

A write-up on
KHANDESHI
BHILI
Grammar

2007

Abbreviations

1ms	1 st person masculine singular	disc	discourse
		dst	distal
1p	1 st person plural	emph	emphatic
1s	1 st person singular	excl	exclusive
2mp	2 nd person masculine plural	f	feminine
2p	2 nd person plural	fp	feminine plural
2s	2 nd person singular	fs	feminine singular
3fs	3 rd person feminine singular	fut	future
		gen	genitive
3mp	3 rd person masculine plural	incl	inclusive
3ms	3 rd person masculine singular	incpt	inceptive
		inf	infinitive
3p	3 rd person plural	inten	intentional
3s	3 rd person singular	intj	interjection
acc	accusative	loc	location
adj	adjective	m	masculine
adv	adverb	magr	modifier agreement
asp	aspect	mp	masculine plural
aux.v	auxiliary verb	ms	masculine singular
caus	causative	ms, modsf	modifier suffix
conj	conjunction		
cont	continuous	n	noun
cop	copula	nc	noun case
cptcl	compound particle	neg	negative
dat	dative	nf	noun feminine
dem	demonstrative	nm	noun masculine
deot	deontic	ns	noun suffix

num	number	s	singular
p	plural	subj	subjunctive
past	past tense	ts	temporal succession
perf	perfective	v	verb
perm	permissive	vagr	verb agreement
phab	past habitual	vfutagr	verb future tense agreement
postp	postposition	vm	verb mode
pre.s	present singular	vnf	verb non-finite
pron	pronoun	vpreagr	verb present tense agreement
ptcl	particle	vpstagr	verb past tense agreement
ques	question	vst	verb stem
ref	reflexive	vtns	verb tense
rel	relative		
relazr	relativizer		

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1 INTRODUCTION

The Khandeshi Bhils live mostly in Sakri taluks of Dhule and Satana taluk of Nasik districts of Maharashtra. Their language is called Khandeshi Bhili. This language belongs to the western Indo-Aryan family.

1.1 NAME OF LANGUAGE

The language of Khandeshi Bhil people is called Khandeshi Bhili. There is a dilemma to name this tribal group. When we asked the people their original name, they answer, “There is no other name for our group and we are the original Bhil group in India, so we call ourselves as Bhili.” Some people of other groups call them ‘Khandeshi Bhili’ since they live in the Khandeshi area. But the Maharashtra government refers them as “Barde Bhili” (Gare 2003). Anyhow for this language project we have given the name for this group as “Khandeshi Bhili”.

1.2 CLASSIFICATION

The Khandeshi Bhili language belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family. This language is classified into three sub-groups i.e. *Tankau*, *Dakhnau* and *Kotlau*. Among these three, *Tankau* is considered the purest and best dialect by the people. Marathi, Ahirani and Kukna are closely related languages to Khandeshi Bhili. Among them, Ahirani is very close and very much related to Bhili.

1.3 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

According to the 1991 census the Bhili population in these areas is 9,06,696. In Dhule district, it is 6,89,179 and in Nasik district, it is 2,17,517.

1.4 CULTURAL NOTES

Mostly the Bhilis are poor labourers. Only 20% to 30% of Bhilis have their own lands and fields for agriculture. Those who do not have lands work as labourers in others’ land. Normally for six months of the year, most of them migrate to Gujarat, a neighboring state for sugarcane cutting in others’ fields. Some Bhils have domestic animals like cows, oxen, buffaloes, goats, etc. Some are hunters and fire wood gatherers, so they live in forests and hills. The main foods of Bhilis are *Bhakar* (millet bread) and *Khuda* (prepared with green chili). They eat rice and vegetables also. Normally the Bhili houses are *kachha* (impermanent) and very small, made by mud, leaves and wood. In every village they live together in a corner. The Bhili family is patriarchal. They are ruled by a *Panchayat* (village counsel). Some villages are together, forming a *Panchayat*. The chief person is called *Sarapanch* and the vice is called *Police Patil*. For every village there is a head man called *Naik*. The Bhils worship *Dongriadev* (a mountain god), *Sikiadev*, *Mahadev*, *Bhatuji Maharaj* (a snake), etc. They are mainly animistic and worship different spirits. They even

worship the spirits of the dead. Nowadays many Bhils have accepted Jesus Christ and have become Christians. But whether Hindus or Christians, all the Bhils bury their dead. For healing from sickness they go to *Maharaj* and *Bhagats* (black magicians). In ancient times, the males wore *langoti* (a small cloth which covers only the private parts) and the females were just covering up with a small cloth on their bodies. But nowadays the Bhils have learned to wear more nationally typical clothing. Males wear *kamiz* (shirt/tunic), *dhoti* (wrap-around cloth) and a white cap, and the females wear *sari* and *lugda* (small piece of sari).

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

1.5.1 *Multilingualism*

The Khandeshi Bhils are mostly multilingual. Most of the people can understand and speak the state language Marathi except for a few women. Most of the Bhilis can understand and speak Ahirani, Kukna and Mauchi languages, because these are neighboring languages and they live with speakers of these languages.

1.5.2 *Context of Language Use*

From our socio-linguistic survey and observations we found that the Khandeshi Bhili language is used in the villages, at home, in businesses, on buses, in the market and in other domains. The parents use Bhili with their children. This shows the positive attitude of the people towards their mother tongue. But a very few educated and job-holding families use the state language with their children. There is a Christian song book published in Khandeshi Bhili and the people show much enthusiasm in using it.

1.5.3 *Viability Factors*

The Khandeshi Bhil socio-linguistic survey revealed that the people have a strong positive attitude towards their mother tongue. The Khandeshi Bhili language is used in all domains except education where the medium of instruction (in government schools) is Marathi. However, this has not been very effective and the children easily lose interest in going to school. These facts show that there is no threat to the existence of the language.

1.6 DIALECTS

There are no major dialect differences in Khandeshi Bhili, but it is classified into three sub-groups i.e. *Tankau*, *Dakhnau* and *Kotlau*.

1.7 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE LANGUAGE

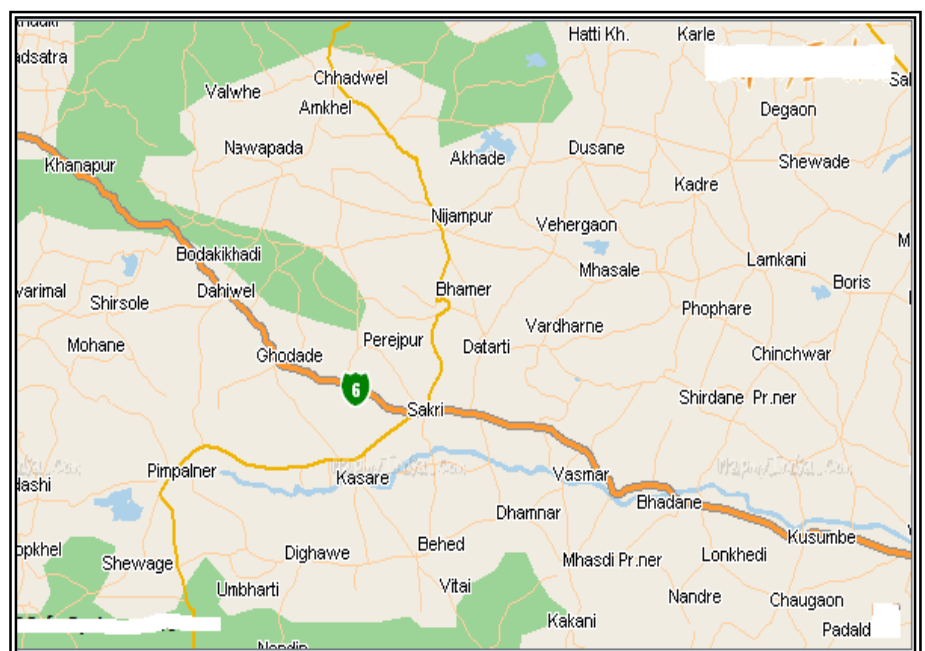
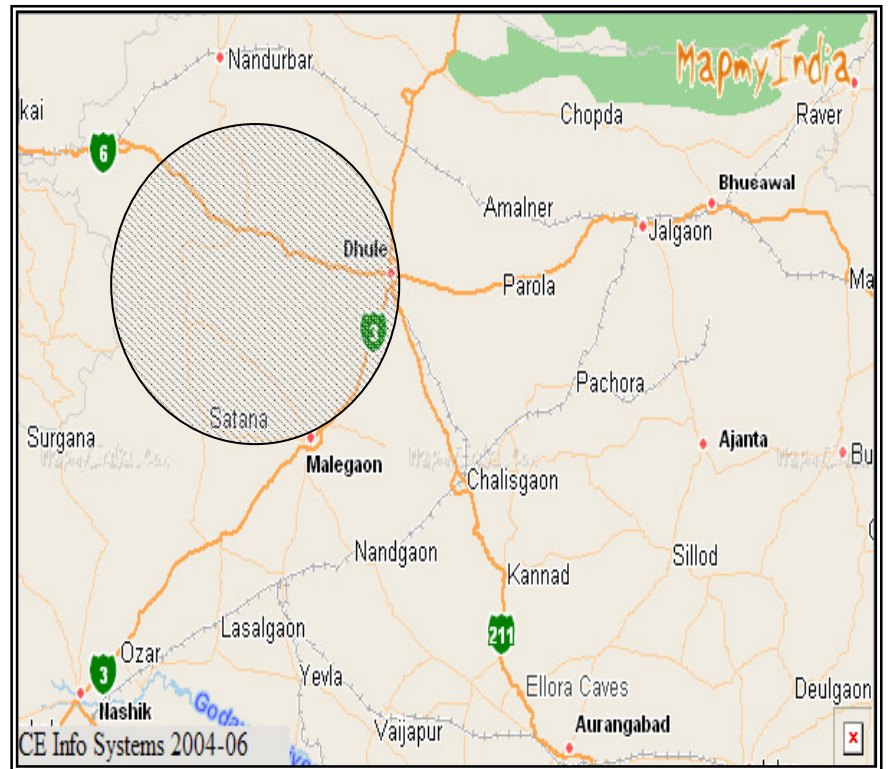
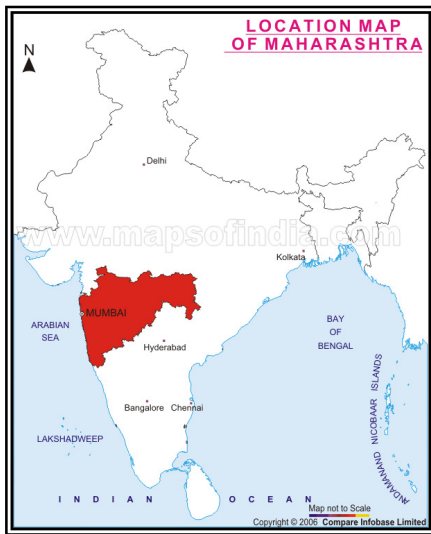
So far we have done a socio-linguistic survey of Khandeshi Bhili language in 2002, which is an unpublished manuscript. We have done a Phonology analysis and Write-up of the language and produced it as a booklet in 2005. We have written and

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produced a Bhili Christian song book in Khandeshi Bhili, which is the only written material in the language to date and is being used with much enthusiasm by the people.

1.8 LOCATION OF THE KHANDESHI BHILS

The following maps show the location of the Khandeshi Bhils. They live in Dhule and Nasik districts of Maharashtra, so both the districts shown in different maps.



2 PHONEMIC SUMMARY

2.1 VOWELS

Table (1)

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Open	a	ɐ	

2.2 CONSONANTS

Table (2)

	Labial	Coronal	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives & Affricates Vl.	p p ^h	t̪ t̪ ^h	t t ^h	tʃ	k k ^h	
Vd.	b b ^h	d̪ d̪ ^h	d d ^h	dʒ dʒ ^h	g g ^h	
Pre-nasalized Plosives		nd̪	nd	ndʒ	ŋg	
Fricatives		s ʃ				h
Nasals	m	n				
Lateral		l	ɭ			
Flaps		r	ɽ			
Approximants	w			j		

2.3 SUPRASEGMENTALS

Stress is not phonemic and not found to be contrastive in Khandeshi Bhili. This is a syllable timed language so the syllables are evenly stressed.

2.4 SANDHI AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following morphophonemic rules apply to Khandeshi Bhil.

2.4.1 Vowel Changing

Khandeshi Bhili masculine nouns which end with vowel *-a* in the singular form, change in the plural form to the ending *-ə*. Notice in the table below how the form changes.

Table (3)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'head'	ɖoka	ɖokə
'knee'	gʊɾga	gʊɾgə
'mango'	amba	ambə
'egg'	aŋɖa	aŋɖə

Masculine nouns which end with *-ija* or *-ja* in the singular form, change in the plural form to the ending *-e*.

Table (4)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'roof'	sɛpɾija	sɛpre
'boy'	porja	pore
'male goat'	bokɾija	bokɾe

2.4.2 Vowel Deletion

Khandeshi Bhili masculine disyllabic and closed second syllable type nouns whose nucleus of the second syllable is *-ɐ* and *-u* in the singular form, change in the plural form to the ending *-ə*, and the nucleus of the second syllable is deleted. The table below shows a few examples of this.

Table (5)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'bone'	haɾuk	haɾkə
'door'	kawɛɾ	kawɾə
'pig'	ɖukkɛr	ɖukkrə
'rubber'	lɛbbɛr	lɛbbɾə

Feminine nouns which end with *-i* in the singular form, change in plural form to the ending *-ja*.

Table (6)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'knife'	suri	surja
'shirt'	kuɽətʃi	kuɽətʃja
'stick'	ʃemti	ʃemtja

The normal form of Khandeshi Bhili present tense singular is verb root + *-ɸj*. But in the present tense of the verb root which ends with a vowel *-ɸ* is deleted and only *-j* is added. Notice the table below which shows a few verb roots with the consonant and vowel endings.

Table (7)

Gloss	Verb root	Present.singular
'do'	kɸr	kɸrɸj
'sleep'	nidʒ	nidʒɸj
'eat'	k ^h a	k ^h aj
'go'	dʒa	dʒaj
'drink'	pi	pij
'give'	ɸe	ɸej

2.5 ORTHOGRAPHY

A list of the phonemes with their corresponding orthographic symbols is given below. To write Khandeshi Bhili the state language script Devanagari (Marathi) is used. There are no different glyphs in Marathi for the different sounds, [ɸ] and [ɽ] so in Bhili also we have used only the one glyph (*β*) for both of them. But in the analysis of our data, we have shown them both as separate phonemes.

2.5.1 Vowels

Table (8)

ɸ	a	i	u	e	ɸ	o
+	+D	<	=	B	+	+D™

2.5.2 Consonants

Table (9)

k	k ^h	g	g ^h	
Eʃ	ʈᵛ	Mᵛ	Πᵛ	
tʃ		dʒ	dʒ ^h	
Σᵛ		ʒᵛ	Zᵛ	
ṭ	ṭ ^h	ḍ	ḍ ^h	n
ɭᵛ	λᵛ	v	ᵛ	ξᵛ
t	t ^h	d	d ^h	
]ʃ	ʃ	β	ϕ	
p	p ^h	b	b ^h	m
{ᵛ	ɽʃ	ɸ	fᵛ	◆ᵛ
	j	r	ɭ	l
	♠ᵛ	→	≥	±ᵛ
s	ʃ		h	
≡ᵛ	ᵃᵛ			
w		ɽ		
xᵛ		β		

We are using the half 'ξᵛ' to symbolize the homorganic nasals to help transfer to Marathi.

Table (10)

ᵇᵇ	ᵇᵇʒ	ᵇᵇ	ᵇᵇg
ξv	ξʒᵛ	ξβ	ξMᵛ

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

3.1.1 Nouns

Khandeshi Bhili has a class of nouns that function as the head of a noun phrase.

3.1.1.1 Types of Nouns

There are three different kinds of nouns in Khandeshi Bhili. The grammar distinguishes between proper and common nouns, and among common nouns, there are syntactic distinctions between count and mass nouns.

3.1.1.1.1 Proper Nouns

In Khandeshi Bhili, proper nouns are used to refer to the name of places, people, things, etc. A few of proper nouns are given below followed by examples.

Table (11)

sublu	‘name of a boy’
susila	‘name of a girl’
ḍabri	‘name of a place’
ḍor̥i	‘name of a fruit’ (mango)
geṇḍ	‘name of a flower’
ṭer̥ʃa	‘name of an animal’
piruṭi	‘name of a bird’

- sublu** jek tʃaŋgla porja seʃ
 sublu jek tʃaŋgl-a porja s-j
 sublu one good-ms boy cop-pre.s
 propn num adj-ms nm aux.v-vtns
Sublu is a good boy.
- məna baba adʒ **ḍabri** geʃa
 mi-n-a baba adʒ ḍabri dʒa-j-a
 1s-gen-ms father today dabri go-past-3ms
 pron-nc-magr nm adv propn v-vtns-vpstagr
My father went to Dabri today.

3.1.1.2 Structure of the Noun Word

The noun word in Khandeshi Bhili inflects for differences in gender (masculine vs. feminine), number (singular vs. plural) and case (nominative, accusative etc.). A noun can also take an emphatic suffix to express specificity. Therefore, Khandeshi Bhili nouns may be represented by the following formula in which the elements occur in the order given below. Notice that all affixes are suffixes.

Noun = Noun root (gender-number marker) (case marker) (emphatic)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>3. dʒ^harə
 dʒ^har-ə
 tree-mp
 nm-ns
 <i>trees</i></p> | <p>6. ɖ^hɛjɾila
 ɖ^hɛjɾi-la
 old.woman-acc
 nf-nc
 <i>to the old woman</i></p> |
| <p>4. surija
 suri-ja
 knife-fp
 nf-ns
 <i>knives</i></p> | <p>7. wawlimə
 wawli-mə
 field-in
 nm-nc
 <i>In the field</i></p> |
| <p>5. tʃirana
 tʃira-n-a
 bird-gen-ms
 nm-nc-magr
 <i>Bird's</i></p> | <p>8. rəsədʒ
 rəs-ə-dʒ
 soup-mp-emph
 nm-ns-nc
 <i>only soups.</i></p> |

3.1.1.2.1 Count vs. mass nouns

Mass noun in Khandeshi Bhili cannot be pluralized or occur with quantifying numerals, while count nouns can. The following are a few examples of count nouns.

Table (12)

porja	‘son’
ɖor	‘rope’
tʃira	‘bird’

9. məna **porja** jek ʃɛtkəri səj
 mi-n-a porja jek ʃɛtkəri s-j
 1s-gen-ms son one farmer cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nm num nm aux.v-vtns
 My son is a farmer.

10. mɛŋg tɛji pɛkkə tʃiɾə bəsət
 mɛŋg tɛji pɛkk-ə tʃiɾa-ə bəs-t
 then there more-mp bird-mp sit-3mp
 conj adv adj-ms nm-magr v-vpreagr
Then more birds sit there.

The following are a few examples of mass nouns.

Table (13)

g ^h am	'sweat'
wara	'wind'
wa u	'sand'

11. mala pɛkka g^ham niŋgəj
 mi-la pɛkk-a g^ham niŋg-j
 1s-dat more-ms sweat start-pre.s
 pron-nc adj-ms nm v-vtns
More sweat comes out to me.
12. amna g^hərni sɛmor pɛkki wa|u sɛj
 amə-n-a g^hər-n-i sɛmor pɛkk-i wa|u s-j
 1p.excl-gen-ms house-gen-fs front more-fs sand cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nm-nc-magr postp adj-ms nf aux.v-vtns
There is more sand in front of our house.

Notice that mass nouns may take a quantifying adjective like, *pɛkki* 'more', but not numerals as this related, but ungrammatical example shows:

13. amna g^hərni sɛmor jek wa|u sɛj
 amə-n-a g^hər-n-i sɛmor jek wa|u s-j
 1p.excl-gen-ms house-gen-fs front one sand cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nm-nc-magr postp num nf aux.v-vtns
There is one sand in front of our house.

3.1.1.3 Gender

There are two main classes of gender in Khandeshi Bhili, namely, masculine and feminine. There are no unequivocal rules in Khandeshi Bhili for the masculine and feminine endings, but most of the masculine nouns end with the vowel *-a* and most of the feminine nouns end with the vowel *-i*. Gender is, however, unequivocally indicated by agreement on demonstratives, modifiers and verb affixes.

3.1.1.3.1 Masculine

Notice in the following examples, the demonstratives, adjectives and adverbs have a masculine agreement suffix *-a* when occurring with masculine nouns (nm).

