part three

SYNTAX
3. SYNTAX

3.0 GENERAL

Up to this point we have examined the phonemic and morphemic structure of Banjari. Now we propose to enter the domain of syntax and to see how words are combined into larger structures—phrases, clauses, and sentences.

3.1 PHRASE

The phrase level of grammar is that level that is below the clause level and above the word level. The phrase is composed of words and fills slots at the clause level. This level is comparable to the "group level" of Halliday's scale-and-category grammar.

The phrase has traditionally been considered a unit and defined as a word group not containing subject and predicate, which functions as a single part of speech. In tagmemic analysis the phrase is extended to include "potential phrases", that is, single words with optional modifiers are listed as phrases. Thus according to Pike (1967:439), a phrase is \( +(+\text{word}+\text{word}), \) or \( +(+\text{word}+\text{word}), \) but not \( +(+\text{word}). \) A phrase is a unit which is composed of either two or more words, or is one word which is optionally expandable.

The phrase is defined as "a unit composed of two or more words potentially, which does not have the characteristics of a clause, and typically, but not always, fills slots on the clause level" (Elson and Pickett, 1962:73).

3.1.1 PHRASE TYPES

Phrase types may be outlined as follows:

(i) Exocentric phrase: An exocentric construction is a non centred construction. Prepositional phrases come under this category.
(11) Endocentric phrase: Endocentric constructions are centered constructions, in which the whole construction fills the same clause level slots as the head of construction. It may be multiple head or single head construction and may be sub-classified as:

A. Multiple Head Phrase: It contains more than one head words. In multiple head construction, the two or more heads may be coordinated or, if they have the same external referent, head may be in apposition. Thus multiple head phrases may further be divided into:

   (i) Coordinate: heads have different referents.

   (ii) Aposiitive: heads have same referent.

B. Modifier Head Phrase: It contains only one head word. Noun, verb, adjective, and adverb phrases come under this category.

The phrase level is essentially the level of endocentric construction. All phrases are centered about head words except the prepositional phrase, in which the relater, or preposition, is attached to the word or word group and fits this word or group for a particular syntactic use. Elsewhere, phrases are structured word group filling the same slots as the head of construction.

3.1.2 NOUN PHRASE

Noun phrase is a construction with a noun filling the head slot, and with various noun modifiers in the string.
Possessives are also noun type modifiers, but it is more useful to consider item + possessor phrase as consisting of two and only two constituents. In item-possessor phrases, both item and possessor are 1 obligatory and nuclear (Langaere, 1964: 84). Either item or possessor, or both may be marked. The string consists of + item + possessor. Attributes in the string belong to either item or possessor:

\[ IP = Pos : RA + It : n \]

\[ \text{Ramesh's horse} \]

Read: An item-possessor phrase consists of a possessor slot filled by a relater-axis phrase, and an item slot filled by a noun.

\[ N = + Det : pos \times Qu : num \times Mod : Adj + Hin \]

**Maaro di jawan chwar: 'my two young sons'**

Read: A noun phrase consists of a determiner slot filled by a possessive, an optional quantifier slot filled by numeral, an optional modifier slot filled by an adjective and a head slot filled by a noun.

**A TAGMEMIC TREATMENT OF NOUN PHRASE**

The head tagmemes of a noun phrase may be manifested by:

(a) Locative noun,

\[ \text{Quan} : \text{quan} \]

\[ \text{Kan} \]

\[ \text{Dusr-o} \]

\[ h \]

\[ \text{Gar} \quad \text{'another house'} \]

\[ \text{Tisr-i} \]

\[ h \]

\[ \text{Chwari} \quad \text{'third girl'} \]

(b) Temporal noun,

\[ \text{Limidem} \]

\[ Mitn \]

\[ 0 \]

\[ \text{Dan} \]

\[ \text{that} \]

\[ \text{day} \]

(c) Mass noun,

\[ \text{Quan} : \text{quan} \]

\[ \text{Nin} \]

\[ \text{Ek katna} \]

\[ \text{Dus} \]

\[ \text{one measure} \]

\[ \text{Milk} \]
(a) Count noun, Quant noun: five hundred horses

The attributive tagme of a noun phrase may be manifested by:

(a) An adjective phrase,

\[ \text{Att: } \text{adj} \quad \text{Min} \]
\[ \text{h} \quad \text{ja} \text{-dual} \]
\[ \text{very strong} \quad \text{magic} \]

(b) An axis related phrase- re:

\[ \text{Limidem} \quad \text{Att:ar-re:} \quad \text{Min} \]
\[ i \quad \text{paip-e-r} \quad \text{gattari:} \]
\[ \text{this} \quad \text{sinful} \quad \text{bundle} \]
\[ \text{thi:n misa:-r} \quad \text{mid} \]
\[ \text{three month's} \quad \text{sleep} \]
\[ \text{pa:nc rapya:-re:} \quad \text{buriya:} \]
\[ \text{five rupees} \quad \text{nail(gold)} \]

(c) A dependent clause, ARCl-re:

\[ \text{Att: ARCl-re:} \quad \text{Min} \]
\[ \text{kapra: mele:-re:} \quad \text{la:ti:} \]
\[ \text{clothes throwing} \quad \text{stick} \]
\[ \text{A stick for hanging clothes} \]
\[ \text{hare-\text{ma} a:i:-re:} \quad \text{a:i:-re:} \]
\[ \text{house-in coming} \quad \text{time} \]
\[ \text{'the time for coming home'} \]

(d) A dependent clause, ARCl wailos/waili:

\[ \text{Att:ARCl- wailos/waili} \quad \text{Min} \]
\[ \text{Jaga boha: re-waili:} \quad \text{ta:ndri:} \]
\[ \text{place sweeping} \quad \text{woman} \]
\[ \text{yesklo: bagi:ca:-re: jatan karo:-wailo: cwa:ra:} \]
\[ \text{alone garden - of watch do -er boy} \]
\[ \text{'the boy who alone watches the garden'} \]
(e) A dependent clause, Ref ARC1

*Att: Ref. Arg*  
\[ \text{kaikakajak} \]  
\[ \text{what say-he that} \]

*Min*  
\[ \text{kasm} \]  
\[ \text{work} \]

(f) A qualifier phrase,

*Quan: quan*  
\[ \text{ekseir} \]  
\[ \text{wheat-of-seed} \]  
\[ \text{nahe-r} \]  
\[ \text{bath-of} \]

*Att: qual*  
\[ \text{gau-r dasa} \]  
\[ \text{shortage} \]

*Min*  
\[ \text{kambii} \]

(g) A different AR phrase,

*Att: Ref. AR*  
\[ \text{ek upare-ti jako} \]  
\[ \text{one above-from that} \]

*Min*  
\[ \text{raam} \]

*Ram*  
\[ \text{Ram who was from above} \]

*Beita*  
\[ \text{father near-with that} \]

*Sen*  
\[ \text{'the son nearby the father'} \]

Quantifier tagmemes of a noun phrase can be manifested by:

(a) A numeral phrase,

*Quan: num*  
\[ \text{ada:} \]  
\[ \text{se} \]  
\[ \text{a:ami} \]

*Min*  
\[ \text{'two hundred & fifty men'} \]

(b) A quantifier phrase,

*Quan: quan*  
\[ \text{be} \]  
\[ \text{ko:a} \]  
\[ \text{six two-miles} \]
\[ \text{ek} \]  
\[ \text{mena:} \]
\[ \text{one month} \]

*Min*  
\[ \text{jamii} \]  
\[ \text{ground} \]
\[ \text{dan} \]  
\[ \text{day/time} \]
(c) A quantifier word,

Quan:quan

Sapa:

all

h
gano:

many

Hin

h
geires:

horses

mankiya:

people

The limiter tagmeme of a noun phrase may be manifested by:

(a) A demonstrative,

Lim:dem

Hin

i:

ta:indri:

this

woman

(b) A possessive pronoun,

Lim:poss.pro

Hin

ma:ro:

h
haibi:

my

sister-in-law

(c) An axis relator phrase, AR - re:

Lim:AR-re:

Quan:quan

Hin

ek westar rai:ro:

di:

h
cwari:

One Bastar King's two daughters

B- DESCRIPTIVE TREATMENT OF NOUN PHRASE

SINGLE NOUN PHRASE

A nominal phrase may consist of a single noun or a

noun equivalent, e.g.,

(a) Noun-

h

cwara: 'boy'

mo:han 'Mohan'

(b) Pronoun-

ma 'I'

tu 'You'

(c) Adjectival noun:

doskra: 'the old(man)'

(d) Numeral -

cair 'four',

di 'two',

ek 'one'

(e) Agentive -

aryesa:le:i(M.) 'the coming one'

aryesa:li:(F.)
Verbal noun- gaː-sa 'singing'

These may be exemplified thus:
(a) qaːraiː jaː reː ga 'the boy is going'
(b) ma jaː niː cu 'I go'
(c) dʊːkraː jaː reː ha ga 'the old man is going'
(d) ek aːyoː an maːreː Kapraː uːtaː niː laː gə 'one(person) came and went away with my clothes'
(e) koːn aːyaːwaiː loː haːi 'who is the coming one?'
(f) taːɣ gaː-sa/giːt boləna aːchə haː 'your singing/song is good'

**COORDINATED NOUNS PHRASE** N+N+N+ ...

A nominal phrase may consist of two or more nouns in coordination. When two or more nouns are coordinated by a coordinating conjunction, the conjunction is used before the last noun, e.g.

haːl an həːl 'fruit and flower'
pustak, kalaːm, an kəːgəd 'book, pen and paper'
uː, tʊː an ma 'he, you and I'

The disjunctive yaː can also be used as in:
haːlaː reː yaː həːlə 'boy or girl'
beːtəː yaː beːtiː 'son or daughter'

Iskul joː paː gəːr beːt həːt 'go to school or stay at home'

**CO-ORDINATION OF NOUNS WITH CASE MARKERS**

When nouns with case markers are joined by co-ordinating conjunction, then also the conjunction is used before the last noun. The case markers, however, can be used either (i) after all nouns, or (ii) after the last noun only. When the case marker is used with all the nouns, emphases is implied.
(a) 

\[ \text{darwaja: - na, kirkis: - na a} \]

\[ \text{door } - \text{ to, window } - \text{ to opened} \]

\[ \text{darwaja: - na an kirkis: - na } \text{ 'door to and window to'} \]

\[ \text{darwaja: an kirkis: - na } \text{ 'door and window to'} \]

(b) \( \text{han gairi: -ti, reile, -ti an mointere-ti as res: de} \)

'they are coming by cart, by rail and by motar'

'gairi, motar an reile -ti 'by cart, motar and train'

such coordinating constructions can be reduced to forms in which
the nouns without case markers are followed by the
proximate plural demonstrative pronoun with the case marker

'gairi, motar, reile eima: -ti 'cart, motar, train, by these'

Pronouns, however, cannot be co-ordinated like this. Pronominal
stems like i, u, e, or, koin etc. have the case markers with
them. Pronouns like ham, tam etc. may and may not have the case
markers just after them.

ham -ti an tam -ti / ham an tam ti 'by us and you'

'eima an eima 'In this and in that'

WITH DATIVE MARKER: (aiser/jugu)

Dative case markers may be used with the last noun or with
all the nouns.

(a) Guru: ji aiser an 

Guru: ji an 

'For teacher and boys'

(b) ma: jugu, baip jugu an 

Baip, byain jugu 'for mother, father, brother and sister'

WITH GENITIVE MARKER:

Genitive marker may be used with the last noun or with all
the nouns.

