LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL BORROWINGS IN RAJI

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When languages have a relatively small number of speakers and live along with the speakers of dominant languages, there is a gradual shrinkage in their vocabulary, and grammatical patterns. This study is mainly based on the wordlist and texts initially gathered for the prelimary documentation of Raji in 2018. Raji presents a typical case in which 46.2 percent lexical items are borrowed from Indic languages (and mainly from Nepali). The verbs borrowed from Indic sources exhibit systematic behaviour as all of them index the suffix -e to the verb roots as a technique of accomodation before other suffixes are added to them. Some lexical items end in -əu, -ŋ, -ja, -l when they are borrowed to Raji. The grammatical borrowings are largely evidenced in the areas of morphology, and clause combining.

Keywords: Tibeto-Burman, lexical borrowing, grammatical borrowing, Raji

1. Introduction

Raji is an endangered TB language (ISO rji, glotolog: Raji 1240) spoken in Nepal, and also in India (Rastogi 2002). It is primarily spoken in Surkhet, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of western Nepal. While the ethnic population of Rajis in Nepal is 4235, only 3758 speak this as their mother tongue (Yadava 2014). *Ethnologue* (Eppele et al. 2012) enumerates three distinct dialects of Raji, viz. Naukule, Purbiya, and Barabandale, without referring precisely to the Raji variety spoken in Kumaun (India). The language is described as 'threatened' (Eppele et al. 2012). In Grierson and Konow's classification (1909), Raji belongs to Jungali group within Western Subgroup of Complex Pronominalized languages within Himalayan section of TB languages.[1] The classification of Raji as mentioned in Bradley (1997) is given in Figure 1.

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Tibeto-Burman
        Western Tibeto-Burman
                Himalayan
                        Central
                                RAJI, Raute, Magar
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Figure 1. Genetic classification of Raji (Bradley 1997)

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[1] Grierson and Konow (1909: 530) mentions that he obtained the data from Asakot, India. Grierson also provides some word lists and phrases from Almora, India. Similar view is expressed in Kansakar (1993).

There are some studies in Raji in India (Fortier and Rastogi 2004; Krishan 2001; Rastogi 2012; Rastogi 2002), and the studies in Nepal are concentrated in the Barabandale dialect (Khatri & Sah 2008; Khatri 2008; Bandhu et al. 2011). The speakers of Purbiya Raji live in a number of villages in Bardiya district including Sanoshri village. Some factors are responsible for the endangerment of the language. There was a shift from semi-nomadic lifestyle to the sedentary existence (van Driem 2007: 310). Secondly, there is widespread bilingualism and multilingualism among Raji speakers that triggers loss of the language (Khatri 2008; Khatiwada & Prasain 2013). Because of the sociolinguistic situation explained earlier, Raji speakers are in contact with the speakers of non-Raji speakers in their daily lives. Raji is gradually losing its domains because of the predominant use of the Nepali language outside their homes. As a result, Raji borrows not only the lexical items from Nepali (and Indic languages), but also the grammatical structures. This paper tries to examine the kinds and patterns of borrowings of lexical items, and grammatical features in Raji.

The study is structured as follows: Section 2 outlines the sociolinguistic situation of the Raji language. Basic information about Raji dialects is presented in section 3. Section 4 outlines the methodology and limitations of this study. The cases of code-switching and borrowing in the cases of Raji is discussed in section 5. Section 6 presents the lexical borrowing in Raji taking different sets of lexical items from different sources. The lexical borrowings have been analyzed from various perspectives. Section 7 presents a number of cases of IA influence in Raji, viz. classifiers (7.1), noun derivation (7.2), gender (7.3), comitative postposition (7.4), ablative postposition (7.5), causative construction (7.6), and conjunct verbs (7.7). A number of clause combining strategies have been borrowed from Nepali to Raji, and they are discussed in (7.9) and finally the use of the discourse marker *ʈə* from Nepali. Section 8 summarizes the main findings of the study.

2. Sociolinguistic situation

A few things may be noted to show the sociolinguistic situation of Raji. To begin with, the varieties of Raji spoken in Nepal and Indian sides are linguistically different in lexicon, and grammar despite the fact that they are referred to by a single name. Secondly, Raji is distributed sporadically in some districts leading to the divergence in lexicon and grammar. Most of the areas where Rajis inhabit these days are surrounded by non-Raji speakers leading to the pervasive bilingual and multilingual (Eppele et al. 2012). Khatiwada and Prasain (2013) note that there are hardly any monolingual Raji speakers, but Eppele et al (2012: 78) noted that "In one village in Kailali District in the Khailad village, speakers under 6 years of age and over 60 years old are monolingual." In fact, the Raji langauge spoken in Sanosri may be regarded as a 'migrant language' because Rajis were settled by the government of Nepal from the areas near Bardiya national park about 30 years back.

3. Dialect variations

A systematic study of variations in Raji varieties is not available for some reasons. Leaving aside the Raji spoken in India, three dialects, viz. Barabandale, Naukule, and Purbiya Raji have been accepted (Eppele at al. 2012; Bandhu et al. 2011). A short description of

Barabandale (Bandhu et al. 2011), and Purbiya Raji (Dhakal 2021) are available. Neither the detailed wordlist, nor the gramatical description of Naukule variety exist till the date.

Khatri (2008) demonstrates that the lexical correspondences between Barabandale and Pubiya is higher compared to other relations. On the other hand, Purbiya and Naukule share only 52 lexical items. It is interesting when Swadesh 100 words of Kumaun Raji are compared with Purbiya Raji. Only 78 words are comparable when the Indic words are not counted between them. Out of 78 words, they shared only 38 lexical items (resulting only in 48.7% lexical correspondences).[2] This also indicates the grammatical variations these varieties may further reveal.

To begin with, there are some dialectal differences in Raji varieties. The central unrounded vowel /ɨ/ of Barabandale dialect is not found in Purbiya Raji. Covnersely, the glottal stop /ʔ/ reported in the Purbiya Raji is not present in Barabandale variety. The dual number is attested in nouns, and they also trigger verb agreement in Barabandale variety, which is gradually disappearing in Purbiya Raji.[3]

(1)   *tsaŋ-ragin bəʈa   dzaʔ-ki-tsɨ*
       son-DU   rice   eat-PRES-DU
       'My two sons eat rice.   (Bandhu et al: 2011: 58)

While the variety in Barabandale makes three-way distinction of demonstratiave pronouns (viz. proximal, distal, and farther away), Purbiya Raji simply makes a two-way distinction (viz. proximal and distal). Interestingly, the copula used in identificational clause also differs in these two varieties. For example, the copula *lʌ* 'COP.PRES' is used in identificational clause in Barabandale variety in locative clause, and with attributive clause in Barabandale variety (2).

(2)   *in   trontja   lʌ*
       this   boy   COP.NPST
       'This is a boy.'   (Bandhu et al: 2011: 88)

By contrast, the copula *hũ* is used in identifical clause (3), and *heŋ* in locational clause in Purbiya Raji.

(3)   *naŋ   gurəu   hũ*
       2SG   priest   COP.NPST.SG
       'You are a priest.'   (Dhakal 2021)

The similarities counted and presented above indicate that a more systematic comparison of grammars of these varieties is needed to explain them in detail. No sociolectal variations in Raji have been observed so far.

