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A Write-up of Bhariati Grammar

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GRAMMAR**

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Abbreviations

1	first person	MID	middle
2	second person	MIR	mirative
3	third person	MKR	marker
A	most agent-like argument of a multiargument clause	N	noun
ACC	accusative case	NEG	negative
ADJ	adjective	NOML	nominalizer
ADV	adverb	NP	noun phrase
AGR	agreement	NP	relativized noun phrase
ASP	aspect	NUM	number
AUX	auxiliary	NUM:MKR	numeral marker
BEN	benefactive	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	OBJ2	secondary object
CASE	case marker	OBL	oblique
CAU	causative	P	least agent-like argument of a multi-argument clause
CNJ	conjunction	PAR	particle
COMP	complementizer	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PAS	past tense
COP	copula	PERF	perfective spect
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PP	post-position
DET	determiner	POSS	possessive
DUR	durative	PRE	present tense
E	epenthetic morpheme	PROG	progressive aspect
EMPH	Emphatic	Q	question particle
EXCL	exclusive	QUAN	quantifier
EXIST	existential	RECIP	reciprocal
F	feminine	REFL	reflexives
FUT	future	REL	relativizer
GEN	genitive	REL.CL	relative clause
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
IRR	irrealis	S	only argument of a single- argument clause (subject), sentence
INC	inclusive	SS	same subject
INF	infinitive	SUB	subject
INS	instrumental	TAM	tense, aspect, mode
INTER	interrogative	TRANS	transitive
LK	Linker	V	verb
LOC	locative		
M	masculine		

1. Introduction

The Bharia people are mainly living in Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh. They are basically Scheduled tribe under the Dravidian language family. The Bharia people are one of the largest tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh. According to the 2001 census the population was 242,061. The main concentration of the Bharia is in Patalkot Valley in Chhindwara District. They also inhabit Jabalpur, Seoni and Narsinghpur districts and its adjoining regions. They have been awarded a status as of one of the scheduled tribes of the Indian subcontinent. Another name for the Bharia people is 'Bhumia', meaning "lord of the soil". Bhumia refers to a priest of the village gods and is thus considered as a very respectable designation for the people of this tribe.

1.1 Name of the Language

The people call themselves "Bharia people". The name of the language is Bhariati. According to the Ethnologue, Bharia (ISO 639-3: bha) is classified as a Dravidian language (Lewis et. al. 2015). However, writing more than 100 years ago, Grierson pointed out that although "The Bharias have probably once spoken a form of Gondi... Their dialect is, however, now a corrupt Bundeli" (2005 [1904]: 640). Gondi is a South-Central Dravidian language, while Bundeli is an Indo-Aryan language of the Central zone. Thus, it seems that the Bharia people have been speaking an Indo-Aryan language for some time. This is consistent with our observations. With a few exceptions, most of the vocabulary that we have collected appears to be of Indo-Aryan origin, and the phonemic system is certainly more similar to other Indo-Aryan languages, including Bundeli (cf. Jaiswal 1962), than to that of any Dravidian language, including Gondi (cf. Steever 1998). Thus, although the Bharia people may have once spoken a Dravidian language, the language they now speak is almost certainly Indo-Aryan. Some people refer to the language as Bhariati or Parsi. The classification of the Bharia language within the Indo-Aryan family is a question that requires further research.

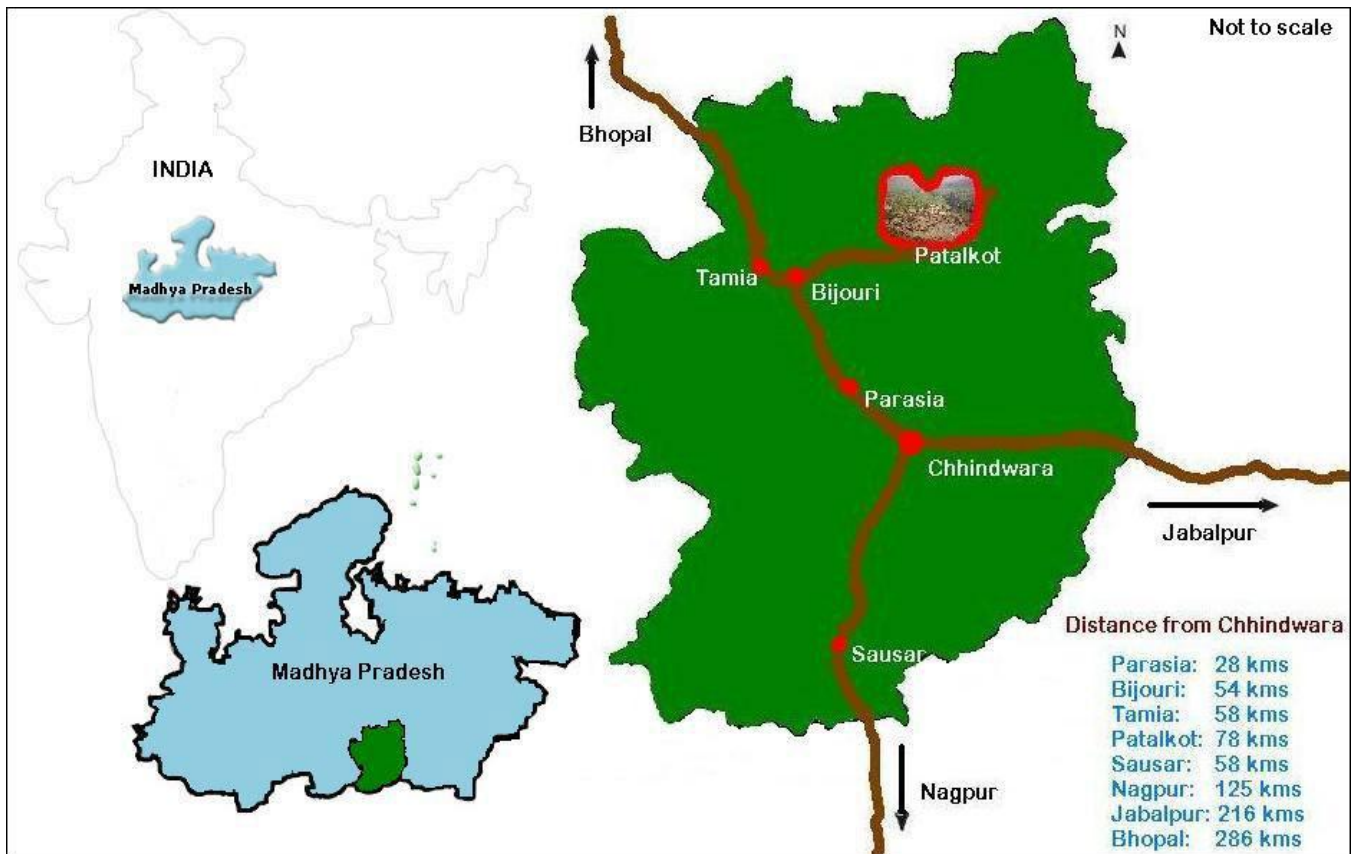
1.2 Previous Research

NLCI did Bharia Socio-linguistic survey for knowing whether this language is still using or not in 2009. Pavan Kumar did a survey again in this language on 2013 for getting clear idea. Pavan Kumar did phonological write-up with the help of Kamlesh in February 2015. After that Pavan Kumar did Bhariati orthography in April 2016. Bhariati language is presently represented by Devanagiri script.

1.3 Demography

Bharia people are very closely related with the Gond people of Madhya Pradesh. They both live together. There is a very common belief among Bharia people that Bharia were born from the 'older mother' and Gond were born from the 'younger mother.' Bharia and Gond they share many festivals and rituals. They can live together and eat together. But Bharias don't give or take their children for intermarriage with Gond people. The Bharia have various clans: Bharadia, Bijaria, Amolia, Bahothia, Pachalia, Takaria, Mehania, Angaria, Chalthia, Raotia and Gadaria, Dandoliya, Kamariya (Singh 1998:402).

Map



1.4 Literary traditions

Bhariati language has lot of folk songs and cultural stories. But all these are only oral there are no written materials yet.

1.5 Dialects

There are different dialects in Bhariati language. Especially in Chhindwara district, there are three dialects, these three dialects based on three different blocks (Tamia, Harrai and Jamai). In these three blocks each and every 20 kms dialect is changing. After sociolinguistic survey we have found that Pataalkot valley dialect is accurate and understandable for all other dialect people.

1.6 Sociolinguistic situation

Multilingualism and language attitudes

Bharia people are living in Bilingual situations. Most of the people know at least two languages. The first one is their mother tongue, Bhariati and another commonly known language is Hindi, which is the state and national language. Hindi is their language of education. The literacy rate among the Bharia community is 6.7 per cent which is much lower than the general Scheduled Tribes literacy rate of the state.

Contexts of use and language choice

Bhariati is used in all domains among Bharia community. In the market place, bus stand and buses Bhariati can be heard within Bharia people. In town places also Bharia people are using their language with each other. But those who are living in the towns with other community and children are already shifted to Hindi, middle age people, women are shifting to Hindi. Older people in villages are still speaking pure Bhariati.

Viability Factors

Their attitude towards their language is somewhat neutral. They have something of an inferiority complex about their language. Most people say that their language is not really a language, but rather a *boli* (spoken variety or dialect). A significant percentage of Bharia people living in towns do not use their language. Some parents teach Hindi to their children as their first language because Hindi is the state and national language and is considered prestigious. But in the village situation, people are using their mother tongue in the home, village, market, bus, and fields domains. This shows that there is not much threat to the existence of the language in the villages.

Loan words

The lexicon of Bhariati language contains many loan words from local Hindi language. They use these loan words mostly in the education domains. And they are using these loan words without knowing whether these are from which language. For example : drejbēl ‘driver’, masap ‘master’ etc.

1.7 Method for Analysis

For data analysis, few stories and some sentences were collected from my LRPs, Kamlesh Dandoliya and Budh Kumar Khamariya. Following the theories offered by Thomas Payne in *Describing Morphosyntax: a guide for field linguists* (2002). My purpose of Bharia grammar analysis is to find and understand characteristics of this language. This paper will be provided, through looking into some morphosyntactic characteristics of Bhariati in topics such as morphosyntactic typology, noun and NP structures, non-verbal clauses, how to signal the grammatical relations, valence and valence adjusting operations, and what characteristics Bhariati multi-clause construction has.

1.8 Acknowledgments

We express our hearty thanks to the native speakers of Bhariati for helping us to learn the language and collecting the data for doing a grammatical analysis of their language. We are exceedingly thankful to Wycliffe India for supporting this language project. We especially thank Kamlesh Dandoliya and Budh Kumar from Rather village for coming to Dehradun and for patiently clarifying our doubts in their language. It is our wish that this grammar write up will ultimately benefit the Bhariati speakers.

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2. Phonology

2.1 Vowels

In Bhariati vowel phonemes are 6 in number. There are two front vowels, two central vowels and two back vowels. Apart from there are five nasalized phonemes, which are represented as \tilde{i} , \tilde{e} , \tilde{a} , \tilde{o} , \tilde{u} respectively.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Open		ɐ	
Low		a	
Nasalization	$\tilde{i} \tilde{e} \tilde{a} \tilde{u} \tilde{o}$		

Table 1Bhariati Vowel Chart

2.2 Consonants

In Bhariati consonant phonemes are 29 in number. There are bilabial voiceless and voiced stops, Dental-alveolar voiceless and voiced stops, retroflex voiceless and voiced stops, palatal voiceless and voiced stops, velar voiceless and voiced stops, alveolar fricatives, nasals, glotals, laterals, trills, flaps and approximants.

		Bilabials	Denti-Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glotal
Stops	Vl.	p p ^h	t̪ t̪ ^h	ʈ ʈ ^h	ɕ ɕ ^h	k k ^h	
	Vd.	b b ^h	d̪ d̪ ^h	ɖ ɖ ^h	ɟ ɟ ^h	g g ^h	
Fricatives			s				h
Nasals		m	n				
Laterals			l				
Trill			r				
Flaps				ɽ			
Approximants					j		w

Table 2 Bhariati Consonants Chart

2.3 Syllable Structure:

Syllable Types:

All Bhariati language syllables conform to the following template (C) (C) V(C) (C)

Bhariati language has distinct syllable types. They are the following:

V

CV

VC

CVC

CCV

VCC

CVCC

CCVC

2.4 Word Structure

In Bhariati Mono-syllable words are always stressed. In disyllabic words the first syllable is stressed. Note the examples:

Monosyllabic word

aɾ	'supportive thing'
k ^{ha}	'eat'

Disyllabic word

gɪ.tʃi	'neck'
ʃɛr.va	'foot'
tʊm.dʒi	'bottle guard'

2.5 Orthography

Since Bharia people are living in Madhya Pradesh we have listed the Devanagiri script to represent the phonemes. This will ensure maximum transfer to the language of wider communication.