'moshane -r , rameis: -r, an gopail -r gairis: hein/

'moshan, ramesh an gopal -ro: gairis: hein

'The mares of Mohan, Ramesh and Gopal'
One or more adjectives can be used with a noun.

\[\text{nagad } \text{pu} = \text{il} \quad \text{‘beautiful flower’}\]

\[\text{nagad } \text{lai} = \text{il} \quad \text{‘beautiful red flower’}\]

Adjectives can be coordinated using the conjunction ‘an’ as in-

\[\text{nagad an } \text{bar} = \text{a} \quad \text{pu} = \text{il} \quad \text{‘beautiful and big flower’}\]

\[\text{nagad, } \text{bar} = \text{a} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{husbud} = \text{ai} \quad \text{pu} = \text{il} \quad \text{‘beautiful, big and fragrant flower’}\]

Adjectives may be preceded by modifiers as in-

\[\text{h} \quad \text{k} \quad \text{u} = \text{b} \quad \text{mo} = \text{ti} \quad \text{cwa} = \text{ri} : \quad \text{‘very fat girl’}\]

\[\text{kam nagad } \text{cwa} = \text{ri} : \quad \text{‘the less beautiful girl’}\]

Demonstrative adjectives are used as attributives of nouns. When there are other adjectives, the demonstrative is used before the other adjectives in Banjari, provided the others are simple or basic adjectives and not participles or participle based adjectives.

\[\text{\textit{i} = \text{tandri} : \quad \text{‘this woman’}}\]

\[\text{\textit{i} = \text{ge} = \text{re} : \quad \text{‘this horse’}}\]

\[\text{\textit{U} = \text{cwa} = \text{ra} : \quad \text{‘that boy’}}\]

\[\text{\textit{i} = \text{ka} = \text{jii} : \quad \text{\textit{ge} = \text{ri} : \quad \text{‘this black mare’}}\]

\[\text{\textit{U} = \text{lui} = \text{ja} : \quad \text{\textit{ad} = \text{mi} : \quad \text{‘that crippled man’}}\]

Relative participle words or phrases may be used as adjuncts to nouns.

\[\text{\textit{ca} = \text{li} - \text{to} : \quad \text{\textit{cwa} = \text{ra} : \quad \text{‘going boy’}}\]

\[\text{\textit{da} = \text{i} - \text{l} : \quad \text{\textit{cwa} = \text{ri} : \quad \text{‘running girl’}}\]

\[\text{\textit{e} = \text{ra} - \text{ri} - \text{ca} \quad \text{\textit{k} = \text{r} = \text{ri} : \quad \text{‘running rivulet’}}\]

Note: Present participles function as the adjunct of the subject only. Perfect participles of transitive verbs may function as the qualifiers of the object, whereas perfect participles of intransitive verbs function as the qualifiers of the subject.
INTRANSITIVE VERB

asi:  (hui:) citi: 'the letter that came'
murti: tain dri: 'women who are sleeping'
giri: (huai:) puil 'fallen flower'

TRANSITIVE VERB

gama: hue: pisai: 'lost money'
bai: hue: kei: 'eaten up bananas'

POSSITIVE NOUNS OR PRONOUNS AS ADJUNCTS

Possessive nouns or pronouns (nouns or pronouns with genitive markers) can be used as adjuncts to the noun, e.g.,
mohan: -r har 'Mohan's house'
har: marn: -ro: hai: 'the boy's hands'
raja: -ro: he: 'the king's son'
ma: ba: hi: 'my sister-in-law'

When the nominals have adjective adjuncts as well, they follow the genitive marker and precede the nominal.
har: marn: -ro: ka: hi: hai: 'black hair of the boy'
ta: ro: nankya: hai: 'your younger brother'
o: ro: ka: hi: sa: ri: 'her black saree'

If the participial adjuncts occur in the place of adjectives, the construction remains the same, e.g.,
ma: ha: rai: -ma gam: a: hue: pi: 'the money that I lost in the market'

When there are more than one possessive nouns as adjunct to a nominal, the nouns are co-ordinated with 'an' before the final noun, and then the genitive marker is used with the final noun, or the nouns with genitive markers are co-ordinated with 'an' before the final noun.
The tails of the dog and the cat

3.1.3 Pronoun Phrase

A TAGMERIC TREATMENT OF PRONOUN PHRASE

Pronoun phrase consists of attributive and head tagmemes. In fact, it is a group of words and functions as a modifier to head. The pronoun most often occurs unmodified, however, it qualifies as a phrase on three counts:

(i) It can take bound relators - na, -ti, and -ma
(ii) It can be expanded by modifiers.
(iii) It typically fills slots on clause level.

Its distinguishing features are:

(i) Its head slot is filled by a pronoun
(ii) It has only two tagmemes: (1) attributive, and (2) head
(iii) Its internal structure can be represented by the formula:

± Att + Head

Read: A pronoun phrase consists of an attributive tagmem and a head tagmem.

The head tagmem can be manifested by:

(a) A temporal pronoun,

Att; int
ekdam
right

Attributive Tagmemes may be manifested by:

(a) A quantifier word,

Att; quant.
sapa;

'All of that'

B DESCRIPTIVE TREATMENT OF PRONOUN PHRASE

See Pronouns under PART OF SPEECH
3.1.4 VERB PHRASE

A- TAGMEIC TREATMENT OF VERB PHRASE:
The verb phrase is a construction with a verb as the head word, and with various auxiliaries, negatives, and adverbs in the string. Banjari verb phrase consists of five systems:

1. Verbal base
2. Modal
3. Aspect
4. Tense
5. Negative

These systems are inter-related, and have been described in the section dealing with morphology. Here it will suffice to note that the verb phrase has got the following distinguishing features:

A. Its head tagmeme is manifested by a verbal base which can be transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, receptor, stative, nominal compound, verbal compound or causative.

B. It has five tagmemes as shown in the formula whose relative order except for negative is rigid.

C. Each tagmeme is manifested by a separate system of its own.

D. Internal structure

+ Head + Modal + Aspect + Tense + Neg.

B- DESCRIPTIVE TREATMENT OF VERB PHRASE

SINGLE VERBS

A verbal phrase may consist of a single copula verb in Banjari (with tense, aspect, gender and number markers).

 carnar sawar caal-1-ya 'The girl will go tomorrow'
 ma kar-u: c-u ‘I do the work'
 u: gas: ri: ca ‘she is singing'

If the single verb is the finite verb meaning ‘be' it is obligatory and is overtly expressed as in:

u: ek sawar ca h ‘that is a boy'
1 : pu:1 aca ca h ‘this flower is beautiful'
VERBAL SEQUENCES

The verbal phrase may be a verbal sequence of uninflectible root followed by a modal verb or intensifier or emphaser, or may be an inflexible form of the verb followed by another verb.

COMPOUND VERBS

The important verbs used for forming the verbal compounds are the following:

MODAL VERBS

sak
cuk
par

INTENSIFIERS OR EMPHASISERS

jo: 'go'
par 'fall'
la 'take'
da 'give'

WITH MODALS

gaisak 'can sing'
aisak 'can come'
gai cuk 'finish singing'
liek cuk 'finish writing'
a: par 'happen to come'

WITH INTENSIFIERS

ai jo: 'come'
mar jo: 'die'
sce: jo: 'sleep'
ha yasek da: 'throw off'

COMPOUND VERBS WITH ABSOLUTE- an, (Overt or Covert.)

The verbal phrase may be the verb in the absolutive
participal form (i.e. Root + - an) followed by the chief verb. The absolutive marker may be optionally deleted.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jai-n} & \quad \text{de} \quad \text{f} \quad \text{'go and see'} \\
\text{Jai-g-n} & \quad \text{ul} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{'wake and get-up'}
\end{align*}
\]

CONJUNCT VERB

Banjari has a number of conjunct verbs, mainly of two types:

(1) Noun + verb  (2) Adjective + verb

The frequently occurring verbs in such conjunct verbal phrases are kar 'do' and 'he' 'be/become'. However a few conjunct verbs with the verbs da 'give', le la 'take', are also found.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} + \text{V} \\
\text{pujai}+ \text{kar} & \quad \text{'worship'}
\end{align*}
\]

N + V CONJUNCTS

(i) N + kar

USE OF CASE MARKERS

When the N+V conjuncts are used in Banjari, they are connected with the object (i.e. object when the whole verbal phrase is considered as the verb) mostly with the genitive case marker, but some are connected with the accusative marker, some other with the instrumental marker, and still others with locative marker.

WITH GENITIVE MARKER

The following are some conjunct verbs which demand genitive marker with the logical subject.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ro:} & \quad \text{a} \quad \text{dar} \quad \text{kar} \quad \text{'respect'} \\
\text{ro:} & \quad \text{i} \quad \text{jjat} \quad \text{kar} \quad \text{'respect'}
\end{align*}
\]
WITH ACCUSATIVE MARKER

A few conjunct verbs of the N + V form in Banjari demand the accusative marker -na with the object. It may be explained that the whole verbal phrase functions as a single transitive verb, -na may be optionally deleted.

-na yad karn 'remember'

-na raat karn 'turn into ashes'

WITH INSTRUMENTAL MARKER

A few conjunct verbs demand the instrumental marker with the noun with which they are connected.

-ti: kajiyaa karn 'quarrel'

-ti: kaus karn 'work'

WITH LOCATIVE MARKER

A few conjunct verbs in Banjari demand locative markers.

-par dayaa karn 'have pity on'

-ma kaus karn 'work in'

(i) N + ho:he:

The Banjari conjunct verbs with the verb 'he:' added to the nouns are the intransitive forms of the conjunct verbs of the form N + kar. These also demand the respective case markers with the nouns which are connected with them.

-re: aidar he: 'he respected'

-h

-re: napathe: 'he despised'

-re: pusijaa hui: 'was worshipped'

CO-ORDINATION OF VERBS

When there are more than one verbs in the same sentence, they can be conjoined provided the subject is the same.

In Banjari, this is done without changing the form of the verb.

se:na ram ri: da + so:na: kudi ri: da

se:na: ram an kudi ri: da

'sena is playing and jumping'
1.1.5 SOME OTHER PHRASES

1.1.51 ADJECTIVE PHRASE

It is an important phrase in as much as it fills the attributive slot in the noun phrase, and the complement slot in the stative clause. It consists of an optional intensifier slot filled by an intensifier and an obligatory head slot filled by an adjective. Variable intensifier agrees with the adjective head. Its internal structure can be represented by the formula:

\[ + \text{Int}\mid \text{int} \quad + \text{H}i\mid \text{aj} \]

Examine the illustrations listed below:

| Int: | H| aj |
|---|---|
| ekdam | ka:le: |
| very | black |
| ku:b | mo:to: |
| very | fat |

(see adjectives under Parts of speech)

1.1.52 ADVERB PHRASE

It fills the manner slot on clause level and the complement slot of stative clauses. It consists of an optional intensifier and an obligatory head slot filled by an adverb. Variable intensifier agrees with the adverb head in gender and number. Its internal structure may be denoted by the formula:

\[ + \text{Int}\mid \text{int} \quad \text{H}i\mid \text{av} \]

\[ \text{h}:\text{e}:\text{t} \quad \text{di}:\text{re}-\text{di}:\text{re} \]

very slowly

(see adverbs under Parts of Speech)

1.1.53 AXIS-RELATER PHRASES

We find within the phrase level, "various geological
strata or layers. One such layer is the layer of relation. Words or word groups, together with a phrase relater, act as functioning units. These are called relater-axis phrases."

