Relative Clauses in Magahi- A Descriptive Story[i]

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I.   Introduction

The paper aims at describing relative clauses in Magahi. Magahi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in Bihar and Jharkhand. It is also spoken in some district of Bengal and Orissa. Magahi has SOV word-order along with scrambling. The canonical word-order of Magahi is S-IO-DO-V. Magahi exhibits postpositions. Verb and subject in Magahi exhibit agreement only for person feature and not for number or gender feature. There is agreement also for honorificity. In Magahi, there is also agreement for number and gender feature between noun and adjective.

Relative clause is one of the major aspects to understand the syntax of a language. Relative clauses are sentences embedded to modify a noun. Subbarao (2012) writes "A relative clause is a clause that modifies a phrasal constituent, generally a noun phrase. We call the noun phrase so modified the head of the relative clause (Reimsdijk 2006: 338)." He adds "A relative clause is a subordinate clause in which the embedded predicate may be [+Finite] or [- Finite]." Relative clause can be categorised into different categories. Relative clause can be sentential relative clauses (SRC) or participial relative clauses (PRC). They can be restrictive or non-restrictive relative clauses. Relative clause can also be categorised as externally headed relative clause (EHRC) and internally headed relative clause (IHRC). There is a special kind of relative clauses known as correlatives "in which a special lexemic pair is used to link the relative NP with its corresponding head NP" (Wali 2011).

The description of relative clause in this paper follows Comrie and Smith (1977). There is a review of description of relative clauses in other Indo-Aryan languages: Maithili, Marathi and Punjabi. There is a comparison of description of relative in Magahi with that of Maithili, Marathi and Punjabi. The description starts with the classification of relative clauses with illustration exclusively from Magahi.

II.   Classifications

Relative clauses can be classified into following categories:
   a) Sentential relative clauses (SRC) and participial relative clauses (PRC)
   b) Restrictive and non-restrictive clauses
   c) Externally headed relative clause (EHRC), Internally headed relative clauses (IHRC) and Correlatives

The classification SRC and PRC are based on finiteness of the verb in relative clause. An example of SRC is illustrated in (1), while that of PRC is illustrated in (2). The classification of relative clauses as restrictive and non-restrictive clause is based on the nature of the head modified. "SRC are usually restrictive, except those with proper nouns as their heads in other words they become non-restrictive clause as illustrated in (3). PRC in general are ambiguous between the restrictive and non-restrictive interpretation except in those cases when head noun is either a proper noun or a definite noun phrase…(Pandharipande, 1997)." A sentence of PRC which is ambiguous between restrictive and non-restrictive is illustrated in (4).

(1) je   c^{h}auraa   dauR   hai   se   hamar   b^{h}aai   hai
    rel   boy   run   is   corr   mine   brother   is
    'The boy who runs is my brother.'

(2) daurat   c^{h}oraa   hamar   b^{h}ai   hai
    running boy   mine   brother is
    'Running boy is my brother.'

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(3) rosy   jekar   kitaab   cʰaple   hai   hamar   bahin   hai
     rosy   rel   book   publish   is   my   sister   is
     'Rosy whose book is published is my sister.'

(4) padʰait   cʰoraa   hamraa   se   pucʰalkai…
     study-PPL   boy   me   ABL   asked…
     'The boy who was studying asked me…'

The classification of relative clauses as EHRC, IHRC and correlatives is based on the position of head noun in the matrix clause. Subbarao (2012) writes "In EHRC the *head* is *overtly* present in the matrix clause. In these categories there are two subtypes. The relative clause may be finite or non-finite (infinitival or participial) and the latter may be pre-nominal and post-nominal which is language specific." He further adds "In subtype 1, the relative clause is sentential relative clause in which the embedded relative clause occurs to the right of the head noun phrase or of the VP of the matrix clause. The embedded verb is [+Finite]. In subtype 2 the embedded verb is [-finite]." EHRC may be right adjoined as illustrated in (5), left adjoined as illustrated in (6) or embedded as illustrated in (7).

