

# **A descriptive grammar of Bandari**

Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University for  
The award of the degree of

**Doctor of philosophy**

By  
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under the supervision of

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New Delhi-110067, India

Dated: 30/11/2017

## CERTIFICATE

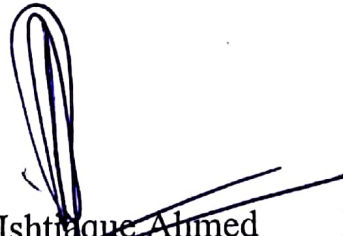
This thesis titled "**A descriptive grammar of Bandari**" submitted by Ms. Tahereh Rezaei, Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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## DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis titled "**A descriptive grammar of Bandari**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institute.

  
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## Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
COMPR	Comparative
DEM	Demonstrative
EZ	Ezafe
IMP	Imperative
IND	Indefinite
NEG	Negative
NV	Non-verbal elements
O	Object
PC	Pronominal clitics
PL	Plural
PP	prepositional phrase
PRES	Present tense
PRPT	present participle
PSPT	past participle
PST	past
SBJN	subjunctive
V	verb
1S	first person singular verbal inflection
2S	second person singular verbal inflection
3S	third person singular verbal inflection
1P	first person plural verbal inflection
2P	second person plural verbal inflection
3P	third person plural verbal inflection

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# **Chapter one**

## **1.1: General information**

The main objective of this study is to present a descriptive grammar in Bandari dialect, spoken by indigenous people in BandarAbbas. This city, which is mostly known as ‘Bandar’ is the capital of Hormozgan province and it is the main port in Iran.

In map-1, we can see that this city is located overlooking the strait of Hormoz and the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and the position of BandarAbbas is shown in Map-2 and 3. Floor ( 2011) has called this city as ‘natural trade gateway of southeast Iran.’

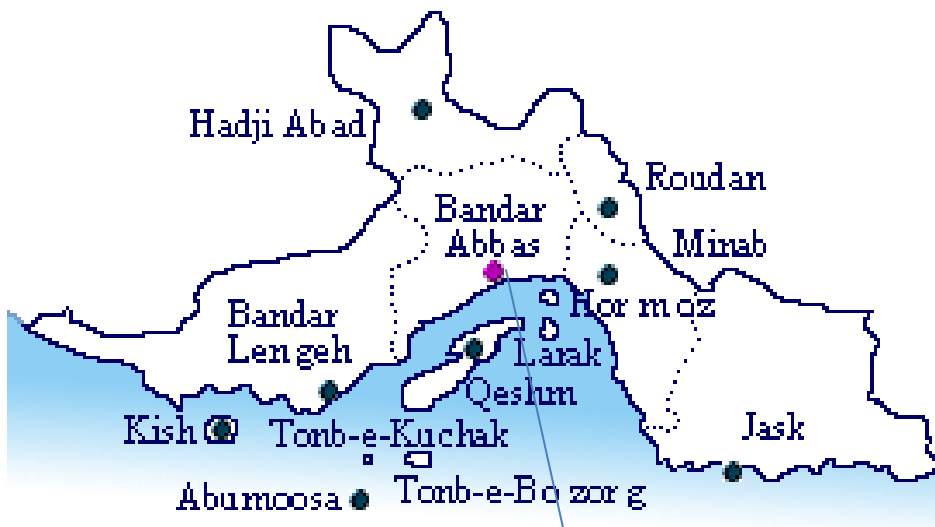
Bandar Abbas is placed at 27°.11’N 46 °.17’E. This city borders with Hajiabad city on the north. Xamir Port is located in the west. Rudan and Minab are on the east of Bandar Abbas and the Strait of Hormoz is in the south. Bandar Abbas is historically and culturally connected to the Hormozgan region. Richard et.al(2006). The capital of Hormozgan is extended to an area of 1, 13255 km<sup>2</sup> that is allotted 9/19 of the total area of Hormozgan province. The location of the city is between six to ten meters above the sea level. Mount Homâg or Fareghan at seventy-eight kilometers in the north of Bandar Abbas is at the maximum height (3267 m) and minimum height is two meters above the sea level. Bandar Abbas has mild winter and the summer is humid a hot. Richard et.al. (2006), Nearchus, one of Alexander the great’s officers, considered this area as the district of Salamont where Alexander had stopped before he sailed to the Persian Gulf. The foundation of the city goes back to the Sasanian dynasty or even earlier to the Achaemenian dynasty. This shows that the area was geographically important for mercantile and military in ancient time( Golzari, 2013). The city had been captured by Portuguese, under the leadership of Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515) in 1514. Portuguese built a fort and called it Gombron. Gambron means 'a kind of crab' in the Portuguese language which was present in Bandar Abbas coast.

Gambron was under Portuguese occupancy until 1622. After 3 month’s siege, King Abbas Safavid’s forces which were led by the Fars governor Imam Qoli Khan and assisted by the East India Company captured Gambron. From that time until now this port is called Bandar Abbas (port of Abbas). Shah Abbas established this city as the main port of the dynasty and the Persian Gulf to control silk production. (ibid)

Floor (2011) says, Bandar Abbas was a small fishing village and after Shah Abbas defeated the Portuguese in 1622, it became the gateway port. According to him Bandar Abbas was under the direct control of Oman. Iran had to resort to force of arms to take it back from Oman In 1869. Yet, this important port is hardly mentioned in the history of Iran.



Map-1: Location of Hormogon province, Islamic republic of Iran



Map-2: Location of Bandar Abbas



Map-3: Location of Bandar Abbas

## 1.2: The terms ‘Bandari’

In Iranian languages ‘Bandar’ means port and Bandari means belong to the port. This term is used for indigenous people and their language, Bandari has some varieties that are spoken in parts of BandarAbbas for example ‘suruči’, ‘poštšæhri’, ‘xâjetâ’, etc. This research work focuses on Bandari that is spoken in central part of BandarAbbas and it is the mother tongue of the researcher. The data have been generated by the researcher as her native competence and have been verified by other native speakers on regular basis.

## 1.3: Population

According to 2016 census<sup>1</sup>, the population of Bandar Abbas is 526648.

Population of Bandar Abbas							
2006				2016			
Total	Families	Male	Female	Total	Families	Male	Female
367,508	89,404	191090	176318	526648	152862	269033	257615

Table-1: population.

Seafaring and fishing are important traditional jobs of indigenous people of Bandar Abbas for centuries and centuries. Today, this port is the main port for export, import and major industries such as steel, fish processing, shipbuilding, aluminium, and oil refinery. It is also the export center for the output the red oxide, sulfur and chromium. All of these factors have led many people from different cities and communities of Iran to migrate to this region to find jobs.

## 1.4: Number of speaker:

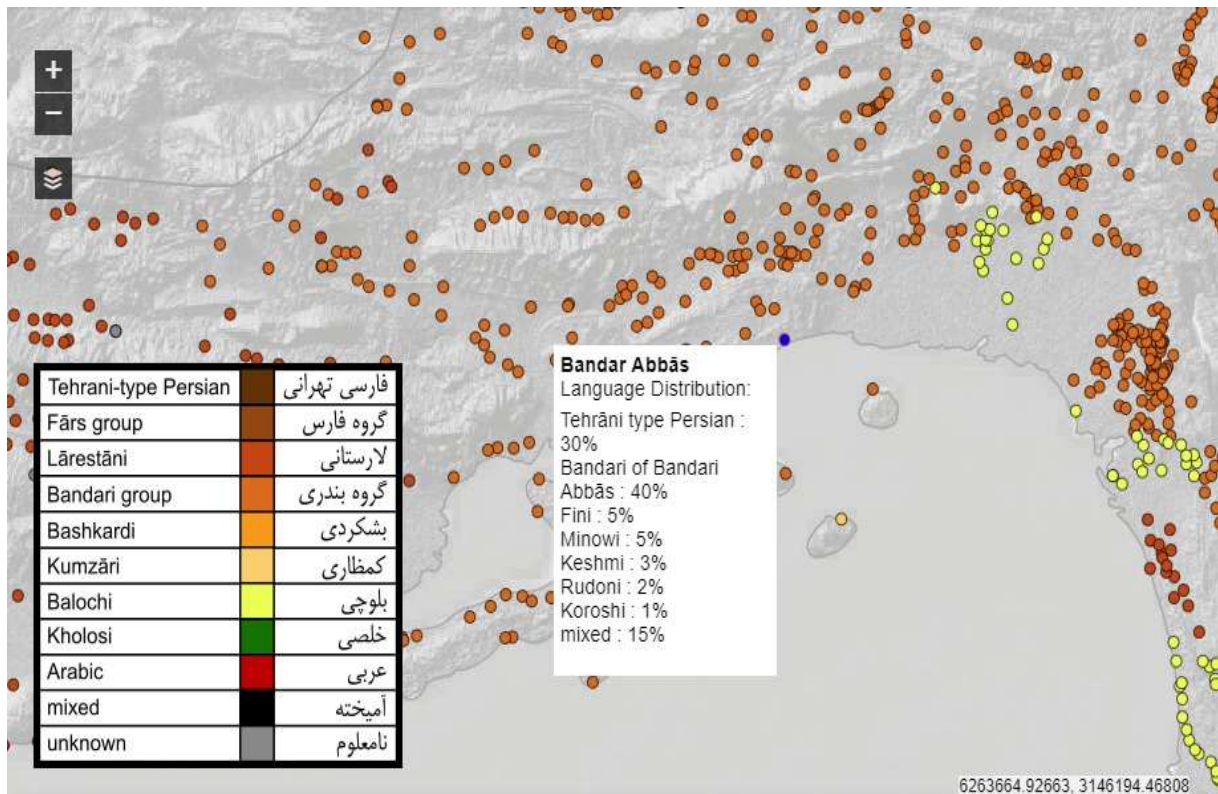
The absolute number of speakers is not known. According to map-4,<sup>2</sup> only 40% of Bandar Abbas population are Bandari speaker.

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<sup>1</sup> - <https://www.amar.org.ir>

<sup>2</sup> <http://iranatlas.net/index.html?module=module.language-distribution.hormozgan>





Map-4: Population of Bandari speakers

### 1.5: Language classification

According to Mikhail Pelevin (2002),<sup>3</sup> Bandari together with Persian belongs to the southwestern group of the Iranian languages. The Iranian languages are the branch of the Indo-Iranian languages, which are traditionally spoken in West, Central, and South Asia.

Iranian languages have four subdivisions: northeastern, southeastern, northwestern, and southwestern. Avestan is one of northeastern Iranian language. This language today is extinct but the holy book of Zoroastrian is available. Ossetian is spoken in the Caucasus region of Georgia, southern Russia, and Turkey. Yaghnobi which is spoken in Tajikistan is another northeastern Iranian language. Southeastern Iranian languages are spoken in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan and northwestern China. Northwestern Iranian languages include Kurdish and other unofficial languages spoken in Turkey, the Middle East and parts of

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iran-vi-iranian-languages-and-scripts>

Pakistan. Pashto, Dari and Persian are examples for southwestern Iranian languages. Old Persian is the ancient form of the southwestern Iranian languages. According to Lazard(1975) New Persian, which was usually called at early Islamic times by the name of Parsi-Dari, can be classified linguistically as a continuation of Middle Persian, the official religious and literary language of Sassanian dynasty, which is itself a continuation of Old Persian, the language of the Achaemenids dynasty. Samples of Old Persian have been discovered in the clay tablets, and seals of the Achaemenid era (c. 600 BCE to 300 BCE).

We can show the genealogical relation of Bandari to Iranian language in a tree from like this:

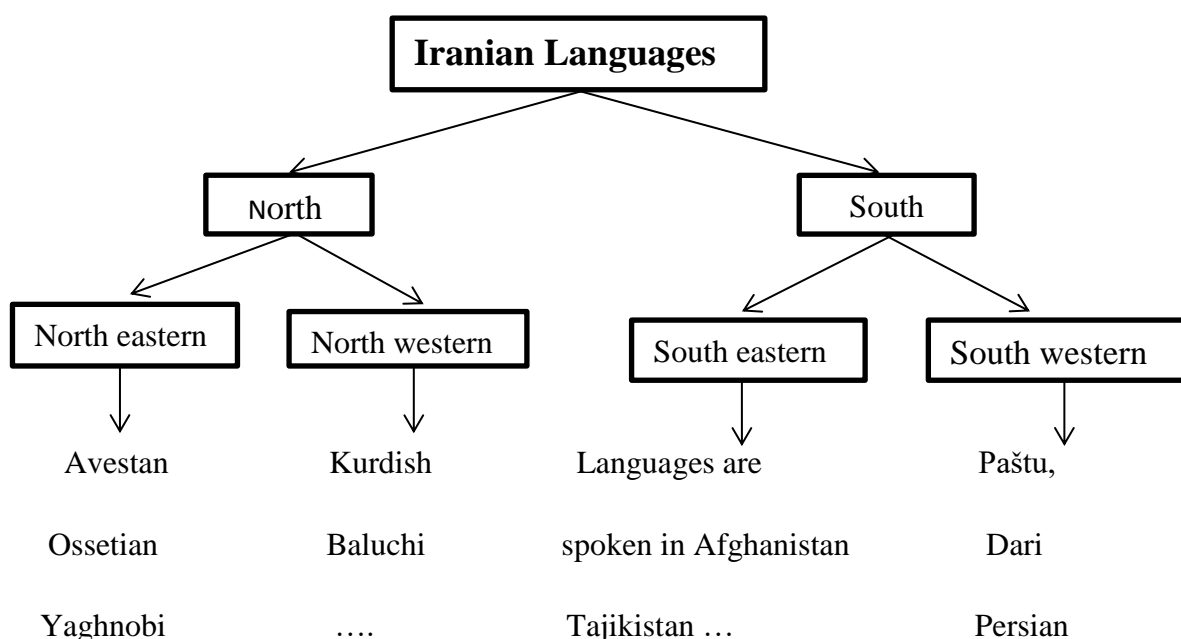


Figure-1: Language classification

### 1.6: Language endangerment:

Language can be endangered when a language becomes menaced with death, this treatment is a result of a combination of factors, such as social, political, economic and cultural pressures from another language, usually, a dominant one (Austin and Sallabank, 2011,1,5-6; UNESCO, 2003<sup>4</sup>, 2). A language may be classified as threatened or endangered based on a

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/unesco\\_language\\_vitaly\\_and\\_endangerment\\_methodological\\_guideline.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/unesco_language_vitaly_and_endangerment_methodological_guideline.pdf)

set of criteria, such as the absolute number of speakers, acquisition by children, domains of use, availability of literacy materials and government and institutional support, among other criteria (UNESCO, 2003, 7-15). The majority of the world's languages are found to be threatened and will be extinction in the future (Austin and Sallabank, 2011, 1; UNESCO, 2003, 1). The linguistic diversity is considered resourceful and vital for human heritage as each and every language embodies the unique cultural wisdom of its people 'which represents a unique expression of the human experience of the world' (UNESCO, 2003, 1-2). 'It is further claimed that the knowledge of any single language may be the key to answering fundamental questions of the future' (UNESCO, 2003, 2). The use of these threatened languages in everyday life represents a meaningful contemporary role for such languages (UNESCO, 2003,2; Austin and Sallabank, 2011, 6-9). One possible reaction to endangered languages is language documentation, which basically encompasses the recording of samples of language use in various genres for multiple purposes, including description, archiving, maintenance, preservation and revitalisation (UNESCO, 2003, 6; Himmelmann 2006, 1-7; Austin and Grenoble 2007; Austin and Sallabank 2011, 12-16). In terms of language endangerment, Bandari may be said to be unsafe, based on a number of factors. With reference to language vitality evaluation schemes such as the UNESCO Language Vitality Assessment (UNESCO 2003, 5- 17), Bandari may be identified as showing some degree of endangerment.

UNESCO's Factors which show the vitality of this language are:

**Factor 1: Intergenerational Language transmission**

Bandari is limited to family interaction and not all children or families of this community speak Bandari as their mother language then Bandari is unsafe language.

**Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers**

Bandar Abbas has 526648 populations but Bandari is only spoken by indigenous people whose number is not exactly known and approximately 40% of the population are spoken Bandari.

### **Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population**

‘The number of speakers in relation to the total population of a group is a significant indicator of language vitality, where “group” may refer to the ethnic, religious, regional, or national group with which the speaker community identifies’(UNESCO, 2003). Majority of population does not speak this language and Bandari is limited.

### **Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains**

Bandari is used in the highly limited domain; this non-dominant language is used in very restricted domains at special occasions, usually by very few individuals in a community, e.g. ritual leaders on ceremonial occasions.

### **Factor 5: Response to new domains and media**

Some programs are transmitted from time to time on the local TV channel and on radio wave in this language. But this is also very limited and restricted.

### **Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy**

Education is essential for language vitality but this language is not used to give impact education in the area. One of the reasons could be that Bandari does not have its own script. So, due to the lack of script, Bandari is not used for education in the area.

**Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use forced assimilation:** Iran is a multi-language land but the government has an explicit language policy declaring Persian to be the only national, official and academic language, despite the fact that Persian is the mother tongue of only 50% of the population. Bandari, as a subordinate language, is neither recognized nor supported.

### **Factor 8: Community members’ attitudes toward their own language**

‘Members of a speech community are not usually neutral towards their own language. They may see it as essential to their community and identity and promote it; they may use it without promoting it; they may be ashamed of it and, therefore, not promote it; or they may

see it as a nuisance and actively avoid using it. When members' attitudes towards their language are very positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol of group identity. Just as people value family traditions, festivals and community events, members of the community may see their language as a cultural core value, vital to their community and ethnic identity. If members view their language as a hindrance to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes toward their language' (UNESCO, 2003: 14). Only a few members of Bandari community support their language maintenance; others are either indifferent or may even support language loss.

### **Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation**

Bandari is undocumented and we don't have any material related to it similar to many other languages in this area. Bandari is also an endangered minority language and very little work has been done on it.

#### **1.7: Literature review**

To the best of my knowledge, this study constitutes the first detailed, comprehensive and systematic linguistic research on Bandari.

Mikhail Pelevin, (2002), in *Iranica Encyclopaedia*,<sup>5</sup> describes Bandari as a language which belongs to the southwestern group of the Iranian languages. Bandari 'is tightly encircled by a number of other lesser known languages which are geographically located on the territory between Lârestân and Bašâkerd, such as the local dialects of Minâb, Rudân, Berentin, Menujân (on the east of Bandar 'Abbâs), Lenge (on the southeast), Hâjiâbâd (on the north), and the islands of Hormoz, Qešm and Kiš. These lesser known languages are closely related, and together with Bandari constitute a distinct sub-group of the Hormozgân dialects.'

---

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bandari-the-dialect-spoken-by-the-native-population-of-bandar-abbas>

## **1.8: Methodology**

### **1.8.1: Data collection:**

Being a native speaker of Bandari, the data used in this dissertation are self-generated. I have thought over and over again before incorporating the data in this work. I had to rely on my conscience to discern some of the data. The language consultants are all native speakers and easily accessible.

### **1.8.2: Primary Data**

I recorded two types of data, one of them is spontaneous conversations with the language consultant, and the other is information that I have generated by the lingua questionnaire (originally published in *Lingua*, vol.42 (1977)). I have used these resources for the analysis of the data in this research. Finally, we have presented an overview of Bandari language at the end of work.

### **1.8.3: Data Analysis**

Raw data are often not easy for anyone other than the collector to use. ... Raw data can be frustrating and non-transparent, .... Descriptive and explanatory material [should] be incorporated into the proposed database of documentation in the form of annotation ... (Berge, 2010, 55).

In the first step, we chose useful data for the description of Bandari's grammar. I have mainly used my knowledge as a native speaker in addition to the validated data which were provided by native speakers of the language. The whole recorded data that were used to describe the grammar of Bandari language have been transcribed and tabulated using IPA.

This section also focuses on methodological issues faced during data elicitation. It narrates the reason and the motivation behind choosing the topic for Bandari language. It also gives an overview of my fieldwork and the selection of language consultants.

### **1.9: Scope of the description**

This study attempts to describe the basic yet salient aspects of the grammar in Bandari. The description thus includes some topics in phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Although the discussion of various aspects is detailed and they are not necessarily exhaustive for example under phonology, the description covers the phonemic inventory, syllable structure, and stress. Under morphology, the description covers verbal morphology, particularly, the tense, aspect, mood, complex verbs and negation system, noun morphology, preposition, Adv., Adj as well as the pronoun system. In the area of the syntax and morphology interface, the description covers parts-of-speech in the language.

### **1.10: Structural organization of the thesis**

This thesis is in four chapters. Chapter one is the Introduction of the work. Topics discussed in the chapter include description of the field site, language consultants and other participants, types of equipment and (linguistic) tools for data elicitation, data collection methods and data types, processing and management of the data. It also presents a detailed description of the methodology used in the present research work. Chapter two describes the phonological sketch of Bandari by describing the sound system, vowel, consonants, syllable structure and other phonological processes of the language. Chapter three identifies and analyses the morphological processes and pattern of Bandari. This chapter also presents verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, and adverbs and their various functions in Bandari. In this chapter analyses the tense, aspect, mood and negation system of the language. Chapter four provides the detailed analysis of various syntactic phenomena and syntactic patterns in Bandari language.

# **Chapter two**

## **Phonology**



In this chapter, we have presented the sound system of Bandari. Initially, we have discussed the vowels and their distribution in the language. Secondly, the consonants, their distribution have been discussed. Toward the end, the phonological processes have been presented. At last, the nature of the syllable has described and finally word stress patterns have discussed.

## 2.1: Vowels

Bandari has six vowels. In the following tables of vocalic and consonantal phonemes have been presented by using IPA.

		Front	Central	Back	
		Unround		Round	
High	Close	i			u
Mid	Close	e			o
	Open				
Low	Open				æ
					â

Table-2: Vowels

### 2.1.1: Vowel phonemes:

In this language like other languages, vowels make the nucleus of a syllable.

#### 2.1.1.1: Minimal pairs

1-/u/ is a back, high, rounded vowel

2-/â/ is a back, low and unrounded vowel

3-/o/ is a back, low, rounded vowel

4-/æ/ is a front, mid, rounded vowel

5-/i/ is a front, high and unrounded vowel

6-/e/ is a front, mid, unrounded vowel

**/u/ vs. /o/**

k<sup>h</sup>ut ‘coat’    gup ‘yoyo’    sur ‘salt’  
k<sup>h</sup>ot ‘hole’    gop ‘cheek’    sor ‘lip’

**/u/ vs. /i/**

sur ‘salt’    dur ‘far’    k<sup>h</sup>up ‘cup’  
sir ‘full’    dir ‘late’    k<sup>h</sup>ip ‘airtight’

**/u/ vs. /e/**

p<sup>h</sup>ul ‘money’    k<sup>h</sup>ur ‘blind’    gur ‘grave’  
p<sup>h</sup>el ‘roll’    k<sup>h</sup>er ‘a kind of fish’    ger ‘cry’

**/u/ vs. /â/**

melâl ‘eyelash’    bu ‘smell’    ruh ‘soul’  
melul ‘unhappy’    bâ ‘with’    râh ‘way’

**/â/ vs. /o/**

tâ ‘until’    lâk<sup>h</sup> ‘nail polish’    mâl ‘property’  
to ‘you’    lok<sup>h</sup> ‘stiff’    mol ‘neck’

**/a/ vs. /â/**

k<sup>h</sup>ær ‘deaf’    šægo ‘s/he was saying’    ædæm ‘I give’  
k<sup>h</sup>âr ‘work’    šâgo ‘they were saying’    âdæm ‘man’

**/â/ vs. /e/**

bâl ‘wing’    mâ ‘we’    dâr ‘stick’  
bel ‘friend’    me ‘I’    der ‘rip (Present stem)’

**/æ/ vs. /e/**

dæh ‘ten’    gær ‘flank’    tæk<sup>h</sup> ‘mat’  
deh ‘village’    ger ‘cry’    tek<sup>h</sup> ‘stomach’

/i/ vs. /e/

sirg ‘garlic’                      lih ‘net’              si ‘thirty’  
 serg ‘house with wattle’      leh ‘chunk’        se ‘three’

## 2.2: Consonants

Bandari has the consonant phonemes are shown in Table 2. There are two series of stops: voiced and voiceless. [b], [d] and [g] are voiced plosive. [p], [t] and [k] are voiceless plosive consonant in Bandari. This language also has voiced and voiceless fricatives consonant. [f], [s], [š], [ʃ], [x] and [h] are voiceless and [v], [z] are voiced fricative. Bandari has a voiceless affricate [č] and a voiced affricate [ǰ]. There are also two nasals, two liquids and a trill.

Places of Articulation		Bilabial	labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	voiceless	[p]		[t]				[k]		
	voiced	[b]		[d]				[g]		
Fricatives	voiceless		[f]		[s]	[š]			[x]	[h]
	voiced		[v]		[z]				[ʁ]	
Affricates	voiceless					[č]				
	voiced					[ǰ]				
Nasal		[m]			[n]					
Trill					[r]					
Liquids					[l]		[y]			

Table-3: Consonants

### 2.2.1: Manners of articulation

#### 1-Plosive

[p] is a bilabial, plosive and voiceless consonant. This consonant in initial and final place will be aspirated.

[b] is a bilabial, plosive and voiced consonant.

**/p/ vs. /b/**

p<sup>h</sup>â ‘foot’      p<sup>h</sup>ærk ‘portion’      p<sup>h</sup>ærk ‘portion’      p<sup>h</sup>ešte ‘already’  
bâ ‘with’      bærk ‘electricity’      bærk ‘electricity’      bešte ‘more’

[t] is a dental, plosive and voiceless consonant. This consonant in initial and final place will be aspirated. ‘t<sup>h</sup>æxt<sup>h</sup>’ ‘bed’

[d] is a dental, plosive and Voiced consonant.

**/t/ vs. /d/**

t<sup>h</sup>âr ‘dark’      t<sup>h</sup>ir ‘arrow’      t<sup>h</sup>ur ‘net’  
dâr ‘wood’      dir ‘late’      dur ‘far’

[k] is a velar, plosive and voiceless consonant. In initial position will be aspirated.

[g] is a velar, plosive and voiced consonant.

**/k/ vs. /g/**

k<sup>h</sup>ær ‘deaf’                                      k<sup>h</sup>ur ‘blind’      k<sup>h</sup>iš ‘name of island’  
gær ‘kind of skin illness’      gur ‘grave’      giš ‘oleander’

**Fricative**

[f] is a labiodental, fricatives and voiceless consonant.

[v] is a labiodental, fricatives and voiced consonant.

**/f/ vs. /v/**

fâl ‘omen’      k<sup>h</sup>âfæ ‘cafe’  
vâl ‘whale’      k<sup>h</sup>âvæ ‘Kave’(name)

[s] is an alveolar, fricative and voiceless consonant.

[z] is an alveolar, fricative and voiced consonant.

**/s/ vs. /z/**

særd 'cold'      sir 'full'      sur 'salt'  
zærd 'yellow'      zir 'below'      zur 'power'

[š] is a alveo palatal, fricative, voiceless

**/š/ vs. /d/**

šir 'lion'      duš 'yesterday'      šur 'savoury'  
dir 'late'      dud 'smoke'      dur 'far'

[x] is a uvular, fricative, voiceless

[ɣ] is a uvular, fricative, voiced

**/x/ vs. /ɣ/**

xur 'canal'      xâr 'Prickle'      næxš 'patterning'  
bur 'blond'      bâr 'burden'      næbš 'frontage'

**/ɣ/ vs. /m/**

ɣâr 'cry'      sæɣ 'dog'      ræɣ 'blood-vessel'  
mâr 'snake'      sæm 'poison'      ræm 'stampede'

**Africative**

[j] is a alveopalatal, affricate, voiced consonant.

[č] is a alveopalatal, affricate, voiceless consonant.

**/č/ vs. /k/**

/čæk/ 'slap'      /čâr/ 'four'      bičâræ 'miserable'  
/k<sup>h</sup>æk/ 'bite'      /k<sup>h</sup>âr/ 'work'      bikâræ 'loiterer'

**/č/ vs. /j/**

čok 'sulky'      Jæk 'jump'      boč 'lip'  
jok 'kneel'      Čæk 'slap'      boj 'mass'

[h] is a glottal, africative, voiceless

hæk 'entitlement'    hârt 'flour'    tæh 'end'  
ræk 'cloth'    k<sup>h</sup>ârt 'knife'    tæk 'mat'

### **Trill and Approximant**

[r] is a trill, alveolar, voiced consonant.

[l] is a liquid, alveolar, voiced consonant.

**/r/ vs. /l/**

ræhm 'humanity'    mâr 'snake'    šir 'lion'  
læhm 'fillet'    mâl 'property'    šil 'crack'

### **Nasal**

[n] is a alveolar, nasal, voice consonant.

[m] is a bilabial, nasal, voiced consonant.

**/n/ vs. /m/**

mom 'mother'    k<sup>h</sup>em 'funnel'    k<sup>h</sup>æmæ 'embroidery hoop'  
nom 'name'    k<sup>h</sup>en 'who is'    k<sup>h</sup>ænæ 'tick'

### **Liquids**

[l] is a liquid, alveolar, voiced consonant

[y] is a liquid, Palatal, voiced consonant

lâr 'name of a city'    bey 'thick'    mâlæ 'trowel'  
yâr 'frind'    bel 'friend'    mâyæ 'liquid'

### **Plosives and affricates**

The voiceless plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/ are aspirated in the initial position and unaspirated at the end of a syllable. /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop consonant. [p] use in medial place when this

consonant use in initial and final place will be aspirated. The consonant /k/ is a voiceless stop velar. It is aspirated in word initial position.

## **2.3: Phonological process**

### **2.3.1: Lenition (weakening)**

According to Crystal (2008, 270), lenition is a term that is used in phonology to refer to a weakening in the overall strength of a sound. Lenition involves the change from a stop to a fricative, a fricative to an approximant, a voiceless sound to a voiced sound, or a sound being reduced (lenite) to zero.

Campbell(1998, 41) describe Lenition as ‘a reasonably loose notion applied to a variety of kinds of changes in which the resulting sound after the change is conceived of as somehow weaker in articulation than the original sound. Lenitions thus typically include changes of stops or affricates to fricatives, of two consonants to one, of full consonants to glides, sometimes of voiceless consonants to voice in various environments, and so on. Lenition can also include the complete loss of sounds.’

#### **2.3.1.1: Assimilation processes**

Crystal(2008, 39) described Assimilation as a general term in phonetics which refers to the influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another so that the sounds become more alike, or identical.

##### **2.3.1.1.1: Total assimilation**

Total means a sound becomes identical to another by taking on all of its phonetic features.

There are few synchronic occurrences of this process in Bandari,

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
mæs'jed	mæj'jed	‘mosque’
ustâ	ossâ	‘skilful’

The /s/ is before of the /j/ which conditions it to change thus it is regressive and /s/ is immediately adjacent to the /j/ meaning that is a constant change.

##### **2.3.1.1.2: Nasal assimilation**

According to Burquest (2001, 117), the nasal assimilation is one of the most common natural processes in language. Nasals that precede other consonant assimilate to match them in point of articulation.

According to Campbell (1998, 39), this process is common for nasals to change to agree with the point of articulation of following stops. /n/→/m/ / {-b}

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
ænbor	æmbor	‘pliers’
donbâl	dombâl	‘pursuit’
šænbe	šæmbæ	‘paturday’
zænbil	zæmbil	‘basket’
donbe	dombæ	‘suet’
ænbe	æmbâ	‘mango’

In this case /n/ an alveolar nasal consonant near/b/, a labial consonant acquires some traits of neighbor and change to /m/ a labial nasal consonant.

#### 2.3.1.1.3: /g/→/ɣ/

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
jegær	jeɣær	‘liver’
ræg	ræɣ	‘vessel’
sæg	sæɣ	‘dog’

Above words show us that plosive consonant /g/ between or after vowel /æ/ change to a fricative consonant /ɣ/.

#### 2.3.1.1.4: /q/→/x/

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
fæqir	fæxir	‘poor’
næqš	næxš	‘pattern’
næqš	næxšæ	‘map, plan’
sænjâq	senjâx	‘pin’
tæqsir	tæxsir	‘blame’
væqt	væxt	‘time’

These data show us the stop uvular consonant /q/ changes to a uvular fricative consonant /x/ in adjacent a voiceless consonant or the end of a word or a syllable. This change is partial because /q/ only takes on some of the features of the conditioning /s/ and /š/ and this is regressive because the /q/ is before the /š/ and /s/. Consonant /q/ becomes voiceless because it is adjacent to a voiceless consonant.

In examples ‘senjâx’ and ‘tæxsir’ a stop consonant /q/ changes to a fricative /x/ after a vowel. It becomes fricative because it is affected by the nuclear vowel.



### 2.3.1.1.5: /q/→/ɣ/

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
Qâli	ɣowli	‘carpet’
quri	ɣuri	‘pot’
mællâqe	mællâɣæ	‘ladle’
qâtoq	k <sup>h</sup> âteɣ	‘an Iranian food’

Above examples show /q/ in first of word or syllable before a back vowel change to fricative consonant/ɣ/. In last word but/q/ in the end of word change to /ɣ/.

In that word we see three processes:

1-/q/→/k/

2-/q/→/ɣ/

3-back vowel/o/ change to front vowel/e/

### 2.3.1.1.6: /q/→/k/

Change /q/ to /k/ is seen more than other process such as /q/→/ɣ/, /q/→/x/ and /q/→/g/. We can see this process in first of word or syllable, end of word and syllable.

#### 2.3.1.1.6.1: First of word

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
qeymæt	k <sup>h</sup> imæt	‘price’
qælæm	k <sup>h</sup> elæm	‘pen’
qænd	k <sup>h</sup> ænd	‘sugar-lump’
qæd	k <sup>h</sup> æd	‘height’
qowl	k <sup>h</sup> owl	‘promis’
qæsæm	k <sup>h</sup> esæm	‘oath’
qæbr	k <sup>h</sup> æbr	‘grave’
qutti	k <sup>h</sup> utti	‘can’
qæfæs	k <sup>h</sup> efæs	‘cage’

/q/ in initial of word will be /k/ when the vowel is /æ/, /ow/ and /ey/

#### 2.3.1.1.6.2: End of syllable

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
ræfiq	refik	‘friend’
æqræb	ækræb	‘scorpion’

/q/ in end of syllable will be /k/ when vowel is /i/ and /æ/

### 2.3.1.1.6.3: First of syllable

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
qomqome	k <sup>h</sup> om komæ	‘water bottle’
bâqe	bâkelæ	‘broad bean’
inqædr	ikedæ	‘so, such’
borqe	borkæ	‘veil’
mænqæl	mænkæl	‘brazier’
fæqæt	fekæt	‘only’

In first of syllable /q/ be /k/ when in CVC, V is /e/ or /æ/.

Changes /q/ to /k/ occurs in first of word, syllable and end of word. In first of word when vowels are: /æ/, /ow/ and /ey/, in first of syllable when vowel is /e/ or /æ/ and end of syllable when vowel is /i/ or /æ/.

### 2.3.1.1.7: /q/→/g/

Bandari	Persian	Gloss
gæhvæ	qæhve	‘coffee’
getær	qætær	‘Qatar’
noql	noql	‘a kind of sweet’

### 2.3.1.1.8: /b/→/w/

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
âftâb	æftow	‘sun’
âb	how	‘water’
læb	low	‘lip’
šæb	šow	‘night’
tæb	tow	‘fiver’
xâb	xow	‘sleep’

These data show a phonological change between “b → w”.

/b/ changes to /w/ between two vowels or after the vowel or the end of the word.

In this assimilation process a bilabial consonant /b/ and a fricative labiodental consonant /f/ adjacent to /â/ and /a/ would change to glide/w/ which shows a process of lenition. Due to this change the phonetic structure become more open and a stop consonant change to fricative approximant consonant.

After this process in the data, we can see another process in that low vowels /æ/, /â/ changes to /o/.

The glide /w/ is high, back and round and raising of the adjacent vowel is for this reason. They assimilate in height feature with glide. This rule is “raising”. According to Crystal (2008, 427), Raising is a vertical process affecting tongue height; opposed to lowering.

### 2.3.1.1.9: Spirantization

According to Burquest (2001, 126), Spirantization is a process in which plosives become fricatives, and this often ensues in environments containing vowels. It is especially common for Consonants between two vowels, and consonants in the presence of high vowels. The process of spirantization in Bandari can be shown in the following examples:

/b/→/v/

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
dobâre	dovâre	‘again’
qæbul	k <sup>h</sup> evul	‘acceptance’
xæbær	xevær	‘news’
zænjæbil	zænjevîl	‘ginger’
tâbe	tâvæ	‘pan’
bâ	vâ	‘with’
bâz	vâz	‘open’
âbestæn	âvos	‘pregnant’

In these examples /b/, stop bilabial consonant, before and between vowels become /v/, a fricative labiodental consonant.

### 2.3.1.1.10: Vowel raising

In the process of raising vowel, it is very common that low vowels change to mid (or high) vowels, or mid vowels move up to high vowels. In particular, long or tense vowels frequently rise (Campbell 1998: 40). Bandari also allows such changes which can be shown as:

æ→e

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
jævâb	jevâb	‘answer’
k <sup>h</sup> ælæk	k <sup>h</sup> elæk	‘ruse’
næmâz	nemâz	‘prayer’
sævâb	sevâb	‘reward’
næfæs	nefæs	‘breath’
pænir	penir	‘cheese’

These examples show low vowel /æ/ in Bandari on vowel raising process changes to /e/.

### 2.3.1.1.11: Vowel lowering

According to Campbell (1998, 40), ‘Vowel lowering, the opposite of raising results in high vowels becoming mid or low vowels, or mid vowels become low. For example, vowels are often lowered before uvular and pharyngeal consonants. When a lower vowel occurs in the next syllable, it defines few common environments.’

/e/ → /æ/

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> âse	k <sup>h</sup> âsæ	‘bowl’
k <sup>h</sup> uze	k <sup>h</sup> uzæ	‘pitcher’
mive	mivæ	‘fruit’
xæste	xæstæ	‘tired’
xune	xonæ	‘home’

Final /e/ in standard Persian changes to /æ/ in Bandari.

### 2.3.1.2. Dissimilation

Dissimilation is ‘a general term in phonetics and phonology which is used to refer to the influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another so that the sounds become less alike, or different. As opposed to assimilation, it is possible to classify dissimilations into types, based on the place, degree, and direction of the changes involved’. (Crystal 2008, 151)

Dissimilation refers to processes in which sounds become more auditorily distinct from other sounds in their environment. This allows for easier speech perception (Katamba, 1996, 94).

For example:

- a) k<sup>h</sup>ilid → k<sup>h</sup>ilil                      ‘key’
- b) mesmar(Arabic) → mesmâl           ‘peg’
- c) hasir → hasil                          ‘mat’
- d) setare → estâla                      ‘star’
- e) surax → sulâx                        ‘hole’

**2.3.2: Fortition:** The process of fortition is a term used in phonology to refer to a strengthening in the overall force of a sound, whether diachronically or synchronically; an opposed to lenition. Typically, fortition involves the change from a fricative to a stop, an approximant to a fricative, or a voiced to a voiceless sound (Crystal 2008, 197). Fortition can further be divided into the following types.

