CASE MARKERS IN PURBIYA RAJI IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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This paper presents the case markers in Purbiya Raji (PR) comparing them with its other varieties. As expected, the variations in case marking is attested across Raji varieties. The variations of the case marking is also seen among the speakers of the same variety in Naukule Raji. While the elder speakers do not use the dative-accusative case marker, younger people use it. The ergative case marker -i can be reconstructed to Raji-Raute languages.

Keywords: case marking, dative, accusative, ergative-instrumental

1. The Raji language

Raji is an endangered Trans-Himalayan (Tibeto-Burman, TB) language (ISO rji, glotolog: Raji 1240) spoken in Nepal, and also in India (Krishan 2001; Rastogi, 2012). It is primarily spoken in Surkhet, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of western Nepal. The three varieties of Raji spoken in Nepal are Naukule, Purbiva, and Barabandale (Eppele et al., 2012) and the variety spoken in Kumaun, India is also regarded as a distinct variety. The recent census (2021) records that a total of 4696 Raji people speak this as a mother tongue. The language is described as 'threatened' (van Driem, 2007). In Grierson and Konow's classification (1909), Raji belongs to Jungali group within Western Subgroup of Complex Pronominalized languages within Himalayan section of TB languages.¹ Noonan (2008) also noted that Raji belongs to the Central group of TB language family. He groups Raji with Kham group of langauges and Kaike spoken in the far-western Nepal. Similarly, Bradley (1997) classifies Raji as a Western Tibeto-Burman language, and further mentions that it is closely

linked to Raute and Magar, and is a Central Himalayish language.

There are some studies related to the Raji varieties spoken in India (Krishan, 2001) and Nepal, and there are discussions about the link between Raji and Raute (Dhakal, 2021b). The information about the Barabandale Raji is found in Khatri (2008), and Bandhu et al. (2011). A grammatical description of Kumaun Raji is available (Rastogi, 2012).

More extensive works have been done in the Purbiya Raji. The documentation corpus is found in Dhakal (2018), the glossaries are available (Dhakal 2019, Dhakal, 2023), and a descriptive grammar in the Nepali language is also available (Dhakal, 2021a) in addition to various aspects of grammar (Dhakal 2020, 2021a, 2022a, 2022b). The research works on Naukule Raji have not been published focusing on the Naukule Raji (NR) till the date. The case markers in the Purbiya Raji has not been described in the comparative perspective in the studies mentioned above.

2. Methodology

The data for the Purbiya Raji were collected from Madhuwan Municipality, Bardiya mainly based on Dhakal (2018). The data were collected during 2017-18, and some data were also elicited from Govinda Raji in Kathmandu. The texts and the lexical items obtained already were from Bhim Bahadur Raji, Moti Raji, Sukmati Raji, Gopisa Raji and Khadga Raji. They mainly consist of the folk stories, personal narratives, and procedural texts comprising 1600 chunks of utterances (consisting of clauses and sentences). The examples were obtained by elicited data.

The paper is analyzed from comparative perspective. The description is minaly based on

¹ Grierson and Konow (1909, p. 530) mentions that they obtained the data from Asakot, India. They also include the words from Almora, India.

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dialectology, and typology (cf. Payne, 2006; Bisang, 2004; Chambers & Trudgill, 2004). Bisang (2004, p. 12) notes:

... dialectologists concentrate on social and historical motivations of variation across dialects, whereas typologists are interested in universal patterns of variation across languages and their motivation by human cognition and discourse.

The cross-dialectal variations have also been discussed taking data from four varieties of Raji.

3. Case marking

There are case markers in PR to code the ergtiveinstrumental, location, genitive, dative-accusative, and associative cases. The remaining case relations are shown by postpositions. First of all, let's look at the case marking pattern in PR.

- rukhã dhəleka rukhã dhəl-e-ka tree fall-NTVZ-PST.SG 'The tree fell.'
- (2) yai bəţţa dza?ka
 ŋa-i bəţţa dza?-kã
 1SG-ERG rice eat-PST.1SG
 'I ate rice.'

As shown in (1), the subject of the intransitive clause is null-marked, but the case marker -i is appended to the agent of the transitive clause (2). However, the case-marking pattern in this language is not consistent. The agents of some transitive clauses (such as 3) take the ergative markers whereas others do not (6).

 (3) tsuruntjai rukhã muksi tsuruntja-i rukhã muk-si boy-ERG tree see-PST3SG.1SG 'The boy fell down the tree.'