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14. ṭo tʃaŋgla porja s̄ej
 ṭ-o tʃaŋgl-a porja s-j
 dst-3ms good-ms boy cop-pre.s
 pron-magr adj-ms nm aux.v-vtns
 That is good boy.
15. haj dʒ^haɽ p̄ekka moɽa w̄eɽal
 haj dʒ^haɽ p̄ekk-a moɽ-a w̄e-ṭ-al
 this tree more-ms big-ms cop-phab-ms
 dem nm adj-ms adj-ms aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
 This tree was very big.
16. ṭo kaɽa kuɽra b^hukna
 ṭ-o kaɽ-a kuɽra b^huk-n-a
 dst-3ms black-ms dog bark-past-3ms
 dem-magr adj-ms nm v-vtns-vpstagr
 That black dog barked.

3.1.1.3.2 Feminine

Notice in the following examples the demonstratives, adjectives and adverbs have a feminine agreement suffix *-i* when occurring with feminine nouns (nf).

17. ṭi tʃaŋgli por s̄ej
 ṭ-i tʃaŋgl-i por s-j
 dst-fs good-fs girl cop-pre.s
 pron-magr adj-modsf nf aux.v-vtns
 That is good girl.
18. haj suri p̄ekki moɽi w̄eɽil
 haj suri p̄ekk-i moɽ-i w̄e-ṭ-il
 this knife more-fs big-fs cop-phab-fs
 dem nf adj-modsf adj-modsf aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
 This knife was very big.
19. ṭi ḍ^hewɽi gaj w̄eni
 ṭ-i ḍ^hewɽ-i gaj je-n-i
 dst-fs white-fs cow come-past-3fs
 dem-magr adj-modsf nf v-vtns-vpstagr
 That white cow came.

3.1.1.4 **Number**

Khandeshi Bhili masculine nouns which end with any consonant or with the vowel *-a* in the singular form, change in the plural form to the ending *-ə*. Notice in the table below how the form changes.

Table (14)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'tree'	dʒ ^h aɾ	dʒ ^h aɾə
'fruit'	p ^h ɛl	p ^h ɛlə
'head'	ɖoka	ɖokə
'knee'	gʊɾga	gʊɾgə

Masculine disyllabic and closed second syllable type nouns whose nucleus of the second syllable is *-ɐ* and *-u* in the singular form, change in the plural form to the ending *-ə*, and the nucleus of the second syllable is deleted. The table below shows a few examples of this.

Table (15)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'bone'	haɾuk	haɾkə
'door'	kawɛɾ	kawɾə
'pig'	ɖukkɛr	ɖukkrə
'rubber'	lɛbbɛr	lɛbbɛrə

Masculine nouns which end with *-ija* or *-ja* in the singular form, change in the plural form to the ending *-e*.

Table (16)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'roof'	sɛpɾija	sɛpre
'boy'	pɔɾja	pɔre
'male goat'	bokɾija	bokɾe

Feminine nouns which end with *-i* in the singular form, change in the plural form to the ending *-ja*.

Table (17)

Meaning	Singular	Plural
'knife'	suri	surja
'shirt'	kuṛətʃi	kuṛətʃja
'stick'	ʃemti	ʃemtja

Notice that all of these morphophonemic alternations are triggered phonologically.

3.1.1.5 Case

In Khandeshi Bhili, cases are marked either by a case marker suffix or by a postposition.

3.1.1.5.1 Dative Case

When a noun acts as the indirect object in a ditransitive clause, the dative case is used. The dative suffix in Khandeshi Bhili is *-la* 'to'. Notice in the following example the dative suffix is used with the indirect object.

20. məŋg to dʰɛjtʃija tɛsla tʃiɾala diidej
 məŋg t-o dʰɛjtʃija t-o-s-la tʃiɾa-la de-i-de-j
 then dst-3ms old.man dst-3m-p-dat bird-acc give-vst-give-pre.s
 conj dem-magr nm pron-magr-ns-nc nm-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Then the old man gives the bird to them.

3.1.1.5.2 Accusative Case

The Khandeshi Bhili accusative suffix is also *-la* 'to'. That is, both the dative and accusative suffixes are the same in Khandeshi Bhili. The accusative marker is used with human nouns and specific, non-human nouns which are the direct object of a transitive clause. But the accusative marker is not used on any object nouns which are non-human and non-specific in the discourse context.

Notice in the following examples how the accusative marker is used with the human direct objects and how it is not used with the non-human object in the last example.

21. məŋg ti tini aŋderla saŋgni
 məŋg t-i t-i-n-i aŋder-la saŋg-n-i
 then dst-fs dst-fs-gen-fs daughter-acc tell-past-3fs
 conj pron-magr pron-magr-nc-magr nf-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Then she told her daughter.

22. mɛŋg tɔ radʒa lɛɡedʒ sipajisla dʰaɾna
 mɛŋg t-o radʒa lɛɡedʒ sipaji-s-la dʰaɾ-n-a
 then dem-3ms king at.once soldier-p-acc send-past-3ms
 conj dst-magr nm adv nm-ns-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Then at once that king sent the soldiers.

23. goɽu kalɽi dɛɡɛɽ pʰoɽna
 goɽu kalɽi dɛɡɛɽ pʰoɽ-n-a
 gotu yesterday stone brake-past-3ms
 propn adv nf v-vtns-vpstagr
Yesterday Gotu broke the stone.

3.1.1.5.3 Locative Case

The locative case in Khandeshi Bhili is marked by the postposition suffixes *-mə* ‘in’, *wɛr* ‘on/above’, *mangə* ‘behind’ *tʰin* ‘from’, *morə* ‘in front’, *kʰal* ‘under/below’ and *-pɛn* ‘near’. The following are a few examples of the locative case.

24. bʰarɛtmə aɽiwasi lokə rɛhnarə wɛɽlɛɽ
 bʰarɛt-mə aɽiwasi lok-ə rɛh-nar-ə wɛɽ-t-lɛɽ
 India-in tribal people-mp stay-person-mp cop-phab-mp
 propn-nc adj nm-magr v-nc-magr aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
The tribals were the (original inhabitants in India).
25. tə tɛ dʰɛɽɽijala saŋɡɛɽ aɽʰidʒ ɽarpɛn bɛs
 tə t-e dʰɛɽɽija-la saŋɡ-t aɽʰi-dʒ ɽar-pɛn bɛs
 then dst -3mp old.man-acc tell-pre.p here-emph door-near sit
 conj pron-magr nm-nc v-vtns loc-nc nm-nc v
Then they tell the old man, “(You) sit right here near the door.”
26. mɛŋg tɔ tɛni pɛɽpɛɽi wɛr bɛsna
 mɛŋg t-o t-o-n-i pɛɽpɛɽi wɛr bɛs-n-a
 then dst-3ms dst-3ms-gen-fs motor.bike on sit-past-3ms
 conj pron-magr pron-magr-nc-magr nf nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Then he sat on his motor bike.
27. anə tɔ bi dʰɛɽɽini mangə tʃalna
 anə t-o bi dʰɛɽɽi-n-i mangə tʃal-n-a
 and dst-3ms also old.woman-gen-fs behind walk-past-3ms
 conj pron-magr adv nf-nc-magr nc v-vtns-vpstagr
And he also walked behind the old woman.

3.1.1.5.4 Ablative Case

The ablative case in Khandeshi Bhili is marked by the case marker *tʰin* or the postposition *pɛjin* both of which mean ‘from’. While *pɛjin* can be used with any noun, *tʰin* is restricted to inanimate nouns.

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28. amə dəwni dəja t^hin tʃaŋglə sət
amə dəw-n-i dəja t^hin tʃaŋgl-ə s-t
1p.excl god-gen-fs pity from good-mp cop-pre.p
pron nm-nc-magr nf nc adj-ms aux.v-vtns
We are good by the grace of God.
29. anə amə tɛji t^hin ut^hnət anə tɛna haɪ d^hɛrnət
anə amə tɛji t^hin ut^h-n-ət anə t-o-n-a haɪ
and 1p.excl there from rise-past-2mp and dst-3ms-gen-ms hand
conj pron adv nc v-vtns-vpstagr conj pron-magr-nc-magr nm
d^hɛr-n-ət
hold-past-2mp
v-vtns-vpstagr
And we got up from there and held his hand.
30. mi mənə soptis pɛjin jej
mi mi-n-ə sopti-s pɛjin je-j
1s 1s-past-mp friend-p from come-1s
pron pron-vtns-magr nm-ns nc v-vpreagr
I come from my friends.

3.1.1.6 Genitive

Khandeshi Bhili has a genitive case marker *-n* which is used for noun phrase possession and other genitive construction. Both human and non-human nouns carry the same genitive suffix. Notice the examples below how the genitive marker is used.

31. tʃirana tɛŋgra
tʃira-n-a tɛŋgra
bird-gen-ms leg
nm-nc-magr nm
Bird's leg
32. paɪlɪ bajko
paɪl-n-i bajko
patil-gen-fs wife
propn-nc-magr nf
Wife of the Patil.
33. nasiknə moɪla moɪla saheb
nasik-n-ə moɪ-la moɪl-a saheb
nasik-gen-mp big-dat big-ms sir
propn-nc-magr adj-nc adj-ms nm
Big sirs of Nasik.

34. **mənja** bɛʈ^hja bɛkrja
 mi-n-ja bɛʈ^h-ja bɛkri-ja
 1s-gen-fp all-fp goat-fp
 pron-nc-magr adj-ms nf-magr
All my goats.

3.1.1.7 Definiteness/Referentiality

Though there is no definite article in Khandeshi Bhili, demonstratives can be used to make a nominal referent definite. Notice in the example below the demonstrative used to point to a participant.

35. anə **tə** d^hɛjɾijani jek wawli wɛʈil
 anə t-ə d^hɛjɾija-n-i jek wawli wɛ-t-il
 and dst-3ms old.man-gen-fs one field cop-phab-fs
 conj dem-magr nm-nc-magr num Nm aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And that old man had a field.

The discourse function of using a demonstrative is to refer back to an already introduced participant.

36. mɛŋg **tɪ** d^hɛjɾi tɪni aŋɖɛrni g^hɛr gɛji
 mɛŋg t-i d^hɛjɾi t-i-n-i aŋɖɛr-n-i
 then dst-fs old.woman dst-fs-gen-fs daughter-gen-fs
 conj dem-magr nf pron-magr-nc-magr nf-nc-magr
 g^hɛr dʒa-j-i
 house go-past-3fs
 nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Then that old woman went to her daughter's house.

There is also no overt indefinite article in Khandeshi Bhil. But to make a constituent explicitly indefinite, the number *jek* 'one' can be added before the head noun.

37. **jek** d^hɛjɾija rɛhɛj
 jek d^hɛjɾija rɛh-j
 one old.man stay-pre.s
 num nm v-vtns
There was an old woman.

The discourse function of using the numerical *jek* 'one' is to introduce a new participant.

38. **jek** d^hɛjɾi wɛʈil
 jek d^hɛjɾi wɛ-t-il
 one old.woman cop-phab-fs
 num nf aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
One old woman was there.

As discussed in section 3.1.1.5.2 above, the accusative case marker *-la* ‘to’ is required with human direct objects, but usually not used for non-human objects. When it is used with non-human direct objects, it is because the object is specific within the discourse context. That is, discourse referential, non-human direct object will be marked with the accusative case marker. Consider these contrastive examples:

39. mi kuṭra d̥ək^hel səj
 mi kuṭra d̥ək^h-el s-ə-j
 1s dog see-perf cop-pre.s
 pron nm v-asp aux.v-vtns
I have seen (a non-specific) dog.

40. mi kuṭra^{la} d̥ək^hel səj
 mi kuṭra-la d̥ək^h-el s-j
 1s dog-acc see-perf cop-pre.s
 pron nm-nc v-asp aux.v-vtns
I have seen that dog (i.e. that we’ve been talking about).

3.1.2 Pronouns

There is a class of pronouns in Khandeshi Bhili that either replace or restrict the reference of a noun phrase.

3.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

The chart below lists the personal pronouns used in Khandeshi Bhili.

Table (18)

Per	Num	Pron	Nom	Acc/Dat	Ablative
1 st	SG	mi	mi	mala	mapəjin
	PL	amə (excl) apun (incl)	amə (excl) apun (incl)	amla	amə pəjin apun pəjin
2 nd	SG	tu	tu	tula	tupəjin
	PL	tumə	tumə	tumla	tumpəjin
3 rd	SG	ms	to	tela	tepejin
		fm	ti	tila	tipejin
	PL	ms	te	tesla	tespejin
		fm	tja	tjla	tjpejin

3.1.2.2 *Demonstratives*

There are two levels of deixis in Khandeshi Bhili: proximate and distal. Proximate is used to refer to the entities which are near and distal is to refer the distant entities. A demonstrative can be the head of the noun phrase. If there is a head in a noun phrase other than the demonstrative, then the head follows the demonstrative. Demonstratives agree with the number and the gender of the noun head to which it refers. The singular proximate demonstrative *haji* and *haw* are in free variation, but while *haji* can be used for masculine or feminine nouns, *haw* is restricted to only masculine nouns.

Table (19)

Gender	Number	Proximate	Distal
Masculine	Singular	<i>haji</i> ‘this’ <i>haw</i> ‘this’	<i>to</i> ‘that’
	Plural	<i>jeh</i> ‘these’	<i>te</i> ‘those’
Feminine	Singular	<i>haji</i> ‘this’	<i>ti</i> ‘that’
	Plural	<i>hja</i> ‘these’	<i>tja</i> ‘those’

41. **haji** manus tʃaŋgla səj
 haji manus tʃaŋgl-a s-j
 this man good-ms cop-pre.s
 dem nm adj-ms aux.v-vtns
This man is good.
42. **haji** tʃaŋgla səj
 haji tʃaŋgl-a s-j
 this good-ms cop-pre.s
 dem adj-ms aux.v-vtns
This is good.
43. **to** dɔŋgɐr pɛkka moʈa səj
 t-o dɔŋgɐr pɛkk-a moʈ-a s-j
 dst-3ms mountain more-ms big-ms cop-pre.s
 dem-magr nm adj-ms adj-ms aux.v-vtns
That mountain is very big.
44. **jeh** pore amnə gawnə səʈ
 jeh porja-e amə-n-ə gaw-n-ə s-ʈ
 these boy-mp 1p.excl-gen-mp village-gen-mp cop-pre.p
 dem nm-ns pron-nc-magr nm-nc-magr aux.v-vtns
These boys are from our village.

45. mɛŋg **haji** nəwri tʊmə dʒikala pajdʒe
 mɛŋg haji nəwri tʊmə dʒik-ala pajdʒe
 then this bride 2p win-inf need
 conj dem nf pron v-vm aux.v
Then you need to win this bride.
46. **ti** por məni bəjin səj
 t̪-i por mi-n-i bəjin s-j
 dst-3fs girl 1s-gen-fs sister cop-pre.s
 dem-magr nf pron-nc-magr nf aux.v-vtns
That girl is my sister.

3.1.2.3 Possessive Pronoun

In Khandeshi Bhili the possessive pronouns take the genitive suffix followed by an agreement suffix that is in agreement with the number and the gender of the head noun of the phrase to which it refers. The following table shows all possession pronouns for all combinations of person, number and gender.

Table (20)

Gender	Number	1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
Masculine	Singular	məna ‘mine’	t̪una ‘your’s’	t̪əna ‘his’
	Plural	amna ‘ours’	t̪umna ‘your’s’	t̪əsna ‘theirs’
Feminine	Singular	məni ‘mine’	t̪uni ‘yours’	t̪əni ‘his’
	Plural	amni ‘ours’	t̪umni ‘yours’	t̪əsni ‘theirs’

47. t̪o **məna** pawna səj
 t̪-o mi-n-a pawna s-j
 pron-3ms 1s-gen-ms brother-in-law cop-pre.s
 dst-magr pron-nc-magr nm aux.v-vtns
He is my brother-in-law.
48. jesu **amna** d̪ew səj
 jesu amə-n-a d̪ew s-j
 jesus 1p.excl-gen-ms god cop-pre.s
 propn pron-nc-magr nm aux.v-vtns
Jesus is our God.
49. haji **amni** kaɭi bəkri səj
 haji amə-n-i kaɭ-i bəkri s-j
 this 1p.excl-gen-fp black-fs goat cop-pre.s
 dem pron-nc-magr adj-ms nf aux.v-vtns
This is our black goat.

50. **tumna** g^her gawmə səj
 tumə-n-a g^her gaw-mə s-j
 2p-gen-ms house village-in cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nm nm-nc aux.v-vtns
Your house is in the village.

3.1.2.4 Reflexives

In Khandeshi Bhili *jek meka* ‘one another’ is used as the reflexive pronoun.

51. **te jek mekala** pəkka məja kərət
 t-e jek meka-la pəkk-a məja kər-t
 pron-3mp one another-acc more-ms love do-pre.p
 dst-magr ref-nc adj-ms nm v-vtns
They love one another very much.

3.1.2.5 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in Khandeshi Bhili come in two types: those that inflect and those that do not. They all, however, begin with *k*. The following table shows the inflectable interrogative pronouns in Khandeshi Bhili. These words can function to question elements within the noun phrase (e.g. possessors, modifiers, or the head noun itself) and they inflect according to the number and gender of the noun head.

Table (21)

Inflectable Interrogatives				
Gloss	Mas.Sg	Fem.Sg.	Mas.Pl.	Fem.Pl.
‘which’	koŋta	koŋti	koŋə	koŋja
‘how much’	kiŋla	kiŋli	kiŋlə	kiŋlja
‘how’	kəŋa	kəŋi	kəŋə	kəŋja
‘whose’	kona	koni	konə	konja

In this example, the interrogative pronoun, *koŋta* ‘which’, is used to question the identity of the head noun *porja* ‘boy’. Notice that the interrogative pronoun also agrees with the head noun in terms of gender and number. Finally notice that the interrogative pronoun occurs before the head noun with which it agrees.

52. **konta** porja tula pɛjsa dina
 kont-a porja tu-la pɛjsa de-n-a
 which-ms boy 2s-acc money give-past-3ms
 pron-magr nm pron-nc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Which boy gave you money?

In the following example the interrogative pronoun *konti* ‘which’ is used to question to identify the head noun *por* ‘girl’.

53. **konti** por tuni bɛjin sɛj
 kont-i por tu-n-i bɛjin s-j
 which-fp girl 2s-gen-3fs sister cop-pre.s
 pron-magr nf pron-nc-magr nm aux.v-vtns
Which girl is your sister?

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun, *kitlja* ‘how many’, is used to question the quantity of the head noun referent, *baja* ‘wives’.

54. tunja **kitlja** baja sɛt
 tu-n-ja kitl-ja baji-a s-t
 2s-gen-fp how.much-fp wife-p cop-pre.p
 pron-nc-magr pron-magr nf-ns aux.v-vtns
How many wives do you have?

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun, *kɛfi* ‘how’, is used to question the adjectival quality or description of the head noun. Notice also that this construction can be in a predicate (rather than attributive) construction and occur before the verb.

55. tini saɽi **kɛfi** sɛj
 t-i-n-i saɽi kɛf-i s-j
 dst-fs-gen-fs sari how-fs cop-pre.s
 pron-magr-nc-magr nf pron-ms aux.v-vtns
How is her sari?

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun, *konə* ‘whose’, is used to question the possession of the head noun referent, *dʒ^haɽə* ‘trees’.

56. jeh **konə** dʒ^haɽə sɛt
 jeh kon-ə dʒ^haɽ-ə s-t
 these whose-mp tree-mp cop-pre.p
 dem pron-magr nm-ns aux.v-vtns
Whose trees are these?

The following table shows the interrogative pronouns in Khandeshi Bhili which do not inflect. These pronouns—rather than being part of the noun phrase and agreeing with the number and gender of the head noun—function to question the entire noun phrase; replacing it rather than just questioning an aspect of it.

Table (22)

Non-inflectable interrogatives	
Gloss	Interrogative Pronoun
‘who’	kon
‘what’	kaj
‘why’	kəɖʒə
‘where’	kəji
‘when’	kəwə

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun *kon* ‘who’ is used to question the identity of the entire noun phrase. Also notice that the interrogative pronoun occurs just before the verb.

57. t̩umna muk^hjə b^hil **kon** səj
 t̩umə-n-a muk^hjə b^hil kon s-j
 2p-gen-ms main bhil who cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr adj propn pron aux.v-vtns
 Who is your main Bhil?

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun *kaj* ‘what’ is used for event interrogation. Also notice that the interrogative pronoun occurs just before the verb.

58. **kaj** wəjna t̩ula
 kaj wəj-n-a t̩u-la
 what happen-past-2ms 2s-dat
 adv v-vtns-vpstagr pron-nc
 What happened to you?

