

Some Aspects of Jad: An Endangered Language

Dr. Kavita Rastogi
Prof. & Head
Dept. of Linguistics
University of Lucknow
krastogi1960@gmail.com

Dr. Sumedha Shukla
Research Assistant
Dept. of Linguistics
University of Lucknow
@gmail.com"sumedhashukla7@gmail.com

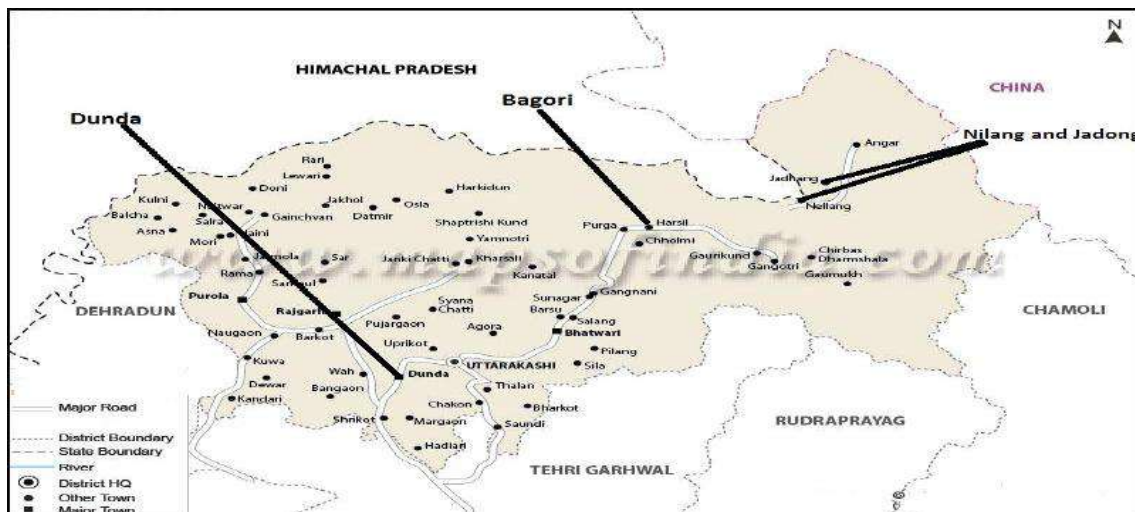
Ajay Kumar Singh
Research Student
Dept. of Linguistics
University of Lucknow

ajay.linguistics@gmail.com

Introduction

The UNESCO Atlas of World’s Languages in Danger 2010 lists around 2,500 endangered languages around the world and our country India tops the list with 197 endangered languages and unfortunately Jad (jda ISO 639-3) is one of them. Its alternate names are **JaaR, Jadh, Rongpa, Rongma, Rongba, Ddad** and **Bhotia**. Jad is an ethnonym, as it is used for language as well as for the community. According to the linguists Jad is a variety of Central Himalayan language of Tibeto-Burma family which is spoken in the hill area of Uttarkashi district of the state of Uttarakhand. Some scholars opined that it is very similar to Spiti Bhoti [spt] that is spoken in Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti district of Himanchal Pradesh.

The Jads live spatially at the borders of India and Tibet (now under Chinese occupation) in District Uttarkashi and culturally at the borders of Buddhist Tibet and Hindu India. The Jads are not legally recognized as having a separate identity, and in official records as well as in much popular discourse they are simply called “Bhotiya”. Historically, they used to reside in the Nilang and Jadong vallies situated at the bank of Jad Ganga in Utrtrakhand near the Tibet border. After the Indo- China war in 1962, the community shifted to Bagori village which is near Harsil. Presently their original place is occupied by the Indian Army and the whole community in winter season stays in Dunda whereas in summer season they go to Bagori which is situated at higher altitude.



(Map of Uttarakhand State)

According to Ethnologue in 1977 their population was 300. The census of India does not count them separately because their total population is less than 10 thousand. During the field work we met Mr. Bhawan Singh Rana, Sarpanch/ Pradhan (headman) of Bagori village, who informed us that there are 1009 voters in his village and the population of Jad community is around 2500 in 400 families.

We noticed that the whole community is either bilingual or multilingual. Most of them speak Garwali and Hindi fluently. It is alarming that several younger speakers do not speak Jad at all. Those who use it speak a highly mixed variety. The data for this paper was collected during the work under the SPPEL project. The objective of present paper is to throw light on the Gender, Number, and Person (GNP) system of this endangered language.

1. Gender

Jad exhibits natural gender only, there is no grammatical gender. Apart from noun this category is not represented by any other word class in Jad. Natural differences in gender may be expressed by different words in human nouns such as –

Jad	English
/tu/	son
/pō/	daughter
/mi/	man
/pobi/	woman
/aj/	elder brother
/i:/	elder sister
/no/	younger brother/sister
/ā:/	mother
/aba/	father
/u:/	uncle
/ātsokta/	aunty

In this language inanimate nouns are not marked with any gender marker. Animate nouns can be classified into human and non-human categories. Non-human category nouns take /ma/, /mo/, /mɔ/ as the feminine marker and /p^ha/, /p^ho/, /p^hɔ/ as masculine marker. For example –

Jad	Gender	English
p ^h ɔbe	M	animal
mɔbe	F	animal
p ^h ogi	M	Pup
mogi	F	Pup
p ^h ɔre	M	lamb
mɔre	F	lamb

In some non-human animate words these markers are not found and they use same word for both masculine and feminine non-human animate nouns, such as -

Jad	English
pufi	cat
pja	rat

As mentioned above the markers / **ma-**, **p^ha-**, **p^ho-**, **mo-** / etc. are conjugated with non-human animate nouns and it is interesting to note that the very same markers are affixed with some human nouns also. They use these markers with words like step father, step mother and widow or widower. These words are not very acceptable in Jad society and they are used in derogatory connotation. For citation-

Jad	English
majərma	step mother
p ^h ajərma	step father
p ^h ora	widower
moraŋmu	widow

2. Number

Jad has three way number contrasts for nouns representing animate referents i.e. singular, dual and plural. The dual marker suffix has two variants /**ẽ** and **e**/ which are conditioned on animacy. The marker /**ẽ**/ is used with animate nouns whereas /**e**/ is used with non-human and inanimate nouns. To denote plurality the dual marker is added in the base form and then another marker is conjugated (**base + ẽ / e + gun/roppe**). Consider the following –

Singular		Dual		Plural		
				More than two	All	
tu	‘boy’	tuẽ	‘two boys’	tuẽgun	tuẽ roppe	‘many boys’
põ	‘girl’	põẽ	‘two girls’	põẽgun	põẽ roppe	‘many girls’
ta	‘horse’	tae	‘two horse’	taegun / tagun	tae roppe / ta roppe	‘many horses’
k^hi	‘dog’	k^hie	‘two dog’	k^hiegun / k^higun	k^hie roppe / k^hi roppe	‘many dogs’

We have found an interesting phenomenon regarding the use of /**roppe**/. As the above table shows though this word is used to denote plurality yet simultaneously its usage signifies that the speaker is including ‘himself / herself’ (inclusive) in the group he is talking about where as when the speaker does not want to include himself he/she uses /**gun**/.

In this language inanimate nouns have only two forms -Singular and Plural. Singular inanimate nouns are always unmarked whereas to denote plurality /-e/ marker is added. Thus /-e / is a

homophonous marker which reflects duality with animate nouns and plurality with inanimate nouns.

Singular		Plural	
nəl	‘wool’	nəle	‘wools’
tʰagba	‘rope’	tʰagbae	‘ropes’
noʃi	‘utensil’	noʃie	‘utensils’

Apart from this they also use independent words /*bidʒəna maŋbo*/, /*boŋte*/ and /*maŋbo*/ to denote plurality. For example-

1	dna feʊ <i>maŋbo</i> duk there apple.pl many be.pres.pl ‘There are many apples.’
2	kʰe na <i>bidʒəna maŋbo</i> ŋul duk you be.perf so much money be.pres.pl ‘You have so much money.’
3	dna lamm <i>boŋte</i> duk there way.pl many be.pres.pl ‘There are many ways.’
4	pɪrɪã <i>boŋte</i> duk child.pl many be.pres.pl ‘There are many children.’
5	pardəŋ la <i>bidʒəna maŋbo</i> karma duk. sky in so many star be.pres.pl ‘There are so many stars in the sky.’
6	ŋe na <i>boŋte</i> lok hət I be.perf many sheep be.pres.pl ‘I have many sheep.’
7	kʰe na lok <i>maŋbo</i> duk you be.perf sheep many be.pres.pl ‘You have many sheep.’

The above data clearly suggests that /*boŋte*/ and /*maŋbo*/ both can be used with countable nouns whereas with uncountable nouns /*bidʒəna maŋbo*/ is spoken. We have also noticed that the speaker uses /*boŋte*/ for himself only whereas /*maŋbo*/ is used for others.

It is worth mentioning that this three way number distinction is limited to nouns only and Jad has a complex pronominal system where four groups of the category of number can be seen, which are discussed below.

3. Person

Pronouns are divided into three grammatical persons in Jad language - first person (exclusive-inclusive), second person, and third person. One can see the number person agreement between the pronominal form and the verb. The following table gives a comprehensive description of personal pronouns of Jad.

Person	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Exclusive	Inclusive	(more than two)	(all)
First	ŋa	ŋe/ŋa	wag	ŋe-gun	ŋa roppe
Second	k^hu / k^he / k^hju	k^he / k^hju		k^he-gun	k^he roppe
Third (prox.)	di	di-e / djag		di-gun / djag-gun (dja-gun)	di roppe / djag roppe
Third (rem.)	hei	hei-e		hei-gun	hei roppe

It is clear from the above description that Jad distinguishes **17** pronominal categories, viz first, second and third person singular, dual, plural (more than two) and plural (all) and there is an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in the first person dual. The third person pronouns are divided into two categories in terms of remoteness – proximal and remote.

