Descriptive Analysis of Verbs in Malto

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Declaration

I undertake that all material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person(s). I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work that I present for examination.

Chaithra Puttaswamy

Abstract

This thesis is a Descriptive Analysis of Verbs in Malto, a poorly documented North Dravidian language with about 60,000 speakers living on the Rajmahal Hills in Eastern India. Malto is an agglutinating language with SOV word order. The finite verb word in Malto maximally carries information about valence adjusting operations, tense-aspect-mood, negation and gender-number-person agreement with the subject. The non-finite verbs take suffixes marking adverbialisation, complementation, relativisation, conjunct participialisation and relative tense. Syntactically, there is only one finite verb in a sentence and all the other verbs preceding it are non-finite. Malto has a range of multi-verb constructions that includes explicator compound verbs, conjunct participle constructions, reduplicated adverbials, verbal complementisation, clause chaining and quotative verbal constructions. This work includes a detailed analysis of the formal structure of verbs, valence adjusting operations, tense-aspect-mood, negation and multi-verb constructions in Malto along with a concluding chapter on the language contact and convergence situation. The synchronic data collected during fieldwork is discussed in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar and complemented by inputs from typological studies and a historical linguistic perspective in relation to Dravidian languages.

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Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
ad	adnominal
add	additive particle
adv	adverbial
caus	causative
clf	classifier
comp	comparative
cond	conditional
cp	conjunct participle
dtr	detransitiviser
ep	epenthetic
emp	emphatic
fut	future
gen	genitive
h	human
icaus	indirect causation
imp	imperative
indef	indefinite particle
inf	infinitive
loc	locative
m	masculine
neg	negative
nh	non-human
nm	non masculine
nom	nominative
nomr	nominaliser
oblig	obligatory
opt	optative
pass	passive
pl	plural
prf	perfective
prs	present
pst	past
q	question
qot	quotative
recp	reciprocal
rel	relativiser
rp	relative past
sf	stem formative
sg	singular
sim	simultaneous
tr	transitiviser
voc	vocative
vrb	verbaliser

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0   Introduction

This chapter introduces Malto - the language and the people who speak it. In the first section (1.1) of this chapter I give a historical and sociolinguistic profile of the Malto speaking community. I contextualise Malto in relation to its neighbouring languages (section 1.1.1, also see Chapter 8) and present the linguistic preferences of the community based on various spheres of language use (section 1.1.2). The question of how the lifestyle choices of the Malto speaking people, based on social, political, economic and religious considerations, influences a Malto speaker's linguistic preferences is discussed in section 1.1.3. The second part of this chapter (section 1.2) elaborates on the research methodology and provides details about my fieldwork with the Malto speaking community. I provide an account of the methods of data collection (section1.2.1) and the technical issues related to processing (section 1.2.2) and archiving (1.2.3) the data. The Malto speaking community's response to my attempts at documenting and describing the language, and the people who participated in my documentation work are presented in sections 1.2.4 and 1.2.5 respectively. In the third part of this chapter I discuss previous published works on Malto as a language (section 1.3) and the fourth part locates Malto within the Dravidian language family (section 1.4). The last section provides a brief preview of the chapters to follow.

At the outset I would like to clarify firstly that this thesis deals with the Sauriya Pahariya variety of Malto (section 1.1.2), which is one of the three recognised varieties of the language, and secondly, with regard to grammatical description, the scope of this thesis is

restricted to providing an account of the formal structure and the related function of verbs in Malto. I adopt a semasiological approach to language description and hence all the discussions in the following chapters begin with introducing the morphosyntactic forms of the verb which then lead to a discussion of the various functions expressed by that formal representation in Malto. I have attempted to be exhaustive about the word forms introduced in the following chapters, however discussions of their functions is limited to their role within the clausal structure of the language.

1.1 Historical and Sociolinguistic Profile

Historical accounts have traced Malto speaking communities all the way back to Karnataka in Southern India in 600 BC and also have accounted for their subsequent migration across the Vindhya mountain range in Central India and settling in the Gangetic Plains in Northern India (Jha 1985, Verma 1993). A popular myth within the community is that the Malto speaking community opposed British colonial rule. As a result of this conflict with the ruling powers, the Malto community lost their lands in the plains and were forced to hide in the Rajmahal Hills[1]. The economic decline of the community is attributed to this migration to the hills and simultaneous movement away from the development taking place in urban centres.

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[1] Rameshwar Pahariya's account of this big event in Pahariya history is a part of the recorded data that I have deposited at the Endangered Languages Archive, SOAS.
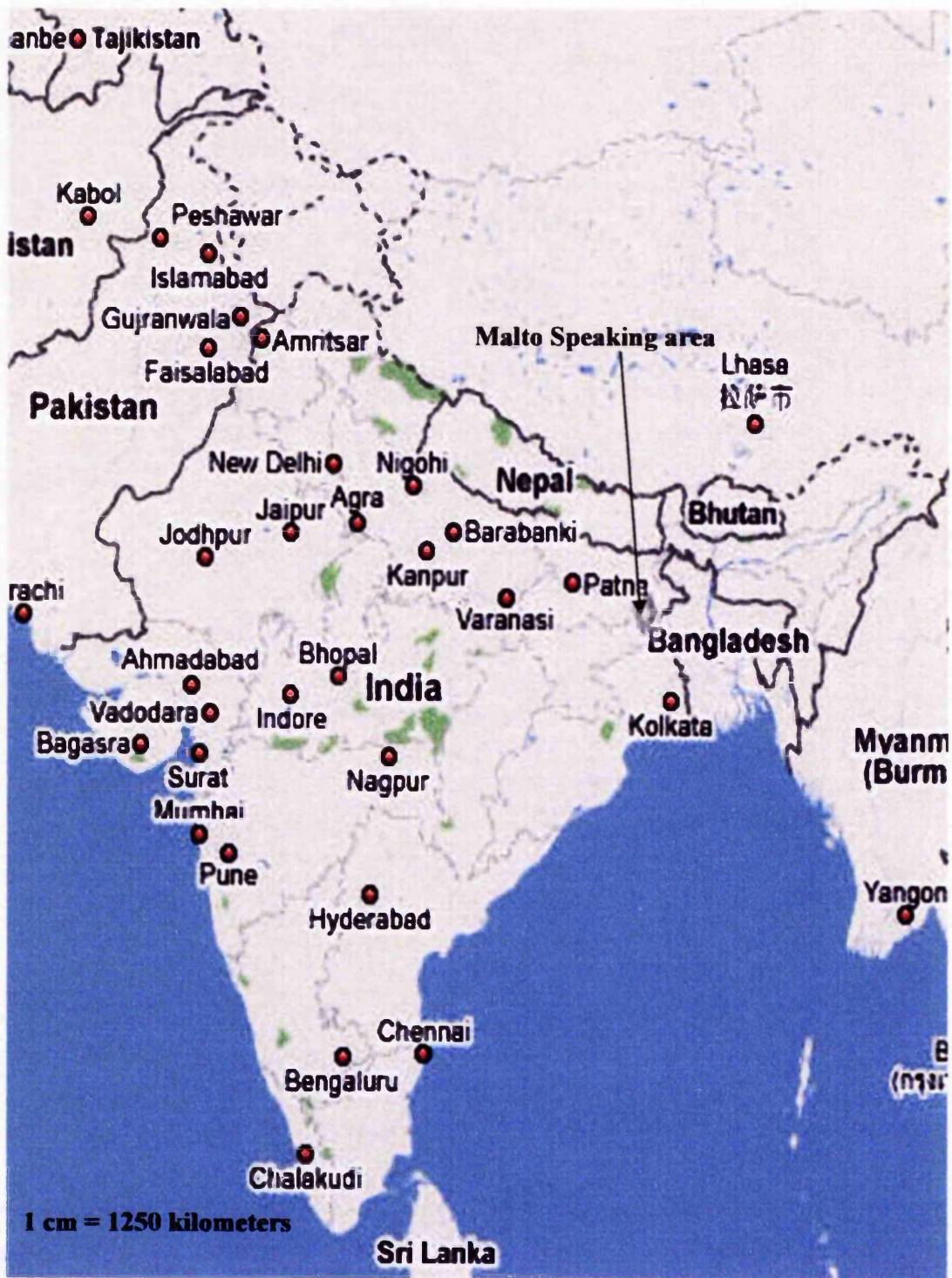
Map 1: Malto speaking area in India

Map 2: Malto speaking area.
(note: the blue line is a tentative boundary of the Rajmahal Hills area.)

Malto is now spoken throughout the Rajmahal hills in Eastern India. This includes Eastern Bihar, the central part of Santal Paraganas, Dumka, Pakaur, Southern Godda, Deoghar, Sahibganj districts in Jarkhand; Bankura, Bardhaman, Murshidabad districts in West Bengal; Mayurbhanj district in Orissa and a small part of Bangladesh.

Map 1 on page 15 shows the Malto speaking area with respect to its location in India and Map 2[2] on page 16 shows a closer picture of the area with the blue line marking the tentative boundary of the Malto speaking core area, which is also the area covered by the Rajmahal Hills. The blue pointers on Map 2 mark the villages where the fieldwork for this present research was conducted (also see Map 4).

Malto is the name used by the people themselves to denote their language (Grierson 1907). The alternative names for Malto are Malti, Maltu, Malatri, Maler, Mawer, Mader, and Pahariya (section 1.1.3). The people call themselves *maler* 'human beings'. Mahapatra (1979:10) remarks that Malto as a name of the language is a recently coined word, invented by Rev. Doerse, using the *-to* formative (section 2.3.4) which is a very productive suffix in Sauria Pahariya.

There is a low literacy rate and no written documents and this often confines Malto to be the language of the home. The linguistic ideology of the native Malto speakers to their language is negative and there again it is considered a burden to be passed on to the children since its not going to be useful in life. However, I noticed during my fieldwork

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[2] Both Map 1 and Map 2 were created using Google Maps.

that contrary to what the speakers say, people still use Malto to speak to their children and for inter-personal communication with other Malto speakers. Now may be the last opportunity to witness the language in its fullest possible use among the community, for there is a growing tendency towards language shift which is seeing Hindi and Bengali gradually replacing Malto.

The language is often referred to as Pahariya (section 1.1.3) in Eastern India since that is how the people of the Malto speaking community are recognised in the region. There are about 108,000 Malto speakers in India (Census of India 1991) and another 20,000 in Bangladesh. The Census of India 1991 reports that nearly 40% of the Malto population is bilingual or often trilingual. I prefer to use the data from the census in 1991 over the data from the census in 2001, since the 2001 census data shows a 107.98% increase in the Malto speaking population between 1991 and 2001. A more reliable source of information is Pratap (2000:7) who has conducted a population-based study on the agricultural practices of the Sauriya Pahariya community and points out that the Sauriya Pahariya population has not increased significantly since the nineteenth-century. The following table shows the number of Malto speakers based on the census data from 1981 to 2001.

Year	Number of Malto speakers in India
2001	224,926
1991	108,148
1981	100,177

Table 1.1

1.1.1 Related Languages

Malto is seen as a language distinct from its neighbouring languages, both by the speakers, the neighbouring communities speaking other languages, and also by the Census of India. Malto belongs to the Dravidian language family. Kurukh[3] is the nearest relative of Malto both genealogically and geographically. It is spoken in the Chotanagpur area which is located just to the south of the Malto speaking area. Both Kurukh and Malto belong to the Northern branch of the Dravidian language family along with Brahui, which is spoken in Pakistan. Using lexicostatistical methods based on cognates in Kurukh and Malto, Andronov (1964) calculated that the two languages may have diverged in the 5th Century AD. Hahn (1856) observes that Kurukh and Malto have similar grammatical structure but noticeably differ in phonology. Mahapatra (1979:16) has substantiated Hahn's claims by drawing-up a list of cognates where the words compared differ in one or two phonemic units. More recent works in Dravidian linguistics have focussed on identifying similarities between Malto and Kurukh as a comprehensive unit forming the Northern branch of the language family and hence there has not been any significant comparative study between the two languages.

The dominant languages in the region are Hindi and Bangla of the Indo-Aryan language family, and Santali of the Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. The Santals were brought in by the then British administration, from the Chotanagpur plateau to reside around the foothills of the Rajmahal hills in the 19th century. The purpose of this induced migration was to coerce the hill-dwelling Pahariyas to interact with the people of

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[3] Kurukh is alternately spelt as Kurux in linguistic works. This language is also known as Oraon, the name of the community that uses it. Kurukh is called Dhangar in Nepal.

the plains. Hindi, Bangla and Santali are also used for communication beyond the Malto speaking community. It is unknown for the speakers of other languages to attempt to speak in Malto. The probable reason for asymmetric multilingualism in the region and the lack of motivation for the speakers of the dominant languages to learn Malto may be because of the lower social and economic status of the community and the lack of visibility, institutional support and recognition for Malto as a language.

1.1.2 Malto: language

Mahapatra recognised three varieties of Malto, namely Mal Pahariya, Sauriya Pahariya and Kumarbhag Pahariya (Steever1998). As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter (section 1.0), I worked on the Sauriya Pahariya variety of Malto. Sauriya Pahariya is spoken in the northern parts of Godda and Sahibganj districts of Jarkhand state, India. The Kumarbhag Pahariyas live towards the southern part of the Rajmahal hills in the southern parts of Godda district and Pakur district of Jarkhand state, India. The Mal Pahariayas live in the eastern parts of the Rajmahal hills that are under the administrative region of Pakur district in Jarkhand state and a few parts of West Bengal state, India (see Map 2). Sauriya Pahariya has lexical similarity with both Kumarbhag and Mal Pahariya, but Kumarbhag and Mal Pahariya are, according to my consultants (section 1.2.5), not mutually intelligible. I used data from Mahaparta's (1979) account of Mal Pahariya during my elicitation. Although my consultants recognised the words and sentences, they also pointed to the fact that it was different from how they said things in their own variety of the language.

Malto has no indigenous tradition of writing and hence no script has been associated with the language. Printed publications in Malto have been produced by religious and non-governmental organisations involved in activities related to community development. There exist 19th century bible translations in Malto which were in the Roman script. The recent bible translations are in the Devanagari script. The reason for choosing the Devanagari script may be because Hindi is the dominant language of the region and literacy skills can be transferred to Malto from Hindi. In recent times other community-service oriented organisations have been sporadically publishing public-awareness material in the Malto using the Devanagari script. However, Pahariyas do not consider any of these documents, apart from the bible, to be important enough for them to keep copies. Apart from the printed publications, I have also come across a few health awareness videos in Malto, produced by the Health Department. Since most Malto speaking villages neither have modern equipment on which to play videos nor have access to electricity, these videos are not viewed by the Pahariyas.

The Malto speaking Pahariya community had their own system of education that trained young people in the traditional practices of the community. However this system did not include training students to develop skills like reading and writing. This kind of training also did not equip them with the required knowledge to acquire jobs in the modern world. The formal education system was introduced to the Pahariyas by government sponsored literacy programmes and by Christian missionaries who opened schools in the Rajmahal hills area in the mid-twentieth century. However, Malto is not used in the formal education system either as a medium of instruction or as a language of study. The literacy

rate according to the Ethnologue is around 10%. It has not been defined what is meant by 'literacy'. Since people hardly have any opportunity to read or write in Malto, it can be assumed that this may be the number of people who are able to read and sometimes write in one of the dominant languages in the region. There are three options of schooling for Pahariya children. The first option is the government-run village schools. This is the least preferred option because the schools are usually under-staffed and lack basic infrastructure. Moreover, the local schools near the villages provide education only up to primary level. The second option is government-run residential schools in Hiranpur and Dhamni that offer admission exclusively to Adivasi[4] children. Hiranpur and Dhamni are easily accessible to the communities living in the Rajmahal hills area and the students are offered free board at these residential schools. Hence people prefer sending their children to these schools. The third option is to attend missionary-run residential schools that charge fees. There are many such schools dotted across the Rajmahal Hills area to which the relatively affluent Paharivas usually send their children. However, I learnt during my personal communication with some of the students who attend these residential schools that not a single staff member at any of these schools is a Malto speaker. A lot of children drop out of school because they find the alien environment of the residential schools to be very intimidating. The only opportunity that children have to use Malto is with their fellow students during their free time. Since the children attending the government run residential schools and other missionary schools are isolated from the villages where the Malto speaking community resides, they have very limited scope for using their language. However there is a positive side to the issue of Malto being passed on to the

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[4] Adivasi is a cover term used for people belonging to indigenous communities in India. The word Adivasi literally means 'original inhabitants'.

children, that is, those children who are born and brought up in the villages are monolingual in Malto until they start school.

Since most villages do not have local shops, activities related to buying and selling of produce, groceries, clothing, earthen utensils and commodities for everyday use are conducted in the weekly markets at a place central to a group of villages. Market day is considered the weekly day off and the market place is also a meeting point for friends and relatives from neighbouring villages. Malto speakers share the weekly market space with Santali, Hindi and Bangla speaking people. It is these languages which dominate trade and commerce. The travelling traders who bring commodities from the nearby towns invariably speak in Hindi or Bangla, making it mandatory for the customers to conduct business in these languages.

Villages located on the lower elevations of the Rajmahal hills have a mixed population of both Malto and Santali speakers. In such cases the village panchayat[5] is conducted mostly in Santali. However the Pahariyas also have a community panchayat to deal with community affairs which may include a cluster of 10-15 villages. In discussions in the community panchayat proceedings are conducted only in Malto. While the village panchayat convenes and decides about issues related to the general administration of the village, the community panchayat is authorised to settle inter-personal disputes within the community and pass judgements on issues like breach of community norms.

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[5] Panchayat is the village level judicial system. This is a pan-Indian phenomenon.

1.1.3 People

The Malto speaking people call themselves *maler* which Griersion (1907) opines must have originated from the common Dravidian word *mala* 'hill'. Most people also call themselves *pahariya,* as their Hindi speaking neighbours refer to them. Pahariya in Hindi means 'mountain dwellers'. To quote Pratap (2000:6) "Paharia (Hindi for mountain-dweller) is a collective but vague ethnic label used from the eighteenth century onwards when it was coined to establish the identity of a people in terms of what they were not-Hindu, Muslim, Ahir and Santal." Pahariya is also used as a surname by these people.

Traditionally, the Pahariyas practised shifting cultivation. They chose small tracts in the jungle, cleared the woods and made the land cultivable. They would move to newer tracts after reaping a couple of crops on a given piece of land. Since they did not use one particular piece of land for a very long time and also because no one else was interested in acquiring land in the Rajmahal hills, the Pahariyas did not maintain any kind of documentation related to land they possessed. This lack of documentation and therefore lack of official evidence of any claim to the lands, meant that after the acquisition of land by authorities and outsiders during British rule and then under the Indian government, the Pahariyas were left landless and impoverished. Moreover protection of forests and preservation of commercially viable species from indiscriminate felling have also limited the availability of arable land. The direct consequence of this situation is insurmountable poverty in the villages that drives the Malto speaking Pahariyas to distant lands in search of employment. The Malto speaking population has migrated for several decades now to the neighbouring states of Bengal and Assam and the neighbouring country Bangladesh

in search of economic advancement. There is a continuous flow of people leaving their villages to live in bigger cities in India in search of work. Such immigration is not en masse, hence there is no opportunity for Malto speakers to use their language where they go, except for personal communication within the nuclear family of husband, wife and children. Map 3 shows the distribution of Malto speakers in India according to the 1991 census and Table 1.2 shows data from the 2001 census of India that indicate the quantum of Pahariyas migrating out of their native lands to various parts of India. As mentioned earlier in this chapter (section 1.1), the figures provided by the 2001 census are questionable as they show a 107.98% increase in the total population of Malto speakers when compared with the figures from 1991 census. However this increase is significant only in Orissa.

Information in Table 1.2 indicates that the number of Malto speaking people migrating from their native states of Jarkhand, West Bengal (and probably Orissa) to the neighbouring states of Bihar and Assam is significantly larger than the number of people migrating to distant parts of India. This is probably due to Malto speaking Pahariyas being limited by their lack of requisite education for high paying jobs and also by their lack of employable skills required by the industrial sector. In personal communications with my consultants during fieldwork, I discovered that the Pahariyas usually apply for jobs that require manual labour, like working on construction sites or as farm hands.

MALTO

N

I N D I

NUMBER OF MALTO SPEAKERS

(10) ☐ 10 AND BELOW
(11) ☐ 11 - 100
(7)   ▨ 101 - 1 000
(4)   ■ 1 001 AND ABOVE
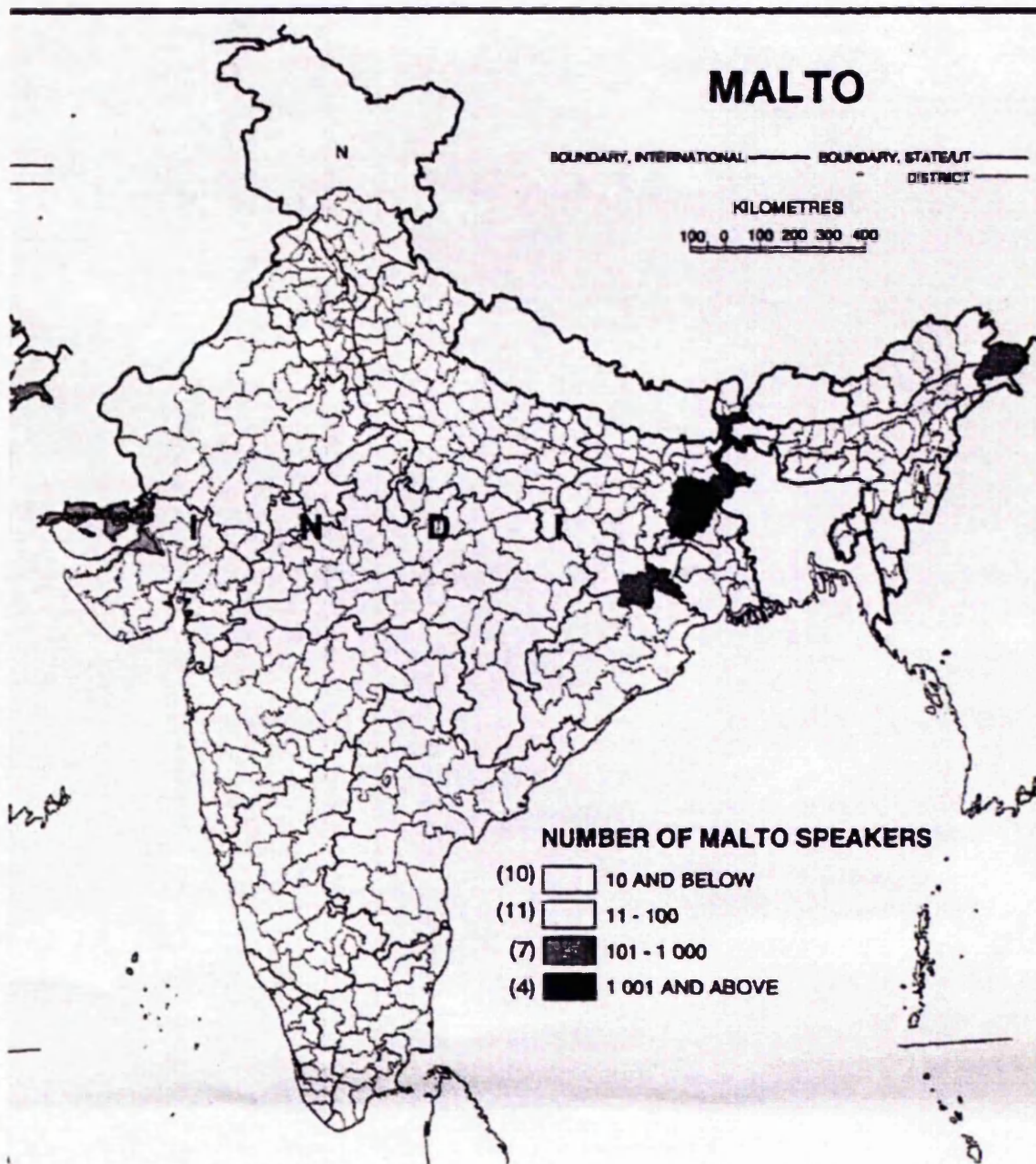
Map 3: Distribution of Malto speakers, Language Atlas of India 1991

Region	Total Population of Malto speakers	Male	Female
India	224,926	111,189	113,737
Orissa	139,233	67,740	71,493
Jharkhand	82,541	41,857	40,684
West Bengal	1,961	974	987
Bihar	623	313	310
Assam	328	172	156
Tripura	122	55	67
Arunachal Pradesh	53	32	21
Maharashtra	23	21	2
Chhattisgarh	16	10	6
Andhra Pradesh	14	6	8
Mizoram	4	4	0
Delhi	4	4	0
Uttar Pradesh	3	0	3
Nagaland	1	1	0

Table 1.2

The fact that the Pahariyas have not had a tradition of maintaining documents related to possession of land and subsequent loss of land described above, has forced them to travel as laborers for economic gains. This shift in the last few decades from being agriculturists to landless laborers has seen an increase in bilingualism and trilingualism in the community. This clearly indicates the community's preference for more economically and politically viable languages. The educational endeavors initiated by aid agencies and developmental organizations also encourage the children to learn English, Hindi and

modern sciences so that the Pahariyas are equipped to meet the demands of the modern world. This indirectly devalues the utility of Malto.

The villages where I conducted my field work (section 1.2) are about 30 kilometers away from the nearest town, Godda, and about 80 kilometers away from the nearest railway station. The roads leading to these villages are in such a bad state that it takes about an hour to cover a distance of 30 kilometers. There is just one bus to Godda that leaves in the morning and returns in the evening. However the services are not regular. The nearest bank and post office is at a distance of 5 kilometers and people have to walk or use personal transport to have access to these services or to even pick up a newspaper. The postman visits the villages just once a week. Radios are the only source of outside information. There is no telephone service in the villages. Hence the Pahariya community remains detached from the modern world due to a lack of proper transport and communication.

The Pahariyas are traditionally animists. They worship natural elements like the sun, the moon and trees. They also believe in spirits, which are both feared and revered. The feared spirits are used to protect crops. People who steal or commit similar crimes are said to be attacked by an evil spirit and can be relieved of this affliction only once they have paid the requisite fine. Most of the ritualistic celebrations are harvest-related where the new crops of Gangi[6], Mahua[7], maize and mango are worshipped and only then

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[6] A fibre used to produce fabric.
[7] A flower used to brew alcohol. Pahariya women collect these flowers from the jungle and sun-dry them to be used throughout the year for brewing alcohol.

