Language Change in Hindi Dialects: A Case Study of Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili*

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1. INTRODUCTION

As is often the case with neighbouring languages, there is mutual exposure and language contact. This usually causes language change, and especially grammatical change, in each language. Hindi, a member of the Indo-Aryan languages and a main official language in north India, is not an exception. Nowadays it is broadly used (spoken, heard, or read) as a lingua franca not only in North India, but also in the other parts of the Indian subcontinent, through mass media such as TV, radio, films, CD/DVDs, and the Internet. In other words, the so-called standard Hindi may have influenced multiple Indian languages in numerous ways. Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili,[1] which are spoken in Bihar, the easternmost part of Hindi speaking area, and which Grierson (1883) once termed 'Bihari languages', are said to be Hindi dialects. Maithili, once classified as a dialect of Hindi, is now counted as a separate language from Hindi.

According to the map of Indian subcontinent languages in the next page, all three 'Bihari languages' (hereafter referred to as Bihari dialects) are geographically contiguous. The map also clearly indicates that Hindi, either standard or non-standard, occupies a prominent space in the functional domain. Most people use Hindi in most of their functional domains, such as schools, education, newspapers, and conversations outside the home. It is not surprising that Hindi exhibits a serious impact on Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili on all levels, such as sounds, words, and constructions.

We shall start with some examples of simple Hindi influence on Bihari dialects.

	Hindi	English	Bhojpuri	Magahi	Maithili
1	tālāb [P]	'pond'	pokhar [H]	pokhar [H]	pokhari [H]
2	akhbār [A]	'newspaper'	pepar [E]	pepar [E]	pepar [E]
3	pepar [E]	'paper'	panna [H]/kāgaj [P]	kāgaj [P]	kāgaj [P]
4	pānī [H]	'water'	pānī [H]/jal [S]	pānī [H]/jal [S]	pāin/jal [S]
5	saṛak [H]	'road'	rāstā [P]	rastā [P]	bāṭ [H]
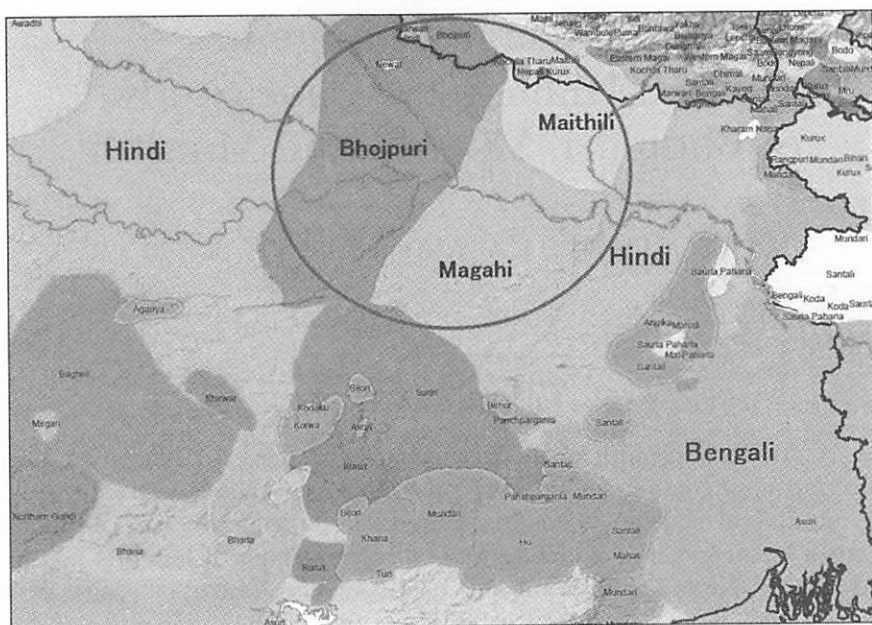
Source: Languages of the Indian Subcontinent in *Steve Huffman Language Maps*

In example1, *pokhar,* used in the dialects, is a Hindi *tadbhav* word – a popular word descended and evolved from Sanskrit [S]. Although standard Hindi speakers prefer to use *tālāb,* a loanword from Persian [P], they do use *pokhar* in Bihari dialects. Examples 2 and 3 are of semantic shift due to the evolution of word usage. For 'newspaper', speakers of the three dialects tend to use 'paper', whereas standard Hindi speakers use *akhbār,* a loanword from Arabic [A] for 'newspaper'; while to describe 'paper', they use *kāgaj* (*kāgaz* in Persian and Hindi), which is also used in the dialects. To express 'sheet of paper', Bhojpuri also has another word, *panna,* also a *tadbhav* word. *Pānī* and *jal* in example 4 are a *tadbhav* and *tatsam,* respectively. Example 5 shows an interesting fact: in Hindi they use *saṛak* to express 'road', while Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili use a Persian word, *rāstā,* or a *tadbhav* word, *bāṭ.*

These are just a few examples of noun replacement. However, in other parts of speech we often find lexical erosion or replacement. For example, the Hindi words *kahā̃* 'where', *dhīre-dhīre* 'slowly', and *baiṭh* 'sit' are now dominantly used as substitutes for *katay, game-game,* and *bais* in Maithili, respectively. These changes can also be traced back to successive language contact and language change.

