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A Grammar of Betta Kurumba

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A Grammar of Betta Kurumba

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, in appreciation of her courage,
support, and patience

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A Grammar of Betta Kurumba

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This dissertation describes the language of the Betta Kurumbas, an indigenous ethnic group (population: 1000-2000) of the Nilgiri Mountains, in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, India. My goal in writing this grammar is to present a comprehensive description of Betta Kurumba phonology and morphosyntax, describing the structural arrangement of sounds and grammatical categories within a word, as well as the grammatical and discourse functions for which these categories are used. Verbs and nouns are described in especial detail because these display a rich system of suffixal morphology (the language is exclusively suffixal and agglutinating). An especially interesting aspect of Betta Kurumba is the role that non-finite verbs play in the synchronic grammar and in its diachronic development. Diachronically, verb roots involved in an earlier pattern of verb serialization have become grammaticalized into derivational or inflectional suffixes. The earlier serialization pattern apparently consisted of a sequence of verb roots, in which the non-final root was marked for tense, and the final root for tense and other inflection; the combination [root₁ + tense + root₂] has developed into a morphological sequence of [root + realis or irrealis marker +

derivational/ inflectional suffix]. Concurrently, the language has developed a large number of verbal suffixes, which are identified in this dissertation as clause-chaining suffixes. Some of these clause-chain markers are also used for verb serialization; thus, the current pattern of verb serialization differs formally from the earlier pattern described above. Verb serialization itself has given rise to a small set of auxiliary verbs, with specific grammatical functions. The dissertation traces the grammatical and discourse connection between chained clauses, serial verbs, and auxiliary verbs in Betta Kurumba. It also explores the use of clause-chain markers as an important text-structuring device in the language, both for the organization of information and the manipulation of rhetorical effect.

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Abbreviations

1) Subscript notation on glosses for verb roots:

R	Root alternant used in Realis theme
IR	Root alternant used in Irrealis theme
SR	Root alternant used in Special realis theme for strong-s-class verbs

2) Abbreviations used for glosses:

Derivational suffixes are shown with single underlining, inflectional suffixes with double underlining, and clitics in small caps.

<u>acc</u>	Accusative case	<u>neg</u>	Negative suffix
<u>acp</u>	Accompanying event	<u>nmr</u>	Nominalizer
<u>avr</u>	Adverbializer	<u>nm</u>	Nominative case
<u>ajr</u>	Adjectivizer	<u>np.im</u>	Non-polite imperative mood
<u>c.im</u>	Casual Imperative	<u>obg</u>	Obligative mood
<u>caus</u>	Causative	<u>opt</u>	Optative mood
<u>com</u>	Comitative case	<u>pl</u>	Plural
<u>cmp</u>	Completed event	PDr	Proto-Dravidian
<u>con</u>	Contingent event	<u>prf</u>	Perfect aspect
<u>dat</u>	Dative case	<u>p.im</u>	Polite imperative mood
<u>des</u>	Desiderative mood	<u>pbl</u>	Possibility mood
<u>dlc</u>	Distributed location	<u>pr</u>	Plural remote pronoun
DSTR	Distributive clitic	<u>prg</u>	Progressive aspect
EMPH	Emphatic clitic	<u>pve</u>	Past perfective aspect
exc	Exclusive	quot	Quotative particle
EXM	Exclamative clitic	rep.	Repeated word
<u>gn</u>	Genitive case	<u>rlf</u>	Realis theme formative
<u>g.nml</u>	Genitive nominal	<u>rlr</u>	Relativizer
<u>hab</u>	Past habitual aspect	<u>sg</u>	Singular
<u>hrt</u>	Hortative mood	<u>Sp1</u>	Special 1 st person
<u>imps</u>	Impersonal subject	sr	Singular remote pronoun
inc	Inclusive	<u>stat</u>	Stative
IND	Indefinite	<u>st.dur</u>	Stative durative
<u>inf</u>	Infinitive	<u>syn</u>	Synchronic event
inter	Interjective	tag.Q	Question tag
INTNS	Intensifier	<u>thrlly</u>	to V thoroughly
<u>irf</u>	Irrealis theme formative	<u>trn</u>	Transitional event
<u>lc</u>	Locative case	<u>trzr</u>	Transitivizer
<u>n.con</u>	Negative contingency	VOC	Vocative
neg	negative verb root		

Prologue

It is 8 am, and Ranjani and I get down from the bus at Theppakadu. We are in front of the forest canteen, facing the reception center of the Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary. We've just had one of our wonderful daily rides through the forest, a 7 km journey from Masinagudy (the village where we are staying) to Theppakadu, the village in the heart of the Mudumalai sanctuary where Ranjani assists me in gathering data on the language of the Betta Kurumbas.

It's early June, the monsoons have been at work for more than 3 weeks and the forest is green. If you were here a month back, you'd know why I remark on the greenery. In summer, the forests dry up; the teak trees turn brown and shed their broad hand-shaped leaves. When the rains come, the trees are green again and the peacocks, especially, come out to stroll among the trees. We saw lots of peacocks on the bus journey. Their tails at this time are long and their necks a brilliant blue. In two months, with the rains fading and the mating season over, they will lose their tail feathers and only their long, glistening necks will remind you of the extravagant beauty you saw a short while ago.

Next to the canteen there is a wild plant with deep red, *gopuram* shaped flowers.¹ As we walk from the forest canteen to the little hamlet where my Betta Kurumbas live, we will see other wild tropical flowers. Every time I look at one, I think about the strangeness of my life -- here in my home region, these flowers are familiar, commonplace, to me. But when I change angle and see it through the eyes of the people

¹Glossary: *gopuram* 'cone-shaped structure used in southern Indian temple architecture', *chai* 'tea', *vada* 'a type of snack', *adivasi* 'indigenous ethnic group'.

of my other hometown -- Austin in America -- they are strange, exotic plants from a tropical land overseas. I have been doing this all through fieldwork, seeing with double vision. Life through the eyes of my Indian hometown and life through the eyes of my American hometown.

Ranjani and I go into the canteen for *chai* and *vada*. We usually miss breakfast at home and have to grab a bite at this canteen before work. The canteen has one long table, and a smaller table at the side. There are the usual crowd of forest guards, forest rangers, and *adivasis* standing around or sitting at the table. The headman of the hamlet where my Betta Kurumba consultants live is always there. We nod at him and then head for the big table. As we sit down, a number of *adivasis* get up and leave the table. I've been noticing that happen ever since I began fieldwork. Why don't they want to sit at the same table as me?

After finishing data collection for the day, after we've taken the bus-ride through the forest back to Masinagudy, I ask my old Betta Kurumba friend, Bomman, about it. Bomman is the cook at a field station for ecological research in Masinagudy. Working among university students, he has learnt to interact on terms of familiarity with researchers like me. "Why do they get up and leave when I sit down at a table?" It turns out that what appeared to be a rude gesture, was really done as a sign of respect. "Why respect for me?" "It's your father", he says. "They remember your father and the respect they had for him they now show to you".

This is the problem I have with working in my home region! I am not an individual there. People never forget class distinctions, never forget the family you

belong to. Your background is hung around your neck, like the spitting pots that untouchables were forced to wear suspended from their necks when they walked outside their own section of the village. You are pulled down by this load as you struggle to walk your own unique path in the world. As a daughter of a plantation owner who has fled from the ivory tower isolation of an estate bungalow to work among the adivasis and live among researchers, I am an anomaly here. Even the fact that I move around by bus is remarked on. “Why don’t you use a jeep? Doesn’t your estate have a lot of jeeps?” I am a student, I am a linguist, I am a researcher, the plantation is where I came from, but it isn’t what I am.

This dissertation was inspired by my desire to get away from prescribed boundaries of family background and reach across to social circles other than the one I was brought up in. Social life in the Nilgiris today consists of separate social circles comprising plantation owners, government officials, small business owners, researchers, social workers, laborers, and adivasis. My field consultants belong to the adivasi circle. The adivasis in the Nilgiris consist of several ethnic groups who had been living in the region during the 19th century, when the British first set up tea and coffee plantations here and came to see the Nilgiris as a summer retreat away from the lowland heat of Southern India. The British also converted a large portion of the original tropical rainforests into teak plantations, employing local adivasis to clear the native vegetation. The Betta Kurumbas were one of the ethnic groups they recruited for this work. I belong to the plantation owner circle, people who followed in the footsteps of the British, expanding the area under tea and coffee cultivation and, on the departure of the British, carrying on the lifestyle lived by them. My childhood home was in Gudalur, 14 kms away from the place where I carried out fieldwork among the Betta Kurumbas. As a child, Kurumbas at

the market place, on our family estate, and in the Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary were a familiar sight. However, I got to talk to them only during my dissertation fieldwork in the area.

My first experiences with them seemed nice and egalitarian to me (well, as egalitarian as a researcher can get), despite the canteen situation I just described -- I didn't notice that table-issue at the beginning. I was introduced to the Betta Kurumbas by Noor, a Tamilian of Muslim origin who converted as a teenager to Christianity and now lives his life doing a balancing act between the Muslim cultural traditions of his family and his own Christian religious observations (if he still observes these -- it didn't quite look to me like he did). Noor was working as a field assistant for a German anthropologist, gathering stories for him and translating them into English. He was working with another adivasi group, the Jenu Kurumbas. It was he who told me that nobody had looked in great detail at the Betta Kurumba language, and one day he took me over to one of their hamlets close to the Mudumalai Sanctuary visitor reception office.

The Kurumbas at the first hamlet he introduced me to didn't seem to know or care about where I was from. I think they knew I was from Gudalur, but never made any reference to Silver Cloud Estate or my father. I felt welcome there and free of ties to my background. They even gave me a new name, Badsu, because "Gail" seemed too strange to them. One day while sitting on the verandah of my consultant's house, eliciting data, a group of health-care workers arrived to give the people their vaccinations. My consultant didn't like injections and wouldn't take them. As I sat there persuading her to take one, the health-care worker noticed someone strange sitting at her house and came over to find

out who it was. He recognized me at once and proceeded to tell my consultant and the others sitting there a long story about my father and all the good actions he was known for. I tried to pretend this wasn't happening. Interestingly, the Betta Kurumbas also acted like it wasn't happening and, after he left, we went to work and never ever referred to what he said. I was relieved that I was among a community who didn't care about social background ... or so I thought ...

The hamlet I went to on my next field trip was different. My consultant there made it clear that I was her former employer's daughter and always called me "Madam". I could not get anyone here to use my Betta Kurumba name "Badsi". Still, they were warm and friendly. And after all, this situation – in which we acknowledge the different backgrounds we come from – is the more real one. By my fourth trip, I have shed my early naive expectations that we would accept one other openly and without reservation. This dissertation is my chance to get to know the Betta Kurumbas and their community ways, but will I ever be able to reciprocate by letting them into my community and our ways? Highly unlikely!, given the social hierarchy that we are trapped in.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Beṭṭa Kurumba is a Dravidian language spoken in the Nilgiri Mountains of the state of Tamil Nadu and in adjoining areas of the states of Karnataka and Kerala, in southern India. Exact information on the number of speakers of Beṭṭa Kurumba is not available because census surveys in India do not accurately distinguish between several ethnic groups in this region who call themselves ‘Kurumba’. The 1981 census report states that the population of all Kurumbas in the Nilgiris is 4,354 (Singh 1994). However, the term Kurumba is used as a cover term for seven different ethnic groups in the Nilgiris: Alu Kurumbas, Beṭṭa Kurumbas, Kāṭunayakas (or Jenu Kurumbas), Mudugas, Muḷḷu Kurumbas, Pālu Kurumbas, and Urali Kurumbas (Kapp and Hockings, 1969). Therefore, it is safe to estimate that the population of Beṭṭa Kurumbas within the Nilgiris must be less than a quarter of the census figure, perhaps about 1,000.²

The Beṭṭa Kurumbas refer to themselves as *kurbān*; but since several different groups in the area are called ‘Kurumba’ or its variant ‘Kuruban’, it is customary to use a descriptor before the term, when it becomes necessary to specify which group is referred to. ‘Beṭṭa’, the Kannada word for ‘mountain’, is the descriptor used locally to refer to the particular Kurumba group that is the focus of this study and, therefore, is the term used in this grammar.

² My consultants estimate that there are about 2,000 members of their community in the Nilgiris; however, this figure seems exaggerated to me.

1.0. SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1.1. The Nilgiris as a cultural region

The Nilgiri Mountains, located within the state of Tamil Nadu, constitute a distinct cultural and linguistic region within southern India. Until the 19th century, these mountains were relatively inaccessible and its inhabitants virtually isolated from the people of the surrounding lowlands, except during occasional contact for trade (Mandelbaum 1989, Hockings 1997). The region's isolation ended in the 19th century, with the establishment of tea plantations and small towns in the area, leading to an influx (which continues to grow) of immigrants from the lowlands.

Nurit Bird-David (1997) argues that the Nilgiris should be studied in terms of two cultural and geographical zones: (a) the Upper Nilgiri region, approximately comprising the Nilgiri plateau (average elevation, 6500 ft) and the eastern slopes of the Nilgiris; and (b) the Nilgiri-Wynaad region, approximately comprising the southeast Wynaad Plateau (appr. elevation, 3000ft) and the western slopes of the Nilgiri Mountains (Hockings 1969). These regions were occupied by 16 indigenous ethnic groups, of which the Beṭṭa Kurumbas were inhabitants of the Nilgiri-Wynaad region. Most of the anthropological literature on the Nilgiris has dealt with the Upper Nilgiri region, and a great deal of attention has been paid to a caste-like symbiotic relationship between ethnic groups in that region: the Todas, who were pastoralists; the Baḍagas, who were farmers; the Kotas, who were musicians and craftsman, and the Kurumbas (mainly Alu Kurumbas), who were forest gatherers. To this may be added the Irulas, whose language and culture has been described by Zvelebil (1982). Ethnic groups in the Nilgiri-Wynaad plateau,

comprise Beṭṭa Kurumbas, Muḷḷu Kurumbas, Jēnu Kurumbas, Paniyas, Chettiars, etc.

Some cultural studies have been published on the Jēnu Kurumbas (e.g. Demmer 1997, Nurit Bird-David 1969), and on the Muḷḷu Kurumbas (Misra 1969); however, no such literature is available on the Beṭṭa Kurumbas.

1.2. Social changes in the Nilgiris

The arrival of immigrant groups has pushed indigenous Nilgiri groups into social, political, and linguistic marginalization. Immigrants to the Nilgiris outnumber the population of indigenous groups. They are mainly speakers of three of India's official languages, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada – state languages of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka, respectively, all of them part of the South Dravidian language group. Tamil has become the most dominant of these languages in the region because after Indian independence, the Nilgiris was incorporated into the state of Tamil Nadu, giving Tamil special status locally as the language that receives government support in education and employment. In addition, English plays a prominent role as the de facto national language of post-colonial India.

The rapid changes that the area has undergone have led, inevitably to changes in the cultural behavior of the indigenous groups; they maintain their old ways to some extent and have adapted to the newer immigrant cultures in some ways. The Beṭṭa Kurumbas continue to maintain their ethnic language, and children in the community all acquire it as their first language; however, they have also become proficient in Tamil, which they learn partly at school. The dominant status of Tamil and other official languages in this area poses a potential threat to the long-term viability of their own ethnic language.

Socially, lands to which indigenous groups had free access have now been partitioned into plantations controlled by private landowners, or reserved forests controlled by the state government. The Beṭṭa Kurumbas have largely given up their old lifestyle as forest gatherers who practiced some shifting-cultivation,³ and have acquired a different “traditional community occupation” as elephant trainers or mahouts. The British had, during the last century, embarked on a large-scale operation to convert tropical rainforests in the area into teak plantations, in addition to tea and coffee plantations, for which they used elephants for transportation in the jungle and to clear trees. The Beṭṭa Kurumbas and Jēnu Kurumbas were the two primary groups in the Nilgiris who were recruited to help clear the forests, and they were taught the practice of capturing and training wild elephants. Although wild elephants are no longer captured, a semi-domesticated herd of elephants is still maintained by the government forest service and is used for light work in forest management. Beṭṭa Kurumba men are, by tradition, employed as mahouts to train and look after these elephants. Some men in the community also gain employment as forest guards or watchers. Most of the women, and those men who are not employed by the forest service, work as manual laborers in tea and coffee plantations.

A section of the Beṭṭa Kurumba community continue to live in separate hamlets within the forest, called *pāḍis*, which consist of a group of 6-8 houses surrounding a small central meeting hall. Three such hamlets at Theppakāḍu, within the government-run forest reserve, were the site of my field work. Houses within these hamlets were, until my fieldwork in 1997, constructed with bamboo and grass; but in recent years, the

³ My consultants inform me that their community did not hunt, but they obtained meat by slicing off a portion of the fresh kill of some wild predator, such as a tiger’s kill.

government has built concrete houses with zinc sheet roofing, partly as a “developmental” effort and partly to reduce the Kurumbas’ use of forest materials. Thus, the Beṭṭa Kurumbas are being induced to gradually give up their self-reliance. Other traditions in the community are also in a state of flux: women vary in whether they adopt the mainstream practice of wearing saris or maintain their traditional clothing, a cloth wrapped around the body stretching from the armpits to the knees, and a short shawl to cover the shoulders. The community maintains several of their traditional religious practices, but has also adopted some of the local practices of mainstream Hinduism, such as the annual pilgrimage to the Ayyappa temple at Sabarimalai in Kerala.

2.0. LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

Krishnamurti (2003) provides a sub-classification for 26 languages in the Dravidian family that are known at present; they are divided into 4 sub-groups, as shown in Table 1. The classification puts Kurumba in the Southern Dravidian group, along with 4 other indigenous languages of the Nilgiris, Irula, Toda, Kota, and Badaga. Krishnamurti uses “Kurumba” as a cover term for the speech of various Kurumba communities, namely Alu Kurumba, Beṭṭa Kurumba, and Jenu Kurumba. The information on which this classification of Kurumba is based comes from a relatively detailed description of Alu Kurumba by Kapp (1984, 1987) and brief preliminary reports on Jenu Kurumba and Beṭṭa Kurumba by Zvelebil (1982a, 1988). Although Krishnamurti’s preliminary classification of Beṭṭa Kurumba is not based on detailed information about this language, it is highly likely this language does indeed belong to the Southern Group, given the geographical location in which it is spoken.

Table 1.1: Sub-groups in the Dravidian family

<u>Southern Group (SD I)</u>		<u>Central Group (CD)</u>
1. Tamil	7. Kota	19. Kolami
2. Malayālam	8. Baḍaga	20a. Naikṛi
3. Iruḷa	9. Kannaḍa	20b. Naiki (Chanda)
4. Kurumba	10. Koraga	21. Paṛji
5. Koḍagu	11. Tuḷu	22. Ollari
6. Toda		23. (Koṇḍēkōr) Gadaba
 <u>South-Central Group (SD II)</u>		<u>Northern group (ND)</u>
12. Telugu		24. Kuṛux
13. Gondī		25. Malto
14. Koṇḍa		26. Brahui
15. Kui		
16. Kuvi		
17. Pengo		
18. Maṇḍa		

Reproduced from Krishnamurti (2003:19), with minor changes in format.

Beṭṭa Kurumba shows several typical Dravidian traits (as described in e.g. Zvelebil 1990, Steever 1993, Krishnamurti 2003). In phonology, it retains the Proto-Dravidian (PDr) 6-way contrast in point of articulation in the obstruent series: labial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, and velar; however, it has acquired a phonemic contrast in voiced and voiceless obstruents. It also retains three of the retroflex consonants present in PDr, /ʈ, ɳ, ʡ/, and has added voiced retroflex /dʡ/. Like several Dravidian languages, BK has lost the PDr retroflex frictionless continuant */z/. In its vowel system it retains the 5 short and long vowels /i, i:, e, e:, a, a:, u, u:, o, o:/, but has added a sixth pair, high central /ə, ə:/. Like other Dravidian languages, Beṭṭa Kurumba is an agglutinative language with exclusively suffixal morphology. It also has a set of enclitics and appears to have developed some proclitics.

3.0. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There are two previous publications on the language of the Beṭṭa Kurumbas: Jayapal 1979 is a doctoral dissertation from Annamalai University, India, which provides a structural description of the phonology and morphology of the language. The primary contribution of this work lies in its identification of phonemes and morphemes in the language and in the arguments it provides for the status of Beṭṭa Kurumba as a distinct language rather than a dialect of some other South Dravidian language. The description, however, is not very comprehensive – several phonological processes, root alternations, and suffixes identified in the present dissertation are not mentioned in Jayapal’s work; textual data and information about (morpho-)syntax is also not included. In addition, the phoneme inventory given differs in some respects from the one provided in the present dissertation.

The second previous publication on Beṭṭa Kurumba is a brief preliminary sketch by Zvelebil (1982a). The author describes his sketch as a “first report” on the language, written on the basis of 1-2 hours’ data elicitation. He clarifies that the purpose of the sketch is not to provide a description of the language but to inform the scholarly community of the existence of this ethnic group and its speech.

Although there is little previous research on Beṭṭa Kurumba, several other languages in the Nilgiris have been studied in relative detail. Toda and Kota have been described by Emeneau (1944-6, 1984), Irula by Diffloth (1968) and Zvelebil (1973, 1979,

1982b), Alu Kurumba by Kapp (1982), and Badaga by Pilot-Raichoor (1988).⁴ In addition, Zvelebil and Emeneau have written in some detail about general linguistic issues concerning the Nilgiri languages. Zvelebil (1980) argues for the existence of a micro-language area in the Nilgiris, arising from its pre-19th century isolation from languages and cultures of the surrounding lowlands, but contact between groups within the Nilgiris. He claims that certain linguistic innovations not found in other South Dravidian languages, appear to have spread by contact into several languages within the Nilgiris, resulting in features that are unique to this region. In Zvelebil 1981, the author provides a preliminary identification and classification of indigenous Nilgiri groups. He suggests that their languages can be assigned to two sub-groups within the South Dravidian branch, a Kannadoid group and a Tamiloid group (Kannada and Tamil belong to different sub-groups).

Of the non-Nilgiri South Dravidian languages listed in Table 1, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada are state languages with a large population of speakers; in addition, Tulu, although not a state language, is socially dominant in some parts of Karnataka. There is a wealth of literature available on these languages, which I have relied on in the absence of much previous information on Beṭṭa Kurumba. A sample of descriptive grammars on the three state languages is: Tamil – Asher 1985, Lehmann 1989; Malayalam – Asher and Kumari 1997; Kannada – Schiffman 1983, Sridhar 1990.

⁴ The Badagas came to the Nilgiris relatively late, around the 16th century; there is some debate about whether their language should be treated as a dialect of Kannada or a separate language. Pilot-Raichoor (1997) argues that it should be considered a separate language.

4.0. FIELDWORK

My fieldwork was carried out during 4 fieldtrips to the Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary, at Theppakkaḍu, a permanent forest “camp” consisting of a tourist reception office and guest houses, residences for government employees in the forest service, a camp where elephants are fed, and 3 hamlets established by the Beṭṭa Kurumbas.⁵ I was not a newcomer to the area. My own childhood home was in the Nilgiris, at Gudalur, a town 14 km from Theppakadu; therefore, several of the Beṭṭa Kurumbas were acquainted with my family.

My first field trip was in May 1995, when I spent one month collecting a list of vocabulary from Bomman, my first consultant. During this trip I worked outside the sanctuary at a field station for ecological research (belonging to the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore) at Masinagudy. The second trip was in June 1997, when I spent 3 months working at one of the Beṭṭa Kurumba hamlets in Theppakadu. During this trip, I expanded my vocabulary list, and transcribed and translated texts; my consultants were Manbokkan and Merakkan. The trip was partly funded by a Summer Study Abroad scholarship from the Department of Asian Studies, University of Texas at Austin.

In 1999, I was awarded a research grant by the National Science Foundation, and spent 10 months working at a second hamlet in Theppakkaḍu (October 1999 to July 2000) expanding my vocabulary list, eliciting morphosyntactic paradigms, and

⁵ Some Beṭṭa Kurumbas in Theppakadu live among persons from other communities in government-provided accommodation, but some live separately in the three hamlets.

transcribing and translating texts. My consultant during the first month of this trip was Baḍsi (the wife of Bomman, my consultant in 1995), after which I worked with Bommi, her sister. I made a fourth trip in 2001, partly funded by an extension on the NSF grant, during which I spent two and a half months expanding my data on morphosyntax and my transcriptions and translations of texts; my consultant during this trip was Bommi. In addition, I gathered some vocabulary for regional flora and fauna from several other consultants, namely Mādan and Kētan.

My data was, therefore, gathered from several different speakers in the initial stages of data collection, due to various circumstantial reasons arising from my consultants' availability to do the work. However, by the beginning of the third trip, Bommi became my primary consultant. All the vocabulary lists, paradigms, and texts were rechecked with Bommi; therefore, this description relies primarily on Bommi's speech. Instances of variation between my various consultants are pointed out in the chapters that follow.

My primary consultant Bommi has lived in Theppakadu for most of her life, but spent part of her childhood in a nearby area called Thorappally (about 8km from Theppakadu). In addition to her native language, Beṭṭa Kurumba, she has near-native fluency in Tamil. She attended school up to the 5th grade, with Tamil as the medium of instruction, and so has reading and writing knowledge of the language. She also has some speaking and writing knowledge of Malayāḷam, which she learned first as a second

language requirement in school. In addition, she has some speaking knowledge of Kannada, and can understand a little English – she learned the English alphabet, but has no further writing knowledge of it. Where my language background is concerned, I am a native speaker of Indian English, and have communicative ability in Tamil. My proficiency in Tamil was sufficient for the first two field trips, when I elicited vocabulary and got Beṭṭa Kurumba texts transcribed and translated. But during the last two fieldtrips, I took the assistance of fluent Tamil speakers, who helped me ensure that my consultants were given grammatically correct Tamil sentences to translate into Beṭṭa Kurumba. M. Noor assisted me in the first month of the third field trip (1999-2000) and Kuttappan assisted me during the rest of this trip. Ranjani assisted me during my fourth field trip (2001).

My data consists of formally elicited vocabulary lists and sentence paradigms, as well as texts. I have tape-recorded several texts in Beṭṭa Kurumba, transcribed and translated five of these, and analyzed four in detail. The four texts that were analyzed in detail and which are used in this description consist of 3 stories and a conversation amounting to a total of 156 minutes (appr. 2½ hours). The stories are “The seventh son’s wife” narrated by Badsī (27 mins.), “The Pomegranate woman” narrated by Mānbokkan (30 mins.), and “Tiger story”, also narrated by Mānbokkan (20 mins.). The conversation (79 mins) consists of a bilingual conversation between Bomman and me; that is, I asked Bomman brief questions in Tamil about his community and he gave lengthy answers in his native language, providing information about customs, lifestyle, etc. in his

community. The purpose of the conversation was to elicit morphosyntactic structures that may not show up in a story, but which might show up in conversational speech. The two stories by Mānbokkan were initially transcribed and translated with the aid of Mānbokkan and Merakkan (in 1997); they were later rechecked with Bommi (in 2001) to fill in gaps in my transcription and translation. The story by Badsī and the conversation with Bomman were transcribed and translated with the aid of Bommi.

Since formally elicited data is likely to differ from data elicited in the relatively spontaneous context of story-telling and conversation, care is taken in the following description to mark the contextual source of the data. All example sentences are tagged with markers to indicate whether the sentence was formally elicited or from a text. The tag “Elicitation” indicates a formally elicited sentence; and the tags “7th.Son”, “Pomegranate”, “Tiger”, and “Conversation” indicate that the source was the relevant text. In some cases, I have also used the tag “Spontaneous” to indicate that the sentence was uttered spontaneously by one of the Beṭṭa Kurumbas during formal elicitation sessions. All tags have a number next to them; these numbers may be ignored because they refer to location within my data records.

5.0. ORGANIZATION OF THIS DESCRIPTION

This grammar presents a description of the phonology and morphology of Beṭṭa Kurumba. A description of syntax is not presented in a separate chapter, but is interwoven into my discussion of morphology. Thus, information about syntax is embedded in my description of finite, non-finite, and defective verbs and of

causativization, in my description of the nominal case system, pronouns, the syntactic functions of postpositions, category-changing operations, and of clitics. Non-finite clauses, especially chained clauses, are described in especial detail; these descriptions of syntactic function foreshadow a fuller treatment of Betta Kurumba syntax, which will be part of future research.

The chapters on morphology are organized in terms of lexical categories: Chapter 2 describes verbs, Chapter 3 is on nouns, and Chapter 4 is on minor lexical categories (adjectives, postpositions, and adverbs). This is followed by a chapter on category changing operations and a brief outline of cliticization. The last chapter contains a description of phonology and of the morphophonology of verbs and nouns.

The primary goal of this work is to provide detailed and accurate description of Betta Kurumba, one that will be a resource to linguists working in a wide range of fields. Therefore, this grammar is not clearly situated in any one theoretical framework, although it does draw upon some theoretical concepts in so far as these enable a clearer description of a particular phenomenon or set of phenomena in the language; thus, my discussion of phonology incorporates aspects of Generative Phonology (distinctive features, rule ordering) and Lexical Phonology (division in morphophonological levels).

Chapter 2: Verbs

Verbs in Betta Kurumba (BK) are those words which take verbal suffixes such as subject agreement, tense/aspect, mood, and certain non-finite verb markers. Verb roots are bound; they must take at least one inflectional suffix to function as a word.⁶

Two categories of derivational suffixes may optionally occur between root and inflectional suffix: first level derivational suffixes and second level derivational suffixes. First level derivational suffixes (1LD suffixes) consist of root valency modifiers. Second level derivational suffixes consist of two groups of suffixes: One group encodes aspectual meanings or adds semantic content to the stem (hereafter, 2LD suffixes). The other group consists of “theme formatives”; i.e. suffixes whose function is to form a verb base or ‘theme’ to which 2LD suffixes and inflectional category markers can be attached. Theme formatives also encode some irrealis/realis meaning.

This division into three levels of derivation is motivated by suffix order and differences in stem formation procedures in the three levels. 1LD suffixes attach only to a root; therefore, only one of them can occur in a word. 2LD suffixes in contrast cannot attach directly to a root or preceding 1/2LD suffix; instead the root must take a theme formative to form a theme to which the 2LD suffix is attached. This stem consisting of theme + 2LD suffix must in turn take a theme formative before the next 2LD suffix can be attached; thus, theme formation is recursive. A word can have up to two 2LD suffixes (based on the data so far); their order with respect to each other is based on semantic

⁶ With one exception: verb roots ending in /i/ do not take a suffix in casual imperative mood. However, verbs ending in other segments do take a suffix; therefore, the /i/-final stems can be treated as an exception to the generalization that verb roots are bound and that a verb must contain at least one inflectional suffix.

scope. Verb stems also take a final theme formative in the second derivational level to form a theme which, when it enters the next level, is selected by appropriate inflectional suffixes as the verb base to which they attach. Inflectional suffixes are governed by selectional restrictions which require them to attach to a theme or to a “plain stem”, i.e. a verb stem that does not end in a theme formative. However, no theme formation takes place in the inflectional level: the first inflectional suffix can attach to a theme or plain stem, but any further inflectional suffixes in the word must attach directly to the preceding suffix. A word can contain up to three inflectional suffixes. The difference in suffixation procedures in the three levels is represented in Figure 1, which shows the structure of the BK verb; word structure rules are given in Table 1. Since some inflectional suffixes attach to a theme and some attach to a plain stem, two rules for affixation in the inflectional level are given in Table 1.⁷

Table 2.1: Word formation rules for verbs

a.	Word	--> Stem + INFL
b.	Word	--> Theme + INFL
c.	Theme	--> Stem + FMV
d.	Stem	--> Theme + 2LD
e.	Stem	--> ROOT + (1LD)
g.	INFL	--> Infl (Infl) (Infl)

⁷ The root can consist of a compound root containing a noun root followed by verb root; however, compounds are not discussed here because a full treatment of compounding is beyond the scope of this grammar.

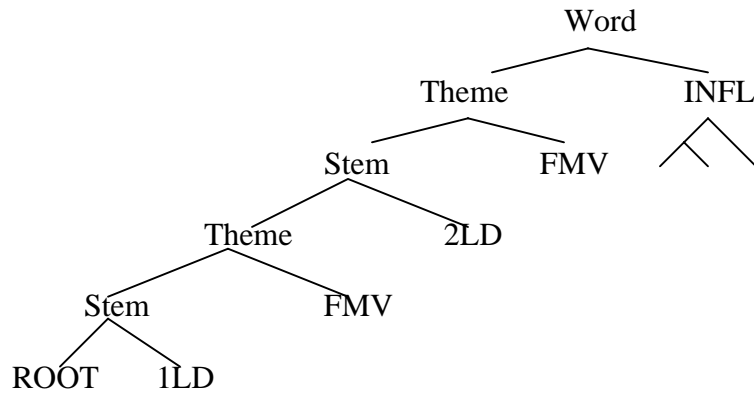


Figure 2.1: Structure of the BK verb

The following criteria have been used to distinguish derivational morphology from inflectional morphology in BK (see e.g. Stankiewicz 1962, Anderson 1985, Spencer and Zwicky 1998 for general discussions of inflectional and derivational morphology): First, inflectional morphology is paradigmatic – every derived verb stem in BK forms a paradigm with suffixes that mark the inflectional categories listed in Table 2, with the exception of a few defective verbs. In contrast, derivational morphology is governed by selectional restrictions on suffixation; for example, in these data, the stative lexical suffix /-i:r/ does not attach to causative stems and the causative suffix /-su/ does not attach to stative stems, but inflectional suffixes attach to both causative and stative stems.⁸ Second, the meanings encoded by inflectional suffixes are regular; in contrast, derivational suffixes interact with the preceding verb stem to convey meanings that are often idiosyncratic. Third, derivational suffixes lie closer to the root than inflectional suffixes; e.g. *pədiḍottəŋa* /pə:ɫ-d-i:r-d-ott-əŋa/ ‘tell-rlf-stat-rlf-hab-trn’ (throughout this

⁸ Stative /-i:r/ poses some problems for determining whether it is inflectional or derivational. The fact that causative /-su/ and stative /-i:r/ are mutually exclusive in these data supports an analysis of /-i:r/ as derivational. But if stative stems are derivational stems, all inflectional suffixes should attach freely to them; however, there are no examples in these data of mood and infinitive markers on /-i:r/; this gap may reflect a change in progress.

description, derivational suffixes are shown with single underlining and inflectional suffixes with double underlining).

Table 2.2: The inflectional level

First position*	Second position	Third position
(Tense/Aspect) - Mood markers # Infinitive markers #	(Negative /-il/) - Clause-chain markers #	Subject agreement markers #

*The symbol # after a category indicates that that category marks the end of a verb.

1.0. VERB BASES (REALIS, IRREALIS, PLAIN)

Two types of themes are formed in the second derivational level: an irrealis theme and a realis theme. Category markers select one of these themes as the base to which they are attached. Thus, a functional category is encoded by two means: choice of verb base (plain stem, realis theme, or irrealis theme) and a category-marking suffix. For example, in (1a), singular polite imperative is encoded by the category marker /-agəy/, which is attached to a realis theme. In contrast, ‘synchronous event’ (a marker used in dependent clauses) is encoded in (1b) by the use of an irrealis theme plus the category marker /-ən/ ‘synchrony’.

- 1) a. *ya:ri-tagəy* /ya:ri-t-agəy/ ‘call-realis-imperative’ ‘call!’
 b. *ya:rpən* /ya:ri-pu-ən/ ‘call-irrealis-synchrony’ ‘as/when N called’

A full list of category markers and the verb bases they attach to is given in Table 3.

Table 2.3: Verb base for different category markers.

	Plain stem	Irrealis theme	Realis theme
<i>1st derivational level:</i>	Root valency modifiers		
<i>2nd derivational level:</i>		Causativizer /-su/	Lexical suffixes
<i>Inflectional level:</i>			
a) Tense/aspect:		Imperfective/future	Perfective Present progressive /-o:ɖ/ Past habitual /-oʃʃ/ Perfect /-ənaɖ/
b) Mood:	Possibility /-ku, -ki/ Hortative /-a/ Casual imperative /-əy, -o/	Optative /-əla, -əlo/ Desiderative /-əɖu/	Contingent possibility /-ani/ Obligative /-əɖapila/ Non-polite imperative /-a/ Polite imperative /-agəy, -ago/
c) Infinitive:	/-əl, -əlayə/	/-ka/	
d) Clause-chain:	Anticipation /-gutnu/	Synchrony /-ən/	Completion /-aʃu/ Transition /-əɲa/ Contingency /-ani/ Accompaniment /-ənu/ Durative accompaniment /-i/

A complete paradigm for one root *yari* ‘call’ is shown in (2) to illustrate the use of different verb bases in different functional categories.⁹ Imperfective/future and perfective are shown separately in (2d) because these do not have separate category markers; they are distinguished from each other by choice of theme alone and from other functional categories by the fact that they consist of a theme directly followed by a negative suffix or subject agreement marker.

⁹ Root valency modifiers and lexical suffixes are omitted because *yari* ‘call’ does not occur with these suffixes in these data. Non-polite imperative is also omitted because I do not have an attested example of it.

2a) Categories that require a plain stem

i. Possibility	<i>ya:riku</i>	/ya:ri-ku/	‘N can/may call’
ii. Hortative	<i>ya:ra</i>	/ya:ri-a/	‘Let us call’
iii. Casual imperative	<i>ya:ro</i>	/ya:ri-o/	‘call!’
iv. Infinitive	<i>ya:dl</i>	/ya:ri-əl/	‘to call’
v. Anticipation	<i>ya:rigutnu</i>	/ya:ri-gutnu/	‘until N calls’

b) Categories that require an irrealis theme (with irrealis formative /-pu/)

i. Causative	<i>ya:rpisu</i>	/ya:ri-pu-su/	‘cause to call’
ii. Optative	<i>ya:rpəla</i>	/ya:ri-pu-əla/	‘Let him call’
iii. Desiderative	<i>ya:rpədu</i>	/ya:ri-pu-ədu/	‘N should call’
iv. Infinitive	<i>ya:rpka</i>	/ya:ri-pu-ka/	‘to call’
v. Synchrony	<i>ya:rpən</i>	/ya:ri-pu-ən/	‘as/when N calls’

c) Categories that require a realis theme (with realis formative /-t/)

i. Progressive /-o:d/	<i>ya:rtə:də</i>	/ya:ri-t-o:d-ədə/	‘N is calling’
ii. Habitual /-ott/	<i>ya:rtəttədə</i>	/ya:ri-t-ott-ədə/	‘N used to call’
iii. Perfect /-nad/	<i>ya:rtənədə</i>	/ya:ri-t-ənəd-ədə/	‘N has called’
iv. Obligative	<i>ya:rtədapəla</i>	/ya:ri-t-idəpəla/	‘N must call’
v. Non-polite imperative	<i>ya:rtə</i>	/ya:ri-t-a/	‘Call!’
vi. Polite imperative	<i>ya:rtəgəy</i>	/ya:ri-t-agəy/	‘(Please) call!’
vii. Completion	<i>ya:rtətu</i>	/ya:ri-t-ətə/	‘having called’
viii. Transition	<i>ya:rtəŋə</i>	/ya:ri-t-əŋə/	‘upon calling’
ix. Contingency	<i>ya:rtəni</i>	/ya:ri-t-ənə/	‘if N calls’
x. Accompaniment	<i>ya:rtənu</i>	/ya:ri-t-ənə/	‘call and V’
xi. Durative accompaniment	<i>ya:rtə</i>	/ya:ri-t-i/	‘keep calling and V’

d) i. Imperfective: *ya:rpə* /ya:ri-pu-a/ ‘She will call’

ii. Perfective: *ya:rtə* /ya:ri-t-a/ ‘She called’

Realis theme formatives consist of a set of five suffixes /-t, -t, -s, -d, -j/; verbs fall into classes depending on which realis suffix they take. Irrealis formatives consist of

two suffixes /-pu, -w/, and verbs are lexically marked for which suffix they take.¹⁰ There are five verb classes corresponding to the five realis formatives: t -class, t-class, s-class, d -class, and j-class. The s-class can be divided further into the weak-s-class and the strong-s-class because of certain differences in their realis theme formation, as described below. Thus, there are a total of 6 verb classes. The examples in (3) show verbs of these six classes in perfective aspect, where the realis suffix is followed by a subject agreement marker; those in (4) show verbs with irrealis suffixes in imperfective aspect.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 3) a. | <i>yarṛta</i> | /ya:ri-t-a/ | ‘call- <u>realis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She called’ |
| b. | <i>nilja</i> | /nili-j-a/ | ‘play- <u>realis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She played’ |
| c. | <i>potta</i> | /por-t-a/ | ‘carry- <u>realis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She carried’ |
| d. | <i>naḍḍa</i> | /naḍi-d-a/ | ‘walk- <u>realis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She walked’ |
| e. | <i>argisa</i> | /argu-s-a/ | ‘sleep- <u>realis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She slept’ |
| f. | <i>kudso</i> | /kudji-s-o/ | ‘drink- <u>realis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She drank’ |
| | | | | |
| 4) a. | <i>yarpa</i> | /ya:ri-pu-a/ | ‘call- <u>irrealis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She calls’ |
| b. | <i>nilawa</i> | /nili-w-a/ | ‘play- <u>irrealis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She plays’ |
| c. | <i>porawa</i> | /por-w-a/ | ‘carry- <u>irrealis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She carries’ |
| d. | <i>naḍpa</i> | /naḍi-pu-a/ | ‘walk- <u>irrealis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She walks’ |
| e. | <i>argawa</i> | /argu-w-a/ | ‘sleep- <u>irrealis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She sleeps’ |
| f. | <i>kuyrpa</i> | /kuyri-pu-a/ | ‘drink- <u>irrealis-3sg</u> ’ | ‘She drinks’ |

Verbs in the strong-s-class show a complication in realis theme formation: they have two realis themes, the regular realis theme and the special realis theme. The regular realis theme is used for three inflectional categories – transition, contingency, and contingent possibility – and is formed just like realis themes in the other verb classes; that is, it ends in a realis suffix. The special realis theme is used for all other inflectional

¹⁰ Theme formatives can be traced back to PDr tense suffixes, and they are cognate with tense suffixes in other South Dravidian languages. My reasons for calling them realis/irrealis formatives are explained in §-.

categories listed under realis theme in Table 3; it differs from the regular realis theme because it does not end in a realis suffix. For some roots the special realis theme is no different from the plain stem; however, most strong-s-class roots distinguish the two realis themes by using a special root alternant in the special realis theme. The use of a special and regular realis theme in strong-s-class verbs is illustrated in (5c, d). Note that the root alternant in the special realis theme in (5d) differs from those in (5a, b, c).¹¹

5a) Categories that require a plain stem

i. Possibility	<i>no:d̥ku</i>	/no:d̥-ku/	‘N can/may look’
ii. Hortative	<i>no:d̥a</i>	/no:d̥-a/	‘Let us look’
iii. Casual imperative	<i>no:d̥o</i>	/no:d̥-o/	‘look!’
iv. Infinitive	<i>no:d̥l</i>	/no:d̥-əl/	‘to look’
v. Anticipation	<i>no:d̥gutnu</i>	/no:d̥-gutnu/	‘until N looks’

b) Categories that require an irrealis theme (with irrealis formative /-w/)

i. Imperfective:	<i>no:d̥awa</i>	/no:d̥-w-a/	‘She will look’
ii. Causative	<i>no:d̥su</i>	/no:d̥-w-su/	‘cause to look’
iii. Optative	<i>no:d̥la</i>	/no:d̥-w-əla/	‘Let him look’
iv. Desiderative	<i>no:d̥ədu</i>	/no:d̥-w-ədu/	‘N should look’
v. Infinitive	<i>no:d̥ka</i>	/no:d̥-w-ka/	‘to look’
vi. Synchrony	<i>no:d̥ŋ</i>	/no:d̥-w-ən/	‘as/when N looks’

c) Categories that require a realis theme – regular realis theme is used in these three categories (with realis formative /-s/):

i. Perfective:	<i>no:d̥so</i>	/no:d̥-s-o/	‘She looked’
ii. Transition	<i>no:d̥səŋa</i>	/no:d̥-s-əŋa/	‘upon looking’
iii. Contingency	<i>no:d̥sənu</i>	/no:d̥-s-ənu/	‘if N looks’

d) Categories that require a realis theme – Special realis theme is used in these categories:

i. Progressive /-o:d̥/	<i>nəyro:d̥d̥ə</i>	/nəyr-o:d̥-əd̥ə/	‘N is looking’
ii. Habitual /-ott̥/	<i>nəyrott̥d̥ə</i>	/nəyr-ott̥-əd̥ə/	‘N used to look’
iii. Perfect /-nad̥/	<i>nəydnad̥d̥ə</i>	/nəyr-ənad̥-əd̥ə/	‘N has looked’

¹¹ The alternant with the diphthong can be derived by rule from the alternant with the monophthong. The relevant root alternant is shown in the morpheme breakdown to make it easier for the reader to relate the surface form to the root or its derivative.

iv.	Obligative	<i>nəyrɔpələ</i>	/nəyr-əɔpələ/	‘N must look’
v.	Non-polite imperative	<i>nəyra</i>	/nəyr-a/	‘Look!’
vi.	Polite imperative	<i>nəyrəgəy</i>	/nəyr-əgəy/	‘(Please) look!’
vii.	Completion	<i>nəyraɕu</i>	/nəyr-aɕu/	‘having looked’
viii.	Accompaniment	<i>nəydnu</i>	/nəyr-ənu/	‘look and ...’
ix.	Durative accompaniment	<i>nəyri</i>	/nəyr-i/	‘keep looking and ...’

2.0 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

An important issue in describing verb inflection in BK is the syntactic distinction between finite and non-finite verbs. Finite verbs in this description consist of verbs that occur last in the predicate of the main clause. Non-finite verbs are those that occur as the non-final verb in the predicate of the main clause and those that occur in subordinate clause predicates. Some inflectional categories are marked on finite and non-finite verbs, but some are not: Mood and subject agreement are marked through inflectional suffixes only on finite verbs.¹² Tense/aspect is marked on both finite and non-finite verbs. Negation is marked in a variety of ways on finite and non-finite verbs; finite verbs take a negative suffix, but non-finite verbs have suffixes that encode negation together with other clausal relations. Inflectional categories on non-finite verbs have the function of encoding relations between clauses or verbs; that is, they connect a subordinate clause (complement or adverbial clause) to a main clause, a chained clause to the final clause in chained clause constructions, and a non-final verb to a final verb in auxiliary verb constructions and serialized verb constructions. Table 4 lists the inflectional categories that occur on finite and non-finite verbs and the order in which they occur; the symbol #

¹² There are a few exceptions to the general pattern of morphologically distinct inflection on the two verb types: Some verbs take finite clause complements, in which case the complement clause has a finite verb with relevant mood or subject agreement markers. Further, there are three unusual constructions involving two verbs in a single main clause predicate, in which both verbs are marked for subject agreement or mood. One is a negative construction described in §2.3 and two are serialized imperative constructions described in §2.4.1.

after a suffix indicates that the suffix marks the end of the verb. Verbs also take a relativizer /-ə/, which attaches to a realis or irrealis theme depending on tense/aspect; this suffix is discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 2.4: Finite and non-finite verb inflection

First position	Second position	Third position
<i>Finite verbs:</i>		
(Tense/Aspect)- Mood	(Negative)- #	Subject agreement
<i>Non-finite verbs:</i>		
(Tense/Aspect) Infinitives	Clause-chain markers #	#

The following sections are organized so as to distinguish finite verb inflection from non-finite inflection, where possible. Subject agreement, aspect, finite verb negation, and mood are discussed first (§§2.1-4), followed by a discussion of category markers that occur on non-finite verbs only (§§2.5-6).

2.1. Subject-verb agreement

There are three sets of suffixes that encode person and/or number agreement between sentential subject and verb. The first set encodes both person and number and will be henceforth called PN markers. The second encodes number but not person (henceforth, number markers). The third encodes 1st person only (henceforth, special 1st markers).¹³ The three sets are mutually exclusive; they never occur together in the same word. They also mark the end of a verb; only clitics can be attached after them.

Subject agreement markers occur immediately after realis and irrealis themes, inflectional aspect markers /-o:d, -otʃ, -ənad/ and negative /-il/. There are restrictions on which of the three sets of subject agreement markers can occur after these suffixes; as shown in Table 5.

Table 2.5: Restrictions on the use of subject agreement markers

Preceding suffix/stem	Subject agreement marker
realis theme	All three sets
irrealis theme	All three sets
Aspect markers /-o:d, -otʃ, -ənad/	PN and number markers only
Negative /-il/	PN and Special 1 st markers only

In addition to marking person and number (described in §§2.1.1-4), subject agreement markers interact with aspect marking to encode certain discourse functions; this is described in §2.2.6.

2.1.1. *PN markers*

PN markers consist of a varied list of suffixes that are used to form different paradigms for different functional categories. Speakers show some variation in their use of these markers, as described below; the variation appears to be a change in progress, by which distinctions that were previously maintained within a paradigm and between different PN marker paradigms are being collapsed in favor of a simpler system with fewer distinctions.

¹³ Gender distinctions are not encoded on verbs in BK. The relevance of gender in this language is limited to certain male and female endings in human-related nouns and to restrictions (in terms of humanness and animacy) on the use of case markers and postpositions with nouns

Various PN suffixes are listed in (6) according to the person category they encode. The categories in which these suffixes are used are described below.

6) Singular:	1 st	/-i, -iya/
	2 nd	/-i/
	3 rd	/-a, -o/
Plural	1 st	/-o, -iya, -iyo/
	2 nd , 3 rd	/-o, -iyo/

The set of PN markers that are used immediately after the realis theme are shown in Table 6. The sequence [realis theme + subject agreement marker] encodes perfective aspect, as explained in §2.2.1; for convenience this paradigm is henceforth referred to as the realis PN paradigm. Verbs in all except the strong-s-class employ the paradigm given in the first column; strong-s-class verbs differ in that they employ /-o/ for 3rd person as well as plural, as shown in Table 6 using *t*-class *ya:ri* ‘call’ and strong-s-class *argu ~ ergu* ‘sleep’.

Table 2.6: Realis theme + PN paradigm

	<i>ya:ri</i> ‘call’	<i>argu ~ ergu</i> ‘sleep’
1, 2 sg	<i>ya:rṭi</i> ‘I/you called’	<i>argisi</i> ‘I/you slept’
3 sg	<i>ya:rṭa</i> ‘He/she/it called’	<i>argiso</i> ‘He/she/it slept’
Plural	<i>ya:rṭo</i> ‘We/you all/they called’	<i>argiso</i> ‘We/you all/they slept’

The realis PN paradigm is also used (in all verb classes) immediately after negative /-il/, and past habitual /-ott/, as shown in Table 7. The negative suffix can occur after a realis or irrealis theme (to encode negative perfective and negative imperfective, respectively); therefore, both are shown in this table.

Table 2.7: PN marker paradigm after negative and past habitual markers

	<i>ya:ri</i> ‘call’			<i>argu ~ ergu</i> ‘sleep’		
	Realis + /-il/	Irrealis + /-il/	Realis + /-ott/	Realis + /-il/	Irrealis + /-il/	Realis + /-ott/
1, 2 sg	<i>ya:r̥təli</i>	<i>ya:rpəli</i>	<i>ya:r̥tott̥i</i>	<i>argisəli</i>	<i>argəli</i>	<i>ergott̥i</i>
3 sg	<i>ya:r̥təla</i>	<i>ya:rpəla</i>	<i>ya:r̥tott̥a</i>	<i>argisəla</i>	<i>argəla</i>	<i>ergott̥a</i>
Plural	<i>ya:r̥təlo</i>	<i>ya:rpəlo</i>	<i>ya:r̥tott̥o</i>	<i>argisəlo</i>	<i>argəlo</i>	<i>ergott̥o</i>

A different set of PN markers is used immediately after the irrealis theme, as shown in Table 8. The sequence [irrealis theme + subject agreement marker] is used to encode imperfective aspect or future tense; this paradigm is henceforth referred to as the irrealis PN paradigm. This paradigm has a pattern of variation that appears to be part of an ongoing change in the language: Speakers in the older generation use /-iya/ for 1st singular and /-iyo/ for plural; /-iya/ can optionally be used also for 1st plural. Speakers in the younger generation tend to use the same set of suffixes as those used in Table 6 above; that is, they collapse the distinction between the realis PN paradigm and the irrealis PN paradigm. The two variants are shown in Table 8; they differ only in the 1st singular and the plural; only the forms that differ are shown in the “Newer variants” column.

Table 2.8: Irrealis theme + PN paradigm

	<i>ya:ri</i> ‘call’		<i>argu ~ ergu</i> ‘sleep’	
	Older variants	Newer variants	Older variants	Newer variants
1 sg	<i>ya:r̥piya</i>	<i>ya:r̥pi</i>	<i>argiya</i>	<i>argəwi</i>
2 sg	<i>yar̥pi</i>	--	<i>argəwi</i>	--
3 sg	<i>yar̥pa</i>	--	<i>argəwa</i>	--
1 pl	<i>ya:r̥piya ~ ya:r̥piyo</i>	<i>ya:r̥po</i>	<i>argiya ~ argiyo</i>	<i>argəwo</i>
2, 3 pl	<i>ya:r̥piyo</i>	<i>ya:r̥po</i>	<i>argiyo</i>	<i>argəwo</i>

The irrealis paradigm (with its variants) is also used after progressive /-o:q/, as shown in Table 9.

Table 2.9: PN paradigm after the progressive marker

	<i>ya:ri</i> ‘call’		<i>argu</i> ~ <i>ergu</i> ‘sleep’	
	Older variants	Newer variants	Older variants	Newer variants
1 sg	<i>ya:r̥to:diya</i>	<i>ya:r̥to:di</i>	<i>ergo:diya</i>	<i>ergo:di</i>
2 sg	<i>ya:r̥to:di</i>	--	<i>ergo:di</i>	--
3 sg	<i>ya:r̥to:da</i>	--	<i>ergo:da</i>	--
1 pl	<i>ya:r̥to:diya</i> ~ <i>ya:r̥to:diyo</i>	<i>ya:r̥to:do</i>	<i>ergo:diya</i> ~ <i>ergo:diyo</i>	<i>ergo:do</i>
2, 3 pl	<i>ya:r̥to:diyo</i>	<i>ya:r̥to:do</i>	<i>ergo:diyo</i>	<i>ergo:do</i>

/-ənəq/ ‘perfect aspect’ differs from the other suffixes in that it can take two PN marker paradigms, the realis PN paradigm and the irrealis PN paradigm. The former is used for past perfect aspect and the latter for present perfect aspect. Because only older generation speakers use distinct suffixes in the two paradigms, a formal distinction between present and past perfect is encoded only by these speakers. Further, because the two paradigms differ only in the 1st singular and the plural, the distinction between present perfect and past perfect can be made only in these person categories. This distinction is shown in Table 10.

Table 2.10: PN paradigms used by older speakers after the perfect marker

	<i>ya:ri</i> ‘call’		<i>argu</i> ~ <i>erg</i> ‘sleep’	
	past perfect	present perfect	past perfect	past perfect
1 sg	<i>ya:rṭənaɖi</i>	<i>ya:rṭənaɖiya</i>	<i>ergənaɖi</i>	<i>ergənaɖiya</i>
2 sg	<i>ya:rṭənaɖi</i>	<i>ya:rṭənaɖi</i>	<i>ergənaɖi</i>	<i>ergənaɖi</i>
3 sg	<i>ya:rṭənaɖa</i>	<i>ya:rṭənaɖa</i>	<i>ergənaɖa</i>	<i>ergənaɖa</i>
1 pl	<i>ya:rṭənaɖo</i>	<i>ya:rṭənaɖiyo</i> ~ <i>ya:rṭənaɖiya</i>	<i>ergənaɖo</i>	<i>ergənaɖiyo</i> ~ <i>ergənaɖiya</i>
2 pl	<i>ya:rṭənaɖo</i>	<i>ya:rṭənaɖiyo</i>	<i>ergənaɖo</i>	<i>ergənaɖiyo</i>
3 pl	<i>ya:rṭənaɖo</i>	<i>ya:rṭənaɖiyo</i>	<i>ergənaɖo</i>	<i>ergənaɖiyo</i>

2.1.2. Number markers

The second set of subject agreement suffixes encodes number alone, shown in (7).

- 7) Singular /-əɖə/
 Plural /-əgə/

These suffixes are derived from the singular and plural nominalizers /-əɖə, -əgə/ (described in Chapter 5). Number after realis and irrealis themes for three verbs are shown in Table 11.

Table 2.11: Number paradigms for 3 verbs

	<i>ya:ri</i> ‘call’		<i>ki:l</i> ‘do’		<i>nili</i> ‘play’	
	realis /-t/	irrealis /-pu/	realis /-j/	irrealis /-w/	realis /-j/	irrealis /-w/
Sg	<i>ya:rṭəɖə</i>	<i>ya:rṭəpəɖə</i>	<i>kijəɖə</i>	<i>ki:wəɖə</i>	<i>niljəɖə</i>	<i>niləɖə</i>
Pl	<i>ya:rṭəgə</i>	<i>ya:rṭəpəgə</i>	<i>kijəgə</i>	<i>ki:wəgə</i>	<i>niljəgə</i>	<i>niləgə</i>

2.1.3. Special 1st markers

There are two suffixes that are used only with 1st person singular subjects. The suffix /-ani/ is used with the realis theme; e.g. *nawi ʔarduttani /ʔardud-t-ani/* ‘I opened (the door)’. The suffix /-əni/ is used with the irrealis theme; e.g. *nawə argəni /argu-w-əni/* ‘I am about to sleep’, *nawə ni:rə kuyrpəni /kuyri-p-əni/* ‘I am about to drink water’.¹⁴

The use of plural markers to encode impersonal subjects is described in the following section, but the remaining functions of agreement markers are described in §2.2.6 because they interact with aspect functions.

2.1.4. Impersonal subjects

The two plural suffixes discussed above, plural PN markers /-o, -iyo/ and plural number marker /-əgə/, are also used to encode impersonal subjects. The following types of impersonal constructions with plural on the verb occur in these data. One type involves constructions where the subject is an indefinite pronoun (8a) or has indefinite reference (8b, c):

- 8a) *ʔa:raŋg ki:r o:ka pəynaɖiyo*
ʔa:rə-əŋgə ki:ri o:gi-ka pəy-ənaɖ-iyo
who.nm-IND¹⁵ house inside-dat go_{SR}-prf-pl
“Someone has gone into the house.” (Elicitation. P369)

¹⁴ My consultant also produced, during elicitation sessions, a third suffix /-na/ which is restricted to strong-s-class verbs only; e.g. *naŋgə argəna /argu-w-əna/* ‘We (inc.) are about to sleep’. However, this form has not occurred in the texts I elicited and needs to be investigated further.

¹⁵ Clitics are shown without underlining -- /-əŋgə/ is a clitic.

b) *pəyrga:tɫ pəytu nəyɔnu, ətɪ bupəgə*
 pəyrga:də-ɫl pəy-aɫu nəyr-ənu ədɪ-t-ənu bu-pu-əgə
 forest-lc go_{SR}-cmp look_{SR}-acp take-rlf-acp come_{IR}-irf-pl
 “They look for it in the forest and bring it” (Conversation.18)

c) *wandə pott kayttu, wand a:l ə:riyo, tissoða ... pina tya:niya kəjjənu, pina kaynnəl kuni:r uylpən kodiyə*
 wandə pottə kayttu-ənu wandə a:lɪ ə:r-w-iyo tisso-əða
 one torch tie_{SR}-acp one person climb-irf-pl fire-com
 “Making a torch, a person climbs up, with fire (i.e. the torch flame) ...”

pina tya:nu-iyə kəyl-j-ənu pina kaynni-l kuni:ri uylpu-ənu
 then hive-acc cut-rlf-acp then rope-lc below lower_{SR}-acp

koɔ-w-iyo

give-irf-pl

“Then cutting the beehive, he (i.e., a person) lowers it on a rope.”

(Conversation.27)

The second type involves passive-like constructions, where the subject is an unspecified generic one and the object is the focus of the construction, shown in (9).

9a) *i: erəwi kalləða ma:təgə*
 i erəwi kallə-əða ma:ɫ-t-əgə
 this knife stone-com sharpen-rlf-pl
 “This knife was sharpened with a stone.” (= Someone sharpened this knife with a stone.) (Elicitation. P341)

b) *pu:gə enna:nu no:dəgə*
 pu:gə enn-a:nu no:ɔ-w-əgə
 flower when-IND see-irf-pl
 “Flowers can be seen at any time.” (= One can see flowers at any time.) (Elicitation. P144)

c) *pili mu:ŋkaði po:gi:?*
 piliyə mu:ŋkaði pi:ɫ-w-əgə
 tiger oral.story tell-irf-pl
 “Should the tiger story be told?” (= Should one tell the tiger story?) (Tiger.1b)

The third type involves generic rhetorical questions; that is, questions that do not have a specific person as the subject and which do not actually seek information (as in (10), which occurs in a story). Sentences of this type in these data have number marker /-əgə/ rather than PN markers /-o, -iyə/ used after the irrealis theme. (The symbol ‘?!’ indicates a rhetorical question.)

- 10) “*po:piya, e:n ma:dəgə?!*” *andaṭu ...*
 po:g-pu-iya e:n ma:d-w-əgə a:n-t-aṭu
 go-irf-1sg. what do-irf-pl say-rlf-cmp
 “Having said, ‘I’ll go. What to do?!’ ...” (7th.Son.106)

Although the impersonal plural typically refers to an unspecified subject, it can be used with singular subjects in questions that seek information on how to carry out a task (11a) or in rhetorical questions expressing inability to carry out a task (11b, c). It is possible that the verb with /-əgə/ involves partial indefinite reference, such as “what should one do to ...” or “what should be done to ...”

- 11a) *ke:ṭi ma:ŋgayə ṭinəld ipka naw en ma:dəgə?*
 ke:ṭi ma:ŋgayə ṭin-əl iḷdi i:r-pu-ka nawə en ma:d-w-əgə
 Ketī mango eat-inf without be-irf-inf 1s.nm what do-irf-pl
 “What should I do to make Ketī not eat mangos?” (Elicitation.P458)

- b) “*nini e:n maydn na pottn po:pəgə?!*”
 nin-iya e:n mayr-ənu nawə por-t-ənu po:g-pu-əgə
 2s-acc what do-SR-acp 1s.nm carry-rlf-acp go-irf-pl
 “How am I to carry you?!” (Pomegranate.29)

- c) “*si:, naw in e:n maydn po:pəgə?!*”
 sə: nawə ina e:n mayr-ənu po:g-pu-əgə
 inter 1s.nm now what do-SR-acp go-irf-pl
 “Oh no! What am I to do now?!” (7th.son.98)

There is, in addition, an impersonal marker /-i/ that is apparently used only with inanimate subjects; further research is necessary to fully understand this construction, but an example is given in (12) – this sentence refers to a story (“The story is finished”).

- 12) *tiḍi:si*
 ti:r-ḍ-i:-s-i
 finish-rlf-thrlly-rlf-imps
 ‘It is finished’ (7th.son.504)

2.2. Tense and aspect

Tense cannot be clearly separated from aspect in BK; suffixes used for these functions encode both the timeframe in which an action takes place as well the type of action involved. Aspect categories that are morphologically distinguished in BK are listed in Table 12.

Table 2.12: BK tense/aspect markers

Form ¹⁶	Functional category
Realis theme	Perfective
Irrealis theme	Imperfective/future
/-o:ḍ/	Progressive
/-oṭṭ/	Past habitual
/-ənaḍ/	Perfect

¹⁶ /-o:ḍ/ and /oṭṭ/ can be related to the defective verb root *o:ḍ* ‘practise (a trade), possess (an ability)’, described in §4.2; the final geminate in /-oṭṭ/ can be derived from realis /-t/. Similarly /-ənaḍ/ could be derived historically from an independent verb root, perhaps from *naḍ* ‘walk, practise as a custom’ (Steever (pc) points out that it could come from PDr */naTa-/ ‘behave, occur, walk’ – T stands for /t/). Thus they resemble aspectual lexical suffixes, described in §3.2.2-4, which are also derived from independent verb roots. See Steever 1993 for a discussion of the grammaticalization of verb roots into suffixes in Dravidian languages.

The formation of realis and irrealis themes was described in §1, and is described in further detail in Chapter 6. Themes are formed in the derivational level; however, when used with an immediately following subject agreement suffix (and optionally intervening negative suffix), they encode perfective and imperfective aspect, as described below.¹⁷ The suffixes /-o:d/, -ott/, -ənaɖ/ attach to the realis theme and encode realis mood to some degree, in addition to aspect: In positive sentences, they are used only for actual events, although /-o:d/ can be used for events that are imminent.¹⁸ A further connection with realis mode is indicated in the fact that /-ənaɖ/ cannot be used in negative verbs, although /-o:d/, -ott/ can – it seems to me that the negative is potentially incompatible with realis mode because it encodes the non-occurrence of an event; /-ənaɖ/ appears to be more strictly restricted to realis mode than the other two suffixes.

2.2.1. Perfective

The realis theme is used together with a subject agreement marker to encode perfective. The examples in (13) show a subject agreement marker (13a) and a negative suffix plus subject agreement marker (13b) attached directly to the realis theme.

- 13a) *na nəntə ni:r omaɖti*
 nawə nəntə ni:rə omaɖi-t̪-i
 1s.nm yesterday water boil-rlf-1sg
 ‘I boiled water yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P206)

¹⁷ Note that suffixes that are treated as realis and irrealis theme formatives in this description can actually be traced to past and nonpast tense markers, respectively, in earlier stages of Dravidian (see Krishnamurti 2003 and Zvelebil 1990 for discussions of comparative Dravidian morphology). These suffixes were quite probably tense-marking suffixes in an earlier stage of BK; however, their role in marking functional categories appears to have expanded to the extent that they are currently used not just in tense/aspect forms, but in a variety of functional categories. Therefore, I analyze these suffixes as theme formatives, rather than tense markers, in the current grammar of BK.

¹⁸ When /-o:d/ is used for the imminent future (as in a context like “I am going home tomorrow”), it carries the implication that the speaker is certain that the event will occur; thus, this usage does not contradict my statement that all three aspect markers involve realis mode.

- b) *nəntə nawə bokkə keltəli*
 nəntə nawə bokkə keli-t-il-i
 yesterday 1s.nm book read-rlf-neg-1sg
 ‘I did not read a book yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P443)

The perfective form is used for events that took place before the speech moment and which involve closure,¹⁹ as in (13) above and (14) below.

- 14) *karəđi ma:đənm in pya:r ampunu, pya:r uttəgə ...*
 karəđi ma:đənm-mu in pya:rə ampunu pya:rə uđ-t-əgə
 bear Madan-EXM this.gn name quot. name put-rlf-pl
 ‘Saying, “This one’s name is Bear Madan”, they gave him that name.’
 (Conversation.51)

2.2.1.1. *Special strong-s-class perfective marker*

Although realis theme plus agreement marker is the normal form used to encode perfective aspect, strong-s-class verbs have an additional perfective marker, /-n/; this suffix attaches to the plain stem. This marker has restricted distribution compared to the suffix /-s/ that is used to form realis themes for this class: (a) It does not occur with 3rd singular subjects. Thus, for a sentence like ‘I slept’ which has a 1st singular subject, both *nawə argəni* and *nawə argisi* are possible; but for 3rd singular subjects, only *ađə argiso* ‘He/she/it slept’ is possible.²⁰ (b) The only subject agreement marker that occurs after it is a PN marker. (c) It is not used to form realis themes to which other category markers can attach; that is, it is used only for perfective aspect.

¹⁹ Cf. Chung and Timberlake (1985: 217): “On the proposition level, ... closure means simply that an event comes to an end before some temporal point (‘John painted until the sun went down’) or within the confines of some temporal interval (‘John painted from morning until night’, ‘John painted seventeen houses within three days’). Thus, closure at the proposition level means that an event is limited, bounded, or wholly contained within the event frame.”

²⁰ When perfective /-n/ is used, the PN suffix for 1st plural subjects apparently has a second variant /-a/; e.g. *nanğə/yanğə po:na ~ po:mo* ‘we (inc./exc.) went’. However, further research on the /-a/ form is necessary.

I have been unable to identify a functional difference, within these data, between the perfective form encoded by use of a realis theme and use of plain stem plus /-n/. My consultant's intuitions, when asked if she could suggest a difference in meaning between verbs containing the two forms, were that they basically meant the same but that the /-n/ forms had "neutral" past tense connotation; while the realis form conveyed a sense of completion. Thus, she says that for the following sentence, the first verb is no more than a neutral assertion that the persons are asleep or have gone to sleep, while the second verb implies that they were fully asleep or in a deep sleep (I use the gloss 'perfective' (pve) for /-n/ to distinguish it from realis /-s/, and I treat /-n/ as an inflectional suffix).

- 15) *agə argəno/argiso*
 agə argu-s/-n-o
 3pr.nm sleep-rlf/pve-pl
 "They went to sleep." (Elicitation.P525)

Similarly, in the following sentence, she said that the /-n/ form implies that the cat could have been chased a little way up the tree, while the realis form implies that it was chased right up the tree.

- 16) *na:ygə pu:siya metl attno/attiso*
 na:yə-gə pu:si-ya meri-ɬl aɬtu-s/n-o
 dog-pl cat-acc tree-lc chase-rlf/pve-pl
 "The dogs chased the cat up the tree." (Elicitation.P525)

These intuitions are, however, not clearly supported by data in the texts I elicited. The /-n/ form is used very infrequently in these texts; it is used most often in rhetorical questions, as in (17a), but occurs in a few declarative statements (e.g. 17b).

17a) *ann e:n ma:dηo?*
 ann e:n ma:d-n-o
 then what do-pve-pl
 “Then, what did they do?” (7th.Son.112)

b) *a:r məyniy a:səηa, o:ta tiqə:səηa, a:l o:təy əddo:no*
 a:ru məyniyə a:g-s-əηa o:ta ti:r-d-ə:-s-əηa
 six o'clock happen-rlf-trn all finish-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-trn

 a:lu o:təya ə:l-d-o:g-n-o
 person all stand-rlf-thrly-pve-pl
 “On it becoming 6 o’clock, on everyone finishing (their food), everybody finished getting up.” (7th.Son.263)

2.2.2. Imperfective aspect.

The irrealis theme is similarly used together with a subject agreement marker to encode imperfective aspect with reference to a past, present, or future timeframe (such as habitual or characteristic behavior, customary practices, events of unbounded duration). It is also used for non-actual events (future events, hypothetical events, etc). (18) gives an examples of the irrealis theme plus agreement marker used for a present event of unbounded duration.

18a) *yaηgə akkəra kaηdo:də ki:dImu ipəgə*
 yaηgə akkəra ka:η-t-o:d-ə ki:ri-l-mu
 1p.exc.nm that.direction appear-rlf-prg-rlr house-lc-EXM

 i:r-pu-əgə
 be-irf-pl
 “We live in that house that is visible over there.” (Pomegranate.17)

(19) gives an example of its use when describing traditional practices in the BK community; that is, a customary event that is not occurring at the speech moment, but

which generally occurs in the BK community.²¹ These sentences were a response to questions I asked my consultant, Bomman, about whether his people gather honey from wild beehives in the forest.

19a) *pəyrga:tl̩ pəytu nəydn̩u, ətl̩n̩u bupəgə*
 pəyrga:də-tl̩ pəy-aʈu nəyr-ənu əd̩i-t̩-ənu bu-pu-əgə
 forest-lc go_{SR}-cmp look_{SR}-acp take-rlf-acp come_{IR}-irf-pl
 “They go into the forest, look for it (the beehives) and bring it.” (Conversation.18)

b) *wandə pott̩ kaytt̩nu, wand̩ a:l̩ əriyo, t̩issəda ... p̩ina t̩ya:niya kəjj̩ənu, p̩ina kaynn̩əl kuni:r̩ uylp̩ən̩ kođ̩iyo*

wandə pott̩ə kaytt̩u-ənu wand̩ ə:l̩u ər-w-iyo t̩issə-əda
 one torch tie_{SR}-acp one person climb-irf-pl fire-com
 “Making a torch, a person climbs up, with fire (i.e. the torch flame) ...”

p̩ina t̩ya:nu-iya kəyl-j-ənu p̩ina kaynn̩i-əl̩ kuni:ri uylp̩u-ənu
 then hive-acc cut-rlf-acp then rope-lc below lower_{SR}-acp

kođ̩-w-iyo

give-irf-pl

“Then cutting the beehive, he lowers it on a rope.” (Conversation.27)

In (20), it is used for behavior that was characteristic of the subject in a past time frame. The sentence in (20a) refers to an elephant that had been killing people in the area before it was captured and trained to live among humans.

20a) *a: ɪst̩:t̩ o:gi pəytu galat̩ ma:d̩d̩ə ... a:l̩gəd̩na kenga:wəd̩ə*
 a: ɪst̩:t̩ə o:gi pəy-aʈu galat̩i ma:d̩-w-əd̩ə
 that estate inside go_{SR}-cmp commotion do-irf-sg
 “Having gone into that estate, it would create a commotion.

²¹ Cf. Comrie (1976:27, cited in Dahl 1995:413), “The feature that is common to all habituals ... is that they 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.”

a:ɭu-gər-na kenga:ɭ-w-əḍə
 person-pl-acc kill-irf-sg
 It would kill people.” (Conversation.481)

b) *kaydday ʔan pəyrga:ḍ o:ga battɭa po:pəḍ. a:ŋa kayddi, kayddi ma:ḍən*
 kayddi-ʔngi ʔana pəyrga:ḍə o:ga battɭi-la po:g-pu-əḍə
 bear-like emph forest inside path-dlc go-irf-sg

a:n-ka kayddi kayddi ma:ḍən
 3sr-dat bear bear Madan
 “He would move like a bear along the paths in the forest. That is why (he is called) Bear, Bear Madan.” (Conversation.614)

In (21), it is used to refer to future events; (21a) involves a promise/threat to do something, (21b) involves a prediction/expectation about an event.

21a) *“niniy inndə puḍsən ʔimməni” andaʔu, ayttu pə:səḍə*
 nin-iyā inndə puḍi-s-ənu ʔin-pu-əni a:n-t-aʔu
 2s-acc today catch-rlf-acc eat-irf-Spl say-rlf-cmp

ayttu-ənu pə:s-əḍə
 chase_{SR}-acc go_R-rlf-sg.
 “Having said, ‘I am going to catch you and eat you today’, it went chasing after him.” (Tiger.193)

b) *ədd na:rasi gutnu a:pa, i: ki:rka*
 əddu na:rasi gutnu a:g-pu-a i ki:ri-ka
 two week during become-irf-3sg this house-dat
 “It will take up to 2 weeks, for this house.” (Conversation.129)

2.2.3. Progressive /-o:ḍ/

Progressive /-o:ḍ/ is used to describe an event that is ongoing at the moment of speaking or will occur in the imminent future; it is not used for past events. In most cases, /-o:ḍ/ is used with verbs that typically describe processes; cf. Chung and Timberlake

(1985:214-5), “An event exhibiting little or no change over time can be termed a state, while one that does change can be termed a dynamic event or a process ... The progressive asserts that an event is dynamic over the event frame. By definition, then, processes but not states can appear in the progressive”. Examples of /-o:q/ on process verbs are given in (22):

22a) *nawə ʔiri kaynnəl ʔiko:qda*
 nawə ʔiri kaynni-l ʔi:ku-o:q-da
 1s.nm cloth rope-lc hang_{SR}-prg-sg
 “I am hanging clothes on the clothesline.” (Elicitation.P546)

b) *pya:dn ʔiriya ʔanno:qlama*
 pya:dn ʔiri-ya ʔan-t-o:q-il-a-ma
 grandson cloth-acc give_R-rlf-prg-neg-3sg-EXM
 “Grandson is not giving the cloth” (Pomegranate.120)

However, it can also be used with state verbs, as in the verbs of emotion (23a, b) or the verb of perception (23c).

23a) *ke:ʔi ka:ʎa o:ʔto:qda*
 ke:ʔi ka:ʎa o:ʔ-t-o:q-əda
 Ketī Kaalan-acc like-rlf-prg-neg-sg
 “Ketī likes Kaalan” (Elicitation.P516)

b) *nawə pa:mbə no:qsəŋa pəyrando:qda*
 nawə pa:mbə no:q-s-əŋa pəyran-t-o:q-əda
 1s.nm snake see-rlf-trn feel.afraid_R-rlf-prg-sg
 “I feel afraid when I see snakes.” (Elicitation.516)

c) *innə ka:yriy əʔmann suddə nəyro:da ki:dl*
 innə ka:yriyə əʔmann suddə nəyr-o:q-a ki:ri-əl
 today plenty human aroma see_{SR}-prg-3sg house-lc
 “There is a strong smell of humans in the house today.” (Tiger.126)

2.2.4. Habitual /-ott/

Past habitual /-ott/ is used to describe actions that were practiced habitually in the past, but which are no longer practiced; it is usually used for situations in a fairly remote past (24a, b), but can be used for more recent situations (24c).

24a) *mindaya o:təya yaŋgə a:l̩gə kuyrki o:təya kijotto*
 mindaya o:təya yaŋgə a:l̩u-gə kuyrki o:təya ki:l-j-ott-o
 earlier all 1p.exc.gn person-pl vessel all do-rlf-hab-pl
 “In the past, our people used to make vessels.” (Conversation.49)

b) *pin aḍəŋ atniri alka pəyottla*
 pina aḍən-ka atniri alka pəy-ott-il-a
 then 3sr-dat onwards there.dat go_{SR}-hab-neg-3sg
 “Then, from that day on, she never went there.” (Tiger.262)

c) *pinann numbəl ilḍi nala əyrayrottəḍə*
 pinann numbələ ilḍi nala əyrayr-ott-əḍə
 from.then fever without nicely move_{SR}-hab-sg
 “After that, free of fever, she was moving around freely.” (Pomegranate.413)

2.2.5. Perfect /-ənəḍ/

Perfect /-ənəḍ/ is used to describe an event that took place anterior to a time frame (specified explicitly in the sentence or left implicit) and which leaves a result that continues to hold up to the time frame.²² It encodes some reference to time in that it is never used for events that have not actually occurred; thus, it excludes future time and implies an event in the past or present. This suffix does not encode distinctions between past and present events, but PN markers can be used to distinguish past perfect from present perfect, as shown earlier in Table 10. Recall that this distinction is maintained

²² Cf. Chung and Timberlake (1985:220): “Described informally, a perfect describes an event that occurs before the event frame and leaves a result that continues to hold up to the frame ... the perfect characterizes a complex event, which consists of an event located prior to the event frame, the frame itself, and perhaps a stative interval connecting the event to the frame.”

only in the speech of older speakers, who have partially different realis and irrealis paradigms. Moreover, the two paradigms differ only in the 1st singular and the plural; therefore, distinctions between past and present perfect are not encoded in other person categories.

Examples illustrating the use of /-ənad/ plus subject agreement markers in the speech of older generation speakers are given in (25, 26). (25a) shows that 1st singular PN marker /-i/ is used after /-ənad/ for a past perfect event and (25b) shows that 1st singular PN marker /-iya/ is used after /-ənad/ for a nonpast perfect event. (26) shows that distinctions in time reference are not encoded for 3rd singular subjects; (26a) involves a present perfect event and (26b) a past perfect event, but both have the same 3rd singular PN marker /-a/.

25a) *kudlə:rəŋa ba:dl̩di mindaya, a paɖiya deliyəl nawə nəydnad̩i.*

kudlə:ri-əŋa ba:r-əl̩ ild̩i mindaya
Gudalur-dat come-inf without earlier

a paɖi-iya deli-əl̩ nawə nəyr-ənad̩-i
that film-acc Delhi-lc 1s.nm look_{SR}-prf-1sg
“Before that film came to Gudalur, I had seen it in Delhi.”

(Elicitation.P506)

b) *nawə sira:ya naɖi ilka bannaɖiya*

nawə sira-aya naɖi ilka ban-t-ənad̩-iya
1s.nm lots-INTNS times here-dat come_R-rlf-prf-1sg
“I have come here many times.”