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[2] The words for Kumaun Raji is taken from Rastogi and Fortier (2008), and Dhakal (2021) for Purbiya Raji.

[3] The following are the symbols used in the transcription of the data in Raji consonants: Stops: p, pʰ, b, bʰ, ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, ɖʰ, t, tʰ, d, dʰ, k, kʰ, g, gʰ, ʔ; Affricates: ts, tsʰ, dz, dzʰ; Fricatives: s, h; Nasals: m, mʰ, n, nʰ, ŋ; Laterals and trills: l, lʰ, r, rʰ; Glides: w, j.

4. Methodology and limitations

The cases of lexical and morpho-syntactic borrowings presented in this article are based on the data obtained mainly from three sources. To begin with, the lexical borrowings calculated here are based on the lexical items included in Dhakal (2019), in addition to the lexical items obtained from 'documentation corpus' interlinearized and included in Dhakal (2018). The lexical items from three varieties are drawn from the data gathered during the sociolinguistic survey of Raji.[4] The morphosyntactic borrowings discussed in this article are based on the gathered corpus, and grammatical description (Dhakal 2021).[5] The texts used for gramamtical information and borrowing in Purbiya Raji comprise narratives, procedural texts, instructions, and personal experience. In addition to directly elicited examples, a total of 1200 sentences are obtained from the corpus. The insights from Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Aikhenvald (2006) and Haspelmath Tadmor (2009) were used for the theoretical orientation of this study.

5. Code-switching and borrowing

It is relevant to mention that code-switching and borrowings are often placed in a continuum. There are cases when the speakers use both the native and borrowed lexical items and native and borrowed grammatical patterns in various discourse contexts. The lexical items were regarded as 'borrowing' if no words are found for any lexical items' parallel.

When the texts were gathered, the speakers made use of a number of lexical items from other languages (mainly from Nepali) although the same terms are available in Raji. The borrowings from English are restricted. The lexical items borrowed from English are presented in (4).

(4) *eḍ*   'cooperation'
     əmrika 'America'
     saikəl 'bicycle'
     iskul   'school'
     ridzəlṭə 'result'
     jaksən 'action'

The lexical items other than nouns are not borrowed from English to Raji. The speakers switched to Nepali and made use of the Nepali words in conversation despite the fact that the native Raji words are also used in some other contexts. These words are more like 'insertional switches' rather than actual borrowings (see Matras & Sakel 2007: 9) in the conversations. The speakers have choices between the alternatives in this case, either native lexical items or borrowed ones as alternatives as presented in (5).

	Raji		Nepali
(5)	*breunaŋ*	'Tharu'	*tʰaru*

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[4] A total of 210 basic words were considered basic during the survey of Raji.
[5] The computer software program ELAN was used in the transcription of the Raji texts.

mikrja	'tear'	*ãsu*	
pəira	'straw'	*kʰərə*	
ghra	'head'	*kəpləu*	
pəʈʰəi	'for'	*lagəi*	
kurhja	'god'	*ḍeuʈa*	
səinjaŋ	'to stand'	*ʈekenjaŋ*	
gʰrəu	'hand (length from elbow to tip of middle finger)'	*haʈ*	

A list of such words are limited, however. It is to be noted that the Nepali borrowings have slightly different phonological shapes when they are borrowed into Raji. The word *khər* 'straw' as *kʰərə*, *kəpal* 'kəpləu' as *kəpləu, lagi* 'for' as *lagəi*, *deuta* 'god' as *ḍeuʈa*, and *hat* 'hand' as *haʈ* (also see section 6.4).

6. Lexical borrowing

This section discusses the loanwords in Raji taking different sets of basic words and perspectives. The term 'borrowing' is used in a broad sense, such as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37). For the purpose of counting the borrowing, the root of the word has been considered. For example, *mədza* 'good' is a Nepali word, and *ma-mədza* 'bad' is derived by appending the native prefix *ma-* to the Nepali word. This is therefore counted as a single borrowed lexical item. Similarly, the word *səbkəl* 'common' consists of the root and two suffixes, *səb* 'all' *-kə* 'GEN', and *-l* 'EMPH'. Since the root is borrowed from Indic source (viz. Nepali), this is counted as a borrowed word in Raji. When some words are borrowed from Nepali to Raji, they remain the same in form and in semantic conents. For example, *mədza* in Raji is borrowed from Nepali *mədza* 'happiness'. There is slight semantic change in the words when the word is borrowed to Raji. On the other hand, an overwhelming majority of words show resemblance in form and meaning with Raji, such as English loanwords given in (4). It is to be noted that a small percentage of lexical items have different forms when they are borrowed to Raji.[6]

6.1 Borrowed lexical items

This section discusses the loan words in Raji taking different perspectives. The data for this discussion mainly came from lexicon (Dhakal 2019). A total of 2230 words have been counted for this purpose. The word-categories as it is mentioned in the lexicon and the state of borrowing have been given in Table 1. A total of 46% words are borrowed in Raji.[7]

Table 1: Lexical items and borrowed words

	All words	Borrowed	Loanwords percentage
Numeral	29	23	79.4%
Adjectives	226	127	56.2%

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[6] There are other calculations regarding the lexical borrowings in Raji. For example, Khatri (2008:16) shows that 67 lexical items (21.2% borrowings) have been borrowed when he calculated 316 words in Barabandle variety.

[7] Raji falls in 'high borrowers' among languages in typological context (cf. Tadmor 2009: 56).

Nouns	1346	684	50.9%
Conjunctions	16	8	50.%
Postpositions	9	4	44.4%
Adverbs	114	44	38.6%
Verb	446	134	30.1%
Particles	19	5	26.3%
Pronouns	25	2	8.%
All words	2230	1031	46.2%

Table 1 presents the highest percentage of borrowing is found in numerals. Raji retains the native lexical items upto 'six', and the rest of the numerals are borrowed from Nepali. It seems that the more numerals are included in the list, the higher percentage of borrowing is calculated. By contrast, pronouons are the least borrowed lexical items. Only two pronouons are borrowed in this list. On the basis of the information obtained from Table 1, the borrowing hierarchy in Raji is shown in (6).

(6)   Numerals > adjectives > nouns > conjunctions > postpositions > adverbs > verbs > particles > pronouns

The data presented in hierarchy (6) mostly confirm with typological findings of Tadmor, Haspelmath and Taylor (2010). To begin with, a higher number of nouns are borrowed than verbs in Raji. Similarly, more than a half of the nouns are borrowed in Raji, and this number is slightly higher than verbs. Less than one-third verbs are borrowed verbs in Raji. By stark contrast to Tadmor, Haspelmath and Taylor's claim (2010), more adjectives are borrowed in Raji (56%) compared to nouns and verbs. The borrowing scale (6) is slightly different from typologically proposed 'borrowing hierarchy' in Tadmor, Haspelmath and Taylor (2010). The precise percentage of borrowing of each of the major lexical items is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Lexical items, and borrowed words

	All words	Borrowed	Loanwords percentage
Adjectives, and adverbs	369	194	52.5
Nouns	1346	684	50.8
Verbs	446	134	30.0
All content words	2161	1012	46.8
All words	2230	1031	46.2

Table 2 demonstrates that higher percentage of adjectives and adverbs are borrowed in Raji than nouns and verbs. The adjectives counted for this purpose also include the quantifiers, and numerals of all kinds. The adjectives that occur in the corpus have been included in this study. Since all numerals have been included in the glossary (Dhakal 2019), the percentage of borrowed adjective is slightly higher than nouns and verbs. This is followed by nouns and verbs in that order.