2.5.1 Vowels

ɐ	अ
a	आ
i	ई
e	ए
u	ऊ
o	ओ
ɐ	अं

Table 3Bhariati Orthography Vowels

2.5.2 Consonants

k	क	k ^h	ख	g	ग	g ^h	घ	tʃi	च
tʃ ^h	छ	dʒ	ज	dʒ ^h	झ	t	ट	t ^h	ठ
d	ड	d ^h	ढ	t	त	t ^h	थ	d	द
d ^h	ध	n	न	p	प	p ^h	फ	b	ब
b ^h	भ	m	म	j	य	r	र	l	ल
v	व	S	स	h	ह	l	इ		

Table 4Bhariati Orthography Consonants

3. Morphological Typology

For analyzing the grammar of a language first of all we have to determine the sort of a language in terms of its morphological typology. This section will help to understand the morphological typology of Bhariati. Morphological typology refers primarily to the extent to which words in the language are divisible into clearly individuated morphemes. The following examples show that all nouns and verbs have suffixes to signify the syntactic function in the sentences. The number of suffixes are not much-mostly one and two in these examples. This proves that Bhariati language is definitely not isolating language in terms of the index of synthesis. However it is like “synthetic”, based on the data we could say that Bhariati is not much dominantly fusional but moreover it looks like agglutinative. So that we can say this language is like semi-fusional. We can prove it with the sentences 1 and 2:

- 1) doj $\text{d}\text{z}\text{ene}$ $\text{d}\text{end}\text{a}$ $\text{ud}\text{za-r-aj}$ $\text{at}\text{f-}\text{et}$
two person stick liftup-PST-3PL AUX-3PL:PRE
'Both of them were ready to beat together with stick'
- 2) ho $\text{m}\text{eha-ko}$ $\text{d}\text{ek}\text{el-r-aj}$
3S 1S-ACC push-PAST-3S.M:PST
'He pushed me'

Usually, each morpheme in Bhariati words has one meaning. This says Bhariati is dominantly agglutinative. The morphological process in Bhariati words is dominantly “suffixing”. Prefixing is not observed in the data. The following sentences show some examples:

- 3) tu $\text{d}\text{zad}\text{aj}$ bedili ge-r-e $\text{at}\text{f-es}$
2S lot change go-PST-2S AUX-2S:PRE
'You have changed a lot'
- 4) ja bajitjaru $\text{ond}\text{i-ond}\text{i}$ gat $\text{it}\text{ed}^{\text{h}}\text{-et}\text{f-er}$
this woman stoop-stoop hill climb-PROG-3S:PRE
'This lady is climbing hill-top with stoop'

4. Basic Clause structure

4.1 Clause types:

Following are the typical examples found in our data. They show that there are clear examples for intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses in Bhariati. The indirect object is expressed by use of oblique:

Intransitive clause

An intransitive verb is one that describes a property, state or situation involving only one participant (Payne,2002). Based on the data in Bhariati, the verb agrees with the person and number of subject.

5) kuṭʰa bʰuk-ɐṭʃʰ-ɐr
 dog bark-PROG-3S:PRE
 ‘Dog is barking’

6) pani ukla-v-ɐṭʃ-ɐr
 water boil-E-PROG-3S:PRE
 ‘Water is boiling’

Transitive clause

This has two participants such that one of the participants acts toward or upon the other. The object NP take the accusative case marker *-ko*. The verb agrees with the person and number of the subject.

7) hor pesa-ko ɐləg-ɛj ɐləg ni kɐr-na ʃʰah-v-ɐṭ rɐh-r-əj
 3Pl money-ACC separate-EMPH separate not do-INF want-E-PROG AUX-PST-3PL:PST
 ‘They were not ready to separate their money’

8) ram ama-ko kaṭ-r-aj
 Ram mango-ACC cut-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Ram cut the mango’

Ditransitive clause

Ditransitive clause takes three arguments, namely, subject, object and indirect object.

9) ʃʰava nəhun ʃʰekku se am-a-ko kaṭ-r-əj
 child PL knife with mango-Lk-ACC cut-PST-3PL:PST
 ‘The Children cut the mango with a knife’

10) bəv məha-ko miṭʰaj ɖɪ-h-aj
 mother 1S-ACC sweet give-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Mother gave sweet to me’

4.2 Constituent order typology

Greenberg reported that there is some clear tendency that some syntactic characteristics are highly related to the orders of constituents (Payne, 2002). Therefore it would be helpful to see how Bhariati is well fit to Greenberg's Universals. Following are the examples selected to compare Bhariati language with Greenberg's Universals.

4.2.1 Main Clause (APV)

Bhariati word order is somewhat flexible. However, based on my data, we could say Bhariati is PV language. You could see transitive and intransitive sentences below :

11) drajbel tɛksi ʃʰəla-v-ɐṭʃ-ɐr
 driver taxi drive-E-PROG-3S:PRE
 ‘Driver is driving taxi’

- 12) *moj a-v-ətʃ-ō*
 1S come-E-PROG-1S:PRE
 'I am going'

4.2.2 Verb phrase

In Bhariati the main verb is generally the leftmost verb.

Verb and Auxiliary

Auxiliaries are verbs in that they satisfy the morphosyntactic definition of verbs and they occur in the position of a verb and they carry at least some of the inflectional information normally associated with the verbs. In Bhariati auxiliaries occur after the main verb with tense and subject agreement. The copulas *atʃ* and *rəh* act same as auxiliaries in present and past tenses.

- 13) *məha-ko adʒ kam ni kər-na atʃ-ər*
 1S-ACC today work not do-INF AUX-3S:PRE
 'Today I don't want to do work'
- 14) *ho ləbləb riŋg sək-ət rəh-r-aj*
 3S:DIST fastly walk can-PROG AUX-PST-3S:PRE
 'He used to walk fastly'
- 15) *ja tʃava se bedʒa pjar kər-ət rəh-r-aj*
 DET boy with very love do-PROG AUX-PST-3S:PST
 'This one was loving very much with boy'

In Bhariati mostly the adverb occurs before the main verb as we can see in the below examples :

- 16) *ja mərətʃaru doj pāv sərka kər-i-ke bet^h-ətʃ-ər*
 This man two legs straight do-LK-CP sit-PROG-3S:PRE
 'This man is sitting in the position of spread out his legs strightly'
- 17) *ho itta p^hər a-v-ətʃ^h-ər*
 3S here again come-E-PROG-3S:PRE
 'He is coming again'

4.2.3 Noun Phrase

Genitive and Head Noun (G-N)

Genitive always precede the head noun.

- 18) *ama-k dʒaɖ p^hul p^hul-na ləg-r-aj*
 mango-GEN tree flower blossom-INF seem-PST-3S:PST
 'Mango flowers are blossomed'
- 19) *ja admi-k tʃāj hor-ej g^hək atʃ-ər*
 this man-GEN shadow 3S-EMPH same AUX-3S
 'This man's shadow is same like him'

Head Noun and Modifier (M-N)

Bhariati follows Greenberg's Universals in M-N position. Modifier precedes the head noun.

20) tu ləkɔara ɔokra atʃ-ər
2SG thin man AUX-3S:PRE
'You are a thin man'

21) ek tʰɔla ɐɖmi ɔŋga tʃɛla-v-ɐtʃ-ər
one NUM.MKR man boat drive-E-PROG-3S:PRE
'A man is riding a boat in a pond'

Relative Clauses and Noun (RC-N)

Relative clause is an embedded clause that has a nominal constituent which is co-referential with a noun in the matrix clause. In Bhariati language only subject and direct objects are relativised. Relative clause which modifies noun in NP comes always before the head noun. Here we can see the example below:

22) ɖɛ moɾa huɽa tʰaɖa atʃ-ər ho mora bʰɛja aj
REL boy there stand AUX-3S 3S 1S:POSS brother AUX:3S
'The boy who stand there is my brother'

23) bihane moɾa ɖɛ kuɽa ko ɖek^h-r-aj tɛ kuɽa
yesterday boy REL dog ACC see-PST-3S DEM dog
mɛr-i gɛ-r-aj
die-LK go-PST-3S
'The dog that boy saw yesterday died'

4.2.4 Adpositional Phrases (N-Postposition)

In Bhariati language, we have postpositions. Bhariati follows Greenberg's universal strictly in N-P position as we can see in the sentence below.

24) ɖɛaɾ hɛva mɛ ɔol-ɐtʃ-ər
tree wind in move-PROG-3S:PRE
'Tree is moving in air'

25) tu gɛlava se kap-ɐtʃ-ɛs
2S cold from shiever-PROG-2S:PRE
'You are shivering from cold'

4.2.5 Comparatives

Bhariati has the structure of Std-Mkr-Adj according to Greenberg's Universal. Standard precedes Mkr and adjective follows them as we can see below example.

26) ram mohn-a se ɖɛ^hɛttisa atʃ-ər
Ram Mohan-LK than short COP-3S:PRE
'Ram is shorter than Mohan'

- 27) horak p̄ehla moṛa ḍusra moṛa se l̄emma at̄j̄h̄-er
 3S:POSS first boy second boy than tall(M) COP-3S:PRE
 ‘His first son is taller than second son’

4.2.6 Question Particles (Clause-final)

In Bhariati, the question particle *ḱja* is used for asking yes/no questions. *ḱja* is originally the question word of the meaning 'what', and we noticed this is used as a question particle as well.

- 28) ḱja t̄u k̄isan aj
 Q 2S farmer COP:PRE
 ‘Are you farmer?’
- 29) ḱja ho so-j ḡe-r-aj
 Q 3S sleep-LK go-PST-3S
 ‘Did he sleep?’

4.2.7 Question Words

In Bhariati most of the times question word occurs before the verb. As we see below examples the question words *ḱja* 'what' and *ḱjaṛe* 'where' is located in the position of object. we will see more clearly question words in the section (10.2).

- 30) moj ḱja k̄er-er̄j̄-ō?
 1S what do-PROG-1S:PRE
 ‘What am I doing?’
- 31) h̄em̄ē ḱjaṛe d̄ṛa-b̄en?
 1PL why go-1PL:FUT
 ‘Why will we go?’

5. Noun and Noun Phrases

A Noun phrase is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun. Noun phrase elements include determiners, numerals, genitives (possessors), modifiers, noun classifiers and the head noun. The head noun is the noun that is modified by all the other elements. In this section we are mainly focusing on how morphosyntactic operations are expressed in Bhariati noun phrases.

5.1 Compounding

A compound is a word that is formed two or more different words. Based on our data in Bhariati we have only found noun-noun compounding as we can see the examples below:

- 32) d̄eda-b̄ev
 father-mother
 ‘Parents’
- 33) d̄ṛaḱ-ḱṛuka
 tree-plant
 ‘Plants’

5.2 Denominalization

Based on our data we couldn't find any Denominalization process.

5.3 Determiners

The term Determiner includes quantifiers, numerals, possessors, as well as demonstratives. We are going to examine demonstratives in this section and all the other constituents of NP in the following sections.

Demonstratives

Demonstratives can function as a modifier in a modified noun phrase or as the sole element (head) of a NP. Though there are no definite articles in Bhariati language, demonstratives can be used to make a definite nominal referent. The third person singular pronouns *ho* '3S: distant' and *je* '3S: proximal', and the third plural pronouns *hor* '3P: distant' and *er* '3PL: proximal' could be used as demonstratives to define the head noun. As the pronoun itself distinguishes the distance, its demonstrative using keeps the same idea of 'this' and 'that' and 'these' and 'those'. Note the following examples below the demonstratives are used to point a participant:

34) ja moṛa d̪ʒaṛ-n-ak upra t̪ʃeṛ-eṭʃ^h-eṛ
DET boy tree-PL-GEN upon climb-PROG-3S:PRE
'This boy is climbing on the trees'

35) ho t̪ʃava p̪erna se ho d̪ʒaṛ-ak meṇḍa a-u-eṭ r̪eḥ-r-aj
DET boy daily that tree-GEN near come-E-PRG AUX-PST-3S:M
'That boy daily used come near to that tree'

36) er moṛa n̪eh̄n p̪iraṭ^hna k̪eṛ-eṭ
these boy PL prayer do-3PL:PRE
'These boys pray'

37) hor ḍo-i d̪ʒ^heṇe eḷal r̪eḥ-r-āj
those two- person lazy AUX-PST-3PL
'Those two persons were lazy'

5.4 Quantifier and Number

5.4.1 Number

Number is a grammatical category of noun or noun phrase that expresses count distinctions such as "one", "two", or "three or more". In Bhariati, we have found that there are two number categories: singular and plural. For singular they are not using any special marker but for plural they are using *-n* and/or *n̪eh̄n*. *-n* is a suffix and *n̪eh̄n* is a particle coming just after noun, as we can see in the below examples:

38) k̪eṭ^hu t̪ʃ^hava n̪eh̄n reṅg vara kageṭ-a ko l̪ega-u-eṭ r̪eḥ-r-āj
some child PL color NOML paper-LK ACC put-E -PRO AUX-PST-3PL
'Some children were arranging colorful papers'

- 39) ho purəj kətpuʈl-ə-n ko dʰiʃjan-a se dekʰ-r-aj
 3S all sculpture-E-PL ACC focus-LK with watch-PST-3S
 ‘He watched carefully all sculptures’

5.4.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are the words or phrases that are used to show the amount of it that is being considered, like “some”, “many”, “a lot of”, and “a few”, etc. Based on the data we have found that Bhariati uses the quantifiers and we can see them in the below examples:

- 40) ja tɛlau-a me gelle pani atʃ-ər
 this pond-LK in lot.of water COP-3S:PRE
 ‘In this pond lot of water is there’

- 41) ho tɛnnək tɛm tɛkən sotʃ-r-aj
 3S little time till think-PST-3S:M
 ‘He thought for little time’