(Elicitation.P507)

26a) *ina pəynaɖa. ke:kŋa bupa.*

ina pəy-ənad̩-a ke:kŋa bu-pu-a
now go_{SR}-prf-3sg tomorrow come_{IR}-irf-3sg.
“He has gone now. He will come tomorrow.”

(Elicitation.P505)

b) *i t̪əyyi ba:l̪ na:l̪ə mo:l̪d̪ iɖa. i buɖəna:si pəyt no:d̪ŋ mo:l̪tənaɖa.*

i t̪əyyə ba:l̪ na:l̪ə mo:l̪i-l̪ ild̪i ir-ɖ-a
 this plant lots day sprout-inf without be-rlf-3sg.
 ‘This plant did not sprout for a long time’

i buɖəna:si pəy-aɖu no:d̪-w-ən mo:l̪i-t̪-ənəɖ-a
 this Wednesday go_{SR}-cmp look-irf-syn sprout-rlf-prf-3sg
 ‘When I checked on Wednesday, it had sprouted.’ (Elicitation.P494)

The example in (27) shows that /-ənəɖ/ cannot be used for perfect aspect with reference to a future event; a periphrastic construction consisting of main verb plus auxiliary verb *i:r* is used instead.

27) *nawə ba:r̪gutnu aɖə pəyn ipa/*pəynaɖa*
*nawə ba:r̪-gutnu aɖə pəy-ənu i:r-pu-a / *pəy-ənəɖ-a*
 1s.nm come-until 3sr.nm go_{SR}-acp be-irf-3sg go_{SR}-prf-3sg
 ‘By the time I come, he will have gone.’ (Elicitation.P507)

In addition to encoding perfect aspect, /-ənəɖ/ encodes some stative meaning. It is used with the position verb, *ə:l̪* ‘get into upright position, stop moving’ to encode the state of being in a position, ‘be standing’ (28a, b).²³ In contrast, when this root is used with other inflectional suffixes it has the meaning ‘stop moving’ or ‘get into an upright position’ (28c). /-ənəɖ/ is also used to encode stative meaning (rather than perfect aspect) with other positional verb roots like *ba:l̪* ‘lie down’ and *kur* ‘sit’; however, these roots can take other inflectional suffixes when referring to the state of being in a position.

28a) *bommən aɖər ki:r̪ uyli əɖənaɖa*
bommən aɖərə ki:r̪i uyli ə:l̪-ɖ-ənəɖ-a
 Bomman 3pr.gn house near stand-rlf-st.dur-3sg.
 ‘Bomman is standing/has been standing in front of his house’ (Elicitation.P495)

²³ Positional state is also expressed through a periphrastic phrase consisting of position verb plus auxiliary verb *i:r* ‘be’; this is described in §3.2.4.

b) *yan ki:dl na:k kamb ədənədədə*
 yan ki:ri-əl na:ku kambə ə:l-ɖ-ənəd-ədə
 1s.gn house-lc four post stand-rlf-st.dur-sg.
 ‘There are 4 posts standing in my house’ (Elicitation.P497)

c) *bassə wand əyɖ niməska əɖɖa*
 bassə wandə əyɖu niməsi-ka ə:l-ɖ-a
 bus about five minute-dat stand-rlf-3sg
 ‘The bus stopped for 5 minutes’ (Elicitation. P499)

/-ənəd/ is sometimes used with state verbs to express continuing state, as in the verb of emotion in (29a) or *a:g* ‘become’ in (29b), and it sometimes adds a sense of continuing state to an active verb, as in (29c).

29a) *yanka niŋ ba:ji nala puɖsənədədə*
 yan-ka niŋ ba:ji nal-a puɖi-s-ənəd-ədə
 1s-dat 2s.gn speech nice-avzr like-rlf-st.dur-sg.
 ‘I like your language very much.’ (Elicitation.P353)

b) *pin a:ŋge: iɖənu, ba:l na:l aynədədə*
 pina a:ŋgi-e i:r-ɖ-ənu ba:l na:l u ay-ənəd-ədə
 then thus-EMPH be-rlf-acp many day become_{SR}-st.dur-sg.
 ‘Then living like that, many days passed.’ (7th.Son.64)

c) *a uruw uŋtana, tan amməndə ki:dl buŋədəgə*
 a uruw i uɖ-t-ənu tana tan ammən-ɖə ki:ri-əl
 that mask wear-rlf-acp itself 3sa.gn father-pl house-lc
 buɖ-t-ənəd-əgə
 keep-rlf-st.dur-pl
 ‘They kept her, wearing that mask itself, in his father’s house.’ (7th.Son.66)

2.2.6. Aspect-related functions of subject agreement markers

Subject agreement markers have the referential function of encoding person and number agreement with the sentential subject, as explained in §2.1. But they also have discourse functions in BK, for which they interact with tense/aspect markers to encode subtly different descriptions of an action or event. The three sets can be used interchangeably with, in some contexts, little discernible difference in meaning. This is exemplified in (30), which can have either the number marker /-əḍə/, the PN marker /-i/, or the special 1st marker /-ani/ without any significant change in meaning.

- 30) *nawə ərgəḍaya bannḍə/bandi/bannani*
nawə ərgəḍaya ban-t-əḍə/-i/-ani
1s.nm morning come_R-rlf-sg/1sg/Sp1
“I came this morning.” (Elicitation.P501)

But their use in texts show that they are employed as a rhetorical device in narratives to make a contrast between dynamic or fast-changing events and static events with little change, or between long-lasting events and brief events. The differences between them are not strict categorical distinctions so much as tendencies to add subtly different meanings to a sentence. The special 1st markers function a little differently from number and PN markers; the former will be described first.

Special 1st markers tend to refer to a brief timeframe, whereas number and PN markers refer to longer timeframes. This is exemplified in the contrast between the special 1st marker /-əni/ and the number marker /-əḍə/ in (31). My consultant said that the first sentence implies that the speaker will be in the house temporarily; while the second sentence implies that the speaker lives in the house.

31a) nawə a ki:dl ipəni
 nawə a: kiri-əl i:r-pu-əni
 1s.nm that house be-irf-Sp1
 “I’ll be in that house/I am in that house.” (Elicitation.P549)

b) nawə a ki:dl ipəḍə
 nawə a: kiri-əl i:r-pu-əḍə
 1s.nm that house be-irf-sg
 “I live in that house.” (Elicitation.P549)

Special 1st markers are also used to express a sense of emphatic certainty. In (32a), the speaker uses perfective plus /-ani/ when referring with exasperation to a statement that she had already made to the listener the day before. In (32b), the speaker uses /-əni/ with the irrealis theme when assuring the listener that she will perform an action. In (32c), the speaker, who is a tiger uses /-əni/ with the irrealis theme, when threatening to kill his victim.

32a) “*niniya nəntə pə:n ʃannan nawe. yaŋgərək annan niŋg ipəl kira:gil a:gəl ila*”
 nin-iya nəntə pə:l-ənu ʃan-t-ani nawə-e
 2s-acc yesterday tell-acp give_R-rlf-Sp1 1s.nm-EMPH
 yaŋgər-ka a:n-t-ani niŋgə ipəli kira:g-əl a:g-əl il-a
 1p.exc-dat say-con 2p.gn with marry-inf be.able-inf neg-3sg
 “I told you yesterday! People like us cannot marry your people.”
 (Pomegranate.110)

b) “*na bigaḍkəŋa bu-pu-əni ni pi*”
 nawə bigaḍkəŋa bu-pu-əni niyə pi
 1s.nm later come_{IR}-irf-Sp1 2s.nm go.np.im
 “I’ll come later. You go.” (7th.Son.71)

c) “*niniy ində puḍsən ʃimməni*” *andaṭu, aytnu pi:səḍə*
 nin-iya ində puḍi-s-ənu ʃin-pu-əni a:n-t-aṭu aytu-ənu pə:s-əḍə
 2s-acc today hold-rlf-acp eat-irf-Sp1 say-rlf-cmp chase_{SR}-acp go_R-rlf-sg
 “Having said, ‘I’m going to catch you and eat you today’, it went chasing after him”
 (Tiger.193)

PN markers and number markers are used to make discourse contrasts between generic and episodic events. This contrast is created in interaction with the aspectual distinctions conveyed by the aspect category of the word. Thus, perfective aspect is encoded by the sequence [realis theme + subject agreement marker] and imperfective aspect is encoded by the sequence [irrealis theme + subject agreement marker]. The distinction between these two categories is used in discourse to contrast discrete events from non-discrete events, respectively.²⁴ For example, in the conversational text that I elicited, the narrator describes customs and lifestyle within his community and uses the imperfective form almost throughout the text; i.e., the habitual nature of the events is encoded through the use of the imperfective. He uses the perfective form only occasionally when he is referring to a specific action that occurred in the past and was completed in the past. But superimposed over this distinction between discrete and non-discrete, which is achieved through perfective/imperfective aspect, is a finer-grained distinction between generic events and episodic events in each aspect category, which is conveyed through the use of number markers versus PN markers. Thus, in the conversational text, the narrator tends to use number markers after the imperfective when making a general reference to a customary activity; he switches to using PN markers after the imperative when describing the individual actions involved in the customary activity. That is, the imperfective is used in both because both refer to customary activity, but number versus PN markers are contrasted to achieve further distinctions in the kind of action involved in the customary activity.

²⁴ Dahl (1995) discusses the use of tense-aspect systems to mark episodic/generic distinctions. He says that the episodic/generic distinction tends to be “naturally subsumed under the categories of tense and aspect ... it is not clear how one can treat the marking of genericity separately from a discussion of those categories” (p.413). The generic/episodic distinction in BK is conveyed partly through the use of contrasting realis and irrealis themes for perfective and imperfective aspect, but partly also by the use of contrasting subject

This is exemplified in the following extract from the conversational text I elicited, containing a description of honey-collecting (33) (each sentence in the passage is numbered with i, ii, etc, and finite verbs are shown in bold typeface). All the sentences in the passage have an imperfective finite verb, consisting of an irrealis theme plus subject agreement marker, but the subject agreement markers vary. The narrator begins his description with a generic statement about the practice of honey-collecting (33.i); this sentence has a number marker /-əgə/. He goes on to describe the various steps taken to collect honey, at which point he shifts to using PN markers /-iyo, -a/ (33.ii-iv). His use of PN markers continues throughout the honey-collecting narrative (which is not shown in full here). The narrative ends with a final sentence in which he switches to a number marker /-əḍə/ (33.v); thus, number markers are perhaps also used to mark the boundaries of discourse passages. (Note that plural markers /-əgə, -iyo/ are used through most of this passage to refer to an indefinite subject; 3rd singular is, however, occasionally used instead of impersonal subject. The dots in (28) indicate pauses within sentences; pauses between sentences are not shown.)

28) Passage from Conversational text (lines 26-39):

- i. *aḍə kuppḍya:nu ... kuppḍya:nu a:na: kəyl **po:pəgə***
 aḍə kuppḍya:nu kuppḍya:nu a:n-a kəyl-əl **po:g-pu-əgə**
 that giant.bee giant.bee 3sr-acc cut-inf **go-irf-pl**
 “Those giant bees, they go to cut (the hives) of giant bees.”
- ii. *ədl̩ḡa: ʃinni kaynni ... o:ʔəy əʃn̩ pəytu ... p̩na: ... pəytu ... i: pott̩ə kiri:gu*
*yariḡə... aḍə wandə pott̩ə kaytt̩nu ... wand a:l̩ **əriyo** ... ʃisso:ḍa.*
 ədlən-ka ʃinni kaynni o:ʔəya əḍi-t-ənu pəy-aʃu
 night-dat tin.can rope all take-rlf-acc go_{SR}-cmp

agreement markers. In encoding such distinctions, BK agreement markers contribute some aspectual meanings to a sentence.

pina pəy-aʈu i: pottə kiri:gu yarŋgə adə wandə pottə kayttu-ənu
 then go_{SR}-cmp this torch small root²⁵ that one torch tie_{SR}-acp

wandə a:lʊ ə:r-w-iyo ʈissə-oɖa
 one person **climb-irf-pl** fire-com

“In the night, having taken cans, rope and all, then having gone, then – this torch, small roots, making a torch out of those – a person climbs up with fire (i.e. the torch flame).”

iii. *ʈissoda ə:rsa:n a: i:p o:ʈəy muni:r pə:pa.*

ʈissə-oɖa ə:r-s-ani a: i:pi o:ʈəya muni:ri pə:g-pu-a
 fire-com climb-rlf-con that insect all up **go-irf-3sg**

“If one climbs up with the fire, the bees all fly upwards.”

iv. *pə:sani ... pina ʈya:niya kəjjənu ... pina kaynnəl kuni:r uylpən kodiyə.*

pə:s-ani pina ʈya:nu-iyə kəyl-j-nu
 go_R-rlf-con then hive-acc cut-rlf-acp

pina kaynni-əl kuni:ri uylpu-ənu **koɖ-w-iyo**
 then rope-lc down lower_{SR}-acp **give-irf-pl**

“When they (the bees) go, then cutting the hive, they lower it on a rope.”

[sentences omitted]

v. *ba:ʈu ... a: ʈya:n uyli ʈa:nu a pottiya kəɖsa:n əʈŋ ka:wəɖə*

ba:r-aʈu a: ʈya:nu uyli ʈa:nu a: pottə-iyə kəɖsa:l-ənu
 come-cmp that hive near itself that torch-acc extinguish-acp

əɖi-ʈ-ənu **ka:l-w-əɖə**
 take-rlf-acp **leave-irf-sg**

“Having come (down), extinguishing the torch near the hive itself, he discards it.

Perfective is used in the conversational text to refer to events which occurred specifically in the past. In this case too, the narrator uses number and PN markers to contrast generic versus episodic events. In (34), the realis theme is used to indicate

²⁵ Root or stem which twines around trees.

perfective, but the number marker is used because this is a generic statement rather than a sequential action.

- 34) *akkəra pla:nte:səni, t̪ya:kmer o:t̪əya mansən natt̪əðə*
 akkəra pla:ntesəni t̪ya:kə-meri o:t̪əya mansən naɖ-t-əðə
 that.side plantation teak-tree all human plant-rlf-sg.
 “That plantation over there, people planted the teak trees.” (Conversation.380)

In the stories, the interaction of perfective/imperfective with PN and number markers is employed for the purpose of text structuring to contrast passages with varying levels of dynamicity, such as descriptions of fast-paced dynamic episodes (“action scenes”), descriptions of the participants’ habitual lifestyle (stable situations), descriptions of the regular progression of events (passages with changing but relatively non-dynamic events). An example of perfective aspect with number markers is given in (35) – this combination is used when narrating the ordinary progression of events in a story.

35) “The seventh son’s wife” (lines 33-39):

- i. *udg̪it̪ t̪an ammənd ayna kijəgə?*
 udg̪it̪i t̪an ammən-də ayina **ki:l-j-əgə**
 y.woman 3sa.gn father-pl what do-rlf-pl
 “What did the young woman’s father do?”
- ii. *pəytu ... a:sarya kuytn bandəgə*
 pəy-aɖu a:sari-iyə kuytnu **ban-t-əgə**
 go_{SR}-cmp carpenter-acc lead.acp come-rlf-pl
 “He went and brought a carpenter.”
- iii. *a:sarya kuytn ba:ɖu ... mer̪t̪l̪ t̪ana: ... uruwə kijəgə ... a udg̪ətkə.*
 a:sari-iyə kuytnu ba:r-aɖu mer̪-t̪l̪ t̪ana uruwə
 carpenter-acc lead.acp come-cmp wood-lc itself mask

ki:l-j-əgə a udgiṭi-ka
do-rlf-pl that y.woman-dat
“Having brought a carpenter, he made a mask from wood for the young woman.”

A combination of Perfective aspect and PN marker is used for passages of heightened tension and fast-paced action. For example, one episode in “The seventh son’s wife” involves the heroine’s abduction by the villain and another involves her subsequent escape – perfective plus PN verb forms are used in both. (36) is an extract from a passage describing her escape. The first sentence describes how the guards who surrounded her prison were sleeping; this sentence has a number marker /-əgə/. The subsequent sentences describe how the heroine and her husband step over them while escaping – these sentences have PN markers /-a, -o/ in contrast to the narrator’s normal use of number markers when narrating sequential events.

36) Passage from “The seventh son’s wife” (lines 320-22):

- i. *aṭər kəri:ka ba:ṭṇaḍg ala:? ... a kawələ:ḍgə ...*
aṭər kəri:ka **ba:ḍ-t-ənaḍ-əgə** ala a kawələ-o:ḍ-əgə
3sp.gn close.by sleep-rlf-st.dur-pl tag.Q that security-practise-pl.nmr
“They were sleeping close together, no? – those guards.”
- ii. *baṭṇaḍəṇa ḍayntn ḍayntn [repetition omitted] po:pən ... o:ṭa ṭapisən **kada***
ba:ḍ-t-ənaḍ-əṇa ḍayntu-ənu ḍayntu-ənu po:g-pu-ən o:ṭa
sleep-rlf-st.dur-trn step.over_{SR}-acp rep. go-irf-syn all
ṭapisu-ənu **ka:l-ḍ-a**
escape-acp leave-rlf-3sg
“Sleeping, when they went stepping over them, they went past (escaped) all of them.”
- iii. *in wand a:l u:ḍə ... la:stl*
ina wandə a:l u:ḍə la:stə-əl
now one person exist last-lc
“There was one person now, at the end.”

- iv. *a wand a:məna ɖa:ŋʈisani ʈidə:so*
 a wandə a:mən-a ɖa:ŋʈu-s-ani ʈi:r-ɖ-ə:s-o
 that one person-acc step.over-rlf-con finish-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-3sg
 “When they stepped over that one person, it would finish.”
- v. *iɖəŋ o:ʈa ɖayntn ɖayntn po:pən ... sə:tə:so ka:le*
 iɖən-ka o:ʈa ɖayntu-ənu ɖayntu-ənu po:g-pu-ən sə:tə:s-o ka:lə-e
 3sp-dat all step.over_{SR}-accp rep. go-irf-syn tire_R-rlf-pl leg-EMPH
 “When stepping over all of them, their legs got tired.”

Imperfective aspect is used with number markers for situations of relative stability, such as habitual lifestyle. For example, there are two passages in “The seventh son’s wife” where the heroine and her husband have settled down in a place for a while, and the narrator is describing their daily actions at these places – the narrator uses imperfective aspect plus number marker for these passages, in contrast to her normal use of perfective aspect plus number marker to recount event sequences, as shown in (37).

37) “The seventh son’s wife” (lines 68-72):

- i. *ni:ra:ɖʌ po:pəg ubəru*
 ni:ra:ɖ-əl po:g-pu-əgə uburu
 bathe-inf go-irf-pl both
 “The two of them would go to bathe (in the river).”
- ii. *gəŋɖa:l ubəru ni:ra:ɖʌ po:pən ... ni:raydnu “ni pi:gəy” ... giŋɖa:lɣa puɖuʈŋ ka:wəɖə*
 gəŋɖa:lə uburu ni:ra:ɖ-əl po:g-pu-ən ni:rayr-ənu niyə
 husband both bathe-inf go-irf-syn bathe_{SR}-accp 2s.nm
 pi:gəy giŋɖa:lə-iya puɖuɖ-t-ənu ka:l-w-əɖə
 go.sg.pol.imp husband-acc send.off-rlf-accp leave-irf-sg
 “When the husband and wife would go to bathe, bathing, (saying) ‘You go!’, she would send her husband away.”

- iii. “*na bigaḍkəṇa buṗəni ni pi: ... na ni:raydn buṗən*” *andaṭu, puḍuṭṭi ka:wəḍə*
 nawə bigaḍkəṇa bu-pu-əni niyə pi nawə
 1s.nm later come_{IR-irf-Sp1} 2s.nm go.np.im 1s.nm
- ni:rayr-ənu bu-pu-əni a:n-t-aṭu puḍuḍ-t-ənu **ka:l-w-əḍə**
 bathe_{SR-acp} come_{IR-irf-Sp1} say-rlf-cmp send.off-rlf-acp leave-irf-sg
 “Having said, ‘I’ll come later. You go. I’ll bathe and come’, she would send him
 away.”

Imperfective aspect is rarely used with PN markers in the stories; when used, it resembles the historical present. Thus, the overall pattern in the stories is to use perfective and imperfective aspect to contrast descriptions of a regular progression of events from descriptions of habitual lifestyle during stable periods.²⁶ The subject agreement markers are used to contrast dynamic and less dynamic events within these descriptions.

2.3. Negation in finite clauses

Negation in finite clausal predicates is encoded by the negative suffix /-il/ or the negative verb root *il*. The negative suffix /-il/ can be attached to a realis or irrealis theme or to aspect markers /-o:ḍ, -oṭṭ/, but not to aspect marker /-ənadḍ/; the negative is in turn followed by a PN or special 1st marker to encode subject agreement, as shown in (38-9). When the negative suffix is attached directly to a realis theme or irrealis theme, the verb encodes negative perfective (38) and negative imperfective (39), respectively.

²⁶ The way in which BK employs grammatical markers to distinguish between passages of fast changing action and stable situations has an interesting parallel in Old Tamil texts: Herring (1993) argues that a contrast between past tense and nonpast tense was used in Old Tamil to distinguish foreground events from background events in a story (she claims that past and nonpast “tense” markers were used in Old Tamil to encode perfective and habitual aspect, respectively, rather than tense): Foreground events involve the sequence of events that are crucial to the plot; they are described with sentences in perfective aspect/past tense. Background events involve stable situations with ongoing states or processes; these are described with sentences in habitual aspect/nonpast tense.

38a) *nawə ayina no:ɖsəli*
 nawə ayin-a no:ɖ-s-il-i
 1s.nm what-acc look-rlf-neg-1sg
 ‘I did not see anything.’ (Elicitation.P446)

b) *nawə ayina:nu no:ɖsəlani*
 nawə ayin-a-a:nu no:ɖ-s-il-ani
 1s.nm what-acc-IND look-rlf-neg-Sp1
 ‘I did not see anything at all.’ (Elicitation.P145)

39a) *eṭ pəŋakkəna no:ɖsani, ninka puyrpəla*
 eṭ pəŋakkən-a no:ɖ-s-ani nin-ka puyri-pu-il-a
 which woman-acc look-rlf-con 2s-dat like-irf-neg-3sg
 ‘You don’t like any woman you look at.’ (Pomegranate.4)

b) *be:jikka baṭṭi bissudlo*
 be:jigi-ka baṭṭi bissi-uɖ-w-il-o
 summer-dat paddy seed-put-irf-neg-pl
 ‘They don’t (one doesn’t) sow rice in summer.’ (Elicitation.P455)

When the negative suffix is attached to the aspect markers /-o:ɖ/ and /-oṭṭ/, the verb encodes negative present progressive and past habitual, respectively:

40a) *nawə i bokkə kelto:ɖli ~ kelto:ɖlani*
 nawə i: bokki keli-t-o:ɖ-il-i/ani
 1s.nm this book read-rlf-prg-neg-1sg/Sp1
 ‘I am not reading this book.’ (Elicitation.P461)

b) *pina i udgiṭi, pin aḍəŋ atni:ri alka pəyottla ...*
 pina i: udgiṭi pina aḍən-ka atni:ri alli-ka pəy-oṭṭ-l-a
 then that y.woman then 3sr-dat afterwards there-dat go_{SR}-hab-neg-3sg
 ‘Then the young woman never went there again.’ (Tiger.262)

The negative suffix has a restriction on the subject agreements markers it can take: only PN markers and special 1st markers can be attached to this suffix. When a number marker is used in a negative construction, a periphrastic phrase consisting of

main verb plus negative auxiliary verb (with negative root *il* ‘negative’) is used, as shown in (41). The main verb is marked for subject agreement with a number marker and the negative auxiliary verb is marked for subject agreement with a PN or special 1st marker; thus, subject agreement is marked twice in such constructions.

41a) *na nəntə ayina kijəḍ ilani*
 nawə nəntə ayin-a ki:l-j-əḍə il-ani
 1s.nm yesterday what-acc do-rlf-sg neg-Sp1
 ‘I did not do anything yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P404)

b) *nawə i bokkə kelto:ḍḍ ilani*
 nawə i bokkə keli-t-ɔ:ḍ-əḍə il-ani
 1s.nm this book read-rlf-prg-sg neg-Sp1
 ‘I am not reading this book.’ (Elicitation.P461)

c) *naw in mu:ŋkəḍa pə:n koḍḍ ili makkərka*
 nawə ina mu:ŋkəḍa pi:l-ənu koḍ-w-əḍə il-i makkər-ka
 1s.nm now story tell-acc give-irf-sg neg-1sg children-dat
 ‘I don’t tell the children stories nowadays.’ (Pomegranate.437)

Evidence that the negative verb is a separate word in these constructions comes from the fact that the enclitic, /-e/ ‘emphatic’, occurs on the verb preceding auxiliary *il* ‘negative’ (42).

42) *“na ʔapiya ʔapiy” anda:ʔu yaŋkərka ʔandəge:y ila*
 nawə ʔa:r-pu-iyə ʔa:r-pu-iyə a:n-t-aʔu
 1s.nm give-irf-1sg rep. say-rlf-cmp

 yaŋgər-ka ʔan-t-əgə-e il-a
 1p.exc-dat give_R-rlf-pl-EMPH neg-3sg
 ‘‘Having said, ‘I will give, I will give’, he just hasn’t given us.’’
 (Conversation.151)

The forms in (41-2) are especially interesting because subject agreement is marked twice, thus, two verbs within a single predicate have finite verb inflection. This is one of only

three constructions in BK that apparently have two verbs with finite inflection within the same clausal predicate. The number marked verb could be a morphological/historical remnant of a nominalized verb, because number markers resemble nominalizers /-əḏə, -əgə/ in form and function. Also interesting is the fact that person is marked only once in the construction, while number is marked twice.

There is a slight difference in the manner in which irrealis themes are used in negative constructions when compared to positive constructions – in negative constructions, the irrealis theme plus negative suffix is used only for imperfective aspect, while in positive constructions, the irrealis theme plus subject agreement marker is used for imperfective aspect as well as irrealis events. Negative irrealis events (future events, hypothetical events, etc) are encoded by the use of main verb plus auxiliary negative verb, as shown in (43). Note that the emphatic clitic /-e/ attaches to the main verb and not the auxiliary verb (43c) in this construction as well.

43a) *niyə pə:sani in baxdl ilimi*
 niyə pə:s-ani ina bar-əl il-i-mi
 2s.nm go_R-rlf-con now come-inf neg-1sg-EXM
 ‘If you go now, you will not come (again).’ (7th.Son.27)

b) *ilama, na tudl ilani*
 illa-ma nawə tud-əl il-ani
 no-EXM 1s.nm fry-inf neg-Sp1
 ‘No! I will not fry it.’ (Tiger.48)

c) *“na tinley ili yan məsəna,” annḏə*
 nawə tin-əl-e il-i yan məsən-a a:n-t-əḏə
 1s.nm eat-inf-EMPH neg-1sg 1s.gn brother.in.law-acc say-rlf-sg
 ‘He (the tiger) said, ‘I will surely not eat my brother-in-law’.’ (Tiger.142)

2.4. Mood

BK has a number of inflectional mood suffixes. Some of them encode mood, person, and number agreement with the subject; some encode mood and number, but not person; some encode mood, but not person or number. No other suffix can co-occur with these suffixes in the inflectional level. In addition to inflectional mood suffixes, BK encodes mood through periphrastic phrases consisting of infinitival main verb plus auxiliary verb; these forms are described in §2.5, which deals with infinitives. Table 13 lists the various mood suffixes found in these data and the verb base to which they attach.

Table 2.13: Inflectional mood suffixes

Category	Verb base	Suffixes
a) Imperative		
i. Polite	Realis	/-agəy/ ‘singular’ /-ago/ ‘plural’
ii. Casual	Bare	/-əy/ ‘singular’ /-o/ ‘plural’
iii. Nonpolite	Realis	/-a/ ‘singular’*
b) Negative imperative	Realis	/-aʈu ~ i:tu/
c) Optative	Irrealis	/-iya/ ‘1 st plural exclusive’ /-la/ ‘3 rd singular’ /-lo/ ‘3 rd plural’
d) Hortative	Bare	/-a/ (used only for 1 st plural inclusive)
e) Possibility	(i) Bare (ii) Realis	(i) /-ki ~ -ku/ (ii) /-ani/
f) Obligative	Realis	/-əɖapəla/
g) Desiderative	Irrealis	/-əɖu/

*My examples in this mood category come from spontaneous utterances and the texts. I did not use formal elicitation methods to check for a plural form.

2.4.1. Imperative

BK has several sets of singular and plural imperative forms, which express various degrees of politeness or familiarity. The singular polite imperative has the singular form /-agəy/ and the plural form /-ago/; e.g. *ya:r̥tagəy* /ya:ri-t̥-agəy/ ‘call-polite imperative singular’ and *ya:r̥tago* /ya:ri-t̥-ago/ ‘call-polite imperative plural’. These suffixes are normally attached to the realis verb stem; however, a few roots and derivational suffixes have minor rules governing imperative suffixation: /-agəy, -ago/ are attached directly to root *ka:l̥* and lexical suffix /-a:l̥/ (final /l̥/ is deleted); e.g. *kenga:gəy* /kenga:l̥-agəy/ ‘kill-polite imperative singular’ and *kenga:go* /kenga:l̥-ago/ ‘kill-polite imperative plural’. Variants /-əy, -o/ are attached directly to t-class roots and derivational suffixes ending in /a:r̥/ (stem vowel /a:/ is shortened); e.g. *barəy* /ba:r̥-əy/ ‘come-polite imperative singular’ and *baro* /ba:r̥-o/ ‘come-polite imperative plural’, *ənarəy* /ən̥-a:r̥-əy/ ‘carry-polite imperative singular’ and *ənaro* /ən̥-a:r̥-o/ ‘carry-polite imperative plural’.²⁷ *√po:g* ‘go’ has irregular polite forms *pi:gəy, pi:go*.

The singular casual imperative has the singular form /-əy/ and the plural form /-o ~ -iyo/. In singular casual imperative, no suffix is attached to roots ending in /i/; e.g. *ya:ri* /ya:ri/ ‘call-casual imperative singular’; but /-əy/ is attached to roots ending in /u/ or a consonant; e.g. *argəy* /argu-əy/ ‘sleep-casual imperative singular’ *pə:l̥əy* /pə:l̥-əy/ ‘tell-casual imperative singular’. The plural suffix /-o/ is attached to roots ending in a consonant; e.g. *pə:l̥o* /pə:l̥-o/ ‘tell-casual imperative plural’. Roots ending in /i, u/ take /-o/ or /-iyo/; e.g. *ya:ro ~ ya:riyo* /ya:ri-o ~ -iyo/ ‘call-casual imperative plural’, *argo ~*

²⁷ A polite imperative form consisting of /-i/ attached to the irrealis theme also occurs in one of the stories; e.g. *ʔapi* /ʔa:r̥-p-i/ ‘give!’; however, I did not investigate these forms further.

argiyo /argu-o ~ -iyo/ ‘sleep-casual imperative plural’. For t-class roots and derived stems ending in /a:r/, the casual imperative is no different from the polite imperative.

The nonpolite singular imperative is /-a/, which is attached to the realis theme; e.g. *pəḍa* /pə:l-ḍ-a/ ‘tell-nonpolite imperative singular’.²⁸ √*po:g* ‘go’ has an irregular nonpolite form *pi* ~ *po*, and t-class roots ending in /a:r/ have a form that involves deletion of the final consonant and vowel-shortening; e.g. the non-polite imperative for *ba:r* ‘come’ is *ba*.

My consultant could not provide clear information about the use of these imperatives with persons of different social status, such as age, rank, etc. However, based on her responses to hypothetical contexts I sketched out and on my observation of interaction between the Betta Kurumbas, BK imperatives can be ranked in the hierarchy of politeness shown in (44). The forms at the “least polite” end of the hierarchy have the most restricted usage, while forms further up in the hierarchy can be used with a widening circle of family, friends, and acquaintances.

²⁸ These were uttered spontaneously during conversations among native speakers; further research is necessary to elicit forms for all root classes and to check for a plural form.

44) Least polite <----->	----->Most Polite				
	‘Non-polite’	‘Casual sg.’	‘Casual pl.’	‘Polite sg.’	‘Polite pl.’
‘tell’	<i>pəḍa</i>	<i>pə:ləy</i>	<i>pə:lə</i>	<i>pəḍagəy</i>	<i>pəḍago</i>
‘go’	<i>pi ~ po</i>	<i>po:gəy</i>	<i>po:go</i>	<i>pi:gəy</i>	<i>pi:go</i>
‘call’	?	<i>ya:ri</i>	<i>ya:riyo</i>	<i>ya:rṭagəy</i>	<i>ya:rṭago</i>
‘come’	<i>ba</i>	<i>barəy</i>	<i>baro</i>	<i>barəy</i>	<i>baro</i>
Addressee:					
	a child	child, family member, friend	children, family member/s, friend/s	a child, family member, friend, acquaintance	children, family member/s, friend/s, acquaintance/s

The contexts in which these forms are used are as follows:

(a) The non-polite form can be used by adults when speaking to children. Data from texts indicate that it can also be used with intimates; for example, the non-polite form is used by a wife in addressing her husband in the story, “The seventh son’s wife”:

45) “*na bigaḍkəŋa bu-pu-əni ni pi*”
 nawə bigaḍkəŋa bu-pu-əni niyə pi
 1s.nm later come_{IR}-irf-Sp1 2s.nm go.np.im
 “I’ll come later. You go.” (7th.Son.71)

(b) The two casual forms are used to indicate casualness and familiarity; they are used when addressing people with whom the speaker feels a sense of friendship and familiarity. Children do not normally use these forms to address adults, even within the family. The casual singular is used only for singular addressees, while the plural form can be used for singular and plural addressees. When the plural is used for a singular addressee, it conveys a slightly more polite tone than the singular casual.

(c) The polite forms generally convey respect and are used for politeness to address persons with whom the speaker is not very familiar. However, they can also be used with family and friends as forms that sound “nicer” than the casual forms. Children normally address adults with the polite imperatives. The singular is used for singular addressees only and the polite plural is used for singular and plural addressees. When the plural is used with singular addressees, it conveys the most respect relative to the other imperative forms.

There are in addition three imperative constructions that appear to involve verb serialization. Two of these are unusual because they show mood marking on both verbs in the construction; thus, they form a clausal predicate containing two verbs with finite inflection (similar to the negative construction described in §2.3); the third is interesting because it involves both verb serialization and verb root compounding. The examples I have were not formally elicited, but occur in the texts and in spontaneous utterances; therefore, further research is necessary to fully understand their structure and function.

In one serialized imperative construction (of which I have only 3 examples), the initial verb is marked for hortative mood and the final verb is marked for non-polite imperative mood. However, the compositional meaning of the whole construction expresses hortative mood.

- 46a) “*kəyŋgəŋ no:da ma:dəy*”, *anndə*
 kəyŋgəni no:d-a ma:d-əy a:n-t-əðə
 reflection look-hrt make-sg.np.im say-rlf-sg
 “She said, ‘Let us (try to(?)) look at our reflection’.” (Pomegranate.161)

b) *inon no:da ətəɾəy, inon pət̪tə, anndə*
 inon no:d̪-a ətəɾəy inon pət̪tə a:n-t-əd̪ə
 another look-hrt return.sg.imp another time say-rlf-sg
 “She said, ‘Let us return to look once more’.” (Pomegranate.175)

c) *“naŋ ʔa:ʔa ma:d̪əy, a maggiya”, andaʔu, pina maggiya ʔa:ʔisəgə*
 naŋgə ʔa:ʔu-a ma:d̪əy a maggi-ya
 1p.inc. raise-hrt make-sg.np.im that child

 a:n-t-aʔu pina maggi-ya ʔa:ʔu-s-əgə
 say-rlf-cmp then child-acc raise-rlf-pl
 “Having said, ‘Let us look after (raise) the child’, they looked after the child.”
 (Pomegranate.288)

In the second imperative construction, the initial verb is inflected for non-polite imperative mood, while the final verb is inflected for polite imperative mood, and the verb combination together encodes imperative mood. Further research is necessary to check if the entire combination functions as a non-polite imperative (in tune with inflection on the first verb) or polite imperative (in tune with inflection on the second verb). Note, incidentally, that in (47b), it is the second verb that shows number agreement with the subject.

47a) *səy kuɖsa barəy*
 sə:yə kuɖj-s-a ba:r-əy
 tea drink-rlf-np.im come-sg.imp
 “Come drink tea.” (Spontaneous.P333)

b) *a ra:jənoda wan ba:j kə:ʔa pi:g niŋgə:*
 a ra:jən-oda wan ba:ji kə:ʔ-t-a pi:go niŋgə
 that king-com one word ask-rlf-np.im go.pl.pol.imp 2p.pl
 “Go ask that king about it.” (7th.Son.347)

- c) *nəyra barəy*
 nəyr-a bɑ:r-əy
 look_{SR}-np.im come-sg.imp
 “Come look.” (Pomegranate.288)

The third imperative construction involves a compound verb (*argu-ba, bɑ:r-po, pɔ:g-ba*) consisting of a verb root plus imperative form of a motion verb (48). The compound itself occurs in a larger serialized construction, in which a verb inflected with a clause-chain marker precedes the compound (*bɑ:t arguba* in (48a), *bəydn bɑ:rpo* in (48b), *yergən pɔ:gba* in (48c)).²⁹

- 48a) *aɫali ɟyar bəŋgəl uŋɟi. aliyɑn bɑ:t arguba*
 aɫali ɟyari bəŋgəli uŋɟi
 over.there sahib bungalow exist
 “There is a sahib’s bungalow there.”

ali-a:nu bɑ:r-aɫu argu-ba
 there-IND come-cmp sleep-come.np.im
 “Come sleep somewhere there.” (7th.Son.362)

- b) *məyy t̪ir wan bəydn bɑ:rpo. sɑ:lwi.*
 məyyə t̪iri wan bəyr-ənu bɑ:r-po sɑ:lwi
 little.one cloth one bring_R-acp come-go.np.im shawl
 “Little one, go bring me a cloth. A shawl.” (Pomegranate.135)

- c) *yan ki:dla:n ergən pɔ:gba*
 yan ki:ri-əl-a:nu ergu-ənu pɔ:g-ba
 1s.gn house-lc-IND sleep_{SR}-acp go-come.np.im
 “Come sleep somewhere in my house.” (7th.Son.362)

The semantics of (48b, c) is especially interesting: The main verb in these sentences has a compound consisting of ‘go’ plus ‘come’ – verb that apparently

²⁹ /-ənu/ and /-aɫu/ are used on the non-final verb in BK serial verb constructions – the suffix most commonly used is /-ənu/ (described in §2.6.8).

contradict each other. But, in fact, they accurately reflect the combination of actions involved in the events the compounds refer to. In (48b), the child has to go to bring the shawl and come back with it. In (48c), the speaker invites the addressee to come to her house, but since the addressee, in doing so, would have to go towards her house, the verb encodes both the request to come and the consequent act of going – that is, the compound encodes the speaker’s point of view as well as the addressee’s point of view.

2.4.2 Negative imperative

The negative imperative suffix is /-aṭu/; it attaches to the realis theme for most verbs; however, it is attached to the last vowel of the stem among t-class stems ending in /a:r/ or the lexical suffix /-a:l/; e.g. *ba:ṭu* /ba:r-aṭu/ ‘don’t come’, *kenga:ṭu* /kenga:l-aṭu/ ‘don’t kill’. It also attaches to the last vowel of the root *i:r* ‘be’, as in *i:tu* /i:r-aṭu/ ‘don’t remain/be’ (the initial consonant in the suffix assimilates to the stem final consonant).

There is another form of the negative imperative, in which the suffix /-i:tu/ attaches to the realis theme; e.g. *ya:rṭi:tu* /ya:ri-ṭ-i:tu/ ‘don’t call’, *bandi:tu* /ban-t-i:tu/ ‘don’t come’, *kengaḍi:tu* /kenga:l-ḍ-i:tu/ ‘don’t kill’. This suffix could actually be a negative imperative form of the stative suffix /-i:r/; however further research is necessary to check if words with negative imperative /-i:tu/ include a stative meaning.

2.4.3 Optative

The optative has distinct suffixes only for the 1st person exclusive plural and the 3rd person: /iya/ ‘1st plural exclusive optative’, /-əla/ ‘3rd singular optative’, /-əlo/ ‘3rd

plural optative’. The optative is used by a speaker when expressing a choice or desire that the relevant person perform an action; as in (49).

49a) *aḏə ina ʔinəl bə:ða. bigaḏkəŋa ʔimbəla.*
 aḏə ina ʔin-əl bə:ða bigaḏkəŋa ʔin-pu-əla
 3sr.nm now eat-inf dont.want later eat-irf-opt
 “He need not eat now. Let him eat later” (Elicitation.P465)

b) *agə paŋŋu payrpəlo.*
 agə paŋŋu payri-pu-əlo
 1pr.nm fruit pluck-irf-opt
 “Let them pluck the fruit.” (Elicitation.P529)

c) *yaŋgə ina ʔimbiya. ni bigaḏkəŋa ʔindagəy*
 yaŋgə ina ʔin-pu-iyə niyə bigaḏkəŋa ʔin-t-agəy
 1p.exc.nm now eat-irf-opt 2s.nm later eat-rlf-sg.p.im
 “Let us eat now. You eat later.” (Elicitation.P465)

2.4.4. Hortative

The hortative suffix is /-a/ ‘let’s V’; it is attached to the last consonant of roots ending in a consonant or /u/ (e.g. *po:ga* ‘let’s go’ and *arga* ‘let’s sleep’ with roots *po:g* and *argu*), but can be attached to either the root-final vowel or last consonant for roots ending in /i/ (e.g. *kela* ~ *keliya* ‘let’s read’ with \sqrt{keli}). This category is used only with 1st inclusive plural subjects and expresses an exhortation to all speech act participants to perform an action.

50a) *ni ma:ʔri po:gəl bə:ða. naŋg a:l o:ʔəya po:ga.*
 niyə ma:ʔri po:g-əl bə:ða naŋgə a:l u o:ʔəya po:g-a
 2s.nm alone go-inf dont.want 1p.inc.nm person all go-hrt
 ‘You alone need not go. Let’s all go.’ (Elicitation.P464)

b) *naŋgə aḏəna bəsə:lə*
 naŋgə aḏən-a bəsə:l-a
 1p.inc.nm 3sp-acc call-hrt
 “Let’s call him.” (Elicitation.P332)

2.4.5. Possibility

There are two possibility mood forms in BK. One is encoded by the suffixes /-ki, -ku/ and other by /-ani/. The former, /-ki, -ku/, expresses possibility with the sense of permission or ability, ‘is able to V, is permitted to V’. My consultant claimed that there was no difference in meaning between verbs with either /-ki/ or /-ku/, and she used both with subjects of all person categories (51a). However, in the texts, /-ki/ occurs with 1st person subjects and /-ku/ occurs with 3rd person subjects (52).

51a) *ka:lŋ, ni po:ku/po:ki*
 ka:lŋ niyə po:g-ku/-ki
 Kaalan 2s.nm go-pbl
 “Kaalan, you may go.” (Elicitation.P405)

b) *nawə nicc aŋani, ni tŋku*
 nawə niccə aŋ-t-ani niyə tŋ-ku
 1s.nm food cook-rlf-con 2s.nm eat-pbl
 “If I cook food, you can eat.” (Elicitation.P328)

52a) *wan mur na:l o:lgi, a kiriya: pəyni tita:lku*
 wan muru na:l o:lgi a kiri-ya pəyniyi tŋr-t-a:l-ku
 some three day within that house-acc work finish-rlf-thrly-pbl
 “Work on that house can be done within about 3 days” (Conversation.132)

b) *etla:n o:ta pəyt, na kuyliyiynigijən tŋn irki*
 etli-a:nu o:ta pəy-aŋu nawə kuyliyə-pəyniyə-ki:l-j-ənu
 where-IND all go_{SR}-cmp 1s.nm manual.labor-work-do-rlf-acp

 tŋn-t-ənu i:r-ki
 eat-rlf-acp be-pbl
 “Having gone somewhere, I can work as a manual laborer and eat and live.”
 (7th.Son.122)

The second form of possibility employs the suffix /-ani/ ‘contingent possibility.’³⁰ /-ani/ is used to express possibility with a sense that the event is dependent or predicated on some other factor (which is not always made explicit in the sentence). For example, in (53a), my consultant says that getting a mat is possible only in March because, implicitly, the climate at that time is good for curing reed mats.³¹ Similarly, the statement in (53b) is predicated on the speaker’s belief that the referent is unable to do more than make small pots. (53c) explicitly states what event is necessary for the event encoded by the /-ani/ verb to occur.

53a) *iḍə ma:rsə ʔiŋgəli-ʔl i pa:yə kəḍ-s-ani*
iḍə ma:rsə ʔiŋgəli-ʔl i pa:yə kəḍ-s-ani
 3sp.nm March month-lc this mat get_R-rlf-pbl
 “This mat is available only in March.” (Conversation.82)

b) *aḍə inattəgu kuyrki ʔa:ni ki:l-j-ani*
aḍə inattəgu kuyrki ʔa:ni ki:l-j-ani
 3sr.nm this.size vessel only do-rlf-pbl
 “She can make only vessels of this size.” (Conversation.54)

c) *berḍən o:ʔa ʔitaʔ ʔa:ni, maḍəgijani*
berḍən o:ʔa ʔitaʔ ʔa:ni, maḍəgijani
 write-rlf-nmr-acc all finish-rlf-thrly-cmp ʔa:ni maḍəwə-ki:l-j-ani
 “Only after finishing her writing and all, will she marry.” (Spontaneous.P421)

2.4.6. *Obligative*

The obligative marker is /-əḍapəla/; it is used to express necessity or obligation that an action be performed (‘must V, have to V’).

³⁰ This suffix is related to the chained-clause marker /-ani/ ‘contingent event’.

³¹ Examples in this modal form occurred in the texts I transcribed or in spontaneous utterances. I did not make an attempt to get them in formal elicitation sessions; therefore, I have not checked if it occurs with 1st and 2nd person subjects.

- 54a) *ka:lŋ, ni pəyɔdapəla*
 ka:lŋ niyə pəy-əɔdapəla
 Kaalan 2s.nm go_{SR}-obg
 “Kaalan, you have to go.” (Elicitation.P405)
- b) *bəssə pəɔɔdapəla?*
 bəssə pə:l-ɔ-əɔdapəla
 loud say-rlf-obg
 “Should I speak louder?” (7th.Son.1b)
- c) *agə pastə natɔɔdapəla*
 agə pastə naɔ-t-əɔdapəla
 3p.nm first plant-rlf-obg
 “He has to plant first.” (Conversation.216)

2.4.7. Desiderative

The desiderative suffix is /-əɔdu/; it is also used to express obligation, but with less force than the obligative – it conveys the speaker’s desire to do something or get the addressee to do something.

- 55a) *ka:lŋ, ni pə:pəɔdu*
 ka:lŋ niyə pə:g-pu-əɔdu
 Kaalan 2s.nm go-irf-des
 “Kaalan, you should go.” (Elicitation.P405)
- b) *“ɔa:r magg ampunu no:ɔɔ” andaɔu*
 ɔa:r maggi ampunu no:ɔ-w-əɔdu a:n-t-aɔu
 who child quot. see-irf-des say-rlf-cmp
 “Having said, ‘I must see whose child (this is)’.” (7th.Son.11)
- c) *i ki:dl ɔan ipəɔdu. pormi pə:gəl koɔ*
 i ki:ri-əl ɔana i:r-pu-əɔdu pormi pə:g-əl koɔ
 this house-lc itself be-irf-des outside go-inf forbidden
 “You must stay in the house only. You are forbidden to go out.” (Tiger.10)

2.5. Infinitives

The infinitival suffixes /-ka, -əl, -əlayə/ are used to form infinitival complement clauses and purposive adverbial clauses.³² /-ka/ is in complementary distribution with /-əl, -əlayə/: (a) Complements of manipulative verbs have only /-ka/ while complements of non-manipulative verbs have only /-əlayə, -əl/. (b) Adverbial clauses which modify a verb have only /-ka/ if the adverbial clause subject is different from the matrix clause subject, and they have only /-əlayə, -əl/ if the adverbial clause subject has the same subject as the matrix clause. The suffixes /-əlayə, -əl/ overlap in the contexts just described, but they have certain other contexts (as subjects of clauses, adverbial modifiers of nouns, in auxiliary verb constructions, and in independent clauses) in which they do not overlap, as described below.

2.5.1. Infinitival clauses as objects

Manipulative verbs take clausal complements with /-ka/; the subject of the /-ka/ clause is assigned accusative case.

56a) *aḏəna erəw ma:pka pəḏagəy*
aḏən-a erəwi ma:ɫ-pu-ka pə:ɫ-ḏ-agəy
3sr-acc knife sharpen-irf-inf tell-rlf-sg.imp
‘Tell him to sharpen the knife.’ (Elicitation.300)

b) *yaniya ni:ra:ḏka buḏlama*
yan-iya ni:ra:ḏ-w-ka buḏ-il-a-ma
1s-acc bathe-irf-inf allow-neg-3sg-EXM
‘She does not allow me to bathe.’ (7th.Son.82)

³² The term “adverbial clause” is used in this description only for clauses that function as modifiers of a phrase.

- c) *na bomməna paŋŋu payrka ma:dŋi*
 nawə bommən-a paŋŋu payri-pu-ka ma:d-n-i
 1s-nom Bomman-acc fruit pluck-irf-inf make-pve-1sg.
 ‘I made Bomman pluck the fruit.’ (Elicitation.328)

Non-manipulative verbs take complement clauses marked with /-əl/ or /-əlayə/. Thus, (57a) has a /-əlayə/ clausal complement for *todŋgu* ~ *təyrŋg* ‘begin’ and (57b) has an /-əl/ clausal complement for the same verb. It is possible that not all verbs allow both these suffixes to be used interchangeably, but further research is necessary to investigate the issue. (57b) shows a /-əlayə/ clause as complement of the verb *gottu:də* ‘know’.

- 57a) *aḍə pa:dlayə todŋgiso*
 aḍə pa:d-əlayə todŋgu-s-o
 3sr.nm sing-inf begin-rlf-3sg.
 ‘He began to sing.’ (Elicitation.P359)

- b) *pin aliya əyra:dlayə todŋgisəḍə*
 pina ali-a əyr-a:d-əl todŋgu-s-əḍə
 then there-dlc move-inf begin-rlf-sg
 ‘Then it began to move about there.’ (Pomegranate.292)

- c) *kiri:gu kuyrki ki:ləyə gottu:də?*
 kiri:gu kuyrki ki:l-əlayə gottu-u:də
 small vessel do-inf know-exist
 ‘Do you know how to make small vessels?’ (Conversation.61)

One example of a clausal complement of a postposition occurs in these data; this example has an /-əlayi/ clause with postposition, *takəni* (58).

- 58) *kiri kartlayə takəni uŋḍo*
 kiri kartu-əlayə takəni uŋḍo
 house show-inf like exist
 ‘He seems to be showing the house.’ (Elicitation.P308)

2.5.2. Infinitival clauses as subjects

Only /-əlayə/ occurs in infinitival clauses which are subjects of sentences. In these data, /-əlayə/ clauses occur as subject complements of predicate nominals (59a) or of defective verb copulas *paḍ, il* (59b). The /-əlayə/ clause never has an overt subject in these clauses.

59a) *pullə pina po:ḍəlayə wantn piyniyə*
pullə pina po:ḍi-əlayə wantn pəyniyə
grass then thatch-inf one.day work
‘Next, it is one day’s work to thatch (the roof) with grass.’ (Conversation.106)

c) *pina bə:r bə:ḍəlay ila*
pina bəri bə:ḍ-əlayə ila
then other buy-inf neg.exist
‘Then we don’t have to buy anything else.’ (Conversation.355)

2.5.3. Purposive adverbial clauses

Infinitival adverbial clauses formed with /-əl, -əlayə, -ka/ are used in BK to encode the purpose for which an action is done. Only /-ka/ occurs in clauses that modify a verb and which have a different subject from the matrix clause:

60a) *bissiya moḷpəka nawə al utti*
bissə-acc moḷi-pu-ka nawə alli uḍ-t-i
seed-acc sprout-irf-inf 1s.nm there put-rlf-1sg
‘I kept the seed there to sprout.’ (Elicitation.P294)

b) **bissiya moḷḷayə/moḷḷ nawə al utti*
bissə-acc moḷi-əlayə/-l nawə alli uḍ-t-i
seed-acc sprout-inf 1s.nm there put-rlf-1sg
‘I kept the seed there to sprout.’ (Elicitation.P294)

Only /-əl, -əlayə/ occur in clauses that modify a verb and have the same subject as the matrix clause; the two are used interchangeably:

- 61) *nawə aḏəna ya:dlayi/ya:dl pə:səḏə*
 nawə aḏən-a ya:ri-əlayə/-əl pi:s-əḏə
 1s.nm 3sr-acc call-inf go_R-rlf-sg.
 ‘I went to call him’ (Elicitation.P293)

Although /-əlayə/ overlaps with /-əl/ in clausal modifiers of verbs, only /-əlayə/ occurs in purposive clauses which modify a noun (62).

- 62) *kuyrki ku:pisəlayə təni*
 kuyrki ku:r-pu-su-əlayə təni
 vessel sit-irf-caus-inf shelf
 ‘shelf for keeping vessels’ (Conversation.118)

2.5.4. With auxiliary verbs

There are two auxiliary verbs, *a:g* ‘be able to, be possible, be necessary’ and *il* ‘negative’, which take preceding main verbs inflected with the infinitival suffix. The function of *il* as an auxiliary verb was described in §2.3 – this verb is used to encode future tense in negative finite verb constructions. *a:g* performs modal functions as an auxiliary verb – it encodes ‘ability, possibility, necessity’ (63).

- 63a) *aḏəna ka:rə buḏl a:pəḏə*
 aḏən-a ka:rə buḏ-əl a:g-pu-əḏə
 3sr-acc car drive-inf be.able-irf-sg
 ‘He can/is able to drive a car.’ (Elicitation.P359)

- b) *i təyyə molli a:sani pijjəḏapəla*
 i təyyə molli-əl a:g-s-ani pəyl-j-əḏapəla
 this plant sprout-inf be.able-rlf-con rain-rlf-obg
 ‘It must rain for this plant to sprout.’ (Elicitation.P315)

- c) *inon naq maḍəgi:l a:pa*
 inon naqj maḍəwə-ki:l-əl a:g-pu-a
 another time marriage-do-inf be.able-irf-3sg
 “They had to marry again.” (7th.Son.478)

A construction containing an infinitival main verb followed by double auxiliary verb (infinitival form of *a:g* + negative *il*) is used to encode ‘inability, impossibility’:

- 64a) *yaŋgərək annan niŋg ipəl kira:gəl a:gəl ila*
 yaŋgər-ka a:n-t-ani niŋgə ipəli kira:g-əl a:g-əl il-a
 1p.exc-dat say-con 2p.gn with marry-inf be.able-inf neg-3sg
 “People like us cannot marry your people.” (Pomegranate.110)

- b) *yanka musska ə:l kəyr a:gəl ila*
 yan-ka musska ə:l-əl kəyri a:g-əl il-a
 1p.exc-dat up stand-inf even be.able-inf neg.-3sg
 “I haven’t even been able to stand up.” (Pomegranate.189)

2.5.5. Independent infinitival clauses

/-əl, -əlayə/ clauses occur occasionally in independent clauses with modal discourse functions (65). The /-əlayə/ clause in (65a) is an exclamatory rhetorical statement; the speaker, a tiger, asserts that it is unthinkable that he should devour his own (human) brother-in-law. In (65b), the speaker uses a /-əl/ clause when relaying one person’s request to another person. The sentence has the implicit meaning “On X’s request, you are to put tooth-coloring for him, brother!”.³³ /-əl/ is used in a similar context in (65c), where the implicit meaning is “On X’s request, we are to bring the money”.

³³ My consultant says that brown tooth-coloring is used as makeup among the BKs.

65a) *naw yan mäsəna puḍsən ʔinlaye: ... aḍ a:pələma, annḍə i piliyə*
 nawə yan mäsən-a puḍi-s-ənu ʔin-əlayə-e
 1s.nm 1s.gn brother.in.law-acc catch-rlf-acc eat-inf-EMPH
 “For me to catch and eat my brother-in-law!”

aḍə a:g-pu-il-a-ma a:n-t-əḍə i piliyə
 that happen-irf-neg-3sg-EXM say-rlf-sg. this tiger
 “That cannot happen”, said the tiger.” (Tiger.131)

b) *“innḍə niḡḡ mäsəḡ wand uḍsəlayiḡ aḡa, pallkupə”, andəḍə*
 innḍə niḡḡ mäsən-ka wandə uḍ-w-su-əlayə-iḡḡi
 today 2p.gn brother.in.law-dat some wear-irf-caus-inf-EXM

aḡḡ-a pallkupə a:n-t-əḍə
 brother-voc tooth.coloring say-rlf-sg
 “She said, ‘Today, you are to put some tooth-coloring for your brother-in-law,
 brother!’” (Tiger.239)

c) *a:n o:ʔa bəyḍnu, pina ḍuḍḍə o:ʔəy əʔḡ ba:dla:ḡḡi, a:nəḡ ...*
 a:n-a o:ʔa bəyr-ənu pina ḍuḍḍə o:ʔəya əḍi-t-ənu
 3sr-acc all bring_{SR}-acc then money all take-rlf-acc

ba:r-əl-a:ḡḡi a:n-əḡa
 come-inf-EXM say-trn
 “Saying, ‘Bringing all that, then we are to bring the money and all’ ...”
 (7th.Son.234)

2.6. Chained clauses

The clauses that were treated as adverbial clauses in the previous section are ones that function primarily as modifiers or complements of a word or sub-sentential phrase; that is, they are generally embedded within a matrix clause. BK has several other clauses that are adjoined to an entire clause. They have the characteristics of chained clauses, as described in e.g. Longacre (1985) and Payne (1997; Payne uses the term “medial clause”). Longacre (1985:264) identifies 3 typical characteristics of chained clauses:

The features which make chaining distinct from co-ranking structures ... are as follows. (a) There is a clause (characteristically final in a chain of clauses) that has a verb of distinctive structure that occurs but once in the entire chain while other (typically non-final) clauses have verbs of different structure (Elson 1964). This final clause is like an engine that pulls a string of cars. (b) Each non-final clause is marked so as to indicate in the dependent verb form of a preceding clause the person and number of the subject in the clause which is to follow ... (c) A further feature of chaining is considerable attention to temporal relations such as chronological overlap ('while', 'at the same time') versus chronological succession ('and then') which shade off into logical relations such as cause and effect, result, and so forth. Temporal relations appear to be central in these languages and are extended metaphorically in other directions.

BK employs clause chaining extensively; however, only the first and third characteristics listed by Longacre are formally marked in chained clause constructions in this language: (a) There is one verb in the entire sentence that is marked for tense and subject agreement; this verb typically occurs in the final clause and marks the end of the sentence. The verbs in the other clauses are not marked for these categories and they are typically non-final clauses. (b) The verb in each chained clause is marked with a suffix that indicates the temporal or logical relation that its clause bears to a following clause (either another non-final clause in the same chain or the final clause).

The second characteristic in Longacre's list, morphologically marked cross-referencing between subjects of successive clauses, is not a formal distinguishing characteristic of clause chaining in BK. Same versus different subject relations are indicated in this language through the use of null versus overt subject NPs, and this type of cross-referencing is part of a more general pattern of text cohesion in BK that applies across sentences as well as clauses; it is not used uniquely to mark clausal relations within a chain. Note that a series of clauses within the same chain can have same or

different subjects in BK; however, the subject can be omitted even when consecutive subjects differ in their referents.³⁴

In BK, inflectional marking on the verb in a chained clause consists of a suffix that encodes temporal or logical relations between the clause and one of its following clauses. The non-final verb in the chain can contain aspect markers, but not mood or subject agreement markers. Table 14 lists the suffixes used to mark clause relations in chained clause constructions, the verb base to which each suffix attaches, and the relation it encodes. §§2.6.1-7 describes the functions of each of these suffixes; clause-chain markers are also used in serialized verb constructions in BK; these are described in §2.6.8.

Table 2.14: Relation markers in chained clauses

Suffix	Verb base	Relation that the suffix encodes
/-ən/	Irealis	Synchrony ‘at the time’ – an event which overlaps partially with an event in a following clause.
/-gutnu/	Bare	Anticipation ‘until/by the time’ – an event, until or by the time of which, another event takes place.
/-aɬu/	Realis*	Prior completion ‘having V-ed’ – an event which was completed before the event in a following clause.
/-əŋa/	Realis	Transition ‘upon, following which’ – an event which led to the occurrence of an event in a following clause
/-ani/	Realis	Contingency ‘if/when/since’ – an event on whose occurrence the following event depends (includes conditional clauses).
/-ənu/	Realis*	Accompaniment ‘V _i -ing (together with V _j)’ – an event which accompanies an event in a following clause (the events are part of a composite whole).
/-i/	Realis	Durative accompaniment ‘keep on V _i -ing (together with V _j)’ – a continuing or repetitive action which accompanies the event in a following clause.

*Except for some verbs ending in /a:r, l/, for which it attaches to the plain stem.

³⁴ The question of when subject shifts are marked by an explicit subject to indicate new reference and when they are not is an interesting issue involving assumptions that the speaker makes about listener-knowledge. A detailed description of this issue is, however, beyond the scope of this grammar.

2.6.1. Synchronous event /-ən/

/-ən/ is used when the event in a chained clause overlaps with an event in the following clause. Punctiliary temporal overlap (‘at the time of’), involving overlap for about a moment in time, is encoded by attaching /-ən/ directly to the irrealis verb stem (66). (In the examples that follow, the verb with a relevant clause-chain marker is shown in bold typeface.)

66a) *all no:qŋ, wandə: wandə ra:jəŋa: wan magə|ə*
 alli **no:q-w-ən** wandə-e wandə ra:jən-ka wan magə|ə
 there look-irf-syn one-EMPH one king-dat one daughter
 “When checking there, there was one king who had a daughter.” (7th.Son.9)

b) *i: si:gur re:njəl pəyni **kijjottŋ**, kaydd po:pədaŋ pəyriy o:ga batt o:ta beggən*
beggən po:pəda ...
 i si:gurə re:nj-əl pəyniyə **kil-j-ott-ən**
 this Sigur range-lc work do-rlf-hab-syn
 “When he used to work in Sigur Range,”

kayddi po:g-pu-əda-əŋgi pəyriyə o:ga batti o:ta beggu-ənu
 bear go-irf-nmr-like bush inside path all crawl_{SR}-acp

beggu-ənu po:g-pu-əda
 rep. go-irf-sg
 “like a bear, he would go crawling into the bushes, on the path, and all.”
 (Conversation.616)

c) *wan na:rəs **a:pən**, tan amməndə bandəgə*
 wan na:rəsi **a:g-pu-ən** tan ammən-tə ban-t-əgə
 one week happen-irf-syn 3sa.gn father-pl come_R-rlf-pl
 “When one week passed, her father came.” (7th.Son.452)

Longer periods of overlap (‘while’) is encoded by attaching /-ən/ to a stem formed with stative suffix /-i:r/:

67a) *ergipən, pina i udgiti maṇḍl pya:n niyriḍḍə*
erg-ir-pu-ən pina i udgiti maṇḍi-əl pya:nu nəyr-ir-ḍ-əḍə
 sleep_{SR}-stat-irf-syn then this y.woman head-lc louse look_{SR}-stat-rlf-
sg.
 “While he was sleeping, this woman was looking for lice on his head.”
(Pomegranate.140)

b) *a:ŋ tan koṇḍayripən, tan amməndə bandəgə*
 a:ŋgi tana **koṇḍayr-ir-pu-ən** tan ammən-tə ban-t-əgə
 thus emph behave_{SR}-stat-irf-syn 3sa.gn father-pl come-rlf-pl
 “While they were behaving thus, his father came.”
(7th.Son.445)

2.6.2. Anticipated event /-gutnu/

/-gutnu/ (‘until, during, by the time of’) is used to mark an event by the occurrence of which another event takes place:³⁵

68a) *ka:p omaṭŋu, pəŋŋa koḍgutnu ... ta wand arḍa kuttisəḍə*
 ka:pī omaḍ-t-iəu pəŋŋ-ka **koḍ-gutnu** tawə wandə arḍa
 kuttu-s-əḍə
 coffee boil-rlf-acp wife-dat give-until 3sa.nm about half stitch-rlf-
sg
 “By the time he had boiled coffee and given it to his wife, she stitched about half
 (of an amulet).”
(7th.Son.137)

b) *ni bya:ŋlə:rəŋa pəytu bar:gutnu, kikki piṇḍənu ti:pəni na*
 niyə bya:ŋlə:rə-əŋa pəy-aṭu **bar-gutnu**
 2s.nm bangalore-dat go_{SR}-cmp come-until

 kikki pəŋi-ḍ-ənu ti:l-pu-əni nawə
 basket weave-rlf-acp keep-irf-Sp1 1s.nm
 “By the time you go to Bangalore and return, I will weave a basket and keep.”
(Conversation.95)

³⁵ /-gutnu/ is related to the postposition *gutnu* ‘until, upto’ which occurs after nouns. It must be treated as a suffix after verbs because it occurs immediately after verb roots, which frequently end in segments that are not permissible word-final segments in BK

c) *ina kəyri paljəḏələma. pin a:ɣam ku:nə:dḏə nawə, ə:lɡutnu*

ina kəyri paljə:l-ḏ-il-a-ma
 now even awaken-rlf-neg-3sg-EXM
 “He has not awakened even now!”

pina a:n-ka-ma ku:n-o:ḏ-əḏə nawə ə:l-ɡutnu
 then 3sr-dat-EXM sit-prg-sg 1s.nm wake-until
 “That is why I am sitting – until he wakes up.”

(Pomgranate.151)

2.6.3. Prior completed event /-aʦu/

/-aʦu/ is used to mark an event that was completed before the occurrence of the event in a following clause:³⁶

69a) *yan ammənd ipəl pəyʦu, kə:ʦaʦu, na bupiya*

yan ammən-tə ipəli pəy-aʦu kə:l-t-aʦu nawə bu-pu-iya
 1s.gn father-pl near go_R-cmp ask-rlf-cmp 1s.nm come-IR-irf-
1sg

“Having gone to my father, having asked, I will come.” (7th.Son.22)

b) *berḏən o:ʦa ʦita:ʦ ta:ni, maḏəgijani*

beri-ḏ-ən-a o:ʦa ʦi:r-t-a:l-ʦu ʦa:ni maḏəwə-ki:l-j-ani
 write-rlf-nmr-acc all finish-rlf-thrly-cmp emph marriage-do-rlf-
pbl

“Only after finishing her writing and all, will she marry.” (Spontaneous.P421)

This suffix occurs very frequently in clause chaining, especially in long chains that describe an ordered succession of many events. For example, (70) is taken from a passage in the conversational text where my consultant gave me a recipe for a curry made with fish and Indian gooseberry.³⁷ The entire recipe is presented in one sentence, with a series of chained clauses marked mainly with /-aʦu/.

³⁶ Some focus markers (*itu*, *baʦu*) are derivatives of verb root plus /-aʦu/; they are discussed in Chapter 5.

³⁷ The botanical name for this fruit is *Phyllanthus emblica* or, alternatively, *Embllica officinalis* (Emeneau 1997).

- 70) *mi:n bəydn **ba:tu**, makka:y **yartatu**, makka:yə, koṅnbissə, ji:rgi, bolli:li o:t̥iy ut̥n **yartatu**, pina **yartatu**, mi:n keṭa:n ət̥n **ba:tu**, pina kayndut̥n̥u, pina nilgayə mind̥ay **attatu**, pina puyliy o:t̥ay, makkaypəri: o:t̥ay **kelkatu**, pina nilgayə al kelkənu, nala **kurgisatu**, nalla: kurgisani, mi:n udgə*

mi:nu bəyr-ənu **bar-aṭu**, makka:yə **yari-t-aṭu**
 fish bring_{SR}-acp come-cmp chilly grind-rlf-cmp
 “Having brought the fish, having ground the chilly”

makka:yə koṅnbissə ji:rgi bolli:li o:t̥iya ud-t-ənu **yari-t-aṭu**
 chilly coriander.seed cumin.seed garlic all put-rlf-acp grind-rlf-cmp
 “having ground together the chilly, coriander seed, cumin seed, garlic, and all,”

mi:nu keli-t-a:|-ənu əd̥i-t-ənu **bar-aṭu**
 fish wash-rlf-thrly-acp take-rlf-acp come-cmp
 “having washed the fish and brought it,”

pina kayndu-ud-t-ənu,
 then mince_{SR}-leave-rlf-acp
 “then cutting it,”

pina nilgayə mind̥aya **ad-t-aṭu**
 then gooseberry earlier cook-rlf-cmp
 “then having cooked the Indian gooseberry earlier,”

pina puyliyə o:t̥aya makkayə-pəriyə o:t̥aya **kelku-aṭu**
 then tamarind all chilly-powder all mix_{SR}-cmp
 “then having mixed in tamarind and chilly powder and all,”

pina nilgayə alli kelku-ənu nala **kurgu-w-su-aṭu**
 then gooseberry there mix_{SR}-acp nicely boil-irf-caus-cmp
 “then mixing in the gooseberry, having boiled it well,”

nala kurgu-s-ani mi:nu ud-w-əgə
 nicely boil-rlf-con fish put-irf-pl
 “When it is has cooked well, the fish is put.”

(Convers.1)

2.6.4. Transitional event /-əŋa/

/-əŋa/ is used to encode a progression of events; it is similar to /-aʈu/ in indicating temporal succession, but does not convey the sense of completion that /-aʈu/ does:

- 71a) *nawə ka:l̩ŋa no:ɖsəŋa, oɖəna:ya aɖəna kaŋŋu-puɖi-s-i.*
 nawə ka:l̩ŋ-a **no:ɖ-s-əŋa** oɖəna:ya aɖən-a kaŋŋu-puɖi-s-i
 1s.nm Kaalan-acc see-rlf-trn immediately 3sr-acc eye-hold-rlf-1sg
 “I recognized Kaalan as soon as I saw him. (lit: On seeing Kaalan, I recognized him immediately)” (Elicitation.P407)
- b) *nawə ʈa:l̩ parsuʈŋ kaɖəŋa, kuyrki oɖɖə:səla*
 nawə ʈa:l̩ par-s-ud-t-ənu **ka:l̩-ɖ-əŋa** kuyrki oɖi-ɖ-ə:-s-il-a
 1s.nm ground drop-rlf-leave-acc leave-rlf-tr vessel break-rlf-thrly_R-neg-
3sg
 “Upon my dropping it, the pot didn’t break.” (Elicitation.P445)

/-əŋa/ is used very frequently in stories, primarily for the discourse function of connecting the thread of events in a story, by indicating that one event led to another event happening (without necessarily implying a causal relation between these events). This suffix occurs only occasionally (4 times) in the conversational text. /-əŋa/-clauses in stories usually recapitulate information presented in a preceding sentence and, therefore, they tend to occur sentence initially, as in (72).

72a) Sentences from “The seventh son’s wife” (lines 2-4):

- i. *wan ra:jəŋ ə:l̩ a:l̩ makkəl, a:r a:l̩ maɖəgijəgə.*
 wan ra:jən-ka ə:l̩ a:l̩ makkə-əl a:ru a:l̩ maɖəwə-ki:l-j-əgə
 one king-dat seven person children-lc six person marriage-do-rlf-pl
 “Of a king’s seven children, 6 had married.”
- ii. *a:r a:l̩ maɖəgijəŋa, wand a:məŋa, piŋakkən no:ɖsani, a pəŋakkən:: puyrpəla*
 a:ru a:l̩ **maɖəwə-ki:l-j-əŋa**
 six person marriage-do-rlf-trn
 “Six being married,”

wan a:mən-ka pəŋakkən no:d-s-ani a pəŋakkən puyri-pu-il-a
 one person-dat woman look-rlf-con that woman like-irf-neg-3sg
 “one, if he looked at women, would not like any woman.” (7th.Son.2)

b) Sentences from “The seventh son’s wife” (lines 307-310):

i. *agə ergo:dgə battla paḍikattl o:təy akkər uṭka gutnu.*

agə erg-o:d-əgə batti-əla paḍikatti-əl o:təya akkəra
 3sr.nm sleep_{SR}-prg-pl path-dlc step-lc all that.side

uṭka gutnu

above until

“They were sleeping along the path, on the steps and all, that side and up to the top”

ii. *ergo:dəŋa, aṭədna ḍayntn ... ḍayntnu pə:so pəŋŋ ipka*

ergu-o:d-əŋa aṭər-na ḍayntu-ənu ḍayntu-ənu pə:s-o
 sleep_{SR}-prg-trn 3sr-acc step.over_{SR}-acp rep. go-rlf-3sg

pəŋŋ ipka

wife near

“On their sleeping, he went stepping over them towards his wife.”

/-əŋa/ is used less often in clauses that convey new information – in this case it can occur in an initial or middle clause in a chain:

73) *“tannaḍ idə ta:nu” andaṭu, pəŋŋ ipəl kottəŋa, “siri:m” andaṭu, ubur pə:səgə.*

ṭan-t-ənaḍ-a idə-e ta:nu a:n-t-aṭu
 give_R-rlf-prf-3sg 3sp.nm-EMPH only say-rlf-cmp
 “Having said, ‘They have given only this (much)’,”

pəŋŋ ipəli **koḍ-t-əŋa** siri:mi a:n-t-aṭu uburu pə:s-əgə
 wife with give-rlf-trn okay-EXM say-rlf-cmp both go_R-rlf-pl

“upon giving it to his wife, having said, ‘Okay!’, the two of them went.”

(7th.Son.151)

2.6.5. Contingent event /-ani/

/-ani/ is used to indicate that the event in a following clause is contingent upon the event in the /-ani/-clause. One type of clause that involves contingency relations are conditional “if ... then ...” clauses, such as (74):

74a) *ḍappu ki:rk a:sani, ədd na:l a:pa*
 ḍappu ki:ri-ka a:g-s-ani əddu na:lʉ a:g-pu-a
 big house-dat happen-rlf-con two day happen-irf-3sg
 “If it is for a big house, it will take 2 weeks.” (Convers.108)

b) *poḍəl paṭṭani, su:ḍ paṭṭani, poḍəl a:gəl ila*
 poḍi-əl paḍ-t-ani su:ḍə paḍ-t-ani
 thatch-inf exist-rlf-con heat exist-rlf-con

 poḍi-əl a:g-əl il-a
 thatch-inf happen-inf neg.-3sg.
 “If (we) have to thatch the roof, if it is hot/sunny, it is not possible to thatch the roof.” (Convers.137)

Another type of clause that involves contingent relations are ‘when ... then’ clauses, in which the event in the following clause occurs as a consequence of the event in the /-ani/ clause, as in (75).

75a) *kindl ma:ḍsani, iḍəḡa mo:r ila.*
 kindl ma:ḍ-s-ani iḍən-ka mo:rə ila
 ridicule make-rlf-con 3sp-dat face neg.exist
 “When they ridiculed her, this one lost face.”

ki:dl ipiḍery ila
 ki:ri-əl i:r-pu-əḍə-e il-a
 house-lc be-irf-sg.-EMPH neg-3sg
 “She just could not stay in the house.” (7th.Son.63)

- b) *pina nilgayə al kelkənu, nala: kurgisaʦu, nala: kurgisani, mi:n udgə*
 pina nilgayə allı kelku-ənu nala kurgu-w-su-aʦu
 then Indian.gooseberry there mix_{SR}-acp nicely boil-irf-caus-cmp
 “Then mixing the gooseberry in, having boiled it well,”

nala **kurgu-s-ani** mi:nu uq-w-əgə
 nicely boil-rlf-con fish put-irf-pl
 “When it is nicely cooked, they add the fish.” (Convers.1)

Note that /-ən/ and /-ani/ can both be used to encode the time relation “when ... then ...”; however, the example in (76) illustrates the difference in the two relations. This sentence is taken from the story, “The Seventh son’s wife”. The heroine, in the first part of the story, must wear a mask to hide her true self from the other participants. When she and her husband go to the river to bathe, she always waits for him to finish and leave before taking off her mask and starting her bath. The use of /-ani/ in this sentence indicates that her bathing was contingent on him having left and gone. If /-ən/ was used instead, it would imply a different time relation of overlap between the time of his leaving and her bathing (“When/As he left, she would bathe”).

- 76) *pin idə ni:raydn əʦn ka:ʦ po:pədə kirka ...*
 pina idə ni:rayr-ənu ədʒi-ʦ-ənu ka:ʦ-aʦu po:g-pu-ədə kiri-ka
 then 3sp.nm bathe_{SR}-acp take-rlf-acp leave-rlf-cmp go-irf-sg house-dat

“Then this one (the husband) would bathe and leave and go home.”

əʦn ka:ʦ pi:sani ... idə ni:ra:d
 ədʒi-ʦ-ənu ka:ʦ-aʦu **pi:s-ani** idə ni:ra:d-w-a
 take-rlf-acp leave-cmp go-rlf-con 3sp.nm bathe-irf-3sg.
 “When he had left, this one (the wife) would bathe.” (7th.Son.73)

2.6.6. Accompanying event /-ənu/

The suffix /-ənu/ is used on the verb in a chained clause to indicate that the chained clause event accompanies an event in the following clause:

77) “*naŋ manəsəl e:ndi kastə wo:ʔa*” *nyantən nyantən nyantən nyantənu*, *anndə a:nə kuttisəḍə*.

naŋgə manəsə-əl e:ndi kastə o:ʔa **nyani-ṭ-ənu nyani-ṭ-ənu**
 1p.inc.gn life-lc what difficulty all think-rlf-acp (repetition)
 “Thinking and thinking, ‘What hardships we have in our lives’,

anndə a:n-a kuttu-s-əḍə
 that.day 3sr-acc stitch-rlf-sg.
 “that day she stitched it.”

(7th.Son.201)

Since /-ənu/ encodes accompanying action, it is also used very frequently in serial verb constructions (described further in §2.6.8).³⁸ The difference between serial verb constructions and chained clauses with /-ənu/ is that the former show greater semantic and syntactic cohesion between the various verbs involved, such that the two verbs in a serial construction must be treated as part of a single clausal predicate; in contrast, verbs in chained clause constructions belong to different clausal predicates. For the purposes of this description, the following syntactic features are used to identify chained clauses with /-ənu/ and distinguish them from serial verb constructions involving /-ənu/ marked verbs.

(a) Different subject: If the subject of the /-ənu/ verb and that of the relevant following verb each have different subjects, the two verbs belong to separate clauses and are not serialized constructions. Thus, in (78a) the first verb *maydnu* ‘doing’ has *gəḥḍa:l*

³⁸ My use of the term “serial verb” or “verb serialization” differs from Steever’s (1988) use of the term. Steever reserves this term for constructions containing more than one verb marked for finite inflection, while he uses “compound verb” for constructions with only one finite verb. I use “serial” to refer to sequences of finite as well as non-finite verbs that belong to a single clausal predicate.

as the subject, and the second verb *po:pən* ‘when going’ has *uburu* as the subject (relevant chained clause and following clause verbs are shown in bold). In (78b) the first verb *ṭapisənu* ‘doing’ has *ra:jən* as the subject, and the second verb *ila* ‘didn’t exist’ has *ḍa:rə* as the subject

78a) *gəṇḍa:l pəṇṇa saməḍa:n maydnu uburu po:pən ...*
 gəṇḍa:lə pəṇṇ-a saməḍa:ni mayr-ənu uburu po:g-p-ən
 husband wife-acc calm make_{SR}-acp both go-rlf-syn
 “The husband calming the wife, when both of them went ...” (7th.Son.247)

b) *a:ṇa bəyri a ra:jən bəṇḡəli ṭapisən ... alli ḍa:r ila*
 a:n-ka bəyri a ra:jən bəṇḡəli ṭapisu-ənu
 3sr-dat because that king house leave.from-acp

 alli ḍa:rə ila
 there who.nm neg.exist
 “The king leaving the house because of that, there was no one there.” (7th.Son.359)

(b) Clauses intervene between the two verbs, indicating that the verbs are not part of a serialized construction. In (79), the two verbs and their verb phrases are separated by the clause *gəṇḍa:l nissye:kər a:gutnu* ‘by the time the husband cooked rice and curry’.

