This paper discusses a number of parameters which trigger verb agreement in Majhi, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Nepal. Like some Indo-Aryan neighbours, Majhi takes account of ranges of facts in the verb agreement. The verb is not only marked for agreement with one nominal phrase in a clause, but also encodes inflectional features of both subject and object simultaneously in transitive and ditransitive verbs by employing portmanteau suffixes. The features that control the agreement include person, number, honorificity, gender, and case roles of nouns.

Key words: Verb agreement, inflectional features, ditransitive verbs, honorificity

1. Introduction

Majhis are one of the nationalities of Nepal with their distinct language, rituals and traditions (National Committee of the Nationalities 1996). The language spoken by Majhis is called the Majhi language (ISO mjz). This language is distinct from Majhi, a dialect of Punjabi, spoken in India. Some ethnic Majhi people also inhabit in Sikkim, India (see Gangopadhyay 1993). While a total of 83227 Majhi people live in Nepal, only a total of 24422 speakers speak their language as recorded in Census 2011 (CBS 2012), showing 29.34% language retention. Majhi is reported as “extinct” language in Sikkim, India.

Majhis are “dark-skinned, of medium height, with thin wiry bodies and extremely shy in nature”. In their physical appearance, they are like Tharus in Terai (Gautam and Magar 1994:42). Bista (1967:117) notes that the Majhīs, Darais and Danuwars have striking physical similarities. He further mentions that these people are also referred to as “Kushwar”3. My informant notes that Majhis have five inner groups, viz. Danuwar, Kushwar, Kumhale, Bantar, and Thalthalu. He claims that “Kuswar” must be Majhi because it is related to one of the groups within Majhi ethnic group. The Majhi people belonging to this group within Majhis outnumber the other groups within the Majhi community. Although some scholars regard ‘Bote’ and ‘Majhi’ as the same, the
languages spoken by these two ethnic groups are distinct in grammatical features despite the similarity in their traditional profession.

A very few materials are available on Majhi in general and verb agreement patterns related to Majhi in particular. Hodgson (1857) lists some lexical items of ‘Kushwar’ which resembles much with Majhi these days. Dhaatak (2013) has noted that the verbs in Majhi encode both the subject and object. Dhaatak (2014) deals with the grammatical description of Majhi, and this also discusses the Majhi verb agreement. Currently, Majhi (2015) has prepared a bilingual lexicon of Majhi incorporating three varieties of the Majhi language, viz. Bhatauli, Sunkoshi and Dudhkoshi.

Van Driem (2001:1172) guesses that Majhi might be identical to ‘Kushwar’ or ‘Kushwār’. The name ‘Kushwar’ is also mentioned in Grierson (1903a) and Hodgson (1992). Eppele et al. (2012) also mention the term ‘Kushar’ while discussing the Majhi language. Thus, the earliest linguistic references to it can be found in Hodgson (1857) and Hunter (1978 [1868]).

2. Pronouns and pronominal suffixes

Majhi is mainly a suffixing language, both in nominal morphology and verb morphology. Majhi exhibits both of the features of head-marking and dependent-marking in genitive construction. When Majhi nouns appear in genitive phrases, agreement in person and number is obligatory between possessors and possessed if the pronominal possessive suffixes are present⁴. The phenomenon is also treated as ‘locus’ of information (Nichols and Bickel 2007). These pronominal suffixes are attached only to kinship terms. Table (3) contains the pronominal possessive suffixes attaching to the nouns in Majhi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 : Pronominal possessive suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal possessive suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singulal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (1) shows that the pronominal possessive suffixes appear only if the possessor is a singular pronoun. In addition, the pronominal possessive suffix is also coded if the possessed kin term is the plural and the possessor is the third person singular (or noun phrases). The gaps show that the pronominal possessive suffixes are absent. Examples follow.

⁴ Nichols (1986) discusses the head-marking and dependent marking languages.
As we see in (1-2), the pronominal possessive suffixes appear with kinship terms, but these suffixes are not used with other kinds of possession. There is a very clear case that the suffix -khjan is attached to the plural nouns if the possessor is the third person singular. The same phrase may contain the suffix -m with the possessor modifier, such as morə bhai-m 'my brother'.

Majhi distinguishes the first, second and third person pronouns. There is no formal distinction of gender in the forms of the third person pronouns. Majhi exhibits a split ergativity based on nominal hierarchy (cf. De Lancey 1979). The first and second person pronouns do not code ergativity (also see Table 2). The third person pronouns and other noun phrases code ergativity if the clauses are transitive. The inflection of pronouns for accusative-dative, genitive, ablative and ergative is given in Table (2). The third person pronouns are based on remote demonstratives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 : Personal pronouns and inflections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC-DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PLE.EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see oblique forms of pronouns when they inflect for some cases. For example, when the first person singular pronoun inflects for accusative-dative, and genitive, the pronouns have oblique forms. Demonstratives and the third person pronouns are identical in Majhi.
3. Verb morphology: A bird’s eye view

Majhi is mainly a suffixing language, but allows negative prefixes. Majhi makes a distinction between past and non-past tense. While the past tense in Majhi is expressed by the tense marker -lə or -nə, the non-past tense marker is -tsə in Majhi. Some morphologically coded aspects are habitual -te, progressive -tin, and perfect -lə, which is also homophonous with the past tense. Similarly, some moods are morphologically coded in Majhi, such as imperative is generally zero-marked, prohibitive prefix is dzun-, conditional is -lə, and hortative is -ũ/-əũ.

