2.1 SENTENCE TYPES

Four sentence types will be discussed in this chapter. These are: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatives. By a sentence type is meant a regular coincidence that obtains between a specific syntactic form and a specific semantic/pragmatic function. Thus, a declarative sentence is typically used to make a statement; an interrogative sentence is typically used to ask a question; an imperative sentence is typically used to express and order, a request, or a warning; and an exclamative sentence is typically expressing a more or less emotional comment on something and often characterised by a grammatically distinctive form.

(1) 
\[ \text{më t̪ik kəryo} \]  
\( \text{I good do-pst.ms} \)  
‘I did well.’

(2a) 
\[ \text{tū kətθe jawε hε?} \]  
\( \text{you where go-prst.ms aux} \)  
‘Where are you going?’

b. 
\[ \text{o tero hε?} \]  
\( \text{this you.gen aux} \)  
‘Is it yours?’
(3a) bhaj-0

(Imperative) run-away-imp

'Get out!'

b. nā ja-o
not go-imp

'Do not go'

Sentence (1) shows that a combination of Subject-Complement-Verb word order (with the verb agreeing with the subject and falling intonation) is typically associated with one use, that of making an assertion. Sentence (1) is a declarative sentence. Sentence (2a) shows that a combination of Subject-Interrogative-Adverb-Verb word order and falling intonation is typically associated with one specific use— that of asking a question for information, (2b), on the other hand, has the same word order as (1) but lacks a question word and has a rising intonation, and it is typically associated with a Yes-No question type sentence. Sentence (3a) consists of an imperative verb; (3b) has the same construction but also contains a preverbal negator adverbial. Both sentences are of imperative type and are used to issue directives to the addressee. Sentences (1-3) also show that these sentence types are mutually exclusive in their distribution: none of these sentences can simultaneously belong to two different syntactic types.

Exclamatives are utterances serving to express emotion, regardless of its grammatical form, which is often merely that of a word or a phrase, such as in (4)-

(4)a. móen keyo "iswēr tero bhēlo kērē l!" Mohan say-pst.ms God your good do-imp.

'Mohan said, "God bless you."'
All these sentence types will be described in (2.1.1-4).

2.1.1 Declarative sentences

A declarative sentence is the least marked, the most basic, and the most widespread form of clause observed in Bagri. It has the following characteristics:

(i) A declarative sentence has the unmarked word order SOV:

(5) a. mē' bidyarthi hā
I student be-prst.s S Complement (O) V

'I am a student.'

b. bo skul gəyo
he school go-pst.3ms S O V

'He went to school.'

(ii) Both the subject and the object control the verb agreement in a declarative sentence:

(6)a. mē tōnne kitab di
I you-acc/dat book.fs give-pst.fs S IO O V

'I gave you the book.'

b. te binne kutyo
you he-acc/dat beat-pst.2ms S O V

'You beat him.'
A declarative sentence has the same form as the subordinate clause:

(7) ًٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍ..
Sentence (9a) is declarative in form, but the addition of a new prosodic feature (i.e., rising intonation) converts it into an interrogative sentence. In a similar manner, by suppressing the second person pronominal subject the (you.h) and by adding a special verbal morphology, sentence (9b) becomes imperative.

2.1.2 Interrogative sentences

According to the type of reply expected, there are two principle types of interrogative sentences in Bagri: (i) those that expect a positive or negative answer to the questioned statement are ‘Yes-No questions’; and (ii) those that expect a reply from an open-ended range of replies are ‘Question-word questions’.

2.1.2.1 Yes-No questions:

Depending upon a particular type of answer expected, Yes-No questions can be classified into two basic types: Neutral Yes-No questions which do not expect a particular answer and, Leading Yes-No questions, where either an affirmative or a negative answer is expected.

(a) Neutral Yes-No Questions-

Neutral Yes-No questions are formed by the optional placement of the question word ke in the sentence initial position of a declarative sentence. Although the placement of the question word ke does not introduce any word changes from a declarative sentence, it does call for a rising intonation at the of a sentence - especially on the verbal element. The question word ke is also used at the end of a sentence but the moveability of ke does not bring in difference in focus. These points are illustrated by following three sentences:
The presence of the question word *ke* is optional in the sentence-initial and sentence-final positions. A rising intonation is so critical that a declarative sentence without a question word *ke* is quite sufficient to render Yes-No questions. However, reverse is not true.

(b) Leading Yes-No questions-

Leading Yes-No questions are formed by the addition of *ni* or *nā* ‘not’ at the end of a sentence which serves as a tag question. The negative particle *nā/ni* represents a shortened version of the invariable with respect to the preceding positive or negative propositions.

The expectation of a positive answer is expressed by an affirmative proposition preceding *ni*, as in (13):

(13)  
      the aj git gawoga
      you today song sing-fut.2mp

      'You will sing a song today.'

(ke) the aj git gawoga?
(Q-word)you today song sing-fut.2mp

'Will you sing a song today?'

the aj git gawoga (ke)?
you today song sing-fut.2mp (Q-word)

'Will you sing a song today?'

--

19
If the proposition preceding $nā$ takes the negative form, a negative answer is expected, as in, (14):

(14) aj sita skul koni jawēgi, nā?
today sita school not go-fut.3fs tag

'Sita will not go to school today, will she?'

2.1.2.2 Question word questions:

Interrogative sentences with wh-question words are generally termed as k-questions in Bagri because question words begin with the k-sound. Question words do not induce any word order changes in the statement undergoing question formation. Interrogative sentences with question words are formed by inserting a question word in place of the questioned constituent in the statement.

The main question words in Bagri are: *ke* 'what,' *kun* 'who,' *kisyo* 'which,' *kathe* 'where,' *kyuker* 'how,' *kyū* 'why,' *kiyā* 'how' (manner adverbial), *kisyok* 'what kind,' *kitto* 'how much,' *kinne* 'in what direction,' *ked* 'when.' The question word in a sentence is always stressed.

(15) tharo nam ke hē?
your name what is

'what is your name?'

(16) gam kathe hē?
village where is

'where is village?'
When an expected answer to a question is in the form of a list (more than one thing), the question word is reduplicated, as in (22):

(22) bēṭṭhe ke ke bātā hoi?
there what what matter.fp happen-pst.fp

‘What kinds of topics were discussed there?’

2.1.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences are sensitive to number, person, degree of imperiousness, and politeness. The following types of imperatives are found in Bagri: (a) the basic
imperatives, (b) the future imperative, (c) the subjunctive imperative, (d) the obligative imperative, and (e) the prohibitive imperative.

2.1.3.1 The basic imperative:

The basic imperative takes second person subjects- tum 'you' (singular) and the 'you' (plural/honorific). It occurs in singular and plural. The ordinary singular imperative form consists of the stem. The ordinary plural form is derived by adding -o/wo to a stem. Deletion of the subject is, although quite common, not obligatory.

(23) tum ja
do s go-imp.s

'You go' (rude)

a. the jao
do h go-imp.p

'You go' (formal)

2.1.3.2 The future imperative:

The future imperative is always stem + i, as in (24):

(24) kal ai
tomorrow come-fut.imp

'Come tomorrow.'

2.1.3.3 The subjunctive:

The subjunctive form primarily conveys a suggestion, wish or intention rather than a direct command or request, as in (25-27):
He should go quickly.'

'Come, let us go home'.

'May I go?'

2.1.3.4 The obligative:

The obligative expresses both moral and epistemic obligations. It is formed by compound verbs/serial verbs. Compound verbs are formed by adding to the non-finite form of a verb (usually its stem, conjunctive in stem form, present or past particle, or infinitive) an ancillary verb. The ancillary is conjugated for the various tenses and moods, while the main verb remains unchanged. The ancillary verbs used are kar ‘do’, par ‘to be compelled’, ho ‘be’, cai ‘should’.

'You should always do good deeds.'

'We had to bear great hardships.'

'You will have to give money.'
The ungrammaticality of (30a) indicates that obligatives do not take nominative subjects.

(30b) əb ghər jaŋo caie
now home go-inf.ms should.ms

Now I should go home.'

2.1.3.5 The prohibitive:

The negative particle nə ‘not’ is employed with imperative sentence and it is placed before the verb.

(31) na jao
neg. go-imp

‘Please do not go.’