79) *ka:p o:ṭa kuḍsənu, gəṇḍa:l nissye:kər a:gutnu, wan patt kuttisəḍə*
 ka:pi wo:ṭa kuḍi-s-ənu gəṇḍa:lə nissə-ye:kəri a:g-gutnu
 coffee all drink-rlf-acp husband rice-curry make-until

 wan pattə kuttu-s-əḍə
 one amulet stitch-rlf-sg
 “(She) drinking the coffee, by the time the husband made rice and curry, she stitched one amulet.” (7th.Son.180)

(c) The two verbs are separated by phrases that are not internal to the verb phrase, thus indicating that the verbs are not part of the same predicate. For example, in (80),

inndə ‘today’ and *wand ədləŋ* ‘one night’ intervene between *maydnu* and *na:waʃsim* indicating that this sentence has two different predicates.

- 80) *yaŋgə e:nan maydnu, inndə wand ədləŋ na:waʃsim*
 yaŋgə e:nan mayr-ənu inndə wandə ədləŋa na:waʃi-s-iyə-mu
 1p.exc.nm whatever do_{SR}-acp today one night end.night-rlf-3pl-
 EXM
 “Whatever we do, let us spend one night here today.” (7th.Son.122)

2.6.7. Durative accompaniment /-i/

A second suffix that encodes accompanying action is /-i/ ‘durative accompaniment’. This suffix functions like /-ənu/ in that it encodes actions that are part of a composite event; however, verbs marked with /-i/ involve continuing or repeated action:

- 81a) *a:ŋtaŋ koŋdayri koŋdayri ... mur erj gutnu a:ŋ koŋda:dəsəgə*
 a:ŋgi ʔana koŋdayr-i koŋdayr-i mu:ru erji gutnu a:ŋgi koŋda:d-s-əgə
 thus emph behave_{SR}-acp (rep.) three year until thus behave-rlf-pl
 “Carrying on like that, they did that for up to three years.” (7th.Son.80)

- b) *maʃa pəjji pəjji ki:r o:ʃa pə:sə*
 maʃa pəyl-j-i pəyl-j-i ki:ri o:ʃa pə:s-o
 rain rain-rlf-acp (rep.) house all go_R-rlf-3sg.
 “It rained and rained and the house got destroyed.” (Elicitation.P315)

- c) *a bya:g potti potti maŋdi nonða*
 a bya:gə por-i-t-i por-i-t-i maŋdi non-ɖ-a
 that bag carry-rlf-acp (rep.) head pain_R-rlf-3sg.
 “My head pained from carrying and carrying that bag.” (Elicitation.P316)

In the following examples, /-i/ is used on a clause which describes the background in which the action in the following clause is performed:

82a) *a: ʔo:lə aḏe: ma:ḏri, pott̩ buḏo:pəlka nəyri, u: biriyə nəyḏnu, wan kirisənd əṭṅ baʔtu ...*

a ʔo:lə aḏə-e ma:ḏri
 that skin 3sr.nm-EMPH like
 “The same with that bark (of tree)”

pott̩ə bu:l-ḏ-o:g-pu-li-ka nəyr-i u biriyə nəyr-ənu
 sun fall-rlf-thrly-irf-lc-dat look_R-acp that side look_{SR}-acp
 “facing the west, looking for it on that side,”

wan kiri-səndə əḏj-t-ənu ba:r-aʔu
 one small-nmr take-rlf-acp come-cmp
 “having brought a small piece ...”

(Conversation.769)

b) *pina pəḏsi surka surka nissə aṭṭəḏə*

pina pəḏsu-i surka surka nissə aḏ-t-əḏə
 then frighten-acp quickly (rep.) food cook-rlf-3sg.
 “Then, getting frightened, she quickly cooked food.”

(Tiger.54)

2.6.8 Serialized verbs with clause-chain markers

In serial constructions, two or more verbs are combined in a single clausal predicate, such that the verbs together encode a complex composite event (see e.g. Lefebvre 1991 for a discussion of serial verbs). Constructions of this type are used very frequently in BK. Serial verb constructions in this language are characterized by a final verb which has finite or non-finite verb inflection depending on the function of the clause, and preceding verbs which are inflected with a clause-chain marker (except for the mood forms discussed in §1.4.1, in which both verbs showed finite verb inflection). Thus, in (83), there are two serialized constructions. In the first one, *uylpən kodiyo*, the initial verb is marked with /-ənu/ to indicate serialization and the second verb is marked with finite verb inflection. In the second serial construction, *uylpən kottani*, the initial

verb is again marked with /-ənu/ to indicate serialization and the final verb is marked with a clause-chain marker to indicate the clause's role in the sentence.

83) Passage from conversational text (lines 30-32):

- i. *pina tya:niya kəjjənu, pina kaynnəl kuni:r uylpən kođiyə.*
 pina tya:nu-iya kəyl-j-ənu pina kaynni-əl kuni:ri uylpu-ənu kođ-w-iyə
 then hive-acc cut-rlf-acc then rope-lc below descend-sr-acc give-irf-pl
 “Then cutting the beehive, he lowers it on a rope.”
- ii. *uylpən kođtani, a: ta:li ipmansən a:ŋtan puyrpa.*
 uylpu-ənu kođ-t-ani a ta:li i:r-pu-mansən a:ŋtana puyri-pu-a
 lower-sr-acc give-rlf-con that ground be-irf-person like.that hold-ir-irf-3sg
 “When he lowers it, that person on the ground catches hold of it.”

The clause-chain marker used most often for verb serialization is /-ənu/ ‘accompanying event’, but there are some sentences with other clause-chain markers which also appear to be serial constructions.

One typical diagnostic of verb serialization is scope of negation (see e.g. Hale’s 1991 description of serial verbs in Misumalpan); the example in (84a) shows that the scope of the negative extends over the entire verb sequence. A near synonymous non-serialized example is given in (84b) for comparison; the verb root in this sentence is identical to the first verb root in (84a).

- 84a) *nawə kađi pə:n ʔandli*
 nawə kađi pə:l-ənu ʔan-t-il-i
 1s.nm story tell-acc give-r-rlf-neg-1sg.
 “I didn’t tell you the story” (Elicitation.P451)

- b) *nawə kaḍi pəḍili*
 nawə kaḍi pə:l-d-il-i
 1s.nm story tell-rlf-neg-1sg.
 “I didn’t tell the story” (Elicitation.P451)

The sentence in (85a) also shows that the scope of negation extends over the entire verb sequence; compare this sentence to the synonymous one in (85b). This pair of sentences is interesting because both have a form of the verb *po:g* in them. They differ in that the first example has a periphrastic phrase with serial verbs, of which the second verb is *po:g* ‘go’ (in its regular realis theme alternant *pə:*), while the second example has a verb stem containing lexical suffix /-o:g/ in its regular realis theme alternant /-ə:/-. The lexical suffix is itself derived from the root *po:g*; thus, older serial verb constructions in the language must have led to grammaticalization of the final verb into a lexical suffix (see §3 for a description of lexical suffixes in BK).

- 85a) *inndə nawə bokkə isko:lka əṅ pə:sili*
 inndə nawə bokkə isko:lə-ka əḍi-t-ənu pə:-s-il-i
 today 1s.nm book school-dat take-rlf-acp go_R-rlf-neg-1sg.
 “I didn’t take the book to school today” (Elicitation.P451)

- b) *inndə nawə bokkə isko:lka əṅə:sili*
 inndə nawə bokkə isko:lə-ka əṅ-ə:-s-il-i
 today 1s.nm book school-dat take-thrly_R-rlf-neg-1sg.
 “I didn’t take the book to school today” (Elicitation.P451)

The examples in (86) show clause-chain markers other than /-ənu/ occurring in verb sequences that appear to be serialized verbs. In (86a), *kuyna:t kottani* has /-aṭu/ on the initial verb and in (86b), *nerki ba:tṅiddə* has /-i/ on the initial verb.

86a) *pina maḡən ba:ṭu, pina e:ndu piṅakkəna kuyna:ṭ koṭṭani bə:d ambəḡə*
 pina maḡənu ba:r-aṭu pina e:ndu pəṅakkən-a kuyna:r-aṭu
 then son come-cmp then which woman-acc marry-cmp

koḡ-t-ani bə:də a:n-pu-əḡə
 give-rlf-con dont.want say-irf-sg
 “Then the son, then he would say “Don’t want” for any woman who was given to
 him for marriage.” (7th.Son.224)

b) *anndə numbəḡka ba:ṭnu, nerki ba:ṭi iḡḡə, buṗənaka*
 anndə numbəḡ-ka ba:d-t-ənu nerku-i ba:d-t-ənu
 that.day fever-dat lie.down-rlf-acp moan-acp lie.down-rlf-acp

i:r-ḡ-əḡə bu-pu-ən-aka
 be-rlf-sg come-ir-syn-time
 “That day, lying down with fever, she lay moaning when he returned.”
 (7th.Son.234)

Verb serialization with /-ənu/ is highly productive in BK and is constrained only by the semantic properties of the verbs involved. Some verbs occur together quite frequently in a serial combination; some frequent combinations are listed in (87).

87) *aṭṭnu ṭeri* ‘cook and serve’ with √*aḡ* ‘cook’, √*ṭeri* ‘serve’
aytnu kuḡa:l ‘chase off’ with √*aytu* ‘chase’, √*kuḡ-a:l* ‘chase’
pə:nu ta:r ‘tell, advice’ with √*pə:l* ‘tell’, √*ta:r* ‘give’
pə:nu koḡ ‘tell, advice’ with √*pə:l* ‘tell’, √*koḡ* ‘give’
ka:ytṅu koḡ ‘show’ with √*ka:ytṅu* ‘show’, √*koḡ* ‘give’
maḡəḡijinu koḡ ‘give in marriage’ with √*maḡəwə-ki:l* ‘marry’, √*koḡ* ‘give’

One verb root *kuyt* (?) ‘lead’ occurs only in its serialized form; it is used with verbs of motion; e.g. *kuytnu ba:r* ‘bring s.o.’, *kuytnu po:g* ‘take s.o.’, *kuytnu əṭarəy* ‘return with

s.o.’.³⁹ One serialized construction in these data, *ət̪nu ka:l/* /əɖi-t̪-nu ka:l/ (‘take-rlf-acp leave’) is a frozen phrase with the composite meaning ‘leave (a place), discard s.t.’.

Some serial constructions have given rise to auxiliary verbs:⁴⁰ *ka:l/* ‘leave, let go’ occurs only as an auxiliary verb in serialized constructions. It adds a sense of finality or thoroughness to the verb sequence (similar to the function of prepositions in English phrases such as “went off, poured out, cut down”):

87a) *aḍ ḍo:bi əŋəytu kengəḍəgə. ̣tarsenn kaḍəgə*
aḍə ḍo:bi əŋəy-aṭu kengə:l-ḍ-əgə
 3sr.nm washerman take-cmp kill-rlf-sg
 “They took the washerman and killed him.

ṭari-s-endu-ənu ka:l-ḍ-əgə
 cut-rlf-kill_{sr}-acp leave-rlf-pl
 “They killed him off.”

(7th.Son.414)

b) *pina ko:lḍənu na:rsani, erjən ka:ya. əṭn ka:ya.*
pina ko:lḍ-ənu na:r-s-ani eri-j-ənu ka:l-w-iyə
 then spoil-rlf-acp smell-rlf-con throw-rlf-acp leave-irf-1pl
 “Then if it is spoilt and smelling, we throw it away.”

əɖi-t̪-ənu ka:l-w-iyə
 take-rlf-acp leave-irf-1pl
 “We discard it.”

(Conversation.399)

Three other verbs, *i:r* ‘be’, *koḍ* ‘give’, and *ṭa:r* ‘give’, frequently perform grammaticalized functions when they occur as the final verb in a serial sequence. *i:r* is used very productively as an auxiliary verb; it adds a stative meaning to the verb sequence:

³⁹ *ət̪arəy* ‘return’ occurs only as a singular or plural polite imperative.

⁴⁰ Serialized constructions involving auxiliary verbs always have /-ənu/ on the non-final, or main, verb.

88) *pina t̥əppiya ət̥nu erja:n id̥d̥ə kaɫt̥əl, i udgən.*

i. *pina t̥əppə-iya əd̥j-t-ənu eri-j-a:ɫ-ənu ir-ɔ-ədi kaɫj-ɫ*
 then seed-acc take-rlf-acp throw-rlf-leave-acp be-rlf-sg ground-lc

i udgən

this y.man

“Then taking the seed, he threw it, this young man.”

ii. *erja:n id̥əŋa, pina a t̥əppə ba:t̥u ma:ŋga-t̥əyyə moɫt̥in id̥d̥ə.*

eri-j-a:ɫ-ənu ir-ɔ-əŋa pina a t̥əppə ba:r-aɫu ma:ŋga-t̥əyyə
 throw-rlf-leave-acp be-rlf-trn then that seed come-cmp mango-plant

moɫj-t-ənu ir-ɔ-əd̥ə

sprout-rlf-acp be-rlf-sg

“Throwing it, then the seed grew into a mango sapling” (Pomegranate.231)

It is commonly used with position verbs like *əɫ* ‘stop, be upright’, *ba:ɫ* ‘lie down’, and *ku:rs* ‘sit’ to express being in a position as opposed to getting into a position (the other suffix that these roots take to encode “being in a position” is */-ənad̥/*, as described in §2.2.5):

89a) *numbəlka ba:t̥nu, nerki ba:t̥n id̥a*

numbəl-ka ba:ɫ-t-ənu nerku-i ba:ɫ-t-ənu ir-ɔ-a
 fever-dat get.prostrate-rlf-acp moan-acp get.prostrate-rlf-acp be-rlf-3sg
 ‘Lying down from fever, she lay moaning.’ (Pomegranate.234)

b) *aɫə wan məynika ərə all əd̥ən ipa*

aɫə wan məyniyə-ka ərə alli əɫ-ɔ-ənu ir-p-a
 3sr.nm one o’clock-dat upto there stop-rlf-acp be-rlf-3sg.
 ‘He will stand there until 1 o’clock.’ (Elicitation.P500)

koɫ and *t̥a:r* add a benefactive meaning to the verb sequence; they are used less frequently as auxiliary verbs than *ka:ɫ* and *i:r*. (90) shows an example with *koɫ*:

90) *a wand a:məŋa maɫigijjən kott̥aɫu nala: baɫtkisəgə*

a wandə a:mən-ka maɫəwə-ki:l-j-ənu koɫ-t-aɫu

that one person-dat marriage-do-rlf-acp give-rlf-cmp

nala battku-s-əgə

nice live.well-rlf-pl

“Having given them in marriage to that one man, they lived happily.”

(7th.Son.497)

Note that *i:r*, *koḍ*, *ta:r* do not always function as auxiliary verbs when they occur as the final verb in a serialized construction. In (91), *koḍ* has full lexical meaning and is not an auxiliary verb:

91) *makkərka attṇu koḍiyo. timbiyo*

makkər-ka aḍ-t-ənu koḍ-w-iyo

children-dat cook-rlf-acp give-irf-pl

“We cook it and give it to the children.”

ṭin-pu-iyo

eat-irf-pl

“They eat it.”

(Conversation.417)

Serialized constructions in BK show the following characteristics in argument structure:

(a) All verbs in a serial construction share the same subject:

92) *pin bigaḍkəṇa nya:riṇmeriya puḡətn erjuṭṇ kaṭ bannḍ i pili ṭana*

pina bigaḍkəṇa puḡəri-ṭ-ənu er-j-uḍ-t-ənu ka:ḷ-aṭu

then later pluck.out-rlf-acp throw-rlf-leave-rlf-acp leave-cmp

ban-t-əḍə i piliyə ṭana

come-rlf-sg this tiger itself

“Then, later, having plucked out and thrown away the roots of the lemon tree, he

came, this same tiger.”

(Tiger.27)

(b) In serial constructions in which all the verbs are transitive and have identical objects, the object is specified only once and it occurs before the serial verb set. Thus, in (93a), the object *nissiya* ‘food’ is shared by both verbs and it occurs immediately before the first verb. Similarly in (93b), the dative object *ra:jən magə|ka* ‘to the princess’ is shared by both verbs and occurs before the first verb.

93a) *a nissiya bəydn tərja:wəð idə*
 a nissə-iya bəyr-ənu t̪eri-j-a:l-w-əðə idə
 that food-acc bring-acp throw-rlf-thrly-irf-sg 3sp.nm
 “This one would take the food and throw it away.” (7th.Son.285)

b) *ki:yəggərə o:təya it̪u piytu ... a ra:jin magi|ka ka:ytnu kottija ...*
 ki:yə-oggərə o:təya əd̪i-t̪-ənu pəy-aʈu
 hand-nail all take-rlf-acp go_{SR}-cmp

 a ra:jən magə|ə-ka ka:ytnu-ənu kod̪-t-əŋa
 that king daughter-dat show_{SR}-acp give-rlf-trn
 “Having taken the (tiger’s) claws and all, showing them to the princess ...”
 (7th.Son.385)

(c) In cases where more than one verb is transitive and each have different objects, the object of each normally occurs immediately before the relevant verb (except when the object is extraposed). In (94a), the first verb has its own object, *nissi wo:təya* ‘food and all’, which occurs before this verb; the second and third verbs have a different object *buʈi* ‘parcel’, which occurs immediately before the first of these verbs.⁴¹ Such sequences of verb phrases can occur in fairly long strings (as in 94b), making it difficult to ascertain whether they are to be treated as serial constructions or chained clauses (pending further research into adequate diagnostics for distinguishing the two).

⁴¹ Alternatively, *nissə o:təya* could analyzed as an object of the first and last verb.

94a) *aba niss o:təy aʈtnu buʈi kayttn ʈarəy*
 abbi-a nissə o:təya aɖ-t-ənu buʈi kayttu-ənu ʈar-əy
 mother-voc food all cook-rlf-acp parcel tie_{SR}-acp give-sg.p.im
 “Mother, cook some food and all and make a parcel and give me.” (Pomegranate.10)

b) *kəyl puɖsən, e:kər aʈn, niss aʈn, wan kuyrk niss birkŋ aʈn kottəŋgo*
 kəyli puɖj-s-ənu e:kəri aɖ-t-ənu nissə aɖ-t-ənu
 hen catch-rlf-acp curry cook-rlf-acp rice cook-rlf-acp

 wan kuyrki nissə birkŋa əɖj-t-ənu koɖ-t-a-ŋgo
 one vessel food near take-rlf-acp give-rlf-3sg-EXM
 “She caught a hen and cooked curry and cooked rice and took one vessel of food
 close (to the tiger) and gave it.” (Tiger.55)

(d) In serial constructions where the first verb is transitive and the second intransitive, the object occurs before the transitive verb and, thus, before the serial verb set. Thus, in (95a), *pəŋŋa* ‘wife-acc’ is the accusative case-marked object of the transitive verb *kuytnu* ‘lead s.o.’. In (95b), the accusative object *aʈədna* of transitive verb *ɖayntu* ‘cross over, pass by’ occurs immediately before this verb. The goal *pəŋŋ ipka* of the second verb *pə:so* is extraposed to a position after the serial sequence; the extraposition here is for discourse purposes.

95a) *kəkŋa wanday nin pəŋŋa kuytn əʈarəy*
 kəkŋa wandaya nin pəŋŋ-a kuytnu əʈarəy
 tomorrow together 2s.gn wife-acc lead-acp return-sg.p.im
 “Come back tomorrow with your wife.” (7th.Son.224)

b) *aʈədna ɖayntn ɖayntn ɖayntn ɖayntnu pə:so pəŋŋ ipka*
 aʈər-na ɖayntu-ənu ɖayntu-ənu ɖayntu-ənu pə:s-o pəŋŋ ipka
 3pr-acc cross_{SR}-acp rep. rep. go_R-rlf-pl wife near
 “He stepped over them going towards his wife.” (7th.Son.309)

All serialized constructions with verbs of mixed transitivity in these data have the transitive verb occurring first and the intransitive verb occurring last. I do not have examples in which the first verb is intransitive and the later verb transitive.

3.0 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Derivational morphology can be divided into two levels of derivation: the first level of derivation consists of root valency modifiers (§3.1); the second level of derivation consists of realis and irrealis theme formatives, lexical suffixes, and causativizer /-su/ (§3.2).

3.1. The first level of derivation.

Roots undergo modifications in valency in the first level of derivation. Three processes are employed for root valency modification in BK: final consonant devoicing to indicate changes in transitivity, change in verb class to indicate changes in transitivity, and suffixation of a root transitivizer. The first two processes exploit a contrast in voicing on the final consonant of the root or realis/irrealis theme to encode transitivity – the final consonant is voiced when the resulting stem is intransitive and voiceless when it is transitive. None of these processes are productive and the suffixes involved are fairly idiosyncratic.

The first valency modification process involves a set of verb roots in which the last consonant is voiceless when it is transitive and voiced when it is intransitive or

‘middle’;⁴² that is, a contrast in voicing on the last consonant of the root is used to signal the valency of the verb. All the pairs that occur in these data are shown in Table 15.

Table 2.15: Valency specifiers.

	Transitive stems with /-ku/	Middle stems with /-gu/
i.	<i>mu ku ~ muylku</i> ‘immerse s.t.’	<i>mu gu ~ muylgu</i> ‘s.o. immerses self’
ii.	<i>aŋku ~ aynku</i> ‘cure or dry s.t.’	<i>aŋgu ~ ayngu</i> ‘s.t. dries’
iii.	<i>ə: ku ~ əylku</i> ‘arouse an emotion in s.o.’	<i>ə: gu ~ əylgu</i> ‘emotion arises (in oneself)’
iv.	<i>tu:ku ~ ti:ku</i> ‘hang s.t.’	<i>tu:gu ~ ti:gu</i> ‘s.t. hangs’
v.	<i>kilku</i> ‘shake s.t.’	<i>kilgu</i> ‘s.t. bounces, sways’
vi.	<i>bakku ~ bekku</i> ‘bend s.t.’	<i>baggu ~ beggu</i> ‘s.t. bends’

Examples involving the pair shown in (iv) in this table are given in (96):

96a) *nawə ti:ri kaynnəl ti:ko:də*
 nawə ti:ri kaynni-əl ti:lku-o:d-ədə
 1s.nm cloth rope-lc hang_{SR}-prg-sg
 ‘I am hanging the clothes on the line.’ (Elicitation.P546)

b) *alli ti:ri kaynnəl ti:go:də*
 alli ti:ri kaynni-əl ti:lgu-o:d-ədə
 there cloth rope-lc hang_{SR}-prg-sg
 ‘The clothes are hanging on the line.’ (Elicitation.P546)

One of the pairs listed in Table 15, *ə:|ku* and *ə:|gu*, is interesting because it occurs with nouns of emotion such as *əɖmbə* ‘anger’, *moddi* ‘boredom, lethargy’. The noun of emotion is not an argument of the verb, but forms a loosely incorporated compound with the verb, (97).

⁴² I use the term “middle” in the sense in which it is used in Payne 1997 (p.216): “We will consider a middle construction to be one that expresses a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by the PATIENT, rather than as an action carried out by an AGENT.”

97a) *nawə niniya ədmb ə:lkisəḏə*
nawə nin-iyə ədmbə ə:|ku-s-əḏə
 1s.nm 2s-acc anger arouse-rlf-sg.
 ‘I angered you.’ (Elicitation.P343)

b) *nəntə yanka ədmb ə:lgisəḏə*
nəntə yan-ka ədmbə ə:|gu-s-əḏə
 yesterday 1s-dat anger arouse-rlf-sg.
 ‘I was angry yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P343)

Note that the intransitive form *ə:|gu* can be used also with nouns in oblique case (i.e. case forms other than nominative, genitive, accusative, and dative), as shown in (98).

98) *ninoḏa aḏəḡa ədmb ə:lgisəḏə*
nin-oḏa aḏən-ka ədmbə ə:|gu-s-əḏə
 2s-com 3sr-dat anger arouse-rlf-sg.
 ‘He was angry at you.’ (Elicitation.P411)

The second valency modification process involves change in verb class. Each pair of transitive and ‘middle’ verb stems listed in Table 16 has phonologically identical roots; however, each root belongs to a different verb class, which is evident in the fact that they take different theme formatives. The stems in the “transitive” column have a voiceless suffix as realis theme formative and those in the “middle” column have a voiced suffix as realis theme formative. There are a total of 5 realis suffixes, of which voiceless /t, t̪/ is matched to voiced /d̪/ and voiceless /s/ is matched to voiced /j/. The difference in verb class can be treated as a process of zero derivation by which a root belonging to one class is reassigned to a different verb class within the first level of derivation, so that the two roots take different theme formatives when they enter the second level of derivation.

Table 2.16: Change in verb class

	Bare root	Transitive stem	Middle stem
a) Root plus realis formative:			
i.	<i>aɖi</i>	<i>aɖ-t̚</i> ‘close s.t.’	<i>aɖ-d̚</i> ‘s.t. closes’
ii.	<i>nəri</i>	<i>nər-t̚</i> ‘fill up s.t.’	<i>nər-d̚</i> ‘s.t. fills up’
iii.	<i>oɖi</i>	<i>oɖ-t̚</i> ‘break s.t.’	<i>oɖ-d̚</i> ‘s.t. breaks’
iv.	<i>yari</i>	<i>yar-t̚</i> ‘grind s.t.’	<i>yar-d̚</i> ‘s.t. gets ground’
b) Root plus realis formative plus lexical suffix			
i.	<i>oɖi</i>	<i>oɖta:l̚</i> ‘shatter s.t.’	<i>oɖdo:g</i> ‘s.t. shatters’
ii.	<i>aɖi</i>	<i>aɖta:l̚</i> ‘close s.t. fully’	<i>aɖdo:g</i> ‘s.t. closes fully’
iii.	<i>muri</i>	<i>mursa:l̚</i> ‘break s.t. in two.’	<i>murjo:g</i> ‘s.t. breaks in two’
iv.	<i>t̚i:r</i>	<i>t̚ita:l̚</i> ‘finish s.t.’	<i>t̚ido:g</i> ‘s.t. gets finished’

The two roots contrast also in their irrealis theme formatives, and the contrast again involves voicing. Thus *nəri* ‘fill’ has voiceless realis and irrealis theme formatives /-t̚, -pu/ in (99a, b), and voiced realis and irrealis theme formatives /-d̚, -w/ in (100a, b).

99a) *nawə nəntə kuyrkəl ni:rə nər̚ti*
nawə nəntə kuyrki-əl ni:rə nəri-t̚-i
 1s.nm yesterday vessel-lc water fill-rlf-1sg.
 ‘I filled water in the vessel yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P339)

b) *nawə ke:kɲa kuyrkəl ni:rə nər̚piya*
nawə ke:kɲa kuyrki-əl ni:rə nəri-pu-ya
 1s.nm tomorrow vessel-lc water fill-irf-1sg.
 ‘I will fill water in the vessel tomorrow.’ (Elicitation.P339)

100a) *nəntə gumbə nər̚da*
nəntə gumbə nəri-d̚-a
 yesterday pot fill-rlf-3sg.
 ‘The pot filled yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P339)

- b) *əyḏ nimiska gumbə nəṛəwa*
 əyḏu nimisə-ka gumbə nəri-w-a
 five minute-dat pot fill-irf-3sg.
 ‘The pot will fill in 5 minutes.’ (Elicitation.P339)

The next root valency modifying process involves valency increase by suffixation of a transitivizer; different verbs idiosyncratically take different transitivizers. All the pairs that occur in these data are shown in (101); the words in (101a-c) have transitivizer /-tu/, (101d) has /-pu/, (101e) has /-ju/, and (101f) has /-su/.

101) Roots	With transitivizer
a. <i>a:ḏ ~ ayr</i> ‘s.t. dances, sways’	<i>a:tu ~ aytu</i> ‘shake s.t. about’
b. <i>a:r ~ er</i> ‘s.t. dries (of wet hair, etc.)’	<i>a:tu ~ etu</i> ‘dry s.t. (wet hair, etc.)’
c. <i>i:r ~ er</i> ‘climb on top of s.t.’	<i>ə:tu ~ etu</i> ‘load s.t. onto s.t.’
d. <i>uḷi ~ uyli</i> ‘s.o. descends’	<i>uḷpu ~ uylpu</i> ‘lower s.t.’
e. <i>beri</i> ‘s.t. mixes’	<i>berju</i> ‘mix s.t.’
f. <i>kayl</i> ‘s.t. heats’	<i>ka:su</i> ‘heat s.t.’

Example sentences are shown in (102) using the pair *a:r ~ er* and *a:tu ~ etu*.

- 102a) *nəntə bugəḷtḷ tiri a:rsəḏə*
 nəntə bugəḷə-tḷ tiri a:r-s-əḏə
 yesterday sunlight-lc cloth dry-rlf-sg
 ‘The clothes dried in the sun yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P355)

- b) *nawə nəntə tiri a:tisəḏə*
 nawə nəntə tiri a:r-tu-s-əḏə
 1s.nm yesterday cloth dry-trzr-rlf-sg
 ‘I dried the clothes yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P201)

The transitivizer /-su/ is also used to verbalize nouns; e.g. *tappi* ‘mistake, error’ is verbalized to form *tapisu* ‘make a mistake’, *a:gaʎi* ‘burp (n)’ is verbalized into *a:gaʎsu* ‘burp (v)’.

3.2. The second level of derivation.

3.2.1. Theme formatives

As pointed out in §1, BK theme formatives consist of realis /-t, -t, -s, -d, -j/ and irrealis /-w, -pu/. These formatives have a pervasive role in word formation because although functional categories have identifiable suffixes, most of the categories in this language are encoded through a combination of suffix plus preceding theme formative. For example, causatives are encoded by a sequence of irrealis suffix plus causativizer /-su/, and obligative is encoded by a sequence of realis plus obligative /-ədapəla/. Table 3 above showed the verb bases used in encoding various functional categories; the realis and irrealis bases are repeated in Table 17

Table 2.17: The use of realis and irrealis themes

		Irrealis theme	Realis theme
Derivational:		Causativizer /-su/	All lexical suffixes
Inflectional:	a) Tense/aspect:	Imperfective	Perfective
			Present progressive /-o:d/
			Past habitual /-oʃ/
			Perfect /-ənad/
	b) Mood:	Optative /-əla, -əlo/ Desiderative /-ədu/	Contingent possibility /-ani/
			Obligative /-ədapəla/
			Non-polite imperative /-a/ Polite imperative /-agi, -ago/
	c) Infinitive	Infinitive/-ka/	
	d) Clause-chain:	Synchrony /-ən/	Completion /-aʃu/
			Transition /-əŋa/
Contingency /-ani/			
Accompaniment /-ənu, -i/			

All except the last category in the second column of Table 17 convey some amount of irrealis meaning, while most of those in the third column carry realis connotations, which is why they have been labeled realis and irrealis theme formatives. Theme formatives in this language have the function of creating stems that encode some amount of realis and irrealis meaning; various category-marking suffixes then attach to these stems to create further elaborations of meaning. One category, possibility mood, employs both the realis and the irrealis theme (irrealis before /-ki, -ku/ and realis before /-ani/). It is possible, in this case, that a realis theme is turned into an irrealis category by suffixation of /-ani/; the same analysis applies to the mood forms ‘desiderative’, ‘obligative’, and ‘imperative’ which are very similar in that they aim to get a person to do something. The ir/realis-marking function of these suffixes is especially apparent in words that encode perfective and imperfective aspect. In these words, there is no separate category-marking suffix which has the specific role of marking aspect; instead, the realis theme is used for perfective aspect and the irrealis theme for imperfective aspect.

Note that all lexical suffixes attach to the realis theme. The combination [root-realis-lexical.suffix] most probably reflects an older pattern of verb serialization, in which the non-final verb in the sequence was marked with what could have been a past tense marker. The final verb in the sequence has probably grammaticalized into a lexical suffix, so that the old serialization pattern has turned into a root plus suffix pattern. At the same time, the language has developed a new pattern of verb serialization in which non-final verbs are marked with clause-chaining markers, as described in §2.6.

3.2.2. Content lexical suffixes

There is a set of derivational suffixes in BK that add lexical content to the verb stem and which appear to be derived from roots; all of them attach to the realis verb stem. These lexical suffixes can be grouped into 3 groups based on the functions they perform. The first group, content-lexical suffixes, function to add specific semantic meanings to a verb stem; they are very unproductive and attach to stems belonging to selected lexical fields.

There are four content lexical suffixes in these data; they are listed in Table 18. Column 2 lists words which provide evidence that the suffix also functions as a root. One suffix /-endu/ does not show evidence of a related root in current BK; however, based on its meaning and morphophonological behavior it is most probably historically derived from a root.

Table 2.18: Content lexical suffixes and related roots

Lexical suffix	Related independent root
/-endu/ ‘kill’	n/a
/-u:r ~ -i:r/ ‘V into slices, strips’	<i>u:r</i> ‘strip’ -- in <i>u:r-s-a:l</i> ‘peel (bark from tree, etc)’
/-muri ~ -muyri/ ‘V into small pieces, mince’	<i>muri</i> ~ <i>muyri</i> ‘break in pieces’ -- in <i>mur-s-a:l</i> ‘break in 2 (tr.)’ and <i>mur-j-o:g</i> ‘break in 2 (intr.)’
/-a:r/ ‘come (?)’	probably related to <i>ba:r</i> ‘come’

/-endu/ ‘kill’ occurs with roots that encode various methods used in killing; e.g. *ṭarsendu* ‘cut and kill, slash to death’ with realis theme of *ṭari* ‘cut’. The second suffix, /-u:r ~ -i:r/ ‘V into slices, strips’, occurs with roots that refer to breaking or cutting; e.g.

kaju:r ~ *kaji:r* ‘slice’ with realis theme of $\sqrt{kəyl}$ ‘cut’. The third suffix, /-muri/ ~ -muri/ ‘V into small pieces, mince’, also occurs with roots that refer to breaking or cutting; e.g. *kajmuyri* ~ *kajmur* ‘mince’ with realis theme of $\sqrt{kəyl}$. The fourth, /-a:r/, occurs only with verb roots that never function as independent roots; e.g. *əŋ* ‘carry’ which occurs only with derivational suffixes, as in *əŋo:g* ‘take (carry and go)’ and *əŋa:r* ‘bring (carry and come)’, and *kuyn* ‘marry’ which occurs only with derivational suffixes, as in *kuyna:r* ‘bring in marriage (marry and come)’, *kuyno:g* ‘take in marriage (marry and go)’. /-a:r/ differs from other lexical suffixes in that no theme formative ever occurs immediately before /-a:r/ in these data. This apparently contradicts my claim that all lexical suffixes attach to a realis theme; however, recall that strong-s-class roots have a special realis theme that does not end in a theme formative – the roots that take /-a:r/ can be analyzed as strong s-class roots, thus, explaining away the absence of a preceding theme formative.

3.2.3. Aspectual lexical suffixes

The second group of lexical suffixes encode aspectual meanings. Aspectual lexical suffixes comprise four suffixes that are phonologically identical to four independent roots in this language, except that the suffix lacks the initial consonant of the related root; e.g. the suffix /-o:g/ is related to the verb $\sqrt{po:g}$ ‘go’. The suffix and its related root take the same theme formatives and show the same alternations; e.g. /-o:g/ has morphologically conditioned alternants [-o:g, -ə:, -əy, -o:, -i:] and $\sqrt{po:g}$ has alternants with the same morphological conditioning [po:g, pə:, pəy, po:, pi:]; both take realis /-s/ and irrealis /-pu/. A list of lexical suffixes and their related roots, together with their alternations and meanings are given in Table 19. The first three suffixes are highly productive; the last occurs with only a few roots.

Table 2.19: Aspectual lexical suffixes and related roots

Lexical suffix	Related independent root
<i>-a:l</i> [-a, -a:, -a:l] ‘V thoroughly, V away from, V in a careless manner’	<i>ka:l</i> [ka, ka:, ka:l] ‘let go, leave from’
<i>-o:g</i> [-o:g, -ə:, -əy, -o:, -i:] ‘V and thoroughly, finish V-ing’	<i>po:g</i> [po:g, pə:, pəy, po:, pi:] ‘go’
<i>-uḍ</i> [-uḍ, -uṭ] ‘V and release, allow to V’	<i>buḍ</i> [buḍ, buṭ] ‘allow, leave s.o. to do s.t., leave s.t. in a place’
<i>-əḍi</i> [-əḍ, -əḍi] ‘obtain a result related to V’	<i>iḍi</i> [əḍ, əḍi] ‘take’

The meanings of lexical suffixes are similar to that of their related independent roots; however, lexical suffixes add aspectual meanings to the verb stem, while their related roots usually function with full lexical meaning (except for *ka:l*, which occurs only as an auxiliary verb in serial verb constructions). There are several stems containing lexical suffixes in which the root occurs only in the derived form, and never as an independent root; e.g. *kenga:l* /keng-a:l/ ‘kill’ with no words that have *keng* plus another suffix immediately after.⁴³ The meaning of a derived verb stem can show some semantic extension from the meaning of the root. Thus, the meaning of *teri-j-a:l* /teri-j-a:l/ ‘throw away (food)’ does not quite match the meaning of its probable root *teri* ‘serve out (food)’.

Aspectual lexical suffixes are sensitive to the argument properties of the roots they attach to, and occasionally affect changes in these argument properties. This is especially apparent in the suffixes /-o:g, -a:l/, which are nearly identical in the meanings

⁴³ The root could be analyzed as a strong-s-class verb *kengu* because it does not have a theme formative before the lexical suffix.

they add to a verb stem, but which differ in the type of verb they occur with. Derived stems formed with /-o:g/ in them are intransitive, with one exception *kuyn-o:g* ‘marry and go with s.o.’ (the term ‘intransitive’ is used here for verbs that do not take an accusative or dative object). In most cases, /-o:g/ attaches to the realis theme of roots that are themselves intransitive, so there is no valency change involved. For example, the roots in (103a) and (104a) are intransitive and the derived stems formed with /-o:g/ in (103b) and (104b) are also intransitive (derived forms are shown in bold).

103a) *nəntə ma|a pəjja*
 nəntə ma|a pəyl-j-a
 yesterday rain rain-rlf-3sg.
 ‘It rained yesterday. (Elicitation. P221)

b) *ma|a pəjjə:so*
 ma|a pəyl-j-ə:-s-o
 rain rain-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-3sg.
 ‘It finished raining. (Elicitation. P315)

104a) *aḍə metl wan ʔundə uljəḍə*
 aḍə meri-ʔl wan ʔundə ulj-j-əḍə
 3sr.nm tree-lc some little descend-rlf-sg.
 ‘He descended a little way on the tree.’ (Elicitation. P466)

b) *aḍə metl i:tu uljə:so*
 aḍə meri-ʔl i:tu ulj-j-ə:-s-iḍi
 3sr.nm tree-lc from descend-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-sg.
 ‘He got down from the tree’ (i.e. fully off the tree). (Elicitation. P466)

However, there are two examples in these data where /-o:g/ attaches to a transitive verb and in doing so turns the stem into a ‘middle’ form. The transitive form has an agent and a patient as its arguments; but the middle form has only one argument, the patient. This is shown in (105), where (105a) shows the verb stem without the lexical suffix and (105b)

shows it with the lexical suffix. (105c) shows that if the agent is present in the sentence, it functions as the instrument, occurring with an instrumental postposition.

105a) *na nəntə niss at̪t̪nu t̪erjəḍə*
 nawə nəntə nissə aḍ-t-ənu t̪eri-j-əḍə
 1s.nm yesterday food cook-rlf-acp spread.out-rlf-sg.
 ‘I cooked food and spread (for a feast) yesterday. (Elicitation. P222)

b) *nissə t̪erjə:so*
 nissə t̪eri-j-ə:s-o
 food spread.out-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-3sg.
 ‘The food was spread out (for a feast). (Elicitation. P466)

c) *nissə aḍən inḍa t̪erjə:so*
 nissə aḍən inḍa t̪eri-j-ə:s-o
 food 3sr.gn through spread.out-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-3sg.
 ‘The food was spread out (for a feast) by him. (Elicitation. P466)

In contrast, words containing /-a:|/ are all transitive. In most cases, this suffix attaches to the realis theme of transitive roots; that is, it does not change the valency of the stem; e.g. (106) with \sqrt{eri} ‘throw’. However, in rare cases, /-a:|/ turns an intransitive stem into a transitive one; e.g. the root *ari* ‘blow’ is an intransitive root (used to refer to a wind blowing) as shown in (107a), which is turned into a transitive stem when /-a:|/ is added (107b). The transitive form of this verb is used in a restricted context – it is used when there is a strong monsoon wind blowing, but no rain.⁴⁴

106a) *pandə eri*
 pandə eri
 ball throw.sg.c.im
 ‘Throw the ball! (i.e., throw a short distance)’. (Elicitation. P441)

⁴⁴ My consultant says that during the monsoon season, it usually does not rain on days when the wind is very strong. The BKs on such occasions say “It wont rain today, the wind blew the rain away”.

- b) *pandə erja:lə*
 pandə eri-j-a:l-o
 ball throw-rlf-thrly-pl.c.im
 ‘Throw away the ball!’ (i.e., get rid of the ball) (Elicitation. P441)

- 107a) *kyatə ardədə*
 kya:tə ari-ḍ-əḍə
 wind blow-rlf-sg.
 ‘The wind blew.’ (Elicitation. P433)

- b) *kyatə maḷiya ardaddə*
 kya:tə maḷi-ya ari-ḍ-a:l-ḍ-əḍə
 wind rain-acc blow-rlf-thrly-rlf-sg.
 ‘The wind blew the rain away.’ (Elicitation. P548)

In the case of verbs that show transitive and intransitive pairs, /-a:l/ attaches to the transitive form and /-o:g/ to the intransitive form. Thus, \sqrt{od} ‘break’ takes a voiceless theme formative in its transitive form and a voiced theme formative in its intransitive form (see §3.1); /-a:l/ attaches to the transitive stem (108a) and /-o:g/ attaches to the ‘middle’ stem (108b).

- 108a) *nawə kuyrki oḍtaḍḍə*
 nawə kuyrki oḍi-t-a:l-ḍ-əḍə
 1s.nm vessel break-rlf-thrly-rlf-sg.
 ‘I shattered the pot. (Elicitation.P349)

- b) *kuyrki oḍḍə:sə*
 kuyrki oḍi-ḍ-ə:s-o
 vessel break-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-3sg.
 ‘The pot shattered. (Elicitation.P349)

The remaining two lexical suffixes listed in Table 19 were /-əḍi, -uḍ/. These attach to transitive roots and do not change the valency of the stem, as in (109-10) with

nyani ‘think’ and *yeri* ‘throw’. These suffixes also form transitive/intransitive pairs with /-o:g/, as in (111).

- 109) *nawə pa:r utka yan ajjən po:ɬiyə no:ɬsəŋa, kiri magg idəna nyantəɬti*
 nawə pa:r(ə?) utka yan ajjən po:ɬiyə no:ɬ-s-əŋa
 1s.nm cupboard top 1s.gn grandfather photo see-rlf-trn

kiri maggi i:r-ɬ-ən-a **nyani-t-əɬi-t-i**
 small child be-rlf-nmr-acc think-rlf-take-rlf-1sg.
 ‘On seeing my grandfather’s photograph on the cupboard, I remembered (took thought of) my childhood’. (Elicitation.P547)

- 110) *pandə erjuɬo*
 pandə eri-j-ud-o
 ball throw-rlf-leave-pl.c.im
 ‘Throw the ball! (to some distance)’. (Elicitation.P441)

- 111a) *nawə baŋani ɬarduɬti*
 nawə baŋani ɬari-ɬ-ud-t-i
 1s.nm door open-rlf-leave-rlf-1sg
 ‘I opened the door’. (Elicitation.P475)

- b) *baŋani aɬtan ɬardə:so*
 baŋani aɬtana ɬari-ɬ-ə:-s-o
 door by.itself open-rlf-thrly_R-rlf-3sg
 ‘The door opened on its own’. (Elicitation.P475)

3.2.4. Lexical suffix /-i:r/ ‘stative’

The third group of lexical suffixes consists of a single suffix, stative /-i:r/, which is derived from the root *i:r* ‘be’, and which adds stative meaning to the verb stem. This suffix differs from the aspectual lexical suffixes described above because it is not sensitive to the valency of the stem; it attaches productively to both transitive and intransitive verbs. Stative stems containing /-i:r/ encode a state of continuing action or a state reached by the performance of an action. (112) shows examples with a stative stem

used for perfective and imperfective aspect; here /-i:r/ encodes a state of continuing action.

112a) *a muṭki ni:rka bandiddə*

a muṭki ni:ri-ka ban-t-i:r-ḍ-əḍə
 that old.woman water-dat come_R-rlf-stat-rlf-sg.
 “That woman was coming for water.”

(Pomegranate.14)

b) *a udgən pi:sani idə əyrayripaŋgo*

a udgən pə:s-ani idə əyrayr-i:r-pu-a-ŋgo
 that young.man go_R-rlf-con 3sp.nm move_{SR}-stat-irf-3sg-EXM
 “When that man went, this one would be moving around.”

(Pomegranate.203)

c) *ke:kŋa ərgəḍəŋa bommən bu:pən, nawə ikki mill uḍsəl əŋəyipi*

ke:kŋa ərgəḍəŋa bommən bu-pu-ən
 tomorrow morning Bomman come_{IR}-irf-syn

nawə ikki mil-əl uḍ-w-su-əl əŋəy-i:r-pu-i
 1s.nm rice mill-lc put-irf-caus-inf take_{SR}-stat-irf-1sg.

“Tomorrow morning, when Bomman comes, I will be taking the rice to (get it ground at) the mill.”

(Elicitation.P525)

The sentences in (112) describe a state reached by the action. In (113a, b), the verb refers to the final state of having gone or having been sent away rather than the act of going or of sending away. Similarly in (113c), which occurs in the conversational text, my consultant is describing a mousetrap in which the door shuts when the mouse bites at the bait; the stative verb form refers to the state of being shut rather than the act of shutting.

113a) *pina ti:riya kottəŋa utŋ pəyidaŋgo*

pina ti:ri-ya koḍ-t-əŋa uḍ-t-ənu pəy-ir-ḍ-a-ŋgo
 then cloth-acc give-rlf-cmp wear-rlf-acc go_{SR}-stat-rlf-3sg-EXM

“Then on giving the cloth, she went off.”

(Pomegranate.97)

- b) “*a kuyno:pka butta*” *andaṭu, alli puḍutn kaḍipiyo*
 a kuyno:g-pu-ka buḍ-t-a a:n-t-aṭu
 that marry.and.go-irf-inf leave-rlf-hrt say-rlf-cmp
 alli puḍuḍ-t-ənu ka:l-ḍ-i:r-pu-iyo
 there send.off-rlf-acp leave-rlf-stat-irf-pl
 “Having said, ‘Let them marry!’, they send them off.” (Conversation.745)

- c) *a nya:tka sann baṭu ṭimba. ann muss uttipa*
 a nya:ti-ka sandə ba:r-aṭu ṭin-pu-a
 that smell-dat quickly come-cmp eat-irf-3sg.
 ann mussə uḍ-t-i:r-pu-a
 then lid put-rlf-stat-irf-3sg.
 “It comes quickly because of the smell and eats. Then the lid shuts.”
 (Conversation.713)

(114) also has a sentence in which the irrealis theme plus *i:r* (in *piḍiḍəgə*) describes a state reached by an action. In this sentence the stative form is used with the impersonal plural to form an impersonal passive-like construction.

- 114) *ko:ḍḥ muṅkaḍi uṅḍi. a muṭandə pəḍiḍəgə*
 ko:ḍḥ muṅkaḍi uṅḍi
 monkey oral.story exist
 “There is the monkey story.”
 a muṭandə pə:l-ḍ-i:r-ḍ-əgə
 that days.ago say-rlf-stat-rlf-pl
 “That was told some days ago.” (Tiger.1a)

Incidentally, the stative suffix does not occur with mood inflection or infinitival suffixes in these data. There are instead a few serialized constructions with auxiliary verb *i:r* in which mood is marked on the auxiliary verb (115a) and several constructions in which lexical verb *i:r* has an infinitival suffix (115b). Further, /-i:r/ and causativizer /-su/

do not co-occur in these data, although the causativizer does occur on auxiliary verb *i:r* (115c)

115a) *ill o:|sən i:ro*

illi o:|j-s-ənu i:r-o
 here hide-rlf-acc be-pl.c.im
 “Remain hiding here.”

(Tiger.116)

b) *yan ki:dl i:dl a:gəl il*

yan-ka ki:ri-əl i:r-əl a:g-əl il-a
 1s-dat house-lc be-inf become-inf neg-3sg
 “I cannot stay in the house.”

(7th.Son.122)

c) *wanan makkədna wanan mu:ŋgəla əḍən ipisagi*

wanandə makkər-na wanandə mu:ŋgəli ə:|-ḍ-ənu i:r-pu-su-agəy
 each children-acc each corner be.upright-rlf-acc be-irf-caus-
sg.p.im

“Get each child to stand in one corner.”

(Elicitation.P524)

3.2.5. Causativizer /-su/

Causatives are encoded by attaching causativizer /-su/ to the irrealis theme. In most verbs, the regular irrealis theme is the base for causative suffixation. For example, *bya:l* ‘cook well (intr)’ takes the irrealis suffix /-w/ to form irrealis theme *be:w* and the causative stem for this root is *be:wsu*.⁴⁵ Similarly, *pa:l* ‘ripen’ takes the irrealis suffix /-pu/ to form the irrealis theme *papp* and its causative stem is *pappisu*. However, some verbs show two causative forms; e.g. *ki:l* ‘do’ has *ki:wsu*, *ki:pisu*, which indicates that it can form one causative with its regular irrealis theme *ki:w*, as well as a second causative with a special irrealis theme *ki:pu*. In cases where a root can form both causatives, the /-w-su/ form encodes direct causation and the /-pu-su/ form encodes indirect causation

⁴⁵ The irrealis suffix /-w/ does not always surface after roots ending in a non-lateral segment; thus, *kurgu* ‘boil (intr)’ which takes irrealis /-w/ has the causative form *kurgisu*. However, irrealis /-pu/ surfaces in all relevant causativized verbs.

(described below). Causativized stems can take lexical suffixes; e.g. *buɟsa:l* /*buɟ-w-su-a:l*/ ‘pull out s.t. (= cause to leave from)’, with root $\sqrt{buɟ}$ ‘leave (in a place)’. However words with a causativizer followed by a lexical suffix are rare; most words have the causativizer after the lexical suffix.

The causativizer attaches to transitive as well as intransitive stems and increases the valency of the verb root by one. The additional argument that a verb gains with causativization is assigned accusative case. Examples (116-7) show the valency-increasing function of causativizers on intransitive verbs; (116a, 117a) show the non-causative verb and (116b, 117b) show the causativized verb. The object is in accusative case (as pointed out in Chapter 3, the accusative is frequently not marked on non-human nouns).

116a) *ni:rə kurgisəɖə*
ni:rə kurgu-s-əɖə
 water boil-rlf-sg.
 ‘The water boiled’ (Elicitation.P385)

b) *nawə ni:rə kurgisisəɖə*
nawə ni:rə kurgu-w-su-s-əɖə
 1s.nm water heat-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘I boiled the water.’ (Elicitation.P385)

117a) *ma:ŋgayə paɽtəɖə*
ma:ŋgayə paɽ-t-əɖə
 mango ripen-rlf-sg.
 ‘The mango ripened.’ (Elicitation.P118)

b) *nəntə nawə ma:ŋgayə pappisisi*
nəntə nawə ma:ŋgayə paɽ-pu-su-s-i
 yesterday 1s.nm mango ripen-irf-caus-rlf-1sg.
 ‘I set the mango to ripen yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P118)

(118) show that causativizers turn a mono-transitive verb root into a ditransitive one; both objects are in accusative case.

118a) *keṭimi yaniya keṭəna arisisəḍə*

keṭi-mi yan-iya keṭən-a ari-w-su-s-əḍə
 Ketī-EXM 1s-acc Ketan-acc beat-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘Keti made me hit Ketan!’

(Elicitation.P544)

b) *keṭimi yaniya keṭina tuṃbisisidi*

keṭi-mi yan-iya keṭin-a tuṃn-pu-su-s-idi
 Ketī-EXM 1s-acc Ketan-acc pinch-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘Keti made me pinch Ketan!’

(Elicitation.P544)

(119) shows an imperative sentence in which a ditransitive verb *koḍ* ‘give s.t. to s.o.’ has been causativized, making it a trivalent verb ‘make s.o. give s.t. to s.o.’. The added argument *bomməna* is in accusative case. The expected non-causative counterpart of this sentence is *maḍəṅa ḍuḍḍə koṭṭagəy* ‘Give Madan money!’.

119) *bomməna maḍəṅa ḍuḍḍə koḍsagəy*

bommən-a maḍən-ka ḍuḍḍə koḍ-w-su-agəy
 Bomman-acc Madan-dat money give-irf-caus-sg.p.im
 ‘Make Bomman give money to Madan!’

(Elicitation.P317)

Causative suffixes can attach to both members of the transitive/intransitive pairs described in §3.1, as shown in (120-1); (120a) shows an intransitive verb and (120b) shows its causativized form; (121a) shows the transitive counterpart of the intransitive verb and (121b) shows the causativized form of the transitive verb.

120a) *bommən niṛl muḷgisəḍə*

bommən niṛi-əl muḷgu-s-əḍə
 Bomman-acc water-lc immerse-rlf-sg.
 ‘Bomman took a dip in water.’

(Elicitation.P346)

- b) *nawə bomməna ni:dl mułgisisəḏə*
 nawə bommən-a ni:rə-əl mułgu-w-su-s-əḏə
 1s.nm Bomman-acc water-lc immerse-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘I made Bomman take a dip in water.’ (Elicitation.P346)

- 121a) *nawə a maggiya ni:dl mułkisəḏə*
 nawə a maggi-ya ni:rə-əl mułku-s-əḏə
 1s.nm that child-acc water-lc immerse-rlf-sg.
 ‘I dipped the child in water.’ (Elicitation.P342)

- b) *aḏə bomməna kuyrki ni:dl mułkisisəḏə*
 aḏə bommən-a kuyrki ni:rə-əl mułku-w-su-s-əḏə
 3sr.nm mother-acc vessel water-lc immerse-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘He made Bomman dip the vessel in water.’ (Elicitation.P358)

Since causatives can attach to transitive stems, an intransitive verb root can undergo two levels of valency increase, as shown in (122-23).⁴⁶ The root in (122) is intransitive *kayl* ‘heat’; the first valency increase is due to the transitivizer /-su/ and the second due to the causativizer /w-su/. The root in (123) is intransitive *ar* ‘dry’, which gets transitivized by /-tu/ and then causativized by /w-su/. Note that, in both, the objects of the causativized verb are assigned accusative case.

- 122) *nawə bommina ni:r kasisiya*
 nawə bommən-a ni:rə ka:yl-su-w-su-w-ya
 water Bomman-acc water heat-trzr-irf-caus-irf-1sg.
 ‘I will make Bomman heat the water.’ (Elicitation.P541)

⁴⁶Incidentally, the intransitive and transitivized pair *uḷi* ‘descend’ and *uḷ-pu* ‘lower s.t.’ show an interesting phonological contrast in the causative versions of each – *uḷpisu* /uḷi-pu-su/ ‘get s.o. to descend’ and *uḷpisu* /uḷi-pu-w-isu/ ‘make s.o. lower s.t.’ respectively: these forms differ only in the root vowel. The reason for the different vowels is that the two verb roots belong to different classes: *uḷi* ‘descend’ is a j-class verb, whose diphthongized alternant occurs only before the irrealis suffix. *uḷ-pu* ‘lower s.t.’ is a strong-s-class verb (due to transitivization), whose diphthongized alternant occurs only in the special realis theme. Since the causative suffix attaches to the irrealis theme; the two have different root alternants in the causativized form.

123) *abbi maggiya maṇḍi artiso*⁴⁷

abbi maggi-iya maṇḍi a:r-tu-w-su-s-o
mother child-acc head dry-trzr-irf-caus-rlf-3sg.
'The mother made the child dry his head.'

(Elicitation.P348)

The causativizer itself never occurs more than once in a word. Thus, intransitive verb roots that do not undergo the transitivizing processes described in §3.1 cannot undergo two level increases in valency. Correspondingly, the number of objects in accusative case that they take can be increased only by 1.

Although the argument added by causativization is assigned accusative case, it is also possible to add additional participants who act as the instrument of causation or as “peripheral causees”; the NP that refers to such participants has the instrumental postposition *ipəli*. When *ipəli* is used, the sentence implies that the causee (marked with *ipəli*) played a role in getting the action performed, but did not necessarily perform the action himself. In contrast, accusative-case marking implies that the causee is the actual performer of the action. Thus, in (124) the two causees in the two sentences play different roles. (124a) shows that *koḷi* ‘spoil’ is an intransitive root. In (124b), the causativizer turns the stem into a monotransitive one, *koḷisu* ‘make s.t. spoil’, which takes an accusative object *pa:lə* ‘milk’. Additional causativization with a further increase in valency is not possible (for e.g. **koḷisisu* ‘make s.o. spoil s.t.’) because the causativizer cannot occur more than once in a word, but (124c) shows that a peripheral causee with an instrumental role can be introduced into the sentence.

⁴⁷ Compare this sentence to *abbi maggi maṇḍiya artiso* ‘The mother dried the child’s head.’ (Elicitation. P348), where *artiso* is /a:r-tu-s-o/ ‘dry-trzr-rlf-3sg.’

- 124a) *i muyrgi kolḍəḍə*
 i muyrgi kolj-d-əḍə
 this egg spoil-rlf-sg.
 ‘This egg has got spoilt.’ (Elicitation.P402)
- . b) *nawə pa:lə upp uṭṇu kolisisəḍə*
 nawə pa:lə uppə uṭ-t-ənu kolj-w-su-s-əḍə
 1s.nm milk salt put-rlf-acp spoil-irf-caus-rlf-3sg.
 ‘I made the milk spoil by putting salt in it.’⁴⁸ (Elicitation.P402)
- c) *nawə pəyniya:l ipəli pa:lə upp uṭṇu kolisisəḍə*
 nawə pəyniyə-a:l ipəli pa:lə uppə uṭ-t-ənu kolj-w-su-s-əḍə
 1s.nm servant through milk salt put-rlf-acp spoil-irf-caus-rlf-3sg
 ‘I got the servant to spoil the milk by putting salt in it (lit. = I, through the agency of the servant, made the milk spoil by putting salt in it).’ (Elicitation.P402)

The difference between accusative causees and instrumental causees is especially exemplified in the sentences in (125), which have a verb that takes both causativizers /-pu-su/ and /-w-su/. When the causee is an instrumental one, only the causative form /pu-su/ is possible on the verb, but when the causee is accusative, both /w-su/ and /-pu-su/ are possible. As explained further below, /-pu-su/ is used for indirect causation and /-w-su/ for direct causation. The sentence in (125a) implies that Bomman did not necessarily grind the flour himself, while the sentence in (125b) implies that Bomman did grind it himself. Only one causative form can be used in (125a) but both can be used in (125b) (the two forms in (125b) imply different degrees of volition, described further below).

- 125a) *nawə bommən ipəli ma:wə yarpisisəḍə/*yarisəḍə*
 nawə bommən ipəli ma:wə yari-pu-su-s-əḍə
 1s.nm Bomman through flour grind-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘I got the flour ground through Bomman.’ (Elicitation.P540)

⁴⁸ Salt is put into milk to curdle it for some food recipes.

- b) *nawə bomməna ma:wə yarisisəḏə/yarpisisəḏə*
 nawə bommən-a ma:wə yari-w/-pu-su-s-əḏə
 1s.nm Bomman-acc flour grind-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘I made/got Bomman to grind the flour.’ (Elicitation.P540)

Among verbs that take both /-pu-su, -w-su/, the former encodes indirect causation, while the latter encodes direct causation. In (126), the verb root *a:lpari* ‘suffer difficulties, take trouble to do’ is an intransitive one, which when causativized becomes a transitive verb meaning ‘bother somebody, cause hardship to s.o.’. The /-w-su/ form in (126a) implies that the causer himself bothered a person, while the /-pu-su/ form in (126b) implies that the causer got a third party to bother a person.

- 123a) *nawə niniya a:lparisisəḏə*
 nawə nin-iya a:lpari-w-su-s-əḏə
 1s.nm 2s-acc suffer-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘I caused you hardship (I troubled you myself).’ (Elicitation.P541)

- b) *nawə niniya a:lparpisisəḏə*
 nawə nin-iya a:lpari-pu-su-s-əḏə
 1s.nm 2s-acc suffer-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
 ‘I caused you hardship (I arranged for somebody to trouble you).’
 (Elicitation.P541)

With some verbs the distinction between direct and indirect causation is reflected in a distinction between an action that the causee performs involuntarily and one that the causee is induced to perform; the /-w-su/ form is used for the former and the /-pu-su/ form for the latter. Thus, in (127), the first sentence implies that Bomman woke up involuntarily as a result of the causer’s actions (for example, he could have been shaken out of sleep by a loud sound made by the causer). The second sentence, in contrast, indicates that Bomman was induced to get into the habit of waking up early.

127a) *nawə bomməna paljə:wsisəḍə*

nawə bommən-a paljə:l-w-su-s-əḍə
1s.nm Bomman-acc awaken-irf-caus-rlf-sg.
'I woke Bomman.'

(Elicitation.P535)

b) *nawə wanan na:lə mita:y tapiya ampud pəḍaṭu, bomməna aṭṭana
paljə:pisisəḍə*

nawə wanandə na:lū mita:yə ʔa:r-pu-iyə pə:l-d-aṭu
1s.nm each day candy give-irf-1sg. say-rlf-cmp

bommən-a aḍə-ṭana paljə:l-pu-su-s-əḍə
Bomman-acc 3sr.nm-itself awaken-irf-caus-rlf-sg.

'Having told (him) that I would give him a candy for each day (he woke up early),
I got Bomman to wake up on his own.'

(Elicitation.P535)

In some cases, the distinction is reflected in a performance which involves some degree of coercion versus one that is voluntary.⁴⁹ In (128a), the use of /-w-su/ implies that the husband had not much choice in the matter, and /-pu-su/ in (128b) implies that the task was assigned on a voluntary basis to Bomman.

128a) *yan gəṇḍa:lə yaṅgərka wan kiri ki:wsani*

yan gəṇḍa:lə yaṅgər-ka wan kiri ki:l-w-su-ani
1s.gn husband 1p-dat one house do-irf-caus-rlf-Sp1
'I made my husband build a house for us.'

(Elicitation.P537)

b) *yan məṭidl ḍəppmansən bommənoḍ pəḍənu a kuḍmbka wan kiri ki:pisiso*

yan məṭiri-l ḍəpp-mansən bommən-oḍa pə:l-d-ənu
1s.gn hamlet-lc big-man Bomman-com say-rlf-acp

a kuḍmbə-ka wan kiri ki:l-pu-su-s-o
that family-dat one house do-irf-caus-rlf-3sg.

'In my village, the headman asked Bomman and got him to build a house for that
family.'

(Elicitation.P537)

⁴⁹ Both verb forms can be used with modifiers that describe coercion or request; thus the forms differ in the degree of volition involved rather than an either/or distinction between coercion and volition.

4.0 DEFECTIVE VERBS

Some verbs in BK do not take a full range of suffixes described above and are, therefore, listed here as defective verbs. The list in (129) shows the defective verbs found in these data. The set in (129a) take some inflectional suffixes; those in (129b) do not take any suffixes at all. Defective verbs that show some inflectional morphology can also take deverbalizing suffixes; however, none of the defective verbs take verb-internal derivational suffixes. Defective verbs can be followed by enclitics, such as /-mu ~ -mi ~ -ma/ ‘exclamative’.

129a) *il* ‘negative’ (copula, auxiliary verb) – takes PN markers (realis paradigm) and Special 1st markers.

awoɖ ‘exist’ (copula) – takes all three sets of subject agreement markers

paɖ ‘occur, happen’ (copula) – takes realis suffix, subject agreement markers and clause-chain markers.

o:ɖ ‘practise, do’ (tentatively analyzed as defective verb) – occurs so far with number and PN markers and optative mood /-əla/

- b)
- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>u:ɖə</i> | ‘be, exist’ (copula) |
| <i>uŋɖo ~ uŋɖi ~ uŋɖu</i> | ‘be, exist’ (copula) |
| <i>paɖa</i> | ‘be sufficient, must be,’ |
| <i>mayɖnu</i> | ‘can do’ |
| <i>bə:ɖu</i> | ‘want, is needed’ |
| <i>bə:ɖa</i> | ‘don’t want, is not necessary, don’t V’ |
| <i>sidla</i> | ‘is not right, has erred’ |
| <i>edla</i> | ‘don’t know’ |

Many of these verbs function as copulas; their functions are described in §4.1. and the functions of the other defective verbs are described in §4.2.

4.1. Copulas

Some defective verbs in BK function as copulas: *awoḍ*, *uṅḍo* ~ *uṅḍi* ~ *uṅḍu*, *u:ḍi*, *paḍ* and *il*.⁵⁰ Of these, the first three do not take any suffixes and can be used to refer only to events that are true at the moment of speaking; the fourth, *paḍ*, takes the realis suffix /-t/ but no irrealis suffixes. The fifth, *il*, takes PN and Special 1st markers to encode subject agreement, but it takes no other suffix.

awoḍ is used to encode the location (130) or experiential state in which the subject NP exists (131). It can also be used in a serialized construction to describe a state of continuing action (132a) or an emotional state in which the subject NP exists (132b).

130a) *yan ki:ri moḷal awoḍḍi*
yan ki:ri moḷali awoḍ-əḍə
1s.gn house down.below exist-sg
“My house is down below.” (Elicitation.P353)

b) *yan magəḷə pormi awoḍa*
yan magəḷə pormi awoḍ-a
1s.gn daughter outside exist-3sg
“My daughter is outside.” (Elicitation.P353)

131) *nawə nala:y awoḍḥi*
nawə nala:ya awoḍ-əni
1s.nm well exist-Sp1
“I am fine.” (Elicitation.P141)

132a) *maḷa pəjjənu ṭan awoḍa*
maḷa pəyl-j-ənu ṭana awoḍ-a
rain rain-rlf-acp itself exist-3sg
“It is (carrying on) raining.” (Elicitation.P315)

⁵⁰ Only defective verb copulas are described in this section; there are two other copulas, *i:r* ‘be’ and *a:g* ‘become, happen’, which are not described because they exhibit regular morphology.

- b) *ninoḍa aḍ əḍmbə əylgənu awoḍa*
 nin-oḍa aḍə əḍmbə əylgu-ənu awoḍ-a
 2s-com 3sr.nm anger arise_{SR}-acp exist-3sg
 “He is angry with you.” (Elicitation.P411)

uḥḍo ~ uḥḍi ~ uḥḍu appear to be used in free variation with each other and with another copula *u:ḍi*; however, further research is necessary to look for a possible difference in function. These copulas are distinct from *awoḍ* in that they are used for predicates that describe a quality or attribute of the subject, including possession (133), or which describe existence which does not involve an experiential state or state of continuing motion (134).

- 133a) *yanka wan magəḷə u:ḍə ~ uḥḍo*
 yan-ka wan magəḷə u:ḍə/uḥḍo
 1s-dat one daughter exist
 “I have a daughter.” (Elicitation.P354)

- b) *yan ipəli wan bokkə u:ḍə ~ uḥḍo*
 yan ipəli wan bokkə u:ḍə/uḥḍo
 1s.gn with one book exist
 “I have a book.” (Elicitation.P353)

- c) *i bokkə ṭisəgəḥḍaḥḍi u:ḍə ~ uḥḍo*
 i bokkə ṭisəgəḥḍaḥḍi u:ḍə/uḥḍo
 this book red exist
 “This book is red.” (Elicitation.P353)

- 134a) *ko:ḍḥ muḥkaḍi uḥḍi*
 ko:ḍḥ muḥkaḍi uḥḍi
 monkey story exist
 “There is a monkey story.” (Tiger.1a)

- b) *i pəyniyə o:ṭəya u:ḍə*
 i pəyniyə o:ṭəya u:ḍə
 this work all exist
 “There is all this work.” (Elicitation.P423)

They overlap in some functions with *awoɖ* because they are also used to describe existence in a location (135); however, further research is necessary to look for possible differences in the locational arguments of *awoɖ* and *uŋɖo ~ uŋɖi ~ uŋɖu, uɖə*.

135a) *moɭali wan mer uɖə*

moɭali wan meri u:ɖi
down.below one tree exist
“There is a tree down below.”

(Elicitation.P422)

b) *aɭali ɖyar bəŋgəl uŋɖi*

aɭali ɖyari bəŋgəli uŋɖi
over.there sahib bungalow exist
“There is a sahib’s house over there.”

(7th.Son.362)

paɖ also functions like a copula but it encodes episodic existential events (‘happens to be, occurs’) rather than permanent states. Even when it refers to a situation that is permanent, as in (136b) (where the state is a permanent one within the fictional world of the story), the point-of-view encoded is a punctiliar one; that is, the shop happened to be there when the agent looked. It contrasts with the copulas above in that it can be used to refer to situations that do not exist at the moment of speaking, such as the hypothetical situation in (136a, c) and the past situation in (136b). It can be used to refer to actual events (past or present) or non-actual events (future, hypothetical, etc.). *paɖ* overlaps in some contexts with other copulas (137).

136a) *wan ru:mə ɖisani, buɾmandrəka no:dɭayə nala paɖa*

wan ru:mə ɖi:l-s-ani bu-pu-mann-ɖər-ka no:d-əlayə nala
one room keep-rlf-con come-IR-irf-person-pl-dat look-inf nice

paɖ-a

happen-3sg

‘If one room is kept, it will be nice for visitors to look at.’ (Conversation.154)

b) *pəyt no:dŋ, aŋgayr pattəðə*
 pəy-aʃu no:d-w-ən aŋgayri paɖ-t-əðə
 go_{SR}-cmp look-irf-syn shop happen-sg
 “When going and looking, there was a shop.” (7th.Son.156)

c) *a: ya:nk injəna:n pəyni pattani, mo:tən əŋ pəyɖapila*
 a ya:ni-ka injən-a:nu pəyniyə paɖ-t-ani
 that elephant-dat thing-IND work happen-rlf-con

 mo:tən əɖi-t-nu pəy-əɖapəla
 mahout take-rlf-acp go_{SR}-obg
 “If there is any work for the elephant, the mahout has to take it and go.”
 (Conversation.547)

137) *nəntə madrasəl maʃi pəjjəɖaygi paʃa ~ uŋɖo*
 nəntə madras-əl maʃi pəyl-j-əðə-aŋgi paɖ-t-a ~ uŋɖo
 yesterday Madras-lc rain rain-rlf-nmr-like happen-rlf-3sg exist
 “It seems that it rained in Madras yesterday.” (Elicitation.P359)

As described above, the negative verb root *il* functions as an auxiliary verb (in which context it can take subject agreement markers, except number markers /-əðə, -əgə/). It also combines with the 3rd singular suffix /-a/ to form the negative copula *ila* ‘negative existence’:

138a) *pina bə:r bə:ɖʌy ila*
 pina bə:ri bə:ɖ-əlayə il-a
 then other buy-inf neg.exist
 “Then we don’t have to buy anything else.” (Conversation.355)

b) *alli ɖa:r ila*
 alli ɖa:rə ila
 there who.nm neg.exist
 “There was no one there.” (7th.Son.359)

il ‘negative’ and *paɖ* together form a suffix that attaches to regular verbs roots to form negative passives (139a). Negative passives can alternatively be formed with the negative particle *ilɖi* ‘without’ followed by *paɖ* (139b).⁵¹

139a) *i paŋŋu ɸinəlpaɖɖə*
 i paŋŋu ɸin-ilpaɖ-iɖi
 this fruit eat-neg.pass-sg
 “This fruit has not been eaten.” (Elicitation.460)

b) *i paŋŋu ke:ɸi inɖa ɸinəlɖi paɸɸəɖə. ka:lŋ a:n-a ɸinda*
 i paŋŋu ke:ɸi inɖa ɸin-əl ilɖi paɖ-t-əɖə
 this fruit Ketɪ through eat-inf without happen-rlf-sg

 ka:lŋ a:n-a ɸin-t-a
 Kaalan 3sr-acc eat-rlf-3sg
 “This fruit was not eaten by Ketɪ. Kaalan ate it.” (Elicitation.460)

4.2. The other defective verbs

bə:ɖa is used to express lack of desire for something, or an injunction to not do something. It takes noun phrases and clauses as complements; clausal complements of *bə:ɖa* are marked with infinitive /-əl/:

140a) *i piŋakkən yanka bə:ɖama*
 i pəŋakkən yan-ka bə:ɖa-ma
 this woman 1s-dat dont.want-EXM
 “I don’t want this woman.” (7th.Son.47)

b) *ni: argəl bə:ɖa*
 niyə argu-əl bə:ɖa
 2s.nm sleep-inf dont.want
 “You should not sleep.” (Elicitation.321)

⁵¹ In other Dravidian languages such as Tamil (Asher 1985), the verb root *paɸu* is used in positive constructions to form passives; however, when I tested positive passive sentences with this root in BK, my informant judged them unacceptable.

- c) *ke:kɣa yanka ma|a pəyl bə:ɖa*
 ke:kɣa yan-ka ma|a pəyl-əl bə:ɖa
 tomorrow 1s-dat rain rain-inf dont.want
 “I don’t want it to rain tomorrow.” (Elicitation.315)

bə:ɖu expresses the opposite of *bə:ɖa* -- that is, desire for something -- and takes similar complements (I did not elicit clausal complements of *bə:ɖu*, but I expect it to take the same infinitival forms).

maydnu occurs only with finite and non-finite clausal complements and conveys the meaning “can do (to achieve a result)”:

- 141a) *i ɖa:ləmkayl magəl pəŋakkəna: kuynapəg e:n maydnu?*
 i ɖaləmkayə-əl magələ pəŋakkən-a kuynar-pu-əgə e:n maydnu
 this pomegranate-lc girl woman-acc marry-irf-pl what can.do
 “What can I do to marry the pomegranate woman?” (Pomegranate.39)

- b) *pəyni kəɽka nawə e:n maydnu?*
 pəyniyə kəɽu-w-ka nawə e:n maydnu
 work get-irf-inf 1s.nm what can.do
 “What can I do to get work?” (Elicitation.380)

paɖa is used to convey the sense that something is enough (142), or to express conjecture (143).

- 142a) *sakr paɖama*
 sakkərə paɖa-ma
 sugar be.enough-EXM
 “The sugar is enough.” (Elicitation.P233)

- b) *a: bred uɖŋ paɖa*
 a bredə uɖ-w-ən paɖa
 that bread put-irf-syn be.enough
 “It is enough to put that bread.” (Conversation.711)

143a) *səwwa:səl mołtənaða paða*
 səwwa:si-əl mołi-t-ənað-a paða-ma
 Tuesday-lc sprout-rlf-prf-3sg must.be-EXM
 “It must have sprouted on Tuesday.” (Elicitation.P496)

b) *a i:dl ayindan o:ta sa:man unðu paðam*
 a i:ri-əl ayinði-a:nu o:ta sa:mani unðu paða-ma
 that village-lc what-IND all thing exist must.be-EXM
 “There must be all kinds of things in that village.” (7th.Son.156)

o:d ‘practise, do’ is perhaps also a defective verb. There is just one sentence in these data in which it functions as an independent verb root; it takes the optative mood suffix in this example:

144) *inaṭər na:lka, bupə tiṅgəłtɣa ... i:kəni ... i:tiṅgəl o:dəl*
 inaṭərə na:lka bu-pu-ə tiṅgəli-təŋa i:kəni i tiṅgəli o:d-əla
 this.much day-dat come-ir-rlr month-dat or this month do-opt
 “Let him/her hold it (a wedding) in so many days, next month, or this month.”
 (Conversation.351)

It usually occurs in a compound with a noun and is used to convey the sense that the noun is in some way characteristic of the sentential subject; e.g. *ya:mo:d* (/ya:ni-o:d/) elephant-practice) ‘to look after elephants’, *səttiyo:d* (/sətti-o:d/) power-practice) ‘to possess power, to act with power’, *miriyo:d* (/miriyə-o:d/) cub-practice) ‘to have cubs, young ones’. An example of one of these compounds is shown in (145).

145a) *aḍə səttiyo:də magəlam andaṭu ...*
 aḍə sətti-o:d-ə magələ-mu a:n-t-aṭu
 3sr.nm power-practise-rlr daughter-EXM say-rlf-cmp
 “Having said, ‘She is a woman of (supernatural) power’.” (Pomegranate.89)

b) *naw na:ra:yən magə[ə]mu. səttiyo:q̄d̄ə*
nawə na:ra:yən magə[ə]-mu
 1s.nm God(?) daughter-EXM
 “I am a heavenly being.”

sətti-o:q̄-əq̄ə
 power-practise-sg or nmr
 “I have (supernatural) power/I am a person of (supernatural) power.”
 (Pomegranate.82)

Incidentally, the subject agreement suffix /-əq̄ə/ in (145b) could be functioning either as a subject agreement marker on a verb or as a verbal nominalizer, making it difficult to identify whether this compound is functioning as a noun or a verb. Thus, the sentence could mean either “I am a person of (supernatural) power” or “I act with (supernatural) power”.

There are, in addition, two negative defective verbs *sidla* ‘err, make a mistake’, *edla* ‘don’t know’ which occur in invariant form. Examples are given in (146)

146a) *nawə sidlama*
nawə sidla-ma
 1s.nm err-EXM
 “I have spoiled it/made a mistake!” (Pomegranate.135)

b) *udgiṭ ampun iṭərka edla*
udgiṭi ampunu iṭər-ka edla
 y.woman quot 3pp-dat don’t.know
 “They didn’t know that she was a woman” (7th.Son.417)

Chapter 3: The nominal system

The lexical categories discussed in this chapter are nouns, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers. Nouns in BK are an open set of words that can function syntactically as the subject or object in a sentence; they take number suffixes and the full range of case suffixes described below. Pronouns are a closed set of words that function like nouns and take the same range of suffixes as nouns; i.e. number and case. Numerals and quantifiers resemble nouns in that they can function as subject or objects in a sentence; however, they do not take nominal suffixes.

1.0 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

The BK noun consists minimally of a root. The noun root can take up to two inflectional suffixes (number and case) depending on grammatical function; there are no category-preserving derivational suffixes in the noun system. A BK noun can be derived by the word structure rules given in (1) and has the structure given in (2).⁵²

- 1a) Noun --> ROOT INFL
b) INFL --> (number) (case)

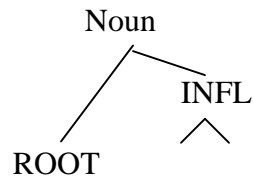


Figure 3.1: Structure of the BK noun

⁵²Noun roots can be formed out of compounds, but a discussion of compounds is beyond the scope of this description; therefore, a rule for the formation of compound roots is not included here.

1.1. Nominal and pronominal roots

Some, but not all, male and female noun roots with human reference exhibit “masculine” and “feminine” endings; a large number of male human nouns end in coronal nasals while their female counterparts end in /i/. Several of these nouns occur in male and female pairs, in which some of the initial segments in the pair are identical; e.g. *udgən* ‘young man’ and *udgiti* ‘young woman’. It is possible to treat the “masculine” and “feminine” endings as gender suffixes; however, I analyze them as root endings that show a phonological correlation with sex.⁵³

The noun roots that show these male and female endings consist of proper nouns and words that refer to human characteristics such as kinship, profession, or physical traits. Native BK names consist of a small set of 7 male/female pairs and one female name without a male counterpart; the entire set is shown in (3). All the male names end in /n/, while the female names end in either /i/ or form a compound with *akkən* ‘elder sister’, *ajji* ‘grandmother’. Corresponding male and female names show a vowel alternation in addition to different sex-related endings – male names have a non-front vowel, while some of their female counterparts have a front vowel or a diphthong ending in /y/.

