A Write-up of Bhariati Grammar

Pavan Kumar and G.V. Grace

ILL

4/7/2017
A WRITE-UP OF BHARIATI GRAMMAR

PAVAN KUMAR &
G.V.GRACE

MARCH 2017

ILL
DEHRADUN
# Table of Contents

Abbreviations ........................................................................................................... VII

1.  Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1
   1.1  Name of the Language ..................................................................................... 1
   1.2  Previous Research .......................................................................................... 1
   1.3  Demography .................................................................................................... 1
   1.4  Literary traditions .......................................................................................... 2
   1.5  Dialects ........................................................................................................... 2
   1.6  Sociolinguistic situation .................................................................................. 2
   1.7  Method for Analysis ....................................................................................... 3
   1.8  Acknowledgments .......................................................................................... 3

2.  Phonology ............................................................................................................ 4
   2.1  Vowels .......................................................................................................... 4
   2.2  Consonants .................................................................................................... 4
   2.3  Syllable Structure: ......................................................................................... 5
   2.4  Word Structure ............................................................................................. 5
   2.5  Orthography ................................................................................................... 6
      2.5.1  Vowels ..................................................................................................... 6
      2.5.2  Consonants ............................................................................................. 6

3.  Morphological Typology ....................................................................................... 7

4.  Basic Clause structure ......................................................................................... 7
   4.1  Clause types: .................................................................................................. 7
   4.2  Constituent order typology ............................................................................ 8
      4.2.1  Main Clause (APV) .................................................................................. 8
      4.2.2  Verb phrase ............................................................................................. 9
      4.2.3  Noun Phrase ........................................................................................... 9
      4.2.4  Adpositional Phrases (N-Postposition) .................................................... 10
      4.2.5  Comparatives .......................................................................................... 10
      4.2.6  Question Particles (Clause-final) ............................................................. 11
      4.2.7  Question Words ...................................................................................... 11

5.  Noun and Noun Phrases ..................................................................................... 11
   5.1  Compounding ................................................................................................ 11
   5.2  Denominalization ......................................................................................... 12
   5.3  Determiners ................................................................................................... 12
   5.4  Quantifier and Number ................................................................................. 12
5.4.1 Number ............................................................................................................... 12
5.4.2 Quantifiers ......................................................................................................... 13
5.5 Numeral and Gender ............................................................................................ 13
5.5.1 Numerals ........................................................................................................... 13
5.5.2 Gender ............................................................................................................... 13
5.6 Possessor ............................................................................................................... 14
5.7 Case ...................................................................................................................... 14
5.8 Pronouns ............................................................................................................... 15
5.8.1 Personal Pronouns ............................................................................................ 15
5.8.1 Possessive Pronouns ......................................................................................... 15
5.8.2 Distal and Proximal Pronouns ......................................................................... 16
6. Verb and Verb Phrases ......................................................................................... 17
6.1 Nominalization ..................................................................................................... 17
6.2 Compounding (including incorporation) ............................................................... 17
6.3 Tense .................................................................................................................... 17
6.4 Aspect .................................................................................................................. 18
6.5 Mood and Modality ............................................................................................. 20
6.5.1 Mood ............................................................................................................... 20
6.5.2 Modality .......................................................................................................... 21
6.6 Participant references (Verb agreements) ............................................................. 23
7. Non-verbal Predicates ............................................................................................ 23
7.1 Predicate Nominal ................................................................................................. 24
7.2 Predicate adjectives ............................................................................................. 25
7.3 EPL (Existential, Possessive and Locational Constructions) .............................. 25
7.3.1 Existential Clauses .......................................................................................... 25
7.3.2 Locational Clauses ........................................................................................ 26
7.3.3 Possessive Clauses ......................................................................................... 26
8. Grammatical relations .......................................................................................... 27
8.1 Case System ......................................................................................................... 28
8.1.1 Nominative- Accusative ............................................................................... 28
9. Voice and Valence ................................................................................................. 30
9.1 Valence increasing operations ............................................................................. 30
9.1.1 Causative ......................................................................................................... 30
9.1.2 Dative shift ..................................................................................................... 31
9.2 Valence decreasing operations .......................................................................... 31
9.2.1 Passive ................................................................. 31
9.2.2 Reflexive ............................................................. 32
9.2.3 Reciprocal ............................................................ 33
9.2.4 Middle ................................................................. 33
9.2.5 Object omission ..................................................... 33
9.2.6 Object Incorporation ............................................... 34
10. Sentence Types ............................................................ 34
10.1 Statement ................................................................ 34
10.2 Question ................................................................. 34
10.2.1 Yes-no question ................................................... 34
10.2.2 Content question .................................................. 35
10.3 Command (Imperatives) ............................................. 36
10.4 Negation .................................................................. 37
11. Clause Combination .................................................... 37
11.1 Coordination ............................................................ 37
11.2 Subordination .......................................................... 38
11.2.1 Serial Verbs .......................................................... 38
11.2.2 Complement clauses ............................................. 39
11.2.3 Adverbial clauses .................................................. 39
11.2.4 Relative clauses .................................................... 41
11.2.5 Clause chaining (Medial Clauses) ............................ 42
Conclusion ....................................................................... 43
References ...................................................................... 44

LIST OF TABLES
Table 1Bhariati Vowel Chart .............................................. 4
Table 2Bhariati Consonants Chart ........................................ 5
Table 3Bhariati Orthography Vowels .................................... 6
Table 4Bhariati Orthography Consonants ............................... 6
Table 5 Bharati Pronouns Chart .......................................... 16
Table 6 Bharati Verb Agreement Chart .................................. 23
Table 7 Non Past/Imperf (prog) ASP chart ............................ 29
Table 8 Past/Perfective ASP chart ........................................ 29
Table 9 Bharati question words ........................................... 35
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>most agent-like argument of a multi-argument clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR</td>
<td>agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>case marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>epenthetic morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXIST</td>
<td>existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>Linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MKR</td>
<td>marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOML</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>relativized noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM:MKR</td>
<td>numeral marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ2</td>
<td>secondary object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>least agent-like argument of a multi-argument clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAS</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>post-position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRE</td>
<td>present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAN</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.CL</td>
<td>relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>only argument of a single-argument clause (subject), sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>same subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>tense, aspect, mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Introduction

The Bharia people are mainly living in Madhay 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 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 Devanagri 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).
1.4 Literary traditions

Bhariati language has lots 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 Patalkot 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: drējəl ‘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.