*(31)a. koni jao
neg. go-imp

‘Please do not go.’

It is clear from (31a.) that the ordinary negative particle koni ‘not’ is not used with an imperative sentence.

2.1.4 Exclamatives

An exclamative sentence differs from a declarative sentence in more than one syntactical aspect:

(i) An exclamative sentence is incomplete or truncated:
(32) cor ayo (Declarative)
  thief come-pst.3ms

  'The thief came.'

a. cor! (Exclamative)
  thief

  'Thief !'

(ii) An exclamative sentence may be formed by duplicating the declarative statement.

(33) kako ayo (Declarative)
  uncle come-pst.3ms

  'The uncle came.'

a. kako ayo kako ayo! (Exclamative)
  uncle come-pst.3ms uncle come-pst.3ms

  'The uncle came!'

(iii) An exclamative sentence is formed by the use of exclamative particles *ore* 'oh'
  *aye* 'oh' etc.

(34) tū paccho a gyo (Declarative)
  you.s back come go-pst.2ms

  'You come back.'

(34a) ore tū paccho a gyo! (Exclamative)
  oh you.s back come go-pst.2ms

  'Oh, you came back !'

(iv) The exclamative sentences are overlaid with some expressive, attitudinal
  meaning whereas declaratives are plainly informative. Both types represent a
statement as being true, but in an exclamative sentence the speaker adds a strong emotional reaction to when he presupposes to be true.

(35) bá chori suni he (Declarative)
that girl beautiful aux

‘That girl is beautiful!’

(35a) bá chori kitti suni he! (Exclamative)
that girl howmuch beautiful aux

‘How beautiful that girl is!’

(36) bī ga kan lomba he (Declarative)
he gen ear long aux

‘His ears are long.’ (He has long ears.)

(36a) ore bī ga kan kitta lomba he (Exclamative)
oh he gen. ear howmuch long aux

‘Oh, how long his ears are!’ (He has long ears.)

An exclamative clause resembles an interrogative clause in form in that it uses k-question words kitto ‘howmuch’, kisyok ‘how/of what type’

In exclamative clauses, the k-question words are syntactically different in that they occupy a determiner position and function as degree modifiers to a noun, adjective or adverb:

(37) kitto lomba kan!
‘how long ears’

‘How long ears!’
(38) kitto cokho!
how nice

'How nice!'

(39) òre bò mòrgyo!
oh he die-pst.3ms

'Oh, he died!'

2.2 DIRECT SPEECH AND INDIRECT SPEECH

No overt syntactic device such as a quotative marker or particle is utilized to
distinguish between direct and indirect speech in Bagri. Frequently quoted as well as
reported material is contained in an embedded sentence preceded by the
complementizer ke 'that' which is subordinate relative to a higher verb of the S:

(40) kagøt me likhyo ho ke tawøla ao
letter in write.ppl.pst was that quickly come-imp

It was written in the letter, 'come quickly.'

(41) bøp puchyo ke ke bat he
he+erg.ask-pst.ms that what matter is

He asked, "What is the matter?"

(42) sunøn me ayo he ke bò awøgo
hearing in come-pst.ms is that he come-fut-3ms

'It is heard that he will come.'

Impersonal sentences such as (42) are henceforth referred as 'hearsay-type' sentences.
As is clear from the above sentences, the complementizer ke 'that' precedes the
quoted material in (40-41) and the reported material in (42).
However, it should stressed that it is the context that renders the reading unambiguous. The syntax of direct speech and that of indirect speech are not different from each other in Bagri. Unlike English, Bagri prefers the discourse strategy of 'direct speech.'

For English expressions, such as 'He asked me what the matter was,' Bagri prefers to use the direct narration form, as shown by the gloss and free translation of (41). Therefore, regardless of meaning the syntax of (40-42) is that of direct speech in English. This syntactic tendency, together with the possibility of an indirect narration reading, creates potential ambiguity, as in (43):

( 43 )
mōn   keyo   kē   bō   awēgo
mohan say-pst.ms that he come-fut.ms

'Mohan said, "He will come."' or 'Mohan said that he would come.'

It is noticed that the embedded S of (43) is dominated by a matrix verb which is not of the hear-say type, and a direct speech reading is conveyed. The resultant sentence is potentially ambiguous, as indicated by the English translation.

However, it should be stressed both readings do not receive equal preference. Because of the preference for the direct discourse strategy, the direct speech reading exhibits overwhelming preference over the indirect narration reading. This tendency has, in the past, led both native grammarians to analyse the complementizer $kē$ as a quotative marker, which takes the place of inverted marks the English quotation marker.

The use of $kē$ is not confined to quotation. It is used in other ways.
In (44) and (45) *ke* has hint of ‘saying to oneself’ and the words which follow are the very words supposed to be passing in the speaker’s mind. From these two examples it becomes clear that direct speech does not attempt to reproduce the actual words at the surface but rather at an abstract level. Even at a surface level, sentence (43) does not cease to be grammatical even if Mohan actually used a proper noun instead of a third person pronoun in his utterance.

2.3 SUBORDINATION

Subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions. The subordinators assign unequal rank to the conjoined clauses and render one of the clauses subordinate to other. Subordination involves finite and non-finite verbs. Finite clauses are not distinct from main clauses in terms of their structure. They exhibit different behaviour in two important respects: (i) word order: subordinate finite clauses generally follow the main clause; if they precede the main clause, the marked order is due to focus considerations. The only
exceptions are relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses, (ii) the subordinate marker or complementizer generally occupies initial position in the subordinate clause.

(46) Main clause-

\[ m\vec{e} \ soc\vec{u} \ h\vec{u} \]

'I think.'

(46) a. Subordinate clause-

\[ m\vec{e} \ soc\vec{u} \ h\vec{u} \ ke \ bo \ jaw\vec{e}go \]

'I think that he will go.'

*(46)b. \[ ke \ bo \ jaw\vec{e}go, \ m\vec{e} \ soc\vec{u} \ h\vec{u} \]

'I think that he will go.'

If finite subordinate clause precedes the main clause, they drop the complementizer and require elements such as 'this,' 'such' in their main clause, as exemplified by (46c):

(46) c. \[ bo \ jaw\vec{e}go, \ 0/iy\vec{a} \ m\vec{e} \ soc\vec{u} \ h\vec{u} \]

'That he will go, I think.'

Non-finite subordinate clauses are formally distinct from main clauses. They are marked by (i) verb modification: the subordinate verb undergoes the process of verbal participialization or gerundivization/infinitivization, (ii) lack of agreement: the non-
finite subordinate verb lacks subject-verb/object-verb agreement and generally is not marked for tense, (iii) word order: the subordinate non-finite clause follows strict external (i.e. its placement within matrix clauses) and internal word order:

(47) Infinite subordinate verb-

[mero jaŋq] okho he
my go-inf. difficult is

'My going is difficult.'

(48) Participle subordinate verb-

bō [ɔi calti] gaŋq, syū kudyo
he ɔ move-ppl.prst.fs train from jump-pst.3ms

'He jumped out of a moving train.'

(49)a. Lack of agreement-

bĩngɔi kɛŋo sawəŋ he
s/he-gen. say-inf. good is

'Her/His saying is good.'

b. me [ɔi kɛŋo sawəŋ he] socū hū
I ɔ say-inf. good is think aux-prst.1ms

'I think her/his saying is good.'

(50) Internal word order-

*a. bō [gaŋq, calti] ɔi syū kudyo
he train.fs move-ppl.prst.fs ɔ from jump-pst.3ms

'He jumped out of a moving train.'
He jumped out of a moving train.

