Switch reference data from Malto

1 Introduction

Switch Reference (SR) refers to a phenomenon where the grammar encodes information about the identity of two arguments and whether they refer to the same entity or not. Unlike binding, which indicates co-referentiality in terms of antecedent-anaphor relation, SR encodes the information through morphological means by indicating if two different subjects of adjacent clauses are co-referential or not. The clause where SR occurs is the marking clause, and the matrix clause is the reference clause, which is adjacent to the marking clause.
Syntactic SR: (Arregi & Hanink 2021; Baker 2020; Clem 2018; Finer 1985)

1.1 Same Subject

The same subject in Malto is a little more flexible than the different subjects in its occurrence in clause types. In (1), *-ken* is the past tense marker and the same subject marker. *-ken* occurring in the first clause is the same subject marker, and *-ken* occurring in the second clause is a past marker. The evidence for *-ken* as the same subject marker comes from (2) and (3), as *-ken* as the same subject marker occurs with the progressive aspect of the present tense as in (2) and with future tense as in (3). The *-ken* morpheme can fulfil two functions: either it can be the same subject marker, or it can be a past tense marker.

(1) e:n jagun ləp-ken   əḍa-k ek-ken
     1SG food   eat-SS.1SG home go-PST.1SG

     'mai khana khakar ghar gaya.'

     'After I ate, I went home.'

(2) e:n jagun ləp-ken   əḍak ek-i-n
     1SG food   eat-SS.1SG home go-PROG.PRS-1SG

     'mai khana khakar ghar jata hu.'

     'After I eat, I go home.'

(3) e:n jagun ləp-ken   əḍak ek-e-n
     1SG food   eat-SS.1SG home go-FUT-1SG

     'mai khana khaker ghar jaunga.'

     'After I eat, I will go home.'

e:n jagun ləp-ken is a marking clause, and it is dependent for its interpretation on the matrix clause, which consists of the tense marker. *e:n jagun ləpken* will get its tense interpretation from the matrix clause with which it occurs. The same subject marking clause can be embedded with past tense, present tense and future tense matrix clauses as in (1), (2) and (3), respectively.

1.2 Different Subject

Different subject markers will only occur when the marking clause is because clause. It may occur in the after-clause when the after-clause has some reason why the action has to happen after the specific events. *-ko* in Malto is a different subject marker. There are two ways in which a sentence like *'After I went home, he slept'* can be uttered as in (4) and (5).
The interpretation of (4) is that because I went home, he slept. Otherwise, he would have waited or wouldn't have slept. The interpretation of (5) is that there is no specific reason behind sleeping after another person (I) comes home, or he is not waiting for the other person (I) to come, and then only he will sleep. In (5), *-ken* is not the same subject marker, it is a past tense marker.

(4) e:n əḍak ek-ko a: qandriya
     1SG home go-DS 3SG sleep.PST.3SG

     'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so gaya.'

     'After I went home, he slept.'

(5) e:n əḍak bərc-ken   ante a: qandriya
     1SG home go-PST.1SG and 3SG sleep.PST.3SG

     'mai ghar gaya aur wo so gaya.'

     'I went home, and he slept.'

This can be compared with Hindi sentences, as it can be uttered in Hindi in two ways:

(6) a. mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so gaya.

     b. mai ghar gaya aur wo so gaya.

-ko marks not only the different subjects but also the reason behind the specific action, even in the after-clause type, whenever there is a reason hidden in it.
The occurrence of *-ko* and *ante* is not possible together, as in (7). The sentence will be ungrammatical. *ante* is AND.

(7) *e:n əḍak   ek-ko ante a: qandriya
     1SG homego-DS and   3SG sleep.PST.3SG

     'mai ghar gaya aur wo so gaya.'

     'I went home, and he slept.'

Whereas SS morpheme cannot occur with *ante* as in (8) and (9).

(8) *e:n jagun ləpken   ante ədak ekin
1SG food   eat-ss.1SG and home go.PROG.PRS.1SG

'mai khana khakar ghar ja raha hu.'

'After I eat food, I am going home.'

(9) *e:n jagun ləpken   ante ədak eken
1SG food   eat-ss.1SG and home go.FUT.1SG

'mai khana khakar ghar jaunga.'

'After I eat food, I will go home.'

But sentences like (8) and (9) are possible when we contextualised -ken as past tense as in (10) and (11), not as the same subject marking as in (8) and (9).

(10) e:n jagun ləpken   ante ədak ekin
1SG food eat-PST.1SG and home go.PROG.PRS.1SG

'mai khana khakar aur mai ghar ja raha hu.'

'I ate food, and I am going home.'

(11) e:n jagun ləpken   ante ədak eken
1SG food eat-PST.1SG and home go.FUT.1SG

'maine khana khaya aur mai ghar jaunga.'

'I ate food and I will go home.'

NOTE: The same subject marker shows the linked action that the first clause action or event is connected with the second clause action/or event. Therefore, 8 and 9 are ungrammatical.

The occurrence of -ko is not possible when a marking clause is embedded in a future matrix clause and present habitual matrix clause, as in (12) and (13), respectively.

(12) *e:n ca:en bita-ko   a: one
1SG chai make-DS 3SGM drink.FUT

'mai chai bananeke baad, wo chai piyega.'

'After I make a tea, he will drink it.'

The action/event of the first clause should be completed; in such a case, only DS -ko will appear in the marking clause. The action of the first clause could not be completed in the future; that's why it is ungrammatical. Or the other reason could be that the -ko may possess its own past tense. -ko may be finite. Therefore, the occurrence of past and future together is not possible.

If -ko is embedded as a marking clause with a matrix clause having habitual present tense, it will result in ungrammaticality as in (13). but if -ko is embedded as a marking clause with a matrix clause having a progressive aspect in the present tense, that sentence will be grammatical as in (14) and (15). The marker of present habitual is as the marker present progressive in Malto. The same morpheme is used for both.

(13) *e:n ədək ek-ko a: quandri   (Present Habitual)
1SG home go-DS 3SGM sleep.HAB.PRS.3SGM

'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so jata hu.'

'After I go home, he sleeps.'

(14) e:n ədək ek-ko a: quandri   (Present Progressive)
1SG home go-DS 3SGM sleep.PROG.PRS.3SGM

'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so raha hai.'

'After I go home, he is sleeping.'

(15) Rahule ədək bərc-ko e:n   eskulek ekin   (Prs Progressive)
Rahul home go-DS 3SGM school sleep.PROG.PRS.3SGM

'Rahul ghar aane ke baad wo so raha hai.'

'After Rahul comes home, I am sleeping.'

The different subject marker -ko can only embedded with present progressive, past and present perfective matrix clauses. It cannot embedded with a future matrix clause.

-no as DS

The -no marker can be embedded in future matrix clauses and present habitual matrix clauses, as in (16) and (17), but -no is used, when there are different subjects. Therefore, -no is the switch reference marker.

(16) e:n ca:en bitə-no   a: one
1SG tea   make-DS he drink. textscfut

'mai chai banaunga aur wo chai piyega.'

'After I make a tea, He will have a tea.'

(17) e:n ca:en bitə-no   a: oni
1SG tea   make-DS he drink.HAB.PRS

'mai chai banane ke baad wo chai pita hai.'

'After I make a tea, He drinks a tea.'

-no can also occur when there is a different subject, as in (20).

(18) e:n ca:en bita-ken   onen
1SG tea   make-ss.1SG drink.FUT

'mai chai bananeke baad piyunga.'

'After I make a tea, I will drink a tea.'

(19) *e:n ca:en bitə-no onen
1SG tea make-? drink.FUT
'Mai chai banakar chai piyunga.'
'After I make a tea, I will drink it.'

(20) e:n ca:en bitə-no a: one
1SG tea make-DS 3SGM drink.FUT.3SGM
'mai chai banane ke baad wo chai piyega.'
'If I make a tea, he will drink it.'

Therefore, -*no* is a different subject switch reference marker.

The occurrence of SS and DS in certain tenses and aspects

(21) e:n ca:en bit-le onin
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink.HAB.PRS.1SG
'mai chai banakar pita hu.'
'After I make tea, I drink it.'

(22) e:n ca:en bit-no a:d oni:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink.HAB.PRS.3SGF
'mai chai bananeke baad wo chai piti hai.'
'After I make a tea, she drinks it.'

(23) e:n ca:en bit-le onḍ-a siŋ-ken
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink-PST HAB.PST.1SG
'mai chai banake pita tha(=siŋken).'
'After I made tea, I used to drink it.'

(24) e:n ca:en bit-no a:d onḍ-a siŋgiya:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink-PST HAB.PST.3SGF
'mai chai banake baad, wo chai pita thi(=siŋgiya:d).'
'After I made tea, she used to drink it.'

(25) e:n ca:en bit-le onḍa siŋgen
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink HAB.FUT.1SG
'mai (roj) chai banake pita raunga .'
'After I make tea, I will drink it.'

(26) e:n ca:en bit-no a:d onḍa siŋgani:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink HAB.FUT.3SGF
'mai chai banane ke baad wo chai piti rahegi.'
'After I make tea, she will drink .'

(27) e:n ca:en bita-ken onin
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink.PROG.PRS.1SG
'mai chai banake pi raha hu.'
'After I make, I am drinking it.'

(28) e:n ca:en bita-ko a:d oni:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink.PROG.PRS.3SGF
'mai chai banane-ke baad wo chai pi rahi hai.'
'After I make tea, she is drinking it.'

(29) e:n ca:en bita-ken onḍ ḍokken
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink PROG.PST.1SG
'mai chai banakar pi raha tha.'
'After I made tea, I was drinking it.'

(30) e:n ca:en bita-ko a:d onḍ ḍokiya:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink PROG.PST.3SGF
'mai chai banane ke baad wo chai pi rahi thi.'
'After I made tea, she was drinking it.'

(31) e:n ca:en bita-ken onḍ ḍoken
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink PROG.FUT.1SG
'mai chai bana ke pita rahunga.'
'After I make tea, I will be drinking it.'

(32) e:n ca:en bit-no a:d onḍ ḍokani:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink PROG.FUT.3SGF
'mai chai bananeke baad wo chai piti raha.'
'After I make a tea, she will be drinking it.'

(33) e:n ca:en bita-ken onḍa-ken
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink-PRF.PRS.1SG
'maine chai banake pi liyi hai.'
'After I made tea, I have drunk it.'

(34) e:n ca:en bita-ko a: onḍa
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink.PRF.PRS.3SGM
'maine chai banaeke baad ussne chai pi liyi hai.'
'After I made tea, he has drunk it.'

(35) e:n ca:en bita-ken onḍa-ken
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink-PRF.PST.1SG

'maine chai banakar pi liyi thi.'

'After I made tea, I had drunk it.'

(36) e:n ca:en bita-ko a:d onḍa:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink-PRF.PST.3SGF

'maine chai bananeke baad ussne chai pi liyi thi.'

'After I made tea, She had drunk it.'

(37) e:n ca:en bita-ken onen
1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink.PRF.FUT.1SG

'maine chai banakar piliyi hogi.'

'After I make tea. I will have drunk it.'

(38) e:n ca:en bitə-no a:d onani:d
1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink.PRF.FUT.3SGF

'mai chai bananeke baad ussne chai piliyi hogi.'

'After I made tea, she will have drunk it.'

Following (21) to (38), we draw a table below:

SR markers distribution with Matrix clauses' Aspects and Tenses			
Aspect	Tense	SS	DS
Habitual	Present	-le	-no
Habitual	Past	-le	-no
Habitual	Future	-le	-no
Progressive	Present	-k + phi	-ko
Progressive	Past	-k + phi	-ko
Progressive	Future	-k + phi	-no
Perfective	Present	-k + phi	-ko
Perfective	Past	-k + phi	-ko
Perfective	Future	-k + phi	-no
Conditional		-n + phi	-

2 Data Description

Context to (39): He made a tea; that's why I drank the tea. Otherwise, I wouldn't not. OR The reason I drank tea is because he made it.

(39) a: ca:-en bita-ko e:n onḍa-ken
3SGM tea-ACC make-DS 1SG drink-PST.1SG

'uss-ne chai banane ke baad maine chai piyi.'

'After he made a tea, I drank it.'

Context to (40) and (41): if the first clause action has an effect on the second clause action, then only *-ko* can be used. *-ko* always implies the reason. The reason can be hidden when *-ko* occurs in AFTER-clause - in this case, the reason is hidden in the after clause as to why the person performed the particular action after some event.

(40) ni:n bi:k-ko e:n bərtʃ-ken
2SG call-DS 1SG call-PST.1SG

'tumne muze bolaya isliye mai aaya.'

'I came because you called me.'

(41) a: əḍa-k bərca ante e:n eskul-ek ek-ken
3SGM ghar come-PST.3SGM and 1SG school-DAT go-PST.1SG

'wo ghar aaya aur mai school gaya.'

'He came home, and I went to school.'

ante is AND in Malto, *ante* also indicates the sequential action or events.

Context to (42): One has to be in the house to take care of it. (If you had not come, I would not have gone to school.)

(42) ni:n aḍak bərc-ko e:n eskul-ek ek-ken
2SG home come-DS 1SG school-DAT go-PST.1SG

'tum ghar aane ke baad mai school gaya.'

'After you came home, I went to school.'

Context for (43): If he comes, I will go. If he doesn't come, I will go. Whether he comes or not, I will go; because there is no need to take care of the home.

(43) ni:n əḍak bərc-ke ante e:n eskul-ek ek-ken
2SG home come-PST.2SG and 1SG school-DAT go-PST.1SG

'tum ghar aaye aur mai school gaya.'

'You came home, and I school gaya.'

Context to (44) is same as the context of (43):

(44) ni:n əḍak bərane ante e:n eskul-ek eken
2SG home come.FUT.2SG and 1SG school-DAT go.FUT.1SG

'tum ghar aayoge aur mai school jaunga.'

'You will come home, and I will go to school.'

Context to (45): Unless and until you come home, I can't go.

(45) ni:n əɖak bərane   ante-hi e:n eskul-ek eken
      2SG home come.FUT.2SG and-EMP 1SG school-EK go.FUT.1SG

      'tum ghar aane ke baad hi mai school jaunga.'

      'I will go to school only after you come home.'

NOTE: *-ko* shows the completed event or activity. It shows that a particular event has occurred.

Context to (46): *-ko* as occurring as different subject marker in past tense. If the action has been completed and there are different subjects in the clauses of the single sentence, then *-ko* will be used as the different subject marker in the marking clause.

(46) e:n ca:-en bita-ko a: onɖa
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink-PST.3SGM

      'maine chai banane ke baad ussne chai piyi.'

      'After I made a tea, he drank it.'

Context to (47): *-no* is used as a different subject marker when the action has not been completed; it will occur in future as (47) or in the habitual aspect when there are different subjects in two clauses of a single sentence as in (48). *-no* consists of the reason that may be overt or covert. Therefore, *-no* is a different subject maker used when there is the habitual aspect in the matrix clause in all tenses and when the matrix clause has a future tense.

(47) e:n ca:-en bitə-no a: one
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink.FUT.3SGM

      'mai chai banane ke baad wo chai piyega.'

      'After I prepare tea, he will drink it.'

(48) e:n ca:-en bitə-no a: oni
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink.HAB.PRS.3SGM

      'mai chai banane ke baad wo chai pita hai.'

      'After I prepare tea, he drinks it.'

Context to (49): *-le* is when the subjects of both clauses are the same, and the aspect of the matrix clause is habitual. That is, *-le* is the same subject marker for the habitual aspect in all the tenses.

(49) e:n ca:-en bit-le   onin
      1SG tea-ACC make-SS.1SG drink.HAB.PRS.1SG

      'mai chai banane ke baad, mai chai pita hu.'

      'After I prepare tea, I drink it.'

Same subject and Different subject in conditional

Context to (50): *-n-* is a condition marker; the clause consisting of -n- will require the subjective in the matrix clause. *kor-n-en* cannot occur on its own as it is a conditional. The conditional requires the if-clause and then-clause; therefore, *kor-n-en* will require the subjective matrix clause to be grammatical. *kor* means enter, *-n-* is conditional marker and *-en* stands for the PNG inflection for first person singular. When *-n-* combines with PNG features, it forms the Same subject marker as in (50).

(50) e:n əɖak kor-n-en   jagun ləp-l-en
      1SG home enter-SS.CONDITIONAL.1SG food eat-SUBJ-1SG

      'agar mai ghar jata toh hi khana khata.'

      'If I had gone home, then I would have eaten.'

(51) is ungrammatical because *-n-en* is same subject SR.

(51) *e:n əɖak kor-n-en   ante jagun ləp-l-en
      1SG home enter-SS.CONDITIONAL.1SG and food eat-SUBJ-1SG

      'agar mai ghar jata toh hi khana khata.'

      'If I had gone home, then I would have eaten.'

Context to (52): whereas if you try to put different subject in *-n-* conditional then sentence will result in ungrammaticality as in (52). Therefore, I assume that [*-n-* + Phi] is the same subject marker for the conditional sentences.

(52) *e:n əɖak ek-n-en   a:d jagun ləpli:d
      1SG home go-SS.Cond.1SG 3SGF food eat-SUBJ-3SGF

      'agar mai ghar jata toh wo khana khati.'

      'if I had gone home, she would have eaten food.'

Context to (53): If sentence (52) has to be correct, then we have to insert *-l-* subjective or condition to make it grammatical, as in (53). The sentence (53) indicates that *-l-* with Phi features does not mark the different subject construction in conditional sentences. It just a subjunctive.

(53) judi e:n əɖak ek-l-en   a:d jagun ləp-l-i:d
      if   1SG home go-DS.Cond.1SG 3SGF food eat-SUBJ-3SGF

      'agar mai ghar jata toh wo khana khati.'

      'if I had gone home, she would have eaten food.'

Context to (54): Another way of uttering (53) is (54) where *then* is used explicitly, and both of the clauses I think are marked by subjective, and it is very hard to that *bər-l-i:d* consists of DS or subjunctive. It is not SR by the test of coordination*ante*. I would say both clauses are simply subjunctive. In (54), *ano* means 'then'.

(54) a:d   əḍak bər-l-i:d   ano e:n jagun ləp-l-en
      3SGF home comeDS.COND.3SGF then 1SG food eat-SUBJ-1SG

      'agar wo ghar aati toh mai khana khata.'

      'If she had come home, then I would have eaten food.'

In (55), *-l-i:d* is possible with *ante* therefore, *-l-i:d* is not different subject SR.

(55) a:d əḍak bər-l-i:d   ante e:n jagun ləp-l-en
      3SGF home comeDS.COND.3SGF ante 1SG food eat-SUBJ-1SG

      'agar wo ghar aati aur mai khana khata.'

      'If she had come home and I would have eaten food.'

In (56), *ano* is used in the sense of there (waha). *ano* means THERE in (56). therefore, the sentence is grammatical. ano = waha

(56) e:n əḍak kor-n-en   ano jagun ləp-l-en
      1SG home enter-SS.CONDITIONAL.1SG there food eat-SUBJ-1SG

      'agar mai ghar jata toh waha khana khata.'

      'If I had gone home, then I would have eaten.'

Context to (57): *-no* is a different subject marker that is used when the matrix clause has a habitual aspect or future tense. *-no* indicates that the subjects of both clauses are different. *-ko* is a different subject marker used in progressive and perfective aspects in the present and past tense.

(57) e:n ca:-en bitə-no a: oni   (PRS-HAB)
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink.PRS.HAB.3SGM

      'mai chai banane ke baad wo chai pita hai.'

      'After I drink a tea, he drinks a tea.'

Context to (58): *-ko* is the different subject marker. The marker of the present habitual and present progressive has the same morphological form. It can be only distinguished by the context. If we use *-ko* with the context of present habitual, then the sentence will become ungrammatical. *-ko* is used as the different subject marker only in the perfective and progressive aspects of present tense and past tense.

(58) e:n ca:-en bitə-ko a: oni   (PRS-PROG)
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink.PRS.PROG.3SGM

      'maine chai banane ke baad wo chai pi raha hai.'

      'maine chai banayi isliye wo chai pi raha hai.'

      'After I prepare a tea, he is drinking it.'

      'I prepare a tea, that's why he is drinking it.'

Context to (59): (59) is simply the coordination sentence.

(59) e:n ca:-en bit-en   ante a: one
      1SG tea-ACC make-FUT.1SG and 3SGM drink.FUT.3SGM

      'maine chai banaunga aur wo chai piyega.'

      'I will prepare a tea and he will drink it.'

Context to (60): *-no* is the different subject marker that occurs only when the matrix clause has a habitual aspect or the future tense. In (60), the matrix clause consists of future tense; therefore, *-no* is used as the different subject marker.

(60) e:n ca:-en bita-no a: one
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink.FUT.3SGM

      'maine chai bananeke baad ussne chai piyinga.'

      'After I prepare a tea, he will drink it.'

Context to (61): If *-no* is used for the same subject, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical as in (61).

(61) *e:n ca:-en bita-no onen
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS drink.FUT.1SG

      'maine chai bananeke baad chai chai piyunga.'

      'After I prepare a tea, I will drink it.'

Context to (62): if *-ko* is used as a different subject marker when the Matrix clause consists of future tense, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (62).

(62) *e:n ca:-en bita-ko a: one
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGM drink.FUT.3SGM

      'maine chai baananeke baad ussne chai piyi.'

      'After I prepare a tea, he will drink it.'

Note: *-ko* is used as a suffix to the verb in the sense of different subject means that action has been completed in the strict sense. When Switch reference is used in the Malto, it means that the two events are interconnected, the first event causally linked with the second event. The first event shows the consequence of the second event. If the first event follows, the second event will happen; if the first event doesn't occur, the second event will not occur or take place.

-ko means the event has occurred or the action has been completed or something has already taken place or something has happened (In Hindi, Hoagaya or hogayi).

1. [*-ko* (marking clause or first clause)] [Done-Perfective in past and present (reference clause or matrix clause or second clause)]
2. [*-ko* (marking clause or first clause)] [Doing-Progressive in past and present (reference clause or matrix clause or second clause)]

3. [-*no* (marking clause or first clause)] [Habitual in all tense or future tense (reference clause or matrix clause or second clause)]

Context to (63): The reference clause consists of the infinitive verb in the Matrix clause as well as the finite verb in the Matrix clause, which means 'could'. -*ko* is used as the different subject marker when there is an infinitive verb with a finite past tense verb as in (63).

(63) e:n əḍak ek-ko a: jagun ləp-oti parcha
      1SG home go-DS 3SGM food eat-INF could.3SGM

      'mai ghar aaya isliye wo khana kha saka.'

      'I came home therefore he could eat.'

Context to (64): *ante-hi* means 'then'. *ante-hi* also connects the two events, but it does not involve the SR. As both of the clauses take finite tense.

(64) e:n əḍak bər-en   ante-hi a: jagun ləp-oti parye
      1SG home come-FUT.1SG then   3SGM food eat-INF can.FUT.3SGM

      'mai aane ke baad hi wo khana kha payega.'

      'After I come home, then only he can eat food.'

Context to (65): It shows the use of *ante-hi* with an infinitive verb embedded in a finite verb having future marking. Both clauses have finite verbs.

(65) abo   bəre   ante-hi Rahule jagun ləp-oti pariye
      father come.FUT.3SGM then   Rahul food eat-INF can-FUT.3SGM

      'Pitaji aane ke baad hi Rahul khana kha payega.'

      'After father comes, then only Rahul can eat food.'

Context to (66): The verbs **banana (prepare)** and **khana (eat)** are semantically linked together. if you are cooking the food, that means someone is hungry, and the food has to be eaten. In all such a context the switch reference markers will be used. One of the conditions to use SR in Malto requires that two events have to be connected or interlinked, or the second event must be dependent on the first event to occur. So, SR in Malto requires the semantic dependency of the events. (66) has a condition that if only his father prepares food, then Rahul will eat; otherwise, he won't. In such conditions, only the switch-reference in Malto will be used. Such conditions can be embedded in the after-clause and because-clauses in Malto. I would say that if a condition like this occurs in Malto, then the SR will occur. SR in Malto does not strictly follow the clause type. The case is that the after clause and because clause generates such conditions. Therefore, When-clause in Malto cannot mark the SR as it enables to generate such a condition. Earlier, we considered that when clause

can mark SR, but with this data collected (April-May 2024), I presume that When-clause cannot mark the SR, when-clause can only mark SR if it is able to generate the condition which we have discussed, The data of when-clause I have explored I did not find the SR occurring in when-clause.

(66) abo   jagun bita-ko   Rahule jagun lepiya
      father food prepare-DS Rahule food   eat.PST.3SGM

      'Pitaji khana banane ke baad, Rahul-ne khana khaya.'

      'After father prepared food, Rahul ate the food.'

Context to (67): Using *ante* removes the condition that we have discussed for SR occurring, that is, the two events are interlinked, and the second event will occur only when the first event occurs. In (67), it is not important that I go home, whether I go home or not, He will go to school. There is no dependency between the two events. The use of *ante* shows that there is no causal dependency. The two events can occur separately in separate time periods. They are not bound to a single timeline.

(67) e:n əḍak ek-ken   ante a: eskulek ekiya
      1SG home go-PST.1SG and 3SG school go.PST.3SGM

      'mai ghar gaya aur wo school gaya.'

      'I went home, and she went to school.'

Context to (68) and (69): There is another way that the SR condition can be bound without using SR marking, Which is to use *'ani-se'* explicitly, which means because (isliye).

(68) e:n pəɽəch-ken   ani-se examen kurk-ken
      1SG study-PST.1SG because exam   write-PST.1SG

      'maine padhai kiyi isliye exam diyi.'

      'I wrote the exam because I studied.'

(69) e:n a:hen pədytriken   ani-se a: exame-n kurkiya
      1SG 3SG-ACC teach-PST.1SG because 3SG exam-ACC write-PST.3SGM

      'maine usko padhaiya isliye ussne exam diyi.'

      'He wrote the exam because I taught him.'

Another way of writing (69) with using SR is (70), the condition will be the same; it won't differ just the use of the SR system.

(70) e:n a:he-n padytri-ko a: exame-n kurkiya
      1SG 3SG-ACC teach-DS   3SGM exam-ACC write-PST.3SGM

      'maine usko padhaiya isliye ussne exam diyi.'

      'He wrote the exam because I taught him.'

Context to (71): If there is the same subject in both of the clauses but one of the subjects has dative case marking, then -*ko* will used because switch-reference in Malto involves the agreement. The second clause's main verb agrees with *kiɖe* but not with the dative subject 1SG. The dative subject has been covertly marked with the help of -*ko*.

(71) e:n eskule-k   bərc-ko amu kiɖe   dərcha
      1SG school-ACC come-DS water thirst.3SGM get.PST.3SGM

      'mai school gaya toh muze pyas lagi.'

      'After I went to school, I got thirsty.'

Context to (72): -*ko* cannot be inserted when there is *ante*, therefore, 72 is ungrammatical.

(72) *e:n eskule-k   bərc-ko ante amu kiɖe   dərcha
      1SG school-ACC come-DS and water thirst.3SGM get.PST.3SGM

      'mai school gaya toh muze pyas lagi.'

      'After I went to school, I got thirsty .'

Context to (73): *a:para* means when/then (jab/tab). The (73) is just like when-clause. But we can observe that this clause does not mark Switch-Reference, which means SR is not marked in the when-clause in Malto.

(73) e:n bərc-ken   a:pera   a: TVin e:ra   ɖokiya
      1SG come-PST.1SG that.movement 3SG watch PROG.PST.3SGM

      'jab mai aaya tab wo TV dekh raha tha.'

      'When I came, he was watching TV.'

GENERAL NOTE: -*k*- is non-finite, but it has a sense of completion. However, it is dependent on the tense of the independent clause of the matrix clause.

The use of SS and DS in the same sentence

(74) consists of both the same subject and different subject markers. They indicate three subjects in total. The first and second subjects mark the same subject marking, and the second and third subjects mark the different subject marking.

(74) e:n eskule-nte əɖa-k   kir-ken   bərc-ko a: qandrə
      1SG school-DAT home-loc come.back-SS.1SG come-DS 3SGM sleep
      ɖokiya
      PROG.PST.3SGM

      'mai school se ghar wapas aane ke baad wo so raha tha.'

      'After I came back home from school, he was sleeping.'

DS in WHEN-Clause in Malto

As (75) is able to generate the condition needed to mark the SR, therefore (75) has a different subject marking.

(75) Rahule hotele-nte oru-ko   Lokeshe-k   hotel qaquriya
      Rahul   hotel-ABL vacant-DS Lokesh-DAT hotel get.PST.3SGM

      'Jab Rahul-ne hotel khali kiya tab Lokesh ko Hotel mila.'

      'When Rahul vacated the hotel room, then Lokesh got the hotel room.'

But if we use the *jab/tab (when/then)*, then it will not be able to mark SR as in (76).

(76) e:n eskule-nte bər-en   a:para jagu-n   ləp-en
      1SG school-DAT come-FUT.1SG then   food-ACC eat-FUT.1SG

      'jab mai school se aaunga tab khana khaunga.'

      'When I will return from school, then I will eat the food.'

SS and DS in Habitual Aspect

-*le* is used as the same subject marker in the habitual aspect in all the tenses, and -*no* is used as the different subject in the habitual aspect in all the tenses.

(77) e:n ca:-en onɖ-le   mandire-k   eka siŋken
      1SG tea-ACC drink-SS temple-DAT go   HAB.PST.1SG

      'mai chai pike mandir jata tha.'

      'I used to go to temple after I drank a tea.'

(78) e:n hajari-n   bənatrə-le pəɽətr-oti eka siŋken
      1SG attendance-ACC make-SS   study-INF go HAB.PST.1SG

      'mai attendance lagake padhane jata tha.'

      'After marking attendance, I used to go for study.'

(79) e:n əɖa-k   ek-no Geeta:d jagun bita   siŋgiya:d
      1SG home-DAT go-DS Geeta   food   prepare HAB.PST.3SGF

      'mai ghar jaane ke baad Geeta khana banati thi.'

      'After I went home, Geeta used to prepare the food.'

we can say that like -*ko*, -*no* is also bounded by the same condition as -*ko*, there has to be a suitable condition for the SR to occur. The second event depends on the first event; if the first event occurs, only the second event will occur; otherwise, the second event will not occur. Following (77), (78), and (79), we draw the table below:

SS and DS for Habitual Aspect		
Tense	SS	DS
Present	-le	-no
Past	-le	-no
Future	-le	-no

Conditional in future marking SS

In (80), -n- indicates a conditional event, but when it takes the phi feature on it, it becomes the same subject switch-reference marker. -nen is the same subject switch reference marker. But there is no counterpart of different subjects for -nen same subject marker. If we want to construct a conditional sentence with a different subject, then we will use the simple subjective verb form marked by -l-.

(80) e:n ca:-en bitə-n-en   onen
      1SG tea-ACC make-SS-31SG drink.FUT.1SG

      'Agar mai chai banaunga toh mai chai piyunga.'

      'I will drink the tea if I will make it.'

-n- + phi feature will take the following types of matrix clause: I) matrix clause consists of future as in (80) and II) matrix clause consists of condition morpheme or subjunctive morpheme -l-. Another matrix clause may be possible; I have not explored it.

Context to (81): ante and DS marker -no can't go together; otherwise sentence will result in ungrammaticality as in (81).

(81) *Rame ca:-en bitə-no ante Sita:d ca:-en oni:d
      Ram tea-ACC make-DS and Sita tea-ACC drink.HAB.PRS.3SGF

      'Ram chai banane ke baad Sita chai piti hai.'

      'After Ram makes a tea, Sita drinks it.'

3   Test for SR to check whether specific construction in Malto is SR or not

(82) a. *e:n əḍak eklen jagun ləplen (mai ghar jata toh khana khata)

      b. e:n əḍak eklen ante jagun ləpen (mai ghar jata aur khana khata)

      c. e:n əḍak ek-n-en jagun ləplen (agar mai ghar jata toh khana khata)

      d. *e:n əḍak ek-n-en a: jagun ləple (agar mai ghar jata toh wo Khana khata)

      e. *e:n əḍak eklen a:d jagun ləpli:d (if it is a single sentence then it becomes ungrammatical - agra mai ghar jata toh wo khana khata)

f. e:n əḍak eklen a:d jagun ləpli:d (it is grammatical when we consider as two separate subjunctive sentences meaning - mai ghar jata, wo khana khata - these events are separate, not linked with each other therefore, it is grammatical.)

(83) a. *e:n əḍak kor-e-en ante jagun lep-len

      b. e:n əḍak ekken ano jagun ləplen

      c. e:n əḍak ek-n-en jagun ləplen

      d. e:n əḍak ek-n-en jagun ləpen

      e. *e:n əḍak eklen jagun ləplen

      f. e:n əḍak eklen ante jagun leplen

      g. *en əḍak ek-n-en ante jagun ləplen

      h. *e:n əḍak ek-n-en ano jagun leplen

Context to (84): The sentence is ungrammatical because -n-en is a switch-reference, therefore -n-φ and ante cannot be combined together.

(84) *e:n əḍa-k   kor-nen ante jagun lep-l-en
      1SG home-DAT enter-SS and food eat-SBJV-1SG

      'mai ghar aata aur khana khata .'

      'If I had come home and I would have eaten.'

Context to (85): -n-φ is the same subject switch reference marker. -N-φ marks the conditional situation. It is used in conditional situations only as the same subject, SR.

(85) e:n əḍa-k   ek-nen jagun ləp-l-en
      1SG home-DAT go-SS   food EAT-SBJV-1SG

      'agar mai ghar jata toh khana khata.'

      'If I had gone home, I would have eaten.'

Context to (86): ano means **there** in (86), therefore ano is possible with the switch-reference because it does not mean AND.

(86) e:n əḍa-k   ek-nen ano   jagun ləp-l-en
      1SG home-DAT go-SS   there food eat-SBJV-1SG

      'agar mai ghar jata toh waha khana khata.'

      'if I had gone home, I would have eaten there.'

Context to (87): The same subject marker -n-φ is also possible when matrix clause has future tense as in (87). -n-φ can occur when a matrix clause has a subjunctive or future tense.

(87) e:n əɖa-k   ek-nen jagun ləp-en
      1SG home-DAT go-ss   food   eat-FUT.1SG

      'agar mai ghar jaunga toh khana khaunga.'

      'If I go home, I will eat.'

Context to (88): The reason, (88) is that *-n-φ* stands for the same subject SR. But, *88* consists of different subjects, therefore it is ungrammatical.

(88) *e:n əɖa-k   ek-nen a: jagun ləple
      1SG home-DAT go-ss   3SGM food   eat-SBJV.3SGM

      'agar mai ghar jata toh wo Khana khata.'

      'If I would have gone home, then he would have eaten.'

Context to (89): If it is a single sentence, then it becomes ungrammatical. The single sentence means that it has a condition in which SR needs to mark SS or DS. That is, two events are interlinked, and the first event has an effect on the second event, the second event will only happen when the first has occurred. For the conditional sentence, this condition of SR is embedded in the form IF-THEN. If the IF-THEN condition is imposed on 89, then it becomes ungrammatical because -l-φ is not a different subject SR or SR at all. It is just the subjunctive. *-l-* marks subjunctive only.

(89) *e:n əɖa-k   ek-l-en   a:d jagun ləp-l-i:d
      1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG 3SGF food   eat-SBJV-3SGF

      'agra mai ghar jata toh wo khana khata.'

      'I would have gone home, she would have eaten.'

Context to (90): The sentence is grammatical because they are considered as two separate subjunctive sentences. It means these two events are separate, not linked with each other; therefore, (90) is grammatical.

(90) e:n əɖa-k   ek-l-en   a:d jagun ləp-l-i:d
      1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG 3SGF food   eat-SBJV-3SGF

      'mai ghar jata, wo khana khata.'

      'I would go home. She would eat.'

Context to (91): There are two reason this sentence is ungrammatical.
1. *-l-* is just subjunctive. It cannot embed the condition required for marking SR.
2. (91) will be only grammatical if it has an IF-THEN condition embedded in the meaning. Since we have the same subject SR for a condition like this, in such a situation, only *-n-φ* has to be used. *-n-φ* doesn't have a different subject SR counterpart.

(91) *e:n əɖa-k   ek-l-en   jagun ləp-l-en
      1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG food   eat-SBJV-1SG

      'agar mai ghar aata toh khana khata.'

      'if I would have gone home, I would have eaten.'

Context to (92): This sentence is possible because *-l-* is subjunctive, not SR And two subjunctive sentences are combined by *ante*. If *ante* is possible, it simply shows that *-l-* is not SR marker.

(92) e:n əɖa-k   ek-l-en   ante jagun lep-l-en
      1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG and food   eat-SBJV-1SG

      'mai ghar aata aur khana khata.'

      'I would go home and I would eat.'

Context to (93) and (94): *ano* has two meanings, according to contexts, if *ano* is part of the first clause then it means THEN (toh) as in (93), if ANO is part of the second clause then the meaning is THERE (waha) as in (94).

(93) e:n əɖa-k   ek-l-en   ano,   Geeta:d jagun ləp-l-i:d
      1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG then(toh), Geeta   food   eat-SUBJ-3SGF

      'Agar mai jata toh Geeta khana khati.'

      'If I had gone, Geeta would have eaten.'

(94) e:n əɖa-k   ek-l-en,   ano   Geeta:d jagun ləp-l-i:d
      1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG, then(toh) Geeta   food   eat-SUBJ-3SGF

      'mai ghar jata, waha Geeta khana khati.'

      'I would go home, there Geeta would eat.'

3.1 SR Tests

SR marking condition: The events of both clauses have to be interlinked. Or, The event of the second clause will only occur when the event of the first clause has occurred; if the event of the first clause does not occur, then the event of the second clause is not possible. This is the condition for the SR marking. This condition can be broken by putting AND (*ante*) between the two clauses, resulting in ungrammaticality.

   Therefore, SR cannot take the *ante*; if *ante* is added between two clauses, then the SR sentence becomes ungrammatical. And the ungrammatically will decide the SR marking in the Malto. If the SR-conditioned bound construction becomes grammatical after putting *ante* between SR, then it is not SR, if it becomes ungrammatical after putting *ante* between the two clauses then it is SR.

3.1.1 -ko + ante = Ungrammatical

(96) is an example of the different subject marking, but when we put the *ante*, which means AND, between two clauses, then the sentence becomes the ungrammatical one as in 96.

(95) e:n ca:-en bita-ko   a: onḍa
      1SG tea-ACC prepare-DS 3SGM drink-PST.3SGM

      'maine chai bananeke baad ussne chai piyi.'

      'After I made tea, he drank it.'

(96) *e:n ca:en bita-ko   ante a: onḍa
      1SG tea-ACC prepare-DS and 3SGM drink-PST.3SGM

      'maine chai bananeke baad, ussne chai piyi.'

      'After I made a tea, he drank it.'

Therefore, *-ko* is a switch-reference marker that marks a different subject.

3.1.2 -k-φ + Ante + DS-DP = Grammatical

ante shows that the two events are not interlinked; they may have happened in two different time periods. *ante* is possible because *-k-φ* stands for the past tense, therefore, *-k-φ* is not the switch-reference marker in (97).

(97) e:n əḍa-k   bərc-k-en   ante a: qandriya
      1SG home-DAT come-PST-1SG ante 3SGM sleep.PST.3SGM

      'mai ghar aaya aur wo so gaya.'

      'I came, and he slept.'

3.1.3 -k-φ + Ante + SS-DP = Grammatical

ante shows that the two events are not interlinked; they may have happened in two different time periods. *ante* is possible because *-k-φ* stands for the past tense in both clauses, therefore, *-k-φ* marking in the first clause is not the same subject marker in (98).

(98) e:n əḍa-k   bərc-k-en   ante quandrə-k-en
      1SG home-DAT come-PST-1SG ante sleep.-PST-1SG

      'mai ghar aaya aur so gaya.'

      'I came and I slept.'

3.1.4 -no + ante = Ungrammatical

(99) marks different subjects in habitual aspects in the present tense with *-no* morpheme. But when we put *ante* between the two clauses, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (100).

(99) e:n ca:-en bitə-no a:d oni:d
      1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink.HAB.PRS.3SGF

'mai chai bananeke baad wo chai piti hai.'

'After I make a tea, She drinks it.'

(100) *e:n ca:-en bitə-no ante a:d   oni:d
       1SG tea-ACC make-DS 3SGF drink.HAB.PRS.3SGF

       'mai chai bananeke baad wo chai piti hai.'

       'After I make tea, She drinks it.'

Therefore, *-no* is a switch reference marker that marks the different subject in the habitual aspect in the present tense.

3.1.5 -le + ante = Ungrammatical

-le is used as the same subject marker for the habitual aspect in the present tense, as in (101). But when we put *ante* between two clauses, then it becomes ungrammatical, as in (102).

(101) e:n jagu-n   bit-le   eskul-ek   ekin
       1SG food-ACC prepare-ss school-DAT go-HAB.PRS.1SG

       'mai khana banakar school jata hu.'

       'After I prepare, I go to school.'

(102) *e:n jagu-n   bit-le   ante eskul-ek   ekin
       1SG food-ACC prepare-ss and school-DAT go-HAB.PRS.1SG

       'mai khana banakar school jata hu.'

       'After I prepare, I go to school.'

Therefore, *-le* is a switch reference marker that marks the same subject in the habitual aspect in the present tense.

3.1.6 -ken + ante + SS = Ungrammatical

-k-φ is the same subject marker in (103). The two events are linked; the first clause event has to occur first, and then only the second clause event can occur. If the link between two events is broken by putting ante, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (105).

(103) e:n ca:-en bita-ken   onḍa-ken
       1SG tea   make-ss.1SG drink-PST.1SG

       'maine chai banakar pi.'

       'After I made tea, I drank it.'

(104) *e:n ca:-en bita-ken   ante   onḍa-ken
1SG tea   make-ss.1SG drink-PST.1SG

'maine chai banakar pi.'

'After I made tea, I drank it.'

Therefore, *-k-φ* is a switch-reference marker that marks the same subject for the progressive and perfection aspects of the present and past tense.

3.1.7   -n-φ + ante = Ungrammatical

-n-φ marks the same subject in the subjective and in the future tense, as in (105). But we put *ante* in between two clauses, and then the sentence becomes ungrammatical as in (106).

(105) e:n əḍa-k   ek-nen   jagun ləp-l-en
1SG home-DAT go-ss.COND.1SG food   eat-SBJV-1SG

'agar mai ghar jata toh khana khata.'

'If I had gone home, I would have eaten food.'

(106) e:n əḍa-k   ek-nen   ante jagun ləp-l-en
1SG home-DAT go-ss.COND.1SG ante food   eat-SBJV-1SG

'agar mai ghar jata toh khana khata.'

'If I had gone home, I would have eaten food.'

Therefore, *-n-φ* is the switch-reference marker that marks the same subject in the subjunctive and future tense. *-n-φ* does not have a DS counterpart.

3.1.8   -l-φ + ante + SS-DP = Grammatical

-l- is just the subjunctive marker. Therefore, *ante* can be combined with it, or *ante* combines two subjunctive clauses as in (106).

(107) e:n əḍa-k   ek-l-en   ante ləp-l-en
1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG and eat-SBJV-1SG

'mai ghar jaunga aur khana khaunga.'

'I would go home, and I would eat food.'

Therefore, *-l-φ* is not a switch reference marker.

3.1.9   -l-φ + ante + DS-DP = Grammatical

-l- is a marker for the subjunctive clause. *ante* can be used to combine two subjunctive clauses as in (??). (??) is simply ungrammatical because *-l-φ* does not behave like SR or is not SR as compared to *-n-φ* as in (105), which is the same subject SR marker in the same condition generated by (??.

(108) e:n əḍa-k   ek-l-en   ante a:d food   ləp-l-i:d
1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG and 3SGF eat-SBJV-3SG

'mai ghar jaunga aur wo khana khaungi.'

'I would go home, and She would eat food.'

(109) *e:n əḍa-k   ek-l-en   a:d food ləp-l-i:d
1SG home-DAT go-SBJV-1SG and 3SGF eat-SBJV-3SG

'agar mai ghar jaunga toh wo khana khaungi.'

'If I have gone home, and She would have eaten food.'

Therefore, *-l-φ* is not the DS counterpart of *-n-φ* the same subject. *-l-φ* is not a switch reference; it is just the subjunctive marker.

3.2   Conclusion

Malto SR shows the facts that DS will never have φ, whereas SS has φ in perfective and progressive aspects but does not have φ habitual aspect.

Table for SR test

Test for SR to check whether a particular marker is SR or not		
testing marker + ante	Result	Result for SR
-ko + ante	Ungrammatical	-ko is DS-SR marker
-k-φ + ante + DS-DP	Grammatical	-k-φ stands for past and phi
-k-φ + ante + SS-DP	Grammatical	-k- in both clauses stands for Past
-no + ante	Ungrammatical	-no is DS-SR marker
-le + ante	Ungrammatical	-le is SS-SR marker
-k-φ + ante + SS-DP	Ungrammatical	-k-φ is SS-SR marker
-n-φ + ante	Ungrammatical	-n-φ is SS-SR marker
-l-φ + ante + SS-DP	Grammatical	-l-φ is SBJV marker, not SR
-l-φ + ante + DS-DP	Grammatical	-l-φ is SBJV marker, not SR

4   More SR Data

(110)   e:n tʃae-n   bita-ko   a: onḍa
        1SG tea-ACC prepare-DS 3SGM drink.PST.3SGM

        'maine chai banane ke baad ussne chai piyi.'

        'After I prepared tea, he drank it.'

(111)   *e:n əḍak   ek-ko jagun ləp-oti parcken
        1SG home go-DS food   eat-INF could.1SG

        'mai ghar gaya isliye mai khana kha saka.'

        'I went home, therefore I could eat.'

(112)   e:n əḍak ek-ken   əni-se   jagun ləp-oti parcken
        1SG home go-PST.1SG therefore food   eat-INF could.1SG

        'mai ghar gaya isliye mai khana kha saka.'

        'I went home, therefore I could eat.'

(113)   abo   bərca   ante Rahule jagun ləpiya
        father come.PST.3SGM and Rahul   food   eat.PST.3SGM

        'Pitaji aaye aur Rahul-ne khana khaya.'

        'Father came, and Rahul ate food.'

(114)   e:n tʃaen bita-ko   a:d onḍa:d
        1SG tea   prepare-DS 3SGF drink.PST.3SGF

        'maine chai banane ke baad uss-ne chai piyi.'

        'After I prepared a tea, he drank it.'

(115)   e:n tʃaen bita-ko   a:d onḍoki:d
        1SG tea   prepare-DS 3SGF drink.PROG.PRS.3SGF

        'maine chai banane ke baad wo chai pi rahi hai.'

        'After I made a tea, she is drinking it.'

(116)   e:n a:he-n   pəḍyitri-ken ante a: exame-n   kurkiya
        1SG 3SGM-ACC teach-PST.1SG and 3SGM exam-ACC write-PST.3SG

        'maine usko padhaya ante uss-ne exam diya.'

        'I taught him, and he wrote the exam.'

(117)   Rahule bərc-ko   e:n qandrə-ken
        Rahule come-DS 1SG sleep-PST.1SG

        'Rahul aane ke baad mai soya .'

        'After Rahul came, I slept.'

(118)   Rahule bərca   ante-hi e:n qandrə-ken
        Rahul   come.PST.3SGM and-EMP 1SG sleep-PST.1SG

        'Rahul aane ke baad-hi mai soya.'

        'I slept only after Rahul came.'

(119)   Rahule bərcha   ante e:n qandrə-ken
        Rahul   come.PST.3SGM and 1SG sleep-PST.1SG

        'Rahul aaya aur mai soya.'

        'Rahul came, and I slept.'

(120)   e:n jagun bita-ko a:d   ləpi:d
        1SG food   eat-DS 3SGM eat.PROG.PRS.3SGF

        'mai khana banane ke baad wo khana kha raha hai.'

        'After I prepared the food, he is eating.'

(121) doesn't take -ko as because -no is use for the future tense. The other reason may be that -ko is finite in itself. It does not depend on the Matrix clause. It is independent. That's why 121 is ungrammatical.

(121)   *e:n jagun bita-ko a:d   ləpani:d
        1SG food   eat-DS 3SGM eat.FUT.3SGF

        'mai khana banane ke baad wo khana khayega.'

        'After I prepare the food, he will eat the food.'

(122)   e:n jagun bita-no a:d   ləpani:d
        1SG food   eat-DS 3SGM eat.FUT.3SGF

        'mai khana banaunga to wo khana khayega.'

        '.'

(123) e:n jagun bita-no a:d ləpi:d
1SG food eat-DS 3SGM eat.HAB.PRS.3SGF
'mai khana banata hu toh wo khana khata hai.'
'I prepare the food he eats it.'

(124) Rame tʃae-n bitə-no sita:d oni
Ram tea-ACC prepare-DS Sita drink.FUT.3SGF
'Ram chai bananeke baad sita chai piyegi.'
'After Ram prepares a tea, Sita will drink it.'

(125) Rame tʃae-n biti ante sita:d oni:d
Ram tea-ACC prepare.HAB.PRS.3SGM and Sita drink.HAB.PRS.3SGF
'Ram chai banata hai aur Sita chai piti hai.'
'Ram prepares a tea and Sita drinks it.'

(126) e:n tʃae-n bitə-le on-i-n
1SG tea-ACC drink-PRS-1SG
'mai chai banane ke baad mai chai pita hu.'
'After I prepare a tea, I drink it.'

(127) Rame tʃae-n biti ante-hi sita oni:d
Rame tea-ACC prepare.HAB.PRS.3SGM and-EMP Sita drink-HAB.PRS.3SGF
'Ram chai banane ke baad hi Sita chai piti hai.'
'After Ram makes a tea, only then Sita drinks it.'

Aspect and Tense

5 Intransitive Verb

5.1 Present Tense

(128) e:n eskul-ek ek-i-n
1SG school-DAT go-PRS-1SG
'mai school jata hu.'
'I (Male) go to School.'

Malto does not distinguish between first person singular masculine and feminine as in (585) and (129).

(129) e:n eskul-ek ek-i-n
1SG school-DAT go-PRS-1SG

'mai school jati hu.'
'I (Fem) go to school.'

(130) e:m eskul-ek ek-i-m
1PL.E school-DAT go-PRS-1PL.E
'hum school jate hai.'
'We go to school.'

(131) na:m eskul-ek ek-i-t
1PL.I school-DAT go-PRS-1PL.I
'hum school jate hai.'
'We go to school.'

(132) ni:n eskul-ek ek-n-e
2SG.F school-DAT go-PRS-2SGM
'tum school jate ho.'
'You go to school.'

(133) ni:n eskul-ek ek-n-i
2SG.F school-DAT go-PRS-2SG.F
'tum school jati ho.'
'You go to school.'

(134) ni:m goʈʰerhi eskul-ek ek-ne-r
2PL all school-DAT go-PRS-2PL
'tum sab school jate ho.'
'You all go to school.'

(135) a: eskul-ek ek-i-∅
3SG.M school-DAT go-PRS-3SG.M
'wo school jata hai.'
'He goes to school.'

(136) a:d eskul-ek ek-i-:d
3SG.F school-DAT go-PRS-3SG.F
'wo school jati hai.'
'She goes to school.'

(137) a:ber eskul-ek ek-ne-r
3PL school-DAT go-PRS.3PL
'wo school jate hai.'
'They go to school.'

5.2 Past Tense

(138) e:n eskul-ek ek-ke-n
1SG school-DAT go-PST-1SG
'mai school gaya.'
'I(Male) went to school.'

(139) e:n eskul-ek ek-ke-n
1SG school-DAT go-PST-1SG
'mai school gayi.'
'I(Fem) went to school.'

(140) e:m eskul-ek ek-ke-m
1PL.E school-DAT go-PST-1PL.E
'hum school gaye.'
'We went to school.'

