BHOJPURI
J. RAJATHI &
P. PERUMAL SAMY
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Bhojpuri is the western-most speech of the eastern or Magadhan group of the Aryan languages of India (Udai Narain Tiwari, 1960: xxi). Grierson has given the name Bihari, to this Magadhan group of speeches. Bihari implies a single language under which Magahi, Maithili and Bhojpuri are kept as dialects.

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has classified the Magadhan speeches in three groups namely western Magadhan group (Bhojpuri), central Magadhan group (Maithili and Magahi) and Eastern Magadhan group (Bengali, Assamese and Oriya).

Masica (1991: 424) explains Bhojpuri as a language spoken in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western districts of Bihar consisting of western (Banaras and Azamgarh), southern (Ballia and Shahabad) and northern (sub dialects including Sarwaria in Basti district; Gorakhpuri and Madhesi in Champaran district).

1.2 LOCATION

The Bhojpuri speakers are found abundantly in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh states followed by Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Delhi, Assam, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh and so on.

In Bihar state they are found more in number in Purna Champaran, Saran, Paschim Champaran, Siwan, Rohtas, Bhojpur, Gopalganj, Buxar, Kaimur and Patna districts whereas they are found scantily in other districts as well.

In Jharkhand, they are present in Dhanbad, Purbi Singhbhum, Bokaro, Garhwa, Ranchi and Sahibganj districts in more numbers and make their presence in other districts as well.

*The report is finalised by Dr. P. Perumal Samy, Ex-Research Officer (L) as per the latest format by adding lexicon, text, phonological and syntactical features along with few analyses in the content by under taking one short field investigation to Bihar state in the year 2010.*
1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH

The Bhojpuri speakers are found more in the states such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Delhi, Assam, West Bengal and so on. In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh their concentration is abundant.

The Bhojpuri speakers’ are available in the states such as Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Delhi, Assam, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, Uttaranchal, Haryana, Gujarat etc. (Census 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/District</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>1,87,523</td>
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Bhojpuri: Bihar

In Bihar, Bhojpuri speakers are found more in Purba Champaran, Saran, Paschim Champaran, Siwan, Rohtas, Bhojpur, Gopalganj, Buxar, Kaimur (Bhabua) and Patna districts. District wise distribution of Bhojpuri has been given as per 2011 Census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/District</th>
<th>TOTAL Person</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>RURAL Person</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>URBAN Person</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhojpur</td>
<td>2,58,81,691</td>
<td>1,33,55,365</td>
<td>1,25,26,326</td>
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<td>710</td>
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<td>485</td>
<td>593</td>
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<td>1,111</td>
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<td>61,500</td>
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<td>28,432</td>
<td>2,061</td>
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</table>
They are also found in the districts of Godda, Dumka, Paschimi Singhbhum and Pakaur.

### 1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

Bhojpuri mother tongue is spoken in the home domain, with relatives and friends, in market, in official places etc. by the informants where they are dominantly inhabited. In education, Bhojpuri mother tongue is taught as a subject in degree level (Veer Kuer Singh University, Arra, Bhojpur district).

In religious ceremonies, the mother tongue is used for preaching purposes. In Mass media, the programmes in Bhojpuri are broadcasted in All India Radio. The programmes are news, drama, film songs etc. Recently, a channel called Mahua is telecasted only in Bhojpuri mother tongue. A film in Bhojpuri is also under progress.

Bhojpuri mother tongue is used in debates in State Legislature Assembly. In the court of justice, it is used for giving evidence. In the districts where it is predominantly spoken, the spoken form is used for official purposes.

Bhojpuri mother tongue has a rich oral tradition. Hence it has rich folk songs, folk literature and so on in its repertoire. It is used among family members, relatives, friends, in
ceremonies, songs, dramas, films etc. The slogans are also created in this mother tongue. It is used in advertisements, political or commercial.

The speakers of Bhojpuri are getting education through Hindi medium. The official correspondences are made in Hindi language. Since Hindi is one of the official languages of this state, it is used in all official and educational purposes.

1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

Of the available historical treatments of Bhojpuri, three studies stand out as basic to our understanding of the history of Bhojpuri. Horenle (1880), Grierson (1883, 1903) are the basic works on which works prior to the Linguistic Survey of India depended. The Linguistic Survey of India (1903-1927) has by far been accepted as the basic framework for post LSI grammars of Bhojpuri. Tiwari (1960) try to modify the LSI stand and elaborated further. Beames (1868) treat Bhojpuri only topical and hence it is of lesser importance.

Colin P. Masica (1991) opines that Bhojpuri is probably under represent in 1971 census with many speakers returning as Hindi (The strength of Bhojpuri in 1971 Census is 1,43,40,564).
2. PHONOLOGY

There are 38 phonemes in Bhojpuri of which six are vowels and 32 are consonants. There are 3 release vowels, as well which comes in the sub system. Nasalization is phonemic in Bhojpuri.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY:

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels- Main system

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<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher – mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean – mid</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sub-System – release vowels

i, u, A

Consonants

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<tr>
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<th>Bilabial</th>
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<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asp. ph bh</td>
<td>th dh Th Dh ch jh kh gh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fricative $s$ $S$ $h$
Nasal $m$ $n$ $N$ $M$
Lateral $l$
Flap $r$ $R$
Semi Vowel $w$ $y$

2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

/ ~ / nasalisation

Examples:

IhAwā ‘here’
jāc ‘examine’
kāp ‘shiver’

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels – Main system:

Vowels contrast for five degrees of tongue height—high, higher—mid, mean—mid, higher—low and low; for three tongue positions—front, central and back; for two lip-positions—rounded and unrounded. The six vowels are ̃2 front / i, e/; 2 central / A, a/ and 2 back / o, u/. The front and central vowels are unrounded while the back vowels are rounded.

Phonological patterning of vowels:

Length is not phonemic for vowels but depends upon the following concomitant factors:

(i) Number of syllables in a word.
(ii) The syllabic structure of a word
(iii) The canonical form of a word—with specific reference to occurrence of (a) nasalised vowels; (b) conjunct consonants; (c) release vowel
Release vowels – sub-systems

These are phonetically of very short duration but are phonologically very important. Their pattern of distribution differs from the main system. They are phonemic but not syllabic; cannot occur with length or nasalisation.

The extreme shortness of duration has been noted by Tiwari (1960); Saxena (1937; 67,69,74-76) and Grierson (1909 & 1910). Grierson compares them with ‘the compound shā waš of Hebrew; Saxena calls them ‘whispered vowels’ and Tiwari does not give any special name to them. The existence of these release vowels extends over a large area – from Maithili in the east to Awadhi in the west.

Consonants:

Of the 32 consonants, 20 are stops, 4 nasals, 3 fricatives, 1 laterals, 2 flap and 2 semi-vowels. Consonants contrast for eight positions of articulation labial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal; for six manners of articulation- stops, nasals, fricatives, laterals, flaps and semi-vowels. Internal differentiations are accounted for in terms of the features of voice, aspiration, and nasalisation.

Fricatives:

There are 3 fricatives one each in the alveolar, palatal and glottal positions.

Laterals:

There is one lateral occurring in the alveolar position contrasting for aspiration.

Flap:

There are two flaps, one in the alveolar position and the other in retroflex.

Semi- vowels:

Semi – vowels occur in two positions bi- labial and palatal.
**The phonetic factor:**

There are four degrees of phonetic duration of vowels - extra-short, short, half-long and long. The extra-short duration occurs only in a closed predominant syllable and its distributional environment can be stated as \(a \rightarrow c\), which is word-final. Only three release vowels \(i, u, A\) occur and in the particular environment.

**Duration of main-system vowels:**

The remaining three degrees of duration – short, half-long and long are shared by the main-system vowels. As regards the remaining six vowels, \(/a/\) is the predominant vowel and has no short duration; only half-long and long varieties occur. All the other five vowel – \(i, u, e, o, A\) have the three degrees of duration.

**Principle of vowel gradation:**

Even though the six vowels \(/i, u, e, o, A, a/\) as such show no distributional restrictions, they form into groups on the basis of their pattern of allophonic distribution and the direction of influence in a phonotactic situation. \(/a/\) is unaffected wherever it occurs in a word. If anything, its duration is increased to full length in the vicinity of the other five vowels. The principle of vowel gradation is based upon the fact that the occurrence of a particular vowel affects the duration of any other vowel occurring in its vicinity. A vowel whose minimum duration is half-long and which affects other vowels in its vicinity is the predominant vowel. \(/A/\) is most affected by the occurrence of all the other vowels and it is usually short except positionally. \(/i, u/\) are affected by \(/e, o, a, /e, o/\) are of equal prominence and so are \(/i, u/\)

The vowels can be graded as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
/a/ & \quad \text{predominant vowel.} \\
/e,o/ & \quad \text{2}^{\text{nd}} \text{ degree vowels} \\
/i, u/ & \quad \text{3}^{\text{rd}} \text{ degree vowels} \\
/A/ & \quad \text{Weak vowel} \\
/~/& \quad \text{does not seem to have any direct effect upon the duration of vowels.}
\end{align*}
\]
The distribution of phonemes:

Vowels

/i/

Initial

imili ‘tamarind’
iya ‘father’s mother’
inkAr ‘his (hon) proximate’
ihAwà ‘here’

Medial

jhil ‘lake’
bijuli ‘lightening’
biya ‘seed’
bicca ‘scorpion’

Final

layki ‘girl’
êDi ‘heel’
nabhi ‘navel’
agi ‘fire’

/e/

Initial

ese ‘therefore’
ekAr ‘his (proximate)’
ек ‘one’

Medial

peT ‘belly’
khet ‘field’
suer ‘pig’

Final

kAyse ‘how’
bhAene ‘sister’son’
\[ \text{je} \quad \text{‘who’} \\
\text{ekAre} \quad \text{‘his (obl.)’} \]

/\text{a}/

**Initial**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{am} & \quad \text{‘mango’} \\
\text{alu} & \quad \text{‘potato’} \\
\text{aji} & \quad \text{‘father’s mother’} \\
\text{age} & \quad \text{‘before’} \\
\text{aTh} & \quad \text{‘eight’} \\
\end{align*} \]

**Medial**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{haD} & \quad \text{‘bone’} \\
\text{Tapu} & \quad \text{‘island’} \\
\text{balu} & \quad \text{‘sand’} \\
\text{tama} & \quad \text{‘copper’} \\
\end{align*} \]

**Final**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{layka} & \quad \text{‘boy’} \\
\text{bAcca} & \quad \text{‘baby’} \\
\text{AmuTha} & \quad \text{‘thumb’} \\
\text{panja} & \quad \text{‘claw’} \\
\end{align*} \]

/\text{A}/

**Initial**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{AMMuri} & \quad \text{‘finger’} \\
\text{AMuTha} & \quad \text{‘toe’} \\
\text{AmAwsa} & \quad \text{‘new moon’} \\
\text{AMur} & \quad \text{‘grapes’} \\
\text{Amrul} & \quad \text{‘guava’} \\
\end{align*} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>os</td>
<td>‘dew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ola</td>
<td>‘hail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oTh</td>
<td>‘lip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okAr</td>
<td>‘his (distant)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ontis</td>
<td>‘twenty nine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>roj</td>
<td>‘daily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agor</td>
<td>‘watch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>god</td>
<td>‘lap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sona</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhor</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loha</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sArso</td>
<td>‘mustard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dano</td>
<td>‘demon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/o/ Initial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ullu</td>
<td>‘owl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upAr</td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uttAr</td>
<td>‘north’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lhAwā</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okAr</td>
<td>‘his (distant)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ūcA</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nA</td>
<td>‘negation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miThA</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadhA</td>
<td>‘try out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Medial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khun</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuri</td>
<td>‘dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suruj</td>
<td>‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phul</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul</td>
<td>‘bridge’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Final

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jiu</td>
<td>‘soul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapu</td>
<td>‘island’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhalu</td>
<td>‘steep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āsu</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Distribution of Consonants

#### /p/

**Initial**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pAlAk</td>
<td>‘eye lid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peT</td>
<td>‘belly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piTh</td>
<td>‘back of body’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medial**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kApas</td>
<td>‘cotton seed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hApta</td>
<td>‘week’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dupAhAr</td>
<td>‘mid day’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Final**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāp</td>
<td>‘shiver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khep</td>
<td>‘trip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pap</td>
<td>‘sin’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### /t/

**Initial**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tit</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tAma</td>
<td>‘asthma’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama</td>
<td>‘copper’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Medial

\begin{align*}
\text{dharti} & \quad \text{‘earth’} \\
\text{bAtas} & \quad \text{‘wind’} \\
\text{kutiya} & \quad \text{‘bitch’}
\end{align*}

Final

\begin{align*}
\text{Awret} & \quad \text{‘married woman’} \\
\text{khet} & \quad \text{‘field’}
\end{align*}

\text{/T/}

Initial

\begin{align*}
\text{Tikora} & \quad \text{‘tender mango’} \\
\text{TaM} & \quad \text{‘leg’} \\
\text{TaT} & \quad \text{‘bank’} \\
\text{Tapu} & \quad \text{‘island’}
\end{align*}

Medial

\begin{align*}
\text{gATei} & \quad \text{‘throat’} \\
\text{ciũTi} & \quad \text{‘ant’} \\
\text{khATia} & \quad \text{‘bedstead’}
\end{align*}

Final

\begin{align*}
\text{peT} & \quad \text{‘belly’} \\
\text{moT} & \quad \text{‘fat’} \\
\text{TuT} & \quad \text{‘break’}
\end{align*}

\text{/c/}

Initial

\begin{align*}
\text{cetaw} & \quad \text{‘warm’} \\
\text{ciDha} & \quad \text{‘tease’} \\
\text{caT} & \quad \text{‘lick’}
\end{align*}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bAcca}</td>
<td>‘baby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{succi}</td>
<td>‘pure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bAca}</td>
<td>‘save’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{s\textcreci}</td>
<td>‘thought’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sAc}</td>
<td>‘true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{j\textcrec}</td>
<td>‘examine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/\textit{k}/</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ku\textcreari}</td>
<td>‘unmarried woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{keh}</td>
<td>‘tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kan}</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bAkAra}</td>
<td>‘goat : he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{mAkAra}</td>
<td>‘spider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kAkAhi}</td>
<td>‘comb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{lAtAk}</td>
<td>‘hang’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{rok}</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Dh\textcreuk}</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/\textit{ph}/</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ph\textcreuk}</td>
<td>‘blow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{pher}</td>
<td>‘change’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{phul}</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{phua}</td>
<td>‘father’s sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Medial

phupha  ‘father’s sister’s husband’
kaphi  ‘enough’

Final

baph  ‘steam’
hâph  ‘deep breathing’
saph  ‘clean’

/\th/\n
Initial

thoD  ‘little’
thekAl  ‘tired’

Medial

nAthuna  ‘nostril’
hathi  ‘elephant’