- 42) kətʃʰu tʃʰava nəhun pʰuʃgə-n ko pʰula-u-əʃ rəh-r-əj
 some child PL baloon-PL ACC blow- E-PROG AUX-PST-3PL
 ‘Some children blowing ballon’

- 43) pani mē rəḍabʰəri kəmla-k pətʰa atʃ-ər
 water in lot of lotus-GEN leaf COP-3S:PRE
 ‘There are lot of lotus’ leaves in the water’

5.5 Numeral and Gender

5.5.1 Numerals

Bhariati uses both cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers same as Hindi. Bhariati Cardinal numbers are like: *ek, do, tin, čar*.....etc, and ordinal numbers are like: *pehla, dusra, tirsra* ...etc. Along with cardinal numbers they use some special particles *tʰula* and *tʰija* for modifying the noun as the numeral markers. But for counting they don’t use these particles along with cardinal numbers as we can see in the below examples:

- 44) ho ek tʰula bəʈva dekʰ-r-aj
 3S one NUM:MKR wallet see-PST-3S:M
 ‘He saw one wallet’

- 45) horako do tʰula moʃa nəhun rəh-r-əj
 2S:ACC two NUM.MKR boy PL COP-PST-3PL
 ‘He had two sons’

- 46) do tʰija moʃa nəhun rəh-r-əj
 two NUM:MKR boy PL AUX-PST-3PL
 ‘Two boys were there’

5.5.2 Gender

Gender system is the grammatical classification of nouns and it requires the agreement on pronouns and other referential devices such as adjectives or demonstratives or articles or

possessors which are the dependents of head noun in a noun phrase. Sometimes noun classes correspond to semantic classes such as biological gender, physical shape, function, etc. Bhariati has two gender classes: masculine gender is marked with *-a*, and feminine gender is marked with *-i*. Their gender can be identified by the affixes on the verb and adjective and even with 1S and 2S possessive pronouns. Bhariati keeps feminine gender agreement on verb only in past tense as well as in perfect:

- 47) moṛi d̪et̪ka mē pani b^her-ēt̪^h-er
 girl utensil in water fill-PROG-3S:PRE
 ‘A girl is filling water in Utensil’
- 48) eb gēhū ug-i gē-r-i
 now wheat(F) rise-LK go-PST-3S:F
 ‘Now wheat grew up’
- 49) mori gējja lēkdar-i a^h-er
 1S:POSS:F cow(F) thin-F COP-3S:PRE
 ‘My cow is very thin’
- 50) ho moṛa bēṛa ekēn ho-j gē-r-aj
 that boy big(M) as become-LK go-PST-3S
 ‘That boy became big’

5.6 Possessor

The possessor indicates the person or thing that possesses the head possessed noun. The possessor marking may be found in either the head noun or possessor. Bhariati expresses the possessive relationship by marking the possessor as we can see the below examples:

- 51) hora-k uḍḍla se g^her b^her-i gē-r-aj
 3S-POSS light with house full-LK go-PST-3S
 ‘House has filled with his light’
- 52) gēhū-k bīḍḍḍa bo-i ḍi-h-aj
 wheat-GEN seed sow -LK give-PST-3S
 ‘Wheat seed’s have sown’

5.7 Case

Case marking is the morphosyntactic categorization of noun phrases and it is imposed by the structure within which the noun phrase occurs. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish case markings from adpositions when their grammatical meanings are same. In Bhariati most of the semantic case meanings, e.g. locative, benefactive, goal, source, accompaniment, etc., are expressed with postpositions. The only exception is genitive case suffix *-k*, as in (53) and (54).

- 53) ho eḍmi ḍḍar-a-k peḍ^h-a kaṭ lī-h-aj
 that man tree-E-GEN stem-LK cut take-PST-3S
 ‘That man cut the tree’s stem’

- 54) sunil-a-k g^her-a mē pōhnē-n a-u-ēt̪^h-et̪
 Sunil-E-GEN house-LK in guest-PL come-E-PROG-3PL:PRE
 ‘Guests are coming to sunil’s house’

5.8 Pronouns

Pronouns are a special kind of noun phrase. It functions as a head element in the Noun Phrase. Pronouns can be divided into numerous categories including, personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns, etc. All different types of Bhariati pronouns are shown on the Table (5).

5.8.1 Personal Pronouns

Bhariati distinguishes first, second and third personal pronouns. They have a common contrast in the first person plural between inclusive and exclusive forms. A first person inclusive pronoun *apūn* refers to a group which includes both the speaker and the hearer. A first person exclusive pronoun *hēmē* refers to a group which includes the speaker but excludes the hearer. Bhariati makes a clear distinction between singular and plural pronouns.

- 55) ho hēs-ēt̪^h-er
 3S laugh-PROG-3S:PRE
 ‘He is laughing’
- 56) dīnes hēmēr-en-ko bed̪z̪-ēt̪^h-er
 Dinesh 1PL:EXCL-PL-ACC send-PROG-3S:PRE
 ‘Dinesh is sending us’
- 57) tu g^her d̪z̪a-t̪^h-es
 2S house go-PRE.PROG-2S
 ‘You are going to house’
- 58) tūmhē p^hugga p^hul-aj sək-at̪^h-a
 2PL ballon blow-3Scan-AUX-2PL
 ‘You (PL.) can blow ballons?’
- 59) apun səkale sid^holi ni d̪z̪a-d̪z̪in
 1PL:INCL tomorrow sidholi not go-1PL:FUT
 ‘We will not go to Sidholi tomorrow’
- 60) hor epēnen-ko bed̪z̪-r-əj
 3PL 1PL:INCL-ACC send-PST-3PL:PST
 ‘They sent us’

5.8.1 Possessive Pronouns

A possessive pronoun is a pronoun that can take the place of a noun phrase to show ownership. Bhariati uses same words for possessive and possessed pronouns which are different from normal S, A and P pronouns. Interestingly, Bhariati differentiates masculine and feminine gender markers in 1S and 2S possessive pronouns *mora, mori* and *pora, pori*. This concept we could identify only when possessive pronouns are followed by objects.

- 61) horak peṭ bəḍa ekən aṭṣ-er
 3S:POSS stomach big as COP-3S:PRES
 ‘His stomach is very big’
- 62) mori biḥau(F) ho-n-vaṛ-i aṭṣ-er
 1S:POSS marraige become-NOML-F AUX-3S:PRES
 ‘My marraige is going to happen’
- 63) hornək nam ḍines er məhes rəh-r-aj
 3PL:POSS name Dinesh and Mahesh AUX-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Their names were Diensh and Mahesh’
- 64) ḍines ṭora b^həja aj
 Dinesh 2S:POSS brother AUX:PRE
 ‘Dinesh is your brother’

5.8.2 Distal and Proximal Pronouns

In Bhariati, the third person singular pronouns are *ho* ‘3S:distal’ and *ja* ‘3S:proximal’, and the third plural pronouns *hor* ‘3P:distal’ and *er* ‘3PL:proximal’. The pronouns themselves they distinguish the distance. They are originally demonstratives to define the head noun with the meaning of ‘this’ and ‘that’ and ‘these’ and ‘those’, and they are used as pronouns :

- 65) er pirat^hna kər-əṭṣ^h-eṭ
 3PL:PROX prayer do-PROG-3PL:PRE
 ‘They are praying’
- 66) ja ḍṣoḍka ṭṣau-en ko bja-r-i
 3S:PROX twins children-PL ACC birth-PAST-3S:F
 ‘She gave birth to twins’
- 67) hor kam kər-əṭṣ^h-eṭ
 3PL:DIST work do-PROG-3PL:PRE
 ‘They are doing work’

Bhariati NP structure: NP → (DET) (NP [poss]) (QUAN) (NUM) (ADJ)*N

	Person	S/A	P	POSSESSIVE/ POSSESSED
Singular	1	moj	meha-ko	mora mori
	2	ṭu	ṭeha-ko	ṭora ṭori
	3 Proximal	ja	era-ko	erak
	3 Distal	ho	hora-ko	horak
Plural	1 Incl	apən	epenen-ko	epna
	1 Excl	hemě	hemeren-ko	hemra
	2	ṭomhě	ṭomerren-ko	ṭomra
	3 Proximal	er	eren-ko	ernek
	3 Distal	hor	horen-ko	hornək

Table 5 Bharaiti Pronouns Chart

6. Verb and Verb Phrases

A verb phrase is the portion of a sentence that contains both the verb and either a direct or indirect object (the verb's dependents). We're going to take a look at how Bhariati verb phrases are, and then view some verb phrase examples. Bhariati the main verb is generally the leftmost verb.

6.1 Nominalization

When verb becomes a derived noun we called this process as a Deverbalization or Nominalization. Bhariati uses Agent nominalizer *vara* for masculine gender and *vari* for feminine gender. And they are using the same *vari* as an Instrument nominalizer. These nominalizers follow the verb. We can see some of the examples below:

68) *ga-n var-a*
sing-INF NOML:Agt-M
'Singer(m.)'

69) *ḍʒaɾɐ-n var-a*
sweep-INF NOML:Agt-M
'Sweeper(m.)'

70) *kɛleva bɛna-n-var-i*
food make-INF-NOM:Agt-F
'Cook(f.)'

71) *gas kaɾɐ-n var-i mɛsm*
grass cut-INF NOM-NOML:Inst machine
'grass cutter'

6.2 Compounding (including incorporation)

Noun Incorporation means a noun becomes attached to the verb. Bhariati used Noun incorporation. We can see the below example:

72) *ho beḍʒa maṇḍi kɛr-ɛtʃ-ɛr*
3S much talk do-PROG-3S:PRE
'He is talking too much'

73) *apun bihav kar-ba*
2PL:INCL marriage do-FUT:2S
'We will marry'

6.3 Tense

Tense is grammatical expression of location in time (Comrie: 1985). Based on our data we have found Bhariati uses three tense distinction: present, past and future. For past tense they are marking with allomorphs of *-r*, *-b*, *-ḍ* and *ḍ*. But for future tense they are marking with *-b*, but the present tense is marked with zero. Their subject agreements are keeping the different temporal meanings, it means they have three different set of subject agreements in present, past and future. Subject agreement is obligatory in Verb or Verb phrase in Bhariati, and it occurs on the last

position on the verb or on the Auxiliary of Verb phrase. We have one exception in Perfect and Pluperfect aspects that we can see below under the Aspect study. We are going to study about subject agreements more in detail in the section of 6.6 Participant references.

74) ho mēha-ko d̪əkəl-r-aj
 3S 1S-ACC push-PAST-3S:M:PAST
 ‘He pushed me’

75) ho d̪̄ʒa-h-ir
 3S go-FUT-3S:FUT
 ‘He will go’

76) hor a-v-ət̪
 3PL come- E-3PL:PRES
 ‘They come’

6.4 Aspect

It defines the shape, distribution, or internal organization of the event in time. Aspects in Bhariati are Progressive, Perfect, Durative and pluperfect. All aspects are expressed with Verb and Auxiliary in this order. The verb inflects for different aspects and the auxiliary inflects for different tense and subject agreement.

Progressive

In Bhariati, progressive can either be in present, past or future tense. It denotes an action that is progressing in the present, past or in the future. Based on the data *-v̪ʃʃʰ* is used as progressive marker in present tense and *-v̪ʃ* is in past tense and *-t̪ej* is used in the future tense. These progressive markers are occurring on the last position of the main verb in verb phrase. Bhariati uses the future progressive marker *t̪ej* in durative aspect also. We can see that in next section.

Present Progressive

77) hor sot̪ʃ-v̪ʃʃʰ-ət̪
 3PL think-PROG-3PL:PRE
 ‘They are thinking’

78) tu d̪oj moɾv-n-ko buɾa-v-ət̪ʃʰ-əs
 2S both boy-PL-ACC call-E-PROG-2S:PRE
 ‘You are calling both boys’

Past Progressive

79) ho a-v-ət̪ r̪əh-r-i
 3S come-E-PROG AUX-PST-3S:F:PST
 ‘She was coming’

80) moṛa	eklɛj	iskul	ḍʒa-ʈ	rɛh-r-aj
boy	alone	school	go-PROG	AUX-PST-3S:PST
‘Boy was going school alone’				

Future Progressive

81) moj	ja	ʈɛma	sakale	pɛʈa-ʈej	ho-h-ũ
1S	DET	time	tomorrow	teach-PROG	AUX-FUT-1S:FUT
‘I will be teaching this time tomorrow’					

As we see the above examples we could say that in Bhariati there is no auxiliary usage for present progressive, but in past and future progressive they are using different auxiliaries, like in past *rab* and in future *bo*. These auxiliaries are fully inflecting.

Durative

It marks an event that lasts for a certain length of time. In Bhariati language we have found that along with verb suffix *-ʈej* is coming as a durative aspectual meaning. We can see the below examples:

82) ho	kam	kɛr-ʈej	rɛh-ɛr	
3S	work	do-DUR	AUX-3S	
‘He kept on working’				
83) moṛa	rɪŋg-ʈej	rɪŋg-ʈej	ʈʰɛk-i	gɛ-r-aj
boy	walk-DUR	walk-DUR	tired-LK	go-PST-3S
‘The boy got tired of walking’				

Perfect

As for the Present perfect, it refers to an action that has happened in the nearby past and has current relevance. Bhariati uses a special structure which is different from other tense-aspect expressions. They use two auxiliaries: first auxiliary is one of *ga* ‘go:PST’ or *ɖɪ* ‘give:PST’ or *li* ‘take:PST’ (see 11.2.1 Serial verbs for these auxiliaries) and present tense auxiliary *aʈʰɛr* follows. Interestingly both auxiliaries inflect for subject agreement: first auxiliary keeps past tense subject agreement and the tense auxiliary keeps present tense subject agreement.

