Pando Grammar Write-up

2021

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Pando language development team

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ABBREVIATION USED IN THE GLOSS

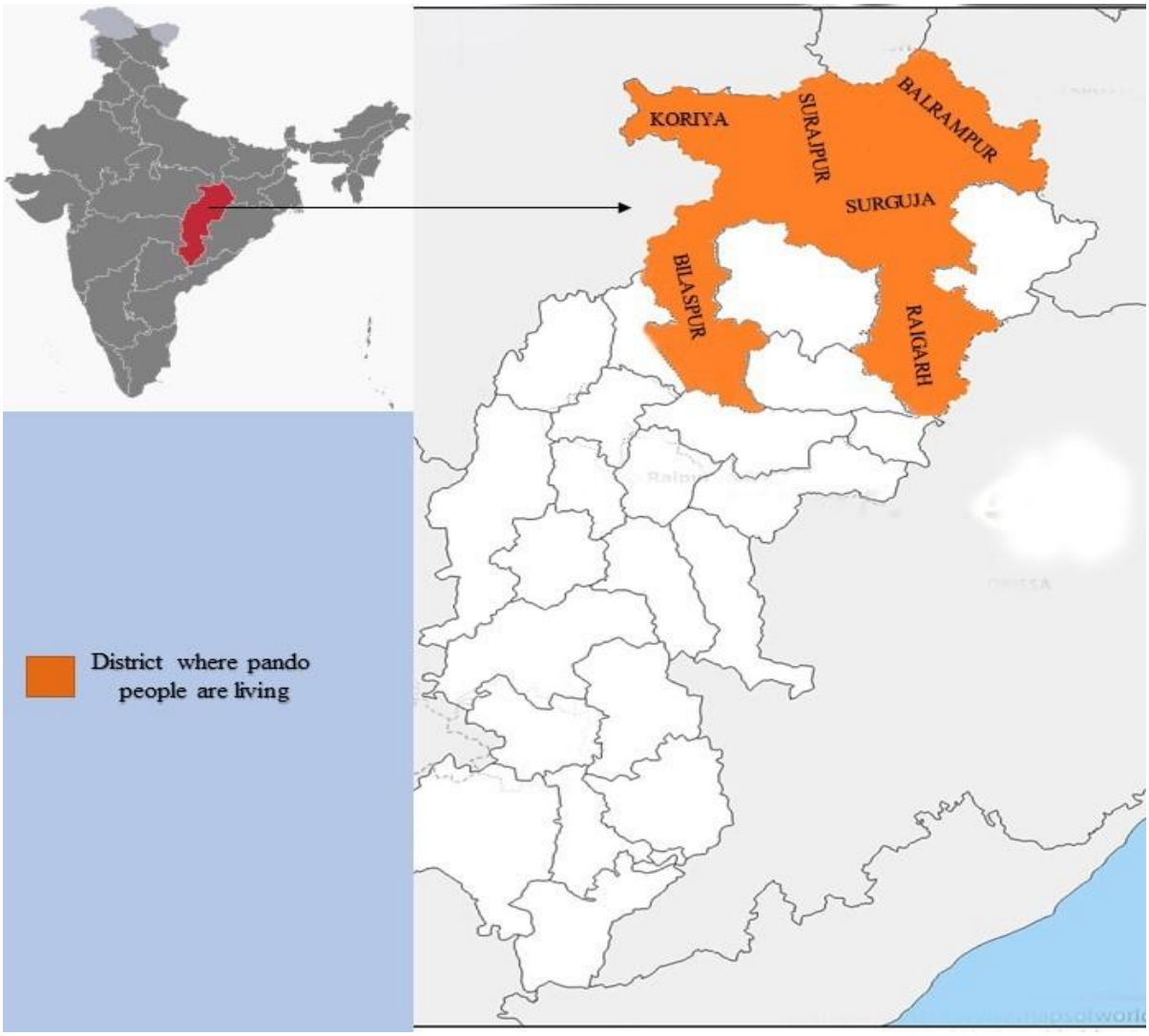
1	-	1st person	EXIT	-	Existential
2	-	2nd person	FUT	-	Future
3	-	3rd person	GEN	-	Genitive
ABL	-	Ablative	IMP	-	Imperative
ACC	-	Accusative	INST	-	Instrumental
ALL	-	Allative	LOC	-	Locative
AUX	-	Auxiliary	NEG	-	Negation
BEN	-	Benefactive	NMKR	-	Numeral Marker
COM	-	Comitative	NOM	-	Nominative
COMP	-	Completive	PL	-	Plural
COND	-	Conditional	POSS	-	Possessive
CONJ	-	Conjunction	PROX	-	Proximal
CP	-	Conjunctive particle	PRS	-	Present
COP	-	Copula	PRTL	-	Participle
DAT	-	Dative	PST	-	Past
DEMO	-	Demonstrative	QP	-	Question particle
DEON	-	Deontic	QUAN	-	Quantifier
DIST	-	Distal	SG	-	Singular

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is a means by which we used to communicate to each other and also express our thoughts and ideas. There are many forms of language by which a person communicates. Language is a complex form in which a lot of linguistic feature is there. The aim of the research is to analyse the grammatical features of the Pando language which is spoken in the north eastern part of Chhattisgarh and belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family.

1.1 Name of the language

Pando is the name of the tribe and thus the language has its name. Some people call it themselves 'the Pandwani language'. The Pando people are a Scheduled Tribe (ST) of India. There are about 2,50,000 Pando people living in the north and north eastern parts of Chhattisgarh. The Pando people have a positive attitude towards their language. Many of them are excited about materials being produced in the Pando language. The Pando speakers use Surgujia in many situations, and they use many words in Surgujia in their daily communication. Map below indicates where the Pando language is spoken in India.



1.2 Previous Research

From long time ago, Pando was not considered as a separate language or in other words many denied that Pando people speak any language other than Chhattisgarhi and Hindi. Their language does not have its own ISO code because it is not generally recognized as a distinct Indo-Aryan language. According to recent sociolinguistic surveys, Pando exhibits a high degree of lexical similarity with Surgujia and the Pando people have good comprehension of Surgujia. However, this might be because Surgujia is used as a language of wider communication, not necessarily because Pando is a dialect of Surgujia. According to the survey team Surgujia speakers report poor comprehension of Pando speech. The sociolinguistic surveys cited above indicate that the Pando language is very vital and is used in every area of village life by people of all ages. This research found out that Pando people speak a speech variety of their own, which is named after their own tribe, "Pando". Therefore, Pando has been registered for the allocation of ISO code. The Pando people speak an Indo-Aryan language variety.

1.3 Demography

Pando people mainly concentrated primarily in the districts of Surajpur, Koriya, Balrampur and Raigarh, and they also found in parts of Surgujia and Bilaspur. They live in 307 villages. But they are mainly concentrated in the Ambikapur, Lakhanpur, Premnagar and Ramanujnagar Blocks, 5 of Surguja District and the Baikunthpur and Sonhat Tahsils of Korea District. They are mainly concentrated in the Surguja District.

1.4 Literacy traditions

Pando people is having very low literacy rate. School drops out rates are also very high. Many women are illiterate. The main problem that they are facing is the difference in language which they face at the school level. But when it comes to learning of their language, they encourage their children to learn the Pando language at home. And they want their language to be preserved for years.

1.5 Dialects

There are dialect variations in the language from place to place. The language that is spoken by the local people influences the dialect of the language. The other languages that are being spoken in the Pando people are Surgujia, Sadari, and Chhattisgarhi, and they influence the dialect of the speaker.

1.6 Sociolinguistic situation

Most of the Pando people like to speak in their MT over Hindi, Surgujia and Sadari, while speaking. The quarter of respondents said they like to use LWC. According to the researcher's observation, the reason they chose LWC over Pando was to relate them with the prestige language because they have been working outside and going to school etc. All Pando said they feel quite happy when they speak their MT than any other language. Meanwhile they also said, they don't feel offended when they speak in other languages, but they like their mother tongue over any other language, whether Surgujia or Sadari. Pando people want their children to learn the language in their home. Thus, they consider their language very seriously.

1.7 The Corpus

The texts that we used for the analysis of this write-up was collected through elucidation from various people from our community. Whenever we sit and learn the language from the community people, we ask them to narrate a story or share any incident from their life or say about anything from their day-to-day life activity. We used to record the stories. And, during our orthography workshop many from our community wrote and gave us some stories. Out of those stories we selected 10 good stories and glossed. We used those stories for the initial analysis. But when the workshop started, we selected 5 stories again from them and used them for further analysis.

We also did some elicitations from our team members for the need of analysis. We used these data for time-to-time analysis. To prove any of our findings we used these data and cross checked with our team.

1.8 Method for analysis

The textbook that we used through the write-up was *Describing morphology and syntax* by Thomas E. Payne (2006). Before going to the topics, we have gone through the chapter.

This book is a guide for linguistic fieldworkers who wish to write a description of the morphology and syntax of one of the world's many under documented languages. It offers readers who work through it one possible outline for a grammatical description, with many questions designed to help them address the key topics; and appendices offer guidance on text and elicited data, and on sample reference grammars which readers might wish to consult. This will be a valuable resource to anyone engaged in linguistic fieldwork.

And we also followed the book *Analysing grammar* by Paul Kroeger (2005). Analysing Grammar is a clear introductory textbook on grammatical analysis, designed for students beginning to study the discipline. Covering both syntax (the structure of phrases and sentences) and morphology (the structure of words), it equips them with the tools and methods needed to analyse grammatical patterns in any language.

In our description of the Pando grammar, we have developed the topics like morphological and constituent order typology, morpho-syntactic questions about Noun and NP and Verb and VP in that the questions of TAM are observed. Non-verbal clauses, case system, voice and valence and multi-clause structures are successively analysed and described.

1.9 Acknowledgement

First of all, we would like to express our sincere thanks to the Almighty for his gracious shower of blessings upon us for the successful completion of this Pando Grammar Write-up.

We express our sincere thanks to the Pando language development team for helping us with the analysis and for their assistance in editing some parts of this paper. We thank them for encouraging us toward the successful completion of our research work.

We thank our friends and family for their help and encouragement rendered to us in our work. We acknowledge our gratitude to the respondents of our study for their kind reply to our questions.

With profound feelings of gratitude, we express our sincere thanks to each and all who helped us in one way or another for the completion of the study.

2. PHONOLOGY

The analysis on Pando phonology was done in the year 2019 March. Many findings about the features of the sounds of the language was done.

2.1 Vowels

Pando has six basic vowels and two diphthongs. Each vowel and diphthong have a contrasting nasal counterpart. Vowel length is not contrastive. In our data (which consists of words elicited in isolation) vowels tend to be longer in one syllable words and in final syllables. This is often (but not consistently) noted in our phonetic transcription. Further research is required to determine if prosodic factors, such as stress and syllable structure, play a role in conditioning vowel length. All vowels are voiced.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid		ʌ	
Open		a	

Table: 1 Vowel chart

2.2 Consonants

There are 29 consonants in Pando language. Pando has stops as five places of articulation: labial, dental, retroflex, palatal, and velar. The palatal stops are realized as laminal post-alveolar affricates. All other stops are realized as unaffricated plosives. All stops contrast for voicing and aspiration. There are dental and glottal voiceless fricatives. There bilabial and dental voiced nasal. There are voiced dental trill and retroflex flap. There are voiced dental lateral and voiced bilabial and palatal approximant.

	Bilabial		Dental/ Alveolar		Retroflex		Post-alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive	p	b	t̪	d̪	ʈ	ɖ					k	g		
	pʰ	bʰ	t̪ʰ	d̪ʰ	ʈʰ	ɖʰ					kʰ	gʰ		
Affricate							t͡ʃ	d͡ʒ						
							t͡ʃʰ	d͡ʒʰ						
Fricative			s										h	
Nasal		m		n										
Trill				r										
Flap						ɽ								
Lateral				L										
Approximant		w								j				

Table: 2 Phonemic chart

2.3 Syllable Structure

A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel) and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. Pando has a basic (C)V(C)(C) syllable template. Examples are listed below.

V			
/i/	[iː]	V	‘this’
VC			
/ek/	[ek]	VC	‘one’
CV			
/mo/	[mo]	CV	‘I’
CVC			
/pis/	[pis]	CVC	‘grind’
VCC			
/undɻʌʲ/	[undɻʌʲ]	VCC.CV	‘too much dirty’
CVCC			
/beng/	[beŋg]	CVCC	‘frog’

2.4Orthography

2.4.1 Vowels

	Front	Central		Back
Close	i			u
	इ			उ
	iː			uː
	ई			ऊ
Close-mid	e			o
	ए			ओ
Open-mid		ʌ	ʌ̃	
		अ	अं	
Open		a		
		आ		

Table: 3 Orthography chart of vowel

2.4.2 Consonant

	Bilabial		Dental/ Alveolar		Retroflex		Post-alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive	p	b	t̪	d̪	ʈ	ɖ					k	g		
	प	ब	त	द	ट	ड					क	ग		
	pʰ	bʰ	t̪ʰ	d̪ʰ	ʈʰ	ɖʰ					kʰ	gʰ		
	फ	भ	थ	ध	ठ	ढ					ख	घ		
Affricate							t͡ʃ	d͡ʒ						
							च	ज						
							t͡ʃʰ	d͡ʒʰ						
							छ	झ						

Fricative			s										h	
			स										ह	
Nasal		m		n										
		म		न										
Trill				r										
				र										
Flap						ɽ								
						ड़								
Lateral				l										
				ल										
Approxima nt		w								j				
		व								य				

Table: 4 Orthography chart of phonemic

3. MORPHOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY

Morphological typology refers primarily to the extent to which words in the language are divisible in to clearly individuated morphemes. As we look in to the synthesis of the language, we find the Pando language is a **synthetic language** which contains many morphemes marked in the verb and also the nouns which are marked mainly for the case.

Based on the fusion, the Pando language is **agglutinating language.** As we see that the verb marks the tense and agreement in the same morpheme and case marking is done in different morpheme in the noun. A morpheme is having only one meaning.

Hence, we can say that the Pando language is a **Synthetic and agglutinating** language**.**

1. **gaj-ker** **t͡ʃar-ʈʰo** **goɖ** **hoven-ʌs.**
   cow-GEN four-NMKR leg COP:PRS-3SG
   'Cow has four legs' [N.G 2]

2. **ʈ̪** **on** **ɖ̪al** **bʰaʈ̪** **kʰʌ-iʈ̪** **rʌh-in**
   then 3PL pulses cooked.rice eat-PRTL AUX:PST-3PL
   'Then they were eating cooked pulses and rice' [B&L 26]

4. CONSTITUENT ORDER TYPOLOGY

Greenberg reported that there is some clear tendency that some syntactic characteristics are highly related to the orders of constituents. The basic word order of Pando language is APV. Following are the examples selected to compare Pando language with Greenberg's Universals. In this chapter we are explaining about how a sentence in Pando is being presented in terms of the constituent order. The positions of each phrases will be observed to see how the Pando language is consistent according to the Greenberg's universals.

