intonation, e.g.,

ki   u   ə-t-əi?↓

what   he   come-Fut-IIINH

Will he come?

ki   tu   kʰə-i-hi?

what   you   eat-Prst-IIINH

'Did you eat?'

2.6.2.2. Rising Intonation:

Yes-No question without sentence – initials question word ki 'what' in Bajjika have rising final intonation (shown by↑).

For example,

əpne   kʰəela   kʰaem?↑

you (H)   food   eat-Fut-IIH

'Would you like to eat?'

In disjunctive questions (Chapter 4, 4.1.3.1 (c)) all non-final yes-no question have rising intonation, while the final question has a falling intonation, e.g.,

tu   cae↑   pi-b-e   ki   pani↑   ki   kətʰi↓?

You   tea   drink-Fut-IIH   or   water   or   what?

'What will you take, tea or coffee or something else?'

2.7 Morphophonemic Alternations

2.7.1. Dropping of voiced aspirated dental stop /dʰ/:

The voiced aspirated dental stop /dʰ/ of Hindi is dropped in Bajjika and is replaced by a voiced aspirated dental nasal stop /nʰ/, when preceded by a nasal consonant and followed by a vowel. Following are the two rules for the process.

1. $d^h \rightarrow n^h/n \neq$ ____ v

2. $n \rightarrow \phi /$ ____ n^h .

For example,

Hindi	Bajjika
ənd^{h}era	ən^{h}ar
ənd^{h}a	ən^{h}ra/an^{h}ər
kənd^{h}a	kən^{h}a

2.7.2. Dropping of word final laterals:

In Bajjika, the voiced unaspirated dental lateral consonant /l/ is dropped and is replaced by voiced unaspirated dental trill /r/ when it occurs at word final position. For example,

Hindi	Bajjika
məc^{h}li	məc^{h}ri
cawəl	caur
kajəl	kajər/kəjra

2.7.3. Lengthening of mid central vowel /ə/:

Long vowel /ə/ is added word finally after consonantal sound in a verb to show the honorific feature, in Bajjika. For example,

bəiTHə	bəiTH
sit – H	sit-NH
(You) sit down.	(You) sit down.

likʰə	likʰ
write – H	write-NH
(You) write.	(You) write.

2.8. Syllable Structure:

A word may consist of one or more syllables. A syllable is characterized as a sequence of phonemes with one peak of sonority. In each syllable vowel has the peak of sonority, and so it is also known as the nucleus. This nucleus may be preceded and followed by one or more consonants. The preceding consonants are known as onset of the syllable and the following consonants are called coda. The syllable is considered to be open when the vowel is the final segment and it is closed when the final segment is a consonant or semi vowel. Though there may be other ways of counting the syllables in any word, the best way it could be done is by observing the way the native speakers of any particular language pronounces the words. The words in Bajjika consists of one to four syllables. Following are the different syllabic patterns of Bajjika.

2.8.1 Monosyllabic words:

(a) open syllable: (C) V (V)

V	a	'and'
CV	pi	'drink'
CVV	həi	'be'

(b) Closed syllable: (C) (V) VC

V-C	am	'mango'
VVC	aur	'and'
CVC	səb	'all'

2.8.2 Disyllabic Words:

(a) Open second syllable: (C) V (C) (C) (V) –CV (V)

V-CV	abə	'come' (Honorific)
CV-CV	likʰə	'write' (Honorific)
VC-CV	əNDa	'egg'
CV C-CV	kurta	'shirt'
CVV-CV	kəise	'how'
CV-CVV	moTai	'fat'
CVCC-CV	nəŋgri	'tail'

(b) Closed syllable: (C) V (C) – CVC

V-CVC	əcar	'pickle'
VC-CVC	Iskul	'school'
CVC-CVC	gərdən	'neck'

2.8.3 Trisyllabic Words:

(a) Open third syllable: CV (C) – CV (C) (V) – CV (V)

CV – CV – CV	kəreja	'heart'
CV – CVC – CV	picʰutti	'backyard'
CVC – CVC – CV	tərhəttʰi	'palm'
CV – CVV – CVV	pʰicəicʰəi	'washing (he)'

(b) Closed third syllable: CV (C) – CV (C) – CVC

CV – CV – CVC	təregən	'stars'
CV – CVC – CVC	səmundər	'sea'
CVC – CV – CVC	cəmgadər	'bat'

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2.8.4　Four Syllable Words

(a) Open forth syllable: (V) C (V) – C V(V) (C) – CV (V) – CV (V)

VC – CVV – CV – CV	ekpəeriya	'narrow path'
CV – CV – CVV – CVV	dʰəkeləicʰəi	'pushing' (he)'
CV – CVC – CV – CVV	nəhəlwənai	'to make (him) bath'
V – CVC – CV – CCV	əgərbətti	'incense'

(b) Closed forth syllable: CV – CV – CV – CV – CVC

CV – CV – CV – CVC pəniharin 'one who brings water'

"The fluidity with which noun-ness and verbal-ness can be assumed by distinct word classes or by a single words is an interesting area of research in this part of the world". (Abbi, 2001: 114). Having examined the segmental phonology of Bajjika, I will now discuss the word formational processes through inflection, derivation and reduplication, in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Morphology

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Introduction

Although many of us are aware of the importance of the term morphology, the study of the internal structure of words did not emerge as a distinct sub-branch of linguistics until the nineteenth century. Based on a comparative study of the grammatical endings of the words in Sanskrit, Latin, Persian and the Germanic languages, Franz Bopp supported the view of Sir William Jones given in late eighteenth century that these languages were descended from a common ancestor. In his Oxford lectures of 1899, the philologist Max Muller contended under the influence of the Darwinian theory, that the study of the evolution of words would illuminate the evolution of language, just as in biology, the study of the forms of organisms had thrown light on the evolution of species. Later, during early days of twentieth century, especially between 1920 and 1945, American structuralists grappled with the problem of how sounds are used to distinguish meaning in language. They developed and refined the theory of phoneme. Gradually with the advent of time, the focus shifted to morphology. The study of morphology occupied the center stage when structuralism was in its prime, especially between 1940 and 1960. The structuralists introduced morphology as a separate sub-branch of linguistics whose purpose was 'the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words' (Nida, 1949: 1). So, one of the main contributions of the structuralists' was the recognition of the fact that words may have intricate internal structures.

Certain morphological properties of words are seen by syntactic rules in linguistics and if there are inflectional properties of words that are determined by syntax, the question that arises here is that, is there a need for a separate morphological component in our grammar or not. But all morphology cannot be reduced to syntax and phonology. Chomsky (1970), Jackendoff (1975) and S.R. Anderson (1988a) have mounted a defence of the separate existence of a morphological component. These linguists claim that the principles which

regulate the internal structure of words are quite different from those that govern sentence structure, the domain of syntax.

In this chapter we will discuss mainly about the nominal morphology of Bajjika language in section 3.1 and the verbal morphology in section 3.2 and some of the commonest inherent categories of these word classes. Section 3.3 deals with the word formational process of reduplication.

3.1 Nominal Morphology: Gender, number, and case are the morphosyntactic categories by which Bajjika nouns may be classified. The gender of the noun is simply marked with inflections, number is marked periphrastically and case is also marked inflectionally on the noun.

3.1.1. Noun: In Bajjika there are two numbers, singular and plural; two genders, masculine and feminine; and eight cases which are there also in Hindi and many of its varieties.

3.1.1.1. Number: Of the three main categories of nouns, namely number, gender and case, number seems to be the most widespread. All speech communities have ways of encoding the notion of countability. Many languages like English distinguish by inflection between one and more than one. A few other languages, like Sanskrit and Greek make a triplate distinction between one dual (two) and more than two. Bajjika can be included in the list of former languages as only two numbers are distinguished in it, that is, singular and plural. Plural form of a noun can be made just by adding '*sə*' or '*səb*' to its singular forms, e.g.

lərika   ə-l-əi

boy   come-Pst.IIINH

'boy came'

lərik   sə/səb   ə-l-əi

boy   Pl.   come.Pst.IIINH

'Boys came'

mərəd   kʰa-it hə-tʰin

man   eat-Imperf be-IIIH

'Man is eating'

mərəd   sə/səb   kʰa-it   hə-tʰin

man   Pl.   eat-Imperf be-IIIH

'Men are eating'

kitab rəkkʰə-1   həi

book   keep-Pst.   Be

'book is kept'

kitab sə/səb   rəkkʰə-1   həi

Book   Pl.   keep-Pst   be

'books are kept'

The plural morpheme 'səb' may also be placed before nouns. In such cases, 'səb' functions as an adjective, and translated into English as "all the x", e.g.

səb   admi   cəl   ge-l-kʰin

all   people walk   Go-Pst.-IIIH

'All the people went back'

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səb   lərika   pər^h-əit   həi

all   boy   read-Imperf   be

'All the boys are studying'

As it is clear from the above examples, Bajjika verbs do not show number agreement.

3.1.1.2.   Gender / Class: Bajjika distinguishes only two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. There are either different lexicons for masculine and feminine by various nouns or sometimes, the masculine nouns are suffixed to get feminine nouns out it. Also some feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns through vowel modification. Listed below are certain words having different lexicons for gender distinction,

mərəd	'man'
məugi	'woman'
babu	'father'
mã:l	'mother'
sɔsur	'father-in-law'
sas	'mother-in-law'

Suffixes like /-in/, /-ni/, /-ain/, /-ani/ etc. are used to derive feminine from masculine nouns, which are discussed below.