Before proceeding to the next section, we should note that Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili and some other eastern languages of the Indo-Aryan family in India do not seem to exhibit a distinction between affricate 'ś'

and dental fricative 's' sounds. On the other hand, Hindi (as spoken in eastern UP, Bihar, Jharkhand, and Odisha) makes a clear distinction between the two sounds. It has been observed that Hindi speaking Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili speakers tend to make such a distinction in the latter three languages as well, evincing a clear influence of Hindi on those dialects. However, it is also a dominant claim that Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili have, in turn, influenced Hindi. The Hindi spoken in this geographical area exhibits a neutralization of the two sounds, the affricate and the dental fricative, in favour of the latter. In addition, Perso-Arabic fricatives such as /f/, /z/, /x/ and /γ/ are not broadly accepted in the three dialects, and are usually replaced by /ph/, /j/, /kh/ and /g/ respectively.

2. DETAILS OF INFORMANTS FOR THE BIHARI DIALECTS

Following is the information about the native speakers of Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili who have provided the data used in this paper. There were five informants for each dialect. To protect their privacy, we have abbreviated their first names.

Bhojpuri		Magahi		Maithili	
Name	Place of birth	Name	Place of birth	Name	Place of birth
S. Akhtar	Sonpur	R. Kumar	Gaya	S. Jha	Samastipur
S. Ahmad	Sonpur	S. Singh	Nawada	C. Kumar	Muzaffarpur
G. Singh	Chapra	G. Pandey	Jahanabad	P. Gunjan	Madhubani
Ku. Kumar	Patna	R. Ranjan	Patna	M. Jha	Darbhanga
Ka. K. Singh	Gopalganj	G. Kumar	Patna	D. Kumar	Darbhanga

The informants have some things in common:

(1) All of them were college students between 23-8 years old at the time of the survey (2012).
(2) They are as fluent in Hindi as they are in their mother tongues.
(3) They live in and around Patna now, but their roots are in their native villages, where people speak predominantly Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili.
(4) They were all born in the villages and went to high schools in smaller towns or villages around Bihar.
(5) They have all been educated at city colleges.

As a method for collecting data, we showed the informants nine arbitrary Hindi sentences, which they translated into their mother tongue. The translations they have provided form the core data of this paper. We shall use this data to discuss several noteworthy morpho-syntactic influences by Hindi.

3. DATA ON INFLUENCED BIHARI DIALECTS

As mentioned above, we have chosen nine arbitrary Hindi sentences. Most of these are complex sentences with an embedded verbal noun phrase, to enable us to clarify morphological or syntactic differences and locate conspicuous features in Bihari dialects affected by standard Hindi. Before proceeding, we should point out several common linguistic features among the dialects. **Regarding noun gender,** animate nouns and animate personal pronouns are gender distinguished for agreement in Bhojpuri (M. K. Verma 2007). Nouns referring to females are treated as feminine, and all others as masculine. This is also the case with Magahi. Magahi has no grammatical gender for agreement and neither does Maithili (S. Verma 2007, Yadav 2007). **Regarding number,** number in the three Bihari dialects is normally marked in a periphrastic way, e.g., adding *sab* 'all' to a noun to express plurality. **Regarding case,** Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili, unlike Hindi, do not have oblique forms of nouns, but do have oblique forms of pronouns, e.g., personal and demonstrative.

It is also worth noting that formation of finite verb forms in these three dialects is quite complex. Finite verb forms in the three dialects carry personal endings that reflect a complex of person and honorificity. To put it briefly, a finite verb consists of [Stem + Aspect/Tense/Mode + Person]. To show degree of honorificity in Hindi, one uses a finite verb form agreed to each personal pronoun in the plural, the same as in other languages of the Indo-European family (e.g., 2nd person pronouns: *tū* (sg.) – *tum* (pl.) - *āp* (pl.)[2]) while their finite verb forms agreed to each of the pronouns show honorific hierarchy [-Hon – Neutral – Hon]. For more details, refer to the reference grammars of each dialect.

One more worth noting in advance is the system of non-finite verbal forms, i.e., infinitives and participles, which appear frequently in this paper and are more complex than in Hindi. The tables below are based on M. K. Verma (2007: 530), S. Verma (2007: 510) and *Language Information Service (LIS)*.[3]

TABLE 1. INFINITIVES OF BHOJPURI

	Neutral	Imperfective	Perfective
Non-oblique	*dekh-Ø*	*dekh-a-t*	*dekh-a-l*
Oblique	*dekh-e*	*dekh-t-e*	*dekh-a-l-ā*

TABLE 2. INFINITIVES OF MAGAHI

	Neutral	Imperfective	Perfective
Non-oblique	*dekh-Ø/-a* [habitual]	*dek-ai-t* [progressive]	*dekh-a-l* [stative]
Oblique	*dekh-e*	–	*dekh-l-ā*

TABLE 3. INFINITIVES OF MAITHILI

	Neutral	Imperfective	Perfective
Non-finite	*dekh-e*	*dekh-ai-t/-i-t*	*dekh-i/-ĕ*

Keeping these features in mind, henceforth we shall present the Hindi sentences followed by their translations into Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili by the informants. Example (a) is the first of the Hindi sentences, 'It is necessary for you to read these books.'