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become available for consumption and trade[8]. Singing, dancing and consuming locally-brewed alcohol are integral parts of such celebrations. Such occasions are also ideal opportunities for young people to choose their partners. Elders seldom intervene in this matter, a practice contrary to the prevalent pattern in Indian society. A woman joins her husband in his village after marriage and they set up a separate house. Men are allowed to have more than one wife at the same time and widows are allowed to remarry. Pahariyas marrying out of the community have to forego their right to ancestral property, which is usually shared among the sons. A father and his sons work on the same piece of land and have collective ownership of live-stock. Cows, pigs, goats and hens form a part of the typical live-stock in the Pahariya community. Younger members of the family, usually teenagers, are expected to shoulder the responsibility of cattle-grazing. Every village has a priest who is called *gudit*. He is one of the most powerful persons in traditional Pahariya society. The *gudit* has powers to communicate with the spirits and help people find the reason for their afflictions. The *gudit* is also the traditional healer. He has knowledge of healing with herbs, roots and chants. The other role of the *gudit* is to fix the date and time for special occasions like hunting and communal celebrations. The *gudit* also flags off the hunting party and by virtue of his position is entitled to a share in the hunt. The *gudit*'s position is hereditary. The *gudit*'s services are paid for in the form of produce or live-stock. However, one of the *gudit*s who was my consultant believes that the advent of Christianity has diminished the *gudit*'s power and role in the Pahariya society. There have been recent conversions to Christianity. Some of my consultants are

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[8] Rameshwar Pahariya and Deva Pahariya explained to me about the traditional practices of the Pahariyas. The recordings of these conversations are deposited at ELAR, SOAS.

first generation converts and there are several cases where I noticed that only the younger members of the family have converted to Christianity.

The Pahariyas are classified as a Scheduled Tribe by the Constitution of India. This implies that they occupy a very low position in the hierarchy of multi-layered Indian society. Politically, the Scheduled Tribe status qualifies the Pahariyas to claim benefits such as free primary education at government institutions and access to institutes of higher education and jobs through reserved positions. Yet, the Pahariya youth are not motivated to work towards obtaining higher education: they are intimidated by the fact that most of the study material for the higher level courses, especially technical courses in the sciences, are available only in English and they are sceptical that they will not be treated fairly by the selectors. This insecurity stems from the fact that they have often had to bribe officials that act as intermediaries between the Pahariyas and the government. Government initiatives for community development seldom reach the people. People living in the nearby towns do not socialise with the Pahariyas and do not eat food cooked by the Pahariyas when they happen to go to the villages. The outsiders consider Pahariyas to be pleasure seekers who indulge in excessive alcoholism, borrow heavily from money lenders and are unhygienic. Doctors and teachers appointed by the government to serve the Pahariya villages make similar complaints and are seldom available at their appointed place of work. This kind of behaviour from the neighbouring communities has affected the morale and resulted in pessimism among the Pahariyas. There is not a single representative from the Pahariya community in the mainstream politics of the region. The community has so far not managed to organise itself to fight for political rights.

Apart from the Church, Malto has had no institutional support of any kind. Pahariyas consider that Malto has no utility beyond the confines of their villages and hence hinder their children from spending much time learning it, especially since they consider it is not going to be useful in life. In other words, the community is indifferent to the issue of language maintenance and do not consider the slow and gradual language shift to other languages to be negative.

1.2 Fieldwork

During my field study, I worked with Malto speakers in Angwali and two neighbouring villages, namely Garsingla and Kerabadi. Angwali village is in Godda district, Jarkhand state, India. Map 4[9] on the following page shows the three villages where I worked. The Sauriya Pahariya variety of Malto is spoken in these villages. The Sauryia Pahariya dialect has a population of about 60,000 speakers according to the Ethonologue reports. Doerse (1884) is the only scholar to have dealt with this dialect when he wrote a grammar for Malto in the late19th century. Mahapatra (1979:202) acknowledges that there are quite a few differences between the three dialects of Malto (section 1.1.2).

I used Hindi as the contact language for my research for two reasons. The first reason is that Pahariyas are comfortable communicating with outsiders in Hindi: most people can hold a conversation in Hindi. The second reason is that Hindi is my second language and I am a fluent Hindi speaker.

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[9] Map 4 was created using Google Maps.
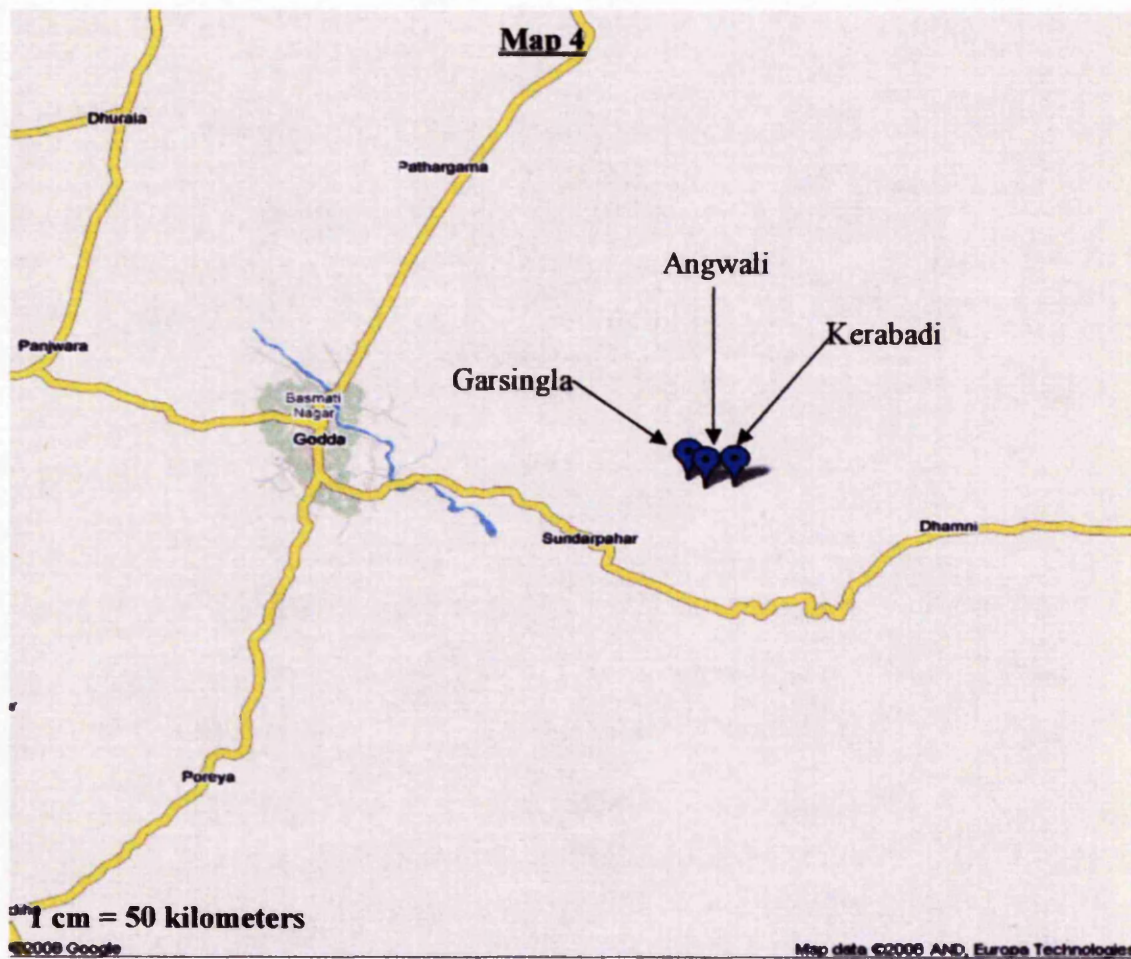
Map 4: Location of Angwali, Grasingla and Kerabadi villages

The first phase of data collection for my research lasted four months between September and December 2005. During the first phase, data was collected by means of questionnaire-based elicitation for semantic fields, morphological paradigms and morphosyntactic information encoded in the language. The questionnaire-based elicitation involved presenting a word or sentence in Hindi and recording the Malto translations provided by my consultants. The morphosyntactic information was also elicited by means of staged communicative events using visual stimuli developed by the Max Plank Institute of Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen. At a later stage I also used photographs and video recordings of the activities in the village, as visual stimuli for

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elicitation. The consultants' comments on the stimuli and their explanations of alternative uses and variations of a given form in the language were also recorded. Narratives of village and tribal[10] history, folk stories, songs, ritualistic usage of language, and narratives of occupational events and processes like brewing alcohol, toddy tapping, making ropes, inland fisheries, agricultural practices, hunting, religious beliefs and social and cultural practices were recorded as digital audio. In addition some interviews were video taped. The interviews were of two types. The first type of interviews was staged in that the researcher had designed all the questions to elicit controlled responses. The second type of interview followed the pattern of staged group discussions where once the topic of discussion was introduced by the researcher, the response and subsequent questions were not predetermined. A second phase of field study began in March 2006 and lasted for two months. The period between the first and second phases of fieldwork was spent at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, to analyse and organise the data collected. During the second phase of my field work, I worked with my consultants on checking the transcriptions and translations of the recordings I had taped between September and December 2005. I also introduced new elicitation tasks like showing short video clips of occupational events and other activities around the village, and then recording my consultants' descriptions of their viewings. The second set of video clips was from Hindi cinema. The idea was to present visuals that were not so familiar to my consultants, so that they would not be able to guess what happened next. However I did not observe any difference in how my consultants' described both the sets of video clips.

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[10] The word 'tribe' is extensively used and accepted in South-Asian literature to refer to the indigenous communities living in the sub-continent.

1.2.1 Data Collection

As part of my field work I made nearly 3 hours of audio and video recordings of songs, dances, games, everyday activities and occupational events. I have about 20 hours of audio recordings of stories narrated to me, staged conversations about religion, rituals, local history, agriculture, hunting, life style, civic amenities in the village and descriptions of occupational processes. I conducted formal elicitation sessions to collect word lists and gain a better understanding of various grammatical categories of Malto. I attempted to frame sentences in Malto and check with my consultants for grammatical corrections, halfway through my field work.

1.2.2 Technical Issues

High quality digital recordings that are easily imported into the required format for processing and also conducive to long-term archiving are of utmost importance. I used a minidisk recorder and an analogue tape recorder simultaneously for audio recording. A digital video camera was used to capture visual information. Two high quality microphones, one unidirectional clip-on type and another directional microphone, and a set of closed headphones were used for recording and monitoring purposes.

The audio files were captured on computer using Goldwave software and Praat was used for transcription and annotation. The audio files are stored as .wav files. Adobe Premiere Pro software was used to capture the video files in mpeg format. The Toolbox programme was used to store lexical data elicited on a daily basis during fieldwork and also for processing of lexical data. Transcribed texts were imported into Toolbox for

interlinear glossing and morphemic analysis. The Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie et al 2008) were followed for interlinear glossing. There are four lines of transcribed data which include the running text in IPA on the first line, a morphemic analysis on the second line, the interlinear glossing on the third and a free translation in English on the fourth. The right end of the fourth line contains information about the source of the data in bold type face. The sources of data are either transcribed texts or words and sentences obtained by direct elicitation and grammaticality judgement tests. The running text on the first line is retained so that it is convenient for the reader to notice the relations between the verbs in multi-verb constructions and the relation between the clauses, especially since the free translation in English does not always manage to capture these relations. The following is an illustration of how the examples are presented throughout this thesis.

(1-1) epoɾin haːvɖiːn, hanɖa epoɾ ho hengki sabaːniː menjaːkaːɾ, hiɖen ɖahɖaː guɾaːʈaɾnaːɾ, haːʈek hoynaːɾ

epoɾ-in	haːvɖ-iːn	hanɖa	epoɾ	ho	heng-ki
villagers-acc-emp	speak-1pl	then	villagers	too	1sg-gen

saba-an-iː	menj-aː-k-aːɾ	hiɖ-en	ɖahɖaː	guɾ-aː-ʈaɾ-n-aːɾ	haːʈ-ek
words-acc	listen-ep-rp-3pl	this-acc	branch	wander-ep-caus-prs-3pl	fair-dat

hoy-n-aːɾ
take-prs-3pl

I speak to the villages, then the villagers listen to me and take this branch to wander around the fair.   **Medicine**

1.2.3 Archiving

The data collected has been deposited in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at SOAS. Access to data will be provided within the limits of protocol restrictions with respect to ethical issues and also considering the technical limitations of data transfer. I have re-digitised my recordings with the sophisticated equipment available at ELAR. ELAR currently holds nearly 20 hours of audio recordings and 3 hours of video recordings in Malto and a Toolbox data set, which includes dictionary files and about 200 sentences with annotations of Malto data.

1.2.4 Community Response

A significant part of my field work time was also utilised to transcribe and translate some of my recordings in Hindi, with the help of my consultants. People of Angwali were glad to be included in the project as consultants and extended all possible support. It took some time to convince some of my consultants that I was not a representative of the Government or any Non-Government Organisation who was there with some kind of development project that would bring them material benefit. They gradually began to understand that I was a student keen on learning their language and writing a thesis about it. Many of the consultants remarked that they had never seen an outsider trying to learn Malto.

1.2.5 Consultants

I consulted a mixed group of Malto speakers in terms of age and exposure to other languages. The age of my consultants listed below is an approximation as the Pahariyas

who are not born to Christian parents have not maintained any birth records. For the purpose of presentation, I have divided my consultants into three different groups based on their competence in Hindi.

A) Actively fluent –able to understand, speak, read and write
B) Passively fluent –able to understand and read a little, but not comfortable speaking
C) None

I have used the following numeric codes to denote the level of education of my consultants:

1. No schooling
2. Primary school
3. Middle school
4. High school graduate
5. University undergraduate

Pulak Mathur helped me transcribe and translate my recordings. He is a university graduate who is used to writing in Hindi as part of his academic training. He now lives in Angwali with his mother and is preparing to be a civil servant. Chandu Pahariya and Basanti Paharin corrected our transcriptions and often helped me with grammaticality judgements. Chandu has always lived in Angwali. He is a school drop out. He is not comfortable writing because of his disability after a polio attack, but manages to read Hindi. Basanti is the carer at the local child care centre. She moved to Angwali as a teenager after marriage. Her maternal home is in the Barijhor block that also has a large Sauriya community. She preferred it when things were read aloud for her, but would often glance through the written material and correct typographical errors.

The following table provides the details about my consultants.

	Name	Approximate age at June 2008	Gender	Education	Competence in Hindi
Primary Consultant	Pulak Mathur	27	M	5	A
	Chandu Pahariya	19	M	3	B
	Basanti Paharin	33	F	2	B
Secondary Consultant	Jalia Pahariya	53	M	3	B
	Jagdish	35	M	4	A
	Rameshwar Pahariya	53	M	4	A
	Chandi Paharin	33	F	1	C
	Deva Pahariya	58	M	2	B
	Surja Pahariya	31	M	2	B
	Chanda Pahariya	38	M	4	A
	Devi Paharin	48	F	2	A
	Gudiya Pahariya	13	F	2	A
	Rajesh	13	M	2	A
	Rajkumar	15	M	2	A

Table 1.3

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1.3 Previous works

The earliest works related to Malto are by colonial officers Shaw (1792), Roberts (1799), Dalton (1872), Risley (1891) and O'Malley (1910) who recognised that the language used by the Pahariyas is distinct compared to the languages of their neighbours. Col (1876) collected Pahariya songs and Swinton (1878) produced a word list. These two works are the first known documentation of Malto language. Much later Vidryarti (1960) also published word lists and songs in Malto. B.P. Mahapatra's description of Mal Pahariya in 1979 is considered the most authoritative work on the language according to Steever (1998). Prior to this publication there were two linguistic works exclusively on Malto, a grammar of the language by Rev.Doerse in 1884 and a sketch grammar by Sisir Kumar Das in 1973. Doerse (1884) provides a detailed description of the morphological processes in Malto and a vocabulary list. Grierson (1907) has included a sketch grammar of Malto based on Droese's (1884) descriptive work in his magnum opus –The Linguistic Survey of India. Das (1973) discusses the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of Malto. His description is the shortest of the three available grammatical works on Malto. Mahapatra (1997) has especially researched the nominal classifier system in Malto. Mahapatra (1987) also published a trilingual dictionary of Malto. The dictionary entries are in the Devanagari script with Hindi and English glosses. In his descriptive account, Mahapatra (1979) briefly describes the phonology and the morphology of the case system, pronominal paradigms, basic verbal paradigms and compound word formation. He also compares the phonology and morphology of the three dialects of Malto. This work is a good reference for the semantic aspects of the nominal and adjectival classes. Both Mahapatra (1979) and Das (1973) provide annotated texts

along with their descriptive accounts. However, neither the texts nor the examples provided in the above-mentioned works have interlinear glossing. There are paradigmatic lists of forms, but hardly any discussion of the functions of the forms listed. These grammatical accounts are limited in scope and incomplete in terms of syntactic description. Steever (1998) included a sketch grammar of Malto in his work on Dravidian languages, based on the previous works on the language. In this description he includes a half-page analysis of Malto syntax. Apart from the recordings made during my field work, the only other audio-visual documentation of Malto is by Masato Kobayashi, a Japanese scholar who is doing dialect mapping of the language. Kobayashi (2006, 2007) published a comparative word list from the different dialects and an annotated text collection.

1.4 Dravidian linguistics

The Dravidian language family comprises at least 26 languages spoken by as many as 220 million speakers living primarily in South Asia. This makes it the fourth or the fifth largest language family in the world (Steever 1998:1). Krishnamurti (2003:16) acknowledges Francis Whyte Ellis (1816) to be the first person to have recognised Dravidian as a distinct language family. The southern part of the Indian subcontinent is the core area of Dravidian with a periphery spreading from western Pakistan (Brahui) and Nepal (Dhangar/Kurukh) towards the North. There are large immigrant communities in South Africa, Indonesia and Mauritius. The Dravidian language family has four major subgroups – South Dravidian, South Central Dravidian, Central Dravidian and North Dravidian (Krishnamurti 2003:20). Malto, along with Kurukh and Brahui, forms the

North Dravidian sub group. However, Malto is structurally closest to Kurukh. Their geographical proximity may be one of the main factors for the similarity. Some ethnographers have also argued that the Malto speaking Pahariyas and the Kurukh speaking Oraons migrated towards the North as one group and later split to live on either side of the River Soan (Grierson 1907).

Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam are the four Dravidian languages that are recognised as official languages by the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. These languages have a long literary tradition and are used for administrative purposes, taught at school, used as a medium of instruction, and are widely used in the media, entertainment and publishing industry. Kodava and Tulu are the two other languages that have a considerable literary tradition in the modern times. All other Dravidian languages have no written tradition initiated by the speakers themselves. What they do have are bible translations by missionaries and some languages have oral material documented by anthropologists. Linguistic work on lesser known Dravidian languages began towards the end of 19th century. Droese (1884) made one of the earliest contributions to this area. Linguistic works apart from scholarly publications on lesser known Dravidian languages include word lists, sketch grammars, dictionaries, annotated text collections and some languages also have primers to help introduce the respective languages in primary education. However, none of the lesser known Dravidian languages have any kind of literacy programmes.
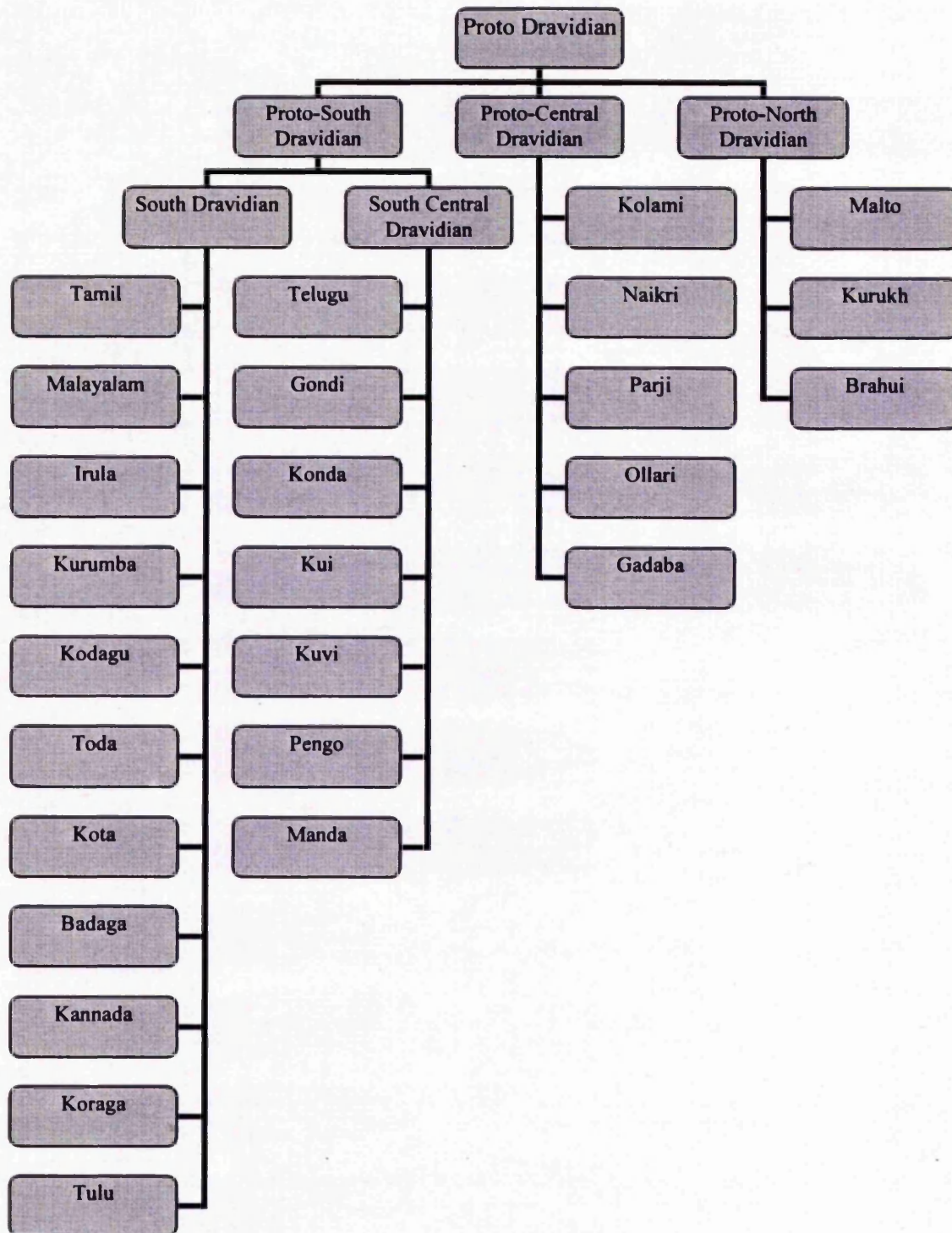
Figure 1: Tree Diagram of the Dravidian Language Family (from Krishnamurti 2003).

1.4.1 Typological Profile of the Dravidian Languages

In this section I provide a typological profile of the Dravidian languages and indicate the relevant sections of the thesis where these characteristics are discussed. The typological profile of the Dravidian languages is extracted from Krishnamurti (2003:27-30).

There are five short and five long vowels in Dravidian /i e a o u iː eː aː oː uː/. There is no phonemic stress in any of the Dravidian languages. There are seventeen consonantal segments reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian, six stops, four nasals, two laterals, one trill, one approximant and three semivowels including a laryngeal, which patterns with semivowels. Voicing and aspiration are not phonemic in Proto-Dravidian. Consonant clusters occur non-initially, mainly geminates or nasal+stop series. Malto retains the typical Dravidian vowel system (section 2.2.1.1) but has added voiced stops to its consonant inventory (section 2.2.1.2). The formation of consonant clusters in Malto is similar to the Dravidian pattern (section 2.2.4).

The Dravidian languages are agglutinating in morphological structure. Grammatical relations are expressed only by suffixation and compounding: there are no prefixes. The roots are followed by suffixes, which originally denoted tense-voice contrasts; a number of languages have lost their original meaning and they have become only voice markers in some, or mere formatives. All grammatical relations expressed morphologically in Malto are through suffixation. Malto has past stem formatives which are discussed in section 5.1.1.1.

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Nominals (including nouns, pronouns, numerals and locational adverbs of time and place) are all inflected for case. An oblique stem, which occurs before case suffixes, is different from the nominative; one of a series of oblique suffixes is added to form it. Gender and number are interrelated categories that are relevant only in third person. Gender-number-person agreement is expressed by finite verbs. The morphological case system in Malto is explained in section 2.3.2.1 and the oblique stem is explained in section 2.3.3.1. Malto shows a gender distinction in second person singular as well (section 2.3.2). The gender-number-person agreement marking on the finite verb is discussed in section 5.4.

Adjectives in Dravidian precede the noun head they qualify. They do not agree with the noun head in gender and number. Adjectives are mainly a syntactic class. Adjectives in Malto are recognised in two ways: by their relative position with the noun and also by the typical morphological marking on adjectives (section 2.3.4).

The verb in Dravidian is finite or non-finite. The finite verb has the structure Stem (Root + (transitive) + (causative)) + Tense + Gender-Number-Person. A stem can be complex (as above) or compound. A compound stem has one or more coverbs attached to an uninflected noun or an inflected main verb. Basically, there are two tenses in Dravidian: past and non-past. The structure of finite and non-finite verbs in Malto is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Malto makes a three way distinction under the category of tense which is discussed in section 5.1. Compound verb formation in Malto is discussed in section 3.2 and section 7.3.1.

In terms of syntax, the Dravidian languages are of the OV type, head-final and left-branching. A simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The single argument of the intransitive verb and the agent of the transitive verb are considered to be the subject (section 2.1). The subject in a coordinated clause can be dropped when there is interclausal coreference.

Sentences with nominal predicates are equative sentences, which lack the copula or the verb 'to be' in most of the languages. A subordinate clause can be either verbal (with a non-finite verb as head) or nominal, i.e. a pronominalised verb or a relative clause with a noun head. Malto uses the copular verb 'to be' with nominal predicates (section 3.5.3). This syntactic structure has possibly been influenced by prolonged contact with Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi that have copular constructions (section 8.5). Subordinate clauses in Malto are discussed in detail in sections 7.3.1.2.1-3, section 7.3.2 and section 7.3.3.

Interrogative sentences in Dravidian are formed either by the addition of an interrogative particle (yes or no type) or by using an interrogative word substituted for the questioned noun. The interrogative sentence in Malto with negative question tag is discussed in section 6.3.2 and interrogative word formation is explained in section 2.3.3.4.

Nominal and verbal predicates in Dravidian have different negative words to express sentence negation. Chapter 6 discusses clausal negation in Malto.

A quotative clause in Dravidian is embedded in the main clause as a NP by an inflected complementizer of the verb 'to say'. The quotative clause construction in Malto using the verb 'to say' as a complementizer is discussed in section 7.3.2.3.

1.5 The Value of Malto Data

Studying Malto verbs is interesting for the complexity they present as word forms, which can sometimes function as a complete utterance. The complex verb word in Malto maximally includes information on the transitivity and valence of the predicate, tense-aspect-mood, negation and gender-number-person agreement with the subject. The following example illustrates one such complex word that has the causative suffix, the negative suffix, the tense marking suffix and the agreement marker attached to the verb root *sik* and the whole word is a meaningful utterance that is translated as a whole clause in English.