4.1 Constituent order in main clause

The Verb comes final in the main clause preceded by the P argument (object) and then by the A argument (subject). So, the basic word order of the language is APV which is as cited below.

	A	P	V
3.	**gaj-ram**	**ɖu:ɖ**	**ɖe-n**
	cow-NOM	milk	give-PRS:3SG
	'Cow gives milk'		[N.G 6]

	A	P	V	
4.	**on**	**ɖʰan-ke**	**t͡ʃorai-ken**	**an-ʌn-ʌn**
	3PL	grain-ACC	steal-CP	bring-PST-3PL
	'They stole and brought the grains'			[B&L 20]

4.2 Adposition

We have noticed that Pando does not use postpositions. Rather, this language uses postpositional suffixes as shown in the example (5). We can see the locative case *-hen* 'in' is attached to the noun *gav* 'village'.

5.	e-goʈ	gav **-hen**	ʌɳɖa	au	lʌŋgʌɖa	rʌh-ʌʈ
	one-NMKR	village-LOC	blind	and	lame	COP:PST-3PL
	'In one village there was a blind and a lame'.					[B&L 2]

4.3 Genitive (Possessor) and Head noun

Possessor always precedes the head noun. The following example shows that *ʈakku-ker* 'Takku-GEN' is preceded by the head noun *ɖau* 'father'. The possessor is preceded by the genitive marker *-ker*.

6.	ɖanijʌl	**ʈakku-ker**	ɖau	ho-n
	Daniel	Takku-GEN	father	COP:PRS-3SG
	'Daniel is Takku's father'			

4.4 Modifier and Head noun

As seen in the example (7), modifier precedes the head noun. *egoʈ bʌɖiha d͡ʒʌnvʌr* 'a good animal' is NP and *egoʈ bʌɖiha* 'a good' modifier precedes the head noun *d͡ʒʌnvʌr* 'animal'.

7.	gaj	**e-goʈ**	**bʌɖiha**	d͡ʒʌnvʌr	ho-n
	cow	one-NMKR	good	animal	COP:PRS:3SG
	'Cow is a good animal'				[N.G 24]

4.5Relative clauses and Head noun

We have observed that in Pando, the relative clause works in the manner as explained by the following example. Here we can see that the head noun *sʌd͡ʒʌn* 'Sajan' comes before the relativizer *dʒe-ram* REL-NOM' and the relative clause is highlighted.

8. okʌr nav sʌd͡ʒʌn baʈ-ʌi **d͡ʒe-ram** **d͡ʒoʈi-ker** **ɖau**
   3SG: POSS name Sajan COP-3SG REL-NOM jyoti-GEN father

   ho-n
   COP:PRS-3SG
   'His name is Sajan who is Jyothi's father'

9. **d͡ʒe-ram** **kisan-ker** **kam-hen** **av-ʌn** .
   REL-NOM farmer-GEN work-INST come-PRS:3SG
   'That is helpful for farmers' [N.G 11]

4.6Comparatives

In case of comparatives in Pando language, standard comes first and the marker next. Adverb comes last. Here in example (10) we can see *ekʌr* 'him' who is the standard come before the marker *ne* 'than' which is followed by the adverb *agʰu*'front'.

10. mo ʈ͡ʂ t͡ʃʰʌlãg mari-ken **ekʌr** **ne** agʰu pʌhuŋt͡ʃʌ-b-u
    1SG then jump do-CP 3SG ABL front reach-FUT-1SG
    'I will jump and run fast and will be in front of him' [R&T 10]

4.7Main verb and Auxiliaries

As seen in following examples, the main verb come before the auxiliary verb is inflected for the subject agreement and tense.

11. mõ iskul **d͡ʒʌ-iʈ͡ʂ** **rʌh-u**
    1SG school go-PRTL AUX:PST-1SG
    'I was going to school'

12. mo amba **kʰʌ-iʈ͡ʂ** **rʌbʌ-b-u**
    1SG mango eat-PRTL AUX-FUT-1SG
    I will be eating mango'

4.8Question particles

We can see that question particles such as *ka,* are coming in the sentence final position in the language.

13. **ka** ʈ͡ʂo iskul d͡ʒa-e rʌh-ʌs
    QP 2SG school go-PRTL AUX:PST-2SG
    'Are you going to school?'

4.9 Question words

Question words comes in-situ position when content question is made. From the following example we can see that the question word *kʌisʌk* is coming in the adverb position.

14. t̪õ moe **kʌisʌk** kʰʌi-b-e
    2SG 1SG how eat-FUT-2SG
    'How will you eat me?' [G&B 4]

15. t̪o **kʌisʌk** na d̪evʌik sʌk-ʌs
    2SG how no give can-3SG
    'How you are not able to give the answer' [K&W 16]

4.10 Affixes

Most Pando affixes are dominantly suffixes as seen in the examples (16,17) below:

16. t̪ **purʌb-mʌhin-ne** **e-got̪** d͡ʒogi **ʌ-in-is**
    then east-towards-ABL one-NMKR wise.man come-PST-3SG
    'Then from east a wise man came' [K&W 2]

17. d͡ʒʰiŋga rod͡ʒ **bagʰ-ke** **d̪ekʰ-ʌinʌ-his**
    prawn daily tiger-ACC see-PST-3SG
    'Prawn used to see the tiger everyday' [T&P 2]

Comparing the above examples with Greenberg's universals, it can be seen that Pando language is very consistent with Greenberg's Universals. The Pando language follows typical P-V order.

5. NOUN AND NOUN PHRASE OPERATIONS

A noun phrase is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun. Noun phrase elements include determiner, numeral, possessor, modifier, noun classifier and the head noun. The head noun is the noun that is modified by all these conceptual categories. In this section we are mainly focusing on how morpho- syntactic operations are expressed in Pando noun phrases.

5.1 Compounding words

A compound is a word stem that is formed from two or more different words. Pando also attaches different words which are nouns along with other nouns to form compound nouns.

Pando has some compound words which have semantic criteria in which the meaning of the compound is either more specific or entirely different than the combined meanings of the compound word Payne. In Pando when we combine two different words together then it will give a derived noun stem which has another meaning. Some compounding words are below in table (5):

Compounding words	Meaning with explanation
ɖaɖisʌsur	'wife's grandfather' (*ɖadi* means 'grandmother' and *sʌsur* means 'father-in-law'. *ɖadisʌsur* means 'wife's father's father')
akʰimuh	'face' (*akʰi* means 'eyes' and *muh* means 'mouth'. *akʰi muh* means 'face')
bʰukʰmʌri	'famine' (*bʰukʰ* means 'hunger' and *mʌri* means 'death'. *bʰukʰ mʌri* means 'famine'.)
buɖisas	'wife' s father's mother' (*buɖi* means 'old woman' and *sas* means 'mother-in-law'. *buɖi sas* means 'wife's father's mother')
bʌt͡ʃaɖani	'uterus' (*bʌt͡ʃa* means 'child' and *ɖani* means 'giver'. But *bʌt͡ʃa ɖani* means 'uterus')
maʈiʈen	'kerosene' (*maʈi* means 'soil' and *ʈen* means 'oil'. But *maʈi ʈen* means 'kerosene')
kʰekʰʌrabit͡ʃʰa	'scorpion' (*kʰekʰʌra* means 'crab' and *bit͡ʃʰa* means 'the insect that stinct'. But *kʰekʰʌra bit͡ʃʰa* means 'scorpion')

Table: 5 Compounding words

5.2 Determiners

Operators, whether bound or free, which directly express something about the identifiability and/or referentiality of a noun phrase are often called Articles. Articles such as the English *the*, and *a(n)*, are relatively rare in the world's languages. More common are **Demonstratives**, such as *this, that, these*, and *those*. Some linguist uses the term **Determiner** to refer to formatives like *the* and *a(n)*. This term usually also includes quantifier, numerals, possessors as well as demonstratives shown in example 18-23.

Pando do not have any definite or indefinite articles.

5.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are the words used to refer the things which are anaphoric, and they could be very often distal and proximal. Pando also has demonstratives that are distal and proximal

which are *i*: 'DEM:PROX', *u* 'DEM:DIST', *i:* 'DEM:PROX:PL' and *on* 'DEM:DIST:PL'. They are illustrated in the examples below.

	Proximal	Distal
SG	i:	u
PL	i:	on

Table: 6 Demonstrative pronoun

18. **i:** aɖ̪mi d͡ʒoʈi-ker ɖ̪au ho-n
DEMO: PROX:SG man Jyoti-GEN father COP:PRS-3SG
'This man is Jyothi's father

19. **u** ɖʌgʌr bʌɖiha ho-n
DEMO: DIST:SG road good COP:PRS-3SG
'That road is good'

The same form of the demonstratives is used in Pando, as demonstrative pronouns as seen in the sentence below:

20. **i:** mor gaɖi ho-n
DEM: PROX:SG 1SG:POSS bike COP:PRS-3SG
'This is my bike'

21. **u** mor t͡ʃʌpʌl ho-n
DEM: DIST:SG 1SG: POSS footwear COP:PRS-3SG
'That is my footwear'

22. **i:** hʌmbʌr pʰʌria ho-n
DEM: PROX:PL 1PL: POSS clothes COP:PRS-3SG
'These are our clothes'

23. **on** hʌmbʌr t͡ʃʰeri ho-n
DEM: DIST:PL 1PL: POSS goat COP:PRS-3SG
'Those are our goats'

5.2.2 Number and Quantifier

Number

Nouns and noun phrases often vary for number. The most common number distinction is between singular and plural. Pando marks the number of nouns with the plural marker *nikʌr* 'PL'. There is no marking for the singular. All countable noun can have this marker. And this is obligatory for presenting a noun which is more than one.

24. u-ram aɖ̪mi **nikʌr-**kʰaʈ̪ posʈ̪ik ho-ʌn
3SG-NOM people PL-BEN nutritious COP-3SG
'That is healthy for human beings' [N.G 7]

25. t͡ʃʰeri ɖʰin-i-ken t͡ʃʰeri **nikʌi** t͡ʃʌra-i pʰirʌ-i-ken
Goat loose-PRTL-CP goat PL grase-PRTL roam-PRTL-CP

gʰʌr an-ʌin-e
house come-PRS-1PL
'Then take-out goat to grazing and then we come back to house'. [N.D 8]

Quantifier

Pando non-numeral quantifiers include such terms as: much, many, few, some, a lot of, a great deal of etc. Pando uses the following quantifiers in table (7), and some of them are illustrated in the example sentences below:

Quantifiers	Meaning
ɖʰere	'many'
ʈʰorhe	'a little'
ɖʌmbʰʌr	'some'
t͡ʃʌʈik	'a small amount'
bʌgʌra	'a lot of'
nʌgʌɖ	'more'

Table: 7 Quantifiers

26. mor peʈ -hen **nʌgʌɖ** t͡ʃara ahʌj
1SG:POSS stomach-LOC more food COP
'In my stomach I have more food' [G&B 11]

27. ʈad͡ʒ mʌhʌl bʌnave-kʰaʈ **ɖʰere** sal nag-ʌn-is
Taj Mahal make-BEN many years take-PST-3SG
'To make Taj Mahal it took many years'

Numeral

In many parts of the world, different vocabulary is used to express numerical concepts depending on the context. Like many other Indo Aryan languages, Pando follows the numbering system as in Hindi. The cardinal number system in Pando is therefore *ek* 'one' *ɖui* 'two' *ʈin* 'three' etc. with some phonological variations. We see that when the cardinal numbers are coming before a noun, a morpheme *-goʈ, -jo, -ʈʰo* (and *-goʈ* is used with *ek, -jo* is used with *dui,* and *-ʈʰo* is used with *ʈin* and above and above numbers) which is a numerical marker and it functions as an adjectivize r to modify the noun. It can also interchangeably suffix with the noun.

28. i: **e-goʈ** glas ho-n
DEMO:PROX:SG one-NMKR glass COP:PRS-3SG
'This is a glass'

29. gaj-ker **t͡ʃar-ʈʰo** goɖ hoven-ʌs .
cow-GEN four-NMKR leg COP: PRES-3SG
'Cow has four legs' [N.G 2]Possessor

Languages typically express ownership relationship with the owner either person or object. Pando expresses possession in the NP as Genitive marker *-ker* and also as a pronoun in the

place of noun to express the possessor of the head noun. The below is table showing the possessive pronoun of Pando language.

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	mor	hʌmbʌr
2nd Person	t̪or	t̪uhʌr
3rd Person	okʌr	unkʌr

Table: 8 Possessive pronoun

30. **mor** nav sʌd͡ʒʌn ahʌj
1SG: POSS name Sajan COP
'My name is Sajan'

31. hʌm **okʌr** pod͡ʒa kʌr-ʌin-e .
1PL 3SG: POSS worship do-PRES-1PL
'We worship her' [N.G 20]

32. dʒe-ram **kisan-ker** kam-hen av-ʌn
REL-NOM farmer-GEN work-LOC come-PRS:3SG
'The one who comes in help to farmer' [N.G 11]

33. u **d̪anijʌl-ker** sis ho-n
3SG Daniel-GEN pencil COP:PRS-3SG
'This is Daniel's pencil'

5.3 Case

Case marking is the morphosyntactic categorization of noun phrases that is imposed by the structure within which the noun phrase occurs. Case markings are grammatical as well as semantic in nature according to their role with the noun phrase. As Payne (2006: 107) described that "It is sometimes difficult to distinguish case marking from adposition (preposition and post-position)", the case markings in Pando are not easy to distinguish from the category of 'postposition'. We have tested with our MTTs orally and also in written. They tend to put all the case markings attached to the head noun, which show they consider the case marking as a part of the word, not as a separate postposition. Therefore, we concluded that all the grammatical and semantic cases are morphological markings.

5.3.1 Grammatical Case

Pando language follows the Accusative-Nominative case system. So nominative case *-ram* is marked on the subject and accusative case *-e* and *-ke* is marked on the object**.** The nominative *-ram* can be easily dropped in speaking context, however the accusative marking *-e/-ke* is obligatorily marked. And Pando mark *-ke* as a dative case marker. In fact, *-ke* is used for both 'ACC' and 'DAT'.

34. **t̪** **bʰanu-ram** **t͡ʃʰeri-ke** kʌh-ʌn-ʌs t̪o-e mõ
then bear-NOM goat-ACC tell-PAST-3SG 2SG-ACC 1SG

kʰʌi-b-õ.
eat-FUT-1SG

'Then Bear told to the Goat that I will eat you' [G&B 3]

35. **soᵘmija-ram** **ɖanijʌl-e** isgaje nag-ʌn-is
Soumya-NOM Daniel-ACC hate take-PST-3SG
'Soumya started to hate Daniel

36. ɖanijʌl ego-ʈ **sis-e** **soᵘmija-ke** ɖih-in-ʌs
Daniel one-NMKR pencil-ACC Soumya-DAT give-PST-3SG
'Daniel gave a pencil to Soumya'

5.3.2 Semantic case

The Pando language is rich in semantic cases. Genitive case markers are suffixed along with the noun, and other semantic case markers such as locative, allative, benefactive, instrumental, ablative, and comitative are suffixed to the noun. They look like post position locating after the head noun and thus makes the NP as PP. However, we have proved that they are postpositional suffixes.