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun *kəɖʒə* ‘why’ is used as reason interrogation. Also notice that the interrogative pronoun occurs just before the verb.

59. t̩i por **kəɖʒə** wəni
 t̩-i por kəɖʒə je-n-i
 dst-3fs girl why come-past-3fs
 dem-magr nf pron v-vtns-vpstagr
 Why did that girl come?

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun *kəji* ‘where’ is used to question the direction adverbial. Also notice that the interrogative pronoun occurs just before the verb.

60. haji wag^h **kəji** pəljirəna səj
 haji wag^h kəji pə[-i-rən-a s-j
 this tiger where run-vst-stay.past-ms cop-pre.s
 dem nm adv v-cptcl-aux.v-vpreagr aux.v-vtns
Where is this tiger running?

In the following example, the interrogative pronoun *kəwə* ‘when’ is used to question the time adverbial. Also notice that the interrogative pronoun occurs just before the subject at the beginning of the sentence.

61. **kəwə** tu amna g^hərmə wəna
 kəwə tu amə-n-a g^hər-mə je-n-a
 when 2s 1p.excl-gen-ms house-in come-past-2ms
 pron pron pron-nc-magr nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
When did you come to our house?

3.1.2.6 Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns, *jek^hada* ‘any’, *konitəri* ‘any’ and *kajitəri* ‘any’, are used in Khandeshi Bhili. These pronouns occur before the head noun. While *jek^hada* can refer to any noun head, *konitəri* is restricted to only human nouns and *kajitəri* is restricted to only inanimate nouns. *jek^hada* is inflectable according to the gender of the head noun.

62. mi **jek^hada** porjala haji pustək dina
 mi jek^had-a porja-la haji pustək de-n-a
 1s any-ms boy-acc this book give-past-1ms
 pron pron-magr nm-nc dem nm v-vtns-vpstagr
I gave this book to some (a) boy.
63. mi **jek^hadi** gaj lisu
 mi jek^had-i gaj le-s-u
 1s any-fs cow buy-fut-1s
 pron pron-magr nf v-vtns-vfutagr
I will buy some (a) cow.
64. to dɔŋgər wər **konitəri** manus huba səj
 t-o dɔŋgər wər konitəri manus huba s-j
 dem-3ms mountain on someone man stand cop-pre.s
 dst-magr nm postp pron nm nm aux.v-vtns
Some (a) man is standing (being stood) on that mountain.

65. mala adʒ **kajit̩eri** wəʃtu pajdʒe
 mi-la adʒ kajit̩eri wəʃtu pajdʒe
 1s-dat today any thing need
 pron-nc adj pron nf aux.v
I need some thing today.

3.1.2.7 Quantitative Pronouns

In Khandeshi Bhili, the quantitative pronouns *ak^ha* and *bət̩^ha* are used for ‘all’. They are in agreement with the head noun with respect to number and gender. The singular forms can also be used with mass nouns. The quantitative pronoun *ak^ha* is a loaned word from the neighboring language called ‘Kukna’. So the Bhils, who influenced by the Kukna more, use this quantitative pronoun.

Table (23)

Gender	Singular	Plural
Masculine	ak ^h a ‘all (ms)’	ak ^h ə ‘all (mp)’
	bət̩ ^h a ‘all (ms)’	bət̩ ^h ə ‘all (mp)’
Feminine	ak ^h i ‘all (fs)’	ak ^h ja ‘all (fp)’
	bət̩ ^h i ‘all (fs)’	bət̩ ^h ja ‘all (fp)’

Notice the first two examples, the quantitative pronouns *ak^ha* and *bət̩^ha* are used in singular form with the mass noun and in the third example the quantitative pronoun inflected in the agreement with the count noun.

66. mi **ak^ha** b^haʈ k^hailina
 mi ak^h-a b^haʈ k^ha-i-li-n-a
 1s all-ms cooked.rice eat-vst-take-past-1ms
 pron adj-magr nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
I ate all the rice.
67. məŋg d̩^hej̩ti **bət̩^ha** rəsədʒ wəʃidej
 məŋg d̩^hej̩ti bət̩^h-a rəs-ə-dʒ wəʃ-i-ɖe-j
 then old.woman all-ms soup-mp-emph serve-vst-give-pre.s
 conj nf adj-ms nm-magr-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Then the old woman serves only all soup.
68. hja **bət̩^hja** murt̩ja sət̩
 haji-ja bət̩^h-ja murt̩i-ja s-t̩
 this-fp all-fp idol-fp cop-pre.p
 dem-magr adj-magr nf-magr aux.v-vtns
These all are idols.

3.1.3 Numerals

Khandeshi Bhil uses different numerals for the numbers up to eighteen. After eighteen the numbers are counted with respect to twenty. Notice in the table how the Khandeshi Bhil numerals are formed.

Table (24)

Numbers	Numerals	Numbers	Numerals
1	jek	10	ḍaha
2	ḍon	11	akra
3	ṭin	12	ba:ra
4	tʃar	13	ṭera
5	patʃ	14	tʃewḍa
6	səw	15	pəḍḍra
7	saṭ	16	so a
8	a:ṭ ^h	17	səṭra
9	nəw	18	aṭ ^h ra

Table (25)

Num	Numerals	Literally	Num	Numerals	Literally
19	jekonawis	one less to twenty	30	ṭis	thirty
20	wis	twenty	40	tʃa is	forty
21	jekwis	one and twenty	50	pən:as	fifty
22	bawis	two and twenty	60	sa:ṭ ^h	sixty
23	ṭewis	three and twenty	70	səṭ:er	seventy
24	tʃowis	four and twenty	80	a:jsi	eighty
25	pəṭʃwis	five and twenty	90	nəwəḍ	ninety
26	səwis	six and twenty	100	ʃəmbər	one hundred

27	səṭawis	seven and twenty	200	ḍonʃe	two hundred
28	aṭ ^h awis	eight and twenty	1000	jek hadʒar	one thousand
29	ekonṭis	one less than thirty	2000	ḍon hadʒar	two thousand

Notice in the examples below how the numerals are used to modify the head noun.

69. **jek** porja
 jek porja
 one boy
 num nm
One boy

70. **tʃar** puṣṭəkə
 tʃar puṣṭək-ə
 four book-mp
 num nm-ns
Four books

Khandeshi Bhili has ordinal forms of numbers also. The ordinal forms show agreement with the gender and number of the head noun they modify. Notice in the following table a few ordinal forms in Khandeshi Bhili.

Table (26)

Gloss	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
‘first’	pəjla	pəjli	pəjlaə	pəjlaja
‘second’	ḍusra	ḍusri	ḍusrə	ḍusrja
‘third’	t̪isra	t̪isri	t̪isrə	t̪isrja
‘fourth’	tʃəwṭ ^h a	tʃəwṭ ^h i	tʃəwṭ ^h ə	tʃəwṭ ^h ja
‘fifth’	patʃwa	patʃwi	patʃwə	patʃwja

Notice in these examples how the ordinal form agrees with the head noun in terms of gender and number.

71. **ḍusra** ḍiwəs
 ḍusr-a ḍiwəs
 second-ms day
 adj-modsf nm
Second day
72. **ḍusri** suj
 ḍusr-i suj
 second-fs injection
 adj-modsf nf
Second injection

3.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives, as all other modifiers, occur before the head noun in a noun phrase. Adjectives show agreement with the head noun in terms of number and gender. Notice in the table below a few of the adjectives and how they are in agreement with the number and gender of the head noun.

Table (27)

Gloss	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
'big'	moṭa	moṭi	moṭə	moṭja
'small'	ḍak ^h la	ḍak ^h li	ḍak ^h lə	ḍak ^h lja
'good'	tʃaŋgla	tʃaŋgli	tʃaŋglə	tʃaŋglja
'black'	kaḷa	kaḷi	kaḷə	kaḷja

73. **kaḷa** kuṭra
 kaḷ-a kuṭra
 black-ms dog
 adj-modsf nm
black dog
74. **moṭi** baḍli
 moṭ-i baḍli
 big-fs bucket
 adj-modsf nf
big bucket

75. **ḍak^hlja** bəkrija
 ḍak^hl-ja bəkri-ja
 small-fp goat-fp
 adj-modsf nf-ns
small goats

Some adjectives are indeclinable. For eg. *b^hari* ‘beautiful’, *dzaʃə* ‘more’ *muk^hjə* ‘main’, *lal* ‘red’ etc.

76. **lal** k^hurfi
 lal k^hurfi
 red chair
 adj nf
red chair

77. **lal** k^hurfja
 lal k^hurfi-ja
 red chair-fp
 adj nf-ns
red chairs

3.1.5 Nominal Categorizers

3.1.5.1 Augmentatives/Diminutives

In Khandeshi Bhili certain masculine nouns have a corresponding feminine ending form to represent a diminutive version of the masculine noun. Notice the table and a few examples of this phenomenon.

Table (28)

ḍalk ^h a ‘big basket’	ḍalk ^h i ‘small basket’
məɽka ‘big mud pot’	məɽki ‘small mud pot’
aŋgɽ ^h a ‘thumb’	aŋgɽ ^h i ‘small finger’
bəguna ‘big vessel’	bəguni ‘small vessel’

78. **tuna** ḍalk^ha tʃaŋgla səj
 tu-n-a ḍalk^ha tʃaŋgl-a s-j
 2s-gen-ms big.basket good-ms cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nm adj-modsf aux.v-vtns
Your big basket is good.

79. t̪uni d̪alk^hi t̪ʌŋgli s̪ej
 t̪u-n-i d̪alk^hi t̪ʌŋgl-i s-j
 2s-gen-fs small.basket good-fs cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nf adj-modsf aux.v-vtns
 Your small basket is good.
80. m̪ena m̪eɽka p^huɽig̊eja
 mi-n-a m̪eɽka p^huɽ-i-d̪ʒa-j-a
 1s-gen-ms mud.pot break-vst-go-past-3ms
 pron-nc-magr nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
 My mud pot is broken.
81. m̪eni m̪eɽki p^huɽig̊eji
 mi-n-i m̪eɽki p^huɽ-i-d̪ʒa-j-i
 1s-gen-fs small.mud.pot break-vst-go-past-3fs
 pron-nc-magr nf v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
 My small mud pot is broken.

3.2 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 Verb Structure

The Khandeshi Bhil verb structure is as follows:

Verb = Verb stem (Tense/Mood/Aspect) (Agreement)

82. m̪eŋg t̪eji p̪ekk̪ə t̪ʃiɽə **b̪es̪et̪**
 m̪eŋg t̪eji p̪ekk̪-ə t̪ʃiɽa-ə b̪es-t̪
 then there more-mp bird-mp sit-pre.p
 conj adv adj-modsf nm-ns v-vtns
 Then more birds sit there.
83. an̪ə m̪eŋg d̪akt̪er t̪eji **w̪ena**
 an̪ə m̪eŋg d̪akt̪er t̪eji je-n-a
 and then doctor there come-past-3ms
 conj conj nm adv v-vtns-vpstagr
 And then the doctor came there.
84. mi m̪eni an̪der̪ni g^her̪ **d̪ʒasu**
 mi mi-n-i an̪der-n-i g^her̪ d̪ʒa-s-u
 1s 1s-gen-fs daughter-gen-fs house go-fut-1s
 pron pron-nc-magr nf-nc-magr nm v-vtns-vfutagr
 I will go to my daughter's house.

3.2.2 Compound Verbs

3.2.2.1 Verb-Verb Compounds

The verb-verb compound is a construction in Khandeshi Bhili in which multiple verb words are conjoined to form a new complex stem. The first verb, the principle or main

semantic verb, can surface as a verb stem or participial form. The second verb, the auxiliary or grammatical verb is fully inflected and carries the tense, aspect, mode and agreement suffixes. The principle verb is suffixed with the vowels *-i* and *-u* when it occurs as part of a verb-verb compound construction. *-u* is added for inceptive and permissive constructions and the rest take *-i*.

Notice in the following table examples that show the principle verb ‘do’ with different auxiliary verbs. There is a slight meaning difference between the three ‘completed doing’. The first ‘*kəriṭakna*’ is used in the case of surety and confirmed. The second ‘*kəriḍina*’ is used in the case of unsure or doubt. The third ‘*kərilina*’ is used in the condition where the incident should not be done but it is done.

Table (29)

Principle Verbs	Comp. Vowel	Auxiliary Verb	Gloss	Form of 3ms	Meaning
kər ‘do’	-i	ṭak	‘put’	kəriṭakna	Completed doing
		ḍina	‘give’	kəriḍina	Completed doing
		lina	‘take’	kərilina	Completed doing
		wəna	‘come’	kəriwəna	Did and came
	-u	lagna	‘attach’	kərulagna	Start doing (inceptive)
		ḍina	‘give’	kəruḍina	Allow to doing (permissive)

85. anə rodʒ d^hejrɪja **kəṭalidʒaj**
 anə rodʒ d^hejrɪja kəṭal-i-dʒa-j
 and everyday old.man worry-vst-go-pre.s
 conj adv nm v-cptcl-v-vtns
And everyday the old man worries.

86. anə ʈe mur̥ti pudʒa **kərulagnet**
 anə ʈe mur̥ti pudʒa kər-u-lag-n-ʈ
 and dst-3mp idol worship do-vst-incpt-past-3mp
 conj pron-magr nf nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And they started doing idol worship.

3.2.2.2 Conjunct Verbs

The conjunct verb consists of Noun/Adjective + Verb. The following chart is an overview of some of the conjunct verbs in Khandeshi Bhili followed by examples of their use.

Table (30)

Noun / Adjective	Gloss	Verb	Gloss	Form of 3ms	Meaning
rag	‘angry’	je	‘come’	rag je	‘to get angry’
tʃaŋgla	‘good’	wəj	‘happen’	tʃaŋgla wəj	‘to be healed’
witʃar	‘thought’	kər	‘do’	witʃar kər	‘to think’
moʃa	‘big’	wəj	‘happen’	moʃa wəj	‘to become big’
gostə	‘story’	kər	‘do’	gostə kər	‘to talk’
b ^h uk	‘hungry’	lag	‘attach’	b ^h uk lag	‘to feel hungry’
aŋg	‘body’	ɖ ^h ew	‘wash’	aŋg ɖ ^h ew	‘to bathe’
waʃ	‘way’	ɖək ^h	‘see’	waʃ ɖək ^h	‘to wait’

87. məŋg gulbjala **rag wəna**
 məŋg gulbja-la rag je-n-a
 then gulbya-dat anger come-past-3ms
 conj propn-nc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Then Gulbya became angry. (lit. anger came to Gulbya.)

88. t̩ o ɖew mala **tʃaŋgla kərna**
 t̩-o ɖew mi-la tʃaŋgl-a kər-n-a
 dst-3ms god 1s-to good-ms do-past-3ms
 pron-magr nm pron-nc adj-ms v-vtns-vpstagr
That god healed me. (lit. That god did good to me).

3.2.3 Verb Classes

Apart from the transitive, intransitive and ditransitive classes, there are no other verb classes in Khandeshi Bhili. But a few verbs have a suppletive past tense form. Notice the following table and examples how the verb forms are changed when in the past tense.

Table (31)

Verb root	Gloss	Past form
dʒa	‘go’	gɐ-ja
le	‘take’	li-na
ɖe	‘give’	ɖi-na
je	‘come’	wɛ-na

89. mɛŋg gulbja jekɖaw malegawna bɛɖʒarmə **gɛja**
 mɛŋg gulbja jekɖaw malegaw-n-a bɛɖʒar-mə dʒa-j-a
 then gulbya once malegaon-gen-ms market-in go-past-3ms
 conj propn adv propn-nc-magr nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Then Gulbya went to Malegaon market once.
90. mɛŋg sakrila jek wag^h maʃtɛr **wɛna**
 mɛŋg sakri-la jek wag^h maʃtɛr je-n-a
 then sakri-to one wagh teacher come-past-3ms
 conj propn-nc num propn nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Then a Wagh teacher came to Sakri.

Although not exactly a verb class, there are a few verbs which join together with nouns to form new verbs which require the sentence subject to be dative case. The verb then agrees with the noun. Notice in the example below how the verbs do not agree with the subject which takes dative case but with the conjoined noun.

91. t̥o porjala pɛkki **b^huk lagni**
 t̥-o porja-la pɛkk-i b^huk lag-n-i
 dst-3ms boy-dat more-fs hunger attach-past-3fs
 dem-magr nm-nc adj-ms nf v-vtns-vpstagr
That boy felt very hungry. (lit. More hunger attached to the boy.)
92. t̥e poresla pɛkki **b^huk lagni**
 t̥-e porja-e-s-la pɛkk-i b^huk lag-n-i
 dst-3mp boy-mp-p-dat more-fs hunger attach-past-3fs
 dem-magr nm-ns-ns-nc adj-ms nf v-vtns-vpstagr
Those boys felt very hungry. (lit. More hunger attached to the boys)
93. lɛgɛɖʒ mɛna ɖoɭala **tʃɛkkɛr wɛna**
 lɛgɛɖʒ mi-n-a ɖoɭa-la tʃɛkkɛr je-n-a
 at.once 1s-gen-ms eye-dat giddiness come-past-3ms
 adv pron-nc-magr nm-nc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
At once I felt giddiness. (lit. At once round came to my eye.)

3.2.4 Agreement

As discussed above, verbs in Khandeshi Bhili agree in terms of person and number with the subject of the sentence. The agreement suffixes are listed in the following tables.

Notice in this table that for the present tense, there are only two agreement suffixes: *-j*, for singular subjects (which is *-ɸj* when the verb stem ends in a consonant) and *-t̥* for plural subjects.

Table (32)

Present tense (vpreagr)	
Singular	Plural
-j	-t̥

The following table shows examples of these with the different person-number permutations:

Table (33)

Present Tense	Verb ending with a consonant		Verb ending with a vowel	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	mi kər-ɸj 1s do-pre.s 'I do'	amə kər-ɸt̥ 1p do-pre.p 'We do'	mi k ^h a-j 1s eat-pre.s 'I eat'	amə k ^h a-t̥ 1p eat-pre.p 'We eat'
2	t̥u kər-ɸj 2s do-pre.s 'You do'	t̥umə kər-ɸt̥ 2p do-pre.p 'You (pl) do'	t̥u k ^h a-j 2s eat-pre.s 'You eat'	t̥umə k ^h a-t̥ 2p eat-pre.p 'You (pl) eat'
3	t̥o kər-ɸj 3ms do-pre.s 'He does'	t̥e kər-ɸt̥ 3mp do-pre.p 'They do'	t̥o k ^h a-j 3ms eat-pre.s 'He eats'	t̥e k ^h a-t̥ 3mp eat-pre.p 'They eat'
	t̥i kər-ɸj 3fs do-pre.s 'She does'	t̥ja kər-ɸt̥ 3fp do-pre.p 'They (f) do'	t̥i k ^h a-j 3fs eat-pre.s 'She eats'	t̥ja k ^h a-t̥ 3fp eat-pre.p 'They (f) eat'

In the past tense, Khandeshi Bhili makes a gender distinction also for third person subjects, masculine (ms and mp) versus feminine (fs and fp).