(141) na:m eskul-ek ek-ke-t
1PL.I school-DAT go-PST-1PL.I
'hum school gaye.'
'We went to school.'

(142) ni:n eskul-ek ek-k-e
2SG.M school-DAT go-PST-2SG.M
'tum school gaye.'
'You went to school.'

(143) ni:n eskul-ek ek-k-i
2SG.F school-DAT go-PST-2SG.F
'tum school gayi.'
'You(fem) went to school.'

(144) ni:m goțʰerhi eskul-ek ek-ke-r
2SG.PL all school-DAT go-PST-2PL
'tum sab school gaye.'
'You (all) went to school.'

(145) a: eskul-ek ek-iya-∅
3SG.M school-DAT go-PST-3SG.M
'wo school gaya.'
'He went to school.'

(146) a:d eskul-ek ek-iya-:d
3SG.F school-DAT go-PST-3SG.F
'wo school gayi.'
'She went to school.'

(147) a:ber eskulek ek-iya-r
3PL school-DAT go-PST-3PL
'wo school gaye.'
'They went to school.'

5.3 Future Tense

(148) e:n eskul-ek ek-e-n
1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG
'mai school jaunga.'
'I (male) shall go to school.'

(149) e:n eskul-ek ek-e-n
1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG
'mai school jaungi.'
'I (Fem) shall go to school.'

(150) e:m eskul-ek ek-e-m
1PL.E school-DAT go-FUT-1PL.E
'hum school jayenge.'
'We shall go to school.'

(151) na:m eskul-ek ek-e-t
1PL.I school-DAT go-FUT-1PL.I
'hum school jayenge.'
'We(Excl) shall go to school.'

(152) ni:n eskul-ek ek-an-e
2SG.M school-DAT go-FUT-2SG.M
'tum school jayoge.'
'You will go to school.'

(153) ni:n eskul-ek ek-an-i
2SG.F school-DAT go-FUT-2SG.F
'tum school jayogi.'
'You(Fem) will go to school.'

(154)   ni:m goţʰerhi eskul-ek   ek-e-r
     2PL all   school-DAT go-FUT-2PL

     'tum sab school jayoge.'

     'You(all) will go to school.'

(155)   a: eskul-ek   ek-e-∅
     3SG.M school-DAT go-FUT-3SG.M

     'wo school jayega.'

     'He will go to school.'

(156)   a:d   eskul-ek   ek-ani-:d
     3SG.F school-DAT go-FUT-3SG.F

     'wo school jayegi.'

     'She will go to school.'

(157)   a:ber eskul-ek   ek-e-r
     3PL   school-DAT go-FUT-PL

     'wo school jayenge.'

     'They will go to school.'

5.4   Table for the inflection of Present, Past and Future tense

Pronouns	Present (ek-GO)	Past	Future
e:n (1sg)	ekin	ekke	eken
e:m (1pl.E)	ekim	ekkem	ekem
na:m (1pl.I)	ekit	ekket	eket
ni:n (2sg.m)	ekne	ekke	ekane
ni:n (2sg.f)	ekni	ekki	ekani
ni:m (2pl)	ekner	ekker	eker
a: (3sgm)	eki	ekiya	eke
a:d (3sgf)	eki:d	ekiya:d	ekani:d
a:ber (3pl)	ekner	ekiyar	eker

5.5   Morpheme to Morpheme analysis

Morpheme to Morpheme analysis of Tense and PNG			
Pronouns	Present	Past	Future
e:n (1SG)	ek-i-n go-PRS-1SG	ek-ke-n go-PST-1SG	ek-e-n go-FUT-1SG
e:m (1PL.E)	ek-i-m go-PRS-1PL.E	ek-ke-m go-PST-1PL.E	ek-e-m go-FUT-1PL.E
na:m (1PL.I)	ek-i-t go-PRS-1PL.I	ek-ke-t go-PST-1PL.I	ek-e-t go-FUT-1PL.I
ni:n (2SG.M)	ek-n-e go-PRS-2SG.M	ek-k-e go-PST.2SG.M	ek-an-e go-FUT-2SG.M
ni:n (2SG.F)	ek-n-i go-PRS-2SG.F	ek-k-i go-PST-2SG.F	ek-an-i go-FUT-2SG.F
ni:m (2PL)	ek-ne-r go-PRS-2PL	ek-ke-r go-PST-2PL	ek-e-r go-FUT-2PL
a: (3SGM)	ek-i-∅ go-PRS-3SG.M	ek-iya-∅ go-PST-3SG.M	ek-e-∅ go-FUT-3SG.M
a:d (3SGF)	ek-i-:d go-PRS-3SG.F	ek-iya-:d go-PST-3SG.F	ek-ani-:d go-FUT-3SG.F
a:ber (3PL)	ek-ne-r go-PRS-3PL	ek-iya-r go-PST-3PL	ek-e-r go-FUT-3PL

NOTE

Kobayashi (2012) mentions that in the Central area, where there are both Sawriya and Mal Pahariya villages, only the speech of the Mal Pahariyas has the present and past perfect forms. Although we have not yet studied the variety of the Sundar Pahari block, which we call the Western area, Puttaswamy (2008:171ff.) reports that the speech of the Sawriya Pahariyas in that area does have perfect forms, and it is possible that there is no significant difference between the speeches of the Mal Pahariya and Sawriya Pahariya communities there.

Observation from the fieldwork

5.6   Progressive Aspect in Present Tense

NOTE: Malto does not distinguish between the habitual and progressive aspects in the present tense. It totally depends on the context.

(158)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-i-n
     1SG school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-1SG

     'mai school ja raha hu.'

     'I (male) am going to school.'

(159)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-i-n
  1SG school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-1SG
  'mai school ja rahi hu.'
  'I (female) am going to school.'

(160)   e:m eskul-ek   ek-i-m
  1PL.E school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-1PL.E
  'hum school ja rahe hai.'
  'We are going to school.'

(161)   na:m eskul-ek   ek-i-t
  1PL.I school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-1PL.I
  'hum school ja rahe hai.'
  'we are going to school.'

(162)   ni:n eskul-ek   ek-n-e
  2SG.M school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-2SG.M
  'tum school ja rahe ho.'
  'You are going to school.'

(163)   ni:n eskul-ek   ek-n-i
  2SG.F school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-2SG.F
  'tum school ja rahi ho.'
  'You are going to school.'

(164)   ni:m goʈʰerhi eskul-ek   ek-ne-r
  2PL   all   school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-2PL
  'tum sab school ja rahe ho.'
  'You all are going to school.'

(165)   a: eskul-ek   ek-i-∅
  3SG.M school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-3SG.M
  'wo school ja raha hai.'
  'He is going to school.'

(166)   a:d   eskul-ek   ek-i-:d
  3SG.F school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-3SG.F
  'wo school ja rahi hai.'
  'She is going to school.'

(167)   a:ber eskul-ek   ek-ne-r
  3PL   school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-3PL
  'wo school ja rahe hai.'
  'They are going to school.'

(168)   Geeta:d eskul-ek   ek-i-:d
  Geeta   school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-3SG.F
  'Geeta school ja rahi hai.'
  'Geeta is going to school.'

(169)   Rahule eskul-ek   ek-i-∅
  Rahul   school-DAT ek-PROG.PRS-3SG.M
  'Rahul school ja raha hai.'
  'Rahul is going to school.'

(170)   Rahule ante Lokeshe eskul-ek   ek-ne-r
  Rahul   and Lokesh school-DAT go-PROG.PRS-3PL
  'Rahul aur Lokesh school ja rahe hai.'
  'Rahul and Lokesh are going to school.'

5.7   Progressive Aspect in Past Tense

(171)   e:n eskul-ek   eka ɖok-ke-n
  1SG school-DAT go PROG-PST-1SG
  'mai school ja raha tha.'
  'I (male) was going to school.'

N.B: *ɖokken* shows tense as well as aspect. eka is the helping verb or root form of the verb. I think *ek* cannot occur on its own; therefore, *a* is added to it, and it also might join the two verbs that what's Kobayashi (2012) says in conjunct particle, but I am not sure that what is *-a* morpheme is doing here?. *ɖok-e* is *TO STAY*.

(172)   e:n eskul-ek   eka ɖok-ke-n
  1SG school-DAT go PROG-PST-1SG
  'mai school ja rahi thi.'
  'I (female) was going to school.'

(173)   e:m eskul-ek   eka ɖok-ke-m
  1PL.E school-DAT go PROG-PST-1PL.E
  'hum school ja rahe the.'
  'we were going to school.'

(174) na:m eskul-ek   eka ḍok-ke-t
       1PL.I school-DAT go PROG-PST-1PL.I
       'hum school ja rahe the.'
       'we (Excl) were going to school.'

(175) ni:n eskul-ek   eka ḍok-k-e
       2SG.M school-DAT go PROG-PST-2SG.M
       'tum school ja rahe the.'
       'You were going to school.'

(176) ni:n eskul-ek   eka ḍok-k-i
       2SG.F school-DAT go PROG-PST-2SG.F
       'tum school ja rahi thi.'
       'You were going to school.'

(177) ni:m goṭʰerhi eskulek   eka ḍok-ke-r
       2PL all   school-DAT go PROG-PST-2PL
       'tum sab school ja rahe the.'
       'You all were going to school.'

(178) a: eskul-ek   eka ḍok-iya-∅
       3SG.M school-DAT go PROG-PST-3SG.M
       'wo school ja raha tha.'
       'He was going to school.'

(179) a:d   eskul-ek   eka ḍok-iya-:d
       3SG.F school-DAT go PROG-PST-3SG.F
       'wo school ja rahi thi.'
       'She was going to school.'

(180) a:ber eskul-ek   eka ḍok-ke-r
       3PL   school-DAT go PROG-PST-3PL
       'wo school jaa rahe the.'
       'They were going school.'

(181) Geeta:d eskul-ek   eka ḍok-iya-:d
       Geeta   school-DAT go PROG-PST-3SG.F
       'Geeta school ja rahi thi.'
       'Geeta was going to school.'

(182) Rahule eskul-ek   eka ḍok-iya-∅
       Rahul school-DAT go PROG-PST-3SG.M
       'Rahul school ja raha tha.'
       'Rahul was going to school.'

(183) Rahul-e ante Lokesh-e eskul-ek   eka ḍok-iya-r
       Rahul   and Lokesh   school-DAT go PROG-PST-3PL
       'Rahul aur Lokesh school ja rahe the.'
       'Rahul and Lokesh were going to school.'

5.8   Progressive Aspect in Future Tense

(184) e:n eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-n
       1SG school-DAT go PROG-FUT-1SG
       'mai school ja raha honga.'
       'I (male) will be going to school.'

(185) e:n jagu-n   ləpa ḍok-e-n
       1SG food-ACC eat   PROG-FUT-1SG
       'mai khana kha raha honga.'
       'I (male) will be eating food.'

(186) e:n eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-n
       1SG school-DAT go PROG-FUT-1SG
       'mai school ja rahi hogi.'
       'I(female) will be going to school.'

(187) e:m eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-m
       1PL.E school-DAT go PROG-FUT-1PL.E
       'hum school ja rahe honge.'
       'We will be going to school.'

(188) na:m eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-t
       1PL.I school-DAT go PROG-FUT-1PL.I
       'hum school ja rahe honge.'
       'We will be going to school.'

(189) ni:n eskul-ek   eka ḍok-an-e
       2SG.M school-DAT go PROG-FUT-2SG.M
       'aap school ja rahe honge.'
       'You(male) will be going to schoool.'

(190) ni:n eskul-ek   eka ḍok-an-i
       2SG.F school-DAT go PROG-FUT-2SG.F
       'aap school ja rahi hogi.'
       'You (female) will be going to school.'

(191) n:m goṭʰerhi eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-r
       2PL all   school-DAT go PROG-FUT-2PL
       'aap sab school ja rahe hoge.'
       'You all will be going to school.'

(192) a: eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-∅
       3SG.M school-DAT go PROG-FUT-3SG.M
       'wo school ja raha hoga.'
       'He will be going to school.'

(193) a:d   eskul-ek   eka ḍok-ani-:d
       3SG.F school-DAT go PROG-FUT-3SG.F
       'wo school ja rahi hogi.'
       'She will be going to school.'

(194) a:ber eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-r
       3PL   school-DAT go PROG-FUT-3PL
       'wo school ja rahe hoge.'
       'They will be going to school.'

(195) Rahule eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-∅
       Rahul school-DAT go PROG-FUT-3SG.M
       'Rahul school ja raha hoga.'
       'Rahul will be going to school.'

(196) Geeta:d eskul-ek   eka ḍok-ani-:d
       Geeta   school-DAT go PROG-FUT-3SG.F
       'Geeta school ja rahi hogi.'
       'Geeta will be going to school.'

(197) Rahule ante Lokeshe eskul-ek   eka ḍok-e-r
       Rahul and Lokesh school-DAT go PROG-FUT-3PL
       'Rahul aur Lokesh school ja rahe honge.'
       'Rahul and Lokesh will be going to school.'

5.9   Perfective Aspect in Present tense

Malto in Sawariya Pahariya doesn't distinguish between the perfective aspect of past tense and present tense.

(198) e:n eskul-ek   ek-ke-n
       1SG school-DAT go-PRF.PRS.1SG
       'mai school gaya hu.'
       'I (male) have gone to school.'

(199) e:n eskul-ek   ek-ke-n
       1SG school-DAT go-PRF.PRS.1SG
       'mai school gayi hu.'
       'I (female) have gone to school.'

(200) e:m eskul-ek   ek-ke-m
       1PL.E school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-1PL.E
       'hum school gaye hai.'
       'We (incl) have gone to school.'

(201) na:m eskul-ek   ek-ke-t
       1PL.I school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-1PL.I
       'hum school gaye hai.'
       'We (excl) have gone to school.'

(202) ni:n eskul-ek   ek-k-e
       2SG.M school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-2SG.M
       'tum school gaye ho .'
       'You(male) have gone to school.'

(203) ni:n eskul-ek   ek-k-i
       2SG.F school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-2SG.F
       'tum school gayi ho.'
       'You(female) have gone to school.'

(204) ni:m goṭʰerhi eskul-ek   ek-k-er
       2PL all   school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-2PL
       'tum sab gahr gaye ho.'
       'You all have gone to school.'

(205) a: eskul-ek   ek-iya-∅
       3SG.M school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-3SG.M
       'wo school gaya hai.'
       'He has gone to school.'

(206) a:d   eskul-ek   ek-iya-:d
     3SG.F school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-3SG.F
     'wo school gayi hai.'
     'She has gone to school.'

(207) Rahule eskul-ek   ek-iya-∅
     Rahul   school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-3SG.M
     'Rahul school gaya hai.'
     'Rahul has gone to school.'

(208) Geeta:d eskul-ek   ek-iya-:d
     Geeta   school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-3SG.M
     'Geeta school gayi hai.'
     'Geeta has gone to school.'

(209) Rahule ante Lokeshe eskul-ek   ek-iya-r
     Rahul   and Geeta   school-DAT go-PRF.PRS-3PL
     'Rahul aur Lokesh school gaye hai.'
     'Rahul and Lokesh have gone to school.'

5.10   Perfective Aspect in Past Tense

(210) e:n eskul-ek   ek-k-en
     1SG school-DAT go-PRF.PST-1SG
     'mai school gaya tha.'
     'I(male) had gone to school.'

(211) e:n eskul-ek   ek-ke-n
     1SG school-DAT go-PRF.PST-1SG
     'mai school gayi thi.'
     'I (female) had gone to school.'

(212) e:m eskul-ek   ek-ke-m
     1PL.E school-DAT go-PRF.PST-1PL.E
     'hum school gaye the.'
     'We (Incl) had gone to school.'

(213) na:m eskul-ek   ek-ke-t
     1PL.I school-DAT go-PRF.PST-1PL.I
     'hum school gaye the.'
     'We (Excl) had gone to school.'

(214) ni:n eskul-ek   ek-k-e
     2SG.M school-DAT go-PRF.PST-2SG.M
     'tum school gaye the.'
     'You (male) had gone to school.'

(215) ni:n eskul-ek   ek-k-i
     2SG.F school-DAT go-PRF.PST-2SG.F
     'tum school gayi thi.'
     'You (female) had gone to school.'

(216) n:m goťʰerhi eskul-ek   ek-ke-r
     2PL   all   school-DAT go-PRF.PST-2PL
     'tum sab school gaye the.'
     'You all had gone to school.'

(217) a: eskul-ek   ek-iya-∅
     3SG.M school-DAT go-PRF.PST-3SG.M
     'wo school gaya tha.'
     'He had gone to school.'

(218) a:d eskul-ek   ek-iya-:d
     3SG.F school-DAT go-PRF.PST-3SG.F
     'wo school gayi thi.'
     'She had gone to school.'

(219) a:ber eskul-ek   ek-iya-r
     3PL   school-DAT go-PRF.PST-3PL
     'wo sab school gaya tha.'
     'They had gone to school.'

(220) e:ber eskul-ek   ek-iya-r
     3PL   school-DAT go-PRF.PST-3PL
     'ye sab school gaya tha.'
     'They had gone to school.'

(221) Geeta:d eskul-ek   ek-iya-:d
     Geeta   school-DAT go-PRF.PST-3SG.F
     'Geeta school gayi thi.'
     'Geeta had gone to school.'

(222) Rahule eskul-ek   ek-iya-ᴇᴍᴘᴛʏsᴇᴛ
       Rahul   school-ᴅᴀᴛ go-ᴘʀꜰ.ᴘsᴛ-3sɢ.ᴍ
       'Rahul school gaya tha.'
       'Rahul had gone to school.'

(223) Rahule ante Lokeshe eskul-ek   ek-iya-r
       Rahul and Lokesh school-ᴅᴀᴛ go-ᴘʀꜰ.ᴘsᴛ-3ᴘʟ
       'Rahul aur Lokesh school gaya tha.'
       'Rahul and Lokesh had gone to school.'

5.11 Perfective Aspect in Future Tense

Perfective in future tense using the SS -*k*+φ marking strategy. OR whether -*k*+φ is perfective ?

(224) e:n jagu-n   ləp-ken ḍok-e-n
       1sɢ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.1sɢ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-1sɢ
       'mai khana kha liya hoga.'
       'I (male) will have eaten food.'

(225) e:n jagu-n   ləp-ken ḍok-e-n
       1sɢ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.1sɢ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-1sɢ
       'mai khana kha liyi hogi.'
       'I (female) will have eaten food.'

(226) e:m jagu-n   ləp-kem ḍok-e-m
       1ᴘʟ.ᴇ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.1ᴘʟ.ᴇ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-1ᴘʟ.ᴇ
       'hum-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'We (incl) will have eaten food.'

(227) na:m jagu-n   ləp-ket ḍok-e-t
       1ᴘʟ.ɪ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.1ᴘʟ.ɪ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-1ᴘʟ.ɪ
       'hum-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'We (excl) will have eaten food.'

(228) ni:n jagu-n   ləp-ke ḍok-an-e
       2sɢ.ᴍ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.2sɢ.ᴍ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-2sɢ.ᴍ
       'tum-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'You (male) will have eaten food.'

(229) ni:n jagu-n   ləp-ki ḍok-an-i
       2sɢ.ꜰ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.2sɢ.ꜰ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-2sɢ.ꜰ
       'tum-ne khana kha liyi hogi.'
       'You (female) will have eaten food.'

(230) ni:m goʈʰerhi jagu-n   ləp-ker ḍok-e-r
       2ᴘʟ all   food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.2ᴘʟ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-2ᴘʟ
       'tum sab-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'You all will have eaten food.'

(231) a: jagu-n   ləp-ke ḍok-e
       3sɢ.ᴍ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.3sɢ.ᴍ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-3sɢ.ᴍ
       'uss-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'He will have eaten food.'

(232) a:d jagu-n   ləp-ki ḍok-ani-:d
       3sɢ.ꜰ food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.3sɢ.ꜰ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-3sɢ.ꜰ
       'uss-ne khana kha liyi hogi.'
       'She will have eaten food'

(233) a:ber jagu-n   ləp-ker ḍok-e-r
       3ᴘʟ   food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.3ᴘʟ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-3ᴘʟ
       'uno-ne khana kha liye hoge.'
       'They will have eaten food.'

(234) Rahule jagu-n   ləp-ke ḍok-e
       Rahul food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.3sɢ.ᴍ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-3sɢ.ᴍ
       'Rahul-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'Rahul will have eaten food.'

(235) Geeta:d jagu-n   ləp-ki:d ḍok-ani-:d
       Geeta   food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.3sɢ.ꜰ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-3sɢ.ꜰ
       'Geeta-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'Geeta will have eaten food.'

(236) Rahule ante Geeta:d jagu-n   ləp-ker ḍok-e-r
       Rahul and Geeta   food-ᴀᴄᴄ eat-ss.3ᴘʟ ᴘʀꜰ-ꜰᴜᴛ-3ᴘʟ
       'Rahul aur Geeta-ne khana kha liya hoga.'
       'Rahul and Lokesh will have eaten food.'

6   Transitive Verb (MEET)

6.1   Present Tense

(237)   e:n a:h-en   beṭar-i-n
        1SG 3SG.M-ACC meet-PRS-1SG
        'mai usse milta hu.'
        'I (male) meet him.'

(238)   e:n a:d-in   beṭar-i-n
        1SG 3SG.F-ACC meet-PRS-1SG
        'mai usse milti hu.'
        'I (female) meet her.'

(239)   e:m a:h-en   beṭar-i-m
        1PL.E 3SG.M-ACC meet-PRS-1PL.E
        'hum usse milte hai.'
        'We (incl) meet him.'

(240)   na:m a:h-en   beṭar-i-t
        1PL.I 3SG.M-ACC meet-PRS-1PL.I
        'hum usse milte hai.'
        'We (excl) meet him.'

(241)   ni:n a:h-en   beṭər-ən-e
        2SG.M 3SG.M-ACC meet-PRS-2SG.M
        'tum usse milte ho.'
        'You (male) meet him.'

(242)   ni:n a:h-en   beṭər-ən-i
        2SG.F 3SG.M-ACC meet-PRS-2SG.F
        'tum usse milti ho.'
        'You (female) meet him.'

(243)   ni:m goṭʰerhi a:h-en   beṭər-ne-r
        2PL   all   3SG.M-ACC meet-PRS-2PL
        'tum sab usse milte ho.'
        'You all meet him.'

(244)   a: niŋ-en beṭar-i-∅
        3SG.M 2SG-ACC meet-PRS-3SG.M
        'wo tumse milta hai.'
        'He meets you.'

(245)   a:d   niŋ-en beṭar-i-:d
        3SG.F 2SG-ACC meet-PRS-3SG.F
        'wo tumse milti hai.'
        'She meets you.'

(246)   a:ber niŋ-en beṭər-ne-r
        3PL   2SG-ACC meet-PRS-3PL
        'wo tumse milte hai.'
        'They meet you.'

(247)   Rahule niŋ-en beṭar-i-∅
        Rahul   2SG-ACC meet-PRS-3SG.M
        'rahul tumse milta hai.'
        'Rahul meets you.'

(248)   Geeta:d niŋ-en beṭar-i-:d
        Geeta   2SG-ACC meet-PRS-3SG.F
        'Geeta tumse milti hai.'
        'Geeta meets you.'

(249)   Rahule ante Lokeshe niŋ-en beṭər-ne-r
        Rahul   and Lokesh 2SG-ACC meet-PRS-3PL
        'Rahul aur Lokesh tumse milte hai.'
        'Rahul and Lokesh meet you.'

6.2   Past Tense

(250)   e:n a:h-en   beṭər-ke-n
        1SG 3SG.M-ACC meet-PST-1SG
        'mai usse mila.'
        'I(male) met him.'

(251)   e:n a:h-en   bətər-ke-n
        1SG 3SG.M-ACC meet-PST-1SG
        'mai usse mili.'
        'I(female) met him.'

(252)   e:m a:h-en   beṭər-ke-m
        1PL.E 3SG.M-ACC meet-PST-1PL.E
        'hum usse mile.'
        'We (incl) met him.'

(253) na:m a:h-en   beʈər-ke-t
       1PL.I 3SG.M-ACC meet-PST-1PL.I
       'hum usse mile.'
       'We (excl) met him.'

(254) ni:n a:h-en   beʈər-k-e
       2SG.M 3SG.M-ACC meet-PST-2SG.M
       'tum usse mile.'
       'You (male) met him.'

(255) ni:n a:h-en   beʈər-k-i
       2SG.F 3SG.M-ACC meet-PST-2SG.F
       'tum usse mili.'
       'You (female) met him.'

(256) ni:m goʈʰerhi a:h-en   beʈər-ke-r
       2PL all   3SG.M-ACC meet-PST-2PL
       'tum sab usse mile.'
       'You all met him.'

(257) a: niŋ-en beʈər-iya-∅
       3SG.M 2SG-ACC meet-PST-3SG.M
       'wo tumse mila.'
       'He met you.'

(258) a:d   niŋ-en beʈər-iya-:d
       3SG.F 2SG-ACC meet-PST-3SG.F
       'wo tumse mili.'
       'She met you.'

(259) a:ber niŋ-en beʈər-iya-r
       3PL   2SG-ACC meet-PST-3PL
       'wo tumse mile.'
       'They met you.'

(260) Rahule niŋ-en beʈər-iya-∅
       Rahul   2SG-ACC meet-PST-3SG.M
       'Rahul tumse mila.'
       'Rahul met you.'

(261) Geeta:d niŋ-en beʈər-iya-:d
       Geeta   2SG-ACC meet-PST-3SG.F
       'Geeta tumse mili.'
       'Geeta met you.'

(262) Rahule ante Lokeshe niŋ-en beʈər-iya-r
       Rahul   and Lokesh   2SG-ACC meet-PST-3PL
       'Rahul aur Lokesh tumse mila.'
       'Rahul and Lokesh met you.'

6.3   Future Tense

(263) e:n a:h-en   beʈar-e-n
       1SG 3SG.M-ACC meet-FUT-1SG
       'mai usse milunga.'
       'I (male) will meet him.'

(264) e:n a:h-en   beʈar-e-n
       1SG 3SG.M-ACC meet-FUT-1SG
       'mai usse milungi.'
       'I (female) will meet him.'

(265) e:m a:h-en   beʈar-e-m
       1PL.E 3SG.M-ACC meet-FUT-1PL.E
       'hum usse milenge.'
       'We (Incl) will meet him.'

(266) na:m a:h-en   beʈar-e-t
       1PL.I 3SG.M-ACC meet-FUT-1PL.I
       'hum usse milenge.'
       'We (Excl) will meet him.'

(267) ni:n a:h-en   beʈar-ən-e
       2SG.M 3SG.M-ACC meet-FUT-2SG.M
       'tum usse miloge.'
       'You (male) will meet him.'

(268) ni:n a:h-en   beʈar-ən-i
       2SG.F 3SG.M-ACC meet-FUT-2SG.F
       'tum usse milogi.'
       'You (female) will meet him.'

(269) ni:m goṭʰerhi a:h-en beṭar-e-r
2PL all 3SG.M-ACC meet-FUT-2PL
'tum sab usse miloge.'
'You all will meet him.'

(270) a: niŋ-en beṭar-e-∅
3SG.M 2SG-ACC meet-FUT-3SG.M
'wo tumse milega.'
'He will meet you.'

(271) a:d niŋ-en beṭar-əni-:d
3SG.F 2SG-ACC meet-FUT-3SG.F
'wo tumse milegi.'
'She will meet you.'

(272) a:ber niŋ-en beṭar-e-r
3PL 2SG-ACC meet-FUT-3PL
'Wo tumse milege.'
'They will meet you.'

(273) Geeta:d niŋ-en beṭar-əni-:d
Geeta 2SG-ACC meet-FUT-3SG.F
'Geeta will meet you.'
'Geeta tumse milegi.'

(274) Rahul-e niŋ-en beṭar-e-∅
Rahul 2SG-ACC meet-FUT-3SG.M
'Rahul tumse milega.'
'Rahul will meet you.'

(275) Rahule ante Lokeshe niŋ-en beṭar-e-r
Rahul and Lokesh 2SG-ACC meet-FUT-3PL
'Rahul aur Lokesh tumse milege.'
'Rahul and Lokesh will meet you.'

7 Ditransitive Verb (GIVE)

7.1 Present Tense

(276) e:n a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-i-n
1SG 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-1SG

'Mai usse kitab deta hu.'
'I (male) give him a book.'

(277) e:n a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-i-n
1SG 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-1SG
'Mai usse kitab deti hu.'
'I (female) give him a book.'

(278) e:m a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-i-m
1PL.E 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-1PL.E
'hum usse kitab dete hai.'
'We (Incl) give him a book.'

(279) na:m a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-i-t
1PL.I 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-1PL.I
'hum usse kitab dete hai.'
'We (Excl) give him a book.'

(280) ni:n a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-n-e
2SG.M 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-2SG.M
'tum usse kitab dete ho .'
'You (male) give him a book.'

(281) ni:n a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-n-i
2SG.F 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-2SG.F
'tum usse kitab deti ho.'
'You (female) give him a book.'

(282) ni:m goṭʰerhi a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-ne-r
2PL all 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-2PL
'tu sab usse kitab dete ho.'
'You all give him a book.'

(283) a: niŋ-a kitab-en ciy-e-∅
3SG.M 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-3SG.M
'wo tume kitab deta hai.'
'He gives you a book.'

(284) a:d niŋ-a kitab-en ciy-i-:d
3SG.F 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-3SG.F
'wo tume kitab deti hai.'
'She gives you a book.'

(285) a:ber niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-ne-r
      3PL   2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-3PL
      'wo tume kitab dete hai.'
      'They give you a book.'

(286) Geeta:d niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-i:-d
      Geeta   2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-3SG.F
      'Geeta tume kitab deti hai.'
      'Geeta gives you a book.'

(287) Rahule niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-e-∅
      Rahul 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-3SG.M
      'Rahul tume kitab deta hai.'
      'Rahul gives you a book.'

(288) Rahule ante Lokeshe niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-ne-r
      Rahul and Lokesh 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PRS-3PL
      'Rahul aur Lokesh tume kitab deta hai.'
      'Rahul and Lokesh give you a book.'

7.2   Past Tense

(289) e:n a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-ke-n
      1SG 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-1SG
      'maine usse kitab di.'
      'I (male) gave him a book.'

(290) e:n a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-ke-n
      1SG 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-1SG
      'maine usse kitab di.'
      'I (female) gave him a book.'

(291) e:m a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-ke-m
      1PL.E 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-1PL.E
      'humne usse kitab di.'
      'We (incl) gave him a book.'

(292) na:m a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-ke-t
      1PL.I 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-1PL.I
      'humne usse kitab di.'
      'We (Excl) gave him a book.'

(293) ni:n a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-k-e
      2SG.M 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-2SG.M
      'tumne usse kitab di.'
      'You (male) gave him a book.'

(294) ni:n a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-k-i
      2SG.F 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-2SG.F
      'tumne usse kitab di.'
      'You (female) gave you a book.'

(295) ni:m goʈʰerhi a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-ke-r
      2PL all   3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-2PL
      'tum sab-ne usse kitab di.'
      'You all gave him a book.'

(296) a: niŋ-a   kitab-en cic-a-∅
      3SG.M 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3SG.M
      'ussne tume kitab di.'
      'He gave you a book.'

(297) a:d niŋ-a   kitab-en cic-a-:d
      3SG.F 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3SG.F
      'ussne tume kitab di.'
      'She gave you a book.'

(298) a:ber niŋ-a   kitab-en cic-a-r
      3PL   2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3PL
      'unone tume kitab di.'
      'They gave you a book.'

(299) Geeta:d niŋ-a   kitab-en cic-a-:d
      Geeta   2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3SG.F
      'Geeta-ne tume kitab di'
      'Geeta gave you a book.'

(300) Rahule niŋ-a   kitab-en cic-a-∅
      Rahul 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3SG.M
      'Rahul-ne tume kitab di.'
      'Rahul gave you a book.'

(301) Rahule ante Lokeshe niŋ-a   kitab-en cic-a-r
       Rahul and Lokesh 2sg-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3PL

       'Rahul aur Lokesh-ne tume kitab di.'

       'Rahul and Lokesh gave you a book.'

7.3   Future Tense

(302) e:n a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-e-n
       1SG 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-1SG

       'mai usse kitab dunga.'

       'I (male) will give you a book.'

(303) e:n a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-e-n
       1SG 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-1SG

       'mai usse kitab dungi.'

       'I (female) will give you a book.'

(304) e:m a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-e-m
       1PL.E 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-1PL.E

       'hum usse kitab denge.'

       'We (incl) will give him a book.'

(305) na:m a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-e-t
       1PL.I 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-1PL.I

       'hum usse kitab denge.'

       'We (Excl) will give him a book.'

(306) ni:n a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-an-e
       2SG.M 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-2SG.M

       'tum usse kitab ḍoge.'

       'You (male) will give him a book.'

(307) ni:n a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-an-i
       2SG.F 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-2SG.F

       'tum usse kitab dogi.'

       'You (female) will give him a book.'

(308) ni:m goʈʰerhi a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-e-r
       2PL all   3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-2PL

       'tum sab usse kitab doge.'

       'You all will give him a book.'

(309) a: niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-e-∅
       3SG.M 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3SG.M

       'wo tume kitab dega.'

       'He will give you a book.'

(310) a:d niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-ani-:d
       3SG.F 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3SG.F

       'wo tume kitab degi.'

       'She will give you a book.'

(311) a:ber niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-e-r
       3PL   2SG-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3PL

       'wo tume kitab denge.'

       'They will give you a book.'

(312) Geeta:d niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-ani-:d
       Geeta   2SG-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3SG.F

       'Geeta tume kitab degi.'

       'Geeta will give you a book.'

(313) Rahule niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-e-∅
       Rahul 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3SG.M

       'Rahul tume kitab dega.'

       'Rahul will give you a book.'

(314) Rahule ante Lokeshe niŋ-a   kitab-en ciy-e-r
       Rahul and Lokesh 2SG-DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3PL

       'Rahul aur lokesh tume kitab dega.'

       'Rahul and Lokesh will give you a book.'

8   SR inflections and its occurrences in different Tenses and Aspects

8.1   SR marker in Past tense, present and future tense

It will show that the SR morpheme or marker is the same in every tense. It will show that the SR marker is not just past tense.

8.2   SR in Intransitive verb/Data of full pronominal SS morpheme

GO is the first verb, and the second verb is STUDY or SLEEP.

8.3   SR in Past tense with an intransitive verb

8.3.1   Perfective Aspect in Past (Simple Past tense)

(315)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken   qandrə-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG sleep-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar so gaya.'

'After I (male) went home, I slept.'

(316)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken   qandrə-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG sleep-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jake so gayi.'

'After I (female) went home, I slept.'

(317)   e:m əɖa-k   ek-kem   qandrə-ke-m
1PL.E home-DAT go-ss.1PL.E sleep-PST-1PL.E

'hum (Incl) ghar jakar so gaye.'

'After we went home, we slept.'

(318)   na:m əɖa-k   ek-ket   qandrə-ke-t
1PL.I home-DAT go-ss.1PL.I sleep-PST-1PL.I

'hum (Excl) ghar jakar so gaye.'

'After we (excl) went home, we slept.'

(319)   ni:n əɖa-k   ek-ke   qandrə-k-e
2SG.M home-DAT go-ss.2SG.M sleep-PST-2SG.M

'tum ghar jakar so gaye.'

'After you(male) went home, you slept.'

(320)   ni:n əɖa-k   ek-ki   qandrə-k-i
2SG.F home-DAT go-ss.2SG.F sleep-PST-2SG.F

'tum ghar jakar so gayi.'

'After you (female) went home, you slept.'

(321)   ni:m goțʰerhi əɖa-k   ek-ker   qandrə-ke-r
2PL all   home-DAT go-ss.2PL sleep-PST-2PL

'tum sab ghar jakar so gaye.'

'After You (all) went home, you all slept .'

(322)   a: əɖa-k   ek-ke   qandr-iya-∅
3SGM home-DAT go-ss.3SGM sleep-PST-3SGM

'wo ghar jakar so gaya.'

'After he went home, he slept.'

(323)   a:d əɖa-k   ek-ki:d   qandr-iya-:d
3SGF home-DAT go-ss.3SGF sleep-PST-3SGF

'wo ghar jakar so gayi.'

'After she went home, she slept.'

(324)   a:ber əɖa-k   ek-ker   qandr-iya-r
3PL home-DAT go-ss.3PL sleep-PST-3PL

'wo ghar jake so gaye.'

'After they went home, she slept.'

(325)   Geeta:d əɖa-k   ek-ki:d   qandr-iya-:d
Geeta:d home-DAT go-ss.3SGF sleep-PST-3SGF

'Geeta ghar jake so gayi.'

'Afteer Geeta went home, she slept.'

(326)   Rahule əɖa-k   ek-ke   qandr-iya-∅
Rahul home-DAT go-ss.3SGM sleep-PST-3SGM

'Rahul ghar jakar so gaya.'

'After Rahul went home, he slept.'

(327)   Rahule ante Lokeshe əɖa-k   ek-ker   qandr-iya-r
Rahul and Lokesh home-DAT go-ss.3PL sleep-PST-3PL

'Rahul aur Lokesh ghar jakar so gaye.'

'After Rahul and Lokesh went home, they slept.'

(328)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ko a: qandr-iya-∅
1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep-PST-3SGM

'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so gaya.'

'After I went home, He slept.'

(329)   a: ca:-en bita-ko e:n onɖa-ke-n
3SGM tea-ACC make-DS 1SG drink-PST-1SG

'us-ne chai banane ke baad maine chai pi.'

'After he made tea, I drink it.'

(330)   ni:n əɖa-k   bərc-ko e:n   qandrə-ke-n
2SG home-DS 1SG   sleep-PST-1SG

'tum ghar aane ke baad mai so gaya .'

'tum ghar aaye isliye hum so gaye

'After you came home, I slept.'

(331) Rahule əḍa-k   bərc-ko e:n qandrə-ke-n
Rahule home-ACC return-DS 1SG sleep-PST-1SG

'Rahul ghar aane ke baad mai so gaya.'

'After Rahul came home, I slept.'

(332) a: əḍa-k   bərc-ko ni:n   qandrə-k-e
3SGM home-DS 2SG.M   sleep-PST-2SG.M

'wo ghar aane ke baad tum so gaye.'

'After they came home, you slept.'

8.3.2 Progressive Aspect in Past Tense

(333) e:n eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ken   qandrə ḍok-ke-n
1SG school-ente home-DAT return-ss.1SG sleep   PROG-PST-1SG

'mai school se ghar aane ke baad so raha tha.'

'After I came home from school, I was sleeping.'

(334) e:n eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ken   qandrə ḍok-ke-n
1SG school-ente home-DAT return-ss.1SG sleep   PROG-PST-1SG

'mai school se ghar aane ke baad so rahi thi.'

'After I (female) came home from school, I was sleeping .'

(335) e:m   eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-kem   qandrə ḍok-ke-m
1PL.INCK school-ente home-DAT return-ss.1PL.E sleep   PROG-PST-1PL.E

'hum school se ghar aane ke baad so rahe the.'

'After we(INCL) came home from school, we were sleeping.'

(336) na:m eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ket   qandrə ḍok-ke-t
1PL.I school-ente home-DAT return-ss.1PL.I sleep   PROG-PST-1PL.I

'hum school se ghar aane ke baad so rahe the.'

'After we (EXCL) came home from school, we were sleeping.'

(337) ni:n eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ke   qandrə ḍok-k-e
2SG.M school-ente home-DAT return-ss.2SG.M sleep   PROG-PST-2SG.M

'tum school se ghar aane ke baad so rahe the.'

'After you (male) came home from school, you were sleeping.'

(338) ni:n eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ki   qandrə ḍok-k-i
2SG.F school-ente home-DAT return-ss.2SG.F sleep   PROG-PST-2SG.F

'tum school se ghar aane ke baad so rahi thi.'

'After you (female) came home from school, you were sleeping.'

(339) ni:m eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ker   qandrə ḍok-ke-r
2PL school-ente home-DAT return-ss.2PL sleep   PROG-PST-2PL

'tum sab log school se ghar aane ke baad so rahe the.'

'After you all came home from school, you were sleeping.'

(340) a: eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ke   qandrə ḍok-iya-∅
3SGM school-ente home-DAT return-ss.3SGM sleep   PROG-PST-3SGM

'wo school se ghar aane ke baad so raha tha.'

'After he came home from school, he was sleeping.'

(341) a:d eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ki:d   qandrə ḍok-iya-:d
3SGF school-ente home-DAT return-ss.3SGF sleep   PROG-PST-3SGF

'wo school se ghar aane ke baad so rahi thi.'

'After she came home from school, she was sleeping.'

(342) a:ber eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ker   qandrə ḍok-iya-r
3PL school-ente home-DAT return-ss.3PL sleep   PROG-PST-3PL

'wo school se ghar aane ke baad so rahe the.'

'After they came home from school, they were sleeping.'

(343) Geeta:d eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ki:d   qandrə ḍok-iya-:d
Geeta   school-ente home-DAT return-ss.3SGF sleep   PROG-PST-3SGF

'Geeta school se ghar aane ke baad so rahi thi.'

'After Geeta came home from school, she was sleeping.'

(344) Rahule eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ke   qandrə ḍok-iya-∅
Rahul   school-ente home-DAT return-ss.3SGM sleep   PROG-PST-3SGM

'Rahul school se ghar aane ke baad so raha tha.'

'After Rahul came home from school, He was sleeping.'

(345) Rahule ante Lokeshe eskul-ente əḍa-k   berc-ker   qandrə
Rahul   and   Lokesh   school-ente home-DAT return-ss.3PL sleep
ḍok-iya-r
PROG-PST-3PL

'Rahul aur Lokesh school se ghar aane ke baad so rahe the.'

'After Rahul and Lokesh came from school, they were sleeping.'

(346) e:n eskul-ente əḍa-k   kir-ken   bərc-ko a: qandrə dok-iya-∅
1SG school-ente home-DAT go-ss.1SG return-DS 3SGM sleep   PROG-PST-3SGM

'mai school se ghar wapas aane ke baad wo so rha tha .'

'After I came home from school, he was sleep.'

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(347) e:n eskul-ente əɖa-k kir-ken bərc-ken a: qandrə
1SG school-ente home-DAT go-SS.1SG return-SS.1SG 3SGM sleep
dok-iya-∅
PROG-PST-3SGM

'mai school se ghar wapas aaya tab wo padh raha tha.'

'After I came home from school, he was reading.'

8.3.3 Perfective Aspect in Past Tense(Perfect Tense)

(348) e:n əɖa-k bərc-ken qandrə-ke-n
1SG home-DAT return-SS.1SG sleep-PRF.PST-1SG

'mai ghar aakar so gaya tha.'

'After coming home, I (male) had slept.'

(349) e:n əɖa-k bərc-ken qandrə-ke-n
1SG home-DAT return-SS.1SG sleep-PRF.PST-1SG

'mai ghar aakar so gayi thi.'

'After coming home, I (female) had slept.'

(350) e:m əɖa-k bərc-kem qandrə-ke-m
1PL.E home-DAT return-SS.1PL.E sleep-PRF.PST-1PL.E

'hum ghar aakar so gaye the.'

'After coming home, we (INCL) had slept.'

(351) na:m əɖa-k bərc-ket qandrə-ke-t
1PL.I home-DAT return-SS.1PL.I sleep-PRF.PST-1PL.I

'hum ghar aakar so gaye the.'

'After coming home, we (EXCL) had slept.'

(352) e:m goͭʰerhi əɖa-k bərc-kem qandrə-ke-m
1PL.E all home-DAT return-SS.1PL.E sleep-PRF.PST-1PL.E

'hum sab ghar aakar so gaye the.'

'After coming home, we all had slept.'

(353) ni:n əɖa-k bərc-ke qandrə-k-e
2SG.M home-DAT return-SS.2SG.M sleep-PRF.PST-2SG.M

'tum ghar aakar so gaye the.'

'After coming home, you (male) had slept.'

(354) ni:n əɖa-k bərc-ki qandrə-k-i
2SG.F home-DAT return-SS.2SG.F sleep-PRF.PST-2SG.F

'tum ghar aakar so gaye thi.'

'After coming home, you (female) had slept.'

(355) ni:m goͭʰerhi əɖa-k bərc-ker qandrə-ke-r
2PL all home-DAT return-SS.2PL sleep-PRF.PST-2PL

'tum sab ghar aakar so gaye the.'

'After coming home, you all had slept.'

(356) a: əɖa-k bərc-ke qandr-iya-∅
3SGM home-DAT return-SS.3SGM sleep-PRF.PST-3SGM

'wo ghar aakar so gaya tha.'

'After coming home, he had slept.'

(357) a:d əɖa-k bərc-ki qandr-iya-:d
3SGF home-DAT return-SS.3SGF sleep-PRF.PST-3SGF

'wo ghar aakar so gayi thi .'

'After coming home, she had slept.'

(358) 1PL home-DAT return-SS.1PL sleep-PRF.PST-1PL

'wo ghar aakar so gaye the.'

'After coming home, they had slept.'

(359) Geeta:d əɖa-k bərc-ki qandr-iya-:d
Geeta home-DAT return-SS.3SGF sleep-PRF.PST-3SGF

'Geeta ghar aakar so gayi thi.'

'After coming home, Geeta had slept.'

(360) Rahule əɖa-k bərc-ke qandr-iya-∅
Rahul home-DAT return-SS.3SGM sleep-PRF.PST-3SGM

'Rahul ghar aakar so gaya tha.'

'After coming home, Rahul had slept.'

(361) Rahule ante Lokeshe əɖa-k bərc-ker qandr-iya-r
Rahul and Lokesh home-DAT return-SS.3PL sleep-PRF.PST-3PL

'Rahul aur Lokesh ghar aakar so gaye the.'

'After coming home, Rahul and Lokesh had slept.'

(362) Rahule əɖa-k bərc-ko e:n eskul-ek ek-ke-n
Rahul home-DAT return-DS 1SG school-DAT go-PRF.PST-1SG

'Rahul ghar wapas aagaya tha, uske baad mai school chala gaya.'

'Rahul had come back home, After that, I went to school (check whether it is possible in Malto).'

DS is possible in the Perfective aspect.

8.4   SR in Present tense with an intransitive verb

8.4.1   Habitual Aspect in Present tense

(363)   e:n   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-n
1SG home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-1SG
'mai ghar jakar so jata hu.'
'After going home, I (male) sleep.'

(364)   e:n   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-n
1SG home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-1SG
'mai ghar jakar so jati hu.'
'After going home, I (female) sleep.'

(365)   e:m   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-m
1PL.E home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-1PL.E
'hum ghar jakar so jate hai.'
'After going home, we (Incl) sleep.'

(366)   na:m   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-t
1PL.I home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-1PL.I
'hum ghar jakar so jate hai.'
'After going home, we (excl) sleep.'

(367)   ni:n   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandrə-n-e
2SG.M home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-2SG.M
'tum ghar jakar so jate ho.'
'After going home, you (male) sleep.'

(368)   ni:n   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandrə-n-i
2SG.F home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-2SG.F
'tum ghar jakar so jati ho.'
'After going home, you sleep.'

(369)   ni:m goťʰerhi əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandrə-ne-r
2PL   all   home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-2PL
'tum sab ghar jakar so jate ho.'
'After going home, you all sleep.'

(370)   a: əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-∅
3SGM home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-3SGM
'wo ghar jakar so jata hai.'
'After going home, he sleeps.'

(371)   a:d   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-:d
3SGF home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-3SGF
'wo ghar jakar so jati hai.'
'After going home, he sleeps.'

(372)   a:ber   əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandrə-ne-r
3PL   home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-3PL
'wo ghar jakar so jate hai.'
'After going home, they sleep.'

(373)   Geeta:d əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-:d
Geeta   home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-3SGF
'Geeta ghar jakar so jati hai.'
'After going home, Geeta sleeps.'

(374)   Rahul əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandr-i-∅
Rahul home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-3SGM
'Rahul ghar jakar so jata hai.'
'After going home, Rahul sleeps.'

(375)   Rahule ante Lokeshe əɖa-k   bərc-le   qandrə-ne-r
Rahul   and   Lokesh   home-DAT return-SS HAB.PRS-3PL
'Rahul aur Lokesh ghar jakar so jate hai.'
'After going home, Rahul and Lokesh sleep.'

(376)   e:n   əɖa-k   ek-no   a: qandr-i-∅
1SG home-DAT return-DS 3SGM HAB.PRS-3SGM
'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so jata hai.'
'After I went home, he sleeps.'

(377)   *e:n əɖa-k   ek-ko   a: qandr-i-∅
1SG   home-DAT return-DS 3SGM HAB.PRS-3SGM
'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so jata hai.'
'After I went home, he sleeps.'

(378)   a:bo   əɖa-k   bər-no   e:n qandr-i-n
Father home-DAT return-DS 1SG HAB.PRS-1SG
'mere papa ghar aane ke baad mai so jata hu.'
'After my father returns home, I sleep.'

(379) Rahule əɖa-k   bər-no   e:n eskul-ek   ek-i-n
       Rahul home-DAT return-DS 1SG school-DAT HAB.PRS-1SG
       'Rahul ghar aane ke baad mai school jata hu.'
       'After Rahul returns home, I go to school.'

(380) Rahule əɖa-k   bər-no   Geeta:d jagu-n bit-i-:d
       Rahul home-DAT return-DS Geeta   food-ACC make-HAB.PRS-3SGF
       'Rahul ghar aane ke baad Geeta khana banati hai.'
       'After Rahul returns home, Geeta prepares food.'

8.4.2 Progressive Aspect in Present tense

(381) e:n eskul-ente bərc-ken   pəɽc ɖok-i-n
       1SG school-ente return-ss.1SG study PROG-PRS-1SG
       'mai school se ghar aakar padhai kar raha hu.'
       'After coming home from school, I (male) am studying.'

(382) e:n eskul-ente bərc-ken   pəɽc ɖok-i-n
       1SG school-ente return-ss.1SG study PROG-PRS-1SG
       'mai school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahi hu.'
       'After coming home from school, I (female) am studying.'

(383) e:m eskul-ente bərc-kem   pəɽc ɖok-i-m
       1PL.E school-ente return-ss.1PL.E study PROG-PRS-1PL.E
       'hum school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahe hai.'
       'After coming home from school, We (incl) are studying.'

(384) na:m eskul-ente bərc-kit   pəɽc ɖok-i-t
       1PL.I school-ente return-ss.1PL.I study PROG-PRS-1PL.I
       'hum school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahe hai.'
       'After coming home from school, we(excl) are studying.'

(385) ni:n eskul-ente bərc-ke   pəɽc ɖok-ən-e
       2SG.M school-ente return-ss.2SG.M study PROG-PRS-2SG.M
       'tum school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahe ho.'
       'After coming from school, you (male) are studying.'

(386) ni:n eskul-ente bərc-ki   pəɽc ɖok-ən-i
       2SG.F school-ente return-ss.2SG.F study PROG-PRS-2SG.F
       'tum school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahi ho.'
       'After coming from school, you (female) are studying.'

(387) ni:m goᵗʰerhi eskul-ente bərc-ker   pəɽc ɖok-əne-r
       2PL all   school-ente return-ss.2PL study PROG-PRS-2PL
       'tum sab school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahe ho.'
       'After coming home from school, you all are studying.'

(388) a: eskul-ente bərc-ke   pəɽc ɖok-i-∅
       3SGM school-ente return-ss.3SGM study PROG-PRS-3SGM
       'wo school se ghar aakar padhai kar raha hai.'
       'After coming home from school, he is studying.'

(389) a:d eskul-ente bərc-ki:d   pəɽc ɖok-i-:d
       3SGF school-ente return-ss.3SGF study PROG-PRS-3SGF
       'wo school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahi hai.'
       'After coming home from school, she is studying.'