Genitive

Pando marks the possessor noun with a genitive case marker *-ker.*

37. **agʰunu-ker** biha bʰʌ-in-is
Agʰunu-GEN marriage happen-PST-3SG
'Aghunu's marriage got over'

Locative

Pando marks the noun with a locative case marker *-hen.*

38. ego-ʈ **pʌhʌr-hen** t͡ʃʰeri au bʰanu t͡ʃara t͡ʃʌrʌ-i ɖ͡ʒʌ-iʈ
one-NMKR hill-LOC goat and bear grass grase-PRTL go-PRTL

rʌh-ʌʈ
AUX:PST-3PL
'In one hill there lived a goat and a bear'. [G&B 1]

Allative Case

Pando marks the noun with allative case marker *-ma.*

39. soᵘmija u **ɖ͡ʒʌŋgʌl-ma** gʌ-in-is
Soumya that forest-ALL go-PST-3SG
'Soumya went to that Forest'

Benefactive

Pando marks the noun with a benefactive case marker *-kʰaʈ.*

40. soᵘmija **ʈakku-kʰat** t͡ʃa bʌn-an-is
Soumya Takku-BEN tea make-PST-3SG
'Soumya made tea for Takku'

Instrumental
Pando marks the noun with a instrumental case marker *-hen.*

41. Mo **kʌrʧʰun-hen** sag-e kʰov-ʌn-his
1SG spoon-INST vegetable-ACC stir-PST-3SG
'I stirred the vegetable with a spoon'

Ablative
Pando marks the noun with a ablative case marker *-ne* to put period.

42. u **bang-ne** ʌin baʈ-ʌi
3PL bank-ABL come AUX:PRS-3SG
'He has come from bank'

43. **suraʤpur-ne** gewani bis ʈan ahʌj
Surajpur-ABL gehwani twenty kilometer COP
'It is twenty kilometers from Surajpur to Gehwani'

Comitative
Pando marks the noun with a comitative case marker *-sʌŋge.*

44. ɖanijʌl **mor-sʌŋge** gi:ʈ gav-ʌn-is
Daniel 1SG: POSS-COM song sing-PST-3SG
'Daniel sang song with me'.

	Case usage	Case marker	Case name
Grammatical case (Terms)	S	*-ram*	Nominative
	A	*-ram*	Nominative
	P	*-ke/-e*	Accusative
	Obj 2	*-ke*	Dative
Semantic case (Oblique and some adjuncts)	Location	*-hen*	Locative
	Source	*-ne*	Ablative
	Goal	*-ma*	Allative
	Instrument	*-hen*	Instrumental
	Beneficiary	*-kʰaʈ*	Benefactive
	Possession	*-ker*	Genitive
	Accompaniment	*-sʌŋge*	Comitative

Table: 9 Case markings in Pando

5.4 Pronouns

In linguistics and grammar, a pronoun is a word that substitutes for a noun or noun phrase. In Pando we can see personal pronoun, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns.

5.4.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are pronouns that are associated primarily with a particular grammatical person – first person, second person, or third person. Personal pronouns may also take different forms depending on number, grammatical or natural gender, case, and formality. In Pando pronouns are used differently in subject, object and as possessor. In the below table it is shown how these pronouns are illustrated:

Subject Personal Pronouns:

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
SG	mo	t̪o	u
PL	hʌm	t̪u	on

Table: 10 Subject personal pronouns

45. **mo** t̪oe kʰʌi-b-õ.
1SG 2SG eat-FUT-1SG
'I will eat you' [G & B 3]

46. **mo** buɖʰʌ-i gʌ-in-u
1SG old-PRTL go-PST-1SG
'I became old' [O & P 10]

Object Personal pronouns:

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
SG	moe	t̪oe	uke
PL	hʌmbe	t̪uhe	un nikʌi

Table: 11 Object personal pronouns

47. d̪anijʌl-ram **moe** bʌl-an-is
Daniel-NOM 1SG call-PST-3SG
'Daniel called me'.

48. mo **t̪oe** kʰʌi-b-u
1SG 2SG eat-FUT-1SG
'I will eat you' [G&B 3]

5.4.2 Possessor pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	mor	hʌmbʌr
2nd Person	t̪or	t̪uhʌr
3rd Person	okʌr	unkʌr

Table: 12 Possessor pronoun

49. **mor** nav sʌd͡ʒʌn ahʌj
1SG: POSS name Sajan COP
'My name is Sajan'

50. Hʌm **okʌr** pod͡ʒa kʌr-ʌin-e .
1PL 3SG: POSS worship do-PRS-1PL.
'We worship her'. [N.G 20]

5.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns were described on 5.2.1

6. VERB AND VERB PHRASES

Pando is a verb final language, and its word order is SOV. In verb and verb phrases at the end of a sentence, tense, aspect, and mode/modality are expressed, as well as the verb agreement which agrees with the person and number of the subject. In this section we will discuss first the nominalization and noun incorporation which are derivational operations. Then the questions of TAM, which are inflectional operations on either verb or on auxiliary verb will be observed.

6.1 Nominalization

A verb can become a noun by a process of nominalization. In Pando different types of nominalization are 'agent nominalization' and 'instrumental nominalization'.

Agent Nominalization

A nominalization that refers to the agent of the nominalized verb is an Agent Nominalization: Here in Pando a verb could be derived as a noun with the meaning of agent, and it is made with suffix *-wala.*

51. *sun*	'listen'	*sunewala*	'the one to who listens.
52. *kʌh*	'tell'	*kʌhewala*	'the one to who tells'.
53. *pʌɖ*	'read'	*pʌɖewala*	'the one to who reads.

Instrumental Nominalization

An instrument nominalization is a noun formed from a verb in which the noun refers to an instrument used to accomplish the act represented by the verb. Here a verb becomes a noun when it is suffix *-ɖar. -ɖar* could be used as an instrumental nominalizer as well as a place nominalizer as seen in the example (56) as *rʌhʌiɖar.*

54. *kuʈ*	'grind'	*kuʈeɖar*	'the thing in which something is grinded'.
55. *mʌsi*	'mix'	*mʌsiɖar*	'the thing in which something is mixed'.
56. *rʌh*	'live'	*rʌhʌiɖar*	'the place to lives'

6.2 Noun incorporation

Noun Incorporation is where an object noun becomes attached to the verb to make a derived verb stem, and is otherwise called object incorporation. In Pando, there are many nouns that are attached to a verb like *kʌr* 'do' to function as one verb. The verb is fully inflected for tense and person and number agreement. *kam kʌr* 'work do' in (57) and *d͡ʒʌgʌra kʌr* 'fight do' in (58) are derived verbs.

57. mo **kam** **kʌr-n-u**
1SG work do-PRS-1SG
'I am working'.

58. on **d͡ʒʌgʌra** **kʌr-ʌn-ʌn**
3PL fight do-PST-3PL
'They fought'.

6.3 Tense

Tense is associated with the sequence of events in real time, aspect with the internal temporal "structure" of a situation, while mode relates the speaker's attitude toward the situation or the

speaker's commitment to the probability that the situation is true. (Payne 2006:208). In Pando we can see three tenses: Present, Past and Future. The Pando speakers differentiate these three by suffixing *-ʌin* or *-n* for present, *-an, -ʌn* and *-in* as past tense marking, and *-b* for future. The tense is suffixed to the root verb. They are having +1 position after the root verb, followed by the subject agreement, +2 position.

59. Hʌmokʌrpoʤa**kʌr-ʌin-e** .
1PL 3SG: POSS worship do-PRS-1PL
'We worshipped her' [N.G 20]

60. t̪bʰanu-ramʧʰeri-ke**kʌh-ʌn-ʌs** t̪oemõ**kʰʌi-b-u**
then bear-NOM goat-ACC tell-PST-3SG 2SG 1SG eat-FUT-1SG
'Then bear told to the goat that I will eat you' [G&B 3]

61. t̪ekʌrd̪ui-joʤʌntʃora-ve- kʰat̪**gʌ-in-ʌn**
then two-NMKR people steal-for-BEN go-PST-3PL`
'Then two people went to steal' [B&L 14]

Root	+1 tense	+2 subject agreement
	-an, -ʌn, -in 'PST' *-ʌin/ -n* 'PRS' *-b* 'FUT'	*-u* '1SG' *-e* '2SG' *-is* '3SG' *-e* '1PL' *-a* '2PL' *-ʌn* '3PL'

Table: 13 PCC for tense

6.4 Aspect

Aspect is the most common operation associated with verbs. Bybee (1985:31) finds that 74 percent of the languages in her randomized sample have morphological manifestation of aspect in the verb. In Pando we can see mainly three aspects progressive, habitual, and perfect.

6.4.1 Progressive

Progressive aspect implies an ongoing, dynamic process. In progressive we can see that in three tenses progressive is marked. In present tense the progressive is marked along with some progressive words. Like *abʰin* 'now' and *aʤʰe* 'now'. We can see this through some examples. In fact, the present progressive does not have any special marking on the verb. We have observed that the present tense can have the present progressive meaning, if needed.

62. **abʰin** mo kursi-hen **bʌis-ʌin-u**
now 1SG chair-LOC sit-PRS-1SG
'I am sitting on the chair now'

63. hʌm **adʒ͡ʰe** amba **kʰa-n-e**
1PL now mango eat-PRS-1PL
'We are eating mango now'

In past and future progressive, the verb is inflected with participle *-i* and the auxiliary *rʌh* 'AUX:PST' comes which is inflected with +1 position as tense marking and +2 position as subject agreement. Past tense mark zero for tense whereas future tense mark *-b* 'FUT' as a tense marker. We can see this through some examples.

64. mo **bʌis-i** **rʌh-u**
1SG sit-PRTL AUX-1SG
'I was sitting'

65. mo amba **kʰʌ-iţ** **rʌbʌ-b-u**
1SG mango eat-PRTL AUX-FUT-1SG
I will be eating mango'

6.4.2 Habitual

In Pando, the sentences of present, past and future tenses can generally have habitual meaning. This is very common in many other languages. The verb root is inflected by +1 tense and +2 subject agreement as usual. In present tense some habitual words can be also used so as to bring a habitual aspect in the sentences.

66. hʌm okʌr podʒ͡a **kʌr-ʌin-e**
1PL 3SG worship do-PRS-1PL
'We worship her' [N.G 20]

67. u rodʒ͡ skul **dʒ͡a-n**
3SG daily school go-PRS:3SG
'He goes to school daily.'

68. u ʌmba **kʰʌ-in-is**
3SG mango eat-PST-3SG
'He ate mango'

69. hʌm ʌmba **kʰʌi-b-e**
1PL mango eat-FUT-1PL
'We will eat mango'

6.4.3 Perfect

Completive aspect expresses the completion of an event. In Pando in all three tenses a completive auxiliary verb *qʰar* is used for showing the perfect aspect. In fact, *qʰar* is originally the verb 'complete', and it is grammaticalized to be used as an auxiliary for the perfect. In present tense root verb is inflected for the participle *-i* and the completive auxiliary *qʰar* has inflection: +1 position tense and +2 position for the subject agreement. In past and future tenses, the verb and completive auxiliary both are inflected: verb participle form is followed by *qʰar* inflected. Then the auxiliary *rʌh* for the past, and *rʌh-b* for the future is coming which is inflected for subject agreement.

70. mo iskul **d͡ʒa-i** **ɖʰar-n-u**
1SG school go-PRTL COMP-PRS-1SG
'I have gone to school'

71. u kani iskul **d͡ʒa-i** **ɖʰar-i** **rʌh-is**
3SG yesterday school go-PRTL COMP-PRTL AUX:PST-3SG
'Yesterday You had gone to school'

72. mo kani iskul **d͡ʒa-i** **ɖʰar-i** **rʌhʌ-b-u**
1SG tomorrow school go-PRTL COMP-PRTL AUX-FUT-1SG
'Tomorrow I would have been reached school'

6.5Mood and Modality

6.5.1 Mood

The MOOD of a clause is the way in which the verb forms are used to show whether the clause is for a statement, a question or a command. In Pando, there are 3 types of mood: indicative, interrogative and imperative.

6.5.1.1 INDICATIVE

Indicative mood otherwise called as declarative denotes the speech act 'statement'. It shows that the speaker is declaring information to be true. In Pando, zero marking is done for making indicative sentence, i.e., normal sentences are used for forming statements.

73. gaj ba͡ʃʌru ɖe-n
cow calf give-PRS:3SG
'Cow gives calf' [N.G 8]

74. okʌr nerka t͡ʃʌuva nʌhi rʌh-ʌhis.
3SG: POSS children no COP:PST-3SG
'His children were not there' [O&P 2]

INTROGGATIVE

It shows the speech act 'question'. It shows that the speaker is requesting an information. Here as cited, a question particle *ka* 'QP' comes before the indicative sentence to make interrogative.

75. **ka** u iskul gʌi-n-is
QP 3SG school go-PST.3SG
'Did he go to school?'

76. **ka** on ɖuɖ pijʌ-n-in
QP 3PL milk drink-PST-3PL
'Did he drink milk?'

IMPERATIVE

It shows the speech act 'command'. This mood shows the forcefulness with which a speaker is instructing a hearer to do something. In Pando the root form of the verb is used for imperative sentence with a subject. If the sentence is negative, then the verb will be inflected for the future tense with the subject agreement.

77. iha bʌis
Here sit
'sit here'

78. u pani-e d͡ʒin ne-ba-hus
3SG water-ACC NEG take-FUT-3SG
'Do not take that water.'

HORTATIVE

Hortative is the form in which the speaker is saying to the other people or more than one person to do an action. Not like imperative which sounds like a command, hortative is like an encourage to do a certain action.

79. t͡ʃʌl d͡ʒʌ-i-ken t͡ʃora-b-u
IMP go-PRTL-CP steal-FUT-1SG
'Come let's go and steal' [B&L 11]

6.5.2 Modality

Modality covers a wide range of semantic distinctions, but generally relates to either the speaker's attitude toward the proposition being expressed or the actor's belief to the described situation. In Pando modality is marked with a separate auxiliary which is fully inflected after the main verb. There are two different types of modality: epistemic and deontic.

6.5.2.1 Epistemic modality

It refers to probability/speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition. It consists of evidential, validation and mirative.

Evidential

It is limited to indicating to the source of information. It shows eyewitness, hearsay etc. In Pando, no special marking on the verb for the evidential is observed, however, there are verb like 'see' and 'hear' which is inflected with the participle form and auxiliary which is inflected with the subject agreement, so as to give the evidential meaning, as shown in 79 and 80.