The following data shows the concordial relationship of Jad pronoun and verb forms.

First Person: [singular]

- / ŋa bədʒar ɖɛn / ‘I go to the market.’ (Present tense)
- / ŋa bədʒar put / ‘I went to the market.’ (Past tense)
- / ŋa bədʒar ɖɔn / ‘I will go to the market.’ (Future tense)

First Person: [Dual] (exclusive)

- / ŋe bədʒar ɖɛ / ‘We (two) go to the market.’ (Present tense)
- / ŋe bədʒar put / ‘We (two) went to the market.’ (Past tense)
- / ŋe bədʒar ɖɔn / ‘We (two) will go to the market.’ (Future tense)

First Person: [Dual] (inclusive)

- / wag bədʒar ɖɛn / ‘We go to the market.’ (Present tense)
- / wag bədʒar ɖɔn / ‘We will go to the market.’ (Future tense)

First Person: [plural]

- / ŋe-gun bədʒar ɖɛ / ‘We (more than two) go to the market.’ (Present tense)
- / ŋe-gun bədʒar put / ‘We (more than two) went to the market.’ (Past tense)
- / ŋe-gun bədʒar ɖɔn / ‘We (more than two) will go to the market.’ (Future tense)

First Person: [plural]

/ ɲe-roppe bədʒar ɖe / ‘We (all) go to the market’	(present tense)
/ ɲe-roppe bədʒar put / ‘We (all) went to the market’	(past tense)
/ ɲe-roppe bədʒar ɖɔn / ‘We (all) will go to the market’	(future tense)

Second Person: [singular]

/ k ^h u bədʒar ɖe-ma / ‘You go to the market?’	(Present tense)
/ k ^h e bədʒar put - ma / ‘You went to the market?’	(Past tense)
/ k ^h u bədʒar ɖɔn-ma / ‘You will go to the market?’	(Future tense)

It is to be noted that /ma/ is used as a question marker in Jad. In second person they always use it and the sentence become a question instead of a statement.

Second Person: [Dual]

/ k ^h e bədʒar ɖe-ma / ‘You (two) go to the market?’	(Present tense)
/ k ^h e bədʒar pu-ma (put+ma=pu-ma) / ‘you (two) went to the market?’	(Past tense)
/ k ^h e bədʒar ɖɔn-ma / ‘you (two) will go to the market?’	(Future tense)

Second Person: [Plural]

/ k ^h e-gun bədʒar ɖe-ma / ‘You (more than two) go to the market?’	(Present tense)
/ k ^h e-gun bədʒar pu-ma / ‘you (more than two) went to the market?’	(Past tense)
/ k ^h e-gun bədʒar ɖɔn-ma / ‘you (more than two) will go to the market?’	(Future tense)

Second Person: [Plural]

/ k ^h e-roppe bədʒar ɖe-ma / ‘You (all) go to the market’	(Present tense)
/ k ^h e-roppe bədʒar pu-ma / ‘you (all) went to the market’	(Past tense)
/ k ^h e-roppe bədʒar ɖɔn-ma / ‘you (all) will go to the market’	(Future tense)

Third Person: [Singular]

/ hɛi bədʒar ɖe-no / ‘He goes to the market’	(Present tense)
/ hɛi bədʒar pu-soŋ / ‘He went to the market’	(Past tense)
/ hɛi bədʒar ɖɔ-no / ‘He will go to the market’	(Future tense)

Third Person: [Dual]

/ hɛi-e bədʒar ɖe-no / ‘He (two) goes to the market’	(Present tense)
/ hɛi-e bədʒar pu-soŋ / ‘He (two) went to the market’	(Past tense)
/ hɛi-e bədʒar ɖɔ-no / ‘He (two) will go to the market’ (ɖɔn+no=ɖɔ-no)	(Future tense)

Third Person: [Plural]

/ həi-gun bədzar dɛ-no / ‘They (more than two, men) go to the market’ (Present tense)

/ həi- gun bədzar pu-soŋ / ‘They (more than two) went to the market’ (Past tense)

/ həi-gun bədzar dɔ- no/ ‘They (more than two) will go to the market’ (Future tense)

Third Person: [plural]

/ həi-roppe bədzar dɛ-no / ‘They (all men) go to the market.’ (Present tense)

/ həi- roppe bədzar pu-soŋ / ‘They (all) went to the market.’ (Past tense)

/ həi-roppe bədzar dɔ- no/ ‘They (all) will go to the market.’ (Future tense)

Conclusion

- Jad is a natural gender language.
- The category of gender is manifested in human nouns through independent words.
- Three markers are used to denote gender in non-human animate words.
- These markers are also used to represent gender in certain human words, such as ‘widow, step mother’.
- Jad has four way number division for Nouns- S, D, PL, PL(all)
- The dual marker suffix has two variants /ɛ̃/ and /e/ which are conditioned on animacy. The marker /ɛ̃/ is used with animate nouns whereas /e/ is used with non-human and inanimate nouns.
- Three independent words also (*/boŋte/, /maŋbo/ and /bidzɛna maŋbo/*) denote plurality.
- Jad has a complex pronominal system where four groups of the category of nouns and number are found.
- Jad distinguishes 17 pronominal categories, via first, second and third person singular, dual, plural (more than two) and plural (all) and there is an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in the first person dual. The third person pronouns are divided into two categories in terms of remoteness – proximal and remote.

References

- Sharma, D.D. (1990). Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarkhand. New Delhi: Mittal Publications. pp. 1–90.
- S. M. Channa The (2005) Descent of the Pandavas: Ritual and Cosmology of the Jads of Garhwa. European Bulletin of Himalayan Research 28: 67-87.

THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF NUMERAL SYSTEM OF MUNDARI AND SANTHALI

Kumari Mamta
Research Scholar
CL, JNU, New Delhi

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this paper I have looked upon the counting system of Santali and Mundari. It mainly investigates the morphology of number system and answers the question: “Does the pattern of numeral system make any difference between numerals 1,2,3 versus the rest?”

Numeracy is a very important aspect of any linguistic system. Counting or numbering is an integral and inseparable part of the grammar of any language because there is hardly any meaningful linguistic discourse in a language that does not make reference to quantity, size, time, distance and weight in definite numbers (Omachou,2011:84). The number should be described like all other parts of lexicon from the point of view of its syntactic construction and its internal morphology.

Numerals and numeral systems have long been of typological and historical interest to linguists. Papuan languages are best known in the typological literature on numerals for having body-part tally systems and, to a lesser extent, restricted numeral systems which have no cyclically recurring base (Laycock 1975; Lean 1992; Comrie 2005a). Papuan languages are also typologically interesting for the fact that they often make use of bases of other than the cross-linguistically most frequent decimal and vigesimal bases, such as quinary (Lean 1992) and senary bases (Donohue 2008; Evans 2009).

The definition of numerals as given by Harald Hammarstrom, is “spoken normed expressions that are used to denote *the exact number of objects* for an open class of objects in an open class of social situations with the whole speech community in question.” (Hammarstrom,2009)

According to (Wiese,2003:58) “Natural number is infinite”, as recursive principle applies in the formation of more and more complex numbers. This recursivity helps in the process of making numbers infinite. When we talk about quantifiers here, we can see that the quantifiers like ‘few’ and ‘many’ are adjectives that modify the number.

1.2 DESCRIBING NUMERALS: BASIC CONCEPTS

1.2.1 CARDINAL NUMERALS

According to the Mengden (2009), “Cardinal numerals again are the part of a larger class of expressions which all specify the size of a set. There is a difference we can see in the definition of number and numerals, as number convey the quantity or the order while they (numbers) are represented using numerals. The morphosyntactic properties of cardinal numerals can vary in three ways. First, they vary within the counting sequences. Second, one element of the counting sequence of one and the same language may vary in its inflectional and syntactic behavior depending on the context and on some properties of quantified noun, most of all its countability. Finally, the morphosyntactic properties of cardinal numerals vary across languages.”

1.2.2 ATOM

The simplest lexicalization of number in a language and those from which more complex numerals are constructed (Greenberg 1978) are the variants in arithmetic operations. SEILER (1990:190) defines

‘atoms’ as ‘that particular set of numerals that has the highest potential of being recursively used in cycles or with bases’. By saying that these atoms have the highest potential to recur continuously, SEILER concedes that in some languages a number of complex expressions need to be added to the sequence of atoms in order to form continuously recurring sequence.(Von Mengden, 2009:38).

1.2.3 BASE

In any formation pattern of a numeral system, bases are those elements with which the smallest continuously recurring sequence of numerals is combined (Mengden,2010)

Bases can be number 2,3,4,5,6,7,8,10,12,15,20,60. There are in hybrid bases too in some languages like 5, 20 and 80, 3 and 4, 2 and 5, 10 and 20 etc. The base of a number system can be envisioned as the main building block of the system. If it is the first number, reached in counting, which is used to build higher numbers by being itself counted in a regular manner. Many languages have multiple bases.Let us look the term BASE in bit great details as it plays a major role in numeral system of any language and most useful part in the formation of complex numerals. There are languages which do not have any numerals at all and their counting system is based on the parts of body, so these languages do not have base too, languages of Melanesia do not have numerals.Base is of different kinds in world languages.

1.2.4 COMPLEX NUMERALS

In order to be able to express higher numerical values, the vast majority of languages have developed numeral systems more complex to than those consisting of simple lexical representations only.(Detges,2003;50-51). In such a complex numeral systems, the existing simple numerals are employed as constituents of morphosyntactic combinations. For example, numeral 18 is a combination of 10 and 8 in English.