(390) a:ber eskul-ente bərc-ker   pəɽc ɖok-əne-r
       3PL   school-ente return-ss.3PL study PROG-PRS-3PL
       'wo school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahe hai.'
       'After coming home from school, they are studying.'

(391) Geeta:d eskul-ente bərc-ki:d   pəɽc ɖok-i-:d
       Geeta   school-ente return-ss.3SGF study PROG-PRS-3SGF
       'Geeta school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahi hai.'
       'After coming home from school, Geeta is studying.'

(392) Rahule eskul-ente bərc-ke   pəɽc ɖok-i-∅
       Rahule school-ente return-ss.3SGM study PROG-PRS-3SGM
       'Rahul school se ghar aakar padhai kar raha hai.'
       'After coming home from school, Rahul is studying.'

(393) Rahule ante Lokeshe eskul-ente bərc-ker   pəɽc ɖok-əne-r
       Rahul and Lokesh school-ente return-ss.3PL study PROG-PRS-3PL
       'Rahul aur Lokesh school se ghar aakar padhai kar rahe hai.'
       'After coming home from school, They are studying.'

(394) e:n eskul-ente bərc-ko Rahule pəɽc ɖok-i-∅
       1SG school-ente return-DS Rahul study PROG-PRS-3SGM
       'mai ghar aane ke baad, Rahul padhai kar raha hai.'
       'After I come home, Rahul is studying.'

(395) Rahule eskul-ente bərc-ko Geeta:d bajar-ek   ek-i-:d
Rahule school-ente return-DS Geeta   market-DAT go-PROG.PRS-1SG

'Rahul ghar aane ke baad, Geeta market ja rahi hai.'

'After Rahul comes home, Geeta is going to market.'

(396) e:n əḍa-k   ek-ko a: qandrə do-k-i-∅
1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep   PROG.PRS-3SGM

'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo so rahi hai.'

'After I go home, she is sleeping.'

8.4.3 Perfect Aspect in Present Tense

(397) e:n əḍa-k   bərc-ken   jagu-n   ləp-ke-n
1SG home-DAT return-SS.1SG food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-1SG

'Maine ghar aakar khana kha liya hai .'

'After coming home, I (male) have eaten food.'

(398) e:n əḍa-k   bərc-ken   jagu-n   ləp-ke-n
1SG home-DAT return-SS.1SG food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-1SG

'maine ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, I (female) have eaten food.'

(399) e:m əḍa-k   bərc-kem   jagu-n   ləp-ke-m
1PL.E home-DAT return-SS.1PL.E food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-1PL.E

'hum ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, we (INCL) have eaten food.'

(400) na:m əḍa-k   bərc-ket   jagu-n   ləp-ke-t
1PL.I home-DAT return-SS.1PL.I food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-1PL.I

'hum ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, we (excl) have eaten food.'

(401) ni:n əḍa-k   bərc-ke   jagu-n   ləp-k-e
2SG.M home-DAT return-SS.2SG.M food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-2SG.M

'tum ghar aakar khana kha liya.'

'After coming home, you (male) have eaten food.'

(402) ni:n əḍa-k   bərc-ki   jagu-n   ləp-k-i
2SG.F home-DAT return-SS.2SG.F food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-2SG.F

'tum ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, you (female) have eaten food.'

(403) ni:m goṭherhi əḍa-k   bərc-ker   jagu-n   ləp-ke-r
2PL all   home-DAT return-SS.2PL food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-2PL

'tum sab-ne ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, you all have eaten food.'

(404) a: əḍa-k   bərc-ke   jagu-n   ləp-iya-∅
3SGM home-DAT return-SS.3SGM food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3SGM

'ussne ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, he has eaten food.'

(405) a:d əḍa-k   bərc-ki:d   jagu-n   ləp-iya-:d
3SGF home-DAT return-SS.3SGF food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3SGF

'ussne ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, she has eaten food.'

(406) a:ber əḍa-k   bərc-ker   jagu-n   ləp-iya-r
1SG home-DAT return-SS.1SG food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-1SG
3PL   home-DAT return-SS.3PL food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3PL

'unone ghar aake khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, they have eaten food.'

(407) Geeta:d əḍa-k   bərc-ki:d   jagu-n   ləp-iya:d
Geeta   home-DAT return-SS.3SGF food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3SGF

'Geeta-ne ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, Geeta has eaten food.'

(408) Rahule əḍa-k   bərc-ke   jagu-n   ləp-iya-∅
Rahul home-DAT return-SS.3SGM food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3SGM

'Rahul-ne ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, Rahul has eaten food.'

(409) Lokeshe ante Rahule əḍa-k   bərc-ker   jagu-n   ləp-iya-r
Lokesh and Rakesh home-DAT return-SS.3PL food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3PL

'Lokesh aur Rahul-ne ghar aakar khana kha liya hai.'

'After coming home, they have eaten food.'

(410) e:n əḍa-k   bərc-ko Geeta:d jagu-n   ləp-iya-:d
1SG home-DAT return-DS Geeta   food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3SGF

'mai ghar aane ke baad, Geeta ne khana khaya hai.'

'After I come home, Geeta has prepared food.'

(411) Geeta:d əɖa-k   bərc-ko Lokeshe jagu-n   bit-a-∅
Geeta home-DAT return-DS Lokesh food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-3SGM
'Geeta ghar aane ke baad Lokesh-ne khana banaya hai.'
'After Geeta comes home, Lokesh has prepared the food.'

(412) Lokeshe əɖa-k   bərc-ko e:n jagu-n   bita-ke-n
Lokesh home-DAT return-DS 1SG food-ACC eat-PRF.PRS-1SG
'Lokesh ghar aane ke baad, mai khana khaya hai.'
'After Lokesh comes home, I have prepared the food.'

8.5 SR in Future Tense with an intransitive verb

8.5.1 Habitual Aspect

(413) e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken jagu-n   ləp-e-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG
'mai ghar jakar khana khaunga.'
'After going him, I(male) will eat food.'

(414) e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken jagu-n   ləp-e-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG
'mai ghar jakar khana khaungi.'
'After going home, I (female) will eat food.'

(415) e:m əɖa-k   ek-kem jagu-n   ləp-e-m
1PL.E home-DAT go-ss.1PL.E food-ACC eat-FUT-1PL.E
'hum ghar jakar khana khayenge.'
'After going home, we(incl) will eat food.'

(416) na:m əɖa-k   ek-ket jagu-n   ləp-e-t
1PL.I home-DAT go-ss.1PL.I food-ACC eat-FUT-1PL.I
'hum ghar jakar khana khayenge.'
'After going home, we(excl) will eat food.'

(417) ni:n əɖa-k   ek-ke   jagu-n   ləp-an-e
2SGM home-DAT go-ss.2SGM food-ACC eat-FUT-2SGM
'tum ghar jakar khana khaoge.'
'After going home, you(male) will eat food.'

(418) ni:n əɖa-k   ek-ki   jagu-n   ləp-an-i
2SGF home-DAT go-ss.2SGF food-ACC eat-FUT-2SGF
'tum ghar jakar khana khaogi.'
'After going home, you (female) will eat food.'

(419) ni:m goʈʰerhi əɖa-k   ek-ker jagu-n   ləp-e-r
2PL all   home-DAT go-ss.2PL food-ACC eat-FUT-2PL
'tum sab ghar jakar khana khaoge.'
'After going home, you all will eat food .'

(420) a: əɖa-k   ek-ke   jagu-n   ləp-e-∅
3SGM home-DAT go-ss.3SGM food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGM
'wo ghar jakar khana khayega.'
'After going home, he will eat food.'

(421) a:d əɖa-k   ek-ki:d jagu-n   ləp-ani-:d
3SGF home-DAT go-ss.3SGF food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGF
'wo ghar jakar khana khayegi.'
'After going home, she will eat food.'

(422) a:ber əɖa-k   ek-ker jagu-n   ləp-e-r
2PL home-DAT go-ss.2PL food-ACC eat-FUT-2PL
'wo ghar jakar khana khayege.'
'After going home, they will eat food.'

(423) Geeta:d əɖa-k   ek-ki:d jagu-n   ləp-ani-:d
Geeta home-DAT go-ss.3SGF food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGF
'Geeta ghar jakar khana khayegi.'
'After going home, Geeta will eat food.'

(424) Rahule əɖa-k   ek-ke   jagu-n   ləp-e-∅
Rahul home-DAT go-ss.3SGM food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGM
'Rahul ghar jakar khana khayega.'
'After going home, Rahul will eat food.'

(425) Rahule ante Lokeshe əɖa-k   ek-ker jagu-n   ləp-e-r
Rahul ante Lokesh home-DAT go-ss.3PL food-ACC eat-FUT-3PL
'Rahul aur Lokesh ghar jakar khana khayege.'
'After going home, Rahul and Lokesh will eat food.'

(426) e:n əɖa-k   ek-no Rahule jagu-n   bit-e-∅
1SGM home-DAT go-DS Rahul food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGM
'mai ghar jaane ke baad, Rahul khana banayega.'
'After I reach home, Rahul will prepare the food.'

(427) Geeta:d bər-no Lata:d jagu-n bit-ani-:d
      Geeta return-DS Lata eat-FUT-3SGF
      'Geeta aane ke baad, Lata khana banayegi.'
      'After Geeta comes home, Lata will prepare the food.'

(428) e:n eskul-ek ek-no Rahule Tv-in er-e-∅
      1SG school-DAT go-DS Rahul T.V-ACC watch-FUT-3SGM
      'mai school jane ke baad, Rahul ghar me TV dekhega.'
      'After I go to school, Rahul will watch TV at home.'

8.5.2 Progressive Aspect

(429) e:n əɖa-k ek-ken pəɽc ɖok-e-n
      1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG study PROG-FUT-1SG
      'mai ghar jakar padhai karta rahunga.'
      'After going home, I (male) will be studying.'

(430) e:n əɖa-k ek-ken pəɽc ɖok-e-n
      1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG study PROG-FUT-1SG
      'mai ghar jakar padhai karti rahungi.'
      'After going home, I (female) will be studying.'

(431) e:m əɖa-k ek-kem pəɽc ɖok-e-m
      1PL.E home-DAT go-ss.1PL.E study PROG-FUT-1PL.E
      'hum ghar jakar padhai karte rahenge.'
      'After going home, we (incl) will be studying.'

(432) na:m əɖa-k ek-ket pəɽc ɖok-e-t
      1PL.I home-DAT go-ss.1PL.I study PROG-FUT-1PL.I
      'hum ghar jakar padhai karte rahenge.'
      'After going home, we (Excl) will be studying.'

(433) ni:n əɖa-k ek-ke pəɽc ɖok-an-e
      2SGM home-DAT go-ss.2SGM study PROG-FUT-2SGM
      'tum ghar jakar padhate rahoge.'
      'After going home, you (male) will be studying.'

(434) ni:n əɖa-k ek-ki pəɽc ɖok-an-i
      2SGF home-DAT go-ss.2SGF study PROG-FUT-2SGF
      'tum ghar jake padhati rahogi.'
      'After going home, you (female) will be studying.'

(435) ni:m go^{h}erhi əɖa-k ek-ker pəɽc ɖok-e-r
      1PL all home-DAT go-ss.2PL study PROG-FUT-2PL
      'tum sab ghar jake padhte rahoge.'
      'After going home, you all will be studying.'

(436) a: əɖa-k ek-ke pəɽc ɖok-e-∅
      3SGM home-DAT go-ss.3SGM study PROG-FUT-3SGM
      'wo ghar jake padhai karta rahega.'
      'After going home, he will be studying.'

(437) a:d əɖa-k ek-ken pəɽc ɖok-ani-:d
      3SGF home-DAT go-ss.3SGF study PROG-FUT-3SGF
      'wo ghar jake padhai karti rahegi.'
      'After going home, she will be studying.'

(438) a:ber əɖa-k ek-ker pəɽc ɖok-e-r
      3PL home-DAT go-ss.3PL study PROG-FUT-3PL
      'wo ghar jake padhai karte rahenge.'
      'After going home, they will be studying.'

(439) Geeta:d əɖa-k ek-ki:d pəɽc ɖok-ani-:d
      Geeta home-DAT go-ss.3SGF study PROG-FUT-3SGF
      'Geeta ghar jake padhti rahegi.'
      'After going home, Geeta will be studying.'

(440) Rahule əɖa-k ek-ke pəɽc ɖok-e-∅
      Rahul home-DAT go-ss.3SGM study PROG-FUT-3SGM
      'Rahul ghar jake padhta rahega.'
      'After going home, Rahul will be studying.'

(441) Rahule ante Lokeshe əɖa-k ek-ker pəɽc ɖok-e-r
      Rahule and Lokesh home-DAT go-ss.3PL study PROG-FUT-3PL
      'Rahul aur Lokesh ghar jake padhte rahege.'
      'After going home, Rahul and Lokesh will be reading.'

(442) e:n əɖa-k bər-no Rahule pəɽc ɖok-e-∅
      1SG home-DAT return-DS Rahul study PROG-FUT-3SGM
      'mai ghar aane ke baad, Rahul padhta rahega.'
      'After I return home, Rahul will be studying.'

(443) e:n əɖa-k   bər-no   Geeta:d pəɽc   ɖok-ani-:d
     1SG home-DAT return-DS Geeta   study PROG-FUT-3SGF
     'mai ghar aane ke baad, Geeta padh rahi hogi.'
     'After I return home, Geeta will be studying.'

(444) e:n əɖa-k   bər-no   Geeta-ki Classe meŋjə ɖok-ani
     1SG home-DAT return-DS Geeta-GEN class going PROG-FUT
     'mai ghar aane ke baad, Geeta ki class chal rahi hogi.'
     'After I return home, Geeta's class will be going on.'

8.6 SR in Transitive verb

8.6.1 habitual Aspect in Present tense

(445) e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-n
     1SG letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-1SG
     'mai letter likhkar usee data hu.'
     'After writing a letter, I (male) give it to him.'

(446) e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-n
     1SG letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-1SG
     'mai letter likhkar usee deti hu.'
     'After writing a letter, I (female) give it to him.'

(447) e:m ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-m
     1PL.E letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-1PL.E
     'hum letter likhkar usee dete hai.'
     'After writing a letter, we(incl) give it to him.'

(448) na:m ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-t
     1PL.I letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-1PL.I
     'hum letter likhkar usee dete hai.'
     'After writing a letter, we (excl) give it to him.'

(449) ni:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-n-e
     2SGM letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-2SGM
     'tum letter likhkar usee dete ho.'
     'After writing a letter, you (male) give it to him.'

(450) ni:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-n-i
     2SGF letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-2SGF
     'tum letter likhkar usee deti ho.'
     'After writing a letter, You (female) give it to him.'

(451) ni:m goțʰerhi ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-ne-r
     2PL all   letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-2PL
     'tum sab letter likhkar usee dete ho.'
     'After writing a letter, you all give it to him.'

(452) a: ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-∅
     3SGM letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-3SGM
     'wo letter likh-ke usee data hai.'
     'After writing a letter, he gives it to him.'

(453) a:d ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-:d
     3SGF letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-3SGF
     'wo(female) letter likh-kar(male INP) usee(male) deti hai.'
     'After writing a letter, she gives it to him.'

(454) a:d ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:d-ik   ciy-i-:d
     3SGF letter-ACC write-SS 3SGF-DAT give-PRS-3SGF
     'wo(female) letter likh-ke(female INP) usee(female) deti hai.'
     'After writing a letter, she gives it to her.'

(455) a:ber ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-ne-r
     3PL letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-3PL
     'wo letter likhkar usse dete hai.'
     'After writing a letter, they give it to him.'

(456) Geeta:d ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-:d
     Geeta   letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-3SGF
     'Geeta letter likhkar usse deti hai.'
     'After writing a letter, Geeta gives it to him.'

(457) Rahule ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-i-∅
     Rahul letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-3SGM
     'Rahul letter likhkar usse data hai.'
     'After writing a letter, Rahul gives it to him.'

(458) Rahule ante Lokeshe ciʈʈ-in   kurk-le a:h-ek   ciy-ne-r
     Rahul and Lokesh letter-ACC write-SS 3SGM-DAT give-PRS-3PL
     'Rahul aur Lokesh letter likhkar usse dete hai.'
     'After writing a letter, Rahul and Lokesh give it to him.'

(459)   e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-no Rahule a:h-ek   ciy-i-∅
        1SG letter-ACC write-DS Rahul   3SGM-DAT give-PRS-3SGM

        'mai letter likh-ne ke baad, Rahul usse letter data hai.'

        'After I write a letter, Rahul gives it to him.'

(460)   əbo ciʈʈ-in   kurk-no e:n madəm-ek ciy-i-n
        Father letter-ACC write-DS 1SG madam-DAT give-PRS-1SG

        'Pitaji letter likh-ne ke baad mai wo letter apne madam ko data hu.'

        'After father writes a letter, I give that letter to my teacher.'

8.6.2   Past Tense

(461)   e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ken a:h-ek   cica-ke-n
        1SG letter-ACC write-SS.1SG 3SGM-DAT give-PST-1SG

        'maine letter likh-kar usee diya.'

        'After writing a letter, I(male) gave it to him.'

(462)   e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ken a:h-ek   cica-ke-n
        1SG letter-ACC write-SS.1SG 3SGM-DAT give-PST-1SG

        'maine letter likh-kar usee diya.'

        'After writing a letter, I (female) gave it to him.'

(463)   e:m ciʈʈ-in   kurk-kem a:h-ek   cica-ke-m
        1PL.E letter-ACC write-SS.1PL.E 3SGM-DAT give-PST-1PL.E

        'humne letter likh-kar usee diya.'

        'After writing a letter, we (Incl) gave it to him.'

(464)   na:m ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ket a:h-ek   cica-ke-t
        1PL.I letter-ACC write-SS.1PL.I 3SGM-DAT give-PST-1PL.I

        'humne letter likh-kar usee diya.'

        'After writing a letter, we (excl) gave it to him.'

(465)   ni:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ke   a:h-ek   cica-k-e
        2SGM letter-ACC write-SS.2SGM 3SGM-DAT give-PST-2SGM

        'tum-ne letter likh-kar usee diya.'

        'After writing a letter, you(male) gave it to him.'

(466)   ni:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ki   a:h-ek   cica-k-i
        2SGF letter-ACC write-SS.2SGF 3SGM-DAT give-PST-2SGF

        'tum-ne letter likh-kar usee diya.'

        'After writing a letter, you(female) gave it to him.'

(467)   na:m goʈherhi ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ker   a:h-ek   cica-ke-r
        2PL all   letter-ACC write-SS.2PL 3SGM-DAT give-PST-2PL

        'tum sabne letter likh-kar usee diya.'

        'After writing a letter, you all gave it to him.'

(468)   a: ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ke   eŋ-a   qəʈ-iya-∅
        3SGM letter-ACC write-SS.3SGM 1SG-DAT give-PST-3SGM

        'uss-ne letter likh-kar muze diya.'

        'After writing a letter, he gave it to me.'

(469)   a:d ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ki:d   eŋ-a   qəʈ-iya-:d
        3SGF letter-ACC write-SS.3SGF 1SG-DAT give-PST-3SGF

        'uss-ne letter likh-kar muze diya.'

        'After writing a letter, she gave it to me.'

(470)   a:ber ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ker   eŋ-a   qəʈ-iya-r
        3PL letter-ACC write-SS.3PL 1SG-DAT give-PST-3PL

        'unone letter likh-kar muze diya.'

        'After writing a letter, they gave it to me.'

(471)   Geeta:d ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ki:d   eŋ-a   qəʈ-iya-:d
        Geeta   letter-ACC write-SS.3SGF 1SG-DAT give-PST-3SGF

        'Geeta-ne letter likh ke muze diya.'

        'After writing a letter, Geeta gave it to me.'

(472)   Rahule ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ke   eŋ-a   qəʈ-iya-∅
        Rahul   letter-ACC write-SS.3SGM 1SG-DAT give-PST-3SGM

        'Rahul-ne letter likh-ke muze diya.'

        'After writing a letter, Rahul gave it to me.'

(473)   Rahule ante Lokeshe ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ker   eŋ-a   qəʈ-iya-r
        Rahul and Lokesh letter-ACC write-SS.3PL 1SG-DAT give-PST-3PL

        'Rahul aur Lokesh-ne letter likk-ke muze diya.'

        'After writing a letter, Rahul and Lokesh gave it to me.'

(474)   e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ko Rahule sər-ek cic-a-∅
        1SG letter-ACC write-DS Rahule sir-DAT give-PST-3SGM

        'maine letter likh-ne ke baad, Rahul-ne wo letter (use) teacher ko diya.'

        'After I wrote a letter, Rahul gave it to the teacher.'

(475) əbo citt-in kurk-ko e:n a:din sər-ek cica-ke-n
Father letter-ACC write-DS 1SG that.letter sir-DAT give-PST-1SG

'pitaji-ne letter likhne ke baad, maine wo letter teacher ko diya.'

'After Father wrote a letter, I gave it to the teacher.'

8.6.3 Future Tense

(476) e:n citt-in kurk-ken a:h-ek ciy-e-n
1SG letter-ACC write-SS.1SG 3SGM-DAT give-FUT-1SG

'mai letter likh-kar usee dunga.'

'After writing a letter, I (male) will give it to him.'

(477) e:n citt-in kurk-ken a:h-ek ciy-e-n
1SG letter-ACC write-SS.1SG 3SGM-DAT give-FUT-1SG

'mai letter likh-kar usee dungi.'

'After writing a letter, I (female) will give it to him.'

(478) e:m citt-in kurk-kem a:h-ek ciy-e-m
1PL.E letter-ACC write-SS.1PL.E 3SGM-DAT give-FUT-1PL.E

'hum letter likh-kar usee denge.'

'After writing a letter, we(incl) will give it to him.'

(479) na:m citt-in kurk-ket a:h-ek ciy-e-t
1PL.I letter-ACC write-SS.1PL.I 3SGM-DAT give-FUT-1PL.I

'hum letter likh-kar usee denge.'

'After writing a letter, we(excl) will give it to him.'

(480) ni:n citt-in kurk-ke a:h-ek ciy-an-e
2SGM letter-ACC write-SS.2SGM 3SGM-DAT give-FUT-2SGM

'tum letter likh-kar usee dena.'

'After writing a letter, you (male) will give it to him.'

(481) ni:n citt-in kurk-ki a:h-ek ciy-an-i
2SGF letter-ACC write-SS.2SGF 3SGM-DAT give-FUT-2SGF

'tum letter likh-kar usee dena.'

'After writing a letter, you (female) will give it to him.'

(482) ni:m gotʰerhi citt-in kurk-ker a:h-ek ciy-e-r
2PL all letter-ACC write-SS.2PL 3SGM-DAT give-FUT-2PL

'tum sab letter likh-kar usse dena.'

'After writing a letter, you all will give it to him.'

(483) a: citt-in kurk-ke eŋg-a qəṭ-e-∅
3SGM letter-ACC write-SS.3SGM 1SG-DAT give-FUT-3SGM

'wo letter likh-kar muze denga.'

'After writing a letter, he will give it to me.'

(484) a:d citt-in kurk-ki:d eŋg-a qəṭ-ani-:d
3SGF letter-ACC write-SS.3SGF 1SG-DAT give-FUT-3SGF

'wo letter likh-kar muze degi.'

'After writing a letter, she will give it to me.'

(485) a:ber citt-in kurk-ker eŋg-a qəṭ-e-r
3PL letter-ACC write-SS.3PL 1SG-DAT give-FUT-3PL

'wo letter likh-kar muze denge.'

'After writing a letter, they will give it to me.'

(486) Geeta:d citt-in kurk-ki:d eŋg-a qəṭ-ani-:d
Geeta letter-ACC write-SS.3SGF 1SG-DAT give-FUT-3SGF

'Geeta letter likh-kar muze dengi.'

'After writing a letter, Geeta will give it to me.'

(487) Rahule citt-in kurk-ke eŋg-a qəṭ-e-∅
Rahul letter-ACC write-SS.3SGM 1SG-DAT give-FUT-3SGM

'Rahul letter likh-kar muze dega.'

'After writing a letter, Rahul will give it to me.'

(488) Rahule ante Lokeshe citt-in kurk-ker eŋga qəṭ-e-r
Rahul and Lokesh letter-ACC write-SS.3PL 1SG-DAT give-FUT-3PL

'Rahul aur Lokesh letter likh-kar muze denge.'

'After writing a letter, Rahul and Lokesh will give it to me.'

(489) a:bo citt-in kurk-no e:n a:din məstər-ek ciy-e-n
Father letter-ACC write-DS 1SG that.letter master-DAT give-FUT-1SG

'Pitaji letter likh-ne ke baad, mai wo letter teacher ko dunga.'

'After my father writes a letter, I will give it to the teacher.'

(490) e:n citt-in kurk-no Rahule a:din(that.letter) sar-ek ciy-e-∅
1SG letter-ACC write-DS Rahul that.letter sir-DAT give-FUT-3SGM

'mai letter likh-ne ke baad, Rahul wo letter sir ko dega.'

'After I write a letter, Rahul will give it to the teacher.'

8.7 SR in Ditransitive verb

8.7.1 Habitual Aspect in Present Tense

(491) e:n a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k ek-i-n
1SG 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-1SG
'mai usko akabar dekar ghar jata hu.'
'After giving him a newspaper, I (male) go home.'

(492) e:n a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k ek-i-n
1SG 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-1SG
'mai usko akabar dekar ghar jati hu .'
'After giving him a newspaper, I (female) go home.'

(493) e:m a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k ek-i-m
1PL.E 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-1PL.E
'hum usko akabar dekar ghar jate hai.'
'After giving him a newspaper, we (incl) go home.'

(494) na:m a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k ek-i-t
1PL.I 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-1PL.I
'hum usko akabar dekar ghar jate hai.'
'After giving him a newspaper, we (excl) go home.'

(495) ni:n a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k ek-n-e
2SGM 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-2SGM
'tum usko akabar dekar ghar jate ho.'
'After giving him a newspaper, we (male) go home.'

(496) ni:n a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k ek-n-i
2SGF 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-2SGF
'tum usko akabar dekar ghar jati ho.'
'After giving him a newspaper, you (female) go home.'

(497) ni:m goṭʰerhi a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k ek-ne-r
2PL all 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-2PL
'tum sab usko akabar dekar ghar jate ho.'
'After giving him a newspaper, you all go home.'

(498) a: eŋg-a pepər-en qəṭ-le əḍa-k ek-i-∅
3SGM 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-3SGM
'wo muze akabar dekar ghar jata hai.'
'After giving me a newspaper, he goes home.'

(499) a:d eŋg-a pepər-en qəṭ-le əḍa-k ek-i-:d
3SGF 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-3SGF
'wo muze akabar dekar ghar jati hai.'
'After giving me a newspaper, she goes home.'

(500) a:ber eŋg-a pepər-en qəṭ-le əḍa-k ek-ne-r
3PL 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-3PL
'wo muze akabar dekar ghar jate hai.'
'After giving me a newspaper, they go home.'

(501) Geeta:d eŋg-a pepər-en qəṭ-le əḍa-k ek-i-:d
Geeta 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-3SGF
'Geeta muze akabar dekar ghar jati hai .'
'After giving me a newspaper, Geeta goes home.'

(502) Rahule eŋg-a pepər-en qəṭ-le əḍa-k ek-i-∅
Rahul 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go-HAB.PRS-3SGM
'Rahul muze akabar dekar ghar jata jai.'
'After giving me a newspaper, Rahul goes home.'

(503) Rahule ante Lokeshe eŋg-a pepər-en qəṭ-le əḍa-k
Rahul and Lokesh 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT
ek-ne-r
go-HAB.PRS-3PL
'Lokesh aur Rahul muze akabar dekar ghar jata hai.'
'After giving me a newspaper, Lokesh and Rahul go home.'

8.7.2 Habitual in Past Tense

(504) e:n a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k eka siŋ-k-en
1SG 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go HAB-PST-1SG
'mai usee akabar deke ghar chala gaya.'
'After giving him a newspaper, I (male) came home.'

(505) e:n a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k eka siŋ-k-en
1SG 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go HAB-PST-1SG
'mai usee akabar dekar ghar chali gayi.'
'After giving him a newspaper, I (female) came home.'

(506) e:m a:h-ek pepər-en cicə-le əḍa-k eka siŋ-k-em
1PL.E 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go HAB-PST-1PL.E

'hum usee akabar dekar ghar chale gaye.'

'After giving him a newspaper, we (Incl) came home.'

(507)   na:m a:h-ek   pepər-en   cicə-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-k-t
1PL.I 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-1PL.I

'hum usee akabar dekar ghar chale gaye.'

'After giving him a newspaper, we (excl) came home.'

(508)   ni:n a:h-ek   pepər-en   cicə-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-k-e
2SGM 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-2SGM

'tum usee akabar dekar ghar chale gaye.'

'After giving him a newspaper, you (male) came home.'

(509)   ni:n a:h-ek   pepər-en   cicə-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-k-i
2SGF 3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-2SGF

'tum usee akabar dekar ghar chali gayi.'

'After giving him a newspaper, you (female) came home.'

(510)   ni:m goṭʰerhi a:h-ek   pepər-en   cicə-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-ke-r
2PL   all   3SGM-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-2PL

'tum sab usee akabar dekar ghar chale gaye.'

'After giving him a newspaper, you all came home.'

(511)   a: eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-gya-∅
3SGM 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-3SGM

'wo muze akabar dekar ghar chala gaya.'

'After giving me a newspaper, he came home.'

(512)   a:d eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-gya-:d
3SGF 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-3SGF

'wo muze akabar dekar ghar chali gayi.'

'After giving me a newspaper, she came home.'

(513)   a:ber eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-gya-r
3PL   1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-3PL

'wo muze akabar dekar ghar chale gaye.'

'After giving me a newspaper, they came home.'

(514)   Geeta:d eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-gya-:d
Geeta   1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-3SGF

'Geeta muze akabar dekar ghar chali gayi.'

'After giving me a newspaper, Geeta came home.'

(515)   Rahule eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-le əḍa-k   eka siŋ-gya-∅
Rahul   1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go   HAB-PST-3SGM

'Rahul muze akabar dekar ghar chala gaya.'

'After giving me a newspaper, Rahul came home.'

(516)   Rahule ante Lokeshe eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-le əḍa-k   eka
Rahul   and Lokesh 1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-ss home-DAT go
siŋ-gya-r
HAB-PST-3PL

'Rahul aur Lokesh muze akabar dekar ghar chale gaye.'

'After giving me a newspaper, Rahul and Lokesh came home.'

(517)   Rahule eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-no e:n əḍa-k   eka siŋ-ke-n
Rahul   1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-DS 1SG home-DAT go   HAB-PST-1SG

'Rahul muze akabar dene ke baad mai ghar chala gaya.'

'After Rahul gave me a newspaper, I went home.'

(518)   Geeta:d eŋg-a pepər-en   qəṭ-no e:n əḍa-k   eka siŋ-ke-n
Geeta   1SG-DAT newspaper-ACC give-DS 1SG home-DAT go   HAB-PST-1SG

'Geeta muze khana dene ke baad, mai school chala gaya.'

'After Geeta gave me food, I went to school.'

8.7.3   Future Tense

(519)   e:n a:h-ek kitab-en cica-ken   əḍa-k   kir-e-n
1SG 3SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.1SG home-DAT return-FUT-1SG

'mai usee kitab dekar ghar wapas aajaunga.'

'After giving him a book, I (male) will come home.'

(520)   e:n a:h-ek kitab-en cica-ken   əḍa-k bər-e-n
1SG 3SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.1SG home-DAT return-FUT-1SG

'mai usee kitab dekar ghar wapas aajaungi.'

'After giving him a book, I (female) will come home.'

(521)   e:m a:h-ek kitab-en cica-kem   əḍa-k bər-e-m
1PL.E 3SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.1PL.E home-DAT return-FUT-1PL.E

'hum usee kitab dekar ghar wapas aajayege.'

'After giving him a book, we (Incl) will come home.'

(522)   na:m a:h-ek kitab-en cica-ket   əḍa-k bər-e-t
1PL.I 3SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.1PL.I home-DAT return-FUT-1PL.I

'hum usee kitab dekar ghar wapas aajayege.'

'After giving him a book, we (Excl) will come home.'

(523) ni:n a:h-ek kitab-en cica-ke əɖa-k bər-an-e
2SGM 3SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.2SGM home-DAT return-FUT-2SGM

'tum usee kitab dekar ghar wapas aajana.'

'After giving him a book, you (male) will come home.'

(524) ni:n a:h-ek kitab-en cica-ki əɖa-k bər-an-i
2SGF 3SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.2SGF home-DAT return-FUT-2SGF

'tum usee kitab dekar ghar wapas anjana.'

'After giving him a book, you (female) will come home.'

(525) ni:m goᵗherhi a:h-ek kitab-en cica-ker əɖa-k bər-e-r
2PL all 3SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.2PL home-DAT return-FUT-2PL

'tum sab usee kitab dekar ghar wapas aajana.'

'After giving him a book, you all will come home.'

(526) a: eŋg-a kitab-en qəʈ-ke əɖa-k bər-e-∅
3SGM 1SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.3SGM home-DAT return-FUT-3SGM

'wo muze kitab dekar ghar wapas aajayega.'

'After giving me a book, he will come home.'

(527) a:d eŋg-a kitab-en qəʈ-ki:d əɖa-k bər-ani-:d
3SGF 1SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.3SGF home-DAT return-FUT-3SGF

'wo muze kitab dekar ghar wapas aajayegi.'

'After giving me a book, she will come home.'

(528) a:ber eŋg-a kitab-en qəʈ-ker əɖa-k bər-e-r
3PL 1SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.3PL home-DAT return-FUT-3PL

'wo muze kitab dekar ghar wapas aajayege.'

'After giving me a book, they will come home.'

(529) Geeta:d eŋg-a kitab-en qəʈ-ki:d əɖa-k bər-ani-:d
Geeta 1SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.3SGF home-DAT return-FUT-3SGF

'Geeta muze kitab dekar ghar wapas aajayegi.'

'After giving me a book, Geeta will come home.'

(530) Rahule eŋg-a kitab-en qəʈ-ke əɖa-k bər-r-∅
Rahul 1SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.3SGM home-DAT return-FUT-3SGM

'Rahul muze kitab dekar ghar wapas aa jayega.'

'After giving me a book, Rahul will come home.'

(531) Rahule ante Lokeshe eŋg-a kitab-en qəʈ-ker əɖa-k
Rahul and Lokesh 1SG-DAT book-ACC give-ss.3PL home-DAT
bər-e-r
return-FUT-3PL

'Rahul aur Lokesh muze kitab dekar ghar wapas aajayege.'

'After giving me a book, Rahul and Lokesh will come home.'

(532) Rahule eŋg-a kitab-en qəʈ-no e:n əɖa-k bər-e-n
Rahul 1SG-DAT book-ACC give-DS 1SG home-DAT return-FUT-1SG

'Rahul muze kitab dene ke baad, mai ghar wapas aajunga.'

'After Rahul gives me a book, I will come home.'

(533) Geeta:d eŋg-a ca:-en qəʈ-no e:n ofis-ek ek-e-n
Geeta 1SG-DAT tea-ACC give-DS 1SG office-DAT return-FUT-1SG

'Geeta muze chai dene ke baad mai office chala jaunga.'

'After Geeta gives me tea, I will go to the office.'

(534) eŋ-ki malike eŋg-a pais-an qəʈ-no e:n əɖa-k bər-e-n
1SG-GEN boss 1SG-DAT money-ACC give-DS 1SG home-DAT return-FUT-1SG

'mere sahab muze paise dene ke baad mai ghar chala aaunga.'

'After my boss gives me money, I will return home.'

(535) e:n a:h-ek kitab-en ciy-no a: eskul-ek ek-e-∅
1SG 3SGM-DAT book-ACC give-DS 3SGM school-ACC go-FUT-3SGM

'mai usse kitab dene ke baad, wo school chala jayega.'

'After I return his book, He will go to school.'

(536) e:n a:h-ek eŋ-ki pəce kitab-en cica-ken eŋg-a pu:ne kitab-en
1SG 3SGM-DAT 1SG-GEN old book-ACC give-ss.1SG 1SG-DAT new book-ACC
qeiɢ-e-n
buy-FUT-1SG

'mai usko purani kitab deker mai meri liye ek nayi kitab kharidi.'

'After giving him an old book, I bought a new book for myself.'

8.8 SR in different verb types in Dependent and Matrix Clause

1. Intransitive verb + Transitive verb

(537) e:n əɖa-k ek-ken leʈer-en kurk-e-n
1SG home-HOME go-ss.1SG letter-ACC write-FUT.1SG

'mai ghar jakar letter likhunga.'

'After I go home, I will write a letter (SS).'

(538) e:n əɖa-k   ek-no abo principəl-ek ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ke
       1SG home-DAT go-DS father principle-DAT letter-ACC write-SS.3SGM
       ciy-e-∅
       give-FUT.3SGM

       'mai ghar jaane ke baad, mere pitaji principle ko letter likh-ke denge.'

       'After I go home, my father will write a letter to the principal (DS).'

2. **Intransitive verb + Ditransitive verb**

(539) e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken a:h-ek   kitab-en kirtr-e-n
       1SG home-DAT go-SS.1SG 3SGM-DAT book-ACC return-FUT.1SG

       'mai ghar jaake usse kitab wapas dunga.'

       'After I go home, I will return a book to him (SS).'

(540) e:n eskul-ek   ek-no a: eŋg-a   kitab-en kirtr-e-∅
       1SG school-DAT go-DS 3SGM 1SG-DAT book-ACC return-DAT.3SGM

       'mai school jaane ke baad, wo muze kitab wapas dega.'

       'After I go to school, He will return the book to me (DS).'

3. **Transitive verb + Intransitive verb**

(541) e:n leʈer-en   kurk-ken eskul-ek   ek-ke-n
       1SG letter-ACC write-SS.1SG school-DAT go-PST-1SG

       'mai letter likh-kar school jaunga.'

       'After I write a letter, I will go to school (SS).'

(542) e:n leʈer-en   kurk-no Rahule əɖa-k   ek-e-∅
       1SG letter-ACC write-DS Rahul home-DAT go-FUT-3SGM

       'mai letter likh-ne ke baad Rahul ghar jayega.'

       'After I write a letter, Rahul will go to school (DS).'

4. **Transitive verb + Ditransitive verb**

(543) e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-ken   principəl-ek ciy-e-n
       1SG letter-ACC write-SS.1SG principle-DAT give-FUT-1SG

       'mai letter likh-ke principle ko dunga.'

       'After I write the letter, I will give it to the principal (SS).'

(544) e:n ciʈʈ-in   kurk-no Rahule a:din   principəl-ek ciy-e-∅
       1SG letter-ACC write-DS Rahule that.letter principal-DAT give-FUT.3SGM

       'mai letter likhne ke baad Rahul wo letter principle ko dega.'

       'After I write a letter, Rahul will give i(DS).'

5. **Ditransitive verb + Intransitive verb**

(545) e:n a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-ken   əɖa-k   ek-e-n
       1SG 3SGM-DAT book-ACC give-SS.1SG home-DAT go-FUT-1SG

       'mai usse kitab dekar ghar jaunga.'

       'After I give a book to him, I will go home (SS).'

(546) e:n a:h-ek   kitab-en ciy-no a: əɖa-k   ek-e-∅
       1SG 3SGM-DAT book-DAT give-DS 3SGM home-DAT go-FUT-3SGM

       'mai usee kitab dene ke baad wo ghar chala jayega.'

       'After I give a book to him, he will return home (DS).'

9   Checking the properties of SR in Malto

9.1   Some properties of SR clause in Malto

(547) e:n pəɽc-ken   kelar-oti ek-ke-n
       1SG study-SS.1SG play-INF go-PST-1SG
       'mai padhai karke khelne gaya.'
       'After Studying, I went to play.'

(548) e:n pəɽc-ken   kelar-oti ek-e-n
       1SG study-SS.1SG play-INF go-FUT-1SG
       'mai padhai karke khelne jaunga.'
       'After reading, I will go to play.'

(549) a. e:n pəɽc-ken kelar-oti ek-e-n
       b. pəɽc-ken e:n kelar-oti ek-e-n
       c. *e:n kelar-oti ek-e-n peɽc-ken

(550) e:n pəɽc-ke-n   ante gurar-oti ek-ke-n
       1SG study-PST.1SG and stroll-INF go-PST-1SG
       'maine padhai kiyi aur mai ghumne gaya.'
       'I studied and went for a stroll.'

(551) e:n pəʈiy-e-n   ante kelar-oti ek-e-n
1SG study-FUT-1SG and play-INF go-FUT-1SG
'mai padhai karunga aur ghumne jaunga.'
'I will study and I will go for stroll.'

(552) gədd-in bi:s-ke   Lokeshe cycl-en   qəiG-a-∅
Bike-ACC sell-ss.3SGM Lokesh cycle-ACC buy-PST-3SGM
'Gaadi beckar Lokeshne cycle kharidi .'
'After selling the bike, Lokesh bought a bicycle.'

(553) gədd-in bi:s-ke   Lokeshe indra qəiG-a-∅
bike-ACC sell-ss.3SGM Lokesh what buy-PST-3SGM
'Gaadi bechkar Lokeshne kya liya.'
'After selling the bike, what did Lokesh buy?.'

(554) Lokeshe indra bi:s-iya-∅   əro qəiG-a-∅
Lokesh   What buy-PST-3SGM and buy-PST-3SGM
'Lokeshne kya becha aur kharida.'
'What did Lokesh sell and buy?.'

(555) Lokeshe indra bi:s-iya-∅   əro indra qəiG-a-∅
Lokesh   What buy-PST-3SGM and what buy-PST-3SGM
'Lokeshne kya becha aur kya kharida.'
'What Lokesh sold and What he bought?.'

9.1.1 Backward Pronominalization

(556) a:h-en_i qau:rnəq-qo a: Lokeshe_i kin jawal-en   səryetrəya
3SG-ACC talk-DS   3SGM Lokesh POSS problem-ACC solve.PST.3SGM
'us-se_i baat kar ke baad uss-ne lokesh_i ki samasa ka samadhan kiya.'
'After talking to him_i, He solved Lokesh's_i problem.'

(557) a. Rahule Lokesh-en_i qau:rnəq-qe a:he-kin_i jawal-en səryetreya
b. Lokesh-en_i qau:rnəq-qe Rahule a:he-kin_i jawal-en səryetreya
c. *a:hen_i qau:rnəq-qe Rahule Lokeshe-kin_i jawal-en səryetreya
d. *a:hen qau:rnəq-qe a: Lokeshe-kin_i jawal-en səryetreya

(558) a. After talking to him_i, He solved Lokesh's_i problem.
b. a: Lokeshe_i ki jawal-en səryetreya a:h-en_i qau:rnəq-qe
c. *a:hen_i qau:rnəq-qe a: Lokeshe_i ki jawal-en səryetreya
d. *a:hen_i qau:rnəqqe a: Lokeshe_i ki jawal-en səryetreya

9.1.2 Centre Embedding and Extrapost Test

(559) Lokeshe dukan-ik ek-ke   kəlmen qeiG-a-∅
Lokesh shop-DAT go-ss.3SGM pen   buy-PST-3SGM
'Lokeshne dukan jaane ke baad pen kharidi .'
'Lokesh bought a pen after going to shop.'

(560) Lokeshe kəlmen qeiG-a-∅   dukan-ik ek-ke
Lokesh pen   buy-PST-3SGM shop-DAT go-ss.3SGM
'Lokeshne pen kharidi dukan jaane ke baad.'
'Lokesh bought a pen after going to shop.'

(561) dukan-ik ek-ke   Lokeshe kəlmen qeiG-a-∅
shop-DAT go-ss.3SGM Lokesh pen   buy-PST-3SGM
'dukan jaane ke baad Lokeshne pen kharidi.'
'Lokesh bought a pen after going to shop.'

(562) Lokeshe dukan-ik ek-ke   kəlmen qəiG-e-∅
Lokesh shop-DAT go-ss.3SGM pen   buy-FUT-3SGM
'Lokesh dunkan jake pen kharidega.'
'Lokesh will buy a pen after going to shop.'

(563) Lokeshe kəlmen qəiG-e-∅   dukan-ik ek-ke
Lokesh pen   buy-FUT-3SGM shop-DAT go-ss.3SGM
'Lokesh pen kharidega dunkan jane ke baad.'
'Lokesh will buy a pen after going to shop.'

9.2 Checking SR Clause Types

9.2.1 SR in When clause example

(564) Rahule eka ɖok-iya-∅   a:para al-en   ənɖ-a-∅
Rahul go PROG-PST-3SGM when dog-ACC see-PST-3SGM
'Rahul ne kutte ko dekha, jab wo ja raha tha.'
'Rahul saw the dog when he was going.'

(564) does not exhibit SR when we use WHEN (*a:para*) explicitly in Malto.

9.2.2 SR in Because clause example

(565) Lokeshe-ki əle keca-ko a: mədəqe ɖokiya-∅
Lokesh-GEN dog dead-DS 3SGM sad   PST-3SGM

'Lokesh ka kutta marne ke baje see wo naaraj tha.'

'Lokesh was sad because his dog was dead.'

(566) jəɽa poy-oti par-i-:d   ani-se   e:n gurar-oti ek-e-n-ala
rain fall-INF can-PRS-3SGF therefore 1SG stroll-INF go-FUT-1SG-NEG

'barish aa sakati hai, isliye hum ghumne nahi jayege.'

'it might rain therefore when did not go for a trip.'

(567) meru korc-ko a: eskul-ek   ek-oti par-i:la
sick get-DS 3SGM school-DAT go-INF can-PRS.3SGM.NEG

'bukhar aane ki baje see wo school nahi ja saka.'

'I couldn't go to school because he got sick.'

(568) tohok   meru korc-ko a: eskul-ek   ek-oti pari:la
his.mother sick   get-DS 3SGM school-DAT go-INF can-PRS.3SGM.NEG

'uski maa ki tabiyet kharab hone ki baje se wo school nahi ja payi.'

'He could not go to school because his mother was sick.'

(569) əya:d   kaj-en   kud-lə-ko eŋg meca kejak rokər-iya-:d
My.mother work-ACC do-NEG-DS my on   much angry-PST-3SGF

'meri maa muza-pe bohat khusa thi kyuki mai-ne kam nahi kiya.'

'my mother was angry with me because I did not do the work.'

9.2.3 SR in After clause example

(570) a: moṭer-ke   Delhi-k   pəɽiy-oti ek-iya-∅
3SGM growing.up-ss.3SGM delhi-DAT study-INF go-PST-3SGM

'badahokar wo delhi padhane gaya.'

'After growing up, he went to Delhi for his study.'

(571) Lokeshe moṭer-ke   Geeta:-n biha   meɲja
Lokesh growing.up-ss.3SGM Geeta-ACC marriage happen-pst.3sgm

'Badahokar Lokesh ne Gita se shadi kiyi.'

'After growing up, Lokesh married Geeta .'

(572) e:n əḍa-k   ek-ke-n   a:di bahənte mobail-en bəc-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-PST-1SG her from   mobile-ACC snatch-PST.1SG

'Ghar jaakar Maine usse mobile chin liya.'

'After going home, I snatched her mobile.'

(573) a:h-en   guni bəjanəq-qo eŋg-a   məja   qəcc-a-:d
3SGM-ACC with quarrel-DS 1SG-DAT good.3SGF feel-PST-3SGF

'usse ladkar muze shanti mili.'

'After fighting with him, I got peace.'

(574) a:h-en   beṭar-ko eŋg-a   məja   qəcca:d
3SGM-ACC meet-DS 1SG-DAT good.3SGF feet-PST-3SGF

'usse milne ke baad muze achha laga.'

'After meeting him, I felt good.'

(575) toho:d   jagu-n bita-ki:d   təŋki məkerin bik-iya-:d
children.mother food-ACC prepare-3SGF her   children feed-PST-3SGF

'maa-ne khana banane ke baad apne bacho-ko khana khilaya.'

'After mother prepared, she fed it to her children.'

(576) vishale amerik-ante bərc-ke   punne ujen ujke kəjak namin
Vishal America-LOC return-ss.2SGM new   life live much name-ACC
kəmca
earn-PST.3SGM

'America see aakar, vishal-ne apne jivan ki niyi shuruwat karke bohat naam
kamaya.'

'After coming from America, Vishal started his new life and earned big name.'

(577) Geeta:d əḍa-k   bərc-ko e:n ca:en bita-ken
Geeta   home-DAT return-DS 1SG tea   prepare-PST.1SG

'Geeta ghar aane ke baad mai chai banaunga.'

'After Geeta comes home, I will make tea.'

(578) e:n eskul-ente berc-ken jagu-n   bit-e-n
1SG school-LOC return-ss food-ACC prepare-FUT-1SG

'Geeta ghar aane ke baad Maine chai banayi.'

'After Geeta comes home, I made a tea.'

(579) e:n eskul-ente bərc-ken   jagu-n bita-ken
1SG school-LOC return-ss.1SG food-ACC prepare-PST.1SG

'mai school see aakar khana banaunga.'

'After I return home from school, I will prepare food.'

(580) e:n jagu-n   eskul-ente bərc-ken   bitaken
1SG food-ACC school-LOC return-ss.1SG prepare-PST.1SG

'school see aakar mai khana banaunga.'

'After returning from school, I will prepared the food.'

(581) e:n eskul-ente bərc-ko Lokesh jagu-n bita
1SG school-LOC return-DS Lokesh food-ACC prepare.PST.3SGM

'mai school se wapas aaya toh Lokeshne khana banaya.'

'After I returned from school, Lokesh cooked the food.'

(582)

'maine khana school se aakar banaya.'

'I prepared the food, after I returned from school.'

(583) e:n eskulente bərc-ko Lokesh jagu-n bita
1SG school.LOC return-DS Lokesh food-ACC prepare.PST.3SGM

'mai school se wapas aane-ke baad lokesh ne khana banaya.'

'After I came from school, Lokesh prepared the food.'

(584) Rahule eskul-ek ek-ke təŋki ṭasen kud-iya-∅
Rahul school-DAT go-3SGM GEN work do-PST.3SGM

'Rahul-ne apna homework school jake kiya.'

'Rahul completed his homework after going to school.'

9.3 Checking whether the SR can mark subject-object distinction

(585) Rahul Geeta:n ənda-ko Geeta:d əḍa-k ek-iya-:d
Rahul Geeta-ACC see-DS Geeta:d home-DAT go-PST.3SGF

'Jab Rahul Geeta ko dekh tab Geeta ghar gayi.'

'When Rahul saw Geeta$_i$, She$_i$ went home.

(586) Rahule$_j$ Geeta:n$_i$ ənda-ko a:d$_i$ əḍak ekiya:d

(587) Rahule$_j$ Geeta:n$_i$ ənda-ke a:$_j$ əḍa-k ek-iya
Rahul Geeta-ACC see-ss.3SGM 3SGM home-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'Rahul Geeta ko dehkar ghar chala gaya.'

'When Rahul saw Geeta, He went home.'

9.4 Checking Switch-Reference with Case

9.4.1 Dative Case + SR (How SR behaves with the Dative case-marking system)

(588) eŋga chocalete qəqur-ko e:n əḍa-k ek-ken
1SG.DAT chocalate get-DS 1SG home-DAT go-PST.1SG

'Muze chocolate milne-ke baad, mai ghar gaya.'

'After I got chocolate, I went home.'

(589) eŋga chocalete qəqur-ko a: əḍa-k ek-iya
1SG-DAT chocalete get-DS 3SGM home-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'Muze chocalate milne-ke baad, wo ghar gaya.'

'After I got a chocolate, he went home

(590) eŋga jagu-n qəqur-ko a: əḍa-k ek-iya
1SG-DAT food-ACC get-DS 3SGM home-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'muze khana milne-ke baad, wo ghar aaya.'

'After I got food, he came back home.'

(591) eŋga meru korc-ko e:n əḍa-k kir-ken
1SG-DAT sick.3SGF get-DS home-DAT return-PST.1SG

'muze bukhar aane ki baje se mai ghar wapas aaya.'