6.2 Content vs. function words

There are claims that function words are difficult to borrow compared to lexical words (Tadmore, Haspelmath & Taylor 2010: 231). This holds true in Raji as well. As Tadmore,

Haspelmath and Taylor noted, about 25% lexical words are borrowed whereas nearly about half of that number (about 12%) function words are borrowed in typological context. Raji relatively shows higher percentage of borrowings both in lexical and function words.

Table 3: Content words vs. function words

Category	All words	Borrowed words	Loanwords percentage
All content words	2161	1012	46.8%
All function words	69	19	27.5%
All words	2230	1031	46.2%

As seen in Table 3, 46% lexical words are borrowed whereas the percent of borrowing of grammatical words amounts to 27%. The borrowing is slightly higher than one quarter. It is usual that more content words are borrowed than function words typologically (Tadmor 2009: 59).

6.3 Borrowings in terms of semantic fields

The lexical items in Raji are presented in this section classifying them in terms of semantic fields. Firstly, the complete lexical items (the more elaborate list) have been classified in terms of semantic fields. Each of the lexical items was assigned the semantic fields following Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009). If the lexical items are not found in the above list, the lexical items were grouped in the closest classes. The lexical items belonging to some semantic fields, such as law (5), modern world (24), and warfare and hunting (20), etc. are small in number. The borrowings in terms of semnatic fields are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Semantic fields, ranked by loanword percentage

	Semantic fields	Total	Borrowed	Percentage
1	Law	5	4	80%
2	Basic actions and technology	147	6	72.9%
3	Social and political relations	60	46	76.6%
4	Modern world	24	17	70.8%
5	Warfare and hunting	20	13	65%
6	Quantity	84	51	60.7%
7	Speech and language	37	22	59.4%
8	The physical world	106	62	58.4%
9	Religion and belief	60	35	58.3%
10	Emotions and values	57	33	57.8%
11	Possesion	56	32	57.1%
12	Time	127	68	53.5%
13	Cognition	55	29	52.7%
14	Spatial relations	131	60	45.8 %
15	Sense perception	80	36	45 %
16	Clothing and grooming	84	41	48.8%
17	Food and drink	129	56	43.4%
18	Kinship	161	64	39.7%
19	The body	242	96	39.6%
20	The house	54	21	38.8%

21	Agriculture and vegetation	155	58	37.4 %
22	Miscellaneous function words	69	24	34.7%
23	Motion	92	32	34.7%
24	Animals	195	60	30.7%

The three highest percentages of borrowings are seen in Law, Basic actions and technology, and Social and political relations. By contrast, the least percentages of borrowings are found in Miscellaneous function words, Motion, and Animals. This does not strictly follow the typological findings because 'the semantic fields most affected by borrowing are Religion and belief, Clothing and grooming, and The House' (Tadmor 2009: 64). All the words included for this analysis is strictly the same as in the above list. A large number of lexical items in the above list were absent, whereas some others were added. This is one of the reasons for slightly different results obtained in terms of semantic fields.

6.4 Accomodation of lexical items

Some adjectives (including nouns) are borrowed to Raji and they end in *-l*. It functions as an emphatic clitic that can appear with most if not all word categories in Raji. Some lexical items that terminate in *-l* are given in (7-8), most of which are bisyllabic.

	Nepali		Raji
	ritto	'empty'	*rittal*
(7)	*səsto*	'cheap'	*səstal*
	rəsilo	'juicy'	*rəsilol*
	sakʰkʰəi	'real'	*sakʰkʰəl*
	sãtso	'true'	*sãtsol*
	ʈʰik	'right (thing)'	*ʈʰikəl*
(8)	*sə̃dʰəi*	'always'	*sə̃dʰəil*
	tsã̃ɖo	'quick'	*tsãrol*
	ədzʰə	'till now'	*ədzʰəl*
	nədzik	'near'	*nədziklə*

The lexical items mentioned in (7-8) are adjectives, and adverbs. I found only a noun borrowed from Nepali, and that ends in *-l*, viz. *ʈəuwal* 'pile of straw for storage' from *ʈəuwa*. The borrowed adjectives and adverbs ending in *-l* (7-8). The suffix *-ja* that appears with these borrowed adjectives is not very productive, and does not serve any other functions in Raji grammatical structure except appearing in the borrowed lexical items.

	Nepali		Raji
(9)	*debre*	'left'	*ɖebrja*
	ulʈo	'inside out'	*ulʈai*
	daine	'left'	*ɖainja*
	tsʰoʈo	'short'	*tsʰoʈja*
	ɖero	'squint-eyed'	*ɖerja*
	basi	'stale'	*bəsja*
	tapke	'frying pan'	*tapkja*
	bʰanse	'cook (N.)'	*bʰansja*

Some borrowed adjectives from Nepali terminate in *-əu* as shown in (10a), and nouns terminating in *–iu/-əu/-au* are given in (10b). The list also contains the postposition, such as *pəʈʈi* 'towards', *pəʈʈiu.*

		Nepali		Raji
(10)	a.	*baklo*	'thick'	*bakləu*
		əglo	'tall'	*əlgəu*
	b.	*ɖʰik*	'edge'	*ɖʰikəu*
		kəmməl	'blanket'	*kəmliu*
		tsolo	'blouse'	*tsolau*
		gəhəna	'ornament'	*gəhənau*
		gubo	'inner part of plant'	*gubau*
		tsura	'bangle'	*tsurau*

Only two adverbs borrowed from Nepali end in *-əu*, viz. *pari* 'across' (Nep.) to *parəu* and *bʰitrə* 'inside' to *bʰitrəu*. Similarly, when some adjectives (including nouns) are borrowed from Nepali, these adjectives end in *-jaŋ* as shown in (11a) and some nouns in (11b). The last word *talu* 'palate' in example (11) also pronounced as *ʈəlju* 'palate'.

		Nepali		Raji
(11)	a.	*kʰula*	'open, spacious'	*kʰolejaŋ*
		kãtso	'unripe'	*kətsuŋ*
	b.	*gali*	'abusive word'	*galiŋ*
		nəsa	'vein'	*nəsjaŋ*
		dzat	'caste'	*dzatəŋ*
		tərə	'but'	*təraŋ*
		tama	'copper'	*təmbəŋ*
		sədzilo	'easy'	*sədziləu*
		talu	'palate'	*ʈaliŋ*

When the nouns and adjectives are borrowed from Nepali (or Indic source) into Raji, the suffix *-au*, or *-əu* is added to the nouns after the roots. Here are some nouns that end in these sequences of sounds.

	Nepali		Raji
(12)	*munʈo*	'head'	*mənʈəu*
	khuʈʈa	'leg'	*khuʈʈau*
	səmundrə	'sea'	*səmundrəu*
	sir	'top of something'	*sirəu*
	tsʰala	'skin'	*tsʰaləu*
	təno	'lace of shoes'	*tənəu*
	təlo	'storey'	*tələu*
	sũɖʰ	'beginning'	*sũɖʰəu*
	siŋ	'horn'	*siŋhəu*
	tsutso	'peak'	*tsutsəu*

We obtained only one example *sədzilo* 'easy' (adj.) *sədziləu* which follow this pattern. Only some lexical items (except verbs) take these suffixes (*-əu, -ŋ, -jaŋ, -ja, -l*). There are no

apparent reasons why this is the case, and how these suffixes are distributed across these lexical items. Kanashi, a TB language spoken in the Uttarakhanda in India, also take the suffix *-(V)ŋ* (Saxena, Borin & Comrie 2022a: 175) in loanword accomodation.