3) Native BK proper nouns:

	Female	Male
a.	<i>me:di</i>	<i>ma:dən</i>
b.	<i>ke:ti</i>	<i>kya:tən</i>
c.	<i>bummakkən ~ bommi</i>	<i>bummən ~ bommən</i>
d.	<i>merakkən, merajji</i>	<i>ma:dn</i>

⁵³ If these endings were treated as derivational suffixes; it would be necessary to claim that they attach to bound roots, since the putative root to which they attach never occurs as a free word. Since bound noun roots do not otherwise occur in BK, I consider this analysis unnecessarily complicated.

e.	<i>kaylakkən</i>	<i>ka:lŋ</i>
f.	<i>ma:nbakkən</i>	<i>ma:nbən</i>
g.	<i>so:makkən</i>	<i>so:mən</i>
h.	<i>badsı</i>	--

Kinship terms and words for professions or personal characteristics are shown in (4). These words show the male and female endings described above, but do not have the vowel alternation that proper nouns have.

4a) Kinship terms:

i.	<i>ajji</i> ‘grandmother’	<i>ajjən</i> ‘grandfather’
ii.	<i>pya:rŋi</i> ‘granddaughter’	<i>pya:dn</i> ‘grandson’

b) Terms for professions/personal characteristics:

i.	<i>udgiti</i> ‘young woman’	<i>udgən</i> ‘young man’
ii.	<i>muŋki</i> ‘old woman’	<i>muŋkən</i> ‘old man’
iii.	<i>kuddi</i> ‘blind woman’	<i>kuddn</i> ‘blind man’
vi.	<i>moddi</i> ‘lazy woman’	<i>moddn</i> ‘lazy man’
iv.	<i>wodditi</i> ‘female construction worker’	<i>woddn</i> ‘mason’
v.	<i>mođti</i> ‘physically disabled woman’	<i>mođən</i> ‘physically disabled man’

There are several other male nouns that end in /n/ and several female nouns that end in /i/, but semantically-related male and female pairs with these nouns do not show a common phonological element; e.g. *ammən* ‘father’ and *abbi* ‘mother’, *kərən* ‘younger brother’ and *eŋigi* ‘younger brother’s wife’ (younger sister is *kəra:lə*). Note that a few female nouns also end in /n/; e.g. *akkən* ‘(elder) sister’ therefore, /n/-endings show a tendency to correlate with male nouns, but are not exclusively used for these nouns.

Many names of animals also end in /n/; e.g. *pe:rgən* ‘flying squirrel’, *i:yən* ‘porcupine’; however, these do not have different endings for males and females.⁵⁴

Singular pronouns that mark 1st and 2nd person, as well as 3rd anaphoric person are formed from the roots listed in Table 1. The nominative alternant is used in nominative case; the second syllable is optionally deleted to form *na* ‘I’, *ni* ‘you’, *ta* ‘himself/herself/itself’. The genitive alternant is used in genitive case and as the base to which other case suffixes are attached.

Table 3.1: Singular pronominal roots

	Nominative alternant	Genitive alternant
1 st	<i>nawə</i>	<i>yan</i>
2 nd	<i>ni:yə</i>	<i>nin</i>
3 rd anaphoric	<i>ta:wə</i>	<i>tan</i>

Plural forms of the pronouns in Table 1 are formed by attaching number suffixes (as described in §1.3) to the singular genitive alternant. However, 1st person plural has two forms; 1st person exclusive consists of the 1st singular root plus plural suffix /-gə/ and 1st person inclusive consists of a different root plus /-gə/. Plural pronouns derived from singular pronominal roots, as well as the 1st inclusive plural pronoun, are listed in (5); these do not show different nominative and genitive alternants.

⁵⁴ Instead female sex on animals is indicated by a modifier. Different types of animals have different modifiers: for birds, the modifier is *pəttə* as in *pətt(ə) koyli* ‘hen’; for deer, it is *pəḍ* as in *pəḍma:nu* ‘doe’; for elephants, it is *ḍa:p* as in *ḍa:pyani* ‘female elephant’; and the default modifier for most other animals is *pəŋ*. (I did not check if *pəḍ* and *ḍa:p* have a word-final vowel and can occur as separate words, or whether they form compounds with the noun for the animal.) Steever (pc) points out that *pəttə* and *pəḍ* most probably come from **pəŋ* ‘female’.

- 5) *yaygə* ‘we (exc.)’
naygə ‘we (inc.)’
niygə ‘you all’
ṭaygə ‘they’

3rd person non-anaphoric pronouns are derived from a combination of deictic particles *a* ‘remote’, *i* ‘proximate’, and *u*: ‘non-specific’ plus singular nominalizer /-əḍə ~ -ən/ or plural nominalizer /-əgə ~ -ṭərə/; thus, number in these pronouns is encoded within their category-changing nominalizers.

1.2. Case

The following case categories are morphologically encoded in BK: Nominative, Genitive, Accusative, Dative, Comitative, and Locative. Only case functions related to verbs are discussed in this section; case assignment by postpositions is described in Chapter 4.

Tables 2-3 show paradigms for case on singular and plural nouns. As mentioned above, noun roots end only in short high vowels or coronal nasal consonants; these tables, therefore, show case suffixes on a root with each of these endings. The table for singular nouns also includes two irregular nouns, *a:lu* ‘person’ and *uburu* ‘both’. Among regular nouns, the nominative case form is identical to the genitive modifier form. In contrast, the irregular nouns in Table 2 have a genitive modifier form which is distinct from the nominative form.

Since I did not elicit complete paradigms for all of the stems in these tables, some of the words shown are the expected form rather than an actual elicited form. Words that

represent expected forms are in parentheses; they are based on the structure shown by other nouns with similar stem endings, for which I did elicit the relevant case form. The gaps in the table indicate restrictions on the occurrence of locative /-əl/; this suffix cannot occur on human nouns and (based on the data so far) it does not occur on plural nouns. Details about these case paradigms are discussed in §§1.2.1-6.

Table 3.2: Case paradigms for singular nouns

	Regular nouns				Irregular nouns	
	<i>udgən</i> 'y.man'	<i>udgiti</i> 'y.woman'	<i>ma:nu</i> 'deer'	<i>kambə</i> 'pillar'	<i>a:lu</i> 'person'	<i>uburu</i> 'both'
Nominative	<i>udgən</i>	<i>udgiti</i>	<i>ma:nu</i>	<i>kambə</i>	<i>a:lu</i>	<i>uburu</i>
Genitive:						
a) modifier	<i>udgən</i>	<i>udgiti</i>	<i>ma:nu</i>	<i>kambə</i>	<i>a:min</i>	<i>ubun</i>
b) nominal	<i>udgəndə</i>	<i>udgitiḏə</i>	<i>ma:ndə</i>	<i>(kambəḏə)</i>	<i>(a:məndə)</i>	<i>(ubundə)</i>
Accusative	<i>udgəna</i>	<i>udgitiya</i>	<i>ma:niya</i>	<i>kambiya</i>	<i>a:məna</i>	<i>ubuna</i>
Dative	<i>udgəŋa</i>	<i>udgitiḱa</i>	<i>ma:nka</i>	<i>kammka</i>	<i>a:məŋa</i>	<i>ubuŋa</i>
Comitative	<i>(udgənoḏa)</i>	<i>(udgitiḏoḏa)</i>	<i>(ma:noḏa)</i>	<i>kamboḏa</i>	<i>a:mənoḏa</i> ⁵⁵	<i>ubunoḏa</i>
Locative	--	--	<i>ma:nl</i>	<i>kambl</i>	--	--

Table 3.3: Case paradigms for plural nouns

	washermen	young women	deer (pl.)	dogs
	<i>əygən-də</i>	<i>udgiti-rə</i>	<i>ma:nu-gə</i>	<i>na:ygə-gə</i>
Nominative	<i>əygəndə</i>	<i>udgitiərə</i>	<i>ma:ngə</i>	<i>na:ygə</i>
Genitive:				
a) modifier	<i>əygəndə</i>	<i>udgitiərə</i>	<i>ma:ngə</i>	<i>na:ygə</i>
b) nominal	<i>əygəndərḏə</i>	<i>udgitiərḏə</i>	<i>ma:ngərḏə</i>	<i>na:ygərḏə</i>
Accusative	<i>(əygəndədna)</i>	<i>udgitiədna</i>	<i>ma:ngədna</i>	<i>na:ygədna</i>
Dative	<i>(əygəndərka)</i>	<i>udgitiərka</i>	<i>ma:ngərka</i>	<i>na:ygərka</i>
Comitative	<i>(əygənoḏa)</i>	<i>(udgitiəroḏa)</i>	<i>(ma:ngoḏa)</i>	<i>(na:yoḏa)</i>
Locative	--	--	--	--

⁵⁵ This word has a variant *altoḏa*, which occurs once in the texts.

Tables 4-5 show case paradigms on singular and plural personal pronouns, and Table 6 shows interrogative pronouns.

Table 3.4: Case paradigms for singular personal pronouns

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd Proximate	3 rd Remote	3 rd Anaphor
Nominative	<i>nawə</i>	<i>niyə</i>	<i>idə</i>	<i>aḏə</i>	<i>ṭawə</i>
Genitive:					
a) modifier ⁵⁶	<i>yan</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>idən ~ i:n</i>	<i>aḏən ~ a:n</i>	<i>ṭan</i>
b) nominal	<i>yaḏə</i>	<i>ninḏə</i>	<i>idənḏə ~ i:nḏə</i>	<i>aḏənḏə ~ a:nḏə</i>	<i>ṭanḏə</i>
Accusative	<i>yaniya</i>	<i>niniya</i>	<i>idəna ~ i:na</i>	<i>aḏəna ~ a:na</i>	<i>ṭaniya</i>
Dative	<i>yanka</i>	<i>ninka</i>	<i>idəḡa ~ i:ḡa</i>	<i>aḏəḡa ~ a:ḡa</i>	<i>ṭanka</i>
Comitative	<i>yanoda</i>	<i>ninoda</i>	<i>(idənoḏa) ~ i:noḏa</i>	<i>aḏənoḏa ~ a:noḏa</i>	--
Locative ⁵⁷	--	--	--	--	--

Table 3.5: Case paradigms for plural personal pronouns

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd Proximate	3 rd Remote	3 rd Anaphor
Nominative	<i>yaḡə</i>	<i>niḡə</i>	<i>igə</i>	<i>agə</i>	<i>ṭaḡə</i>
Genitive:					
a) modifier	<i>yaḡ(gə)</i>	<i>niḡ(gə)</i>	<i>itir</i>	<i>aṭər</i>	<i>ṭaḡ(gə)</i>
b) nominal	<i>yaḡərḏə</i>	<i>niḡərḏə</i>	<i>itərḏə</i>	<i>aṭərḏə</i>	<i>ṭaḡərḏə</i>
Accusative	<i>yaḡədna</i>	<i>niḡədna</i>	<i>itədna</i>	<i>aṭədna</i>	<i>ṭaḡədna</i>
Dative	<i>yaḡərka</i>	<i>niḡərka</i>	<i>itərka</i>	<i>aṭərka</i>	<i>ṭaḡərka</i>
Comitative	<i>yaḡoda</i>	<i>(niḡoda)</i>	<i>(itəroḏa)</i>	<i>(aṭəroḏa)</i>	--
Locative	--	--	--	--	--

⁵⁶ The accusative and dative forms of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd anaphoric pronouns exhibit the allomorphy found among vowel-final nouns (the accusative allomorph [-iya], rather than [-a], and the dative allomorph [-ka], rather than [-ḡa]), as described below. This suggests that the genitive pronoun, which forms the base to which accusative and dative case suffixes are attached, has an underlying final vowel; however, since no stem-final vowel ever surfaces on these pronouns, I represent the genitive as nasal-final.

⁵⁷ Further research is necessary to check if locative case can occur on a 3rd person pronoun when it refers to an animal or thing.

Table 3.6: Case paradigms for interrogative human and non-human pronouns

	who	what			
Nominative	<i>ɖa:rə</i>	<i>ayindɪ</i>	<i>iyindɪ</i>	<i>anjəɖə</i>	<i>injəɖə</i>
Genitive:					
a) modifier	<i>ɖa:r(ə)</i>	<i>ayin</i>	<i>(iyin)</i>	<i>anjən</i>	<i>(injən)</i>
b) nominal	<i>ɖa:rɖə</i>	<i>(ayində)</i>	<i>(iyində)</i>	<i>(anjəndə)</i>	<i>(injəndə)</i>
Accusative	<i>ɖa:dna</i>	<i>ayina</i>	<i>iyina</i>	<i>anjəna</i>	<i>injəna</i>
Dative	<i>ɖa:rka</i>	<i>ayiŋa</i>	<i>iyiŋa</i>	<i>(anjəŋa)</i>	<i>injəŋa</i>
Comitative	<i>ɖa:roɖa</i>	<i>ayinoɖa</i>	<i>(iyinoɖa)</i>	<i>anjənoɖa</i>	<i>(injənoɖa)</i>
Locative	--	--	--	--	--

Some prefatory remarks about word order in BK are necessary as background for the following description of case. BK is an SOV language; however, it is possible to vary this order for discourse purposes. BK is also a nominative-accusative marking language; however, it has some characteristics of a split intransitive system (see Payne 1997 for a discussion of nominative-accusative systems and split intransitive systems). The argument of an intransitive verb, regardless of whether it is an agent or patient, has the same morphological marking as the agent of a transitive verb. Thus, the agent in (6a) and the patient in (6b) show the same 1st person pronominal form *nawə*, as the agent of the transitive verb in (6c). In contrast, when the 1st person pronoun is a patient of the transitive verb in (6d), it shows a different morphological form, *yaniya*.

6a) *nawə niljo:ɖɖə*
nawə nili-j-o:ɖ-əɖə
 1s.nm play-rlf-prg-sg
 ‘I am playing.’ (Elicitation.P108)

b) *nəntə nawə buɖo:ni*
nəntə nawə bu:|-ɖ-o:g-n-i
 yesterday 1s.nm fall-rlf-thrly-pve-1sg
 ‘I fell yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P248)

c) *na niniya nəyro:q̄q̄ə*
 nawə nin-iyə nəyr-o:q̄-idi
 1s.nm 2s-acc look_{SR}-prg-sg
 ‘I am looking at you.’ (Elicitation.P147)

d) *ni yaniya nəyro:q̄q̄ə*
 niyə yan-iyə nəyr-o:q̄-əq̄ə
 2s.nm 1s-acc look_{SR}-prg-sg
 ‘You are looking at me.’ (Elicitation.P147)

BK, however, has some characteristics of a split intransitive system in that the experiencer argument of an intransitive verb (7a) is marked with the same suffix as the experiencer argument of a transitive verb (7b).

7a) *nəntə yanka pəyrannq̄ə*
 nəntə yan-ka pəyran-t-əq̄ə
 yesterday 1s-dat feel.fear_R-rlf-sg
 ‘I felt afraid yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P365)

b) *yanka nin ba:ji nala puq̄sənaq̄əq̄ə*
 yan-ka nin ba:ji nala puq̄j-s-ənaq̄-əq̄ə
 1s-dat 2s.gn speech well like-rlf-st.dur-sg
 ‘I like your language very much.’ (Elicitation.P353)

1.2.1 Nominative

Nominative case can be regarded as the default case form in BK because it is used for a variety of syntactic functions. As explained above, a non-experiencer argument of an intransitive verb is assigned nominative case. With transitive verbs, the agentive argument, if present, is assigned nominative case. The examples given above showed pronouns as agents and patients; the examples in (8) show nouns in these roles.

- 8a) *maggi argiso*
 maggi argu-s-o
 child sleep-rlf-3sg
 “The child has gone to sleep.” (Elicitation.P348)
- b) *abbi maggiya ya:rṭa*
 abbi maggi-iya ya:ri-ṭ-a
 mother child-acc call-rlf-3sg.
 “The mother called the child.” (Elicitation.P361)
- c) *maggi abbiya ya:rṭa*
 maggi abbi-iya ya:ri-ṭ-a
 child mother-acc call-rlf-3sg
 “The child called the mother.” (Elicitation.P361)

If a transitive verb has no agent argument, but instead two patient arguments, the most agent-like of the two arguments is assigned nominative case; this argument functions as the subject of the sentence. Thus, in (9), both arguments of the verb are patients; *aḍə* is assigned nominative case, while *niniya* is assigned accusative case:

- 9) *ke:kṇa aḍə niniya marḍo:pa*
 ke:kṇa aḍə nin-iya marḍo:g-p-a
 tomorrow 3sr.nm 2s-acc forget-irf-3sg
 ‘She will forget you tomorrow.’ (Elicitation.P204)

If the transitive verb has no agent argument, but instead a patient argument and a recipient or experiencer argument, the patient is assigned nominative case. Thus, in (10a, b), the patients *na:yə* and *pəyniyə* are in nominative case and the experiencer *ra:məṇa* and recipient *bomməṇa* are in dative case.

10a) *ra:məŋa na:yə puɖso:ɖɖə*
 ra:mən-ka na:yə puɖi-s-o:ɖ-əɖə
 raman-dat dog like-rlf-prg-3sg
 “Raman likes dogs.” (Elicitation.P365)

b) *bomməŋa kurka:s pəyni kəɖso*
 bommən-ka kurka:si pəyniyə kəɖ-s-o
 Bomman-dat watchman work get-rlf-3sg
 “Bomman got a job as a watchman.” (Elicitation.P499)

Nominative case is also used for the following syntactic functions:

(i) Predicate nominals are in nominative case

11) *yan ki:dl wan na:k kəyli*
 yan ki:ri-əl wan na:ku kəyli
 1s.gn house-lc about four hen
 There are some 4 hens in my house. (Conversations.647)

(ii) When a noun is used with quantifier phrases consisting of the irregular nouns *uburu* ‘both persons’ and *a:lu* ‘person’, the verb assigns case (relevant to semantic role) to the noun in the quantifier phrase. The nouns that are modified by the quantifier phrase are left unmarked. This is shown in (12), where the irregular noun *a:lu* within the quantifier phrase *əddu a:lu* ‘two persons’ is assigned accusative case by the verb, while the nouns that it modifies, *i pəŋɖə*, *a pəŋɖə* are unmarked. The unmarked nouns which are coreferential with the quantifier phrase can be treated by default as nominative-case forms.

12) *i pəŋɖə, a pəŋɖə ədd a:məna ma:ɖəgijən ...*
 i pəŋɖ-ɖə a pəŋɖ-ɖə əddu a:mən-a ma:ɖəwə-ki:l-j-ənu
 this woman-pl that woman-pl two person-acc marriage-do-rlf-acc
 ‘Marrying both of them, this wife and that wife ...’ (7th.Son.497)

Similarly, in (13), the irregular noun *ubuŋa*, which functions as a quantifier phrase, shows dative case marking, while the nouns that it modifies, *a uḍgən a: uḍgiti*, are unmarked. Note that case assignment to the noun in the quantifier phrase can be explained by the fact that this noun always occurs after the noun(s) that it modifies; therefore, it is closer to the verb and in a better syntactic position to receive case.

- 13) *a: ɖuɖɖ o:ŋi əŋ ba:tu a uḍgən a: uḍgiti ubuŋa koɖiyo*
 a ɖuɖɖə o:ŋi əɖi-t-ənu ba:r-aɖu
 that money all take-rlf-acp come-cmp
- a uḍgən a uḍgiti ubun-ka koɖ-w-iyo
 that y.man that y.woman both-dat give-irf-pl
 ‘Having brought that money and all, they give it to both of them, the young man and woman.’ (Conversation.370)

A similar situation to the one involving irregular nouns in quantifier phrases arises in one type of possessive construction. In this construction, an unmarked noun is immediately followed by a possessive noun phrase construction in which an anaphoric pronoun is marked for genitive case. This type of possessive construction is used only for humans and only when referring to kinship relations. The unmarked noun can be treated by default as a nominative case form. Thus, in (14) the possessor *maggi* ‘child’ is in nominative case, and genitive case is marked on the anaphoric pronoun in the following possessive construction.

- 14) *a magg tan abbi banda*
 a magg tan abbi ban-t-a
 that child 3sa.gn mother come-R-rlf-3sg
 ‘That child’s mother came’ (Elicitation.P361)

1.2.2. Genitive.

Inflectional marking on genitive nouns depends on the syntactic function that the possessor noun performs in a sentence. When possessors are noun modifiers, genitive case is unmarked on regular nouns; possessor and possessee nouns are simply juxtaposed together to form a possessive noun phrase, with the possessor ordered first. If the possessor is a vowel-final noun, the vowel is normally deleted; however, deletion is not obligatory and is indistinguishable from a pervasive phenomenon of word-final vowel deletion in BK (described briefly in Chapter 6).

- 15a) *na:y ba:lə kartənaɖa*
na:yə ba:lə kart-ənəɖ-a
dog tail black-st.dur-3sg.
“The dog’s tail is black.” (Elicitation.P368)
- b) *a magg na:yə banda*
a maggi na:yə ban-t-a
that child dog come_R-rlf-3sg
“That child’s dog came” (Elicitation.P361)
- c) *bommən kiri ka:lŋ ki:rka nətj:m uŋɖo*
bommən kiri ka:lŋ kiri-ka nətj:mi uŋɖo
bomman house kaalan house-dat straight exist
“Bomman’s house is straight in front of Kaalan’s house” (Elicitation.P364)

Irregular nouns and certain pronouns have genitive forms (ending in /n/) that are distinct from their nominative case forms. The genitive stem is the base to which other case suffixes are added. Thus, the irregular noun *uburu* ‘both persons’ has a genitive form *ubun* in (16), the noun functions as a quantifier phrase that is coreferential with the preceding conjoined nouns *meɖi keŋ(i)*.

- 16) *yanka meḍi keṭubun ʔiri bə:ḍu*
 yan-ka meḍi keṭi ubun ʔiri bə:ḍu
 1s-dat Medi Keti both.gn cloth want
 “I want Medi’s and Ketu’s clothes.” (Elicitation.P377)

The genitive modifier form is also used when the noun is assigned genitive case by a postposition.

When possessor nouns and pronouns are not noun modifiers or objects of postpositions, they take the ‘genitive nominal’ suffix /-ḍə/; e.g. *ma:nḍə* ‘the deer’s’ ($\sqrt{ma:nu}$), *baṅandə* ‘the door’s’ ($\sqrt{baṅani}$). In the data so far, genitive nominals occur as the subject or object of a verb, or as an isolated phrase. (17a) has an example of a genitive nominal predicate and (17b) has a genitive nominal as the subject of a clause (the nominals are shown in bold).

- 17a) *i pandə **nayḍə***
 i pandə na:yə-ḍə
 this ball dog-g.nml
 “This ball is the dog’s.” (Elicitation.P373)

- b) *pina **ṭandə** pəyya:ŋ ka:ŋəŋa, pin i udgṭiya barwəl puḍsun ṭayluṭŋ ka:ṭu, pina a muṅḍəgəḍs ba:ṭu, i udgəna kuytnu, kirka pə:səḍə*

pina ṭan-ḍə pəyya:ŋgi ka:ŋ-əŋa
 then 3sa-g.nml ugly look-trn
 “Then on hers (her appearance) looking ugly,”

pina i udgṭi-ya barwə-əl puḍ-s-ənu ṭayl-ud-t-ənu ka:ṭ-aṭu
 then this y.woman-acc well-lc hold-rlf-acc push-leave-rlf-acc leave-cmp
 having pushed this young woman into the well,

pina a muṅḍəgəḍsi ba:ṭu i udgən-a kuytnu ki:ri-ka pə:s-əḍə
 then that hag focus this y.man-acc lead-acc house-dat go_R-rlf-
 that old hag took the young man home.” (Pomegranate.374)

Note that the genitive nominal suffix is phonologically similar to another suffix /-əḍə/ ‘singular nominative nominalizer’ (described in Chapter 5), which is used to nominalize words of several different lexical categories, among them pronouns and adjectives. Since the singular nominative nominalizer attaches to adjectives, it is possible to argue that genitive modifier nouns are syntactically adjectives and that they are nominalized with /-əḍə/. However, there is an important difference between general category-changing nominalization with /-əḍə/ and the genitive nominal: In the nominalization of adjectives, pronouns, etc. there are two suffixes that are used to form singular and plural nominative nouns, /-əḍə, -əgə/, respectively. In contrast, genitive nominals are formed with /-əḍə/ only, regardless of whether the genitive nominal is singular or plural, as shown in (18b), where ‘dogs’ (thing)’ is *na:ygərḍə* and not **na:ygərgə*. Similarly, (18c-e) shows that /-əḍə/ is used irrespective of the number category of the possessor or possessee. (The nominalizer and the genitive nominal are distinguished in glosses by the gloss nml ‘nominalizer’ and g.nml ‘genitive nominal’.)

- 18a) *i: pənḍə na:ygḍə*
 i pənḍə na:yg-ḍə
 this ball dog-g.nml
 “This ball is the dog’s.” (Elicitation.P373)
- b) *i: yalugə a: na:ygərḍə*
 i yaləwə-gə a na:yg-ger-ḍə
 this bone-pl that dog-pl-g.nml
 “These bones are those dogs’ (bones).” (Elicitation.P439)
- c) *i: t̪i:rgə udg̪iḍəḍə*
 i t̪iri-gə udg̪iḍi-ḍə
 this cloth-pl y.woman-g.nml
 “These clothes are the young woman’s.” (Elicitation.P428)

d) *i: t̪i:rgə udg̪i:tərdə*
 i t̪i:ri-gə udg̪i:ti-rə-də
 this cloth-pl y.woman-pl-g.nml
 “These clothes are young women’s.” (Elicitation.P428)

e) *i: t̪i:ri udg̪i:tərdə*
 i t̪i:ri udg̪i:ti-rə-də
 this cloth y.woman-pl-g.nml
 “This cloth the young women’s.” (Elicitation.P428)

1.2.3. Accusative

Accusative case is encoded by the suffixes /-na, -a, -iya/. The suffix [-na] occurs after plural noun stems; e.g. *ki:rgədna* /ki:ri-gər-na/ ‘house-pl-acc’; [-a] occurs after singular nouns ending in nasals or /yə/ (19a); [-iya] occurs elsewhere (19b):

19a) Stems with /-a/:

	Gloss	Nominative	Accusative
i.	young man	<i>udgən</i>	<i>udgəna</i>
ii.	wife	<i>pəŋŋ</i>	<i>pəŋŋa</i>
iii.	parrot	<i>kə:lŋ</i>	<i>kə:lŋa</i>
iv.	dog	<i>na:yə</i>	<i>na:ya</i>
v.	lip	<i>kiriya</i>	<i>kiriya</i>
vi.	plant	<i>təyyə</i>	<i>təyya</i>

b) Stems with /-iya/:

	Gloss	Nominative	Accusative
i.	nose	<i>ka:ŋgə</i>	<i>ka:ŋgiya</i>
ii.	worm	<i>uɭuwə</i>	<i>uɭuwiya</i>
iii.	goat	<i>a:də</i>	<i>a:diya</i>
iv.	young woman	<i>udg̪i:ti</i>	<i>udg̪i:tiya</i>
v.	child	<i>maggi</i>	<i>maggiya</i>
vi.	deer	<i>ma:nu</i>	<i>ma:niya</i>
vii.	fruit	<i>paŋŋu</i>	<i>paŋŋiya</i>

The patient argument of a verb is typically marked for accusative case; however, in some contexts a patient argument is assigned nominative case as described in §1.2.1. Overt accusative case-marking is optional on regular nouns, but obligatory on pronouns and the irregular nouns *a:l̩u*, *uburu*.⁵⁸ In my data, the accusative marker is frequently absent on non-human nouns but generally present on human nouns; however, there are a few sentences where it does not occur on the latter. The example in (20) shows accusative case marking on human and non-human nouns, which are patients of their respective verbs.

20a) *maggi abbiya ya:r̩ta*
 maggi abbi-iya ya:ri-ṭ-a
 child mother-acc call-rlf-3sg.
 “The child called the mother.” (Elicitation.P361)

b) *pastə kəmi:niya sapəŋg aḍiyo*
pastə kəmi:nu-iya sapəŋgi aḍ-w-iyo
 first lobster-acc well cook-irf-pl
 “First, they cook the lobster well.” (Conversations.175)

c) *i piliya kəŋga:n ṭapman̩ṇa, yan magəḷiya maḍəgijən koḍiya*
 i piliyi-a kəŋga:l̩-ənu ṭa:r̩-p-mann-ka
 this tiger-acc kill-acp give-irf-person-dat

 yan magiḷə-iya maḍəwə-ki:l̩-j-ənu koḍ-w-iya
 1s.gn daughter-acc marriage-do-rlf-acp give-irf-1sg
 “I will give my daughter in marriage to the person who kills this tiger.”
 (7th.Son.373)

⁵⁸ Lehmann 1989 says that, in Tamil, the accusative marker is obligatory on human nouns, but its presence on non-human nouns depends on whether the noun has definite or indefinite reference. Further research is necessary to establish whether this is true of BK. During elicitation, my consultant was “uncomfortable” with sentences where the accusative marker was absent on human nouns, but readily accepted its absence on non-human nouns.

1.2.4. Dative

The dative suffix is /-ka/; it has phonologically conditioned variants[-ŋa, -ka], which are described in Chapter 6. The dative encodes a variety of functions, which are described below:

(i) Recipient of experience: In sentences with experiencer verbs, the dative marks the experiencer:

21a) *yanka sira: numbəl bannaqđamu*
yan-ka sira numbələ ban-t-ənəq-əđə-mu
1s-dat lots illness come_R-rlf-prf-sg-EXM
“I am very sick!” (Pomegranate.189)

b) *ra:məŋa na:yə puđso:qđə*
ra:mən-ka na:yə puđi-s-o:q-əđə
raman-dat dog like-rlf-prg-sg.
“Raman likes dogs.” (Elicitation.P365)

c) *i pəŋakkən yanka bə:qam*
i pəŋakkən yan-ka bə:qə-ma
this woman 1s-dat don't.want-EXM
“I don't want this woman.” (7th.Son.47)

(ii) Recipient of a benefactive action: The dative marks the recipient argument of benefactive (22a, b) or recipient verbs (22c).

22a) *nawə ya:nəka puttə keljisəđə*
nawə ya:ni-ka puttə kelju-s-əđə
1s.nm elephant-dat rāgi.ball knead-rlf-sg
“I kneaded a ball of *rāgi* dough for the elephant.” (Elicitation.P471)

b) *yan maṅṅka onnu wanmu:r(u) uḍsagəy*
 yan maṅḍi-ka onnu wanmu:ru uḍ-w-s-agəy
 1s.gn head-dat oil some wear-irf-caus-sg.p.im
 “Please put some oil on my head.” (Elicitation.P408)

c) *bomməṅa kurka:s pəyni kəḍso*
 bomman-ka kurka:si pəyniyə kəḍ-s-o
 Bomman-dat watchman work get_R-rlf-3sg
 “Bomman got a job as a watchman.” (Elicitation.P499)

(iii) Goal, purpose, cause: With directional verbs of motion like *po:g* ‘go (to)’, *bar:r* ‘come (from)’, *parpuḍ* ‘leave (for)’, the dative marks goal of motion on inanimate nouns (23).

23) *iḍə ... po:pəḍə ki:rka*
 iḍə po:g-pu-əḍə ki:ri-ka
 3sp.nm go-irf-sg. house-dat
 ‘He ... would go to the house.’ (7th.Son.73)

/-ka/ cannot be used to denote goal of motion on animate nouns; the postpositions *ipka* ‘towards, in the vicinity of’ or *birkəṅa* ‘on the side of’ are used instead.⁵⁹

24) *nawə a udgiṭ ipka po:piya* (**udgiṭka*)
 nawə a udgiṭ ipka po:g-pu-iyə
 1s.nm that young.woman towards go-irf-1sg.
 ‘I am going towards that woman.’ (Elicitation.P378)

The dative is also used to mark the purpose for which an action is done (25a) or the purpose for which some item is used (25b). It can also mark the goal of a reporting verb like *pə:l* ‘tell’ (25c). In some cases, the dative encodes the cause of an action (25d).

⁵⁹ These postpositions can be further analyzed as derivatives of the verb *ir* ‘be’ and noun *birk* ‘side’ combined with dative suffixes.

- 25a) *pina anndə a ma:ka pə:səḏə a udgən*
 pina anndə a maggi-ka pə:s-əḏə a udgən
 then that.day that child-dat go_R-rlf-sg that young.man
 ‘Then, that day, the young man went for that child (= to get that child).’
 (Pomegranate.309)
- b) *kikk pəṅḏənu ʔipən na, kiri:na, pensəlka*
 kikki pəṅj-ḏ-ənu ʔi:l-p-əni nawə kiri-ən-a
 basket weave-rlf-acp keep-irf-Spl 1s.nm small-nmr-acc

 pensəli-ka
 pencil-dat
 ‘I will weave a basket and keep, a small one, for pencils.’ (Conversations.95)
- c) *ina pə:rəst dipa:tməntka pə:ḏ andaʔu ...*
 ina pə:rəstə dipa:tmənt-ka pə:ḏ-w-əḏu a:n-t-aʔu
 now forest department-dat tell-irf-opt say-rlf-cmp
 ‘Having said “We must tell the forest department ...’ (Conversation.485)
- d) *anndə numbəlka ba:ʔḏə*
 anndə numbələ-ka ba:ḏ-t-əḏə
 that.day fever-dat lie.down-rlf-sg.
 ‘That day, she lay down because of fever.’ (Pomegranate.233)

When the dative marks goal or purpose of motion, it has variant forms that are optionally used instead of /-ka/; the variants appear to be a special locational dative form. For nouns that are not place names, the optional variants are /-ʔəṅa, -əṅa/⁶⁰. Thus, in

⁶⁰ /ʔ/ occurs in variant forms of dative, locative, and comitative case suffixes; nouns are lexically marked for whether they take the variant with /ʔ/; for some nouns the variant with /ʔ/ is in free variation with the variant without /ʔ/. The presence of this segment is reminiscent of other Dravidian languages; for example, in Tamil, nouns ending in /m/ form an “oblique” stem ending in /ʔt/; e.g. *maram* ‘tree’ becomes *marəʔt* before all case suffixes, as in *marəʔtukku* ‘tree-dative’ (Asher 1985:103; Asher uses the symbol /t/ rather than /ʔ/ for the dental stop). /ʔ/ is treated as part of the noun stem in analyses of Tamil; however, I treat it as part of the case suffix in BK (/ʔəṅa ~ -əṅa ~ -ka/ ‘dative’, /-ʔl ~ -əʔ/ ‘locative’, /-ʔoḏa ~ -oḏa/ ‘comitative’). The use of /ʔ/ in various case forms shows the following differences in BK and Tamil: (a) In Tamil, /m/-final nouns have the /ʔt/-final variant before all case suffixes; in BK, the /ʔ/ variant occurs only in dative, locative, and comitative case. (a) The occurrence of stem-final /ʔ/ is systematic in Tamil to the extent that it occurs on all nouns ending in /m/, but that is not the case in BK.

(26a) either /-əŋa/ or /-ka/ can be suffixed to the object; in (26b) the speaker uses /-əŋa/, but /-ka/ can be used instead. With place names, the preferred form for “familiar” place names (ones which are considered local and are frequented often by the BKs) is /-əŋa/ (26c); my consultant used /-ka/ for relatively less familiar towns.

26a) *nawə bəŋgəlʔəŋa ~ bəŋgəlka pəyo:dɔ̄ə*
 nawə bəŋgəli-ʔəŋa ~ bəŋgəli-ka pəy-o:ɔ̄-əɔ̄ə
 1s.nm bungalow-dat ~ bungalow-dat go_{SR}-prg-sg
 ‘I am going to the house.’ (Elicitation.P410)

b) *ʔya:nəŋa: pə:sani ...*
 ʔya:nu-əŋa pə:-s-ani
 honey-dat go_R-rlf-con
 ‘When we go to collect honey ...’ (Conversation.19)

c) *nawə nəntə kudlə:rəŋa parpuɔ̄təɔ̄ə*
 nawə nəntə kudlə:rə-əŋa parpuɔ̄-t-əɔ̄ə
 1s.nm yesterday Gudalur-dat leave-rlf-sg.
 ‘I left for Gudalur yesterday.’ (Elicitation.P247)

(iv) Object of comparison: In comparative constructions, the dative marks the object of comparison:

27a) *bommən ma:dəŋa kiri:də*
 bommən ma:dəŋ-ka kiri-əɔ̄ə
 Bomman Madan-dat small-nmr
 ‘Bomman is younger than Madan.’ (Elicitation.P155)

b) *bommən ma:dəŋa biɔ̄di ja:sɔ̄ti*
 bommən ma:dəŋ-ka biɔ̄di ja:sɔ̄ti
 Bomman Madan-dat intelligence more
 ‘Bomman is more intelligent than Madan.’ (Elicitation.P155)

(v) Possessor: In possessive constructions, the dative can be used to mark the possessor (as an alternative to the default pattern of juxtaposing two unmarked nouns together). One form in which it is used is in possessive predicate constructions:

- 28) *wandə: wandə ra:jəŋa wan magə|ə*
 wandə-e wandə ra:jən-ka wan magə|ə
 one- one king-dat one daughter
 ‘Just one king had a daughter.’ (7th.Son.9)

The other form is in possessive noun phrases:

- 29) *wan ra:jəŋ ə:l a:l makkəl, a:r a:l maḍəgijəgə*
 wan ra:jən-ka ə:l|u a:l|u makkə-əl a:ru a:l|u maḍəwə-ki:l-j-əgə
 one king-dat seven person children-lc six person marriage-do-rlf-pl
 Of a king’s seven children, six had married. (7th Son.1)

However, in possessive sentences where there is an overt copula, dative is restricted to marking inalienable possession only (30); alienable possession is marked with the postposition *ipəli*, as described in Chapter 4.

- 30) *na:yka yaluwə u:ḍə*
 na:yə-ka yaluwə u:ḍə
 dog-dat bone be
 ‘The dog has bones (in its own body).’ (Elicitation.P380)

(vi) Specifications of time and value: Temporal nouns are marked with dative case when they specify the time at which an event happens (31a, b); ‘value’ nouns are similarly marked with the dative when they specify the price at which an item is purchased (31c):

- 31a) *ədləŋa panədd məynik ətar*
 ədlən-ka panəddu məyniyə-ka ətaro
 night-dat twelve hour-dat return.pl.p.im
 ‘Come at 12 o’clock in the night.’ (7th.Son.301)

- b) *aḍ wand əyḍ na:lka kumbaḷ biccə moḷpa*
 aḍə wandə əyḍu na:l-u-ka kumbaḷi bissə moḷi-p-a
 that about five day-dat pumpkin seed sprout-irf-3sg
 ‘That, the pumpkin seed will sprout in about 5 days.’ (Conversation.221)
- c) *aḍe: mu:r ka:ska tana nu:lə u:no:ta bəyraṭu ...*
 aḍə-e mu:ru ka:sə-ka tana nu:lə u:no:ta bəyr-aṭu
 that- three coin-dat thread etcetra buy_{SR}-cmp
 ‘Having bought thread, etcetra for just those three coins ...’ (7th.Son.162)

1.2.5. Comitative

Comitative case is encoded with /-oḍa, -ṭoḍa/.⁶¹ This case form is used to encode interactive actions between speech act participants. Thus, in the examples given below, the sentence encodes an action that is done in the company of another participant; the noun denoting the person or animal with whom the subject interacts is marked for comitative case.

- 32a) *na:yṭ pu:soda ku:nada*
 na:yə pu:si-oḍa ku:r-ənaḍ-a
 dog cat-com sit-st.dur-3sg
 “The dog is sitting with the cat.” (Elicitation.P419)
- b) *ke:ṭi ka:lṇoda arseṭo:ḍa*
 ke:ṭi ka:lṇ-oḍa arse-ṭ-o:ḍ-a
 Ketṭi Kaalan-com fight_R-rlf-prg-3sg
 “Ketṭi is fighting with Kaalan” (Elicitation.P419)
- c) *koḷ uyləwa a poṭṭoda*
 koḷ uyli-w-a a: poṭṭə-oḍa
 down descend-irf-3sg that torch-com
 “(He) comes down with that torch” (Conversation.38)

⁶¹ There is only one example in these data with /-ṭoḍa/; it occurs optionally on the compound *pəyṇiya:lṭu* ‘maid, servant’ -- *pəyṇiya:lṭoda* ~ *pəyṇiya:lṭoḍa*.

- d) *nawə illi bokkoða kur:naði*
 nawə illi bokkə-oða kur:ənəð-i
 1s.nm here book-com sit-st.dur-1sg
 “I am sitting here with a book.” (Elicitation.P418)

It is especially used with verbs of speech to encode interaction between speech act participants, such as words meaning ‘speak, ask, tell’ (33); it can occur interchangeably, in this role, with accusative or dative case, as shown in (33b, c).

- 33a) *nawə bummənoða belkiji*
 nawə bummən-oða belki:l-j-i
 1s.nm Bomman-com speak-rlf-1sg
 “I spoke to Bomman.” (Elicitation.P375)

- b) *abbi maggoða ~ ma:ka wan kaði pə:n kottə*
 abbi maggi-oða ~ maggi-ka wan kaði pə:l-ənu koð-t-a
 mother child-com ~ child-dat one story tell-acp give-rlf-3sg
 “The mother told the child a story.” (Elicitation.P361)

- c) *abbi maggoða ~ maggiya “payy idagəy” anda*
 abbi maggi-oða ~ maggi-ya payyə i:r-ð-agəy a:n-t-a
 mother child-com ~ child-acc silent be-rlf-sg.p.im say-rlf-3sg
 “The mother said to the child ‘Be quiet.’ ” (Elicitation.P361)

Nouns of emotion are marked with /-oða/ when they describe the emotion with which an action is performed:

- 34a) *aðə əðmboda pəððə*
 aðə əðmbə-oða pə:l-ð-əðə
 3sr.nm anger-com speak-rlf-sg.
 “He spoke angrily.” (Elicitation.P439)

- b) *aðə awsoda pəynigija*
 aðə awsə-oða pəyniyə-ki:l-j-a
 3sr.nm interest-com work-do-rlf-3sg
 “He worked with interest.” (Elicitation.P368)

The comitative case marker can be used with inanimate nouns to encode instrument (35); however, it cannot be used for this function with animate nouns – the instrumental postposition *inḁa* is used instead (36).

35a) *maggi yerəwoḁa ki:yəl ʔarsa*
 maggi yerəwi-oḁa ki:yə-əl ʔari-s-a
 child knife-com hand-loc. cut-rlf-3sg
 “The child cut her hand with a knife.” (Elicitation.P362)

b) *naḅgə mu:kəḁa nya:ti no:ḁgə*
 naḅgə mu:kə-oḁa nya:ti no:ḁ-w-əgə
 1p.inc.nm nose-com smell see-irf-pl
 “We smell with our noses.” (Elicitation.P412)

36a) *yanka a udḁiḁi inḁa pəyniyə kəḁsi*
 yan-ka a: udḁiḁi inḁa pəyniyə kəḁ-s-i
 1s-dat that young.woman through work get-rlf-imps
 “I got a job through that woman.” (Elicitation.P378)

b) *i: bokkə yan inḁa berḁəḁə*
 i bokkə yan inḁa beri-ḁ-əḁə
 this book 1s.gn through write-rlf-sg
 “This book was written by me.” (Elicitation.P438)

1.2.6. Locative

The locative case suffix has two variants /-əl, -ḁl/. Nouns are lexically marked to take one of these suffixes. Most nouns take locative /-əl/; e.g. *maḅḁl* /maḅḁi-əl/ ‘head-lc’, *ma:nl* /ma:nu-əl/ ‘deer-lc’, *kaḁayəl* /kaḁayə-əl/ ‘cheek-lc’. Some take /-ḁl/; e.g. *bəyriḁl* /bəyriyə-ḁl/ ‘stick-lc’, *ʔalnga:ḁl* /ʔalnga:ḁi-ḁl/ ‘pillow-lc’.

Locative case is used to express location in space and time, most commonly in reference to inanimate nouns:

37a) *nawə kuyrkl ni:rə nərti*
 nawə kuyrki-əl ni:rə nəri-t-i
 1s.nm pot-lc water fill-rlf-1sg
 “I filled water in the pot.” (Elicitation.P339)

b) *mā:rsə t̪iŋgəlt̪l maʎa piyl ila*
 mā:rsə t̪iŋgəlt̪l maʎa pəyl-əl il-a
 march month-lc rain rain-inf neg-3sg
 “It does not rain in March.” (Elicitation.P453)

It is can also be used to express the mode in which an action was performed (state of being, material used for an action):

38a) *mer̪t̪l t̪ana uruwə kijəgə*
 meri-t̪l t̪ana uruwə ki:l-j-əgə
 tree-lc itself mask do-rlf-pl
 “They made a mask out of wood itself.” (7th.Son.35)

Locative case suffixes are governed by restrictions on the kind of nouns they can attach to. Locative /-əl/ can occur with all inanimate nouns that are not place names, as in the examples above. This suffix is normally not permitted on place names (39).

39a) *kudlə:rə/*kudlə:dl sira ki:rgə u:ɖə*
 kudlə:rə/kudlə:rə-əl sira ki:ri-gə u:ɖə
 Gudalur/Gudalur-lc many house-pl exist
 “There are many houses in Gudalur.” (Elicitation.P409)

b) *bassə t̪epəgo:ɖə/*t̪epəgo:d̪l əɖɖa*
 bassə t̪epəgo:ɖə/t̪epəgo:ɖə-əl ə:l-ɖ-a
 bus Theppakadu/ Theppakadu-lc stand-rlf-3sg.
 “The bus stopped at Theppakadu.” (Elicitation.435)

However, it occurs optionally when the place name is the object of the postposition *itu* ‘from’ and the name refers to a place that is relatively unfamiliar to the Betta Kurumbas. Thus, my consultant would accept a locative suffix in the following sentences; in the first, the place is about 20km away from her own hamlet (but within the Nilgiri Mountains) and in the latter, the location is another country:

40a) *nawə kunu:r ~ kunu:dl itu bannḍə*
 nawə kunu:rə ~ kunu:rə-il itu ban-t-əḍə
 1s.nm Coonoor ~ Coonoor-lc from come_R-rlf-sg.
 “I came from Coonoor.” (Elicitation.P435)

b) *nawə amerik ~ amerikl itu bannḍə*
 nawə amerika ~ amerika-əl itu ban-t-əḍə
 1s.nm America ~ America-lc from come_R-rlf-sg.
 “I came from America.” (Elicitation.P435)

She would not accept a locative suffix before *itu* on towns that are relatively close to her own hamlet and which are visited frequently by her community; thus, **bokkpuḍl itu* is not allowed in the following sentence:

41) *nawə bokkpur itu bannḍə*
 nawə bokkpurə itu ban-t-əḍə
 1s.nm Bokkapur from come_R-rlf-sg
 “I came from Bokkapur.” (Elicitation.P435)

The locative suffix cannot attach to human nouns, but it can attach to non-human animate nouns in some semantic contexts. For example locative case, is used in sentences that describe attributes of the animal:

42a) *na:yəl karṭənipə suyliyə u:ḍə*
 na:yə-əl karṭənipə suyliyə u:ḍə
 dog-lc black spot exist
 “There are black spots on the dog.” (Elicitation.P435)

- b) *uɭuwəl siraya bagi uŋɔ*
 uɭuwə-əl siraya bagi uŋɔ
 worm-lc lots type exist
 “There are many types of worms.” (Elicitation.P409)

It is also used when the animate non-human noun is an object of the postposition *i:tu* ‘from’.⁶²

- 43) *yanka a əttl i:tu pa:lə kəɖsəɖə*
 yan-ka a əttə-əl i:tu pa:lə kəɖ-s-əɖə
 1s-dat that cow-lc from milk get_R-rlf-sg.
 “I got milk from that cow.” (Elicitation.P379)

But for an action involving spatial location on an animate being, locative case is usually encoded by specifying a body part belonging to the person or animal, and attaching the locative suffix to the body part noun:⁶³

- 44a) *kə:lŋ bennɪl i:pi ku:nadɖə*
 kə:lŋ bennu-ɬl i:pi ku:r-ənad-əɖə
 parrot body-lc fly sit-st.dur-sg.
 “A fly is sitting on the parrot.” (Elicitation.P410)

⁶² The benefactor postposition *ipəli* ‘with’ can be used instead of the locative suffix (see Chapter 4).

⁶³ I have also noticed a tendency to avoid using the locative suffix on plural stems (animate and inanimate). There is no word in these data that contains both plural and locative. My attempts to elicit a word containing both failed – when I tried to produce a sentence with a word that had both suffixes, *?erəwɔɔl* ‘knife-pl-lc’, my consultant corrected me, changing the noun to *erəwəl oŋiya* (knife-lc all) ‘on all the knives’. However, further research is necessary to confirm that there is a ban on attaching locatives to plural stems in BK. A possible reason for this avoidance could be that the plural is not usually marked on non-human nouns, so it would be uncommon to get a locative on a plural non-human noun. In addition, locative does not occur on human nouns, so although plural is frequently marked on human nouns, these cannot take the locative.

- b) *nawə ya:n benn̩tl̩ ku:nad̩d̩ə*
 nawə ya:ni bennu-t̩l̩ ku:r-ənad̩-əd̩ə
 1s.nm elephant back-lc sit-st.dur-sg.
 “I am sitting on an elephant.” (Elicitation.P410)

BK has an additional locative suffix /-a/ which encodes distributed location. This suffix attaches after locative /-əl/, when it occurs on nouns which can take /-əl/; in these cases, I treat the combination /-əla/ as a single complex suffix which encodes distributed location; as shown in (45). However, there are some locational adverbs and postpositions which take only /-a/, and not /-əla/ (see examples in Chapter 4).

- 45a) *i:dla i:dla o:ʃa se:ls ma:d̩-w-əd̩ə*
 i:ri-əla i:ri-əla o:ʃa se:ls ma:d̩-w-əd̩ə
 town-dlc town-dlc all sales do-irf-sg.
 “He would sell it in all the towns.” (7th.Son.194)

- c) *ya:n batti, a batt̩la bandipən ...*
 ya:ni batti a: batti-əla ban-t-ir-p-ən
 elephant path that path-dlc come_R-rlf-stat-irf-syn
 “The elephant path, while coming along that path ...” (Conversation.625)

- d) *aḍəna san̩to:səla bəsəd̩d̩ə*
 aḍən-a san̩to:sə-əla bəsə:l̩-d̩-əd̩ə
 3s-acc happiness-dlc call-rlf-sg.
 “(S/he) called her happily.” (Elicitation.P368)

Note that /-ila/ has the alternant /-t̩la/ after nouns that take locative /-t̩l/.

- 46) *ra:jən pəyrga:t̩la pə:so*
 ra:jən pəyrga:d̩ə-t̩la pə:s-o
 king forest-dlc go_R-rlf-3sg
 “The king went through the forest/went around in the forest.” (Elicitation.P362)

1.3. Number

BK distinguishes singular and plural number. Singular nouns are unmarked; plural is marked with one of three sets of suffixes: /-d̥ə ~ -d̥ər/, /-gə ~ -gər/, and /-rə/. Nouns ending in a nasal take /-d̥ə ~ -d̥ər/ ‘plural’; native BK feminine human nouns ending in /i/ take /-rə/ ‘plural’; all other nouns take /-gə ~ -gər/.⁶⁴ The alternants ending in /r/, /-gər ~ -d̥ər/ occur immediately before consonant-initial case suffixes, such as /-na/ ‘accusative’, /-ka/ ‘dative’, and /-d̥ə/ ‘genitive nominal’. Examples of all three sets are given in Table 7, with an example of the plural occurring before dative /-ka/ and accusative /-na/ (a phonological rule changes /r/ to [d] before an alveolar consonant).

Table 3.7: Plural nouns

Gloss	Singular	Plural	Plural before /-ka/ ‘dative	Plural before /-na/ ‘accusative
‘young man’	<i>udgən</i>	<i>udgəndə</i>	<i>udgəndərka</i>	<i>udgəndədna</i>
‘parrot’	<i>kə:l̥ŋ</i>	<i>kə:l̥ŋd̥ə</i>	<i>kə:l̥ŋd̥ərka</i>	<i>kə:l̥ŋd̥ədna</i>
‘blind woman’	<i>kuddi</i>	<i>kuddərə</i>	<i>kuddərka</i>	<i>kuddədna</i>
‘mother’	<i>abbi</i>	<i>abbərə</i>	<i>abbərka</i>	<i>abbədna</i>
‘deer’	<i>ma:nu</i>	<i>ma:ngə</i>	<i>ma:ngərka</i>	<i>ma:ngədna</i>
‘house’	<i>ki:ri</i>	<i>ki:rgə</i>	<i>ki:rgərka</i>	<i>ki:rgədna</i>

Plural personal pronouns, except those derived from deictic particles, contain the plural suffixes /-gə ~ -gər/ attached to a nasal-final base, *yan*, *nan*, *nin*, *ʃan*, respectively:

⁶⁴ Some nouns show irregular plural marking: *maggi* ‘child’ has the irregular plural *makkə* ‘children’ (*makkər* before consonant-initial case suffixes). *mayənu* ‘son’ exceptionally takes the plural suffix /-d̥ə/ instead of /-gə/: *mayəndə* ‘sons’. Some nouns unexpectedly take plural /-gə/; many of these appear to be borrowed words; e.g. *ʃi:sargə* ‘female teachers’ (*ʃi:sari* ‘female teacher’, <English), *ra:ngə* ‘queens’ (*ra:ni* ‘queen’, <Portuguese). Some of them could be recent innovations; e.g. *k̥iʃi:ɡi:dngə* ‘Lapwings’ (*k̥iʃi:ɡi:dn* ‘Lapwing (a bird)’). Certain nouns have alternating forms with different plural suffixes; e.g. *magəʃgə ~ magəʃərə* ‘daughters’ (*magəʃə* ‘daughter’); *i:yəndə ~ i:yəngə* ‘porcupines’ (*i:yən* ‘porcupine’).

yaŋgə ‘1st exclusive plural’, *naŋgə* ‘1st inclusive plural’, *niŋgə* ‘2nd plural’, *ɬaŋgə* ‘3rd anaphoric plural’. They also show the plural variant /-gər/ before consonant initial suffixes; e.g. *yaŋgərka* ‘1st exclusive-dat’.

Plural marking is obligatory on human nouns, but non-human nouns usually occur in the singular (in a generic non-countable form) even when the reference clearly involves plurality.⁶⁵ In sentence (47a), the word for child *maggi* is in its plural form *makkə*, whereas in sentence (47b), the word for hen is in the singular form and not in the plural *kəylgə*, although the phrase refers to several hens.

47a) *wan ra:jəŋ ə:l a:l makkəl, a:r a:l maɖəgijəgə*
 wan ra:jən-ka ə:lʉ a:lʉ makkə-əl a:ru a:lʉ maɖəwə-ki:l-j-əgə
 one king-dat seven person children-lc six person marriage-do-rlf-pl
 Of a king’s seven children, six had married. (7th Son.1)

b) *yan ki:dl wan na:k kəyli*
 yan ki:ri-əl wan na:ku kəyli
 1s.gn house-lc about four hen
 Our house has about 4 hens. (Conversations.647)

Examples where plural does occur on non-human nouns are:

48a) *ədd kə:lŋdə bandəgə*
 əddu kə:lŋ-də ban-t-əgə
 two parrot-pl come_R-rlf-pl
 Two parrots arrived. (Pomegranate.352)

⁶⁵ One exception is *a:lʉ* ‘person’ which can be used without a plural marker even when referring to more than one person. The plural counterpart of this word *a:lʉgə* is most often used to mean ‘group of people, such as the people of a village or an ethnic group’.

- b) *kudl̩ərə sira ki:rgə u:ḍə*
 kudl̩ərə sira ki:ri-gə u:ḍə
 Gudalur lots house-pl exist
 There are many houses in Gudalur. (Elicitation.P409)

The plural also functions as a honorific marker, as in the following sentence:

- 49) *ṭan amməndə bandəgə, udgiti ṭan amməndə*
 ṭan ammən-də ban-t-əgə udgiti ṭan ammən-də
 3sa.gn father-pl come_R-rlf-pl y.woman 3sa.gn father-pl
 ‘Her father came, the young woman’s father.’ (7th.Son.454)

2.0 IRREGULAR NOUNS

Betta Kurumba has a few irregular nouns, such as *uburu* ‘both, both of them’ and *a:lu* ‘person’,⁶⁶ which differ morphologically from regular nouns in that they have a genitive modifier form that is distinct from the nominative. These irregular nouns have special syntactic functions in that they occur in quantifier-like noun phrases that are coreferential with a preceding set of nouns (50). *uburu* functions as a quantifier-like phrase by itself (50a), but *a:lu* combines with a preceding numeral to form the quantifier phrase, as in *mu:ru a:lu* ‘three people’ (50b).

- 50a) *a magg ṭan abb uburu bando*
 a maggi ṭan abbi uburu ban-t-o
 that child 3sa.gn mother both.nm come_R-rlf-pl
 “That child and her mother, both of them came.” (Elicitation.P361)

- b) *bommən ma:ḍən ke:ṭi mur a:lu ṭorka pə:no*
 bommən ma:ḍən ke:ṭi mu:ru a:lu ṭori-ka po:g-n-o
 Bomman Madan Keti three person river-dat go-rlf-pl
 “Bomman, Madan, and Keti, three of them went to the river.” (Elicitation.P431)

⁶⁶ A few other apparently irregular nouns have occurred in these data, *wanandə* ‘each person’ and *aḍtawə* ‘other person’, but I have insufficient data on these.

The verb assigns case to the irregular noun in the quantifier-like phrase rather than the coreferential nouns. Example (51a) shows the irregular noun *uburu* ‘both’ marked for dative case and (51b) shows *a:lʉ* ‘person’ marked for accusative case. Like pronouns, but unlike regular nouns, they form a genitive stem ending in /n/, *ubun* ‘both.gn’, *a:mən* ‘person.gn’ (when *a:lʉ* takes case suffixes it appears in a stem alternant /a:mə/); the genitive stem forms the base to which other case suffixes are attached.

51a) *nawə me:di ke:ti ubuŋa ɖudɖə kottəɖə*
 nawə me:di ke:ti ubun-ka ɖudɖə kod-t-əɖə
 1s.nm Medi Keti both-dat money give-rlf-sg.
 ‘I gave money to both Medi and Keti.’ (Elicitation.P377)

b) *i pəŋɖə, a pəŋɖ, ədd a:məna ma:ɖəgijən ...*
 i pəŋŋ-ɖə a pəŋŋ-ɖə əddu a:mən-a ma:ɖəwə-ki:l-j-ənu
 this wife-pl that wife-pl two person-acc marriage-do-rlf-acc
 ‘Marrying this wife and that wife, both of them ...’ (7th.Son.497)

The quantifier-like phrase need not be preceded by the nouns it refers to (52a); further, it can be preceded by only some of these nouns. Thus, in (52b), only one of the nouns is present. The second noun is implied by the use of *uburu* and its referent is understood from context.

52a) *ubur pə:səgə*
 uburu pə:-s-əgə
 both go_R-rlf-pl
 ‘Both of them went.’ (7th.Son.122)

b) *gəŋɖa:lʉ uburu ni:ra:ɖl pə:pən ...*
 gəŋɖa:lʉ uburu ni:ra:ɖ-əl pə:g-p-ən
 husband both bathe-inf go-irlf-syn
 ‘When the husband (and the wife), both of them went to bathe ...’ (7th.Son.68)

uburu can optionally attach as a clitic to the preceding noun; when it does a homorganic stop is inserted immediately after the final consonant of nasal-final nouns (53a), while the final vowel is deleted from vowel-final nouns (53b) (proper nouns normally resist the word-final vowel deletion process that is prevalent in BK discourse level utterances).

- 53a) *bommən ma:ḍənduburu pəyrga:ʈla pə:səgə*
 bommən ma:ḍən uburu pəyrga:ḍə-ʈla pə:-s-əgə
 Bomman Madan both forest-dlc go_R-rlf-pl
 “Bomman and Madan, both of them went about in the forest.” (Elicitation.P377)
- b) *mə:ḍi ke:ḥtuburu pəyrga:ʈla pə:səgə*
 mə:ḍi ke:ḥti uburu pəyrga:ḍə-ʈla pə:-s-əgə
 Medi Ketī both forest-dlc go_R-rlf-pl
 “Medi and Ketī, both of them went about in the forest.” (Elicitation.P377)

These quantifier-like phrases are used only for human referents. With non-human referents, it is possible to form a similar construction, but using only a numeral as quantifier. Numerals do not take case suffixes, as in (54), where the numeral *mu:ru* is not marked for accusative case.

- 54) *aḥər ki:dl wan na:yə, wan pu:si, wan kuḍəri, mu:ru no:ḍḥi*
 aḥər ki:ri-əl wan na:yə wan pu:si wan kuḍəri mu:ru no:ḍ-n-i
 3pr.gn house-lc one dog one cat one horse three look-pve-1sg.
 “I saw a dog, a cat, and a horse in their house.” (Elicitation.P431)

These quantifier-like phrases perform some of the functions of a conjunctive (BK has no other conjunction marker; conjoined elements are simply juxtaposed together to form a larger constituent phrase). For example, in (50a) above, *uburu* indicates that its

coreferential nouns are conjoined as the sentential subject – the verb is marked for plural subject agreement. The same is true of (55):

- 55) *a magg ʃan abb uburu bando*
 a maggi ʃan abbi uburu ban-t-o
 that child 3sa.gn mother both.nm come_R-rlf-pl
 “That child and her mother, both of them came.” (Elicitation.P361)

Because these quantifier-like phrases function in some ways like conjunction markers, they can help disambiguate sentences in which a string of noun phrases juxtaposed together may have different possible constituent structures. Thus, (56) is ambiguous: It can mean either “Bomman and Madan went to the store”, in which case two conjoined nouns *bommən* and *ma:ɖən* are juxtaposed together. Or it can mean “Bomman went to Madan’s store”, in which case the possessor *ma:ɖən* is juxtaposed next to the possessee *aŋgayrɿəŋa* (§1.2.2 described the default form of possessive noun phrases, in which an unmarked possessor and possessee are juxtaposed together). Note that the verb does not help in disambiguation in this case because *pə:sə* is used for both 3rd singular subjects and plural subjects.

- 56) *bommən ma:ɖən aŋgayrɿəŋa pə:sə*
 bommən ma:ɖən aŋgayri-ɿəŋa pə:-s-o
 Bomman Madan shop-dat go_R-rlf-pl/3sg.
 “Bomman and Madan went to the shop/Bomman went to Madan’s shop.”
 (Elicitation.P154)

The ambiguity is resolved if *uburu* is used to specify that Bomman and Madan are conjoined nouns which function as the subject of the verb. I did not specifically elicit a corresponding sentence with *uburu*, but the expected form is *bommən ma:ɖən uburu aŋgayrɿəŋa pə:sə* ‘Bomman and Madan, both of them, went to the shop’.

The role that these pro-forms play in disambiguating sentences (by indicating conjunction) is also illustrated in (57). The genitive form *ubun* indicates that its coreferential nouns *me:ḍi* and *ke:ṭi* are both possessors of *ṭi:ri*. Without the genitive case-marked pro-form in there, the sentence could have two readings: “I want Medi’s and Ketu’s clothes” and “I want Medi and Ketu and the clothes”.

- 57) *yanka meḍi keṭ ubun ṭi:ri bə:ḍu*
 yan-ka meḍi keṭi ubun ṭi:ri bə:ḍu
 1s-dat Medi Ketu both.gn cloth want
 “I want Medi’s and Ketu’s clothes.” (Elicitation.P377)

3.0. PRONOUN CATEGORIES

3.1. Personal pronouns

Most of the personal pronouns in BK were shown in Table 4-5 above, but they are listed again in their nominative case forms in Table 8. This table contains one additional deictic pronoun, *u:ḍə*, described below.

Table 3.8: Personal pronouns in nominative case

	singular	plural
1 st	nawə ~ na ‘I’	yaṅgə ‘we (exc.)’ naṅgə ‘we (inc.)’
2 nd	ni:yə ~ ni ‘you’	niṅgə ‘you all’
3 rd proximate	iḍə ‘this one (he, she, it)’	igə ‘these people, they’
remote	aḍə ‘that one (he, she, it)’	agə ‘those people, they’
non-specific	u:ḍə ‘thing’ (general)’	?*
anaphoric	ṭawə ~ ṭa ‘he, she, it’	ṭaṅgə ‘they’

*I did not check for a plural form

As in other Dravidian languages, three of the 3rd person pronouns listed in Table 8 are derived from deictic particles *a* ‘remote, specific’, *i* ‘proximate, specific’, and *u* ‘non-specific’. In BK, they are turned into pronouns by attaching one of the following set of nominalizers: /-əḍə/ ‘singular nominative nominalizer’, /-ən/ ‘singular genitive nominalizer’, /-əḡə/ ‘plural nominative nominalizer’, and /-t̪ə/ ‘plural genitive nominalizer’.⁶⁷ The 3rd singular deictic pronouns are used for human or non-human referents. The 3rd plural deictic pronouns are used only for human referents in these data.

A detailed description of the function of remote and proximate pronouns in these data is beyond the scope of this grammar because it would require an in-depth analysis of text cohesion in the texts I gathered. Remote and proximate pronouns are used extensively in BK discourse to indicate distance in space and time between the referent and the speaker. They are also used to refer to previously mentioned topics in a discourse passage and, in story-telling, for the emotive effect of creating a sense of distance or immediacy between the listener and the events in the story. The meaning and function of the third set, non-specific pronouns containing *u*, is not very clear from these data. Krishnamurti (2003:253) reconstructs three deictic bases for proto-Dravidian, “**aH* ‘that’ (distal), **iH* ‘this’ (proximal) and **uH* (intermediate)”. He says that proto-Dravidian **uH* was used to indicate intermediate distance (yonder, not too distant) and is currently used with that meaning in South Dravidian languages like Tamil, Kodagu, Kannada, and Tulu.

Also like other Dravidian languages, BK has a 3rd person anaphoric form, but no 1st or 2nd person anaphor; compare (58a) to (58b), where the anaphor is translated as ‘self’ in the English free translation. In the data so far, anaphoric pronouns occur only with

⁶⁷ I did not elicit a full case paradigm for pronouns formed from *u*., but the examples I have indicate that its case forms parallel those of the other two deictic particles.

human nouns as their referents. The example in (58b) contains a nominative anaphor; the sentences in (59) give examples of anaphors in other case forms.

58a) *aḍə_i ni:raydnu, ɬaw_i uḍə ɬi:riya ɬana uttəḍə*
 aḍə ni:rayr-ənu ɬawə uḍ-w-ə ɬi:ri-iya ɬana
 1sr.nm bathe_{SR}-acp 1sa.nm wear-irf-rlr cloth-acc same

uḍ-t-əḍə
 wear-rlf-sg
 “After bathing, she_i put on the same clothes that self_i had been wearing.”
 (Elicitation.P370)

b) *nawə_i ni:raydnu, naw_i uḍə ɬi:riya ɬana uttəḍə*
 nawə ni:rayr-ənu nawə uḍ-w-ə ɬi:ri-iya ɬana
 1s.nm bathe_{SR}-acp 1s.nm wear-irf-rlr cloth-acc same

uḍ-t-əḍə
 wear-rlf-sg
 “After bathing, I_i put on the same clothes that I_i (had been) wearing.”
 (Elicitation.P370)

59a) *aḍə ɬanka wan kupayə bə:dso*
 aḍə_i ɬan_i-ka wan kupayə bə:d-s-o
 3sr.nm 3sa-dat one shirt buy-rlf-3sg
 “He_i bought himself_i a shirt.”
 (Elicitation.P375)

b) *agə ɬaŋgədna ɬana kenargl no:dŋo*
 agə_i ɬaŋgər_i-na ɬana kenargi-əl no:d-n-o
 3pr.nm 3pa-acc mirror-lc look-rlf-3pl
 “They_i looked at themselves_i in the mirror.”
 (Elicitation.P375)

Anaphors perform two functions in BK. In their prototypical grammatical function, they encode coreferentiality between the anaphor and an antecedent in the same or higher clause within a sentence; i.e. in this function they have an antecedent within a definable syntactic domain. However, in story-telling, anaphors are used also as logophors. In this function, the domain of antecedence is not syntactically definable; the

antecedent of the logophor, can instead be located in terms of a discourse “frame”, one that involves participant prominence. That is, the narrator of the story uses the logophor to refer to the most prominent participant in a particular section of the story and to encode the point of view of this participant, as shown below.⁶⁸

Not all case forms of anaphors in BK show logophoric functions in these data. Only nominative and genitive forms are used for these discourse functions, and there is a difference in the extent to which they are used as logophoric pronouns. Further, singular forms of the nominative and genitive are used more often than plural forms for logophoric functions. The logophoric use of nominative and genitive anaphors are discussed separately in §3.1.1 and §3.1.2, respectively.

3.1.1 The nominative anaphor

Nominative case-marked anaphors in BK, when used in their typical grammatical function, encode coreferentiality between the embedded clause subject and the subject of a higher clause within which the anaphoric clause is embedded. A formally elicited example of a grammatical anaphor in an embedded clause was given in (58a) above. In the texts, there are two types of embedded clauses which have nominative anaphors used for a grammatical function – relative clauses and nominalized clauses. (59a) shows an example with a relative clause from the story “The seventh son’s wife”; the anaphor is the subject of the relative clause [*taw_i ipə*] ‘where self_i stayed’, and the antecedent is the covert subject of the matrix clause [*Pro_i ... ru:mka tana kuytn pə:səḡə*] ‘She_i took (him) to

⁶⁸ Several other languages employ a grammatical device for the discourse function of marking out prominent participants in a discourse passage. See Goddard 1990 and Thomason 1995 for a discussion of the use of proximate markers in Fox for this purpose. However, the BK use of anaphors combines prominence marking with logophoricity.

the same room’. (59b) shows an example with a nominalized clause from the story “The pomegranate woman”; the anaphor is the subject of the nominalized clause [*tawə_i kijən ipəna*] ‘(actions that) self_i had done’ and the antecedent is the covert subject of the matrix clause [*Pro_i ... o:ta nyantiddə_i*] ‘he_i thought about (his actions) and all’. (The anaphoric embedded clause is shown in bold typeface in these examples.)

59a) *attəŋa **taw ipə** ru:mka tana kuytn pə:səḏə*
 all_t-əŋa [Pro_i] tawə_i i:r-p-ə ru:mə-ka tana kuytnu pə:-s-əḏə
 cry-rlf-trn self_i be-irf-rlr room-dat itself take-acp go_R-rlf-sg
 ‘Upon his crying, she_i took him to the same room in which self_i was staying.’
 (7th.Son.464)

b) ***ta kijən ipən** o:ta nyantiddə*
 [Pro_i] tawə_i ki:l-j-ənu i:r-p-ən-a o:ta nyani-t-i:r-ḏ-əḏə
 3sa.nm do-rlf-acp be-irf-nmr-acc all remember-rlf-stat-rlf-sg
 ‘He_i thought of all that self_i had done’
 (Pomegranate.351)

In embedded sentences of the type described above, nominative anaphors are in complementary distribution with non-anaphoric pronouns. Thus, the anaphor is not used in (60), where the subject of the nominalized clause [*aḏə_j pə:wə kodəŋa*] ‘according to what she_j told him’ is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause [*i udgən_i ... o:təya a:dḏə*] ‘this young man_i did all that ...’; non-anaphoric *aḏə* is used instead.

60) *pin i udgən aḏ pə:wə kodəŋ o:təy a:dḏə*
 pina i udgən_i aḏə_j pə:|-w-ə kod-w-ən-ka
 then this y.man 3sr.nm tell-irf-rlr give-irf-nmr-dat

 o:təya a:ḏ-w-əḏə
 all do-irf-sg
 ‘Then this young man_i would do everything according to what she_j told him.’
 (Pomegranate.226)

In the two contexts described above, it is possible to provide a syntactically definable domain of antecedence for the anaphor; and *tawə* can be said to perform a grammatical function of encoding coreferentiality between certain identifiable noun phrases. But in story-telling, *tawə* is also used in a much freer discourse domain that is not typical of anaphors; it is used as a logophor to refer to the prominent participant in a particular section of discourse and encode the point of view of this participant.

The following sentences show that *tawə* does not necessarily occur in the narrow syntactic domain shown in the sentences in (59); that is, it does not always have a coreferential noun phrase in a higher clause or even within the same sentence. In (62), *tawə* is itself the subject of the highest clause, although it does have a coreferential noun phrase in the preceding adjunct clause [Pro_i *tan amməndədna kuytnu pəytu*] ‘(She) taking her father and going’. In (63), the anaphor and the coreferential noun phrase are each subjects of adjunct clauses, while the main clause has an entirely different subject. (The relevant anaphoric clause or phrase is shown in bold typeface in these examples.)

- 62) *tan amməndədna kuytn pəytu, **ta ki:dl buʔtəḏə***
 [Pro_i] *tan ammən_j-dər-na kuytnu pəy-aʔu tawə_i ki:ri-əl*
 3sa.gn father-pl-acc take.acp go_{SR}-cmp 3sa.nm house-lc
- buḏ-t-əḏə*
keep-rlf-sg.
 ‘(She_i) taking her father_j and going, self_i kept (him_j) in a house’. (7th.Son.490)

- 63) *ni: kittagəy andat, **tawə ka:p ka:sən kottat**, ... wan pattə kuttisəḏə*
 [Pro_i] *niyə kittu-agəy a:n-t-aʔu tawə_i ka:pi ka:su-ənu*
 2s.nm stitch_{SR}-imp say-rlf-cmp 3sa.nm coffee boil-cmp
- koḏ-t-aʔu* [Pro_j] *wan pattə* *kuttu-s-əḏə*
give-rlf-cmp one amulet stitch-rlf-sg.
 ‘(He_j) having said “You_j stitch”, self_i having made coffee and given, ... she_j stitched an amulet’. (7th.Son.180)

In (64), the antecedent *mutki*, and the anaphor are located in separate sentences and the anaphor is itself the subject of the highest clause [*tawə_i uttəḏə*] ‘self wore (them)’ in its own sentence.

64) Sentences from “The Pomegranate woman”, lines (158-67)

i. *i mutki ba:tu a:η pəḏḏə ... “naηg uburu kəyηgəḥ no:da” ...*

i	mutki _i	ba:r-aṭu	a:ηgi	pə:l-ḏ-əḏə	naηgə	uburu
this	o.woman	come- <u>cmp</u>	thus	tell- <u>rlf-sg</u>	1p.inc.nm	both

kəyηgəḥi no:d-a
reflection look-hrt

“This old woman_i having come, said thus: “Let us both look at our reflection’...”

[sentences omitted]

ii. *aḏəḥ ti:ri aḏəḥ no:dəwə ... o:ta bəyḥnu taw uttəḏə*

aḏəḥ _j	ti:ri	aḏəḥ _j	no:dəwə	o:ta	bəyḥ-ənu	tawə _i	ud-t-əḏə
3sr.gn	cloth	3sr.gn	jewelry	all	bring _{SR} - <u>acp</u>	3sa.nm	wear- <u>rlf-sg</u>

“Taking her_j clothes, her_j jewelry ... and all, self_i wore them.”

The contexts shown above are ones in which non-anaphoric pronouns can also occur, as shown in (65) below.

65) *pattə nala paḏam andat, aḏ əḏta*

[Pro] _i	pattə	nala	paḏa-ma	a:n-t-aṭu	aḏə _i	əḏi-t-a
	amulet	good	happen-EXM	say- <u>rlf-<u>cmp</u></u>	3sr.nm	take- <u>rlf-<u>3sg</u></u>

‘(He_i) having said “The amulet is nice!”, he_i took it.’ (7th.Son.230)

This sentence resembles (62) in that both have an adjunct clause and a main clause, in which the subjects of both clauses are coreferential. Further, in both, the subject is covert in the adjunct clause, but an overt 3rd pronoun in the main clause. Finally, the adjunct clause in both has a non-finite verb with the same inflectional suffix /-aṭu/ ‘completed

event’. However, in (62), the main clause subject has a anaphoric pronoun and, in (65), it has a non-anaphoric pronoun. Thus, the two are not in complementary distribution.

The distinction between *ṭawə* and other 3rd person pronouns *iḏə*, *aḏə* is, therefore, not a purely syntactic one. In BK discourse the distinction between these two sets is in the fact that *ṭawə* always refers to the primary actor or ‘protagonist’ of a particular discourse section. In using *ṭawə* ‘himself, herself, itself’ as the subject of a sentence in a narrative, the narrator conveys the sense that her narration is being presented from the point of view of the prominent actor of that discourse section. Thus, in (66), repeated from (64) above, the participant who is most active in this particular section is the old woman *muṭki* and when the narrator reports on the event in this passage, she does so using the logophor ‘herself’ in reference to the old woman; her use of the logophor conveys the sense that the narrator is presenting the scene at least partly from the viewpoint of the old woman *muṭki*.

66) Sentences from “The Pomegranate woman”, lines (158-67)

i. *i muṭki, ba:ṭu a:ṇ pəḏḏə ... “naṅg uburu kəyṅgəṇ no:ḏa” ...*

<i>i</i>	<i>muṭki</i>	<i>ba:r-aṭu</i>	<i>a:ṅgi</i>	<i>pi:l-ḏ-əḏə</i>	<i>naṅgə</i>	<i>uburu</i>
this	o.woman	come- <u>cmp</u>	thus	tell- <u>rlf-sg.</u>	1p.inc.nm	both

kəyṅgəṇi no:ḏ-a

reflection look-hrt

“This old woman, having come, said thus: “Let us both look at our reflection’...”

[sentences omitted]

ii. *aḏəṇ_j ti:ri aḏəṇ_j no:ḏəwə, ... o:ṭa bəyḏnu ṭaw_i uṭṭəḏə*

<i>aḏəṇ_j</i>	<i>ti:ri</i>	<i>aḏəṇ_j</i>	<i>no:ḏəwə</i>	<i>o:ṭa</i>	<i>bəyr-ənu</i>	<i>ṭawə_i</i>	<i>uḏ-t-əḏə</i>
3sr.gn	cloth	3sr.gn	jewelry	all	bring _{SR} - <u>acp</u>	3sa.nm	wear- <u>rlf-sg.</u>

“Taking her_j clothes, her_j jewelry ... and all, self_i wore them.”

Any potential ambiguity about who the anaphor may refer to is resolved by the constraint that the anaphor must refer to the most active character in the discourse section and not to other participants. Correspondingly, the non-anaphoric pronoun, *aḍan*, in (66.ii), refers to the less active character, the story’s heroine, who is being manipulated at this point by the old woman, who is the story’s villain. The referent does not have to be the most prominent person of the entire story, such as the hero or heroine, but only of the particular discourse section in which it occurs. It is also possible for a discourse section to have two active characters, in which case the anaphor is sometimes used to refer to one character and sometimes to another; there is one instance of this in one of the stories.

The literature on the crosslinguistic use of logophors reports that these pronouns are used primarily within clausal arguments of verbs of communication or mental experience and that the antecedent of the logophor is the one whose speech, thoughts, etc. are being reported on (see e.g. Sells 1987, Dimmendaal 2001 for discussions of logophors). Jayaseelan (1997:189) comments that anaphors can be used logophorically in Malayalam when they occur in embedded clauses as arguments of a verb of speech or mental attitude, as in the example in (66). This sentence has an explicit marker of mental attitude, in the form of the verb *weedanippiccu* ‘pained’, and the logophor refers to the one who experiences the mental attitude.

- 66) [siita tan-ne sneehik’k’unnilla enn-atə] raaman-e weedanippiccu
 Sita self-acc does.not.love COMP-nominal Raman-acc pained
 ‘That Sita_i does not love self_{i,j} pained Raman_j’
 (Jayaseelan 1997:189)

Interestingly, logophors in BK are not necessarily used with a verb of communication or mental experience; for example, the sentence in (62) above does not explicitly contain

such a verb. The fact that the logophor can be used in BK in sentences other than ones containing a verb of speech or mental state/attitude is, however, in keeping with Sells (1987) observations about logophors. Sells points out that logophors can be used in sentences in which the speaker implicitly adopts the viewpoint of the referent of the logophor and presents that viewpoint, without explicitly encoding the shift in viewpoint in the sentence. One of the examples Sells provides is a sentence from Japanese, reproduced in (67); the logophoric pronoun is *zibun*. The logophor can be used here to present the viewpoint of Taroo, even though there is no explicit indication that the speaker is expressing Taroo’s viewpoint rather than his own (an explicit indication would involve a phrase like “Taroo believed that/said that he got wet because ...”).