'I came back home because I got sick.'

(592) eŋ-a meru korc-ko e:n hospiṭəl-ek ek-ken
1SG-DAT sick get-DS 1SG hosiptal-DAT go-PST.1SG

'Muze bukhar aane ke baad mai hospital gaya."

'After I got sick, I came back home.

(593) eŋ-a meru korc-ko əbo eskulente əḍa-k kirya
1SG-DAT sick get-DS father school.LOC home-DAT RETURN.PST.3SGM

'Muze bukhar aane ke baad mera papa school se ghar wapas aaye."

'Because I got sick, my father came back home.

(594) eŋ-a meru korc-ko e:n ca:-en bita-ken
1SG-DAT sick get-DS 1SG tea-ACC prepare-PST.1SG

'Muze bukhar aane ke baad maa-ne chai banayi."

'After I got sick, maa made the tea.

(595) əbok meru korc-ko eŋ-a de meru korca
father sick get-DS 1SG-DAT EMP sick get.PST.3SGM

'Papa ko bukhar aane ki bajese muze bhi bukhar aaya."

'After my after got sick, I got sick.

9.4.2 Accusative + SR

(596) a: eŋg-en bəj-ke than-ak eki-ya
3SGM 1SG-ACC hit-DS station-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'muze markar wo police station chala gaya.'

'After hitting me, he went to the police station.'

(597) a: eŋ-en bəj-ko e:n than-ak   berc-ken
       3SGM 1SG-ACC hit-DS 1SG station-DAT return-PST.1SG

       'usse-ne muze marne ke baad, mai police station aaya.'

       'After he hit me, I went to the police station.'

(598) eŋ-a   amu kiɽe dərc-ko ni:n əma qəʈ-ke
       1SG-DAT water thirst get-DS 2SGM water give-2SGM

       'Naali-me girne ke baad, mai ghar gaya.'

       'I came home, after I fell in the drain.

(599) e:n nəli-no   u:tərr-ken ante əɖa-k   bərc-ken
       1SG drain-LOC fall-PST.1SG and home-DAT return-PST.1SG

       'mai naali-me girne-ne ke baad, wo ghar gaya.'

       'After I fell in the drain, he went home.'

(600) e:n nəli-no   u:tərr-ken anise əɖa-k   bərc-ken
       1SG drain-LOC fall-PST.1SG therefore home-DAT return-PST.1SG

       'mai naali-me girne-ne ke baad, wo ghar gaya.'

       'After I fell in the drain, he went home.'

(601) niŋ-a   əɖa-k   ek-ke pəɽy-oti   meɲani
       YOU-DAT home-DAT go-2SGM will.have-to

       'tuze ghar jaane ke baad padhna padhega.'

       'you will have to read after you go home.

(602) ni:n əɖak ek-no/*ko a:hek pəɽyoti meɲani.

(603) niŋ-a   əɖa-k   ek-ke   ale-k   jagu-n   ciy-oti meɲani
       2SGM-DAT home-DAT go-ss.2SGM dog-DAT food-ACC give-INF will-have-to

       'tuze ghar jaane ke baad kutte ko khana khilana padhega.'

       'you will have to feed the dog after you go home.

(604) a: eŋ-en baj-ke Ranc-ik   ek-iya
       3SGM 1SG-ACC hit-3SGM Ranchi-DAT go-PST.3SGM

       'muze marker wo chala Ranchi gaya.'

       'After hitting me, he went to Ranchi .'

(605) Lokeshe eŋ-en bəj-ko e:n than-ek   ek-ken
       Lokesh 1SG-ACC hit-DS 1SG station-dat go-PST.1SG

       'Lokesh muza marne ke baad mai police station gaya.'

       'After Lokesh hit me, I went to police station.'

(606) a: eŋ-en jagu-n ed-ke eŋ-a   kiɽe dərca
       3SGM 1SG-ACC food-ACC see-DS 1SG-DAT hungry get-PST.3SGM

       'ussne muze khana dikhaya isliye muze bukh lagi.'

       'He showed me food; therefore, I got hungry.'

(607) a: eŋ-en jagu-n ed-no eŋ-a   kiɽe der-i
       3SGM 1SG-ACC food-ACC see-DS 1SG-DAT hungry get-PRS.3SGM

       'wo muze khana dekhata hai isliye muze bukh lagati hai.'

       'He shows me food; therefore, I get hungry.'

9.4.3 Possessive + SR

(608) e:n eŋ-ki   gəd-in bi:s-ken əɖak   bərc-ken
       1SG 1SG-POSS bike-ACC sell-ss.1SG home-DAT return-ss.1SG

       'meri gaadi bechkar, mai ghar aaya.'

       'After I sold my bike, I came home.'

(609) a: eŋ-ki   gəd-in bi:s-ke   əɖa-k ek-iya
       3SGM 1SG-POSS bike-ACC sell-ss.3SGM go-PST.3SGM

       'meri gaadi bech-ne-ke-baad, wo ghar aaya.'

       'After he sold my bike, he came home.'

(610) e:n eŋ-ki   gəd-in bi:s-ken əɖak   bərc-ken
       1SG 1SG-POSS bike-ACC see-ss.1SG return-PST.1SG

       'meri gaadi bech-ne-ke baad, mai ghar aaya.'

       'After I sold my bike, I came home.

9.4.4 Time + SR

(611) ek gʰənto:nd baad e:n əɖa-k   bərc-ken
       ONE hour-CLS after 1SG home-DAT return-PST.1SG

       'ek ghanta hone ke baad mai ghar aaya.'

       'After an hour, I came home.

9.5 General SR data

9.5.1 Checking SR in Having+V3 construction

(612) e:n lok-ken   a:ber guni qau:rnəq-qe-n
       1sg sit-ss.1sg 3PL with talk-PST-1sg

       'maine baithkar un-logo-se baat kiyi.'

       'After sitting, I talked with them.'

9.5.2 Checking SR in Purpose clause

(613) cəpakəl-en   səryetr-oti mistr-in   bi:kpe
handpump-ACC repair-INF plumber-ACC was-called

'Borewell think karne ke liye mistri ko bolaya gaya.

'To repair the bore-well, the plumber was called.'

9.5.3 Negation in SR marking clause

(614) pəɽy-la   a:goʈe a: exam-en ciy-oti ekiya
study-NEG after   3SGM exam-ACC give-INF go-PST

'padhai na karne ke baad bhi wo exam dene gaya.'

'Even after not studying, he appeared for the exam.'

(615) a:d bi:skut-en ciy-ol-ki:d   tan moqi:d ciy-ol-ki:d
3SGF biscuit-ACC give-PRS.NEG-3SGF 3SG? eat-3SGF give-PRS.NEG-3SGF?

'wo biscuit na dekhar khud khati hai .'

'Without giving biscuits, she eats herself.'

(616) a: eskul-ek   eka ḍok-l-ko   eŋg-a   roke ərgiya
3SGM school-ACC go PROG-PST.NEG-DS 1SG-DAT angry get-PST.3SGM

'Usse school jate na dekh-kar, muze ghusa aaya .'

'After seeing him not going to school, I got angry.'

9.5.4 Checking SR in when-then construction

(617) hotele kolur-no nəma jagu qəqurəni
hotel open-DS we   food get.FUT

'jab hotel khulega tab hume khana milega.'

'When the Restaurant gets open, then we will get the food.'

(618) a: əḍa-k   ek-ne   əḍa-nte   tiqəla ondr-e
3SGM home-DAT go-COND.3SGF home-from rice   bring-FUT.3SGM

'Jab wo ghar jayega tab wo ghar-se chwal le aayega.

'When he will go, then he will bring the rice from home.'

(619) a: ca:en bit-para   dud-en tund-iya
3SGM tea   while-making milk-ACC fell-pst.3sgm

'jab wo chai bana raha tha, tab usne dudh kira diya.

'While he was making tea, he poured the milk.'

(620) e:n eskul-ek   eka ḍok-ken   a:para Rahule eŋg-en ənda
1SG school-LOC go PRO-PST-1SG while Rahul 1SG-ACC see-PST.3SGM

'jab mai school ja raha tab rahul-ne dekha.'

'Rahul saw me When I was going to school.'

(621) Ajaye bərca   a:para a: o:ketiya
Ajay return-PST-3SGM while 3SGM sit-3SGM

'jab Ajay aaya tab wo baitha.'

'He sat when Ajay came.'

9.5.5 Checking whether SR can be marked in infinitive construction consists BE-CAUSE

(622) e:n i:ʈik a:h-en   qau:rnəqq-oti bərc-ken
1sg here 3SGM-ACC talk-INF   return-1SG

'mai yaha usse baat karne ke liye aaya.'

'I came here to speak with him.'

9.5.6 Checking SR in If-Then construction

(623) a: bər-no   e:n bəl-in   kol-e-n
3SGM return-DS 1SG door-ACC open-FUT-1SG

'agar wo aayega toh mai darwaja kholunga.'

'If he comes, then I will open the door.'

(624) jaɽa bər-no   na:m   filəm-hol-ek ek-e-t-ala
rain come-DS we-1PL.INCL theater-LOC go-FUT-1PL.INCL-NEG

'agar barish aayi toh hum cinema dekh-ke-liye nahi jayege.'

'If it rains, then we won't go to the cinema.'

(625) e:n cula:-n   pəktr-no a: jagu-n   bit-e
1SG stove-ACC lit-DS   3SGM food-ACC cook-FUT.3SGM

'agar mai chulaah jalaunga, toh wo khana banayega.'

'if I light gas, then he will prepare food.'

(626) a: bərc-ko   e:n jagu-n   ləpken
3SGM return-DS 1SG food-ACC eat-PST.1SG

'jab wo aaya tab maine khana khaya.'

'When he came then I ate food.'

9.5.7   Checking SR whether it is sensitive to hierarchy

SR in DP$_i$....DP$_j$......DP$_i$

(627) Geeta:d berc-ko Rahule məndra mənj-ke   Geeta-k   cic-a
Geeta   return-DS Rahul   medicine make-SS.3SGM Geeta-DAT give-PST.3SGM

'Geeta aane ke baad, Rahul-ne dawa banakar Geeta ko diya.'

'After Geeta came, Rahul prepared the medicine and gave it to Geeta.'

(628) Geeta:d bərc-ko Rahule jagu-n   bita   ante Geeta:d
Geeta   return-DS Rahul   food-ACC cook-PST-3SGM and Geeta
ləpiya:d
eat-PST-3SGF

'Geeta aane ke baad, Rahul-ne khana banaya aur Geeta-ne khana khaya.'

'After Geeta came, Rahul cooked food, and Geeta cooked food.'

(629) Geeta:d ədak   bərc-ki:d   lokesh-ek ca:en bita:d
Geeta   home-DAT return-SS.3SGF Lokesh-DAT tea-ACC prepare-PST.3SGF
ante Lokeshe ca:en onda-ke   eskulek   ekiya
and Lokesh tea   drink-SS.3SGM school-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'Geeta ghar aane ke baad lokesh ke liye chai banayi phir lokesh chai pike school gaya.'

'After Geeta came home, she made tea for Lokesh, then Lokesh drank tea and went to school.'

9.5.8   Checking SR in Before Clause

(630) Lokeshe ber-ente   əgdu Geeta:d jagu-n   bita:d
Lokesh   return-from before Geeta   food-ACC cook-PST.3SGF

'Lokesh aane ke pahile Geeta-ne khana bana diya.'

'Before Lokesh came, Geeta prepared the food.'

(631) e:n ədak   bər-ente əgdu lokeshe jagun   bita
1SG home-DAT go-from before Lokesh food-ACC cook-PST-3SGM

'mai ghar wapas aane se pahile lokesh-ne khana banaya tha.'

'Before I came home, Lokesh had prepared the food.'

9.5.9   SR in Wh+ questions

(632) ne-:d jagu-n ləp-ki   qandriya:d
who-F food-ACC eat-SS.2SGF sleep-PST-3SGF

'kon khana khake so gaya.'

'Who slept after eating food.'

(633) ne: jagun ləp-alo qandriya
WHO-UNDERSPECIFIED food-ACC eat-NEG.? PST.3SGM

'kisne khana nahi khaya aur so gaya.'

'who slept after eating food.'

(634) ne: ne: jagu-n ləp-ke   əda-k   ekiya
you you food-ACC eat-SS.3SGM home-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'kon kon khana khake ghar gaya.'

'After eating food who went home.'

(635) ne: jagun ləpke qandrogi

'kon khana khake nahi soya.'

'After eating food, who did not sleep.'

(636) a: jagu-n ləpke   ədak   ek-la
3SGM food-ACC eat-3SGM home-DAT go-NEG.?

'wo khana khake ghar nahi gaya.'

'After eating food, he did not go home.'

(637) e:n jagun   ləpken   qandrə-l-ken
1SG food-ACC eat-SS.1SG sleep-NEG-PST.1SG

'mai khana khake nahi soya.'

'After eating food, I did not sleep.'

(638) ne: jagun ləp-ke   ədak   ek-ke   qandriya
who food-ACC eat-SS.3SGM home-DAT go-SS.3SGM sleep-PST.3SGM

'kon khana khake ghar jake movie dekhar so gaya.'

'After eating food, who went to home, watched movie and sleep.'

(639) ne: jagun   ləpke   ədak   ek-oti əmb-ke   film-en
who jagun-ACC eat-SS.3SGM home-DAT go-INF leave-SS.3SGM film-ACC
ər-oti   ekiya
see-INF go-PST.3SGM

'kon khana khake ghar na jate huve movie dekhne gaya.'

'After eating food, who did not go home, went to see movie.'

9.5.10   Checking whether some construction consists SR or not

(640) Rahule eŋg-en eskulek   ek-para ənda
Rahul   1SG-ACC school-DAT go-while see-PST.3SGM

'muze school jate hue, Rahul-ne dekha.'

'Rahul saw me while I was going to school.'

(641) e:n a:h-en buja-tre-ken təmtrə-ken
1SG 3SGM-ACC understand-CAUS-SS.1SG calm-CAUS-PST-1SG

'Maine usse samajakar shant kiya.'

'I calmed him by making him understand.'

(642) Lokeshe əɖa-k ek-para təŋg səgal-en er-ke əlq-oti
Lokesh home-LOC go-while his friend-ACC see-SS.3SGM laugh-INF
ləgəriya
start-PST-3SGM

'Lokesh ghar jate jate apne dost ko dekh-kar hasne laga.'

'while Lokesh was going, Lokesh started laughing by watching his friend.'

(643) Lokeshe təŋki ʈopi-n i:c-ke sahab-en pernam meɲja
Lokesh his cap-ACC take.off-SS.3SGM owner-ACC greeting do-PST.3SGM

'Lokesh-ne apni topi nikalkar sahab ko namste kiya.'

'Taking off his hat, Lokesh greeted the officer.'

(644) e:n a:he guni bade-no qau:r-nəq-en
1SG 3SGM with later talk-RECP-1SG

'mai usse baad me baat karunga.'

'I will talk to him later.'

(645) a:he-ki qət-pe kaj-en e:n bade-no kud-e-n
3SGM-GEN give-PASS work-ACC 1SG later do-FUT-1SG

'uss-ne diya hua kaam mai baad me karunga.'

'The work he gave me, I will do it later.'

(646) e:n eŋ-ki kaj-en bade-no kud-e-n əgdu niŋ-ki kaj-en
1SG 1SG-GEN work-ACC later work-FUT-1SG before 2SG-GEN work-ACC
kud-ken əɖak ek-e-n
work-SS.1SG home-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai mera kam bad-me karunga, pahile tumara kam karke free(khali) ho jata hu.'

'I will do my work later; I will do your work first and get myself free from it .'

(647) Lokeshe jagu-n ləp-oti bərca
Lokesh food-ACC eat-INF return-PST.3SGM

'Lokesh khana khane ke liye aaya.'

'Lokesh came to eat the food.'

(648) Loheshe mi:na dəry-oti bərca
Lokesh fish catch-INF come-PST.3SGM

'lokesh machali pakadane ke liye aaya.'

'Lokesh came to catch the fish.'

(649) Lokeshe təŋɢade 10th fel meɲja-ko dukərariya
Lokesh his.son 10th fail be-DS sad-PST.3SGM

'shyam ko apna beta 10th fail hute hue dekhkar bohat dukh hua.'

'Shyam got sad after he saw his son failing the 10th exam.'

(650) tiket-en qe:ɢ-oti goʈʰerhikhi layne-no ilo-ti ləg-i
ticket-ACC buy-INF to.all line-LOC stand-LOC ?be-PRS

'Ticket kharidane-ke liye sab ko line me lagna padhata hai.'

'To buy a ticket, everybody has to be in the queue.'

(651) Sachine bər-oti-nani ənise e:n mi:na qe:q-q-en
Sachin come-INF-? therefore 1SG fish buy-PST-1SG

'Sachin aane wala hai isliye maine machali kharidi.'

'I bought the fish because Sachin was coming.'

(652) sachine swagət nan-oti e:n pu:na qe:q-q-en
sachine welcome start-INF 1SG garland buy-PST-1SG

'Sachin ke swagat-ke liye maine haar kharida.'

'I bought the flower to welcome the Sachin.'

(653) maqa line bər-l-ko eŋ-a ʈas-en kud-alo
Raat.LOC electricity come-PST-DS 1SG-DAT homework-ACC work-NEG
eskulek ekoti legiya
school-DAT go-INF be-PST.3SGM

'ratme light na aane ke baje se, muze bina home work kar ke school jana padha.'

'The power did not return at night; therefore, I have to go to school without completing my homework.'

(654) a: indra-goʈe a:ɢʰ-ola a:goʈe a:h-en professore bana-trə-pe
3SGM nothing know-NEG even-after 3SGM-ACC professor make-CAUS-PASS

'usko kuch na aate huye bhi usko professor banaya gaya.'

'He has no knowledge of his subject; nevertheless, he has been appointed as professor.'

9.6   Questionnaire on converbs from Igor Nedjalkov MPI website

(655)   a: əḍa-k   bər-ente əgdu pupa qeiɢ-a
3SGM home-DAT return-? before flower buy-PST.3SGM

'Ghar aane se pahile, ussne phul kharide.'

'Before coming home, he bought the flowers.'

(656)   maqa gad-in   cəltrə-para e:n   husi:yar ḍok siŋken
night bike-ACC walk-while 1SGM attentive stay HAB.PST

'Rat me jabhi mai gaadi chalta ta tha, tab mai hamesha savadhan rahta tha.'

'wherever I used to travel at night, I used to stay attentive.'

(657)   ciṭṭin kurk-para a: Rahul-en ugəlariy-a
letter write-while 3SGM Rahul-ACC think-PST.3SGM

'Khat likhate waqt, ussne Rahul ke baare me socha.'

'While writing the letter, he thought about Rahul.'

(658)   exam-en fail meɲa-ko a: əḍak   kir-oti   socəriy-a
exam-ACC fail be-DS   3SGM home-DAT return-INF think-PST.3SGM

'Dobaara exam me fail hone ke baad, wo ghar wapas aane keliye soch raha tha.'

'Having failed in the exam twice, he was thinking of coming back home.'

(659)   botlon:nd ṭəḍ-in   onḍa-ko onoqtr-oti   ləgəriy-a
bottle-CLS liquor-ACC drink-DS intoxicate-INF feel-PST.3SGM

'Ek daru ki bottle pike muze nasha-sa hone laga.'

'After drinking a bottleful of wine, I started to feel intoxicated.'

(660)   e:n   rod-en   kəṭ-ken bank-ek   ek-ke-n
1SGM road-ACC cross-ss bank-DAT go-PST.1SGM

'Rasta paar kar ke mai bank gaya.'

'Crossing the road, I went to bank.'

(661)   border-en keṭ-lə-ko   a:h-ek   hotel-en bed-oti ləg-iya-∅
border-ACC cross-PST-DS 3SGM-DAT hotel-ACC find-INF have.to-PST-3SGM

'bordor na cross karne ki bajse, sachin ko hotel dhundna padha.'

'Having not crossed the border, Sachin had to find the Hotel.'

adin refers the previous event.

(662)   Sachine əḍa-no   ḍok-ola adin pəta lagətri-ki:d se a:d əḍa-k
Sachin home-LOC stay-NEG adin know trace-ss.3SGF EMP 3SGF home-DAT
bərca-:d
return-PST.3SGF

'Sachin ghar se bahar hai, ye paata hone ke baad wo ghar aayi.'

'Sachin is out of home, After knowing this, She came home.'

(663)   a:d a:ɢa-la   ki de sachine əḍa-no   dok-ola a:ro a:d əḍa-k
3SGF know-NEG that CP sachine home-LOC stay-NEG and 3SGF home-DAT
ek-iya-:d
go-PST-3SGF

'usse patta nahi tha ki schin ghar se bahar hai aur wo ghar aayi.'

'She doesn't know that Sachin is out of home and she came home.'

(664)   neka   goṭe məja qəcə-la-le a:nle   a: indra   goṭe a:uḍ-la
nobody EMPH good feel-NEG-? therefore 3SGM nothing EMPH say-NEG

'kisi-ko kuch bura na lage, isliye wo chup tha.'

'Nobody should feel bad, therefore he was hiding.'

(665)   a:h-ek   məja qəcə-la anise   a: əḍa-nihi ḍok-iya-∅
3SGM-DAT good feel-NEG therefore 3SGM home-? stay-PST-3SGM

'usse achha na lagne ki wajase, wo ghar me hi ruka.'

'He was not feeling well therefore, he stayed at home.'

(666)   citr-en   er-ke   sachine citr-en   qeiɢa
painting-ACC see-ss.3SGM Sachin painting-ACC buy.PST.3SGM

'Painting dekhne ke baad, Sachin-ne painting kharidi.'

'After critically examining the painting, Sachin bought it.'

(667)   a: citr-en   er-alo   qeiɢa
3SGM painting-ACC see-NEG buy-PST.3SGM

'painting na dekhke ussne painting kharidi.'

'Having not seen the painting, he bought it.'

(668)   a: eŋga   jəwab-en   qəṭ-alo ek-iya-∅
3SGM 1SGM-DAT answer-ACC give-NEG go-PST-3SGM

'muze bina jawab deke wo chalagya.'

'Having not answer me, he went.'

(669)   a: ṭim-en   er-alo station-ek ek-iya-∅
3SGM time-ACC see-NEG station-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'time na dekh-kar wo station chala gaya.'

'having not seen the time, he went to station.'

(670) a: ʈim-en   er-ke   station-ek   ek-iya-∅
       3SGM time-ACC   see-SS.3SGM station-DAT go-PST.3SGM

       'time dekh-kar wo station chala gaya.'

       'Having seen the time, he went to the station.'

(671) sweater-en   ət-no   goʈe   a:h-ek   peniye dəriy-ani-:d
       Sweater-ACC   wear-DS   EMPH   3SGF-DAT   cold.NM catch-FUT-3SGNM

       'sweater pahen ke bhi usse thandi lag jayega.'

       'Even after wearing the water, he will catch the cold.'

(672) sweter-en   əʈ-olə-ko   a:h-ek   pəniye dəriy-ani-:d
       Sweater-ACC   wear-PRS.NEG-DS 3SGM-DAT   cold.NM catch-FUT.3SGNM

       'sweater bina pahen, usse thandi lag jayegi.'

       'Having not worn the sweater, he will catch the cold.'

(673) a:d   coca-ki:d   bəli bahak ek-iya-:d
       3SGF wake.up-SS.3SGF door near   go-PST.3SGF

       'Uthkar, wo darwaje ke pass chali gayi.'

       'After waking up, she went near the door.'

(674) a:d   ek-para   qa:urneqa-:d
       3SGF go-while talk.PST-3SGF

       'uss-ne jate jate baat kiyi.'

       'He talking while going.'

(675) a:d   olɢ olɢ ek-iya-:d
       3SGF cry cry go-PST-3SGF

       'wo rote hue chali gayi.'

       'She went crying.'

(676) a: olɢ olɢ əɖa-k   bərc-a-∅
       3SGM cry cry home-DAT   return-PST-3SGM

       'ladhakhadate hue wo ghar me aaya.'

       'He came home stumbling.'

(677) a: saykal-en cəlatrə-ke   əɖa-k   bərc-a-∅
       3SGM cycle-ACC walk-SS.3SGM home-DAT   return-PST.3SGM

       'wo cycle chalate hue ghar aaya.'

       'He came home by riding the cycle.'

(678) a: qeɖet   əɖa-k   bərc-a-∅
       3SGM on.foot home-DAT   return-PST-3SGM

       'wo padal ghar aaya.'

       'He came home on foot.'

(679) a: pepar-en pəɽc-ke   beʈe paran keʈr-iya-∅
       3SGM paper-ACC study-SS.3SGM evening time spend-PST.3SGM

       'newspaper padhte hue, usne apni sham bitayi.'

       'He spent his evening reading the newspaper.'

(680) a: gəʈ-aʈ   e:t-ke   boŋg-a-∅
       3SGM rope-INSTR climb.down-SS.3SGM run.away-PST-3SGM

       'wo rassi se utter ke bhag gaye.'

       'He ran after climbing down the rope.'

(681) a: khiʈk-in kol-ke   o:rt məl-en   er-iya-∅
       3SGM window-ACC open-SS.3SGM one human-ACC see-PST-3SGM

       'kidh-ki khulne ke baad, ussne ek anjan aadmi ko dekha..'

       'After opening the window, he saw the stranger.'

(682) na:m   əɖa-k   bərc-ket   jagun ləp-ke-t
       1PL.INCL   home-DAT   return-SS.1PL.INCL food eat-PST-1PL.INCL

       'ghar aane ke baad humne khana khaya..'

       'After coming home, we ate the food.'

(683) na:m   nəsta   meɲja-ket   eskul-ek   ek-ke-t
       1PL.INCL   breakfast be-SS.1PL.INCL   school-LOC go-PST-1PL.INCL

       'nasta khakar hum log school gaye.'

       'After having breakfast, we went to school.'

(684) e:n   pakure-no ɖok-ken   məler-in bujar-ke-n
       1SGM   Pakur-LOC stay-SS.1SGM people-ACC understand-PST.1SGM

       'Pakur me raha-ke maine paharia loko ko samjha.'

       'having stayed in Pakur, I understood the Pahariya people.'

(685) e:n   eskul-ek   ek-ente əgdu jagun ləp-ke-n
       1SGM   school-DAT go-?   before food eat-PST-1SGM

       'school jane se pahile maine khana khaya.'

       'Before going to school, I ate the food.'

(686) pawa kəʈ-para sachine-ki accidente meŋja
road cut-while sachin-GEN accident be-PST

'rasta cross karte waqt sachin ka accident hogaya..'

'While crossing the road, Sachin met with an accident.'

(687) pawa kəʈ-ke   Sachine bank-ek ek-iya
road cut-SS.3SGM Sachin bank-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'rasta cross karke sachin bank me gaya.'

'After crossing the road, Sachin went to bank.'

(688) Sachine kursi:-no i:ja-ke   pənkh-an nut-oti   pariy-i
Sachin   chair-LOC stand-SS.3SGM fan-ACC   touch-INF can-PRS-3SGM

'chair par khada hoke sachin pankhe ko chhu sakta hai.'

'Sachin can touch the fan if he stands at stool.'

(689) Sachine nədi kuɽe-no a:ram meɲle   həmesha kitab-en
Sachin   River bank-LOC rest   while.doing always   book-ACC
pəɽy-i
study-PRS.3SGM

'nadi kinare par aaram karte hue , sachin hamesha kitab padhta hai.'

'Resting on the beautiful river, Sachin always reads the book.'

(690) pətu cəku-t   sachine bread-en moc-iya
sharp knife-INSTR sachine bread-ACC cut-PST.3SGM

'nokile chakuse sachin ne bread kata.'

'Sachin cut the bread with a sharp knife.'

(691) e:n moʈər-ken   teacher bənarəti   socə-ke-n
1SG growing.up-SS.1SGM teacher of.becoming think-PST.1SG

'Bada hokar maine teacher bane ka nirnay liya..'

'Having grown up, I made a decision to become a teacher.'

(692) a: daɽ-in   kər-no eŋg-do   joka e:tr-i
3SGM beard-ACC do-DS my-brother like look-PRS.3SG

'Dadhi kar-ke, wo mere bhai saman dikhta hai.'

'After shaving the beard, he looks like my brother.'

(693) Karane driver-e   ənise   goʈ pawa a:G-i
Karan driver-being, therefore all road know-PRS.3SGM

'driver hone ke karan, sachin ko sare road pata hai.'

'Being a driver, Sachin knows all roads.'

(694) bill-en cica-ko waitəre soaf-en ondr-iya
bill-ACC give-DS waiter   soaf-ACC bring-PST.3SGM

'bill pay karne ke baad wiater ne soaf layi.'

'After having paid the bill, the waiter gave us mouth fresher.'

(695) do bəcari ɖok-ko niŋgʰ-a pakuɽe i:k-joka qəcca?
2 years stay-DS 2SG-DAT Pakur how   feel-PST

'2 saal pakur me rahne ke baad, tuze pakur kaisa laga ta hai..'

'After staying at Pakur for two years, How do like Pakur so far ?.'

(696) maqa Gad-in cəlatrə-para eŋg-a   ɖəɽo:nd budʰi bərca
Night bike-ACC drive-while 1SG-DAT ek   idea come-PST

'kal rat me gaadi chalne-te samay muze dimg me ek idea aaya .'

'An idea came to my mind yesterday night while I was driving the car.'

(697) sachine ənGa-ki bəʈon-in ləgətr-alo bahar-ek gurar-oti
Sachin shirt-GEN button-ACC put-NEG   outside-DAT wander-INF
ek-iya
go-PST.3SGM

'sachin bina shirt ka button lagaye bahar ghumne gaya.'

'Sachin went out for a walk without buttoning his shirt.'

(698) a:d qəna miŋq-qi:d a:he-ki   bare-no ugəlar-oti bəd-l-a:d
3SGF eye close-SS.3SGF 3SGM-GEN about-LOC miss-INF want-NEG-3SGF

'Aakhe ban karke wo uske baare me sochana nahi chahati thi.'

'Having closed the eyes, He did not want to think about her.'

(699) trene-no kəjak bhiɽe meɲja-ko sachine kolkat-ak   ek-oti pariy-la
train-LOC extreme rush be-DS   Sachin kolkata-DAT go-INF can-NEG

'train me bohat bhid hone ke bajase sachin kolkata nahi ja saka.'

'Sachin could not go to Kolkata due to heavy crowd in the train.'

(700) e:tware meɲja-ko goʈ offise bənde meɲja
sunday be-DS   all office close be-PST

'sunday hone ke baajse sab office band the.'

'All offices were closed because it was Sunday.'

(701) a: bəl-in ʈokcəle duwar-ik urq-a
3SGM door-ACC knocking outside-DAT go.out-PST.3SGM

'Darwaja thokate hue wo bahar gaya.'

'He went out knocking the door.'

10   Can SR occur in coordination

e:n jagun bita-ke-n   ante a:d ləp-iya-:d
1SG food cook-PST-1SG and 3SGF eat-PST-3SGF

'mai khana banaya aur ussne khana khaya.'
'I cooked the food and she ate the food.'

(702)   *e:n jagun bitako ante a:d ləpiya:d

(703)   e:n jagun bitako a:d ləpiya:d

(704)   e:n jagun bitaken jagun ləp-en (After making food, I will eat it.)

11   SR questionnaire based on Baker (2020)

11.1   Malto SR

- The SS and DS morpheme have two functions.

- It indicates the *AFTER*, *WHEN* or *BECAUSE* clause type. It joins two sentences with the help of this clause type.

- I would say that *-k* is conjuctor, it connects two sentences. The evidence is *ki* is complementizer proper. It also tells us that *-k* is a complementizer.

- *-k* indicates *AFTER, BECAUSE, WHEN* clauses.

- *-o* indicates DS.

- φ indicates SS.

11.2   Some properties of SR in Malto

1. SR markers also express the temporal or causal relationship between the two clauses.

2. The function of SR is ambiguity reduction as it indicates SS and DS differences.

3. SR seems crucially to be marking whether subjects are the same across clauses, not whether topics are the same [Yavapai (Yuman, Kendall 1975: via Finer 1985:37)]

(705)   Rahule Lokesh-en$_i$ ənda   a:para   a:$_i$ lədə dokiya
        Rahul Lokesh-ACC see-PST.3SGM when/then 3SG dance PROG.PST.3SGM

'Jab Rahul-ne Lokesh ko dekha, tab wo (Lokesh) nach raha tha.'
'When Rahul$_i$ saw Lokesh$_j$, he$_j$ was dancing .'

This shows ambiguity Reduction through this example.

(706)   Rahule$_i$ Lokesh-en$_j$ ənd-a   a:para   a:$_{i/j}$ əlqa dok-iya
        Rahul   Lokesh-ACC see-PST.3SGM when/then 3SGM laugh PROG.PST

'Jab Rahul-ne$_i$ Lokesh$_j$ ko dekha, tab wo$_{i/j}$ has raha tha.'
'When Rahul$_i$ saw Lokesh$_j$, he$_{i/j}$ was laughing.'

If we use SS/DS (SR) then there will be no ambiguity.

(707)   Rahule Lokesh-en ənda-ke   əlqh-a
        Rahul Lokesh-ACC see-SS.3SGM laugh-PST.3SGM

'Rahulne Lokesh ko dekhkar hasa.'
'.'

(708)   Rahule$_i$ Lokesh-en$_j$ ənda-ko Lokeshe$_j$ əlq^h-a
        Rahul   Lokesh-ACC see-DS Lokesh   laugh-PST.3SGM

'Jab Rahul-ne$_i$ Lokesh$_j$ ko dekha, tab wo$_j$ hasa (DS).'
'When Rahul$_i$ saw Lokesh$_i$, he$_j$ laughed.'

11.3   Checking SR in Malto when the SR is in the embedded clause structure of [[[S1]S2]S3] / [S1[[S2[S3]]

(709)   a:he-ki   jive   dəgrar-ko e:n a:h-en   səgabec-ke-n a: eŋg^h-en
        3SGM-GEN health degrade-DS 1SG 3SGM-ACC help-PST.1SG 3SGM 1SG-ACC
        səgabecc-a   anise
        help-PST.3SGM therefore

'Uss-ki tabiyet gharab honeke baad, maine uski madat kiyi, kyuki uss-ne meri madat kiyi thi.'

'After he fell sick, I helped him because he had helped me.'

Dative

(710)   a:h-ek   meru korc-ko e:n a:h-en   səgabec-ken a: eŋgh-en
        3SGM-DAT sick get-DS   1SG 3SGM-ACC help-PST.1SG 3SGM 1SG-ACC
        səgabecc-a   anise
        help-PST.3SGM therefore

'Usse bukhar aane-ke-baad, maine uski madatat kiyi, kyuki uss-ne meri madat kiyi thi.'

'After he fell sick, I helped him because He had helped me.'

(711)   eŋga   meru korc-ko a: eŋg^h-en səgabecca
        1SG-DAT sick get-DS   3SGM 1SG-ACC help.   PST.3SGM

'muze bukhar aane ke bajese, uss-ne meri madat kiyi.'

'Because I got sick, he helped me.'

(712) eŋga   meru korc-ko a: eŋgʰ-en səgabecca
1SG-DAT sick get-DS 3SGM 1SG-ACC help.   PST.3SGM

'meri tabiyet kharab hone-ki-bajese uss-ne meri madat kiyi.'

'Because I was sick, he helped me.'

[S$_i$ S$_j$ S$_i$] - *This will tell us SR is not restricted to an adjunct clause. if 3rd clause takes SS.*

(713) e:n əḍa-k   ek-ko Geeta:d jagun bita:d   ante e:n ləp-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-DS Geeta food eat.PST.3SGF and e:n lep-ke-n

'mai ghar jane-ke-baad, Geeta-ne khana banaya, uske baad maine khana khaya.'

'After I went home, Geeta prepared food, then I ate the food.'

(714) eŋ-a   meru korc-ko a: səgabeca-ke eŋ-meca aisan nan-iya
1SG-DAT sick get-DS 3SGM help-3SGM me-on   favor do-PST.3SGM

'muze bukhar aane ke bajese uss-ne meri madat-kar ke, muze-par asaan kiya.'

'Because I got sick, he did a favour by helping me.'

(715) e:n əḍa-k   ek-ko Geeta:d ca:-en bita-ki:d   eŋgʰ-en onda-:d
1SG home-DAT go-DS Geeta tea-ACC cook-ss.3SGF 1SG-ACC drink.PST-3SGF

'mai ghar jane-ke-baad Geeta-ne chai banakar muze pilayi.'

'After I went home, Geeta prepared the tea and made me drink it.'

11.4 For the grammatical task judgement

(716) e:n əḍa-k   ek-ko Geeta:d jagun bita:d   ante e:n jagun
1SG home-DAT go-DS Geeta food cook.PST.3SGF and 1SG food
lep-ke-n
eat-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jaane-ke-baad, Geeta-ne khana banaya, uske baad maine khana khaya.'

'After I went home, Geeta prepared the food, then I ate the food.'

(717) e:n oḍʰik bərtʃə-ko, Geeta chai bita-ki, e:n dzagu ləpken (Grammaticality

Judgement task)

' '

' '

(718) Grammaticality Judgements

   a. *e:n əḍa-k bərc-ko Geeta chai bita-ki:d e:n jagun ləpken

   b. e:n əḍa-k berc-ken ca:en bitako Geeta ca:en onda:d

   c. e:n əḍak berc-ko Geeta ca:en bita:d ante e:n ca:en ondaken

11.5 Future will distinguish between Past and SS marking

Kiowa [Tanoan, Watkins 1993: 149, via Mckenzie 2012]

(719) e:n əḍa-k   ek-no Geeta:d jagun bit-ani-:d   ante e:n jagu-n
1SG home-DAT go-DS Geeta food cook-FUT-3SGF and 1SG food-ACC
ləp-e-n
eat-FUT.1SG

'mai ghar jaane-ke-baad, Geeta khana banayegi, uske baad mai khana khaunga.'

'After I go home, Geeta will prepare the food, then I will eat the food.'

(720) Geeta:d əḍa-k   bərc-ko e:n ca:en bita-ken   a:d-ik   cicaken
Geeta   home-DAT return-DS 1SG tea-ACC cook-ss.1SG 3SGF-DAT give-PST.1SG

'Geeta ghar aane-ke baad, maine chai banakar Geeta ko diyi.'

'After Geeta came home, I prepared a tea and gave it to Geeta.'

11.6 What happens in Malto, when events do not occur in one coherent timeline (Switch-Situation)

(721) cevru   e:m   biriyani-n bita-ke-n   əro i:na yeɽ-maka
Yesterday 1PL.EXCL biriyani-ACC cook-PST-1SG and today Goat-meat
bita-ke-m
cook-PST.1PL.EXCL

'kal hum-ne biriyani banayi aur aaj mutton banayi.'

'Yesterday we made Biriyani and today we made mutton curry.'

(722) e:n cevru   ek-ke-n   ante i:na bərc-ke-n
1SG yesterday go-PST-1SG and today return-PST-1SG

'mai kal ghar jaakar aaj wapas aaya.'

'Having gone home yesterday, I came today.'

(723) *e:n cevru ek-ken(ss) i:na berc-ken

11.7 SR in When Clause

Kiowa(Tanon, Mckenzie 2015b: 21-22)

(724) ikpara Rahule bərca   a:para Lokeshe eka dok-iya
      when   Rahul return.PST.3SGM then   Lokesh go PROG-PST

      'Rahul aaya jab Lokesh ja raha tha.'

      'When Lokesh was going, Rahul came.'

(725) Lokeshe bərc-ko   Rahule ədak   ek-iya
      Lokesh return-DS Rahul   home-DAT go-PST.3SGM

      'Lokesh aane-ke baad, Rahul ghar gaya.'

      'After Lokesh came back, Rahul went home.'

(726) Lokeshe əḍa-k   bərca   a:para Rahule əḍa-k   ek-iya
      Lokesh home-DAT return.PST.3SGM then   Rahul home-DAT go-PST.3SGM

      'Jab lokesh aaya tab Rahul ghar gaya.'

      'When Lokesh came Rahul went home.'

(727) Lokeshe əḍa-k   berc-ke   jagun bita-ko   Rahule jagu-n
      Lokeshe home-DAT return-SS.3SGM food prepare-DS Rahul   food-ACC

      ləp-iya
      eat-PST.3SGM

      'Jab Lokesh-ne aakar khana banaya tab Rahul-ne khana khaya.'

      'When Lokesh came and prepared the food, then Rahul ate the food.'

11.8 Whether SR is possible in Complement Clause

[Choctaw(Muskogean, Broadwell 2006:296)]

(728) Lokeshe_i socar-i   ki   tan_i kejak məja-qəni e:tr-i
      Lokesh   think-PRS.3SGM that self very handsome look-PRS.3SGM

      'Lokesh_i sochata hai ki wo_i bohat achha dikhata hai.'

      'Lokesh_i thinks that he_i looks handsome.'

(729) Lokeshe_i socar-i   a:_j   kəjak məjaqəni e:tr-i
      Lokesh   think-PRS.3SGM 3SGM very handsome look-PRS.3SGM

      'Lokesh_i sochata hai ki wo_j bohat accha dikhata hai.'

      'Lokesh_i thinks that he_j looks handsome.'

(730) Lokeshe socar-i   Rahul kəjak məjaqəni e:tr-i
      Lokesh think-PRS.3SGM Rahul very handsome look-PRS.3SGM

      'lokesh sochata hai ki Rahul bohat accha dikhta hai.'

      'Lokesh thinks that Rahul looks handsome.'

11.9 Checking whether SR in Malto can occur in subjunctive complement clause

[Imbabura Quechua (Quechuan Cole 1982:37)]

(731) eŋ-a   əya-n   əro bed-i
      1SG-DAT my.mother-ACC see want-PRS.3SGM

      'muze meri maa ko dekhna hai.'

      'I want to see my mother.'

(732) eŋ-a   toho-n   əro bed-i
      1SG-DAT his.mother-ACC see want-PRS.3SGM

      'muze uski maa ko dekhana hai.'

      'I want to see his mother.'

11.10 Checking whether SR marking is possible in a relative clause in Malto

[Choctaw, (Muskogean, Broadwell 2006: 300)]

(733) e:n jagu-n   cica-ke-n   a:meq əle boŋ-a
      1SG food-ACC give-PST-1SG that   dog run.away-PST.3SGM

      'jis kutte ko maine khana khilaya, wo bhaag gaya.'

      'The dog that I fed, ran away.'

(734) jagu-n   ləp-ke   ek-iya   a: məqe eŋ-do   menja
      food-ACC eat-SS.3SGM go-PST.3SGM that boy my-brother be-PST

      'jo ladka khana khake ghar gaya wo mera bhai tha.'

      'The boy who came home to eat food was my brother.'

(735) jagu-n   ləp-ke   ek-e   a: məqe eŋ-do   mene
      food-ACC eat-SS.3SGM go-FUT.3SGM that boy my.brother be-FUT

      'jo ladka khana khake ghar jayega wo mera bhai hai.'

      'The boy who will go home after eating food is my brother.'

11.11 Checking whether Malto can have SS marking in Infinitive clause

(736) e:n jagu-n   ləp-oti berc-ke-n
      1SG food-ACC eat-INF return-PST-1SG

      'mai khana khane keliye aaya.'

      'I came to eat food.'

(737) eŋg-a   jagu-n   ləpo bedi
1SG-DAT food-ACC eat   want-PRS

'muze khana khana hai [Imbabura Quechua, (Quechan Hermon 1985:25)].'

'I want to eat food.'

(738) a: jagu-n   ləp-oti bər-e
3SGM food-ACC eat-INF come-FUT.3SGM

'wo khana khane keliye aayega.'

'He will come to eat food.'

(739) e:n a:ɢ-i-n   ki   de Rahule ber-e
1SG knoe-PRS-1SG that CP Rahule come-FUT.3SGM

'muze pata hai ki Rahul aayega.'

'I know that Rahul will come.'

(740) eŋg-a   kaj-en   kudo bedi
1SG-DAT work-ACC do   want-PRS

'Muze kam karna hai.'

'I want to work.'

(741) eŋg-a   a:h-en   kaj-en   kud-tr-oti   menani
1SG-DAT 3SGM-ACC work-ACC do-CAUS-INF be-PRS

'muze usse kam karwa-na hai.'

'I want to make him complete the work.'

(742) eŋg-a   kaj-en   kud-oti menani
1SG-DAT work-ACC do-INF be-PRS

'I have to work.'

'muze kam karna hai.'

(743) e:m   cam-en   sikar-oti ek-i-m
1PL.EXCL song-ACC study-INF go-PRS-1PL.EXCL

'hum ganna sikha-na ke liye jaa rahe hai [Shipibo (Panoan, Baker Fieldnotes)].'

'We are going for learning the song.'

(744) e:n cam-en   sikatr-oti ek-i-n
1SG song-ACC study-INF go-PRS-1SG

'mai gaana sikhane ja raha hu.'

'I am going for learning a song.'

(745) Geeta:d təŋki məndra   oyen mohr-ol-a:d
Geeta   own medicine take forget-PRS.NEG-3SGF

'Geeta ko apni medicine lena yaad hai.'

'Geeta remembers to take her medicine.'

(746) Geeta:d təŋ-ki məndra   oyen mohr-l-a:d
Geeta   own medicine take forget-PST.NEG-3SGF

'Geeta ko apni medicine lena yaad tha.'

'Geeta remembered to take her medicine.'

(747) Geeta:d təŋki mendra oca-:d   a:d a:d-ik   ya:de
Geeta   own medicine take.PST-3SGF that 3SGF-DAT remember

'Geeta ko yaad hai ki uss-ne apni medicine liyi.'

'Geeta remembers that She took her medicine.'

(748) Geeta:k   indrə mendra oypo a:d yade   becc-a
Geeta-DAT which medicine take 3SGF remember be-PST.3SGM

'Geeta ko yaad tha konsi medicine lena hai.'

'Geeta remembers which medicine to take.'

11.12   Checking whether Malto SR has overlapping reference-Malto SR may treat it as SS or DS

Checking whether in Malto SS marking that the subject of the main clause and the subject of the embedded clause over in Reference,(that is one plural and the other singular) this may be problematic for agreement/agree based theory *[Yuman, Langdon and Munro 1978:325]*

(749) a:ber mela-k   ek-iya   ante lokeshe əngʰ-an   qeiɢ-a
3PL   owner-DAT go-PST.3SGM and Lokesh cloth-ACC buy-PST.3SGM

'wo mele me gaye the aur Lokesh ne shirt kharidi.'

'They had gone to fair and Lokesh bought the shirt.'

(750) *Lokeshe ante Akashe mela:k ek-ker Akashe ənGʰ-an qeiɢ-a (The reference overlap is not possible in Malto)

(751) Lokeshe ante Akashe mela:-k ek-iya-r
Lokesh and Akash fair-DAT go-PST-3PL

'Lokesh aur Akash mele me gaye the.'

'Lokesh and Akash had gone to Fair.'

(752)   Lokeshe ante Akashe mela:-k   ek-iya-r   ante Akashe əngʰ-an
        Lokesh and Akash fair-DAT go-PST-3PL and Akash cloth-ACC
        qeiɢ-a
        buy-PST.3SGM

        'Lokesh aur Akash mele me jane-ke Akash-ne shirt kharidi.'

        'Lokesh and Akash went to the fair and Akash bought a shirt..'

(753)   e:n mela:k ek-ken   ənGʰ-an   qeiq-qe-n
        1SG fair-DAT go-SS.1SG buy-PST-1SG

        'Maine mele me jake shirt kharidi.'

        'I went to fair and bought the shirt.'

(754)   e:n mela:-k ek-ken   ənGʰ-an qeiɢ-e-n
        1SG fair-DAT go-SS.1SG cloth-ACC buy-FUT.1SG

        'mai mele me jakar shirt kharidunga.'

        'I will go to fair and buy the shirt.'

(755)   e:m   jagu-n   ləp-oti ek-ke-m
        1PL.EXCL food-ACC eat-INF go-PST-1PL.EXCL

        'hum log khana khane-ne gaye the.'

        'We had gone to eat food.'

(756)   e:m   hotele-no jagu-n   ləp-ke-m   ante e:n əɖa-k
        1PL.EXCL hotel-LOC food-ACC eat-PST-1PL.EXCL and 1SG home-DAT
        berc-ke-n
        come-PST-1SG

        'hum log hotel me khana khane-ke baad, mai wapas ghar chala aaya.'

        'After we had dinner at the hotel, I came back home.'

Reference overlap is not possible in Malto

(757)   *e:m   hotele-no jagu-n   ləp-kem   e:n əɖa-k   berc-ke-n
        1PL.EXCL hotel-LOC food-ACC eat-SS.1PL.EXCL 1SG home-DAT come-PST-1SG

        'hum log hotel me khana khane-ke baad, mai wapas ghar chala aaya.'

        'After we had dinner at the hotel, I came back home.'

(758)   *e:m   hotele-no jagu-n   ləpkem   e:n əɖa-k   kir-ken
        1PL.EXCL hotel-LOC food-ACC eat-SS.1PL.EXCL 1SG home-ACC return-SS.1SG
        bər-e-n
        come-FUT-1SG

        'hum log hotel me khana khane-ke baad, mai ghar wapas aajunga .'

        'After we have dinner at the hotel, I will return home.'

(759)   e:m   hotele-no jagu-n   ləp-e-m   ante e:n əɖa-k
        1PL.EXCL hotel-LOC food-ACC eat-FUT-1PL.EXCL and 1SG home-ACC
        kir-ken   bər-e-n
        return-SS.1SG come-FUT-1SG

        'hum log hotel me khana khane-ke baad, mai ghar wapas aajunga .'

        'After we have dinner at the hotel, I will return home.'

(760)   e:n əɖa-k   bər-no na:m   cinema er-oti   ek-e-t
        1SG home-DAT come-DS 1PL.INCL cinema watch-INF go-FUT.1PL.INCL

        'mai ghar aane ke baad, hum log cinema dekh-ne jayenge.'

        'After I return home, we will go to watch the cinema.'

(761)   e:n əɖa-k   bər-no na:m   hotel-ek jagu-n   ləp-oti
        1SG home-DAT come-DS 1PL.EXCL hotel-DAT food-ACC eat-INF
        ek-e-t
        go-FUT-1PL.EXCL

        'mai ghar aane-ke baad hum log hotel me khana khane jayenge.'

        'After I return home, we will go to have dinner in a hotel.'

11.13   Checking whether SS/DS marking in Malto when the first verb is unaccusative and second is unergative

(762)   (762)   eŋg-a   meru kor-no goţe e:n exame kurk-oti ek-e-n
                1SG-DAT sick get-DS EMPH 1SG exam write-INF go-FUT.1SG

                'agar muze bukhar bhi hoga, toh bhi mai exam dene jaunga.'

                'Even if I am sick, I will appear for the exam.'

11.14   Passive

Imbabura Quechua (Quechuan, Jake 1985:63)

(763)   i: kaj-en   eŋg-et   kud-tr-iya-r
        this work-ACC 1SG-INSTR do-CAUS-PST-3PL

        'muhjase ye kam karwaya gaya.'

        'I was made to do this work.'

(764)   i: kaj-en   a:h-et   kud-tr-iya-r
        This work-ACC 3SGM-INSTR do-CAUS-PST-3PL

        'usse ye kam karwaya gaya.'

        'He was made to do this work.'

(765) i: kaj-en a:h-en kud-tr-e-t
This work-ACC 3SGM-ACC do-CAUS-FUT-1PL.INCL

'usse ye kam karwayenge.'

'We will make him to this work.'

(766) i: kaj-en oŋgr-iya-:d
this work-ACC finish-PST-3SGF

'ye kam khatam hua.'

'This work got finished.'