> (1-2) sik-aː-ṭaɾ-oma-nṭ-aːn
> learn-ep-caus-neg-prs-1sg
>
> I do not teach.   **History**

One way of understanding the structure and function of verbs in Malto is to locate them in the larger perspective of Dravidian verbs and analyse how they conform to or vary from the typical features of the language family. Since the north Dravidian branch, to which Malto belongs, is geographically isolated from the rest of the language family, it is predicted that it would have retained more of the proto-forms. Wherever possible, I have attempted to compare the Malto data presented in this thesis with the Proto-Dravidian typological characteristics (section 1.4.1). I have also analysed if the divergence from the

Proto-Dravidian form is a language internal development or if the change is a result of contact with the neighbouring languages namely Hindi, Bangla and Santali.

In the context of Dravidian linguistics and the study of South Asian languages, documenting and describing Malto is of utmost importance because of its unique geographical location. Malto is a Dravidian language that has an Indo-Aryan language (Hindi) and an Austro-Asiatic language of the Munda branch (Santali) as its geographical neighbours. Malto speaking areas are more than 1,000 kilometres away from the core area of Dravidian languages in the South of India, a distance that has been maintained for hundreds of years. Moreover Malto speakers are trilingual in Malto, Hindi and Santali, often using Malto only within the confines of their villages. Hence researching Malto provides an opportunity to study a contact and convergence situation where three very different language families meet (see Chapter 8). Dravidian studies will benefit significantly from the documentation and description of a non-literary language of the language family: Dravidian scholars have always lamented the lack of adequate information about these languages. There are just three languages in the northern branch of the Dravidian language family and none of the others has so far been documented as extensively or exhaustively as Malto is being documented in this project. The information collected during my field work and the analysis presented in this thesis are significant contributions to documentary and descriptive work on Malto.

1.6 Thesis Overview

Chapter 2 introduces the basic grammar of Malto. This chapter includes a phoneme inventory, a sketch of the syllable structure and brief descriptions of major lexical categories apart from the verbs. I also provide a description of the morphophonemic rules at play in order to account for changes in shape of word forms when individual morphemes are concatenated.

Chapter 3 introduces the formal structure of the verb word in Malto and discusses the holistic structure of finite and non-finite verb words in the language. I also describe the distribution of individual finite and non-finite verb word forms in a sentence and their formal and semantic features. The last section in this chapter discusses how the aksionsart type of the verb influences the morphological marking on the verb.

Chapter 4 discuss valence adjusting operations in Malto. Valence change with respect to the Malto verb is also viewed in relation to change in transitivity of the clause. The valence-adjusting operators in Malto are both lexical and morphological. The chapter is further divided into two broad areas of valence decreasing and valence increasing operations. Causation, reflexivity, reciprocity and passivisation are expressed morphologically in Malto.

Chapter 5 is a detailed discussion of the concepts of tense-aspect-mood and agreement in Malto. Malto like all other Dravidian languages is a tense prominent language. The formal expression of tense is mostly morphological. In addition to a detailed discussion of deictic tense and the formation of past stems, the chapter also includes a discussion on

relative tense marking in Malto. Aspect and mood can be expressed morphologically or as compound predicates. I also discuss lexical aspect in Malto. The last section of the chapter is about the gender-number-person agreement marking on the verb. The finite verb in Malto agrees with the subject of the clause.

Chapter 6 describes the expression of negation in the language. The discussion in this chapter is limited to verbal negation, however the chapter includes a detailed account of the distribution of negative morphemes. I have also attempted to reconstruct the negative verb word in Malto from the Proto-Dravidian negative particle.

Multi-Verb structures in Malto are discussed in the morpho-syntactic framework of juncture and nexus in Chapter 7. The chapter also introduces the idea of rank shift and category change in relation to verbal constructions in Malto. The functional categories represented by multi-verb constructions in Malto include explicator compounds, partially reduplicated compounds, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, gerundives, clause chaining and quotatives.

The concluding chapter of the thesis raises pertinent issues related to the linguistic contact situation in the area. Just like most other minor languages in India (Southworth and Apte 1974), Malto is also a case study in asymmetric multilingualism. I also argue that it is possible to stratify the levels of influence of the dominant languages on Malto.

Chapter 2: A Basic Grammar of Malto

2.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the basic grammar of Malto in order to help in understanding the detailed analysis of verbs in the following chapters. Section 2.1 presents a typological profile of the language. Section 2.2 outlines the phonetics and phonology of the language. Section 2.3 gives a brief account of the major word classes in Malto. This section includes brief descriptions of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions and particles. Section 2.4 explains the morphophonemic rules relevant to the verbal analysis in the chapters to follow.

2.1 Typological profile

Malto is a typical Dravidian language, so typological generalisations made for it are the same as generalisations made for Dravidian languages as a whole (Steever 1993). Malto has agglutinating morphology and is predominantly suffixing. All bound morphemes in Malto are suffixes. Subjects can be distinguished from objects in Malto, using several criteria:

1) Case marking

Malto is a nominative-accusative type language in that the subject of the intransitive verb and the agent-like argument of a transitive verb are both in the nominative case (section 2.4.2.1) and the patient of a transitive verb carries an accusative case suffix.

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(2-1a) manahḍu   keca:ḍ

manah-ḍu   kec-a:ḍ
buffalo-nom.nm   die-3sg.nm
The buffalo died.   **Elicitation**

(2-1b) eŋgki abba-aya:ru vigyanen paḍiṭra:r

eŋg-ki   abba-aya:-ṛ-u   vigyan-en   paḍ-i-ṭṛ-a:r
1sg-gen   mother-father-nom.pl-en   science-acc   study-ep-caus-3pl.h

My parents made (me) study science.   **Elicitation**

Example (2-1b) shows that agent is in the plural nominative case and the patient is in the
accusative case. The possessor is expressed with the genitive case and precedes the
possessed which is in the nominative case. The nominative case is never used to mark the
patient of a transitive clause.

2) Agreement

In example (2-1a) the verb carries the third person non-masculine marker which agrees
with the subject that is third person and bears the non-masculine nominative suffix.

In example (2-1b) the third person plural human suffix on the verb agrees with the
subject noun phrase.

3) Word-order

Syntactically, Malto has SOV word order, like all Dravidian languages. Subject always
precede the verb. The object argument in a transitive clause normally precedes the verb

and is marked with accusative case, as shown in example (2-1b). However, it is to be noted that the transitive object has a degree of flexibility and can follow the verb, as shown in the following example. But, the subject never follows the verb.

(2-2) majguʈu haːvɖiːn ningen

majguʈu	haːvɖ-iːn	ning-en
properly	tell-1sg	2sg-acc

I will tell properly, to you.   **Medicine**

4) Control of reference in chained clauses

A subject noun phrase can be omitted in chained clauses (section 7.3.3) and understood as coreferential with the main clause subject. In the following example haː 'he', the subject of the intransitive verb rokaːr 'be angry' is understood to be coreferential with the missing agent of the linked verb conj 'tie' and also with the missing agent of the linked verb hokʈar 'cause to sit'.

(2-3) hani haːhu rokaːraːkaːh haː maa giɖraːn conjkaːh hokʈaraːh

hani	haː-h-u	rokaːraː-k-aːh	haː	maa	giɖraː-n
then	3sg-nom.m-en	angry-rp-3sg.m	that	clf	fox-acc

conj-k-aːh	hok-ʈar-aːh
tie-rp-3sg.m	sit-caus-3sg.m

Then, he got angry and tied up that fox and made him sit.   **Story C4**

Psychological verbs take two arguments, one in dative case and one uninflected. It is not possible using the available data to determine which of these might be the subject because the verb is always marked with the third singular non-masculine suffix (example

2-4) and there are no examples of complex sentences where the main clause is a pychological predicate.

(2-4) aːhik d̥eya nunjɾaːd̥

aːh-ik   d̥eya   nunj-ɾ-aːd̥
3sg.m-dat   body   ache-dtr-3sg.nm

His body aches. (lit: To him the body aches.)   **Elicitation**

There are two types of non-verb clauses. One consists of a nominal predicate and a single argument in the nominative case (example 2-5a). The second type consists of a nominal predicate and a single argument in the dative case (example 2-5b).

(2-5a) aːh malah asli namki abaːh....

aːh   mala-h   asli   nam-ki   abaːh
3sg.m man-nom.m   actual 1pl.gen   father

He is our actual father....   **History**

(2-5b) suɾjik eːna jan bayaːɾ

suɾj-ik eːna   jan   bayaː-ɾ
surji-dat how_many   clf   brother-nom.pl

How many brothers does Surji (have)? (lit: To Surji how many brothers (exist)?)
                                                                 Elicitation

Modifiers precede the modified head in Malto clauses. A noun can be modified by a demonstrative, a genitive (see example (2-1b)), an adjective or a combination of the

three. They occur preceding the nouns they modify, in that order. A verb can be modified

by one or more adverbs. The following example shows ab adjective preceding the noun.

(2-6) eːɖu ɖaːkɖaraːr beyor

eːɖu   ɖaːkɖar-aːr   bey-o-r
good   doctor-nom.pl   be-neg-3pl.h

There are no good doctors.   **Village**

Malto is strictly right headed. Malto postpositions (section 2.4.8.1) follow their NP

complements, auxiliaries follow main verbs, and matrix clauses follow their

complements. Complex sentences are typically formed using non-finite verb forms

(section 3.3).

(2-7) henginṭi pahle paɖipaːr ne jahaː beyor

heng-inṭi   pahle   paɖ-i-paː-r   ne   jahaː   bey-o-r
1sg-abl   before   study-ep-rel-3pl.h   who   indef   be-neg-3pl.h

There is no literate person before me.   **History**

In the above example the matrix clause *ne jahaː beyor* follows the complement clause

(section 7.2.2).

(2-8) guraːraːkaː haːrhi soja baroṭ meni

guraːraː-k-aː   haːr-hi   soja   bar-ot   meni
turn-rp-3sg.nm   again-emp   straight   come-inf   oblig

Having turned again, (one) has to come straight (ahead).   **Directions**

In the above example the modal explicator (section 7.2.1.1) expressing obligation follows the main verb *bar* 'come'.

2.2 Phonetics and Phonology

2.2.1 Syllable structure

A Malto syllable minimally consists of a vocalic nucleus, with one consonant as the onset and maximally two consonants as the coda. Malto does not allow consonant clusters to appear in the onset position. The syllable structure of Malto root forms can be represented as (C)V(C)(C). If V is the initial syllable of a polysyllabic word or the only syllable of a word, it must be long. If we analyse V and C as one mora each, then the minimal initial (or only) syllable of a word must be two moras, i.e. V:, CV or VC.

V	a: 'that'
cv	ci 'give'
cvc	baj 'hit'
cvcc	kavɖ 'deform'
vc	eh 'buy'
vcc	olh 'cry'

Table 2.1

The syllable structure of a Proto-Dravidian root form is reconstructed as *(C)V(C) (Krishnamurti 2003:179). However, synchronically, Malto has incorporated some tense and voice suffixes into the verb stem (section 3.1) and these suffixes do not necessarily have any synchronic meaning. A cluster of three consonants are divided over two syllables. In a cluster of three consonants the third consonant is invariably an archaic suffix or the productive detransitivising suffix (section 3.1.1.2) and not a phonological part of the root form of the word, as shown in the following examples.

(2-9)

CVCCC   sumb-r   'pray'

VCCC   ash-r   'stick'

2.2.2 Phoneme inventory

2.2.2.1 Vowels

Malto has the typical Dravidian vowel system of ten vowels with five short vowels and five long vowels in articulatory positions corresponding to the short vowels.

	front	back
high	i iː	u uː
mid	e eː	o oː
low	a aː	

Table 2.2

The following minimal pairs show the phonemic contrast between long and short vowels.

(2-10)
eɾ   sweep
eːɾ   hen

uɾ   emerge
uːɾ   blow

piʈaː bread
piːʈaː kill!

onḍɾ   bring
oːnḍ   cause to drink

kaj   wash clothes
kaːj   work

The vowels can occur in clusters, although this is less common than consonant clusters. Vowel clusters in Malto are a recent phenomenon and I speculate that this structure may have emerged due to the loss of an intervening uvular or glottal phoneme.

(2-11)
ma.a[11]   child
ho.oːn   yes

The two vowels in a vowel cluster belong to two different syllables. This is also true with phonetically geminated consonants.

(2-12)

kajjak   very
hinno   here

---

[11] *ma.a* has many stylistic variants such as *mo.o, me.e, ma.e.*

Vowels occur in all positions in a word root, namely initial, medial and final, as shown in the following example set.

(2-13)

avɖ   speak

goṭ   all

eːɖu   good

2.2.2.2 Consonants

The Malto consonant inventory comprises of bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar stops, with a voicing contrast. In addition it has alveolar and glottal fricatives, the alveolar tap, the lateral fricative, two nasals – bilabial and dental, and the bilabial and palatal approximants. The phonemes listed in the following table are found in native words.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t̪		t	c	k	
Voiced stops	b	d̪		ɖ	j	g	
fricatives			s				h
tap			r				
lateral			l				
nasal	m	n					
approximants	v				y		

Table 2.3

It is interesting to note that although Malto retains reflexes of most of the Proto-Dravidian consonants, the retroflex nasal and the retroflex lateral sounds are missing. One of the reasons for this loss may the influence of Hindi, which does not use these sounds either.

The following are minimal pairs for the consonants shown in the above table.

(2-14)

key	die
ṭey	send

kaṭ	cross
gaṭaː	rope

poy	rain
coy	rise

jar	fall
ḍar	catch
bar	come
car	chop

cal	peel skin, sieve
ṭal	kill

nap	a fruit
lap	eat

muc	close
cuːc	wear
aːmj	talk
anj	bear fruit
ɖaɖi	chick
ʈaːɖi	liquor
peh	pick
pel	woman
paːv	road
paːɖ	sing
sasi	sapling
mesi	proper noun, female

2.2.3 Phonotactics

Any consonant can occur in the onset position except for the approximants v and y.

Consonant clusters do not occur in word initial position. Any consonant can be the first in a consonant cluster except for the glottal fricative. The second consonant of a cluster can be a stop, a tap or a fricative. Nasals preceding the velar stop are phonetically homoorganic /ŋ/. In addition, the following co-occurrence restrictions apply to consonants that appear in a cluster:

    a) All stops can be the first consonant when the second consonant is a tap (section 4.2.1) or a fricative.

b) Stop-stop clusters and tap-stop occur only when the second consonant is /g/ (also

see example 3-5)

c) Stops following nasals are always voiced.

d) Taps cannot follow nasals and fricatives cannot follow taps.

The following table shows the possible combinations of consonants that can occur in a

cluster:

Nasal + velar stop	niŋg 'your', eŋg 'my'
Nasal + nasal	amn 'listen'
Nasal +stop	aːmj 'talk', ʈunɖ 'see', onḏ 'drank'
Nasal + fricative	ʈunh 'gather'
Stop+stop	hoɖg 'shower flowers', kuɖg 'bend'
Fricative+ stop	nusg 'de-scale', asg 'shear'
Tap +stop	haɾg 'climb', neɾg 'shower'
Stop +fricative	aɖh 'lean', ʈeʈs 'classifier for hands'
Fricative + fricative	ash 'stick'
Fricative + tap	osɾ 'grain', biːsɾ 'stretch'
Stop + tap	bicɾ 'shit', aːɖɾ 'smear'

Table 2.4

Two consonant clusters can occur in a sequence as the coda of one syllable and the onset of the following syllable, as shown in the following example.

(2-14) ugs¹²-ṭr-aːr
        ban-caus-3pl.h

        Imposed dietary restriction

Malto has a restriction on consonant clusters occurring in the onset position word initially. However, consonant clusters in the onset position are permitted for suffixes.

2.2.4 Borrowed Phonemes

The retroflex tap ṛ, the palatal fricative ʃ and aspirated stops at all points of articulation, both voiced and voiceless, have been borrowed in Malto from Hindi and appear only in borrowed words (see Chapter 8). The aspirated sounds in borrowed words are de-aspirated except in recent borrowings. I also noticed that younger speakers who formally learn Hindi at school are more conscious of borrowing and hence use aspirated sounds more often than middle aged or older Malto speakers. The following example set shows some words that have retained the borrowed phonemes.

(2-15)

pahaṛiya   Pahariya (the name of the Malto speaking community)

gʰanṭa   hour

accʰa   good

---

¹² *ugs* is used only in the context of banned edible objects.

2.2.5 Orthographic conventions

The orthography used in this thesis to represent Malto data is the IPA symbols given in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 above.

2.3 Morphophonemics

Before I go into the details of word formation processes in Malto, I should specify the morphophonemic rules that govern word formation in Malto. There are eight morphophonemic rules that are significant in the language.

(1) Vowel Harmony

(2) Vowel sandhi

(3) Epenthesis

(4) Free variation of /h-/

(5) Enunciative vowel –u

(6) ḍ and h omission in consonant final position in the verb word

(7) Suffix allomorphy in dative and accusative

(8) Haplology

These rules are discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1 Vowel Harmony

Kramer (2003:3) summarizes vowel harmony as the phenomenon where vowels in adjacent moras or syllables systematically agree with each other with regard to one or more articulatory features. Vowel harmony in Malto is affix driven. The gender-number-person agreement markers (section 5.3) trigger partial vowel harmony in the syllable preceding them. Vowel harmony usually affects epenthetic vowels that precede a tense suffix (section 4.1) and follow a negative suffix (5.0) that gets affected by vowel

harmony. Malto vowels are harmonised on the basis of vowel height. Given that there are three possible triggers /a, e, i/ from the set of gender-number-person endings, we have two rules for vowel harmony in Malto verb words.

(a) /a/ in the last syllable of the word harmonises the vowel in the preceding syllable to be an /a/.

(b) /e, i/ in the last syllable of the word harmonises the vowel in the preceding syllable to be an /e/.

The above-mentioned rules are illustrated in the following Table

I came	eːn baɾc-a-ṭ-aːn
We came	eːm baɾc-a-ṭ-aːm
You (M) came	niːn baɾc-e-ṭ-e
You (F) came	niːn baɾc-e-ṭ-i
This did not come	iːḍ baɾ-l-en-iːḍ
They will not come	aːɾ baɾ-l-an-aːɾ

Table 2.5

The valence adjusting operators (see chapter 4), the negative epenthetic /-o/ (see 6.4) and verb stems are not affected by regressive vowel harmony.

(2-16) ḍabuhɾaːḍ

ḍab-uhɾ-aːḍ
stick-pass-3sg.nm

(It) got stuck.   **Story C2**

(2-17) beyolaːd

bey-o-la-aːd
be-ep-neg-3sg.nm

(It) is not there.   **History**

(2-18) cicaːḍ

ci-c-aːḍ
give-pst-3sg.nm

(It) gave.   **Story C2**

The above examples show that the passive suffix in example (2-16), the negative epenthesis in example (2-17) and the verb stem in example (2-18) are not harmonised with the front low vowel /a/ in the last syllable of the word.

2.3.2 Vowel sandhi

Vowel sandhi occurs where two vowels come into contact at a morpheme boundary. The vowel in the base word is lost, while the vowel of the suffix is retained. The base word can be from any word class and there is no restriction on what two vowels can be

involved, as shown in the following examples.

(2-19)

ʈupaː-ɾ-aː-yi-iːɖ = ʈupaːraːyiːɖ
upset-dtr-ep-prs-3sg.nm

ɖaːɖa-onɖ = ɖaːɖonɖ

clf-one

ma.a-enʈi = maenʈi

child-comp

2.3.3 Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a process where a phonological element is inserted between two successive segments of a word. In Malto, the epenthetic element is always a vowel. The epenthetic vowel is inserted when a coda of the stem and the onset of a suffix are both consonants. Epenthetic vowels are affected by vowel harmony rules (section 2.3.1). However, the vowel /-o/ acts exclusively as negative epenthesis (section 6.7).

(2-20) uʈaːʈaɾaːkaːm...

uʈ-aː-ʈaɾ-aː-k-aːm...
raise-ep-caus-ep-rp-1pl

Having caused to raise...   **Rituals**

(2-21) moɖuhurɖey

moɖ-u-hur-ɖ-ey
turn-ep-pass-prs-2sg

You turn.   **Directions**

Epenthesis is optional between a root and a valence adjusting operator (example 2-21), and between a root and tense marker. However, it is obligatory with relative tense marking (see 4.1.2) as shown in example (2-20).

2.3.4 Free variation of initial /h-/

As Krishnmautri (2003:155) has already pointed out, "Malto has a /h-/ freely varying zero in deictic forms". See also section 2.4.3.

(2-22)

That (non-masculine)   aḍ   haḍ

This (non-masculine)   iḍ   hiḍ

2.3.5 Enunciative vowel –u

The enunciative vowel /–u/ appears as the word final phoneme of a noun phrase. This is a common Dravidian feature. The enunciative vowel appears after the nominative suffix is attached to the root form of the noun. Based on the available data, I deduce that since the minimum weight of a syllable is two moras, the enunciative vowel is added to syllables whose weight is one mora, as shown in the following example set.

(2-23)
haː-h-u
3sg-nom.m-en

He

aya:-n-u
mother-acc-en

Mother (object)

oy-ḍ-u
cow-nom.nm-en

Cow

2.3.6 ḍ and h omission

The consonants ḍ and h may be omitted clause finally. However, the omission is not obligatory. This is a new development in the language and is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

(2-24) aḍenṭi iḍ epno ek naḍiḍ ho beyi:ḍ

aḍ-enṭi	iḍ	epno	ek	naḍi-ḍ	ho	bey-i:ḍ
dem.dst-abl	dem.prox	village-loc	one	river-nom	too	be-3sg.nm

Then, in this village, there is a river too.   **Village**

(2-25) enge epki kiṭeno nek jaraḍu beyi:

eng-e	ep-ki	kiṭe-no	nek	jara-ḍu	bey-i:
1sg.dat	village-gen	near-loc	lot	jungle-nom.nm	be-3sg.nm

There is lot of jungle near my village.   **Village**

Notice the contrast in the clause final verbs in examples (2-24) and (2-25). Example (2-24) retains the final consonant in the clause final verb whereas the clause final consonant has been omitted in example (2-25).

2.3.7 Haplology

When two consecutive identical or similar syllables occur, one of them is eliminated.

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This process is called haplology. Such a phenomenon is observed in Malto in the case of future tense suffix being concatenated with the first person singular agreement marker on the verb, as shown in the following example.

(2-26)
lap-an-aːn = lapaːn
eat-fut-1sg
I will eat

2.3.8 Suffix allomorphy in dative and accusative

The dative and accusative case suffixes show allomorphy based on the phonological conditions of the noun they are suffixed to.

Dative

The dative suffix has the following allomorphs:

a) /–k/ when suffixed to nominal bases ending in vowels

b) /–ek/ when attached to nominal bases ending in consonants and having a long vowel in the last syllable of the base, and when attached to demonstratives

c) /–ik/ everywhere else

The following Table shows the distribution of dative allomorphs in Malto:

-k	godɖa-k
	Godda-dat
	bahaː-k
	near-dat
	caːnɖu-k
	Chandu-dat
-ik	maeɾ-ik
	children-dat
	oɖh-ik
	house-dat
	hah-ik
	3sg.m-dat
-ek	haːʈ-ek
	fair-dat
	bajaːɾ-ek
	market-dat
	hiɖ-ek
	here-dat

Table 2.6

Accusative

The accusative suffix has the following allomorphs:

d) /–n/ when suffixed to nominal bases ending in vowels

e) /–en/ when suffixed to nominal bases ending in stops, nasals and semivowels

f) /–in/ after fricatives and liquids

The following example set shows the distribution of accusative allomorphs in Malto:

-n	ṭaːḍi-n liquor-acc
	eːra-n hen-acc
-en	paːv-en road-acc
	haḍ-en dem.dst-acc
	kolam-en pen-acc
-in	pel-in girl-acc
	hah-in 3sg.m-acc
	epor-in villagers-acc

Table 2.7

2.4 Major word classes

The four major word classes in Malto are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. They are open classes in that they allow the inclusion of new tokens. In addition, Malto has demonstratives, pronouns, classifiers, conjunctions, postpositions and a set of particles. These words classes are closed as they do not allow the inclusion of new tokens. Membership to each of these word classes is not based just on the lexical content of the tokens but also on the morphological and syntactic properties that are associated with each word class. Pronouns (section 2.3.3) and demonstratives share a characteristic feature of nouns (section 2.3.2), namely case marking. Hence the three word classes can be grouped under the broader category of nominals. Adjectives (section 2.3.4) and adverbs (section 2.3.5) in Malto are often derived from noun and verb roots respectively.

The distinguishing feature of adjectives and adverbs is that they perform an attributive function and hence have a specific position in word order (section 2.1).

2.4.1 Noun verb distinction

Malto formally distinguishes between nouns and verbs based on the inflections they take and the grammatical information they encode. However, as Steever (1997:361) points out, category membership of a word in Malto cannot be determined by identifying the category of the lexical root, as Malto has a productive system of deriving nouns from verbs and vice-versa. The category-defining morphological properties of nouns in Malto are explained in the following section and the category-defining morphological properties of verbs are explained in Chapter 3.

2.4.2 Nouns

Nouns in Malto are inflected for number, gender and case. The number and gender system in Malto complements the number and gender expressed by pronouns and numerals. Malto makes a two way number distinction between singular and plural. The gender distinction in terms of inflectional marking on nouns is also two way. Nouns in the nominative singular are marked as masculine or non-masculine. The masculine gender is represented by the suffix /-h/ and the non-masculine gender is represented by the suffix /-ḍ, -ḍu/. The distribution of the two allomorphs marking non-masculine gender is morphophonemic depending on whether the base to which it attaches ends in a vowel or a consonant. If the base ends in a vowel, the /-ḍ/ suffix is used and if the base

ends in a consonant the /-ḏu/ suffix is used. However the word-final enunciative vowel

/u/ is often omitted in fast speech. It is not always obligatory for the nominative suffix to

be expressed on the noun.

With plurals, the distinction is between human and non-human. In fact the non-human

plural is unmarked and hence requires numerals to express more than one non-human

entity. The /-r/ suffix expresses human plural. The following Table shows examples of

nouns with each of the suffixes introduced above.

Singular Nominative			Plural Nominative	
Masculine	Non-masculine		Human	Non-human
	human	Non-human		
mala-h 'man'	malni-ḏ 'woman'	oy- ḏu 'cow'	malaː-r 'people'	oy- ḏu 'cows'
abba-h 'father'	ayaː-ḏ 'mother'	man- ḏu 'tree'		abbahayaː-r 'parents'

Table 2.8

2.4.2.1 Case system

Blake (2001:1) defines case as a system that marks dependent nouns for the type of

relationship they bear to their heads. He adds that traditionally the term refers to

inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun phrase to a

predicate at the clause level, or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at

the phrase level. Malto case markers are bound morphemes that are suffixed to the noun.