The tense markers follow the verb stems, and in turn the agreement markers immediately follow the tense markers in Majhi. Typologically Majhi shares some features of verb morphology with eastern Indo-Aryan languages. Grierson (1903b:3) states, "Distinction of gender is slightly observed in 'Bihari' languages." Grammatical gender is evident in adjectives and certain verb forms (see section 5.6.2). 'Eastern' languages are characterized by the past tense suffix -lə with Marathi (Grierson 1903a:8; Masica 1991:270). Majhi partially shows this feature as it contains -l /-n to code the past tense (see Table 4-9). Eastern languages are characterized by 'inflectional synthesis' compared to western languages. Several agreement features are suffixed to the verbs (Grierson 1903a:7). As we will discuss later, Majhi indexes the information, such as subject and object in verb simultaneously.

4. Verb Agreement

Majhi only encodes a single, or double arguments in the verbs although some languages, such as Maithili (Yadava 1999), and Kashmiri (Raina 1994) also code triple agreement. First of all, I discuss agreement patterns related to single agreement and then I move to double agreement. By verb agreement we mean “the systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another (Steele 1987, as cited in Corbett 2006:4).

4.1 Single agreement

A single NP is coded in the verbs in Majhi in a number of cases. The features which are responsible for the agreement are the person, number, gender, honorificity, and case roles. This is common in Indo-Aryan languages (cf. Acharya 1991; Yadava 1999; Kachru 2006; Das 2006; Dhakal 2012, 2014 among others). They are outlined in this section.

4.1.1 Person, number and honorificity

There are distinct person and agreement markers in Majhi. The agreement markers in the non-past and past tense are shown in Table 3.
Table 3: Person markers in past and non-past tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NPST</th>
<th>PST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-ũ</td>
<td>-ã/-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-ã</td>
<td>-ãi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG,HON</td>
<td>-ã</td>
<td>-ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-ã:</td>
<td>-ã:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-ãi</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-ãt</td>
<td>-ã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see that although there are some agreement markers which are identical in the past tense and non-past tense, such as -e (1PL), -ã (2SG,H), -ã: (2PL), the other agreement markers are different in the past tense and non-past tense. In order to illustrate the inflectional behavior of consonant-ending and vowel-ending verb stems, inflections of two verbs *beg*- ‘run’ and *dzä*- ‘go’ are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Inflection of intransitive verbs *beg*-‘run’, *dzä*- ‘go’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NPST</th>
<th>PST</th>
<th>NPST</th>
<th>PST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-tsh-ũ</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-n-ãi (ai)</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-tsh-ũ</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-na-ĩ (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-tsh-ãe</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-l-ãe</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-tsh-ãe</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-l-ãe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-tsh-ãã</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-l-ãi</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-tsh-ãã</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-l-ãi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG,HON</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-tsh-ã</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-l-ã</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-tsh-ã</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-l-ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-tsh-ã:</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-l-ã:</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-tsh-ã:</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-l-ã:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-tsh-ãi</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-l-ãi</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-tsh-ãi</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-l-ãi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-tsh-ãt</td>
<td><em>beg</em>-l-ãt</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-tsh-ãt</td>
<td><em>dzai</em>-l-ãt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel-ending stems also take the epenthetic vowel *i* before it takes the tense markers. The vowel stem *dzä-* is followed by the epenthetic vowel preceding the non-past tense marker -tsh. And the past tense marker is -l-~n. In contrast to this, the epenthetic vowel is not found with the consonant ending stems.

Person agreement is also shown in Table 4. In the verb *beg*-tsh-ũ ‘run-NPST.1SG’, the verb -ũ is the first person singular agreement marker whereas the agreement marker -e is the form agreeing with the first person plural subject. Examples follow.

(3)  
tui *begtshãs*  
tui beg-tsh-ãs  
you run-NPST.2SG  
‘You run.’

(4)  
tora *begtshã*  
tui beg-tsh-ã  
you run-NPST.2SG,HON  
‘You (HON) run.’
Exploring the parameters...

(5)  
\[\text{hoi begtshəi} \]
\[\text{tui beg-tsh-əi} \]
\[\text{you run-NPST-3SG} \]
\[\text{‘He runs.’} \]

Now, let’s look at the verb agreement as seen in both the past and non-past tenses. Examples (3-5) illustrate the person agreement in the non-past tense. We see that the suffix -ə shows that the verb agrees with the second person singular whereas the -əi shows that the verbs agree with the third person singular in the non-past tense.

Moving to the agreement in the past tense, we see examples (6-7). We may contrast example (6) in which the agreement suffix -ə agrees with the third person plural subject while -ə agrees with the third person singular subject in the past tense (7).

(6)  
\[\text{madzhilkin mun khailə} \]
\[\text{madzhi-l-kin mun kha-l-a} \]
\[\text{Mahi-PL-ERG liquor begin-PST-3PL} \]
\[\text{‘Majhis drank liquor.’} \]

(7)  
\[\text{dzwārehin puni mən bitsar gərlə} \]
\[\text{dzwā-re-k-in puni mən bitsar gər-l-ə} \]
\[\text{son-in-law-POSS.3SG-ERG also soul thought do-PST-3SG} \]
\[\text{‘Son-in-law also thought for a while.’ [Prince.170]} \]

When we look at Table 4 we see that the agreement is triggered by the person, number, and honorificity. Moreover, the honorificity triggers the verb agreement in the past and non-past tense in the second and third person subjects. While the second person singular subject takes the suffix -ə, the second person honorific subject takes the suffix -ə: both in the past and non-past tense.