(a)	*āp*	*ke lie*	*ye*	*kitābē*	*paṛh-nī*	*zarūrī*	*haĩ.*
	you	for	these	book.f.pl	read.INF	necessary	COP.PRS.
					(f.sg/pl)		pl

'It is necessary for you to read these books.'

Sentence (a-1) below is the translation of (a) into Bhojpuri.

<Bhojpuri>

(a-1)	*raūā*[4]	*khātir*	*i*	*kul*	*kitabiyā*	*paḍhal*	*jarūrī*	*ha.*
	you.	for	this	all (pl)	book	read.	necessary	AUX.
	HON					INF		PRS.
						(PFV)		sg

The noun *kitabiyā* in (a-1) does not have the plural suffix '-an', but has the word *kul* (or *sab*) instead before the noun, not 'after the noun' as M. K. Verma (2007) explained to indicate plurality in Bhojpuri.

Examples (a-2) and (a-3) are translations into Magahi and Maithili respectively.

<Magahi>

(a-2)	*apnā*[5]	*lāgi*	*i*	*sab*	*kitabiyā*	*paḍhnā*	*jarūri*	*ha.*
	you.	for	this	all	book	read.	necessary	AUX.
	HON			(pl)		INF		PRS.sg

<Maithili>

(a-3)	*ahā̃-k*	*lel*	*i*	*pothī*	*sab*	*paḍhnāī*	*āvaśyak*	*aichi.*
	you.HON-	for	this	book	all	read.	necessary	AUX.
	GEN				(pl)	INF		PRS.sg

As S. Verma (2007) mentioned, plurality in Magahi is expressed by either adding the same suffix '-an' as Bhojpuri to a noun, or adding the word *sab* peripherally. Example (a-3) also expresses the plurality of book in the peripheral way. Furthermore, the word for plurality is located before the noun, even though M. K. Verma does not mention this word order pattern in her descriptive grammar.

The use of the infinitive *paḍhnā* 'to read' instead of *paḍhal* in the Magahi example (a-2) is a remarkable instance of Magahi influenced by Hindi. Although Magahi has three forms of infinitives (nominal non-finites) – the neutral, imperfective and perfective – it does not have such a form with *-nā* as Hindi does. In terms of verbal nouns, their forms are identical to the infinitives in Hindi. However, verbal noun forms in Maithili are different from the non-finites given in Table 3, and correspond to finite forms with future tense or past tense, as below. Additionally, they have different non-oblique vs. oblique forms.

TABLE 4. VERBAL NOUNS OF MAITHILI

	Neutral (FUT Participle)	Perfective (PST Participle)
Non-oblique	*dekh-a-b*	*dekh-a-l*
Oblique[6]	*dekh-a-b (-ā)*	*dekh-a-l (-ā)*

As Beams (1879) pointed out, there are two general types of verbal noun forms, that is, of infinitives, in Indo-Aryan languages, which he termed the *Ba* type and *Na* type. Hindi itself is categorized into the *Na* type as in (a). Beams also mentioned that the *Ba* type was found in the rustic dialects of Hindi. The Bihari dialects dealt with in this paper are included in this group. This means there are essentially no forms with *-nā* or *-nāī*, the latter possibly an allomorph of *-nā* found in Maithili. Still, they use or have begun to use the *-nā* form in Magahi, for example.

It is also worth noting that in (a-3), the auxiliary *aichi* or *aich* in the Maithili example is a colloquial form derived from *achi* in standard Maithili[7]. The *aich* variant is an example of metathesis[8], that is, a natural switching of sounds that is not recognized as standard Maithili[9]. On the other hand, some native Maithili speakers have reported the acceptability of the use of a form of copula, *hai* 'is' in Hindi instead of the auxiliary *aich* as shown below.

\<Maithili\>

(a-3')	*ahā̃-k*	*lel*	*ī*	*pothī*	*sab*	*paḍhnāī*	*āvaśyak*	*hai.*
	you.HON-GEN	for	this	book	all	read.	necessary	AUX.
					(pl)	INF		PRS.sg

This might prove that Maithili is being 'Hindiized', or that a Hindi-Maithili hybrid is emerging. Not surprisingly, Hindi and Maithili are essentially sister dialects (nowadays we would call them 'sister languages'), and can be freely interchanged within a sentence or between sentences.

The next example is (b) 'Girls started to move out of here.'

(b)	*yahā*	*se*	*laṛkiyā*	*nikal-nī*	*śurū*	*ho*	*gaī.*
	here	from	girl.f.pl	move out.INF	started	be	go.PST.f.sg
				(f.sg/pl)			

'Girls started to move out of here.'