As explained above, we need to take a number of factors to explain the case marking pattern in PR.

4. Case markers

The terms such as subject, agent, patient etc. in this section are based on Payne (2006). There are some difficulties in explaining the case marking pattern in the languages of this region at least for a couple of reasons. Firstly, although the languages seem like ergative-absolutive, the ergative case marking is not consistent. A number of semantico-pragmatic factors determine the presence of

ergative marking. Secondly, the objects are not consistently marked in these languages, and show differential object marking. There are a number of studies which reveal this pattern in Tibeto-Burman (DeLancey, 2011; Chelliah & Hyslop, 2011; Willis 2011; among others) and Indo-Aryan (Verbeke, 2013). The case markers discussed in this section are the ergative-instrumental, dativeaccusative, locative, genitive, ablative and associative cases.

4.1 Nominative case

The zero-marking is described as nominative case in PR. The subject of the intransitive clauses are always null-marked (4).

(4) ya boya swaka
 na boya swa-ka
 1SG forest go-PST.SG
 'I went to the forest.'

By contrast, the agents of the transitive clauses generally take the ergative case. In a pair of sentences given in (5-6), the ergative marker is attached to the agent because the verb is in the past tense. By contrast, the agent in (6) does not host the ergative marker because the verb is in the present tense. The presence of ergativity is thus decided by tense and aspect of the verbs.

- (5) yai khet dzotekã ŋa-i khet dzot-e-kã 1SG-ERG field plough-NTVZ-PST.1SG 'I ploughed the field.'
- (6) *ŋa kheţ dzoţekũ* ŋa kheţ dzoţ-e-kũ
 1SG field plough-NTVZ-PRES.1SG
 'I plough the field.'

The subjects of the transitive clauses in the past tense are generally marked (6, 8). By contrast, the subjects of the transitive clauses, if they are in the present tense, are not consistently marked (5, 7).

- (7) ya bəţa dza?kũ
 ŋa bəţa dza?-kũ
 1SG rice eat-PRES.1SG
 'I eat rice.'
- (8) yai bəţa dza?kã
 ŋa-i bəţa dza?-kã
 1SG-ERG rice eat-PST.1SG
 'I ate rice.'

The fact that Raji seems to be like nominativeergative language is briefly discussed in section (1), and section (3.1). Similarly, some aspects of differential object marking is presented in section (3.3).

4.2 Ergative-instrumental case

The ergative case is -i in PR. Some vowel ending nouns take the ergative marker -wi, as shown in (15, 19). The agent of the transitive and the ditransitive clauses receives the ergative case. For example, subjects of some transitive clauses receive the ergative case, whereas others do not.

- (9) *ŋa dinkəl ghãs gəkkũ* ŋa dinkəl ghãs gək-kũ
 1SG everyday grass cut-PRES.1SG
 'I cut grass everyday.'
- (10) ŋai kuja ghãs gəkã ŋa-i kuja ghãs gə-kã 1SG-ERG yesterday grass cut-PST.1SG 'I cut grass yesterday.'
- (11) ya bəţa dza?kũ
 ŋa bəţa dza?-kũ
 1SG rice eat-PRES.1SG
 'I eat rice.'
- (12) namha oŋha nariu bwawi sudhja nam-ha oŋ-ha nariu bwa-i house-LOC come-PERF time father-ERG sudh-ja ask-2PST 'While coming home, (his) father asked him.'

[Five Brothers.21]

(13) *ŋa pon bhərakũ*ŋa pon bhəra-kũ
1SG life fill-PRES.1SG
'I fill in the life.' [SunkesriQueen.74]

The noun phrases without nouns also take the ergative case. It is not necessary that there is always a noun that takes the ergative marker. The head of the syntactically nominalized clause takes the ergative case as shown in (14). In this example, there is the absence of the head noun, and the nominalized verb form takes the ergative marker.

(14)	məd tunjann	i tshorau məkka
	məd	tuŋ-jaŋ-i
	brewed.lique	or drink-NMLZ-ERG
	tshorau	mək-ka
	son	beat-PST.SG
	'The person	who drank the liquor beat the boy.'

The ergative determined by tense and aspect is also reported in Nepali (see Li, 2007, p. 1466), and animacy (Verbeke, 2013, p. 149). These factors are also relevant in analyzing the optional ergative marking in Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey, 2011).