We are so grateful to Wycliffe India for the support they have given to us since the beginning of this project. Without their help this study would not have been possible. We
acknowledge the contributin of the Institute of Languages which provided us with a platform to
do this grammar write-up efficiently.

We are extremely thankful to Dr. Kim HaeKyung for her valuable guidance and consultancy in writing this paper. We also thank Mr. Binaya and Mrs. Ritty Cherian for helping us in the write-up. We are grateful to Mr. Bibin Cherian, Mr. Terrance Brown who trained us the FLEX and for the technical support. We are also thankful to Mr. Alexander Matthew and Mr. Dhanunjay for their encouraging. We are also thankful to our parents and other prayer partners who prayed for us and withstood us in entire journey of language analysis.

Above all we are thankful to our Lord Jesus Christ for His abundant grace by which we could be able to do the grammar write-up of Bhariati.

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 ĩ, ē, ā, ō, ū respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>ẽ</td>
<td>ẽ</td>
<td>ẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasalization</td>
<td>ĩ e a u ō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1Bhariati Vowel Chart

2.2 Consonants
In Bhariati consonant phonemes are 29 in number. There are bilabial voice less and voiced stops, Denti-alveolar voice less and voiced stops, retroflex voice less and voiced stops, palatal voice less and voiced stops, velar voice less and voiced stops, alveolar fricatives, nasals, glotals, literals, trills, flaps and approximants.
### Table 2Bhariati Consonants Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabials</th>
<th>Denti-Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glotal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vl.</td>
<td>p pʰ</td>
<td>t̪ tʰ</td>
<td>t̪ tʰ</td>
<td>t̪ tʰ</td>
<td>k kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>b bʰ</td>
<td>d̪ dʰ</td>
<td>d̪ dʰ</td>
<td>d̪ dʰ</td>
<td>g gʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Laterals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flaps</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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

| aɽ | ‘supportive thing’ |
| kʰa | ‘eat’ |

Disyllabic word

| gr.tʃi | ‘neck’ |
| tʃr.ua | ‘foot’ |
| tʃum.dʃi | ‘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

| ǝ | अ |
| a | आ |
| i | ई |
| e | ए |
| u | ऊ |
| o | ओ |
| ǝ | अं |

Table 3 Bhariati Orthography Vowels

2.5.2 Consonants

| k | क | kʰ | क | ख | ग | घ | घ | फ | फ |
| tʃʰ | छ | dʒ | ज | झ | ॠ | ॠ | ॠ | ॠ | ॠ |
| d | ड | dʒ | ढ | ण | त | ॠ | ॠ | ॠ | ॠ |
| dʒʰ | ध | n | n | न | प | pʰ | प | पʰ | पʰ |
| bʰ | भ | m | म | j | य | र | र | र | र |
| ǝ | व | S | स | h | ह | ॠ | ॠ | ॠ | ॠ |

Table 4 Bhariati 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 Bharaiti. 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 Bharaiti 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 Bharaiti is not much dominantly fusional but moreover its 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) ḏj̪ o̱j̪ d̪ j̪une d̪nd̪a ʊd̪̥a-r-aj̪ a̱t̪̥-et̪
   two person stick lift-up-PST-3PL AUX-3PL:PRE
   ‘Both of them were ready to beat together with stick’

2) ho m̪u̱ha-k̪o q̪ə̱k̪o̱l̪-r-aj̪
   3S 1S-ACC push-PAST-3S.M:PST
   ‘He pushed me’

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

3) ŧu d̪̥a-b̪a̱j̪̥i b̪ud̪̥i̱li g̪u-r-e a̱t̪̥-et̪
   2S lot change go-PST-2S AUX-2S:PRE
   ‘You have changed a lot’

4) ja b̪aj̪̥i-t̪aru ɔnd̪i-ɔnd̪i g̪a̱t̪ ɔn̪ud̪-r-ʊn̪-t̪ur
   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 Bharaiti. 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 Bharati, the verb agrees with the person and number of subject.
5) kū́tʰa bʰuk-ʊtʃʰ-tr
dog bark-PROG-3S:PRE
‘Dog is barking’

6) pani ukla-ʊtʃ-ʊt
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 ʊtleg-ɛj ʊtleg ni kər-na ʊtʃəh-ʊtʃ reh-r-əj
3Pl money-ACC separate-EMPH separate not do-INF want-E-PROG AUX-PST-3PL:PRE
‘They were not ready to separate their money’

8) ram ama-ko katɾ-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) tʃəva məhon tʃəkku se am-a-ko katɾ-r-aj
child PL knife with mango-Lk-ACC cut-PST-3PL:PST
‘The Children cut the mango with a knife’

10) bəu məha-ko mətʰaj də-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) drajələ teksi tʃəjelə-ʊtʃ-ʊt
driver taxi drive-E-PROG-3S:PRE
‘Driver is driving taxi’
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 at\(\mathrm{f}\) and \(\mathrm{r}\)th acts same as auxiliaries in present and past tenses.

13) \[\text{meha-ko } \text{ad}_3 \] \[\text{kam ni } \text{kər-na} \] \[\text{aʃ}-\text{ər} \]
\[ \text{1S-ACC today work not do-INF AUX-3S:PRE} \]
‘Today I don’t want to do work’

14) \[\text{ho } \text{lebleb } \text{rəŋg suk-ət} \] \[\text{rəh-r-aj} \]
\[ \text{3S:DIST fastly walk can-PROG AUX-PST-3S:PRE} \]
‘He used to walk fastly’

15) \[\text{ja } \text{tʃa} \] \[\text{se } \text{bed}_3 \] \[\text{pjar kər-ət} \] \[\text{rəh-r-aj} \]
\[ \text{DET one boy with very love do-PROG AUX-PST-3S:PST} \]
‘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) \[\text{ja } \text{məretʃaru } \text{doj pəv sərka kər-i-ke} \] \[\text{bet}-\text{ət}_3-\text{ər} \]
\[ \text{This man two legs straight do-LK-CP sit-PROG-3S:PRE} \]
‘This man is sittiing in the position of spread out his legs strightly’

17) \[\text{ho } \text{tʃa } \text{p}_\text{h} \] \[\text{a-ət}_3-\text{ər} \]
\[ \text{3S here again come-E-PROG-3S:PRE} \]
‘He is coming again’

4.2.3 Noun Phrase

Genitive and Head Noun (G-N)

Genitive always precede the head noun.

