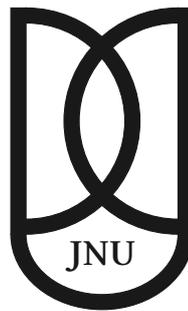


# Verb Morphology in Awadhi of Azamgarh

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
*Master of Philosophy*

Maaz Shaikh



Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi, India  
2021





Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067 India

---

Dated: November 9, 2021

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation/thesis titled “**Verb Morphology in Awadhi of Azamgarh**” submitted by Mr. **SHAIKH MAAZ NISAR**, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** at the Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies-I, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, has not been previously submitted in part or in full for any other degree of this university or any other university/institution.

We recommend this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of M. Phil.

**Prof. Pradeep Kumar Das**  
SUPERVISOR

**Prof. Pradeep Kumar Das**  
CHAIRPERSON



# Declaration

---

This dissertation titled “**Verb Morphology in Awadhi of Azamgarh**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any university or institution.

**Shaikh Maaz Nisar**  
Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067 India

Verb Morphology in Awadhi of Azamgarh

Copyright © 2021

by

Maaz Shaikh

Typeset using  $\text{\LaTeX}$  and the Linux Libertine O set of fonts.

This work falls under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 License (CC BY 4.0):

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

*Dedicated to the loving memory of Dr. Hemanga  
Dutta, Bhupesh Papnai, and Habeebun Nisa*

# Acknowledgements

The writing of this dissertation would not have been possible without the help and support of many significant people who have contributed to this in one way or the other over the past couple of years. I want to use this opportunity and extend my heartfelt gratitude to all of them who supported me throughout this course. Although it is impossible to mention the names of each and everyone who contributed to the emergence of this dissertation, some need to be specially acknowledged and thanked. At the same time, I hope that the ones not mentioned by name will not be resentful.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my Azamgarhi speech community for their valuable contribution and coordination to make this research project pretty much fruitful. My sincere appreciation and regards to my *dada* ‘grandfather’, who was my first consultant and always eager to help me out in any possible way during every phase of the Azamgarhi documentation project. Further, my thanks go out to the family members of my *cacci* ‘aunt’ Shazia, who were excellent hosts as well as informants. Special thanks to her father Aquil Ahmad, her cousin Nazli Azeem, her *b<sup>h</sup>asj/b<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>i* ‘sister-in-law’ Habeebah Bano (Biṭṭō), who narrated some excellent stories which I have included in this dissertation. Habeebah Bano was indeed the best storyteller I’ve ever met. Hopefully, her future grandchildren will surely enjoy and benefit from it! I am also thankful for my other relatives who, in some or another way, helped me in this project. Heartfelt gratitude to Shauqat Tara, Rizwana Shaikh, Mehar Afroz, Master Mohammad Khalid, for their pleasant narrations of traditional stories. Furthermore, I am deeply indebted to my *māmū* Saeeduz Zafar Ali, who assisted me in my second field trip to Azamgarhi, where he took me to the Eastern Azamgarhi region of the Fatehpur block and the nearby Bhojpuri speaking areas. This trip was indeed precious to me. Especially, I would like to thank Irfan Ahmad Usmani of Chandpur village of Mau, who provided very enriching information on the language varieties of the region. Similarly, to Mr. Maqsood Khan of Jogari village too, for his generous sharing of language-related information. I am also thankful to the Bhojpuri speakers who took part in this documentation project as informants.

I also send my words of gratitude to Prof. Shobhana Chelliah of the University of North Texas and her CoRSAL team, especially Merrion Dale, because of whom successful and enjoyable archiving of the collected valuable data was made possible. I offer my sincere thanks to Gopalakrishnan Ramamurthy (Gopal) for transcribing and translating a few recordings into English.

I want to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Pradeep Kumar Das, for his guidance and assistance, who mentored me throughout this research. He gave me

all freedom to pursue this dissertation project independently yet was always willing to assist me whenever I needed his advice and any other help. I am indebted to the Centre for Linguistics at the Jawaharlal Nehru University for all that I could get from there. A big thank you to all the faculty members there! The non-academic staff of the Centre has been very supportive and considerate too. I shall always be thankful to all of them for their constant encouragement, guidance, and providing a very homely atmosphere at the Centre. Also, I would like to say a big thank you to my fellow students and colleagues at JNU—Rahul, Opala, Sakshi, Aseema, Aditi, Athira—and my seniors—especially Karthick Narayanan and Shreya Mehta—and juniors at JNU, since it is often forgotten that productive research can only be conducted in a friendly and synergistic atmosphere. *Muchas gracias* to my hostel roommate, Veer, a really kind-hearted being always willing to help and shower his affections on me. *Tashi Deleks* and *Baqrhis* to my Ladakhi friends at JNU, who whole-heartedly accepted me into their small, yet lively community. *Tshe ringmo!*

Before my M. Phil. studies at JNU, I studied for a Master's degree at the University of Delhi (DU), where my foundations of linguistic interests and skills were laid. This dissertation owes a great deal to the excellent training and guidance I received from professors at DU, especially Dr. Gail Coelho. Thanks to her solid teaching and training in language documentation and description I received, that I chose my research career in this field. I shall always be indebted to her for her kindness and consideration. I would also like to thank my friends and former colleagues from DU for their love, help, and support. Special thanks to Archana Shreedhar, with whom I would always like to discuss my studies, research, and findings eagerly. I owe her a lot for her valuable comments and reassurances. Thank you to Sujata *di* and Alka *di* for lending a sympathetic ear whenever I was in dire need of it and for all the motivation.

I run out of words when it comes to thanking my family—my mother for her never-ending love, and kind support, to my father for challenging me to grow in independence, while always giving his backing when needed, to all the members of my extended family, to teachers and friends in my past.

Unfortunately, I can't thank the people in person to whom I dedicate this work as they did not live to see its completion in the pandemic days—Dr. Hemanga Dutta, one of the most lovely professors, Bhupesh Papnai, my dear (now ex-) colleague at JNU, and Habeebun Nisa, my *dada's* sister-in-law, the cheerful and lively lady whose only *nishānī* 'memorable sign' I am left with is her conversational recording—thanks to this documentation project. May she, Dr. Hemanga, and Bhupesh *b<sup>h</sup>ai* rest in eternal peace. My prayers with all of them.

# Abstract

This study is the very first detailed description of the (finite) verb morphology in Azamgarhi, a unique Awadhi Indo-Aryan language spoken exclusively by a significant number of Muslims of the Azamgarh region of Uttar Pradesh, India. It is a part of a broader goal of holistic and comprehensive documentation of the Azamgarhi language, filling a gap in the descriptive literature, beginning with a detailed discussion on the social and linguistic background of the language in question and then moving to discuss the morphology of verb stems and their uses. The data presented here is based on analysis of elicited and textual materials from mainly the Southern dialect. Azamgarhi verbal morphology constitutes derivation and inflection.

All the derivation in the language occurs at the verb root itself, which is optionally followed by stem increment or, more appropriately, theme formation, in certain instances before the suffixes encoding inflectional information attach to the derived stem. This research is also the first-ever comprehensive structural and functional account of the theme formation phenomenon in any Eastern Hindi language. Inflectional morphology constitutes of portmanteau suffixes encoding information for TAM and PNG subject agreement. Inflection markings in context give rise to a range of interpretations, explored in this dissertation primarily through the theory-neutral basic linguistic description.

In addition, this work illustrates Azamgarhi being typical of Eastern Hindi languages—though having nominative-accusative alignment throughout, the transitive verbal conjugations pattern differently from their intransitive counterpart in the perfective constructions along with different perfective participles, thereby making the verbal conjugation system much unpredictable and complex. Finally, it investigates the realis-irrealis modal concepts in Azamgarhi.

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Abstract	x
Table of Contents	xiii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xiv
Abbreviations	xvii
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introductory Remarks . . . . .	1
1.2 Language Overview . . . . .	5
1.3 Organization of this Dissertation . . . . .	6
1.4 Presentation of Data . . . . .	7
<b>2 Review of Literature and Research Methodology</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Previous Accounts of Azamgarhi . . . . .	9
2.2 The Present Study . . . . .	13
2.2.0.1 Aims and Theoretical Framework . . . . .	13
2.2.0.2 Data, Research Methods, and Fieldwork Methodology	14
<b>3 The Azamgarh Region</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 Administrative Setup of the Azamgarh Region . . . . .	18
3.1.0.1 Administrative Setup of the Azamgarh District . . . . .	20
3.1.0.2 Administrative Setup of the Mau District . . . . .	22
3.1.0.3 Administrative Setup of the Jaunpur District . . . . .	24
3.2 Physical Geography . . . . .	25
3.3 Brief History of Azamgarh . . . . .	27

3.4	Ethnographic and Socio-Economic Information . . . . .	28
3.4.1	Religions in Azamgarh . . . . .	28
3.4.2	Social Stratification . . . . .	29
3.4.3	The Ashrāf Musalmāns . . . . .	33
3.5	Sociolinguistic Situation . . . . .	37
<b>4</b>	<b>Azamgarhi: Background and Descriptive Overview</b>	<b>39</b>
4.1	Background on Azamgarhi . . . . .	39
4.1.1	Possible History and Origins of Azamgarhi . . . . .	39
4.1.2	Nomenclature and Recognition . . . . .	41
4.1.3	Language Classification . . . . .	43
4.1.4	Number of Speakers . . . . .	46
4.1.5	Linguistic Boundaries and Overview of Dialects . . . . .	47
4.1.6	Diglossic Situation and Multilingualism . . . . .	50
4.1.7	Language Endangerement . . . . .	50
4.2	Descriptive Overview of Azamgarhi . . . . .	51
4.2.1	Overview of Phonology . . . . .	52
4.2.2	Overview of Morphosyntax . . . . .	53
4.3	Language variation . . . . .	54
<b>5</b>	<b>Verb Morphology</b>	<b>57</b>
5.1	Introduction to the Azamgarhi verb . . . . .	58
5.2	Structure of the Finite Verb in Azamgarhi . . . . .	59
5.3	Verb Root, Stem, and Theme . . . . .	61
5.4	Derivational Morphology . . . . .	64
5.4.1	Valency Modification by Root-internal Change . . . . .	64
5.4.1.1	Root Valency Modification by Internal Vowel Change	64
5.4.1.2	Root Valency Modification by Internal Vowel and Consonant Change . . . . .	66
5.4.2	Root Valency Modification by Suffixation . . . . .	67
5.5	Inflectional Morphology . . . . .	71
5.5.1	Copula Inflection . . . . .	75
5.5.2	Tense and Aspect . . . . .	77
5.5.2.1	Future Tense . . . . .	78
5.5.2.2	Imperfective Aspect . . . . .	80
5.5.2.2.1	Imperfective Aspect and Present Tense (Present Imperfect) . . . . .	80

5.5.2.2.2	Imperfective Aspect and Past Tense (Imperfect)	82
5.5.2.3	Perfective Aspect	83
5.5.2.3.1	Perfective Aspect and Present Tense (Present Perfect)	86
5.5.2.3.2	Perfective Aspect and Past Tense (Past Perfect or Preterite)	88
5.5.3	Mood	90
5.5.3.1	Imperative	90
5.5.3.2	Future Imperative	91
5.5.3.3	Irrealis1 (Subjunctive and Past Habitual)	93
5.5.3.4	Irrealis2 (Past Conditional and Negated Imperfective)	95
5.6	Overview of Non-finite Verb Morphology	100
5.6.1	The infinitive	100
5.6.2	Non-finite Imperfective Aspect	101
5.6.3	Complex Predicates	102
5.6.3.1	Compound verbs	102
5.6.3.2	Emphatic compound verbs	103
5.6.4	The marker -ɪ on Azamgarhi verbs	105
5.7	Conclusion	108
<b>Appendices</b>		<b>108</b>
<b>A The Azamgarhi Villages</b>		<b>109</b>
A.1	Villages of the Azamgarh District	109
A.2	Villages of the Jaunpur District	115
A.3	Villages of the Mau District	119
<b>B Texts</b>		<b>120</b>
B.1	Story about a king and a cat	122
B.2	Story of a hen and a python	126
B.3	Story of God in the form of guest	130
B.4	Story of a couple	136
B.5	Story of a prince and his stepmother	142
B.6	Story of Sheherbānō—the Azamgarhi version of Cinderella	156
B.7	Story of a king and three sisters	168
<b>Bibliography</b>		<b>184</b>

# List of Figures

3.1	Map of the Purvanchal Region of Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	20
3.2	Azamgarh Tehsil Map . . . . .	21
3.3	CD Block Map of the Azamgarh District . . . . .	22
3.4	Mau Tehsil Map . . . . .	23
3.5	CD Block Map of Mau District . . . . .	24
3.6	CD Block Map of the Jaunpur District . . . . .	25
4.1	Genealogical classification of Azamgarhi . . . . .	46
4.2	Map illustrating the linguistic boundaries of Azamgarhi and its dialects	48
4.3	Map of Awadhi speaking region . . . . .	49
5.1	Structure of the finite verb component in Azamgarhi . . . . .	60

# List of Tables

2.1	Number of Awadhi speakers in North-Western Provinces as given in LSI	10
2.2	Number of Awadhi speakers in Lower Provinces as given in LSI . . . . .	11
4.1	The consonantal phonemes of Azamgarhi . . . . .	52
5.1	Transitivity pairs in Azamgarhi involving root modification by internal vowel change . . . . .	65
5.2	Transitivity pairs in Azamgarhi involving root modification by internal vowel and consonant change . . . . .	67
5.3	Direct and indirect causativization of the middle verb root in Azamgarhi	69
5.4	Direct and indirect causativization of the active intransitive verb root in Azamgarhi . . . . .	70
5.5	Conjugational paradigms of the verb <i>kəɾɪ</i> ‘to do’ illustrating the IS attached to realis and irrealis verb stems . . . . .	73
5.6	Conjugational paradigms of the verb <i>awəɪ</i> ‘to come’ illustrating the realis and irrealis IS attaching to the verb with the involved TF . . . . .	74
5.7	Inflectional paradigm for all forms of the Azamgarhi copula in various TAM combinations . . . . .	76
5.8	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in the future tense . . . . .	78
5.9	Inflectional paradigm of the Azamgarhi verb <i>de:k<sup>h</sup></i> ‘see’ and its derivatives in the future tense . . . . .	79
5.10	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in present tense and imperfective aspect . . . . .	81
5.11	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in past tense and imperfective aspect . . . . .	82
5.12	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in the perfective aspect	84
5.13	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in present tense and perfective aspect . . . . .	87
5.14	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in past tense and perfective aspect . . . . .	88

5.15	Different conjugations of the participle in different perfective forms of the verbs <i>bəɪtʰ</i> ‘sit’ and <i>de:kʰ</i> ‘see’ . . . . .	90
5.16	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in irrealis1 mood . . .	93
5.17	Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in irrealis2 mood . . .	96

# Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
AGNZ	agentive nominalizer
ARLN	adjectival relational
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CNJ	conjunctive (participle)
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
DAT	dative
DEF1	definite1 (-wa)
DEF2	definite2 (-ya)
DISTH	distal honorific
DISTP	distal plural
DISTS	distal singular
EM.A	additive emphasis
EM.R	restrictive emphasis
ET	emphatic theme
F	feminine
FML	female
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative

INDF	indefinite
INESS	inessive
INF	infinitive
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
IRR1	irrealis1 (subjunctive and past habitual)
IRR2	irrealis2 (past conditional and negated present imperfective)
IT	irrealis theme
M	masculine
ML	male
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBL	oblique
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PROH	prohibitive
PRS	present
PRXH	proximate honorific
PRXP	proximate plural
PRXS	proximate singular
PST	past
PT	perfective theme
REL	relative
RLS	realis
SG	singular
TERM	terminative
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
VBLZ	verbalizer
VM	valency modifier
VOC	vocative

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Introductory Remarks

Just after completing my tenth class exams, fifteen-years-old me, accompanied by my grandfather, set off to our native place, Āzamgarh,<sup>1</sup> in the state of Uttar Pradesh, Northern India from Mumbai, our place of residence. This trip was not much different from other trips to my native place where I, along with my family, visit Azamgarh every year or every second year, except that I learned something very relevant to this work. I went to stay a few days at my aunt's place in the village of Bairīḍih, Lālganj, Azamgarh district. I, along with my aunt's brothers, went to visit some relatives in a nearby area. On the return journey, I told them, "If he'd told that in our village language, Bhojpuri, it would have been much more amusing, no?!" The younger brother replied, "But our language is not Bhojpuri." "Then what is our language?" I asked suddenly with great surprise. "Our language is something different; Hindus speak Bhojpuri. You see, they say like this... and we like this..." he said while continuing to explain the marked differences between "their" (Hindu's) language, i.e., Bhojpuri, and "our" (Muslim's) language.

---

<sup>1</sup> There is generally a rather loose relationship between orthography and pronunciation in the English language, which also applies to the proper nouns, especially places where colonial spellings have had become prevalent due to official enforcement and gradually prolonged use. To understand and facilitate native or vernacular pronunciation of the same and avoid any sort of confusion, wherever relevant and feasible, especially when introducing them, I present them in the Indic style of the Roman transliteration of the vernacular script—mainly Devanagari in this case with some local variations. This transliteration primarily focuses on a couple of vital points—long vowels represented by a macron and retroflexes by a dot underneath the consonant. If the prevalent English spelling of the same differs significantly, in that case, it is adjacently provided in square brackets [ ].

For all my childhood years, I would have been thinking that the language spoken in my village area of Azamgarh, and also by my elder relatives back at my hometown in Mumbai, was Bhojpuri. Totally baffled and unconvinced, I took a long pause and started thinking: “How can people stay next to each other speak two different languages? Or is it the case that the two languages are very close enough?” This question remained stuck to my all-time curious brain. Hence, whenever I would visit Azamgarh in the successive years, I would apply very keen ears to whatever the Hindus would talk and then compare with what “we” (the Muslim folks) would say or would end up comparing with whatever “our” language that I’d learn from (mostly) my *dādī* ‘grandmother’ back at Mumbai, from our elder relatives there, and my yearly visits to Azamgarh. Then later, after having keenly observed both of the speeches, I was finally convinced that in our area and the whole of Azamgarh, Muslims speak differently than Hindus.

Some years later—before taking up the masters in linguistics course—one fine day, I was reading some article on Wikipedia, where when wanting to read that particular article in Hindi, I went to the language section, my sight fell on “Fiji Hindi”, which I was familiar a bit within those days. At first, after reading the article in Fiji Hindi, I observed it to be in a language that seems to be quite similar to what my relatives speak back at Azamgarh, albeit this contains a lot of English words and is also written in the Roman script. So I started investigating this exciting language and found it to be Hindustani-mixed Awadhi having profuse borrowings from English. On realizing this, I read about Awadhi and learned my heritage language to be Awadhi or rather a dialect of it. I carried forward this notion for a long time, even when I undertook my first linguistic field trip to Azamgarh in early 2020.

Back in Delhi, after my fieldwork followed by a nationwide lockdown implemented to control the COVID-19 pandemic, I was quarantined in my room, analyzing and annotating the texts I had collected. One day, I had written a post on Twitter containing a link to a video of a very popular drama that took place in the Karmainī village of Azamgarh, what I had written to be in “Eastern Awadhi” .<sup>2</sup> To this post, Abhishek

<sup>2</sup> This post can be found here: [https://twitter.com/gyani\\_jahil/status/1244253017437646848](https://twitter.com/gyani_jahil/status/1244253017437646848), accessed on 02/08/2021. The video is in the far-north or Dewārā

Avtans, a JNU alumnus, now teaching Hindi at Leiden University, commented: “After hearing the full video, perhaps it would be better to categorize this unique language as an eclectic mixture of Awadhi and Bhojpuri. Verbal inflexions, vocabulary, intonation etc. all point to that. Irshad Ali (1985) mentions that Muslims in Azamgarh brough[t] Aw[a]dhi to Azamgarh but due to Bho[j]puri being the language of the area, they soon became bilingual in both, and that resulted in what we hear in the video.”<sup>3</sup> Well, this again led me to undertake a deeper investigation of this unique language, especially its origins.

I learned two notable things from my first field trip: The first one was that people in Azamgarh were hesitant in accepting the name Awadhī for their language.<sup>4</sup> The other important point I learned was that not all Muslims speak “our” language, but instead, they speak Bhōjpuri as their native tongue. I realized this when I visited an old lady by the name Shāhidā Bānō, popularly called as Shāhidā āpā,<sup>5</sup> a *Bhāṭin* ‘a woman of the *Bhāṭ* caste’<sup>6</sup> originally hailing from a Dāudpūr village (a non-*zamīndār*-inhabited village) and then moving to Sonwārā (a *zamīndār*-inhabited village) some four-five decades ago. In the recorded conversation between her, Rehānā Bānō (a *Nāun*, i.e., a woman of the *Nāū* caste), Nomān (my cousin) and me, she can be heard speaking Bhōjpuri, while others speak Azamgarhi.<sup>7</sup> Her speech had some very marked features of Bhōjpuri that I could easily catch: *-l* in the past verbal constructions, copulas such as *hāṛwe*, (direct) genitive forms of pronouns lacking inflection for gender agreement such as *hāmar*, and third person genitive forms such as *e:kār*, *o:kār*—all of which would never be found in

---

(flood-plain [of Ghaghra]) variety of the Northern dialect of Azamgarhi.

<sup>3</sup> At first, when seeing the name in the reference provided, i.e., Irshad Ali (1985), I had no idea who this person was. So, I asked Mr. Avtans to provide me the complete reference, to which he wrote: “Here is the full WorldCat reference of मुस्लिम लोकगीतों का विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन / इरशाद अली संस्करण 1 (1985). “ [worldcat.org/oclc/561652735](https://worldcat.org/oclc/561652735). Having read the complete reference, I took a surprise and exclaimed, “Omg, I can’t imagine this—he (late) was my mother’s maternal uncle!” It was only then when I read about the word *lōkgīt*, it struck to my mind! Interestingly, Avtans undertook fieldwork on Awadhi in Ayodhya, some ten years ago.

<sup>4</sup> When I asked my grandfather about the name of the language, i.e., his mother tongue, “The name of our village language is Awadhi, isn’t it?” He replied, “Awadhi?? What’s that? I never heard that word!”

<sup>5</sup> *āpā* is an Urdu word, also extensively used in Azamgarhi. Since my childhood, hearing my grandfather’s sisters address her as (Shāhidā) *āpā*, I, too, often call her by that name.

<sup>6</sup> Refer to §3.4.2, the section which explains the various castes found in the region.

<sup>7</sup> For the recording, please visit the following link on the CoRSAL Archive: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781695/>

“our” speech. On returning home and meeting Shāhinā, Nomān’s sister, I asked her, “Why does Shāhidā *āpā* speak like this...?” To this, she replied, “Oh yes, she belongs to Dāūd-pūr, no? There everyone speaks like this!” Hearing this, I began wondering what makes Daudpur different from Sonwara. I took this question to my grandfather when I visited my home in Mumbai a few months later, to which he answered, “*wəhā əpne:wale: bəhət kəm hɛ:. səb to: jɪada hɪndu hɛ:—kʊnbi-onbi.*” ‘Our people are very few there. Most of them (there) are Hindus—Kunbīs and others like them.’ From this, I assumed the word *əpne:wale:* ‘our people’ referred to us Muslims, and since they are less there in Daudpur, hence, the Muslims there speak like them. However, this assumption of mine was also going to be proved wrong soon.

In the month of November that year 2020, I departed for my second field trip to Azamgarh. In the early days of the trip, I headed to Karmainī village in the far-north of Azamgarh to attend a wedding ceremony of my cousin. On the wedding day, my grandfather called me from far-off. When I came, I saw a group of women dressed in *sārīs* sitting on the ground. My *dādā* ‘paternal grandfather’ told me that these are a community of *Naṭs*, who having learnt about a wedding occasion came there to beg for food and money. He asked me to bring my recorder and record their speech. At first, I was pretty hesitant to do so. Meanwhile, *dādā* started a conversation with them, asking them some questions, and they were replying to those—I was eagerly listening all along. “Oh, they are speaking Bhojpuri! Their speech seems to be similar to that of Shahida *āpā*’s, no?” I asked *dādā*. To this, he nodded positively. I then went to bring my recorder. Having brought it, I asked two-three *Naṭ* women from their group to come along with me in the corner of a house, as the wedding place had its own commotion. I requested them for a short interview, to which they agreed. I turned on the recorder and asked them to provide information related to their community and village (named Nakkīb Khojaulī, situated nearby Karmainī), besides any narratives they wish to narrate.<sup>8</sup> They start by describing why they’ve come to Karmainī. My grandfather asks them to narrate how their community was provided with essential supplies during the

<sup>8</sup> Please visit this link to stream the recording deposited at the CoRSAL Archive: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781703/>

imposed lockdown due to COVID-19. They do so, after which one of them sings a song on demonetization and the problems faced because of it. Then I ask a question related to the demography of their village: “How many households of your community members are there in your village?” “There are 50–60 homes of our community members in our village, and other people are Chamār, Ahīr,…” one of them replies. I further ask, “So, all those who’ve come with you are all Musalmans?” “Yes, we all are Muslims,” replied one, the other agreeing with her words, adds, “We are [counted] among Musalmāns—[we perform] *Namāz* ‘Islamic prayer’, [observe] *Rōzā* ‘fasting’; there’s a mosque build in our village.” I then ask them, “So, your community people are in Karmainī too?” “No, there are only *zamīndār* ‘landholders’ in Karmainī,” they reply. This was the most crucial link I believe I discovered (elaborated further in this dissertation), which could possibly help me solve the “mystery” of “our unique language”.

## 1.2 Language Overview

This work aims to present a select description of the Awadhi of Azamgarh or, henceforth, Azamgarhi,<sup>9</sup> an Awadhic language classified in the Eastern Hindi sub-group of the Central Zone group of the Indo-Aryan language family. It is spoken exclusively by a significant number of the Muslim population in the greater Azamgarh region which contemporarily constitutes the districts of Azamgarh and Mau and the Shahganj and Badlapur tehsils of Jaunpur district of Purvanchal Uttar Pradesh, India. Azamgarhi’s uniqueness is characterized by the fact that owing to the influence of the former Muhammadan Awadh Court of Lucknow, the language having its origins from Awadhi, an Eastern Hindi language, being adopted by the *zamīndār* (landholding) Muslims of Azamgarh

<sup>9</sup> Azamgarhi is the proposed name for the language—which also is accepted by Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2021)—and which I prefer to use in my research while arguing for it to be a distinct variety from Awadhi based on its prominent and distinct sociology. The language is otherwise in non-official or popular usage known by various vague names—Musalmān Bhāsā/Bōlī, Dehātī, Zamīndār/Jimindār Bōlī, etc. Refer to §4.1.2 for a detailed discussion on the language nomenclature. However, the name “Awadhi” is used in the title of this dissertation as advised by Prof. Ayesha Kidwai (p.c.): “... I feel that young scholars should not be using language names not listed in Ethnologue, based on colonial naming practices rather than original fieldwork of their own that establishes it as a distinct sociology.” Following this, I use the suggested name in the title and introductory mention; however, apart from that, henceforth I stick to the proposed name, i.e., Azamgarhi owing to the reasons mentioned earlier.

and from them to other (lower) class Muslims residing in the villages dominated by these *zamīndār* Muslims where Bhojpuri, a Bihari language, is the vernacular. Bhojpuri, thus, exerted significant sub-stratum influence on Azamgarhi, whereas the superstratum influence came from Urdu, the H variety with immense socio-religious prestige in the highly diglossic Azamgarhi speech community. These influences caused Azamgarhi to diverge from its parent language Awadhi significantly.

There are a number of varieties spoken in the Azamgarhi dialect continuum, which considerably differ from each other. Broadly, these can be tentatively grouped into three dialects or dialect groups, viz. Southern, Northern, and Eastern. However, the Southern dialect is unanimously considered the “standard” dialect by the speech community.

Unfortunately, Azamgarhi is not recognized in the Indian census, even in the dialect form of either Hindi or Urdu. Moreover, no proper record of the number of speakers exists. These all reasons, along with the complex sociolinguistic setting of the Azamgarh region, make the estimation of the numbers a very challenging task. In recent years, it is very unfortunate that due to pressure from Urdu, Hindi, and English, this language is either loosely or not at all passed to the younger generation and is mainly restricted to rural homes.

### 1.3 Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation presents a sketch of the morphology of the Azamgarhi verb component while also introducing this little-known language to the linguistic academia and popular audience interested in the languages of the region and Indo-Aryan languages, more generally. After the initial introductory remarks in the early part of this chapter, later followed by an overview of the language in the study, I move on to Chapter 2, which gives an account of the existing literature available on the Azamgarhi language. This is followed by the aims and framework of the research and the methodology used in the collection of data and its analysis. Chapter 3 talks about the physical, administrative, and social setting of the Azamgarh region. Finally, Chapter 4 presents a background

and a descriptive overview of the language in question while Chapter 5 is on its verb morphology, the central part of this work.

## 1.4 Presentation of Data

In this dissertation, all Azamgarhi data is rendered in an International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) based phonemic orthography which is nearly identical to the IPA, with a few exceptions: /tʃ/ is represented as <c>, /dʒ/ as <j>, /j/ as <y>, /r/ as <r>, /ɦ/ as <h>, and the dental series of stops are written without the dental diacritic.

Most examples in this work are given as multi-tier glossed examples, typically consisting of four lines. In the first line, a surface phonemic representation of the words is given, taking into account morphophonological processes but not phonological processes. This line includes punctuation and may contain three full stops placed between square brackets (i.e., [...]) to indicate that a part of the original utterance is elided. The second line presents the words divided into constituent morphemes. In most cases, the word or morpheme under discussion is shown in bold font. The third line gives a gloss for each morpheme. The fourth line gives a free translation into English and the source of the utterance. The source indicates the title of the text and the corresponding line number in the text. The structure of the multi-tier interlinear glossed examples is illustrated in (1).

- (1) *e:ktʰo:*    *rəhen*            *raja.*    [*Line 1: Orthographical representation*]  
*e:k=tʰo:*    *rəh-en*            *raja*    [*Line 2: Phonological representation*]  
*one=CLF be.PST-3MPL king(M)* [*Line 3: Morpheme gloss*]  
 ‘There was a king.’ [*Line 4: Free translation & source*]  
(Prince & Stepmother: 2)

The free translation may contain words within parentheses (), indicating linguistic content that is not found in the original Azamgarhi speech but needed to form a grammatical or comprehensible English translation. As for the glosses, I basically stick to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel, Comrie & Haspelmath 2015), supplemented with suggestions for grammatical category labels by Christian Lehmann when the former did

not provide any.<sup>10</sup> In elicited examples, an asterisk may precede the first line to mark ungrammaticality. When Azamgarhi words or phrases are quoted in running text, they are shown in italics, followed by a translation in single quotes or a gloss in small caps. Generally, I have attempted to follow the Generic Style Rules for Linguistics (Bickel, Comrie & Haspelmath 2015).

---

<sup>10</sup> These can currently be found at [https://www.christianlehmann.eu/ling/ling\\_meth/ling\\_description/representations/gloss/index.php?open=../../../../../../../../includes/gramm\\_category\\_labels.inc](https://www.christianlehmann.eu/ling/ling_meth/ling_description/representations/gloss/index.php?open=../../../../../../../../includes/gramm_category_labels.inc).

## Chapter 2

# Review of Literature and Research

## Methodology

This chapter starts with giving an adequate account of the existing literature on Azamgarhi (§2.1). It then moves on to account for the design of this present study in §2.2. This includes information on the aims of the research and the theoretical framework adopted for it in §2.2.0.1. Furthermore, this also includes information regarding the methodology of data collection and its processing and analyses, the language corpus created, and the examples cited in this work from that corpus (§2.2.0.2).

### 2.1 Previous Accounts of Azamgarhi

Published literature on the origins of Azamgarhi and even on the description of the language itself is very, very scarce. However, in his pioneering work, the Linguistic Survey of India (Sixth Volume), George Grierson, was the first to acknowledge this variety.

Besides being spoken in its proper area, Awadhī is also largely spoken by the Musalmāns, as their vernacular language, over the greater portion of the area in which Bihārī is the vernacular of the main portion of the population. This bi-lingual area extends as far east as the District of Muzaffarpur [in Bihār]. This Musalmān dialect is an interesting survival of the influence of

the former Muhammadan [Awadh] court of Lucknow. It is frequently heard by Europeans in Bihār, as it used a language of politeness by uneducated non-Musalmāns of the same country, much as Urdū is used by their betters.<sup>1</sup>

(Grierson 1904: 09)

However, in this work, Grierson hasn't mentioned Azamgarhi specifically, but rather the varieties of Awadhi spoken where the Bihārī languages are the vernaculars. While talking about the number of speakers for this Awadhi, he declares: "It is unfortunately impossible to give anything like accurate figures for the number of people who speak Awadhi in this area" (Grierson 1904: 118). The approximate figures presented in the LSI, which according to him, are based upon figures furnished by the various district officers, are shown in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.1: Number of Awadhi speakers in North-Western Provinces as given in LSI

District	Estimated number of speakers of Awadhi
Ballia	30,370
Ghazipur	111,000
Benares	120,000
Mirzapur (Central)	31,000
Azamgarh	107,000
Gorakhpur	9,989
Basti	Nil
Total for North-Western Provinces: 409,359	

<sup>1</sup> Adding more to this, Grierson (1904: 119), in the latter part of his work, opines: "[T]he dialect is commonly used as a sort of language of politeness by all rustics of the Bihārī area when talking to Europeans, much as Urdu is used by their betters. This fact accounts for the frequency with which Europeans hear words like *kahis*, *dihis*, when conversing with servants whose native home is Bihar. It is commonly supposed that when servants use such expressions they are employing their own rustic dialect. Such, however, is not always the case. In the case of Bihārī Hindus they are using a language which they have picked up from their Musalmān friends, and which they imagine to be the Hindostānī of polite society."

Table 2.2: Number of Awadhi speakers in Lower Provinces as given in LSI

District	Estimated number of speakers of Awadhi
Muzaffarpur	204,954
Saran	40,000
Champan	58,000
Gaya	64,500
Shababad	137,000
Total for Lower Provinces: 504,454	

**Grand Total: 918,813**

These figures provided are followed by brief descriptions that are given only for those varieties spoken in a select number of districts of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, which make up the current state of Bihar. Below is the description given in Grierson's own words.

In the District of Muzaffarpūr this Awadhi dialect is spoken by the low-caste Musalmāns, the majority of whom belong to the Jol[ā]hā or weaver caste. It is hence locally known as Jol[ā]hā Bōlī, and was described in the local return as a mixture of the local Maithilī and Hindostānī. An examination of the specimen which is given below will show that it is excellent Awadhī with only a slight infusion of these two languages. It should be noted that there is also a Jol[ā]hā Bōlī spoken in the Darbhangā District; but it is pure Maithili, and is quite distinct from the dialect of the same name spoken in Muzaffarpur. In the District of Saran, Awadhī is not spoken by the lowest class of Musalmāns, who speak the local Bhojpuri. But it is spoken by those of the middle class, and is locally called 'Bihārī Hindī'. A revised local estimate puts the number of speakers at 40,000. In the District of Champan, Awadhi is spoken by the middle-class Musalmāns, and by people of the Ṭikulihār, or spangle-maker caste. The latter are locally reported to number, in round figures, 8,000. I roughly estimate the former at 80,000, so that the total number of speakers of Awadhī may be estimated at 58,000.

The Awadhī spoken by the Ṭikulihārs is locally known as Ṭikulihārī. That spoken by the middle class Musalmāns is called Shekhaī. The local reporters seem to be quite unaware that they are the same language.

(Grierson 1904: 118–19)

It is to be noted that Grierson has neither given any details of such Awadhi spoken by the people living in Azamgarh, except for the numbers,<sup>2</sup> nor of that spoken in the North-Western Provinces. As far as the texts are concerned, such as “The Parable of the Prodigal Son” which is extensively used to present samples of a selected lect understudy, he believes that those from Jolāhā Bōlī of Muzaffarpur and Shēkhaī of Champāran would suffice the description of the Awadhi outside its proper area, as “[i]t would be a waste of paper to give full specimens of these various occurrences of Awadhi” (i.e., except from the areas mentioned above) (Grierson 1904: 119).

Saksena (1971), in his extensive work titled *Evolution of Awadhi*, which stands as the first published focused research on Awadhi, with synchronic as well as diachronic descriptions and explanations, has failed to provide any mention of any of the Awadhi-originated varieties spoken outside the Awadh proper area.

Notwithstanding the carry forward of the name “Awadhi” to the language of his doctoral dissertation work at the Aligarh Muslim University, titled—*A Descriptive Analysis of the Eastern Awadhi Dialect of Jaunpur*, Ahmad (1986) is the first to provide a descriptive sketch of the target language of this study, i.e., Azamgarhi. The description, however, is not very comprehensive. It does contain textual data with a free translation of sentences being provided in English along with a short glossary. The texts are neither glossed nor interlinearized, with almost no metadata records of those texts, except a few lines in the Chapter 1 of the dissertation. Therefore this presents challenges to scholars looking to analyze the language. Moreover, the complete thesis is typed with a typewriter having poor quality ink, thereby making the perception of letters and words,

<sup>2</sup> Grierson (1904: 118) states that it is unfortunately impossible to give anything like accurate figures for the number of people who speak this variety, and therefore gives a rough figure of 107,000 speakers residing in Azamgarh based upon approximate figures furnished by the various district officers. The figure of 107,000 Awadhi variety speakers living in Azamgarh, I believe, perhaps also includes the speakers of the Jolaha Boli, which might be a linguistically different variety, more details of which I provided later on in this work.

especially of the described language, a real painstaking task, causing severe strain to eyes in just reading a couple of pages.

A work on folklore in Azamgarhi and Bhojpuri is done by I. Ali (1985)<sup>3</sup> and carried forward by her daughter Sabeeh Afroz Ali. The latter has compiled it in the form of a Ph.D. thesis (S. A. Ali 2012) and later published as a book (S. A. Ali 2014).

## 2.2 The Present Study

### 2.2.0.1 Aims and Theoretical Framework

The current work is a part of the broader goal of comprehensive documentation and a detailed and accurate description of the Azamgarhi language. The principal purpose of this research is to provide a sketch of the Azamgarhi verb so as to attract research on this not only underdocumented and understudied but also a quite lesser-known language. In addition, this study is believed to provide a much-needed linguistic foundation for further research on the language.

The present study is based on a functional approach towards grammatical description, which is grounded on the assumption that the structure of any natural language is best explained and described in terms of its “function” and not in terms of a “pre-established theoretical framework” (cf. Givón 2001).<sup>4</sup> This approach entails much what Haspelmath (2010: 342) points out: “Most linguists seem to agree that we should approach any language without prejudice and describe it in its own terms, non-aprioristically, overcoming possible biases from our native language, from the model of a prestige language (such as Latin or English), or from an influential research tradition (such as that of Donatus’s Latin grammar, or Chomsky’s generative grammar).” However, as for the linguistic analysis of the Azamgarhi data, where possible, I have strived to use analytic concepts and terms that are well-established in linguistics (Payne 1997,

<sup>3</sup> (Late) Dr. Irshad Ali was the Head of Hindi Department at the Shibli National P. G. College at Azamgarh.

<sup>4</sup> This function-based descriptive approach also requires much emphasis in this project since barring Ahmad (1986) which focuses on a just a particular regional variety, not even a basic description of the language is available till date.

Dixon 2010, Shopen 1985), often informed by typological studies, while simultaneously attempting to analyze the Azamgarhi verb on its “own terms”.

### 2.2.0.2 Data, Research Methods, and Fieldwork Methodology

Following the documentary footprints and the functional account to comprehensive linguistic description, as previously mentioned, the proposed research aims to approach the language holistically rather than partially or as a case study of a particular category or phenomenon in isolation. This is because all the grammatical categories and relations encoded in any specific language are strongly inter-related and inter-dependent. This hypothesis very much applies to this dissertation, too, where, as per the title, though the concentration of this description is limited to the morphology of the verb component in Azamgarhi, I have strived to approach the language as holistically as possible. To achieve this, this study relies on “the corpus” which comprises both “text” and “elicited data,” as both are essential components in describing various aspects of a language, and each has its own advantages and disadvantages (see Payne 1997: 366).<sup>5</sup> However, the text serves as a foundation to the major aims of the broader Azamgarhi documentation project, while elicitation is used as a supplementary tool to achieve specific goals in terms of constructing a phonological sketch, getting minute and abstract details, completing the paradigms, and filling in gaps. Many field linguists have strongly criticized and warned against following a purely direct elicitation method. Lüpke (2010: 90) believes elicited data to have very low ecological validity as “they come into existence under the control of the researcher and are entirely motivated by their research questions.” Likewise, while highlighting the advantages of working with natural data as opposed to direct elicitation, Mithun (2001: 51) opines, “Speakers often shape the record most effectively when they are given the opportunity to choose what to say and how to say it.”

Besides the above-enumerated benefits of texts or natural data over elicitation, I

<sup>5</sup> Payne (1997: 366) defines the word “text” as “any sample of language that accomplishes a non-hypothetical communicative task,” while on the contrary, he mentions “elicited data” to refer to “samples of language that accomplish hypothetical communicative tasks.”

now discuss my experience in brief with both. As for me, while working on Azamgarhi, elicitation was quite a challenging task due to a couple of reasons: Firstly, since the Azamgarhi speech community is highly diglossic, with Urdu, the Indo-Aryan language with immense socio-religious prestige, serving as the H variety, many of the Azamgarhi speakers would occasionally get confused and influenced by Urdu when responding to elicitation question thrown in Urdu. As a result, they would end up mixing Urdu in their responses, as also Urdu and Azamgarhi belong to the same Indo-Aryan language family, with very subtle differences in structure in particular instances. Secondly, because being a semi-speaker of Azamgarhi and a native speaker of Urdu, I quite often noticed my somewhat “not-so-refined” knowledge of Azamgarhi of having irresistible prejudices of “expected” elicited responses, while at the same time, the “native” knowledge of Urdu interfering with my perception of the same. However, there was an outward benefit of being a semi-speaker: having sufficient knowledge of the language helped me save time and effort in learning the language and besides also having some conversational fluency, which is usually not very hassle-free to achieve. This resulted in me working smoothly on the collected texts with limited guidance required from native speakers, thereby reducing the involved hassle in the almost never-ending consultation process.

The Azamgarhi Documentation Project began in 2019. Till date, all the data in the Azamgarhi corpus was primarily elicited in the Azamgarh district of U.P. in two field trips, each being around three-week-long, in the month of January–February 2020, and November 2020; and also from my relatives back at my hometown in the city of Mumbai in December 2019 and further in July–August 2020.<sup>6</sup> Only a small part of the data has its representation in this dissertation due to its limited scope. However, most of the documented materials are archived at the Computational Resource for South Asian Languages (CoRSAL), a digital archive managed by the University of North Texas Digital Library. They are freely available for non-commercial public access (see Shaikh 2021a,b).<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> This work was made possible through the funds offered by the Junior Research Fellowship from the University Grants Commission (UGC), Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. I am thankful to the Commission.

<sup>7</sup> Note that some of the materials are not archived or made public and are reserved with the author due to such request made by the consultants. I would like to offer my sincere gratitude to Prof. Shobhana Chelliah, who overlooked the entire archival process. Many many thanks to Merrion

The archived collection currently includes audio and video recordings of texts which are in different genres, such as traditional and children's stories, popular legends, historical accounts, personal narratives, natural conversations, dramas, folksongs, poems, food recipes, discussions on events or items of cultural importance, and discussions on language and linguistic data. Also included are transcriptions and translations of selected texts, digitized copies of fieldwork notes, and photographs documenting fieldwork and other events (more to be added later). Interlinear glossing and analyses of the texts will be added to the corpus during the next phase. I've ensured that at least the description (landing page) of the language and titles of every item have translations in Urdu and Hindi. I would love to provide descriptions and other things in them as well, but I was constrained by a lack of time.

As far as the structured elicitation is concerned, the work in the initial phase had been carried out with the help of an extensive wordlist of around 500-600 words prepared by me consulting various sources in order to pave an efficient way for a neat phonological analysis of the language. This was also done to be later utilized for lexicographic work on the language. This was followed by phrases and short sentence lists. Later on, I almost completely shifted to texts.

As discussed above, the interlinearized examples presented in this dissertation are almost exclusively drawn from the texts to avoid discrepancies and problems with elicited data. Wherever it was impossible to find relevant sentences from the texts, I tried to modify the nearest relevant sentence and verify its acceptability with the native speaker(s). The texts are of the genre "traditional stories", which include "Sheherbano" (the Azamgarhi version of Cinderella) narrated by Habeebah Bano in Southern Azamgarhi (§B.6), "God in the form of guest" told by Naazli Azeem in Southern Azamgarhi (§B.3), "Hen and python" told by Aquil Ahmad in Southern Azamgarhi (§B.2), "Prince and his stepmother" narrated by Shauqat Tara in a mix of Southern and Northern Aza-

---

Dale, a graduate student at the Department of Linguistics, UNT, who was responsible for guiding me into this archival process. She was there for my every query and suggestion and the one who made this process a very smooth and amicable one, and besides archiving, she also would encourage and help me out with spreading out the word and revitalization. Special thanks to Mary Burke, another graduate student at the Department of Linguistics, UNT, and Dr. Mark Phillips, Associate Dean at the UNT College of Information, who looked after the technical stuff involved behind the scene.

ngarhi (§B.5), and “A couple” narrated by Mohammad Khalid in Northern Azamgarhi (§B.4). One may observe that the texts are overwhelmingly in the Southern dialect, the standard dialect considered by the Azamgarhi speakers. With the help of SayMore, these recordings were annotated, phonemically transcribed in the IPA-based orthography, see §1.4, and were freely translated into English, Urdu, and Hindi. I then imported the .fextext file into FLEx, where they were interlinearized with morpheme to morpheme glossing.

## Chapter 3

# The Azamgarh Region

Azamgarhi is primarily spoken in a region I refer to in my work as the “(Greater) Azamgarh” region, the linguistic land of the Azamgarhi speech community. It contemporarily constitutes the districts of Āzamgarh (26°36’00” N, 83°11’24” E) and Maū (25°56’30” N, 83°33’40” E) and the Shahganj and Badlapur tehsils of Jaunpur district (25°45’ N, 82°45’ E) bordering the Azamgarh district of the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP), India.

This chapter begins with an introduction to this region. This is then followed by the details presented on the administrative setup of the districts that constitute the Azamgarh region—Azamgarh, Mau, and Jaunpur (§3.1). §3.2 offers a description of the physical geography of the region. The next section, §3.3 gives a brief account of the history of the region. §3.4 provides ethnographic and socio-economic information, discussing the prevalent religions in the region §3.4.1, the caste-based social setting amongst Hindus as well as Muslims of Azamgarh in §3.4.2, and finally in §3.4.3, a special account of the Ashraf or Zamindar Musalmans, an elite community in the social hierarchy of the Muslim community of Azamgarh who was the first to adopt Awadhi in favor of its native and vernacular language, Bhojpuri.

### 3.1 Administrative Setup of the Azamgarh Region

The Azamgarh region falls in the Pūrvanchal region of the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. There has been a longstanding demand to divide the massive Uttar Pradesh state

into four parts, Purvanchal being one of them. Purvanchal primarily constitutes the Bhojpuri-speaking region of UP. Figure 3.1 depicts the Purvanchal region of UP comprising the districts Vārāṇasī, Jaunpūr, Āzamgarh, Maū, Baliā (Ballia), Mirzāpūr, Bhadohī, Ghazipūr, Gōrakhpūr, Kushīnagar, Dewariā (Deoria) Siddhārth Nagar, Mahrājganj, Bastī, Sant Kabīr Nagar, and Sōnbhadra.

Subsections given below give details regarding the administrative setup of the districts, called *janpad* in UP, that constitute the Azamgarh region, viz., Azamgarh, Mau, and Jaunpur. Note that Mau was carved out from Azamgarh in 1988 for efficient administrative purposes. Each district is divided into tehsils that constitute Community Development (CD) blocks, called as *vikās khaṇḍ* in Hindi.



Figure 3.1: Map of the Purvanchal Region of Uttar Pradesh<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1.0.1 Administrative Setup of the Azamgarh District

The total area of the Azamgarh district is 4054 sq. km., wherein the rural area covers 3967.21 sq. km. and urban covers 86.8 sq. km. The district of Azamgarh is made up of seven tehsils, as depicted in Figure 3.2. The tehsils of Azamgarh districts are Āzamgarḥ (Sadar), Burhānpūr, Lālganj, Mehnagar, Nizāmbād, Phūlpūr, and Sagrī (*District Census Handbook: Azamgarh 2011*).

The CD blocks of the Azamgarh districts are shown in Figure 3.3. Azamgarh tehsil includes CD blocks of Rānī kī Sarāi, Palhanī, Saṭhiāō [Sathiyāon], and Jahānāganj; whereas Burhānpūr includes CD blocks of Atrauliā, Koilsā, and most of the region of Ahraulā. Lālganj constitutes CD blocks Ṭhekmā, Lālganj, and parts of Palhanā and Tarwā. Mehnagar, on the other hand, comprises the CD block of Mehnagar and parts

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from <https://censusindia.gov.in/DigitalLibrary/MapResult.aspx>, accessed on 12/07/2021. The map showing the Purvanchal region is actually zoomed and cropped from the map of UP. The district Sōnbhadra (bottom-right) could not be fully accommodated in the zoomed image.