The atoms and bases combine to produce complex numeral systems. Hierarchy of operations in the construction of complex numerical expressions:

addition > multiplication > subtraction / division

The sequential arrangement of some constituents of the combined numeral forms allows us to distinguish between constants and variants in the underlying arithmetic operations, then we might infer from this description that the two elements of an arithmetic operation perform different roles. In linguistic numeral systems however, the two constituents of such a combination, in addition to the underlying arithmetic operation, also stand in a morphosyntactic relation to each other. That is, the element order of the two values in addition and in multiplication is potentially, though not necessarily, significant. It therefore makes sense to distinguish between the variables within a sequence of additions- which we call 'addends'-and the respective constants- referred to as 'augends'. (Mengden,2010)

E.g.- Fourteen- $4+10$

Eighteen- $8+10$

Here, 4 and 8 are addends and the basic numerical value 10 as the respective augend.

The same distinction is necessary for combinations based on multiplication. And similarly we will employ the terms 'multiplicand' and 'multiplier' for sequences of multiplications. This distinction implies that, within a multiplication, the multiplicand is the constant and the multiplier will be a variant in the form of the recurring sequences of atoms.

e.g- Three hundred- $3*100$

Six hundred- $6*100$, i.e, $n*100$

Here, numerical value 3 and 6 are multiplier and the constant form is multiplicand.

Both terminological pairs- augend/addend and multiplier/multiplicand were first used by Greenberg (1978) in the context of linguistic numeral systems.

Therefore, we can say that a numeral system consists of a set of mono-morphemic, arbitrarily shaped numeral forms called simple numerals and a set of morphosyntactic rules which combine these simple numerals into more complex numerals by means of semantically underlying arithmetic operations which we saw earlier.

1.2.5 ORDINALS

The morphologically derived form of corresponding cardinal numerals are called Ordinals. These are formed by various morphological processes, most commonly by the addition of suffix or a prefix. In some languages however, as Mengden (2009: 118) observes "another method for of indicating the ordinal as opposed to the cardinal is by a change of word order. However, ordinal marking is a morphological process which in principle is exerted exclusively on all numerically specific cardinality expressions and thus a central property of cardinal numerals. Describing

ordinal numerals thus implicitly reveals properties of cardinal numerals.”

E.g. – 12. The seventh girl

Girl seven

13. The second day

Day two

Morphologically, ordinal numerals are with some exceptions, formed as derivations of the respective cardinal root. Ordinals only show rank or position not the quantity. In most cases affixation to the cardinals is the only process to create ordinals. In English, ordinals are adjectives.

Many languages have a suppletive instead of a regular derivational form for the ordinal FIRST (Hurford 1987; Veselinova 1998). For example, In English ordinal for One is First, in Hindi ordinal for ‘ek’(one) is ‘pehla’ (First). It can be seen cross-linguistically very easily which we will see in the further chapters in greater details.

1.2.6 FRACTIONS

Fractions are an integral part of any numeral system, as quantity can defined in this term is much in use now. When we talk of earlier times, not every language needed this fractional system, but now day by day with the development in language and the development of societies this system has been introduced in almost every language. However, this system need not be too rich, as some languages may only have three or four fractions in use as these are their only need. Other languages may have syntactic construction of making fractions; for example using affixes and the numerator and denominator part of the fraction. Finally other, languages choose to directly borrow from the dominant languages. For example- Indian languages mostly borrow it from Sanskrit and Hindi. Half (1/2) is a very common fraction that is used in every languages, then $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$. These are some fractions that languages generally have but when we look for $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{2}{5}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ we can’t find them so commonly.

1.2.7 MULTIPLICATIVES

According to Alexander Coupe (2007), “Multiplicatives are used to denote the number of occurrences of same event. It expresses how many times or how many folds.”

Multiplicatives behaves as adverb in most of the languages and are derived by the cardinal numerals by attaching the suffix, prefix and in some languages multiple affixation too takes place in the formation of multiplicatives like in Pnar. In most of the languages ‘once’ is irregular form and it does not take any affixation to express its adverbial meaning. Apart from this, the rest numeral adverbs are derivation of their respective cardinal numbers and are completely regular.

1.3 THE OBJECT OF STUDY

Munda Languages

Santhali is a language in Munda subfamily of Austroasiatic languages, related to Ho and Mundari. This language is spoken by around 6.3 million people in India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal, almost most of its speakers live in India, in the states of Jharkhand, Assam, Bihar, Odisha, Tripura and West Bengal.

Mundari is also a Munda language of the Austroasiatic family spoken by Munda people, and is closely related to Santhali. There are 1.6 million (2001) speakers of this language and is spoken by the Munda tribal people, in east India, Bangladesh and Nepal. Hasada, Naguri, Tamaria and Keri are dialects of Mundari spoken in Jharkhand state.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

For this research paper, the questionnaire method was followed. The questionnaire was based on the one of SJEFF BARBIERS (from Meertens Institute, Netherland), who has worked a lot in the numeral system and has also looked at the field examined in this paper from the perspective of cognition.

With the help of this questionnaire, many phenomena like the formation of simple and complex numbers, the base, the arithmetic operations involved, the morphology induced in the complex number formation, what morphological processes takes place, what is the basis of formation of ordinals and multiplicatives and what morphological processes works here , how ONE is different from rest numerals and also how 1,2,3 is different from rests, how fractions are used, what happens when number is used with approximatives, how quantifiers and (in)definiteness is marked with numbers, what is the syntactic position of a numerals when it comes in a phrase and how it modifies the noun, etc. were looked at.

Method- The informants were given a brief introduction to the purpose of the research and then given the questions in English, which was an understandable language for them. The utterances were then transcribed in IPA after cross checking the sentences with one more informant. The sentences were then analysed and classified in different categories, and then studied to arrive at the final observations and conclusions for this paper.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Mengden (2009), Numerals have three defining properties and are as follows:

- The elements of a numeral system must be well distinguished from each other.
- The elements of a numeral system must form an ordered sequence.
- The numeral system is potentially infinite.

Mengden explains that the cardinal numerals vary in three ways on the basis of their morphosyntactic properties. And the three ways are:

- They (cardinal numerals) vary within the counting sequence.
- One element of the counting sequence of one and the same language may vary in its inflectional and syntactic behavior depending on the context (information structure) and on some properties of the quantified noun, most of all its countability.
- The morphosyntactic properties of cardinal numerals vary across languages.

Thousands of world languages, some of them endangered, use a variety of different numeral systems in terms of the different bases they use: duodecimal system, decimal system, senary system, quinary system, quaternary system, ternary system, binary system, incomplete decimal system, mixed system, body part tally system and so on. There also exist indigenous languages of South America that are languages that only distinguish the numbers “one” and “many”. Day by day with rapid globalization, the indigenous numeral system especially of the ethnic groups are on the verge of losing their traditional number system and replacing it with that of the neighboring dominant language. Very quickly, younger generations have become unable to use their native numeral systems and prefer to use English or some other predominant language and only the older members of community use the traditional number systems.

Therefore, it can be said that Comrie’s statement (2005) “Numeral systems are even more endangered than languages” is completely correct. The same has also been observed during the research for this paper.

Comrie (2005) also points out that there are many instances of languages that are not particularly endangered but whose numeral systems are endangered. “To cite just one example [...] although traditional Paraguayan Guarani [gug] has a rich numeral system, in current colloquial usage in Paraguay only the Guarani numerals through 5 are in use, all higher numerals being expressed in Spanish.” He also observes that “even the numbers of large languages can be endangered in this way, e.g., Japanese and Thai numerals have been largely replaced by Chinese.” The Hadza language spoken in Tanzania has only five numerals, and the rest of the numeral system is borrowed from the numeral system of the dominant language Swahili, through a process called Swahilisation. The same happens with the Sandawa, also spoken in Tanzania, which has only 10 natural numbers and the rest are borrowed from Swahili. This language also has mixed base system of 5 and 10.

1.6 CARDINAL NUMBERS

Mundari and Santali belong to the Munda subfamilies of Austro-Asiatic language family, whose word order is SVO.

Numbers	Analysis	Santali	Mundari
Zero	0	-	-
One	1	mit'	mijəd
Two	2	bɑ:r	bərija
Three	3	pɛ	ərija
Four	4	Pon	upuna
Five	5	m ɛ	mo eja
Six	6	t urui	t urija
Seven	7	eae	eja
Eight	8	irəl	irəlija
Nine	9	arɛ	əreja
Ten	10	gɛl	geleja
Eleven	10+1	gɛl mit'	gel mijəd
Twelve	10+2	gɛl bɑ:r	gel bərija
Thirteen	10+3	gɛl pɛ	gel ərija
Fourteen	10+4	gɛl pon	gel upuna
Fifteen	10+5	gɛl m ɛ	gel moeja
Nineteen	10+9	gɛl arɛ	gel əreja
Twenty	2*10	bɑ:r gɛl	hi i (20)
Thirty	3*10	pe gɛl	mijəd hi i gel (1*20+1)
Forty	4*10	pon gɛl	bər hi i (2*20)
Fifty	5*10	m ɛ gɛl	bər hi i gel (2*20+1)
Sixty	6*10	t urui gɛl	əpi hi i (3*20)
Seventy	7*10	eae gɛl	
Eighty	8*10	irəl gɛl	upu n hi i (4*10)
Ninety	(10*1)-100	arɛ gɛl	upu n hi i gel (4*20+1)
Hundred	1*100	mit sɑe	mod s /m ɛ hi i
Thousand	1* 1000	mit həzar	-
Lakh	1*100000	mit la:k	-
Crore	1*100000000	mit kror	-

Table 1.1 Cardinal numbers of Santali and Mundari

Daladier (2011) observes that, “AA (Austro-Asiatic) cardinal number systems are comers compared to “grouping” number systems and have probably emerged under contacts with Hindu and Chinese trades and more locally in the Assam corridor with Tai and Bodish trades, around the beginning of our era.”