Final

tireth  ‘holy place’
hath  ‘hand’

/\Th/\n
Initial

ThoDi  ‘chin’
Thehuna  ‘knee’
ThanDha  ‘cold’

Medial

AMuTha  ‘toe’
kAThin  ‘difficult’
pATha  ‘send’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>piTh</em></td>
<td>‘back of body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>miTh</em></td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bAyTh</em></td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| /ch/        |            |
| Initial     |            |
| *chu*       | ‘touch’    |
| *chichkar*  | ‘sprinkle’ |
| *cheni*     | ‘chisel’   |

| Medial      |            |
| *mAchAri*   | ‘fish’     |
| *bach*      | ‘calf’     |
| *biccha*    | ‘scorpion’ |

| /kh/        |            |
| Initial     |            |
| *khas*      | ‘important’|
| *khol*      | ‘open’     |
| *kho*       | ‘search for’|
| *khōkh*     | ‘cough’    |

| Medial      |            |
| *dekha*     | ‘show’     |
| *dAkkhin*   | ‘south’    |

| Final       |            |
| *ūkh*       | ‘sugar cane’|
| *rakh*      | ‘put’       |
| *pākh*      | ‘wing’      |
| *pAkh*      | ‘fortnight’ |
/b/  
Initial  
  bAcca  ‘child’  
  bujh  ‘understand’  
  banh  ‘fasten’  
  bādh  ‘dam’  

Medial  
  jAbab  ‘answer’  
  dubi  ‘a kind of grass’  
  cAwbe  ‘a title of brahmin’  

Final  
  hisab  ‘account’  
  talab  ‘tank’  
  Dub  ‘dive’  
  dab  ‘press’  

d/  
Initial  
  deMMa  ‘quarrel’  
  dAya  ‘pity’  
  dimag  ‘brain’  
  dekha  ‘show’  

Medial  
  admi  ‘man’  
  nAdi  ‘river’  
  nAjdik  ‘near’  

Final  
  nīd  ‘sleep’  
  yad  ‘remembrance’  
  god  ‘lap’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>căd</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/D/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Dub</td>
<td>‘dive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DeDh</td>
<td>‘1 ½’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAR</td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>kADua</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TukDa</td>
<td>‘piece’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cAWDa</td>
<td>‘wide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kADA</td>
<td>‘hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>haD</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāD</td>
<td>‘widow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goD</td>
<td>‘leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ujaD</td>
<td>‘desert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>jit</td>
<td>‘victory’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jAruri</td>
<td>‘need’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jiu</td>
<td>‘soul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jaMh</td>
<td>‘thigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>karAja</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bijuli</td>
<td>‘lightening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kunji</td>
<td>‘key’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>suruj</td>
<td>‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>piaj</td>
<td>‘onion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>roj</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘daily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sAhAj</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/g/

**Initial**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>gil</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>god</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘lap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gAndha</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>guM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘dumb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medial**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>rAgAD</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘rub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lAgaw</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘use’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>murgi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aga</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘front’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Final**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>log</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bhag</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘escape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AlAg</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sohag</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘fortune’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/bh/

**Initial**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bhala</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘spear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bhag</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘escape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bhūiDol</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘earthquake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bhor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bhap</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘steam’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medial**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>gobhi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cauli flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lobhi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘greedy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gabhin</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘pregnant (animal)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Final

\( u \ sAbh \) ‘those (ones)’
\( i \ sAbh \) ‘they (m) prox.’

/dh/

Initial

\( dhAr \) ‘catch’
\( dho \) ‘wash’
\( dhArti \) ‘earth’
\( dhūā \) ‘smoke’

Medial

\( sadhe \) ‘try out’
\( udhar \ de \) ‘lend’

Final

\( bādh \) ‘dam’
\( badh \) ‘rope used for cot’
\( kādh \) ‘shoulder’
\( bArAdh \) ‘ox’

/Dh/

Initial

\( Dhil \) ‘louse’
\( Dheri \) ‘heap’
\( Dhalu \) ‘steep’
\( Dhūk \) ‘enter’

Medial

\( buDhAu \) ‘old man’
\( DaDhi \) ‘branch’
\( ADhai \) ‘2 ½’
\( luDhAn \) ‘roll’
Final

\begin{align*}
  bADh & \quad \text{‘grow’} \\
  buDh & \quad \text{‘old’} \\
  baDh & \quad \text{‘flood’}
\end{align*}

/jh/

Initial

\begin{align*}
  jhar & \quad \text{‘sweep’} \\
  jhepAT & \quad \text{‘pounce’} \\
  jhul & \quad \text{‘swing’} \\
  jhur & \quad \text{‘dry bunch of grass’}
\end{align*}

Medial

\begin{align*}
  sanjha & \quad \text{‘evening’} \\
  sijhAl & \quad \text{‘cooked’}
\end{align*}

Final

\begin{align*}
  jhōjh & \quad \text{‘cluster of mango’} \\
  majh & \quad \text{‘middle’} \\
  bajh & \quad \text{‘barren tree’}
\end{align*}

/gh/

Initial

\begin{align*}
  ghari & \quad \text{‘cattle shed’} \\
  ghus & \quad \text{‘bribe’} \\
  ghas & \quad \text{‘grass’} \\
  ghoDa & \quad \text{‘horse’}
\end{align*}

Medial

\begin{align*}
  megha & \quad \text{‘frog’} \\
  ughar & \quad \text{‘uncover’} \\
  baghin & \quad \text{‘tigress’}
\end{align*}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bagh}</td>
<td>‘tiger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/m/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{milaw}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{mũh}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{mās}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{muTThi}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{dimag}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{asman}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kAmAl}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{am}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{cam}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{resAm}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/n/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{nac}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{nĩd}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{nAkar}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{nokAr}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{cani}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{anhi}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{cAna}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{pani}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Final

| khun   | ‘blood’ |
| can    | ‘moon’  |
| gin    | ‘count’ |
| un     | ‘wool’  |

/N/

| Naha   | ‘bath’ |

Medial

| kiNa   | ‘buy’  |
| ThaNDa | ‘cold’ |
| paNi   | ‘water’|
| bhaNtha| ‘brinjal’|
| DaNDa  | ‘stick’|

/M/

Medial

| AMMuri | ‘finger’ |
| aMna   | ‘courtyard’ |
| DeMi   | ‘small boat’ |

Final

| lAwM  | ‘clove’ |
| muM   | ‘green gram’ |
| pAtAM | ‘kite’ |
| beM   | ‘frog’ |

/s/

Initial

<p>| suer  | ‘pig’ |
| sit   | ‘cold’ |
| suruj | ‘sun’ |
| sem   | ‘beans’ |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sAntAra</td>
<td>‘orange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mAsala</td>
<td>‘spice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kAyse</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bAksa</td>
<td>‘box’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAsAra</td>
<td>‘rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os</td>
<td>‘dew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bãs</td>
<td>‘bamboo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bis</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kes</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S’erab</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S’er</td>
<td>‘lion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S’erin</td>
<td>‘lioness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S’aTata</td>
<td>‘stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muS’Ti</td>
<td>‘fist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muS’</td>
<td>‘rat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maS’</td>
<td>‘flesh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warîS’</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haD</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hathi</td>
<td>‘elephant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘dear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medial</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kohAni</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhesa</td>
<td>‘fog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leher</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pAhaD</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Final</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děh</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nAh</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūh</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rah</td>
<td>‘street, path’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **/L/** |     |           |
| **Initial** |        |           |
| lAmma | ‘tall’  |           |
| layki | ‘girl’  |           |
| lilar | ‘fore head’ |       |
| lAur  | ‘flame’  |           |
| **Medial** |        |           |
| alu   | ‘potato’ |           |
| pilla | ‘male pup’ |       |
| bilar | ‘cat’   |           |
| kila  | ‘fort’   |           |
| balTi | ‘bucket’ |           |
| **Final** |        |           |
| bal   | ‘hair’  |           |
| jhil  | ‘lake’   |           |
| til   | ‘sesame’ |           |
| jAMMAl | ‘jungle’ |           |
The retroflex flop \( R \) occurs in the medial and final positions. The examples are exemplified below:

### /r/ Initial

- \( rat \) ‘night’
- \( rAs \) ‘juice’
- \( ris \) ‘anger’
- \( rinhAl \) ‘cooked’

### /R/ Medial

- \( murga \) ‘cock’
- \( Tokri \) ‘basket’
- \( pAret \) ‘ghost’
- \( murAt \) ‘idol’
- \( pâjAr \) ‘rib’
- \( kApar \) ‘head’
- \( duar \) ‘door’
- \( mor \) ‘peacock’

### /R/ Final

- \( riR \) ‘spine’
- \( goR \) ‘foot’
/w/

Initial

\textit{wada kAr} \quad \text{‘promise’}

Medial

\textit{jAwan} \quad \text{‘young woman’}
\textit{bewa} \quad \text{‘widow’}
\textit{janawAr} \quad \text{‘animal’}
\textit{kAwwa} \quad \text{‘crow’}

Final

\textit{sew} \quad \text{‘apple’}
\textit{paw} \quad \text{‘quarter’}
\textit{jAraw} \quad \text{‘burn’}
\textit{hAraw} \quad \text{‘defeat’}

/y/

Initial

\textit{yad} \quad \text{‘remembrance’}

Medial

\textit{beʃya} \quad \text{‘prostitute’}
\textit{layki} \quad \text{‘girl’}
\textit{koyla} \quad \text{‘char coal’}
\textit{biya} \quad \text{‘seed’}
\textit{nariyAl} \quad \text{‘coconut’}

Final

\textit{duy} \quad \text{‘two’}
Vowels

All the oral vowels occur in all the three positions initial, medial and final. All the nasalised vowels except /ə/ and /Ā/ occur in all the three positions. /Ô/ does not occur initially and /Ā/ finally.

Occurrence of Release Vowel

A release vowel occurs only in the predominant syllable. It is mostly restricted to mono and di-syllabic words. Occurrence of [i] is more frequent, varied and occurs with a large number of consonants.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ākhī} & \quad \text{‘eye’} \\
\text{mochī} & \quad \text{‘moustache’} \\
\text{bāhī} & \quad \text{‘arm’} \\
\text{jibhī} & \quad \text{‘tongue’} \\
\text{dēhī} & \quad \text{‘body’} \\
\text{Tamī} & \quad \text{‘leg’} \\
\text{suArī} & \quad \text{‘pig’} \\
\text{carī} & \quad \text{‘four’} \\
\text{tinī} & \quad \text{‘three’} \\
\text{TaMī} & \quad \text{‘leg’} \\
\text{kūarī} & \quad \text{‘bachelor’} \\
\text{pāwā} & \quad \text{‘foot’} \\
\text{dārā} & \quad \text{‘tooth’} \\
\text{jADā} & \quad \text{‘root’} \\
\text{cūcā} & \quad \text{‘beak’} \\
\text{sāDhā} & \quad \text{‘bull’} \\
\text{ujadā} & \quad \text{‘desert’} \\
\text{phulā} & \quad \text{‘flower’} \\
\text{lAhasunā} & \quad \text{‘garlic’} \\
\text{kukkurā} & \quad \text{‘dog’} \\
\text{māsə} & \quad \text{‘flesh’} \\
\text{piajə} & \quad \text{‘onion’} \\
\text{bhAyAhə} & \quad \text{‘younger brother’s wife’} \\
\text{kuchə} & \quad \text{‘some’}
\end{align*}\]
2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

\[ i \]  High front unrounded short vowel occurs poly syllables.

\[ i : \]  High front unrounded long vowels occurs in mono syllables.

\[ i \]  High front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

\[[ a: ta rin \] /atarin/ ‘liver’
\[[ ëikh \] /likhl/ ‘write’
\[[ pa:Ni \] /paNil/ ‘water’
\[[ i : Ta \] /iTal/ ‘stone’
\[[ gi : no \] /ginol/ ‘count’
\[[ Ti:k \] /Tik/ ‘right’
\[[ pati \] /pati/ ‘husband’
\[[ machi \] /machi/ ‘fly’

\[ é \]  Mid High front unrounded short vowel occurs before poly syllables.

\[ e: \]  Mid High front unrounded long vowels occurs before mono syllables.

\[ e \]  Mid High front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

\[[ jéla:bo \] /jelabol/ ‘burn’
[kékor] /kekɔr/ ‘which’
[seːɾ] /sɛɾ/ ‘lion’
[peː:t] /peʔt/ ‘belly’
[keːla] /kela/ ‘banana’
[lela] /lela/ ‘take’
[aːge] /lægel/ ‘before’

\[\text{A}\] Mid central short vowel occurs before poly syllables.

\[\text{A}\] Mid central long vowels occurs before mono syllables.

\[ɛ\] Mid low front unrounded vowel occurs after bilabial as retroflex consonants.

\[A\] Mid central vowel occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

[pAleːɾsɔ] /pAleɾsɔ/ ‘day before yesterday’
[bArədɔ] /bArədɔ/ ‘ox’
[kAI] /kAI/ ‘machine’
[pAːkɔ] /pAːkɔ/ ‘fortnight’
[pʰɛkɔ] /pʰɛkɔ/ ‘throw’
[Dhɛɾ] /Dhɛɾ/ ‘many’
[resAm] /resAm/ ‘silk’
[nokAr] /nokAr/ ‘servant’

\[a\] Low back central short vowel occurs in poly syllables.

\[a:\] Low back central long vowels occurs in mono syllables.

\[a\] Low back central vowel occurs elsewhere.
Examples:

- [p iyá服役] /piyá服役/ ‘yellow’
- [saDák] /saDák/ ‘road’
- [ma:ro] /marol/ ‘die’
- [a:g] /agl/ ‘fire’
- [admí] /admil/ ‘man’
- [para:k] /parakl/ ‘frock’
- [karjA] /karjA/ ‘debt’

[ó] Mid High back rounded short vowel occurs in poly syllables.

[o:] Mid High back rounded long vowels occurs in mono syllables.

[o] Mid High back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

- [p ató服役] /pató服役/ ‘lean’
- [pʰeko服役] /pʰekol/ ‘throw’
- [lo:g] /logl/ ‘person’
- [so:ná服役] /sonal/ ‘gold’
- [ko:ra服役] /koral/ ‘dig’
High back rounded short vowel occurs in poly syllables.

High back rounded long vowels occurs in mono syllables.