The ergative and instrumental is the same in PR. An example follows in which the instrumental -i is attached to *dəntha* 'stick'.

(15) yai dənthawi mubhu təmkã
ŋa-i dəntha-i mubhu təm-kã
1SG-ERG stick-INST snake throw-PST.1SG
'I threw the snake with the stick.'

The examples (16-18) illustrate the instrumental case.

 (16) tsuruntjai pəinai mubu saţka tsuruntja-i pəina-i mubu saţ-ka girl-ERG stick-INST snake kill-PST.SG 'The girl killed the snake with the stick.'

(17) *ŋai sjaŋi sjak gakkã* ŋa-i sjaaŋ-i sjak gak-kã I-ERG sickle-INST wild.yam cut-PST.1SG
I cut the wild yam with the sickle.'

- (18) erai bəntsəroi rukhã gakka
 era-i bəntsəro-i rukhã gak-ka
 boy-ERG axe-INST tree cut-PST.SG
 'I boy cut (fell) the tree with the axe.'
- (19) tsawi sudhja tsau-i sudh-ja son-ERG ask-2PST '(His) son asked.' [FiveBrothers.22]

The instrumental case is used to show the instrument used to carry out certain functions. The inanimate objects are used as instruments to perform different actions in these examples. The case marker -i is also attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages (see LaPolla, 1995, p. 195).

4.3 Dative-accusative case

The dative-accusative case is marked by *-kona* in PR. The direct object (recipient) of the ditransitive clause is marked with the dative case.

(20) yai tsuruntjakana bantsaro baikã
ŋa-i tsuruntja-kana bantsaro bai-kã
lSG-ERG girl-DAT axe give-PST.SG
'I gave the axe to the girl.'

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- (21) breunaŋni in kura məţkakəna gara breunaŋ-i in kura məţka-kəna gar-a Tharu-ERG this matter wife-ACC say-2PST 'A Tharu said this to (my) wife.'
- (22) honi ŋakəna gotjau maneksi hon-i ŋa-kəna gotjau 3SG-ERG 1SG-ACC younger.brother man-e-ksi consider-NTVZ-PST.3SG.1SG 'He considered me his brother.'

In the following ditransitive clauses, the dative case is also attached to the indirect object.

(23) basuki nagkana hon ketikana sopeja basuki nag-kana hon keti-kana sope-ja Basuki snake-DAT that girl-DAT give-2PST '(They) gave the girl to the Basuki snake.' [FiveBrothers.72]

The direct object does not generally host the case marker. However, direct object *nag* 'snake god' is also case marked in the corpus. It shows that both the direct, and indirect objects take the dative case in PR. For the convenience, the case marker *-kəna* in the object in the transitive clause is glossed as accusative (ACC) whereas the case marker with the recipient object is glossed as dative (DAT).

When the human nouns occur in the object position, they generally take the accusative case. In examples (24), the objects are marked with the object (accusative) case.

- (24) bəjui rumukəna mokka
 bəju-i rumu-kəna mok-ka
 father-ERG daughter-ACC beat-PST.SG
 'The father beat (his) daughter.'
- (25) honi moţkaukəna nam həiţə toŋka hon-i moţkau-kəna nam həiţə toŋ-ka 3SG-ERG wife-ACC house ABL drive-PST.SG 'He drove away his wife from home.'

The pronouns generally take the accusative case when they appear in the object position (26).

(26) *nai honkəna bheţeka* na-i hon-kəna bheţ-e-ka
 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC meet-NTV-PST.SG
 'I met him.'

While definite nouns take the accusative marker, non-specific nouns do not. This is also an areal feature of IA languages (Masica, 1991). It is also to be noted that the indefinite suffixes *-po* and *-te* are

used to show the indefinite in PR, such as gun 'who', gunpo 'someone', gunte 'someone' etc.

- (27) *honi tsaukəna mokka* hon-i tsau-kəna mok-ka he-ERG son-DAT beat-PST.SG 'He beat his son.'
- (28) *honi tsau mokka* hon-i tsau mok-ka he-ERG son beat-PST.SG 'He beat his son.'
- (29) *aŋţe oka* aŋ-ţe o-ka what-INDEF happen-PST.SG 'Something happened.'

The objects are not consistently marked in PR. While animate, and specific nouns generally take the object marker, inanimate nouns do not host them.