<Bhojpuri>

(b-1)

ehijā	se	laīki	log	nikale	surū	ho	gaīlī.
here	from	girl	people	move out. INF.obl	started	be	go.PST

<Magahi>

(b-2)

eijā	se	laīkīyan	nikalanā	suru	ho	gailai.
here	from	girl.pl	move out. INF	started	be	go.PST

<Maithili>

(b-3)

ehī	kāt	sa	kankirbī	sabh-ak	nikalnāi	prārambh	bha	geil.
this	side	from	girl	all (pl)- GEN	move out. INF	start (noun)	be	go. PST

In the Hindi example (b), there is agreement in the verbal noun phrase: *larkiyā̃* 'girls' is feminine and plural and so is *nikalnī* 'to move out'. In (b-2), the suffix *-an* is added to the noun *laīkī* to express plurality. Inversion of an animate noun with the plural marker *log*, which originally means 'people', never happens – this in contrast to the common occurrence of a neutral plural marker *sab* with an inanimate noun, as above. One of probable reasons is that *log* retains its lexical and concrete meaning. To put it differently, it is not as grammaticalized as *sab*, even though the two function as plural markers. Examples (b-2) and (b-3) exhibit the same forms of infinitive as (a-2) and (a-3), respectively.

Example (c) below is an ergative construction. The sentence means 'People started to read books.' It is well known that Hindi has split ergativity and an agent in the ergative case only when the predicate verb is in the past tense/perfect aspect. Thus the verb *karnā* here agrees with the object *kitābē̃* of the verbal noun phrase 'reading books'.

(c)

logõ	ne	kitābē̃	parh-nī	śurū	kī.
people	ERG	book.f.pl	read.INF (sg/pl)	started	do.PST.f.pl

'People started to read books.'

<Bhojpuri>

(c-1)

sabhe-koi	kitabiyā	padhe	surū	ka	dehalas.
all-some	book	read.INF.obl	started	do	give.PST

<Magahi>

(c-2)

adīmīyan	sab	kitabiyā	padhe-lā[10]	surū	kailakai.
people	all (pl)	book	read.INF (NEUT).obl-for	started	do.PST

				kar	delkai.
				do	give.PST

<Maithili>

(c-3) *lok*   *sab*   *pothī*   *ka*   *adhyayan*   *kaināi*[11]   *prārambh*   *kalaith.*
       people   all (pl) book   GEN   reading   do.INF   start   do.PST
                                                                         (noun)

These examples exhibit two notable Hindi influences. The first is the splitting of a noun with a genitive suffix into a noun and a genitive postposition: *pothī ka* in (c-3). According to Yadav (2007), Maithili has the genitive suffix *-ək/-k* for genitive postposition *kā/ke/kī* in Hindi; that is, in principle the Maithili should be *pothī-k.* However, patterns such as that in (c-3) are often observed nowadays. The second Hindi influence is that, interestingly, the oblique form *paḍhe* and oblique form + dative postposition *-lā,* i.e., *paḍhe-lā,* are used in the Bhojpuri and Magahi, respectively, even though only a non-oblique form would be used in Hindi.

Example (d) includes a dative subject construction. Its meaning is 'You had to read these books.'

(d)   *āp*   *ko*   *ye*   *kitābē*   *paṛh-nī*   *thī.̃*
       you   DAT   these   book.f.pl   read.INF (f.sg/pl)   COP.PST.f.pl

'You had to read these books.'

<Bhojpuri>

(d-1) *raūā*   *ke*   *i*   *kul*   *kitabiyā*   *paḍhe*   *ke*   *rahal.*
       you.HON   DAT   this   all (pl) book   read.INF.obl   GEN   be.PST

According to Verma (2007: 527), the pronoun *raūā* is nominative of the 2nd person, honorific. Personal pronouns in Bhojpuri have their own oblique forms. In (d-1), *raurā,* the oblique form of *raūā* is supposed to be used with the dative marker *ke.* Despite having it, the direct form is used as is.[12]

<Magahi>

(d-2) *apne*   *ke*   *i*   *sab*   *kitabiyā*   *paḍhe*   *ke*   *halai.*
       you.HON   DAT   this   all (pl) book   read.INF.obl   GEN   be.PST

<Maithili>

(d-3) *ahā̃-ke*   *i*   *pothī*   *sabh*   *ke*   *adhyayan*   *kaināi*   *chailāh.*
       you.HON-   this   book   all (pl)   GEN   reading   do.INF   be.PST.
       DAT   HON

Comparing (d) and (d-3) with (d-1) and (d-2), it is also worth noting that the postposition *ke* is added to each embedded verbal noun phrase of the latter two examples. As we see in (d-3), Maithili does not require such a marker as in Hindi. Technically, the marker *ke* is said to be a

versatile postposition used for accusative/dative/genitive in Bhojpuri and Magahi, as well as for the accusative and dative in Maithili. Here is a list of accusative, dative and genitive postpositions in these three dialects.