/-in/: The suffix –in is added either to masculine nouns which end is a consonant and which undergo no change other than suffixation. Or to masculine noun forms which end in high front vowel /i/ and which is dropped upon the suffixation of –in. These most commonly refer to traditional caste profession. For example

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bagʰ 'tiger'   bagʰin   'tigeress'

nəT 'a tribe'   nəTin

teli 'oil man'   telin   'oil man's wife'

dʰobi 'washerman' dʰobin   'washerman's wife'

/-ni/: A few masculine nouns are changed into feminines through the suffixation of –ni, e.g.

cor   corni   'thief'

DakTər   DakTərni   'doctor'

hãtʰi   hətʰini   'elephant'

/-ain/: The suffix -ain is added to few masculine nouns to get feminine forms. Such nouns may end in a vowel or in a consonant. If the masculine noun ends in a low central vowel a it is dropped when -ain is suffixed e.g.

ojʰa   ojʰain   'caste name'

pənDit   pənDitain   'priest'

THakur   THəkurain   'landlord'

/-ani/: some masculine nouns are changed into feminine through suffixation of –ani. For e.g.

mehtər   mehtərani

There are even certain lexicons in Bajjika language, which has feminine suffix markers at their end but there is no masculine form of it found in the language, e.g.

gab^{h}in   'pregnant'

Dain   'witch'

sɔtIn   'second wife'

suffixes like /-i/ and /-iya/ are used also as dimunitive markers in Bajjika language, e.g.

cui^{h}a   -   cui^{h}i   'cooking gas'

kəTora   -   kəTori   'vessel'

Vowel modification: Some of the masculine nouns become feminine through the replacement of a word final /a/ with /i/. For example

Masculine

dada   'grand father'

Sala   'brother-in-law'

g^{h}ora   'horse'

Feminine

dadi   'grand mother'

Sali   'sister-in-law'

'g^{h}ori   'mare'

Most of such nouns refer to kinship relations or animals.

A common practice found in Bajjika to generate informal speech forms is to add suffix /-wa/ to almost all masculine and /-ya/ to feminine nouns including the proper nouns, e.g.

Table 3.1

	Formal		Informal	
Masculine	mərəd	-	mərdəwa	'man'
	g^{h}ora	-	g^{h}orwa	'horse'
	rakes	-	rəkeswa	'a name'
feminine	məugi	-	məugiya	'woman'
	chəuri	-	c^{h}əuriya	'girl'

3.1.1.3. Case: Case is the fundamental crux of language, which carries cognitive, semantic and syntactic information through noun phrases. A noun phrase can be an agent, a patient or something else depending upon the role it is assumed to play in the completion of an action. The relation between the noun phrases and predicate is expressed syntactically through case markings to the noun phrases. It is assumed that every language has a well-defined case system. The only way in which they differ from each other is that they differ in their morphological realization and this realization is achieved through either inflection of noun phrases or by using adpositions to it.

Several distinct factors jointly determine a noun's case. "It appears that cases are determined by: (a) the features of the noun itself (e.g. human vs. nonhuman; animate vs. inanimate; definite/specific vs. indefinite/nonspecific, etc); (b) the grammatical relations (e.g., subject, direct object, indirect object, etc.) that may exist between one noun and the other; and (c) the nature and

quality of the verb in the sentence, which may allow or disallow the occurrence of a particular case in the noun". [Yadav, 1996: 72].

Case relations in Bajjika are expressed either by the absence of a case marker (e.g.; the nominative case), or by the suffixation of noun with a case marker (e.g.; the genitive case), or by the use of a postposition (e.g. the instrumental, locative, accusative-dative case etc.) The case inflections of Bajjika are briefly discussed below.

3.1.1.3.1 Nominative: The nominative case in Bajjika is indicated by the absence of any case marker. The grammatical function performed by the nouns in the nominative case is that of a subject. For example.

gʰər   φ   bən   ge-l

house Nom. make Go-Pst.

'The house is made.

ram   φ   roTi   kʰə -l-kəi

Ram   Nom chapatti   eat-Pst- III NH.

'Ram ate the chapatti'

3.1.1.3.2. Accusative: In Bajjika, the accusative case is marked by the postposition *ke*. The noun phrase in the accusative case generally performs the grammatical function of an object (direct or indirect). For example,

Direct Object

əpne   mohən   ke   bolə-l-iəi?

you (H) Mohan   Acc..   call-Pst-IIH

'Did you call Mohan'

tu   ram   ke   kʰiə-l-hi?

you (NH) Ram   Acc.   eat – Pst-III NH

'Did you feed Ram?'

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həm   sohən   ke   kitab   pər^h-ə-l-iəi.

I   Sohan   Acc. Book   read-caus-Pst-I

'I taught Sohan the book'

3.1.1.3.3   Instrumental: The instrumental case in Bajjika is marked by the use of the post-position *se*, and optionally by the suffixation of case marker /–e/.

(a) Use of postposition *se*:

(i)   It is joined with a noun, which names the instrument by which the action described by a verb is performed. e.g.,

ləirka   cəkku se   am   kəT-l-əkəi

boy   knife Instr. mango   cut-Pst..IIINH

'The boy cut the mango with knife'.

log   sə   cor   ke   DənTa   se   mar-l-əkəi

person   Pl.   thief   Acc.   stick   Instr. hit-Pst-III NH

'People hit the thief with a stick'.

(ii)   It is used to express the cause e.g.

u   b^{h}uk^h se   mər   ge-l-əi

he (NH) hunger   Instr.   die   Go-Pst-III NH

'He died of hunger'

Sita   b^{h}ut   se   der-ait   həi

Sita   ghost   Instr.   fear-Imperf   be-Prst

'Sita is afraid of ghost'.

(iii) In passive and capabilitative sentences, *se* is used with the agentive noun which functions as an instrument, e.g.,

əpne se i kam ho ge-l

you(H) Instr. this work finish Go-Pst.

'Th is work was finished by you'.

lɔirka se kʰael nɔ jɔ-t-əi

child Instr. eat Neg go-Fut.-III NH

'The child will not be able to eat'.

(b) Suffixation of /–e/:

The instrumental case in Bajjika may be optionally marked by the suffixation of the case marker –*e* to the noun, provided that the latter is not animate, e.g.,

mehman pɛdl-e cəl ge-l-kʰin

guest foot-Instr. walk Go-Pst-III H

'Guest went back on foot'.

dəhina hãtʰ-e kʰa-u

right hand-Instr. eat-II H

'(You) eat with (your) right hand.'

3.1.1.3.3 Dative: The dative case marker, in Bajjika is represented by the postpositions *ke* or *lel*. Dative case marks the indirect objects in a statement; e.g;

həri mohən ke rupəiya d-l-kəi

Hari Mohan Dat. money give-Pst.-III NH

'Hari gave the money to Mohan'.

sita   cʰoʈ bʰai lel   reDio kin-l-əkəi

Sita   small brother Dat. radio   buy-Pst.-III NH

'Sita brought a radio for her younger brother'.

mãi   jən   lel   kʰəela   de-t-əi

mother labour   Dat.   food   give-Fut.-III NH

'Mother will give food for the labour'.

3.1.1.3.3.1 Dative subject: In Bajjika, accusative – dative post-position *ke* is also used in those constructions which express subjective experiences, such as "likings and dislikings, states of health or sickness, happiness and unhappiness, dreaming, feeling, remembering, thinking, embarrassment, pity, doubt, pain, thirst, hunger, sleepiness, anger, urgency, and 'knowing itself' (Masica 1976: 160). Experiencing subjects, which has traditionally been called dative case, is used for such constructions. For example,

ram   ke   bokʰar   lag   ge-l-əi

Ram   Acc/Dat   fever   attach   Go-Pst-III NH

'Ram caught fever'

ləirka ke   bəhut bukʰ lag   ge-l-əi

child   Acc/Dat   many hunger attach Go-Pst.-III NH

'The child was very hungry'.

To show the above mentioned possessions, suffix *-ra* is used if the possessor is indicated by pronouns, to mark the dative case, e.g.,

ok-ra bəhut kʰet hə-i

he-Dat. many   field   be-III NH

'He has many fields.'

həmra bəra təklip^h hə-e

I-Dat many problem be-AGR

'I have many problems'.

3.1.1.3.5 Ablative: The instrumental postposition *sə* is also used to express a host of ablative relationships between the two nouns, e.g.

mohən g^həila se pani nikal-l-əkəi

mohan pitcher Abl. water take-Pst.-III.NH

'Mohan took water from the pitcher'.

bilai c^hət se kud ge-l-əi

cat roof Abl. Jump Go-Pst.IIINH

'The cat jumped off the roof'.

3.1.1.3.6 Genitive: The genitive case in Bajjika is marked by the case marker post-position ke. This case marker conveys the semantic notions of kinship relations, possession, source, the idea of 'made of and for', essence, cumulation (expressed through reduplication) etc. For example,

raja ke beTa (kinship)

king -Gen. Son

'king's son'

babu ke koT (possession)

father-Gen. coat

'Father's coat'

nəddi ke pani (source)

river Gen. water

'River's water

sona   ke   gəhna (idea of 'made of')

gold   Gen.   Jwellery

'The Jwellery (made) of gold'.

pie   ke   pani (idea of 'for')

drink   Gen.   water

'The water for drinking/drinking water'.

am   ke   rəs (essence)

mango Gen. Juice

'The Juice of Mango'

gʰər   ke   gʰər (cumulation)

house Gen. house

'A lot of house'

3.1.1.3.7 Locative: The locative case in Bajjika is marked by the use of the postpositions *mẽ* and *pər* to express basically the location of in and at.

The semantic notions expressed by the postposition *mẽ* are location within something, price and duration of something and comparison; e.g.

to-ra   gʰər mẽ   ke   həu? (location within something)

you-Gen.   house Loc. who   be Imp.IINH

'Who is there in your house?'

həm səb   səman tis   rupəiya   mẽ   kin   le-l-iəi

I   all   thing   30   rupees Loc buy   Take-Pst.-I

'I bought all the things in thirty rupees'.

həm-ra du   sal   mẽ   Digri mil-l-əi   (duration)

I Gen.   two year Loc.   degree find –Pst.-I

'I got the degree in two years'.

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rakes   pãc-o   bʰai   mẽ   nimmən   həi

rakesh   five.emph.   brother   Loc.   good   bePrst.III NH

'Rakesh is best among five brothers'.