### 2.3.2.1. Compensatory lengthening

Crystal (2008, 91-92) describes that: ‘compensatory lengthening’ in phonology, is an effect in which the deletion of one segment is accompanied by an increase in the length of another, usually adjacent to it, thus preserving syllable weight. Bandari also has similar phonological change and this can be presented as:

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
čâh	čâ:	‘well’
jæmʔ	jæ:m	‘total’
k <sup>h</sup> olâh	k <sup>h</sup> olâ:	‘hat’
moʔætæɪ	mæ:tæɪ	‘wait’
moʔâmele	mâ:melæ	‘bargain, dealing’
næʔl	næ:l	‘horseshoe’
rubâh	rubâ:	‘fox’
šæmʔ	šæ:m	‘candle’

In Bandari the fricative glottal/h/ and stop glottal consonants /ʔ/ in the final position of the word, syllable and after the vowel or between words is deleted and in some words are alternations far as /h/ → /Ø/ and /ʔ/ → /Ø/.

### 2.3.3: Processes conditioned by syllable structure

Phonological processes may be conditioned by syllable structure. In Bandari, these processes include elision (deletion), epenthesis (insertion) and metathesis (reversal).

#### 2.3.3.1: Deletion

##### 2.3.3.1.1: Final /t/ deletion

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
dæst	dæs	‘hand’
dæstbænd	dæsbæn	‘cuff’
dæstbus	dæsbu:s	‘respect’
dæstgiræ	dæsgiræ	‘knob’
dæstmâl	desmâl	‘napkin’
pustkæn	puskæn	‘skinner’

These data show that stop consonant /t/ from /st/consonant cluster in the end of a word or in the end of a syllable is deleted.

### 2.3.3.1.2: Final/d/deletion

The stop/d/is deleted in utterance-final position.

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
čænd	čæn	'several, how much'
did	di	's/he saw'
dozd	doz	'robber'
kæmærbænd	kæmærbæn	'belt'

According to Finch (2000) /d/ and /t/ are the most frequently elided consonants. Bandari also shows that this is a common process and /d/ from final two consonants, the final syllable is mostly deleted in the language.

### 2.3.3.2: Epenthesis or insertion

#### 2.3.3.2.1: Vowel epenthesis

According to Burquest (2001, 173) "epenthesis is most common with vowels, where a vowel is inserted to break up a consonant cluster". Examples of such sound change are also observed in Bandari and they are as follows:

dræxt → de.'ræxt 'tree'

CCVCC → CV.CVCC

torš → toroš

CVCC → CVCVC

šenidan → ešnowten

CVCVCVC → VCCVCCVC

#### 2.3.3.2.2: Consonant epenthesis

In several instances, these can be a case of inserting a vowel before a consonant and this process is known as consonant epenthesis. Bandari has such instance of sound change and we can present the examples of such sound change as follows:

Insertion of /e/ before /š/ in some words

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
setâre	estâlæ	'star'
šekæstæn	eškæsten	'to break'
šekoftæn	eškoften	'to expand'
šemordæn	ešmârden	'to count'
šenâxtæn	ešnâxten	'to know'
šenâ kærdæn	ešnow kerden	'to swim'
šenidæn	ešnowten	'to hear'

Most of the words in the middle Persian had a consonant cluster in their initial position which has disappeared by an insertion process between the clusters. In modern Persian similar phenomena has been notified in Bandari too where we find the insertation of a vowel between the consonant cluster. This is what we observed in the above examples. There is an insertion of a vowel before the initial cluster in Bandari.

### 2.3.3.3: Metathesis

Metathesis is the transposition of sounds; it is a change in which sounds exchange positions with one another within a word. Most instances of metathesis are sporadic changes, but metathesis can also be a regular change. (Campbell 1998, 37)

In other words, metathesis is a term used in linguistics to refer to an alteration in the normal sequence of elements in a sentence – usually of sounds, but sometimes of syllables, words, or other units. Metatheses are well recognized in historical linguistics (e.g. Old English *brid* becoming *bird*), but they can also be seen in performance errors – in such tongue-slips as *aks* for *ask*, or in the phenomenon of ‘spoonerisms’ (cf. the dear old queen becoming the queer old dean). (Crystal 2008: 303). Some examples of metathesis in Bandari can be given as:

Persian	Bandari	Gloss
qofl	k <sup>h</sup> olf	‘lock’
solh	sohl	‘pease’
hol	loh	‘push’
mæqz	mæjg	‘kernel’

## 2.4: Syllable structure

Words in Bandari consist of one or more syllables. The syllable contains one vowel that is compulsory and surrounded by consonants. A vowel work as the syllable nucleus and a consonant is at the fringe of the syllable. Accordingly, Bandari’s syllables have these patterns (V, CV, CVC, CVCC, VC, and VCC) presented below:

Examples of syllables of the type VC are:

‘æz’                      ‘from’

Examples of syllables of the type VCC are:

‘ætr’                      ‘perfume’

Examples of syllables of the type V are:

‘o’                      ‘that’

‘i’                      ‘this’

Examples of syllables of the type CV are:

‘pâ’                      ‘leg’

Examples of syllables of the type CVC are:

‘dâr’ ‘wood’

Examples of syllables of the type CVCC are:

‘særd’ ‘cold’

Combining these syllable types into words of more than one syllable, we have, for example:

V+CVC

âteš ‘fire’

CVC+CVC

dændon ‘tooth’

VC+CV+CV

âlbolu ‘cherry’

VC+CVC

ærzon ‘cheap’

## 2.5: Stress

### 2.5.1: Nouns and Adjectives

Bandari has a very regular stress pattern. In nouns and adjectives, the main stress is in the final syllable of the word. For example:

Bandari	Gloss	
ču'ræk	‘chicken’	(Simple nouns)
zæ'no	‘women’	(plural nouns)
negæh'bon	‘guard’	(Derived nouns)
posxâ'læ	‘cousin’	(Compound nouns)
jâ'leb	‘interesting’	(Simple adjectives)
væhme'nâk	‘eeriness’	(Derived adjectives)
bædæx'lâk	‘bad-tempered’	(Compound adjectives)
jon'te	‘more beautiful’	(Comparatives)
sox'ten	‘to burn’	(Infinitives)

### 2.5.2: Pronominal clitics

Pronominal clitics suffixes do not take stress in Bandari. These suffix are /-om/, /-et/, /-i/, /-emo/, /eto/, /-ešo/ and stress is on the penultimate syllable of the word. Let's see some example from Bandari:

- 1) mo'sin-et  
car-PC.2S  
‘your car’



### 2.5.3: 'Ezafe'

In Iranian languages, we have a construction that named 'ezafe' construction. According to Kahnemuyipour (2014, 1), 'ezafe is an unstressed vowel -e (-ye after vowels) which appears between a noun and its modifier. In Bandari also -e/-ye is unstressed, and stress is on the penultimate syllable.

- 2) dâ'xel-e  
in-EZ  
'into'

### 2.5.4: Indefinite marker

/-i/ is an indefinite marker that does not receive stress. Stress is on the penultimate syllable.

- 3) k<sup>h</sup>e'tâb-i  
book-IND  
'A book'

### 2.5.5: Stress is on a non-final syllable in Bandari

In some words such as 'bæle' 'yes', 'šâyæd' 'possibly', 'bælke' 'not only', 'hærvæ' 'whenever'. We have stress is on a non-final syllable in Bandari.

### 2.5.6: Verbs stress pattern:

Stress is final when verbs don't have any affixes in Bandari. For example:

- 4) rom'b-i  
fall, past-3S  
'it fell'

Verbs in Bandari have two types of prefixes: stressed and unstressed. Affixes related to negative markers, imperative and subjunctive are stressed, while those related to progressive and indicative are unstressed.

In simple past, present and past continuous, the syllable before the last one is stressed.

- 5) resi'd-en  
arrive.PST-3<sup>rd</sup> PL  
'They arrived'

- 6) æ-'r-æn  
go.PRES-3<sup>rd</sup> PL  
'They go'

Two sentences (7) and (8) have the same structure but example (7) is a past continue and stress is in final syllable and sentence (8) is a negative and stress is in first then we can conclude that change of stress place can create a new mood.

- 7) mæ-'ræ  
1S- go.PST  
'I was going'

- 8) 'mæ-ræ  
NEG-go.IMP-2<sup>nd</sup>.g  
'don't go'

Personal affixes don't attract stress in Bandari. These affixes can be prefix, such as:

- 9) mo- gef't-en  
1<sup>st</sup>.PL- take.PST-PRS.PRF  
'We took'
- 10) om-di'd-æ  
1S.NOM- See.PST.3S-PST.PRF  
'I had seen'

These personal affixes can be suffixe. For example:

- 11) ræft- ærom  
go.PST-3 PL  
'I had gone'
- 12) sox't- æ  
burn, PST.3S-PRF  
'it had burnt'

# **Chapter three**

## **Morphology**

Word formation process are including inflectional, derivational, reduplicational and compounding. In this chapter, we discuss inflectional, derivational, reduplicational and compounding words. In inflectional morphology part, initially we have discussed the inflectional morphology; in this part, we describe verb, noun, adjective, adverb, preposition, pronoun and numeral in Bandari. Secondly, the derivational morphology, their distribution have been discussed. Toward the end, the reduplication in Bandari has been presented. Finally, the compounding has described.

### **3.1: Inflectional morphology**

In most languages, inflectional morphology marks relations such as person, number, case, gender, possession, tense, aspect, and mood, serving as the essential grammatical glue holding the relationships in constructions together. Scholars devote much of their discussions to definitions of what inflectional morphology is, with palpable frustration. Bybee (1985, 81), for example, holds that ‘one of the most persistent undefinables in morphology is the distinction between derivational and inflectional morphology.’

#### **3.1.1: Verb morphology**

Bandari verbal morphology is extremely regular. Each verb has two stems and three persons (sg. and pl.) This language has past and present tense. Bandari has perfect and imperfect aspect. Moods in this language are subjunctive, imperative, indicative, intentionality and potential. Verbs are either simple or complex. Same another Iranian language, Bandari has vast complex predicats.

##### **3.1.1.1: Passive**

Crystal(2008)describe passive as ‘a sentence, clause or verb form where the grammatical subject is typically the recipient or ‘goal’ of the action denoted by the verb, e.g. The letter was written by a doctor. It is contrasted with active, and sometimes with other forms. Passive constructions which take an agent are agentive passives, as opposed to ‘non-agentive’ or ‘agentless’ passives, where there is no need for (and sometimes no possibility of) an agentive phrase being added since the speaker does not have a ‘performer’ of the action in mind.’

Langacker (1982, 57-58) states “passive clauses do not derive from active clauses. All three grammatical morphemes are meaningful and figure actively in the semantic structure of the passive expressions. The object of *by* is simply the object of *by*: it is not demoted, and at not level is it the clausal subject”. Langacker (1982, 69) establishes that there are many meaningful uses of '*by*' which form a lexical network. There is a link between the predicates that occur with '*by*', although the predicates differ. The predicates of '*by*' differ with respect to the domains in which this relation occurs. The meaning of the preposition '*by*' is basically the same, but it is the domain that differs. He believes that the passive '*by*' continues the pattern established in the active sentences. In other words, the usage of prepositions in the passive is motivated by their uses in other contexts. They are an extension of one of the meanings of these prepositions in the active.

Passives do not exist in Bandari. In this language we use 3PL for passive for example:

- 13) šišæ    šo-škæst  
       glass    3PL-break.PST  
       ‘They broke the glass.’

This sentence ‘They broke the glass.’ use for ‘the glass was broken.’

### 3.1.1.2: Verbal causativization

The suffixes /-onden/ or /-oniden/ is added to the present stem of some transitive and intransitive verbs to make a causative construction. For example, present stem: ‘ræs’ ‘arrive’ will change in causative form as ‘ræsonden’ ‘to cause to arrive’.

In (14) the causee is agentive while in (15) the causee is nonagentive.

- 14) foti            non-o            i-suz-ond  
       fatemeh    bread-PL    3S.burn-caused  
       ‘Fatemeh burned breads.’

- 15) âteš    æmbâr            i-suz-ond  
       fire    storeroom    3S.burn-caused  
       ‘The fire burned the storeroom.’

### 3.1.1.3: Classification of verbs

Verbs can be classified according to their form, category and semantics. According to Mahootian (1997, 232-236), we can also group verbs in Bandari into different form classes.

Bass is the present stem form from the infinitive form.

#### Class one. The -id class

/-id/ in past stem is dropped to get the present stem.

INF	PST	PRES	Gloss
ærzid-en	ærzid-	ærz-	‘to cost’
bæxšid-en	bæxšid-	bæxš-	‘to forgive, endow’
bærgærdid-en	bærgærdid-	bærgærd-	‘to abjure, retrace’
borid-en	borid-	bor-	‘to cut’
busid-en	busid-	bus-	‘to kiss’
čæsbid-en	čæsbid-	čæsbid -	‘to stick’
čekid-en	čekid-	čæk-	‘to spatter’
čelid-en	čelid-	čæl-	‘to crumble’
čerid-en	čerid-	čær -	‘to pasture’
čokid-en	čokid-	čâk-	‘to catch’
demid-en	demid-	dam-	‘to blow, huff’
dozid-en	dozid-	doz-	‘to rob’
jušid-en	jušid-	juš-	‘to boil’
jekid-en	jekid-	jæk-	‘to jump’
gelid-en	gelid-	gæl-	‘to decay’
gičid-en	gičid-	gič-	‘to sift’
kešid-en	kešid-	kæš-	‘to pull’
kotid-en	kotid-	kot-	‘to thresh, pound’
lepid-en	lepid-	læp-	‘to lick’
legid-en	legid-	læg-	‘to attach’
lærzid-en	lærzid-	lærz-	‘to quake, shiver’
mekid-en	mekid-	mæk-	‘to suck’
misid-en	misid-	mis-	‘to soak’
perid-en	perid-	pær-	‘to jump’
pičid-en	pičid-	pič-	‘to twine’
pilisid-en	pilisid-	pilis-	‘to wilt’
pokid-en	pokid-	pok-	‘to rip’
xerâšid-en	xerâšid-	xerâš-	‘to scratch, abradle’
xærid-en	xærid-	xær-	‘to buy’

### **Class two. The -âd class**

In this class /-âd/ will be dropping in present stem.

INF	PST	PRES	Gloss
horostâd-en	horostâd-	horost-	'to stand'
vustâd-en	vustâd-	vust-	'to stand'

### **Class three. The /-d/ class**

In this class /-d/ in past stem with drop the /-d/ of the past stem get the present stem.

INF	PST	PRES	Gloss
bord-en	bord-	bær-	'to take'
čid-en	čid	čin	'to reap'
ešmard-en	ešmard-	ešmar-	'to count'
kænd-en	kænd-	kæn-	'to dig'
mond-	mon-	mond-en	'to stay, remain'
mord-en	mord-	mer-	'to die'
vušârd-en	vušârd-	vušâr-	'to squeeze'
xârd-en	xârd-	xâr-	'to eat'
xond-en	xond-	xon-	'to read'

Note: Some /-d/ in past stem change to /-n/ in present stem for example: 'čid-en' past: 'čid', present: 'čin'

### **Class four. The /-t/ class**

This class includes many irregularities in forming the present stem from the past. The rule which applies to all these verbs is to drop the /-t/. But few verbs in this class follow this rule. Often a stem vowel and/or consonant changes.

INF	PST	PRES	Gloss
eškæst-en	eškæst-	eškæn-	'to break'
bæst-en	bæst-	bæn-	'to bind, close'
berest-en	berest-	berz-	'to roast'
čušt-	čuš-	čušt-en	'to suck'
jowt-en	jowt-	jow-	'to chew'
gonâšt-en	gonâšt-	gonâr-	'to hold'
kâšt-en	kâšt-	kâr-	'to plant'
košt-en	košt-	koš-	'to kill'
mošt-en	mošt-	moš-	'to rub'

nešt-en	nešt-	nin-	‘to sit’
šušť-en	šušť-	šur-	‘to wash’
terâšť-en	terâšť-	terâš-	‘to shave’
xâšť-en	xâšť-	xâš-	‘to chew gum’

1- Some verbs the /š/ in past stem for example ‘šušť’ ‘washed’ change to /r/ in present stem: ‘šur’ ‘wash’

2- A number of that /š/ in past stem such as ‘nešt’ ‘sat’ changes to /n/, ‘nin’ ‘sit’

3- In small group of these verb /-st/ in past stem such as bæst ‘closed’ in present stem change to /n/ bæn ‘close’

3- A number of verbs in this class /št/ in past stem for example ‘kâšť’ ‘plant’ in present stem be /r/ (‘kâr’)

### **Class five. The -xt class**

These verbs that show in table-5 /x/ in past stem changes to/z/ in present stem.

INF	PST	PRES	Gloss
bâxt-en	bâxt-	bâz-	‘to fail, lose’
duxt-en	duxt-	duz-	‘to stitch’
guruxt-en	guruxt-	guruz-	‘to flee’
poxt-en	poxt-	pæz-	‘to cook’
soxt-en	soxt-	suz-	‘to burn’
sâxt-en	sâxt-	sâz-	‘to make’
šenâxt-en	šenâxt-	šenâs-	‘to know’

### **Class six. The /-est/ class**

The present stem is made by dropping the /-est/.

INF	PST	PRES	Gloss
donest-en	donest-	don-	‘to know’
tunest-en	tunest-	tun-	‘to can’

### **Class seven. The /-ft/ class**

Past stem has /-ft/ and that is dropped in present stem:



INF	PST	PRES	Gloss
eškâft-en	eškâft-	eškâf-	‘to slice’
bâft-en	bâft-	bâf-	‘to knit, plait’
goft-en	goft-	g-	‘to say’
geft-en	geft-	ger-	‘to get’
kæft-en	kæft-	kæ-	‘to fall’
ræft-en	ræft-	ræ-	‘to go’
vâgeft-en	vâgeft-	vâger-	‘to pluck’
xâft-en	xâft-	xow-	‘to sleep’

### 3.1.1.4: Tense

Tense is ‘a grammatical category which involves changing the form of the verb to reflect the location of an event in time. The usual distinction is between past, present and future’ (Baker 2012, 304). Finch describes *tense as the* ‘grammatical changes made to the form of a verb, as opposed to time, which refers to the semantic functions such changes signal.’ (Finch, 2005, 113). Tense is the ‘inflectional category whose basic role is to indicate the time of an event, etc. in relation to the moment of speaking’ (Matthews 2007, 404). Klein (1994) advocates that ‘time and space are basic categories of our experience and our cognition’. He discusses that the verb not only represents an event, an action, process, etc. but it also links whatever it expresses to three particular times which are: past, present, future. According to Jespersen (1965), time is a natural or notional concept which in many languages is expressed in tenses. Time is ‘a universal, non-linguistic concept with three divisions: past, present and future; by tense, we understand the correspondence between the form of a verb and our concept of time’ (Quirk&Greenbaum, 1973, 40).

#### 3.1.1.4.1. Category of tense

According to Comrie (1985, 2), the time can be represented as a straight line, such as figure 1

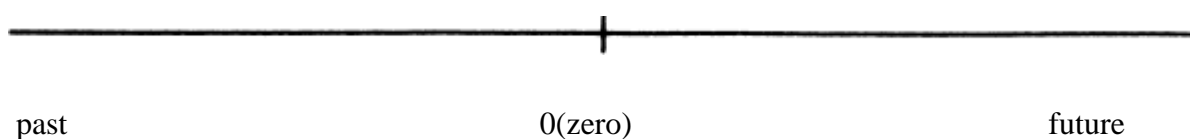


Figure-2: Category of tense

In this figure, the past is represented to the left, the future to the right and present moment appeared for a point tagged 'zero' on that line. Events occurred in the past are to the left of 'zero' and events that will happen after this 'zero' is to the right of the other events. This figure is an image for the goal of analysing time in natural languages, but Comrie (1985) offers circle figure for some cultures such as Australian Aboriginal in which time is a cyclic notion. He concludes that this figure is an adequate representation of time for purpose of analysing expressions of time in natural language.

According to Das (2010), the conceptual knowledge of time is prerequisite to understand the term tense. Time is assumed to be "a continuous flow of events." Tense is also understood as "an effort to locate or identify an action on the time-scale." Once the action is marked on the time scale, it becomes an event. Thus, tense is understood by showing such events.

The knowledge of the present time plotted as now on the time-scale, ascertains whether the reference points happen before or after the time of speaking. Using now as a point of reference, other reference points of time such as before or after determined against it and the actions are assigned to these reference points of time. Thus, the concept of tense shows up from the combination of time and action (i.e. event) on the time-scale. It can be shown as:

Formation of tense-scale along with time-scale (Das 2010, 71- 87).

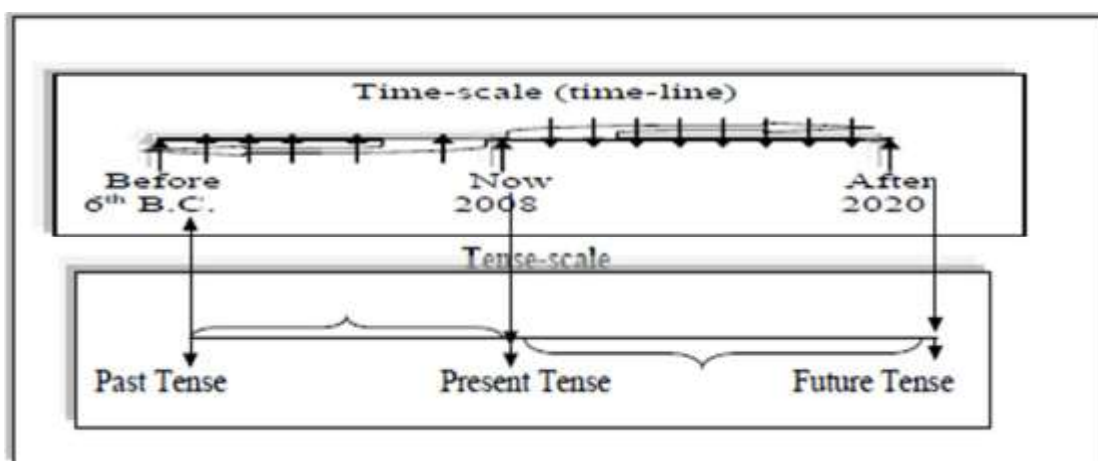


figure-3: Time scale

Rezaei (2014) described Bandari as a past and non-past language.

### 3.1.1.4.1: Present tense

According to Comrie (1985), the present tense is a process that holds at the present moment, but those began before the present moment and may well continue beyond the present moment in many languages. In Bandari, the present tense is also used in habitual aspectual meaning.

In Bandari dialects the morphemes /æ-/ and /e-/ marks the present tense:

Person/ Number	bæst-en 'to close'	somond-en 'to thread'	rext-en 'to flow'	kâšt-en 'to plant'	pušid-en 'to wear'	gičid-en 'to sift'
1 <sup>st</sup> /sg	<u>æ</u> -bænd-om	<u>æ</u> -somon-om	<u>æ</u> -rez-om	<u>æ</u> -kâr-om	<u>e</u> -puš-om	<u>e</u> -gič-om
2 <sup>nd</sup> /sg	<u>æ</u> -bænd-i	<u>æ</u> -somon-i	<u>æ</u> -rez-i	<u>æ</u> -kâr-i	<u>e</u> -puš-i	<u>e</u> -gič-i
3 <sup>rd</sup> /sg	<u>æ</u> -xær-et	<u>æ</u> -somon-et	<u>æ</u> - rez-et	<u>æ</u> -xâr-et	<u>e</u> -puš -et	<u>e</u> -gič-et
1 <sup>st</sup> /Pl	<u>æ</u> -bænd-im	<u>æ</u> -somon-im	<u>æ</u> -rez-im	<u>æ</u> -kâr-im	<u>e</u> -puš-im	<u>e</u> -gič-im
2 <sup>nd</sup> /Pl	<u>æ</u> -bænd-i	<u>æ</u> -somon-i	<u>æ</u> -rez-i	<u>æ</u> -kâr-i	<u>e</u> -puš-i	<u>e</u> -gič-i
3 <sup>rd</sup> /Pl	<u>æ</u> -bænd-en	<u>æ</u> -somon-en	<u>æ</u> -rez-en	<u>æ</u> -kâr-en	<u>e</u> - puš-en	<u>e</u> -gič-en

Table-4: Present tense marker in Bandari

All present stems in Bandari have C(VC) structure according to vowel this prefix be /æ/ or /e/.

Table-4 show if V is /â/, /æ/, /o/, /e/, prefix be /æ/. When vowel is /i/ or /u/ prefix be /e/

#### 3.1.1.4.1.1: Present tense in /hæsten/ 'to be'

Conjugation of 'hæsten' 'to be' is an exception to the regular present tense formation in Bandari. The present tense of the verb 'to be' is stated in these ways:

a. In the shape of the clitic form:

This is a most common way to use this verb is clitic form.

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1	-om	-im
2	-i	-i
3	-en	-æn

Table-5: Present tense clitic forms of ‘to be’

These clitics as suffixes directly attache to noun phrases and adjective phrases.

16) zærd-en  
yellow-is  
‘It is yellow.’

17) moælem-im  
teacher-are  
‘We are teachers.’

18) æli ijâ-n  
ali here-is  
‘Ali is here.’

b. The hæst form is another way to state the copula in the present tense.

In table-6 we can see ‘hæst’ inflection and to agree with the subject in person and number, singular third person form is ‘hæ’.

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1	hæst-om	hæst-im
2	hæst-i	hæst -i
3	hæ	hæst-æn

Table-6: ‘hæstæn’ in present tense

Table-7 state negative present tense in ‘to be’:

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1	næ-h-om	ne-h-im
2	ne-h-i	ne-h-i
3	ni	næ-h-æn

Table-7: negative present tense in ‘to be’

- 19) hendi næ-h-om  
 Indian Neg-be-1S  
 ‘I am not Indian.’

In negative present tense in ‘to be’, the negative marker is placed in initial position.

### 3.1.1.4.2: Past tense

According to Comrie (1985, 41) past tense is located to the left of that present moment in the scale of time line that marks present as ‘now’. Bandari has some differences between the conjugation of past tense in transitive and transitive verbs.

In this language, different affixes are used for transitive (prefixes) and intransitive (suffixes) to make the past tenses. In present tense all the affixes are suffixes, no matter whereas it is transitive or intransitive.

#### 3.1.1.4.2.1: Past tense in intransitive verbs

The conjugation of the past tense of intransitive verbs in Bandari is formed by adding inflectional suffixes to the past stem. These suffixes are shown in table-8.

Person/ number	Bandari	gloss
1S	ræft- <u>om</u>	‘I went.’
2S	ræft- <u>i</u>	‘you went’
3S	ræft- <u>Ø</u>	‘S/he went’
1PL	ræft- <u>im</u>	‘we went’
2PL	ræft- <u>i</u>	‘you went’
3PL	ræft- <u>en</u>	‘they went’

Table-8: Past tense in intransitive verbs

### 3.1.1.4.2.2: Past tense in transitive verbs

The transitive verbs have different conjugation in Bandari. Prefixes are added to the past stems. Table-9 shows the inflectional prefixes that are added to these verbs.

Person/ Number	Bandari	gloss
1S	<u>om</u> -go	'I said.'
2S	<u>et</u> -go	'you said'
3S	<u>i</u> -go	'S/he said'
1PL	<u>mo</u> -go	'we said'
2PL	<u>to</u> -go	'you said'
3PL	<u>šo</u> -go	'they said'

Table-9: Past tense in transitive verbs

In Bandari, we have another prefix with the past transitive verbs which are marked when the subject is in the singular number. Examples of this prefix is given in table-10

In order to understand the description of table-10, we have to examine the structure of verbs in ancient Iranian languages. At that time two consonants sound as the first taken in the beginning of the word was accepted. However, in modern time, such occurrence of two consonants in the beginning of a work is not allowed either in Persian or in Bandari. In Persian, /e/ is added between two consonants ('šekasten': 'to break') and in Bandari /e/ is inserted before clustered of such consonant sounds ('eškasten': 'to break'). These verbs have different inflectional affix in first singular, second singular, third singular. For examples:

Person/ number	'eškæsten' 'to break'	'ešmârden' 'to count'	'ešnâxten' 'to know'
1S	<u>me</u> -škæst	<u>me</u> -šmârd	<u>me</u> -šnâxt
2S	<u>te</u> -škæst	<u>te</u> -šmârd	<u>te</u> -šnâxt
3S	<u>še</u> -škæst	<u>še</u> -šmârd	<u>še</u> -šnâxt
1PL	<u>mo</u> -škæst	<u>mo</u> -šmârd	<u>mo</u> -šnâxt
2PL	<u>to</u> -škæst	<u>to</u> -šmârd	<u>to</u> -šnâxt
3PL	<u>šo</u> -škæst	<u>šo</u> -šmârd	<u>šo</u> -šnâxt

Table-10: past transitive verbs marker

### 3.1.1.4.2.3: Past tense in ‘hæsten’ ‘to be’

In Bandari, past tense in ‘hæsten’ ‘to be’ has two forms. We show these forms follow.

a. In the shape of the clitic form:

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1	-ærom	-ærim
2	-æri	-æri
3	-æ	-æren

Table-11: Past tense, clitic forms of ‘to be’ in Bandari

20) xonæ-ærom

home-be.1S

‘I was at home.’

b. The ‘hæst’ form is another way to state the copula in the past tense.

In table-12 we can see ‘hæst’ inflection and this agrees with subject in person and number.

For example:

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1	hæst-ærom	hæst-er-im
2	hæst-er-i	hæst-er -i
3	hæstæ	hæst-ær-en

Table-12: ‘hæstæn’ in past tense

The negative form of present tense using a ‘to be’ verb in Bandari can be shown in table-13:

Number Person	Singular	Plural
1	næ- hæst-ærom	næ-hæst-er-im
2	næ- hæst-eri	næ- hæst-eri
3	næ-hæ	næ-hæst-æren

Table-13: Negative past tense in ‘to be’

### 3.1.1.4.3: Future tense

Palmer (2001, 104-105) discusses that “[t]he future is not fully known and it is always no more than a reasonable assumption that a future event will ensure”, that “[t]here are...plenty of examples of future tenses that are historically derived from subjunctives”, and “[o]ther languages have future tenses that have their origins in a modal-type auxiliary.” According to Dahl (2006, 704) future tense is, “epistemologically radically different from both what is behind us the past and what is taking place at this moment the present. Future states of affairs cannot be perceived or remembered, although they can be the subject of our hopes, plans, conjectures, and predictions. We also have similar assumptions of future tense in Bandari. The following are the cases as the future tenses are made on Bandari verb stems.

21) zemeston bâron æ-tât bänder  
Winter Baran PRES-come.3S Bandarabbas  
‘Baran will come to Bandarabbas in winter.’

22) æli sebâ æ-reyt kešm  
ali tomorrow PRES-go.3S Qeshm  
‘Ali will go to the Qeshm tomorrow.’

These examples have future tense meaning but don’t have any future tense marker in the sentence. The expressions like, ‘æ-tât’ ‘s/he comes’ and ‘æ-reyt’ ‘s/he go’ are sentences which express present simple tense. Thus, these verbs have present tense structure. Only time adverbs show that we want to speak about future.

Consequently, Bandari has a binary tense system and doesn’t have future construction. This language uses lexical or contextual means with the non-past verbs for saying things for future time. So, Bandari is basically a language with past and non-past distinction of tense marking.

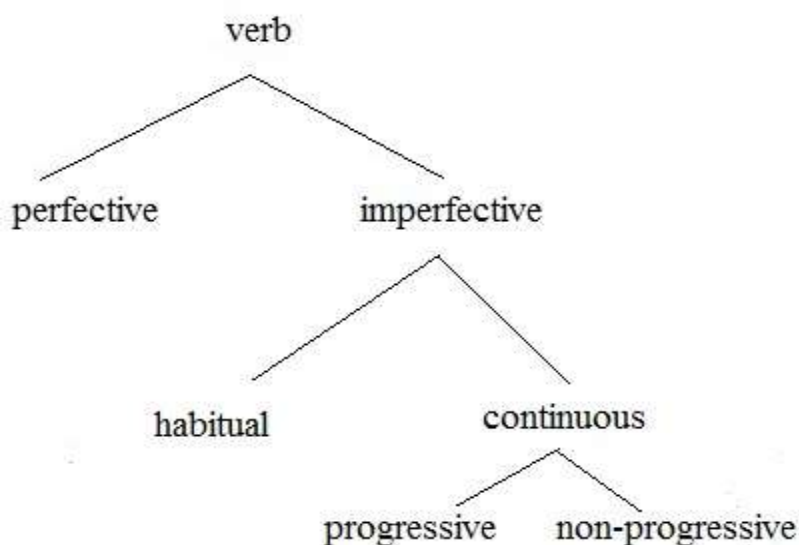
### 3.1.1.5: Aspect

Comrie (1976, 3) refer to aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” According to Comrie’s explanation, aspect is related to the



temporal information that is informed by a sentence. This interpretation is defined by the interaction of tense and aspect. Aspect is clearly different from tense.

Comrie (1976) has an analysis of the aspect; he classifies aspect to perfective and imperfective categories and provides definitions of these subcategories. His classification is shown in figure:



**Figure-4:** Aspect

### **3.1.1.5.1: Perfective aspect**

Comrie says “The perfective looks at the situation from outside, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside” (Comrie, 1976,4). “perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation” (1976, 16). He further adds up that the perfective aspect “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation” (Comrie, 1976,16). Perfect aspect in Bandari has a different structure in transitive and intransitive verbs.

### 3.1.1.5.1.1: Present perfect

Bandari has different structures in present perfect for transitive and intransitive verbs.

#### 3.1.1.5.1.1.1: Present perfect in transitive verbs:

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	<i>om-bord-en</i>	'I have taken.'
2S	<i>et-bord- en</i>	'you have taken'
3S	<i>i-bord- en</i>	's/he has taken'
1PL	<i>mo-bord- en</i>	'we have taken'
2PL	<i>to-bord- en</i>	'you have taken'
3PL	<i>šo-bord- en</i>	'they have taken'

Table-14: Present perfect in transitive verbs

Table-14 shows conjugation of present perfect in transitive verbs in Bandari. This structure is: Inflectional prefix+ past stem+/-en/

#### 3.1.1.5.1.1.2: Present perfect in intransitive verbs:

The table given below shows the conjugation of the verbs in Bandari for present perfect using the intransitive verbs:

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	ræft- <u>æ</u> -m	'I has gone'
2S	ræft- <u>e</u> -y	'you have gone'
3S	ræft- <u>e</u> -n	's/he has gone'
1PL	ræft- <u>ey</u> -m	'we have gone'
2PL	ræft- <u>e</u> -y	'you have gone'
3PL	ræft- <u>æ</u> -n	'they have gone'

Table-15: Present perfect in intransitive verbs

According to Table-15, the present perfect marker in intransitive verbs in Bandari is /-æ/ in first singular and the third plural is and this marker changes to /-e/ in other person and number.

### 3.1.1.5.1.2: Past perfect

Bandari has different conjugation in transitive and intransitive verbs.

#### 3.1.1.5.1.2.1: Past perfect in transitive verbs

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	<b>om</b> -bord- <b>æ</b>	'I had taken.'
2S	<b>et</b> -bord- <b>æ</b>	'you had taken'
3S	<b>i</b> -bord- <b>æ</b>	's/he had taken'
1PL	<b>mo</b> -bord- <b>æ</b>	'we had taken'
2PL	<b>to</b> -bord- <b>æ</b>	'you had taken'
3PL	<b>šo</b> -bord- <b>æ</b>	'they had taken'

Table-16: Past perfect in transitive verbs

Table-16 presents the conjugation of past perfect transitive verbs in Bandari. This structure is:

Inflectional prefix+ past stem+/-æ/

#### 3.1.1.5.1.2.2: Past perfect in intransitive verbs

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	vust-âd- <b>æ</b> r-om	'I had stood up'
2S	vust-âd- <b>er</b> -i	'You had stood up'
3S	vust-âd- <b>æ</b> -Ø	'S/he had stood up.'
1PL	vust-âd- <b>er</b> -im	'We had stood up'
2PL	vust-âd- <b>er</b> -i	'You had stood up'
3PL	vust-âd- <b>æ</b> r-en	'They had stood up.'

Table-17: Past perfect in intransitive verbs

The past perfect intransitive marker is different in Bandari, and table-17 presents past the intransitive marker. It is /-ær/ in first singular and third plural. This marker is /-er/ in the second singular, first and second plural and it is /-æ/ in 3rd.sg in intransitive verbs.

### 3.1.1.5.2: Imperfective aspect

Imperfectivity states “explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within” Comrie (1976,24).

Imperfective aspect will be used to show a situation in which the reference is made to some facet of the internal temporal constituency (e.g. duration or phase) (Comrie 1976,24).

### 3.1.1.5.2.1: Habitual aspect

“[Habituals] describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed, not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period” (Comrie 1976, 27-28).

We have different habitual markers in Bandari as follows:

#### 3.1.1.5.2.1.1: Present habitual

23) hæ ruz non æ-xor-im  
every day bread PRES-eat.1PL  
'We eat bread every day.'

24) mæryæm hæmišæ ijâ e-nin-get  
maryam always here PRES-sit-3S  
'Maryam always sit here.'

The verb morphology 'æ-xor-im' 'we eat' and 'e-nin-get' 'she sits' depict the overt morphological inflectional marker for present habitual aspect as /æ-/. In present habitual aspect, person and number inflections are used after present tense stem to make the habitual aspect indicating that those activities continue.

#### 3.1.1.5.2.1.2: Past habitual

25) hæ ruz non mâ-xâ  
every day bread 1PL-eat.PST  
'We used to eat bread every day.'

The morphological verb construction 'mâ-xâ' 'we ate' in (25) is identical with that of imperative aspect in the past tense. In past habitual aspect unlike present habitual, person inflections are used before the verb stem.

### 3.1.1.5.2.2: Continuous

It expresses that the action is not yet terminated at a particular point which might lie in the past, present or future.