84) lɛmboɖɛr	nikɛl-i	gɛ-r-i	aʈʰɛr	
bus	leave-LK	go:PST-PST-3S.F:PST	PRES-3S:PRES	
‘Bus has gone’				
85) siʈa	ama	kʰa	ɖi	aʈʰɛr
2S	mango	eat	give:PST-3S:F	PRES-2S
‘Sita has eaten a mango’				

Pluperfect

It refers to an action that happened in the past and has relevance to another action in the past. Bhariati uses the combination of a motion verb auxiliary (*ga* ‘go:PST’ or *ɖɪ* ‘give:PST’ or *li* ‘take:PST’) and *bo* ‘become’. The first auxiliary is inflected for past tense subject agreement and *bo* is inflected for past tense and past tense subject agreement:

86) moj ek tʰɔla dʒegʰa mē gʰus-i gɐ-r-a ho-t-ãv
 1S one CL place in enter-LK go-PST-PERFECT become-PST-1S
 ‘I had entered a place’

87) ho iman kʰa qʰa-a ho-t-aj
 3S swear eat give:PST-PERFECT become-PST-3S
 ‘He had given me a promise’

6.5 Mood and Modality

Mood/Mode is a grammatical reflection of the speaker’s purpose in speaking. Traditionally indicative, imperative and interrogative moods are major categories. Each of these categories corresponds to one of three basic speech acts: statements, commands, and questions respectively. Modality describes the speaker’s attitude toward a situation, including the speaker’s belief in its reality. Verb changes its form to communicate with different modal ideas.

6.5.1 Mood

Indicative

Indicative mood denotes the stating of a fact. Based on our data we didn’t find any special marking for indicative mood.

88) moj bedʒa tɛk-i gɐ-r-a atʃʰ-õ
 1S very tire-LK go-PST-PER AUX-1S
 ‘I have tired a lot’

Imperative

Imperative mode denotes the command speech act of the speaker. In Bhariati there is no special marking for singular of 2d person imperative, but they keep *-ba* for plural of 2d person. We will discuss more clearly about imperatives in the section 10.3.

89) bʰɪtra a-j dʒa
 inside come-LK go
 ‘Come inside’

90) bʰɪtra a-j dʒa-ha
 inside come-LK go-IMP:PL
 ‘You (pl.) come inside’

91) tu tʃɛl da
 2S walk give
 ‘You go’

Interrogative

Bhariati uses question particle *kja* to make interrogative from indicative. *Kja* occurs on the initial position of sentence. In fact, *kja* is the question word ‘what’ and it is used as a question particle as

well. Bhariati uses different question words for interrogative clauses. We have discussed more about this topic in the section 10.2.2.

- 92) kja tu məhako kətʃ^hu pesa de sək^l-ətʃ-əs?
 Q 2S 1S-ACCsome money give can-AUX-2S
 ‘Can you give me some money?’

Optative

It indicates the speaker’s wish. Bhariati uses optative mode. They use a noun *dʒiv* ‘heart’ or *mən* ‘wish’ followed by auxiliary verb *atʃ^h* to give optative meaning. In (94), the literal meaning is like ‘him rice eating is (my) wish.’ But, its structure is very similar with the structure of Hindi, and we consider they borrow this sturcture from Hindi as we can see in the example below:

- 93) hora-ko nāṅdʒ k^ha-na-k mən atʃ^her
 3S-ACC rice eat-INF-GEN wish COP:PRE
 ‘May him eat rice’
- 94) horən-ko nāṅdʒ k^ha-na-k dʒiv atʃ^h-er
 3PL-ACC rice eat-INF-GEN wish COP:PRE
 ‘May him eat rice’

6.5.2 Modality

Generally, modality covers a fairly wide range of semantic contrasts. Semantic contrasts relating to the speaker’s state of knowledge or belief are said to involve *Epistemic Modality*. Semantic contrasts relating to obligation or permission on the part of the agent are said to involve *Deontic Modality* (Payne, 2002). Bhariati language uses both epistemic and deontic modality and their system is complex involving both inflectional affixes and modal verbs. Some of the modalities are illustrates below.

6.5.2.1 Deontic modaliy

Obligation

It refers to an obligatory situation. Various levels of compulsion/obligation can be expressed in Bhariati. Where there is the strongest level of compulsion especially from others or external situation, then along with the infinitive form of the main verb an auxiliary *tʃəj^hē* ‘want or be necessary’ is used to express the obligatory modality as in (96). In some other cases they use inflected auxiliary *pər* as in (97). In this strucrue, the subject is in accusative case.

Surprisingly these modal structures do not use the same verbal structure in Bariati; because *tʃəj^hē* does not inflect at all for different tenses and aspects as Bhariati usually does. In *pər* structure, the verb inflects only for 3d person singular, and then it looks like having the impersonal subject ,its in English. Since both of them are so different sturcture as a Barihati verbal

clause, we consider the modal expressions with *tʃejhē* and *pəɾ* are loaned from Hindi that uses a very similar structure:

95) hēmē tʃiʃʃi-ko bahər bʰedʒ-na tʃejhē
 1PL letter-ACC out send-INF should
 ‘We should send out a letter’

96) tʃha-ko əbb-əj dʒa-na pəɾ-h-ɪr
 2S-ACC now-EMPH go-INF must-IRR-3S
 ‘You must go now’

Permission

Bhariati uses *sək* ‘May’ or ‘can’ for the approval to something from a person and it is prefixed to the verb.

97) tu bɪɾa a-j sək¹-ətʃʰ-əs
 2S inside come-LK may-AUX-2S
 ‘You may come inside’

6.5.2.2 Epistemic modality

Mirativity

The quality of being mirative is of expressing (surprisingly) an unexpected revelation or new information. Bhariati uses *betta* or *re* as a mirative particle and it occurs usually at the end of the clause. Here in (98) example we can substitute *re* with *betta* and *betta* with *re*.

98) ərə ho dekʰ re kəmləs a-i gə-r-aj betta
 hey that look MIR Kamlesh come-LK go-PST-3S MIR
 ‘Oh look at there, Kamlesh came. (Surprisingly)’

Validational

It refers to the degree of commitment the speaker makes as to the truth of the assertion. Bhariati does not use any special mark for validational. But they are using validational verb with keeping unrealistic marking *-b*.

99) moj ni soʃʃ-r-āv ki ho a-h-ɪr
 1S not think-PST-1S COMP 3S come-IRR-3S
 ‘I don’t think he come’

Potential

Bhariati uses *sək* ‘can’ for the capability of a person and it is prefixed to the verb. It inflects correctly same as Permission.

100) tu dʒa-j sək¹-ətʃʰ-əs

2S go-LK able.to-AUX-2S

'You can go'

6.6 Participant references (Verb agreements)

In Bhariati the present, past and future tenses are combined with subject agreement, (person and number). Exceptionally in the past tense and the perfect and pluperfect aspects, the gender (F or M) is included in the subject agreement marking. This system is illustrated below:

Person		Present	Past	Future
1s	Singular	-ãv	-ãv	-ũ
2s		-es	-e	-is
3s.M		-er	-aj	-ir
3s.F			-i	
1pl	Plural	-d̄ʒm	-en	-ba
2pl		-a	-a	-i
3pl		-at̄	- ẽj	-it̄

Table 6 Bhariati Verb Agreement Chart

101) moj k^hel-ãv
 1S play-1S:PRE
 'I play'

102) tumhẽ pẽt-a
 2Pl read-2PL
 'You read'

103) ram ama ko kaṭ-r-aj
 Ram mango ACC cut-PST.3S
 'Ram cut the mango'

104) moṭa nẽhun k^hel-h-it̄
 boy PL play-FUT-3Pl
 'Boys will play'

7. Non-verbal Predicates

Generally, non-verbal construction is about the sentences in which the main semantic content of predicate is not realized in a verb. There are two types of non-verbal clause. One is predicate nominal or attributive. The other is EPL construction. For predicate nominal/attributive, there are six patterns to convey the content of predicate: juxtaposition, copula as a verb, copula as a pronoun, copula as an invariant particle, copula as a derivational operation and copula in non-present tenses only. For EPL constructions copula or existential verb or possessive verb could be used. In followings, it will be dealt with what strategy is used for Bhariati non-verbal clauses among these various ways of non-verbal clauses.

No juxtaposition construction in non-verbal clause is observed in Bhariati language. They use copula verb which could be inflected.

7.1 Predicate Nominal

Predicate nominal clauses typically express the notions of proper inclusion and equation. Proper inclusion is when a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate. Usually the subject of a predicate nominal clause indicating proper inclusion is specific, and the nominal predicate is non-specific. Equative clause indicates when a particular entity is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal. Bhariati does not differentiate both proper inclusion and equatives. Based on the data we found that in proper inclusion and equatives, Bhariati is using almost same type of copular verbs. They uses two types of copulas in present tense; they are *atʃʰ* and *aj*, and *rəh* in past tense. Interestingly, the invariant particle copula *aj* is coming without inflection in all negative present tense sentences. But in the positive present and past tenses sentences *atʃʰ* and *rəh* copular verbs are coming with fully inflection and keeping the subject agreement as we can see in the examples below. In Bhariati proper inclusion and Equative clauses the copula comes in the final position and nominals are formed in this structure :

NP NP COP

105) ho ek masap atʃʰ-er
 3Sg one teacher cop-3Sg
 ‘He is a teacher’

106) moj ek iskul pəɽ-ən vara tʃava atʃʰ-ō
 1Sg one school study NOML boy COP-1Sg
 ‘I am a student’

107) tu ek masap rəh-r-e ho-t-e
 2S one teacher COP-PST-2S become-PST-2S
 ‘You were a teacher’

108) hor iskul pəɽ-ən vara tʃava nəhun ni-h-aj
 3Pl school study- NOML child PL not-E-COP
 ‘They are not students’

109) siṭa hora-k logʰni atʃʰ-er
 Sita 1S:poss wife cop-3Sg
 ‘Sita is his wife’

110) siṭa hora-k logʰni aj
 Sita 1S:Poss wife COP
 ‘Sita is his wife’

111) siṭa horak logʰni rəh-r-i ho-t-i
 Sita 3Sg:poss wife cop-PST-3F become-PST-3F
 ‘Sita was his wife’

112) siṭa horak logʰni ni-h-aj
 Sita 3S:POSS wife not-E-COP
 ‘Sita is not his wife’

7.2 Predicate adjectives

Predicate adjectives are clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. Semantically these clause types can be described as Attribute clauses, attribute clauses made up of a topic NP, followed by quality, which can take form of an adjective/adverbial phrase and a copula. The adjectival phrase agrees with topic NP.

Attributive clause → NP + AP + Copula

113) ho bed̄ʒa koḍu v̄ḍmi at̄ʃ^h-er
 3S very lazy man COP-3S
 ‘He is a very lazy man’

114) ḍmes bed̄ʒa kiv vara at̄ʃ-er
 Dinesh very kind NOML COP
 ‘Dinesh is a very kind person’

115) mora log at̄ʃ^ha kojka r̄eh-r-a ho-t-aj
 1S:POSS husband good every COP-PST-3S:M become-PST-3S:M
 ‘My husband was good’

7.3 EPL (Existential, Possessive and Locational Constructions)

Bhariati uses the same copulas for EPL constructions as with the predicate nominals and adjectives. They use two types of copulas in present tense: *at̄ʃ^h* and *aj*, and *r̄eh* in past tense. Interestingly, the invariant particle copula *aj* is coming without inflection in all negative present tense sentences. But in the positive present and past tenses sentences *at̄ʃ^h* and *r̄eh* copular verbs are coming with fully inflection and keeping the subject agreement as we have seen with the predicate nominals and adjectives.

7.3.1 Existential Clauses

Existential constructions typically require a location. A participant exists in a certain location, and it's expressed with Postpositional phrase in Bhariati. They do not use any special existential verb for making existential clauses. In negative existentials they use invariant particle copula *aj* without any inflection, which is the same structure with predicate nominals and adjectives. In Bhariati existential clauses, locational (LOC) phrase comes before nominal subject because locational phrase will be switched as we can see the below examples :

In Bhariati Existential clause structure → PP NP COP

116) ho ḍʒeṅḡel-a mē rit̄ʃ n̄ehun at̄ʃ^h-er̄
 that forest-Sg LOC bear PL COP-3PL:PRE
 ‘There are bears in the forest’

117) hut̄ṭa ḡ^huṅḍi mē bahri at̄ʃ^h-er̄
 there corner LOC broom-stick COP-3S:PRE

‘There is a broom-stick in the corner’

- 118) hut̩ta iskul-a mē gelle b^heri-k bajit̩ʃaru n̩h̩n r̩h-r-əj
 there school LOC lot QUN- woman PL COP-PST-3PL
 ‘There were lot of ladies in the school’

- 119) hut̩ta g^hund̩r̩ mē bahri n̩-h-aj
 there corner LOC broom-stick not-E-COP
 ‘There is no broom-stick in the corner’

7.3.2 Locational Clauses

Locational clause requires the location of some item or entity. In Bhariati locational clauses, nominal subject comes before locational (LOC) phrase.