4.1.2 Gender

Only two genders, masculine and feminine, are differentiated in Majhi. The gender distinction is seen in Majhi in adjectives, classifiers and certain verb forms, viz. in perfect aspect, past tense and prospective form. Examples (8-9) show that the classifiers agree with the feminine nouns.

(8)  
\[\text{duiṭa ghaɾ} \]
\[\text{dui-ṭa ghaɾ} \]
\[\text{two-CLF house} \]
\[\text{‘two houses,’} \]

(9)  
\[\text{tıñti gai̇lo} \]
\[\text{tiñ-ti gai̇lo} \]
\[\text{three-CLF.F cow-PL} \]
\[\text{‘three cows,’} \]

The gender distinction is also seen in numeral classifiers (8-9). For example, the classifier used with the masculine noun -ta inflects as -ti when it occurs with the feminine subject.
Similarly, some adjectives which end in -a, -ə, or -o inflect taking the inflectional suffix -i agreeing with the feminine nouns. Some examples follow (10).

(10) **ADJECTIVE** | **FEM (SG/PL)**
--- | ---
baṭha | bāṭhi
bəḍkha | bəḍkhi
burra | burri
kupro | kupri
goro | gorai
laṭa | laṭai

We see that the verb agrees with the masculine subject in the perfect aspect with -lə whereas we see the verb form -li agreeing with the feminine subject.

(11) tshōḍari ailə atshə
tshōḍari a-ə atsh-ə
son come-PRF be.NPST-3SG
‘(My) son has come.’

(12) tshuneni aili atshi
tshuneni a-li atsh-i
daughter come-PRF.F be.NPST-3SG.F
‘(My) daughter has come.’

Verb agreement with the feminine subject is also seen in the prospective form of verbs as well. Compare examples (13-14) in which the prospective form appears as noun modifying clauses. We see that the modifying clause ending in -nari agrees with the feminine head noun in (13). By contrast, the prospective form ends in -nar to agree with the masculine subject (14).

(13) ghərə dzainari buhari
gərə dzai-nari buhari
house go-PROS.F daughter-in-law
‘The daughter-in-law who will go home’

(14) ghərə dzainar tshōḍari
gərə dzai-nar tshōḍari
house go-PROS.M son
‘The son who will go home’

Majhi also exhibits the verb agreement owing to gender only in certain verb forms. The gender agreement is not coded in non-past tense. We see the same agreement marker (viz. -əi) appearing in the non-past tense although the subject of (15) is the third person singular masculine whereas the subject of (16) is the third person singular feminine.

(15) tshuneni dzaitshəi
tshuneni dza-tsh-əi
daughter go-NPST-3SG
(16) tshõdari dzaitshəi
tshõdari dza-tsh-ə
son go-NPST-3SG
‘(My) son goes.’

4.1.3 Case roles

Verbs in Majhi agree with the nominative, ergative, or dative subjects. While ergative and nominative subjects take the agreement suffixes shown in Table (3), the dative subject, and the genitive modifier of a NP take different agreement suffixes. The subjects may be in the nominative case (17-18), in ergative case (19), or in dative case (20).

(17) muĩ masu khainai
    muĩ masu  kha-n-ai
    I meat  eat-PST-1SG
‘I ate meat.’

(18) tui  masu khaili
    tui  masu  kha-l-ə
    you meat  eat-PST-3SG
‘You ate meat.’

(19) hoinin bərdei kinle
    hoi-nin bərdei  kin-le
    he-ERG ox  buy-PST.3SG
‘He bought the ox.’

(20) milai bhok lagtshəi
    milai bhok  lag-tsh-ə
    I-DAT hunger feel-NPST-1SG.DAT
‘I am hungry.’

We should also remember that Majhi shows the split ergative pattern. The split begins between the second person plural and the third person singular pronouns. So, we don’t see the ergativity encoded in (17-18) even if they are transitive clauses, but we see that it is encoded with the third person pronoun (19)\(^5\). Since we have discussed the verb agreement with nominative, and ergative subjects, let’s move to dative subjects and the genitive modifiers which trigger verb agreement.

The dative subjects are the ‘experiencer’ subjects (Masica 1991:346). Masica also explains that they often include physical sensations, psychological states, need, and obligation among others. One of the properties of the dative subjects in Majhi is that it also controls the verb agreement although this varies in other languages (cf. Bickel and Yadava 2000). Dative agreement is evidenced only in a few cases with the verbs, viz. lag ‘feel’ viz. verbs ris uṭh- ‘be angry’, pər ‘happen’ dəhək- ‘envy’, təahi- ‘be needed’ etc

\(^5\)See Dhakal (2014) for the detailed discussion of split ergativity in Majhi.
in the data we have collected. In order to explain the dative subject agreement, the inflection of the verb *lag*—‘feel’, and copular verbs are shown in Table (5).