(5) uu   kotvaa   hamar   hai   je   kaar   hai
     rel   coat   mine   is   rel   black   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

(6) je   kaar   hai   uu   koTvaa   hamar   hai
     rel   black   is   corr   coat   mine   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

(7) uu   koTvaa   je   kaar   hai   se   hamar   hai
     corr   coat   rel   black   is   corr   mine   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

IHRCs do not exist in Indo Aryan languages. However, head occurs internal to the left adjoined relative clauses as illustrated in sentence (8). The characteristics of IHRC are that head occurs inside the embedded relative clause and the embedded verb is infinitival (nominalized) (Subbarao 2012).

(8) je   larkiaa   kʰaraa   hai,   uu   lambaa   hai
     rel   girl   stand   is   corr   tall   is
     "The girl who is standing is tall.'

The above illustration (8) is a left adjoined relative clause as the relative phrase *je larkiaa kʰaraa hai* is on the left periphery of the sentence. This relative phrase has head NP *larkiaa* internal to it, but is not an illustration of IHRC as it does not fulfil the criteria of IHRC mentioned above.

On correlatives, Subbarao (2012) writes "In this pattern a Demonstrative Phrase in the matrix clause is coindexed with the relativized noun phrase in the embedded relative clause." He quotes Bhatt (2003) on Hindi-Urdu correlatives and writes "there is a correlative clause that contains a relative phrase...The correlative clause is associated with a matrix clause that contains a demonstrative Phrase."
Following sentence (9) illustrates correlative clause in Magahi.

(9) uu   koTvaa   hamar   hai   *je*   *kaar*   *hai*
     DEM/corr   coat   mine   is   rel   black   is
     'That coat is mine which is black.'

III.   Relative Clauses: A Review

In this section there is a review of the literature on the description of relative clauses in three Indo-Aryan languages; Marathi (Pandharipande 1997), Punjabi (Bhatia 1993) and Maithili (Yadav 1996).

There exist two kinds of relative clauses in both Marathi and Punjabi. They are sentential relative clauses (henceforth SRC) and participial relative clauses (henceforth PRC). According to Pandharipande (1997), in Marathi both type of relative clauses are equally acceptable but frequency of PRC is higher in both written and spoken language. In Punjabi, Bhatia (1993) opines that finite relative clauses or SRC are known as 'real' relative clause. In Marathi, SRC is marked by relative marker *dzo* 'who/which' and correlative marker *to* or *asaa* (masculine singular) and its variants. PRC is formed by deleting the relativized noun phrase and by

converting the verb into its participial form. Relative markers in Punjabi are *jo* 'who/which', correlative marker *o* and by optionally deleting co referential NP. PRC in Punjabi is formed by the same manner as in Marathi. Both in Marathi and Punjabi finite relative clauses are restrictive except those which have proper nouns as heads. Relative clauses with proper noun heads are called non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses. Participial relative clauses are generally ambiguous between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. Pandharipande (1997) and Bhatia (1993) observe respectively about Marathi and Punjabi that relative clause may either precede or follow the head noun. Non-restrictive finite clauses follow the head noun while restrictive relative clauses precede the head noun. Participial relative clauses generally precede the head noun. In Punjabi, Bhatia (1993) writes that relativized element is fully expressed when the relative clause precedes the main clause otherwise it is deleted. It is pronominalized when head is a pronoun. Maithili relative clauses are classified by Yadav (1996) into two categories, one is restrictive relative clauses and another is non-restrictive relative clauses. Yadav writes "A relative clause in Maithili is formed by the use of a relativizer, which is the relative pronoun *je* and its inflected form." Restrictive relative clauses in Maithili can be postnominal, prenominal or internal which is based on the relative position of head NP in comparison with the relative clause. Yadav gives the word order of postnominal relative clause as "determiner + head + relative clause". The word order of pronominal relative clause is "relative clause + determiner + head". About internal relative clauses, Yadav writes "In an internal relative clause (traditionally known as relative- correlative) the head NP occurs inside the relative clause. The main clause too may have the head NP repeated in it, in which case the head NP is preceded by the correlative-demostrative-determiner; usually, however, the head NP is deleted and only a correlative-demonstrative-third person pronoun is used". Yadav further writes that in Maithili there exists a fourth type of relative clauses called "extranominal relative clauses". Such type of relative clauses are characterised with the head NP containing an indefinite determiner.