- 67) Taroo_i wa [baka no Yosikoga mizu o zibun_i no
 Taroo_i Top [fool Gen YosikoSubj water Obj self_i Gen
 ue ni kobosita node] nurete-simatta.
 on Loc spilled because] wet-got
 ‘‘Taroo_i got wet because that fool Yosiko spilled water on him_i.
 (Sells 1987:463, author’s formatting and glosses)

The plural nominative anaphor occurs only once in these texts, shown in (68). This sentence involves the quantifier-like phrase described in §2; *ədd a:mən* is in genitive case because it is the possessor of the noun *po:tiyə*, while its coreferential noun, the anaphor, *ṭanḡə*, is in unmarked nominative form. The logophor here again encodes the point of view of the main actor of this passage.

- 68) ṭan gəṇḡa:l po:ti, ṭanḡ ədd a:mən po:ti əḡsənu kottṭi ipəḡə.
 ṭan gəṇḡa:lə po:tiyə ṭanḡəṭ əddu a:mən_i po:tiyə
 3sa.gn husband photo 3pa.nm two person.gn photo

əḍ-s-ənu koḍ-t-ənu i:r-p-əḍə
 keep-rlf-acp give-rlf-acp be-irf-sg
 “Keeping her husband’s photograph, a photograph of themselves, both of them,
 she kept showing it.” (7th.Son.434)

Interestingly, there is a mismatch between the number category of the logophoric anaphor and its antecedent. The logophor is plural, perhaps because it is coreferential with the phrase *ədd a:mən* ‘both of them’/s/of both of them’, but at the same time the sentential subject must be treated as the antecedent of the logophor because it is her point of view that this logophor encodes; i.e. the antecedent is singular, while the logophor is plural. Sells points out that plural logophoric pronouns can be used with singular antecedents as long as the antecedent is “included in the set denoted by the [logophor]” (1987:449).⁶⁹

3.1.2. *The singular genitive anaphor $\dot{t}an$*

The singular genitive anaphor occurs very frequently in discourse, both in the conversational text as well as the stories I gathered. The distribution of $\dot{t}an$ overlaps quite freely in terms of syntactic domain with the non-anaphoric pronouns (*aḍən*, *iḍən*); the distinction between the two is semantic rather than syntactic. In (69), which is a formally elicited sentence, $\dot{t}an$ can be used interchangeably with *aḍən*, but the former serves to specify coreferentiality with a noun phrase within the sentence, while the latter is ambiguous in reference. My informant claimed that in (69a), $\dot{t}an$ makes it clear that the shirt belongs to Kaalan, the main clause object, while in (69b), *aḍən* is ambiguous about whether the shirt belongs to Kaalan or to someone else.

⁶⁹ He claims that the reverse is not possible, a plural antecedent for a singular logophoric pronoun. Actually, it is apparently possible in BK, but the only examples I have involve the genitive anaphor/logophor.

69a) *ka:l̥ṇa ṭan kupay ṭana uḍka piḍagəy*
 ka:l̥ṇi-a ṭan_i kupayə ṭana uḍ-w-ka pə:l̥-ḍ-agəy
 Kaalan-acc 3sa.gn shirt wear-irf-inf tell-rlf-sg.p.im
 “Tell Kaalan_i to wear self_i’s shirt itself.” (Elicitation.P370)

b) *ka:l̥ṇa_i aḍən_{i/j} kupay ṭana uḍka piḍagəy*
 ka:l̥ṇi-a aḍən_{i/j} kupayə ṭana uḍ-w-ka pə:l̥-ḍ-agəy
 Kaalan-acc 3sr.gn shirt wear-irf-inf tell-rlf-sg.p.im
 “Tell Kaalan_i to wear his_{i/j} shirt itself.” (Elicitation.P370)

While *ṭan* occurs very frequently in the texts, its non-anaphoric singular counterparts *aḍən/iḍən* occur quite infrequently. The latter tend to be used for contexts where it is necessary to contrast several 3rd person referents for a pronoun, as in (66) above, where the use of *aḍən* helps clarify that the clothes and jewelry do not belong to the old woman, who is the primary actor in this particular discourse section and who is represented by the anaphor *ṭawə*. Given that *ṭan* is used so frequently and with little restriction in terms of a syntactic domain, it seems to me that *ṭan* in BK is a logophoric pronoun rather than a true anaphor.

There is one occurrence of the genitive nominal anaphor, *ṭandə*, shown in (70), where it is used for logophoric functions. This sentence is taken from a passage in “The pomegranate woman” where two parrots in the story narrate to each other the same events described in example (66) above. Thus, the old woman *muṭki* is again the most prominent actor at this point, the young woman *uḍgiṭi* plays a secondary role as the one who gets manipulated by *muṭki*, and the third participant, *uḍgən*, is quite inactive. The anaphor is used to refer to *muṭki* and encodes her point of view. (Only the old woman and the young woman are marked with coindexation in this example; the anaphoric clause is shown in bold typeface.)

70) Sentences from “The Pomegranate Woman”, lines (372-8)

- i. *i udgiti_i i muṭki_j jal tiri_r o:təy uṭnu nala kaṇḍəḍə.*
 i udgiti_i i muṭki_j jal tiri_r o:təy_a ud-t-ənu nala
 this y.woman this o.woman old cloth all wear-rlf-acp well

ka:ŋ-t-əḍə

appear-rlf-sg

“This young woman_i looked good wearing the old woman_j’s old clothes.”

- ii. *nala ka:ŋəŋa, pina ṭandə_j pəyya:ŋ ka:ŋəŋa, pin i udgiti_a ba:wəl puḍsən
 ṭayluṭŋ ka:ṭu, pina a muṇḍəgəḍs_j ba:ṭu, i udgəna kuytnu kiri_rka pə:səḍə*
 nala ka:ŋ-əŋa pina ṭan-ḍə pəyya:ŋgi ka:ŋ-əŋa
 well look-trn then 3sa-g.nml ugly appear-trn
 “Upon her_i looking good, upon selfs’_s (appearance) looking ugly,”

pina i udgiti_i-iya ba:wə-əl puḍ-s-ənu ṭaylu-ud-t-ənu
 then this y.woman-acc well-lc hold-rlf-acp push_{SR}-leave-rlf-acp

ka:|-aṭu

leave-cmp

“pushing this young woman_i into the well,”

pina a muṇḍəgəḍs_jba:ṭu i udgən-a kuytnu kiri_r-ka pə:s-əḍə
 then that hag focus this y.man-acc lead-acp house-dat go_R-rlf-sg
 “that old hag_j took the young man home.”

3.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in BK consist of uninflected deictic particles *a* ‘remote, specific’, *i* ‘proximate, specific’, and *u* ‘non-specific’. In addition, the nominative personal pronouns described in §3.1 can also be used as demonstrative pronouns. Examples are given in (71).

- 71a) *a: rajən kiri uyl ṭan idḍə wan muṭki*
 a rajən kiri uyli ṭana i:r-ḍ-əḍə wan muṭki
 that king house near itself be-rlf-sg one o.woman
 “An old woman lived near that king’s house.” (7th.Son.13)

b) “*i: pəŋakkən yanka bə:ɖam*” *andaɖu ...*
i piŋakkən yan-ka bə:ɖa-ma a:n-t-aɖu
 this woman 1s-dat don't.want-EXM say-rlf-cmp
 “Having said, ‘I don’t want this woman’ ...” (7th.Son.47)

c) *a: ɬo:lə aɖe: ma:ɖri.*
a ɬo:lə aɖi-e ma:ɖri
 that skin that- same
 “The same with that bark (of tree).” (Conversation.769)

The remote and proximate demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used alone in a noun phrase rather than as a specifier for a following noun, as shown in (72). It is possible that in such noun phrases, *a*, *i* are specifiers of an underlying or implicit noun which is not overtly present in the sentence. In (72a), the demonstrative pronoun is apparently the subject of the sentence. In (72b), it is the object of the postposition *o:gi*. In (72c), it is the subject of the embedded clause verb *kuyno:pka*.

72a) *a muɬandə pəɖiɖəgə*
a muɬandə pə:l-i:r-ɖ-əgə
 that days.ago tell-stat-rlf-pl
 “That was told some days ago.” (Tiger.1a)

b) *a: kambiyəŋ payy uɬŋ kaɖani a: o:gi muyrg uɖɖə*
a kambiyə-əŋgi payyə uɖ-t-ənu ka:l-ɖ-ani a o:gi
 that iron.wire-like simply put-rlf-acp leave-rlf-con that inside

muyrgi uɖ-w-əɖə
egg put-irf-sg
 “If you place a iron wire-like object, it will lay eggs inside that.” (Conversation.653)

c) “*aɖə kuynəyo:ɖɖəmu. a: kuyno:pka butta:*”, *andaɖu ...*
aɖə kuynəy-o:ɖ-əɖə-mu a kuyno:g-p-ka buɖ-t-a
 3sr.nm marry_{SR}-prg-sg-EXM that marry-irf-inf allow-rlf-np.im

a:n-t-aʈu

say-rlf-cmp

“Having said, ‘They are getting married. Allow them to marry!’ ...

(Conversation.745)

Demonstrative pronouns also appear to function as relative pronouns in correlative clauses. Thus, in (73), the first sentence (73.i) has an adjectivized noun *goŋu* which modifies the noun *mann*. But the second sentence (73.ii) begins with a clause composed of subject *ki:yə* plus nominal predicate *wan ma:ɖəri*; this clause modifies the following noun phrase *u: mandərka* ‘for that person’, in which the demonstrative pronoun *u:* refers back to the modifying clause.

73) Sentences from “Conversation”, lines 766-8

i. *ki: nala:yə goŋu mandrka, ədd oʈtə kottani pottno: wan sira:pa.*

kiyə nala:yə goŋə-u mann-ɖər-ka əddu oʈtə
hand nice good.quality-adjzr person-pl-dat two instance

koɖ-t-ani pottji-no:wə wan siri-a:g-p-a
give-rlf-con stomach-ache some okay-become-irf-3sg

“For a person with healing hands, when he gives it twice, the stomach-ache will be cured.”

ii. *ki:yə wan ma:ɖəri u: mandrka, ... na:k oʈt kottani, a: pottno:w sira:pa*

kiyə wan ma:ɖəri u mann-ɖər-ka na:ku oʈtə koɖ-t-ani
hand some type that person-pl-dat four instance give-rlf-con

a pottji-no:wə siri-a:g-p-a
that stomach-ache okay-become-irf-3sg

“For a person with mediocre hands, when he gives it four times, the stomach-ache will be cured.”

3.3. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

BK has an interrogative pronoun which is used to refer to humans, *ɖa:rə* ‘who’ and four interrogative pronouns which are used to refer to non-humans, *ayinɖi*, *iyinɖi*, *anjəɖə*,

injədə ‘what’ (these are derived from deictic particles). All of these pronouns take the full case paradigm and perform the appropriate case functions described above. In addition, there is an interrogative demonstrative pronoun *e*: ‘which’ and two interrogative proclitics, *ayt*, *et* ‘which, what’, which function as noun specifiers.

Human and non-human interrogative pronouns differ to some extent in the functions for which their genitive case forms are used. The genitive form of the human pronoun is used for the regular genitive functions of encoding possession (74), but the genitive form of the non-human pronouns is generally used as an interrogative demonstrative pronoun (75). The only examples I have of non-human interrogative pronouns as possessors were ones that were elicited by formal elicitation methods (76). (Interrogative pronouns are shown in bold in the examples below.)

74a) *idə **ɖarə** bokkə*
idə ɖarə bokkə
 3sp.nm who.gn book
 “Whose book is this?” (Elicitation.P375)

b) “*ill idən **ɖarə** magg ampunu no:ɖɖ*” *andaɬu, al idɖə.*
*illi ir-ɖ-ənu **ɖarə** maggi ampunu no:ɖ-w-əɖu a:n-t-aɬu*
 here be-rlf-acp who.gn child quot. look-irf-des say-rlf-cmp

alli ir-ɖ-əɖə
 there be-rlf-sg
 “Having said, ‘Staying here, I must see whose child (this is)’, he stayed there.”
 (7th.Son.11)

75) Two question and answer excerpts from “Tiger Story”

a) From lines 126-8

- i. “*kyaka inndə ka:riy əɬmann sudd nəyro:ɖa ki:dl*”, *anndə*
kiyakkən-a inndə ka:yriyə əɬmann suddə nəyr-ɔ:ɖ-a
 little.one-voc today plenty human smell perceive_{SR}-prg-3sg

kiri-əl a:n-t-əḏə
 house-lc say-rlf-sg
 “He said, ‘Little one, I am getting a strong smell of humans in the house today.’”

- ii. *a:ŋ pəḏəŋa*, “**ayin** əṭmann sudd nəyro:ḏ ninka?”
 a:ŋgi pə:l-ḏ-əŋa **ayin** əṭmann suddə nəyr-o:ḏ-a nin-ka
 thus tell-rlf-trn what.gn human smell perceive_{SR}-prg-3sg 2s-dat
 “On (his) saying thus, (she asked), ‘What smell of humans are you getting?’ ”

b) From lines 255-6

- i. “*kaynn wand əṭŋ əṭar*”, *a:nəŋa*,
 kaynni wandə əḏi-t-ənu əṭaro a:n-əŋa
 rope some take-rlf-acp bring.pl.imp say-trn
 “On (their) saying, ‘Bring some rope.’”

- ii. “**ayin** kaynni?”, *a:nəŋa* ...
ayin kaynni a:n-iŋa
 what.gn rope say-trn
 “On (his) saying, ‘What rope?’ ... ”

76a) *i: kombə ayin ~ anjən kombə?*
 i kombə **ayin** ~ **anjən** kombə
 this horn what.gn horn
 “Whose horn is this horn?” (= which animal’s horn) (Elicitation.P414)

b) *iḏə ayina:nu ~ anjəna:nu kombə?*
 iḏə **ayin-a:nu** ~ **anjən-a:nu** kombə
 3sp.nm what.gn-IND horn
 “What is this the horn of?” (= of what animal).” (Elicitation.P414)

All four interrogative pronouns can be used as indefinite pronouns meaning ‘somebody, something, anybody, anything’; however, when used for indefinite reference, the enclitics /-a:nu, -aŋgə/ ‘indefinite’ are usually attached to the pronoun (77).

77a) *yani etla:nu ḏar:ra:nu arḏani, ila bəri, ḏar:na:n arḏani ...*
 yan-iya etli-a:nu **ḏarə-a:nu** ari-ḏ-ani
 1s-acc where-IND who.nm-IND hit-rlf-con

ila bəri **ɖarə-na-ənu** ari-ɖ-ani
 neg other who-acc-IND hit-rlf-con
 “If someone hits me somewhere, or if he hits someone else ...” (Conversation.310)

- b) *all inɖa:n naɖɖani*
 alli **iyinɖi-ənu** naɖi-ɖ-ani
 there what-IND progress-rlf-con
 “If something is going on there ...” (Conversation.213)

Examples of interrogative pronouns as arguments of negative verbs are shown in (78).

- 78a) *alli ɖar ila*
 alli **ɖarə** ila
 there who.nm neg.exist
 “There was no one there” (7th.Son.359)

- b) *pikki, pəydni, pa:mbə, injiɖ ilpaɖə ja:gəl yaniya ɖarsenn kaɖɖapila*
 pikki pəydni pa:mbə **injəɖə** il-paɖ-ə ja:gi-əl yan-iya
 bird scorpion snake what.nm neg.exist-occur-rlr place-lc 1s-acc
 ɖari-s-endu-ənu ka:ɭ-ɖ-əɖapəla
 cut-rlf-kill-acc leave-rlf-obg
 “You must kill me in a place where there is nothing, no birds, scorpions, snakes.”
 (Pomegranate.319)

- c) *nawə inndə ayina kijili*
 nawə inndə **ayin-a** ki:l-j-il-i
 1s.nm today what-acc do-rlf-neg-1sg
 “I did not do anything today.” (Elicitation.146)

4.0 NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

4.1 Numerals

Ordinal numbers from 1-20 are listed in Table 9. Numbers from 11 to 19 are formed by a compound consisting of the single digit number preceded by various forms

of ‘ten’ *pan* ~ *pa:n* ~ *paḍi* ~ *payn* ~ *paṭṭu*. Numbers from 21-29, 31-39, etc are formed by a compound of *ipaṭṭu*, *moṭṭu*, etc. plus the appropriate single digit numeral; e.g. *ipaṭṭondə* ‘twenty-one’, *ipaṭṭəḍḍu* ‘twenty-two’, *ipaṭṭmu:ru* ‘twenty-three’, and so on.

Table 3.9: Numerals

<i>wandə</i>	‘one’	<i>pa:nondə</i>	‘eleven’	<i>moṭṭu</i>	‘thirty’
<i>əḍḍu</i>	‘two’	<i>panəḍḍu</i>	‘twelve’	<i>nalwaṭṭu</i>	‘forty’
<i>mu:ru</i>	‘three’	<i>paḍimu:ru</i>	‘thirteen’	<i>əywaṭṭu</i>	‘fifty’
<i>na:ku</i>	‘four’	<i>pa:na:ku</i>	‘fourteen’	<i>arwaṭṭu</i>	‘sixty’
<i>əyḍu</i>	‘five’	<i>paynəyḍu</i>	‘fifteen’	<i>əḷwaṭṭu</i>	‘seventy’
<i>a:ru</i>	‘six’	<i>pa:na:ru</i>	‘sixteen’	<i>yambaṭṭu</i>	‘eighty’
<i>ə:ḷu</i>	‘seven’	<i>pa:nə:ḷu</i>	‘seventeen’	<i>ṭonnu:ru</i>	‘ninety’
<i>əṭṭu</i>	‘eight’	<i>pa:nəṭṭu</i>	‘eighteen’	<i>nu:ru</i>	‘hundred’
<i>enbaḍu</i>	‘nine’	<i>paṭṭenbaḍu</i>	‘nineteen’	<i>sa:wuru</i>	‘thousand’
<i>paṭṭu</i>	‘ten’	<i>ippaṭṭu</i>	‘twenty’		

BK words for fractions are *ka:lə* ‘quarter’, *arḍa* ‘half’, and *mukka:lə* ‘three-quarter’. When ‘half’ is added on another number, the form used is *ari* instead of *arḍa*; e.g. *wandari* ‘one and a half’

The cardinal number corresponding to *wandə* ‘one’ is *moḍḍalawəḍə* ‘first’; all other cardinal numbers are formed by suffixing /-awəḍə/ ‘nth’ to the number; e.g. *əḍḍawəḍə* ‘second’, *mu:rawəḍə* ‘third’ (/ə/ is frequently deleted between /w/ and /ḍ/). /-awəḍə/ has the variant /-ad ~ -aḍ/ when it forms a compound with *naḍi* ‘time’, as in *mu:radnaḍka* ‘for the third time’.

Numerals function syntactically like quantifiers, which are described in the following section. Note that the numeral *wandə* has variant forms when it is used as a

quantifier; it is usually pronounced *wand* before a word beginning with a vocoid (e.g. *wand ya:ni* ‘one/a elephant’ and *wan* before a word beginning with a contoid (e.g. *wan ra:jən* ‘one/a king’).

4.2 Quantifiers

The quantifiers that occur in these data are listed in Table 10. Most BK non-interrogative quantifiers are derived from the deictic particles *a*, *i* and from the numeral *wandə* ‘one’; however, there is one underived quantifier *o:ʔa*. Although the quantifiers in Table 10 are derived from *wandə*, they are used for both count and non-count nouns. I have only one example of an interrogative quantifier, *eʔərə*, which is derived from the interrogative particle *eʔ*; further research is necessary to elicit a full set of interrogative quantifiers to match the other deictic quantifiers shown below.

Table 3.10: Quantifiers

Deictic or interrogative particles as base:	<i>anaʔka</i> ‘that much’ <i>inaʔka</i> ‘this much’ <i>anaʔərə</i> ‘that many’ <i>inaʔərə</i> ‘this many’ <i>eʔərə</i> ‘how many’
Numeral <i>wandə</i> as base:	<i>wandə</i> ‘a, some, approximately’ <i>wan</i> +numeral (as in <i>wanəddu</i> , <i>wanmuru</i>) ‘some, a few’ <i>wanandə</i> ~ <i>onondə</i> ‘each, one each, every’ <i>inondə</i> ‘another’ <i>inonmuru</i> ‘some more’ <i>wandika</i> ‘a little’ <i>wandaʔka</i> ‘lots of’

Examples are shown in (79).

- 79a) *wan ni:riya kuḏsaṭu ...*
wan ni:rə-iya kuḏi-s-aṭu
some water-acc drink-rlf-comp
“Having drunk some water ...” (Pomegranate.348)
- b) *wandə a:r ə:l̩ t̩ya:n iḏa:ni, wandə pa:nnon məyniyə gutn a:pa*
wandə a:ru ə:l̩ t̩ya:nu i:r-ḏ-ani
about six seven hive be-rlf-con

wandə pa:nondə məyniyə a:g-p-a
about eleven o'clock become-irf-3sg
“If there are about 6 or 7 beehives, it will take until about 11 o'clock”
(Conversation.41)

Quantifiers function like nouns in that they can occur as the object in a sentence (80); I expect that they can also occur as subject, but there are no examples in these data. Reduplicated numerals and quantifiers are sometimes used as intensifiers or to convey a sense of distribution; a reduplicated numeral is shown in (80a).

- 80a) *wanmu:rmuru koṭṭu o:t̩i ki:rka koḏiyo*
wan-mu:ru-mu:ru koḏ-t-ənu o:t̩i ki:ri-ka koḏ-w-iyo
little.little give-rlf-acp all house-dat give-irf-pl
“Giving a little to each, they give to all the houses” (Conversation.412)
- b) *a:l̩ inaṭk inaṭk əṭṇ ba:ṭu, t̩imbiyo*
a:l̩ inaṭka inaṭka əḏi-t-ənu ba:r-aṭu t̩in-p-iyo
person this.much this.much bring-rlf-acp come-comp eat-irf-pl
“The person having brought this much at a time, they eat it.” (Conversation.401)

Chapter 4: Minor Lexical Categories

This chapter describes categories that do not exhibit productive suffixal morphology: categories discussed here are adjectives, postpositions, adverbs, and particles. The lexical category of adjectives in BK contains only a small set of underived forms; most adjectives are derived by the category-changing processes described in Chapter 5. Adjectives take only one category-preserving suffix, as described below. Postpositions and adverbs do not show any suffixal morphology; words in both categories are derived verbs, nouns, or particles. Particles in this grammar comprise a small set of words and roots that do not fit easily into any other lexical category on the basis of morphosyntactic function or suffixal morphology.

1.0 ADJECTIVES

There are very few underived adjectives or adjectival roots in BK; those that occur in these data are listed in (1). Adjectival roots are free roots; they can optionally take one category-preserving derivational suffix, described below.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1) a. <i>nall</i> | ‘nice’ | <i>moʎa</i> | ‘upper’ |
| b. <i>jal</i> | ‘old’ | <i>sira</i> | ‘very, lots of’ |
| c. <i>ba:l</i> | ‘lots, very’ | <i>boʎlu</i> | ‘white’ |
| d. <i>kər</i> | ‘small’ ⁷⁰ | <i>ḍappu</i> | ‘big’ |
| e. <i>kiri</i> | ‘small’ | <i>uḍḍu</i> | ‘long’ |
| f. <i>kəmi</i> | ‘less’ | <i>ṭəllu</i> | ‘thin’ |
| g. <i>bəri</i> | ‘different’ | <i>saḍu</i> | ‘quiet, tame’ |
| h. <i>bərə</i> | ‘purely, only in the form of’ | <i>ṭundu</i> | ‘short’ |
| j. <i>koʎa</i> | ‘lower’ | <i>palo</i> | ‘various (types, sizes)’ |

Some adjectives are derived from a combination of the deictic particles *a*, *i* plus adjectival base (2).

2) a.	<i>alku</i>	‘that long’	<i>aṭa:l</i>	distant location
b.	<i>ilku</i>	‘this long’	<i>iṭa:l</i>	proximate location
c.	<i>anaṭəgu</i>	‘that big’	<i>akkəra</i>	distant location
d.	<i>inaṭṭə, inaṭəgu</i>	‘this big’	<i>ikkəra</i>	proximate location
e.	<i>a:ŋgu, aḍaŋgu</i>	‘that type’		
f.	<i>iḍaŋgu</i>	‘this type’ ⁷¹		

There are a few adjectives which have phonologically identical counterparts in other lexical categories; e.g. *nəṭi:mi* ‘straight’ is also an adverb, *pəyymən*, ‘new’ and *paḷmən* ‘old’ are also nouns. Other adjectives are formed from nouns by the adjectivization processes described in Chapter 5.

Underived adjectives can function only as noun modifiers (3). They must be converted to nouns before they can perform any other syntactic function.

3)	<i>aḍə kiri bokkə bəydn banda</i>	
	aḍə kiri bokkə bəyr-ənu ban-t-a	
	1sr.nm small book bring _{SR} - <u>acp</u> come _R - <u>rlf</u> - <u>3sg</u>	
	“She brought a small book.”	(Elicitation.P412)

Similarly the adjectives that contain deictic particles listed in (2) function only as noun modifiers:

⁷⁰ This adjective probably has a final vowel because /r/ is not a permissible word-final segment in BK.

- 4) *aṭa:l bīdl, wan mansən ṭi:roḍ bi:jipa*
 aṭa:l biriyə-əl wan mansin ṭi:ri-oḍa bi:ju-i:r-pu-a
 that.side side-lc one person cloth-com wave-stat-irf-3sg
 “On that side, a person stands waving a cloth” (Conversation.517)
- c) *aḍa:ṅgu mand, in ḍa:rə kuyrki mand ila*
 aḍa:ṅgu mann-ḍə ina ḍa:rə kuyrki mann-ḍə ila
 that.type person-pl now who.gn vessel person-pl neg.exist
 “People like them, now there are no vessel-makers” (Conversation.62)

A small set of adjectives can take derivational suffix /-gu/, which is used to encode ‘size’ (5).

- 5) *ḍappugu* ‘big’
 b) *kiri:gu* ‘small’
 c) *uḍḍugu* ‘long’
 d) *inaṭəgu* ‘this size’
 f) *anaṭəgu* ‘that size’
- 6) *manṅkuyrki, kiri:gu kuyrki ki:ləyə gottu:ḍə?*
 manṅu-kuyrki kiri-gu kuyrki ki:l-əlayə gott-u:ḍə
 soil-vessel small-size vessel do-inf knowledge-exist
 “Do you know how to make small pots, earthenpots?” (Conversation.61)

2.0 POSTPOSITIONS

Table 1 lists some of the postpositions found in these data; several of them are related to fully inflected verbs or nouns. For example, *itu*, *ipəli*, *ipka* are derived from the verb *i:r* ‘be’ and contain verbal suffixes as part of their derivation. Different postpositions assign different cases to their nominal objects; the case they assign is also

⁷¹ BK probably has *iyiṅgu* ‘this type’ and *anaṭṭə* ‘that big’ to correspond with *a:ṅgu* and *inaṭṭə*, but no examples have occurred in these data.

listed in Table 1. Parentheses around nominative case indicates that the postposition is tentatively analyzed as a nominative assigning postposition in the absence of suitable data; additional data in which they occur after pronouns or exceptional nouns is necessary to confirm this analysis.⁷² Three postpositions, *pimbi*, *pimbottl* and *mindī* assign genitive or dative case depending on semantic role.

Postpositions are independent words that perform the function of case markers. Because, they function like case markers, postpositions pose a problem for determining whether they are separate words or case suffixes. This problem is especially apparent in the case of *gutnu* ‘during, by the time, until’, which is related to an inflectional suffix with the same meaning that functions as a clause-chain marker on verbs. Two criteria are used to distinguish affixes from words in BK: (a) restrictions on word-final segments – if the putative stem ends in an illicit word-final segment, the following item is an affix and not a separate word; (b) optional versus obligatory final vowel deletion – if the putative stem exhibits obligatory final-vowel deletion (or if at least a sub-set of its lexical class exhibits obligatory final-vowel deletion) the following item is an affix; if, on the other hand, final vowel deletion is optional, the following item is a word.⁷³ By these criteria, *gutnu*, when used on verbs, must be treated as a suffix because it occurs immediately after the verb root and several of these roots end in illicit word-final segments. On the other hand, it must be treated as a separate word, or postposition, when it occurs immediately after a noun because the noun undergoes optional rather than obligatory

⁷² Only pronouns or irregular nouns have distinct nominative and genitive case forms; therefore, only these will enable me to distinguish whether the object has nominative or genitive case.

final-vowel deletion before *gutnu* (see Chapter 2, §2.1 for a discussion of the prevalence of optional word-final vowel deletion in BK).

Table 4.1: Postpositions

Function	Postposition	Gloss	Case assigned to object
Location (space or time):	<i>uyli</i>	near	(Nominative)
	<i>o:łgi</i>	within	„
	<i>o:gi</i>	inside, in	„
	<i>gutnu</i>	during, by, until	„
	<i>uřka</i>	on top of	Genitive
	<i>birkł</i>	in the vicinity of	„
	<i>nađuwł</i>	in between	„
	<i>muska</i>	close to, up, above	Dative
	<i>muni:ri</i>	above	„
	<i>kuni:ri</i>	below	„
	<i>bigađkəŋa</i>	later, afterwards	„
	<i>etli</i>	as soon as	„
	<i>pimbi,</i> <i>pimbottł</i>	behind, at the back of	Genitive or dative
	<i>mindı</i>	before, in front of	„
	Negative:	<i>alđi</i>	except for
<i>ilđi</i>		without	„
Other:	<i>paři</i>	about	Accusative
	<i>ipəli</i>	with, through	Genitive
	<i>biyliya</i>	in the company of	„
	<i>ipka</i>	towards	„
	<i>inđa</i>	through the agency of	„
	<i>birkŋa</i>	towards	„
	<i>bəyri</i>	on behalf of, because of	Dative
	<i>i:tu</i>	from	Locative

⁷³ A third criterion, which is relevant in other cases, is the possibility of cliticization – if a clitic can intervene between the putative stem and the following item, the two must be separate words because clitics attach to fully formed words (Steever 1993).

The examples in (7) show different case-marked nouns occurring as objects of different postpositions. *alḍi* is tentatively analyzed as a postposition which takes a nominative object (7a), *paṭi* takes an accusative noun as object (7b), *ipili* takes a genitive noun (7c), *bigaḍkəṅa* takes a dative noun (7d), and *mindḍi* can take a genitive or dative-case marked noun (7e).

7a) *wan ki:r alḍi oṭṭəya pottnaḍiyo*
 wan ki:ri alḍi oṭṭəya por-i-t-ənaḍ-iyo
 one house except all thatch-rlf-prf-pl
 ‘All except one house has been thatched.’ (Elicitation.P420)

b) *a maggi abbiya paṭi kəṭa*
 a maggi abbi-iya paṭi kəṭ-t-a
 that child mother-acc about ask-rlf-3sg.
 ‘That child asked about (her) mother’ (Elicitation.P362)

c) *aḍən ipəl ayiṅa kottəḍ*
 aḍən ipəli ayin-ka koḍ-t-əḍə
 3sr.gn with what-dat give-rlf-sg.
 ‘Why did you give it to him?’ (7th.Son.234)

d) *nawi sanna:ska bigaḍkəṅa bupiya*
 nawi sanna:si-ka bigaḍkəṅa bu-pu-iya
 1s.nm sunday-dat come_{IR}-irf-1sg
 ‘I will come after Sunday.’ (Elicitation.P364)

e) *nawə bommi ~ bommika mindəl ku:naḍiya*
 nawə bommi ~ bommi-ka mindḍi-əl ku:r-ənaḍ-iya
 1s.nm Bommi Bommi-dat front-lc sit-st.dur-1sg
 ‘I am sitting in front of Bommi.’ (Elicitation.P418)

Noun-derived postpositions retain a few nominal properties: Some postpositions can take a preceding quantifier *wan* (8a), and some can take dative and locative case

suffixes, but no other nominal suffixes. Dative case on the postposition is used to encode goal of motion (8b), locative case is used to encode existence in a location (8c), and /-a/ is used to encode distributed location (8e).⁷⁴

- 8a) *ki:rka wan muska mer u:ɖə*
 ki:ri-ka wan muska meri u:ɖə
 house-dat some above tree exist
 “There is a tree a little above the house.” (Elicitation.P419)
- b) *nawə ki:r o:kka pəyo:ɖɖə*
 nawə ki:ri o:gi-ka piy-o:ɖ-əɖə
 1s.nm house inside-dat go_{SR}-prg-sg
 “I am going into the house.” (Elicitation.P422)
- c) *nawə bommi mindəl ku:nadiya*
 nawə bommi mindi-əl ku:r-ənəɖ-iya
 1s.nm Bommi front-lc sit-st.dur-1sg
 “I am sitting in front of Bommi.” (Elicitation.P418)
- d) *kaydd po:piɖaj pəyriy o:ga batt o:ta beggən beggən po:pəɖə ...*
 kayddi po:g-pu-əɖə-ənɖi pəyriyə o:gi-a batti o:ta beggu-ənu
 bear go-irf-sg-like bush inside-dlc path all bend_{SR}-acc
 beggu-ənu po:g-pu-əɖə
 rep go-irf-sg
 “Like a bear, he would bend and go around in the forest, on the paths and all.”
 (Conversation.616)

Postpositions can occur after other postpositions (9a) or after adverbs (9b, c, where *ann* and *alli* are adverbs).

- 9a) *nawə te:bl uʔk i:tu wan pensəl əɖti*
 nawə te:bl uʔka i:tu wan pensəli əɖi-ʔ-i
 1s.nm table on.top.of from one pencil take-rlf-1sg
 “I took a pencil from the top of the table.” (Elicitation.P437)

⁷⁴ Some locational postpositions do not take a locative suffix; therefore, distributed location is encoded with /-a/ rather than /-əla/ (see §3 on adverbs for a discussion of this issue).

b) *pin all itu banda*
 pina alli itu ban-t-a
 then there from come_R-rlf-3sg
 “Then he came from there.” (Conversation.635)

c) *ni ann gutn pi:gəy*
 niyə ann gutnu pi:gəy
 2s.nm then until go.sg.p.im
 “Go before that time.” (Tiger.116)

2.1. The morphosyntactic functions of postpositions

2.1.1 Locational postpositions

Locational postpositions encode location in space and time with respect to a noun. Some postpositions express location in space only (10a), some express location in time only (10b), and some can express location in space or time (10c,d).

10a) *bommən ki:ri ka:lŋ ki:rka nəʃi:mi uŋdɔ*
 bommən ki:ri ka:lŋ ki:ri-ka nəʃi:mi uŋdɔ
 bomman house kaalan house-dat direct exist
 “Bomman’s house is directly in front of Kaalan’s house.” (Elicitation.P364)

b) *nawə sanna:si-ka bigaḍkəŋa bu-pu-iyə*
 nawə sanna:si-ka bigaḍkəŋa bu-pu-iyə
 1s.nm sunday-dat later come_{IR}-irf-1sg
 “I will come after Sunday.” (Elicitation.P364)

c) *a: ki:rk o:tʃiya, wandə mu:r na:k na:l o:lgi pəynigilku*
 a ki:ri-ka o:tʃəya wandə mu:ru na:ku na:l u o:lgi pəyniyə-ki:l-ku
 that house-dat all about three four day within work-do-pbl
 “For that house and all, the work can be done within about 3-4 days.” (Conversation.124)

- d) *i: mətir o:lgi inḍa:nu pagg a:sani ...*
 i mət̪iri o:lgi iyinḍi-a:nu paggi a:g-s-ani
 this hamlet within what-IND fight happen-rlf-con
 ‘If there is any fight within this hamlet ...’ (Conversation.288)

The time postposition *etli* differs from other postpositions in that it occurs only with nominalized clauses (rather than simple nouns):

- 11) *aḍə pəḍəŋ etli na po:ni*
 aḍə pə:l-ḍ-ən-ka etli nawə po:g-n-i
 3sr.nm tell-rlf-nmr-dat as.soon.as 1s.nm go-pve-1sg
 ‘I went as soon as he told me to.’ (Elicitation.P420)

2.1.2 Negative postpositions

There are two negative postpositions, *alḍi*, *ilḍi*, derived from the negative particles *il*, *al*, respectively. *alḍi* is used to encode ‘exclusion’, and *ilḍi* is used to encode ‘absence, lack of’ (12).

- 12a) *wan kir alḍi o:təya pottnaḍiyo*
 wan kirri alḍi o:təya porit-ənəḍ-iyo
 one house except all thatch-rlf-prf-pl
 ‘All except one house is thatched’ (Elicitation.P420)

- b) *maggi abb ilḍi kirka pə:so*
 maggi abbi ilḍi kirri-ka pə:-s-o
 child mother without house-dat go_R-rlf-3sg
 ‘The child went home without his mother’ (Elicitation.P363)

2.1.3. Other postpositions

The other postpositions encode a variety of relations between the verb and its arguments. Some have selectional restrictions in terms of humanness and gender on the type of nouns they can take as the object.

paṭi encodes topic; it is the only postposition in these data that assigns accusative case to its object (13).

- 13) *a maggi abbiya paṭi kə:ṭa*
 a maggi abbi-ya paṭi kə:ṭ-t-a
 that child mother-acc about ask-rlf-3sg
 ‘That child asked about (her) mother’ (Elicitation.P362)

bəyri ‘because of, on behalf of’ is used to encode cause or reason (14). This postposition is also used after nominalized clauses (14c). When the nominalized clause is negative, the dative suffix is not used before *bəyri* (14d).

- 14a) *aḍə ma:ka bəyr ta:n awoḍḍə*
 aḍə maggi-ka bəyri ta:nu awoḍ-əḍə
 3sr.nm child-dat because emph exist-sg
 ‘She lives only for her children.’ (Elicitation.P366)

- b) *iḍə byallka bəyri ... battla ṭinn ṭinn po:pa*
 iḍə byallə-ka bəyri batti-əla ṭin-t-ənu po:g-pu-a
 3sp.nm jaggary-dat because path-dlc eat-rlf-acp go-irf-3sg
 ‘Because of the *jaggary* (brown sugar pieces) ..., it goes along the path eating.’
 (Conversation.576)

- c) *nawə aḍə pəḍəṅa bəyri pə:səḍə*
 nawə aḍə pə:ḷ-ḍ-ən-ka bəyri pə:s-əḍə
 1s.nm 3sr.nm tell-rlf-nmr-dat because go_R-rlf-sg
 ‘I went because s/he asked me to.’ (Elicitation.P373)

- d) *ma:ḍən niss ʔinɪlkəndə bəyri, yanka əḍmbə ə:lɪgiso*
 ma:ḍən nissə ʔin-ilkən-də bəyri yanka əḍmbə ə:lɪgu-s-o
 madan food eat-n.con-nmr because 1s-dat anger arise-rlf-3sg
 “I was angry because Madan didn’t eat his food.” (Elicitation.P452)

The postposition *inḍa* is used to encode a noun’s instrumental role; according to my consultant, it is used mainly with animate nouns, and is used less frequently with inanimate nouns:

- 15a) *yanka a udɟiṭ inḍa pəyniyə kəḍsi*
 yan-ka a udɟiṭ inḍa pəyniyə kəḍ-s-i
 1s-dat that young.woman through work get-rlf-imps
 “I got a job through that woman.” (Elicitation.P378)

- b) *i: bokkə yan inḍa berḍəḍə*
 i bokkə yan inḍa beri-ḍ-əḍə
 this book 1s.gn through write-rlf-sg
 “This book was written by me.” (Elicitation.P438)

An example of a possible but infrequent construction with *inḍa* on an inanimate noun is:

- 16) *aḍə erəw inḍa pensəli kisəḍḍə*
 aḍə erəwi inḍa pensəli kisu-a:l-ḍ-əḍə
 3sr.nm knife through pencil sharpen-thrly-rlf-sg
 “He sharpened the pencil with a knife.” (Elicitation.P376)

bəyliya is used only with animate nouns and expresses an action done in the company of a person or animal:

- 17a) *aḍə ab bəyliya banda*
 aḍə abbi bəyliya ban-t-a
 3sr.nm mother company.of come-R-rlf-sg
 “She came with her mother.” (Elicitation.P364)

- b) *i udgən ya:n bəyliya pəyrga:tl̩ pə:səḏə*
 i udgən ya:ni bəyliya pəyrga:ḏə-tl̩ pə:-s-əḏə
 this y.man elephant company.of forest-lc go_R-rlf-sg
 “This man went into the forest with the elephant” (Elicitation.P374)

ipəli is used on verbs that involve social interaction between animate speech act participants (benefactive verbs, verbs related to existence with a person, causative verbs, etc.); consequently, this postposition occurs only with animate nouns. It encodes a variety of roles that basically involve some form of control by one of the participants (benefactor, beneficiary, possessor, agent, vicinity). *ipəli* marks the benefactor object in (18). In (18c) the use of *ipəli* implies that *bommən* is the employer (and therefore plays a benefactor role) rather than a co-worker. If the two nouns referred to co-workers, I expect that the object would be marked with /-oḏa/ ‘comitative case’. In the same way, the use of *ipəli* in (18d) adds the implication of ‘protector, guardian’ to its object noun.

- 18a) *nawə a: udgən ipəli ḏudḏə bə:ḏiyə*
 nawə a udgən ipəli ḏudḏə bə:ḏ-w-iyə
 1s.nm that y.man with money bring-irf-1sg
 “I took (brought) money from that boy.” (Elicitation.P378)

- b) *yanka i: kombə ma:nu ipəli kəḏsəḏə*
 yan-ka i kombə ma:nu ipəli kəḏ-s-əḏə
 1s-dat this horn deer with get-rlf-sg
 “This man went into the forest with the elephant” (Elicitation.P374)

- c) *ka:l̩ bommən ipəli pəynigijə:ḏa*
 ka:l̩ bommən ipəli pəyniyə-ki:l-j-o:ḏ-a
 Kaalan Bomman with work-do-rlf-prg-3sg
 ‘Kaalán is working for Bomman.’ (Elicitation.P366)

- d) *tan anɔ ipəli iðənu ...*
 ʔan anɔ-ɔə ipəli i:ɾ-ɔ-ənu
 3sa.gn brother-pl with live-rlf-acc
 ‘Living with her brothers ...’ (Tiger.264)

ipəli is also used with nouns that are the recipient of a benefactive action, if the action involves giving something into the possession of someone. Since possession is crucial to its use in this context, the possessor must be capable of possessing the item, and the item must be possessable. Thus, *ipəli* can be used to mark recipient in (19a) because a pen can be possessed by the recipient *yan*; /-ka/ can alternatively be used in this sentence to express goal. However, *ipəli* cannot be used in (19b) because the recipient *pu:si* ‘cat’ consumes milk rather than holds it in possession; only /-ka/ can be used in this sentence.

- 19a) *a maggi yan ipəli ~ yanka pe:na ʔanda*
 a maggi yan ipəli ~ yan-ka pe:na ʔan-t-a
 that child 1s.gn with 1s-dat pen give_R-rlf-3sg
 ‘The child gave me the pen.’ (Elicitation.P366)

- b) *nawə pu:ska/*[pu:si ipəli] pa:lə koɔ-ti*
 nawə pu:si-ka / pu:si ipəli pa:lə koɔ-t-i
 I cat-dat / cat with milk give-rlf-1sg
 ‘I gave the cat milk.’ (Elicitation.P366)

ipəli is used to mark alienable possession in possessive sentences formed with the copula *u:di*. The dative suffix /-ka/ marks inalienable possession (that is, part-whole relations or kinship relations). In the following examples, the use of *ipəli* in (20a) implies that the bone belonged to some other animal; while the use of dative /-ka/ in (20b) implies that the bone is part of the dog’s own body.

20a) *na:y ipəli wand yaluwə u:ɖə*
 na:yə ipəli wandə yaluwə u:ɖə
 dog with one bone exist
 ‘The dog has a bone (belonging to some other animal).’ (Elicitation.P380)

b) *na:yka yaluwə u:ɖə*
 na:yə-ka yaluwə u:ɖə
 dog-dat bone be
 ‘The dog has bones (in its own body).’ (Elicitation.P380)

ipəli is also used in causative constructions to encode ‘peripheral causee’; that is the agent through whom the causer gets the action done; this is described further in Chapter 2, §3.2.5.

i:tu ‘from’ encodes movement from a location and it typically takes a locative case-marked object (21).

21) *nawə merɪɫ i:tu wanmu:r yali əɖi-t-i*
 nawə meri-ɫ i:tu wanmu:ru yali əɖi-t-i
 1s.nm tree-lc from some leaf take-rlf-1sg
 ‘I took a few leaves from the tree.’ (Elicitation.P379)

However, as explained in Chapter 3, §1.2.6, locative case marking is not permitted on all nouns; overt locative case marking depends on the animacy and humanness features of the noun. Correspondingly, the structure of nominal objects of *i:tu* depends on the locative-case marking abilities of the noun. Inanimate nouns, which can freely take locative case if they are not place names, are marked for locative when they are objects of *i:tu*, as shown in (21) above. Among place names, those that refer to places that are very familiar to the BKs are used without a locative case marker; correspondingly they occur

in uninflected form before *i:tu*. Those that refer to relatively unfamiliar places can optionally take a locative case marker. Examples of place names before *i:tu* were given in the description of locative case in Chapter 3 and are repeated below. (22a) has a familiar place name and (22b, c) have relatively unfamiliar place names.

22a) *nawə bokkpur(ə)/*bokkpudl i:tu bannḍə*
 nawə bokkpurə/*bokkpurə-əl i:tu ban-t-əḍə
 1s.nm Bokkapur/Bokkapur-lc from come_R-rlf-sg.
 “I came from Bokkapur.” (Elicitation.P435)

b) *nawə kunu:rə ~ kunu:dl i:tu bannḍə*
 nawə kunu:rə ~ kunu:rə-əl i:tu ban-t-əḍə
 1s.nm Coonoor ~ Coonoor-lc from come_R-rlf-sg.
 “I came from Coonoor.” (Elicitation.P435)

c) *nawə amerika ~ amerikl i:tu bannḍə*
 nawə amerika ~ amerika-əl i:tu ban-t-əḍə
 1s.nm America ~ America-lc from come_R-rlf-sg.
 “I came from America.” (Elicitation.P435)

Human nouns do not take locative case; therefore, when they occur as objects of *i:tu*, they form a benefactor/locative phrase with *ipəli*. Thus, in the following sentence the human noun occurs in the construction ‘N *ipəli i:tu*’ and not ‘*N-*l i:tu*’:

23) *aḍə bumm ipəl i:tu ḍuḍḍə bə:ḍsəḍə*
 aḍə bummi ipəli i:tu ḍuḍḍə bə:ḍ-s-əḍə
 3sr.nm Bommi with from money bring-rlf-sg.
 “He took the money from Bommi.” (Elicitation.P429)

Animate non-human nouns can take locative case suffixes in some contexts. Preceding *i:tu*, they can be marked with the locative suffix or they can form the benefactor/locative construction ‘N + *ipəli*’.

- 24) *yanka a [ətt̪ ipəl̪ ~ ətt̪l̪] ɪtu pa:lə kəɖsəɖə*
 yan-ka a [ətt̪ə ipəl̪i ~ ətt̪-əl̪] ɪtu pa:lə kəɖ-s-əɖə
 1s-dat that [cow with cow-lc] from milk get-rlf-sg.
 ‘I got milk from the cow.’ (Elicitation.P379)

The postpositions *ipka* ‘towards’ and *birkɟa* ‘to the side of’ are used to encode the goal of motion when the goal is a human noun. As explained in Chapter 3, §1.2.4, human nouns cannot take the dative suffix /-ka/ when they are the goal of motion; they must take one of these postpositions instead.

- 25) *nawə bommən birkɟa ~ ipka pɔ:ni*
 nawə bommən birkɟa ~ ipka pɔ:g-n-i
 1s.nm Bomman towards go-pve-1sg.
 ‘I went towards Bomman.’ (Elicitation.P366)

3.0 ADVERBS

Adverbs function as verb phrase modifiers or clause modifiers. They can be grouped into adverbs of place, time, and manner. Many BK adverbs are nouns or compounds that have frozen into adverbial modifiers and many are derived from particles; these can be classified as simple adverbs. Several of the locational adverbs are identical to postpositions. Complex adverbs are formed by a productive process of suffixation, in which /-aya, -aŋgi, -kən/ are attached to verbs or nouns.

Simple adverbs of location that occur in these data are shown in (26); (26a) shows locational adverbs that are probably frozen nouns or verbs; (26b) lists those that are derived from deictic particles. Adverbs that encode manner or other semantic categories are listed in (27).

26) Simple adverbs of location.

a)	<u>Place</u>		<u>Time</u>			
i.	<i>uṭka</i>	‘on top, above’	<i>muna</i>	‘before, earlier’		
ii.	<i>birkya</i>	‘close by’	<i>mindī</i>	‘later’		
iii.	<i>birkł</i>	‘alongside’	<i>bigaḍkəŋa</i>	‘later’		
iv.	<i>pimbi, pimbottl</i>	‘behind’	<i>nəntə</i>	‘yesterday’		
v.	<i>mindī</i>	‘in front of’	<i>ke:kya</i>	‘tomorrow’		
vi.	<i>o:gi</i>	‘inside’	<i>niŋgi</i>	‘day-after-tomorrow’		
vii.	<i>pormi</i>	‘outside’	<i>mu:tə</i>	‘a few days ago’		
viii.	<i>təbbə</i>	‘near’				
ix.	<i>muska</i>	‘up’				
x.	<i>muni:ri</i>	‘above’				
xi.	<i>kuni:ri</i>	‘below’				
xii.	<i>bəḥsaṭi</i>	‘outside’				
xiii.	<i>naḍuwəl</i>	‘in between’				
xiv.	<i>nəṭi:mi</i>	‘directly in front of’				
b)	<u>Place</u>		<u>Time</u>	<u>Place & time</u>		
i.	<i>alli</i>	‘there’	<i>ann</i>	‘then’	<i>itni:ri</i>	‘until now/here’
ii.	<i>illi</i>	‘here’	<i>inn, ina</i>	‘now’	<i>atni:ri</i>	‘after then/there’
iii.	<i>etli</i>	‘where’				
iv.	<i>moḷali</i>	‘up there’	<i>anndə</i>	‘that day’		
v.	<i>moḷili</i>	‘up here’	<i>inndə</i>	‘this day’		
vi.	<i>koḷali</i>	‘down there’				
vii.	<i>koḷili</i>	‘down here’				
viii.	<i>akkəra</i>	‘that side’				
ix.	<i>ikkəra</i>	‘this side’				
x.	<i>akəralli</i>	‘over on that side’				
xi.	<i>ikərilli</i>	‘over on this side’				

27) Other simple adverbs

i.	<i>kəri</i>	‘a little’	<i>tirpi</i>	‘again’
ii.	<i>eḍəra</i>	‘straight, directly in front of’	<i>pəṭini</i>	‘for no good reason, baseless’
iii.	<i>nə:ra</i>	‘directly, honestly’	<i>bə:ri</i>	‘separately’
iv.	<i>sanndə</i>	‘quickly’	<i>ildi</i>	‘without’

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| v. <i>surka</i> | ‘quickly’ | <i>kəyri</i> | ‘even’ |
| vi. <i>nala</i> | ‘well, nicely’ | <i>pina</i> | ‘then, after that’ |
| vii. <i>payyə</i> | ‘quietly’ | | |

Adverbs of location provide information about place or time with respect to an action. They usually occur as verb phrase modifiers situated within the verb phrase (28a-c), but many of them can be moved to other positions in a sentence (28d-e).

- 28a) *tissoða ə:rsa:n a: ip o:təy muni:r po:pa.*
 t̪issə-od̪ə ə:r-s-ani a ipi o:təya muni:ri po:g-pu-a
 fire-com climb-rlf-con that insect all up go-irf-3sg
 “If one climbs up with the fire, the bees all fly upwards.” (Conversation.29)
- b) *nawə bigadkəŋa bando:d̪d̪ə*
 nawə bigadkəŋa ban-t-o:d̪-əd̪ə
 1s.nm later come-r-rlf-prg-sg
 “I am coming later.” (Elicitation.P437)
- c) *pina: nilgayə al kelkənu ...*
 pina nilgayə alli kelku-ənu
 then Indian.gooseberry there mix-sr-acp
 “Then mixing the gooseberry in ...” (Conversation.1)
- d) *ann gutn all wan ra:jən wan ba:t̪ŋ iɖaygo*
 ann gutnu alli wan ra:jən wan ba:d̪-t-ənu i:r-ɖ-a-ŋgo
 then until there one king one sleep-rlf-acp be-rlf-3sg-EXM
 “During that time, a king was sleeping there” (7th.Son.397)
- e) *moɭali, wan ba:w u:d̪ə*
 moɭali wan ba:wə u:d̪ə
 down.there one well exist
 “Down there, there is a well.” (Elicitation.P419)

Some location adverbs, such as *aɭali*, *iɭili*, *akəralli*, *ikərilli*, occur only as clause-modifiers in these data:

29a) *niy ill i:dl bə:da. əŋ ka:t pəyt, aʔali ɖyar bəŋgəl uŋdi.*

niyə illi i:r-əl bə:da
 2s.nm here be-inf don't.want
 “You shouldn't stay here.”

əɖi-ʔ-ənu ka:l-aʔu pəy-aʔu aʔali ɖyari bəŋgəli uŋdi
 take-rlf-acp leave-cmp go_{SR}-cmp over.there sahib house exist
 “Having gone, there is a sahib's house over there.” (7th.Son.362)

b) *aḍə yan ɖappammən, aʔali, ɖappuḍə.*

aḍə yan ɖappu-ammən aʔali ɖappu-əḍə
 3sr.nm 1s.gn big-father over.there big-nmr
 “That is my elder uncle, over there, the elder one.” (Conversation.189)

Location adverbs that function as verb phrase modifiers and which are historically derived from nouns can take dative and locative case suffixes (30). However, some adverbs do not take the locative suffix /-əl/; therefore, when they encode distributed location, the suffix /-a/ is used rather than /-əla/. Thus, the adverb *alli* does not take locative /-əl/ (presumably because the locative is already part of its derivation); therefore, it takes /-a/ rather than /-əla/ to encode distributed location (30b). In contrast, the adverb *pimbi* does take locative /-əl/ (30c).

30a) *pin aḍəŋ atni:ri alka pəyottla.*

pina aḍən-ka atni:ri alli-ka pəy-ott-il-a
 then 3sr-dat from.then there-dat go_{SR}-hab-neg-3sg
 “Then, from then onwards, she never went there.” (Tiger.262)

b) *pin i uḍgən aliya pə:səḍə.*

pina i uḍgən ali-a pə:s-əḍə
 then this y.man there-dlc go_R-rlf-sg
 “Then, this young man went to that area.” (Pomegranate.337)

- c) *pimbəl ka:l sarpəyni pu:ti tan abbka.*
 pimbi-əl ka:l sarpəyni pu:tu-w-iyo tan abbi-ka
 back-lc leg chain lock-irf-pl 3sa.gn mother-dat
 “They tie chains on the mother’s hind legs.” (Conversation.598)

Location adverbs can also function as objects of copulas:

- 31) *iḏə naḏuwəl awoḏḏə*
 iḏə naḏuwəl awoḏ-əḏə
 3sp.nm middle exist
 “This is in the middle.” (Elicitation.P436)

4.0. PARTICLES

There a number of words and a few roots that do not fit easily in any lexical category. They are classified here as particles.

4.1. Particles that function as root-like elements

Deictic particles *i* ‘proximate’, *a* ‘remote’, and *u* ‘non-specific, general surroundings’ function as the base from which 3rd person pronouns are formed, as explained in Chapter 3 and 5. In addition, two of these particles, *a*, *i* enter into combinations with other formatives to form a variety of adverbs, adjectives, quantifiers, and question words. Similarly, interrogative particles *eṭ*, *ayṭ*, *e:n* are used as a base for interrogative pronouns, quantifiers, adverbs, etc.; these interrogatives tend to parallel words derived from deictic particles; e.g. *aṭərə* ‘that many’, *iṭərə* ‘this many’, *eṭərə* ‘how many’. The negative particle *il* combines with formatives to form a few negative adverbs, compound suffixes, etc. The numeral *wan* ‘one’ also functions as a particle base from which other quantifiers, nouns, etc are derived; for example, *wantə* ‘one day’s duration’. Several derivatives of all these particles were listed in relevant sections on other lexical

categories; the formatives used in many of these derivations are highly unproductive ones that occur only on particles.

4.2. Particles used for discourse functions.

(32) lists particles that are used as discourse markers and interjectives. The function of emphasis markers and interjectives do not require further elaboration, but focus markers are discussed below.

32a) Discourse markers:

- i. *ʔana* ‘itself (emphatic)’
- ii. *ʔa:nu ~ ʔa:ni* ‘only, just (emphatic)’
- iii. *ma:ʔri* ‘only, just (emphatic)’
- iv. *itu* ‘focus marker’
- v. *ba:ʔu* ‘focus marker’

b) Interjectives:

- i. *ə:* ‘yes (affirmative)’
- ii. *iŋgaɖə* ‘mistake, oops!’
- iii. *ɖə:y* ‘hey!’
- iv. *sə::* ‘disgust’

Discourse markers *itu* and *ba:ʔu* are derived from frozen verbs consisting of roots *i:r* ‘be’, *ba:r* ‘come’ plus chained-clause marker */-aʔu/*. It is difficult to clearly identify the discourse functions of these particles, but some general observations are given here. *itu* and *ba:ʔu* occur immediately after noun phrases and, in most cases, appear to function as topic markers. *itu* is used mainly after agentive subject noun phrases (33) and seems to mark out the participant as the source of the action, “action originating from N”. It is used very frequently in clauses that involve verbs of speaking (33b, c), in which it marks

out the speaker of the utterance. In fact, in (33c), where the word order is scrambled and the object appears before the subject, *i:tu* plays a role in indicating who the speaker is. It is also used often when the speaker corrects herself after initially referring to the wrong participant (33d). (Focus markers are shown in bold typeface, the dots within sentences in the examples below indicated sentence-internal pauses).

33a) *a pəŋakkən i:tu ... i udgiṭka ko:maṭl ... t̪e:l kattiso.*

a pəŋakkən **i:tu** i: udgiṭka ko:maṭl t̪e:li
 that woman focus this woman-dat neck-lc marriage.necklace

katt̪u-s-o

tie-rlf-3sg

“That woman tied a marriage necklace around the neck of this young woman.”

(7th.Son.420)

b) *pin i i muṭk i:t̪ a:ŋ pəddə ... ni da:ləmka:y̅l magəliya kuyna:dl pə:mi pya:ra.*

pina i i muṭki **i:tu** a:ŋgi pə:l-d̪-əḍə
 then this rep. o.woman focus thus tell-rlf-sg

niyə da:ləmka:y̅-əl magəḷə-iyā kuyna:r-əl pə:l-w-i-mi
 2s.nm pomegranate-lc daughter-acc marry-inf tell-irf-2sg-EXM

pya:dn-a

grandson-VOC

“Then the old woman said, ‘You are talking of marrying the pomegranate woman, grandson!’ ”

(Pomegranate.52)

c) *gəŋda:l̪o:da ... pəŋḍ i:tu ni pəytu ... ka:l upay bəydn barpo.*

gəŋda:l̪-oda piŋḍ-d̪ i:tu niyə pəytu ka:lə upayə bəyr-ənu
 husband-com wife-pl focus 2s.nm focus quarter rupee bring_{SR}-acp

ba:r-po

come-go.np.im

“The wife (said) to the husband, ‘Go bring quarter rupee’.”

(7th.Son.137)

d) *pin i udgiṭi ... i muṭk i:tu ṭan jal t̪iri o:ṭa kottəḍə.*

pina i udgiṭi i muṭki i:tu ṭan jal t̪iri o:ṭa
 then this y.woman this o.woman focus 3sr.gn old cloth all

koḍ-t-əḍə

give-rlf-sg

“Then this young woman, (correction) this old woman gave all her old clothes.”

(Pomegranate.120)

ba:tu is used after subject as well as object noun phrases and appears to be just a

general focus marker. Some examples with *ba:tu* are given in (34).

34a) An excerpt from “The tiger story”, lines (1-5)

i. *pina ... wand a:mənappka ... a:r a:l makkə.*

pina wandə ammən-abbi-ka a:ru a:lʉ makkə
then one father-mother-dat six person children

“There was a couple who had 6 children.”

ii. *a:r a:l makkəl **ba:tu** ... pina ... pin a:r a:l makkəl **ba:tu** ... əyḍ gəḅəmaḅḅə ... wan pīḅakkən maggi.*

*a:ru a:lʉ makkə-əl **ba:tu***
six person children focus

*pina pina a:ru a:lʉ makkə-əl **ba:tu***
then then six person children focus

əyḍu gəḅə-makkə wan pəḅakkən maggi
five male-children one female child

“Of the six children, then, then, of the six children, five were sons and one was a daughter.”

iii. *pina pəḅakkən maggiya **ba:tu** ... pina ṭan aḅḅ a:ḅ pəḍḍə ...*

*pina pəḅakkən maggi-iya **ba:tu** pina ṭan aḅḅ a:ḅḅi pə:l-ḍ-əḍə*
then female child-acc focus then 3sa.gn e.brother thus tell-rlf-sg

“Then to the female child, then her elder brother said thus ...”

b) An excerpt from “The pomegranate woman”, lines (1-5)

i. *pina ... wan ra:jəngo.*

pina wan ra:jən-go
then one king-EXM

“There was a king.”

ii. *pin aḏəŋa ba:tu ... wande: wan maŋənu.*

pina aḏən-ka **ba:tu** wandə-e wan maŋənu
 they 3sr-dat focus one-EMPH one son
 “Then he had only one son.”

iii. *pina maŋəŋ ba:tu ... pina e:ndu pəŋakkəna kuyna:t kottani bo:d ambəḏə.*

pina maŋənu **ba:tu** pina e:ndu pəŋakkən-a kuyna:r-aṭu koḏ-t-ani
 then son focus then which woman-acc marry-cmp give-rlf-con

bə:ḏa a:n-pu-əḏə
 don't.want say-irf-sg

“Then the son, then he would say no to whichever woman was given to him to marry.”

4.3. Particles with miscellaneous syntactic functions.

The following words in the following list have miscellaneous syntactic functions, as listed in (35).

- 35) a. *bə:ri* ‘other, different’ – used as a pro-form
 b. *a:ŋgi* ‘thus – used as a pro-form
 c. *ampunu* ‘quotative’ – used to introduce reported speech
 d. *aŋu:na* ‘etcetra’ – used at the end of a list of noun phrases
 e. *a:nani* ‘equative’ – used to express “If you mean X” or “This means X”
 f. *siri* ‘okay, good’ – used to express pleasure or acquiescence
 g. *i:kəni* ‘or, otherwise’ – used to indicate disjunction or an alternative possibility
 h. *ila, ala* ‘question particles’ – used to say “No” and in tag questions (equivalent to English ‘isn’t it, no?’)

Particles can enter into compounds with other words to form complex particles;

e.g., *pini:kəni* /pina + i:kəni/ ‘otherwise’, *pinann* /pina + ann/ ‘then’, *ili:kəni* /il + i:kəni/

‘if not, otherwise’.

Chapter 5: Category Changes and Cliticization

Productive category-changing derivation in BK consists of nominalization, adjectivization, and adverbialization; the formation of relative clauses may be added to this list. There is little evidence for the derivation of verbs from other lexical categories; a few possible cases involving a verbalizing suffix were pointed out in Chapter 2, §3.1.

1.0. NOMINALIZERS

The nominalizers /-əḍə/ ‘singular’ and /-əgə/ ‘plural’ are used to form derived nouns in nominative case; they are replaced by /-ən, -ṭərə/ respectively in non-nominative case forms (genitive, etc). These nominalizers attach to a variety of lexical categories; examples in these data contain nominalized particles, verbs, and adjectives. Deictic particles nominalized to form personal pronouns were described in Chapter 3, §3.1, and complete case paradigms showing the four number and case related nominalizers (singular /-əḍə, -ən/ and plural /-əgi, -ṭərə/) were given in Tables 4-6 in that chapter. The use of these nominalizers on verbs and adjectives is described below. In addition, there is one suffix /-səndə/ which nominalizes a few adjectives.

1.1. Verb nominalization

Nominalizers /-əḍə, -əgə, -ən, -ṭərə/ attach to a verb stem marked for tense/aspect; they do not attach to a verb root or a stem inflected for any other inflectional categories. All four nominalizers perform the double function of nominalizing the verb and marking number agreement with the subject of the verb (although the subject is frequently implicit rather than explicit); in fact, the nominative nominalizers are identical to the number agreement markers /-əḍə, -əgə/ that occur on finite verbs. Thus, in (1),

which gives examples in different cases, the singular nominalizer in (1a.i) marks agreement with the singular subject *niyə* and the plural nominalizer in (1a.ii, iii) marks agreement with an implicit indefinite subject (the nominalized clause is marked off with square brackets). Similarly, in (1c.ii, d.ii) the plural nominalizer can be treated as marking agreement with an implicit plural subject (1c.ii -- *ki:ro:dtərka* ‘to people who live in the house’, 1d.ii – *ya:no:dtər bəyliya* ‘with people who look after elephants’).

1a) Nominative case:

i. *niyə pədo:qd̩ yanka oʔto:dl̩a*
 [niyə pə:-d̩-o:d̩-əḍə] yan-ka oʔ[-t̩-o:d̩-il-a]
 2s.nm tell-rlf-prg-sg.nmr 1s-dat like-rlf-prg-neg-3sg.
 “I don’t like what you are saying.” (7th.Son.234)

ii. *sa:ŋda:l̩ me:səgə ʔappəmu*
 [sa:ŋda:l̩ə me:su-w-əgə] ʔappə-mu
 lie practise-irf-pl.nmr error-EXM
 “Telling lies is wrong.” (Elicitation.P359)

iii. *yaŋ ba:ji kelpəgə i:siya ila*
 [yaŋ ba:ji keli-pu-əgə] i:siya ila
 1p.gn speech study-irf-pl.nmr easy neg.exist
 “Learning our language is not easy.” (Elicitation.P359)

b) Accusative case:

i. *ʔa ərs aynkən idəna o:ʔiy uʔnu əʔt̩ bəyndl̩ nərtənu ... ʔan ki:rka pə:səgə*
 [ʔawə ərsi aynku-ənu i:r-d̩-ən-a] o:ʔiya uḍ-t-ənu
 3sa.nm meat dry_{SR}-acp be-rlf-sg.nmr-acc all put-rlf-acp
 “Putting all the meat which she had been drying,
 əʔt̩ə-bəyndi-əl nəri-t̩-ənu ʔan ki:ri-ka pə:-s-əgə
 bullock-cart-lc fill-rlf-acp 3sa.gn house-dat go_R-rlf-pl
 “Filling a bullock-cart, they went home.” (Tiger.218)

- ii. *pin i udgən a muṭk pə:wəna kə:l ildi pə:səḏə*
 pina i udgən [a muṭki pə:|-w-ən-a] kə:|-əl
 then this y.man that o.woman tell-irf-sg.nmr-acc listen-inf
 ildi pə:-s-əḏə
 without go_R-rlf-sg.
 “Then this young man went off without listening to what that old woman said.”
 (Pomegranate.55)

c) Dative case:

- i. *pina yan ki:dl ipəŋa numbələmu*
 pina [yan kiri-əl i:r-p-ən-ka] numbələ-mu
 then 1s.gn house-lc be-irf-sg.nmr-dat fever-EXM
 “The one who lives in my house has fever.” (Pomegranate.310)
- ii. *iḏaŋgi ṭani ṭani ki:ro:ḏtərka naḏiyo*
 iḏaŋgi ṭaniyə ṭaniyə [kiri-o:ḏ-tərə-ka] naḏ-w-iyo
 like.this alone alone house-practise-pl.nmr-dat plant-irf-pl
 “Like this, they plant separately for each household.” (Conversation.223)

d) Case forms used with postpositions

i. Dative case before *biyri*:

aḏ pəḏəŋa bəyri, na pə:ni
 [aḏə pə:|-ḏ-ən-ka] bəyri nawə pə:g-n-i
 3sr.nm tell-rlf-sg.nmr-dat because 1s.nm go-pve-1sg.
 “I went because he told me to.” (Elicitation.427)

ii. Genitive case before *bəyliya*:

ya:no:ḏtər bəyliya aḏaŋg pəy no:ḏi keltənu... gottəpa
 [ya:ni-o:ḏ-tərə] bəyliya aḏaŋgi pəy-i no:ḏ-i
 elephant-practise-pl.nmr.gn with like.that go_{SR}-acp look-acp
 keli-ṭ-ənu gott-a:g-pu-a
 study-rlf-acp knowledge-become-irf-3sg.
 “Going around with the mahouts, they learn (the trade).” (Conversation.531)

In BK, several names for objects are constructed from clauses nominalized with /-əḍə, -əḡə/; e.g. the word for banana chips is *ba:gapirsənipəḡə* (literally, “bananas are fried”) and the word for ‘rainbow’ is *ka:məlgittə:ḍə* (literally, “an arch is piercing”). A sentence with ‘rainbow’ in dative case is given in (2a). It is possible to vary the exact clause used in such names; for example, *ka:məlgittənipəna* can be alternatively used for ‘rainbow’ (2b).⁷⁵

- 2a) *nawə ka:məlgittə:ḍna no:ḍni*
nawə [ka:məli-kittu-o:ḍ-ən-a] *no:ḍ-n-i*
 1s.nm arch-pierce_{SR}-prg-sg.nmr-acc look-pve-1sg.
 “I saw a rainbow.” (Elicitation.P347)
- b) *nəntə nawə ka:məlgittənipəna no:ḍni*
nəntə nawə [ka:məli-kittu-ənu-ir-pu-ən-a] *no:ḍ-n-i*
 yesterday 1s.nm arch-pierce_{SR}-acp-be-irf-sg.nmr-acc look-pve-1sg.
 “I saw a rainbow yesterday.” (Elicitation.P347)

1.2. Adjective nominalization

Underived adjectives can function only as noun modifiers; they must be converted into nouns before they can be used for other syntactic functions; e.g. as predicates of copulas, isolated words, or objects of verbs.⁷⁶ (3) shows examples of adjectives nominalized with /-əḍə, -əḡə/, which function as isolated words.

- 3) √*bo*llu *bo*llu:ḍə ‘white thing, white color’ *bo*llu:ḡə ‘white things’
 √*ki*ri *ki*ri:ḍə ‘small thing, small size’ *ki*ri:ḡə ‘small things’

⁷⁵ This form involves a serialized construction, consisting of non-finite verb *kittən(u)* plus finite form of auxiliary verb *i:r*. I show the entire phrase as a single word because it appears to be a compound; however, further research is necessary to establish whether such names constructed from clauses are truly compounds or are phrases with words that can be separated.

⁷⁶ Because adjectives can only occur as noun modifiers, attempts to elicit vocabulary items, such as BK color terms, usually yields nominalized forms of the color term, unless the fieldworker provides a phrase in which the color term is used as a noun modifier.

The examples in (4) show nominalized adjectives as predicates of null and overt copulas. Although nominalizers can be used to mark number on the adjective, number agreement between the adjective and the noun it modifies is optional; adjectives are usually used in the singular regardless of the noun's number category.

4a) *i bokkə kiri:də*
 i bokkə kiri-əḍə
 this book small-sg.nmr
 "This book is small." (Elicitation.P412)

b) *i pu:gəgə kiri:gi*
 i pu:gə-gə kiri-əgə
 this flower-pl small-pl.nmr
 "These flowers are small." (Elicitation.P413)

c) *i bokkə bol̩lu:d̩ u:də*
 i bokkə bol̩lu-əḍə u:də
 this book white-sg.nmr exist
 "This book is white." (Elicitation.P412)

d) *i pu:gəgə bol̩lu:g̩ u:di*
 i pu:gə-gə bol̩lu-əgə u:di
 this flower-pl white-pl.nmr exist
 "These flowers are white." (Elicitation.P413)

(5) has examples of a nominalized adjective as an object of a regular verb:

5a) *ni bya:ŋə:rəŋa pəyt bə:rgutnu, kikk pəŋḍənu t̩ipən na, kiri:na, pensəlka*
 niyə bya:ŋlə:rə-əŋa pəy-aḥu bə:r-gutnu
 2s.nm bangalore-dat go_{SR}-cmp come-until

 kikki pəŋj-d̩-ənu t̩i:l-p-əni nawə kiri-ən-a pensəli-ka
 basket weave-rlf-acp keep-irf-Sp1 1s.nm small-sg.nmr-acc pencil-dat
 "By the time you go to Bangalore and come, I will weave a basket and keep, a
 small one, for pencils." (Conversation.95)

- b) *agə kindl ma:dəgə, aḏəna, kərməsəna, kiri:na*
 agə kindl ma:d-w-əgə aḏən-a kər-məsən-a kiri-ən-a
 3pr.nm ridicule do-irf-pl 3sr-acc small-brother.in.law-acc small-nmr-
acc
 “They laughed at him, the younger brother-in-law, the small one.” (7th.Son.60)

Adjectivized verbs can be nominalized by attaching singular and plural nominalizers. Examples of purposive infinitival verbs that are adjectivized with /-u/ and nominalized with /-əḏə/ are given in (6). The first sentence has the purposive noun *tinəlayu:ḏə* ‘things for eating’ in nominative case. The second has a dative-marked purposive noun *no:dllu:ŋa* ‘for (them) to see’.

- 6a) *a mu:r ka:ska pa:trə, tinəlayu:ḏə, nu:lə, ḏu:ji. aḏe: mu:r ka:ska tana.*
 a mu:ru ka:sə-ka pa:tərə tin-əlayə-u-əḏə ḏu:ji
 that three coin-dat vessels eat-inf-ajr-nmr needle
 “Vessels, eating things, needles, for those three coins.”
 aḏə-e mu:ru ka:sə-ka tana
 that-EMPH three coin-dat emph
 “Just for those three coins” (7th.Son.161)

- b) *i pəḥakkəna kuytn pə:sani, no:dllu:ŋa bəyri, aŋ aydiy uttəgə.*
 i pəḥakkən-a kuytnu pə:s-ani no:d-əl-u-ən-ka bəyri
 this woman-acc lead-acp go-rlf-con look-inf-ajr-nmr-dat because
 a:ŋgi aydiyə uḏ-t-əgə
 thus idea put-rlf-pl
 “He (the villain) thought of that idea so as to see her if he (the husband) brought his wife.” (7th.Son.229)

Adjectives can also be nominalized by a special adjective nominalizer /-səndə/. This suffix operates only on a few underived adjectives (7).

7)	Adjective	Adjectival noun	Gloss
	<i>boḷḷu</i>	<i>boḷḷusəndə</i>	‘white thing, white color’
	<i>ḍappu</i>	<i>ḍappusəndə</i>	‘big thing, big size’
	<i>kiri</i>	<i>kirisəndə</i>	‘small thing, small size’
	<i>təḷḷu</i>	<i>tḷḷusəndə</i>	‘thin thing’
	<i>uḍḍu</i>	<i>uḍḍusəndə</i>	‘long thing’
	<i>tundu</i>	<i>tundusəndə</i>	‘short thing’

2.0. ADJECTIVIZERS

The suffixes, /-aŋgu, -aŋgi/ are used productively to adjectivize derived and underived nouns; /-aŋgu/ is used to form adjectival noun modifiers and /-aŋgi/ is used to form adjectival predicates. In addition, there are two less productive adjectivizers /-u, -n/.

2.1. Adjectivizer ‘like’

Nouns can be turned into adjectival noun modifiers by suffixing /-aŋgu/ ‘N-like’ (8a). This suffix also attaches to nominalized particles, as shown in (8b), and presumably to other nominalized forms; however, I did not elicit suitable examples showing /-aŋgu/ on nouns derived from other lexical categories.

8a) *iḍə pa:mbaŋgu kaynni yaŋḍə*
iḍə pa:mbə-aŋgu kaynni yan-ḍə
 this snake-like rope 1s.gn-g.nml
 “This snake-like rope is mine.” (Elicitation.P423)

b) *iḍaŋgu kambiyə*
iḍə-aŋgu kambiyə
 this-like wire
 “This kind of wire.” (Conversation.653)

The suffix /-aŋgi/ is attached to nouns to form adjectival predicates (9, 10).⁷⁷

Nominalized verbs can take /-aŋgi/ to form an adjectival predicate with the meaning ‘have the appearance of V-ing, seem to V’ (10a-b) (the adjectivized clause is marked off in brackets).

9a) *i maggi abbaŋgi u:ɖə*
 i maggi abb-aŋgi u:ɖə
 this child abbi-like exist
 “This child is like her mother.” (Elicitation.P363)

b) *agə yaŋgaygi*
 agə yaŋgə-aŋgi
 3sr.nm 1p.exc.nm-like
 “They are like us.” (Conversation.393)

10a) *aɖə pəyniyə kijo:ɖɖaŋ(i) uŋɖo*
 aɖə [pəyniyə ki:l-j-o:ɖ-əɖə-aŋgi] uŋɖo
 3sr.nm work do-rlf-prg-nmr-like exist
 “He seems to be working.” (Elicitation.P301)

b) *ma:ŋgayə paɽtəɖaŋ(i) uŋɖo*
 ma:ŋgayə [paɽt-ɽ-əɖə-aŋgi] uŋɖo
 mango ripen-rlf-nmr-like exist
 “The mango seems to have ripened.” (Elicitation.P295)

/-aŋgi/ clauses also function as manner adverbials:

11) *pin idə nəyruttani ɽimbəɖaŋ ma:ɖəwaŋgo*
 pina idə nəyr-ud-t-ani [tin-pu-əɖə-aŋgi] ma:ɖ-w-a-ŋgo
 then 3sp.nm look-leave-rlf-con eat-irf-nmr-like do-irf-3sg-EXM
 “Then if this one glanced at her, she would act like she was eating” (Tiger.65)

⁷⁷ Both /-aŋgi/ and /-aŋgu/ are probably related to particles *aŋgi* ‘thus’ and *aŋgu* ‘such’.

/-aŋgi, -aŋgu/ can be attached to underived adjectives or nominalized adjectives to express the meaning ‘with the adjective-like quality’.

- 12) *aḍə bol[usəndaŋgu tiri bəydn banda*
 aḍə bol[u-sənda-aŋgu tiri bəyr-ənu ban-t-a
 3sr.nm white-nmr-like cloth bring_{SR}-acc come_R-rlf-3sg
 “He brought a white-ish cloth” (Elicitation.P423)

Color terminology in BK usually consists of adjectives in which /-aŋgu/ and /-aŋgi/ are suffixed to a word for an item that is characterized by the relevant color; e.g. *manjəlaŋgi, manjəlaŋgu* ‘yellow’ (lit. = ‘turmeric-like’) consists of the word for ‘turmeric’, *manjəli*, with these suffixes and *maŋŋaŋgi, maŋŋaŋgu* ‘brown’ (lit. = ‘soil-like’) consists of the word for soil, *maŋŋu*, with these suffixes. There is only one color term in BK that is apparently underived, *bol[u]* ‘white’.

2.2. Other Adjectivizers

/-u/ is attached to infinitival clauses and a few nouns and adverbs to form adjectives; e.g. *bingi* ‘heat (n)’ --> *bingu* ‘hot’, *ti:ta:yə* ‘thin person (n)’ --> *ti:ta:yu* ‘thin’, *nera* ‘straight (adv)’ --> *neru* ‘straight (adj)’. Some sentences with derived adjectives are shown in (13).