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A noun in Malto can take seven different case suffixes, namely nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, ablative and locative.

nominative	-h (masculine) /-ḍ, -ḍu (non-masculine)/ -r (human plural)
accusative	-n, -in, -en
dative	-k,-ik, -ek
genitive	-ki
instrumental	-ṭ, -eṭ
ablative	-inṭi
locative	-no

Table 2.9

Nominative

The subject of a clause or a predicate nominal is in the nominative case except when it is dative (section 2.1). The nominative is a portmanteau of case, gender and number. The citation form of a word is in the nominative case. It is the unmarked case, as it is not obligatory for the nominative suffix to be expressed with the noun when the subject of a clause is non-specific. The uninflected stem is also used to express the nominative meaning. However, all nouns bearing nominative case are not subjects. Sentences with the subject in the dative case have the complement in the nominative case. Example (2-

27) shows the subject with nominative case marking and example (2-28) shows the complement in the nominative case.

(2-27) haḍinṭi hamḍu epik bari:

haḍ-inṭi ham-ḍu   ep-ik   bar-i:
dem.dst-abl water-nom.nm village-dat come-3sg.nm

The water comes to the village from that place.   **Village**

(2-28) ha: pelik ḍu jan ma.a:r

ha: pel-ik   ḍu   jan   ma.a:-r
dem.dst   woman-dat   two   clf   child-nom.pl

That woman has two children   **Elicitation**

Accusative

The accusative case marks the direct object of a transitive verb, as shown in example (2-29). However, accusative case marking is not expressed on non-specific objects, as shown in example (2-30).

(2-29) eng eploka:r hoya:n, heḍa:n e:ra:n a:r kisan ho posina:r

eng   ep-loka:r[13]   hoya:-n heḍa:-n   e:ra:-n   a:r   kisa-n
1sg.gen   village-people.pl.nom   cow-acc goat-acc hen-acc   and   pig-acc

ho   pos-i-n-a:r
too   rear-ep-prs-3pl.h

The people of my village also rear cows, goats, hens and pigs.   **Village**

---

[13] *loka:r* is a lexical plural and has no corresponding singular in Malto.

(2-30) eːm cevɾ pilim ʈunɖoʈ ekiʈaːm

eːm	cevɾ	pilim	ʈunɖ-oʈ	ek-i-ʈ-aːm
1pl	yesterday	film	see-inf	go-ep-pst-2pl

We went to see a film yesterday.   **Elicitation**

Dative

The dative case is used to express a wide range of meanings, such as the goal (example 2-31), the destination (example 2-32), the indirect object or recipient (example 2-33), or the purpose (example 2-34). Dative subjects (example 2-35) are a common Dravidian feature (section 2.1). The dative suffix in Malto is represented as /-k/ when the noun ends in a vowel and /-ik/ when the noun ends in a consonant (also see section 2.3.8).

(2-31) hani haːhin mo.oʈi caːngek ʈoʈaː-ʈoʈaː haɾgiː

hani	haːh-in	mo-oʈi	caːng-ek	ʈoʈ-aː-ʈoʈ-aː	haɾg-iː
then	he-acc	eat-inf	perch-dat	jump-cp-jump-cp	climb-3sg.nm

Then it climbed to the perch, jumping to eat him.   **Story C3**

(2-32) inɖro jaise.. goɖɖak hekoʈ ho moʈehi panonɖi bas calaɾiː

inɖro	jaise	goɖɖa-k	hek-oʈ	ho	moʈehi	pan-onɖ-i	bas	cal-aːɾ-iː
this	like	Godda-dat	go-inf	too	almost	clf-one-emp	bus	un-vrb-3sg.nm

Like...Only one bus runs to go to Godda.   **Village**

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(2-33) aɖyakaːm haɖinṭe baːɖu apna-apna maːeɾik cino haːɖenṭe moʔoṭ-lapoṭi ʃuɾu nanɖaːm

adya-k-aːm	haɖ-inṭe baːɖu	apna-apna[14] maːeɾ-ik	ci-no	haːɖ-enṭe
worship-rp-1pl	dem.dst-abl after	1pl.gen-1pl.gen children-dat	give-adv	there-abl

moʔ-oṭ-lap-oṭi	ʃuɾu	nan-ɖ-aːm
eat-inf-eat-inf	start	do-prs-1pl

Having worshipped, from then, upon giving (it) to our children, from then we start to eat.

Rituals

(2-34) niːnu inɖɾ-ik ɾokaːrɖe

niːnu	inɖɾ-ik	ɾokaːɾ-ɖe
2sg.nom	why-dat	anger-q

Why are you angry?

Elicitation

(2-35) ahik jaːgu banaːṭɾenu eːɖu mala

ah-ik	jaːgu	banaː-ṭɾ-en-u	eːɖu	mala
3sg.m-dat	food	make-caus-fut-nomr	good	neg

He doesn't like to cook.

Elicitation

Genitive

The genitive is primarily an adnominal case (Blake 2001:5). One of the functions of the genitive in Malto is to mark the possessor of another noun phrase (example 2-36). In addition, the genitive in Malto is also used to express origin (example 2-37) and attributes (example 2-38) of the head noun.

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[14] *apna* is a borrowing from Hindi. See Chapter 8 for further explanation.

(2-36) hani, henki puḍaːḍ hikni se ʈupaːraːyiːḍ

hani	hen-ki	puḍaː-ḍ	hikni	se	ʈupaː-r-aː-yi-iːḍ
then	1sg-gen	stomach-nom	why	emp	upset-dtr-ep-prs-3sg.nm

Then, why is my stomach upset?   **Story C4**

(2-37) haːḍ ʈaʈahki manki faslaːn moʔoʈI lagkaːm haːḍen ʈhoḍa hi kharcaːrḍaːm

haːḍ	ʈaʈah-ki	man-ki	faslaː-n	moʔ-oʈi	lag-k-aːm	haːḍ-en
dem.dst	mango-gen	tree-gen	produce-acc	eat-inf	in order to-rp-1pl	that-acc

ʈhoḍa	hi	kharc-aːr-ḍ-aːm
little	emp	expense-vrb-prs-1pl

In order to eat the fruit of that mango tree, we spend very little for that.   **Rituals**

(2-38) haːḍki inkuvaːriːḍ ho heme beyiːd

haːḍ-ki	inkuvaːr-iːd ho	hem-e bey-iːd
dem.dst-gen	treatment-nom too	1pl.dat be-3sg.nm

We have the treatment for that too.   **Medicine**

Instrumental

The instrumental case marks a noun phrase by means of which an activity or change of

state is carried out.

(2-39) haː gaːhanḍrin ho guliʈ malaː ʈalvaːreʈ hindro kovḍa piʈiyaːr

haː	gaːhanḍr-in	ho	guli-ʈ	malaː	ʈalvaːr-eʈ	hindro
those	guys-acc	too	bullet-inst	no	sword-inst	this

kovḍ-a	piʈ-iy-aːr
deform-cp	kill-pst-3pl.h

(They) deformed and killed those guys too with bullets, no, with swords.   **History**

Ablative

The ablative case marks the source or point from which an entity moves (example 2-40)
or derives (example 2-27).

(2-40) haːɖenṭi haːrgoṭ meniː

haːɖ-enṭi	haːrg-ot	meniː
there-abl	climb-inf	obl

One has to climb from there.   **Directions**

/-enṭi/ is also the comparative marker in Malto. The comparative marker is attached to
the noun against which another nominal entity is compared. This structure is borrowed
from Hindi (section 8.4.6) and not is a typical Dravidian feature.

(2-41) beɖo maenṭi sarveḍ aːpiyaːɖ

beɖo	ma.a-enṭi	sarve-ḍ	aːp-iy-aːɖ
big	animal-abl	small-nom.nm	watch-pst-3sg.nm

The (one) smaller than the big animal watched   **Story C4**

Locative

The locative case marks both the spatial and temporal location of the event or situation
expressed by the predicate (examples 2-42 and 2-43). The locative in Malto is also used
to express measure (example 2-44) and part-whole relationships (example 2-45) between
two nouns.

(2-42) hemu epno tʰaːy menḍaːm

hem-u	ep-no	tʰaːy	men-ḍ-aːm
1pl.nom-en	village-loc	unity	become-prs-1pl

We become united in the village.   **Medicine**

(2-43) haː biːceno bahuṭ saː jangaː-mangaː menjaːḍ

haː	biːce-no	bahuṭ	saː	jangaː-mangaː	menj-aːḍ
dem.dst	duration-loc	lot	of	confusion	be-3sg.nm

There was a lot of confusion in that duration.   **History**

(2-44) ḍu ṭakaːno solah kilo ṭiaːl menjaː

ḍu	ṭakaː-no	solah	kilo	ṭiaːl	menj-aː
two	rupee-loc	sixteen	kilo	rice	be-3sg.nm

The rice was two rupees for sixteen kilos.   **History**

(2-45) ṭiːni hissaːno ḍu hissaː ḍehɾi baːhaːk jimɾiːd

ṭiːni	hissaː-no	ḍu	hissaː	ḍehɾi	baːhaː-k	jim-ɾ-iːd
three	parts-loc	two	parts	priest	near-dat	get-dtr-3sg.nm

The priest gets two out of three parts.   **Medicine**

2.4.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are words that spatially locate the entities referred to by the speaker. Malto shows a two way distinction in demonstratives between distal and proximate. Demonstratives, just like other nominals, are inflected for case. Demonstratives also

function as third person pronouns (section 2.4.4.2). Demonstrative determiners precede the noun they modify, as shown in example (2-46). Demonstrative pronouns stand on their own as the head of a noun phrase, as shown in example (2-47).

(2-46) hani, aː me.e magyoṭ hekiyaː

hani	aː	me.e	magy-oṭ	hek-iy-aː
then	dem.dst	child	entertain-inf	go-pst-3sg.nm

Then, that child went to entertain. **Story C2**

(2-47) aːḍ ho "paharonḍu aman honḍa barane" ankiːḍ, hekiyaːḍ

aːḍ	ho	pahar-onḍu	ama-n	hon-ḍ-a	bar-an-e	an-k-iːḍ
dem.dst	too	moment-one	water-acc	drink-sf-1sg	come-fut-opt	say-rp-3sg.nm

hek-iy-aːḍ
go-pst-3sg.nm

That (one) too went saying, "Let me drink water and be back in a moment." **Story C3**

A demonstrative determiner and the noun in the nominative can combine to form an NP that can then be marked for case, as shown in the following example. In such cases the nominative is unmarked.

(2-48) ho.oːn haː baːhaːnṭi rikonḍ hinno moḍ-uhur-ḍey

ho.oːn	[haː	baːhaː]-nṭi	rikond	hin-no	moḍ-u-hur-ḍ-ey
yes	that	side-abl	little	dem.prx-loc	turn-ep-pass-prs-2pl

Yes, you have to turn a little this way from that side. **Directions**

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2.4.4 Pronouns

Pronouns are lexical items that are used to substitute for nouns. Pronouns in Malto form a closed set comprising of five subsets, namely personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns and interrogative pronouns.

2.4.4.1 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are used to identify a particular entity from many other things around it. Malto distinguishes between proximal and remote demonstratives. Proximity is represented by *(h)i:* and remoteness is represented by *(h)a:*. The demonstrative proximate pronoun is the same as the third person non-masculine personal pronoun. Demonstratives in Malto are inflected for case, as shown in the following Table. All the case suffixes that attach to demonstratives are preceded by the inflectional increment /-ḍ/. This is a morphophonemic adjustment since Malto does not permit vowel clusters (section 2.2.2.1). The locative suffix is the only exception to this rule. The distal demonstrative has three forms in the nominative to distinguish non-masculine singular and plural (*(h)a:ḍ*), masculine singular (*(h)a:h*) and human plural (*(h)a:r*).

Case	Proximate Demonstrative (h)iː	Distal Demonstrative (h)aː
Nominative	(h)iːd̪	(h)aːd̪, (h)aːh, (h)aːr
Accusative	(h)id̪en	(h)ad̪en
Dative	(h)id̪ik	(h)ad̪ik
Genitive	(h)id̪ki	(h)ad̪ki
Instrumental	(h)id̪et̪	(h)ad̪et̪
Ablative	(h)id̪ent̪i	(h)ad̪ent̪i
Locative	(h)inno	(h)anno

Table 2.10

The following example shows the demonstrative pronoun with genitive case marking.

(2-49) fir had̪ki sambhand̪eno vicaːr men-id̪

fir	had̪-ki	sambhand̪-e-no	vicaːr	men-id̪
then	that-gen	relation-ep-loc	enquiry	be-3sg.nm

…..Then there will be an enquiry in relation to that. **Panchayat**

In addition Malto also has demonstratives *hid̪e* 'here' and *had̪e* 'there' that express

spatial distinctions. These spatial demonstratives can take dative (as shown in the

following example) and ablative case marking (example 2-40).

(2-50) hid̪ek hekno ho d̪arcar had̪ek hekno ho d̪arcar

hid̪-ek	hek-no	ho	d̪ar-c-ar	had̪-ek	hek-no	ho	d̪ar-c-ar
here-dat	go-cond	too	catch-pst-3pl.h	there-dat	go-cond	too	catch-pst-3pl.h

They catch you if you go even here and they catch you even if you go there. **History**

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2.4.4.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns substitute for names of people and things. Malto has personal pronouns in the first, second and third person and they make a singular-plural distinction in terms of number. The distinction in third person singular is between masculine and non-masculine and the third person plural distinguishes between human and non-human referents. Malto also makes a distinction between inclusive and exclusive reference in the plural pronouns. In addition Malto pronouns also function as oblique bases to which relevant case markers (section 2.3.2) can be attached. The long vowels are shortened to form oblique bases. In addition, the first person and second person singular forms take an additional phoneme /-g/ as an inflectional increment to form oblique bases. The nominative is the uninflected personal pronoun and the rest of the case markers attach to the oblique base, as shown in Table 2.10.

(2-51) hani, "aʈaː, henge suɾlin henu hocaːkaːn manhaːn honɖraːn"

hani	aʈ-aː	heng-e	suɾli-n	heːn-u	hoc-aː-k-aːn	manhaː-n	honḍ-ɾ-aːn
then	give-imp	my-dat	flute-acc	1sg-en	take-ep-rp-1sg	buffalo-acc	bring-dtr-3sg.m

Then, give me the flute, I'll take (it) and bring the buffaloes.   **Story C3**

The above example has two pronouns, one in the dative form and the other in the nominative.

	1 singular	1 plural inclusive	1 plural exclusive	2 singular	2 plural	3 singular masculine	3 singular non-masculine/ plural non-human	3 plural human
Nominative	(h)eːn	naːm	(h)eːm	niːn	niːm	(h)aːh	(h)aːḍ	(h)aːr
Accusative	(h)engen	namen	(h)emen	ningen	nimen	(h)ahen	(h)aḍen	(h)aren
Dative	(h)enge	name	(h)eme	ninge	nime	(h)ahik	(h)aḍek	(h)arek
Genitive	(h)engki	namki	(h)emki	ningki	nimki	(h)ahki	(h)aḍki	(h)arki
Ablative	(h)engenṭi	namenṭi	(h)emenṭi	ningenṭi	nimenṭi	(h)ahenṭi	(h)aḍenṭi	(h)arenṭi
Instrumental	(h)engeṭ	nameṭ	(h)emeṭ	ningeṭ	nimeṭ	(h)aheṭ	(h)aḍeṭ	(h)areṭ
Locative	(h)engno	namno	(h)emno	ningno	nimno	(h)ahno	(h)aḍno	(h)arno

Table 2.11

2.4.4.3 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun co-refers to the subject of the clause (example 2-52). *ṭan* is the

reflexive pronoun in Malto. The other function of the reflexive pronoun is to emphasise

the role of the subject (example 2-53). The reflexive pronoun (section 4.3.2.1) is prefixed

to kinship terms to express 'one's own relative', as against someone else's relative

(example 2-54).

(2-52) ha:hu ṭa:ngen aɾsino ṭunḍiyah

ha:h-u ṭa:ng-en aɾsi-no ṭunḍ-iy-ah
3sg.m-en self-acc mirror-loc see-pst-3sg.m

He saw himself in the mirror. **Elicitation**

(2-53) hani ha:hu ṭa:n ḍokiya:h ha:ḍek peli:n hoḍhik hoca:h

hani ha:h-u ṭa:n ḍok-iy-a:h ha:ḍ-ek peli:-n hoḍh-ik hoc-a:h
then 3sg.m-en self stay-pst-3sg.m there-dat girl-acc house-dat take-3sg.m

Then he took the girl to the house where he himself stayed. **Story C3**

(2-54) ha:h meca: hamca:h ha:hi pi:si: ɾa:ja: ṭaha:nḍi:ḍ hamca:ḍ

ha:-h	meca:	ham-c-a:h	hah-i	pi:si:	ɾa:ja:
3sg-nom.m	up	bathe-pst-3sg.m	3sg.m-dat	down	king

ṭa-ha:nḍi:-ḍ	ham-c-a:ḍ
refl-daughter-nom	bathe-pst-3sg.nm

He bathed up (stream) and the king's daughter bathed down (stream) from him. **Story C3**

2.4.4.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns have three kinds of bases, *nek* 'who', *hinḍɾ* 'what, why' and *hik* 'which'. The case marking suffixes attach to these bases to form relevant question words.

hikni 'how' does not take any case marking. Questions words can also be used as adnominally or adverbially, as shown in example (2-58).

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Case	Who nek	What (h)ind̪ɾ	Which (h)ik
Nominative	nedu	(h)ind̪ɾdu	(h)ikdu
Accusative	neken	(h)ind̪ɾan	(h)ikan
Dative	neke	(h)ind̪ɾik	(h)ikek
Genitive	nekki	(h)ind̪ɾki	(h)ikeki
Instrumental	neket	(h)ind̪ɾet	(h)iket
Ablative	nekente	(h)ind̪ɾente	(h)ikente
Locative	nekeno	(h)ind̪ɾno	(h)ikno

Table 2.12

The question word also functions as a relativiser, as shown in examples (2-55) and (2-58).

(2-55) neke med̪ nunjeni:....

nek-e med nunjeni:
who-dat head ache-fut-3sg.nm

Whose head will ache....   **Medicine**

(2-56) "hindɾik holuhd̪a:ɾ, maa:ɾ?"

hindɾ-ik   holuh-d̪-a:ɾ   maa:-ɾ
why-dat   cry-prs-2pl   child-nom.pl

Why are you crying, children?   **Story C4**

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(2-57) ha: maa:n havḍa:, "hikni se nal poɾhiḍe?"

ha:	maa:n	havḍa:	hikni	se	nal	poɾh-iḍ-e
that	animal-acc	speak-3sg.nm	how	emp	very	fatten-3sg.nm-q

That animal asked, "how have you become so fat?"   **Story C4**

(2-58) hika:ɾ piṭuɾ heme seroma:n honḍra kosna:ɾ

hik-a:ɾ	piṭ-uɾ	hem-e seroma:n	honḍr-a	kos-n-a:ɾ
which-nomr	kill-nomr	1pl-dat portion	bring-cp	share-prs-3pl

The person that kills brings us a portion and shares (with us).   **Medicine**

2.4.5 Adjectives

Malto has a small group of words that can be semantically distinguished as adjectives. Syntactically, adjectives modify the head noun. I follow Krishnamutri's (2003:389) classification of basic adjectives in Dravidian into two major groups, namely, limiting adjectives and descriptive adjectives. Limiting adjectives include numerals and quantifiers like *kajjak* 'lot', *ɾik* 'few'.

(2-59) hani, moukiḍ, ino kajjak maja ḍeka moui:

hani	mou-k-iḍ	ino	kajjak	maja	ḍe-k-a	mou-i:
then	eat-rp-3sg.nm	more	lot	pleasure	give-rp-3sg.nm	eat-3sg.nm

Then, when he ate it, it gave (him) great pleasure eating it.   **Story C2**

Descriptive adjectives include dimensions like *sarve* 'small', *beɖo* 'big'; colours like *eːso* 'red', *baːlko* 'yellow', *enaːlo* 'green'; and values like *eːɖu* 'good'. In addition, Malto is unique among Dravidian languages in using numeral classifiers (see 2.3.6 and 8.3) which are based on physical properties and often appear with numerals.

(2-60) hani maːonḍ sarve sarve eːraːḍ lollaːiːḍ bohoṭiː

hani	ma.a-onḍ	sarve	sarve	eːraː-ḍ	lol-laː-iːḍ	boh-oṭiː
then	clf-one	small	small	hen-nom.nm	able-neg-3sg.nm	run-inf

Then, one little hen was not able to run.   **Story C3**

Adjectives in Malto are also derived from verbal, nominal and adverbial bases by adding the suffixes */-o, ro, ṭe, ṭo/*, as shown in the following example set (Mahapatra 1979:112-116). Of these suffixes */-o/* is the most productive and resembles the lexical adjectival ending. The name of the language, Malto, is derived by adding the */ṭo/* suffix to the nominal base *mal* 'male/people'.

(2-61)

Verb	pac	become old	pac-o	old
Verb	alkr	open	alkr-o	open
Verb	circ	strike	circ-o	flint
Noun	acḍu	thorn	ac-ro	thorny
Verb	kiṭ	rot	kiṭ-ro	rotten
Adverb	meca	up	mec-ṭe	upper
Noun	pelḍu	woman	pel-ṭo	feminine

(2-62) mecṭe epno hekoṭ maonḍ goḍaḍ lagiḍ

mec-ṭe	ep-ik	hek-oṭ	ma-onḍ	goḍa-ḍ	lag-iḍ
up-adj	village-dat	go-inf	clf-one	horse-nom.nm	need-3sg.nm

A horse is needed to go to the upper village.   **Elicitation**

2.4.6 Adverbs

There are a few lexical adverbs in Malto denoting time and location. However, the predominant pattern of adverbialisation is to derive adverbs from verb roots by reduplication. This process is especially productive in deriving manner adverbs (see 7.2.1.3). The following lists show some of the lexical adverbs in Malto.

Temporal adverbs

(2-63)

hina   today

lela   tomorrow

cevɾu   yesterday

jehi: often

Spatial adverbs

(2-64)

opa   behind

meca   up

pisi   down

In addition, Malto also has sentential adverbs that provide a link between two sentences in discourse. Sentential adverbs usually appear at the beginning of a sentence. The following example has two such adverbs that are very common in Malto.

(2-65) ani aɽhi, aɽhi, aː maenṭi aɽhi saɽve aːpiyaːḍ

ani	aɽhi	aɽhi	aː	ma.a-enṭi	aɽhi	saɽve	aːp-iy-aːḍ
then	again	again	that	animal-comp	again	small	watch-pst-3sg.nm

Then again, the one smaller than that animal watched. **Story C3**

2.4.7 Classifiers

Malto is unique among Dravidian languages in having a closed set of nominal classifiers. This lexical category is a borrowing from Indo-Aryan languages and has been developed in Malto into a robust system (see 8.3). The animacy of the nouns and the shape, size and weight of the nouns are the two broad criteria by which classifiers are recognised in Malto. The following Table shows classifiers in Malto and the corresponding criteria by which they classify nouns.

Classifier	Criteria	Example(s)
jan	Human	malaːr 'men'
ma.a	Non-human animate	eɖaː 'goat', naːraː 'spirit'
ɖaːɖa	Long, large, rigid objects	maːs 'bamboo'
kaʈi	Long, small, rigid, objects	biːɖi[15] 'cigar'
panɖa	Long, flexible objects	paːv 'road', caːma 'song'
paʈa	Flat, broad, flexible objects	ʈaɖʈaː 'tongue'
paʈa	Flat, broad, thin, flexible objects	aːʈaː 'leaf'
para	Long pods, fruits	simbi 'beans', kalɖi 'banana'
kanɖa	Textiles	komla 'blanket'
pula	Round, light objects	puːpɖu 'flower'
paːn	Large, hollow objects	hoɖɖu 'house', bas 'bus'
guʈ	Miscellaneous quantifiable objects	paːkiʈ 'packet'

Table 2.13: Classifiers in Malto (Mahapatra 1997)

Semantically, classifiers represent some characteristic feature of the noun with which they occur. Syntactically, a classifier precedes the noun and appears in combination with a numeral or a demonstrative. Classifiers are either preceded by demonstratives, as shown in example (2-66) or numerals as shown in example (2-67).

---

[15] biːɖi is a locally rolled cigar like product with tobacco filling in dried, easily combustible leaves.

(2-66) hani a:a:ḍ ha: pa:n hoḍhik hi: hoceki: suɾlin ṭeya:

hani	a:a:-ḍ	ha:	pa:n	hoḍh-ik	hi:	hoc-e-k-i:	suɾli-n
then	crow-nom	that	clf	house-dat	emp	take-ep-rp-3sg.nm	flute-acc

ṭey-a:
throw-3sg.m

Then, the crow took the flute to that particular house and threw it.   **Story C3**

The numerals always precede the classifier if the number is larger than two. The numbers one and two are suffixed to the classifier if they are Malto numerals, as shown in example (2-68) and they precede the classifier if they are borrowed numerals, as shown in example (2-67) (also see section 8.2).

(2-67) hocka:h goha:lno saṭ guṭ goha:lno ḍuka:ṭaɾa:

hoc-k-a:h	goha:l-no	saṭ	guṭ	goha:l-no	ḍuk-a:-ṭaɾ-a:
take-rp-3sg.m	cow_shed-loc	seven	clf	cow_shed-loc	put-ep-caus-3sg.m

Having taken (them), he put them in seven cow sheds.   **Story C3**

(2-68) ḍa:ḍonḍ pa:la:n hoyna:ɾ

ḍa:ḍa-onḍ	pa:la:-n	hoy-n-a:ɾ
clf-one	spear-acc	take-prs-3pl

They take a spear   **Village**

2.4.8 Other functional categories

In addition to the above mentioned well-defined word classes, the Malto lexicon also includes functional words such as postpositions, conjunctions, interjections. I will not be

providing an exhaustive list of function words in Malto. Instead I will provide an overview of some typical function words in Malto.

2.4.8.1 Postpositions

Postpositions appear with complement phrases, usually nominal complements, although they can also appear with verbs. In Malto, postpositions are used to express role relations that are not captured by case marking on the nouns. According to Krishnamutri (2003:430), the difference between case markers and postpositions is that "case markers are suffixes and bound morphemes, whereas postpositions are grammaticalised words." Malto postpositions are either attached to nominal stems or follow nominals already inflected with case markers. Hence postposition can either be free or bound.

Associative

The associative marker in Malto is */-koni/*. The associative shows a relationship of co-operation between two nominal entities in executing the same event.

(2-69) oɖkki korcaːɖ ekɖam, ʈehokoni bacarnaʔyaːr

oɖk-k-i	kor-c-aːɖ	ekɖam	ʈeho-koni	bac-a-r-naʔ-y-aːr
break-rp-3sg.nm	enter-pst-3sg.nm	immediately	mother-ass	snatch-ep-dtr-recp-pst-3pl.h

(They) entered breaking the roof and fought with the mother. **Story C2**

The above example also contains an adverb in the form of *ekɖam,* which is a borrowing from Hindi (section 8.1). In the above example the associative is attached to the noun as a

bound morpheme and in the following example the postposition follows a case marked noun.