Table (34)

Past Tense (vpstagr)		
Past	Singular	Plural
1		
2	-a	-eṭ
3m		
3f	-i	-jaṭ

The following table shows examples of these with the different person-number permutations:

Table (35)

Past Tense	Verb ending with a consonant		Verb ending with a vowel	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	mi kər-n-a 1s do-past-s 'I did'	amə kər-n-eṭ 1p do-past-p 'We did'	mi k ^h a-n-a 1s eat-past-s 'I ate'	amə k ^h a-n-eṭ 1p eat-past-p 'We ate'
2	t̥u kər-n-a 2s do-past-s 'You did'	t̥umə kər-n-eṭ 2p do-past-p 'You (pl) did'	t̥u k ^h a-n-a 2s eat-past.s 'You ate'	t̥umə k ^h a-n-eṭ 2p eat-past-p 'You (pl) ate'
3	m t̥o kər-n-a 3ms do-past-3ms 'He did'	t̥e kər-n-eṭ 3mp do-past-3mp 'They did'	t̥o k ^h a-n-a 3ms eat-past-3ms 'he ate'	t̥e k ^h a-n-eṭ 3mp eat-past-3mp 'They ate'
	f t̥i kər-n-i 3fs do-past-3fs 'She did'	t̥ja kər-n-jaṭ 3fp do-past-3fp 'They (f) did'	t̥i k ^h a-n-i 3fs eat-past-3fs 'She ate'	t̥ja k ^h a-n-jaṭ 3fp eat-past-3fp 'They (f) ate'

In the future tense, the agreement pattern makes a distinction for person and number as shown in this chart:

Table (36)

Future Tense (vfutagr)		
Future	Singular	Plural
1	-u	-uṭ
2	-i	-aṭ
3	-i	-iṭ

The following table shows examples of these with the different person-number permutations:

Table (37)

Future Tense	Verb ending with a consonant		Verb ending with a vowel	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	mi kər-s-u 1s do-fut-1s 'I will do'	amə kər-s-uṭ 1p do-fut-1p.excl 'We will do' apun kər-uṭ 1p do-1p.incl 'We will do'	mi k ^h a-s-u 1s eat-fut-1s 'I will eat'	amə k ^h a-s-uṭ 1p eat-fut-1p.excl 'We will eat' apun k ^h a-uṭ 1p eat-1p.incl 'We will eat'
2	ṭu kər-s-i 2s do-fut-2s 'You will do'	ṭumə kər-s-aṭ 2p do-fut-2p 'You(pl) will do'	ṭu k ^h a-s-i 2s eat-fut-2s 'You will eat'	ṭumə k ^h a-s-aṭ 2p eat-fut-2p 'You(pl) will eat'
3	ṭo kər-j-i 3ms do-fut-3s 'He will do'	ṭe kər-j-iṭ 3mp do-fut-3p 'They will'	ṭo k ^h a-j-i 3ms eat-fut-3s 'he will eat'	ṭe k ^h a-j-iṭ 3mp eat-fut-3p 'They will eat'

	ti kər-j-i	tja kər-j-it̚	ti k ^h a-j-i	tja k ^h a-j-it̚
	3fs do-fut-3s	3fp do-fut-3p	3fs eat-fut-3s	3fp eat-fut-3p
	‘She will do’	‘They (f) will do’	‘She will eat’	‘They (f) will eat’

Notice above that the future tense morpheme is unmarked when occurring with the 1st person plural inclusive agreement suffix.

Notice in the following examples how, unlike Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages, there is person and number agreement between the verb and subject even in the past tense/perfective aspect.

94. to **porja** t̚eni majla gaj **dina**
t̚-o porja t̚-o-n-i maj-la gaj d̚e-n-a
dst-3ms boy dst-3ms-gen-fs mother-acc cow give-past-3ms
dem-magr nm pron-magr-nc-magr nf-nc nf v-vtns-vpstagr
That boy gave a cow to his mother.

95. te **setkəri** dukandarla gəwu **iknet̚**
t̚-e setkəri dukandar-la gəwu ik-n-et̚
dst-3mp farmer shopkeeper-acc wheat sell-past-3mp
dem-magr nm nm-nc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Those farmers sold the wheat to the shopkeeper.

3.2.5 TAM-System

3.2.5.1 Tense

There are three tenses in Khandeshi Bhili. They are present tense, past tense and future tense. They each have a distinct subject agreement pattern as shown in the following table.

Table (38)

Tense		Agreement
Present Tense		Number
Past Tense	1 st 2 nd	Number
	3 rd	Gender + Number
Future Tense		Person + Number

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3.2.5.1.1 Present Tense

The present tense in Khandeshi Bhili is the unmarked tense and the verb stem only takes number agreement suffixes. The agreement marker in the present tense distinguishes only the number of the subject; not gender. The number suffixes, *-j* for singular and *-t* for plural, immediately follow the verb stem. Notice in the examples below how these two suffixes work.

96. mɛŋg jek məjsi tʃarnar **b^hetɛj** t̩s-la
 mɛŋg jek məjsi tʃar-nar b^het-j t̩-e-s-la
 then one buffalo make.graze-person meet-pre.s dst-3mp-p-acc
 conj num nf v-nc v-vtns pron-magr-ns-nc
Then a buffalo grazing boy meets them.
97. mɛŋg t̩ɛji pɛkkə tʃiɾə **bɛsɛt**
 mɛŋg t̩ɛji pɛkk-ə tʃiɾa-ə bɛs-t̩
 then there more-mp bird-mp sit-pre.p
 conj adv adj-ms nm-ns v-vtns
Then more birds sit there.
98. anə rodʒ d^hɛjɾija **kɛtəlɪdʒaj**
 anə rodʒ d^hɛjɾija kɛtəl-i-dʒa-j
 and everyday old.man worry-vst-go-pre.s
 conj adv nm v-cptcl-v-vtns
And everyday the old man worries.

3.2.5.1.2 Past Tense

The past tense in Khandeshi Bhili is marked on all verb roots except ‘go’ as the suffix *-n*. With ‘go’ the past morpheme has the allomorph *-j*. Unlike the present tense situation, the agreement suffixes that co-occur with the past tense morpheme distinguish for gender also but only in the third person forms. Refer to the small table of past tense in section 3.2.4 above for the agreement suffixes for the past tense. The agreement suffixes follow the past tense suffix. Notice in the examples below how the suffixes are marked.

99. mɛŋg sakrila jek wag^h maʃtɛr **wɛna**
 mɛŋg sakri-la jek wag^h maʃtɛr je-n-a
 then sakri-to one wagh teacher come-past-3ms
 conj propn-nc num propn nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Then a Wagh teacher came to Sakri.
100. mi ak^ha b^hat̩ **k^hailina**
 mi ak^h-a b^hat̩ k^ha-i-li-n-a
 1s all-ms cooked.rice eat-vst-take-past-1ms
 pron adj-magr nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
I ate all the rice.

101. anə tɛ tɛʒi g^hɛr **bandnet**
 anə tɛ tɛʒi g^hɛr band-n-ɛt
 and dst-3mp there house build-past-3mp
 conj pron-magr loc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
And they built house there.
102. anə ti baji mala **d^hɛrilini**
 anə ti baji mi-la d^hɛr-i-li-n-i
 and dst-3fs woman 1s-acc hold-vst-take-past-3fs
 conj dem-magr nf pron-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And that woman held me.
103. anə tja baja mala **d^hɛrilinjat**
 anə tja baji-a mi-la d^hɛr-i-li-n-jat
 and dst-3fp woman-mp 1s-acc hold-vst-take-past-3fp
 conj dem-magr nf-ns pron-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And those women held me.

3.2.5.1.3 Future Tense

The future tense in Khandeshi Bhili is marked by the future suffix *-s* and its allomorph *-j*. *-s* occurs with 1st and 2nd person subjects and *-j* occurs with 3rd person subjects. Refer to the small table of future tense in the “Agreement” section above for the agreement suffixes for the future tense. In the future tense, the agreement suffixes distinguish for the person and number of the subject. Notice in the examples below how these suffixes are marked.

104. mi mɛni aŋɖɛrni g^hɛr **dʒasu**
 mi mi-n-i aŋɖɛr-n-i g^hɛr dʒa-s-u
 1s 1s-gen-fs daughter-gen-fs house go-fut-1s
 pron pron-nc-magr nf-nc-magr nm v-vtns-vfutagr
I will go to my daughter's house.
105. adʒ apun malegawla **dʒaut**
 adʒ apun malegaw-la dʒa-uʈ
 today 1p.incl malegaon-to go-1p.incl
 adv pron propn-nc v-vfutagr
Today we will go to Malegaon.
106. sɛkaɭ amə g^hɛrmə b^hakɛr **k^hasut**
 sɛkaɭ amə g^hɛr-mə b^hakɛr k^ha-s-uʈ
 tomorrow 1p.excl house-in bread eat-fut-1p.excl
 adv pron nm-nc nm v-vtns-vfutagr
Tomorrow we will eat bread in house.

107. d^hejtija gawmə pudza **kərji**
 d^hejtija gaw-mə pudza kər-j-i
 old.man village-in worship do-fut-3s
 nm nm-nc nm v-vtns-vfutagr
The old man will worship in the village.
108. t_i baji wawərmə kam **kərji**
 t_i-i baji wawər-mə kam kər-j-i
 dst-3fs woman field-in work do-fut-3s
 dem-magr nf nm-nc nm v-vtns-vfutagr
That woman will work in the field.
109. t_e adʒ sakri **dʒajit**
 t_e-e adʒ sakri dʒa-j-it
 dst-3mp today sakri go-fut-3pl
 pron-magr adv propn v-vtns-vfutagr
They will go to Sakri today.

3.2.5.2 Aspect

The aspects grammaticalized in Khandeshi Bhili are habitual, continuative, perfective and inceptive. Several of these can also co-occur with different tense combinations as shown in the following table.

Table (39)

Aspect	Present	Past
Habitual Aspect		v- <i>t</i> -vpstagr
Continuative Aspect	vst- <i>i-rən</i> -vpstagr	vst- <i>i-rən</i> -vpstagr-vtns [sg] vst- <i>i-rən</i> -vtns [pl]-vpstagr
Perfect Aspect	vst-asp cop-vtns	vst-asp cop-vtns
Inceptive Aspect	vst-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpreagr	vst-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr

3.2.5.2.1 Habitual

Habitual aspect is used to express an action that happens regularly around a deistic center, past, present or future. Although Khandeshi Bhil has no morpheme, as such, for present habitual, such an aspect/tense combination may be expressed by the simple present tense construction as described in 3.2.5.1.1. However Khandeshi Bhili does have a morpheme for past habitual. Past habitual is used to express an action that happened regularly in the past. The past habitual suffix *-t* is marked in the verb followed by the gender and number agreement suffix corresponding to the subject of

the sentence, which is the same as the agreement pattern as discussed above for Past tense.

110. maŋgla salla mi rodʒ wawərmə kam **kərta**
 maŋgla sal-la mi rodʒ wawər-mə kam kər-t-a
 last year-to 1s everyday field-in work do-phab-1ms
 adj nm-nc pron adv nm-nc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Last year I used to work in field everyday.
111. bəkri haj dʒagamə **tʃərɪ**
 bəkri haj dʒaga-mə tʃər-t-i
 goat this place-in graze-phab-3fs
 nf dem nf-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
The goat used to graze in this place.
112. t̩e amna gawmə **jeɹɹ**
 t̩-e amə-n-a gaw-mə je-t̩-ɹɹ
 dst-3mp 1p.excl-gen-ms village-in come-phab-3mp
 pron-magr pron-nc-magr nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
They used to come to our village.
113. hja pori salmə **dʒatjaɹ**
 haji-ja por-i sal-mə dʒa-t̩-jaɹ
 this-3fp girl-fp school-in go-phab-3fp
 dem-magr nf-magr nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
These girls used to go to school.

3.2.5.2.2 Continuative

The continuative aspect can be expressed in either the present or past tense.

3.2.5.2.2.1 Present Continuative

The present continuative aspect in Khandeshi Bhili is expressed as a compound verb construction. The principle verb is in the compound particle form with the *-i* compounding suffix, followed by the verb *rəna* ‘stay’ in its past tense form, followed by a gender-number past tense agreement suffix. This construction can be expressed by the following formula.

verb-*i*-CONT-vpstagr

Where CONT is the verb *rə* ‘stay’ and the past tense suffix *-n*. Note that even though this is for present tense, because the auxiliary verb is in the past tense form, the past tense agreement suffixes are used.

114. wag^h kolani maŋgə **pə|irena**
 wag^h kola-n-i maŋgə pə|_i-rən-a
 tiger fox-gen-fp behind run-vst-cont-3ms
 nm nm-nc-magr nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vpstagr
The tiger is running behind the fox.
115. ʈi baji nədila **dʒaireni**
 ʈ-i baji nəd_i-la dʒa-i-rən-i
 dst-3fs woman river-to go-vst-cont-3fs
 dem-magr nf nf-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vpstagr
That woman is going to the river.
116. amə wawərna kam **kərireneʈ**
 amə wawər-n-a kam kər-i-rən-əʈ
 1p.excl field-gen-ms work do-vst-cont-2mp
 pron nm-nc-magr nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vpstagr
We are doing the field work.

3.2.5.2.2 Past Continuative

The past continuative aspect in Khandeshi Bhili is expressed by the same construction as above with the addition of another past tense morpheme *-l*. The additional past tense marker follows the agreement suffixes for singular subjects, but for plural subjects, the tense marker follows the auxiliary verb and comes before the agreement suffix.

In the following two examples of singular subjects, notice that the *-l* ‘past marker’ comes last.

117. mi ʈə ʈəji siʈəsaʈəʈla **dək^hirenal**
 mi ʈə ʈəji siʈəsaʈəʈ-la dək^h-i-rən-a-l
 1s disc there sitadsatad-acc see-vst-cont-1ms-past
 pron ptcl loc propn-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vpstagr-vtns
I was seeing to Sitadsatad there.
118. ʈəji ʈi d^hejʈi aʃi **səngirenil**
 ʈəji ʈ-i d^hejʈi aʃ-i səŋg-i-rən-i-l
 there dst-3fs old.woman like.this-fs tell-vst-cont-3fs-past
 loc dem-magr nf adj-ms v-cptcl-aux.v-vpstagr-vtns
There that old woman was telling like this.

In the following two examples of plural subjects, notice that the *-l* ‘past marker’ comes between CONT and verb agreement.

119. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}} \text{mans}\ddot{\text{ə}} \text{kald}\ddot{\text{i}} \text{gaw} \text{d}\ddot{\text{z}}\text{airenlet}$
 $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}} \quad \text{manus-}\ddot{\text{ə}} \quad \text{kald}\ddot{\text{i}} \quad \text{gaw} \quad \text{d}\ddot{\text{z}}\text{a-i-r}\ddot{\text{en-l-}}\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\ddot{\text{t}}$
 dst-3mp man-mp yesterday village go-vst-cont-past-3mp
 dem-magr nm-magr adv nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Those people were going to village yesterday.
120. $\text{m}\ddot{\text{en}}\text{ja} \text{bejini} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{er} \text{sap} \text{k}\ddot{\text{er}}\text{irenljat}$
 $\text{mi-n-ja} \quad \text{bejin-i} \quad \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{er} \quad \text{sap} \quad \text{k}\ddot{\text{er-i-r}}\ddot{\text{en-l-}}\text{ja}\ddot{\text{t}}$
 1s-gen-3fp sister-fp house clean do-vst-cont-past-3fp
 pron-nc-magr nf-magr nm nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
My sisters were cleaning the house.

3.2.5.2.3 Perfect Aspect

The perfect aspect combines with both present or past tense auxiliaries to form present and past perfect constructions.

3.2.5.2.3.1 Present Perfect

Present perfect in Khandeshi Bhili is formed with a principle verb followed by perfect suffix *-el*, which is followed by the present tense copula. The present tense copula agrees with the subject in terms of number. This can be expressed by the following formula:

verb-PERF cop

Where cop functions as a tense auxiliary.

121. $\text{mi} \text{haw} \text{pust}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{k} \text{m}\ddot{\text{en}}\text{i} \text{b}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{jinla} \text{d}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{el} \text{s}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{j}$
 $\text{mi} \quad \text{haw} \quad \text{pust}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{k} \quad \text{mi-n-i} \quad \text{b}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{jin-la} \quad \text{d}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{-el} \quad \text{s-j}$
 1s this book 1s-gen-fs sister-acc give-perf cop-pre.s
 pron dem nm pron-nc-magr nm-nc v-asp aux.v-vtns
I have given this book to my sister.
122. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{m}\ddot{\text{ə}} \text{kald}\ddot{\text{i}} \text{amna} \text{kam} \text{k}\ddot{\text{er}}\text{el} \text{s}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{t}$
 $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{m}\ddot{\text{ə}} \quad \text{kald}\ddot{\text{i}} \quad \text{am}\ddot{\text{ə-n-a}} \quad \text{kam} \quad \text{k}\ddot{\text{er-el}} \quad \text{s-t}\ddot{\text{e}}\ddot{\text{t}}$
 2p yesterday 1p.excl-gen-ms work do-perf cop-pre.p
 pron adv pron-nc-magr nm v-asp aux.v-vtns
Yesterday you have done our work.
123. $\text{amni} \text{gaj} \text{jek} \text{wasru} \text{d}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{el} \text{s}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{j}$
 $\text{am}\ddot{\text{ə-n-i}} \quad \text{gaj} \quad \text{jek} \quad \text{wasru} \quad \text{d}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{-el} \quad \text{s-j}$
 1p.excl-gen-fs cow one calf give-perf cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nf num nm v-asp aux.v-vtns
Our cow has given a calf.

3.2.5.2.3.2 Past Perfect

Past perfect is formed similarly, but with the past tense copula instead of the present tense one. The past tense copula agrees with the subject in terms of number and gender.

124. mi maŋgla salla nasik **dʒael wɛtəl**
 mi maŋgla sal-la nasik dʒa-el wɛ-t-al
 1s last year-to nasik go-perf cop-phab-ms
 pron adj nm-nc propn v-asp aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Last year I had gone to Nasik.
125. tɔ dʒ^haɾpɛn jek kɛjri **pɛɾel wɛtɪl**
 tɔ dʒ^haɾ-pɛn jek kɛjri pɛɾ-el wɛ-t-il
 dst-3ms tree-near one mango fall-perf cop-phab-fs
 dem-magr nm-nc num nf v-asp aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
One mango had fallen near that tree.
126. amna gawnə mansə wawɛrna kam **kɛrel wɛtɪlɛt**
 amə-n-a gaw-n-ə manus-ə wawɛr-n-a kam
 1p.excl-gen-ms village-gen-mp man-mp field-gen-ms work
 pron-nc-magr nm-nc-magr nm-ns nm-nc-magr nm

 kɛr-el wɛ-t-lɛt
 do-perf cop-phab-mp
 v-asp aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
The people of our village had done the field work.
127. bɛkrija dʒ^haɾna pala **k^hael wɛtɪljat**
 bɛkri-ja dʒ^haɾ-n-a pala k^ha-el wɛ-t-ljat
 goat-fp tree-gen-ms leaves eat-perf cop-phab-fp
 nf-ns nm-nc-magr nm v-asp aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
The goats had eaten the leaves of the three.

3.2.5.2.4 Inceptive Aspect

The inceptive aspect in Khandeshi Bhili is used when the speaker wants to focus on the beginning of an event or to express an event as begun but not completed. This construction is formed by the principle verb in the infinitive form followed by the compounded auxiliary verb *lag* ‘incept’. The compounding vowel *-u* occurs after the principle verb and before the ‘incept’ auxiliary verb. The inceptive verb is then inflected for tense and agreement with the subject. Consider these examples.

128. tɔ porja **sangulagna** mala ɖaktɛɾpɛn le
 tɔ porja sang-u-lag-n-a mi-la ɖaktɛɾ-pɛn le
 then boy tell-vst-incpt-past-3ms 1s-dat doctor-to take
 conj nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr pron-nc nm-nc v
Then the boy started telling take me to the doctor.

129. mɛŋg t̪i t̪ɛji **rɛhulagni**
 mɛŋg t̪-i t̪ɛji rɛh-u-lag-n-i
 then dst-3fs there stay-vst-incept-past-3fs
 conj pron-magr loc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Then she started to stay there.
130. anə t̪e mur̪ti pudʒa **kɛrulagnet**
 anə t̪-e mur̪ti pudʒa kɛr-u-lag-n-t̪
 and dst-3mp idol worship do-vst-incpt-past-3mp
 conj pron-magr nf nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And they started worshipping idol.

3.2.5.3 Mode

Khandeshi Bhili has eight modes. These are discussed below.

3.2.5.3.1 The Imperative Mode

The imperative mode is used to express the command or advice giving attitude of the speaker. In Khandeshi Bhili, the unmarked imperative mode is expressed as the uninflected verb stem forms. The command or advice may be strengthened by adding the emphatic imperative marker *-dʒ* to the verb stem. This emphatic imperative marker is then followed by an agreement suffix corresponding to the number of the 2nd person hearer, *-i* for singular and *-a* for plural. There is no honorific distinction made in Khandeshi Bhili as with other Indo-Aryan languages.

131. t̪una t̪oŋd t̪ʃaŋgla **ɖ^hɛw**
 t̪u-n-a t̪oŋd t̪ʃaŋg-l-a ɖ^hɛw
 2s-gen-ms face good-ms wash
 pron-nc-magr nm adj-ms v
Wash your face well.
132. t̪u ɖɛr rodʒ kɛʃabi t̪oŋd **ɖ^hɛw-dʒ-i**
 t̪u ɖɛr rodʒ kɛʃabi t̪oŋd ɖ^hɛw-dʒ-i
 2s every day anyhow face wash-emph-s
 pron adj n adv nm v-vtam-vagr
Anyhow everyday you wash (your) face.
133. ɖɛr rodʒ sɛkasla ut̪^ha nɛŋtɛr **ɖat̪ g^hɛs**
 ɖɛr rodʒ sɛkas-la ut̪^h-a nɛŋtɛr ɖat̪ g^hɛs
 every day morning-to rise-ts after tooth brush
 adj n nm-nc v-vnf adv nm v
Everyday after getting up brush (your) teeth.
134. g^hɛrna saman niʃ **rɛk^hdʒi**
 g^hɛr-n-a saman niʃ rɛk^h-dʒ-i
 house-gen-ms thing proper keep-emph-s
 nm-nc-magr nm adj v-vtam-vagr
Keep the things of the house properly.