TABLE 5. LIST OF ACCUSATIVE, DATIVE AND GENITIVE OF BIHARI DIALECTS

	Accusative	Dative	Genitive
Bhojpuri	zero or *ke*	*ke/lā*	*ke*
Magahi	zero or *ke*	*ke/lā*[13]	*ke*
Maithili	zero or *ke/kẽ*	*ke/kẽ*	*-ǝk/-k*

As the table shows, it is hard to strictly distinguish between the *ke* markers, especially in Bhojpuri and Magahi. Judging from standard Hindi grammar, we can identify the first *ke* as a dative marker; yet verbal noun phrases in a dative construction are always considered as forming the direct case, that is, the nominative case. A similar phenomenon can be observed in idiomatic use of the genitive of the infinitive or gerund, as mentioned by Kellogg (1938: 291). He has provided two examples:

maĩ	*jāne*	*kā*	*nahĩ.*
I.NOM	go.INF.obl	GEN.m.sg	NEG

'I will not go.'

aisī	*bāt*	*nahĩ*	*hone*	*kī.*
such.f.sg	thing.f.sg	NEG	go.INF.obl	GEN.f.sg

'Such a thing is not to be.'

Both examples are nominative subject sentences different from the examples in (d). However, the parts of the predicates are the same. Each sentence ends with a noun or noun phrase, i.e., a noun predicate.[14] Kellogg has also noted that this usage is to denote 'a *certainty*, as determined by the will or nature of the agent'.[15] It is likely that such noun phrases or noun predicates, consisting of an infinitive oblique + GEN, might have been adapted even to dative subject constructions. The following example (e) is another example of a dative construction, where the particle *cāhie* is used instead of a copula.

(e)	*āp*	*ko*	*ye*	*kitābẽ*	*paṛh-nī*	*cāhie.*
	you	DAT	these	book.f.pl	read.INF (f.sg/pl)	should

'You should read these books.'

\<Bhojpuri\>

(e-1)	*raūā*	*ke*	*ī*	*kul*	*kitabiyā*	*paḍhe*	*ke*	*cāhī.*
	you.HON	DAT	this	all (pl)	book	read.INF.obl	GEN	should

<Magahi>

(e-2)   *apne*   *ke*   *i*   *sab*   *kitabiyā*   *padhe*   *ke*   *cāhī.*
        you.HON   DAT   this   all (pl)   book   read.INF.obl   GEN   should

<Maithili>

(e-3)   *ahã̄*   *ke*   *i*   *pothī*   *sabh*   *ke*   *adhyayan*   *karb-āk*   *cāhī.*
        you.HON   DAT   this   book   all   GEN   reading   do.INF-   should
                                             (pl)   GEN

As for adding the genitive marker *ke* to a verbal noun phrase, (e-1) and
(e-2) are the same as (d-1) and (d-2). The previous Maithili example
is in accordance with the Hindi. This Maithili example, however, uses
not *kaināī* but *karbāk*, composed of the infinitive containing the 'future'
participle suffix *kar-ba,* together with the genitive marker *-ak*[16] – even
though a verbal noun in a dative construction (with either *cāhie* or a copula)
never uses a genitive maker in standard Hindi. In fact, *karnāī* in (d-3)
above can also be replaced with the *karbāk.*

Taking all of these examples into consideration, it can be presumed
that the second *ke* in Bhojpuri and Magahi is originally genitive, and that
each verbal noun phrase embedded as the subject of a dative construction
is marked as genitive in the three dialects. In addition, we can say that
the dative construction in Hindi has influenced the same construction in
Maithili more than in Bhojpuri and Magahi.

Example (f) below is an ergative construction, similar to (c). The
difference from (c) is that here a simple verb *cāhnā* 'to want' is used as
the predicate. The object, *kitābẽ*, is used as a controller to agree with the
predicate as well.

(f)   *āp*   *ne*   *kitābẽ*   *dekh-nī*   *cāhĩ.*
        you   ERG   book.f.pl   read.INF (f.sg/pl)   want.PST.f.pl

'You wanted to read books.'

In contrast, the Bihari dialects do not possess this ergative case
marking system. In the Bhojpuri rendering in (f-1), the predicate consists
of the imperfective form of *caha-* + a past form of 'to be', unlike the simple
past form in (f). Furthermore, (f-2) and (f-3) are not metaphrased, but
paraphrased.