Figure 3.2: Azamgarh Tehsil Map<sup>2</sup>

of Tarwã , Palhana, and Mohammadpūr. CD blocks included in Nizāmbād are Tahbarpūr, Mirzāpūr, and parts of Mohammadpūr. Phulpūr includes CD blocks of Phūlpūr, Marṭinganj, Pawāi, and some parts of Ahiraulā; whereas Sagrī tehsil is made up of four CD blocks—Bilariāganj, Mahrājganj, Haraiyā, and Azmatgarh.

The number of villages in Azamgarh district is 4101, out of which 3,800 are inhabited, and 301 are uninhabited (Directorate of Census Operations. 2011a:14).

<sup>2</sup> Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com>, accessed on 13/07/2021.

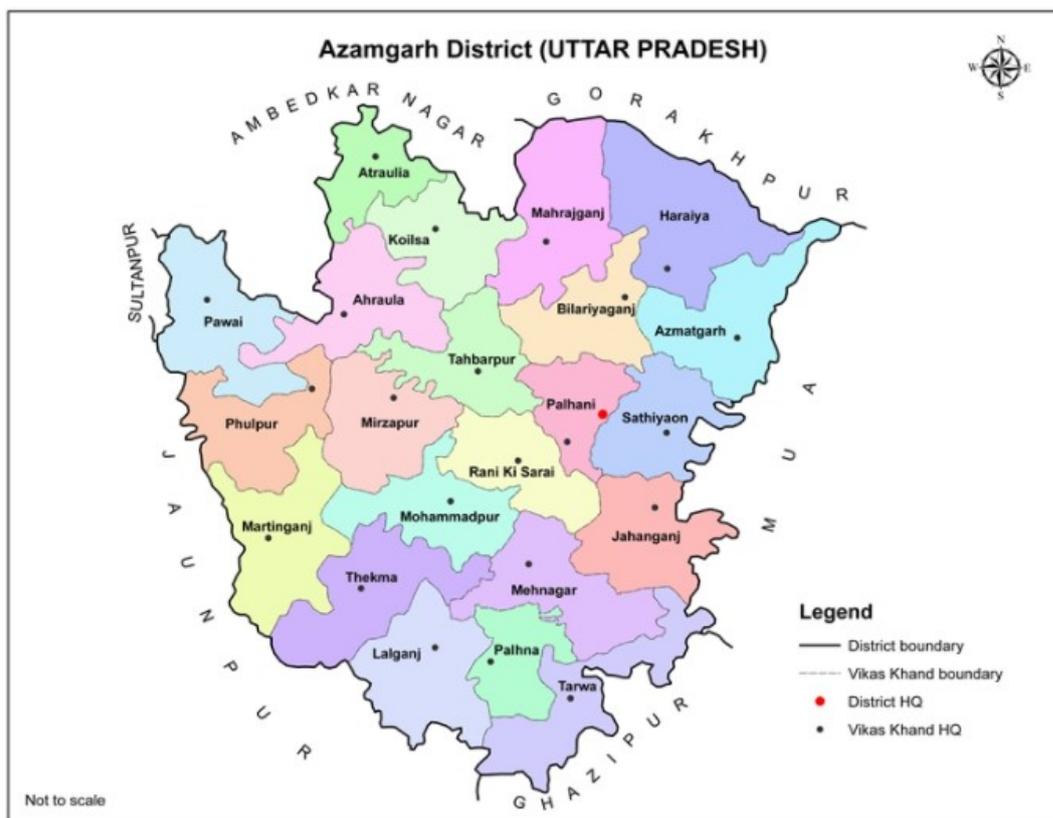


Figure 3.3: CD Block Map of the Azamgarh District<sup>3</sup>

### 3.1.0.2 Administrative Setup of the Mau District

There are four tehsils in Mau districts: Mohammadābād Gohnā, Maūnāth Bhanjan, Ghōsī, and Madhuban. Refer to Figure 3.4 for illustration.

<sup>3</sup> Source: [http://www.nrcddp.org/District\\_link.aspx?id=Azamgarh&state1=Uttar%20Pradeshe1=Uttar%20Pradesh](http://www.nrcddp.org/District_link.aspx?id=Azamgarh&state1=Uttar%20Pradeshe1=Uttar%20Pradesh), accessed on 13/07/2021.



Figure 3.4: Mau Tehsil Map<sup>4</sup>

Figure 3.5 depicts the CD blocks of Mau district along with the tehsils of Mau. For example, Mohammadābād Gohnā tehsil includes CD blocks Mohammadābād Gohnā and Rānipūr; whereas Maūnāth Bhanjan includes CD blocks of Kōpāganj, Pardāhā, and Ratanpurā. Ratanpurā was previously in the Ballia district and was included in the Mau district since the formation of the latter. CD blocks included in Ghōsī tehsil are Ghōsī, Baḍrāñ and some parts of Dohrīghāṭ. Madhuban tehsil, on the other hand, comprises CD block of Fatehpūr Maṇḍāñ most of the region of Dohrīghāṭ.

<sup>4</sup> Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com>, accessed on 13/07/2021.

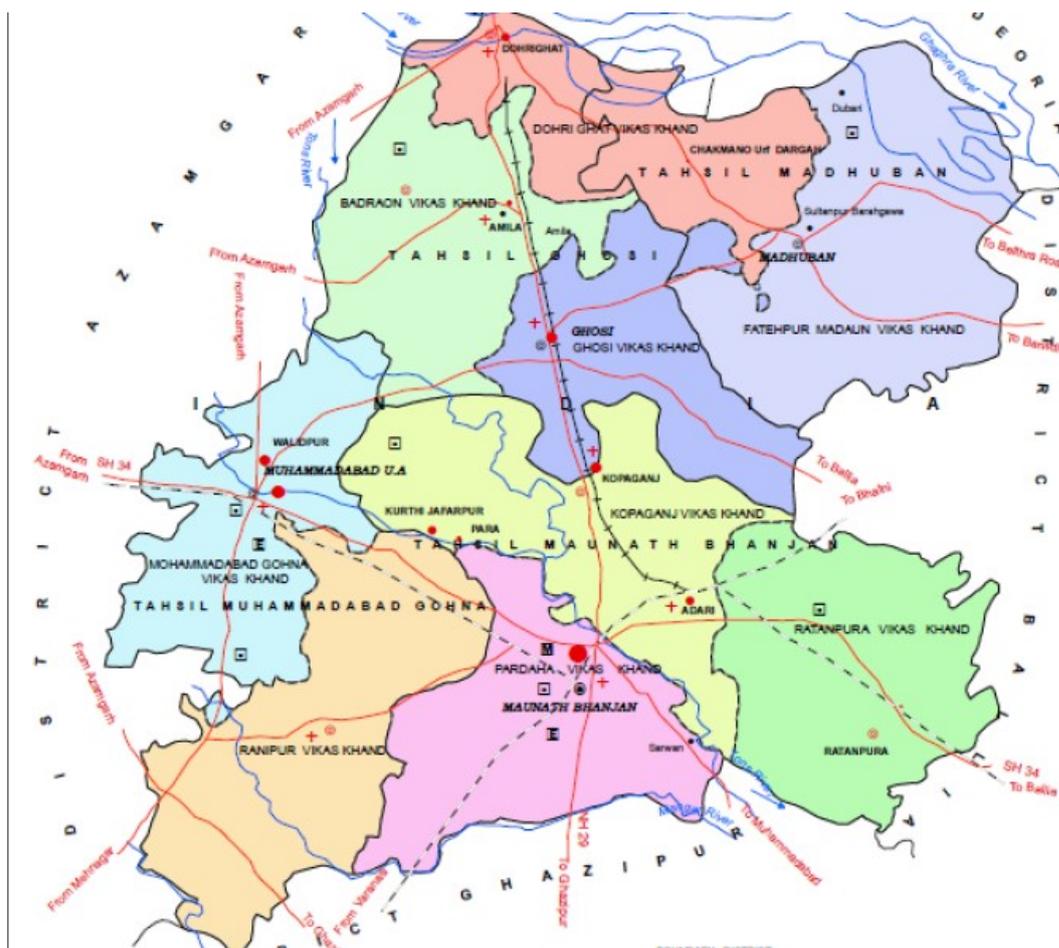


Figure 3.5: CD Block Map of the Mau District (Adapted from *District Census Handbook: Mau* (2011))

### 3.1.0.3 Administrative Setup of the Jaunpur District

The district of Jaunpur consists of six tehsils: Shāhganj, Badlāpūr, Jaunpur, Kerākat, Machhlishahar, Maṛihāñ, out of which only the former two are relevant to this study. The CD blocks of Jaunpur district are given in Figure 3.6 Shāhganj tehsil includes CD blocks of Shāhganj, Khuṭahan, and Suithkalā; whereas Badlāpūr includes CD blocks of Badlāpūr and Mahrājganj.



and Tons is fertile too, as well as those drained by streams and irrigation canals. The rest of the areas in the Azamgarh region, such as the western and southern ones, are less fertile, natively called as *ūsar* ‘barren’ soil/land; however, the development in the irrigation systems and facilities in the past few decades has led to a sound crop output in those areas too. Detailed information on the physical features of the region is provided in the District Census Handbooks of the districts of the Azamgarh region, such as Azamgarh, Mau, and Jaunpur.

The climate of the Azamgarh region is humid subtropical with large variations in winter and summer temperatures. With the intervening monsoon season, summers are very long and excessively hot, beginning from early April and lasting till mid-October. Day temperatures are constantly above 40°C for most of later April, entire May, and early June with hot, dry winds, locally called as *lū* (loo) blow, scorching the region. During the monsoon months, late June to September, the region receives rainfall from the Northeast Monsoon coming from the Bay of Bengal. The weather is usually pleasant on the days that experience rainfall and otherwise becomes very unpleasant due to increased humidity levels and the already prevalence of high heat. Winters are relatively shorter than summers, but two months, December and January, are cold, with temperatures dropping further below 5°C being not uncommon. Moreover, winter nights experience unusually high humidity levels giving rise to dense fog, which occasionally lasts till the afternoon, blocking sunlight and hence affecting daily activities, especially road, rail, and traffic.

The Azamgarh region is well connected to the surrounding areas as well as other areas of the country by road, rail, and air. The nearest domestic and international airport is the Lal Bahadur Shastri International Airport at Babatpur, situated on the outskirts of Varanasi city. The newly constructed airport of Azamgarh is yet to be open to the public. The region has major rail stations such as Shahganj, Azamgarh, and Mau, besides other stations. Two trains play a vital role in connecting the region with the national and financial capitals of the country—the Gōdān Express, connecting the Azamgarh region to Mumbai, and the Kaifiyāt Express (named after the legendary poet of Azamgarh, Shri

Kaifi Azmi), which operates from Azamgarh to Delhi. Road connectivity is better than rail, with the region being well connected with Lakhnaū (Lucknow), the capital of UP, and Delhi, the national capital.

### 3.3 Brief History of Azamgarh

A brief account of the history of the Azamgarh region, primarily the early and medieval, can be found in the *District Census Handbook: Azamgarh* (2011). However, the later medieval and post-medieval history discussed here remains relevant to the current study and the present section. Islamic intrusion in the lands of Purvanchal can be traced as early as the twelfth to the thirteenth century. However, settling history starts somewhere from the late fourteenth century when Feroz Shah Tughlaq built the city of Jaunpur on the banks of river Gōmatī. Then, from the sixteenth century onwards, Azamgarh fell into the hands of Bābur, and his successors continued to remain so thereafter.

The city of Azamgarh was founded by Raja Azam Khan, son of a Rajput Hindu landowner Bikramjit, from his Muslim wife in 1665 CE, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan (cf. Brockman 1911: 107–108). The Azamgarh region remained peaceful and was not involved in any of the wars of the era, owing to it being a primarily rural and agricultural town.

In the late nineteenth century, Azamgarh became a significant town when one of its exemplary sons, Allama Shibli Nomani, became a world-renowned scholar of Islam and history and a pioneer for propagating education in north India. Shibli Nomani was a disciple of the renowned North Indian Muslim educationist and social reformer Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of Aligarh Muslim University. In 1883, inspired by his mentor, Shibli Nomani established a college that is now famous by the name Shibli National College, and an academy of learning called Dar-ul-Musannafeen' House of writers or scholars' in Azamgarh. Both the institutions blossomed for many decades after the demise of Shibli Nomani in 1914, thus, becoming a center of educational learning, attracting Muslims of the entire Pūrvānchal region of Uttar Pradesh (Kawaja 2008).

### 3.4 Ethnographic and Socio-Economic Information

According to the 2011 Census of India, the total population of the districts that constitute the Azamgarh region is—Azamgarh: 46,13,913, Mau: 22,05,968, and Jaunpur: 44,94,204.<sup>6</sup> These districts have a population density of 1139, 1287, and 1113 inhabitants per square kilometer, respectively. The literacy rate of Azamgarh district is 70.93%, whereas it performs better with a sex ratio of 1019 females per male. Mau is ahead of Azamgarh in the literacy rate with 75.16%; however, it registers a sex ratio of 978. The Jaunpur district has a literacy rate of 73.66% and a sex ratio of 1024, the latter being the highest of any district of Uttar Pradesh. Except for the Mau district, the literacy rate of the remaining two districts of the region is slightly lower than the national average of 74.04%. On the contrary, all the three districts perform much better in sex ratio, where the national average is 940 females per 1000 males. Thus, Jaunpur and Azamgarh stand at first and second positions in UP in the female to male sex ratio.

#### 3.4.1 Religions in Azamgarh

The Azamgarh region is primarily a Hindu-dominated region where Hindus form 84.06% and 80.23% of the total population of Azamgarh and Mau, respectively. On the other hand, Islam comes a distant second with 15.58% and 19.43% of the total population of the Azamgarh and Mau districts. Muslims, however, outnumber Hindus in the towns of Mubārakpūr, Amilō, Sarāi Mīr, Barahatir Jagdīshpūr, Bilariāganj, Chak Sikarī, and Ibrāhimpūr.<sup>7</sup> Followers of other religions are very few, forming not more than a mere half a percentage in both districts. Brockman (1911: 90) points out that the Azamgarh region is overwhelmingly Sunni-dominated, with that particular sect making up over 92 percent of the total Muslim population. Shias, on the contrary, were merely a bit over 4 percent, whereas the remainder were followers of the minor or unspecified sects. Though a century old, I believe the statistics to perhaps still remain contemporarily valid

<sup>6</sup> The expected population of Azamgarh in 2021 is 53,45,680. Source: <https://www.indiacensus.net/district/azamgarh>, accessed on 16/07/2021.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/district/562-azamgarh.html>, accessed on 16/07/2021.

to a great extent. Moreover, I could not find the contemporary Islamic sect distribution numbers.

### 3.4.2 Social Stratification

The social stratification prevalent in the Azamgarh region is not any different from the majority regions of the rest of the country, having its basis on caste. The caste system here has been practiced for centuries and still prevails, especially in rural settings, and is far from vanishing even in urban society. Caste discrimination and exploitation, which has led to severe basic human rights violations, is well pictured and presented in the early and late modern works of literature of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century and needs no special mention here. This is true not only among the Hindu community but also among the Muslims. The settlements in the villages of Azamgarh, similar to that prevalent in the rest of the country, are segregated on the basis of caste. There is no doubt that besides residence and, thereby, social interaction, caste would also define an individual's occupation in India. These factors would contribute to differentiated socio-cultural settings, giving rise to linguistic variation in the languages spoken in the same region. Inter-caste variation of a language in a few instances of a particular region can be vast enough to be linguistically considered different languages altogether. Hence, even in a linguistic study like this based on a region having a complex socio-cultural setting, a description of the general castes and classes in the region stands vital. Besides this aspect, descriptive information on caste will also help the reader to have a good understanding of the society since many of the collected texts in Azamgarhi and Bhojpuri require so.

The British introduced the first pan-Indian caste-based census during the censuses held across British India once every ten years starting in 1881. When the census returns proved much more complex, differentiated, and regionally incompatible, these and similar ideas were gradually abandoned. After 1901, the British ceased all its efforts to establish a hierarchical order of castes and stopped counting castes altogether after 1931 (Iwanek 2016). This continues till date, and hence, the censuses from 1931 onwards

do neither collect nor give any information of castes in India. Owing to this, the only reliable published source for the same in Azamgarh remains the District Gazetteer of Azamgarh, Government of the United Provinces, edited by Brockman (1911). Hence, most of the descriptions in this section on the various castes that were historically present and even contemporarily found are from the Gazetteer. The description first presents the caste system in Hinduism and then that in Islam. As for the Hindus, I just enumerate the castes, whereas, in the case of the Muslim population, I give a description, since as previously stated that Azamgarhi is exclusively spoken by a significant number of the Muslim population of Azamgarh. Also, wherever relevant and required, I provide the same from my own elicited notes based on the information shared by my informants.

The Hindu community includes representatives of no fewer than 76 different castes, excluding subdivisions, while in the case of 119 persons, no caste was specified at the last census. A large number of these are very sparsely represented, but in 31 instances, the total exceeds 2,000 persons. Many of these castes occur in every district, though a few will require more detailed notice on account of their comparative rarity elsewhere; but the remainder are too well known for the most part to more than a passing mention, for there is no remarkable variety in the composition of the population of the district.

(Brockman 1911: 77)

The majority of these castes are enumerated below in the descending order of the community strength registered in the 1901 census. The community names are the same as that given in the Gazetteer by the Government of the United Provinces (Brockman 1911) except that I added diacritical marks to aid pronunciation. If not shown there, then the popular spelling is generally provided.

The Hindu castes include *Chamār*, *Ahīr*, *Brāhman*, *Rājput* or *Ṭhākur*, *Bhar*, *Soirī*, *Koerī*, *Bhuinhār*, *Lūniā*, *Kahār*, *Baniā*, *Kurmī* or *Kunbī*, *Lohār*, *Kumhār*, *Telī*, *Kewaṭ*, *Pāsī*, *Kalwār*, *Kāyastha* or *Shrivāstav*, *Dhōbī*, *Nāī*, *Mallāh*, *Barai*, *Barhai*, *Gaḍariyā*, *Sonār*,

*Khaṭik, Atīt, Bārī, Dharkār or Ḍom, Halwāī, Bhāṭ, Mālī, Rājgīr, Musahar, Chūrīhārā, Bisātā, etc.*

The stratification of the Muslim society as given in the District Gazetteer of Azamgarh, Government of the United Provinces (Brockman 1911), is described below. The Shaikhs, Pathans or Khans, and Mirzas form the *Ashrāf* 'noble' class of the Muslim society, claiming themselves to be the foreign descent, or converts from "high caste" Rajput Hindus otherwise. On the contrary, the remaining communities in the Muslim society together constitute the *Ajlāf* 'degraded' class. The *Ashrāf* Musalmāns, since being the prime speakers of the Azamgarhi language, find their unique description in the next section, i.e., §3.4.3, besides the descriptions of the constituting individual communities in the Gazetteer which are provided in this section below.

According to the returns of the last census, the Muhammadan population was made up of members of 37 different tribes and castes, excluding subdivisions, while 1,008 persons were shown as belonging to no specified division. Of these castes, however, few are numerically important. Only four occur in a strength exceeding ten thousand, four had more than 5,000 representatives and eleven over 1,000. Most of the castes have their Hindu counterparts and consequently call no further mention.

pp. 90

On a similar pattern, the Muslim castes are also mentioned below, but along with their description as mentioned above. The vernacular names reflecting their pronunciation in Azamgarhi are provided between slashes /. The traditional occupations of the communities are also provided, albeit it reflects their only occupation of the community in the olden times, especially in the pre-independence era. It is worthy to note that in contemporary times, the traditional occupations have changed thanks to the upliftment and anti-discriminatory schemes and initiatives run to protect and preserve the rights of the downtrodden and backward communities and to provide them equal opportunities, by the various ministries and departments of Government of India, after Indian independence, such as the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Ministry of

Tribal Welfare, etc. This can primarily be observed in cities and towns and is gradually being witnessed in rural areas too, where the younger generation is getting educated and employed in various government and private-sector jobs.

*Julahas* /jolaha/ are for the most part concentrated in the towns of Āzamgarh, Maū, Mubārakpūr, and Kōpāganj, the centers of the cloth-weaving industry in the district. The majority of the Julahas or weavers follow their ancestral occupation of weaving country cloth, while in some instances, they have betaken themselves to agriculture.<sup>8</sup> *Shaikhs* or *Sheikhs* /ʃe:kʰ or se:kʰ/ are big landholders. Of the many sub-divisions, the Siddiqīs are the strongest, numbering 19,033; then come Quraishīs (or Qureshis) with 16,967 representatives, according to the 1901 census. Similarly, there were 7,460 An-sārīs, 1,699 Usmānīs, 1,634 Abbāsīs, and 5,410 of unspecified subdivisions. For a detailed note on the origins and residence of these sub-divisions of Sheikhs, refer to Brockman (1911: 91–93). *Pathans* or *Khans* /pəʃʰan, kʰan/, like Shaikhs, are big landholders too. The best-represented clan is the Yūsufzai, after which come the Ghōrī, Lōdī, Kākar, and Baṅgash. Their settlements date from as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries till the sixteenth century. *Behnas* or *Dhunias* /dʰɔniɑ/ are cotton carders who are also freely engaged in cultivation. *Hajjams* are barbers. Note that the Musalman Nāīs are usually known as Hajjāms. *Faqīrs* /pʰəkʰir/ are religious mendicants. They also own land and cultivate. Note that Jōgī, Sāī , and Kaṅkāli people are all similar to Faqirs. *Saiyids* /səyəd/ are big landholders who are Shias by sect, and many claim their origin to the Nawābs of Awadh. For a detailed note on the origins and residence of these sub-divisions of Saiyids, refer to Brockman (1911: 95–96). *Darzīs* /dərji/ are tailors by profession. *Telis* /te:li/ are oilmen and minor cultivators. *Bhangis* or *Mehtars* /bʰəŋgi, mehtər/ are toilet cleaners. *Dhobis* /dʰo:bi/ are washermen and minor cultivators. *Bhats* /bʰaʃ/ are primarily bards, panegyrist and are also involved in begging. They are Hindus as well as Muslims. *Kuneras*<sup>9</sup> /bəʃʰəi/ are carpenters. *Dafalis* /dəpʰali/ are the who

<sup>8</sup> According to an informant, in the contemporary times, the Jolāhās are very poor in carrying out agricultural and related activities, mostly because most of them reside in towns where the electricity they have access to electricity for maximum possible hours for their looms.

<sup>9</sup> According to one of my informants, this name is unheard; instead, the Muslim carpenters too are called Barhāi just like their Hindu counterparts.

play musical instruments such as the *shehnāī*, tambourine, drums, etc. *Kunjras* /kũjɾa/ are vegetable and grocery sellers and market gardeners. *Nats* /nət/ are a semi-nomadic community, traditionally associated with rope dancing, juggling, fortune-telling, and begging.<sup>10</sup> *Rangrez* /rəŋreːj/ are dyers.

### 3.4.3 The Ashrāf Musalmāns

The *Ashrāf* Musalmāns, as previously mentioned in the above section, are a class that constitutes a few upper-class communities such as Shaikhs, Khans or Paṭhans, and Mīrza. They are prominent and elite *zamīndārs* or landholders and hence are also known by the term *Zamīndārā*. Since it is these people who were the first to adopt Awadhi in favor of their native and vernacular language Bhojpuri, they require a special description to provide an explanatory account for the prevalent outwardly linguistic dichotomy in the Azamgarh region. Brockman (1911: 93), in the Azamgarh District Gazetteer, writes: “Owing to their dislike of the name, the Zamindaras were not separately recorded at the census of 1901, and it is not possible to give the numbers of this large and important portion of the Muhammadan population of Azamgarh. The Zamindaras are also called Rautaras [*Rautārā*], and form a distinctively marked and well-known class.” Newpakhistorian (2016) describes them as highly community localized and found only in Azamgarh, Jaunpur, and Mau districts. They self-designate as “Āzmī” or “Āzmī Birādārī” or “Āzmī Qaum”, which literally mean ‘of Azamgarh,’ ‘the Azmi community,’ and ‘Azmi nation’ respectively. Brockman (1911: 93), writing the District Gazetteer of Azamgarh, wrote favorably about them:

The Zamindaras are quiet and orderly people, and in this respect form a marked contrast to the fanatical Julahas. In habit and character they are frugal; while as cultivators they are industrious and skilful. Where they have not been impoverished by the excess of their own numbers and the

<sup>10</sup> According to Wikipedia, the Naṭs of Uttar Pradesh are said to have originally come from Chittaur in Rajasthan. They are mainly found in the districts of Varanasi, Allahabad, Barabanki, and Jaunpur. They converted to Sunni Islam during the rule of the Nawabs of Awadh, some two hundred years ago, albeit incorporating many folk beliefs. Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nat\\_\(Muslim\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nat_(Muslim)), accessed on 25/07/2021.

subdivision of lauded property, they are well-off. Their women, except in the case of those who have pretensions to gentility, are not kept confined in the zenana, and, though they do not engage in work, they may often be seen carrying food to the men in the field. Owing to their industry and enterprise, their landed possessions have materially increased during the last thirty years. A number of them are educated and have obtained good positions in the professions and in government service, and the class as a whole is thriving and prosperous.

pp. 94.

Newpakhistorian (2016) explains that under British rule, two land tenure systems were established—the “Rāyatwārī” (anglicized spellings: Ryotwari or Ryotwary) tenure and the “Zamīndārī” tenure.<sup>11</sup> Under the Ryotwari tenure, the land as a right of occupancy, which under British rule, was both heritable and transferable by the ryots; whereas, under the Zamindari tenure, it was held as an independent property. “It is therefore interesting how closely this community’s identity is closely connected with landownership, both zamindara and rautara referring to a type of landownership. The Rautara therefore a groups of people who held the land as cultivators and or landowners under the Mughals, and continued there position under the British” (Newpakhistorian 2016). The same source trying to investigate the origin of the Ashrāf Muslims or Zamīndārās, opines of them having a number of different origin myths. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, they are referred to being the largest community in *parganā* Nizāmabād, a Mughal administration area that roughly covers the contemporary Azamgarh District. In the early British colonial accounts, the Rautārās were referred to as a broken community of Brahmans and Rajputs who had converted during the Lodhi dynasty (1451-1526). However, the Rautārās of Mohammadpūr that was founded during the rule of Jai Chand of Kannauj (1173–1193), near Nizāmabād, had traditions of Afghan origin. Incidentally, the Mohammadpur tradition accepts that high caste Hindus such as Brahmins and Rajputs who adopted Islam were also welcomingly incorporated into the community. By the time of

<sup>11</sup> This is related to land revenue imposed on an individual or community owning an estate, and occupying a position analogous to that of a landlord.

the rise of the Jaunpur Sultans, these communities referred to themselves as Rāyat or Rautārā, based on their position as cultivators. During the rule of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1542-1605), the Afghans—the people of the region, including Mohammadpūr—came under persecution. In the views of Akbar, the local Afghans had supported Shēr Shāh Sūrī, who briefly ended Mughal rule in North India. The villagers of Mohammadpur allegedly had to destroy all proofs of their Afghan origin. They, therefore, emphasized their identity as Rautaras, and when the British arrived, they noted a community of Brahman and Rajput converts rather than Afghans or Turks (Newpakhistorian 2016). The author believes that the claims to Afghan or Arab identity are recent, while not denying that some among them may be of Afghan or Mughal origin. S/he believes the late 19th century and early 20th century British writers to be right, by and large. According to Brockman (1911: 94), the period at which and the circumstances under which the Zamīndārās embraced the faith of Islam are not clear. Very few of them have any other tradition than that their ancestors were converted under the teaching of some Muslim saint; none of them carry back their descent for more than fifteen generations. Newpakhistorian (2016) writes that most Rautārās had recorded themselves as Shaikhs, a term used throughout eastern UP and Bihar for recent converts to Islam. S/he cites Imtiaz Ahmad looking at the case of Kāyastha Muslims in Allahābād changing their identity to Siddique Shaikhs as an attempt at raising their status which has been called “Ashrafization”. Moreover, as communal relations between Hindus and Muslims have worsened in Azamgarh, the insistence of Afghan and Central Asian identity is on increase. The account given above clearly suggests the majority of the Ashrāf Muslims have Indian origins, mainly converting from Hindu Rajputs. In contemporary times, there are several villages in each tehsil of the Azamgarh region inhabited by these Ashrāf Muslims.

In the post-independence era, as India got partitioned in 1947, a significant number of Azamgarh Muslims migrated to both East and West Pakistan, with the majority migrating to East Pakistan—what is Bangladesh now. Kawaja (2008), while critiquing the decline of educational and cultural growth of Azamgarhi Muslims, gives an account

of their lesser integration into the mainstream, below-average educational accomplishment, and very few of them reaching prominent positions either in the government or the private sector.

The school and scholars' academy that Shibli Nomani established a century ago has stagnated as run-of-the-mill institutions, with hardly any remarkable achievement to their credit in the last sixty-one years. [...] Lack of opportunities in education and career in Azamgarh made a large number of Muslim youth migrate to other metropolitan cities in India, namely, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, Varanasi, Patna. A large number of Azamgarh Muslim students moved to the Muslim universities at Aligarh, Jamia Milia, Jamia Hamdard, and the universities of Allahabad, Lucknow, and Varanasi. Many Muslim youths turned to Islamic theological education at Darul Uloom, Deoband; Nadvatul Uloom, Lucknow; Jamia Islahia, Baleriagunj. Yet despite their migration to other cities and universities, Azamgarh Muslims did not integrate well with others in their adopted hometowns. [...] Being proud of their Avadhi and Urdu identity, in both places [East and West Pakistan], they remained aloof from the ethos and culture of the lands to which they had migrated. [...] As employment opportunities opened up in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf countries in the mid-1980s, a large number of Azamgarh Muslims migrated there. These émigrés earned good money and sent it to their families back in the Azamgarh district. The families of these émigrés built good houses, shops, businesses, mosques, etc., with the Gulf money. [...] [They] have also imported a certain orthodox Arab-Islamic culture into the Azamgarh district that was hitherto unknown.

(Kawaja 2008)

### 3.5 Sociolinguistic Situation

Linguistic diversity in the Azamgarh region is not much since only a handful of languages, that too all from the same parent family, i.e., Indo-Aryan—albeit different sub-groups—are spoken. Nevertheless, the inter-regional dialectal variation and inter-caste and community linguistic variation is relatively high. Bhojpuri, the vernacular tongue of the Azamgarh region, is spoken by at least three-fourth of the total Azamgarhi population. The next in line is Azamgarhi, spoken by a significant number of the total Azamgarhi population. However, quite interestingly, it is only spoken by the Muslims as their mother tongue and that too Muslims living or having their ancestry in the villages inhabited by the Zamīndārā community, i.e., the ones having their mention in the tables provided in Appendix A. “Jolāhā or Ansār(i) Bōlī”, the language of the weaver community, is considered by the Azamgarhi speakers (the Ashrāf or Zamīndār Muslims and the other caste people who live in the villages inhabited by them) to be distinct from their language. However, I couldn’t get a chance to testify this claim linguistically. The rest of the Muslims speak Bhojpuri as their mother tongue, although such Muslims heavily use Urdu vocabulary in religio-cultural contexts.

In one of my collected recordings, which I very initially mentioned in §1.1, a lady originally hailing from a Dāudpūr village—a non-*zamīndār* inhabited village—and then moving to Sonwara—a *zamīndār* inhabited village—some four-five decades ago, can be heard mentioning that no one speaks “*Hinduānā*” (Hindu speech, viz. Bhojpuri) in Sonwārā village.<sup>12</sup> She includes herself too in the list, even though one can clearly perceive her speaking Bhojpuri. Nevertheless, her criteria of “*Hinduānā*” and “*Musalmān(ā)*”, as per her views and arguments, is based on perceptible differences in vocabulary rather than grammatical/structural differences. In another recording, Mr. Irfan Ahmad Usmani mentions there being a Muslim community in the Rampur village of Mau district by the name Irāqī which brings in a lot of “good” words of Urdu in its Bhojpuri speech.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> To access the recording, please visit the following link on the CoRSAL Archive: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781695/>

<sup>13</sup> Please visit <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803919/> for the recording.

A study on the speech of other communities would be interesting, from which we could identify whether dialects in the region are also caste-based. Hence, there remains a pressing need for comparative studies on the languages and varieties of Azamgarh for a neat linguistic classification and record of them.

Hindi and Urdu are also widely spoken in the region. Besides being the official languages of the State of Uttar Pradesh, they are the language of formal education, social prestige, urban society, and quite occasionally functioning as a lingua franca. Like the rest of India, Azamgarh remains no exception, wherein English has made inroads, especially in higher education and global outreach, making it way more prestigious than Hindi and Urdu in domains like these.

# Chapter 4

## Azamgarhi: Background and Descriptive Overview

This chapter gives background information to the Azamgarhi language and its speakers and explains how the data for this dissertation was gathered, processed, and stored. I start by sketching the possible history and origins of the language in question (§4.1.1). Next, nomenclature and recognition of the language are discussed in §4.1.2, whereas the language classification follows in §4.1.3. The number of speakers is discussed in §4.1.4, followed by a sketch on the linguistic boundaries of Azamgarhi and its dialect in §4.1.5. This chapter will also describe the sociolinguistic setting of the region and the functioning of identity politics in §4.1.6. The latter part of the chapter, i.e., §4.2, is planned to give a descriptive overview of Azamgarhi, which includes phonology (§4.2.1) and morpho-syntax §4.2.2. Finally, the inter-dialectal differences in Azamgarhi and language variation find their discussion in §4.3.

### 4.1 Background on Azamgarhi

#### 4.1.1 Possible History and Origins of Azamgarhi

As previously stated in §2.1 that the published literature throwing light on the origins of the Azamgarhi language is very, very scarce. However, garnering information from

as many available relevant sources as possible, I hereby present the most likely origin of the focus language of this study. The influential Muslims of Azamgarh, who were members of the *Darbār* 'court' of the *Nawābs* in the Kingdom of Oudh or Awadh state that lasted for more than a couple of hundreds of years, brought the then prestigious Awadhi language to the Azamgarh region where Bhojpuri is the vernacular. The language soon became popular and spread among the *zamīndār* Muslims and from them to other (lower) class Muslims residing in the villages dominated by the *zamīndār* Muslims. The Muslims of the villages of Azamgarh, which are not populated by these *zamīndār* Muslims, speak Bhojpuri as their mother tongue like the rest of the population. Bhojpuri being the region's vernacular and the language of the masses, has induced substratum influence on Azamgarhi. Also, this assertion could plausibly stem from the fact that before adopting Azamgarhi as their primary language or mother tongue, its speakers were themselves native Bhojpuri speakers. On the contrary, Urdu can undoubtedly be regarded as the superstrate with very high socio-religious prestige attached to it in the highly diglossic Azamgarhi speech community. Due to influences from these two languages, in the time period of more than hundreds of years, Azamgarhi has diverged from its parent language Awadhi to the extent that one can observe it to be linguistically significantly distinct from the Awadhi of Awadh region. When listening to Azamgarhi, the Awadhi speakers comment that their language is different from them, having Bhojpuri "mixings". I have witnessed the native speakers of Azamgarhi not have any knowledge or information of the parent language Awadhi, or if they do so, they show no association of Azamgarhi to Awadhi. Furthermore, they consider their speech to be different from

Bhojpuri,<sup>1</sup> which is popularly called “*Ailī-gailī*” /əɪli gəɪli/.<sup>2</sup>

One thing to recall from its previous description given in §2.1 is that Grierson has also talked about Awadhi “dialects” spoken outside the Awadh proper region.<sup>3</sup> Azamgarhi, though not described by him, stands one among those.

#### 4.1.2 Nomenclature and Recognition

Azamgarhi, as mentioned at the very beginning of this work, is the proposed name for the language in the study and is also used, although not much commonly. Nevertheless, before that, we may want to know what names are used for the language in question, and if we recall from the footnote 9 of Chapter 1 which mentions some other “non-official” or “popular” names, we would surely want to know more about them. However, before commenting on this, let me straightforwardly tell you that the native speech community hardly has any “general”, “unanimous”, and “widely-known” name. This, I believe, is not any particular case of Azamgarhi, rather many minority (or even better—minoritized), lesser-known languages. This is especially true for people living

<sup>1</sup> I came across quite a few Azamgarhi speakers referring to their language as Bhojpuri, but when asked whether they speak “*Ailī-gailī*”, to which they straightforwardly denied. This can be understood as the speakers adopting popular nomenclature of a language, which in this case is Bhojpuri, a language that is popular all over the country for its cinema that is mostly presented in a vulgar manner. Also, here one should not forget the fact that Bhojpuri is also the region’s vernacular. Newpakhistorian (2016), who has written quite an informative blog post on the socio-cultural background of the Zamīndār Muslims or Rautārās and whose work I’ve extensively cited in §3.4.3,—notwithstanding his/her language nomenclature owing to him/her perhaps being a non-linguist—has also mentioned about their distinct speech from the masses of the region, “The Rautara speak a distinct dialect of **Bhojpuri**, although most also speak Urdu. Greater Ashrafization has meant that the Rautara have begun to call their **Bhojpuri dialect Azmiat**.”

<sup>2</sup> *əɪli gəɪli* ‘(I/We) came, (I/We) went’ in Bhojpuri, is popular, and at the same time, distinguishing name for Bhojpuri. On a similar basis, Azamgarhi speakers give autonym of *atʰəɪ jaɪtʰəɪ* ‘(We/I) come/are/am coming, (We/I) go/are/am going’ to their language (though this is not as common as that for Bhojpuri. The Eastern Azamgarhi speakers, when distinguishing their dialect from other two dialects of Azamgarhi, mention this autonym: *atʰən jaɪtʰən* ‘(We/I) come/are/am coming, (I/We) go/are/am going’.

<sup>3</sup> Grierson, in many of his writings in LSI, has somewhat stuck to the existing socio-political notion of language rather than viewing it from a modern linguistic perspective. For e.g., he has classified Awadhi as a dialect of Eastern Hindi Language along with many other “dialects” such as Bagheli and Bundeli, which are recognized as languages by Ethnologue or other similar databases/sources. The rest of the Awadhi varieties spoken outside the Awadh region (like Azamgarhi) too are far from being recognized as separate languages per se due to lack of literature and prestige issues. Unfortunately, most of the speakers of the other Awadhi varieties, which have had evolved their distinct linguistic identity, have most likely been assimilated in the Urdu speech community or have developed their own variety of Urdu, for instance, the Maithili Urdu spoken in parts of the Mithalānchal region of Bihar. I wonder whether the proximity of the Azamgarh region to the Awadh region led the speakers of this variety to preserve the structural form of Awadhi.

in the language-border areas<sup>4</sup> or who belong to a displaced speech community.<sup>5</sup> Many Azamgarhi speakers, when asked the name of their language, seemed to have a blank look for the first few moments. Then, after thinking a bit, many of them would just say *əpəni bo:li* ‘our language’, Dehāti [*< P. dehāti*] ‘Rural language’ (Lit. “of the village”) or *Musalmān Bhāsā/Bōlī* ‘Muslim language/speech’. Some also replied *Zamīndār/Jimindār Bōlī* ‘Zamindar language’, whereas I used to frequently hear the name *Bhaiyā Bhāshā* used to refer to it by my relatives in Mumbai. *Azmī Bōlī* too has some prevalence.

Now, I argue in favor of the proposed name Azamgarhi over these names just mentioned above. Dehāti is a more common name for this tongue, but at the same time highly generic and can perhaps be referenced to almost any of the minority Western or Eastern Hindi languages of the Indo-Gangetic plains.<sup>6</sup> *Musalmān Bhāsā/Bōlī* ‘the Muslim speech/dialect’ as opposed to *Hinduānā Bhāsā/Bōlī* ‘the Hindu speech/dialect’, which is generally referenced to the Bhojpuri spoken in Azamgarh, seems to incorporate few communal connotations. Also, I am hesitant to use this name because not all Muslims speak Azamgarhi, as already mentioned at several places in this work. Another name *Zamīndār(ā)* or *Jimīndār Bhāsā/Bōlī* ‘the *Zamīndār* speech/dialect’, apparently bears casteist connotations. Furthermore, recall that this language isn’t restricted to the *zamindar* community anymore. The name *Bhaiyā Bhāsā/Bōlī* ‘the speech/dialect of the *Bhaiyās*’ which has highly negative connotations and generalized usage and reference.<sup>7</sup>

The proposed name Azamgarhi of this language seems the most suitable, at least in the linguistic domain. It is very conspicuous that the name is derived from “Azamgarh”.

<sup>4</sup> I very well recall my experience with a native Awadhi speaker hailing from a region situated on the tri-junction of Allahbad, Pratapgarh, and Jaunpur districts—all three lie a bit near the transition area of Awadhi to Bhojpuri. When I asked him what language does he speak, he replied to me, “It is something Bhojpuri mixed Hindi.” I went a bit further, asking whether his language is “Ailī-gailī”. He right away said, “No! Not Ailī-gailī...”

<sup>5</sup> In this I recall having read an exciting example relevant to this in Munshi (2006: 3)

<sup>6</sup> Just one among many instances, Dehati here is also used for Braj, see: <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/bra/24>

<sup>7</sup> *Bhaiyā b<sup>h</sup>aiyā* is a lexicalized definite/diminutive form of *b<sup>h</sup>ai* ‘brother’. It is a form of addressing brothers and male persons/strangers, especially the elder, and in the non-address form, it is used only for elderly persons. In recent years, people hailing from Awadh and Pūrvānchal regions of Uttar Pradesh, and settled in various metropolitan cities across the country, are derogatorily addressed as *bhaiyā*. This reference is also many times extended to include people hailing from Bihār, who are otherwise called as *Bihārī* on a similar basis. The term *bhaiyā* is more common in Mumbai, and Maharashtra in general (and in recent days Gujarat too), than in other parts of the country.

Roughly speaking, more than two-thirds of languages of India, and perhaps also of the world, are derived on this very basis. Azamgarhi's parent language Awadhi and its substrate language Bhojpuri, remain no exception here. While the name of the former is from the famous town Ayodhya, the latter's name comes from a lesser-known small place, "Bhojpur", situated in Bihar, close to the renowned city of Baksar 'Buxar' near the Uttar Pradesh border.

Azamgarhi is recognized by the Glottolog code *azam1235* and by the very same name itself (Hammarström et al. 2021).<sup>8</sup> Albeit, this tongue currently lacks an Ethnologue ISO 639-3 code (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2021). Unfortunately, it is not recognized in the Indian census, even in the dialect form of either Hindi or Urdu.

### 4.1.3 Language Classification

Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2021), placing Azamgarhi under Eastern Awadhi, classifies it as follows:

- ▼Indo-Aryan
- ►Bihari
- ►Dhivehi-Sinhala
- ▼Indo-Aryan Central zone
- Sauraseni Prakrit**
- ▼Subcontinental Central Indo-Aryan
- Bhil
- ▼Eastern Hindi
- ▼Awadhic
- ▼**Awadhi**
- Central Awadhi*

---

<sup>8</sup> I express my sincere thanks to Mary Burke, a graduate research scholar at the University of North Texas, for successfully applying for a Glottocode for Azamgarhi.

▼ *Eastern Awadhi*

- *Azamgarhi*
- *Gangapari*
- *Mirzapuri*
- *Uttari*
- ► *Western Awadhi*

• ► **Bagheli**► **Chhattisgarhi**► **Powari**► **Gujarati-Rajasthani**► **Khandesic****Middle Indo-Aryan**► **Western Hindi**

- ► **Indo-Aryan Eastern zone**
- ► **Indo-Aryan Northern zone**
- ► **Indo-Aryan Northwestern zone**
- ► **Indo-Aryan Southern zone**
- **Sanskrit**
- ► **Unclassified Indo-Aryan**

Since Azamgarhi is yet to be recognized by an ISO code, I, therefore, give the classification of Awadhi, the parent language of Azamgarhi, by Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2021).

- Indo-European
- Indo-Iranian
- Indo-Aryan
- Intermediate Divisions
- Eastern
  - East Central
    - Awadhi [awa] (A language of India)
    - Bagheli [bfy] (A language of India)
    - Chhattisgarhi [hne] (A language of India)
    - Hindi, Fiji [hif] (A language of Fiji)
    - Kamar [keq] (A language of India)
    - Surgujia [sgj] (A language of India)
  - Eastern Pahari
    - Dotyali [dty] (A language of Nepal)
    - Jumli [jml] (A language of Nepal)
    - Nepali [npi] (A language of Nepal)

In Figure 4.1 given below, I present a classification of Azamgarhi into the Indo-European language family, generalized from the above two works, besides others, and of course, from my fieldwork too. The Eastern Hindi group can be divided into Chhattisgarhi, Powari, and Awadhic languages. The latter can further be subdivided as Bagheli, Awadhi, Fiji Hindi, Azamgarhi, and Un(der)documented Awadhi Varieties (spoken) Outside the Awadh Region (UAVOAR). Also in the figure can be seen are the classification of the superstrate language Urdu and the substrate language Bhojpuri.

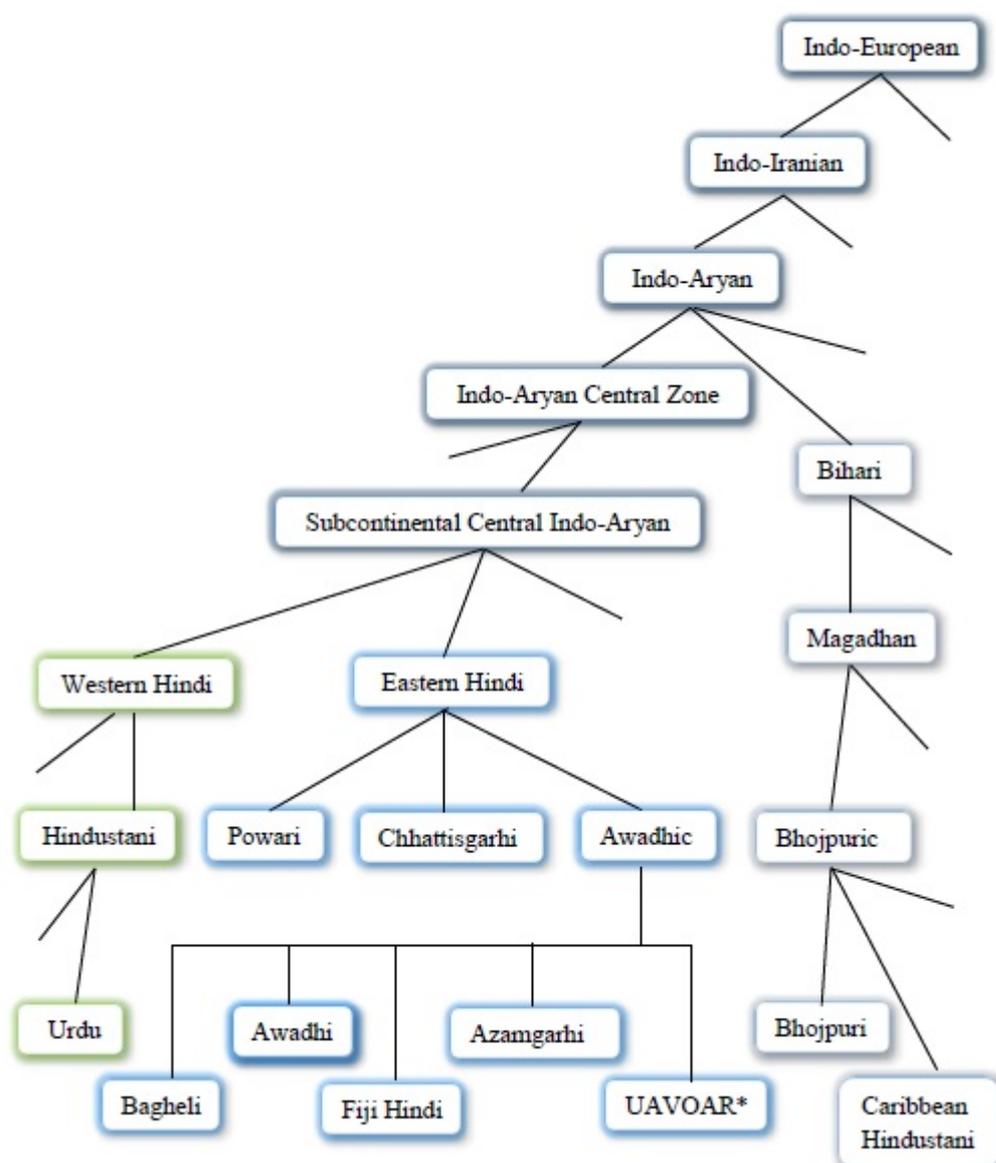


Figure 4.1: Geneological classification of Azamgarhi

#### 4.1.4 Number of Speakers

Recall from §2.1, a statement from Grierson (1904: 118), where he declares that it is unfortunately impossible to give anything like accurate figures for the number of people who speak the various Awadhi varieties spoken outside the Awadh proper region, and gives a rough figure of 107,000 speakers residing in Azamgarh based upon approximate figures furnished by various district officers. In contemporary times too it is next to impossible to reckon the number of speakers without a proper linguistic survey. As mentioned earlier, Azamgarhi is spoken only by the Muslims who reside in the villages

dominated by the *zamīndār* Muslims. These villages are scattered all over the Azamgarh region. Moreover, many of the newborn children are raised with Urdu as their mother tongue. One cannot rely on the Indian census as there is no option to register for Azamgarhi even in the dialect form of Urdu or Hindi. Due to all these issues, it becomes nearly impossible to estimate the number of speakers by mere sampling. Hence, I strongly reassert that the reckoning of the numbers can only be done via a proper planned linguistic survey.