High back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

Examples:


[dusuman] /dusuman/ ‘enemy’

[ku:ch] /kuch/ ‘some’

[su:st] /sust/ ‘dull’

[pu:rab] /purab/ ‘east’

[phul] /phull/ ‘flower’

[a:lu] /alul/ ‘potato’

[dha:tu] /dhatul/ ‘brass’
Consonants

\[ M' \] The palatal nasal occurs before the palatal consonants.

\[ n \] The alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

\[ gaM ji \] \[ganji\] \[ganji\] ‘banian’

\[ sa:Mc\] \[sa:nc\] \[sa:nc\] ‘true’

\[ norak \] \[norak\] \[norak\] ‘hell’

\[ nou\] \[nou\] \[nou\] ‘nine’

\[ ti:n\] \[tin\] \[tin\] ‘three’

\[ L \] The retroflex lateral occurs before or after low central vowel.

\[ l \] The alveolar lateral occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

\[ chaLa:k\] \[chalak\] \[chalak\] ‘wise’

\[ phuLa\] \[phula\] \[phula\] ‘swell’

\[ tala:k\] \[talak\] \[talak\] ‘divorce’

\[ la:l\] \[lal\] \[lal\] ‘red’
2.4 CLUSTERS

Of the three types of phonemes vowels release vowels and consonants only vowels and consonants cluster. While vowel clusters are very rare in the initial position, consonant clusters do not at all occur initially. In the final position consonant clusters are very rare while vowel clusters occur in a good number. In the medial position consonant as well as vowel clusters occur in a large number by Bhojpuri standards. Maximum units are 2 (3 members of ν cluster, occur for other reasons which is not discussed here).

Vowel clusters

Initial

ail ‘came’

Medial

ũa - kũari ‘unmarried woman’
Au – lAur ‘flame’
eu- neur ‘mongoose’
ue – suer ‘pig’
Ai – kArAit ‘black cobra’

Final

Ai - mAnAi ‘man’
Au - buDhAu ‘old man’
ia - buDhia ‘old woman’
ua - rÃDuA ‘widower’
dhũ- ā ‘smoke’
ua - bua ‘father’s sister’

Consonant clusters

Initial

Medial

Final

lAwm ‘clove’
lAwT ‘return’
Vowels

Oral vowels have precedence over the nasalised vowels. All the oral vowels occur as the first member of the cluster. Variety is more in the second member slot.

2.5 SYLLABLE

Syllables in Bhojpuri are of the peak type. The peak is simple if it has a simple vowel and is complex if it is a diphthong. But complex peaks are very few and of limited distribution, onsets, if occurring, are simple. Codas can be simple or complex has two members. The coda can be a consonant with or without a release vowel. So a syllable in terms of the phonemes can be represented as the following.

Syllabic structure of words

Words in Bhojpuri can be mono – syllabic, di- syllabic, tri –syllabic and quadri-syllabic.

Mono Syllabic

\[ V \quad i \quad \text{‘this’} \]
\[ u \quad \text{‘that’} \]

\[ CV \quad ka \quad \text{‘what’} \]
\[ dA \quad \text{‘give’} \]
\[ cu \quad \text{‘leak’} \]

\[ C\tilde{V} \quad t\tilde{u} \quad \text{‘you (sg)’} \]

Di – syllabic

\[ CV-CVC- \quad nA-rAm ‘soft’ \]
\[ gA-rib ‘poor’ \]

\[ \tilde{V}-CV \quad \tilde{e}-Di \quad \text{‘heel’} \]
CVC-CV  pAnja  ‘claw’

Tri – Syllabic

CV-CV-CV  nA-thu-na  ‘nostril’
CVC-CVC-CVC  cAm-gud-dAr  ‘bat’

Qudra – Syllabic

CVC-CV-CVC-CVC  cAk-na-cur-kAr  ‘smash’
  bA-ha-na-kAr  ‘pretent’
3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Bhojpuri is a highly rhythmic language. The sound changes always seem to aim at keeping the rhythmic balance. Grammatical considerations seem to have very little effect upon the Sandhi Rules.

1. **Vowel duration**:

   It constantly changes depending upon the number of syllables the syntactic unit contains at any time. So any word can have gradation of vowel duration on the addition of further syllables as per necessity. In the case of /ʌ/ and /ø/ the gradation is phonemic and hence representable. In all other cases one has to depend heavily upon phonetic rules.

   Example: \( hAm + e = hAmAre \) my (obl.); 'my' (emph.)

   - \( kaT – \) "to cut"
   - \( kATalAs \) "cut (pst- he)"
   - \( kaTidehAlAs \) "(he) cut (other benefactive)"
   - \( kaTekcah\̄i \) "must cut"
   - \( kaTe khatir \) "in order to cut"
   - \( kATi gAyl \) "is cut"
   - \( u \ alf \) "he came"
   - \( u \ Aylē \) "he came (hon.)"

2. Sometimes not only the duration is affected but the vowel cluster becomes a vowel, semi vowel.

   - \( raur \) "you (hon.)"
   - \( rAure kAhī \) "you (hon.) pl. say"
   - \( rAwre ke te hAmmAn' ke cetAwAle rAhA\̄i \) "We had, however, cautioned your honour"
   - \( mitAu \) "friend"
   - \( mitAwa \) "friend" (long form)
   - \( mitAu \) "oh! friend"
   - \( mitAw bAne khatir \) "in order to become friends"
It is this constant adjustment in duration which tempted Grierson to set separate symbols for short and long /e/ and /o/ for Bihari and his rule of antipenultimate is of relevance in this context.

3. **Occurrence of semi vowel glides:**

When two morphemes with \(-v + v-\) occur, the glides /y/ and /w/ occur depending upon whether \(-v\) is /i/ or any other vowel. This does not apply when the additive particle is added to a \(-v\) noun.

**Ex:**
- \(a-\) ‘to come’
- \(a+e = awei\) ‘to come’ (infinitive)
- \(lAy ki +a = lAykiya\) ‘girl (long form)’
- \(lAy ka + a = lAykAwa\) ‘boy (long form)’
- \(ja + e = jaye\) ‘to go’ (irregular)

Occurrence of /w/ is more frequent. This may or may not hinder the vowel duration rule. The above examples are given as problem cases rather than mere illustrations.

4. **Occurrence of morphophoneme /h/:**

This is a grammar-oriented change. It occurs (i) when the emphatic or the additive particle is added to a pronoun.

- \(hAm + u = hAmAh\dot{u}\) ‘I too’
- \(t\dot{u} + u = t\dot{u} h\dot{u}\)
- \(u + o = uho\)
- \(i + o = iho\)

The occurrence of this morphophoneme also seems to have an effect on the shape of the allomorph of the additive particle.

- \(u+e = uhe\) ‘he himself (emph.)’
- but \(hAm + i = hAmAh\dot{i}\) ‘I myself’ (emph.)’
- \(t\dot{u}+i = t\dot{u}hi\) ‘you yourself’ (emph.)’

\(Ab + \{u\} = AbAhin\) ‘now too’
The roots $lA$ - ‘to take’ and $dA$ - ‘to give’
take /h/ before the past suffix
\[dA + {l} + As = dehAlAs\] ‘gave (he)’
\[lA + {l} + As = lehAlAs\] ‘took (he)’

4. **Occurrence of allomorphs: patterning:**

There is a regular patterning in the occurrence of allomorphs of the incoming morpheme depending upon whether the initial word is $-c$ ending or $-v$ ending. If the stem is $-c$ ending then the allomorph is of the form $vc$ and if the stem is $-v$ ending then $-c-$. This is a purely phonological rule and extends over the entire grammar.

Example : (i) 
\[lAyka + n = lAykAn\] ‘boys (obl.)’
\[p\tilde{e}D + n = p\tilde{e}Dan\] ‘trees (obl.)’
\[lAyki + n = lAykin\] ‘girls (obl.)’
\[mehAraru + n = mehArarun\] ‘women (obl.)’

(ii) 
\[kaT + {l} + As = kATAlAs\] ‘cut (pst.he)’
\[dekh + {l} + As = dekhAlAs\] ‘saw(pst. he)’

(The irregular verbs are excluded)

(iii) 
\[kaT + {t} = kaTAt\] ‘cutting’ (aspect.)
\[a + {t} = awAt\] ‘coming’ (aspect)
\[kha + {t} = khat\] ‘eating’

6. When two consonants occur in proximity, an euphonic /h/ occurs morphophonemically.

\[uD + gAy l = uD^{i} gAy l\] ‘flew away’
\[kaT + ke = kAT^{i} ke\] ‘having cut’
\[kaT + dehAlAs = kAT^{i} dehAlAs\] ‘cut (other benefactive)’
\[dekh + ke = dekh^{i} ke\] ‘having seen’
7. Release vowels becoming full vowels before the oblique plural suffix /n/.

- **suAri** ‘female pig (a sow)’
- **suAr i + n suArin** ‘female pigs (obl.)’
- **kukkur A + n = kukkurAn** ‘dogs (obl.)’
- **bhAyAh u + n = bhAyAhun** ‘younger brothers’ wives (obl.)’

8. Doubling of consonants: This is a very rare process in Bhojpuri and is grammar oriented. Only the adverbs /Ab//tAb/ and /kAb/ before the emphatic suffix /e/ have their /-b/ doubled.

Ex:

- **Ab + e = Abbe** ‘now (emph.)’
- **tAb + e = tAbbe** ‘then (emph.)’
- **kAb + e = kAbbe** ‘when (emph.)’

These changes seem to affect the shape of the allomorph of the in -coming morpheme.

Note

- **Ab + {u} = AbAhin** ‘now too’
- **tAb + o = tAbbo** ‘even then’
- **kAb+ o = kAbbo** ‘whenever’
4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

4.1.2 NOUN

Bhojpuri nouns belong to one of the two genders – masculine, feminine. The system of gender is not sex-based, but sex plays a part only in the case of animate nouns. Inanimate nouns can be of either gender. It resembles all those Indo Aryan languages like Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati in which languages gender is an inherent feature of nouns. The salient feature of the gender in Bhojpuri nouns is that – (i) it is not predictable from the canonical form of nouns; (ii) the plural suffixes are phonologically conditioned and do not depend upon the gender of the singular noun.

It is predictable, however, when the nouns have extended forms by addition of certain syllables which have semantic significance.

Every noun has two forms- ordinary and extended in the nominative singular. The extended forms are derived from the ordinary forms as follows:

/\A yka / ‘boy’ /I Ayk-Awa /
/beTa/ ‘son’ /beT - A wa/
/siar / ‘fox’ / si A  r – a /

/paDa/ male buffalo calf /pAD - Awa/
/paDi/ female buffalo calf /pAD – iya/

In the general use, ordinary forms are mostly used in isolation or in disconnected sentences while the extended forms are used in discourses and narrative stretches.

The two allomorphs /A wa – a/ occur after masculine singular nouns and /iya ya/ occurs after feminine singular nouns.
Number

In the nominal form plural is not formed morphologically but is periphrastic. A noun \( sAb (h), kul \) meaning all, is added when plural is specifically needed to be indicated in contrasting environments.

Examples:

\[
\text{lAyka} \ a\text{i}l
\]
\[
\text{boy m.sg} \quad \text{come. pst m.sg.}
\]

\[
\text{lAyka} \ sAb \ Ailē
\]
\[
\text{boy all come pst m.p m.sg.}
\]

\[
\text{lAyki} \quad \ a\text{i}l
\]
\[
\text{girl f.sg} \quad \text{come pst. f.sg.}
\]

\[
\text{lAyki} \quad sAb \ Aili
\]
\[
\text{girl f.sg all come pst. f.pl.}
\]

The "v ending nouns become "v ending before \( sAb. \)

The number distinction is relevant only in the oblique cases, when oblique case is formed the morphophonemic changes undergone by the noun stem are strictly phonological and the gender of the noun does not all have any functional value. For the formation of oblique singular and oblique plural only the final phones of the noun is relevant.

\[
\text{Dar} \quad \text{patAr} \quad \text{ba}
\]
\[
\text{branch f.sg. thin to be}
\]

\[
\text{Dari} \quad sAb \quad \text{patAr} \quad \text{baDi}
\]
\[
\text{branch all f. pl. thin to be prcs. F.pl.}
\]
Nouns in Bhojpuri can have the following final phoneme.

Direct singular

Final phoneme

-\(c\)  \(\text{pathAr}\)  ‘stone’  \(\text{pêD}\)  ‘tree’ ,  \(\text{diwal}\)  ‘wall’

-\(i\)  \(\text{jhôpADi}\)  ‘hut’  \(\text{nai}\)  ‘barber’  \(\text{mAnAi}\)  ‘man’

-\(a\)  \(\text{lAyka}\)  ‘boy’  \(\text{mAkADa}\)  ‘spider’

-\(u\)  \(\text{mehAraru}\)  ‘woman’

-\(i\)  \(\text{suAr}\)  ‘she pig’  \(\text{nak}\)  ‘nose’  \(\text{ãkh}\)  ‘eye’

-\(A\)  \(\text{banA}\)  ‘forest’  \(\text{kûarA}\)  ‘young man’

-\(u\)  \(\text{mås}\)  ‘flesh’

-\(A\)  \(\text{giddha}\)  ‘vulture’

-\(â\)  \(\text{kûû}\)  ‘well (water)’

The oblique singular formation is as follows:

(i) The release vowels \(-i\), \(-u\), \(-A\) become full vowels.

(ii) The full vowels are unaffected.

(ii) The \(-c\) ending nouns (which can include collocational feminine nouns) sometimes take an as oblique suffix and some times do not undergo any change. It is not even predictable which-\(c\) ending noun takes \(-e\) and which does not. Moreover, the same noun occurs in either way. There is a strong possibility that standard Hindi
influences the structure of Bhojpuri nouns ending in c. It is only a sub dialectal feature of northern Bhojpuri.

\[\text{ram okAr } -e \quad \text{beTi } \quad \text{se } \quad \text{bhēT } \quad \text{kAylī}\]

Ram III. Sg.obl. gen daughter f. sg. soci meeting do pst I per.

‘Ram met his/her daughter’

\[\text{pēD } -e \quad \text{k } \quad \text{tA } \quad \text{na } \quad \text{moT } \quad \text{moTAhA } \quad \text{n } \quad \text{ba}\]
tree obl.sg. gen trunk m.sg thick indec. is

‘(The ) tree trunk is thick’

The formation of oblique plural nouns is quite regular. The oblique plural suffix \( ((V) n) \) is phonologically conditioned as follows:

(i) After \(-c\) ending nouns \(-A\) \(n\) is the plural oblique suffix.
(ii) \(-A\) \(n\) also occurs after \(-a\) ending nouns and the \(-a\) is lost
(iii) before other \(-v\) ending nouns, the suffix is \(-n\) and the final \(-v\) becomes short before the suffix.
(iv) \(-v\) ending nouns take \(-n\) as the suffix and become \(-v\) ending nouns.

Examples:

\[\text{bakir } \quad \text{jaldi } \quad \text{ye } \quad \text{kAbuttArAn } \quad \text{kA } \quad \text{raja}\]
but soon emph. pigeons obl.pl gen. nom. king

\[\text{bAhut } \quad \text{se } \quad \text{kAbuttArAn } \quad \text{ke } \quad \text{sathe } \quad \text{... } \quad \text{ail}\]
many clitic m.pl. pigeons obl.pl. of. gen. obl. alongwith come pst. m.sg.