**Table 5 Inflection of verbs for dative subjects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>lag</em>—‘feel’ (NPST)</th>
<th><em>lag</em>—‘become’ (PST)</th>
<th><em>atsh</em>—‘be.NPST’</th>
<th>*be.PST’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>lag-tsh-i</td>
<td>lag-l-e</td>
<td>atsh-at</td>
<td>rəi-l-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>lag-tsh-i</td>
<td>lag-l-e</td>
<td>atsh-at</td>
<td>rəi-l-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>lag-tsh-jas</td>
<td>lag-l-jas</td>
<td>atsh-jas</td>
<td>rəi-l-jas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.H</td>
<td>lag-tsh-ja</td>
<td>lag-l-ja</td>
<td>atsh-ja</td>
<td>rəi-l-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>lag-tsh-i</td>
<td>lag-əl-te</td>
<td>atsh-i</td>
<td>rə-l-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.H</td>
<td>lag-tsh-i</td>
<td>lag-əl-te</td>
<td>atsh-i</td>
<td>rə-l-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>lag-tsh-jak</td>
<td>lag-l-jak</td>
<td>atsh-jak</td>
<td>rə-l-jak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.H</td>
<td>lag-tsh-jak</td>
<td>lag-l-jak</td>
<td>atsh-jak</td>
<td>rə-l-jak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table (5), agreement suffixes differ in the past and non-past tenses. First of all, let’s consider the examples in the past tense which agree with dative subjects.

(19) *milai bhok lagle*

mui-lai bhok lag-l-e
I-DAT hunger feel-PST-1SG.DAT
‘I was hungry.’

(20) *tuilai bhok lagljas*

tui-lai bhok lag-l-jas
you-DAT hunger feel-PST-2SG.DAT
‘You are hungry.’

(21) *hjə tshagrilai pãts səe parəlte*

hjə tshagri-lai pãts səe parəl-te
this goat-DAT five hundred cost-PST-3SG.DAT
‘This goat cost five hundred rupees.’

We see that the finite verb contains -e to agree with the first person singular in (19) but the verb hosts the suffix -jas to agree with the second person singular dative subject in (20). The dative agreement is attested mainly with the ‘experiencer verbs’.

We also see that the dative subject agreement is also attested in the perfect construction in which the dative subject agrees with the auxiliaries rather than with the main verbs. Examples follow.

(22) *milai bhok laglə atshat*

mui-lai bhok lag-lə atsh-ət
I-DAT hunger feel-PRF be.NPST-1SG.DAT
‘I have become hungry.’
Exploring the parameters...

(23)  
\[
\text{tuilai bhok lag\text{-}\iota atshjas} \\
\text{I-DAT hunger feel-PRF be.NPST-2SG.DAT}
\]
‘You have become hungry.’

It is not strange to find examples which agree with the dative subjects because some IA languages reported to have this feature (Hook 1990). An example obtained from the corpus follows.

(24)  
\[
\text{hoilai hu\text{-}i\text{j}ã k\text{\text{-}a\text{\text{-}thk} kø\text{\text{-}r}ə lau m\text{\text{-}a\text{n}tsi\text{\text{-}n}te k\text{\text{-}a\text{\text{-}thk} kø\text{\text{-}r}ə b\text{\text{-}h}ən}a t\text{\text{-}s\text{\text{-}h\text{\text{-}i}l\text{\text{-}t}ʃak} jak}}}
\]
\[
\text{they-DAT Huinya wood-GEN boat}
\]
\[
\text{Manchinte wood-GEN oar be needed-NPST-3PL.DAT}
\]
‘They need Huinja wood for making a boat and Manchinte wood for making an oar.’

We showed that the verb agree with dative subjects in Majhi. Now let's move to the genitive modifiers which trigger verb agreement. In addition to the dative case discussed earlier, the genitive case also controls the verb agreement when the genitive modifiers precede the nouns. This is seen with ‘possessives’ in which verb agrees with ‘a part of complex noun phrases which is not the lexical head’ (Corbett 2006:61). Consider examples (25-27).

(25)  
\[
\text{morə dzjan b\text{-}âst\text{-}sh\text{-}i} \\
\text{I-GEN life live-PST-1SG.GEN}
\]
‘My life was safe (lit. my life lives).’

(26)  
\[
\text{torə dzjan b\text{-}âst\text{-}shj\text{-}as} \\
\text{you-GEN life live-PST-2SG.GEN}
\]
‘Your life was safe (lit. your life lives).’

(27)  
\[
\text{hokrə dzjan b\text{-}âst\text{-}sh\text{-}i} \\
\text{he-GEN life live-NPST-3SG.GEN}
\]
‘His life was safe (lit. your life lives).’

We see that the the head of the noun phrases is dzjan 'life' in exmaples (25-27). However, we see that the verb agreement pattern is different in these examples. It is so because the genitive modifiers which precede the head nouns are different. For example, the genitive modifier is morə 'my' in (25), torə 'my' in (26), and hokrə'my' in (27). We see that the agreement suffix -\text{-i} agrees with morə 'my' in (25), -\text{-jas} with torə 'my' in (26), and -\text{-i with hokrə 'my' in (27}. So, the part of the noun phrases controls the verb agreement in this case.
Now, let's consider an example obtained from the corpus (28). Although the sentence lacks an overt subject, the verb agreement is controlled by genitive modifier. In this example, the verb is controlled by the phrase *holə ko kuro* ‘their decision /consultation /matter’.