Santali and Mundari are from Munda branch, and here we can see significant differences in the system, but more in Mundari. Santali cardinal numbers are based on decimal number system. First 10 numbers are primitives and rests are derivatives of same with the affixation of base. The rule (Base+ Atom=Complex Cardinal Numeral) applies here for the formation of complex numerals. This particular base generate a large numbers from the finite set of simple numbers, higher numbers are multiples of tens or of twenties, adding the necessary units. When Santali modifies noun, then the form changes, it co-occurs with a classifier /-ten/ for 1, /-eja/ for 2-4 and then for further /-goṭe /. As a modifier:

- 1- mit^h-te /ten
- 2- bar-eja
- 3- p-eja
- 4- pon-eja
- 5- m goṭe /goṭen
- 6- t urui goṭe /goṭen
- 7- eae goṭe
- 8- irəl goṭe
- 9- a:rɛ goṭe
- 10- gel goṭe

E.g.; 1. miṭ-ten kuḍa

One. CL boy
“One boy.”

2. bar-eja b^hidɪ

Two. CL sheep
“Two sheep.”

3. p-eja kuḍi

Three-CL girl
“Three girls.”

Mundari has combined base that is base decimal /gel/ and vigesimal /hɪ ɪ/. 1-10 are primitives and further complex numerals are formed of decimal and vigesimal multiplicatives with necessary units that are regular first 9 cardinal numbers. How arithmetic operations are involved and how the multiplicatives are formed with the help of both the bases is shown in the above table. Addition and multiplication forms complex numerals which combine with base and atom. See numeral 50, 70 and 90 in Mundari where in the same numeral both decimal and vigesimal is used to form multiplicatives. See the examples below:

4. bər hɪ ɪ gel = Fifty
2 * 20 + 10 = 50
5. əpɪ hɪ ɪ gel = Seventy
3 * 20 + 10 = 70
6. upun hɪ ɪ gel = Ninety
4 * 20 + 10 = 90

One very important point to observe here is that the numeral classifier /eja/ of Santali appears on the Mundari numerals too that is with 2,3 and 5-10, but as a part of numeral itself.

The words for thousand, lakh and crore, in all the four languages are borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages. In both the languages arithmetic operations applies in same manner, they have additive compound, multiplicative compound and multiplicative-cum-additive numerals. Subtraction and division is not used in the formation of numeral system of AA languages.

1.7 ORDINAL NUMBERS

Ordinals	Santali	Mundari
First	pəhɪl	sida
Second	dosər	eʃaʔ
Third	t esər	-
Fourth	pon-ak	-
Fifth	m ɛ-ak	-
Sixth	t urui-ak	-
Seventh	eae-ak	-
Eighth	irəl-ak	-
Nineth	arɛ-ak	-
Tenth	(mit') gəl-ak	-

Table 1.2 Ordinal numbers of Santali and Mundari

In Santhali, first three ordinals are borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages and rest are transcribed by adding suffix /-ak/ to their respective cardinal numbers. Mundari does not have ordinals beyond the first two. They have allocated the names for the First and Second. Other than ONE, in both the languages ordinals are derivatives of the cardinals with some affixation. ONE differs from rest.

	Predicted forms of FIRST	Existing forms of FIRST
Santhali	mit,,a:k	pəhɪl

Table 1.3 Suppletive form of FIRST in Santali

However, the existing forms are not derived from their respective cardinal, but has a suppletive form. Rest are transcribed as per rule: Cardinal Number + Suffix (Santali) . In Mundari, neither any rule nor any processes applies here, it just have first two ordinals whose names are allocated

to them, therefore they are called common names.

1.8 MULTIPLICATIVES

Multiplicatives	Santali	Mundari
Once	mɪtˈ dɔmɪnˈ	mɪ- α
Twice	bɑ:r dɔmɪnˈ	bər- α
Thrice	pɛ dɔmɪnˈ	əpɪ- α
Four times	pon dɔmɪnˈ	upun- α

Table 1.4 Multiplicatives of Santali and Mundari

Santali multiplicatives are just the derivation of cardinals with the particle /domɪn/ which means „times“. Mundari takes the short form of cardinals with suffix / α/ which also means „times“. The rule is: Cardinal numbers + particle for word „times“. Numeral ONE is not idiosyncratic formation of multiplicatives unlike Ordinals.

1.9 FRACTIONS

Fractions	Santali	Mundari
1/2	ət rɑ/t ɑlɑ	tɑrɑ
2/3	ɑ:r hɑɪnre pɛ hɑɪn	-
1/4	pɑwɑ	-
2/7	ɑ:r hɑɪnre eɑe hɑɪn	-
1/8	ɑ:reak hɑɪn	-
1/3	pɛɑ:k hɑɪn	-
1/10	gɛlɑ:k hɑɪn	-

Table 1.5 Fractions of Santali and Mundari

Fractions can be divided into two parts: Simple and Complex. Simple includes the „ a part from whole“ like 1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/10, 1/12 etc., and Complex includes „part of part from whole“ like 2/3, 3/7, 2/8 etc.

Santali has both common (for 1/2 and 1/4) and transcribed forms (1/8, 1/3, 2/7, 2/3) of fraction and within that also it has different forms for transcribed ones that is simple (1/4, 1/8, 1/10) and complex (2/7, 2/3) :

Rule for Simple Fractions: [Cardinal No.(Denom.) Suffix(-ba:) hɑɪn]

Complex Fractions: Cardinal No. (Num.) hɑɪnre Cardinal No.Denom. hɑɪn

Examples are given in the table above.

Mundari do not have fractions. They just have word for „half“ that is /tɑrɑ/. But if they need for more, they use the forms of Hindi or English, mainly Hindi fractions as they are more influenced by this language.

1.10 INTERACTION OF NUMERALS WITH SYNTAX

1.10.1 SANTALI

Demonstrative Determiners

Santali has two varieties of dem, one for [+Human] feature and another is for [-Human]. They have different morphemes for both proximal and distal as well as singular and plural. The reverse order of first two consonants of proximal dem forms the distal dem in [+Human] :

7. This- nur

nur α:ju

this lady

“This lady.”

8. That-

unı unı

α:ju that

lady

“That lady.”

9. These-

nuku

nuku α:ju

these ladies

“These ladies.”

10. Those-unku

unku α:ju

those ladies

“Those ladies.”

In [-Human] the distal dem are formed by suffixing /ko/ to the proximal form.

11. This- noa

noa put^{hi}

this book

“This book.”

12. That-

hana

hana

put^{hi} that

book

“That book.”

13. These-

noako

noako

kolom

these pens

“These pens.”

14. Those-
hanako
hanako
kolom those
pens

“Those pens.”

Definiteness is marked by the dem in Santali. The plural marker /*km*/ is only used with the [+Human,+Animate,+Plural] feature, but if the numeral is greater than one, no plural marker with either [+Human] or [-Human] nouns is needed.

15. *unɪ* kuɖɪ (Def. is marked)

That girl

“The one girl.”

Without plural marker

16. *mɪt*,,-*ɕɛn* kuɖa

One.CL boy

“One boy.”

17. *bar-eja* kuɖa

Two.CL boy

“Two boys.”

18. *m -g ɕɛn* ɖaɾɪ

Five.CL tree

“Five trees.”

19. *bar-eja* əlmɪɾa

Two.CL almirah

“Two almirahs.”

With plural marker:

20. *mɪɾɛn mɪt*,,-*ɕɛn* dɛɖa mɪnɪ t ija (no plural marker for Sg numeral)

1P.Sg one.CL brother have Aux

“I have one brother.”

21. *mɪɾɛn bar-eja* dɛɖa mɪnɪ *km* t ija

1P.Sg. two.CL brother have PL Aux

“I have two brothers.”

22. *unɪɾɛn pe-ja* ɡɪɖɾɛ mɪnɪ *km* t ija

3P.Sg three.CL child have PL Aux

“He has three children.”

1.10.2 MUNDARI

23. This- en

(VC) en

era

this lady

“This lady.”

24. That- ne (CV)

ne era

that lady

“That lady.”

25. These- en

en-ko era

this-PL lady

“These ladies.”

26. Those- ne

ne-ko era

that.PL lady

“Those ladies.”

Mundari have dem with distinct form of proximals and distals. Distal just reverse the VC order of Proximal Sg dem and the Pl dem takes the plural marker with the forms of Singular dem.

Definiteness is unmarked in Mundari.

27. mijəd kuḍı One girl

“ (The) One girl.”

28. bar-eja kuḍı [No plural marker]

Two.CL girl

“ (The) two girls.”

Plurality is too unmarked even if the sentence is plural that is with the numbers greater than one, whether the feature is [+,- Human]. Only in the condition of [+Human, +Animate, +Plural, +Living] plurality is marked and so with the Auxiliary not the NP.

29. əj: mijəd həga menaija

brothe

[Sg. number, Pl.

1P.Sg one r Aux

Unmarked]

“ I have one brother.”

30. əj: bareja həga mena-*kma*

1P.Sg two brother Aux-PL [Pl. number, Pl. Marked]

“ I have two brothers.”

The word order for all the four languages is [Num N] in NP with Cardinals and Ordinals.

1.11 APPROXIMATIVE AND INDEFINITE NUMERALS

To show approximation, Santali having a lexeme for word „Approximately“ but Mundari do not.” Approximately“ in Santali- moṭamoṭı (borrowed from Indo-Aryan)

Indefinite numerals like few, many, more and some are indicators of amount. Few and many are like adjectives, that modifies the number.