Three types of subordinate clauses will be described here: complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses:

### 2.3.1 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a clause which 'completes' (i.e., fulfills a subcategorization restriction on) an accompanying lexical head. Such a subordination clause may function as a complement of the subject or as a complement of the object, as illustrated in (51-52):

(51)a. \( s_1 [\text{this matter comp.doctor you acc/dat not examine-pst.} \]  
\( \text{kinne i cokhi koni lagi} \)  
'\text{The fact that the doctor did not examine you displeased all.}\)

b. \( s_1 [\text{I this news comp. father die go-pst.3ms Delhi loc hear-pst} \]  
\( \text{I felt that you became angry.}\)

(52)a. \( s_1 [\text{I+acc/dat. feel-pst comp. you angry be go-pst.2ms} \]  
\( \text{I heard the news that father died in Delhi'}.\)

b. \( \text{he want-prst. aux. comp. Mohan doctor become-opt.3ms} \)  
'He wants Mohan to be a doctor.'
The complementizer in Bagri is *ke*. Usually, the complementizer occurs clause-initially in an object complement irrespective of the type of subordinate clause:

\[(53)\] m\(\dot{\text{n}}\)n\(\dot{\text{e}}\) lagyo [ke ma\(\dot{\text{t}}\)\(\dot{\text{h}}\)o duk\(\dot{\text{h}}\)e he]

\[I+\text{acc/dat} \text{ feel-pst} \text{ comp head ache-prst aux-prst}\]

'I felt that I had a headache.'

There is no overt head noun introducing the complement clause. The complement clause allows subject/object-verb agreement and usually follows the main clause.

A wide variety of infinitival complements—simple as well as oblique (with or without postpositions) constitute another important class of noun clauses:

\[(54)\] m\(\text{e}\) ja\(\text{n}\)o caw\(\text{d}\)a h\(\text{d}\)a

\[I \text{ go-inf want-prst.ms aux}\]

'I want to go.'

### 2.3.2 Relative clauses

In Bagri, two types of relative clause construction are employed. These are finite and non-finite participial relative clauses. The finite relative clauses maintain full sentence structure with subject-verb agreement and are quite widespread. The participial relative clauses, on the other hand, exhibit the non-finite form of the verb.

Finite relative clauses are formed in the following way: (i) the primary relative marker *jiko* 'who/which' is placed in front of the relativised element, (ii) the correlative marker is placed at the beginning of the head noun, and (iii) the second identical and coreferential NP undergoes optional deletion.
(55) Relative markers-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>jiko/jiki ‘what, who’</td>
<td>jika/jiki ‘what, who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>jike/jiki ‘what, who’</td>
<td>jikā/jiki ‘what, who’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(56) Corelative markers-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>bā/bō ‘s/he’</td>
<td>bē ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>bəŋ s/he+erg.</td>
<td>bā they+erg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative marker begins with the j-sound, whereas question words begin with k-sound. The direct case occurs when a noun or pronoun is not followed by a case marked postposition. When a noun or pronoun is followed by a postposition, or case marking, it is said to be in oblique case.

In the examples given below, the symbol ø indicates the presumed site of relativised and head NP prior to deletion:

(57) [jiko choro; dilli mē rewe he] bō ø; beli he rel. boy Delhi in live-prst.ms aux cor. ø friend aux

‘The boy who lives in Delhi is my friend.’

Sentence(57) consists of two clauses which share an identical and coreferential noun phrase:

Main clause: choro; mero beli he
boy my beli aux-prst

‘The boy is my friend.’
Relative clause: choro; dilli mē rewe he
boy Delhi in live-prst.ms aux-prst.

'The boy lives in Delhi.'

The relative clause takes the relative pronoun jiko whereas correlative clause selects the correlative pronoun bō. When the relative clause precedes the main clause, the result is a sentence such as (57a):

(57)a. [jiko choro dilli mē rewe he] bō choro mero beli he.

The second occurrence of choro 'boy' undergoes deletion under identity with the preceding occurrence of choro to yield (57).

Alternatively, these are two other positions of relative clauses with respect to the main clause which yield a total of three possible relative clause outputs in Bagri for a relative clause in English. The two other positions are (i) the relative clause following the head NP (57b), and (ii) the relative clause following the correlative clause (57c):

(57)b. bō choro; [jiko si dilli mē rewe he] mero beli he

(57)c. bō choro mero beli he [jiko dilli mē rewe he]

The succeeding occurrence of choro is deleted in (57)b and (57)c.

The participial relative clause is formed by (i) deleting the relativised noun phrase; and (ii) changing the verb into participial form by adding the *-to* for the present participle, *-ero* for the past and *-n/a lo* for the agentive participle.
The participial forms agree with the following noun in number and gender. In (58-59), the optional element can intervene between the participial form and a head noun. The optional element is restricted to the present and past participles.

2.3.3 Adverbal clauses

The adverbal clauses are marked by (a) finite form of the verb or (b) the non-finite form of the verb (i.e. participle and infinitive forms).

Finite adverbal clauses may be placed in presentential as well as post-sentential position.

The unmarked order of a non-finite adverbial clause is the preverbal position. The adverbial subordinate clauses in Bagri can be divided into the following types: time, location, manner, purpose.
2.3.3.1 Adverbial clause of time:

The adverbial clauses of time signal temporal as well as sequential relationships and utilize both the strategies of subordination as shown below:

(i) Temporal relationship: Temporal relationship is signalled by the use of subordinators which are full words with lexical content; usually these are correlatives, one of which is optionally deleted, e.g. jēd-tēd ‘when-then’, jēdēī-tēdēī ‘as long as-until then’:

(61) jēd mē pugyo (tēd) tū koni ho
when I arrive-pst then you not be-pst.2ms

‘When I arrived, you were not (there).’

(62) jēdēī mē nā kewū tū gam nā choḍi
as long as I not say-imp you village not leave-imp.

‘Until I ask you, do not leave the village.’

Temporal relationship is also signalled by the use of non-finite verb forms that appear in combination with forms (postpositions) which explicitly identify temporal relationships and may also be combined with the emphatic and enclitic:

(63) babē ge khaye pher tū khai
father poss. eat-nonfinite after you eat-fut

‘You (will) eat after father eats.’

(ii) Immediate succession: The locative adverbial jētīhe ‘where’ coupled with ke ‘that’ signals immediate sequence of events:

(64) (jētīhe) tēsēn pugyo ke gaḍī ayi
where station arrive-pst that train come-pst.3fs

‘As soon as I arrived at the station, the train came.’
Non-finite verbs are also used in signalling immediate succession of events:

(65) nokri hōta-i (sage) mē khēbēr dyāngo
    job be-ppl.prit emphasis with I news give-fut.1ms

'As soon as I get the job, I will inform you.'

2.2.3.2 Locative clauses:

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator *jēṭṭhe* 'where' or *jēṭṭhe kēṭṭhe* 'wherever':

(66) jēṭṭhe ghaloga mē jawūgo
    where send-fut I go-fut.1ms

'I will go where you send me.'

(67) jēṭṭhe kēṭṭhe mēnē nokri milegi mē jawūgo
    wherever I+acc/dat job meet-fut I go-fut.1ms

'I will go wherever I will find a job.'

2.2.3.3 Manner clauses:

Manner clause employ primarily relative-like and participial constructions. They are not usually expressed by the infinitival/gerundive construction. The relative clause-like marker *jiyā* 'as' renders the manner reading:

(68) jiyā bō kēwe biyā ti kēr
    as-rel. he tell-sbjt same way-cor. you do-imp.s

'Do as he tells (you to do).'
2.2.3.4 Purpose clauses:

The adverbial clauses of purpose typically use the different types of bare infinitival verb forms, as exemplified in (69-70):

(69) mən jutti leŋ bəjar gəyo
    Mohan shoes buy-inf. market go-pst.3ms

    'Mohan went to market to buy shoes.'

(70) bō pisa den khatar gam gəyo
    he money give-inf. for village go-pst.3ms

    'He went to village to give money.'

2.4 COORDINATION

Coordination involves the linking of two or more categories of expression with use of coordinates or coordinate junctions. The coordinates assign equal rank to the conjuncts. Bagri permits the following types of coordination to occur at the phrasal as well as the sentential levels:

(i) Conjunction: ər 'and'

(ii) Adversative conjunction: pəŋ 'but'

(iii) Disjunction: ke/jya 'or'

(iv) Negative disjunction: nə...nə 'neither...nor'
2.4.1 Conjunction: ər ‘and’

The coordinator ər permit coordination to occur at both the sentential and phrasal
levels:

(71) s[surəj chipyo ər mə gəyo]
      sun set-pst.3ms and I go-pst.1ms
   ‘The sun set and I went.’

(72) bə  VP[hāsyo ər hath həlayo]
      he laugh-pst.3ms and hand wave-pst.3ms
   ‘He laughed and waved.’