The semantic notions expressed by the postposition pər are location at or on something, point of time and place and object of anger, mercy or faith etc. For example,

kitab   Tebul   pər   hə-i   (location on something)

book   table   Loc   be-Prst. IIINH

'The book is on the table'.

mai   gʰər   pər   həi   (place)

mother   house   Loc   be.Prst-III.NH

'Mother is at home'.

səmə e   pər   cəl   ja-u (time)

time   Loc.   walk   Go-Imper IIIH

'(You) go back on time'.

malik   nokər   pər   gosə-l-əi (expression)

master slave   Loc.   anger-Pst.IIINH

'The master was angry with his slave:

3.1.1.3.8 Vocative: In Bajjika, vocative case markers are ho and re for masculine nouns and, *he* and *ge* for feminine nouns. Among these case markers *ge* and *re* are supposed to be non-honorific.

re	cʰəora	ge	cʰəuri
Voc.	Boy (NH)	Voc.	Girl (NH)
ho	bʰəiya	he	caci
Voc.	Brother (H)	Voc.	Aunty (H)

However, people often use non-honorific feminine vocative case marker *ge* even with the persons who are intimate to the speaker, like elder sister, mother or even grandmother, e.g.,

ge   didi

Voc   sister (elder) (+intimate)

ge   mãi

Voc. mother (+intimate)

3.1.1.3.9 Compound case Markers: Sometimes, more than one postpositional case markers are used together to mark certain cases, e.g.,

gʰər   mẽ   se   kitab   le   a

house Loc Abl. book   take   Come

'Bring the book from the house'.

ram   kursi   pər   se   gir   ge-l-əi

Ram   chair   Loc   Abl. fall   Go-Pst.-IIINH

'Ram fall from the chair'.

3.1.2   Pronouns: "Pronoun morphology pertains to identifying different forms of pronouns that are encoded with various kinds of information regarding gender, number, animacy and several deictic categories. As in the case of nouns, pronouns in Indian languages also occur in a wide range of forms". (Abbi, 2001: 124).

Bajjika distinguishes personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, relative-correlative and quantitative pronouns. The pronouns are inflected for case and post-positional 'sə/səb' are added to mark the plural numbers of pronouns. All these pronouns have all other case forms, but no vocative forms are found for them.

3.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns:

The personal pronouns are inflected for case and take post-positions to mark numbers. However, they are also distinguished for proximity and remoteness in case of third person personal pronoun.

Table 3.2

Person	Case	Pronoun
First	Nom	həm
	Acc./Dat.	həm-ra
	Instr./ Ablative	həm-ra se
	Genitive	həm-mər
	Locative	həm-ra mẽ/pər

Person	Case	NH	H
Second			
	Nom	tu	əpne
	Acc./Dat	to-ra	əpne ke
	Instru./Ablastive	to-ra se	əpne se
	Genitive	to-hər	əpne ke
	Locative	to-ra mẽ/pər	əpna mẽ/ pər

Bajjika speakers in some places also use 'əhã', 'əpne', 'ais', 'hun' and 'rəura': for second person honorific personal pronouns. Case and number markings are similar for them as it is for other second person personal pronouns some scholars think that 'rəura', 'hun' and 'ais' are due to Bhojpuri effect and is spoken in areas adjacent to Bhojpuri speaking areas. Similarly 'əhã' is due to Maithili effect on the language.

Third person personal pronouns as distinguished on the dimension of proximity and remoteness of the referent noun as shown below in table 3.3:

Table 3.3

Person	Case	Pronouns			
Third		Proximity		Remoteness	
		NH	H	NH	H
	Nom	i		u	
	Acc./Dat	ekra	Hinka	okra	hunka
	Instru./Ablative	ekra se	hinka se	okra se	hunka se
	Genitive	ekkər	hinkər	okkər	hunkər
	Locative	i/e mẽ		u/o mẽ	

3.1.2.2. **Demonstrative Pronouns:**

The third person pronoun and the demonstrative pronouns are the same. The demonstrative pronouns are of two types-proximate and remote. The proximate demonstrative pronouns refer to the person or object which is near and within sight, while the remote demonstrative pronouns refer to the person or object which is either far and within sight or not necessarily within sight.

Table 3.4

Person	Number	
	Sg.	Pl.
First	həm	həm sə/səb
Second	tu	tu sə/səb
	əpne	əpne ar
Third	i (prox)	i sə/səb
	u (remote)	u sə/səb

e.g. i/u   lərki   nimmən   həi

this/that   girls   good   Aux

'This/That girl is good'.

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i/u	cʰəora	bədmas	həi
this/that	boy	naughty	Aux

'This/That boy is naughty'

3.1.2.3. Reflexive Pronouns

In Bajjika, reflexive pronouns can act as either agentive reflexive or non-possessive reflexives and possessive reflexives. Agentive reflexive 'əpne' normally occur at subject position, e.g.

dadi	əpne	se	səuse	əŋgna	sapʰ	kə-l-kəi
grandmother	Refl.	Inst.	whole	courtyard	clean	do-Pst- III NH

'Grandmother cleaned the whole courtyard herself'

u	əpne se	pərʰ	le-t-əi
he	Refl. Instr.	read	take-Fut-II NH

'He will read himself'.

Agentive reflexive takes 'se' post-positions, as we saw in the above examples. The possessive reflexive 'əppən/əpna' precedes the object of the verb, e.g.

həm	əppən	kitab	pərʰ-b-əi
I	Refl.	book	read-Fut II AGR.

'I will read my own book'.

tu	əppən/əpna	gʰər	jo
you	Refl.	house	go

'You go to your house'.

Given below is the table for the markers of reflexive pronouns.

Table 3.5

Case	Number	
	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	əpne	əpne sə/səb
Acc./Dat.	əpna ke	əpna sə/ səb ke
Instr./Abl	əpne se	əpne sə/səb se
Genitive	əppən/əpna	əppən/əpna sə/səb
Locative	əpna mẽ	əpna səb mẽ

3.1.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns: Two of the main interrogative pronouns are *ke/kon* 'who' and *ki/kat^h i* 'what'. The former is used for human referents and the latter is for inhuman referents.

Table 3.6

Case	Pronouns	
	Human	Non-Human
Nom	Ke/kon	ki/kət^h i
Acc./Dat.	kekra	kət^h i ke
Instru./Ablative	kekra se	kət^h i se
Genitive	kekkər	kət^h i ke
Locative	kekra mẽ	kət^h i mẽ

Interrogative sentence with question words are formed by substituting a question word in place of the questioned constituent in the statement. The main question words in Bajjika are *kat^h i* 'what', *ke* 'who', *kon* 'which', *kəhã* 'where', *kenna* 'how', *kəlla* 'why', *kənne* 'where' etc. Question words in a sentence is always stressed, e.g.

tohər nam ram həu (Declarative)

your name ram Aux

'Your name is Ram'.

If 'ram' is replaced by a question word in the above example, it would be an interrogative sentence,

tohər nam ki həu?

your name what is

'What is your name?'

3.1.2.5. Quantitative Pronouns: Quantitative pronouns in Bajjika are, *səb* 'all', *tanie/tanke* 'few' and mare 'many'. All these quantitative pronouns are used with both singular and plural numbers. For example

səb	admi	cəl	geləi
all	people	walk	Go-Pst.IIINH

'All people went away'

səb	log sə	bəiTHəl	rəhəi
all	people Pl.	sit Perf	be-Pst. AGR

'All people were setting there'.

həmra	tənie	miTHai/miTHai sə	dihe.
me Acc.	few	sweet/sweets	give Fut-Perf

'Give me few (sweet) of the sweets'.

3.1.2.6. Relative Correlative Pronouns: Bajjika has the relative pronouns *je* 'who'/'what' (used for human as well as non-human with both honorific and non-honorific forms). and the correlative pronoun *se*. For example.

je	lərika	gir	geləi	se	jit	jətəi
Rel.	boy	fall	Go-Pst IIINH	Corel	win	Go-Fut III NH

'That boy who fall down will win'.

je	gilas	pʰuT	geləi	rə	se	le	a.
Rel.	glass	break	Go-Pst-AGR	Perf	Corel	bring	come.

'Bring the glass which was broken'.

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3.1.3. Quantifiers

3.1.3.1. Numerals: Numerals are also the forms of adjectives, which indicate number. The numerals in Bajjika are used as quantifiers, which give the numbers of objects. Different kinds of numerals found in this language are:

(a) Cardinals

(b) Ordinals

(c) Fractions

(d) Multiplicatives

(e) Aggregatives

3.1.3.1.1 Cardinals: These numerals answer the question of 'how many' It can be divided into the base numerals which are,

(i)
ek	'one'	cʰɔ	'six'
du	'two'	sat	'seven'
tin	'three'	aTH	'eight'
car	'four'	nɔ	'nine'
pãc	'five'		

(ii) The intermediate numerals that are

egarəh	'11'	soləh	'16'
barəh	'12'	sətrəh	'17'
terəh	'13'	əTHarəh	'18'
cəudəh	'14'		
pəndrəh	'15'		

(iii) The decade numerals,

dəs	'10'	pəcas	'50'
bis	'20'	saTH	'60'
tis	'30'	səttər	'70'
calis	'40'	əssi	'80'
		nəbbe	'90'

(iv) The compound numerals: Lexicns for compound numerals is given in the Appendix 1.

/un-/ prefix is designated to all the numerals which are one less than decades except '80' and '99' which has 'nəwasi' and 'ninanbe' respectively for them.

(v) The hundreds – 'sɔ' is the numeral used for one hundred. While counting it is preceded by 'ek' 'one' or else it may be used alone with the a following noun, e.g.

ek   sɔ

'one   hundred'

u   həmra   sɔ   go   ruppəiya   delkəi

he   I. Acc   hundred   Class   rupees   give-Pst. AGR

'He gave me (one) hundred rupees'.