135. adʒ ʈumə haj kam **kərdʒa**
 adʒ ʈumə haj kam kər-dʒ-a
 today 2p this work do-emph-p
 adv pron dem nm v-vtam-vagr
You do this work today.

3.2.5.3.1.1 Negative Imperative

The negative imperative form in Khandeshi Bhili is express as the verb stem with the non-finite compounding vowel suffix *-u*. This form of the verb is then followed by the negative word *noko*. Notice the following contrastive examples the particle *-u* occurs only in the negative imperative mode, not in the positive counterpart.

136. səkaʎ unmə dʒastə **p^hiru noko**
 səkaʎ un-mə dʒastə p^hir-u noko
 tomorrow sunshine-in more roam-vst not
 adv nm-nc adj v-cptcl neg
Do not roam more in sunshine tomorrow.

137. səkaʎ unmə dʒastə p^hir
 səkaʎ un-mə dʒastə p^hir
 tomorrow sunshine-in more roam
 adv nm-nc adj v
Roam more in the sunshine tomorrow.

3.2.5.3.2 Deontic Mode

The deontic mode refers to an obligatory situation. In Khandeshi Bhili the subject is in the dative case for this construction. The verb roots carry the non-finite suffix *-na*. The auxiliary verb *pəʃi* indicating the necessity is added after the main verb. Consider these examples.

138. daktər saŋgna ʈela ʈəowis ʈas **rəhna pəʃi**
 daktər saŋg-n-a ʈ-o-la ʈəowis ʈas rəh-na pəʃi
 doctor tell-past-3ms dst-3ms-dat twenty.four hour stay-deot have.to
 nm v-vtns-vpstagr pron-magr-nc num nm v-vtam aux.v
The doctor said, “(He) has to stay for 24 hours”.

To show strengthen obligation the emphatic clitic *-dʒ* can be added to the verb.

139. səkaʎ mala ʈuna g^hərmə **k^hanadʒ pəʃi**
 səkaʎ mi-la ʈu-n-a g^hər-mə k^ha-na-dʒ pəʃi
 tomorrow 1s-dat 2s-gen-ms house-in eat-deot-emph have.to
 adv pron-nc pron-nc-magr nm-nc v-vtam-vtam aux.v
Tomorrow I must eat in your house.

3.2.5.3.3 Jussive Mode

The jussive mode refers to an action which is desirous or involves social or internal compulsion. The jussive mode in Khandeshi Bhili is expressed by the verb stem with the infinitive suffix *-wa*, followed by the dative case marker *-la*. The auxiliary verb *pajdʒe* indicating the ‘desire’ or ‘need’ is added after the main verb. Consider these examples.

140. haj por tʃaŋgli **natʃala pajdʒe**
 haj por tʃaŋgl-i natʃ-ala pajdʒe
 this girl good-fs dance-inf need
 dem nf adj-ms n-vnf aux.v
This girl needs to dance well.
141. mi t̄ena g^hər **dʒawala pajdʒe**
 mi t̄-o-n-a g^hər dʒa-wala pajdʒe
 1s dst-3ms-gen-ms house go-inf need
 pron pron-magr-nc-magr nm v-vnf aux.v
I need to go to their house.

3.2.5.3.4 Intentional Mode

The intentional mode shows the intention to progress in the action of the speaker. For this mode, the verbs carry the suffix *-nar*. There are present and past tense forms of the intentional mode in Khandeshi Bhili. The present tense copula *s* follows the verb to form the present tense intentional mode. The intentional for mode of the verb also carries an agreement suffix for plural number of the subject. Notice the examples below.

142. haj porja sa|mə **dʒanar səj**
 haj porja sa|mə dʒa-nar s-j
 this boy school-in go-inten cop-pre.s
 dem nm nm-nc v-vtam aux.v-vtns
This boy intends to go to school.
143. t̄e wawərmə kam **kərnarə sət̄**
 t̄-e wawər-mə kam kər-nar-ə s-t̄
 pron-3mp field-in work do-inten-mp cop-pre.p
 dst-magr nm-nc nm v-vm-magr aux.v-vtns
They intend to work in the field.

The past intentional mode in Khandeshi Bhili shows the intention the speaker was having to progress in an action in the past. The form is the same except that the past tense copula *wə* is used. The intentional mode of the verb also carries an agreement suffix for plural number of the subject. Notice the examples below.

144. mi adʒ d̥əhiwel **dʒanar wetal**
 mi adʒ d̥əhiwel dʒa-nar wə-t̥-al
 1s today dahivel go-inten cop-phab-ms
 pron adv proprn v-vtam aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
I was supposed to go to Dahivel.
145. məni maj kəp̥rə **d̥h̥əwnar wetil**
 mi-n-i maj kəp̥r-ə d̥h̥əw-nar wə-t̥-il
 1s-gen-fs mother cloth-mp wash-inten cop-phab-fs
 pron-nc-magr nf nm-magr v-vtam aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
My mother was supposed to wash the clothes.
146. kal̥di amə wawər-mə kam **kərnarə wetlet̥**
 kal̥di amə wawər-mə kam kər-nar-ə wə-t̥-lət̥
 yesterday 1p.excl field-in work do-inten-mp cop-phab-mp
 adv pron nm-nc nm v-vtam-magr aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Yesterday we were supposed to work in the field.

3.2.5.3.5 Permissive

The permissive construction in Khandeshi Bhili is used to request permission to carry out some action. The one to receive the permission is in dative case. The construction is formed by the principle verb in the infinitive form followed by an auxiliary verb *d̥e* ‘perm’ which happens to be the same as the verb ‘give’. The compounding vowel *-u* is used between the principle verb and the auxiliary verb. Consider these examples.

147. mala adʒ g̥h̥ər **dʒaude**
 mi-la adʒ g̥h̥ər dʒa-u-d̥e
 1s-dat today house go-ptcl-perm
 pron-nc adv nm v-vafcptcl-aux.v
He let me go to home today.
148. t̥o mala adʒ g̥h̥ər **dʒaudina**
 t̥-o mi-la adʒ g̥h̥ər dʒa-u-d̥e-n-a
 dst-3ms 1s-dat today house go-vst-perm-past-3ms
 pron-magr pron-nc adv nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
He let me go to home today.

3.2.5.3.6 Subjunctive Mode

The subjunctive mode is used in several types of clause combination in Khandeshi Bhil. For example, it is used for a hypothetical construction involving the subordinate particles *naʈə* ‘otherwise’ and *t̥ə* ‘then’ at the beginning of the second clause and the subjunctive mode marker *-ta* on the finite verb of the second clause.

149. at^{hi} pani pəɾna na natə tumla pani b^hetidzata
 at^{hi} pani pəɾ-n-a na natə tumə-la pani
 here rain fall-past-3ms no otherwise 2p-acc water
 loc nm v-vtns-vpstagr neg conj pron-nc nm
 b^het-i-dza-ta
 get-vst-go-subj
 v-cptcl-aux.v-vm
Here rain did not fall otherwise you would have got the water.

It is also used on the verbs of both clauses of the contrary-to-fact construction. Consider this example.

150. dʒər tu at^{hi} jeɾa tə mi tula bolta
 dʒər tu at^{hi} je-ta tə mi tu-la bol-ta
 if 2s here come-subj then 1s 2s-acc tell-subj
 conj pron loc v-vm conj pron pron-nc v-vm
If you had come here I would have told you.

3.2.6 Derivational Morphology

3.2.6.1 Valence Changing Operations

3.2.6.1.1 Causation

Khandeshi Bhili uses a morphological operation to increase the valence of a verb by the addition of a causative suffix on the verb root. The causative suffix is *-aɾ*. All normal tense, aspect and mode suffixation can occur after the causative suffix. Some of the causative forms are shown in the table.

Table (40)

Verb Roots	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
dək ^h	‘see’	dək ^h aɾ	‘cause to see’
pəl	‘run’	pəlaɾ	‘cause to run’
nidʒ	‘sleep’	nidʒaɾ	‘cause to sleep’
dʒew	‘eat’	dʒewaɾ	‘cause to eat’
natʃ	‘dance’	natʃaɾ	‘cause to dance’
bəs	‘sit’	bəsaɾ	‘cause to sit’
ɖe	‘give’	ɖewaɾ	‘making to give’
k ^h a	‘eat’	k ^h awaɾ	‘making to eat’

pi	‘drink’	piwaṛ	‘making to drink’
ḍə	‘wash’	ḍəwaṛ	‘making to wash’

151. mi mēna **porjala** g^hermə **nidzarna**
 mi mi-n-a porja-la g^her-mə nidz-aṛ-n-a
 []causer []bene
 1s 1s-gen-ms son-acc house-in sleep-caus-past-1ms
 pron pron-nc-magr nm-nc nm-nc v-vm-vtns-vpstagr
I had my son to sleep in the house.

152. ṭe gawnə lokə **mala** pani **piwarṇet**
 ṭ-e gaw-n-ə lok-ə mi-la pani
 []causer []causee, bene
 dem-3mp village-gen-mp people-mp 1s-acc water
 dst-magr nm-nc-magr nm-magr pron-nc nm
 pi-waṛ-n-ṭ
 drink-caus-past-3mp
 v-vm-vtns-vpstagr
Those village people made me drink the water.

Notice in these examples, the beneficiary of the action is marked with the dative case marker *-la*.

153. mi mēni **porla** anil g^haji **dzewaṛna**
 mi mi-n-i por-la anil g^haji
 []causer []bene []causee
 1s 1s-gen-fs daughter-acc anil by
 pron pron-nc-magr nf-nc propn nc
 dzew-aṛ-n-a
 eat-caus-past-1ms
 v-vm-vtns-vpstagr
I had Anil feed my daughter.

Notice in this example that when a nominal is a causee and not also the beneficiary, it is followed by *g^haji* ‘by’.

Notice the above first two examples, the causee and beneficiary is marked with the accusative marker *-la*. If a separate causee is added by a change in valence, then it is followed by the postposition *g^haji*. Consider the above third example.

3.2.6.2 Deriving Verbs from Other Parts of Speech

3.2.6.2.1 Deriving Verbs from Noun

Some Khandeshi Bhili nouns can become verbs simply by adding the tense and agreement markers to the noun stem. Notice in the table how the nouns in the first column become a verb when the tense and agreement suffixes are added.

Table (41)

Noun	Gloss	Derived Verb	Gloss
nidʒ	‘sleep’	ʈo nidʒ-n-a 3ms sleep-past-3ms	‘he slept’
dʒəlmə	‘birth’	ʈo dʒəlmə-na 3ms born-past-3ms	‘he was born’
tʃal	‘walking’	ʈo tʃal-na 3ms walk-past-3ms	‘he walked’

154. mala kalɖi raɖla pəkki tʃaŋgli **nidʒ weni**
 mi-la kalɖi raɖ-la pəkki-i tʃaŋgl-i nidʒ je-n-i
 1s-dat yesterday night-acc more-fs good-fs sleep come-past-3fs
 pron-nc adv n-nc adj-ms adj-ms nf v-vtns-vpstagr
Yesterday night I slept well (lit. very good sleep came to me).

Notice the noun *nidʒ* ‘sleep’ in the above example becomes a verb with verbal inflections in the following example.

155. məŋg tɛ tɛʒi raɖla **nidʒnɛt**
 məŋg tɛ tɛʒi raɖ-la nidʒ-n-ɛt
 then dst-3mp there night-acc sleep-past-3mp
 conj pron-magr loc nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Then they slept there at night.

156. harinni **tʃal** pəkki b^hari səj
 harin-n-i tʃal pəkki-i b^hari s-j
 deer-gen-fs walk more-fs beautiful cop-pre.s
 nf-nc-magr nf adj-ms adj aux.v-vtns
The walking of deer is very beautiful.

Notice the noun *tʃal* ‘walk’ in the above example becomes a verb with verbal inflections in the following example.

157. anə ʔo bi dʰɛjʔini maŋgə **tʃalna**
 anə ʔ-o bi dʰɛjʔi-n-i maŋgə tʃal-n-a
 and dst-3ms also old.woman-gen-fs behind walk-past-3ms
 conj pron-magr adv nf-nc-magr nc v-vtns-vpstagr
And he also walked behind the old woman.

3.2.6.3 Verbal Nominalization (Gerund Formation)

In Khandeshi Bhili nouns can be derived from verbs by adding the suffixes *-ʔa* and *-nar*. Notice in the examples below how gerund formation happens in Khandeshi Bhili.

158. mala **likʰʔa** majʔi səj
 mi-la likʰ-ʔa majʔi s-j
 1s-dat write-inf know cop-pre.s
 pron-nc v-vnf n aux.v-vtns
I know writing.
159. mi dʰoŋgʔana **rəhna** səj
 mi dʰoŋgʔa-n-a rəh-nar s-j
 1s dhongda-gen-ms stay-relzr cop-pre.s
 pron propn-nc-magr v-nc aux.v-vtns
I am living in Dhongda (lit. a staying one of Dhongda).

3.2.7 Non-finite Verb Forms

In addition to the non-finite forms discussed above, Khandeshi Bhili has an infinitive form that is formed by adding the suffix *-ala* to the verb stem. Consider these examples below.

160. məŋg ʔo **dʒewala** bəsna
 məŋg ʔ-o dʒew-ala bəs-n-a
 then pron-3ms eat-inf sit-past-3ms
 conj dst-magr v-vnf v-vtns-vpstagr
Then he sat to eat.
161. məŋg haji nəwri ʔumə **dʒikala** pajdʒe
 məŋg haji nəwri ʔumə dʒik-ala pajdʒe
 then this bride 2p win-inf need
 conj dem nf pron v-vnf aux.v
Then you need to win this bride.
162. jeh sipaji ʔəpas **kərala** gəjəʔ
 jeh sipaji ʔəpas kə-ala dʒa-j-əʔ
 those soldier inquiry do-inf go-past-3mp
 dem nm nm v-vnf v-vtns-vpstagr
These soldiers went to do inquiry.

163. d^hejtija b^hakər **k^hawala** amna g^hər wəna
 d^hejtija b^hakər k^ha-wala amə-n-a g^hər je-n-a
 old.man bread eat-inf 1p.excl-gen-ms house come-past-3ms
 nm nm v-vnf pron-nc-magr nm v-vtns-vpstagr
The old man came to our house to eat bread.

3.3 ADVERBS

3.3.1 Adverbs of Time

The Khandeshi Bhili adverbs of time are shown in the table below followed by the examples.

Table (42)

Adverbs	Gloss
‘today’	adʒ
‘yesterday’	kaldi
‘tomorrow’	səkəl
‘everyday’	rodʒ
‘after’	nəntər
‘before’	pəjlə
‘now’	atə
‘at last’	ʃewət
‘day after tomorrow’	poreṇḍi

164. t̄e **adʒ** sakri dʒajit̄
 t̄-e adʒ sakri dʒa-j-it̄
 dst-3mp today sakri go-fut-3p
 pron-magr adv propn v-vtns-vfutagr
They will go to Sakri today.
165. anə **rodʒ** d^hejtija kətəlɪdʒaj
 anə rodʒ d^hejtija kətəl-i-dʒa-j
 and everyday old.man worry-vst-go-3s
 conj adv nm nm-cptcl-aux.v-vpreagr
And everyday the old man worries.

166. **nent̩er** t̩-o dar-mə je-i-bəs-na
 nent̩er t̩-o dar-mə je-i-bəs-na
 after dst-3ms door-in come-vst-sit-past-1ms
 adv pron-magr nm-nc v-cptcl-v-vtns-vpstagr
After he came and sat inside the door.

167. anə aṭə t̩-o mər-i-dʒa-j-a
 anə aṭə t̩-o mər-i-dʒa-j-a
 and now dst-3ms die-vst-go-past-3ms
 conj adv pron-magr v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And now he died.

3.3.2 Adverbs of Location

The Khandeshi Bhili adverbs of location are aṭ^{hi} ‘here’ and t̩eji ‘there’. Consider these examples of their use:

168. məŋg aṭ^{hi} amə mənɖəli t̩ejar kər-nət̩
 məŋg aṭ^{hi} amə mənɖəli t̩ejar kər-n-t̩
 then here 1p.excl congregation make do-past-2mp
 conj adv pron nf n v-vtns-vpstagr
Then we made a Christian congregation here.

169. məŋg t̩eji pək-kə t̩iɾə bəsət̩
 məŋg t̩eji pək-kə t̩iɾə-ə bəs-t̩
 then there more-mp bird-mp sit-3mp
 conj adv adj-ms nm-magr v-vpreagr
Then more birds sit there.

3.3.3 Adverbs of Manner

The Khandeshi Bhili adverbs of manner are aṭa ‘like this’ and t̩eṭa ‘like that’. These adverbs are inflected according to the number and gender of the subject. Notice the table below followed by the examples how the adverbs are agree with the number and gender of the subject.

Table (43)

Sing.Mass	Sing.Fem	Plu.Mass	Plu.Fem
aṭa ‘like this’	aṭi	aṭe	aṭja
t̩eṭa ‘like that’	t̩eṭi	t̩eṭe	t̩eṭja

170. tə aʃa amna dʒiwən wəʔal
 tə aʃ-a amə-n-a dʒiwən wə-ʔ-al
 then like.this-ms 1p.excl-gen-ms life cop-phab-3ms
 conj adv-ms pron-nc-magr nm aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Then our life was like this.
171. təʃa tena dʒiw soʔidina
 təʃ-a t-o-n-a dʒiw soʔ-i-de-n-a
 like.that-ms dst-3ms-gen-ms life leave-vst-give-past-3ms
 adv-ms pron-magr-nc-magr nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Like that (he) left his life.
172. aʃe lokə sət
 aʃ-e lok-ə s-ʔ
 like.this-mp people-mp be-3mp
 adv-ms nm-magr aux.v-vpreagr
There are like this people.
173. məŋg təʃi bi ti dʰejʃi təʃi saŋgni
 məŋg təʃi bi ti dʰejʃi təʃ-i saŋg-n-i
 then there also dst-fs old.woman like.that-fs tell-past-3fs
 conj adv adv dem-magr nf adv-ms v-vtns-vpstagr
Then there also that old woman told like that.

3.3.4 Adverbs of Quantity

The Khandeshi Bhili adverbs of Quantity are *dʒastə* ‘more’ and *kəmi* ‘little’. Notice the examples of the adverbs of quantity.

174. tə porja adʒ dʒastə kʰana
 tə-o porja adʒ dʒastə kʰa-n-a
 dst-3ms boy today more eat-past-3ms
 dem-magr nm adv adv v-vtns-vpstagr
Today that boy ate more
175. dʰejʃija pəkka kəmi boləj
 dʰejʃija pək-k-a kəmi bol-j
 old.man more-ms little speak-3s
 nm adj-ms adv v-vpreagr
The old man speaks little.

3.4 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are used in Khandeshi Bhili to join noun phrases or clauses. Dependent clauses can be conjoined by the conjunctions *anə* ‘and’, *tə* ‘then’, *təmən* ‘so’, *naʔə* ‘otherwise’, *ka* ‘that’ and *pən* ‘but’. These conjunctions occur between the two clauses and join them. Notice the examples below.

3.4.1 Coordinating Conjunction

The coordinating conjunction *anə* ‘and’ conjoins multiple elements in phrases and clauses.

176. $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ejtija}$ tjpra hanna ***anə*** təngra moɾitakna
 $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ejtija}$ tjpra han-n-a anə təngra moɾ-i-tak-n-a
 old.man stick beat-past-ms and leg break-vst-put-past-3ms
 nm nm v-vtns-vpstagr cnj nm v-cptcl-v-vtns-vpstagr
The old man beat the stick and broke the leg.

3.4.2 Subordinating Conjunction

The Subordinating conjunctions *təmen* ‘so’, *natə* ‘otherwise’, *ka* ‘that’ and *pən* ‘but’ are used to combine an independent clause with a subordinate dependent clause.

177. us $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{awani}$ iʃa wəjni ***təmen*** to jek tjpra tesla maŋna
 us $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{a-wa-n-i}$ iʃa wəj-n-i təmen
 sugarcane eat-inf-gen-fs desire happen-past-3fs so
 nm v-vm-nc-magr nf v-vtns-vpstagr conj
 t-o jek tjpra t-e-s-la maŋ-n-a
 dst-3ms one stick dst-3mp-p-acc beg-past-3ms
 pron-magr num nm pron-magr-ns-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
To eat sugarcane (his) desire happened so he asked a stick to them.