In Marathi, in SRC the relativized element may undergo deletion or occur twice, both in main and relative clause. In the PRC, the relativized NP is always deleted. In both Marathi and Punjabi SRC, relative clause may be used clause initially for focus purpose.

Both in Marathi and Punjabi any constituent of the main clause, except verb can be relativized in a finite (sentential) relative clause. In Punjabi, PRC allows the relativization of subject and direct object but not of indirect object. However, in Marathi, except object of postposition, any constituent can be relativized by PRC. When we consider relativization of noun phrases in Marathi, Pandharipande (1997) writes that by using SRC both possessor and possessed noun phrases can be relativized. However in PRC only possessed noun phrases can be relativized. In Punjabi, in finite relative clauses, modifiers and possessors in noun phrases can be relativized along with any constituent of a relative clause.

IV. Relative Clauses in Magahi: A Description

Based on the finiteness of the verb, relative clauses in Magahi can be categorized as sentential relative clause (SRC) and participial relative clause (PRC). In SRC, finite form of the verb is used with subject-verb agreement for the person feature. As in Magahi, subject agrees with verb only in Person feature and not for Number or Gender feature. PRC uses non-finite form of verb. Unlike Marathi where PRC is more frequent in both written and spoken language, in Magahi, SRC is more frequent in use. In following sections I talk about the constitution of sentential relative clauses (subsection 4.1) and participial relative clauses (subsection 4.2). In subsection 4.3 I talk about restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Magahi. This section follows subsection 4.4 which deals with position of head noun in relative clauses in Magahi. The next section 4.5 deals with position of relativized element in Magahi. Section 4.6 deals with headless relative clauses in Magahi. This follows section 4.7 which deals with Noun Phrases that can be relativized in Magahi. Subsection 4.8 deals with Multi-head correlatives in Magahi.

4.1 Marking of Finite or Sentential Relative Clause (SRC)

In Magahi, SRC uses both relative marker and correlative marker. Relative marker is *je* 'who/which' (direct) and *jekaraa* or *jaun* (oblique). Oblique form of relative marker is used when a case marker is used with any lexicon. This can be illustrated with following examples:

(10) a. jaun laRkaawaa ke (ACC)
    REL boy ACC
    'The boy to whom'
   b. jaun laRkaawaa se (INST)
   c. jaun Tebulwaa par (LOC)

From the above illustration (10), we find that the oblique form *jaun* is used with the lexeme *laRkaawaa*, when the lexeme is followed by Case marker like *ke* 'ACC', *se* 'INST' or *par* 'LOC'. Details of use of oblique form of relative marker and its relation with Case marker in Magahi are available in work by Chandra (2013).

Correlative marker in Magahi is *se* (direct) and *sekraa* (oblique form which is used only in reduplication with *jekraa*). There is a correlative pronoun in Magahi which is *uu* (direct) and *okraa* (oblique). The correlative marker and correlative pronoun act as a demonstrative. In SRC both relative marker and correlative marker may precede the relativized element. The marking of the relativized element by relative marker or correlative marker is in complementary distribution i.e. the relativized element exists either with the correlative marker or with the relative marker. This complementary distribution is illustrated in following sentences. Sentence (11) illustrates occurrence of relativized head only with the relative marker *je* and sentence (12) illustrates the occurrence of relativized head with the correlative marker/pronoun.