18) \[\text{ama-} \] \[\text{d}_3 \] \[\text{p}^{\text{h}} \] \[\text{p}^{\text{h}} \] \[\text{leq-r-aj} \]
\[ \text{mango-GEN tree flower blossom-INF seem-PST-3S:PST} \]
‘Mango flowers are blossomed’

19) \[\text{ja } \text{aʃmi-} \] \[\text{tʃa} \] \[\text{hər-ej} \] \[\text{g}^{\text{h}} \] \[\text{aʃ}-\text{ər} \]
\[ \text{this man-GEN shadow 3S-EMPH same AUX-3S} \]
‘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) țo  hıkçaɾa  dọkra  aɾ럴-

2SG  thin  man  AUX-3S:PRE

‘You are a thin man’

21) ɛk  ʈʰʊla  uɾʊmi  dọŋga  ʈʰʊla-u-ɾIntl-

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) ɖʒe  moɾa  hʊʈta  ʈʰaɖa  aɾcorreo-ɾ-

REL  boy  there  stand  AUX-3S  3S 1S:POSS  brother  AUX-3S

‘The boy who stand there is my brother’

23) bɪhane  moɾa  ɖʒe  kʊʈta  ko  ɖeɾkʰ-r-aj  ðe  kʊʈta

yesterday  boy  REL  dog  ACC  see-PST-3S  DEM  dog

mɾ-i  ge-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) ɖʒaɾɾ  hʉua  mɛ  ɖol-ɾϢ-

tree  wind  in  move-PROG-3S:PRE

‘Tree is moving in air’

25) țu  ɡatlɐva  se  kap-ɾϢ-

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 Mk and adjective followes them as we can see below example.

26) ram  mohn-a  se  ɖʒbɛʈtsa  aɾと言って-

Ram  Mohan-LK  than  short  COP-3S:PRE

‘Ram is shorter than Mohan’
27) horak pehla moṣa ḍūsra moṣa se lēmma əṭh̩-ṭr
   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 *kja* is used for asking yes/no questions. *kja* is originally the
question word of the meaning ‘what’, and we noticed this is used as a question particle as well.

28) kja  ṭu  kisan  aj
   Q  2S  farmer COP:PRE
   ‘Are you farmer?’

29) kja  ho  so-j  go-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 *kja* ‘what’ and *kJaɾe* ‘where’ is located in the position of object. we will see more
clearly question words in the section (10.2).

30) moj  kja  kəɾ-ᵢtʃ-ᵢ-ô?
   1S  what  do-PROG-1S:PRE
   ‘What am I doing?’

31) hemə  kʃaɾe  ɗa-bının?
   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) ɗuḍa-buw
   father-mother
   ‘Parents’

33) ɗaɾ-ɗəɾuka
   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 d̪aṛ-a-k oprə ʈ̪aṛ-ʈ̪ər
DET boy tree-PL-GEN upon climb-PROG-3S:PST
‘This boy is climbing on the trees’

35) ho ʈ̪a və pəna se ho d̪aṛ-a-k _GATE a-vət reh-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 nəhən prəṭəna kəɾ-vət
these boy PL prayer do-3PL:PST
‘These boys pray’

37) hor də-i ᵭa-təne vələl reh-r-əʃ
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 -ᵣ and/or nəhən. -n is a suffix and nəhən is a particle coming just after noun, as we can see in the below examples:

38) kət̪ə ᵭa-və nəhən rəŋg vəra kəgət-a ko ləga-v-ət reh-r-əʃ
some child PL color NOML paper-LK ACC put-E–PRO AUX-PST-3PL
‘Some children were arranging colorful papers’
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 têla-a me gelle pani aifter
   this pond-LK in lot.of water COP-3S:PRE
   ‘In this pond lot of water is there’

41) ho tennak tem tekken solifter
   3S little time till think-PST-3S:M
   ‘He thought for little time’

42) kettha tiava nhon pûggên ko pûla-v-êt reh-r-sîj
    some child PL baloon-PL ACC blow- E-PROG AUX-PST-3PL
    ‘Some children blowing ballon’

43) pani me redhatvri kumla-k pûtha aifter
    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, ñ, ñin, ñar….etc, and ordinal numbers are like: pêla, qûsa, ñsra ….etc. Along with cardinal numbers they use some special particles tûla and tûja 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 tûla beṭva dekhr-aj
    3S one NUM:MKR wallet see-PST-3S:M
    ‘He saw one wallet’

45) horako ño tûla moña nhun reh-r-sîj
    2S:ACC two NUM:MKR boy PL COP-PST-3PL
    ‘He had two sons’

46) ño tûjâ moña nhun reh-r-sîj
    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) moɾi dʕelʕka mē pani bʰer-Unmounter
   girl utensil in water fill-PROG-3S-PST
   ‘A girl is filling water in Utensil’

48) vb gthũ ug-i ge-r-i
    now wheat(F) rise-LK go-PST-3S-F
    ‘Now wheat grew up’

49) mori gnjja ɬeŋkær-i aMounter
    1S:POSS:F cow(F) thin-F COP-3S-PST
    ‘My cow is very thin’

50) ho moɾa bɛɾa ɛkɛm ho-j ge-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 ʊdʒ̥akə se gʰer bʰer-i ge-r-aj
    3S:POSS light with house full-LK go-PST-3S
    ‘House has filled with his light’

52) gthũ-k ɓidʒ̥a ɓo-i dʃi-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 Bharaiiti 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 –e. as in (53) and (54).

53) ho ɗBMI dʃʕar-a-k peɖʰ-a kɐt lʔ-h-aj
    that man tree-E-GEN stem-LK cut take-PST-3S
    ‘That man cut the tree’s stem’
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 an refers to a group which includes both the speaker and the hearer. A first person exclusive pronoun hme refers to a group which includes the speaker but excludes the hearer. Bhariati makes a clear distinction between singular and plural pronouns.

55) ho hna-ta-tr
3S laugh-PROG-3S:PRE
‘He is laughing’

56) dines hemer-un-ko beda-ta-tr
Dinesh 1PL:EXCL-PL-ACC send-PROG-3S:PRE
‘Dinesh is sending us’

57) tu g^tr d3a-int
2S house go-PRE.PROG-2S
‘You are going to house’

58) tumhe phugga phul-aj stak-atph-a
2PL ballon blow-3Scan-AUX-2PL
‘You (PL.) can blow ballons?’