(73) tə  PP[mere (syū) ər məən syū] bat kəri
      you I-acc/dat from and Mohan from talk do-pst.
   ‘You spoke to me and Mohan.’

(74) [sōən ər məən] a gya
      Sohan and Mohan come go-pst.3mp
   ‘Sohan and Mohan arrived.’

(75) a.tū  AP[pisālo ər lajlo] he to apge ghar mə
      you rich and lovely aux-prst then refl. house in
   ‘You may be rich and lovely in your own house.’

b. bə  [pisālo ər mhəsur] donū he
      he rich and famous both be-prst.3ms
   ‘He is both rich and famous.’
Sentences (73-75) illustrate that two independent clauses as well as two verb phrases, adjective phrases, noun phrases, and postpositional phrases may be coordinated with or. Coordinate sentences express contrast, cumulative effect, cause and effect, sequential action and contingency. The order of the conjuncts is interchangeable if a coordinate sentence expresses contrast or cumulative effect.

(76) Contrast-

a. ó admi cokho he or bô (admi) maɾo he
   this.ms man good.ms is and that.ms man bad.ms is
   'This man is good and that man is bad.'

b. bô admi maɾo he or ó admi cokho he

(77) Cumulative effect-

a. bô daru piwɛ he or mit khawɛ he
   he wine drink-prst.ms is and meat eat-prst.ms is
   'He drinks wine and eats meat.'

b. bô mit khawɛ he or daru piwɛ he

(78) Cause and effect-

a. bəŋ achi pədai kəɾi or pas hoyo
   he+erg.mk good study.f do-pst.fs and pass be-pst.ms
   'He studied well and passed.'

b. bô pas hoyo or bəŋ achi pədai kəɾi
(79) Sequential action-

a. bō ayo or bolyo
   he come-pst.ms and speak-pst.ms
   'He came and spoke.'

* b. bō bolyo or ayo

(80) Contingency

a. the pisa dyo or kitab lyo
   you.p money give-imp and book take-imp
   'You give money and take the book.'

*b. the kitab lyao or pisa dyo

The sentences (76a) and (77a) permit the reverse order of (76b) and (77b), respectively. In sentences (78a-80a) the reverse order of the conjuncts yields ill-formed output, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (78b-80b.)

2.4.2 Adversative conjunction: pən 'but'

When two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction pən, it is implied that a contrast or an opposition exists between the two conjuncts. Mostly pən permits the coordination to occur at the sentential level:

(81) ram pisālo he pən tū gərib he
   Ram rich aux-prst.3ms but you poor aux-prst.2ms
   'Ram is rich but you are poor.'
Negation of either or both conjuncts at the sentential level is possible:

(83) mōn petō koni he pēn bo tej he
Mohan thin not be-prst but he active be-prst.

‘Mohan is not slim but he is active.’

2.4.3 Disjunction: \textit{ke/jya} ‘or’

The disjunctive particles \textit{ke/jya} ‘or’, \textit{kē...kē} ‘either’...... ‘or,’ etc. express that one of the two alternatives can be realized:

(84) NP[cā ke kophī] ke pioga?
tea or coffee what drink-fut.2ms

‘What will you drink-tea or coffee?’

(85) øDET[do ke tin] dIn lagēga
ø two or three days take-fut.3mp

‘It will take me two or three days.’

(86) s[ø dud lyoga ke ø dhēi]?
ø milk take-fut.2ms or ø curd

‘What will you take-milk or curd?’

Sentences (84-86) illustrated the use of unmarked disjunctive \textit{kē} at the phrasal level:

sentence (86), however, receives a sentential level interpretation because of the inclusion of the verb phrase in it.
Ram or shyam

'Either Ram or Shyam.'

The marker jya / ke are capable of preceding any disjoined element or category:

(87) ram ke/jya syam
Ram or shyam

'Either Ram or Shyam.'

(88)a. jya ram jya syam
b. ke ram ke syam

Either Ram or Shyam

2.4.4 Negative disjunction: na...na 'neither...nor'

It is expressed by means of substituting nā, a negative particle for jya:

(89) nā ram ayo nā syam
neg ram come-pst.ms neg shyam

'Neither Ram nor shyam came.'

Disjoined masculine and feminine nouns show that the verb agrees with the nearest disjunct:

(90) mero choro jya meri chori anē lagri he
my boy or my daughter come prst.fs is

'Either my son or my daughter is coming.'

*(90)a. mero choro jya meri chori anē lagrya he
my boy or my daughter come prst.msis

'Either my son or my daughter is coming.'

*(90)b. mero choro jya meri chori anē lagrya he
my boy or my daughter come prst.mp are

'Either my son or my daughter are coming'.
2.5 NEGATION

In Bagri, sentence negation is expressed by four negative particles: *koni*, *ko*, *nā*, and *nāi*. *koni* and *ko* represent the unmarked negative particles and are equivalent to English 'not'; whereas *nā* and *nāi* are used in subjunctive, imperative, conditional, neither...nor construction, and infinitive phrases. Some distributive properties of negative particles are exemplified in sentences (91-94):

(91) koni

mē  ghor koni goyo
I  house neg. go-pst.lms

'I did not go to house.'

(92) ko

mē  book.f ko pedi
I  book.f neg. rend-pst.fs

'I did not read the book.'

(93) nā

tū  nā  ja
you  neg. go-imp.s

'you do not go.'

(94) nāi

mero  gam  nāi  jaño  thik  he
my  village  neg.  go-inf  right  is

'It is right for me not to go there.'

As the examples (91-94) demonstrate the negative particle can appear in preverbal position in a negative sentence.
Negative structures trigger a number of deletion processes. This explains the presence of various deletion rules such as auxiliary deletion, copula deletion and operator nonspecification.

(95) Auxiliary deletion rule

\begin{align*}
\text{(95a)} & \quad \text{bō jawē he} \\
& \quad \text{he go-prst.ms is} \\
& \quad \text{He goes.}' \\
\text{b.}& \quad \text{bō jawē} \\
& \quad \text{he go-prst.ms} \\
& \quad \text{He goes.}' \\
\end{align*}

The negation of (95a) is (96):

\begin{align*}
\text{(96)} & \quad \text{bō koni jawē i.e. he--Ø} \\
& \quad \text{he neg. go-prst.ms} \\
& \quad \text{He does not go.}'
\end{align*}

The auxilliary element he in (95a) undergoes deletion in negative structures.

(97) Copula deletion

\begin{align*}
\text{(97a)} & \quad \text{bō bētēhe ūe} \\
& \quad \text{he there is} \\
& \quad \text{He is there.}' \\
\text{b.}& \quad \text{bō bētēhe i.e. ūe--Ø} \\
& \quad \text{he there} \\
& \quad \text{He is there.}'
\end{align*}

The negative counterpart of (89a) is (89c):
The fact that positive sentences such as (95b) and (97b) are ill-formed in the absence of the auxiliary/copula element *he* is evidence that copula and auxiliary deletion are deletion rather than insertion rules. The insertion of negation and compound verbs motivates a surface deletion rather than insertion rules.

The insertion of negation and compound verbs motivates a surface deletion which could termed as operator deletion/non specification rule.

(98) Operator deletion/non-specification rule

(98a) bəŋ kagət likhyo
he+erg letter.ms write-pst.ms

'He wrote a letter.'

(98b) bəŋ kagət likh liyo
he+erg. letter.ms write take-prst.ms

'He wrote a letter (for his own benifit).'

(98c) bəŋ kagət likh diyo
he+erg letter.ms write give pst.ms

'He wrote a letter (for someone else's benefit).'

The corresponding negation of (98 a-c) is (98d).

(98d) bəŋ kagət koni likhyo
he+erg letter.ms neg. write-pst.ms

'He did not write a letter.'
The placement of negation in proverbal position of a compound verb in (98b) and (98c) yields ill-formed output.

The constraint of the preverbal position of negation is violated under two conditions. (i) contrastive negation, and (ii) disjunctive structures. These are exemplified in (99-100). In the post verbal position, the scope of negation is limited either to the verb or the aspect only.

\[(99)\] mē kagōt likhyo koni, likhūgo

I letter.ms write-pst.ms neg. write-fut.lms

'I did not write a letter (but will write).'