6.5 Phonological adaptation

When some with dental stops are borrowed to Raji, the speakers most of the times pronounce them as corresponding retroflex sounds. The dental stops are pronounced as retroflex stops as free variations (13).

(13) /t/   >   /ʈ/
      /tʰ/   >   /ʈʰ/
      /d/   >   /ʈ/
      /dʰ/   >   /ɖʰ/

It is interesting to note that the other way round is not possible, viz. the retroflex stops are never pronouced as dental stops. The Tharu languages, viz. Rana Tharu, Kathriya Tharu, and Dangaura Tharu (Boehm 1998; Dhakal 2015), and Nepali (Khatiwada 2009), spoken in the closest geographical proximity, make a distinction between dental and retroflex stops. Here are some words the speakers use either retroflex, or dental noted during fieldwork (cf. Dhakal 2018).

	Nepali		Raji
	duna	'leaf-plate'	*ɖona*
(14)	*daine*	'right'	*ɖaina*
	kodo	'millet'	*koɖi*
	dudʰ	'breast'	*ɖuɖa*
	dulaha	'bridegroom'	*ɖulaha*
	duləhi	'bride'	*ɖulhini*
	debre	'left'	*ɖebrja*
	din	'day'	*ɖin*
(15)	*dzuta*	'shoes'	*dzuʈa*
	uttər	'north'	*uʈʈər*
	tsʰati	'chest'	*tsʰaʈi*
	nimto	'invitation'	*niuʈo*
	tori	'mustard'	*ʈori*
	bitta	'span between tip of middle finger and thumb'	*biʈʈa*
	bʰədəi	'shoe'	*bʰəɖəi*
	moti	'pearl'	*moʈiŋ*
	maiti	'woman's birth home, relative'	*maiʈi*
	tʰan	'place to worship'	*ʈʰan*

The functional load to contrast the dental and retroflex is weak in Raji as they use both of the sounds as free variations. This is obvious when we transcribe the texts with dental stops (16). The speakers use either dental or their retroflex counterparts when they utter the following lexical items (16).

Raji words
(16) *dasinjaŋ* 'to wake up' *ḍasinjaŋ*
      den   'crab'   *ḍen*
      dʰela   'door'   *ḍʰela*
      putu   'naval'   *puʈu*
      bʰədəini 'brother's daughter' *bʰəḍəini*

This is merely the 'adjustment in articulation', or the sounds are 'allophonic variations' (Matras 2007: 37).

6.6 Loan verb accomodation

When the verbs are borrowed, the suffix *-e* is attached to the verbs before it takes other inflectional suffixes. A list of verbs from the glossary, and the texts have been included in (17) in which the sufix *-e* is used to adapt the borrowed verb stems, and *-njaŋ* is used in various syntactic constructions.

      Nepali   Root   Raji verb
(17) *uḍnu*   'to fly'   *uḍ*   *uḍ-e-njaŋ*
      tsʰirnu 'to enter'   *tsʰir*   *tsʰir-e-njaŋ*
      səprinu 'to flourish' *səpr*   *səpr-e-njaŋ*
      səmdzhinu 'to remember' *səmdzh* *səmdzh-e-njaŋ*
      pʰernu   'to change'   *pʰer*   *pʰer-e-njaŋ*
      madzh   'to wash'   *madzh*   *madzh-e-njaŋ*
      kaʈ   'to cut'   *kaʈ*   *kaʈ-e-njaŋ*

The verbs terminate in *-njaŋ* among the verbs given in (17). The suffix functions as a nominalizer, and also as an infinitive in Raji. It is to be noted that the suffix *-e* that follows the borrowed Indic roots functions as a nativizing suffix. The loanword adaptation is common across the region among Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, Baram makes use of the suffix *-di* when the Indic verbs are used in Baram (Dhakal 2014).

The examples given in (14-16) show that there are two classes of borrowed lexical items in Raji, viz. borrowed words without any phonological adaptation (and changes) with slight phonological adaptation. Why do some words have these new forms whereas others do not? Is this because some borrowed words are 'older' compared to the more recent borrowings? Further investigation is needed here.

7. Grammatical borrowing

On examining the grammatical borrowings in Raji, two kinds of patterns are attested. Firstly, there are cases in which the native Raji grammatical structure has been replaced by the borrowed structure. These are 'true' grammatical borrowings. Secondly, the speakers use both the native and borrowed structures in different discourse contexts. When we examine the frequency between the native and borrowed patterns, the native structures are most commonly used along with the borrowed structures.

7.1 Classifiers

Although there are native classifiers in Raji, Raji speakers also make use of the borrowed classifiers from Nepali. Raji makes use of the classifiers *-ʈʰõ*, *-gʰil*, and *-lʰa.* The classifier *-ʈʰõ* is mainly used with non-human nouns (18).

(18) ɖa-ʈʰõ   keʈa   kui
      one-CLF   boy   dog
      'A boy (and) a dog.   (Frog story.2)

The classifier *-gʰi* occurs only with the numeral *ni* 'two' and has the form *nimgʰi* 'two.CLF'. This classifier has very restricted distribution. On the other hand, the classifier *-lʰai* does not occur with the numeral 'one' and 'two', but occurs with the rest of the numerals. The classifier *-lʰai* is rarely used with non-human nouns (20).

(19) nim-gʰi   swa-ʈ   ui   səmundrə   bʰitrəu   waŋ-ʈəna
      two-CLF   go-SEQ   that   sea   inside   go-SEQ
      'Having walked, and gone into the sea.   (Sunkesri queen.286-287)

(20) ŋəi   plã-lʰai   ʈeʈkuri   bjaha   kʰəi-hẽ
      1PL   five-CLF   sibling   marriage   do-FUT.1PL
      'We five brothers will marry (them).'   (Five brothers.12)

Despite the presence of the native classifiers (18-20), Raji speakers also use the borrowed classifiers from Nepali. The Nepali language makes use of the native claussifiers *-ʈa* and *dzəna* to refer to human and non-human nouns respectively (Acharya 1991: 99; Riccardi 2003: 611; Pokharel 2054 [2056]: 92-94). Examples (21-22) are taken from the corpus where these two classifiers have been borrowed. Since Raji native numerals are upto numeral six, the classifiers are borrowed mainly when the borrowed numerals from Nepali are used. However, sometimes, the native numerals also take the borrowed classifiers. The borrowing seems to be like parallel system borrowing (PSB) (Kossmann 2010: 459).

(21) barə   goʈa   rãgo-kə   həɖɖi   pəni   həimani
      twelve CLF   male.buffalo-GEN bone   also   COP.PST.HAB.NEG
      'There were not bones of twelve male buffaloes.   (Five brothers.426-27)

(22) nʰəu   haiʈna   som   dzəna   keʈa-rãu   waŋ-ʈəna
      and_then from_that_side three   CLF   boy-PL   come-SEQ
      'Having three boys come from the other side,'   (Pear story.33)

When we examine the occurences of the classifiers in the texts, the speakers more often use the native classifiers (18-20) compared to the borrowed classifiers (21-22) from Nepali.