Ind. Numerals	Santali	Mundari
Some	adom	-
Many	aema	-
Few	t ^h oḍa	-
More	ho do	ri

Table 1.6 Indefinite numerals of Santali And Mundari

1.12 FEATURE TABLE

Features	Santhli	Mundari
Base: Decimal	+	+
Vigesimal	-	+
Arith. Oper.: Addition	+	+
Multiplication	+	+
Subtraction	-	-
Ordinals : Suffixation	+	+
Prefixation	-	-
First Suppletion	+	+
Multiplicatives: Suffixation	+	+
First Suppletion	-	-
Fractions: Common	+	+
Transcribed	+	-
Dem.Det.: Sg Proximal	+	+
Pl Proximal	+	-
Sg Distal	+	+
Pl Distal	+	-
Number with Pl marker: [+Human]	+	-
[-Human]	-	-
Word Order [Num N] :	+	+
Definiteness (M or Unm.) :	M	UnM
Approximative Numerals:	+	-
Indefinite Numerals :	+	-

Table 4.7 Features of numeral system of Santali and Mundari

1.13 CONCLUSION

Munda languages have rich morphosyntax of numeral system. Mon-Khmer branch is different from the Munda branch in so many features related to counting system. Mon-Khmer languages are decimal based system rather Munda having a combined base of both decimal and vigesimal. Complex numerals are derived in Munda languages by the process of compounding involving addition and multiplication. Numeral ONE is different from the rest of the numbers. ONE is a suppletive form for ordinals. Both have demonstrative determiners as independent morphemes for proximal and distal forms. For fractions, names are already allocated to them, some complex fractions are transcribed. Word order is [Num N]. Definiteness is only marked in Santali by dem. Both languages also have some borrowed words of numeral system because of the contact with Indo-Aryan languages. Therefore, they somehow influence the basic lexicon.

Numerals are very important part of lexicon. Diverse numeral systems can evolve in related languages. It can be found in various ways. We saw that the numeral system of different languages behave differently. The processes involved are similar but slight variations can be observed. There are different parameters involved for the formation of numeral system where base plays an important role. In Indian languages base 10 or combined base decimal-vigesimal is common. So many morphosyntactic processes exists for the formation of complex numerals, i.e., suffixation, prefixation, compounding etc. Atoms and base, and the arithmetic operations involved like addition, multiplication, subtraction and division forms complex numerals with the process of Packing strategy which includes Augend, Addend, Multiplier and Multiplicand. Recursivity which is also called Serialization is process on which numerals are based on. With the help of recursivity, from very less numbers of atom we form infinite complex numerals with the help of base. We saw that ONE is different from the rest of the numerals as it changes its form as modifier in some languages and also it does not get attached with classifiers. In some languages 1,2,3 is different from rest of the numerals as they also changes its form as modifier. To form different types of numerals, like ordinals, multiplicatives of fractions, different types of affixes are used, where suffixation is very common in almost all Indian languages. The sequence of the derivational processes in individual languages may be similar, but definitely not the same.

Numerals interaction with syntax and is core part of grammar this area is still less studied. Some languages are Numeral Classifier language, where it is necessary to attach classifier with the numerals which follows the noun. These classifiers do not have their own meaning but they are necessary to form grammatical sentence. Numerals do not belong to a uniform syntactic category. In some languages, it shows properties of adjectives, in other languages it appears to be nominal and in some as modifier too.

The findings reveals that how important this aspect is to study, as this part is neglected from the grammar in researches. The numeral system of many languages are becoming endangered even if the languages are

not. Many languages losing their numeral system rapidly as they are not in use and are very much influenced of the dominant neighbouring language. Many languages are shifting their number systems into the predominantly decimal base or else into the dominant language spoken in the region. Younger generation do not want to use the traditional numeral system and they use the dominant variety so this is now high time for us as a linguist, to preserve the numeral system of the languages. As a result many uncommon systems are quickly vanishing along with the incredible mathematical insights they hold. We need more researches as we have so many lesser known languages in India whose numeral system is about to be endangered. Numeral systems provide an insight into the human cognition and along with their socio cultural background, losing them would be losing our history and a way towards our future. This topic has cognitive implications too, acquisition of numeral system is very interesting field for future research.

REFERENCES

- Barbiers, S. (2005). Variation in the morphosyntax of ONE. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, 8(3), 159-183.
- Barbiers, S. (2007). Indefinite numerals one and many and the cause of ordinal suppletion. *Lingua*, 117(5), 859-880.
- Barbiers, S., Koenenman, O., & Lekakou, M. (2010). Syntactic doubling and the structure of wh-chains. *Journal of Linguistics*, 46(01), 1-46.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1992. Balto-Slavonic. In Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.), *Indo-European numerals* (Trends in Linguistics 57), 717–833. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Comrie, Bernard. 2005a. Endangered numeral systems. In Jan Wohlgemuth &
- Comrie, Bernard. 2005b. Numeral bases. In Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, Bernard Comrie & David Gil (eds.), *World atlas of language structures*, 530–533. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dehaene, S., 1997. *The Number Sense*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Donohue, Mark. 2008. Complexities with restricted numeral systems. *Linguistic Typology* 12. 423–429.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2009. Two plus one makes thirteen: senary numerals in the morehead-marro region. *Linguistic Typology* 13. 321–335.
- Feigenson, L., Dehaene, S., & Spelke, E. (2004). Core systems of number. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, 8(7), 307-314.
- Ferlus, M. (2008). Le mot'sang'en austroasiatique. *Mon-Khmer Studies*, 38, 25-39.

file:///D:/Numerals/Numeral (linguistics) - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.htm

<file:///D:/Numerals/Numeral%20Systems%20of%20the%20World's%20Languages.html>

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1978. Generalizations about numeral systems. In Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language*, vol. 3, 250–295. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hammarstrom, Harold. 2009. Rarities in Numeral system. In Wohlgemuth, Jan & Cysouw, Michael (eds.)

Rethinking Universals: How rarities affect Universals, De Gruyter Mouton. Germany.

Hurford, J.R., 1975. *The Linguistic Theory of Numerals*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ionin, Tania & Ora Matushansky. 2006. The composition of complex cardinals. *Journal of Semantics* 23. 315–360. doi:10.1093/jos/ffl006.

Laycock, D. C. 1975. Observations on number systems and semantics. In Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), *Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene*, 219–233. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Lean, Glendon. 1992. Counting systems of Papua New Guinea and Oceania. Papua New Guinea University of Technology PhD thesis. <http://www.uog.ac.pg/glec/thesis/thesis.htm>.

Omachonu, Gideon S. (2007): *From rule-based to constraint-based analysis: issues in English suprasegmental phonology*. PhD Dissertation, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Omachonu, Gideon S. (2011): "Derivational processes in Igala numeral system: some universal considerations". *Journal of universal language* 12/2: 81–101.

Sidwell, Paul. 1999. Numeral Types and Changes Worldwide. Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.)

Tyko Dirksmeyer (eds.), *Bedrohte Vielfalt: Aspekte des Sprach(en)tods [Endangered diversity: aspects of language death]*, 203–230. Berlin: Weißensee Verlag.

Veselinova, L., 1996. Suppletion in the derivation of ordinal numerals. A case study. Paper presented at the 8th Student Conference in Linguistics, New York, April 1996.

Wurm, S. A. (1989). Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene, 219-233. Adams, Karen Lee. Systems of numeral classification in the Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese and Aslian subfamilies of Austroasiatic. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Zentz, J., & Bowern, C. (2010). Diversity in the numeral systems of Australian huntergatherers. *MS, Yale University*.

Zide, N. H. (1978). *Studies in the Munda Numerals* (Vol. 2). Central Institute of Indian Languages.

Zweig, E. (2005, July). Nouns and adjectives in numeral NPs. In *PROCEEDINGS-NELS* (Vol. 35, No. 2, p. 663).

A Study of Person, Number and Gender of Halbi

Ajay Kumar Singh

Research Scholar

Department of Linguistics,

University of Lucknow,

Lucknow, U.P., India

Email: ajay.linguistics@gmail.com

Introduction

Halbi is the second largest spoken language in Bastar region after Gondi language. Although it is identified as the language of Halba tribe, it is also spoken by many others, including the people native to this region. The use of Halbi is predominant in Kondagaon, Bastar, Bijapur, Sukama and Narayanpur districts. In other districts, influence of other language variations is seen. In Halbi, we find words of Awadhi, Bagheli, Chattisgarhi, Bhojpuri, Bhatri, Gondi, Marathi and Oriya.

The history of Halbi can be traced back to early 14th century when king Annama Deva, the brother of Kakatiya king Pratapa Rudra Deva of Warangal (Andhra Pradesh), came to the region of Bastar and established his kingdom under the tutelage of Goddess 'Danteshwari', who still is the tutelary deity of Bastar region with her famous Danteshwari Temple standing even today at Dantewada. The Halba people were the soldiers of the kingdom and their language was called Halbi. The Halba tribes were the major and most influential tribal group of state Bastar in 17th century. At that time Halbi was recognized as main language of the region. The Bastar region is the land of tribes and about 70% of the total population of Bastar comprises tribals, which is about 26% of the total tribal population of Chhattisgarh. They speak different language variations such as Gondi, Halbi, Bhatri etc. The Bastar region has been divided into seven districts.



Map of Chhattisgarh State

1. Gender in Halbi

Gender is a grammatical category dividing nouns into classes. Every noun must belong to one of the classes and there should be very few that belong to several classes at once. If a language distinguishes naturally between gender- masculine, feminine, or in some instances neuter, then each noun will belong to one of those genders. If gender is grammatical, there can be more than three classes.