59) apon stakale sidoli ni d3a-d3in
1PL:INCL tomorrow sidholi not go-1PL:FUT
‘We will not go to Sidholi tommorow’

60) hor epenen-ko beda-r-aj
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 p̩ra, p̩re. This concept we could identify only when possessive pronouns are followed by objects.
61) horak pet pe di əkən aʧ-ər
3S:POSS stomach big as COP-3S:PRES
‗His stomach is very big‘

62) mori bʰat(F) ho-n-ur-i aʧ-ər
1S:POSS marriage become-NOML-F AUX-3S:PRES
‗My marriage is going to happen‘

63) hornək nam dines tər mahes rəh-r-aj
3PL:POSS name Dinesh and Mahesh AUX-PST-3S:PST
‗Their names were Dinesh and Mahesh‘

64) dines ḏora bʰtja 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 pɾa_litna kəɾ-əɾ^b-əɾ
3PL:PROX prayer do-PROG-3PL:PRES
‗They are praying‘

66) ja dʊdəka ɾəu-rən ko bτja-r-i
3S:PROX twins children-PL ACC birth-PAST-3S:F
‗She gave birth to twins‘

67) hor kam kəɾ-əɾ^b-əɾ
3PL:DIST work do-PROG-3PL:PRES
‗They are doing work‘

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>S/A</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE/ POSSESSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>moj</td>
<td>meha-ko</td>
<td>mora mori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>teha-ko</td>
<td>ḏora ḏori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Proximal</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>era-ko</td>
<td>erak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Distal</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>hora-ko</td>
<td>horak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Incl</td>
<td>apən</td>
<td>epenen-ko</td>
<td>epna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Excl</td>
<td>hemə</td>
<td>hemeren-ko</td>
<td>hemra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>təməhə</td>
<td>təmeren-ko</td>
<td>təmra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Proximal</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>eren-ko</td>
<td>ernek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Distal</td>
<td>hor</td>
<td>horen-ko</td>
<td>hornek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Bharati 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 var-a 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) Ḟar-a-n var-a
   sweep-INF NOML:Agt-M
   ‘Sweeper(m.)’

70) keleva bna-n-var-i
   food make-INF-NOM:Agt-F
   ‘Cook(f.)’

71) gas kapt-n var-i mesn
   grass cut-INF NOM-NOML:Inst machine
   ‘grass cutter’

6.2 Compounding (including incorporation)

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

72) ho bedʒa manti kət-mjualan
   3S much talk do-PROG-3S:PRES
   ‘He is talking too much’

73) apun bhaʁ man 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, -h, -d̪ and -t. But for future tense they are marking with -h, 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 Bharati, 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 mtha-ko ḏekəl-r-aj
   3S 1S-ACC push-PAST-3S:M:PAST
   ‘He pushed me’

75) ho ḏa-a-h-r
   3S go-FUT-3S:FUT
   ‘He will go’

76) hor a-u-ɐt
   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 -vəp is used as progressive marker in present tense and -və is in past tense and –rj 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 rj in durative aspect also. We can see that in next section.

Present Progressive

77) hor soi[-vəp]-ɐt
   3PL think-PROG-3PL:PRES
   ‘They are thinking’

78) tu ḏoj mɔp-n-ko bula-u-ɐt[ə]-us
   2S both boy-PL-ACC call-E-PROG-2S:PRES
   ‘You are calling both boys’

Past Progressive

79) ho a-u-ɐt rəh-r-i
   3S come-E-PROG AUX-PST-3S:F:PST
   ‘She was coming’
Future Progressive

81) moj ja žema sakale peţa-tej 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 Bharaiti there is no auxiliary usage for present progressive, but in past and future progressive they are using different auxiliaries, like in past rabh 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 –t̪e is coming as a durative aspectual meaning. We can see the below examples:

82) ho kam kεr-ţej rεh-er
3S work do-DUR AUX-3S
‘He kept on working’

83) moţa rεng-ţej rεng-ţej źhεk-i go-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. Bharati uses a special structure which is different from other tense-aspect expressions. They use two auxiliaries: first auxiliary is one of ga ‘goːPST’ or d̪ɪ ‘giveːPST’ or li ‘takeːPST’ (see 11.2.1 Serial verbs for these auxiliaries) and present tense auxiliary atʃh 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) lemboʃer nκul-i ge-ɾ-i atʃh-er
bus leave-LK goːPST-PST-3S:F-PST PRES-3S:PRES
‘Bus has gone’

85) sita ama kʰa di atʃh-er
2S mango eat giveːPST-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. Bharati uses the combination of a motion verb auxiliary (ga ‘goːPST’ or d̪ɪ ‘giveːPST’ or li ‘takeːPST’) 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:
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 tek-i ge-r-a ațiʰ-o
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 –ha for plural of 2d person. We will discuss more clearly about imperatives in the section 10.3.

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

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

91) tu tiʃel 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 mihako ketju pesa de srk-ntj-us?
Q 2S 1S-ACC some 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 $dʒi$ ‘heart’ or $mən$ ‘wish’ followed by auxiliary verb $af$ 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 n₃₃ kʰa-na-k mən atʃʰ-ər
3S-ACC rice eat-INF-GEN wish COP-PRE
‘May him eat rice’

94) horm-ko n₃₃ kʰa-na-k dʒu atʃʰ-ər
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 modality**

**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 $ʃə$ ‘want or be necessary’ is used to express the obligatory modality as in (96). In some other cases they use inflected auxiliary $pə$ as in (97). In this structure, the subject is in accusative case.

Surprisingly these modal structures do not use the same verbal structure in Barihati; because $ʃə$ does not inflect at all for different tenses and aspects as Bhariati usually does. In $pə$ 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 structure as a Barihati verbal
clause, we consider the modal expressions with शैल्प and पर त are loaned from Hindi that uses a very similar structure:

95) हेमेः शैल्प-को बहेर ब्येत्र-ना शैल्पेः
 1PL letter-ACC out send-INF should
  ‘We should send out a letter’

96) त्त्हाको श्रव्य-एज़ यां-ना पर-ह-र
 2S-ACC now-EMPH go-INF must-IRR-3S
  ‘You must go now’

**Permission**

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

97) तु बित्रा आ-ज़ स्वक-श्रव्य-नस
 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 बेंटा or रे as a mirative particle and it occurs usually at the end of the clause. Here in (98) example we can substitute रे with बेंटा and बेंटा with रे.

98) रे हो जेख़ रे कामलेस आ-इ गु-र-आज़ बेंटा
  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 irrealistic marking -ह.