(767) a: jagu-n ləp-ke qandr-oti bər-e
3SGM food-ACC eat-SS.3SGM sleep-INF come-FUT.3SGM

'wo khana khakar so-ne ke liye aayega.'

'He will come to sleep after he eats the food.'

(768) a: jagu-n ləp-ke qandr-oti bərc-a
3SGM food-ACC eat-SS.3SGM sleep-INF come-PST.3SGM

'wo khana khakar sone ke liye aaya.'

'He came to sleep after he ate the food.'

(769) a: kaj-en kud-tr-ken e:n əḍa-k bərc-ken
3SGM work-ACC do-CAUS-SS.1SG 1SG home-DAT come-PST.1SG

'wo kam karwakar mai ghar aaya.'

'I got that work done and came home.'

11.15 Does cobert agent play role in malto SR, not theme? what MAlto SR is sensitive to the theme that becomes a subject or covert agent that disappears in sentence

[Seri (Isolate, Marlett 1981: 357; Farrell et al. 1991:434, Keine 2013:780)]

(770) ale:d eŋgʰ-en qar-no e:n olɢ-e-n
Dog 1SG-ACC bite-DS 1SG cry-FUT-1SG

'Agar kutta muze katega to mai royunga.'

'If dog bites me I will cry.'

(771) ale:d eŋgʰ-en qar-no e:n eskul-ek ek-e-n-ala
dog 1SG-ACC bite-DS 1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG-NEG

'agar muze kutta katega toh mai school nahi jaunga.'

'If a dog bites me, I will not go to school.'

(772) eŋg-a meru kor-no e:n eskul-ek ek-e-n-ala
1SG-DAT sick get-DS 1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG-NEG

'agar muze bukhar aayega toh mai school nahi jaunga.'

'If I fall sick, then I will not go to school.'

(773) eŋgʰ-en eskule-no jawale-trə-no e:n eskul-ek
1SG-ACC school-LOC trouble-CAUS-DS 1SG school-DAT
ek-e-n-ala
1SG-FUT-1SG-NEG

'agar muze school me sataya gaya toh mai school nahi jaunga.'

'If I am troubled, then I will not go to school.'

(774) niŋ-ki məɽaɢro təli cəlte ni:n məjaqani e:trəni
2SG-GEN black hair that's.why you beautiful look.PRS.3SGF

'tumare kaal baal ke karan tum achhi dekhati ho.'

'You look great because of your black hair.'

(775) ni:n niŋ-ki məɽaɢro digaɽo təli cəlte məjaqani e:trəni
2SG 2SG-GEN black long hair that's.why beautiful look.PRS.3SGF

'tum tumare kaale labe baalo ke bajase achhi dekhti ho.'

'You look great because of your black hair.'

11.16 Comparing Malto SR with Maricopa

[Maricopa, (Yuman Gordon 1983:85)]
DS with no Possessor Raising

(776) niŋ-ki məɽaɢro digaɽo təli cəlte məjaqani e:trəni
2SG-GEN black long hair that's.why beautiful look.PRS.3SGM

'tumare kaale lambe baalo ke bajese tum achhi dekhti ho.'

'You look great because of your long black hair.'

SS with Possessor Raising (SS is used if the subject of one clause is co-referential with the raised possessor of the subject of the other clause)
There is no DS here because there is a single verb.

(777)

'tum tumare kaale lambe baalo ki bajese achhi dekhti ho.'

'You look great because of your long black hair.'

11.17   Eastern Pamo

(POMOAN MCLENDON 1978) Pomoan Languages: The thematic distinction
between agent and patient does seem to affect SR:
a) Two coreferential agents trigger SS
b) Two co-referential patients trigger SS
c) A patient paired with an agent triggers DS.
Is SR in Malto sensitive to a thematic role?

Two coreferential agents trigger SS

(778)   e:n jagu-n   ləp-ken   qandr-ke-n
1SG food-ACC eat-SS.1SG sleep-PST-1SG

'mai khana khake so gaya.'

'I slept after I ate.'

Two co-referential patients trigger SS

(779)   eŋ-a ale qar-ko meru korca:d

(780)   eŋgh-en ale qar-ko meru korca:d

(781)   eŋ-a   hotel-ki   jagu-n   ləp-ko meru korca
1SG-DAT hotel-GEN food-ACC eat-DS sick   get.PST.3SGM

'muze hotel ka khana khake bukhar aaya.'

'I got sick because I ate the hotel's food.'

(782)   eŋ-a   hotele-ki   jagu-n   ləp-no meru kor-ani-:d
1SG-DAT hotel-GEN food-ACC eat-DS sick   get-FUT-3SGF

'muze hotel-ka khana khake bukhar aayega.'

'I got sick because I ate the hotel's food.'

(783)   eŋʰ-an ale:d qar-ko meru korca-:d
1SG-ACC dog   bite-DS sick   get.PST-3SGF

'muze kutta katane ki baje-se bukhar aaya.'

'I got sick because the dog bit me.'

(784)   meru kor-no eŋ-a   əya-ki   ya:de bər-i-:d
sick   get-DS 1SG-DAT mother-GEN miss come-PRS-3SGF

'jab muze bukhar aata hai tab muze meri maa ki yaad aati hai.'

'When I get sick, I miss my mother.'

(785)   eŋ-a   meru kor-no e:n əya-ki   ba:re-no ugəlar-i-n
1SG-DAT sick   get-DS 1SG mother-GEN about-LOC miss-PRS-1SG

'jab muze bukhar aata hai tab mai apne maa ki yaad aati hai .'

'When I get sick, I miss my mother.'

(786)   eŋ-a   sardi derc-ko meru   korca:d
1SG-DAT cold catch-DS sick.3SGNM get-PST.3SGNM

'muze sardi hoke bukhar aaya.'

'I got sick when I caught the cold.'

(787)   sardi dəriy-no eŋ-a   meru   kor-i-:d
cold catch-DS 1SG-DAT sick.3SGNM get-PRS-3SGNM

'sardi hoke muze bukhar aata hai.'

'After I catch a cold, I get a fever.'

(788)   e:n uʈr-ko eŋ-a   meru   korca:d
1SG fall-DS 1SG-DAT sick.PST.3SGNM get-PST.3SGNM

'mai girgaya isliye muze bukhar aaya.'

'I fell that's why I got sick.'

A patient paired with an agent trigger DS

(789)   e:n sardi-no əmc-ko eŋ-a   meru   korca:d
1SG cold-LOC bathe-DS 1SG-DAT sick.3SGNM get.PST.3SGF

'mai sardi me nahaya isliye muze bukhar aaya.'

'I bathed in the cold, so I got a fever..'

(790)   eŋ-a   meru korc-ko e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti pariy-lə-ken
1SG-DAT sick get-DS   1SG school-DAT go-INF can-NEG-PST.1SG

'muze bukhar aaya isliye mai school nahi jaa paya.'

'I got fever therefore I could not go to school.'

(791)   eŋ-a   meru korc-ko goʈe e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken
1SG-DAT sick   get-DS   EMPH 1SG school-DAT go-PST.1SG

'muze bukhar aake bhi mai school gaya.'

'Even after I got sick, I went to school.'

(792)   eŋ-a   meru kor-no goʈe e:n eskul-ek   ek-i-n   (Habitual)
1SG-DAT sick   get-DS   EMPH 1SG school-DAT go-PRS-1SG

'muze bukhar aane-ke baad bhi mai school jata hu.'

'Even after I get sick, I go to school.'

(793) eŋ-a   meru kor-no goțe e:n eskul-ek   ek-e-n
1SG-DAT sick get-DS EMPH 1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG
'muze bukhar aane-ke baad, bhi mai school jaunga.'
'Even after I get sick, I will go to school.'

(794) a:h-ek   meru kor-no goțe a: eskul-ek   ek-e
3SGM-DAT sick get-DS EMPH 3SGM school-DAT go-FUT.3SGM
'usse bukhar aane-ke baad bhi wo school jayega.'
'Even after he gets sick, he will go to school.'

(795) a: qeḍa nunjur-ke   doctəre bahak ek-iya
3SGM foot injure-ss.3SGM doctor near(to) go-PST.3SGM
'usse payer me chot lagi toh wo doctor ke pass gaya.'
'He had an injury in his leg; therefore, he visited the doctor.'

(796) a:h-ek qeḍa nuntro-ko a: doctəre bahak ek-iya
3SGM-DAT foot injure-DS 3SGM doctor near(to) go-PST.3SGM
'usse payar me chot lagne ke baad, wo doctor ke pass gaya.'
'After he had an injury in his leg, he visited the doctor.'

(797) a:h-ek meru kor-no a: doctəre bahak ek-e
3SG-DAT sick get-DS 3SGM doctor near(to) go-FUT.3SGM
'usse bukhar aane-ke baad wo doctor ke pass jayega.'
'After he gets sick, he will visit the doctor.'

(798) a: nunjur-ke   doctəre bahak ek-iya
3SGM injure-ss.3SGM doctor near(to) go-PST.3SGM
'jab usse laga tab wo doctor ke pass gaya.'
'When he got hurt, he visited the doctor.'

Other

(799) a: bage:d   a:h-ek   kəjak ote   meɲja
that bag.3SGNM 3SG-DAT very heavy be-PST
'wo bag uss keliye bohat bhari thi.'
'That bag was very heavy for him.'

(800) a: bage:d   a:h-ek   derc-ke   ek-oti kajak ote   meɲja
that bag.3SGNM 3SGM-DAT hold-ss.3SGM go-INF very heavy be.PST
'wo bag usse pakad-ke chal-ne ke liye bohat bhari thi.'
'That bag was too heavy to carry for him.'

11.18   Checking whether Malto has long-distance reference marking in case of SS as well as DS

[Kalaallisut (Greenlandic, bitter 1994:180)]
SR reduce ambiguity in this sentence if it is present in Malto.

(801) Akashe$_i$ lokesh-en$_j$ teŋga   ki de Rahule$_k$ a:h-en$_{i/j}$
Akash   Lokesh-ACC say-PST.3SGM that CP Rahul   3SGM-ACC
bețariya   a:$_i$ bərca   a:para
meet-PST.3SGM 3SGM come-PST.3SGM when
'Akash-ne$_i$ lokesh$_j$ ko bataya ki Rahul$_k$ usse$_i$ mila tha jab wo$_{i/j}$ aaya.'
'Akash$_i$ told Lokesh$_j$ that Rahul$_k$ met him$_i$ when he$_{i/j}$ came.'

11.19   Data Question from Typology

(802) Delhi ek-ken   e:n eŋ-səŋgal-en bețar-e-n
Delhi go-ss.1SG 1SG my-friend-ACC meet-FUT-1SG
'Delhi jakar mai apne dosto se milunga.'
'After I go to Delhi, I will meet my friends.'

(803) e:n bəgca-no kaj-en   kuda-dok-para pupa țoq-qe-n
1SG garden-LOC work-ACC do-PROG-WHILE flower pick-PST.1SG
'jab mai bagiche me kam kar raha tha, tab Maine phul tode.'
'When I was working in the garden, I picked the flowers.'

(804) bəgca-no kaj-en   kud-para e:n pupa țoq-qe-n
garden-LOC work-ACC do-while 1SG flower pick-PST-1SG
'bagiche me kam karte hue maine phul tode.'
'I picked flowers while I was working in the garden.'

(805) a: camen meɲ-le   eskul-ek eka ḍok-iya
3SGM song listing-WHILE school-DAT go PROG-PST
'wo school jate jate gaane sun raha tha.'
'I was listening to songs while he was going to school.'

(806) a: eka ḍok-le   camen meɲ-e (future habitual)
3SGM go WHILE-ss.HAB song   be-FUT
'wo school jate jate gaane sunega.'
'I will listen to songs on his way to school.'

(807) ni:ɲ eskul-ek eka ḍok-para camen meɲane
2SG school-DAT go PROG-WHILE song listen.FUT.2SG

'tum school jate jate gaana sunoge.'

'You will listen to songs on your way to school.'

(808) Lokeshe bəgca-no kaj-en kuda dokiya a:para e:n pupa
Lokesh garden-LOC work-ACC do PROG.PST when 1SG flower
ṭoq-qe-n
pick-PST-1SG

'jab Lokesh bagiche-me kam kar raha tha, tab Maine phul tode.'

'When Lokesh was working in the garden, I picked the flowers.'

(809) Rahule ədạ-k ek-no e:n Tv-in er-e-n
Rahul home-DAT go-DS 1SG Tv-ACC watch-FUT-1SG

'jab Rahul ghar jayega tab mai TV dekhunga.'

'When Rahul will go home, I will watch TV.'

(810) e:n ədạ-k bərc-ko Rahule eskul-ek ek-pe meɲja
1SG home-DAT come-DS Rahul school-DAT go-? be-PST

'jab mai ghar aaya tab Rakesh school chalagaya tha.'

'When I came home, Rakesh had gone to school.'

(811) ni:ɲ eskul-ek eka dokne adi:n əndạ-ken a:para eŋg-a
2SG school-DAT go PROG.PRS that(event) see-ss.? while 1SG-DAT
meru korc-ki becca
sick.3SGNM get-ss.3SGNM be.PST

'muze bukhar tha jab Maine tume school jate hue dekha.'

'I was sick when I saw you going to school.'

(812) a: eŋg-en er-iya a:para eŋg-a meru korc-ki becca
3SGM 1SG-ACC see-PST.3SGM when 1SG-DAT sick get-ss.? be-PST

'muze bukhar tha jab uss-ne muze dekha.'

'I had a fever when he saw me.'

(813) ekənan keviy-ne-r a:din a:gʰ-olə-ken anise e:n
How swim-PRS-2PL that(event) know-NEG-PRS.1SG therefore 1SG
keviy-oti a:gʰ-olə-ken
swim-INF know-NEG-PRS.1SG

'mai teyar(swim) nahi sakta, kyuki muze pata nahi hai teyar-te kaise
hai .'

'I can't swim because I don't know how to swim.'

11.20 Check whether SR is possible in an imperative sentence in Malto

(814) a:tik ek-ke paɽiy-a
there go-ss.2SG study-IMP

'waha jaakar padho.'

'Go there and study.'

(815) a:tik ek-ke i:l-a
there go-ss.2SG stand-IMP

'waha jaakar khade ho jao.'

'Go and stand there.'

(816) ədạ-k ek-ke jagu-n ləp-a
home-DAT go-ss.3SG food-ACC eat-IMP

'ghar jaakar khana khao.'

'Go there and stand'

(817) ni:ɲ ədạ-k kal-a
2SG home-DAT go-IMP

'tum ghar jao.'

'You go home.'

(818) ədạ-k kal-a
home-DAT go-IMP

'ghar jao.'

'Go home.'

(819) libər-ik ek-ke paɽiy-a
library-DAT go-ss.2SG study-IMP

'library me jake padho.'

'Go to library and study.'

(820) a:ujo ek-ke biɽ-in on-a
There go-ss.3SG cigarette-ACC drink-IMP

'udhar jake bidi piyo.'

'Go there and smoke.'

11.21 Other

(821) a: ek-ne kir-ke bər-e-ala
3SGM go-COND.SS.3SGM return-ss.3SGM come-FUT-NEG

'agar wo jata hai toh wo wapas nahi aayega.'

'If he goes, he will not come back.'

(822)   a: ek-ne   goțe a:țno ḍok-oti pariy-e-ala
3SGM go-COND.SS.3SGM EMPH there stay-INF can-FUT-NEG

'agar wo jata bhi hai to wo waha rah nahi payega.'

'Even if he goes there, he will not be able to stay there.'

(823)   e:n   ek-nen   kir-e-n-ala
=1SG go-COND.SS.1SG return-FUT-1SG-NEG

'Agar mai jata hu, toh wapas naho aaunga.'

'If I go, I will not come back.'

(824)   e:n   əḍa-k   ek-ko a: qandr-iya
1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep-PST.3SGM

'mai jab ghar gaya, tab wo soo (Sleep) gaya.'

'When I went home, he slept.'

(825)   a: lela   exame:d   a:din
3SGM tomorrow exam-3SGNM that(the.exam.is.tomorrow)
a:G-i
know-PRS.3SGM

'usko pata hai ki kal exam hai.'

'He knows that tomorrow is an exam.'

(826)   a: qandr-ko e:n əḍa-k   berc-ke-n
3SGM sleep-DS 1SG home-DAT come-PST-1SG

'wo so-jane ke baad mai ghar aaya.'

'After He slept, I came home.'

12   Cases in Malto

(827)   e:n a:h-ek   kitab-en cica-ke-n
1SG 3SG.M-DAT book-ACC give-PST-1SG

'maine usko kitab diyi.'

'I gave him a book (ERG-DAT).'

(828)   eŋg-a   dṛo:nd kitabe qəGur-ya
1SG-DAT one   book get-PST

'muze ek kitab mili.'

'I got a book (DAT).'

(829)   e:n pisi: utr-iya-∅
1SG down fall-PST-3SG.M

'Rahul niche gir gaya.'

'Rahul fell down (ACC-Patient).'

(830)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-i-n
1SG school-LOC go-PROG.PRS-1SG

'mai school ja raha hu.'

'I am going to school (NOM-LOC).'

(831)   e:n Rahule-ki kitab-en o:nḍrə-ke-n
1SG Rahul-GEN book-ACC bring-PST.1SG

'mai Rahul ki kitab le aaya.'

'I brought Rahul's book (POSS).'

(832)   e:n rul-et   copi-no   kurk-ke-n
1SG pencil-ABL book-LOC write-PST-1SG

'mai-ne pencil se book me likha.'

'I wrote with a pencil on book (instrumental).'

(833)   Narmada nadi:d Amarkantak-et   urə-ki-:d
Narmada River   Amarkantak-ABL originate-PRF.PRS-3SG.F

'Narmada Nadi Amarkantak se nikal ti hai.'

'Narmada river originates from Amarkantak.'

(834)   No agreement with Dative case marked DP
  a. muze wo pasand hai
  b. eŋga a:d pəsine:d
  c. nəma a:d pəsine:d (hume wo pasand hai)
  d. e:ma a:d pəsine:d (hume wo pasand hai)
  e. niŋga a:d pəsine:d (tume wo pasand hai)
  f. nima a:d pəsine:d (tum logo ko wo pasand hai)
  g. a:hek a:d pəsine:d (usse wo pasand hai)
  h. a:dik a:d pəsine:d (usse wo pasand hai)
  i. a:berik a:d pəsine:d (une wo pasand hai)

(835)   eŋg-a   a:d pəsine:d
1SG-DAT 3SGF like.3SGF

'muze wo pasand hai.'

'I like her.'

(836) nəm-a a:d pəsine:d
1PL.INCL-DAT 3SGF like.3SGF
'hume wo pasand hai.'
'We like her.'

(837) e:ma a:d pəsine:d
1PL.EXCL-DT 3SGF like.3SGF
'hume wo pasand hai.'
'e wlike her.'

(838) niŋg-a a:d pəsine:d
2SG-DAT 3SGF like.3SGF
'tume pasand hai.'
'You like her.'

(839) nim-a a:d pəsine:d
2PL-DAT 3SGF like.3SGF
'tume sab ko wo pasand hai.'
'You all like her.'

(840) a:h-ek a:d pəsine:d
3SGM-DAT 3SGF like.3SGF
'Usse wo pasand hai.'
'He likes her.'

(841) a:d-ik a:d pəsine:d
3SGF-DAT 3SGF like.3SGF
'usse wo pasand hai.'
'She likes her.'

(842) a:ber-ik a:d pəsine:d
3PL-DAT 3SGF like.3SGF
'unne wo pasand hai.'
'They like her.'

(843) eŋg-a kiɽe derc-a:d
1SG-DAT hungry get-PST-3SGF
'muze bhuk lagi.'
'I am hungry.'

(844) a:h-ek kiɽe derca:d
3SGM-DAT hungry get-PST-3SG
'usse bhuk lagi.'
'.'

Negation in Present

(845) a. mai school nahi jata hu
  b. e:n eskul-ek ek-olə-ken
  c. e:m eskul-ek ek-olə-kem
  d. na:m eskul-ek ekolə-ket
  e. ni:n eskul-ek ek-olə-ke
  f. ni:n eskul-ek ek-olə-ki
  g. ni:m eskul-ek ek-olə-ker
  h. a: eskulek ek-ol-a
  i. a:d eskulek ek-ol-a:d
  j. a:ber eskulek ek-ol-ar

(846) e:n eskul-ek ek-olə-ken
1SG school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-K.1SG
'mai school nahi jata hu.'
'I don't go to school.'

(847) e:m eskul-ek ek-olə-kem
1PL.EXCL school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-K.1PL.EXCL
'hum school nahi jate hai.'
'We don't go to school.'

(848) na:m eskul-ek ek-olə-ket
1PL.INCL school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-K.2PL.INCL
'hum school nahi jate hai.'
'We don't go to school.'

(849) ni:n eskul-ek ek-olə-ke
2SGM school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-K.2SGM
'tum school nahi jate ho.'
'You don't go to school.'

(850) ni:n eskul-ek ek-olə-ki
2SGM school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-K.2SGF
'tum school nahi jati ho.'
'You don't go to school.'

(851) ni:m eskul-ek ek-olə-ker
2PL school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-K.2PL
'tum log school nahi jate ho.'
'You all don't go to school.'

(852) a: eskul-ek ek-ol-a
3SGM school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-(PST)3SGM
'wo school nahi jata hai.'
'He doesn't go to school.'

(853) a:d eskul-ek ek-ol-a:d
3SGF school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-(PST)-3SGF
'wo school nahi jati hai.'
'She doesn't go to school.'

(854) a:ber eskul-ek ek-ol-ar
3PL school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-(PST)-3PL
'wo log school nahi jate hai.'
'They don't go to school.'

Negation in Past

(855) a. mai school nahi gaya
b. e:n eskul-ek ek-lə-ken
c. e:m eskul-ek ek-lə-kem
d. na:m eskul-ek ek-lə-ket
e. ni:n eskul-ek ek-lə-ke
f. ni:n eskul-ek ek-lə-ki
g. ni:m eskul-ek ek-lə-ker
h. a: eskulek ek-l-a
i. a:d eskulek ek-l-a:d
j. a:ber eskulek ek-l-ar

(856) e:n eskul-ek ek-lə-ken
1SG school-DAT go- textscpst.neg.k-1sg
'mai school nahi gaya.'
'I did not go to school.'

(857) e:m eskul-ek ek-lə-kem
1PL.EXCL school-DAT go- textscpst.neg.k-1pl.excl
'hum school nahi gaye.'
'We did not go to school.'

(858) na:m eskul-ek ek-lə-ket
1PL.EXCL school-DAT go- textscpst.neg.k-1pl.excl
'hum school nahi gaye.'
'We did not go to school.'

(859) ni:n eskul-ek ek-lə-ke
YOU school-DAT go-NEG-PST.2SGM
'tum school nahi gaye.'
'You did not go to school.'

(860) ni:n eskul-ek ek-lə-ki
YOU scshool-DAT go-NEG-2SGF
'tum school nahi gayi .'
'You did not go to school.'

(861) ni:m eskul-ek ek-lə-ker
2PL school-DAT go-NEG
'tum school nahi gaye.'
'you all did not go to school.'

(862) a: eskul-ek ek-l-a
3SGM school-DAT go-NEG-PST.3SGM
'wo school nahi gaya.'
'He did not go to school.'

(863) a:d eskul-ek ek-l-a:d
3SGF school-DAT go-NEG-PST.3SGF
'wo school nahi gayi.'
'She did not go to school.'

(864)   a:ber eskul-ek   ek-l-ar
        3PL   school-DAT go-NEG-3PL
        'Wo school nahi gaye.'
        'They did not go school.'

Negation in Future

(865)   a. mai school nahi gaya
        b. e:n eskul-ek ek-e-n-ala
        c. e:m eskul-ek ek-e-m-ala
        d. na:m eskul-ek ek-e-t-ala
        e. ni:n eskul-ek ek-la-n-e
        f. ni:n eskul-ek ek-la-n-i
        g. ni:m eskul-ek ek-e-r-ala
        h. a: eskulek ek-e-ala
        i. a:d eskulek ek-lə-ni:d
        j. a:ber eskulek eker-ala

(866)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-e-n-ala
        1SG school-LOC go-FUT-1SG-NEG
        'mai school nahi jaunga.'
        'I will not go to school.'

(867)   e:m   eskul-ek   ek-e-m-ala
        1PL.EXCL school-DAT go-FUT-2PL.EXCL-NEG
        'hum school nahi jayege.'
        'We will not go to school.'

(868)   na:m   eskul-ek   ek-e-t-ala
        1PL.INCL school-DAT go-FUT-1PL.INCL-NEG
        'hum school nahi jayege.'
        'We will not go to school.'

(869)   ni:n eskul-ek   ek-l-an-e
        2SGM school-DAT go-NEG-FUT-2SGM
        'tum school nahi jayoge.'
        'You will not go school.'

(870)   ni:n eskul-ek   ek-l-an-i
        2SGF school-DAT go-NEG-FUT-2SGF
        'tum school nahi jayogi.'
        'You will not go school.'

(871)   ni:m eskul-ek   ek-e-r-ala
        2PL school-DAT go-FUT-2PL-NEG
        'tum log school nahi jayoge.'
        'You all will not go to school.'

(872)   a: eskul-ek   ek-e-ala
        3SGM school-DAT go-FUT-NEG
        'wo school nahi jayega.'
        'He will not go to school.'

(873)   a:d eskul-ek   ek-lə-n-i:d
        3SGF school-DAT go-NEG-FUT-3SGF
        'wo school nahi jayegi.'
        'She will not go to school.'

(874)   a:ber eskul-ek   ek-e-r-ala
        3PL   school-DAT go-FUT-3PL-NEG
        'wo school nahi jayege.'
        'They will not go to school.'

Copula and Negation

(875)   e:n teacher-en
        1SG teacher-1SG
        'mai teacher hu.'
        'I am a teacher.'

(876)   e:n teacher-en məla-ken
        1SG teacher-1SG NEG-PRS.1SG
        'mai teacher nahi hu.'
        'I am not a teacher.'

(877)   e:n teacher-en meŋjaken
        1SG teacher-1SG be.PST.1SG
        'mai teacher tha.'
        'I was a teacher.'

(878) e:n teacher-en meɲləken
1SG teacher-1SG be.NEG.PST.1SG
'mai teacher nahi tha.'
'I was not a teacher.'

(879) e:n teacher-en meɲen
1SG teacher-1SG be.FUT.1SG
'mai teacher rahunga.'
'I will be a teacher.'

(880) e:n teacher-en məɲen-ala
1SG teacher-1SG be.FUT.1SG-NEG
'mai teacher nahi rahunga.'
'I will not be a teacher.'

(881) ni:n dushman bənər-ke eŋg-et bedlan oy-an-e
2SGM enemy become-SS.2SGM 1SG-INSTR take-FUT-3SGM
'tume mere dushman bankar, mere se badala loge.'
'you will take revenge by becoming my enemy.'

12.1 Copula in Present tense

(882) a. mai teacher hu
b. e:n ticər-en
c. e:m ticər-em
d. na:m ticər-et
e. ni:n ticər-e
f. ni:n ticər-ni
g. ni:m ticər-er
h. a: ticər-e
i. a:d ticer-ni:d
j. a:ber ticer-er

(883) e:n ticər-en
1SG teacher-1SG
'mai teacher hu.'
'I am a teacher.'

(884) e:m ticər-em
1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL
'hum teacher hai.'
'We are teachers.'

(885) na:m ticər-et
1PL.INCL teacher-1PL.INCL
'hum teacher hai.'
'We are teachers.'

(886) ni:n ticər-e
2SGM teacher-2SGM
'tum teacher ho.'
'You are a teacher.'

(887) ni:n ticər-ni
2SGF teacher-2SGF
'tum teacher ho.'
'You are a teacher.'

(888) ni:m ticər-er
2PL teacher-2PL
'tum log teacher ho.'
'You all are a teacher.'

(889) a: ticər-e
3SGM teacher-3SGM
'wo teacher hai.'
'He is a teacher.'

(890) a:d ticer-ni:d
3SGF teacher-3SGF
'wo tecaher hai.'
'She is a teacher.'

(891) a:ber ticer-er
3PL teacher-3PL
'wo log teacher hai.'
'They are teachers.'

(892)   e:n ticer-en   meɲja-ken anise   pəɽiy-tr-oti   parc-ken
        1SG teacher-ACC be.PST.1SG therefore teach-CAUS-INF can-PST.1SG

        'mai teacher tha isliye mai padha paya.'

        'I was a teacher that's why I could teach.'

(893)   e:n məster-ek   meɲja-ken business meɲja-ken
        1SG teacher-DAT be.ss.1SG   business do-PST.1SG

        'mai teacher hokar maine business kiya.'

        'After becoming a teacher, I started the business.'

(894)   a:d ticer-e:d   meɲja-ki:d business nan-iya-:d
        3SGF teacher-3SGF be-ss.3SGF business start-PST.3SGF

        'ussne teacher bankar business shuru kiya.'

        'After becoming a teacher, she started the business.'

Past Copula

(895)   e:n ticəren   meɲja-ken
        1SG teacher-1SG be-BE.PST.1SG

        'mai teacher tha.'

        'I was a teacher.'

        • The sentence has two meanings: 1) I was a teacher. 2) I asked
          teacher.

(896)   e:m   ticərem   meɲja-kem
        1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL BE-PST.1PL.EXCL

        'Hum teacher nahi the.'

        'we were not teachers.'

(897)   e:n a:ʈno beca-ken
        1SG there be..PST.1SG

        'mai waha tha.'

        'I was there.'

(898)   e:n paresa-n   beca-ken
        1SG worry-1SG be.PST.1SG

        'mai paresan tha.'

        'I was worried.'

(899)   e:n paresan-en
        1SG worry-1SG

        'mai paresan hu.'

        'I am worried.'

Past Tense Copula

(900)   mai teacher tha - I was a teacher (Past Tense Copula)
        a. e:n ticəren meɲjaken
        b. e:m ticərem meɲjakem
        c. na:m ticəret meɲjaket
        d. ni:n ticəre meɲjake
        e. ni:n ticərni meɲjaki
        f. ni:m ticərer meɲjaker
        g. a: ticəre məɲjake
        h. a:d ticərni:d meɲja:d
        i. a:ber ticərer məɲjar

(901)   e:n ticər-en   meɲjaken
        1SG teacher-1SG be.PST.1SG

        'mai teacher tha.'

        'I was a teacher.'

(902)   e:m   ticər-em   meɲjakem
        1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL be.BE.1PL.EXCL

        'hum teacher the.'

        'We were teachers.'

        'We asked teachers. (second meaning)

(903)   na:m   ticər-et   meɲjaket
        1PL.INCL teacher-1PL.INCL be.BE.1PL.INCL

        'Hum teacher the.'

        'We were teachers.'

        'We asked teachers. (second meaning)

(904)   ni:n ticər-e   meɲjake
        2SGM teacher-2SGM be.PST.2SGM

        'tum teacher the.'

        'You were a teacher.'

(905) ni:n ticər-ni   meɲjaki
       2SGF teache-2SGF be.PST.2SGF
       'Tum teacher thi.'
       'You were a teacher.'

(906) ni:m ticər-er   meɲjaker
       2PL teacher-2PL be.PST.2PL
       'tum log teacher the.'
       'You all were teachers.'

(907) a: ticər-e   məɲjake
       3SGM teacher-3SGM be.PST.3SGM
       'wo teacher tha.'
       'He was a teacher.'

(908) a:d ticər-ni:d   meɲja:d
       3SGF teacher-3SGF be.PST.3SF
       'wo teacher thi.'
       'She was a teacher.'

(909) a:ber ticər-er   məɲjar
       3PL   teacher-3PL be.PST.3PL
       'wo teachers the.'
       'They were teachers.'

Future Copula

(910) I shall be a teacher.
       a. e:n ticəren meɲnen
       b. e:m ticərem meɲnem
       c. na:m ticəret meɲnet
       d. ni:n ticəre meɲane
       e. ni:n ticərni meɲani
       f. ni:m ticərer meɲner
       g. a: ticəre meɲne
       h. a:d ticərni meɲani:d
       i. a:ber ticərer meɲner

(911) e:n ticər-en   meɲnen
       1SG teacher-1SG be.FUT.1SG
       'mai teacher rahunga.'
       'I will be a teacher.'
       'I will ask the teacher. (second meaning)

(912) e:m   ticər-em   meɲnem
       1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL be.1PL.EXCL
       'We will be teachers.'
       'Hum teacher rahange.'
       'We will listen from teacher (second meaning)

(913) na:m   ticər-et   meɲnet
       1PL.INCL teacher-1PL.INCL be.FUT.1PL.EXCL
       'We will be teachers.'
       'Hum teacher rahange.'
       'We will listen from teacher (Second meaning)

(914) ni:n ticər-e   meɲane
       2SGM teacher-2SGM be.FUT.2SGM
       'tum teacher rahoge.'
       'You will be a teacher.'

(915) ni:n ticər-ni   meɲani
       2SGF teacher-2SGF be.FUT.2SGF
       'tum teacher rahogi.'
       'You will be a teacher.'

(916) ni:m ticər-er   meɲner
       2PL teacher-2PL be.FUT.2PL
       'Tum log teacher rahoge.'
       'You all will be teachers.'

(917) a: ticər-e   meɲne
       3SGM teacher-3SGM be.FUT.3SGM
       'wo teacher rahega.'
       'He will be a teacher.'

(918) a:d ticər-ni   meɲani:d
       3SGF teacher-3SGF be.FUT-3SGF
       'wo teacher rahegi.'
       'She will be a teacher.'

(919) a:ber ticər-er meɲner
3PL teacher-3PL be.FUT.3PL
'wo teacher rahege.'
'They will be teachers.'

Negation in Present copula

(920) I am not a teacher.
   a. e:n ticər-en məlaken
   b. e:m ticər-em məlakem
   c. na:m ticər-et məlaket
   d. ni:n ticər-e məlake
   e. ni:n ticər-ni məlaki
   f. ni:m ticər-er məlaker
   g. a: ticər-e məla
   h. a:d ticər-ni:d məla:d
   i. a:ber ticər-er məlar

(921) e:n ticər-en məlaken
1SG teacher-1SG be.NEG.PRS.1SG
'mai teacher nahi hu.'
'I am not a teacher.'

(922) e:m ticər-em məlakem
1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL be.NEG.PRS.1PL.EXCL
'hum teacher nahi hai.'
'We are not teachers.'

(923) na:m ticər-et məlaket
1PL.INCL teacher-1PL.INCL be.NEG.PRS.1PL.INCL
'hum teacher nahi hai.'
'We are not teachers.'

(924) ni:n ticər-e məlake
2SGM teacher-2SGM be.NEG.PRS.2SGM
'tum teacher nahi ho.'
'You are not a teacher.'

(925) ni:n ticər-ni məlaki
2SGF teacher-2SGF be.NEG.PRS.2SGF
'tum teacher nahi ho.'
'You are not a teacher.'

(926) ni:m ticər-er məlaker
2PL teacher-2PL be.NEG.PRS.2PL
'tum log teacher nahi ho.'
'You all not teacher.'

(927) a: ticər-e məla
3SGM teacher-3SGM be.NEG.PRS.3SGM
'wo teacher nahi hai.'
'He is not a teacher.'

(928) a:d ticər-ni:d məla:d
3SGF teacher-3SGF be.NEG.PRS.3SGF
'wo teacher nahi hai.'
'She is not a teacher.'

(929) a:ber ticər-er məlar
3PL teacher-3PL be.NEG.PRS.3PL
'wo teacher nahi hai.'
'They are not teachers.'

Negation in Past Copula

(930) I was not a teacher.
   a. e:n ticər-en meɲləken
   b. e:m ticər-em meɲləkem
   c. na:m ticer-et meɲləket
   d. ni:n ticəre meɲləke
   e. ni:n ticərni meɲləki
   f. ni:m ticər-er meɲləker
   g. a: ticər-e meɲ-la
   h. a:d ticər-ni:d meɲla:d
   i. a:ber ticər-er meɲlar

(931) e:n ticər-en meɲləken
1SG teacher-1SG be.NEG.PST.1SG
'mai teacher nahi tha.'
'I was a teacher.'

(932) e:m ticər-em meɲləkem
1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL be.NEG.PST.1PL.EXCL
'hum teacher the.'
'We were teachers.'

(933) na:m ticer-et meɲləket
1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL be.NEG.PST.1PL.INCL
'hum teacher the.'
'We were teachers.'

(934) ni:n ticər-e meɲləke
2SGM teacher-2SGM be.NEG.PST2SGM
'tum teacher the.'
'You were a teacher.'

(935) ni:n ticər-ni meɲləki
2SGF teacher-2SGF be.NEG.PST.2SGF
'tum teacher thi.'
'You were a teacher.'

(936) ni:m ticər-er meɲləker
2PL teacher-2PL be.NEG.PST.2PL
'tum log teacher the.'
'You were teachers.'

(937) a: ticər-e meɲ-la
3SGM teacher-3SGM be.NEG.PST.3SGM
'wo teacher tha.'
'He was a teacher.'

(938) a:d ticər-ni:d meɲla:d
3SGF teacher-3SGF be.NEG.PST.3SG
'wo teacher thi.'
'She was a teacher.'

(939) a:ber ticər-er meɲlar
3PL teacher-3PL be.NEG.PST.3PL
'wo teachers the.'
'They were teachers.'

(940) I will not be a teacher
 a. e:n ticəren meɲ-en-ala
 b. e:m ticər-em meɲ-em-ala
 c. na:m ticər-et meɲ-et-ala
 d. ni:n ticər-e meɲ-l-an-e
 e. ni:n ticər-ni meɲ-l-an-i
 f. ni:m ticər-er meɲ-er-ala
 g. a: ticər-e meɲ-e-ala
 h. a:d ticər-ni:d məɲ-la-ni:d
 i. a:ber ticərer məɲ-er-ala

(941) e:n ticər-en meɲ-e-n-ala
1SG teacher-1SG be-FUT-1SG-NEG
'mai teacher nahi rahunga.'
'I will not be a teacher.'

(942) e:m ticər-em meɲ-e-m-ala
1PL.EXCL teacher-1PL.EXCL be-FUT-1PL.EXCL-NEG
'hum teacher nahi rahange.'
'We will not be teachers.'

(943) na:m ticər-et meɲ-e-t-ala
1PL.INCL teacher-1PL.INCL be-FUT-1PL.INCL be-FUT-1PL.INCL-NEG
'hum teachers nahi rahenge.'
'We will not be teachers.'

(944) ni:n ticər-e meɲ-l-an-e
2SGM teacher-2SGM be-NEG-FUT-2SGM
'tum teacher nahi rahoge.'
'You will not be teachers.'

(945) ni:n ticər-ni meɲ-l-an-i
2SGF teacher-2SGF be-NEG-FUT-2SGF
'tum teacher nahi rahogi.'
'You will not be a teacher.'

(946)   ni:m ticər-er   meɲ-e-r-ala
        2PL   teacher-2PL be-FUT-2PL-NEG
        'tum log teacher nahi rahoge.'
        'You all will not be teachers.'

(947)   a: ticər-e   meɲ-e-ala
        3SGM teacher-3SGM be-FUT.3SGM-NEG
        'wo teacher nahi rahage.'
        'He will not be a teacher.'

(948)   a:d ticər-ni:d   məɲ-l-ani-:d
        3SGF teacher-3SGF be-NEG-FUT-3SGF
        'wo teacher nahi rahegi.'
        'She will not be a teacher.'

(949)   a:ber ticər-er   məɲ-e-r-ala
        3PL   teacher-3PL be-FUT-3PL-NEG
        'hum teacher nahi rahenge.'
        'They will not be teachers.'

13   Verb System

Malto has an amazing verb system. The verbs change according to the entities or types of objects they have. I can write about what tribal indigenous knowledge consists of, and I can prove how tribal knowledge embeds the knowledge in its language through verbs.

14   TO EAT

There are three verbs to express the action of eating in Malto.

14.1   ləpken

ləpken means I eat. It is used when we eat by mixing two items by hand. ex:- dal chawal, sabji chawal etc.

14.2   moqqen

moqqen means I eat. It is used when for the solid or dry entities like biscuits, chiwada and fruits.

14.3   miɲken

miɲ-ken is used when you eat Roti or paratha.

(950)   e:n pit-an   miɲ-ke-n
        1SG chapatis-ACC eat-PST-1SG
        'maine roti khayi.'
        'I ate Chapatis.'

15   TO TALK

15.1   qaurnəqe

qaurnəqe means to talk in a general sense.

(951)   e:n a:h-en   qaurnəq-qe-n
        1SG 3SGM-ACC
        'maine usse baat kiyi.'
        'I talked to him.'

15.2   meɲjarnəqe

meɲjarnəqe is a kind of question-answer session. It is a *Puchtach* in Hindi.

(952)   e:m   meɲjarnəq-qe-m
        1PL.EXCL inquire-PST-1PL.EXCL
        'humne puchtasch kiyi.'
        'We inquired.'

15.3   teŋgernəqe

teŋgerneqe means discussion or debate.

(953)   a:ber teŋgernəq-qe-r
        3PL   debate-PST-3PL
        'unone wadvivad kiya.'
        'They debated.'

15.4   cugəletrenəqe

cugəletrenəqe means gossip.

(954)   peler   cugəletrnəq-ne-r
       women gossip-PRS.PROG-3PL

       'mahilaye chugali kar rahi thi.'

       'Women are gossiping.'

15.5   qəɽcnəqe

qəɽcnəqe means quarrel.

(955)   e:n   qəɽnəq-qe-n
       1SG quarrel-PST-1SG

       'maine zagada kiya.'

       'I quarrelled.'

16   TO PLUCK

16.1   ʈoq-qen

ʈoqqen is a verb for plucking flowers and leaves.

(956)   e:n   pupa   ʈoq-qe-n
       1SG FLOWER pluck-PST-1SG

       'maine phul toda.'

       'I plucked the flower.'

(957)   e:n   la:ʈG-en   ʈoq-q-en
       1SG leaf-ACC pluck-PST-1SG

       'maine pata thoda.'

       'I plucked the leaf.'

16.2   coq-qen

coqqen is a verb for plucking fruits.

(958)   e:n   ʈaʈG-en   coq-qe-n
       1SG mango-ACC pluck-PST-1SG

       'maine aam toda.'

       'I plucked the mango.'

17   TO BREAK

17.1   təre:d

təre:d means to break, used for entities like iron, wood, mobile, etc.

(959)   e:n   mobil-en   tər-ke-n
       1SG mobile-ACC break-PST-1SG

       'maine mobile toda.'

       'I broke the mobile.'

17.2   qəce:d

qəc-e:d means to break, used for entities like rope, rubber, etc.

(960)   e:n   goʈ-an   qəc-ke-n
       1SG rope-ACC break-PST-1SG

       'maine rasi todi.'

       'I broke the rope.'

18   TO SPILL, TO DROP

18.1   e:ɢe:d

e:ɢe:d means to spill. This verb is used when a spilling entity is uncountable and solid, for example, rice.

(961)   e:n   tiqala e:ɢ-ke-n
       1SG rice   spill-PST-1SG

       'maine chawala giraya.'

       'I spilled the rice.'

18.2   tunɖe:d

tunɖe:d means to spill. This verb is used when a spilling entity is liquid. For example, milk.

(962)   e:n   dudh-en tunɖ-ke-n
       1SG milk-ACC spill-PST-1SG

       'maine dudh giraya.'

       'I spilled the milk.'

18.3 utətre:d

utətre:d means to drop. It is used for solid entities such as mobile or laptops.

(963) e:n mobil-en utətr-ke-n
1SG mobile-ACC drop-PST-1SG
'maine mobile giraya.'
'I dropped the mobile.'

19 TO GIVE

19.1 qəʈe:d

qəʈe:d means '*to give me*'.

(964) Rahule kitab-en qəʈ-iya
Rahul book-ACC give.me-PST.3S
'Rahulne muze kitab diyi.'
'Rahul gave a book to me.

19.2 ciye:d

ciye:d means to give anybody other than me.

(965) Rahule Lokesh-ek kitab-en cic-a
Rahule LOkesh-DAT book-ACC give-PST.3SGM
'Rahulne Lokesh-ko kitab diyi.'
'Rahul gave a book to Lokesh.'

20 TO CUT

20.1 mociya

mociya means to cut.

(966) a: bread-en moc-iya
3SGM bread-ACC cut-PST.3SGM
'Usne bread kata.'
'He cut the bread.'

20.2 tariya

tariy-a is to cut.

(967) a: kənka tar-iya
3SGM wood cut-PST.3SGM
'Ussne ped kata.'
'He cut the wood.'

20.3 qoʈa

QOʈ-A is to cut.

(968) a: məɲa qoʈ-a
3SGM tree cut-PST.3SGM
'uss-ne pəd kata.'
'.'

(969) niŋ-a əɖa-k ek-ke ale-k jagu-n ciy-oti
2SGM-DAT home-DAT go-ss.2SGM dog-DAT food-ACC give-INF
meɲani
will-have-to
'tuze ghar jaane ke baad kutte ko khana khilana padhega.'
'you will have to feed the dog after you go home.

even when there is a dative subject, why is it marking the same subject?

(970) *e:n jaharen ləpken ɖok-alo siŋ-lə-ken
1SG poison-ACC eat-ss.1SG PROG-NEG HAB.NEG.PST.1SG
'mai poison khake nahi rah raha tha.'
'I had not been living by eating poison.'

(971) a. agar mai ghar jaunga toh khana khaunga
b. e:n əɖak ek-nen jagun ləpen
c. e:m əɖak ek-nem jagun ləpem
d. na:m əɖak ek-net jagun ləpet
e. ni:n əɖak ek-ne jagun ləpane
f. ni:n əɖak ekni jagun ləpani
g. ni:m əɖak ekner jagun ləper
h. a: aɖak ekner jagun ləpe
i. a:d əɖak ekni:d jagun ləpani:d
j. a:ber əɖak ek-ner jagun ləper

DS in Dative subjects

(972) is ungrammatical because the subject is dative whereas 'I' has PATIENT theta role; it should be an accusative case marked as in (973).

(972) *eŋ-a   ale:d   qar-ko meru   korca:d
       1SG-DAT dog.3SGNM bite-DS sick.3SGNM get.PST.3SGNM
       'muze kutta katne ke bajese bukhar aaya.'
       'After the dog bit me, I got sick.'

(973) eŋgʰ-en ale:d   qar-ko meru   korca:d
       1SG-ACC dog.3SGNM bite-DS sick.3SGNM get.PST.3SGNM
       'muze kutta katne ke bajese bukhar aaya.'
       'After the dog bit me, I got sick.'

(974) ale:d   eŋgʰ-en qar-ko meru   korca:d
       dog.3SGNM 1SG-ACC bite-DS sick.3SGNM get.PST.3SGNM
       'muze kutta katne ke bajese bukhar aaya.'
       'After the dog bit me, I got sick.'

Both the subjects are dative

(975) əma on-no   eŋ-a   məja qəc-i
       water drink-DS 1SG-DAT good feel-PRS.3SGM
       'muze pani panne ke baad muze accha ləgata hai.'
       'After drinking water, I feel good.'

(976) eŋ-a   əma on-no   məja qəc-i
       1SG-DAT water drink-DS good feel-PRS.3SGM
       'muze pani panne ke baad muze accha ləgata hai.'
       'After drinking water, I feel good.'

(977) eŋ-a   əma on-no   eŋ-a   məja qəc-i
       1SG-DAT water drink-DS 1SG-DAT good feel-PRS.3SGM
       'muze pani panne ke baad muze accha ləgata hai.'
       'After drinking water, I feel good.'

(978) eŋ-a   əma onɖa-ko məja qəcca
       1SG-DAT water drink-DS very feel.PST.3SGNM
       'muze paani pine ke baad muze accha laga.'
       'After drinking water, I felt good.'

979 is ungrammatical because on the *on-ko*, ko should be attached to past stem -ɖ or -c. But all the verbs do not have -ɖ and -c as past stem.

(979) *eŋ-a   əma on-ko   məja qəcca
       1SG-DAT water drink-DS very feel.PST.3SGNM
       'muze paani pine ke baad muze accha laga.'
       'After drinking water, I felt good.'

S1 Dative and S2 Nominative

(980) eŋ-a   əma kiɽe   meɲ-no e:n əma on-i-n
       1SG-DAT water thirsty be-DS   1SG water drink-PRS-1SG
       'muze pyas lagane ke baad mai paani pita hu.'
       'After I get thirsty, I drink water.'

(981) eŋ-a   məja qəc-no e:n jagu-n   ləp-e-n
       1SG-DAT good feel-DS 1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG
       'muze achha ləgega toh mai khana khaunga.'
       'If I feel good then I will have food.'

SR in Habitual Aspect

(982) e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-ken   kelar-oti eka siŋ-i-n
       1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG play-INF go HAB-PRS-1SG
       'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'
       'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

(983) e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-le kelar-oti eka siŋ-i-n
       1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss play-INF go HAB-PRS-1SG
       'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'
       'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

984 is ungrammatical because the same subject marker *-le* doesn't take negation as other same subject markers don't take negation.

(984) *e:n eskul-ek   ek-olə-le   kelar-oti eka siŋ-i-n
       1SG school-DAT go-NEG.PRS-ss play-INF go HAB-PRS-1SG
       'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'
       'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

(985)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-le kelaroti eka   siŋɢ-i-n
1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss go   HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'

'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

(986)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le jagu-n   ləp-i-n   (Habitual)
1SG home-DAT go-ss food-ACC eat-HAB.PRS-1SG

'mai ghar jake khana khata hu.'

'After going home, I eat food.'

(1084) is ungrammatical because *-k + φ* in habitual aspect will only be licensed with siŋ is used as an auxiliary verb to mark habitual as in (988)

(987)   *e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   jagu-n   ləp-i-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-PRS.1SG

'mai ghar jake khana khata hu.'

'mai ghar jake khana khata hu.'

(988)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   jagu-n   ləpa siŋɢ-i-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat   HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai ghar jaakar khana khaata hu .'

'After going home, I eat food.'

(989)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-ken   kelar-oti ek-i-n
1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG play-INF go-PRS-1SG

'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'

'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

(990)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   jagu-n   ləpa siŋ-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat   HAB-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jaakar khana khata tha.'

'After going home, I used to eat food .'

(991)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le jagu-n   ləpa siŋ-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss food-ACC eat   HAB-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jaakar khana khata tha.'

'I used to go home, and I used to eat food.'

(992)   e:n jagu-n   ləpa siŋ-ke-n
1SG food-ACC eat   HAB-PST-1SG

'mai khana khata tha.'

'I used to eat.'

(993)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   jagu-n   ləp-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-PST-1SG

'maine ghar jaakar khana khaaya.'

'After going home, I ate food.'

(994)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le   jagu-n   lep-ke-n
1SG home-DAT go-HAB.ss food-ACC eat-PST-1SG

'I used to go home and eat food.'

(995)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc siŋɢ-e-n   (Habitual)
1SG school-DAT go-ss.1SG study HAB-FUT-1SG

'mai school jakar padunga.'

'After I go to school, I will study.'

(996)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽy-e-n
1SG school-DAT go-ss.1SG study-FUT.1SG

'mai school jake padhunga.'

'After I go to school, I will study (Single event occurence).'

(997)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc ḍok-e-n
1SG school-DAT go-ss.1SG study PROG-FUT-1SG

'mai school jakar padhata rahunga.'

'After I go school, I will be studying.'

(998)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc siŋɢ-i-n   (Habitual)
1SG school-DAT go-ss.1SG study HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai school jake padhata hu.'

'After I go to school, I study.'

(999)   *e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   qandr-i-n   (Habitual)
1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG sleep-PRS-1SG

'mai school jake padhata hu.'

'After I go to school, I study.'

(1000)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le   qandr-i-n   (Progressive)
1SG home-DAT go-ss sleep-PROG.PRS-1SG

'mai school jake padhta rahata hu.'

'I am studying after I go to school.'