"A relater-axis phrase is a structured word group with two immediate constituents, one of which is a phrase relater, and the other a word or word group governed by the relater and called the axis. This construction type is exocentric because neither the relater alone, nor the axis alone, may fill the same clause level slots as the relater-axis group" (Walter A. Cook, S. J. 1969:53)

Phrase relaters are opposed to clause level relaters (subordinating conjunctions) and to word level inflectional endings. Phrase level relaters are free relaters, inflectional endings are bound relaters. Banjari has got bound and free both type of relaters. Its bound relaters are: -na, -ma, -ti, and -ra; which correspond to Hindi ke:, me:, se: and ka:

Banjari relaters are phonologically bound to the phrase whose internal structure can be manifested by the formula:

\[ +A: \text{NP} + \text{Rel: -na} \]

Read, an axis-relater phrase consists of an obligatory axis slot filled by a noun. Phrase and an obligatory relater slot filled by a bound relater.

\[ \text{A: NP} \quad \text{Rel: -na} \]

\[ \text{horse} \quad \text{to} \]

'\text{to the big horse}'

Some Axis-relater phrase correspond to the Hindi postpositional phrase in which the postpositional is a compound of ke: plus postpositional e.g., ke:pas, ke:samne:ke:hitic.
1.1.54 **ATTRIBUTIVE-RELATER PHRASE**

It fills the attributive slot in a noun phrase and the subject slot in a clause. Its function is to relate a phrase axis to a following noun in an attributive relationship, or to the clause as a whole in a subject relationship. Jakoi is the relater which frequently occurs in Ref.AR phrases.

Its internal structure can be represented by the formula:

\[ A: \text{NP} + \text{Reli jakoi/jui} \ (\text{Him}) \]

\[ ha'pas-r \ kuki: \quad \text{jako}i \quad \text{(Him)} \]

'the stone hen (spirit)'

1.1.55 Quantifier, Numeral, Vocative, and coordinate phrases are not described here as they have occurred in illustrative contexts under morphology and elsewhere. (see adjectives, conjunctions and vocatives under parts of speech)
3.2 **Clause**

2.2.0 **General**

The clause level of grammar is that level that is below the sentence level, and above the phrase level. The clause is composed of words and phrases and, in turn, fills slots at the sentence level. The clause is a unit of grammar. It is construction in which the constituent is a potential sentence base, and in which the constituents are the subjects, predicates, objects, and adjuncts that combine to form this base. Clause level analysis is central to the tagmemic system.

The clause has traditionally been considered a unit of grammar and has been defined as "a group of words, containing a subject and a predicate, and used as part of a sentence". Clause units were subclassified as independent, or main clauses, and dependent, or subordinate clauses. An independent clause was defined as a clause that could not stand alone as a sentence. (Warriner, 1965:53)

In tagmemic analysis, the clause is accepted as one of the fundamental units of grammar but is defined as a word group containing one and only one predicate. This allows the inclusion not only of independent and dependent clauses, which have both subject and predicate, but also of partial clause structures under the label of clause. An infinitive or participle expanded with objects or modifiers, is also classified as a dependent clause. The definition of independent clause is also amended. This clause must be able to stand alone as a major sentence in the language.

According to Elson and Pickett (1962:64), the clause is "a string of tagmemes that consists of or includes
one and only one predicate, or predicate like tagmeme, in the string, and whose manifesting morpheme sequence typically fills slots at the sentence level.

Since a clause is "a string of tagmemes" it contains some nuclear as well as peripheral tagmemes. The nuclear tagmemes are diagnostic of the construction in which they occur and may be obligatory or optional. All obligatory tagmemes are nuclear, though not all nuclear tagmemes are obligatory. In clause structure, subject, predicate, object are generally nuclear.

Subject tagmeme manifests the topic, or actor, or thing described. Subject may be obligatory or optional in the construction, and is often linked with the predicate by a cross reference type of concord tie.

Predicate tagmeme manifests the type of action, or serves as a link between the subject and its attribute. Predicate is obligatory in all clause construction except the equalational type construction.

Predicate attribute manifests an attribute of the subject by a nominal, adjectival or adverbial word group. It is linked to the subject by a linking verb and an agreement type of concord. It is always obligatory.

Object tagmeme completes the meaning of the predicate and often is case governed by the predicate in a government type concord tie.

Note that peripheral tagmemes are marginal, optional or satellite. Since they occur in various clause types, they are not identifying contrastive features of the clause. In
other words, they are not diagnostic of the construction. They fill in details of time, place, and manner, and are mainly adverbs, adverbial phrases or clauses. Different peripheral clause level tags - location, Temporal, Manner and Introducer will be discussed later on with reference to the Banjari dialect of Bastar.

3.2.1 CLAUSE TYPES

The clause types traditionally investigated in the study of grammar must also be investigated in formal linguistic analysis. Whatever the system of analysis, provision must be made for describing known clause structures, and for stating the relations of dependency by which clauses are subordinated within sentence structure.

Independent clauses are classified by these features: 1. Transitivity: intransitive, transitive, equational and so on. 2. Voice: active, middle, passive or reciprocal. 3. Negation: affirmative or negative.

Dependent clauses are classified by their structures: 1. Complete clause structures: subordinate. 2. Partial clause structures: Infinitives or participles. 3. Nonclause structures: Base for minor sentences.

In the analysis of independent clause structures, primary attention is given to kernel sentences. Simple, complete statements, whether transitive intransitive, or equational, are analysed first. Then these basic sentences are related to monokernel sentences; statements are opposed to command and questions, active to nonactive, affirmative to negative.

In the analysis of dependent clause structures, clause
structures must be analysed as filling slots at a particular level of analysis. The clause fills a marginal level slot at sentence level, or the clause occurs filling a clause level slot in a layering structure, or the clause fills phrase level slot in a loop back structure. Once the distribution of the clause is known, the clause may be further classified according to its function as nominal, adjectival, or adverbial, and according to its form as a complete, partial, or non-clause structure.

Following Trail, a clause level matrix has been set up below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>DEPENDENT</th>
<th>Participal</th>
<th>Axis-relator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TYPE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Receptor</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now we shall describe the various clause types one by one.
3.2.11 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

An intransitive clause is defined as a clause which contains an intransitive verb. This verb cannot take an object. This clause differs from other clauses by two structural differences, one of which affects the nuclear tagmemes of the construction. The differences here are: (1) absence of object tagmemes, (2) filler of predicate slot, and (3) inability of intransitive verbs to transform into passive. A typical clause level formula for an intransitive declarative Banjari clause would be:

\[
\text{icl} = (+ \text{s} \_ + \text{p} \_ ) + \text{peri}
\]

Read: An intransitive clause consists of an obligatory subject, an obligatory predicate and an optional periphery.

Note that subject is not always overtly present in the clause, but is always obligatory in the verb morphology as well as in the context. Hence in the above mentioned formula it has been marked with +, which is the sign of an obligatory nuclear tagmemes. The line connecting S and P is indicative of the concord between the two. In Banjari, subject and predicate agree either in person, number and gender or in gender and number according to the aspect of the verb.

A. MANIFESTATION OF NUCLEAR TAGMEMES

SUBJECT: May be manifested by:

(a) A Pronoun,

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Su} & \text{Lin} & \text{Piiivp} \\
\text{u} & \text{gar} & \text{ai-ye} \\
\text{he} & \text{home} & \text{came-he} \\
\end{array}
\]

(b) A noun phrase,

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Su} & \text{DP} & \text{Lin} & \text{Piiivp} \\
\text{na} & \text{biya} & \text{gar} & \text{ai-ye} \\
\text{younger} & \text{brother} & \text{home} & \text{came-he} \\
\end{array}
\]
(c) An appositional pronoun phrase,

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
S: & \text{App. Pre} & \text{Lin} & \text{Pi:ivp} \\
\text{ham desi} & h & jana & \text{far as:-ye:} \\
\text{we two men home came -we}
\end{array}
\]

(d) A referent axis-releator clause,

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
S: & \text{Ref ARC1} & \text{LiAR-1} & \text{Pi:ivp} \\
\text{mei+: eke: eir gare-na a:-ye:} \\
\text{sent-he that one his house-to came-he} \\
\text{'he who sent came to his house'}
\end{array}
\]

\text{PREDICATE : is not highlighted here, as this tagmeme has sufficiently been made manifest through the examples given under 3.2.11(A).}

B. \text{MANIFESTATION OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES.}

\text{TEMPORAL: This tagmeme may be manifested by a referent axis-releator clause,}

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
T: & \text{Ref. ARC1} & \text{LiAR-ma} & \text{Sin Pi:ivp} \\
\text{se: gei: jei: pai: eir gare-ma Ceir a:-ye:} \\
\text{slept-he which after his house-in thief came-he} \\
\text{'After he slept thief entered into his house'}
\end{array}
\]

\text{MANNER: This Tagmeme may be manifested by an axis-releator phrase,}

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
S: & \text{Pre} & \text{MiAR-ti} & \text{Pi:ivp} \\
\text{tu: gusa-ti: ja:-r-e: di:} \\
\text{you anger-with ge-ing-you aux.}
\end{array}
\]

C. \text{DISTRIBUTION} \text{ Intransitive clause fill independent base slot in simple, complex and compound sentences. They can manifest the axis slot in axis-releator clauses.}
3.2.12 TRANSITIVE CLAUSE:

Transitive clause contains a transitive verb which has the capacity to take an object. This capacity is manifested by the occurrence of the object with the verb at least once. According to Traill, the causative and permissive of intransitive verbs such as cause to burn, cause to sit, cause to stay, permit to go, permit to come, and permissive of stative verbs such as permit to be, may also occur in a transitive clause. The transitive clause differs from other clauses in:

(i) The presence of an optional object. The action is single goal-directed.

(ii) The filler of the predicate slot. A transitive verb phrase, or causative, or permissive verb phrase can manifest its predicate tagmeme.

(iii) The ability of the transitive clause to transform into the passive.

(iv) The fact that subject, object, and predicate are the tagmemes that constitute its nucleus. The object is sometimes hidden in the context. Hence, it is marked optional in the formula denoting its internal structure.

(v) Internal structure formula:

\[ \text{tcl} = (+S \cdot O \cdot -\text{na} \cdot +\text{Pt}) \cdot +\text{Peri} \]

Read: A transitive clause consists of an optional subject, an optional object marked by -\text{na}, a predicate slot filled by a transitive verb and an optional periphery. Subject and object are optional in the sense that sometimes they may not be overt and be hidden in the verb morphology and in the context.

A. MANIFESTATION OF NUCLEAR TAGMENE

SUBJECT: See illustrations given under 3.2.11(A)
OBJECT: This tagmem may be manifested by:

(a) An inanimate pronoun,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tus te</td>
<td>e-ne</td>
<td>la-yu; ra; has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you then</td>
<td>these brought</td>
<td>ward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Otes e:-na e:-na la:-ge; ra
he then this-te taken had had.

(b) A pronoun axis-relator phrase,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tus ma-na</td>
<td>sta</td>
<td>la-yu; hi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you me-te</td>
<td>here brought aux.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) An oppositional pronoun axis-relator phrase,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ote:na, Saba:na</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>pas1-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them-te, all-te</td>
<td>I nourish - shall-I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I shall nourish all of them.

Oine:-na, Sapa:-na ma Se:wa; kar-yu;
them-te, all-te | I service de-shall-I.

I shall serve all of them.

(d) An inanimate referent axis-relator clause,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject NP</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagwa: h: kai: bis da ba je:na-o</td>
<td>Ra:-u:le b: -u:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God what</td>
<td>give-S that-te-ptl</td>
<td>eat-I-ptl-am-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

whatever God gives, I eat.

ko:liya: kai: la:-wa h ca jake: h |
Jackal what bring-he is that | eat-ing-she is |

whatever the jackal brings, she is eating.
(e) An animate referent axis-relator clause,

\[ \text{Pt: tvp} \quad \text{S: pro} \quad \text{Lin} \]
\[ \text{u:} \quad \text{lid-coi} \quad \text{U:} \quad \text{goid-e-ma} \]

took up-he he lap-obl-into

he took up his elder son (into his lap) who was playing in the court-yard.

\[ \text{Pt: tvp} \quad \text{S: pro} \quad \text{Lin} \]
\[ \text{ma:} \quad \text{diin-ei} \quad \text{U} \]

kill -ed-he he

he killed the bird that was sitting on the branch.