#### 4.1.5 Linguistic Boundaries and Overview of Dialects

As previously mentioned that Azamgarhi is primarily spoken in a region I refer to in my work as the “(Greater) Azamgarh” region, the linguistic area of the Azamgarhi speech community. In the contemporary times, it constitutes the districts of Āzamgarh (26°36’00” N, 83°11’24” E) and Maū (25°56’30” N, 83°33’40” E) and the Shahganj and Badlapur tehsils of Jaunpur district (25°45’ N, 82°45’ E) bordering the Azamgarh district of the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP), India. Figure 4.2 is a map illustrating the linguistic boundaries of Azamgarhi and its dialects. In the Azamgarhi dialect continuum, there are a number of local varieties spoken that considerably differ from each other. Broadly, these can be tentatively grouped into three dialects or dialect groups, viz. Southern, Northern, and Eastern. Note that with further linguistic survey and research, if the Jolaha Boli is to be grouped under Azamgarhi, many more possible dialects are expected to come up in the future. However, the Southern dialect of Azamgarhi is unanimously considered the standard dialect by the Azamgarhi speech community. In the given map, the area colored in light orange is the Southern Azamgarhi dialect area, whereas the same in green is the dialect area of Northern Azamgarhi and in purple is the Eastern Azamgarhi dialect area.

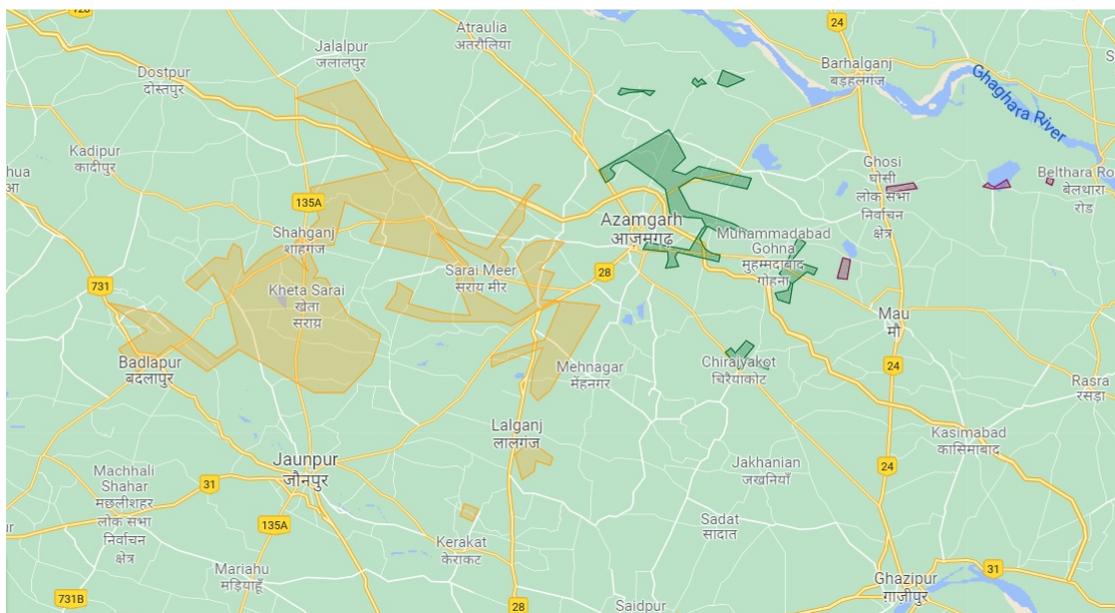


Figure 4.2: Map illustrating the linguistic boundaries of Azamgarhi and its dialects<sup>9</sup>

The Awadhi speaking region is spread from Lakhimpūr-Khīrī (Kheri) in the extreme west to Jaunpūr in the east, as visible in Figure 4.3. From the Eastern part of the Jaunpur district, the end of Awadhi marks the beginning of the Bhojpuri area, which expands into the Bihar state. Saksena (1971) broadly classifies Awadhi into three dialects: Western (Kheri Lakhimpur, Sitapur, Lucknow, Unnao, and Fatehpur), Central (Bahraich, Barabanki, and Rae Bareli), and Eastern (Gonda, Faizabad, Sultanpur, Pratapgarh, Allahabad, Jaunpur, and Mirzapur). For more details related to Awadhi, please refer to Saksena (1971). It would be interesting and indeed rewarding to learn from which particular dialect of Awadhi, Azamgarhi has evolved.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The map itself is adapted from Google Maps, which is created by marking the villages inhabited by the Azamgarhi speaking *zamīndār*/Ashrāf Musalmāns (see Appendix A)

<sup>10</sup> According to my preliminary analysis, I believe Azamgarhi to be more than just being a transitional language from Awadhi to Bhojpuri. Many linguistic features are reflected in (some/many) varieties of Azamgarhi from the whole of the Awadh region. It's something like the Awadh linguistic area being superimposed over a neighboring Bhojpuri region. One example which can be shared here—The 1st person pronoun found in many of the Azamgarhi varieties: /məɪ/ [məj] or /mə/, is neither found in Bhojpuri nor the Eastern dialects of Awadhi. As per what is given in Saksena (1971), mostly only the western Awadhi dialects have *məɪ*, the rest of them having /həm/ (the same in Bhojpuri). In some varieties of Azamgarhi, both /məɪ/ and /həm/ are used and the verb is inflected for person depending on the choice of pronoun. The speakers say that both are the same for them, but when focusing on the discourse, I observe their use and resulting implications to be different in different contexts. That's something quite interesting, and I intend to work further on it. For now, I'm just in the preliminary stage of discourse analysis. A highly detailed study is much-needed for this unique tongue along with proper documentation and description of Awadhi and Bhojpuri (of Azamgarhi region) which will for sure reveal many exciting details about this language, its structure, and its origin(s).



Figure 4.3: Map of Awadhi speaking region<sup>11</sup>

As previously mentioned a number of times that while almost the whole of Azamgarhi linguistic area overlaps with the Bhojpuri linguistic area, owing to Bhojpuri being the vernacular of the region; however, in some areas of the Jaunpur district, especially the western, Azamgarhi linguistic area perhaps overlaps with Awadhi on a similar pattern. Nevertheless, the Bhojpuri overlap area is many times larger than that of Awadhi.

The limits of Azamgarhi on the western side are currently not clear as I could not have a chance of visiting those areas, and I was only left to rely on the presence of *zamindar* village names enumerated by my informants. The northern limits of Azamgarhi are naturally marked by the perennial and quite occasionally inundating Ghaghra river. On the eastern side, Fatehpur, Dhalai, Utrahi, and the outlying Chandpur village—the villages of the Madhuban tehsil of Mau district are the last villages where Azamgarhi is spoken. Beyond the language completely merges with Bhojpuri. Similarly,

<sup>11</sup> Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Awadhi\\_language#/media/File:Awadhilangmap.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Awadhi_language#/media/File:Awadhilangmap.png)

in the south, beyond the *zamindar* villages of Lālganj block of Azamgarh district and Muftīganj block of Jaunpur district, Azamgarhi entirely merges with Bhojpuri. For the Bhojpuri linguistic map, refer to the same provided in Tiwari (1971).

#### 4.1.6 Diglossic Situation and Multilingualism

There exists a high level of diglossia attested in the Azamgarhi society, with Urdu as the high (H) variety and Azamgarhi as the vernacular or low (L). Very high prestige is associated with Urdu. This is because it has been the language of official communication and education for hundreds of years in the region and also due to its strong association with Muslim identity and the language of propagation and preaching of Islam—the sole religion of this speech community.

The sociolinguistic setting of the Azamgarh region is quite complex. All the languages spoken in the area, for e.g., Azamgarhi, Bhojpuri (including the Muslim dialect), Urdu, and Hindi, have an extraordinarily high degree of mutual intelligibility. As a result, speakers of two different languages—Azamgarhi and Bhojpuri—have conversations smoothly taking place in their respective languages without the need of switching to the addressee’s speech.<sup>12</sup> For this very reason, the speakers of both languages, though able to comprehend each other, aren’t very fluent in the opposite language. I observed the male speakers of both languages still have conversational fluency in the opposite language than their female counterparts.

#### 4.1.7 Language Endangerement

The major challenge concerning endangerment of the language does not seem to be the number of speakers but instead language attrition, which I, as a semi-speaker of it, observed for many years. My documentation of Azamgarhi last year in 2020 only confirmed this observance. The speakers of the language are rapidly shifting towards Urdu. Azamgarhi today has a large number of borrowings from Urdu, and frequent

<sup>12</sup> Here is a recording which is an excellent example of this: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803931/>

code-switchings and code-mixings in day-to-day conversations are not uncommon. The language is exclusively an oral language with almost no presence on any news/ radio channel or on social media platforms where the community uses other languages, mainly Hindustani. Moreover, it is neither taught in schools nor *madrassas*, and its usage is discouraged or completely forbidden in academic or religious institutions or even in formal social gatherings. It is very unfortunate that in recent years due to pressure from socio-culturally prestigious, economically promising languages having official statuses such as Urdu, Hindi, and English, this language is either very loosely or, in most of the cases, not at all passed to the younger generation as many of the newborn children are raised with Urdu as their mother tongue. Urban migration poses the biggest challenge to this language. Here, the younger generation fails to pick up the vernacular as its native language or even as a second language (where Hindi and English are preferred). Hence, even in the city of Azamgarh, Urdu and Hindi are being heard spoken more frequently than Azamgarhi. In the majority of the cases, it is observed that people feel ashamed and subdued while talking in this vernacular. Today, as the community advances in education and other sectors at a fast pace, this language is increasingly associated with backwardness and is only restricted to rural homes. These all reasons have contributed immensely to its stigmatization.<sup>13</sup>

## 4.2 Descriptive Overview of Azamgarhi

This section gives a descriptive overview of the language in study which will help the reader in comprehending the typological structure of language before moving on to the

---

<sup>13</sup> I present my case which is a living example of language loss: My grandfather who acquired Azamgarhi as his mother tongue migrated from the village of Sonwara in Azamgarh to Mumbai with his family in the early 1960s in search of a better livelihood. However, he never spoke in that tongue with his family and my father grew up acquiring Urdu as his first language. However, with frequent visits to villages and that of village relatives to Mumbai, he acquired it as his second or perhaps third language. Similar is the case with me, where I too acquired Urdu as my first language. Still, till date, trying to be fluent in Azamgarhi—thanks to the research on Azamgarhi along with fieldwork in Azamgarh helped me achieve native-like fluency—as I didn't get the opportunity my father got in the acquisition of this tongue. Even though I learned it from several village trips to Azamgarh and listening to my relatives settled in Mumbai, who are mostly the old native speakers, my proficiency in the language is far less than that of my father and his being quite less than that of his father who was among the last ones in his migrated family to acquire it as mother tongue.

chapter on the verb morphology, the central goal of this descriptive work. Firstly, I begin with the overview of phonology and subsequently move to providing a brief account of Azamgarhi morpho-syntax.

### 4.2.1 Overview of Phonology

Azamgarhi seems quite rich in consonants. Table 4.1 contains all the consonantal phonemes of Azamgarhi.

Table 4.1: The consonantal phonemes of Azamgarhi

		Bi-labial	Dental	Alveo-lar	Post-alveolar	Retro-flex	Pal-atal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	vl.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>t̪</i>		<i>k</i>	
	vl.asp.	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>			<i>t̪<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>	
	vd.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>d̪</i>		<i>g</i>	
	vd.asp.	<i>b<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>d<sup>h</sup></i>			<i>d̪<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>g<sup>h</sup></i>	
Affricate	vl.				<i>c</i>				
	vl.asp.				<i>c<sup>h</sup></i>				
	vd.				<i>j</i>				
	vd.asp.				<i>j<sup>h</sup></i>				
Fricative	vl.	( <i>f</i> )		<i>s</i>	( <i>ʃ</i> )				
	vd.			( <i>z</i> )					<i>h</i>
Nasal	vl.	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		[ <i>ɳ̪</i> ]/[ <i>ɳ</i> ]		<i>ŋ</i>	
	vd.			<i>n<sup>h</sup></i>		[ <i>ɳ̪<sup>h</sup></i> ]		<i>ŋ<sup>h</sup></i>	
Rhotic	vl.			<i>r</i>		<i>ɽ</i>			
	vd.			<i>r<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>ɽ<sup>h</sup></i>			
Lateral	vl.			<i>l</i>					
	vd.			<i>l<sup>h</sup></i>					
Approxmnt	vd.	<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>		

The sounds in circular brackets are marginal phonemes restricted to borrowed words and are particularly found in the inventory of speakers who are educated in Urdu. The sounds in square brackets are allophones.

The basic stop positions in Azamgarhi can be described as labial, dental, retroflex, and velar. The Azamgarhi stops along with affricates display a typical Indo-Aryan four-way phonemic contrast: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced unaspirated, and voiced aspirated or murmured. The /s/ and /h/ are the only native fricatives found as universal phonemes in Azamgarhi, whereas the borrowed non-universal ones include /f/, /z/, and /ʃ/. Nasal phonemes include bilabial /m/, dental /n/, and velar /ŋ/, and strikingly, the dental and velar nasals have aspirated counterparts too, viz. /n<sup>h</sup>/ and /ŋ<sup>h</sup>/. Liquids too occur in plain and aspirated pairs: alveolar laterals /l/ and /l<sup>h</sup>/, alveolar rhotics /r/ and /r<sup>h</sup>/, retroflex flaps /ɽ/ and /ɽ<sup>h</sup>/, and their resulting allophonic counterparts when followed by a nasal vowel: [ɽ̃] and [ɽ<sup>h</sup>̃]. /w/ and /y/ are the two glides that are attested only syllable-initially.

Aspiration contrast collapses word-finally in the case of sonorants. Geminates are abundant, and every universal phoneme, except the glides and flaps, can occur as geminates. No consonant clusters are tolerated at the syllable onset, whereas the coda can bear a few clusters comprising a nasal followed by a voiceless non-sonorant consonant.

Azamgarhi has ten oral monophthongal vowel phonemes which feature as either tense-lax or long-short pairs: /ɪ/ and /i/, /e/ and /e:/, /ʊ/ and /u/, /o/ and /o:/, /ə/ and /a/. This distinction is neutralized at the word-final position as only tense or long vowels occur word-finally.<sup>14</sup> Each one of them has a phonemic nasalized counterpart. Besides these monophthongs, there are numerous diphthongs found in Azamgarhi, among which the two most prominent are /əɪ̃/ and /əʊ̃/. Other common diphthongs include: /əĩ/, /aẽ/, /aɔ̃/, /eɔ̃/, /oɪ̃/, /ãẽ/, /ãõ̃/, /ẽõ̃/, /õĩ̃/, /Iɔ̃/, /Iɔ̃/, /ʊə̃/, /oə̃/, /ʊə̃/, /Iɔ̃/, /eɔ̃/, /ʊɪ̃/, /ʊɪ̃/, besides others. Furthermore, a few triphthongs also occur in the language.

### 4.2.2 Overview of Morphosyntax

Azamgarhi is an extensively inflecting language employing mainly suffixes. Although the word order is highly flexible in different syntactic structures, Azamgarhi is a verb-final language with SOV ordering, agreeing to the typology of the languages of the I-A

<sup>14</sup> In the Northern and Eastern dialects, the diphthong /əɪ/ monophthongizes to /ə/ word-finally and hence the vowel /ə/ serves as an exception to this feature in these two dialects.

family as well as that of South Asia, in general. It has an inherent two-gender system—masculine and feminine—for every noun, whether animate or inanimate. Not all cases are overtly marked. The genitive case marking clitic is occasionally dropped when marking a full noun. Inanimate objects are usually not marked by the accusative-dative marker, and if so, it is only to exhibit specificity. Nouns are marked for definiteness by two markers chosen on a combination of (grammatical) gender and phonological forms. Besides marking definiteness, the markers also function as the same for diminutiveness and endearment. Inanimate nouns only agree for gender features, whereas the animate nouns also include number and honorificity (marked same as number), and pronouns go further by including person agreement and oblique case marking. Adjectives also agree for definiteness, gender, number or honorificity, and oblique case marking.

### 4.3 Language variation

As mentioned earlier in §4.1.5 that in the Azamgarhi dialect continuum, there are quite many of local varieties spoken that considerably differ from each other and broadly, these can be tentatively grouped into three dialects or dialect groups, viz. Southern (SA), Northern (NA), and Eastern (EA). However, the Southern dialect is unanimously considered the standard dialect by the Azamgarhi speech community. Before, I present a brief discussion on this topic, i.e., linguistic variation in these Azamgarhi, let me just give a very brief overview of some marked linguistic traits in Awadhi and Bhojpuri, which I further compare with the dialects of Azamgarhi.

The two-gender distinction is rigorously maintained in Azamgarhi—thanks to superstrate influence from Urdu—much like Western Hindi, while in Awadhi, it is a little loose yet largely preserved; however, in Bhojpuri, it is much attenuated. With regards to the accusative-dative marker, in Awadhi, it is /ka:/ or /kə/ while Bhojpuri has /ke:/. The locative postposition in both Bhojpuri and Azamgarhi is /mē:/ while Awadhi has /ma:/ and it is /mē:/ in (all the dialects of) Azamgarhi.

While speaking on inter-dialectal variation in Azamgarhi, I would state that the

variation attested is more marked in terms of phonology and morpho-syntax rather than that of lexical items. However, when talking about lexical items, I have observed that the Southern dialect has more borrowings from Urdu, while the other two are more archaic in this case. Nevertheless, due to the ever-growing of the superstrate language, and also English nowadays, all dialects do not seem to preserve their native or early borrowed words and phrases. As far as phonology is concerned, the major marked difference, especially perceptible to the community members, is prosody and intonation. SA speakers will always point out and mock the drawl feature of many local varieties of the other two dialects, i.e., NA and EA. Regarding this, the Far-north or Dewārā (floodplain) variety of the Northern dialect of Azamgarhi spoken in the villages of Haraiya CD block (see Appendix A), in particular, have drawl as their stereotypical feature. The speakers of this variety of NA are often mocked by most other speakers of other varieties of Azamgarhi for their highly prolonged vowels. The word-final diphthong /əɪ/ is realized as [əy] in SA, and in NA as /ə/, in some varieties phonetically realized as [ə:]. The same is attested with its nasal counterpart. As per what I've listened to EA recordings, I noticed that the word-final diphthong /əɪ/ in EA is also realized as /ə/ as in NA, except for the emphatic clitic and the infinitive where I perceive it to be /-e:/.

For pronouns, SA plural personal pronouns *həmənne*: '1PL', *tun<sup>h</sup>ənne*: '2PL', *in<sup>h</sup>ənne*: '3PRXP', *ʋn<sup>h</sup>ənne*: '3DISTP' are *həməhən*, *tʋnəhən*, *məhən*, *ʋnəhən* in NA (*tələhən*, *ɪləhən*, *ʋləhən* in the northern varieties of NA and *həməhne:*, *tʋnəhne:*, *məhne:*, *ʋnəhne:* in a few other varieties), while in EA they are *həmən*, *tʋn<sup>h</sup>ən*, *in<sup>h</sup>ən*, *ʋn<sup>h</sup>ən* respectively. NA and EA have lost the distinction of pronouns in third person based on honorificity which are found in SA as *wəɪ*: '3DISTH' and *ye:*: '3PRXH'. EA has further lost number and honorificity distinction in 1st and 2nd person pronouns. However, interestingly, number is marked in the verb by the clitic /-sə/ in case of third person and /-jə/ in case of second person, for instance, *k<sup>h</sup>atensə*: 'They eat/ are eating'. Moreover in EA, a bilabial glide /w/ isn't inserted in perfective forms of intransitive verbs stems ending in /ə/ or /a/, cf. SA and NA *gəwa* /gə-a/ 'GO.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MSG', EA *ga* /gə-a/ 'GO.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MSG'. The SA plural copula /həĩ/is /hə/ in NA and /hən/ in EA. One of the features that distinguishes

SA from the other two, is the accusative-dative marker which is *ka* in SA and *ke:* in NA and EA (cf. the Awadhi accusative-dative *ka* and Bhojpuri *ke:*. Also, NA and EA do not mark the absolutive form on verbs (refer to §5.6.4 for more details). There's something more interesting about EA that makes it further vary from NA is that the in equative copular constructions, the subject is marked by this accusative-dative marker *ke:*. For instance, *həmən=ke: mastər hən=ja* 'We are teachers'. This is indeed the local Bhojpuri influence.

The dialectal variation is indeed quite interesting but very complex and tiresome to account in a small study like this, having a limited scope. The dialects, as previously mentioned, considerably differ from each other to a significant extent, probably due to the corresponding differences in the local varieties of the vernacular Bhojpuri of Azamgarhi that has left substrate influences on Azamgarhi. This is because the Azamgarhi speakers were themselves native speakers of Bhojpuri before they adopted Azamgarhi as their mother tongue. Also, migration has added to the existing dialectal variation. Besides this, there's also something adding to the already existing sociolinguistic complexity: Inter-dialectal group marriage—which is very common, especially in the last couple of generations. It is observed that women retain their dialect even after marriage, or at the most, develop their own idiosyncratic variety—mixing their own native dialect with the in-law's dialect. Even more interesting is that their own native dialectal variety might be a mixture of two (or more) varieties if her parents hail from different regions. Since Azamgarhi is merely an oral language with the least standardization compared to literary or semi-literary languages, dialect leveling is very minimal.

# Chapter 5

## Verb Morphology

This chapter, describing the verbs and verbal morphology in Azamgarhi, stands at the core of this dissertation, as can be perceived from the title itself. However, owing to serious constraints in time, this chapter—this dissertation, more generally—delimits itself to finite verb morphology while only briefly outlining the non-finite verb morphology, including the complex predicates. This chapter starts by introducing the reader to the Azamgarhi verb in §5.1, including the conjunct verbs, and then in §5.2 describing the structure of the finite verb with an illustration. Verb roots, stems, and themes, including the theme formation process, are described in §5.3. Derivational morphology and inflectional morphology have their detailed descriptions in §5.4 and §5.5, respectively. Inflection morphology discusses sub-topics such as Tense and Aspect (§5.5.2), Mood (§5.5.3), and also Copula Inflection (§5.5.1). Then I move on to give an Overview of Non-finite Verb Constructions, that include the Infinitive in §5.6.1, the Non-finite Imperfective construction in §5.6.2, and finally Complex Predicates in §5.6.3 which include Compound Verbs (§5.6.3.1), and a special sub-type of compound verbs found in Azamgarhi, the Emphatic Compound Verbs (§5.6.3.2). In the end, an overall conclusion is provided in §5.7.

## 5.1 Introduction to the Azamgarhi verb

Verbs in Azamgarhi are the words that take verbal suffixes—which encode inflectional information such as agreement (i.e., person, number, and gender features of the subject) and tense/aspect/mood—and certain non-finite verb markers. The morphology of verbs in Azamgarhi is exclusively suffixal. Generally, in finite verb morphology, verb roots or base stems are bound, meaning they must take at least one inflectional suffix so as to function as a word. However, the singular imperatives, such as *cəl* ‘walk!’, *dəvɹ* ‘run!’, *bo:l* ‘speak!’, etc., with a few exceptions discussed later in this chapter, are an exception to this since they do not take any suffix and appear as a bare stem. In the unmarked utterances, the inflected verb component always occurs in sentence-final position in unmarked and follows its nominal argument, if any. The only copula found in Azamgarhi *h-*, along with its suppletive forms—in the past as *rəh-* and in perfective as *b<sup>h</sup>ə-*, functions as an auxiliary to the main verb in the finite verb constructions.

The Azamgarhi verb can also be composed of more than one finite or non-finite verb in constructions termed as complex predicates in the literature. Since we mainly discuss the finite form of the verb, I introduce here one of the constituents of the complex predicates, the conjunct verbs. Conjunct verbs are often referred to as constructions wherein the verb component either possess a Noun + Verb or an Adjective + Verb complex. Verbs such as *cəl-* ‘walk’, *dəvɹ-* ‘run’, *bo:l-* ‘speak’, *tak-* ‘gaze’ are simple verbs which behave as main verbs. The copula *ho:-* ‘exist/be/happen’ may act like a main verb or an auxiliary verb. Verbs such as ‘work’ (*kam kər-* ‘work (n.) + do’), ‘stand’ (*k<sup>h</sup>əɹa ho:-* ‘upright + be’), ‘talk’ (*bat kər-* ‘talk (n.) + do’) are examples of conjunct verbs containing a noun plus verb complex in each case; and ‘clean’ (*sap<sup>h</sup> kər-* ‘clean (adj.) + do’), ‘slow (itr.)’ (*d<sup>h</sup>ima ho:-* ‘slow (adj.) + be’) are examples of conjunct verbs containing an adjective plus verb complex in each case. The nominal part of the lexical compound verb is semantically incorporated into the verbal construction where it is in such a construction that it can never be marked for animacy or definiteness (see Verbeke 2013: 93). This can apparently be verified from an Azamgarhi verb complex construction *bat kər-* ‘talk, lit. talk + do’, presented in (2), which can never occur as *bat-ia kər-əI*, where *-ia /-ya/* is one of the two

definiteness markers on Azamgarhi nouns.

- (2) *həmməɪ zəbən de: to: i ləʔka se: həm bat kəri.*  
 həmməɪ zəbən de: to: i ləʔk-a=se: həm bat kər-i  
 1HON:DAT speech(F) give so 3PRXS child-ML=ABL 1HON talk(F) do-IRR1.1PL  
 ‘Give me speech so that I may talk to this boy.’ (Prince & Stepmother: 17)

A particle such as *mət* ‘PROH’ can be and is usually inserted in the conjunct verb, i.e., between the noun and verb words, as seen in (3).

- (3) *raja se: kəhen ki, “de:k<sup>h</sup>a, əgər həm k<sup>h</sup>ətəm ho:*  
 raja=se: kəh-en ki de:k<sup>h</sup>-a əgər həm k<sup>h</sup>ətəm ho:  
 king(M)=COM say-PFV.TR.3PL COMP see.IMP.PL if 1HON finished be.PRS  
*jəɪbəl, to: dʊsəri fadi mət kihəl, nəhĩ to:*  
 ja-ɪbəl to: dʊsər-i fadi mət kih-əl nəhĩ=to:  
 go-FUT.1PL so second-F marriage(F) PROH do\RLS-FUT.IMP.PL NEG=TOP  
*jəʊn ai həmri ləʔki ka sətai.”*  
 jəʊn a-i həm-r-i ləʔk-i=ka sətai-i  
 which.REL come-FUT.3SG 1HON-GEN-F child-FML=DAT trouble-FUT.3SG  
 ‘She (the queen) said to the king, “See, if I die, don’t remarry, lest who will come  
 (i.e., the woman you’ll marry) will cause suffering to my daughter.”’  
 (Sheherbano: 7)

An Azamgarhi verb always agrees with its subjects irrespective of the tense or aspect. However, despite being a nominative-accusative aligned language throughout, the verbal conjugations of transitive and intransitive roots or stems differ considerably from each other when in the perfective aspect.

## 5.2 Structure of the Finite Verb in Azamgarhi

The finite verb component in Azamgarhi consists of a main verb and is followed by a copula in certain cases. In particular contexts, discussed later in this work, the copula is optionally followed by a present copula when in the past. The main verb can be divided into the root or base stem, the derived stem or theme, and inflectional suffixes. Figure 5.1 schematically depicts the structure of the overall finite inflected verb component. Note that parentheses represent optionality.

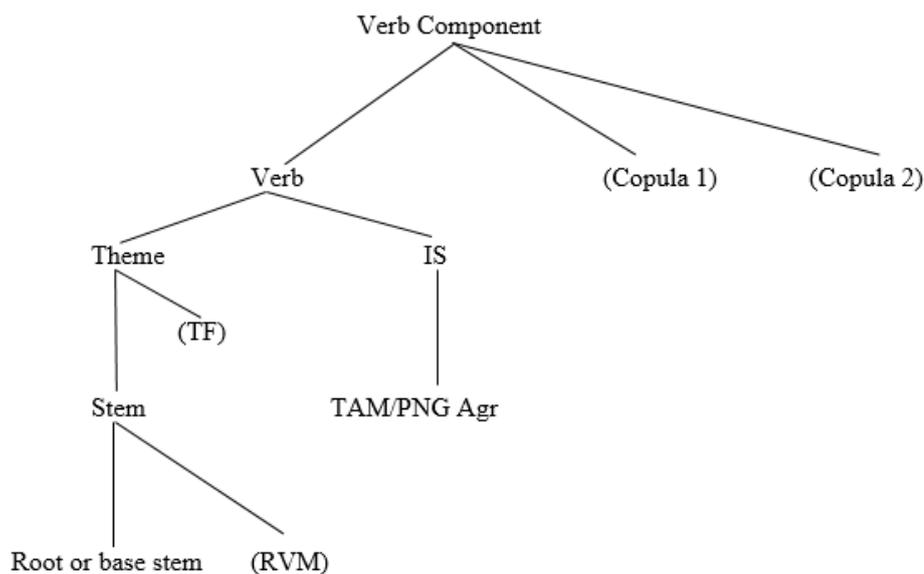


Figure 5.1: Structure of the finite verb component in Azamgarhi

The derived stem in Azamgarhi is achieved through root valency modifying devices involving a change in root vowel and/or consonants or by the addition of derivational suffixes such as valency modifier and causativizer. Together, these root valency modifying devices are referred to as Root Valency Modifiers (RVM) in this work since all the derivations take place at the root itself. As a result, an Azamgarhi verb can undergo only one valency modification. Inflectional Suffixes (IS) attach to either a root or a derived stem. Certain IS in specific cases may require to be preceded by a stem extender, the Theme Formative (TF), while others do not.<sup>1</sup> In Figure 5.1, the branch left of the verb comprises derivation, and the same to the right is inflection. The structure of the finite main verb is also linearly represented in (4), where at the right boundary of the derivational part, the subscript ‘dst’ stands for the derived stem or verb base, and the right boundary of the inflectional section has the subscript ‘wd’ that stands for a (verb) word.

$$(4) \quad [ [ [ \text{ROOT} ] ] - (\text{RVM}) - (\text{TF})_{\text{dst}} ] - \text{IS}_{\text{wd}} ]$$

<sup>1</sup> The terms “theme” and “theme formative” are borrowed from Coelho (2003, 2018). The stem extender/augment/increment labeled as theme formative in this study differs from what Katamba (1993: 46) refers to as stem extenders: “word-building elements that are devoid of content, i.e. empty formatives”, as the TFs in Azamgarhi bear semantic value. This TF also cannot be termed a suffix per se owing to it neither being inflectional nor derivational in nature.

Since theme formation is required before the suffixation of certain *is* and also the infinitive marker /-əɪ/ to the marked active base/derived stems, I have included the theme formation part in derivational morphology. Consequently, by this, we could say that all derivations in the verb stem have taken place before the *is* attach, which stands in accordance with Greenberg's Universal 28 that when both inflection and derivation occur on the same side of the root, the derivational affixes always come between the root and inflectional affixes (Greenberg 1963).

### 5.3 Verb Root, Stem, and Theme

A verb root in Azamgarhi can either end in a vowel or consonant. All the attested roots end in long vowels /i/ [i:], /u/ [u:], /e:/, /o:/, and /a/ [a:]. Among the vowels, the most common ones are the non-front vowels /a/ and /o:/, while only a handful roots end in vowels other than those two: *pi* 'drink', *ji* 'live', *si* 'sew', *cu* 'leak', *le:* 'take' and *de:* 'give'. However, there is no such restriction in the case of consonants; in fact, unlike Hindustani, Azamgarhi verb roots also end in geminate consonants such as *lkk<sup>h</sup>* 'write', *g<sup>h</sup>ɔmm* 'turn around/ roam', *həss* 'laugh', *pəkk* 'cook' *rəkk<sup>h</sup>* 'keep', *bəkk* 'say out', etc. The majority of the verb roots in Azamgarhi are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. There are some polysyllabic verb roots too, but these are formed via a reduplication process.

Verb roots found in Azamgarhi can broadly be classified into two types— active and non-active. Active roots constitute all transitive, ditransitive, and unergative intransitive verbs, and these verbs are in active construction, i.e., neither passive nor middle.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, non-active roots constitute all unaccusative intransitive verbs either

<sup>2</sup> The term "middle" here is used in the sense which Payne (1997: 216) describes the middle construction as neither active nor passive—the "[o]ne that expresses a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by the PATIENT, rather than as an action carried out by an AGENT." Haspelmath (1993: 90), on the other hand, terms this as an **inchoative** verb: "An **inchoative/causative verb pair** is defined semantically: it is a pair of verbs which express the same basic situation (generally a change of state, more rarely a going-on) and differ only in that the **causative** verb meaning includes an agent participant who causes the situation, whereas the **inchoative** verb meaning excludes a causing agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously." From this, we infer Haspelmath refers to the same construction that Payne later refers to as middle. However, I prefer to use the middle, since Haspelmath himself used "[t]he terms inchoative/causative for want of a better alternative and because they have recently come to be used in this way." (see endnote 2 of Haspelmath (1993: 90)).

in middle or passive constructions. This categorization of verb roots in Azamgarhi into active and inactive is especially to account for two theme formatives appearing in certain conjugated verbal forms. The active roots can be further classified into marked and unmarked. Marked active roots are those that end in a vowel. It is these marked roots that require to be followed by /-w/, a TF, before some inflectional affixes can attach to them. A few marked active verb roots, namely, *ja* ‘go’, *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘eat’, *kəma* ‘earn’, *pi* ‘drink’, *si* ‘sew’, *le*: ‘take’, and *de*: ‘give’ are exceptions since they never require the TF to follow them, even when those IS attach to them. In the non-active roots, those ending in /a/ are said to be marked, since they need to be followed by /-n/, a TF, before the perfective suffixes attach to them.

Verb stems, referred to as “themes” in this study to differentiate from other stems, are the verb roots or valency modified or derived base stems to which the IS can attach. Derivational morphology in Azamgarhi, constituting valency modification by a root-internal vowel and/or consonant change and by appending derivational suffixes, is discussed in detail in the following section, i.e., §5.4. In (5) below, a few select inflected forms of the root *de:k<sup>h</sup>* ‘see’ involving theme formation are presented. In the case of unmarked roots and roots modified by an internal vowel and/or consonant change, the theme is the same as the verb root in the former case or the derived stem in the latter, as there is no theme formation involved (see (5a) and (5b)). Marked active roots (mentioned earlier) and stems formed as a result of valency increment and (indirect) causativization form a theme by appending the TF /-w/ before certain IS can attach to them, cf. (5d). These IS encode some irrealis meaning, and hence the TF is labeled as irrealis active theme formative (glossed as IT). No theme formation is attested when other (i.e., realis) IS attach. Similarly, the previously mentioned marked non-active roots and anticausativized/detransitivized stems formed owing to suffixation of the valency modifier /-a/ form a theme by adding the TF /-n/ before the perfective IS can attach to them. Hence, the TF is named as perfective non-active theme formative and glossed as PT, cf. (5e). The other IS directly attach to the anticausativized stem without any TF, cf. (5f).

- (5) a. *de:k<sup>h</sup>en*  
 de:k<sup>h</sup>-en [[root]-IS<sub>wd</sub>]  
 see-PFV.TR.3PL  
 ‘they saw’
- b. *de:k<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>en*  
 de:k<sup>h</sup>-ət<sup>h</sup>en [[root]-IS<sub>wd</sub>]  
 see-IPFV:PRS.3MPL  
 ‘they see/ are seeing’
- c. *de:k<sup>h</sup>aen*  
 de:k<sup>h</sup>-a-en [[[root]-RVM<sub>dst</sub>]-IS<sub>wd</sub>]  
 see-VM-PFV.TR.3PL  
 ‘they showed’
- d. *de:k<sup>h</sup>awət<sup>h</sup>en*  
 de:k<sup>h</sup>-a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>en [[[root]-RVM<sub>dst</sub>-TF]-IS<sub>wd</sub>]  
 see-VM-IT-IPFV:PRS.3MPL  
 ‘they show/ are showing’
- e. *de:k<sup>h</sup>anen*  
 de:k<sup>h</sup>-a-n-en [[[root]-RVM<sub>dst</sub>-TF]-IS<sub>wd</sub>]  
 see-VM-PT-PFV.TR.3MPL  
 ‘they appeared’
- f. *de:k<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>en*  
 de:k<sup>h</sup>-a-ət<sup>h</sup>en [[[root]-RVM<sub>dst</sub>-IS<sub>wd</sub>]  
 see-VM-IPFV:PRS.3MPL  
 ‘they appear/ are appearing’

The functional aspect of theme formation in Azamgarhi is basically to distinguish anticausativization from causativization since both are achieved by a single suffix, the valency modifier /-a/, as can be observed from examples given in (5). Also, theme formation provides some help in distinguishing some homophonous IS found in Azamgarhi (refer to §5.5 for details). Recall that theme formation is entirely absent in the seven at-tested marked active roots, viz. *ja* ‘go’, *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘eat’, *kəma* ‘earn’, *pi* ‘drink’, *si* ‘sew’, *le* ‘take’, and *de* ‘give’, which are considered exceptional roots. These only take a TF provided their valency is modified and further fulfill one of the prerequisites mentioned above.

## 5.4 Derivational Morphology

Derivational morphology in Azamgarhi consists of root valency modification followed by theme formation in particular instances, as described in the previous section, after which is attach to the derived stems. In the process of derivation, Azamgarhi verb roots or base stems undergo valency modifications. The strategies employed are root-internal change and suffixation.

### 5.4.1 Valency Modification by Root-internal Change

In Azamgarhi, the valency of some verbs can be modified by two processes involving root-internal changes described in detail below. Both of these processes reduce the valency of the verb.

#### 5.4.1.1 Root Valency Modification by Internal Vowel Change

The first valency modification process involves a set of verb stems in which the root-internal vowel is “tense” (and also phonetically long) when it is transitive and “lax” (and also phonetically short) when it is middle. The stem vowels in the first as well as second valency modification process change on a bit different pattern than what we would observe in the case of affixation of morphemes bearing stress (see footnote 6 of this chapter). This change involving vowel laxing, illustrated in (6), is pretty similar to what we observe in the case of Hindi-Urdu stem modifications.

- (6) Azamgarhi root-internal vowel change (vowel laxing) in the first and second valency modification
- a.  $a \rightarrow \text{ə}$
  - b.  $o: \rightarrow \text{ʊ} / u$
  - c.  $e: \rightarrow \text{ɪ}$
  - d.  $u \rightarrow \text{ʊ}$
  - e.  $i \rightarrow \text{ɪ}$

Note that the same applies to the nasal vowels. This change in the vowel signals the valency of the verb. An extensive and near-exhaustive list of the verb stem pairs that follow this change is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Transitivity pairs in Azamgarhi involving root modification by internal vowel change

Transitive stems with long vowel	Middle stems with short vowel
<i>mar</i> ‘kill, hit s.o.’	<i>mər</i> ‘s.o. dies’
<i>piṭ</i> ‘beat s.o.’	<i>piṭ</i> ‘s.o. gets beaten’
<i>kaṭ</i> ‘cut s.t.’	<i>kaṭ</i> ‘s.t. gets cut’
<i>luṭ</i> ‘loot s.o./s.t.’	<i>luṭ</i> ‘s.o./s.t. gets looted’
<i>ṽtar</i> ‘lower s.o./s.t.’	<i>ṽtər</i> ‘s.o./s.t. descends’
<i>lad</i> ‘load s.t./s.o.’	<i>ləd</i> ‘s.t./s.o. gets loaded’
<i>ṽbal</i> ‘boil s.t.’	<i>ṽbəl</i> ‘s.t. boils’
<i>g<sup>h</sup>õ:ṭ</i> ‘pulverize s.t./s.o.’	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ṽṭ</i> ‘s.t. pulverizes’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>o:l</i> ‘open s.t.’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ṽl</i> ‘s.t. opens’
<i>jo:ṭ</i> ‘join s.o.’	<i>joṭ</i> ‘join s.o.’
<i>mo:ṭ</i> ‘fold, bend s.t.’	<i>moṭ</i> ‘s.t. folds, bends’
<i>ṭal</i> ‘postpone s.t.’	<i>ṭəl</i> ‘s.t. gets postponed’
<i>gaṭ</i> ‘bury s.t.’	<i>gaṭ</i> ‘s.t. gets buried’
<i>bāṭ</i> ‘divide, distribute s.t.’	<i>bəṭ</i> ‘s.t. gets divided, distributed’
<i>pal</i> ‘rear s.o.’	<i>pəl</i> ‘s.o. is reared, thrives’
<i>g<sup>h</sup>e:r</i> ‘surround, encircle s.o./s.t.’	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ṽr</i> ‘s.o./s.t. gets surrounded’
<i>bṛgaṭ</i> ‘spoil s.t./s.o.’	<i>bṛgəṭ</i> ‘s.t./s.o. is spoiled’
<i>sṽd<sup>h</sup>ar</i> ‘improve s.t./s.o.’	<i>sṽd<sup>h</sup>ər</i> ‘s.t./s.o. improves’
<i>pəsar</i> ‘scatter s.t.’	<i>pəsər</i> ‘s.t. gets scattered’
<i>ṽk<sup>h</sup>aṭ</i> ‘uproot s.t.’	<i>ṽk<sup>h</sup>əṭ</i> ‘s.t. is uprooted’
<i>nṛkal</i> ‘remove s.t./s.o.’	<i>nṛkəl</i> ‘s.t./s.o. is removed’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>ṛc</i> ‘pull s.t./s.o.’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ṽc</i> ‘s.t./s.o. gets pulled’
<i>ləpe:ṭ</i> ‘wrap s.t.’	<i>lṽpəṭ</i> ‘s.t. is wrapped’
<i>səme:ṭ</i> ‘gather up s.t.’	<i>sṽməṭ</i> ‘s.t. is gathered up’

If the verb stem has more than one syllable, generally, the vowel of the final syllable is taken into consideration. However, we see unusual apophony of both the vowels in the case of the last two verb pairs given in the same table.

In Hindi-Urdu, alternations involving stem internal vowel laxing, such as those shown above, are categorized as “anticausative” alternations by Haspelmath (1993: 91). He posits that the causative verb is basic in these transitivity pairs, and the middle verb is derived, i.e., the intransitive counterpart is derived from the transitive. Since the Azamgarhi transitivity pairs are cognates to that of Hindi-Urdu, having exactly the

same alternations observed in Hindi-Urdu, the alternations found in Azamgarhi verb pairs presented in Table 5.1, can plausibly be concluded to be anticausative. Example sentences relevant to Table 5.1 are shown in (7) using the pair *nikəl* and *nikal*.

- (7) a. *kʊcʰ dɪn jəb gʊzər gəwə, təb*  
*kʊcʰ dɪn jəb gʊzər gə-a təb*  
 some day when.REL pass go.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MSG then  
*ommē: se: e:k bəhət bəɾa sãpʰ*  
*ommē:=se: e:k bəhət bəɾ-a sãpʰ*  
 3DISTS.OBL:INESS=ABL one very big-MSG snake(M)  
***nikəla,*** *əzdəha.*  
*nikəl-a əzdəha*  
 come.out-PFV.INTR.3MSG python(M)  
 ‘When few days passed, then a giant snake, a python, came out from it.’  
 (Prince & Stepmother: 58)

- b. *kʊcʰ dɪn jəb gʊzər gəwə, təb e:k*  
*kʊcʰ dɪn jəb gʊzər gə-a təb e:k*  
 some day when.REL pass go.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MSG then one  
*səpe:ra ommē: se: e:k bəhət bəɾa sãpʰ*  
*səpe:ra ommē:=se: e:k bəhət bəɾ-a sãpʰ*  
 snake.charmer(M) 3DISTS.OBL:INESS=ABL one very big-MSG snake(M)  
***nikales,*** *əzdəha.*  
*nikal-es əzdəha*  
 remove-PFV.TR.3SG python(M)  
 ‘As few days passed, a snake-charmer removed a giant snake, a python, from it.’  
 (Modified from Prince & Stepmother: 58)

#### 5.4.1.2 Root Valency Modification by Internal Vowel and Consonant Change

The second valency modification process involves a set of verb stems wherein, like the first process, the vowel is tense when it is transitive and lax when it is middle, but also involves a change in at least one of the consonants. This change is restricted to only the verb stem pairs shown in Table 5.2.

In the case of root-internal vowel plus consonant change, Haspelmath (1993) categorizes this type into two: “anticausative” and “equipollent”. In equipollent alternations, both are derived from the same stem, which expresses the basic situation employing either different affixes, auxiliary verbs, or stem modifications. In Table 5.2, following Haspelmath’s analysis, the first three pairs can be analyzed as anticausative, whereas the

Table 5.2: Transitivity pairs in Azamgarhi involving root modification by internal vowel and consonant change

Transitive stems with long vowel	Middle stems with short vowel
<i>p<sup>h</sup>o:ɽ</i> ‘shatter s.t.’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ʊɽ</i> ‘s.t. shatters’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>o:ɽ</i> ‘leave, release s.t.’	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ʊɽ</i> ‘s.t. releases, is let gone’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>aɽ</i> ‘tear s.t.’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>əɽ</i> ‘s.t. tears, gets torn’
<i>to:ɽ</i> ‘break s.t.’	<i>tʊɽ</i> ‘s.t. breaks’
<i>be:c</i> ‘sell s.t.’	<i>bɪk</i> ‘s.t. sells, gets sold’

last two as equipollent. However, I argue that only the last pair is equipollent since the attested middle stem achieved from anticausativization is derived from the transitive stem in the case of anticausativization and equipollent formations, whereas from the middle or active stem in the case of causativization. This can be argued based on the anticausativized stems attested for the transitivity verb pairs given in Table 5.2 above: *p<sup>h</sup>oɽa* /p<sup>h</sup>o:ɽ-a/ ‘shatter.TR-VM’ and not *p<sup>h</sup>ʊɽa* /p<sup>h</sup>ʊɽ-a/ ‘shatter.INTR-VM’. Similarly, the attested forms for the rest of the verb pairs are *c<sup>h</sup>oɽa*, *p<sup>h</sup>əɽa*, *toɽa* and never *c<sup>h</sup>ʊɽa*, *p<sup>h</sup>əɽa*, *tʊɽa*. However, the last pair in the same table notoriously stands out to be exceptional as *beca* and *bika* both forms are possible. The same logic applies to the causativized stem as the attested forms *p<sup>h</sup>oɽwa* /p<sup>h</sup>o:ɽ-wa/ ‘shatter.TR-CAUS’, *c<sup>h</sup>oɽwa*, *p<sup>h</sup>əɽwa*, *toɽwa* and not *p<sup>h</sup>ʊɽa* /p<sup>h</sup>ʊɽ-wa/ ‘shatter.INTR-CAUS’, *c<sup>h</sup>ʊɽwa*, *p<sup>h</sup>əɽwa*, *tʊɽwa*. *be:c* ‘sell’ can be causativized as either *becwa* and *bikwa*.

#### 5.4.2 Root Valency Modification by Suffixation

The valency of the verbs falling in the category other than that mentioned in §5.4.1 can be modified by suffixation. The suffixes included here are valency modifier and (indirect) causativizer. The first valency modification process in this category involves the suffixation of a valency modifier /-a/. Interestingly, this suffix, when attached to a verb, can either increase or reduce the valency of the verb. This means that the valency of a verb increases if the modification is causativization and decreases if anticausativization. The anticausativization process results in the formation of middle or passive stems,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Note that besides this process, passives in Azamgarhi are also formed by adding the verb *ja* ‘go’ to the verb to be passivized, e.g., *kəra gəwa* ‘was done’, as Hindustani does. This construction is

whereas the causativization process always results in active stems. Besides, to a certain extent, generally being able to differentiate the causativized constructions from the anticausativized, both morphosyntactically and semantically, in Azamgarhi, both of them can also be differentiated from each other morphologically, thanks to the theme formatives. As previously explained in §5.3 that in the perfective conjugations, the anticausativized stem requires a perfective TF *-n* before the perfective suffixes attach, whereas the causativized stem, since it always ends in a vowel by the addition of the suffix */-a/*, requires an irrealis TF */-w/* attached to it before irrealis inflectional suffixes attach. In the rest of the instances, mainly the future tense of Azamgarhi, wherein the aforementioned neither irrealis nor perfective criteria are fulfilled, the difference is left to be perceived from context, i.e., morphosyntactically and semantically (see Table 5.9 for illustration).

For those types of Azamgarhi verbs that possess transitivity pairs involving root-internal modification, as discussed earlier in §5.4.1 (cf. Table 5.1 and Table 5.2), two distinct middle stems can be achieved. This is possible via root-internal modification as well as by suffixation of the valency modifier which causes anticausativization, cf. *pɪt* ‘get beaten’ and *pɪta* /*piṭ-a/* ‘get beaten’. However, semantically speaking, there is no functional difference between the two middle stems. Examples involving middle stems of the verb *kaṭ* ‘cut’ derived by the process of root-internal modification and suffixation of the valency modifier are given below in (8).

- (8) a. *tohəri*                    *pʰəsəl* ***kəṭi***                    *ki*    *na?*  
 tohə-r-i                    pʰəsəl kəṭ-i                    ki    na  
 2HON.OBL-GEN-F crop(F) cut.INTR-PFV.INTR.F COMP NEG  
 ‘Are your crops harvested or not?’
- b. *tohəri*                    *pʰəsəl* ***kəṭani***                    *ki*    *na?*  
 tohə-r-i                    pʰəsəl kəṭ-a-n-i                    ki    na  
 2HON.OBL-GEN-F crop(F) cut.INTR-VM-PT-PFV.INTR.F COMP NEG  
 ‘Are your crops harvested or not?’

In the set of examples given above in (8), which are middle constructions where the focus

---

periphrastic, and therefore these passives are termed as periphrastic or analytical passives. However, due to space constraints, they won't be discussed in this work.

lies on the patient or the theme rather than the agent, for some speakers of Azamgarhi, the former is a bit more preferred than the latter, whereas for some the vice-versa.