#### 3.1.1.5.2.2.1: Present continuous

Present continuous in Bandari is made by past stem in both transitive and intransitive verbs:

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	<u>æ-xond-om</u>	'I am reading'
2S	<u>æ-xond-i</u>	'you are reading'
3S	<u>æ-xon-d-en</u>	's/he is reading'
1PL	<u>æ-xon-d-im</u>	'we are reading'
2PL	<u>æ-xon-d-i</u>	'you are reading'
3PL	<u>æ-xon-d-æn</u>	'we are reading'

Table-18: Present continuous in transitive verbs

Table-18 shows the present continuous in transitive verbs in Bandari. These verbs conjugation is present marker+past stem+ inflectional

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	<u>æ-ræft-om</u>	'I am going'
2S	<u>æ-ræft-i</u>	'you are going'
3S	<u>æ-ræft-en</u>	'S/he is going'
1PL	<u>æ-ræft-im</u>	'we are going'
2PL	<u>æ-ræft-i</u>	'you are going'
3PL	<u>æ-ræft-æn</u>	'we are going'

Table-19: Present continuous in intransitive verbs

Table-19 shows present continuous in intransitive verbs in Bandari. We can compare table-18 and table-19 and we see the structure of present continuous in Bandari is: æ + past stem+Inflectional affix

#### 3.1.1.5.2.2.2: Past continuous

Past continuous in Bandari has same conjugation in transitive and transitive verbs as follows:

##### 3.1.1.5.2.2.2.1: Transitive verbs

The table given below shows the conjugation of the verbs in Bandari for past continuous using the transitive verbs:

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	<u>mæ</u> -xond	'I was reading'
2S	<u>tæ</u> -xond	'you were reading'
3S	<u>šæ</u> -xond	'S/he was reading'
1PL	<u>mâ</u> -xond	'we were reading'
2PL	<u>tâ</u> -xond	'you were reading'
3PL	<u>šâ</u> -xond	'we were reading'

Table-20: Past continuous in transitive verbs

The past continuous in transitive marker is different in Bandari, and table-20 presents past continuous the transitive marker. It is inflectional prefix and past stem.

### 3.1.1.5.2.2.2: Intransitive verbs

The table given below shows the conjugation of the verbs in Bandari for past continuous using the intransitive verbs:

Person number	Bandari	Gloss
1S	<u>mæ</u> -ræ	'I was going'
2S	<u>tæ</u> -ræ	'you were going'
3S	<u>šæ</u> -ræ	'S/he was going'
1PL	<u>mâ</u> -ræ	'we were going'
2PL	<u>tâ</u> -ræ	'you were going'
3PL	<u>šâ</u> -ræ	'we were going'

Table-21: Past continuous in intransitive verbs

Compare two tables (20) and (21) shows inflectional affix in both transitive and intransitive verbs are same. The structure in Bandari is: Inflectional prefix + past stem

### 3.1.1.6: Mood

According to Bhat (1999), "mood is concerned with the actuality of an event." Palmer (1999, 229) defines mood to be a purely morphological category of the verb. Bybee (1985, 22) describes mood as an indication of 'what the speaker wants to do with the proposition'

Bandari has indicative, imperative, subjunctive and Conditional mood and we will discuss each of them one by one:

#### 3.1.1.6.1: The indicative mood

The indicative mood in Bandari is unmarked. This mood is the most commonly used mood. The indicative mood is used to state statement fact or question, in Bandari.

**a. Statement of facts**

26) pesin mæhtâb dæronð  
evening moon come.3S  
'The moon rose in evening.'

**b. Question**

The yes/no question in Bandari is the same declarative sentence and it is done by rising the intonation in the sentence.

27) æli ræ  
ali go.PST.3S  
'Ali went.'

28) æli ræ  
ali go.PST.3S  
'Did Ali go?'

**3.1.1.6.2: Imperative mood**

Most languages have a specific form that can be identified as imperative (Palmer, 2001, 80).The imperative is commonly defined as the form of the verb used in issuing direct commands or orders (Bybee, 1985,171) and requests. Lyons (1977, 747) argues that the imperative can only be, strictly, the second person and never third person (or first person)

Table-22 shows the imperative structure in Bandari. The imperative mood is formed by adding /be-/, /bo-/, /bi-/ and /bu-/ to the present stem of a verb.

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>plural</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
bo-kâr	'plant!'	bo-kâr-i	'plant!'
bo-bor	'cut!'	bo-bor-i	'cut'
be-berzon	'roast!'	be-berzon-i	'roast!'
be-gæ	'say!'	be-gey	'say!'
bi-gič	'sift!'	bi-gič-i	'sift!'
bu-duz	'sew!'	bu-duz-i	'sew!'

Table-22: Imperative mood

According to table-22:

- /bo-/ when V in present stem is /â/ or /o/
- /be-/ when V in present stem is /e/ or /æ/
- /bi-/ when V in present stem is /i/.
- /bu-/ when V in present stem is /u/.

29 sâ:æt-e se ijâ bæ(š)  
 hour-EZ three here be.IMP  
 ‘Be here at 3.’

According to sentence (29) ‘buden’ ‘to be’ does not use the imperative prefix in the imperative mood.

### 3.1.1.6.3: Subjunctive mood

According to Palmer (2001,131) in Indo-European languages, the subjunctive is used to express wishes or desires. Subjunctive mood refers to a form of the verb which describes any imaginary or hypothetical events and situations. It is intended to represent an action as a desire, hope, possibility, probability, condition, presumption etc.

Person/ Number	xærid-en ‘to close’	borid-en ‘to cut’	geft-en ‘to take’	sâxt-en ‘to make’	pušid-en ‘to wear’	gičid-en ‘to swift’
1 <sup>st</sup> /sg	<b>be</b> -bænd-om	<b>bo</b> -bor-om	<b>be</b> -ger-om	<b>be</b> -sâz-om	<b>bu</b> -puš-om	<b>bi</b> -gič-om
2 <sup>nd</sup> /sg	<b>be</b> -bænd-i	<b>bo</b> -bor-i	<b>be</b> -gir-i	<b>be</b> -sâz-i	<b>bu</b> -puš-i	<b>bi</b> -gič-i
3 <sup>rd</sup> /sg	<b>be</b> -bænd-et	<b>bo</b> -bor-et	<b>be</b> -gent	<b>be</b> -sâz-et	<b>bu</b> -puš-et	<b>bi</b> -gič-et
1 <sup>st</sup> /Pl	<b>be</b> -bænd-im	<b>bo</b> -bor-im	<b>be</b> -gir-im	<b>be</b> -sâz-im	<b>bu</b> -puš-im	<b>bi</b> -gič-im
2 <sup>nd</sup> /Pl	<b>be</b> -bænd-i	<b>bo</b> -bor-i	<b>be</b> -gir-i	<b>be</b> -sâz-i	<b>bu</b> -puš-i	<b>bi</b> -gič-i
3 <sup>rd</sup> /Pl	<b>be</b> -bænd-en	<b>bo</b> -bor-en	<b>be</b> -ger-en	<b>be</b> -sâz-en	<b>bu</b> -puš-en	<b>bi</b> -gič-en

Table-23: Subjunctive mood

Table-23 shows structure of subjunctive in Bandari, this construction is formed by adding the prefix /be-, /bo-, /bu-, /bi-/ to the present stem, which also receives the personal endings.

This prefix is /be-/ when vowel in CVC is /æ/, /e/, /â/. The subjunctive marker is /bo-/ when V is /o/. This prefix is /bu-/ when vowel is /u/ and it is /bi-/ when vowel is /i/. The subjunctive prefix in other verbs are accordance with V.



### 3.1.1.6.4: Conditional mood

According to Crystal (2008, 97) conditional mood for the expression is used whose semantic role is the statement of hypotheses or conditions.

This mood is commonly introduced by ‘ægæ’ ‘if’ in Bandari. The conditional clause usually comes before the result clause and use subjunctive or indicative mood for the verb.

According to Palmer (2001,125), the subjunctive is used in conditional clauses in a number of languages. Bandari uses the subjunctive in the conditional clause when both the result and possible condition are in the future, for example:

i) The possible condition and the result are at the future time.

30) ægæ be-r-ey bâzâr me-æm æ-ræm  
if SBJN-go-2S market I-also PRES-go.1S  
‘If you go to the market I’ll go market too.’

In sentence (30) cause and result are in the future. However, they are present tense and it is the condition that gives it a reading in future tense.

31) ægæ æli bu-but nâ-mon-im  
if ali SUBJ-be.3S NEG- stay.PRES-1P  
‘If Ali is there we won’t stay.’

In sentence (31) the possible condition is in the present-time event or state with the verb ‘bud-en’ ‘to be’.

This structure is perfect subjunctive, whereas the possible condition is in past time and perfect aspect the result is in the future. Such as:

32) ægæ æli næ-resid-æbæš-et telefon-æ-kon-om  
if ali NEG-arrived-PSPT be-3S telephone-PRES-do-1S  
‘If Ali hasn’t arrived, I’ll call.’

In addition to ‘ægæ’ ‘if’, ‘bedun-e’, ‘ike’ ‘without’, ‘k<sup>h</sup>æbl æz ike’ ‘before’, ‘begæ inke’ ‘unless’ are also used in conditional mood but these are less common than ‘ægæ’, ‘if’ in Bandari.

- 33) k<sup>h</sup>æblæike be-r-æm xonæ ræmæ bâzâr  
 befor SBJN-go-1S home PRES-go.1S market  
 ‘Before I go home I’m going to market.’

### Conditionals using the indicative

In Bandari, the conditional clause uses the indicative when it is impossible in the present or past.

- 34) ægæ mæ-donest vâ to mæ-go  
 if 1S-know.PST to you 1S-tell.PST  
 ‘If I knew, I would tell you.’

In sentence (34) the conditional and result both have continuous past aspect.

- 35) ægæ me-tunest i k<sup>h</sup>âr k<sup>h</sup>evul-mæ-ke  
 if 1S-can this job accept-1S-do-PST  
 ‘If I could have, I would have taken this job.’

Sentence (35) shows that the conditional result is not possible and thus it uses past continuous in both. In Bandari, we use indicative mood for the context when a single action comes before the result. For example:

- 36) ægæ zud ræft-en be me xevær.âdæ  
 if early go.PST-3PL to me inform.give.2S  
 ‘If they leave early, inform me.’

The sentence (36) shows that the simple indicative past tense may be used in Bandari.

#### 3.1.1.6.5: Optative mood

Optative mood is used to express a desire, hopes, or wishes’. Bandari uses subjunctive form to express optative mood.

- 37) omidvâr-om sebâ be-r-æm bänder  
 hopeful-am tomorrow SBJN-go-1S bandarabbas  
 ‘I hope to go to Bandarabbas tomorrow.’

### 3.1.1.6.6: Intentionality

Intentionality is another structure that is used with subjunctive form. In main clause ‘vâsten’ ‘to want’ shows the expression of intentionality in Bandari.

- 38) mæ-vâ            hendi    yâd        be-ger-om  
1S-want.PRES    hindi    memory    SBJN-get-1S  
‘I want to learn Hindi.’

When the main clause is in the past, the present subjunctive form in the subordinate clause has a past meaning. For example:

- 39) mæ-vâst-æ        sæbâ        be-r-æm  
1S-want.PRES    tommorow    SBJN-go-1S  
‘I wanted to go tomorrow.’

In sentence (39), main clause ‘I wanted’ ‘mæ-vâst-æ’ is in the past and in the subordinate clause, the subjunctive form also shows the meaning that is in the past tense.

### 3.1.1.6.7: Potential mood

The potential mood is the structure in Bandari with some verbs such as: ‘tunesten’ ‘to be able to’, ‘belæd buden’ ‘to know how’. These verbs are indicative in the main clause, and subordinate clause is subjunctive.

- 40) æli e-tun-et        hendi    bo-xon-et  
ali    PRES.can.3S    hindi    SBJN-read-3S  
‘Ali can read Hindi.’

### 3.1.1.7: Complex verbs

Bandari has a small number of simple verbs. In this limited set of simple verbs, the “light verbs” (LV) combine with the non-verbal elements to produce new verbal expressions. These non-verbal elements can be adjective, nouns and even prepositions in Bandari.

Some researchers have defined complex verbs (predicates) as follows:

Brugman (2001) describes LVs as “lexical items which provide simultaneously semantic contributions and discourse functions to their constructions.” She believes that light verb constructions are headed by a “verb which typically has a very wide distribution – it is polysemous and may be associated with a wide variety of patterns of argument selection.”

Butt & Geuder (2003), conclude that light verbs serve the purpose of structuring event concepts. To this end, they are reduced to an entirely schematic meaning. The crucial difference between light verbs and auxiliaries is that, with light verbs, this schematic information is applied in order to structure a lexical content (namely the full verb), not in order to express a grammatical meaning as is the case with auxiliaries.

As Folli, Harley and Karimi (2005) show, this group is formed by an NV element and an LV. NV element which includes: 1) nominal, 2) adjectival, 3) particle and 4) prepositional.

a. PP+V

æ dæst + dâden	of hand giving	‘to lose’
æ yâd + kerd	of memory taking	‘to forget’
vâ yâd + vârden	to memory bringing	‘to remember’
vâ nezær + honden	to view coming	‘to appear’
bær+gærdiden	over turn	‘to return/turn’
vâ+ geften	away take	‘to have to take’

b. Adj+V

pâk + k <sup>h</sup> erden	clean doing	‘to clean’
bidâr + buden	awake becoming	‘to wake up’
sehâr + kerden	destroyed doing	‘to destroy’
pæhn + kerden	wide doing	‘to spread’

c. Adv+V

dær+kerden	out doing	‘to make someone leave’
bâlâ+ borden	up carrying	‘to promote’
pæs + dâden	back giving	‘to return’
towš + dâden	far throwing	‘to throw away’

d. N+V

dâr + zæden	beating hitting	‘to beat’
râh + ræften	way going	‘to walk’
âteš + zæden	fire hitting	‘to put on fire’

Some more usages of light verbs in Bandari is as follows:

## 1- “zæden”

The original meaning of ‘zæden’, in Bandari is ‘to hit’ or ‘to beat’. When this verb is used as full verb, ‘zæden’ is a transitive verb and has a close meaning in the English as ‘to hit’. For example:

41) æli bey me i-zæ  
ali acc I 3S-hit. past  
"Ali hit me"

If this is used as an instrument in the action, it is indicated by adding a prepositional marker i.e. ‘vâ’ in Bandari. For example:

42) æli vâ sæŋ bey me izæ  
ali with st acc I 3S-hit. past  
"Ali struck me with a stone"

### ‘zæden’ as a light verb:

‘zæden’ is one of the most common light verbs in Bandari. Verbs that are constructed with this light verb can be transitive or intransitive. This verb with non-verbs elements makes verbs with extended meanings such as: protect, ameliorate, spray, trim, touch, hurt, position, emit, play music, quick action, steal and etc. In these verbs, the subject is an agent and does something. The subject is usually an agent who does something. The verbal element ‘zæden’, as a full verb, is always transitive and takes a direct object but when this verb uses as light verb, complex verbs transitive or intransitive. Let us examine some of prominent complex verbs in Bandari:

### 1- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘to hang’, ‘to block or protect’, ‘to cover’

NV <sup>6</sup>	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
pærdæ	‘curtain’	pærdæ zæden	‘to hang a curtain’
čâder	‘tent’	čâder zæden	‘to set up a tent’
tæxtæ	‘board’	tæxtæ zæden	‘to hang a board up’
borkæ	‘musk’	borka zaden	‘to cover with a veil’

---

<sup>6</sup>-NV is ‘non-verbal element’ as there are other elements such as noun, prepositional phrase and adjective beside.

These verbs mean ‘hang an object’ that serves to block or protect something. If it states hanging something on an exterior, it is expressed by an adverbial object. If it is divided between two things for hanging something, it is expressed by using ‘beyn’ ‘between’. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 43) hæmid tu pârk čâder i-zæ(d)  
 hamid in park tent 3S-hit.PST  
 ‘Hamid sets up tent in the park.’

## 2- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘to ameliorate’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
lif	‘flannel’	lif zæden	‘to rub with exfoliating glove’
šonæ	‘brush’	šonæ zæden	‘to brush’
suhon	‘file’	suhon zæden	‘to file’
sombâdæ	‘sandpaper’	sombâdæ zæden	‘to sand’

These verbs mean groom or clean with a tools. The object is surface or entity being groomed. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 44) oseyn vâ dær sombâdæ i-zæ  
 hosein on door sandpaper 3S.hit.PST  
 ‘Hosein sanded the door.’

## 3-‘zæden’ entailing ‘to enhance’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
hæduvæ	‘spice’	hæduvæ zæden	‘to add spices’
nemæk	‘salt’	nemæk zæden	‘to add salt’
felfel	‘pepper’	felfel zæden	‘to add pepper’

These verbs are used for enhance with adding spice or another element. These verbs need indirect object. Indirect object is the entity that be enhance with adding spice or another elements. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 45) mǣryǣm vâ gušt nemæk i-zæ  
 maryam to meat salt 3S-hit.PST  
 ‘Maryam added salt to meat.’

#### 4-‘zæden’ entailing ‘to spray’ or ‘to splash a liquid’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
how	‘water’	how zæden	‘to spray/splash water’
ǣtr	‘perfume’	ǣtr zæden	‘to spray perfume’
pešeŋ	‘spray’	pešeŋ zæden	‘to spray water’

Sometimes ‘zæden’ with some non-verbs elements such as ‘how’ ‘water’, ‘ǣtr’ ‘perfume’ mean spray or splash. This action does not mean such as watering flowers but it generally used to apply a liquid on a limited area. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 46) vâ non-e xošk pešeŋ-e how be-zæ  
 on bread-EZ dry Spray-EZ Water IMP.hit  
 ‘Spray water on dry bread!’

#### 5- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘to trim’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
mud	‘hair’	mud zæden	‘to trim hair’
riš	‘beard’	riš zæden	‘to shave beard’
čǣmǣn	‘grass’	čǣmǣn zæden	‘to mow the grass’

These verbs mean trim grown organic matter. Organic materials such as hair, bread or grown grass when we express in Bandari as to how these things were trimmed, we use ‘zæden’ as a light verb. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 47) æbâs riš-oxo i-zæ  
 abbas beard-3S.PC 3S-hit.PST  
 ‘Abbas shaved his bread.’

## 6- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘to touch’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
dæs	‘hand’	dæs zæden	‘to touch with hand’
k <sup>h</sup> elenč	‘finger’	k <sup>h</sup> elenč zæden	‘to touch with finger’
čængâl	‘fork’	æčngâl zæden	‘to touch with a fork’

Touches can do with hand, foot or an instrument and leaving a mark. For this action we used body part or an instrument that doesn’t entail hurting. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 48) vâ k<sup>h</sup>if-e me dæs mæ-zæ  
to bag-EZ my hand NEG-hit  
‘Don’t touch my bag.’

## 7-‘zæden’ entailing ‘to modify’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
gerehn	‘knot’	gerehn zæden	‘to knot’
peyvænd	‘graft’	peyvænd zæden	to graft plants, organs’
pæč	‘patch’	pæč zæden	‘to patch’

Sometimes verb ‘zæden’ can be used for modification. Modification is expressed with connecting somethings. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 49) tomon-oxo pæč i-zæ  
trousers-her/his patch 3S-hit.PST  
‘S/he patched her/his trousers.’

Some of these complex verbs mean obtain marks. These marks arise of some internal or external biological or chemical reaction.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
pinæ	‘callus’	pinæ zæden	‘to develop a callus’
zæng	‘rust’	zæng zæden	‘to rust’
tâvol	‘vesicle’	tâvol zæden	‘to develop a blister’
mæng	‘rust’	mæng zæden	‘to oxidize’



- 50) i        sini    zæng    i- zæd-en  
 This tray rust    3S.hit.PRES PERF  
 ‘This tray has rusted.’

### 8-‘zæden’ entailing ‘to hurt’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
xænjær	‘scythe’	xænjær zæden	‘to hit with a scythe’
čoku	‘knif’	čoku zæden	‘to stab with a knife’
šæmšir	‘sword’	šæmšir zæden	‘to stab with a sword’
potk	‘hammer’	potk zæden	‘to hit with a sledge hammer’
most	‘punch’	most zæden	‘to punch’
læwæd	‘kick’	læwæd zæden	‘to kick’
čæk	‘slap’	čæk zæden	‘to slap’

These complex verbs mean ‘pain’, ‘injury’, penetrate that would grow up by an agent’s hands, feet, or head, hit by dint of sharp weapon, penetrating or a heavy instrument. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 51) bey    æli    woye-ye    nomâz    šæmšir    šo-zæ  
 ACC    ali    time-EZ    prayer    sword    3PL-hit.PST  
 ‘Ali hit by a sword during prayer.’

Sometimes these complex verbs mean hurt with trick someone, such as ‘k<sup>h</sup>elæk zæden’ ‘to play a trick, cheat’. ‘nârow zæden’ ‘to double-cross’.

- 52) æli    tu    gozi    k<sup>h</sup>elæk    æ-zæn-t  
 ali    in    play    trick    PRES-hit-3S  
 ‘Ali plays tricks in game.’

### 9- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘to position’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
zonu	‘knee’	zonu zæden	‘to kneel’
čombæk	‘squat’	čombæk zæden	‘to squat’
mæ:llæk	‘somersault’	mæ:llæk zæden	‘to somersault’
jok	‘knee’	jok zæden	‘to kneel’
pel	‘roll’	pel zæden	‘to roll’

These complex verbs explain a position. These verbs are intransitive and do not have direct object. The subject is animait noun who has that position. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 53) o jelow-e mom-i zonu i-zæ  
 s/he in front of mother-3S knee 3S-hit.PST  
 ‘S/he kneeled in front of her/his mother.’

### 10- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘to emit’

The complex verbs mean emit and they can be dived into two subdivisions. The first set of is complex verbs mean bright shimmer, or flash. These verbs are visual. The subjects of these verbs are not human i.e. an inanimate noun. Examples for aural:

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
‘jærækkæ’	‘spark’	‘jærækkæ zæden’	‘to spark’
čěsmæk	‘wink’	‘čěsmæk zæden’	‘to blink(as in a light)’

This form can be used for high lighting a specific visual property, or a tint of a colour. For example:

- 54) I pârčæ be sorx æ-zæden  
 this fabric to Red PRES-hit.3S  
 ‘This fabric has a red tint.’

Other subdivision is aural complex verbs. These verbs mean sound or speech or negative emotions such as stress or displeasure. The subject is an entity who does the action. A prepositional phrase headed by ‘vâ’ ‘with’ expresses the entity that is spoken to. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 55) me vâ o gæp om-zæ  
 I with s/he chat 1S-hit.PST  
 ‘I talked to him/her.’

Other aural emitting verbs communicate negative emotions such as stress or displeasure. The verb states an act that is carried out by a single agent.

Some complex verbs mean emitting which is introduced by vocalizations that express emotions.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
lâf	‘boast’	lâf zæden	‘to boast’
gæp	‘chat’	gæp zæden	‘to chat’
jâr	‘call’	jâr zaden	‘to call’
veŋ	‘whine’	veŋ zæden	‘to speak in whine’
zer	‘nonsense’	zer zæden	‘to talk nonsense’
næ:ræ	‘screech’	næ:ræ zæden	‘to screech’
šæstæk	‘snap your finger’	šæstæk zæden	‘to snap your finger’
dâd	‘yell’	dâd zæden	‘to yell’
κâr	‘cry’	κâr zæden	‘to cry’
šihæ	‘neigh’	šihæ zæden	‘to neigh, whinny’
xændæ	‘laugh’	xændæ zæden	‘to laugh’

These complex verbs are intransitive and they do not need to have direct object. These noises are usually sharp and repetitive. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 56) æsb šihæ i-zæ  
 horse neigh 3S.hit.PST  
 ‘The horse whinnied.’

### 11-‘zæden’ entailing ‘to play a musical instrument’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
Fulut	‘flute’	fulut zæden	‘to play the flute’
piâno	‘piano’	piâno zæden	‘to play the piano’
viyolon	‘violin’	viyolon zæden	‘to play the violin’
gitâr	‘gitar’	gitâr zæden	‘to play the gitar’

Structure of ‘zæden’ and musical instrument can be used for any musical instrument. This expresses meaning for ‘zæden’. The subject usually is a musician who plays the music. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 57) sinâ fulut æ-zæn-t  
 sina flute PRES-hit-3S  
 ‘Sina plays flute.’

## 12- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘action’

‘zædæn’ can be combined with a non-verbal element to create a complex verb phrase that means action.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
čort	‘nap’	čort zæden	‘to take a nap’
ændâzæ	‘measurement’	ændâzæ zæden	‘to make a quick measurement’
oškuruk	‘hiccup’	oškuruk zæden	‘to hiccup’
penjârk	‘paw’	penjârk zæden	‘to paw’

Since ‘zædæn’ often implies a swift and rapid action, these LVCs focus on expressing a trivial act. These forms are usually used in the colloquial language. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 58) æbâs hæmišæ bæd-æ xorâk čort æ-zæn-t  
 abbas always after-GEN lunch nap PRES-hit.3S  
 ‘Abbas always takes a short nap after lunch.’

- Sometimes these complex verbs entail some action that can prepare a starter or making a mold. xâmæ zæden ‘to whip cream’ and ‘bonjom zæden’ ‘to add a starter’. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 59) to bâyæd xâmæ zæd-en yâd be-gir-i  
 you must cream hit-INF memory IMP-get-2S  
 ‘You must first learn how to whip cream.’

### 13-‘zæden’ entailing ‘to inject’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
suzæn	‘shot’	suzæn zæden	‘to administer a shot’
penesilin	‘penicillin’	penesilin zæden	‘to administer penicillin’

Some non-verbal elements are added to ‘zæden’ and they together build complex verbs that mean voluntarily inject some substance into the body. The subject in such construction is an animate noun and it does the action. If the subject administers a shot to someone else, the undergoer will be treated as a direct object. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 60) doktor be me pinisilin i-zæ  
doctor to me penicillin 3S-hit.PST  
‘The doctor injected me penicillin.’

### 14- ‘zæden’ entailing ‘to put fuel to a machine’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
benzin	‘gas’	benzin zæden	‘to pump with gas’
gâzoyel	‘diesel’	gâzoyel zæden	‘to pump with diesel’
ruκæn	‘oil’	ruκæn zæden	‘to lubricate’

Put fuel to a machine through a nozzle shaped object. These verbs are transitive and the subject adds fuel to a machine that expresses the role of an indirect object. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 61) dær sedâ šæ-dâ ruκæn om-zæ  
door noise 3S-give.PST oil 1S-hit.PST  
‘The door makes noise; I lubricated it.’

## 15-‘zæden’ entailing ‘to steal’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> æf	‘palm’	k <sup>h</sup> æf zæden	‘to steal’
bank <sup>h</sup>	‘bank’	bank <sup>h</sup> zæden	‘rob a bank’
jib	‘pocket’	jib zæden	‘pickpocket’

These verbs mean steal money from inside a place. These places must be known where money is kept. For example, we cannot say ‘jæ:bæ zæden’ ‘box hit’ to mean steal money out of a box, because it is not a typical place where one would keep money. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 62) ošo bânk šo-zæ  
they bank 3PL-hit.PST  
‘They robbed the bank.’

Sometimes accepts a direct object.

- 63) tu râh jib-i šo-zæ  
on way pocket-3SPC 3PL-hit.PST  
‘On way they picked his pocket.’

## 2- ‘geften’ ‘to hold’ or ‘to get’

The verb ‘geften’ as a full verb has two meanings: one is ‘to hold’ and the other one is ‘to get’. The subject of the full verb is an agent and it can be an animate noun. In Bandari, this verb can take either two or three arguments depending on its meaning in the context. If it means ‘to hold’ it will take two arguments i.e. some one will hold something. For example” ‘H is holding her’. However, if the verb means ‘to get’ it can take three arguments; such as a subject, direct object and indirect object. For example ‘The boy got a carpet for his teacher.’

However, when ‘geften’ functions as a light verb it produces a vast range of complex predicates in Bandari.

### 1- The verb 'geften' entailing 'grip'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
tormoz	'break'	tormoz geften	'to break'
k <sup>h</sup> elâč	'clutch'	k <sup>h</sup> elâč geften	'to press on the clutch'

These verbs mean grip with hands or mechanical means. The subject gains more control over something by gripping a functional part of it. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 64) mæhmæd dorost be mokæ tormoz i-ge  
mohammad right in time break 3S-take.PST  
'Mohammad took the break just in time.'

### 2- The verb 'geften' entailing 'grasp':

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
doz	'thief'	doz geften	'to apprehend a thief'
æsir	'captive'	æsir geften	'to capture'
zendoni	'prisoner'	zendoni geften	'to obtain prisoners'

These verbs mean to capture an outlaw. The entity apprehended is fleeing or free and must be brought under the control of some person or authority. These verbs are used to show the imprisonment process. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 65) ošo čæntâ æsir šo-ge  
they several hostage 3PL-take.PST  
'They took several hostages.'

### 3- The verb 'geften' entailing 'hunt', 'hunt a wild animal'.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
moyi	'fish'	moyi geften	'to fish'
šekâr	'hunt'	šekâr geften	'to hunt'
polæng	'leopard'	polæng geften	'to hunt a leopard'

The productivity of this verbal form is restricted to wild animals, or animals that are difficult to get into the subjects grasp. Wild animals are free, not domestic ones. Therefore, the word

dog can be used in this construction if it refers to a wild dog, not the subject's own dog in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 66) ošo duš yetâ moy šo-ge  
 they yesterday one fish 3PL-get.PST  
 'They fished a fish yesterday.'

#### 4- The verb 'geften' entailing 'consider':

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
geron	'dear'	geron geften	'to consider dear'
nædid	'unseen'	nædid geften	'to disregard', 'to pass off as unseen'
ešebâh	'erroneous'	ešebâh geften	'to mistake something for something else'

These verbs help us to understand something in a manner that is stated by an adjective expresses an evaluation. The structure states how the subject perceives, explains, or judges the object. The judgement always happens subjectively in almost all the situation where such expressions are used in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 67) o be me vâ širin ešebâh i-ge  
 s/he Acc I with shirin mistake 3S-get  
 'S/he took me for shirin.'

#### 5- The verb 'geften' entailing 'record':

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
film	film	film geften	'to record on film'
æks	photo	æks geften	'to photograph'

These verbs mean record an image or sound on media. A fleeting scene (composition, lighting, action, and also sound) change quickly, but these are brought into the grasp of the subject through recording. It must be mentioned the 'geften' in Bandari is only used for Photography and not for painting. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 68) me duš æks om-ge  
 I yesterday photo 1S-get.PST  
 'I photographed yesterday.'



## 6- The verb 'geften' entailing 'marital'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
zæn	'wife'	zæn geften	'to take a wife'
siræ	'temporary wife'	siræ geften	'to get married temporarily'
šu	'husband'	šu geften	'to take a husband'

The verbs are mainly used for marital engagement and get a life partner. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 69) æbâs be doxt-e æsæn i-ge  
abbas Acc daughter-EZ hasan 3S-get  
'Abbas married Hasan's daughter.'

## 7- The verb 'geften' entailing 'ritual':

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
xæt̄m	'memorial'	xæt̄m geften	'to have a memorial service'
ærusi	'wedding'	ærusi geften	'to throw a wedding'
tævælod	'birthday'	tævælod geften	'to have a birthday party'

These verbs are used 'to have a gathering', 'to celebrate' or 'commemorate'. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 70) bærâ-âš ærusi šo-ge  
for-3S wedding 3PL-take.PST  
'They celebrated his wedding.'

## 8- The verb 'geften' entailing 'cover'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
tælâ	'gold'	tælâ geften	'to gold plate'
gæč	'plaster'	gæč geften	'to cover with plaster'
gel	'mud'	gel geften	'to cover with mud'
læjæn	'slime'	læjæn geften	'to get covered with slime'
xâk	'dust'	xâk geften	'to get covered in dust'

These complexes predicates mean wrap or cast. A soft and often viscous material that then hardens to cover the object. The subject is a volitional entity who uses the material expressed

by the complex verb to wrap or cast the object completely. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 71) hæmeyçi xâk i-geft-en  
 everything dust 3S-get.PSTPRT  
 ‘Everything was covered by dust.’

### 9- The verb ‘geften’ entailing ‘reserve’:

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
jâ	place	jâ geften	‘to reserve a seat/place’
nobæt	turn	nobæt gereftæn	‘to take a turn, get an appointment’.

These verbs that are made with geften mean reserve a place or time. The subject reserves a time or a place. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 72) bey diden-e modir væxt æ-ger-om  
 for See.INF-EZ boss time PRES.get.1S  
 ‘I will get an appointment to see the boss.’

### 10- The verb ‘geften’ entailing ‘charge money’:

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
ejâræ	‘rent’	ejâræ geften	‘to charge rent’
rešvæ	‘bribe’	rešvæ geften	‘to accept a bribe’
nuzul	‘interest’	nuzul geften	‘to charge interest’

An optional indirect object can be used for states the source from where the subject obtains the money. The money transfers possession in return for a service, fee, interest, or bribe. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 73) o rešvæ i- ge  
 s/he bribe 3S-get.PST  
 ‘S/he accepted a bribe.’

### 11- The verb‘geften’ entailing ‘obtain’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
jevâb	‘answer’	jevâb gereftæn	‘to get an answer’
xevær	‘news’	xevær geftæn	‘to get news of’

In Bandari, we use this verb for information that must be extracted from an external source. There are only a limited number of lexemes that mean answer or information. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 74) vâ telefon æ o xevær om-ge  
by telephon from he nes 1S-get.PST  
‘I called for some news about him.’

### 12- The verb‘geften’ entailing ‘service’:

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> ârgær	‘worker’	k <sup>h</sup> ârgær geften	‘to employ a worker’
pæræstâr	‘nurse’	pæræstâr geften	‘to employ a nurse’
moælem	‘teacher’	moælem geften	‘to employ a teacher’
nowkær	‘servant’	nowkær geften	‘to employ a servant’

These verbs mean to hire someone. These complex verbs are usually used when a person employs someone. The type of worker appears as an object in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 75) be mom-et pæræstâr et-ge  
for mother-PC.2S nurse 2S-get.PST  
‘Did you hire a nurse for your mother?’

### 13- The verb‘geften’ entailing ‘receive help’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> omæk	‘help’	k <sup>h</sup> omæk geften	‘to get help’
vâm	‘loan’	vâm geften	‘to obtain a loan’
šæfâ	‘cured’	šæfâ geften	‘to be cured’
pænah	‘refuge’	pænah geften	‘to be provided refuge’

The subject in such construction acts as the benefactor as the subject receives the help or gets saved intentionally or by happenstance. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 76) be xærیدن-e mošin vâm æ-ger-om  
 for buy.INF-EZ car loan PRES-get-1S  
 'I will take out a loan to purchase car.'

#### 14- The verb 'geften' entailing 'catch an illness':

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
særætân	'cancer'	særætân geftæn	'to get cancer'
âbelæ	'pox'	âbelæ geften	'to catch the pox'
særgijæ	'dizzy'	særgijæ geften	'to get dizzy'
nâxoši	'sick'	nâxoši geften	'to sick'
zærdük	'jaundice'	zærdük geften	'to get jaundice'
særdærd	'headache'	særdærd geften	'to get headache'
sohrek	'measles'	sohrek geften	'to get measles'

These are very interesting verbs and their usages in Bandari highlight interesting facts. The subject does not exert any effort to attain the things that he receives. The subject is a proto-patient, the goods or services received are not usually to his/her benefit. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 77) k<sup>h</sup>olsum særdærd i-geft-en  
 kolsum headache 3S-get-PRSPRT  
 'Kolsum has got headache.'

#### 15- The verb 'geften' entailing 'receive an order'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
sefâreš	'order'	sefâreš geften	'to take an order'
dæstur	'directions'	dæstur geften	'to be directed'
færmon	'decree'	færmon geften	'to be commanded'

The subject of these complex predicate verbs is the one who receives an order. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 78) gârson æ mâ sefâreš i-ge  
 waiter from we order 3S-get.PST  
 The waiter took us order.

### 16 - The verb 'geften' entailing 'absorb'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
âteš	'fire'	âteš geften	'to catch on fire'
jon	'life'	jon geften	'to get energized'
bu	'smell'	bu geften	'to get smelly'

These verbs are interesting to examine in Bandari. They entail something as subject that can be imbued into things and generally permeate to fully engulf it. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 79) jemæ-m bu i-geft  
 clothes-my smell 3S-get.PST  
 'My clothes became smelly.'

### 17- The verb 'geften' entailing 'to take a position'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
æ sær	'from head'	æ sær geften	'to take it from the start (restart)'
dombâl	'after'	dombâl geften	'to follow up'

The object of such verbs is the entity that acts a relative to which the subject positions himself or herself. These constructions are used to state the subject's position with respect to more intangible entities. The subject assumes a position or a shape; which takes a configuration upon itself. Depending on the construction, the subject may or may not be actively involved in attaining the configuration or trait that is acquired. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

80) mehdi ahəng æ sər i-ge  
 mehdi song from head 3S-take.PST  
 Mehdi started the piece over.

### 18- The verb 'geften' entailing 'be come organised'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
nəzm	'organization'	nəzm geften	'to become organized'
tərtib	'hierarchy'	tərtib geften	'to be arranged'
sâmon	'welfare'	sâmon geften	'to become settled'

These complex verbs mean 'become organised'. The subject usually without external force discharges some action. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

81) čuk-o tu k<sup>h</sup>elâs nəzm šo-ge  
 kid-PL in class organization 3PL-take.PST  
 'The kids became orderly.'

### 19- The verb 'geften' entailing 'extract'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
âb mivæ	'fruit juice'	âb mivæ geften	'to juice'
golâb	'rose-water'	golâb geften	'extract rose-water'
širæ	'syrup'	širæ geften	'extract syrup'

These complex verbs mean extracting an essence for example: golâb geften 'to extract rose-water' or liquid from its original source, like: 'âb mivæ geften' 'to juice'. The liquids from fruits or flowers don't flow out naturally, but it has to be extracted. For example we use 'how geften' (water catch) that to state squeezing juice out of a fruit, or taking water from a well by using a bucket but not using a pump. We cannot use this verb for taking water from the sea. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

82) muzæ hær sâl golâb æ-gent  
 muze evrey year rose-water PRES-get.3S  
 'Muze extracts rose-water every year.'

### 3-‘dâden’ ‘to give’

‘dâden’ in Bandari, mean ‘to give’. This verb is transitive. The subject is an agent. The object is the distinct thing that is transferred to indirect object which is headed by ‘be’ ‘to.’

- 83) o        be    me    k<sup>h</sup>etâb    i-dâ  
s/he    to    1S    book    3S-give.PST  
‘S/he gave me the book.’

In Bandari ‘dâden’ as a light verb represents transfer of information, presentation, knowledge, yielding of social or political right, power, or permission, and providing emotional or spiritual aid. Imposing physical changes to states of thing, and emanating tangible signals, especially visible or audible, are examples of the former type. The resulting LVCs can be transitive or intransitive in Bandari and this depend on the context.

#### 1- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘explain’:

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
tæfsil	details	tæfsil dâden	‘to tell with excruciating detail’
tozih	explanation	tozih dâden	‘to explain, elucidate’

In Bandari, any lexeme meaning explanation, or clarification, especially one that adds to or brings out unknown details of a subject. The object is the entity that is being clarified or explained. An optional prepositional clause headed by ‘be’ ‘for’ explicitly states the person to which the explanation is offered. These constructions especially state the bringing of unknown details of a subject. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 84    guyændæ    væziyæt-e    pænâhændæ-o    tozih    i-dâ  
newsperson    condition-EZ    refugee-PL    explanation    3S-give.PST  
‘The news-reader explained the refugees’ conditions.’