7.2 Noun derivation

The suffix *–njaŋ/-hjaŋ* has a number of functions in the Raji grammar. It functions as an infinitive marker, and also appears as nominalizer in relative clauses, and in attributive clauses. The non-finite forms that occur in (23-24) have the construction in which the participial suffix *-njaŋ* is used as a nominalizer. The verb is changed into 'action nouns' in

these examples. For example, the verb *kʰəi-* 'do' changes into *kʰəi-jaŋ* 'action of doing' in (23), and *swa* 'walk' is changed into action noun *swa-hjaŋ* 'walking' in (24).

(23)   *ŋa-kə*   *kam*   *kʰəi-jaŋ*   *gosa*   *gla-ka*
       1SG-GEN   work   do-NMLZ   nice   feel-PST.SG
       'Is the way I work nice?'

(24)   *mətstsa-kə*   *swa-hjaŋ*   *mədza*   *heŋ*
       girl-GEN   walk-NMLZ   nice   COP.PRES.SG
       'The way the girl walks is nice.'

Raji also borrows the nominalizing suffix *-ai* from Nepali. The nominalizing suffix *-ai* from Nepali also occurs in the Raji texts. The suffix *-ai* in (25-26) changes the verbs into nouns in Nepali. These examples contain the words with the borrowed nominalizing suffix. It is to be noted that the copular verb *həimani* is the negative of the copula *heni*. It is used for locative clauses in Raji.

(25)   *ŋəi-kə*   *pər-ai*   *həimani*   *ba*
       we-GEN   read-NMLZ   COP.PST.HAB.NEG   dear_one
       'There would be no schools (lit. reading), dear one'   (Gopi.bio.5)

(26)   *nʰəu*   *ŋəikə*   *pər-ai*   *kən*   *pura*   *o-m*   *rʰo-ma*
       later   1PL-GEN   read-NMLZ   also   complete   become-PURP   be.able-NEG
       'Later, our study could not be complete.'   (Bhim experience.43)

(27)   *əbə*   *khas-lə*   *sots-e-jaŋ*   *saŋ* *pəisa*   *kən* *kəma-ai*   *o-a-ma*
       now   in_fact-EMP   think-NTVZ-NMLZ   like money   also earn-NMLZ become-2PST-NEG
       'I could not earn money as I had desired.'   (Bhim experience2.75)

The nominalizing suffix *-ai* has been borrowed to Raji in a few cases, but this appears as an alternative way of deriving syntactic nouns. These are the nouns that occur with *-ai* in the corpus in addition to the lexical item *sərsəpʰai* 'cleaning'. Interestingly, the speaker switches between the native and borrowed nominalizing suffixes in (27).

7.3 Gender

Many Tibeto-Burman languages do not show the contrast of grammatical gender. The masculine nouns contain the sound *-p* whereas the feminine nouns contain *m-* in a number of TB languages (Matisoff 2003: 105; Benedict 1972: 96). Raji does not present this contrast of grammatical gender in terms of affix marking in kinship terms.

In a number of IA languages spoken in this region, there are a few lexical items in which the feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns, or shows 'differentiation of sex' (Masica 1991: 218). Masica further notes that the suffixes *-inĩ, -ani* are common in New IA languages to derive feminine nouns from their masculine counterparts. Raji makes use of the borrowed suffixes, such as *-inĩ* and *-ani* to derive the feminine nouns from masculine nouns like in Indo-Aryan languages. A small closed set of nouns are derived by these suffixs to show the gender differentiation in the 'occupational groups' as well as 'female kin' in Raji (28).

(28) *bagʰa*   'tiger'   *bagʰani*   'female.tiger'
      ɖulaha   'bridegroom'   *ɖulhəini* 'bride'
      ʈʰaru   'Tharu'   *ʈʰaruni*   'female Tharu'
      ɖulaha   'bridegroom'   *ɖulhini*   'niece, brother's daughter'

The suffixes *-ni* are used to derive feminine nouns productively in Nepali (Acharya 1991: 99; Ricardi 2003: 606). A couple of nouns follow this pattern. Only the feminine nouns occur in the texts that end in *-ini*, *bʰəɖəini* 'niece, brother's daughter'.

Despite the fact that the sex differentiation is found in Raji calquing like IA languages, the grammatical gender is not shown. Nepali makes an opposition between masculine and feminine gender system not only in deriving lexical nouns, but also in agreement of verbs, and adjectives (Acharya 1991: 99, Ricardi 2003: 606). The grammatical gender is present in Nepali as shown in (29-30).

(29) Nepali
      keʈi   *gʰər-ma*   *bəs-i*
      girl   house-LOC   sit-PST.3SG.NH.F
      'The girl sat at home.'

(30) Nepali
      keʈo   *gʰər-ma*   *bəs-jo*
      girl   house- LOC   sit-PST.3SG.NH.M
      'The boy sat at home.'

The suffix *-o* is a portmanteau suffix agreeing with the third person, non-honorific, singular masculine subject in the past tense, whereas the suffix *-i* agrees with the third person, non-honorific, singular feminine subject. For example, the gender of the subject never triggers the agreeement in Raji.

7.4 Comitative postposition

The two case clitics *-na* or *-ɖəi* are appended to nouns and pronouns to encode accompaniment in Raji. Example (31) reveals that Sunkesri queen dancing with a person. Both of these case clitics have identical functions (31-32). The second one is glossed as alternative past tense for now glossed as '2PST'.

(31) *hon*   *sunkesri rani-na*   *sja-m*   *bəŋ-a*
      3SG   Sunkesri queen-with dance-PURP   begin-2PST
      'He began to dance with Sunkesri queen.'   (Sunkesri queen.364)

(32) *hon*   *tsʰoʈasiŋ-na*   *gome-m*   *baŋ-a*
      3SG   Chotasingh-with   fight-PURP   begin-2PST
      'He began to fight with Chhotasingh.'   (Five brothers.289)

Raji makes use of two past tenses, the past tense that begins with *-ka*, and *-a* alone as illustrated in (31) and (32). Here are a couple of examples that show accompaniment with *-ɖəi* 'with' (33-34).

(33) hon   ŋəi-ḍəi   oŋ-ka
      3SG   1PL-with   come-PST.SG
      'He came with me.'

(34) bəbau   groom-ḍəi   swa-ka
      daughter_in_law   daughter-with go-PST.SG
      'The daughter-in-law went with the daughter.'

It is interesting to note that *ḍəi* also functions as a coordinator. Syntactically, however, the position of this coordinator is different when it occurs as a comitative marker and as a coordinator. Regarding the comitative and coordinating conjunction, Haspelmath (2004: 15) notes, "…the identity of their shape is due to a very common semantic-syntactic change from comitative marker to conjunctive coordinator." They are syntactically different because the noun phrases (NPs) conjoined with *ḍei* 'and' trigger the plural agreement whereas the noun with comitative does not (33-34). If the coordinator joined the NPs in the structure (33-34), such as *hon ḍei ŋa* 'he and I', the verb form would be *hoŋ-ka-si* 'come-PST-PL'. In addition, the coordinating conjunction occurs between the noun phrases whereas the comitative case occurs with the second NP (33-34).