Halbi has two genders: Masculine and Feminine. The masculine word generally ends with - /a/. Feminine gender is used more than Masculine. For example, for sun, moon, stars, hills, rivers, trees feminine is used, such as: -

- *ber nikər-li*
Sun arise-PST.3FSG
'sun has arisen'
- *pani g^həsər-li*
Water rain-PST.3FSG
'it rained'

There are some affixes that are used for making feminine from masculine, such as: /i/, /ni/, /m/. For example- :

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
<i>leka</i> 'boy'	<i>leki</i> 'girl'
<i>kukəɾa</i> 'cock'	<i>kukəɾi</i> 'hen'
<i>bag</i> 'lion'	<i>bagəni</i> 'lioness'
<i>parəd</i> 'paradi man'	<i>pardin</i> 'paradi woman'

Agreement

"The term agreement commonly refers to some syntactic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another."

Halbi has natural gender as well as grammatical gender. But gender sometimes agrees with some verity sometimes it does not.

(1) In Halbi adjectives do not agree with gender.

- *əcc^ha leka* 'good boy'
- *əcc^ha leki* 'good girl'
- *nani leka* 'small boy'
- *nani leki* 'small girl'

(2) Halbi grammatical gender agrees with verbs only with third Person and Singular number, and that too, only in some tenses.

- Ex. - *hun haɾ ge-lose*
he market go-PRES.PERF.3MSG
'He has gone to market.'

Ex. - *hun haṭ ge-lise*
 she market go-PRES.PERF.3FSG
 ‘She has gone to market.’

But these following examples do not agree with gender:-

Ex.- *hun haṭ jate rāhe*
 he/she market PROG.3SG aux- PAST.3MSG
 ‘He\ She was going to market.’

Ex. - *ram paklo ama k^ha-jə-se*
 Ram ripe mango eat-3FSG-PROG
 ‘Ram is eating ripe mango.’

Ex. - *sita paklo ama k^ha-jə-se*
 Sita ripe mango eat-3FSG-PROG
 ‘Sita is eating ripe mango.’

Another example: Tense- Past Indefinite

Person	Number	Masculine	Feminine
First	Singular	<i>məj gele</i> ‘I went’	<i>məj gele</i> ‘I went’
	Plural	<i>ami gelu</i> ‘We went’	<i>ami gelu</i> ‘We went’
Second	Singular	<i>tuj gelis</i> ‘You went’	<i>tuj gelis</i> ‘You went’
	Plural/Hon.	<i>tumı gelas</i> ‘You went’	<i>tumı gelas</i> ‘You went’
Third	Singular	<i>hun gelo</i> ‘He went’	<i>hun geli</i> ‘She went’
	Plural	<i>hunmən gela</i> ‘They went’	<i>hunmən gela</i> ‘They went’

2. Number in Halbi

Number is a grammatical distinction which determines whether nouns, verbs, adjectives etc in a language are singular or plural and also it expresses count distinctions (such as "one", "two", or "three or more").

There are two numbers in Halbi - Singular and Plural.

Ex.- (SG) *leka k^helese*
 boy-SG play-PROG.3MSG
 ‘the boy is playing’

(PL) *lekamən k^helsot*
 boy-PL play-PROG.3MPL
 ‘the boys are playing’

Words such as *leka* (Boy), *hun* (He/ She), *kıtab* (Book), *pıla* (Child) are singular and *lekamən* (Boys), *hunəmən* (They), *kıtabəmən* (Books), *pılamən* (Children) are plural.

Dual number

In Halbi there is no dual number.

- *ek / goʃok j^hən leka* ‘One boy’
- *ek / goʃok j^hən leki* ‘One girl’
- *dui j^hən lekamən* ‘Two boys’
- *dui j^hən lekimən* ‘Two girls’
- *tin j^hən lekamən* ‘Three boys’
- *tin j^hən lekimən* ‘Three girls’

Some rules of singular and plural

For making plural the suffixes : /*mən*/, /*t^hən*/, /*j^hən*/, /*k^hube*/, /*səpa*/, /*səpaj*/ are used.

(1) For making plural generally the suffix “*mən*” is used.

kukəɽa ‘cock’ - *kukəɽamən* ‘cocks’
ruk ‘tree’ - *rukəmən* ‘trees’

(2) Sometimes for numbers and quantity the preffixes /*t^hən*/, /*k^hube*/, /*səpa*/, /*səpaj*/ are used.

t^hən (It is used only for non-animate things) -

dui t^hən pustək ‘two books’
tin t^hən pustək ‘three books’

k^hube - *k^hube ama* ‘many mangoes’

səpa / səpaj (It is used only for human beings) -

səpa log ‘all people’

(3) Sometimes plural marker and classifier both are used.

j^hən (It is used for human beings) -

pəŋc j^hən lekimən ‘five girls’

k^hube - *k^hube kıtabəmən* ‘many books’

k^hube logəmen ‘many people’

səpa - *səpa logəmen* ‘all people’

(4) There are some collective nouns that remain either in singular or in plural.

<i>goc^ha</i> (SG)	‘bunch’
<i>t^hurla</i> (SG)	‘dust’
<i>j^hopa</i> (SG)	‘bunch’
<i>rasi</i> (PL)	‘group’
<i>jat</i> (PL)	‘caste’
<i>p^həud</i> (PL)	‘army’

(5) There are some plural words that are used as singular.

<i>kəpaʈ</i>	‘door’
<i>pənəhi</i>	‘shoes’
<i>mec^ha</i>	‘moustache’

Agreement

Halbi has number agreement with verb. Verb conjugations are different for singular and plural numbers.

Ex. - *hun haʈ ja-jese*
 he/she market go-PROG-3SG
 ‘He/She is going to market.’

Ex. - *hunmən haʈ jasot*
 they market go-PROG-3PL
 ‘They are going to market.’

3. Person in Halbi

Person is a grammatical category that distinguishes speakers and addressees from each other and from other individuals. Grammatical person shows the relationship between the speaker and other participants in an event. It is a reference to a participant in an event, such as the speaker, the addressee or others. Halbi has three persons: First, Second and Third. As in Hindi, it has two types for second person.

First Person:-

	Nominative	Objective	Possessive
I	<i>məj</i>	<i>moke / məke</i>	<i>moco / məco</i>
We	<i>ami / amənəmən</i>	<i>amke / amənəmənke</i>	<i>amco</i>

Ex. - (SG) *məj haʈ ʃajese*
 I market go-PROG-1SG
 ‘I am going to market.’

Ex. - (PL) *ami haʈ ʃaũse*
 we market go-PROG-1PL
 ‘We are going to market.’

Second Person

	Nominative	Objective	Possessive
You(SG)	<i>tui / tuj</i>	<i>tuke</i>	<i>tuco</i>
You(HON/ PL)	<i>tumi / tumənəmən</i>	<i>tumke / tumənəmənke</i>	<i>tuməco / tumənəmənco</i>

Ex. - (SG) *tui kali haʈ ʃa-te rəse*
 you yesterday market go-PROG aux-FUT.2SG

Ex. - (PL) *tumi kali haʈ ʃate rəhase*
 you yesterday market go-PROG aux-FUT.2PL
 ‘you will be going to market tomorrow.’

Third Person

	Nominative	Objective	Possessive
He/ she	<i>hun</i>	<i>hunke</i>	<i>hunco</i>
It	<i>e / emən</i>	<i>eke / emənke</i>	<i>eke / emənke</i>
They	<i>hunmən</i>	<i>hunmənke</i>	<i>hunmənco</i>

Ex.- (SG) *hun haʈ ʃa-ʃese*
 he/she market go-PROG-3SG
 ‘He/She is going to market.’

Ex.- (PL) *hunmən haɕ ʒa-sot*
they market go-PROG-3PL
‘They are going to market.’

Quantifying Pronoun

- *səpaa / səpa* ‘all’ Ex.- *səpa logmən*
 all people
 ‘all people’

- *koni* - Any Ex.- *huta koni ni rəh-e*
 there any not aux-PST3
 ‘Any body was not there.’

Relative Pronoun

- *ʒemən(PL)* ‘whose’
- *je* ‘Who’

Ex.- *e bendəra ke ʒe lēgəri ni haɕ kʰube bədəmas aɕ*
this Monkey ACC who tail not aux-3SG very nuisance aux-3SG
‘This monkey who is without tail, is very nuisance.’

Interrogative Pronoun

- *kaj* ‘what’
Ex.- *pacʰe kaj ho-li*
 afterwards what happen-PST
 ‘What happened afterwards?’

- *kon* ‘who’
Ex.- *hun kon aɕ*
 he/she who aux-3SG
 ‘who is he/ she?’

References

- Abbi, Anvita. 2001. A Manual of Linguistics Field Work and Structures of Indian Languages. Lincom Europa.
- Vaishnav, Harihar. 2013. Bastar Ki Lok Kathae. National Book Trust. India.
- Puran Singh, Thakur. 1937. An Introduction to the Halbi Language. State Printing Press. Jagadapur.
- Acharya, K.P., 1987. Pidgins and Creoles as Languages of Wider Communication. CIIL, Mysuru.

Relevance of Honorificity in Maithili

Amit Kumar Chandrana
Assistant Professor
Department of English
SRS Sanskrit Viswa Vidya Pratisthan,
Darbhanga (Bihar)
Email: amitbhu29@gmail.com

Introduction

India, a multilingual country, with about 780 languages being spoken here, is one of the most recognized linguistic set up of the world. Almost every Indian is at least a bilingual if not a multilingual. The famous linguist Massica has described 'India as a Linguistic Area' where not only different languages are being spoken but they share certain remarkable similarities as well as dissimilarities due to language contact situation there. The division of India into states has a linguistic basis. In the 8th schedule of the Indian Constitution, there are 22 languages enlisted in which the official correspondence or works of different states and UTs are being done.