## 2- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘knowledge’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
xevær	‘news’	xevær dâden	‘to give news’
nedâ	‘proclamation’	nedâ dâden	‘to proclaim’
jevâb	‘answer’	jevâb dâden	‘to answer’
næzær	‘opinion’	næzær dâden	‘to give one’s opinion’
pænd	‘advise’	pænd dâden	‘to teach a moral advice’
dærs	‘lesson’	dærs dâden	‘to give a lesson’

- Deliver a message that is give news of something. The content of the message or news delivered occurs in a relative clause following such verbs. The response that occurs as CV can be an answer to a question or inquiry, a decision relating to a request, or an expert opinion expressed regarding the subject. The questions need not be explicit in Bandari.

-Give a lesson or advice. In this context the subject makes available some knowledge or directly teaches a lesson to who is given a lesson of health-case indirect object. The subject may not be aware of its role in the process, such as a drunkard to who is given a lesson of health-case. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 85) æbâs næzær i-næ-dâ  
 abbas opinion 3S-NEG-give.PST  
 ‘Abbas didn’t give an opinion.’

## 3- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘presentation’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> onferâns	‘conference’	k <sup>h</sup> onferâns dâden	‘to give a talk at a conference’
næmâyeš	‘performance’	næmâyeš dâden	‘to perform’

In Bandari, we use such verbs to give a public performance or presentation. The subject is a person who presents something. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 86) dânešju konferâns dær bâreye tærh i-dâ  
 student conference in about project 3S-give.PST  
 ‘The student gave a conference about project.’



#### 4- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘feed or make food’:

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
šir	‘milk’	šir dâden	‘to breast feed’
xorâk	‘food’	xorâk dâden	‘to feed’
non	‘bread’	non dâden	‘provide bread’

In Bandari these verbs mean ‘feed’ or ‘make food available’, to administer medicine. The object of this construction is the person who receives something from the agent in the form of nourishment or medicine. The subject provides the food or medicine as alimentation and not just as an offering. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 87) hæŕ kæ dændon æ-d-eyt non æ-d-eyt  
 each who tooth PRES-give-3S bread PRES-give-3S  
 ‘That who gives tooth provides bread.’ (a part of poem: whoever creates life, sustains it)

In Bandari, these verbs usually involve giving food, sweet, etc. The subject usually assembles some people to provide food or drink. This get-together is usually to celebrate a positive outcome of some event.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
šom	‘dinner’	šom dâden	‘to give a dinner’
širini	‘sweets’	širini dâden	‘to provide sweets to celebrate’
mehmoni	‘party’	mehmoni dâden	‘to have a party’

We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 88) be eftexar-e piruzi mehmoni šo-dâ  
 in pride-EZ victory party 3PL-give.PST  
 ‘In celebration of victory, they had a party.’

#### 5- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘pay dues’.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
ejâræ	‘rent’	ejâræ dâden	‘to pay rent’
k <sup>h</sup> erâyæ	‘rent’	kerâyæ dâden	‘to rent’
k <sup>h</sup> ærz	‘loan’	kærz dâden	‘to lend’

In Bandari, these verbs used for certain types of monetary transfer. The money transfer is in return for a service, usage fee, loan interest, or even for an illicit favor. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 89) æli be dust-i pul k<sup>h</sup>ærz i-dâ  
 ali to friend-his money loan 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Ali lent money to his friend.’

### 6- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing give ‘refuge or cure someone’.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
šæfâ	‘cure’	šæfâ dâden	‘to cure’
pænâh	‘refuge’	pænâh dâden	‘to provide refuge’
nejât	‘save’	nejât dâden	‘to save’

These verbs are transitive. The object is the entity being saved, intentionally or by happenstance. In a sentence such as ‘doktor bey o šæfâ i-dâ’, ‘the doctor gave him care,’ suggests that the object (him) was given care by the doctor intentionally, while ‘kâr bey o nejât i-dâ’, ‘work saved him’ is a happenstance. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 90) moræbi-e šenâ jon-e minâ nejât i-dâ  
 instructor-EZ swimming life-EZ mina save 3S-give.PST  
 ‘The swimming instructor saved Mina lives.’

### 7- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘give organization to’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
næzm	‘organization’	næzm dâden	‘to organize’
tærtib	‘hierarchy’	tærtib dâden	‘to arrange’, ‘to put in order’
sâmon	‘welfare’	sâmon dâden	‘to equip with furniture’, ‘to prepare’

These verbs are used to describe arrangement, settlement or organisation. These verbs are transitive. The subject acts directly or indirectly as agent and causes the object to be put in order or become organized. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

91) hæmid be edâra næzm i-dâ  
 hamid to office organization 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Hamid organized the office.’

- Make something possible or give a person an opportunity or chance.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
emkân	‘possibility’	emkân dâden	‘to allow for something’
forsæt	‘chance’	forsæt dâden	‘to give a chance’
jâ	‘place’	jâ dâden	‘to give a place for someone’

The thing or person being given a chance occurs as an indirect object. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

92) æli be hiĉ-e kæ forsæt i-næ-dâ jævæb hâd-eyt  
 ali to no one chance 3S-NEG-give.PST answer give.PRS-3SG  
 ‘Ali didn’t give anyone the chance to answer.’

- Offer a monetary incentive or favor to make a sale happen.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
tæxfif	‘discount’	tæxfif dâden	‘to give a discount’
ærzon	‘cheap’	ærzon dâden	‘to offer cheaper’

The subject is the one who gives offer and the indirect object is some one who receives the offer with such usages of verb in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

93) o dokon lebâs-o-ye bæĉĉæ tæxfif i-dâd-en  
 that shop cloth-PL-EZ child discount 3S-give-PRESPREF  
 ‘That shop has discounted children cloths.’

### 8- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘favour’:

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
hæk	‘right’	hæk dâden	‘to find a person in the right’
ensâf	‘honesty’	ensâf dâden	‘to make an honest judgment’

In Bandari, such CV is used to offer a favor by consideration of what is right. The person to whom the justice is given occurs as indirect object. This construction appears in two similar situations. In the first, an action occurs where it is a decision that is just or accurate and in favor of the indirect object. In the second situation, the subject requests just a review or decision. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 94) bâzræs    be    mošteri    hæk    i-dâ  
 inspector   to    client    right   3S.give.PST  
 ‘The inspector sided with the client.’

### 9- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘appoint a spatial or temporal spot’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
væxt	‘time’	væxt dâden	‘to give an appointment’
nobæt	‘turn’	nobæt dâden	‘to assign a turn’

The subject allots a time or a place to the person that occurs as an indirect object in Bandari. A similar structure exists in English ‘give an appointment’. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 95) be    meriz-o            dir    væxt    æ-dæ-n  
 to    diseased-PL    late    time    PRES-give.3PL  
 ‘They give appointments to diseaseds far in the future.’

### 10- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘to relinquish’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
rezâyæt	‘agreement’	rezâyæt dâden	‘to agree’
extiyâr	‘control’	extiyâr dâden	‘to give control’
vekâlæt	‘proxy’	vekâlæt dâden	‘to give power of attorney’

Give up control or right. The subject lets the person expressed as an indirect object to take control of a situation or take over the subject’s personal rights. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 96) æli be čuk-o-xo be hæmæ kar extiyar i-dâd-en  
 ali to children-PL- for all task control 3S-give.PST-PRESPERF  
 his  
 ‘Ali has given his children control of everything.’

### 11- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘loses something valuable’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
jon	‘life’	jon dâden	‘to perish’, ‘to sacrifice ones life’
del	‘heart’	del dâden	‘to fall in love’

These are idiomatic verbs. These are always symbolic rather and truly physical. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 97) færhâd be širin del i-dâ  
 fardad to shirin heart 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Farhad lost his heart to Shirin.’

### 12- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘discomfort’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
zæjr	‘torment’	zæjr dâden	‘to torment’
hers	‘envy’	hers dâden	‘to cause envy’
šekænjæ	‘torture’	šekænjæ dâden	‘to torture’

These verbs mean triggering or imposing an unpleasant state on another person. These verbs are transitive. This discomfort may be physical or psychological torment or torture, indirect or direct. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 98) o sæy šæ-ke vâ xærj-e ziyad-e pul be rezâ hers hâd-eyt  
 she try 3S.doPST with spending-EZ much-EZ money ACC reza envy give.3S  
 ‘She tried to make Reza envious by spending a lot of money.’

### 13- The verb 'dâden' entailing 'abuse a friendship for personal gain'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
zæhmæt	'effort'	zæhmæt dâden	'to inconvenience someone'
dærde-sær	'trouble'	dærde-sær dâden	'to be a headachen'

These verbs are transitive. The complex verbs are often used to state one's gratitude for a friend's help by exaggerating the trouble they went through, or to describe the fact that someone is abusing a relationship thusly. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 99) æli vâ vurud-e bimokæ be dust-oš dærde-sær i-dâ  
ali with entrance-EZ untimely to friend-3S a headache 3S-give.PST  
'Ali caused a headache for his friend with his untimely arrival.'

### 14-The verb 'dâden' entailing 'relate'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
ræbt	'connection'	ræbt dâden	'to relate', 'to connect'
nesbæt	relation	nesbæt dâden	'to attribute', 'to ascribe'

Expressing some type of relation or correlation. These verbs are transitive. This construction is abstract: the subject relates two usually abstract entities. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 100) târix kæšf-e âmrikâ be kristof kolomb nesbæt æ-deyt  
history discovery-EZ america to kristof kolomb attribute PRES-give.3S  
'History attributes the discovery of America to Kristof Kolomb.'

Place under specific program for developing proper physical condition. These verbs are transitive. The subject acts as the teacher who oversees and maintains the object's adherence to the prescribed regimen.

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
pærvareš	‘breed’	pærværeš dâden	‘to raise’
værzeš	‘exercise’	værzeš dâden	‘to exercise’
rejim	‘diet’	rejim dâden	‘to put on a diet’

We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 101) doktor be hæmid rejim i-dâ  
 doctor to hamid diet 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Doctor would put hamid on a diet.’

### 15- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘reshaped the external form of something’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
pič	‘twist’	pič dâden	‘to twist’
fer	‘curl’	fer dâden	‘to curl’
tow	‘twist’	tow dâden	‘to twist’

In Bandari, these expressions are used to indicate reshaped the external form of something. The change is inflicted by the subject and we usually use expressions to reshape the subject temporarily. The change requires force, heat, or a special device. The resulting state is usually not the natural state in which the object should be in, but nothing is physically added to the object to accomplish the task. The object may be abstract, such as a story or report, which is made convoluted by the subject’s deviations from the main line of the narrative in Bandari.

We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 102) æli k<sup>h</sup>lenč-e mæryæm tow i-dâ  
 ali finger-EZ maryam twist 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Ali twisted maryam’s finger.’

### 16- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘give something a definite form’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
šekl	‘shape’	šekl dâden	‘to shape’
form	‘form’	form dâden	‘to shape’

The subject is like a sculptor who gives a shape to something or part of something. The reshaping can include adding something to the object, such as a handle. This construction can also be used for abstract objects, such as concepts or reports in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 103) vehid ru čærx be goldan šekl i-dâ  
 vahid on wheel to vase shape 3S-give.PST  
 'Vahid shaped the vase on the turntable.'

### 17- The verb 'dâden' entailing promise

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> owl	'promise'	k <sup>h</sup> owl dâden	'to promise'
væ:dæ	'promise'	væ:dæ dâden	'to promise'

These complex verbs mean bind one to perform an act or a deed and state a binding. These verbs are transitive. The subject is the entity that binds itself and there is no explicit object required other than the optional inclusion of the deed. If the deed is implied in the context of the conversation, it is not required in a sentence produced with this verb. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 104) o k<sup>h</sup>owl i-dâ name-ye me æ-ferest-ed  
 he promise 3S-give.PST mail-EZ my PRES-forward.3S  
 "He promised to forward my mail"

### 18- The verb 'dâden' entailing 'move'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
loh	'push'	loh dâden	'to push'
k <sup>h</sup> uč	'migration'	k <sup>h</sup> uč dâden	'to force to migrate'
ferâr	'escape'	ferâr dâden	'to allow to escape'

These verbs mean move forcefully or displacement. The subject is the one who forces or does the displacement of the object. The object itself is not able to move or achieve this goal in Bandari. For example in verb 'kuč dâden' the object may don't be able to volunteer to



immigrate but the subject facilitates the displacement. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 105) æli be hæmid loh i-dâ  
 ali to hamid push 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Ali pushed Hmid.’

### 19- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘make a request or order’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
sefareš	‘order’	sefareš dâden	‘to specify an order’
dæstur	‘order’	dæstur dâden	‘to place an order’
færmon	‘order’	færman dâden	‘to command’

These verbs mean to place an order or make a request and express an order or a request. The direct object is the entity that is requested by the subject for such movement in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 106) æbâs xorâk sefareš i-dâ  
 abbas food order 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Abbas ordered food.’

### 20- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘end’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
feysælæ	‘closure’	feysælæ dâden	‘to bring closure to’
telâk	‘divorce’	telâk dâden	‘to divorce’

- 107) æli be foti telâk i-dâ  
 ali Acc fatemeh divorce-3S-give.PST  
 ‘Ali divorced Fatemeh.’

In Bandari sometimes complex verbs with ‘dâden’ mean ‘to end’. Something for closure or discontinuation of an act. The subject is responsible for an act that comes to end, or it explains the end of the process. The direct object is a phenomenon that will be put or an end

or closure, such as a marriage, a partnership, etc. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

## 21- The verb ‘dâden’ entailing ‘result’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
zærær	‘loss’	zærær dâden	‘to attain a loss’
sud	‘gain’	sud dâden	‘to give a monetary benefit’
netijæ	‘result’	netijæ dâden	‘to give results’

In Bandari, the complex verbs with ‘dâden’ are used to mean result. This result can be positive or negative. This is a result of an act or an investment. The subject is generally the agent of the act. This act can be a trade, a business, a financial instrument. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 108) komæk be fæxir be jâmeæ sud æ-deyt  
 help to needy to society profit PRES-give.3S  
 ‘Helping the needy benefit the society.’

## 4-xârden

The full verb ‘xârden’ has two meanings. One of them is ‘to eat’ and another is ‘to drink’. It is a transitive verb. This verb need direct object. The subject is agent who eat or drink.

A-‘to swallow’, ‘to eat’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
xorâk	‘food’	xorâk xârden	‘to eat food’
meyvæ	‘fruit’	meyvæ xârden	‘to eat fruit’
non	‘bread’	non xârden	‘to eat bread’
k <sup>h</sup> ors	‘tablet’	k <sup>h</sup> ors xârden	‘to eat tablet’

B-‘to drink’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
how	‘water’	how xârden	‘to drink water’
čoy	‘tea’	čoy xârden	‘to drink tea’
nušâbæ	‘coca cola’	nušâbæ xârden	‘to drink coca cola’

When ‘xârden’ connects to a non-verbal element and makes a complex verb, ‘xârden’ acts as a light verb and it produces mostly intransitive complex predicate verbs. The subject is a proto-patient. The LV doesn’t seem to retain any lexical content of ‘xârden’.

### 1- ‘xârden’ entailing ‘to be hit’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
dâr	‘rod’	dâr xârden	‘to get beat’
tuseri	‘cuff’	tuseri xârden	‘to get cuff’
čæk	‘slap’	čæk xârden	‘to get slap’
sili	‘slap’	xârden sili	‘to get slap’
most	‘punch’	most xârden	‘to get punch’
læxæt	‘kick’	læxæt xârden	‘to get kick’
pæs gærdoni	‘rabbit punch’	pæs gardoni xârden	‘to get rabbit punch’

In Bandari, the light verb ‘xârden’ with some non-verbal elements is made as complex verbs. These verbs mean ‘to be hit’ with hands, feet, or head. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

109) æli dâr i-xâ  
 Ali rod 3S-eat.PST  
 ‘Ali got beaten.’

### 2- ‘xârden’ entailing ‘to be hurt’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
xænjær	‘scie’	xænjær xârden	‘to be hit with a scie’
čoku	‘knife’	čoku xârden	‘to be stabbed with a knife’
šæmsîr	‘sword’	šæmsîr xârden	‘to be stabbed with a sword’
tîr	‘bullet’	tîr xârden	‘to get shot with a bullet’
mušæk	‘missile’	mušæk xârden	‘to get hit by a missile’
čækoš	‘hammer’	čækoš xârden	‘to be hammered’
gušt kub	‘meat-hammer’	gušt kub xârden	‘to be hit with a meat-hammer’

These verbs mean ‘to be wounded by a weapon’. This weapon can be sharp and penetrating or can be heavy instrument. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

110) æli čoku i-xâ  
 Ali knife 3S-eat.PST  
 ‘Ali was stabbed.’

### 3- ‘xârden’ entailing ‘to fuse and weld’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
juš	‘fuse’	juš xârden	‘to weld or fuse’
pač	‘patch’	pač xârden	‘to be patched up’
k <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	‘stitch’	k <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> xârden	‘to be closed up by stitches’

In Bandari, these complex verbs are used to express to become fused or connected to parts of itself or to other entities usually through a natural process. These forms are used when the subject becomes fused or mended as a consequence of a natural process and generally not the consequence of the actions of a conscience being. In an expression of this kind, the verbs state the fusion of two different entities, the second entity occurs as a prepositional object. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

111) lebâs-i pač i- xârd-en  
 dress-her patch 3S-eat.PST.PRS  
 ‘Her dress has been patched’

### 4- ‘xârden’ entailing ‘to be touched with a hand or foot or an instrument’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
dæst	‘hand’	dæst xârden	‘to be touched’
pâ	‘foot’	pâ xârden	‘to get hit with a foot’

In Bandari, these verbs are used to express leaving a mark or imprint. The instrument used for this action is usually sharp unless it is a body part, and though the action doesn’t entail hurting, it might have negative or damaging effects on the subject. This effect is usually not the direct intent of an action, but a consequential result in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 112) i æks dast i- xârd-en  
 this picture hand 3S-eat.PRES.PERF  
 ‘This picture has been altered.’

### 5- ‘xârden’ entailing ‘to trick’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
gul	‘trick’	gul xârden	‘to slight’, ‘to trick’
k <sup>h</sup> ælæk	‘trick’	k <sup>h</sup> ælæk xârden	‘to trick’

In Bandari, these complex verbs are used to mean ‘to be tricked’. These verbs are intransitive. The subject of these forms goes through a negative process in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 113) æli hæmišæ tu gozi gul æ-xâr-et  
 ali always in game trick PRES-eat-3S  
 ‘Ali always gets tricked in games.’

### 6- ‘xârden’ entailing ‘suffer’

NV	Gloss	verb	Gloss
ƚossæ	‘concern’	ƚossæ xârden	‘to lament’
ƚæm	‘sorrow’	ƚæm xârden	‘to grieve’
bišk	‘concern’	bišk xârden	‘to lament’
hers	‘annoyance’	hers xârden	‘to be annoyed’

In Bandari, these complex verbs are used to mean to refer to suffering from a negative emotion. This emotion is a continuous, irrepressible, negative feeling that has to be a suffered emotion as the result of a personal actions or experience. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 114) širin hæmišæ ƚosse-ye âyændæ æ-xâr-et  
 shirin always concern-EZ future PRES-eat.3S  
 ‘Shirin always worries about the future.’

### 7- ‘xâarden’ entailing ‘usurp’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
rešvæ	‘bribe’	rešvæ xâarden	‘to accept a bribe’
nuzul	‘servicing’	nuzul xâarden	‘to charge interest’
pul	‘money’	pul xâarden	‘to embezzle or extract money’
sævori	‘ride’	sævori xâarden	‘to getting a free ride on something’

These verbs in Bandari mean exploit a service or property. The verbs express the notion of taking advantage of another person’s labor or property. Here, the original meaning of xordæn, ‘eat,’ emerges in a metaphorical expression denoting gluttony. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 115) hukuk-e kæm bâes-e rešvæ xâarden-en  
 salary-EZ low cause-EZ bribe Eat.INF-be.3S  
 ‘Low salaries have become the cause of bribery.’

### 8- ‘xâarden’ entailing ‘to move’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
tækon	‘movement’	tækon xâarden	‘to jerk’, ‘to shake’
jik	‘swing’	jik xâarden	‘to swing’, ‘to sway’
čærb	‘slippery’	čærb xarden	‘to slide’

These verbs in Bandari state a non-goal oriented movement, usually nonvolitional. The movement results from an internal, uncontrollable condition or caused an external agent, such as twitching from muscle spasms (internal) or being shaken by someone to be woken up (external). We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 116) bærg-o tækon æ-xârd-æn  
 leaf-PL movement PRES CONT-eat- 3PL  
 ‘The leaves are jerking.’

### 9- 'xârden' entailing 'rotate'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
pič	'roll'	pič xârden	'to be rolled flip'
pel	'roll'	pel xârden	'to roll'
tow	'roll'	tow xârden	'to be rolled flip'
čærx	'turn'	čærx xârden	'to turn around'
mæ:læk	'somersault'	mæ:læk xârden	'to somersault'

In Bandari, these verbs express a type of rotational movement. These verbs are intransitive. These sets of verbs express uncontrollable motions, but involve the rotation or turning of the subject. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 117) mošn jâdæ mæ:læk i-xâ  
 car way somersault 3S-eat.PST  
 "The car somersaulted into the way"

### 5-k<sup>h</sup>æften

In Bandari 'k<sup>h</sup>æften' as a full verb means fall. This verb is intransitive. The subject is a thing, a person that falls. For example:

- 118) me tu mædresæ k<sup>h</sup>æft-om  
 I in school Fall.PST-1S  
 'I fell down at school.'

This verb is used as a light verb in Bandari and with other nonverbal elements and it makes different kind of complex verbs. These complex predicate verbs are intransitive. These complex verbs have different meaning such as:

### 1-k<sup>h</sup>æften' entailing 'cast'

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
gozær	'passage'	gozær k <sup>h</sup> æften	'to passage happen to pass by'
češm	'eye'	češm k <sup>h</sup> æften	'to look upon'
negâh	'look'	negâh k <sup>h</sup> æften	'to glance'

In Bandari, when ‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ is used as a light verb and forms complex verbs, they refer to a ‘cast’ of somethings. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

119) æli negâh-i vâ sâæt k<sup>h</sup>æ(ft)  
 ali look-his to watch Fall.PST.3S  
 "Ali glanced at watch"

## 2-‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ entailing ‘shine’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
čerâæ	‘light’	čerâæ k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to be shone upon’
âftow	‘sun’	âftow k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to covered by sunshine’
nur	‘light’	nur k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to shine onto’

In Bandari, when ‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ is used as a light verb and forms complex verbs, they refer to a ‘shine’ of somethings. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

120) tu pænjeræ nur k<sup>h</sup>æftæ  
 in window light fall.3S-PAST PERF  
 "the sun had shone onto the window"

## 3-‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ entailing ‘position’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
vâ k <sup>h</sup> unekâ	‘with back fall’	vâ k <sup>h</sup> unekâ k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to fall flat’
zemin	‘earth’	zemin k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to fall’
pæs	‘back’	pæs k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to fall back’
dær	‘at’	dær k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to join battle’
pey sær	‘behaind’	pey sær k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to lag’, ‘to chase’
dur	‘far’	dur k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to far left behind’
jelow	‘front’	jelow k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to move ahead’
jedâ	‘separate’	jedâ k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to become separated’
pæs	‘behind’	pæs k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to fall behind’
dombâl	‘rear’	dombâl k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to get into’
jâ	‘place’	jâ k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to place settle in’, ‘toproperly cooked’
râh	‘path’	râh k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to start working’, ‘to leaving’, ‘to start walking’

In Bandari, the complex verbs which are constructed by ‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ express a position. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

121) k<sup>h</sup>ârxone-ye bap-om râh k<sup>h</sup>æ  
 factory-EZ father-my path Fall.PST.3S  
 ‘My father’s factory started working.’



#### 4-‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ entailing ‘state’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
vâ girik	‘with cry’	vâ girik k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to weeping be driven to tears’
vâ tæmæ	‘with covetousness’	vâ tæmæ k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to become gluttonous’
vâ k <sup>h</sup> âr	‘with work’	vâ k <sup>h</sup> âr k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to commence’
æ juš	‘from boil stop’	æ juš k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to boiling, calm down’
æ k <sup>h</sup> âr	‘from work’	æ k <sup>h</sup> âr k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to break down’
æ pâ	‘from foot’	æ pâ k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘from foot run out of energy’
æ češm	‘from eye’	æ češm k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘from eye fall from high esteem’

In Bandari, when ‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ is used as a light verb and forms complex verbs, they refer to a ‘state’ of somethings. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 122) tim-e o vâ kâr k<sup>h</sup>æ  
 team-EZ his with work fall.PST.3S  
 ‘his team commenced work.’

#### 5-‘k<sup>h</sup>æften’ entailing ‘situation’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
gir	‘hold’	gir k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to capture’
etefâk	‘happen’	etefâk k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to event happen’
extelâf	‘difference’	extelâf k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to develop disagreements’
pič	‘twist’	pič k <sup>h</sup> æften	‘to develop difficulties’, ‘to curl up (hair)’

In Bandari, this light verb with non-verbal elements can indicate a situation as complex verbs.

We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 123) æli tu jeziræ gir k<sup>h</sup>æft  
 ali in island hold fall.PST.3S  
 ‘Ali captured in island.’

#### 6- ‘buden’ ‘become’

This light verb means ‘become’. It is equivalent ‘šodæn’ ‘become’ in Persian. The verb ‘buden’ in Bandari with non-verbal element words make complex predicate. These verbs are intransitive.

### 1-‘buden’ entailing ‘state’, ‘undergo a change of state’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> æj	‘bent’	k <sup>h</sup> æj buden	‘to bend’
xošk	‘dry’	xošk buden	‘to dry’
vel	‘free’	vel buden	‘to become free’
jæm	‘total’	jæm buden	‘to assemble or gather in a group’

These adjective express an externally caused state of change. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 124) gol-o tu bâd k<sup>h</sup>æj æ-ben  
 flowers in wind bent PRES-become.3PL  
 ‘Flowers are bending in the wind.’

### 2-‘buden’ entailing ‘internal change’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
sorx	‘red’	sorx buden	‘to blush’
zereŋ	‘clever’	zereŋ buden	‘to become clever’
âteši	‘enraged’	âteši buden	‘to get angry/feisty’
jæhli	‘angry’	jæhli buden	‘to become angry’

In Bandari, these verbs express a change of state through an internal auto-action. These adjective express an internally caused state of chnge in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 125) o æ tærif-e keyre montæzeræ sorx bu  
 s/he from compliment unexpected red 3S.become.PST  
 "she blushed at the unexpected compliment"

### 3- ‘buden’ entailing ‘undergo’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
bidar	‘awake’	bidâr buden	‘to wake up’
joru	‘broom’	joru buden	‘to get swept’
tæxliyæ	‘evacuated’	tæxliyæ buden	‘to get evacuated’
sevâr	‘ride’	sevâr buden	‘to mount to ride e.g. horse, car’

telesm	‘spell’	telesm buden	‘to spellstruck’
motmæ'en	‘certain’	motmæ: buden en buden	‘to become sure’
dâmej	‘damage’	dâmej buden	‘to damage’

We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 126) mošin tu tæsâdof dâmej bu  
 car in accident damage become.PST-3S  
 "the car was badly damaged in the accident"

## 7-<sup>h</sup>erden ‘to do’

### 1- ‘<sup>h</sup>erden’ entailing ‘express’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> æj	‘bent’	k <sup>h</sup> æj k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to bend’
xošk	‘dry’	xošk k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to dry’
vel	‘free’	vel k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to loose’

When we want to refer to cause to be in a new state, we use this light verb and a non-verbals element to make complex predicates and express any physical, mental, or emotional state of change in Bandari. These verbs are transitive. The subject causes the object to undergo a change of state. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

- 127) monir sæbzi-o xošk i-ke  
 monir vegetable-PL dry 3S-do.PST  
 ‘Monir dried vegetables.’

### 2- ‘<sup>h</sup>erden’ entailing ‘do an action that involves oneself’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
girik	‘cry’	girik k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to cry’
šuxi	‘joke’	šuxi k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to joke’
zendegi	‘life’	zendegi k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to live’

In Bandari, we use this light verb to express something that indicates these verbs are intransitive and express an action that has been done by the subject itself in Bandari. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

128) æli tehran zendegi æ-kon-t  
 ali tehran life PRES-do.3S  
 ‘Ali lives in Tehran.’

### 3- ‘k<sup>h</sup>erden’ entailing ‘action’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
motâleæ	‘investigation’	motâleæ k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to investigate’
pærdâxt	‘payment’	pærdâxt k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to transfer payment’
montækel	‘transfer’	montækel k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to transfer’

In Bandari ‘k<sup>h</sup>erden’ is used with some nonverbs elements to make a complex predicate that state an action. These verbs are transitive. The subject is the one who does that action. These verbs have a direct object. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

129) mæryæm pul pærdâxt i-ke  
 maryam money payment 3S-do  
 ‘Maryam transferred payment.’

### 4- ‘k<sup>h</sup>erden’ entailing undergo a change of a state’

NV	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
tow	‘fever’	tow k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to come down with a fever’
ɤʂæ	‘faint’	ɤʂæ k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to faint’
k <sup>h</sup> olkol	‘bubble’	k <sup>h</sup> olkol k <sup>h</sup> erden	‘to boil’

In Bandari, these expressions are used to show symptoms of change of a state (of a mind or a thing). When we state an internal process of change, these complex verbs be have as an intransitive verbs. We can see one example in Bandari in the form of a sentence.

130) mæryæm tow i-k<sup>h</sup>erd-en  
 maryam fever 3S-do.PST  
 ‘Maryam has fever.’

### 3.1.1.8: Finite and nonfinite forms

Finite verbs inflect for tense and agreement with the subject and take negative, subjunctive prefixes while nonfinite forms don't take any of these.

The non finite is rarely used in Bandari. It is used in the subordinate clause, with some verbs including *šuru kerden* 'to begin', *mæškul buden* 'to become busy with'. These verbs need 'be+infinitive'

131) *šuru æ-kon-im be xonden*  
start PRES-do-1PL to read  
'We start to read.'

The subject of non finite verbs can be a pronominal clitic and is attached at the end of the nonfinite such as:

132) *xorâk xârden-om be to æziyæt æ – kon-t?*  
food to eat-1S.PC ACC you bother PRES-do-3S  
'Does my eating food bother you?'

In example (132) the subject is a first person pronominal clitic.

The subject of a non-finite verb is a noun or a pronoun in a genitive structure with the *ezafe*. In example (133) the subject of *xorâk xârden* 'to eat food' is *doxt-om* 'my daughter'. This subject is connected to the nonfinite by an *ezafe*.

133) *xorâk xârden-e doxt-om be me æziyæt nâ-kon-t*  
food to eat-EZ girl-1S.PC Acc I bother NEG-do.PRES-3S  
'My daughter's eating doesn't bother me.'

### 3.1.1.9: Agreement

Crystal (2008, 14) says 'agreement is a description that refers to a formal relationship between elements, whereby a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another (i.e. the forms agree). In Latin, for example, agreement between elements is of central importance,

being one of the main means of expressing grammatical relationships, in the absence of fixed patterns of word-order.’ Agreement is same for all voices, tenses, aspects and moods. In infinitive does not show any agreement in Bandari.

### 3.1.1.9.1: Subject

In Bandari the subject agrees with the verb via the personal affix. Inflectional affixes appear on the verb to mark subject-verb agreement. These affixes agree with the subject in person and number and license pro-drop in subject position. In intransitive verbs these affix are suffix in past and present tense. The subject agreement marker for third singular in past tense is zero. Sentence (134) presented that.

- 134) mæhsum vâgær-e me æ-tât  
 masumeh With-EZ me FUT-come.3S  
 ‘Masumeh will come with me.’

Sentence (135) shows the personal affix that is prefix in transitive verbs:

- 135) me vâ mæhsum om-go  
 me to masumeh 1S-tell.PST  
 ‘I told to Masumeh.’

If the subject NP is pro-dropped, it still shows the agreement with the verb.

- 136) vâ mæhsum om-go  
 to masumeh 1S-tell.PST  
 ‘I told to Masumeh.’

When the subject is plural and inanimate, verb can be singular:

- 137) lebâs-o tu k<sup>h</sup>omod-en  
 cloth-PL in wardrobe-be.PRES.3S  
 ‘The cloths are in the wardrobe.’

- 138) tulæk-o ojâ-n  
 basket-PL there-is  
 ‘The baskets are over there.’

If subject is animate, noun phrases follow the verb. Verb must agree with the number and person of the subject noun phrase in such case. In Bandari when a subject is plural and inanimate it can use as singular verb.

### 3.1.1.9.2: Direct object

Bandari pronominal enclitics can be attached to the verb. Object markers in Bandari could replace arguments; they vary in person and number, and surface post-verbally. The normal object position and pronoun clitics are to the left of the verb. Bandari has an accusative marker in animate object, a preposition, 'be', 'bey'.

139-a) me bey æli om-zæ  
I Acc ali 1S-hit  
'I hit Ali.'

139-b) me bey o om-zæ  
I Acc he 1S-hit  
'I hit him.'

In sentences (139-a and 139-b) accusative marker 'bey' marks the definite direct objects (139a), especially if they are full pronouns (139b). Clitics in this position appear with definite arguments, as in (139a & b), or the clitic could be used alone, as in (139-c).

139-c) šo.m-zæ  
3S.PC.1S-hit  
'I hit him.'

Example shows (139-c) the pronominal clitic use before the personal affix.

Sentence (140) show pronominal clitics form in complex verb:

140) peydâ m-i-ke  
find-1S.PC-3S-do.PST  
'S/he found me.'

Indirect objects are not following on the verb.

Many linguists have discussed about the grammaticalization of clitics into agreement markers. Anderson (2005, 83) suggested that clitics are phrasal affixes and they are overt morphological markers of the morpho-syntactic properties of phrases. He (Ibid: chapter 8) says pronominal clitics as: Agreement markers and regards pronominal clitics as forms of agreement, differing from verbal agreement only in whether the functional content is realized as the morphology of a phrase or a word. Szemerényi(1996) has proposed that in Indo-

European verbs, the personal endings are derived from pronouns. According to Fuß (2005, 4) there is a grammaticalization path in which the agreement markers are developed historically from free pronouns. This can be shown as:

Independent pronoun → weak pronoun → clitic pronoun → affixal (agglutinative) agreement marker → fused agreement marker → Ø

### 3.1.1.10. Change or loss of features in a string of verbs

Some items in a sequence are used only with one verb. These items can be the negative marker, pronominal clitics those used as direct objects and ingressive. For example, sentences in (141)–(142) show us the negative prefix *nâ-/næ-* is used on only with one verb.

141) *mo-nâ-vâ*                      *be-r-eym*  
 1PL-NEG-want.PRES      SBJN-go-1PL  
 ‘We don’t want to go.’

142) *mâ-vâ*                      *næ -r-eym*  
 1PL-want.PRES      NEG-go-1PL  
 ‘We want to not go.’

Double negative can be used but the meaning of the sentence is altered in Bandari:

143) *mo-nâ-vâ*                      *næ-yeym*  
 1PL-NEG-want      NEG-come-1PL  
 ‘We don’t want to not come.’

In Bandari the pronominal clitic comes on the last part of verb.

143) *æ-ræft-en*                      *i-bi-gin-en-i*  
 PRES-go.PST.1PL      3S-SBJN-see.PRES-1PL-3S.PC  
 ‘We are going to see her.’

The ingressive verbs have the inflection and the main verb does not in this language.

144) *šuru*      *mo- ke(rd)*      *be*      *xârd-en*  
 start      1PL-do.PST      to      to eat  
 ‘We started to eat’.



In sentence (144) we can see the ingressive verb ‘šuru k<sup>h</sup>erden’ ‘to start’ has the inflection but main verb ‘xârd-en’ ‘to eat’ is not has inflection.

### 3.1.2: Noun inflection

Noun is one of the principal lexical categories. Words are grammatically as nouns can have a very wide range of meanings. Among the most typical properties of nouns in languages generally are inflections for number, gender, case and countability. In Bandari noun is inflections for number.

#### 3.1.2.1: Expressions of syntactic functions

##### 3.1.2.1.1: Subject of the intransitive or transitive verb

Bandari is a nominative-accusative language. In this language case is unmarked for the subjects in both transitive and intransitive verbs. Sentence (145) shows subject in sentence with intransitive verb and example (146) shows subject in sentence with transitive verb.

In sentence (145) ‘mæryæm’ is subject of intransitive verb

145) mæryæm ræ  
maryam go.PST.3S  
‘Maryam went.’

In next example ‘mæryæm’ is subject of transitive verb

146) mæryæm livan še-škæst  
maryam glass 3S.break.PST.3S  
‘Maryam broke the glass.’

Two sentences (145) and (146) express that subjects in Bandari don’t have any overt case marker. In Bandari, when a sentence has an animate subject, the verb has to show its is argument with that subject in number as the PNG feature, however, when the subject is inanimate, the verb does not have to follow the number of the subject, thus, it can be either singular or plural. For example

147) k<sup>h</sup>etâb-o tu mošin-en

book-PL in car-3S  
'The suitcases are in the car.'

148) k<sup>h</sup>etâb-o tu mošin-æn  
book-PL in car-3PL  
'The suitcases are in the car.'

### 3.1.2.1.2: Direct object

1-Basic sentences in Bandari have SOV structure. In sentences with transitive verbs object is used after the subject and before the verb.

149) æli k<sup>h</sup>etâb i-xond  
ali book 3S-read.PST  
'Ali read the book.'

2-Bandari also has an NP-V sequence (S) OV or SV

150) æli k<sup>h</sup>æ  
ali Fall.PST.3S  
'Ali fell.'

3- In Bandari verb agrees with subject, even when it is dropped. . For example:

151) nâštâ i-xâ  
breakfast 3S-eat-PST  
'S/he ate breakfast.'

In these sentences subject has been dropped and the verb agrees with the dropped subject.

4- Direct object marker

Bandari has different patterns for animate or inanimate objects. For example;

152) æli be mæryæm i-zæ  
ali Acc maryam 3S.hit.PST  
'Ali hit Maryam.'

In sentence (152) 'mæryæm' is an animate object, in this case 'be' is the direct object case marker.

153) æli sib i-xâ  
ali apple 3S.eat.PST  
'Ali ate apple.'

In sentence (153) ‘sib’ ‘apple’ is inanimate object and does not have any overt object case marker. So, we can say that in Bandari, case marker ‘be’/ ‘bey’ is used to case mark the animate object. As for inanimate object the case marker is null.

### Pronominal clitics

Bandari has a set of pronominal clitics which when suffixed to the verb refer to a definite direct object. Table -24 lists the pronominal clitics.

number	singular		Plural	
	Bandari	gloss	Bandari	gloss
First person	m/om	‘me’	mo/emo	‘us’
Second person	t/et	‘you’	eto/to	‘you’
Third person	š/i	‘him/her’	ešo/šo	‘them’

Table-24: Pronominal clitics

We designate the pronominal clitics as “PC”. In Bandari pronoun clitics marker can be subject or object. Table -25 shows this structure in Bandari. Object clitic pronouns precede subject clitic pronouns.

number	Singular		plural	
	Bandari	gloss	Bandari	gloss
First person	m-i-di	‘S/he saw me’	mo-y-di	‘S/he saw us’
Second person	t-i-di	‘S/he saw you’	to-y-di	‘S/he saw you’
Third person	š-i-di	‘S/he saw him/her’	šo-y-di	‘S/he saw them’

Table-25: Subject and object pronominal clitics

- 154) komæk-om i-ke  
 help-1S 3S-do.PST  
 ‘S/he helped me.’