The major difference between four negative particles: koni, ko, nā and nēi is that it is only the koni that can be placed at postverbal position, others are not.

\[(99)^*\] a. mē kagōt likhyo ko/nā/ nēi, likhūgo

Negative disjunction is expressed by means of nā or nēi:

\[(100)\] nā/nēi ram ayo nā/nēi syam

neg. ram come-prst.ms shyam came.

'Neither Ram nor Shyam came.'

2.5.1 Constituent negation

To mark the constituent negation, a number of devices are there in Bagri. One such device is to stress the constituent to be negated. Another is to allow the negative particle to follow the negated constituent
(101) Stress-

bō kal ghāre koni goyo
he yesterday house neg. go-pst.3ms

‘He did not go home yesterday.’

(102) Negative particle following the constituent to be negated-

bō ghāre koni dephṭer goyo
he home neg. office go-pst.3ms

‘He did not go home but to the office.’

2.5.2 Double negation

Though Bagri allows one negative per clause in finite verb, but in non-finite verbs double negation is possible.

(103)a. koi bēṭṭhe ḳeṭe āchō koni goyo
someone there ever neg. go-pst.ms

‘No one ever went there.’

(103)*b. koi bēṭṭhe ḳeṭe kōni kōni goyo
(103)*c. kōni kōni bēṭṭhe ḳeṭe kōni goyo

(104)a. kam nā kāṛṇo aṭa ḳōni he
work neg. do-inf good neg.aux

‘It is not good not to work.’

(104)b. nā kam karṇo aṭa ḳōni he

It is clear from the examples (103) and (104) that double negation is possible only in the sentences having non-finite verbs.
2.6 ANAPHORA

'Anaphora is a label to refer to the referentially-dependent NP types: reflexives and reciprocals. Anaphors receive a referential interpretation by virtue of being bound by an antecedent (Haegeman, 1995: 211). There are several devices of expressing anaphora—(i) deletion (ii) deletion where element is marked on the verb morphology (iii) ordinary personal pronoun, and (iv) reflexive pronoun

2.6.1 Deletion

Deletion is the most prominent device for expressing anaphora in discourse.

(105) ek din ek maštəri ek chọpə jע milyo
   one day one teacher one boy acc.pp meet-pst.3ms

Øi Øj bolvo 'tū kuŋ he ?'
Ø Ø speak-pst.3ms you who aux-prst.2ms

'Once upon a time a teacher met a boy.( He) said (to him), 'who are you?'

Anaphoric subject (the teacher) and object (the boy) become accessible by means of deletion/zero anaphora (Ø). In the second sentence they are recoverable from the first sentence.

2.6.2 Deletion where element is marked on the verb

Since the verb agrees either with the subject or object in number, gender, and person, the subjects and objects may be deleted as in (98)-
Mohan morning wake-up-pst.ms ø₁ tea.fs drink-pst.fs
ø₁ øj pige bolyo
ø ø drink+abs.ppl speak-pst.ms
‘Mohan woke up in the morning. (He) drank tea. Having drunk (tea)(he)
spoke.’

2.6.3 Ordinary personal pronoun
Anaphoric elements are frequently third person, and they are often expressed by personal pronouns.

choro ør chori aya. bá boli
boy and girl come-pst.mp she speak-pst.fs
‘A boy and a girl came. She speak.’

2.6.4 Reflexive pronouns
Possesive and emphatic reflexive pronouns are used to express anaphora, as in (108) and (109), respectively.

(108) bæn(i) apge (i) chore syū puchyo
he+erg. refl. boy from ask-pst.ms
‘Heₘ asked hisᵢ son.’

(109) sön ayo. khud chore syū puchyo
Sohan come-pst.ms emph. boy from ask-pst.ms
‘Sohan came. (He) himself asked the boy.’
2.6.5 Domain of anaphora

(a) Within the clause-

Clause internal anaphora is required for the use of reflexive pronouns. Personal pronouns are not employed for this purpose.

\[ (110) \text{so} \text{ān ap} \text{e} \text{ ap pēr ni} \text{jēr geri} \]
Sohan refl. on glance.fs throw-pst.fs

'Sohan glanced at himself.'

\[ (111) \text{so} \text{ān, ap} \text{e; chorē sage ayo} \]
Sohan refl. boy.obl.ms with come-pst.3ms

'Sohan, came with his; son.'

(b) Between the coordinate structures

Anaphora between coordinate structures is usually forward and is marked primarily by deletion and secondarily by pronominalization. Although anaphora is generally forward, context may permit backward anaphora, too.

\[ (112) \text{gita ai } \text{ōr } \text{ōi/bā } \text{bethi} \]
Gita come-pst.ms and ō/she sit-pst.fs

'Gita came and sat down, or
Gita; came and she; sat down.'

\[ (112) \text{a. } \text{ōi/bāi, ai } \text{ōr gita } \text{bethi} \]
ō/she come-pst.fs and gita sit-pst.fs

'(she;') came and gita; sat down.'
(112)b. øₐ apgi chori sāgₐ ai ør gita bēṯi
ø refl. daughter with come-pst.fs and gita sit-pst.fs

'(she,) came with her daughter and gita sat.'

It should be emphasized that backward anaphora by deletion and pronominalization needs the employement of context. Sentences such as (112b) show that backward anaphora with reflexive pronoun is possible and the zero anaphora (ø) functions as the controller of the reflexive pronouns. Coordinated noun phrases mark anaphora by means of pronominalization is the constraint on postposition standing.

(112)c. gita ør b₁ bīₐ chori bēṭhi
Gita and she gen.fs daughter sit-pst.fs

'Gita and her daughter sat down.'

(112)*d. gita ør øf gi chori bēṭhi

2.7 REFLEXIVES

In Bagri, reflexivity is expressed through 'agentive reflexives'. *apnē.ap 'self' followed by case marker, such as (113a-c):

(113)a. mē apnē ap ne sīse mē dékhyo
I myself acc. mirror in see-pst.ms

'I saw my self in the mirror.'

(113)b. tē apnē ap ne sīse mē dékhyo
you.s yourself acc. mirror in see-pst.ms

'You saw yourself in the mirror.'
she+erg herself acc.mirror in see-pst.fs

'She saw herself in the mirror.'

The reflexives may be used in all cases. In nominative oblique case, however, \textit{ap\textit{\textit{n}\textit{\textit{e}}} ap} does not take any case marker. Illustrated in sentences (114a-f) are the case markings of reflexives in all cases:

\textbf{(114)a. Nominative (Agentive) case:} \textit{ap\textit{\textit{n}\textit{\textit{e}}} ap}  
\begin{verbatim}
Ram ap\textit{\textit{n}\textit{\textit{e}}} ap p\textit{\textit{a}\textit{\textit{d}\textit{\textit{d}}}e} he
Ram himself read-prst.3ms aus
\end{verbatim}

'Ram reads by himself.'

\textbf{(114)b. Nominative (oblique) case:} \textit{ap\textit{\textit{n}\textit{\textit{e}}} ap+\textit{\textit{\ss}}}  
\begin{verbatim}
I+\textit{\textit{\ss}} refl. book.fs read-pst.fs
\end{verbatim}

'I read the book myself.'

\textbf{(114)c. Accusative case:} \textit{ap\textit{\textit{n}\textit{\textit{e}}} ap+n\textit{\textit{e}}}  
\begin{verbatim}
he+erg. refl. acc. say-pst.3ms
\end{verbatim}

'He told to himself.'

\textbf{(114)d. Instrumental case:} \textit{ap\textit{\textit{n}\textit{\textit{e}}} ap+sy\textit{\textit{o}}}  
\begin{verbatim}
I+ acc refl. pen from write-inf aux
\end{verbatim}

'I myself have to write with a pen.'
In the examples given above there are no distinct pronomial reflexives pronouns for each pronoun. The example (115) indicates that a non-coreferential object does not take a reflexive form; instead it selects a non-reflexive form. Dative subject controls reflexivisation as in (116).

(115)  
ram \(\text{ap}\) \(\text{ap}\) \(\text{ge}\) / \(bǐ\) \(\text{ge}\) \(\text{ge}\) sage bolyo  
Ram refl. obl. / he of with speak-pst.ms  
‘Ram talked with himself / him.’