- 13a) *patt kuttəlayu nu:lya bə:dsəḍə*
 pattə kuttu-əlayə-u nu:lə-iyə bə:d-s-əḍə
 amulet stitch-inf-ajr thread-acc buy-rlf-sg
 “He bought thread for stitching amulets (head-bands).” (7th.Son.168)

- b) *iḍə biŋgu ni:rə*
 iḍə biŋgi-u ni:rə
 3sp.nm heat-ajr water
 “This is hot water.” (Elicitation.P424)

/-n/ is attached to duration words to form a noun modifier:

- 14a) *pullə pina poḍəlayə, wantn pəyniyə*
 pullə pina poḍi-əlayə wantə-n pəyniyə
 grass then thatch-inf one.day-ajr work
 “Then thatching the roof with grass is one day’s work.” (Conversation.107)

- b) *wan narasən pəyniyə*
 wan narasi-n pəyniyə
 one day-ajr work
 “One day’s work.” (Conversation.118)

3.0. RELATIVIZER

Relative clauses are formed by suffixing /-ə/ immediately after the ir/realis theme or tense/aspect marker on a verb. Relative clauses in BK are prenominal; they occur immediately before the noun that they modify (15):

- 15a) *kyaka naŋ pəḍə baj kə:ʈlama*
 kiyakən-a naŋ pə:l-ḍ-ə bajji kə:l-t-il-a-ma
 little.one-VOC 1p.incl tell-rlf-rlr speech listen-rlf-neg-3sg-EXM
 “Little one did not listen to the advice we gave her!” (Tiger.92)

- b) *i muṭki ki:dl ipə udgən pəyy a:ḍme:səl piyniddə*
 i muṭki ki:ri-l i:r-pu-ə udgən pəyyə
 this o.woman house-lc be-irf-rlr y.man quietly

 a:ḍə-me:l-w-isu-əl pəy-ənu i:r-ḍ-əḍə
 goat-graze-ir-irf-caus-inf go-sr-acp be-rlf-sg
 “A young man who lived in this old woman’s house was quietly going to graze his goats.” (Pomegranate.256)

- c) *yaŋgə akkəra kaŋdɔ:də ki:dɫmu ipəgə*
 yangə akkəra ka:ŋ-t-ɔ:d-ə kiri-əl-mu ir-pu-əgə
 1p.exc.nm that.side appear-rlf-prg-rlr house-lc-EXM be-irf-pl
 “We live in that house visible over there.” (7th.Son.88)

Relativized verbs also function as adjectives, most frequently before the noun *mann* ‘person’.

- 16a) *pəynigiwə mann ~ mansəndə*
 pəyniyə-ki:l-w-ə mann ~ mansəndə
 work-do-irf-rlr person
 “Worker/working man.” (Elicitation.P360)

- b) *pəynigijə mann*
 pəyniyə-ki:l-j-ə mann
 work-do-rlf-rlr person
 “The person who worked.” (Elicitation.P360)

- c) *bando:də mannoḍa nawə belkiji*
 ban-t-ɔ:d-ə mann-ɔḍa nawə belki:l-j-i
 come-R-rlf-prg-rlr person-com 1s.nm speak-rlf-1sg
 “I spoke to the one who is coming.” (Elicitation.P360)

In some cases, the combination of relative verb plus *mann* could be a compound. For example, the relativizer /-ə/ is not overtly present on the verbs in the relative clauses in (17) – this could be due to word-final vowel deletion or due to compounding; further research is necessary to establish that these are compounds. For the time being, I treat the verb plus *mann* in these sentences as compounds because they lack the relativizer.

- 17a) *mari kikk pəŋəmann kikk pəŋəwa*
 [mari kikki pəŋj-w-mann] kikki pəŋj-w-a
 husking.pan basket weave-irf-person basket weave-irf-3sg
 “Those who weave husking pans and baskets will weave the baskets”
 (Conversation.730)

- b) “*appmanna yan ipka kuytn ətar*” *andaṭu* ...
 [a[[-p-mann-a] yan ipka kuytnu ətaro an-t-aṭu
 cry-irf-person-acc 1s.gn near lead.acp return.pl.pol.imp say-rlf-cmp
 “Having said, ‘Bring anyone who weeps to me’ ...” (7th.Son.436)

It is possible to optionally use the nominalizers /-əḏə, -əgə/ on the verb in a relative clause instead of a relativizing suffix:

- 18a) *alli niljo:qə ~ niljo:dəgə makkə yan makkə*
 [alli nili-j-o:q-ə/-əgə] makkə yan makkə
 there play-rlf-prg-rlr/pl.nmr children 1s.gn children
 “The children who are playing there are my children.” (Elicitation.P448)

- b) *alli niljo:qəḏə maggi yan maggi*
 [alli nili-j-o:q-əḏə] maggi yan maggi
 there play-rlf-prg-sg.nmr child 1s.gn child
 “The child who is playing there is my child.” (Elicitation.P448)

The nominalizer is usually present in relative clauses that modify the noun *a:lu* (the number marked verbs in these examples are shown as compounds with *a:lu* pending further research on whether to treat them as phrases or compounds).

- 19a) *pə:səŋa, i bəyndo:dḏa:lu ətṇ kart o:dso*
 pə:-s-əŋa i [bəyndi-o:q-əḏə-a:lu]
 go_R-rlf-trn this cart-practise-prg-nmr-person
 əḏi-t-ənu ka:l-aṭu o:q-s-o
 take-rlf-acp leave-cmp run-rlf-pl
 “On his going, this cart-driver took off and ran.” (Tiger.195)

- b) *abə:y, naŋ ba:ji berəḏa:lu maḏəgijəla?*
 abbi-ə:y [naŋ ba:ji beri-w-əḏə-a:lu] maḏəwə-ki:l-j-il-a
 mother-VOC 1p.gn speech study-irf-nmr-person marriage-do-rlf-neg-3sg
 “Mother! Hasn’t the one who is studying our language got married?”
 (Spontaneous.P421)

4.0. ADVERBIALIZERS

Adverbializers in BK do not attach productively to a varied range of categories. The locative adverbializer /-li/ is used to convert verbs into location adverbs; this suffix is also involved in the formation of adverbs from deictic particles; e.g. *alli* ‘there’, *illi* ‘here’. Adverbs with this suffix can take dative case markers; e.g. *potṭṭ buḍo:palka* ‘to the west (lit. = in the direction where the sun sets)’ in (20a).

- 20a) *potṭṭ buḍo:palka nəyri, u: biriyə nəydmu ...*
 potṭṭə bu:|ḍ-ḍ-o:g-pu-li-ka nəyr-i u biriyə nəyr-ənu
 sun fall-rlf-thrly-irf-avr-dat look_{SR}-acp that side look_{SR}-acp
 “Facing the west, looking for it on that side ...” (Conversation.769)

Adverbial clauses that encode negative contingency ‘since N didn’t V’ are formed by suffixing /-ilkən/ to the root.⁷⁸

- 21a) *pina po:galkən, pina wand ya:ni aḍən kombəl ta||əwa*
 pina po:g-ilkən pina wandə ya:ni aḍən kombəl ta||u-w-a
 then go-n.con then one elephant 3sr.gn tusk-lc push-irf-3sg
 “Then if it does not go, an elephant pushes it with his tusks.” (Conversation.609)

- b) *aḍə sira:galkən ... i tiwulə tuṭṭə ipəna all uṭṭə sapa:ŋg keljiyo*
 aḍə siri-a:g-ilkən
 1sr.nm well-become-n.con
 “If he does not get cured,”

i tiwulə tuḍ-t-ənu i:r-pu-ən-a alli uḍ-t-ənu
 this feather roast-rlf-acp be-irf-nmr-acc there put-rlf-acp
 “putting the ashes of this feather there,”

sapa:ŋgi keli-j-iyo
 nicely mix-rlf-pl
 “they mix it in well.” (Conversation.820)

Clauses ending in /-ilkən/ can be nominalized with a special nominalizer /-də/ to encode the meaning ‘for the reason that N didn’t V’ (22). The nominalized clause can optionally take the postposition *bəyri*.

22a) *ma:ḍən niss ṭinəlkəndə (bəyri), yanka əḍmbə ə:lḡiso*
 ma:ḍən nissə ṭin-ilkən-də bəyri yanka əḍmbə ə:lḡu-s-o
 madan food eat-n.con-nmr because 1s-dat anger arise-rlf-3sg
 “I was angry because Madan didn’t eat his food.” (Elicitation.P452)

b) *kə:ḍilkəndə bəyri, jal ṭiriya uṭṭu kəyri, nalla:kən kaṇḍəḍə*
 kə:ḍ-ilkən-də bəyri jal ṭiri-iya uḍ-t-ənu kəyri
 give-n.con-nmr because old cloth-acc wear-rlf-acc even

 nalla-kən ka:ṇ-t-əḍə
 nice-EMPH appear-rlf-sg
 “Because he wasn’t giving her her clothes, even wearing the old clothes, she
 looked good.” (Pomegranate.125)

5.0. CLITICS

Clitics are bound morphological items, which must attach to a host; but they are distinguished from affixes by the fact that they exhibit low degree of selectivity in the category of host they attach to (see e.g. Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985, Halpern 1998 for discussions of clitics). Further, clitics attach to free forms which can stand alone as a word (Steever 1993); thus, they attach to fully inflected words, and close off the word to further affixation. Clitics in BK consist mainly of enclitics, but there are two proclitics that occur on nouns.

⁷⁸ This is a complex suffix composed of negative /-il/ and /-kən/.

5.1. Vocative address

BK has two vocative enclitics, unemphatic vocative /-a/ and emphatic vocative /-ə:y/, which normally attach to human nouns (personal names, kinship terms, other words for humans). The emphatic vocative is formed on all nouns of this class by attaching /-ə:y/ to a truncated noun stem. Truncation consists of reducing the noun stem to the shape (C)VC by deleting any segment occurring after the first post-vocalic consonant of the word; e.g. *abbi* ‘mother’ becomes *abə:y* ‘mother-EMPH.VOC’, and *akkən* ‘elder sister’ becomes *akə:y*. Long vowels in the stem are shortened; e.g. *pya:dn* ‘grandson’ becomes *pyarə:y*. In the case of compounds, truncation applies to the second member of the compound, leaving the first member intact; e.g. the names *kaylakkən*, *bummakkən* become *kaylakə:y*, *bumakə:y*. A prosodic pattern that frequently accompanies the vocative is lengthening of the final vowel and emphasis on the last syllable, rather than the initial syllable.

Unemphatic vocative /-a/ also attaches to a truncated stem; e.g. *aba* ‘mother-VOC’, *pyara* ‘grandson-VOC’, *kaylaka* ‘Kaylakkan-VOC’, *bumaka* ‘Bummakkan-VOC’. Personal names ending in a vowel do not take any clitic in the unemphatic vocative, but the final vowel is usually lengthened; e.g. *bummi:* ‘Bummi-VOC’.

The unemphatic vocative is used in addressing a person affectionately or in calling somebody’s attention (23a). The emphatic vocative is used when calling someone from a distance or to convey an emotion like shock, alarm, or anger at a person (23b).

23a) *i udgən ... pəḏḏə, yanka, aba, nissə o:təya ... tarəy*
 i udgən pə:l-d-əḏə yan-ka abbi-a nissi o:təya tar-əy
 this y.man say-rlf-sg 1s-dat mother-VOC food all give-sg.p.im
 “The young man said ..., ‘Mother, ... give me food and all’ ” (Pomegranate.10)

b) *ḏə:y udgə:y, yan tiriya ətḡu etlka əyro:ḏḏə*
 ḏə:y udgin-ə:y yan tiri-iya ət-t-ənu etli-ka əyr-o:d-əḏə
 hey y.man-EMPH.voc my cloth-acc take-acp where-dat run_{SR}-dur-sg.
 “Hey! Young man! Where are you running off to with my clothes?”
 (Pomegranate.63)

5.2. Indefinite marker

/-a:nu, -aŋgə/ are enclitics, which are used to indicate indefinite or vague reference. They attach to a variety of lexical categories.

24a) *aḏə bokkə ḏa:rka:nu koṭṭa.*
 aḏə bokki ḏa:rə-ka-a:nu koḏ-t-a
 3sr.nm book who-dat-IND give-rlf-3sg
 “He gave the book to someone.” (Elicitation.369)

b) *ni e:n kaŋŋ timka:nu pə:wi?*
 niyə e:n kaŋji tin-pu-ka-a:nu pə:l-w-i
 2s.nm how rice.gruel eat-irf-inf-IND tell-irf-2sg
 “How can you talk of things like eating *kaŋji*.” (Pomegranate.197)

c) *“a mu:ŋkaḏiya ində pə:wuḏu, ke:kŋa:nu”, annḏə.*
 a mu:ŋkaḏi-iya ində pə:l-w-əḏə ke:kŋa-a:nu a:n-t-əḏə
 that oral.story-acc today tell-irf-sg tomorrow-IND say-rlf-sg
 “It said, ‘We must tell that story today, or tomorrow.’” (Pomegranate.353)

5.3. Intensifier/distributive marker

/-aya ~ -iya ~ -əya/ attaches to adverbs, adjectives, and quantifier *o:tə* and adds an intensified or distributive meaning to the word (25); the clitic-initial vowel shows free

variation between /a ~ i ~ ə/. This clitic also appears to turn some nouns into adverbs (25c).

- 25a) *pina nilgayə mindaya attatu ...*
 pina nilgayə mindi-aya aɖ-t-aɖu
 then Indian.gooseberry earlier-INTNS cook-rlf-cmp
 “Then cooking the gooseberry first ...” (Conversation.1)
- b) *a: mullə oɖiya: pina: buɖsa:nu ...*
 a mullə o:ɖa-iya pina buɖ-w-su-a:ɭ-ənu
 that fish.bone all-DSTR then leave-irf-caus-thrly-acp
 “Then pulling out the bones (in fish) and all ...” (Conversation.10)
- c) *kurka:səgə lə:ynəya awoɖgə*
 kurka:si-gə ləynə-əya awoɖ-əgə
 guard-pl line-avr exist-pl
 “The guards were in a line.” (7th.Son.304)

5.4. Pragmatic markers

The other enclitics in BK perform pragmatic functions. /-e/ adds a sense of emphatic assertion to the phrase to which it attaches (26).

- 26a) *all no:ɖŋ wande: wandə ra:jəya: wan magəɭə*
 alli no:ɖ-w-ən wandə-e wandə ra:jən-ka wandə magəɭə
 there look-irf-syn one-EMPH one king-dat one daughter
 “When looking there, just one king had a daughter.” (7th.Son.9)
- b) *“niniya nəntə pə:n ɖannan nawe”*
 nin-iya nəntə pə:ɭ-ənu ɖan-t-ani nawə-e
 2s-acc yesterday tell-acp give-rlf-Spl 1s.nm-EMPH
 “I told you yesterday!” (Pomegranate.110)
- c) *“na ɖapiya ɖapiy” anda:ɖu yaŋ kərka ɖandəge:y ila*
 nawə ɖa:r-pu-iya ɖa:r-pu-iya a:n-t-aɖu
 1s.nm give-irf-1sg rep. say-rlf-cmp

yaŋgər-ka ʃan-t-əgə-e il-a
 1p.exc-dat give_R-rlf-pl-EMPH neg-3sg
 “Having said, ‘I will give, I will give’, he just hasn’t given us.”
 (Conversation.151)

/-mi ~ -ma ~ -mu/ add a sense of exclamation to a phrase; the vowel in the suffix agrees in height and backness to the vowel in the last syllable of the host.⁷⁹ /-mi/ occurs after words in which the last vowel is /i/ (27a); /-ma/ occurs after words in which the last vowel is /a/ (27b); and /-mu/ occurs after words in which the last vowel is /ə, o, u/ (27c, d).⁸⁰

a) “*nall maggimi*” *andaʃu* ...
 nall maggi-mi a:n-t-aʃu
 nice child-EXM say-rlf-cmp
 “Having said, ‘Nice child!’ ” (Conversation.341)

b) *alli kəra:l ilama*
 alli kira:lji ila-ma
 there younger.sister neg.exist-EXM
 “Little sister is not there.” (Tiger.88)

c) *səyli puʃso:q̄d̄əmu* ...
 siyliyi puʃi-s-o:q̄-iḡi-mu
 cold hold-rlf-prg-sg-EXM
 “I am feeling cold” (Pomegranate.80)

d) *əddumu!*
 əddu-mu
 two-EXM
 “Two of them!” (Spontaneous)

⁷⁹ There are a few instances with unpredictable exceptions to this general pattern.

⁸⁰ The vowel /e/ does not enter into the picture here because, as pointed out in Chapter 2, this vowel usually occurs in the initial syllable of a root or lexical suffix. The only word-final /e/ in BK comes from the emphatic enclitic /-e/.

PN marker /-iyo/ ‘plural’ is usually deleted immediately before the exclamative; thus, *bupiyomu* /bu-pu-iyo-mu/ ‘come-irf-pl-EXM’ is pronounced *bupimu*. A sequence of irrealis suffix /-w/ plus PN marker is also usually deleted before the exclamative marker; thus, *pə:wimi* /pə:ɭ-w-i-mi/ ‘tell-irf-1sg-EXM’ is pronounced *pə:mi*.

The enclitic /-aŋgo ~ -aŋgi/ also functions as an exclamative (the two variants are in free variation). There are two other enclitics, /-ala, -kəndə/ that are apparently used for discourse purposes, but whose functions are difficult to identify.

5.5. Interrogative proclitics

eɽ, *ayɽ* are interrogative proclitics which attach to nouns, and which function as interrogative demonstrative pronouns. They are related to the interrogative root-like particles listed in Chapter 5.⁸¹

28a) *eɽpəŋakkəna no:dʒsani, ninka puyrəla*
 ɨɽ-pəŋakkən-a no:d-ʒ-s-ani nin-ka puyri-pu-il-a
 which-y.woman-acc look-rlf-con 2s-dat like-irf-neg-3sg
 “You don’t like any woman you look at.” (Pomegranate.4)

b) *ayɽsa:targa:dn akənd a:ŋ pəddə*
 ayɽ-sa:targa:dn a-kəndə-a:ŋgi pə:ɭ-d-əddə
 which-fortune.teller that-avr-like tell-rlf-sg
 “Which fortune-teller told you that?.” (Pomegranate.223)

⁸¹ They cannot be treated as independent words because /ɽ/ is not a permissible word-final segment in BK. It is possible that the deictic demonstrative pronouns *a*, *i*, *u* are also clitics.

Chapter 6: Phonology

This chapter describes consonant and vowel phonemes, distribution of phonemes and syllable structure, and lexical and postlexical processes in Betta Kurumba (BK).

1.0 PHONEMES

1.1. Consonants

The phonemic inventory of consonants in BK is shown in Table 1. The two phonemes in parentheses, /f, d/, are marginal phonemes which occur in words borrowed from English.⁸²

Table 6.1: Phonemic inventory of BK consonants

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless stops	p		t̪	t	ɽ			k
Voiced stops	b		d̪	(d)	ɽ̪			g
Fricatives		(f)				ʂ		
Affricate						ʃ		
Tap				r				
Nasals	m			n	ɳ			ŋ
Approximants	v			l	ɭ		y	

The articulation of most of these phonemes is clear from the features shown in the table, but a few need further clarification. /ʂ/ is a voiceless laminal flat post-alveolar

⁸² In preceding morphology chapters, the symbol /w, s, j/ were used for typographic convenience instead of the more accurate phonetic symbols /v, ʂ, ʃ/, respectively, used in this chapter.

fricative – it is articulated with the blade of the tongue positioned very slightly behind the alveolar ridge.⁸³

Based on phonological behavior, native BK phonemes in Table 1 can be grouped into the classes shown in Table 2. /r/ is put into the same group as voiced obstruents based on similarities in their phonological behavior as described below. The feature that all sounds in the “voiced oral non-continuant” class share can be identified as [-continuant].⁸⁴

Table 6.2: Consonant classes in BK

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-Alveolar	Velar
Voiceless	p	t̪	t	ʈ	ɕ	k
Voiced oral non-continuants	b	d̪	r	ɖ	ʝ	g
Nasals	m		n	ɳ		ŋ
Approximants	v		l	ʎ	y	

Although /r/ is generally considered a sonorant, there are several arguments in favor of grouping it with stops in BK, as shown in Table 2. First, this phoneme has a voiced alveolar stop as one of its allophones (see description of allophones below). Second, a morphophonological alternation among verb roots, described in §2.1.1, involves alternation between retroflex /ʈ, ɖ/ and alveolar /t, r/; i.e., /r/ is treated as an alveolar counterpart of /ɖ/ and a voiced counterpart of /t/ in this alternation pattern. Third, /r/ is the only coronal sonorant in BK whose occurrence in word-final position is banned

⁸³ See Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996 for further details about this sound, especially as articulated in Standard Chinese – these authors say that English /ʃ/ is apical or laminal domed post-alveolar and /ʒ/ is laminal flat post-alveolar.

⁸⁴ Feature representations of /r/ generally treat this phoneme as [+continuant] (see e.g. Chomsky and Halle 1968, Kenstowicz 1994); however, the phonological behavior of this sound in BK indicates that it is better treated as a non-continuant. Thus, /r/ shares the feature [-continuant] with other stops and affricates in BK, but it differs from them in that it has the feature [+sonorant].

and which does not occur as a syllabic consonant (see §2.2 on phonotactics). Finally, BK has a pair of voiced and voiceless obstruents at five points of articulation in the table above, but lacks a voiced obstruent to match voiceless /t/; treating /r/ as a voiced counterpart of /t/ results in a more symmetrical pattern. Phonetically, alveolar tap [r] has some resemblance to stops because both sounds involve closure, although closure is brief in [r] and of longer duration in [d]; therefore, it is not altogether surprising that alveolar tap /r/ should group with obstruents.

The phonemic status of sounds in the voiceless class /p, t̪, t, t̪, s̪, k/ is shown in the following contrastive environments. In addition, labiodental fricative /f/ occurs in a few English loanwords in these data; e.g. *fulla* ‘fully’, *flaskə* ‘flask’.

1a)	/p/	<i>ka:pi</i>	‘coffee’	<i>pappiṣiṣo</i>	‘It ripened’
b)	/t̪/	<i>ba:ti</i>	‘duck’	<i>kaṭṭi</i>	‘donkey’
c)	/t/	<i>pya:ti</i>	‘type of cockroach’	<i>potti</i>	‘I carried s.t.’
d)	/t̪/	<i>gala:ti</i>	‘fight’	<i>baṭṭi</i>	‘path’
e)	/s̪/	<i>pa:ma:ṣi</i>	‘moss’	<i>koṣṣi</i>	‘heron’
f)	/k/	<i>ka:ki</i>	‘crow’	<i>bakkiṣo</i>	‘She bent s.t.’

The phonemic status of /b, d̪, ɟ, g/ is established through the contrastive environment in (2a) and the contrast between voiceless and voiced classes in (2b).

2a) i.	/b/	<i>kurbən</i>	‘a person of a Kurumba community’	<i>abbi</i>	‘mother’	
ii.	/d̪/	<i>arḍə</i>	‘half’	<i>kaḍḍi</i>	‘field’	
iii.	/ɟ/	<i>erṣənu</i>	‘throw- <u>rlf</u> - <u>acp</u> ’	<i>aṣṣi</i>	‘grandmother’	
iv.	/g/	<i>ergənu</i>	‘sleep- <u>rlf</u> - <u>acp</u> ’	<i>paggi</i>	‘fight’	
b) i.	/p/	<i>pəṭṭə</i>	‘hen’	/t̪/	<i>ti:ri</i>	‘cloth’
ii.	/b/	<i>bəṭṭə</i>	‘mountain’	/d̪/	<i>di:ri</i>	‘distance’

- iii. /ʃ/ *pa:ma:ʃi* ‘moss’ /k/ *aŋkiʃəḏə* ‘N dried s.t.’
 iv. /j/ *ba:ʃi* ‘speech’ /g/ *aŋgiʃəḏə* ‘S.t. dried’

The phonemic status of /ḏ, r, ḑ/ is established through the near minimal set in (3).

- 3a) *kaḏi* ‘story’
 b) *mari* ‘pan used for separating rice from husk’
 c) *naḏi* ‘walk.c.im’

The following words show geminate forms of /ḏ, r, ḑ/, occurring in substantially similar environments (geminate /rr/ is pronounced [dd], see description of allophones below):⁸⁵

- 4a) /ḏḏ/ *uḏḏə* ‘long’
 b) /rr/ *əddu* ‘two’
 c) /ḑḑ/ *ḑuḑḑə* ‘money’

Contrast between /ḏ, t, ḑ/ and /ḏ, r, ḑ/ is shown in (5); /r/ is pronounced [d] next to an alveolar consonant.

- 5a) /ḏ, t, ḑ/ *kaḏḏi* ‘donkey’ *ʃuynti* ‘ginger’ *ka:ḑəva* ‘show-irf-3sg’
 b) /ḏ, r, ḑ/ *kaḏḏi* ‘field’ *bəyḏi* ‘cart’ *a:ḑəva* ‘dance-irf-3sg’

The phonemic status of nasals and approximants is shown through the contrastive environment in (6) and (7). The contrast between /l, ʎ/ is also shown in the pair in (8).

- 6a) /m/ *ʃa:mani* ‘items’
 b) /n/ *anaḑka* ‘that much’
 c) /ŋ/ *maŋalə* ‘sand’
 d) /ŋ/ *baŋani* ‘door’

- 7a) /ʋ/ *ʃa:və* ‘corpse’

⁸⁵ In most cases, I write the allophones [r, d] of /r/ as such in this grammar; the phonemic form is used in relevant contexts in this chapter.

- b) /ʌ/ *maŋalə* ‘sand’
- c) /ʌ/ *gəŋdɑ:lə* ‘man’
- d) /y/ *pɑ:yə* ‘mat’

- 8a) *baʎi* ‘bangle’
- b) *yali* ‘leaf’

1.1.2. Free variation

The voiceless laminal post-alveolar fricative /s̺/ shows quite a lot of variation in pronunciation. It is most often pronounced as a laminal flat postalveolar fricative [s̺], but some speakers use apico-alveolar fricative [s] rather than [s̺]. It shows free variation between voiceless postalveolar affricate [č̺] and laminal postalveolar fricative [s̺] immediately after a nasal stop; e.g. [pɑ:m̺ci:ri ~ pɑ:m̺ʃi:ri] ‘mongoose’. Geminate /s̺s̺/ is sometimes pronounced as a postalveolar affricate with initial closure and extended friction [č̺š̺] and sometimes with a long flat post alveolar fricative [s̺s̺]; e.g. *biš̺šə* [bič̺š̺ə ~ biš̺s̺ə] ‘seed’, *niš̺šə* [nič̺š̺ə ~ niš̺s̺ə] ‘food, cooked rice’.⁸⁶ The English phoneme /s/ in loanwords from English is pronounced with the same apico-alveolar sound used in English; however, if the /s/ is word-final, the fricative is lengthened and /ə/ is inserted after it; e.g. *dressə* [dɹɛssə] ‘dress’.

Another case of free variation in these data involves the sequence /ŋj/: the consonant cluster [jŋ] is in free variation with [ŋj] in words where the following

⁸⁶Given that this phoneme sometimes surfaces as an affricate, it is possible to treat the basic phoneme as a voiceless affricate, in parallel with the voiced affricate /j̺/; however, I analyze it as a fricative based on its most frequent pronunciation.

Some borrowed words consistently have an affricate; e.g. [pɑp̺č̺ə] ‘dhoti (a garment worn by men)’, which is an Indic loanword. Different speakers show different patterns of variation between the use of an affricate or a fricative for /s̺/. One consultant used an affricate in free variation with a fricative also in word-initial position. Another consultant used a fricative in all positions; she also pronounced the voiced affricate /j̺/ as a voiced fricative.

consonant is a nasal (the two can be separated by an intervening vowel). Thus the pronunciation of /pu:nʃən/ ‘rooster’ varies between [pu:nʃən ~ pu:nʃən] and the pronunciation of /inʃəŋa/ ‘what-dat’ varies between [inʃəŋa ~ inʃəŋa], but the pronunciation of /inʃəɖə/ ‘what.nm’ does not show the variation.

1.1.3. Complementary distribution

Alveolar nasal /n/ has three allophones. Palatal nasal [ɲ] occurs immediately before a palatal affricate (9a); dental nasal [ɳ] occurs immediately before a dental stop (9b); the alveolar nasal [n] occurs elsewhere (9c).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 9a) i. <i>manʃəli</i> [mənʃəli] ‘turmeric’ | <i>anʃəɖə</i> [ənʃəɖə] ‘what, anything’ |
| ii. <i>pənʃələŋgi</i> [pənʃələŋgi] ‘what’ | |
| b) i. <i>pandə</i> [pəɳɖə] ‘ball’ | <i>muɳtiri</i> [muɳtiri] ‘towel’ |
| ii. <i>penɖi</i> [pəɳɖi] ‘corral’ | |
| c) i. <i>iyən</i> [i:yən] ‘porcupine’ | <i>nari</i> [nari] ‘color’ |
| ii. <i>manʃa</i> [mənʃa] ‘person- <u>dat</u> ’ | <i>ma:ngə</i> [ma:ngə] ‘deer- <u>pl</u> ’ |
| iii. <i>yanka</i> [yənka] ‘1 st singular- <u>dat</u> ’ | <i>nyanpəva</i> [nyənɖəva] ‘will think’ |
| iv. <i>manʃən</i> [mənʃən] ‘person’ | |

The geminate alveolar nasal /nn/ exhibits a parallel distribution of allophones; e.g. *bennɳəl* [bʲɛɳɳɳəl] ‘on the body’, *bennu* [bennu] ‘body’ (there are no examples in these data of the geminate immediately before /j/).⁸⁷ Note that both of the allophones listed above involve assimilation to a following coronal stop or affricate; /n/ does not assimilate to a following non-coronal consonant, as shown in the words in (9c.ii-iii). I also do not hear a palatal nasal before the fricative /ʃ/ (9c.iv).

⁸⁷ The term “geminate” is used in this description to refer to a long consonant. I assume that a long consonant is represented autosegmentally with a single set of distinctive features associated with two slots in the segmental tier.

This nasal assimilation pattern is represented in the rule in (10), which states that /n/ assimilates in place to an immediately following coronal stop.⁸⁸

10) Nasal place assimilation:

[+cor, +ant, +nas] --> [α ant, β distr] / ____ [+cor, -cont, α ant, β distr]

The alveolar tap /r/ has two allophones, which occur in complementary distribution within native BK words: alveolar stop [d] and alveolar tap [r]. Within native vocabulary, stop [d] occurs only immediately next to a phonetically alveolar consonant (11a) or as a geminate (11b).⁸⁹

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| 11a)i. | /bəynri/ | [bəyndi] | ‘cart’ |
| ii. | /tʰunrə/ | [tʰundə] | ‘a piece’ |
| iii. | /biʃpəyrni/ | [biʃpəydni] | ‘grasshopper’ |
| iv. | /barlə/ | [bædlə] | ‘finger’ |
| v. | /karlə/ | [kædlə] | ‘intestines’ |
-
- | | | | |
|-------|----------|----------|---------------------|
| b) i. | /kurri/ | [kuddi] | ‘blind woman’ |
| ii. | /kurnn/ | [kuddn] | ‘blind man’ |
| iii. | /kayrri/ | [kəyddi] | ‘bear’ |
| iv. | /ərru/ | [wæddu] | ‘two’ ⁹⁰ |

⁸⁸ There are four sets of coronals in BK – dental, alveolar, retroflex and palato-alveolar. They are distinguished from each other through the features [\pm anterior] and [\pm distributed] (abbreviated as [\pm ant, \pm distr]). Dental sounds are [+ant, +distr], alveolar sounds are [+ant, -distr], retroflex sounds are [-ant, -distr], and palato-alveolar sounds are [-ant, +distr] (this feature representation is based on Kenstowicz 1994).

⁸⁹ Phonetically long rhotic consonants (such as alveolar trill [r]) do not occur in these data, while phonetically long voiced alveolar stops do. Given this pattern of distribution, the phonetically long voiced alveolar stops should be treated as surface realizations of geminate /rr/.

⁹⁰ In the phonetic level, a labiovelar glide is inserted immediately before the mid central vowel /ə/, as discussed below.

[r] occurs elsewhere; i.e. it never occurs as a geminate and never occurs immediately next to a phonetically alveolar consonant, as shown in (12).

12a)	/berŋjo:ɖɖə/	[b ^l ɛrŋjɔ:ɖɖə]	‘is tying together (posts when building a house)’
b)	/nirŋji/	[nirŋji]	‘small mosquito, gnat’
c)	/bəyriyə/	[bəyriyə]	‘stick’
d)	/arɖə/	[ɐrɖə]	‘half’
e)	/ərʂi/	[wərʂi]	‘flesh’
f)	<i>erʂanu</i>	[yɛrʂənu]	‘throw- <u>rlf</u> - <u>acp</u> ’

The examples above show that the occurrence of [r, d] next to the nasal /n/ is conditioned by the allophones of /n/, rather than the phoneme. Thus, the sequence /rŋj/ is articulated as [rŋj], while the sequences /rl, rn/ are articulated as [dl, dn]. The fact that /r/ becomes a stop immediately before [n], but not before [ɲ], although both nasals are allophones of a single phoneme /n/, can be accounted for by ordering the rule for nasal place assimilation in (10) before the rule for /r/-stopping in (13). The rule in (13) states that /r/ becomes a stop immediately next to an alveolar consonant. This rule is a mirror image rule; therefore, no environmental dash is used next to the specification of environment.⁹¹

13) /r/-stopping: /r/ --> [-son] / [+cor, -distr, +ant]

Since nasal assimilation is ordered before r-stopping, a word like /nirŋji/ would become [nirŋji] by nasal assimilation, and so become impervious to the r-stopping rule, which applies next.

⁹¹ The fact that geminate /rr/ surfaces as [dd], as shown in the words in (11b), can be handled by a feature co-occurrence restriction that disallows geminate /rr/ from being [+sonorant] – it is obligatorily [-sonorant], and, therefore, surfaces as a geminate oral stop [dd].

The following examples show morphophonological alternations between [r] and [d]. All examples of geminate /rr/ in these data are homomorphic, therefore, it is not possible to show alternations involving geminate /rr/.

- 14a) /ki:ri/ [ki:ri] ‘house’ /ki:r-l/ [ki:d-l] ‘in a house’
 b) /e:ra/ [yɛ:r-ɑ] ‘let us climb’ /e:r-n/ [yɛ:d-n] ‘when climbing’
 c) /pya:r̥ti/ [pya:r̥ti] ‘granddaughter’ /pya:rn/ [pya:dn] ‘grandson’

Loanwords do not obey the distributional statements give above. [d] occurs between vowels in a word such as *aydiyə* [ɥydiyə] ‘idea’ (<English), and after an alveolar consonant in words such as *pya:tri* [pya:tri] ‘factory’ and *dressə* [drɛssə] ‘dress (n)’ (both from English). Further, both [d] and [r] occur word-initially in words such as *raǰən* [rɑǰən] ‘king’ (<Indic), *dipa:(r)məntə* [dɪpɑ:(r)p̄məntə] ‘department’ (<English). I treat these occurrences of [d] as realizations of a marginal phoneme /d/, which is restricted to borrowed words.⁹² The allophones [r, d] of the native phoneme /r/ are written as such in this grammar – in loanwords and in native words, but clarifications about the underlying phoneme are given where necessary.

Alveolar lateral approximants /l, ll/ have two allophones each, [l, ll] and [l̥, ll̥]. Dental lateral [l̥, ll̥] occur only immediately before dental stops (15a), and alveolar laterals [l, ll] occur only elsewhere (15b). Lateral place assimilation is represented in the rule in (16), which states that an alveolar lateral becomes dental immediately before a dental.

- 15a) *kel̥to:ddə* [kɛ̥l̥to:ddə] ‘is studying’ *nall̥də* [nɛ̥ll̥də] ‘good item’

⁹²In several of these borrowed words, it is possible to derive [d] from underlying /r/ because it occurs next to an alveolar consonant; e.g. *kyandlə* ‘candle’. However, since there are some English borrowings in which /d/ must be treated as a marginal phoneme, I prefer to treat [d] as an allophone of /d/ in all words borrowed from English.

Table 6.3: BK monophthongs

	Front Unrounded		Central Unrounded		Back Unrounded		Back Rounded	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	i:					u	u:
Mid	e	e:	ə	ə:			o	o:
Low					a	a:		

A more parsimonious classification of these sounds is given in Table 4.

Table 6.4: Vowel classes in BK

	Front Unrounded		Nonfront Unrounded		Nonfront Rounded	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	i:			u	u:
Mid	e	e:	ə	ə:	o	o:
Low			a	a:		

The phonemic status of the higher of each column of short vowels in Table 4, /i, ə, u/, are shown by the contrasting environments in (18):

- 18a) i. /i/ *piliyə* ‘tiger’ *moddi* ‘lazy woman’
 ii. /u/ *pullə* ‘grass’ *əddu* ‘two’
- b) i. /ə/ *ṣatəyo:ḍḍə* ‘is dying’ *təni* ‘platform’ *pət̪ə* ‘hen’
 ii. /i/ *ṣət̪tiyo:ḍḍə* ‘is powerful’ *t̪inni* ‘tin can’ *potti* ‘stomach’
- c) i. /ə/ *mət̪iri* ‘village’ *pottə* ‘torch, sun’
 ii. /u/ *mut̪ərə* ‘deity’ *pattu* ‘ten’

The phonemic status of the lower of each column of short vowels in Table 4, /e, a, o/, is shown by the contrasting environments in (19):

- | | | | | |
|--------|-----|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 19a)i. | /e/ | <i>meri</i> ‘tree’ | <i>penḍi</i> ‘corral’ | |
| | ii. | /a/ | <i>mari</i> ‘husking pan’ | <i>panḍə</i> ‘ball’ |
| b) | i. | /a/ | <i>pattu</i> ‘ten’ | <i>maṭta</i> ‘he sharpened it’ |
| | ii. | /o/ | <i>pottə</i> ‘sun’ | <i>maṭto</i> ‘sharpen it!’ |
| c) | i. | /o/ | <i>kombə</i> ‘horn’ | <i>kottṇbiṣṣə</i> ‘coriander (cilantro) seed’ |
| | ii. | /e/ | <i>kembadḡayə</i> ‘nearly ripe fruit’ | <i>kettənu</i> ‘wash- <u>rlf-acc</u> ’ |

The contrast between short and long vowels is shown in the following words:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---|--|
| 20a) | /i, i:/ | <i>kiri</i> ‘small’ | <i>ki:ri</i> ‘house’ |
| b) | /u, u:/ | <i>puttə</i> ‘dough made from <i>ragi</i> ’ | <i>pu:ttə</i> ‘lock (n)’ |
| c) | /e, e:/ | <i>perkənu</i> ‘pick- <u>acc</u> ’ | <i>pe:rgən</i> ‘flying squirrel’ |
| d) | /ə, ə:/ | <i>bə[ɑ:]ə</i> ‘Malabar giant squirrel’ | <i>bə:ləʃi</i> ‘Thursday’ |
| e) | /o, o:/ | <i>moḍən</i> ‘physically disabled man’ | <i>mo:də</i> ‘cloud’ |
| f) | /a, a:/ | <i>yaniya</i> ‘me (1s-acc)’ | <i>ya:niya</i> ‘elephant- <u>acc</u> ’ |

The contrast between the higher and lower vowels of each column in Table 4 is shown in the following words:

- | | | | |
|------|----------|---|--------------------------------|
| 21a) | /i, e/ | <i>miriyə</i> ‘cub, young one’ | <i>meri</i> ‘tree’ |
| b) | /ə, a/ | <i>bəttl</i> ‘on the mountain’ | <i>ba:ttl</i> ‘on the path’ |
| c) | /u, o/ | <i>puttə</i> ‘dough made from <i>ragi</i> ’ | <i>potti</i> ‘stomach’ |
| d) | /i:, e:/ | <i>nirə</i> ‘water’ | <i>ne:ru</i> ‘straight (adj.)’ |
| e) | /ə:, a:/ | <i>kə:lṇ</i> ‘parrot’ | <i>ka:lṇ</i> ‘Kaalān (a name)’ |
| f) | /u:, o:/ | <i>pu:ttə</i> ‘lock’ | <i>po:ṭiyə</i> ‘photograph’ |

Examples with the diphthongs /əy, uy, ay/ are given in (22).

- | | | |
|------|------|-------------------------------------|
| 22a) | /əy/ | <i>pəyriyə</i> ‘bush’ |
| b) | /uy/ | <i>puyriyə</i> ‘handle (n)’ |
| c) | /ay/ | <i>payrigutnu</i> ‘until he plucks’ |

1.2.1. Vowel quality

High front and back vowels show quality differences between short and long counterparts; /u/ is a lax vowel and slightly lower than its long counterpart; thus /u, u:/ are phonetically [ʊ, u:]. Short /i/ is pronounced as a short tense vowel, [i], in word-final position and immediately before /y/; e.g. *piliyə* [pɪliyə], *ka:ki* [ka:ki] ‘crow’. It is pronounced as short lax [ɪ] elsewhere; e.g. *pikki* [pɪkki] ‘bird’. Its long counterpart is generally tense [i:]. Low front and back vowels do not show a quality difference between short and long vowels – both short and long phonemes /e, e:/ and /o, o:/ are lax mid vowels which differ only in length [ɛ, ɛ:] and [ɔ, ɔ:].

Short /a/ is pronounced as a short central near-open vowel [ɐ] in the word-initial syllable (which is always assigned primary stress) and in closed syllables, unless followed by a velar stop. It is usually pronounced as a back open vowel [ɑ] in open non-initial syllables and immediately before a velar stop. Examples with [ɐ] are: [byɛllə] ‘brown sugar’, [nɛdʒi] ‘walk.sg.c.im’; examples with [ɑ] are: [áŋgɑ:lə] ‘foot’, [kɔ:maɫji] ‘neck’. Long /a:/ is usually pronounced as back open [ɑ:] (e.g. [kaɫɑ:yə] ‘cheek’, [ɑ:ŋʒi] ‘gums’); however, the vowel is frequently fronted to central [ɐ:] or even front [æ:] immediately after /y/ (e.g. *pyar̥ti* [pyɑ:r̥ti ~ pyɛ:r̥ti ~ pyæ:r̥ti] ‘grand-daughter’).

Short central vowels /a, ə/ are optionally rounded immediately after a labial consonant; e.g. *bəllu* [bəllʊ ~ bəllʉ] ‘white’, *pəttə* [pəttɐ ~ pəttɛ] ‘hen’, *əttə* [wəttɐ ~ wəttɛ] ‘cow’, *vandə* [vandə ~ wondə] ‘one’. A few words with /ə:/ also show optional rounding after a labial consonant (e.g. *bə:du* [bə:ɖʉ ~ bə:ɖʊ] ‘want’, *bə:da* [bə:ɖɑ ~ bə:ɖɑ] ‘don’t want’). However, not all /ə, ə:/ show rounding in this environment; e.g. *bə:ɖsəɖə* [bə:ɖsəɖɛ] ‘brought’, *əɖi* [wəɖi] ‘take’.

The articulation of some BK diphthongs requires further clarification: The initial vocoid in /uy/ is fronted, [üy], and the initial vocoid in /ay/ is central near-open [əy]. The diphthong /əy/ shows free variation between [əy ~ oy] in the word initial position; e.g. [woyri ~ wəyri] ‘bull’, [woyḍu ~ wəyḍu] ‘five’ (a labiovelar glide is inserted before word-initial non-low, non-front vowels, as described in §2.1). These two allophones show free variation also in word-medial position in some words (e.g. [koyli ~ kəyli] ‘hen, fowl’). There is no clear evidence of contrast between [əy ~ oy] in the speech of my Betta Kurumba consultants; therefore, I treat these sounds as allophones of a single diphthong /əy/.

2.0 PHONOTACTICS, SYLLABLE STRUCTURE, AND STRESS

This section describes the distribution of phonemes and syllable structure within uncompounded words; consonant clusters created at the juncture of words within a compound are relatively free of the restrictions that hold within simple words. A brief description of stress in simple and compound words is also included in this section.

2.1. Distribution of phonemes

2.1.1. Word-initial position

All non-coronal consonants except velar nasal /ŋ/ occur word-initially. Among coronals, only dentals, palatals, and /n/ occur in this position.⁹⁵ However loanwords from Indic and English do have other word-initial coronals /t, r, d, l, ʃ, dʒ/; e.g. *tiviyə* ‘TV’, *raɟən* ‘king (Indic loan)’, *la:yriyə* ‘lorry, truck’, *ʃi:ʃari* ‘teacher’, *dɔ:bi* ‘washerman (Indic loan)’.

⁹⁵ This is a preservation of a PDr restriction on the occurrence of apical consonants in word-initial position (see discussion of PDr phonotactics in Krishnamurti 2003).

All vowels occur word-initially within the phonemic level of representation used in this grammar; however, at the phonetic level, mid vowels do not occur word-initially. A palatal glide [y] is inserted immediately before front mid vowels and a labiovelar glide [w] is inserted immediately before non-front mid vowels, including /əy/. (23a) shows examples in which low and high vowels occur word-initially, and (23b) shows examples in which a glide is inserted before relevant vowels. (24) gives the rule for glide insertion.

23a)i.	/abbi/	[abbi]	‘mother’
ii.	/a:ɖə/	[a:ɖə]	‘goat’
iii.	/ayrni/	[aydni]	‘metal file (a tool)’
iv.	/ibbə/	[ɪbbə]	‘iron (n)’
v.	/i:ri/	[iri]	‘village’
vi.	/u uʋə/	[u ʋwə]	‘worm’
vii.	/u:ŋjələyro:ɖɖə/	[u:ŋjələyro:ɖɖə]	‘is swinging’
b)			
i.	/erəvi/	[yerəvi]	‘knife’
ii.	/e:kəri/	[yɛ:kəri]	‘greens (edible leafy plants)’
iii.	/əttu/	[wəttu]	‘eight’
iv.	/ə: u/	[wə: u]	‘seven’
v.	/orrn/	[wɔddn]	‘mason’
vi.	/o:gi/	[wɔ:gi]	‘inside’
vii.	/əyɖu/	[wəyɖu]	‘five’

24) Word-initial glide insertion: $\emptyset \rightarrow [-\text{cons}, \alpha\text{back}] / \# _ \left(\begin{array}{l} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{array} \right)$

Word initial consonant clusters are highly restricted – the only initial cluster that can occur in native BK vocabulary is oral/nasal stop + /y/, and these occur only before

the vowels /a, a:/; e.g. *byallə* ‘jaggary (brown sugar)’, *bya:rə* ‘root’, *nyari* ‘lather’.⁹⁶ Some additional word-initial clusters /st, br, dr, ɖr, gr/ occur in a few loanwords: English -- *stɑ:mpə* ‘postal stamp’, *brassə* ‘brush’, *dressə* ‘dress’; Indic – *ɖras:i[paŋŋu]* ‘grapes’, *gra:mə* ‘village’.

2.1.2. Word-final position

The only consonants that occur word-finally are coronal sonorants /n, ŋ, l, ʎ/; these can also occur as geminate clusters /nn, ŋŋ, ll, ʎʎ/ (e.g. *ann* ‘at that time’, *aŋŋ* ‘elder brother’, *nill* ‘play-inf’, *moʎʎ* ‘sprout-inf’) – no other word-final consonant clusters are permitted.⁹⁷ Due to this restriction on final segments, an enunciative vowel /ə/ is inserted at the end of loanwords containing illicit final consonants; e.g. *bokkə* ~ *bukkə* ‘book’, *dressə* ‘dress’. Among vowels, length is not contrastive in the word-final position and all word-final vowels are analyzed as phonemically short in this description, giving rise to the restriction that, among monophthongs, only short vowels occur word-finally. Among diphthongs, only /əy/ occurs word-finally.

Note that although the only segments that are permitted word-finally are vowels and coronal sonorants (except /r/), the word-final vowel is frequently deleted within syntax-level phrases or discourse-level utterances in conversational speech, resulting in a wide range of “word-final” segments at the discourse level. A comprehensive study of word-final vowel deletion within phrases is beyond the scope of this description.

⁹⁶ The existence of /Cy/ before /a, a:/ can be attributed to a historical change in the language. The sequence /Cya, Cya:/ in BK corresponds to Tamil /Ce, Ce:/; e.g. BK *pya:dn* ‘grandson’ is cognate with Tamil *pe:ran* ‘grandson’ and BK *pya:rɪti* ‘granddaughter’ is cognate with Tamil *pe:ɪti* ‘granddaughter’ (Tamil words from Asher 1985). Thus, BK /ya, ya:/ probably developed from an earlier */e/, */e:/.

⁹⁷ In word-final consonant sequences of consonant plus coronal nasal or lateral, the second segment is a syllabic consonant and, therefore, is analyzed as a vowel for the purpose of syllable structure; examples are given in §2.2.

However, an attempt is made here to show final-segment deletion when it occurs. Thus, for all the example sentences given in the preceding chapters, I indicated final segment deletion by showing words in the first italicized line without the final vowel, if the vowel was deleted in my consultant's speech. The underlying final segment was shown in the morphemic representation given in the second line. An example is given in (25), where *kurka:si* and *pəyniyə* undergo final vowel deletion within the sentence, but the last word *kəɖso* does not undergo deletion.

- 25) *bomməŋa kurka:s pəyni kəɖso*
 bommən-ka kurka:ʃi pəyniyə kəɖ-ʃ-o
 Bomman-dat watchman work get-rlf-3sg
 “Bomman got a job as a watchman.” (Elicitation.P499)

2.1.3. Word-medial position

Word-medial clusters contain up to 3 segments. Clusters of 2 consonants are free (except for the consonant sequencing restrictions given below); however, 3 consonant clusters begin only with a geminate or a sonorant; e.g. *bannɖə* ‘came’, *ya:rpka* ‘call-inf’.

2.2. Sequencing restrictions

Consonants show the following restrictions on their ability to occur adjacent to a consonant or vowel.

2.2.1 Voice agreement in homorganic obstruent clusters

There are no homorganic obstruent clusters in these data in which one consonant is voiced and the other voiceless; i.e. homorganic obstruent clusters in native words must agree in voicing. This requirement induces certain morphophonological alternations in

verb roots, shown in (26a). The last consonant of the roots in (26a) is voiceless immediately before a voiceless homorganic obstruent (first column), and voiced elsewhere (second column). In contrast, the last consonant of the roots in (26b) never occurs immediately before a homorganic obstruent and, correspondingly, never exhibits a voice alternation. The words in (26c) show that clusters of sonorant plus homorganic voiceless obstruent do exist in the language; therefore, the identical voicing requirement applies only to homorganic obstruent clusters. (Divisions between root and suffixes are shown in surface as well as underlying forms in the examples below.)

- 26a) i. *poṭ-t-əḍə* *poḍi-gutnu*
 poḍi-t-əḍə *poḍi-gutnu*
 thatch-rlf-sg thatch-until
 ‘N thatched (the roof)’ ‘until N thatches (the roof)’
- ii. *aṭ-t-əḍə* *aḍ-gutnu* *aḍka*
 aḍ-t-əḍə *aḍ-gutnu* *aḍ-v-ka*
 cook-rlf-sg cook-until cook-irf-inf
 ‘N cooked s.t.’ ‘until N cooks s.t.’ ‘to cook’
- iii. *arkka ~ argəka* *argu-gutnu*
 argu-v-ka *argu-gutnu*
 sleep-irf-inf sleep-until
 ‘to sleep’ ‘until N sleeps’
- b) i. *əḍi-t-əḍə* *əḍi-gutnu* *əḍ-p-a*
 əḍi-t-əḍə *əḍi-gutnu* *əḍi-pu-a*
 take-rlf-sg take-until take-irf-3sg
 ‘N took s.t.’ ‘until N takes s.t.’ ‘She will take s.t.’
- ii. *əg-t-əḍə* *əgi-gutnu* *əg-p-a*
 əgi-t-əḍə *əgi-gutnu* *əgi-pu-a*
 kick-rlf-sg kick-until kick-irf-3sg
 ‘N kicked s.t.’ ‘until N kicks s.t.’ ‘She will kick s.t.’
- c) i. *ḍaṅṅiṣəḍə* ‘N stepped over’ (/ḍaṅṅu-ṣ-əḍə/ ‘step.over-rlf-sg’)

Thus an underlying voiced obstruent in these data becomes voiceless immediately before a voiceless homorganic obstruent. It is possible that the reverse also holds true; i.e., an underlying voiceless obstruent would become voiced immediately before a voiced homorganic obstruent; however, further research is necessary to find morphological alternations that confirm this prediction.

Interestingly, there are also no consonant clusters within native BK words in which alveolar tap /r/ occurs adjacent to voiceless alveolar stop /t/.⁹⁸ In fact, this absence is a logical consequence of the distributional facts about the allophones of /r/ given above, as well as the ban on homorganic obstruent clusters with mixed voicing. Recall that /r/ has a stop allophone, [d], which occurs only next to an alveolar consonant and a tap allophone, [r], which occurs only elsewhere. Thus, a cluster of /rt, tr/ would by rule (13) become [dt, td], a cluster that violates the ban on homorganic obstruent clusters with mixed voicing. Such a cluster would be turned into [tt] and perhaps [dd], respectively (by the statements given above).

There is one word in these data with an underlying /rt/ cluster which surfaces as /tt/, shown in the first column of (27). This could be confirmation of my prediction that any underlying /rt/ cluster would surface as /tt/ in BK; however, certain morphophonological rules given in §3.2.1.5 provide an alternative account of the change from /rt/ to /tt/ in this word; therefore, further research is necessary to uncover other examples.

⁹⁸ One borrowed word *pya:tri* ‘factory’ does have a /tr/ cluster; therefore, these generalizations apply only to native words.

27)	<i>pottəḍə</i>	<i>porgutnu</i>
	por-t-əḍə	por-gutnu
	carry- <u>rlf</u> - <u>sg</u>	carry- <u>until</u>
	‘N carried s.t. (on the head)’	‘until N carries s.t. (on the head)’

2.2.2. Place agreement in coronal [-distributed] clusters

There are no clusters in these data that contain an immediately adjacent retroflex consonant and alveolar consonant; thus, the language has a requirement that if all consonants in a coronal cluster are [-distributed], they must also have identical specifications for the feature [anterior]. Clusters in which adjacent coronal consonants are all alveolar or all retroflex are shown in (28a) – these are identical in the features [-distr, ±ant]. Examples of clusters in which at least one of the coronals is [+distr] and in which all coronals do not necessarily share the same specification for [anterior] are shown in (28b).

28a)i.	<i>gutnu</i> ‘until’	<i>nəntə</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>etli</i> ‘where’
ii.	<i>ʃu:ŋd̪lə</i> ‘fishing hook’	<i>batt̪la</i> ‘along the path’	<i>pulln</i> ‘a type of parakeet’
b) i.	<i>moḍti</i> ‘physically disabled woman’,	<i>aḍta</i> ‘She closed s.t.’	
ii.	<i>aḍḍa</i> ‘It closed’	<i>puḍso:ḍḍə</i> ‘is holding’	

As a result of the ban on mixed retroflex and alveolar clusters, certain suffixes (namely, /-t/ ‘realis’ and /-əl/ ‘infinitive’) exhibit an alternation pattern in which they have a retroflex alternant immediately after a retroflex consonant and an alveolar alternant immediately after an alveolar consonant, discussed in §3.2.2

2.2.3 Ban on the sequence /y/ + retroflex C

Retroflex consonants do not occur immediately after the glide /y/, irrespective of whether the glide is part of a diphthong or a coda consonant; thus the sequence /y-retroflex C/ is banned in BK. This restriction leads to a morphophonological alternation between alveolar and retroflex consonants, which is discussed in §3.2.3.

2.3. Syllable structure

The maximum syllable in BK consists of CCVCC. The vowel can be a short or long vowel, diphthong, or syllabic consonant. All consonants can occur in single onsets and codas, as shown in (29) (end of syllable is marked with period plus single space).

- 29a) *ip. ka* 'near' *aĵ. ĵi* 'grandmother'
b) *u. pe:l. gən* 'crow pheasant'

However, onset and coda clusters have restrictions. Onset clusters are restricted to the sequence /Cy/, and they occur only before /a, a:/:

- 30a) *byal. lə* 'jaggary (brown sugar)' *nya. ri* 'lather'
b) *ˌtir. pya:l̥i* 'earring'

Word final coda clusters are restricted to geminate coronals /nn, n̄n, ll, ll̄/, as shown in the examples of word-final clusters given in §2.1.2. However, medial coda clusters have a wider range of permissible segments: Homomorphic medial coda clusters can consist of /nn, n̄n, ll, ll̄/ as well as a sequence of coronal nasal plus homorganic stop (31a). Heteromorphic coda clusters can consist of a geminate consonant (sonorant or non-sonorant) or a sequence of sonorant plus stop or affricate (31b). The asymmetry between word-final and word-medial coda clusters follows from the fact that only coronal sonorants (except /r/) may occur word-finally – thus, only consonant sequences ending in

a nasal or lateral would be permitted here, but such sequences would be treated as a sequence of consonant + syllabic consonant, not a coda cluster.

- 31a)i. *aŋŋ. kotn* ‘squirrel’, *baŋd. lə* ‘frying pan’
 ii. *ʃuŋd. lə* ‘fishing hook’.
- b) *ya:rp. ka* ‘call-inf’ *fiʃʃ. ka* ‘fire-dat’

The syllable structure, CCVCC, should allow for medial consonant clusters of up to 4 consonants, with /Cy/ as the last two consonants. However, the sequence /Cy/ occurs primarily in word-initial position and, therefore, clusters of more than 3 segments do not occur in these data – there are only two words in these data that have /Cy/ in medial position, *ka:kya:ni* ‘mica’, *ti:rpya:li* ‘earring’.⁹⁹

Syllabic consonants consist only of nasals and laterals.¹⁰⁰ There are restrictions on the distribution of syllabic consonants: Syllabic velar nasals and labial nasals occur only immediately before a homorganic stop (32a). Syllabic retroflex consonants occur only immediately after a retroflex consonant (32b). Syllabic alveolar consonants occur only elsewhere (32c).

- 32a)i. *u. dŋ. bə* ‘Monitor lizard’
 ii. *kam. bl* ‘pillar-lc’
 iii. *to. dŋ. gi. ʃə. də* ‘began to V’
 iv. *ka. dŋ. gŋ* ‘wasp’

⁹⁹ The fact that /Cy/ sequences are found mainly in word-initial position is related to the distribution of /e, e:/, which occurs mainly in initial syllables; thus, given that /Cya, Cya:/ is probably a reflex of older /Ce, Ce:/ sequences, this onset cluster is likely to be most frequent in the initial syllable. The relatively restricted distribution of /e, e:/ in BK can probably be traced back to the restricted distribution of mid vowels in PDr – Krishnamurthi (1961, cited in Steever 1993:11) says that in PDr mid-vowel /e, e:, o, o:/ occurred only in word-initial syllables; since PDr was purely suffixal, this suggests that these vowels occurred only in roots.

¹⁰⁰ In fast speech, the sequence /ər/ can be reduced to /r/ creating syllabic consonants in some cases; e.g. *mo:ḍərka* ‘ring-dat’ is sometimes pronounced *mo:ḍrka*.

- b) i. *ta. lɲ. ga:. ɲi* ‘pillow’
 ii. *kə:. lɲ* ‘parrot’
 iii. *a:. dʃ* ‘goat-lc’
- c) i. *to:. dɲ* ‘Indian tree shrew’
 ii. *ka. dʃ. gɲ* ‘wasp’

The minimal word in BK consists of a bimoraic foot. Most minimal words in the language have the shape (C)VCV; e.g. *moʃi* ‘new shoot of a plant’, *aʃi* ‘cave’. Words consisting of a single CVC syllable are rare; there are only three pronouns in these data with this shape: *yan* ‘my’, *nin* ‘your’, *tan* ‘her/him/itself’s’. There are, in addition, six pronouns that are smaller than a bimoraic foot. Three of these are shortened forms of *navə* ‘I’, *niyə* ‘you’, *tavə* ‘her/him/itself’ – these pronouns can be shortened to form a single /CV/ syllable, *na*, *ni*, *ta*. The other three are demonstrative pronouns with a single /V/ syllable: *a* ‘that (remote)’, *i* ‘this (proximate)’, and *u* ‘this (general, non-specific surroundings)’. Because monomoraic words are rare in BK and are found only among pronouns, they can be categorized as exceptional or sub-minimal words.

2.4. Stress

Primary word stress is strictly word-initial in BK; since all affixation in this language is suffixal, primary word stress falls on the root; e.g. *báttə* ‘mountain’, *úpe:lɣən* ‘crow pheasant’, *tódɣiʃəðə* ‘began to V’. Further research is necessary to provide an accurate description of secondary stress; however, the following points may be mentioned at this point in my description: In words with lexical suffixes (these suffixes are derived from roots), the lexical suffix bears secondary stress on its initial syllable; e.g. *kéngàððə* /keŋg-a:l-ð-əðə/ ‘killed’ (with lexical suffix /-a:l/), *nyántəðtəðə* /nyani-t-əðj-t-əðə/ ‘took thought of, remembered’ (with lexical suffix /-əðj/). In

compound words, the leftmost member of the compound bears primary stress on its initial syllable, and later members bear secondary stress on their initial syllables; *áḍkmèri* ‘arecanut tree’ (compound word, *áḍki* ‘arecanut’ plus *méri* ‘tree’). Secondary stress in medial syllables appears to be dependent on vowel quality and length; however, further research is necessary to confirm this supposition; e.g. *úpè:lgən* ‘crow pheasant’, *tóḍygišəḍə* ‘began to V’. /ə/ is unstressed in medial syllables, unless it is in the initial syllable of a lexical suffix or sub-component of a compound. All word-final vowels are unstressed.

3.0 VERB MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Verb suffixation is divided into an inflectional level and a derivational level; rules in these two levels are discussed in separate sections. The analysis given in Chapter 2 also divided the derivational level into two levels; however, the two can be conflated into one for the purposes of morphophonology because they do not involve different sets rules.¹⁰¹

The phonological structure of verb roots is described in §3.1; morphophonological processes in the derivational level are described in §3.2; and those in the inflectional level are described in §3.3.

3.1. The phonological structure of the verb root

Verb roots in BK have a restricted set of root-final segments: roots end in short high vowels /i, u/ or voiced coronal consonants /r, ḍ, n, ŋ, l, ʎ/; in addition, there are two exceptional verb roots which end in /g/ (these are irregular also in the number of root

¹⁰¹ The division into first and second levels of derivation is based solely on the fact that 1LD suffixes, unlike 2LD suffixes, attach to a root rather than a theme. The two levels do not differ in morphophonology.

alternations they show). The distribution of root-final segments across various verb classes is shown in (33). /u/ final roots occur only in the strong-s-class, and the t-class has roots that end only in coronal consonants.¹⁰²

33a)	ṭ-class	/i, ʌ/	<i>ya:ri</i> ‘call’, <i>ma:ḷ</i> ‘sharpen’, <i>aʌḷ</i> ‘cry’
b)	t-class	/r, ḍ, ʎ, n, ṇ/	<i>ba:r</i> ‘come’, <i>uḍ</i> ‘wear’, <i>kə:ḷ</i> ‘ask’, <i>tiṇ</i> ‘eat’, <i>ka:ṇ</i> ‘appear, see’
c)	weak-s-class	/i, ʌ/	<i>pa:ri</i> ‘pluck’, <i>ti:ḷ</i> ‘place’
d)	strong-s-class	/u, r, ḍ, g/	<i>argu</i> ‘sleep’, <i>pa:r</i> ‘fly’, <i>o:ḍ</i> ‘run’, <i>po:g</i> ‘go’
e)	ḍ-class	/i, r, ʌ/	<i>pəŋi</i> ‘weave’, <i>i:r</i> ‘be’, <i>pə:ḷ</i> ‘tell’
f)	j-class	/i, ʌ/	<i>nili</i> ‘play’, <i>ki:ḷ</i> ‘do’

The majority of verb roots in BK are composed of one or two syllables; the minimal verb root is bimoraic. There are some polysyllabic roots, but these are probably either borrowed or historically derived from frozen compound roots. The various syllable types found in these data are listed in (34). The root alternations included in these examples are discussed in §3.2.4.

- 34a) (C)VC (several roots, in all classes)
- i. *aḍ* ‘cook’
 - ii. *por* ‘carry on head’
 - iii. *kə:ḷ* ‘ask, listen’
 - iv. *kəyḷ* ~ *ke:* ‘cut’
 - v. *ə:r* ‘climb on to s.t.’
 - vi. *a:ḍ* ‘bounce, sway’
- b) CCVC (1 root)
- i. *bya:ḷ* ~ *ben* ‘become well-cooked’
- c) (C)VCC (4 roots)
- i. *aʌḷ* ‘cry’

¹⁰² ṭ-class and t-class roots show near complementary distribution in their root-endings; however, the presence of one /ʌ/-final root in the t-class prevents me from conflating the two classes into one.

- ii. *oʎʎ* 'please'
 - iii. *paʎʎ* 'ripen'
 - iv. *ka:yl ~ ke:* 'boil (intr)'
- d) CVCVC (1 root, probably complex)
- i. *bəʂə:l* 'call'
- e) (C)VCCVC (2 roots, probably complex)
- i. *arʂa:l ~ arʂe* 'fight'
 - ii. *nendʉ:l* 'droop over edge'
- f) (C)VCV (several roots, in all classes)
- i. *aɖi* 'close'
 - ii. *keli* 'study, read'
 - iii. *ya:ri* 'call'
 - iv. *ˌtəʎi* 'clear mistiness'
 - v. *u:ɖu* 'blow (a balloon)'
 - vi. *na:ʈu* 'fix s.t. in (a wooden post, etc.)'
- e) CCVCV (1 root)
- i. *nyani* 'think'
- f) CVCCV (several roots, all in strong-s-class)
- i. *argu* 'sleep'
 - ii. *kaʈtu* 'stitch'
 - iii. *əɖdu* 'bow (head)'
 - iv. *mu:ŋgu* 'say hmm (in response to story)'
- g) (C)VCVCV (5 roots, probably complex)
- i. *omaɖi* 'boil'
 - ii. *pugəri* 'enter'
 - iii. *bernʃu* 'secure s.t. (by tying together)'
 - iv. *bə:lmbu* 'fill up'
 - v. *ˌtodʉgu* 'begin to do something'
- h) VCCVCV (1 root, probably complex)
- i. *a:lpari* 'suffer hardship'

3.1.1. The underlying form of the root

BK verb roots show a number of morphologically and phonologically conditioned alternants. This section presents a list of paradigms that show the main phonologically conditioned alternation patterns exhibited by roots; the roots are grouped according to underlying final segment. As explained in Chapter 2, §1, only a limited set of suffixes can attach directly to the root in BK. In the derivational level, these suffixes are root valency modifiers and theme formatives. In the inflectional level, they are /-gutnu/ ‘anticipation’, /-ki, -ku/ ‘possibility’, /-a/ ‘hortative’, /-əy/ ‘singular casual imperative’, /-o ~ -yo/ ‘plural casual imperative’, and /-əl, -əlayə/ ‘infinitive’.

Tables 5-9 show paradigms consisting of roots and the full range of suffixes that attach to them, except for root valency modifiers, which are found on only a handful of roots and are ignored in this section. The words are given in their surface forms, but morphological boundaries are indicated with a hyphen. Roots with an underlying final lateral are shown first, followed by /i/-final, /u/-final root, nasal-final, and /d, r/-final roots. The roots belong to different verb classes, as indicated by different realis suffixes in the first row, but all those that have the same underlying final segment exhibit the same set of alternations, with a few minor variations dependent on other factors, such as the root’s penultimate segment.

The root alternations displayed in these tables provide additional support for the division into derivational and inflectional levels used in my analysis of verb structure.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The primary motivation for that division was the existence of different suffixation procedures in the two levels, namely theme formation in the derivational level and absence of theme formation in the inflectional level, as explained in Chapter 2. However, morphophonology provides additional support for this division.

The first two rows in each table show derivational suffixes, ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’; the other rows show inflectional suffixes.

Table 6.5: Lateral-final roots

<i>kə:l</i> ‘ask, listen’		<i>aʎʎ</i> ‘cry’		<i>ki:l</i> ‘do s.t.’	
With derivational suffixes:					
<i>kə:l-t-a</i>	‘She asked’	<i>a-tt-a</i>	‘She cried’	<i>ki-ʃ-a</i>	‘She did’
<i>kə:l-p-a</i>	‘She will ask’	<i>a-pp-a</i>	‘She cried’	<i>ki-v-a</i>	‘She will do’
With inflectional suffixes:					
<i>kə:l-gutnu</i>	‘until N asks’	<i>aʎʎ-gutnu</i>	‘until N cries’	<i>ki:l-gutnu</i>	‘until N does’
<i>kə:l-ku</i>	‘N can ask’	<i>aʎʎ-ku</i>	‘N can cry’	<i>ki:l-ku</i>	‘N can do’
<i>kə:l-a</i>	‘Let us ask’	--		<i>ki:l-a</i>	‘Let us do’
<i>kə:l-əy</i>	‘Ask!’ (sg)	--		<i>ki:l-əy</i>	‘Do!’
<i>kə:l-o</i>	‘Ask!’ (pl)	--		<i>ki:l-o</i>	‘Do!’
<i>kə:l</i>	‘to ask’	<i>aʎʎ</i>	‘to cry’	<i>ki:l</i>	‘to do’

All the roots in Table 5 have a final lateral before inflectional suffixes, but no final lateral before derivational suffixes.¹⁰⁴ If suffixation was not divided into levels, it would not be possible to give a general rule that would plausibly account for the presence and absence of the final lateral before these suffixes. There is no phonetically plausible rule that can account for the fact that the lateral is not deleted before obstruent-initial suffixes, /-gutnu, -ku/, but is deleted before several obstruent-initial realis and irrealis suffixes. This alternation pattern would have to be analyzed, instead, in terms of different idiosyncratic rules that are triggered by different suffixes. On the other hand, a division into inflectional and derivational levels does provide a framework within which to

¹⁰⁴ These roots also lack the final lateral immediately before other derivational suffixes, such as root valency modifier /-su/ (e.g. *ka:ʃu* ‘boil (tr)’ from *ka:yl* ‘boil (intr)’).

account for the distribution of the root-final lateral in a systematic manner; thus, a rule in the derivational level deletes the stem-final lateral immediately before a suffix, but no such rule operates in the inflectional level, leaving the lateral intact before inflectional suffixes.

The root alternations in Tables 6-7 can also be analyzed in a more systematic manner if suffixation is divided into levels. All the roots in these two tables have no vowel immediately before a stop-initial derivational suffix, but have a vowel immediately before derivational suffixes /-v, -ʂ/. The distribution of root final vowels is different in the inflectional level – here, the roots do have a final vowel before stop-initial suffixes, but no vowel before the other suffixes.

Table 6.6: /i/-final roots

<i>aʎi</i> ‘measure s.t.’		<i>əɖi</i> ‘take s.t.’		<i>eli</i> ‘pull s.t.’	
With derivational suffixes:					
<i>aʎ-d-a</i>	‘she measured’	<i>əɖ-t-a</i>	‘She took’	<i>el-ʂ-a</i>	‘She pulled’
<i>aʎə-v-a</i>	‘she will measure’	<i>əɖ-p-a</i>	‘She will take’	<i>el-p-a</i>	‘She will pull’
With inflectional suffixes:					
<i>aʎi-gutnu</i>	‘until N measures’	<i>əɖi-gutnu</i>	‘until N takes’	<i>eli-gutnu</i>	‘until N pulls’
<i>aʎi-ku</i>	‘N can measure’	<i>əɖi-ku</i>	‘N can take’	<i>eli-ku</i>	‘N can pull’
<i>aʎ-a</i>	‘Let us measure’	<i>əɖ-a</i>	‘Let us take’	<i>el-a</i>	‘Let us pull’
<i>aʎi</i>	‘Measure!’ (sg)	<i>əɖi</i>	‘Take!’	<i>eli</i>	‘Pull!’
<i>aʎ-iyo ~</i>	‘Measure!’ (pl)	<i>əɖ-iyo ~</i>	‘Take!’	<i>el-iyo ~</i>	‘Pull!’
<i>aʎ-o</i>		<i>əɖ-o</i>		<i>el-o</i>	
<i>aʎ-l</i>	‘to measure’	<i>əɖ-l</i>	‘to take’	<i>el-l</i>	‘to pull’

Table 6.7: /u/-final roots

<i>ṣittu</i> ‘encircle s.t.’		<i>biṣṣu</i> ‘wave s.t.’		<i>ettu</i> ‘shoot s.t.’	
With derivational suffixes:					
<i>ṣitti-ṣ-o</i>	‘She encircled’	<i>biṣṣi-ṣ-o</i>	‘She waved.’	<i>etti-ṣ-o</i>	‘She shot’
<i>ṣittə-v-a</i>	‘She will encircle’	<i>biṣṣə-v-a</i>	‘She will wave.’	<i>ettə-v-a</i>	‘She will shoot’
With inflectional suffixes:					
<i>ṣittu-gutnu</i>	‘Until N encircles’	<i>biṣṣu-gutnu</i>	‘until N waves’	<i>ettu-gutnu</i>	‘until N shoots’
<i>ṣittu-ku</i>	‘N can encircle’	<i>biṣṣu-ku</i>	‘N can wave’	<i>ettu-ku</i>	‘N can shoot’
<i>ṣitt-a</i>	‘Let us encircle’	<i>biṣṣ-a</i>	‘Let us wave’	<i>ett-a</i>	‘Let us shoot’
<i>ṣitt-əy</i>	‘Encircle!’ (sg)	<i>biṣṣ-əy</i>	‘Wave!’	<i>ett-əy</i>	‘Shoot!’
<i>ṣitt-o ~</i>	‘Encircle!’ (pl)	<i>biṣṣ-o ~</i>	‘Wave!’	<i>ett-o ~</i>	‘Shoot!’
<i>ṣitt-iyo</i>		<i>biṣṣ-iyo</i>		<i>ett-iyo</i>	
<i>ṣitt-əl</i>	‘to encircle’	<i>biṣṣ-əl</i>	‘to wave.’	<i>ett-əl</i>	‘to shoot’

Table 6.8: Nasal-final roots

<i>ṭin</i> ‘eat s.t.’		<i>ka:ŋ</i> ‘see s.t.’	
With derivational suffixes:			
<i>ṭin-d-a</i>	‘She ate’	<i>ka:ŋ-d-a</i>	‘She saw’
<i>ṭim-b-a</i>	‘She will eat’	<i>ka:m-b-a</i>	‘She will see’
With inflectional suffixes:			
<i>ṭin-gutnu</i>	‘Until N eats’	<i>ka:ŋ-gutnu</i>	‘Until N sees’
<i>ṭin-ku</i>	‘N can eat’	<i>ka:ŋ-ku</i>	‘N can see’
<i>ṭin-a</i>	‘Let us eat’	<i>ka:ŋ-a</i>	‘Let us see’
<i>ṭin-əy</i>	‘(You) eat!’	--	
<i>ṭin-o</i>	‘(You all) eat!’	--	
<i>ṭin-l ~ ṭin-əl</i>	‘to eat’	<i>ka:ŋ-l ~ ka:ŋ-əl</i>	‘to see’

Table 6.9: /r/-final and stop-final roots

<i>ad</i> ‘cook s.t.’		<i>por</i> ‘carry s.t.’		<i>i:r</i> ‘remain, be, stay’	
With derivational suffixes:					
<i>at-t-a</i>	‘She cooked’	<i>po-tt-a</i>	‘She carried’	<i>i-d-a</i>	‘She remained’
<i>ad-əv-a</i>	‘She will cook’	<i>por-əv-a</i>	‘She will carry’	<i>i-p-a</i>	‘She will remain’
With inflectional suffixes:					
<i>ad-gutnu</i>	‘until N cooks’	<i>por-gutnu</i>	‘until N carries’	<i>i:r-gutnu</i>	‘until N remains’
<i>ad-ku</i>	‘N can cook’	<i>por-ku</i>	‘N can carry’	<i>i:r-ku</i>	‘N can remain’
<i>ad-a</i>	‘Let us cook’	<i>por-a</i>	‘Let us carry s.t.’	<i>i:r-a</i>	‘Let us remain’
<i>ad-əy</i>	‘Cook!’ (sg)	--	--	--	--
<i>ad-o</i>	‘Cook!’ (pl)	<i>por-o</i>	‘Carry.!’ (pl)	<i>i:r-o</i>	‘Stay!’ (pl)
<i>ad-l</i>	‘to cook’	<i>pod-l</i>	‘to carry s.t.’	<i>i:d-l</i>	‘to stay’

In all the tables shown here, the root alternant that occurs before /-gutnu, -ku/ always matches the underlying form of the root given in the top row of the table. The ‘gutnu’ form of the root will be used hereafter as the citation form whenever it becomes necessary to provide a word that contains the full root, except in the case of roots with the verb-class specific or idiosyncratic alternations described in §§3.2.3-4.

3.2. The derivational level

Tables 5-9 listed the full range of suffixes that can attach to a root. Those tables showed that roots of all except the strong-s-class generally take only two suffixes in the derivational level – the irrealis formative and the realis formative; a few roots in these data occur also with root valency modifiers. Thus, theme formation and root-valency

modification are the primary morphological processes that trigger phonological changes in the root in this level. Lexical suffixes show the same alternation patterns and undergo the processes that roots do; therefore, lexical suffix and root alternations are discussed together in §3.2.1; alternations in other suffixes are discussed in §3.2.2. Roots and lexical suffixes in certain verb classes have class-specific alternations, described in §3.2.3, and some roots have idiosyncratic alternations, described in §3.2.4. The rules given in this section apply only in the derivational level; thus the morphological juncture symbol ‘+’ used in these rules must be taken to refer only to the juncture between roots/stems and derivational suffixes only.

A list of all the suffixes housed in the derivational level are given in Table 10.

Table 6.10: Derivational suffixes

Suffixes which attach to a plain stem; i.e. the root	Suffixes which attach to a realis theme (all are lexical suffixes)	Suffixes which attach to an irrealis theme
/-tu, -pu, -şu, -ju/ ‘root valency modifiers’	/-endu/ ‘kill’ /-ur ~ -ir/ ‘slice’	/-şu/ ‘causativizer’
/-t, -ṭ, -ş, -ḍ, -j/ ‘realis’	/-ar ~ -an/ ‘V and come’	
/-pu, -v/ ‘irrealis’	/-muyri ~ -muri/ ‘mince’ /-o:g ~ -ə: ~ -əy ~ -i/ ‘V and go, V thoroughly’ /-a:l/ ‘V and let go, V thoroughly’ /-ədj/ ‘obtain a result related to V’ /-ud/ ‘V and let go’ /-ir/ ‘be’	

The structure of stems formed in the derivational level is shown in (35), where FMV = realis or irrealis theme formative, 1LD = 1st level of derivation, and 2LD = 2nd level of derivation. 1LD suffixes comprise the root valency modifiers listed in column 1 of Table 10, 2LD suffixes comprise the suffixes in column 2 and 3 of the table.

35) Root-(1LD)-(FMV-2LD)-(FMV-2LD)-(FMV)

3.2.1. Major alternations found on roots and lexical suffixes.

3.2.1.1. Roots and lexical suffixes ending in /i/

Roots and lexical suffixes ending in /i/ have three alternants: one with final /i/, one without a final vowel, and one with final /ə/. The first alternant never occurs immediately before a derivational suffix, but occurs before certain inflectional suffixes, such as /-gutnu/ ‘until’ (first column of (36)). The other two alternants have the following distribution before derivational suffixes: the /ə/-final alternant occurs immediately before /-v/, and the alternant without a final vowel occurs immediately before an obstruent-initial suffix. All three alternants are shown in (36).¹⁰⁵

36)	<u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before derivational suffixes</u>	
		(Before realis)	(Before irrealis)
a)	<i>payri-gutnu</i>	<i>par-ʃ-əḍə</i>	<i>payr-p-əḍə</i>
	pari-gutnu	pari-ʃ-əḍə	pari-pu-əḍə
	pluck- <u>until</u>	pluck- <u>rlf-sg</u>	pluck- <u>irf-sg</u>
	‘Until N plucks’	‘N plucked’	‘N will pluck’
b)	<i>uyli-gutnu</i>	<i>ul-ǰ-əḍə</i>	<i>uylə-v-a</i>
	ulǰi-gutnu	ulǰi-ǰ-əḍə	ulǰi-v-a
	descend- <u>until</u>	descend- <u>rlf-sg</u>	descend- <u>irf-3sg</u>
	‘Until N descends’	‘N descended’	‘She will descend’

¹⁰⁵ The alternation between /y ~ Ø/ in (36a, b, e) should be ignored for the time being; they are class-specific alternations described in §3.2.3.

c)	<i>nili-gutnu</i> nili-gutnu play- <u>until</u> 'Until N plays'	<i>nil-ǰ-əḍə</i> nili-ǰ-əḍə play- <u>rlf-sg</u> 'N played'	<i>nilə-v-a</i> nili-v-a play- <u>irf-3sg</u> 'She will play'
d)	<i>nyan-t-əḍi-gutnu</i> nyani-t-əḍi-gutnu think- <u>rlf-take-until</u> 'Until N reflects upon s.t.'	<i>nyan-t-əḍ-t-əḍə</i> nyani-t-əḍi-t-əḍə think- <u>rlf-take-rlf-sg</u> 'N reflected upon s.t.'	<i>nyan-t-əḍ-p-a</i> nyani-t-əḍi-pu-a think- <u>rlf-take-irf-3sg</u> 'She will reflect upon s.t.'
e)		<u>Before root valency modifier:</u>	
		<i>ul-pi-š-əḍə</i>	<i>uyl-pə-v-a</i>
		ul-i-pu-š-əḍə	ul-i-pu-v-a
		descend- <u>trzr-rlf-sg</u>	descend- <u>trzr-irf-3sg</u>
		'N lowered s.t.'	'N will lower s.t.'