178. $\text{at}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$ pani pəɾna na ***natə*** tumlə pani $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{etjdzat}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$
 $\text{at}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$ pani pəɾ-n-a na natə tumlə-la pani
 here rain fall-past-3ms no otherwise 2p-acc water
 loc nm v-vtns-vpstagr neg conj pron-nc nm
 $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{et-i-dza-t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$
 get-vst-go-subj
 v-cptcl-aux.v-vm
Here rain did not fall otherwise you would have got the water.

179. aʃi batmi lagni ***ka*** to bi mərigeja
 aʃ-i batmi lag-n-i ka t-o bi
 like.this-fs news start-past-3fs that dst-3ms also
 adj-ms nf v-vtns-vpstagr conj pron-magr adv
 mər-i-dza-j-a
 die-vst-go-past-3ms
 v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Like this news came that he also died.

180. jeh kunbi lokə mənəmə rag t^hewət **pən** te saŋgət na
 jeh kunbi lok-ə mən-mə rag t^hew-t pən t-e
 these kunbi people-mp mind-in angry keep-3mp but dst-3mp
 dem propn nm-magr nm-nc nm v-vpreagr conj pron-magr
 saŋg-t na
 tell-3mp no
 v-vpreagr neg
These Kunbi people keep angry in mind but they don't tell.

3.4.3 Intersentential Conjunctions

The Intersentential conjunctions *tə* 'then' and *nentər* 'after' are used in Khandeshi Bhili.

181. don sipaji gəjət **tə** gulbja huba rəjigəja
 don sipaji dʒa-j-ət tə gulbja huba
 two soldier go-past-mp then gulbya stand
 num nm v-vtns-vpstagr conj propn nm
 rəj-i-dʒa-j-a
 stay-vst-go-past-3ms
 v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Two soldiers went then Gulbya stood up.

3.5 INTERJECTIONS

Khandeshi Bhili has interjects used to express surprise and delight and to commiserate with other speakers. To express surprise Khandeshi Bhili speakers use the sound, *abboo* 'Oh!', and to express delight they used the sound, *hatteni* 'Oh'.

182. **abboo** tɛji kewɾa moɾa sap wɛtəl
 abboo tɛji kewɾa moɾ-a sap wɛ-t-al
 suprise there how.much big-ms snake cop-phab-ms
 intj adv adv adj-ms nm aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Oh! How big was the snake there!

4 SYNTAX

4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

4.1.1 Verbal Clauses

4.1.1.1 Order of Clause Constituents

The clause constituents in Khandeshi Bhil normally follow the order:

Subject + Object + Verb (SOV)

In term of semantico-synactic roles (Comrie 1978) the order is APV/SV, where A is the most agent-like constituent, P is the most patient-like constituent of a transitive sentence, and S is the Single Argument of an intransitive sentence.

4.1.1.2 Intransitive

The intransitive clause in Khandeshi Bhil is represented by the following formula:

Intransitive = (Subject) Verb

183. məŋg to d^hɛjɾija tɛji ləginmə dʒaj
 məŋg t-o d^hɛjɾija tɛji ləgin-mə dʒa-j
 []S []V
 then dem-3ms old.man there marriage-in go-pre.s
 cnj dst-magr nm loc nm-nc v-vtns
Then that old man goes there to the marriage.

184. mənə porja g^hɛrmə nidʒna
 mi-n-a porja g^hɛr-mə nidʒ-n-a
 []S []V
 1s-gen-ms son house-in sleep-past-3ms
 pron-nc-magr nm nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
My son slept in the house.

4.1.1.3 Transitive

In transitive clauses normally the subject occurs first, followed by the object, followed by the verb as shown in the following formula.

Transitive = (Subject) Object Verb

185. anə tɛ tɛji g^hɛr bəndnɛt
 anə t-e tɛji g^hɛr bənd-n-ɛt
 []A []P []V
 and dst-3mp there house build-past-3mp
 cnj pron-magr loc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
And they built house there.

186. mɛŋg d^hɛjɾi bɛt^ha rɛsədʒ wɑɾidɛj
 mɛŋg d^hɛjɾi bɛt^h-a rɛs-ə-dʒ wɑɾ-i-dɛ-j
 []A []P []V
 then old.woman all-ms soup-mp-emph serve-vst-give-pre.s
 conj nf adj-ms nm-magr-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Then the old woman serves, all the soup only.

4.1.1.4 Ditransitive

In ditransitive clauses, normally the subject occurs followed by the indirect object, followed by direct object, followed by the verb, as shown in this formula:

Ditransitive = (Subject) Indirect Object Direct Object Verb

187. mi mɛna porjala haji tʃit^hi lik^hirɛna sɛj
 mi mi-n-a porja-la haji tʃit^hi
 []A []IO []P
 1s 1s-gen-ms son-acc this letter
 pron pron-nc-magr nm-nc dem nf

lik^h-i-rɛn-a s-j
 []V
 write-vst-cont-3ms cop-pre.s
 v-cptcl-aux.v-vpstagr aux.v-vtns
I am writing this letter to my son.

188. tɔ tɛji daktɔr tɛla jek suj dɪna
 tɔ tɛji daktɔr t-o-la jek suj dɛ-n-a
 []A []IO []P []V
 then there doctor dst-3ms-acc one injection give-past-3ms
 conj adv nm pron-magr-nc num nf v-vtns-vpstagr
Then the doctor gave an injection to him there.

4.1.2 Other Clause Types

The Khandeshi Bhili language has other non-verbal predicate clauses like predicate nominal and predicate adjective constructions which are used to express the notions of equative, attributive, locative, possessive, etc. These constructions all take copulas which inflect for tense and the gender of the subject noun phrase. The table below shows the non-verbal predicate clause types and structural formulas.

Table (44)

Predicate Nominal				Predicate Adjective		Predicate Locative
Equation	Proper Inclusion	Existential	Possession	Attribution	Comparison	Location
NP NP COP		(PP _{Loc}) NP COP	NP _{GEN} N COP	NP AdjP COP	NP PP _{CMPR} AdjP COP	NP PP _{Loc} COP

4.1.2.1 Predicate Nominal Construction

4.1.2.1.1 Equation/Proper Inclusion

Equative and Proper Inclusion clauses in Khandeshi Bhil are expressed by two noun phrases followed by a verbal copula. The formula for this construction is:

NP NP COP

Consider these examples:

189. mi jek b^hil sɛj
 mi jek b^hil s-j
 []NP []NP []COP
 1s one bhil cop-pre.s
 pron num propn aux.v-vtns
I am a Bhil.

190. amə b^hilə sɛt̚
 amə b^hil-ə s-t̚
 []NP []NP []COP
 1pl.excl bhil-mp cop-pre.p
 pron propn-ns aux.v-vtns
We are Bhils.

In the following two related examples, notice that these constructions can be predicated in the past tense with a different allomorph of the copula verb which occurs with the past habitual morpheme -t̚ ‘phab’.

191. mi jek b^hil wɛt̚al
 mi jek b^hil wɛ-t̚-al
 []NP []NP []COP
 1s one bhil cop-phab-ms
 pron num propn aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
I was a Bhil.

192. amə b^hilə wə̃lɛ̃t̃
 amə b^hil-ə wə̃-t̃-lɛ̃t̃
 []NP []NP []COP
 1pl.excl bhil-mp cop-phab-mp
 pron propn-ns aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
We were Bhils.

In the following two related examples, notice that these constructions can be predicated in the future tense also, by the same allomorph of the copula verb as used in the past tense along with the future tense morpheme *-s* ‘fut’.

193. mi jek b^hil wəs̃u
 mi jek b^hil wə̃-s-u
 1s one bhil cop-fut-1s
 pron num propn aux.v-vtns-vfutagr
I will be a Bhil.

194. amə b^hilə wəs̃ũt̃
 amə b^hil-ə wə̃-s-ũt̃
 1pl.excl bhil-mp cop-fut-2p.excl
 pron propn-ns aux.v-vtns-vfutagr
We will be Bhils.

To negate an Equative or Proper Inclusion predication the negative morpheme *na* ‘no’ is added just before the copula verb.

195. mi jek b^hil **na** s̃ej
 mi jek b^hil na s-j
 1s one bhil no cop-pre.s
 pron num propn neg aux.v-vtns
I am not a Bhil.

4.1.2.1.2 Existential

Existential clauses in Khandeshi Bhil are used to predicate the existence of an entity, optionally, in a certain location. It consists of an optional locative phrase, followed by a noun phrase, followed by a copula. The formula for this construction is:

(PP_{LOC}) NP COP

Consider these examples:

196. **sakrimə** mēna jek b^haw s̃ej
 sakri-mə mi-n-a jek b^haw s-j
 sakri-in 1s-gen-ms one brother cop-pre.s
 propn-nc pron-nc-magr num nm aux.v-vtns
There is one of my brothers in Sakri.

197. mēni maj səj
 mi-n-i maj s-j
 1s-gen-fs mother. cop-pre.s
 pron-nc-magr nf aux.v-vtns
My mother is there (still alive).
198. **malegawna bədʒarmə** us iknarə wət̪l̪ət̪
 malegaw-n-a bədʒar-mə us ik-nar-ə wə-t̪-l̪ət̪
 malegaon-gen-ms market-in sugarcane sell-person-mp cop-phab-mp
 propn-nc-magr nm-nc nm v-nc-ns aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
There were sugarcane sellers in the market of Malegaon.

Existential constructions can be predicated in the past and future tense and negated (i.e. the non-existence predication) in the same manner discussed above for equative clauses.

4.1.2.1.3 Possession

In Khandeshi Bhili, the possessive construction is formed by a possessed head noun, where the possessor is expressed as a genitive case marked noun phrase and the possessed entity is the following head noun. The formula for this construction is:

[NP(Gen) ... N]_{NP} COP

199. anə ʃeni jek por səj
 anə t̪-o-n-i jek por s-j
 [[]NP(Gen) []N]NP []COP
 and dst-3ms-gen-fs one daughter cop-pre.s
 cnj pron-magr-nc-magr num nf aux.v-vtns
And he has a daughter.

Notice that actual possessive predication is nothing but a noun phrase followed by a copula, but the noun phrase must contain a genitive case marked possessor NP which modifies the head noun (see section 4.2.1.1).

200. anə ʃo d̪ʰɛjɾijani jek wawli wət̪il
 anə t̪-o d̪ʰɛjɾija-n-i jek wawli
 [[]NP(Gen) []N]NP
 and dst-3ms old.man-gen-fs one field
 cnj dem-magr nm-nc-magr num nm
 wə-t̪-il
 []COP
 cop-phab-fs
 aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And that old man had a field.

Notice in these examples that, unlike Hindi and Marathi, there are no differences in the possessive construction based on the animacy hierarchy where ‘possession’ of human referents is a different construction than possession of non-human referents.

4.1.2.2 Predicate Adjective Construction

4.1.2.2.1 Attribution/Description

The Attributive/Descriptive clause in Khandeshi Bhil are used to ascribe an attribute to a person or thing predicatively. It consists of the subject noun phrase, followed by a quality adjective phrase, followed by a copula. The formula for this construction is:

NP AdjP COP

Consider these examples:

201. məŋg mama **bəra** səj aṭə
 məŋg mama bə-r-a s-j aṭə
 []NP []AdjP []COP
 then uncle good-ms cop-pre.s now
 cnj nm adj-ms aux.v-vtns adv
Then now uncle is fine.

202. haj dʒ^haṭ **pəkka moṭa** wəṭal
 haj dʒ^haṭ pək-k-a moṭ-a wə-ṭ-al
 []NP []AdjP []COP
 this tree more-ms big-ms cop-phab-ms
 dem nm adj-ms adj-ms aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
This tree was very big.

The copula for this construction has the same behavior as in the predicate nominal constructions above.

4.1.2.2.2 Comparison

Khandeshi Bhil comparative clauses are used to compare one referent with another. The markers for this construction are the postpositions *t^hin* ‘from’ and *pəkfa* ‘than’. The STANDARD is followed by MARKER and then the quality adjective. This order is consistent with Greenberg’s (1963) correlation for OV languages. The formula of this construction is:

NP PPcmpr AdjP COP

Consider these examples:

203. subnja gulbja **t^hin** dak^hla səj
 subnja gulbja t^hin dak^hl-a s-j
 []NP []PPcmpr []AdjP []COP
 subnja gulbya from small-ms cop-pre.s
 propn propn postp adj-ms aux.v-vtns
Subnya is smaller than Gulbya.

204. amna g^her tumna g^her **pekʃa** moʃa səj
 amə-n-a g^her tumə-n-a g^her pekʃa
 []NP []PPcmpr
 1pl.excl-gen-ms house 2pl-gen-ms house than
 pron-nc-magr nm pron-nc-magr nm postp
 moʃ-a s-j
 []AdjP []COP
 big-ms cop-pre.s
 adj-ms aux.v-vtns
Our house is bigger than your house.

4.1.2.3 Predicate Locative Construction

4.1.2.3.1 Locative

Locative clauses in Khandeshi Bhil are used to predicate the location of a noun phrase referent. It consists of a noun phrase as subject, followed by a locative post positional phrase, followed by a copula. The formula of this construction is:

NP PP(Loc) COP

205. mi **bəjil waɾamə** səj
 mi bəjil waɾa-mə s-j
 []NP []PP(Loc) []COP
 1s bullock shed-in cop-pre.s
 pron nm nm-nc aux.v-vtns
I am in the bullockshed.

206. mēna baba **wawərmə** wəʃal
 mi-n-a baba wawər-mə wə-ʃ-al
 []NP []PP(Loc) []COP
 1s-gen-ms father field-in cop-phab-ms
 pron-nc-magr nm nm-nc aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
My father was in the field.

Notice the similarity between this construction and the existence construction in section 4.1.2.1.2 above. The difference is just one of order: for the existence predication, the order is locative postpositional phrase followed by noun phrase, and for the locative predication, the order is noun phrase followed by locative postpositional phrase.

4.2 CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

4.2.1 Noun Phrase

4.2.1.1 Order of Noun Phrase Constituents

The Khandeshi Bhili noun phrase consists of a head noun preceded by any of the following: possessor, numerals, demonstratives, quantifiers and adjectives. The order of constituents is:

NP = (Possessive) (Demonstrative) (Quantifier) (Adjective)* Noun

4.2.1.2 Simple Noun Phrase

The simple noun phrase in Khandeshi Bhili consists of only one noun head with the structure shown above. Consider this fully representative example:

207. radʒana t̥o jek moʔa porja
 radʒa-n-a t̥-o jek moʔ-a
 king-gen-ms dst-3ms one big-ms
 []NPposs []Dem []Qty []Adj
 nm-nc-magr dem-magr num adj-ms

 porja
 son
 []N
 nm
That one big son of the king (lit. The king's that one big son).

4.2.1.3 Complex Noun Phrase

In a complex noun phrase, two or more head nouns are linked to give a compound participant. Notice in the examples below how the conjunction *anə* 'and' is used for coordination.

208. t̥ina moʔa porja bapu anə ɖak^hla porja anil
 t̥-i-n-a moʔ-a porja bapu anə ɖak^hl-a porja anil
 dst-fp-gen-ms big-ms son bapu and small-ms son anil
 pron-magr-nc-magr adj-ms nm proprn conj adj-ms nm proprn
Her elder son Bapu and younger son Anil.
209. ɖ^hejɽija anə ɖ^hejɽi
 ɖ^hejɽija anə ɖ^hejɽi
 old.man and old.woman
 nm conj nf
Old man and old woman.

4.2.1.4 **Relative Clauses**

A relative clause is an embedded clause that has a nominal constituent that is co-referential with a noun in the matrix clause. In Khandeshi Bhili, the subject, direct objects and indirect objects can be relativized. The related pronouns *dʒ* ‘rel’ and *ʃ* ‘dst’ are used to represent the co-referential nominals in the relative clause and matrix clause respectively. These pronouns are inflected for the gender and number of the noun they refer to. The co-relative pronoun, identical to the distal demonstrative (i.e. ‘dst’—see section 3.1.2.2 above), may also take a case marker corresponding to the case role it plays in the matrix clause. For example, if the relativized noun phrase is the indirect object in the matrix clause, then the co-relative pronoun will be suffixed with the dative case marker *-la* ‘dat’ showing it is functioning as the indirect object of the matrix clause. The following table shows the inflection pattern of the relative and co-relative pronouns.

Table (45)

Gender	Singular		Plural	
	Rel. Pronouns	Corel. Pronouns	Rel. Pronouns	Corel. Pronouns
Masculine	dʒo	ʃo	dʒe	ʃe
Feminine	dʒi	ʃi	dʒja	ʃja
Masculine	dʒela	ʃo	dʒesla	ʃe
Feminine	dʒila	ʃi	dʒisla	ʃja

Consider these examples:

210. ʃeji dʒo huba seʃ ʃo mɛna b^haw seʃ
 ʃeji dʒ-o huba s-j
 []RelCl
 there rel-3ms stand cop-pre.s
 loc pron-magr n aux.v-vtns
 ʃ-o mi-n-a b^haw s-j
 []matrix
 dst-3ms 1s-gen-ms brother cop-pre.s
 pron-magr pron-nc-magr nm aux.v-vtns
The (one) who is standing there, he is my brother.

Notice in the above example that the relative clause contains the relative pronoun *dʒo* and comes before the co-relative pronoun *ʃo* which is standing in place of the relativized noun phrase in the matrix clause.

211. d^hɛjɾija **dʒi** bəkri lina **ti** kaɭi wɛɾil
 d^hɛjɾija dʒ-i bəkri le-n-a
 []RelCl
 old.man that-fs goat buy-past-3ms
 nm rel-magr nf v-vtns-vpstagr
 t-i kaɭ-i wɛ-t-il
 []matrix
 pron-fs black-fs cop-phab-fs
 dst-magr adj-ms aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
The old man bought the goat that was black.

Notice in the above example that the relative clause again precedes the co-relative pronoun, but this time, the relativized noun is functioning as the object inside the relative clause.

The role of the relativized noun phrase in the relative clause is indicated by the position of the relative pronoun. In the above example, the relative pronoun occurs immediately before the the word *bəkri* ‘goat’, which is the object of the relative clause.

The following example shows the relativized noun phrase is functioning as the indirect object inside the relative clause as indicated by the fact that the relative pronoun is the indirect object of the relative clause.

212. mi haw puʃtək **dʒela** dina **to** mɛna sopti sɛj
 mi haw puʃtək dʒ-o-la dɛ-n-a
 []RelCl
 1s this book that-3ms-acc give-past-ms
 pron dem nm rel-magr-nc v-vtns-vagr
 t-o mi-n-a sopti s-j
 []matrix
 pron-3ms 1s-gen-ms friend cop-pre.s
 dst-magr pron-nc-magr nm aux.v-vtns
The one to whom I gave this book is my friend.

4.2.2 Postpositional Phrase

Khandeshi Bhili has postpositions which function as location, and benefactive phrase heads.

4.2.2.1 Location

The Locative postposition in Kandeshi Bhili is *-mə* ‘in’.

213. mɛŋg gawmə jek lɛgin rɛhɛj
 mɛŋg gaw-mə jek lɛgin rɛh-j
 then village-in one marriage stay-3s
 conj nm-nc num nm v-vpreagr
Then there is a marriage in the village.
214. mi sɛkal sakri^{la} dʒasu
 mi sɛkal sakri-la dʒa-s-u
 1s tomorrow sakri-to go-fut-1s
 pron adv propn-nc v-vtns-vfutagr
Tomorrow I will go to Sakri
215. amerika t^hin mɛharas^trɛmə gorɔ lokə wɛnɛt
 amerika t^hin mɛharas^trɛ-mə gor-o lok-ə je-n-t
 america from maharashtra-in white-3ms people-mp come-past-3mp
 propn nc propn-nc adj-ns nm-ns v-vtns-vpstagr
The white men in Maharashtra came from America.

4.2.2.2 Benefactive

The Benefactive postpositions in Khandeshi Bhili is, *kɛrta* ‘for’.

216. tɔna babani kɛrta mi haji lina
 tɔ-n-a baba-n-i kɛrta mi haji le-n-a
 2s-gen-ms father-gen-fs for 1s this buy-past-1ms
 pron-nc-magr nm-nc-magr postp pron dem v-vtns-vpstagr
I have bought this for your father.

4.3 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

Grammatical relations refers to how the participants in a clause relate formally to the verb and its complements in the linguistic structure. In a pragmatically neutral clause the order of the clause constituent of Khandeshi Bhil is SOV and the verb is in agreement with the gender and number of the Subject.