'sɔ' is placed after cardinal numbers to make their hundreds, e.g.

du sɔ '200'

tin sɔ '300'

unəis sɔ '1900'

cʰiyalis sɔ '4600'

(vi) The thousands: the numeral used is 'həjar' to make the thousands. As hundreds, thousands also are formed by placing həjar after the cardinal numbers, e.g.

du həjar '2000'

bis həjar '20,000'

ərtis həjar '38,000'

Without any intervening conventions, the lower numeral is subjoined synthetically to the higher one to make numerals above a hundred and thousand, e.g.

ek sɔ ek   '101'

ek sɔ egarəh   '111'

du hjar calis   '2,040'

Numerals for 1,00,000 is lak^h and '10,000,000' is *karor* Multiples for these are formed like those of the hundreds and thousands.

3.1.3.1.2. Ordinals: These numerals are used to answer the question of 'which one'. The ordinals are formed by suffixing /-ma/ to a cardinal numeral except for one, two, three, four and six. For these the ordinals are

pəhla / pəhila   '1st'

dusra   '2nd'

tisra   '3rd'

cɔt^{h}a   '4th'

c^{h}əTTHa   '6th'

for other ordinals numerals used are,

pəcma   '5th'

dəsma   '10th'

pãc sɔ egarəhma   '501th'

3.1.3.1.3 Fractions: In Bajjika, the fractions used are,

car ana   ¼

aTH ana/əd^{h}a   ½

barəh ana   ¾

səwa	1¼
derʰ	1½
ərʰai	2½

sarʰe plus the number (used with 3 and above)

All fractions don't necessarily behave like adjectives all the time. Most of them can, however, occur as adjectives, e.g.

sɔ   ruppəiya   ke   kʰulla

hundred rupees   Gen. change.

'Change of hundred rupees' [Noun]

3.1.3.1.4. Multiplicatives: Multiplicative numerals are formed by suffixing /-guna/ 'times' to the cardinal numerals as well as sometimes to few of the fractional numerals. In case of basic cardinal numerals one to five the ultimate vowel is shortened and [n] of multiplicative suffix is geminated, e.g.

du	–	dugunna	'twice'	dəsguna	'ten times'
tin	–	tingunna	'thrice'	sɔ guna	'hundred times'
car	–	cərgunna	'four times'	derʰ	'1½ times'
pãc	–	pəcgunna	'five times'	ərʰai guna	'2½ times'
cʰɔ		cʰɔguna	'six times'		
sat		satguna	'seven times'		

3.1.3.1.5. Aggregatives: /-0/ is the suffix used to form the aggregatives of cardinal numerals, in Bajjika e.g.

dunno 'both'

tino 'all three'

caro 'all four'

pəcaso 'all fifty'

həjaro 'all thousand'

3.1.3.2. Classifiers: 'go' and $t^h o$ ' are the classifiers which is used after every numerals in almost all Bihari languages including Bajjika. For e.g.,

e go lərki

one class. girl

'one girl'

sɔ   go am

hundred class. mango

'hundred mangoes'

3.1.4. Adjectives: Typically adjectives are modifiers of their head nouns and hence also dependent on them" (Abbi, 2001; p. 131). Adjectives in Bajjika show no number or case distinctions. Gender distinctions are shown, but only marginally.

3.1.4.1. Definite and Indefinite Adjectives:

Two types of adjectives can be seen in Bajjika, i.e. definite and indefinite. Definite adjectives are formed by adding the definite masculine suffix – *ka* or the definite feminine suffix – *ki* to the adjectival stem. Definite adjectives modifying nouns which are animate in reference, show masculine and feminine forms. For example,

Masculine		Feminine	
c^hoT-ka	cəcca	c^hoT-ki	caci
'the younger uncle'		'the younger	aunty'
ləl - ka	g^hora	ləl-ki	g^hori
'the red horse'		'the red	mare'
kəriyə-ka	bɛl	kəriyə-ki	gai
'the black	ox'	'the black	cow'

However, this definite adjective marker is used also to show the specificity of the noun which it is modifying. For example,

kəriya gai   kʰet   mẽ   kʰəra hə-i

black cow [-spec.]   field   LoC   stand   be – III NH

`Black cow is standing in the field'.

kəriyə-ki   g ai   kʰet   mẽ   kʰəra hə-i.

black [+spec.] cow   field   LoC   stand   be – III NH

`The cow that is black is standing in the field'.

gor   cʰəuri   nimmən   rə-hə-i

fair   girl [-spec.]   good   Pst.-be-III NH

`Fair girl was (looking) good'.

gor-ki   cʰəuri ram   ke   beti   hə-i

fair [+spec.]   girl   Ram   Gen.   daughter   be – III NH

`The girl whc is fair is Ram's daughter.

A few definite adjectives are formed by adding the definite masculine suffix /-aha/ or the definite feminine suffix /-ahi/ to the adjectival stem. This is especially used with ones which are past participal adjectives, e.g.

jər   'burnt'

jərl-aha   'the burnt one (M)'

jerl-ahi   'the burnt one (F)'

sərəl   'rotten'

sərl-aha   'the rotten one (M)'

sərl – ahi   'the rotten one (F)'

Indefinite Adjectives: Indefinite adjectives. on the other hand, consist of the adjectival stems themselves, e.g.

Lal kitab   'red book'

ujjər kəpra   'white cloth'

kəriya cʰəora 'black boy'

A few of the indefinite adjectives may show gender distinctions, but, they do not vary according to gender. Rather, the nouns to which it is attached has different lexicons. For example,

Masculine   Feminine

cʰoT mərəd   'a small man'   cʰoT məugi   'a small woman'

nimmən cʰəora   'a good boy'   nimmən cʰəuri 'a good girl'

3.1.4.2. Predicative and Attributive uses of adjectives:

Adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively in Bajjika. For example:

Attributive –

ujjər   dʰoti   nə   pəhin-u

white   dhoti   Neg.   wear-Fut-IIH

'(You) do not wear white dhoti'.

cʰoT-ki   caci   kəllʰe   ə-t-tʰin.

small-spec.   aunty   tomorrow   come –Fut.III H

'The younger aunty will come tomorrow'.

Predicative –

i   gʰər   lal   hə-i

this   house   red   be – III NH

'This house is red'

ekk-ər   kəniya   sundər   hə-i

he-Gen.   wife   beautiful   be – III NH

'His wife is beautiful/good looking'.

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The definite adjectives cannot occur predicatively in Bajjika, e.g.,

həmm-ər	cəcca	cʰoT	hə-tʰin
I-Gen.	uncle	small	be – Prst III H

'My uncle is short'.

*həmm-ər	cəcca	cʰoT-ka	hətʰ in
I-Gen.	uncle	small-spec.	be – Prst III H

'My uncle is short'.

u	gʰora	lal	hə-i
that	horse	red	be-Prst.IIINH

'That horse is red'

* u	gʰora	ləl-ka	hə-i
that	horse	red-spec.	be-Prst. III NH

'That horse is red'.

Apart from this, there are a few adjectives which do not occur attributively. For example,

cʰəuri	kʰus	hə-i
girl	happy	be-Prst-III NH.

'The girl is happy'.

*kʰus	cʰəuri	ke	bol-au
happy	girl	Acc/Dat	call-Fut-II H

'Call the happy girl'

sita	THik	hə-i
Sita	right	be-Prst – III NH.

'Sita is all right'.

*THik	sita	ke	kəhə-l-iəi
right	sita	Acc./Dat.	say-Pst- AGR

'(I) told it to all right Sita'

3.1.4.3. Adjectives of comparison:
The comparative construction is formed by using the noun or pronoun which is used as the subject of the sentence and instrumental — ablative post-position *se* is used after the noun or pronoun with which the comparison is made. Normally, the adjective follows the noun or pronoun to which the post-position is suffixed; however, it may be inverted depending upon the speaker. For example,

gita	sita	se	sundər	hə-i
Geeta	Sita	from	beautiful	be-Prst. III NH

'Geeta is more good looking than Sita'.

u	sətis	se	tej	rə-hə-i.
He	Satish	from	fast	Pst-be-III NH.

'He was more intelligent than Satish'.

To express the degree of comparison in some specific terms, gradable items like *besi* 'more', and *kəm* 'less' are used before the adjectives. To indicate less, the use of *kəm* is, however, obligatory; while to indicate more, *besi* may be optionally dropped. For example,

gita	sita	se	kəm	pər^{h}ə-l	hə-i
Geeta	Sita	from	less	read – pst.	be – III NH

'Geeta is less educated than Sita'.

rəsmi	mira	se	besi	tej	hə-i.
Rashmi	Mira	from	more	bright	be-Prst-III NH

'Rashmi is more intelligent than Mira'.

In case of superlative construction, the post-position *se* is suffixed to the standard lexeme *səb* against which the comparison is made, and is used before the adjective used for it, e.g.,

gəŋga	ke	pani	səb	se	sapʰ	hə-i
ganga	Gen.	water	all	for	clean	be – Prst – III NH

'Ganga water is the most clean of all'.

jɔgdis	səb	se	bədmas	hə-i
Jagdish	all	from	naughty	be-Prst – III NH.

'Jagdish is the most naughty of all'.

In superlative construction also, the gradable items like *besi* 'more' (optionally) and *kəm* 'less' (obligatorily) may be used. For example,

ok-ra	səb	se	kəm	nəmbər	ə-l-əi
he – Acc/Dat.	all	from	less	number	bring – Pst – III NH.

'He secured the lowest marks'.

rohən	səb	se	(besi)	ləmhər	hə-i
Rohan	all	from	(more)	tall	be – Prst – III NH.

'Rohan is the (most) tallest of all'.

3.1.5. Determiners: In Bajjika, almost all the pronouns can function as determiners. Given below are certain examples of them,

3.1.5.1. Demonstrative Pronouns: Both proximate and remote demonstrative pronouns may function as determiners, e.g.,

i	gʰər	həmm-ər	dost	ke	hə-i
this(Det.)	house	I-Gen.	friend	Gen.	be – Prst . III NH

'This is my friend's house'.