80. mo **ɖekh-i** **rʌh-u** ki u-ram ai
1SG see-PRTL AUX:PST-1SG that 3SG-NOM come

ɖʰar-ʌi
COMP-3SG
'I saw that he has come'

81. u **sun-i** **rʌh-ʌi** ki mo abʰin bʌɖiha
3SG hear-PRTL AUX:PST-3SG that 1SG now better

ahʌj
COP
'he heard that I am better now'

Mirativity

Mirativity is a grammatical category in a language, independent of evidentiality, that encodes the speaker's surprise or the unpreparedness of their mind. In Pando they use *ʌre* surprisingly to show that the speaker is in surprise.

82. ʌre u ɖek^{h} u sʌman ɡir-n-is
hey 3SG see 3SG thing fall-PRS-3SG
'look that thing is about to fall'

Validational

It indicates the degree of commitment the speaker makes as to be truth of the assertion. In Pando even though there is no grammatical device on the verb but the speaker uses the verb *soʃ* 'think' *d͡ʒan* 'know' to show the validation in the language.

83. mo **d͡ʒan-ʌin-u** ki u nʌhi av-ʌi
1SG know-PRS-1SG that 3SG NEG come-3SG
'I know that he will not come'

84. mo **d͡ʒa-n-u** ki aaj saŋd͡ʒ^{h}e pani
1SG-ACC know-PRS-1SG that today evening rain

ʌi-b-is
come-FUT-3SG
'I know that today evening it will rain'

From our observations, the Pando language does not have specific epistemic modal markings on verb. They can use relevant verbs to give these modal meanings.

6.5.2.2 Deontic modality

It shows degree to which the assertion describes a necessary event and denotes obligation or permission.

Obligation

It indicates when the speaker is telling that the hearer has to do something. In Pando there is a deontic marker on the verb and an obligatory word *pʌr* 'must' is used to indicate obligatory deontic modality. It indicate that the speaker is telling to do something which the hearer has to do.

85. mo-e i sal pʌrit͡ʃa **ɖev-ek** **pʌr-b-is**
1SG-ACC this year exam give-DEON must-FUT-3SG
'I have to write the exam this year'

86. kani ʈoe ɖili d͡ʒa-**ek** baʈ-o
tomorrow 2SG delhi go-DEON AUX:PRS-2SG
'Tomorrow you must go to Delhi'

Permissive

It indicates that the speaker is speaking as if giving a permission. In Pando there is a deontic marker on the verb and a permissive word *sʌkʌ* 'can' is used to indicate permissive deontic modality. It indicates as the speaker is giving permission to the hearer to do something.

87. t̪o i kagʌd̪ **pʌɖ-ek** **sʌkʌ-in-e**
2SG this book read-DEON can-PRS-2SG
'You can read the book'

88. mo agʰu hʌpʰt̪a d̪ili **d͡ʒa-ek** **sʌkʌ-b-u**
1SG next week delhi go-DEON can-FUT-1SG
'I can travel to Delhi next week'

6.6 Participant reference

Participant references on verbs are sometimes called cross-reference, subject agreement, verb coding, or concord. In Pando we can see that the person and the number of the subject is mentioned in the participant reference. Its position is always final on verb or auxiliary verb.

89. gaj gʰas pʌira au t͡ʃara **kʰa-n**
cow grass dried.rice.grass and husk eat-PRS:3SG
'Cow eats grass, dried rice grass, and husk' [N.G 13]

90. t̪ekʌr baʈ-t͡ʃɪt̪ kʌr-i-ken sʌb d͡ʒʰʌn suʈ **d͡ʒa-n-e**
then talk do-PRTL-CP all people sleep go-PRS-1PL
'Then after talk everyone will sleep' [N.D 12]

Pando shows several sets of verb agreement which vary according to the characteristics of the verbs.

Person and Number	**Verbs**	**Copula/AUX** *baʈ, rʌh*	**Copula ho**
1SG	*-u*	*-u*	*-nu*
2SG	*-e*	*-ʌs*	*-ne*
3SG	*-is*	*-ʌi*	*-n*
1PL	*-ʌi, -e*	*-ẽ*	*-ne*
2PL	*-a*	*-e*	*-na*
3PL	*-ʌn*	*-ʌʈ*	*-in*

Table: 14 Participant references

RESIDUE

In present progressive the auxiliary verb *baʈ* can be also used with the inflection of subject agreement on it. *baʈ* is used in the progressive aspect of some verbs in which the action done is in present tense. In example (62) and (63) present progressive aspect is seen and in example

(91) we can understand *baţ* more which is also a present progressive aspect. Moreover, some more studies are needed to be done for making this clearer.

91. abʰin mo kursi-hen bʌis-i **baţ-u**
now 1SG chair-LOC sit-PRTL AUX:PRS-1SG
'now I am sitting on the chair (sit done)'

7. NON-VERBAL CLAUSE

Non-verbal constructions are clauses in which the main semantic content of the predicate, i.e., the thing being asserted, is not expressed in a verb. Non-verbal predicates are constructions which either have no verb-type word or the copula has little or no semantic content. Pando uses non-verbal predicates to express ideas of proper inclusion, equation, attribution, existence and possession. The copulas are used in making these types of constructions and will be inflected normally like any verbs.

7.1 Predicate Nominal

Predicate nominals are non-verbal constructions which typically express Proper inclusion and Equation. The structure of Predicate nominal in Pando is NP NP Copula. In predicate nominal Copula *ho* is used for present, *rʌh* is used for past and either *ho* or *rʌh* is used for futur tense.

Proper inclusion

Proper inclusion is when a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate. For example, *he is a teacher* might be paraphrased "he is a member of the class of items designated by the noun *teacher.*" Usually, the subject of a predicate nominal clause indicating proper inclusion is specific *(he),* and the nominal predicate is nonspecific *(a teacher).* (Payne 2006:105)

92. dʒon gurud͡ʒi **ho-n**
John teacher COP:PRS-3SG
'John is a teacher'

93. d͡ʒon gurud͡ʒi **rʌh-ʌi**
John teacher COP:PST-3SG
'John was a teacher'

94. mo gurud͡ʒi **ho-b-u**
1SG teacher COP-FUT-1SG
'I will be a teacher'

Equative clause

Equative clause is used when a particular entity (Subj NP) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal. The same copulas for proper inclusion are used for making equative clauses.

95. Blesi okʌr gʰʌrɖarin **ho-n**
Blessy 3SG: POSS wife COP-PRS:3SG
'Blessy is his wife'

96. u okʌr gʰʌrɖʰarin **ho-b-ʌs**
3SG 3SG: POSS wife COP-FUT-3SG
'She will be his wife'

97. u mor gʰʌrɖʰarin **rʌh-ʌi**
3SG 1SG: POSS wife COP:PST-3SG
'She was my wife'

7.2 Predicate Adjective

It is also known as attributive clause. Predicate adjective clauses are the clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an Adjective or Adjective phrase. The structure of Predicate adjective in Pando is NP AP COP. The copula used for the predicate adjective is *ahʌj* for present tense 1SG and 1PL, *-baʈ* is used for 'PRS' for 2SG, 3GS, 2PL and 3PL, *-rʌh* is used for 'PST' and *ho* is used for 'FUT' with the future marking *-b* in +1 position.

Attributive clause

98. kʰusʌr au mʌɲd͡ʒur husijar rʌh-ʌʈ
Owl and Peacock wise COP:PST-3PL
'Owl and peacock were wise' [O&P 7]

99. u lʌmba ho-b-is
3SG tall COP-FUT-3SG
'He will be tall'

Clauses	**Root**	**+1 tense**	**+2 subject agreement**
Predicate nominal	ho 'PRS'	-0 'PRS'	-nu, -u '1SG' -ne '2SG' -n '3SG' -ne '1PL' -na '2PL -in '3PL
	rʌh 'PST	-0 'PST'	-u '1SG' -ʌs '2SG' -ʌi '3SG' -ẽ '1PL' -e '2PL' -ʌʈ '3PL'
	ho and rʌh 'FUT'	-b 'FUT'	-u '1SG' -e '2SG' -is '3SG' -o '1PL' -a '2PL' -ʌn '3PL'
Predicate adjective and Locative	baʈ 'PRS' rʌh 'PST'	-0	-u '1SG' -ʌs '2SG' -ʌi '3SG' -ẽ '1PL' -e '2PL' -ʌʈ '3PL'

	ho and rʌh	-b 'FUT'	u '1SG' -e '2SG' -is '3SG' -o '1PL' -a '2PL' -ʌn '3PL'

Table: 15 PCC for predicate nominal, predicate adjective, and locative

7.3EPL

In this section we can see that in a non-verbal clause, according to the NOM (Nominal) and LOC (Locational) distinction in EPL structure, we could easily identify each clause pattern (Payne 2006:127).

Existential

In Pando the existential clauses form **LOC NOM COP** clauses. In an existential clause the LOC comes first and then NOM. In this clause the LOC phrase says that it has a NOM in it exist. As we can see in table (16) the copula of existential clause is of three kind. In present tense *ahʌj* is the copula. It is not inflected. It is mainly used in 1SG and 1PL. For 2SG, 3SG, 2PL, and 3PL the copula is *baţ*. In past tense the copula is *rʌh* and it is inflected by the subject agreement. In future tense the copula is *rʌh* and *ho* and is inflected by subject agreement.

	LOC		**NOM**			
100.	e-goţ	gav-hen	ʌn̪d̪a	au	lʌŋgʌɖa	rʌh-ʌţ̪
	one-NMKR	village-LOC	blind	and	lame	COP:PST-3PL
	'In one village there a blind and a lame exist'					[B&L 1]

	LOC		**NOM**		
101.	e-goţ	radʒ̑-hen	e-goţ	radʒ̑a	rʌh-ʌi
	one-NMKR	nation-LOC	one-NMKR	king	COP:PST-3SG
	'In one nation there was a king'				[K&W 1]

In Pando there is also negative existential verb. And negative existential is marked with a word *nikʰe*. The sentence below expresses negative Possessive clause. *mor* is LOC as +animate and *kʰʌik* is NOM.

	LOC		**NOM**		
102.	adʒ̑	mor	ţʰʌn	kʰʌi-k	**nikʰe**
	today	1SG: POSS	has	eat-DEO	NEG: EXIT
	'Today I have nothing to eat'				[B&L 6]

Possessive clause

The clauses which predicate the possession of item or entity is called possessive clause. In Pando the possessive clause form **LOC NOM COP** clauses. This structure is same as the Existential clauses. However, the key to identify the Possessive clause is the LOC is [+animate], as opposed to the LOC [-animate] in the Existential clause. The subject agreement which is inflected on the copula is a little different than from Existential and locative. It is shown in table below 16.

	LOC			NOM	
103.	uŋkʌr	ɖui-jo	d͡ʒʌn-ʌk	gʰʌrɖarin	au
	3PL: POSS	two-NMKR	people-GEN	wife	and
	nerka-t͡ʃʌuva	rʌhʌ-hin			
	children	COP:PST-3PL			
	‘two people have wife and children’.				[B&L 2]

	LOC		NOM	
104.	mor	ʈʰʌn	pʌisa	rʌh-e
	1SG: POSS	with	money	COP:PST-1SG
	‘I had money’.			

	LOC		NOM	
105.	mor	ʈʰʌn	pʌisa	rʌhʌ-b-e
	1SG: POSS	with	money	COP-FUT-1SG
	‘I will have money’.			

Clauses	Root	+1 tense	+2 subject agreement
Existential and Possessive	ahʌj	-0	-0 ‘1SG -0 ‘1PL’
	baʈ ‘PRS’ rʌh ‘PST’	-0	-e ‘1SG’ -o ‘2SG’ -his ‘3SG’ -ʌi ‘1PL’ -ohe ‘2PL -hin ‘3PL’
	ho and rʌh	-b ‘FUT’	u ‘1SG’ -e ‘2SG’ -is ‘3SG’ -o ‘1PL’ -a ‘2PL’ -ʌn ‘3PL’

Table: 16 PCC for existential and possessive clause

Locative Clause

It predicates the location of an entity which is the subject NP. The structure of the locative clause in Pando is NOM LOC COP, which is contrastive with the structures of the Existential and the Possessives (LOC NOM COP). The table (15) above illustrate the copulas and their inflections of subject agreement used in the Locative clauses. We have proved that the Predicate adjectives and the Locatives use the same pattern in terms of the Copulas and their subject agreements.

	NOM	LOC	
106.	mo	gʰʌr-hen	baʈ-u
	1SG	home-LOC	COP:PRS-1SG
	‘I am at home’		

	NOM		LOC	
107.	kani	hʌm	gʰʌr-hen	rʌh-ẽ
	yesterday	1PL	home-LOC	COP:PST-1PL
	‘yesterday we were at home’.			

	NOM		LOC	
108.	kani	t̪o	gʰʌr-hen	rʌhʌ-b-e
	tomorrow	2SG	home-LOC	COP-FUT-2SG
	‘you will be at home tomorrow’.			

As a conclusion of the observation of the NOM and LOC construction in EPL in Pando, we could identify the type of EPL in considering its structure and the feature [+/- animate] of the LOC, as shown in table (17) below:

	structure	LOC
Existential	LOC NOM COP	[-animate]
Possessive	LOC NOM COP	[+animate]
Locative	NOM LOC COP	[-animate]

Table: 17 NOM and LOC in EPL

7.4Copula

Copula is otherwise called as a linking verb. The clause in which there is no verb copula which acts as a verb. In Pando we can see that the copulas are very variant, and it is interesting to figure out all their uses in different types of non-verbal clauses. Almost of them are copula verbs which inflect optionally for the tense and obligatorily for the subject agreement, and we found one invariant particle copula as well (*ahʌj*).

The predicate nominal is having copula as *ho* for present tense, *rʌh* for past tense and *ho* and *rʌh* for future tense. Past and present tense mark zero but in future there is a tense mark *-b* after the root and then subject agreement. In Predicate adjective and locative *baʈ* is the copula for present tense, *rʌh* is for past and *ho* and *rʌh* is for future. For possessive and existential *ahʌj* is for 1st person singular and plural for present tense. *baʈ* is for 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural for present tense. *rʌh* is for past tense and *ho* and *rʌh* is for future tense.

8. GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

Grammatical relations (GRs) are often thought of as relations between Arguments and Predicates in a level of linguistic structure that is independent (or "autonomous") of semantic and pragmatic influences. (Payne 2006: 118) For descriptive linguists it is important to recognize that GRs have universal functions in communication, while at the same time defining them in terms of language specific formal properties. The purpose of this section is to know the grammatical relations of the participants with the help of their semantic roles. When we get to know the grammatical relations, we can try to figure out the case system that is been followed by the language. First by grouping the participants in S, A, and P arguments and then by checking these arguments to know which case system does it follow.