#### 3.1.2.1.3: Indirect object

Indirect object generally uses a preposition and in sequence comes after direct object, as given in sentence below;

155) k<sup>h</sup>eyk be mâ i-dâ  
 cake to us 3S-give.PST  
 ‘S/he gave cake to us.’

When the indirect object is in focus, it comes before the direct object. In sentence (156) ‘mâ’ indirect is in initial position and it is before direct object ‘k<sup>h</sup>eyk’ ‘cake’ because it is in focus.

156) be mâ k<sup>h</sup>eyk i-dâ  
 to us cake 3S-give.PST  
 ‘S/he gave us cake.’

In example (157) indirect object is third singular personal pronoun and in sentence (158) indirect object is pronominal clitic.

157) be o k<sup>h</sup>eyk om-dâ  
 to him/her cake 1S-give.PST  
 ‘I gave him/her a cake.’

18) k<sup>h</sup>eyk š-om-dâ  
 cake 3S.PC-1S-give.PST  
 ‘I gave him/her cake.’

#### 3.1.2.1.4: Subject complement

The subject complement is the adjective, noun, or pronoun that follows a linking verb. In Bandari, the any forms of following verbs are linking verbs: ‘to be’, ‘to become’, and ‘to seem’.

159) to moælem-e nemune hæst-i  
 you teacher-EZ model be.PRES- 3S  
 ‘You are a model teacher.’

In sentence (159) ‘to’ ‘you’ is subject, ‘hæst-i’ ‘are’ is a linking verb and ‘moælem-e nemune’ ‘model teacher’ is subject complement.

### 3.1.2.1.5: Object complement

In Bandari object complements don't have any morphological marker.

- 160) bey o modir šo-ke  
ACC 3S manager 3PL-do.PST  
'They made him/her manager.'

### 3.1.2.2: Number and gender

Bandari has two numbers for nouns: singular and plural. Singular words are unmarked; and plural is marked by suffix '-o(n)' for animate beings and '-o' for inanimate beings. Examples for inanimate noun:

xonæ = house = xonæ-o = house-PL='houses'

mošin= car= mošin-o= car-PL='cars'

Examples for animate noun:

mærd= man= mærd-on= man-PL='men'

zæn= woman= zæn-on = woman-PL='women'

Bandari uses some of the irregular Arabic nouns. These nouns do not have specific plural marker, but these nouns are based on a consonantal root, into which vowels and consonants are inserted. For example:

<b>singular</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>plural</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
dæлил	'reason'	dælayel	'reasons'
ruh	'soul'	ærvâh	'souls'
hâdesæ	'incident'	hævâdes	'incidents'
hâl	'health'	æhvâl	'health'

In Bandari plural mandatorily is marked on nouns with specific reference that is known by speaker. For example:

161) čuk-o tu divâl-æn  
son-PL in courtyard-are  
'The boys are in the courtyard.'

162) se-tâ čuk-o tu mædresæ:n  
Three-CL son-PL in school-are  
'The two girls are in the school.'

In Bandari plural marker is not used, when we talk about a plural nonspecific noun and we use a quantifier before the noun. Sentences (163) and (164) show these characteristics:

163) se-tâ čuk tu mædresæ-n  
Three-CL son in school-are  
'Three boys are in the school.'

164) čæn-tâ čuk tu mædresæ-n  
many-CL son in school-are  
'Some boys are in the school.'

### 3.1.2.3: Collective nouns

Collective nouns are names for a collection or a number of people or things. Words like group, herd, and array are collective noun examples. The collective nouns have singular form, but they are not singular. There are number of collective nouns in Bandari, such as:

xânevâdæ	'family'
mærdom	'people'
gællæ	'flock'
jæ:miyæt	'crowd'
dæstæ	'group'

### 3.1.3: Adjectives

Adjective is a belong to a category of words that modify a noun, noun phrase or complement a copula verb. For example ‘k<sup>h</sup>if-e jedide me’ ‘my new bag’, ‘jedid’ ‘new’ is a predicate adjective. It indicates a wealth that the speakers predicate it is new. Adjectives can be used in a comparative and a superlative form.

In Bandari adjectives normally follow their head, in an ‘ezafe construction’. We explain ‘ezafe’ in 2.5.3 and 4.1. Some common adjectives when used affectively may precede the head, without the ezafe particle.

Adjectives follow the noun with ‘ezafe’

165) jeme-ye sowz  
dress green  
‘A green dress’

In sentence (165), adjective follow the noun with ‘ezafe’. Predicate adjectives come after noun without the use of ‘ezafe’, we can see in sentence (166).

166) i jemæ sowz-en  
this dress Green  
‘This dress is green.’

#### 3.1.3.1: Comparisons

Bandari has two types comparison category, one is equality and other is comparative.

In Bandari ‘hæmo kæ’, ‘the same amount’, and ‘hâmoændâzæ’ ‘same size’, ‘same amount’ show equality are used for comparison. In sentence (167) ‘hâmokæ’ shows equality:

167) me hâmokæ nârâhæt-om k<sup>h</sup>e æli  
I same amount sad-be.1S that ali  
‘I’m as sad as Ali is.’

Other equalities in Bandari are ‘hæm-væzn’ ‘same weight’, ‘hæm-sen’ ‘same age’ and ‘hæm-kæd’ ‘same height’.

168) æbâs o rehimæ hæmsen-æn  
abbas and rahimeh age-3PL.be.PRES  
‘Abbas and Rahimeh are the same age.’

- 169) bâsæ o rehimæ hæm-kæd -æn  
 abbas and rahimeh same height-3PL.be.PRES  
 ‘Abbas and Rahimeh are the same height.’

In Bandari when we want to compare two items, the suffix –te(r) is affixed to an adjective and ‘æ(z)’ ‘from’ follows the item being compared and before the standard of comparison.

- 170) æbâs æ rehimæ čâk-ter-en  
 abbas from rahimeh fat-COMPR3S.be.PRES  
 ‘Abbas is fatter than Rahimeh.’

Another comparative form uses the conjunction ‘tâ’ ‘then’ and the items of comparison are in different clauses.

- 171) æbâs čâk-ter-en tâ rehimæ  
 abbas fat-COMPR3S.be.PRES than rahimeh  
 ‘Abbas is fatter than Rahimeh.’

In Bandari for superlative, the same comparative suffix is used and standard of comparison is always ‘everyone else’ ‘hæmæ’.

- 172) bâsæ æ hæmæ čâk-ter-en  
 abbas from All fat-COMPR3S.be.PRES  
 ‘Abbas is fatter than everyone else.’

In order to show some thing of a large measure, the adverb ‘xeyli’ ‘very’ is used before the adjective. The word ‘biyændâzæ’ ‘immeasurably/unbelievably’ is another modifier that states large measure. For example:

- 173) xeyli jon  
 very beautiful  
 ‘Very beautiful.’

- 174) æli biyændâzæ æsæbâni-yæ  
 ali incredibly angry-be.PST.3S  
 ‘Ali was incredibly angry.’

A word ‘ziyâd’ or ‘ziyodi’ is used before adjective for showing superabundance in Bandari. For example:



175) ziyodi sefid-en  
too white-is  
'She's too white.'

In Bandari sometimes for showing small measure, the adverb 'nesbætæn' 'relatively' use before the adjective, for example:

176) nesbætæn sefid-en  
'relatively' white-is  
'She's 'relatively' white.'

### 3.1.3.2: Predicate adjectives

Predicate adjectives are structured by means of a copular verb such as buden 'to be', 'to become' in Bandari.

177) xošhâl bu  
happy become.PST-3S  
S/he became happy.'

Also copular clitic can be attached to the adjective in Bandari. For example:

178) xošhâl-en  
happy-be.PRES.3S  
S/he is happy.'

### 3.1.4: Pronoun

This part examines the pronoun systems in the Bandari. According to Bhat (2007) "pronoun' is several different sets of words such as personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites, relatives, correlatives, etc." Traditionally pronouns are described elements which stand in the place of nouns. 'But most linguists find this definition to be unsatisfactory. This is mainly because personal pronouns do not 'stand' for any nouns as such. On the other hand, attempts to establish alternative definitions for pronouns have not been satisfactory either.

Such a definition, as has often been noted, is somewhat misleading. This is because pronouns can replace not only nouns but also whole nominal expressions.

### 3.1.4.1: Personal pronoun

There are two types of personal pronouns, an independent and an enclitic pronoun.

	independent		clitic	
	Singular	plural	Singular	plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	me	mâ	-om	-omo
2 <sup>nd</sup>	to	šemâ	-et	-eto
3 <sup>rd</sup>	o	Išo	-i	-ešo

Table-26: Personal pronoun

Personal pronouns in Bandari have different forms depending on their person (first, second or third) and number (singular and plural). In this language, personal pronoun does not take different forms according to gender. Personal pronoun in Bandari may be objects; they don't take different forms depending on subject or the object of the sentence. For example:

179) o be me i-zæ  
s/he ACC I 3S-hit.PST  
'S/he hit me'

180) me be o om-zæ  
I ACC s/he 1S-hit.PST  
'I hit him/her.'

The subject of the sentence (179) is 'o' 's/he' is not follow gender. In sentence (180) 'o' 's/he' is object. Personal pronoun in Bandari may be objects of verbs and prepositions, and occur as the second constituent of a nominal ezafe. 'be ošo om-di' 'I saw him/her', 'æ mâ ræd šo-ke' 'they passed by us', o be-me i-nædâ 'S/he didn't give it to me', xone-ye to 'your house'.

181) i medâd mâl-e me-n  
this pencil property-EZ 1S-is  
'This pencil is mine.'

### 3.1.4.2: Reflexive pronoun

There are reflexive pronouns in Bandari that is shown in table -27, the substantives ‘xod’ which combines with the pertinent personal enclitic (xod-om, xod-et, etc.) and this gives different ‘reflexive pronouns’ in Bandari. Reflexive pronoun has three uses: one as an emphatic adjunct to a noun or pronoun, it may either follow the head: æli xod-i ‘Ali himself’, šomâ xodeto ‘you yourself’, or precede it in ezafe construction: xod-e æli, xod-e šomâ; xodetan. Other is a reflexive pronoun: bey xošo šo- košt ‘they killed themselves’, vâ xomo mo-go ‘we said to ourselves’. Third is as a possessive, in reference to the subject of its own clause: angostare xod-ra andaxtam ‘I threw away my ring’.

	Singular	plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	xo(d)-om	xomo
2 <sup>nd</sup>	xo(d)-(e)t	xoto
3 <sup>rd</sup>	xo(d)-i	xošo

Table-27: Reflexive pronoun

In example (182) a full noun phrase is subject and a pronominal clitic on the reflexive is object.

- 182) æli bey xoš i-košt  
 ali ACC himself 3S-kill.PST  
 ‘Ali killed himself.’

In sentence (183) a pronoun is the subject and the reflexive object is used without a pronominal clitic:

- 183) (me) bey xo âmâdæ om-ke  
 I ACC self prepare 1S-do.PST  
 ‘I got myself ready.’

In example (184) we have an optional pronoun with the subject and a pronominal clitic on a reflexive pronoun.

- 184) (o) bey xod-i genux æ-kont  
 s/he ACC self-3S.PC crazy PRES-do.3S  
 ‘S/he’ll make him/herself crazy.’

In Bandari, the clitic reflexives are placed immediately after the subject or after the object, for the purpose of emphatic in Bandari. For example:

185) mæryæm xod-i xorâk dorost i-ke  
 maryam self-3S.PC food fix 3S.do.PST  
 ‘Maryam made the food herself.’

186) Mæryæm xorâk xod-i dorost i-ke  
 maryam food self-3S.PC fix 3S.do.PST  
 ‘Maryam made the food herself.’

In sentence (185) clitic reflexive is immediately after the subject. Sentence (186) shows us the clitic reflexive after object in Bandari.

### 3.1.4.3: Reciprocal pronouns

Bandari has these reciprocal pronouns: ‘hæm’, ‘hæmdegæ’ and ‘yekdegæ’, which are used for all persons.

187) hæmid o foti be hæmdegæ dust šo-hæ  
 hamid and fatemeh ACC each other friend 3PL.have.PRES  
 ‘Hamid and Fatemeh like each other.’

188) šoma be hæmdegæ æšnos-i  
 you ACC each other PRES.know-2S  
 ‘Do you know each other?’

Sentences (187-188) show that the reciprocal pronoun is placed after direct object marker.

### 3.1.4.4: Possessive pronouns

Bandari does not have independent possessive pronouns. Possessive is shown by ezafe construction with the personal pronoun or pronominal clitics.

189) xone-ye xod-i  
 house-EZ self-3S.PC  
 ‘Her/his own house.’

### 3.1.4.5: Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

Bandari has these demonstrative pronouns: ‘i’ ‘this’ and ‘o’ ‘that’. The demonstrative pronoun ‘i’ ‘this’ is used when the object is near the speaker and ‘o’ ‘that’ is used to indicate that the object is away from the speaker. The plural forms of these demonstrative pronouns are ‘išo’ and ‘ošo’. The singular forms of the demonstrative pronouns are also used as demonstrative adjectives. ‘išo’ and ‘ošo’ are also used as third person plural personal pronouns.

190) išo bo-no ojâ  
these IMP-put there  
‘Put these there.’

When the demonstrative pronouns are used as adjectives, they come before the noun and just use singular form:

191) o doxt  
that girl  
‘That girl’

192) i mærd-o  
this man-PL  
‘These men’

### 3.1.4.6: Interrogative pronouns and other question words

#### 3.1.4.6.1: Interrogative pronouns

The words ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ ‘who/whom’ and ‘če’ ‘what’ are the only interrogative pronouns in Bandari that which are used in subject and object position.

193) k<sup>h</sup>e dær i-bæst  
who door 3S.close.PST  
‘Who closed the door?’

194) æli vâ k<sup>h</sup>e Hond  
ali with who come.PST.3S  
'Who did Ali come with?'

195) æli če i-go  
ali what 3S.say.PST  
'What did Ali say?'

We can see in sentences (193-194) 'k<sup>h</sup>e' is an interrogative pronoun that is used with animate noun in Bandari and sentence (195) 'če' means 'what' and this is inanimate.

### 3.1.4.6.2: Other question words

Other question words in Bandari include 'key' 'when', 'koâ' 'where', 'beyče' 'why', 'čænd' 'how much (price) 'how many', and interrogative adjectives: 'kæmtey' 'which (one)', 'čæntâ' 'how many', 'čekæ' 'how much (quantity)'. For example:

196) æli k<sup>h</sup>ey æ-ræset  
ali when PRES-arrive.3S  
'When will Ali arrive?'

197) berâr-et k<sup>h</sup>oâ ræ  
brother-2S.PC where go.PST.3S  
'Where did your brither go?'

'beyče' 'why' and 'kæmtey' 'which' are question words in Bandari. Those shown in the sentences (198) and (199) below.

198) beyče ijâ nešt-i  
Why here sit.PST-2S  
'Why did you sit here?'

199) bey kæmtey et-di  
Acc which 2S.see.PST  
'Which (one) did you see?'

### 3.1.4.7: Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are used to link two sentences that have the same noun or pronoun in them. A pronominal form, 'k<sup>h</sup>e' 'which' 'that' 'who' 'whom' is the relative pronoun in Bandari.

- Restrictive relative pronouns: The restrictive relative pronoun 'k<sup>h</sup>e' is used in Bandari, with the demonstrative /-i/. Sentence (200) shows that NP which modified by relative clauses are suffixed with /-i/ and the relative clause immediately comes after the noun phrase it modifies.

200) čuk-i k<sup>h</sup>e emruz om-di  
boy-DEM who today 1S-see.PST  
'The boy whom I saw today.'

201) jeme-ye sowz-i k<sup>h</sup>e tæ-vâ  
dress-EZ green-DEM that 2S-want.PRES  
'The green dress that you want.'

'hær' 'each/every' combined with 'k<sup>h</sup>æ(s)' 'person' or 'jâ' 'place' is another relative words.

202) hær-kæ (k<sup>h</sup>e) mædresæ ræft-en  
whoever (that) School Go.PSPT-3S  
'whoever had been to school'

væ(xt) 'time' may be used to indicate 'when'. 'hær' and 'k<sup>h</sup>e' are optional.

203) (hær) væ k<sup>h</sup>e hondi dæftær-om biyâ(r)  
(each) time (that) come.2S Noebook-1S.PC IMP-bring  
'Whenever you come, bring my notebook.'

### 3.1.5: Preposition

In Bandari a preposition shows the relationship between two things. This language has two types of prepositions: some of them never take any additional particles and others come with ezafe. Below is a list of most common prepositions in Bandari:

- 'æ(z)' : 'æ(z)' means 'from, of, out of'. This preposition indicates a location or source and it never takes ezafe.

In example (139) ‘æz’ ‘from’ express source:

204) k<sup>h</sup>etâb æ tu k<sup>h</sup>if dæri-vâ  
book from in bag out bring.3S.PST  
‘S/he took out the book from the bag.’

205) medâd æ æli om-ge  
pencil from ali 1S-get.PST  
‘I got the pencil from Ali.’

Sometimes the preposition ‘æ(z)’ ‘from’ indicates ‘moving from’. For example:

206) æbâs sevâ æ hurmuz æ-ræs-et  
abbas tomorrow from hormoz PRES-arrive-3S  
‘Abbas is arriving from Hormoz island tomorrow.’

207) æz jelow mædresæ ræd bud-om  
from front School pass by.PST-1S  
‘I passed by the school.’

- ‘be’ ‘to’ demonstrates the dative. This preposition never takes ezafe.

208) gol be mæhmæd om-dâ  
flower to mohammad 1S.give.PST  
‘I gave flower to mohammad.’

- ‘be’, ‘bey’ ‘for’

‘be’ or ‘bey’ is used to show benefactive case or purpose and it never take ezafe.

209) mæryæm i gol-o be me i-geft  
maryam this flower-PL for me 3S.get.PST  
‘Maryam got these flowers for me.’

- ‘bedun-e’ ‘Without’ is shown negative instrumentality in Bandari.

210) mæryæm bedun-e kilil dær vâz i-ke  
maryam without-EZ key dor open 3S-do.PST  
‘Maryam opened the door without key.’



- ‘beyn-e’ and ‘mæyon-e’ ‘between’

In Bandari, some prepositions are used to show medial location between two or three or more objects. The prepositions ‘beyn-e’ and ‘mæyon-e’ indicate the concept. ‘between, among’.

211) me beyn-e deræxt-o nešt-om  
 I between-EZ tree-PL sit.PST-1S  
 ‘I sat between/among the trees.’

212) me beyn-e do-tâ deræxt-o nešt-om  
 I between-EZ two-CL Tree-PL sit.PST-1S  
 ‘I sat between/among the two trees.’

In the example (211), ‘trees’ can be two or more but in example (212) the number of trees is specified.

213) me æz beyn-e deræxt-o ræft-om  
 I from between-EZ Tree-PL go.PST-1S  
 ‘I went out from the trees.’

In sentence (213) ‘æz beyn-e’ explains moving from some location.

-‘bi’ ‘without’ indicates instrumental and comitative functions and never takes ezafe. The instrumentality is stated by ‘bi’ negative in Bandari.

214) bi pul hičekâr no-but bo-kon-i  
 without money nothing NEG-be.3S SUBJ-do.2S  
 ‘Without money one can’t do anything.’

- ‘dâxel-e’ ‘in, inside, into’ indicates to locative and use with or without ezafe.

215) bo-no dâxel k<sup>h</sup>if  
 IMP-keep in bag  
 ‘Keep in bag!’

- ‘dowr-e’ ‘around’ indicates circumference location

216) bæn dowr-e k<sup>h</sup>etâb-o pičid-æ  
 rope around Book-PL wrap.PST-PSPT  
 ‘The rope was wrapped around the books.’

- **'jelow', 'jelove' 'in front of'** shows the locative anteriority and can take ezafe.

217) jelow-e            me    vustâ  
in front of-EZ    me    stand.PST-3S  
'S/he stood in front of me.'

218) æ(z)    jelow            dokon    ræd bud-om  
from    in front of    store    Passerby.PST-1S  
'I passed by in front of the store.'

- **'nezik-e' 'near'** is used to indicate proximaty.

219) mædresæ    nezik-e    xonæ-mo-n  
school        near-EZ    home-our-is  
'The school is near our home.'

The compound preposition 'æz nezik-e' is used to show move to proximate.

220) æz        nezik-e    o        mædresæ    ræd-bæ  
from    near        that    school        pass by-IMP  
'Go past near that school.'

- **'pæhlu', 'pæhlu-ye' 'beside, next to'** Indicates locative laterality and can take ezafe.

221) pæhlu    ruxonæ  
from    river  
'Beside the river.'

- **'pošt-e' 'behind'** indicates locative posteriority.

222) k<sup>h</sup>if    pošt-e            miz-en  
bag    behind-EZ    table-is  
'The bag is behind the table.'

'Move from' is stated with 'æ(z) pošt-e' meaning 'from behind'.

223) æ        pošt-e            xonæ    be-ræ  
from    behind-EZ    house    IMP-go  
'Go from behind the house.'

The preposition 'tâ pošt-e' 'to' is used to express 'move'.

224) turg tâ pošt-e xonæ hond  
 wolf upto Behind-EZ house come.PST.3S  
 ‘The wolf came up to behind the house.’

- **‘ru’, ‘ru-ye’ ‘on top of, over, above’** shows locative superiority and never takes ezafe.

225) gorbæ ru miz-en  
 cat on table-is  
 ‘The cat is on the table.’

Sometimes it shows moving, for example:

226) gorbæ ru miz jeki  
 cat on table jump.PST.3S  
 ‘The cat jumped onto the table.’  
 ‘Moving from’ is showing with æ(z) ru-ye .

227) gorbæ æ ru miz jeki  
 cat from on table jump.PST.3S  
 ‘The cat jumped off the table.’

Sometimes moving is indicated by ‘ru-ye’ ‘over’, ‘across’.

228) æli ru yæx čærb i-zæ  
 ali on ice slip 3S.hit.PST  
 ‘Ali slipped over the ice.’

- **‘ruberu-ye’ ‘opposite’across from’** indicate to location.

229) bânk ruberu bâzâr-en  
 bank opposite market-is  
 ‘The bank is opposite the market.’

- **‘tæræf-e’ ‘toward’** indicat to location.

230) jæfær be tæræf-e bâzâr ræ  
 jafar toward-EZ market go.PST.3S  
 ‘Jafar went toward the market.’

‘tæræf-e’ also citerior-contact location.

231) xonæ-šo i tæræf-e xur-en  
 house-their this side of canal-is  
 ‘Their house is on this side of the canal.’

- ‘tâ’ ‘up to, until, than’ indicates ‘moving as far as a certain location but not beyond’ and never take ezafe.

232) me tâ sebâ ijâ-om  
 I until tomorrow here-be.1S.PRES  
 ‘I am here until tomorrow,’

‘tu’, ‘tu-ye’ ‘in’ or ‘inside’ indicates locative interiority and it can take ezafe.

233) zeynæn tu xonæ:n  
 zeynab inside home-is  
 ‘Zeynab is inside the house’

That is also stated move to

234) k<sup>h</sup>etâb-o bo-no tu k<sup>h</sup>etâbxonæ  
 book-o IMP-put in bookshelf  
 ‘Put books in the bookshelf.’

For showing ‘move from’. Banari uses preposition ‘æ (z) tu (-ye)’ ‘from inside’

235) k<sup>h</sup>etâb-o æ tu mošin dær-bi-yâr  
 book-o from inside car out IMP-bring  
 ‘Take books out of the car.’

- ‘vâ’ ‘with’ is used to show accompaniment or instrumental case and it never takes ezafe.

Bandari indicates instrumentality with the preposition ‘vâ’ ‘with’.

236) četor-en vâ mošin be k<sup>h</sup>ešm be-reym  
 how-is with car to Qeshm SBJN-go-1P  
 ‘Why don’t we travel to Qeshm island by car?’

- Comitative in addition to instrumentality, vâ is used for the comitative function.

237) vâ æli ræ mædresæ  
 with ali go.PST.3S school  
 ‘S/he went to school with Ali.’

- ‘**zir-e**’ ‘**under**’ indicates locative inferiority can take ezafe.

Inferior and inferior-contact location at rest the preposition zir-e ‘under’ is used to show ‘at rest’ location.

238) zir-e     how  
       under    water  
       ‘under the water’

239) gorbæ    æ        zire     pohl     ræ  
       cat       from    under   bridge   go.PST.3S  
       ‘The cat went from under the bridge.’

Prepositions in Bandari do not show agreement for any grammatical category with the nouns that govern.

### 3.1.6: Numerals/Quantifiers

Bandari has cardinal and ordinal number. Cardinal numbers show how many of something there are. We can say cardinal number are answer this question ‘How many?’ For example: How many books do you have? Ordinal numbers tell the position of something on a list. For example, first, second, and third are ordinal numbers.

#### 3.1.6.1: Cardinal numbers

-Table -28 shows cardinal numbers 1-100. Between the two parts of the compound numerals use the conjunction /-o-/, ‘and’ and the larger number comes before the smaller number.

1	yek	21	bist-o-yek	41	čel-o-yek	61	šæst-o-yek	81	hæštâd-o-yek
2	do	22	bist-o-do	42	čel-o-do	62	šæst-o-do	82	hæštâd-o-do
3	se	23	bist-o-se	43	čel-o-se	63	šæst-o-se	83	hæštâd-o-se
4	čâr	24	bist-o-čâr	44	čel-o-čâr	64	šæst-o-čâr	84	hæštâd-o-čâr
5	pænĵ	25	bist-o-pænĵ	45	čel-o-pænĵ	65	šæst-o-pænĵ	85	hæštâd-o-pænĵ
6	šiš	26	bist-o-šiš	46	čel-o-šiš	66	šæst-o-šiš	86	hæštâd-o-šiš
7	hæft	27	bist-o-hæft	47	čel-o-hæft	67	šæst-o-hæft	87	hæštâd-o-hæft

8	hašt	28	bist-o-hašt	48	čel-o-hašt	68	šæst-o-hašt	88	hæštâd-o-hašt
9	noh	29	bist-o-noh	49	čel-o-noh	69	šæst-o-noh	89	hæštâd-o-noh
10	dæh	30	si	50	pænjâh	70	hæftâd	90	nævæd
11	yâzdæh	31	si-o-yek	51	pænjâh-o- yek	71	hæftâd-o- yek	91	nævæd-o- yek
12	dævâzdæh	32	si-o-do	52	pænjâh-o- do	72	hæftâd-o- do	92	nævæd-o- do
13	sizdæh	33	si-o-se	53	pænjâh-o- se	73	hæftâd-o- se	93	nævæd-o- se
14	čârdæh	34	si-o-čâr	54	pænjâh-o- čâr	74	hæftâd-o- čâr	94	nævæd-o- čâr
15	ponzdæh	35	si-o-pænj	55	pænjâh-o- pænj	75	hæftâd-o- pænj	95	nævæd-o- pænj
16	šonzdæh	36	si-o-šiš	56	pænjâh-o-šiš	76	hæftâd-o-šiš	96	nævæd-o-šiš
17	hivdæh	37	si-o-hæft	57	pænjâh-o-hæft	77	hæftâd-o- hæft	97	nævæd-o- hæft
18	hiždæh	38	si-o-hašt	58	pænjâh-o-hašt	78	hæftâd-o-hašt	98	nævæd-o- hašt
19	nuzdæh	39	si-o-noh	59	pænjâh-o-noh	79	hæftâd-o-noh	99	nævæd-o-noh
20	bist	40	čel	60	šæst	80	hæštâd	100	sæd

Table-28: Cardinal numbers

-Table-29 shows 100s UP to 1000

100	Sæd	200	divist	300	sisæd	400	čarsæd	500	ponsæd
600	šešsæd	700	hæfsæd	800	hæšsæd	900	nohsæd	1000	hezar

Table-29

-Table-30 is 100s UP to 100,000

2000	do hezâr	20,000	bis ezâr
3000	se hezâr	30,000	si hezâr
4000	čar ezâr	40,000	čel ezâr
5000	pænj ezâr	50,000	pænjâ hezâr
6000	šiš ezâr	60,000	šæs ezâr
7000	hæft ezâr	70,000	hæftâd ezâr
8000	hæšt ezâr	80,000	hæštâd hezâr
9000	noh ezâr	90,000	nævæd ezâr
10000	dæh ezâr	100,000	sæd ezâr

Table-30

### 3.1.6.2: Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers are structured by adding the suffix ‘-om’ to the cardinal numbers.

gloss	Bandari
First	hævvel, yek-om
Second	dov-om
Third	sevv-om
Fourth	čār-om
Fifth	pænj-om
Sisth	šiš-om
seventh	hæft-om
eighth	hæšt-om
ninth	noh-om
tenth	dæh-om

Table-31: Ordinal number

Derivatives of numerals: The word ‘dofæ’ ‘time/turn’ can be added to cardinal numbers and make a compound adverbial. For example: do- dofæ two-times ‘twice’.

240) sæd- dofæ om-go mæ-ræ  
100-times 1S.say.PST NEG-go.PST3S  
‘I told you a hundred times, don’t go.’

### 3.1.6.3: Quantifiers

Some non-numerical quantifiers in Bandari are ‘bæzi’ ‘some’, ‘čæn-tâ’ ‘some’, ‘čændin’ ‘several’, ‘hær’ ‘each’, ‘hæmæ’ ‘every’, ‘tæmom-e’ ‘all’, ‘hič’ ‘no’, ‘xeyli’ ‘many, a lot’.

241) hæmæ resid-æn  
everyone arrive.PST-3PL  
‘Everyone arrived.’  
‘hæmæ’ ‘every’ can be used nominally and means ‘everyone’.

#### 3.1.6.3.1: Quantifier compounds

The words ‘hær’ ‘every’ and ‘hič’ ‘nothing’ are used to make quantifier compounds in Bandari: ‘hærtey’ ‘either’ ‘any one of a group’, ‘hičkodom’ ‘neither’ ‘none’, ‘hær-do’ ‘both’,

‘hičekæ’ ‘no one’, ‘hærjâ’ ‘anywhere’, ‘hæmæjâ’ ‘everywhere’, ‘hærkæ’ ‘anyone’, ‘hærvæ’ ‘anytime’.

### 3.1.7: Adverbs

Adverb is a word that is used to qualify the meaning of an adjective, a verb, a clause, another adverb, or any other type of word or phrase.

Adverbs in Bandari: to show smaller measure, ‘nesbætæn’ ‘relatively’ is used in conjunction with the adverb to modify the verb.

242) æbâs nesbætæn zud resi  
abbas relatively fast Arrive.PST.3S  
‘Abbas arrived relatively quickly.’

#### 3.1.7.1: Qualitative adverbs

243) o va joni ačam-et  
she with tomorrow come.3PL  
‘She danced gracefully.’

As we see in the above sentence (243), the word ‘joni’ marks the qualitative adverb in Bandari.

#### 3.1.7.2: Adverb of time

244) o duš hond  
s/he yesterday come.PST.3S  
‘S/he came yesterday’.

As we see in the above sentence (244), the word ‘duš’ marks the adverb of time in Bandari.

#### 3.1.7. 3: Adverb of manner

245) mæryæm šemælæk æ-r-eit  
maryam slowly Pres-walk.3S  
‘Maryam walks slowly.’



As we see in the above sentence (245), the word ‘šemælæk’ marks the adverb of manner in Bandari.

### 31.7.4: Adverb of degree

246) o      xeili    tond    ræ(ft)  
           s/he    very    fast    go.3S.PST  
           ‘She went very fast.’

As we see in the above sentence (246), the word ‘xeili’ marks the adverb of degree in Bandari.

## 3.2: Derivational morphology

Derivation is one of word formation processes. In this process words are created by morphemes. Derivational affixes are morphemes that derive new words, usually by either changing the meaning and/or the part of speech or both, of the words they are attached to (Godby et al., 1982). In Bandari, derivational morphemes can be either prefixes or suffixes. For example, ‘bi+kâr’ ‘jobless’ or ‘honær+mænd’ ‘artist’. Sometimes derivational morphemes change the meaning of the base. For example ‘mehræbon’ ‘kind’ and ‘nâ+mehræbon’ ‘unkind’ are adjective with opposite meaning. Sometimes the class of word is change for example ‘don’ is present stem ‘know’ but ‘nâ+don’ ‘foolish’ is an adjective.

### 3.2.1: Derivation of nouns

In Bandari derivational morphemes create noun from noun, verb or adjective. Nouns that derive from noun just change the meaning of the base. When the noun is created from verb or adjective word class also will change. In follow we can see derivation of noun in Bandari.

#### 3.2.1.1: Nouns from nouns

Suffixes those are used to make nouns from nouns in Bandari are:

Suffix	Noun	Noun	Gloss
-i	mærd	mærd-i	‘manliness’
-bon	negæh	negæh-bon	‘guard’
-(e)ston	gol	gol-eston	‘place be flower’
-ga(h)	âzemâyeš	âzemâyeš-gah	‘Lab’

-či	telefon	telefon- či	‘operator’
-don	nemæk	nemæk-don	‘salt cellar’
-kâr	gonâh	gonâh-kâr	‘sinner’
-gær	zær	zærgær	‘goldsmith’
-čæ	dæftær	dæftær-čæ	‘notebook’
-ekæ	zæn	zæn-ekæ	‘the woman’
-âl	čæŋ	čæŋ-âl	‘fork’

‘nâ-’ is a noun producer prefix that makes noun from noun, for example: nâ-mærđi ‘shabbiness’.

### 3.2.1.2: Nouns from verbs

In Bandari some suffixes are attached to the present stems of some verbs in order to make nouns. For example:

Suffix	Present stem	Noun	Gloss
-(y)ændæ	rân	rân-ændæ	driver
-æ	gir	gir-æ	‘clip’
-(y)eš	ræv	ræveš	‘manner’
-âk	xor	xor-âk	‘Food’
-ik	gir	gir-ik	‘cry’
-æk	čem	čem-æk	‘dance’
-ešt	nâl	nâl-ešt	‘whimper’
-uk	mur	mur-uk	‘ant’

However, some verbs can be used as noun without any additional morphology for example, ‘furuš’ is present stem and use as noun ‘sale’, ‘xærid’ is another example for using past stem as noun ‘shopping’.

### 3.2.1.3: Nouns from adjectives

Nouns are derived from adjectives in one of the following ways, in Bandari. For example;

#### Suffix adjective noun productivity

Suffix	Adjective	Noun	Gloss
-i	bæd	bæd-i	badness
-gi	æfsorde	æfsorde-gi	sadness
-â	pæhn	pæhnâ	width
-æ	zærd	zærd-æ	‘yolk’

According to these examples /-i/, /-gi/, /-â/ and /-æ/ in Bandari are derived noun from adjective.

### 3.2.2: Derivation of verbs

One suffix that drives verbs from noun in Bandari is ‘-iden’ like: ‘dozd’ ‘thief becomes ‘doziden’ ‘to steal’.

#### 3.2.2.1: Verbs from verbs

In Bandari causatives marker are ‘-onden’ or ‘-oniden’ that attach to present stem.

#### 3.2.2.2: Derived verb productivity

Preposition	Verb	Verb	Gloss
bær	gærdiden	bær gærdiden	to return
vâ	geften	vâ geften	to have to take
pæs	geften	pæs geften	to receive back
jelow	ræften	jelow ræften	to advance
zir	kerden	zir kerden	to swallow
pæštâ	vârden	pæštâ vârden	to return

Preposition attached to verb and derived new verb.

### 3.2.3: Derivation of adjective

#### 3.2.3.1: Adjectives from nouns

Adjectives in Bandari are derived from nouns by adding both suffixes and prefixes.

uffix	noun	adjective	Gloss
-mænd	honær	honær-mænd	‘artist’
-onæ	zæn	zæn-onæ	‘feminine’
-gânæ	bæččæ	bæččæ-gânæ	childish
-gin	κæm	κæm-gin	‘unhappy’
-enâk	væhm	væhm-enâk	‘unearthly’
-vâr	omid	omid-vâr	‘hopful’
-i	nârænj	nârænj-i	‘orange colour’
-iyâr	šæhr	šæhr-iyâr	‘sovereign’

Prefixes which produce adjectives from nouns:

Prefix	Noun	Adjective	Gloss
nâ-	færmon	nâ-færmon	'rebel'
bâ-	sevâd	bâ-sevâd	'literate'
bi-	kâr	bi-kâr	'jobless'
hæm-	xonæ	hæm-xonæ	'room mate'

Words formed with the suffixes, '-onæ' also used adverbially.

### 3.2.3.2: Adjectives from verbs

/-â/ is used to derive adjectives from the present stem of verb in Bandari, for example 'don' 'know' then 'donâ' 'knowledgeable'.

'nâ-' is a prefix which is used to drive adjective from present stem of verb in Bandari, such as 'nâ-don' 'silly'.

247) o âdæm-e nâdon-in  
he person-EZ silly.be.PC.PRES. 3S  
'He is a silly person.'

### 3.2.3.3: Adjectives from adjectives

There are two productive prefixes which derive adjectives from other adjectives:

#### Prefix adjective productivity

'-te(r)' the comparative and superlative suffixes make adjective from adjective.

'-æk' bikâr-æk 'useless'

248) o âdæm-e bikâr-æk-in  
he person-EZ useless.be.PC.PRES. 3S  
'He is an usless person.'

'nâ-' is a prefix that is used to dderive adjective from adjective as: 'nâ-pâk' 'dirty' 'nâ-xoš' 'sick'

### 3.2.4: Derivation of adverbs

#### 3.2.4.1: Adverbs from nouns

One of the ways of deriving adverbs from nouns is by adding the suffix to nouns, such as ‘ruz-ânæ’ ‘daily’. Preposition ‘bi’ ‘without’ and ‘vâ’ ‘to’ can be derive adverb from nouns. ‘bi-sedâ’ ‘silently’ and ‘vâ-zudi’ ‘soon’.

249) æli vâ-zudi æ-tât  
ali soon PRES-come. 3S  
‘Ali comes soon.’

#### 3.2.4.2: Adverbs from adjectives

/-i/ is one of the suffixes that is attached to the adjectives and drive adverbs, such as ‘væhmenok-i’ ‘eerily’

### 3.2.5: Derivation of prepositions

Bandari has two types of compound perpositions:

1- Preposition+preposition

The common prepositions that are used in compound derivations: ‘æ(z)’ ‘from’, ‘dær’ ‘in’, be’ ‘to’ and ‘vâ’ ‘with’. Some of the compound prepositions are:

Bandari	Gloss
bæ:d-æ(z)	‘after’
dær bare-ye	‘concerning’
kæbl-æ	‘before’
be tæræf-e	‘towards’
æyr-æ	‘other than’

250) æli bæ:d-æ(z) me hond  
ali after me come.PST.3S  
‘Ali came after me.’