(116)  
ram \(nē\) \(\text{ap}\) \(\text{ap}\) \(\text{ge}\) / * \(bǐ\) \(\text{ge}\) sage bolno pisǒnd \(\text{he}\)  
Ram dat.pp refl. *he of with speak-inf like aux  
‘Ram (dative) likes to talk with himself / *him.’
Reflexivization applies within a clause and allows forward application only. The example given below explains the ill-formedness of the following sentence:

*(116)b.  \[ \text{ap\(\check{\text{a}}\)e ap m\(\check{\text{e}}\) (n\(\check{\text{e}}\)) bo\(\check{\text{t}}\) diyo} \]
refl.obl I dat.pp vote give-pst.ms

‘I voted for myself.’

Examples such as (116b) clearly show that only the subject controls the reflexive pronouns. In possessive structures, the possessive reflexive form \textit{apgo} ‘self’ is used in place of possessive pronouns such as Hindi \textit{mera} (my), \textit{tumhara} (your). When the possessive reflexive, \textit{apgo} is used, the possessor is the same as the agent of the action or the subject. \textit{apgo} agrees with the following head NP in terms of number and gender- \textit{apgo} (ms), \textit{apga} (mp), \textit{apgi} (fs), \textit{apgi} (fp).

(117) m\(\check{\text{e}}\); ap go; / mero kam k\(\check{\text{e}}\)\(\text{\r{u}}\) h\(\check{\text{u}}\)
I refl.ms/*my.ms work do-prst.ms aux

‘I do my work.’

(118) b\(\check{\text{e}}\); apgo; / b\(\check{\text{i}}\) go kam k\(\check{\text{e}}\)\(\text{\r{y}o}\)
he+erg refl.ms / hiis.ms work do-pst.ms

‘He did his work.’
In (118a) the non-reflexive pronoun yields well formed output because the subject and the possessive pronoun are not coreferential. The possessive structure permits reduplicated reflexives, as in (119).

(119) be apge apge ghar gaya
they refl.poss.mp houses.mp go-pst.mp
'They went to their respective houses.'

The scope of reflexivity in Bagri is generally restricted to the clause, as in (120-121).

(120) sita keyo [ke ba / ap beṭhe pɔdegi]
sita ask-pst.fs that she / refl. there read-fut.3fs
'Sita; said that she; would study there.'

(121) ram puchyo [ke bī go / apgo babo kəd awęgo]
ram ask-pst.ms that he gen.ms refl.ms father when come-fut.3ms
'Ram, asked when his, brother would come.'
The sentences in (120) and (121) provide evidence that reflexivization does not go down into subordinate clauses. However reflexivization does not always meet the clause-mate constraint, as shown in the following sentences.

(122) \[ \text{ram}_i \ [\text{syam}_j \ n\bar{e} \ \text{apgo}_i] \ \text{dusm}\bar{e}_i \ \text{s}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{e}_j \ \text{he}] \]
\[ \text{Ram Shyam to refl. enemy consider-prst.ms aux} \]
\[ \text{Ram considers Shyam is his enemy.} \]

Sentence (122) has following two readings:

(122)a. \[ \text{ram}_i \ \text{mane} \ \text{he} \ [k\bar{e} \ \text{syam}_i \ \text{go dusm}\bar{e}_i \ \text{he}] \]
\[ \text{Ram consider-prst.ms aux. that shyam ram gen.ms enemy aux} \]
\[ \text{Ram considers that Shyam is Ram's enemy.} \]

(122)b. \[ \text{ram} \ \text{mane} \ \text{he} \ [k\bar{e} \ \text{syam}_i \ \text{syam}_i \ \text{go dusm}\bar{e}_i \ \text{he}] \]
\[ \text{Ram consider-prst.ms aux. that shyam shyam gen.ms enemy aux} \]
\[ \text{Ram considers that Shyam is Shyam's enemy.} \]

Sentence (122b) is capable of yielding a reflexive pronoun whereas the reflexive pronoun \text{ap\bar{e} ap} cannot occur in (122a) due to its clause boundedness. It appears that in (122a), reflexivization applies only after the finite subordinate clause becomes non-finite and is raised to the object position of the matrix sentence. Within a clause a reflexive pronoun occupies the same positions that any pronoun is capable of occupying. The only restriction is that the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun must be the subject of its clause.
2.8 RECIPROCALS

The reciprocal relations in Bagri are expressed by means of *ek dusre*, composed of the cardinal *ek* 'one' and the oblique form of the ordinal numeral *dusro* 'second.' Another way of forming reciprocals is by means of *aps̄rī mē* 'among each other.' The reciprocal *ek dusre* can take any postposition, but *aps̄rī* take only *mē* 'among / in postposition, as--

(123) ram өr sita ek dusre 民企 mithaiā di
Ram and sita eachother acc/dat sweets give-pst.fp

'Ram and Sita gave sweets to each other.'

(124) ram өr sita aps̄rī mē mithaiā bāṭī
Ram and sita each other among sweets distribute-pst.fp

'Ram and Sita distributed sweets among each other.'

The scope of reciprocity is restricted to the clause.

(125) mhe ek dusre syū lērya
we one another with fight-pst.mp

'We fought with one another.'

(126) bāʾ keyo ke  mhe ek dusre syū lērya
they.obl say-pst.ms that we one another with fight-pst.mp

'They said that we fought with one another.'
Reciprocals, like reflexives normally require an antecedent subject. Sometimes reciprocals may be used as a subject to fulfill the function of the universal qualifier, as in (127a)

(127) Subject

(127a) mhe pari mē gōya, bēṭhē ek dusrē apga nam bētaya
We party in go-pst.ms there one another gen.refl name tell-pst.ms

‘We went to party, there everyone told their names.’

(128) Direct object

(128a) chōre ēr chori ek dusrē nē dekhiya
Boy and girl one other dat.pp see-pst.mp

‘The boy and the girl saw each other.’

(129) Indirect object

(129a) mhe : ek dusrē nē topha diya
We one other dat.pp gifts give-pst.mp

‘The boy and the girl saw each other.’

(130) Adverb

(130a) bē ek dusrē syū niraj hē
ey they one other with unhappy aux

‘They are unhappy with each other.’

(131) Possessive ‘adjective’

bē ek dusrē ge ghaṛē jawē hē
ey they one another of house go-prst.mp aux

‘They go to one another’s house.’
An example of *apsɔri mɛ* 'among each other' is as follows:

(132) bɛ  apsɔri mɛ  koni bole
      they mutual in neg speak-prst.mp

'They do not talk among each other.'

Reciprocals do not appear at copular complements, e.g.

*(133) ō bhed apsɔri/ek dusre mɛ  hɛ*
      this secret mutual/one another in aux

'This secret is between one another.'

Reciprocal structures without antecedents are possible if the antecedent is
understood either syntactically (as in imperative sentences) or contextually.

(134) ek dusre  saxe  nā  ləro
      one another with neg. fight-imp

'(You) don't fight with each other.'

### 2.9 COMPARISON

In Bagri, comparison is expressed by means of sentential, phrasal and morphological
strategies. Sentential comparison is carried out by means of two clauses (finite)
introduced by the relative marker *jitto* 'as much as' and the correlative
marker *bitto* 'that much'.

(135) bǒ  bitto  kajo koni  hɛ [jitto  kajo  bīgo  bhai  hɛ]
      he that much.cor black neg. aux as much as black he-gen.ms brother aux

'He is not as dark as is his brother.'
As is the case in relative clauses, three orders are permitted: sentence-initial relative clause, immediately following the corrective bitto as an adjective, and sentence-final relative clause. In morphological comparison, the suffix -erol -eril-era is used with adjectives ending in -ol- il-a according to the number, person, and gender of the adjective to signify comparative degree, e.g. bədo 'big', bədəro 'bigger/elder'. Morphological comparison has very few examples in Bagri. As definite adjectives (discussed in 3.1.6.2), which also change for gender, number, and person may be made by suffixing these above-said suffixes.

(136) mən mero bədo bhai he
Mohan my big brother is

‘Mohan is my elder brother.’

(137) mən soən syə bədəro he
Mohan sohan from elder is

‘Mohan is elder to Sohan.’