8.1S, A and P grouping

To adequately define grammatical relations, it is convenient to identify three basic semantic-syntactic roles termed S, A, and P. Through following examples, we can see that how in Pando these are arguments are appearing.

Transitive clause

Transitive clauses are the clause in which the verb will have two arguments. When the question 'who' is asked to the verb the answer will be A argument or we can say the agent in that sentence semantically. And when the 'what' is asked to the verb the answer will be P argument or we can say the participant that undergoes as patient semantically. In Pando A arguments comes first, then P argument and then at the end verb.

	A	**P**	
109.	sad͡ʒʌn-ram	pʰʌrija-e	nih-in-ʌs
	Sajan-NOM	cloth-ACC	take-PST-3SG
	'Sajan bought Cloth'		

	A	**P**	
110.	u-ram	moe	mar-ʌn-is
	3SG-NOM	1SG	hit-PST-3SG
	'He hit me'.		

Intransitive clause

In intransitive clause the verb will only have one argument. When the question 'who' is asked to the verb and the answer is the subject or agent semantically. Only agent which will be considered as a participant and the agent will be S argument. In Pando as it follows SOV rule, thus S argument comes before verb.

		S		
111.	t̪	ʌn̪d̪a-ram	lʌŋgʌɖa-ke	kʌh-enʌ-his
	then	blind-NOM	lame-ACC	tell-PST-3SG
	'Then blind told to lame'.			[B&L 15]

	S			
112.	sʌb	d͡ʒʰʌn	suṯ	d͡ʒa-n-e
	all	people	sleep	go-PRS-1PL
	'All people go to sleep'			[N.D 12]

Ditransitive clause

In di-transitive clause we can see that the verb will have two arguments, but we can see that there are three participants in such verbs. When we ask the question 'who' to the verb the answer is subject or agent semantically is the A argument. When the question 'what' is asked to the verb the answer is object or patient semantically is the P argument. And when the question 'to whom' is asked to the verb the answer is object 2 or we can say the beneficiary semantically is the P2 argument. In Pando A argument comes first then according to the semantic role either P or P2 will come. Then at the end verb comes.

	A	P2	P	
113.	gaj-ram	hʌmbe	ḏuːḏ	ḏe-n .
	cow-NOM	1PL	milk	give-PRS:3SG
	'Cow gives us milk'			[N.G 6]

	A	P2		P		
114.	u	sʌmija-ke	ek	gilas	pani	ḏih-in-ʌs
	3SG	Soumya-ACC	one	glass	water	give-PST-3SG
	'She gave Soumya a glass of water'					

8.2 Case system

A system followed by some languages, in which a set of grammatical categories, sometimes marked by inflection, indicates the relation of the noun, adjective, or pronoun to other words in the sentence. In Pando we can see that the S, A and P argument before the verb. Case marking are also suffixed to the nouns. And we can also see that there are subject agreements on the verb. To show the case system of Pando language we need to check it in three ways.

- Checking the case marks on the Noun and NP
  In this we are checking the case marks that is coming in the A and P argument in transitive clause and S argument in intransitive clause. And we will see that which arguments are similar. Whether A and S or S and P.
- Checking the pronoun case form
  We also check the pronoun forms for S, A, and P. And see which two arguments are similar.
- Checking the verb agreements.
  In this we see that with which arguments does the verb agree and which two arguments are similar. In transitive and intransitive clause.
- Checking the constituent order
  In this we see the word order of A, S and P argument and which two arguments are similar in respect to their word order

8.2.1 Case markings on Noun and NP

In this section we will see the case markings that is there on the noun and noun phrases for each argument. And we will see that which two argument is same.

	A	P	
115.	sad͡ʒʌn-ram	pʰʌrija-e	nih-in-ʌs
	Sajan-NOM	cloth-ACC	take-PST-3SG
	'Sajan gave money'		

	S		
116.	gaj-ram	gobʌr	ɖe-n
	cow-NOM	cow.dung	give-PRS:3SG
	'Cow gives cow dung'		

As shown in the sentences (115) and (116), in Pando S and A arguments are having same case marking *-ram* inflected on them, and P argument have *-e* or zero marking for the object. It means the object marking is not obligatorily used. Thus, this language shows Nominative-Accusative case system, since A and S case use the same marking, opposed to the P case marking.

8.2.2 Pronoun

As for the pronoun case forms, we will see the subject and object pronoun forms, and we will see which two arguments are same in terms of pronoun form.

	A	P	
117.	u	moe	mar-ʌn-is
	3SG	1SG	hit-PST-3SG
	'He hit me'		

	S		
118.	hʌm	ʈoe	bʌl-an-is
	3SG	1SG	call-PST-3SG
	'We called you'		

A	**P**
mo '1SG'	*moe* '1SG'
ʈo '2SG'	*ʈoe* '2SG'
u '3SG'	*uke* '3SG'
hʌm '1PL'	*hʌmbe* '1PL'
ʈu '2PL'	*ʈuhe* '2PL'
on '3PL'	*onhe* '3PL'
S	
mo '1SG'	
ʈo '2SG'	
u '3SG'	
hʌm '1PL'	
ʈu '2PL'	
on '3PL'	

Table: 19 ASP chart of Pronoun

Table (19) shows that the pronouns in Pando manifests Nominative-Accusative system, since the A and S pronoun forms are same but the P forms are different. This system is illustrated on the sentences (117) and (118) as well as table (19) above.

8.2.3 Verb agreement

To examine the case system used in verb agreement, we are looking with which argument does the verb agree. And if the verb agrees with all argument, then which two agreements are same. The verb agreement in Pando shows nominative-accusative case system, because this language has only one agreement on the verb, the subject agreement, i.e., A or S agreement. The sentences (119) and (120) below show that the S and A agreements are same. Also, the table (20) illustrates the nominative-accusative system shown in the verb agreement in Pando.

	S		
119.	mõ	mʌŋd͡ʒur	baʈ-u
	1SG	agree	AUX:PRS-1SG
	'I agree'		[G&B 10]

	A		**P**	
120.	mo	ab^{h}in	pani	pij-ʌin-u
	1SG	now	water	drink-PRS-1SG
	'Now I am drinking water'			

Argument	Root	+1 tense	+2 subject agreement
A		*-ʌin, ʌn* 'PRS' *-n* 'PST' *-b* 'FUT'	*-u* '1SG' *-e* '2SG' *-is* '3SG' *-e* '1PL' *-a* '2PL' *-ʌn* '3PL'
P		Ø	Ø
S		*-ʌin, ʌn* 'PRS' *-n* 'PST' *-b* 'FUT'	*-u* '1SG' *-e* '2SG' *-is* '3SG' *-e* '1PL' *-a* '2PL' *-ʌn* '3PL'

Table: 20 Verb PCC and ASP chart

8.2.4 Constituent order

In this we can see the order in which the arguments come in a sentence. As we know that Pando follows SOV rule the subject and object come before the verb. Now we must see that in each transitive, intransitive clause the place of which arguments are same. Since the verb comes at the end of the sentence, all the three arguments A, S, and P occur before the verb as seen in the sentences below. Therefore, Pando does not use the constituent order to identify the subject and object, and the case system is not manifested in the constituent order.

	A	**P**	
121.	mo	t̪oe	k^{h}ʌi-b-õ.
	1SG	2SG	eat-FUT-1SG
	'I will eat you'		[G & B 3]

S

122. t̪u kʰen-ʌin-a
2PL play-PRS-2PL
'You (PL) play'

9. VOICE AND VALENCE

Every language has operations that adjust the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations in clauses. Such devices are sometimes referred to as alternative VOICES. VALENCE of a verb to be the number of terms (i.e., non-oblique arguments) it subcategorizes for. In many languages there are morphological processes which apply to verbs and change their valence, either increasing or reducing the number of term arguments. We can classify these processes in two different ways: syntactic and semantic. In terms of the syntactic effect, we distinguish processes that increase the valence of the verb from those that decrease the valence.

9.1 Valence decreasing operations

Languages can have morphological, lexical, and periphrastic/analytic means of reducing the valence of a verb. The most common morphological valence decreasing operations are reflexives, reciprocals, passives, and ant passives. In Pando we can see reflexive, reciprocal, middle construction, passives, and object omission.

9.1.1 Reflexives

A prototypical reflexive construction is one in which subject and object are the same entity. In Pando we can see that reflexives are both analytic and morphological. The Pando speakers use a reflexive pronoun *ʌpneap* 'self' and also *-ʌrʌ* 'REFL' morpheme in the verb. This morpheme is used in +1 position after the root verb followed by +2 position as tense and +3 position as subject agreement. *ʌpneap* takes place in the object position with the accusative case marking *-ke*, therefore the syntactic valence does not change, but it is remaining: valence of 2. The sentences below (123) – (125) illustrate this:

123. mo **ʌpʌneap-ke** pud͡ʒ-**ʌrʌ**-in-u
1SG self-ACC bite-REFL-PST-1SG
'I bit myself'

124. t̪o **ʌpneap-ke** nes-**ʌrʌ**-in-e
2SG self-ACC burn-REFL-PST-2SG
'You burned yourself'

125. u **ʌpneap-ke** mʌr-**ʌrʌ**-in-is
3SG self-ACC beat-REFL-PST-3SG
'He hit himself'

9.1.2 Reciprocals

A reciprocal clause is very similar conceptually to a reflexive in terms of merging a controlling participant (A argument) and an affected participant (P argument). For this reason, reciprocals and reflexives are often expressed identically. A prototypical reciprocal clause is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, i.e., both are equally agent and patient. However, in Pando, reciprocals and reflexives are not identical in form. The reciprocals are analytic and a reciprocal word *ek d̪usʌre* 'one another' is used as seen in the sentences below (126) and (127). As the word *ek d̪usʌre* acts as an object, the valence is remaining: valence of 2.

126. hʌm **ek** **ɖusʌre-ke** pjar kʌr-ʌin-e
1PL one another-ACC love do-PRS-1PL
'We love each other.'

127. somija au ɖani **ek** **ɖusʌre-ke** d͡ʒohar-ʌn-ʌn
Soumya and dani one another-ACC greet-PST-3PL
'Daniel and Soumya greeted each other.'

We have observed the voice alternations of reflexive and reciprocal in Pando are voice remaining operations. That is because they switch the object in the transitive clause with the reflexive and reciprocal word.

9.1.3 Middle construction

The term middle construction or middle voice has been used in a variety of ways in different language traditions. In Pando when middle construction is formed the A argument undergoes downplaying. A transitive verb becomes intransitive verb. We can also say that middle construction is anti-causative. Here are some examples in which we can see how the changes is happening in the verb.

Transitive → Intransitive (downplaying A)

pʰoɖ → ʈuʈ (Lexical suppletion) in (128) and (129):

128. ɖani-ram kat͡ʃ **pʰoɖ-ʌn-is**
Daniel-NOM glass break-PST-3SG
'Daniel broke the glass'

129. kat͡ʃ **ʈuʈ** gʌ-in-is
Glass break go-PST-3SG
'The glass broke'

We can see in the sentences (128) and (129) that the verb is undergoing lexical suppletion. That means the word pʰoɖ is undergoing a change and that change is lexical in which the transitive verb pʰoɖ 'break' which is incorporated with gʌ 'go' is becoming intransitive ʈuʈ 'break'. And the A argument 'Daniel' who is the agent is undergoing downplay.

kʰol → kʰul (Lexical weak suppletion) in (130) and (131):

130. ɖaniel-ram ɖura **kʰol-ʌn-is**
Daniel-NOM door open-PST-3SG
'Daniel opened the door'

131. ɖura **kʰul** gʌ-in-is
door open go-PST-3SG
'Door opened'

In the above sentences (130) and (131), the verb is undergoing lexical weak suppletion. In which the transitive verb kʰol 'open' is becoming intransitive verb kʰul 'open' when it is incorporated with the verb gʌ 'go'. And the A argument 'Daniel' who is the agent undergoes downplay.

gir→ gir (Lexical isomorphism) in (132) and (133):

132. ɖeepʌk-ram ruk^{h}-e **gir-an-ʌs**
Deepak-NOM tree-ACC fall-PST-3SG
'Deepak fell the tree'

133. ruk^{h} **gir** gʌ-in-is
Tree fall go-PST-3SG
'Tree fell'

The above sentences (132) and (133) show that the verb is undergoing lexical isomorphism. In which the transitive verb *gir* 'fall' is becoming intransitive verb *gir* 'fall' when it is incorporated with the verb *gʌ* 'go'. And the A argument 'Deepak' which is agent undergoes downplay.

In Pando we can see that middle construction is analytic and the valence get decreased.

9.1.4 Passive

Passivization is the transformation of a sentence from an active form to a passive form. Passivization is also known as a valence raising operation. Through the process of passivization, the direct object of an active declarative sentence can become the subject of a passive sentence. In Pando, the active sentences have subject and object and the verb is transitive. But when the sentence changes into passive voice the object become subject and the subject becomes oblique.

The sentences below show that the object in the transitive clause becomes the subject in the intransitive passive clause. We can see that either the subject with nominative marker *-ram* 'NOM' is definitely dropped as in (134) and (135), or it becomes as oblique with an instrumental marker *-hen* 'INST' as in (136)-(139). Also, when the sentence gets changed into passive voice the verb is inflected by a passive marker *-rʌ* 'PASS'at +1 position after the root verb then followed by tense at +2 position and +3 position by subject agreement. Interestingly, the transitive serial verbs *pohai ne gʌ* 'sweep take go' in (137) becomes an intransitive serial verbs *pohai gʌ* 'sweep go' in (138) which is the passive. So, in Pando the passive voice is analytic and morphological operation, and the valence gets decreased.

134. sʌwangin-ram p^{h}arija-e p^{h}it͡ʃʌ-n-is
woman-NOM cloth-ACC wash-PST-3SG
'The woman washed the clothes'

135. p^{h}ʌrija p^{h}it͡ʃʌ-**rʌ**-in-is
cloth wash-PASS-PST-3SG
'Clothes were washed'

136. gʌrm pani-ram moe nes-ʌn-is
hot water-NOM 1SG burn-PST-3SG
'Hot water burned me'

137. mo gʌrm pani-hen nes-**rʌ**-in-u
1SG hot water-INST burn-PASS-PST-1SG
'I was burned by hot water'

138. ɖʰere pani-ram mor kʰet-e pohai ne
heavy rain-NOM 1SG:POSS field-ACC sweep take

gʌ-in-is
go-PST-3SG
'Heavy rain swept my field'.

139. mor kʰeʈ-ram ɖʰere pani-hen pohai gʌ-in-is
1SG:POSS field-NOM heavy rain-INST sweep go-PST-3SG
'My field was taken away by heavy rain'

9.1.5 Object Omission

Object omission suggests that the identity of the P argument is totally irrelevant. In this voice the transitive verb becomes intransitive and the object P argument gets omitted.