2- Noun+ezafe.

Bandari	Gloss
pošt-e	'behind'
jelov-e	'in front of'
dâxel-e	inside
pælu-ye	'next to'
ruberu-ye	'across from'

251) pošt-e      bâḡ-e      molavi  
behind-EZ    garden-EZ    molavi  
'Behind the Molavi's garden.'

-Sometimes can be without ezafe

252) pæhlu    lule-ye    howvi  
next to'    faucet    water  
'Next to faucet water.'

### 3.3: Reduplication

Moravcsik (1978, 300) discusses the terms 'reduplication' and 'reduplicative' construction are of course infelicitous, since they make vague reference to there being only two copies of the same thing in the construction in question.

According to Inkelas (2005) the process of reduplication is divided into two main categories: total and partial. Total or full reduplication doubles the entire word or the stem while the partial reduplication doubles the subpart of the word or the stem.

Reduplication is divided into two types, one is lexical reduplication and other is morphological reduplication. Under the shadow of morphological reduplication, sound symbolism, mimic words, onomatopoeia, iconicity, imitative, ideophones which are collectively called as expressive. Under the heading of lexical reduplication, echo words or echo-formations, compounds and word reduplications, are described below.

Abbi(1992) classified reduplication in to following types: morphological reduplication and lexical reduplication.

**3.3.1: Morphological reduplication:** According to Abbi (1992,12) ‘morphological Reduplication is one of the two types of reduplication She describes morphological reduplication as “minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes which are constituted of iterated syllables. Thus, the base and the iterated part together constitute a single morpheme which is also a lexeme.’

**3.3.1.1: Expressives:** Diffloth (1976) says that “we must be prepared to see the expressive as a whole decomposed in such manner, to discard the conventional notions of root and morphology and to treat expressive as micro-sentences made up of distinctive features”.

Expressives describe the appearance, sound, or feel of something happening. Expressives in Bandari language are used for various purpose. Expressive is also used to denote kinship terminology.

1. Sense of hearing or acoustic noise: It indicates symbolic sounds of natural phenomenon, humans, animal noise and so on.

Animal noises: ‘miyow miyow’: ‘cat noise’

Noises of natural phenomena: ‘sem sem’ ‘rain pattering’

Noise made by humans: ‘ker ker’ ‘laughing sound’

Noises by miscellaneous inanimate objects: ‘jelenj jelenj’ ‘jingling of ankle’

2-Sense of sight: These usually refer to the flickering or glimmering or shimmering, for example: ‘bærx bærxi’ ‘gleaming’

**Kinship terminology:** It denotes the persons to whom an individual is related through kinship. For example: ‘mâ mâ’ ‘grandfather’ , ‘dâ dâ’ ‘sister’, ‘kâ kâ’ ‘brother’, ‘bâ bâ’ ‘Father’, ‘bibi’ ‘grandmother’ are some of the kinship terms in Bandari.

**3.3.2: Lexical reduplication:** Lexical reduplication can be defined as one lexical item or lexeme which comprises two or more segmentally identical parts or words. It is not a group of complex form of lexical items.

Lexical reduplication refers to a complete or partial repetition of a word or lexeme. Abbi (1992) defines lexical reduplication as “complete lexical reduplication is constituted of two identical (bimodal) words, e.g. In Hindi, *gərəm gərəm* ‘hot’ or *bəṭʰe- bəṭʰe* ‘while sitting’ is derived from the modifier *gərəm* ‘hot’ and verb *bəṭʰe* ‘to sit’, respectively.

Lexical reduplication can be echo reduplication or complete at the lexical level.

**3.3.2.1: Echo formations:** Echo-formation is an important phenomenon in Bandari and other Iranian languages. Echo-formation is a process that refers to ‘the partial repetition of a phoneme or syllable of the base.’ In other words, if the initial phoneme or syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or syllable, that has neither any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own. In echo formation, an echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word, meaning either the initial phoneme (consonant(C) or vowel (V)) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The replacer (phoneme or syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid (Abbi, 1992).

So, echo-reduplication is a morphological process in which a base word is duplicated and a fixed element is specified in the repeated element such that the presence of the fixed part brings about a minimal non-identity between the base and the reduplicant (Ghaniabadi 2008, 57). Some of very common echo-formation word in Bandari can be given like this;

Nouns: ‘*saŋ*’ ‘stone’ → ‘*saŋ- maŋ*’ ‘stone and so on’

Adjective: ‘*šereŋ*’ ‘ragged’ → ‘*šereŋ- dereŋ*’ ‘raggedy’

Adverbs: ‘*zir*’ ‘below’ → ‘*zir-mir*’ ‘somewhere below’

**3.3.2.2: Compound reduplication:** Compound reduplication is one of the three kinds of lexical reduplication. Abbi (1992) suggests that compound is considered as instances of partial reduplication. The compounds refers to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first



word either on the semantic or on the phonetic level. According to Abbi (1992, 24) the compounds refer to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word either on semantic or on the phonetic level. It is to be noted that each constituent word of a compound has a meaning of its own and hence can be used independently in a sentence. However, when combined in a compound formation, the two constituent words retain their original meaning to some extent. More often than not the paired construction has a new meaning and new reference. In Bandari compound reduplications are:

1- Two words that are used in a paired construction are synonyms. For example:

‘pič-o-tow’ ‘twist-and-twirl’→ ‘complication’

‘jæŋ-o-jedâl’ ‘war’-‘and’-‘battle’→ ‘hostilities’

253) bædæ æmæl pič-o-tow šæ-xâ  
 after surgery twist and twist 3S.eat.PST  
 "She developed complications after the surgery."

2- Two words are used in a pair construction are semantically related. For example:

dâdâ+kâkâ ‘sister’ ‘brother’→ ‘siblings’

how-o joru ‘water’-‘and’ ‘broom’ → ‘cleaning/preparation’

kâr-o-bâr ‘work’and ‘load’→’job’

254) xonæ how-o joru šo-ke  
 house water-and broom 3PL-do.PST  
 ‘They cleaned the house.’

2- Numeral compound:

- a. ‘do-se kâšex nemæk’ ‘two three spoon salt’ ‘a few spoon of salt’
- b. se čâr tâ sib ‘three four-CL apple’ ‘about three or four apples’

**3.3.2.3: Word reduplication:** Word reduplication is a linguistic term that refers to the complete or discontinuous reduplication of the base of the word. This reduplication can be considered as a unit of syllable or a large group of words. The word reduplication can be further subdivided into two parts namely, complete word reduplication and discontinuous reduplication.

**3.3.2.3.1: Complete reduplication:** complete reduplication can be defined as “the complete or full repetition of the base word with its some wide and slight semantic modification.” It is very interesting to see that it is bimodal and iconicity in nature. In other word, it can be said that the entire phonological form of the base or all lexical items is reduplicated. In Bandari, almost all kinds of grammatical category can be reduplicated, namely noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, wh-questions, quantifiers, modifiers and so on, except few grammatical category, such as conjunction and interjection. According to Abbi (1992) complete reduplication refers to those paired constructions where a single word is repeated once in the same sentence without any phonological or morphological variation. Complete word reduplication can be further subdivided in to:

(i) The class maintaining type. For example:

šetâb+ šetâb ‘fast’ ‘fast’→ very fast

kæm+ kæm ‘little’+’little’→very slow

255) æli    šetâb+ šetâb    gæp    æ-zæn-t  
       ali    fast fast        speak    PRES-hit-3S  
       ‘Ali is speaking very fast.’

(ii) The class changing type. For instance:

bejæk+bejæk ‘jump’ + ‘jump’ →‘act of repeatedly jumping’

bodow+bodow ‘run’ + ‘run’ → ‘act of running’

- 256) čuk-o tu divâl bejæk+bejæk šâ-ke  
 boy-PL in yard jump jump 3PL-do.PST  
 ‘The boys were jumping in yard

### 3.3.2.3.2: Discontinuous reduplication

Discontinuous word reduplication is defined as when the base form or the syllable or the phonemes of the base word is reduplicated and it takes an infix between the base form and the reduplicated form, then it is called discontinuous word reduplication (Parimalagantham 2009). The inserted elements may be some functional words such as prepositions, ‘ke’ or suffix.

- a. Noun + Preposition (vâ) + Noun

šonæ+ vâ +šonæ →‘shoulder to shoulder’

šæhr+ vâ + šæhr→city after city

xonæ+ vâ+xonæ →‘house after house’

dæm+vâ+dæm →‘every moment’

- 257) æli šæhr vâ šæhr dombâl-e k<sup>h</sup>âtel-æ  
 ali city to city search-EZ murderer-be.PST.3S  
 ‘Ali was in search of the murderer city after city.’

- b.Noun + Preposition (tâ) + Noun → Adverb

kæp+ tâ+ kæp ‘bottom’ + ‘to’ + ‘bottom’ → ‘from beginning to end’(use for place)

sær+ tâ +sær ‘head’ + ‘to’ + ‘head’ → ‘all over’, ‘from beginning to end’

dowr+ tâ +dowr ‘round’ + ‘to’ + ‘round’ → ‘all around’

- 258) dowr tâ dowr otâk âdæm nešt  
 round to round room people sit.PST-3S  
 ‘All around the room, people sat.

c) Noun + Preposition (dær) + Noun → Adjective /Adverb

pič+dær+pič ‘turn’, ‘curve’ + ‘in’ + ‘turn’, ‘curve’ → ‘twisting and turning’

tu+dær+tu ‘inside’ + ‘in’ + ‘inside’ → ‘labyrinthine’

259) bâzâr tu dær tu-n  
bazar inside in inside-be.3S.PRES  
‘Bazar has a labyrinthine structure.’

d)Noun + Preposition (tu) + Noun → ADV/ Adjective

čehm+tu+čehm ‘eye’ + ‘in’ + ‘eye’ → ‘face-to-face’

xær+tu+xær ‘donkey’ + ‘in’ + ‘donkey’ → ‘cock-up’

šir+tu+šir ‘lion’ + ‘in’ + ‘lion’ → ‘in total confusion’, ‘free-for-all’

260) me vâ o čehm tu čehm gæp om-zæ  
I with she eye in eye speak 1S-hit.PST  
‘I spoke with her face to face.’

e)Adjective/ Noun + Adjective / Noun + -on → ADV

lærz+lærzon ‘the act of tremble’ + ‘the act of tremble’ + -on → ‘shakily’

læŋ+læŋ+on ‘lame’ + ‘lame’ + -on → ‘limpingly’

261) hæmid læŋ læŋ- on xonæ resi  
hamid lame lame-ADV home Arrive.3S.PST  
‘Hamid arrived home limpingly.’

f) Noun /V + Noun /V + -æk → N

čen+čen+ æk ‘minute’ + ‘minute’ + -æk → ‘gossip’

del+del+æk ‘heart’+‘heart’+ - æk →‘hesitancy’

262) mæryæm æ čen čen- æk bæd-eš æ-tât  
maryam from minute minute bad-CL.3S PRES-come.3S  
‘Maryam doesn’t like gossip.’

g)Noun + Noun + -u → Adjective/Noun

ƿor+ƿor+u ‘grumble’ + ‘grumble’ + -u → ‘A person who given to grumbling’,

jeŋ+jeŋ+u → bell+bell+-u → ‘rattle’

263) doxte ƿor ƿor-u be hæmæ æsæbâni i-ke  
girl grumble grumble-ADJ ACC everyone angry 3S-do.PST  
‘The shrewish girl made everyone angry.’

h)Noun + Noun + -i → Adjective

‘sok’+ ‘sok’+i → ‘whinge’+ ‘whinge’+ -i → ‘vixnish’

‘xâl’+ ‘xâl’-i → ‘spot’ + ‘spot’ + -i → ‘spotted’, ‘marked with a mole’

‘xæt’+ ‘xæt’+i ‘line’, ‘stripe’ + ‘line’, ‘stripe’ + -i → ‘criss-cross’,

264) æsb-e xâl xâl-i xeyli jon-æ  
horse-EZ spot spot-ADJ very pretty-be.PST.3S  
‘The spotted horse was very pretty.’

### 3.4: Compound morphology

Compounding is another word formation processes. Morphologically-complex words created by this process differ from those created by derivation and inflection. ‘In that such words cannot be analyzed as consisting of a stem or root plus affixes, rather they contain more than one stem or root. That is, the elements combined in these formations are not lexical plus grammatical, but rather two or more lexical elements (Bybee, 1985, 105)’. Compounding can be easily illustrated in Bandari, where noun- noun, adjective- noun, nouns-verb, adverb-noun combinations occur. Bandari doesn’t have compound verb. This language has complex predicate verb that we explain in 3.1.1.7.

#### 3.4.1: Compound nouns

Compound nouns are formed in a number of ways:

(a)Noun+Noun

sæŋ+baron ‘sone’+ ‘rain’ → sæŋ baron ‘hail’

toxm + morg seed+ chicken → tox morg : ‘egg’

b) Noun+e+Noun

gol + e + sorx → gol-e sorx flower+EZ+red : ‘rose’

c) Noun+o+ Noun

âb + o + hævâ water+o+air → âbohævâ ‘climate’

d) adv+verb stem

zud+pæz ‘quick’+cook→ zud pæz ‘pressure-cooker’

e) Adjective+Noun

now+ruz new+day → nowruz ‘New Year’

f) nouns + verb stems

duru+moš ‘lie’+rub’→ durumoš ‘fibber’

hârt+giz flour+ swift→horgiz ‘strainer’

g) Past stem+ o +past stem

ræft+o+hond ‘went’+o+ ‘came’→ ræft o hond ‘social intercourse’

h) Past stem+ o+ present stem,

zæd+o+bænd ‘hit’+o+ ‘close’ → zæd o bænd ‘shenanigans’

### 3.4.2: Compound adjectives

Various combinations can result in ‘compound adjectives’.

a) noun+noun

sæŋ+del ‘stone’+ ‘heart’→ sæŋdel ‘heartless’

b) Noun+adjective

čehm+sur ‘eye’+ ‘salt’ ‘evil eye’

c) Noun+verbal

meh+âlud ‘fog’ + ‘taint’→ mehâlud ‘fogy’

d) Adjective+noun

bæd+bæxt ‘bad’+ ‘luck’→ bædbæxt ‘luckless’

e) Preposition+noun

bi+ehsâs ‘without’+feeling→ biehsâs ‘unfeeling’

# **Chapter four**

## **Syntax**



Tallerman (2015, 1) defines syntax as ‘sentence construction’ and how words group together to make phrases and sentences. ‘Syntax’ is also used for the study of the syntactic properties of languages. When we study syntax, effectively we’re studying how languages organize their classification of words, the order of words in phrases and sentences, the structure of phrases and sentences, and the different sentence constructions that languages use. We comfort with many grammatical terms, including ‘noun’, ‘verb’, ‘preposition’, ‘relative clause’, ‘subject’, ‘nominative’, ‘agreement’ and ‘case’.’ (Tallerman, 2015)

According to Crystal (2008, 471) syntax is a traditional term that uses for the study of the rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in a language. Opposite to morphology, which is the study of word structure, the syntax is defined by him as the study of the interrelationships between elements of sentence structure and of the rules governing the arrangement of sentences in sequences. Bandari is an SOV language and in the Bandari subject can be made out of noun or pronoun, the object also may be made out of noun or pronoun. In Babdari, the animate object is marker by *be/bey* but if the object is in-animate, the object is used without any marker.

#### **4.1: Ezâfæ**

Before starting a discussion about syntax in Bandari, we need to understand about *ezafe* construction that is used in Iranian languages.

In a previous study about *Ezafe* construction in Iranian languages, Samiiian (1983, 1994; Larson and Yamakido 2008) contend *ezafe* is a case marker. Ghomeshi (1997) and Ghaniabadi (2010) describe it as a vowel insertion and it is used to identify constituenthood or to link it to its modifiers. Samvelian (2007, 2008a) says that this is a (phrasal) affix to mark the presence of a syntactic dependent. According to Kahnemuyipour (2016), *Ezafe* is an unstressed vowel that is used between a noun and its modifier.

*Ezafe* links noun to other nonverbal elements. These nonverbal parts maybe an adjective (phrase), noun (phrase), adverb (phrase), prepositional phrase or infinitive.

The modifier is an adjective: *Ezafe* is used between noun and adjective in Bandari.

265) xone-ye sefid  
house-EZ white  
'a white house'

The modifier is a noun: ezafe is used between two nouns in this language.

266) k<sup>h</sup>etâb-e oseyn  
book-EZ hosein  
'Hosein's book.'

The modifier is a PP: some of the prepositions in Bandari are used with ezafe.

269) k<sup>h</sup>etâb-e zir-e miz  
book-EZ under-EZ table  
'The book under the table.'

Samiian (1994) establishes three classes of prepositions: a. Prepositions that must not take Ezafe (P1 prepositions): 'tâ' 'until', 'be' 'to', 'bi' 'without'... b. Prepositions that obligatorily take Ezafe (P2 prepositions): 'zir' 'under', 'bedun' 'without', 'post' 'behind'... c. Prepositions that can optionally take Ezafe (P3 prepositions): 'tu' 'inside', 'ru' 'on', barâ 'for'... Prepositional heads have two different behaviors with regard to Ezafe according to the class they belong to.

In Bandari compounds contain a modifier and a head N. Some 'compounds' are used with postnominal modifiers without the Ezafe marker such as:

270) čuk xâlæ  
son aunt  
'aunt's son'

271) poš(t) šæhr  
behind city  
Name of an old quarter in Bandar Abbas

When the adjective or modifying noun comes before the noun, *ezafe* is not used, for example:

- 272) *gol-xonæ*  
Flower-house  
'Green house'

#### 4.2: Sentences types

There are three basic sentence types in Bandari: declarative, interrogative and imperative.

##### 4.2.1: Declarative

In Bandari, declarative sentences are used for direct and indirect speech and 'yes', 'no' question constructions. Let's see some functions of 'declarative' in this language.

##### 4.2.1.1: Direct and indirect speech

Direct speech describes actual utterance, with no grammatical modification. In English, for example, 'Is she coming?' Mary asked is a direct question, whereas Mary asked if she was coming is an indirect question.

In Bandari complement sentence is immediately following the main clause.

- 273) *æli*      *i-go*                      *k<sup>h</sup>etâbxonæ*      *nâ- r-æm*  
ali      3S-say PST      Library      NEG- go-1S  
'Ali said, "I won't go to the library".'

Sentence (273) shows '*k<sup>h</sup>etâbxonæ nâ- r-æm*' is complement sentence that comes after the main clause.

Indirect speech is used to describe a grammatical construction where the words of the speaker are subordinated to a verb in the main clause, for example she said that she had a cold, where the 'direct speech' would have been I have a cold.

In Bandari indirect speech introduces the complementizer with '*k<sup>h</sup>e*'.

274) i-go                    ke    næ- t-ât  
 3S-say PST    that    NEG- come-3' S  
 'S/he said that s/he isn't coming.'

Indirect speech construct with 'k<sup>h</sup>e' but in certain cases 'k<sup>h</sup>e' can be deleted, which is shown in sentence (275).

275) i-go                    næ-t-ât  
 3S-say PST    NEG- come-3S  
 'S/he said that s/he isn't coming.'

Example (275) is an indirect speech with the same meaning as the above example.

#### 4.2.2: Interrogative sentences

In Bandari interrogative is a type of sentence. These sentences are used for expression of questions'. Bandari has two basic types of interrogative sentence: yes-no questions and question-word questions. Let's see some functions of 'interrogative sentence' in Bandari.

##### 4.2.2.1: Yes-no questions

Bandari for asking yes-no questions, for both formal and informal contexts, use rising intonation. In other words, the word order of a rising-intonation yes-no question is the same with the declarative sentence.

276) k<sup>h</sup>etâb    et-xæri  
 book    2S-buy, PST  
 'You bought book'

277) k<sup>h</sup>etâb    et-xæri?  
 book    2S-buy, PST  
 'You bought the book?' (rising intonation)

Sentence (276) predicates that you bought a book, whereas sentence (277) has same structure just with rise intonation ask a question.

#### 4.2.2.1.1: Leading yes-no questions

Leading questions are constructed with ‘begæ’ in the sentence-initial position in Bandari. This structure is followed by a declarative sentence uttered in a rising intonation.

278) begæ i k<sup>h</sup>etâb-e to.n?  
say this book-EZ you.is  
‘Is this book yours?’

This type of question has a negative answer. In leading question when we use negative verb expecting a positive answer.

279) begæ o k<sup>h</sup>etâb-e to-næn  
say that book-EZ You.NEG.is  
‘Isn’t that book yours?’

#### 4.2.2.1.2: Alternative questions

In alternative questions respondent choose an answer between two contrasting things. This construction is a yes-no questions and rising intonation is required.

280) be o æ-šnos-i yâ næ  
to s/he PRS-know.2S or no  
‘Do you know this man or not?’

#### 4.2.2.2: Question-word

Question words in Bandari contain a set of interrogative pronouns and adjectives. These words can be used as subjects or objects. Like yes/no questions, rising intonation be rise at the end of these sentences.

**4.2.2.2.1: Interrogative pronouns:** Interrogative pronoun in Bandari shows in examples below:

Bandari	gloss
k <sup>h</sup> e	‘who’, whom’
če	‘what’
k <sup>h</sup> ey	‘when’
k <sup>h</sup> ojâ	‘where’
beyče	‘why’
čænd	‘how much’(price)

Example(281) is a question sentence that interrogative pronoun ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ is used as subject.

281) k<sup>h</sup>e æ.r.eyt  
 who PRS.go.3S  
 ‘Who’s going?’

Example(282) is a question sentence that interrogative pronoun ‘če’ is used as object.

282) če šo-xâ  
 what 3PL-eat.PST  
 ‘What did they eat?’

Example (283) shows an interrogative adjective.

283) i k<sup>h</sup>etâb čæn(d)  
 this book how much  
 ‘How much is this book?’

**4.2.2.2.2: Interrogative adjectives:**

Bandari	Gloss
k <sup>h</sup> æmtey	‘which (one)’
čæntâ	‘how many’
čekæ	‘how much’

284) i k<sup>h</sup>if čænd-en  
 this bag how much-is  
 ‘How much is this bag?’

In case of dative, Bandari uses a preposition before question words. Example (285) exhibits this:

285) æli pul be k<sup>h</sup>e i-dâ  
 ali money to who 3S-give.PST  
 ‘Who did Ali give the money to?’

In sentence (285) ‘be’ is a preposition and is used before question word ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’.

In genitive case, an ezafe construction links the noun and question word. However, it can also use the morpheme ‘mâl’ ‘property’ which is followed by an ezafe. Examples below.

286) i k<sup>h</sup>etâb-e k<sup>h</sup>en  
 this book-EZ Who-is  
 ‘Whose book is this?’

289) i k<sup>h</sup>etâb mâl-e k<sup>h</sup>en  
 this book property-EZ Who-is  
 ‘Whose book is this?’

Elements that can be questioned are in both main clauses and subordinate clauses: Main clauses that can be questioned are subject, direct object and indirect object. In sentences these elements are questioned:

290) emruz mæryæm be širin k<sup>h</sup>etâb i-xond  
 today Maryam for Shirin book 3S-read.PST  
 ‘Today, Maryam read the book for Shirin.’

In the example below subject is questioned:

291) emruz k<sup>h</sup>e be širin k<sup>h</sup>etâb i-xond  
 today who for shirin book 3S-read.PST  
 ‘Today, who read the book for Shirin?’

In sentence (292) direct object is questioned:

292) emruz mæryæm be širin çe i-xond  
 today maryam for shirin what 3S-read.PST  
 ‘Today, what did Maryam read for Shirin?’

In sentence (293) indirect object is questioned:

293) emruz mæryæm be k<sup>h</sup>e k<sup>h</sup>etâb i-xond  
 today maryam for who book 3S-read.PST  
 ‘Today, who did maryam read the book for?’

In the next sentence, the adverb is questioned

294) k<sup>h</sup>ey mæryæm be širin k<sup>h</sup>etâb i-xond  
 when maryam for shirin book 3S-read.PST  
 ‘When Maryam read the book for Shirin?’

In the two sentences below the verb phrases are questioned.

295) emruz mæryæm be širin çe ike  
 today maryam for Shirin what 3S.do.PST  
 ‘What did Maryam do for Shirin today?’

296) emruz mæryæm çe ike  
 today maryam what 3S.do.PST  
 ‘What did Maryam to do today?’

Subordinate-clause constituents that can be questioned in Bandari are all finite, indicative or subjunctive, and can be preceded by the optional relative pronoun ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ (that/which).

Example (297) shows a subordinated clause in the indicative

297) me fekr æ-konom k<sup>h</sup>e æli do-tâ ruznâmæ i-xæri  
 I think PRES-do.1S that ali two-CL newspaper 3S-buy.PST  
 ‘I think that Ali bought the two newspapers.’

All constituents of a subordinate clause can be questioned.

298) to fekr e-kon-i (ke) k<sup>h</sup>e do-tâ ruznâmæ ixæri  
 you think PRES.do.2S that who two-CL newspaper 3S.buy.PST  
 ‘Who do you think bought the two newspapers?’



299) to fekr e-kon-i k<sup>h</sup>e æli čæn-tâ ruznâmæ ixæri  
 you think PRES.do.2S that ali howmany-CL newspaper 3S.buy.PST  
 ‘How many newspapers do you think Ali bought?’

And sentence (300) shows a subordinate clause in the subjunctive.

300) me mæ-vâ vâ o beræm  
 I 1S.want with s/he SBJN-go-1S  
 ‘I want to go with s/he.’

Bandari does not have non-finite

subordinate clauses. In finite subordinate clause, noun phrase can be questioned. A noun phrase may include a demonstrative pronoun and/or quantifier which occur before the noun, and the noun is modified by the ezafe construction following the noun.

Sentence (301)- (304) show demonstrative with and without quantifier

301) i čuk  
 this boy  
 ‘This boy’

Sentence (302) has demonstrative pronoun and cardinal quantifier and (303) question that

302) i do-tâ čuk  
 this two-CL boy  
 ‘These two boys’

303) k<sup>h</sup>æm čuk  
 which boy  
 ‘Which boy?’

Sentence (304) has cardinal quantifier and next example (305) questions that:

304) se-tâ čuk  
 three boy  
 ‘Three boys’

305) čæn-tâ čuk  
 how many-NC boy  
 ‘How many boys?’

In example (306) quantifier is ordinal and and number sentence (307) asks about that:

306) sevomin      čuk  
third          boy  
'The third boy'

307) čændomin    čuk  
which          boy  
'Which boy'

In sentence (308); the quantifier is a proportional numeral.

308) do      bærâbær-e    pul-e-to  
two    time-EZ      money.EZ.you  
'Two times of your money.'

309) čænd              bærâbær-e    pul-e-to  
how much      time-EZ      money.EZ.you  
'How many times of your money.'

Example (310) shows us descriptive adjective and the next example questions that:

310) ye      æks-e          xeyli      jon  
a      photo-EZ      very      beautiful  
'A very beautiful photo'

311) če      æks-i  
what    photo-IND  
'What kind of photo?'

Sentence (313) shows us about possession of a possessor that has been used in (312)

312) xone-ye          xeili      kuček-om  
house-EZ          very      Small--1S.PC  
'My very small house'

313) xone-ye          xeili          kuček-e          k<sup>h</sup>e  
house-EZ          very          Small-EZ          who  
'Whose very small house?'

The next sentences show us prepositional phrase and how we make a question from them in Bandari:

314) xone-ye        sær-e        xyâbon  
house-EZ        by-EZ        street  
‘the house by the street’

315) k<sup>h</sup>æm    xonæ  
Which    house  
‘Which house?’

Sentence (316) shows a prepositional phrase, in Bandari. We can make a question about that.

316) vâ    mæryæm  
with    maryam  
‘With Maryam’

Sentence (317) makes a question about that prepositional phrase in (316)

317) vâ    k<sup>h</sup>e  
with    who  
‘With who?’

#### **4.2.2.3: Echo questions**

Echo question is used for a type of question that repeats, in whole or in part, what has just been said by another speaker. (Crystal, 2008, 161) These questions are questions that repeat part of a previous statement. These questions take the form of the previous statement. Various reasons can be used echo questions are. Who ask echo question might not have understood the previous statement due to an auditory failure. Maybe have request clarification about what an expression in the previous statement referred to. Maybe use echo question for the double check when the speaker does not believe what s/he just heard. This kind of question can be used when the speaker might be amazed or indignant about what s/he just heard and wishes to express his/her emotions.

Bandari has Yes-no and question words echo questions; we discuss these constructs in Bandari.

#### 4.2.2.3.1: Yes-no echo questions

Yes-no echo questions are formed by repeating part of the sentence. Example (318) is a sentence that expresses 'I gave the book to Maryam.' whereas sentences (319-322) are echo questions sentences those repeat a part of sentence,

318) k<sup>h</sup>etâb om-dâ be mæryæm  
with 1S.give to maryam  
'I gave the book to Maryam.'

The sentence (319) is questioning the indirect object and VP is repeated

319) et-dâ be mæryæm  
2S.give to maryam  
'You gave (it) to Maryam?'

In example (320) is questioning the indirect object and PP is repeated

320) be mæryæm  
to maryam  
'To Maryam?'

The sentence (321) is questioning the direct Object and the VP

321) k<sup>h</sup>etâb et-dâ  
book 2S-give.PST  
'You gave the book?'

The sentence (322) is questioning the direct object

322) k<sup>h</sup>etâb  
book  
'The book?'

In all echo questions, speaker, answer yes.

Answers yes-no questions

The answer to yes-no questions may be in the form of a simple 'bæle' 'yes' or 'næ' 'no' or 'šâyæd' 'maybe'.

323) čâšt et-xâ bæle  
lunch 2S-eat.PST yes  
'Did you eat lunch?' 'yes'

324) i k<sup>h</sup>ælemæ ingilisi-n šâyæd  
this word English-is 'maybe.'  
'Is this English word?' 'Maybe.'

Answers to leading questions: when the leading question is positive, it is 'bæle' 'yes' or 'næ' 'no'.

325) æ-r-ey  
PRES-go.2S  
'Do you go?'

326) bæle/ næ  
Yes/no  
'Yes. (I go.)' 'No. (I don't go).'

If the leading question is negative, a 'næ' 'no' which means unambiguously with the assumption.

327) mæryæm emšow næ-tât næ  
maryam tonight NEG-come.3S no  
'Does n't Maryam come tonight?' 'No'

#### 4.2.2.3.2: Question-word

In Bandari, echo questions are a form of question-word questions and they replace one of the elements with a WH-word.

328) ræft-om bænder  
Go.PST-1S bandar(abbas)  
'I went to Bandarabbas'

The WH-word can remain in its original syntactic position, like in example (329)

329) ræft-i                    k<sup>h</sup>oja?  
 go.PST.2S                where  
 ‘Where did you go?’

Or can be used as in the example (330) below to form a standard WH-question.

330) koja            ræft-i  
 where    Go.PST.2S  
 ‘Where did you go?’

Questions in Bandari can also be in the form of a simple WH-question. Same example (331) demonstrates this

331) koja?  
 where  
 ‘Where?’

Yes-no echo-questions in Bandari,

When a speaker asks a yes-no question such as ‘Are you going to the Bandar?’ Another speaker in response cannot ask a question like ‘Am I going to the Bandar?’ Rather that speaker must ask the question with a subordinate clause along with the main clause. Sentence (333) expresses this.

332) æ-r-ey                    bænder  
 PRES-go.2S                bandar(abbas)  
 ‘Do you go to the Bandarabbas?’

333) et.porsi                æ-r-æm                bænder  
 2S.ask.PST    PRES-go.1S    bandar(abbas)  
 ‘Did you ask if I go to the Bandarabbas?’

In echo question, speakers can ask a question about any element of a previous declarative sentence, question word question or question-word echo-questions Elements which can be questioned in a declarative sentence.

334) duš                    k<sup>h</sup>etâb    om-nehâ    ru    miz  
 yesterday    book    1S.put.PST    on    table  
 ‘Yesterday, I put the book on the table.’

Direct object is one of the elements that can be questioned in echo question:

335) k<sup>h</sup>etâb? ‘The book?’

Another element that can be questioned is an indirect object:

336) ru miz  
on table  
‘On the table?’

VP is one of the elements that can be questioned.

337) k<sup>h</sup>etâb çe et-ke  
book what 2S-do.PST  
‘What did you do with the book?’

Another element that can be questioned is adverb

338) k<sup>h</sup>ey k<sup>h</sup>etâb et.nehâ ru miz  
when book 2S.put.PST on table  
‘When did you put the purse on the table?’

#### 4.2.3: Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences are used to express requests, suggestions, advice, order or commands.

In this case, the subject is often omitted and we use a verb to begin the sentence. The subject is the person listening. We describe positive imperative forms and negative imperative forms in Bandari:

**4.2.3.1: Positive imperative forms:** ‘be-’ ‘bo-’ is prefixed to the present stem of the verb and construct a positive imperative is formed in Bandari. Imperatives use the second person. In the singular is not use personal suffix and second person plural suffix is ‘-i(d)’.

In order to request, the command, ‘lotfæn’ ‘please’ or the phrase ‘xaheš-æ-kon-om’, is used initially in the sentence. The imperative is emphasized by using more volume, stress and intonation.

339) xaheš-æ-kon-om be-ræ bo-xow  
please IMP-go IMP-sleep  
‘Please go to sleep’

**4.2.3.2: Negative imperative:** In the negative imperative prefix ‘be-’ will be replaced by to the negative prefix ‘mæ-’.

340) vâ æli gozi mæ-ko  
with ali play NEG-do  
‘Don’t play with Ali.’

The agreement marker for person/number in negative imperative is the same as in the positive imperative.

### 4.3: Subordinate clauses

The subordination is a process or result of linking linguistic units so that they have different syntactic status, one being dependent upon the other, and usually a constituent of the other; subordinate is sometimes contrasted with superordinate. Subordinate clauses are illustrated in the sentence John left when the bus arrived: the marker of linkage is when, a subordinating conjunction (or subordinator). (Crystal, 2008, 462).

#### 4.3.1: General markers of subordination

- ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ ‘that’ introduce nominal clauses in Bandari.

341) fekr-æ-kon-om (k<sup>h</sup>e) sebâ bâron ætât  
Think-PRES-do.1S that tomorrow Baran PRES.come.3S  
‘I think that Baran will come tomorrow.’

- The demonstrative particle ‘-i’ is followed by ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’, ‘-i k<sup>h</sup>e’ ‘who/whom/that/which’ introduce adjective clauses

342) jeme-i k<sup>h</sup>e duš om-puši  
clothes-DEM that yesterday 1S-wear.PST  
‘The clothes that I was yesterday.’



### 4.3.2. Noun clauses

Noun clauses subordinates are unmarked for the case and immediately come with the main clause. In case of nominal relative clauses, the subordinate clause is used the main verb.

#### 4.3.2.1: Types of noun clauses

1-‘k<sup>h</sup>e’: If ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ clause is object or complement, ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ is optional and sometimes deleted in Bandari.

343) mæ-donest k<sup>h</sup>e dir æ-res-i  
1S-know.PST that late PRES-arrive.2S  
‘I knew (that) you’d arrive late.’

2-WH-interrogative clauses: A WH-word follows the main clause and forms a WH-interrogative clause in Bandari like many other languages.

344) nâ-don-om beyče i xonæ i.xæri  
NEG.know.PRES.1S why this house 3S.buy.PST  
‘I don’t know who s/he bought this house.’

345) nâ-don-et k<sup>h</sup>etâb-om be k<sup>h</sup>e i.dâd.en  
NEG.know.PRES.3S book.my to who 3S-give.3.PSTPART  
‘s/he doesn’t know gave my book to.’

### 3- Nominal relative clauses

According to Quirk (1985), relative clauses are used when a noun is modified. In Bandari ‘ke’ ‘that’ has the only role of connection and it needs an appropriate place in a sentence.

Nominal relative clauses come before the main verb.

346) hær-čekæ(k<sup>h</sup>e) k<sup>h</sup>âkæz tævâ tædæm  
however much (that) paper 2S.want.PRS 2SObject.givePRS.1S  
‘I’ll give you as much paper as you want.’

347) i kâvæz be hær-kesi (k<sup>h</sup>e) ævvæl æ-res-et hâdæ  
 this paper to whoever (that) first PRES-arrive-2S IMP-give  
 ‘Give this paper to whoever arrives first.’

4- **Non-finite clauses:** Non-finite subordinate noun clauses cannot be formed in Bandari.

#### 4.3.2.2: Indirect statements

In Bandari indirect statement ‘ke’ is optional.

#### 4.3.2.3: Indirect questions

Indirect question follows the main clause. The word order in the indirect question is the same as direct questions.

348) oseyn i-porsi(d) beyçe to næ-tey  
 hossein 3S-ask.PST why you NEG- come-2S  
 ‘Hossein asked why you aren’t coming.’

#### 4.3.2.4: Indirect commands

The indirect command follows the main clause. The subordinated verb takes the subjunctive mood and can be inflected for any person and number. ‘ke’ ‘that’ is optional.

349) æli be to i- go(ft) (k<sup>h</sup>e) be-rey  
 ali to you 3S-say.PST (that) SBJN-go-2S  
 ‘Ali told you to go.’

#### 4.3.2.5: Nonfinite noun clauses

Bandari does not have non-finite subordinated nominal clauses.

### 4.3.3: Adjective clauses (relative clauses)

#### 4.3.3.1: Marking of adjective clauses

The relative pronoun ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ ‘who/whom/that/which’ introduces Adjective clauses.

### 4.3.3.2: Restrictive and non-restrictive clauses

#### 4.3.3.2.1: Restrictive clause

‘-ike’ produces a restrictive relative clause. This suffix ‘-i’ is “demonstrative”. The demonstrative ‘-i’ attaches to the head noun and is followed by ‘ke’.

350) k<sup>h</sup>etâb-i-ke ru miz-en  
book-DEM-that on table.is  
‘The book that is on the table.’

351) pos.i.ke eynæk izæd-en  
boy-DEM-that glasses hit-PRESPAT.3S  
‘The boy who wear glasses.’

#### 4.3.3.2.2: Non-restrictive relative clauses

The demonstrative ‘-i’ is not used in non-restrictive clauses, rather the non-restrictive clause are introduced with the relative pronoun ‘ke’ and it follows their antecedent.

352) o doxtekæ k<sup>h</sup>e k<sup>h</sup>etâb dæst-ešen  
that girl that book hand-3S. is  
‘That girl, who is holding the book’

353) refik.om k<sup>h</sup>e bänder.en  
friend.my that Bandarabbas.is  
‘My friend who is in Bandarabbas.’

Indefinite antecedent comes with indefinite marking (ye (k) ‘one, a’) or the indefinite suffix ‘-i’ or with combination of ye(k) and ‘-i’.