If the noun is not specific, it is null-marked as shown in (31, 33). Similarly, the animate nouns may be marked with the dative-accusative case, or may be null-marked.

- (30) *ŋai era mokkã* ŋa-i era mok-kã
 I-ERG boy beat-PST.1SG 'I beat the boy.'
- (31) *yai erakəna mokkã* ŋa-i era-kəna mok-kã I-ERG boy-ACC beat-PST.1SG 'I beat the boy.'
- (32) bhəijai gromu tsumka bhəija-i gromu tsum-ka young.brother-ERG girl hold-PST.SG '(My) brother held the girl.'
- (33) bhaijai gromukana tsumka
 bhaija-i gromu-kana tsum-ka
 young.brother-ERG girl-DAT hold-PST.SG
 '(My) younger brother held the girl.'

The inanimate noun generally does not take the accusative case. However, when the inanimate objects behave like characters in narratives, they take the accusative marker. In example (34), inanimate noun $p^hulbari$ 'garden' takes the accusative case.

(34) p^hiri p^hulbarikəna sətte sərap k^həja p^hiri p^hulbari-kəna səttesərap k^həi-ja again garden-ACC curse do-2PST 'And again he cursed the garden.'

[SunkesriQueen.93]

 (35) hon mugrakəna tsumtəna sentniŋ n^bəu həitəna hon mugra-kəna tsum-təna 3SG wood.hammer-ACC hold-SEQ sentniŋ n^bəu həitəna make.dance-seq and.then from

make.dance-seq and.then from 'Having hold the wooden hammer, and then,' [MarriageMoti.73-74]

(36) honi moţkaukana nam haiţa ţoŋka hon-i moţkau-kana nam haiţa ţoŋ-ka he-ERG wife-ACC house from drive-PST.SG 'He drove away the wife from home.'

If the noun is indefinite, it does not receives the accusative case.

(37) *thərui khetha gai konka* thəru-i khet-ha gai kon-ka Tharu-ERG field-LOC cow grze-PST.SG 'The Tharu grazed the cow in the field.'

Like in Indo-Aryan languages of this region, there are a number of cases in which the dative-marked subjects are used in PR. They are used to indicate various uses. To begin, they are used to indicate physical sensations or conditions (38-40).

- (38) yakə tsaykəna sərdi glaka
 ŋa-kə tsay-kəna sərdi gla-ka
 I-GEN son-dat common.cold catch-PST.SG
 'My son has caught the common cold.'
- (39) yəikəna isa dukhkhə heŋ ŋəi-kəna isa dukhkhə heŋ IPL-DAT like.this hardship COP.PRES 'I have hardships like this.' [FiveBrothers.127]
- (40) nakəna risən səi heka
 ŋa-kəna risən səi heka
 I-DAT anger rise COP.PST
 'I was angry.'

The dative subject indicate the psychological or mental states.

 (41) yakana namka jad oyka na-kana nam-ka jad oŋ-ka I-DAT house-GEN remembering come-PST.SG 'I remembered home.'

- (42) yakəna in kura thaha həima ŋa-kəna in kura thaha həima I-DAT this thing knowledge COP.NEG 'I do not know this thing.'
- (43) yakəna na ta aŋ tha ŋa-kəna ta aŋ tha I-DAT part what knowledge
 'What do I know?' [SunkesriQueen.308]

The dative marked subjects indicate wanting or needing.

- (44) *naŋkəna aŋ tsəieka* naŋ-kəna aŋ tsəi-e-ka you-DAT what need-NTVZ-PST.SG 'What do you need?'
- (45) naŋkəna nəmha kam briŋ naŋ-kəna nəm-ha ka-m briŋ you-DAT house-LOC go-PURP should 'I should go home.'

The dative-marked subject shows the obligation, and compulsion in PR. Examples follow (46-47).

- (46) *yakəna nəmha kaneŋ heŋ* naŋ-kəna nəm-ha ka-njaŋ heŋ you-DAT house-LOC go-NMLZ COP 'I have to go home.'
- (47) ŋakəna in kam k^həinjaŋ heŋ naŋ-kəna in kam k^həi-njaŋ heŋ you-DAT this work do-NMLZ COP 'I have to do this work.'

In a typical case, the dative case marking is used with the verb meaning 'match'. An example follows.

(48) yəikənə səttəlsiy radza dəi suhaeyma yəi-kənə səttəlsiy radza dəi you-DAT Sattalsingh king with

> suha-e-ŋ-ma match-NTVZ-INF-NEG 'Sattalsingh King does not match you.'