140. nerka-ram kʰʌ-in-ʌn
child-NOM eat-PST-3PL
'Children ate'

141. mo nʌh-ʌin-u
1SG bath-PRS-1SG
'I am bathing'

In the above examples the object is being omitted in the sentences. Thus, in Pando the object omission is a valence decreasing construction.

9.2Valence increasing constructions

Valence increasing operation is the construction to add or upgrade an oblique or some other peripheral participant. In Pando, we can see causative and dative shift in which the valence is increasing.

9.2.1 Causative

Causative constructions are the linguistic instantiations of the conceptual notion of causation. Causatives can be divided into three types: lexical, morphological, and periphrastic/analytic. In causative voice sentences, a participant who is a causer is added and the subject in the non-causative sentence becomes the causee. In Pando causative voice is both analytic and morphological. With the help of some examples, we can see that how the causative voice is made in Pando language.

142. gʌmʌla ʈuʈ gʌ-in-is
vase break go-PST-3SG
'Vase broke'

143. ɖaniel-ram gʌmʌla pʰor-**va**-n-is
daniel-NOM vase break-CAUS1-PST-3SG
'Daniel cause to break the vase'

The intransitive verb *ʈuʈ gʌ* 'break go' in (142) becomes transitive *pʰor* 'break' in (143) when it gets changed into causative voice. And the verb undergoes lexical strong suppletion, and is keeping the causative suffix *-va* following the verb stem. The A argument 'Daniel' who is the

causer is added to the sentence, and the A argument *gʌmʌla* 'vase' in the non-causative (142) becomes an object which is the causee in the causative (14). Valence of 1 becomes valence of 2, then the valence is increasing.

144. ɖirekʈʌr-ram t͡ʃiʈʈi-hen ɖ̪ʌskʌt̪ kʌr-n-is
Director-NOM letter-LOC sign do-PST-3SG
'Director signed in the letter'

145. ɖakʈʌr-ram ɖirekʈʌr-ke t͡ʃiʈʈi-hen ɖ̪ʌskʌt̪
Doctor-NOM director-ACC letter-LOC sign

kʌr-**va**-n-ʌs
do-CAUS1-PST-3SG
'The dentist made the director sign the letter'

The sentences above, we can see that the 'director' who is the A argument with the nominative marker in the non-causative (144) becomes the P argument with an accusative marker with it in the causative (145). And a new participant *ɖakʈʌr* 'doctor' with nominative marker *-ram* 'NOM' is added to the sentence. *ɖaktʌr* acts as a causer in the causative sentence which gives *ɖirekʈʌr* 'director' who is the subject in the non-causative a role of causee. The causative verb is keeping the causative suffix *-va*. Valence of 1 becomes valence of 2, and the valence is increasing.

146. nerka-ram bʰat̪ kʰʌ-in-ʌn
Child-NOM food eat-PST-3PL
'Child ate food'

147. ɖauki-ram nerka nikʌi bʰat̪ kʰʌ-**jʌi**-nʌ-hin
woman-NOM child PL.M food eat-CAUS2-PST-3PL
'The woman made children eat food.'

In (146) and (147), the subject *nerka* 'child' in the non-causative (147) becomes the object in the causative (147). A new participant *ɖauki* 'woman' is added to the sentence. Thus, *ɖauki* 'woman' with nominative marker becomes the causer and the object *nerka* 'child' is the causee. In this we can see that the verb has another type of causative suffix *-nʌ*.

As from the illustrated sentences above, we observe that Pando follows analytic and morphological causative voice alternation. We can also see that it has a morpheme *-va* 'CAUS1' or *-jʌ* 'CAUS2' which is inflected on the verb as +1 position followed by +2 position as tense and +3 position as subject agreement. The valence is being decreased.

9.2.2 Dative shift

The construction in which the recipient does not take a preposition is termed a dative shift construction.

148. d͡ʒoli-ram apʌn kʌpʌɖa-ke **behin-kore** ɖ̪ih-in-his
Jolly-NOM her cloth-ACC sister-DAT give-PST-3SG
'Jolly gave the dress to her sister'

149. d͡ʒoli-ram ʌpʌn **behʌn-ke** pʰʌria ɖihi-nʌ-his
Jolly-NOM her sister-ACC cloth give-PST-3SG
'Jolly gave her sister the dress'

150. ɖaniel pʰoʈo-ke ʌpʌn **beʈa-kore** ɖekʰ-an-ʌs
Daniel picture-ACC his son-DAT see-PST-3SG
'Daniel showed the picture to his son'

151. ɖaniel-ram apʌn **beʈa-ke** pʰoʈo ɖekʰ-an-ʌs
Daniel-NOM his son-ACC picture see-PST-3SG
'Daniel showed his son the picture'

The participant with the dative marker shifts the position from dative to accusative. In (148) the word *behin* 'sister' which has a dative marker in it becomes an object with an accusative marker *-ke* 'ACC' in it as in (149). In the same way (150) the word *beʈa* 'son' which has a dative marker in it becomes as an object with an accusative marker in it in (151). Thus, in Pando when a dative shift construction is formed the sentence undergoes double accusation process. Since the dative recipient becomes the object P argument, the valence increases.

10. SENTENCE TYPE

In a language there can be many types of sentence which decides the actions and also the punctuations. In general, statement, question, and command are three types or modes that the speaker uses to form a sentence.

In Pando also we can see that there are three types of sentence like declarative, Interrogative, Imperative and Negative sentences.

10.1 Statement

A **declarative statement** simply makes a statement or expresses an opinion. In other words, it makes a declaration.

152. kani ɖ̪ani ɖ̪ili puhunʧ̫-ʌn-is
tomorrow Daniel delhi reach-PST-3SG
'Tomorrow reached at Delhi'

153. abʰin u kursi-hen bʌis-i baʈ̪-ʌi
now 3SG chair-LOC sit-PRTL AUX:PRS-3SG
'Now I am sitting on the chair'

10.2 Question

An **interrogative sentence** asks a question. This type of sentence often begins question words like who, what, where, when, why, how. In Pando there are yes or no questions and also content questions.

10.2.1 Yes or No question

In Pando *ka* is the question particle for yes or no question. After the question particle a normal statement is being made for yes or no question as shown in the sentences below:

154. **ka** ʈ̪o agʰu mʌhina-hen gaɖ̪i besa-b-e
QP 2SG next month-LOC vehicle buy-FUT-2SG
'Will you buy a vehicle next month?'

155. **ka** kani on ɖ̪ili-hen rʌhʌ-b-ʌn
QP tomorrow 3PL delhi-LOC COP-FUT-3PL
'Will you be at Delhi tomorrow?'

10.2.2 Content question

In Pando there are various question words used for content question. The constituents of a phrase can be replaced by the question word to form a content question (constituent question). The strategy to form the content question in Pando is in-situ.

156. ʈ̪õ moe **kʌisʌk** kʰʌi-b-e
2SG 1SG how eat-FUT-2SG
'How will you eat me?' [G&B 4]

157. u iskul **kʌb** d͡ʒi-b-is
3SG school when go-FUT-3SG
'When will he go to school?'

158. ʈo **kema** d͡ʒi-b-e
2SG where go-FUT-2SG
'Where are you going'

Question words	Gloss
kʌisʌk	How
kʌb	When
ka	What
kema	Where
kon	Who
kabʌn	why

Table: 21 Table of Question words

10.3 Imperative

Imperatives sentences are sentences which are like commands. The thing which makes imperative different from declarative is; declaratives are like statement and whereas imperatives are like commands. Verb root is used in the imperatives, and the examples are shown below.

159. Ima bʌis
here sit
'Sit here!'

160. I au roʈi ne
This some bread take
'Take some bread'

10.4 Hortative

Hortative is a mode used by the speaker to encourage or discourage an action. In this sentence, mostly speaker is saying something to other, including or excluding him. In Pando also we have some examples to show the hortative sentences.

161. t͡ʃʌl hʌm ɖili d͡ʒʌi
come 1PL Delhi go
'Come we will go to Delhi'

162. t͡ʃʌl ɖʌmbʰʌrik bʰaʈ nenʌi
come little rice take
'Come take some rice'

10.5 Negation

In Pando there is negation words which comes before the verb. The negative word *nahi* is used for indicative sentences as shown in example (164) and *dʒʰin* is used as a future negative

imperative mark as shown in example (163). We can find that the negative word occurs just before the verb.

163. u pani e **d͡ʒin** ne-b-ʌhus
that water ACC NEG take-FUT-3SG
'Do not take that water'

164. u **nʌhi** ʌ-in-is
3SG NEG come-PST-3SG
'He didn't come'

11. CLAUSE COMBINATION

Most of subordinated multi-verb constructions described in this chapter involve one INDEPENDENT clause and one or more DEPENDENT clauses. An independent clause is one that is fully inflected and capable of being integrated into discourse on its own. A dependent clause is one that depends on some other clause for at least part of its inflectional information. In this chapter we will discuss the way the clauses are being combined in Pando language so as to make complex sentences. There are mainly two types of clause combinations. Coordination and subordination.

11.1 Coordination

Languages often have morphosyntactic means of linking two clauses of equal grammatical status. Such linkage is termed COORDINATION. In coordination clause combinations two clauses can sustain by themselves. The clauses are finite clauses as they are fully inflected. We can see some examples of coordination.

165. sʌb d͡ʒʰʌn ɖʌmbʰʌrik bʌis-ʌin-e **au** ane-ɖusʌr ɖinʌ-k
all people little sit-PRS-1PL and next day-GEN

kam-ker bare-hen sot͡ʃ-ʌin-e
work-GEN about-INST think-PRS-1PL
'everyone will sit for a little while and discuss and think about tomorrow's work' [N.D 11]

166. mʌŋd͡ʒur au kʰusʌr buɖuva baʈ-ʌʈ **bakin** on
Peacock and owl old COP-3PL CONJ 3PL

hosijar baʈ-ʌʈ
wise COP-3PL
'Owl and peacock are old, but they are very wise.'

In (165) *sʌb d͡ʒʰʌn ɖʌmbʰʌrik bʌis-ʌin-e* 'all people sit for a little' and *ane-ɖusʌr ɖinʌ-k kam-ker bare-hen sot͡ʃ-ʌin-e* 'think about the work for the next day' are two separate clauses and they are two independent and fully inflected clause. And this each clause is saying about two activities which is consequent, so thus they are combined with a conjunction au 'and'. In (166) *mʌŋd͡ʒur au kʰusʌr buɖuva baʈ-ʌʈ* 'peacock and owl are old' and on *hosijar baʈ-ʌʈ* 'they are wise' are two independent clause and fully inflected clause. And these two clause's meaning contrasts with each other. Thus, the clauses are combined with a conjunction *bakin* 'but'. So, in Pando we can see that in the middle of clauses a conjunction is there so that they can combine two clauses.

Concessive clause

167. rad͡ʒa-ram rad͡ʒ-kore maŋd͡ʒur-ke ɖihi-n-ʌs **ʈʌbone**
king-NOM kingdom-DAT peacock-ACC give-PST-3SG then.also

u nahi nihi-n-ʌs
3SG NEG take-PST-3SG
'Even though the king gave the nation to the peacock, he wouldn't take it.'

L.T: 'The king gave the nation to the peacock; however, he did not take it.'

Pando does not have subordinate concessive clause instead they use two clauses which are coordinated with a conjunction *tʌbone* 'then. also'.

11.2 Subordination

Subordinated clause is one clause which is grammatically dependent on the other. A clause is embedded within another clause which is a main Clause. In Pando we can mainly see four types of subordinate clause complement clause, adverbial clause, relative clause and clause chaining.

11.2.1 Complement clause

Complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause. A main or matrix clause is a clause that has another clause as one of its core arguments. (Payne 2006:278). The complement clause replaces the subject or object in a sentence that is NP [subj] or NP [obj]. And if the clause is a non-verbal clause, then is it replaced with a nominal predicate. Let us see this with some examples:

168.	bʰanu-ram	t͡ʃʰeri-e	kʌh-ʌn-ʌs	**ki**	kani	t̪oe
	Bear-NOM	goat-ACC	tell-PST-3SG	that	tomorrow	2SG

pʰir-ek	baʈ-o
come.back-DEON	COP-2SG

'Bear told to the goat that tomorrow you have to come'

169.	t̪	bʰanu	sõt͡ʃ-ʌn	**ki**	mor
	then	bear	think-PRES:3SG	that	1SG: POSS

peʈ-hen	t̪	nʌgʌɖ̪	t͡ʃara	ahʌj	
stomach-LOC	certaininly	more	food	COP	

'then bear thought that in my stomach I have more food' [G&B 11]

In (168) and (169) the object of the clause is complementized and a complement clause replace the object in the clause. WE can see that *ki* 'that' is a complementizer that connects the two clauses. In (168) *bʰanu-ram t͡ʃʰeri-e kʌh-ʌn-ʌs* 'bear told to goat' is a subordiante clause to the main clause *ki kani t̪oe pʰir-ek baʈ-o* 'that tomorrow you have to come'. Same way in (169) *t̪ bʰanu sot͡ʃʌn* 'then bear thought' is a subordiante clause to the main clause *ki mor peʈ-hen t̪ nʌgʌɖ̪ t͡ʃara ahʌj* 'that in my stomach I have more food'. Thus, we can say that in these both example subordiante clause comes before the main clause.

11.2.2 Adverbial clause

Adverbial clause are clauses that serve and "adverbial" function. They modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. In adverbial clauses there are many categories of adverbial clauses.

Time

Adverbial clause of time is a subordinate clause which has a adverbial function that says about the time of the main verb.

170.	**d͡ʒe-gʰani**	sad͡ʒʰ	bʰʌ-in-is	ʈe-gʰani	anɖʰa	au
	When	evening	happen-PST-3SG	then	blind	and

lʌŋgɖa	t͡ʃora-ve	kʰaʈ	gʌ-in-ʌn
lame	steal-INF	to	go-PST-3SG

'When evening came, the blind and the lame started to steal grains'

In Pando the adverbial clause comes before the main clause as shown in (170). And that shows the time the main clause happened. Adverbial clause of time is introduced by *d͡ʒe-gʰani* 'when' temporal adverb, and it is finite clause.

Location

Adverbial clause of location is a subordinated clause that expresses the location of the main verb. In an adverbial pronoun *d͡ʒiha* 'where' is used between the two clauses and the main clause follow the adverbial pronoun. In (171) we can see that the adverbial clause is finite clause.

171.	On	u	d͡ʒʌgʌh-ʈʰʌn	pʌhunt͡ʃ-ʌn-ʌn	**d͡ʒiha**	on	gʰʌr
	3PL	that	place-with	reach-PST-3PL	where	3PL	house

bʌn-av-ek	rʌh-ʌhin
make-CAUS-DEO	AUX-3PL

'They reached that place where they are going to make a house'

Manner

Adverbial clause of manner is a subordinate clause to show the manner in which a clause is subordinated to the main verb. Sentence (172) shows that the subordinate clause is semi-finite clause to that of the main clause.