‘Very soon (the) king of pigeons came along with many pigeons’

The human numeral classifier \(j\text{Ane} \) ‘persons’ under go no change in obl. plural formation.
we two obl. between justice to become inf. wanted indec.

‘ (There) must be justice for both of us ’

The gerunds take only the oblique singular forms with an-e as the oblique suffix.

forward going from some – not-some surely III sg.

obl.

‘ If we go forward some one will meet(us)’

( jail ‘going’ gerund)

**Gender**

Except in the case of collocational nouns where it is possible to derive the feminine forms from the masculine nouns, the final phoneme of the noun is grammatically irrelevant. As a general rule, non-collocational nouns with specific final phonemes can be deducted as indicators of gender as follows:

(i) the feminine singular nouns have /i/ or /ɨ/ as the final phoneme
(ii) the masculine singular nouns have -c, /u/, /a/ mostly as a final phoneme.

Examples:

/bāḥ/ ‘arm’ (r. sg)
/pīTḥ/ ‘back’ (body part) (f. sg.)
/ThoḌ/ ‘chin’ (f. sg.)
/māṣ/ ‘flesh’ (m. sg.)
/pāẉ/ ‘foot’ (m. sg.)

As regards collocational nouns,

-a m.sg -i f.sg ; -c m.sg -ain, -in,i f.sg

-c m.sg -i f.sg are the most frequent correspondences.
Examples:

- A m. sg. - ini f. sg
  giddhâ ‘vulture’ giddhini ‘she vulture’

- i m. sg. - ini f. sg
  hathi ‘elephant’ hAth –ini ‘female elephant’

- c m. sg. - i f. sg
  banAr ‘monkey’ bAnAri ‘she monkey’

- a m. sg. - i ga f. sg
  cuha ‘male mouse’ cuhiga ‘female mouse’

- a m. sg. - i f. sg
  lAyka ‘boy’ lAyki ‘girl’

- a m. sg. - in, - in i f. sg
  sugga ‘male parrot’ suggi ‘female parrot’

- c m. sg. - ain, - in, - in i f. sg
  pAnDit ‘learned man’ pAnDit –ain ‘pandit’s wife’

sunar ‘goldsmith’ sunar – in ‘sunar’s wife’

nag ‘cobra’ nagin i ‘she cobra’

suAr ‘male pig’ suAr i ‘female pig’

- a m. sg. - ini f. sg
  dulAha ‘bridegroom’ dulAhin i ‘bride’
-i m.sg  -i f.sg

mali  ‘gardener’  mal-in  ‘his wife’

-a m.sg  -in f.sg

jolAha  ‘weaver’  jolAhin  ‘his wife’

Diminutive nouns are formed from masculine nouns. The semantic relationship is the bigger size – masculine; smaller size-feminine

Examples :

-c m. sg.  -i f. sg.

pAhaD  ‘mountain’  pAhaDi  ‘hill’

-a m.sg.  -i f. sg.

pokhAra  ‘(a) big pond’  pokhAri  ‘a small pond’

Formation of cases

The salient features of Bhojpuri system of cases are as follows:

(1) Only one set of case suffixes (with the exception of genitive) cum – post positions is available in Bhojpuri. These occur after the oblique forms of nouns in both the numbers.

(II) The genitive suffix which is indeclinable for gender and number is declined for case and so there are two forms of genitive suffix – nominal genitive and oblique genitive.

(III) The occurrence of homophonous morphemes for various cases is unique in Bhojpuri.
Case markers:

There is only one case suffix which is a bound form. Others are post positions. The post positions have distributional restrictions. Here, the influence of Std. Hindi is keenly felt when alternative forms occur in free-variation. We are first discussing the original system of cases in Bhojpuri followed by the resultant system of cases due to the influence of standard Hindi.

There are only five forms available which perform various case functions.

- *-ke-* accusative / dative
- *-kA* genitive suffix (nominal)
- *-ke-* genitive suffix (oblique)
- *-se-* instrumental / ablative/sociative; post position
- *-e-* location suffix
- *-mē-* locative post position.

The post positions other than these are also used. *pAr* upon, above in the locative sense.

The syntactic functions of the various case suffixes and the postpositions are given below:

Syntactically, the nominative case forms occur as nominal; accusative and dative forms are adjectivals; all other case forms as well as post positions occur adverbially.

Examples:

**Locative –mē**

1. *pe:D ka Tahani mē ego kaRia sap lived*
   tree’s trunk in one black snake rahat rahe
   ‘In a hollow of the tree trunk lived a black snake’

**Ablative –se**

2. *hamanike bagut samay se ihavā lived*
   we long time here rahat rahīja
   ‘We have lived here a long time’
Dative -ke

3. *gummat gumat kaRia sap upar gosalake samne pahunchal*
   
crawl black snake higher nest to closer reached

   ‘The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest’

Genitive –ke

4. *jagam okar pyara dost syar peD ke niche rahat rahe*
   
where his dear friend jackal tree’s under lived

   ‘(where) His dear friend the jackal lived under the tree’

Postpositions

   The genitive oblique forms also occur before the post positions like lAge ‘near’ bhitAr
   ‘inside’ bAhAre ‘outside’ nAjdike ‘near’ etc. all of which occur always in locative case.
   
   okAre bAhAre ‘outside that’
   okAre khattr ‘for his sake’
   tohAre lAge ‘near you’
   hAmAre nAjdike ‘near me’ and so on.

4.1.3 PRONOUNS

   There are five types of pronouns available in Bhojpuri. All of them can substitute for
   nouns and can take case suffixes as well as postpositions. All of them are two-stem nouns-
   Direct and oblique.

Pronominal system in Bhojpuri

   The pronouns in Bhojpuri fall into six groups. They are personal pronouns, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, reflexive and relative.

   The postpositions taken by the pronouns are in some cases similar to those taken by
   the nouns. In the case of pronouns the singular forms behave in a pattern different from the
plural forms in the personal and the demonstrative groups. In all the other cases, there is no number difference. As the behavior of the singular pronouns of all the types is slightly different from that of nouns, the nominative paradigm is given in one place and further discussion is based upon their behavior before post positions.

### Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 per</td>
<td>hAm</td>
<td>hAmAn kĀ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hAmAn pacAn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hAmAn logAn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 per</td>
<td>tū</td>
<td>tohAn logAn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 per. hon :</td>
<td>rAure</td>
<td>tohAn pacan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rAure sAb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Demonstrative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>sg, pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximate</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i sAb (general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i log (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i kul (non-human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>usAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u kulù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u kul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Interrogative:

- *ke* ‘who’? (human)
- *ka* ‘what’? (non-human)
- *kA wAn* ‘which?’

### Indefinite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kehu</th>
<th>‘anyone’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuch⁴</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kAwAno</td>
<td>‘anything’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
apAn ‘self’ (adjective)
khude ‘self’ (adjective)

Relative:
je ‘who?’ ‘which’
te ‘he’ ‘that’

Declensional pattern: with pronouns, three post positions are added with all

accusative / dative :ke
sociative / instrumental / :se
ablative

locative: mê

In the case of genitive, all singular pronouns have special forms for direct and oblique
while the plural pronouns and the indefinite pronoun take the genitive post position / ke /

In forming oblique case again the singular forms follow a pattern different from those
of the plural.

We can divide the entire system into plural and non-plural for the purpose of
decension.

Plural:

All the plural forms are two-stem nouns – nominal and oblique. The 2nd person has
just one form throughout. In forming oblique, 1 person changes the / kA/ to / ke/.

hAmAn  kA nominal hAmAn ke ‘oblique’

When the post positions are added both 1st and 2nd person use the forms hA mA n
logAn / hAmA nacAn and tohAn logAn / tohAn pacAn, as follows:

hAmAn logAn ke / se / mê
tohAn logAn ke / se / mê
hAmAn (logAn) kA - Genitive direct
hAmAn (logAn) ke – Genitive oblique
The demonstrative pronouns have a further oblique form of the singular portion too, as follows.

\[
\begin{align*}
 i & \ sAb \ / \log \ / \ kul^l & e & \ sAbhAn \ / \logAn/ \\
 & & & \kulhin \ ke \ /se/ \ me \\
 u & \ sAb \ / \log \ / \ kul^g & o & \ sAbhAn \ / \logAn/ \\
 & & & \kulhin \ ke \ /se/ \ me \\
\end{align*}
\]

/keh\ / the indefinite pronoun has only one form throughout.

The reflexive adjective has two forms /apAn/ ‘self’ (adj.dir.) and /ApAne/ ‘self’

The 2\textsuperscript{nd} person honorific pronoun has two forms /raur/ genitive / and /raure/ nominative performing multiple functions.

**Singular pronouns**

These show from three to four forms. The salient feature of the singular pronouns is the occurrence of more stamps and also the division of the case suffixes into genitive and other postpositions.

Before the genitive postposition there is a certain amount of uniformity as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Genitive direct</th>
<th>Genitive oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hA m</td>
<td>1 per</td>
<td>hAmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>2 per</td>
<td>tohar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>3 box</td>
<td>ekAr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>3 dist.</td>
<td>okAr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>interro</td>
<td>kekAr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pattern of distribution at syntactic level

The genitive forms of all the pronouns stand in sharp contrast to the other case forms in this distributional pattern. In the case of genitive forms, some syntactic observations are pertinent. The genitive forms occur as attributes in a Noun phrase. When the noun phrase is nominal, the attributes are the direct genitive forms as follows:

- **hA mar** bap ‘my father’
- **tohar** mai ‘your mother’

When the noun heads become case nouns, the attributes become oblique as a structural necessity at the phrasal level as follows:

- **hAmAre** bap *ke sathe* ‘along with my father’
- **tohAre** mai *ke lAge* ‘near your mother’

Further in copular sentences, the oblique genitive forms stand in the ‘have’ type of sentences in the subject position.
The demonstrative pronouns in their adjectival function show the same phrase level behavior as the genitive forms.

\[
\begin{align*}
i \ layka & \quad e \ layka \ ke \quad \text{acc/\text{dt.}} \\
u \ layki & \quad o \ layki \ ke
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
i \ sAb \ layka & \quad i \ sAb \ laykAn \ ke \\
u \ sAb \ layki & \quad u \ sAb \ laykin \ ke
\end{align*}
\]

When \(i \ sAb\) and \(u \ sAb\) occur as phrases then before /ke/

\[
\begin{align*}
i \ sAb \ ke & \quad e \ sAbhnA \ ke \\
u \ sAb \ ke & \quad o \ sAbhnA \ ke
\end{align*}
\]

4.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives in Bhojpuri, except for specific categories are indeclinable. Because of this, when the –a ending declinable adjectives are borrowed from Hindi, they hardly show the feminine form. Only the ordinals up to four and adjectives like ‘lame, deaf, dumb, sick’ applied to humans (sometimes animates) show the masculine vs feminine gender distinction but number distinction is possible. Likewise the relative past participial show gender distinction if the subject is a noun or a demonstrative pronoun.

Examples:

| choTAhA n   | layka | ‘small boy’ |
| dubbAr     | mAnAi | ‘weak man’  |
| lAmAhAr    | pēD   | ‘tall tree’ |
| bADhiyā     | ghoDa | ‘good horse’ |
| etAna jAlDi|       | ‘this fast’ |
| lal         | phul  | ‘red flower’ |
The above are all indeclinables.

\[lAyka \ anhAr \ ba\] ‘the boy is blind’ (m)

but

\[lAyki \ anhAr\i \ ba\] ‘the girl is blind (f)

Number distinction is not possible structurally to be shown in an adjective. However, adjectives like \(pAhil\ ka\) ‘first’ \(dusArka\) ‘second’ show gender distinction as \(pAhil\ ki\) ‘first (f)’ and \(dusArki\) ‘second (f)’.

The relative past participal form shows gender distinction subject to the conditions mentioned earlier.

Example: \[mAnAi \ bAyThAl \ ba\] ‘The man is seated (m)

\[mehAraru \ bAyThAl\i \ ba\] ‘The woman is seated (f)

Comparison

The comparative as well as superlative degree of comparison are periphrastically realized in Bhojpuri comparative degree is shown by using the ablative postposition \(se\) ‘than’ and in the case of superlative degree the word \(sAb\) ‘all’ is proposed to \(se\) ‘than’

\(u \ hAm \ se \ beDAhAn \ ba\)

III sg I than big is

‘ He is bigger than me’ (Literally big than me )

\(u \ sAb \ se \ bADAhAn \ ho \ la\)

III sg all than big be-pre.has –3 m.sg.
‘He is (the ) biggest’ (Literally big than all)

The particle *seis* added to the person or thing to be compared with the subject.

*kulhaDi*  *bhalas*  *sechoTAnba*
axe  spear than  small  is
‘The axe is shorter than the spear’

4.1.5 NUMERAL

The numeral system in Bhojpuri is basically Indo-Aryan. Following Ian Dale (IL 38.2.1977,57-67) it is very close to Hindi-Urdu number system. (Also see Saxena, 1975, 58-59). Dale’s statements being succinct, I am quoting him. “…..the use of combinatory variants of simple number terms is much more wide spread in Indian number system……. Most of the languages on the Indian subcontinent.. make use primarily of a ten-based, or decimal number system…… The Sanskrit number system is apparently quite regular. There is a separate name for each number from one to ten….. For the second group, the word for ‘ten’ is retained and the lesser nine numbers are prefixed to it in turn…… For the names of the decades up to fifty, Sanskrit, ……makes use of an alternative form of ‘ten’; this is preceded by a form of the appropriate simple number,…… At ‘sixty’ there is a break in the formation……… But this is preceded as expected by the simple numbers for the appropriate decades and the structure of the number system continues unaltered to a hundred, past that to a thousand and so on. Numbers within decades are formed by prefixing the simple number to the name of the decade below……. Thus we can see that for numbers up to a thousand, the Sanskrit system is organized on the base ten …. and forms numbers within the second to ninth decades by prefixing ..... the simple term to the name of the decade…

The terminal vocabulary in Bhojpuri has twenty two simple terms as follows:

**Group A:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ek</em></td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>duy</em></td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tin’</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*car’</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 18 terminal terms of both the groups, only /tis/ ‘thirty’ and /asi/ ‘eighty’ have no allomorphs; both belong to Group B. Group A terms have more allomorphs per term compared to Group B. I am giving them in terms of tables for comparative purposes. Group C terms have no allomorphs.

Back counting is prevalent from ‘nineteen’(onAis) to ‘seventy – nine’ (onasi) ; ‘eighty nine’ and ‘ninety nine’ follow normal forward counting pattern. From hundred to thousand and beyond the order of constituents is right expanding upto hundred and the usual 1 to 99 terms are used last, 12,435 barAh (h)Ajar car sAw pAētis.
Ordinals:

From one to four, both the number portions as well as the ordinal suffix are suppletive forms. From five onwards \{Awā\} is the indeclinable ordinal suffix. This formation is again provided in a Table for comparative purposes.