99) मोख नी सोज-र-आव की हो आ-ह-र
 1S not think-PST-1S COMP 3S come-IRR-3S
  ‘I don’t think he come’

**Potential**

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

100) तु यां-ज़ स्वक-श्रव्य-नस
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ñãv</td>
<td>ñãv</td>
<td>ñú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-es</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.F</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-aj</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>-dʒɪm</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>-ʊk</td>
<td>- ɪj</td>
<td>-ʊk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 Bhariati Verb Agreement Chart

101) moj  kʰel-ãv
     1S    play-1S:PRES
     ‘I play’

102) tʊmhẽ  prə-ɑ
     2Pl   read-2PL
     ‘You read’

103) ram  ama  ko  kəţ-r-aj
     Ram  mango  ACC  cut-PST.3S
     ‘Ram cut the mango’

104) mošə  mnoŋ  kʰel-ʊɾ
     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 aff and aj, and r̥h 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 aff and r̥h 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 atʃ³-ur
    3Sg one teacher cop-3Sg
    ‘He is a teacher’

106) moj ek iskul pra-un vara ṭ̣JAVA atʃ³-ô
    1Sg one school study NOML boy COP-1Sg
    ‘I am a student’

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

108) hor iskul pra-un vara ṭ̣JAVA mhnun n-h-aj
    3Pl school study- NOML child PL not-E-COP
    ‘They are not students’

109) siţa hora-k log⁹ni atʃ³-ur
    Sita 1S:poss wife cop-3Sg
    ‘Sita is his wife’

110) siţa hora-k log⁹ni aj
    Sita 1S:Poss wife COP
    ‘Sita is his wife’

111) siţa horak log⁹ni r̥h-r-i ho-t-i
    Sita 3Sg:poss wife cop-PST-3F become-PST-3F
    ‘Sita was his wife’

112) siţa horak log⁹ni n-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 $\rightarrow$ NP + AP + Copula

113) ho bedʒa koŋu uŋmi atʃh-er
3S very lazy man COP-3S
‘He is a very lazy man’

114) dines bedʒa kiv vara atʃ-er
Dinesh very kind NOML COP
‘Dinesh is a very kind person’

115) mora log atʃh a kojka reh-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: $atʃh$ and $aj$, and $reh$ 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 $reh$ 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 $\rightarrow$ PP NP COP

116) ho dʒŋgel-a mɛ rɪʃ nehun atʃh-ɛt
that forest-Sg LOC bear PL COP-3PL:PST
‘There are bears in the forest’

117) hʊtta gʰʊŋdi mɛ bahri atʃh-er
there corner LOC broom-stick COP-3S:PST
‘There is a broom-stick in the corner’

118) ḥuṭṭa ʾskul-a mē gūlī bʾerī-k bajiṭṭaru mḥuṇ rḥ-h-r-aj
there school LOC lot QUN- woman PL COP-PST-3PL
‘There were lot of ladies in the school’

119) ḥuṭṭa gʿuṇḍi mē bahri nḥ-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 $\rightarrow$ 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 $pəɾa$ ‘on’ for making locative clauses as we can see the below examples:

120) bagʰ mḥuṇ dʾyungel-a mē aṭṭʰ-ɐt
lion PL forest- LOC COP-3PL:PRe
‘The lions are in forest’

121) bagʰ mḥuṇ dʾyungel-a mē nḥ-h-aj
Lion PL forest- LOC not-E-3Sg:PRE
‘The lions are not in forest’

122) kṭaṭ ʾmaṛetí pəɾa rḥ-h-r-a ho-t-aj
book table LOC COP-PST-3S: 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 $dʒore$ ‘near’ to make postpositional phrase. Bhariati existential clause and possessive clause structure is same but in possessive clauses the locatinal phrase is animated as we can see in the below examples:

In Bhariati the Possessive clause structure is $\rightarrow$ PP NP COP

123) ṭaṭa ḍʒore hora-k ḍaḍa aṭṭ-ɐr
child LOC 3Sg:POSS father COP-3Sg:PRE
‘The child has a father’

124) mori ḍʒore sona nḥ-h-aj
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 aff and invariant particle aj in present tense and rəh in past tense. Copular verbs aff and rəh 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 dʒa-ʃ-ə-ð
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 -ko. The verb agrees with the person and number of the subject of different tenses:

\[
A \quad P
\]
128) kuṭʰa haṭʰ-a ko ṭab-ṛṭ-er
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 ṭʰula gujja ḍh-hāv
1S 3S-ACC one NUM:MKR cow give-PST-1S:PST
‘I gave him a cow’

131) ho mṛha-ko ek ṭʰula kīssa ḅuta-r-aj
3S 1S-ACC one NUM:MKR story tell-PST-3S
‘He told me a story’

132) hor rōdṛ ratā ko ṭauna ko gana ga-j-ke
3PL every night ACC children ACC song sing-CP
so-ua-ṛ-ṛ reh-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 Barihati does not prove the Case system of Barihati. Therefore we mainly are going to focus on examining the verb agreements and Noun phrase case marking system in Bhariati.

**81.1 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.
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-rāv
1S go-PST.1S
‘I went’

A P

134) moj ho-ra-ko bedrāv
1S 3S-ACC send-PST.1S
‘I sent him’

135) ho vba kama-vṣaŋ-ra
3S now earn-E-PROG.3S:PRE
‘He is earning now’

136) ram bũnsare ama kʰa-j hr-haj
Ram morning mango eat-Lk take-E-3S:PST
‘Ram ate the 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 -vā, 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:
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) ḍines ek tʰula ʊnga-ko kępṛa sivem-vara-ko ḍṛ-h-aj
   Dinesh one NUM:MKR shirt-ACC cloth stich-NOML-ACC give-PST-3S:PST
   ‘Dinesh gave a shirt to tailor’

142) ḍṛda unhari-ko bonɓeŋ-vara-ko ḍṛ-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 Bharati, 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 dʒa ‘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:
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 kəʊɬ ‘self’ is used along with emphatic suffix -ɛj. We can say Bhariati reflexives are expressed analytically because the presence of the reflexive operation is expressed via a lexical word that is distinct from the verb.
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 ekḍʊsrən ‘one another’, and it’s analytic operation:

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):

9.2.5 Object omission

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

148) ɪ̃jaː ɛntʰoːn kʰud-əj kud ko kam kəɾ l-h-əj
    child  PL self-EMPH self ACC work do AUX-PST-3PL:PST
    ‘children did work themselves’