217. mɛŋg tⁱ tⁱni aŋdɛr^{la} saŋgni
 mɛŋg tⁱ tⁱ-n-i aŋdɛr-la saŋg-n-i
 []S []O []V
 then dst-fs dst-fs-gen-fs daughter-acc tell-past-3fs
 conj pron-magr pron-magr-nc-magr nf-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Then she told her daughter.

4.3.1 Subject

As was mentioned, the pragmatically neutral constituent order in Khandeshi Bhili is SOV. This section will provide some morpho-syntactic argumentation to prove this

claim. As Payne (1996:178) suggests, there are three formal properties that can identify the subject and object grammatical relations. They are: a) verbal agreement, b) case marking, and c) constituent order.

In terms of verbal agreement, Khandeshi Bhili verbs always agree with the sentence subject in terms of person, number and gender, and never with the object. Through this we can identify the subject of the clause. In the following two examples, the first one is intransitive and the second one is transitive.

218. anə mənɔŋ **dakɽər** tɛʝi wəna
 anə mənɔŋ dakɽər tɛʝi je-n-a
 []S []V
 and then doctor there come-past-3ms
 conj conj nm adv v-vtns-vpstagr
And then the doctor came there.

219. **tɛ sipaji** tɛla d^hər-n-ɛt
 t-e sipaji t-o-la d^hər-n-ɛt
 []S []O []V
 dst-3mp soldier dst-3ms-acc hold-past-3mp
 dem-magr nm pron-ns-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Those soldiers caught him.

Notice in both clauses, the verb agrees with the proposed subject—the only and the first nominal elements, respectively. In the second example, both participants are third person, but one is singular and the other is plural. In this example, the verb has the plural agreement marker showing agreement with the first constituent. Therefore verb agreement suggests that *tɛ sipaji* ‘those soldiers’ is the subject.

Case marking can also be used to identify grammatical relations in Khandeshi Bhili. In a clause, the subject and object are differentiated by the accusative case marking on the object. Both the single argument of an intransitive verb and the first (i.e. proposed subject) constituent of a transitive verb will be unmarked or nominative case.

220. mənɔŋ **tɛ** tɛni aŋɽerla saŋɔni
 mənɔŋ t-i t-i-n-i aŋɽer-la saŋɔ-n-i
 []S []O []V
 then dst-fs dst-fs-gen-fs daughter-acc tell-past-3fs
 conj pron-magr pron-magr-nc-magr nf-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
Then she told her daughter.

Notice in the above example, the object is identified by the accusative case marker *-la*. So the other participant is identified as the subject.

In certain transitive sentences where the two nominals are not equivalent in terms of animacy level, then both arguments—the proposed subject and object—will be

unmarked. In this case, the animacy hierarchy can indicate the grammatical relations, where the constituent with the higher degree of animacy is the subject.

221. goṭu kalḍi ḍəgəṭ p^hoṭna
 goṭu kalḍi ḍəgəṭ p^hoṭ-n-a
 gotu yesterday stone brake-past-3ms
 propn adv nf v-vtns-vpstagr
Yesterday Gotu broke the stone.

Finally, note that in all the above cases, the proposed subject also happens to be the first constituent in the clause. So that, although there are exceptions for discourse pragmatic reasons, the constituent order can also be used to indicate grammatical relations: the subject normally comes first and the object normally comes second.

4.3.2 Direct Object

The direct objects in Khandeshi Bhili are marked based on their animacy. Human objects are obligatorily marked with the accusative case marker *-la*, whereas non-human objects are marked according to discourse referentiality (see section 3.1.1.7 above). Non-referential, non-human nouns occur in the nominative (unmarked) case and not marked with the accusative marker. Consider these examples:

222. anə tja sipaji tela ḍ^hərala lagnəṭ
 anə t-ja sipaji t-o-la ḍ^hər-a-la lag-n-t
 and dst-3fp soldier dst-3ms-acc hold-vst-to incpt-past-3mp
 conj dem-magr nm pron-magr-nc v-vtam-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
*And those policemen started to hold **him**.*

In this example, the object is easily identified as the constituent with the accusative case marking. In the following two examples, the objects are unmarked, but they are also the constituents that are lower on the animacy hierarchy and can accordingly be identified that way.

223. anə aṭə te ḍaru pet
 anə aṭə t-e ḍaru pi-t
 and now dst-3mp arrack drink-3mp
 conj adv pron-magr nm v-vpreagr
And now they drink the arrack

224. goṭu kalḍi ḍeger p^hoṭna
 goṭu kalḍi ḍəgəṭ p^hoṭ-n-a
 gotu yesterday stone brake-past-3ms
 propn adv nf v-vtns-vpstagr
Yesterday Gotu broke the stone.

Notice in all these cases, the direct object comes after the subject and before the verb. Normally proper noun that refer to human beings always takes accusative case marker when functioning as the object. Consider the example below:

225. mi **gorək^hla** saŋna
 mi gorək^h-la saŋg-n-a
 1s gorakh-acc tell-past-1ms
 pron propn-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
I told Gorakh.

4.3.3 Indirect Object

In ditransitive clauses of Khandeshi Bhili, the indirect objects are always marked with the dative case marker *-la*. The indirect object comes after the subject and before the direct object. The indirect object can also be distinguished by its case role. Indirect objects are always the recipient of the action.

226. tə tɛji daktər **tɛla** jek suj d̪ina
 tə tɛji daktər t-o-la jek suj d̪e-n-a
 then there doctor dst-3ms-acc one injection give-past-3ms
 conj adv nm pron-magr-nc num nf v-vtns-vpstagr
Then the doctor gave an injection to him there.

4.4 VALENCE AND VOICE

4.4.1 Valence Increasing Operations

4.4.1.1 Causatives

In Khandeshi Bhili, the valence may be increased by the addition of the causative suffix *-aɽ* to the verb root. Depending on the verb, increasing the valence in this way may add a new causer, a new causee, a new beneficiary, or some combination of the above. The beneficiary of the action is always marked with the accusative/dative case marker. The first example below shows the non-causative, basic example. In the following examples, the causative morpheme is added and the beneficiary is marked with the accusative marker *-la*. If a separate causee is added by a change in valence, then it is followed by the postposition *g^haji* ‘by’.

227. mɛna porja g^hɛrmə nidz̪na
 mi-n-a porja g^hɛr-mə nidz̪-n-a
 1s-gen-ms son house-in sleep-past-3ms
 pron-nc-magr nm nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr
My son slept in the house.

228. mi mēna porjala g^hermə nidzarna
 mi mi-n-a porja-la g^her-mə
 []causer []bene,causee
 1s 1s-gen-ms son-acc house-in
 pron pron-nc-magr nm-nc nm-nc
 nidz-aṛ-n-a
 sleep-caus-past-1ms
 v-vm-vtns-vpstagr
I had my son to sleep in the house.

The example above shows the addition of a new causer and the subject of the underlying, non-causative example above becomes the beneficiary and causee of the causative predication.

The following example shows a similar example, but with an underlyingly transitive verb:

229. mi b^hakər dzewna
 mi b^hakər dzew-n-a
 1s bread eat-past-3ms
 pron nm v-vtns-vpstagr
I ate bread.

230. mi mēni porla b^hakər dzewaṛna
 mi mi-n-i por-la b^hakər
 []causer,causee []bene
 1s 1s-past-fs daughter-acc bread
 pron pron-vtns-magr nf-nc nm
 dzew-aṛ-n-a
 eat-caus-past-1ms
 v-vm-vtns-vpstagr
I fed my daughter bread.

Notice in the above example that since the causer is actually the agent of the action (feeding), it is also the causee (c.f. “I caused my daughter to eat”, in which case, the daughter would have been the causee). The daughter in this case is the beneficiary, and as such, is marked with the accusative/dative case marker. In the following example, a separate causee is added to the predication. Notice in this case (i.e. a separate causee that has no other role), the causee is marked with the postposition *g^haji* ‘by’:

231. mi mēni porla anil g^haji b^hakər dzewar̩na
 mi mi-n-i por-la
 []causer []bene
 1s 1s-gen-fs daughter-acc
 pron pron-nc-magr nf-nc
 anil g^haji b^hakər dzew-ar̩-n-a
 []causee
 anil by bread eat-caus-past-1ms
 propn nc nm v-vm-vtns-vpstagr
I had Anil feed my daughter bread.

4.4.2 Valence Decreasing Operations

4.4.2.1 Passives

In Khandeshi Bhili, the valence can be decreased by the addition of the passive suffix *-aj* to the verb root and a verb-verb compound with the verb *dʒa* ‘go’. The passive morpheme occurs on the principle verb prior to the auxiliary verb ‘go’. The ‘go’ verb is then inflected according to the number and gender of the subject. The following table shows the passive forms of various verbs in the present, past and future tense.

Table (46)

Verb root	Passive Meaning	Present tense	Past tense	Future tense
ḍək ^h ‘see’	‘be seen’	ḍək ^h ajdʒaj	ḍək ^h ajgəja	ḍək ^h ajdʒaji
kər ‘do’	‘be done’	kərajdʒaj	kərajgəja	kərajdʒaji
k ^h a ‘eat’	‘be eaten’	k ^h awajdʒaj	k ^h awajgəja	k ^h awajdʒaji
pi ‘drink’	‘be drunk’	piwajdʒaj	piwajgəja	piwajdʒaji

In this construction, the object of the underlying active sentence is promoted to the subject position. Consider these examples:

232. tja bət^hja **ḍewajgəjat** aləg aləg dʒagamə
 t-ja bət^h-ja ḍe-waj-dʒa-jaṭ aləg aləg dʒaga-mə
 dst-3fp all-fp give-pass-go-3fp different different place-in
 pron-magr adj-ms v-vval-aux.v-vpstagr adj adj nf-nc
They all were given in various different places.
233. adʒ tara **ḍək^hajgəja**
 adʒ tara ḍək^h-aj-dʒa-j-a
 today star see-pass-go-past-3ms
 adv n v-vval-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Today the star was seen.

234. don diwəsni nəntər haj kam **kerajdzaji**
 don diwəs-n-i nəntər haj kam kər-aj-dza-j-i
 two day-gen-fs after this work do-pass-go-fut-3s
 num nm-nc-magr adv dem nm v-vval-aux.v-vtns-vfutagr
After two days this work will be done.

4.5 CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

4.5.1 Serial Verbs

Khandeshi Bhili has two different constructions that behave like serial verb constructions. Both cases involve multiple verbs, where all but the last one are non-finite, and in each case, the semantic meaning of all the verbs remains normal (i.e. no semantic bleaching). In the first serial verb construction, two or more verbs are used in a temporal succession construction involving the temporal succession morpheme *-inə*. In the temporal succession construction, all verbs in the sentence must have the same subject, which is usually specified in the first clause. All medial verbs are marked with the non-finite ending *-inə* ‘TS’. Then the final verb carries the tense-aspect-mode of the predication as a whole. The temporal succession is such that the events associated with each of the medial verbs are interpreted as having been completed before moving to the next sub-clause. Consider these examples:

235. t̩una pət̩rə **watʃinə** amla anənd̩ wəjna
 t̩u-n-a pət̩rə watʃ-inə amə-la anənd̩ wəj-n-a
 2s-gen-ms letter read-ts 1p.excl-dat happy happen-past-1ms
 pron-nc-magr nm v-vm pron-nc nm v-vtns-vpstagr
Having read your letter, we became happy (lit. happiness happened to us).

The following example shows that there can be more than two medial verbs in this construction.

236. kesəsla **t̩el lajinə b^hang paɾinə** tʃaŋgla t^hew
 kes-ə-s-la t̩el laj-inə b^hang paɾ-inə tʃaŋgl-a t^hew
 hair-mp-p-acc oil put-ts hair.partition make-ts good-ms keep
 nm-ns-ns-nc nm v-vm nm v-vm adj-ms v
Having put oil, having made the partition in (your) hair, keep (it) well.
237. t̩i sapnə aŋd̩ə raŋdisnə t̩ela k^hawaɾidini
 t̩-i sap-n-ə aŋd̩-ə raŋd̩-isnə t̩-o-la
 dst-fs snake-gen-mp egg-mp cook-tm dst-3ms-acc
 pron-magr n-nc-ns n-ns v-vm pron-magr-nc
 k^hawaɾ-i-d̩e-n-i
 feed-vst-give-past-3fs
 v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Having cooked the snake’s eggs, she fed him.

Although the second construction is perhaps not a serial verb construction according to Payne’s (1996) criteria (who suggests that serial verb constructions should not involve verb-verb compounding), the following does behave in a fashion similar to other serial verb constructions and so it will be described here. In this construction, two verbs are linked with the compounding particle *-i*. Unlike other compound constructions in Khandeshi Bhili—where the second auxiliary verb is typically semantically bleached (see section 3.2.2.1 above)—that is not the case here. Both verbs occur with their normal semantic range of meaning. The “medial” verb (i.e. the first of the compound) occurs in a non-finite form and the “final” verb carries the tense-aspect-mode and agreement. And all verbs share the same subject. Finally, this construction is especially productive when one of the verbs (usually the first one) is a verb of motion. Consider these examples:

238. *nəntər t̩ o d̩armə j̩eibəsna*
nəntər t̩-o d̩ar-mə je-i-bəs-n-a
 after dst-3ms door-in come-cptcl-sit-past-3ms
 adv pron-magr nm-nc v-vnf-v-vtns-vpstagr
After he came and sat inside the door.
239. *t̩u apla məlamə d̩zaidək^h*
t̩u apla məla-mə d̩za-i-dək^h
 2s our field-in go-cptcl-see
 pron pron nm-nc v-vnf-v
You go and see in our field.
240. *məŋg sipajisla soɽinə gulbja p̩ɛl̩ig̩ɛja*
məŋg sipaji-s-la soɽ-inə gulbja p̩ɛl̩-i-d̩za-j-a
 then soldier-p-acc leave-ts gulbya run-cptcl-go-past-3ms
 cnj nm-ns-nc v-vm propn v-vnf-v-vtns-vpstagr
Then having left the soldiers, Gulbya run and went.

4.5.2 Complement Clauses

4.5.2.1 Speech Embedding

There are two types of speech embedding in Khandeshi Bhili: Direct speech and indirect speech.

4.5.2.1.1 Direct Speech

Direct speech is used to quote the exact words of the speaker. The quote margin always occurs at beginning of the clause. The speech margin verb *saŋg* ‘tell’ is used to introduce the speech quote. Consider this example:

241. daktər saŋna, “tʃowis ʃas rəhna pətʃi”
 daktər saŋg-n-a tʃowis ʃas rəh-na pətʃi
 doctor tell-past-3ms twenty-four hour stay-deot have.to
 nm v-vtns-vpstagr num nm v-vm aux.v
The doctor said, “(He) has to stay for 24 hours”.

4.5.2.1.2 Indirect Speech

In indirect speech, the quote margin always occurs at beginning of the clause also and the complimentizer *ka* ‘that’ is used before the embedded speech. The speech margin verb is the same as for direct speech (i.e. *saŋg* ‘tell’). Consider this example:

242. ʃi baji saŋni ka haw ʃuni puʃə sap səj
 ʃ-i baji saŋg-n-i ka haw ʃu-n-i puʃə
 dst-fs woman tell-past-3fs that this 2s-gen-fs front
 dem-magr nf v-vtns-vpstagr cmplr dem pron-nc-magr postp

 sap s-j
 snake be-pre.s
 nm aux.v-vtns
That woman said that snake is in front of you.

4.5.2.2 Other Types of Complements

4.5.2.2.1 Infinitives

The following examples show how infinitives can work as adjunct ‘purpose’ compliments.

243. məŋg to **dʒewala** bəsna
 məŋg ʃ-o dʒew-ala bəs-n-a
 then dst-3ms eat-inf sit-past-3ms
 conj pron-magr v-vnf v-vtns-vpstagr
Then he sat to eat.
244. dʰəjtʃija bʰakər **kʰawala** amna gʰər wəna
 dʰəjtʃija bʰakər kʰa-wala amə-n-a gʰər je-n-a
 old.man bread eat-inf 1p.excl-gen-ms house come-past-3ms
 nm nm v-vnf pron-nc-magr nm v-vtns-vpstagr
The old man came to our house to eat bread.

4.5.3 Adverbial Clauses

Khandeshi Bhili has adverbial clauses for Time, Location, Manner, Purpose and Conditional.

4.5.3.1 Time

For time adverbials, the subordinating word *dʒəwə* ‘when’ occurs at the beginning of the first clause, which indicates the time of the second, matrix predication. Consider this example:

245. **dʒəwə** mi d̥əhiwel dʒasu t̥ula bi lejidʒasu
 dʒəwə mi d̥əhiwel dʒa-s-u t̥u-la bi
 []when []
 when 1s dahivel go-fut-1s 2s-acc also
 adv pron propn v-vtns-vfutagr pron-nc adv
 lej-i-dʒa-s-u
]
 take-vst-go-fut-1s
 v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vfutagr
When I will go to Dahivel, I will take you also.

Notice in this example that the subordinate clause introducing the time adverbial has a fully inflected verb (as does the matrix clause).

4.5.3.2 Location

For location adverbials, the subordinating word *dʒəji* ‘where’ occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause, which indicates the location of the action of the matrix predication. Consider this example:

246. t̥ə b̥əjil wəɾamə dʒainə **dʒəji** n̥ərəm dʒaga w̥ət̥il t̥əji k^hɛ̃nd̥n̥ɛt̥
 t̥-e b̥əjil wəɾa-mə dʒa-inə dʒəji n̥ərəm dʒaga
 [] []
 dst-3mp bullock shed-in go-ts where soft place
 pron-magr nm nm-nc v-vm adv adj nf
 w̥ə-t̥-il t̥əji k^hɛ̃nd̥-n-t̥
]where]
 cop-phab-fs there dig-past-3mp
 aux.v-vtns-vpstagr loc v-vtns-vpstagr
Having gone to the bullock shed, they dug where there is a soft place.

Notice in this example that the adverbial clause is embedded inside the matrix clause after the first sub-clause of a temporal succession construction (see section 4.5.1 for details). Notice also that the subordinate clause introducing the location adverbial has a fully inflected verb (as does the matrix clause).

4.5.3.3 Manner

For manner adverbials, the subordinating word *dʒəfa* ‘how’ occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause indicating the manner of the action of the matrix clause. Consider this example:

247. anə **dʒɛʃa** tu mənə b^hawla marna **tɛʃa** tula bi maritaksu
 anə dʒɛʃa tu mi-n-a b^haw-la mar-n-a tɛʃa
 []manner []
 and as 2s 1s-gen-ms brother-acc kill-past-3ms like.that
 conj adv pron pron-nc-magr nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr adv
 tu-la bi mar-i-ʃak-s-u
]
 2s-acc also kill-vst-put-fut-1s
 pron-nc adv v-cptcl-v-vtns-vfutagr
And as you killed my brother, like that (I) will kill you.

Notice in this example that the subordinate clause introducing the manner adverbial has a fully inflected verb (as does the matrix clause).

4.5.3.4 Purpose

For purpose adverbials, the verb of the purpose clause is in the infinitive form taking the *-ala* ‘INF’ suffix. The structure of this construction is an adjunct complement, where the purpose clause is functioning as an adjunct in the matrix sentence.

248. tumə nəwri **dʒikala** wənɛt
 tumə nəwri dʒik-ala je-n-t
 2pl bride win-INF come-past-2mp
 pron nf v-vnf v-vtns-vpstagr
You came (in order) to win the bride.

4.5.3.5 Conditional

4.5.3.5.1 Simple Conditional

A Simple Conditional in Khandeshi Bhili is expressed using the conjunctions *dʒɛr* ‘if’ at the beginning of the first clause and *tə* ‘then’ at the beginning of the second clause. Consider this example:

249. **dʒɛr** wag^h jej **tə** kuṭra pəlɪdʒaj
 dʒɛr wag^h je-j tə kuṭra pəl-i-dʒa-j
 if tiger come-pre.s then dog run-vst-go-pre.s
 conj nm v-vtns conj nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
If the tiger comes, then the dog runs away.

Notice that both the verbs of both clauses are finite.

4.5.3.5.2 Counterfactual Conditional

The Counterfactual Conditional in Khandeshi Bhili is expressed with the same conjunctions as the simple conditional above (i.e. *dʒɛr* ‘if’ and *tə* ‘then’). This construction is identified by the subjunctive mode suffix *-ta* ‘subj’ on the verbs of both clauses.