**Predicate**: This tagmeme is apparent in the foregoing illustrations. Predicate tagmemes composed of causative and permissive intransitive verb phrases may be observed in the subsequent examples wherein the subject is construed as causing or permitting the action of the verb. Let us examine the two one by one.

**Causative Intransitive**

Causative verbs are intransitive verbs used transitively in the sense of causing a thing to be done.

\[ \text{Pt: tvp} \quad \text{S: pro} \quad \text{Lin} \]
\[ \text{ma} \quad \text{ga-wpi:} \quad \text{graze} \quad \text{aux-present} \]
\[ \text{I} \quad \text{cov} \quad \text{ura: re: da} \]
\[ \text{he} \quad \text{kite} \quad \text{fly-ing is} \]
Most causative verb phrases have an additional agent tagmeme marked by -ti.

a) maar doesst me-ti:n sia:y sawyo:
   my friend got trees watered by me.

b) maar baip mo-ti:n baizc yac:yo:
   my father got bulls grazed by me.

c) maar gwair mo-ti:n dab: radwa:yo:
   my husband got food cooked by me.

d) maar gwair mo-ti:n agga: bahairanako:
   my husband had the court-yard swept by me.

Permissive Intransitive

you let your cows go into his field

that libidinous woman doesn't let anyone live.
you allow your daughter to go into his grove.

you all into his love.

that demon does not allow anyone to live

Note that -na is the object marker; it is often replaced by ko: and ka. This shows the impact of Hindi on Banjari.

B. MANIFESTATION OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

Benifactive: This tagmemes is often indicated by a prepositional phrase commencing with ‘Jugu’. Mark the prepositional phrases in the illustrations given below:

B: AR -Jugu: O:NP Pt:tvp

be:ta: Jugu: kapra: la:-yo:
son for cloth brought-he

be:ta: Jugu: har bana: re: ha
son for house build-ing am-I

gwe:re Jugu: ba:ti: Sa:k- ri: ha
husband for bread bak-ing-she is

Instrumental: This tagmemes has been manifested through the examples listed below:

S:n O:AR-na I:AR-ti Pt:tvp

mo:han ma:ti:-na koda:ri:-ti: koi:-o:

Mohan earth-to spade-with dugup-he.

tui: ha:pe:-na kora:pi:-ti: ka:gi:-o:
you tree-to axe-with chopped
The GM of instrument can be defined not only semantically but also by its transform potential:

kucisi: kapas t: 0gr:re: = 'the key opened the door'
kucisi: t: kapas-t: na 0gr:re: = 'the door was opened with the key'
berisi: acca t: ka: m kar-e h a
'the knife works well'

According to Fillmore the Instrumental is, "the case of the inanimate force or object casually involved in the action or state identified by the verb". In certain cultures, the sea, wind, lightning, and other natural forces are viewed as instruments of God, while in others these and other natural powers are deemed to have God like qualities or at least animate qualities as is clear from the examples given below:

u wa: re: t: kajiya: kar-ri: h a
'she wind-with quarrel doing she is'
wair sapa: ra: ra t: na barba: d kar di:n-i: wind all locality-to destroyed do past-she
ra:t-dan samudre: na h arat ma:ta: ro:
night-day ocean India mother-of
tarwa: na do: wa h a.
Sole t: to washes aux.

a: grair sapa: gare-na bair -an rash kar di:n-i: fire all house-to burn-ing ashes do past-she
us barad-e: t: an -es: na masal re: h a
he bulls-ohl-with grains-ohl-obj thresh-ing is
us hein sikash: i: kostra: t: sasiya: pakara: h a
they pl. mark. hunting dog -with rabbit catch aux(pres)
From the examples listed above, it becomes evident that not only inanimate objects but animate beings also are used in Banjari as instruments. These may also occur in agentive case.

**COMPARATIVE:** This tagmemes has been illustrated through the following example.

Com\l\rAR-ti: Mi:Adv S:pre G:AR-na tpi:tp

tem-ti: jai:da: U: me-na mair-e: you-than more he me-obj hit-he

Examine the subsequent examples also:

h rai:da: so:pna:-ti jai:da: goir h ca

'Andha is fairer than Sona.'

mohan kallu-ti: la:mo: h ca

'Mohan is taller than Kallu.'

i: h jai:-e:-r a:maj:-ti: U: this tree-obl-of mangoes-than that

\h jai:-e:-ro: a:ma: mithi h da

tree-obl-of mangoes sweet are

U: watra: cala:k h a jatra: tu: h ci: he is as clever as you (are)'


'he is not so big as his brother is '

**DISTRIBUTION**

At sentence level, transitive clauses fill independent base slot in simple, complex and compound sentences but at clause level they manifest axis slot in axis-relator clauses.
3.2.13 DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE

Transitive verbs are sub-classified as: (1) semitransitive with optional object, and (2) transitive with obligatory object; and (3) ditransitive with two objects: one of these is direct and is called the Direct object or Accusative; the other is indirect and is designated as the Indirect object or Dative.

The former is generally a thing and answers the question 'what'? but the latter is generally a person or an animal and answers the question 'to whom'?

Only a few verbs such as 'give', 'tell', 'ask', 'write', 'teach' etc. take two objects and manifest the predicate tagmeme of ditransitive declarative clause. Some causatives such as eat and drink, receptors such as fall and adhere, and permissive of transitive verbs are also included in this class of verbs.

Ditransitive clause can show the independent base slot of simple, complex and compound sentences. It can manifest axis slot in axis-relator clauses also.

Its distinguishing features are:

(i) It has a double-goal directed action.

(ii) The occurrence of four nuclear tagmèmes-subject, object, indirect object and predicate distinguishes it as a separate clause type.

(iii) Its predicate tagmeme can be illustrated by a ditransitive phrase or causatives or receptors.

(iv) Its internal structure can be illustrated by the abbreviated formula:

\[
(+ S + O + I_e + P )^+ \text{ periphery}
\]
Read: A ditransitive clause consists of an optional subject, an optional direct object, an optional indirect object, and an obligatory ditransitive predicate and an optional periphery.

A. MANIFESTATION OF NUCLEAR TAGMECE

SUBJECT: must be animate. In other respects, it is similar to that of the intransitive clause.

OBJECT: is the same as that of the transitive clause.

INDIRECT OBJECT: is always animate, and is illustrated by:

e) An axis-relator phrase.

Siberi 10;AR-na On pataat vp
U sapa: gawi{-}na sarae: da h

The all cows -obj fodder give -s

Somarni sapa: bepa: -na dusd da da

Somani all sons -obj milk give -s

b) A referent axis-relator clause

IO: Ref.ARC1 -na 10;AR-na

wa'se-e-na jo: maip{-}ya wo-na nayak-e-r gaari{-}na
demon-obl-obj who kill-will him-obj nayak-obl-obj daughter-obj

Pati: dt vp
d -ya:
give -will-we

wa'se-e-na jo: maip{-}ya wo-na raja: re:
tiger-obl-obj who kill-will him-obj king -'s

d naari{-}na d-ya:
daughter-obj give-will

'we shall give the king's daughter to him who kills the tiger'
This slot is filled by ditransitive verb phrases as is clear from the examples cited above. Hence, only permissive and causative transitive, and causative receptor verb phrases will be analysed below.

PERMISSIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:Pro</th>
<th>IO:AR-na</th>
<th>O:NP</th>
<th>Pat:Per type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>cirai: heine-na</td>
<td>pani: pl-e-na d-a koini:</td>
<td>'he does not permit the birds to drink water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>birds pl. - to water drink- permit- he not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:Pro</th>
<th>IO:AR-na</th>
<th>O:NP</th>
<th>Pat:Per type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>bawara: heine -na</td>
<td>kita:b pa-e-na d-a koini:</td>
<td>'he does not allow the boys to read books'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>boys pl. - to book read-permit- he not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:Pro</th>
<th>IO:AR-na</th>
<th>O:NP</th>
<th>Pat:Per type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>bard-e-na</td>
<td>ca:rei</td>
<td>kai-e-na d-a koini:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>bull-obl-to fodder eat-permit- he not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CAUSATIVE

TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:Pro</th>
<th>IO:AR-na</th>
<th>O:NP</th>
<th>Pat:ict vp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>re:ja:-na</td>
<td>baiti:</td>
<td>kor-a:-i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>king -to bread eat-cause- she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ma    | cirai: heine-na | pani: par:pa:-e na:k-o: | 'I caused the birds to drink water' |
| I     | birds pl.- to water drink-cause-past. |

RECEPTOR: The causative of the receptor verbs adhere and 'fall' can also be used as ditransitives.
B. MANIFESTATION OF PERIPHERAL TAGHEME

PURPOSE TAGHEME

Receptor clauses are quite versatile. They can give vent to such ideas as possession, obligation, ability, desire and state. Since the verb refers the topic to a recipient, it is designated as receptor. Thus, 'I cannot write', would be expressed as - 'ma-na lik-an ko:n a:i-:wa:
me-to writing not comes
OR
'ma ko:n lik-an sak-ù:
'I not writing can-I'

'I am thirsty' would become 'ma-na taras la:ga c:a
me-to thirst stick is-it

'He has three sisters' would be expressed as;
'o:i r tim byai:n ca
his three sisters are
Its distinguishing features are:

(i) Only a few verbs can manifest its predicate tagmemes. They overlap with stative and intransitive verbs.

(ii) Since the verb agrees with the topic in person, number and gender, it is always conjugated in the third person.

(iii) As the receptor tagmemes is typically personal, it is always cast in an axis-relator phrase.

(iv) The linear order is quite rigid but Receptor can occur after the predicate.

(v) Absence of peripheral tagmemes such as instrument, accompaniment and benefactive makes it different from other clause types.

(vi) Internal structure.

(a) Abbreviated Formula -

\[ (+ \text{Rec} + \text{Top} + \text{Pr}) \pm \text{Peri} \]

Read: Clause consists of an obligatory receptor tagmemes, an obligatory topic tagmemes, an obligatory receptor predicate and an optional periphery.

(b) Expanded Formula -

\[ + T + \text{Rec} + \text{Pur} + L + \text{Top} + M + \text{Com} + \text{Pr} \]

A. **MANIFESTATION OF NUCLEAR TAGMEME**

**RECEPTOR**: This tagmemes can be manifested by:

(a) An axis-relator noun phrase,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rec: AR-na</th>
<th>Top:NP</th>
<th>Pr:rvp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bastariya ra:ja:na</td>
<td>dock [h]</td>
<td>par g-o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastar king -to</td>
<td>sickness</td>
<td>fell -it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) An axis-relator phrase,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rec: AR</th>
<th>Top:NP</th>
<th>Pr:rvp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tair vunda:na:</td>
<td>galti:</td>
<td>he: g-i:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

you did a mistake'
TOPICs: This tagmemes can be illustrated by:

(a) A repetitive clause

ReciAR-na | TopicREP Cl | PriARp
---|---|---
wa:na | waie - tu | a: - ye ni:  
him-te | read-ing | comes-it not

'he is unable to read'

Sapura:na | git be:1-e-na | a: - ye ni:
Sapura -te | song sing-ing | comes-it not.

ma - na | wa:ce-e-na | Jai:mu: (a: - wa) Ks:
me - to | read-ing | know - I not

(b) An axis-relator clause,

Li:AR | TopicARC1-r | PriARp | ReciAR
---|---|---|---
i: ma:-ti: | aido:- aina: de: -r | he: ja: c-a to:-na
this inside-from | half mangoes | give-ing | happens-it you-te

you must give half of these mangoes'

ReciAR-na | TopicARC1-na-na | PriARp
---|---|---
tos:na | main waite-na maine-na | par-1-ya
you -to | my order-to obey-ing | fall-will-it

PREDICATE: This tagmemes can be manifested by any of the following verbs:

ai:no: | 'to come'
cashno: | 'to need'
apno: | 'to fall'
lagnos: | 'to seem, stick'
Ja:no: | 'to go '
re:no: | 'to be '

The topic predicate combination is used to express the following areas of meaning:

(a) Ability:

ma-na | git | a: - wa | h
me-to | song | comes-it | aux- it
(b) Desire

ma-na pi-e-ro: icca b-a
me-to drink -of desire is
hwa:ri: ba-e-na cash-ri: b-a

girl eat -to desire-ing-she is -she

U: mankya: he:n par-e-na cash-re: b-a
those people pl. read -to desire-ing-they are -they

(c) State

we:-na h buik laig-i: c-a
him-to hunger sticks-fem. present

'he is hungry'

to:-na tara:s laig-i: c-a
you-to thirst sticks-fem. present

'you are thirsty'

(d) Obligation

we:-ne la:is-e-na par-a b-a
him-to laugh- to falls-it present

'he must laugh'

ma-na ja:-e-na par-a h-a
me-to ge -to falls-it present
you-to

to:na ro:-e-na par-a h-a
you-to weep -to falls-it present

'you must weep'
Possessions:

- For two sisters: 'I have two sisters'
- He has two hands
- You have two horses

Note that to:i-na can be replaced by tar: meaning 'your'. Similarly ma:-r and 01:-r can be replaced by ma-na and we:-na respectively. The forms quoted above are more frequently used.