149) ho kudəj ko mar-l-h-əj
    3S self ACC hit-take-PST-3S:PST
    ‘he hit himself’

150) ḥo ekḍʊsrən se mɪlab̪ʰɛɾ kəɾ-ɛɾ
    3PL one.another with embracing do-3PL:PST
    ‘They embrace eachother’

151) ḏɪnəs və suṇil ekḍʊsrən se bɛdʒa pṭjəɾ kəɾ-r-əj
    Dinesh and Sunil one.another with QUAN love do-PST-3PL:PST
    ‘Dinesh and Sunil loved eachother’

152) ɖɪʒaɾ məɾ-i gəɾ-r-əj
    tree  die-MID go-PST-3S:PST
    ‘Tree died’

153) ama kət-a gəɾ-r-əj
    mango cut-MID go-PST-3S:PST
    ‘Mango cut’

154) moɾa ɖɪʒaɾ ʃɪp-r-əj
    boy  tree climb-PST-3S:PST
    ‘Boy climbed the tree’
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 moʃa nhon praʌhtʃna kɐɾ-ɐʃ
these boy PL prayer do-3PL:PRE
‘These boys pray’

157) ɐɾmo ɜʃnaɾhʊn ɜɾɪpɪɾatʰna kɐɾ-ɐʃ ruh-r-ɾv
today morning 1S excercise do-PROG AUX-PST-1S:PST
‘I was excercsing 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 ƃth⁴ʰa se matʃti mẽ pani mɪla-ɾaj
3S good clay in water mix-PST-3S:PST
‘He mixed water and clay proportion equally’

159) ek ɪh³ula bɛɾya dɛkʰ-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 kʃa normally on the beginning of the sentence for making yes-no question. Sometimes its position could be changed as illustrated below:

155) moʃa ɾʃtʃ-ɾ-aj
boy climb-PST-3S:PST
‘Boy climbed’
160) kja hor giṭ-en ko ga-r-aj?
Q 3PL song-PL ACC sing-PST-3PL:PST
‘Did they sing songs?’

161) kja tũ mha-ko kẽ̱t̪u pesa ḍe sük'-e-tʃ-ns?
Q 2S 1S-ACC some money give can-AUX-2S:PST
‘Can you give me some money?’

162) tũ kja mha-ko kẽ̱t̪u pesa ḍe sük'-e-tʃh-ns
2S Q 1S-ACC some money give can-AUX-2S:PST
‘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 Bharati 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) snbun se džaḍa kbra ţ̱ṟa al-th-er
all from much who clever COP-3S:PST
‘Who is the cleverest among all?’

164) tũ kţa al-ths
2S where COP-2S:PST
‘Where are you?’

165) hor hora-kọ kikko mar-ţ-ţ
3PL 3S-ACC how beat-PROG-3PL:PST
‘How are they beating him?’

166) tũ mândi kjaře ker-ţhs
2S talk why do-PROG-2S:PST
‘Why are you talking?’

167) tũ kţa ge-r-e ho-t-e?
2S where go-PST-2S AUX-PST-2S:PST
‘Where had you gone?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Words</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kja</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktb</td>
<td>'when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kţa</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikko</td>
<td>'How'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjaře</td>
<td>'why'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kbra</td>
<td>'who'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ṭu ḍa
   2S go give
   ‘You go’

169) tumhē ḍa-ha
   2PL go give-IMP:2PL
   ‘You (pl.) go’

170) bʰṭra a-j ḍa
    inside come-LK go
    ‘Come inside’

171) era uṭka-j ḍ-is
    it uproot-LK give-2S:IRR
    ‘Pluck it out’

172) mhā-ko pani pt a-j ḍa
    1S-ACC water drink come-LK give
    ‘Give me water’

173) ḍa ḍin
    walk-EXCL walk-1PL:IRR
    ‘Let us go’

174) ḍa ḍin
    walk:INCL walk-1PL:IRR
    ‘Let us go’

175) kwad lega-j ḍa
    door put-CP give
    ‘Close the door’

176) era a-ṇ ḍa
    it come-LK give
    ‘Let it come’
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 *mhi*, 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 *mɐt̪*, as we can see in the below examples:

179) moj ɾskul ni ɾdʒa-v
    1S school NEG go-1S:PRE
    ‘I don’t go to school’

180) sijana ƙuɓa ni mɐɾ-r-aj
     old dog NEG die-PST-3S.M:PST
     ‘Old dog did not die’

181) bətʰra mɐt a-is
     inside NEG come-2S:FUT
     ‘Don’t come inside’

182) era mɐt ʋji-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. Adverbal 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 *vr* ‘and’, *ɓano* ‘but’ as illustrated below:
**Simple Conjunction**

183) ho j ṭema ḥati i-r-aj ɐ r kel maŋ-na lɐ̃g-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) purọj kʰeṭa-kọ kʰoḍ-i ḏh-ǝj bano horrn-kọ sona ni mül-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 ǝkja and along with another adverb ʰe̱e in between two clauses:

185) ho rnąg-tej i-r-aj ǝkja ʰe̱e gaɾi se i-r-aj
3S walk-DUR come-PST-3SG:PST Q agian vehicle from come-PST-3SG:PST

mʊ̃ha-kọ pʊtạ 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 example, the verb ǝkeka ‘take-LK-come’ has the meaning of ‘bring’. They use a lot of serial constructions with the verb ɡa ‘go-past’ or ɡili ‘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 ǝkja ‘go’ and ɡili ‘give’ and ła ‘take’. We couldn’t find that serial constructions in present tense or continuous or future tense.