(1001)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   qandr siŋ-i-n   (Habitual)
1SG home-DAT GO-ss.1SG sleep HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai ghar jake sota hu.'
'After going home, I sleep.'

(1002)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-le   qandr siŋ-i-n   (Habitual)
         1SG home-DAT go-HAB.SS sleep HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai ghar jakar sota hu.'
'After I go home, I sleep.'

(1003)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-no a: qandr-i   (Habitual)
         1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep-PRS.3SGM

'mai ghar jane ke baad wo so jata hai.'
'After I go home, he sleeps.'

(1004)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-no a: qandr siŋ-i   (Habitual)
         1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SG sleep HAB-PRS.3SGM

'jab jab mai ghar gaya tab tab wo sota hai.'
'when I go home, he sleeps.'

(1005)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ko a: qandr siŋ-i   (Habitual)
         1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep HAB-PRS.3SGM

'mai jaane ke baad wo so jata hai.'
'After I go home, He used to sleep.'

(1006)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken   qandr siŋ-ke-n
         1SG home-ACC go-SS.1SG sleep HAB.PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar so jata tha.'
'After going home, I used to sleep.'

(1007)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-le qandr siŋ-ke-n   (Habitual)
         1SG home-DAT go-HAB sleep HAB-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar so jata tha.'
'I used to go home and used to sleep.'

(1008)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-le   qandr-ke-n (Habitual)
         1SG home-DAT go-HAB.SS sleep-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar so jata tha.'
'I used to go home and used to sleep.'

(1009)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken   qandr-ke-n
         1SG home-DAT ek-SS.1SG sleep-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar so gaya .'
'After going home, I slept.'

(1010)   e:n bəgc-ak   ek-le   məɲa moṭatri-ken
         1SG garden-DAT go-HAB.SS tree grow-CAUS-SS.1SG

'mai garden me ja jakar ped ko bada kiya.'
'I used to go to the garden, and I grew the tree.'

(1011)   e:n [Geeta:d bərc-ko] ca:en bita-ken
         1SG [Geeta   come-DS] tea   prepare-PST.1SG

'maine Geeta aane ke baad chai banayi.'
'After Geeta came home, I made a tea.'

(1012)   Lokeshe_i a:udiya   ki de Geeta:d a:h-en_i   er-iya-:d
         Lokesh   say-PST.3SGM that CP Geeta 3SGM-ACC see-PST-3SGF

'Lokesh-ne bola-ki Geetane usse dekha.'
'Lokesh_i said that Geeta saw him_i.'

(1013)   Geeta:d dawar-inte korc dok-iya-:d   a:para   o:sg-en
         Geeta   door-INSTR enter PROG-PST-3SGF when/then rat-ACC
         ənda:d
         see-PST.3SGF

'Geeta jab darwaje-se ander aa rahi tab us-ne chuwa dekha.'
'When Geeta was coming in through the door, she saw rat.'

Full Paradigm of -n-

(1014)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-nen   jagu-n ləp-e-n
         1SG home-DAT go-COND.SS.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG

'agar mai ghar jaaunga toh khana khaunga.'
'If I go home, I will eat the food.'

(1015)   e:m   əɖa-k   ek-nem   jagu-n ləp-e-m
         1PL.EXCL home-DAT go-COND.SS.1PL.EXCL food-ACC eat-FUT-1PL.EXCL

'agar hum ghar jayenge toh khana khayenge.'
'If we go home, we will eat the food.'

(1016)   na:m   əɖa-k   ek-net   jagu-n ləp-e-t
         1PL.INCL home-DAT go-COND.SS.1PL.INCL food-ACC eat-FUT-1PL.INCL

'agar hum ghar jayenge toh khana khayenge.'
'If we go home, we will eat the food.'

(1017)   ni:n əḍa-k   ek-ne   jagu-n   ləp-an-e
       2SG home-DAT go-COND.SS.2SGM food-ACC eat-FUT-2SGM
       'agar tum ghar jaoge toh khana khayoge.'
       'If you go home, you will eat the food.'

(1018)   *ni:n əḍa-k   ek-no   jagu-n   ləpane
       2SG home-DAT go-COND.DS food-ACC eat-FUT-2SGM
       'agar tum ghar jaoge toh khana khayoge.'
       'if you go home, you will eat the food.'

(1019)   ni:n əḍa-k   ek-ni   jagu-n   ləp-an-i
       2SGF home-DAT go-COND.SS.2SGF food-ACC eat-FUT-2SGF
       'agar tum ghar jaogi toh khana khayogi.'
       'if you go home, you will eat the food.'

(1020)   ni:m əḍa-k   ek-ner   jagu-n   ləp-e-r
       2PL home-DAT go-COND.SS.2PL food-ACC eat-FUT-2PL
       'agar tum sab ghar jaoge toh khana khaoge.'
       'If you all go home, you all will eat the food.'

(1021)   a: əḍa-k   ek-ne   jagu-n   ləp-e
       3SGM home-DAT go-COND.SS.3SGM food-ACC eat-FUT.3SGM
       'agar wo ghar jayega toh khana khayega.'
       'If he goes home, he will eat.'

(1022)   a:d əḍa-k   ek-ni:d   jagu-n   ləp-ani-:d
       3SGF home-DAT go-COND.SS.3SGF food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGF
       'agar wo ghar jayegi toh khana khayegi.'
       'If she goes home, she will eat.'

(1023)   a:ber əḍa-k   ek-ner   jagu-n   ləp-e-r
       3PL home-DAT go-COND.SS.3PL food-ACC eat-FUT-3PL
       'agar wo ghar jayenga toh khana khayega.'
       'if they go home, they will eat.'

(1024)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-no   a:d jagu-n   ləp-ani-:d
       1SG home-DAT go-COND.DS 3SGF food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGF
       'agar mai ghar jagun toh wo khana khayegi.'
       'if I go home, he will eat.'

(1025)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-nen   jagu-n   ləp-l-en
       1SG home-DAT go-COND.SS.1SG food-ACC eat-SUBJ-1SG
       'agar mai ghar jata toh khana khata.'
       'If I had gone home, I would have eaten.'

(1026)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-no a:d   jagu-n   ləp-l-i:d
       1SG home-COND.DS 3SGF   food-ACC eat-SUBJ-3SGF
       'agar mai ghar jata toh wo khana khati.'
       'If I had gone home, She would have eaten.'

Negation in SS is not possible

(1027)   e:n Rahul-en   er-alo   əḍa-k   ek-ke-n
       1SG Rahul-ACC see-NEG home-DAT go-PST.1SG
       'mai Rahul ko na dekhke ghar chala gaya.'
       'I went home without seeing Rahul.'

(1028)   *e:n Rahul-en   er-lə-ken   əḍa-k   ek-ke-n
       1SG Rahul-ACC see-NEG.PST-SS.1SG home-DAT go-PST.1SG
       'mai Rahul ko na dekhke ghar chala gaya.'
       'I went home without seeing Rahul.'

(1029)   *e:n Rahul-en   er-olə-ken   əḍa-k   ek-ke-n
       1SG Rahul-ACC see-NEG.PRS-SS.1SG home-DAT go-PST.1SG
       'mai Rahul ko na dekhke ghar chala gaya.'
       'I went home without seeing Rahul.'

(1030)   *e:n Rahul-en   er-alo-ken   əḍa-k   ek-ke-n
       1SG Rahul-ACC see-NEG-SS.1SG home-DAT go-PST.1SG
       'mai Rahul ko na dekhke ghar chala gaya.'
       'I went home without seeing Rahul.'

(1031)   e:n Rahul-en   er-alo   əḍa-k   ek-e-n
       1SG Rahuk-ACC see-NEG home-DAT go-FUT.1SG
       'mai Rahul ko bina dekhkar chala jaunga .'
       'I will go home without seeing Rahul.'

1032 is grammatical because of *tanu*.

(1032)   e:n delh-ik   ek-olə-ken   tanu Jaipur-ek ek-e-n
       1SG delhi-DAT go-NEG.PRS-1SG then Jaipur-DAT go-FUT-1SG
       'agar mai Delhi nahi jaunga toh mai jaipur jaunga.'
       'if I will not go Delhi, then I will go to Jaipur.'

(1033) *e:n delhik   ek-olə-ken   Jaipur-ek ek-e-n
      1SG delhi-DAT go-NEG.PRS-1SG Jaipur-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'agar mai delhi nahi jaunga toh mai jaipur jaunga.'

'if I won't go Delhi then I will go to Jaipur.'

(1034) e:n ədạ-k   ek-olə-ken   tanu ədạ-k-ho
      1SG home-DAT go-NEG.PRS-1SG then home-DAT-EMPH

ek-e-n-ala
go-FUT-1SG-NEG

'agar mai delhi nahi jaunga toh ghar bhi nahi jaunga.'

'If I will not go Delhi, then I will go home.'

(1035) e:n eskul-ek   ek-la-l-en   əno jagu-n   ləp-l-en
      1SG school-DAT go-NEG-SUBJ-1SG then food-ACC eat-SUBJ-1SG

'agar mai school nahi jata toh khana khata.'

'If I had not gone to school, I would have eaten food.'

(1036) e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-ken   libra-ik   ek-e-n
      1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG library-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai school chhodkar library me jaunga.'

'Instead of going to school, I will go to the library.'

(1037) e:n jagu-n   ləp-oti əmb-ken   eskul-ek   ek-e-n
      1SG food-ACC eat-INF leave-ss-1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai khana chhodkar school jaunga.'

'Instead of eating food, I will go to school.'

(1038) e:n jagu-n   ləp-alo eskul-ek   ek-e-n
      1SG food-ACC eat-NEG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai bina khaakar school jaunga.'

'Instead of eating food, I will go to school.'

(1039) ni:n jagu-n   ləp-oti əmb-ke   eskul-ek   ek-ke
      2SG food-ACC eat-INF leave-ss.3SGM school-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'tum khana chhodkar school gaye.'

'Instead of eating food, he went to school.'

(1040) e:n pəɽiy-para pəɽiy-oti əmb-ken   kelar-oti ek-i-n
      1SG study-while study-INF leave-ss.1SG play-INF go-PRS-1SG

'mai padne ke waqt padhai na karke khelne jata hu.'

'When it's time for study, I go out to play instead of studying..'

Negation is possible with DS

(1041) e:n mobil-en   er-lə-ko   goțe a: mobil-en
      1SG mobile-ACC see-NEG.PST-DS EMPH 3SGM mobile-ACC

qe:ɢ-a
buy-PST.3SGM

'maine mobile na dekhne ke baad bhi ussne mobile kharida.'

'He bought the mobile even after I didn't see it.'

(1042) e:n mobil-en   er-alo qe:q-qe-n
      1SG mobile-ACC see-NEG buy-PST-1SG

'maine mobile bina dekh ke liya.'

'I bought a mobile without seeing it.'

The negation in future DS can be marked with -*ko* with its present tense form.

(1043) eŋg-a   məja qəc-olə-ko   e:n jagu-n   ləp-e-n-ala
      1SG-DAT good feel-NEG.PRS-DA 1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG-NEG

'muze accha nahi lagega toh mai khana nahi khaaunga.'

'If I don't feel good, I will not eat.'

21   Note

DO the transcription by using morpheme to morpheme gloss, and the same with case.

- ədə-k = home-LOC

- eskule-nte = school-LOC

- jagu-n = food-ACC

- ca:en = chai-ACC

- ikpara = when

- a:para = then (tab)

- There is no *l* sound in Malto wherever I have written *l* change it to *ɭ* sound.

- There are two uvular sounds in Malto: *q* and *ɢ*. I have not used *ɢ* anywhere; check where it will be applied. it will be applied especially in the case of buy verb, *qe:ɢʰen, niŋɕen.*

- c is palatal in Malto.

- tʃ is Voiceless postalveolar affricate.

Clarified

(1044)   a.   onda = ✗

     b.   onḍa = ✓

(1045)   a.   dokken = ✗

     b.   ḍokken = ✓e:n məstre-no ḍokken (I was a teacher) = ✓

(1046)   a.   oruk-ko = ✗

     b.   oruq-qo = ✓

     c.   oruq-qo = after vacating (khali karke or nikal-ne ke baad) = ✓

(1047)   a.   *siŋgen* is a helping verb. = ✓

     b.   mai teacher rahunga (e:n teacheren meɲen) = ✓

     c.   meɲen = rahunga = ✓

(1048)   a.   pələtroti (to study) = ✗

     b.   pəɽytroti (to study) = ✓

(1049)   a.   qe:gʰa (he bought) = ✗

     b.   qe:Ga (he bought) = ✓

(1050)   a.   tʃaen (tea, chai) = ✗

     b.   caen = ✗

     c.   ca:en = ✓(I adopt this for thesis writing)

     d.   cəg̃en = ✓(The closest)

(1051)   a.   gotʰerhi (all) = ✗

     b.   goʈʰerhi (all) = ✓

(1052)   a.   əḍə-ken (pohach gaya) = ✗

     b.   əɽə-ken (pohach gaya, reached) = ✓

(1053)   a.   betari:d (she meets) = ✗

     b.   beʈari:d (she meets) = ✓

(1054)   a.   chi:in (I give) = ✗

     b.   ciyin (I give) = ✓

(1055)   a.   cittin (letter) = ✗

     b.   ciʈʈin (letter) = ✓

(1056)   a.   qət-le (gives me) = ✗

     b.   qəʈ-le (gives me) = ✓

(1057)   meru korca = ✗

(1058)   meru korca:d = ✓

(1059)   meru is feminine gender

22   IMP

23   Important Observation

- k = future

- kk = k + Stress = Past (Stands false because of the following, because the GO root verb is *ek* and past morpheme is *-ken*.)

- ek-ken = go + PST

- ek-en = go + FUT

- The Progressive aspect is the same as the habitual aspect in terms of morphology in Malto, but it can be judged by the context in which the sentence is used.

- Present Perfect tense is the same as the simple past tense in Malto.

- a:ber = wo sab (Distanced)

- e:ber = ye sab (proximate)

- a:hen = him

- a:din = her

23.1   The concept of naming marker

If the name is coming from the community, then we don't need to add *-e*.
ex: Surja, Ganga, Masha, Loki, Ajara.
It happens only with masculine gender.
If we are using feminine nouns, then we have to add *:d* to every feminine DP.

(1060)   *Rahul ante Lokesh-e eskulek ekner.

(1061)   Rahul-e ante Lokesh-e eskulek ekner.

(1062)   Surja ante Ganga eskulek ekner. (Community name concept - don't need to add *-e*)

(1063)   Ganga əḍak ekiya

23.2   Some sentences

(1064)   a. tum-ne roti khayi
      b. ni:n pitan moqqey

(1065)   a. tum school gaye
      b. ni:n eskulek ekkey

(1066)   a. tumlog school gaye
      b. ni:m eskulek ekker

23.3   Part 1

(1067)   e:n jagun ləpken ḍoken.

In above sentence, *ləpken* is khake, and ḍoken is rahunga.

(1068)   e:n eskulek-no be:ən

    'mai school-me rahunga.'
    'I will be in the school.'

(1069)   ni:m gotherhi eskule-no ḍoker/ be:yer

    'tum sab school me honge.'
    'You all will be in school.'

(1070)   a: eskule-no ḍoke / be:ə

    'wo school me hoga.'
    'He will be in school.'

23.4   Negation in SR

(1071)   e:n jagun bit-lə-ko a: əḍak ekiya

(1072)   maine khana nahi banaya isliye wo ghar chala gaya

(1073)   *e:n jagun bit-lə-ken hotelek ekin

(1074)   e:n jagun bit-lə-ken(pst) ani se hotelek ekin

(1075)   maine khana nahi banaya isliye hotel ja raha hu

(1076)   e:n jagun bit-lə-ko   a: ləpə-la
      I   food prepare-NEG-DS he eat-Neg.pst
    'maine khana nahi pakaya toh ussne nahi khaya.'
    '.'

e:n jagun bit-lə-ken lep

(1077)   e:n jagun bit-la-ken   ani   ləpə-la-ken
      I   food prepare-NEG-SS toh(that's why)   eat-NEG-PST
    'maine khana nahi banaya toh khana nahi khaya.'
    '.'

23.5   Grammatical Task Judgement

(1078)   a. e:n jagun bitako, a: ləpiya
      b. e:n jagun bitaken ante a: ləpiya
      c. * e:n jagun bita-ko ante a: ləpiya.
      d. a: e:n jagun bita-ko ləpiya
          (centre embedding of marking clause is possible)

23.6   Conditional

(1079)   e:n tik ədə-sen a:pəra Rahul ante Geeta:d jagun ləpker ḍoker

    'Jab mai waha pohachega hoga,
    tab Rahul aur Geeta-ne khana khaliya hoga.'
    '.'

N.B: for the above sentence,

- a:nondeno = tab-tak

- a:tik = waha

- əḍə-sen = pohachunga

- a:pəra = jab

3SGM as zero morpheme works as Default

(1080)   a: niŋgen beṭari

    'wo tumse milta hai.'

    'He meets you.'

In the above sentence, *-i-* stands for the present tense; if we use *-e* in the place of *-i*, then it will become future tense. And phi-feature will stand as the zero morpheme marker that there is default 3SGM in the form of zero marking:: This is just the assumption - check what Kobayashi says about it.

e:m vs na:m

e:m is exclusive pronoun.
na:m is an inclusive pronoun.

SR in Habitual Aspect

(1081)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-ken   kelar-oti eka siŋ-i-n
     1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG play-INF go   HAB-PRS-1SG

    'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'

    'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

(1082)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-le kelaroti eka   siŋ-i-n
     1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss go   HAB-PRS-1SG

    'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'

    'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

(1083)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le jagu-n ləp-i-n   (Habitual)
     1SG home-DAT go-ss food-ACC eat-HAB.PRS-1SG

    'mai ghar jake khana khata hu.'

    'After going home, I eat food.'

(1084) is ungrammatical because *-k + φ* in habitual aspect will only be licensed with siŋg is used as an auxiliary verb to mark habitual as in (988)

(1084)   *e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken jagu-n ləp-i-n
     1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-PRS.1SG

    'mai ghar jake khana khata hu.'

    'mai ghar jake khana khata hu.'

(1085)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-ken   kelar-oti ek-i-n
     1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG play-INF go-PRS-1SG

    'mai school na jaakar khelne jata hu.'

    'Instead of going to school, I go to play.'

(1086)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken jagu-n ləpa siŋ-ke-n
     1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat   HAB-PST-1SG

    'mai ghar jaakar khana khata tha.'

    'After going home, I used to eat food .'

(1087)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le jagu-n ləpa siŋ-ke-n
     1SG home-DAT go-ss food-ACC eat   HAB-PST-1SG

    'mai ghar jaakar khana khata tha.'

    'I used to go home, and I used to eat food.'

(1088)   e:n jagu-n   ləpa siŋ-ke-n
     1SG food-ACC eat   HAB-PST-1SG

    'mai khana khata tha.'

    'I used to eat.'

(1089)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken jagu-n ləp-ke-n
     1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-PST-1SG

    'maine ghar jaakar khana khaaya.'

    'After going home, I ate food.'

(1090)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le   jagu-n lep-ke-n
     1SG home-DAT go-HAB.ss food-ACC eat-PST-1SG

    'I used to go home and eat food.'

    '.'

(1091)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc siŋ-e-n   (Habitual)
     1SG school-DAT go-ss.1SG study HAB-FUT-1SG

    'mai school jakar padunga.'

    'After I go to school, I will study.'

(1092)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽy-e-n
       1SG school-DAT go-SS.1SG study-FUT.1SG

    'mai school jake padhunga.'

    'After I go to school, I will study (Single event occurence).'

(1093)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc ḍok-e-n
       1SG school-DAT go-SS.1SG study PROG-FUT-1SG

    'mai school jakar padhata rahunga.'

    'After I go school, I will be studying.'

(1094)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc siŋ-i-n   (Habitual)
       1SG school-DAT go-SS.1SG study HAB-PRS-1SG

    'mai school jake padhata hu.'

    'After I go to school, I study.'

(1095)   *e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   qandr-i-n   (Habitual)
       1SG home-DAT go-SS.1SG sleep-PRS-1SG

    'mai school jake padhata hu.'

    'After I go to school, I study.'

(1096)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le qandr-i-n   (Progressive)
       1SG home-DAT go-SS sleep-PROG.PRS-1SG

    'mai school jake padhta rahata hu.'

    'I am studying after I go to school.'

(1097)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   qandr siŋ-i-n   (Habitual)
       1SG home-DAT GO-SS.1SG sleep HAB-PRS-1SG

    'mai ghar jake sota hu.'

    'After going home, I sleep.'

(1098)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le   qandr siŋ-i-n   (Habitual)
       1SG home-DAT go-HAB.SS sleep HAB-PRS-1SG

    'mai ghar jakar sota hu.'

    'After I go home, I sleep.'

(1099)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-no a: qandr-i   (Habitual)
       1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep-PRS.3SGM

    'mai ghar jane ke baad wo so jata hai.'

    'After I go home, he sleeps.'

(1100)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-no a: qandr siŋ-i   (Habitual)
       1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SG sleep HAB-PRS.3SGM

    'jab jab mai ghar gaya tab tab wo sota hai.'

    'when I go home, he sleeps.'

(1101)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ko a: qandr siŋ-i
       1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep HAB-PRS.3SGM

    'mai jaane ke baad wo so jata hai.'

    'After I go home, He used to sleep.'

(1102)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   qandr siŋ-ke-n
       1SG home-ACC go-SS.1SG sleep HAB.PST-1SG

    'mai ghar jakar so jata tha.'

    'After going home, I used to sleep.'

(1103)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le qandr siŋ-ke-n   (Habitual)
       1SG home-DAT go-HAB sleep HAB-PST-1SG

    'mai ghar jakar so jata tha.'

    'I used to go home and used to sleep.'

(1104)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-le   qandr-ke-n   (Habitual)
       1SG home-DAT go-HAB.SS sleep-PST-1SG

    'mai ghar jakar so jata tha.'

    'I used to go home and used to sleep.'

(1105)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken   qandr-ke-n
       1SG home-DAT ek-SS.1SG sleep-PST-1SG

    'mai ghar jakar so gaya .'

    'After going home, I slept.'

(1106)   e:n bəgc-ak   ek-le   məɲa moʈatri-ken
       1SG garden-DAT go-HAB.SS tree grow-CAUS-SS.1SG

    'mai garden me ja jakar ped ko bada kiya.'

    'I used to go to the garden, and I grew the tree.'

(1107)   Lokeshe$_i$ a:udiya   ki de Geeta:d a:h-en$_i$ er-iya-:d
       Lokesh   say-PST.3SGM that CP Geeta   3SGM-ACC see-PST-3SGF

    'Lokesh-ne bola-ki Geetane usse dekha.'

    'Lokesh$_i$ said that Geeta saw him$_i$.'

(1108)   Geeta:d dawar-inte korc dok-iya-:d   a:para   o:sg-en
     Geeta   door-INSTR enter PROG-PST-3SGF when/then rat-ACC
     ənda:d
     see-PST.3SGF
     'Geeta jab darwaje-se ander aa rahi tab us-ne chuwa dekha.'
     'When Geeta was coming in through the door, she saw rat.'

24   Start of Fieldwork Notebook 1

- ki di = that

- kiɽe = pyas

- kiɖe = rakha, keep

(1109)   a: jagu-n   kiɖe
     3SGM food-ACC keep
     'wo khana rakhega.'
     'He will keep the food.'

(1110)   e:n ticər-en   meɲ-no ni:n e:ɽu   pəɽiy-an-e
     1SG teacher-1SG be.DS   2SGM properly study-FUT.2SGM
     'mai teacher rahunga toh tum thik se padhoge.'
     'If I will be your teacher, you will study properly.'

(1111)   a: ticər-e   meɲ-no ni:n e:ɽu   pəɽiy-an-e
     3SGM teacher-3SGM be.DS   2SGM properly study-FUT.2SGM
     'wo teacher rahega toh tum thik se padhoge.'
     'If He will be your teacher, you will study property.'

(1112)   e:n ticər-en   meɲ-no ni:n e:ɽu   pəriy-le
     1SG teacher-1SG be-DS   2SGM properly study-LE
     'mai teacher rahta toh tum thik se padhte.'
     'If I were your teacher, you would have studied properly.'

(1113)   e:n ticər-en   əni   ni:n e:ɽu   pəɽiy-ne
     1SG teacher-1SG that's-why 2SGM properly study-PRS.2SGM
     'mai teacher hu toh tum acche se padh rahe ho.'
     'I am your teacher; that's whu you are studying properly.'

(1114)   e:n amarkantak-ek əɽs-ken/   əɽs-nihi   phonə
     1SG amarkantak-DAT reach-ss.1SG/ reach-AS.SOON.AS phone
     naɲ-e-n
     do-FUT-1SG
     'mai Amarkantak pohachne ke baad tume phone karunga.'
     'I will call you as soon as I reach Amarkantak.'

(1115)   e:n Amarkantak-ek əɽs-no   ni:n Ursa Pahar-ek ekku
     1SG Amarkantak-DAT reach-DS 2SGM Ursa Pahar-DAT go-KU
     'mai Amarkantak pohachne ke baad tum ursa Pahar chale jana.'
     'Once I reach Amarkantak, you go to Ursa Pahar.'

(1116)   e:n maqond coy-no   ni:n ca:en on-ne
     1SG morning wake.up-DS 2SGM tea   drink-PRS.2SGM
     'agar mai subare uta hu toh tum chai pite ho.'
     'If I wake up in the morning, you drink a tea.'

(1117)   e:n eŋki   məqer-in   jagu-n   ləp-tr-ken
     1SG 1SG.GEN children-ACC food-ACC eat-CAUS-PST.1SG
     'maine apne bachoko khana khilaya.'
     'I fed my children.'

(1118)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-no a:d jagu-n   ləp-li:d
     1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGF foo-ACC eat-COND.3SGF
     'agar mai ghar jata to wo khana khati.'
     'If I had gone home, she would have eaten food.'

(1119)   a:d jagu-n   ləp-ani-:d
     3SGF food-ACC eat-FUT-3SGF
     'wo khana khayegi.'
     'She will eat.'

(1120)   a:d jagu-n   ləp-li:d
     3SGF food-ACC eat-COND.3SGF
     'wo khana khati.'
     'She would have eaten.'

(1121)   e:n maqond coy-nen   ca:en on-i-n
     1SG morning wake.up-ss.1SG tea   drink-PRS-1SG
     'agar mai subha itha hu toh mai chai pita hu.'
     'if I wake up early I drink a tea.'

(1122)   *e:n maqond coy-no   ca:en on-i-n
         1SG morning wake.up-DS.COND tea   drink-PRS-1SG
         'agar mai subha itha hu toh mai chai pita hu.'
         'if I wake up early I drink a tea.'

(1123)   e:n ca:en oŋd-le   eskul-ek   ek-i-n
         1SG tea   drink-SS.HAB school-DAT go-PRS-1SG
         'mai chai pike school jata hu.'
         'I go to school after I drink a tea.'

(1124)   e:n ca:en bit-no   a: on-i
         1SG tea   prepare-DS 3SGM drink-PRS.3SGM
         'mai chai bananeke baad wo chai pita hai.'
         'After I prepare a tea, he drinks it.'

(1125)   a. e:n əɖa-k ek-nen jagu-n ləplen (mai jata toh khana khata)
         b. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun ləplen
         c. e:n əɖak ek-nen jagun ləplen(mai ghar jata toh khana khata)
         d. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun ləpen (mai ghar jaunga toh khana khaunga)
         e. e:n əɖak ek-nen jagun ləpen (mai ghar jaunga toh khana
             khaunga)
         f. e:n əɖak ekken jagun ləpen (mai ghar jake khana khaunga)
         g. *e:n əɖak ek-ko jagun ləpen
         h. e:n eskulek eknen pəɽc ɖoken (mai school jaunga toh padhta
             rahunga)
         i. e:n əɖak ek-le jagun ləpken
         j. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun ləpen
         k. *e:n əɖak ek-ko jagun ləpen
         l. *e:n əɖak ek-le a: jagun ləpen
         m. e:n əɖak ek-no a: jagun ləpiya
         n. e:n əɖak ek-no a: jagun ləpa sinɢiya

(1126)   e:n əɖak   eknen   jagu-n bita   siŋken
         1SG home-DAT go-SS.COND food-ACC prepare HAB.PST.1SG
         'mai ghar jata tha toh khana banata tha.'
         'Whenever I used to reach home, I used to prepare the food.'
         'CONTEXT: Dashrath and I used to live together; whoever reached
         home first would make food.

(1127)   e:n əɖak   ek-le   jagun   bita   siŋken
         1SG home-DAT go-SS.HAB food-ACC prepare HAB.PST.1SG
         'mai ghar jakar khana banaya karta tha.'
         'I used to prepare the food after going to school.'

(1128)   a. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun bita siŋken
         b. e:n əɖak ek-ken jagun bita siŋken
         c. e:n əɖak ek-ken jagun bitaken
         d. e:n əɖak ek-le jagun bitaken

(1129)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-nen jagu-n   bit-e-n
         1SG home-SS.COND food-ACC prepare-FUT.1SG
         'agar mai ghar jaunga toh khana banunga.'
         'If I go will home then I will prepare food.'

(1130)   a. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun biten
         b. *e:n əɖak ek-nen a: jagun bite
         c. e:n əɖak ek-no a: jagun bite
         d. e:n əɖak ek-no a: jagun bitle

(1131)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-nen jagun   bitlen
         1SG home-DAT go-SS.1SG food-ACC prepare-COND.1SG
         'agar mai ghar jata toh khana banata.'
         'If I had gone home, I would have prepared food.'

(1132)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken jagu-n   bit-e-n
         1SG home-DAT go-SS.1SG food-ACC prepare-FUT-1SG
         'mai ghar jakar khana banunga.'
         'I will prepare food after going home.'

(1133)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken jagu-n   bit-len   lekin e:n
         1SG home-DAT go-SS.1SG food-ACC prepare-COND.1SG but   1SG
         əɖa-k   ek-lə-ken
         home-DAT go-NEG.PST.1SG
         'mai ghar jakar khana banata lekin mai ghar nahi gaya.'
         'I would have prepared the food after going home, but I did not go
         home.'

(1134)   Grammaticality Judgement task
         a. e:n əɖak ek-ken jagun ləpken (maine ghar jakr khana khaya)

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b. e:n əɖak ek-le jagun ləpken (maine ghar ja-jakar khana khaya)

c. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun ləpken

d. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun ləpen

e. e:n əɖak ek-nen jagun ləpen

f. e:n əɖak ek-nen jagun ləlpen

g. *e:n əɖak ek-no jagun ləplen

h. *e:n əɖak ek-nen a: jagun ləpe

i. e:n əɖak ek-no a: jagun ləpe

j. e:n əɖak ek-ken qandrə siŋken (mai ghar jakar sote raheta tha)

k. e:n əɖak ek-le qandrə siŋken (mai ghar ja-jakr soya karta tha)

l. *e:n əɖak ek-no qandrə siŋken

m. e:n əɖak ek-ken qandrə siŋken (mai ghar jakar sota tha)

n. *e:n əɖak ek-no qandrə siŋken

o. e:n əɖak ek-nen qandrə siŋ-e-n (mai ghar jaunga toh sounga)

p. e:n əɖak ek-nen qandrə siŋ-i-n (mai ghar jata hu toh soya karta hu)

(1135)   Assumption till now

- *-le* occurs as the same subject when the present tense has a default habitual reading.

- When *siŋɢ* is used as habitual, then -k+φ is possible as well as *-le* is possible.

- Find out what reading Neg+SS and Neg+DS gives. In the previous, it has given me conditional reading.

- 'ante' is not an SR test; it is a conjunctive participle test; if you put *ante* between TP and CP, then obviously it becomes ungrammatical.

(1136)   eŋga   məja qəc-olə-ko   e:n eskul-ek   siŋɢ-oləken
         1SG-DAT good feel-PRS.NEG.DS 1SG school-DAT HAB-PRS.NEG.1SG

'mzue accha nahi lagata hai toh mai school nahi jata hu (Hab).'

'If I don't feel good, I don't go to school.'

(1137)   eŋga   məja qəcəla   anise   e:n eskul-ek   eka
         1SG-DAT food feel-PST.NEG.3SGM that's-why 1SG school-DAT go
         siŋɢ-ləken
         HAB-NEG.PST.1SG

'muze accha nahi lagata tha isliye mai school nahi jata tha (Hab) .'

'I used not to feel good that's why I would not go to school.'

(1138)   eŋga   məja qəcolə   tanu e:n eskulek   ek-e-n-ala
         1SG.DAT good feel-PRS.NEG then 1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG-NEG

'muze accha nahi lagega toh mai school nahi jaunga.'

'If I don't feel good. I will not go to school.'

(1139)   eŋga   məja qəcla   anise   e:n eskulek
         1SG.DAT good feel-NEG.PST.3SGM therefore 1SG school-DAT
         ek-lə-ken
         go-PST.NEG.1SG

'muze accha nahi laga isliye mai school nahi gaya.'

'I did not feel good. That's why I did not go to school.'

(1140)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti   əmb-ken   əɖa-k   ek-ken
         1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG home-DAT go-PST.1SG

'mai school na jakar ghar gaya.'

'Instead of going to school, I went home.'

(1141)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti   əmb-ken   əɖa-k   ek-e-n
         1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG home-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai school na jakar ghar jaunga.'

'Instead of going to school, I will go home.'

(1142)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti   əmb-ken   əɖa-k   ek-i-n
         1SG school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.1SG home-DAT go-PRS-1SG

'mai school na jakar ghar jata hu.'

'Instead of going to school, I go home.'

(1143)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-lə-ko   məstere eŋ-ki   əɖa-k
         1SG school-DAT go-PST.NEG.DS teacher 1SG-GEN home-DAT
         bərca
         come.PST.3SGM

'mai school na jaane ke baad teacher mere ghar me aaye.'

'After I did not go to school, the teacher came to my home.'

(1144)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-lə-ken   ənise   məstere eŋ-ki
         1SG school-DAT go-PST.NEG-1SG therefore teacher 1SG-GEN
         əɖa-k   bərca
         home-DAT come-PST.3SGM

'mai school nahi gaya toh teacher mere ghar me aaye.'

'I did not go to school; therefore, the teacher came to my home.'

(1145)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-lə-ken   ənise   məstere eŋ-ki
   1SG schoo-DAT go-PST.NEG-1SG therefore teacher 1SG-GEN
əḍa-k   bərca
home-DAT come-PST.3SGM
'mai school nahi gaya isliye teacher mere ghar me aaye.'
'I did not go to school, therefore teacher came to my home.'

(1146)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-olə-ko   məstere eŋg-a   əḍa-k
   1SG school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-DS teacher 1SG-DAT home-DAT
bər-e
come-FUT. 3SGM
'mai school nahi jaunga toh teacher mere ghar me aayenge.'
'If I don't go to school, then the teacher will come to my home.'

(1147)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-olə-ko   məstere eŋga   əḍa-k
   1SG school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-DS teacher 1SG.DAT home-DAT
bər-i
come-1SG.PRS
'mai school nahi jata hu toh teacher mere ghar me aate hai.'
'I don't go to school, then the teacher comes to my home.'

(1148)   Generalization
  • *-le* = SS for default habitual reading
  • *-no* = DS for default habitual reading as well as *siɴɢ* habitual
  • -k + φ = SS for progressive and perfective and *siŋg* habitual.

(1149)   Grammatical Judgement
  a. e:n əḍak ek-no a: qandrə siɴɢ-i (Grammatical)
  b. e:n əḍak ek-ko a: qandrə siɴɢ-i (Grammatical)

24.0.1   why NEG + -no is not possible whereas NEG + -ko is possible?

(1150)   a: Delhi-k   ekolə   tanu Jaipur-ek   ek-e
   3SGM Delhi-DAT go-PRS.NEG then jaipur-DAT go-FUT.3SGM
'agar wo Delhi mahi jayega toh jaipur jayega.'
'If he does not go to Delhi, he will go to Jaipur.'

(1151)   a: gramərr-en   kurk-lə-ko   eŋg-a   kəjak nuksan
   3SGM grammar-ACC write-PST.NEG-DS 1SG-DAT lot   loss
meɲja
happen.PST.3SGM

'usska grammar na likhane se mera bohat nuskan huwa.'
'I suffered a lot of loss because he did not write a grammar book.'

(1152)   a: gramərr-en   kurk-olə-ko   eŋg-a   kajak
   3SGM grammar-ACC write-PRS.NEG-DS 1SG-DATlot loss
nuksan   meɲ-ani
happen-FUT.3SGM
'usska grammar na likhane se mera bohat nusakan hoga.'
'I will suffer a lot of loss if he does not write a grammar book.'

(1153)   a: gramerr-en   kurk-olə-ko   eŋga   kajak nuksan
   3SGM grammar-ACC write-PRS.NEG-DS 1SG-DAT lot   loss
meɲi:
happen-PRS.3SGM
'ussne grammar na likhne se mera bohat nuskan hota hai.'
'I suffer a lot of loss if he does not write a grammar book.'

(1154)   e:n fail meɲja-ken anise   əḍa-k   bərc-ken
   1SG fail get-PST.1SG therefore home-DAT come-PST.1SG
'mai fail huwa isliye mai ghar gaya.'
'I came home because I got failed.'

(1155)   e:n ləp-alo eskul-ek   ek-e-n
   1SG eat-NEG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG
'mai khana na khakar school gaya.'
'I went to school without eating.'

When there is 'BECAUSE' in the same subject what happens whether there is a -SS or lexical item?

(1156)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-e-n   ənise   kelar-oti ek-oti parc-ken
   1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG therefore play-INF go-INF can-PST.1SG
'mai school gaya isliye mai khelne ja saka.'
'Because I went to school, I could go to play.'

(1157)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-lə-ken   anise   əbo   əḍa-k
   1SG school-DAT go-PST.NEG.1SG therefore father home-DAT
bər-ca
come-PST.3SGM
'mai school nahi gaya isliye papa ghar aaye.'
'I did not go to school that's why father came home.'

(1158) e:n glucos-en oɳɖa-ken   ənise   kelar-oti parc-ken
        1SG glucos-1SG drink-PST.1SG that's-why play-INF can-PST.1SG

        'maine glucose piya isliye mai khel paya.'

        'I drank glucose that's why I could play.'

(1159) Rahule glucose-n oŋda ənise   kelar-oti par-ca
        Rahul glucose-ACC drink that's-why play-INF can-PST.3SGM

        'Rahulne glucose piya isliye wo khel paya.'

        'Rahul drank glucose that's why he could play.'

If there is THEN, in the same subject, then -no is used

(1160) e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken   jagu-n ləp-l-en   par e:n əɖa-k
        1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-COND-1SG but 1SG home-DAT
        ek-oti pari-laken
        go-INF can-PST.NEG.1SG

        'mai ghar jakar khana khata lekin mai ghar nahi japaya.'

        'I would have eaten food after going home but I could not go home.'

(1161) e:n əɖak   ek-ken   jagun ləplen
        1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-COND.1SG

        'mai ghar jakar khana khata.'

        'I would have eaten after going home.'

(1162) e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken   jagu-n ləp-e-n
        1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG

        'mai ghar jakar khana khaunga (-ke).'

        'I will eat food after going home.'

(1163) e:n əɖa-k   ek-nen   jagu-n ləp-e-n
        1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG

        'mai ghar jaunga toh khana khaungaw.'

        'If I go home, I will eat food.'

(1164) e:n əɖa-k   ek-nen   jagu-n ləp-len
        1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-COND.1SG

        'mai ghar jata toh khana khata.'

        'If I had gone home, I would have eaten food.'

Checking how ISLIYE and TOH works in the Malto

(1165) e:n a:he-ki biha-no   ek-ko a:-ho   eŋ-ki
        1SG 3SG-GEN marriage-LOC go-DS 3SGM-EMPH 1SG-GEN
        biha-k   bər-ca
        marriage-DAT come-PST.3SGM

        'mai usske shadi me gaya toh wo mere shadi me aaya.'

        'I went to attend his marriage that's why he came to attend my marriage.'

(1166) eŋ-ki   1st numbere bərca   anise   e:n U.S.-ek ek-oti
        1SG-GEN 1st number come-PST.3SGM therefore 1SG US-DAT go-INF
        parc-ken
        can-PST.1SG

        'mera pahila number aaya isliye mai US ja saka .'

        'I got the first rank; therefore, I could go to US.'

(1167) e:n kaja pəɽc-ken   ənise   UPSCin   pass nanoti parcken
        1SG hard can-PST.1SG therefore UPSC-ACC pass do-INF can-PST.1SG

        'maine bohat padhai kiyi isliye mai upsc pass kar saka.'

        'I studied hard that's why I could pass the exam.'

(1168) e:n pəɽc-ken   ənise   upsc-in   pass nan-oti parc-ken
        1SG can-PST.1SG therefore upsc-ACC pass do-INF can-PST.1SG

        'maine padhai kiyi isliye upsc pass kar saka.'

        'I studied, therefore,I could pass the UPSC.'

(1169) Grammatical Judgements
        a. e:n pəɽc-ken upsc-in pass nan-oti parc-ken
        b. *e:n pəɽc-ko upsc-in pass nanoti parc-ken
        c. *e:n pəɽc-ko anise upsc-in pass nanoti parc-ken

SR with WHO

(1170) ne:d   jagu-n ləp-ki:d   qandr-iya-:d
        who-3SGF food-ACC eat-ss.3SGF sleep-PST.3SGF

        'kon khana khake so gaya?.'

        'Who slept after eating?.'

(1171) Check whether this sentence is grammatical or not (then think about how to gloss *ləgiya*)

a. eŋga jagu-n ləpke əɖa-k ek-oti
1SG.DAT food-ACC eat-ss.3SGM home-DAT go-INF
ləgiya
necessity-PST.3SGM

'muze khana khakar ghar jana padha.'

'I had to go home after eating.'

(1172) a:d biskut-en ciya-lə-ki:d tan moqi:d
3SGF biskut-ACC give-NEG-ss.3SGF self eat-PRS-3SGF

'wo biskit na dekar khud khati hai.'

'She eats biscuits without giving.'

(1173) e:n əɖa-k bərc-ken qandr-e-n
1SG home-DAT come-ss.1SG sleep-FUT-1SG

'mai ghar aakar so jaunga.'

'I will sleep after coming home.'

(1174) e:n lotri-n ji:tc-ken ənise əɖa-n meɲj-ken
1SG lottery-ACC win-PST.1SG therefore home-AC build-PST.1SG

'mai lottery jiti toh ghar banaya.'

'I built house by winning the lottery.'

(1175) e:n pəʈc-ken ənise upsc-in pass nan-ken/meɲja-ken
1SG can-PST.1SG therefore upsc-ACC pass do-PST.1SG

'maine padha isliye upsc pass kiya.'

'I studied therefore I passed the UPSC.'

(1176) *e:n pəʈc-ko upsc-in pass nanken

(1177) maibe lottery jita isliye ghar banaya

a. e:n lotrin ji:tc-ken ənise əɖak meɲj-ken

b. e:n lotrin ji:tc-ken əɖan meɲj-ken

c. *e:n lotrin ji:tc-ko əɖan meɲj-ken

CONTEXT: I and Dashrath live together

(1178) mai aata hu to mai khana banata hu

a. *e:n bərno e:n jagun bitin

b. e:n bərnen e:n jagun bitin

c. e:n bərnen jagun bitin

(1179) Dashrath aata hai toh wo khana banata hai

a. Dashrate$_i$ bərne a:$_i$ jagun biti

b. Dashrate bərne jagun biti

End of Context.......

(1180) e:n bərc-le jagu-n bit-i-n
1SG come-HAB.ss food-ACC prepare-PRS-1SG

'mai aakar khana banata hu.'

'After coming home, I cook food.'

(1181) e:n bərc-ken jagu-n bit-i-n
1SG come-ss.1SG food-ACC prepare-PROG.PRS.1SG

'mai aakar khana bana raha hu.'

'After coming home, I am preparing food.'

(1182) Dashrate bərc-le jagu-n biti
Dashrath come-HAB.ss food-ACC prepare-PRS.3SGM

'Dashrath aakar khana banata hai.'

'Dashrath prepares food after coming.'

(1183) e:n bər-no Dashrate jagu-n biti
1SG come-HAB.DS Dashrath food-ACC prepare-PRS.3SGM

'mai aata hu toh dashrath khana banata hai.'

'When I come, Dashrath prepares a food.'

(1184) e:n bər-no a: jagu-n bit-i
1SG come-HAB.DS 3SGM food-ACC prepare-PRS.3SGM

'mai aane ke baad wo khana banta hai.'

'He prepares food after I come.'

(1185) goʈ məqer$_i$ bər-no a:$_j$ jagu-n bit-i
every child$_i$ come-DS 3SGM$_j$ food-ACC prepare-PRS.3SGM

'har ladka aata hai to wo khana banata hai.'

'Every child who comes, prepares food.'

(1186) e:n bərc-le jagu-n bit-i-n
1SG come-HAB.ss food-ACC prepare-PRS-1SG

'mai aakar khana banata hu.'

'I cook food after coming home.'

(1187)   e:n bərc-ken   jagu-n   bita   siŋ-i-n
     1sG come-ss.1sG food-ACC prepare HAB-PRS-1sG

'mai aakar khana banata hu.'

'After coming home, I prepare food.'

(1188)   e:n bərc-le   jagu-n   bita   siŋ-i-n
     1sG come-HAB.ss food-ACC prepare HAB-PRS-1sG

'mai aakar khana banata hu.'

'After coming home, I prepare food.'

(1189)   e:n bərc-ken   jagu-n   bit-i-n
     1sG come-ss.1sG food-ACC prepare-PROG.PRS-1sG

'mai aakar khana bana rahu.'

'*mai aakar khana banata hu.'

'After coming home, I am preparing food.'

(1190)   e:n bər-no   a: jagu-n   bita siŋ-i
     1sG come-HAB.DS 3sGM food-ACC cook HAB-PRS.3sGM

'mai aane ke baad wo khana banata hai.'

'After I come, he cooks food.'

(1191)   e:n bərc-ko a: jagu-n   bita siŋ-i
     1sG come-DS 3sGM food-ACC cook HAB-PRS.3sGM

'mai aane ke baad wo khana banata hai.'

'After I come, he cooks food.'

(1192)   e:n eskul-ek   eka siŋken
     1sG school-DAT go   HAB.PST.1sG

'mai school jata tha.'

'I used to go to school.'

(1193)   e:n əma cicəle   ma:na moṭatriken
     1sG water give-HAB.ss tree   grow-CAUS.PST.1sG

'maine pani dekar ped ko ugaya.'

'I watered the tree and made it grow.'

'CONTEXT: I used to water the seed daily, and sprouts came. The seed is turned into a tree, which is a one-time process. There are two events: the first one is the event of watering the tree, and the second event is the seed turned into the tree. The first event is repeated daily, but the second event occurs only for a single time.'

(1194)   *e:n əma cicəle ma:na moṭatrə siŋken

(1195)   Lokeshe pəɽc-le   husar   meɲi
     Lokesh   study-HAB.ss intelligent be.PROG.PRS

'Lokesh pad padhke husar ban raha hai.'

'Lokesh is becoming intelligent by studying.'

(1196)   məler pəɽc-le   husar   bənarer
     people study-HAB.ss intelligent become-PRS.PROG.3PL

'log padh padh ke husar bante hai.'

'people are becoming intelligent by studying.'

(1197)   məler constitution-en pəɽc-ker   husar
     people constitution-ACC study-ss.3PL intelligent
bənarer
become-PRS.PROG.3PL

'log constitution padh ke husar bante hai.'

'People are becoming intelligent by studying the constitution.'

- *-le* is habitual repeatative.

- *-k+φ* is non repeatative.

(1198)   Lokeshe bərc-ke   ṭədi-n   onḍ siŋ-i
     Lokesh   come-HAB.ss liquor-ACC drink HAB-PRS.3sGM

'Lokesh aake daru pute raheta hai.'

'Lokesh keeps drinking alcohol after coming.'

'CONTEXT: Lokesh comes home; he continuously drinks by taking breaks in between. (Hindi: Lokesh Ghar aata hai, aur wo daru pita hai, uske baad wo sojata hai, phir daaru pita hai, aur khane se pahile daaru pita hai aur khane ke baad bhi daru pita hai.)

(1199)   Lokeshe əḍa-k   ek-le   ṭədi-n   onḍ siŋ-i
     Lokesh   əḍa-DAT go-HAB.ss liquor-ACC drink HAB.PRS.3sGM

'Lokesh ghar ja-jakar, daru pite rahata hai.'

'Lokesh keeps drinking liquor by going home.'

'CONTEXT: Lokesh is a teacher at school. He lives near the school. His home is very near to the school. He keeps his liquor at home. He is addicted to liquor. He goes home to drink alcohol 3-4 times a day.'

(1200)   wo glucose pi-pikar cricket khe raha hai

a. *a: glucos-en onɖ-le cricket-en kelar ɖok-i

b. a: glucos-en onɖ onɖ cricket-en kelar ɖok-i

c. a: glucos-en onɖ-le cricket-en kelar-i

d. a: glucos-en onɖ-le cricket-en kelar siŋɢ-i

e. a: glucos-en onɖa-ke cricket-en kelar siŋɢ-i

(1201)   Geeta:d bərc-ko lokeshe təɖi-n   onɖ siŋɢ-i
    Geeta   come-DS Lokesh liquor-ACC drink HAB.PRS.3SGM

'Geeta aane ke baad Lokesh daaru pita hai.'

'After Geeta comes, Lokesh drinks liquor.'

'CONTEXT: Lokesh and Geeta are husband and wife. Lokesh does not like Geeta. When Geeta comes home, Lokesh starts drinking liquor and keeps drinking it.

(1202)   Geeta:d bər-no a: təɖin   onɖ siŋɢ-i
    Geeta   come-DS 3SGM liquor-ACC drink HAB-PRS.3SGM

'Geeta ghar aane ke baad Lokesh Daaru pita hai.'

'After Geeta comes home, Lokesh drinks liquor.'

'CONTEXT: Lokesh and Geeta are husband and wife. They don't like each other. Mostly, Geeta lives with her mother. Whenever Geeta comes to Lokesh's house. Lokesh starts drinking. (Jab jab Geeta Ghar aati hai tab tab Lokesh Daaru pita hai.)

(1203)   Geeta:d əɖa-k   bər-no Lokeshe təɖi-n   on-i
    Geeta   home-DAT come-DS Lokesh liquor-ACC drink-PRS.3SGM

'jab geeta ghar aati hai tab Lokesh daaru pita hai.'

'Whenever Geeta comes home, lokesh drinks.'

(1204)   e:n ləp-alo eskul-ek   ek-e-n
    1SG eat-NEG schhol-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai khana na khakar ghar gaya.'

'I went to school without eating.'

(1205)   e:n ləp-oti əmb-ken   eskul-ek   ek-e-n
    1SG eat-INF leave-SS.1SG school-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai khana khana chhodkar school gaya.'

'Instead of eating food. I went to school.'

(1206)   hum ghar na jakar school gaye

    a. *e:m əɖa-k ek-lə-kem eskul-ek ek-kem

b. e:m əɖak ek-alo eskul-ek ek-kem

(1207)   e:m   əɖa-k   ek-alo eskul-ek   ek-kem
    1PL.EXCL home-DAT go-NEG school-DAT go-PST.1PL.EXCL

'hum ghar na jakar school gaye.'

'We went to school without going home.'

(1208)   a: əɖa-k   ek-alo eskul-ek   ek-iya
    3SGM home-DAT go-NEG school-DAT go-PST.3SGM

'wo ghar na jake school gaya.'

'He went to school without going home.'

(1209)   a: eskul-ek   ek-lə-ko e:n eskul-ek   ek-lə-ken
    3SGM school-DAT go-NEG-DS 1SG school-DAT go-PST.NEG-1SG

'wo school na jane ke baad mai school nahi gaya.'