(28)  

helai kaṭəi partshəi bhənne kuro hokləjak ni  

hjo-lai  

kaṭ-əi  

partshəi  

bhənne  

kuro  

hok-l-jak  

ni  

become-PST-3PL.GEN HS  

‘He should be stabbed, (they) decided (it) (it was their decision).’  

[Prince.53]

We also need to note that if the overt subject was *torə kuro* ‘your decision/ consultation/ matter’ the verb form would be *hokləjas* ‘become-PST.2SG.GEN’. The inflections of genitive modifiers of some verbs, viz. *basts-* ‘live’, and *hurk-* ‘grow up’ are shown in Table 6. The copular verbs *atsh-* ‘be.NPST’ and *roi-*‘be.PST’ inflect to agree with the genitive modifier as they are given in Table (5).

Table 6 : Inflection of verbs for genitive modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>basts- ‘live’</th>
<th>basts- ‘live’</th>
<th>hurk- ‘grow up’</th>
<th>hurk- ‘grow up’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>basts-tsh-ə</td>
<td>basts-l-e</td>
<td>hurki-tsh-ə</td>
<td>hurki-l-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>basts-tsh-ə</td>
<td>basts-l-e</td>
<td>hurki-tsh-ə</td>
<td>hurki-l-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>basts-tshja</td>
<td>basts-le/-e</td>
<td>hurki-tshjas</td>
<td>hurki-l-es (l-e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.H</td>
<td>basts-tshja</td>
<td>basts-l-ja</td>
<td>hurki-tsh-ja</td>
<td>hurki-l-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>basts-tshja</td>
<td>basts- l-ər</td>
<td>hurki-tshja</td>
<td>hurki-l-ər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>basts-tsh- i(ik)</td>
<td>basts-əl-te</td>
<td>hurki-tsh-i (ik)</td>
<td>hurki-l-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.H</td>
<td>basts-tsh- i</td>
<td>basts-əl-te</td>
<td>hurki-tsh-i(ik)</td>
<td>hurki-l-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>basts-tsh- jak</td>
<td>basts-l-jak</td>
<td>hurki-tsh-jak</td>
<td>hurki-l-jak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.H</td>
<td>basts-tsh- jak</td>
<td>basts-l-jak</td>
<td>hurki-tsh-jak</td>
<td>hurki-l-jak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 presents the inflections of some verbs (viz. *basts-* ‘live’, and *hurk-* ‘grow up’) when they are controlled by the genitive modifiers. Like in the past tense, the genitive modifiers also trigger verb agreement in the non-past tense. Examples follow.

(29)  

*morə dzjan bastsəha*  

muĩ- ro  

dzjan  

basts-ə  

I-GEN  

life  

live-NPST-1SG.GEN
16 / Exploring the parameters...

‘My life is safe (lit. my life lives).’

(30)  
\[toro \ dzjan \ b\!a\!t\!s\!t\!h\!j\!a\!s\]  
\[tui-\ r\] \ dzjan \ b\!a\!t\!s\!t\!h\!-\ j\!a\!s\]  
you-GEN \ life \ live-NPST-2SG.GEN

‘Your life is safe (lit. your life lives).’

(31)  
\[hokra \ dzjan \ b\!a\!t\!s\!t\!h\!i\]  
\[hoi-\ r\] \ dzjan \ b\!a\!t\!s\!t\!h\!-\ i\]  
he-GEN \ life \ live-PST-3SG.GEN

‘His life is safe (lit. your life lives).’

We see that although the head noun is the same in (29-31), the genitive modifiers differ. While the genitive modifier of (29) is \textit{mora} ‘my’, the genitive modifier of (30) is \textit{toro} ‘your’, and \textit{hokra} ‘his’ in (31). Like in the main verbs, the genitive modifiers also trigger changes in auxiliaries. Examples follow.

(32)  
\[mora \ ek\!d\!z\!o\!n \ bhae\!m \ a\!t\!s\!h\!at\]  
\[mu\!i-\ r\] \ ek-dz\!o\!n \ bhae-m \ atsh-at\]  
I-GEN \ one-CLF \ brother-POSS.1SG \ be.NPST-1SG.GEN

‘I have a brother.’

(33)  
\[toro \ ek\!d\!z\!o\!n \ bhae\!r \ a\!t\!s\!h\!at\]  
\[t/ui-\ r\] \ ek-dz\!o\!n \ bhae-r \ atsh-jas\]  
I-GEN \ one-CLF \ brother-POSS.2SG \ be.NPST-2SG.GEN

‘You have a brother.’

(34)  
\[hokra \ ek\!d\!z\!o\!n \ bhaek \ a\!t\!s\!h\!ik\]  
\[hoi-\ r\] \ ek-dz\!o\!n \ bhae-k \ atsh-ik\]  
I-GEN \ one-CLF \ brother-POSS.3SG \ be.NPST-3SG.GEN

‘He has a brother.’

We note that the copula agreement is triggered by the genitive subject in (32-34). If we replace the modifier \textit{hokra} ‘his’ by \textit{toro} ‘your’ the agreement pattern differs. An example obtained from the corpus follows.

(35)  
\[toro \ kunu \ ist\!o \ a\!t\!s\!h\!jas \ ki\]  
\[tui-\ r\] \ kunu \ ist\!o \ atsh-jas \ ki\]  
you-GEN \ who \ friend \ be.NPST-2SG.GEN \ PRT

‘Do you have any of your friends?’