(11) je   koTvaa kaar   hai   se/uu   hamar   hai
     rel   coat   black   is   corr   mine   is
     'The black coat is mine.'

(12) je   kaar   hai   se/uu   koTvaa hamar   hai
     rel   black   is   corr   coat   mine   is
     'The black coat is mine.'

But this complementary distribution has its own limitations. As in Magahi, we have the construction that when the relative clause is left adjoined and the following clause begins with the correlative marker *se*, the head NP can be used with both relative marker and correlative marker as illustrated in sentence (13). At the same time when correlative pronoun is used in the left adjoined relative clauses the head can occur either with the relative marker or with the correlative pronoun, but not with both, as illustrated in the sentence (14).

(13) je   koTvaa kaar   hai   se   koTvaa hamar   hai
     rel   coat   black   is   corr   coat   mine   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

(14) * je   koTvaa kaar   hai   uu   koTvaa hamar   hai
     rel   coat   black   is   corrp   coat   mine   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

Thus, the relativized head can occur with both relative marker *je* and correlative marker *se* in the left adjoined relative clauses. However, relativized head cannot follow correlative pronoun *uu*, when already used with relative marker *je* in a relative clause. This is illustrated in sentence (13) and (14), where the use of head NP *koTvaa* with both relative marker and correlative maker is acceptable but the use of head NP with both relative marker and correlative pronoun results into ungrammaticality (here I empirically contradict Chandra 2013). This is one of the remarkable differences between correlative marker se and correlative pronoun *uu* in Magahi. Another difference is that correlative marker *se* cannot be used sentence initially as illustrated in sentence (15) while correlative pronoun *uu* can be used sentence initially as illustrated in sentence (16).

(15) *se   koTvaa kaar   hai   je   hamar   hai
     corr coat   black   is   rel   mine   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

(16) uu   koTvaa kaar   hai   je   hamar   hai
     corrp   coat   black   is   rel   mine   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

Because of this second difference, we find in Magahi that both correlative pronoun and correlative marker can be used together in a sentence as can be observed from following sentence (17).

(17) uu   koTvaa   je   kaar   hai   se   hamar   hai
     corrp   coat   rel   black   is   corr   mine   is
     'The coat which is black is mine.'

In the SRC construction in Marathi, we can have deletion or copying of relative/correlative marker, which cannot happen in Magahi. In other words, the relative marker and correlative marker in SRC in Magahi must be present as illustrated in (22). Deletion or copying of relative/correlative marker in Magahi results into ungrammaticality as illustrated in (20) and (21). Sentences (18) and (19) are illustration in Marathi, where deletion or copying of relative/correlative marker is perfectly acceptable.

Deletion of relative marker in Marathi:

(18) ø   itha   sikatwo   to   maanus
     ø   here   teach-pres-3sm   corr   man

     maadzh   bhaauu   aaheaa

I-poss   brother   is
'The man who teaches here is my brother.'

Copying of correlative marker in Marathi:

(19)   to   maaanuus   dzo   itha   sikawto
        corr man   rel   here   teach-pres-3sm

        to   maazdaa   bhaauu   aahe
        corr I–poss   brother   is
        'The man who teaches here is my brother.'

(Pandharipande 1997: 79)

Deletion of relative marker in Magahi:

(20)   *ø eja   paD^{h}aava   hai   se   adamiyaa
        ø here   teaches   is   CORR man

        hamar   b^{h}aaya   hai
        my   brother is
        'The man who teaches here is my brother.'

Copying of correlative marker in Magahi:

(21)   *se   adamiyaa   je   eja   paD^{h}aava   hai
        CORR   man   REL   here   teaches   is

        se   hamar   b^{h}aaya   hai
        CORR   my   brother is
        'The man who teaches here is my brother.'