The second valency modification process in this category involves the suffixation of /-wa/, an (indirect) causativizer, which is always valency-increasing. By appending this causativizer to the verb root, we achieve a causativized stem with its valency increased by two, and one when the root ends in /a/, see Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below. This differentiates the causativizer from the valency modifier /-a/, which in the case of causativization only increases the valency by one always. Hence, the process in the former can be said as indirect causativization and direct causativization in the latter.

Table 5.3: Direct and indirect causativization of the middle verb root in Azamgarhi

Middle intransitive root	Direct causativized stem	Indirect causativized stem
<i>səɽ</i> ‘s.t. spoils/ decomposes’	<i>səɽa</i> ‘decompose s.t.’	<i>səɽwa</i> ‘get s.t. decomposed by s.o.’
<i>dəb</i> ‘s.t. gets pressed’	<i>dəba</i> ‘press s.t.’	<i>dəbwa</i> ‘get s.t. pressed by s.o.’
<i>ɕɪpək</i> ‘s.t. sticks’	<i>ɕɪpka</i> ‘stick s.t.’	<i>ɕɪpəkwa</i> ‘get s.t. stuck by s.o.’
<i>b<sup>h</sup>ig</i> ‘s.t./s.o. gets wet’	<i>b<sup>h</sup>iga</i> ‘wet s.t./s.o.’	<i>b<sup>h</sup>igwa</i> ‘get s.t./s.o. wet by s.o.’
<i>ʊg</i> ‘s.t. grows’	<i>ʊga</i> ‘grow s.t.’	<i>ʊgwa</i> ‘get s.t. grown by s.o.’
<i>pəhʊc</i> ‘s.t./s.o. reaches’	<i>pəhʊca</i> ‘make s.t./s.o. reach, deliver s.t.’	<i>pəhʊcwa</i> ‘get s.t./s.o. reached/delivered by s.o.’
<i>ɖəra</i> ‘s.o. gets frightened’	<i>ɖerwa</i> ‘frighten s.o.’	<i>ɖerwa</i> ‘get s.o. frightened by s.o.’

We observe that in the process of causativization, the root may be a middle stem when the verb is unaccusative and an active stem when the verb is unergative, cf. Table 5.3 with Table 5.4. We also observe that the verbs *ɖera* ‘be afraid’ (see Table 5.3) and *nəha* ‘bathe’ (see Table 5.4), where both the roots end in /a/, do not morphologically distinguish the indirect causation from the direct.



c.	<i>pəta</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>cəla</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>cəʊt<sup>h</sup>e:</i>	<i>dɪn</i>
	pəta	i	cəl-a	ki	cəʊt <sup>h</sup> -e:	dɪn
	know(M)	3PRXS	walk-PFV.INTR.3MSG	COMP	fourth-OBL	day
	<i>raja</i>	<i>pərd<sup>h</sup>an se:</i>		<i>gãõwãwalən</i>	<i>ka</i>	
	raja	pərd <sup>h</sup> an=se:		gãõ-wa=wal-n=ka		
	king(M)	village.headman(M)=COM		village(M)-DEF1=ARLN-OBL.PL=DAT		
	<i>jɔʈwaen.</i>					
	jɔʈ-wa-en					
	gather-CAUS-PFV.TR.3PL					

‘It was learned that the king made the village head gather the villagers on the fourth day./ It was learned that the king gathered the villagers on the fourth day by (the agency of) the village head.’ (Modified from “A couple”: 10)

## 5.5 Inflectional Morphology

Azamgarhi is an inflectional language. Verbs encode inflectional information such as person, number, and gender features of the subject via agreement, besides tense, aspect, and mood (TAM). Thanks to its rich inflectional nature, it is worth noting that many of the above inflectional features encoded in the Azamgarhi verb cannot be clearly separated from each other. In other words, is appending directly to the verb stem may carry information for more than one feature. Akin to Hindi-Urdu, the Azamgarhi verbal system is structured mainly around a combination of aspect and tense. For the verb roots to function as a word, they are required to be bound, which means that they must take at least one IS. Exceptions to this are the singular imperatives such as *cəl* ‘walk!’, *dəʊʈ* ‘run!’, *bo:l* ‘speak!’, etc, as mentioned previously in §5.1. However, the ones with marked active roots need the irrealis TF /-w/ (surfacing as -o word finally) attached to them to function as the simple imperative, viz. *bətao* ‘tell!’, *ao* ‘come!’, *nəhao* ‘bathe!’, *lao* ~ *liao* ‘bring!’, etc. The active verb roots ending in /o:/, such as *so:* ‘sleep’, *ro:* ‘cry’, *d<sup>h</sup>o* ‘wash’, because of placed phonological restrictions, do not exhibit the TF in the surface form even though the TF is represented in underlying form, cf. *so:* /so:-w/ ‘sleep!’, *ro:* /ro:-w/ ‘cry!’, *d<sup>h</sup>o* /d<sup>h</sup>o:-w/ ‘wash!’.

The IS in Azamgarhi can be broadly categorized into two classes— realis and irrealis. The realis class includes suffixes marking perfective and future imperative, whereas in

the irrealis all other IS are included, viz. future, imperfective, irrealis1, and irrealis2. Azamgarhi quite notoriously marks the future imperative, together with the perfective, as realis.<sup>4</sup> The classification of IS into realis and irrealis has mainly to do with morphological basis rather than strict semantic-functional motivation.<sup>5</sup> The morphological basis is evidenced by two factors: first, the TF /-w/ appearing on marked active roots and on certain derivational suffixes before the classified “irrealis” IS attach, as already discussed in detail earlier; and second is that three verbs in Azamgarhi—*kər-əɪ* ‘to do’, *le:-wəɪ* ‘to take’, and *de:-wəɪ* ‘to give’—behave irregularly in their perfect and future imperative conjugations, viz. the labeled “realis” ones. If we consider one of those verbs for illustration, e.g., *kər-əɪ* ‘to do’, the stem *kər-* is replaced in the perfect and the future imperative by *kih-* “the realis theme” to which the inflectional markers, encoding TAM and agreement, are added. Similarly, the realis themes of the other stems *le:-* and *de:-* are *lih-* and *dih-* respectively. For a schematic illustration of this, refer to Table 5.5 below.

---

<sup>4</sup> It is cross-linguistically difficult to compare morphological categories such as moods since it is widely observed that realis and irrealis, the dominant concept in mood, differs significantly from researcher to researcher. However, there are certain widely attested pieces of evidence or near-universals such as the one opined by Palmer (2001: 124): “Futurity is often **marked as irrealis** in languages in which mood is described in terms of realis/irrealis [...]. This is much less common with indicative/subjunctive.”

<sup>5</sup> The term realis and irrealis used here are not restricted to the typical “realis” and “irrealis” moods, but the modal system at large which encompasses many moods that can be classified under these two modal forms, as mentioned in Palmer (2001: 163): “[i]n some languages both ‘irrealis’ and ‘realis’ have been applied to terms that belong to a wider system, which, on formal grounds, should be analysed in terms of a modal system rather than (typically binary) mood.” This is with a view to match the formed “theme” with the IS selecting them.

Table 5.5: Conjugational paradigms of the verb *kəɾəɪ* ‘to do’ illustrating the IS attached to realis and irrealis verb stems

PNG	“Realis” stem <i>kih-</i>		Plain or “irrealis” stem <i>kəɾ-</i>			
	PFV	FUT.IMP	FUT	IPFV:PRS	IRR1	IRR2
1sg.	<i>kih-eũ</i>	-	<i>kəɾ-ɪhũ</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>ũ</i>	<i>kəɾ-ũ</i>	<i>kəɾ-tũ</i>
1pl.	<i>kih-ẽ:</i>	-	<i>kəɾ-bəɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-ɪt<sup>h</sup>əɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-i</i>	<i>kəɾ-tẽ:</i>
2m.sg.	<i>kih-e:</i>	<i>kih-e:</i>	<i>kəɾ-be:</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>e:</i>	<i>kəɾ</i>	<i>kəɾ-te:</i>
2f.sg.	<i>kih-e:</i>	<i>kih-e:</i>	<i>kəɾ-be:</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>kəɾ</i>	<i>kəɾ-tis</i>
2m.pl.	<i>kih-e:</i>	<i>kih-əɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-ɪhə</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>əɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-a</i>	<i>kəɾ-təɪ</i>
2f.pl.	<i>kih-e:</i>	<i>kih-əɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-ɪhə</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>u</i>	<i>kəɾ-a</i>	<i>kəɾ-tu</i>
3m.sg.	<i>kih-es</i>	-	<i>kəɾ-i</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>əɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-əɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-təɪ</i>
3f.sg.	<i>kih-es</i>	-	<i>kəɾ-i</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>kəɾ-əɪ</i>	<i>kəɾ-ti</i>
3m.pl.	<i>kih-en</i>	-	<i>kəɾ-ɪhẽ:</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>en</i>	<i>kəɾ-əĩ</i>	<i>kəɾ-ten</i>
3f.pl.	<i>kih-en</i>	-	<i>kəɾ-ɪhẽ:</i>	<i>kəɾ-ət<sup>h</sup>ɪn</i>	<i>kəɾ-əĩ</i>	<i>kəɾ-tɪn</i>

Table 5.6 below illustrates the likely output when an IS is appended to realis and irrealis themes formed from a marked active root *a* ‘come’.

On careful observation of the paradigms obtained via the inflection by various IS, we notice that the TF /-w/ appears only in the case of present imperfect, irrealis1, and irrealis2 constructions. Moreover, among these three constructions, it does not appear in some conjugated forms such as 1pl. and 1sg. of the present imperfect and irrealis1, and surfaces differently in the complete paradigm of the future tense. In Azamgarhi, some affixes bear stress. The stem, when appended by such affixes, gets phonologically reduced.<sup>6</sup> Since all the future tense markers, except *-i* marking the 3SG, carry stress, we thus see the verb stems for those conjugations getting phonologically reduced. On a similar note, one can also point out the irrealis2 markers to bear stress; however, they do not, cf. *k<sup>h</sup>a-tũ* and *\*k<sup>h</sup>ə-tũ* or *\*k<sup>h</sup>əʋ-tũ*. It is the combination of the TF /-w/ and the irrealis2 suffixes that bears stress, thereby phonologically reducing the verb base. This

<sup>6</sup> In the phonological reduction of lexical stems in Azamgarhi owing to the attachment of affixes bearing stress, the phonemically longer vowels, /e:/ and /o:/, are reduced to their shorter counterparts, /e/ and /o/; and the tense vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/ are reduced to the corresponding lax vowels /ɪ/, /ʊ/, and /ə/ respectively. Furthermore, the geminate consonants are degeminated.

Table 5.6: Conjugational paradigms of the verb *awəɪ* ‘to come’ illustrating the realis and irrealis IS attaching to the verb with the involved TF

PNG	No (irrealis) TF		An irrealis TF			
	PFV	FUT.IMP	FUT	IPFV.PRS	IRR1	IRR2
1sg.	<i>a-ũ</i>	–	<i>ə-ɪhũ</i> /a-w-ɪhũ/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>ũ</i>	<i>a-ũ</i> /a-w-ũ/	<i>ə-ʊ-tũ</i> /a-w-tũ/
1pl.	<i>a-ẽ:</i>	–	<i>ə-ɪbəɪ</i> /a-w-ɪbəɪ/	<i>a-ɪt<sup>h</sup>əɪ</i> /a-w-ɪt <sup>h</sup> əɪ/	<i>a-i</i> /a-w-i/	<i>ə-ʊ-tẽ:</i> /a-w-tẽ:/
2m.sg.	<i>a-e</i>	<i>a-e</i> /a-e:/	<i>ə-ɪbe:</i> /a-w-ɪbe:/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>e:</i>	<i>a-o</i> /a-w/	<i>ə-ʊ-te:</i> /a-w-te:/
2f.sg.	<i>a-i</i>	<i>a-e</i> /a-e:/	<i>ə-ɪbe:</i> /a-w-ɪbe:/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>a-o</i> /a-w/	<i>ə-ʊ-tis</i> /a-w-tis/
2m.pl.	<i>a-e</i>	<i>a-yəɪ</i> /a-əɪ/	<i>ə-ɪha</i> /a-w-ɪha/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>əɪ</i>	<i>a-w-a</i>	<i>ə-ʊ-təɪ</i> /a-w-təɪ/
2f.pl.	<i>a-u</i>	<i>a-yəɪ</i> /a-əɪ/	<i>ə-ɪha</i> /a-w-ɪha/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>u</i>	<i>a-w-a</i>	<i>ə-ʊ-tu</i> /a-w-tu/
3m.sg.	<i>a-wa</i>	–	<i>a-i</i> /a-w-i/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>əɪ</i>	<i>a-w-əɪ</i>	<i>ə-ʊ-təɪ</i> /a-w-təɪ/
3f.sg.	<i>a-i</i>	–	<i>a-i</i> /a-w-i/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>ɪ</i>	<i>a-w-əɪ</i>	<i>ə-ʊ-ti</i> /a-w-ti/
3m.pl.	<i>a-en</i>	–	<i>ə-ɪhẽ:</i> /a-w-ɪhẽ:/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>en</i>	<i>a-w-əɪ</i>	<i>ə-ʊ-ten</i> /a-w-ten/
3f.pl.	<i>a-in</i>	–	<i>ə-ɪhẽ:</i> /a-w-ɪhẽ/	<i>a-w-ət<sup>h</sup>in</i>	<i>a-w-əɪ</i>	<i>ə-ʊ-tin</i> /a-w-tin/

also confirms that the root *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘eat’ does not take any TF due to its exceptional nature. Talking about the absence of the TF /-w/ in surface forms of some conjugations and then they being shown up in the underlying form, it can be posited that the TF gets deleted before high vowels, i.e., /ɪ/, /i/, /ʊ/, and /u/. That is why /-w/ gets deleted in the conjugations where the IS begins with any of the high vowels, whereas it is preserved in other conjugations in the same paradigm. This logic can also be applied to argue for the deletion of /-w/ in the whole of the future paradigm as all the IS there begin with a high vowel.<sup>7</sup> This is, however, not in the case of the future imperative where

<sup>7</sup> I was successful in finding empirical evidence from Azamgarhi’s parent language, i.e., Awadhi, in supporting the claims to consider the future IS as an irrealis modal form. In most of the varieties of

(both) the *is* markers do not begin with a high vowel, and yet no theme formation takes place. Moreover, a palatal glide is inserted to avoid a phonemic neutralization of the two future imperative markers. Also, the presence of three previously described exceptional verbs in Azamgarhi, viz. *kə̀r-ə̀ɪ* ‘to do’, *le:-wə̀ɪ* ‘to take’, and *de:-wə̀ɪ* ‘to give’, having different stems when in perfective and future imperative forms, strengthen the above hypothesis. Thus, Azamgarhi differentiates the future imperative from the future indicative by grouping the former with the perfective, constituting the “realis” class.

Every inflection form in the finite verb morphology in Azamgarhi is presented in the following sections beginning with the copula, after which we move on to tense and aspectual forms, and lastly, the mood forms. In these descriptions, generally, the morphology of every construction is explained first, followed by the use of the inflected verb form illustrated with relevant examples and descriptions.

### 5.5.1 Copula Inflection

The copula in Azamgarhi remains an essential entity for encoding certain complementary grammatical information not done so by the verb. For this very reason, it is required to present a description of the copula before moving on to the inflectional morphology of the (main) verbs. Azamgarhi has a single copula *h-*, originating from the verb *ho:wə̀ɪ* /*ho:-ə̀ɪ*/ ‘to be, exist’, which has a few forms conjugated according to person and number features of the subject and manifesting present tense. In the past tense, it is replaced by a suppletive form *rə̀h-* which is inflected exactly as a regular verb would in the perfective aspect, marking person, number, and gender. On the same pattern, the copula irregularly inflects as *b<sup>h</sup>ə̀-* in the perfective aspect. Thus, the Azamgarhi copula encodes only the present and past tense and a perfective aspect, the latter two by a suppletive copula. For future construction, the full verb *ho:wə̀ɪ* ‘to be’ takes over the copula and is inflected for person and number features, exactly as a regular verb does. Table 5.7

---

Awadhi, all future *is* begin with a high vowel; however, two varieties of Awadhi (Fy. i.e., Fyzabad [sic] and Sl. i.e., Sultanpur) are mentioned in Saksena (1971: 264) wherein the future *is* for 1pl.*is* *-ʌb* (i.e., one not having an initial high vowel) which becomes *-ub* after roots ending in *-a*; e.g., *a:ub*, *bʌta:ub* (his idiosyncratic transcriptions involving *ʌ* and the phonetic length indication on *a* notwithstanding) where *u* /*ʊ*/ appears to be the surface form of /*w-*/, the TF.

presents the inflectional paradigm for all forms of the Azamgarhi copula in various TAM combinations.

Table 5.7: Inflectional paradigm for all forms of the Azamgarhi copula in various TAM combinations

PNG	Indicative (Mood)				IRR1	IRR2	Imperative	
	PRS	PST	PFV	FUT			PRS	FUT
1m.sg.	<i>hũ</i>	<i>rəh-ũ</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-eũ</i>	<i>ho-ihũ</i>	<i>ho:-ũ</i>	<i>ho:-tũ</i>	-	-
1f.sg.	<i>hũ</i>	<i>rəh-ũ</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-eũ</i>	<i>ho-ihũ</i>	<i>ho:-ũ</i>	<i>ho:-tũ</i>	-	-
1pl.	<i>həɪ</i>	<i>rəh-ě:</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-ě:</i>	<i>ho-ibəɪ</i>	<i>ho:-i</i>	<i>ho:-tě:</i>	-	-
2m.sg.	<i>həɪ</i>	<i>rəh-e:</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-e:</i>	<i>ho-ibe:</i>	<i>ho:</i>	<i>ho:-te:</i>	<i>ho:</i>	<i>ho:-e</i>
2f.sg.	<i>həɪ</i>	<i>rəh-ɪs</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-ɪs</i>	<i>ho-ibe:</i>	<i>ho:</i>	<i>ho:-tɪs</i>	<i>ho:</i>	<i>ho:-e</i>
2m.pl.	<i>ha</i>	<i>rəh-e:</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-e:</i>	<i>ho-ɪha</i>	<i>ho:-a</i>	<i>ho:-təɪ</i>	<i>ho:-a</i>	<i>ho:-yəɪ</i> /ho:-əɪ/
2f.pl.	<i>ha</i>	<i>rəh-u</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-u</i>	<i>ho-ɪha</i>	<i>ho:-a</i>	<i>ho:-tu</i>	<i>ho:-a</i>	<i>ho:-yəɪ</i> /ho:-əɪ/
3m.sg.	<i>həɪ</i>	<i>rəh-a</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-wa</i> /b <sup>h</sup> ə-a/	<i>ho:-i</i>	<i>ho:-e</i> /ho:-əɪ/	<i>ho:-təɪ</i>	-	-
3f.sg.	<i>həɪ</i>	<i>rəh-i</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-i</i>	<i>ho:-i</i>	<i>ho:-e</i> /ho:-əɪ/	<i>ho:-ti</i>	-	-
3m.pl.	<i>həɪ</i>	<i>rəh-en</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-en</i>	<i>ho-ihě:</i> ~ <i>ho-ihen</i>	<i>ho:-ě:</i> /ho:-əɪ/	<i>ho:-ten</i>	-	-
3f.pl.	<i>həɪ</i>	<i>rəh-ɪn</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ə-ɪn</i> /b <sup>h</sup> ə-ɪn/	<i>ho-ihě:</i> ~ <i>ho-ihen</i>	<i>ho:-ě:</i> /ho:-əɪ/	<i>ho:-tɪn</i>	-	-

An example of a copula construction with two inflected forms of the copula *h-* is shown in (10) below.

- (10) *mʊrgɪa*      *kəhəɪ*,      “*t<sup>h</sup>ik* *həɪ*,      *cəla*,      *tu*      *həmre:*  
*mʊrg-i-ya*      *kəh-əɪ*      *t<sup>h</sup>ik* *həɪ*      *cəl-a*      *tu*      *həm-r-e:*  
 fowl-FML-DEF2 say-IRR1.3SG fine be.PRS.SG walk-IMP.PL 2HON 1HON-GEN-OBL  
*do:s*      *ha*,      *to: ja!*”  
*do:s*      *ha*      *to: ja*  
 friend be.PRS.2PL so go  
 ‘The hen said, “Alright, you’re my friend, so go ahead!”      (Hen & python: 6)

Since the past copula *rəh-* of Azamgarhi (and also Awadhi) behaves exactly as a regular verb, as mentioned above, most strikingly, in a few attested instances, it is followed by its present form—as a verb in perfective construction does. The same also applies to the verb in the past imperfective construction. This double copula construction in Azamgarhi can be commonly found in all types of narratives, as seen in examples of (11), which give an illustration of the same.

## (11) Double copula construction

- a. *ədāmi mehraru rəhen hāī.*  
 ədāmi+mehraru rəh-en hāī  
 man(M)+woman(F) be.PST-3MPL be.PRS.PL  
 ‘There was a couple.’ (God as guest: 1)
- b. *p<sup>h</sup>ir sam tək e:k<sup>h</sup>o: əvrət ai əpəna*  
 p<sup>h</sup>ir sam=tək e:k=t<sup>h</sup>o: əvrət a-i əpən-a  
 then evening(F)=TERM one=CLF woman(F) come-PFV.INTR.F self-MSG  
*bacca ləkə:— bəhət bimar rəha həi.*  
 bəcc-a ləkə: bəhət bimar rəh-a həi  
 child-ML take\ABS=CNJ very sick be.PST-3MSG be.PRS.SG  
 ‘Then by evening, a woman came with her child—(he) was very sick.’  
 (God as guest: 10)

I’ve been unable to find a solid functional difference that differentiates the double copula construction from the typical single one. One of my primary consultant’s intuitions, when asked if she could suggest a semantic difference between those two forms, were that they basically meant the same, but one could say that such a construction conveyed a sense of more remoteness in tense than in the normal construction, i.e., the predicate with a single copula. Thus, this is left for future research.

## 5.5.2 Tense and Aspect

Azamgarhi, like many sister Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindustani, Punjabi, Marathi, etc., makes a classical three-way distinction in tense— present, past, and future. However, similar to other I-A languages, the Azamgarhi verbal system is largely structured around a combination of aspect and tense, the boundaries between entities being blurred. One of the typical features of verbs in these Indo-Aryan languages worthy to

note is that the main verbs are defective. Therefore, in these languages, the main verb by itself cannot be conjugated into past and present tenses. As a result, tense is marked on the verb only in the case of future construction. In other tense constructions, it is the copula that bears the information of tense. Besides manifestation of tense features, the copula—acting as an auxiliary in the verb component—also encodes some PNG inflection features. Thus, the most frequently used verbal forms in the two tenses, past and present, are periphrastic. However, Azamgarhi is an exception here—barring the past tense, the other two tenses in Azamgarhi are not periphrastic. This is particularly true for present tense construction in combination with the imperfective aspect, thanks to the incorporation of the copula in the verb, discussed in §5.5.2.2.

### 5.5.2.1 Future Tense

The future tense in Azamgarhi is the least complex of all the three tenses, and therefore we discuss it in the first place. Unlike Hindustani, where the future tense is marked separately per se by the suffix -g followed by the marking of gender and number, in Azamgarhi, the future tense is marked by different suffixes varying accordingly for the person and number features of the subject. This is the only tense in which the verb lacks gender agreement completely. Table 5.8 depicts the inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs conjugated in the future tense.

Table 5.8: Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in the future tense

PNG	Pronoun	<i>so:/sɔtt</i> ‘sleep’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘eat’	<i>a</i> ‘come’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>de:</i> ‘give’
1sg.	<i>mãĩ</i>	<i>soihũ/sɔtɪhũ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>əihũ</i>	<i>əihũ</i>	<i>jəihũ</i>	<i>dehũ</i>
1pl.	<i>həm/həmənne:</i>	<i>soɪbəɪ/sɔtbəɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>əɪbəɪ</i>	<i>əɪbəɪ</i>	<i>jəɪbəɪ</i>	<i>debəɪ</i>
2sg.	<i>tãĩ</i>	<i>soɪbe:/sɔtbe:</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>əɪbe:</i>	<i>əɪbe:</i>	<i>jəɪbe:</i>	<i>debe:</i>
2pl.	<i>tu/tʊn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>soɪhə/sɔtɪhə</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>əɪhə</i>	<i>əɪhə</i>	<i>jəɪhə</i>	<i>dehə</i>
3sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>jai</i>	<i>de:i</i>
3pl.	<i>wəɪ/ʊn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>soihẽ:/sɔtɪhẽ: ~ soɪhen/sɔtɪhen</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>əɪhẽ: ~ k<sup>h</sup>əɪhen</i>	<i>əɪhẽ: ~ əɪhen</i>	<i>jəɪhẽ: ~ jəɪhen</i>	<i>dehẽ: ~ dehen</i>

Recall that all the future tense markers, except -i, which marks 3SG, carry stress. Due to

this, the verb stems in the conjugations as shown in Table 5.8 (except 3sg) get phonologically reduced. As a result, the future conjugations of the causativized and anti-causativized stems, having the same phonological forms, cannot be distinguished from each other due to the absence of the TF in these conjugations. In the case of the former, though underlyingly represented, the TF gets deleted at the surface level, and in the case of the latter, no irrealis theme is formed at all. Thus, the distinction is left to be perceived solely from context. Table 5.9 provides illustrative evidence that even though the derived verbs *de:k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘appear’ and *de:k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘show’ are distinguishable in their infinitive forms, *de:k<sup>h</sup>ae* and *de:k<sup>h</sup>awəɪ*, thanks to the TF /-w/, the inflected forms in the future tense are precisely the same at the surface level.

Table 5.9: Inflectional paradigm of the Azamgarhi verb *de:k<sup>h</sup>* ‘see’ and its derivatives in the future tense

PNG	<i>de:k<sup>h</sup>əɪ</i> ‘to see’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ae</i> ‘to appear’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>awəɪ</i> ‘to show’
1sg.	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ɪhũ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -ɪhũ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪhũ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ɪhũ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪhũ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ɪhũ/
1pl.	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>bəɪ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -ɪbəɪ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪbəɪ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ɪbəɪ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪbəɪ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ɪbəɪ/
2sg.	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>be:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -ɪbe:/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪbe:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ɪbe:/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪbe:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ɪbe:/
2pl.	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ɪha</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -ɪha/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪha</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ɪha/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪha</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ɪha/
3sg.	<i>de:k<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ai</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-i/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ai</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-i/
3pl.	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ɪhẽ:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -ɪhẽ:/ ~ <i>dek<sup>h</sup>ɪhen</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -ɪhen/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪhẽ:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ɪhẽ:/ ~ <i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪhen</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ɪhen/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪhẽ:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ɪhẽ:/ ~ <i>dek<sup>h</sup>əɪhen</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ɪhen/

Examples of future tense construction in Azamgarhi are illustrated in (12) and (13).

- (12) *aj həmre: g<sup>h</sup>əɪ b<sup>h</sup>əgwan əɪhẽ:*  
 aj həm-r-e: g<sup>h</sup>əɪ b<sup>h</sup>əgwan a-w-ɪhẽ:  
 today 1HON-GEN-OBL home(M) God(M) come-IT-FUT.3PL  
 ‘God will come to my home today.’ (God as guest: 2)

- (13) *raja se: kəhen ki, “de:k<sup>h</sup>a, əgər həm k<sup>h</sup>ətəm ho:*  
*raja=se: kəh-en ki de:k<sup>h</sup>-a əgər həm k<sup>h</sup>ətəm ho:*  
 king(M)=COM say-PFV.TR.3PL COMP see.IMP.PL if 1HON finished be.PRS  
*jəibəi, to: dʊsəri fadi mət kihəi, nəhĩ to:*  
*ja-ibəi to: dʊsər-i fadi mət kih-əi nəhĩ=to:*  
 go-FUT.1PL so second-F marriage(F) PROH do\RLS-FUT.IMP.PL NEG=TOP  
*jəʊn ai həmri ləḳi ka sətai.”*  
*jəʊn a-i həm-r-i ləḳ-i=ka sətai*  
 which.REL come-FUT.3SG 1HON-GEN-F child-FML=DAT trouble-FUT.3SG  
 ‘She (the queen) said to the king, “See, if I die, don’t remarry, lest who will come  
 (i.e., the woman you’ll marry) will cause suffering to my daughter.”’  
 (Sheherbano: 7)

### 5.5.2.2 Imperfective Aspect

Unlike Hindustani, Azamgarhi does not distinguish the habitual and progressive aspects in the broader imperfective aspect. Cross-linguistically, events related to imperfective verb forms are likely to be interpreted as habitual. Progressivity is not overtly expressed in the imperfective form and, consequently, is inferred from context. Unlike the perfective, the imperfective verbal form is non-finite and cannot be conjugated independently. The imperfective participle is constructed by suffixing the imperfective marker *-ət*, which is non-inflecting in nature, to the verb stem. The imperfective aspect occurs in combination with tenses, as discussed below in two sub-sections. Thankfully, the imperfective constructions in Azamgarhi are much less complicated than their perfective counterparts and therefore are presented before.

**5.5.2.2.1 Imperfective Aspect and Present Tense (Present Imperfect)** In Awadhi languages, just like many other I-A languages, acting as an auxiliary to the imperfective participle, the present copula *h-* succeeds the imperfective participle, as we saw in Figure 5.1. In Azamgarhi, however, the finite present imperfective construction formed in the present tense is somewhat unique as the copula is lexico-phonologically incorporated by the imperfective participle. On lexico-phonological incorporation, the copula, with an initial glottal fricative, aspirates the coronal stop of the imperfective marker */-ət/*. Therefore, the verb construction here is not periphrastic, unlike in the past tense

discussed in the following sub-section. Furthermore, besides being totally incorporated, the copula is also grammaticalized so as to also person and gender mark the agreement for the pronouns that lacked the agreement for the same. The conjugations of select Azamgarhi verbs in the imperfective aspect are presented in Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10: Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in present tense and imperfective aspect

PNG	Pronoun	so:/sʊtt ‘sleep’	k <sup>h</sup> a ‘eat’	a ‘come’	ja ‘go’	de: ‘give’
1sg.	mãĩ	so:wət <sup>hũ</sup> /sʊttət <sup>hũ</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>hũ</sup>	awət <sup>hũ</sup>	jat <sup>hũ</sup>	de:t <sup>hũ</sup>
1pl.	həm/həmənne	so:ɪt <sup>həɪ</sup> /sʊttɪt <sup>həɪ</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>həɪ</sup>	awət <sup>həɪ</sup>	jat <sup>həɪ</sup>	de:t <sup>həɪ</sup>
2m.sg.	tãĩ	so:wət <sup>he</sup> /sʊttət <sup>he</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>he</sup>	awət <sup>he</sup>	jat <sup>he</sup>	de:t <sup>he</sup>
2f.sg.	tãĩ	so:wət <sup>hɪs</sup> /sʊttət <sup>hɪs</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>hɪs</sup>	awət <sup>hɪs</sup>	jat <sup>hɪs</sup>	de:t <sup>hɪs</sup>
2m.pl.	tu/tʊn <sup>hənnə</sup>	so:wət <sup>həɪ</sup> /sʊttət <sup>həɪ</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>həɪ</sup>	awət <sup>həɪ</sup>	jat <sup>həɪ</sup>	de:t <sup>həɪ</sup>
2f.pl.	tu/tʊn <sup>hənnə</sup>	so:wət <sup>hu</sup> /sʊttət <sup>hu</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>hu</sup>	awət <sup>hu</sup>	jat <sup>hu</sup>	de:t <sup>hu</sup>
3m.sg.	u	so:wət <sup>həɪ</sup> /sʊttət <sup>həɪ</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>həɪ</sup>	awət <sup>həɪ</sup>	jat <sup>həɪ</sup>	de:t <sup>həɪ</sup>
3f.sg.	u	so:wət <sup>hi</sup> /sʊttət <sup>hi</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>hi</sup>	awət <sup>hi</sup>	jat <sup>hi</sup>	de:t <sup>hi</sup>
3m.pl.	wəɪ/wəɪn <sup>hənnə</sup>	so:wət <sup>hən</sup> /sʊttət <sup>hən</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>hən</sup>	awət <sup>hən</sup>	jat <sup>hən</sup>	de:t <sup>hən</sup>
3f.pl.	wəɪ/wəɪn <sup>hənnə</sup>	so:wət <sup>hɪn</sup> /sʊttət <sup>hɪn</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>hɪn</sup>	awət <sup>hɪn</sup>	jat <sup>hɪn</sup>	de:t <sup>hɪn</sup>

(14) presents an example pointing to the absence of distinction of the habitual and progressive aspects in Azamgarhi. The first event of the subject of (eating *laddoos* and) drinking milk is in the habitual aspect, whereas the second event of him becoming fat is in the progressive aspect; both the clauses are separated by a co-relative adverb. Formally, the two aspects aren't distinguished and, consequently, marked by the (same) imperfective IS /-ət<sup>həɪ</sup>/.

- (14) kəhəɪ,            “b<sup>h</sup>əɪya            leɖɖu            k<sup>h</sup>ake:            dud<sup>h</sup>            piət<sup>həɪ</sup>,  
kəh-əɪ            b<sup>h</sup>əɪya            leɖɖu            k<sup>h</sup>a=ke:            dud<sup>h</sup>            pi-ət<sup>həɪ</sup>  
say-IRR1.3SG   e.brother(M)   laddoo(M)   eat=CNJ   milk(F)   drink-IPFV:PRS.M  
təbbəɪ            mo:ʈa            mo:ʈa            ho:t<sup>həɪ</sup>!”  
təbbəɪ            mo:ʈ-a            mo:ʈ-a            ho:-ət<sup>həɪ</sup>  
then:EM.R   fat-MSG   fat-MSG   be.PRS-IPFV:PRS.M

‘She (the girl) said, “Brother eats *laddoos* and drinks milk, that’s why he’s becoming so fat!”’  
(Prince & Stepmother: 30)



In Azamgarhi, the past imperfective tense, or just the imperfect tense, denotes a (progressive) event taking place in a past time frame. Unlike the present imperfective, the constructions in past imperfective tense only encode the progressive aspect, whereas the habitual aspect is encoded by irrealis1 mood form, discussed later in §5.5.3.3. Examples (16) and (17) present continuing events anterior to the time of speech.

- (16) *əʋr ihəĩ e:kʰo: rajkəmar rəha, u cəppəl le:ke:*  
 əʋr ihəĩ e:k=ʰo: rajkəmar rəh-a u cəppəl le:=ke:  
 and here:EM.R one=CLF prince(M) be.PST-3MSG 3DISTS footwear(M) take=CNJ  
*əpəna dek<sup>h</sup>awət rəha ki cəppəl ke:ka*  
 əpən-a de:k<sup>h</sup>-a-w-ət rəh-a ki cəppəl ke:-k-a  
 self-MSG see-VM-IT-IPFV be.PST-3MSG COMP footwear(M) who-GEN-MSG  
*həl.*  
 həɪ  
 be.PRS.SG

‘And here was a prince with the sandal with him, showing (and asking) as to whose sandal it is.’ (Sheherbano: 16)

- (17) *to: u kəhen ki, “cəla, t<sup>h</sup>ik həɪ,” to: əcc<sup>h</sup>a,*  
 to: u kəh-en ki cəl-a t<sup>h</sup>ik həɪ to: əcc<sup>h</sup>-a  
 so 3DISTS say-PFV.TR.3PL COMP walk-IMP.PL fine be.PRS.SG so okay  
*ʋt<sup>h</sup>in to: əpəna k<sup>h</sup>ana pani k<sup>h</sup>aen— u*  
 ʋt<sup>h</sup>-in to: əpən-a k<sup>h</sup>ana+pani k<sup>h</sup>a-en u  
 get.up-PFV.INTR.3FSG so self-MSG food(M)+water(M) eat-PFV.TR.3PL 3DISTS  
*ləɾkəwa sənət rəha.*  
 ləɾk-a-wa sən-ət rəh-a  
 child-ML-DEF1 hear-IPFV be.PST-3MSG

‘Then she said, “Okay, fine,” then she got up, had her meal—that boy was listening (all the while).’ (Prince & Stepmother: 39)

### 5.5.2.3 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect in Azamgarhi is encoded by the perfective participle constructed by attaching suffixes to the verb stem according to the inflection information for person, number, and gender. Like Hindustani, Azmagarhi displays a different pattern for intransitive and transitive verbs in the perfective aspect, albeit a major difference between the two is the morpho-syntactic alignment. While Hindustani shows an ergative-absolutive alignment in perfective aspect with the transitive verbs agreeing with the object rather

than the subject, Azamgarhi follows the conventional nominative-accusative alignment with subject agreement marked on the verb. However, the difference between the inflection paradigm for intransitive and transitive Azamgarhi verbs lies in the conjugation of the verb, i.e., the intransitive and transitive verbs conjugate morphologically on a different pattern. Not only this, but the perfective participles constructed in the two different combinations with tenses (present and past, see sub-sections below) differ significantly from that in the perfective aspect without any tense combination, thereby making the verb conjugation system of the language much unpredictable and complex. This type of dichotomy in the verb conjugation based on its transitivity is a remarkable feature of Eastern Hindi languages. Table 5.12 below illustrates the different conjugation of perfective participles of the Azamgarhi intransitive and transitive verbs. The intransitive verbs *so:wai/sottai* ‘to sleep’, *awai* ‘to come’, and *jae* ‘to go’ in their perfective (participle) form can be observed to conjugate differently than the transitive verbs *k<sup>h</sup>ae* ‘to eat’ and *de:wai* ‘to give’. Also, notice the perfective non-active TF *-n* occurring in the conjugations of the anticausativized non-active verb stem *dek<sup>h</sup>a* ‘appear’.

Table 5.12: Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in the perfective aspect

PNG	Pronoun	<i>so:/sött</i> ‘sleep’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘eat’	<i>a</i> ‘come’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>de:</i> ‘give’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘show’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘appear’
1sg.	<i>māi</i>	<i>so:ũ/söttũ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aeũ</i>	<i>aũ</i>	<i>gəũ</i>	<i>diheũ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aeũ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>anũ</i>
1pl.	<i>həm/həmənne:</i>	<i>so:ē:/söttē:</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aē:</i>	<i>aē:</i>	<i>gəē:</i>	<i>dihē:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aē:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>anē:</i>
2m.sg.	<i>tāi</i>	<i>so:e:/sötte:</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>gəe</i>	<i>dihe:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ane:</i>
2f.sg.	<i>tāi</i>	<i>so:is/söttis</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>ais</i>	<i>gəis</i>	<i>dihe:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>anis</i>
2m.pl.	<i>tu/tən<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:e:/sötte:</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>gəe</i>	<i>dihe:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ane:</i>
2f.pl.	<i>tu/tən<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:u/söttu</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>gəu</i>	<i>dihe:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>anu</i>
3m.sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:wa/sötta</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aes</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>gəwa</i>	<i>dihes</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aes</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ana</i>
3f.sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:i/sötti</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aes</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>gəi</i>	<i>dihes</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aes</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ani</i>
3m.pl.	<i>wai/tən<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:en/sötten</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aen</i>	<i>aen</i>	<i>gəen</i>	<i>dihen</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aen</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>anen</i>
3f.pl.	<i>wai/tən<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:in/söttin</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aen</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>gəin</i>	<i>dihen</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aen</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>anin</i>

As previously stated in §5.5 that the three verbs, viz. *kər-ai* ‘to do’, *le:-wai* ‘to take’,

and *de:-wəɪ* ‘to give’, employ a somewhat different stem in their “realis” conjugations, i.e., perfect and future imperative. From Table 5.12, we observe that in its perfective form, the stem *de:-* is replaced by the realis stem *dih-* formed by ablauting, to which the various perfective IS, encoding subject agreement, are added. On a similar account, *kəɾ-* and *le:-* become *kih-* and *lih-*, respectively. Also, from the same table, notice the stem *ja-* ‘go’ being replaced by a completely different stem *gə-* in the perfective—a well-attested suppletive phenomenon in almost all the I-A languages. Recall from §5.5.1 that this suppletion in Azamgarhi is also attested in the case of the copula. However, this stem change seen in the copula and *ja-* ‘go’ (suppletion) is different from the stem change seen in those three verbs (ablaut). This difference is not just on account of the distinct morphological processes involved in stem change, but also the fact that the stem replacement in the former two is just restricted to the perfective, as the non-suppleted or original stem is used in future imperatives, cf. *ja-e* ‘go-IMP.SG.FUT’ and not *gə-e*, and similarly *ho:-yəɪ* ‘be-IMP.PL.FUT’ and not *b<sup>h</sup>ə-yəɪ* (refer to §5.5.3.2, the section on future imperative moods for details). This means that the two stems that undergo suppletion are just “perfective” stems, whereas the three stems that undergo ablaut are “realis” used for perfect as well as future imperative conjugations.

In the transitive verbs, the gender agreement is neutralized in the case of the third person, while in that of the second person, all the agreement features are lost, whereby the verb is marked by the common perfective marker */-e:/*. The most prominent distinguishing feature of the Awadhic languages from the Bihari languages, chiefly Bhojpuri, is that in the latter, the perfective is marked separately by */-l/*, followed by the suffix encoding subject agreement. On the contrary, there is no such separate marker in the Awadhic languages, including Azamgarhi, and tense and aspect cannot be separated from the agreement, cf. Azamgarhi *de:k<sup>h</sup>-en* see-PFV.TR.3PL ‘they saw’, Awadhi *de:k<sup>h</sup>-in(i)* see-PFV.TR.3PL ‘they saw’, and Bhojpuri *dek<sup>h</sup>-əl-ē:* see-PFV-3PL ‘they saw’.

(18) and (19) are examples of perfective aspects wherein the markers for the same are different in intransitive and transitive verbs. In (18), we can clearly observe that though the subject in the first two clauses is the same, the intransitive verb *so:* ‘sleep’ is marked



Table 5.13: Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in present tense and perfective aspect

PNG	Pronoun	<i>so:/sɔtt</i> ‘sleep’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘eat’	<i>a</i> ‘come’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>de:</i> ‘give’
1m.sg.	<i>mãĩ</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: hũ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae hũ</i>	<i>ae hũ</i>	<i>gæ hũ</i>	<i>dihe: hũ</i>
1f.sg.	<i>mãĩ</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: hũ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae hũ</i>	<i>ai hũ</i>	<i>gæi hũ</i>	<i>dihe: hũ</i>
1pl.	<i>həm/həmənne:</i>	<i>so:ẽ:/sɔttẽ: həɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aẽ: həɪ</i>	<i>aẽ: həɪ</i>	<i>gæẽ: həɪ</i>	<i>dihẽ: həɪ</i>
2m.sg.	<i>tãĩ</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: həɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae həɪ</i>	<i>ae həɪ</i>	<i>gæ həɪ</i>	<i>dihe: həɪ</i>
2f.sg.	<i>tãĩ</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti həɪs</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae həɪs</i>	<i>ai həɪs</i>	<i>gæi həɪs</i>	<i>dihe: həɪs</i>
2m.pl.	<i>tu/tɔn<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: ha</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae ha</i>	<i>ae ha</i>	<i>gæ ha</i>	<i>dihe: ha</i>
2f.pl.	<i>tu/tɔn<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti ha</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae ha</i>	<i>ai ha</i>	<i>gæi ha</i>	<i>dihe: ha</i>
3m.sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:wa/sɔtta həɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aes həɪ</i>	<i>awa həɪ</i>	<i>gəwa həɪ</i>	<i>dihes həɪ</i>
3f.sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti həɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aes həɪ</i>	<i>ai həɪ</i>	<i>gæi həɪ</i>	<i>dihes həɪ</i>
3m.pl.	<i>wəɪ/ɔn<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:en/sɔtten həɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aen həɪ</i>	<i>aen həɪ</i>	<i>gæn həɪ</i>	<i>dihen həɪ</i>
3f.pl.	<i>wəɪ/ɔn<sup>h</sup>ənnə:</i>	<i>so:ɪn/sɔttɪn həɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aen həɪ</i>	<i>aɪn həɪ</i>	<i>gəɪn həɪ</i>	<i>dihen həɪ</i>

We look at an episode from the story of a prince and his stepmother, where the queen summons the washerwoman and asks about the missing *laddoos* kept wrapped in the clothes. (20) is the washerwoman’s reply to the queen’s question.

- (20) *d<sup>h</sup>o:bi*                      *ai,*                      *to: kəhəɪ*                      *ki,*                      “*hã mai,*  
*d<sup>h</sup>o:bi-m*                      *a-i*                      *to: kəh-əɪ*                      *ki*                      *hã mai*  
 washerman(M)-FML    come-PFV.INTR.F    so    say-IRR1.3SG    COMP    yes    mother(F)  
*həm to:    kəpɽəwa    ləɪ    gæẽ:*                      *həmre:*  
*həm=to:    kəpɽa-wa    ləɪ    gæ-ẽ:*                      *həm-r-e:*  
 1HON=TOP    cloth(M)-DEF1    take\ABS    go.PFV-PFV.INTR.1PL    1HON-GEN-OBL  
*mehman aen*                      *hãĩ,*                      *həm    leɽɽu    jəʋn*  
*mehman a-en*                      *hãĩ*                      *həm    leɽɽu    jəʋn*  
 guest(M)    come-PFV.INTR.3MPL    be.PRS.PL    1HON    laddoo(M)    which.REL  
*həɪ,*                      *əpəne: mehman ka    k<sup>h</sup>ɪla dihẽ:.”*  
*həɪ                      əpən-e: mehman=ka    k<sup>h</sup>ɪla dih-ẽ:*  
 be.PRS.SG    self-MPL    guest(M)=DAT    feed    give\RLS-PFV.TR.

‘When the washerwoman came, she said, “Yes madam, I took the clothes. Guests have come to my house, so I fed (those) *laddoos* to my guests.”’

(Prince & Stepmother: 33)

On observing its structure, we notice that the first sentence and the second clause of the

second sentence are in the perfective aspect. In contrast, the first clause of the second sentence is in the perfective aspect but is expressed in combination with the present tense. This signals that guests are still present at the speaker's house at the time of the speech, and she feeds the *laddoos* to them (at an undefined time) before coming to the queen's place. The verb *a* 'come' if constructed in past perfect tense would indicate that the guests have left, and a simple perfective construction would leave their departure (i.e., the completion of the effect of the event) implicit, just like the feeding of *laddoos*.

**5.5.2.3.2 Perfective Aspect and Past Tense (Past Perfect or Preterite)** The past perfect is a verbal construction wherein the action or event that occurred prior to a contextually aforementioned time in the past. On a pattern similar to the formation of present perfect, the present perfect in Azamgarhi is constructed with the combination of the perfect participle and the past copula. The inflectional paradigm of select Azamgarhi verbs in past perfect tense is presented in Table 5.14 below.

Table 5.14: Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in past tense and perfective aspect

PNG	Pronoun	<i>so:/sɔtt</i> 'sleep'	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'eat'	<i>a</i> 'come'	<i>ja</i> 'go'	<i>de:</i> 'give'
1m.sg.	<i>mãĩ</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: rəhũ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhũ</i>	<i>ae rəhũ</i>	<i>gæ rəhũ</i>	<i>dihe: rəhũ</i>
1f.sg.	<i>mãĩ</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti rəhũ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhũ</i>	<i>ai rəhũ</i>	<i>gæ rəhũ</i>	<i>dihe: rəhũ</i>
1pl.	<i>həm/həmənne:</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: rəhē:</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhē:</i>	<i>ae rəhē:</i>	<i>gæ rəhē:</i>	<i>dihe: rəhē:</i>
2m.sg.	<i>tãĩ</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: rəhe:</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhe:</i>	<i>ae rəhe:</i>	<i>gæ rəhe:</i>	<i>dihe: rəhe:</i>
2f.sg.	<i>tãĩ</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti rəhɪs</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhɪs</i>	<i>ai rəhɪs</i>	<i>gæi rəhɪs</i>	<i>dihe: rəhɪs</i>
2m.pl.	<i>tu/tɔn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: rəhe:</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhe:</i>	<i>ae rəhe:</i>	<i>gæ rəhe:</i>	<i>dihe: rəhe:</i>
2f.pl.	<i>tu/tɔn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti rəhu</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhu</i>	<i>ai rəhu</i>	<i>gæi rəhu</i>	<i>dihe: rəhu</i>
3m.sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:wa/sɔtta rəha</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəha</i>	<i>awa rəha</i>	<i>gəwa rəha</i>	<i>dihe: rəha</i>
3f.sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti rəhi</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhi</i>	<i>ai rəhi</i>	<i>gæi rəhi</i>	<i>dihe: rəhi</i>
3m.pl.	<i>wəI/ɔn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>so:e/sɔtte: rəhen</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhen</i>	<i>ae rəhen</i>	<i>gæ rəhen</i>	<i>dihe: rəhen</i>
3f.pl.	<i>wəI/ɔn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti rəhɪn</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae rəhɪn</i>	<i>ai rəhɪn</i>	<i>gæi rəhɪn</i>	<i>dihe: rəhɪn</i>

In example (21) from the story of Sheherbano, the result of the event of the prince, the speaker of the utterance, taking the girl's footwear with himself can be noticed in his

recalling of the event on having seen her again. However, since the event took place anterior to the implicitly specified timeframe, the footwear could be said not to be with the speaker at the time of the speech, unlike the present perfect wherein the possibility would indeed exist.