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u	ləirka	bəra	bədmas	hə-i
that (Det.)	boy	very	naughty	be – Prst – III NH.

'That boy is very naughty'.

3.1.5.2. Interrogative Pronouns: The interrogative pronoun *kon* 'which' occurs as a determiner. For example,

toh-ər	gʰər	kon	gão	mẽ	hə-u?
you.Gen (Det.)	house	which	village	Loc.	be-Prst – III NH

'Your house is in which village?

tu	kon	kitab	pərʰ-l-əhi?
You	which (Det.)	book	read Pst. – II NH

'which book did you read?

3.1.5.3. Relative and Corrective Pronouns: The relative and correlative pronouns of Bajjika, i.e. *je*, *se*, may also occur as determines:

je	ləirka	ke	bokʰar	rəh-əi	se	mər	ge-l-əi
Rel.	boy(Det.)	Acc./Dat.	fever	live – III NH	Corel(Det)	die	Go-Pst. – III NH

'The boy who had fever already died'.

je	gʰər	səb se	bər	hə-i	se	həmm-ər	hə-i.
Rel.	house(Det)	all from	big	be- III NH	Corel.	I –Gen.	be – III NH.

'The biggest house is mine'.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

3.2.1. Verb: The word in a sentence which shows or tells about the action done or performed is known as verbs. It is supposed to be the most significant part of speech in a sentence. "It governs all other grammatical elements in the sentence. It determines how many nouns there are in a sentence, which in turn determines what kinds of modifiers accompany these nouns. In other words, the valency of

the verb determines the semantic and syntactic nature of the sentence" (Abbi, 2001, p: 139).

Bajjijka has two types of verbs – (a) transitive and (b) intransitive. Transitive verbs are those which always needs an object for its completion. Sometimes, certain verbs have two objects attached to it. This is known as ditransitive verbs where one of the objects is direct and another one is indirect object, e.g.

Transitive

ram	kʰəela	kʰə-l-kəi
Ram	food (O)	eat-Pst- III NH.

'ram ate the food'

cʰəora	ləkri	kəT-l-əkəi
boy	wood(O)	cut-Pst- III NH.

'boy cut the wood'

Ditransitive

Sita	ram	ke	kitab	de-l-kəi
Sita	IO (Ram)	Acc.	DO(book)	give-Pst III NH.

'Sita gave the book to Ram'.

həm	tora	kəpra	de-b-əu
I	IO (you)	cloth (DO)	give-Fut. AGR.

I will give you the cloth.

Intransitive

həm	sut-l-iəi
I	sleep-Pst.-AGR

'I Slept'.

3.2.1.1. Inflectional Verb:

3.2.1.1.1. Tense and Aspect: The form of verb which tells about the time of action that is taking place is known as tense. Bajjika verbs conjugate for three tenses – past, present, and future. The tense markers are listed below:

Table 3.7

	Past	Present	Future
I	-l-	Φ	-b-
II	-l-	Φ	-b-
III	-l-	Φ	-t-

No overt tense marker is used in the present tense, rather, in present tense constructions the auxiliary itself serves the function of the tense. When there are no aspect markers or auxiliaries occurring immediately after the verb stem, then the tense markers are added directly to the verb stem itself. The following examples are illustrative:

sohən   kʰəela   kʰə-l-kəi

Sohan   food   eat-Pst.-III NH

'Sohan ate'.

tu   pərʰ-l-əhi?

you   read-Pst-IINH

'Did you study?'

həm   kitab   pərʰ -l-iəi

I   book   read-Pst.AGR

'I read the book'

həm   jə-b-əi

I   go-Fut.AGR

'I will go'

tu   kʰə-b-hi

you   eat-Fut.IINH

'Will you eat?'

ram   kʰel -t-əi

Ram   play.Fut.IIINH

'Ram will play'

Bajjika verbs conjugate for two aspects - perfective and imperfective. The markers for them are added directly to the verb stem. Markers for perfective and imperfective aspects are same for all the three tenses, i.e., suffix /-it/ for perfective and /-e-le/ for imperfective. For example,

həm   kʰa-it   rə-hi-əi

I   eat.Imperf   Pst.be-AGR

'I was eating'

tu   kʰel - it   ho-bə-hi

you   play-Imperf.   be-Fut.IINH

'You would be playing (at that time)'

u   ja-it   hə-i

he   go-Imperf   be-Prst.- III NH

'He is going'.

sila   ciTTHi   likʰ-əit   hə-i

Sila   letter   write – Imperf   be-Prst. III NH.

˙Sila is writing a letter.

həm   kʰə-ele   rəhi-əi

I   eat.Perf.   Pst.be.AGR

'I had eaten'

tu   pər^h-le   ho-b-hi

you   read.Perf.   be.Fut.IINH

'You would have read (by then)'

u   k^hə-ele   həi

he   eat.Perf.   be.Prst.III.NH

'He has eaten'.

3.2.1.1.2. Mood: A grammatical category which express the degree or kind of reality of statement as perceived by the speaker is known as mood. The function of this grammatical category is to describe an event in terms of whether it is necessary, possible, permissible, desirable etc. Following are the moods found in Bajjika language:

(a) **Indicative**: This is a basic mood in Bajjika in which information is imparted. For example.

həm   ja-it   hə-ti

I   go – Imperf be-Prst

'I am going'

ram   ael   rəh-əi

ram   come-Perf   be-Pst II NH

'ram had come'

(b) **Imperative**: The imperative mood conveys an order or a request. The speaker commands in this mood to the addressee to realize the event. Following are the markers of imperative mood:

Table 3.8

Person	Marker
I	-u
IINH	-o
IINH	-u/ -a
IIINH	-hi
IIIH	-hun

Examples are discussed below:

həm	jã-u
I	go-Imper.
'(shall)	I go'

tu	j-o
you	go-Imper.(NH)
'you	go (NH)'

əpne	ja-u / tu	j-a
you (H)	go-Imper./you (H) go-Imper.
'you	go (H)

ram	ke	abe	də-hi
Ram	Gen.	come	Give-Imper
'Let Ram come in'

babu	ke	kəh	də-hun
father	Gen.	tell	Give-Imper.
'Tell this to father'

All the above examples were ordinary or present imperative. Bajjika also has future imperative constructions involving II NH & H. the full forms of the future imperative mood with person and honorific grades are:

Table 3.9

Person	Marker
IINH	-ih-e
IIH	-ih-ə

For example,

tu	bihan	jə - ih-e
you	tomorrow	go – Fut- Imper

'You go tomorrow'

tu	bihan	jə-ihə
you	tomorrow	go-Fut. –Imper

'You go tomorrow'

Prohibitive Imperatives: It simply adds the ordinary negative marker *nə* to an imperative form.

hũa	nə	jo.
there	Neg.	go

'(You) don't go there.

enne	nə	bəiTH
here	Neg.	sit.

'(You) don't sit here'.

(c) **Dubitative** :It shows the doubtfulness of the speaker.For e.g.

u	ael	ho-t-əi
he	come Perf	be-Fut. III NH

'He might have come'

u	gʰər-e	ho-t-əi
he	house-Loc.	be. Fut. III NH.

'He may be at home'.

(d) **Conditional**: A conditional sentence consists of a condition and a consequent. The antecedent represents the event described by the *je/əgər* 'if' clause while the consequent represents the event described by *tə* 'then' clause. For example,

je	tu	aetə	rə	tə	həm	jəiti
if	you	come PerfIIH	Fst.	then	I	go-Pst.Perf AGR

'If you had come I would have gone'

əgər	ram	jə-t-əi	tə	həm	kʰəbəi
if	Ram	go-Fut-III NH.	then	I	eat-Fut-AGR

'If Ram goes then I'll eat'.

(e) **Permission**: This mood is to show the taking or granting of permission. For e.g.

tu	ja	səkəicʰə
you	go	may – Prst. Hab. AGR.

'You may go'.

həm	okra	mar	səkəcʰiəi
I	him-Acc.	beat	can-Prst. Hab-AGR.

I can beat him.

3.2.1.2.   Derivational Verb:

3.2.1.2.1 Causative Verb: Causative verbs in Bajjika are derived mainly through suffixal process, which is a highly productive morphological process. Basically, there are two types of causative verb forms in

Bajjika: (i) the first causative, which implies that the degree of closeness between the cause and effect is direct, is formed by adding -*a* suffix to the non-causative verb stem; and

(ii) The second causative, which implies that the closeness between the cause and effect is mediated, are formed by adding the suffix -*ba*/ -*wa* to the non-causative verb stem.

For example:

Non-causative Verb form	first causative	second
Pər^h 'study/read'	pər^{h}a 'teach'	pər^{h}ba 'make someone teach'

As far as the second causative is concerned the use of –*ba* and –*wa* shows the difference of non and educated speakers, where an educated speaker of the language uses –*wa*, while an uneducated or less educated person will use –*ba*.

Upon addition of the causative suffix the resultant form is a single causative verb stem to which all the argument affixes may be added.

pi	'be drink'	piya 'drink'	piwa 'cause x to drink'
pərh	'study'	pərha 'teach'	pər^h-ba 'cause x to teach y'

3.2.1.2.2 Compound verbs: It is mainly a sequence of two verbs (v1+v2), where first verb is called the main or polar verb. The primary meaning of the sentence is determined by the lexical meaning of this main verb. Second verb is referred as the explicator or vector verb, which receives the tense and aspect markings of the sentence and lexical meaning of whose is dropped e.g.

u   a   ge-l-əi

he   come   Go-Prst-III NH.

'He has arrived'.

tu	i	Kitab	pərh	lihe
you	this	book	read	Take –Fut. (Self benefactory).

'You read this book'.