Presence of relative marker and correlative marker in SRC in Magahi:

(22)   je adamiyaa   eja   paD^{h}aava   hai
        REL man   here   teaches   is

        (se/uu)   hamar   b^{h}aaya   hai
        (CORR/CORP)   my   brother   is
        'The man who teaches here is my brother.'

4.2 Participial Relative Clauses

        There are three kinds of Participial Relative Clauses (PRC) in Magahi, (i) Present Participial (ii) Past Participial and (iii) Agentive Participial. Present participial in Magahi are formed by the addition of suffix *–at/ -ate* to the verb as exemplified in the sentence (23). Past participial are formed by addition of suffix *–al* to the verb as in sentence (24). Finally, agentive participial are formed by the addition of suffix *–valaa* to the verb as in sentence (25).

(23)   dauR-*at*   larkaavaa   ekaaek ruk   gelai
        running   boy   suddenly   stop   went
        'The boy who was running stopped suddenly.'

(24)   hamar   dek^h-*al*   ladkiaa ukraa   pasand aa   gelai
        mine   search-PPT   girl   he-OBLQ   like   come   go-PST
        'He liked the girl whom I searched for him.'

(25)   panctantra   paD^{h}e-*valaa*   laRkaavaa   hamraa se   puc^{h}alkai......
        panchtantra   read-AGENT   boy   me   INST   ask-PST
        'The boy who was reading Panchtantra , asked me.....'

4.3 Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

Yadav (1996) writes about the restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses "those that restrict the potential referent of the noun phrase are restrictive relative clause, and those that provide an additional piece of information about the noun phrase referent which is already fully specified are non-restrictive relative clauses." Like Marathi and Punjabi, SRC is usually restrictive in Magahi. PRC is ambiguous between restrictive and non-restrictive. But when there is a proper noun as head in both SRC and PRC, it is non-restrictive. This is also true for Marathi and Punjabi.

Following sentence (26) is an illustration of SRC as restrictive clause in Magahi:

(26)   je   koTvaa kaar   hai   se   koTvaa hamar   hai
       rel   coat   black   is   corr   coat   mine   is
       'The coat which is black is mine.'

Following sentence (27) is an illustration of SRC as a non-restrictive clause in Magahi:

(27)   bʰaarat   je   sone   ki   ciRiaa   kaha   halai
       India   rel   gold   of   bird   said   was
       ek   mahaan desh   hai
       one   great   country   is
       'India which used to be called a golden bird is a great country.'

Following sentence (28) is an illustration of SRC with restrictive interpretation in Marathi:

(28)   dzo   mulgaa kaal   aalaa   to
       rel   boy   yesterday   came   corr

       uttam   tSitrakaar   aahe
       excellent   painter   is
       'The boy who had come yesterday is an excellent painter.'
                                       (Pandharipande 1997:81)

Following sentence (29) is an illustration of SRC with non-restrictive interpretation in Marathi:

(29)   mohan   dzo   saalet   sikawto   to
       mohan   rel   school-loc   teach-pres   cor

       maadzhaa   mitra   aahe
       I-poss   friend   is
       'Mohan who teaches in the school is my friend.'
                                        (Pandharipande 1997:81-82)

Non-restrictive relative clause has a strict word-order. It must be embedded in the main clause. Also they do not allow the presence of correlative marker. PRC is ambiguous between restrictive and Non-restrictive reading as the word order of PRC is strict. The restrictive reading of PRC in Magahi is illustrated in following sentence (30).

(30)   dauR-at   larkaavaa   ekaaek   ruk   gelai
       running   boy   suddenly   stop   went
       'The boy who was running stopped suddenly.'

PRC in Marathi which is ambiguous between restrictive and non-restrictive reading is illustrated in following sentence (31).

(31)   paluun   gelelaa   mulgaa   saapdalaa
       run-conj.part go-perf.part   boy   find-pst
       'The boy who had run away was found.'

                                   (Pandharipande 1997: 80)

PRC in Marathi with proper noun which has non-restrictive reading is illustrated in following sentence (32).