(2-70) haːɖu hahi koni milaːroʈ hekiyaːɖ

haː-ɖu	hah-i	koni	mil-aːr-oʈ	hek-iy-aːɖ
3sg-nom.nm	3sg.m-dat	ass	meet-vrb-inf	go-pst-3sg.nm

She went to meet with him.   **Elicitation**

2.4.8.2 Particles

Particles in Malto are a sub-group of postpositions. Particles are uninflected adpositions, postpositions in case of Malto. Particles can follow both nouns and verbs. As Zwicky (1985: 284) "particles are a pretheoretical notion that has no translation into a theoretical construct of linguistics." Several of the particles in Malto could be clitics, as is the common syntactic pattern in Dravidian languages (Krishnamutri 2003, Steever 1993). However, due to limitations of the data available at the moment, it would be safer to let these words be grouped under the broad category of particles, rather then distinguishing them as clitics and free words. The following particles in Malto are focus particles and highlight the nouns or verbs that they follow.

2.4.8.2.1 Emphatic particle

The emphatic particle in Malto underscores the importance of the entity described by the noun or the verb that it follows, in the execution of the situation expressed by the finite verb in the matrix clause and hence makes it the focus of the clause. The particle *se* is used to express emphasis.

(2-71) hahiːn honɖɾa aʈno se lapaːn

hah-iːn	honɖ-ɾ-a	aʈ-no	se	lap-aːn
3sg.m-acc	bring-dtr-cp	give-cond	emp	eat-1sg

I will eat only if you bring him. **Story C3**

Alternatively, the emphatic particles borrowed from Hindi are also often used (see 8.4.1).

2.4.8.2.2 Indefinite particle

Indefinite particles are used when the predicate makes reference to no particular

individual or group. The particle *jahaː* is used to express indefiniteness in Malto.

(2-72) neke jahaː himmaʈ menlaːɖ

neke	jahaː	himmaʈ	men-la-aːɖ
who-gen	ever	courage	be-neg-3sg.nm

No one had the courage. **History**

2.4.8.2.3 Additive

The additive particle highlights the role of the noun that it follows as equivalent to that of

the roles expressed by other participants in the situation. *ho* is the additive particle in

Malto.

(2-73) iske baːɖ, pel ma.eɾin gavaːhiː nannaːɾ yaː muɖs ma.eɾin ho gavaːhiː
nannaːɾ

iske	baːɖ	pel	ma.a-ɾ-in	gavaːhiː	nan-n-aːɾ	yaː
this	after	female	child-pl-acc	witness	do-prs-3pl.h	or

muɖs	ma.a-ɾ-in	ho	gavaːhiː	nan-n-aːɾ
male	child-pl-acc	add	witness	do-prs-3pl.h

After this, female children do witnessing or male children also do witnessing. **Panchayat**

2.4.8.2.4 Vocative

The vocative is used as an address form and unlike other case markers that appear on the dependent nominals, vocatives stand independently, as shown in example (2-74). Vocatives can also be suffixed to the verb, as shown in example (2-75). Malto has different vocatives based on the gender of the addressee. If the addressee is masculine, the vocatives are *aɖe, are* and if the addressee is feminine the vocative is *eri.* These vocatives can be suffixed to a verb and in addition, the suffixes */-le/* and */-li/* also act a vocatives for masculine and feminine respectively.

(2-74) "aɖe mama, ayaː-n nap panjkiːɖ piṭiyaːɖ"

aɖe	mama	ayaː-n	nap	pan-j-k-iːɖ	piṭiyaːɖ
voc.m	uncle	mother-acc	fruit	ripe-sf-rp-3sg.nm	kill-pst-3sg.nm

Hey uncle, the fruit ripened and killed mother.   **Story C4**

(2-75) korci lagki hinjɾle

koɾ-c-i	lag-k-i	hin-j-ɾ-le
enter-pst-3sg.nm	approach-rp-3sg.nm	take-sf-dtr-voc.m

(You) take by entering and approaching.   **Story C2**

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a sketch of the grammar of Malto that included a typological profile of the language and brief descriptions of such categories as nouns, demonstratives, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, classifiers, particles and miscellaneous nominal suffixes. An overview of the phonology and morphophonemics is also provided. However, all these areas need to be explored in detail. What this chapter has not included is an account of the verbs in Malto, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Chapter 3: Finite and Non-finite verbs and Verb classes

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the structure of Malto verbs and also considers the functional classification of verbs in Malto based on their lexical content. The first section in this chapter introduces the minimal unit that can be considered as a verb in Malto and then discusses the formal structure of the verb (section 3.1). The structure of finite verbs in Malto and the three levels of verb word formation are discussed in detail in section 3.2. The non-finite verbal suffixes (section 3.3) and the various functions of the non-finite verbs, namely conditional (section 3.3.1), causal adverbial (section 3.3.2), relative past (section 3.3.3), simultaneity (section 3.3.4), conjunct participle (section 3.3.5), infinitive (section 3.3.6) and adnominal (section 3.3.7) are explained in the third part of this chapter. The fourth part of this chapter is dedicated to a discussion of category changing derivational processes (section 3.4) involving verb roots (section 3.4.1), and where verb stems are derived from nouns and borrowed roots (section 3.4.2). The last part of this chapter presents the verb classes in Malto based on Aksionsart types (section 3.5) and then discusses the functional restrictions on co-occurrence of verb forms, based on verb classes (section 3.5.1), along with a discussion on copula constructions in the language (section 3.5.2).

3.1 Formal Structure of the Verb

The Malto verb minimally consists of a verb stem. A stem is a form from which a word is derived by the addition of one or more affixes. A verb stem in Malto can be obtained by

the addition of a stem formative suffix (section 3.1.1.1 and section 5.1.1.1) to the verb root. A verb root is a form from which words or parts of words are derived. A root is not itself derivable from any smaller or simpler form. However, the verb in its stem form is restricted to compound verb constructions and cannot appear as the head of an independent clause. In order to appear as the head of an independent clause a verb stem in Malto has to take at least one suffix from a set of inflectional suffixes (section 3.1.1.3) that includes negative suffixes, tense-aspect-mood suffixes and gender-number-person agreement suffixes. Verbs can also appear as the head of a dependent clause by taking at least one suffix from a set of non-finite verbal suffixes (section 3.3). A base can either be a root or a stem (Matthews 1997). A base is any form to which a process applies. Verbs that appear as the head of an independent clause are called finite verbs (section 3.2) and verbs that appear as the head of a dependent clause are called non-finite verbs. The following example shows a verb stem that appears with another verb to form a compound verb (section 7.2.1). This compound verb is a non-finite verb which is the head of a dependent clause and depends on a third verb which is the head of an independent clause.

(3-1) os ṭunheki heca:ḍ

[os   ṭunh-e-k-i]   hec-a:ḍ
cut   collect-ep-rp-3sg.nm   tie-3sg.f

Having cut and collected (the bamboo), she tied them up.   **Story C2**

In the above example *os ṭunheki* is a compound verb where *os* is the past stem (section 5.1.1.1) of the verb *oy* 'cut'. The second nucleus of the compound *ṭunh,* carries the

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relative past tense marker (section 3.3.3) which has scope over the whole compound. The finite verb *hecaːd* consists of the verb root *hec* 'tie' and the gender-number-person agreement suffix.

3.1.1 Levels of Verb Formation

Malto is an agglutinating language and verbs are formed by adding suffixes to the verb root with little morphophonemic change (section 2.3). Malto verb formation maximally takes place at three levels. The first level is the level of stem formation (section 3.1.1.1). It is possible for the verb root to act as a stem or for a stem to be derived by attaching a stem formative suffix to the verb root. The verb stem can act as a meaningful syntactic unit as the first nucleus of a compound verb (section 7.2.1). The second level of verb formation is the concatenation of derivational suffixes to the verb stem (section 3.1.1.2). It is typological characteristic of derivational suffixes that they occur closer to the verb root than inflectional suffixes (Bybee 1985). Once the verb stem takes a derivational suffix, it is obligatory that it is followed by an inflectional suffix. The third and final level of verb formation is the concatenation of inflectional suffixes (section 3.1.1.3). Steever (1993:12) compares verbal inflections and derivations by stating that:

> "inflection differs from derivation in that the members of an inflectional
> opposition are mutually implicating so that, for example, the existence of a
> past tense in a grammatical system always implies the existence of a non-past
> tense, and viceversa. Derivation, on the other hand, creates an opposition of
> two terms, a base and a derived form, whose members are not mutually
> implicating: while a derived form always implies the existence of a base

form, forms that might otherwise serve as base forms need not imply the existence of a derived form."

One way of understanding the structure and function of verbs in Malto is to locate them in the larger perspective of Dravidian verbs and analyse how they conform to or differ from the typical features of the language family. Verb roots in Dravidian languages are known to be monosyllabic with the canonical shape (C) V (C) (Krishnamurti 2002). However, verb stems in Malto can have more than one syllable. They may have been monosyllabic historically and retained some suffix that is no longer productive as shown in the following example set.

(3-2)

ṭunh   collect

caḍg   slip

muluh   drown

cuḍup   drop

The verb stem formation process is discussed in the following section.

3.1.1.1 Level One: Verb Stem Formation

The first level of verb formation in Malto involves the addition of the stem formative suffix to a verb root. There are two types of stem formative suffixes in Malto and both are non-productive suffixes in the language. The first type of stem formatives creates a stem that is the past tense alternate of the non-past verb root (section 5.1.1.1). The other kind

of stem formative suffix are the tense-transitivising suffixes (section 4.2). Krishnamurti (2002:278) points out for Dravidian in general that "no meaning can be assigned to the formative suffixes. It is speculated that they represented tense and voice markers at an early stage of Proto-Dravidian and were already losing that significance within Proto-Dravidian in different subgroups" (also see Cladwell 1956).

Based on the typical phonological structure for Dravidian verbs, which is (C)V(C), it can be deduced that the factor that explains the presence of formative suffixes in Malto is that some of the formatives are relics of Proto-Dravidian inflected verb forms. The verb roots taking past stem formatives are paired with non-past alternates. In contrast, the verb roots with the trasitivising –NP (nasal + plosive) formatives in Malto do not always have an intransitive correspondent and in such instances the bare root without the stem formative is no longer a meaningful unit. Hence the verb stems with the Proto-Dravidian –NP formatives are derived bases that are now part of the lexicon in Malto. However, there is a productive derivational process in the language that is explained in section 3.1.1.2 and chapter 4. Krishnamurti (2003:182) has postulated that:

> "at a very early stage within Proto-Dravidian, sonorant suffixes of the L type
>
> (l, ḷ, ẓ, r, w, y) were added to (C)V:- or (C)VC-V-stems to form extended
>
> intransitive/middle voice stems. This assumption is based on the observation
>
> that verb stems ending in sonorant suffixes tend to be intransitive in the
>
> descendent languages. At a later period, -L, -VL lost their identity as
>
> grammatical elements and became incorporated into the preceding stems. The
>
> P-suffixes signal both tense and voice."

The following Table shows how the tense and transitivity properties combine to form stem formatives in Proto-Dravidian, where the dental vs. non-dental distinction indicates past vs. non-past; simple (N)P signals intransitive, and geminate (N)PP, transitive:

	Non-past		Past
Intransitive	*p	*k	*t
	*mp	*nk	*nt
Transitive	*pp	*kk	*tt
	*mpp	*nkk	*ntt

Table 3.1

Based on the diachronic data on Dravidian languages presented by Krishnamurti (2003) and Subrahmanyam (1971), the following non-productive stem formatives can be reconstructed for Malto. The labial series of non-past stem formatives is missing in Malto. In all instances, Malto has replaced the geminates in the proto-form of the suffix by voiced plosives.

1) The /-ḍ/ suffix is a weakened form of the proto-Dravidian transitive causative suffix

*-tt.

This suffix always attaches to a root ending in /n/.

(3-3)

on   drink

onḍ   cause to drink

Not all transitive verbs with /–ḍ / formative suffix have intransitive counterparts.

(3-4)

hon-ḍ	fetch, bring
man-ḍ	bury, plant
maːn-ḍ	roast on charcoal
men-ḍ	burn
mun-ḍ	wrap
pun-ḍ	put
ban-ḍ	pull
nin-ḍ	fill

2) The /-j/ suffix is a weakened form of the proto-Dravidian transitive causative suffix

-cc~-kk. These verbs do not have intransitive counterparts.

(3-5)

aːm-j	talk
an-j	bear fruit
kun-j	throw, give birth
con-j	fasten, bind
cun-j	pound
nuːn-j	ache, hurt

3) The /-g/ suffix is the transitive form of the proto-Dravidian paired intransitive and

transitive stem with -(N)P/-(N)PP. Synchronically, all the verbs taking this suffix express

telic transitive events, but not all of them are punctual.

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(3-6)

haɾ-g	climb
t̪is-g	open
t̪iɾ-g	press, apply force
is-g	crack open .
aḍ-g	press
as-g	shear
bas-g	peel
nus-g	rub off (scales of a fish)
nuɾ-g	drag, slide
nun-g	swallow
puḍ-g	pluck
kuḍ-g	bend

Malto has lost the intransitive member of the pair for the above stems and instead uses

the productive intransitive suffix /–ɾ/ to derive intransitive stems.

(3-7)

aḍg-ɾ-aːḍ	It was pressed
caḍg-ɾ-aːḍ	It slipped

The productive process of stem formation is explained in the following section.

3.1.1.2 Level Two: Derivational Suffixes

The second level of verb formation is the addition of derivational suffixes. A derivational

suffix is not obligatory in forming either a finite or a non-finite verb. The addition of a derivational suffix changes the argument potential of the verb and creates an idiosyncratic meaning for the resulting verb base. A Malto verb can include a sequence of two derivational suffixes at most. The first, which is the closest to the verb root, is the suffix that determines the overall transitivity of the verb (section 4.1). Alternatively, this slot can be occupied by the verbalising suffix that derives verbs from nouns (section 3.4.2). Words which can be verbalised are either Malto noun roots or borrowed stems from Indo-Aryan languages. The second derivational suffix in the sequence can be chosen from a set of valence changing operators that include the causative, reciprocal and the passive suffixes. Chapter 4 is devoted to a detailed discussion of valence changing operations.

The following Table shows the productive derivational suffixes in Malto.

Detransitivising/reflexive	-ɽ
Causative	-ʈɽ/-ʈaɽ
Reciprocal	-nah
Passive	-uhɽ

Table 3.2

3.1.1.3 Level Three: Inflectional Suffixes

The third level of verb formation is the suffixation of inflectional affixes. A Malto verb can include up to three inflectional suffixes chosen from:

1) a set of negative suffixes

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2) tense-aspect-mood (TAM) suffixes

3) gender-number-person (GNP) agreement suffixes

Alternatively an affix from the set of non-finite suffixes can take the place of a TAM suffix. Non-finite suffixes are discussed in detail in section 3.3 of this chapter. The topics of tense-aspect-mood markers and gender-number-person agreement markers are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The negatives in Malto are discussed in Chapter 6.

The structure of the verb in Malto can thus be summarised as follows:

Verb = Verb root + [stem formative] + [derivational suffixes] + [inflectional suffixes]

Some possible combinations of the above formula are listed below in order of increasing complexity based on how many derivational and inflectional suffixes are attached to the verb root. However this is not an exhaustive list of possible verb forms in Malto.

a) Verb = verb root + inflectional suffix

(3-8)   ḍok-aː
        sit-imp

        Sit!   **Elicitation**

b) Verb = verb root + stem formative 1 + inflectional suffix

(3-9)   baṛ-c-ah
        come-sf-3sg.m

        He came.   **Elicitation**

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Title of thesis DESCRIPTIVE   ANALYSIS   OF   VERBS

...IN   MALTO...

Degree ...Ph. D..............................

This thesis is a Descriptive Analysis of Verbs in Malto, a poorly documented North Dravidian language with about 60,000 speakers living on the Rajmahal Hills in Eastern India. Malto is an agglutinating language with SOV word order. The finite verb word in Malto maximally carries information about valence adjusting operations, tense-aspect-mood, negation and gender-number-person agreement with the subject. The non-finite verbs take suffixes marking adverbialisation, complementation, relativisation, conjunct participialisation and relative tense. Syntactically, there is only one finite verb in a sentence and all the other verbs preceding it are non-finite. Malto has a range of multi-verb constructions that includes explicator compound verbs, conjunct participle constructions, reduplicated adverbials, verbal complementisation, clause chaining and quotative verbal constructions. This work includes a detailed analysis of the formal structure of verbs, valence adjusting operations, tense-aspect-mood, negation and multi-verb constructions in Malto along with a concluding chapter on the language contact and convergence situation. The synchronic data collected during fieldwork is discussed in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar and complemented by inputs from typological studies and a historical linguistic perspective in relation to Dravidian languages.

Notes for Candidates

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c) Verb = verb root + stem formative 2 + inflectional suffix

(3-10) ku-nj-ah
   throw-sf-3sg.m

   He threw   **Story C4**

d) Verb = verb root + inflectional suffix + inflectional suffix

(3-11) ṭal-ḍ-aːm
   sacrifice-prs-1pl

   We sacrifice   **Rituals**

e) Verb = verb root + stem formative 1+ inflectional suffix +inflectional suffix

(3-12) ṭal-c-aː-k-aːm...
   sacrifice-sf-ep-rp-1pl

   (We) having sacrificed....   **Rituals**

f) Verb = verb root + stem formative 2 + inflectional suffix + inflectional suffix +

 inflectional suffix

(3-13) ha-nḍ-laː-y-iːḍ
   find-sf-neg-pst-3sg.nm

   It could not find.   **Story C3**

g) Verb = verb root + derivational suffix + inflectional suffix

(3-14) samjʰ-aːɾ-aːɾ
   understand-vrb-3pl

   They convinced (him).   **History**

h) Verb = verb root + derivational suffix+ derivational suffix + inflectional suffix + inflectional suffix

(3-15) avḑ-ɾ-nah-iy-aːɾ
     talk-dtr-recp-pst-3pl

     They discussed (it) with each other.   **Story C2**

3.2 Finite Verb

The key to deciphering the inter-relation of verbs in multi-verb constructions in Dravidian languages lies in appreciating the meaning of finiteness.

Morphologically, the finiteness of verbs in Malto and all other Dravidian languages depends on whether the verb is marked for tense and gender-number-person agreement. Syntactically, finite verbs can appear in independent clauses and they typically occupy the sentence final position. The gender-number-person agreement marker agrees with the subject of the sentence, if the subject is in the nominative.

(3-16)   sirip mak ḑaːhḑaːn hoynaːɾ

sirip   mak   ḑaːhḑaː-n   hoy-n-aːɾ
only   Mak   branch-acc   take-prs-3pl

They only take the branch of the Mak tree.   **Medicine**

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Miller (1993:381) defines a complex verb as one which has undergone some sort of derivation to alter the form, meaning and argument structure of the base verb. A complex stem for a finite verb in Malto will have the derivative suffix preceding the tense marker.

(3-17) bohaṭṛḍaːn

boh-a-ṭṛ-ḍ-aːn
run-ep-caus-prs-1sg

I am caused to run.   **Elicitation**

Compound verbs have two verbal bases- V1+V2. Usually only the second base V2 carries the tense and gender-number-person agreement marker. When compound verbs are positioned clause finally, only the second verb is a finite verb and the verb preceding it is a non-finite verb.

(3-18) uḍṭaɾ-uḍṭaɾ hijaḍ

ud-ṭaɾ-ud-ṭaɾ   hi-j-aḍ
fix-caus-fix-caus   stood-sf-3sg.nm

(They) stood with the horns fixed (to each other).   **Story C3**

In the above example, the V1 *uḍṭaɾ-uḍṭaɾ* is a reduplicated compound verb that forms the first base and the V2 *hijaḍ* is the fully inflected finite verb. Example (3-18) illustrates

compound verb constructions with all their internal complexities in that V1 can itself be a compound verb (Section 7.2).

The formal structure of verb-verb compounds in Malto will be explained in the section on non-finite verbs (see 3.3) and the syntactic and functional properties of verb-verb compounds will be discussed in Chapter 7 (see 7.2.1). In addition to verb-verb compounds, Malto also has noun-verb compounds. The most productive processes of noun-verb compounding in Malto is using the verb 'to be' to encode stative predicates and the verb 'to do' to encode active predicates.

(3-19) haɖe, saja: naniya:r, je keca:r ha: bi:cno, saja: naniya:r

haḏ-e	saja:	nan-iy-a:r	je	ke-c-a:r	ha:	bi:c-no
dem.dst-dat	punishment	do-pst-3pl.h	who	die-pst-3pl.h	dem.dst	between-loc

saja:	naniya:r
punishment	do-pst-3pl.h

That, they punished, whoever died in that interval, they punished.   **History**

(3-20) ha:ɖinṭe salha: menja:r

ha:ɖ-inṭe	salha:	men-j-a:r
there-abl	consultation	be-sf-3pl.h

From there, they consulted.   **History**

nan, the verb 'to do' and *men,* the verb 'to be' are usually used with a borrowed noun as in the above examples where *saja:* and *salha:* are both borrowings from Hindi. The verb 'to be' also appears with nominal predicates in copular constructions (see section 3.3.1).

However noun-verb constructions are different from copular constructions on two counts. First, and most importantly, copula is not compound constructions like noun-verb pairs and secondly the nouns in noun-verb constructions are always borrowings from dominant languages whereas the nouns in copula constructions need not necessarily be borrowings.

Apart from declarative and negative (see chapter 6) sentences, finite verbs also appear in imperatives. The verb in the imperative clause carries the imperative suffix –aː or a vocative suffix (see 2.3.2.1) that acts as a potmanteau morph combining both the imperative mood marking and the gender-number marking.

(3-21) guraːreke baːlin ṭisgaː

guɾ-aːɾ-e-k-e	baːli-n	ṭis-g-aː
turn-vrb-ep-rp-2sg	door-acc	open-sf-imp

Having turned, open the door!   **Directions**

(3-22) ḍaḍonḍ maɾgan kaːnḍḍe

ḍaḍ-onḍ	marga-n	kaːn-ḍ-ḍe
clf-one	horn-acc	strike-sf-voc.m

Strike a horn.   **Story C3**

The finite verb form in Malto can stand as an independent clause. Structurally a finite verb can be reduced or modified by introducing non-finite verbal inflections into the verb. This involves loss or modification of verbal inflections such as the deictic tense suffix (section 5.1.1), gender-number-person agreement marking (section 5.4) which

gives us the non-finite verb form.

3.3 Non-finite verbs

Steever (1993:17) has stated for Dravidian in general that:

> "non-finite verbs are divided into two broad sets according to their combinatoric properties. The first set includes all those non-finite verbs which combine with the following verb, with or without other grammatical material intervening: the conjunctive, the infinitive, the durative, the conditional and others. Their use implies the existence of another verb elsewhere in the sentence on which the non-finite forms depend. The second set of non-finite verb includes those which combine with the following nominal to form a variety of structures. When, however, it combines with a following pronoun with a restrictive reading, the two combine and a verbal noun is formed."

The preconditional, temporal conditional, causal adverbial, relative past, simultaneity, infinitive, and conjunct participle forms in Malto combine with the following verb, the adjectival participles combine with the following nouns and the relativised adnominals are formed by combining with a following pronominal suffix. A non-finite verb is the syntactic head of a subordinate clause and functions as durative, perfective or conditional. Morphologically, non-finite verbs are usually differentiated from finite verbs by the absence of the TAM and GNP pronominal markers. But this is not always true in Malto. In the following sections I will discuss instances where the non-finite verb carries relative

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tense marking and GNP agreement marking. The Table below lists the suffixes involved in non-finite verb formation.

Preconditional	-ṭa
Temporal Conditional	-no
Causal Adverbial	-ko
Relative Past	-k-
Simultaneity	-i
Infinitive	-oṭ, -oṭi
Conjunct Participle	-a
Adnominal	-u, -uɾ
Adjectival Participle	-i

Table 3.3

3.3.1 Conditionals

Conditional clauses are used to describe a situation that is a pre-requisite for another situation to occur. The verb in the subordinate clause encoding the conditional protasis is a non-finite verb form. The main situation in this complex construction is expressed as a finite verb. The preconditional verb form appears with both the declarative and the negative forms. It is marked by the morpheme /-ṭa/.

(3-23) niːn bajyaṭa eːn olhaːn

niːn	baj-y-a-ṭa	eːn	olh-aːn
2sg.nom	hit-prs-ep-cond	1sg.nom	cry-1sg

If you beat me, I will cry.   **Elicitation**

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(3-24) niːnu guɾan aʈomati ʈa eːn olh-aːn

niːnu	guɾan	aʈ-oma-ṭ-i	ṭa	eːn	olh-aːn
2sg.nom	sweet	give-neg-pst-2sg.f	cond	1sg.nom	cry-1sg

If you don't give me sweets, I will cry. **Elicitation**

From the above examples it appears that conditional marker /-ʈa/ can be analysed as a clitic because *bajyaʈa* in example (3-23) is one intonational unit while *aʈomaʈi ʈa* has two intonational units with *ʈa* pronounced as a separate word form. Clitics are distinguished from suffixes by the nature of the forms with which they combine. Clitics combine with free forms, namely with words that can stand alone without the clitic. Steever (1993:12) argues that "Dravidian clitics are exclusively postclitic and serve many important syntactic and pragmatic functions from conjunction and subordination to emphasis."

The second type is the temporal conditional clause that describes an entailment relation where an event y is bound to follow upon the completion of event x. The conditional clause is marked by the morpheme /-no/ and the matrix clause contains a finite verb.

(3-25) caːgno haːḍinʈi baːd meniːd

caːg-no	haːḍ-inʈi	baːd	men-iːd
sow-cond	dem.dst-abl	after	be-3sg.nm

Upon sowing, after that it is available. **Rituals**

Thompson et al (2007:258) point out that the difference between the 'if' and 'when' clause is simply one of degree of expectability. Malto codes this difference by using two different morphemes to represent the two situations.

3.3.2 Causal Adverbial

The causal adverbial clause describes the situation where an event y can take place only if another event x occurs. Such a clause is marked by the morpheme /-ko/. The clause describing the resulting situation y is the matrix clause and it contains a finite verb.

(3-26) hanno mahaɾe hilaː haːnko, hi-j-ah

han-no	mahaɾe	hi-l-aː	haːn-ko,	hi-j-ah
there-loc	facing	stand-sf-imp	say-adv	stand-sf-3sg.m

Upon telling him to face that way and stand, he stood.   **Story C4**

3.3.3 Relative Past Tense

The verbs suffixed by the relative past tense marker denote situations that occurred prior to the situation described by the finite verb in the matrix clause. The suffix /-k/ marks the relative past. This maker is employed to give the sense of 'x having occurred'. Malto places no restrictions as to how many events can occur before the event described in the matrix clause. Hence this proves to be a productive process for clause chaining. The clauses occur in the sequential order which mirrors the event order in the sentence. The verb in the matrix clause is a finite verb. The relative past marker is followed by GNP agreement marking and it also agrees with the GNP marker on the finite verb in the

matrix clause.