2. MANIFESTATION OF PERIPHERAL TAGMENE

PURPOSE: This tagmeme can be illustrated thus:

RectAR-na TopiNP Privp Pur:ARCI-na/Jugu

baip-e-na hui b e :ia : par g-i: hone-na pa1-e-na/Jugu

father-to much trouble fell-fem them-to nourish-to/for

'father had much trouble to rear them up'

DISTRIBUTION

The receptor clause manifests the independent slot in simple, complex and compound sentences and the axis slot in axis-relator clauses.

3.2.15 STATIV3

Under the term static are subsumed the various kinds of clauses which are similar to such English utterances as: 'The boy is good', and 'John is a man'. This clause type can be sub-classified into: (1) equational if the predicate
attribute is a noun; and (ii) stative, if the predicate attribute is an adjective. Here it has been used to cover both because in Runjari it does not only illustrate the existence of an object or an event but equates two objects or ideas also. It is also used to denote possession. It's distinguishing features are as follows:

(i) Subject tagmeme is obligatory

(ii) Verb 'to be' can fill its predicate slot. Verbal compound meaning 'to become' can also be used to manifest its predicate tagmeme.

(iii) Its complement tagmeme is optional. It is sometimes equated with, and sometimes attributed to, the subject by the predicate tagmeme.

(iv) Peripheral tagmemes such as manner, purpose, instrument, benefactive and accompaniment are conspicuous by their absence.

(v) Its internal structure can be represented by the abbreviated formula: (+SUBJ + COM + Ps) + peri

Read: A stative clause consists of an obligatory subject, and optional complement and an obligatory stative predicate comprising its nucleus and an optional periphery.

Expanded Formula:

\[ \text{+ SUBJ} + \text{COM} + \text{Ps} \]

A- MANIFESTATION OF NUCLEAR TAGMENE

SUBJECT: This tagmeme is the same as given in the active clauses except for axis-relator clause which can manifest the subject tagmeme of the stative clause. The subject may be manifested by:

(a) A noun phrase affirming the existence of a thing.
(b) A noun phrase showing possession. The limiter slot is filled by a possessive phrase or pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SiNP</th>
<th>Ps:svp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this big mountain</td>
<td>is-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this red horse</td>
<td>is-he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that tall man</td>
<td>is-he</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) An axis relator clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:ARG1-r</th>
<th>Ps:svp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>us him-to talk da-ing</td>
<td>is-it not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"we don't talk to him"

COMPLEMENT: This tagmeme may be manifested by:

(a) A noun phrase, which equates the subject and the complement,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:Pre</th>
<th>S:NP</th>
<th>Ps:svp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>ma:re: Jawain</td>
<td>h-e-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>young son</td>
<td>is-he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>is-he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>am-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) A quantifier which modifies the subject,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:NP</th>
<th>C:quant</th>
<th>Ps:svp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maat</td>
<td>byain hein</td>
<td>huir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your sisters pl. many</td>
<td>are-they</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tair gairrii hein</td>
<td>huir</td>
<td>h'c'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your cows pl. many</td>
<td>are-they</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oor plisaii: kam</td>
<td>h'c'a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his money less</td>
<td>is-it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) An adjective phrase which modifies the subject,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:NP</th>
<th>C:adj</th>
<th>Ps:svp</th>
<th>Li:AR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doii</td>
<td>byain jawaain</td>
<td>he: g-i:</td>
<td>h gare:-r mai:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two sisters young became-they house-of inside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raain:</td>
<td>dori: kari:</td>
<td>he: g-i:</td>
<td>mahale:-ro: mai:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queen aged became-she palace-of inside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h pal</td>
<td>moitoi: he: g-e:</td>
<td>h jaire:-ro: utpare:-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruits big became-they tree-of above a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) A possessive pronoun or possessive pronoun phrase which modifies the subject,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S:NP</th>
<th>C:poss. pro</th>
<th>Ps:svp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heitali hein</td>
<td>tairo:</td>
<td>h'c'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sons pl.</td>
<td>yours</td>
<td>are-they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'They are your sons'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gairrii hein</td>
<td>o:paani:ro:</td>
<td>h'c'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cows pl.</td>
<td>ours</td>
<td>are-they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(those) cows are ours'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S:NP</td>
<td>C:AR - ro:</td>
<td>Ps:svp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoirit</td>
<td>ek tuin das haja:-re:-ro:</td>
<td>c'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'It is a ten thousand rupee mare'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) An axis-relocator phrase,

S:Pro | C:AR-dakal | Ps:svp
---|---|---
*tui* | honei:r \*dakal | h \*c-i:
you the \*of like \*are-you

'you are like them'

S:NP | C:AR-dakal | Ps:svp
---|---|---
U: markeya | aipanei:ro: \*dakal | na-wa
those people our \*of like \*not-are

katrask \*tan\*dri: | C:ir \*dakal | h \*c-as
how many women her like \*are-they

(f) A locative noun phrase,

S:Pro-to: | C:NP | Ps:svp
---|---|---
*va toi* | h \*gar | r-\*u:
I then home was-I

S:pro-hi: | C:NP | Ps:svp
---|---|---
*tu: bi:* | h \*gar | r-\*as
you also home \*were-you

**PREDICATE**: See above cited examples.
DISTRIBUTION

The stative clause can manifest the base slot in simple, complex and compound sentences. It can fill the axis-slot in axis-relator clauses also.

3.2.2 PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

We have already considered some of the peripheral tagmemes but in passing. Here, we propose to study them in greater details. To begin with, they can be enumerated as follows:

1. Temporal
2. Locative
3. Purpose
4. Manner
5. Benefactive
6. Accompaniment
7. Instrumental
8. Agentive
9. Comparative
10. Introducer
11. Conjunctive

At the very outset, it may be observed that temporal, locative, purpose and comparative tagmemes occur in all the clause types except the causative which takes the agentive as a nuclear tagmem. Manner cannot occur in stative, and causative clauses. Benefactive and instrumental tagmemes occur in
intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses, while the accompaniment occurs in the intransitive and the transitive clauses only.

Now we shall examine all these tagsmemes one by one.

**TEMPORAL TAGMEME:** It answers the question 'when' and places the verbal action in a time setting. Adverbs of time and their substitutes can fill this slot. It can be manifested by:

(a) Temporal nouns or pronouns,

- **aj** 'today'
- **sawary** 'tomorrow'
- **kail** 'yesterday'
- **paraiti** 'morning'

(b) Noun phrase

- **sita** pandra: dan 'a period of 8 to 15 days'
- **sapa** dan 'whole day, all day'
- **bara baji** '12 0' clock'
- **laire-ro** dan 'day before'

(c) Axis-relator phrase-1

- **pandra: iis dane-ma** 'in 15 or 20 days'
- **warprate-ro** 'on thursday'

(d) Axis-relator phrase-2

- **de:ke: ara: par** 'when looking'
- **de:ke: tem: par** 'when looking'
- **bc: mina: lugun** 'upto six months'
- **she lugun** 'upto now'

(e) Axis-relator phrase-3

- **0:ri** pada: 'after that'

* Banjari Relators may be sub-divided as follows:

(1) Bound Relators: These are four in number:

- **-na**, **-ma**, **-ti**, **-ro**: 
(2) Free Relators: These are characterised by the absence of -ro: whose final -e: is almost always dropped. Some of these are given hereunder:

pa:sa, munapi:, biioc, par, luce:

(3) Compound Relators: These relators are compounds of -ro: plus postpositional. (See 3.1.53 & Prepositions under parts of speech)

(f) Referent axis-relator clause,

Jana: h pa: sa r n-o:

'when the tree went off'

apag he: joi je:-r pa: sa r la:re:

'after the separation took place'

(g) Repetitive participial clause,

kam kar-te: kar-te: 'while doing the work'

Se:tu h gas-ti: gas-ti: 'while rubbing soap'

kukuriya: ko-r-tu: (ma utu: h c-u:)

'I get up') when the rooster crows .

LOCATIVE TENSE

It answers the question 'where' and places the verbal action in a place setting. The fillers of this slot are adverbs of place and their substitutes. It can be manifested by:

(a) A locative pronoun,

wata 'there' ata 'here' par/upar 'over there'

(b) A noun phrase,

bastar 'Bastar' hat: 'market place'

mo:to1 ku:to1 'big well'

(c) An axis-relator phrase-3

h darti:-r ma:i 'in the ground'

ma:-r la:ra: 'after me'
(d) An axis-relator phrase-2
airiye: gare: mundaipa: 'In front of our house'
\( i: h \) katiya: yer 'on this bed'

(e) A referent axis-relator clause
\[ \text{sapura: riya: y ca jata...} \]
'there where sapura lives ....'
\[ \text{jaino: na: ri: y ca jata...} \]
'there where Jaino is dancing...'
\[ \text{U: para y ca jata...} \]
'there where he studies...'

PURPOSE TAGME: It suggests the purpose of the action of the verb. A diagnostic test for purposive is: "For what purpose is something done?" It may be manifested by:

(e) A question noun,
\[ \text{ka: juk ? 'what?'} \]

(h) An axis relator phrase-2
\[ \text{gya: ni-e: juku 'for sake of knowledge'} \]
\[ \text{k\( \overline{i} \):i juku 'for what?'} \]

(c) An axis relator phrase-3
\[ \text{be\( \overline{t} \):i-r juku 'for the(girl) daughter'} \]
\[ \text{0-i-r sairu 'for that'} \]
\[ \text{ma\( \overline{r} \):t ai\( \overline{r} \):t 'for me'} \]

(d) An axis relator phrase-1
\[ \text{kase -na 'why?'} \]

(e) An axis relator clause-1
\[ \text{h\( \overline{w} \):a\( \overline{r} \):i:-na pakre-na 'to catch the girl'} \]
\[ \text{kairi kare-na 'in order to work'} \]
It answers the question 'how' and fills in the details of the circumstances in which the action takes place. Adverbs of manner and their substitutes can fill this slot.