'After he did not go to school. I did not go to school.'

(1210)   a: eskul-ek   ek-alo e:n eskul-ek   ek-olə-ken
    3SGM school-DAT go-NEG 1SG school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-1SG

'uske school jayne ke bina mai school nahi jata hu .'

'I don't go to school without him going to school.'

(1211)   e:n ca:e-n on-alo   eskul-ek   ek-olə-ken
    1SG tea-ACC drink-NEG school-DAT go-PRS.NEG.1SG

'mai chai piye bina eskul nahi jata hu.'

'I don't go to school without drinking a tea.'

24.1   WHEN clause

(1212)   Rahule hotel-ente oru-ko   Lokesh-ek   hotel qaqur-iya
    Rahul   hotel-ABL vacant-DS.CJP Lokesh-DAT hotel get-PST.3SGM

'jab Rahulne hotel khali kiya tab Lokesh ko hotel mila.'

'When Rahul vacated the hotel room, then Lokesh got the hotel room.'

(1213)   e:n əɖa-k   ek-no a: qandrə siŋɢ-i
    1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep   HAB.PRS.3SGM

'Jab mai ghar jata hu tab wo sota hai.'

'When I go home, he sleeps.'

(1214)   Lokeshe əɖa-k   ek-oti əmb-le   ʈəɖi-n   onɖ
         Lokesh   home-DAT go-INF leave-HAB.SS liquor-ACC drink
         siŋɢ-i
         HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Lokesh ghar na jakar daru pita hai.'

         'Instead of going home, Lokesh drinks the liquor.'

(1215)   Lokeshe əɖa-k   ek-le   ʈəɖi-n   onɖ siŋɢ-i
         Lokesh   home-DAT go-HAB.SS liquor-ACC drink HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Lokesh ghar ja jakar daru pita rahta hai.'

         'Lokesh keeps going home and drink.'

(1216)   *Lokesh əɖak ekoti əmb-le ʈəɖin onɖ siŋ (Lokesh ghar gaye bina
         daaru pita hai)

(1217)   Lokeshe bərc-ke   ʈəɖi-n   onɖ siŋɢ-i
         Lokesh   come-ss.3sgm liquor-ACC drink HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Lokesh aake daru pite raheta hai.'

         'After coming, Lokesh keeps drinking liquor.'

(1218)   Lokeshe eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-ke   ʈəɖi-n   onɖ
         Lokesh   school-DAT go-INF leave-ss.3sgm liquor-ACC drink
         siŋɢ-i
         HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Lokesh school na jakar daru pite raheta hai.'

         'Instead of going to school, Lokesh keeps drinking.'

(1219)   Geeta:d əɖa-k   bərc-ko lokeshe ʈəɖi-n   onɖ siŋɢ-i
         Geeta   home-DAT come-ds lokesh   liquor-ACC drink HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Geeta ghar aane ke baad Lokesh daaru pita hai.'

         'After Geeta comes home, Lokesh drinks liquor.'

(1220)   Geeta:d əɖa-k   bər-lə-ko   Lokeshe ʈəɖi-n   onɖ
         Geeta   home-DAT come-PST.NEG-DS Lokesh   alcohol-ACC drink
         siŋɢ-i
         HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Geeta ghar na aane se Lokesh daaru pite rahta hai.'

         'Due to Geeta not coming home, Lokesh keeps drinking alcohol.'

(1221)   • bər-olə-ko = come-PRS.NEG-DS

         • *bər-olə/lə-ko* yeilds ungrammaticality.

(1222)   Geeta:d bər-no   a: ʈəɖi-n   onɖ   siŋɢ-i
         Geeta   come-HAB.DS 3sgm alcohol-ACC HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Geeta ghar aane ke baad Lokesh daaru pita hai.'

         'Lokesh drinks alcohol after Geeta comes home.'

         'CONTEXT: Jab jab Geeta ghar aati hai tab tab Lokesh daaru pita hai.

(1223)   Geeta:d əɖa-k   bər-olə-ko   a: ʈəɖi-n   onɖ
         Geeta   home-DAT come-PRS.NEG-DS 3sgm alcohol-ACC drink
         siŋɢ-i
         HAB-PRS.3SGM

         'Geeta ghar na aane ke baad Lokesh daaru pite rahta hai.'

         'After Geeta does not come home, Lokesh keeps drinking alcohol.'

         'CONTEXT: Jab jab Geeta ghar na aakar club jati hai tab tab Lokesh
         daaru pita hai.

24.2   SR in copula

(1224)   e:n ticər-en   bəner-ken   pəɽyu-məqer-in pəɽi:y-tr-oti
         1sg teacher-ACC become-ss.1sg students-ACC   teach-CAUS-INF
         pa:rcken
         can-PST.1SG

         'mai teacher banke students ko padha paya.'

         'After becoming a teacher, I could teach to students.'

(1225)   e:n ticər bəner-ken   pəɽyu-məqer-in pəɽi:y-tr-oti
         1sg teacher become-ss.1sg students-ACC   teach-CAUS-INF
         pa:rəy-i-n
         can-PRS-1SG

         'mai teacher banke students ko padha pata hu.'

         'After becoming a teacher, I can teach to students.'

(1226)   e:n ticər bəner-ken   pəɽyu-məqer-in pəɽi:y-tr-oti
         1sg teacher become-ss.1sg students-ACC   teach-CAUS-INF
         pa:ry-e-n
         can-FUT.1SG

         'mai teacher banke students ko padha paunga.'

         'After becoming a teacher, I will able to teach to students.'

(1227) e:n ticər bəner-ko   Lokeshe pəɽc-a
    1SG teacher become-DS.CJP Lokesh study-PST.3SGM

    'mai teacher baneke baad Lokesh-ne padhai kiyi.'

    'After I became a teacher, Lokesh studied.'

(1228) e:n ticər bəner-ko   Lokeshe pəɽc ɖok-i
    1SG teacher become-DS.CJP Lokesh study PROG-PRS.3SGM

    'mai teacher baneke baad Lokesh padhai kar raha hai.'

    'After I became a teacher, Lokesh is studying.'

(1229) e:n ticər bəner-no   a: pəɽiy-e
    1SG teacher become-DS.FUT 3SGM study-FUT.3SGM

    'mai teacher baneke baad Lokesh padhi karega.'

    'After I will become a teacher, Lokesh will study.'

(1230) e:n ticər bənər-lə-ken   anise Lokeshe
    1SG teacher become-NEG-PST.1SG therefore Lokesh

    pəɽiy-en   əmb-iya

    study-ACCleave-PST.3SGM

    'mai teacher na bana isliye Lokeshne padhai chhod diyi.'

    'After I did not become a teacher, Lokesh left his study.'

(1231) e:n ticər bənər-lə-ko   Lokeshe pəɽiy-en əmbiya
    1SG teacher become-NEG-DS Lokesh study-ACC leave-PST.3SGM

    'mai teacher na bane ke karan Lokesh-ne padhai chhod diyi.'

    'Lokesh left the studies because I did not become a teacher.'

(1232) e:n ticər bənar-oti əmb-ken doctor bənər-ken
    1SG teacher become-INF leave-SS.1SG doctor become-PST.1SG

    'mai teacher na bankar, doctor bana.'

    'Instead of becoming a teacher, I became a doctor.'

(1233) e:n Ph.D-in əmb-ken   ticər bənər-ken
    1SG Phd-ACC leave-PST.1SG teacher become-PST.1SG

    'mai Ph.D. chhodkar teacher bana.'

    'Instead of pursuing Ph.D. I became a teacher .'

(1234) e:n ticər bənər-ko   Lokeshe pəɽca
    1SG teacher become-DS.CJP Lokesh study.PST.3SGM

    'mai teacher bane-ke baad Lokeshne padhai kiyi.'

    'After I became a teacher, Lokesh studied.'

(1235) e:n ticər bənər-ken   research nan-ken
    1SG teacher become-SS.1SG research do-PST.1SG

    'maine teacher baneke baad research kiya.'

    'I did research after I became a teacher.'

(1236) e:n ticər bənər-ken   research nan-e-n
    1SG teacher become-PST.1SG research do-FUT-1SG

    'mai teacher baneke baad research karunga.'

    'I will do research after I become a teacher.'

(1237) e:n ticər bənərken   research nan ɖok-i-n
    1SG teacher become-PST.1SG research do PROG-PRS-1SG

    'mai teacher baneke baad research kar raha hu.'

    'I am doing research after becoming a teacher.'

(1238) e:m   ticər bənərkem   research nankem
    1PL.EXCL teacher become-1PL.EXCL research do-PST.2PL.EXCL

    'humne teacher baneke baad research kiya.'

    'We did research after becoming teachers.'

(1239) na:m ticər bənər-ket   research nan-ket
    1PL.INCL teacher become-SS.1PL.INCL research start-PST.1PL.INCL

    'humne teacher baneke baad research kiya.'

    'We did research after becoming teachers.'

(1240) ni:n ticər bənər-ke   research nan-ke
    2SGM teacher become-SS.2SGM research do-PST.3SGM

    'tumne teacher baneke baad research kiya.'

    'You did research after becoming a teacher.'

(1241) ni:n ticər-ni   bənər-ki   research nan-ki
    2SGF teacher-2SGF become-SS.2SGF research do-PST.2SGF

    'tumne teacher baneke baad research kiya.'

    'You did research after becoming a teacher.'

(1242) ni:m ticər bənər-ker   research nan-ker
    2PL teacher become-SS.2PL research do-PST.2PL

    'tum logone teacher baneke baad reseach kiya.'

    'You all did research after becoming teachers.'

(1243) a: ticər   bənər-ke   research na:n-iya
   3SGM teacher become-ss.3SGM research do-PST.3SGM
   'ussne teacher baneke baad research kiya.'
   'He did research after becoming a teacher.'

(1244) a:d   ticər-ni   bənər-ki:d   research na:n-iya-:d
   3SGF teacher-3SGF become-ss.3SGF research do-PST-3SGF
   'usse ne teacher baneke baad research kiya.'
   'She did research after becoming a teacher.'

(1245) a:ber ticər   bənər-ker   research na:n-iya-r
   3PL   teacher become-ss.3PL research do-PST-3PL
   'unone teacher bane ke baad research kiya.'
   'They did research after becoming teachers.'

(1246) a: ticər   bənərke   research nan ḍok-i
   3SGM teacher become-ss.3SGM research do   PROG-PRS.3SGM
   'wo teacher baneke baad research kar raha.'
   'After becoming a teacher, he is doing research.'

(1247) a:d   ticər-ni   bərər-ki:d   research nan ḍok-i-:d
   3SGF teacher-3SGF become-ss.3SGF research do   PROG-PRS-3SGF
   'wo teacher baneke baad rsearch kar rahi hai.'
   'She is doing research after becoming a teacher.'

(1248) a:d   ticər-ni   bənər-ki:d   research nan-ani-:d
   3SGF teacher-3SGF become-ss.3SGF research do-FUT-3SGF
   'wo teacher baneke baad research karegi.'
   'She will do research after becoming a teacher.'

(1249) a: ticər   bənərke   research nan-e
   3SGM teacher become-ss.3SGM research do-FUT.3SGM
   'wo teacher baneke baad research karega.'
   'He will do research after becoming a teacher.'

(1250) e:n bər-no   a: qandr-i
   1SG come-HAB.DS 3SGM sleep-PRS.3SGM
   'mai aane ke baad wo sota hai.'
   'After I come, he sleeps.'
   'CONTEXT: After I come - he serves me food - then he sleeps.

(1251) e:n bər-i-n   ante a: qandr-i
   1SG come-PRS-1SG and 3SGM sleep-PRS.3SGM
   'jab mai aata hu wo sota hai.'
   'When I come, he sleeps.'
   'CONTEXT: After I come - he straight away go to bed – There is nothing between two events. This is used when there is no dependence between E1 and E2. It only shows the sequence of the events.
    a. e:n bərin ante a: qandri (jab mai aata hu wo sota hai)
    b. e:n bərin a:para a: qandri (jab mai aata hu tab wo so jata hai)

SR in If and THEN clauses

(1252) e:n əḍa-k   ek-nen   jagu-n   ləp-e-n
   1SG home-DAT go-COND.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG
   'agar mai ghar jaunga toh khana khaunga.'
   'If I go home then I will eat.'

(1253) e:n əḍa-k   ek-no   a: jagu-n   ləp-e
   1SG home-DAT go-COND.DS 3SGM food-ACC eat-FUT.3SGM
   'agar mai ghar jaunga toh wo khana kahayega.'
   'If I go home, he will eat.'

24.3   SR in AFTER CLAUSE

(1254) e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken jagu-n   ləp-e-n
   1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG
   'mai ghar jakar khana khaunga.'
   'I will eat after going home.'

(1255) e:n əḍa-k   ek-no   a: jagu-n   ləp-e
   1SG home-DAT go-FUT.DS 3SGM food-ACC eat-FUT.3SGM
   'mai ghar jaane ke baad wo khana khayega.'
   'He will eat food, after I go..'

SR in WHEN CLAUSE

(1256) e:n pəɽc-ken   ənise   professor bənər-ken
   1SG study-PST.1SG therefore professor become-PST.1SG
   'maine padhai kiyi isliye professor bana.'

'I studied that's why I became a professor.'

(1257) a: eŋ-en bəj-ko   e:n a:h-en bəj-ken
        3SGM 1SG-ACC beat-DS.CJP 1SG 3SGM-ACC beat-PST.1SG

'ussne muze mara isliye maine usse mara.'

'He beat me that's why I beat him.'

(1258) eŋ-a   meru korca   ənise   e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken
        1SG-DAT health sick-PST.3SGM therefore 1SG home-DAT go-PST.1SG

'muze bukhar aaya islye mai ghar gaya.'

'I got sick therefore I came home.'

SR possible negation

(1259) e:n əɖa-k   ek-alo eskul-ek   ek-i-n
        1SG home-DAT go-NEG school-DAT go-PRS-1SG

'mai ghar gaye bina school jata hu.'

'I go to school without going home.'

'CONTEXT: I used to go home after tuition but now I go to school directly from tuition.

(1260) e:n əɖa-k   ek-oti əmb-ken   eskul-ek   ek-i-n
        1SG home-DAT go-INF leave-SS.1SG school-DAT go-PRS-1SG

'mai ghar na jakar school jata hu.'

'Instead of going home, I go to school.'

Negation in SR

(1261) e:n eskul-ek   ek-lə-len   ano jagu-n   ləp-len
        1SG school-DAT go-NEG-SUBJ.1SG then food-ACC eat-SUBJ.1SG

'agar mai school nahi jata toh khana khata.'

'If I had not gone to school, I had eaten.'

(1262) e:n eskul-ek   ek-l-en   ano jagu-n   ləplen
        1SG school-DAT go-SUBJ.1SG then food-ACC eat-SUBJ.1SG

'agar mai school jata toh khana khata.'

'If I had gone to school, then I had eaten.'

(1263) e:n eskulek   eknen   jagun   ləpen
        1SG school-DAT go-COND.SS.1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG

'agar mai school jaunga toh khana khaunga.'

'If I will go to school then I will eat.'

(1264) e:n eskul-ek   ek-oləken   tanu jagu-n   ləp-e-n
        1SG school-DAT go-PRS.NEG.1SG then eat-FUT-1SG

'agar mai school nahi jagunga toh khana khaunga.'

'if I don't go to school, I will eat food.'

(1265) *e:n eskulek ek-olə-ken jagun ləpen

(1266) e:n eskul-ek   ek-olə-ko   a: jagun   ləpe
        1SG school-DAT go-PRS.NEG-DS 3SGM eat-FUT.3SGM

'agar mai school nahi jaunga toh wo khana khayega.'

'If I will not go to school, he will eat food.'

- Negation is possible with *-ko* only.

- Negation is not possible with *-nen, -ken, -no, and -le.*

(1267) e:n ca:en on-oti   əmb-ken   eskul-ek   ek-i-n
        1SG tea   drink-INF leave-SS.1SG school-DAT go-PRS-1SG

'mai chai na pikar school jata hu.'

'I go to school by skipping a tea.'

'CONTEXT: My brother makes tea at 8.30 am. My college starts at 8.45. to reach my college, it takes 25 mins. If I have to reach college at right time then I have to skip tea in the morning

(1268) e:n ca:e-n   on-oti   əmb-ken eskul-ek   ek-ken
        1SG tea-ACC drink-INF go-SS.1SG school-DAT go-PST.1SG

'mai chai na pikar school gaya.'

'I went to school skipping a tea.'

(1269) e:n ca:e-n   on-alo   eskul-ek   ek-i-n
        1SG tea-ACC drink-NEG school-NEG go-PRS-1SG

'mai bina chai pike school jata hu.'

'I go to school without drinking a tea.'

'CONTEXT: Somebody asked a question - Do you drink tea in the morning?

(1270) e:n ca:e-n   on-alo   eskul-ek   ek-ken
        1SG tea-ACC drink-NEG school-DAT go-PST.1SG

'bina chai pike mai school gaya.'

'I went to school without drinking a tea.'

(1271)   e:n əmiy-alo eskul-ek   bər-i-n
         1SG bath-NEG school-DAT come-PRS-1SG
         'mai bina nahake school aata hu.'
         'I come to school without taking a bath.'

(1272)   e:n e:ɽe-n   co:nj-ken oj-ken
         1SG gaot-ACC tie-ss.1SG keep-PST.1SG
         'maine bakari ko baand ke rakha.'
         'I tied the goat.'

(1273)   a: luga-n   qə:q-qe   bati:y-i
         3SGM cloth-ACC buy-ss.3SGM sit-PRS.3SGM
         'kapade kharid ne baad wo bata hai.'
         'After shopping the clothes, he is resting.'

(1274)   ʈaʈəGe   pənja-ki   utri:ya
         mango.3SGF ripe-ss.3SGM fall-PST
         'pakar aam gir gaya.'
         'Mango fell after ripening.'

(1275)   dede-no uje nəm-a   jawale meɲ-ani
         jungle-LOC live 1PL.INCL-DAT difficult be-FUT.?
         'jungle me jina hamare liye muskhil hoga.'
         'To live in jungle will be difficult for us.'

(1276)   eŋ-a   jagu-n ləp-oti meɲ-ani
         1SG-DAT food-ACC eat-INF be-FUT.?
         'muze khana khana hai.'
         'I want to eat food.'

(1277)   eŋga   jagun   ləp-oti ləg-iya
         1SG-DAT food-ACC eat-INF had.to-PST.3SGM
         'muze khana khana padha.'
         'I had to eat food.'

(1278)   əbo bəre   əro nəm   meca qəraGr-e
         father come-FUT.3SGM EMPH 1PL.INCL on   scold-FUT.3SGM
         'jaise hi papa ghar aayege hum par chilayenge.'
         'As soon as the father comes, he will scold us.'

(1279)   eŋg-a kaj-en   kud-oti meɲ-ani
         1SG-DAT work-ACC work-INF be-FUT
         'muze kam karna hai.'
         'I have to work.'

(1280)   eŋg-a kaj-en   kud-oti ləg-ani
         1SG-DAT work-ACC do-INF have.to-FUT
         'muze kam karna padhega.'
         'I will have to work.'

(1281)   e:n a: bəri   ənond pəɽc ɖok-e-n
         1SG 3SGM come-PRS.3SGM until study PROG-FUT-1SG
         'jab tak wo aata hai mai padhta rahunga.'
         'Until he comes, I will be reading.'

(1282)   e:n amarkantak-ek əɽs-e-n   əro phone nan-e-n
         1SG amarkant-DAT reach-FUT-1SG EMPH phone do-FUT-1SG
         'mai amarkantak jate hi tume phone karunga.'
         'I will call you as soon as I reach Amarkantak.'

(1283)   səwal-en men-alo hi   Lokeshe jawab-en cica
         səwal-ACC listen-NEG EMPH Lokesh jawab-ACC give-PST.3SGM
         'sawal sune bina Lokeshe jawab diya.'
         'Without listening to the question, Lokesh answered it.'

(1284)   a:ber a:uda ɖokiyar   ki de ni:n ʈədi-n   onɖa-ke
         3PL say PROG.PRS.3PL that . 2SGM alcohol-ACC drink-PST.3SGM
         'wo bol rahe the ke tumne daru piyi.'
         'he was saying that you drank alcohol.'

(1285)   maler er-iya-r   ki de nədi-ki əmu kəjak jorse   eka
         people see-PST-PL that . river-GEN water very strongly go
         ɖok-iya
         be-PST.3SGM
         'logone dekha ki nadi jor se beh rahi thi.'
         'People saw that the river was flowing strongly.'

(1286)   i:din oya ekahi a:din oya
         This take or   that take
         'Take this or take that.'

(1287) eŋguni amarkantak-ek   ek-a
      1SG.ABL amarkantak-DAT go-IMP

'mere saath Amarkantak chalo.'

'Come to Amarkantak with me.'

(1288) e:n kir-ken   bər-oləken   ənond oka ɖok-a
      1SG return-SS.1SG come-PRS.NEG.1SG until   sit   stay-IMP

'jab tak mai wapas nahi aata tab tak tum baithe raho.'

'You stay seated until I come back.'

(1289) e:n ok-oti bəd-i-n
      1SG sit-INF want-PRS-1SG

'mai baithna chahta hu.'

'I want to sit.'

25   Similar SR non-finite Context

(1290) e:n o:k-ok qondken
      1SG sit-RDP tire-PST.1SG

'mai baith baith kar thank gaya.'

'I am tired of sitting.'

(1291) e:n kajen   kuda kuda qondken
      1SG work-ACC do   do   tire-PST.1SG

'mai kam kam karke thak gaya.'

'I got tired after doing work.'

CONTEXT: (I got tired today because of work, I don't want to do it today but I will more than happy to do it tomorrow.) mai aaj ye kam karte thak gaya, aaj nahi karna chatahu, lekin kal karna pasand karunga.

(1292) e:n kaj-en   kud-en qond-ken
      1SG work-ACC do-EN   tire-PST.1SG

'mai kam kar kar thak gaya.'

'I tired of doing work.'

CONTEXT: mai ye kam kar kar ke thak chuka hu, ye kam mai kabhi nahi karna chahatahu. (I am tired of doing this work. I want to stop doing it. I never want to do this work.)

(1293) e:n kaj-en   kud-a qond-ken
      1SG work-ACC do-A   tire-PST.1SG

'mai kam karke karke thak gaya.'

'I got tired while working.'

CONTEXT: I am doing the work and I got tired. The work is still in progress, I got tired.

(1294) e:n kaj-en   kud-ken qond-ken
      1SG work-ACC do-SS.1SG tire-PST.1SG

'mai kam karke (karne ke baad) thak gaya.'

'After finishing the work, I got tired.'

CONTEXT: After finishing the work, I got tired. I completed the work, and because of that, I got tired. (kuɖ-a = -a expresses the complete action of doing work event.)

(1295) a: kaj-en   kud-ke   qond-iya
      3SGM work-ACC do-SS.3SGM tire-PST.3SGM

'wo kam karke thak gaya.'

'He tired after doing work.'

(1296) a:d kaj-en   kud-ki:d   qond-iya-:d
      3SGF work-ACC do-SS.3SGF tire-PST-3SGF

'wo kam karke thak gayi.'

'She tired after doing work.'

(1297) e:n kaj-en   kud-ko a: kaj-en   kud-iya
      1SG work-ACC do-DS 3SGM work-ACC do-PST.3SGM

'mai kam karne ke baad ussne kam kiya.'

'After I did a work, He did a work.'

(1298) e:n kaj-en   kud-oti qond-ken
      1SG work-ACC do-INF tire-PST.1SG

'mai kam karne keliye thak gaya.'

'I am too tired to work.'

CONTEXT: 1) The teacher gave so many assignments, and students are tired of writing. I don't have the energy to write. OR 2) I have already worked too much. I cannot work anymore because I don't have the energy to do more work; I am too tired for work.

26 Checking SR in Complementizer clause

(1299) e:n a:ɢ-i-n   ki de e:n pagl-an
     1ꜱɢ know-ᴘʀꜱ-1ꜱɢ that . 1ꜱɢ mad-1ꜱɢ

'muze pata hai ki mai pagal hu.'

'I know that I am mad.'

(1300) e:n a:ɢ-i-n   ki de e:n məster-en
     1ꜱɢ know-ᴘʀꜱ-1ꜱɢ that . 1ꜱɢ master-1ꜱɢ

'muze pata hai ki mai teacher hu.'

'I know that I am a teacher.'

(1301) e:n a:ɢ-i-n   indrik-ki-de e:n məster-en
     1ꜱɢ know-ᴘʀꜱ-1ꜱɢ because   I teacher-1ꜱɢ

'muze pata hai kyuki mai teacher hu.'

'I know because I am a teacher.'

(1302) e:n a:ɢ-i-n   ki de e:n indrik məster-en
     1ꜱɢ knoe-ᴘʀꜱ-1ꜱɢ that . 1ꜱɢ why teacher-1ꜱɢ

'muze pata hai ki mai teacher kyu hu.'

'I know why I am a teacher.'

(1303) e:n a:ɢ-i-n   ki de e:n   a:ɢ-oləken
     1ꜱɢ know-ᴘʀꜱ-1ꜱɢ that . know-ɴᴇɢ.ᴘꜱᴛ.1ꜱɢ

'muze pata hai ki muze pata nahi.'

'I know that I don't know.'

(1304) e:n ticəren meɲja-ko a: pəɽca
   a. mai teacher tha isliye wo padha
   b. maine teacher se pucha isliye wo padha

(1305) e:n ticəren   meɲja-ko a: pəɽca
     1ꜱɢ teacher-1ꜱɢ be-ᴅꜱ   3ꜱɢᴍ study-ᴘꜱᴛ.3ꜱɢᴍ

'mai teacher tha isliye wo padha.'

'He studied because I was a teacher.'

(1306) e:n ticər-en   meɲjaken   ənise a: pərca
     1ꜱɢ teacher-1ꜱɢ be-ᴘꜱᴛ.1ꜱɢtherefore 3ꜱɢᴍ study-ᴘꜱᴛ.3ꜱɢᴍ

'mai teacher tha isliye wo padha.'

'I was a teacher; therefore, he studied.'

(1307) e:n məster-en meɲja-ken ənise   goʈerinihi pəɽiy-tr-oti
     1ꜱɢ master-1ꜱɢ be-ᴘꜱᴛ.1ꜱɢ therefore everybody study-ᴄᴀᴜꜱ-ɪɴꜰ
parcken
can-ᴘꜱᴛ.1ꜱɢ

'mai teacher tha isliye sab ko padha paya.'

'I was a teacher; therefore, I could teach everybody.'

IMP points

Assumption

(1308) SR occurs in a non-finite clause because following verb forms
   a. kuda kuda
   b. kuden
   c. kuda
   d. kudoti
   e. kudken

SR in Negation

- With *-no* Negation is not possible. (It may be possible by changing -no into -ko)

- With *-k + φ* Negation is not possible.

- With *-le* Negation is not possible.

- -no > NEG > V + olə + ko

- -ko > NEG > V + lə + ko

- Negation is not possible with the same subject marker.

- Negation is possible with the different subject marker *-ko*.

-le > Inflection > Negation

- The reason why negation is not possible with *-le*. The reasons may be the following:

- Morphotactic Rule or Phonotactic rules = two -l- morphemes cannot come together.

- But it is not the case - Because in subjective negation is possible = mo:q-la-le-n EAT-NEG-SUBJ-1SG

(1309) e:n jagu-n   ləp-le   qandr-i-n
    1SG food-ACC eat-HAB.SS sleep-PRS-1SG

'mai khana khake sota hu.'

'After having dinner, I sleep.'

(1310) e:n jagu-n   ləp-le   qandrə siŋ-i-n
    1SG food-ACC eat-SS.HAB sleep   HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai khana khake sota hu.'

'After having dinner, I sleep.'

26.1   Checking Negation in SR

(1311) e:n əɖa-k   ek-le   ʈəɖi-n   onɖ siŋ-i-n
    1SG home-DAT go-HAB.SS alcohol-ACC drink HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai ghar aake ke daaru pita hu.'

'After coming home, I drink alcohol.'

(1312) a. e:n əɖa-k ek-le ʈəɖi-n onɖ siŋ-i-n
    b. *e:n əɖa-k ek-olə-le ʈəɖi-n onɖ siŋ-i-n
    c. *e:n əɖa-k ek-lə-le ʈəɖin onɖ siŋ-i-n
    d. e:n əɖa-k ek-alo ʈəɖin onɖ siŋ-i-n

(1313) e:n əɖa-k   ek-le   ʈədi-n   on-i-n
    1SG home-DAT go-HAB.SS alcohol-ACC drink-PRS-1SG

'mai ghar aake ke daaru pita hu.'

'After coming home, I drink alcohol OR After coming home, I am drinking.'

(1314) a. e:n əɖak ek-le ʈəɖin onin
    b. *e:n əɖak ek-olə-le ʈeɖin onin
    c. *e:n əɖak ek-lə-le ʈəɖin onin
    d. e:n əɖak ek-alo ʈəɖin onin

(1315) Geeta:d bər-no   Lokeshe ʈəɖi-n   onɖ siŋ-i
    Geeta   come-HAB.DS Lokesh alcohol-ACC drink HAB-PRS.3SGM

'Geeta aane ke baad Lokesh Daaru pita hai.'

'After Geeta comes home, Lokesh drinks alcohol.'

(1316) a. Geeta:d bər-no Lokeshe ʈəɖin onɖ siŋ-i
    b. *Geeta:d bər-lə-no Lokeshe ʈəɖin onɖ siŋ-i
    c. *Geeta:d bər-olə-no Lokeshe ʈəɖin onɖ siŋ-i
    d. Geeta:d bər-olə-ko Lokeshe ʈəɖin onɖ siŋ-i

(1317) Geeta:d bər-no   Lokeshe ʈəɖi-n   on-i-n
    Geeta   come-HAB.DS Lokesh alcohol-ACC drink-PRS-1SG

'Geeta aane ke baad Lokesh Daaru pita hai.'

'After Geeta comes home, Lokesh drinks alcohol.'

(1318) a. Geeta:d bər-no Lokeshe ʈəɖin onin
    b. *Geeta:d bər-lə-no Lokeshe ʈəɖin onin
    c. *Geeta:d bər-olə-no Lokeshe ʈəɖin onin
    d. Geeta:d bər-olə-ko Lokeshe ʈəɖin onin

Negation in Subjunctive

(1319) e:n ek-lə-len
    1SG go-PST.NEG-SUBJ.1SG

'mai nahi jata.'

'I would not have gone.'

(1320) a: ek-lə-le
    3SGM go-PST.NEG-SUBJ.3SGM

'wo nahi jata.'

'He would not have gone.'

(1321) a:d ek-lə-le:d
    3SGF go-PST.NEG-SUBJ.3SGF

'wo nahi jati.'

'She would not have gone.'

(1322) a:ber ek-lə-ler
    3PL go-PST.NEG-SUBJ.3PL

'wo log nahi jate.'

'They would not have gone.'

Conditionals

(1323) ni:n indra   goțe kuḍa tanu goțe e:n țǝḍi-n
 2SGM anything EMPH do   then EMPH 1SG alcohol-ACC
ciy-e-n-ala
give-FUT-1SG-NEG

'tum kuch bhi karlo toh bhai mai tume daru nahi dunga.'

'No matter what you do, I will not give you alcohol.'

(1324) ni:n indra   goțe kud-le   tanu goțe e:n țǝḍi-n
 2SGM anything EMPH do-SUBJ.2SGM then EMPH 1SG alcohol-ACC
ciy-lǝ-len
give-PST.NEG-SUBJ.1SG

'tum kuch bhi karte toh bhi mai daaru nahi deta.'

'If you have done anything, even after that I would not have given alcohol.'

(1325) ni:n hi   indra   goțe kuḍa per e:n țǝḍi-n
 2SGM EMPH anything EMPH do   per 1SG alcohol-ACC
ciy-e-n-ala
give-FUT-1SG-NEG

'tum kuch bhi karo, mai tume daaru nahi dunga.'

'You do anything, I will not give anything.'

CONTEXT: I will not help you to collect/bring alcohol, you manage on your own, I don't care.

(1326) niŋ-a   indra   goțe kuḍ-no   goțe e:n țǝḍi-n
 2SGM-DAT anything EMPH do-COND.DS EMPH 1SG alcohol-ACC
ciy-e-n-ala
give-FUT-1SG-NEG

'tume kuch bhi ho toh bhi mai daaru nahi dunga.'

'Even if anything happens to you, I will not give you alcohol.'

CONTEXT: Even if you have died, I would not have given you alcohol.

- goțe kuḍno goțe = tume kuch bhi hota toh bhi

Clause Type

(1327) e:m   niŋ-en   sagabey-oti bǝrc-kem
 1PL.EXCL 2SGM-ACC help-INF   come-PST.1PL.EXCL

'hum tuze madat karne ke liye aaye.'

'We came to help you.'

(1328) a:d bus-ek   ǝrg-iya-:d   ǝḍa-k   ek-oti
 3SGF bus-DAT climb-PST-3SGF home-DAT go-INF

'wo bus par chadhi ghar jaane ke liye.'

'she boarded the bus to go home.'

(1329) Dashrate sociy-i   ki de e:n nagpure-no ḍok-i-n
 Dashrat think-PRS that . 1SG Nagpur-LOC stay-PRS-1SG

'Dashrath sochata hai ki mai nagpur me rahata hu.'

'Dashrath thinks that I live in Nagpur.'

(1330) Rahule cigreten   on-oti   suru nan-iya
 Rahul cigarette-ACC drink-INF start do-PST.3SGM

'Rahulne bidi pina suru kiya.'

'Rahul started smoking a cigarette.'

CONTEXT: He just lit a cigarette and started smoking

(1331) Rahule cigret-en   on-oti   lǝgar-iya
 Rahul cigarette-ACC drink-INF start-PST.3SGM

'Rahulne bidi pina suru kiya (It was his old habit, he started it again).'

'Rahul has started smoking a cigarette OR Rahul started smoking a cigarette.'

CONTEXT: Rahul used to smoke a lot, but because of some health problem, he stopped smoking. but he has started smoking now.

(1332) Rahule-ki   cigret-en   o:ne:d   eŋga mǝja
 Rahul-GEN cigarette-ACC drink-FUT.3SGF? 1SG-DAT good
qǝc-ola
feel-PRS.NEG.3SGM

'Rahul ka bidi pina muze accha nahi lagata hai.'

'Rahul's smoking of cigarette irritates me.'

What is o:ne:d ? is it the nominalized form or the verb '**drink**' like *pina*.

(1333) Rahule cigret-en onḍ-onḍ bǝr-ca
 Rahule cigret-ACC drink-RDP come-PST.3SGM

'Rahul bidi pite hue ghar aaya.'

'Rahul entered home smoking a cigarette.'

(1334) eŋ-a   sreekere-ki gadi cəlatre:d pəsine məla
    1SG-DAT sreeker-GEN bike riding   like   be.NEG.PST

    'muze sreeker ka gadi chalana pasand nahi hai.'

    'I dislike Sreeker's driving of the car.'

    cəlatre:d is a nominalized form of ride.

(1335) i:d jaruri:d   ki   de Lokeshe gədi-n   e:ɽu   cələtre
    this necessary that .   Lokesh   bike-1SG right.way drive

    'ye jaruri hai ki Lokesh gadi thik se chalaye.'

    'It is necessary for Lokesh to drive the car carefully.'

(1336) Johne-ki gədi-n   dəgəra cələtre:d eŋga   pəsine məla
    John-GEN bike-ACC bad   riding   1SG-DAT like   be.NEG.PRS

    'John ka asavadanik purvak gadi chalana muze pasand nahi hai.'

    'I dislike John's carelessly driving the car.'

(1337) e:n niŋ-en   teŋ-i-n   indrik-ki-de ni:n   a:ɢ-ane
    1SG 2SGM-ACC tell-PRS-1SG because   2SGM know-FUT.2SGM

    'mai tume bata raha hu taki tume malum padhe.'

    'I am saying this to you in order that you know it.'

(1338) e:n niŋ-en   bi:k-oti   bər-i-n
    1SG 2SGM-ACC invite-INF come-PRS-1SG

    'mai tume bolane aata hu.'

    'I come to invite you.'

Simultaneity

(1339) eng-a   accidente-ki bareno a:d bərc-ko-se   pata
    1SG-DAT accident-GEN about   3SGF come-DS-EMPH know

    cələr-iya   (DS)
    get-PST.3SGM

    'muze accident ke bare me wo ghar aaya tab pata chala.'

    'I found out about the accident when she came home.'

(1340) e:n əɖa-k   bərc-ken-se   accidente-ki bareno
    1SG home-DAT come-SS.1SG-EMPH accident-GEN about

    əq-qen
    know-PST.1SG

    'muze accident ke baare me ghar aaya tab pata chala.'

    'I found out about the accident when I came home.'

(1341) a:d bərc-ko-se   eŋga   accidente-ki bareno pata
    3SGF come-DS-EMPH 1SG-DAT accident-GEN about   know

    cələr-iya
    get-PST.3SGM

    'wo aane ke baad muze accident ke baare me pata chala (DS).'

    'After he came, then I came to know about the accident.'

Anteriority

(1342) a:d bərc-ko-se   eŋ-a   accidente-ki bareno pata
    3SGF come-DS-EMPH 1SG-DAT accident-GEN about   know

    cələr-iya
    get-PST.3SGM

    'wo aayi tab muze accident ke baare me pata chala.'

    'I found out about the accident after she came home.'

(1343) e:n əɖa-k   bərc-ken-se   accidente-ki bareno
    1SG home-DAT come-SS.1SG-EMPH accident-GEN about

    əq-qen   (SS)
    know-PST.1SG

    'muze ghar me aane ke baad accident ke baare me pata chala.'

    'I found out about the accident after coming home.'

Posteriority

(1344) a: bər-ente   əgdu-hi   e:n accidente-ki bareno
    3SGM come-ENTE before-EMPH 1SG accident-GEN about

    əq-qen   (DS)
    know-PST.1SG

    'wo aane se pahile muze accident ke baare me pata chala.'

    'I found out about the accident before she came home.'

(1345) e:n əɖa-k   bərente   əgdu-hi   accidente-ki bareno
    1SG home-DAT come-ENTE before-EMPH accident-GEN about

    əq-qen   (SS)
    know-PST.1SG

    'muze ghar aane se pahile hi accident ke bare me pata chala.'

    'I found out about the accident before coming home.'

Manner

(1346)   a:d   olɢ olɢ ekiya:d
         3SGF cry cry go-PST.3SGF
         'wo rote rote gayi.'
         'She left crying.'

Cause

(1347)   ja:ʈa jorse bərc-ko   lin-e   boŋg-a
         rain heavy come-DS.CJP electricity go.off-PST.3SGM
         'jorse barish aane ke bajse line chali gayi.'
         'The electricity was gone due to heavy rain.'

(1348)   ja:ʈa po:sa-ko   lin-e   boŋg-a
         rain come-DS.CJP electricity go.off-PST.3SGM
         'jorse barish aane ke bajse line chali gayi.'
         'The electricity was gone due to heavy rain.'
         pos:sa-ko = a word dedicate to Barish girna in Malto

(1349)   fus-e po:rəq-qi:d qos-iya
         fuse wet-ss.3SGF burn-PST
         'fuse jal gaya kyu ki wo gala ho chula tha OR fuse bighkar jal gaya.'
         'The fuse blew because ut had become wet.'

(1350)   fuse po:rgha ənise   qos-iya
         fuse wet-PST therefore burn-PST
         'fuse gila hone ke karan jal gaya.'
         'The fuse blew because it had become wet.'

(1351)   ma:qu gəʈe lehər-ko e:m   a:ʈ-nihi   rukar-kem
         night too fall-DS 1PL.EXCL there-nihi stay-1PL.EXCL
         'jane keliye bohat rat ho chuki thi isliye hum wahi ruke.'
         'It was too late to go so we stayed there.'
         lehər-ko = hone ke karan, a:ʈnihi = waha pe

(1352)   e:n kəjak qond-ken-se   əɖa-k   bərc-ken
         1SG work tire-ss.1SG-EMPH home-DAT come-PST-1SG
         'mai ghar gaya kyuk mai bohat thak gaya tha.'
         'I went home because I was tired.'

(1353)   a. e:n kəjak qond-ken-se əɖak bərcken (mai thak-ne-se ghar aaya)
         b. e:n kəjak qond-ken əɖak bərcken (mai thak-kar ghar aaya)

Explanation

(1354)   aart:d eŋg-a   e:tr-ola   indrik-ki-de a:d i:ʈi-no   məla:d
         Aarti 1SG-DAT see.CAUS-NEG because   3SGF here-LOC NEG.PRS
         'Aarti isn't here as I don't see her.'
         'aarti muze dikh nahi rahi hai kyuki wo yaha nahi hai.'

(1355)   Lokeshe delhi-k   ek-iya   indrik-ki-de a: eŋg-en
         Lokesh Delhi-DAT go-PST.3SGM because   3SGM 1SG-ACC
         təŋɢ-iya
         tell-PST.3SGM
         'Lokesh Delhi gaya hai kyuki usne muze bataya ki wo Delhi jayega.'
         'Lokesh has gone to Delhi for he told he would.'

26.1.1   Conditional

(1356)   ale-ki   qoli:-n bəndə-no ale:d   qar-ani:d
         dog-GEN tail-ACC pull-DS.FUT dog.3SGM bite-FUT.3SGF
         'agar tum kutte ki puch khichoge toh kutta tume katega.'
         'If you pull a dog's tail the dog will bite you.'

(1357)   niŋ-a   niŋ-ki   wəjanen kəmə-tr-oti   kəm ləp-oti
         2SGF-DAT 2SGF-GEN weight decrease-CAUS-INF little eatINF
         meɲani
         be-FUT.2SGF
         'agar tume apna wajan kam karna hai toh tume kam khana padega.'
         'If you want to lose weight, then you have to eat less.'

26.1.2   Potential circumstance

(1358)   aarti ca:hiy-i-:d   tanu e:n lela bər-e-n
         aarti want-PRS-3SGF then 1SG kal come-FUT.1SG
         'mai kal aaunga agar aarti chahti hai.'
         'I will come tomorrow in case Aarti wants me.'

(1359)   eŋki   kəlme ɖəgrar-no   eŋg-bano dusra   kəlme be:yi
         1SG-GEN pen   get.defective-DS 1SG-POSS another pen   have.PRS
         'agar meri pen kharab hoti hai toh mere pass dusari pen hai.'
         'I have an extra pen in case other stops working.'

Concession

(1360) a: america-no ḍok-əla/ḍok-ola   a: goṭe
    3SGM america-LOC stay-PST.NEG/stay-PRS.NEG then only
English-en   a:Gi
English-ACC know-PRS.3SGM

'wo U.S. me kabhi nahi raha toh bhi uski English acchi hai.'

'Even though he was never in the U.S., his English is remarkable.'

- ḍok-əla = Past Negation

- ḍok-ola = Present Negation

(1361) a:he-bano qualifications be:la   a: goṭe a:h-ek   qəqur-iya
    3SGM-POSS qualifications be.NEG then only 3SGM-DAT get-PST.3SGM

'uske pass kohi qualification nahi thi toh bhi usko job mili.'

'He got the job even though he did not have enough qualifications.'

- a:he-bano = uske pass, be:la = nahi tha, a: goṭe = phir bhi, qəquriya = mila

Concessive condition

(1362) ni:n rekond goṭe ṭəḍi-n   on-ne   tanu a:ber
    2SGM little   EMPH alcohol-ACC drink-SS.COND.2SGM then 3PL
niŋ-en job-ente o:trer
you-ACC job-ABL fire.FUT.2PL

'agar tum thodi bhi daru piyoge toh wo tume job se nikal denge.'

'If you drink even a little alcohol they will fire you from your job.'

(1363) ni:n a:h-en   pəsinar-olə-ke   tanu goṭe e:ṛu-se   ḍok-oti
    2SGM 3SGM-ACC like-PRS.NEG.2SGM then EMPH good-way stay-INF
pa:riyne
can.PRS.2SGM

'tume wo pasand nahi hai tab bhi tum uske saath acche rahe sakte ho.'

'You can be nice to someone even if you don't like him.'

Result

(1364) a:d e:ṛu pəṛiytri:d   ənise   goṭerhi a:d-eki
    3SGF good teach-CAUS.PRS-3SGF therefore all   3SGF-GEN
cours-en   na:n-e-r
course-ACC do-FUT-3PL

'wo acchi padhati hai isliye sab student uska course lete hai.'

'She teaches well; therefore, all students take her course.'

(1365) e:m-a   gəṛihi homeworke qaqur-pe ənise   e:m
    1PL.EXCL-DAT much homework get-?PASS therefore 1PL.EXCL
kelar-oti ek-e-m-ala
play-INF go-FUT-1PL.EXCL-NEG

'hume bohat sar homework diya gaya hai isliye hum khelne nahi jayege.'

'we have been given a lot of homework so we will not go to play.'

- gəṛihi = bohat jada

- qaqur-pe = diya gaya

Means

(1366) a: gəṭa-t   et-ke   boŋga
    3SGM rope-INSTR climb.down-ss.2SGM run.away.PST.3SGM

'wo rassi utter ke bhag gaye.'

'They escaped by sliding down a rope.'

Desiderative

(1367) e:n cahiyin   ki de ni:n bərle
    1SG want-PRS.1SG that .   2SGM come-SUBJ.2SGM

'mai chata hu ki tum aao.'

'I want you to come.'

(1368) eŋg-a bər-oti   cahiy-i
    1SG-DAT come-INF want-PRS

'muze aana hai.'

'I have to come.'

What is -o marker here?

(1369) eŋg-a bər-o   bed-i
    1SG-DAT come-?O want-PRS

'mai aana chahta hu.'

'I want to come.'

(1370)   a. a: a:udiya, "Lokeshe niŋgen beṭaroti bərca".

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b.   usne bola,"Lokesh tumse milne ke liye aaya hai"

(1371)   a.   a: a:udiya ki de Lokeshe niŋgen beʈaroti bərca.

b.   usne bola ki Lokesh yaha tume milne ke liye aaya tha.

(1372)   a.   a$_i$ a:udiya ki de a$_i$ niŋgen beʈaroti bərca.

b.   usne$_i$ bola ki wo$_i$ yaha tumse milna aaya tha.

(1373)   a.   police au:diya ki de e:n ne:kiŋ accidenten e:rken

b.   police bola ki maine kiska accident dekha tha

- ne:kiŋ = kiska

(1374)   a.   e:n policen meɲjar-ken ki de e:n ekoti pa:ryin-le-məla pa:ryin məle məla

b.   maine police se pucha ki mai ja sakata hu kya?

- pa:ryin (ja sakana) - məle (ya/or) - məla (not)
- meɲjar-ken = asked

(1375)   a.   e:n a:udken ki de shubhame jagun ləpa ɖoki

b.   maine bola ki shubham khana kha raha hai

(1376)   a.   sreeker a:udiya ki de shubhame jagun ləpa ɖoki

b.   Sreeker bola ki shubham khana kha raha hai

(1377)   a: eŋg-en ek-oti a:udiya
         3SGM 1SG-ACC go-INF say-PST.3SGM

'usne muze jane ke liye aadesh diya.'

'He ordered me to go.'

Desiderative Predicates

(1378)   e:n ca:c-ken   ki de a:d ek-l-i:d
         1SG want-PST.1SG

'mai chahata tha ki wo jaye.'

'I wanted her to leave.'

(1379)   I wanted to leave

a.   mai chhodna chahta tha = e:n ca:cken ki de əmben

b.   mai chahata tha ki mai jau = e:n ca:c-ken ki de eken

Propositional Attitude Predicates: Positive

(1380)   Lokeshe socc-a   ki de Rahule parti-no   ɖok-iya
         Lokesh think-PST.3SGM that . Rahul party-LOC stay-PST.3SGM
(DS)

'Lokeshne socha ki Rahul party me tha.'

'Lokesh thought that Rahul had been at party.'

(1381)   Lokeshe$_i$ socc-a   ki de a$_i$ niŋ-en əgdu
         Lokesh   think-PST.3SGM that .   3SGM 2SGM-ACC before
e:r-iya   (SS)
see-PST.3SGM

'Lokesh-ne socha ki usne tume pahile dekha.'

'Lokesh$_i$ thought that he$_i$ had seen you before.'

Propositional Attitude predicates: Negative

(1382)   Lokeshe sək meɲja   ki de Rahule parti-no   ɖok-iya
         Lokesh doubt be.PST.3SGM that . Rahule party-LOC stay-PST.3SGM
(DS)

'Lokesh ko sandeh hua ki Rahul party me tha.'

'Lokesh doubted if Rahul had been at the party.'

(1383)   Lokeshe$_i$ sək meɲja   ki de a$_i$ niŋ-en əgdu
         Lokesh   doubt be.PST.3SGM that .   3SGM 2SGM-ACC before
e:r-iya   (SS)
see-PST.3SGM

'Lokesh ko sandeh hua ki usne tume pahile dekha tha.'

'Lokesh doubted if he had seen you before.'

Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of Knowledge

(1384)   Lokeshe pata-cələriya/əq-qa ki   de Rahule parti-no
         Lokesh know-PST.3SGM   that . Rahul party-LOC
ɖok-iya   (DS)
stay-PST.3SGM

'Lokesh ko pata chala ki Rahul party me tha.'

'Lokesh discovered that Rahul had been at the party.'

(1385)   Lokeshe_i əq-qa   ki de a_i niŋ-en əgdu-ho
   Lokesh   know-PST.3SGM that .   3SGM 2SGM-ACC before-EMPH
   e:r-iya
   see-PST.3SGM

   'Lokesh ko pata chala ki usne tume pahile bhi dekha tha.'

   'Lokesh_i discovered that he_i had seen you before.'

Commentative Predicates

(1386)   Lokeshe pəctar-iya   ki   de aarti:d Rahul-en əmb-iya-:d
   Lokesh   regret-PST.3SGM that .   Aarti   rahul-ACC leave-PST-3SGF
   (DS)

   'Lokesh ko pachtawa hua ki aarti ne Rahul ko chhod diya.'

   'Lokesh regretted that Arati had left Rahul.'

(1387)   Lokeshe_i pəctar-i   ki   de a:_i Parti-k   ek-la
   Lokesh   regret-PRS.3SGM that .   3SGM Party-DAT go-NEG
   'Lokesh_i ko iss baat ka afsos hai ki wo_i parti me nahi gaya.'
   'Lokesh regrets that he has not gone to the party.'

OTHER DATA

(1388)   eŋ-a   i:rw məqer   ḍok-n-er
   1SG-DAT two children be-PRS.PL
   'mere do bacche hai.'
   'I have two children.'

(1389)   eŋ-a   i:rw pel-məqer   ḍok-ner
   1SG-DAT two girl-children be-PRS.PL
   'mere do betiya hai.'
   'I have two daughters.'

(1390)   eŋ-a   i:rw muɽs-məqer ḍok-n-er
   1SG-DAT two boy-children be-PRS.PL
   'mere do bete hai.'
   'I have two sons.'

(1391)   e:n əɽpi jagu-n   ləp-ken
   1SG little food-ACC eat-PST.1SG

   'maine thoda khana khaya.'

   'I ate some food.'

(1392)   e:n əkbakar-oləken
   1SG impatient-PRS.NEG.1SG
   'muze me thoda sabar hai.'
   'I have a little patience.'

(1393)   sreekere tən-ki   təlin e:ɽu o:j-i
   Sreeker self-GEN hair good keep-PRS.3SGM
   'sreeker apne balo ka acchese khayal rakhta hai.'
   'Shrikar takes good care of his hair.'

(1394)   eŋg-bahano e:ɽu degree bey-i
   1SG-POSS   lot degree have-PRS.3SGM
   'mere pass kafi degreeya hai.'
   'I have a lot of degrees.'