[Sunkesri Queen.304]

The dative-marked subjects are used with the desiderative verb forms.

(49) honkəna tshasa glabəka
 hon-kəna tsha-sa glabə-ka
 I-DAT play-DESID feel-PST.SG
 'He wanted to play.'

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(50)	yakəna dindil rəksi tuysa glaki					
	ŋa-kəna	dindil	rəksi	tuŋ-sa		
	I-DAT	daily	liquor	drink-DESID		
	gla-ki					
	befall-PRES					
	'I want to drink liquor everyday.'					

As Willis noted in the case of Darma in India (2011, p. 107), we may assume the influence of Nepali, the influence of the medium language in eliciting the data. Although dative subjects are common across Indo-Aryan languages, this is less discussed phenomenon among Tibeto-Burman languages. It is therefore difficult to claim at this moment whether this is a feature of PR, or an approximate translation of Nepali sentences into PR.

44Locative

The locative marker is *-ha* in PR. The location of space is shown in (51-53).

- (51) n^hau tukuha rumal rupka n^həu tuku-ha rumal rup-ka and then neck-LOC handkerchief tie-PST.SG '(He) tied the handkerchief in the neck.' [PearStory.7]
- (52) bau ona emha bau on-a em-ha father come-2PST road-LOC 'The father came to the road.' [FrogStory.7]
- (53) hon namha nəika hon nam-ha nəi-ka 3sg house-LOC sit-PST.SG 'I lived (sat) at home.

The location of time is shown in (54-57).

- (54) ãitsuha nəikə pərai həimani nəi-kə ãitsu-ha pər-ai həimani small-LOC we-gen read-NMLZ NEG.COP 'When we were small, (we) did not get chance to read (lit. reading was not available).' [LifeStory.Gopi.4-5]
- (55) saunha tsol djau rwãka saun-ha tsol djau rwã-ka Saun-LOC much rain fall-PST.SG 'It rained a lot in the month of Shrawan.'
- (56) nai pudzaha ts^hela bəika pudza-ha tshela bəi-ka na-i give-PST.SG I-ERG worship-PST goat 'I offered he-goat in the worship.'

(57) tshəkalha swam brin tshəkal-ha swa-m brin morning-LOC walk-PURP should '(We) should walk in the morning.'

It is used to refer to the state of human experience.

- (58) na hosha hen na hos-ha hen 1SG consciousness-LOC COP.PRES.SG 'I am conscious.'
- (59) na dukhəha hen na dukhə-ha hen 1SG hardship-LOC COP.PRES.SG 'I am in hardship.'

It is used to show the cost of things, or items.

- (60) yai in thajanri plā ruijāha ləukā na-i in thajanri plã rupijã-ha I-ERG this cloth five rupee-LOC lou-kã buy-pst.1sg 'I bought this cloth for five rupees.'
- (61) honi da rupjaha brik ləuka hon-i da rupja-ha brik ləu-kã rupee-LOC needle buy-PST.SG he-ERG one 'He bought this needle for one rupees.'

It also indicates a larger group to which an item or person belongs

(62) terə b^hai bəinaha barə b^hai bəina siswa bhai bəina-ha barə bhai terə thirteen brother sister-LOC twelve brother bəina si-a sister die-PST 'Among the thirteen siblings, twelve of them [LifeStory.Gopi.102] already died.'

Locative case is also used to show the human qualities, and in this case the non-finite form of the verb marked with -jan takes the locative marker.

- (63) na namha naima an dos hen nam-ha nəi-m-ha dos na aŋ 1sg house-loc sit-purp-loc what fault hen COP.PRES.SG 'What is my fault in sitting at home?'
- (64) nai rəksi tunəmha an mamədza oka rəksi tun-əm-ha na-i an 1SG-ERG liquor drink-PURP-LOC what

ma-mədza o-ka NEG-good become-PST.SG 'What bad thing is there in my (habit of) drinking liquor?'

In addition to the location of time and space, there are other uses of the locative case as illustrated in these examples.

4.5 Genitive case

The genitive case is $-k\partial$, also realized as -k. With the first person pronoun, the genitive case ends in -k, but with the third person, it ends in $-k\partial$. Examples follow.