It may be manifested by:

(a) An adverb phrase,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kub janda</td>
<td>'very much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kub diroa</td>
<td>'very softly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūnkar</td>
<td>'how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekdam</td>
<td>'suddenly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aso</td>
<td>'like this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waso</td>
<td>'like that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaso</td>
<td>'as, according as,'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaso</td>
<td>'like what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diroa</td>
<td>'slowly, gravely'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) A co-ordinate phrase,

- ekār  'one on another'
- ek an  'one with another'

(c) An axis-relator phrase-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gumal ti:</td>
<td>Pare: a lii re: ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) A referent axis-relator clause,

- ke ni: mailam de ni jaso: 'just like no one knows'
- tair mane: ma: kaso: la: ga ba 'how it seems to your heart'

(e) A repetitive participial clause,

- cwa: ri: dā: sti a: ri: ba 'girl is coming running'
- juna: ro: ti: hui: gi: 'Jhuna went weeping'
BENEFATIVE TANMEH:

It could be said that benefactive is the one concerned with the perceived beneficiary of an action or state. By beneficiary is meant the animal being, or human institution like, school, nation, etc, which is perceived as intended to benefit. Benefactive is often indicated by a prepositional phrase containing Jugu/a:air/sa:ru etc, but this is not in itself necessarily indicative of benefactive as in:

\[ \text{ma} \quad \text{h dain-e} \quad \text{Jugu} \quad \text{Ja: re:} \quad \text{h c-u;} \]

The phrase, 'dain-e Jugu' is purposive rather than benefactive. However, it may be manifested by an axis-relater phrase.

\[ \text{ma:r} \quad \text{jugu} \quad \text{'for me'} \]
\[ \text{ta:r} \quad \text{jugu} \quad \text{'for you'} \]
\[ \text{raim-e} \quad \text{jugu} \quad \text{'for Ram'} \]

ACCOMPANYMENT TANMEH:

It suggests a comitative action and answers the question 'with whom'? It may be indicated by an axis-relater phrase as in:

\[ \text{U: ois r taimdris suda: ai: re:} \quad \text{h c-a} \]

'he is coming with his wife'

\[ \text{U: mankyas ai: re: kostra suda: ai-y-o:} \]

'that man came with his dog'

\[ \text{ma:r suda: 'with me'} \]
\[ \text{eis-r taimdris-r sait} \]

'with his wife'

Comitative phrases are said to be derived from "NP conjunction rather than the other way around". Though the examples listed above can be rewritten in the fashion
indicated below:

Us an oir taimdri: a rir: h

'he and his wife are coming'

We assume that only 'Us' is the agent while
'oir taimdri: is comitative.

INSTRUMENTAL TAGME

It indicates the instrument casually involved in
the action or state identified by the verb. It may be
animate or inanimate. Sometimes natural forces including
the sea, wind, lightning, etc. are seen as instruments of
God. As such, these are deemed as instrumental, besides
being agentive. In Banjari an axis relator phrase is used
to manifest it. A few illustrations will suffice.

sapa: mankya: heja: -ti: mar g-e:

'all people died of cholera'

weire-ti: sapa: para: barbad he: g-i:

'the entire area was ruined by the storm'

(Also see 3.2.12 B)

ma pe:n-e-ti: citti: lik re: c-u:

'I am writing a letter with a pen'

AGENTIVE TAGME

It indicates the person by whom the action of a
causative verb is done. As such, it answers the question-
'by whom'? According to Fillmore its case is that of the
'typically animate perceived instigator of the action
identified by the verb'. It may be manifested by an
axis-relator phrase -ti:

h biya:-ti: 'by brother'

'mair h bya:n-e-ti: 'by my sister'
COMPARATIVE TAGMEME:
It indicates "with what the subject or receptor of the clause is compared. It always operates in conjunction with an adverb or adjective which gives the area of comparison." It may be manifested by an axis-relator phrase -ti:

bastare-ti: raipi:ra m:to:r h c-a
Bastar-than Raipur big is-it
my cow your cow -than much milk give she (pres)
i: h:ea: sapai: bage:sa-ti: m:to:r h c-a
this tree all grove -than big is-it

INTRODUCER TAGMEME
It introduces a clause, and usually occurs in initial position. Sometimes introducers turn out to be temporals, or sequence signals proper to the sentence level. It may be manifested by:

(a) A conjunction:
pan 'but' kena: 'when' aba 'now' an 'and'
U: a:i-y-o: pan b dain kmn ka:i-d-o:
He came but food not ate-he

(b) An axis-relator phrase-1
atrai-ma 'in so much'
wate-ti: 'from there'
wate-ti: ek h swara: ata a:i-y-o:
'From there, a boy came here'

(c) An axis-relator phrase-3
atrai-r ma:i 'in so much'
wate:-r ma:i 'in that much'
CONJUNCTIVE TAGMERE:

It connects two clauses and forms a co-ordinate sentence.

ar/an 'and'

raim an moahan gar ja; rei c-a

'Ram and Mohan are going home'

Us: a:-y-o; an h ei g-o;

'He came and sat down'

agar/yadi: 'If'
yadi: ma bares ja:-us to: bij ja; -us h ei.

'If I go out, I get wet'

agar tu: ma-na ma:- aii d-i:-s, to: ma wo-na ka:-us;

'If you give me sweets, I shall eat'

mantar/pan 'but'

Us: a:-y-o; r-a mantar ko:-n h-am-o; an eai:-o; g-e;

'he came but didn't stay and went away'

ki: 'that'

Us: ko:- ki: o bastare-ro: re- wa:-p: h-a

'He said that he was an inhabitant of Bastar'

3.2.3 CLAUSE-CLASSES

We have already described clause types in the declarative class under 3.2.1. Now we shall analyse the remaining classes as transforms of the declarative class in the ensuing section.

3.2.3.1 IMPERATIVE CLASS OF INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

In an imperative clause, the speaker expresses his wish as a command, appeal, invitation and request etc. Its subject and predicate are confined to second person and first person plural. Subject is understood; its not overt.
Receptor is conspicuous by its absence. Sometimes courtesy words are also used as in:

Kast-kar-an pānīs la: 'Please bring water!'

kirpayā: atri ko ma-na jaga: d-e: d-a:

'Please spare me a little space!'

bīyā: mair ji:wi-e-na wac-a: d-o:

'Save my life brother!'

Morpheme 'mat' can be used before or after the verb to form the negative imperative clause, e.g.,

mat dais 'Don't run'

mat hēis 'Don't laugh'

**Manifestations**

### A. Imperative Transforms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declarative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu: h kurb joir-e si:</td>
<td>Run very fast!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu: kita:b par-a: h-i:</td>
<td>Read books!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu: dicaire-na mat-a:i:</td>
<td>Give sweets to the children!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu: acca: mankya: h-i:</td>
<td>good man become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-na ma:lam h-e.</td>
<td>No transform</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## D. OTHER MANIFESTATIONS

- ma-na ja:-e-na d-a  'let me go'
- ma-na par-e-na d-a  'let me study'
- aw! par ca:n-a:  'come! let us go home'

### 3.2.3.2 INTERROGATIVE CLASS OF INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

Through an interrogative clause, the speaker asks a question. He uses kā:i or ka before or after the predicate in 'yes-no' type questions. In other interrogative constructions, the termeme in question is indicated by the use of a question word or phrase.

#### MANIFESTATIONS

### A. 'YES-NO' INTERROGATIVE TRANSFORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DECLARATIVE</th>
<th>INTERROGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRAN</td>
<td>ma Ja:-u: h-ū:  I go</td>
<td>kā:i: ma Ja:-u: h-ū: Do I go?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DITRAN</td>
<td>u: ga:bīri:-nā ca:ro; d-a h-ū:  He gives fodder to the cows</td>
<td>u: ga:bīri:-nā ca:ro; d-a h-ū: kā:i: Does he give fodder to the cows?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECEPTIVE</td>
<td>wo-na ma:lam h-ā  him-to knowledge is-it</td>
<td>wo-na ma:lam h-ā ka him-to knowledge is-it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATIV</td>
<td>u: co:ir h-ā  he thief is-he</td>
<td>u: co:ir h-ā kā:i: he thief is-he?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interrogatives, which cannot elicit 'yes-no' type reply, are constructed with the help of certain question words or phrases. Mark how questions have been put about different tagmemes in the illustrations given below:

**SUBJECT**

"ma:k biya:a:i-yo:  \rightarrow  kù: \ a:i-yo:"

My brother came who came?

**OBJECT**

"ma ka:i\;\text{m} kar \ di:n-e:  \rightarrow  ma ka:i\;\text{m} kar \ di:n-e: \ r-u:"

I had done the work What had I done?

**MANNER**

"U: wo-na lai r kar-x: \ h-a  \rightarrow  U: wo-na ku kar lai r kar-x: \ h-a"

He fondles with him How does he fondle with him?

**LOCATIVE**

"U: \\text{ha} \text{nte-ti} a:i-yo:  \rightarrow  U: kate-ti: a:i-yo:"

He came from the market where did he come from?

**TIME**

"U: \text{ka:i}h gare-na g-yo:  \rightarrow  U: kana: \ gare-na g-yo:"

Yesterday he went to When did he go to the house?

the house

**REASON**

"U: ro\;\text{r-i:} \ c-\text{api:r-\text{a}-ti}  \rightarrow  U: kaijuk ro\;\text{r-i:} \ h-a"

She is weeping due to pain why is she weeping?

**POSSESSION**

"U: ma:k bai\text{lti}: \ h-a  \rightarrow  U: ke: \text{r} bai\text{lti}: \ h-a"

That is my bucket whose bucket is that?
C. ELLIPTICAL INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

A Banjari elliptical interrogative clause contains ko:nii: kā:i/kā:i: ko:nii:, which corresponds to English 'isn't it?' and means 'not at all' or 'no'? It expects an affirmative answer and follows an affirmative clause, e.g.,

u ja: r-e: h-a, kā:i: ko:nii:?
He is going, isn't he?

u so: r-e: h-a, ko:nii: kā:i:?
He is sleeping, isn't he?

DISTRIBUTION

The interrogative and the imperative classes manifest the independent base slot on sentence level.

3.2.3 3 CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPIAL CLASS OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

These clauses are subordinate to the main clause. Action denoted by them is either prior to or co-ordinate with the action of the main clause. The verb is neither conjugated for person nor for number. Conjunctive suffix -tan:i:n or -an is added to the verb stem. The clause possesses no separate subject of its own; it shares the subject of the main clause. Its study can be schematised as follows:

MANIFESTATION

A- CONJUNCTIVE TRANSFORM

Now we shall observe how declarative clauses are transformed into conjunctive clauses in the matrix given on the next page.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECLINATIVE</th>
<th>CONJUNCTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he market-from came-he</td>
<td>market-from having come...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he girl -to kissed-he</td>
<td>girl -to having kissed...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he cow -to fodder gave-he</td>
<td>cow -to fodder having given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him-to knowledge is-it</td>
<td>him-to knowledge having been...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he good is-he</td>
<td>good having been...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B- SOME CONTEXTUAL MANIFESTATIONS**

nadi-na ku:d-en (U: pōr-en la:ng g-o:)
Having jumped into the river, he began to swim.

ma-na ma:r-an (U: da:i:s g-o:)
Having hit me, he ran away.

gawrī:-na ca:ro: de- tainim (U: nha:-en. ca:1-o: g-o:)
Having given fodder to the cow, he went to take bath.

gari:be -na kapra: -latta: de: -n (U: darmā:ti: anta:dy:n he: g-o:)
Having given clothes to the poor, the uprighteous one disappeared.
Having become healthy, that man went away.

Having grown young, Munny went to her mother-in-law's house.

She being angry, what did she do?