354) ye pos-e k<sup>h</sup>ædbolæn(d) k<sup>h</sup>e k<sup>h</sup>etâb šæ-xond  
a boy-EZ tall that book 3S-read.PST  
‘A tall boy, who was reading a book.’

355) ye pos-e k<sup>h</sup>ædbolæn(d)-i k<sup>h</sup>e k<sup>h</sup>etâb šæ-xond  
 a boy-EZ tall-IND that book 3S-read.PST  
 ‘A tall boy, who was reading a book’

#### 4.3.3.3: Form of the relativized element

In Bndari, ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ introduces the relative clauses.

356) doxt-i k<sup>h</sup>e om-di  
 girl.DEM that 1S-see.PST  
 ‘the girl who I saw’

357) pos-i k<sup>h</sup>e ræ  
 boy-DEM that 3S-go.PST  
 ‘the boy who went’

#### 4.3.3.4: Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses can be use as objects or subjects of the main verb. They are typically introduced with a WH-pronoun such as ‘če’ ‘what’, ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ ‘who’, ‘hærkæ’ ‘whoever’, ‘hærče’ ‘whatever’, and so on.

358) æ-don-om                      če    šæ-vâ  
 PRES-know.PRES-1S    hat    3S-want.PRES  
 ‘I know what s/he wanted.’

359) šæ-donest            bey k<sup>h</sup>e    mæ-vâ  
 3S-know.PST    Acc    who    1S-want.PRES  
 ‘S/he knew who I loved.’

#### 4.3.4: Adverbial clauses

In Bandari, adverbial clauses are established by one of several adverbial subordinators such as: ‘æ(z) mokeike’ ‘since’; ‘bæ:d-æzike’ ‘after’; ‘hærvæxt (k<sup>h</sup>e)’ ‘whenever, every time’, ‘k<sup>h</sup>æbl-æz-ike’ ‘before’, ‘tâ’ ‘as soon as’; ‘væxti-(ke)’ ‘when’ and others.

360) vaxti.ke res-i hæmæ dæst-šo-zæ  
 when arrive.3S.PST all hand-3PL-struck.PST  
 ‘When s/he arrived everyone clapped.’

361) hæmæ dæst-šo-zæ vaxti.ke resi  
 all hand-3PL-struck.PST when arrive.3PL.PST  
 ‘When s/he arrived everyone clapped.’

‘bæd-æzike’ ‘after’ is one of the adverbial subordinators that are used to establish adverbial clause:

362) bæd-æz-ike čâšt et-xâ be me zæng be-zæn  
 after lunch 2S-eat.PST to me call.IMP.hit  
 ‘After you ate lunch call me.’

‘hæmotoke’ ‘the same way that’ introduce adverbial clauses in manner.

In example (363) manner clause is used before the main clause:

363) hæmoto-ke yâd-et-om-dâ medâd dæst bege  
 The same way. that learn-2S-1S –give.PST pen hand. IMP-get  
 ‘Hold the pen the way I learned you.’

In sentence (364) manner clause is used in medial position after the direct object :

364) medâd hæmotor-ke yâd-et-om-dâ dæst bege  
 pen The same way. that learn-2S-1S–give.PST hand. IMP-get  
 ‘Hold the pen the way I learned you.’

Purpose clauses use the subjunctive with tâ (inke) ‘so that/in order to’ or ‘k<sup>h</sup>e’ ‘that’

365) eynæk i.zæ tâ butunet bi-gin-et  
 glasses 3S.hit.PST that SBJN.able.3S SBJN-see-3S  
 ‘S/he put glasses on so s/he could see.’

366) mæryam ræ bâzâr k<sup>h</sup>e moy be.xær.et

maryam went market that fish SBJN-buy-3S  
'Maryam went to the market to buy fish.'

#### 4.4: Structural questions

##### 4.4.1: Internal structure of the sentence

###### 4.4.1.1: Copular sentences

Copular sentences word order is SOV like that are other sentences. The equivalent of 'to be' in Bandari copular sentence is used as clitics that one inflected for person and number, as 'hæst' 'is' plus the personal endings. In the past, there is the past of the verb 'buden' and 'hæsten' 'to be'.

367) me bimâreston-om  
I hospital-be.1S.PRES  
I am at the hospital.'

368) to bimâreston-i  
you hospital-be.2S.PRES  
You are at the hospital

369) o bimâreston-en  
s/he hospital-be.3S.PRES  
'S/he is at the hospital.'

The examples (367-369) show copular sentences in Bandari. In these sentences '-om' is 'be' singular first person. '-i' is 'be' second person singular and '-en' is 'be' third person singular in Bandari.

370) mâ bimâreston-im  
we hospital-be.1PL.PRES  
'We are at the hospital.'

371) šemâ bimâreston-i  
you hospital-be.2PL.PRES  
'You are at the hospital.'

372) ošo bimâreston-æn  
they hospital-be.3PL.PRES  
'They are at the hospital.'

The examples (370-372 ) show copular sentences in Bandari. In these sentences '–im' is 'be' plural first person. '–i' is 'be' second person plural and '–en' is 'be' third person plural in Bandari.

Sentences follow show copular sentence in past tense in Bandari.

371) me bimâreston-ærom  
I hospital-be.1S.PST  
'I was at the hospital.'

372) to bimâreston-eri  
you hospital-be.2S.PST  
'You were at the hospital.'

373) o bimâreston-æ  
s/he hospital-be.3S.PST  
'S/he was at the hospital.'

The examples (371-372) show copular sentences in Bandari. In these sentences '–ærom' is 'be' singular first person. '–eri' is 'be' second person singular and '–æ' is 'be' third person singular in Bandari.

374) mâ bimâreston-erim  
we hospital-be.1PL.PST  
'We were at the hospital.'

375) šemâ bimâreston-eri  
you hospital-be.2PL.PST  
'You were at the hospital'

376) ošo bimâreston-æren  
they hospital-be.3PL.PST  
'They were at the hospital.'

The examples (374-376 ) show copular sentences in Bandari. In these sentences '–erim' is 'be' plural first person. 'eri' is 'be' second person plural and '-æren' is 'be' third person plural in Bandari.

377) o čuk pos-om-en  
that boy son-my-is  
'That boy is my son.'

The predicate noun is not morphologically marked. The clitic attaches to the noun complement. The arrangement of elements before nominal structures is the same for other declarative sentences, (S) (O) (PP) V.

The complement adjective is not morphologically marked in Bandari but is shown by the word order: subject+predicate adjective+copula.

The complement adjective immediately comes along with the verb. The copular clitic attaches to the adjective in Bandari.

378) k<sup>h</sup>olâh-e čuk-om sorx-en  
hat-EZ son-my red-is  
'My son's hat is red.'

The order of the structure in a predicate adjective construction is also (S) (O) (PP) V in the above example.

The adverbial complement doesn't have a morphological marker in Bandari. The word order is Subject+predicate adverbial+copula



- 379) oseyn hæmišæ dir-ešen  
 hossein always late-3S-is  
 ‘Hosein always is late.’

Copular clitic attaches to the adverbial complements. Copular sentences without a ‘be’ copular do not exist in Bandari.

Bandari does have other forms for linking subjects to nominal and adjectival complements. The most common copula is ‘buden’ ‘to become’.

- 380) čuk-om šæhrdâr bu  
 son-my mayor become  
 ‘My son becomes a mayor.’

#### 4.4.1.2: Verbal sentences

Bandari is an SOV language so in the normal word order, the subject has an initial position. A sentence with a transitive verb will place direct object after the subject and finally, the verb follows them.

Bandari does not have subject less verbs. However, Bandari is a pro-drop language, i.e. pronominal subjects are often omitted.

- 381) ræft-im  
 go.PST-1PL  
 ‘We went.’

Verbs can be transitive, intransitive or even ditransitive in Bandari like many other languages of the world. Intransitive verbs don’t have direct objects. Some common intransitive verbs include ‘honden’ ‘to come’, ‘ræften’ ‘to go’. Verbs which may be used transitively or intransitively include ‘eškæsten’ ‘to break’.

- 382) bâron æ-hond-en  
 rain PRES-come.3S  
 ‘It’s raining.’

383) musâ tâ zohr xâft  
 musa till noon sleep.PST.3S  
 ‘Musa slept till noon.’

‘It’s raining.’ is an example with Ø(=zero) argument verb in English but in Bandari it is not the case because ‘bâron’ ‘rain’ is a noun and is the subject of the sentence here. ‘xâft’ is an example intransitive verb. It is shown in (383).

384) šišæ eškæst  
 glass 3S-break.PST  
 ‘The glass broke.’

385) gorbæ šišæ š-eškæst  
 cat glass break.PST.3S  
 ‘The cat broke the glass.’

In sentences (384) and (385) ‘eškæsten’ ‘to break’ maybe used transitively and intransitively. In sentence (384) ‘eškæst’ is an intransitive verb and doesn’t behave as a direct object, whereas sentence (385) it is used as a transitive verb and cat is the subject and glass is the direct object.

A semantic object cannot be dropped completely in Bandari. It is stated as a complement noun phrase which can be a pronoun or a pronominal clitic that marks the object on the verb.

Some verbs are ditransitive in Bandari like many other languages. These verbs obligatorily have indirect objects. Such verbs include ‘dâden’ ‘to give’ and ‘ferestâden’ ‘to send’. These verbs when used in the sentence necessarily demand indirect object for the completion of the intended meaning of the sentence. Indirect objects are generally introduced with the preposition be ‘to’ in Bandari.

386) k<sup>h</sup>âkæz-o i-dâ be æli  
 paper-PL 3S-give.PST to ali  
 ‘S/he gave the papers to Ali.’

Dative arguments are structured with the preposition ‘be’ ‘to’. This preposition always is always omitted.

- 387) sæbâ k<sup>h</sup>etâb (be) æli æ-dæm  
tomorrow book (to) ali Fut-give.PRES-1S  
‘I will give book to Ali tomorrow.’

In Bandari, locative argument are introduced with the prepositions ‘tu’ ‘in’

- 388) tu xonæ k<sup>h</sup>âr æ-kon-om  
in home work PRES-do-1PL  
‘I work at home.’

Benefactive arguments, in Bandari are structured with the preposition ‘be(y)’ ‘for’.

- 389) be doxt-om k<sup>h</sup>etâb om-xæri  
for daughter-1S.PC book 1S-buy.PST  
‘I bought a book for my daughter.’

Source structure is made with the preposition ‘æ(z)’ ‘from’ in this language.

- 390) jutti-xo æ k<sup>h</sup>ojâ et-xærid  
shoe-your from where 2S-buy.PST  
‘Where did you buy your shoe from?’

Instrumental arguments are commonly are used with the preposition ‘vâ’ ‘with’.

- 391) pârçæ vâ k<sup>h</sup>eyçi i-bori(d)  
fabric with scissors 3S-cut.PST  
‘S/he cut the fabric with a scissors.’

In sentence (391) we can see instrumental argument in Bandari.

#### 4.4.1.3: Adverbials

##### 4.4.1.3.1: Types of adverbials

Small numbers of words are used only as adverbs, such as ‘sæbâ’ ‘tomorrow’. Bandari has derived adverbs that are often formed with suffix. ‘-onæ’ and this is one of the suffixes that is used for adverbial function but it can appear adjectivally. ‘ruz-onæ’ ‘daily’ is an example for a derived adverb/adjective in Bandari. Some words are used as both adverbs and adjectives as ‘ârom’ ‘calm’calmly’.

Bandari has many simple adverb forms, some of, ‘hič’ ‘any’ are used to make time, for example ‘duš’ ‘yesterday’, ‘emruz’ ‘today’, ‘dušov’ ‘last night’, ‘âlâ’ ‘now’, ‘ruzânæ’ ‘daily’, for place as ‘ijâ’ ‘here’, ‘ojâ’ ‘there’. The simple adverbs for manner such as: ‘tond’ ‘fast’, ‘ârom’ ‘calmly’, ‘sæxt’ ‘severely’, etc. are very common in Bandari.

Some adverbs combine the quantifier ‘hær’ ‘every’ with a statement of time: ‘hær ruz’ ‘every day’, ‘hær dofæ’ ‘every time’ are also very common in Bandari.

392) sæbâ            æ-ræ-m            diryâ  
          tomorrow    PRES-go-1S    sea  
          ‘I will go to the sea side tomorrow.’

**4.4.1.3.2: Prepositional phrases:** In Bandari prepositional phrases are used as adverbials. Among the most common prepositions that are used to make adverbial phrases are tu ‘in’, vâ ‘with’, be ‘to’, ru ‘on’.

393) tu    xonæ  
       In    house  
       ‘in the house’

394) vâ    mošin  
       with    car  
       ‘by car’

**4.4.1.3.3: Position of adverbials:** The verbs and simple adverbs appear in diverse positions in non-emphasized, non-focused, non-contrastive sentences with a subject, direct object or indirect object which can be pro-dropped in Bandari. Position of simple adverbs depends on the other arguments. In the initial position, simple adverbs are interpreted as emphatic marker. In initial and final positions, the adverbs of time can show contrastive or non-contrastive emphasis particularly when coupled with phonetic stress.

#### **4.4.2: Adjective phrases**

According to Kim (2008, 25), the most common environment where an adjective phrase (AP) occurs in ‘linking verb’ constructions such as in ‘John feels-----.’ in English. We can have many adjectives in the blank space here, such as: happy, uncomfortable, terrified, sad, proud of her, proud to be his student, proud that he passed the exam, etc.

Operational definition for adjective phrases

We cannot think of a single morphological or word-order criterion for the operational definition of all adjective phrases. Adjective phrases are headed by an adjective with arguments to their left or right. Adjective phrases modify nouns as attributives, predicates, appositives or complements.

##### **4.4.2.1: Adjectivals with arguments**

###### **4.4.2.1.1: Subjects of adjectives**

Adjectives can occur in same context without an evident subject in Bandari like many other languages. The predicative adjective, suffixed with the copular clitic, modifies the pro dropped subject.

395) sowz-en  
green-is  
‘It is green.’

396) nârâhæt-om  
sad-am  
‘I am sad.’

###### **4.4.2.1.2: Adjectives with direct objects**

Adjectives referring to the quality of a noun that they modify cannot take direct-object arguments, ‘xob’ ‘good’, ‘sorx’ ‘red’, ‘estoku’ ‘quiet’, ‘gæp’ ‘big’, ‘dâk’ ‘hot’. However,

many nonqualitative adjectives can take direct-object arguments via the ‘ezafe’ construction in Bandari. The object is optional.

397) âšek-e zæn-eš  
Love-EZ Wife-3S.PC  
‘In love with his wife.’

398) negærân-e čuk-om  
worrid-EZ son-1S.PC  
‘worried about my son’

#### 4.4.2.1.3: Adjectives and indirect objects

Adjectives can be indirect object. A prepositional phrase which comes before the adjective is one of the structures which can allow an indirect object in Bandari like many other languages.

399) foti nesbæt be digær-ân mehræbon-en  
fatemeh relative to other-PL benign-is  
‘Fatemeh is benign to others.’

400) æli be nækoši ælâkæ-šæ  
ali to painting fond-is  
‘Ali is fond of painting.’

#### 4.4.2.1.4: Adjectives can also take oblique arguments.

401) vâ meriz-o mehræbon-en  
with patient-PL complaisant  
‘S/he is complaisant with the patients.’

402) xošhâl æ xevær-e xâš  
happy from news-EZ good  
‘happy about the good news’

The oblique object is called so as they are added in the sentence with the help of a preposition in the sentence. In the above examples of Bandari the prepositions ‘with’ and ‘about’ help us to allow the oblique object in the above sentences.

#### 4.4.2.2: Adverbial modification of adjectives

Adverbs and adjectives can be modified by intensifying adverbs such as ‘xeyli’ ‘very’, ‘ziyâd’ ‘much, too much’, ‘biyændâzæ’ ‘extremely’. These intensifiers immediately precede the adjectives in Bandari.

403) xeyli geron  
 very expensive  
 ‘very expensive’

404) xone-ye biyændâzæ gæp  
 house-EZ Extremely big  
 ‘An extremely big house.’

Another structure that can modify adjectives is prepositional phrases. Adverbial prepositional phrases come before the adjective they modify in Bandari.

405) æli tâ dušow nârâhæt-æ  
 ali until lastnight upset-was  
 ‘Ali was upset until last night.’

Non-finite clauses do not modify adjectives but in predicative position, some finite adverbial clauses can be used to modify adjectives. The finite clauses come before the adjective in Bandari.

406) æli ændaze-ye to nârâhæt-en  
 ali degree-EZ you upset-be.3S  
 ‘Ali was upset as you.’

#### 4.4.2.3: Order of adjectives, arguments and adverbials

We can say that the intensifying adverbs, prepositional adverbials and finite adverbial clauses are arranged before adjectives and they may function like direct object arguments in Bandari.

407) xeyli negærân-e dâdâ-m-om  
very worried-EZ sister-1S-be.1S  
'Very worried about my sister.'

408) æsæn tâ emruz negærân-e kâr-ešæ  
hasan until today worried-EZ job-3S.PC  
'Hasan was worried about his job until today.'

409) me be ændaze-ye æsæn negærân-e kâr-eš-om  
I to degree-EZ hasan worried-EZ Job-3S.PC-be.1S  
'I am as worried about hassan's job as he is.'

Simple adverbs, prepositional adverbials and finite adverbial clauses can come before the indirect object argument of the adjective in Bandari. This results in a sequence of adverbial, indirect object and adjective.

410) foti hæmišæ nesbæt be digær-ân mehræbon-æ  
fatemeh always relative to other-PL benign-be.3S  
'Fatemeh was always benign to others.'

411) tubâ tâ sâl-hâ nesbæt be digærân xošbin næ-hæ  
tuba for year-PL relative to others optimist NEG-be.3S  
'Tooba wasn't optimist to other people For many years.'

412) tubâ be ændaze-ye mæryæm nesbæt be digærân xošbin-ni  
tuba to degree-EZ maryam relative to others Optimist-NEG.be.3S  
'Tooba isn't optimist to others any more than Maryam is.'



In adjectives that take oblique arguments, simple adverbs can come either before the adjective or before the entire argument-adjective structure in Bandari.

- 413) æli vâ čuk-o xeyli mehræbon-en  
 ali With child-PL very tender-be.3S  
 ‘Ali is very tender with the children.’

In a continuity of adverbial, indirect object and adjective, prepositional adverbials and finite adverbial clauses must come before the oblique object argument in Bandari.

- 414) æli æz ævvæl vâ čuk-o mehræbon-æ  
 ali from beginning With child-PL tender-be.3S  
 ‘Ali was tender with children from the beginning he.’

- 415) æli be ændaze-ye mæryæm vâ čuk-o mehræbon-en  
 ali to degree-EZ maryam With child-PL tender-be.3S  
 ‘Ali is as tender with children as Maryam is.’

#### 4.4.3: Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases modify verbs, adjectives or any other adverbs. Phrases that are always nearly adverbial phrase include those of time, place and manner in Bandari. Adverbial phrases are headed by an adverb.

Adverbial modification of adverbials

Intensifying adverbs used to modify other adverbials, these adverbs are ‘xeyli’ ‘very’, ‘besyâr’ ‘extremely’, ‘ziyodi’ ‘too much’, and so on. The modifying adverbials come before the modified adverbial in Bandari.

- 416) foti xeyli vâ šærg ræ  
 fatemeh very with fast 3S.PST.go  
 ‘Fatemeh went very fast.’

Adverbial prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses cannot modify other adverbials.

A few adverbs of time such as ‘zud’ ‘early’, ‘dir’ ‘late’ and adverbs of manner can modified adverbials intensifies.

#### 4.4.4: Prepositional phrases

Another major phrasal category is preposition phrase (PP). PPs consist of a preposition plus an NP. For example, Kim (2008,26) describe PPs in English, for example ‘from Seoul’, ‘in the box’, ‘in the hotel’, ‘into the soup’, ‘with John’, ‘under the table’, etc. These PPs can appear in a wide range of environments: such as a. John came from Seoul. b. They put the book in the box. c. They stayed in the hotel. d. The fly fell into the soup.etc.

Bandari has two categories of prepositions, the first type is a simple preposition which directly comes with the noun phrase, such as ‘vâ’ ‘with’ ‘æ(z)’ ‘from’, ‘be’ ‘to’, ‘bi’ ‘without’, ‘tâ’ ‘up to’, ‘bey’ ‘for’. These are some simple prepositions in Bandari and we can see them in the examples given below.

417) vâ me  
with me  
‘with me’

418) tu xonæ  
at home  
‘at the home

Another type of prepositions must include the ezafe, such as ‘bedun-e’ ‘without’, ‘pošt-e’ ‘behind’, ‘beyn-e’ ‘between’, ‘nezik-e’ ‘near’, ‘zir-e’ ‘under’, ‘dâxel-e’ ‘in’, ‘ru-ye’ ‘on’, ‘jelov-e’ ‘in front of, ‘pæhluye’ ‘by’. Let us see them in examples given below.

419) dâxel-e xonæ  
in-EZ house  
‘in the house’

420) nezik-e dær  
near-EZ door  
'near the door'

A preposition always heads prepositional phrases. The place of the prepositional phrase is after the direct object and before the verb: (S) (O) (PP) V.

421) musâ be hæmid tu pârk i-di  
musa ACC hamid in park 3S-see.PST  
'Musa saw Hamid in the park.'

Prepositional phrases may come in other positions in Bandari such as:

Prepositional phrases introduced by 'tu' 'in' which can move to the right of the verb.

422) š-om-di tu bâzâr  
3S(ACC).1S-see.PST in market  
'I saw him in the market.'

423) tu bâzâr šom-di  
in market 3S(ACC).1S-see.PST  
'In the market I saw him.'

It is possible that the dative case marked object can move to the right of the verb.

424) k<sup>h</sup>etâb be me i-dâ  
book to me 3S-give.PST  
'S/he gave the book to me.'

425) k<sup>h</sup>etâb i-dâ be me  
book 3S-give.PST to me  
'S/he gave me the book.'

The preposition 'be' 'to' is often omitted

426) ræft-om bâzâr  
go.PST-1S market  
'I went to market'

Prepositional phrases and Adverbial clauses cannot modify prepositional phrases.

#### 4.4.5: Noun phrases

Quirk (1985, 1238–1350) analyses the noun phrase in detail, both from the point of view of morphology and syntax. As he suggests, a noun phrase may have different functions in a sentence, the typical being the subject and object. The simplest noun phrase consists of an article and a noun as the head of the phrase.

Operational definition of noun phrases

In a sentence, noun phrase can be the subject, direct object, indirect object and other oblique arguments. A noun phrase can consist of a simple noun, pronoun, compound noun, noun and modifiers or a nominal clause in Bandari.

##### 4.4.5.1: Modifiers in a noun phrase

In Bandari, adjective can modify noun phrases.

427) xone-ye gæp  
house-EZ big  
'big house'

428) ye xone-ye gæp  
one house-EZ Big  
'a big house'

Relative clause can modify noun phrase and 'k<sup>h</sup>e' 'that' follows the noun modifies.

429) medâd-e sorx-i k<sup>h</sup>e tu dokon om-di  
pencil-EZ Red-DEM that in store 1S-see.PST  
'the red pencil that I saw in the store'

In Bandari a noun, personal or a reflexive pronoun modifies nouns with ezafe construction and the possessive adjective comes next the noun it modifies.

430) hæmkâr-e dâdâ-m  
colleague sister-1S.PC  
'My sister's colleague'

431) xone-ye xod-om  
house-EZ self-1s.PC  
'my(own) house'

Bandari does not have definite articles and ye 'one' is an indefinite article,

432) ye səhn-e por  
one plate-EZ full  
'a full plate'

433) ye gozi-e xâš-i  
one game-EZ interesting-IND  
'an interesting game'

The demonstrative adjectives in Bandari are i 'this' and o 'that'. These stand before the noun phrase. Demonstrative adjectives don't have plural form and therefore we use singular demonstrative adjectives even for plural nouns.

434) i k<sup>h</sup>etâb  
this book  
'This book'

435) o k<sup>h</sup>etâb-o  
that book-PL  
'Those books'

In Bandari, quantifiers and numerals come before the NPs that they modify.

436) dæh səffæ  
ten page  
'ten pages'

Few adverbials like 'fækæt' 'only' and 'tækribæn' 'nearly, approximately' can be used to modify the noun in Bandari, such as:

437) fæqæt æli ræ  
 only ali 3S.go.PST  
 ‘Only Ali went.’

## 4.5: Coordination

According to Crystal (2008, 115) coordination is a process which makes a series of clauses, or phrases, or words equivalent. Constructions may also be analysed as co-ordinate with or without any explicit marker (a phenomenon sometimes referred to as ‘asyndetic coordination’), as in, ‘There was an awkward, depressing silence’, where the co-ordinative role of the two adjectives can be tested by the insertion of ‘and’ between them. However, in general languages use some or other marker to coordinate two or more sentences. In Bandari also, it is possible to have an ‘asyndetic coordination’ but in general we have the ‘linking words’ that help to coordinate two or more sentences.

### 4.5.1: Sentence coordination

The most common coordinating conjunctions are the connective clitic /-o/ ‘and’, the adversative conjunctions væli ‘but’ and the disjunctive conjunction yâ ‘or’ in Bandari.

#### 4.5.1.1: The connective clitic -o ‘and’

The connective clitic ‘o’ can connect any number of sentences.

438) me zærf e-šur-om o mæryæm joru æ-kon-t  
 I dish PRES-wash.1S and maryam sweep PRES-do-3S  
 ‘I will wash dish and Maryam will sweep.’

439) me zærf-o e-šur-om o mæryæm joru æ-kon-t  
 I dish-PL PRES-wash-1S and maryam sweep PRES-do-3S

o æli divâr e-šur-et  
 and ali courtyard PRES-wash-3.

‘I will wash the dishes and Maryam will the sweep and Ali will wash the courtyard.’

When the conjoined sentences are more than two, the connective clitic /-o/ come before the last sentences in Bandari.



### 4.5.1.3: ‘yâ’ ‘or’

It is the most common way to express disjunction between two sentences by using ‘yâ’ ‘or’ in Bandari.

- 445) čoy tæ-vâ                      yâ šærbæt  
tea 2S-PRES-want      or      lemonade  
‘Do you want tea or (do you want) lemonade?’

If we repeated yâ, it means ‘either...or...’

- 446) yâ be-r-eim              sinæmâ yâ (be-r-eim)              xonæ  
or subj-go-1PL      cinema      or      Subj-go-1PL              home  
‘We either go to the cinema or we go home.’

Finally, when we use yâ, if the verbs of both sentences are the same, the verb of the second sentence is deleted.

## 4.6: Negation

Negation is a grammatical or construct which typically states the contradiction of some or all of a sentence’s meaning. In English grammar, it is expressed by the presence of the negative particle (neg, NEG) such as not or n’t (the contracted negative). In English, there are several possible means, e.g. prefixes such as un-, non-, which are used for propose of negating the proposition of the verb. In Bandari these prefix are ‘næ-,nâ’ and ‘mæ-’ which perform similar function.

### 4.6.1: Sentence negation

The negative prefix is næ-/nâ, which attach to the verb stem of the simple verbs and this prefix use for the verbal part of the stem in complex verbs in the present, past, the present and past perfect, subjunctive. In imperative verbs this prefix is ‘mæ-’.

Negative marker in present tense in Bandari:



447) nâ-xâr-om  
NEG-eat.PRS-1S  
'I don't eat.'

nâ-bær-om  
448) NEG-take.PRS-1S  
'I don't take.'

According to examples (447) and (448) negative prefix is 'nâ-' in present tense and pattern of negation is (CVC) is /â/or/æ/ in Bandari.

449) nâ-bor-om  
NEG-cut.PRS-1S  
'I don't cut.'

450) nâ-der-om  
NEG-rip.PRS-1S  
'I don't rip.'

Negative prefix is 'nâ-' with the verbs in present tense and the pattern of negation is (CVC) i.e. /e/or /o/ in Baandari.

451) no-gin-om  
NEG-see.PRS-1S  
'I don't see.'

452) no-duz-om  
NEG-sew.PRS-1S  
'I don't sew.'

Negative prefix in present tense is 'no-' when vowel is /i/ or /u/ in Bandari as in (451) and (452).

Negative marker in past tense intransitive verbs is 'næ-' in Bandari as given in (453)

453) næ-ræft-om  
NEG-go.PST-1S

‘I didn’t go.’

**Negative marker in past tense with transitive verbs:**

We observed two options in conjugation of transitive verbs: one is with negative prefix that is added to verbal stem in Bandari such as:

Person& Number	did-en (to see)	xârd-en (to eat)	bord-en (to take)	bæst-en (to close)	derd-en (to rend)	pušid-en (to wear)
<b>1S</b>	om-ne-di	om-næ-xâ	om-næ-bo	om-næ-bæst	om-næ-derd	om-næ-puši(d)
<b>2S</b>	et-nedi	et-næ-xâ	et-næ-bo	et-næ-bæst	et-næ-derd	et-næ-puši(d)
<b>3S</b>	i-nedi	i-næ-xâ	i-næ-bo	i-næ-bæst	i-næ-derd	i-næ-puši(d)
<b>1PL</b>	mo-ne-di	mo-næ-xâ	mo-næ-bo	mo-næ-bæst	mo-næ-derd	mo-ne-puši(d)
<b>2PL</b>	to-ne-di	to-næ-xâ	to-næ-bo	to-næ-bæst	to-næ-derd	to-ne-puši(d)
<b>3PL</b>	šo-ne-di	šo-næ-xâ	šo-næ-bo	šo-næ-bæst	šo-næ-derd	šo-ne-puši(d)

Table-32 :Negative marker

We can see this structure for singular and plural construction.

In table (33 ) show other inflection and just we saw in singular struction. In this construction negative prefix come before clitic.

Person& Number	did-en (to see)	xârd-en (to eat)	bord-en (to take)	bæst-en (to close)	derd-en (to rend)	pušid-en (to wear)
1S	næmdi	næmxâ	næmbo	næm bæst	næm derd	næm pušid
2.S	nættdi	nætxâ	nætbo	næt bæst	næt derd	næt pušid
3.S	neydi	neyxâ	neybo	ney bæst	ney derd	ney pušid

Table-33: Negative marker in singular construction

In present continue aspect, NEG prefix is ‘nâ-’and this marker is used before verbal stem such as:

Person& Number	ræft-en (to go)	xârd-en (to eat)
1.S	nâ-ræft-om	nâ-xârd -om
2.S	nâ-ræft-i	nâ-xârd -i
3.S	nâ-ræft-en	nâ-xârd -en
1.PL	nâ-ræft-im	nâ-xârd -im
2.PL	nâ-ræft-i	nâ-xârd -i
3.PL	nâ-ræft-æn	nâ-xârd -æn

Negative prefix for Imperative is ‘mæ-’ in Bandari and this is used before the verbal stem, such as:

- 454) mæ-gæ  
NEG-say’  
‘Don’t say!’

Subjunctive structure in Bandari occurs as ‘be+stem+suffix’. For example:

- 455) šayæd be-r-æm  
maybe SUBJ-go-1S  
‘I may go.’

When this constructor Neg, ‘ne-’ adds to stem, the ‘be-’ get removed from the stem and we get following structure in Bandari.

- 456) šayæd næ-r-æm  
maybe NEG-go-1S  
‘I may not go.’

#### 4.6.2: Constituent negation

The markers ‘hiči’ ‘none’ and ‘bedun-e’ ‘without’ are negative elements in Bandari. When the form ‘hiči’ ‘none’ is used the verb denotes negation. For example;

- 457) hiči pul om-ni  
none money 1S- NEG-have  
‘I don’t have any money.’

If we use ‘bedun’ ‘without’, verb may be negative or positive in Bandari.

- 458) moy bedun-e how æ-mer-et  
fish without water PRS-die-3S  
‘Fish will die without water.’

- 459) me bedun-e to nâ-ræm  
I without you NEG-go-1S  
‘I don’t go without you.’

### 4.6.3: Multiple negations

Negative elements such as: ‘hiči’ ‘nothing’, ‘hičevæ’ ‘never’, ‘hičekæ’ ‘no one’, ‘hičejâ’ ‘nowhere’ help produce negation in Bandari.

460) hiči ney-xâ  
nothing NEG-eat.PST.3S  
‘S/he didn’t eat anything.’

461) æli hičevæ k<sup>h</sup>ešm næ-ræft-en  
ali never Qeshm NEG-went-PSPT.3S  
‘Ali has never gone to Qeshm.’

The marker ‘hičekæ’ ‘no one’ is another negative element that is used with verb to make negative sentence. in Bandari;

462) hičekæ ojâ næ-ræ  
no one there NEG-go.PST.3S  
‘There went no one there.’

### 4.6.4: Negation and coordination

Negation in coordinated structures is exclusive to coordination, næ...næ ‘neither...nor’ in Bandari.

463) næ me hendi gæp-æ-zæn-om næ hæmid  
no I Hindi speak-PRS-do-1S no hamid  
‘I don’t speak Hindi and neither does Hamid.’

### 4.6.5: Negation and subordination

In two sentences (464) and (465) the verbs of the main clause have negative marker, and thus (464) only negates the meaning of the matrix clause. However, if we want to negate both the clause i.e. matrix and subordinate clause, we must use negation in both the clauses. This is what is shown in (465)

464) mæryæm nâ-don-et k<sup>h</sup>e sæbâ æ-r-æm  
maryam NEG-know-3S that tomorrow PRS-go-1S

‘Maryam doesn’t know I go tomorrow.’

465) æli nâ-don-et k<sup>h</sup>e sæbâ nâ-r-æm  
 Ali NEG-know-3S that tomorrow NEG-DUR-go-1S  
 ‘Ali doesn’t know that I don’t go tomorrow.’

If e compare two sentences (466) and (467), the the subordinate clause is in the subjunctive. For negation these subordinate clauses must negate the verb of the matrix clause.

466) mæryæm še-tunest be-r-eyt  
 maryam 3S-could SBJN-go-3S  
 ‘Maryam could go.’

467) mæryæm šæ-ne-tunest be-r-eyt  
 maryam 3S-NEG-could SBJN-go-3S  
 ‘Maryam couldn’t go.’

## 4.7: Anaphora and reflexive

### 4.7.1: Anaphora

Mahutian(1997,91)Anaphora is the use of a ‘pro-/pro-form’ or null form that has no inherent reference or meaning, but whose reference depends on another noun phrase mentioned earlier or, less frequently, later in the discourse.

#### 4.7.1.1: Pronouns and deletion of pronouns

The personal pronouns that are used to state anaphora in Bandari are the following:

Person/number	Bandari	gloss	Person/number	Bandari	gloss
1.S	me	I	1.PL	mâ	we
2.S	to	you	2.PL	šomâ	you
3.S	o	s/he	3.PL	ošo	they

In Bandari, subject agreement is marked on the verb; then usually the anaphoric pronoun is deleted. In the example (468) the parentheses show the anaphoric pronoun that is deleted.

- 468) æli æ-reyt dânešgâh ojâ Ø be mæryæm e-gin-et  
 Ali PRES-go.3S university there (he) ACC maryam PRES-see.3S  
 ‘Ali will go to the university, he will meet Maryam there.’

When pronoun is a direct object, it is dropped and it gets attached as a clitic suffix to the verb. The example (469) shows the pronoun object that is dropped.

- 469) ruznâmæ i-xærid-o Ø i-xond-i  
 Newspaper 3S-buyPST-and Ø 3S-readPST-it  
 ‘S/he bought the newspaper and read it.’

#### 4.7.1.2: Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are anaphoric, and they show up as an object with the subject in the sentence. See the Bandari sentence below:

- 470) æli bey-xod-i xæstæ i-ke  
 ali ACC-self-3S tired 3S-do.PST  
 ‘Ali tierd himself.’

The sentences (471) and (472) have OSV and OVS structure and they show the focus on the reflexive object in Bandari.

- 471) bey-xod-i æli xæstæ i-ke  
 ACC-self-3S ali tired 3S-do.PST  
 ‘Himself ali tierd.’

- 472) bey-xod-i xæstæ i-ke æli  
 ACC-self-3S tired 3S-do.PST ali  
 ‘Ali tierd himself’

The role of reflexive pronouns also results in an anaphoric reference and the personal pronoun that the reflexive refers to is usually dropped in Bandari, as shown in the sentence below.

- 473) æbâs xæyyât-e xub-i-n xod-i jemæ-xo i-duxt  
 abbas tailor-EZ good-IND-3S self-3S.PC shirt-PC 3S-sew.PST  
 ‘Abbas is a good tailor, he sewed his shert himselh.’

### 4.7.1.3: Other means of expressing anaphora

The demonstratives ‘i’ ‘this’ and ‘o’ ‘that’ are used both as anaphoric pronouns and adjectives in Bandari. However, the plural forms ‘išo’ and ‘ošo’ are used only as pronouns. In example (475) the marker ‘ošo’ ‘those’ can be dropped.

474) æli o mæryæm dir-šo-ke  
ali and maryam Late-3PL-do.PST  
‘Ali and Maryam delayed.’

475) ošo hæmiše dir-æ-kon-en  
they always Late-PRES-do.3PL  
‘They always delay.’

### 4.7.2: Domain of anaphora

Within a clause, reflexives can be used as an anaphora and the reflexive can come before or follow the antecedent in Bandari.

478) zæhrâ bey xod-i bædbæxt-i-ke  
zahra ACC self-3S.PC unfortunate-3S-do.PST  
‘Zahra ruined herself.’

Between coordinate clauses, pronouns and reflexives can be used as an anaphora and can occur before or follow the antecedent in Bandari.

479) æbâs çerâk xomuš-i-ke o () xâft  
abbas lamp ternoff-3S.do.PST and () sleep.3S.PST  
‘Abbas ternoff the light and went to sleep.’

480) zæhrâ bolænd-bu-o bey xod-i sobhânæ doros i-ke  
zahra got up-and ACC Self.3S breakfast make.3S-do.PST  
‘Zahra got up and made herself breakfast.’

#### 4.8: Reflexives

The marker ‘xod’ ‘self’ is a reflexive pronouns in Bandari. The reflexive pronouns are used with the pronominal clitics that indicate person and number.

- 481) me bey xod-om k<sup>h</sup>etâb om-xæri  
I ACC self-1.PC book 1S-buy.PST  
‘I bought a book myself.’

Relationship between antecedent and reflexive

- 482) æli bey xod-i ârom-i-ke  
ali ACC self-3S.PC calm-3S-do.PST  
‘Ali calmed himself.’

One relationship of antecedent and reflexive in Bandari can be that antecedent subject can modify in own reflexive as a direct object as shown in sentence.

- 483) mæryæm dæst-e xod-i i-bori  
maryam hand-EZ self-3S.PC 3S-cut.PST  
‘Maryam cut her own hand.’

Antecedent subject/reflexive indirect object (adposition marking)

- 484) me gol bey xod-om om-zæ  
I flower ACC self-1S.PC 1S-hit.PST  
‘I pinned the flower to myself.’

Antecedent subject/reflexive modifier of indirect object

- 485) me gol vâ yæke-ye xo(d)-om om-zæ  
I flower to collar-EZ self-1S.PC 1S-hit.PST  
‘I pinned the flower to my own collar.’