Phrasal comparison is expressed by a postposition associated with the standard of comparison. The commonly used postpositions are: syə ‘than’, ge mukabə (mə) ‘in comparison with’. An adjective or adverb follows the adverb:

(138) ram syam syə / ge mukabə (mə) thik he
Ram Shyam from in comparison good is

‘Ram is better than Shyam.’
The postposition *mē* 'in' following the two standards of comparison can also signal phrasal comparison, as exemplified by the following paraphrase of (138).

(138a) \[ \text{ram or syam mē } \text{ram thik he} \]
\[ \text{Ram and Shyam in Ram good is} \]
\[ \text{‘Ram is better than Shyam.’} \]

Adjectives involved in a comparison can be modified either by an adverb of degree or by *bēdge* 'more'.

(139) \[ \text{ram syam syū jada } bēdge \text{ thik he} \]
\[ \text{Ram Shyam from more good is} \]
\[ \text{‘Ram is better than Shyam.’} \]

Correlative comparison is carried out by the sequential comparison strategy, i.e. by means of *jitto...bitto*.

(140) \[ \text{[bō } \text{jitto jada suṇo he] bitto jada murākh he} \]
\[ \text{he as much as.rel more handsome is that much.cor more fool is} \]
\[ \text{‘He is as foolish as handsome he is.’} \]

The relative clause can follow the correlative clause. This construction does not allow the use of comparative postposition *syū* 'than'.

Superlative comparison is carried out by substituting *sē* / *sara* / *sēgī* 'all' for the standard of comparison followed either by the postposition *syū* 'from' or *mē*
‘in’. *koi* or ‘someone else’ plus the negative particle is the another way of forming superlative comparison (141a).

(141) \[ \text{ram } s\acute{e} \text{ syu }/ m\acute{e} \text{ takro } \text{ he} \]
Ram all than/in great is

‘Ram is the greatest of all.’

(141a) \[ \text{ram } \text{ syu } \text{ badge } \text{ koi } \text{ or } \text{ takro } \text{ koni} \]
Ram than go beyond-abs.ppl someone else powerful neg.

‘No one is more powerful than Ram.’

Superlatives are also formed by substituting the adjective of comparison for *s\acute{e}/*/sara/*s\ddot{a}g\grave{a}*/ all’. It also serves as the standard of comparison, as follows.

(142) \[ \text{cokhe } \text{ syu }/ m\acute{e} \text{ cokho} \]
good.obl than/in good

‘...best...’

(143) \[ \text{marc } \text{ syu }/ m\acute{e} \text{ maro} \]
bad.obl than/in bad

‘...worst...’

In (142) the object of the postpositional phrase takes its oblique form because the adjective ends in */-o*/ and it is followed by the postposition *syu* ‘than/from’. The postposition intervenes between the reduplicated adjectives.
2.10 EQUATIVES

Equatives in Bagri are similar to comparitives and are of two types: (i) syntactic, and (ii) phrasal.

(i) The syntactic types of equatives are composed of two clauses termed *jitto* 'as much' and *bitto* 'that much' clauses and the subject and the standard of comparison receive an equative adjective or adverb. The negative particle is not used in equative sentences.

(144) bó bitto cokho he [jitto bīgo bhai]
he that much.cor good is as much rel he+gen.ms brother

'He is as good as his brother.'

*jiyā* 'which way' and *biyā* 'that way' also introduce an equative structure in Bagri-

(145) [jiyā bó he] biyā bīgo bhai
as-rel he is that-way he+gen.ms brother.

'He is like his brother.'

(ii) The phrasal type of equatives employes employ adjectives such as *bārābēr* 'equal' *bārgo* 'like', and the particle *jisyo* 'like/-ish-' which in turn behaves like a postposition.

(146) ram chore bārābēr/bārgo/jisyo he
Ram boy.obl equal/like/like/-ish is

'Ram is equal to a boy/ boy like /boyish.'
bergi and jisi are the feminine singular forms of bærgo and jisyo, respectively. The position of bærgo, jisyo after a noun and their ability to convert the masculine singular choro into its oblique form chore are evidence that they are postpositions. Although adjectives precede nouns; however, the three items in question follow a noun.

The adjective bærgo and the particle jisyo employed by a equational copular sentence if the subject and the object comparison are conjoined. In such an instance, the equative adjective and particle are further modified by ek(i) 'one'.

(147) bö ær mē ek(i) bærga / jisya hā
     he and I one like are

     'He and I are alike.'

(147a) gitu ær bī gi ma ek(i) bærga / jisya he
     Gitu and he gen.fs mother one like.mp are

     'Gitu and his mother are alike.'

The copular complement takes masculine plural form with conjoined subject. The feminine plural copular complement is also possible with conjoined feminine nouns.

Coordinate

nouns take plural verb forms whereas in the case of conjoined pronouns, the verbs agrees with the standard of comparison. Deletion of identical elements, including verbs, is allowed by equative structures. Deletion is forward and not backward.
It is noticed that even the third person plural copula verb he can be deleted. This shows that verb must be identical except for number and gender.

The backward deletion generates ill formed output, as in (148b).

*(148b) ram bitto ø ø [jitta (cokha) be' chora (he)]

2.11 POSSESSIVES

Possession is indicated by the use of verb hono ‘to be’. What is important is that possessive structures are sensitive to the concepts of alienable vs. inalienable, permanent vs. temporary possession, and the animacy of the possessor which, in turn, assign a variety of postpositions to the subject. Since any subject when followed by a postposition fails to control verb agreement, in possession structures the verb agrees with the object, i.e. the possessed item.

A list below exhibits the influence of the type of possessor and possession on the selection of the subject postposition:
(149) **Possessor** | **Possession** | **Subject postposition**
--- | --- | ---
(a) Animate | alienable | ge kənnə 'near / possession' (concrete objects)
(b) Animate | inalienable | ga / go / ge 'possessive' (relationships, body parts)
(c) Inanimate | alienable | mɛ 'in' (concrete objects)
(d) Animate | permanent | mɛ 'in' (qualities, emotions)
(e) Animate | temporary | nɛ 'to' (feelings, sensations)

Observing the following sentences in this regard:

(150) **Animate possessor-alienable possession.**

(150a) bî ge kənnə kitabā he he gen.ms.obl near / poss book.p are

'He has books.'

(151) **Animate possessor-inalienable possession**

(151a) bî ge cyar chora he he gen.mpfour boy.mpare

'He has four sons.'
In all the sentences above the verb agrees with the object, i.e. the element of possession. Present and past possession are also expressed indirectly. The former is expressed with the present copular verb and by modifying the possession element by modifiers such as *pekko* ‘permanent’, *kacco* ‘temporary’.

Past possessions are denoted by conjugating the verb ‘to be’ in its past / past habitual tense (155a).
2.12 EMPHASIS

Emphasis serves to draw particular attention to some element in a sentence or utterance, either to place that element in focus or to contrast it with some other element. Bagri is rich in terms of expressing emphasis and it is primarily conveyed by means of intonation, particles, movements and repetition of elements.

Emphasis works at two levels (i) Sentence emphasis, and (ii) Constituent emphasis:

2.12.1 Sentence emphasis

Sentence emphasis is expressed in number of ways: by intonation, particles and adverbials. There are two types of sentence emphasis- (A) non-contradictory and (B) contradictory

(A) Non contradictory emphasis:

It is expressed by raising pitch to the highest level /3/ at the verbal element of a non-emphatic sentence. Sentence (156a), for example, represents an emphatic counterpart of the non-emphatic sentence (156).

(156) 2 1
mAmy gam gøyo
I village go-pst.ms

'I went to the village.'

(156a) 1 2 3
mAmy gam gøyo
'I went to the village.'
The addition of emphatic particles to an already emphatic sentence such as (156a) further enhances the force of emphasis, as in (156b)

(156b)  

\[ hā, \ hā \ mē \ \text{gam} \ \text{gəyo} \]  
\[ \text{yes yes I village go-pst.ms} \]

'Of course, undoubtedly, I went to the village.'

The most widely used non-emphatic particles in Bagri are as follows-

(157) \( kē \) 'after all / that's all'

It appears that the emphatic particle \( kē \) is result of reduction of \( kē \ koni \) 'or not' and occupies the same position in a sentence as does \( kē \ nēi \)

(157a) \( bəŋ \ ò \ \text{keyo} \ \text{ho} \ \text{ke} \)  
\( \text{he-erg.} \ \text{this} \ \text{say-pst.ms} \ \text{was} \ \text{emph.part.} \)

'He did say this.'