250. dʒər tu a^hi je^ha tə mi tu^hla bol^hta
 dʒər tu a^hi je-ta tə mi tu-la bol-ta
 if 2s here come-subj then 1s 2s-acc tell-subj
 conj pron loc v-vm conj pron pron-nc v-vm
If you had come here I would have told you.

4.5.3.5.3 Concessive Conditional

Concessive Condition in Khandeshi Bhili is expressed using the conjunctions *tə* ‘then’, followed by adverb *bi* ‘also’ between the two clauses.

251. to agəngarimə dʒaj tə bi to ul^hi kərəj
 t-o agəngar-i-mə dʒa-j tə bi t-o ul^hi kər-j
 dst-3ms train-in go-pre.s then also dst-3ms vomit do-pre.s
 pron-magr nf-nc v-vtns conj adv pron-magr nf v-vtns
Even though he goes by train, he (still) vomits.

4.5.3.5.4 Negative Conditional

The Negative Conditional in Khandeshi Bhili is expressed using the same conjunctions as the simple conditional (i.e. *dʒər* ‘if’ and *tə* ‘then’), but the negative markers *na* ‘no’ is used before the verb of the first clause and *kajna* ‘nothing’ is used before the verb of second clause. Consider this example:

252. dʒər tu tʃaŋgla na siksi tə tʃaŋgla manus kajna wəsi
 dʒər tu tʃaŋgl-a na sik-s-i tə tʃaŋgl-a manus
 if 2s good-ms no study-fut-2s then good-ms man
 conj pron adj-ms neg v-vtns-vfutagr conj adj-ms nm
 kajna wə-s-i
 nothing happen-fut-2s
 neg v-vtns-vfutagr
Unless you study well, you will not be a good man.

4.5.4 Coordination

In Khandeshi Bhili, the dependent clauses can be conjoined by the conjunctions *anə* ‘and’, *tə* ‘then’, *təmən* ‘so’, *natə* ‘otherwise’, *ka* ‘that’ and *pen* ‘but’. These conjunctions occur between the two clauses and join them. Refer to section of “Coordinating Conjunction” and “Subordinating Conjunction” above for examples of how these are used.

4.6 PRAGMATICALLY MARKED STRUCTURES

4.6.1 Focus Constructions and Emphasis

The clause structure of Khandeshi Bhili is SOV. But an element in a clause is usually emphasized using the following methods.

4.6.1.1 **Fronting**

A noun phrase which is focused is fronted. Notice in the example below, the noun phrase, “for your father” occurs at the beginning of the sentence. This postpositional phrase is actually an adjunct in the sentence and, in an otherwise pragmatically neutral sentence; it would be in a position after the subject. However here, by being fronted, it is receiving special focus.

253. **tuna babani** kərta mi haj lina
 tu-n-a baba-n-i kərta mi haj le-n-a
 2s-gen-ms father-gen-fs for 1s this buy-past-1ms
 pron-nc-magr nm-nc-magr postp pron dem v-vtns-vpstagr
I have bought this FOR YOUR FATHER.

When the indirect object is the focused element in a clause, then it can also occur before the subject. Consider this example:

254. teni majla to porja dzastə pəjsa dina
 t-o-n-i maj-la t-o porja dzastə
 dst-3ms-gen-fs mother-acc dst-3ms boy more
 dem-magr-nc-magr nf-nc dem-magr nm adj
 pəjsa de-n-a
 money give-past-3ms
 nm v-vtns-vpstagr
That boy gave more money TO HIS MOTHER.

When the action of the clause is to be emphasized, the verb can be shifted to the front from its pragmatically neutral position at the end of the sentence. Consider this example:

255. **tʃalni** ti dʰejti
 tʃal-n-i t-i dʰejti
 walk-past-3fs dst-fs old.woman
 v-vtns-vpstagr dem-magr nf
That old woman WENT.

4.6.1.2 **Backing**

Since Khandeshi Bhili is an SOV language, it is not possible to front the subject noticeably, so when the subject of the clause is to be emphasized, it is postponed to the back of the sentence from its pragmatically neutral position at the beginning. Consider these examples:

256. məŋg pəkkə gʰabrigəjət **te doni dzənə**
 məŋg pəkk-ə gʰaber-i-dʒa-j-ət t-e doni dzən-ə
 then more-mp worry-vst-go-past-3mp dst-3mp two man-mp
 conj adj-ms nm-cptcl-v-vtns-vpstagr dem-magr adj nm-ns
Then THOSE TWO PEOPLE worried.

257. mənɟ səkasla utʰni anə aŋɟ dʰojilini **dʰejri**
 mənɟ səkas-la utʰ-n-i anə aŋɟ dʰoj-i-li-n-i
 then morning-to rise-past-3fs and body wash-vst-take-past-3fs
 conj nm-nc v-vtns-vpstagr conj nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
 dʰejri
 old.woman
 nf
Then THE OLD WOMAN got up in the morning and washed (her) body.

The locative phrase, whose pragmatically neutral position is before the verb, can come after the verb to be emphasized. Consider this example:

258. tʃalʰa tʃalʰa gəji ʰini **aŋderni gʰər**
 tʃal-ʰa tʃal-ʰa dʒa-j-i ʰ-i-n-i
 walk-subj walk-subj go-past-3fs dst-fs-gen-fs
 v-vm v-vm v-vtns-vpstagr dem-magr-nc-magr
 aŋder-n-i gʰər
 daughter-gen-fs house
 nf-nc-magr nm
While walking (she) went TO HER DAUGHTER'S HOUSE.

The object, whose pragmatically neutral position is after the subject and before the verb, can come after the verb to be emphasized. Consider this example:

259. mənɟ daktər saŋna ʰumə sakri leidʒa **tela**
 mənɟ daktər saŋg-n-a ʰumə sakri le-i-dʒa ʰ-o-la
 then doctor tell-past-3ms 2p sakri take-vst-go dst-3ms-acc
 conj nm v-vtns-vpstagr pron propn v-cptcl-v pron-ns-nc
Then the doctor said, "You take HIM to Sakri."

4.6.1.3 Emphatic Particles and Clitics

Emphatic particles and clitics may also be used to emphasize the immediately preceding element in a clause. Notice in the following examples the emphatic clitic *-dʒ* is used to emphasize different elements (a noun and a locative adverb, respectively):

260. mənɟ dʰejri bətʰa **rəsədʒ** waɾidej
 mənɟ dʰejri bətʰ-a rəs-ə-dʒ waɾ-i-ɟe-j
 then old.woman all-ms soup-mp-emph serve-vst-give-pre.s
 conj nf adj-ms nm-magr-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Then the old woman serves, all the soup only.

261. tə te d^hɛjɾijala sangət **at^hidz** darpən bəs
 tə t-e d^hɛjɾija-la sang-t at^hi-dz dar-pən bəs
 then dst-3mp old.man-acc tell-pre.p here-emph door-near sit
 conj pron-magr nm-nc v-vtns loc-nc nm-nc v
Then they tell to the old man, “(You) sit here only near the door.”

4.6.2 Negation

4.6.2.1 In Verbal and Non-verbal Clause

The Khandeshi Bhili verbal and non-verbal clauses are negated by the negative particles *na* ‘no’ and *kajna* ‘nothing’. These particles occur before the verb. Consider these examples:

262. jeh d̥ew **na** sət̥
 jeh d̥ew na s-t̥
 these god no cop-pre.p
 dem nm neg aux.v-vtns
These are not gods.

263. pən t̥o d^hɛjɾija **kajna** d̥ej
 pən t̥-o d^hɛjɾija kajna d̥e-j
 but dst-3ms old.man nothing give-pre.s
 conj dem-magr nm neg v-vtns
But that old man does give nothing.

4.6.2.2 Prohibition

Prohibition (or negative imperative) is expressed in Khandeshi Bhili using the negative particle *noko* ‘no’. This particle occurs after the verb and the verb takes verb compounding participle form with *-u*. Consider this example:

264. səkaɭ unmə dʒastə **p^hiru noko**
 səkaɭ un-mə dʒastə p^hir-u noko
 tomorrow sunshine-in more roam-vst not
 adv nm-nc adj v-cptcl neg
Do not roam more in sunshine tomorrow.

4.6.3 Non-Declarative Speech Acts

4.6.3.1 Interrogatives

4.6.3.1.1 Yes/No questions

Yes/no questions are interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Khandeshi Bhili yes/no questions are formed by the addition of the question particle *ka* in the final position of the sentence. Consider these examples:

265. mɛŋg tɔ kola saŋna d̪ʰɛjɽi d̪ʰɛjɽi tula k^hasu **ka**
 mɛŋg t-o kola saŋ-n-a d̪ʰɛjɽi d̪ʰɛjɽi tu-la
 then dst-3ms fox tell-past-3ms old.woman old.woman 2s-acc
 conj dem-magr nm v-vtns-vpstagr nf nf pron-nc
 k^ha-s-u ka
 eat-fut-1s ptcl
 v-vtns-vfutagr ques
Then that fox said, “Old woman, old woman shall I eat you?”
266. tɛntjab^hilla tu d̪ɛk^hel wɛtɔl **ka**
 tɛntjab^hil-la tu d̪ɛk^h-el wɛ-t-al ka
 tantiabhil-acc 2s see-perf cop-phab-ms ptcl
 propn-nc pron v-asp aux.v-vtns-vpstagr ques
Had you seen Tantiabhil?

4.6.3.1.2 Content questions

Content question words were discussed in detail in section 3.1.2.5.

4.6.3.2 Imperatives

Imperatives denote the command or advice attitude of the speaker. The Khandeshi Bhili imperatives take the uninflected verb roots forms when the command or advice is not very strong. But when the command or advice is very strong and must to be done or to give more emphasis on the command, the imperative marker *-dʒ* is added to the non-finite form of the verb. This imperative marker is followed by the number markers *-i* for singular and *-a* for plural. There is no honorific in Khandeshi Bhili so for every body the same forms are used. See section 3.2.5.3.1 for more details.

5 SAMPLE TEXT

267. jek d^hejtija rəhəj
 jek d^hejtija rəh-j
 one old.man stay-pre.s
 num nm v-vtns
An old man stays. (There was an old man.)
268. anə t_o d^hejtijani jek wawli wətil
 anə t_o d^hejtija-n-i jek wawli wə-t-il
 and dst-3ms old.man-gen-fp one field cop-phab-fs
 conj dem-ns nm-nc-magr num nm aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
And that old man had a field.
269. anə t_{ena} wawlimə b^hat lajel rəhəj
 anə t_o-n-a wawli-mə b^hat laj-el rəh-j
 and dst-3ms-gen-ms field-in paddy put-perf stay-pre.s
 conj pron-ns-nc-magr nm-nc nm v-asp v-vtns
And paddy was sown in his field.
270. məng t_əji pəkkə t_ʃira bəsət
 məng t_əji pəkk-ə t_ʃira-ə bəs-t
 then there more-mp bird-mp sit-pre.p
 conj adv adj-ms nm-ns v-vtns
Then more birds sit there.
271. anə rodz d^hejtija kətaldzaj
 anə rodz d^hejtija kətal-i-dza-j
 and everyday old.man worry-vst-go-pre.s
 conj adv nm v-cptcl-v-vtns
And everyday the old man worries.
272. anə d^hejtija jek rodz jek t_ʃirana t_əngra t_ot_itəkəj
 anə d^hejtija jek rodz jek t_ʃira-n-a t_əngra t_ot_i-tək-j
 and old.man one day one bird-gen-ms leg break-vst-put-pre.s
 conj nm num n num nm-nc-magr nm v-cptcl-v-vtns
And one day the old man breaks the leg of a bird.
273. t_o t_ʃira pəkka rərej anə saŋgəj d^hejtija hanna t_ipra anə t_əngra mo_itəkna
 t_o t_ʃira pəkka-a rərej anə saŋg-j d^hejtija
 dst-3ms bird more-ms cry-pre.s and tell-pre.s old.man
 dem-ns nm adj-ms v-vtns conj v-vtns nm
 han-n-a anə t_əngra mo_itək-n-a
 beat-past-3ms and leg break-vst-put-past-3ms
 v-vtns-vpstagr conj nm v-cptcl-v-vtns-vpstagr
That bird cries more and says, “The old man beat (with) the stick and broke (my) leg.”

274. tʃiɾa tʃiw tʃiw kərəj
 tʃiɾa tʃiw tʃiw kər-j
 bird sound.of.bird sound.of.bird do-pre.s
 nm nm nm v-vtns
The bird makes sound.
275. məŋg jek məjsi tʃarnar b^hetəj t̩sɾa
 məŋg jek məjsi tʃar-nar b^het-j t̩-e-s-la
 then one buffalo make.graze-person meet-pre.s dst-3mp-p-acc
 conj num nf v-nc v-vtns pron-magr-ns-nc
Then a buffalo grazing boy meets them.
276. t̩o saŋgəj d^hejɾija d^hejɾija məŋja bət^hja məjsi leile anə haw tʃiɾa mala d̩e
 t̩-o saŋg-j d^hejɾija d^hejɾija mi-n-ja
 dst-3ms tell-pre.s old.man old.man 1s-gen-fp
 pron-ns v-vtns nm nm pron-nc-magr
 bət^h-ja məjsi haw tʃiɾa mi-la d̩e
 all-fp buffalo this bird 1s-dat give
 adj-ms nf dem nm pron-nc v
He says, "Old man, old man take all my buffalo and give this bird to me.
277. pən t̩o d^hejɾija kajna d̩ej
 pən t̩-o d^hejɾija kajna d̩e-j
 but dst-3ms old.man nothing give-pre.s
 conj dem-magr nm neg v-vtns
But that old man gives nothing.
278. məŋg t̩o niŋgidzaj
 məŋg t̩-o niŋg-i-dza-j
 then dst-3ms go-vst-go-pre.s
 conj pron-ns v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Then he goes.
279. məŋg puɾə tʃal̩ta tʃal̩ta jek bəkrija tʃarnar b^hetəj
 məŋg puɾə tʃal-ta tʃal-ta jek bəkri-ja
 then front walk-inf walk-inf one goat-fp
 conj postp v-vaf v-vaf num nf-ns
 tʃar-nar b^het-j
 make.graze-person meet-pre.s
 v-nc v-vtns
Then while walking a goat grazing boy meets in front.
280. t̩o saŋgəj d^hejɾija kəji dza-j
 t̩-o saŋg-j d^hejɾija kəji dza-j
 dst-3ms tell-pre.s old.man where go-pre.s
 pron-ns v-vtns nm adv v-vtns
He says, "Old man, where do you go?"

281. məŋg t̥o saŋgəj haw tʃiɾa mənə bətʰa bʰat̥ kʰaigəja
 məŋg t̥-o saŋg-j haw tʃiɾa mi-n-a bətʰ-a
 then dst-3ms tell-pre.s this bird 1s-gen-ms all-ms
 conj pron-ns v-vtns dem nm pron-nc-magr adj-ms
 bʰat̥ kʰa-i-dʒa-j-a
 paddy eat-vst-go-past-3ms
 nm v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vpstagr
Then he says, "This bird ate all my paddy."
282. t̥ə tʃiɾa pəkka rət̥inə saŋgəj d̥ʰejɾija hanna t̥ipra anə t̥əŋgɾa moɾit̥akna
 t̥ə tʃiɾa pək-k-a rət̥-inə saŋg-j d̥ʰejɾija han-n-a
 then bird more-ms cry-ts tell-pre.s old.man beat-past-3ms
 conj nm adj-ms v-vm v-vtns nm v-vtns-vpstagr
 t̥ipra anə t̥əŋgɾa moɾ-i-t̥ak-n-a
 stick and leg break-vst-put-past-3ms
 nm conj nm v-cptcl-v-vtns-vpstagr
Then having cried more, the bird says, "Old man beat (with) the stick and broke (my) leg."
283. məŋg tʃiɾa tʃiw tʃiw kərəj
 məŋg tʃiɾa tʃiw tʃiw kər-j
 then bird sound.of.bird sound.of.bird do-pre.s
 conj nm nm nm v-vtns
Then the bird makes sound.
284. məŋg t̥o bəkrija tʃarnar saŋgəj mənja bətʰja bəkrija leile anə haji tʃiɾa mala d̥e
 məŋg t̥-o bəkri-ja tʃar-nar saŋg-j
 then dst-3ms goat-fp make.graze-person tell-pre.s
 conj dem-ns nf-ns v-nc v-vtns
 mi-n-ja bəkri-ja le-i-le anə haji tʃiɾa
 1s-gen-fp goat-fp take-vst-take and this bird
 pron-nc-magr nf-ns v-cptcl-aux.v conj dem nm
 mi-la d̥e
 1s-dat give
 pron-nc v
Then that goat grazing boy tells, "Take all my goats and give me this bird."
285. məŋg d̥ʰejɾija kajna d̥ej t̥ela anə niŋgidʒaj
 məŋg d̥ʰejɾija kajna d̥e-j t̥-o-la anə niŋ-i-dʒa-j
 then old.man nothing give-pre.s dst-3ms-acc and go-vst-go-pre.s
 conj nm neg v-vtns pron-ns-nc conj v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Then the old man does not give him and goes.

286. məŋg gawmə jek ləgin rəhəj
 məŋg gaw-mə jek ləgin rəh-j
 then village-in one marriage stay-3s
 conj nm-nc num nm v-vpreagr
Then there is a marriage in the village.
287. məŋg to d^həjtija tɛji ləginmə dʒaj
 məŋg t-o d^həjtija tɛji ləgin-mə dʒa-j
 then dem-3ms old.man there marriage-in go-pre.s
 conj dst-magr nm loc nm-nc v-vtns
Then that old man goes there to the marriage.
288. tɛ ləginmə lokə kaj saŋgət tɛla tula bət^ha raŋdɛl b^hat dɪsət to tʃiɾa amla dɛ
 t-e ləgin-n-ə lok-ə kaj saŋg-t
 dst-3mp marriage-gen-mp people-mp what tell-pre.p
 dem-magr nm-nc-ns nm-ns adv v-vtns
 t-o-la tu-la bət^h-a raŋd-el dɛ-s-ut
 dst-3ms-acc 2s-acc all-ms cook-perf give-fut-2p.excl
 pron-ns-nc pron-nc adj-ms v-asp v-vtns-vfutagr
 t-o tʃiɾa amə-la dɛ
 dst-3ms bird 1p.excl-acc give
 dem-ns nm pron-nc v
Those marriage people tell him, “We will give all cooked rice to you, give us that bird.”
289. məŋg to d^həjtija tɛsla tʃiɾala diidej
 məŋg t-o d^həjtija t-e-s-la tʃiɾa-la dɛ-i-dɛ-j
 then dst-3ms old.man dst-3mp-p-dat bird-acc give-vst-give-pre.s
 conj dem-magr nm pron-magr-ns-nc nm-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Then the old man gives the bird to them.
290. tə tɛ d^həjtijala saŋgət a^hi dʒ darpən bəs
 tə t-e d^həjtija-la saŋg-t a^hi-dʒ dar-pən bəs
 then pron-3mp old.man-acc tell-pre.p here-emph door-near sit
 conj dst-magr nm-nc v-vtns loc-nc nm-nc v
Then they tell to the old man, “(You) sit here only near the door.”
291. d^həjtijala waɾɛj aɾə tɛ waɾidejit
 d^həjtija-la waɾ-j aɾə t-e waɾ-i-dɛ-j-it
 old.man-dat feel-pre.s now dst-3mp serve-vst-give-fut-3pl
 nm-nc v-vtns adv pron-magr v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns-vfutagr
The old man feels, now they will serve (me).
292. to tɛʃadʒ bəsirɛj
 t-o tɛʃ-a-dʒ bəs-i-rɛ-j
 dst-3ms like.that-ms-emph sit-vst-stay-pre.s
 pron-ns adj-magr-nc v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns
Like that (he) sits.

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293. bət^ha awraj dʒaj
bət^h-a awraj dʒa-j
sit-ms finish go-pre.s
v-ms n v-vtns
Everything finishes.
294. ɖ^hɛjɾija la kajna b^hɛɾɛj b^hat
ɖ^hɛjɾija-la kajna b^hɛɾ-j b^hat
old.man-dat nothing get-pre.s cooked.rice
nm-nc neg v-vtns nm
The old man does not get rice.
295. məŋg tʃiɾa bi uɾidʒaj anə ɖ^hɛjɾija bi p^hiriɟeɟ
məŋg tʃiɾa bi uɾ-i-dʒa-j anə ɖ^hɛjɾija bi
then bird also fly-vst-go-pre.s and old.man also
conj nm adv v-cptcl-aux.v-vtns conj nm adv
p^hir-i-je-j
turn-vst-come-pre.s
v-cptcl-v-vtns
Then the bird also flies away and the old man also returns back.