- (21) *to: rajkɔmar egdəm hɔɪrət mē: pəɭ gæən ki,*  
*to: rajkɔmar egdəm hɔɪrət=mē: pəɭ gə-en ki*  
 so prince(M) absolutely amazement(F)=INESS fall GO.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MPL COMP  
*“i to: u ləɾki hɔɪ je:ka həm cəppəl*  
*i=to: u ləɾk-i hɔɪ je:-k-a həm cəppəl*  
 3PRXS=TOP 3DISTS child-FML be.PRS.SG who.REL-GEN-MSG 1HON footwear(M)  
*le: gæ rəhē:!”*  
*le: gə-e: rəh-ē:*  
 take GO.PFV-PFV.INTR.M be.PST-1PL  
 ‘The prince was in complete shock, (wondering), “This is that girl whose sandal I took along!”’ (Sheherbano)

From a careful observation of the paradigm for a few select verbs in Azamgarhi illustrated in Table 5.12, Table 5.13, and Table 5.14, we notice that the perfective participles in all the three sets considerably differ from each other. The conjugated form of the participles in these three tables is consolidated and presented in Table 5.15 below. In the case of the intransitive verb, we observe from the table that the perfective participles in the forms constructed with the combination of tense, referred to as *i2* in the case of present and *i3* in the case of past, both differ from the basic perfective participle (referred to *i1*), at the same time differing with each other. In *i2*, /-ɪs/, the marker for 2FSG in *i1* and elsewhere, strikingly appears on the copula (here auxiliary) rather than the participle. Note that /-ɪs/ never appears in the copula construction, i.e., *hɔɪs* is an unacceptable inflected form of the copula in Azamgarhi. On the other hand, in the scenario of the transitive verb, it is observed that *t1* and *t2* are by and large the same, except in the first person where *t1* is *de:k<sup>h</sup>e:ũ* and *t2* is *de:k<sup>h</sup>e:*. Interestingly, *t3* does not inflect for any sort of agreement, and as a result, ends in /-e:/ throughout the verbal paradigm, as can be noticed from Table 5.15. Thus, here the inflections for PNG agreement can only be deciphered from the accompanying auxiliary.

Table 5.15: Different conjugations of the participle in different perfective forms of the verbs *bəɪtʰ* ‘sit’ and *de:kʰ* ‘see’

PNG	Perfective participle of itr. verb			Perfective participle of tr. verb		
	i1	i2	i3	t1	t2	t3
1m.sg.	<i>bəɪtʰũ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: hũ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: rəhũ</i>	<i>de:kʰeũ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: hũ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhũ</i>
1f.sg.	<i>bəɪtʰũ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi hũ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi rəhũ</i>	<i>de:kʰeũ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: hũ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhũ</i>
1pl.	<i>bəɪtʰē:</i>	<i>bəɪtʰē: həɪ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: rəhē:</i>	<i>de:kʰē:</i>	<i>de:kʰē: həɪ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhē:</i>
2m.sg.	<i>bəɪtʰe:</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: həɪ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: rəhe:</i>	<i>de:kʰe:</i>	<i>de:kʰe: həɪ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhe:</i>
2f.sg.	<i>bəɪtʰɪs</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi həɪs</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi rəhɪs</i>	<i>de:kʰe:</i>	<i>de:kʰe: həɪs</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhɪs</i>
2m.pl.	<i>bəɪtʰe:</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: ha</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: rəhe:</i>	<i>de:kʰe:</i>	<i>de:kʰe: ha</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhe:</i>
2f.pl.	<i>bəɪtʰu</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi ha</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi rəhu</i>	<i>de:kʰe:</i>	<i>de:kʰe: ha</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhu</i>
3m.sg.	<i>bəɪtʰa</i>	<i>bəɪtʰa həɪ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰa rəha</i>	<i>de:kʰes</i>	<i>de:kʰes həɪ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəha</i>
3f.sg.	<i>bəɪtʰi</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi həɪ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi rəhi</i>	<i>de:kʰes</i>	<i>de:kʰes həɪ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhi</i>
3m.pl.	<i>bəɪtʰen</i>	<i>bəɪtʰen həɪ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰe: rəhen</i>	<i>de:kʰen</i>	<i>de:kʰen həɪ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhen</i>
3f.pl.	<i>bəɪtʰɪn</i>	<i>bəɪtʰɪn həɪ</i>	<i>bəɪtʰi rəhɪn</i>	<i>de:kʰen</i>	<i>de:kʰen həɪ</i>	<i>de:kʰe: rəhɪn</i>

### 5.5.3 Mood

Azamgarhi has four mood suffixes, all of which encode mood, person, and number agreement. These suffixes mark not only the end of a verb component but also the verbal predicate, i.e., no suffixes, auxiliary, or another verb can follow these suffixes. In addition to these mood suffixes, Azamgarhi verbs encode modal information through periphrastic phrases consisting of an inflected main verb plus auxiliary. Three mood suffixes need the irrealis TF when they attach to marked verb bases, while the future imperative, as we know, does not.

#### 5.5.3.1 Imperative

Azamgarhi has a pair of imperative mood suffixes—singular imperative and plural imperative marker /-a/. The plural imperative suffixes are also used as a polite form for a single person. In the case of the singular imperative, the bare verb base is itself the singular imperative, with two exceptions: *ja* ‘go’ and *kʰa* ‘eat’. This is because the sin-

gular imperative in these two cases are formed by ablaut, i.e., *jo:* ‘go\IMP.SG’ and *k<sup>h</sup>o:* ‘eat\IMP.SG’; whereas the *ja* ‘go’ and *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘eat’ in their bare form are used as plural imperatives.

(22) provides an example of the polite imperative form exhibiting plural/honorific agreement, used by the hen while addressing the python in the story of the hen and python.

- (22) *mʋrgia*            *kəhəɪ*,            “*t<sup>h</sup>ik* *həɪ*,            *cəla*,            *tu*    *həmre:*  
*mʋrg-i-ya*            *kəh-əɪ*            *t<sup>h</sup>ik* *həɪ*            *cəl-a*            *tu*    *həm-r-e:*  
 fowl-FML-DEF2    say-IRR1.3SG    fine    be.PRS.SG    walk-IMP.PL    2HON    1HON-GEN-OBL  
*do:s*    *ha*,            *to: ja!*”  
*do:s*    *ha*            *to: ja*  
 friend be.PRS.2PL so go  
 ‘The hen said, “Alright, you’re my friend, so go ahead!”            (Hen & python: 6)

### 5.5.3.2 Future Imperative

In addition to the pair of imperative mood markers described above in §5.5.3.1, which are generally used in the present tense, there exists in Azamgarhi a pair of imperative mood suffixes that presents a command or a request to be executed or acted upon later on in a future time frame. This pair includes the singular future imperative marker /-e:/ and plural future imperative marker /-əɪ/ that is also used as a polite form for a single person.

The future imperative can be understood from (23), an excerpt from the story of a couple where a couple is fighting over one extra *roti*. For that, the husband and wife finally settle over the point that whoever speaks later will get it. They lie down and silently keep staring at each other, and three days pass like this. The villagers, searching them, go to their house, and upon seeing them, thought them to be dead. They then wrap them in a shroud and take them to the crematory. When the pyre is ignited, the husband finally asks the wife to get up and come home—an immediate command/request. The non-immediate command/request is encoded in the verb *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘eat’ where the man asks the woman to eat that extra *roti* (when they reach home).

- (23) *təb mərda kəhət<sup>hə</sup> ki, “cəl re: səsɔra, cəl.*  
*təb mərəd-wa kəh-ət<sup>hə</sup> ki cəl=re: səsɔr-wa cəl*  
 then husband-DEF1 say-IPFV:PRS.M COMP walk=VOC f.in.law(M)-DEF1 walk  
*təhĩ du roʃia k<sup>h</sup>ae. mǎ əb har gəũ.*  
*təhĩ du ro:ʃi-ya k<sup>h</sup>a-e: mǎ əb har gə-ũ*  
 2SG:EM.A two roti(F)-DEF2 eat-FUT.IMP.SG 1SG now lost go.PFV-PFV.INTR.1SG  
*cəl ɔʃ<sup>h</sup>!*  
*cəl ɔʃ<sup>h</sup>*  
 walk get.up  
 ‘Then (finally) the husband says, “Come on, man, come on. You eat two *rotis* yourself. I’ve lost now. Come on, get up!’” (A couple: 10)

In (24), an excerpt from the story of a prince and his stepmother, all the imperative forms can be seen to be in the future imperative as the cow directs the boy to perform some tasks later on so that she may escape from getting slaughtered.

- (24) *to: kəhəi, “kəɔno: bat na. sam ke: jəb*  
*to: kəh-əi kəwən-o: bat na sam=k-e: jəb*  
 so say-IRR1.3SG which-INDF talk(F) NEG evening(F)=GEN-OBL when.REL  
*ban<sup>h</sup>əi, tə həmri rəssi ɖ<sup>h</sup>ili kər dihəi.*  
*ban<sup>h</sup>-əi tə həm-r-i rəssi ɖ<sup>h</sup>il-i kər dih-əi*  
 tie-FUT.IMP.PL so 1HON-GEN-F rope(F) loose-F do give\RLS-FUT.IMP.PL  
*tũhĩ ke: jəgəihē: kəsai jəb*  
*tũhĩ=ke: jəg-a-w-ihē: kəsai jəb*  
 2HON:EM.R=DAT be.awake-VM-IT-FUT.3PL butcher(M) when.REL  
*ai kaʃəi k<sup>h</sup>atır. tə jəb həm b<sup>h</sup>əgbəi, tu*  
*a-i kaʃ-əi=k<sup>h</sup>atır tə jəb həm b<sup>h</sup>ag-ıbəi tu*  
 come-PFV.INTR.F cut-INF=BEN so when.REL 1HON run-FUT.1PL 2HON  
*həmre: pic<sup>h</sup>e: pic<sup>h</sup>e: b<sup>h</sup>agət cəle:*  
*həm-r-e: pic<sup>h</sup>e: pic<sup>h</sup>e: b<sup>h</sup>ag-ət cəl-e:*  
 1HON-GEN-OBL behind.OBL behind.OBL run-IPFV walk-PFV.INTR.M  
*ayəi.”*  
*a-əi*  
 come-FUT.IMP.PL

‘So she (the cow) said, “Never mind. When you tie (me) up in the evening, slacken my rope. You will be the one whom they’ll wake up when the butcher arrives to slaughter. Then when I shall run, you come running behind me.”’

(Prince & Stepmother: 46)

Notice that here, unlike (5.5.3.1) above, the imperatives are in the plural/polite form, and since the stem of the verb *a-w-əi* ‘to come’ ends in a vowel, an epenthetic glide *-y*, is inserted between the stem and the polite future imperative marker */-əi/*. This is

to distinguish the same from the singular/non-polite imperative marker /-e:/, as both would be neutralized to /e/ as per the rules set by the Azamgarhi phonology.

### 5.5.3.3 Irrealis1 (Subjunctive and Past Habitual)

In the Azamgarhi interlinear examples, the markers glossed as IRR1 ‘irrealis1’ broadly encode the subjunctive mood, and the same is also used for the habitual aspect constructed in the past tense. For this reason, the IS encoding those two forms (along with agreement) are labeled as “irrealis1” mood suffixes. Table 5.16 presents the paradigm for irrealis1 mood markers with a few selected verbs. Note that the imperative forms in Azamgarhi overlap with the irrealis1—specifically the subjunctive essence—constructions for the second person, as can be seen in the table.

Table 5.16: Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in irrealis1 mood

PNG	Pronoun	<i>so:/sɔtt</i> ‘sleep’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘eat’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>de:</i> ‘give’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘ap-pear’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘show’
1sg.	<i>mãĩ</i>	<i>so:ũ/sɔttũ</i> /so:-w-ũ/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aũ</i>	<i>jaũ</i>	<i>dũ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aũ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ũ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aũ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ũ/
1pl.	<i>həm/həmənne:</i>	<i>so:i/sɔtti</i> /so:-w-i/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ai</i>	<i>jai</i>	<i>de:i</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ai</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-i/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ai</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-i/
2sg.	<i>tãĩ</i>	<i>so:/sɔtt</i> /so:-w/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>o:</i>	<i>jo:</i>	<i>de:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ao</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w/
2pl.	<i>tu/tɔn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>so:wa/sɔtta</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>dəɪ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-a/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>awa</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-a/
3sg.	<i>u</i>	<i>so:wəɪ/sɔttəɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>jae</i>	<i>dəɪ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ae</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>awəɪ</i>
3pl.	<i>wəɪ/tɔn<sup>h</sup>ənne:</i>	<i>so:wəɪ/sɔttəɪ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aẽ:</i>	<i>jaẽ:</i>	<i>dəɪ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aẽ:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>awəɪ</i>

In the irrealis1 mood form, (25), (26), and (27) are examples of the broader subjunctive mood in Azamgarhi that covers several other closely related mood forms.

- (25) *to: kəhen,*                      “əb ka kəri?”  
*to: kəh-en*                      əb ka kər-i  
 so say-PFV.TR.3PL now what do-IRR1.1PL  
 ‘So (he) said, “Now, what do I do?”’

(Sheherbano: 21)

- (26) *p<sup>h</sup>ir kəhāĩ,           “həm de:k<sup>h</sup>i!”*  
*p<sup>h</sup>ir kəh-āĩ           həm de:k<sup>h</sup>-i*  
 then say-IRR1.3PL 1HON see-IRR1.1PL  
 ‘Then (she) said, “Let me see!”’ (Sheherbano: 52)

In (27), a line from the story of a prince and his stepmother, the cow supplicates to God to give her speech so that she may enquire the reason behind the child’s crying. The verb ‘give’ addressed to God is in the subjunctive form where it overlaps with imperative, as mentioned previously.

- (27) *həmməi zəban   de: to: i   ləɽka se:   həm bat   kəri.*  
*həmməi zəban   de: to: i   ləɽk-a=se:   həm bat   kər-i*  
 1HON:DAT speech(F) give so 3PRXS child-ML=ABL 1HON talk(F) do-IRR1.1PL  
 ‘Give me speech so that I may talk to this boy.’ (Prince & Stepmother: 17)

As previously explained in §5.5.2.2 that when the broader imperfective aspect in Azamgarhi (consisting of habitual as well as progressive aspects in it) is referenced in a past time frame, only the progressive denotation was attested, as the irrealis1 mood form addressed that case. In their non-subjunctive use, the irrealis1 mood markers are pretty common in narratives as they denote an activity or event taking place habitually in a fairly remote past. This is very similar to the English irrealis auxiliary *would* or the periphrastic construction *used to*, as can be inferred from the English translations of the Azamgarhi examples (28) and (29).

- (28) *əb u— səteli mā   jəvn   rəhi— feherbano: ka   bəhət*  
*əb u   səteli-i mā   jəvn   rəh-i   feherbano:=ka   bəhət*  
 now 3DISTS step-F mother(F) which.REL be.PST-F Sheherbano=DAT very  
*sətawəi,           əpəni ləɽki ka   bəhət manəi.*  
*səta-w-əi           əpən-i ləɽk-i=ka   bəhət man-əi*  
 trouble-IT-IRR1.3SG self-F child-FML=DAT very coddle-IRR1.3SG  
 ‘Now she—the stepmother—would trouble Sheherbano a lot and coddle her own daughter a lot.’ (Sheherbano: 11)



Table 5.17: Inflectional paradigm of a few Azamgarhi verbs in irrealis2 mood

PNG	<i>so:/sɔtt</i> ‘sleep’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘eat’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>de:</i> ‘give’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘appear’	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘show’
1sg.	<i>so:tũ/sɔtətũ</i> /so:-w-tũ/sɔtt-tũ/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>atũ</i>	<i>jatũ</i>	<i>de:tũ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əstũ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-tũ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>atũ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-tũ/
1pl.	<i>so:tē:/sɔtətē:</i> /so:-w-tē:/sɔtt-tē:/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>atē:</i>	<i>jatē:</i>	<i>de:tē:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əstē:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-tē:/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>atē:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-tē:/
2m.sg.	<i>so:te:/sɔtəte:</i> /so:-w-te:/sɔtt-te:/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ate:</i>	<i>jate:</i>	<i>de:te:</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əste:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-te:/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ate:</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-te:/
2f.sg.	<i>so:tɪs/sɔtətɪs</i> /so:-w-tɪs/sɔtt-tɪs/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>atɪs</i>	<i>jatɪs</i>	<i>de:tɪs</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əstɪs</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-tɪs/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>atɪs</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-tɪs/
2m.pl.	<i>so:təɪ/sɔtətəɪ</i> /so:-w-təɪ/sɔtt-təɪ/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>atəɪ</i>	<i>jatəɪ</i>	<i>de:təɪ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əstəɪ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-təɪ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>atəɪ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-təɪ/
2f.pl.	<i>so:tu/sɔtətu</i> /so:-w-tu/sɔtt-tu/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>atu</i>	<i>jatū</i>	<i>de:tu</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əstu</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-tu/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>atu</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-tu/
3m.sg.	<i>so:təɪ/sɔtətəɪ</i> /so:-w-təɪ/sɔtt-təɪ/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>atəɪ</i>	<i>jatəɪ</i>	<i>de:təɪ</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əstəɪ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-təɪ/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>atəɪ</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-təɪ/
3f.sg.	<i>so:ti/sɔtəti</i> /so:-w-ti/sɔtt-ti/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ati</i>	<i>jati</i>	<i>de:ti</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əsti</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ti/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>ati</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ti/
3m.pl.	<i>so:ten/sɔtəten</i> /so:-w-ten/sɔtt-ten/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aten</i>	<i>jaten</i>	<i>de:ten</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əsten</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-ten/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>aten</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-ten/
3f.pl.	<i>so:tɪn/sɔtətɪn</i> /so:-w-tɪn/sɔtt-tɪn/	<i>k<sup>h</sup>atɪn</i>	<i>jatɪn</i>	<i>de:tɪn</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>əstɪn</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-w-tɪn/	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>atɪn</i> /de:k <sup>h</sup> -a-tɪn/

Recall a note from §5.5 that instead of the stress borne by the irrealis2 suffixes themselves, the combination of the TF /-w/ and the irrealis2 suffixes bears stress, thereby phonologically reducing the verb base (cf. the last two columns of the above table).

Example (30) is a counterfactual sentence encoding conditional mood constructed in the past tense. It is only in this tense that Azamgarhi encodes the conditional mood through irrealis2 markers.

- (30) *to: əzdəhwa ki niət o:ki təndərərəsti de:k<sup>h</sup>ke*  
*to: əzdəha-wa=k-i niət o:k-i təndərərəsti de:k<sup>h</sup>=ke:*  
 so python(M)-DEF1=GEN-F intention(F) 3DISTS.OBL-GEN-F wellness(F) see=CNJ  
*k<sup>h</sup>ərab ho:ɪ gəi ki, “e:ka həm k<sup>h</sup>ae*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ərab ho:-ɪ gə-i ki e:=ka həm k<sup>h</sup>a-ɪ*  
*bad be.PRS-ABS go.PFV-PFV.INTR.F COMP 3PRXS.OBL=DAT 1HON eat-ABS*  
*jatē: to: bəɾa bəɾ<sup>h</sup>ɪ̃ä rəha”– mərɟia ka.*  
*ja-tē: to: bəɾa bəɾ<sup>h</sup>ɪ̃ä rəh-a mərɟ-i-ya=ka*  
 go-IRR2.1PL so very nice be.PST-3MSG fowl-FML-DEF2=DAT  
 ‘Then, on seeing how healthy (and plump) the hen was, the python’s intentions turned nefarious, (and he thought), “How great it would be if I ate her”—the hen.’  
 (Hen & python: 4)

From examples (31) and (32)—which contain the assertive/positive as well as negative clauses in the same aspect, i.e., present imperfective—it is inferred that the negative clause has a different form from the positive clause, cf. *ait<sup>h</sup>əɪ* ‘I/we come’ and *na əvtē:* ‘I/we do not come’, \**na ait<sup>h</sup>əɪ*. While the positive clause/sentence is marked with the present imperfective *IS*, its negative counterpart is marked with the *IS* markers use to mark the (past) conditional mood, cf. *mo:ɬat<sup>h</sup>əɪ* with *mo:ɬati*, and *ait<sup>h</sup>əɪ* with *əvtē:*. Thus, the *IS* encoding those two forms (along with agreement) are labeled as “irrealis2” mood suffixes.

- (31) *təb p<sup>h</sup>ɪr, səvte:li mǎ ka bəɾi cəkkər dəbaes ki,*  
*təb p<sup>h</sup>ɪr səvte:l-i mǎ=ka bəɾ-i cəkkər daba-es ki*  
 then then step-F mother(F)=DAT big-F dizziness(M) press-PFV.TR.3SG COMP  
*“kǎhē: həmri ləɾkia na moɬati, ləɾkəwa*  
*kǎhē: həm-r-i ləɾk-i-ya na mo:ɬ-a-ti ləɾk-a-wa*  
 why 1HON-GEN-F child-FML-DEF2 NEG fat-VBLZ-IRR2.3FSG child-ML-DEF1  
*moɬat<sup>h</sup>əɪ, əise:, oise:...”*  
*mo:ɬ-a-ət<sup>h</sup>əɪ əis-e: ois-e:*  
 fat-VBLZ-IPFV:PRS.M like.this-OBL like.that-OBL  
 ‘Then, the step-mother was very baffled, (thinking,) “Why is my daughter not growing fat, (but) the boy is growing (so) fat, like this, like that...”’  
 (Prince & Stepmother: 21)

- (32) *həm əise: kehuke: g<sup>h</sup>ər na əstē:*  
*həm əis-e: kehu-k-e: g<sup>h</sup>ər na a-w-tē:*  
 1HON like.this-OBL anyone-GEN-OBL home(M) NEG come-IT-IRR2.1PL  
*jəb je:ke: g<sup>h</sup>ər awəi cahit<sup>h</sup>əi*  
*jəb je:-k-e: g<sup>h</sup>ər a-w-əi cah-it<sup>h</sup>əi*  
 when.REL who.REL-GEN-OBL home(M) come-IT-INF want-IPFV:PRS.1PL  
*əisehəi aɪt<sup>h</sup>əi— hər rup bədəlke:*  
*əis-e:=əi a-w-it<sup>h</sup>əi hər rup bədəl=ke:*  
 like.this-OBL=EM.R come-IT-IPFV:PRS.1PL every appearance(M) change=CNJ  
*hər b<sup>h</sup>e:s bədəlke:*  
*hər b<sup>h</sup>e:s bədəl=ke:*  
 every disguise(M) change=CNJ

‘I do not come to anyone’s home like this (in my actual form). When I want to come to anyone’s home, I come in this very way—changing (my) every appearance, changing (my) every disguise.’ (God as guest: 15)

Saksena (1971), in his historical grammar of Awadhi, too, notices this type of dichotomy in assertive and negative present imperfective constructions in various varieties of Awadhi, from which he provides some select examples. Notwithstanding his failure to provide the specific environment and supporting reasons, we may want to look at his opinion about them that they “appear as if they were of the Past Conditional”. In his words:

[In these constructions], [t]he auxiliary is uttered with much less emphasis than the principal verb and hence appears to have lost ground in several cases. For instance: Lmp. [Lakhimpur] *tum dekhətiu na:i hiā: ka: hoi ga:* ‘you do not see what has happened here where *dekhətiu* stands for *dekhəti: hΛu*; Fatehpur: *ΛbΛi tum nΛhī janteo* ‘till now you do not know’, Gonda: *hΛm dhio:ti: na:hi: chā:tj sΛkitj* ‘I cannot wash *dhōtī*, *hΛm so:ʃh birΛha: ja:nitj* ‘I know simple *Birahā* (songs), U. [Unnao] *mΛi nΛhī: lΛi sΛktiū* ‘I cannot take’, Allahabad: *hΛm kuchu na:i karəten* ‘I am doing nothing.’ In all these instances the auxiliary has very much modified itself, so that the forms appear as if they were of the Past Conditional.

(Saksena 1971: 274) (bold font changed to italic for linguistic items)

From the above data, except for Gonda, it is observed that all the mentioned varieties of Awadhi treat the negated present imperfective constructions differently from the non-

negated (i.e., original) constructions by deleting the inflected copula and replacing the imperfective suffix (/ətɪ/ or /ɪtɪ/ in the case of 1pl.) on the main verb with the past conditional suffixes.

Before moving on to seeking the explanation behind this interesting phenomenon wherein a particular language treats the negative of one specific aspect differently, we may want to look at an excerpt from Payne's section on "mode" (mood), which he proposes as a continuum between realis and irrealis.

The highest-level distinction in modal operations is between realis and irrealis, though like most conceptual distinctions these terms describe a continuum. A prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true. A prototypical irrealis mode makes no such assertion whatsoever. Irrealis mode does not necessarily assert that an event did not take place or will not take place. It simply makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described. Negative clauses do assert that events or situations do not hold, but these are subject to the same realis-irrealis continuum as are affirmative clauses. [...] Some languages, however, treat all negative clauses as irrealis.

(Payne 1997: 244–45)

If we follow the notion given above, we could say that since the (past) conditional mood stands somewhat closer to the proto-typical irrealis mood in the realis-irrealis continuum, the negated form of the present habitual, which to Azamgarhi speakers seems less irrealis, changes to the more irrealis conditional mood. Thus, some IS can be said to be at a higher position in the realis-irrealis hierarchy than others.

## 5.6 Overview of Non-finite Verb Morphology

### 5.6.1 The infinitive

Azamgarhi verbs have the infinite form  $V\text{-}\partial I$ , i.e., by appending the infinitive marker  $-\partial I$  to the verb stems or “themes” in case marked verbal stems. Therefore, in the latter case, theme formation by appending the irrealis theme formative  $-w$  as discussed earlier in §5.3, is essential before the infinitive marker attaches, as can be noticed from (33).

- (33) *jəb*      *je:ke:*      *g<sup>h</sup>ər*      *awəI*      *cahIt<sup>h</sup>əI*  
*jəb*      *je:k-e:*      *g<sup>h</sup>ər*      *a-w-əI*      *cah-It<sup>h</sup>əI*  
 when.REL    who.REL-GEN-OBL    home(M)    come-IT-INF    want-IPFV:PRS.1PL  
*əisehəI*      *ait<sup>h</sup>əI.*  
*əIS-e:=əI*      *a-w-It<sup>h</sup>əI*  
 like.this-OBL=EM.R    come-IT-IPFV:PRS.1PL  
 ‘When I want to come to anyone’s home, I come in this very way.’  
 (God as guest: 15)

The infinitive marker  $-\partial I$  has an allomorph  $[-e]$  when attaching to bases ending in  $/a/$ , a low vowel. Azamgarhi has lost the direct infinitive form of Awadhi *əb* ( $-\partial b\bar{u}$  in Western Awadhi), which is found in Bhojpuri as well, thereby using what is now the oblique infinitive  $-\partial I$  in Awadhi (and also Western Bhojpuri) for both the direct as well as the oblique infinitival forms, see (33).<sup>8</sup> On the contrary, examples (34) and (35) for illustration of what could be oblique infinitives in Hindustani, Awadhi, and Bhojpuri, are not marked differently from the direct form in Azamgarhi.

- (34) *tūhī ke:*      *jəgərhē:*      *kəsai*      *jəb*  
*tūhī=ke:*      *jag-a-w-ihē:*      *kəsai*      *jəb*  
 2HON:EM.R=DAT    be.awake-VM-IT-FUT.3PL    butcher(M)    when.REL  
*ai*      *kaʈəI k<sup>h</sup>atI.*  
*a-i*      *kaʈ-əI=k<sup>h</sup>atI*  
 come-PFV.INTR.F    cut-INF=BEN  
 ‘You will be the one whom they’ll wake up when the butcher arrives to slaughter.’  
 (Prince & Stepmother: 46)

<sup>8</sup> This change can perhaps be asserted owing to influences from the superstrate language Urdu. A somewhat similar phenomenon is also attested in the case of direct and oblique marked pronouns. However, a much more detailed investigation is surely required before any bold conclusion.



- (37) *tə jəb*      *həm bʰəgbəɪ*,      *tu*      *həmre:*      *picʰe:*      *picʰe:*  
*tə jəb*      *həm bʰag-ɪbəɪ*      *tu*      *həm-r-e:*      *picʰe:*      *picʰe:*  
 so when.REL 1HON run-FUT.1PL 2HON 1HON-GEN-OBL behind.OBL behind.OBL  
*bʰagət*      *cəle:*      *ayəɪ.*”  
*bʰag-ət*      *cəl-e:*      *a-əɪ*  
 run-IPFV walk-PFV.INTR.M come-FUT.IMP.PL  
 ‘Then when I shall run, you come running behind me.’

(Prince & Stepmother: 46)

### 5.6.3 Complex Predicates

As far as what have seen till now, the verb component in Azamgarhi may be composed of a simple (single) verb, or a main verb plus an auxiliary verb (or two in some instances of past tense), see §5.2, §5.5.1, where the construction termed “simple predicate”. Interestingly, in any Azamgarhi text sample, one can notice that simple predicates account for merely far less than half of the total occurrences of a verb phrase in Azamgarhi. The rest of the occurrences are known as complex predicates which mainly comprise of either conjunct verbs (N/Adj + V) or compound verbs (V1 + V2).

#### 5.6.3.1 Compound verbs

In Azamgarhi, just like Hindustani and a few other I-A languages, there are compound verbs that are a highly visible aspect of the grammar of the language and are referred to as explicator compound verbs by Abbi & Gopalakrishnan (1991). They are formed by a Verb + Verb construction, wherein the first verb (also known as the main verb) is in the absolutive or fixed/indeclinable form and the second verb (also known as light verb or vector verb) inflects for TAM and agreement features but is semantically bleached and instead “lends a certain shade of meaning” to the main verb (cf. Snell & Weightman 1989: 154). As for the main verb, almost any verb can act as a main verb. However, there is a limited set of productive light verbs, the commonly occurring ones include *ja* ‘go’, *le:* ‘take’, *de:* ‘give’, *a* ‘come’, *cuk* ‘have (already) completed something’, *gʰal* ‘put’, *bəɪtʰ* ‘sit’, *pəɪ* ‘fall’, *ɔtʰ* ‘rise’, *sək* ‘be able’, besides others. Since, as mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter that as for the non-finite verb morphology due to constraints,

I will only provide an overview or brief accounts. Therefore, a mighty topic such as compound verbs, which also demands a large annotated corpus, will, unfortunately, find no place for a full-fledged description currently in this work. Many examples with compound verb constructions are already presented in this work, so I restrict myself to just one example in (38).

- (38) *o:ka*                      *e:k cəppəl*                      *wəhi*                      *bazar mē:*  
 o:-k-a                      e:k cəppəl                      wəhi                      bazar=mē:  
 3DISTS.OBL-GEN-MSG    one footwear(M)    3DISTS.OBL:EM.R    market(F)=INESS  
*c<sup>h</sup>ʊʈ*                      *gəwa.*  
*c<sup>h</sup>ʊʈ*                      *gə-a*  
 be.let.go    go.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MSG  
 ‘She lost one of her sandals there in the market.’                      (Sheherbano: 14)

### 5.6.3.2 Emphatic compound verbs

One of the distinguishing features of Azamgarhi, along with Awadhi, Bhojpuri, and other Central-Eastern Indo-Aryan languages of the region, from other Indo-Aryan languages having compound verbs, is the presence of another type of compound verbs, which I refer to as “emphatic” compound verbs. Emphatic compound verbs have a V + *kər-* type of construction, wherein V is composed of the verbal stem followed by a stem increment, followed by one of the emphatic clitics, while the second verb *kər-* ‘do’ inflects for TAM and agreement features. However, this verb is semantically bleached completely. All verb stems, whether derived or underived, require the stem increment or augment, the emphatic theme formative (ET) *-ib* before the two emphatic enclitics =*əi* and =*o:* attach to them. Examples (39) and (40) illustrate the emphatic compound verbs in usage.

- (39) *rat*                      *ho:i*                      *gəi,*                      *b<sup>h</sup>əgwan*                      *əibəi*                      *nə*  
 rat                      ho:-i                      gə-i                      b<sup>h</sup>əgwan                      a-ib=əi                      nə  
 night(F)    be.PRS-ABS    go.PFV-PFV.INTR.F    God(M)    come-ET=EM.R    NEG  
*kihen.*  
 kih-en  
 do\RLS-PFV.TR.3PL  
 ‘It became night, (yet) God didn’t come.’                      (God as guest: 13)

- (40) *to: jəb          rajkɔmar u          cəppəl          dek<sup>h</sup>aes,          to:*  
*to: jəb          rajkɔmar u          cəppəl          de:k<sup>h</sup>-a-es          to:*  
 so when.REL prince(M) 3DISTS footwear(M) see-VM-PFV.TR.3SG so  
*ʊnke:                  pəɪr mē:          jəɪbəɪ          nə kərəɪ.*  
*ʊn-k-e:                  pəɪr=mē:          ja-ɪb=əɪ          nə kərə-əɪ*  
 3DISTH.OBL-GEN-OBL leg(M)=INESS go-ET=EM.R NEG do-IRR1.3SG  
 ‘So when the prince showed that sandal, it wouldn’t fit her (lit. it wouldn’t go in her foot).’  
 (Sheherbano: 20)

Note that the compound verbs very rarely have the negative or prohibitive particle inserted between the two verbs, whereas on the contrary, this type of construction is overwhelmingly found in the case of emphatic compounds, as also observed from the two given examples (39) and (40). Constructions without a negative or prohibitive particle also are attested, albeit they are somewhat not so frequent. For eg., *de:k<sup>h</sup>bəɪ kəɪrhē:* see-ET=EM.R do-FUT.3PL ‘They definitely will see.’ Notice that in this case, the verb *kəɪr-* is in its plain or “irrealis” form, whereas in the other two examples, it was in the “realis” form. Perfective or past constructions such as those found in (41) are those in which the second verb *kəɪr-* in them is optionally followed by the past copula *rəh*. However, this is obligatory when the argument of the verb is feminine, as in (41).

- (41) *o:ke:                  bad— kähē:ki          niət to:                  k<sup>h</sup>ərab rəhɪbəɪ*  
*o:-k-e:                  bad kähē:=ki          niət=to:                  k<sup>h</sup>ərab rəh-ɪb=əɪ*  
 3DISTS.OBL-GEN-OBL after why=COMP intention(F)=TOP bad exist-ET=EM.R  
*kihe:                  rəhi          əzdəhwa ki—          əb u          mūh*  
*kih-e:                  rəh-i          əzdəha-wa=k-i          əb u          mūh*  
 do.PFV-PFV.TR be.PST-F python(M)-DEF1=GEN-F now 3DISTS mouth(M)  
*bənd kəɪ lihes.*  
*bənd kəɪ lih-es*  
 closed do\ABS take.RLS-PFV.TR.3SG  
 ‘After that—since the python’s intentions were, after all, nefarious—he then closed his mouth.’  
 (Hen & python: 11)

This is because the inflected construction *kɪhi* ‘do\RLS-PFV.TR.3FSG’ is unattested and also unacceptable to my consultants. This can be explained in terms of transitivity of the verb *kəɪr-*. Since the *kəɪr-* is inherently transitive, it inflects only in the transitive paradigm in the perfective or past form, as discussed in §5.5.2.3. Also, since the inflection for feminine is only observed in the paradigm of an intransitive verb, to account for the

same, Azamgarhi modifies this construction by the addition of the past copula, which obviously inflects on an intransitive pattern.

#### 5.6.4 The marker *-i* on Azamgarhi verbs

In Azamgarhi, a non-finite verb ending in a non-front vowel is marked by *-i* which surfaces as *-e* when after a low vowel /a/, when the verb is either the main verb in a compound verb construction (see (42) below) or followed by the conjunctive participle =*ke*: (see (43) below). This marker, also found in Awadhi, has been termed as absolute by Saksena (1971) in his historical grammar of Awadhi. On a similar note, Slade (2013, 2020) mentions the morphological form of the main or polar verb of the Indo-Aryan compound verb to be in “an absolute, a fixed, indeclinable form.”<sup>9</sup> While the examples provided in Slade (2020) for Hindi-Urdu do not have any such special marker for the “absolute” marking; however, perhaps a similar marker, *-i*, shows up in particular Nepali ones. In Hindi-Urdu, Slade (2013) mentions that the main verb in a compound verb construction is in the absolute form, whereas this is not the case when marked by a conjunctive participle where it is in a converb form according to him. However, the data from Azamgarhi and Awadhi contradicts his assertions wherein both have the *-i* marking—“absolute” according to him. I, anyways, continue to use the term “absolute” due to no other term available for this in literature; however, I am in the look for a better alternative since this term is misleading and confusing with the “absolute case”.

<sup>9</sup> Their (Saksena and Slade) calling that particular verbal form “absolute” has its roots in the description of Sanskrit verbal form. Schlegel (1820) first called the Sanskrit converb an “absolute participle”, apparently to contrast it with the Latin and Greek participium conjunctum, which agrees with an argument of the main clause in gender, number, and case, while the Sanskrit converb does not show any agreement. The term absolute originated around the middle of the 19th century in anti-Boppian German-speaking circles (see Tikkanen (1987: 37) and Haspelmath (1995: 46) for discussion; Franz Bopp used the term *gerund*).

- (42) *p<sup>h</sup>Ir wəhi mē:*                      *rajo:*                      *bekar*                      **ho:I**  
*p<sup>h</sup>Ir wəhi=mē:*                      *raja=o:*                      *bekar*                      *ho:-I*  
 then 3DIST.S.OBL:EM.R=INESS king(M)=EM.A worthless be.PRS-ABS  
*gəen—*                      *ʋnki*                      *lacari*                      **ae**  
*gə-en*                      *ʋn-k-i*                      *lacar-i*                      *a-I*  
 GO.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MPL 3DISTH.OBL-GEN-F helpless-NMLZ come-ABS  
*gəi,*                      *dɪmag na kam kəɾəI.*  
*gə-i*                      *dɪmag na kam kəɾ-əI*  
 GO.PFV-PFV.INTR.F brain(M) NEG work(M) do-IRR1.3SG  
 ‘Then in that, the king too became ineffective—he became helpless, (and) his brain  
 wouldn’t work (anymore).’ (Sheherbano: 55)

- (43) *u b<sup>h</sup>Ik<sup>h</sup>ari cəla*                      *gəwa*                      *ʋdas*  
*u b<sup>h</sup>Ik<sup>h</sup>ari cəl-a*                      *gə-a*                      *ʋdas*  
 3DIST.S beggar(M) walk-PFV.INTR.3MSG GO.PFV-PFV.INTR.3MSG sad  
**ho:Ike:**  
*ho:-I=ke:*  
 be.PRS-ABS=CNJ  
 ‘That beggar walked away sadly. (Lit. Having become sad, that beggar walked  
 away.’ (God as guest: 6)

In (the non-Eastern dialects of) Awadhi, this marker also marks verbs with stems ending in a consonant, surfacing as a whispered vowel *-i* (Saksena 1971). In Azamgarhi, this marker is only present in the Southern dialect since compared to other Azamgarhi dialects, it is closest to Awadhi. Examples in (44) are Southern Azamgarhi instances of constructions possessing the *-i* marker, where (44a) and (44b) are of compound verb constructions, while (44c) is of the conjunctive participle.

- (44) a. *ae gəen.*  
*a-I gə-en*  
 come-ABS GO.PFV-PFV.INTR3MPL  
 ‘They arrived.’
- b. *ho:I gəwa.*  
*ho:-I gə-a*  
 be-ABS GO.PFV-PFV.INTR3MSG  
 ‘It is done.’
- c. *aeke: puc<sup>h</sup> lihe:*  
*a-I=ke: puc<sup>h</sup> lih-e:*  
 come-ABS=CNJ ask take\RLS-FUT.IMP.SG  
 ‘Ask once you come.’

Examples presented in (45) are Northern and Eastern Azamgarhi sentences parallel to Southern Azamgarhi (44), where (45a) and (45b) are of compound verb constructions, while (45c) is of the conjunctive participle.

- (45) a. *a gəen.*  
 a-∅ gə-en  
 come-∅ go.PFV-PFVINTR3MPL  
 ‘They arrived.’
- b. *ho: gəwa.*  
 ho:-∅ gə-a  
 be-∅ go.PFV-PFVINTR3MSG  
 ‘It is done.’
- c. *ake: puc<sup>h</sup> lihe:*  
 a-∅=ke: puc<sup>h</sup> lih-e:  
 come-∅=CNJ ask take\RLS-FUT.IMP.SG  
 ‘Ask once you come.’

Some irregular verbs, such as those in (46), found in a number of varieties of the Southern dialect, undergo ablaut instead of being marked by *-i*.

- (46) The irregular verbs in a number of Southern Azamgarhi varieties and their corresponding absolutive forms.

	Verb Stem	Absolutive	Verb Stem	Gloss
a.	<i>kər</i>	<i>kər</i>		‘do’
b.	<i>de:</i>	<i>dər</i>		‘give’
c.	<i>le:</i>	<i>lər</i>		‘take’
d.	<i>kəh</i>	<i>kərh</i>		‘say’
e.	<i>d<sup>h</sup>ər</i>	<i>d<sup>h</sup>ər</i>		‘keep’

Example (47) of Southern Azamgarhi illustrates the same, whereas the example (48) from Northern and Eastern Azamgarhi isn’t marked.

- (47) *ləike: dər dər*  
 lər=ke: dər dər  
 take\ABS=CNJ give\ABS give\IMP.PL  
 ‘(Please) take and give.’

- (48) *le:ke:*     *de:*   *də*  
*le:=ke:*    *de:*   *də*  
 take=CNJ give give\IMP.PL  
 ‘(Please) take and give.’

## 5.7 Conclusion

To conclude, an effort was made in this chapter to present a comprehensive structural and functional description of the verb morphology in the Azamgarhi language, mainly the Southern dialect. Though the verbal morphology in Azamgarhi significantly resembles that in its parent language Awadhi, the morphological differences—especially with regards to the verbal inflections—observed when compared with the Awadhi data of the same presented in Saksena (1971), nevertheless cannot be overlooked. These differences can plausibly be asserted owing to the substratum and superstratum influences from Bhojpuri and Urdu, respectively. The influences from Bhojpuri are attested much more in the Northern and Eastern dialects of Azamgarhi, which have lesser proximity to the Awadh region compared to the Southern (Standard) dialect. Unfortunately, the data presented in this work is almost exclusively from the Southern dialect, as it was very difficult to do so in other dialects owing to limitations in time and resources. However, it is understood that various Azamgarhi varieties, broadly classified under three dialect groups, considerably differ from each other to a significant extent, probably due to the corresponding differences in the local varieties of the vernacular Bhojpuri of Azamgarhi that has left substrate influences on Azamgarhi. This is because the Azamgarhi speakers were themselves native speakers of Bhojpuri before they adopted Azamgarhi as their mother tongue. Also, a diachronic study remained out of scope due to the very above-mentioned reasons. Further in-depth historical-comparative linguistic research is much-needed to determine the complete picture of the Azamgarhi morphosyntax. It is hoped that descriptive studies, such as the present one, will attract research on this language since it is not only underdocumented and understudied but also quite lesser-known.

# Appendix A

## The Azamgarhi Villages

### A.1 Villages of the Azamgarh District

Name of CD block/vikās khaṇḍ	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
Rānī kī Sarāi	Seṭhaval	973	7108
	Hasanpūr	141	1110
	Koṭilā	718	5453
	Hamzāpūr	40	276
	Sonwārā	627	4927
	Jamālpūr Māfi	109	762
	Baraāmadpūr	153	1012
	Masjidiā	144	1243
	Ghūrīpūr	162	1173
	Saharīā	239	1871
	Moiyā Makhdūmpūr	332	2037
	Shāhdullāpūr	67	502
	Surāi	170	1306
Fariā	1328	10041	
Mirzāpūr	Mūriār	839	6315

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Bakhshpūr	139	810
		Mirzāpūr	432	2901
		Bīnāpārā	387	3031
		Abḍihā Ibrāhimpūr	241	1849
		Manjīr Paṭṭi	471	3793
		Rājāpūr Sikraur	797	6722
		Koraulī Buzurg	141	976
		Shervā	746	5653
		Israulī	235	2054
		Baḍhariā	335	2445
		Daudpūr	185	1738
		Khudā Dād̄pūr	278	2149
		Rampūr Abūsaidpūr	96	634
		Gauspūr	179	1031
		Chakiā Husainābād	225	2167
		Molnāpur	104	783
		Negāwā	227	2067
		Chhāū	627	5756
		Nandāō	1030	7488
		Asārhā	479	3654
		Kamrawā	405	3142
		Ibrahimpur	105	608
		Bairāḍih Urf Gambhīrpūr	760	5071
		Mohammadpūr	528	4373
		Lahbariā	85	597
		Sirsāl	356	2591
		Āwak	605	4708

Name of CD block/vikās khaṇḍ	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
	Koilāri	324	2483
	Surjanpūr	371	2822
	Banāwā	191	1297
	Bisaham	743	6321
Phūlpūr	Saidpūr	333	2333
	Khairuddīnpūr Alībakhsh	233	1537
	Rammōpūr	470	3429
	Bakhshpūr	230	1770
	Mejawā	81	496
	Mūrwār	108	847
	Hemāipūr	51	382
	Newādā	362	3088
	Loniāḍīh	256	2074
	Jhakāhā	185	1315
	Shēkhwāliā	252	1801
	Ṭeuṅgā	368	2887
	Sadarpūr Baraulī	488	4103
	Shāhjērpūr	184	1182
	Ūdpūr	455	3402
	Sūdānīpūr	127	898
	Kanērī	578	4142
	Baisāḍīh	182	1056
	Katrā Nūrpūr	105	824
	Bhōрмаū	472	3244
	Isāpūr	233	1507
	Bairāgḍīh	285	1988
	Shekhwaliya	180	1287

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Rasūlpūr	80	499
		Ḍubāwā	378	2969
		Bakhārā	705	5957
Mārṭinganj		Chhittēpūr	333	2718
		Nonārī	589	4396
		Chitārā Mahmūd pūr	916	6582
		Bhādō	882	6843
		Dasmarhā	293	1921
Pawāi		Dawanpārā	164	1210
		Makhdūmpūr	255	2078
		Nizāmpūr	546	3902
		Chattarpūr	83	552
		Sarāipul	405	2646
		Gōdhanā	360	3077
		Hajipur Qudrat	229	2101
		Basahi Ashraf pūr	308	2006
		Āndhipūr	285	2271
		Ambārī	326	2554
		Hājīpūr Md. Ālampūr	148	1150
		Maqsudiā	377	2830
		Kushāhā	197	1464
		Ālampūr	143	1172
		Ibrāhimpūr	101	632
		Qāsimpūr	72	637
		Phadgudiā	127	950
Ṭhekmā		Amaurā	537	3910
		Khundanpūr	276	2082

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Bēla Khās	336	2332
Lālganj		Mirzāpūr Ādampūr	196	1481
		Bairīḍīh	747	6151
		Kaṭaulī Khurd	169	1424
		Kaṭaulī Buzurg	184	1563
		Daunā	164	1514
		Fakhruddīnpūr	139	1045
		Basahī	308	2606
		Banārpur	214	1593
Tahbarpūr		Muslim Paṭṭī	287	1976
		Basahī Bandēdāspūr	307	2026
		Bankaṭ	255	1680
		Molnāpūr	44	353
Bilariāganj		Mohammadpūr	266	2244
		Chhīhī	359	2673
		Alāuddīnpaṭṭī	522	3951
		Heṅgāipūr	219	1768
		Bilariāganj	185	1486
		Sahābuddīnpūr	252	1930
		Nasīrpūr Fatehpūr	469	3393
		Gulwā Gaurī	202	1702
		Jairājpūr	740	5967
		Bindawal	650	4596
		Tohfāpūr	289	1901
		Harakhpur	147	929
		Sāhpur Maulānī	211	1738
		Khairuddīnpūr	84	636

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Mohiuddīnpūr	131	962
		Shekhūpūr	255	1913
		Chhichhōrī	308	2438
		Khālipūr	235	2058
		Mohiuddīnpūr	127	1104
		Ashrafpūr	425	3049
		Bankaṭ	402	3143
		Nūruddīnpūr	501	4020
Haraiyā		Chāndpattī-Mehrā	1117	8289
		Karmainī	686	4922
		Rasūlpūr	66	429
		Turkaulī	222	1634
		Sōn Buzurg	223	1782
Maharājganj		Harakhpurā Khās	351	2196
		Sikandarpūr Aimā	320	2243
		Kaptānganj	840	5889
		Sikandarpūr Khālsā	13	77
Azmatgarh		Anjān Shahīd	528	4182
		Barāmadpūr	42	251
		Khālipūr	541	3514
		Natthūpūr	197	1565
		Zahīruddīnpūr	103	767
Palhanī		Shammōpūr	312	2112
		Kakrahaṭā	483	3405
Saṭhiāō		Ḍhakawā	289	2272
		Sikandarpūr	152	1147
		Ibrāhimpūr	84	638

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Gaoḍḍī	232	1703
		Sikṭhīshāh (Sikṭhī)	624	5129
		Muhammadpūr		
		Kauriā	232	1676
		Loharā	495	3630
		Fakhruddīpūr	283	2057
		Suraī	308	2389
		Khukharīpūr	139	1091
		Jamuṛī	432	3338
		Shāhgarh	843	5728
		Ībrāhīmpūr	1048	7853
		Amilō Chakiā	4061	30339
Jahānāganj		Mandē	390	3273
		Hansāpūr	35	214
		Sālēmpūr	88	783

## A.2 Villages of the Jaunpur District

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
Shāhganj		Rasūlpūr	233	1486
		Kauriā	582	4346
		Bhādī	886	5794
		Naṭaulī	838	5023
		Majdīhā	312	2815
		Sabrahād	1403	10457

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Miāpūr	96	703
		Bharaulī	292	2347
		Jamdāmīpūr	132	1015
		Molanāpūr	97	714
		Ashrafpūr Usarahaṭā	352	2664
		Hājīpūr	78	700
		Rāfīpūr	236	2156
		Arand	616	4550
		Gorārī Khalīlpūr	442	3130
		Saidgorārī	200	1614
		Dhadhwārā Kalā	250	1629
		Dhadhwārā Khurd	199	1465
		Rānīmaū	457	3493
		Ledrāhī	209	1600
		Gōdhanā	232	1381
		Bārā	324	2671
		Yūnuspūr	173	1165
		Manechchhā	509	3853
		Khudaulī	273	1632
		Majhaurā	139	973
		Marūfpūr	134	1225
		Shāhpūr	358	2589
		Jamdahā	738	5520
		Sīdhā	309	2657
		Jaigahā	193	1368
		Mustafābād	199	1344
		Barāngī	380	3076

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Songar	641	4445
		Sālārpūr	113	798
		Bahādurpūr	41	246
		Farīdpūr	133	904
		Lakamāpūr	395	2970
		Mānī Khurd	199	1662
		Mānī Kālā	1505	11815
		Gayāspūr Nonārī	164	1311
		Buṛkuṛahā	380	2849
		Sumbulpūr	164	1399
		Gorānī Saifpūr	396	3086
		Laparī	936	6424
		Eṭaurī	181	1158
		Meharāwā	209	1197
		Basīrpūr	309	2064
		Khalilpūr	207	1195
Khuṭahan		Madārpūr	97	586
		Bheoṛha Kalā	141	1007
		Hisamuddīnpūr	118	697
		Sultānpūr Ghughurī	376	2580
		Nizāmpūr	239	1612
		Baddōpūr	354	2266
		Akbarpūr	142	809
		Suiṭhā Khurd	404	2750
		Patailā	364	2489
		Makhdūmpūr	290	1866
		Newādā	42	284

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
		Rasūlpūr	402	2871
		Haidarpūr	175	1405
		Shērpūr	502	3845
		Khuṭahan	584	4219
		Kōṭwāliā	39	346
		Dhamaur Khās	291	2076
		Jianpūr	44	328
		Ṭikarī Kalā	206	1288
		Gauspūr	262	1864
		Emāmpūr	334	2253
		Shēkhpūr Sutaui	559	3647
		Shēkhūpūr Ashrafpūr	549	3575
		Mubāarakpūr	423	2864
		Poṭariā	452	3343
Badlāpūr		Baraiyā	340	2227
		Kushahā	162	1132
		Khāliśpūr	141	880
		Shāhpūr	450	3045
		Ināmīpūr	197	1150
		Fattūpūr	243	1452
		Purānī Bāzār	278	1942
		Sultānpūr	179	1305
Muftiganj		Murkī	497	3678
		Banjārēpūr	224	1539

### A.3 Villages of the Mau District

Name of block/vikās khaṇḍ	CD	Name of village/town	Total no. of households	Total population
Mohammadābād		Nassōpūr	128	919
Gohanā		Bandīghāṭ	246	1922
		Naraunī	242	1477
		Gālibpūr	542	3902
		Jamālpūr Mu. Bandī	135	1067
		Bandī Kalā	486	3355
		Bhātkōl	479	3559
Ranipur		Sohrābpūr (Sehrāmpūr)	209	1306
		Utrijpūr	174	1301
		Ausatpūr	135	1102
		Abdullāhpūr	106	748
Kōpāganj		Jogarī	307	2282
		Ekaunā	348	2263
Ghōsī		Manikāpur Asanā	481	3532
		Jāmḍih	314	2327
		Manikpūr Zamīn Hājīpūr	558	3735
Fatehpūr Maṇḍāō		Utrāhī	199	1301
		Ḍhilāī Firōzpūr	357	2755
		Fatehpūr Maṇḍāō	618	4059

# Appendix B

## Texts

This appendix presents texts collected during my documentation project of Azamgarhi. The texts presented here are exclusively from the genre “folktales” or “traditional stories”, which include seven such stories narrated by different Azamgarhi speakers. The metadata subsection given for each text at the beginning contains important metadata information about these textual recordings. This is followed by a subsection on actual utterance transcription, followed by a parallel phonemic transcription and free translation in English on facing even and odd pages. The line numbering for the translated texts matches that of the corresponding transcribed texts.