In Bhariati the Locative clause structure → NP PP COP

There is a difference between existential clause and locational clause structure. In Bhariati existential clauses locational (LOC) phrase comes before nominal subject but in locational clauses nominal subject comes before locational phrase. Bhariati uses special locative words like *mē* ‘in’, and *p̩ra* ,on‘for making locative clauses as we can see the below examples :

- 120) bag^h n̩h̩n d̩ʒ̩ɛŋg̩l-a mē at̩^h-eʃ
 lion PL forest- LOC COP-3PL:PRE
 ‘The lions are in forest’

- 121) bag^h n̩h̩n d̩ʒ̩ɛŋg̩l-a mē n̩-h-aj
 Lion PL forest- LOC not-E-3Sg:PRE
 ‘The lions are not in forest’

- 122) kit̩ab maʃ̩et̩ʃi p̩ra r̩h-r-a ho-t̩-aj
 book table LOC COP-PST-3S:M become—3Sg:PST
 ‘The book was on the table’

7.3.3 Possessive Clauses

In these clauses participant is stated as possessing something. In Bhariati to express the possession it uses the postposition *d̩ʒ̩ore* ‘near’ to make postpositional phrase. Bhariati existential clause and possessive clause structure is same but in possessive clauses the locational phrase is animated as we can see in the below examples :

In Bhariati the Possessive clause structure is → PP NP COP

- 123) t̩ʃava d̩ʒ̩ore hora-k d̩ɖa at̩-er
 child LOC 3Sg:POSS father COP-3Sg:PRE
 ‘The child has a father’

- 124) mori d̩ʒ̩ore sona n̩-h-aj

1SG LOC gold not-E-3Sg:PRE
 'I have no gold.'

125) mori ḍḍore kṛtab rēh-r-i ho-t-i
 1SG LOC book COP-PST-3S:F becomePST-3S:F
 'I had book'

Based on the above examples we can say that non-verbal clauses of Bhariati are characterized by the linking verb or copula in their construction. In Bhariati the usage of copula is very prominent in non-verbal clauses. They use copula *affⁿ* and invariant particle *aj* in present tense and *rēh* in past tense. Copular verbs *affⁿ* and *rēh* agrees with the person and number of subject with different tenses. But a special invariant particle copula *aj* does not inflect in any non-verbal present clauses and it only comes in negative sentences and it acts as a representative structure for positive present tense sentences.

8. Grammatical relations

Grammatical relations deal with the relationship between major syntactic arguments with predicate. Identifying grammatical relations is important because they are closely related with the semantic roles of the participants of a clause. The formal properties for identifying grammatical relations are; case marking on Noun/NP Pronoun, participant reference marking on verb and constituent order. Following are the typical examples found in my data. They show that there are clear examples for intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses.

Intransitive clause

An intransitive verb is one that describes a property, state or situation involving only one participant (Payne, 2002). The verb in Barihati agrees with the person and number of subject of different tenses:

S
 126) moj ḍḍa-tj-ō
 1S go-PROG-1S
 'I am going'

S
 127) ho ge-r-aj
 3S.M go-PST-3S
 'He went'

Transitive clause

This has two participants such that one of the participants acts toward or upon the other. The object NP take the accusative case marker *-kə*. The verb agrees with the person and number of the subject of different tenses:

A P

128) kuṭ^ha haṭ^h-a ko ṭṣab-ṛṭṣ-ṛ
 dog hand-E ACC bite-PROG-3S
 ‘Dog is biting hand’

A P

129) ram ama-a ko kaṭ-r-aj
 Ram mango-E ACC cut-PST.3S
 ‘Ram cut the mango’

Ditransitive Clause

Ditransitive clause takes three arguments, namely, subject, object and indirect object. In Bhariati indirect object is marked with accusative *ko* and in some other cases this same accusative marker occurs two times as illustrated below:

130) moj hora-ko ek ṭ^hula gṛjja ḍi-h-āu
 1S 3S-ACC one NUM:MKR cow give-PST-1S:PST
 ‘I gave him a cow’

131) ho mṛha-ko ek ṭ^hula kṛssa bṛṭa-r-aj
 3S 1S-ACC one NUM:MKR story tell-PST-3S
 ‘He told me a story’

132) hor rodṣ raṭa ko ṭṣavṇ ko gana ga-j-ke
 3PL every night ACC children ACC song sing-CP
 su-va-v-ṛṭ rṛh-r-i
 sleep-CAUS-E-PROG AUX-PST-3S:PST.F
 ‘She sang her baby to sleep every night’

8.1 Case System

In order to effectively identify grammatical relations in Bhariati language it is convenient to identify three basic arguments termed as S, A and P. We have already discussed about word order in earlier section, as a result both S/A and P arguments come before the verb. Therefore the word order in Bhariati does not prove the Case system of Bhariati. Therefore we mainly are going to focus on examining the verb agreements and Noun phrase case marking system in Bhariati.

8.1.1 Nominative- Accusative

If language treat S and A the same and P differently then this system is referred to as a Nominative/Accusative system. We can see in below table that how Bhariati uses the Nominative-Accusative system.

		Person	A	S	P	
Non-Past/Imperf. (Prog)	Verb agreement	1S	-ō	-ō	∅	
		2S	-es	-es	∅	
		3S.M	-er	-er	∅	
		3S.F	-er	-er	∅	
		1PL	-en	-en	∅	
		2PL	-a	-a	∅	
		3PL	-eṭ	-eṭ	∅	
	NP Pronoun	1S	moj	moj	mēha-ko	
		2S	tu	tu	tēha-ko	
		3S.M	ho	ho	hora-ko	
		3S.F	ho	ho	hora-ko	
		1PL	Incl	apon	apon	eṛenēn-ko
			Excl	hemē	hemē	hemēren-ko
		2PL	ṭomhē	ṭomhē	ṭomēren-ko	
	3PL	hor	hor	horēn-ko		
	NP Common Noun	M	-a	-a	-ko	
		F	-i	-i	-ko	
	Proper Noun	M	∅	∅	-ko	
		F	∅	∅	-ko	

Table 7 Non Past/Imperf (prog) ASP chart

		Person	A	S	P	
Past/Perf.	Verb agreement	1S	-āv	-āv	∅	
		2S	-e	-e	∅	
		3S.M	-aj	-aj	∅	
		3S.F	-i	-i	∅	
		1PL	-en	-en	∅	
		2PL	-a	-a	∅	
		3PL	-ēj	-ēj	∅	
	NP Pronoun	1S	moj	moj	mēha-ko	
		2S	tu	tu	tēha-ko	
		3S.M	ho	ho	hora-ko	
		3S.F	ho	ho	hora-ko	
		1PL	Incl	apon	apon	eṛenēn-ko
			Excl	hemē	hemē	hemēren-ko
		2PL	ṭomhē	ṭomhē	ṭomēren-ko	
	3PL	hor	hor	horēn-ko		
	NP Common Noun	M	-a	-a	-ko	
		F	-i	-i	-ko	
	Proper Noun	M	∅	∅	-ko	
		F	∅	∅	-ko	

Table 8 Past/Perfective ASP chart

Based on the two ASP charts above, we can say that Bhariati A and S arguments have the same morphological case markers and P marked differently in verb agreement, NP Pronoun, NP Common Noun and Proper Noun. In Bhariati, Pronoun Subject (S argument) of Vi and Pronoun Subject (A argument) of Vt are same form, but the pronoun Object of Vt is different form. The subject agreements of Vi and Vt are same, but object agreements are different forms. These are

the proof that Bhariati uses the Nominative-Accusative case system. All the case marking on Verbs and Noun Phrases are same in Past and Non-past tenses, it means they do not use Split Ergative system.

S

133) *moj ge-r-ãv*
 1S go-PST.1S
 'I went'

A P

134) *moj ho-ra-ko bed̥z-rãv*
 1S 3S-ACC send-PST-1S
 'I sent him'

135) *ho vba kema-v-ẽtʃ-er*
 3S now earn-E-PROG-3S:PRE
 'He is earning now'

136) *ram b^hunsare ama k^ha-j li-h-aj*
 Ram morning mango eat-Lk take-E-3S:PST
 'Ram ate the ate mango in the morning'

9. Voice and Valence

When there are relationship adjustments between semantic roles and grammatical relations in clauses according to certain language devices, these devices are called voices (Payne, 2002). Universal notion is that there is a valence change during the voice change. Valence refers to the number of participants (semantic valence) or to the number of arguments (grammatical valence) in a clause. The valence increasing operations include such as causative, applicative and dative shift constructions: meanwhile the valence decreasing operations are referring to such as reflexive, reciprocal, middle, object omission and passive voice constructions. In this chapter, it will be discussed about what kind of valence changing operations Bhariati has and how the operations are processed. Based on the data we only found reflexive, reciprocal, passive, Middle, object omission, object incorporation and Causatives as we can see in the below sections:

9.1 Valence increasing operations

Valence increasing is the construction to add or upgrade an oblique or some other peripheral participant. In the below sections we will discuss about the Bhariati causative construction.

9.1.1 Causative

Causation is a valence increasing operation. A causative is a linguistic expression that contains in semantic structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an effect. Causative constructions can be formed on the basis of intransitive or transitive caused events. Bhariati causatives are expressed morphologically. The valence get increased by using the causative marker *-va*, and it occurs after the verb root. In this language with intransitive verbs, it's very common that the causee goes into an accusative case but with transitive verbs the causee goes into an oblique case as we can see in the below examples:

- 137) moṛa h̥s-r-aj
 boy laugh-PST-3S:PST
 ‘A boy laughed’
- 138) ho moṛa-ko h̥s-v̥-r-aj
 3S boy-ACC laught-CAUS-PST-3S:PST
 ‘He made boy to laugh’
- 139) moj hora-ko k^hv̥-va-v-ēt̪^h-ō
 1S 3S-ACC eat-CAUS-E-PROG-1S:PRE
 ‘I am feeding him’
- 140) ḍḍa sunil-a se k̪p̪t̪l̪-n-ko b̪n-va-r-aj
 father Sunil-LK by sculpture-PL-ACC make-CAUS-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Father caused sunil to make sculptures’

9.1.2 Dative shift

Based on the data we found that Bhariati does not use dative shift but in Ditransitive clauses they use double accusative with ditransitive verb as we can see in the below examples:

- 141) ḍ̪nes ek t̪^hula ɛ̃ga-ko k̪p̪t̪a si̪v̪n-va-ra-ko ḍ̪i-h-aj
 Dinesh one NUM:MKR shirt-ACC cloth stich-NOML-ACC give-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Dinesh gave a shirt to tailor’
- 142) ḍḍa unhari-ko bonb̪k^lr̪n-va-ra-ko ḍ̪i-h-aj
 father field-ACC sowing-NOML-ACC give-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Father gave a field to farmer’

9.2 Valence decreasing operations

As shortly mentioned about, valence decreasing operation includes any process that reduces the valence in a clause. Because Bharaiti is typical nominative/accusative system, there will be no antipassive construction.

9.2.1 Passive

In Bhariati, we can use passive voice when there is no clear agent or when the event of sentence needs to be described in more patient-oriented perspective. In this language when the voice of sentences is changed to passive, A argument becomes oblique using the postposition *se*, and P argument becomes S argument, and it is valence decreasing by syntactical process. Based on the data we could say that Bhariati uses Morphological passive mark *-a* and *-i* on the main verb. Usually in passives for syntactical process they use *d̪ʒa* ‘go’ for present tense and *ga* ‘go:pst’ for past tense along with the verb. There are some examples with argument structure diagram of passive:

AGENT	PATIENT
A	P

- 143) ram kəleva k^ha-r
 Ram food eat-3S:PRE
 ‘Ram eats food’

AGENT	PATIENT
A	P
OBL	S

- 144) rama-εj se kəleva k^ha-j-a d̄ʒa-ar
 Ram-EMPH by food eat-LK-PASS go-3S:PRES
 ‘Food was eaten by Ram’

A	P
---	---

- 145) d̄ines ama-ko kaɽ-r-aj
 Dinesh mango-ACC cut-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Dinesh cut the mango’

OBL	S
-----	---

- 146) d̄ines-εj se ama kaɽ-a gə-r-aj
 Dinesh-EMPH by mango cut-PASS go:PST-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Mango was cut by Dinesh’

- 147) moɽ-εj se d̄ʒaɽ mər-i gə-r-aj
 boy-EMPH by tree die-PASS go:PST-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Tree was killed by boy’

9.2.2 Reflexive

Reflexive construction is one in which subject and object are the same entity. Reflexive operations reduce the semantic valence of a transitive clause by specifying that there are not two separate entities involved. Rather, one entity fulfills two semantic roles and/or grammatical relations. In Bhariati for reflexives *kəv̄d̄* ‘self’ is used along with emphatic suffix *-εj*. We can say Bharaiti reflexives are expressed ananalytically because the presence of the reflexive operation is expressed via a lexical word that is distinct from the verb.