(3-27) ninjaːriː nankaːm bevaːn uʈaːʈaɾaːkaːm haːɖinʈe baːɖu kuɾiː ʈhanek
    baɾcaːkaːm, kuɾi kuʈino aɖidaːm

ninjaːriː	nan-k-aːm	bevaː-n	uʈ-aː-ʈaɾ-aː-k-aːm	haːɖ-inʈe
invitation	do-rp-1p	donation-acc	raise-ep-caus-ep-rp-1pl	dem.dst-abl

baːɖu	kuɾiː	ʈhan-ek	baɾ-c-aː-k-aːm,	kuɾi
later	worship	place-dat	come-sf-ep-rp-1pl	worship

kuʈi-no	aɖi-ɖ-aːm
place-loc	worship-prs-1pl

Having invited (people), having collected donations, then having reached the place of
worship, we worship at that place. **Ritual**

The verb containing the relative past tense marker is the only non-finite word form that

takes the GNP agreement marking. A plausible explanation for this exception is that

relative past form was diachronically a compound word form that has contracted by

reducing the V2 of the compound to a suffix. The possible contender for the V2 position

in this case are *ek* 'go' since Kachru (1993:117) generalises for South Asian languages

that the verb 'go' as a vector regularly expresses the deictic meaning of completion.

3.3.4 Relative Present Tense/ Simultaneity

Simultaneity is a relative tense marking on the verb where the speaker intends to express

two events taking place at the same time. The verb bearing the simultaneity marker

precedes the main verb in the matrix clause. The simultaneity marker in Malto is /-i/.

(3-28) hani ra:ja: ṭaha:nḍiḍ ṭunḍi-ṭunḍi, meca: hargki:, ṭunḍiya:ḍ ha:hin

hani	ra:ja:	ṭaha:nḍi-ḍ	ṭunḍ-i-ṭunḍ-i	meca:	harg-k-i:	ṭunḍ-iy-a:ḍ	ha:h-in
then	king	daughter-nom	see-sim-see-sim	up	climb-rp-3sg.nm	see-pst-3sg.nm	3sg.m-acc

Then the king's daughter seeing (it), climbed up and saw him.   **Story C3**

In example (3-28) the two simultaneous situations of *ṭunḍ* 'seeing' and *harg* 'climbing'

are represented in two different clauses that are chained together. Clause chaining in

Malto is discussed in detail in section 7.2.3.2.

3.3.5 Conjunct Participle

The conjunct participle in Malto is expressed by the suffix */-a/*. The clause with the verb

containing the conjunct participle precedes the finite verb in the matrix clause. This kind

of construction is also called a 'conjunct participle construction' because of the syntactic

nature of the constructions. The conjunct participle links two verbs that together describe

one complex situation. The various functions expressed by the conjunct participle

construction are discussed in section 7.2.1.2.

(3-29)   ha:ḍenu ba:hreno hoca kunjḍa:m

ha:ḍ-en-u	ba:hre-no	hoc-a	kun-j-ḍ-a:m
dem.dst-acc-en	outside-loc	take-cp	throw-sf-prs-1pl

We take it out and throw it   **Medicine**

3.3.6 Infinitive

/-oṭ, -oṭi/ is the infinitive marker. The verb form in an infinite clause is not inflected to

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agree with any subject and is understood to be co-referential with the matrix clause subject. From the temporal point of view the infinitive suffix expresses the relative future tense in Malto (section 5.1.2). The infinitive word form is used as a purposive (see 7.2.1.2.4) and as the complement of modal auxiliary verbs. An auxiliary verb (see 6.2.1.1) expresses grammatical distinctions that are not expressed by the main verb. Example (3-30) shows the infinitive functioning as a purposive and example (3-31) shows the infinitive with the obligatory modal.

(3-30) oṛtonḍ ṭehoḍ araːn oyoṭ ʔekiyaːḍ

oṛtonḍ	ṭeho-ḍ	araː-n	oy-oṭ	ʔek-iy-aːḍ
one	mother-nom	bamboo-acc	cut-inf	go-pst-3sg.nm

A mother went to cut bamboo. **Story C2**

(3-31) haːden saːgor moḍaːḍ haːnoṭi meni

haːḍ-en	saːgor	moḍaː-ḍ	haːn-oṭi	meni
dem.dst-acc	Sagar	turn-nom	say-inf	oblig

It is called the Sagar Turning **Directions**

Infinitives are also used as complements of the declarative and negative ability modals. The following example shows the infinitive with the negative ability modal.

(3-32) maːonḍ sarve-sarve eːr mo.o lollaːiːḍ bohoṭi

maː-onḍ	sarve-sarve	eːr	mo.o	lol-laː-iːḍ	boh-oṭi
clf-one	small-small	hen	child	can-neg-3sg.nm	run-inf

One little chick couldn't run. **Story C4**

The default word order in Malto has the finite verb in the clause final position. However,

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the only exceptional case of a non-finite verb occupying the clause final position is that of the infinitive wordform, as shown in the above example (see also example (3-37)).

3.3.7 Adnominals

Adnominal clauses serve to modify a head noun. There are two kinds of adnominal constructions in Malto that contain verbal forms:

i) Restrictive relative clauses

ii) Adjectival (relative) participle constructions

Headless relative clauses are formed by combining the relativised verb and the pronominal suffix that agrees with the head noun that it replaces. These constructions are used as restrictive relative clauses. When it is restrictive the relative clause restricts the potential reference of a head noun. /-uh, -ur/ are the relativising suffixes in Malto that attach to the verb stem (example 3-34). The suffix /-u/ is used when relativised verbal is followed by a noun (example 3-33). The suffix /-u/ is also the relativiser in the non-past forms and the relativised forms in the past tense take the suffix /-pa/ as shown in example (3-35).

(3-33) horṭu ḍahḍaː guraːṭaru maaːh hokḍaːh

horṭu	ḍahḍaː	guɾ-aː-ṭaɾ-u	maaː-h	hok-ḍ-aːh
one	branch	roam-ep-caus-rel	child-nom.m	be-prs-3sg.m

There is a boy who takes the branch around. **Medicine**

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(3-34) paha:ɖino ɖokuɾ malerin moana:ɾ ha:nya:ɾ

paha:ɖi-no	ɖok-uɾ,	maleɾ-in	moa-n-a:ɾ,	han-iy-a:ɾ
hill-loc	live-rel	people-acc	eat-prs-3pl	say-pst-3pl

The ones living on the hills eat people, they said.   **History**

(3-35) henginṭi pahle paɖipa:ɾ ne jaha: beyo:ɾ

heng-inṭi	pahle	paɖ-i-pa-a:ɾ	ne	jaha:	bey-o:-ɾ
1sg-abl	before	study-ep-rel-3pl.h	who	indef	be-neg-3pl.h

There is no literate person before me.   **History**

Krishnamurti (2003:444) states that "all Dravidian languages change tensed finite verbs into adjectival (relative participles) by replacing the personal suffixes with adjectival markers –a or –i." The suffix /-i/ in Malto marks a verb in the attributive position that modifies the following noun. Syntactically this is an adjectival or relative participle construction.

(3-36) pi:ʈi: ja:nva:ɾa: menno heme ha:ɖki:n seroma:n heme kosna:ɾ

pi:ʈ-i:	ja:nva:ɾa:	men-no	hem-e	ha:ɖ-ki-in
kill-pp	animal	be-cond	1pl-dat	dem.dst-gen-acc

seroma:n	hem-e	kos-n-a:ɾ
portion	1pl-dat	share-prs-3pl

Upon finding a killed animal, they share a portion with me from that.   **Medicine**

3.4 Category Changing Derivational Processes

Malto uses suffixation to derive verbs from nouns and nouns from verbs (see 7.1.1).

3.4.1 Nominalisation: Deriving nouns from verbs

/-po/ is the nominalising suffix in Malto and is added to verb stems to derive nominals.

They are the citation forms of verbs in Malto.

Verb Root	Derived nominal
hiːl 'stand'	hiːl-po 'standing'
ok 'sit'	ok-po 'sitting'
oʈ 'break'	oʈ-po 'breaking'

Table 3.4

Nominalised verbals function as gerunds in a dependent clause, as shown in the following example.

(3-37) haːḍinʈe saːtʰ-saːtʰ haɾhiː joɖs-ʈiːn jen malaː guraːɾpo porcaːr naːnoːʈi

haːḍ-inʈe	saːtʰ-saːtʰ	haɾ-hiː	joɖs-ʈiːn	jen	malaː
dem.dst-abl	together-together	and-emp	pair-three	clf	men

guraːɾ-po	porcaːr	naːn-oːʈi
wander-nomr	publicity	do-inf

Then, together with the wandering of two or three people, to publicise (the event).

History

3.4.2 Verbalisation

/-aːr/ is the verbalising suffix in Malto. The verbalising suffix is used to convert non-verbal roots into intransitive verb stems in Malto.

Non-verbal root	Derived Verb
alsi 'sweat'	als-aːɾ 'be irritated'
kaːkli 'misery, pain, predicament'	kaːkl-aːɾ 'to be distressed'
ḍagɾahaː 'bad, wrong'	ḍagɾ-aːɾ 'do wrong'

Table 3.5

The suffix /-aːr / is also used to verbalise borrowed words from Hindi. The borrowed root

can either be a verb root or a predicate nominal. The verbalising suffix is mandatory even

if the borrowed word is a verb in the source language.

Borrowed root	Derived Verb
samajʰ 'understand'	samjʰ-aːɾ-aːɾ 'they convinced (him/her)'
bana 'make'	ban-aːɾ-aːh 'he made'

Table 3.6

Example (3-37) shows both the category changing derivational processes on the

borrowed root *gur*. The borrowed word is first verbalised into a Malto verb stem by

adding the /-aːr / suffix and then nominalised by the /-po/ suffix.

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The /-a:r / suffix is replaced by the /-ey/ or /-es/ suffix to derive transitive verbs from nouns and borrowed stems. The following example set shows the derivation of a transitive verb from a noun.

(3-38)

a)   alsi   sweat

b)   als-a:r   to be irritated

c)   als-es-iy-a:h
       worry-tr-pst-3sg.m

       He irritated (it).   **Elicitation**

The process of deriving transitive bases from nouns and borrowed stems is discussed in detail in section 4.1.3.

3.5 Verb Classes

Studies in linguistic typology indicate that verbs in any language can be identified as belonging to different semantic classes and such a classification also has an effect on morpho-syntactic representations such as the restrictions on the number of arguments a verb can take, unexpected case marking patterns, special morphemes to represent particular functions that attach only to a specific class of verbs etc (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2004). For example, in most languages verbs describing grooming activities have inherent properties of reflexivity. Syntactically verbs can be classified on the basis of the clause type they may occur in. Syntactic classification of verbs depends on the transitivity conditions (see 4.1) of the verbs. At one end of the scale we have strictly intransitive verbs and on the other extreme are the strictly transitive verbs. Dixon and

Aikhenvald (2000:4) observe that most languages show a wider range of transitivity classes of verbs in that if the verbs in a language are classified based on the degree of transitivity, they can be broadly grouped as intransitive, transitive and ambitransitive. I have discussed in sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2 the non-productive and productive processes of deriving transitive stems in Malto and also observed that not all derived transitive stems have intransitive pairs. The verb stems derived from nouns and borrowed stems in Malto are ambitransitive and depend on the verbalising suffixes to determine their transitivity.

Previous works on verbal classification provide a framework for grouping verb roots according to their lexical attributes. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:93) have summarised Vendler's (1967) lexical distinctions in terms of *Aktionsart*. Vendler argues that verbs and other predicating elements could be classified in terms of their inherent temporal properties, and proposed four basic classes: states, achievements, accomplishments and activities. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:92) go on to define these four classes in terms of three binary features, [+/- static], [+/- punctual] and [+/- telic]. Telicity refers to whether a verb has an inherent terminal point or not. Hence the *Aktionsart* types can be summarised as:

1. State   [+static], [-telic], [-punctual]

2. Activity   [-static], [-telic], [-punctual]

3. Accomplishment   [-static], [+telic], [-punctual]

4. Achievement   [-static], [+telic], [+punctual]

They propose a set of generic tests with cross-linguistic validity to ascertain membership of verbs to one of these classes and also mention that it is possible to find valid tests which work only in the language being investigated (Valin and LaPolla 1997:93-7). The achievement verbs are distinguished from the accomplishment verbs by the fact that achievement situations take place over a period of time whereas accomplishment verbs are concluded in an instant.

Verbal classification serves an important purpose in relation to the present research. It accounts for the restrictions on the co-occurrence of verbs in a complex construction that indicate the functional properties of the verbs in Malto. I am not aware of any work on verbal classification on either a semantic or a syntactic basis in any of the Dravidian languages.

3.5.1 Functional restrictions based on verb classes

The following section provides a brief overview of the functional restrictions based on Aksionsart types on using verbs in Malto to express particular situations.

Stative verbs such as the verb *be* 'be', *nunj* 'ache', *jiṭ* 'feel' cannot be expressed in the progressive aspect or in the habitual aspect. They cannot be expressed in the imperative mood.

Activity verbs such as *aːɖ* 'worship', *nan* 'do', *hek* 'go', *bar* 'come', *kuɖ* 'work' can

appear in the progressive (see. 4.2.2.2.2) and habitual aspects (4.2.2.2.1) and describe

situations that continue over a period of time without having to reach an endpoint.

Progressive

(3-39)   haːvɾo hiː baɾnaːɾ

haːvɾo	hiː	bar-n-aːɾ
again	dem.prx	come-prs-3pl.h

These (people) are coming again.   **History**

Habitual

(3-40) aːɾ enge epno besi malaɾ keṭaːn kuɖnaːɾ

aːɾ	eng-e	ep-no	besi	mala-ɾ	keṭaː-n	kuɖ-n-aːɾ
and	1sg-dat	village-loc	many	people-nom.pl	field-acc	work-prs-3pl.h

And many people in my village work in the field.   **Village**

Accomplishment verbs also appear in the progressive aspect. However, accomplishment

verbs unlike activity verbs can occur as the V1 in a compound verb (section 7.3.1) with

verbs like *oŋg* 'finish', which underlines the telicity of the accomplishment verb.

(3-41) maaːɾ jalɖi jalɖi jagun lapoŋgomalaɾ

maaː-ɾ	jalɖi	jalɖi	jagu-n	lap-oŋg-omal-aɾ
child-nom.pl	quickly	quickly	food-acc	eat-finish-neg-3pl.h

Children cannot eat-up food quickly.   **Elicitation**

Achievement verbs are resultative in that they happen at a particular moment as against

being stretched over a period of time. Verbs such as *ḍar* 'catch', *jej* 'fight', *ci* 'give' *heṭ*

'descend' are grouped as achievement verbs.

(3-42) ṯʰoḍa maleɾin heṯɾaɾ pahaḍinṯe

ṯʰoḍa	maleɾ-in	heṯ-ɾ-aɾ	pahaḍ-inṯe
few	people-acc	descend-dtr-3pl.h	hill-abl

They brought down a few people from the hills.   **History**

Achievement verbs are punctual events in that they can be repeated more than once in

expressing an event cycle and are hence employed in reduplicated structures (7.3.1.3) in

Malto to express iterativity.

(3-43) haːḍ helceṯ piṯaː-piṯaː kunjaːɾ

haː-ḍ	helc-eṯ	piṯ-aː-piṯ-aː	kun-j-aːɾ
dem.dst-nom.nm	fear-inst	kill-cp-kill-cp	throw-sf-3sg.pl.h

Out of that fear, (they) killed (repeatedly) (them) off.   **History**

3.5.2 Copula constructions

Pustet (2003:5) defines a copula as a linguistic element which co-occurs with certain

lexemes in certain languages when they function as a predicate nucleus. She adds that a

copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in. The

Malto copular verb *men* (example 3-44) is used in contrast to the existential verb *bey*

(example 45). A copula links the subject of a sentence with the predicate whereas an existential verb underscores the existence of one of its arguments.

(3-44) haː biːceno bahuṭ saː jangaː-mangaː menjaːḍ

haː	biːc-e-no	bahuṭ	saː	jangaː-mangaː
dem.dst	between-ep-loc	lot	of	confusion

men-j-aːḍ
be-sf-3pl.nm

There was a lot of confusion during that time.   **History**

The inflectional paradigm of a copula verb is the same as that of all other verbs.

(3-45) aḍenṭi iḍ epno ek naḍiḍ ho beyid

aḍ-enṭi	iḍ	ep-no	ek	naḍi-d	ho	bey-id
there-abl	dem.prx	village-loc	one	river-nom.nm	add	be-3sg.nm

Then, there is also a river in this village.   **Village**

The negative copula constructions are discussed in section 6.3.1.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the formal structure of the verb in Malto, levels of word formation, and the role of each morpheme within a verb. We have also had a close look at the classification of verb roots, stem formation strategies and category changing derivational processes involving verbs in Malto. The next three chapters will give a detailed account of the suffixes that attach to the verb stem.

Chapter 4: Valence Adjusting Operations

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the various ways of adjusting syntactic valence and how valence manifests itself semantically in Malto, in upgrading or downplaying the role of the participants. The first section (4.1) of this chapter defines valence as both semantic and syntactic notions. The interrelation between transitivity and valence in Malto is explored in section 4.2. Section 4.3 deals with the valence adjusting operations in Malto with section 4.3.1 devoted to a discussion on the valence increasing operation of causation and the last part of this chapter (4.3.2) discussing the valence decreasing operations: reflexives, reciprocals and passives.

4.1 Definition of Valence

Payne (1997) interprets valence as both a semantic and syntactic notion and a combination of the two. He explains semantic valence as referring to the number of participants that must be "on stage" (Payne 1997:169) in the scene expressed by the verb. Syntactic valence refers to the number of overt morphosyntactically encoded arguments a predicate can take in any given clause. In other words, semantic valence indicates the valence bearing potential of a verb, while syntactic valence refers to the actual manifestation of this potential in any given clause.

For example, let us consider the verb ḍar 'catch'. ḍar has a semantic valence of two since a situation of catching requires a catcher and something that is caught. However the same

verb has a syntactic valence of either one or two as shown in examples (4-1) and (4-2) respectively. Valence adjusting operators can be applied to this verb to alter its valence. Example (4-1) shows *ɖar* as a bivalent verb where both the catcher and the object being caught are syntactically manifested, while example (4-2) shows *ɖar* as a monovalent verb where only the catcher is represented in the clause. Example (4-3) shows *ɖar* with a valence-adjusting operator that reduces the valence of the verb where the agent of catching is omitted and only the object being caught is manifested.

(4-1) hani eːɾ maːon hekkiɖ daɾcaː

hani	eːɾ	maːa-n	hek-k-iɖ	daɾ-c-aː
then	hen	child-acc	go-rp-3sg.nm	catch-pst-3sg.nm

Then, it went and caught the chicks.   **Story C4**

(4-2) hiɖek hekno ho ɖaɾcaɾ haɖek hekno ho ɖaɾcaːɾ

hiɖ-ek	hek-no	ho	ɖaɾ-c-aɾ	haɖ-ek	hek-no	ho	ɖaɾ-c-aːɾ
here-dat	go-cond	emp	catch-pst-3pl.h	there-dat	go-cond	emp	catch-pst-3pl.h

They caught (me/us/you/him/her/them) upon going here, they caught upon going there.

History

(4-3) hekkaː ɖaɾuːɾaːɾ

hek-k-aː	ɖaɾ-uːɾ-aːɾ
go-rp-3pl	catch-pass-3pl.h

They went and got caught.   **History**

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Change of valence is predominantly a morphologically signalled operation in Malto where the valence-adjusting operators are expressed as suffixes to the verb root. The tense-aspect-mood marker and then the agreement marker follow. The valence adjusting suffixes do not affect the shape of the verb root. The animacy of the arguments is not an issue with these operators, i.e., valence-adjusting operators apply irrespective of whether the participants are animate or not.

4.2 Transitivity and Valence

Another clausal property that is closely associated with valence is transitivity. Conventionally, transitivity is perceived as the transition of a situation from one participant to the other. Hopper and Thompson (1980) suggest transitivity is a continuum with intransitive and transitive at the two extremes, rather than being dichotomous entities. Hence, they argue that clauses lacking an overt object must be located somewhere on this continuum. They gauge transitivity by the following parameters:

	HIGH	LOW
PARTICIPANTS	Two or more participants, A and O[16]	One participant
KINESIS	Action	Non-action
ASPECT	Telic	Atelic
PUNCTUALITY	Punctual	Non-punctual
VOLITIONALITY	Volitional	Non-volitional
AFFIRMATION	Affirmative	Negative
MODE	Realis	Irrealis
AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
AFFECTEDNESS OF THE O	O totally affected	O not affected
INDIVIDUATION OF THE O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Table 4.1

---

[16] Hopper and Thompson (1980) have followed Dixon (1979) in using 'A' (for Agent) and 'O' (for Object) to refer to the participants in a two-participant clause.

In Malto clauses the Agent carries nominative case marking, which is optional, and the Object carries accusative case marking. Pronominal subjects can be dropped from the sentence initial position since they are represented by the agreement marking on the verb.

(4-4) hani eːɽ̣ kecaːḍ

hani	eːɽ-ḍ		ke-c-aːḍ
then	hen-nom.nm		die-pst-3sg.nm

Then, the hen died.

(4-5) oɽ̣onḍ ṭehoḍ aɽan oy-oṭ ʔekiyaḍaːnu

oɽ̣onḍ	ṭeho-ḍ		aɽa-n	oy-oṭ	ʔek-iy-aḍ-aːnu
one	mother-nom.nm		bamboo-acc	cut-inf	go-pst-3Sg.f-qot

A mother went to cut bamboo.   **Story C2**

Let us now compare example (4-4) and the infinitival clause in example (4-5) using the parameters suggested by Hopper and Thompson. Example (4-4) scores low on seven parameters namely participants, kinesis, punctuality, volitionality, agency, affectedness and individuation of the Object, and is hence closer to intransitivity. The verb *ʔek* 'go' in example (4-5) scores high on nine parameters namely participants, kinesis, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affected and individuation of the Object, which takes it higher on the transitivity scale. We also observe that the verb *kec* in example (4-4) is a monovalent verb and the verb *oy* in example (4-5) is bivalent with both

participants of the situation appearing in the clause. Hence we can make the correlation that higher the transitivity of a clause greater is the verb's valence and vice-versa.

4.2.1 Detransitivisation

A transitive verb is changed to an intransitive by the addition of the suffix -r (section 3.1.1.2). Krishnamurti (2003) observes that this may be a relic of Proto-Dravidian forms since such a strategy is not found in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic languages and adds that "most verbs ending in formative –(V)l/-(V)r in South Dravidian I and South Dravidian II tend to be intransitive." (Krishnamurti 2003:279). The following examples from Malto, where deriving transitive verbs by a process of suffixation is still productive, support Krishnamurti's hypothesis about transitive verbs in Dravidian languages which was based on his observations from South Dravidian languages.

(4-6) ţes-po   winding, kneading

       tes-ɼ-po   binding

       ţaɖic-po   slapping

       ţaɖic-ɼ-po   clapping

       eːn   nam-i-ṭ-aːn   I scolded
       1sg.nom   scold-ep-pst-1sg

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e:n   nam-ɾ-aːʈaːn   I was scolded
1sg.nom   scold-dtr-ep-pst-1sg

From the above examples I have deduced that the morphological process of detransitivisation applies to all predicates that have a valence more than one.

I have discussed in Chapter 3 about the formation of transitive stems in Malto with the Proto-Dravidian –NP stem formative and also that many of these derived transitive stems do not have intransitive pairs. However, the Malto lexicon also has intransitive verbs with /-ɾ/ that do not have transitive counterparts (section 3.1.1.1). Some of them are listed in the following example set.

(4-7)

akɾ   drive away

onɖɾ   bring

bisɾ   stretch one's body

paʈɾ   sprout leaves

4.2.2 Transitivisation of verb stems derived from nouns and borrowed words

I have discussed the process of deriving verb stems from non-verbal roots in Malto and from borrowed words from Hindi in section 3.4.2. The verbalising /-ɑːɾ/ suffix is replaced by the /-ey, -es/ suffix to form transitive stems. Example (4-8) shows the

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derived verbal *halv-es*, which is derived from the noun *halvi:* 'light' (example (4-9))

using the transitivising suffix */-es/.* Example (10) shows the borrowed word *paṭa*

'coerce' taking the transitivising suffix */-ey/.*

(4-8) a:n halvi: nanida:h

a:n	halvi:	nan-i-d-a:h
eye	light	do-ep-prs-3sg.m

He did light to my eyes => He opened my eyes.   **History**

(4-9) ha:h se a:n halvesiya:h

ha:-h se	a:n	halv-es-iy-a:h
3sg-nom.m	emp	eye light-tr-pst-3sg.m

He only opened my eyes   **History**

(4-10) ha:hu khu:b paṭiyeyey

ha:-h-u	khu:b	paṭi-y-ey-ey
3sg-nom.m-en	exceedingly	coerce-ep-tr-1pl

We will coerce him exceedingly.   **History**

The example (4-10) also shows that the semantic valence of the borrowed word is not

taken into account and the suffixes that attach to these words determine the transitivity of

the clause. The following set of examples is the only data set where I have an alternation

between both the */-ey/* and */-es/* suffix on the same root. Although there appears to be a

change in meaning with the inflection of the different verbalising suffixes, the available data is insufficient to deduce the exact distribution of the /-ey/ and /-es/ suffixes.

(4-11)

badl-aːr-po   converting

badl-es-po   changing

badl-ey-po   exchanging

4.3 Valence adjusting operators

Steever (1993) has proposed the concept of Compound Verb Contraction in Dravidian languages. Those syntactic constructions that were compound verbs with the V2 of the compound expressing change in valence diachronically, have contracted to become simple verbs synchronically with the V2 of the compound being reduced to a suffix (section 7.2.1). In other words, the stem combined with the inflected form of the auxiliary verb to form a single word. The causative (section 4.3.1.1.2), reciprocal (section 4.3.2.2) and passive (section 4.3.2.3) suffixes in Malto are derived by this process. A diachronic account of each of these suffixes along with a reference to the corresponding entries in the Dravidian etymological dictionary is provided in the relevant sections. In the following sections we will see how transitivity interacts with valence changing operations with respect to lexical verbs in Malto.

4.3.1 Valence increasing operations

Valence increasing operations facilitate an increase in the number of arguments a predicate can take. Hence a monovalent verb becomes a bivalent verb when suffixed with a valence increasing operator and a bivalent verb becomes a trivalent verb. Causativisation is a morphologically coded valence increasing operation in Malto, since the derivation of a causative verb stem through the morphological process of suffixation involves a change in the argument structure of the base verb with the introduction of a new participant – the causer.

4.3.1.1 Causatives

Shibatani (1976:1) states that two events can be said to constitute a causative situation if the following two conditions hold:

1) The relation between the two situations is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of one event, the "caused event", has been realised at $t2$, which is after $t1$, the time of the "causing event".