C- MISCELLANEOUS MANIFESTATIONS

water drink heart fill-ing

wast kar la dil h koil-an

talk do heart opening

food eat belly fill-ing

heart fill-ing laugh

3.2.3 4 REPETITIVE PARTICIPIAL CLASS OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

These clauses portray an action prior to or simultaneous with the action of the main clause. The subject is sometimes the same as that of the main clause and sometimes different. Predicate is repeated from two or four times to present the idea of action being in progress. The verb form is not conjugated for person; however, it agrees with the subject in number and gender. The study of these clauses can be schematised as follows:

A- MANIFESTATIONS

REPETITIVE TRANSFORM

It is given on the next page.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Declarative</strong></th>
<th><strong>Repetitive</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ۀ wairi: cas-l-i ۀ a</td>
<td>cas-l-t-i: cas-l-t-i: ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl goes-she pres</td>
<td>go-ing go-ing-she ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ۀ da:n ۀ r-i: ۀ a</td>
<td>ۀ kast-t-i: ۀ kast-t-i: ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food eat-ing-she pres</td>
<td>eat-ing eat-ing-she...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>گاریش-نا دAIN d-a ۀ a</td>
<td>dest-s: destr-o: ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor -to alms gives-he pres</td>
<td>give-ing give-ing-he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ۀ وننا تکلیس ۀ ست-ی</td>
<td>تکلیس ۀ ست-ی: ۀ ست-ی: ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him-to trouble was-it</td>
<td>trouble be-ing be-ing-it...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ۀ دوشی: ۀ ویش-ی: ۀ ست-ی</td>
<td>ۀ ست-ی: ۀ ست-ی: ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both girls were-they past</td>
<td>be-ing be-ing-they ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B- Contextual Manifestations**

- taklīs ۀ ست-ی: ۀ ست-ی: U: kamjo:ɾ ۀ گ-ی:
  - trouble be-ing be-ing he weak became past.
  - groan-ing groan-ing mouth dry became
  - cock crow-ing crow-ing morning became past-it
- ۀ وایر: ۀ روی-ی: ۀ روی-ی: ۀ سی: ۀ گ-ی:
  - boy cry-ing cry-ing slept past-he
C- MISCELLANEOUS MANIFESTATIONS

(a) It can express an action simultaneous with that of the independent clause verb.

\[ \text{wood cleave-ing cleave-ing leg-in axe stick past-it} \]
\[ \text{bread bake-ing bake-ing sweat spring past-it} \]

(b) Its subject may differ from the subject of the main clause.

\[ \text{(we two brothers ) crows crow-ing (get up-will-we)} \]

(c) It can show manner.

\[ \text{he weep-ing went away past-he} \]

(d) It can illustrate tonic tagmeme of a receptor clause.

\[ \text{him-to read-ing comes not} \]

A conscientious perusal of the foregoing illustrations will yield that the verb stem is suffixed either with perfect or imperfect suffixes to form repetitive participles whose structure may be expressed as follows:

\[ V_{s-t-u/-e/-i} \]

Note that -u/-e: are masculine singular suffixes while -e: is masculine plural. The feminine suffix -i: covers both singular as well as plural.
3.2.3 5 NON-REFERENT AXIS-RELATOR CLASS OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Axis-relator clause is traditionally known as an adverbial clause. It consists of two tagmemes, a clause subordinator, and a clause as axis. In other words, the adverb is the relator, and the clause itself is the axis. The function of the relator is to relate the clause in a functional way to the main clause. As such, they fill the peripheral slots of time, place and manner and serve as props or scenery for the central action.

The subject of a non-referent axis-relator clause may and may not be different from the subject of the main clause. The verb preceding the relator is not conjugated for person, number and gender. There may be a bound or free form relator, but referent relator is never present in it.

Non-referent axis-relator clauses may be sub-classified as follows:

A. ARCI-1: It consists of one of the five bound relators (-na, -ma, -ro:, -wa:lo:, -no:) and a verb in the oblique form -e. The structure of its verb can be represented as: vs-obl-rel

B. ARCI-2: It consists of one of the free form relators, (da:kal, Jugu, pario, tuni, ham, laira:, sa:lo:, etc) and a verb which is either in oblique form (vs+-e) or in imperfect form (vs + t + u/-e: masc.sg/-e masc.pl/A: fem.sg & pl.both). On selecting imperfect aspect -t, the oblique suffix -e and not the imperfect suffix -u/-e/-e or -i: is added to the verb.
C. ARCl-3: It consists of a verb in oblique form -e and a compound relator (-re: and a free relator sai₇ or ma:i)  

The study of the above mentioned ARCl may be schematised as follows:

**MANIFESTATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A-TRANSFORM</th>
<th>DECLARATIVE</th>
<th>ARCl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu: ma-na o:ha-e c-i:</td>
<td>ma-na o:ha-e-na(a:i-yo tu:)</td>
<td>ARCl-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you me-obj wake up you pres.</td>
<td>me-obj wake up-to(came you)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U: waca:me par so: t-e g-o:</td>
<td>waca:me par so:t-e kam</td>
<td>ARCl-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he bed on slept past-he</td>
<td>bed on lie-ing with mild a: g-i:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U: ciro:si: he:n of g-i:</td>
<td>Or ja:e:r kam(U bwa:ra:</td>
<td>ARCl-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those birds pl. flew off -they</td>
<td>flying -of with(that boy ro:e-na la:g g-o: )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when they flew off, the boy began to weep.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. OTHER MANIFESTATIONS

ARCl-1 with different bound relators can manifest:

(a) The purpose tagmems,

a:ha ma-na h ka:i-e-na h da:in d-a

now me-to eat -to food give-you

now give me food to eat
(b) The attributive tagmemes of a noun phrase,
Sa: suiro: h gare-n ja-e-re: eira: U par g-i:
vs-obl-rel
mother-in-law's house-to time she fell past-she
when going to mother-in-law's house, she fell.

(c) The topic tagmemes of a receptor clause,
ma-na aido: an d-e-r he: ja: h-e
vs-obl-rel
me-to half grains giving happens pres.
I must give half of the grains.

ra: da: to-i-na gi:t boil-no: pa'i-ya
Radha you-to song sing-ing fall-will-it
Radha will have to sing a song.

to-i-na mai:r wait ma:n-no: pa'i-ya
you-to my words obey-ing fall-will-it
you will have to obey what I say

(d) The subject of the stative clause,
ta: r eik ci:j le-na ja-e-re: h c-e-ni:
your one thing take-to vs-obl-rel is-it-not
you needn't go to fetch one thing
There is no profit in speaking.

Silence is good.

(a) The object of a transitive clause,

She will give up plate waving.

He will forget reading.

(f) The head of a noun phrase, manifesting the topic tagmem of a receptor clause or the complement slot of a stative clause,

The girl has none to look after her.

He is not about to go outside.
(g) The temporal tagmemes,

\[
\text{wart s-cite kar-e-ma h} \quad \text{hamar kajiya he: g-i: vs-obl-rel}
\]

conversation do -in our quarrel occurred
while we were talking, we had a fight

\[\text{ARCL-2, with various free relators can manifest:}\]

(a) The temporal slot in a clause,

\[
\text{wo-na} \quad \frac{h}{\text{dekt-e}} \quad \frac{h}{\text{kam}} \quad \text{ka'ii: kii:di: vs-asp-obl}
\]

him-to see-ing with what did-she

\[
\text{wo-na} \quad \frac{h}{\text{dekt-e}} \quad \frac{h}{\text{sat: pota'ir liid-i:}} \quad \text{hiim-to see-ing with embraced past-she}
\]

tu \quad \frac{\text{gar}}{\text{mat}} \quad \text{jo: ma'ir a-t-e h tani: vs-asp-obl}

\text{you house don't go my come-ing until}

(b) The purpose slot in a clause,

\[
\text{Si: par-e wa'asa h h tartara: r-i: h c-a vs-obl}
\]
cold fall for shiver -ing-she is-she

\[
\text{hawa: a-i-e a:se:r pain hail r-i: h c-a vs-obl}
\]
breeze come for leaves waggle-ing-fem are-they

(c) The complement slot of stative clause,

\[
\text{U: koiin ja-e sarik h c-a}
\]
he not vs-obl like is-he

\[
\text{U: ja-e wa'ge:r h c-a}
\]
he vs-obl like is-he

He is likely to ge
ARGL-3 with relators \( \frac{a}{b} \) and \( \frac{c}{d} \) manifest:

(a) The temporal tagmemes,

\[ \text{bwa[e:]na eik tarpur par-e-r ham} \]

that boy \( \text{obj} \) one slap \( \frac{\text{v-s-obl-rel}}{\text{fall-of}} \)

\[ \text{barka-e-na laig go-e} \]

weep \( \text{to} \) began \( \text{past-he} \)

\[ \text{aipaner nha-e-rei mai kurb mesto; hauta ham} \]

our \( \frac{\text{v-s-obl-rel}}{\text{bathe-of} \in \text{very big elephant we}} \)

\[ \text{dek-e} \]

saw-we

3.2.3.6 REFERENT AXIS-RELATOR CLASS OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Banjari has got a number of referent relator words and phrases. Some of them are given hereunder:

**Words:**

`ja-e: 'who, that'

`jata 'there where'

`jana 'then when'

`jatra 'that many'

**Phrases:**

(a) Pronoun AR-1 phrases:

`je-na 'whom, to whom'

`je-ti 'from, by, with which'

`je-ma 'in which'

(b) Pronoun AR-2 phrases:

`je-tapi 'until then when'

`je-wapi 'which direction'
(c) Pronoun AR-3 phrases:

jer kana: 'near what, whom'
jer paccā 'after which'
jer wasa 'because of which'
jer aissir 'for which'

These are used to fill the relator slots in referent axis-relator clauses. Observe the following illustration:

moahan muni ram-t-i r-a jata ca:d-o: g-o:

And note that the underscored clause is a referent clause, which manifests a locative slot in the main clause - mohan ca:d-o: g-o: 'Mohan went'. The word jata is a referent; it refers back to the ideas expressed in the clause - muni: ram-t-i: r-a and relates this idea in a locative function to the main clause. It may also be pertinent to mark that the verb can belong to any aspect or tense suitable for the expression of the verbal idea. In most of the cases its subject differs from the subject of the principal clause; however, there are instances in which it doesn't.

The study of referent A-B clauses may be schematised as follows:

MANIFESTATIONS

A- TRANSFORM

Readers are referred to the transform citation matrix given on the next page to see how declarative clauses change to referent axis-relator clauses.
B- MISCELLANEOUS MANIFESTATIONS:

Referent A-R clauses can show:

(a) The subject tagmems,

\[ \text{hait } g-e \ r-a \ jakoi; \ k\tilde{a}i': \ lai-ye: \]

market gone had who, what brought-they

What did they bring, who had gone to the market?

\[ i: \ p\text{ara; par bya}h-e \ r-a \ jakoi; \ k\tilde{a}i': \ kiid-e: \]

this bench on sitting were-they-who what did-they

What did they do, who were sitting on this bench?
(b) The object tagmeme,

\[ \text{yai dim-i: jako, \textcolor{red}{\text{vaid-e}}:} \]

mother gave-she that ate-

I ate whatever mother gave.

\[ \text{ya:pi: bai: ka h-a jako, \textcolor{red}{\text{bisair hein xir-e}}: h-a} \]

mother-father say pres.that children pt learn-they-pres.
Children learn whatever parents say.

(c) The temporal tagmeme,

\[ \text{munni: \textcolor{red}{\text{ris-a}}: g-i: jana: \textcolor{red}{\text{air gwa}r}} \]

Munni got angry-she when her husband

\[ \text{ma: \textcolor{red}{\text{jai-i: la:-n xora-yo}}} \]

sweets bring-ing fed-he

When Munni got displeased, her husband having brought
sweets, fed her.

\[ \text{gawri: mar g-i: jana: k\textcolor{red}{\text{\=(i):k\textcolor{red}{\text{\(i\textcolor{red}{\text{\(d-o\textcolor{red}{\text{\(t: tu}}} \]

what did you do, when the cow died?