Due to the intense contact with Nepali, the accompaniment is expressed by using the postpositions borrowed from Nepali (35-36). The postpositions, such as *səŋgə*, *səhit* 'with' are used to show accompaniment in Nepali (Riccardi 2003: 608; Matthews 1984: 24).

(35) ŋa   naŋ-kəna   səŋgə   o-kə-ŋ
      1SG   2sg-ACC   with   become-PRES.SG
      'I also go (lit. become) with you.'   (Sunkesri queen.45)

(36) naŋ-kə   səŋgəi   ŋəi   kən   da   goṭa
      2SG-GEN   with   1PL   also   one   CLF (N)
      'We are also one with you.'   (Sunkesri queen.63)

In addition, there are cases where the postpositions borrowed from Nepali are used for identical functions in Raji (37-38).

(37) hon-kə   naspəti   ḍali   səhit   səb   mai-kə-ŋ
      3SG-GEN   pear   basket   with   all   spill-PRES-SG
      'His basket with pears is spilled.'   (Pear story.32)

(38) dzaŋ   naspəti   khun-jaŋ   keṭa   saikəl   ḍor-e-ṭna   ḍali   səhit   swa-kəŋ
      who   pear   steal-NMLZ   boy   bicycle   ride-NTVZ-SEQ   basket   with   go-NPST
      'The boy who was stealing the pears, and having ridden him, goes.'   (Pear story.40)

Between these two structures (viz. native and borrowed structures), native structures are more often used in the corpus.

7.5 Ablative postposition *bʰənda* 'than'

There are a couple of main uses of the postposition *həiṭə* 'than' in Raji. Firstly, it is used in the comparative constructions with adjectives (Dhakal 2021) to express inequal comparision. The ablative postposition is used in the NPs, such as *rukhã həiṭə* 'from tree',

gaɖa həiʈna 'cart from', *ɖuŋo həiʈna 'hole from'* and also with adverbs, such as *nʰəu həiʈna* 'after that, after from', *nʰi həiʈə* 'after that, after from'. Typologically, the ablative postpositions are used in comparative construction in many languages (Heine & Kuteva 2004: 31), and this holds true in Raji as well. This is the borrowing of comparative word, and conceptual schemas, which is easy to borrow (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001: 2). The ablative postposition *həiʈə* 'than' appears between two noun phrases (comparee and standard of comparison), and functions as 'mark' of the comparison.

(39) *ŋa   həiʈə naŋ   bəljo   heŋ*
      1SG   than   2SG   strong   COP.PRES.SG
      'You are stronger than me.'

(40) *ŋa-kə   tsʰela həiʈə naŋ-kə   tsʰela bəreŋ heŋ*
      1SG-GEN   goat   than   2SG-GEN   goat   big   COP.PRES.SG
      'Your goat is bigger than mine.'

In the adverbial clause, the postposition *həiʈə* 'than' is used to show that an action occurs earlier to another action as shown in (41). In this example, reaching home takes place earlier to raining.

(41) *ɖeu   rwa-m   həiʈə dhrəu   ŋa   nəm-ha   ʈoŋ-a*
      rain   fall-PURP   than   before 1SG   house-LOC   reach-2PST
      'I reached home before it rained.'   (Dhakal 2021)

In addition to the native postpositions, the speakers also make use of the postposition *bʰənda* 'than' borrowed from Nepali in adverbial clauses. The fact that the word *bʰənda* 'than' used in comparative construction is mentioned in various sources (see Acharya 1991: 121; Riccardi 2003: 607). The borrowed postposition *bʰənda* 'than' is also used in the natural discourse.

(42) *nam   bʰənda ãitsi ʈaro swa-ʈna boŋa-kə   tsʰeu həi   ʈoŋ-ka-si*
      house than   little far   go-SEQ   forest-GEN edge   towards reach-PST-PL
      'Having gone a little far from home, (they) reached to the edge of the forest.'

                                                                    (Frog story.14-15)

(43) *bjaŋ   ʈha-m   bʰənda pəila   tsaĩ   gosã   ʈhənkə ghwa   ʈha-njaŋ*
      seed   sow-PURP   than   before in_particular where place   where sow-NMLZ

      õira   tsʰənoʈ   kʰəi-njaŋ
      field.plot   selection   do-NMLZ
      'Before sowing (keeping) the seeds, what sort of land (it is), and where to sow (lit. keep seeds), select the land.'   (Sow.seed.1-3)

All of the examples (42-43) are from a single speaker. He tends to use the borrowed ablative postposition more frequently compared to other speakers. The native construction is more frequently compared to the borrowed construction.

7.6 Causative construction

Raji employs different strategies to change a simple verb into a causative one, such as isomorphism *tok* 'open, INTR.', *tok* 'open, TR.' *ghan* 'burn, INTR.' *ghan* 'burn, TR.', lexical causataive, such as *nai* 'sit' *slo* 'make.one.sit', *ɖasi* 'wake.up', *səu* 'make.one.wake', devoicing, such as *goi* 'break.intr', *koi* 'break.TR.', *gun* 'be.finished', *kun* 'finish.TR', and by suffixing, such as *dzaʔ* 'eat', *dzaʔʈ* 'feed', *si* 'die', *saʈ* 'kill' etc. In addition to these strategies, Raji also makes use of the borrowed constructions borrowed from Indic languages (viz. Nepali). The suffix *-a* or *-au* are appended to the verbs to derive the causative verbs in Nepali (Masica 1991: 316; Riccardi 2003: 611). All verbs given in (44) are borrowed from Nepali.

(44) *dzəmenjaŋ* 'to freeze'   *dzəmanjaŋ* 'to freeze (TR.)'
      kʰəsenjaŋ   'to fall'   *kʰəsanjaŋ*   'to fall (TR.)'
      buɖenjaŋ   'to sink'   *buɖanjaŋ*   'to sink (TR.)'
      rokenjaŋ   'to stop'   *rokanjaŋ*   'to stop (TR.)'
      urenjaŋ   'to fly'   *uranjaŋ*   'to fly (TR.)'
      bhərenjaŋ   'to fill'   *bhəranjaŋ*   'to fill (TR.)'
      həʈenjaŋ   'to be removed'   *həʈanjaŋ*   'to remove (TR.)'

As shown in (44), the nativizer *-e* is absent when the causative suffix *-a* is appended to the verbs.

(45) *gira   dzəm-e-ka*
      ghee   freeze-NTVZ-PST.SG
      'The ghee froze.'

(46) *ŋa-i   gira   dzəm-a-kã*
      I-ERG   ghee   freez-NTVZ-PST.1SG
      'I froze the ghee.'

Here is an example from corpus:

(47) in   həi   riŋgəl   ghum-a-ʈna   pəila   pa-ka
      that   towards around   go.round-CAUS-SEQ   in.the.beginning weave-PST.SG
      'To weave it around here (lit. it is woven like this around it).'   (Trap basket.23)

The borrowing seems to be like parallel system borrowing (PSB) (Kossmann 2010: 459) in which the borrowed causative suffix appears only with the borrowed verbs. This is like a sub-system within the native causative construction, 'without affecting the core' (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). The borrowed causative marker can't be used with the native Raji verbs. The restrictions on the paradigm are also attested in other languages as well (Curnow 2007: 429).