The alternant with no final vowel is accounted for by the /i/-deletion rule in (37), which states that a stem-final /i/ is deleted immediately before an obstruent.

37) /i/-deletion: V --> Ø/___ + [-son]
 [-back, +high]

The root alternant with the final /ə/ in (36) will be discussed in §3.3 because the occurrence of this vowel immediately before /-v/ is partly dependent on a following inflectional suffix.

3.2.1.2. /u/-final roots and lexical suffixes

All roots and lexical suffixes ending in /u/ belong to the strong-s-class; thus they take realis /-s/ and irrealis /-v/. In addition, these roots have a special realis theme which does not end in a realis suffix; i.e., a lexical suffix attaches directly to the root alternant used in this theme (unlike other verb classes, for which any lexical suffix is attached to a

realis theme formative rather than the root). These roots have three phonologically conditioned alternants before a derivational suffix: an /i/-final alternant occurs immediately before /ʃ/ (second column in (38)), an /ə/-final alternant occurs immediately before /v/ (third column), and an alternant with no final vowel occurs immediately before a vowel (fourth column). The underlying stem-final /u/ surfaces unchanged only before inflectional suffixes such as /-gutnu/ (first column). The examples in (38a-c) have /u/-final roots and the one in (38d) has lexical suffix /-endu/. (Henceforth, glosses are given only when a word has a suffix that has not been glossed earlier in this section on morphophonology)

38)	<u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before realis</u>	<u>Before irrealis</u>	<u>Before a lexical suffix</u>
a)	<i>argu-gutnu</i> argu-gutnu 'until N sleeps'	<i>argi-ʃ-əḏə</i> argu-ʃ-əḏə 'N slept'	<i>argə-v-a</i> argu-v-a 'She will sleep'	
b)	<i>pundu-gutnu</i> pundu-gutnu 'until N wrings s.t.'	<i>pundi-ʃ-əḏə</i> pundu-ʃ-əḏə 'N wrung s.t.'	<i>pundə-v-a</i> pundu-v-a 'She will wring s.t.'	<i>puynd-a:]-gutnu</i> pundu-a:]-gutnu wring- <u>thly-until</u> 'until N wrings s.t. out'
c)	<i>mulgu-gutnu</i> mulgu-gutnu 'until N immerses'	<i>mulgi-ʃ-əḏə</i> mulgu-ʃ-əḏə 'N immersed'	<i>mulgə-v-a</i> mulgu-v-a 'She will immerse'	<i>muylg-o:g-əl</i> mulgu-o:g-əl immerse- <u>thly-inf</u> 'to sink'
d)	<i>ṭar-ʃ-endu-gutnu</i> ṭari-ʃ-endu-gutnu cut- <u>rlf-kill-until</u> 'until N slashes s.o. to death'	<i>ṭar-ʃ-endi-ʃ-əḏə</i> ṭari-ʃ-endu-ʃ-əḏə cut- <u>rlf-kill-rlf-3sg</u> 'N slashed s.o.'	<i>ṭar-ʃ-endə-v-a</i> ṭari-ʃ-endu-v-a cut- <u>rlf-kill-irf-3sg</u> 'She will slash s.o.'	

The /i/-final alternant can be derived by the rule in (39), which states that a stem-final [+back] short vowel becomes a front vowel immediately before a fricative. The rule

would target all stem-final back vowels, but the only back vowel that occurs immediately before an /s/-initial suffix /u/. This rule is ordered after the /i/-deletion rule to prevent the stem-final /i/ formed by rule (39) from being deleted by the rule in (37). And it applies only to short vowels for reasons that will become clear below.

39) /u/-fronting: u --> i / ___ + s

The alternant without a final vowel is derived by the following vowel deletion rule, which states that a stem-final vowel is deleted immediately before a vowel.

40) Stem-final V-deletion: V --> Ø / ___ + V

The /ə/-final variant will be discussed in §3.3. Derivations for various stems formed out of /i/-final and /u/-final roots plus derivational suffixes (theme formatives, root valency modifiers, and lexical suffixes) are given in Table 11. The row labeled “Output” shows the derived stem after application of lexical rules in the derivational level; these stems must go next into the inflectional level before they can function as a word. These rules result in illicit segment sequences in some cases; these sequences are repaired by postlexical rules, which are discussed in §3.4. The bottom row of the table, titled “After PL rules” shows any changes that may affect the stem in the postlexical level before it reaches its surface form.

Table 6.11: Derived stems containing vowel-final roots

	‘descend- rlf’	‘descend- trzr’	‘thatch-rlf’	‘immerse- rlf’	‘think-rlf-take- rlf’
UR	<i>u i-ǰ</i>	<i>u i-pu</i>	<i>poḍi-t̄</i>	<i>mulgu-ʂ</i>	<i>nyani-t̄-əḍi-t̄</i>
glide ins.	--	--	--	--	--
/i, y/-del.	<i>u ǰ</i>	<i>u pu</i>	<i>poḍ-t̄</i>	--	<i>nyan-t̄-əḍ-t̄</i>
/u/-front.	--	--	--	<i>mulgi-ʂ</i>	--
V-del.	--	--	--	--	--
Output	<i>uǰ</i>	<i>u pu</i>	<i>poḍt̄</i>	<i>mulgiʂ</i>	<i>nyanṯəḍt̄</i>
After PL rules	<i>uǰ</i>	<i>u pu</i>	<i>poṯt̄</i>	<i>mulgiʂ</i>	<i>nyanṯəḍt̄</i>

3.2.1.3. Roots ending in a nasal

All nasal-final roots belong to the t-class; the derivational suffixes that attach to these roots are /-t/ ‘realis’, and /-pu/ ‘irrealis’ (there are no examples of them before root valency modifiers in these data). They have two alternants immediately before derivational suffixes: an alternant with a final labial nasal occurs immediately before a labial consonant (third column of (41)) and an alternant with a final nonlabial nasal occurs immediately before a nonlabial consonant (second column). The variation in vowel length in (41b) is due to an idiosyncratic vowel shortening process discussed in §3.2.4).

41)	<u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before realis</u>	<u>Before irrealis</u>
a)	<i>ḥin-gutnu</i> ḥin-gutnu ‘until N eats’	<i>ḥin-d-a</i> ḥin-t-a ‘She ate’	<i>ḥim-b-a</i> ḥin-pu-a ‘She will eat’
b)	<i>ka:ḥ-gutnu</i> ka:ḥ-gutnu ‘until N sees’	<i>kaḥ-d-a</i> ka:ḥ-t-a ‘She saw’	<i>ka:m-b-a</i> ka:ḥ-pu-a ‘She will see’

The absence of the nonlabial nasals immediately before a labial is not due to a general ban on these sequences in the language, or even in the derivational level because the words in (42) show that such sequences do occur. However, in the words in (42), the root has an underlying final vowel, as shown in the examples with the root before inflectional suffix /-gutnu/.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 42) | <u>Before /-gutnu/</u> | <u>Before irrealis /-pu/:</u> |
| a) | <i>nyani-gutnu</i> | <i>nyan-p-a</i> |
| | nyani-gutnu | nyani-pu-a |
| | ‘Until N thinks’ | ‘She will think’ |
| b) | <i>pəŋi-gutnu</i> | <i>pəŋ-p-a</i> |
| | pəŋi-gutnu | pəŋi-pu-a |
| | ‘until N braids (hair)’ | ‘She will braid (hair)’ |

Nasal place assimilation in (41) can be derived by the rule in (43). This rule is ordered before the /i/-deletion rule in (37) to account for the absence of place assimilation in (42).

- 43) Nasal place assimilation: [+nasal] --> [+labial] /___ + [+labial]

3.2.1.4. Roots and lexical suffixes ending in a lateral

Roots and lexical suffixes ending in a lateral belong to a variety of verb classes and, therefore, take a variety of realis suffixes. The stem-final lateral never surfaces immediately before a derivational suffix; it surfaces instead before inflectional suffixes such as /-gutnu/, as shown in (44). In addition, a root which ends underlyingly in a geminate lateral, always has a geminate theme formative after it (44c) – this is discussed in §§3.2.2, which accounts for suffix alternations.

44)	<u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before realis</u>	<u>Before irrealis</u>
a)	<i>ka:l-gutnu</i>	<i>ka:l-t-əḍə</i>	<i>ka:l-p-a</i>
	ka:l-gutnu	ka:l-t-əḍə	ka:l-pu-a
	‘until N waits’	‘N waited’	‘She will wait’
b)	<i>me:l-gutnu</i>	<i>me:l-ḡ-əḍə</i>	<i>me:l-v-a</i>
	me:l-gutnu	me:l-ḡ-əḍə	me:l-v-a
	‘until it grazes’	‘It grazed’	‘It will graze’
c)	<i>pa:l-gutnu</i>	<i>pa:tt-əḍə</i>	<i>pa:pp-əḍə</i>
	pa:l-gutnu	pa:l-t-əḍə	pa:l-p-əḍə
	‘until it ripens’	‘It ripened’	‘It will ripen’

The absence of the stem-final lateral immediately before a derivational suffix is not due to a general ban on sequences of lateral plus consonant in the derivational level, because the words in (45) do have these sequences.

45)	<u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before realis</u>	<u>Before irrealis</u>
a)	<i>mo:li-gutnu</i>	<i>mo:l-t-əḍə</i>	<i>mo:l-p-a</i>
	ka:l-gutnu	mo:li-t-əḍə	mo:l-pu-a
	‘until it sprouts’	‘It sprouted’	‘It will sprout’
b)	<i>nili-gutnu</i>	<i>nil-ḡ-əḍə</i>	<i>nilə-v-a</i>
	nili-gutnu	nil-ḡ-əḍə	nili-v-a
	‘until N plays’	‘She played’	‘She will play’

The absence of the root-final lateral immediately before a derivational suffix can be derived by the rule in (46), which states that a stem-final lateral is deleted immediately before a consonant. The rule targets single as well as geminate laterals because consonant length is left unspecified in the rule. It is ordered after the /i/-final deletion rule in (37) to account for the absence of lateral deletion in (45).

46) Lateral deletion: [+lateral] --> Ø/ ____ + C

Derivations for derived stems formed with lateral final roots are shown in Table 12. The last column shows a stem with lexical suffix /-a:l/ ‘V and let go, V thoroughly’. Vowel-final roots with a penultimate lateral are also included to show how the correct rule order accounts for the absence of lateral deletion in these derived stems. A stem formed with a root that has a final geminate lateral is not shown because a suffix-gemination rule, which has not been formulated yet in this grammar, is necessary for that stem.

Table 6.12: Derived stems formed from lateral or nasal-final roots

	‘wait- rlf’	‘throw-rlf- thly-irf’	‘sprout- rlf’
UR	<i>ka:l-t</i>	<i>teri-ǰ-a:l-v</i>	<i>mo i-t</i>
lat.del.	<i>ka:-t</i>	<i>teri-ǰ-a:-v</i>	--
/i/ del.	--	<i>ter-ǰ-a:-v</i>	<i>mo t</i>
Output	<i>ka:t</i>	<i>terǰa:v</i>	<i>mo t</i>

3.2.1.5. Roots and lexical suffixes ending in /r/

/r/-final roots have an alternant with no final /r/ when they occur immediately before a stop, and an alternant with final /r/ elsewhere. Thus, if a /r/-final root does not take any stop-initial derivational suffixes, it does not show any root alternation in the derivational level (47a). But if the root does take a stop-initial derivational suffix; it has the two alternants specified above, (47b, c, d).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ The vowel alternation in the root in (47c.ii) should be ignored for the time being; it is discussed in §3.2.3.

47a)	<u>Before /-gutnu/</u> <i>pa:r-gutnu</i> pa:r-gutnu 'until N flies'	<u>Before realis</u> <i>pa:r-ʃ-o</i> pa:r-ʃ-o 'It flew'	<u>Before irrealis</u> <i>pa:r-əv-a</i> pa:r-v-a 'It will fly'
b)	<i>i:r-gutnu</i> i:r-gutnu 'until N remains'	<i>i-d-a</i> i:r-d-a 'She remained'	<i>i-p-a</i> i:r-pu-a 'She will remain'
c) i.	<i>a:r-gutnu</i> a:r-gutnu 'until (hair) dries'	<i>a:r-ʃ-o</i> a:r-ʃ-o '(hair) dried'	<i>a:r-əv-a</i> a:r-v-a '(hair) will dry'
	ii. <u>Before transitivizer /-tu/</u> <i>a:ti-ʃ-o</i> a:r-tu-ʃ-o dry- <u>trzr-rlf-3sg</u> 'She dried (hair)'	<i>e:t-o:q-də</i> a:r-tu-o:q-əqə dry- <u>trzr-prg-sg</u> 'N is drying (hair)'	
d)	<i>por-gutnu</i> por-gutnu 'until N carries s.t.'	<i>po-tt-əqə</i> por-t-əqə 'N carried s.t.'	<i>por-əv-a</i> por-v-a 'N will carry s.t.'

Stem-final /r/-deletion immediately before a stop-initial suffix is captured in the following rule:

48) R-deletion: r --> Ø / ___ + [-cont, -son]

3.21.6. Roots and lexical suffixes ending in /d/

Only two verb classes in these data contain roots ending in /d/ -- the t-class and the strong-s-class. Every /d/-final root shows two phonologically conditioned alternations; but roots of the two classes differ in the exact form of these alternations because they take different realis suffixes. Roots of the t-class roots have an alternant with final /t/ which occurs immediately before a voiceless homorganic stop, and an

alternant with final /d/ which occurs before other segments. These alternations are phonologically conditioned and accounted for by a postlexical rule formulated in §3.4., but an example is given in (49).

49) <u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before realis</u>	<u>Before irrealis</u>
<i>adgutnu</i>	<i>attəḏə</i>	<i>aḏəva</i>
ad-gutnu	ad-t-əḏə	ad-v-a
‘until N cooks s.t.’	‘N cooked s.t.’	‘N will cook s.t.’

Roots of the strong-s-class have an alternant with final /r/ which occurs immediately after /y/ and an alternant with final /d/ which occurs elsewhere (50). This alternation is also the result of a postlexical rule given in §3.4.

50) <u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before realis</u>	<u>Before irrealis</u>	<u>Before a lexical suffix</u>
<i>no:dgutnu</i>	<i>no:dḥo</i>	<i>no:dəva</i>	<i>nəyriḏḏə</i>
no:d-gutnu	no:d-ḥ-o	no:d-v-a	no:d-ir-d-əḏə
look- <u>until</u>	look- <u>rlf-sg</u>	look- <u>irf-sg</u>	look- <u>stat-rlf-sg</u>
‘until N looks’	‘N looked’	‘N will look’	‘N was looking’

3.2.2. Alternations in derivational suffixes other than lexical suffixes

Root valency modifiers, theme formatives and causativizer /-su/ undergo similar rules when attached to a stem and, in general, trigger similar changes in the stem. Alternations in these suffixes are discussed in this section.

3.2.2.1. Voice and place alternation

Among the various surface forms of the realis theme formative, there are four variants [-d, -ḏ, -t, -t̚] which exhibit a pattern of complementary distribution with respect to each other. The voiced alveolar variant [-d] occurs only immediately after an alveolar nasal (51a); the voiced retroflex variant [-ḏ] occurs only immediately after a retroflex

nasal (51b); the voiceless alveolar variant [-t] occurs only immediately after an alveolar nonnasal consonant (51c), and the voiceless retroflex variant [-ʈ] occurs only immediately after a root which ends in a retroflex nonnasal consonant (51d). All four variants can be treated as alternants of a single underlying realis suffix /-t/. Note that the suffix is retroflex even in (51d.iii), although the retroflex is not present in the surface form.

51a) realis [-d] after an alveolar nasal

- i. *ṭinda* /ṭin-t-a/ ‘She ate’
- ii. *anda* /an-t-a/ ‘She said’
- iii. *ṭanda* /ṭan-t-a/ ‘She gave’

b) realis [-d] after an retroflex nasal

- i. *kaṅḍa* /ka:ŋ-t-a/ ‘It was visible’

c) realis [-t] after an alveolar non-nasal

- i. *potta* /por-t-a/ ‘She carried’

d) realis [-ʈ] after a retroflex non-nasal

- i. *kotta* /koʈ-t-a/ ‘She gave’
- ii. *natta* /naʈ-t-a/ ‘She planted’
- iii. *kəṭa* /kə:ʈ-t-a/ ‘She asked/listened’

Two variants of the irrealis suffix show a similar alternation in voicing, [-bu, -pu], in the same environment as the voiced/voiceless variants of /-t/ in (51). [-bu] occurs immediately after a nasal-final root (52a) and [-pu] occurs immediately after a nonnasal-final root (52b, c). These variants of the irrealis can be reduced to a single underlying suffix /-pu/.

52a) <u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before irrealis [-bu]</u>
i. <i>ṭingutnu</i>	<i>ṭimba</i>
ṭin-gutnu	ṭin-pu-a
‘until N eats’	‘She will eat’

ii.	<i>angutnu</i>	<i>amba</i>
	an-gutnu	an-pu-a
	‘until N says’	‘She will say’
iii.	<i>ka:ŋgutnu</i>	<i>ka:mba</i>
	ka:ŋ-gutnu	ka:ŋ-pu-a
	‘until N sees s.t.’	‘She will see s.t.’
b)	<u>Before /-gutnu/</u>	<u>Before irrealis [-pu]</u>
i.	<i>paʎgutnu</i>	<i>paʎpa</i>
	paʎ-gutnu	paʎ-pu-a
	‘until it ripens’	‘It will ripen’
ii.	<i>ʎa:rgutnu</i>	<i>ʎapa</i>
	ʎa:r-gutnu	ʎa:r-pu-a
	‘until N gives s.t. to s.o.’	‘She will give s.t. to s.o.’
c) i.	<i>nyanigutnu</i>	<i>nyanpa</i>
	nyani-gutnu	nyani-pu-a
	‘until N thinks’	‘She will think’
ii.	<i>pəŋigutnu</i>	<i>pəŋpa</i>
	piŋi-gutnu	piŋi-pu-a
	‘until N braids (hair)’	‘She will braid (hair)’

/-t, -pu, -tu/ are the only suffixes in the derivational level that begin with a voiceless stop. Since voice assimilation applies both to /-t/ and /-pu/ in the same environment it is possible to formulate a general rule, given in (53), that applies to suffixes in the derivational level. This rule must apply before /i/-deletion to account for the absence of voice assimilation in the words in (52c).

53) suffix voicing: C --> [+voice] / [+nasal] + _____

Place assimilation in the alveolar suffix /-t/ is represented in the following rule. The rule is restricted to alveolar consonants, since suffixes beginning in other consonants do not assimilate in place to the preceding consonant.¹⁰⁷

$$54) \quad \text{Alveolar place assimilation: } \begin{pmatrix} +\text{cor} \\ -\text{distr} \\ +\text{ant} \end{pmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{ant}] / \begin{pmatrix} +\text{cor} \\ -\text{ant} \\ -\text{distr} \end{pmatrix} \text{---}$$

The notation used to describe the environment in which this rule applies does not contain the boundary symbol ‘+’ because the rule reflects a general requirement in BK that clusters of coronal [-distributed] consonants must share place (pointed out in §2). There is a postlexical rule (given in §3.4) which deals with coronal place assimilation; however, a rule for this process must be included in the lexical level, as well, to account for the fact that /-t/ assimilates in place to the root-final lateral in (51d.iii) before the lateral is deleted.

3.2.2.2. Suffixes with final /u/

All root valency modifiers, irrealis /-pu/, and causativizer /-ʂu/ end in /u/; these undergo the same rules that /u/-final roots and lexical suffixes undergo. (55a) has words showing a root valency modifier /-pu/ before various derivational suffixes. The final vowel fronts to /i/ before a suffix beginning in /ʂ/, is deleted before a vowel initial suffix, and reduces to /ə/ before irrealis /-v/ -- these are the same processes that /u/-final roots undergo. The words in (55b) show two derivational suffixes, /-pu/ ‘irrealis’ and /-su/ ‘causativizer’, undergoing similar processes.

¹⁰⁷ Transitivity /-tu/ should also show the alternations in (51), but it attaches to only one retroflex-final root and that final segment deletes before the transitivity: *a:q* ‘shake, dance’ takes suffix /-tu/ to become *atu* /a:q-tu/ ‘shake s.t.’.

55a)	<i>u p̄iʂo</i> u j̄i-pu-ʂ-o descend- <u>trzr-rlf-3sg</u> 'She lowered s.t.'	<i>uylpa:l̄gutnu</i> u j̄i-pu-a:l̄-gutnu descend- <u>trzr-thly-until</u> 'until N lowers s.t.'	<i>u p̄əva</i> u j̄i-pu-v-a descend- <u>trzr-irf-3sg</u> 'She will lower s.t.'
b)	<i>pappiʂiʂo</i> pa -pu-ʂu-ʂ-o ripen- <u>irf-caus-rlf-3sg</u> 'She set s.t. to ripen'	<i>pappiʂugutnu</i> pa -pu-ʂu-gutnu ripen- <u>irf-caus-until</u> 'until N sets s.t. to ripen'	<i>pappiʂəva</i> pa -pu-ʂu-v-a ripen- <u>irf-caus-irf-3sg</u> 'She will set s.t. to ripen'

3.2.2.3. Suffix gemination

The description given in §3.2.1 (example 45-47) showed that lateral-final roots and /r/-final roots undergo final-consonant deletion before relevant segments. When the final consonant is deleted, the suffix lands immediately after the root vowel. The examples in (56a) show that whenever this root vowel is short, the following suffix is a geminate; but when this root vowel is long (56b), the following suffix is not a geminate. Further the suffix is not a geminate when it occurs after short vowels that were present in the underlying form of the root, or vowels are underlyingly long (56c).

56a)i.	<i>pa-t̄t̄-əḏə</i> pa -t̄-əḏə ripen- <u>rlf-sg</u> 'It ripened'	<i>pa-pp-əḏə</i> pa -p-əḏə ripen- <u>irf-sg</u> 'It will ripen'
ii.	<i>a-t̄t̄-əḏə</i> a -t̄-əḏə cry- <u>rlf-sg</u> 'She cried'	<i>a-pp-əḏə</i> a -p-əḏə cry- <u>irf-sg</u> 'She will cry'
iii.	<i>po-t̄t̄-əḏə</i> por-t-əḏə 'N carried s.t.'	<i>por-əv-a</i> por-v-a 'N will carry s.t.'

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| b) i. | <i>ka:t-əḏə</i>
ka:l-t-əḏə
wait- <u>rlf-sg</u>
'N waited' | <i>ka:p-a</i>
ka:l-pu-a
wait- <u>irf-sg</u>
'She will wait' |
| ii. | <i>me:ǰ-əḏə</i>
me:l-ǰ-əḏə
graze- <u>rlf-sg</u>
'It grazed' | <i>me:v-a</i>
me:l-v-a
graze- <u>irf-sg</u>
'It will graze' |
| iii. | <i>a:ti-š-o</i>
a:r-tu-š-o
dry- <u>trzr-rlf-3sg</u>
'She dried (hair)' | <i>e:t-o:q-ḏə</i>
a:r-tu-o:q-əḏə
dry- <u>trzr-prg-sg</u>
'N is drying (hair)' |
| c) i. | <i>mol-t-əḏə</i>
mol-i-t-əḏə
sprout- <u>rlf-sg</u>
'It sprouted' | <i>mol-p-a</i>
mol-pu-a
sprout- <u>irf-sg</u>
'It will sprout' |
| ii. | <i>nil-ǰ-əḏə</i>
nili-ǰ-əḏə
play- <u>rlf-sg</u>
'She played' | <i>nilə-v-a</i>
nili-v-a
play- <u>irf-sg</u>
'She will play' |
| iii. | <i>i-d-a</i>
i:r-d-a
remain- <u>rlf-sg</u>
She remained' | <i>i-p-a</i>
i:r-pu-a
remain- <u>irf-sg</u>
'She will remain' |

The alternation between single consonant suffix and geminate suffix can be accounted for by a rule that requires a stop-initial suffix to geminate if it lies after a short vowel (57). The rule is ordered after the stem-final vowel deletion rule in (37) to account for the absence of suffix gemination in the examples in (56c). Further, the idiosyncratic vowel shortening process that takes place in roots like *i:r* 'remain' must take place after the suffix gemination rule, to account for lack of gemination in these roots. The rule has

been formulated to apply only to suffixes beginning with a stop or affricate to prevent the rule from applying to realis /-s/ and irrealis /-v/ when they attach to /u/-final roots.

57) suffix gemination: [-son, -cont] --> [+long] / V _____
[-long]

3.2.2.4. /-v/ deletion

Many of the words represented with underlying /-v/ ‘irrealis’ in this description do not actually have this suffix in the surface form. The presence of underlying /-v/ in these words can be deduced from the presence of irrealis suffixes in the surface form of other words of the same functional category. Thus, the causativized stems in (58a) have overt irrealis theme formatives /-pu, -v/ immediately before causativizer /-şu/; providing evidence that the causativizer attaches to irrealis themes. It can be deduced from these examples that the words in (58b) must also have an underlying /-v/ ‘irrealis’, which is deleted in the surface form. The words in (58) show that /-v/ is not deleted when it lies between a long vowel and the causativizer (as shown in the last two words in (58a)), but it is deleted elsewhere.

58a)	<i>pappişişəđə</i> pa -pu-şu-ş-əđə ripen- <u>irf-caus-rlf-sg</u> ‘N set s.t. to ripen’	<i>əyrka:vşagəy</i> əyrku-a: -v-şu-agəy sweep- <u>thly-irf-caus-p.im</u> ‘Make N sweep!’	<i>ki:vşiya</i> ki:l-w-şu-v-iyə do- <u>irf-caus-rlf-1sg</u> ‘I will get N to do s.t.’
b)	<i>kođşagəy</i> kođ-v-şu-agiy give- <u>irf-caus-p.im</u> ‘Make N give!’	<i>niłşiya</i> nili-v-şu-w-iyə play- <u>irf-caus-irf-1sg</u> ‘I will make N play’	<i>argişagəy</i> argu-v-şu-agəy ‘sleep- <u>irf-caus-p.im</u> ’ ‘Make N sleep!’

The rule in (59) accounts for /-v/ deletion; it states that /v/ is deleted between a consonant or short vowel and a consonant-initial suffix – since the causativizer is the only

derivational suffix that attaches to an irrealis theme, the rule applies only before this suffix.

$$59) \quad v \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C \\ \text{short V} \end{array} \right\} _ + C$$

/-v/ deletion brings the causativizer immediately after the preceding stem, which then undergoes /u/-fronting or /i/-deletion depending on the stem-final segment. Thus, the first word in (58b) has a coronal final root, which surfaces unchanged before the causativizer. The second word contains a /i/-final root which undergoes /i/-deletion before the causativizer, and the third word contains a /u/-final root which undergoes /u/-fronting before the causativizer. To account for this, the /-v/ deletion rule must apply after stem-final lateral deletion, and before /u/-fronting and /i/-deletion. Some roots, however, resist /i/-deletion before the causativizer (e.g. *a:lpari-ʃi-ʃ-əḍə* /a:lpari-v-ʃu-ʃ-əḍə/); so the /i/-deletion rule given in (37) above should be modified to include a caveat that the rule is optional immediately before the causativizer.

3.2.2.4. *Sample derivations*

The derivations in Table 13-14 show how the entire set of rules discussed above interact with one another, and the order in which they apply. The second last row (Output in DL) shows the form that the derived stem has after all derivational rules apply. The row for postlexical (PL) and minor processes in Table 14 is included to handle cases where a derived stem undergoes further postlexical processes or idiosyncratic changes before it arrives at the surface form.

Table 6.13: Vowel-final roots in derived stems

	‘sprout -rlf’	‘sprout -irf-caus’	‘think -irf’	‘think-rlf -take-rlf’	‘push -rlf’	‘push-irf -caus’	‘unite- irf-caus’
UR	<i>moḷi-t</i>	<i>moḷi-pu-ṣu</i>	<i>nyani-pu</i>	<i>nyani-t-əḍi-t</i>	<i>taḷḷu-ṣ</i>	<i>taḷḷu-v-ṣu</i>	<i>ṣe:ri-v-ṣu</i>
lab.ass.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
suff.voic.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
cor.ass.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
lat.del.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
/-v/ del.	--	--	--	--	--	<i>taḷḷu-ṣu</i>	<i>ṣe:ri-ṣu</i>
/i/ del.	<i>moḷ-t</i>	<i>moḷ-pu-ṣu</i>	<i>nyan-pu</i>	<i>nyan-t-əḍ-t</i>	--	--	<i>ṣe:r-ṣu</i>
suff.gem.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
/u/-front	--	<i>moḷ-pi-ṣu</i>	--	--	<i>taḷḷi-ṣ</i>	<i>taḷḷi-ṣu</i>	--
SR form of the stem	<i>moḷt</i> (realis theme)	<i>moḷpiṣu</i> (Causative stem)	<i>nyanpu</i> (irrealis theme)	<i>nyanṭəḍt</i> (realis theme)	<i>taḷḷiṣ</i> (realis theme)	<i>taḷḷiṣu</i> (Causative stem)	<i>ṣe:rṣu</i> (Causative stem)

Table 6.14: Consonant-final roots in derived stems

	‘see-irf’	‘see -rlf’	‘ask -rlf’	‘cry -rlf’	‘tell-irf -caus’	‘leave -rlf’	‘leave-rlf- thly-rlf’
UR	<i>ka:ŋ-pu</i>	<i>ka:ŋ-t</i>	<i>kə:l-t</i>	<i>aḷḷ-t</i>	<i>pə:v-ṣu</i>	<i>bud-t</i>	<i>bud-t-a:l-ḍ</i>
lab.ass.	<i>ka:m-pu</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--
suff.voic.	<i>ka:m-bu</i>	<i>ka:ŋ-d</i>	--	--	--	--	--
cor.ass.	--	<i>ka:ŋ-d</i>	<i>kə:l-t</i>	--	--	<i>bud-t</i>	<i>bud-t-a:l-ḍ</i>
lat.del.	--	--	<i>kə:l-t</i>	<i>a-t</i>	<i>pə:v-ṣu</i>	--	<i>bud-t-a:l-ḍ</i>
/-v/ del.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
/i, y/ del.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
suff.gem.	--	--	--	<i>a-tt</i>	--	--	--
/u/-front	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Output in DL	<i>ka:mbu</i> (irrealis theme)	<i>ka:ŋd</i> (realis theme)	<i>kə:t</i> (realis theme)	<i>aḷḷ</i> (realis theme)	<i>pə:vṣu</i> (Causative stem)	<i>budt</i> (realis theme)	<i>budta:ḍ</i> (realis theme)
PL & minor rules	--	<i>kaŋd</i>	--	--	--	<i>butt</i>	<i>buṭaḍ</i>
SR form of the stem	<i>ka:mbu</i>	<i>kaŋd</i>	<i>kə:t</i>	<i>aḷḷ</i>	<i>pə:vṣu</i>	<i>butt</i>	<i>buṭaḍ</i>

3.2.3 Root alternations found specifically in *s-* and *j-* classes

The root alternants discussed in the previous section were ones whose distributional environment depends, not on verb class, but on factors such as the nature of the root-final segment and the initial segment of the following suffix. There is, in addition, a vowel alternation pattern in BK that is found only in the weak-*s*-class, strong-*s*-class, and *j*-class; this alternation is discussed in this section and an analysis of the underlying root is provided. In all cases, the alternation pattern affects the rightmost preconsonantal vowel in the root; i.e. the penultimate vowel, if the root has two or more syllables (e.g. *ba:ku* ~ *be:ku* ‘pour’) and the only vowel, if it is monosyllabic (e.g. *pa:r* ~ *pe:r* ‘fly’).¹⁰⁸ This vowel alone is the subject of the discussion below, and is referred to as the “target vowel”. The issue of whether the target vowel alternates and the specific alternation pattern is determined by phonological environment. The use of these alternants in a particular word is dependent on the functional category of the verb base; i.e. on whether the root is in a realis theme, irrealis theme, or plain stem.

The alternation pattern in the strong-*s*-class differs in some respects from that in the other two classes; so the former is discussed first. Lexical suffixes, which, as pointed out above, are derived from roots, also exhibit the vowel alternation and all generalizations stated below apply also to these suffixes; however, for convenience, I will use the term “root” as a cover-all term for both roots and lexical suffixes.

¹⁰⁸ In these classes, all monosyllabic verb roots have closed syllables and all bi- or polysyllabic verb roots end in a vowel.

3.2.3.1. Strong-s-class roots

Roots in the strong-s-class fall into three sets depending on whether they exhibit the vowel alternation and the nature of the alternation: In the first set, the target vowel is always nonfront, but the alternation lies in the presence or absence of a glide (/Ø ~ y/) immediately after the target vowel; e.g. *no:d̥ ~ nəyr* ‘look’. In the second set, the target vowel alternates between front and nonfront place; e.g. *ma:r ~ me:r* ‘sell’. In the third set, there is no vowel alternation; e.g. *sittu* ‘tie around, encircle’.

In the /Ø ~ y/ alternation both alternants have a non-front target vowel, but they differ in the presence or absence of a glide after the vowel. This alternation pattern occurs only in roots in which the target vowel of the glideless alternant is immediately followed by a retroflex consonant (60a-d, f-h, j) or a cluster of alveolar consonants (60e, i).¹⁰⁹ The /Ø ~ y/ alternation is accompanied with an alternation in its immediately following consonant, as described below. The alternant with the glide is used in the special realis theme (first row of each set in (60)) and the glide-less alternant is used in the other verb bases.

- 60a)i. *aynko:d̥d̥ə* /**an̥**ku-o:d̥-d̥ə/ ‘N is tying s.t.’ (Special realis theme)
ii. *an̥kiʃo* /**an̥**ku-ʃ-o/ ‘She tied s.t.’ (Regular realis theme)
iii. *an̥kəva* /**an̥**ku-v-a/ ‘She will tie s.t.’ (Irrealis theme)
iv. *an̥kugutnu* /**an̥**ku-gutnu/ ‘until N ties s.t.’ (Plain stem)
- b) i. *mayro:d̥d̥ə* /**ma:d̥**-o:d̥-d̥ə/ ‘N is making s.t.’
ii. *ma:d̥ʃo* /**ma:d̥**-ʃ-o/ ‘She made s.t.’
iii. *ma:d̥əva* /**ma:d̥**-v-a/ ‘She will make s.t.’
iv. *ma:d̥gutnu* /**ma:d̥**-gutnu/ ‘until N makes s.t.’

¹⁰⁹ With one exception – the root *tur* ‘shit’ exceptionally shows the /Ø ~ y/ alternation.

- c) i. *pa:yro:q̄d̄ə* /pa:q̄-o:q̄-d̄ə/ ‘N is singing’
 ii. *pa:q̄sə* /pa:q̄-ş-o/ ‘She sang’
 iii. *pa:q̄əva* /pa:q̄-v-a/ ‘She will sing’
 iv. *pa:q̄gutnu* /pa:q̄-gutnu/ ‘until N sings’
- d) i. *ḍaynto:q̄d̄ə* /ḍa:nt̄u-o:q̄-d̄ə/ ‘N is passing by s.t.’
 ii. *ḍa:nt̄işə* /ḍa:nt̄u-ş-o/ ‘She passed by s.t.’
 iii. *ḍa:nt̄əva* /ḍa:nt̄u-v-a/ ‘She will pass by s.t.’
 iv. *ḍa:nt̄ugutnu* /ḍa:nt̄u-gutnu/ ‘until N passes by s.t.’
- e) i. *əyddo:q̄d̄ə* /ərru-o:q̄-əḍə/ ‘N is bowing her head’
 ii. *əddişəḍə* /ərru-ş-əḍə/ ‘She bowed her head’
 iii. *əddəva* /ərru-v-a/ ‘She will bow her head’
 iv. *əddugutnu* /ərru-gutnu/ ‘until N bows her head’
- f) i. *əylgo:q̄d̄ə* /ə:l̄gu-o:q̄-d̄ə/ ‘(an emotion) is arising’
 ii. *ə:l̄gişəḍə* /ə:l̄gu-ş-əḍə/ ‘(an emotion) arose’
 iii. *ə:l̄gəva* /ə:l̄gu-v-a/ ‘(an emotion) will arise’
 iv. *ə:l̄gugutnu* /ə:l̄gu-gutnu/ ‘until (an emotion) arises’
- g) i. *ṭəyrygo:q̄d̄ə* /ṭədq̄nḡu-o:q̄-d̄ə/ ‘N is hanging s.t.’
 ii. *ṭədq̄nḡişə* /ṭədq̄nḡu-ş-o/ ‘She hung s.t.’
 iii. *ṭədq̄nḡəva* /ṭədq̄nḡu-v-a/ ‘She will hand s.t.’
 iv. *ṭədq̄nḡugutnu* /ṭədq̄nḡu-gutnu/ ‘until N hangs s.t.’
- h) i. *nəyro:q̄d̄ə* /no:q̄-o:q̄-d̄ə/ ‘N is looking’
 ii. *no:q̄sə* /no:q̄-ş-o/ ‘She looked’
 iii. *no:q̄əva* /no:q̄-v-a/ ‘She will look’
 iv. *no:q̄gutnu* /no:q̄-gutnu/ ‘until N looks’
- i) i. *puyndo:q̄d̄ə* /pundu-o:q̄-d̄ə/ ‘N is squeezing s.t.’
 ii. *pundişəḍə* /pundu-ş-o/ ‘She squeezed s.t.’
 iii. *pundəva* /pundu-v-a/ ‘She will squeeze s.t.’
 iv. *pundugutnu* /pundu-gutnu/ ‘until N squeezes s.t.’

- j) i. *kuyto:d̥d̥ə* /ku:ɽu-o:ɖ-d̥ə/ ‘N is locking s.t. (in a cage or pen)’
 ii. *ku:ɽiʂəɖə* /ku:ɽu-ʂ-o/ ‘She locked s.t.’
 iii. *ku:ɽəva* /ku:ɽu-v-a/ ‘She will lock s.t.’
 iv. *ku:ɽugutnu* /ku:ɽu-gutnu/ ‘until N locks s.t.’

In all words, except those with /a:/, long and short vowels in the glideless alternant have a corresponding diphthong in the other alternant; thus, /a/ alternates with /ay/, /ə, ə:, o, o:/ with /əy/, and /u, u:/ with /uy/. The distinction between long and short vowels in the first alternant is neutralized before the glide in the second alternant, if these vowels are non-low.¹¹⁰ Since vowel length is unpredictable in the glideless alternant but predictable in the form with the glide in the case of non-low vowels, the glideless alternant can be seen as basic, as indicated in the underlying forms of roots in (60).

The vowel alternation is accompanied by a consonant alternation in which the first row in (60a-c, e-h, j) has a glide followed by an alveolar consonant and the remaining three rows have a nonfront vowel followed by a corresponding retroflex consonant; i.e. /ɽ ~ t, ɖ ~ r, ɳ ~ n, ɭ ~ l/. In contrast the words in (60d, i) have an alveolar consonant in both alternations. Since the consonant in the first rows are predictable in that they are always alveolar, but the consonant in the other three rows is not predictable, the latter can be analyzed as the basic alternant, or the underlying form. If the retroflex consonant is basic, then this alternation pattern follows from the ban on the sequence /y/ + retroflex C pointed out in §2.2.1.

Given that the underlying form has a non-front vowel followed by a retroflex consonant or alveolar consonant cluster the alternation pattern in these words can be

¹¹⁰ In fact, /u:, o:, ə:/ never occur immediately before /y/ in BK, except in the clitic /-ə:y/ ‘emphatic vocative’

- b) i. *t̥i:ko:d̥d̥ə* /t̥u:ku-o:d̥-d̥ə/ ‘N is hanging s.t.’
 ii. *t̥u:kişəḍə* /t̥u:ku-ş-əḍə/ ‘She hung s.t.’
 iii. *t̥u:kəva* /t̥u:ku-u-a/ ‘She will hand s.t.’
 iv. *t̥u:kugutnu* /t̥u:ku-gutnu/ ‘until N hangs s.t.’
- c) i. *tav̥to:d̥d̥ə* /tav̥tu-o:d̥-d̥ə/ ‘N is searching’
 ii. *tav̥tişo* /tav̥tu-ş-o/ ‘She searched’
 iii. *tav̥təva* /tav̥tu-u-a/ ‘She will search’
 iv. *tav̥tugutnu* /tav̥tu-gutnu/ ‘until N searches’
- d) i. *m̥e:to:d̥d̥ə* /m̥a:tu-o:d̥-d̥ə/ ‘N is changing s.t.’
 ii. *m̥a:tişo* /m̥a:tu-ş-o/ ‘She changed s.t.’
 iii. *m̥a:təva* /m̥a:tu-u-a/ ‘She will change s.t.’
 iv. *m̥a:tugutnu* /m̥a:tu-gutnu/ ‘until N changes s.t.’
- e) i. *ɛ:raʈu* /ɛ:r-aʈu/ ‘having climbed’
 ii. *ɛ:rşani* /ɛ:r-ş-ani/ ‘if N climbs’
 iii. *ɛ:riyo* /ɛ:r-u-iyə/ ‘They will climb’
 iv. *ɛ:rgutnu* /ɛ:r-gutnu/ ‘until N climbs’

As indicated in the underlying forms in (62), the non-front vowel can be analyzed as the basic alternant because it is the less predictable form – both non-high vowels /ə, a/ alternate with /e/ in (62c-e), making the form with /e/ the predictable form. The high vowel /u/ fronts to /i/, which is the only high front vowel in BK.

This alternation pattern is accounted for by the rule in (63). This rule applies after the glide insertion rule in (61) – that is, after a glide is inserted between a nonfront target vowel and a retroflex C or alveolar cluster, the rule in (63) fronts the remaining nonfront target vowels. The specification [+cons] in the environment for the rule ensures that (63) will not affect any of the roots that have undergone glide insertion. The rules in (61, 63) apply only to strong-s-class roots and only in forming the special realis theme.

- 63) Vowel fronting:
$$\begin{array}{ccc} V & \rightarrow & [-\text{back}] / \text{ ____ } C & (C)(C)(V)\# \\ [+back] & & [+cons] & \end{array}$$

The third set in the strong-s-class consists of (a) roots in which the target vowel is a front vowel and (b) roots ending in /ʃu, ʒu/.¹¹² These roots do not exhibit vowel alternation. The absence of vowel alternation in the first of these is easily explained by the fact that the rules in (61a-b, 63) apply only in the environment of a nonfront target vowel.

- 64a) i. *eṭṭo:qḏə* /eṭṭu-o:q-ḏə/ ‘N is shooting s.t.’
 ii. *eṭṭiʃo* /eṭṭu-ʃ-o/ ‘She shot s.t.’
 iii. *eṭṭəva* /eṭṭu-v-a/ ‘She will shot s.t.’
 iv. *eṭṭugutnu* /eṭṭu-gutnu/ ‘until N shoots s.t.’
- b) i. *ʃitto:qḏə* /ʃittu-o:q-ḏə/ ‘N is wrapping s.t. around’
 ii. *ʃittiso* /ʃittu-ʃ-əḏə/ ‘She wrap s.t. around’
 iii. *ʃittəva* /ʃittu-v-a/ ‘She will wrap s.t. around’
 iv. *ʃittugutnu* /ʃittu-gutnu/ ‘until N wraps s.t. around’

The absence of vowel alternation in “roots” ending in /ʃu, ʒu/ (65) can be accounted for if these “roots” were analyzed as stems containing root plus /-ʃu, -ʒu/ ‘transitivizer, verbalizer’. These transitivizers/verbalizers can then be classified as suffixes that block the vowel alternation rules from applying. Support for this analysis comes from the following facts: First, some of these forms do have noun counterparts; e.g. *a:qəli* ‘burp’ is the noun counterpart of the verb in (65a). Second, an attested transitivized stem *ka:ʃu* ‘heat s.t.’ provides evidence that the transitivizer/verbalizer /-ʃu/ does block root vowel alternation. This stem is derived from the intransitive root *ka:yl* ~

¹¹² There are four exceptions: *uḏḏu* ‘apply (paint, etc)’, *battku* ‘live happily’, *me:lmaṭu* ‘bluff, lie’, and *bi:m̄bu* ‘serve’ do not show the vowel alternation even though the penultimate vowel is nonfront, and they do not end in /ʃu, ʒu/. It is possible that these are not roots but stems containing transitivizers that block vowel alternation, or they could be borrowed roots.

ke: ~ *ka:* (with an idiosyncratic alternation pattern); the transitivized stem *ka:ʃu* does not exhibit vowel alternation. Although all “roots” with /ʃu, ʒu/ endings do not have attested nonverbal or intransitive counterparts; a more systematic account of the vowel alternation among strong-s-class roots is possible if these forms are analyzed as verbalized stems rather than roots, which is the analysis adopted for the underlying forms given in (65b, c).

- 65a) i. *a:gə[ʃo:dɔ̌]* /a:gə[ʃu-o:d-ɔ̌]/ ‘N is burping’
 ii. *a:gə[ʃiʃo]* /a:gə[ʃu-ʃ-o]/ ‘She burped’
 iii. *a:gə[ʃəva]* /a:gə[ʃu-v-a]/ ‘She will burp’
 iv. *a:gə[ʃugutnu]* /a:gə[ʃu-gutnu]/ ‘until N burps’
- b) i. *kurʃo:dɔ̌* /kur-ʃu-o:d-ɔ̌/ ‘N is noting s.t. down (on paper, etc)’
 ii. *kurʃiʃəɔ̌* /kur-ʃu-ʃ-o/ ‘She noted s.t. down’
 iii. *kurʃəva* /kur-ʃu-v-a/ ‘She will note s.t. down’
 iv. *kurʃugutnu* /kur-ʃu-gutnu/ ‘until N notes s.t. down’
- c) i. *unʒo:dɔ̌* /un-ʒu-o:d-ɔ̌/ ‘N is roaming around’
 ii. *unʒiʃəɔ̌* /un-ʒu-ʃ-əɔ̌/ ‘She roamed around’
 iii. *unʒəva* /un-ʒu-v-a/ ‘She will roam around’
 iv. *unʒugutnu* /un-ʒu-gutnu/ ‘until N roams around’

Note, however, that transitivizers /-tu, -pu/ do not block vowel alternation in the way /-ʃu, -ʒu/ does. The examples in (66) show that the alternation is present in untransitivized form and the form transitivized with /-tu/. Similarly, *uʃi* ‘descend’, described below in §3.2.3.2, retains its vowel alternation properties even after it is transitivized into *uʃpu* ‘lower s.t.’ Thus, some transitivizers block vowel alternation, and some don’t.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| 66) | Untransitivized: | Transitivized: |
| a) | <i>ayro:dɔ̌</i> | <i>ayto:dɔ̌</i> |
| | a:d-o:d-əɔ̌ | a:d-tu-o:d-əɔ̌ |
| | shake- <u>prg</u> - <u>sg</u> | shake- <u>trzr</u> - <u>prg</u> - <u>sg</u> |
| | ‘is dancing, shaking’ | ‘is shaking s.t.’ |

b) <i>a:ɖʂəɖə</i> <i>a:ɖ-ʂ-əɖə</i> shake- <u>rlf</u> - <u>sg</u> ‘danced, shook’	<i>a:tiʂəɖə</i> <i>a:ɖ-tu-ʂ-əɖə</i> shake- <u>trzr</u> - <u>rlf</u> - <u>sg</u> ‘shook s.t.’
c) <i>a:ɖgutnu</i> <i>a:ɖ-gutnu</i> shake- <u>until</u> ‘until N dances, shakes’	<i>a:tugutnu</i> <i>a:ɖ-tu-gutnu</i> shake- <u>trzr</u> - <u>until</u> ‘until N shakes s.t.’

3.2.3.2 Weak-s- and j-class roots

Polysyllabic roots in the weak-s- and j-classes also exhibit the /Ø ~ y/ alternation. As with strong-s-class roots, the alternation occurs only immediately after a nonfront target vowel (67), it never occurs immediately after a front target vowel (68). A post-glide retroflex C similarly alternates with an alveolar C. This alternation pattern can also be analyzed as the result of glide insertion. However, unlike strong-s-class roots, all polysyllabic roots with a non-front penultimate vowel in these classes undergo glide insertion, irrespective of the nature of the immediately following consonant (the front/nonfront alternation does not occur in these classes). Thus, the root in (67b) would have undergone vowel fronting instead of glide insertion if it was a strong-s-class verb; instead, it undergoes glide insertion because it is a weak-s-class verb. These classes do not have a special realis theme; instead, the alternant with the inserted glide is used in the irrealis theme and plain stem (second and third row respectively of each set in (67)). The alternating vowels in (67) are underlined, and the target vowel in the underlying form in (68) are also underlined.

- 67a)i. ul-ǰ-a /ulǰ-ǰ-a/ ‘She descended’
 ii. uyl-əv-a /ulǰi-v-a/ ‘She will descend’
 iii. uyli-gutnu /ulǰi-gutnu/ ‘until N descends’

- b) i. *par-ṣ-a* /*pari-ṣ-a*/ ‘She plucked s.t.’
 ii. *payr-p-a* /*pari-pu-a*/ ‘She will pluck s.t.’
 iii. *payri-gutnu* /*pari-gutnu*/ ‘until N plucks s.t.’
- c) i. *kuḍ-ṣ-a* /*kuḍi-ṣ-a*/ ‘She drank s.t.’
 ii. *kuyr-p-a* /*kuḍi-p-a*/ ‘She will drink s.t.’
 iii. *kuyri-gutnu* /*kuḍi-gutnu*/ ‘until N drinks s.t.’
- 68a)i. *ṭaldir-ṣ-a* /*ṭalḍiri-ṣ-a*/ ‘She fainted’
 ii. *ṭaldirə-v-a* /*ṭalḍiri-v-a*/ ‘She will faint’
 iii. *ṭalḍiri-gutnu* /*ṭalḍiri-gutnu*/ ‘until N faints’
- b) i. *el-ṣ-a* /*eli-ṣ-a*/ ‘She washed s.t.’
 ii. *el-p-a* /*eli-pu-a*/ ‘She will wash s.t.’
 iii. *eli-gutnu* /*eli-gutnu*/ ‘until N washes s.t.’

There are only three monosyllabic roots in these classes; all three exhibit a vowel alternation pattern, but it differs from the alternations described above. Because there are only three roots of this type, all in the j-class, I treat them as part of the irregular root alternations described in the §3.2.4.

The rule in (69) accounts for glide insertion in polysyllabic roots in these classes. The rule states that a glide is inserted immediately after a nonfront vowel in the penultimate syllable of the root. Although only one consonant occurs between penultimate and ultimate vowel in all examples in the data so far, the rule has been generalized to allow for a consonant cluster after the penultimate vowel. It applies only in the weak-s and j-classes and is used to form the irrealis theme and plain stem.

- 69) Glide insertion rule: $\emptyset \rightarrow y / \text{V} \text{ ____ } \text{CV\#}$
 [-back]

3.2.4. Irregular root alternations

There are a few root alternations that are found only in a tiny set of roots and derivational suffixes in various classes; they are used variously in the realis theme, irrealis theme, and plain stem. Table 15 shows minor alternation patterns among classes other than the strong-s-class, and the verb bases in which they are used. The two roots at the bottom of the table are classified as irregular because their realis form does not easily fit in with the realis suffixes listed above.

Table 6.15: Roots with idiosyncratic alternations in different verb bases

plain stem	irrealis theme	realis theme	Gloss
<u>t-class</u>			
<i>arʃa:l</i>	<i>arʃa:-v</i>	<i>arʃe-t</i>	‘fight’
<u>t-class</u>			
<i>ba:r</i>	<i>bu-pu</i>	<i>ban-d</i>	‘come’
<i>ʃa:r</i>	<i>ʃa-pu</i>	<i>ʃan-d</i>	‘give’
<i>-a:r</i>	<i>-a-pu</i>	<i>-an-d</i>	(a 2LD suffix)
<u>ḍ-class</u>			
<i>no:l</i>	<i>no:-v</i>	<i>non-ḍ</i>	‘feel pain’
<i>bya:l</i>	<i>bya:-v</i>	<i>ben-ḍ</i>	‘be well-cooked’
<u>j-class</u>			
<i>kəyl</i>	<i>ke:-v</i>	<i>kə-ǰǰ</i>	‘descend’
<i>pəyl</i>	<i>pe:-v</i>	<i>pə-ǰǰ</i>	‘clear up murkiness’
<i>ka:yl</i>	<i>ke:-v</i>	<i>ka:-ǰ</i>	‘boil (intr)’
<u>Irregular roots</u>			
<i>nagi</i>	<i>nagə-v</i>	<i>nakk</i>	‘smile, laugh’
<i>paʃʃə</i>	<i>pep-pu</i>	<i>paʃʃ</i>	‘feel hungry’

Examples showing the use of one of the j-class verbs in Table 15 are given in (70). A decision about the underlying root for these stems must be an arbitrary choice; I have chosen to treat the form that appears before /-gutnu/ as the underlying form of the root.

- 70a) *kə-ǰǰ-a* ‘She cut s.t.’
 b) *ke:-v-a* ‘She will cut s.t.’
 c) *kəyl-gutnu* ‘until N cuts s.t.’

Table 16 shows idiosyncratic alternation patterns found in /g/-final roots. Two of them, *po:g* ‘go’ and lexical suffix *-o:g* (which is derived from *po:g*), have additional alternants used for imperative mood. The roots and lexical suffixes shown in this table are the only ones in BK that end in /g/.

Table 6.16: Idiosyncratic alternations in strong-s-class roots.

plain stem	irrealis theme	Reg. realis theme	Sp. realis theme	Non.polite Imperative	Polite Imperative	Gloss
<i>po:g</i>	<i>po:-pu</i>	<i>pə:-ʂ</i>	<i>pəy</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>pi:g</i>	‘go’
<i>-o:g</i>	<i>-o:-pu</i>	<i>-ə:-ʂ</i>	<i>-əy</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i:g</i>	‘V thoroughly
<i>a:g</i>	<i>-a:-pu</i>	<i>a:-ʂ</i>	<i>ay</i>			‘become’

In addition to these idiosyncratic alternations, some roots show idiosyncratic patterns of variation in length; e.g. *ka:ŋ* ‘appear, see’ has a short vowel in its realis theme /kaŋ-d/ but a long vowel before all other suffixes, e.g. irrealis theme /ka:m-pu/. In contrast, *ti:l* ‘place’ has a short vowel in both its realis and irrealis themes /ti-s, ti-pu/, and a long vowel before all inflectional suffixes, such as /-gutnu/ in /ti:lgutnu/ ‘until N places’. These alternations are not predictable and must be lexically specified for individual roots.

3.3. The verbal inflectional level

The morphophonology of the inflectional level differs from the derivational level in two ways: First, rules that take place in the derivational level do not apply in the inflectional level. For example, lateral-final roots and lexical suffixes undergo lateral deletion before every suffix in the derivational level, but not in the inflectional level. Similarly, voiceless consonants get voiced immediately after a nasal-final root in the derivational level; but not in the inflectional level; e.g. the initial consonant in /-ku/ is not voiced after the nasal final roots in *tinku* /t̥in-ku/ ‘N can eat’.

Second, phonological processes in the inflectional level are not as regular as they are in the derivational level. There are certain generalizations that can be made about phonological processes in this level, but many of them are processes that the stem undergoes optionally, or processes that do not occur before all inflectional suffixes. Because these processes are not regular ones that apply to all forms in this level, I do not formulate explicit rules for them; instead, each process is described in prose, with suitable examples.

3.3.1. Processes that occur when the suffix is consonant-initial

There are only four consonant-initial inflectional suffixes; three of them, /-gutnu, -ki, -ku/, attach to a plain stem, i.e. directly to a root or 1/2LD suffix. The only phonological processes these suffixes trigger is stem-final /g/ deletion; thus, root *po:g* and lexical suffix /-o:g/ lose the final consonant immediately before these suffixes in (71a, b); the same stem is shown before /-a/ hortative for comparison, where it does have

the final /g/. Roots and suffixes ending in any other segment do not undergo any change before these suffixes (71c).

- 71a) i. *po:-gutnu* /po:g-gutnu/ ‘until N goes’ *po:g-a* /po:g-a/ ‘Let us go’
 ii. *po:-ku* /po:g-ku/ ‘N can go’
- b) i. *əŋ-o:-gutnu* /əŋ-o:g-gutnu/ ‘until N takes’ *əŋ-o:g-a* /əŋ-o:g-a/ ‘Let us take’
 ii. *əŋ-o:-ku* /əŋ-o:g-ku/ ‘N can take’
- c) i. *ya:ri-gutnu* /ya:ri-gutnu/ ‘until N calls’
 ii. *pa:r-gutnu* /pa:r-gutnu/ ‘until N flies’
 iii. *argu-gutnu* /argu-gutnu/ ‘until N sleeps’

The fourth consonant-initial suffix is /-ka/ ‘infinitive’, which attaches to an irrealis theme. Irrealis themes ending in ‘irrealis’ /-pu/ lose the final vowel before /-ka/; those that end in /-v/ are discussed further below.

72a)	Root	Irrealis theme + /-ka/	Infinitive verb
	i. <i>ya:ri</i>	/ya:rupu-ka/	<i>ya:rpka</i> ‘to call’
	ii. <i>nyani</i>	/nyanpu-ka/	<i>nyanpka</i> ‘to think’
	ii. <i>kə:l</i>	/kə:pu-ka/	<i>kə:pka</i> ‘to ask’

3.3.2 Processes that occur when the suffix is vowel-initial

Most inflectional suffixes are vowel-initial. Some of them attach to a plain stem, which ends in a coronal consonant or /u, i, g/; some attach to a realis theme, which ends only in a consonant; and some attach to an irrealis theme, which ends in /v/ or /pu/. Stem-final vowels are deleted immediately before a vowel (73); with one exception – stem-final /i/ is optionally left undeleted before /-a/ ‘hortative’ (73b.iii), and a glide is inserted by postlexical rules to avoid vowel hiatus.

- 73a) i. *arg-əy* /argu-əy/ ‘sleep-sg.c.im’ ‘sleep!’

- iii. *arg-əl* /argu-əl/ ‘sleep-inf’ ‘to sleep’
 iv. *arg-a* /argu-a/ ‘sleep-hrt’ ‘let us sleep’
- b) i. *pod-əl* /poḍi-əl/ ‘thatch-inf’ ‘to thatch (roof)’
 iii. *pod-a ~ podiy-a* /poḍi-a/ ‘thatch-hrt’ ‘let us thatch’

Suffix-initial vowels /i, ə/ are optionally deleted when they lie between two coronals with the feature [-distributed] (74). Deletion is not obligatory, but occurs very frequently. All coronals in the resulting cluster then assimilate in place to the first coronal of the cluster through postlexical processes (74b). The /r/ surfaces as [d] in (74a) because it lies immediately adjacent to an alveolar segment in the surface form.

- 74a) *me:d-nu* /me:r-ənu/ ‘call-inf’ ‘to call’
 b) *buṭ-t-ŋu* /buḍ-t-ənu/ ‘leave-rlf-accp’ ‘leave and V’

The words in (75) have undergone both stem-final vowel deletion and suffix-initial vowel deletion. The stem-final vowel deletes before the vowel-initial suffix (just as in (73) above), bringing the suffix-initial vowel between two [-distr] coronals, which leads to deletion of the suffix-initial vowel (just as in (74) above).

- 75a) *ya:dlayə* /ya:ri-əlayə/ ‘call-inf’
 b) *ḍayntnu* /ḍa:ŋtu-ənu/ ‘step.over-accp’

Optional deletion also occurs when suffix-initial /ə/ lies between a retroflex consonant and a dental consonant, but deletion in this environment is not as frequent as it is between two [-distributed] coronals, and some suffixes never show initial-vowel deletion in this environment. For example, the suffix-initial /ə/ of /-əḍə/ ‘singular’ does not delete after realis theme *natt* ‘plant’ in *natt-əḍə* ‘planted’, but /ə/ of /-əḍapəla/ ‘must V’ does delete after the same realis theme in *natt-ḍapəla* ‘must plant’ (/naḍ-t-əḍapəla/).

Certain processes are specific to irrealis themes formed with /-v/ ‘irrealis’. The final suffix /-v/ is deleted when it lies between a short vowel or consonant and any suffix that is larger than a single vowel. Subsequent to /-v/ deletion, the stem-final vowel deletes before the following vowel. Examples with /-v/ deletion and subsequent stem-final vowel deletion are given in (75a). /-v/-deletion is optional to the extent that, in formal elicitation sessions, my consultant said that it is possible to say these words with the /v/ in the surface form. However, in normal conversational speech, /-v/ is always deleted if the preceding segment is as specified above and the following suffix larger than a single vowel.

/-v/ is never deleted immediately before a suffix consisting of a single vowel (75b). It is usually not deleted immediately after a long vowel (75c), but deletion can optionally be done in this environment (75c.vii). In cases where /-v/ is not deleted, a stem-final sequence of short vowel plus /v/ is reduced to /əv/ (75b.i-ii), and a stem-final consonant cluster plus /v/ is broken up by /ə/-insertion (75b.iii-iv).

75a)	Plain stem	Irrealis theme + infl.	Surface form
i.	<i>ʃe:ri</i>	/ʃe:ri ^v -əɖə/	<i>se:rəɖə</i> ‘N will join’
ii.	<i>kuttu</i>	/kuttu ^v -əɖə/	<i>kuttəɖə</i> ‘N will stitch’
iii.	<i>no:d</i>	/no:d ^v -əɖə/	<i>no:dəɖə</i> ‘N will look’
iv.	<i>por</i>	/por ^v -əɖə/	<i>porəɖə</i> ‘N will thatch (the roof)’
v.	<i>aɖ</i>	/aɖ ^v -ka/	<i>aɖka</i> ‘to cook’
vi.	<i>no:d</i>	/no:d ^v -ka/	<i>no:dka</i> ‘to look’
vii.	<i>kuttu</i>	/kuttu ^v -ka/	<i>kuttka</i> ‘to stitch’
b) i.	<i>ʃe:ri</i>	/ʃe:ri ^v -a/	<i>se:rəva</i> ‘She will join’
ii.	<i>kuttu</i>	/kuttu ^v -a/	<i>kuttəva</i> ‘She will stitch’
iii.	<i>no:d</i>	/no:d ^v -a/	<i>no:dəva</i> ‘She will look’
iv.	<i>por</i>	/por ^v -a/	<i>porəva</i> ‘She will thatch (the roof)’

c) i.	<i>pə:l</i>	/pə:v-əḏə/	<i>pə:vəḏə</i> ‘N will tell’
ii.	<i>pə:l</i>	/pə:v-ən/	<i>pə:vən</i> ‘when telling’
iii.	<i>pə:l</i>	/pə:v-a/	<i>pə:va</i> ‘She will tell’
iv.	<i>kenga:l</i>	/kenga:v-əḏə/	<i>kenga:vəḏə</i> ‘N will kill’
v.	<i>kenga:l</i>	/kenga:v-ən/	<i>kenga:vən</i> ‘when killing’
vi.	<i>kenga:l</i>	/kenga:v-a/	<i>kenga:va</i> ‘She will kill’
vii.	<i>kenga:l</i>	/kenga:v-iyə/	<i>kenga:viyo ~ kenga:yo</i> ‘They will kill’

4.0 NOUN MORPHOPHONOLOGY

The BK noun system does not contain category-preserving derivational suffixes; therefore, nominal inflectional suffixes attach directly to the root. Nominal inflectional suffixes are listed in Table 17, and morphophonological processes affecting nouns are described below. These processes are, like those in verbal inflection, not very regular, and no attempt is made here to formulate explicit rules for the inflectional level.

Table 6.17: Nominal inflectional suffixes

Category	Consonant-initial*	Vowel-initial
Case:	/-ḏə/ ‘genitive nominal’	
	/-na/ ‘plural accusative’	/-a ~ -iya/ ‘singular accusative’
	/-ka, -ṭəŋa/ ‘dative’	/-əŋa/ ‘dative’
	/-ṭoḏa/ ‘comitative’	/-oḏa/ ‘comitative’
	/-ṭl, -ṭəla/ ‘locative’	/-əl, -əla/ ‘locative’
Number:	/-ḏə ~ -ḏər/ ‘plural’	
	/-gə ~ -gər/ ‘plural’	
	/-rə/ ‘plural’	

*/-na, -ḏə ~ -ḏər/ attach only to consonant-final roots

4.1. Free roots

Noun roots are free, unlike verb roots. As pointed out in Chapter 3, nouns occur without any suffixes when they are in nominative case or genitive case. Native noun roots end only in short high vowels /i, ə, u/ or coronal nasals /n, ŋ/:

- 76) *ba|i* ‘bracelet’
ka|a|ə ‘wind instrument’
na:|u ‘day’
na:n ‘shame’
aŋŋ ‘elder brother’

There are a few borrowed noun roots in these data that contain other word-final segments; e.g. *nasa* ‘conflict’ (<Indic or Tamil(?)), *e:riya* ‘area’ (<English), *sogo* ‘health’ (<Tamil), *bi:ro* ‘cupboard’ (Portuguese), *e:le* ‘poor person’ (<Tamil).

4.2. Noun roots and suffixes

4.2.1. Noun roots and consonant initial suffixes

The processes that noun roots undergo before consonant-initial suffixes are idiosyncratically triggered by specific suffixes:

(a) Roots before dative /-ka/: Roots ending a nasal undergo the following processes with /-ka/ ‘dative’. The initial consonant of /-ka/ ‘dative’ is nasalized immediately after a root ending in a nasal, as shown in all the examples in (77). After the suffix-initial consonant is nasalized, the final nasal of the root is deleted if it lies between a vowel and a nasal (77a), it is shortened to a single consonant if it is a geminate (77b), and it is left unchanged if it is a syllabic nasal (77c).

<u>77) Nominative</u>	<u>Dative</u>
a) i. <i>udgən</i> ‘young man’	<i>udgəŋa</i> <i>udgən-ka</i> ‘young.man- <u>dat</u> ’
ii. <i>i:yən</i> ‘porcupine’	<i>i:yəŋa</i> <i>i:yən-ka</i> ‘porcupine- <u>dat</u> ’
b) i. <i>bupmann</i> ‘guest (compound word)’	<i>bupmanŋa</i> <i>bupmann-ka</i> ‘guest- <u>dat</u> ’
ii. <i>aŋŋ</i> ‘elder brother’	<i>aŋŋa</i> <i>aŋŋ-ka</i> ‘elder.brother- <u>dat</u> ’
c) i. <i>aŋŋkotŋ</i> ‘squirrel’	<i>aŋŋkotŋa</i> <i>aŋŋkotn-ka</i> ‘squirrel- <u>dat</u> ’
ii. <i>kə:lŋ</i> ‘parrot’	<i>kə:lŋŋa</i> <i>kə:lŋ-ka</i> ‘parrot- <u>dat</u> ’

Note that these processes do not take place in the examples in (78), although these words have a nasal immediately before /-ka/ in the surface form; this is because the underlying root in these words ends in a vowel.

78a) <i>ma:nu</i> ‘deer’	<i>ma:nka</i> <i>ma:nu-ka</i> ‘deer- <u>dat</u> ’
b) <i>paŋŋu</i> ‘fruit’	<i>paŋŋka</i> <i>paŋŋu-ka</i> ‘fruit- <u>dat</u> ’

Roots ending in a vowel undergo the following processes before /-ka/: The final vowel is deleted immediately before /-ka/ (shown in (78) above and (79a) below), unless the vowel is preceded by /k/. If the vowel lies between two /k/-s, root-final vowel deletion is optional (79b). After vowel deletion, /g/ is devoiced to /k/ immediately before /k/ by a postlexical rule (79a.iii) – this is due to the requirement pointed out in §2 that homorganic obstruent clusters must have identical voice. Personal names, exceptionally, do not lose the final vowel before /-ka/ (79c).

79) <u>Nominative</u>	<u>Dative</u>
a) i. <i>na:yə</i> ‘dog’	<i>na:yka</i> <i>na:yə-ka</i> ‘dog- <u>dat</u> ’
ii. <i>ka:lə</i> ‘leg’	<i>ka:lka</i> <i>ka:l-ka</i> ‘leg- <u>dat</u> ’
iii. <i>pəʈʈigi</i> ‘box’	<i>pəʈʈikka</i> <i>pəʈʈigi-ka</i> ‘box- <u>dat</u> ’
b) i. <i>kuyrki</i> ‘vessel’	<i>kuyrkəka</i> ~ <i>kuyrkka</i> <i>kuyrki-ka</i> ‘vessel- <u>dat</u> ’
ii. <i>kikki</i> ‘basket’	<i>kikkəka</i> ~ <i>kikka</i> <i>kikki-ka</i> ‘basket- <u>dat</u> ’
c) i. <i>bummi</i> ‘Bommi’	<i>bummika</i> <i>bummi-ka</i> ‘Bommi- <u>dat</u> ’
ii. <i>ke:ʈi</i> ‘Keti’	<i>ke:ʈika</i> <i>ke:ʈi-ka</i> ‘Keti- <u>dat</u> ’

(b) Roots with plural suffixes and with /-ḍə/ ‘genitive nominal’. Nasal-final roots take the plural suffix /-ḍə ~ -ḍər/ ; the suffix-initial consonant assimilates in place to a preceding nasal:

80)	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Dative</u>
a)	<i>udgən</i> ‘young men’	<i>udgəndə</i> udgən-ḍə ‘young.man- <u>pl</u> ’
b)	<i>kə:lŋ</i> ‘parrot’	<i>kə:lŋḍə</i> kə:lŋ-ḍə ‘parrots’

The initial consonant of /-ḍə/ ‘genitive nominal’ assimilates optionally to the final segment of a nasal-final root:

81)	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Dative</u>
a)	<i>udgən</i> ‘young men’	<i>udgəndḍə ~ udgəndə</i> udgən-ḍə ‘young.man- <u>g.nml</u> ’
b)	<i>ṭarmanŋ</i> ‘shaven head’	<i>ṭarmanŋḍə ~ ṭarmanŋḍə</i> ṭarman-ḍə ‘shaven.head- <u>g.nml</u> ’

Vowel-final roots also take the genitive nominal /-ḍə/, but they do not take the plural suffix /-ḍə ~ -ḍər/. Instead they take /-gə ~ -gər/ or /-rə/ ‘plural’, as specified in Chapter 3. All the noun roots that take /-rə/ end in /i/; the stem-final /i/ reduces to /ə/ (82a). Nouns that take /-gə ~ -gər/ end in /i/, /u/, or /ə/. The stem-final vowel is deleted if it lies between an approximant or coronal sonorant and /-gə ~ -gər/ (82b).¹¹³ It is not

¹¹³ There is one exception, in which the final vowel is not deleted after a coronal sonorant, *baŋi-gə --> baŋəgə ~ baŋigə* ‘bangles’.

deleted elsewhere, but stem-final /i/ is optionally reduced to /ə/ (82c). Vowel-final noun roots undergo the same processes before /-d̪ə/ as they do before /-gə ~ -gər/, as shown in the third column of each example in (82); the gaps in this column indicate that I did not elicit a genitive nominal form for this root.

82	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>With Plural</u>	<u>With genitive nominal</u>
a) i.	<i>udgiṭi</i> ‘young woman’	<i>udgiṭərə</i> udgiṭi-rə ‘young.woman- <u>pl</u> ’	<i>udgiṭəḍə</i> udgiṭi-d̪ə ‘young.woman- <u>g.nml</u> ’
ii.	<i>abbi</i> ‘mother’	<i>abbərə</i> abbi-rə ‘mother- <u>pl</u> ’	<i>abbəḍə</i> abbi-d̪ə ‘mother- <u>g.nml</u> ’
b) i.	<i>na:yə</i> ‘dog’	<i>na:ygə</i> na:yə-gə ‘dog- <u>pl</u> ’	<i>na:yḍə</i> na:yə-d̪ə ‘dog- <u>g.nml</u> ’
ii.	<i>ka:lə</i> ‘leg’	<i>ka:lgə</i> ka:lə-gə ‘leg- <u>pl</u> ’	--
iii.	<i>ki:ri</i> ‘house’	<i>ki:rgə</i> ki:ri-gə ‘house- <u>pl</u> ’	<i>ki:rḍə</i> ki:ri-d̪ə ‘house- <u>g.nml</u> ’
iv.	<i>erəvi</i> ‘knife’	<i>erəvgə</i> erəvi-gə ‘knife- <u>pl</u> ’	<i>erəvḍə</i> erəvi-d̪ə ‘knife- <u>g.nml</u> ’
c) i.	<i>poḍi</i> ‘roof’	<i>poḍəgə</i> poḍi-gə ‘roof- <u>pl</u> ’	<i>poḍəḍə</i> poḍi-d̪ə ‘roof- <u>gnml</u> ’
ii.	<i>muyrpi</i> ‘shoulder’	<i>muyrpəgə ~ muyrpiḡə</i> muyrpi-gə ‘shoulder- <u>pl</u> ’	--

5.0. POSTLEXICAL PROCESSES

Suffixation in the verbal inflectional and derivational levels results in a number of segment sequences that violate the sequencing restrictions given in §2.2; these are repaired by postlexical rules. The root-internal vowel alternations described in §3.2.3. result in two illicit sequences: a long non-low vowel before /y/ and a retroflex consonant after /y/ -- the only long vowel that can occur before /y/ in BK is the low vowel /a:/, and retroflex consonants cannot occur immediately after /y/. These sequences are repaired by the rules in (83).

83a) Vowel shortening:
$$\begin{array}{c} V \quad \text{-->} [-\text{long}] / \text{ ___ } y \\ [-\text{low}] \end{array}$$

b) Deretroflexion:
$$\begin{array}{c} C(C) \text{ -->} [+ant] / y \text{ ___} \\ \vee \\ [+cor, -distr] \end{array}$$

Another set of illicit sequences that are created by suffixation are adjacent retroflex and alveolar consonants, such as [kotʃ-nu] ‘give-acc’, [kodʃ-l-a] ‘give-neg-3sg’. These illicit clusters are repaired by the rule in (84), which is a copy of the coronal assimilation rule in the lexical level given in §3.2.2. The rule states that a [-distr] coronal consonant assimilates in place to an immediately preceding [-distr] coronal consonant.

84) Alveolar place assimilation:
$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +cor \\ -distr \end{array} \right] \text{ -->} [\alpha ant] / \left(\begin{array}{c} +cor \\ \alpha ant \\ -distr \end{array} \right) \text{ ______}$$

Homorganic obstruent clusters in BK must have identical voice. Thus, when illicit clusters of homorganic consonants with mixed voicing are produced in the lexical level (column 2 in (85)), the initial consonant assimilates in voice to the last consonant in the cluster (column 2 in (85)).

85)	<u>Underlying form</u>	<u>Output in lexical level</u>	<u>Surface form</u>
a)	/uɖ-t-əɖə/	/uɖtəɖə/	<i>uttəɖə</i> ‘N wore s.t.’
b)	/por-t-əɖə/	/portəɖə/	<i>pottəɖə</i> ‘N carried s.t. (on the head)’
c)	/podi-t-əɖə/	/podttəɖə/	<i>pottəɖə</i> ‘N thatched (the roof)’

The rule in (86) repairs these clusters; the symbol ‘F’ is used here to refer to all features apart from the ones specifically mentioned in the rule, i.e. apart from [voice] and redundantly, [sonorant].

86)	Homorganic CC voice assimilation:	$C \rightarrow [\beta\text{voice}] / \text{---} C$ <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">[-son, αF]</div> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 10px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">-son</div> <div style="text-align: center;">βvoice</div> <div style="text-align: center;">αF</div> </div> </div>
-----	-----------------------------------	---

Some additional processes take place post-lexically, which I will list briefly: (a) A glide is inserted to prevent vowel hiatus. Thus, when /-a/ ‘hortative’ is attached to a /i/-final stem, a glide /y/ is inserted between the two vowels; e.g. *ya:ri-a* --> *ya:riya*. (b) A homorganic cluster consisting of nasal plus stop is turned into a geminate nasal if it immediately precedes another consonant; e.g. *kambə-ka* --> *kamb-ka* --> *kammka* ‘pillar-dat’. Geminate codas are also frequently, but not obligatorily, reduced to a single consonant; for example, *buttu* ‘leave-accp’ is usually reduced to *buttu*.

Appendix: Interlinearized text

This appendix presents an interlinearized extract from one of the texts elicited as part of the data for this description. The extract constitutes one-fifth of the conversational text referred to in the introductory chapter. The conversation shown here is a bilingual one that took place between my consultant, Bomman, and me in my 1999-2000 field trip. My part of the conversation consists of brief questions about BK community practices, and Bomman's part of the conversation consists of detailed descriptions of these practices.

The following format is used to represent the conversation: Every sentence in Bomman's speech is written twice, once in bold typeface and once in italics. The lines in bold typeface represent utterances as they occurred in discourse, with pauses and with word-final vowel deletion. The lines in italics represents the citation form for these utterances; that is, every word is shown in full, with its final vowel intact and with no intrasentential pauses. The lines in bold typeface are phonemic transcriptions of Bomman's speech, as heard on tape. The italicized lines are phonemic transcriptions of the speech of my primary consultant, Bommi, who listened to my tape-recording of this conversation and repeated the sentences at a slower speed. There are times in the conversation when Bomman switches to Tamil – these sections are shown in English translation and are enclosed within square brackets, []. My part of the conversation is shown with the tag “Int:” at the beginning of each of my remarks/questions.

Since chained clauses are used very frequently in BK, some sentences are extremely long. To make these sentences more comprehensible to the reader, these

sentences are broken up into smaller interlinearized clauses. In these cases, the entire sentence is shown first in bold typeface (representing Bomman's speech) and with English free translation immediately below. The italicized line is then broken up into a series of smaller interlinearized clauses, each of which is numbered with alphabetic symbols (a, b, c, etc). For example, in line number 001, the entire sentence is shown first in bold with English translation, the sentence is then broken up into a set of italicized interlinearized clauses numbered (a) to (l).