We also see that the verb agreement in (38) is controlled by the genitive modifier again. Although the head of the NP is \textit{ist\!o} ‘friend’, the ‘be’ verb agrees with the second person singular. The second person singular is the modifier of the NP rather than the head NP in (38).

Although Majhi have suffixes which agree with dative subjects, most of them either resemble to the suffixes in intransitive verbs, or in transitive verbs. Note that the suffixes with -\textit{tsh} appears with the dative subject in the non-past tense whereas the suffixes with -\textit{l\!o/-n\!o} appear with the past tense suffixes. The suffixes appearing with the dative subjects are summarized in Table (7).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE</th>
<th>PERSON, NUMBER</th>
<th>SUFFIXES OCCURING WITH DATIVE SUBJECTS</th>
<th>SUFFIXES RESEMBLING TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NON-PAST</td>
<td>1SG/PL</td>
<td>-tsh-ə</td>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-tsh-jas</td>
<td>3SG/PL..SUB. 2SG.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2SG.H, 2PL</td>
<td>-tsh-ja</td>
<td>3SG/PL..SUB. 2PL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-tsh-i</td>
<td>3SG..SUB.3SG.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3PL/3PL,HON</td>
<td>-tsh-jak</td>
<td>3SG/PL..SUB.3PL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-tsh-ık</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>1SG/PL</td>
<td>-l-e</td>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2SG.HON, 2PL</td>
<td>-l-ja</td>
<td>3SG/PL..SUB. 2SG.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3SG/3SG.HON</td>
<td>-əl-te</td>
<td>3SG..SUB.3SG.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2SG/PL</td>
<td>-l-jak</td>
<td>3PL..SUB. 3PL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-l-ər</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-l-es</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (7) includes the possible sources of the suffixes because most of the suffixes occurring with the dative subjects resemble either to intransitive or transitive verbs. Only a few forms which occur with dative subject occur neither in intransitive nor in transitive verb paradigms. They are -tsh-ık in the non-past and -l-er and -le-s in the past. Examples obtained from the corpus are given in (36-37).

(36)  **aneləkai ḍaha həkəi thalljak**  
*ane-l-kai ḍaha hək-əi thal-l-jak*  
‘Other people began to envy him.’ [Manthali and river bank.9]

(37)  **madzhilai dhere pir pəl-əte**  
*madzhi-lai dhere pir pər-əl-te*  
‘Majhi felt sad.’ [Manthali and river bank.14]

In perfect aspect the agreement suffixes are attached to be verbs which immediately follow the main verbs. As expected, the genitive modifier triggers the verb agreement (38-40).

(38)  **morə bhahem kam gərə atsha**  
*mui-rə bhai-m kam gər-lə atsh-ə*  
‘My brother has done work.’
18 / Exploring the parameters...

(39) \textit{ter\text{\'}bhaer ter\text{\'}a kam gor\text{\'}la atshjas}

tui-r\text{\'}a bhae-r \quad \text{tui-r\text{\'}a kam gor\text{\text{-}}la}
you-GEN brother- POSS.2SG you-\text{\'}a work do-PRF
atsh-jas

be.NPST-2SG.\text{\text{-}}GEN

‘Your brother has done work.’

(40) \textit{hokr\text{\'}bhaikin kam gor\text{\'}la atshjas}

h\text{\text{-}}\text{oi-r\text{\'}a} bhae-k-\text{\text{-}}i \quad \text{\text{\text{\text{-}}kam gor\text{\text{-}}la}
he-GEN brother- POSS.3SG-\text{\text{-}}ERG work do-PRF
atsh-i

be.NPST-3SG.\text{\text{-}}GEN

‘His brother has done work.’

As shown before, the case roles affect the agreement suffixes in some Indo-Aryan
languages (see Yadava 1999 for Maithili; Wilde 2008 for Rajbanshi and Dhakal 2012 for
Darai).

4.1.4 Agreement in transitive and ditransitive verbs

A more interesting feature characterized in Majhi is the double agreement where verb
agreement is triggered both by subject and object simultaneously. Table (8) summarizes
the affixes which are attached to the verbs in the past and non-past tenses in transitive,
and ditransitive verbs.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Subjects} & \text{1SG} & \text{1PL} & \text{2SG} & \text{2PL} & \text{3SG} & \text{3PL} \\
\hline
\text{1SG} & \text{PST} & & - & - & -n-ai & -l-ai \\
& & & & & -n-in & -l-ai \\
\text{NPST} & & & - & - & -tsh-\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}u/ & -tsh-j\text{\text{\text{-}}}a \\
& & & & & -tsh-in & -tsh-ai \\
\text{1PL} & \text{PST} & - & - & - & - & -le \\
& & & & & - & -tsh-e \\
\text{NPST} & - & - & -tsh-e & -tsh-j\text{\text{\text{-}}}a & -tsh-e & -s-ai/-tsh-ai \\
\text{2SG} & \text{PST} & -l-\text{\text{-}}i & - & - & - & -l-kh\text{\text{\text{-}}}a \\
& & -l-\text{\text{-}}i & - & - & - & -l-\text{\text{-}}i \\
\text{NPST} & -tsh-\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}s & - & - & - & -tsh-\text{\text{-}}s & -tsh-\text{\text{-}}s \\
\text{2PL} & \text{PST} & -l-\text{\text{-}} & - & - & - & -l-kh\text{\text{\text{-}}}a \\
& & -l- & - & - & & - \\
\text{NPST} & & & & & -tsh-\text{\text{-}} \text{\text{-}}s \\
\text{3SG} & \text{PST} & -l-\text{\text{-}} & -l-jas & -l-ja & -l-te & -l-jak \\
& & -tsh-\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}j & -tsh-j\text{\text{\text{-}}}a & -tsh-i & -tsh-jak & -tsh-jak \\
\text{NPST} & -tsh-\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}i & -tsh-jas & -tsh-ja & -l- & -l-jak & -tsh-jak \\
\text{3PL} & \text{PST} & -n-\text{\text{-}}l-a & -l-a & -l-jas & -l-ja & -n-i & -l-jak \\
& & -tsh-\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}\text{\text{-}}t & -tsh-jas & -tsh-ja & -tsh-in & -tsh-jak \\
\text{NPST} & & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Agreement suffixes in transitive and ditransitive verbs}
\end{table}