Antecedent subject/reflexive copular complement

- 486) to xod-et-i  
you self-2S.PC-are  
‘You are yourself.’

Antecedent subject/reflexive modifier of copular complement



487) i k<sup>h</sup>if-e xod-om-en  
 this bag-EZ self-1S.PC-is  
 ‘This bag is my own.’

These forms don’t exist in Bandari in normal conversation. There is no way to make antecedent subject/reflexive subject or object complement and modifier of subject or object complement in Bandari.

Antecedent subject/reflexive object of adjective

488) me æ(z) xod-om motenæfer-om  
 I from self-1S.PC hateful-am  
 ‘I hate myself.’

Antecedent subject/reflexive modifier of object of adjective can be seen in Bandari as follows:

489) æli æ(z) dâdâ-ye xod-i motenæfer-en  
 ali from sister-EZ self-3S.PC hateful-is  
 ‘Ali hates his own sister.’

Antecedent subject/reflexive in other prepositional phrase can be demonstrated in Bandari as following;

490) mæryæm mošin bey xod-i i-xæri  
 maryam car for self-3S.PC 3S-buy.PST  
 ‘Maryam bought the car for herself.’

Antecedent subject/reflexive modifier of other prepositional phrase works in the following ways in Bandari:

491) mæryæm mošin bey pos-e xod-i i-xæri  
 maryam car for son-EZ self-3S.PC 3S-buy.PST  
 ‘Maryam bought the car for her own son.’

Modifier of subject as antecedent/reflexive direct object

The modifier of the subject cannot be the antecedent of any reflexive object, complement, prepositional phrase or modifier of any of these in Bandari.

In Bandari we don't have these forms: direct object antecedent/reflexive subject a direct object cannot be the "antecedent" of a reflexive subject. Direct object antecedent/reflexive case-marked indirect object or modifier of such indirect object doesn't exist in Bandari either.

However, direct object antecedent/reflexive indirect object (preposition marking) can occur in Bandari as follows:

492) bey æli æ(z) xod-i bizâr-i-kerd  
 ACC ali from Self-3S.PC weary-3S-do.PST  
 'He made Ali weary of himself.'

Direct object antecedent/reflexive modifier of indirect object (preposition marking) can take place in Bandari in the following ways.

493) bey æli æ(z) berâr-e xod-i bizar-i-kerd  
 ACC ali from brother-EZ Self-3S.PC Weary-3S-do.PST  
 'He made Ali weary of his own brother.'

Direct object antecedent/reflexive element in other prepositional phrase can be found in Bandari as follows:

494) musâ be foti æ(z) xod-i i-tersond  
 musa ACC fatemeh from Self-3S.Pc 3S- frighten.PST  
 'Musa made Fatemeh frightened of herself.'

Sentence (494) can be read 'Musa made Fatemeh afraid of him' in Bandari as well.

#### Reflexive relations within nominalized clauses

Reflexive relations can exist within a nominalized clause in Bandari. The reflexive can be used as a direct object, indirect object and other oblique objects, or as an intensifier too in the language.

Reflexive direct object

Sentence (495) shows a reflexive direct object in Bandari:

495) mælum-en k<sup>h</sup>e bey xod-i dust-i-šæ  
clear-is that ACC self-3S.PC friend- 3S-have.PRES  
'It is obvious that he likes herself.'

In sentence (496), a reflexive is used as a benefactive in Bandari.

496) fekr-æ-kon-om æli e-tun-et bey xod-i mošin be-xær-et  
thought-PRES-do- ali PRES-able-3S ACC self-3S car SBJN-buy-3S  
1S.  
'I think Ali can buy a car for himself.'

Sentence (497) shows a reflexive used as an intensifier in the language (Bandari).

497) æjib-en k<sup>h</sup>e bey bæp-e xod-i nâ-šnâs-et  
strange-is that ACC father-EZ self-3S.PC NEG-recognize-3S  
'It's strange that s/he doesn't recognize her/his own father.'

#### 4.9: Reciprocals

Reciprocals are used to refer to a classe of pronouns which refer to the meaning of mutual relationship, such as reciprocal pronouns in English 'each other' is an example of reciprocal pronoun (Crystal,2008, 405). In Bandari, we 'hæmdegæ' to make such relationship of pronoun.

##### 4.9.1: Means of expressing reciprocity

Bandari has reciprocal pronouns such as 'hæm', 'hæmdegæ' and 'yekdegæ', all meaning 'each other'. They are invariable in form and function as objects with an anaphoric reference to the subject. The reciprocals are not marked for case, but do take a direct object marker or preposition depending on their syntactic/semantic role in the sentence,

498) æli o æbâs be yekdegæ šo-zæ  
ali and abbas ACC each other 3PL-hit.PST  
'Ali and Abbas hit each other.'

- 499) k<sup>h</sup>olsum o leylâ vâ hãmdegæ hond-en  
 k<sup>h</sup>olsum and lila with each other come.PST-3PL  
 ‘Kolsum and Lila came together.’

Relation between subject antecedent and reciprocal: Following are examples of possible relationships between subject antecedents and reciprocal elements.

#### Direct object reciprocal

- 500) mejid o foti be hãmdegæ dærk--ne-mi-kon-im  
 majid and fatemeh ACC each other understand-NEG-PRES-do-1PL  
 ‘Majid and Fatemeh don’t understand each other.’

- 501) mejid o musâ enšo-ye hãm šo-xond  
 majid and musa composition-EZ each other 3PL-read.PST  
 ‘Majid and musa read each other’s composition.’

As we see in the above example where, the reciprocal may function as the direct object in Bandari.

#### Indirect object reciprocal

- 502) æsan o oseyn be hãm širini šo-dâ  
 hasan and hosein to each other sweet 3PL-give.PST  
 ‘Hasan and Hosein gave each other sweet.’

#### Modifier of indirect object reciprocal

- 503) æsan o oseyn be čuk-o hãm širini šo-dâ  
 hasan and hosein to child-PL each other sweet 3PL-give.PST  
 ‘Hasan and Hosein gave each other’s children sweet.’

The above examples show that the reciprocal, in Bandarican occupy the position of indirect object.

### Copular complement reciprocal

- 504) æli o æbâs mesl-e hæm-æn  
ali and abbas like-EZ each other-3PL.be  
'Ali and Abbas are like each other.'

The sentence (504) clearly marks the reciprocal as the copular complement in Bandari.

### Modifier of copular complement reciprocal

- 505) æli o zæhrâ refik-e semimi-ye hæm-æn  
ali and zahra friend-EZ close each other be-3PL  
'Ali and Zahra are each other's, close friend.'

Like other positions of reciprocals as the basis of its function, here, it functions as the modifier of copular complement in Bandari.

### Adjective object reciprocal

- 506) æli o zæhrâ vâ hædegæ mehræbon-æn  
ali and Zahra with each other kind-are  
'Ali and Zahra are kind with each other.'

### Modifier of adjective complement reciprocal

- 507) vâ čuk-o hæmdegæ mehræbon-æn  
with child-PL each other kind-3PL.be  
'They are kind with each other's children.'

### Reciprocal element in other prepositional phrase

- 508) ošo vâ hæm âvâz šo-xond  
they with each other sing-3PL-read.PST  
'They sang with each other.'

### Modifier of reciprocal element in other prepositional phrase

- 509) ošo vâ zæn-e hæm âvâz šo-xond  
they with wife-EZ each other sing-3PL-read.PST  
'They sang with each other's wife.'

If we examine the relation between direct object antecedent and reciprocal element in Bandari, we find that a direct object can be the antecedent of a reciprocal element in only four cases. The reciprocal may be an indirect object, the modifier of an indirect object or some other oblique object or modifier of such object. Let us examine these cases in Bandari:

#### Indirect object

- 510) bey æli o zæhrâ be hæm mærefi-om-ke  
 ACC ali and zahra to each other introduce-1S-do.PST  
 ‘I introduced Ali and Zahra to each other.’

Modifier of indirect object

- 511) bey ošo be kâkâ-ye hæm mærefi-om-ke  
 ACC they To brother-Ez each other introduce-1S-do.PST  
 ‘I introduced them to each other’s sister.’

Other prepositional object

- 512) bey ošo vâ hæmdegæ âšenâ-om  
 ACC they with each other  
 ‘I acquainted them with each other.’

Modifier of other prepositional object

- 513) bey ošo æ movæfækiyæt-e yekdegæ vâxevær-om  
 ACC they from success-Ez each other put onto-1S.do.PST  
 ‘I made them put each other’s success onto.’

If we examine relationship between modifier of direct object antecedent and reciprocal element, we find that the modifier of a direct object cannot be the antecedent of a reciprocal element in Bandari.

Similarly, the relationship between case-marked indirect object antecedent and reciprocal element does not get facilitated as we don’t have case-marked objects in Bandari.

The last but not the least, if we examine the reciprocal structures without antecedents(as it may be found in some languages), Bandari does not show up any such structure wher we can ascertain such facts.

## 4.10: Comparison

### 4.10.1. Means of expressing comparison

Comparative expression has four elements, the objects that are compared, the preposition ‘æ(z)’ ‘from’, the standard of comparison, and the comparative suffix ‘-te(r)’ .

514) mæryæm æ(z) foti gæp-ter-en  
maryam from fatemeh old-COMPR-is  
‘Maryam is elder than Fatemeh.’

When the items of comparison are in different clauses, the conjunction ta ‘than’ is used instead of ‘æz’ ‘from’ to express comparative relations in Bandari.

515) me šetâb-te æ-tâm tâ Hæmid  
I Fast-COMPR PRES-come.1PL than Hamid  
‘I come faster than Hamid.’

### 4.10.2: Deletion of identical elements in comparative structures

It is preferable to omit as many constituents in the comparative clause as are identical to those in the main clause in Bandari. In the sentence (516) the entire verb phrase is omitted in the comparative clause (introduced by tâ). The omitted material is shown in brackets.

516) hæmid e-tun-et šetâb-te kâr-bo-kon-t tâ æli  
hamid PRES-can-3S Fast-COMPR Work-SUBJ-do.3S then Ali  
‘Hamid can work faster than Ali [can work].’

In Bandari Comparative structures are formed in only one way and that is with a comparative element and a comparative conjunction or preposition associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison.

### 4.10.3: Correlative comparison

Correlative comparative clauses are always introduced with ‘hærče’ ‘whatever’ in Bandari. When there is more than one clause, ‘hærče’ can only occur at the beginning of the first clause. The elements being correlated take the comparative suffix ‘te(r)’, with the word immediately following ‘hærče’ in Bandari.

- 517) hæřċe xonek-te behte  
 whatever cold- COMPR better  
 ‘The cooler the better.’

#### 4.11: Equative

Equative sentences are nominal structures which are used mostly for identificational purposes (e.g. for introduction, naming, and defining), and which have the propositional meaning ‘x is y’ (Lyons 1977,469-473). In languages such as English and Finnish, equative sentences have been analysed as having the clausal form NP+Copula+NP, the latter NP carrying most of the predicational responsibility (e.g. Lyons 1977,469, Kelomäki 1997,12). However, cross-linguistically, different forms are possible, a non-copular NP+NP can also be found, for instance, in Russian, being one of the options (cf. Van Valin & LaPolla 1997,25). Traditionally, the equative sentence has been said to have two problems, one relating to its form, the other to its meaning (Kelomäki 1997,12). We can analyse the equative sentences in Bandari following ways:

##### 4.11.1: Means of expressing equality

Within the clause, the most general way to express equality between two entities is by using the compound preposition i.e. ‘be ændâze-ye’, ‘in the same amount’ before the entity and quality under comparison in Bandari.

- 518) æsæn ændaze-ye oseyn krâ æ-kon-t  
 hasan ændaze-ye hosein work.PRS-do.3S  
 ‘Hasan work as Hoseyn.’

The phrase ‘hâmokæ’ ‘the same amount’, is used when the elements are being compared are in separate clauses in Bandari.

- 519) æsæn hâmokæ krâ æ-kon-t k<sup>h</sup>e oseyn krâ æ-kon-t  
 hasan size-EZ work.PRS-do.3S that hosein work.PRS-do.3S  
 ‘Hasan work as much as Hosein work.’



#### 4.11.2: Deletion of identical elements in equative structures

We observe that in the second clause of an equative structure, the presence of the verb is obligatory in Bandari. For example:

- 520) æsæn hâmokæ k<sup>h</sup>âr æ-kon-t k<sup>h</sup>e oseyn  
hasan size-EZ work.PRS-do.3S that hosein  
'Hasan work as much as Hosein work.'

In the example (520) given above the second mention of the verb *krâ æ-kon-t* can be deleted. However, when there is only a direct object that is present, it may or may not be deleted in the second clause in Bandari. The example (521) shows the optionality of the direct object 'k<sup>h</sup>etab' 'book' in Bandari.

When there is an indirect object as well as a direct object involved in the equative, the direct object is obligatorily deleted while the presence of the indirect object is optional in Bandari. For example:

- 521) zohræ hâmokæ k<sup>h</sup>etâb æ-xon-et k<sup>h</sup>e oseyn (k<sup>h</sup>etâb)æ-xon-et  
zohre size-EZ book PRES-read-3S that hosein (book)PRES-read-3S  
'Zohre reads books as much as Hosein does.'

#### 4.12: Possession

There are three main ways to indicate possession in Bandari. First, for link between possessor and possessed use 'ezafe' and the possessor can be a noun, personal pronoun or reflexive pronoun. Second, pronominal clitics are suffixed to the possessed. Third, the phrase 'mâl-e' is used 'ezafe' and pronominal clitic are used attributively.

Sentences expressing possession are formed with 'mâl-e' 'property of' in a copular structure in Bandari. The possessed elements occur before 'mâl-e' and the possessor is after 'mal-e' in the language.

- 522) I k<sup>h</sup>etâb mal-e me-n  
this book property of me-is  
'This book belongs to me.'

523) i k<sup>h</sup>etâb-e me-n  
 this book-EZ me-is  
 ‘This book is mine.’

#### 4.12.1: Types of possession or possessor

The alienable possession may be stated with the use of ‘mâl-e’ ‘property of’ or with the ‘ezafe’ construction in Bandari. However, an inalienable possession can only be demonstrated with the ezafe construction.

524) pây-e me  
 leg-EZ I  
 ‘my leg’

The permanent possession can be distinguished from potentially temporary possession. In Bandari, sentences constructed with ‘mâl-e’ always indicate a state of permanent possession, while in the case of alienable possession; the ‘ezafe’ construction may be used to indicate either permanent or temporary possession. In the following example the ‘ezafe’ is used to indicate temporary ‘possession’.

525) moælem-e me  
 teacher-EZ I  
 ‘my teacher’

No distinction is made in Bandari for the expression of possession, whether the possessor or possessed is a person, animal or inanimate object. In all cases ‘mal-e’ and/or the ezafe construction is used:

526) xonæ mâl-e oseyn-en  
 house property of hosein-is  
 ‘The house belongs to Hosein.’

527) xone-ye oseyn-en  
 house-EZ hosein-is  
 ‘It’s Hosein’s house.’

528) i k<sup>h</sup>uludæng mâl-e k<sup>h</sup>æftær-en  
 this nest property Pigeon-is  
 ‘This nest belongs to a pigeon.’

529) i k<sup>h</sup>uludæng-e k<sup>h</sup>æftær-en  
 this nest-EZ pigeon-is  
 ‘This is a pigeon’s nest.’

### 4.13: Emphasis

Emphasis is a linguistic device that is used for emphasizing the linguistic units in different contexts. Emphasis can be on the sentential level or of the constituent level. Let’s examine emphasis in Bandari.

#### 4.13.1: Sentence emphasis

In sentence emphasis, whether for contradictory or noncontradictory the emphasis can be achieved in a number of ways in Bandari. One common way is to raise one’s voice. Another common way to emphasize a sentence is to repeat it, either in full or elliptically.

530) æ dæst-i xæstæ bud-om xæstæ  
 from hand-3S.PC tired became-1S tired  
 ‘S/he’s made me tired.’

A speaker can also use an emphatic adverb such as ‘kâmelæn’ ‘completely’ or ‘vâkeæn’ ‘truly’ with the repeated instance of the sentence in Bandari for emphasis. For example:

531) æ dæst-i kâmelæn nâomid bud-om  
 from hand-3S.PC completely dispirited became-1S  
 ‘S/he’s made me completely dispirited.’

The implied complement of the verb is not mentioned and the two verbs are said with stress and higher intonation.

532) beræ semât-o be-rez sæhrâ  
 IMP-go garbage-Pl SBJN-throw out  
 ‘Go throw out the garbage.’

- 533) æ-ræft-om  
Pres continue-go.PST-1S  
'I'm going, I'm going.'

The sentence that is being emphasized can be made into an indirect statement, introduced by a phrase such as 'om-goft' 'I said' in Bandari.

- 534) om- goft      dærso-xo      bo-xon  
1S-say.PST    leasson-2S.PC    Read.2S  
'I said, read your lesson.'

#### 4.13.2: Constituent emphasis

Contrastive and noncontrastive constituent emphasis can also be used in Bandari.

The emphatic marker stresses both contrastive and noncontrastive emphasis and it can be expressed through stress in Bandari. The stress itself doesn't indicate contrastive or noncontrastive emphasis but rather brings the emphasized word into focus. The context is necessary to determine whether the emphasis is contrastive or noncontrastive. In example (535) the adjective is emphasized noncontrastively, while in example (536) the stress on the demonstrative is used contrastively.

- 535) doxt-e      joni-n  
girl-EZ      beautiful-is  
'The girl is beautiful.'

- 536) i      mæ-vâ  
this    1S-want.PRES  
'I want this one.'

#### 4.14: Topic

It is interesting to note that research on this topic at least goes back to the research of Prague School linguists such as Mathesius in the 1920s. Halliday (1967), Jackendoff (1972), Kuno (1972), Gundel (1988), Erteschik-Shir (1997) are some leading researchers who have done

research on ‘topic’. ‘topic’ is a term that used as part of an alternative binary characterization of sentence structure which is traditionally found in the subject/predicate distinction (Crystal2008,488).According to him, the opposite term to ‘topic’ is ‘comment’. Let’s see some functions of ‘topic’ in Bandari.

#### 4.14.1: Means of indicating topic of a sentence

537) hæmid emšow ijâ æ-omon-et  
 hamid tonight here PRES-stay-3S  
 ‘Tonight, Hamid is staying here.’

In this example, ‘emšow’ ‘tonight’ is an adverb and it is in canonical position and has been used as ‘topic’ here.

536) emšow hæmid ijâ æ-omon-et  
 tonight hamid here PRES-stay-3S  
 ‘Tonight, Hamid is staying here.’

Those two examples (537) and (538) have same English translation but in Bandari ‘emšow’ is more clearly a topicalized element in example (538) than in example (537).

#### 4.14.2: Initial position

In most cases, the initial position is the most common place on the topic. In the following examples, the empty parentheses are the original position of elements before topicalization in Bandari.

##### Generic direct object

539) šir behter-en ( ) næ-xor-i  
 milk better-is ( ) NEG-buy.PRES-2S  
 ‘As for milk, you’d better not buy (any).’

### **Indefinite direct object**

- 540) ye k<sup>h</sup>etâb bâron( ) šæ-vâ  
a book baran 3S-want.PRES  
'A book, Baran wants.'

### **Definite direct object**

- 541) ængoštær owšen( ) i-xær-i(d)  
ring avišan 3S-buy.PST  
'The ring, Avishan bought.'

### **Indirect object**

- 542) be mæhmæd resid( ) om-dâ  
to mohammad receipt 1S-give.PST  
'To Mohammad I gave the receipt.'

### **Oblique object**

- 543) vâ mæryæm me( ) ræft-om sinæmâ  
to maryam I go.PST-1S cinema  
'With Maryam, I went to the cinema.'

### **Adverbial**

- 544) duš vâ hæm æsterim  
yesterday together be.PST.1PL  
'Yesterday we spent together.'

- 545) vâ kâyek æli ræ hurmuz  
with boat ali Go.PST.3S hormoz  
'By boat Ali went to Hormoz.'

The examples (539-545) from Bandari show the elements that can be moved to the initial position for the purpose of topicalization. These elements are noun phrases and adverbials of time, manner and place and they move into initial position and get topicalized in Bandari.

### 4.14.3: Final position

There are some constituents that can move to the final position and they can be emphasized and then can function as a ‘topic’ in Bandari. This is syntactically possible but right dislocation is not commonly used as a topicalization, for example:

- 550) behter-en pul šâ-d-ei musâ  
better-is money 3S-give-2S musa  
‘You’d better give her the money, Musa.’

### 4.14.4: Verb agreement

The verb agreement is not used as a means of indicating the topic of a sentence in Bandari. The component of the subordinate clause direct, indirect and oblique objects and adverbs of time of a subordinate clause, such as can be moved to the sentence initial position for topicalization in Bandari as well.

- 551) how om-go k<sup>h</sup>e( ) mæ-xâ  
water 1S-say.PRES that( ) NEG-drink  
‘Water, I told you not to drink.’

- 552) šow om-go k<sup>h</sup>e( ) how mæ-xâ  
night 1S-say.PRES that( ) water NEG-drink  
‘I told you not to drink water at night.’

- 553) vâ lænj mæ-vâ( ) be-r-æm  
with lenj 1S-want.PRES SBJN-go-1S  
‘By lenj, I want to go.’

- 554) o jemæ om-go(ft) (k<sup>h</sup>e)( ) no-puš-om-i  
that cloths 1S-say.PST that( ) NEG- wear-1S -3S.PC  
‘That cloth, I said that I wouldn’t wear it.’

The above sentences in Bandari show various ways of making the ‘topic’ construction.

#### **4.15: Minor sentence type**

Bandari has two minor sentence types, one is exclamatory and the other is interjectional.

##### **4.15.1: Exclamatory**

According to Mahootian (1997, 130) exclamations and interjections are often one or two words. These words express negative or positive surprise, physical pain, regret, etc. For example: 'če æjæb' 'surprise' in Bandari.

##### **4.15.2. Interjectional**

According to Mahootian (1997, 344), interjections are often words which conform to the regular principles regarding the phonological structure of words. Forougy (1944:138–139) has subdivided interjection into five categories. According to him these are:

1) **Exclamation:** These interjections state surprise, both negative and positive. Such as: 'æjæb' 'Strange!' e 'What the...!'

2) **Admiration,** for example: 'afærin' 'Excellent!' , 'æhsænt', 'Good for you!' 'mâšâllâ' 'Well done!'

3) **Regret, like:** 'heyf' 'too bad!' 'voy (voy)', 'ey-voy' 'That's terrible!'

4) **Disparagement: such as:** 'æh' 'Awful!'

5) **Wish, same:** 'koški' 'If only...;' 'I wish...' 'elâhi' 'I hope to God...' 'enšâllâ God willing!'

##### **4.15.3: Vocatives**

According to Crystal (2008, 514) 'this term refers to the case form taken by a noun phrase (often a single noun or pronoun) when it is used for addressing someone (including both animate and inanimate entities)'. Vocative utterances, in Bandari do not have subjects or verbs. These sentences are typically formed with a vocative particle followed by the addressee. For example:



555) mom k<sup>h</sup>etâb-om kojâ-n  
mom Book-1S.PC where-is  
'Mom, where's my book?'

When we use vocative markers addressing God, the vocative particle 'ey' is used before the 'xodâ in Bandari. For example:

556) ey xodâ komæk-i bo-ko  
oh God help-3S.PC IMP-do  
'God, help him.'

yâ is another vocative marker in Bandari

557) xoda-yâ komæk-i bo-ko  
God-oh help-3S.PC IMP-do  
'God, help him.'

This vocative marker maybe used when we request help from God or Mohammed or one of Mohammed's families.

558) yâ æli  
oh ali  
'Oh Ali'

559) yâ xodâ  
oh god  
'Oh, God'

## 5- Conclusion:

Bandari is a dialect that spoken by indigenous people in BandarAbbas. The city, which is mostly known as 'Bandar', is the capital of Hormozgan province and it is the main port in Iran. The absolute number of speakers is not known, only 40% of Bandar Abbas population are Bandari speaker. Bandari is undocumented and unclassification language. This language together with Persian belongs to the southwestern group of the Iranian languages.

Bandari has six vowels and twenty one consonants. In this language voiceless plosives /p/, /t/ in initial and final place will be aspirated and /k/ is aspirated in the initial position. The phonological processes are lenition and fortition. Assimilation in this language is total and they are mostly nasal assimilation. We observed Bandari doesn't have /q/. In loan words this consonant change to /ɣ/, /k/, /g/ or /x/. The stop uvular consonant /q/ changes to a uvular fricative consonant /x/ in adjacent to a voiceless consonant or the end of a word or a syllable. This consonant, if it is in the first position of a word or a syllable before a back vowel change to fricative consonant/ɣ/. The change /q/ to /k/ is seen more than other process such as /q/→/ɣ/, /q/→/x/ and /q/→/g/. Changes /q/ to /k/ occurs in the first position of a word, a syllable and at the end of a word.

Other assimilation process that we have observed in Bandari is the changes that happens from /b/ to /w/ between two vowels or after the vowel or the end of the word. In Bandari, stop bilabial consonant /b/ before and between vowels becomes a fricative labiodental consonant /v/, according to spirantization process.

The vowel raising and vowel lowering are other phonological processes that take place frequently in Bandari. The vowel raising has been observed to change low vowel /æ/ to /e/ and vowel lowering exists to change final /e/ in standard Persian to /æ/in Bandari.

The phonological processes may be conditioned by syllable structure. In Bandari, these processes include deletion, insertion and metathesis reversal. The stop consonant /t/ from consonant cluster /st/ at the end of a word or in the end of a syllable is deleted. In this language also /d/ from final two consonants and the final syllable is mostly deleted.

The syllable contains one vowel that is compulsory and it may be surrounded by consonants. A vowel works as the syllable nucleus and a consonant is at the fringe of the syllable. Bandari's syllables have these patterns (V, CV, CVC, CVCC, VC, and VCC).

In nouns and adjectives, the main stress is in the final syllable of the word. Verbs in Bandari have two types of prefixes: stressed and unstressed. Affixes related to negative markers, imperative and subjunctive are stressed, while those related to progressive and indicative are unstressed. In simple past, present and past continuous, the syllable before the last one is stressed.

The verbs in Bandari have different classes. In this language verb inflects for person and number. Bandari is a past and non-past language when it comes to make of the tense on the verb. This language has past and present tense. Present tense is marked by present prefix. All present stems in Bandari have C(VC) structure.

In this language, different affixes are used for transitive (prefixes) and intransitive (suffixes) to mark the past tenses. The conjugation of the past tense of intransitive verbs is formed by adding inflectional suffixes to the past stem. These suffixes are: /-om/, /-i/, /-Ø/, /-im/, /-i/, /-en/.

The transitive verbs have different conjugation; prefixes are added to the past stems. These prefixes are: /om-/, /et-/, /i-/, /mo-/, /to-/, /šo-/.

Bandari doesn't have future tense marker. When we speak about future time, we have present tense structure and the time adverbs only show that we want to speak about future.

This language has perfect and imperfect aspects to mark the ways of doing things. Perfect aspect has a different structure for transitive and intransitive verbs. The conjugation of the present perfect in transitive verbs is formed by adding inflectional prefix to past stem+/-en/. The present perfect marker in intransitive verbs in Bandari is /-æ/ in first singular and the third plural and this marker changes to /-e/ in other persons and numbers. The conjugation of the past perfect transitive verbs in Bandari is formed by adding inflectional prefix to past stem+/-æ/. The past perfect marker in intransitive verbs is /-æɾ/ in first singular and third plural. This marker is /-er/ in the second singular, first and second plural and it is /-æ/ in third person singular. Imperfect aspect includes to habitual aspect and continuous aspect.

Bandari has past and present habitual aspects. Present continuous in Bandari is made by past stem in both transitive and intransitive verbs. The conjugation of the present continuous is formed by adding present marker to past stem and inflectional suffix. The past continuous for transitive and intransitive verbs are formed by inflectional prefix and past stem. These inflectional prefix are: /mæ-/ , /tæ-/ , /šæ-/ , /mâ-/ , /tâ-/ , /šâ-/.

We observed indicative, imperative, subjunctive and conditional moods in Bandari which are morphologically worked. The indicative mood is the most commonly used mood and is used to state statement of fact or question. The imperative mood is formed by adding prefix to the present stem of a verb. This prefix is /bo-/ when vowel in present stem is /â/ or /o/. It is /be-/ when vowel in present stem is /e/ or /æ/. Imperative prefix marker is /bi-/ when vowel in present stem is /i/ and this marker is /bu-/ when vowel in present stem is /u/.

The structure of subjunctive is formed by adding the prefix /be-/ , /bo-/ , /bu-/ , /bi-/ to the present stem, which also show the person marking of the subject.

The conditional mood is commonly introduced by ‘ægæ’ ‘if’. Bandari uses subjunctive form to state optative mood. Intentionality mood is another structure that is used with subjunctive form in Bandari.

This language has a large number of complex verbs. In order to form a complex verb, the “light verbs” combine with the non-verbal elements to produce new verbal expressions. The non-verbal element may include: 1) nominal, 2) adjectival, 3) particle and 4) prepositional elements.

Noun is one of the principal lexical categories. This language is a nominative-accusative language and case is unmarked for the subject in number and person features of the subject in both transitive and intransitive verbs. In sentences with transitive verbs object is used after the subject and before the verb. In Bandari verb agrees with subject even when it is dropped. Indirect object generally uses a preposition and in sequence, it comes after direct object. Bandari has two numbers for nouns: Singular words are unmarked; and plural is marked by suffix ‘-o(n)’ for animate beings and ‘-o’ for inanimate things. Bandari has a set of pronominal clitics which when suffixed to the verb refer to a definite direct object. In this language, pronoun clitics marker can be subject or object. This language also has the

collective nouns and these nouns have singular form but they are not singular and in sentence verb is plural.

In Bandari adjectives normally follow their head in an 'ezafe construction'. Some common adjectives, when used affectively, may precede the head, without the ezafe particle. When we want to compare two items, the suffix '-te(r)' is affixed to an adjective and 'æ(z)' 'from' follows the item being compared and before the standard of comparison. For superlative, the same comparative suffix is used and standard of comparison always follows the lexical item 'everyone else' 'hæmæ'.

Personal pronouns have different forms depending on their person (first, second or third) and number (singular and plural). Demonstrative pronouns are 'i' 'this' and 'o' 'that'. The plural forms of these demonstrative pronouns are 'išo' and 'ošo'. The words 'k<sup>h</sup>e' 'who/whom' and 'če' 'what' are the only interrogative pronouns that which are used in subject and object position. Relative pronouns are used to link two sentences that have the same noun or pronoun in them. A pronominal form, 'k<sup>h</sup>e' 'which' 'that' 'who' 'whom' is the relative pronoun.

In Bandari a preposition shows the relationship between two things. This language has two types of prepositions: some of them never take any additional particles and others come with 'ezafe'.

For derivation in Bandari, new words are derived by adding morphemes. In Bandari, derivational morphemes can be either prefixes or suffixes. Sometimes derivational morphemes change the meaning of the base. Sometimes the class of word is change.

Bandari has morphological and lexical reduplication. The expressive is used for various purposes. The expressive is also used to denote kinship terminology. Lexical reduplication can be echo reduplication or complete reduplication. The compound reduplications are basically two words that are used in a paired construction are synonyms. Two words are used in paired constructions which are semantically related. The word reduplication can be further subdivided into two parts namely, complete word reduplication and discontinuous

reduplication in Bandari. The compounding can be easily illustrated in Bandari, where noun-noun, adjective-noun, nouns-verb, adverb-noun combinations occur.

This language has three basic sentence types declarative, interrogative and imperative. Declarative sentences are used for direct and indirect speech and 'yes', 'no' question constructions.

Interrogative sentences are used for expression of questions. Bandari has two basic types of interrogative sentence: yes-no questions and wh-word questions.

We follow the method of rising intonation in Bandari for asking yes-no questions, for both formal and informal contexts. Question words in Bandari contain a set of interrogative pronouns and adjectives. These words can be used as subject or object. Like yes/no questions, the intonation can be raised at the end of these sentences.

Imperative sentences are used to state requests, suggestions, advice, order or commands. The marker '/be-/', '/bo-/' is prefixed to the present stem of the verb in order to construct a positive imperative in Bandari. The imperatives usually use the second person. We don't use personal suffix in singular but for second person plural we use a suffix i.e. /-i(d)/. In the negative imperative the prefix 'be-' will be replaced by the negative prefix /mæ-/.

In Bandari the word order in copular sentences also is SOV like any other sentences. The equivalent of 'to be' in Bandari copular sentence is used as a clitic which inflects for person and number, as 'hæst' 'is' plus the personal endings. In the past, there are past forms of the verb 'buden' and 'hæsten' 'to be'. The pronominal clitics are attached to the noun complement. The arrangement of grammatical items is the same for other declarative sentences, (S) (O) (PP) V. The complement adjective is not morphologically marked in Bandari but is shown by this word order: subject, predicate adjective and copula. The complement adjective immediately comes along with the verb and the copular clitic attaches to the adjective in this language. The adverbial complement also doesn't have a morphological marker in Bandari and the word order is subject, object adverbial and copula. The copular clitic attaches to the adverbial complements.

Bandari is a language with SOV word order. The subject is unmarked and has an initial position. A sentence with a transitive verb will place direct object before the verb. Thus, in a sentence the direct object is put after the subject and verb has final position. The ditransitive verbs obligatorily have indirect object. These verbs, when used in the sentence, necessarily demand indirect object for the completion of the intended meaning of the sentence. Indirect objects are generally introduced with the preposition 'be' 'to'.

Prepositional phrases are used as adverbials. Adjectives can occur in some context without an overt subject like many other languages. The predicative adjective, suffixed with the copular clitic, refers the 'pro-dropped' subject. A prepositional phrase which comes before the adjective is one of the structures which can allow an indirect object like many other languages.

Noun clauses subordinates are unmarked for the case and immediately come with the main clause in Bandari. In case of nominal relative clauses, the subordinate clause is used before the main verb. The demonstrative 'i' 'this' is not used in non-restrictive clauses, rather the non-restrictive clause are introduced with the relative pronoun 'ke' and it follows their antecedent.

In Bandari, adverbial clauses are marked by one of several adverbial subordinators such as: 'æ(z) mokeike' 'since'; 'bæ:d-æzike' 'after'; 'hærvæxt (k<sup>h</sup>e)' 'whenever, every time', 'k<sup>h</sup>æbl-æz-ike' 'before', 'tâ' 'as soon as'; 'væxti-(ke)' 'when' and others.

Adverbial phrases modify verbs, adjectives or any other adverbs in Bandari. The phrases that are always treated as adverbial phrase include those of time, place and manner in Bandari. Adverbial phrases are headed by an adverb. The modifying adverbials come before the modified adverbial in Bandari.

A preposition always heads prepositional phrases. The place of the prepositional phrase is after the direct object and before the verb: (S) (O) (PP) V.

In a sentence, noun phrase can be the subject, direct object, indirect object and other oblique arguments. A noun phrase can consist of a simple noun, pronoun, compound noun, noun and

modifiers or a nominal clause in Bandari. In this language, adjective can modify noun phrases. Relative clause can modify noun phrase and 'k<sup>h</sup>e' 'that' follows the noun modifies.

In Bandari a personal or a reflexive pronoun modifies nouns with ezafe construction and the possessive adjective comes next to the noun it modifies. The demonstrative adjectives in this language, are 'I' 'this' and 'o' 'that'. These are used before the noun phrase. Demonstrative adjectives don't have plural form and therefore, we use singular demonstrative adjectives even for plural nouns.

In Bandari, the person and number features of subject are marked on the verb and then usually the anaphoric pronoun is deleted. When pronoun is a direct object, it is dropped and it gets attached as a clitic suffix to the verb. The role of reflexive pronouns also results in an anaphoric reference and the personal pronoun that the reflexive refers to is usually dropped.

The most common coordinating conjunctions are the connective clitic /-o/ 'and', the adversative conjunctions 'væli' 'but' and the disjunctive conjunction 'yâ' 'or' in Bandari.

In this language the negative prefix is 'næ-'/ 'nâ' 'not', which is attached to the verb stem in the present and past tense. In imperative verbs, this prefix is 'mæ-' 'not'. Negative marker in present tense in Bandari depends on V in CVC. The negative prefix is /nâ-/ when V is /â/or/æ/, /e/, /o/ and this prefix is /no-/ when vowel is /i/ or /u/. The negative marker in past tense intransitive verbs is 'næ-'.

The personal pronouns are used to state anaphora in Bandari. The subject agreement is marked on the verb; then usually the anaphoric pronoun is deleted. The demonstratives 'I' 'this' and 'o' 'that' are used both as anaphoric pronouns and adjectives in Bandari.

The marker 'xod', 'self' is a reflexive pronoun in Bandari. The pronoun is used with the pronominal clitics that indicates person and number of the subject. One relationship of antecedent and reflexive in Bandari can be that antecedent subject can modify in own reflexive as a direct object as it has been shown in sentence.



Bandari has reciprocal pronouns such as ‘hæm’, ‘hæmdegæ’ and ‘yekdegæ’, all meaning ‘each other’. They are invariable in form and function as objects with an anaphoric reference to the subject.

Comparative expression has four elements, the objects that are compared, the preposition ‘æ(z)’ ‘from’, the standard of comparison, and the comparative suffix ‘-te(r)’. In Bandari, comparative structures are formed in only one way and that is with a comparative element and a comparative conjunction or preposition associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison.

The equative sentences are nominal structures which are used mostly for identificational purposes (e.g. for introduction, naming, and defining), and they have the propositional meaning ‘x is y’ (Lyons 1977:469-473). Within the clause, the most general way to express equality between two entities is by using the compound preposition i.e. ‘be ændâze-ye’, ‘in the same amount’ before the entity and quantity and entity under comparison. We observe that in the second clause of an equative structure, the presence of the verb is obligatory and an indirect object as well as a direct object are involved in the equative, the direct object is deleted and the presence of the indirect object is optional in Bandari.

In a sentence, the emphasis, whether for contradictory or non-contradictory, can be achieved in a number of ways in Bandari. One common way is to raise one’s voice. Another common way to emphasize a sentence is to repeat it, either in full or elliptically.

There are three main ways to indicate possession in Bandari. First, in order to establish a relationship between possessor and possessed, we use ‘ezafe’. The possessor can be a noun, personal pronoun or reflexive pronoun. Second, the pronominal clitics are suffixed to the possessed. Third, the phrase ‘mâl-e’ is used with ‘ezafe’ and pronominal clitics are also used attributively.

The initial position is the most common place for the topic. There are some constituents that can move to the different positions in Bandari sentences and they can be emphasized and then can function as a ‘topic’.

This language has two minor sentences types; one is exclamatory and other is interjectional. Exclamatory sentences include one or two words that express negative or positive surprise, physical pain, regret and the interjectional sentences are formed in Bandari to express very strong feelings and sudden emotions. These sentences are typically formed with a vocative particle followed by the addressee.

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