3.2.1.2.3. Voice: To make a passive voice from active voice in Bajjika, the subject of the active sentence is followed by the instrumental postposition/-se/ and the participal form of main verb is used with the explicator verb *ja* 'go' which denotes the tense-aspect agreement, e.g.

həriyərki	sisa	ke	botəl	hemra	se phuT	gel əi
green	glass	Gen.	Bottle	me-Inst.	by break	Go.Pst.AGR

'The green glass bottle was broken by me'

The most common rule of passivization occurs in this language also, where the subject of active voice becomes the object in passive sentence and the object becomes the subject.

3.2.1.2.4 Incapabilitative Sentences: Bajjika also has the examples to show incapabilitativeness of a person. Since the language has only one form of negation, i.e. /nə/, only this is used to mark such sentences. For example,

həmra	se	cələl	nə	jaiə
I- Dat	Inst.	walk	Neg.	go.AGR.Prst.

'I cannot walk'

ram	se	kʰael	nə	jətəi
ram	Inst.	eat	Neg.	go-Fut.-AGR

Ram will not be able to eat.

3.3 Reduplication: This is one of the most important process of forming new words. "Words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word (Phonological word), partially or completely, are known as cases of

reduplication" (Abbi, 2001, p.162). Reduplication can either be morphological or lexical).

3.3.1 Morphological Reduplication: here a morpheme which is minimally meaningful and segmentally individual is iterated to form another morpheme or lexeme. Bajjika shows these types of reduplicated structures in, kinship terminologies, e.g.

baba	'grandfather'
mama	'grandmother'
cəcca	'uncle'
caci	'aunty'

It is also seen in case of the senses of perception, as it is there in a number of Indo-Aryan languages. For example,

cəT cəT	'sticky'
gəm gəm	'aroma' (can be of food/flower)
cəm cəm	'Shine'

3.3.1 **Lexical Reduplication:** This type of reduplication refers to the repetition of word or lexeme either completely or partially. Bajika shows this type of reduplication with various word classes. For example.

Noun – In this case either the lexeme is repeated to show the reduplicated structure by dropping initial consonant and replacing with a vowel or, the lexeme or 'and' is used with it e.g.

həm	kursi	ar	kin	kə	ləliəi
I	chair	and	buy	do	bring-Pst.AGR

'I bought some furnitures'

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u	kuch	kursi	ursi	le	ə-l-əi
he	some	chair	Redup	bring	come Pst-IIINH

'He brought some furniture

Adverbs are reduplicated completely, eg.

u	kʰaite	kʰaite	kəhə-l-kəi
he	eat	Redup	speak-Pst-IIINH

He spoke while eating

Adjectives are also reduplicated completely in Bajjika,

lal	lal	seb	le	a
red	Redup	apple	take	come

'Bring the red apples'

həriər	həriər	pətta	səb	gir	ge-l-əi
green	Redup	leave	Pl.	fall	Go-Pst.IIINH

'Green leaves have fallen'

Quantifiers can also be reduplicated completely in this language,

ram	ke	car	car	go	gʰər	həi
Ram	Acc.	four	Redup	Class	house	be-IIINH

'Ram has four houses'

Question words are duplicated completely

bʰoj	me	ke - ke	ə-l-əi?
party	loc.	who Redup	come-Pst.IIINH

'who all came to the party?

u	kətʰi	kətʰi	ləl-kəi?
He	what	Redup	bring.Pst.IIINH

'What all things did he bring?'

A few cases of partial reduplication can also be seen in Bajjika, where either the first consonant is dropped (where word has a CV construction) or it is replaced by a vowel (where the final sound of the word is a consonant) For example,

kuc^h   k^ha u   kə   jəihə
Something   eat-Redup   then   Go-Fut.AGR
'Eat something before going'

ram   tale   cəl   ul   ge-l   ho-t-əi
Ram   then   walk-Redup   go-Pst.   be-Fut-IIINH
Ram would have gone by then'

This section was written, based on the study of the very preliminary data collected. Now, another important aspect of grammar that needs to be described is the syntax of Bajjika language. I have discussed the related issues in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Syntax

CHAPTER: 4

4.0 Introduction:

In this chapter we will discuss about the three major sentence types found in Bajjika. In section 4.1 declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences are discussed. Section 4.2 deals with the word order found in the language and in section 4.3 we will discuss about the negative particles as well as the scope of negation in Bajjika. Section 4.4 discusses different types of complex sentences, and in section 4.5. Explicator Compound Verbs are talked about later section 4.6 discusses the subordination and section 4.7 deals with the particles found in Bajjika.

4.1 Sentence Types:

A sentence type is basically 'a regular coincidence that obtains between a specific syntactic form and a specific semantic/pragmatic function' (Gusain, 2000: 60). A declarative sentence is the one which is used to make a statement; an imperative sentence expresses an order, request, or a warning, an interrogative sentence is used to ask a question; and an exclamative sentence is typically used to express emotional comment. Let us now discuss these sentence types one by one.

4.1.1. Declarative Sentences:

As I have already discussed, it is clear that a declarative sentence is the one, which is used to make a statement. It also acts as a basis to form other sentence forms. e.g.

ram   am   k^{h}ə-l-kəi

ram   mango   eat Pst.IIINH

'Ram ate the mango?'

Sita   sundər   həi

Sita   beautiful   be-Prst-IIINH

'Sita is beautiful.'

One example to show that declarative sentences act as a basis to form other sentence type is that we can make interrogative sentences from the above examples of declaratives just by adding interrogative marker 'ki' either at initial or final position of a sentence. For example,

ki   ram   am   kʰə-l-kəI?

Intrro   Ram   mango   eat-Pst-IIINH

'Did Ram eat the mango?'

Sita   sundər   həi   ki?

Sita   beautiful   be-Prst-IIINH   Intrro

'Is sita beautiful?'

In case of a declarative sentence, the verb agreement is coindexed with honorificity of the subject. For example,

u   a   ge-l-əi

he   come   Go-Pst.IIINH

'He had come [- honorific].'

u   a   ge-l-kʰin/ge-l-tʰin

he   come   Go-Pst.IIIH

'He had come [+ honorific].'

4.1.2 Imperative Sentences:

Generally, an order, request or warning is expressed in this type of sentence. For example,

bʰag jo

run Go-Imper.IINH

'run away' (get out)

hũa nə jo

there Neg go-Imper.IINH

'Do not go there'

4.1.2.1 Second person subject pronoun is suppressed in the case of imperative sentences, but its presence is felt systematically in the verbal category that carries the person honorific agreement affixes, e.g.

a jo

come Go-Imper.IINH

(you) come [- honorific]

a jau

come Go-Imper.IIH

(you) come [+honorific]

4.1.2.2 Person-honorific verbal agreement is generally seen in the case of causative verbs also, e.g.

NH	H
pərh	pərʰu
read – NH	read – Imper. H

	NH	H
I Causative:	pərʰa	pərʰau
	tech-Imper.-NH	teach-Imper.H
II Causative:	pərʰwa	pərʰwau

'Make someone read'

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4.1.2.3. Although tense and aspectual affixes are not maintained in the individual imperative, they may appear in the verbal complement of an imperative auxiliary; for example:

ael   kər

come-Perf. Do. Imper.IINH

come (regularly)

ael   kəru

come-Perf. Do-Imper-IIH

come (regularly)

k^{h}əele   jo

eat-Perf. Go-Imper. IINH

'go on eating' (non honorific)

k^{h}əele   jau

eat-Perf. go-Imper.IIH

'go on eating' (honorific)

4.1.2.4. The person honorific agreement affixes for objects pronouns, which are always case-fixed, are retained in imperative sentences; e.g.

okra   dəhi

he-NH Gen. give-Imper.IINH

'give him' [- honorific]

hunka   dəhun

he-H-Gen. give-Imper.IIH

'give him' [+ honorific]

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4.1.2.5. Imperatives usually have the inherent semantics of future. Bajjika has distinct future imperative affixes as opposed to immediate imperative affixes; e.g.

Table 4.1

Immediate Imperative	Kʰa li-u eat take- Imper H. '(you) eat' (now)	Future Imperative	Kʰa lihə eat take- Imper H. '(you) eat' (later)
	Kam kərə work do-Imper H. '(you) work' (now)		Kam kərihə work do- Imper. H '(you) work' (later)

4.1.2.6. Negative imperative sentences have/nə/ in preverbal position, and the verb is in its imperative form. For example,

hũa   nə   jo

there   Neg   go-Imper. NH

'Do not go there' [- honorific]

hũa   nə   j-au

there   Neg   go-Imper. H

'Do not go there' [+ honorific]

41.3 Interrogative Sentences:

Interrogative sentences in Bajjika, like many other languages are typically used to ask questions. For example,

tohər   ki   nam   həu?

you-Gen   what   name   be-Prst. IINH

what is your name?

The normal order for interrogative sentence is that the question markers ki 'what', kon 'who', kəhã 'where', kəlla 'why' etc, follow the subject of the statement. However, this order may be inverted for stylistic purposes depending upon the speaker. For e.g.

tohər   nam   ki   heu?

you-Gen   name   what   be-Prst.IINH

'What is your name'?

ki   nam   həu   tohər?

what   name   be-Prst.IINH. you-Gen.

'What is your name'?

4.1.3.1. Three types of interrogative sentences are found in Bajjika, namely Yes-No sentences, information sentences and Disjunctive sentences.

a) Yes-No interrogative sentences are those whose answer is given with a 'yes' or 'no'. e.g.

tu   kʰə-b-hi   ki?

you   eat-Fut-NH   Intrro

'will you eat'?

The answer to the above question will be either 'yes' or 'no' similarly,

u   ə-t-əi   ki?

He   come-Fut-NH   Intrro

'will he come'?

b) Information interrogative sentences are those which are helpful in giving some information to the speaker. For example,

hũa   ke   həi?

there   who   be-Prst.IIINH.