First of all, let’s discuss the inflectional behavior of verbs in ditransitive verbs as given in
Table (8). The subjects are mentioned in the horizontal column and the objects in the
vertical column. There are some cases where the agreement suffixes combined with tense
markers in transitive verbs are identical to the ones which also occur in intransitive
paradigms. So, the transitive verbs in which the inflectional forms are decided only by the subject are referred to as ‘Only S (Subject) marked’ in Table (8). In other words, only subjects are marked to them.

In order to make the presentation more convenient, let’s summarize the agreement pattern described in Table (8). There are two patterns of verb agreement. Firstly, both the subjects and objects are coded in the transitive and ditransitive verb patterns. It is to be noted that Majhi employs the portmanteau suffixes to code the subject and object simultaneously. In fact, we can’t tease apart the subject and object agreement markers in the verbs. Secondly, only the objects are coded in the verbs.

Firstly, let’s present the situation in which both the subjects and objects are coded in transitive and ditransitive verbs. Since Majhi employs the portmanteau suffix of verb agreement, the portmanteau suffixes which appear in the past tense with different subjects and objects are given in (41).

\[(41)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIXES</th>
<th>SUBJECTS</th>
<th>OBJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>1SG → 2PL, 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>1SG → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si</td>
<td>2SG → 3SG, 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khən</td>
<td>2SG → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ok</td>
<td>2PL → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khən</td>
<td>2PL → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jaś</td>
<td>3SG → 2SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>3SG → 2PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te</td>
<td>3SG → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jak</td>
<td>3SG → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jas</td>
<td>3PL → 2SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jas</td>
<td>3PL → 2PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>3PL → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jak</td>
<td>3PL → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same way, the portmanteau suffixes which appear in the non-past tense with different subjects and objects are given in (42). Note that some common suffixes appearing in the past and non-past tenses which will be discussed later.

\[(42)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIXES</th>
<th>SUBJECTS</th>
<th>OBJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ũ</td>
<td>1SG → 2SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jä</td>
<td>1SG → 2PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>1SG → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>1SG → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sis</td>
<td>2SG → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khən</td>
<td>2PL → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jaś</td>
<td>3SG → 2SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>3SG → 2PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>3SG → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although some portmanteau suffixes appear both with the past and non-past tenses, others do not. The suffixes which appear both in the past and non-past tenses are given in (43). It is also to be noted that other portmanteau suffixes occur either in the past and non-past tenses, however.

(43)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIXES</th>
<th>SUBJECTS</th>
<th>OBJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>1SG → 3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>1SG → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jas</td>
<td>3SG → 2SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>3SG → 2PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jak</td>
<td>3SG → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jas</td>
<td>3PL → 2SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>3PL → 2PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jak</td>
<td>3PL → 3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inflection of the verb *de-* ‘give’ is given in Table (9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9: Inflection of the verb <em>de-</em> ‘give’ in past and non-past tenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects Subjects</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1SG</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NPST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1PL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NPST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2SG</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NPST</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2PL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NPST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SG</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NPST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3PL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although some verbs are marked only with the subject, there are inflectional slots in the paradigm where both subject and object are indexed. We are going to deal with this in
this section. Let’s recall that the suffix -aĩ codes the first person singular subject in the past tense in intransitive clauses. When we compare this form with the inflectional suffixes appearing to index the verbs in transitive verbs, we find some differences. We see that the form -aĩ also appears when the first person singular subject acts on the second person singular in the past tense. By contrast, when the first person singular subject acts on the rest of the pronouns, the forms differ, viz. -ai, -in. The form -aĩ indexes the first person subject acting on the second person plural (PST.1SG.SUB.2PL.OBJ) and third person plural (PST.1SG.SUB.3PL.OBJ) in the past tense. Similarly, the suffix -in indexes the first person singular subject acting on the third person singular object (PST.1SG.SUB.3SG.OBJ). Examples follow.

(44)  *muĩ tshođarilai dzal dinin*

>muĩ  tshođari-lai  dzal  di-n-in

>‘I gave a net to my son.’

(45)  *muĩ tshođarillai dzal dilai*

>muĩ  tshođari-l-lai  dzal  di-l-ai

>‘I gave a net to my sons.’

(46)  *hoinin beţaklai balste*

>hoi-nin  beţa-k-lai  bal-l-te

>‘He called his son.’