2) The relation between the causing and the caused event is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is wholly dependent on the occurrence of the causing event; the dependency of the two events here must be to the extent that it allows the speaker to entertain a counterfactual inference that the caused event would not have taken place at that particular time if the causing event had not taken place, provided that all else had remained the same.

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Causation in Malto is manifested in three different ways:

1) Lexical causatives

2) Productive process of morphological causation by attaching a suffix to the verb base

3) Peripheristic causation

This chapter concentrates mainly on morphological causation in Malto. Lexical causatives are briefly mentioned in the following section. For a detailed discussion of prepheristic causation see 7.2.1.2.1.

4.3.1.1.1 Lexical Causatives

Lexical causatives are the bivalent lexical counterparts of certain monovalent verbs. These verbs form pairs in the lexicon and are dissimilar in form, as against morphological causatives that are derived by suffixing a causative morpheme to the monovalent verb. Malto has a few lexical causatives.

(4-12)

tunɖaː	see!	eːʈaː	show/cause to see!
keca	die!	piːʈaː	kill/cause to die!
bohaː	run!	ʔakɽaː	drive away/cause to run away!

(4-13) cevɾ oɽʈ pelḍ keccaːḍ

cevɾ	oɽʈ	pel-ḍ	kec-c-aːḍ
yesterday	one	girl-nom.nm	die-pst-3sg.nm

A girl died yesterday.   **Elicitation**

(4-14) cevɾ oɽʈ pelan piʈiyaːr

cevɾ	oɽʈ	pela-n	piʈ-iy-aːr
yesterday	one	girl-acc	kill-pst-3pl.h

They killed a girl yesterday.   **Elicitation**

Example (4-13) is a non-causative sentence with a one place predicate. The subject is in the nominative case. When this example is compared with example (4-14), it is observed that the subject becomes the undergoer when the sentence is causativised and is marked with the accusative case. The pronominal marking on the verb in example (4-14) agrees with the agent of the event.

4.3.1.1.2 Morphological Causatives

It is a typological feature of agglutinative languages that they have fewer lexical causatives and that causation is manifested morphologically by attaching an affix to the verb base (Dixon 2000). Causation in Malto is productively realised by the following suffixes: /-ʈaɾ, ʈɾ/. The causative suffix is possibly an archaic form of what is synchronically the lexical verb form *tara* 'give you to me' in Tamil/South Dravidian. The

Proto-Dravidian form of this verb is *ta/tar* [DED 3098]. Winfield (1928) has recognised this morpheme as the 'transition particle' in Kui (Central Dravidian) and Israel (1979) calls it the 'personal object' suffix for the sister language Kuvi, both of which point to the fact that *ta/tar* is used as a valence increasing morpheme in two other lesser known Dravidian languages. The causative suffix attaches itself to the intransitive verbal stem and makes it a transitive verb. Hopper and Thompson (1980) have observed that this association of causitivity and transitivity is a universal phenomenon. The tense-aspect-mood marker and then the agreement marker follow the causative suffix. The causative suffix does not affect the shape of the verb root.

/-ḍ/ is a relic of the Proto-Dravidian causative suffix and is no longer productive in Malto but for a few exceptions such as *oːn* 'drink', *oːnḍ* 'cause to drink/ serve a drink' (Krishnamurti 2003:280), /-ḍ/ is the weakened form of proto-Dravidian causative suffix *-tt*

(4-15) hani ṭehoḍ manḍaːḍ aɾo cilaḍ aːɾ giḍḍaḍ menḍaːd

hani	ṭeho-ḍ	man-ḍ-aːḍ	aɾo	cila-ḍ	aːɾ
then	mother-nom.nm	bury-caus-3sg.nm	and	eagle-nom.nm	and

giḍḍa-ḍ	men-ḍ-aːḍ
vulture-nom.nm	burn-caus-3sg.nm

Then, the mother buried (one half) while the vulture and the eagle burnt (the other half).

Story C2

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The following examples illustrate how a one place predicate in example (4-16) is converted to a two place predicate in example (4-17) by the addition of a causative suffix.

(4-16) hani haː maa giḍraːḍ kʰajjaːk ayaːḍ

hani	haː	maa	giḍraː-ḍ	kʰajjaːk	ay-aːḍ
then	dem.dst	clf	fox-nom.nm	lot	dry-3sg.nm

Then, the fox weakened a lot.   **Story C4**

(4-17) eːn ṭaṭahan aːyṭariːn

eːn	ṭaṭaha-n	aːy-ṭaɾ-iːn
1sg.nom	mango-acc	dry-caus-1sg

I dried mangoes.   **Elicitation**

Kroeger (2004:194) points out that in causatives formed from intransitive roots, the causee is normally encoded as a direct (or primary) object in all languages. A close look at example (4-17) also informs us that the causative suffix acts as a transitivising suffix. However, the causative suffix in Malto can also attach itself to predicates that are graded higher on the transitivity scale as shown in example (4-18). *caːḍ* 'choose, judge' is a highly transitive verb, which is further causativised morphologically to accommodate the causer of the event of 'choosing'.

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(4-18) hengeni keɾo-keɾi hishnaːn caːḍṭaɾnaːr

heng-en-i keɾo-keɾi   hishnaː-n   caːḍ-ṭaɾ-naːr
1sg-acc-emp etc-etc   reason-acc   choose-caus-prs-3pl.h

They get me to find a variety of reasons.   **Medicine**

So far I have discussed how one place predicates are causativised. Examples (4-18) - (4-20) show how the affixation of a causative suffix increases the valence of two place predicates.

(4-19) eːn vigyanen paḍyiːn

eːn   vigyan-en   paḍ-yi-iːn
1sg.nom   science-acc study-prs-1sg

I study science.   **Elicitation**

(4-20) engki abba-ayaːru enge vigyanen paḍiṭraːr

eng-ki abba-ayaː-r-u   eng-e vigyan-en   paḍi-ṭr-aːr
1sg-gen mother-father-nom.pl-en   1sg-dat science-acc study-ep-caus-3pl.h

My parents made me study science.   **Elicitation**

The subject in example (4-19) has moved to the secondary object position bearing a dative case marking in example (4-20), which indicates that it is the beneficiary. The newly introduced causer occupies the subject position and has an agreement marking (see 5.4) on the verb. The other possible outcome of causitivising a highly transitive suffix is that the causer influences another agent to cause the event. This situation is illustrated in example (4-21).

(4-21) engkoni teːnin ehṭraːḍ

eng-koni teːn-in   eh-ṭr-aːḍ
1sg-ass   honey-acc buy-caus-3sg.nm

She got me to buy the honey.   **Elicitation**

Attaching the postposition *koni* (section 2.3.7.1) is one way of representing an agent who

is influenced by the causer. However, if expressing the identity of the agent is not as

important as the identity of the causer, Malto uses the second causation suffix which is

discussed in the following section.

4.1.1.1.3 Second Causation

Second causation in Malto is marked by /*-teṭa*/. What is generally referred to as second

causation in descriptions of South Asian languages is the phenomenon of indirect

causation. The second causative suffix always follows the primary causative suffix and

cannot be used without the primary causative suffix preceding it. Going by Kulikov's

(1993:130) typology of second causative constructions the second causative in Malto is

of the type that "consist of some other kinds of modification of the simple causative

meaning." Second causatives mark a situation that has three semantic arguments. The

initiator of such a situation does not directly affect the causee, but influences him

indirectly through another causer. The causee is expressed as a postpositional phrase as

observed in example (4-24).

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(4-22) siṭa oɖʔan sapa naniyaːḍ

siṭa	oɖʔa-n	sapa	nan-iy-aːḍ
sita	house-acc	clean	do-pst-3sg.nm

Sita cleaned the house   **Elicitation**

(4-23) aː pelḍu aːngan saːp nanṭriːḍ

aː	pel-ḍu	aːngan	saːp	nan-ṭr-iːḍ
dem.dst	girl-nom.nm	yard	clean	do-caus-3sg.f

That girl is getting the yard cleaned.   **Elicitation**

(4-24) aː pelḍu naukaɾni saːṭe aːngan saːp nanṭrṭeṭiːḍ

aː	pel-ḍu	naukaɾni	saːṭe	aːngan	saːp
dem.dst	girl-nom.nm	maid	with	yard	clean

nan-ṭr-ṭeṭ-iːḍ
do-caus-icaus-3sg.f

That girl is getting the yard cleaned by the maid.   **Elicitation**

However, it is not obligatory for the object of the causative construction to be expressed in a clause. The following examples show that it is sufficient for the agent to be expressed in a causative construction.

(4-25) beɲe naniya:h

beɲe   nan-iy-a:h
marriage   do-pst-3sg.m

He married.   **Elicitation**

(4-26) beɲe nanṭara:h

beɲe   nan-ṭaɾ-a:h
marriage   do-caus-3sg.m

He got (x) married.   **Elicitation**

(4-27) beɲe nanṭaɾṭeṭa:h

beɲe   nan-ṭaɾ-ṭeṭ-a:h
marriage   do-caus-icaus-3sg.m

He made (x and y) get married.   **Elicitation**

4.3.2 Valence decreasing operations

Valence decreasing operations reduce the number of arguments that a predicate can take
in a given clause. Valence decreasing operations in Malto are morphosyntactically
expressed by adding a valence-decreasing suffix to the verb stem.

4.3.2.1 Reflexives

Faltz (1985) defines reflexives as a grammatical device which specifically indicates that
the agent/experiencer and the patient are in fact the same referent. He calls this the

primary reflexive strategy of a language.

Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) mention that it is often the case that a detransitivising derivation will combine several functions such as reciprocal derivation (see 4.4.2) and reflexivity. In Malto, complex stems are formed by the addition of the intransitive/reflexive morpheme /–r/ to the simple base (also see example set (4-6)).

(4-28)

mocpo	chopping	moc-ɾ-po	cutting one's own nails
tukpo	pushing	tuk-ɾ-po	pushing oneself
baːgpo	paring	baːg-ɾ-po	shaving

/-ɾ/ in Malto is a detransitivising suffix (example set (4-29)) that functionally doubles as a reflexive suffix (example set (4-30)) since reflexive constructions require just one syntactic argument to be expressed. However the two functions cannot be fully distinguished based on the available data.

(4-29)

As a detransitivising suffix:

| tespo | twining |
| tes-ɾ-pa | one that is entwined |

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ong   finish

aya oŋ-ɾ-aḍaːh   He has weakened

(4-30)

As a reflexive suffix:

noɖʈaːn   I rinsed (it)

noɖ-ɾ-aʈaːn   I rinsed myself

oːja   disperse (imperative)

oːj-ɾ-le   disperse yourself/you move

Since the essence of a reflexive is co-reference, and since pronouns are those elements whose chief reason for being is to mark co-reference, Faltz (1985) expected some languages would enlist their pronouns in building reflexive noun phrases. In Malto, reflexivisation in the third person is additionally expressed by the reflexive pronoun *taːn* as shown in the example (4-31). The reflexive pronoun is also used to express emphasis as shown in example (4-32).

(4-31) hani giḍraːḍ eːɾ maːon ṭaːn mooṭ buḍi naniyaːḍ

hani	giḍraː-ḍ	eːɾ	maːa-n	ṭaːn	mo-oṭ	buḍi	nan-iy-aːḍ
then	fox-nom.nm	hen	child-acc	self	eat-inf	idea	do-pst-3sg.nm

Then, the fox planned to itself eat the chicks.   **Story C4**

(4-32) siːṭad balin ṭisaglaːyiːḍ, ani ṭaːni ṭisagɾaːḍ

siːṭa-d	bali-n	ṭisag-laː-yiː-ḍ,	ani	ṭaːn-i	ṭisag-ɾ-aːḍ
Sita-nom.nm	door-acc	close-neg-prs-3sg.f	then	self-emp	close-refl-3sg.nm

Sita did not shut the door, it shut by itself.   **Elicitation**

The third strategy used to express co-referentiality is to use a personal pronoun with appropriate case marking (see 2.3.2.1). The first personal pronoun in example (4-33) contrasts with the third person reflexive pronoun in example (4-34)

(4-33) heːn hengen aɾsino ʈunḍṭaːn

heːn	heng-en	aɾsi-no	ʈunḍ-ṭ-aːn
1sg.nom	1sg-acc	mirror-loc	see-pst-1sg

I saw myself in the mirror.   **Elicitation**

(4-34) haːhu ṭangen aɾsino ʈunḍiyaːh

haː-h-u	ṭang-en	aɾsi-no	ʈunḍ-iy-aːh
3sg-nom.m-en	self-acc	mirror-loc	see-pst-3sg.m

He saw himself in the mirror.   **Elicitation**

The reflexive morpheme *ṭaːn* is prefixed to kinship terms to express possessive

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relationship in the third person. Similarly *he* is prefixed if the sentence is in the first person. I include the following Table to provide an overview of how the system works.

My mother	heng aya:	His mother	ha:hi ṭehoḍ
My father	heng aba:	Her father	ha:ḍi ṭambakoh
My son	heng heha:nḍah	His son	ha:hi ṭaha:nḍah
My daughter	heng heha:nḍi:ḍ	His daughter	ha:hi ṭaha:nḍi:ḍ
My brother	hengḍoh	His brother	ha:hi ṭangḍoh
My sister	hengḍoḍ	His sister	ha:hi ṭangḍoḍ

Table 4.2

4.3.2.2 Reciprocal

The term 'reciprocal' refers to the situation when two or more participants in a situation share more than one semantic relation to the verb such as the agent and patient, agent and benefactive, possessive etc. (Everaert 2000). Frajzyngier (2000) draws our attention to the fact that although plurality of participants is a fundamental prerequisite for a reciprocal situation, it is not a sufficient prerequisite. Faltz (1985) argues that many languages respond to the 'equation' of subject and object arguments by fusing agent and reciprocator into a single argument position, reducing the clause's valency by one.

Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) argue that cross-linguistically there are two basic strategies for expressing reflexive and reciprocal with transitive verbs. The first is placing a reflexive or reciprocal pronoun in the object slot. The other strategy is to employ a verbal derivational suffix. Malto exhibits the second strategy of employing a verbal suffix. We

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noticed in the previous section that Malto also has a reflexive suffix (see 4.2.1) that does not combine the reciprocal function.

The impact of the reciprocal situation is equal on all the participants of the situation and hence there is no hierarchy among the participants. It is due to this phenomenon that the valence of a reciprocal situation is reduced. The reciprocal suffix in Malto is /nah, naʔ/.

It is interesting to note that the word *naqe* 'to act or be to one another' [DED 3571] exists only in the two North Dravidian languages Malto and Kurukh. This form resembles the Hindi nouns *nakal* 'copy' and *nakli* 'duplicate' and hence I suggest that the reciprocal suffix may be a borrowed form. The following examples show how the reciprocal event is expressed by the addition of the /nah, naʔ/ suffix.

(4-35) giḍraːḍ havḍaːh

gid̲ra:-ḍ   havḍ-a:h
fox-nom.nm   speak-3sg.m

The fox spoke.   **Story C4**

(4-36) hani eːr̥ mo.oḍ havḍr̥naʔiːyaːḍ

hani   eːr̥   ma.a-ḍ   havḍ-r̥-naʔ-i:y-a:ḍ
then   hen   children-nom.nm   speak-dtr-recp-pst-3sg.nm

Then the chicks discussed (with each other).   **Story C4**

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The transitive verb is detransitivised by the addition of the detransitivising suffix /-r/ and

then the reciprocal suffix is added to the verb stem as shown in the following examples.

(4-37) eːmu mandraːn aːɖataːm

eːm-u	mandraː-n	aːɖ-a-ṭ-aːm
1pl.nom-en	medicine-acc	apply-ep-pst-1pl

We applied medicine.   **Elicitation**

(4-38) eːmu mandraːn aːɖɾnaʔṭaːm

eːm-u	mandraː-n	aːɖ-ɾ-naʔ-ṭ-aːm
1pl.nom-en	medicine-acc	apply-dtr-recp-pst-1pl

We applied medicine to each other.   **Elicitation**

A two place predicate is reduced in valence by the addition of a reciprocal suffix as

illustrated in the following examples. Example (4-39) has an overt agent and a patient,

whereas in example (4-40) the agent and the patient are the same.

(4-39) pulak candun bajiyaːh

pulak	candu-n	baj-iy-aːh
Pulak	Chandu-acc	hit-pst-3sg.m

Pulak hit Chandu.   **Elicitation**

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(4-40) jʰagɖa menjaka:r kʰub bajanahna:r....

jʰagɖa	men-j-a-k-a:r	kʰub	baj-a-nah-n-a:r
fight	be-sf-ep-rp-3pl.h	lot	hit-ep-recp-prs-3pl.h

Having fought, (they) hit one another a lot. **History**

The morphological reciprocals in Malto signify collective and associative reciprocity depending on the context. Collective reciprocity describes a situation where there are more than two participants and they are all involved in a shared activity that affects each of them. Associative reciprocity describes a situation where there are two participants who are mutually involved in the same situation.

Associative:

(4-41) oɖkki korcaɖ ekɖam, ṭehokoni bacarna?ya:r

oɖ-k-i	kor-c-aɖ	ekɖam	ṭeho-koni	bac-a-r-na?-y-a:r
break-rp-3pl.nh	enter-pst-3pl.nh	at once	mother-with	fight-ep-dtr-recp-prf-3Pl

They entered breaking (the roof) at once and (they and) the mother fought each other.

Story C2

Collective:

(4-42) aɖenṭi ek ek dina ṭaɖin honɖa:ka:r jajana?na:r ho, mala

aɖ-enṭi	ek ek	dina	ṭaɖi-n	honɖ-a:k-a:r	jaj-na?-n-a:r	ho	mala
there-abl	one one	day	alcohol-acc	drink-rp-3pl.h	fight-recp-prs-3pl.h	add	no

Then on some days they drink alcohol and fight one another too, isn't it? **Village**

By comparing examples (4-41) and (4-42), we also notice that the verb is detransitivised

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to express associativity while the detransitivising suffix does not apply when expressing collective situations.

Evans et al (2004) recommend two tests for reciprocity as a valency reduction operation:

(a) the overt appearance of only one nominal argument

(b) the employment of a case frame associated with intransitive rather than transitive constructions, i.e. instead of the nominative:accusative, ergative:absolutive or ergative:accusative case frames found in the transitive construction, there is a single NP bearing the nominative (if the language is nominative:accusative or tripartite) or absolutive (if the language has an ergative:absolutive case system).

Based on the above mentioned test, the following examples from Malto confirm that reciprocity is a valence adjusting operation in the language.

(4-43) muɖs me.eh pel mo.on ʈunɖiyaːh

muɖs	ma.a-h	pel	ma.a-n	ʈunɖ-iy-aːh
male	child-nom.m	female	child-acc	see-pst-3sg.m

The boy saw the girl.   **Elicitation**

(4-44) haː joɖsaːr ʈunɖrnaʔiyaːr

haː	joɖs-aːr	ʈunɖ-r-naʔ-iy-aːr
dem.dst	pair-nom.pl	see-dtr-recp-pst-3pl.h

Those two saw each other.   **Elicitation**

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When we observe the two examples above we notice that the example bearing the reciprocal marking on the verb has just one overt nominal argument and it is in the (unmarked) nominative case as against the arguments of example (4-43) where the subject is in the nominative case and the object is in the accusative case.

4.3.2.3 Passive

Passives are usually derived from clauses high in transitivity. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000:8) give the following criteria for a prototypical passive:

(a)   Passive applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive.

(b)   The underlying Object (O) becomes Subject (S) of the passive.

(c)   The underlying Agent (A) argument goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition, etc.; this argument can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it.

(d)   There is some explicit formal marking of a passive construction – generally, by a verbal affix or by a periphrastic verbal construction.

Kroeger (2004: 54-57) points out that passivisation is primarily a realignment of grammatical relations, the most typical construction being based on agent-patient activity verbs: actions that one participant does to another. Keenan and Dryer (2007:328) qualify this statement by arguing that "passives are formed by deriving verb phrases in certain ways", as against deriving passives by modifying the whole sentence. Consider the following examples. The passive in example (4-46) is derived by adding the suffix /hɾ/ to the verb. haːh, the agent of example (4-45) is not realised in example (4-46) and eɗ, the

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object of example (4-45) is the subject of example (4-46). Hence the state of the object of an active construction becomes the focus of a passive construction.

(4-45) haːh gaːɖiyeno eɖaːn mandaːh

haː-h	gaːɖiye-no	eɖ-aːn mand-aːh
3sg-nom.m	sludge-loc	leg-acc bury-3sg.m

He buried the foot in the sludge.   **Elicitation**

(4-46) eɖɖu gaːɖiyeno mandhraːɖ

eɖ-ɖu	gaːɖiye-no	mand-hr-aːɖ
leg-nom.nm	sludge-loc	bury-pass-3sg.nm

The foot got buried in the sludge.   **Elicitation**

I have explained earlier in this chapter that morphological processes are the prevalent means of valence adjusting operations in Malto. Historically passivisation in Malto, just as in other Dravidian languages, might have been realised as an explicator compound (see 7.3.1.1). The morphological passive in Malto is marked by the suffix /-uhr, -hr/. This suffix is derived from the verb base *urqe* 'come out, come forth' [DED 668] by the process of compound verb contraction as explained in section 4.3. Synchronically *hur* in Malto means 'to emerge', but none of my consultants were able to distinguish two verbal heads in a passive construction. Hence I conclude that in the present day Malto treats /-uhr, hr/ as a suffix.

Malto also has passive constructions involving verbs ranked low in transitivity where only the agent is demoted and the object is not expressed. Morphosyntactically, such constructions resemble what are referred to as impersonal passives by Keenan and Dryer (2007:346-7). They describe impersonal passives as forms derived from intransitive verbs or transitive verbs whose objects are not moved to the subject position after passivisation, but remain objects. Such a case is presented in example (4-47) where the subject is not expressed and the object is unspecified.

(4-47) nek laphuraː

nek	lap-huɾ-aː
lot	eat-pass-3sg.nm

A lot was eaten. **Elicitation**

The other productive process of passivisation is the syntactic construction of periphrastic passives. Keenan and Dryer (2007:336) have observed that periphrastic passives consist of an auxiliary verb plus a strict morphological function of a transitive verb. They have grouped periphrastic passives as falling into natural classes according to the choice of auxiliary verb; the passive auxiliary can be (i) a verb of being or becoming (ii) a verb of reception; (iii) a verb of motion; or (iv) a verb of experiencing. Malto has passive constructions which use verbs from class (i) and (iv) of the above-mentioned grouping.

While converting a sentence in active voice into a passive construction in Malto, action

verbs like the verb *nan* 'to do' are replaced by stative verb like *men* 'to be' and by the verbs of experiencing *lag* 'need' and *cah* 'want'. Example (4-49) shows how the active construction with a human agent in example (4-48) is converted to a passive-like construction by using the stative verb. The active construction in example (4-50) contrasts with the passive-like constructions using verbs in experience in examples (4-51) and (4-52).

(4-48)....majhye, epo bogḍo cica:ka:r, haḍen vicar nanna:r

majhye	ep-o	bogḍo	cic-a:-k-a:r	haḍ-en	vicar	nan-n-a:r
chief	village-adj	arbitrator	give-ep-rp-3pl.h	dem.dst-acc	enquiry	do-prs-3pl.h

....having given it to the chief, village arbitrator, they do an enquiry on that. **Panchayat**

(4-49).....fir haḍki: sambhanḍeno vica:r meni:ḍ

fir	haḍ-ki:	sambhanḍ-e-no	vica:r	men-i:ḍ
then	dem.dst-gen	relation-ep-loc	enquiry	be-3sg.nm

.....Then there will be an enquiry in relation to that.   **Panchayat**

(4-50)....fir pa:nc haza:r eka:van ʈaka: epo panca:ʈi:r ḍanḍom nanna:r

fir	pa:nc	haza:r	eka:van	ʈaka:	epo	panca:ʈi:-r	ḍanḍom
then	five	thousand	eleven	rupees	village	panchayat-nom.pl	fine

nan-n-a:r
do-prs-3pl.h

....then the village panchayat levies a fine of five thousand and eleven rupees. **Panchayat**

(4-51) beɖoh ɖagɾesiyaːh ya saɾveh ɖagɾesiyaːh ɖanɖom ʈo haːnonɖihi lagiːɖ

beɖo-h	ɖagɾ-es-iy-aːh	ya	saɾveh	ɖagɾ-es-iy-aːh	ɖanɖom	ʈo
old_one-nom.m	wrong-tr-pst-3pl.m	or	young	wrong-tr-pst-3pl.m	fine	but

haːnonɖ-i-hi	lag-iːɖ
that_much-ep-emp	apply-3sg.nm

Whether an older one makes the mistake or younger one makes the mistake, the same
fine is levied.   **Panchayat**

(4-52) haːɖno heme caːhiyiː

haːɖ-no	hem-e	caːh-iy-iː
dem.dst-loc	1pl-dat	want-prs-3sg.nm

We are wanted in that (matter).   **Panchayat**

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the interaction of valence and transitivity in Malto. The

formal representation of valence adjusting operations in Malto and the diachronic

development of these suffixes are discussed in detail. An area of further research is to

approach the topic of valence from a semantic point of view and discuss the argument

structure of verbs in Malto.

Chapter 5: Tense Aspect and Mood

5.0 Introduction

Tense, aspect and mood form an integral part of the study of verbs in any language. They elaborate on the basic qualities of a situation described by the clause. Tense deals with the location of a situation on a time scale, aspect deals with the internal temporal properties of a situation, and mood describes the attitude of the speaker towards a situation. Section 5.1 deals with category of tense taking a closer look at deictic categories (section 5.1.1) of past (section 5.1.1.1), present (section 5.1.1.2) and future (section 5.1.1.3) along with relative tense categories (section 5.1.2) of prior (section 5.1.2.1), simultaneous (section 5.1.2.2) and posterior (section 5.1.2.3). Section 5.2 includes a discussion on the grammatical aspectual categories (5.2.1) in Malto namely perfective aspect (section 5.2.1.1) that shows well-defined paradigms like a tense form and a subset of completive aspect (section 5.2.1.1.1) that is expressed using explicator verbs (section 7.2.1.1) alongside the imperfective aspects (section 5.2.1.2) namely habitual(section 5.2.1.2.1), progressive (section 5.2.1.2.2) and durative (section 5.2.1.2.3). There is a discussion on the category of mood (section 5.3) in Malto that includes imperatives (section 5.3.1), obligation (section 5.3.2), ability (section 5.3.3), desire (section 5.3.4), permissive (section 5.3.5) and optative moods (section 5.3.6). The last section (5.4) of this chapter explains the gender-number-person agreement marking on the verb.