148) \widehat{tj}^h ava nəhun k^huḍ-əj kuḍ ko kam kər lɪ-h-əj
 child PL self-EMPH self ACC work do AUX-PST-3PL:PST
 ‘children did work themselves’

149) ho kuḍej ko mar-lɪ-h-aj
 3S self ACC hit-take-PST-3S:PST
 ‘he hit himself’

9.2.3 Reciprocal

Reciprocal is very similar conceptually to a reflexive. Reciprocals and Reflexives are often expressed identically. Reciprocals are conceptually similar to reflexives in that both indicate that AGENT and PATIENT are coreferential, though for different reasons (Kim : 2017). In Bhariati for reciprocal they use separate word *ekḍusrən* ‘one another’, and it’s analytic operation:

150) hor ekḍusrən se mɪlab^hēt kər-ət
 3Pl one.another with embracing do-3PL:PRE
 ‘They embrace eachother’

151) ḍmes ər sunil ekḍusrən se beḍʒa pɪjar kər-r-əj
 Dinesh and Sunil one.another with QUAN love do-PST-3PL:PST
 ‘Dinesh and Sunil loved eachother’

9.2.4 Middle

Middle constructions are neither passive nor active, they are in between or middle. They reduce valence by expressing the idea that the event is a process undergone by a PATIENT, with no reference to a distinct AGENT. On the other hand we can say that it ignores the role of the agent. Bhariati middle function is similar to passive. In middle voice derived from transitive clause they will drop A and P becomes S. To express middle voice, they use the same morphological markers and syntactic change as the passive does (we have seen in the section of 9.2.1.):

152) $\widehat{dʒa}$ mər-i gə-r-aj
 tree die-MID go-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Tree died’

153) ama kaṭ-a gə-r-aj
 mango cut-MID go-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Mango cut’

9.2.5 Object omission

Object omission is an operation that downplays the centrality of a P argument. Bhariati uses object omission in intransitive clauses as we can see in the examples (153) & (154) :

154) moṛa $\widehat{dʒa}$ \widehat{tj}^h ət-r-aj
 boy tree climb-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Boy climbed the tree’

- 155) moṛa ṭṣeṭ-r-aj
 boy climb-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Boy climbed’

9.2.6 Object Incorporation

Noun incorporation is where a subject and object argument of a clause becomes attached to the verb. Bhariati incorporation exhibits all the characteristics of compounding discussed in the section 6.2.

- 156) er moṛa nēhūn piraṭṥna kṛ-ṛṭ
 these boy PL prayer do-3PL:PRE
 ‘These boys pray’
- 157) aḍ̄ b^hunsare moj kṛsreṭ kṛ-ṛṭ rēh-r-āṽ
 today morning 1S exercise do-PROG AUX-PST-1S:PST
 ‘I was exercising this morning’

10. Sentence Types

All languages have grammaticalized devices that show whether a clause is an assertion, a request or a command. There are mainly three types of sentences, they are; declaratives (statements), interrogatives (questions) and imperatives (commands). Bhariati has these three types of sentences as we can see in below sections :

10.1 Statement

Bhariati does not use any special morphological marker or particle for expressing statements or declarative sentences.

- 158) ho ṛṭṥa se mṛṭṭi mē pani mīla-r-aj
 3S good clay in water mix-PST-3S:PST
 ‘He mixed water and clay proportion equally’
- 159) ek ṭṥola bṛṭva ḍek^h-r-aj
 one NUM:MKR wallet see-PST-3S:PST
 ‘He saw a wallet’

10.2 Question

Bhariati uses two kinds of questions: yes or no questions and content questions.

10.2.1 Yes-no question

Bhariati uses the question particle *kja* normally on the beginning of the sentence for making yes-no question. Sometimes its position could be changed as illustrated below :

- 160) kja hor giṭ-ən ko ga-r-əj?
 Q 3PL song-PL ACC sing-PST-3PL:PST
 ‘Did they sing songs?’
- 161) kja tu mēha-ko kətʃ^hu pesa de sək¹-ətʃ^h-əs?
 Q 2S 1S-ACC some money give can-AUX-2S:PRE
 ‘Can you give me some money?’
- 162) tu kja mēha-ko kətʃu pesa de sək¹-ətʃ^h-əs
 2S Q 1S-ACC some money give can-AUX-2S:PRE
 ‘Can you give me some money?’

10.2.2 Content question

Bhariati uses different question words according to the information required as we have seen in the section 4.2.7. Based on the data we could say that Bharaiti doesn’t have in-situ, because all question words are coming before the verb. Their different content questions are given in the below table (9):

- 163) sɛbun se d̪ʒada kehra tʃɛŋt̪ atʃ^h-ɛr
 all from much who clever COP-3S:PRE
 ‘Who is the cleverest among all?’
- 164) tu kɛʈa atʃ^h-ɛs
 2S where COP-2S:PRE
 ‘Where are you?’
- 165) hor hora-ko kikko mar-ətʃ^h-ət
 3PL 3S-ACC how beat-PROG-3PL:PRE
 ‘How are they beating him?’
- 166) tu māṇḍi kjaɽe kɛr-ətʃ^h-ɛs
 2S talk why do-PROG-2S:PRE
 ‘Why are you talking?’
- 167) tu kɛʈa gɛ-r-e ho-t̪-e?
 2S where go-PST-2S AUX-PST-2S:PST
 ‘Where had you gone?’

Question Words	Gloss
Kja	'what'
kɛb	'when'
kɛʈa	'where'
kikko	'How'
kjaɽe	'why'
kɛhra	'who'

Table 9 Bhariati question words

10.3 Command (Imperatives)

Imperatives are verb forms or construction types that are used to directly command the addressee to perform some actions. Usually imperatives are understood to refer to second person of singular subject.

Bharaiti does not use any special imperative marker for second person singular. But for plural they are using *-ha* as a imperative suffix. And interestingly they have some imperative structures same as Hindi but they have their own way to say imperative as we can see in the below examples (167) and (169). One more interesting thing in this language we found that 2S and 1PL imperatives are inflected by irrealistic. Its like the work will be done later that is the reason they use future subject agreement on the verb, as we can see in the below examples (170), (172) & (173):

168) tu tʃʌl ɖa
2S go give
'You go'

169) tumhē tʃʌl ɖa-ha
2PL go give-IMP:2PL
'You (pl.) go'

170) b^hɪɾa a-j d̪ʒa
inside come-LK go
'Come inside'

171) era utʃka-j ɖ-is
it uproot-LK give-2S:IRR
'Pluck it out'

172) məha-ko pani pɪ a-j ɖa
1S-ACC water drink come-LK give
'Give me water'

173) tʃʌl-a tʃʌl-d̪ʒin
walk-EXCL walk-1PL:IRR
'Let us go'

174) tʃʌl tʃʌl-d̪ʒin
walk:INCL walk-1PL:IRR
'Let us go'

175) kvad̪ ləga-j ɖa
door put-CP give
'close the door'

176) era a-ŋ ɖa
it come-LK give
'Let it come'

177) era $\widehat{d}z\grave{a}\text{-}\eta$ $\grave{d}a$
 it go-LK give
 ‘Let it go’

178) $\eta\ddot{t}te$ $\grave{d}ek\text{-}is$
 here look-2S:IRR
 ‘Look here’

10.4 Negation

A negative sentence contains generally a negative word. Negative sentences tell us that something does not exist or is not happening. In Bhariati, negation is done by using the negative particle *ni* or *nhi*, both could be used for either present or past tenses. They occur just before the verb. But for the future tense and imperatives they use another negative particle *mɛt̪*, as we can see in the below examples:

179) moj $iskul$ ni $\widehat{d}z\grave{a}\text{-}v$
 1S school NEG go-1S:PRE
 ‘I don’t go to school’

180) $sijana$ $ku\grave{t}^h\grave{a}$ ni $m\ddot{e}r\text{-}r\text{-}aj$
 old dog NEG die-PST-3S.M:PST
 ‘Old dog did not die’

181) $b^h\grave{i}tra$ $m\ddot{e}t̪$ $a\text{-}is$
 inside NEG come-2S:FUT
 ‘Don’t come inside’

182) era $m\ddot{e}t̪$ $\widehat{t}si\text{-}s$
 it not touch-2S:FUT
 ‘Don’t touch it’

11. Clause Combination

Multi-clause construction is used when more than two events are closely related and a speaker wants to make utterance of the events in more integrated ways. The strategies are varying: Compound verbs and serial verbs can be used for this purpose even in a clause. Adverbial clauses can add to a complete proposition to give various additional informations. Clause chaining is somewhat less integrated construction compared to the previous strategies but can be regarded being much integrated than simple coordination construction. Below, it will discuss how these structural constructions are realized in Bhariati language. We didn't find compound verbs in our data.

11.1 Coordination

Coordinating is a means of linking two clauses of equal grammatical status. It is distinct from subordination. In Bhariati the independent clause can be conjoined by the conjunctions like *ɐr* ‘and’, *bɛno* ‘but’ as illustrated below:

Simple Conjunction

- 183) ho-j tɛma haʈi i-r-aj ɐr kel maŋg-na lɛg-r-aj
 that-EMPH time elephant come-PST-3S CON banana ask-INF AUX-PST-3S:PST
 ‘At that time elephant came and asked a banana’
- 184) purəj k^hɛʈa-ko k^hoɖ-i ɖɪh-əj bano horɛn-ko sona ni mɪl-r-aj
 whole field-ACC dig-LK AUX-3PL CON 3PL-ACC gold not get-PST-3S:PST
 ‘They dug entire field but they didn't get gold’

Disjunction

Disjunction is like conjunction, it is a logical relationship between propositions. Bhariati disjunction is expressed by the question particle *kja* and along with another adverb *p^her* in between two clauses:

- 185) ho rɪŋg-ʈej i-r-aj kja p^her gaʈi se i-r-aj
 3S walk-DUR come-PST-3SG:PST Q agian vehicle from come-PST-3SG:PST

 mɛha-ko pɛʈa ni-h-aj
 1SG-ACC information NEG-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Whether he came by walk or vehicle I don’t know’

11.2 Subordination

A subordinated clause or dependent clause is a clause that cannot stand alone as a complete sentence because it is dependent to its matrix clause and does not express a complete thought. Subordinated clauses can have modifier function as in relative clauses, adverbial function as in adverbial clauses or medial clauses, and can be a clausal argument as in complement clauses.

11.2.1 Serial Verbs

A serial verb construction contains two or more verb roots that are neither compounded nor are members of separate clauses. For ex., the verb *lekea* ‘take-LK-come’ has the meaning of ‘bring’. They use a lot of serial constructions with the verb *ga* ‘go:past’ or *ɖi* ‘give:past’ or *li* ‘take:past’. These serial constructions with motion verbs are on their way to becoming auxiliaries, and the second verb is used as temporal auxiliary. Based on our data we found that the serial constructions are used either in the past tense or in the imperative form with *ɖʒa* ‘go’ and *ɖa* ‘give’ and *la* ‘take’. We couldn’t find that serial constructions in present tense or continuous or future tense.

- 186) moʒa rɪŋg-ʈej rɪŋg-ʈej gir-i gɐ-r-aj
 boy walk-DUT walk-DUT fall-LK AUX:PST-PST-3S
 ‘The boy fell down while walking’
- 187) apun ɐmrahi mɛ beʈ^h-i gɐ-r-ɛn
 1PL garden at sit-LK go-PST-1PL
 ‘We sat down in the garden’
- 188) ho moʒa beʈva-ko le-j-ke ʈʃɛl ɖɪ-h-aj
 DEM boy wallet-ACC take-LK-CP walk AUX-PST-3S:PST
 ‘That boy took the wallet and left’

11.2.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are referring to a clause that functions as an argument of some other clause (it is called matrix clause). In Bhariati object complements occur in the following forms: infinitives and 'that' clause. We found in our data some verbs like want, need, seeing and thinking which introduce an Object complement clause. The object complement clauses occur before the verb of the matrix clause:

189) ho pənka k^ha-na pəsənd kər-ər
 3S roti eat-INF like do-3S:PRE
 ‘She likes to eat roti’

190) ho t̪ʃah-v-ət̪ rəh-r-aj ki horak kətpuʈl-ən mē
 3S want-E-PROG AUX-PST-3S COMP 3S:POSS clay toy-PL in

 bi d̪ʒiv ho-t̪aj
 even life be-?
 ‘He wished that his clay toys had also life’

In the above sentence we can see that Bhariati language have complementizer *ki* for finite clausal arguments.

11.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that serve an 'adverbial' function. They modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. They are not an argument of the clause. Adverbial clauses are carrying additional information to complement the complete clause. In Adverbial clause for Time, location and manner in Bhariati, they use adverb introducing the adverbial clause:

Time

For time adverbials, *d̪ʒəb* 'when'... *t̪əbej* 'then' are used, and both are necessary elements:

191) d̪ʒəb d̪ʒ^had̪ pət̪-h-ɪr t̪əbej moj d̪ʒa-h-ũ
 when rain fall-FUT-3S then 1S go-FUT-1S
 ‘When (it) rains then I will go’

192) d̪ʒəb d̪ines it̪te a-h-ɪr t̪əbej ho k^ha-h-ɪr
 when Dinesh here come-FUT-3S then 3S eat-FUT-3S
 ‘when Dinesh will come that time only he will eat’

Many times, they do not use the temporal adverb *d̪ʒəb* 'when', and they only put two sentences successively in using *t̪əbej* 'then'. With this structure we do not see any temporal Adverbial concept. This structure is using more in spoken way:

Location

For location adverbials, *d̪ʒətt̪a* where ... *hoʈt̪a* there are used, both are necessary elements:

193) d̪ʒətt̪a d̪ines d̪ʒa-h-ɪr hoʈt̪a məhes bi rəh-ɪr
 where Dinesh go-FUT-3S LOC Mahesh also stay-FUT-3S
 ‘Where Dinesh will go Mahesh also will be there’

- 194) $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{e}\widehat{t}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ apun $\widehat{p}\widehat{e}\widehat{d}\widehat{-}\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{i}\widehat{n}$ $\widehat{h}\widehat{u}\widehat{t}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ moj $\widehat{t}\widehat{e}\widehat{h}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{k}\widehat{o}$ $\widehat{m}\widehat{i}\widehat{l}\widehat{-}\widehat{h}\widehat{-}\widehat{u}\widehat{i}$
 where 1PL study-PRE.1PL there 1S 2S-ACC meet-FUT-1S
 ‘I will meet you where we study’

Manner

In Bhariati $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{e}\widehat{v}$ how . . . *hosej* like that is used for Manner adverbials.