001

**mi:n bəydn ba:tu ... makka:y yartətu ... makka:yə ... koṭṭnbissə ... jirgi .. boḷḷili ..
o:ṭiy uṭṇ yartətu ... pina: yartətu mi:n keṭa:n əṭṇ ba:tu ... pina: kaynduṭṇu ...
pina: nilgayə minḍay aṭṭətu ... pina: puyliy oṭay makka:y pəri: o:ṭay kelkətu ...
pina: nilgayə ... al kelkənu ... nala: kurgisətu ... nalla: kurgisani ... mi:n udgə**

Having brought the fish, having ground the chillies, having ground chilly, coriander seeds, cumin seed, garlic, and all, then having ground that, having cleaned the fish and brought it, then slicing it, having cooked the Indian gooseberry earlier, having mixed the tamarind, chilly powder, and all, then mixing in the gooseberry, having got it to boil well, when it is boiling well, the fish is put in.

a)

mi:nu bəydn ba:tu,
mi:nu bəyr -ənu ba:r -aṭu
fish bring -acp come -cmp
Having brought the fish,

b)

maka:yə yartətu,
maka:yə yari -ṭ -aṭu
chilly grind -rlf -cmp
having ground the chillies,

c)

<i>maka:yə,</i>	<i>koṭṭnbissə,</i>	<i>jirgi,</i>	<i>bəḷḷuyli,</i>	<i>o:ṭi</i>	<i>uṭṇu</i>			
maka:yə	koṭṭnbissə	jirgi	bəḷḷuyli	o:ṭi	ud	-t	-ənu	
chilly	coriander.seed	cumin.seed	garlic	all	put	- <u>rlf</u>	- <u>acp</u>	

yarṭaṭu,

yari -ṭ -aṭu

grind -rlf -cmp

having ground chilly, coriander seeds, cumin seed, garlic, and all

d)

pina yarṭaṭu,

pina yari -ṭ -aṭu

then grind -rlf -cmp

then having ground that,

e)

mi:nu keṭa:nu əṭṭu ba:ṭu,

mi:nu keṭṭu -a:l -ənu əḍi -ṭ -ənu bar -aṭu

fish wash -thrly -acp take -rlf -acp come -cmp

having cleaned the fish and brought it,

f)

pina kəynduṭṭu,

pina kəyndu -uḍ -t -ənu

then cut.up -leave -rlf -acp

then slicing it,

g)

pina nilgayə minḍaya aṭṭaṭu,

pina nilgayə minḍi -aya aḍ -t -aṭu

then Indian.gooseberry before -DSTR cook -rlf -cmp

having cooked the Indian gooseberry earlier,

h)

pina puyliyə o:ṭəya, maka:ypəriyə o:ṭəya kelkaṭu,

pina puyliyə o:ṭa -aya maka:yə - pəriyə o:ṭa -aya kelku -aṭu

then tamarind all -DSTR chilly - powder all -DSTR mix -cmp

then having mixed the tamarind, chilly powder and all,

i)

pina nilgayə alli kelkənu,

pina nilgayə alli kelku -ənu

then Indian.gooseberry there mix -acp

then mixing in the gooseberry,

j)

nala kurgisaṭu,

nala kurgu -su -aṭu

nicely boil -caus -cmp

having got it to boil well,

k)

nala kurgisani,

nala kurgu -s -ani

nicely boil -rlf -con

when it is boiling well,

l)

mi:nu uḡgə.

mi:nu uḡ -w -gə

fish put -irf -pl

the fish is put in.

002

mi:n uṭṅu ... nalaya kurgisani ... aḡe: mi:nu ... wan ma:ḡəri bendani ... pina:

uylpa:nu ... musuṭṅ kaḡa:ni mi:nu ... pina: gəyṭṭaṅgi ... nallaya: a:pəḡə ...

Putting in the fish, when it is boiling well, the same fish, if it has cooked to a certain extent, then taking it down (=off the fire), when the cover is put, then the curry becomes nice and thick

a)

mi:nu uṭṅu,

mi:nu uḡ -t -ənu

fish put -rlf -acp

Putting in the fish,

b)

nalaya kurgisani,

nala -aya kurgu -s -ani

nicely -INTNS boil -rlf -con

when it is boiling well,

c)

aḡe mi:nu wan ma:ḡəri bendani,

aḡə -e mi:nu wandə ma:ḡəri ben -ḡ -ani

3sr.nm -EMPH fish one type be.cooked -rlf -con

the same fish, when it has cooked to a certain extent,

d)

pina uylpa:nu,

pina uylpu -a:l -ənu

then lower -thrlly -acp

then taking it down (=off the fire),

e)

musuṭṭu

kaḍani,

mussə - uḍ -t -ənu ka:l̩ -ḍ -ani

lid - put -rlf -acp leave -rlf -con

when the cover is put,

f)

mi:nu, pina gəyttan̩gi,

nala:ya

a:pəḍə

mi:nu pina gəytti -an̩gi nala -aya a:g -pu -əḍə

fish then thickened -like nicely -INTNS become -irf -sg

the fish, then (the curry) becomes nice and thick.

Int: *a:pəḍə...*

003

a:pəḍə ...

becomes ...

Int: Like that?

004

a: ... aḍə ... ʃa:nu

a:! *aḍə* *ʃa:nu*

a: *aḍə* *ʃa:nu*

ah 3sr.nm only

yes, like that!

ʃa:nu ?

005

a: .. ʃa:nu

a:, *ʃa:nu*

a: *ʃa:nu*

ah only

yes, like that.

Int: Then different, different ... *bə:ri bə:ri ...?*

006

e:kəri ... kəmi:ne:kəri ...

e:kəri, kəmi:ne:kəri

e:kəri kəmi:nu - e:kəri

curry lobster - curry

curry ... lobster curry.

Int: ah! Talk about that.

007

kəmi:ne:kəri ... kəmi:n ke:tən ətŋ ba:tʉ ... a: muʎ o:ʈiya: ... pina: buɖsa:nu ...

buɖsa:nu ʈə:sənu ... nala:ya: ədd naɖi ke:tta:nu ... pina: aɖəna: makka:yə .. bəʎʎili .

.. jiri:gi ... o:ʈi uʈŋ ya:təʈu ... pina: ... puyliyə .. kelkənu ... pina: wande: ... wand

ipatt̩ nimisə ... ipatt̩ nimisə kurgisani ... pina: ann ... pina: nala:ya: kəmi:nə

ʈisəgaŋɖaŋg a:pa: ...

lobster curry ... having caught the lobster in a cloth net and brought it, pulling out the thorns, cleaning it, washing it nicely two times, then having ground chilly, garlic, cumin seeds and all, then mixing in tamarind, then when it has boiled for some twenty minutes, then at that time, it becomes nice and red.

a)

kəmi:ne:kəri,

kəmi:nu - e:kəri

lobster - curry

lobster curry,

b)

kəmi:nu ke:tənu

ətŋu

ba:tʉ,

kəmi:nu ke:tʉ -ənu əɖi -ʈ -ənu ba:r -aʈu

lobster net.with.cloth -acp take -rlf -acp come -cmp

having caught the lobster in a cloth net and brought it,

c)

a muʎə o:ʈəya, pina buɖsa:nu,

a muʎə o:ʈa -aya pina buɖ -w -su -a:l -ənu

that thorn all -DSTR then leave -irf -caus -thrly -acp

pulling out the thorns,

d)

buɖsa:nu,

ʈə:sənu,

nala:ya

əddu naɖi

buɖ -w -su -a:l -ənu ʈə:su -ənu nala -aya əddu naɖi

leave -irf -caus -thrly -acp clean -acp nicely -INTNS two times

keṭa:nu,

ketṭu -a:l -ənu

wash -thrly -acp

pulling them out, cleaning it, washing it nicely two times,

e)

pina aḍəna maka:yə, bəlluyli, jirgi, o:ti uṭnu

pina aḍən -a maka:yə bəlluyli jirgi o:ti uḍ -t -ənu

then 3sr -acc chilly garlic cumin.seed all put -rlf -acp

yartaṭu,

yari -ṭ -aṭu

grind -rlf -cmp

then having ground chilly, garlic, cumin seeds and all,

f)

pina puyliyə kelkənu,

pina puyliyə kelku -ənu

then tamarind mix -acp

then mixing in tamarind,

g)

pina wandə, wandə ipaṭṭu nimisə, ipaṭṭu nimisə kurgisani,

pina wandə wandə ipaṭṭu nimisə ipaṭṭu nimisə kurgu -s -ani

then about about twenty minute twenty minute boil -rlf -con

then when it has boiled for some twenty minutes,

h)

pina ann, pina nala:ya kəmi:nu ʃisəganḍaŋgi a:pa.

pina ann pina nala -aya kəmi:nu ʃisəganḍaŋgi a:g -pu -a

then then then nicely -INTNS lobster red become -irf -3sg

then at that time, it becomes nice and red.

008

ann ... uylpənu pina a:na: ʃimbəgə ...

ann, uylpənu pina a:na ʃimbəgə.

ann uylpu -ənu pina a:n -a ʃin -pu -əgə

then lower -acp then 3sr -acc eat -irf -pl

At that time, taking it down, then they eat it

Int: a ʃa:nu?

009

a: ʔa:nu

a: ʔa:nu

a: ʔa:nu

ah only

That's all!

Int: *sirimi:*

010

sirimi:

sirimi

siri -mi

okay -EXM

okay!

Int: Err, say something about your village... How do you get *nelikaay*? Where do you get it?

011

adə pəyrga:ʔl ... pəyrga:ʔl ...

adə pəyrga:ʔl

adə pəyrga:ʔə -ʔəl

3sr.nm forest -lc

That is in the forest

Int: *pəyrga:ʔl?*

012

pəyrga:ʔl pəytu ... parsən əʔŋ ba:ʔu ... a:na: adgə ...

pəyrga:ʔl pəytu, parsənu əʔŋu ba:ʔu,

pəyrga:ʔə -ʔəl pəy -aʔu pari -s -ənu ədʒi -ʔ -ənu ba:r -aʔu
forest -lc go -cmp pluck -rlf -acp take -rlf -acp come -cmp

a:na adgə

a:n -a ad -w -əgə

3sr -acc cook -irf -pl

Having gone into the forest, having plucked it and come, we cook it.

Int: Then do you gather honey?

013

pəyrga:tl̩ pəytu nəydn̩u ... ətl̩ bupəgə ...

pəyrga:tl̩ pəytu, nəydn̩u ətl̩ bupəgə.
pəyrga:də -tl̩ pəy -aʈu nəyr -ənu ədʒi -t̩ -ənu bu -pu -əgə
forest -lc go -cmp see -acp take -rlf -acp come -irf -pl
They look for it in the forest and bring it

Int: How do you that? Is it easy or not?

014

**ɥya:nəŋa: pə:sani ɥya:nu ... pə:sani i:pi etla po:pəðə mergəd̩l̩ tu:ʈ pəttani ... mettl̩
tu:ʈ pəttani ... ɥya:n al puɖsən id̩ani ... pina: a:na: parsən ətl̩ ba:ʈu ... a:na:
puynduʈnu ... ba:tl̩təl̩ ... nəttnu ... ba:tl̩ illkən id̩a:ŋgu pa:ʈrə ... alimi:nu pa:ʈrə ...
iliki:ni st̩il pa:ʈrətəl̩ puynduʈnu ... a:na: t̩ir ut̩l̩ kayttnu t̩ipiyo: ...**

If we go for honey, (following) where the bee goes, if there is a hollow in a tree trunk, if there is a hollow in a tree, if honey is stored there, then plucking it out, squeezing it, filling (the honey) in a bottle, if there is no bottle, then a vessel like this, an aluminium vessel or squeezing it into a steel vessel, we tie a cloth on it (the vessel) and keep it.

a)

ɥya:nəŋa pə:sani, ɥya:nu pə:sani,
ɥya:nu -əŋa pə: -s -ani ɥya:nu pə: -s -ani
honey -dat go -rlf -con honey go -rlf -con

If we go for honey,

b)

i:pi etla po:pəðə,
i:pi et -əla po:g -pu -əðə
fly which -dlc go -irf -sg
where the bee goes,

where the bee goes,

c)

mergəd̩l̩ tu:ʈi pəttani,
mergəd̩l̩ -əl̩ tu:ʈi paɖ -t -ani
tree-trunk -lc hole exist -rlf -con
if there is a hollow in a tree trunk,

d)

metl tu:ti pattani,
 meri -təl tu:ti pad -t -ani
 tree -lc hole exist -rlf -con
 if there is a hollow in a tree,

e)

tya:nu alli puḍsənu idani,
 tya:nu alli puḍi -s -ənu i:r -ḍ -ani
 honey there catch -rlf -acp be -rlf -con
 if honey is stored there,

f)

pina a:na parsənu əṭnu ba:tu,
 pina a:n -a pari -s -ənu əḍi -t -ənu ba:r -aṭu
 then 3sr -acc pluck -rlf -acp take -rlf -acp come -cmp
 then plucking it out,

g)

a:na puynduṭnu,
 a:n -a puyndu -uḍ -t -ənu
 3sr -acc wring -leave -rlf -acp
 squeezing it out,

h)

ba:tltəl nərṭənu,
 ba:tli -təl nəri -t -ənu
 bottle -lc fill -rlf -acp
 filling (the honey) in a bottle,

i)

ba:tli ilkən idanggu pa:ṭərə, alimi:nu pa:ṭərə
 ba:tli il -kəndə idangi -u pa:ṭərə alimi:nu pa:ṭərə
 bottle neg -SINCE like.this -ajr vessel aluminium vessel

ili:kəni sti:lə pa:ṭərəṭəl puynduṭnu,
 ili:kəni isti:lə pa:ṭərə -təl puyndu -uḍ -t -ənu
 otherwise steel vessel -lc wring -leave -rlf -acp

if there is no bottle, then a vessel like this, an aluminium vessel or squeezing it out into a steel vessel,

j)

a:na ti:ri uṭnu kayttnu tipiyō.
 a:n -a ti:ri uḍ -t -ənu kayttu -ənu ti:l -pu -iyō
 3sr -acc cloth put -rlf -acp tie -acp place -irf -pl
 we tie a cloth on it (the vessel) and keep it.

Int: That's all? You have to go in the night...?

015

ədləŋa: aḍə ... ḍappu ... [in Tamil, they say 'hill bees']

ədləŋa aḍə, ḍappu

ədləŋa aḍə ḍappu

night 3sr.nm big

That's in the night, big ... In Tamil, they call them hill bees.

Int: In your language, what do you say?

016

aḍə kuppḍya:nu ...

aḍə kuppḍya:nu

aḍə kuppḍya:nu

3sr.nm giant.bee

Those are giant bees

Int: a: ... *kuppḍya:nu*

017

kuppḍya:nu

kuppḍya:nu

kuppḍya:nu

giant.bee

Giant bees.

018

a:na: kəyl pə:pəgə ...

a:na kəyl pə:pəgə

a:n -a kəyl -əl pə:g -pu -əgə

3sr -acc cut -inf go -irf -pl

They go to cut it

019

ədləŋa: ʃinni kaynni ... o:ʃi əʃŋ pəytu ... pina: ... pəytu ... i: pottə kiri:gu yarŋə ...
[in Tamil, they say firewood, small small sticks] **adə wandə pottə kayttnu ... wand a:l**
əriyo ... ʃicco:da: ...

In the night, having taken a tin can, rope and all, then this flame torch, making a flame torch of twining roots, one man climbs up, with the fire.

a)

ədləŋa ʃinni, kaynni, o:ʃi əʃŋ pəytu,
ədləŋa ʃinni kaynni o:ʃi əʃi -ʃ -ənu pəy -aʃu
night tin.can rope all take -rlf -acp go -cmp
In the night, having taken a tin can, rope and all,

b)

pina pəytu,
pina pəy -aʃu
then go -cmp
then having gone,

c)

i pottə, kiri:gu yarŋə, wandə pottə kayttnu,
i pottə kiri -gu yarŋə wandə pottə kayttu -ənu
this flame.torch small -size twining.root one flame.torch tie -acp
this flame torch, making a flame torch of twining roots,

d)

wandə a:lʉ əriyo, ʃisso:da.
wandə a:lʉ ə:r -w -iyo ʃissə -o:da
one person climb -irf -pl fire -com
one man climbs up, with the fire.

020

ʃicco:da: ərsan a: i:p o:ʃi muni:r po:pa: ...

ʃisso:da ərsani, a i:pi o:ʃi muni:ri po:pa
ʃissə -o:da ə:r -s -ani a i:pi o:ʃi muni:ri po:g -pu -a
fire -com climb -rlf -con that fly all above go -irf -3sg
When he climbs up with a fire, all the bees fly up

021

pə:sani ... pina: ʃyamiya: kəjjənu ... pina: kaynnəl kuni:r uylpən kodjiyo: ...

When he goes up, then, cutting out the hive, he lowers it with a rope.

a)

pə:sani,

pə: -s -ani

go -rlf -con

When he goes up,

b)

pina tʃa:niya kəjjənu,

pina tʃa:nu -iya kəyl -j -ənu

then hive -acc cut -rlf -acp

then cutting out the hive,

c)

pina kaynənəl kuni:ri uylpənu koɖiyo

pina kaynni -əl kuni:ri uylpu -ənu koɖ -w -iyo

then rope -lc below lower -acp give -irf -pl

he lowers it with a rope.

022

uylpən kottani ... a: tʃa:lipmansən a:ŋtə:n puyrpa: ...

When he lowers it, the man standing on the ground catches hold of it.

a)

uylpənu kottani,

uylpu -ənu koɖ -t -ani

lower -acp give -rlf -con

When he lowers it,

b)

a tʃa:li ipmansən a:ŋtə:nu puyrpa

a tʃa:li i:r -pu - mansən a:ŋtə:nu puyri -pu -a

that ground be -irf - person just.like.that catch -irf -acc

the man standing on the ground catches hold of it.

023

puɖsən əŋu ... pin a:nə: bə:r tʃicətu ... pinə: tʃa:n pattani ... pin aɖe: mə:ɖri ... a:

kaynni: munir puɖuɖyo: ...

Catching it and keeping it in a separate place ... then, if there is still more honey, then in the same way, they send the rope up.

a)

puḍsənu ət̪nu,
 puḍj -s -ənu əd̪j -t̪ -ənu
 catch -rlf -acp take -rlf -acp
 Catching it,

b)

pina a:na bə:ri ʃisaʃu
 pina a:n -a bə:ri ʃi:l -s -aʃu
 then 3sr -acc different place -rlf -cmp
 then keeping it in a separate place,

c)

pina ʃya:nu paʃʃani,
 pina ʃya:nu paʃ -t -ani
 then honey exist -rlf -con
 then, if there is (more) honey

d)

pina aḍe ma:ḍəri, a kaynni muni:ri puḍuḍiyo
 pina aḍə -e ma:ḍəri a kaynni muni:ri puḍuḍ -w -iyo
 then 3sr.nm -EMPH type that rope above send -irf -pl
 then in the same way, they send the rope up.

024

**puḍuttani a: kaynni a: uʃka: ipmann belsənu ... pina: wan ʃya:nka: pəytu kəjjənu
 ... aḍə ma:ḍri kuni:r uylpənu ... aḍaŋgi ... kəjjəno:ʃa: ʃitaʃu ... koʃuyliwa: ... a:
 poʃto:ḍa: kuni:ri ...**

When it is sent, the man above drawing up the rope, then cutting one hive, lowering it in the same way, cutting it just like that, having finished all of them, he gets down with the torch.

a)

puḍuttani,
 puḍuḍ -t -ani
 send -rlf -con
 When it is sent,

b)

a kaynni a uʃka ipmann belsənu,
 a kaynni a uʃka i:r -pu -mann beli -s -ənu
 that rope that on.top be -irf -person pull -rlf -acp
 the man above drawing up the rope,

c)

pina wan tya:nka pəytu kəjjənu,
 pina wandə tya:nu -ka pəy -aʃu kəyl -j -ənu
 then one hive -dat go -cmp cut -rlf -acp
 then cutting one hive,

d)

aḍe ma:ḍəri kuni:ri uylpənu,
 aḍə -e ma:ḍəri kuni:ri uylpu -ənu
 3sr.nm -EMPH type below lower -acp
 lowering it in the same way,

e)

aḍaŋgi kəjjənu,
 aḍaŋgi kəyl -j -ənu
 like.that cut -rlf -acp
 cutting it like that,

f)

o:ʃa tita:ʃu,
 o:ʃa t̩i:r -t -a:l -aʃu
 all finish -rlf -thrly -cmp
 having finished with all of them,

g)

koʃa uyləwa, a pottəḍa kuni:ri.
 koʃa uyli -w -a a pottə -oḍa kuni:ri
 below descend -irf -3sg that flame.torch -com below
 he gets down with the torch.

025

ba:ʃu ... a: tya:n uyli ʃa:nu a: pottiya: kəḍsa:n əʃn ka:wəḍə ...

ba:ʃu, a tya:nu uyli ʃa:nu a pottiya
 ba:r -aʃu a tya:nu uyli ʃa:nu a pottə -iya
 come -cmp that hive near only that flame.torch -acc
kəḍsa:nu əʃnu ka:wəḍə.
 kəḍsu -a:l -ənu əḍi -t̩ -ənu ka:l -w -əḍə
 extinguish -thrly -acp take -rlf -acp leave -irf -sg
 Having come down, he extinguishes the torch near the hive.

026

att̩a:nu ...

att̩a:nu

att̩a:nu
that's.all
That's all

Int: att̩a:nu... how much time does it take?

027

ad̩ə ədl̩əɲa: wandə ətt̩u ... enbaɖ məyniyə ... enbaɖ məyniyə ... enbaɖ məyn...

ad̩ə ədl̩əɲa, wandə ətt̩u enbaɖu məyniyə

ad̩ə ədl̩əɲa wandə ətt̩u enbaɖu məyniyə

3sr.nm night about eight nine o'clock

That, in the night at about 8 or 9 o'clock.

Int: From 9 o'clock to ... how many hours?

028

ɥya:nu wandə a:r ə:l̩ ɥya:n iɖani ... wandə pa:nɔn məyniyə gutn a:p̩a: ...

If there are about 6 or 7 hives, it will take till about 12 o'clock.

a)

ɥya:nu wandə a:ru ə:l̩u ɥya:nu iɖani,

ɥya:nu wandə a:ru ə:l̩u ɥya:nu i:r -ɖ -ani

hive about six seven hive be -rlf -con

If there are about 6 or 7 hives,

b)

wandə pa:nɔndə məyniyə gutnu a:p̩a

wandə pa:nɔndə məyniyə gutnu a:g -pu -a

about eleven o'clock until become -irf -3sg

it will take till about 12 o'clock.

Int: In the night?

029

a:... pa:nɔn məyniyə...

pa:nɔndə məyniyə

pa:nɔndə məyniyə

eleven o'clock

Yes, 12 o'clock

030

pa:non məyni:kə ʃa:nu a: pəyni o:ʃa: ʃita:ʃu kuni:r uyləðə ...

pa:nondə məyni:ka ʃa:nu a pəyniyə o:ʃa
pa:nondə məyniyə -ka ʃa:nu a pəyniyə o:ʃa
eleven o'clock -dat only that work all
ʃita:ʃu kuni:ri uyləðə
ʃi:r -t -a:l -a:ʃu kuni:ri uyli -w -əðə
finish -rlf -thrly -cmp below descend -irf -sg
Only at 12 o'clock, having finished all the work, he will come down.

Int: The vessels, what kind of vessel?

031

iðəŋgu ... silwə:r pa:ʃtrə ... pa:ʃtrə ...

iðəŋgu, silwərə pa:ʃtərə,
iðəŋgi -u silwərə pa:ʃtərə
like.this -ajr aluminium vessel
Like this, an aluminium vessel

Int: With this ... what do you call this?

032

ka:yli

ka:yli
ka:yli
bamboo
bamboo

Int: You don't make it with this?

033

[They don't make it with this] **aðə:ʃiya: pa:ʃtrə ...**

aðə o:ʃiya pa:ʃtərə
aðə o:ʃi -aya pa:ʃtərə
3sr.nm all -DSTR vessel
That is all with vessels (i.e. metal vessels).

034

pa:ṭərə ədd bidl kaynni kayttaṭu ... ədd bidl kaynni kayttaṭu muni:r puḍudgə ...

Having tied a rope on two sides of the vessel, they send it up.

a)

pa:ṭərə əddu bidl kaynni kayttaṭu,

pa:ṭərə əddu biriyə -əl kaynni kayttu -aṭu
vessel two side -lc rope tie -cmp

Having tied a rope on two sides of the vessel,

b)

əddu bidl kaynni kayttaṭu

əddu biriyə -əl kaynni kayttu -aṭu
two side -lc rope tie -cmp

having tied a rope on two sides,

c)

muni:ri puḍudgə

muni:ri puḍuḍ -w -əgə
above send -irf -pl

they send it up.

Int: But in the past they didn't have all this (i.e. metal vessels); that is available only now.

035

[in the past] **pastl o:ṭiya: ... ann ... ḍappəgu: maṇṇu ... kuyrki ...** [in Tamil, earthen pots]

pastl o:ṭiya, ann, ḍappugu maṇṇukuyrki

pastə -əl o:ṭi -aya ann ḍappu -gu maṇṇu - kuyrki
first -lc all -DSTR then big -size soil - vessel

In the past, then, (there were) earthen pots.

Int: In your language?

036

maṇṇukuyrki ...

maṇṇukuyrki

maṇṇu - kuyrki

soil - vessel

earthen pots.

037

a: maŋŋkuyrki ətŋ pəytu ... a:na: alli nəttnu bannoŋto ...

Taking those earthen pots, they used to fill it there

a)

a maŋŋkuyrki ətŋ pəytu,

a maŋŋu - kuyrki ədʒi -t̪ -ənu pəy -aʈu
that soil - vessel take -rlf -acp go -cmp

Taking those earthen pots,

b)

a:na alli nəttənu bannoŋto

a:n -a alli nəri -t̪ -ənu ban -t -oʈt̪ -o
3sr -acc there fill -rlf -acp come -rlf -hab -pl
they used to fill it there

038

paŋda: ...

paŋda

paŋdə -a

past -ajr

In the past

Int: You used to do it at home?

039

[no] pəyrga:ka: ...

pəyrga:ka

pəyrga:də -ka

forest -dat

To the forest

Int: No. The pots, who made them? In the house?

040

minday o:tiya: ... yaŋgə a:lɡə ... kuyrk o:tiya: ... kijotto ...

mindaya o:tiya yangə a:lgə kuyrki o:tiya
 mindi -aya o:ti -aya yangə a:lu -gə kuyrki o:ti -aya
 before -DSTR all -DSTR 1p.exc.nm person -pl vessel all -DSTR

kijotto

ki:l -j -ott -o
 do -rlf -hab -pl

Earlier, we people used to make vessels and all.

Int: Not now?

041

inn ila: ...

inn ila
 inn ila
 now neg
 Not now

Int: *inn ila:?*

042

ila: ... inn ila: ...

ila, inn ila
 ila inn ila
 neg now neg
 No, not now.

043

inn o:tiya: ... cilwərə .. sti:lə .. sambbə .. aḍəḡa bəyri ina aḍəna: buṭṭaḍḍa: ...

inn o:tiya, silwərə, sti:lə, sambə, aḍəḡa bəyri ina
 inn o:ti -aya silwərə isti:lə sambə aḍən -ka bəyri ina
 now all -DSTR aluminium steel copper 3sr -dat because now

aḍəna buṭṭaḍḍa

aḍən -a buḍ -a:l -ḍ -a
 3sr -acc leave -thrly -rlf -3sg

Now there is aluminium, steel, copper, that's why that has been given up.

Int: Do you know how to make them?

044

illi: ... illi ... kuyrki mandə ɖa:r ila: ...

illi, kuyrki manndə ɖa:rə ila
illi kuyrki mann -ɖə ɖa:rə ila
here vessel person -pl who neg
Here, there are no vessel-makers

045

iṭilli ... iṭilli yan akkən ond aɖa ...

iṭili yan akkən wandə aɖa
iṭili yan akkən wandə awoɖ -a
over.here 1s.gn e.sister one exist -3sg
Over here, one of my sisters is there

046

aɖəŋa: gottpaɖɖə ...

aɖəŋa gottpaɖɖə
aɖən -ka gott - paɖ -əɖu
3sr -dat knowledge - exist -des
She would know.

Int: Yes?

047

aɖə inattəgu kuyrki ɖa:nu kijani ..

aɖə inattəgu kuyrki ɖa:nu kijani
aɖə inattəgu kuyrki ɖa:nu ki:l -j -ani
3sr.nm this.size vessel only do -rlf -con
She's able to make vessels of only this (small) size.

048

ɖappəgu un o:ɖiya: ki:wi a:nani ... inattka: maŋŋ bo:ɖu ...

If we mean to make big ones, etc, this much soil is needed

a)

ḍappugu una o:ṭəya ki:wɪya
 ḍappu -gu u -ən -a o:ṭa -aya ki:l -w -iya
 big -size that -sg.nmr -acc all -DSTR do -irf -1exc.opt
a:nani

a:n -ani

say -con

If we mean to make big ones, etc,

b)

inaṭka maṇṇu bə:ḍu

inaṭka maṇṇu bə:ḍu

this.much soil want

this much soil is needed

Int: Now, no one is able to make them?

049

mmm... inna: ḍa:rə ki:wəla: ...

ina ḍa:rə ki:wəla

ina ḍa:rə ki:l -w -il -a

now who do -irf -neg -3sg

No no one does it

Int: If I ask for one, they won't be able to make?

050

[can't make] ... **inna: ḍa:r aḍaṅgu pəyniyək illa: ...**

ina ḍa:rə aḍaṅgu pəyniyə ila

ina ḍa:rə aḍaṅgi -u pəyniyə ila

now who like.that -ajr work neg

Now there is no one for such work

051

aḍəṅa: kallə ... pina: ... iḍa:ṅgu ka:ṛyɪ ... kirizgu allgə ... erəwaṅ kijənu ... pina: ...

piṅgiṭi ... o:ṭṭi bəyḍnu ... a: kuyrki nə:ys mayḍnu ... ann ṭa:nu kuyrkəṅ a:pəḍə..

For that -- stones, then bamboo like this -- small halves made like knives, then small knives, bringing all this, making the vessel nice, only then, it becomes like a vessel.

a)

aḍəṅa kallə,

aḍən -ka kallə

3sr -dat stone

For that -- stones,

b)

pina iḍaṅgu ka:ṅli, kiri:gu allgə erəwaṅgi

pina iḍaṅgi -u ka:ṅli kiri -gu allgə erəwi -aṅgi

then like.this -ajr bamboo small -size spliced.bamboo knife -like

kijənu,

ki:l -j -ənu

do -rlf -acp

then bamboo like this -- small halves made like knives,

c)

pina piṅgiṭi, o:ṭi bəyḍnu,

pina piṅgiṭi o:ṭi bəyr -ənu

then small.knife all bring -acp

then small knives, bringing all this,

d)

a kuyrki nəysə mayḍnu,

a kuyrki nəysə mayr -ənu

that vessel nice make -acp

making the vessel nice,

e)

ann ṭa:nu kuyrkaṅgi a:pəḍə.

ann ṭa:nu kuyrki -aṅgi a:g -pu -əḍə

then only vessel -like become -irf -sg

only then, it becomes like a vessel.

Int: Oh... now no one makes them, a pity!

Bomman (In Tamil): Amma, put the tape off. I'll ask someone

Int: No, let it remain on.

052

akka: kuyrk kiwg akka: ...

aka, kuyrki ki:wgə, aka
 akkən -a kuyrki ki:l -w -əgə akkən -a
 e.sister -VOC vessel do -irf -pl e.sister -VOC
 Sister!, do you make vessels, sister?

053

maṇṇkuyrki ... kiri:gu kuyrki .. ki:lay gottu:ḍə ...

maṇṇkuyrki, kiri:gu kuyrki ki:layə gottu:ḍə
 maṇṇu - kuyrki kiri -gu kuyrki ki:l -əlayə gott - u:ḍə
 soil - vessel small -size vessel do -inf knowledge - exist

Int: Do you know how to make earthen pots, small earthen pots?

Bomman (In Tamil): She doesn't know. those kind of pots, now nobody makes them.

Int: Speak in your language.

054

[okay]... **aḍaṅgu mand in ḍa:rə kuyrki mand ila ...**

aḍaṅgu mandə ina ḍa:rə kuyrki mandə ila
 aḍaṅgi -u mann -ḍə ina ḍa:rə kuyrki mann -ḍə ila
 like.that -ajr person -pl now who vessel person -pl neg
 People like that, now there are no vessel-makers.

055

pina: mari: ... kikki ... aḍaṅgu:n o:ṭiya: kuṇḍa:ḍiyo ...

pina mari, kikki, aḍaṅgu:na o:ṭiya kuṇḍa:ḍiyo
 pina mari kikki aḍaṅgu:na o:ṭi -aya kuṇḍa:ḍ -w -iyo
 then husking.pan basket such.things all -DSTR behave -irf -pl
 Then, husking pans, baskets, they make all that.

Int: what is /mari/?

Bomman (In Tamil): Husking pan, for rice

Int: Oh, for working on rice. And /kikki/?

Bomman (In Tamil): *kikki* in Tamil, basket

Int: Oh, to carry on your head.

056

[those baskets, madam] **a:n o:tɪya: pəŋiyo: ...**

a:na o:tɪya pəŋiyo
a:n -a o:tɪ -aya pəŋi -w -iyo
3sr -acc all -DSTR weave -irf -pl
They weave those

057

a:n o:tɪya: nawə ki:wiya: ... kikki ...

a:na o:tɪya nawə ki:wiya, kikki
a:n -a o:tɪ -aya nawə ki:l -w -iya kikki
3sr -acc all -DSTR 1s.nm do -irf -1sg basket
I make all that, baskets.

058

kikki na: ki:wiya: ...

kikki nawə ki:wiya
kikki nawə ki:l -w -iya
basket 1s.nm do -irf -1sg
I make baskets

059

pa:y o:tɪya: ... yan ki:ri badci ...

pa:yə o:tɪya, yan ki:ri badsi
pa:yə o:tɪ -aya yan ki:ri badsi
mat all -DSTR 1s.gn house f.name
For mats, there is my wife Badsī.¹¹⁴

Int: Badsī makes that?

060

ə: badci ...

¹¹⁴ The word 'ki:ri' is used here as a metaphor for wife, i.e. woman of my house.

ə: baɖsi
ə: baɖsi
yes f.name
Yes, Badsì

061

aɖə kuttəwa: ...

aɖə kuttəwa
aɖə kuttu -w -a
3sr.nm stitch -irf -3sg
She stitches them

Int: aɖə kuttəwa. Where do you get these?

062

iɖə .. kaddi ... kaddi ... [in Tamil they say fields]

iɖə kaddi
iɖə kaddi
3sp.nm field
this ... field

Int: In the forest?

063

ə:, pəyrga:ɖə ... i batti [in Tamil they say hay/paddy]

ə:, pəyrga:ɖə i batti
ə: pəyrga:ɖə -təl i batti
yes forest -lc this paddy
Yes, in the forest, this paddy

064

**aɖaŋgi kaddəl ... pəyrga:ɖə ɔ:gi .. paɖtani ... pullya: kəjjən ətɪ ba:ɖu ... aynkənu ...
pina: ... aɖə wandə .. wan na:rasi wandad na:rasi aŋkiyo: ...**

Like that, in the fields, if there are some in the forest, having cut the grass and brought,
drying it, then they dry it for about two, one, or one and a half weeks

a)

aḍaŋgi kaḍḍəl, pəyrga:də o:gi paṭṭani,
 aḍaŋgi kaḍḍi -əl pəyrga:də o:gi paḍ -t -ani
 like.that field -lc forest inside exist -rlf -con
 Like that, in the fields, if there are some in the forest,

b)

pulliya kəjjənu əṭṇu ba:tu,
 pullə -iya kəyl -j -ənu əḍi -ṭ -ənu ba:r -aṭu
 grass -acc cut -rlf -acp take -rlf -acp come -cmp
 having cut the grass and brought,

d)

aynkənu, pina aḍə wandə əddu wan na:rasi wandad
 aynku -ənu pina aḍə wandə əddu wandə na:rasi wandə -ari
 dry(tr) -acp then 3sr.nm about two one week one -half
na:rasi aṅkiyo
 na:rasi aṅku -w -iyo
 week dry(tr) -irf -pl
 drying it, then they dry it for about two, one, or one and a half weeks

065

**aynkənu ... wanan pullə .. wanan pullə .. ṭirjəṭṇu ... aḍəṅ aḍəṅa: kəṛəttə aḷəwu: ..
 . pullə ṭirjəṭṇu ... pin a:na: wan pəyka: ... panəddu puyriyə ...**

Drying it, choosing one grass at a time, choosing grass of the correct measurement, 12 bundles for one mat.

a)

aynkənu, wanan pullə wanan pullə ṭirjəṭṇu,
 aynku -ənu wanan pullə wanan pullə ṭirjəḍi -ṭ -ənu
 dry(tr) -acp each grass each grass choose -rlf -acp
 Drying it, choosing one grass at a time,

b)

aḍəṅa aḍəṅa kəṛəttə aḷəwu pullə
 aḍəṅ -ka aḍəṅ -ka kəṛəttə aḷi -w -u pullə
 3sr -dat 3sr -dat correct measure -irf -ajr grass

ṭirjəṭṇu,

ṭirjəḍi -ṭ -ənu
 choose -rlf -acp
 choosing correctly measured grass,

c)

pina a:na wan pa:yka panəddu puyriyə,
 pina a:n -a wandə pa:yə -ka panəddu puyriyə
 then 3sr -acc one mat -dat twelve bundle

066

inaṭṭəgə panədd puyriyə ... panəddu .. pa:na:ku .. aḍaŋgi ...

inaṭṭəgu panəddu puyriyə, panəddu, pa:na:ku, aḍaŋgi,
 inaṭṭəgu panəddu puyriyə panəddu pa:na:ku aḍaŋgi
 this.size twelve bundle twelve fourteen like.that

12 bundles of this size, 12, 14, like that.

067

wan pa:yka: pa:na:k puyri o:ṭaya: kayttnu ... wanan pa:yka ṭirjəḍpiyo: ...

Tying 14 bundles for one mat, they choose some for each mat

a)

wan pa:yka pa:na:ku puyriyə o:ṭaya kayttnu,
 wandə pa:yə -ka pa:na:ku puyriyə o:ṭa -aya kayttu -ənu
 one mat -dat fourteen bundle all -DSTR tie -acp

Tying 14 bundles for one mat,

b)

wanan pa:yka ṭirjəḍpiyo.
 wanan pa:yə -ka ṭirjəḍji -pu -iyo
 each mat -dat choose -irf -pl
 they choose some for each mat

068

ṭirjəṭṭu ... pina:na: .. ni:dl əṭṭu pəytu muylkənu ... a:na: wantə

ṭirjəṭṭu, pina a:na ni:dl əṭṭu
 ṭirjəḍji -ṭ -ənu pina a:n -a ni:rə -əl əḍji -ṭ -ənu
 choose -rlf -acp then 3sr -acc water -lc take -rlf -acp

pəytu muylkənu, a:na wantə
 pəy -aṭu muylku -ənu a:n -a wantə
 go -cmp immerse(tr) -acp 3sr -acc one.day
 Having chosen them, then immersing them in water, that takes one day.

069

pina: buguṭṭəl e:tnu pinan ... pina: wanan ḍu:ji ... wanan ḍu:ji ... wanan ko:l əṭnu ... kiṭṭənu ... pin aḍə wan naras a:pa:

Then drying it in the sun, then taking each needle and each reed and stitching it, that will take one week.

a)

pina buguṭṭəl e:tnu,
pina buguṭṭə -ṭəl e:tu -ənu
then sunlight -l̥ dry -aḥp
Then drying it in the sun,

b)

pina wanan ḍu:ji wanan ḍu:ji wanan ko:lə əṭnu
pina wanan ḍu:ji wanan ḍu:ji wanan ko:lə əḍji -ṭ -ənu
then each needle each needle each reed take -rlf -aḥp
kiṭṭənu,
kiṭṭu -ənu
stitch -aḥp
then taking each needle and each reed and stitching it,

c)

pina aḍə wan narasi a:pa,
pina aḍə wandə narasi a:g -pu -a
then 3sr.nm one week become -irf -3sg
that will take one week.

070

wan pa:y iḍa:ŋgu pa:y ṭita:wəgə ...

wan pa:yə iḍa:ŋgu pa:yə ṭita:wəgə.
wandə pa:yə iḍa:ŋgi -u pa:yə ṭir -t -a:l̥ -w -əgə
one mat like.this -aḥr mat finish -rlf -thrly -irf -pl̥
They stitch one mat, a mat like this.

071

pagəl potto:ntə kuttisa:ni ... na:k nal oḷgi .. wan pa:yə ṭiḍo:pa: ...

If they stitch all day, a mat gets finished in 4 days.

a)

pagələ po:ntə kuttisani,
pagələ po:ntə kuttu -s -ani
daytime full.day stitch -rlf -con

If they stitch all day,

b)

na:ku na:lu o:igi wan pa:yə tido:pa
na:ku na:lu o:igi wandə pa:yə t̪ir -d̪ -o:g -pu -a
four day within one mat finish -rlf -thrly -irf -3sg
a mat gets finished in 4 days.

072

aḏaŋgi ... a: pa:yə ...

aḏaŋgi, a pa:yə
aḏaŋgi a pa:yə
like.that that mat
That's how it is, that mat.

Int: Okay, I'd like to get one. How should I say "I want one"?

073

yanka: bə:ɖu ...

yanka bə:ɖu
yan -ka bə:ɖu
1s -dat want
I want

Int: *yanka bə:ɖu. pa:yə ...*

074

pa:yə ...

pa:yə
pa:yə
mat

Int: *kikki ...*

075

kikki ...

kikki

kikki

basket

basket

Int: that ... what is it?

076

mari ...

mari

mari

husking.pan

husking pan

Int: /mari/. I'd like to get all that.

077

bə:ɖu ... siri

bə:ɖu, siri

bə:ɖu siri

want okay

(You) want, okay

Int: I will buy them.

078

bə:ɖu ninka

bə:ɖu ninka

bə:ɖu nin -ka

want 2s -dat

You want

Int: I want to keep them in my house.

079

o: ... iḍaŋgu pa:yə ... [okay]

o:, iḍaŋgu pa:yə

o: iḍaŋgi -u pa:yə

oh like.this -ajr mat

Oh, A mat like this

080

be:jikka: ʦa:nu iḍə ma:rsə ʦiŋgəʦəl i: pa:y kəḍsani ...

be:jikka ʦa:nu iḍə ma:rsə ʦiŋgəʦəl i pa:yə

be:jigi -ka ʦa:nu iḍə ma:rsə ʦiŋgələ -ʦəl i pa:yə

summer -dat only 3sp.nm March month -lc this mat

kəḍsani

kəḍsu -ani

extinguish -con

You can get this mat only in March, in summer.

Int: All the things you make, I'd like to get a sample piece of each one. Tell me the names. Tell me how you make them, okay?

081

[okay] **kikki ... mari ... pina: ... pa:yə ... pina: ... kiri:gu ʦu:kkiikki kiri:gu:ḍə ... pe**

nsilə .. pe:na: o:ʦa: ʦi:layu:ḍə ...

Basket, husking-pan, then mat, then a small basket, a small one, one for keeping pencils and pens.

a)

kikki, mari, pina pa:yə,

kikki mari pina pa:yə

basket husking.pan then mat

Basket, husking-pan, then mat,

b)

pina kiri:gu ʦu:kkiikki,

pina kiri -gu ʦu:kkiikki

then small -size sling.bag

then a small sling-bag,

c)

kiri:gu:ḍə, pensilə pe:na o:ʔa ʔi:layu:ḍə.

kiri -gu -əḍə pensilə pe:na o:ʔa ʔi:l -əlayə -u -əḍə
small -size -sg.nmr pencil pen all place -inf -ajr -sg.nmr

a small one, one for keeping pencils and pens.

Int: Is that so? I'd like to get that, I'll keep it on my desk!

082

**aḍa:ŋgu kikki ... kiri:gu:ḍə inattəgu:ḍə ilkugu:gə ... pena: .. pensələ ... pina: ... id
aŋgu sa:ḍa:n o:ʔiya: ... a: kikkəl ... nalaya: ... ca:ni: maŋŋu o:ʔ utŋ mekkən nala: ʔi
sani ... nallaya: ... i: kalarə ... i: kalarə ... i: kurku:mən .. kalar o:ʔiya: idḍənu ... k
alar o:ʔiya: udijani .. nalaya: ...**

A basket like that, a small one, one of this size, this big, pens, pencils, then things like this, smearing cow dung and mud on that basket, putting it nicely, this color, applying vermilion color, if you apply color, (it becomes) nice.

a)

aḍaŋgu kikki, kirigu:ḍə, inattəgu:ḍə,
aḍaŋgi -u kikki kiri -gu -əḍə inattəgu -əḍə
like.that -ajr basket small -size -sg.nmr this.size -sg.nmr

ilkugu:gə,

ilku -gu -əgə
long -size -pl.nmr

A basket like that, a small one, one of this size, this big,

b)

pe:na, pensəli, pina idəŋgu sa:ḍa:ni o:ʔiya,
pe:na pensəli pina idəŋgi -u sa:ḍa:ni o:ʔi -aya
pen pencil then like.this -ajr item all -DSTR
pens, pencils, then things like this,

c)

a kikkəl nalaya sa:ni maŋŋu o:ʔa utŋu
a kikki -əl nall -aya sa:ni maŋŋu o:ʔa ud -t -ənu
that basket -lc nice -INTNS cowdung soil all put -rlf -acp

mekkənu,

mekku -ənu

smear -acp

if you smear cowdung and mud on that basket,

d)

nala t̄isani,

nala t̄i:l -s -ani

nicely place -rlf -con

putting it nicely,

e)

i kalarə i ku:kumən kalarə o:t̄aya iḡənu kalarə

i kalarə i ku:kumən kalarə o:t̄a -aya i:r -ḡ -ənu kalarə

this color this vermilion color all -DSTR be -rlf -acp color

o:t̄aya uḡḡisani

o:t̄a -aya uḡḡu -s -ani

all -DSTR apply -rlf -con

this color, applying vermilion color, if you apply color,

g)

nalaya

nall -aya

nice -INTNS(it becomes) nice

Int: I'd like to get that. Will you make one? Is there one in this house?

083

il ḡa:r ipəli ila: ...

illi ḡa:r ipəli ila

illi ḡa:r ipəli ila

here who.gn with neg

Here, nobody has one.

084

a:na: ... pəyrga:t̄l pəytu ka:yli ət̄n ba:t̄u ... ann a:na: ki:sə:nu ... kiri:g pəyli maydn

u ... a:na: pəŋi a:nani .. wantn pəyniy a:pə: ...

That, having gone into the forest and having brought bamboo, then sharpening it to a point, making small bamboo-strips, if one means to weave it, it takes one day's work

a)

a:na pəyrga:t̄l pəytu ka:yli ət̄nu ba:t̄u,

a:n -a pəyrga:ḡə -t̄əl pəy -a:t̄u ka:yli əḡi -t̄ -ənu ba:r -a:t̄u

3sr -acc forest -lc go -cmp bamboo take -rlf -acp come -cmp

That, having gone into the forest and having brought bamboo,

b)

ann a:na ki:sa:nu,

ann a:n -a ki:su -a:l -ənu
then 3sr -acc sharpen -thrly -acp
then sharpening it to a point,

c)

kiri:gu pəyli maydnu,

kiri -gu pəyli mayr -ənu
small -size bamboo.point make -acp
making small bamboo-strips,

d)

a:na pəŋi a:nani,

a:n -a pəŋi a:n -ani
3sr -acc weave.im say -con
if one means to weave it,

e)

wantən pəyniyə a:pa

wantə -ən pəyniyə a:g -pu -a
one.day -ajr work become -irf -3sg
it takes one day's work

Int: For you? For you to do all that?

085

mmm ... wantn pəyniy a:pa: ...

wantən pəyniy a:pa

wantə -ən pəyniyə a:g -pu -a
one.day -ajr work become -irf -3sg
It will take one day's work.

086

kiri:gu kikki ...

kiri:gu kikki

kiri -gu kikki
small -size basket
A small basket.

Int: Okay, please make one, okay? When will you do it?

087

nawə ke:kŋa: ... ke:kŋa: masənaɡurk pəyo:ɖɖə ...

nawə ke:kŋa masənaɡuyrika pəyo:ɖɖə
 nawə ke:kŋa masənaɡuyriyə -ka pəy -o:ɖ -əɖə
 1s.nm tomorrow Masinagudy -dat go -prg -sg
 I am going to Masinagudi tomorrow

088

ke:kŋa: maɖa:nka: ba:ʃu ... na: wan ka:yli əna:ʃu ... ni bya:ŋlə:rəŋa: pəyt

ba:rgutnu ... kikk pəŋɖənu ... ʃippən na: ... kiri:na: ... pensəlka:

Having come in the afternoon, having brought one bamboo piece, by the time you go to Bangalore and come, weaving a basket, I will keep one, a small one, for pencils.

a)

ke:kŋa maɖa:nka ba:ʃu,
 ke:kŋa maɖa:ni -ka ba:r -aʃu
 tomorrow afternoon -dat come -cmp
 Having come in the afternoon,

b)

nawə wan ka:yli əna:ʃu,
 nawə wandə ka:yli əna:r -aʃu
 1s.nm one bamboo bring -cmp
 having brought one bamboo piece,

c)

niyə bya:ŋlə:rəŋa pəytu ba:rgutnu,
 niyə bya:ŋlə:rə -əŋa pəy -aʃu ba:r -gutnu
 2s.nm Bangalore -dat go -cmp come -until
 by the time you go to Bangalore and come,

d)

kikki pəŋɖənu, ʃipəni nawə,
 kikki pəŋi -ɖ -ənu ʃi:l -pu -əni nawə
 basket weave -rlf -acp place -irf -Sp1 1s.nm
 weaving a basket, I will keep one,

f)

kiri:na, pensəlka
 kiri -ən -a pensəli -ka
 small -sg.nmr -acc pencil -dat
 a small one, for pencils.

Int: Okay, what other things do you make?

089

bəri ... pina: ... pa:yə o:tɕiya: ... kikki pina: ... i: pullə .. kir: ki:wiyo: ...

Other things, mats and all, baskets, then, this grass .. we make houses.

a)

bəri, pina pa:yə o:təya, kikki, pina, i pullə

bəri pina pa:yə o:tə -aya kikki pina i pullə

different then mat all -DSTR basket then this grass

Other things, mats and all, baskets, then, this grass ..

b)

ki:ri ki:wiyo

ki:ri ki:l -w -iyo

house do -irf -pl

we make houses.

090

pull o:tə: kəjjən ətɕ ba:tʉ ...

pullə o:tə kəjjənu ətɕnu ba:tʉ

pullə o:tə kəyl -j -ənu ədʒi -t̚ -ənu bar -aʉ

grass all cut -rlf -acp take -rlf -acp come -cmp

Having cut the grass and brought (it).

Int: Houses?

091

ki:ri ... ki:rka: ...

ki:ri, ki:rka

ki:ri ki:ri -ka

house house -dat

Houses ... for houses.

Int: How do you make these houses?

092

ki:ri ...

ki:ri

ki:ri

house

Houses.

093

pastə kambbə ...

pastə kambə
pastə kambə
first post
First the pillars.

094

ərkamb nə:ku ...

ərkambə nə:ku
ərkambə nə:ku
main.side.post four
Four main side posts.

095

mugə[kambə wandə ...

mugə[kambə wandə
mugə[kambə wandə
central.post one
One central post

096

pina: kaləwə ... kiri:gu kaləwə ..

pina kaləwə, kiri:gu kaləwə
pina kaləwə kiri -gu kaləwə
then slanting.post small -size slanting.post
Then the slanting posts, small slanting posts

097

**o:ti ətŋ ba:tu ... se:rsa:tu ... pina: kambbə nə:ytŋu ... kambbə nə:ytŋu ... mindi
kuyli yə:ɟənu ... kamm nə:tiya:**

Having brought all that, having gathered them together, then fixing in the posts, digging the pits first, we fix the posts.

a)

o:ʃi əʃnu ba:ʃu, se:rsaʃu,
 o:ʃi ədʒi -ʃ -ənu ba:r -aʃu se:ri -su -aʃu
 all take -rlf -acp come -cmp join -caus -cmp
 Having brought all that, having gathered them together,

b)

pina kambə na:ytnu, kambə na:ytnu,
 pina kambə na:ytu -ənu kambə na:ytu -ənu
 then post fix.in -acp post fix.in -acp
 then fixing in the posts,

c)

mindʒi kuyli erjənu, kambə na:ʃiya
 mindʒi kuyliyə eri -j -ənu kambə na:ʃu -w -iya
 before pit dig -rlf -acp post fix.in -irf -1pl
 digging the pits first, we fix the posts.

098

**alʒuwa: kamm ʃarsənu ... pina aʒəŋa: pəytt porpisənu ... ontʃ pəyniyə pəytt
 porpisiyo: ...**

Cutting the posts to the right measurement, then placing the horizontal beams on them, placing the horizontal beams is one day's work.

a)

alʒəwaya kambə ʃarsənu,
 alʒi -w -a -aya kambə ʃari -s -ənu
 measure -irf -ajr -DSTR post cut -rlf -acp
 Cutting the posts to the right measurement,

b)

pina aʒəŋa pəytti porpisənu,
 pina aʒən -ka pəytti pori -pu -su -ənu
 then 3sr -dat horizontal.beam carry -irf -caus -acp
 then placing the horizontal beams on them (lit= getting them to carry the beams),

c)

wantən pəyniyə pəytti porpisiyo
 wantə -ən pəyniyə pəytti pori -pu -su -w -iyo
 one.day -ajr work horizontal.beam carry -irf -caus -irf -pl
 placing the horizontal beams is one day's work.

099

pin ontḡ pəyniyə kaɫəwə tu:ṡ to:ɫsənu ... pina: kaɫəw ko:ɫəy ontḡ pəyniyə ...

Then one day's work of drilling the holes, then fitting the posts (into the holes) is one day's work

a)

<i>pina wantən</i>		<i>pəyniyə kaɫəwə</i>		<i>tu:ṡ</i>		<i>to:ɫsənu,</i>	
pina wantə	-ən	pəyniyə kaɫəwə		tu:ṡ	to:ɫi	-s	-ənu
then one.day	- <u>ajr</u>	work slanting.post		hole	drill	- <u>rlf</u>	- <u>acp</u>

Then one day's work of drilling the holes,

b)

<i>pina kaɫəwə</i>		<i>ko:ɫayə</i>		<i>wantən</i>		<i>pəyniyə</i>
pina kaɫəwə		ko:ɫ	-əlayə	wantə	-ən	pəyniyə
then slanting.post		thread	- <u>inf</u>	one.day	- <u>ajr</u>	work

then fitting the posts (into the holes) is one day's work

100

pina: ... bernjilayə wə:ntḡ pəyniyə ...

<i>pina bernjəlayə</i>		<i>wantən</i>		<i>pəyniyə</i>
pina bernju	-əlayə	wantə	-ən	pəyniyə
then tie	- <u>inf</u>	one.day	- <u>ajr</u>	work

Then tying the posts is one day's work.

101

pina: ... pull kəjjən əṡḡ ba:ṡu pullə pina: po:ḡəlayə .. o:ntḡ pəyniyə ...

Then having brought the grass, then thatching the roof with grass is one day's work.

a)

<i>pina pullə kəjjənu</i>		<i>əṡḡ</i>		<i>ba:ṡu,</i>
pina pullə	kəyl -j	-ənu əḡi	-ṡ	-ənu ba:r -aṡu
then grass cut	- <u>rlf</u>	- <u>acp</u> take	- <u>rlf</u>	- <u>acp</u> come - <u>cmp</u>

Then having brought the grass,

b)

<i>pullə pina poḡəlayə</i>		<i>wantən</i>		<i>pəyniyə.</i>
pullə pina poḡi	-əlayə	wantə	-ən	pəyniyə
grass then thatch	- <u>inf</u>	one.day	- <u>ajr</u>	work

then thatching the roof with grass is one day's work.

poṭṭətu uṭṭk allg aṅgu:na o:ṭaya: kayttnu ... pina: ... ḍappu ki:rk a:sani ... ədd na:l a:pa: pull po:ḍə pəyni ṭani: ...

Having thatched it, tying the spliced bamboo and all on top, if it is a big house, it'll take 2 days just to put the grass.

a)

poṭṭətu, uṭṭka allgə aṅgu:na kayttnu,
 poḍi -ṭ -aṭu uṭṭka allgə aṅgu:na kayttu -ənu
 thatch -rlf -cmp on.top spliced.bamboo etcetra tie -acp

Having thatched it, tying the spliced bamboo and all on top,

b)

pina ḍappu ki:rk a:sani, əddu na:l u a:pa,
 pina ḍappu ki:ri -ka a:g -s -ani əddu na:l u a:g -pu -a
 then big house -dat become -rlf -con two day become -irf -3sg
 if it is a big house, it'll take 2 days

pullə po:ḍə pəyniyə ṭani
 pullə poḍi -w -ə pəyniyə ṭani
 grass thatch -irf -rlr work itself
 just to put the grass.

əddu əddu ədd na:l o:lgi ... poṭṭn ṭita:ṭu pina: oppəḍən taymka: o:ṭiya: pull uṭka: anja:rə kayttnu ... pina: səydl a: pull nendū:ḍən ipən o:ṭiya: kəjja:nu ... pina: a:na: sirma:ḍiyə: ...

Having finishing thatching the roof in 2 days, then in the evening, fastening bamboo strips on the grass, then trimming all the grass that is hanging over the side, they fix it all up.

a)

əddu na:l u o:lgi poṭṭnu ṭita:ṭu,
 əddu na:l u o:lgi poḍi -ṭ -ənu ṭir -t -a:l -aṭu
 two day within thatch -rlf -acp finish -rlf -thrly -cmp

Having finishing thatching the roof in 2 days,

b)

pina opaṭən taymka o:ṭiya pullə uṭka anja:ri
 pina opaṭən taymə -ka o:ṭi -aya pullə uṭka anja:ri
 then evening time -dat all -DSTR grass on.top securing.rod

kayttnu,

kayttu -ənu

tie -acp

then in the evening, fastening bamboo strips on the grass,

c)

pina səydl a pullə nendü:dənu

pina səydə -əl a pullə nendü:l -d̥ -ənu

then side -lc that grass droop.over.edge -rlf -acp

ipəna o:təya kəjja:nu,

ir -pu -ən -a o:tə -aya kəyl -j -a:l -ənu

be -irf -sg.nmr -acc all -DSTR cut -rlf -thrly -acp

then trimming all the grass that is hanging over the side,

d)

pina a:na sirma:d̥iyo.

pina a:n -a siri - ma:d̥ -w -iyo

then 3sr -acc okay - make -irf -pl

they fix it all up.

104

**sirma:d̥sani ... pina: ki:dlipmandə maŋŋə poruʦnu ... id̥aŋgi t̥əni ... maŋŋ
nərt̥ənə ... pina: a:na: pina:na: ar̥dənu ... aru pəyniyə ədd na:l gutn a:pa: ... maŋŋ
poruʦlayə ədd na:l̥u ... aru pəyniyə ədd na:l̥u ...**

When it is fixed up, then the house-folk carrying mud, piling mud for a platform like this, then beating it (down), the work of beating takes 2 days -- 2 days to carry the mud and 2 days to beat it down.

a)

sirma:d̥sani,

siri - ma:d̥ -s -ani

okay - make -rlf -con

When it is fixed up,

b)

pina ki:d̥l ipmann̄də maŋŋu poruʦnu,

pina ki:ri -əl ir -pu -mann -d̥ə maŋŋu porud̥ -t -ənu

then house -lc be -irf -person -pl soil carry -rlf -acp

then the house-folk carrying mud,

c)

id̥aŋgi t̥əni maŋŋu nərt̥ənu,

id̥aŋgi t̥əni maŋŋu nəri -t̥ -ənu

like.this platform soil fill -rlf -acp

piling mud for a platform like this,

d)

pina a:na arđənu,
 pina a:n -a ari -đ -ənu
 then 3sr -acc beat -rlf -acc
 then beating it (down),

e)

arəwə pəyniyə əddu na:l̥u gutnu a:pa,
 ari -w -ə pəyniyə əddu na:l̥u gutnu a:g -pu -a
 beat -irf -rlr work two day until become -irf -3sg
 the work of beating takes 2 days

f)

maŋŋu porudlayə əddu na:l̥u
 maŋŋu porud -əlayə əddu na:l̥u
 soil carry -inf two day
 2 days to carry the mud

g)

arəwə pəyniyə əddu na:l̥u
 ari -w -ə pəyniyə əddu na:l̥u
 beat -irf -rlr work two day
 2 days to beat it down.

105

**arđənu pina: kupattəgallə ... kupattəgallə ... pina: agə kuyrk ku:pisələ ʔəni ...
 kuyrki ɖappugə kuyrkədna: ʔəni ... pari o:ʔaya: kijən po:pəgə ... e:ndə ... wan
 na:rasən pəyniyə ...**

Beating it down, then the stove, then a platform for keeping vessels, a platform for big vessels, shelves and all, what with all that, it is one week's work.

a)

arđənu, pina kupattəgallə,
 ari -đ -ənu pina kupattəgallə
 beat -rlf -acc then stove
 Beating it down, then the stove,

b)

pina kuyrki ku:pisəlayə ʔəni,
 pina kuyrki ku:r -pu -su -əlayə ʔəni
 then vessel sit -irf -caus -inf platform
 then a platform for keeping vessels,

c)

kuyrki, ɖappugu kuyrkigərna o:ʈa ʈəni, pari
kuyrki ɖappu -gu kuyrki -gər -na o:ʈa ʈəni pari
vessel big -size vessel -pl -acc all platform shelf
o:ʈiya,

o:ʈi -aya

all -DSTR

a platform for big vessels, shelves and all,

d)

e:ndə wan na:rasən pəyniyə.

e:ndə wandə narasi -ən pəyniyə

somehow one week -ajr work

what with all that, it is one week's work.

106

wan na:rasən pəyniyə o:ʈay ʈita:ʈu ... pinann pina: kirka: ... bupiyə: ...

Having finished one week's work, then at that time, we move into the house.

a)

wan na:rasən pəyniyə o:ʈaya ʈita:ʈu,

wandə narasi -ən pəyniyə o:ʈa -aya ʈir -t -a:l -aʈu

one week -ajr work all -DSTR finish -rlf -thrly -cmp

Having finished one week's work,

b)

pina ann kirka bupiyə

pina ann kiri -ka bu -pu -iyə

then then house -dat come -irf -pl

then at that time, they move into the house.

107

pəymən kirka: ba:ʈu andə ... pina ann a: ki:dl idənu pina: ipiyə: ...

Having come on that day to the new house, then staying in that house, we live there.

a)

pəymən kirka ba:ʈu anndə,

pəymən kiri -ka ba:r -aʈu anndə

new house -dat come -cmp that.day

Having come on that day to the new house,

b)

pina ann a ki:dl iḡənu
pina ann a kiri -əl i:r -ḡ -ənu
then then that house -lc be -rlf -acp
then staying in that house,

c)

pina ipiyo
pina i:r -pu -iyo
then be -irf -pl
we live there.

108

aḡaḡgi ...

aḡaḡgi
aḡaḡgi
like.that
That's how

Int: But some houses are like that one over there. Not much work has been done on that. But a lot of work has been done on this house, no?

109

ba:ṭu ... a: ki:rka o:ṭaya: ... wandə ... mu:r na:k na:l o:lgi pəynigilku ...

ba:ṭu, a ki:rka o:ṭaya wandə mu:ru na:ku na:l u o:lgi
ba:r -aṭu a kiri -ka o:ṭa -aya wandə mu:ru na:ku na:l u o:lgi
come -cmp that house -dat all -DSTR about three four day within
pəynigilku
pəyniyə - ki:l -ku
work - do -pbl

The work for that house can be done in about 3-4 days.

110

**pina: i: ki:rka o:ṭiya: ba:ṭu idə ... i: bidl kuni:ri ... i: bidl kuni:ri ... i: biri kuni:ri ...
o:ṭa: biri: kuni:ri ... a:ḡa: bəyri idə pəyni jəyṭ puyrpa: ...**

Then this house, this one, (it is plastered) down to the bottom on this side, to the bottom on this side, to the bottom on all sides, because of that, this one requires more work

a)

pina i kirka o:tiya ba:tu,
pina i kiri -ka o:ti -aya bar -a:tu
then this house -dat all -DSTR come -cmp
Then this house,

b)

i:da i bidl kuni:ri,
i:da i biriyə -əl kuni:ri
3sp.nm this side -lc below
this one (is plastered) down to the bottom on this side,

c)

i biriyə kuni:ri,
i biriyə kuni:ri
this side below
to the bottom on this side,

d)

o:ta biriyə kuni:ri,
o:ta biriyə kuni:ri
all side below
to the bottom on all sides,

e)

a:na bəyri i:da pəyniyə jəyti puyrpa
a:n -ka bəyri i:da pəyniyə jəyti puyri -pu -a
3sr -dat because 3sp.nm work more catch -irf -3sg
because of that, this one requires more work

111

i:da ba:tu ədd narasi gutn a:pa i kirka: ...

i:da ba:tu əddu narasi gutnu a:pa, i
i:da bar -a:tu əddu narasi gutnu a:g -pu -a i
3sp.nm come -cmp two week until become -irf -3sg this
kirka
kiri -ka
house -dat
This one takes up to 2 weeks, for this house

112

a: kir a:sani wan na:ras o:lg o:ta: tita:lku ...

If it is that house, it can be finished within 1 week

a)

a kiri a:sani

a kiri a:g -s -ani
that house become -rlf -con

If it is that house,

b)

wan na:rasi o:lg o:ta tita:lku

wandə na:rasi o:lg o:ta t̩ir -t -a:l -ku
one week within all finish -rlf -thrly -pbl

it can be finished within 1 week

Int: *wan na:rasi?*

113

wan na:rasi ... wan biriyə aḏə ...

wan na:rasi wan biriyə aḏə

wandə na:rasi wandə biriyə aḏə
one week one side 3sr.nm

One week, it is (plastered) on one side

Int: *iḏə ədd na:rasi?*

114

ədd na:rasi ... ədd na:rasi ... ədd na:ras a:pa: ...

əddu na:rasi a:pa

əddu na:rasi a:g -pu -a
two week become -irf -3sg

It takes two weeks.

115

**pina: ... bə:ri kir ki:wiy a:nani ... kir:igu wan biri:ka: a:sani ... wan mu:r na:l
o:lg ... a: ki:riya: pəyni tita:lku ...**

If we mean to make a different house, if it is a small one (plastered) on one side, the work for that house can be done in about 3-4 days.

a)

pina bəri kiri ki:wiya a:nani,
 pina bəri kiri ki:l -w -iya a:n -ani
 then different house do -irf -1.exc.opt say -con
 If we mean to make a different house,

b)

kiri:gu wan birika a:sani,
 kiri -gu wandə biriyə -ka a:g -s -ani
 small -size one side -dat become -rlf -con
 if it is a small one (plastered) on one side,

c)

wan mu:ru na:lu o:gi a kiri:ya pəyniyə
 wandə mu:ru na:lu o:gi a kiri -iya pəyniyə
 one three day within that house -acc work
ṭita:ku
 ṭir -t -a:l -ku
 finish -rlf -thrly -pbl
 the work for that house can be done in about 3-4 days.

116

wand maḍa:n gutnu kamm na:ṭku ...

wandə maḍa:ni gutnu kambə na:ṭuku
 wandə maḍa:ni gutnu kambə na:ṭu -ku
 one afternoon until post fix.in -pbl
 The posts can be fixed by about the afternoon

117

opaṭən taymka: kaləw ko:lku ...

opaṭən ṭaymka kaləwə ko:lku
 opaṭən ṭaymmə-ka kaləwə ko:l -ku
 evening time -dat slanting.post thread -pbl
 The slanting posts can be fitted in one evening

118

pinpəna:lu ... pina: kaləw ko:ṭənu berjənu ... pəyni oppaḍən taymka: pull

poṭa:yo: ...

The next day, putting the posts into the holes and tying them, the work, in the evening we thatch the roof with grass

a)

pinpəna:lʉ, pina ka|əwə ko:tənu bernjənu,
 pinpəna:lʉ pina ka|əwə ko:tʉ -ənu bernju -ənu
 next.day then slanting.post thread -acp tie -acp
 The next day, putting the posts into the holes and tying them,

b)

pəyniyə
 pəyniyə
 work
 the work

c)

opaṭən ʃaymka pullə poṭa:yo
 opaṭən ʃaymmə-ka pullə poṭi -t̃ -a:l -w -iyo
 evening time -dat grass thatch -rlf -thrly -irf -pl
 in the evening we thatch the roof with grass

119

poḍəl paṭṭani su:də paṭṭani ... poḍəl a:gəl ila: ...

If you are thatching the roof, if it is hot, you can't thatch the roof.

a)

poḍəl paṭṭani, su:də paṭṭani,
 poḍi -əl paḍ -t -ani su:də paḍ -t -ani
 thatch -inf exist -rlf -con hot exist -rlf -con
 If you are thatching the roof, if it is hot

b)

poḍəl a:gəl ila
 poḍi -əl a:g -əl ila
 thatch -inf become -inf neg
 you can't thatch the roof.

120

payyə pull a:ṅṅana: ayrkənu ka:yo: ...

payyə pullə a:ṅṅana ayrkənu ka:yo
 payyə pullə a:ṅṅana ayrku -ənu ka:l -w -iyo
 silent grass just.like.that arrange -acp leave -irf -pl
 We simply pile the grass and leave it

121

maḷa: pəjjani ... pina: poḍiyo: pullə ...

maḷa pəjjani pina poḍiyo pullə
 maḷa pəyl -j -ani pina poḍi -w -iyo pullə
 rain rain -rlf -con then thatch -irf -pl grass
 If it rains, then we can thatch the roof with the grass.

122

pullə pottənu ... pina: a:n uttka: anjar kayttnu ... pin a:na: səydl pull o:ṭa:

kəjanu ... aḍaṅgi aḍə wan mu:ru na:k na:l o:lgi ... a: kir ki:lku ...

Thatching the roof with grass, then tying bamboo strips on top, then cutting off the grass on the side, like that, that house can be done in about 3-4 days.

a)

pullə pottənu,
 pullə poḍi -ṭ -ənu
 grass thatch -rlf -acp
 Thatching the roof with grass,

b)

pina a:na uttka anja:ri kayttnu,
 pina a:n -a uttka anja:ri kayttu -ənu
 then 3sr -acc on.top securing.rod tie -acp
 then tying bamboo strips on top,

c)

pina a:na səydl pullə o:ṭa kəjanu,
 pina a:n -a səyda -əl pullə o:ṭa kəyl -j -a:l -ənu
 then 3sr -acc side -lc grass all cut -rlf -thrly -acp
 then cutting off the grass on the side,

d)

aḍaṅgi, aḍə wan mu:ru na:ku na:l o:lgi a ki:ri
 aḍaṅgi aḍə wandə mu:ru na:ku na:l o:lgi a ki:ri
 like.that 3sr.nm about three four day within that house
 ki:lku

ki:l -ku
 do -pbl

like that, that house can be done in about 3-4 days.

123

pin i: kirka: ədd na:ras a:pa: ...

pina i kirka əddu nar:rası a:pa
 pina i kiri -ka əddu nar:rası a:g -pu -a
 then this house -dat two week become -irf -3sg
 This house takes 2 weeks

Int: *iqə ədd nar:rası ...*

124

ədd nar:rası ...

əddu nar:rası
 əddu nar:rası
 two week
 two weeks

Int: But does it leak when it rains?

125

maɭətəl ba:dl ila:

maɭətəl ba:dl ila
 maɭi -təl ba:r -əl ila
 rain -lc come -inf neg
 (Water) won't come in during the rain

126

nala:ya: pullə ayrkən poṭṭani ... wan suyli ni:r ba:dl ila: ...

If the grass is arranged and thatched nicely, even one drop of water won't come in.

a)

nala:ya pullə ayrkənu poṭṭani,
 nala -aya pullə ayrku -ənu poṭi -t -ani
 nicely -DSTR grass arrange -acp thatch -rlf -con
 If the grass is arranged and thatched nicely,

b)

wan suyliyə ni:rə ba:dl ila
 wandə suyliyə ni:rə ba:r -əl ila
 one drop water come -inf neg
 even one drop of water won't come in.

Int: Do snakes and all come in?

127

pa:mbə ba:dl ila: ... ilka: ...

pa:mbə ba:dl ila ilka
 pa:mbə ba:r -əl ila illi -ka
 snake come -inf neg here -dat
 Snakes don't come here

128

**pa:mbə banan ʃa:ni pormə ʃan i:tu ... etəda:nu ki:rɔkk bannan ʃa:nu naŋg əylkən
 puɖuʃn kaɖa: pɔ:pə pa:mbə ...**

If a snake even comes from outside, if it somehow just comes into the house, when we drive it off, it goes

a)

pa:mbə bannani ʃa:ni pormi ʃana i:tu
 pa:mbə ban -t -ani ʃa:ni pormi ʃana i:tu
 snake come -rlf -con only outside itself from

If a snake even comes from outside

b)

etəda:nu ki:ri o:kka bannani ʃa:nu
 et -əɖə -a:nu ki:ri o:gi -ka ban -t -ani ʃa:nu
 which -sg.nmr -IND house inside -dat come -rlf -con only

if it somehow just comes into the house,

c)

naŋgə əylkənu puɖuʃnu kaɖani
 naŋgə əylku -ənu puɖuʃ -t -ənu ka:l -ɖ -ani
 1p.inc.nm chase.off -acp send -rlf -acp leave -rlf -con

when we drive it off,

d)

pɔ:pə pa:mbə
 pɔ:g -pu -a pa:mbə
 go -irf -3sg snake
 it goes

129

pa:mk o:ʃa: pə:ɖsəl bə:ɖa:m ili: ...

pa:mka o:ʔa pəɖsəl bə:ɖama illi
 pa:mbe -ka o:ʔa pəɖsu -əl bə:ɖa -ma illi
 snake -dat all frighten -inf unnecessary -EXM here
 You don't have to worry about snakes at all here

130

pə:ɖsəle: bə:ɖa: ...

pə:ɖsəle bə:ɖa
 pəɖsu -əl -e bə:ɖa
 frighten -inf -EMPH unnecessary
 You just don't have to worry about them!

Int: Now, the government is giving you another kind of roof, isn't it?

131

ina: .. gəwərməntəl ba:ʔu ʔagəri ... ʔagər o:ʔa ʔapiyo ...

ina gəwərməntəl ba:ʔu ʔagərə o:ʔa ʔapiyo
 ina gəwərməntə -əl ba:r -aʔu ʔagərə o:ʔa ʔa:r -pu -iyo
 now government -lc come -cmp metal all give -irf -pl
 Now the government gives metal (zinc sheeting for roofs).

132

i: biri:ka: ɖa:rka: ʔagərə puyrpəla: ...

i biri:ka ɖa:rka ʔagərə puyrpəla
 i biri:ya -ka ɖa:r -ka ʔagərə puyri -pu -il -a
 this side -dat who -dat metal like -irf -neg -3sg
 In this area, no one likes metal

133

kottəg ila: ...

kottəg ila
 koɖ -t -əgə ila
 give -rlf -pl neg
 They have not given

134

ṭandəg ila: ...

ṭandəgə *ila*
ṭan -t -əgə ila
give -rlf -pl neg
They haven't given

135

pina: ...

pina
pina
then
Then ...

Int: They havn't given or you don't want?

136

ila: aḍə yaŋgərka: kəṭani ... na: kəṭi: ...

No, when we ask for some for us ... I asked.

a)

ila, aḍə yaŋgərka kəṭani,
ila aḍə yaŋgər -ka kəṭ -t -ani
neg 3sr.nm 1p.exc -dat ask -rlf -con
No, when we ask for some for us

b)

nawə kəṭi
nawə kəṭ -t -i
1s.nm ask -rlf -1sg
I asked.

137

oḍəno:ḍa: kəṭəŋa: ṭani na: ṭapiya: ṭapiy andaṭu yaŋkərka: ṭandəgey ila: ...

When just asking the warden, having said, "I will give, I will give", he has simply not given us any.

a)

o:ɖənoɖa kə:təŋa ʔa:ni,

o:ɖən -oɖa kə:l -t -əŋa ʔa:ni

warden -com ask -rlf -trn only

When just asking the warden,

b)

nawə ʔapiya ʔapiya andaʔu,

nawə ʔa:r -pu -iya ʔa:r -pu -iya a:n -t -aʔu

1s.nm give -irf -1sg give -irf -1sg say -rlf -cmp

having said, "I will give, I will give",

c)

yaŋgərka ʔandəge ila

yaŋgər -ka ʔan -t -əgə -e ila

1p.exc -dat give -rlf -pl -EMPH neg

he has simply not given us any.

Int: But why do you want it? This (the grass roof) is nice, no?

138

aɖaŋ kijən ʔanani ʔanani ... iɖaŋgu pull ki:ri ... wandə ʔani:ya: ... wan ru:mə ʔica ni bupmandrəka: no:ɖʔayə nala: paɖa: ...

If we do one like that, a grass house like this, one separately, if we keep one room, it will be nice for visitors to see

a)

aɖaŋgi kijənu ʔanani,

aɖaŋgi ki:l -j -ənu ʔan -t -ani

like.that do -rlf -acp give -rlf -con

If we do one like that,

b)

iɖaŋgu pullə ki:ri,

iɖaŋgi -u pullə ki:ri

like.this -ajr grass house

a grass house like this,

c)

wandə ʔaniya, wan ru:mə ʔisani,

wandə ʔaniya wandə ru:mə ʔi:l -s -ani

one separate one room place -rlf -con

one separately, if we keep one room,

d)

bupmannðarka *no:dlayə* *nala* *paða*
bu -pu -mann -dər -ka no:dl -əlayə nala paða
come -irf -person -pl -dat see -inf nicely exist
it will be nice for visitors to see

139

idə kurbəndə ... kir kijənadgə ...

idə *kurbəndə* *ki:ri* *kijənadgə*
idə kurbən -də ki:ri ki:l -j -ənad -əgə
3sp.nm Kurumba -pl house do -rlf -prf -pl
The Kurumbas have made these houses

140

kurbən .. pull kəjjən bə:tu kə:ylo:ða: kir kijənadgə idəngi ... ampunu ...

Saying, "The Kurumbas, having brought grass, have built houses of bamboo like this."

a)

kurbən *pullə* *kəjjənu* *bə:tu,*
kurbən pullə kəyl -j -ənu bə:r -a:tu
Kurumba grass cut -rlf -acp come -cmp
"The Kurumbas, having cut grass and brought,"

b)

kə:ylo:ða *ki:ri* *kijənadgə* *idəngi*
kə:yli -o:ða ki:ri ki:l -j -ənad -əgə idəngi
bamboo -com house do -rlf -prf -pl like.this
"have built houses of bamboo like this."

c)

ampunu
ampunu
quot
saying.

141

wan bə:lkadngə ... pə:rnisəgə ... a:ŋ bə:t no:dsan ʒani ... idə nala: pað ampunu ...

pə:yo: ...

If foreigners come and see, they will say that it is nice.

a)

wan bə:lgadngə pa:rnisəgə a:ŋgi ba:tu
 wandə bə:lgadn -gə pa:rnisə -gə a:ŋgi bar -aʈu
 some white.man -pl foreigners -pl thus come -cmp
 no:ɖsani ʈani,
 no:ɖ -s -ani ʈani
 see -rlf -con itself
 If whitemen, foreigners, come and see,

b)

iɖə nala paɖa ampunu pə:wiyo
 iɖə nala paɖa ampunu pə:l -w -iyo
 3sp.nm nicely exist quot say -irf -pl
 they will say that it is nice.

142

a:ŋa: bəyri i: kiri aɖaŋtan ʈipəgə ...

a:ŋa bəyri i: kiri aɖaŋgi ʈana ʈipəgə
 a:n -ka bəyri i: kiri aɖaŋgi ʈana ʈi:l -pu -əgə
 3sr -dat because this house like.that itself place -irf -pl
 That is what this house is kept for.

143

aɖaŋg ʈanani ... ʈaniyə sepərətə ʈisaʈu ... iɖəna: ... pull kiri ... wan kirizəndə ...

ku:nidlayə bupmandrək ku:nidlayə o:ʈiya: ... aɖə bə:ɖu

If we do that, having kept one separately, this one, a grass house, a small one for sitting, for the visitors to sit and all, that is necessary.

a)

aɖaŋgi ʈannani,
 aɖaŋgi ʈan -t -ani
 like.that give -rlf -con
 If we do that,

b)

ʈaniyə sepərətə ʈisaʈu,
 ʈaniyə sepərətə ʈi:l -s -aʈu
 separate separately place -rlf -cmp
 having kept one separately,

c)

iḍəna, pullə kiri, wan kiri:səndə kʉ:nidlayə,

iḍən -a pullə kiri wandə kiri -səndə kʉ:n -i:r -əlayə

3sp -acc grass house one small -nmr sit -stat -inf

this one, a grass house, a small one for sitting,

d)

bupmannḍərka

kʉ:nidlayə

o:təya,

bu -pu -mann -ḍər -ka kʉ:n -i:r -əlayə o:tə -aya

come -irf -person -pl -dat sit -stat -inf all -DSTR

for the visitors to sit and all,

e)

aḍə bə:ḍu

aḍə bə:ḍu

3sr.nm want

that is necessary.

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