**The Actual Utterance Transcription:** This part, given as non-annotated continuous paragraph in plain typeface, includes certain discourse features and some phonetic symbols. Conventions for this type of transcription are majorly adopted from Coelho (2018). The transcription shows the actual utterance of the speaker and is somewhere between being phonemic to phonetic. Discourse-level vowel and consonant lengthening (phonetic) is shown in this part. Phonetic features are accommodated only if they are formed by the existing inventory of phonemes, else are neglected. Owing to this, this transcription also accommodates the speaker’s idiosyncratic variation in the pronunciation of linguistic items. However, to reduce transcription problems, word-final /əɪ/ is not transcribed by the above-adopted method. Audience backchannelling responses are illustrated within curly braces. Speech errors are shown as they are but enclosed in

square brackets. Pauses are represented by dots. The number of dots indicates pause length—two dots used for a short pause of 100 to 499 ms, three dots for a medium pause of 500 to 999 ms, and four dots for a long pause of more than 1000 ms. The only punctuation marks used in this part are the double inverted commas and the question mark. The notations adopted for this part of textual transcription is schematically presented below:

- : discourse-level lengthening of a segment (purely phonetic)
- [ ] speech error: something that was uttered but should not have been said (i.e., a stammer, stutter, or mistake)
- < > speech addition: something that should have been said but not uttered (i.e., an addition)
- { } backchannelling
- [[ ]] a section in the narrator's speech that is not in Azamgarhi
- .. a short pause of 100 to 499 milliseconds
- ... a medium pause of 500 to 999 milliseconds
- .... a long pause of 1000 or more milliseconds

**The Phonemic Transcription:** This part of texts is presented in a numbered fashion where the transcription is purely phonemic. The text is given in italics and does not show discourse features such as pauses, backchannelling, speech errors, etc. However, punctuation marks are added to improve comprehensibility.

## B.1 Story about a king and a cat

### B.1.1 Metadata

Duration: 00:01:03

Date of recording: 2020-07-20

Title (English): Story about a king and a cat

Creator: Maaz Shaikh

Speaker(s): Abida Bano

Location: Andheri, Mumbai, Maharashtra, India

Language(s): Azamgarhi

Dialect(s): Northern Azamgarhi

Genre: Folktale

Description: This is a very short bedtime story of a king and a cat narrated in a rhyming pattern. These type of stories are told to lull and amuse small children.

Archival Link: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803915/>

### B.1.2 Actual Utterance Transcription

Maaz (in Urdu): bo:le:

*inaudible* ... {*I laugh*} e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: rəhen raja .... {*I laugh*} bo:en kōhəɽa .... bɪlai tɔɽ tɔɽ le: jae  
 ..... bɪlai se: puc<sup>h</sup>əĩ ki “e: bɪlai kəise: le: jəɽha?”... tə kəhəĩ “d<sup>h</sup>əmɪlat d<sup>h</sup>əmɪlat” ... tə kəhəĩ  
 “kɪsse c<sup>h</sup>ɪɪha?”... kəhəĩ “c<sup>h</sup>uɽi se:” ... kəhəĩ “kemmən pəkki?” ... kəhəĩ “hāɽi mē:” ...  
 kəhəĩ “kəise: pəkki?” ... kəhəĩ “bɔdbɔd bɔdbɔd” ... kəhəĩ “kəise: k<sup>h</sup>əɽhə?” .. kəhəĩ “catɔɽ  
 catɔɽ” ... kəhəĩ “kesmē: sɔtɪha?”.. kəhəĩ “cul<sup>h</sup> mē:”... kəhəĩ “ka oɽ<sup>h</sup>ɪha?” .. kəhəĩ ki “sup  
 oɽ<sup>h</sup>bə” ..... ihə ləɽɪkən kə bəhkəɽt<sup>h</sup>ə .... {*We all laugh*} ho: gəi eɽ<sup>h</sup>o: kəhani .... təni [kəha]  
 mē <jo:> kəhe: hū təni k<sup>h</sup>o:l .. de:k<sup>h</sup>ū {ā:} .... {*All laugh*}

### B.1.3 Phonemic Transcription

Maaz (in Urdu): bo:le:.

- (1) e:kʃ<sup>h</sup>o: rəhen raja.
- (2) bo:en kōhəɾa.
- (3) bɪlai to:ɾ to:ɾ le: jae.
- (4) bɪlai se: puc<sup>h</sup>əĩ ki, “e: bɪlai kəise: le: jəɪha?” tə kəhəĩ, “q<sup>h</sup>əmiɫat q<sup>h</sup>əmiɫat!”
- (5) tə kəhəĩ, “kɪsse: c<sup>h</sup>ɪɪɪha?” kəhəĩ, “c<sup>h</sup>uɾi se:!”
- (6) kəhəĩ, “kemmən pəkki?” kəhəĩ, “hāɾi mē:!”
- (7) kəhəĩ, “kəise: pəkki?” kəhəĩ, “bʊdbʊd bʊdbʊd!”
- (8) kəhəĩ, “kəise: k<sup>h</sup>əɪha?” kəhəĩ, “cətɔr cətɔr!”
- (9) kəhəĩ, “kɪsmē: sətɪha?” kəhəĩ, “cul<sup>h</sup> mē:!”
- (10) kəhəĩ, “ka oɾ<sup>h</sup>ɪha?” kəhəĩ ki, “sup oɾ<sup>h</sup>bə!”
- (11) ihə ləɾɪkən ke: bəhkai<sup>h</sup>ə!
- (12) ho: gəi e:kʃ<sup>h</sup>o: kəhani.
- (13) təni, mə̃ jo: kəhe: hū, təni k<sup>h</sup>o:l, de:k<sup>h</sup>ū.

**B.1.3 Free Translation**

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): Please say.

- (1) Once there was a king.
- (2) He sowed pumpkins.
- (3) The cat would pluck and take away.
- (4) He would ask the cat, “Hey cat, how will you take them away?” then she would reply, “Swaying all the way!”
- (5) So he would ask, “With what will you peel?” she would reply, “With a knife!”
- (6) He would ask, “In what will it cook?” she would reply, “In an earthen pot!”
- (7) He would ask, “How will it cook?” she would reply, “Bubbling bubbling!”
- (8) He would ask, “How will you eat?” she would reply, “Chewing them all!”
- (9) He would ask, “Where will you sleep in?” she would reply, “In the stove!”
- (10) He would ask, “What will you put on?” she would reply, “I will put on a winnowing basket!”
- (11) (With) this we lull children!
- (12) A story is done.
- (13) What I have said, please open, I may see.

## B.2 Story of a hen and a python

### B.2.1 Metadata

Duration: 00:01:19

Date of recording: 2020-02-10

Creator: Maaz Shaikh

Speaker(s): Aquil Ahmad

Location: Bairīḍih, Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India

Language(s): Azamgarhi

Dialect(s): Southern Azamgarhi (Bairīḍih)

Genre: Folktale

Description: This is a story about a hen and python who were very good friends. Once, seeing the hen being quite healthy, the python's intentions went awry. He asked the hen to go inside his stomach once and check what was there, and once, he would do the same. The hen replied, okay, and the python went inside and found 8-10 eggs. His intentions turned absolutely nefarious at once, and he asked the hen to do the same. The poor hen does so, and the cunning snake does not open his mouth to let her out.

Archival Link: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803913/>

### B.2.2 Actual Utterance Transcription

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): ʃʊru kəriɛ:

ka b<sup>h</sup>əwa ki:: e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: mɔrga rəha e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: əzdəha rəha ... {m:ʔm:} mɔrgi rəhi ... {m:ʔm:} əʊr  
 mɔrgia jəʊn həri əzdəhwa se: bəʃi do:sti rəhəri .... {m:ʔm:} əb u jəʊn həi cəʀəi k<sup>h</sup>aə: piəi  
 kʊ:l [əpəne jəgəh] .. e:k jəgəh .... {m:ʔm:} to: əzdəhwa ki niət o:ki ... təndɔrɔsti de:kke  
 k<sup>h</sup>ərab ho:ɪ gəi ... {m:ʔm:} ki “e:ka həm k<sup>h</sup>ae jatē: to: bəʃa bəʃ<sup>h</sup>ā rəha {m:ʔm:} ... mɔrgia  
 ka “ {m:ʔm:} .... to:: əzdəhwa kəhət<sup>h</sup>əri ... {m:ʔm:} “e: mɔrgi:: ... {m:} e:k dāi həm tohəre:  
 pe:t mē: jaeke: de:k<sup>h</sup>i tohəre: pe:t mē: kao həri e:k dāi tu həmre: pe:t mē: jaeke: de:k<sup>h</sup>a ki  
 həmre: pe:t mē: kao həri” ... mɔrgia kəhəri “t<sup>h</sup>i:k həri cəla tu həmre: do:s ha to: ja” ... əb jəb  
 gəwa ʊhā to: aʃ<sup>h</sup> dəst<sup>h</sup>o: əndə k<sup>h</sup>ub səfe:d səfe:d rəhen həi ʊhā .... {m:ʔm:} o:ki to: egdəm  
 niət k<sup>h</sup>ərab ho:ɪ gəi əzdəhwa ki ... {m:ʔm:} əb na dʊr car dɪm ke: bad kəhət<sup>h</sup>əri ki .. əb tu  
 həmre: pe:t mē: ja .... {m:ʔm:} mɔrgia beçari [ʃərif sə u:] ... beokufəri səmj<sup>h</sup>a ya sərif  
 səmj<sup>h</sup>a ...{m:ʔm:} o:ke: pe:t mē: cəli gəi ... o:ke: bad kāhē:ki niət to: k<sup>h</sup>ərab rəhɪbəri kihe:  
 <rəhi> əzdəhwa ki ... {m:ʔm:} əb u mūh bən kəri lihes ... {m:} mɔrgia kəhət<sup>h</sup>i “[[k<sup>h</sup>o:lo:  
 me:ri sās g<sup>h</sup>ʊt rəhi həri kho:lo:]]” kəhəri “na:hī əb to: əndəwa ke: sət<sup>h</sup>wā tu həmre: pe:təwəri  
 mē: pəç jəih!” .... {*I laugh*} [[ɔ:r wo: k<sup>h</sup>a gəya]] {m:ʔm:} ....

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): ho: gəi?

**The narrator:** (*in Urdu*): ho: gəi

**The narrator** (*calling her granddaughter*): rəmma::

### B.2.3 Phonemic Transcription

Maaz (in Urdu): f̣ɔru k̄ari:

- (1) ka b<sup>h</sup>awa ki e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: m̄ɔrga r̄aha, e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: azdaha r̄aha.
- (2) m̄ɔrgi r̄ahi, aɔr m̄ɔrgia j̄aɔn h̄ai azdahwa se: b̄ari do:sti r̄ahai.
- (3) ab u j̄aɔn h̄ai c̄ar̄ai, k<sup>h</sup>aē:, pīai—k̄ul e:k j̄agah.
- (4) to: azdahwa ki niat o:ki t̄and̄ɔr̄usti de:k<sup>h</sup>ke: k<sup>h</sup>arab ho:ɪ ḡai ki, “e:ka h̄am k<sup>h</sup>ae jatē: to: b̄ara b̄ar̄iā r̄aha”—m̄ɔrgia ka.
- (5) to: azdahwa k̄ah̄at<sup>h</sup>ai, “e: m̄ɔrgi, e:k d̄ai h̄am toh̄are: pe:t̄ mē: jaek̄e: de:k<sup>h</sup>i toh̄are: pe:t̄ mē: kao h̄ai, e:k d̄ai tu h̄amre: pe:t̄ mē: jaek̄e: de:k<sup>h</sup>a ki h̄amre: pe:t̄ mē: kao h̄ai.”
- (6) m̄ɔrgia k̄ah̄ai, “t̄<sup>h</sup>ik h̄ai, c̄ala, tu h̄amre: do:s ha to: ja!”
- (7) ab j̄ab ḡawa v̄h̄a to: at̄<sup>h</sup> d̄ast<sup>h</sup>o: ānda k<sup>h</sup>ub s̄afe:d s̄afe:d r̄ahen h̄ai v̄h̄a.
- (8) o:ki to: egd̄am niat k<sup>h</sup>arab ho:ɪ ḡai, azdahwa ki.
- (9) ab na, d̄ɔi car d̄in ke: bad k̄ah̄at<sup>h</sup>ai ki ab tu h̄amre: pe:t̄ mē: ja.
- (10) m̄ɔrgia becar̄i—beokuf̄ai s̄amj̄a ya s̄arif s̄amj̄a—o:ke: pe:t̄ mē: c̄ali ḡai.
- (11) o:ke: bad—k̄ah̄ē:ki niat to: k<sup>h</sup>arab r̄ah̄ib̄ai kihe: r̄ahi azdahwa ki—ab u m̄uh b̄and̄ k̄ai lihes.
- (12) m̄ɔrgia k̄ah̄at<sup>h</sup>i, “[[k<sup>h</sup>o:lo: me:ri s̄ās g<sup>h</sup>̄t̄ r̄ahi h̄ai, kho:lo:]]”
- (13) k̄ah̄ai, “nah̄i, ab to: ānda ke: s̄at<sup>h</sup>w̄a tu h̄amre: pe:t̄aw̄ai mē: p̄ac̄ j̄aiha!”
- (14) [[ɔ:r wo: k<sup>h</sup>a ḡaya!]]

Maaz (in Urdu): ho: ḡai?

The narrator (in Urdu): ho: ḡai.

The narrator (calling her granddaughter): r̄amma!!

### B.2.3 Free Translation

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): Please start.

- (1) Once, it happened such that there were a rooster and a python.
- (2) (Err) a hen and the hen had a very good friendship with the python.
- (3) Both of them would roam around, eat, and drink together.
- (4) Then, on seeing how healthy (and plump) the hen was, the python's intentions turned nefarious, (and he thought), "How great it would be if I ate her"—the hen.
- (5) So the python says (to her), "Hey hen, I'll go into your stomach once to see what's in it, and then you go into my stomach once to see what's there in mine."
- (6) The hen said, "All right, you're my friend, so go ahead!"
- (7) When the python went in, he saw eight to ten very white eggs there.
- (8) His intentions absolutely turned nefarious, the python's.
- (9) Then, two-four days later, he says, "Now you go into my stomach!"
- (10) The poor hen—you can consider her either stupid or innocent—she went into his stomach.
- (11) After that—since the python's intentions were, after all, nefarious—he then closed his mouth.
- (12) The hen said, "[Open (your mouth)! I can't breathe, open (your mouth)!]" he said, "No, now you will be digested in my stomach along with the eggs!"
- (13) [[And he ate (her)!]]

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): Is (the story) over?

**The narrator** (*in Urdu*): (Yes, it) is over.

**The narrator** (*calling her granddaughter*): Rahima!!!

## B.3 Story of God in the form of guest

### B.3.1 Metadata

Duration: 00:01:50

Date of recording: 2020-02-03

Creator: Maaz Shaikh

Speakers: Naazli Azeem

Location: Bairīḍih, Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India

Language(s): Azamgarhi

Dialects(s): Southern Azamgarhi (Bairīḍih)

Genre: Folktale

Description: This is a story about a man who once dreams that God will come as a guest to his house. He did all the necessary preparations and was eagerly waiting since morning for Him to come. However, instead of God, he finds a beggar at his doors, and after some time, a vagabond, both of whom he turns away, saying that God is about to come. Finally, a poor woman comes with her baby seeking help, and he refuses her too. It turns dark, but God doesn't come. He sleeps and dreams again, asking God why he didn't come. God replies, saying that He had visited him thrice.

Archival Link: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803904/>

### B.3.2 Actual Utterance Transcription

ədəmi mehraru rəhen hāi .... rat ke: ədəmi so:wa to: k<sup>h</sup>ab de:k<sup>h</sup>es ki “aj həmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər  
 b<sup>h</sup>əgwan əihē:” .... to: [u əpəni] bəhət k<sup>h</sup>əs b<sup>h</sup>əwa .. səba ke: əpəni biwi se: kəhət<sup>h</sup>ər ki  
 “əcc<sup>h</sup>a əcc<sup>h</sup>a pəkwan bənae dəi ... {m:} əsr g<sup>h</sup>ər ki puri saf səfai kər dəi ... aj həmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər  
 b<sup>h</sup>əgwan awərwale: hāi” ...{m:} [təb pə pəhili bel bəji ... jəb səb naste: ke: [təim] ...{m:}  
 jəb pəhili g<sup>h</sup>ənṭia bəji nəstəwa ke: [təim dərwəzwa k<sup>h</sup>o:les ... {m:}m:] to: ka həi ki .. e:k<sup>h</sup>o:  
 b<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>ari k<sup>h</sup>əṭa rəha həi ... e:k<sup>h</sup>o: b<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>ari k<sup>h</sup>əṭa rəha həi kəhe ki “b<sup>h</sup>ag ja ihā se: .. {m:}m:]  
 .. [b<sup>h</sup>ik u na] .. aj həmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan awərwale: hāi tu kəhā se: ae gəe?” .. {m:}m:] u  
 b<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>ari cəla gəwa ʊdas ho:ike: .. {m:}m:] p<sup>h</sup>ir e:k<sup>h</sup>o: əsro: səwali ae gəwa {m:}m:] ki ..  
 “k<sup>h</sup>əc<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ae ka həmməi dəi dəi .... {m:}m:] həmməi rəhəi ka [t<sup>h</sup>ekana dəi dəi” .. {m:}m:]  
 təb o:ka b<sup>h</sup>əga dihen ki “aj həmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan awərwale: hāi aj həm tuhāi rəhəi ka  
 [t<sup>h</sup>ekana debəi?” ... {m:}m:] ohuka b<sup>h</sup>əgae dihen .... {m:}m:] p<sup>h</sup>ir sam tək e:k<sup>h</sup>o: əsrət ai  
 əpna bəcca ləike: bəhət bimar rəha həi ... {m:}m:] kəhəi “həmre: bəcce: ki mədəd kəra ..  
 [ə:] nəhi to: bəcca mər jai .. həm bəhət gərib hāi .. i: .. u: .. həmri mədəd kər dəi b<sup>h</sup>ai  
 həmri mədəd kər dəi” ... {m:}m:] u b<sup>h</sup>əgae dihen ki “kəʊno: b<sup>h</sup>i [təim həmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan  
 awərwale: hāi .. b<sup>h</sup>ag ja ihā se: ... {m:}m:] həm tuhāi nəhi rək<sup>h</sup> səktē:” ... {m:}m:] rat ho: gəi ..  
 b<sup>h</sup>əgwan əibəi nə kihən ..{m:}m:] rat ke: p<sup>h</sup>ir [səp] so:en ... {m:}m:] ki “b<sup>h</sup>əgwan tu kəihke:  
 həmse: wada kihe: .. həm tohəri etəni təyari kihe: rəhē: ae kəhē: nəhi?” ... {m:}m:] təb  
 b<sup>h</sup>əgwan kəhāi ki, “həm tohəre: g<sup>h</sup>ər tin bar ae rəhē: .... {əcc<sup>h</sup>a:} tin bar aē: əsr tino: bar tu  
 həmməi d<sup>h</sup>ətkar dihe: ... {m:}m:] həm əise: keʊke: g<sup>h</sup>ər na əstē: ... {m:}m:]m:] [əis] jəb ..  
 je:ke: g<sup>h</sup>ər awəi caht<sup>h</sup>ər əisehəri aht<sup>h</sup>ər .. hər rup bədəlke: .. hər b<sup>h</sup>e:s bədəlke: ... {m:}m:]  
 həmra b<sup>h</sup>e:s msan ke: pəhicanəi .. ke: bəs ke: bahər həi” .... {m:}m:]m:] təb u pəc<sup>h</sup>tat<sup>h</sup>ər  
 ədəmi ki “həm u tino: lo:kka əgər əpəne: g<sup>h</sup>ər mē: pəna dəi dihe: ho:tē: ... {m:}m:] [[to: aj  
 ... həm əcc<sup>h</sup>e: msan kəhlate:]]”

Maaz (in Urdu): əcc<sup>h</sup>a cəle:

### B.3.3 Phonemic Transcription

- (1) *ədāmi mehraru rāhen hāi.*
- (2) *rat ke: ədāmi so:wa to: k<sup>h</sup>ab de:k<sup>h</sup>es ki, “aj hāmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan əihē:.”*
- (3) *to: bəhət k<sup>h</sup>ʊs b<sup>h</sup>əwa. sʊbah ke: əpəni biwi se: kəhət<sup>h</sup>əi ki, “əcc<sup>h</sup>a əcc<sup>h</sup>a pəkwan bənae dəi əvɾ g<sup>h</sup>ər ki puri saf səfai kər dəi, aj hāmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan awəiwale: hāi.”*
- (4) *jəb pəhili g<sup>h</sup>ənʈiə bəji nəstəwa ke: ʈaim, dər wəzwa k<sup>h</sup>o:les to: ka həi ki e:kʈ<sup>h</sup>o: b<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>ari k<sup>h</sup>əʈa rəha həi.*
- (5) *e:kʈ<sup>h</sup>o: b<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>ari k<sup>h</sup>əʈa rəha həi—kəhen ki, “b<sup>h</sup>ag ja ihā se:! aj hāmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan awəiwale: hāi—tu kəhā se: ae gəe?!”*
- (6) *u b<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>ari cəla gəwa ʊdas ho:ike:.*
- (7) *p<sup>h</sup>ir e:kʈ<sup>h</sup>o: əvɾo: səwali ae gəwa ki, “kʊc<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ae ka həmməi dəi dəi. həmməi rəhəi ka ʈ<sup>h</sup>ekana dəi dəi!”*
- (8) *təb o:ka b<sup>h</sup>əgae dihen ki, “aj hāmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan awəiwale: hāi—aj həm tūhāi rəhəi ka ʈ<sup>h</sup>ekana de:bəi?”*
- (9) *ohuka b<sup>h</sup>əgae dihen.*
- (10) *p<sup>h</sup>ir sam tək e:kʈ<sup>h</sup>o: əvɾət ai əpna bəcca ləike:—bəhət bimar rəha həi.*
- (11) *kəhəi, “hāmre: bəcce: ki mədəd kəra, nəhī to: bəcca mər jai, həm bəhət gərib hāi, i... u... həmri mədəd kər dəi b<sup>h</sup>ai, həmri mədəd kər dəi!”*
- (12) *u b<sup>h</sup>əgae dihen ki, “kəʊno: b<sup>h</sup>i ʈaim hāmre: g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>əgwan awəiwale: hāi, b<sup>h</sup>ag ja ihā se:! həm tūhāi nəhī rək<sup>h</sup> səktē:.”*
- (13) *rat ho:ɪ gəi, b<sup>h</sup>əgwan əibəi nə kihen.*
- (14) *rat ke: p<sup>h</sup>ir so:en, “b<sup>h</sup>əgwan tu kəihke: həmse: wada kihe:; həm tohəri etəni təyari kihe: rəhē:, ae kəhē: nəhī?”*
- (15) *təb b<sup>h</sup>əgwan kəhāi ki, “həm tohəre: g<sup>h</sup>ər tin bar ae rəhē:! tin bar aē: əvɾ tino: bar tu həmməi d<sup>h</sup>ʊtkar dihe:. həm əise: kehəke: g<sup>h</sup>ər na əvɾē:. jəb je:ke: g<sup>h</sup>ər awəi cahit<sup>h</sup>əi əisehəi aɪt<sup>h</sup>əi—hər rup bədəlke:, hər b<sup>h</sup>e:s bədəlke:. həmra b<sup>h</sup>e:s insan ke: pəhicanəi*

### B.3.3 Free Translation

- (1) There was a couple.
- (2) When the man slept at night, he dreamt, “God will come to our home today.”
- (3) So he became very happy—in the morning, he says to his wife, “Prepare delicious dishes today, and clean the entire house—today, God is going to come to my home.”
- (4) When the first bell rang at the time of breakfast, he opened the door—a beggar was standing.
- (5) A beggar was standing (there), he told (the beggar), “Run away from here! God is coming to my home today—where (the hell) have you come from?”
- (6) The beggar walked away sadly.
- (7) Then another vagabond came, asking, “Give me something to eat. Give me a place to stay!”
- (8) Then he drove him away, (saying), “God is coming to my home today, am I going to give you a place to stay today?”
- (9) He turned him away too.
- (10) Then by evening, a woman came with her child—(he) was very sick.
- (11) She said, “Please help my child; else, the child will die. I am very poor, this... that... Please help me, brother, please help me!”
- (12) He turned her away, (saying) “God is going to come to my house any time now, go away from here! I cannot keep you.”
- (13) It became night, (and yet) God still didn’t come.
- (14) At night when he slept again, (he says to God while dreaming), “God, you promised me, I made so many preparations for you, why didn’t you come?”
- (15) Then God said, “I came to your home thrice! Thrice I came, and each time you rebuffed me. I do not come to anyone’s home like this (in my actual form). When I want to come to anyone’s home, I come in this very way—changing (my) every

*ke: bəs ke: bəhar həi.*”

(16) *təb u pəc<sup>h</sup>tat<sup>h</sup>əi ədəmi ki, “həm u tino: lo:gka əgər əpəne: g<sup>h</sup>ər mē: pənah dəi dihe:*

*ho:tē: [to: aj həm əcc<sup>h</sup>e: msan kəhlate:.]”*

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): əcc<sup>h</sup>a cəlie:

appearance, changing (my) every disguise. My disguise is beyond human perception.”

(16) Then the man regrets (his actions, thinking), “If I had given shelter in my house to those three people, [[then today I would have been called a good man]].”

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): Alright!

## B.4 Story of a couple

### B.4.1 Metadata

Duration: 00:01:59

Date of recording: 2020-01-31

Creator: Maaz Shaikh

Speaker(s): Mohammad Khalid

Location: Mande, Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India

Language(s): Azamgarhi

Dialect(s): Northern Azamgarhi (Mandē)

Genre: Folktale

Description: This is a story of a husband and wife who once had so little flour left in their house that only three chapatis could be made. The husband says that he will eat two *chapatis*, and the wife, too, says the same. A heated exchange took place between them but finally agreed that whoever speaks first will eat just one *roti* while the other – two. They lie down and silently stare at each other, and three days pass like this. Finally, the villagers – thinking of them being dead – go to their house, wrap them in a shroud and take them to the crematory. At last, the husband says to the wife, okay, two *rotis* for you!

Archival link: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803890/>

### B.4.2 Actual Utterance Transcription

e:k gǎō mē: nǎ:?? .. {ʔm:} ... mǎibibi rəhət rəhen .... {m::} tǎ mǎibibi rəhət rəhen .... tǎ  
 ʋnəhən ke: aʦa kəm rəha g<sup>h</sup>ara mē: tinəʦ<sup>h</sup>o: ro:ʦi b<sup>h</sup>əi .... {əre: bap re: .. hǎ:} tǎ mərda  
 kəhət<sup>h</sup>ə ki “du ro:ʦi mǎ k<sup>h</sup>əihǔ” ... {hǎ} əʋ mehrəʋa kəhət<sup>h</sup>i “du ro:ʦi mǎ k<sup>h</sup>əihǔ” .... {hǎ}  
 dʋnəhʋn mē: ho: gəwa gʋssi gʋssa kəhət<sup>h</sup>i mehrəʋa “du ro:ʦi se: mǎ kəm k<sup>h</sup>əibə na  
 kərəhǔ” .... {m:} bəs dunō: nǎ:?? .. kəhət<sup>h</sup>en ki “cəl .... je: pəhɪle: bo:li nǎ:?? ... u e:k ro:ʦi  
 k<sup>h</sup>ai .. je: bad mē: bo:li u du ro:ʦi k<sup>h</sup>ai” .... {hǎ} {I laugh} kəhǎi “cəl ʦ<sup>h</sup>ik” .... {ǎ} bəd dunō:  
 cədərə o:ʦ<sup>h</sup>i o:ʦ<sup>h</sup>i ke: nǎ? əndər se: dərwaʋa bənd kəi dihen .... {ǎ} sʋtten tanke: .... {ǎ} {m:}  
 tanke: sʋt gəen .. ər dɪn bita rat biti .. p<sup>h</sup>ɪr dɪn bita p<sup>h</sup>ɪr rat biti .... {tin ro:ʦi ke: cəkkər  
 mē:} tin ro:ʦi ke: cəkkər mē: {hǎ} pəta i cəla ki::: .... [o::] ... cəʋt<sup>h</sup>e: dɪn ... gǎōwǎwale:  
 jʋʦten .. kəhǎi ki [s:] ... “kəhǎ gəen i səsʋra b<sup>h</sup>ag gəen ki mər gəen .. kəhǎ: hǎ?” .... {hǎ}  
 təb pəta i cəla ki dərwaʋa to:ʦ dihen ... {hǎ} əndər g<sup>h</sup>ʋssen ... tǎ i kʋl nǎ:?? mənən ki bolɪa  
 bənd həri .. {hǎ} le:kin ək<sup>h</sup>ɪra se: takət<sup>h</sup>ē: .... {hǎ} [ek] .... bəs kʋl nat<sup>h</sup> it<sup>h</sup> ke: ihǎ k<sup>h</sup>əbər de:  
 dihen ... {m::} kʋl ro:wət aen g<sup>h</sup>əre: ki dunō: mər gəen .... {hǎ hǎ} d<sup>h</sup>əʦ se: [arti .. e::] ..  
 ʦɪkt<sup>h</sup>i bəni ... nəhwaen .. kəp<sup>h</sup>naen le:ke: cəl dihen mərg<sup>h</sup>əʦ pər .... {m:} jəb ʋhǎ gəen to:  
 ləkəʦi okəʦi a gəi .... {m:}{m:} əʋ cita ləg gəi ... {hǎ} təb mərda kəhət<sup>h</sup>ə ki “cəl re: səsʋra  
 cəl” .... {I laugh} {təhǎi duʦ<sup>h</sup>o: khae} “təhǎi du ro:ʦɪa k<sup>h</sup>ae” ... {hǎ} “mǎ əb har gəeǔ ... cəl ʋʦ<sup>h</sup>”  
 ... [[to: le: jane:wale: səb mərdan c<sup>h</sup>o:ʦ<sup>h</sup>ke: b<sup>h</sup>ag gəe]] ... {All from the audience laugh} ə:?  
 {ǎ:} ə i dunō: ʋʦ<sup>h</sup>en g<sup>h</sup>ər cəle: aen .. {ǎ} to: kʋcc<sup>h</sup>u na rəih gəwa ... {hǎ:} bən kəra ....

### B.4.3 Phonemic Transcription

- (1) e:k gãõ mē:, nə?, mĩābibi rəhət rəhen.
- (2) tə mĩābibi rəhət rəhen, tə ʊnəhən ke: aʃa kəm rəha g<sup>h</sup>əra mē:—tinət<sup>h</sup>o: ro:ʃi b<sup>h</sup>əi.
- (3) tə mərda kəhət<sup>h</sup>ə ki, “du ro:ʃi mǎ k<sup>h</sup>əihũ,” əvɹ mehrəvɹa kəhət<sup>h</sup>i, “du ro:ʃi mǎ k<sup>h</sup>əihũ.”
- (4) dʊnəhɹn mē: ho: gəwa gʊssi gʊssa—kəhət<sup>h</sup>i mehrəvɹa ki “du ro:ʃi se: mǎ kəm k<sup>h</sup>əɪbə na kərahũ.”
- (5) bəs dunō:, nə?—kəhət<sup>h</sup>en ki “cəl, je: pəhɪle: bə:li—nə?—u e:k ro:ʃi k<sup>h</sup>ai, je: bəd mē: bə:li u du ro:ʃi k<sup>h</sup>ai”
- (6) kəhǎĩ, “cəl ʃ<sup>h</sup>ik!”
- (7) bəs, dunō:—cəɖərə o:ʃ<sup>h</sup> o:ʃ<sup>h</sup>ke:, nə—əndər se: dərwaza bənd kəɪ dihen, sʊtten tanke:.
- (8) tanke: sʊt gəen, əvɹ dɪn bita, rat bitɪ, p<sup>h</sup>ɪr dɪn bita, p<sup>h</sup>ɪr rat bitɪ.
- (9) tin ro:ʃi ke: cəkəkər mē:!
- (10) pəta i cəla ki cəvɹ<sup>h</sup>e: dɪn gǎõwǎwale: jʊʃten.
- (11) kəhǎĩ ki, “kəhǎ gəen i səsɹra, b<sup>h</sup>ag gəen ki mər gəen—kəhǎ hǎ?!”
- (12) təb pəta i cəla ki dərwaza to:ʃ dihen, əndər g<sup>h</sup>ɹssen.
- (13) tə i kʊl, nə?, məhən ki bolɪa bənd həɪ, le:kɪn ək<sup>h</sup>ɪa se: takət<sup>h</sup>en.
- (14) bəs kʊl nat<sup>h</sup> it<sup>h</sup> ke: ɪhǎ k<sup>h</sup>əbər de: dihen.
- (15) kʊl ro:wət aen g<sup>h</sup>əre: ki dunō: mər gəen.
- (16) d<sup>h</sup>əʃ se: ʃɪk<sup>h</sup>i bəni, nəhwaen, kəp<sup>h</sup>naen, le:ke: cəl dihen mərg<sup>h</sup>əʃ pər.
- (17) jəb ʊhǎ gəen to: ləkəʃi okəʃi a gəi, əvɹ cita ləg gəi.
- (18) təb mərda kəhət<sup>h</sup>ə ki “cəl re: səsɹra, cəl. tǎhĩ du roʃta khəe, mǎ əb har gəũ, cəl ʊʃ<sup>h</sup>!”
- (19) [to: le: jane:wale: səb məɪdan c<sup>h</sup>o:ʃke: b<sup>h</sup>ag gəe.]
- (20) ə?
- (21) əvɹ i dunō: ʊʃ<sup>h</sup>en, g<sup>h</sup>ər cəle: aen.
- (22) to: kʊcc<sup>h</sup>u na rəh gəwa.
- (23) bən kəra.

### B.4.3 Free Translation

- (1) In a village, no?, a husband and wife lived.
- (2) The couple lived (there), (and) they had little flour in their house—only three *rotis* were made (from that).
- (3) Then the man said, “I’ll eat two *rotis*,” and the woman said, “I’ll eat two *rotis*.”
- (4) A heated argument took place between both of them—the woman says, “I’ll definitely not eat any less than two *rotis*!”
- (5) Just then, both of them, no?—they say, “Come on, whoever speaks first—no?—will eat one *roti*, and whoever speaks later will eat two *rotis*.”
- (6) (They both) said, “Okay, fine!”
- (7) Just then, both of them—having put on their bedsheets, no?—latched the door from inside, they slept stretching out.
- (8) Having slept stretching out, and (then) a day passed, a night passed, another day passed, and another night passed.
- (9) For the (mere) sake of three *rotis*!
- (10) It was learned that the villagers gathered on the fourth day.
- (11) They (villagers) wondered, “Where the hell did they go, run away, or die—where are they (exactly)?!”
- (12) Then it was learned that (the villagers) broke open the door and entered the house.
- (13) They all, (the husband and wife), no?, are mum but are (constantly) staring with their eyes (open).
- (14) Then they gave (this) news to the head (of the village).
- (15) They all came home crying that both of them had died.
- (16) They made a bier at once, bathed (the bodies), shrouded (them), and took to the crematorium.
- (17) When they reached there, the sticks and logs of wood were brought, and the fu-



neral pyre was set up.

(18) Then (finally) the man says, “Come on, man, come on. You eat two *rotis* yourself.

I’ve lost now. Come on, get up!”

(19) [[Then all those who took them there (to the crematorium) left the ground and ran away.]]

(20) Okay?

(21) And the two of them got up and came back home.

(22) So nothing (exactly) was left (there).

(23) Switch (the recorder) off.

## B.5 Story of a prince and his stepmother

### B.5.1 Metadata

Duration: 00:06:28

Date of recording: 2020-02-01

Title (English): Story of a prince and his stepmother

Creator: Maaz Shaikh

Speaker(s): Shauqat Tara

Location: Sonwara, Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India

Language(s): Azamgarhi

Dialect(s): Mix of Southern and Northern Azamgarhi (Koilāri and Sikṭhi)

Genre: Folktale

Description: This is a story about a prince whose mother died and his stepmother would never like him. It describes how she would trouble him and never give him good food to eat. However, he was lucky enough to have the blessings of a miraculous cow and feed on her milk. Later on, when his stepmother realized this, she ordered that all cows be slaughtered. Still, the prince escapes along with the cow to a different country where he grows up in a healthy environment. Finally, after quite a few years, he returns to his village, reuniting with his father.

Archival Link: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803901/>

### B.5.2 Actual Utterance Transcription

Maaz: calu hær

hã: e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: ræhen raja: ... {hã:} ã::? ʊnke: .. e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: ræhm rani ... {ã:} ʊnke: ræhm e:kt<sup>h</sup>o:  
 ʊnke: ræha læɾka ... {hã?ã:} to:: rani k<sup>h</sup>ætəm ho:ɪ gæin .... {hã?ã:} hã: .. to: fir raja [dæʊn]  
 dʊsæri rani laen .... {m:} hã: to: ʊnke:: [ə] eɾ<sup>h</sup>o: læɾki læike: ai ... {m:ʔm:} u læɾki jæʊn  
 hær: .. æpæni læɾki ka k<sup>h</sup>ub manæi ... {m:} k<sup>h</sup>ub b<sup>h</sup>æɪya k<sup>h</sup>ub manæi o:ka jæʊn hær æʊ æpæne: i  
 læɾkwa ka na manæi ... {m:ʔm:} tæb [o:ke:] raja jæʊn o:ka du caɾ<sup>h</sup>o: gae wae læeke: bækæri  
 okæri de: dihen .. ki “le: k<sup>h</sup>ub cærao oraο” ... {m:ʔm:} æb o:ki .. [ə: m:] jæʊn hær: .. [ə]  
 sæʊte:li mā ai ræhi ... {m:ʔm:} to: u æpæne: .. [l:] læɾkia ka k<sup>h</sup>ub manæi .. {m:ʔm:} hã e:ka  
 na manæi e:ka jæʊn æise: co:kær b<sup>h</sup>usi ki ro:ɾi o:ɾi sæb de: o: de: ... {m:ʔm:} a æpæne: ænda  
 pæraɾ<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>awæi .. {m:} tæ [i edəm] ... e:ki læɾkia egdəm dʊbæli pætæli æʊr læɾkæwa egdəm  
 k<sup>h</sup>ub mo:ɾæe .. æb e:ke: cækkær b<sup>h</sup>æwa .. tæ [e daɪ] æcc<sup>h</sup>a e:k dɪm b<sup>h</sup>æwa ki [ro:] u co:kær ki  
 ro:ɾi b<sup>h</sup>usi ki .. {m:ʔm:} yani co:kær jo: bo:læt<sup>h</sup>en .. {m:ʔm:} to: b<sup>h</sup>usi ki ro:ɾi le: jake: bæɾ<sup>h</sup>ke:  
 .. [ba mē: ekk<sup>h</sup>] bag mē: ro:wæt<sup>h</sup>æi k<sup>h</sup>ub .. {m:ʔm:} to: ommē: jæʊn gae ki bæɾi særdar gae  
 ræhi hær .. {m:} to: u [əl:] jæʊn hær æpæne: ʊppær ælla se: .. mɪnnæt maɲes ki “hæmmæi  
 zæban de: to: i læɾka se: hæm bat kæri” ... {æcc<sup>h</sup>a} to:: u: æcc<sup>h</sup>a ælla ka hʊkʊm b<sup>h</sup>æwa to:  
 wæ jæʊn hær bat kihen læɾka se: ki “kãhē: ro:wæt<sup>h</sup>æi?” tæ kæhær “hæmri ... sæʊte:li: æmma  
 hãɪ u jæʊn hãɪ mai hæmri .. iæi co:kær b<sup>h</sup>usi ki ro:ɾi de:t<sup>h</sup>i .. {m:ʔm:} æb hæm:: kæise: k<sup>h</sup>ai  
 rʊkk<sup>h</sup>i?” ... {m:ʔm:} to: kæhãɪ “kæʊno: bat na i ro:ɾi hæmmæi k<sup>h</sup>ɪla dæi .. {m:ʔm:} a i jæʊn  
 hær .. hæmra dud duhke: .. {m:ʔm:} t<sup>h</sup>o:ɾa dud be:cke: o:ka kʊc<sup>h</sup> mɪɾ<sup>h</sup>a oɾ<sup>h</sup>a le: awa lædɟu  
 oɟdu .. {m:ʔm:} æʊr .. ledɟu k<sup>h</sup>ake: dud<sup>h</sup> pi lɪa kæra” .. æb u k<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ake: k<sup>h</sup>ub mo:ɾa ho: gæwa  
 ... {m:ʔm:} tæo fir [ə: læɾ] sæʊte:li mā ka bæɾi cækkær dæbaes .. {m:ʔm:} ki “kãhē: hæmri:  
 .. læɾkia na mo:ɾati læɾkæwa mo:ɾat<sup>h</sup>æi” .. {m:} eise: oise: to: æcc<sup>h</sup>a e:k dɪm .. æpæni læɾkia  
 ka b<sup>h</sup>e:jes .. c<sup>h</sup>ʊpke: de:k<sup>h</sup>æi k<sup>h</sup>atɪr .. {m:ʔm:} u jæise: dud dʊɪhke: ... {hã} æʊ [m:] mɪɾ<sup>h</sup>ai  
 lædɟu lake: k<sup>h</sup>æe sʊru kihes tæb le: pahʊci .. “e: b<sup>h</sup>æɪya b<sup>h</sup>æɪya mo:kæi e: b<sup>h</sup>æɪya mo:kæi” ...  
 to:: jældi se: dihes kæhær “le: k<sup>h</sup>æe jo: kehʊka bætae mæt” ... {æcc<sup>h</sup>a} u le: gæi .. {m:} æpæne  
 g<sup>h</sup>ær dæʊɾi dæʊɾi b<sup>h</sup>agi æpæni mai ki thã .. {m:ʔm:} to: o:ki mai jæʊn hær .. kæhɪ g<sup>h</sup>ʊmmæi  
 gæi ræhi ... {æcc<sup>h</sup>a} hã: oki mai kæhɪ g<sup>h</sup>ʊmmæi gæi ræhi to: .. i eɾ<sup>h</sup>o: .. kæɾɾa mē: læpe:ɾke:  
 ræk<sup>h</sup> dihes ... {m:ʔm:} æb gæi mai k<sup>h</sup>o:jæi to: kæɾɾa ake: d<sup>h</sup>o:bm jæʊn hær oka ʊɾ<sup>h</sup>ake: le:ke:

cəli gəi ... {əcc<sup>h</sup>a:} ləɖɖu səme:t ... {m:ʔm:ʔm:} təb ai to: əpəni mai se: kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki “mai ... [m:] jəʊn həi məhī ləɖɖu rək<sup>h</sup>e: rəhū” kəhəi “kəisa ləɖɖu?” kəhəi “b<sup>h</sup>əiya ləɖɖu k<sup>h</sup>ake: dud piət<sup>h</sup>əi təbbəi mo:ʔa mo:ʔa ho:t<sup>h</sup>ər” ... {m:ʔm:} tə kəhəi “kəise:?” tə kəhəi ki “kəpɾəwa d<sup>h</sup>o:bɪmra ləi gəi” .. {hā} to: d<sup>h</sup>o:bɪm g<sup>h</sup>ər [gəw] b<sup>h</sup>e:jes .. {m:ʔm:} d<sup>h</sup>o:bɪm ai to: kəhəi ki “hā: mai həm to: .. kəpɾəwa ləi gəē: .. {m:} həmre mehman aen hāi həm ləɖɖu jəʊn həi əpəne: .. {m:} mehman ka k<sup>h</sup>ɪla dihē:” .. {m:ʔm:} tə kəhəi “cəla kəʊno bat <na> bat səhi həi?” kəhəi “hā ləɖɖu rəha” ... {m:ʔm:} əcc<sup>h</sup>a əb u sam ke: .. {m:ʔm:} əpəni cadər bɪstər tanke: so:m .. jəb raja kəcehəri se: aen .. {m:ʔm:} tə kəhəi “rani kāhē: so:i ha? ... {m:ʔm:} to vɾ<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ana pani kəra dana pani ləi” .. {m:ʔm:} to: kəhəi “nahī jəb tək ... sari gae kəʔi na .. {m:ʔm:} təb tək həm k<sup>h</sup>ana .. [a:] jən [ə:] ən .. na le:bə” .... {m:ʔm:} tə kəhəi “kəʊno: bat na həm sɔbak kəʔwae debəi .. kəl kəʔwae debəi kəl pərsō: .. əb kəl jəbəi kəhɪbəi kəsai osai se: to: pərsō: həm kəʔwae debəi” ... {m:ʔm:} to: u kəhen ki: .. “cəla ʔ<sup>h</sup>ik həi” to: əcc<sup>h</sup>a vɾ<sup>h</sup>m əpəna k<sup>h</sup>ana pani k<sup>h</sup>aen u ləɾkəwa sənət rəha ... {m:ʔm:} əb p<sup>h</sup>ɪr gəwa ro:wəi laga k<sup>h</sup>ub ro:wət<sup>h</sup>əi k<sup>h</sup>ub ro:wət<sup>h</sup>əi ... təb p<sup>h</sup>ɪr u gae ai .. p<sup>h</sup>ɪr kəhət<sup>h</sup>i “e əlla pak .. i ləɾka pə p<sup>h</sup>ɪr kəʊn kəʔt pəɾ gəwa” ... {m:} p<sup>h</sup>ɪr əlla se: əpəne: doa maŋes to: əlla tala kəhət<sup>h</sup>en ki “əcc<sup>h</sup>a hā bat kəra” .. bat kihen ... to: u ləɾka bo:lət<sup>h</sup>əi ki: .. “əb tu lo:g kəl kəʔ jəiha” .. {m:ʔm:} to: kəhəi “kəisi bat?” tə kəhəi “əisi əisi jəʊn həmri mai həi səʊtelki .. {m:ʔm:} u kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki [həm:] i lo:k ka jəb tək kəʔwəiha na təb tək həm .. {m:} dana pani na kərbə’ ... {m:ʔm:} to: həmre: bapji kəhət<sup>h</sup>en ki [kəʔ m:] .. ‘zərur se: həm [kəʔ .. kəʔ] kəl kəʔwae debəi’ “ to: kəhəi “kəʊno: bat na ... {m:} sam ke: jəb ban<sup>h</sup>əi .. {m:} tə həmri rəssi d<sup>h</sup>ili kər dihəi ... {m:ʔm:} tūhī ke jəgəihē: kəsai jəb ai kaʔəi k<sup>h</sup>atɪr ... {m:ʔm:} tə jəb həm b<sup>h</sup>əgbə tu həmre: pic<sup>h</sup>e: pic<sup>h</sup>e: b<sup>h</sup>agət cəle: aya” ...{m:} əcc<sup>h</sup>a kəsai ae gəwa rat mē: .. dʊsəre dɪm ... {m:} təb [u jəʊn həi] o:ka jəgaen ləɾkəwa ka .. ki “jəgawa o:ka ... [m:] .. jəʊn həi bolawa uhəi [pəi] kəri” [k<sup>h</sup>o:j] jəb u k<sup>h</sup>o:ləi gəen tə c<sup>h</sup>vɾt gəi rəssi d<sup>h</sup>ili rəhi ... {m:} əb .. b<sup>h</sup>agət gəi gae b<sup>h</sup>agət gəi pic<sup>h</sup>e: pic<sup>h</sup>e: .. e:ka b<sup>h</sup>e:jen “jo jəldi se: pəkəɾke: le:ke: ao” .. {m:ʔm:} əb b<sup>h</sup>agət b<sup>h</sup>agət bəs dʊsəre: mɔlɔk cəli gəi gae ... {əcc<sup>h</sup>a} dʊsəre: de:s .. {dʊsəre:} hā: əb uhā pəhōc gəi jəb jake: .. e:k jəise: [ə] bəɾasa b<sup>h</sup>iʔa rəha ... {m:ʔm:} jəʊn həi pəhəi ki tərah .. to: ohi pe: jake: .. gae ʔ<sup>h</sup>əhəri ... {m:} to: ohinjəg əpəna məɾ<sup>h</sup>əi j<sup>h</sup>opəi ɖalke: .. wəhī gae cərawəi lagen dud piəi lagen .. əb yehər jəʊn həi [gae] .. gae ke: kaʔət [ʊska] ləɾkəwa