<Bhojpuri>

(f-1)   *raūā*   *kul*   *kitabiyā*   *dekhal*   *cahat*   *rahalĩn.*
        you.HON   all (pl)   book   see.INF   want.IPFV   be.PST.HON/
                                           (PFV)   POL

\<Magahi\>

(f-2)	*apne*	*ke*	*sab*	*kitabiyā*	*dekhe*	*ke*	*man*	*kailkai.*
	you.HON	DAT	all (pl)	book	see.INF. obl	GEN	wish (noun)	do.PST

\<Maithili\>

(f-3)	*ahā̃*	*ke*	*pothī*	*sabh*	*ke*	*abalamban*	*karb-āk*	*ceṣṭā*	*kailahū̃.*
	you. HON	DAT	book	all (pl)	GEN	see/view (noun)	do.INF. GEN	wish (noun)	do.PST. HON

According to our informants, these translations for (f) are more natural than the word-for-word translation. This shows a difference in expressive style between Hindi and the other three dialects. Although this is a fascinating subject, it is beyond the scope of the present discussion. Upon careful examination, we see that the predicate verb of (f-1) consists of an imperfective participle and copula. The other two examples seem more interesting. The so-called experiencers in (f-2) and (f-3) are marked by *ke*, which apparently functions as a dative marker. In this case the predicates, or more accurately the complex predicates, with their conjunct verb (i.e., a noun) + DO, seem to operate semantically as intransitive verbs, since there is no object left in both sentences.

Example (g) below is another ergative construction in Hindi. The sentence means 'You started to eat bananas.' The difference between (g) and (c) is the gender of the objects. The object *kelā* 'banana' in (g) is masculine.

(g)	*āp*	*ne*	*kele*	*khā-ne*	*śurū*	*kiye.*
	you	ERG	banana.m.pl	read.INF (m.pl)	started	do.PST.m.pl

'You started to eat bananas.'

\<Bhojpuri\>

(g-1)	*raūā*	*kul*	*kerawā*	*khāē*	*surū*	*ka*[17]	*dehalī̃.*
	you.HON	all (pl)	banana	eat.INF. obl	started	do	give.PST. HON

\<Magahi\>

(g-2)	*apne*	*sab*	*kela*	*khānā*	*surū*	*kailakhin.*
	you.HON	all (pl)	banana	eat.INF	started	do.PST.HON

\<Maithili\>

(g-3)	*ahi*	*kera*	*sabh*	*khenāī*	*prārambh*	*kailahū̃.*
	you.HON	banana	all (pl)	eat.INF	start (noun)	do.PST.HON

As in previous examples, the difference in noun genders does not result in a Hindi influence. As to plurality, the plural suffixes in Bhojpuri and Magahi again precede the nouns. The infinitive forms in Magahi and Maithili are once more replaced with the -*nā* form and *nāī*, respectively. These may be proof that the infinitive forms derived from Hindi have deeply eroded the original infinitive forms in the three dialects.

Example (h) is a version of the dative subject construction in (e), with a past tense copula. The meaning is 'You should have threatened Ram.'

(h)	*āp*	*ko*	*rām*	*ko*	*dhamkī*	*de-nī*	*cāhie*	*thī.*
	you	DAT	Ram	DAT	threat.	give.INF	should	COP.
					f.sg	(f.sg/pl)		PST.f.sg

'You should have threatened Ram.'

<Bhojpuri>

(h-1)	*raūā*	*ke*	*rām*	*ke*	*dhamakiyā-be*	*ke*	*cāhī-san*
	you.HON	DAT	Ram	DAT	threaten-INF	GEN	should-Non-HON

<Magahi>

(h-2)	*apane*	*ke*	*rām*	*ke*	*dhamakiyā-be*	*ke*	*rahal.*
	you.HON	DAT	Ram	DAT	threaten-INF	GEN	COP.PST

<Maithili>

(h-3)	*ahā̃*	*ke*	*rām*	*ke*	*dhamakiyā-be*	*ke*	*cāhī.*
	you.HON	DAT	Ram	DAT	threaten-INF	GEN	should

Here we find the same features of dative subject constructions as seen in (e). A remarkable difference in these examples is the use of a complex predicate (CP). This is a productive pattern originating in Hindi: such a use is common to many, if not all, South Asian Languages spoken on the Indian subcontinent. Hindi uses two types of complex predicates: a conjunct verb construction and a compound verb construction. Conjunct verb constructions generally consist of a noun or adjective and a light verb such as *karnā* 'DO'. For example: *madad* (N) *karnā* 'to help (lit. help DO)' and *sāf* (A) *karnā* 'to clean (lit. clean DO)'. A compound verb construction is made of a verb and a verb, for example: *ā jānā* 'to come (lit. come GO)'. In addition to other influences, we find that Hindi has also influenced Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili in the domain of complex predicates. While a lexical verb *dhamakiyā-*[18] exists in the three dialects, they have begun to use the pattern of complex predicates, as illustrated by the alternative examples below:

\<Bhojpuri\>

(h-1')	*raūā*	*ke*	*rām*	*ke*	*dhamaki*	*de-be*	*ke*	*cāhī-san*
	you.HON	DAT	Ram	DAT	threat	give-INF	GEN	should-Non-HON

\<Magahi\>

(h-2')	*apane*	*ke*	*rām*	*ke*	*dhamaki*	*de-be*	*ke*	*rahal.*
	you.HON	DAT	Ram	DAT	threat	give-INF	GEN	COP.PST

\<Maithili\>

(h-3')	*ahā̃*	*ke*	*rām*	*ke*	*dhamaki*	*de-be*	*ke*	*cāhī.*
	you.HON	DAT	Ram	DAT	threat	give-INF	GEN	should

It is clear that the lexical verb *dhamakiyā-* is replaced with the complex predicate, *dhamakī de-*. 'threat + GIVE'. These examples also raise a problem, in that very few details on the non-finite form (infinitive) -*be* are included in the current reference grammars.[19]

Our final example also features a complex predicate.