- bahano = achievement

- bano = mere pass gaadi hai

(1395)   Lokeshek   saja   qaqur-iya   indrik-ki-de a:
   Lokesh-DAT punishment get-PST.3SGM because   3SGM
   male-n   pit-iya
   human-ACC murder-PST.3SGM
   'Lokesh ko saja diyi gayi kyu ki usne khoon kiya.'
   'Lokesh was punished because he committed murder.'

(1396)   Rahule jitə-ca   indrik-ki-de lokeshe boləguʈuk
   Rahul win-PST.3SGM because   Lokesh playground-DAT
   semya-no əɽsə-l-a
   time-LOC reach-NEG-PST.3SGM
   'Lokesh khel ke maidan me waqt pe nahi pohach paya isliye Rahul jit gaya .'
   'Lokesh could not reach the playground on time, that's why Rahul won.'

26.2   Intereseting data

(1397)   B.A oŋgr-ko   M.A.en nanken   ante Ph.D. nanken
   B.A complete-DS M.A-ACC do-PST.1SG and Ph.D. do-PST.1SG

'B.A. hone ke baad maine M.A. kiya aur uske baad Ph.D. kiyi.'

'After I completed my B.A. I did a M.A. and Ph.D.'

(1398)   e:n i: kaj-en   əḍa-k   ek-ken   kud-e-n
         1SG work-ACC home-DAT go-SS.1SG work-FUT-1SG

'mai ye kam ghar jane ke baad karunga.'

'I will do this work after going home.'

(1399)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-ken i kaj-en   kud-e-n
         1SG home-DAT go-SS.1SG this work-ACC work-FUT-1SG

'mai ye kam ghar jane ke baad karunga.'

'I will do this work after going home.'

(1400)   e:n i kaj-en   qoq-bəje kud-e-n
         1SG this work-ACC after   work-FUT-1SG

'mai ye kam baad me karunga.'

'I will do this work later.'

(1401)   e:n i kaj-en   bade-no kud-e-n
         1SG this work-ACC after-LOC work-FUT-1SG

'mai ye kam baad me karunga.'

'I will do this work later.'

(1402)   e:n iṭik bərc-ken   indrik-ki-de a: eŋg-en beṭar-oti
         1SG here come-PST.1SG because   3SGM 1SG-ACC meet-INF
         bər-oti   nan-iya
         come-INF do-PST.3SGM

'mai yaha aaya kyuki wo muze milene aane wala tha.'

'I came here because he was coming to meet me.'

(1403)   e:n offic-ek   əɽs-no   a: bər-e
         1SG office-DAT reach-DS.CJP 3SGM come-FUT.3SGM

'jab mai office pohachunga tab wo aayega.'

'When I reach the office, then he will come.'

(1404)   e:n officek əɽsen ante a: bəre (jab mai office pohachunga tab wo
         aayega)

(1405)   e:n hospital-ek ek-ken   indrik-ki-de hospitəle-no doctore
         1SG hospital-DAT go-PST.1SG because   hospital-LOC doctore
         ḍo-kiya
         stay-PST.3SGM

'mai hospital gaya tha kyu ki hospital me doctor tha.'

'I went to hospital because there was a doctor.'

(1406)   eskule-no məstere ḍok-ala ənise   e:n əḍa-k   bərc-ken
         school-LOC master   stay-NEG therefore 1SG home-DAT come-PST.1SG

'school me teacher nahi tha isliye mai ghar aaya.'

'There was no teacher at school, that's why I came back home.'

(1407)   Dashrath Dumaka-no ḍok-i   i:daki mətabe ki   de B.Ede-ki
         Dashrath Dumka-LOC stay-PRS.3SGM that's mean   that . B.Ed-GEN
         classe shuru meŋja
         classes start   get-PST.3SGM

'agar Dashrath Dumka me hai iska matlab B.ed. ke classes shuru ho
chuki hai.'

'.'

(1408)   e:n aṭno ḍoknen   kabhi goṭe bər-la-len
         1SG there stay-SS.COND.1SG never EMPH come-NEG-SUBJ.1SG

'agar mai waha rahata toh wo kabhi nahi aata.'

'If I was there, I would not have come back.'

(1409)   e:n a:ṭik ek-lə-len indrik ki de a:ṭno enki dushməne ḍokiya (mai
         waha nahi jata kyuki mera dushman waha tha)

(1410)   ni:n ekpara bər-an-e   ?
         2SGM when   come-FUT-2SGM ?

'Tum kab aayoge?.'

'When will you come?.'

(1411)   ni:n ikdin bərane
         2SGM when come-FUT-2SGM ?

'Tum kab aayoge?.'

'When will you come?.'

(1412)   ni:n cəwru ikṭo ek-ke
         2SGM yesterday where go-PST.2SGM

'tum kal kaha gaye the?.'

'Where did you go yesterday?.'

(1413)   Lokeshe bərc-ko Rahule ikʈo   ek-iya
      Lokesh   come-DS Rahul   where go-PST.3SGM
      'Lokesh aane ke baad Rahul kaha gaya?.'
      'Where did Rahul go after Lokesh came?.'

(1414)   ni:n ikjoka ḍok-ne
      2SGM how   be-PRS.2SGM
      'tum kaise ho?.'
      'tum kaise rahte ho?
      'How are you?.'

(1415)   ni:n Hiranpur-ek enakep   ekne?
      2SGM Hiranpur-DAT how-often go-PRS.2SGM
      'tum Hiranpur kitne baar jate ho?.'
      'How often do you go to Hiranpur?.'

(1416)   ni:n enond jaldi kalayni hotel-ek bər-oti   pa:ry-ane?
      2SGM how   soon kalayni hotel-DAT come-INF can-FUT.2SGM
      'Tum kitane jaldi kalayani hotel aa sakate ho?.'
      'How soon you can come to Kalayani Hotel?.'

(1417)   ni:n 10.ma-no enond   percentage oŋdrəke
      2SGM 10th-LOC how.much percentage get-PST.2SGM
      'tum 10th me kitne percentage aaye?.'
      'How much percentage did you get in 10th?.'

(1418)   ni:n qeḍet enond ge:ci ekoti   pariy-ne
      2SGM foot how   far go-INF can-PRS.2SGM
      'tum padal kitne dur ja sakte ho?.'
      'How far you can walk?.'

(1419)   ni:n-ki botəle-no ənond   əmu beyi:d
      2SG-GEN bottle-LOC how.much water be.PRS.3SGF
      'tumare bottle me kitna pani hai?.'
      'How much water do you have in your battle?.'

(1420)   ni:n Lokesh-ek mobil-en   indrik cica-ke
      2SGM Lokesh-DAT mobile-ACC why   give-PST.2SGM
      'tumne Lokesh ko mobile kyu diya.'
      'Why did you give a mobile to Lokesh?.'

(1421)   niŋ-bahano enond   paisa   beyi:d?
      2SGM-POSS how.much money be.PRS.3SGF
      'tumare pass kitne paise hai?.'
      'How much money do you have?.'

(1422)   a:he-bahano enond   paisa   beyi:d
      3SGM-POSS how.much money be.PRS.3SGF
      'uske pass kitne paise hai.'
      'How much money does he have?.'

(1423)   e:n aɢ-oləken   ki de iknan pəʈiy-ner
      1SG know-PRS.NEG.1SG that . how   study-PRS.PL
      'muze pata nahi ki padhai kaise karte hai?.'
      'I don't know how to study.'

(1424)   ni:n aɢə-ne   ki de Rahule ikpara bəre
      2SGM know-PRS.2SGM that . Rahul   when come-FUT.3SGM
      'tume pata hai kya ki Rahul kab aayega?.'
      'Do you know when Rahul will come? .'

(1425)   e:n idl-in   iknan bitner   a:din   sikər-ken
      1SG idli-ACC how   make-PRS.2PL that(EVENT) learn-PST.1SG
      'maine idli kaise banate hai sikh liya.'
      'I learnt how to cook Idli.'

(1426)   e:n aɢ-oləken   ki de Rahule əḍa-k   indri ek-iya
      1SG know-PRS.NEG.1SG that . Rahul   home-DAT why   go-PST.3SGM
      'muze pata nahi ki Rakesh ghar kyu gaya.'
      'I don't know why Rakesh went home.'

(1427)   e:n ikopara goʈe Delhi-k   ek-e-n-ala
      1SG never   EMPH Delhi-DAT go-FUT-1SG-NEG
      'mai kabhi delhi nahi jaunga.'
      'I will never go to Delhi.'

(1428)   e:n ikopara goʈe delhi-k   ek-ləken
      1SG never   EMPH Delhi-DAT go-PST.NEG.1SG
      'mai kabhi Delhi nahi gaya hu.'
      'I have never gone to Delhi.'

(1429)   e:n i:dente   əgdu ikopara goțe delhik   ek-ləken
         1SG this(i:dente) before never   EMPH delhi-DAT go-NEG.PST.1SG

         'mai kabhi isse pahile delhi nahi gaya hu.'

         'I have never been to Delhi before..'

(1430)   i:di baad e:n delhi-k   ekken
         this after 1SG Delhi-DAT go-PST.1SG

         'iske baad mai Delhi jaunga.'

         'I will go to Delhi after this.'

(1431)   e:n turent bər-e-n
         1SG soon   come-FUT-1SG

         'mai jaldi aajunga.'

         'I will come soon.'

(1432)   a: eŋg-a   goț-para kitab-en   qət-i
         3SGM 1SG-DAT always   book-ACC give-PRS.3SGM

         'wo hamesha muze kitab dete hai.'

         'He always gifts me a book.'

(1433)   e:n kəbi-kəbi   sreeker-en bețar-oti ek-i-n
         1SG sometime-RDP sreeker-ACC meet-INF go-PRS-1SG

         'mai kabhi kabhi Sreeker se milne jata hu.'

         'I sometimes go to meet Sreekar.'

(1434)   e:n a:h-en   bețar-en dure
         1SG 3SGM-ACC meet-ACC necessary(jarur)

         'mai usse jarur milunga.'

         'I will definitely meet him.'

(1435)   eŋg-bahano car-e be:yi
         1SG-POSS   care have-PRS.3SGM

         'mere pass car hai.'

         'I have a car.'

(1436)   a:d   kajak jəldi jəldi kurk-i
         3SGF very fast fast write-PRS.3SGF

         'wo bohat tez likhati hai.'

         'She writes very fast.'

(1437)   eŋki   qe:pu țokeno o:ki
         1SG-POSS

         'mera gav pahad hai.'

         'My village is on the hill.'

(1438)   i: eŋg səngale
         this my frind

         'ye mera dost hai.'

         'This is my friend.'

(1439)   a: eŋg səngale
         that my friend

         'wo mera dost hai.'

         'That is my friend.'

(1440)   eŋg-legcki indra-bədi ondra
         my-for   something bring

         'mere liye kuch bhi le aao.'

         'Bring me something.'

(1441)   eŋg-legcki indra-goțe ondra
         my-for   anything bring

         'mere liye kuch bhi le aao.'

         'Bring me anything.'

(1442)   kohi bhi aakar muze madat karo
         a. SOMEBODY: ne: bəbi (somebody) bərcki eŋgen səgabeya
         b. ANYBODY: ne: goțe bərcki eŋgen səgabeya

(1443)   ne: goțe bərc-ki   eŋg-en səgabeya
         anybody .   come-ss.3SGF 1SG-ACC help-IMP

         'kohi bhi aakar muze madat karo.'

         'Anybody, come and help me.'

         'ANYBODY = ne: goțe

(1444)   waha kohi nahi hai
         a. a:țno ne: goțe məla (Anybody is not there)
         b. a:țno ne: bədi məla (Somebody is not there)

         • ne: goțe = anybody

- ne: bədi = somebody

(1445)   a:ʈno ne: goʈe məla
    there anybody .   NEG
    'waha kohi nahi hai.'
    'Nobody is there.'

(1446)   muze kuch kam do
    a. eŋga indra bədi kajen qəʈa (Give me some work)
    b. eŋga indra goʈe kajen qəʈa (Give me anywork)

(1447)   e:n indra   goʈe aɢ-oləken
    1SG anything .   know-PRS.NEG.1SG
    'muze kuch nahi aata.'
    'I don't know Anything.'
    'indra goʈe = anything

(1448)   kisko kuch bhi pata nahi (Nobody knows anything.)
    a. ne: goʈe indra goʈe aɢola (ne: goʈe = nobody/anybody, indra goʈe = kuch bhi)
    b. ne: bədi indra goʈe aɢola (ne: bədi = somebody, someone)

(1449)   kuch bhi khao
    a. ni:n indra goʈe moqa
    b. ni:n indra bədi moqa

(1450)   mere pass kuch paise bache hai (eŋg-bahano rekond paisa bacariya)

- *-at* = ke dawara abelative (Instrumental)

- *-an* = thematic

- *-ek* = Beneficiary

- *-ante* = abalative

data

(1451)   e:n hi   ləp-ken
    1SG EMPH eat-PST.1SG
    'maine hi khaya.'
    'Only I ate it.'

- *-eno* = Keep eating (Keep Doing) —- Busy in Eating

(1452)   e:n ləp-eno ḍok-en
    1SG eat-?   PROG-FUT.1SG
    'mai khata hi runga.'
    'I will keep eating.'

(1453)   a: ləp-eno ḍok-e
    3SGM eat-?   PROG-FUT.3SGM
    'wo khata hi rahega.'
    'He will keep eating.'

(1454)   a: ləp-e
    3SGM eat-FUT.3SGM
    'wo khayega.'
    'He will eat.'

(1455)   ni:n ləp-eno ḍok-an-e
    2SGM eat-?   PROG-FUT-2SGM
    'tum khate hi rahoge.'
    'You will keep eating.'

(1456)   a:ber ləp-eno ḍok-e-r
    3PL eat-?   PROG-FUT-3PL
    'wo log khate hi rahenge.'
    'They will keep eating.'

(1457)   e:n ləpa ḍok-ken
    1SG eat   PROG-PST.1SG
    'mai kha raha tha.'
    'I was eating.'

(1458)   e:n ləpken
    1SG eat-PST.1SG
    'maine khaya tha.'
    'I had eaten.'

(1459)   e:n ləpken
    1SG eat-PST.1SG
    'maine khaya hai.'
    'I have eaten .'

(1460)   e:n ləp-ken   ḍok-en
    1SG eat-SS.1SG PROG-FUT.1SG
    'maine kha liya honga/rahunga .'
    'I will have eaten.'

(1461)   a: ləpke   ḍoke
    3SGM eat-SS.3SG PROG.3SGM
    'ussne khaliya rahega.'
    'He will have eaten.'

(1462)   ni:n ləp-ke   ḍokane
    2SGM eat-SS.2SGM PROG.FUT.2SGM
    'tumne khaliya hoga.'
    'He will have eaten.'

(1463)   ni:m ləpker   ḍok-er
    2PL eat-SS.2PL PROG-FUT.2PL
    'tum logne kha liya hoga.'
    'You will have eaten.'

(1464)   na:m   ləpket   ḍoket
    1PL.INCL eat-SS.1PL.INCL PROG-FUT.1PL.INCL
    'humne kha liya hoga.'
    'we will have eaten (Incl).'

(1465)   e:m   ləpkem   ḍok-em
    1PL.EXCL eat-SS.1PL.EXCL PROG-FUT.1PL.EXCL
    'humne kha liya hoga.'
    'We will have eaten (Excl).'

(1466)   a:d ləpki:d   ḍok-ani-:d
    3SGF eat-SS.3SGF PROG-FUT-3SGF
    'wo khana khakar rahegi.'
    'She will have eaten.'

(1467)   a:ber ləp-ker   ḍok-e-r
    3PL eat-SS.3PL PROG-FUT-3PL
    'unnone khana khaliya rahega.'
    'They will have eaten.'

(1468)   Ganga eŋg-en   ləp-tr-iya
    Ganga 1SG-ACC eat-CAUS-PST.3SGM
    'Gangane muze khilaya .'
    '.'

(1469)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr-ken
    1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS-PST.1SG
    'maine ganga ko khilya.'
    'I fed Ganga.'

(1470)   e:n gangan ləptrə ḍokin
    'mai ganga ko khila raha hu.'
    '.'

(1471)   e:n gangan   ləp-tr-i-n
    1SG Ganga-ACC eat-CAUS-PRS-1SG
    'mai ganga ko khilata hu.'
    'I feed Ganga.'

(1472)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr-e-n
    1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS-FUT-1SG
    'mai ganga ko khilanunga.'
    'I will feed Ganga.'

(1473)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr   siŋken
    1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS HAB-PST.1SG
    'mai ganga ko khilata tha.'
    'I used to feed ganga.'

(1474)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr   ḍok-ke-n
    1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PROG-PST-1SG
    'mai ganga ko khila raha tha.'
    'I was feeding to Ganga.'

(1475)   e:n ganga-n   lep-tr   ḍok-e-n
    1SG Ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PROG-FUT-1SG
    'mai ganga ko khila raha hunga.'
    'I will be feeding to Ganga.'

(1476)   e:n ganga-n   lep-tr   ḍok-i-n
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PROG-PRS-1SG
         'mai ganga ko khila raha hu.'
         'I am feeding to Ganga.'

(1477)   e:n ganga-n   lep-tr   ḍok-ke-n
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PROG-PST-1SG
         'mai ganga ko khila raha tha.'
         'I was feeding to Ganga.'

(1478)   e:n ləp-lə-ken
         1SG eat-NEG-PST.1SG
         'maine nahi khaya.'
         'I did not eat.'

(1479)   e:n ləp-og-i-n
         1SG eat-?-PRS-1SG
         'maine nahi khaya hu (I have eaten – NEG).'
         'I have not eaten.'

(1480)   e:n ləp-e-n-ala
         1SG eat-FUT-1SG-NEG
         'mai nahi khaunga.'
         'I will not eat.'

(1481)   e:n ləp-lə-ken
         1SG eat-NEG.PST.1SG
         'maine nahi khaya tha.'
         'I did not eat.'

(1482)   e:n ləp-alo   meŋja-ken
         1SG eat-NEG   be-PST.1SG
         'maine nahi khaya tha (on that specific time).'
         'I had not eaten.'

- meŋja = ask/ hear/ be/ enough

- meŋjertrken = ask + causative = make him ask

- mentrəken = hear + causative = make him hear

(1483)   e:n ganga-t   mesa meŋer-tri-ken
         1SG ganga-INST mesa ask-CAUS-PST.1SG
         'maine Ganga se messa-ko puchwaya.'
         'I made Ganga ask Messa.'

(1484)   e:n ganga-n   camen mentrken
         1SG ganga-ACC song hear-CAUS-PST.1SG
         'maine ganga ko gana sunawaya.'
         'I made Ganga hear the song.'

(1485)   e:n ganga-t   camen men-trə-tit-ken
         1SG ganga-INST song hear-CAUS-CAUS-PST.1SG
         'maine ganga ka gana sunwaya.'
         'I made someone hear the Ganga's song (Ganga is singing).'

(1486)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrələken
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.NEG.PST.1SG
         'maine ganga ko nahi khilaya.'
         'I did not feed ganga.'

(1487)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrolən
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.PRS.NEG.1SG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khilata hu.'
         'I don't feed Ganga.'

(1488)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr-en-ala
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.FUT.1SG.NEG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khilaunga.'
         'I won't feed Ganga.'

(1489)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrə ḍokolən
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PROG.PRS.NEG.1SG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khila raha hu.'
         'I am not feeding to Ganga.'

(1490)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrə ḍoklən
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PROG.NEG.PST.1SG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khila raha tha.'
         'I was not feeding to ganga.'

(1491)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrə   siŋɢoləken
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS HAB.PRS.NEG.1SG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khilata hu.'
         'I don't feed to Ganga.'

(1492)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrə   ḍokləken
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS HAB.NEG.PST.1SG
         'mai ganaga ko nahi khila raha tha.'
         'I was not feeding to Ganga.'

(1493)   e:n ganga-n   ləptra   ḍokenala
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS HAB.FUT.1SG.NEG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khila raha honga.'
         'I will be not feeding to Ganga.'

(1494)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-trləken
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.NEG.PST.1SG
         'maine ganga ko nahi khilaya tha.'
         'I had not fed Ganga.'

(1495)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrələken
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.NEG.PST.1SG
         'maine ganga ko nahi khilaya hai.'
         'I have not fed Ganga.'

- ləptroləken = nahi khane deta hu

(1496)   e:n ganga-n   ləptroləken
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.PRS.NEG.1SG
         'mai Ganga ko nahi khane deta hu.'
         'I don't let Ganga eat.'

(1497)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrenala
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.FUT.1SG.NEG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khane dunga.'
         'I will not let Ganga eat.'

(1498)   e:n ganga-n   ləptrenala
         1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS.FUT.1SG.NEG
         'mai ganga ko nahi khilaunga.'
         'I will not feed to Ganga.'

(1499)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr-lə-ken
         1SG Ganga-ACC eat-CAUS-NEG-PST.1SG
         'maine ganga ko nahi khane diya.'
         'I did not let Ganga eat.'

(1500)   a:ṭno ne: bədi ḍoki?

         'waha kohi hai kya.'
         'is someone there?.'

(1501)   a:ṭno ne: gote doki?

         'waha kohi hai kya?.'
         'is anyone there?.'

- I have not eaten yet (e:n ləpogen)

- e:n ləpoləken = mai nahi khata hu

(1502)   e:n ləpoləken
         1SG eat-PRS.NEG.1SG
         'mai nahi khata hu.'
         'I don't eat.'

(1503)   e:n ləpa siŋken
         1SG eat   HAB.PST.1SG
         'mai khata tha.'
         'I used to eat.'

(1504)   e:n ləpa siŋɢ-i-n
         1SG eat   HAB-PRS-1SG
         'mai khata hu.'
         'I eat.'

(1505)   e:n ləpa siŋɢen
         1SG eat   HAB.FUT.1SG
         'mai khaunga (Habitual reading).'
         'I will keep eating.'

(1506)   e:n ləp-eno ḍok-i-n
         1SG eat-?   PROG-PRS-1SG
         'mai khata hi rahata hu (Prog-hab).'
         'I keep eating.'

(1507)   e:n ləpeno ɖoka siŋgen
    1SG eat-?   PROG HAB.FUT.1SG

    'mai khata rahunga.'

    'I will keep eating.'

(1508)   e:n ləpa ɖoken
    1SG eat   PROG.FUT.1SG

    'mai khata rahunga.'

    'I will keep eating.'

- ləpeno = busy eating

- ləpe-no = eat + LOC (mai khane me rahunga - I will be busy in eating)

- ləpeno ɖoken = Khata-hi rahunga

- ləpa ɖoken = khata rahunga

- onola = pi nahi raha

(1509)   e:n on-eno ɖok-e-n
    1SG drink-? PROG-FUT-1SG

    'mai pite hi rahunga.'

    'I will keep drinking.'

(1510)   e:n ləpeno ɖok-e-n
    1SG eat-?   PROG-FUT-1SG

    'mai khate hi rahaunga.'

    'I will keep eating.'

(1511)   e:n ləpeno ɖoka ɖoken
    1SG eat-?   stay PROG-FUT-1SG

    'mai khana kha raha rahunga.'

    'I will be eating.'

(1512)   e:n lela   10 se   11 baje   tak ləpeno ɖoka ɖoken
    1SG tomorrow 10 from 11 O'clock to   eat-?   PROG PROG.FUT.1SG

    'mai kal 10 baje se laker 11 baje take khane be busy rahunga.'

    'I will be eating 10 to 11 tomorrow.'

(1513)   ni:n lela bərne a:para e:n ləpa ɖoken

    'jab tum kal aaoge tab mai khate rahunga.'

    'When you come tomorrow, I will be eating.'

(1514)   *e:n ləpa ɖoka siŋken.

(1515)   e:n ləpeno ɖoka siŋken.

Find out why 1514 is ungrammatical and why 1515 is grammatical. One of the reason for this is *ləp-eno* is gerund or *-eno* may be the nominalizer.

(1516)   a: ləpe-hi
    3SG eat-EMPH

    'wo khayegahi.'

    'He will eat too.'

- ?ləpeno ɖoka ɖoken = I will be in the eating department

(1517)   Strategy for Perfect Past Tense
    a. e:n jagu-n   ləpken   ɖokken
      1SG food-ACC eat-SS.1SG PROG.PST.1SG

      'mai khana khake raha tha.'

      'I had eaten food.'

(1518)   e:n ləpeno ɖoka siŋken
    1SG eat-?   PROG HAB.PST.1SG

    'mai khate hi raheta tha.'

    'I kept eating .'

(1519)   e:n ləpeno ɖoka siŋgin
    1SG eat.?   PROG HAB.PRS.1SG

    'mai khate (Khane me) hi rahunga.'

    'I keep eating.'

(1520)   mai nahi khata hu
    a. e:n ləpo-lə-ken
    b. e:n ləpa siŋgoləken (Habitual Negation)

(1521)   e:n ləp-alo ɖokken   (Past Perfect)
    1SG eat-NEG PROG.PST.1SG

    'maine nahi khaya hoga.'

    'I had not eaten.'

(1522)   e:n ləpa ɖoken-ala
    1SG eat   PROG.FUT.1SG-NEG

    'mai khate nahi rahunga.'

    'I will not be eating.'

    'I will not eat in any condition.'

(1523)   For the Ph.D. thesis — *ləpken* is non-finite verb —– Neg is not possible ***ləpləken**

    a. *e:n jagun ləp-lə-ken ḍokken.

(1524)   e:n jagu-n   ləp-ken   ḍok-ləken
    1SG food-ACC eat-SS.1SG PROG-NEG.PST.1SG

    'Maine nahi khaya tha.'

    'I had not eaten.'

    'Context: I had not eaten anything at that specific point in time.

Negation

- ləpalo ḍokken = mai nahi khake raha (main bina khake raha).

- *ləpalo* can be the INFINITIVE + NEG form.

- *alo* may be a non-finite form of Negation.

(1525)   e:n ləpa siŋg-lə-ken
    1SG eat   HAB-NEG-PST.1SG

    'mai nahi khata tha.'

    'I did not use to eat.'

(1526)   e:n ləp-alo ḍoka siŋG-e-n
    1SG eat-NEG prog HAB-FUT-1SG

    'mai bina khake rah lunga.'

    'I will stay without eating.'

(1527)   ləpalo ḍokken = mai bina khaye tha

(1528)   ləpalo ḍoken = mai bina khake rahunga

Perfect Habitual Progressive Future

(1529)   e:n ləpken   ḍoka siŋgen
    1SG eat-SS.1SG PROG HAB.FUT.1SG

    'mai khake rah raha honga.'

    '?I will have been eating (Habitual).'

(1530)   *e:n ləpa ḍokalo siŋgen (main bina khaye rah lunga)

(1531)   kha kha ke rahunga = e:n ləpa ləpa ḍoka siŋgen

(1532)   e:n ləpken ḍoka siŋgen

(1533)   a. ni:n ləpa ləpa ḍoka siŋku
      2SG eat eat PROG HAB.?

     'tum kha kha ke raho.'

     '.'

- ku -stands for - ni:n(2sgm), ni:n(2sgf) and ni:m(2pl)

- *-u* is for 2nd person and it shows imperative.

(1534)   e:n ləpa ḍokləken
    1SG eat   PROG.NEG.PST.1SG

    'mai nahi kha raha tha.'

    'I was not eating.'

(1535)   e:n ləp-alo ḍokken
    1SG eat-NEG PROG.PST.1SG

    'mai bina khaye tha.'

    'I was there without eating.'

(1536)   e:n a:tno ḍokken
    1SG there be-PST.1SG

    'mai waha tha.'

    'I was there.'

(1537)   e:n ləp-oti ḍokken
    1SG eat-INF be.PST.1SG

    'mai khane keliye tha.'

    'I was there to eat.'

(1538)   e:n ləp-oti ḍok-lə-ken
    1SG eat-INF be-NEG.PST.1SG

    'mai khane ke liye nahi tha.'

    'I was not there to eat.'

(1539)   e:n ləp-alo məɲja-ken
    1SG eat-NEG be-PST.1SG

    'maine nahi khaya tha.'

    'I did not eat (that time).'

    'I have not yet eaten.'

(1540)   e:n ləpogi   məɲja-ken
      1SG eat-NEG? be-PST.1SG
      'I had not eaten yet.'
      'I had not eaten yet (that time).'

(1541)   e:n ləp-alo   ḍok-ken
      1SG eat-NEG be-PST.1SG
      'mai bina khaye tha.'
      'maine nahi khaya tha.'
      'I was there without eating.'

(1542)   *e:n ləp-ogi ḍokken

- ləpalo = is for the specific time period

(1543)   e:n ləp-oti uj-olə-ken
      1SG eat-INF live-NEG-PST.1SG
      'mai khane ke liye nahi jita hu.'
      'I don't live to eat.'

(1544)   e:n uj-oti   ləp-olə-ken
      1SG live-INF eat-PRS.NEG-1SG
      'mai jine ke liye nahi khata hu.'
      'I don't eat to live.'

(1545)   e:n ləp-oti ḍok-lə-ken
      1SG eat-INF BE-NEG-PST.1SG
      'mai khane ke liye nahi tha.'
      'I was not there to eat.'

(1546)   e:n ləp-oti ḍok-ken
      1SG eat-INF BE-PST.1SG
      'mai khane ke liye tha.'
      'I was there to eat.'

(1547)   mai nahi kha raha hu
    a.   e:n ləp-olə-ken
    b.   e:n ləp ḍok-olə-kin

(1548)   e:n ləpoləken
      1SG eat-PRS.NEG.1SG
      'mai nahi khata hu.'
      'I don't eat.'

(1549)   e:n ləpa ḍoken-ala
      1SG eat   PROG.FUT.1SG-NEG
      'mai nahi khata rahunga.'
      'I will be not eating.'

(1550)   khata hu kal se chod rahahu (or nahi khaunga)
    a.   e:n ləpa ḍoka siŋgen-ala
    b.   e:n ləpa siŋɢen-ala

(1551)   a.   *e:n ləpa ḍoken siŋgken
    b.   *e:n ləpa ḍoka siŋgen
    c.   *e:n ləpa ləpken ḍoka siŋgen
    d.   e:n ləpa-ləpa ḍoka siŋgen (Grammatical)

- Why is these are not possible?

(1552)   e:n ləpken   ḍoka siŋgen   (PERF.PROG.HAB)
      1SG eat-SS.1SG PROG HAB.FUT.1SG
      'mai khakar rah raha honga.'
      'I will be living by eating.'

(1553)   maine khud ko khaya
    a.   e:n eŋgen mo:qqen
    b.   e:n eŋgen ləpken
    c.   *e:n eŋgen ləpurken

(1554)   e:n eŋki   biscuit-en mo:qqen
      1SG 1SG-GEN biscuit-ACC eat-PST.1SG
      'maine mera biscuit khaya.'
      'I ate my biscuit.'

(1555)   e:n eŋki   kuka mo:qqen
      1SG 1SG-GEN brain eat-PST.1SG
      'mai mera dimag khaya.'
      'I ate my brain.'

(1556)   e:n eŋgen   ləptrken
      1SG 1SG-ACC eat-CAUS-PST.1SG
      'maine khud ko khilaya.'
      'I fed my self.'

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(1557)   jagu-n   ləp-iya-r
         food-ACC eat-PST-2PL
         'chawal khaya gaya .'
         'Rice was eaten.'

(1558)   e:n jagun   ləpoti   pa:rcken
         1SG food-ACC eat-INF can.PST-1SG
         'mere se chawal khaya gaya.'
         'The Rice was eaten by me.'

(1559)   jagu-n   lep-pe
         food-ACC eat-?
         'khana kha gaya.'
         'It was eaten.'
         'Context: It was eaten (zuta) but, we don't know who ate it.

(1560)   jagu-n ləpŋg-pe

         'khan khatam kar diya gaya.'
         'Food was eaten.'
         'Context: food was eaten but we don't know by whom (completely
         eaten).

(1561)   əma ondoŋg-pe (water was drunk completely— nothing was left)

(1562)   əma on-pe (water was drunk –not completely– it was tasted — it
         was not finished but left in some amount)

(1563)   a: ṭədi-n   on-pe
         3SGM liquor-ACC drink-PE
         'uss-ne daaru piyi hui hai.'
         'He has drunk liquor.'

(1564)   ṭədin on-pe a:
         a. ussne jisne pi rakhi hai daaru
         b. uss-ne daaru pi rakhi hai

   • ṭədin on-pe == sharab zuti hai

   • ṭədin a: on-pe == Context - when you have point out the person in the
      group who is drunk.

(1565)   a: ṭədin ondoŋg-pe

         'ussne har taraki daaru pirakhi hai.'
         'He has tasted every type of liquor.'
         'Context: He tried every brand of alcohol.

(1566)   a: ṭədin   ond-ong-iya
         3SG liquor-ACC drink-DRINK-ONG-PST
         'ussne daaru pike khatam kar diyi .'
         'He finished liquor .'

(1567)   Sreeker-e goṭe kitab-en   pəɽc-oŋg-pe
         Sreeker   all   book-ACC read-ONG-PE
         'Sreeker har taraki books padh liyi hai.'
         'Sreeker has completed reading different kinds of books.'

(1568)   a: kitab-en pərc-oŋg-iya
         3SGM book-ACC read-oŋG-PST
         'ussne kitab padhke khatam kiyi.'
         'He finished reading the book.'

(1569)   a: on-pe   ṭədi-n
         that drink-PE liquor-ACC
         'wo piyi hui sharab.'
         'That tasted liquor.'

(1570)   a: onpe   ṭədi-n   ondoŋg-pe
         that tasted liquor-ACC drink-oŋG-PE
         'wo piyi hui daaru khatam karliyi hai.'
         'That tasted liquor was finished.'

(1571)   Ganga ante Mesa qendrnəqar
         Ganga and Mesa hugged(each-other)
         'Ganga aur Mesa gale mile.'
         'Ganga and Mesa hugged each other.'

(1572)   Ganga Mesa-n   qenad-iya
         Ganga Mesa-ACC hug-PST.3SGM
         'Ganga Mesa-ke gale laga.'
         'Ganga hugged Mesa.'

(1573)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr-ken
    1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS-PST.1SG
    'maine ganga ko khilaya tha.'
    'I fed Ganga.'

(1574)   bəya   bər-ente   əgdu e:n ganga-n   jagu-n
    brother come-ENTE before 1SG ganga-ACC food-ACC
    ləptrken
    eat-CAUS.PST.1SG
    'bhaiya aane se pahile maine ganga ko khana khilya tha.'
    'By the time my brother got home, I had already fed Ganga.'

(1575)   e:n a:he-bano moqqru-ken
    1SG 3SGM-near bow-PST.1SG
    'mai unke samane zuka.'
    'I bowed before him.'

(1576)   e:n ganga-n   jagu-n   ləptrken
    1SG ganga-ACC food-ACC eat-CAUS-PST.1SG
    'maine ganga ko khana khilaya hai.'
    'I feed food to Ganga .'

(1577)   e:n ganga-n   jagu-n   ləptrəken   ḍoken
    1SG ganga-ACC food-ACC eat-CAUS.SS.1SG BE.FUT.1SG
    'maine ganga ko khana khilaya hoga.'
    'I will have fed food to ganga.'

(1578)   a: gangan   jagun   ləp-tr-ke   ḍoken
    3SGM ganga-ACC food-ACC eat-CAUS-SS-3SGM BE.FUT.1SG
    'usne ganga ko khana khilaya hoga.'
    'He will have fed food to Ganga.'

(1579)   a:d gangan   jagun   ləptrki:d   ḍoken
    3SGF ganga-ACC food-ACC eat-CAUS-SS.3SGF BE.FUT.1SG
    'usne ganga ko khana khilaya hoga.'
    'She will have fed food to Ganga.'

(1580)   e:n ləptr   siŋ-i-n
    1SG eat-CAUS HAB-PRS-1SG
    'mai khilata hu.'
    'I feed.'

(1581)   e:n ləptr   siŋ-e-n
    1SG eat-FUT-1SG
    'mai khilaunga.'
    'I will feed.'

(1582)   e:n ləptr   siŋken
    1SG eat-CAUS HAB.PST.1SG
    'mai khilata tha.'
    'I used to feed.'

(1583)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr   ḍoka siŋken
    1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PROG HAB.PST.1SG
    'mai ganga ko khilate rahata tha.'
    'I used to keep feeding Ganga.'

(1584)   e:n ganga-n   ləp-tr   ḍoka siŋkin
    1SG ganga-ACC eat-CAUS PRG   HAB.PST.1SG
    'mai ganga ko khilate rahata hu.'
    'I keep feeding Ganga.'

(1585)   e:n ləp-tr-no   ḍoka siŋken
    1SG eat-CAUS-no PROG HAB.PST.1SG
    'mai khilane me hi rahata tha.'
    'I was busy in feeding.'

(1586)   e:n ləpa ḍoka siŋgen
    1SG eat   PROG HAB.FUT.1SG
    'mai khate hi rahunga.'
    'I will keep eating.'

- First-day judgment is ungrammatical.
- Second-day judgment is grammatical.

(1587)   e:n ləpa ḍoka siŋgen-ala
    1SG eat   PROG HAB.FUT.1SG-NEG
    'mai khate hi nahi rahunga.'
    'I will not keep eating.'

Habitual Progressive Past

(1588)   e:n ləpa ḍoka siŋken
     1SG eat   PROG HAB.PST.1SG
'mai khana khata tha.'
'I used to eat food.'
'CONTEXT: For the specific time period - I was eating - I was not doing other things - other than eating - only eating.

(1589)   na:m   əgdu aɽs-e-t
     1PL.INCL before reach-FUT-1SG
'hum pahile pohachenge.'
'We will reach first.'

(1590)   gədi petrol-et   cəlariya
     Car petrol-INSTR run-PST
'gaadi petrol-se chali.'
'Car run on Petrol.'

(1591)   i gədi amarkantak-et   urki
     this train amrkantak-INSTR start-PRS
'ye gaadi amarkantak chalti hai.'
'This train starts from Amarkantak.'

(1592)   i: gədi amarkantak-et   cəlari
     this train amarkantak-INSTR go.PRS
'Ye train amarkantak se jati hai.'
'This train goes through Amarkantak.'

(1593)   e:m   Littipara-nte pakur-ek ekkem
     1PL.EXCL Littipara-ABL pakur-DAT go-PST.1PL.EXCL
'hum Littipara se Pakur gaye.'
'We went to Littipara from Pakur.'

(1594)   I am from Nagpur.
     a. e:n Nagpurekin
     b. e:n Nagpurente be:yin (Context: Representing team)
     c. e:n Nagpuret be:yin (Context: Representing country)

(1595)   e:n niŋ-ente   moʈon
     1SG you-COMPARATIVE MARKER big-1SG

'mai tumse bada hu.'
'I am bigger than you.'

(1596)   e:n niŋget   moʈon
     1SG you-INSTR big-1SG
'mai tumare dawar bada huwa hu.'
'I grew up because of you.'

- indril kide = that's why (Because)

(1597)   ganga pagal ənise   e:n a:ud-ken
     Ganga mad   that's-why 1SG say-PST.1SG
'wo pagal hai isliye maine bola.'
'He is mad that's why I said.'

(1598)   ənise   e:n a:udken   ganga pagala
     that's-why 1SG say-PST.1SG Ganga mad
'maine isliye bola ki ganga pagal hai.'
'therefore, I said that Ganga is mad.'

(1599)   e:n a:udken ki a: pəgala indrik-ki-de a: pagala
     1SG say-PST that 3SGM mad   therefore   3SGM mad
'maine bola ki wo pagal hai kyu ki wo pagal hai.'
'I said that he is mad because he is mad.'

(1600)   e:n bəj-ken   ənise   a: pagəlariya
     1SG beat-PST.1SG therefore 3SGM pagal.PST
'maine maara isliye wo pagal hua.'
'I beat him that's-why he got mad.'

(1601)   a: pagala ənise   e:n bəjken
     3SGM mad   therefore 1SG beat-PST.1SG
'wo pagal hai isliye maine mara.'
'He is mad therefore I beat him.'

(1602)   aya-ki   jive dəgrar-iya ənise   e:n əḍa-k
     mother-GEN health get.down-PST therefore 1SG home-DAT
bərc-ken
return-PST.1SG
'meri mummy ki tabiyet gharab hai isliye mai ghar aaya.'
'My mother's health got worse; therefore, I came back.'

(1603) aya-ki   jive   dəgrar-iya   indrik-ki-de e:n əɖa-k
    mother-GEN health get.down-PST because 1SG home-DAT

bərc-ken
return-PST.1SG

'meri mummy ki tabiyet gharab hui kyu-ki mai ghar aaya.'

'My mother's health got worse because I came back home.'

27 DATA

(1604) əma on-no   eŋg-a   məja qəc-i   (Habitual)
    water drink-DS 1SG-DAT good feel-PRS

'muze pani pine ke baad muze accha lagata hai.'

'After I drink water, I feel good.'

(1605) a. əma on-no eŋga məja qəci

    b. eŋga əma on-no məja qəci

    c. eŋga əma on-no eŋga məja qəci

(1606) eŋg-a   əmu kiɽe meŋ-no e:n əma on-i-n
    1SG-DAT water thirst get-DS 1SG water drink-PRS-1SG

'muze pyas lagane ke baad mai pani pita hu.'

'After I get thirsty, I drink water.'

(1607) eŋg-a   əma onɖa-ko məja qəcca
    1SG-DAT water drink-DS good feel-PST

'muze pani pine ke baad muze accha laga.'

'After I drank water, I felt good.'

(1608) eŋg-a   məja qəc-no e:n jagun   ləp-e-n
    1SG-DAT good feel-DS 1SG food.ACC eat-FUT-1SG

'muze accha ləgega toh mai khana khaunga.'

'If I feel good, then I will eat food.'

(1609) e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc siŋ-e-n   (Future Habitual)
    1SG school-LOC go-SS.1SG study HAB-FUT-1SG

'mai ghar jake padhta rahunga.'

'After going to school, I will be teaching.'

(1610) e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽy-e-n
    1SG school-LOC go-SS.1SG study-FUT-1SG

'mai ghar jakar padunga.'

'After going home, I will study.'

(1611) e:n eskul-ek   ek-ken   pəɽc siŋ-i-n
    1SG school-LOC go-SS.1SG study HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai school jane ke baad padhta hu.'

'After going to school, I study.'

Check whether (1612) is the conditional.

(1612) eŋg-a   məja qəc-no e:n jagun   ləp-e-n
    1SG-DAT good feel-DS 1SG food.ACC eat-FUT-1SG

'muze accha ləgega toh mai khana khaunga.'

'If I feel good, then I will eat food.'

Why there is -ko in 1613.

(1613) eŋg-a   məja qəc-ol-ko e:n jagu-n   ləp-e-n-ala
    1SG-DAT good feel-NEG-DS 1SG food-ACC eat-FUT-1SG-NEG

'muze accha nahi ləgega toh mai khana nahi khuanga.'

'If I will not feel good, then I will not eat.'

Check what negation + SS form in 1618, whether it creates the negation conditional sentence.

(1614) mai school na jakar ghar gaya

(1615) mai school na jakar ghar jaunga

(1616) mai school na jakar ghar jata hu

(1617) mai school na jaane ke baad teacher mere ghar me aaye

(1618) e:n Delh-ik   ek-ol-ken   tanu Jaipur-ek ek-e-n
    1SG Delhi-DAT go-NEG-SS.1SG then Jaipur-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'agar mai Delhi nahi jaunga toh mai Jaipur jaunga.'

'if I will not go to Delhi, then I will go to Jaipur.'

1619 tells us that the sentence 1618 is not possible without tanu because -ken there is not the same subject marker - check what is the status of *-ol-ken*.

(1619) *e:n Delh-ik   ek-ol-ken   Jaipur-ek ek-e-n
    1SG Delhi-DAT go-NEG-SS.1SG Jaipur-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'agar mai Delhi nahi jaunga toh mai Jaipur jaunga.'

'if I do not go to Delhi, then I will go to Jaipur.'

(1620) e:n əɖa-k   ek-l-ken   eskulek ek-ken
        1SG home-DAT go-NEG-SS.1SG go-PST.1SG

'mai ghar na jakar school gaya.'

'I went to the school without going home.'

(1621) a. e:n əɖa-k ek-l-ken eskulek ek-e-n.
        b. e:n əɖa-k ek-l-ken eskulek ek-i-n.

In (1622), siŋɢ stands for the habitual marker, and it licences the use of *-k+φ* in the Habitual aspect. *-le and -k+φ* are possible with siŋɢ. *-k-+φ* cannot go together present tense have default habitual reading.

(1622) e:n eskul-ek   ekoti əmb-ken   kelar-oti eka siŋɢ-i-n
        1SG school-DAT go-INF without-ss.1SG play-INF go HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai school na jakar khelne jata hu.'

'I go to play without going to school.'

-le provides the habitual reading of the non-finite clause where it occurs. -le assigns the habitual reading to the clause where it occurs.

(1623) e:n eskulek   ekoti əmb-le   kelaroti eka siŋɢ-i-n
        1SG school-DAT go-INF without-ss.1SG play-INF go HAB-PRS-1SG

'mai school na jakar khelne jata hu.'

'I go to play without going to school.'

(1624) a. mai ghar jake khana khata hu
        b. e:n əɖak ek-le jagun ləpin (Habitual)
        c. *e:n əɖak ek-ken jagun ləpin (Habitual)

what is the reason that 1625 is possible and 1624c is not possible.

(1625) e:n eskulek ekoti əmb-ken kelaroti ekin (Habitual)

(1626) a. mai ghar jakar khana khata tha
        b. e:n əɖak ek-ken jagun ləpa siŋken
        c. e:n əɖak ek-le jagun ləpa siŋken

(1627) e:n jagu-n   ləpa siŋ-ke-n
        1SG food-ACC eat   HAB-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar khana khata tha.'

'After going home, I used to eat.

(1628) e:n əɖa-k   ek-ken jagu-n ləp-ke-n
        1SG home-DAT go-ss.1SG food-ACC eat-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar khana khaya.'

'After going home, I ate food.'

(1629) e:n əɖa-k   ek-le   jagu-n   ləp-ke-n
        1SG home-DAT go-HAB.SS.1SG food-ACC eat-PST-1SG

'mai ghar jakar khana khata tha.'

'I used to go home and I used to eat.'

(1630) a. mai ghar jakar so jata hu (HABITUAL)
        b. *e:n əɖak ek-ken qandr-i-n (HABITUAL)
        c. e:n əɖak ek-le qandr-i-n (HABITUAL)
        d. e:n əɖak ek-ken qandrə siŋɢ-i-n (HABITUAL)
        e. e:n əɖak ek-le qandrə siŋɢ-i-n (HABITUAL)

(1631) e:n əɖa-k   ek-no a: qandri
        1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep-HAB.PRS.3SGM

'mai ghar jane ke baad wo so jata hai.'

'After I go home, he sleeps.'

(1632) e:n əɖa-k   ek-no   a: qandrə siŋɢ-i
        1SG home-DAT go-HAB.DS 3SGM sleep HAB-PRS.3SGM

'jab mai ghar jata hu tab wo sota hai.'

'When I go home, He sleeps.'

(1633) e:n əɖak   ek-ko a: qandrə siŋɢ-i
        1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGM sleep HAB.PRS-3SGM

'mai ghar jane ke baad wo sota hai.'

'After I go to school, he sleeps.'

(1634) a. mai ghar jakar so jata tha (Habitual)
        b. (e:n əɖak ek-ken)_SS qandrə siŋ-ken
        c. (e:n əɖak ek-le)_HAB.SS qandrə siŋ-ken
        d. (e:n əɖak ek-le)_HAB.SS qandrə-ken
        e. (e:n əɖak ek-ken)_SS qandrə-ken

(1635) a. mai ghar jakar so jata tha
        b. e:n əɖak ek-ken qandrə siŋken
        c. e:n əɖak ek-le qandrə sinŋken

d. e:n əḍak ek-ken qandrə-ken

(1636)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-no a:d   jagu-n   ləp-e
      1SG home-DS 3SGF   food-ACC eat-FUT.3SGF

'agar mai ghar jaunga toh wo khana khayegi.'

'If I go home, then I will eat.'

(1637)   e:n əḍa-k   ek-no a:d jagu-n   ləpli:d
      1SG home-DAT go-DS 3SGF food-ACC eat-SUBJ-3SGF

'agar mai ghar jata toh wo khana khati.'

' '

(1638)   e:n eskulek   ek-la-len   əno jagun ləp-len
      1SG school-LOC go-NEG-SUBJ.1SG then food   eat-SUBJ.1SG

'agar mai school nahi jata toh khana khata.'

' '

(1639)   e:n eskul-ek   ek-oti əmb-ken   libra-ik   ek-e-n
      1SG school-DAT go-INF without-SS.1SG library-DAT go-FUT-1SG

'mai school na jakar library jaunga.'

'I will go to school without going to the library.'

(1640)   a. mai khana na khakar school jaunga
      b. e:n jagun ləpoti əmb-ken eskulek ek-e-n
      c. e:n jagun ləpalo eskulek ek-e-n

(1641)   ni:n jagu-n   ləp-oti əmb-ke   eskulek   ek-ke
      2SGM food-ACC eat-INF without-SS.2SGM go-PST.2SGM

'tum khana na khakar school gaye.'

' '

(1642)   e:n ticer-en   meŋja-ken anise   peṛiy-tr-oti   pəṛc-ken
      1SG teacher-ACC be-PST.1SG therefore study-CAUS-INF study-PST-1SG

'mai teacher tha isliye mai padha paya.'

' '

(1643)   e:n ləp-alo meŋja-ken
      1SG eat-NEG be-PST.1SG

'maine nahi khaya tha (on that specific time).'

'I had not eaten.'

Occurrence of SS and DS with Tenses and Aspects		
Matrix Clause Tense (Reference Clause)	Matrix Clause Aspect (Reference Clause)	SR in Non-matrix clause (Marking clause)
Present	Habitual	only SS
Past	Perfective	Both SS and DS
Future	Perfective	Only SS
Present	Progressive	Both DS and SS

(1644)   e:n ləp-og-i-n
      1SG eat-?-PRS-1SG

'maine nahi khaya hu (I have eaten – NEG).'

'I have not eaten.'

(1645)   a. *e:n jaher-en ləpken ḍokalo siŋ-lə-ken.
      b. *e:n jaheren ləpalo ḍokalo siŋgləken.
      c. e:n jaharen ləpalo ḍoka siŋgken.
      d. *e:n jaharen ləpalo ḍokalo siŋgken.
      e. e:n jaharen lepa ḍoka siŋgləken
      f. *e:n jaheren ləpa ḍokalo siŋgləken

- Negation is not possible in SS construction i.e. *ləpləken is not possible but 'ləpalo' is possible. Check where the position -alo in syntactic structure, is it lower or upper. If UP why? if down why? Then I can answer why negation not possible with SS construction.

(1646)   Negation (mai jaher khake nahi rahe raha tha)

    a. *eːn jeher-en ləp-ken ḍok-alo siŋ-lə-ken

    b. *eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍok-alo siŋ-lə-ken

    c. eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍoka siŋ-lə-ken

    d. eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍoka siŋ-lə-ken

    e. *eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍok-alo siŋ-ken

    f. eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍoka siŋ-lə-ken

    g. eːn jeher-en ləpa ḍoka siŋ-lə-ken

    h. *eːn jeher-en ləpa ḍok-alo siŋ-lə-ken

    i. *eːn jeher-en ləpa ḍok-alo siŋken

    j. eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍok-lə-ken

    k. eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍok-lə-ken

    l. *eːn jeher-en ləp-lə-ken ḍoka siŋ-ken

    m. *eːn jeher-en ləp-olə-ken ḍoka siŋɢ-i-n

    n. eːn jeher-en ləp-ken ḍok-alo siŋ-ken

    o. eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍoka siŋ-lə-ken

    p. eːn jeher-en ləp-ken ḍoka siŋ-lə-ken

    q. eːn jeher-en ləp-alo ḍoka siŋ-lə-ken

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