Examples:

- \textit{pAhila} ‘first’
- \textit{dusAra} ‘second’
- \textit{tisAra} ‘third’
- \textit{cAwtha} ‘fourth’
- \textit{pAcAwā} ‘fifth’
- \textit{chAThAwā} ‘sixth’
- \textit{satAwā} ‘seventh’
- \textit{AthAwā} ‘eighth’
- \textit{NAwwā} ‘ninth’
- \textit{dAsAwā} ‘tenth’

Fractions:

There are simple terminal terms as well as compounds.

Simple terms :

- \textit{pAwwa} ‘1/4’
- \textit{Addha} ‘1/2’
- \textit{tisAri} ‘1/3’
- \textit{sAwa} ‘1 1/4’
- \textit{DeDh} ‘1 1/2’
- \textit{ADhai} ‘2 1/2’

The measures ‘quarter’, ‘half’ and ‘3/4\textsuperscript{th}’ When added to numbers above ‘two’, \textit{sAwa} is ‘1/4’, \textit{saDe} is ‘1/2’ \textit{pAwne} is ‘3/4’ as follows:

- \textit{sAwa} \textit{duy} ‘2 1/4’
- \textit{saDe} \textit{tin} ‘3 1/2’
- \textit{pAwne} \textit{duy} ‘1 3/4’
While ‘¼’ and ‘½’ are forward counts, ‘¾’ is ‘back-count’ (less ‘¼’) similar to the ‘nines’ in 19 to 79. All the fractions precede numbers.

**Aggregative:**

Aggregatives are formed by adding suffix {o} to the integrals. It gives a collective sense of participation to the integral.

Ex:  
- duy ‘two’ dun-o ‘both’
- tin ‘three’ tin-o ‘all the three’

### 4.1.6 Classifiers

The numerals have the syntactic function as adjectives. When they occur as adjectives the additional suffixes are necessary as follows:

- Tho ‘classifier added to integrals as ekTho ‘one’, duyTho ‘two’ tinTho ‘three’ and so on.

- jAne ‘person noun classifier is added before animate nouns as duno jAne, tinojAne, caro jAne

Apparently –Tho and –jAne are mutually exclusive in their distribution, which factor has not been fully analysed in this report.

### 4.2 Verb Morphology

#### 4.2.1 Verb

Bhojpuri like any other Indo-Aryan language has majority of the verb roots cognate in form. The processes of derivation of transitive / causative or transitive causative roots too do not differ much from standard Hindi (cf: Saxena, 1975, pp: 65-67). The basic difference which distinguishes Bhojpuri as a language lies in the formation of finite and non-finite verb constructions, periphrastic tense construction, aspectual constructions and the capacity of the finite verb to indicate the gender-number-person distinctions of the subject in all the tenses. Secondly, the dichotomy of transitive and intransitive roots (apart from their semantic role) does not play a serious role at the syntactic level as the sentence level concord in gender-
number-person is always centered in and controlled by the subject or it is an impersonal construction and the object has no grammatical significance.

The details of description are given for bringing out the salient features of Bhojpuri verb rather than for providing a through and exhaustive treatment of all the components that go into a verb. The following four constructions viz. finite verb, non-finite verb, compound verb and verb phrase are structurally described and their syntactic functions are mentioned. The grammatical devices used in the constructions are given predominance, over and above their structural description.

4.2.1.1 Finite verb

A finite verb has the following structure:

verb stem + Tense suffix + GNP marker

Verb stem:

Verb stems are formed from the verb roots when they have to occur before a tense suffix. Depending upon the particular tense suffix occurring, the shape of the verb stems differs. Under a finite verb, we consider the basic as well as derived roots, which have only one root morpheme. This covers the basic roots, which can be inherently transitive or intransitive, and the derived roots, which are causative or transitive.

Tense:

The division is past - present - future with further internal divisions inside past. The past has three different sections indicated by three different structures. We can present the tenses as follows:

- Indicative past
  - Past
    - Simple past
    - Irrealis (subjunctive?)
The indicative past occurs in all persons and numbers and genders and hence it can be taken as the basic past tense in contrast to present and future. This indicative past has a morpheme, \{l\}, which has two allomorphs /Al/ and /l/ phonologically conditioned-and /Al/ occurring after consonant ending stems and /l/ occurring after vowel ending stems.

Examples: *kukkur dAwrAl*

- **dog run-pst-III msg.**  ‘The dog ran’
- **i u kAylAs**  ‘he did this’

The causative stems and stems ending in /a/-i.e. homophonous take /il/

- **u phAr cakuse kATail**  ‘He got fruits cut with a knife’
- **u ail**  ‘he came’

But usually the causative stems are used more as main verbs in an auxiliary verb construction.

Simple past is used in narratives when a past inside past is necessary. In other words, the narrative is in past tense and if a past is needed to be specifically mentioned with a certain amount of duration then the simple past is used. I came across only III person forms in the narrative.
The simple past differs from the indicative past in its structure –

Verb stem + e
+ ū

This resembles a mood construction but only the context makes it clear that it is a tense construction. It is given as it is found in the narrative.

\[ ekTho \quad rAhAl \quad babhAn \]
\[ \text{one class be-pst III m sg Brahmin} \quad \text{‘There was a brahmin’} \]

\[ u \quad roj \quad bhikī \quad maMē \quad a \quad ApAn \quad bal \quad bAccAn \]
\[ \text{he daily alms beg-pst-III m.sg. and self.obl children-obl} \]

\[ ke \quad jiyawē \quad khiyawē \]
\[ \text{acc. idiom. take care – simple-pst III h.m.sg.} \]

‘He used to beg alms and used to look after his children’

\[ ApAne \quad gaŵse \; ja \; rahi \; mē \; ekTho \; jAMMAl \; pADe \]
\[ \text{self obl village from going way obl in one – class forest fall sim. pst III m.sg.} \]

‘There was a forest on the way going from his village’

Present

A simple present tense is morphologically not available in Bhojpuri, except in the case of the substantives verb. It is sort of present which can be interpreted as habitual as it indicates certainly and a usual occurrence. The sense of present is indicated by the (imperfect present) aspectual construction, where necessary. The present morpheme is not segmentable but co-occurs with the GNP markers as they occur only in this tense with a form distinct from other tenses – past and future.

The main difference between the indicative past forms and the habitual present form or a finite verb lies in the verb stems used and the GNP marker in III person. The verb stems
take a formative suffix /e/ in I and III persons. The verb stems take a formative suffix /e/ in I and III persons. In II person the internal juncture /+/ indicated as space has the phonetic equivalent of lengthening the preceding vowel. In all the persons there is a perceptible pause before the present morpheme occurs. As this is a regular pattern available in the language, the examples are provided for the past and the present form side by side for one verb. The /a/ ending stems behave differently from all other stems.

/ rAh - / ‘to be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>past</th>
<th>present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rAh -Al-ê</td>
<td>rAhe lê</td>
<td>I per</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAh -Al-A</td>
<td>rAhA lA</td>
<td>II per m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAh –Al – u</td>
<td>rAhA lu</td>
<td>II per f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAh -Al -ô</td>
<td>rAhe la</td>
<td>III per.m.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAh -Al -i</td>
<td>rAhe le</td>
<td>III per f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAh –Al-As</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>III per sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAh –Al – ê</td>
<td>rAhe lê</td>
<td>III per.m.pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAh –AI – i</td>
<td>rAhe li</td>
<td>III per f.pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(II person non-hon.forms are not given)

(II person hon.forms are similar to I per forms)

/ muska -/ ‘to smile’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>past</th>
<th>pres.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muskAy –l-i</td>
<td>muska lî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muskAy-l-A</td>
<td>muska lA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muskA-l-u</td>
<td>muska lu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muska la</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muska le</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muskAy-l-As</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The root /a/ ‘to come’ (irregular verb) again behaves differently from /a/ ending roots.

The gaps in the pattern need explanation. The language has a pattern in past tense to distinguish the transitive roots from intransitive roots. This is available in the III person forms by the use of specific gender, number, and person masculine singular and feminine singular markers. A rough estimate can be that the transitive roots do not distinguish gender in III person singular but use a neutral /As/ while the intransitive roots can and do distinguish gender and separate forms are available (ex – a – ‘to come’). But a few verbs like rAh – ‘to be’ has both the forms the reason being that it has more functions to perform in the language. Again, an intransitive verb muska – ‘to smile’ behaves like a transitive verb. In contrast, all the verbs – transitive as well as intransitive have a uniform pattern in the present tense. This may have something to do with the historical development of Bhojpuri where morphologically remnants of the transitive – intransitive distinction are available while syntactically they have lost this functional distinction and all the verbs are in active construction. This is one of the very important features, which is salient to Bhojpuri, which needs elaboration.

**Future tense**

Here again Bhojpuri needs a special treatment. The future tense has two morphemes (b) and (i). Though morphologically they are mutually exclusive in that (b) occurs only in I and II person and (i) occurs only in III person, they are closely connected with the gender,
number, and person markers and the verb stem occurring with them. Depending upon the total number of syllables occurring in the future finite verb, there is a uniform patterning of length reduction and morphophonemic changes internally affecting the constituent elements. Further, conditioning factors might have been dropped in I person where no gender, number and person marker is available and a / zero / is a structural necessity.

Example: muska – ‘to smile’

Future

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muska} &\rightarrow \text{ib} - \emptyset & \text{I per} \\
\text{muskAy} &\rightarrow \text{b- A} & \text{II m.} \\
\text{muskAy} &\rightarrow \text{b- } \text{u} & \text{II f.} \\
\text{muska} &\rightarrow \text{i - } \emptyset & \text{III sg.} \\
\text{muskAy - } \emptyset &\rightarrow \text{hAê} & \text{III epi.pl.}
\end{align*}
\]

rootrAh - ‘to be’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rAh} &\rightarrow \text{Ab} - \emptyset & \text{I per} \\
\text{rAh} &\rightarrow \text{Ab- A} & \text{II m.} \\
\text{rAh} &\rightarrow \text{Ab- } \text{u} & \text{II f.} \\
\text{rAh} &\rightarrow \text{i - } \emptyset & \text{III sg.} \\
\text{rAh} &\rightarrow \text{i - } \text{hAê} & \text{III epi. pl.}
\end{align*}
\]

root a – ‘to come’

\[
\begin{align*}
a &\rightarrow \text{ib} - \emptyset & \text{I per} \\
\text{Ay} &\rightarrow \text{b- A} & \text{II m.} \\
\text{Ay-b-} &\rightarrow \text{u} & \text{II f.} \\
a &\rightarrow \text{i - } \emptyset & \text{III sg.} \\
\text{A- } &\rightarrow \text{i - } \text{hAê} & \text{III. epi. pl.}
\end{align*}
\]

Though the phonemic rendering fails to show the loss of length except when qualitative difference takes place as /a/ - /A/; /i/ - /y/. Other phonetic changes are as relevant for the language as any overt phonemic representation.
Gender, number and person markers

Two important factors need to be stated as regards the GNP markers.

(i) In all the three tense – past, present and future, the GNP markers indicate Gender, Number, person of the subject, except in impersonal constructions.

(iii) There are certain inherent limitations as regards the overt presentation of the gender, number and person in different tenses.

As Bhojpuri nouns have two genders and two numbers and the pronouns indicate three persons the GNP markers are available for two genders, two numbers and three persons.

Structurally, the limitations applicable to all the tense are as follows

(i) In I person, it is not possible to distinguish the categories gender and number i.e only one form is available in the place of a theoretical 2 x 2.

(ii) In II person, the category number cannot be indicated and hence only 2 forms- one masculine and one feminine are available.

(iii) Bhojpuri has a gradation of the 2nd person pronouns as ordinary, honorific and non-honorific. It is the ordinary pronoun which shows gender distinction; the non-honorific has one form for both the genders and both the numbers and the honorific form is exactly the form used in I person. Either we can state that the 1st person and 1nd person honorific forms are the same or that they are homophonous. I prefer the first interpretation that in Bhojpuri the forms are exactly the same and not homophonous.

Examples: I am here giving one verb root *rAh* ‘to be’ in one tense – present habitual which has a fair representation of the intersection of gender – number-person. The (past) irrealis form is given when there is any homophonous form in the paradigm, though the concatenation pattern is not the same.
It can be seen from the above paradigm that only in the demonstrative pronoun series the full complement of gender and number is available. It can be further noted that the category of person is inseparable from gender-number in that the gender-number category (which itself is a compound category) is dependent upon the person for deciding the pattern of contention.

The above paradigm in present (habitual) is the most elaborate out of the four sets indicative past, (past) irrealis, present (habitual) and future available in the language for a finite verb. In the other three – reductions and / or sub-categorization of particular markers occur in II and III persons. I person is unaffected (thereby II per. hon. as a corollary) in all the four sets.

The four sets are presented in the same format (Table I) to show the difference in the valence of GNP markers depending upon the tense. The four sets are divided into three groups-past and past irrealise as one group, present and future as one group each. The forms are given as they are without the morphemic cuts except in the case of the present form where the space indicates internal juncture. Wherever a form is not available it is left blank with a hyphen. The main purpose is to show the capacity of the finite verb to show the gender-number-person on a tense axis.
Table I: Finite Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameters Pers./Gen.-num</th>
<th>Past indicative 1 (a)</th>
<th>Past irrealis (subjunctive) 1 (b)</th>
<th>Present (habitual)</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I per.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhAlī</td>
<td>rAhAAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II per. hon.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhAlī</td>
<td>rAhAAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II ordy. m</td>
<td>rAhAlA</td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhAA</td>
<td>rAhAAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhelu</td>
<td>rAhAbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No gender dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhAtA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II non. hon. m</td>
<td>rAhAle</td>
<td>rAhAtu</td>
<td>rAhele</td>
<td>rAhAbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.sg.</td>
<td>rAhAl'</td>
<td>rAhAt'</td>
<td>rAhele</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>rAhAlAs</td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. pl.</td>
<td>rAhAlē</td>
<td>rAhAtē</td>
<td>rAholē</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.pl.</td>
<td>rAhAli</td>
<td>rAhAti</td>
<td>rAhele</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhi hAē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1. In Past tense - indicative.
   - Transitive verbs show only III sg. (gender distinction not found)
   - Intransitive verbs show only III m.sg. and f.sg. (and not the common sg. form).