- 195) $\widehat{e}\widehat{r}$ masap $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{e}\widehat{v}$ $\widehat{p}\widehat{e}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{v}\widehat{-}\widehat{e}\widehat{r}$ $\widehat{h}\widehat{o}\widehat{s}\widehat{e}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{p}\widehat{e}\widehat{t}\widehat{-}\widehat{h}\widehat{-}\widehat{i}\widehat{s}$
 CON teacher how teach-E-3S same study-FUT-2S:FUT
 ‘And study as teacher taught’

Purpose

In Bhariati $\widehat{-}\widehat{k}$ *laj* for is used for the purpose adverbials.

- 196) $\widehat{m}\widehat{o}\widehat{r}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{g}\widehat{o}\widehat{n}\widehat{d}\widehat{l}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{k}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{e}\widehat{r}\widehat{e}\widehat{d}\widehat{-}\widehat{n}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{k}$ $\widehat{l}\widehat{a}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{h}\widehat{u}\widehat{t}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{b}\widehat{e}\widehat{t}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{-}\widehat{a}\widehat{j}$
 boy onion buy-INF -GEN for there sit-PST.3S
 ‘The boy sat there for buying onions’

- 197) $\widehat{h}\widehat{o}\widehat{r}\widehat{a}\widehat{k}\widehat{o}$ $\widehat{b}\widehat{e}\widehat{t}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{-}\widehat{n}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{k}$ $\widehat{l}\widehat{a}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{k}\widehat{e}\widehat{h}$ $\widehat{d}\widehat{a}$
 3S-ACC sit-INF-GEN for tell give
 ‘Tell him to sit’

Reason

In Bhariati *kajseki* is used for introducing reason adverbials.

- 198) $\widehat{m}\widehat{o}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{i}\widehat{t}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{i}\widehat{-}\widehat{r}\widehat{-}\widehat{\tilde{a}}\widehat{v}$ $\widehat{k}\widehat{a}\widehat{j}\widehat{s}\widehat{e}\widehat{k}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{p}\widehat{o}\widehat{h}\widehat{n}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{i}\widehat{-}\widehat{r}\widehat{-}\widehat{\tilde{a}}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{h}\widehat{o}\widehat{-}\widehat{t}\widehat{\tilde{a}}\widehat{j}$
 1S here come-PST-1S because guest come-PST-3PL AUX-3PL
 ‘I came here because guest came’

- 199) $\widehat{l}\widehat{e}\widehat{b}\widehat{l}\widehat{e}\widehat{b}$ $\widehat{k}\widehat{e}\widehat{r}\widehat{-}\widehat{a}$, $\widehat{k}\widehat{a}\widehat{j}\widehat{s}\widehat{e}\widehat{k}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{m}\widehat{e}\widehat{h}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{k}\widehat{o}$ $\widehat{g}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{e}\widehat{r}\widehat{-}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{n}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{a}\widehat{t}\widehat{j}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{-}\widehat{e}\widehat{r}$
 hurry do-LK because 1S-DAT home-LK go-INF AUX-3S
 ‘Hurry up, because I have to go to home’

Conditional

In Bhariati, the emphatic form $\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ is using for conditional

- 200) $\widehat{t}\widehat{u}$ $\widehat{p}\widehat{e}\widehat{n}\widehat{k}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{b}\widehat{e}\widehat{n}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{i}\widehat{s}$ $\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{m}\widehat{o}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{k}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{h}\widehat{-}\widehat{u}\widehat{i}$
 2S roti make-2S then 1S eat-FUT-1S
 ‘If you prepare roti I will eat’

- 201) $\widehat{p}\widehat{a}\widehat{n}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{g}\widehat{i}\widehat{r}\widehat{-}\widehat{h}\widehat{-}\widehat{i}\widehat{r}$ $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{e}\widehat{b}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{-}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{m}\widehat{o}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{e}\widehat{n}\widehat{g}\widehat{e}\widehat{l}\widehat{-}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{h}\widehat{-}\widehat{u}\widehat{i}$
 water fall-FUT- 3S when-LK 1S forest-LK go-FUT-1S:FUT
 If

Negative conditional

- 202) $\widehat{p}\widehat{a}\widehat{n}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{n}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{g}\widehat{i}\widehat{r}\widehat{-}\widehat{h}\widehat{-}\widehat{i}\widehat{r}$ $\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{a}\widehat{p}\widehat{u}\widehat{n}$ $\widehat{k}^{\widehat{h}}\widehat{e}\widehat{l}\widehat{-}\widehat{b}\widehat{-}\widehat{a}$
 water not fall-FUT-3S then 1PL play-FUT-1PL
 ‘If rain will not come then we will play’

- 203) $\widehat{b}\widehat{i}\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{l}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{n}\widehat{i}$ $\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{n}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{k}$ $\widehat{t}\widehat{a}$ $\widehat{a}\widehat{p}\widehat{u}\widehat{n}$ $\widehat{s}\widehat{o}\widehat{-}\widehat{j}$ $\widehat{d}\widehat{z}\widehat{a}\widehat{-}\widehat{b}\widehat{-}\widehat{a}$
 power not come-INF-GEN then 1PL sleep-LK go-FUT-1PL:FUT

'If power has not come then we will sleep'

Concessive clause

204) ho mēha-ko pēsa dī-h-aj bēno moj samēn ni le
3S 1S-ACC money give-PST-3S:PST but 1S language not take

pa-r-āu

get-PST-1S:PST

'Even though he gave money , I wouldn't take language'

205) moj b^hukra rēh-r-a ho-ṭ-āu bēno moj kam
1S hungry live-PST-LK AUX-PST-1S:PST but 1S work

kər-na-k laj man-i gē-r-āu

do-INF-GEN for agree-LK go-PST-1S:PST

'Though I was hungry I agreed to do work'

In Bhariati most of the adverb clauses are introducing by adding adverbs but most of them are influenced by Hindi. And these all adverbs are occurring before the main verb.

11.2.4 Relative clauses

A Relative clause has the function as a nominal modifier. Based on my data Relative clause is the clause embedded in a NP. In Bhariati only subject and the direct object are relativised. The relative clause precedes the head noun. According to this data, Bhariati uses both Relativizer *d̪e* and relative pronoun *d̪erak* 'whose' or *d̪erako* 'whom' to make relative clause.

The structure with the relativizer *d̪e* is not the same as the structure with the relative pronouns *d̪erak* and *d̪erako*.

206) bihane dipək d̪e kuṭṭa-ko dek^h-r-aj te kuṭṭa
yesterday Deepak REL dog-ACC see-PST-3S DEM dog

mər-i gē-r-aj

die-LK go-PST-3S:PST

'The dog that Deepak saw yesterday died'

Here in the above sentence we can see the Relativizer *d̪e* before the head noun in the Relative clause.

207) d̪erak nam ṭəkən moj ni surṭ-āu, ho-j bajit̪aru-ko
whose name even 1S not remember-1S that-LK woman-ACC

mīl-r-āu

meet-PST-1S:PST

'I met a woman whose name I don't remember'

Here in the above sentence we can see the Relative pronoun *d̪erak* before the head noun in the Relative clause.

208) $\widehat{d}\bar{z}e$ k^holi $m\bar{e}$ hor $ko\bar{t}a-ko$ $\bar{d}^her-r-\bar{a}j$ $ho-t-\bar{a}j$
 which room in 3PL jacket-ACC keep-PST-3PL :PST AUX-PST-3PL:PST

ho $k^holi-ko$ hor ni $sur\bar{t}a-u-\bar{e}\bar{t}$
 that room-ACC 3PL not rememeber-E - 3PL:PRES

‘They don’t remember the room they put jacket’

209) $\widehat{d}\bar{z}erako$ $p\bar{e}ven$ $k\bar{i}\bar{t}ab$ $\bar{d}i-h-a$ $ho-t-\bar{a}j,$ $ho-i$ $bajit\bar{s}aru-ko$
 whom pavan book give-PST-3S AUX-PST-3S:PST that-LK woman-ACC

ho $\widehat{d}\bar{z}an-\bar{e}r$
 3S know-3S:PRES

‘She knows the woman whom Pavan gave a book to’

The Prenominal Relative clause is a clause which occurs before the head. Based on our data we could see some examples:

210) $b\bar{i}hane$ $\bar{d}ipek$ $\widehat{d}\bar{z}e$ $kutt\bar{a}-ko$ $\bar{d}ek^h-r-\bar{a}j$ $\bar{t}e$ $kutt\bar{a}$
 yesterday Deepak REL dog-ACC see-PST-3S:PST DEM dog

$m\bar{e}r-i$ $g\bar{e}-r-\bar{a}j$
 die-LK go-PST-3S:PST

‘The dog that Deepak saw yesterday died’

In the above examples we could see that it looks like Internally headed but it is not, because the head noun *kuttā* ‘dog’ within the relative clause is repeating externally also.

11.2.5 Clause chaining (Medial Clauses)

In clause chaining there are sequences of 'medial clauses' and completed by a 'final clause' as a major discourse structuring device. The final clause verb is inflected for tense or aspect and medial clauses are either non-finite or semi-finite. In the following sentence, three medial clauses are connected with a conjunctive particle *-ke*, and all medial verbs are non-finites. And only the final verb in final clause is fully inflected.

211) moj $med\bar{e}m-a$ se $mill-i-ke$ $man\bar{d}i$ $k\bar{e}r-i-ke$
 1S madam-LK with meet-LK -CP talk do-LK- CP

$g^h\bar{e}r-a$ $a-i-ke$ $pani$ $s\bar{e}p\bar{e}r-\bar{e}\bar{t}^h-\bar{o}$
 house-LK come-SS- CP water bath-PROG-1S:PRES

‘I met madam and talked, came home and took bath’

212) moj $\bar{e}ba$ $pani$ $s\bar{e}p\bar{e}d-i-ke$ $k\bar{e}r\bar{t}a$ $peh\bar{e}r-i-ke$ $p\bar{e}t\bar{t}ja$ $pa\bar{r}-i-ke$
 1S now water bath-LK-CP cloth wear-LK-CP hair comb-LK-CP

$t\bar{u}r\bar{t}e\bar{j}$ $\widehat{d}\bar{z}a-h-\bar{u}$
 hurry go-FUT-1S:FUT

‘I will take bath now, wear clothes, comb the hair and go soon’

Conclusion

This Grammar write-up of Bhariati language has been made possible with the help of many people. Our main purpose for this grammar analysis is to develop Bhariati language value among the Bharia people. It can give the general idea of Bhariati grammar structure. And it will be helpful for developing Bhariati literature. While doing this grammar we felt that, Bhariati has mostly influenced by Hindi, though it is classified as a Dravidian language but now it is almost considered as Indo-Aryan. Many characteristic morphosyntactic features of this language were clearly sketched in this paper. Among the topics which we were dealt and observed within this paper some were very interesting and some were very difficult to find out. Based on the analysis we understood that it is a synthetic language which has typical SOV structures. Bhariati is a verb final language which looks like agglutinative in nature but moreover it looks like semi-fusional because of the subject agreements which keep the temporal meaning as well. After the analysis we found out that this language follows the Nominative-Accusative case system. The interesting topics which we found were copulas in non-verbal clauses. These seem to be very arguable, because the copula usage will be changed according to the tense and subject agreement. And another interesting feature is that the verb and verb phrase. Especially, in Bhariati the usage of auxiliaries is very interesting topic.

There are a few outstanding issues that require further attention. First of all, we have tentatively analyzed some markers as linkers or epenthesis but these all deserve further consideration. Secondly, we have noted some phonological assimilations which we could not figure it out however, further research is required to determine what factors are responsible for these sound variations. Finally, our study has focused on determining the morphosyntactic questions in Bhariati. We have not investigated other aspects of discourse based on different kinds of texts. We leave these all for our further research.