Maithili, a Scheduled Indo-Aryan language, with about 24 million native speakers worldwide is largely spoken in the north-eastern part of Bihar, a state of India and in the tarai region of Nepal. It is one of these scheduled languages added to the list in 2003 under the 92nd amendment of the constitution. Though, it is a scheduled language, yet linguistically deprived of the linguistic affinity, academic and scholarly works due to the super-stratum influence of the socio-politically affluent languages like English and Hindi. The utter negligence and ignorance of its native speakers and scholars are also responsible for continuous downfall of Maithili. It may be categorized as one of the most polite languages of the world. The present paper is an attempt to reveal the unique morphology of verbs in Maithili especially observed due to the effect of honorificity in most of the situations. The agreement system of Maithili seems highly complex which have also been taken into account. The paper has been divided into several sections for the sake of convenience.

Methodology

The methodology adopted for an authentic collection of the data was to select a group of informants from whom data elicitation could be done without any problem. The eligibility which was confirmed to select the informants was their age group: 45-75 strictly following the NORMS

(non-mobile old rural males), educational background; at least matriculation with no particular occupation specified. A questionnaire that consisted of various types of questions was prepared. Phrases and almost all types of sentences such as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory in all the three tenses namely present, past, and future formed the content of the data.

- **Maithili Pronominals**

Before looking at the verbal system of Maithili, it is quite important to have a glimpse on the pronominals of Maithili as it is quite different from English. Maithili has pronominals which may be divided on the basis of honorificity. For example:

Pronominals	Hon.Mkr	Gloss
<i>ham</i>	NH	‘I’
<i>ahaaN/apneN</i>	H	‘you’
<i>toN/tu</i>	NH	‘you’
<i>o</i>	H	‘s/he’
<i>o/u</i>	NH	‘s/he’

The second person pronominals show different layers of honorificity in Maithili. Thus, there seems a necessity of further categorization of these pronominals on the basis of honorificity. In order to make this statement more concrete, I would like to point out the following examples of Maithili:

- *tu/toN bais* you sit
‘Sit.’
- (2) *ahaaN* *baisuu*
you sit
‘Sit.’
- (3) *apneN* *baisiau*
you sit
‘Sit.’
- (4) *apneNk* *baisal* *jaau*
you sit go
‘Sit.’

In the examples above, we find that the level of honorificity is increasing as we move top to bottom (i.e. 1 to 4). Apart from this, we may further recognize *ham* ‘I’ as NH. Similarly,

ahaaN ‘you’ represents H. Besides, *apneN* ‘you’ and *apneNk* ‘you’ may further be recognized as more honorific (H^+) and most honorific (H^{++}) respectively. In the same way, *toN* ‘you’ and *tu* ‘you’ can be recognized as more (NH) and most non-honorific (H^-) respectively, though there is a fair chance for both of them to be categorized as mid-honorific (MH). Finally, *o* may either be called as a mid-honorific (MH) or honorific (H) at one place while and more non-honorific when it optionally exists with most non-honorific *u* ‘s/he’.

The whole thing can be shown as below:

Pronominals	Hon.Mkr	Gloss
<i>ham</i>	H	‘I’
<i>ahaaN</i>	H	‘you’
<i>apneN</i>	H^+	‘you’
<i>apneNk</i>	H^{++}	‘you’
<i>toN</i>	NH/MH	‘you’
<i>tu</i>	NH/MH	‘you’
<i>o</i>	H^+	‘s/he’
<i>o</i>	NH/MH	‘s/he’
<i>u</i>	NH^{--}	‘s/he’

It is this large group of pronominals which greatly affects the study of verbal system of Maithili. Whether MH and NH are the results of recent developments and usage is, in fact, a matter of further investigation. They however, do not largely affect either the agreement system or the verbal forms in most of the instances which this paper discusses.

- Verbal System of Maithili

Maithili exhibits two types of agreements which coincide with one another at one point while it does not, at the other point.

At one end, it shows the verbal agreement based on phi-features (i.e. tense, gender, number, person) while at the other end, the similar verbs and verbal forms show agreement based on honorificity (that of course includes syntactic features like tense, aspect, and mood). One has to be very careful where both of these agreements coincide with each other. Thus, it is the

honorificity that becomes the centre of fascination for the linguists and resists them to draw a clear picture of the ‘verbal segregations’ in Maithili. While explaining the verbs (or verbal forms) in Maithili, some of the linguists (Grierson, Hournle, Dinbandhu Jha, Subhadra Jha, Govind Jha) perhaps neglected the effect of honorificity and followed the framework that were being applied for the study of other Indo-Aryan languages, while the others (U.N. Singh, Ramawatar Yadav, Yogendra Yadav) tried to justify with honorificity but only at those places where they affected the major constituents of the sentence overtly.

The segregation of these verbal forms into their roots plus other affixes attached to them has often been a challenging task for the linguists. This sort of segregation demands not only the authentic and the complete information about the roots but also a thorough and in-depth study of all those affixes that are present either structurally or morphologically with the various roots. Besides, this kind of morphological breakings also requires testing of other constituents that are directly related to the verb on the basis of various features like tense, mood, aspect, agreement, honorificity, etc.

I. Problems Related to the Verbal Paradigm of Maithili

There verbal markers require a proper explanation before they will be attested a particular category/feature within a sentence. For example:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|---|
| i. | <i>ham</i> | <i>sut</i> | <i>-ai(t)</i> | <i>ch</i> | <i>-i</i> | |
| | I-1sgM/F(NH) | sleep-INTR | Asp | Aux | 1/2 P- | H |
| | ‘I sleep’ | | | | | |
| ii. | <i>ahaaN</i> | <i>sut</i> | <i>-ai(t)</i> | <i>ch</i> | <i>-i</i> | |
| | you-2sgM/F(H) | sleep-INTR | Asp | Aux | 1/2P-H | |
| | ‘you sleep’ | | | | | |
| iii. | <i>toN</i> | <i>sut</i> | <i>-ai(t)</i> | <i>ch</i> | <i>-eN</i> | |
| | you-2sgM/F(NH) | sleep-INTR | Asp | Aux | 2P-NH | |
| | ‘you sleep’ | | | | | |
| iv. | <i>o</i> | <i>sut</i> | <i>-ai(t)</i> | <i>ch</i> | <i>-th-i</i> | |
| | s/he-3sgM/F(H) | sleep-INTR | Asp | Aux | 3P-H | |
| | ‘he sleeps’ | | | | | |

The examples presented above raise many questions. Some of them are:

2. How to decide if *ch* is an Aux Mkr or a Tns Mkr?
3. How to decide as: *-i* is an Hon Mkr or Person Mkr or a Tns Mkr?
4. At one place, a non-honorific pronominal *ham* 'I' takes the same honorific marker as an honorific pronominal *ahaaN* 'you' while at the other place, *toN* 'you' being a non-honorific takes another marker with the similar tense and Aux. How?
5. The example (iv) above may be represented in two ways:

o sut-ai-t ch-th-i 'he
 sleeps'

o sut-ai-t ch-th-inh 'he
 sleeps'

How to differentiate between the markers *-i* and *-inh*? Do these represent two different circumstances? If not, how do they differ?

- 1 It is also important to know if a single marker attached with the verb root may stand for two or more features in Maithili?
- 2 Apart from these, the possible extent of breakability of a chunk of affixes in conjugation with each other too requires a logical explanation.

II. Problems Related to Dialectical Variations in Maithili

Most of confusions related to verbal paradigm come into play due to the dialectical variations in Maithili. Thus, the corpus always varies according to the linguists. Under such circumstance, it is quite difficult to decide a particular paradigm of Maithili. For example:

(v) Nepali Maithili: *ham hunkaa dekh-l-ii*

I-H him-DAT see-PST-AgrNH
'I saw him.'

ham okra se kah-lii
I-H him-Acc to say-PST-AgrNH

'I told him.'

(vi) Indian Maithili: *ham hunkaa dekh-al-i-anhi*

I-H him-DAT see-PST-AgrH

'I saw him.'

ham ahaaN sN kaha-l-auNhu

I-H you-Acc from say-PST-AgrH

'I told you.'

Apart from this, the second phase of the present research involves the detailed study of the functional role of honorificity in various types of verbal constructions of Maithili. It is already an assumption that Maithili might have various levels of honorificity and the extent may be such that one may claim for a second type of agreement system prevalent in Maithili which is completely based on honorificity.

3. Revisiting A. Mishra’s (Mishra, 2004) Claims on Positions of Agreement in Maithili

In his work on ‘Agreement in Maithili, 2004’, Dr. Abhinav Mishra claims for several types of agreements in Maithili such as the DO-Agreement, IO-Agreement, Possessor-Agreement, Gender-Agreement, Number-Agreement, and Person-Agreement. It seems that some of these agreements like DO-Agr, IO-Agr, and Poss-Agr need to be revisited. Let us begin our discussion with the possibility of DO-Agreement in Maithili.

(a) Scope of Direct Object (DO) Agreement

According to Dr. Mishra (Mishra, 2004), unlike the most IALs such as Oriya and Bangla where we find the subject NP generally controlling the verb agreement, Maithili exhibits a reversed situation as regards the agreement. It is the honorificity that bases for the verbal agreement in this language. He further puts that the agreement in this language also depends on the fact whether DO is [+/-H]. If DO is [+H], it is the DO only which triggers verb agreement while if the DO is [-H], it is the subject NP which controls verb agreement. Let us consider the following examples:

1. *ahaaN_i mohan_j*
 mohan-
 you-H H
 ‘You hit Mohan.’

2. *tu_i mohan_j*
 mohan-
 you-H H
 ‘You hit Mohan.’