2. In general the plural forms occur as honorific singular forms too

**Substantive verb**

Three roots, / ba - / ‘to be’; / rAh - / ‘to be, to remain, to stay’ and / ho - / ‘to be, to become’ are conjugated for tense and the structure of a substantive verb is similar to that of a finite verb, viz, Verb Stem + Tense suffix + gender, number and person marker. The difference between a finite verb (FV) and a substantive verb, (St.V) however, lies in the verb stem portion. Depending upon the occurrence of the particular tense suffix the verb stem
differs. I am treating /rAh/-/ as well as /ho/-/ as partial substantives even though they have additional meaning and corresponding forms in some tenses. The three form a network to give substantive meaning in the three tenses as follows: /ba/-/ occurs only in the present tense and its function differs depending upon whether it is the Main Verb (MV) or Second Verb (SV) or Tertiary Verb (TV). When it occurs as the MV it gives the substantive meaning and in addition occur as copula in copular sentences when it occurs as SV, the MV is always aspectual. When it occurs as TV, it is preceded by a compound verb or an Auxiliary Construction and gives an aspectual sense to the whole construction. From Table given below, it can be seen that simple past and simple present tense forms have the structure verb stem, GNP marker. The simple present forms are available only for the substantive verb and not for any other verb. The past and present form of /ho/ ‘to become’ are different from the substantive /ho/-/ has a suppletive stem /bhAy/-/ in indicative past and it has no forms corresponding in the simple past tense.

**Table II : Substantive Verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rAhï</td>
<td>rAhAlì</td>
<td>rAhAtì</td>
<td>baDì · hAì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAlA</td>
<td>baDA</td>
<td>rAhA la</td>
<td>rAhAbA·hokhAbA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAlu</td>
<td>baDu·hAw</td>
<td>rAhe lu</td>
<td>rAhAbu·hokhAbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAtA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAle</td>
<td>rAhAtu</td>
<td>rAhe le</td>
<td>rAhAbe·hokhAbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAl</td>
<td>rAhAt</td>
<td>rAhe la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAñ</td>
<td>rAhAti</td>
<td>rAhe le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhe</td>
<td>rAhAlAs</td>
<td>ba·baDehA hA·hAwe</td>
<td>rAhi · hoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAlê</td>
<td>rAhAtê</td>
<td>bade · hAwê</td>
<td>rAhe lê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhAli</td>
<td>rAhAti</td>
<td>baDì · hAï</td>
<td>rAhe li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rAhê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rAhi hAê hoi hAê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Aspectual construction:

This formally resembles a non-finite + finite verb construction. The non-finite portion indicates aspect – imperfect or perfect and the finite verb is always a substantive. The non-finite portion may contain verb roots which are simple or compound followed by the aspectual suffix.

Form (i) verb stem . Imperfect Aspect suffix + substantive verb

(ii) verb stem + perfect Aspect.suffix + substantive verb

The imperfect aspect suffix is \{t\}. It has a variant /t/ when indicating third person feminine (hum.). The perfect aspect suffix is /l/. It has a variant /l/ when indicating III f.(hum). This applies only when the verb stem is simple. If it is a non-verbal compound then the perfect aspect form is identical with the participial noun and it is in oblique form with an -e ending.

The substantive verb which can occur in simple past, indicative past, simple present and future indicates the tense as well as the gender, number, person of the subject of the sentence.

There are four forms available for the imperfect aspect and two for the perfect aspect as follows:

(a) Imperfect aspect

    Simple past

    Indicative past

    Simple present

(b) Perfect aspect

    Indicative past

    Indicative future

    Simple present

Examples: Only for III person are provided.

(a) u awA-t \(^{(i)}\) rAh - ē / rAh -ē ‘used to come’

    he/she coming (f)
The imperfect aspectual form by itself has other functions in a sentence depending upon its distribution.

\[ \text{awA} \text{-t}^{(i)} \text{rAh -Al / rAh -Al}^{(i)} / \text{rAh - Al-ē/ rAhAl-i/ 'was/were coming'} \]

\[ \text{awA-} \text{t}^{(i)} \text{ ba / baDē / baDi 'is / are coming'} \]

\[ \text{awA-} \text{t}^{(i)} \text{ hoi / hoi he 'will be coming'} \]

(b) \[ \text{aI} \text{-l}^{(i)} \text{ rAh -Al / rAh - Al}^{(i)} / \text{rAh-Al -ē/ rAhAl 'had come'} \]
\[ \text{came (f)} \]

\[ \text{aI} \text{-l}^{(i)} \text{ ba / baDē / baDi 'has come'} \]

The perfect aspectual form when having a compound (non-verbal) base then the form is as follows:

\[ \text{wada kAyl - e rAhAlē} \]
\[ \text{he to promise pfct. Obl be -pst - III m. (hon.)} \]
\[ \text{‘He had promised’} \]
Semantic restrictions are applicable for limiting the type of verb which can occur in a particular distribution. Further, the past irrealis form of the substantive after the perfect aspect form of the verb gives the irrealis meaning.

\[ u \ a i \ -l \ rAhAt\hat{e} \]

He came be-irrealis - III m.sg. (hon.)

‘He would have come’ (but for some contingency)

Verbal categories:

**Mood**

There are two finite moods available in Bhojpuri – imperative mood which has an inherent 2nd person reference and optative.

**Imperative**

There are two imperatives – one which is a sort of command, order or request to be obeyed within a reasonable time and a second imperative which has indefinite future as a reference time. The first we call ‘imperative’ and second ‘future imperative’.

**Imperative: Structure**

Verb base + Imp.sg./Imp. hon.sg. / Imp. Pl.

Verb base + A / Ø  Imperative sg.

\[ a \ -w\ -\ A \quad \text{‘come’} \]

\[ kha \ -\ Ø \quad \text{‘eat’} \]

Future imperative occurs only in singular. It has the future verb stem + (i) \( h \) +A

**ex.**  
\[ a \ - \ ‘to come’ \quad Ay-\ h\ -A \quad \text{‘come (in future)’} \]

\[ ja \ - \ ‘to go’ \quad jAy \ -\ h\ -\ A \quad \text{‘go (” ”)’} \]

\[ kha \ - \ ‘to eat’ \quad khAy \ -\ h\ -\ A \quad \text{‘eat (” ”)’} \]

\[ pAD \ - \ ‘to fall’ \quad pAD \ -ih\ -A \quad \text{‘fall (” ”)’} \]
This is usually a sort of contingence

If /Any time

\[ jo \ kAbbo \ tohAn \ logAn \ kWAno \ mAsibAt \ mē \]
any time you (pl.) any difficulty in

\[ pADihA \ tAb \ AyhA \]
fall in future then come in future

‘In case you have any trouble in future then come (to me)’

\[ tū \ cAhiihA \ tAb \ bat \ i \ mAhi \ hA \]
you wan (in future) then matter accept (in future)

‘ If you want to, then accept it’

**Optative**

This can be called hortative in first person and optative in other persons.

Structure: verb base + person sfx.

This shows no gender difference in any person

\[ hAm \ kWAm \ ‘let me do’ \]

\[ tū \ kWAr \ ‘let you do / you do ’ \]

\[ tē \ kWAr \ ‘let you (non.hon) do ’ \]

\[ u \ kWAre \ ‘let him / her do’ \]

\[ u \ kWAre \ ‘let him / her do (hon.)’ \]
4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

This can be again formally divided into infinite and purposive.

Infinitive:
verb base + e

Purposive:
infinitive + ke

ex: a- a- w-e ‘to come’
    awe – ke ‘to come (for some purpose)

They differ in their pattern of distribution.

Verbal participial

This is syntactically an adverb and indicates the first of two consecutive actions.

This differs from the purposive in the stem used before {ke}

‘ a - ‘to come’ a - ke ‘having come’
kAr – ‘to do’ kA - ke ‘having done’
kAh – ‘to say’ kAh i - ke ‘having said’

As indicated earlier, the purposive as well as the verbal participial suffix are homophonous.

/ ke / only from the verb stems occurring before them can they be distinguished. As they do not occur in the same environment, there is no confusion regarding the two.

ex. dekh – ‘to see’ dekh i ke ‘having seen’ (vb.parti.)
dekhe ke ‘in order to see’ (purposive)
Both are syntactic adverbs; the double infinitive form has additional functions.

\[ hAm \ bAyTh \ i \ ke \ \khat \ baDē \]

I sit-vbl. part. eat Imp asp. - subs. Pres-1.per

‘I, having sit, am eating’

\[ tohĀ \ ke \ bayTheke \ cahē \ kahē \ se \ ki \]

to you (dat.) sit-pur posive must irreg. because that

\[ tū \ thAkAl \ baDA \]

you tired past partici. - subs pres -II m

‘You should sit, because you are tired’

**Gerund**

This is syntactically an abstract noun. Structure: Verb base + \{l\}

Ex:

\[ a \] – ‘to come’

\[ ail \] ‘coming’

\[ kAh \] – ‘to say’

\[ kAhAl \] ‘saying’

**Participial noun:**

The past participial noun is similar to the gerund in form

Structure: Verb base + \{l\}

Ex:

\[ bAyTh \] – ‘to sit’

\[ bAyThAl \] ‘one who is seated’

The main difference is that the gerund does not show gender difference while the participial noun can show gender difference when the person referred to is grammatically in second and third persons as follows:
‘He is seated there’

‘She is seated there’

‘You (mas) are seated there’

‘You (fem) are seated there’

But this is not consistent when the subject is a non-human feminine noun.

‘Whole night the door was open’

Only from the distribution, majority of the cases can be decided as to whether it is a participial noun or a perfect aspect form.

The perfect aspect again has the same structure: verb base + \{l\}

‘He who had sent him inside was sitting silently’

In short \{l\} suffix has a very wide use in Bhojpuri and the categories are not distinguishable with the help of the verb stem occurring before the suffix as the entire forms are homophonouns.

Adjectival usage of participles is very rare in Bhojpuri. When there is such a use the double infinite form is used in the present participial sense.
Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cAleke} & \quad \text{ber} & \quad \text{ek} & \quad \text{gAgAr}a & \quad \text{rupAy}a & \quad \text{dehAlAs} \\
to \text{go} & \quad \text{time} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{bag} & \quad \text{rupee} & \quad \text{give pst.III sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(he) gave (him) one bag full of money at the time of (his) going’.

**Agent Noun:** This has a structure

\[
\text{wala } / \text{wali}
\]

ex: \( a \) - ‘to come’ \quad \text{awewala} \quad ‘coming (m)’

\[
\text{awewali} \quad \text{‘coming (f)’}
\]

But again its distribution is such that it can be treated as an adjectival or modal.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hAmar} & \quad \text{bap} & \quad \text{a bhai} & \quad \text{awewala} & \quad \text{rAhAlê} \\
\text{my father and brother coming one (m.) were}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{bakir} & \quad \text{kehu} & \quad \text{nahê} & \quad \text{ail} \\
\text{but anyone not come –pst-III m.sg.}
\]

‘I expected my father and brother; neither came’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u} & \quad \text{dAwDewala} & \quad \text{rAhAl} \\
\text{he running (m) one was}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He was about to run’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bilar} \quad \text{j} & \quad \text{kudewali ba} \\
\text{cat (f) jumping one (f) is}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The cat is about to jump’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awewala} & \quad \text{mAhina} & \quad \text{sAwAn} & \quad \text{hAe} \\
\text{coming one (m) month Sawan is}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The coming month is Sawan’
\textit{awewali} \quad \textit{mehAraru} \quad \textit{Dher} \quad \textit{kam} \quad \textit{kAri}

coming            woman            a lot     work     do fut.III sg     one (f)

‘The woman who is coming will do a lot of work’

\textbf{Extended constructions:}

Constructions which combine the non-finite and finite forms of verbs have various functions in Bhojpuri. Depending upon the nature of the Main Verb (MV) the Second Verb (SV) and the Tertiary Verb (TV) have co-occurrence restrictions. On the basis of function the SV is divided into Substantive (St.V.) and Auxiliary Verbs. The Substantive Verb always gives rise to an aspectual construction while any other verb can indicate two different functions, one by the MV and the other by the SV. The TV occurs after a compound verb or an aspectual construction.

The Auxiliary Verbs are again sub-divided into reinforcing SVs and modal SVs. Reinforcing SVs semantically reinforce the MV while the Modal SVs change the meaning of MVs. The reinforcing SVs are limited in number and have co-occurrence restrictions as well and these are verbal compound verbs structurally.

On the basis of the order of occurrence MV is called V, SV-V and TV-V. Following D.NS. Bhat (1981) the various combinations are broadly divided into aspectual constructions and auxililary constructions.

\textbf{4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB}

Formation of a causative forms can be done - either a suffix is added to the basic root or the root vowel gets changed. A derived root can have further causative meaning added to it by a second suffix but this semantically brings in another person through whom this action is caused.

Examples:

(A) \quad \textit{cAl} \ - \ ‘go’ (intr.) \quad \textit{cAla} \ - \ ‘drive’ (tr)

\quad \textit{cAlA(w)} a – ‘cause someone to drive (tr.caus.)
*dekh* - ‘see’ (tr.) *dekha* - ‘show’ (tr. caus.)

*dekhA(w) a* – ‘cause someone to show’
(double causative)

### 4.2.1.4 Auxiliary Verb

All constructions of the type $V_1 + V_2 + (V_3)$ are called auxiliary constructions. This naturally excludes the aspectual constructions which though resemble the auxiliary constructions in form have specific limitation in having a separate aspectual form for $V_1$ and the substantive as $V_2$. Further compound verbs which have the $V_1 + V_2$ structure are also excluded, as $V_2$ does not bring about any meaning difference to $V_1$. An auxiliary construction is one in which $V_2$ brings distinct semantic change to $V_1$. Let us first consider $V_1 + V_2$ construction. Only limited number of verb roots occur in the $V_2$ position, but every root has a specific function.

$lAg$ - ‘to attach’ this occurs after the infinitive stem of the main verb ($V_1$) and is always in past tense and the meaning is ‘began’

*ex.*:  
$dekh - e lAgA l$  
to – see  
began  
‘began to see’ (III.m.sg.)

$rAh - e lAg - A l - ẽ$  
to-stay  
began  
‘began to stay’ (III. m.pl.)

Both transitive as well as intransitive roots occur as $V_1$

*cah* - ‘to want’ this occurs after the double infinitive form of $V_1$ and gives the meaning must, should.

*ex.*:  
$ja - y - eke cahi$  
to-go  
‘must go’

$Ana - w- eke cahi$  
to make  
‘must make’

---

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This is an impersonal construction and does not indicate the gender-number-person of the subject.

*pa* - ‘to be available’ This occurs after the inflected stem of *V₁* and gives the meaning ‘be able to’

Examples:

*bAºc pa -ib*

*escape (intr ) be-able to - fut. (I per.)*

‘Shall be able to escape’

*rAºh₁ pAy-b- A*

*stay (intr.) be-able to-fut.- (II.m.)*

‘Will be able to stay’ (II.m.)

*Agor pAwle*

*wait (intr.) be able to-pst-III.m.pl.*

‘Were able to wait’ (III.m.pl.)

Whether *V₂* occurs only in future and past tense or I lack example for the present tense is not clear to me.

*dA* ‘to give’ occurs after the infinitive form of the main verb and gives the meaning ‘permit to’

ex :  
*rAºh - e  dA*  ‘allow .. to stay’ (ordy.imperative)  

to go  give

*ja-y-e  dA*  ‘allow ..... to go’ (ordy. imp.)

to go  give

*a - w - e  dA*  ‘allow ..... to come’ (ordy.imp.)

to come  give
Instead of the ordinary imperative polite imperative or optative GNP maker can occur with \( V_2 \). In the case of optative, the subject is in I or III person and is a form of request, rather than a direct imperative.