(47)  *hoinin beţakhjankai balste*

>hoi-nin  beţa-khjan-lai  bal-l-te

>‘He called his sons.’

Examples (44-45) illustrate the verb agreement when the first person singular subject acts on the third person singular and plural noun phrases. Despite the fact that the subject is the same in these two examples the differences result from the objects they incorporate in verb forms. For example, in example (44), the object is the third person singular tshođari’son’ whereas in (45) the object is the third person plural tshođari-l’son-pl’. Similarly, we see that the third person subject acts on the third person singular subject in (46) in the past tense, but the third person singular subject acts on the third person plural objects in (47). Now, let’s turn into the agreement in the non-past tense.

Now, let’s turn to the inflections of the ditransitive verbs in the non-past tense. Consider examples (48-49).

(48)  *muĩ hoiilai dzal ditshin*

>muĩ  hoi-lai  dzal  di-tsh-in

>‘I give him the net.’
Let’s remember that the first person singular subject takes the verb form that ends marker is -ǝ in non-past tense. When we compare this with the inflections of verbs in (48-49), we notice that the addressee component is also indexed in the verbs. The suffix -in shows that the first person singular subject is acting on the third person singular object whereas -ai codes the first person singular subject acting on the third person plural object.

As seen in tables before, a number of markers in Majhiare portmanteau suffixes incorporating both the agent and patient components in the verbs. In other words, in addition to the subject, the verb also incorporates the addressee components to them. Let’s take the suffix -te, which is the suffix appearing with the past tense marker. It is obvious that the -l is the past tense marker. It is not, however, easy to tease apart the rest of its component into agent and patient markers. Following are some examples (50-52) in which both the subject and object control the verb agreement simultaneously as it is evidenced in Majhi texts.

(50)  bərmən risaitin dutkai bolljak
Brahma be angry-SIM messanger-DAT speak-PST3SG.3PL.OBJ
‘As Brahma was angry, he called the messanger.’

(51)  madzhilkin tsərilk lagi məhələ khöda bonai dini
Majhis make a nice nest for the birds.’

(52)  bihənə sobere uṭikai rati tsərilkin gərlə sebbe kuro sathilkai sunailjak
‘Having got up early in the morning, he told all the things heard in
the night said by the birds to (his friend).’

As we see in (50-52), for example, Majhi employs a number of portmanteau suffixes in ditransitive and transitive paradigm. For example, the suffix -ljak is the portmanteau suffix which is the third person singular agent acting on the third person patient in the past tense (52).

Now, let’s move to the cases in which only the subjects are coded in the verbs. Reflexives are not included in this case either. We have not included the first person subject acting...
on the first person objects. Similarly, the combinatorial cases in which the second person subjects acting on the second person objects are not included in this case either. The other cases in which only the subjects are coded in the past tense are given in (53).

(53)    SUFFIXES  SUBJECTS  OBJECTS
        -ai  1SG →  2SG, 2PL
        -le  1PL →  ALL OBJECTS
        -oǐ  2SG →  1SG, 1PL
        -o  2PL →  1SG, 1PL, 3SG, 3PL
        -e  3SG →  1SG, 1PL
        -a  3PL →  1SG, 1PL

The cases in which only the subjects are coded in the non-past tense are given in (53). We see that the objects do not control verb agreement when the subjects act on objects mentioned in (54).

(54)    SUFFIXES  SUBJECTS  OBJECTS
        -ũ  1SG →  2SG
        -e  1PL →  2SG
        -oś  2SG →  1SG, 1PL
        -o:  2PL →  1SG, 1PL, 3SG, 3PL
        -oǐ  3SG →  1SG, 1PL
        -o:  3PL →  1SG, 1PL

Although it is difficult to set the criteria why the objects do not trigger the verb agreement in this case, we find some kind of pattern in it. When the second and third person subjects act on the first person objects, the object component is not included in it. So, we have a hierarchy relation like (3>1, 2>1) in this case. Secondly, there are cases in which the plural pronouns while acting as subjects do not incorporate the object component in the verbs, such as first person plural acting on the second person singular, and second person plural acting on all pronouns.

Indo-Aryan languages present double and even triple agreement. Double agreement is reported in Rajbanshi (Wilde 2008), Maithili (Yadava 1999), Darai (Dhakal 2012), Magahi (Verma 1991), and Bajjika (Kashyap 2011). In addition, Maithili and Kashmiri show triple agreement (see Yadava 1996, 1999 for Maithili and Raina 1994 for Kashmiri) which is not characterized in Majhi.

5. Summary

The discussion shows that we need ranges of facts to discuss the verb agreement in Majhi where the verb is not only marked for agreement with one nominal phrase in a clause. The verbs may agree with the nominative, ergative, or with the dative subject, or the modifier of a genitive phrase. The agreement triggered by gender, person, and number are like in other Indo-Aryan languages of the region, such as Hindi (cf. Kachru 2006, Saksena 1981, Das 2006), or Nepali (Acharya 1991). In addition to the features such as number, person, gender, honorificity, and case, verb agreement is also controlled by both subject and object in ditransitive verbs (and some transitive verbs). Genitive modifier also
controls the verb agreement. Majhi mainly employs portmanteau suffixes to encode the inflectional values of subject and object simultaneously in transitive and ditransitive verbs.

**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>subject</td>
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</table>

**References**