(32)   naagpurlaa   raahnaaraa   maadzhaa   bhaauu
       nagpur-acc   live-pres   I-poss   brother

       dilip   wakiil   aahe
       dilip   lawer   is

'My brother Dilip who lives in Nagpur is a lawer.'

(Pandharipande 1997: 81)

PRC in Magahi, with proper noun is generally considered as having non-restrictive reading as illustrated in the following sentence (33).

(33)	sone	ki	ciRiaa	kahay	valaa	bʰaarat
	gold	of	bird	to say	agent	india

	ek	mahaan	desh	hai
	one	great	country	is

'India which is known as golden bird is a great country.'

PRC in Punjabi with proper noun having non-restrictive reading is illustrated in following sentence (34).

(34)	akbar	jo	paarat	daa	baadshaa	si
	akbar	rel	india	of	king	was

	nek	insaan	sii
	noble	man	was

"Akbar, who was the king of India, was a noble man.'
(Bhatia 1993: 55)

PRC in Punjabi without proper noun and has restrictive relative clause interpretation is illustrated in sentence (35).

(35)	nayuu	yaark	vicc	rain	vaalaa
	new	york	in	live	agent

	muNdaa	meraa	dost	ai
	boy	my	friend	is

'The boy who lives in New York is my friend.'
(Bhatia 1993: 56)

4.4 Position of Head Noun

Head noun may be present in matrix clause (as illustrated in sentence 12) or in correlative clause (as illustrated in sentence 11) or in both the clauses (as illustrated in sentence 13). Non-restrictive finite clauses immediately follow the head noun (as illustrated in sentence 25) and participial relative clauses precede the head noun (as illustrated in sentences 23, 24 and 25). However in Marathi participial relative clauses generally precede the head noun when they are non-restrictive and follow it when they are restrictive (Pandharipande 1997).

4.5 Position of Relativized Element

Change in the position of relativized element brings about a change in the focus on that element. This is true for both Marathi and Punjabi. Following sentences (36) and (37) in Magahi illustrates this.

(36)	mohan	jaun	kitabiaa	padʰa	rahle	hai
	mohan	rel	book	read	cont	is

	se	hamar	hai
	corr	mine	is

'The book which Mohan is reading is mine.'

(37)	jaun	kitabiaa	mohan	padʰa	rahle	hai
	rel	book	mohan	read	cont	is

	se	hamar	hai
	corr	mine	is

'The book which Mohan is reading is mine.'

In the above sentences (36) and (37), *kitabiaa* is object. In sentence (37) focus is on *kitabiaa* which is a result of fronting of the relativized element.

4.6 Headless Relative Clause

As in other Indo-Aryan languages, like Marathi and Punjabi, Magahi also shows the formation of Headless Relative clauses. This is shown in the following sentence (38).

(38) uu   je   dekʰalkai   se   ham   nai   dekʰaliai
       he   rel   see-PST corr   I   not   see-PST
       'I couldn't see what he saw.'

In the above sentence (38) we do not have presence of a head either after relative marker *je* or after correlative marker *se*. So, illustration (38) is an example of headless relative clause in Magahi. We find this kind of headless relative clauses in both Marathi and Punjabi. In addition to this Marathi has one more kind of headless clause formation in the form of PRC 'where the assumed head NP is generic' (Pandharipande 1997). This is illustrated in sentence (39).

(39) saaNkaTaat   madat   karNaaraa   (maanuus)
       calamity-loc   help   do-pres.part   (person)

       kharaa   mitra   asto
       true   friend   is
       'The person who helps in the time of calamity is a true friend.'

4.7 Noun Phrases That Can Be Relativized

All subject, object and indirect object can be relativized. Sentence (40) is an example for the relativization of subject. Sentence (41) is an example for relativization of object and sentence (42) shows the relativization of indirect object.