The Hindi sentence features the N + V complex predicate *gussā karnā* 'to become angry'.

(i)	*āp*	*ne*	*mujh*	*par*	*gussā*	*kyõ*	*kiyā?*
	you	ERG	I.obl	LOC	anger	why	do.PST.m.sg

'Why did you become angry with me?'

In the three dialects, the informants have once again used a lexical verb, *khisiā-* 'to become angry'.

\<Bhojpuri\>

(i-1)	*raūā*	*hamarā*	*par*	*kāhelā*	*khisiāyal*	*rahī?*
	you.HON	I.obl	LOC	why	be angered. PFV.HON	COP.PST.HON

\<Magahi\>

(i-2)	*apne*	*hamarā*	*par*	*kailā*	*khisiailī?*	
	you.HON	I.obl	LOC	why	be angered. PST.HON	
					khisiāyal be angered.HON	*gelai?* go.PST.HON

\<Maithili\>

(i-3)	*ahā̃*	*hamarā*	*par*	*kiye*	*khisiailaū?*
	you.HON	I.obl	LOC	why	be angered.PST.HON

The predicate part of (i-1) is literally a perfective participle + copula, although the original Hindi is in simple past form. There seems to be a slight semantic difference between the simple past form and a perfective participle + copula, but we shall leave it aside for now. Upon closer inspection, we find that there are two types of this sentence given in Magahi. One is active, and the other is passive, consisting of a perfect participle[20] + the light verb 'GO', which is broadly observed in existing Indo-Aryan languages.

Predictably, the lexical verbs, in these examples *khisiā-*, can also be replaced with the CP pattern, as in *gussā karnā* in Hindi. Moreover, when using 'Hindi', speakers of those dialects tend to use *khis* (actually *khīs* in standard Hindi) instead of *gussā,* the Arabic word elsewhere used in the CP pattern.

<Bhojpuri>

(i-1')	*raūā*	*hamarā*	*par*	*kāhelā*	*khis*	*kayale*	*rahī?*
	you.HON	I.obl	LOC	why	anger	do.PFV.HON	COP.PST.HON

<Magahi>

(i-2')	*apne*	*hamarā*	*par*	*kailā*	*khis*	*kiaili?*
	you.HON	I.obl	LOC	why	anger	do.PST.HON
					khisiāyal	*gelai?*
					be angered.HON	go.PST.HON

<Maithili>

(i-3')	*ahā̃*	*hamarā*	*par*	*kiye*	*khis*	*kayelaū?*
	you.HON	I.obl	LOC	why	anger	do.PST.HON

As we mentioned above, the key point here is that Magahi informants have provided the passive pattern as well. In making a sentence passive in Hindi, the agent is essentially marked as instrumental, but in Magahi it still is marked as nominative. Looking back on Hindi, sometimes a CP consisting of N + DO, such as *gussā karnā,* can function as if it were intransitive semantically, even though it acts as a transitive morpho-syntactically.[21] It is possible that the passive construction is used to decrease arguments in the sentence, and thus might be a device for detransitivization.

4. CONCLUSION

Setting aside the lexical replacement that we glimpsed in the first section, and which occurs constantly in language contact and language change, we can summarize the features fully changed or currently changing in Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili, especially in contact with standard Hindi.

In terms of morphology, we observed a loss of the oblique form of the 2nd person pronoun *raūā* in Bhojpuri in (d-1): *raurā ke* → *raūā/rauā ke*. This may be proof that the complicated inflection is simplified into that found in Hindi, i.e., *āp* 'you' vs. *āp ko* 'you DAT'. In Magahi we found *apanā*, a variant of the 2nd person pronoun *apane*. It is also remarkable that the infinitive forms of *Na* type feature in Magahi and Maithili. Although there had not been such forms as *-nā* in Magahi and *-nāī* in Maihtili before, they are now found on occasion, as we have seen in examples such as *paḍhal* → *paḍhnā* in (a-2) and *paḍhnāī* in (a-3).

In regard to syntax, inversion has taken place in a noun phrase: Noun + sab 'all' added as a plural suffix, e.g., *kitabiyā sab* → *sab kitabiyā*, as in example (a). This word order, normally observed in Hindi, is now also found in Bhojpuri and Magahi, though not in Maithili.

Morpho-syntactically speaking, we have found that a Noun + Genitive suffix *-ǝk/-k* in Maithili has split into a Noun + Genitive marker *ka*. This might be due to the influence of Hindi. One more thing worthy of special notice is that a lexical verb has split into a conjunct verb, i.e., into Noun/ Adjective + V, as seen in examples (h) and (h-1') or (i) and (i-1'). However, this may be a chicken-and-egg question, the answer to which would require that we examine a much larger volume of data. Still, both lexical verbs and conjunct verbs clearly coexist in the three dialects.