172.	mʌɲd͡ʒur	ʈ	bʌɖiha	ɖekʰ-b-u	kʌh-i-ken
	peacock	then	good	see-FUT-1SG	tell-PRTL-CP

pakʰi-kore	korʌ-i	t͡ʃirʌ-i	nag-ʌn-is
feather-DAT	spread-PRTL	nice-PRTL	started-PST-3SG

'Peacock to show good, spread the feathers' [O&P 19]

Purpose

Adverbial clause of purpose is a subordinate clause in which the action will have a connecting conjunction which mention the purpose of a main verb. In Pando the adverbial clause is semi finite and the main verb is finite as seen in (173): the verb *bʌn-e* 'become-PRTL' is semi finite.

173.	aɖmi-ram	bʰagvan	bʌn-e	kʰaʈ	ɖʌwai
	People-NOM	god	become-PRTL	to	medicine

nih-in-ʌn
take-PST-3PL

'People take medicine in order to become a shaman.'

Reason

Adverbial clause of reason is an adverbial clause in which the reason of the main verb is seen. In Pando we can see that a conjunction *kabʌk-ki* 'because' is used so as to combine the two clauses. And the adverbial clause is finite clause in (174).

174.

radʒ͡a-ram	kʰusʌr-ke	radʒ͡	ɖ̪e-ve	kʰaṯ̪
king-NOM	owl-ACC	kingdom	give-INF	to

soʈʃ͡-ʌn-is	**kabʌn-ki**	kʰusʌr	agʰu	ʌ-in-is
think-PST-3SG	because	owl	before	come-PST-3SG

'Because the owl came first, the king decided to give the nation to owl.'

Condition

Adverbial clause of condition is a subordinate clause that is connected with each other with condition. The conjunction *agʌr* 'if'connects these two clauses. In the sentences below, we can see the finite conditional clause introduced by *agʌr*.

175.

agʌr	kʰusʌr	au	mʌŋdʒ͡ur	lʌɖ̤-b-ʌn	ṯ̪	hʌmbe	nikʰe
If	owl	and	peacock	fight-3PL	then	3PL	NEG

paṯ̪a	ki	kon	dʒ͡iṯ̪-b-is	
know	that	who	win-FUT-3SG	

'If owl and peacock fought, we do not know who will win.'

176.

agʌr	anḏ̪ʰa	au	lʌŋgɖ̤a-ʈʰʌn	kʰa-e	kʰaṯ̪	rʌh-ṯ̪-hin
if	blind	and	lame-with	eat-PRTL	to	AUX-COND-3PL

ṯ̪	on	na	ʈʃ͡ori	kʌr-ṯ̪-ʌn
then	3PL	NEG	steal	do-COND-3PL

'If the blind and lame had lots of food, they would not steal'.

In (176) there is a conditional suffix *-ṯ̪* 'COND'. This is used when the speaker has to convey something that has a condition with the subordinate clause. And it is used as a suffix with the verb or auxiliary with +1 position followed by +2 as subject agreement.

11.2.3 Relative clause

A Relative clause is a clause that functions as a nominal modifier. The head noun which can be subject, object, object 2 gets modified. In Pando the R-element (relativised element in the relative clause) can be subject, object, object 2, and oblique. Pando uses the relative pronoun *dʒ͡e* 'REL', which agrees with the head noun (R-element) with case in the relative clause. As shown in the given sentences below, *dʒ͡e* have case morphemes like *-ram* 'NOM', *-ke* 'ACC, *-ke* 'DAT', *-kʌr ʈʰʌn* 'GEN with'. And in this way the relative pronoun agrees with the case of R-elements.

177.

gaj	gobʌr	ɖ̪e-n	**dʒ͡e-ram**	kʰeṯ̪i
cow	cow.dung	give- PRS:3SG	REL-NOM	farming

kʌr-ek	kʰaḏ̪-ker	kam	av-ʌn	
do-DEON	fertiliser-GEN	work	come-PRS:3SG	

'cow gives cow dung which is used as fertiliser' **[R-element Subject]** [N.G 16&17]

178. on u ɖʰan-e t͡ʃur-ae rʌh-ʌi **dʒe-ke**
3PL that grain-ACC steal-PRTL AUX-3PL REL-ACC

aɖʰa-ram nuk-ae-ken ʈek-i rʌh-ʌs
blind-NOM hid-PRTL-CP take-PRTL AUX-3PL
'They took the grain that the blind has hid.' **[R-element Object]**

179. rad͡ʒa-ram kʰusʌr-ne agʰu milʌ-n-is **d͡ʒe-ke** u
King-NOM owl-ABL before meet-PST-3SG REL-DAT 3SG

rad͡ʒ ɖihi-n- ʌs
nation give-PST-3SG
'The king met owl before [to whom he gave the nation]'. **[R-element dative indirect object]**

180. mo u aɖmi-sʌŋge bʰeʈ-ʌin-u **d͡ʒe-kʌr-ʈʰʌn** mo
1SG 3SG man-COM meet-PST-1SG REL-GEN-with 1SG

pʰʌria bʰed͡ʒ-va-e rʌh-his
cloth send-CAUS-PRTL AUX-3SG
'I met the man to whom I sent the cloth'. **[R-element Oblique]**

11.2.4 Clause chaining

In clause chaining two or more clauses are connected, in which the subordinated middle clauses are semi-finite or infinite and the last final clause will be finite. In Pando the clause chaining is connected with a conjunctive particle *-ken* 'CP' and the medial verbs are semi-finite with the participle form: *V-i-ken*.

181. gʰʌrʌ-k kam **kʌr-i-ken** gʌru nagʌr kʰeʈ-e
house-GEN work do-PRTL-CP ox plow farm-ACC

ne **d͡ʒʌ-i-ken** nãgʌr d͡ʒoʈ-ʌin-e
take go-CP plow plough-PRS-1PL
'After doing house work, we take the ox to the field and plough the field.'
[N.D 4&5]

182. t͡ʃʰeri **ɖʰin-i-ken** t͡ʃʰeri nikʌi t͡ʃʌra-i **pʰirʌ-i -ken**
goat loose-PRTL-CP goat PL.M grase-PRTL roam-PRTL-CP

gʰʌr an-ʌin-e
house come-PRS-1PL
'Then we take-out goat to grazing and then come back to house' [N.D 8]

CONCLUSION

This is a tentative grammar write-up about an Indo-Aryan language that is being spoken in the northern part of Chhattisgarh. The name of the language is Pando. We are extremely very happy that we could do some efforts by analysing the grammatical features of the language. We hope this effort would bring linguistic changes to the Pando language community as well as to the person who wants to speak or write this language to get to know about the grammatical features.

Our main objective behind this write-up is to understand each and every grammatical features of the Pando language. More than writing a linguistic paper we presume that this work will bring more light to the development of the Pando language, which is used as a mother tongue for a people group who are economically and socially weaker section. This work will definitely be helpful to preserve the language from being endangered.

This language like many other Indo-Aryan languages follows SOV as basic constituent order. In terms of the morphological typology, it is synthetic as well as agglutinating language. It does not have any postposition, rather it uses grammatical morpheme, which is proved as a dominantly suffixing language. There are very interesting features in nouns and noun phrases of the language like determiners, cases, pronouns. The most interesting part of the write-up that find difficult and as well as interesting for us was verb and verb phrases, non-verbal clauses and voice and valence. The way the language has expresses its tense, aspect, mode and modality was very interesting. Different voices that are in the language was also very interesting. In this write-up the grammatical relations, sentence types and clause combinations are also explained. The language follows nominative-accusative case system.

We are really happy with the findings that we have come up with. We trust that this material will be helpful for all the aspirants who would like to learn about the Pando language. We have put in all the efforts to find the peculiarities of all the morphemes and have critically analysed the structure of the language

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APPENDIX

gaj-ker bare hen
About cow

1.	Word	gaj	e-goʈ	posʌn	pʌsu	ho-n	
	Word Gloss	cow	one-NMKR	domestic	animal	COP-PRS:3SG	
	Free	'Cow is a domestic animal'					
2.	Word	gaj-ker	ʧ͡ʃar-ʈʰo	goɖ	hoen-ʌs		
	Word Gloss	cow-GEN	four-NMKR	leg	COP:PRS-3SG		
	Free	'Cow has four legs'					
3.	Word	au	ɖui	kan	ɖui	akʰi	nak	au
	Word Gloss	and	two	ear	two	eye	nose	and
	Free	'And two ears two eyes and nose and'						
4.	Word	e-goʈ	muh	au	e-goʈ	puʧ͡ʃi	hoen-ʌs	
	Word Gloss	one-NMKR	mouth	and	one-NMKR	tail	COP:PRS-3SG	
	Free	'One mouth and one tail'						
5.	Word	gaj	ud͡ʒʌr	rʌŋg-ker	ho-vʌn			
	Word Gloss	cow	white	colour-GEN	COP-3SG			
	Free	'Cow is white in colour'						
6.	Word	gaj-ram	ɖuːɖ	ɖe-n				
	Word Gloss	cow-NOM	milk	give-PRS:3SG				
	Free	'Cow gives milk'						
7.	Word	u-ram	aɖmi	nikʌr-kʰaʈ	posʈik	ho-vʌn.		
	Word Gloss	3SG-NOM	people	PL-BEN	nutritious	COP-3SG		
	Free	'That is healthy for human beings'						
8.	Word	gaj	baʧ͡ʃʌru	ɖe-n				
	Word Gloss	cow	calf	give-PRS:3SG				
	Free	'Cow gives calf'						
9.	Word	u	bʌɖʌkʰa	hoi-ken	bʌila-ker	kam		
	Word Gloss	3SG	big	happen-CP	ox-GEN	work		
		av-ʌn						
		come-PRS:3SG						
	Free	'When that grow big is used as to work of ox'						

10. Word u-ram kʰeʈi kʌr-ek kam-hen av-ʌn
Word Gloss 3SG-NOM farming do-DEON work-INST come-PRS:3SG
Free 'That is used for doing farming'

11. Word d͡ʒe-ram kisan-ker kam-hen av-ʌn
Word Gloss that-NOM farmer-GEN work-INST come-PRS:3SG
Free 'Who is helpful for farmers'

12. Word d͡ʒe bʌila naŋgʌr d͡ʒoʈek-ker kam av-ʌn
Word Gloss that ox plough plough-GEN work come-PRS:3SG
Free 'Who is useful to plough the land'

13. Word gaj gʰas pʌira au t͡ʃara kʰa-n
Word Gloss cow grass dried.rice.grass and husk eat-PRS:3SG
Free 'Cow eats grass, dried rice grass, and husk'

14. Word d͡ʒe-ram ɖuːɖ ɖe-n .
Word Gloss that-NOM milk give- PRS:3SG
Free 'It gives milk'

15. Word ɖuːɖ-ram viʈamin ho-vʌn
Word Gloss milk-NOM vitamin COP-3SG
Free 'Milk is healthy'

16. Word au gaj gobʌr ɖe-n
Word Gloss and cow cow.dung give- PRS:3SG
Free And cow gives cow dung

17. Word d͡ʒe-ram kʰeʈi kʌr-ek kʰaɖ-ker Word
Gloss that-NOM farming do-DEON fertiliser-GEN

kam av-ʌn
work come-PRS:3SG
Free 'Which is used as a fertiliser for doing farming'

18. Word gaj-ker gobʌr-hen gʰʌr au

aŋgʌn-ker nipai kʌr-ek kam av-ʌn
courtyard-GEN flooring do-DEON work come-PRS:3SG
Free 'Cow's cow dung is useful for doing the flooring of houses and courtyard'

19. Word gaj-ke lʌkt͡ʃmi kʌh-ʌin-e .
Word Gloss cow-DAT goddess tell-PRS-1PL
Free 'Cow is called as Lakshmi'

20. Word hʌm okʌr podʒ͡a kʌr-ʌin-e .
Word Gloss 1PL 3SG: POSS worship do-PRS-1PL
Free 'It is worshipped'

21. Word dʒ͡e hʌmbʌr-kʰaʈ lʌktʃ͡mi ho-n .
Word Gloss that 1PL: POSS-BEN goddess COP:PRS-3SG
Free 'It is lakshmi for us'

22. Word gaj-ram hʌmbʌr-kʰat atʃ͡ʰa pʌsu ho-n .
Word Gloss cow-NOM 1PL: POSS-BEN good animal COP:PRS-3SG
Free 'Cow is a good animal for us'

23. Word dʒ͡e-ram gobʌr ɖe-n
Word Gloss that-NOM cow.dung give-PRS:3SG
Free 'Who gives cow dung'

24. Word dʒ͡e-ram ɖʰan ugave-kʰaʈ kam av-ʌn
Word Gloss that-NOM grain grow-BEN work come-PRS:3SG
Free 'Who gives us cow-dug which is used to grow crops'

25. Word dʒ͡e-ram ɖʰan ugai-ken
Word Gloss that-NOM grain grow-CP

Word hʌmbʌr pora radʒ͡-ke tʃ͡aur au bʰodʒ͡ʌn
Word Gloss 1PL:POSS whole nation-DAT rice and food

ɖe-n
give-PRS:3SG
Free 'Which grows crops and gives rice and food for the entire nation'

26. Word dʒ͡e-ram aɖmi nikʌr viʈamin au hʌmbʌr
Word Gloss that-NOM people PL.M vitamin and 1SG: POSS

sʌrir-ke bʌl ɖe-n
body-DAT strength give-PRS:3SG
Free 'Which gives vitamin to human being and gives strength to our body'

27. Word gaj e-goʈ bʌɖiha dʒ͡ʌnvʌr ho-n
Word Gloss cow one-NMKR good animal COP:PRS-3SG
Free 'Cow is a good animal'

bʰanu au t͡ʃeri ker kʌhʌni

The story of bear and goat

1.	Word	e-goʈu	pʌhʌr-hen	t͡ʃʰeri	au	bʰanu	t͡ʃara
	Word Gloss	one-NMKR	hill-LOC	goat	and	bear	grass
		t͡ʃʌrʌ-i	d͡ʒʌ-iʈ	rʌh-ʌʈ			
		grase-PRTL	go-PRTL	AUX:PST-3PL			
	Free	'In one hill there were a goat and bear use to go to graze'					
2.	Word	ek	ɖin-ʌk	ɖin-hen	ɖui-jo	d͡ʒʰʌn	bʰeʈ
	Word Gloss	one	day-GEN	day-LOC	two-NMKR	people	meet
		bʰʌ-in-ʌn					
		happen-PST-3PL					
	Free	'One day they both met'					
3.	Word	ʈ	bʰanu-ram	t͡ʃʰeri-ke	kʌh-ʌn-ʌs	ʈoe	
	Word Gloss	then	bear-NOM	goat-ACC	tell-PST-3SG	2SG	
		mõ	kʰʌi-b-u				
		1SG	eat-FUT-1SG				
	Free	'Then bear told to the goat that I will eat you'					
4.	Word	ʈ	t͡ʃʰeri-ram	bʰanu-ke	kʌh-ʌn-ʌs	ʈõ	
	Word Gloss	then	goat-NOM	bear-ACC	tell-PST-3SG	2SG	
		moe	kʌisʌk	kʰʌi-b-e			
		1SG	how	eat-FUT-2SG			
	Free	'Then goat asked that how you will eat me'					
5.	Word	ʈ	bʰanu	kʌh-ʌn-ʌs	ʈõ	mor	t͡ʃara
	Word Gloss	then	bear	tell-PST-3SG	2SG	1SG: POSS	food
		ho-ne	ʈoe	mõ	kʰʌi-b-u		
		COP-PRS:2SG	2SG	1SG	eat-FUT-1SG		
	Free	'Then bear said that you are my food I will eat you'					
6.	Word	ʈ	t͡ʃʰeri-ram	bʰanu-ke	kʌh-ʌn-ʌs	ʈʰik	
	Word Gloss	then	goat-NOM	bear-ACC	tell-PST-3SG	ok	
		moe	ʈ	ʈõ	kʰʌi-b-e		
		1SG	then	2SG	eat-FUT-2SG		
	Free	'Then goat bear told that ok you will eat me'					

7. Word ʈ͡ʃʰeri kʌh-ʌn-ʌs mor e-goʈ
Word Gloss then goat tell-PST-3SG 1SG: POSS one-NMKR

sʌrʌʈ ahʌj
condition COP
Free 'Then goat told I have one condition.'