(65) mamai ŋakəna nam həiţna ţonkasi mama-i ŋa-kəna nam maternal.uncle-ERG I-ACC house
həiţna ton-kasi ABL drive.out-PST.SG
'The maternal uncle drove me out of the house.'

It is used to show kinship relation (66), and other belongings (67-68).

- (66) yakə sumţhõ tsay hekəy
 ŋa-kə sum-thõ tsay hekəy
 I-GEN three-CLF child.1SG COP.PRES 'I have three children.'
- (67) *yakə nam* ya-k nam I-GEN house 'My house'
- (68) honkə nimg^hil tsau siksi hon-kə nim-g^hil tsau si-ksi he-GEN two-CLF child die-PST.PL 'Both of his two children died.'

There are also the cases that where the genitive relation is obtained by different constructions. The genitive relation in PR is also shown simply by juxtaposing the possessor, and possessed items in that order as shown in (69).

(69) hon səttəlsiŋ radza dzeu siswa hon səttəlsiŋ radza dzeu si-swa that Sattalsing king mother die-PST 'The mother of Sattalsingh queen died.' [SunkesriQueen.12]

As shown in (70), there is case compounding in PR. in which the genitive case is followed by the locative. It indicates that the person moves upto a 'person', 'near' him. Examples follow. (70) *ŋa gurəukəha swakã* ŋa gurəu-kə-ha swa-kã
 I priest-GEN-LOC go-PST.1SG

'I went to the priest.'

- (71) ya bədzjakəha kakã
 ŋa bədzja-kə-ha ka-kã
 I grandfather-GEN-LOC go-PST.1SG
 'I went to (my) grandfather.'
- (72) *era ŋakəha oŋka* era ŋa-kə-ha oŋ-ka boy I-GEN-LOC come-PST 'The boy came to me.'

Locative case follows the genitive case in case compounding. In example (71), the full noun phrase may be *badzja-ka nam-ha* 'grandfather-GEN house-LOC'. Similarly, the full noun phrase in (72) may be *ya-ka nam-ha* '1SG-GEN house-LOC'. There is the absence of the noun following the genitive marked nouns in these examples (71-72). The genitive case *-k* is also reported in Magar (Grunow-Hårsta, 2008).

4.6 Ablative case

The ablative is shown by the postposition *haita* 'from'. It shows the source or origin. The ablative postposition may follow the nouns, or adverbs. When it follows the nouns, it shows the origin or source as in (73-75).

- (73) dhərap həitə khləitəna leta dhərap həitə khləi-təna let-a trap ABL untie-SEQ leave-2PST 'Having been untied from the trap, (he) let (it go) free.'
 - [FiveBrothers.161]
- (74) dailekh haiţa waŋsi
 dailekh haiţa waŋ-si
 Dailekh ABL come-PST.PL
 '(The people) came from Dailekh.'
 [LifeStory.Moti.40]
- (75) mətsa boŋa həitə nəmha oŋka mətsa boŋa həitə nəm-ha oŋ-ka girl jungle ABL house-LOC come-PST 'The girl came from the forest.'

This can also follow adverbs that typically show time.

(76)tsaŋkəna kuja həitə dzəro toŋthakatsaŋ-kənakujason.1SG-DATday.before.yesterdayfrom

dzəro toŋ-tʰa-ka fever come-PERF-COP '(My) son caught fever from the day before yesterday.'

(77) ya plaŋ bədze həitə niŋkama ŋa plaŋ bədze həitə niŋ-ka-ma I five o'clock ABL sleep-PST-NEG 'I did not sleep from five o'clock.'

It indicates the source (78-79).

- (78) in n^həu həitə
 in n^həu həitə
 this later ABL
 'From later on,'[LifeStory.Moti.24]
- (79) naŋi bəi həitə aŋ aŋ darka naŋi bəi həitə aŋ aŋ dar-ka you-ERG father ABL what what find-PST.SG 'What (PL) did you get from your father?'

The typical ablative examples are illustrated in (73-79).

4.7 Associative case

The associative case is *-na* in PR. It is used to show togetherness.

(80) ts^hotasinna gomem bana
 ts^hotasinna gome-m ban-a
 Chotasingh-ASS fight-INF begin-2PST
 '(He) began to fight with Chhotasingh.'

[FiveBrothers.289]

 (81) sunkesri ranina sjam bəŋa sunkesrirani-na sja-m bəŋ-a Sunkesriqueen-ASS dance-PURP begin-2PST '(He) began to dance with Sunkesri queen.' [SunkesriQueen.364]

The comitative meaning is also indicated by *-dəi* in PR.