7.7 Conjunct verbs

South Asian languages have compound verbs with VV sequence. In addition, there are some verbs which are formed with noun or adjective plus verb. They are considered 'conjunct verbs' following Burton-Page (1957), and Fatma (2018). The first part of the verb carries the semantic content. Raji has a number of verbs which are formed with nominal

head, followed by a fixed set of verbs. The verbs that take part mostly in this construction are *kʰəinjaŋ* 'do', *ojaŋ* 'become' among others. There are some native verbs, such as *os kʰəinjaŋ* 'medicine do' to mean 'to treat, cure' among others. By contrast, in most of the cases, the nominal part is often borrowed and the later part is with native verbs. Examples given in (49) are the borrowed nouns plus the native verb *kʰəi* 'do'.

	Borrowed nouns		verbs		meaning
(48)	*suru*	'beginning'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to begin
	unmulən	'eradication'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to eradicate
	bjaha	'marriage'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to marry
	niuʈo	'invitation'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to invite
	bas	'stay'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to take a shelter (for some nights)
	bʰansa	'kitchen'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to eat food
	sədzaẽ	'punishment'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to punish
	tsʰənoʈ	'selection'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to select
	sərap	'curse'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to curse
	dzordzam	'combining'	*kʰəi*	'do'	to join

Some other verbs that take part in this construction are *ojaŋ* 'become', *bəi* 'give', *brin* 'make pay', *ɖar* 'find' given in (49).

	Borrowed noun		verb		meaning
(49)	*upələbdi*	'achievement'	*ojaŋ*	'become'	to achieve
	bidabadi	'farewell'	*ojaŋ*	'become'	to bid farewell
	bənbas	'exile'	*ojaŋ*	'become'	to be exiled
	pəriktsʰja	'examination'	*bəi*	'give'	to take exam
	sərap	'curse'	*bəi*	'give'	to curse
	dənɖə	'fine'	*bri*	'make pay'	to make pay fine
	ɖukʰə	'hardship'	*ɖar*	'find'	to face hardship

Here are some sentential examples to illustrate conjunct verbs (50-53).

(50) *ʈhjakkəl dzəi hon-lə bela arkho-ɖəi bjaha kʰəi-ja*
same.time mother that-EMPH time next-with marriage do-GEN
'And then, mother married with the next person.' (Bhim.experience.41)

(51) *kuʈuni buɖhi-i saʈ-njaŋ suru kʰə-ja*
Kutuni old_woman-ERG kill-NMLZ beginning do-2PST
'Kutuni Budhi began to kill.' (Sunkesri queen.296)

(52) *sərap bəe-m rʰo-wa-ma*
curse give-PURP be.able-2PST-NEG
'(They) could not curse it (Namdabhamara elephant).' (Five brothers.113)

(53) *ŋa si-ja dzhəi isəl ɖukʰə ɖar-həu*
1SG die-PERF later like_this hardship get-FUT.SG
'You will experience (lit. get) the hardship like this.' (Sunkesri queen.8)

This is a kind of blending in compounding in which the borrowed semantic head is followed by the native verbs. They are similar to 'calques', in which the base is the borrowed lexical

items whereas the verb is the loan verb. These are like 'bilingual compound verbs' (Wohlgemuth 2009). The borrowings of verbs are also common in other contact-situation in this region, such as Punjabi (Romaine 1986), Burushaski spoken in Srinagar region in India (Munshi 2014).

7.8 Borrowings in clause combining techniques

There are some sugestives of clause level convergence in Raji with Nepali. We don't have evidence the parallel native structures for these cases. They include adversative disjunction *na…na* 'neither nor', *əni* 'and then', complementizer *ki* 'that', and disjunctive coordinator *ətʰəwa* 'or'.

7.8.1 Adversative disjunction

The adversative disjunction in Raji is borrowed from IA source. The negation in Raji is formed either with the prefix *ma-* or the suffix *-ma*, such as *oŋ-ka-si* 'come-PST-PL' vs. *oŋ-si-ma* 'come-PL-NEG.PL'. The negative suffix *-ma* also appears in the copular verbs in Raji, such as *heŋ* 'COP.PRES.SG' vs. *həi-ma* 'come.PRES.SG.NEG'. The negative marking *ma-* is common in many TB languages (LaPolla 2003: 27). By contrast, the negative *nə-* is found in a number of IA languages (Masica 1991: 289), such as Nepali (Acharya 1991: 84), and Hindi (Kachru 2006: 242). In this case, the adversative disjunction is directly borrowed from Nepali to Raji. The neither…nor construction is *na…na* in IA languages (Masica 1991: 394). Both of the alternatives are not fulfilled in this case. Examples (57-58) are from Dhakal (2021).

(54)　*nə*　*tsaŋ*　*oŋ-ka*　　*nə*　*gromu*　*oŋ-ka*
　　　neither　son　come-PST.SG　nor　daughter　come-PST.SG
　　　'Neither son, nor daughter came.'

(55)　*nə*　*ḍeu*　*rwa-ka*　　*nə*　*gʰəmak*　*gla-ka*
　　　neither　rain　come-PST.SG　nor　son　befall-PST.SG
　　　'Neither it rained, nor the sun shone.'

Despite the fact that the examples (54-55) are obtained in elicitation, the speakers say that these sentences are natural, and grammatically accepted.

7.8.2 Uses of *ki*

The conjunction *ki* has a couple of key functions in the Nepali grammar. Firstly, it functions as a complementizer in Nepali (Matthews 1984: 118; Acharya 1991: 84; Riccardi 2003: 611). The complementizer *ki* 'that' links the embedded clause (nominal clause) to the higher clause (main clause) in Nepali. It is one of the ways of forming the complement clauses. The use of the complmentizer *ki* 'that' is borrowed from Nepali to Raji (56). This is also used in Hindi (Masica 1991: 403; Subbarao 2012: 194).

(56)　*tsoṭasiŋ-i*　　*gar-a*　*ki*　*oŋ*　*bəi*
　　　Chhotasing-ERG　say-2PST　that　leave　give.IMP
　　　'Chotasing said to him 'leave it (for others.'　　(Five brothers.341)

The complementizer *ki* 'that' is also used to show the disjunction in Nepali (Acharya 1991:135). This is used between two phrases or clauses in the templates, such as '<u>X or Y?</u>'.

(57)   *terə   kan   nəi-njaŋ   ho   ki   gjarə   kan   nəi-njaŋ*
        thirteen day   sit-NMLZ COP.PRES.SG or   eleven day   sit-NMLZ
        'Does (one) sit for thirteen day or eleven day (for mourning)?'   (Death ritual.22)

(58)   *bau   nəi-njaŋ   ho   ki   goʧau   nəi-njaŋ*
        father sit-NMLZ   COP.PRES.SG or   son   sit-NMLZ
        'Does the father sit (for mourning), or the son?'   (Death ritual.18)

As shown in the example from the Nepali language (57) *ki* 'or' is used in Raji to show that one of the alternatives is possible.

7.8.3 Disjunctive coordinator *atʰəwa* 'or'

Raji does not have a native disjunctive coordinator *atʰəwa* 'or' in its vocabulary. It borrows the disjunctive coordinator *atʰəwa* 'or' from Nepali (see Acharya 1991: 84). It is used in a template like '<u>X or Y</u>'.