'who is there'?

tu	kəhã	ja-it	həte?
you	where	go-Imperf.	be-Prst-II NH

'where are you going'?

c) Disjunctive interrogative sentences are those which helps the speaker to know about the choices of the listener, e.g.

tu	am	k^{h}əe-b-e	ki	əmrud?
you	mango	eat-Fut-NH	or	guava?

Will you eat mango or will you eat guava?

ram	cae	pi-t-əi	ki	pani	ki	kət^{h}i?
Ram	tea	drink-Fut-NH	or	water	or	what?

'What will Ram drink, tea, water or something else'

Negative disjunction is expressed in Bajjika by means of negative particles nə.....nə 'neither .... nor' For example,

nə	ram	ə-l-əi	nə	syam
neither	Ram	come-Pst-NH	nor	Shyam

'Neither Ram nor shyam came'.

4.2 Word Order:

Like standard Hindi, even Bajjika has SOV word order. Usually SOV languages have post-positions than prepositions. This generalization is true for Bajjika also, e.g.

ram	ke	g^{h}ər
Ram	Gen	house

'Ram's house'

iskul   tǝk

school   upto

'upto school'

4.2.1. In case of comparative constructions, the standard of comparison precedes the comparative, e.g.

u   tora   se   bǝr   admi   hǝi

he   you.Acc/Dat   from   big   person   be.Prst.IIINH.

'He is much bigger (person) than you'

mohǝn   ram   se   lǝmma   hǝi

Mohan   Ram   from   tall   be.Prst.IINH

'Mohan is taller than Ram'.

4.2.2. Typically, the auxiliary verb follow the main verbs in Bajjika, For example,

Sita   kʰa-it   hǝi

Sita   eat – Imperf   be.Prst.IIINH

'Sita is eating'

u   sutǝl   rǝhǝi

he   sleep-Imperf.   Pst- be.Prst.IIINH.

'He was sleeping'.

4.2.3. In Bajjika, the adverbial modifiers and the negative particle are preverbal, however, the position of negative particle is changed when the scope of negation changes. For example,

u   gǝmme   cǝ-l-ǝ it   hǝi

he   slowly   walk –Imperf   be.Prst.IIINH

'He walkr slowly'

tu	kitab nə	pərʰbə-hi.
you	book Neg. .	read-Fut-NH

'You will not read the book'

Changing scope of negation and the movement of negative particles based on it, is discussed later in detail in 4.3.

Adverbials can also be used at initial position in a sentence, e.g.

hali-hali	u sə	səũse kʰəela	kʰa	ge-l-kʰin
quickly	they	whole food	eat	Go-Pst-H

·They ate the whole meal quickly.'

4.3. Negation:

In Bajjika only one negative particle 'nə' is used to express the sentence negation.
e.g.

həm   nə jəbəi

I Neg. go-Fut-AGR.

'I will not go'.

Sita	kəllʰe	iskul nə	geləi rə.
Sita	yesterday	school Neg.	go- Pst. AGR.

·Sita did not go to the school yesterday'.

The above examples show that the negative particle 'nə' can appear in preverbal position in a negative sentence. However, the movement of this negative particle shows the change in the scope of negation. The scope shifts towards the form to which negative particle is following, e.g.

Sita	kəllʰe	nə	iskul	geləi rə.
Sita	yesterday	Neg.	school	go- Pst.IIINH

'Sita did not go to the school (only) yesterday'.

Sita   nə   kəllʰe   iskul   geləi rə.

Sita   Neg.   yesterday   school go- Pst.IIINH

'(It was) Sita (who) did not go to the school yesterday.'

Negative disjunction:

nə   sita   kəllʰe   iskul   ge-l-əi   a   nə mira

Neg.   Sita   yesterday   school go-Pst.IIINH   and   Neg. Mira.

'Neither Sita nor Mira went to the school yesterday.'

The negative particle *nə* is used as a tag at the end of a sentence to express the meaning of request and interrogation, e.g.

tu   kʰa le   nə.

you   eat Take   Neg.

'You (please) eat'.

ram   ai   ətəi nə?

Ram   today   com-Fut.IIINH Neg.

'Will Ram come today?'

4.4. Complex Sentences:

4.4.1 Coordination:

Coordination is the linking of two or more categories of expression with the use of coordinates or co-ordinate conjunctions at the phrasal levels as well as the sentential levels. Bajjika has the following types of co-ordinations:

4.4.1.1.   Conjunction a /ar 'and'

It occurs both at phrasal as well as sentential levels, e.g.

babuji   kʰə-l-kʰin   a   gʰume   ge-l-kʰin

father   eat –Pst.-H   and   walk   Go-Pst.-H

'Father went for walk after eating'.

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ram	cəl	ge-l-əi	a	əpna	bəhin-o	ke	le	geləi
Ram	walk	Go-Pst-NH	and	Reflex.	Sister –Emph.	Acc.	take	Go-Pst-NH

'Ram went and also took his sister along'

4.4.1.2. Adversative Conjunction lekin /bāki 'but'

A contrast or an opposition exists between the two conjuncts when two expressions are coordinated by an adversative conjunction lekin/bāki. Mostly, they occur at the sentential level, e.g.

Sita	sundər	həi	lekin	bədmas	həi
Sita	beautiful	be-Prst.IIINH	but	naughty	be-Prst.IIINH

'Sita is beautiful but naughty'.

u	kʰə-l-kəi	bāki	həm	nə	kʰə-b-əi
He	eat-Pst-NH	but	I	Neg.	eat –Fut.AGR

'He has eaten but I will not eat'.

4.5 Explicator Compound Verbs: "An ECV construction refers to a sequence of two verbs V₁ and V₂, in which the main verb of the sentence, generally V₁ in SOV languages, is followed by another verb, i.e. V₂, which is de-lexicalised in the construction". (Abbi 2001. P.188).

In Bajjika, the first form or the preceding verb in the sequence of two verbal forms, is the main or predicating verb and the second one does not appear in its primary lexical meaning. The latter is rather, morphologically marked for person, tense, aspect and modality. For example(type v2 in small caps):

kʰəela	khᵃ	le
food	eat	Take

'(you) eat the food'

botəl	pʰuT	ge-l-əi
bottle	break	Go-Pst.IIINH

'The bottle broke'

In examples given above, /le/ 'take' is V₂ which is used to mark the benefaction of the hearer and is not used in its literal meaning. Similarly, /gəya/ 'go' in the next sentence is used to mark the perfective aspect of the action of breaking of the bottle.

Like many other languages in which ECV's are found, in Bajjika also, the most significant semantic functions played by the ECV's are that of Aspectual, Adverbial and Attitudinal. The aspectual function mainly exhibits the meaning of perfectivity. Most commonly, in all the languages the action verbs and the verb 'Go' in particular is used for indicating perfectivity. For example,

sita   kʰəela   kʰa   ge-l-əi.

Sita   food   eat   Go-Pst-NH

'Sita ate the food'. [perfective]

babuji kʰana kʰa   kə   gʰume   cəl   ge-l-kʰin.

father food eat   CP   walk-Inf.   walk   Go-Pst. H

'After eating his food, father went for a walk'.

u   həmra lel   kʰəela bəna de-l-kəi.

He   I-Dat.   food   make give-Pst.NH

'He made the food for me'.

In the above two examples, the verb /gəya/ 'go' is used as ECV and it is exhibiting the semantic function of perfectivity. On the other hand, in the case of the last example, the verb /de/ 'give' is used as an ECV and is exhibits the meaning of 'others' benefaction'.

The adverbial functions of ECV's in Bajjika is to indicate various manners of an action or non-manner actions that indicate the characteristic of benefaction, anticipation etc.

Ki	tu	həmra la	ego	siuTər	bin	de-b-hi.
Will	you	I Dat.	one Class	Sweater	knit	Give-Fut.-NH.

'Will you knit a sweater for me?' [benefactive]

4.6 Subordination: The conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions is known as subordination. In this process, out of the two clauses, one may use a finite and the other a non-finite verb. Subordinate finite clauses generally follow the main clause, for example,

a) u kəhə-l-kəi je u jə-t-əi.

    he said – Pst.IIINH that he go-Fut..IIINH

    He said that he will go.

b) sita kəh-l-kəi je okra kʰəela bənanai accʰa ləg-əit həi.

    Sita said-Pst.IIINH that she-Dat food make.Inft good feel.Perf be-Prst.IIINH

    Sita said that she likes cooking food.

In the above examples, the finite forms 'he said' and 'Sita said' are the main clauses in (a) and (b) respectively and are followed by the subordinate clauses. The exception to the above statement is found in case of relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses where the subordinate marker or complementizer generally occupies the initial position in the subordinate clause and they precede the main clause.

4.6.1 Relative Correlative Clauses:

The Primary relative marker 'je' is placed at the beginning of the relative clause, whereas the correlative marker 'se' is placed in front of the head noun. For example,

je	ləirka	gilas	tor-lə-kəi		hə	sekra	bolo.
Rel.	boy	glass	break-Pst-NH be		Cor. Dat.		Call.

'Call the boy who has broken the glass'

je	lərki	dilli	mẽ	həi		se	həmmer	bəhin	həi.
Rel.	girl	Delhi	Loc	be.Prst.IIINH.	Cor.	I-Dat	sister	be.Prst.IIINH.

'The girl who is in Delhi is my sister'

As it is clear from the above examples, the second identical and co-referential noun phrase undergoes optional deletion. Following are the two clauses sharing identical and coreferential NP in above examples:

Main clause:

ləirka	ke	bolo
boy	Acc.	call

'Call the boy'

lərki	həmmər		bəhin	həi
girl	I-Dat		sister	be.Prst.IIINH.

The girl is my sister.

Relative clause:

ləirka	gilas	tor-lə-kəi
boy	glass	break-Pst..IIINH

'The boy has broken the glass'.

lərki	dilli	mẽ	həi
girl	Delhi	in	be.Prst.IIINH.