- (82) metdəi waŋjaŋ met-dəi waŋ-jaŋ leader-with come-NMLZ
 'One coming with the leader'
- (83) hon ŋəidəi oŋka hon ŋəidəi oŋ-ka he we-with come-PST 'He came with me.'

The word *dəi* refers both 'accompaniment' relation and coordinating conjunct 'and' in PR.

5. Comparison of case markers in Raji

The nominal morphology is mainly suffixing in Raji varieties. Raji nouns inflect for number, emphatic marking, indefinite marking among others in PR Raji (Dhakal, 2021a). This is similar to the Naukule variety (Dhakal, forthcoming). This is true in the Barabandale Raji as well (Bandhu et al., 2011).

Table (1) shows the individual case markers in Raji varieties including Raute. The data are taken from various sources, such as Dhakal (2021a) for Purbiya Raji, author's own field work for Naukule Raji (Dhakal, forthcoming), Bandhu et al. (2011) for Barabandale Raji, Rastogi (2012) for Kumaun Raji, and Khadka (2006) for Raute.

Table 1: Case markers	of Raji	varieties and	Raute
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	Naukule	Barabandale	Purbiya	Kumaun	Raute
Erg- Inst	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i
Dat	-k ^h əlai	-ki	-kəna	-k ^h anu	-ke
Loc	-bə	-ha, bi	-ha	-ja	-ja
Gen	-k ^h əe, -bəe	-ki, bə	-kə	-ke, -e	-ke
Com	-nəŋ	-	-dəi, -na	-	-matae
Abl	-kətə	-hatiŋ	-kətə	-di	-koma

The survey shows that there are gaps in obtaining the data in all of the above-mentioned languages and varieties of Raji, and they are indicated by (-). Interestingly, the ergative and instrumental case markers are similar in all varieties of Raji, including Raute. An example from Barabandale Raji follows.

(84) η*λi tsʌkhui hã gak-k-ã* ŋ*λ-i* tsʌkhu-i hã gak-k-ã 1sG-ERG knife-INST fish cut-sD-PST1 'I cut the fish with a knife.'
[Bar. Raji, Bandhu et al., 2011, p.60]

A couple of examples from Naukule Raji follow.

(85)	ŋai məbu s		
	ŋa-i	məbu	sat-ka
	1sg-erg	snake	kill-PST.SG
	'I killed the	e snake.'	

(86) labo d^hãţilai tsau poţka
labo d^hãţila-i tsau poţ-ka
tall boy-ERG son call-PST.SG
'The tall boy called (his) son.'

An example from Kumaun Raji is given in (87) (Rastogi, 2012, p. 44). An example from Raute is given in (88).

(87)	nai kuie hətaə				
	na-i	kuie	həta-ə		
	1sg-erg	dog	kill-pst		
	'I killed th	e dog.'			

(88)	nai kəkkka	ka bədzazrẽ thepa		
	na-i	kəkkka-ø	bədzar-ẽ	thepa
	1sg-erg	uncle-ABS	market-LOC	see.PST
	'I saw uncl	le at the market.'		

We also find the ergative marker -i in Raute as given in (87-88). Despite the fact that the distribution of the ergative marker in each of the varieties including Raute may behave slightly differently, the case form is the same. The ergative marker -i can be reconstructed to Raji-Raute group of languages.

The dative is marked with the suffixes which do not resemble in form, but all of them begin with -k. As discussed above, the dative is marked with -kona in PR. There is one more thing to be noted regarding the dative marking in Naukule Raji. While the people of elder generation do not make use of this, younger, and educated people use this. A couple of examples follow.

(89)	ŋai naŋkʰəlai bəntsəi bəekəna					
	ŋa-i	naŋ-k ^h əlai	bəe-kə-na			
	1sg-erg	2sg-dat	axe	give-PST-1SG.2SG		
	'I gave you the axe.'			[N. Raji]		
(90)	nai haleu	ı h ^h ãusi həel	ka			

$(\mathcal{I} \mathcal{I})$	ijai oaicii	o ansi oo	cita	
	ŋa-i	baleu	bhãusi	bəe-ka
	1sg-erg	boy	spade	give-PST.SG
	'I gave boy the spade.'			[N. Raji]

I worked with three Naukule Raji speakers, and obtained a few texts from other three speakers. The elder people do not make use of the dativeaccusative case marker whereas younger people make use of this. This is consistent both in the elicited examples and in the corpus data.