(d) The locative tagmeme,

\[ \text{mohan gita: nac-t-i: r-a: jata carl-o: g-o}: \]

Mohan Gita dancing was-she there went-he aux-past
Mohan went there where Gita was dancing.

(e) The manner tagmeme,

\[ \text{ma wo-na jaiso: samja-yo: a\textcolor{red}{\text{\(se}}: U: \textcolor{red}{\text{sama\textcolor{red}{\text{\(j g-o}: \]}

I him-to such explained as he understood -he
I explained him such as he could understand.

(f) Attributive tagmeme,

\[ \text{kesiya: jaco sonarpal le-ti: jagdalpar ayo: kata h-a} \]

Kesiya who Sonarpal -from Jagdalpur came where is-he

Where is Kesiya who came from Sonarpal to Jagdalpur?
3.3 SENTENCE

3.3.0 GENERAL:

The sentence has traditionally been the focal point of attention. Its definition, in the past, was based upon meaning. It was defined as containing "a complete thought; and consisting of a subject ' about which something is said' and a predicate, ' what is said about the subject'.

In the linguistic tradition dating from Bloomfield, an endeavour was made to define the sentence according to its form, and not according to its meaning. Tagmemic analysis adds the dimension of distribution and proclaims that the sentence is only one level of the grammatical hierarchy. Sentences are distributed in larger units and ultimately in the context of behaviour.

In this thesis, we are not concerned with the structures larger than the sentence which has been defined by Bloomfield as "an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger form" (1933: 170). Hockett paraphrases this definition as " a constitute which is not a constituent; a grammatical form which is not in construction with any other grammatical form" (1958: 199).

In tagmemic analysis, this grammatical independence is accepted as a relative independence, and a sentence is considered as "... a class of syntagmèmes of a hierarchical order ranking above such syntagmèmes as the clause and below such syntagmèmes as the paragraph and discourse". (Longacre, ibid)
As such, the sentence level of grammar is that level at which clauses are combined into larger units. The sentence is a grammatical unit, a construction in which the constituents are any utterance with final intonation contour, and the constituents are the clauses, connecting particles, and intonation patterns.

**Essential Features:**

From the foregoing discussion, we can deduce the essential features of the sentence as laid down below:

1. The sentence is isolatable in its own right (Pike, 1967: 442). Any corpus may be reduced to sentences without any residue (Longacre, 1964: 17, fn.14).

2. Sentences have final intonation patterns.

3. Sentences are composed of clauses. These clauses may be independent or dependent clauses.

**Sentence Level Tagmemes:**

The principal tagmemes useful in sentence level analysis are:

1. **Base Tagmem:** Base slot is filled by independent clauses. This tagmem is always nuclear to structure.

2. **Margin Tagmem:** This tagmem is generally optional and peripheral. Margin slot is filled by dependent clauses. Margins occur only in complex and marginal sentences.
(3) **Connector Tagmem:** This tagmem is nuclear when it is obligatory to the construction. It is manifested by connecting conjunctions called connectors. Connectors can occur at phrase level also.

(4) **Intonation Tagmem:** This tagmem is always nuclear and is filled by intonation contours marked as final (ICF), as non-final (ICN), or by the pattern 1 2 3 1. In this thesis, final intonation has been represented by punctuation marks and not described separately.

**Sentence Types**

Classification of sentences may be based on any one of the following features:

1. Sentences may be classed as simple, complex and compound according to the number and kind of clauses in the base. Pike (1967: 442-443) and Longacre (1964: 130) used this feature to separate sentences into multiple clause, simple clause, and nonclause types.

2. Sentences may be complete or incomplete according to the internal structure of the main clause. These are also called major, or favourite, or full sentences, as opposed to minor sentences. Minor types are completive or exclamatory.

3. Sentences may be classified as statements, questions, and commands according to the types of response expected.
4. Sentences can also be classed as affirmative or negative sentences, according to the presence or absence of negatives in the main verb phrase.

KERNEL VERSUS DERIVED SENTENCES

The first task of an analysis is to sort out sentence types. Here his main task is to separate the kernel sentences from derived sentences. According to Chomsky, "the kernel consists of simple, declarative, active sentences" (1957: 80). Kernel is affirmative and non-elliptical. A kernel sentence is the sentence that is (1) simple, (2) complete, (3) statement, (4) active, and (5) affirmative. Any sentence that lacks even one of these five features, is a derived sentence.

In our analysis of sentence, we shall concentrate our attention on kernel as well as derived sentences. Thus we shall try to discover basic sentence structures.

3.3.1 SIMPLE BANJARI SENTENCE

A simple sentence is composed of one independent clause and an intonation contour. Sometimes an introducer tagmeme is also present but there is no place for any dependent clause in it.

FORMULA: Simple sentence = + Base : Ind.cl + Inton ICF

Read: A simple sentence consists of a base slot filled by an independent clause and an intonation slot filled by a final intonation contour. It may be pointed out that the intonation tagmeme is a supra segmental tagmeme and it is not in linear sequence.
A - DECLARATIVE PLUS DECLARATIVE INTONATION:

(1) Ind. Base: 

- guru: a:i-yo:
- teacher: ca:se:- he
- boy: ca:il-o: g-o:

Intonation (.)

(11) Intro.

- watrai:- r mi: i
corr ca:il-o: g-o:
that -much in
thief went away

'In the mean time, the thief went away'

B - IMPERATIVE PLUS IMPERATIVE INTONATION (1)

- acca:) bap!
good become!

C - INTERROGATIVE PLUS QUESTION INTONATION (?)

- kuni: a:i:-ye: h d-a ?
who came has-he ?

'Who has come?'

- tu ma:-ns kita:b di:n-o: kala: i?
you me-to book gave-you question word ?

'Did you give me a book?'

- kala:i u: acca:) ca:il-o: h d-a ?
question word he good boy is-he ?

'Is he a good boy? '
3.3.2 **COMPLEX BANJARI SENTENCE**

A complex sentence is a derived sentence; it is derived from the kernel sentence. It may contain one or more dependent clauses, which may not stand alone as a simple major sentence type. Embedding process is resorted to for building complex sentences. At sentence level, dependent clauses are embedded in sentence structures and fill marginal slot. The resulting structure is a complex sentence.

* The process of subordinating a clause to another structure is called the embedding process. Embedding occurs at sentence, clause and phrase levels. At sentence level, dependent clauses are embedded in sentence structures and fill marginal slots in that structure. The resulting structure is a complex sentence, formulated as margin + base. At clause level, dependent clauses are embedded in the clause structure and fill the same slots as words and phrases. The resulting structure is a simple sentence with the overall structure of a simple clause (Longacre, 1967:17). Time and place clauses are of this type.

At phrase level, dependent clauses are embedded into the phrase structure and are an example of loopback in the hierarchy of clause within phrase.
A complex sentence consists of one independent clause and at least one dependent clause. The sentence level formula contains a margin tagmeme when the dependent clause is analysed as part of sentence level structure.

+ Base: Ind.Cl + Marg:Dep.Cl + Inton:ICF
Head: A complex sentence consists of a base slot filled by an independent clause, an optional margin slot filled by a dependent clause, and an intonation slot filled by a final intonation contour.

In Benjari the presence of an introductory tagmeme is also possible. This tagmeme is optional and not obligatory. The independent base slot can be filled by a declarative, imperative or interrogative clause.

Let us cite some illustrative examples:

mo-na hata:-yo; ki ta:-r ha:-i: jaldi: a:-ya
me-to told that your brother soon come-will-he
I was told that my brother would come soon.

ma ta:-r jugu la:-ye; h:-i: je-na tu: maga:-ya; r-as
I your for brought have, that you asked for aux-you
I have brought for you, what you had asked for.

je-na hengare a:-r-e r:i; wotri: wona edai:-ro ha: g-i: r-a
when we home coming were, that time dark become had
It had become dark, when we were coming home.

Conjunctive suffixes -an and h:an:in are identical in sense and can freely be substituted for each other. -kar can also be used in a conjunctive sense.

ma ga:-ri:-n: me:-l-an a:-yo:
I cart-to putting came-I
I came after putting the cart.
Compound sentences are derived from kernel sentences. They consist of at least two independent clauses with two base tagmemes. The independent base slots can be filled by declarative, imperative or interrogative clauses. There may and may not be connector tagmemes between clauses. Conjoining process is resorted to for building compound structure which may and may not contain dependent clauses. Introductory tagmem is optional but intonation tagmem is obligatory. "If it is necessary to record more than one intonation pattern in the same sentence, a second intonation slot may be introduced for each clause in the pattern, usually filled by non-final intonation". (Walter A. Cook, S. J. 1969: 47).

* Conjoining process is different from embedding process. It deals with the joining of similar constituents at any level. The elements conjoined may be clauses, phrases, or words... According to Alton L. Becker (1967: 110), conjoining is (1) recursive in the linear sense, (2) context sensitive, in that constituents must be of the same type and (3) generally optional.
Let us examine the illustrative examples given below:

A - ADJECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS:

Our goroi-me best-an ai-i: an- ma har g-o:
her horse -in sit-ing came-she and I house went-I
She came sitting on her horse, and I went home.

ma wata g-o; tu: ata ai-ye:
I there went-I, you here came-you.
I went there, you came here.

hijli: camak-r-i: re-an pa-ni: par r-i: r-e
lightning flash-ing was-it and water fall-ing was-it
It was lightning and raining.

B - ADVERSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

O: garib h-e, mantar acca: h-e
he poor is-he but good is-he
He is poor but honest.

U h: swara-na par-a: r-e: h-a man h: swara: par-e-ni:
he boy -to teach-ing is-he but boy study not
He teaches the boy but the boy does not study.

tu: he: g-o; mantar tar h: sa: paa he: g-o;
you failed -you but your brother passed -he
You failed but your brother passed.

ma:n: kana tikat: ma: Mantar tamaisa:
my near ticket was, but show

dek-ena me kein g-o;
see-to I not went-I
I had the ticket, but I didn't go to witness the show.
tu aprádi: c-i, =intur ma to:na ı: spa:
you guilty are-you but I you-to this time
cama: kar-ı: c-u:
forgive do I
You are guilty, however I pardon you this time.

C- ILLIATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

U: mënnt koi: kar-ı: orjgu ı:ı: h-e:
he labour not did-he therefore failed -he
He did not work, therefore he failed.

ma wo-na koi: ca:ı: ı:ı: Jugu U:
I him-to not like-I because he
ek hadma:ı: ı:ı:waı: ı:
one naughty boy is-he
I do not like him because he is a naughty boy.

D- ALTERNATING CONSTRUCTIONS

h ı: h:ı:we-c an ram-a-c

He either eats or plays.

koi:ı: u paı:ı: h-a na kam kar-ı: h-a
neither he studies nor does he do any work.

Read otherwise you will fail.

yj: tu: Jo: ı:ı: ma Jai-ı: c-ı:
Either you go or I.
CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

If your near shirt is-it-not then
my shirt-to take-ing put on

If you don't have any shirts, put on(having taken) my shirt.

this parrot buy-will-you then I money and cage
both-to give-shall-I otherwise nothing give-I

If you buy this parrot, I shall give you money and cage both, otherwise I may give you naught.

rain fall -in play-of stop do will-it
If it rains, the game will be stopped.

I mutton eating in my stomach in up
comes-it pres.

I suffer(have)from constipation, when I eat mutton.

EXPANSION CONSTRUCTIONS

tu: tair mailike-n ka ki ham a: g-e: h-a:
you your master-to say that we come-have -we
Tell your master that we have come.

kotra: ja:n g-o: ki i: or mailik h-a
dog know past that this his master is-he
The dog came to know that that one was his master.
part four

LEXICON