(40) je   laRkaawaa   lambaa   hai   se   hamar   bʰaaya hai
       rel   boy   tall   is   corr   my   brother is
       'The boy who is tall is my brother.'

(41) rohit ke   kinalkaa   kitabiaa cuhavaa kutar   delkai
       rohit by   purchased   book   rat   cut   did
       'The rat destroyed the book purchased by Rohit.'

(42) rohit mohan   ke   je   kitabiaa de   hai   se...
       rohit   mohan   acc   REL   book   give   is   corr
       'The book which rohit gives to Mohan...'

Like Marathi, in Magahi too, both possessor and possessed noun phrases can be relativized by using the sentential relative clause as illustrated in following sentences (43) and (44).
Relativization of possessor NP (SRC) in Magahi:

(43) jekar   gʰaaraa meN   paarTi hai
       rel-poss   house   loc   party   is

       se   hamar   mitra   hai
       corr   mine   friend   is
       'He at whose house there is a party is my friend.'

Relativization of possessed NP (SRC) in Magahi:

(44) okar   je   bahiniaa   paTnaa meN   rah   hai
       he-poss   rel   sister   patna   loc   live   is

       se   hamar   mitra   hai
       corr   mine   friend   is
       'The sister of his who lives in Patna is my friend.'

In Magahi, relativization of possessor NP using PRC is not possible while it can be in Marathi. However, in Marathi, relativization of possessor which is alienable from the possession cannot happen using the strategy of PRC as illustrated in (45). On the other hand, when possession is inalienable from the possessor, relativization

of possessor by using the strategy of participial relative is readily acceptable (Pandharipande 1997) as illustrated in (46).

(45) ?/*gʰaraat   puskal   maansa asnaaraa   mulgaa
     house-loc   many   people   is   boy
     'The boy in whose house there are many people.'

(46) sariraat   taakad   aslelaa   mulgaa
     body-loc   strength is   boy
     'The boy who has strength in (his) body.'

                                                              (Pandharipande 1997:98)

4.8 Multi-head Correlatives
In Magahi, the relative marker can occur more than once whereas correlative marker occurs only once.

(47) jekaraa   je   kare   ke   man   kailakai se   kailkai
     rel-oblq   rel   do   of   desire   occurred   corr   did
     'Whatever one desired to do, one did.'

We observe from the above example that relative marker is used twice i.e. *jekaraa* and *je* while the correlative marker is used just once i.e. *se*. We find that in Marathi the frequency of correlative marker is equal to the frequency of relative marker. This is illlustarted in (44) where there are two relative markers *je* and *jaisi* and also two correlative markers *taiseci* and *tyaa*.

(48) je   jaisi   kariti   mam   bʰakti
     rel-who   rel-what way   do   my   worship

     taiseci prem   mi   tyaa   deto
     corr-that way   reward i   corr-them-to   give
     'Whoever whatever way worships me, I reward them that way.'

                                                              (Wali 2011: 266)

V.   Conclusions
          In this paper there is a description of syntax of relative clause formation in Magahi based on Comrie and Smith (1977). There is also a comparison of relative clause forming strategy in Magahi with that of three Indo-Aryan languages: Marathi, Punjabi and Maithili. Typologically, the relative clause forming strategies in these languages are similar, with some differences. In Magahi, oblique form of relative marker is used when a case marker follows a lexeme. Marathi has freedom of deletion or copying of relative marker and correlative marker which is not possible in Magahi. The interpretation of SRC and PRC as restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is almost similar in the languages considered here. Magahi also has unique features of relative clause. The uniqueness of relative clause in Magahi is the presence of a correlative pronoun *uu* along with correlative marker *se*. These correlatives occur in complementary distribution. They can be used together in the same sentence but in different positions. Like Marathi and Punjabi, even Magahi has presence of headless relative clause in it. In the formation of multi-head correlatives in Magahi more than one relative marker occur while correlative markers occur only once, while in Marathi, the frequency of relative marker and correlative marker is same.

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