herae gəwa mka .. {əcc<sup>h</sup>a} raja ka .. {m:} əb wəhi [ommē:] p<sup>h</sup>ikər mē: raja ro:wət ro:wət  
 ro:wət ro:wət egdam ən<sup>h</sup>əre: ho: gəen ... {m:} əv kəhā kəcehəri jaē: kəhā kao kərāī ...  
 {m:} a i ləɽka jəʊn həri k<sup>h</sup>ub məgən məgən əpəna gae le:ke: .. {m:ʔm:} hā jetəna <cahəri>  
 dud piəri əv jəʊn bəcəri e:k<sup>h</sup>o bɪl mē: ɖal de: ... {m:} bɪl rəhi həri {m:ʔm:} dud<sup>h</sup> kʊc<sup>h</sup> dɪn jəb  
 [u:] gʊzər gəwa ... {m:} təb ommē: se: e:k bəhət bəɽa .. sāf nɪkəla əzdəha {əzdəha} hā: tə  
 [kəhəri ki: i: ləɽkwa se: kəhət<sup>h</sup>əri ki .. ə] {m:} i ləga ɖerae .. kəhət<sup>h</sup>əri “ɖerae mət ... {m:ʔm:}  
 tu həmri bəhət se:wa kihe: həri tu həmse: kuc<sup>h</sup> maɽa tohəri mɪnnət puri kəri” ... {əcc<sup>h</sup>a}  
 tə i ləɽkəwa kəhət<sup>h</sup>əri ki: .. “kao mɪnnət [ə:] .. maɽi həm [jəʊn həri həm] i ka gae həri həm  
 cəraɪ<sup>h</sup>əri dud k<sup>h</sup>arɪ<sup>h</sup>əri” kəhət<sup>h</sup>əri “nahī” ... {m:ʔm:} to: u jəise: .. [ə:] əpəri tərəf se: jəise:  
 e<sup>h</sup>o: ləɽki bara bərəs ki ləɽki o:ka de: dihes ki “ləri e:se: sadi o:di kərke: tu əpəna rajpaɽ  
 kəra” ... {m:ʔm:ʔm:} to: u əpəna i sadi o:di jəise: wəhī se: əpəna kər orke: ... əv jəʊn həri:  
 .. wəhi mē: rəhəri ləgen məɽ<sup>h</sup>əri j<sup>h</sup>o:pəɽi <mē:> kʊc<sup>h</sup> dɪn ke: bad ʊnn<sup>h</sup>əri əb g<sup>h</sup>ər ki yad ai  
 ... {m:ʔm:} ki “əb cəli əb cəla” p<sup>h</sup>m kʊl əpəna kʊl .. bolaen əpəna [ɖo:la .. ə:] jəʊn həri  
 ɖo:la məhəp<sup>h</sup>a kʊl lad o:dke: əpəri mehraru ləɽka gae bəc<sup>h</sup>əwa jetəne: kʊl b<sup>h</sup>əe rəhen kʊl  
 .. {m:ʔm:} məɽ<sup>h</sup>əri j<sup>h</sup>o:pəɽi le:ke: jəʊn həri fir ʊhā pəhōcen .. {m:ʔm:} [əb g<sup>h</sup>ər ə] əv .. gāō  
 mē: gəen to: gāō oāō to: b<sup>h</sup>ɔlae gəwa ʊnke: .. jɪada dɪn ho: gəwa .. {m:ʔm:} puc<sup>h</sup>ət puc<sup>h</sup>ət  
 puc<sup>h</sup>ət pəhōcen ... to: səb kəhes ki jəʊn həri “raja saheb tohəra ləɽka ae gəwa tohəra  
 ləɽka ae gəwa” ... kəhāī “əre: əise: kəise: həmra ləɽka a jai?” .. {m:} jəb de:k<sup>h</sup>en to: bap  
 ən<sup>h</sup>əre: bəɽ<sup>h</sup>e: pəɽe: hāī .. {m:ʔm:} tə ləɽka a gəwa gəle: ole: mile: kəhəri “həməhi hāī” ...  
 {m:ʔm:} hā: .. kəhāī ki “kəhā? kəise:?” kəhəri ki .. [ə: .. i] .. “i dʊsəre: de:s nɪkəl gəi [həm  
 sat<sup>h</sup> sat<sup>h</sup>] tu pəkəɽəri kə həmse: kəhe: həm pəkəɽəri pəkəɽəri cəle: gəē: .. {m:ʔm:} hā: [to:  
 kəhāī] jəb ləɽka awa to: əpəna kəhəri laga “[de:k<sup>h</sup>a tohəri] həm de:k<sup>h</sup>a tohəri pətohɪo: le:  
 aē: hāī .. həmra sadi bra kʊl səb həmra ho: gəwa həri” ... {m:ʔm:} raja bəhət k<sup>h</sup>ʊs b<sup>h</sup>əen ..  
 {m:ʔm:} ər rani jəʊn rani cərpai pe: pəɽi rəhɪn əb u ləɽka jəʊn səbki se:wa k<sup>h</sup>ɪdmət kihes  
 ... əv səb əpəna rajpaɽ kihes ... {m:ʔm:} hā: ... kɪssa k<sup>h</sup>ətəm ...

Maaz: kɪssa

The narrator: kɪsā: ..

### B.5.3 Phonemic Transcription

Maaz: calu həi.

- (1) *hā!*
- (2) *e:kʰo: rəhen raja.*
- (3) *hā?*
- (4) *ʊnke: e:kʰo: rəhɪn rani.*
- (5) *ʊnke: rəhɪn, e:kʰo: ʊnke: rəha ləʔka.*
- (6) *to: rani kʰətəm ho:ɪ gəin.*
- (7) *hā.*
- (8) *to: pʰɪr raja dʊsəri rani laen.*
- (9) *hā!*
- (10) *to: ʊnke: e:kʰo: ləʔki ləike: ai.*
- (11) *u ləʔki jəʊn həi, əpəni ləʔki ka kʰub manəɪ—kʰub bʰəɪya, kʰub manəɪ o:ka jəʊn həi—  
əʊ əpəne: i ləʔkəwa ka na manəɪ.*
- (12) *təb raja jəʊn o:ka du caɾʰo: gae wae laeke:, bəkəri okəri de: dihen ki, “le:, kʰub cərao  
oraɔ.”*
- (13) *əb—o:ki, jəʊn həi, səʊte:li mā ai rəhi—to: u əpəni ləʔkia ka kʰub manəɪ, e:ka na  
manəɪ.*
- (14) *e:ka jəʊn, əise: co:kər bʰusi ki ro:ʔi o:ʔi səb de: o: de: əsɾ əpəne: əndə pəraʔʰa kʰɪawəɪ—  
tə e:ki ləʔkia egdəm dʊbəli pətəli əsɾ ləʔkəwa egdəm kʰub mo:ʔae.*
- (15) *əb e:ke: cəkəkər bʰəwa...*
- (16) *tə əccʰa, e:k dɪn bʰəwa ki u co:kər ki ro:ʔi, bʰusi ki—yani co:kər jo: bo:lətʰen—to: bʰusi  
ki ro:ʔi le: jake: bəɾʰke: bag mē: ro:wətʰəɪ kʰub.*
- (17) *to: ommē: jəʊn gae ki bəɾi sərdar gae rəhi həi, to: u jəʊn həi, əpəne: ʊppər əllah se:  
mɪnnət maɳes ki, “həmməɪ zəban de: to: i ləʔka se: həm bat kəri.”*
- (18) *to: u əccʰa əllah ka hʊkʊm bʰəwa, to: u jəʊn həi, bat kihən ləʔka se: ki, “kāhē:*

### B.5.3 Free Translation

Maaz: (The recorder) is on.

- (1) Yes!
- (2) There was a king.
- (3) Okay?
- (4) He had a queen, (and) they had a son.
- (5) The queen passed away.
- (6) Yes.
- (7) So then the king brought another queen (i.e., remarried).
- (8) Yes!
- (9) And she (the second wife) brought a girl for him (the king).
- (10) That girl, she (the second wife), would coddle her own daughter a lot but wouldn't coddle this (step-) son.
- (11) Then the king gave him (the son) two–four cows, (and) goats, and said, “Here, go graze (them).”
- (12) Now—his stepmother, who had come (to their home)—she loved and cherished her (own) daughter very much but didn't care for him.
- (13) She would keep giving him *rotis* of bran and husk while she would feed her daughter *egg-paratha*—(but still) her daughter was skinny while the son was growing very fat.
- (14) Now she (the queen) became baffled.
- (15) So, one fine day it happened such that he took *rotis* of bran and husk—what they call bran—he having taken those *rotis*, having gone and sit in the garden, cries a lot.
- (16) Then the leader of the cows there (in the garden), pleaded to God, “Give me speech so that I may talk to this boy.”

- ro:wət<sup>h</sup>ai?" tə kəhəi, "həmri səste:li əmma həi—u jəʊn həi, mai həmri—ihəi co:kəʀ  
b<sup>h</sup>usi ki ro:ʃi de:t<sup>h</sup>i. əb həm kəise: k<sup>h</sup>ai rək<sup>h</sup>i?"
- (19) to: kəhəi, "kəʊno: bat na. i ro:ʃi həmməi k<sup>h</sup>ila dəi, əʊr i jəʊn həi, həmra dud<sup>h</sup> duhke:,  
t<sup>h</sup>o:ʃa dud<sup>h</sup> be:cke:, o:ka kəʊc<sup>h</sup> mɪʃ<sup>h</sup>a oʃ<sup>h</sup>a le: awa—ləd<sup>h</sup>du oʃ<sup>h</sup>du—əʊr leʃ<sup>h</sup>du k<sup>h</sup>ake: dud<sup>h</sup>  
pi lia kəra."
- (20) əb u k<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ake: k<sup>h</sup>ub mo:ʃa ho: gəwa.
- (21) təb p<sup>h</sup>r, səste:li mā ka bəʃi cəkkəʀ dəbaes ki, "kāhē: həmri ləʃkia na mo:ʃati ləʃkəwa  
mo:ʃat<sup>h</sup>ai, əise:... oise:..."
- (22) to: əcc<sup>h</sup>a e:k dɪn, əpəni ləʃkia ka b<sup>h</sup>e:jes c<sup>h</sup>əpke: de:k<sup>h</sup>ai k<sup>h</sup>atɪr.
- (23) u jəise: dud<sup>h</sup> dəhike: əʊ mɪʃ<sup>h</sup>ai—ləd<sup>h</sup>du—lake: k<sup>h</sup>ae səru kihes, təb le: pahōci, "e: b<sup>h</sup>əiya,  
b<sup>h</sup>əiya mo:kəi, e: b<sup>h</sup>əiya mo:kəi!"
- (24) to: jəldi se: dihes, kəhəi, "le: k<sup>h</sup>ae jo:, kehuka bətae mət!"
- (25) u le: gəi əpəne g<sup>h</sup>ər dəʊʃi dəʊʃi b<sup>h</sup>agi—əpəni mai ki ihā.
- (26) to: o:ki mai jəʊn həi kəhī g<sup>h</sup>əmməi gəi rəhi.
- (27) hā, oki mai kəhī g<sup>h</sup>əmməi gəi rəhi, to: i e:k<sup>h</sup>o: kəʃa mē: ləpe:ʃke: rək<sup>h</sup> dihes.
- (28) əb gəi mai k<sup>h</sup>o:jəi to: kəʃəʃa ake:, d<sup>h</sup>o:ʃɪn jəʊn həi, o:ka ʊʃ<sup>h</sup>ake: le:ke: cəli gəi—ləd<sup>h</sup>du  
səme:t!
- (29) təb ai, to: əpəni mai se: kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki, "mai, jəʊn həi məhī leʃ<sup>h</sup>du rək<sup>h</sup>e: rəhū," kəhəi,  
"kəisa leʃ<sup>h</sup>du?"
- (30) kəhəi, "b<sup>h</sup>əiya leʃ<sup>h</sup>du k<sup>h</sup>ake: dud<sup>h</sup> piət<sup>h</sup>ai təbbəi mo:ʃa mo:ʃa ho:t<sup>h</sup>ai!"
- (31) tə kəhəi, "kəise:?" tə kəhəi ki, "kəʃəʃawa d<sup>h</sup>o:ʃɪn ləi gəi."
- (32) to: d<sup>h</sup>o:ʃɪn g<sup>h</sup>ər b<sup>h</sup>e:jes.
- (33) d<sup>h</sup>o:ʃɪn ai to: kəhəi ki, "hā: mai, həm to: kəʃəʃawa ləi gəē:. həmre: mehman aen hāi,  
həm leʃ<sup>h</sup>du jəʊn həi, əpəne: mehman ka k<sup>h</sup>ila dihē:."
- (34) kəhəi, "cəla kəʊno: bat na. bat səhi həi?" kəhəi, "hā, ləʃ<sup>h</sup>du rəha."
- (35) əcc<sup>h</sup>a, əb u sam ke:, əpəni cadəʀ bɪstəʀ tanke: so:ɪn.
- (36) jəb raja kəcehəri se: aen, tə kəhəi, "rani, kāhē: so:i ha? ʊʃ<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ana pəni kəra, dana

- (17) Okay, God gave his command, so she (the cow) asked the boy, “Why are you crying”?
- (18) He said, “My stepmother—my mother—she gives me these *rotis* of bran and husk. How can I eat (these) dry (*rotis*)?”
- (19) So she (the cow) said, “Don’t worry. Feed me these *rotis*, and having milked me, selling some of the milk, of that (money) buy some sweets —*laddoos* and such—and eat the *laddoos* and drink the milk.”
- (20) Now, he turned pretty fat by eating a lot.
- (21) Then, his stepmother was very baffled, (thinking,) “Why is my daughter not growing fat, (but) the boy is growing so fat, like this, like that..”
- (22) So, one fine day, she sent her daughter to look in secret (at what the boy is doing).
- (23) Just as he milked the cows and began eating the sweets—the *laddoos*—she reached there (calling out), “Hey, brother, brother, (give it) to me, hey, brother, (give it) to me!”
- (24) So, he quickly gave (some) to her and said, “Here, eat it, (but) don’t tell anyone!”
- (25) Taking (the *laddoos*), she went running to her home, to her mother.
- (26) But her mother had gone somewhere (outside) to roam.
- (27) Yes, her mother had gone somewhere (outside) to roam, so she wrapped (the *laddoos*) in a cloth and kept (them).
- (28) As she went to find her mother, the washerwoman took that cloth and went away—along with the *laddoos*.
- (29) Then when she (the mother) came (back), the girl tells her, “Mom, I’d kept *laddoos* here.”
- (30) She (the mother) asks, “What *laddoos*?” (the girl) says, “Brother eats *laddoos* and drinks milk, that’s why he’s becoming so fat!”
- (31) So, (the mother) asked, “How?” (the girl) said, “The washerwoman took the cloth.”
- (32) So (the mother) send (the girl) to the washerwoman’s house.

*pani lai*”

- (37) *to: kəhāĩ, “nahĩ, jəb tək sari gae kəʃi na, təb tək həm kʰana—jal əsr ən—na le:bə.”*
- (38) *tə kəhāĩ, “kəʋno: bat na, həm sʋbah kəʃwae debəi, kəl kəʃwae debəi—kəl, pərsō: əb kəl jəibəi, kəhībəi kəsai osai se:, to: pərsō: həm kəʃwae debəi.”*
- (39) *to: u kəhen ki, “cəla ʃʰik həi,” to: əccʰa, ʋʃʰɪn to:, əpəna kʰana pani kʰaen—u ləʃkəwa sʋnət rəha.*
- (40) *əb pʰɪr gəwa, ro:wəi laga—kʰub ro:wətʰəi kʰub ro:wətʰəi.*
- (41) *təb pʰɪr u gae ai, pʰɪr kəhətʰi, “e: əllah pak, i ləʃka pe: pʰɪr kəʋn kəʃʃ pəʃ gəwa?”*
- (42) *pʰɪr əllah se: əpəne: doa maŋes, to: əllah tala kəhətʰen ki, “əccʰa hā, bat kəra”—bat kihən.*
- (43) *to: u ləʃka bo:lətʰəi ki, “əb tu lo:g kəl kəʃ jəiha!”*
- (44) *to: kəhəi, “kəisi bat?” tə kəhəi, “əisi əisi... jəʋn həmri mai həi, səʋtelki—u kəhətʰi ki, ‘i lo:gən ka jəb tək kəʃwəiha na təb tək həm dana pani na kərbəi.’ to: həmre: bapji kəhətʰen ki, ‘zərur se: həm kəl kəʃwae debəi.”*
- (45) *to: kəhəi, “kəʋno: bat na. sam ke: jəb banʰəi, tə həmri rəssi dʰili kər dihəi.tūhĩ ke: jəgəihē: kəsai jəb ai kaʃəi kʰatɪr. tə jəb həm bʰəgbəi, tu həmre: picʰe: picʰe: bʰagət cəle: ayəi.”*
- (46) *əccʰa kəsai ae gəwa rat mē:, dʋsəre: dɪn.*
- (47) *təb o:ka jəgaen ləʃkəwa ka ki, “jəgawa, o:ka jəʋn həi, bolawa—uhəi kəri.”*
- (48) *jəb u kʰo:ləi gəen tə cʰʋʃ gəi rəssi—dʰili rəhi.*
- (49) *əb bʰagət gəi gae bʰagət gəi—picʰe: picʰe: e:ka bʰe:jən, “jo:, jəldi se: pəkəʃke: le:ke: ao!”*
- (50) *əb bʰagət bʰagət bəs dʋsəre: mʋlʋk cəli gəi gae—dʋsəre: de:s.*
- (51) *hā!*
- (52) *əb ʋhā pəhʋc gəi jəb jake:, jəise: e:k bəʃasa bʰiʃta rəha, jəʋn həi—pəhaʃi ki tərah—to: ohi pe: jake: gae ʃʰəhəri.*
- (53) *to: ohinjəg əpəna məʃʰəi jʰopəʃi ʃalke:, wəhĩ gae cərawəi lagen, dudʰ piəi lagen.*

- (33) (When) the washerwoman came, she said, “Yes madam, I’d taken the cloth. Guests have come to my house, so I fed (those) *laddoos* to my guests.”
- (34) (The queen) said, “Alright, no problem. Is it true?” (the washerwoman) said, “Yes, there were *laddoos*.”
- (35) So now, in the evening, having put on the sheets, she (the queen) slept stretching out.
- (36) When the king came back from his court, he asked, “Queen, why are you sleeping? Get up, please have your meal.”
- (37) Then (the queen) said, “No, until all the cows are slaughtered, I will not take food—neither water nor grain.”
- (38) Then he (the king) said, “Never mind. I will have (the cows) slaughtered in the morning, tomorrow—tomorrow, or the day after. I’ll go tomorrow and talk to the butcher, and so will have (the cows) slaughtered the day after.”
- (39) Then she said, “Okay, fine,” then she got up, had her meal—that boy was listening (all the while).
- (40) Now he went (to the garden) again and started crying—he cries a lot.
- (41) Then the cow came (to him) again, she again said, “O Almighty God, what trouble did this boy face again?”
- (42) She again supplicates to God, and God said, “Okay, talk”—(and) they talked.
- (43) The boy says, “Now you are all going to be slaughtered tomorrow!”
- (44) She asks, “What? How?” He says, “Like this—my stepmother—she says, ‘Until you don’t have them (these cows) slaughtered, I will not have my meal.’ So my father says, ‘I will definitely have all of them slaughtered’.”
- (45) She said, “Never mind. When you tie (me) up in the evening, slacken my rope. You will be the one whom they’ll wake up when the butcher arrives to slaughter. Then when I shall run, you come running behind me.”
- (46) Okay, the butcher arrived at the night, (of) the second day.

- (54) *ab yehar jəʊn həi, gae ke: kaʃət ləʃkəwa herae gəwa mka, raja ka.*
- (55) *ab wəhi pʰɪkər mē: raja ro:wət, ro:wət, ro:wət, ro:wət, egdam ənʰəre: ho: gəen, əʊ kəhā kəcehəri jaē: kəhā kao kərāi?—əʊr i ləʃka jəʊn həi kʰub məgən məgən əpəna gae le:ke.*
- (56) *hā, jetəna cahai dudʰ piəi əʊ jəʊn bəcəi e:ktʰo bil mē: ɖal de:—bil rəhi həi.*
- (57) *kʊcʰ dɪn jəb gʊzər gəwa, təb ommē: se: e:k bəhʊt bəʃa sāpʰ nɪkəla, əzdəha.*
- (58) *hā!*
- (59) *tə i ləga ɖərae; kəhətʰəi, “ɖərae mət! tu həmri bəhʊt se:wa kihe: həi; tu həmse: kucʰ maŋa, həm tohəri mɪnnət puri kəri.”*
- (60) *tə i ləʃkəwa kəhətʰəi ki, “kao mɪnnət maŋi həm, i ka gae həi—həm cəraɪtʰəi, dudʰ kʰaɪtʰəi,” kəhətʰəi, “nahi!...”*
- (61) *to: u jəise:—əpəni tərəf se:, jəise:—e:ktʰo: ləʃki, bara bərəs ki ləʃki, o:ka de: dihes, ki, “ləi, e:se: sadi o:di kərke:, tu əpəna rajpaʃ kəra.”*
- (62) *to: u əpəna i sadi o:di, jəise: wəhi se: əpəna kər orke:, əʊ jəʊn həi, wəhi mē: rəhəri lagen—məʃtʰəi jʰo:pəʃi mē:.*
- (63) *kʊcʰ dɪn ke: bad ʊnnʰəi əb gʰər ki yad ai ki, “əb cəli, əb cəla.”*
- (64) *pʰɪn əb, kʊl əpəna, kʊl bolaen əpəna jəʊn həi ɖo:la məhəpʰa, kʊl lad o:dke:, əpəni mehraru, ləʃka, gae, bəcʰəwa—jetəne: kʊl bʰəe rəhen, kʊl—məʃtʰəi jʰo:pəʃi le:ke: jəʊn həi, pʰɪr ʊhā pəhʊcən.*
- (65) *əb gāō mē: gəen to: gāō oāō to: bʰʊlæe gəwa ʊnke:—jɪada dɪn ho: gəwa.*
- (66) *pucʰət, pucʰət, pucʰət, pəhʊcən to: səb kəhes ki, jəʊn həi, “raja saheb, tohəra ləʃka ae gəwa, tohəra ləʃka ae gəwa!”*
- (67) *kəhāi, “əre: əise: kəise: həmra ləʃka a jai?!”*
- (68) *jəb de:kʰen to: bap ənʰəre: bəiʃtʰe: pəʃe: hāi, tə ləʃka a gəwa, gəle: ole: milen, kəhəri, “həməhi hāi!”*
- (69) *kəhāi ki, “kəhā, kəise:?” kəhəri ki, “i dʊsəre: de:s nɪkəl gəi. tu pəkəʃəi ka həmse: kəhe:, həm pəkəʃəi pəkəʃəi cəle: gəē:.”*

- (47) Then they woke up the boy, saying, “Wake him and call him—he (is the one who) will do (everything).”
- (48) When he went to untie, the rope got freed—it was slack.
- (49) Now the cow went running and running—they sent him behind, saying, “Go quickly and bring (her) back!”
- (50) Now, running and running, the cow reached another territory—another country!
- (51) Yes!
- (52) After reaching there, there was a large mound—like a hill—and the cow stopped there.
- (53) So at the same place, after putting his shanty and shack there, he started grazing the cow and drinking (her) milk.
- (54) Now here, while having the cows slaughtered, his son was lost—the king’s.
- (55) Now in that distress, the king crying, crying and crying, became completely blind, and how could he go to the court and what could he do?—and this boy, (he was) very involved with his cow.
- (56) Yes, he would drink milk as much as he wanted, and whatever remained, he would put it inside a hole—there was a hole.
- (57) When few days passed, a giant snake—a python—came out from it.
- (58) Yes!
- (59) So the boy started to fear, but (the snake) said, “Don’t be afraid! You’ve done me a great service; you ask me something, I will fulfill your wish.”
- (60) So the boy says, “What wish can I ask for? Here is my cow—I graze her, drink (her) milk,” (the snake) said, “No!...”
- (61) Then he (the snake)—from his side—gave him a girl, a twelve-year-old girl, saying, “Take (her), marry her and run your household.”
- (62) Then he, having married (her), began to live right there—in the cottage.
- (63) Then after some time, he started getting memories of his home (and he said),

(70) *hā, jəb ləŋka awa, to: əpəna kəhəi laga, “həm, de:k<sup>h</sup>a, tohəri pətəhio: le: aē: hāi.*

*həmra sadi biah kəl səb həmra ho: gəwa həi.”*

(71) *raja bəhət k<sup>h</sup>əs b<sup>h</sup>əen, əv rani jəvn, rani cəpai pe: pəŋi rəhin.*

(72) *əb u ləŋka jəvn səbki se:wa k<sup>h</sup>idmət kihes, əv səb əpəna rajpaŋ kihes.*

(73) *kɪssa k<sup>h</sup>ətəm.*

**Maaz:** *kɪssa...*

**The narrator:** *kɪssa, hā!*

“Come on, now let’s go.”

(64) So, he now called everyone and having brought his litter and palanquin, his wife, children, cows-calves—all that had born—he took his shack, and they all then reached there.

(65) When he went to the village, he had forgotten the village and all—it became so long.

(66) They kept asking and asking, and reached and (when they arrived) everyone said, “King, your son has come back, your son has come back!”

(67) (The king) said, “How is possible that my son can come back?!”

(68) When he (the prince) saw that his father, having turned blind, was sitting, then the boy (the prince) came (close to his father), then hugged (his father)—said, “It’s me!”

(69) (The king) said, “Where? How?” (The prince) said, “This (cow) reached another country. You’d asked me to catch (her), and I went away while (trying) to catch her.”

(70) Yes, (and) when the boy came back—he began to say, “See, I’ve brought (along) your daughter-in-law. I’m already married now.”

(71) The king became very happy, and the queen remained lying on the bed.

(72) Now the boy served everyone, and all of them reigned.

(73) The story (is) over.

**Maaz:** The story...

**The narrator:** The story, yes!

## B.6 Story of Sheherbānō—the Azamgarhi version of Cinderella

### B.6.1 Metadata

Duration: 00:05:07

Date of recording: 2020-02-10

Creator: Maaz Shaikh

Speaker(s): Habeebah Bano

Location: Bairīḍīh, Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India Language(s): Azamgarhi

Dialects(s): Southern Azamgarhi (Baḍhārīā)

Genre: Folktale

Description: This story—which can be said to be the Azamgarhi version of the world-famous folktale of Cinderella—is about a gorgeous princess named Sheherbānō whose mother dies, and her father remarries. The stepmother would never like the princess and inflict tremendous pain on her. Living in forsaken circumstances, the young princess witnesses a remarkable change in her fortune, thanks to her very attractive sandal being lost in the market after returning from her friend’s wedding. This leads to her accession to the throne when a prince finds that sandal and turns desperate to marry its owner. This story describes how the stepmother tries the best of her stratagems, leaving no stone unturned, to prevent this from happening — but in total vain.

Archival link: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1803910/>

## B.6.2 Actual Utterance Transcription

Maaz: cəla fɔru kəra

e:ktʰo: raja rəhen ... {m:ʔm:} e:ktʰo: rani rəhɪm .... {m:ʔm:} ʊnke: e:ktʰo: lətʃki rəhi {əccʰa}  
 .... to: lətʃki kə nam feherbano: rəha .. {m:} feherbano: bətʃi kʰʊbsurət rəhɪm .... {m:ʔm:}  
 to: ... feherbano: ki mǎ: e:k dɪm bimar bʰəm rani .... {m:ʔm:} təbɪrət bəhʊt zada kʰərəb rəhi  
 to: rani əpne: raja ka bolaen .. əʊr feherbano: ke: satʰ mē: bətʃi aen {m:ʔm:ʔm:} ... raja se:  
 kəhen ki “dekʰa əgər həm kʰətəm ho: jəɪbəri to: dəsri fadi mət kihəri {m:ʔm:} .. nəhi to:  
 jəʊn ai həmri lətʃki ka sətai” ... {m:ʔm:} raja kəhen “tʰik həi” .... {m:ʔm:} əb rani ittefak se:  
 kʰətəm ho:ɪ gəɪn {m:} raja dəsri fadi kəri lihen ... {m:ʔm:} to: jəb rani dəsri am to: ʊnse:  
 e:ktʰo: lətʃki rəhɪm .... {m:ʔm:} to: .. ʊnki e:ktʰo: lətʃki rəhɪm əb u sətʰe:li mǎ jəʊn rəhi  
 feherbano: ka bəhʊt sətawəri əpni lətʃki ka bəhʊt manəri ... {m:ʔm:} rajo: pərəfanəri rəhen  
 raja ka kəri səkətʰen .. {m:ʔm:} bəs e:k dɪm feherbano: ki do:s ki fadi rəhi ... {m:ʔm:}  
 əʊr i gəi fadi mē: ... {m:} to: fadi mē: se: jəb wapəs awəri ləgi to: o:ka e:k cəppəl wəhi  
 bazar mē: cʰʊt gəwa .... {m:ʔm:} əʊr u səɪndɪl bətʃi kʰʊbsurət rəhi .... {m:ʔm:} [to: jəb ə  
 pəhʊcen to:] .. i age: ae gəi əpne: gʰər .. {m:ʔm:} picʰe: se: e:k dəsre: e:ri se: {m:} e:ktʰo:  
 .. {m:} badʃa gʰo:ɾa se: aen ... {m:ʔm:} əʊ ihəi eʰo: rajkʊmar rəha u cəppəl le:ke: .. əpna  
 dekʰawət rəha ki cəppəl ke:ka həi ... {m:ʔm:} to: [ba] badʃa kəhen ki “i cəppəl ka je: pəta  
 ləgae lei: həm oke: satʰ o:ki fadi kəra debəri” ... {m:ʔm:} əʊ u jəʊn rajkʊmar rəhen [wəri  
 gʰo:ɾa] wəri cəppəl le:ke: aen .. {m:} to: ʊnnʰəri i pəta cəla ki i feherbano: ka həi ... {m:ʔm:}  
 to: jəb ʊnke: dərwaze: aen .. awaz dihen ... {m:ʔm:} to: ʊnki jəʊn dəsri əmma rəhɪm ...  
 {m:ʔm:} wəri əpne: gʰər mē: e:k dərba bənae rəhɪm {m:} to: u dərba mē: .. {m:} feherbano:  
 ka bənd kəri dihen ... {m:ʔm:} əʊr əpni lətʃki ka samne: kəri dihen ... {m:ʔm:} ki “ihəri lətʃki  
 həi ehika cəppəl həi” .... {m:ʔm:} to: jəb rajkʊmar u cəppəl dekʰaes to: ʊnke: pəri mē:  
 jəɪbəri na kəri {m:} .... to: kəhen “əb ka kəri?” ... {m:ʔm:} to: u ʊtʰi əpni lətʃki ki e:ɾi  
 kaɾ dihes kəhəri “əb i cəppəl ho: jai” ... {əccʰa} le:kɪm cəppəl na ho:e .. {m:} əb u pərəfan  
 ki etna kʰʊbsurət əʊr kəri: na ho:e ... {m:ʔm:} to: jəb wapəs awəri ləga kəhəri “tʰik həi ..  
 əgər i gʰər na həi .. i gʰər ki lətʃki na həi .. to: həm cəppəl wapəs le:ke: jaitʰəri ... {m:ʔm:}  
 təb wəhi [feher] feherbano: dərba mē: se: bo:li {m:} “kʊkʊ:kū: kʊkʊ:kū: [[feherbano:  
 dərbe: mē:]]” ... {m:} bəs i picʰe e:ka ahət mɪli to: picʰe: mətʃke: de:kʰes to: dərba mē: <se:>

feherbano: ... {m:ʔm:} nɪkli .... {m:ʔm:} nɪkli to: feherbano jəb səndɪl de:kʰes to: əpne:  
 pəɪr mē: ɖales ... to: eke: bərabər ho:ɪ gəi ... {m:ʔm:} [əb i] .. əb i .. wəpəs awa rajkɔmar  
 ... rajkɔmar wəpəs awa to: [m:] .. badʃa ka pəta cəla ki rajkɔmar pəta ləgae lihes həi ..  
 {m:ʔm:} ki feherbano: ki səndɪl həi i kəhes ki “həmri ʃadi kərwaɛ dəi” ... {m:ʔm:} kəhəi  
 “ʔhik həi” ... əb bʰəɪya ʃadi rajkɔmar ki feherbano: ke: ihā barat awətʰi .. {m:} ʃadi ho:tʰi  
 .. {m:} jəb rɔkʰsəti ka ʔaim ho:tʰəi to: jəʊn səʊte:li mā: rəhətʰin ... {m:ʔm:} wəi əpni ləʔki  
 ka gaʔi mē: bəɪtʰa de:tʰin ... {m:ʔm:} əʊr e:ke: .. maɲ mē: sē:dɔr [mē:] jəb bʰəɪtʰin to: sɔi  
 ... sē:dɔr mē ɖalke: ... {m:ʔm:} maɲ mē: rəkkʰətʰin to: u cɪɾa bənke: ʊɾ jatʰi ... {m:ʔm:}  
 əʊr əpni ləʔki ka rɔkʰsət kəi de:tʰin ... {m:ʔm:} əb i jəb dɔlhən bənke: jatʰi ʊnke: gʰəɪ jəb  
 ye: rajkɔmar gungʰəʔ ʊtʰawətʰen jəb de:kʰətʰen to: egdəm həɪrət mē: pəɾ jatʰen ki “i to:  
 u ləʔki na həi je:ka həm səndɪl pəhɪnaeke: aē: həi” .... {m:ʔm:} bəhɔt pəre:ʃan .. əndər  
 bahər əndər bahər səb lo:g pucʰətʰen ki “rajkɔmar əisa ka həi?” .. {m:} kəhəi ki “həm:  
 mətləb to: ləʔki jəʊn de:kʰe: rəhē: i to: dɔsəri ləʔki həi” ... {m:ʔm:} le:kɪn bʰəɪya ... sɔba  
 ke: nɪkla .. {m:ʔm:} e:k bəhɔt bəɪtʰi bag rəhi ommen ektʰo: cɪɾmar rəha cɪɾa marət rəha  
 ... {m:ʔm:} to: [feherbano: əre:] cɪɾa ki awaz jəb i sɔnes .... ki etəni əccʰi awaz cɪɾa ki həi  
 .. {m:ʔm:} to: cɪɾmar se: kəhes ki “uwali cɪɾa jəʊn həi u həmməi marke: de: dəi” .. {m:}  
 kəhəi “ʔhik həi” .. {m:} əb u cɪɾa jəb marke: rajkɔmar ka dihen cɪɾa le:ke: aen əpne: gʰəɪ  
 .. {m:ʔm:} pɪjəɾa mē: rəkkʰen .... {m:ʔm:} pɪjəɾa mē: rəkkʰen .. to: əb sɔba ke: .. so:cen ki  
 əb cɪɾa ka həm nəhlae dʰɔlae dei .... {m:ʔm:} .təb e:ka həm .. pʰɪr əpna kʰɪlai pɪlai ihər  
 nəhlawəi kʰatɪr jəb oke: sar pe: hatʰ pʰe:ren ... {m:ʔm:} to: mke: hatʰ mē: sɔi cɔb gəi ..  
 {m:} to: ye: so:cen ki “sɔi cɔbʰi həi həm nɪkal dei cɪɾa ka təkɪf ho:tʰi” .. {m:} jəb sɔi  
 nɪkal dihen to: u kʰɔbsurət ləʔki bən gəi .. {m:} . to: rajkɔmar egdəm həɪrət mē: pəɾ gəen  
 ki “i to: u ləʔki həi je:ka həm [sə] cəppəl le: gəe rəhē:!” .... {m:ʔm:} [əb] .. ye: əb rajkɔmar  
 .. feherbano: ka le:ke: əpne: satʰ pʰɪr rəhəi lagen .. {m:ʔm:} əʊr jəʊn .. ləʔki ka le:ke: ae  
 rəhen ... {m:ʔm:} o:ka rat mē: ʊtʰen pura bo:ʔi bo:ʔi kəike: .. {m:ʔm:} kɔl jʰəɪa mē: kəike:  
 əpne nəʊkərən se: gaʔi se: bʰe:j dihen .... {m:ʔm:} jəb ʊnke: dərwaɛ: pəhɔci gaʔi .. {m:}  
 to: ʊnke: e:ktʰo: cʰo:ʔi ləʔki rəhi raja ke: ... {m:ʔm:} to: jəb gaʔi pəhɔci to: .. i .. həɲgama  
 kihes ki “didi ai həi didi ai həi!” .... {m:} əb didi to: gaʔi mē: bəɪtʰi rəhɪn .. {m:} le:kɪn jəb  
 jʰəɪa ʊtəri .. e:k jʰəɪa gəi jəb dɔsri jʰəɪa gəi .. {m:ʔm:} to: mki cʰo:ʔiwali bəhen jəb

j<sup>h</sup>əpɾiɑ k<sup>h</sup>o:lke: de:k<sup>h</sup>es to: cillani ki “əre: i to: didi ka pəɾ həi” .. {m:} to kəhəĩ “nahĩ .. əisa  
 nəi ho: səktəi” .. p<sup>h</sup>ɪr dʊsɾɑ k<sup>h</sup>o:les kəhəi “didi ka hat<sup>h</sup> həi” .. {m:} kəhəĩ “nəhĩ əisa na ho:  
 səktəi” .. p<sup>h</sup>ɪr kəhəĩ “həm de:k<sup>h</sup>i” .. {m:} jəb ye: ain tɪsɾi j<sup>h</sup>əpɾiɑ k<sup>h</sup>o:lke: de:k<sup>h</sup>en to: ommen  
 didi mki ləɟki ka pura mūhəi rəkk<sup>h</sup>a rəhɑ ... {m:ʔm:} k<sup>h</sup>o:len .. to: mke: əɟəɪk ae gəwɑ .. ..  
 {m:ʔm:} ye: k<sup>h</sup>ətəm ho:ɪ gəin wəhĩ ... {m:ʔm:} p<sup>h</sup>ɪr wəhĩ mē: [ə:] .. rajo: .. bekar ho:ɪ gəen  
 .. {m:} ʊnki [lacar] lacari ae gəi dɪmag na kam kəɾəi .. {m:} əʊr ye: rajkəmar ʃeherbano:  
 ka le:ke: əpne: g<sup>h</sup>əɾ rajpəɟ kəɾəi lagen .. {m:} məhəl mē: rəhəi lagen ..

Maaz: cəla t<sup>h</sup>ik həi

### B.6.3 Phonemic Transcription

Maaz: *cəla, fəru kəra.*

- (1) *e:kʰo: raja rəhen, e:kʰo: rani rəhɪn.*
- (2) *ʊnke: e:kʰo: ləʔki rəhi.*
- (3) *to: ləʔki ka nam feherbano: rəha.*
- (4) *feherbano: bəʔi kʰʊbsurət rəhɪn.*
- (5) *to: feherbano: ki mā: e:k dɪn bimar bʰəɪn—rani.*
- (6) *təbɪet bəhʊt zada kʰərab rəhi, to: rani əpəne: raja ka bolaen, əvʊ feherbano: ke: satʰ mē: bəiʔʰaen.*
- (7) *raja se: kəhen ki, “dekʰa, əgər həm kʰətəm ho: jəibəi to: dʊsəri fadi mət kihəi, nəhɪ to: jəvɪn ai həmri ləʔki ka sətai.”*
- (8) *raja kəhen, “ʔʰik həi!”*
- (9) *əb rani ittefak se: kʰətəm ho:ɪ gəin, raja dʊsəri fadi kəi lihen.*
- (10) *to: jəb rani dʊsəri am, to: ʊnse: e:kʰo: ləʔki rəhɪn.*
- (11) *to: ʊnki e:kʰo: ləʔki rəhɪn; əb u—səste:li mā jəvɪn rəhi—feherbano: ka bəhʊt sətawəi, əpəni ləʔki ka bəhʊt manəi.*
- (12) *rajo: pərəfanəi rəhen—raja ka kəih səkətʰen?*
- (13) *bəs e:k dɪn feherbano: ki do:s ki fadi rəhi, əvʊ i gəi fadi mē:.*
- (14) *to: fadi mē: se: jəb wəpəs awəi ləgi, to: o:ka e:k cəppəl wəhi bazar mē: cʰʊʔ gəwa, əvʊ u səɪndɪl bəʔi kʰʊbsurət rəhi.*
- (15) *i age: ae gəi əpəne: gʰəʔ, piçʰe: se:—e:k dʊsəre: e:riɑ se:—e:kʰo: badfah gʰo:ʔɑ se: aen.*
- (16) *əvʊ ihəi e:kʰo: rajkʊmar rəha u cəppəl le:ke: əpəna dekʰawət rəha ki cəppəl ke:ka həi.*
- (17) *to: badfah kəhen ki, “i cəppəl ka je: pətɑ ləgae le:i, həm oke: satʰ o:ki fadi kərae debəi.”*
- (18) *əvʊ u jəvɪn rajkʊmar rəhen—wəi cəppəl le:ke: aen, to: ʊnnʰəi i pətɑ cəla ki i feherbano:*

### B.6.3 Free Translation

Maaz: Alright, please start.

- (1) There was a king, (and) a queen.
- (2) They had a daughter.
- (3) The daughter's name was Sheherbano.
- (4) Sheherbano was very beautiful.
- (5) Then, one day, Sheherbano's mother fell ill—the queen.
- (6) She was in very bad health, so the queen called her king and had Sheherbano sit alongside him.
- (7) She said to the king, “See, if I die, don't remarry, lest who will come (i.e., the woman you'll marry) will trouble my daughter.”
- (8) The king said, “Alright!”
- (9) Then the queen died by coincidence, (and) the king remarried.
- (10) After he married his second wife, she had a daughter.
- (11) So, she had a daughter; now she—the one who was the stepmother—would trouble Sheherbano a lot and coddle her own daughter a lot.
- (12) The king was also upset (by this)—what could he say?
- (13) One day it was Sheherbano's friend's wedding, and she (Sheherbano) went to the wedding.
- (14) When she was returning from the wedding, she lost one of her sandals there in the market, and that sandal was very beautiful.
- (15) So she came ahead to her house, (while) from behind—from a different area—an emperor came by on his horse.
- (16) And here was a prince with that sandal with him, asking as to whose sandal it is.
- (17) The emperor said, “Whoever finds about the (owner) of this sandal, I will marry them to her (the owner of the sandal).”