Regarding dative subject constructions, when the predicate is INF + be (COP) or a form pertaining to *cāhie* in Hindi, the infinitive co-occurs with genitive marker *ke* in Bhojpuri and Magahi, or with the genitive suffix *-ak* in Maithili – something that never happens in Hindi. It would be fascinating to study this type of syntactic difference and its effects, as well as the seemingly new suffix *-be* that has appeared in a lexical verb vs. a conjunct verb, as in example (h). The scope of this paper has prevented us from doing so, but we believe these topics warrant additional research.

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ABBREAVIATIONS

A: adjective; ACC: accusative; AUX: auxiliary; COP: copula; DAT: dative; ERG: ergative; f: feminine; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; INF: infinitive; IPFV:

imperfective; m: masculine; N: noun; NEUT: neutral; obl: oblique; P.: participle; PFV: perfective; POL: polite; PRS: present; PST: past; pl: plural; sg: singular

NOTES

* Part of the findings of this paper has been presented at the 25th Annual Session of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies held at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Tokyo), 6-7 October 2012.

1. The details of the informants are given in next section.
2. There are two 2nd person pronouns for the plural form in Hindi today. Following Tivārī (1966), Kālrā (1976: 152) pointed out that Hindi speakers used to employ only the *tū* (sg.) vs. *tum* (pl.) forms for 2nd person, and started to use *āp* as a new personal pronoun to address God during the Bhakti movement. Thus, *āp* has since come to the fore to express higher honorificity than *tum.* The degree of honorificity in *tū* (sg.) vs. *tum* (pl.) decreased accordingly. Such a phenomenon has also occurred in Japanese. *Kisama*, one of the 2nd personal pronouns, with the original meaning 'Mr. Noble (man)', had been used as a high honorific. Nowadays we normally use the pronoun only to address a very intimate person or a person whom we abuse. This is reminiscent of *tū* in the modern Hindi. It may be said that the rise of the new personal pronoun *āp* and corresponding decline in the honorificity of the existing personal pronouns reflects a universal phenomenon.
3. Provided by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Mysore.
4. Sometimes pronounced *rauā.*
5. Although Verma (2007: 508-9) said only that, 'there is also a reflexive pronoun *apane* "self" which is used for extra respect in second person', there is in fact another reflexive pronoun, *apanā* (or *apnā*), used as a lesser honorific than *apane*; that is, as a normal honorific pronoun.
6. Nouns and verbal nouns in Maithili are declined for cases.
7. See 'Maithili' in *LIS.*
8. The *LIS* gives this as an example of epenthesis.
9. What we call Standard Maithili in this paper is based on 'Maithili' in *LIS.*
10. The postposition *ke* can be replaced with *lā.*
11. *Kaināī* is a corrupted form of *karnāī.* This embedded verbal noun phrase also consists of a Noun + Verbal noun.
12. See also (e-1) below.
13. S. Verma (2005: 508) calls this *lā* a benefactive postposition.
14. Whichever case marker the *ke* is used for in (d-1) and (d-2), these examples might tell us whether people who have such an 'operating system' can potentially output a sentence in standard Hindi, as below:

(d') *āp   ko   ye   kitābē   paṛh-ne   kā   thā.*
     you DAT these book.f.pl read.INF (m.obl) GEN.m.sg COP.PST.m.sg

15. It could possibly be considered a kind of emphatic marker, as in the Japanese *no-da* [GEN-COP], which is used as a *stance marker*, the function of which is derived from the genitive marker *no.* For details, see Wrona (2012).
16. Maithili has 2 forms of genitive marker. One is *-ək* (*=-ak*), for a noun phrase that ends in a consonant [-C#], and the allomorph is *-k*, for a noun phrase with a vowel ending [-V#]. (Yadav 2007: 485).

17. This is also a corrupted form of *kar-* 'do'.

18. As we see in (h-1), (h-2), (h-3) and (h-1'), (h-2'), (h-3'), the same verbal forms *dhamakiyā-be* and *dhamakiyā de-be* are used in all three dialects, respectively, although reference grammars mention a different verbal form for each dialect. This may indicate a process of language convergence. As two or more languages or dialects are exposed to frequent contact, they often develop similarities or even converge to a new language/dialect. Since Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili already have numerous affinities to each other originally, they have potential for language convergence. This possibility requires detailed study.

19. S. Verma (2007: 510) has stated regarding non-finite (infinitive) forms in Magahi, 'In fact, there is a fourth one in [-b], as in /u sut-b-e kari/ literally "He will certainly do the sleeping". Even though it is slightly limited in distribution (occurring only as a complex stem with the light verb /kar/ and only in the emphatic form with the emphatic suffix /-e/), this nevertheless completes the picture.'

20. Some grammarians prefer to call them *perfective participle* or *past participle.*

21. The evidence here is that the subject, that is, the agent, will take the ergative when it is in the past tense.

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