\( / dA / \) ‘to give’ has more function, only if it occurs after the infinitive stem of \( V_1 \), the meaning is changed. Other constructions are dealt with elsewhere. \( lA \) ‘to take’ occurs after the stem form of \( V_1 \) and has the meaning ‘self benefactive’ – i.e. for one’s own self.

ex: \( bAna \quad lA \) ‘make (it) for yourself: make yours.

\begin{align*}
\text{make} & \quad \text{take} \\
pAhir & \quad \text{leh} \quad Al \quad i \quad \text{‘wore (it) herself’}.
\end{align*}

\( pAr \) ‘to fall’ occurs after the double infinitive form of \( V_1 \) and gives the meaning ‘has to / had to/ will have to’. If an emphatic particle is added to, \( V_1 \) the force is inevitable and if not obeyed, punishment was certain.

ex. \( khoj \quad eke \quad pAr \quad i \) \text{to search} \quad \text{fall.fut.III sg}

‘Will have to search’

\begin{align*}
\text{aweke} & \quad pAr \quad Al \\
\text{to come} & \quad \text{fall.pst.III m sg.}
\end{align*}

‘had to come’

As these constructions are impersonal, the GNP markers are in III. sg. and the subject is in dative case.

\( sAk \) ‘can’ occurs after the stem form of \( V_1 \) and gives its original meaning as well as the indication of potentiality whether the actual action takes place or not.

ex. \( cAl \quad sak \quad Al \quad A \) \text{walk} \quad \text{to be able} \quad \text{–pst-II m}

‘can walk’ (II m)
4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

*nA ~ jAni ~ mati* occurs before imperative forms

*TokAri kor nA ~ jAni ~ mati dekhA*

book at don’t look

‘Don’t look at the book’

*kulhaDi maTi pAr mAti rakhA*

axe grow on don’t keep

‘Don’t keep the axe on the ground’

*kAwAno cirAi cAwre ke lAge nahī gAyli*

no bird rice near not went

‘No bird went near the rice’

4.2.1.6 Compound verb

By definition this contains more than one root. If all the roots are verbal then it is a verbal compound verb and if one of the initial member is a non-verb then it is a non-verbal compound verb. The verbal compound verb differs from an auxiliary construction in that in a compound verb the main verb has predominance over the second verb. The second verb has a function of intensifying the meaning of the main verb, and in the process loses its original lexical meaning. Unlike an auxiliary construction which is dependent equally upon both the constituents – **MV + SV** for its wholeness, a compound verb is mainly an extended verb and the **SV** is a sort of a “catalyst”. Construction wise, the compound verb has the main verb in stem form without any inflected suffixes. In addition, “certain co-occurrence restrictions” are noticed in a compound verb construction – an intransitive – intransitive or a transitive / causative – transitive combination is the general rule.
Though it is the main verb, which has predominance, it is the second verb, which needs explanation due to its “closeness”.

The following verb roots occur as SV. / a - / ‘to come’ / ja - / ‘to go’, / de - / ‘to give’: / dhAr - / ‘to catch’; / le - / ‘to take’.

Examples:

\[ lAwT ^{1} a-il \] ‘came back’ (III m.sg.)

\[ pAh\nu c \ gAy-l \] ‘reached’ (III m.sg.)

\[ phAy\la \ de-h-Al-As \] ‘spread’ (III sg.)

\[ mar^{-1} \ d(h)Ar - l - e\] ‘beat’ (III m.pl.)

\[ pAkAD^{-1} \ le-h-Al-As \] ‘caught hold of’ (III sg.)

Further pairing of the SVS on semantic grounds is possible.

**Non-verbal compound verbs:**

This group though are treated as compound verbs are similar to MVs in the sense, structurally, the verbal function starts only after the verbal portion is added to the non-verbal first component, as follows:

\[ coT \ lAg \] ‘to get hurt’

hit noun attach

\[ cirAwri \ kAr \] ‘to request’

request noun do

\[ AcAmm\ha \ ho- \] ‘to become astonished’

astonishment noun become
Here, the semantic pairing of the verbal portion is quite transparent wherever such pairing is feasible. The pairs are - / ho -/ and / kAr -/; / bAn -/ and / bAna -/; we are not listing them but are only giving structural clues for an open – end discussion.

Once the verb has been formed, extensions take place on the right hand side, for further semantic shades. The extensions follow the rules applicable to the verbs such as the intransitive – intransitive or transitive –transitive co-occurrence restriction as follow:

- bipAt' pAD - ‘to be in danger’
  danger noun fall

- mar' kha - ‘to get beaten’
  beat noun eat

- mitAu bAn – ‘to become friends’
  friend noun make intr.

- bhArOsA de- ‘to give assurance’
  hope noun give

- jAbab mil – ‘to get answered’ (impersonal)
  answer noun get

They behave like regular verbal compound verbs and further extensions for aspectual meanings are possible.

ex : ga – w–Al bAnn ho gAy-l ba
singing to get closed - is
gerund perfect asp.

‘(the ) singing has stopped’
mehAraru sAb ga-w- Al suru kAr-At baDi
women all singing begin-ing are (III f.pl.)

‘(The ) women are starting to sing’
( Lit : The women are beginning singing)

**Extended constructions of verbs:**

This is the most complicated portion in the entire structure of Bhojpuri. By extended constructions, we not only mean the junctionally verbal categories but also all the constructions like gerund, relative participials, infinitives which function as adverbials, adverbial participials which are verb-based. As the forms and functions of the Bhojpuri verbs are diverse and hence complex, we are giving the structural description of various formations but divide them into verbal and non-verbal categories. The resulting verbal categories likewise have non-verbal components which get transformed into verbal categories by the addition of specific verbs, - e.g. nominal compound verbs which have nouns or adjectives as the first component and specific verbs like kAr - ‘to do’; ja – ‘to go’ and ho ‘to become’ as the second component. This is quite a productive process of derivation of a verbal categories from a non-verbal category. The verb’s function starts only after the verbal portions are added to it.

The substantive verb, though resembles a finite verb in structure has an altogether different functional load. Due to its varied functions, it has been treated separately after the finite verb.

The extended verb constructions, which are wholly made of verbs, have a non-finite verb as a first member. In Bhojpuri the forms and functions of a non-finite verb are again quite complex.
To add to the functional complexity, the formal simplicity is achieved by the use of homophonous suffixes in the same environments e.g. \((l)\) is the suffix for gerund, relative participial, past tense, perfect aspect, to state a few, needs extra care on the part of the analyst.

The discussion of the extended verb constructions is divided into two parts – non-verbal and verbal categories functionally. The non-verbal as well as verbal categories have finite and non-finite forms, structurally. For the sake of convenience, simple forms are first discussed followed by extended constructions.

4.2.1.7 PASSIVE FORMATION

1. Compound verb constructing with a causative root + auxiliary – gAyl

\(b\text{Acca ghoDa ke piThi pAr se phēka gAyl}\)

child horse’s back out thrown

‘The child got thrown out of the horse’s back’.

2. The predicate contains of a gerund + aux.

1. \(sara rati duar khulA rAhAl\)

whole night door open was kept

‘The door was open the whole night’.

2. \(TaMi TuTAli ba\)

axe broken

‘The axe is broken’

3. \(hAm mari khAy lī\)

I beaten got

‘I got beaten’.
4.2.1.8 TRANSITIVITY

TuT – ‘to be broken’ (intr.) toD – ‘to break’ (tr.)

dAb - ‘to be pressed’ (intr.) dab – ‘to press’ (tr.)

kAT – ‘ to be cut’ (intr.) kaT – ‘to cut’ (tr.)

kATa - ‘to cause someone to cut’ (tr. - caus.)

The suffix added is /a/ for first derivation and /A(w)a/ for the second derivation.

Examples:

\[
\text{kukkur } \text{hAmke } \text{kATAlAs} \quad \text{‘The dog bit me’}
\]

dog I-acc bite-pst.III.sg.

\[
\text{phAnna } kA \text{Tga} \text{yl } b \text{a} \quad \text{‘The snare is cut off’}
\]

snare cut (intr.) go-pst-is

root –kaT -transitive

\[
\text{musAwa } \text{phAnna } kAT^{3} \text{ dehAlAss} \quad \text{‘The mouse cut off the snare’}
\]

mouse snare cut (tr.) give-pst-III sg.

\[
\text{hAm } bAc^{I} \text{ Aylē } hAį \quad \text{‘I have escaped’}
\]

I save (intr.) come-pst-1 per am

\[
\text{hAmke } bAcawA \quad \text{‘save me’}
\]

I-acc save (tr.)-imp.sg.
4.2.2 ADVERB

As an operative definition, “Adverbs are a class of words which occur as attributes to verb phrases” .. Adverbs can be divided into basic and derived types. The derived type acquires adverbial function syntactically and is morphologically derived from other parts of speech like nouns and verbs, or, the case nouns other than accusative/dative and genitive are all adverbials. The verb-based adverbials derived from the verbs are discussed under verb morphology. In this chapter, basic adverbs are discussed. “Semantically, the class includes, adverbs of place, time, manners answering the questions where, when and how respectively” (ibid.)

The system of adverbs in Bhojpuri is basically Indo-Aryan in nature (cf. Kellogg, 1875,1955, 373- ). Adverbs of place, time and manner can be pronominal or case nouns. Miscellaneous adverbs are functional modifiers of verbs and many of them are borrowed in Bhojpuri through Urdu and Hindi.

The adverbs are presented in four groups.

Adverbs of (i) place:

ihAwã ~ ihã ‘here’
uhAwã ~ uhã ‘there’
KhAwã ~ kAhã ‘where?’
jAhã ‘where (relative)
tAhã ‘there (relative)’
*bahAr ~ bAhAre ‘outside’
bhitAr ~ bhitAre ‘inside’
lame ‘far’
nAjdik (e) ‘near’
tAr (e) ‘under’
upAr ‘above’
nice ‘below’

The postposition / se / in the ablative sense can be added to the above adverbs.
ihā | se | ‘from here’

upAr | se | ‘from above and so on.

(ii) time:

\[ Ab \quad ‘now’ \]
\[ tAb \quad ‘then’ \]
\[ kAb \quad ‘when’ \]
\[ jAb \quad ‘when’ (relative) \]
\[ tAb \quad ‘when’ (relative) \]

\[ ek \quad din \quad ‘one day’ \]
\[ aj\textsuperscript{u} \quad ‘to day’ \]
\[ kalh\textsuperscript{i} \quad ‘yesterday’ \]
\[ bihan \quad ‘tomorrow’ \]
\[ roj \quad ‘every day’ \]
\[ pichAla \ hApta \quad ‘last week’ \]
\[ awewala \ hApta \quad ‘coming week’ \]
\[ Agila \ hApta \quad ‘next month and so on’ \]
\[ bhore \quad ‘early in the morning’ \]

All time nouns behave as time adverbs.

(iii). Manner:

\[ AysAn \quad ‘like this’ \]
\[ oysAn \quad ‘like that’ \]
\[ kAysAn \quad ‘how’? \]
\[ jAysAn \quad ‘how (relative)’ \]
\[ tAysAn \quad ‘like that (relative)’ \]
dhire  ‘slowly’

tej  ‘fast’

jAl-di  ‘quickly’

nouns with / se / in the instrumental sense occur as manner adverbs

jor se  ‘loudly’ (with loudness)

tejise  ‘speedily’ (with speed)

dhire se  ‘slowly’

Miscellaneous:

jArur  ‘certainly’

khatir  ‘for’

lAgbhAg  ‘near about’

(iv). Direction:

There are a pair of adverbs indicating direction:

čhAr  ‘in this direction’

ōhAr  ‘in that direction’

čhAr ōhAr  ‘in all the directions’

There is a word / ohija / ‘there’ used when the action is contextual in narration. It is possible to add the genitive post position /kA / ‘of’ to some of the adverbs mentioned above:

ihā  kA  ‘of this place’

kAlhiyā  kA  ‘of yesterday’
4.2.3 Particle

These are by definition indeclinable and their main function is grammatical. These can be equated to the ‘function word’ of Mahapatra (cf. 1979, 196) and ‘markers’ of Hockett (cf.(1958), 1963, 153).

The particles are “divided into groups according to their syntactic usage” (Mahapatra, Ibid). In Bhojpuri, however, some particles operate only inside simple sentences and some occur at phrase level as well as clause level. Some occur at clause and discourse level.

The following particles occur inside simple sentences: emphatic particles, additive particles and compound post positions while the compound post positions are added to nouns only. (cf. Fairbanks and Misra, 1965, 61), the emphatic particle and the additive particle can be added to any component of a sentence.

(i) Emphatic particle :{i} / i - e/

This is restrictive in its nature by isolating the component with which it is added. The allomorphs are grammatically conditioned. /e/ occurs mostly with the time adverbs /Ab/ /tAb/ and /kAb/ etc.

/Ab/ + e Abbe ‘now itself’

tAb + e tAbbe ‘then itself’

kAb + e kAbbe ‘when itself (means a long time back)

turAnt + e turAnte ‘immediately (emph.)

hAmar + e hAmAre* ‘my (emph.)

Elsewhere / i / occurs.

ihā i ihī ‘here itself’
tū i tūhi ‘you (emph.)
Morphophonemic changes are dealt with under morphophonemic rules.

(ii) Additive particle: \( \{u\} / u-o/ \)

Semantically this particle gives the meaning ‘also, too’ to the component with which it is added. I am not able to give the exact conditioning for the occurrence of allomorphs due to their sporadic nature. I am just listing them for the present.

\[
\begin{align*}
Ab + \{u\} & \quad AbAhin \quad \text{‘now too’} \\
tAb + o & \quad tAbbo \quad \text{‘even then’; ‘then too’} \\
jAb kAb + o & \quad jAbkAbbo \quad \text{‘any time too’} \\
kAwAn + o & \quad kAwAno \quad \text{‘any’} \\
i + o & \quad iho \quad \text{‘this too’} \\
kAwwo + o & \quad kAwwo \quad \text{‘the crow too’} \\
kAchuwA + o & \quad kAchuwAo \quad \text{‘the tortoise too’} \\
hArAna + o & \quad hArAnAo \quad \text{‘the stag too’} \\
hAm + u & \quad hAmAh\ddot{u} \quad \text{‘I too’} \\
tu + u & \quad tu\ddot{u} \quad \text{‘you too’} \\
\text{tohar} + u & \quad \text{tohArAh}\ddot{u} \quad \text{‘your too’} \\
kAh\ddot{a} + u & \quad kAh\ddot{u} \quad \text{‘anywhere’} \\
ke + u & \quad kehu \quad \text{‘anyone’}
\end{align*}
\]

The morphophonemic /h/ occurring with pronouns and the doubling of /b/ in the time adverbs are dealt with under morphophonemic rules.