186) moɾa rnąg-tej rɲaŋ-tej ɡr-i ɡe-r-aj
boy walk-DUT walk-DUT fall-LK AUX-PST-PST-3S

‘The boy fell down while walking’

187) apun ǝmrǝɦi mē ɓe̱nt-li ɡe-r-ǝn
1PL garden at sit-LK go-PST-1Pl

‘We sat down in the garden’

188) ho moɾa ɓutạ-kọ le-ʃ-ke ʈɪn ɖt-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 penka kʰa-na pesemə kər-ur
   3S roti eat-INF like do-3S:PRE
   ‘She likes to eat roti’

190) ho tʃah-u-ɛj rəh-r-aj ki horak kəpətuŋ-em mē
   3S want-E-PROG AUX-PST-3S COMP 3S:POSS clay toy-PL in
     bi  dʒiu ho-ţaj
     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, dʒəb 'when'... pəbəj 'then' are used, and both are necessary elements:

191) dʒəb dʒʰadə pur-ń-tr tebej moj dʒa-ń-ū
    when rain fall-FUT-3S then 1S go-FUT-1S
    ‘When (it) rains then I will go’

192) dʒəb dines tte a-h-tr tebej ho kʰa-h-tr
    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 dʒəb 'when', and they only put two sentences successively in using pəbəj 'then'. With this structure we do not see any temporal Adverbial concept. This structure is using more in spoken way:

**Location**

For location adverbials, dʒəta where ... bọta there are used, both are necessary elements:

193) dʒəta dines dʒa-h-tr hụta mhehs bi reh-tr
    when Dinesh go-FUT-3S LOC Mahesh also stay-FUT-3S
    ‘Where Dinesh will go Mahesh also will be there’
194) दृढ़ता आपू गुद़्दून  हुट्टा मोज़  भेंहा-को  मुल-हू
     where 1PL  study-PRE.1PL  there 1S  2S-ACC  meet-FUT-1S
‘I will meet you where we study’

Manner
In Bhariati दृढ़ता how . . . होज ज़ैकी like that is used for Manner adverbials.

195) एर  मसाप  दृढ़ता  पर्वा-वर  होज  पर्व-ह-इस
     CON  teacher  how  teach-E-3S  same  study-FUT-2S:FUT
‘And study as teacher taught’

Purpose
In Bhariati –क लाज for is used for the purpose adverbials.

196) मोज  गोंधली  क्रांतिद-ना-क  लाज  हुट्टा  बेंह-अज
     boy  onion  buy-INF -GEN  for  there  sit-PST.3S
‘The boy sat there for buying onions’

197) होराको  बेंह-ना-क  लाज  केह  दा
     3S-ACC  sit-INF-GEN  for  tell  give
‘Tell him to sit’

Reason
In Bhariati जैकी is used for introducing reason adverbials.

198) मोज  र्ष्ठा  इ-र-आव  जैकी  पह्मा  इ-र-अज  हो-ज ज़ैकी
     1S  here  come-PST-1S  because  guest  come-PST-3PL  AUX-3PL
‘I came here because guest came’

199) लीलिब  कर-ए,  जैकी  मेहा-को  गहरा-र्ष्ठा  दृढ़ा-ना  अलम-र्ष्ठा
     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 हु is using for conditional

200) तु  प्यँका  बना-र्ष्ठा  ता  मोज  क्रांतिद-हू
     2S  roti  make-2S  then  1S  eat-FUT-1S
‘If you prepare roti I will eat’

201) पानी  गुर-हेर  दृढ़ाव-क  मोज  दृढ़ा-मंगल-ए  दृढ़ा-हू
     water  fall-FUT-3S  when-LK  1S  forest-LK  go-FUT-1S:FUT
If

Negative conditional

202) पानी  नि  गुर-हेर  ता  आपू  क्रांतिद-ब-ए
     water  not  fall-FUT-3S  then  1PL  play-FUT-1PL
‘If rain will not come then we will play’

203) बूढ़र्ष्ठली  नि  आ-ना-क  ता  आपू  सो-ज  दृढ़ा-ब-ए
     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 mṭhako pesa ḍh-aj bmnō moj samṁ ni le
3S 1S-ACC money give-PST-3S:PST but 1S laguage not take

pa-r-āv
get-PST-1S:PST

‘Even though he gave money, I wouldn’t take laguage’

205) moj bʊkr̪a ṛh-r-āv ho-ṭ-āv bmnō moj kum
1S hungry live-PST-LK AUX-PST-1S:PST but 1S work

kur-na-k ḍaj man-i gb-ṛ-āv
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 ḍe and relative pronoun ḍerako ‘whose’ or ḍerako ‘whom’ to make relative clause.

The structure with the relativizer ḍe is not the same as the structure with the relative pronouns ḍerako and ḍerako.

206) bṭaṭe dipta ḍe ḍeṭa-ko ḍeṛb-ṛ-aj te ḍeṭa yesterdāy Deepak REL dog-ACC see-PST-3S DEM dog

mṛ-ṛ-aj
die-LK go-PST-3S:PST

‘The dog that Deepak saw yesterday died’

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

207) ḍeṛak nam ṭek̪n moj ni surṭ-āv, ho-ṛ bahiʃaru-ko
whose name even 1S not remember-1S that-LK woman-ACC

mṛ-ṛ-āv
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 ḍerako before the head noun in the Relative clause.
The Prenominal Relative clause is a clause which occurs before the head. Based on our data we could see some examples:

In the above examples we could see that it looks like Internally headed but it is not, because the head noun kūṭṭa ‘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.

*‘I met madam and talked, came home and took bath’*
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. Bharaiti 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 phase. 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 figured 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.
References


Sample Text:
metṭi-k kēṭpoṭlan – (Clay Sculptures) Story

and am-a-k moṛa ko metṭi-k kēṭpoṭla bema-na bedḍa
and name-GEN boy ACC clay-GEN sculpture make-GEN very

vēṭḍha leg-ṇt rēh-r-aj
good seem-PST.PROG AUX-PST-3S
‘Anand liked so much to make clay toys’

jēṭṭhiti-k ek ḍin-a ho ek ḍ̑ula jēṛu mē pani li-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 g̡h-o-ra-k angu ek ḍ̑ula ḍ̑ng-a mē gedḍa k̡hod-na
3S-POSS house-GEN shirt one NMKR infront on land dig-INF

leg-r-aj
AUX-PST-PST-3S:PST
‘Infront of his house they dug a pit’

ho vēṭḍha se metṭi mē pani mīla-r-aj
3S good with clay in water mix-PST-3S:PST
‘He mixed water and clay proportion equally’

vē bhāṅgāri metṭi se ho kēṭpoṭla bema-na leg-r-aj ṭa
and wet clay with 3S sculpture make-INF AUX-PST-PST-3S:PST then

hor hor-ṛj-ke ḍoḍṣar-na-k g̡h-ek ḍ̑lk-ṇt rēh-r-ōj
3PL 3S-EMPH-CP friends-INF-GEN like look-PST.PROG A UX-PST-3PL
‘And he started to make clay sculpture with wet caly and those clay sculpture was looking like his friends

hora-k puraj kēṭpoṭl-ṛṇ - ko ḍ̑jān-a se ḍek-ṛ-aj vē ja
3S-POSS all sculpture-PL ACC focus-LK with look-PST-3S:PST and then

nmaṛ-na leg-r-aj ki er-an mē se mora mn’ā-k kēhra
try-INF AUX-PST-3S:PST CP these-PL on from 1S:POSS wish-INF-GEN