*ka həi.*

- (19) *to: jəb ʊnke: dər waze: aen, awaz dihen, to:—ʊnki jəʊn dəsəri əmma rəhɪn—wəi əpəne: g<sup>h</sup>ər mē: e:k dərba bənae rəhɪn, to: u dərba mē: feherbano: ka bənd kəi dihen, əʊr əpəni lətʃki ka samne: kəi dihen, ki, “ihəi lətʃki həi; ehika cəppəl həi.”*
- (20) *to: jəb rajkɔmar u cəppəl dek<sup>h</sup>aes, to: ʊnke: pəir mē: jəɪbəi na kərəi.*
- (21) *to: kəhen, “əb ka kəri?”*
- (22) *to: u ʊt<sup>h</sup>i, əpəni lətʃki ki e:ɾi kaɾ dihes—kəhəi, “əb i cəppəl ho:ɪ jai,” le:kɪn cəppəl na ho:e.*
- (23) *əb u pərə:fan ki etəna k<sup>h</sup>ʊbsurət, əʊr kəise: na ho:e!*
- (24) *to: jəb wəpəs awəi ləga, kəhəi, “t<sup>h</sup>ik həi! əgər i g<sup>h</sup>ər na həi, i g<sup>h</sup>ər ki lətʃki na həi, to: həm cəppəl wəpəs le:ke: jai<sup>h</sup>əi.”*
- (25) *təb wəhi feherbano: dərba mē: se: bo:li, “kōkɾūkū kōkɾūkū, [[feherbano: dərbe: mē:]]!”*
- (26) *bəs i pic<sup>h</sup>e—e:ka ahət mɪli—to: pic<sup>h</sup>e: mʊɾke: de:k<sup>h</sup>es, to: dərba mē: se: feherbano: nɪkli.*
- (27) *nɪkli to: feherbano jəb səndɪl de:k<sup>h</sup>es, to: əpəne: pəir mē: ɟales, to: eke: bərəbər ho: gəi.*
- (28) *əb i wəpəs awa, rajkɔmar.*
- (29) *rajkɔmar wəpəs awa, to: badfah ka pəta cəla ki rajkɔmar pəta ləgae lihes həi ki feherbano: ki səndɪl həi.*
- (30) *i kəhes ki, “həmri fadi kər wae dər”*
- (31) *kəhəi, “t<sup>h</sup>ik həi!”*
- (32) *əb b<sup>h</sup>əɪya fadi rajkɔmar ki, feherbano: ke: ihā barat awət<sup>h</sup>i, fadi ho:t<sup>h</sup>i.*
- (33) *jəb rʊk<sup>h</sup>səti ka ɾaim ho:t<sup>h</sup>əi, to:—jəʊn səʊte:li mā: rəhət<sup>h</sup>ɪn—wəi əpəni lətʃki ka gəɾi mē: bəɪt<sup>h</sup>ae de:t<sup>h</sup>ɪn, əʊr e:ke: maŋ mē: sē:dʊr jəb b<sup>h</sup>əɾət<sup>h</sup>ɪn to: səi sē:dʊr mē ɟalke: maŋ mē: rək<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>ɪn, to: u ɟɪɾa bənke: ʊɾ jat<sup>h</sup>i, əʊr əpəni lətʃki ka rʊk<sup>h</sup>sət kəi de:t<sup>h</sup>ɪn.*
- (34) *əb i jəb dʊlhən bənke: jat<sup>h</sup>i ʊnke: g<sup>h</sup>ər, jəb ye: rajkɔmar g<sup>h</sup>ung<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup> ʊt<sup>h</sup>awət<sup>h</sup>en, jəb de:k<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>en, to: egdəm həɪrət mē: pətʃ jat<sup>h</sup>en ki, “i to: u lətʃki na həi je:ka həm səndɪl pəhɪnae:ke: aē: həi.”*

- (18) That prince—when he brought the sandal, he came to know that it belonged to Sheherbano.
- (19) When he came to their (Sheherbano's) door, he called out, so—her (Sheherbano's) another mother (i.e., the stepmother)—she had had a fowl-house made in her house, so she imprisoned Sheherbano in that fowl-house and brought forward her own daughter, (saying), “This is that girl; it's her sandal!”
- (20) So when the prince showed the sandal, it wouldn't fit her.
- (21) He said, “Now, what do I do?”
- (22) Then she got up and cut her daughter's heel—said, “Now the sandal will fit,” but it (still) wouldn't fit.
- (23) The prince (became) distressed that the sandal is so beautiful, yet how come it doesn't fit her!
- (24) He then began to return, saying, “Alright! (So) if it's not this house, if it's not the girl from this house, then I am taking the sandal with me.”
- (25) Then that Sheherbano spoke from the fowl-house, “Cock-a-doodle-doo, cock-a-doodle-doo, [[Sheherbano in the fowl-house]]!”
- (26) He (turned) back—he got a slight sound—so having turned back and saw, Sheherbano came out of the fowl-house.
- (27) She came out, and when she saw the sandal, she put it in her foot, and it fit her.
- (28) Now he came back (to the emperor), the prince.
- (29) The prince came back, and so the emperor learned that the prince had found out that the sandal is Sheherbano's.
- (30) This (prince) said, “Marry me (to her).”
- (31) (The emperor) said, “Alright!”
- (32) Now it's the prince's wedding, and (his) party arrives at Sheherbano's place, the wedding takes place.
- (33) When it's the time for the bride to depart (for her married home), then—the one

- (35) *bəhʊt pərə:fan—əndər bahər əndər bahər, səb lo:g puc<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>en ki, “rajkɔmar əisa ka həi?”*
- (36) *kəhəĩ ki, “həm, mətləb... to: lərki jəʊn de:k<sup>h</sup>e: rəhē:—i to: dʊsəri lərki həi!” le:kɪn b<sup>h</sup>əjwa...*
- (37) *səbah ke: nɪkla—e:k bəhʊt bərɪ bag rəhi, ommen ek<sup>t</sup>h: ɕɪɪmar rəha, ɕɪɪa marət rəha.*
- (38) *to: ɕɪɪa ki awaz jəb i sɔnes ki etəni əcc<sup>h</sup>i awaz ɕɪɪa ki həi, to: ɕɪɪmar se: kəhes ki, “uwali ɕɪɪa jəʊn həi—u həmməi marke: de: dəi.”*
- (39) *kəhəĩ, “t<sup>h</sup>ik həi.”*
- (40) *əb u ɕɪɪa jəb marke: rajkɔmar ka dihen—ɕɪɪa le:ke: aen əpəne: g<sup>h</sup>ər, p̃jəɾa mē: rəkk<sup>h</sup>en.*
- (41) *p̃jəɾa mē: rəkk<sup>h</sup>en, to: əb—səbah ke:—so:cen ki, “əb ɕɪɪa ka həm nəhlae d<sup>h</sup>əlae de:i, təb e:ka həm p<sup>h</sup>ɪr əpəna k<sup>h</sup>ɪlɑi pɪlɑi.”*
- (42) *ihəi nəhlawəi k<sup>h</sup>atɪr jəb oke: sar pe: hat<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>e:ren, to: mke: hat<sup>h</sup> mē: sʊi ɕəb<sup>h</sup> gəi.*
- (43) *to: ye: so:cen ki, “sʊi ɕəb<sup>h</sup>i həi, həm nɪkal de:i—ɕɪɪa ka təklif ho:t<sup>h</sup>i.”*
- (44) *jəb sʊi nɪkal dihen, to: u k<sup>h</sup>əbsurət lərki bən gəi.*
- (45) *to: rajkɔmar egdəm həirət mē: pər gəen ki, “i to: u lərki həi je:ka həm ɕəppəl le: gəe rəhē:!”*
- (46) *ye: əb rajkɔmar feherbano: ka le:ke: əpəne: sat<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ɪr rəhəi ləgen, əʊr—jəʊn lərki ka le:ke: ae rəhen—o:ka, rat mē: ʊt<sup>h</sup>en, p̃ra bo:ɕi bo:ɕi kəike:, kʊl j<sup>h</sup>əpɪa mē: kəike:, əpəne nəʊkərən se: gərɪ se: b<sup>h</sup>əjwa dihen.*
- (47) *jəb ʊnke: dərwaze: pəhōci gərɪ—to: ʊnke: ek<sup>t</sup>h: ɕ<sup>h</sup>o:ɕi lərki rəhi, raja ke:.*
- (48) *to: jəb gərɪ pəhōci to: i həŋgama kihes ki, “didi ai həi, didi ai həi!”*
- (49) *əb didi to: gərɪ mē: bərɪ<sup>h</sup>i rəhɪn, le:kɪn jəb j<sup>h</sup>əpɪa ʊtəri—e:k j<sup>h</sup>əpɪa gəi, jəb dʊsəri j<sup>h</sup>əpɪa gəi, to: mki ɕ<sup>h</sup>o:ɕiwali bəhɪn jəb j<sup>h</sup>əpɪa k<sup>h</sup>o:lke: de:k<sup>h</sup>es, to: ɕɪllani ki, “ərə: i to: didi ka pəɪr həi.”*
- (50) *to kəhəĩ, “nahĩ əɪsa nəi ho: səktəi!”*

who was the stepmother—she seats her own daughter in the vehicle, and when she applies vermilion to her (Sheherbano's) forehead, she places a needle in it, so she (Sheherbano) becomes a bird and flies away, and (this way) she sees off her own daughter (as the bride to the prince's home).

- (34) Now when she (the other girl) goes to his (the prince's) home as the bride, and when the price lifts (her) veil, when he sees (her), he becomes pretty astonished, (wondering), "This is not the girl whom I had made to wear the sandal (and which had properly fit her)."
- (35) He (became) quite distressed—waking in-and-out, in-and-out, (so much that) everyone asks him, "Prince, what's happened?"
- (36) He said, "I mean... The girl whom I'd seen—this is some other girl!" but...
- (37) (Then) he left in the morning (and saw) that there was a huge garden, and in it, there was a bird-hunter, shooting birds.
- (38) So, when, when he (the prince) heard (a) bird's voice, that the bird has such a beautiful voice, he said to the bird-hunter, "That bird (over there), capture that bird for me."
- (39) (The bird-hunter) said, "Alright."
- (40) Then, having captured that bird, (the bird-hunter) handed it to the prince—(the prince) came home with it and kept it in a cage.
- (41) Having kept it in a cage, and now—in the morning—he thought, "Now I'll bathe and clean the bird, and then I'll feed it (something)."
- (42) In order to bathe it, when he ran his hand on its head, a needle pricked him in his hand.
- (43) So he thought, "A needle pricked me, let me remove (it)—(it) is hurting the bird."
- (44) When he removed the needle, it became a beautiful girl!
- (45) The prince was in complete shock, (wondering), "This is that girl whose sandal I took along!"

- (51) *p<sup>h</sup>ɪr dɔssəra k<sup>h</sup>o:les—kəhəɪ, “didi ka hat<sup>h</sup> həɪ!”*
- (52) *kəhəɪ̃, “nəhī, əɪsa na ho: səktəɪ!”—p<sup>h</sup>ɪr kəhəɪ̃, “həm de:k<sup>h</sup>i!”*
- (53) *jəb ye: ain tɪsəri j<sup>h</sup>əpɪa k<sup>h</sup>o:lke: de:k<sup>h</sup>en, to: ommen didi—ɪnki ləɽki— ka pura mūhəɪ  
rəkk<sup>h</sup>a rəhə.*
- (54) *k<sup>h</sup>o:len, to: ɪnke: əɽəɪk ae gəwa—ye: k<sup>h</sup>ətəm ho:ɪ gəɪn wəhī.*
- (55) *p<sup>h</sup>ɪr wəhī mē: rajo: bekar ho:ɪ gəen—ɔnki lacari ae gəi, dɪmɑg na kam kərəɪ—əɽr ye:  
rajkɔmar feherbano: ka le:ke: əpəne: g<sup>h</sup>ər rajpaɽ kərəɪ lagen, məhəl mē: rəhəɪ lagen.  
Maaz: cəla, ɽ<sup>h</sup>ik həɪ!*

- (46) Now the prince took Sheherbano with him and began living with her, and—the girl whom he'd brought (earlier)—he woke up at night, cutting her into pieces, placing all (the pieces) in baskets, he sent them in a vehicle by his servants.
- (47) When the vehicle reached his (the king's) door—he had a young daughter, the king.
- (48) When the vehicle reached, she made a hubbub, "Sister has come, sister has come!"
- (49) Now, the elder sister herself was sitting in the vehicle, but when the baskets were lowered—one basket went (into their house), and when the second basket went, her younger sister, when having opened the baskets and saw, yelled, "Oh, this is sister's leg!"
- (50) (The queen) said, "No, this can't happen!"
- (51) Then (the girl) opened another—said, "This is elder sister's hand!"
- (52) (The queen) said, "This can't happen!"—then said, "Let me see!"
- (53) When she came (closer) and having opened the third basket and looked (inside), the elder sister's—her daughter's—entire head was kept in it.
- (54) (As soon she) opened (and saw what was in it), she got a heart attack—she died right (then and) there.
- (55) Then in that, the king too became ineffective—he became helpless, (and) his brain wouldn't work (anymore)—and this prince, having brought Sheherbano, began conducting his royal court, (and) began to live in the palace.

**Maaz:** Alright!

## B.7 Story of a king and three sisters

### B.7.1 Metadata

Duration: 00:09:02

Date of recording: 2020-01-31

Creator: Maaz Shaikh

Speaker(s): Mohammad Khalid

Location: Mandē, Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India

Language(s): Azamgarhi

Dialect(s): Northern Azamgarhi (Mandē)

Genre: Folktale

Description: This is a story about a king who once takes a walk in his kingdom to check if everyone there is pleased with him. He finds three sisters wishing that their lives will change forever if they marry the royal cook, the vizier, and the king. This happens, and the king marries the younger sister. She gives birth to a child whom the elder sister replaces with a kitten and leaves him flowing in the river. This happens thrice. The children were found by a gardener who brings them up very well. The story, which is in the Northern (Mandē) dialect with some instances of code-switching to Urdu, continues further.

### B.7.2 Actual Utterance Transcription

**The narrator** (*in Urdu*): p<sup>h</sup>ir se: kərũ?

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): hã fɔru kijie:

eɫ<sup>h</sup>o: raja rəha .... {m:} {m:} u g<sup>h</sup>ər se: nɪkla əpna pəta ləgawə k<sup>h</sup>atır .... ki: .... “[jənta həmse: k<sup>h</sup>ɔf hɛ: ki naraz hɛ:]” .... [[e:k dərwaze: pər pəhɔca]] .... tə de:k<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>ə ... ki [[ɔsmɛ: kɔc<sup>h</sup> [əɔr ə] lərkiã apəs mɛ: bat kər rəhi hɛ:] ... {m:} əɔr u gərɪb ka g<sup>h</sup>ər t<sup>h</sup>a gərɪb ki lərki rəhɪn .... [[e:k lərki jo: bərɪ t<sup>h</sup>i] u kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki .... “[əgər me:ri sadi badsa ke: bəwərɪ se: ho: jati]] .... to: .... əcc<sup>h</sup>a əcc<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ana mɪltə k<sup>h</sup>aeke: .... əcc<sup>h</sup>i əcc<sup>h</sup>i: ... ciz mɪlti” .... dusri kəhət<sup>h</sup>i .... ki “əgər mo:ri sadi bassa ke: wəzɪr se: ho: jati ... tə mɛ wəzɪrzadi bən jatũ” .... əb dunō: mɪlke: [kɛh rəhi hɛ:] c<sup>h</sup>o:ɽiwali se: kəhət<sup>h</sup>ɪn .... {m:} ki “təhũ kɔc<sup>h</sup> kəh” ... {m:} u kəhər “mɛ na kəhɪyũ .... bəca kao hə ki mɛ kəhũ?” ... {m:} kəhər “nahi kəh” ... dunō: mɪlke: marə lagɪn .... tə kəhət<sup>h</sup>ɪn ki “e:k kam kər ... ki mo:ri sadi əgər badsa se: ho: jati {m:} .... [[tə mɛ badsa ki biwi bən jati rani bən jati]]” .... badsa sɔnes sɔnke: wapəs ho: gəwa .... sɔbəh mɛ: i tinō: lərkiɪn ke: bolaes .... {m:} kəhət<sup>h</sup>ə ki: .. “i bətao ... ki rat mɛ: ka kəhət rəhi kɔləhɪn?” .... əb u səb [dərɪ t<sup>h</sup>i] dərə lagɪn .. le:kɪn dərət dərət ... bərɪwali bətaes .. ki “mɛ kəhət rəhũ ki [badsa ke:] həm lo:g gərɪb hã ... əgər sadi ho: jati mo:ri badsa ke: ... bawərɪ se: tə əcc<sup>h</sup>a əcc<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ana mɪltə” .... dɔsəri kəhər ki .... “mo:ri sadi əgər wəzɪr se: ho: jati to [[wəzɪrzadi bən jati]]” .... tɪsərki ke kɔl marke: kəhwaen ki “təhũ kəh” ... to tɪsərki kəhət<sup>h</sup>i “mɛ kəhe: hũ ki [tə u bən jo:] .... bassa se: mo:ri sadi ho: jati to: mɛ rani bən jatũ” .... [[bəhrəl tinō: sadi tin jəgəh ho: gəi .. bawərɪ se: b<sup>h</sup>i ho: gəi .. [a:] .. wəzɪr se: b<sup>h</sup>i ho: gəi ɔ:r raja se: b<sup>h</sup>i ho: gəi]] .... [[kɔc<sup>h</sup> dɪn ke: bad raja ke: g<sup>h</sup>ər pəɪdais hɔi]] .... {m:} tə bərɪwali behen ke: de:k<sup>h</sup> re:k<sup>h</sup> mɛ: bola lihɛs ... {m:} ə jəb de:k<sup>h</sup> re:k<sup>h</sup> mɛ: bolaes ... to: u gəi .... [e] billi ka bəcca lɪake: rək<sup>h</sup> dihes .. [[pɛ:da hɔa lərka]] .. le:kɪn billi ka bəcca lɪake: rək<sup>h</sup> dihes .... bassa ke bərɪ narazgi b<sup>h</sup>əi .... bəhərhal bassa [s:] sɔnes .. bərdast kihɛs .. dusri bar p<sup>h</sup>ir pəɪdais b<sup>h</sup>əi {hã} ... əɔr u lərɪkəwa ke le: jake: ... nədi mɛ: bəhwa dihes {m:} .... o:ke: e:kt<sup>h</sup>o: mali pa gəwa .... {m:} dusri pəɪdais jəb b<sup>h</sup>əi p<sup>h</sup>ir uhə ai .... {m:} [tə kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki:] .... p<sup>h</sup>ir lərka pəɪda b<sup>h</sup>əwa ... p<sup>h</sup>ir billi ka bəcca lɪake: rək<sup>h</sup> dihes .... ə:ɔ: e:ke: leake: nədi mɛ: bəhwa dihes ... p<sup>h</sup>ir mali pa gəwa .... {m:} tɪsri bar jəb pəɪdais b<sup>h</sup>əi .... tə lərki ki b<sup>h</sup>əi .... {m:} le:kɪn p<sup>h</sup>ir kəhət<sup>h</sup>ə .... ki: “əɪsa hər ... ki hərdəm

hämre: billrə bæcca pərda ho:i?” ... {m:} [[badsa vs əurət ko]] p̄jəɾe: mē bənd kihes .... əur  
cəuraste: pe: t̄əŋwa dihes {m:} ... kəhes ki “le: ja e:ke: .... je: awə tʰukkə eppər” ... {m:}  
kʊcʰ d̄m ke: bad .... jəb u ləɾkəwa mali ke: ihā bəɾe: bʰəen əb u tinʰo: pa gəwa .... {m:}  
{m:} kʰub pərwəris kihes jəb bəɾe: ho: gəen .... {m:} to u əpni bag ka nəzara kəraes ....  
{m:} əur .... jəʊn bawərɕi ki əurət rəhi həri ... u pəta pa gəi ki əise: əise: pələtʰen kʊl ....  
{m:} kəhes ki “jo: .... le: jake: [badsa ə:] ʊnəhən ləɾkəwən ke: kəʊno: əisa jadu ləga de:  
.. ki u mər jã” ... kəhəri “tʰik həri” .. e:k əurət gəi .... əb u ləɾkɪa bəɾi kʰatɪr kihes ʊnəhən  
ki .... jəb kʰatɪr kihes .... to u bag gʰʊmaes ... {m:} kəhəri “[kya kya hɛ: tere bag mē:?” ]”  
... kʊl de:kʰes to həri ciz rəha ... kəhəri “[sonəhla pani nəhī hɛ: admī ki tərəh gata hʊa  
dərəkʰt nəhī hɛ: .... ɔ:r: ....]” to kəhəri ki “i kəhā mili?” ... {m:} to kəhəri ki: “pəta nəhī kəhā  
mili” .... bəhərhal əpne: bʰəɪya se: u kəhes .. tə bʰəɪya kʰojə kʰatɪr nɪkla .... [[bəhu:t dur  
jane: ke: bad]] [e:k] malum bʰəwa ki məɪdan mē: [ko:i] .... kəʊno: ciz bəɾtʰa həri .. jake:  
u de:kʰətʰə ki ke: həri .. to: etəne [[ləmbe: ləmbɛ:]] bal ho: gəwa rəha ki zəmɪnɪa pe: bəlwa  
[na] <rəha> [[malum hʊa ki səɪtan həri]] .... {m:} [[u nɪkala kəɪci]] ... bəlwa kʊl kaɾ gʰales  
.... {m:} tə de:kʰes ki “əre: i tə ədəmi həri” .... bəs .. ʊnse: əpni kəhani bətaes .. u e:k gē:d  
cʰo:ɾ dihen .... gē:d cʰo:ɾ dihen .. kəhəi “[jəise: jəise: i jata həri ja]” ... picʰe: picʰe: gē:d  
le:ke: u gəwa .... e:k jəgəh kʰəɾa ho: gəwa kəhəri ki “əb tə jo:” ... jəb u gəwa [[to: wəhā səb  
... jɪnnat tʰe: səb galɪā de: rəhe: tʰe:]] .... {m:} [[admī ki tərəh bo:lɪ hʊi cɪɾɪa ki bʰi təlas  
tʰi]] .... {m:} jəb u gəwa ʊhā pəhʊca .... [[to: ʊsmē: fərt tʰi]] ki əgər [jəwab de: dihə] gali  
ka tu: jəwab de: deha .. to: pəttʰər ho: jəɪha .... {m:} əb u gali dihes ... pəttʰər ho: gəwa  
{ləɾkəwa} .... ləɾkəwa ... jəb kʊcʰ d̄m bit gəwa tə dʊsərka gəwa ... dʊsərko: ka ihə aləm  
bʰəwa .... təb ləɾkɪa kəhətʰi ki “əb mə jəɪhū” .... {m:} ləɾkɪa gəi ... to: wəhi baba se: mili  
baba bətaen ki “[do: səhzade: gəe] ... əb tək wəpəs na ae: həi təhū jəɪbe: tə .. əisə ho:i” ....  
{m:} kəhətʰi “i tə gəɾbəɾ malum ho:tʰə” .... “jəɪhū” .... bəs u gē:d cʰo:ɾ dihen .. u pəhʊci ....  
jake: de:kʰes ... tə kan mē: rʊi [də] d̄al lihe: rəhi ki kʊcʰ sʊnai nə de: .... əur jəb pəhʊci  
de:kʰes tə [[admī ki tərəh bo:lɪ cɪɾɪa həri]] ... pʰəɾak se: ʊske: hatʰ mē: pəkəɾ lihes .... kəhəri  
ki “bəta:o ... [[gata hʊa dərəkʰt kəhā həri?]” ... to: bətaes .. “tu gata hʊa dərəkʰt e:k t̄əhni  
le: lihəri” ... kəhəri “sonəhla pani kəhā həri?” ... to e:k bo:təl mē: sonəhla pani bətaes ki  
“le: le:” ... kəhəri ki “ye bətao mo:re: bʰəɪya kəhā həi?” .... tə kəhəri ki: “ehi mē: ho:ihē:

kəhũ” .... to: .. u sonəhla pani hər pəttʰər pe: cʰɪɽka gəwa ... je:ki həyat rəhi həri u rəha wəhijəg ... wəhi mē: bʰəɾwo: dunō: mɪl gəen .... {m:} to u tinō: ciz le:ke: ai əpne: bag mē: .. rəkʰ dihes .... to: ... ləɽkəwa kəhətʰen [ki əpne: məl u] mali əb bapəri tʰa ... tə məɽa se: kəhen ki “həməhən sɪkar kʰe:lə jəɪbə” .... bʰe:j dihes ... {m:} badʃa bʰi ʃɪkar kʰe:lə awa ... dunō: mɪlke: ʃekar kihen .... bəs ... eɽʰo: ləɽkəwa ki ɕŋɽa kət ɡəi tʰi ... tə badsa əpna sapʰa pʰaɽke: ban dihes ... ban dihes ɡʰər awa ... ɕɪɽəwa kəhes ki “e:k kam kər .. ki bassa ki dawət de:” .... bassa ki dawət dihes .... jəb bassa dawət pər awa .. tə kʰana tərəh tərəh ka səja rəha ... wəhi mē: mo:ti rəkʰi rəhi .... [[to badʃa kʰana kʰaya mo:ti nəhi kʰaya]] ... to: [bassa kəhətʰəri ki] ɕɪɽa kəhətʰi ki “[bassa .. u kʰana nəhi khæ?”] .. {m:} kəhəri ki: ... “[mo:ti kəhi kʰai jati hɛ:?” ]” ... {m:} [[kəha ki “təmħē: ʃərəm nəhi ati .... admi ke: jɪsm se: kəhi billi ka bəcca pɛ:da ho:ta hɛ:?” {m:ʔm:} .... ye: tinō: ləɽke: təmħare: hɛ:]] .. {m:} [[əb səb mɪlke: ɡəle: mɪle:]] {inaudible} ... [ã:] ... [[ɡəle: mɪle: ɡəle: mɪlne: ke: bad ... aya]] ... jəb u əpne: ɡʰər pəhōca həri .... [[to: u bawərɕi ki əvərət ko: bolwaya .... ɔ:r .. ɕsko: .... zəmin mē: ɡəɽʰwake: kɕtta se: noɕwa dɪa]] .... əvər [ɪsko: laya to isse:] əpni biwi: .. le:ke: awa əvər ɕsse: .. mapʰi maŋes əvər pʰɪr rani bənake: rəkʰ dihes bənd kər də..

### B.7.3 Phonemic Transcription

The narrator (in Urdu): p<sup>h</sup>ɪr se: kəɾū?

Maaz (in Urdu): hā, fɔru kijre:

- (1) e:kʈ<sup>h</sup>o: raja rəha
- (2) u g<sup>h</sup>ər se: nɪkla əpna pəta ləgawə k<sup>h</sup>atɪr, ki, “[jənta həmse: k<sup>h</sup>ɔf hɛ: ki naraz hɛ:].”
- (3) [e:k dərwaze: pər pəhōca], tə de:k<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>ə ki [ɔsmē: kɔc<sup>h</sup> lərkiā apəs mē: bat kər rəhi hē:], əvɪr u gərib ka g<sup>h</sup>ər t<sup>h</sup>a, gərib ki lərki rəhɪn.
- (4) [e:k lərki jo: bərɪ t<sup>h</sup>i]—u kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki, “[əgər mɛ:ri sadi badsa ke: bəwərɪ se: ho: jati], to: əcc<sup>h</sup>a əcc<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ana mɪltə k<sup>h</sup>aeke:, əcc<sup>h</sup>i əcc<sup>h</sup>i ciz mɪlti.”
- (5) dɔsəri kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki, “əgər mo:ri sadi badsa ke: wəzɪr se: ho: jati, tə mā wəzɪrzadi bən jatū.”
- (6) əb dunō: mɪlke: c<sup>h</sup>o:ʈɪwali se: kəhət<sup>h</sup>ɪn ki, “təhū kɔc<sup>h</sup> kəh!”
- (7) u kəhəɪ, “mā na kəhīū, bəca kao hə ki mā kəhū?”
- (8) kəhəɪ, “nahī kəh!”
- (9) dunō: mɪlke: marə lagɪn.
- (10) tə kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki, “e:k kam kər, ki mo:ri sadi əgər badsa se: ho: jati, [to mē: badsa ki biwi bən jati, rani bən jati].”
- (11) badsa sɔnes, sɔnke: wəpəs ho: gəwa.
- (12) sɔbəh mē: i tɪnō lərkiān ke: bolaes—kəhət<sup>h</sup>ə ki, “i bətao, ki rat mē: ka kəhət rəhi kɔləhɪn?”

### B.7.3 Free Translation

**The narrator** (*in Urdu*): Should I do it again?

**Maaz** (*in Urdu*): Yes, please start.

- (1) There was a king.
- (2) He went out of his home to see whether [[the populace is happy with him or not]].
- (3) [[He arrived at a door]], so he sees that [[some girls were talking among themselves]]—and it was a house of a poor man, and they were daughters of a poor man.
- (4) [[One girl who was older]]—she says, [[ “If I married the king’s cook]], I would get good food to eat, good things (to relish every day).”
- (5) The second girl says, “If I got married to the emperor’s minister, I’d become a minister’s wife.”
- (6) Now both say to the youngest girl together, “You say something too!”
- (7) She said, “I won’t say (anything). (So) what else is left for me to say?”
- (8) (Both) said, “No, say (something)!”
- (9) Both began to beat (her).
- (10) Then she says, “Alright then, if I got married to the king, [[I’d become the king’s wife, I’d become the queen!]].”
- (11) The king heard (this), and having listened, went back.
- (12) He called the three of them in the morning—asks, “Tell me this that what were you all saying (last) night?”

(13) *ab u sab qarā lagin, le:kɪn qarāt qarāt, bariwali bātaes ki, “mā kahāt rāhū ki hām lo:g*

*garib hāi—agar sadi ho: jati mo:ri badsa ke: bawārci se: tā acc<sup>h</sup>a acc<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ana miltā.”*

(14) *dūsari kahāi ki, “mo:ri sadi agar wāzir se: ho: jati to: [[wāzirzadi bān jati]].”*

(15) *tisarki ke: kvl marke: kahwaen ki, “tāhū kah”—to: tisarki kahāt<sup>h</sup>i, “mā kāhe: hū*

*ki, “badsa se: mo:ri sadi ho: jati to: mā rani bān jatū.”*

(16) *[[bāharhal, tinō: sadi tin jāgāh ho: gāi—bawārci se: b<sup>h</sup>i ho: gāi, wāzir se: b<sup>h</sup>i ho: gāi, ɔ:r*

*raja se: b<sup>h</sup>i ho: gāi.]]*

(17) *[[kvc<sup>h</sup> dɪn ke: bad, raja ke: g<sup>h</sup>ar pāidais hvi.]]*

(18) *tā bariwali bāhin ke: de:k<sup>h</sup> re:k<sup>h</sup> mē: bola lihes.*

(19) *a jāb de:k<sup>h</sup> re:k<sup>h</sup> mē: bolaes, to: u gāi, billi ka bācca līake: rāk<sup>h</sup> dihes—[[pē:da hwa*

*larka]], le:kɪn billi ka bācca līake: rāk<sup>h</sup> dihes.*

(20) *badsa ke: bari narazgi b<sup>h</sup>ai.*

(21) *bāharhal, badsa sūnes, bārdast kihes.*

(22) *dūsari bar p<sup>h</sup>ir pāidais b<sup>h</sup>ai—awar u larkāwa ke: le: jake:, nādi mē: bāhwa dihes.*

(23) *o:ke: e:k<sup>h</sup>o: mali pa gāwa.*

(24) *dusri pāidais jāb b<sup>h</sup>ai, p<sup>h</sup>ir uhā ai—p<sup>h</sup>ir larka pāida b<sup>h</sup>āwa, p<sup>h</sup>ir billi ka bācca līake:*

*rāk<sup>h</sup> dihes, aw e:ke: leake: nādi mē: bāhwa dihes.*

(25) *p<sup>h</sup>ir mali pa gāwa.*

(26) *tisari bar jāb pāidais b<sup>h</sup>ai, tā larki ki b<sup>h</sup>ai, le:kɪn p<sup>h</sup>ir...*

(27) *kahāt<sup>h</sup>ā ki, “āisa hāi ki, hārdām hāmre: billiā bācca pāida ho:i?!”*

(28) *[[badsa vs aurāt ko:]] pījāre: mē bānd kihes, awar cāwaste: pē: tājwa dihes—kāhes ki,*

*“le: ja e:ke:, je: awā t<sup>h</sup>ukkā eppar.”*

- (13) Now they became afraid, but the eldest sister, while terrified, told, “I was saying that we are very poor—if I got married to the king’s cook, (we) would get good food every day.”
- (14) The second (sister) said, “If I got married to the minister, [[I would become the minister’s wife.]]”
- (15) Both (sisters), having beaten the third (sister), made her speak—so the third one says, “I had said, ‘If I got married to the king, I would become the queen.’”
- (16) [[Anyway, all three weddings happened—with the cook, with the minister, and with the king as well.]]
- (17) [[Some days later, there was birth at the king’s house.]]
- (18) So the (younger sister) called the elder sister in care.
- (19) And when called upon to look after, she went, having brought, placed a kitten—[[the baby] born was a boy], but she, having brought, placed a kitten (in the boy’s place).
- (20) The king became very disappointed.
- (21) Nevertheless, the king listened, (and) tolerated (it).
- (22) There was a second birth—and she (the eldest sister), having taken that (first) boy, left him afloat in the river.
- (23) A gardener found him.
- (24) When (the queen gave) birth a second time, it was again a boy, she (the oldest sister) came once again and having brought and placed a kitten in (the boy’s)

(29) *kʷc<sup>h</sup> dɪn ke: bad, jəb u ləɾɪkəwə mali ke: ɪhã bəɾe: b<sup>h</sup>əen—əb u tɪnɾ<sup>h</sup>o: pa gəwə—k<sup>h</sup>ub*  
*pərwəris kihes.*

(30) *jəb bəɾe: ho: gəen, to u əpni bag ka nəzara kəraes—əwɾ jəwɾn bawərci ki əwɾət rəhi*  
*həi—u pəta pa gəi ki əise: əise: pələt<sup>h</sup>en kʷl.*

(31) *kəhes ki, “jo:, le: jake: wəhəhən ləɾɪkəwəhən ke: kəwɾno: əisa jadu ləga de: ki u mər jəē:.”*

(32) *kəhəi, “ɾ<sup>h</sup>ik həi.”*

(33) *e:k əwɾət gəi.*

(34) *əb u ləɾkɪa bəɾi k<sup>h</sup>atɪr kihes wəhəhən ki.*

(35) *jəb k<sup>h</sup>atɪr kihes, to u bag g<sup>h</sup>ɔmaes.*

(36) *kəhəi “[[kya kya hɛ: tere bag mē:?.]]”*

(37) *kʷl de:k<sup>h</sup>es to hər ciz rəha.*

(38) *kəhəi, “[[sonəhla pəni nəhī hɛ:, admɪ ki tərəh gata hɔa dərək<sup>h</sup>t nəhī hɛ:, ɔ:r...]]”*

(39) *to: kəhəi ki, “i kəhā mɪli?”*

(40) *to: kəhəi ki, “pəta nəhī kəhā mɪli.”*

(41) *bəhərhal əpəne: b<sup>h</sup>əɾya se: u kəhes, tə b<sup>h</sup>əɾya k<sup>h</sup>ojə k<sup>h</sup>atɪr nɪkla.*

(42) *[[bəhɔt dur jane: ke: bad]], malum b<sup>h</sup>əwə ki məɪdan mē: kəwɾno: ciz bəɾɾ<sup>h</sup>a həi.*

(43) *jake: u de:k<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>ə ki ke: həi, to: etəne: [[ləmbe: ləmbe:]] bal ho: gəwə rəha ki zəmɪnɪa*

*pe: bəlwa rəha—[[malum hɔa ki səɪtan həi]].*

(44) *[[u nɪkala kəɪci]], bəlwa kʷl kaɾ g<sup>h</sup>ales.*

(45) *tə de:k<sup>h</sup>es ki, “əre: i tə ədəmi həi.”*

(46) *bəs, wənsɛ: əpəni kəhəni bətaes.*

(47) *u e:k gē:d c<sup>h</sup>o:ɾ dihen.*

(48) *gē:d c<sup>h</sup>o:ɾ dihen—kəhəi, “[[jəise: jəise: i jata həi, ja]].”*

(49) *pic<sup>h</sup>e: pic<sup>h</sup>e: gē:d le:ke: u gəwə.*

place, and took the boy and left him afloat in the river.

- (25) The gardener found the (second boy) as well.
- (26) When there was the third birth, it was a girl, but again...
- (27) (The king) says, “Is it always going to be a kitten who’ll be born of me?!”
- (28) [[The king]] locked [[the woman]] in a cage and hanged at the crossroads—said, “Take her away, let whoever passes by, spit on her.”
- (29) After a few days, when those (two) boys grew up at the gardener’s house—he (the gardener) found three (children), he fostered them well.
- (30) When they grew up, he showed (them) his garden—and the cook’s wife—she came to know that they (the two boys) are being raised like this (at the gardener’s house).
- (31) She (the cook’s wife) said (to a woman), “Go, do some magic on those boys so that they die.”
- (32) (The other woman) said, “Alright.”
- (33) One woman went.
- (34) Now the girl showed her great hospitality.
- (35) After receiving her hospitably, (the girl) showed her around the garden.
- (36) (The woman) asked, “[[What all do you have in your garden?]]”
- (37) When she saw around, there was everything (there).
- (38) (The woman) said, “[[There is no golden water, there is no tree that sings like a man, and... ]]
- (39) (The girl) said, “Where can (we) find these?”
- (40) (The woman) replied, “I don’t know where (you) can find them.”
- (41) Anyway, she (the girl) told her brother, her brother left to find (these things).

- (50) *e:k jəgəh kʰəɽa ho: gəwa, kəhəi ki, “əb tã jo!”*
- (51) *jəb u gəwa, [[to: wəhā səb jinnat tʰe:, səb galiã de: rəhe: tʰe:]].*
- (52) *[[admi ki tərəh bo:liti hvi ciɽia ki bʰi təlas tʰi.]]*
- (53) *jəb u gəwa vɬã pəhõca—[[to: vsmē: fərt tʰi]] ki əgər gali ka tu: jəwab de: deha to:*

*pəttʰər ho: jəiha.*

- (54) *əb u gali dihes, pəttʰər ho: gəwa, ləɽkəwa.*
- (55) *jəb kʷcʰ dɪn bit gəwa tə dʷsərka gəwa.*
- (56) *dʷsərko: ka ihə aləm bʰəwa.*
- (57) *təb ləɽkia kəhətʰi ki, “əb mã jəihũ!”*
- (58) *ləɽkia gəi to: wəhi baba se: mɪli, baba bətaen ki, “[[do: səhzade: gəe]], əb tək wəpəs*

*na aen hãi, təhũ jəibe: tə əisə ho:i.”*

- (59) *kəhətʰi, “i tə gəɽbəɽ malum ho:tʰə.”*
- (60) *“jəihũ!”*
- (61) *bəs u gē:d cʰo:ɽ dihen—u pəhõci, jake: de:kʰes.*
- (62) *tə kan mē: rvi ɽal lihe: rəhi ki kʷcʰ sənai nə de:, əvr jəb pəhõci de:kʰes, tə [[admi ki*

*tərəh bo:liti ciɽia həi]].*

- (63) *pʰəɽak se: vskə: hatʰ mē: pəkəɽ lihes.*
- (64) *kəhəi ki, “bətao, gata hʷa dərəkʰt kəhā həi?”*
- (65) *to: bətaes, “tu gata hʷa dərəkʰt e:k ɽəhni le: lihəi.”*
- (66) *kəhəi, “sonəhla pani kəhā həi?”*
- (67) *to: e:k bo:təl mē: sonəhla pani bətaes ki, “le: le:.”*
- (68) *kəhəi ki, “i bətao, mo:re: bʰəiɽya kəhā hãi?”*
- (69) *tə kəhəi ki, “ehi mē: hoihē: kəhũ!”*
- (70) *to: u sonəhla pani hər pəttʰər pe: cʰiɽka gəwa.*

- (42) After going a long distance, he learned that something was sitting on the ground.
- (43) On going there, seeing who it is, he sees that (the person) had such [[long]] hair that the hair was (reaching) to the ground, [[(he) noticed that (the person) is a demon]].
- (44) [[He took out scissors,]] (and) cut all of (the person's) hair.
- (45) So, he saw that "Oh! It is (actually) a man!".
- (46) So, he then told him his story.
- (47) He (the man) let a ball go.
- (48) He left a ball and said, "[[Go, wherever this ball goes]]."
- (49) (The brother) went behind, taking the ball.
- (50) (The ball) stopped at one place, said, "Now you go!"
- (51) When he went, [[there were jinns, they were hurling abuses (at each other)].
- (52) [[A bird speaking like a man was also on the search(list).]
- (53) When he went, reached there (the place of jinns)—[[they had a wager]] that if you respond to (their) abuses, you will become stone.
- (54) Now, he responded, (and) became a stone, the boy.
- (55) After some days passed, the second (boy) went (to search).
- (56) The same state befell the second (boy) as well.
- (57) Then the girl says, "Now I will go!"
- (58) The girl went and met the same old man; the old man said, "Two princes went and haven't returned yet. If you go too, the same thing will happen."
- (59) (The girl) says (to herself), "This seems a topsyturvydom."
- (60) (Upon thinking, the girl says), "I'll go!"
- (61) He let the ball go, she reached (where the ball took her), and saw (what was there).

- (71) *je:ki həyat rəhi həI, u rəha wəhijəg.*
- (72) *wəhi mē: b<sup>h</sup>əIwo: dunō: mīl gəen.*
- (73) *to u tinō: ciz le:ke: ai, əpne: bag mē: rək<sup>h</sup> dihes.*
- (74) *to: ləɽkəwa kəhət<sup>h</sup>en—mali əb bapəI t<sup>h</sup>a—tə məli se: kəhen ki, “həməhən sɨkar k<sup>h</sup>e:lə jəIbə.”*
- (75) *b<sup>h</sup>e:j dihes.*
- (76) *badfa b<sup>h</sup>i fekar k<sup>h</sup>e:lə awa.*
- (77) *dunō: mīlke: fekar kihen.*
- (78) *bəs, e:k<sup>h</sup>o: ləɽkəwa ki ʊŋli kət gəi t<sup>h</sup>i, tə badsa əpəna sap<sup>h</sup>a p<sup>h</sup>ərke: ban dihes.*
- (79) *ban dihes, g<sup>h</sup>ər awa.*
- (80) *cɨɽəwa kəhes ki, “e:k kam kər ki badsa ki dawət de:.”*
- (81) *badsa ki dawət dihes.*
- (82) *jəb badsa dawət pər awa, tə k<sup>h</sup>ana tərəh tərəh ka səja rəha, wəhi mē: mo:ti rək<sup>h</sup>i rəhi.*
- (83) *[[to badsa k<sup>h</sup>ana k<sup>h</sup>aya, mo:ti nəhī k<sup>h</sup>aya.]]*
- (84) *cɨɽa kəhət<sup>h</sup>i ki, “[badsa, u k<sup>h</sup>ana nəhī khae?]”*
- (85) *kəhəI ki, “[mo:ti kəhī k<sup>h</sup>ai jati hē:?”*
- (86) *[[kəha ki, “təmhē: fəɽəm nəhī ati—admi ke: jɨsm se: kəhī bɨlli ka bəcca pɛ:da ho:ta hē:? ye: tinō: ləɽke: təmhəre: hē:. ]]*
- (87) *[[əb səb mīlke: gəle: mīle:. ]]*
- (88) *[[gəle: mīle:, gəle: mīlne: ke: bad, aya. ]]*
- (89) *jəb u əpne: g<sup>h</sup>ər pəhōca həI, [[to: u bawərci ki əvɽət ko: bolwaya, ɔ:r ʊsko: zəmin mē: gəɽ<sup>h</sup>wake: kətta se: nocwa dia]]*

- (62) She'd placed cotton in her ears so that she wouldn't hear anything, and when she reached, she saw [a bird that spoke like a man].
- (63) She immediately caught it in her hands.
- (64) She asked (the bird), "Tell me, where is the tree that sings?"
- (65) (The bird) said, "Take a twig from the singing tree."
- (66) She asked (the bird), "Where is the golden water?"
- (67) (The bird) showed her a bottle of golden water (and said), "Take (it)."
- (68) (Then) she asked, "Tell me this, where are my brothers?"
- (69) (The bird) said, "They might be somewhere here in this (place)."
- (70) So the golden water was then sprinkled on every stone (there).
- (71) Whoever was alive remained in that same place.
- (72) Both brothers were found right there.
- (73) She then brought all the three things and kept them in her garden.
- (74) The boys then said—the gardener was (their foster) father himself—they told the gardener, "We will go hunting."
- (75) He sent (them).
- (76) The king also arrived to hunt.
- (77) Both (the king and the brothers) hunted together.
- (78) Soon one boy's finger got cut, and the king tore his own turban and tied it (around the boy's wound).
- (79) He tied (the cloth) and returned home.
- (80) The (talking) bird said (to the boy), "You know what, give the king a feast."
- (81) He gave the king a feast.

(90) əvɾ əpni biwi: le:ke: awa, əvɾ ʊsse: maɸ<sup>hi</sup> maŋes, əvɾ p<sup>hi</sup>r rani bənake: rək<sup>h</sup> dihes.

The narrator: bənd kər də.

- (82) When the king arrived at the feast, all kinds of food was set there (for him), and there was a pearl right there as well.
- (83) [[The king ate the food but didn't eat the pearl.]]
- (84) The bird asks, "[[King, you didn't eat that item?]]"
- (85) (The king) said, "[[Are pearls eaten anywhere?]]"
- (86) [(The cat) said, "Aren't you ashamed—are cats ever born from the body of a human? These three children are yours.]]
- (87) [[Then everyone embraced each other.]]
- (88) [[They embraced, and after embracing, he (the king) left.]]
- (89) When he reached home, [[he had the cook's wife brought and had her buried in the ground and clawed by a dog]].
- (90) He then took his wife (to his house), asked her for forgiveness, and then made her his queen.
- (91) Switch off (the recorder).

# Bibliography

- Abbi, Anvita. 2001. *A manual of linguistic field work and structures of Indian languages* (LINCOS handbooks in linguistics). München: LINCOS Europa.
- Abbi, Anvita & Devi Gopalakrishnan. 1991. Semantics of explicator compound verbs in South Asian Languages. *Language Sciences*. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0388-0001\(91\)90012-P](https://doi.org/10.1016/0388-0001(91)90012-P).
- Ahmad, Suhail. 1986. *A Descriptive Analysis of the Eastern Awadhi Dialect of Jaunpur*. Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University doctoral thesis.
- Ali, Irshad. 1985. मुस्लिम लोकगीतों का विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन. *Muslim lokgeeton ka vivechanatmak adhyayan*. (A critical study of the Muslim folk songs). Kanpur: Anubhav Prakashan.
- Ali, Sabeeh Afroz. 2012. आजमगढ़ मण्डल के मुस्लिम गीत: सामाजिक संदर्भ. *Azamgarh Mandal ke Muslim geet: Samajik sandarbh* (Muslim songs of Azamgarh Division: Social context). Azamgarh: Shibli National P. G. College Doctoral thesis.
- Ali, Sabeeh Afroz. 2014. मुस्लिम लोकगीत. *muslim lokgeet*. (Muslim folk songs). New Delhi: Yugantar Prakashan.
- Bickel, Balthasar, Bernard Comrie & Martin Haspelmath. 2015. *The Leipzig glossing rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Leipzig: Department of Linguistics. <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>.
- Brockman, D. L. Drake (ed.). 1911. *Azamgarh: A Gazetteer*. Lucknow: Newal Kishore Press.

- Chelliah, Shobhana & Willem Joseph de Reuse. 2010. *Handbook of descriptive linguistic fieldwork*. Netherlands: Springer.
- Coelho, Gail. 2003. *A grammar of Betta Kurumba*. Texas: University of Texas at Austin  
Doctoral thesis.
- Coelho, Gail. 2018. *Annotated Texts in Beṭṭa Kurumba*. Leiden: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004378247>.
- Croft, William. 2003. *Typology and universals*. 2nd edn. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511840579>.
- Das, Pradeep Kumar. 2015. Can compound verb be reversed in Hindi? An inquiry of its form and function. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Linguistics* 8. 37–60.
- Das, Pradeep Kumar. 2018. Agreement in conjunct verb construction: Let's solve the problem. In Ghanshyam Sharma & Rajesh Bhatt (eds.), *Trends in Hindi Linguistics*, 187–216. De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/9783110610796-008>.
- District Census Handbook: Azamgarh*. 2011. Lucknow: Directorate of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh. [https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/0960\\_PART\\_B\\_DCHB\\_AZAMGARH.pdf](https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/0960_PART_B_DCHB_AZAMGARH.pdf).
- District Census Handbook: Jaunpur*. 2011. Lucknow: Directorate of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh. [https://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/0963\\_PART\\_B\\_DCHB\\_0963\\_JAUNPUR.pdf](https://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/0963_PART_B_DCHB_0963_JAUNPUR.pdf).
- District Census Handbook: Mau*. 2011. Lucknow: Directorate of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh. [https://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/DCHB\\_A/09/0961\\_PART\\_A\\_DCHB\\_MAU.pdf](https://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/DCHB_A/09/0961_PART_A_DCHB_MAU.pdf).
- Dixon, Robert M W. 2010. *Basic linguistic theory*. Vol. 1–3. Oxford University Press.
- van Driem, George. 2007. South Asia and Middle East. In Christopher Moseley (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages*, 289–348. London & New York: Routledge.

- Dryer, Matthew S. 2013. Coding of nominal plurality. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/33>.
- Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2021. *Ethnologue:languages of the world*. Twenty-third edition. Dallas: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction*. Vol. 1. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language*, 73–113. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Grierson, George. 1904. Indo-Aryan Family Mediate Group. Specimens of the Eastern Hindi Languages. In *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 6. Delhi: Low Price Publications.
- Hammarström, Harald, Robert Forkel, Martin Haspelmath & Sebastian Bank (eds.). 2021. *Glottolog 4.4*. Leipzig. <https://glottolog.org/>.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. In Bernard Comrie & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Causatives and transitivity*, 87–120. John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.227093>.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. *The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category*. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.227108>.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2010. Framework-Free Grammatical Theory. In Bernd Heine & Heiko Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, 341–365. New York: Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199544004.013.0014>.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2017. Some principles for language names. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 11. 81–93. <https://doi.org/10.125/24725>.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus. 1998. Documentary and descriptive linguistics. 36(1). 161–196. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/ling.1998.36.1.161>.
- Iwanek, Krzysztof. 2016. Counting castes in india. *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/08/counting-castes-in-india/>.

- Katamba, Francis. 1993. *Morphology*. Basingstoke, England: McMillan.
- Kawaja, Kaleem. 2008. *Azamgarh Muslims Should Turn a New Page*. [https://twocircles.net/2008oct11/azamgarh\\_muslims\\_should\\_turn\\_new\\_page.html](https://twocircles.net/2008oct11/azamgarh_muslims_should_turn_new_page.html).
- Koshal, Sanyukta. 1979. *Ladakhi Grammar*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Lohar, Gopal Thakur. 2020. *A Grammar of Bhojpuri*. Tribhuvan University Nepal doctoral thesis.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2010. Research methods in language documentation. *Language documentation and description* 7. 55–104.
- Masica, Colin P. 1993. Cambridge University Press.
- McGregor, Ronald. 1993. *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press.
- Mithun, Marianne. 2001. Who shapes the record: the speaker and the linguist. In Paul Newman & Martha Ratliff (eds.), *Linguistic Fieldwork*, 34–54. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511810206.003>.
- Munshi, Sadaf. 2006. *Jammu and Kashmir Burushaski: Language, language contact, and change*. Texas: University of Texas at Austin Doctoral thesis.
- Newpakhistorian. 2016. *Description of Major Muslim Communities in India : Rautara or Zamindara*. <https://newpakhistorian.wordpress.com/2016/03/22/list-and-description-of-major-muslim-communities-in-india-rautara-or-zamindara/comment-page-1/#comment-2109>.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511805066>.
- Saksena, Baburam. 1971. *Evolution of Awadhi*. 2nd edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas.
- Schlegel, August Wilhelm von. 1820. Ausgaben indischer bücher: nalus. *Indische Bibliothek* 2. 96–128.
- Shaikh, Maaz. 2019. *Interrogation in Ladakhi*. New Delhi: University of Delhi Masters' thesis.

- Shaikh, Maaz. 2021a. Azamgarhi Language Resource. In *UNT Digital Library*. University of North Texas Libraries. <https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/AZLR/>.
- Shaikh, Maaz. 2021b. Bhojpuri Language Resource. In *UNT Digital Library*. University of North Texas Libraries. <https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/BPLR/>.
- Shopen, Timothy. 1985. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Volume 1–3*. Vol. 1–3. Cambridge University Press.
- Slade, Benjamin. 2013. The diachrony of light and auxiliary verbs in Indo-Aryan. *Diachronica* 30(4). 531–578.
- Slade, Benjamin. 2020. Development of verb-verb complexes in Indo-Aryan. In Taro Kageyama, Peter E. Hook & Prashant Pardeshi (eds.), *Verb-Verb Complexes in Asian Languages*, 249–274. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198759508.003.0010>.
- Snell, Rupert & Simon Weightman. 1989. *Teach yourself Hindi*. Reprinted in 2003. McGraw-Hill.
- Tikkanen, Bertil. 1987. *The Sanskrit gerund: A synchronic, diachronic and typological analysis*. (Studia Orientalia, 62.) Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.
- Tiwari, Udai Narain. 1971. *The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.
- Trammell, Robert L. 1971. The Phonology of the Northern Standard Dialect of Bhojpuri. *Anthropological Linguistics*. 126–141.
- Verbeke, Saartje. 2013. *Alignment and Ergativity in New Indo-Aryan Languages*. Vol. 51 (Empirical approaches to language typology). Mouton De Gruyter.