Example (157a) is paraphrase of (157b)-

(157b) \( bəŋ \ ò \ \text{keyo} \ \text{ho} \ \text{ke} \ \text{koni} \)  
\( \text{he-erg this say-pst.ms was or neg.} \)

'He said this or not.'

(158) Adverbs

Adverbs such as \( jərur \) 'certainly' also render a sentence with non-contradictory emphasis.

(158a) \( bō \ jərur \ \text{awɛgo} \)  
\( \text{he certainly come-fut.3ms} \)

'He will certainly come.'
Contradictory emphasis:

It is carried out by repetition of the negative particle which introduces a negative sentence.

\[(159) \quad nəi, \ nəi \ bô \ koni \ awęgo\]
\[
\text{neg. neg. he neg. come-fut.3ms}\]
\[
\text{‘No, no he will not come.’}\]

The negative particle placed immediately after a constituent signifies contradictory constituent emphasis, as in

\[(159a) \quad mę \ nəi \ bęŋ-ō \ kam \ kęryo\]
\[
\text{I neg. he-erg this work do-pst.3ms}\]
\[
\text{‘It was not me but him who did this work.’}\]

Particles

Another way of expressing contradictory emphasis is by means of particle säĩ ‘correct’ which highlights the minimum condition in contrast with a desirable condition to perform an act. When combined with a stress, it conveys warning by the meaning ‘dare not’. The particle säĩ is often preceded by another constituent particle to.

\[(160a) \quad bô \ awę \ to \ säĩ\]
\[
\text{he come emph.contra emph.}\]
\[
\text{‘The least he could do is to come,’}\]

The particle säĩ occurs postverbally.
2.12.2 Constituent emphasis

Constituent emphasis is expressed in a number of ways: by the use of stress, emphatic particles, movement clefting, and iteration, or a combination of two or more of those.

(A) Emphatic stress:

For the purpose of contrastive stress any element of a sentence may be stressed. Placing stress on four different constituents yields for different contrastive readings.

(161) mē kal ghare gōyō
I yesterday home-loc go-pst.ms

I went home yesterday.
I went home yesterday.
I went home yesterday.
I went home yesterday.

The item corresponding to the underlined word receives stress prominence in (161).

In a non-emphatic sentence, all members of a sentence receive equal prominence by receiving almost equal stress.

(B) Emphatic particles:

Four emphatic particles - *i* 'only', *je* 'if', *to* and *thoro* are important devices to mark constituent emphasis in Bagri-
(162) /i/ (exclusive) -

The particle /i/ can follow any constituent of a noun phrase as in (162a-b). The variant is restricted to formal speech alone.

(162a) ek lal kitab
one red book

'One red book.'

(162b) ek i lal kitab
one only.emph red book

'A one red book.'

(163) /to/ (contrastive) -

The particle /to/ is homophonous with the postposition 'on/at' and the 'and' coordinator. Like the particle /i/, it can be used with any constituent of a noun phrase. This particle implies a contrastive negative statement, as in (163a-c)

(163a) kitab to cokhi he
Book.fs contra good.fs is

'As far as the book is concerned it is good.'

(163b) nūi to kar he
new contra car is

'As regards the car, it is new.'

(163c) do to admi aya
two contra. car come-pst.mp

'Atleast two men came.'
This particle may be preceded by another emphatic particle, as in (163d)

(163d) mē huī to gôrib
      I emph.part. contra. poor

'I am certainly poor.'

The above sentence also indicates the particle *huī* can be employed as a marker of constituent emphasis when placed in other than post-sentential position.

(164) /je/ (a sort of reason particle)

The use of /je/ follows the pattern of the particle /ī/ and /to/, i.e. it can follow any constituent of a sentence.

(164a) mē je gəyo
       I reason.part go-pst.ms

'For / since I went.'

(164b) mē bôtthe je gəyo
       I there reason.part go-pst.ms

'If I went there.'

The unmarked order of constituents within a noun-phrase is subject to further change to mark emphasis. Any constituent of a noun-phrase can be moved to the left to make it prominent within a phrase.

(165) bhot cokha do bīga i chora
      very good two he.gen emph boys

'Very good two sons of his ....'
The degree adverb together with the adjective is moved to the left in (165) from its unmarked position indicated by /i/.

Cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences are formed alternatively in Bagri by way of employing /i/ (166-168) and the relative clause structure (169), respectively.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(166) (subject)-} \\
(166a) & \quad \text{ā ram i he jiko thik he} \\
& \quad \text{this ram emph. is that good is} \\
& \quad \text{'It is Ram who is good.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(167) (object)-} \\
(167a) & \quad \text{ā meri kitab i he jiki cokhi he} \\
& \quad \text{this my book.fs emph. is that.fs good.fs is} \\
& \quad \text{'It is my book that is good.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(168) (possessor)-} \\
(168a) & \quad \text{bō gēlo i ho jiko bēttē gīyo} \\
& \quad \text{he mad emph was that there go-pst.3ms} \\
& \quad \text{'He was a mad who went there.'}
\end{align*}
\]

The same pattern is followed when adverbials and subordinate NPs undergo clefting.

It is important that in the absence of the particle /i/, clefting fails to convey the desired emphasis and is pragmatically odd. Pseudo-cleft sentences begin with relative clauses, as in (169)
2.13 PARTICLES

There is a class of words in Bagri which have no fixed place of occurrence. These may go with a word phrase or a clause. The element related to these is brought into prominence. These may be called particles or emphatics. The element emphasized may carry heavy stress also. The place of the particles is not fixed. Following are the particles found in the dialect: /i/, /to/, and /so/.

2.13.1 /i/

This emphatic particle has fairly wide range of usage in Bagri, i.e. it may occur after nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles and adverbs in a construction. A word ending in a consonant takes /ə/ before /i/. It corresponds with Hindi /bhi/. The range of its usage may be illustrated by the examples (170a-d).

(170) mē jawūgo
I go-fut.ms

‘I shall go’

(170a) mē i jawūgo
I also go-fut.ms

‘I shall also go.’
This also a book of seven rupees.

'There are so many men. (emphatic)

'He also plays football.' (emphatic)

Any constituent of a phrase may be emphasized with the use of particle /i/, as in

(171a-c)-

(171a)  ē i tin kūrta
these emph. three shirts

'These three shirts'. (these emphasized)

(171b)  ē tin i kūrta
these three emph. shirts

'These three shirts.' (three emphasized)

(171c)  ē tin kūrta i
these three shirts emph.

'These three shirts.' (shirts emphasized).

The particle can occur with an adverb, as in (172)

(172) mhe tønŋ̥ kət̊hə i kuʈ̊əŋa
we you-obl. somewhere emph. beat-fut.3mp

'We shall beat you somewhere.'

The particle can also occur with a verbal form- as in (173) and (173a)
(173) bō jagotā i bhaj gyo
    he awakening emph. run go-pst.3ms

    ‘He ran just after awakening.’

(173a) bō khawē i he
    he eat-prst emph. is

    ‘He does eat.’

2.13.2 /to/

/to/ in Bagri is equivalent to Hindi /to/ and it has a very wide range of usage. It may occur with a noun, pronoun adjective or verb. When placed after a noun or noun-phrase, it emphasizes the meaning of the same.

(175) acha chora to kam kəre he
    good boys emph. work do-prst are

    ‘The good boys do work.’

Placing the particle /to/ just after an adjective, creates some emphasis about the adjective, as in (176)-

(176) bō kalo to he
    he black emph. is

    ‘He is black.’

It can be placed after a verb and creating emphasis in the action of the verb it follows.

(177) bō jawē to he
    he go-prst emph is

    ‘He does go.’
2.13.3 /sw/

This particle may occur after a noun or adjective in a noun phrase construction. It behaves like an adjective as in (178a-c) and creates doubt about noun or adjective after which it is placed:

(178a) bá choro si hē
girl boy.ms like is

'She is like a boy.'

(178b) bō kaño so hē
he black.ms like is

'He is some what dark.' (black like)

(178c) 6 gabho kaño so hē
this cloth black like is

'This cloth is black like.'