3. *ahaaN_i mohan_j you-H mohan-NH* ‘You hit Mohan.’
 ke maar –aliainh_j
 Acc hit Pst-H

 ke maar -alhunh_j
 Acc hit Pst-H

ke maar -aliai_i
 Acc hit Pst-H

In example (1) and (2), we find that both the subject and the object NPs i.e. *ahaaN* and

Mohan are honorific respectively. But the former NP is not overtly casemarked as the latter. In such a situation, it is the subject NP which may participate in agreement and not the object NP which is overtly casemarked. Thus, from this point of view, we cannot think of DO-agreement in these sentences. Almost similar is the situation in example (3) except that the DO is [NH]. Thus, none of the examples stated above seem to support for DO-Agreement.

(b) Scope of Indirect Object (IO) Agreement

So far as IO-Agreement is concerned, according to Dr. Mishra, the IO too triggers agreement but only in the first and the second person while it is the honorificity that plays a major role in the third person. Let us observe the following examples:

4. *o_i chauRaa_j ke*
 he-NH boy-NH Dat
 ‘He gave breakfast to the boy.’

5. *o_i baabaa_j*
 he-NH grand-pa-H
 ‘He gave breakfast to grand-pa.’

6. *o_i baabaa_j*
 he-H grand-pa-H
 ‘He gave breakfast to grand-pa.’

jalkhai delkai_j
 breakfast give-Pst-NH

Ke jalkhai delkainh_j
 Dat breakfast give-Pst-H

Ke jalkhai delkhinh_{i/j}
 Dat breakfast give-Pst-H

7. *oi* *chauRaa;* *ke* *jalkhai* *delkhinh;*
 he-H boy-NH Dat breakfast H
 ‘He gave breakfast to the boy.’

Dr. Mishra puts if the subject is NH, the IO triggers agreement for honorificity as in (4) and

(5) but the actual situations seems quite similar to that of the case of DO-Agreement. In these examples too, it is only the subject NP which can be allowed to participate in agreement and not the IO that is already overtly case-marked. In the next part, he advocates that if the subject is honorific, the IO does not trigger agreement for honorificity, regardless of the status of the IO i.e. [+/-H] as in (6) and (7) which also does not seem appropriate as the condition for the participation of an NP (subject, direct object or indirect object) should be applicable to all such constructions. From this standpoint, Dr. Mishra’s assumption of DO as well as IO-Agreement in Maithili does not appear convincing.

(c) Possibilities of Possessor Agreement in Maithili

Dr. Mishra also finds the possibility of possessor agreement in Maithili with the direct object (DO) and the oblique object (OO). For example:

- a. *mukeshbaa-k* *kukkur mair ge-l-ai(k)*
 Mukeshbaa-3NH-Poss dog die go-PST-3NH
 ‘Mukeshbaa’s dog died.’
 raajubaabu-
- b. *k* *kukkur* *mair ge-l-anhi*
 Raajubaabu-3H-Poss dog die go-PST-3H
 ‘Rajubabu’s dog died.’
- c. *tohar* *kukkur* *ham-*
 your-2NH dog my-1NH- *nankirbaa ke kaait le-l-ak-ai(k)*
 CM child ACC bite take-PST-
 2NHAgr
- ‘your dog bit my child.’
- d. *apneN-k* *hamar* *nankirwaa ke/N* *kaait le-l-ak/-ai(k)*
 your-2H-Poss dog my-1NH-CM child ACC bite take-PST-
 2NHAgr
 ‘your dog bit my child.’

e. *raambaabu-k kukkur jaa rahal ch-anhi*
 Rambabu-3H-Poss dog go Prog Aux-3H
 ‘Rambabu’s dog is going.’

f. *rameshbaa-k kukkur ja rahal ch-ai(k)*
 Rameshbaa-3NH-Poss dog go Prog Aux-3NH
 ‘Rameshbabu’s dog is going.’

In the above example **a**, we can see that when the subject *kukkur* ‘dog’ with a non-honorific possessor ‘*Mukeshbaa*’ agrees with the verb *ge* ‘go’, the verb also takes the non-honorific marker *-ai(k)* while in **b**, the same subject takes the verb *ge* ‘go’ with an honorific marker *-anhi* under the influence of the honorific possessor *Raajubaabu*. Similarly, in **c**, we find that the subject with a non-honorific possessor *tohar* ‘your’ agrees with the verb with a non-honorific marker *-au/-ai(k)* but when it comes to *apneN-k kukkur* in **d** where *apneN* is honorific, the verb does not take any honorific marker a non-honorific marker i.e. *-ak/-ai(k)* which is against our presumption as in **a** & **b**. Again, we can see that **e** & **f** follows the same pattern as **a** & **b**. Thus, it requires a minute observation to arrive at certain generalization.

(d) Long-distance Possessor Agreement in Maithili

g. *raam keN tohar gaarii calaunaai ab-ai-t*
 ram-3H/NH-DAT your-2NH-GEN car to drive come-
 PRES
ch-ai(k)
 Aux-2NH

‘Ram knows how to drive your car.’

(Yogendra Yadav as quoted in Subbarao, 2001)

It has been observed (Mishra, 2004) that in Maithili, the matrix verb agrees with the possessor of the embedded clause. The entire embedded clause is an infinitival complement and hence behaves like a DP. This DP occurs in the object position of the matrix S and the possessor raises to the SPEC position of the T of the matrix clause because the probe identifies the possessor of the embedded clause as the candidate and the Spec position of the T of the matrix S has to be filled. That is how the target of ‘move’ and location are determined. The operation Agree simultaneously takes place deleting the probe. It is to be noted here that the case feature of the genitive is inherently case marked.

V. Verification of Yogendra Yadav’s Claim of Multiple Agreement in Maithili

Dr. Y. Yadava claims the instances of triple or multiple agreements on the verb in one of his widely quoted paper (Yadava, 1997) in Nepali Maithili. He presents the following example in support of his assumption:

7.	<i>*ham_i</i>							
	<i>tohar_j</i>	<i>baabujik_k ke</i>	<i>dekh -al</i>	<i>-*i_i</i>	<i>-au_j</i>		<i>-nh_k</i>	
							AgrS-AgrGen-	
	I	you	father -Acc	see-	Pst-		AgrDO	
		NH	H				NH	H

‘I saw your father.’

The example in question cannot be accepted at least in Indian Maithili because of the following reasons:

16. The honorific marker *-nh* can only be co-indexed with the third person honorific NP *baabuji* ‘father’ here iff the second person non-honorific NP is replaced with a second person honorific NP.
17. The moment we replace second person non-honorific NP *tohar* ‘your’ with a second person honorific NP *ahaaNk* ‘your’, the *-au* marker will also have to be replaced with *-ai* marker according to Indian Maithili for co-indexation.
18. In case, we do not go for such replacements [as stated above in (i) & (ii)], we cannot think of triple agreement in Indian Maithili as *-nh* marker is not permissible in such constructions in Indian Maithili without making the replacements as stated above.

For the consideration of triple agreement in Indian Maithili, we may consider the following example:

8.	<i>ham_i</i>	<i>ahaaNk_j</i>	<i>baabujik_k ke</i>	<i>dekh -al</i>	<i>-i_i</i>	<i>-ai_j</i>	<i>-nh_k</i>	
	I	you-Gen	father -Acc	see	Pst	AgrS	Agr-Gen	Agr-DO
	H	H	H			H	H	H

‘I saw your father.’

The example cited by Dr. Yadava can only be accepted as the following:

9.	<i>ham_i</i>	<i>tohar</i>	<i>baabuu_j ke</i>	<i>dekh -al</i>	<i>-i_i</i>		<i>-au(h)_j</i>	
	I	you	father-Acc	see	Pst	AgrS	Gen	
	H	NH	NH			H	NH	

‘I saw your father.’

Thus, we do not find any scope of triple or multiple agreements in (14). Even in case of (16), which is a case of double agreement, we may just think of none else but a default agreement as none of the NPs except the subject NP is overtly uncase marked.

According to Dr. Abhinav Mishra (Mishra, 2004), Dr. Yadava suggests *-i* marker for the subject-verb agreement in (14) which is not observed in Indian Maithili. But our re-analysis of data reveals that *-i* exists as a first person marker in Maithili. Therefore, the scope of multiple or triple agreement cannot be stated invalid even for the Indian Maithili on this ground.

References:

- Bauer, L., 1983. *Introducing Linguistic Morphology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chatterji, Suniti Kumar. (1926). *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*. 3 vols. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press. Reprint. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Grierson, George A. 1881. *An Introduction to the Maithili Dialect of the Bihari Languages as spoken in North Bihar. Grammar*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society
- Grierson, George A. 1882. *An Introduction to the Maithili Dialect of the Bihari Languages as spoken in North Bihar. Part 2: Chrestomathy and Vocabulary*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal
- Hoernle, A.F.R. & G.A. Grierson. 1885. *A Comparative Dictionary of Bihari Language I*. Calcutta, Bengal
- Jha, S., 1958. *The Formation of Maithili Language*, Patna: Patna University Press.
- Jha, Govind. 1958. "Verb conjugation in Maithili". *Journal of Bihar Research Society* 44/3-4:169-76
- Masica, Colin, P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mishra, Abhinav K. 2004. *Agreement in Maithili*. Unpublished M.Phil. dissertation. University of Delhi
- Singh, U.N. 1979. *Some aspects of Maithili syntax: A transformational-generative approach*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Delhi.
- Subbarao, K.V., 1990. *Typological Characteristics of South-Asian Languages*, Conference paper.
- Subbarao, K.V., 2012. *South-Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yadav, Ramawatar, 1997. *A Reference Grammar of Maithili*, M M Publishers Pvt Ltd.