'The girl is in Delhi'

4.6.2 Adverbial Clauses:

They are marked by, both finite and non-finite forms of verbs. Adverbial subordinate clauses in Bajjika can be divided into following types:

4.6.2.1 Adverbial Clause of Time:

Temporal relationship is usually marked by correlatives, one of which is optionally deleted. For example

jale   ham   gʰum   kə   əliəi   (tale)   u   cəl   geləi   rə.

When I   walk. CP   Come-Pst   (then) he   walk   Go-Pst-IIINH   Perf

'When I came after a walk he had gone'.

4.6.2.2 Adverbial Clause of location: Locative adverbial clauses are marked by the subordinator jəhã 'where' or jəhã kəhi 'wherever', eg.

jəhã   tu   jə-b-hi   ham   ɸ   jə-b-əi

Where you   go-Fut-IINH   I   ɸ   go-Fut.AGR

'I will go where you will go'.

jəhãkəhi   u   hotəi   ɸ   ham   milbəi.

Wherever   he   be-Pst-IIINH   ɸ   I   meet-Fut.AGR

'I will meet him wherever he is'.

4.6.2.3 Adverbial Clause of Manner: They are not usually expressed by the infinitival constructions. Relative clause-like marker jenna 'as' is used to render the manner. For example,

Jenna   u   kəh-lə-kəi   (tenna)   ham   kəliəi.

as – Rel. he   tell-Pst-IIINH   same way.(Cor.)   I   do-Pst.AGR

'I did as he told me to do'.

4.7 Particles:

There is a class of words in Bajjika, which have not fixed place of occurrence. These may go with a word, phrase or a clause. The element related to these is brought into prominence.

4.7.1 Emphatic particles:

Emphatic particles like 'hi', 'bhi' of Hindi are completely substituted in Bajjika by a morphological change in the form of the root word associated with it. For example:

Hindi

vəh	rat-mẽ	bʰi		yəhã	tha
he	night-Loc		Emph	here	be.PST-AGR

'He was here at the night also'

Bajjika

u	rat-o	mẽ	hĩyã	rəhəi
he	night-Emph	Loc	here	Pst.be.IIINH

'He was here at the night also'

When the root word is a verb, there is '-be' suffixation with the root verb in V₁ position and compounding of 'kər' (do) verb in V₂ position, e.g.

Hindi

us-ne	jəwab	diya	hi	nəhi
he-Erg	answer	give-Pst-Agr	Emph	Neg

'He did not give the answer'

Bajjika

u	jəwab	de-be	nə	kəlkəi
he	answer	give-Emph	Neg	do-Pst.IIINH

'He did not give the answer'

4.7.2 Equivalent to Hindi /to/, Bajjika has /tə/. It may occur with nouns, pronouns, adjectives or verbs. When it comes after a noun or noun phrase, adjective, verb or pronoun the meaning of the same is emphasized. e.g

Noun

ram   tə   nimmən   ləirka   həi

Ram   Emph. good   boy   be.Prst.IIINH

'Ram is a good boy'.

ram   nimmən   ləirka   həi

Ram   good   boy   be.Prst.IIINH

'Ram is a good boy.'

Adjective

sohən kəriya tə   həi   lekin   sundər həi.

Sohan black   Emph. be.Prst.IIINH but   beautiful be.Prst.IIINH.

'Sohan is black but beautiful'.

Verb

u   gel   tə   həi.

he go-Pst.   Emph. be.Prst.IIINH

'He had gone'

4.7.3 The particle /sən/ is used after noun or adjective in a noun phrase construction. It makes a comparison of the subject with the noun or adjective after which it is placed, e.g.

     u   ləirka ram   sən   həi

     that   boy   Ram   like (P)be. Prst.IIINH

     'That boy is like Ram'.

     u   kəriya sən həi

     he   black   like (P)be. Prst.IIINH

     'He is somewhat black (black like).

The above example shows that the boy about whom the speaker is talking is like Ram and not Ram. or not black but like black.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

This research gives an account of some phonetic, morphological and syntactic aspects of the Bajjika language, which is a variety of Hindi and is spoken by more than 1.5 million people in the northern regions of the state of Bihar in India.

This work is divided into four chapters and appendices. Chapter 1 introduces the language by taking about its sociolinguistic data, its speakers and geographical boundaries, studies done on the language and its present day situation. A knowledge of all these aspects is very essential before probing into other features of any language. The second chapter is about the sound system of Bajjika language. A discussion of the phonotactic behaviour of different sounds, segmental phonology and morphophonemics could be relevant. The third chapter is concerned with the elicitation of major morphological topics of the Bajjika language, which constitute a significant part of the following chapter. Elicitation and discussion on syntax constitute the fourth chapter in which, apart from the major sentence types, word order, complex sentences, explicator compound verbs, subordinates and particles are discussed. Finally, after this conclusion, a sample text, list of compound numerals and maps are given in the appendices. Even though the study has been done on the study of very preliminary data collected by me, I have made every effort to verify that the description applies to the speakers whose responses and judgments have been noted throughout, and they have been quite positive.

The main purpose of this study is three-fold. First, it aims to provide some materials on a number of phonetic, morphological and syntactic aspects of the Bajjika language. Secondly, the analysis and description put forward in this piece of work may, it is hoped, be helpful for the linguistic comparison across various languages in India. Thirdly, this study may provide some useful hints to other researchers on different methods for beginning the linguistic analysis and description of various other languages.

On the whole, this work is still at a rather preliminary stage, I think in this study I have brought to light a number of facts on different linguistic features of Bajjika. I hope I have arrived at some results on these linguistic aspects of phonetic, morphological and syntactic features of my investigation. I must admit that it was simply not possible, predominantly due to time and space limitations, to include a discussion of every issue or example relevant to the various aspects of this language. I very sincerely hope to take the work still further and thereby advance our knowledge of the various, yet unexplored, aspects of this language called Bajjika.

Appendix 1

unəis	'19'	cʰialis	'46'	tehəttər	'73'
ekəis	'21'	səetalis	'47'	cəohəttər	'74'
bais	'22'	ərtalis	'48'	pəcʰhəttər	'75'
teis	'23'	uncas	'49'	cʰihəttər	'76'
cəubis	'24'	ekawən	'51'	səttʰtər	'77'
pəcis	'25'	bawən	'52'	əTHəttər	'78'
cʰəbbis	'26'	tirpən	'53'	unasi	'79'
sətais	'27'	cəumən	'54'	ekasi	'81'
əTHais	'28'	pəcpən	'55'	berasi	'82'
untis	'29'	cʰəppən	'56'	terasi	'83'
ektis	'31'	səntwən	'57'	cəorasi	'84'
bəttis	'32'	ənTHawən	'58'	pəcasi	'85'
tẽtis	'33'	unsəth	'59'	cʰiasi	'86'
cəotis	'34'	eksəTH	'61'	sətasi	'87'
pəetis	'35'	basəTH	'62'	əTHasi	'88'
cʰəttis	'36'	tirsəTH	'63'	nəwasi	'89'

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sǝetis	'37'	cǝosǝTH	'64'	ekanwe	'91'
ǝrtis	'38'	pǝẽǝTH	'65'	beranwe	'92'
uncalis	'39'	cʰiasǝTH	'66'	teranwe	'93'
ektalis	'41'	sǝrsǝTH	'67'	cǝoranwe	'94'
bǝyalis	'42'	ǝrsǝTH	'68'	pǝncanme	'95'
tẽtalis	'43'	unhǝttǝr	'69'	cʰianme	'96'
cǝobalis	'44'	ekhǝttǝr	'71'	sǝntanme	'97'
pǝẽtalis	'45'	bǝhǝttǝr	'72'	ǝnTHanme	'98'
				ninanbe	'99'

Appendix II

Sample Text

e   go   kisan   rəhəi   okra   car go   beʈa

one   class farmer Pst.-be-IIINH   he-Gen.   four Class   son

rəhəi   lekin, u   caro   mẽ mel nə   rəhəi   u   sə

Pst.be-IIINH but   they   four-Emph.Loc unity Neg. Pst.be.IIINH he Pl.

hərdəm lərt-e   rəh-əi   ek din kisan bəra bimar pər-l-əi

always fight-Emph Stay Imp.Pst one day farmer very sick   lie-Pst.IIINH

u   car-o   ke   bolə-l-kəi   a   jɔre   rəhe   lel kəh-lə-kəi

he four-Emph. Acc. Call.Pst.IIINH and together stay   for tell-Pst.IIINH

lekin ləirka   səb   pər koi əsər nə ho-l-əi   tə   kisan

but   boy   Pl.   Loc. any effect Neg. be-Pst.IIINH   then   farmer

ləkri   ke   DHeri   məŋgə-l-kəi   a ləirka sə ke   tor-e

wood   Gen. bundle ask-Pst.IIINH and boy   Pl. Acc. break-Emph

la   kəh-l-kəi   kek-ro   se   u   Dheri nə   TuT-l-əi

Gen. tel-Pst.IIINH who-Acc Inst. that bundle Neg. break.Pst.IIINH

təb   kisan səb   ləkri ke   ələg -ələg   kə de-l-kəi

then   farmer all   stick Acc. separate-Redup do   Give.Pst.IIINH

a   lərika sə   ke   ek –ek   go   ləkri tore kəhə-l-kəi

and   boy   Pl.   Acc. one-Redup Class stick break tell.Pst.IIINH

səb	ləkri	ke	tor	de-l-kəi		təb	səb	ke	bujʰa
all	stick	Acc.	break	Give.Pst.IIINH		then	all	Acc.	know

ge-l-əi	je	jɔre	rəhe	mẽ	ketna	bəl		həi
Go.Pst.IIINH	that	together	stay	Loc	how	strength		Aux

There was a farmer. He had four sons. They always use to fight with each other. One day the farmer became very ill. He called his sons and asked them to stay together but they did not listen to him. He then asked them to bring some sticks. He told them to break the sticks together which they were unable to. Then he asked them to break the sticks separately and they did it. Then they came to know the value of staying together.

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