The genitive begins with -k in all of these varieties. An example of the Naukule Raji is given in (91). Examples from Purbiya Raji are given in (92).

- (91) *ŋakə nam* ŋa-kə nam I-GEN house 'My house'
- (92) honkə nit^hölə tsau siksi
 hon-kə ni-t^hö-lə tsau si-ksi
 he-GEN two-CLF-EMPH child die-PST.PL
 'His two children died.'

There are cases that the genitive case is formed merely by juxtaposing the possessor and possessed in that order at least in Purbiya, Naukule, and Kumaun Raji. In Kumaun Raji, however, although the genitive marker is *-ke*, it seems to be a borrowing from Hindi, such as *kəlawəti-ke kui* 'Kalawati's dog' etc (Rastogi, 2012, p. 47). Rastogi further mentions that the genitive *-e* also serves as a genitive marker in Kumaun Raji. In Barabandale Raji, the genitive markers are either *-ki* or *-bʌi* (Bandhu et al., 2011, p.62).

(93) in tsayki topi in tsay-ki topi this son-1SG-GEN cap 'This is my son's cap.'

(94) *ŋabəi namha kui rhʌika* ŋa-bəi nam-ha kui rhʌi-k-a
 1SG-GEN house-LOC dog be-SD-PST
 'There was a dog in my house.'

Among the varieties mentioned above, they share the case markers that begin with -b and -h.

- (95) ya kambə laekakə
 ŋa kam-bə laeka-kə
 lSG field-LOC reach-PST
 'I reached the field.'
- (96) ui jakubə pan hoikə
 ui jaku-bə pan hoi-kə
 3SG hand-LOC rope tie-PST
 'He tied the rope in his hand.'

Barabandale Raji contains the case marker that begins with -b and -h, such as *dzali-ha* 'in the net', and *nam-hi* 'in the net'. By contrast, the locative in Kumaun Raji is -*ja*, such as *siŋ-ja* 'in the tree', and *godi-ja* 'in the field'.

Since the postposition to show the case relation of associative is not available for all of these varieties, they are not included in this section. Similarly, the forms to show the ablative case marking also differ across these varieties, they are not discussed in this section either. The comparison shows that "dialects may differ from one another at any significant level of linguistic analysis, or, in other words, in terms of any structural unit" (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004, p. 127). The discussion also shows that the dialectal variation of the under-described variation of language like Raji may be very interesting to reveal structural differences across them. Purbiya nd Barabandale are the closest varieties, and Kumau Raji shares least features among them.

6. Discussion

One of the intriguing phenomena about the case marking in Raji varieties in general, and the Purbiya Raji in particular is the optional ergative marking and the differential object marking. The issue to be further explored is how the semantic and pragmatic factors come into scene that determine the optional ergative marking and differential object marking.

In a special issue devoted to the optional case marking, Chelliah and Hyslop (2011, pp. 4-5) explained that the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and discourse factors that co-occur with marked agents. They also noted the field methodology in the data collection of the agentive case marking. They explained that the elements that determine the ergative marking are "agent volition, control, directed activity, creation and transformation, and personal choice", contrastive focus, agentive focus among others (Chelliah & Hyslop, 2011, pp. 4-5). The differential subject and object marking in languages of Tibeto-Burman is a feature of this region (Bond, Hildebrandt & Dhakal, 2013). The distribution of the case markers in a large naturalistic data will show a number of factors that help determine these issues.

7. Conclusion

Despite the fact that Purbiya Raji is an ergativeabsolutive language, the ergative marking in Puriya Raji is not consistently ergative. The perfectivity of the verbs determines the conditions for the ergative marking. Similarly, the object marking in Purbiya Raji is not consistently marked. The animacy, and specificity determine the conditions for object marking. While comparing the case markers, the ergative-instrumental case -i can be reconstructed to Raji-Raute languages. All Raji varieties and Raute contain the object marking with #k. A further investigation is necessary to ensure that take account of the optional ergative marking and differential object marking in Raji.

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Abbreviations

COND	conditional	DAT	dative
FUT	future	GEN	genitive case
NMLZ	nominalizer	NTVZ	nativizing marker
PERF	perfective	PL	plural
PRES	present	PST	past tense
SD	same day tense	SEQ	sequential converb
SG	singular		

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