One salient feature of Bhojpuri is, when the emphatic and additive particles are added to periphrastic constructions like case nouns and plurals, the particles are added to the first portion of the phrase as follows:
Compound postpositions

Some of the adverbs (mostly of place) occur as further postpositions (in addition to the simple ones which give the semantic sense of case). The distributional restriction is, however, applicable that these postpositions can occur only after the oblique (genitive) form of nouns, and are invariably in the locative case.

(OkAre) sathe ‘along with (him)’
(jal) sAhitte ‘together with (the net)’
(hAmAre)sAMe ‘with (me)’
(hAmAre) lAge ‘near (me)’
(pẽDe ke)/pẽDe lAge ‘near the tree’
(pAthAre) tAre ‘under the stone’
(pAthAre) nice ‘below the stone’
(Al) le ‘until (now)’
(pẽDe) pAr ‘above / upon (the tree)’
(Ayle ke) pAhile ‘before (coming)’
(sikari ke) bare mê ‘about (the hunter)’
(okAre) ba(e)(mê) ‘after (that)’
(yAhi) kor ‘towards (this place)’
Those particles which connect syntactic units of equal status or add any emphasis to one of the units can also occur at clause level. Even though they occur at the component level of a sentence, they are sentence level particles at the deep structure. These particles further differ from the earlier discussed ones in that, they are independent of the components or clauses.

\[ tA \sim \text{‘indeed’} \]
\[ u \text{ te tuTA}^i \text{‘it is indeed broken’} \]
\[ u \text{ te} \sim tA \text{ ekTho bAgAyca hAwe‘It indeed is a garden’} \]
\[ jo \text{‘if’} \]
\[ jo \text{ bihan pani bArși hAm nahī jaib‘If it will rain tomorrow, I shall not go’} \]
\[ bakir‘but’ \]
\[ pAhile te musAwa Deraǐl \text{ bakir .... raji ho gAyl} \]
\[ ‘First indeed the mouse was frightened but … agreed’ \]
\[ tohar ghoDa tA bADhiyā ba \text{ bakir hAmar sAb se bADhiyā ba} \]
\[ ‘your horse is indeed good but mine is the best’ \]
\[ bha ‘or’ \]
\[ tej bhAyl bADhiyā ba bha bADAhAn bhAyl \]
\[ ‘Is it good to be fast or to be big?’ \]
\[ hAm bha u Ayle ke ba \]
\[ ‘Should I or he should come?’ \]
\[ tū awA bha oke awe dA \]
\[ ‘You come or let him come’a ‘and’ \]
\[ tū a hA m Aylī \]
‘I and you came’

tohāsē a tohāre bhai se milāb
I shall meet you and your brother

ki ‘that’
u kAhAlAs ki tū nahi A ylA
‘he said that you did not come’

/ jo / and / ki / are subordinators
/ bakir / / bha / and /a / are coordinators.

4.2.4 ECHO WORD/REDUPLICATION

Echo word

e-becomeswo- in the echo word formation. Example:

ene wonē ‘here and there’
here there

Reduplication

keke ‘to whom’
caca ‘father’s brother’
mama ‘uncle’
hoTe choTe ‘little’
gummat gummat ‘crawled’
pusur pusur ‘whispered’
dhire dhire ‘slowly’
SYNTAX

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The order of words in a sentence in Bhojpuri is as follows:

Subject + Object + Verb
S O V

Aw rAt jArAwni bATorAti ba
woman fire wood acc. gathering is
Subject Object Verb

AwrAt - subject
woman

jArAwni - object
fire wood acc.

bATorAti ba - Verb
gathering is

Other example:

u hAmke dAkhAt ba ‘He is seeing me’
he me seeing is

Noun phrase

Simple NP

ek Tho mAnAi ‘One man’
one man
$bAhut \; mAnAi$ ‘many men’
many men

$kukkur \; ke \; pōch$ ‘The dog’s tail’
dog’s tail

$bADAhAn \; lAy \; ka$ ‘big boy’
big boy

Expansion

$ek\; Tho \; bADAhAn \; layka$ ‘One big boy’
one big boy

$apAn \; apAn \; TaMi$ ‘Axe of each one’
self self axe

The qualitative adjective immediately precedes the noun.

$haMar \; i \; duyTho \; ujjAr \; kApADa$ my this two white clothes

If genitive suffix ke occurs then the whole genitive phrase occurs as a head.

$ek\; Tho \; bArgAd \; kA \; pēD$ ‘One banyan tree’
one banyan tree

$i \; ek\; Tho \; bAdAhAn \; bArgAd \; kA \; pēD$ ‘This is one big banyan tree’
this one big banyan of tree
Coordinate Noun Phrase
1. \( k\text{AbuttAr} \quad raja \quad a \quad mus \)
   pigeon  king  and  mouse
   ‘The pigeon king and the mouse’

2. \( ek\ Tho\ siar, \ ek\Tho\ k\text{Awwa} \ ek\Tho\ \text{s}\text{ap} \ a \ ek\To\ \text{keyath} \)
   one  jackal  one  crow  one  snake  and  one  kayasth
   ‘One jackal, one crow, one snake and one kayasth’

Coordinate Adverb phrase

   \( h\text{Am} \ jaldi\ jaldi\ jat\ \text{baDi} \)
   I  hurriedly  go  pres.con.
   ‘I am going hurriedly’

   \( jat\ jat\ \text{rahi} \ m\text{e} \ ek\To\ \text{JamMaI} \)
   going  while  one  forest
   ‘While going, a forest happened to be on the way (bit a forest fell)’

Subordinate Type

Adverbiaal Phrase

Type I with –\textit{me} as head

   \( d\text{Akhin} \quad \text{me} \)
   south  with
   ‘In south’

   \( Tho\text{Dka} \quad der \quad m\text{e} \)
   after
   ‘After some time’
with –e locative suffix as head

\[ \text{ek} \quad \text{din} \quad \text{bhor} \quad –e \]
one day morning loc.suffix
‘One day early in the morning.’

\[ \text{jhil} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{kinur} \quad -e \]
lake’s bank on
‘On the bank of the lake’s.’

with –\text{pAr} ‘on, at upon’ as head

\[ \text{wAhi} \quad \text{pêDe} \quad \text{pAr} \]
same tree upon
‘Upon the same tree’

Type II with \text{khâtir} ‘for’ as head

\[ \text{khaye} \quad \text{khâtir} \]
good for
‘For good’

\[ \text{hAmAre} \quad \text{khaye} \quad \text{khâtir} \]
my for good
‘For my food’

\[ \text{pAkADe} \quad \text{khâtir} \]
catch for
‘In order to catch.’
Type III  The verbal participial form as head.

\[ \text{AFAne } \text{cõc } \text{mē } \text{dabi ke} \]

His(pp phrase) beak taken

‘Having taken in his beak.’

\[ \text{jali } \text{sA hitte } \text{uDAt } \text{dekhi ke} \]

net along with flying seen

AP (verb based)

‘Having seen (them) flying, taking along the net’

\[ \text{ekTho pokAri ke } \text{kinare } \text{jake} \]

a pond’s bank having gone

‘Having gone to the bank of a pond.’

(Locational ad. P)

Adjective phrase

\[ \text{bADAhAn } \text{lAyka} \]

big boy

‘Big boy.’

\[ \text{i } \text{bADAhAn } \text{lAyka} \]

this big boy

‘This big boy’

\[ \text{ek Tho } \text{bADAhAn } \text{lAyka} \]

one big boy

‘One big boy’

\[ \text{i } \text{ek Tho } \text{bADAhAn } \text{lAyka} \]

this one big boy

‘This one big boy.’
bahut bADAhAn lAyka
very big boy
‘Very big boy.’

i bahut bADAhAn lAyka
this very big boy
‘This very big boy.’

ek Tho bahut bADAhAn lAyka
one very big boy
‘One very big boy.’

Infinitive phrase

sAbjAne uDi cAleke cahī
al fly go away must
‘All must go away flying.’
(Lit. all to go flying must)

hAmmAn ke himmAt nahī hareke cahī
we courage not lose should
‘We should not lose courage.’

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Declarative

hAm jat baDi
I go pre.cont.
‘I am going’

AwrAt jArAwni bATorAti ba
Woman
‘The woman is gathering firewood’
u a hAmke dehAt ba
he me seeing
‘He is seeing me’

u a turAntemarisAkAtrAhAl
he instantly killed
‘He might have killed instantly’

**Imperative**

(tū) awd
you come
‘you come’

(rawre) aĩ
please come
‘Please come’

kulhaDi maTi pAr rakhO
axe earth upon keep
‘Keep the axe upon the earth’

oke bhat khiyawd
him rice feed
‘Feed him (with) rice’

hAmAre khatir duyTho bADhiyā kukkur le awA
me for two good dogs bring
‘(please) bring two good dogs for me’

**Interrogative type**

ka tū roj jat baDA
int.mark you daily going
‘Are you going everyday’?
‘Will you two go next month’?

‘Did your father see you in the village’?

‘Who is your father’?

‘whom did you see’?

‘What did he say’?

‘Where is your mother’?

‘When did you come’?

‘Nowhere is found anything to eat’
Reflexive

/khuda/ and ApAne are used to indicate reflexive meaning in sentences.

hAmke khude coT lAg gAyi
I myself hit
‘I hit myself’

tū ApAne ke khude coT lAgā lehAIA hA
you yourself hurt have
‘You have hurt yourself’

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

Simple
A simple sentence may consist of a noun phrase or adjectival phrase and link verb.

u ekTho mAnAi hAe
he one man is
‘He is a man’

u hAmar gay hA
that my cow is
‘That is my cow’

lAyka moT ba
boy fat is
The boy is fat

A simple sentence may be extended as the following:

dAkkhin mē ek sAhAr ke lAge ek ghĀna jAMMAI mē ekTho
south in one city near one thick forest in one
bArgAd kA pēD rAhAl
banyan tree was
‘In south, near a city, in a thick forest (there) was a banyan tree’

Complex

sikari ke dekhi ke kAwwa sōce lAgA
hunter seeing on crow think began
‘On seeing the hunter the crow began to think’

jo u gāw mē hoi hAē tAb hAm unse milAb
if he village in is available the we him meet
‘If he will be in the village, we will meet him’

Compound

/a/ and is the additive particle used to co ordinate two or more than two classes.
Example is cited below :

sikari bArgA de lAge pAhūcAl a okAre nice jaľ phAyIa
dehAlAs
hunter banyan near reached and that below net spread

a caur chiTi dAhAlAs a kuch‘ dur jake aDese dekhe lAgAl
and rice sprinkled and little distance from hiding see to began

‘The hunter reached near the banyan (tree) and spread the net below that and sprinkled the rice and having gone a little distance began to see the (net) from hiding’
TEXT

I.
kaise kawwake aurat marali koRia sapke
How crow hen killed black snake

ek bargatu peD par anek Taka ni pa ego kawwa aur okor
one banyan tree many branches one crow and his

aurat rahat rahe. okor goslane choTe choTe car anDa rahe
wife lived their nest little four egg were

jekar mai bap baNiyase dekh bhal korat rahan.
which parents great guarded care

peD ka Tahanime ego koRia sap rahat rahe
tree’s trunk in one black snake lived were

jegarase kawwa pariwar bagut Darat rahe.
whom crows family greatly fear past

pratyakbar kawwa ke aurat anDa deli a koRia sap
everytime crow hen egg laid that black snake

gummat gummat upare gosaleme jala aur okaraka khajala
crawled up nest to went and them ate

“Among the spreading branches of a banayan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow –hen. In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care. In a hollow of that tree – trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly. Every time the crow – hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate the up”.

II.
yadi koRia sap abu ki be hamar aNDa khaito toDa
If black snake also my egg eat any
“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband”.

III.

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband”.

III.
“We have lived here a long time. I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,” said the crow. While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in the nest trying to protect their eggs. The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.”

“‘I must find a way to try this murderous snake’.”
V.
okar aurat dukhi hoke kaheli okarase
his wife desperately said him

kaise laDal jayi? okor bi:s lagite marjayimja
how fight his sting so deadly

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly, said his wife in despair”.

VI.
kono bat nai khe, hamar priye, hamara bhi ego dost ba joki
worry no my dear I also one friend have who

jagarila sapke mareke catir ha kawwa kahalek aur u uDke samne
poisonous snake murder plan has crow said and that flew near

dōsar pēD bhi pahunchal jagaM okar pyara dost syar
another tree reached where his dear friend jackal

pēD ke niche rahat rahe.
tree’s under lived

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cuning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal”.

VII.
jabu syar sunela ki sap aNDa khaise
when jackal heard snake egg how

khala to kōhaila “amar dost u krod aur duS’T
ate said my friend those cruel and greedy

admi ke anth hamesa kharap hola.
people end always bad
mat Daro, hamara bhi pohile se okara ke
no fear I already him

mare ke upay soch lele bani.
kill plan thought

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end. Have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

VIII.
acha ka ha hamara se koha kawwa kohaila.
tell what oh me tell crow said

tob syar ene wone koi hamni ke bat sunat
then jackal here there anyone our talk hear

nai ke dekh ke sapke mare ke ka koreke chahi tab pusur pusur
no see snake destroy what do should whispered

kaheila.kawwauDke apon aurat bhi jala aur
crow flew their wife went and

okkarake ka upay ba battawela.
his what plan told

i baRa khatharnak ba kawwa kahela. hamnike
this rather risky crow told we

bahut sator raheke paRi.
very careful have to
“Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow. Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. “It is rather,” said the crow”. “We’ll have to be very careful”.

IX.

ham apon anDeke bachawe khatir kucho
I my eggs save for any this

karam kawwake aurat himmat banke / harke kahalak.
will do crow hen bravely said

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely”.

X.

us rajyá ke rajake raj mahol ke taraf uDal.
that country king’s palace towards flew

u jawan pêD me rahat rahe raj mahol se dur na rahe. raj mahol ke
this tree live palace from distance no palace’s

garden reached where royal ladies all pond in

nahat rohi. pokar ke upar sona ke sikari har
bath taking pond up gold chain necklace

aur Dher sa:ra gahana rakdelija.
other jewelaries laid

kawwake aurat nicchey uDke ayi chôch me sona ke
crow her down flew beak gold

sikari lekar aur dhire dhire jawan peDme rahat rahe
chain took and slowly this tree lived
“So off they flew towards the place of the king of the country. The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid to their golden chains, pearl necklaces
and other jewellery on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived. When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree. One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there. With one hard stoke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake”.

XI.

*okkara bat kawwa aur kawwake aurat kusise u peD me*

afterwards crow and crow’s wife happily that tree in

*rahela aur Dher kawwake choTe choTe bacche rahela.*

lived and many crow little babies had

“The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows”.

“
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