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Sample Text:

mətti-k kətpuṭlan – (Clay Sculptures) Story

anəṇḍ nam-a-k moṛa ko mətti-k kətpuṭla bəna-na beḍḍa
anand name-E-GEN boy ACC clay-GEN sculpture make- very

ətʃ^ha ləg¹-ət rəh-r-aj
good seem-PST.PROG AUX-PST-3S
'Anand liked so much to make clay toys'

tʃ^huṭti-k ek ḍim-a ho ek tʃ^huṭa tʃ^heru mē pani lī-h-aj
holiday-GEN one day-LK 3Sg one NMKR mug in water take-PST-3Sg
'One holiday he took one mug of water'

hora-k g^her-a-k aṅgu ek tʃ^huṭa ḍḍeg^ha mē gəḍḍa k^hoḍ-na
3S-POSS house-E-GEN shirt one NMKR infront on land dig-INF

ləg-r-aj
AUX:PST-PST-3S:PST
'Infront of his house they dug a pit '

ho ətʃ^ha se mətti mē pani mīla-r-aj
3S good with clay in water mix-PST-3S:PST
'He mixed water and clay proportion equally'

er b^hinḍḍri mətti se ho kətpuṭla bəna-na ləg-r-aj ṭa
and wet clay with 3S sculpture make-INF AUX:PST-PST-3S:PST then

hor hor-er-ke ḍoḍḍar-nə-k g^hek ḍik^h-ət rah-r-āj
3PL 3S-EMPH-CP friends-INF-GEN like look-PST.PROG AUX-PST-3PL
'And he started to make clay sculpture with wet caly and those clay sculpture was looking 'like his friends

hora-k purəj kətpuṭl-ən - ko ḍ^hijan-a se ḍek^h-r-aj er ja
3S-POSS all sculpture-PL ACC focus-LK with look-PST-3S:PST and then

nīmaṭ-na ləg-r-aj ki er-an mē se mora mən¹-a-k kəhra
try-INF AUX-PST-3S:PST CP these-PL on from 1S:POSS wish-INF-GEN

atʃ^h-er
AUX-3S:PRES
'He looked each clay sculpture carefully and tried to choose which one is best for him'

bəno aḍ^he-k kətpuṭla nəhun səbun se əlgej rəh-r-āj
but half-GEN sculpture PL all from different AUX-PST-3PL:PST
'But half of clay sculptures were different from others'

bəno hora-ko ləg-r-aj ki purəj kətpuṭla nəhun nəkli-nəkli-kej atʃ^h-ət
but 3S-ACC AUX-PST-3S:PST CP all sculpture PL best-best AUX-PROG

kajseki ho hor-nə-k bəna-n vara rəh-ra ho-ṭ-aj
because 3S 3PL-INF-GEN make-3PL NOML AUX-PST- AUX-PST-3S : PST
'But he felt that all clay sculptures were best because he was the one who created all those'

ho ketʃʰu ʃem ʃekən hor-nə-k sɛŋga kʰel-t-ɛj rəh-r-aj bəno
 3S some time untill 3PL-INF-GEN with play-PST-EMPH AUX-PST-3S:PST but

ketʃʰu ʃem-a-k baɖʰa mɛ horak mən¹-a-k ni lɛg-r-aj
 some time-E-GEN after at 3S:POSS please-E-GEN NEG AUX-PST-3S:PST
 ‘He had been played sometime with them but after some time he unpleased

ɐr ho ɡɔssa ho-j ɡɐ-r-aj
 and 3S angry become-LK go-PST-3S:PST
 ‘And he became angry’

hor nɛhun kojʰi horak sɛŋga maŋɖi ni kɐr
 3PL PL anyone 3S:POSS with talk NEG do

pa-v-ɐʃ rəh-r-əj
 able-E-PROG AUX-PST-3PL
 ‘None of them were able to talk with him’

na ɖekʰ-i sɛk¹-ɐʃ rəh-r-əj na sun-i sɛk¹-ɐʃ
 NEG look-LK be.able-PROG AUX-PST-3PL neither listen-LK be.able-PROG

rəh-r-əj ɐr na rɪŋg-i sɛk¹-ɐʃ rəh-r-əj
 AUX-PST-3PL CON neither walk-LK be.able-PROG AUX-PST-3PL
 ‘neither speak, listen and walk with him’

ho ʃah-v-ɐʃ rəh-r-aj ki horak kɛʃpʊʃlɛ-n
 3S want-E-PROG AUX-PST-3S:PST COMP 3S:POSS sculpture-PL

mɛ bʰi ɖʒiv ho-t-aj
 in also life become-PST-3S
 ‘He wanted that his scultures also have life’

sonak unhari- Gold field-story

ek kisan-a-k ɖo ʃʰija moʃa rəh-r-əj
 one farmer-E-GEN two NUM:MKR son/boy COP-PST-3PL
 ‘A farmer had two sons’

hornɛk nam ɖines ɐr mɛhes rəh-r-aj
 3PL:POSS name Dinesh CON Mahesh COP-PST-3S
 ‘Their names were Dinesh and Mahesh’

hor ɖoj ɖʒʰene ɐlal rəh-r-əj
 3PL both people lazy COP-PST-3PL
 ‘They both were lazy’

ek ɖina ho kisan hor ɖoj moʃɛ-n-ko buʃa-j ke kɛh-r-aj
 one day DEM farmer 3PL both boy-PL-ACC call-LK CP say-PST-3S
 ‘One day that farmer called both of them and said,’

ɐb moj sɪjana ho-j ɡɐ-r-əv
 now 1S old become-LK go-PST-1S

‘Now I became old’

əb ʈumhẽ k^het̚-a-k ɖek^hrek^h kər-h-i,
now 2PL field-E-GEN care do-IRR-IMP
‘now you take care of the field’

er k^het̚-a mẽ ʈumhẽ ɖ̃ʒɪ̃na k^hoɖ^h-i hoʈnəj ʈumrən-ko
DEM field-LK in 2PL howmuch dig-LK that much 2PL-ACC

sona pa-h-i
gold get-IRR-IMP

‘how much you dig out in this land that much you may get gold’

purəj k^het̚-a-ko k^hoɖ-i ɖɪ-h-əj bano horən-ko sona
all field-E-ACC dig-LK give-PST-3PL CON 3PL-ACC gold

ni mɪl-r-aj
NEG get-PST-3S:PST

‘They dug entire field but they didn’t get gold’

hor ɖoj ɖ̃ʒ^hene ɖ̃ʒa-j-ke hornə-k ɖəɖa se kəh-r-əj
3PL both people go-LK-CP 3PL-GEN father with say-PST

‘They both went and said to their father’

əb ʈumhẽ ɖoj ɖ̃ʒ^hene k^het̚-a mẽ gəhũ-k bɪɖ̃ʒɪ̃na boj-i ɖa-ha
now 2PL both people field-LK in wheat-GEN seed sow-Lk give-PL:IMP

‘now you both people sown the seeds in field’

hor moɖa nəhun gəhũ-k bɪɖ̃ʒɪ̃na-ko boj ɖɪ-h-əj
3PL boy PL wheat-GEN seed-ACC sow give-PST-3PL

‘Those both sons sowed wheat seeds’

əb gəhũ uɖ-i gə-r-i
now wheat raise-LK go:PST-PST-3S:F

‘now wheat ripened’

er uɖ^h-i-ke ləhra-na ləg-r-i
CON raise-LK-CP wave-INF AUX-PST-3S:F

‘And it started to wave’

əb gəhũ paki gə-r-i k^het̚-a mẽ ɖ̃ʒa-j-ke hor moɖa
now wheat ripe go:PST-PST-3S:F:PST field-LK in go:PRE-LK-CP 3PL boy

nəhun kaʈ-na ləg-r-əj
PL cut-INF AUX-PST-3PL:PST

‘Now wheat was ripened and those both sons went for going to cut’

hor p^her ho gəhũ-k bɪɖ̃ʒɪ̃na-ko nɪkal-i ke bəɖ̃ʒar-a
3PL leg that wheat-GEN seed-ACC leave-LK CP market-Lk

mẽ beʈ^h-i ɖɪ-h-əj
in sit- LK give-PST-3PL:PST

‘They took wheat seeds and sold in market’

ho pesa se sona kærəð lɪ-h-i sɛmɛdʒ dʒa-h-i ki sona
 that money with gold buy take-PST-3S:F understand go-PST-3S:F CP gold

mil-i gɛ-r-aj
 meet-LK AUX-PST-3S:PST

‘with that money you bought gold and think that you got gold’

tʃʰavnɛk gijan – Children’s knowledge

ek dɪna sunil nam-ak iskul pɛɾɛn vɛra moɾa eklɛj iskul dʒa-t
 one day sunil name-POSS school study NOML boy alone school go-PROG

rɛh-r-aj
 AUX-PST-3S:PST

‘One day the boy called sunil was going to school alone’

ho roɾa mɛ gi-r-i gɔra-r-a ek tʰɔla bɛɾva dɛkʰ-r-aj
 3S road on fall-PST-3S:F fall-PST-3S:M one NUM:MKR wallet look-PST-3S:PST

‘That boy saw a wallet which was fallen on the road’

ho hora-ko uɾʰa-r-aj ɛr uɾʰaɾ-I ke dɛkʰ-r-aj ɾa hora-k
 3S 3S:DIST-ACC lift-PST-3S:PST and pickup-LK CP look-PST-3S:PST then 3S-GEN

bʰɪɾa gelle bʰɛrik noɾ ɛr kʰɔɾɔ rɛh-r-a ho-t-aj
 inside lot of many money and coins AUX-PST-3S:M:PST AUX-PST-3S:PST

‘He took up the wallet and he saw in side lot of notes and coins’

ho tɛnnɛk tɛm tɛkɛn sɔtʃ-r-aj ɛr pʰɛr bɛɾva ho kʰɔɾ-ɛj
 3S some time till think-PST-3S:PST and again wallet 3S self-EMPH

dʰɛr lɪ-h-aj
 keep AUX-PST-3S:PST

‘He saw some time that wallet and then he kept in his own pocket’

ɾa tɪɾt-ɛj ho hora-k masap-a-k maɳɔi sɔɾɾa-r-aj,
 then immediately 3S 3S-GEN master-LK-GEN bath remember-PST-3S:PST

imaɳɔari se rɛh-a, ɾa pɛnmesri bi tɪmri sɛɳga rɛh-ɪr
 honesty by stay-LK then God also 2S:POSS with AUX-FUT:3S:FUT

‘then he suddenly remembered his teacher’s words, be honest then God also be with you’

hora-k mɛn kɛh-ɛt rɛh-r-aj ki ho bɛɾva-ko bapɪs kɛr dɛ-na
 3S:POSS heart say-PROG stay-PST-3S:PST CP 3S wallet-ACC return do give-INF

tʃɛjhɛ
 should

‘His heart was asking that he should return the wallet’

kja tɪmhe ɛsa sɔtʃ-i sɛk-atʃʰ-a ho kja kɛr-r-a ho-h-ɪr!
 QP 2PL like this think-LK can-PROG-2PL:PRES 3S QP do-PST-M:PST AUX-FUT-3S

‘Are you thinking like that, will you do like that?’

an̄gu horak d̄z̄evab-a-k laj ruk-i d̄za-ha
 later 3S:POSS answer-LK-GEN for wait-LK go-IMP:PL
 ‘later you wait for his answer’

h̄ev ho horak m̄en-a-k baṭa-ko man-raj
 yes 3S 3S:PPOSS heart-E-GEN say-ACC wish-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Yes, he accepted his heart’s wish’

ho n̄irnej l̄i-h-aj ki p̄enmesri horak s̄enga r̄eh-r-aj ɐr
 3S decision take-PST-3S:PST CP God 3S:POSS with stay-PST-3S:PST and

hora-ko an̄g^hu-k baṭa d̄ik^ha-r-aj
 3S-ACC shirt-GEN way show-PST-3S:PST
 ‘He took decision that god is with him and god is showing the way before him’

hora-k m̄ndri m̄ẽ ɐt̄^ha kam-a-k m̄en l̄eg-r-aj
 3S:POSS heart in good work-E-GEN like put-PST-3S:PST

ɐr ho n̄irnej le l̄i-h-aj
 and 3S decision take AUX-PST-3S:PST
 ‘In his heart he felt good and took decision’

t̄um̄er̄en-ko p̄eṭa at̄^h-ɐr ho kja n̄irnej l̄i-h-aj?
 2PL-ACC know AUX-3S 3S:DIST what decision take-PST-3S
 ‘Do you know what decision he took?’

sunil ho b̄eṭva-ko masap-ko de-d̄i-h-aj ki
 Sunil DEM:DIST wallet-ACC teacher-ACC give-give:PST-3S COMP

ja b̄eṭva baṭa m̄ẽ mil-r-aj
 DEM:PROX wallet way in got-PST-3S:PST
 ‘Sunil gave that wallet to teacher which he got on the way’

masap pulis-a-k m̄ed̄eṭ le-ke p̄eṭa l̄ega-r-aj ki b̄eṭva
 teacher police-E-GEN help take-CP inquire put- PST-3S COMP wallet

kakra r̄eh-r-aj
 whose COP-PST-3S
 ‘With the help of police teacher inquired that whose wallet was this’

ɐr d̄z̄erak b̄eṭva r̄eh-r-a hora-ko de d̄i-h-aj
 CON REL:PRO wallet COP-PST-3S 3S-ACC give give:PST-PST-3S
 ‘And he gave to whose wallet was’

ho b̄eṭva vara pur̄aj iskul-a-k an̄g^hu ɐt̄^ht̄^ha k̄eh-r-ãj
 DEM wallet NOML all school-E-GEN before good say-PST-3PL
 ‘That wallet person said good in front of all’

pur̄aj ɐd̄mi-n-ko p̄enmesri ḡjan d̄i-h-a at̄^h-ɐr
 all man-PL-ACC god wisdom give-E-3S AUX-3S:PRE
 ‘May God give wisdom to all men’