āṭṭh-er
AUX-3S:PRES
‘He looked each clay sculpture carefully and tried to choose which one is best for him’

beṇo aḍ̑h-a-k kēṭpoṭla nhūn saṢun se ṛlgej rēh-r-ōj
but half-GEN sculpture PL all from different AUX-PST-3PL:PST
‘But half of clay sculptures were different from others’

beṇo hora-ko leg-r-aj ki puraj kēṭpoṭla nhūn nekli-nekli-kej aṭṭh-ණt
but 3S-ACC AUX-PST-3S:PST CP all sculpture PL best best AUX-PROG

kaṣki ho hor-na-k bema-n vara rēh-ra ho-ṛ-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’
One day that farmer called both of them and said, ‘Their names were Dinesh and Mahesh.’

A farmer had two sons. He had been played sometime with them but after some time he unpleased. ‘They both were lazy.’

Sonak onhari - Gold field-story

‘A farmer had two sons.’

‘Their names were Dinesh and Mahesh.’

‘They both were lazy.’

‘One day that farmer called both of them and said,’
‘Now I became old’

vb  ṭumhē  kʰeṭ-a-k  ḍekʰreḵ  kṝr-h-i,

now  2PL  field-E-GEN  care  do-IRR-IMP

‘now you take care of the field’

er  kʰeṭ-a  mē  ṭumhē  ḍaṭṭna  kʰoḍ-i  hoṭnaj  ṭumṛn-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’

puraj  kʰeṭ-a-ko  kʰoḍ-i  ḍi-h-ŋj  bano  horṛn-ko  sona

all  field-E-ACC  dig-LK  give-PST-3PL  CON  3PL-ACC  gold

ni  mil-r-aŋ

NEG  get-PST-3S-PST

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

hor  ḍoḷ  ḍaṛh-one  ḍaţa-j-ke  horne-k  ḍuṭa  se  keh-r-ŋj

3PL  both  people  go-LK-CP  3PL-GEN  father  with  say-PST

‘They both went and said to their father’

vb  ṭumhē  ḍoḷ  ḍaṛh-one  kʰeṭ-a  mē  ḍeṛh-ku  buḍ̩ḍa  boj-i  ḍa-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  moṛa  nḥhorn  ḍeṛh-ku  buḍ̩ḍa-ko  boj  ḍi-h-ŋj

3PL  boy  PL  wheat-GEN  seed-ACC  sow  give-PST-3PL

‘Those both sons sowed wheat seeds’

vb  ḍeṛh-ug-i  ga-v-i

now  wheat  raise-LK  go:PST-PST-3S:F

‘now wheat ripened’

er  ug’i-ke  lehra-na  le-g-r-i

CON  raise-LK-CP  wave-INF  AUX-PST-3S:F

‘And it started to wave’

vb  ḍeṛh  paki  ga-v-i  kʰeṭ-a  mē  ḍaţa-j-ke  hor  moṛa

now  wheat  ripe  go:PST-PST-3S:F:IMP  field-LK  in  go:PRE-LK-CP  3PL  boy

nḥhorn  kaṭ-na  le-g-r-ŋj

PL  cut-INF  AUX-PST-3PL:PST

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

hor  pʰer  ho  ḍeṛh-ku  buḍ̩ḍa-ko  nkal-i  ke  buḍ̩ḍar-a

3PL  leg  that  wheat-GEN  seed-ACC  leave-LK  CP  market-Lk

mē  beṭf-i  ḍi-h-ŋj

in  sit-LK  give-PST-3PL:PST

‘They took wheat seeds and sold in market’
ho pesa se sona kṛēd li-h-i sāmonthlyād̪a-h-i ki sona that money with gold buy take-PST-3S:F understand go-PST-3S:F CP gold

mil-i gu-r-aj
meet-LK AUX-PST-3S:PST
‘with that money you bought gold and think that you got gold’

Paavneek gijan – Children’s knowledge

ek ḍina sunil nam-ak iskul pṛēn vara moṣa ektēj iskul dhā-t one day sunil name-POSS school study NOML boy alone school go-PROG

reḥ-r-aj
AUX-PST-3S:PST
‘One day the boy called sunil was going to school alone’

ho roṭā mē gr-r-i gura-r-a ek ṭūla būṭa ḍekh-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 utbə-raj ेr ugah-ṛaj ke ḍekh-r-aj ṭa hora-k 3S 3S:DIST- ACC lift-PST-3S:PST and pickup-LK CP look-PST-3S:PST then 3S-GEN
bhoṭṭa gille bhuṛik not ेr kuraṛda reḥ-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 ōṃnak ōṃ ṭaṅkō soṭī-raj ेr pəṛ būṭa ho kũoḍ-ej 3S some time till think-PST-3S:PST and again wallet 3S self-EMPH
dəṛ li-h-aj keep AUX-PST-3S:PST
‘He saw some time that wallet and then he kept in his own pocket’

ṭa ṭoṛt-ṛaj ho hora-k masap-a-k maṇḍi sortā-raj, then immediately 3S 3S-GEN master-LK-GEN bath remember-PST-3S:PST

maṇḍari se reḥ-a, ṭa penmesri bi tumrī sēṅga reḥ-ṛ  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 mēn kūh-ṛṭi reḥ-r-aj ki ho būṭa-ko bāpis kūṛ ḍe-na 3S:POSS heart say-PROG stay-PST-3S:PST CP 3S wallet-ACC return do give-INF

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

kja ōṃkhe ēsā sōṭī-i stēk-aṭūh-a ho kja ker-r-a ho-h-ṛ! 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?’
‘Yes, he accepted his heart’s wish’

‘And he gave whose wallet was’

‘With the help of police teacher inquired whose wallet was this’

‘Sunil gave that wallet to teacher which he got on the way’

‘In his heart he felt good and took decision’

‘He took decision that god is with him and god is showing the way before him’

‘In his heart he felt good and took decision’

‘Do you know what decision he took?’

‘Sunil gave that wallet to teacher which he got on the way’

‘With the help of police teacher inquired that whose wallet was this’

‘And he gave to whose wallet was’

‘That wallet person said good infront of all’

‘May God give wisdom to all men’