(59)   *əni   pəisa   bəi-njaŋ   atʰəwa   ʈʰekdari pəisa   bəi-njaŋ*
        and.then money give-NMLZ   or   contract money   give-NMLZ
        '(He) would give money, or the money based on contract.'   (Bhim experience.61-62)

(60)   *mik   mo-njaŋ   atʰəwa em   sar-njŋ   kam   kʰəi-kã*
        eye   open-NMLZ   or   road show-NMLZ   work   do-PST.1SG.3SG
        '(I) made you literate (lit. opened your eyes), and guided you (lit. showed you the way.'
                                                                 (Bhim experience.48-49)

(61)   *bʰaudzu   atʰəwa deurau   nəi-njaŋ*
        sister_in_law or   brother_in_law   sit-NMLZ
        'Do the sister-in-law or the brother-in-law sit for mourning?'   (Death ritual.20-21)

The examples (59-61) show that the coordinator *atʰəwa* 'or' is placed between the clauses whereas two noun phrases are mediated by the coordinator in (61).

7.8.4 *əni* 'and then'

Raji makes use of both the native and borrowed clause coordinators in discourses. Raji has the adverbial *nʰəu* 'and then' that appears betweeen the finite clauses to demonstrate temporal sequence. At the same time, it also borrows the adverb *əni* 'and then' from Nepali that is equal to this one to mean the same thing (Acharya 1991: 84). First of all, let's consider the examples from Nepali.

(62)   Nepali
        mə   a-ẽ   əni   u   bəs-jo
        1SG   come-PST.1SG and.then 3SG sit-PST.3SG.M.NH
        'I came and then he sat'

(63)   *isi   kʰa   dzhəi   man-e-ka   gar-k-i*
        like this do.PERF if   agree-NTVZ-PERF say-PRES-1PL
        'If this (shakes head like this), it seems to agree.'

$n^{h}\partial u$	$h\partial i\hspace{-.08em}ina$	$t^{h}an\text{-}ha$		$ka\underline{t}\text{-}kaso$	$k^{h}\partial i\text{-}nja\eta$
and_then	from	worshipping_place-LOC		take-PST.PL	do-NMLZ

'And then (they) take it to the worshipping place (for worshipping).'   (Ancestor worship.18-19)

Because of intense contact with Nepali, Raji also borrows *∂ni* 'and then' from Nepali as illustrated in (62). The speakers sometimes make use of this structure rather than the native structure that begins with *n^{h}∂u* 'and then'.

(64)	*in-l∂*	*surdze-k∂*	*muk^{h}∂*	*ma-mu-ja\eta*	*ke\underline{t}i*	*∂ni*	*p^{h}ula-ha*
	this-EMPH	sun-GEN	mouth	NEG-look-NMLZ	girl	and.then	flower-LOC

	dzok^{h}-e-\underline{t}na	*b∂\underline{t}a*	*dza\textschwa?-ne\eta*	*ke\underline{t}i*
	weigh-NTVZ-SEQ	rice	eat-NMLZ	girl

'The girl who had not seen the face of the sun, and then the girl who eats riceweighing (it) in the flower leaf.'   (Five brothers.455-456)

As can be seen in (64), the coordinator *∂ni* 'and then' combines the finite clauses. It is a matter borrowing from Nepali (also see Hildebrandt 2007: 294).

7.9 Discourse marker *\underline{t}∂*

A number of discourse markers are borrowed from Nepali to Raji. Borrowings of discourse markers are typologically common (Aikhenvald 2006: 27). Among the particles borrowed in the Raji discourses, the particle *\underline{t}∂* 'as for' is more frequent.[8] Schmidt (1993: 273) mentions that this particle in Nepali "emphasizes the word it follows and excludes other subjects or predicates" (also see Riccardi 2003: 611). This discourse maker is used exactly for the same function in Raji.

(64)	*g^{h}∂ija*	*g^{h}ra*	*l^{h}a*	*hiini*	*hon-l∂*	*\underline{t}a*	*hõ*
	Ghaiya_rice	rice	plant	COP.PST.HAB	that-EMPH	PART	COP.NPST

'They would plant the Ghaiya rice, that's all.'   (About village.Gopisa.31)

(65)	*\eta a-k∂na*	*\underline{t}a*	*a\eta*	*t^{h}a*
	1SG-DAT	PART	what	knowledge

'What do I know (about this)?'   (Sunkesri queen.308)

Matthews (1984: 47) gives an assertion to the noun that precedes the discourse. In (66) for example, the discourse particle empasizes the pronoun that precedes the discourse particle, and the same is true in (65).

8. Summary and conclusion

Due to intense contact with Indic languages, there have been massive contact-induced changes in Raji lexicon and morphosyntax. Although there are clear cases of lexical borrowings in Raji, the precise percentage varies in terms of the kinds and number of lexical items included to measure the borrowing. While the loanword percentage is merely 21% in Swadesh hundred list, this amounts to 36.6% when 210 words are considered. When the

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[8] A number of discourse markers are borrowed in some texts, such as *tsãi, l∂, ni, nei, l∂u, kh∂i*. Since other discourse particles other than *\underline{t}∂* occur in a few places, their details have not been discussed.

largest available wordlist of Raji is considered, the lexical borrowing amounts to 46.2%. There is a systematic way of accomodating verbs, nouns, and some other lexical items in Raji. The grammatical borrowing is summed up in Table 5.

Table 5: Kinds of grammatical borrowings

		Replaced by borrowed structures	Native and borrowed structures in parallel
1	Classifiers	-	Raji > Nepali
2	Noun derivation	-	Raji > Nepali
3	Postposition 'with'	-	Raji > Nepali
4	Postposition 'than'	-	Raji > Nepali
5	Causative	-	Raji > Nepali
6	Conjunction *əni* 'and then'	-	Raji > Nepali
7	Conjunct verb	√	-
8	Adversataive disjunction	√	-
9	Complementizer *ki*	√	-
10	Conjunction *ətʰəwa* 'or'	√	-
11	Discourse marker *ʈə*	√	-
12	/d/,/t/ , /ʈ/,/ḍ/	-	/ʈ/, /ḍ/ > /d/, /t/

The first category of the grammatical features includes the grammatical structures which have entirely substituted the native Raji structures, viz. conjunct verb, adversative disjunction, complementizer *ki*, conjunction *ətʰəwa* 'or' and discourse marker *ʈə*. Secondly, there are some grammatical structures in which the speakers switch to borrowed structures in addition to the native structures which they still retain. This includes the features discussed from number 1 to 6 in Table 5. Which of these two structures are predominantly used in the actual discourses when these parallel structures (native vs. borrowed structures) are in use? In all of these cases, the speakers more often use the native structures and this is shown by the symbol '>' in Table 5. In other words, Raji structures are more often used when Raji speakers use either of the structures in Raji. There are very few cases when the speakers code-switch to the borrowed lexical items despite the fact that the native words are still in use. This can be counted less than two dozen of lexical items. Moving to the phonological adaptation, the alveolar stops, such as /t/ and /d/ are more often used as /ʈ/ and /ḍ/ respectively as free variations.

Abbreviations

CAUS	causative	CLF	classifier	COP	copula
DAT	dative	DU	dual	EMPH	emphasis
ERG	ergative	F	feminine	FUT	future
GEN	genitive	IMP	imperative	LOC	locative
NEG	negative	NH	non-honorific	NMLZ	nominalizer
NPST	non-past	NTVZ	nativizer	PART	particle
PERF	perfect	PL	plural	PRES	present
PST	past	PURP	purposive	SEQ	sequential converb

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