8. Word ʈ bʰanu kʌh-ʌn-ʌs kʌisʌn sʌrʌʈ
Word Gloss then bear tell-PST-3SG what condition
Free 'Then bear told what condition'

9. Word ʈ ʈ͡ʃʰeri kʌh-ʌn-ʌs d͡ʒe i: pʌhar-ke
Word Gloss then goat tell-PST-3SG the.one this hill-ACC

ek bʰɐ̃vʌr hʌgi-ken pura-b-ʌs uhe kʰʌi-b-is
one round poo-CP finish-FUT-3SG that.one eat- FUT-3SG
Free 'Then goat told that the one who will poo and cover one round in the hill that will eat'

10. Word ʈ bʰanu kʌh-ʌn-ʌs ʈʰik ahʌj mõ
Word Gloss then bear tell-PST-3SG ok COP 1SG

mʌŋd͡ʒur baʈ-u
agree AUX: PRES-1SG
Free 'Then bear told that ok I agree'

11. Word ʈ bʰanu sõʈ͡ʃ-ʌn mor peʈ-hen
Word Gloss then bear think-PRES:3SG 1SG: POSS stomach-LOC

ʈ nʌgʌɖ ʈ͡ʃara ahʌj
certaininly more food COP
Free 'Then bear thought that in my stomach I have more food'

12. Word ʈekʌr ɖui-jo d͡ʒʰʌn ek d͡ʒʌgʰʌh hoi-ken
Word Gloss then two-NMKR people one place come-CP

hʌgʌ-ek suru kʌr-in
poo-DEON start do-PRS:3PL
Free 'Then the two met in one place and start to pass loo'

13. Word ʈ bʰanu ek-e d͡ʒʌgʰʌh loʈ͡ʃ-poʈ͡ʃ hʌgi
Word Gloss then bear one-in place full.poo poo

kuɽh-ʌn-ʌs
complete-PST-3SG
Free 'Then bear in one place passed the loo'

14.	Word	t͡ʃʰeri	ʈ	puɽʌpur-puɽʌpur	pʌhar-ke	ek	
	Word Gloss	goat	but	slowly.slowly	hill-ACC	one	
		bʰɐ̃vʌr	hʌgi- ken	pur-an-ʌs			
		round	poo-CP	complete-PST-3SG			
	Free	'But goat slowly passed the loo and completed one round'					
15.	Word	ʈ	bʰanu	ɖekʰi-ken	sõt͡ʃ-ʌn	i:	ʈ
	Word Gloss	then	bear	see-CP	think-PRS:3SG	he	then
		hʌgi	pur-an-ʌs		i:	ad͡ʒʰe	moe	kʰʌi-b-is
		poo	complete-PST-3SG		he	today	1SG	eat-FUT-3SG
	Free	'Then after seeing this and he thought that goat finished one round then he will eat me today'						
16.	Word	ʈekʌr	bʰanu	haga	t͡ʃʰaɽa	t͡ʃʰoɽi-ken	ɖʰa-i	nikʌl-ʌn-is
	Word Gloss	then	bear	poo	food	leave-CP	run-PRTL	go-PST-3SG
	Free	'Then seeing this bear ran fast and went'						

kʰusʌr au mʌɲdʒ͡ur ker kʌhʌni

The story of owl and peacock

1.	Word	e-goʈ	radʒ͡-hen	e-goʈ	radʒ͡a	rʌh-ʌi	
	Word Gloss	one-NMKR	nation-LOC	one-NMKR	nation	COP:PST-3SG	
	Free	'In one nation there lived a king'					
2.	Word	okʌr	nerka tʃ͡ʌuva	nʌhi	rʌh-ʌhis.		
	Word Gloss	3SG: POSS	children	NEG	COP:PST-3SG		
	Free	**'**He did not have children.'					
3.	Word	u	radʒ͡	kʌr-ʌʈ	kʌr-ʌʈ	buɖʰ-ʌi	gʌ-in-is
	Word Gloss	3SG	rule	do-PRTL	do-PRTL	old-PRTL	go-PST-3SG
	Free	'He was old being ruling'					
4.	Word	ʈ	ek	ɖin	sotʃ͡-ʌn-is	ki	ʌb	mo
	Word Gloss	then	one	day	think-PST-3SG	that	now	1SG
		nʌhi	sʌkʰ-u	radʒ͡	kʌr-ek			
		NEG	able-1SG	rule	do-DEON			
	Free	'Then one day he thought that I am not able to rule now'						
5.	Word	ʈ	u	sʌb	radʒ͡-kore	kʰodʒ͡ʰ-nʌ-hin		
	Word Gloss	then	3SG	all	nation-DAT	search-PST-3PL		
	Free	'Then he searched in his nation'						
6.	Word	ʈ	koi	husijar	nʌhi	rʌh-ʌʈ		
	Word Gloss	then	anyone	wise	NEG	COP:PST-3PL		
	Free	'But wise was not there'						
7.	Word	ʈ	ukʌr	radʒ͡-hen	kʰusʌr	au	mʌɲdʒ͡ur	
	Word Gloss	then	3SG.POSS	nation-LOC	owl	and	peacock	
		husijar	rʌh-ʌʈ					
		wise	COP:PST-3PL					
	Free	'Then in that nation owl and peacock were wise'						
8.	Word	ʈ	ek	ɖin	sʌb	radʒ͡-korʌn	dʒ͡uʈa-nʌ-hin	
	Word Gloss	then	one	day	all	nation-DAT	gather-PST-3PL	
	Free	'Then one day he gathered all nation'						

9. Word u-ho ɖui-jo d͡ʒʌn d͡ʒuɽa-nʌ-hin
   Word Gloss 3SG-also two-NMKR people gather-PST-3PL

   kʰusʌr au mʌɲd͡ʒur nikʌr
   owl and peacock PL
   Free 'And he also gathered the two owl and peacock'

10. Word ʈ d͡ʒuɽʌ-i-ken onhʌn kʌh-ʌnʌ-hin ki mo
    Word Gloss then gather-PRTL-CP 3PL TELL-PST-3PL that 1SG

    buɖʰʌ-i gʌ-in-u ʌb mo nʌhi sʌkʰ-u rad͡ʒ kʌr-ek
    old-PRTL go-PST-1SG now 1SG no able-1SG rule do-DEON
    Free 'Then after gathering them he told them that he is old and is not able to rule'

11. Word kʰusʌr au mʌɲd͡ʒur ʈu ɖui-jo
    Word Gloss owl and peacock 2PL two-NMKR

    d͡ʒʌn husijar baɽʰ-ẽ
    people wise COP: PRES-2PL
    Free 'Owl and peacock you both are wise'

12. Word mo ʈuhe de-b-ohe ad͡ʒ.
    Word Gloss 1SG 2PL give-FUT-1SG today
    Free 'I will give you the nation'

13. Word ʈu d͡ʒa sʌpʌr-i-ken ʌih-e
    Word Gloss 2PL go roam-PRTL-CP come-2PL
    Free 'You go and roam around'

14. Word au d͡ʒe agʰu ʌi-b-is uhe
    Word Gloss and REL front come-FUT-3SG 2SG

    mo rad͡ʒ ɖe-b-o
    1SG nation give-FUT-1SG
    Free 'And who will come first I will give the nation to him'

15. Word ʈ kʰusʌr au mʌɲd͡ʒur ʌpʌn-ʌpʌn gʰʌr
    Word Gloss then owl and peacock their own house

    gʌ-in-ʌn
    go-PST-3PL
    Free 'Then owl and peacock went to their house'

16. Word: ʈ̪ okʌr bihan-ɖ̪in kʰusʌr au
Word Gloss: then 3PL:POSS morning-day owl and

mʌɲdʒ͡ur sʌpʌre nag-ʌn-ʌn
peacock roam started-PST-3PL
Free: 'Then from that morning owl and peacock started to roam'

17. Word: ʈ̪ kʰusʌr uʈʰ-i-ken pakʰi-kore dʒ͡ʰʌr-anʌ-his
Word Gloss: then owl get.up-PRTL-CP feather-DAT spread-PST-3SG
Free: 'Then owl got up and he spread his feather'

18. Word: ʈ̪ekʌr bʰur bʰur bʰur uɖa-i-ken agʰu pʌhuɲtʃ͡-ʌn-is
Word Gloss: then fast fly-PRTL-CP front reach-N.FUT-3SG
Free: 'Then he flew fast and went to front'

19. Word: au mʌɲdʒ͡ur ʈ̪ bʌɖiha ɖ̪ekʰ-b-u
Word Gloss: and peacock then good see-FUT-1SG

kʌh-i-ken pakʰi-kore korʌ-i tʃ͡irʌ-i
tell-PRTL-CP feather-DAT spread-PRTL nice-PRTL

nag-ʌn-is
started-PST-3SG
Free: 'And peacock to show better he started to show his feathers'

20. Word: u pitʃ͡u ʌi-n-is ʈ̪ radʒ͡a ɖ̪ekʰ-n-ʌs
Word Gloss: 3SG back come-PST-3SG then king see-PST-3SG

are kʰusʌr agʰu ʌ-in-is
hey owl front come-PST-3SG
Free: 'King saw that peacock was coming back and owl came first'

21. Word: ʈ̪ radʒ͡a-ram kʰusʌr-ke radʒ͡ ɖ̪e ɖ̪ih-inʌ-his
Word Gloss: then king-NOM owl-ACC nation give give-PST-3SG
Free: 'Then king gave the nation to owl'

22. Word: au mʌɲdʒ͡ur pitʃ͡u ʌi-n-is ʈ̪ u
Word Gloss: and peacock back come-PST-3SG then 3SG

ʈʌgʰʌ-i gʌ-in-is
fool-PRTL go-PST-3SG
Free: 'And peacock came at back so he was fooled'

ek ɖinʌk kam

one day work

1. Word sʌbʌne agʰu ʈ uʈʰ-i-ken
   Word Gloss firstly first then wake up-PRTL-CP

   gʌru nikʌi gʰas pʌira kʰʌi-j-ʌin-e
   ox PL.M grass rice.bran eat-CAUS-PRS-1PL
   Free ‘Firstly I wake up and give ox grass and husk’

2. Word ʈekʌr kʰʌi-ja-vʌʈ-ne kahi kahi
   Word Gloss then eat-CAUS-PRTL-till something

   gʰʌrʌ-k kam kʌr-ʌin-e
   house-GEN work do-PRS-1PL
   Free ‘Then after making them eat we do some house work’

3. Word gʰʌrʌ-k kam kʌr-i-ken
   Word Gloss house-GEN work do-PRTL-CP
   Free ‘After doing house work’

4. Word gʌru nagʌr kʰeʈ-e ne d͡ʒʌ-i-ken nãgʌr
   Word Gloss ox plow farm-ACC take go-PRTL-CP plow

   d͡ʒoʈ-ʌin-e
   plough-PRS-1PL
   Free ‘We take ox to fields to do ploughing’

5. Word ʈekʌr d͡ʒoʈ-i-ken av-ʌin-e nʌh-an-e
   Word Gloss then plough-PRTL-CP come-PRS-1PL bath-PST-1PL
   Free ‘After coming from ploughing we come and take bath’

6. Word nʌha-i- ken bʰaʈ kʰa-n-e kʰa-i-ken
   Word Gloss bath-PRTL-CP food eat-PRS-1PL eat-PRTL-CP

   ɖʌmbʰʌrik aram kʌr-ʌin-e
   little rest do-PRS-1PL
   Free ‘After bathing and eating food and we take rest for some time’

7. Word au t͡ʃʰeri ɖʰin-ʌin-e
   Word Gloss and goat loose-PRS-1PL
   Free ‘And we loosen the goats’

8. Word tʃʰeri ɖʰin-i-ken tʃʰeri nikʌi tʃʌra-i
   Word Gloss goat loose-PRTL-CP goat PL grase-PRTL

   pʰirʌ-i -ken gʰʌr an-ʌin-e
   roam-PRTL-CP house come-PRS-1PL
   Free 'Then taking-out goat to grazing and then we come back to house'

9. Word ʈekʌr sãdʒʰ ho-vʌn pʰir gʌru
   Word Gloss then evening COP-PRS:3PL then ox

   tʃʰeri nikʌi gʰʌr-hen bandʰ-ʌin-e
   goat PL house-LOC tie-PRS-1PL
   Free 'Then in evening we tie the oxen and goats in the house'

10. Word bandʰ-i-ken sʌb dʒʰʌn bijari kʰana kʰa-i- ken
    Word Gloss tie-PRTL-CP all people dinner food eat-PRTL-CP
    Free 'After tying everyone sit together and eat dinner'

11. Word sʌb dʒʰʌn ɖʌmbʰʌrik bʌis-ʌin-e au
    Word Gloss all people little sit-PRS-1PL and

    ane-ɖusʌr ɖinʌ-k kam-ker bare-hen
    next day-GEN work-GEN about-INST

    sotʃ-ʌin-e baʈ-tʃiʈ kʌr-ʌin-e
    think-PRS-1PL talk do-PRS-1PL
    Free 'Everyone will sit for a little while and discuss and think about tomorrow's work'

12. Word ʈekʌr baʈ-tʃiʈ kʌr-i-ken sʌb dʒʰʌn
    Word Gloss then talk do-PRTL-CP all people

    suʈ dʒa-n-e
    sleep go-PRS-1PL
    Free 'Then after talk everyone sleep'