Dahl (1985) observes that Tense-Aspect-Mood categories can be expressed morphologically as inflections and syntactically as auxiliaries and particles. Although most languages in the world express all three categories in some way, one of the categories is more prominent than the others and the prominence of that category is manifested by its grammaticalisation (Bhat 1999:95). Going by this definition of categorical prominence, Malto, like all other Dravidian languages, is a tense-prominent language. Also, it is only the tense categories that are obligatory in that both the finite and non-finite verb forms carry information on tense. Tense forms have well-defined paradigms, which attest to the systematic representation of the category of tense in Malto. However, there is a correlation between the category of tense with that of aspect and mood. Categories of mood that indicate probability and possibility are expressed in the relative future/posterior tense. The progressive aspect and the habitual aspect are expressed in the present tense. The completive aspect is expressed in the past tense. As Chung and Timberlake (1985:206) note, "a consequence of these correlations is that temporal distinctions may be expressed by morphosyntactic categories that have wider modal or aspectual functions." The aspectual and modal categories in Malto are grammaticalised irregularly, form defective paradigms and are not systematic in their occurrence. Whereas the aspectual and modal categories are often derived from verbal forms that are expressed as explicators or vectors, tense markers in Malto are always inflectional suffixes and have no lexical content either sychronically or diachronically.

5.1 Tense

Following Bhat (1999) I adopt two strategies to define the category of tense in terms of its reference points. The first one has the situation of uttering the sentence in which the tensed verb occurs as the reference point and the second one has any other situation as its reference point. The first strategy refers to deictic or absolute tense and the second strategy refers to non-deictic or relative tense (Comrie 1986). Bhat (1999:16) argues that "deictic tenses differ from non-deictic tenses in that their reference point (utterance time) is generally considered to be the unmarked one and hence it need not be specified in the sentence."

5.2.1 Deictic Tense

Chung and Timberlake (1985:204) point out that "although the relations anterior and posterior are logically symmetrical, the temporal dimension is assumed to have directionality from past to future. This implies an asymmetry in the sense that the past is known or established fact while the future is unknown and potential." The past tense describes situations occurring prior to the moment of speech, the present tense describes situations overlapping the moment of speech and the future tense describes situations occurring posterior to the moment of speech. Malto shows a three-way distinction in deictic tense between the past, present and future. This is typical of Dravidian languages as observed by Bhat (1999). The tense marker in Malto precedes the pronominal agreement marker. Tense in Malto is expressed as an inflectional suffix on the verb. The following examples demonstrate the three-way distinction of tense marking in Malto.

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(5-1) aːh lapɖaːh

aːh   lap-ɖ-aːh
3sg.m eat-prs-3sg.m

He eats.   **Elicitation**

(5-2) aːh lapiyaːh

aːh   lap-iy-aːh
3sg.m eat-pst-3sg.m

He ate   **Elicitation**

(5-3) aːh lapanaːh

aːh   lap-an-aːh
3sg.m eat-fut-3sg.m

He will eat.   **Elicitation**

Sections 5.1.1.1-3 discuss the three deictic tense suffixes in detail along with complete

paradigms of the respective tense markings.

5.2.1.1 Past Tense

The prevalent strategy among Dravidian languages is to have verb stem alternation

(section 3.2) in the past tense. Subrahmanayam (1971) points out that this is one of the

oldest morphological constructions in Dravidian languages. However Krishnamurti

(2003) notes that not all the past stem allomorphs of the proto-language are fully

recoverable since some of them have been analogically regularised by the daughter languages. The following Table maps the proto-Dravidian past stem allomorphs to the corresponding manifestations in Malto.

Proto-Dravidian Past Tense Allomorph	Malto Non-Past Stem	Malto Past Stem
*-t-	oːn "drink"	oːn-ɖ
*-i-	hek "go"	hek-iy
*-cc-	men "happen"	men-j
	baɾ "come"	baɾ-c
	key "die"	ke-c
	oy "cut"	o-s
	hil "stand"	hi-j

Table 5.1

Malto has regularised these formatives in two ways:

1) placing phonological restrictions on them

2) incorporating them into verb paradigms.

Proto-Dravidian past stem formatives *–i- and *–cc- have been regularised in Malto. –iy- is the past tense marker in the third person and it attaches to stems ending in obstruents.

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−c- occurs as a stem formative everywhere else. -ṭ- as a stem formative remains as a relic

in a few exceptional verbs and has been regularised as the past tense marker in the first

and second person. −k- is the fourth type of proto-Dravidian past stem formative which

functions as the relative past tense marker in Malto.

The past tense paradigms for the verbs *oːn* 'drink', *hek* 'go' and *bar* 'come' are

represented as follows:

-c for *bar*, -iy for *hek* in the third person

-ṭ everywhere else.

1 SG	oːn-ḍ-ṭ-aːn	hek-ṭ-aːn	bar-ṭ-aːn
1PL	oːn-ḍ-ṭ-aːm	hek-ṭ-aːm	bar-ṭ-aːm
2SG M	oːn-ḍ-ṭ-e	hek-ṭ-e	bar-ṭ-e
2SG F	oːn-ḍ-ṭ-i	hek-ṭ-i	bar-ṭ-i
2PL	oːn-ḍ-ṭ-aːɾ	hek-ṭ-aːɾ	bar-ṭ-aːɾ
3SG M	oːn-ḍ-iy-aːh	hek-iy-aːh	bar-c-aːh
3SG NM	oːn-ḍ-iy-aːḍ	hek-iy-aːḍ	bar-c-aːḍ
3PL [+HUM]	oːn-ḍ-iy-aːɾ	hek-iy-aːɾ	bar-c-aːɾ
3PL [-HUM]	oːn-ḍ-iy-aːḍ	hek-iy-aːḍ	bar-c-aːḍ

Table 5.2

5.2.1.2 Present Tense

The present tense in Malto describes a situation that takes place simultaneously with the time of utterance. Bybee et al (1994:126) point out that the present tense does not just have a deictic temporal reference, but also covers various types of imperfective situations (section 5.2.1.2) with the moment of speech as the reference point. In Malto, the habitual and the progressive aspects are both expressed using present tense. All verbs in Malto have the same inflectional pattern to mark present tense. The present tense paradigm for the verb *hek* 'go' is represented as follows:

-i , *-yi* in the first person singular and third person non-masculine

-n in the third person plural (human)

-ḍ everywhere else.

1 SG	hek-i-iːn
1PL	hek-ḍ-aːm
2SG M	hek-d̪-e
2SG F	hek-d̪-i
2PL	hek-d̪-aːɾ
3SGM	hek-ḍ-aːh
3SG NM	hek-yi-iːḍ
3PL [+human]	hek-n-aːɾ
3PL [-human]	hek-yi-iːḍ

Table 5.3

5.2.1.3 Future Tense

The future tense in Malto represents a situation that is predicted to occur after the time of utterance. Bybee et al (1994:244) "regard the focal use of future as equivalent to a prediction on the part of the speaker that the situation in the proposition, which refers to an event taking place after the moment of speech." All verbs in Malto have the same inflectional pattern to mark future tense. The future tense paradigm for the verb *hek* 'go' is represented as follows:

-en when it occurs before GNP markers beginning with front vowels

-an everywhere else.

The future tense is haplologised in the first person singular (section 2.3.7).

1 SG	hek-aːn
1PL	hek-an-aːm
2SG M	hek-en-e
2SG F	hek-en-i
2PL	hek-an-aːɾ
3SG M	hek-an-aːh
3SG NM	hek-en-iːd̪
3PL [+human]	hek-an-aːɾ
3PL [-human]	hek-en-iːd̪

Table 5.4

5.2.2 Relative Tense

In complex syntactic constructions where one situation is syntactically subordinate to another situation, the subordinate situation can be characterised temporally both with respect to the matrix situation and with respect to the speech moment (Chung and Timberlake 1985). Verbs in Malto that show non-deictic tense generally occur in non-finite form; they occur in a subordinate clause, which is dependent upon the clause that denotes the situation which functions as its reference point (Bhat 1999:20). The following examples illustrate that they can have a prior (example 5-4), simultaneous (example 5-5) and posterior (example 5-6) interpretation in reference to any given situation. Since Malto is a tense prominent language, it is obligatory for that a temporal reference point to be expressed in every clause. Hence expressing relative tense is the primary function of the morphemes described in section 5.1.2.1-3. In the following examples the verbs in the main clause are all in the past tense. But it is possible for the verbs in the main clause to be in the present and future tense too.

5.1.2.1 Relative Past/Prior

The relative past tense expresses a situation that occurred prior to the situation described by the finite verb in the main clause. The relative past/prior tense is marked by the suffix /–k/. Of the three relative tense markers, only the relative past tense suffix is followed by the GNP suffix. The relative past tense constructions are extensively used to chain clauses in Malto. This function is discussed in detail in section 7.3.3.1. The structure of the verb containing the relative past tense marker is discussed in section 3.3.3.

(5-4) os ṭunheki heca:ḍ

os	ṭunh-e-k-i	he-c-a:ḍ
cut	collect-ep-rp-3sg.f	tie-pst-3sg.f

Having cut and collected, she tied (it).   **Story C2**

5.2.1.2 Relative Present/Simultaneous

The relative present suffix marks a situation that takes place simultaneously with the situation described by the finite verb in the main clause. The relative present/simultaneous tense is marked .by the suffix /-i/. The relative present/simultaneous tense constructions are also used to chain clauses in Malto. This function is discussed in detail in section 7.3.3.2. The structure of the verb containing simultaneity marker is discussed in section 3.3.4.

(5-5) a:ḍ lapni:-lapni:di: avḍa:ḍ

a:ḍ	lap-n-i-lap-n-i-i:ḍ-i:	avḍ-a:ḍ
3sg.nm	eat-prs-sim-eat-prs-sim-3sg.nm-emp	speak-3sg.f

She spoke while eating.   **Elicitation**

5.2.1.3 Relative Future/Posterior: -oṭ

The relative future tense marks a situation that is speculated to take place posterior to the situation described in the main clause. The infinitive marker /-oṭ/ functions as the

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relative future/posterior tense marker. The structure of the verb containing infinitive marker is discussed in section 3.3.6.

(5-6) orṭonḍ ṭehoḍ aːraːn oyoṭ ekiyaːd

orṭonḍ	ṭeho-ḍ	aːraː-n	oy-oṭ	ek-iy-aːd
one	mother-nom.nm	bamboo-acc	cut-inf	go-pst-3sg.f

A mother went to cut bamboos.   **Story C2**

Bhat (1999:105) argues that since Malto like all other Dravidian languages is a tense prominent language, the primary function of the infinitive marker is to represent the future/posterior tense and the other functions of the infinitive marker are extensions of this primary function. The other functions of the infinitive suffix are discussed in section 3.3.6.

5.3   Aspect

Aspect indicates the temporal structure of a situation i.e. the way in which the situation occurs in time. Timberlake (2007:303) points that aspect is concerned with the relationship between situations –states of the world -and time. Aspect describes the internal transition of a situation or the lack of such a transition in the case of stative verbs. Hence aspect is both lexical and contextual at the same time. A verb has inherent aspectual properties, which are known as the lexical aspect or the Aksionsart type of the verb (see 3.5). In addition a verb can be attributed with morphosyntactic properties that

constitute the grammatical aspect of the verb. In this section, I discuss how grammatical aspect is expressed in Malto.

5.3.1 Grammatical Aspect

The basic aspectual distinction is between the perfective and the imperfective. The perfective views the situation from outside and hence describes the end points, namely beginning and ending of a situation. The imperfective views the situation from inside and hence describes if the situation is ongoing or durative. As I have explained in the introduction to this chapter, Malto is a tense-prominent language and the language utilizes other strategies to express categories that are not grammaticalised. Aspectual categories such as duration (5.2.1.2.4) and completion (5.2.1.1.1) are expressed by explicator compound verbs (see 7.3.1.1) and aspectual categories such as iteration and continuation are expressed as reduplicated verbals (7.3.1.2.3).

5.3.1.1 Perfective Aspect

Chung and Timberlake (1985) discuss a property of aspect as being limited, bounded or wholly contained within a situation frame. The perfective describes situations that are punctual or resultative. Perfect situations are viewed as completed events with continuing relevance. Bybee et al (1994:54) state that "perfectives signal that the situation is viewed as bounded temporally." The perfective aspect is the only one that has an exclusive · aspectual suffix in Malto and forms a well defined paradigm. In this respect it is similar to tense-marking.

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The perfective aspect marker precedes the tense marker. The Malto perfective is marked by:

–ce when it occurs with GNP markers beginning with front vowels

-ca everywhere else.

Past tense

I had come	heːn baɾ-ca-ṭ-aːn
We had come	heːm baɾ-ca-ṭ-aːm
You (M) had come	niːn baɾ-ce-ṭ-e
You (F) had come	niːn baɾ-ce-ṭ-i
You (Pl) had come	niːm baɾ-ca-ṭ-aːɾ
He had come	aːh baɾ-ca-c-aːh
She/it had come	aːḍ baɾ-ca-c-aːḍ
They (human) had come	aːɾ baɾ-ca-c-aːɾ
They (non-human) had come	aːḍ baɾ-ca-c-aːḍ

Table 5.5

(5-7) cevɾu hanno pahaḍi piji hekicaṭaːn

cevɾu	hanno	pahaḍi	piji	hek-i-ca-ṭ-aːn
yesterday	there	hill	side	go-ep-prf-pst-1sg

Yesterday I had been towards the hills.   **Panchayat**

Present tense

I have come	he:n baɾ-ca-y-i:n
We have come	he:m baɾ-ca-ḍ-a:m
You (M) have come	ni:n baɾ-ce-ḍ-e
You (F) have come	ni:n baɾ-ce-ḍ-i
You (Pl) have come	ni:m baɾ-ca-ḍ-a:ɾ
He has come	a:h baɾ-ca-ḍ-a:h
She/it has come	a:ḍ baɾ-ca-y-i:ḍ
They (human) have come	a:ɾ baɾ-ca-n-a:ɾ
They (non-human) have come	a:ḍ baɾ-ca-y-i:ḍ

Table 5.6

(5-8) hinnoɾ i: sameyeno osaɾ aḍiyeno, he, he baɾca:na:ɾ, heme ha:kim loka:ɾ....

hinnoɾ	i:	samey-e-no	osaɾ	aḍiy-e-no	he	he	baɾ-ca:-n-a:ɾ
now	dem.prx	time-ep-loc	grain	worship-ep-loc	who	who	come-prf-prs-3pl

hem-e	ha:kim	loka:ɾ
1pl-dat	officer	people

Now, at this time of grain worship, who have come, our officer people....   **Ritual**

Future Tense

I will have come	heːn baɾ-ca-iːn
We will have come	heːm baɾ-ca-an-aːm
You (M) will have come	niːn baɾ-ce-en-e
You (F) will have come	niːn baɾ-ce-en-i
You (Pl) will have come	niːm baɾ-ca-an-aːɾ
He will have come	aːh baɾ-ca-an-aːh
She/it will have come	aːḏ baɾ-ca-en-iːḏ
They (human) will have come	aːɾ baɾ-ca-an-aːɾ
They (non-human) had come	aːḏ baɾ-ca-yi-iːḏ

Table 5.7

(5-9) leːla haːhu ḏillik hekcaːnaːh

leːla   haːh-u ḏilli-k   hek-ca-an-aːh
tomorrow   3sg.m-en delhi-dat   go-prf-fut-3sg.m

He will have gone to Delhi tomorrow.   **Elicitation**

Perfective constructions can be further qualified by temporal adverbials such as *cevru*

'yesterday', *hinnor* 'now', *leːla* 'tomorrow' in the above examples.

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5.3.1.1.1 Completive Aspect

The completive aspect is a subset of perfective in that it focuses on the ending of a situation. Bybee et al (1994:54) define completive as doing something thoroughly and to completion. Since Malto is a tense prominent language most of the aspectual categories are either integrated into the category of tense or they employ explicator verbs to express aspectual categories (section 7.3.1.1). The completive aspect is expressed using two explicators *ṭey* 'send' and *ci* 'give'. The distribution of *ṭey* and *ci* can be explained in terms of the Aksionsart type of the verbs they form compounds with. *ṭey* is an explicator for accomplishment verbs and *ci* is the explicator of achievement verbs. The following example shows *ṭey* functioning as the explicator.

(5-10) haːhiːn hoṭraː ṭeyaːr

haːh-iːn	hoṭr-aː	ṭey-aːr
3sg.m-acc	remove-cp	SEND-3pl.h

They brought him out.   **History**

For an example with *ci* as the explicator, see examples (7-20) and (8-17).

5.3.1.2 Imperfective

Bybee et al (1994:125) define imperfectives as "the contrast partner of perfective, and thus views the situation not as a bounded whole, but rather from within, with explicit reference to its internal structure." Hence an imperfective situation can either be in

progress at a particular time of reference, or can occur over a period of time that includes the time of reference as expressed by the habitual (section 5.3.1.2.1), progressive (section 5.3.1.2.2) and durative (section 5.3.1.2.3) aspects in Malto.

5.3.1.2.1 Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect describes a situation that occurs periodically. It is different from iterative aspect in that the frequency of the situation cannot be counted; rather the duration in which the situation occurs can be expressed using temporal adverbials. However temporal adverbials do not comprise a grammatical category, they just complement it. The present marker is used to express the habitual meaning in Malto.

(5-11) haːɖno heme osaɾ adyeno maonɖ heɖaːn ṭaːlɖaːm aːɾo maːonɖ eɾaː ṭaːlɖaːm

haːɖ-no	hem-e	osaɾ	ady-e-no	ma-ond	heɖaː-n	ṭaːl-ɖ-aːm
dem.dst-loc	1pl-dat	grain	worship-ep-loc	clf-one	goat-acc	sacrifice-prs-1pl

aːɾo	maː-ond	eɾaː	ṭaːl-ɖ-aːm
and	clf-one	hen	sacrifice-prs-1pl

In that our grain worship, we sacrifice a goat and we sacrifice a hen.   **Ritual**

5.3.1.2.2 Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect describes an ongoing situation that has not reached its end point. Comrie (1976) points out that each individual occurrence of the situation is presented as being progressive and the sum total of all these occurrences is presented as being habitual. In Malto, the habitual and the progressive aspect are not distinguished grammatically, but can be disambiguated depending on the context of the utterance.

(5-12)   inɖrik oluhdaːr maaː-r

inɖrik	oluh-d-aːr	maaː-r
why	cry-prs-2pl	children-pl

Children, why are you crying?   **Story C4**

5.3.1.2.3 Durative aspect

The durative aspect expresses a situation that occurs over a certain period of time and the end point of the duration is not specified. The durative differs from continuative (7.2.1.3.3) in that continuatives are punctual events whereas duratives are not punctual. The locative verb *ɖok* 'be' is used as an explicator (section 7.2.1.1) to express duration.

Bybee et al (1994:132) have argued that when stative sources express progressive meaning, location is a necessary element and hence of the three 'be' verbs in Malto the locative *ɖok* is used to express duration.

(5-13) oka ɖokaː

ok-a	ɖok-aː
sit-cp	be-imp

Sit!   **Elicitation**

5.4   Mood

Chung and Timberlake (1985:241) summarise the category of mood as one that "characterises the actuality of a situation by comparing the situation world(s) to a reference world, termed the actual world." The category of mood can be classified into two groups – epistemic mood and deontic mood. Epistemic mood is knowledge-based

where two main subtypes are recognised: possibility and necessity. Deontic mood is action-based where the participant is motivated by a direction, need or requirement to carry out an action (Bhat 1999).

5.4.1 Imperative

Imperative mood represents a command, a request or an instruction. It is a form of deontic mood. In such an utterance the speaker directs the addressee to execute a situation. Imperative constructions in Malto do not have typical GNP agreement marking that finite verbs typically carry. The verb ends with the morpheme /–aː/.

(5-14) ledɾa paːsaː paːv koraː

ledɾa	paːsaː	paːv	koɾ-aː
left	side	street	enter-imp

Enter from the left side!   **Directions**

However, the vocative marker (section 2.3.7.1.3) also acts as the imperative marker. The vocative is added to the verb stem to specify the identity of the addressee.

(5-15) koɾci lagɖe

koɾ-c-i	lag-ɖe
enter-pst-ppt	approach-voc.m

Approach by entering!   **Story C2**

The negative counterpart of obligation is prohibition. Prohibition is expressed by including the negative morpheme (see chapter 6) into the verb along with the imperative marker.

(5-16) anḍɾomaː

anḍ-ɾ-oma-aː
sleep-dtr-neg-imp

Do not sleep!   **Elicitation**

Deontic mood can also be expressed as a secondary situation, where the subject or agent of the matrix clause is the source of the situation and the subject or agent of the subordinate class is the target of the situation (Chung and Timberlake (1985)).

(5-17) napaːḍ havḍaːḍ oːjɾe aːʈe eːɾi naːpen panjkeːn jaɾiːn

napaː-ḍ	havḍ-aːḍ	oːjɾ-e	aːʈ-e	eːɾi	naːp-en
fruit-nom.nm	speak-3sg.nm	shift-voc.nh	move-voc.nh	hen	fruit-1sg

panj-k-eːn	jaɾ-iːn
ripen-rp-1sg	fall-1sg

The fruit spoke, "Move away, Hen", I the fruit, having ripened, am going to fall.**Story C4**

5.4.2 Obligatory mood

Obligation is another form of deontic mood where the participant is obliged to contribute to the situation. Bybee (1994:177) describes obligatory mood as a grammaticalised marker that reports the existence of external, social conditions compelling the agent to

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complete the predication. The obligatory mood is represented by *meni* 'be', which acts as the explicator verb. The matrix verb describes the situation that the participant is required to execute and is marked by the infinitive.

(5-18) haːɖenṭi haːrgoṭ meniː

haːɖ-enṭi	haːrg-oṭ	meniː
there-abl	climb-inf	obl

From there, one has to climb. **Directions**

5.4.3 Ability Modal

The ability modal describes the ability of a participant to contribute to a situation. This is the third form of deontic mood in Malto. Ability modal appears an auxiliary verb in a compound verb construction (see 7.3.1). There are two allomorphs *–par, -loɖ* that occur in free variation. *–par* appears to be a borrowing from the eastern Indo-Aryan languages (8.3.2.3).

(5-19) niːn paɖot loɖṭe / paːrceṭe

niːn	paɖ-oṭ	loɖ-ṭ-e	/ paːr-ce-ṭ-e
2sg	sing-inf	able-pst-2sg.m	/able-prf-pst-2sg.m

You were able to sing. **Elicitation**

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5.4.4 Desire

Bybee (1994:178) summarises desire as a modal that reports the existence of internal volitional conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action. Malto borrows the auxiliary (see 8.3.2.3) *cah* from Hindi to express desire.

(5-20) jalaː-ḍ laloṭ cahyiːd

jalaː-ḍ	lal-oṭ	cah-yi-iːḍ
jala-nom.nm	dance-inf	wish-prs-3sg.nm

Jala wants to dance.   **Elicitation**

5.4.5 Permission

Permission is an agent-oriented directive that is intended to elicit action (Bybee 1994:178). The second causative construction (see 4.1.1.3) /ṭeṭ/ also functions as the permissive modal since second causation involves directing one of the participants to execute an action. Historically *ṭeṭ* may have been the auxiliary verb in the compound construction (see 7.3.1.1). I have no examples in my data to show *ṭeṭ* as the main verb of a clause. Hence I conclude that synchronically *ṭeṭ* is used as a suffix to indicate second causation.

(5-21) mukhiyah ep malerin hahḍa nanṭrṭeṭaːh

mukhiyah	ep	male-r-in	hahḍa	nan-ṭr-ṭeṭ-aːh
chief	village	people-pl-acc	hunt	do-caus-perm-3sg.m

The chief let the villagers hunt.   **Elicitation**

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5.4.6 Optative

The optative modal expresses a wish or the hope of the speaker, in the main clause. The optative modal in Malto is expressed by the clitic /-e/. The optative modal marker is a clitic (also see section 3.3.1) because it has scope over the entire clause and not just the word to which it is attached, and it is attached to the fully inflected finite verb, as illustrated in the following example.

(5-22) acka barane

ac-k-a   bar-an = e
bite-rp-cp   come-1sg=opt

Let me grab a bite and come.   **Story C4**

5.5   Agreement

All finite verbs in Malto carry gender-number-person marking in agreement with the subject of the clause (section 2.1). Verbs which take two arguments, one in the dative case plus one which is not makrked for case, always carry third singular non-masculine agreement morphology by default. The agreement markers are portmanteau morphs that simultaneously mark gender, number and person of the subject. The only exceptions are finite verbs carrying imperative marking, which never take agreement morphology. Among the non-finite verb forms, the one that includes relative past tense marking also encodes agreement with the subject. The gender-number-person agreement markers in Malto are formally derived from personal pronouns. These kinds of inflectional affixes marking agreement are referred to as pronominal affixes in linguistic typology (Corbett

2006). Malto can be called a pro-drop language because it allows the possibility of omitting the pronominal subject of a clause. However it is not a typical pro-drop language since the omission of the pronominal subject is not obligatory.The following Table lists the gender-number-person suffixes with the corresponding personal pronouns.

	Personal Pronouns	GNP suffixes
1 singular	eːn	-aːn
1 plural	eːm	-aːm
2 singular masculine	niːn	-e
2 singular feminine	niːn	-i
2 plural	niːm	-aːr
3 singular masculine	aːh	-aːh
3 singular non-masculine	aːḍ	-aːḍ
3 plural human	aːr	-aːr
3 plural non-human	aːḍ	-aːḍ

Table 5.8

From the above Table we notice that second person plural and third person human plural are homophonous, as are third person singular non-masculine and third person plural non-human. Sentences containing them are disambiguated by the tense marking in the case of the present tense (section 5.1.2). The morphophonemic changes involving agreement marking on the verb were discussed in section 2.3.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced and explained the grammatical forms that express the categories of tense, aspect and mood in Malto. I have discussed how and why tense is the most prominent and hence the highly grammaticalised category of the three. The categories of aspect and mood are expressed as multi-verb constructions (chapter 7) where Malto does not have suffixes to express a particular grammatical concept. An area of further research is the inter-relation of the three categories discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Verbal Negation

6.0 Introduction

Studies of negation in Dravidian languages are not very common apart from a brief listing of negative forms in grammatical accounts. This chapter gives a detailed account of clausal negation involving verbs in Malto. The first part of this chapter deals with the negative suffix (section 6.1) and its use in expressing unrealised event predicates (section 6.1.1). Negation and its relation with tense in Malto is discussed in section 6.2, followed by a reconstruction of the negative verb in Malto in section 6.3 and a brief account of its role as a copula (section 6.3.1) and question tag (section 6.3.2). Negation of existential predicates is discussed in section 6.4, followed by a discussion on the relationship between negation and mood. The last part of this chapter deals with the scope of negation in Malto (section 6.6).

Negation in Malto is post-verbal. There are two forms that express negation in Malto: the negative verb *mala* (section 6.3) and the negative suffix */-la/. /- le/* is an allomorph of the negative morpheme */- la/* and their distribution is governed by the vowel harmony rules of the language (section 2.3.1). The concatenation of negative morphemes is also governed by the vowel sandhi rules (section 2.3.2). These two negative forms undergo some modifications such as appearing with epenthetic vowel */o/* to express negation of existentials and imperatives. Miestamo (2005:45) notes that "imperatives, existentials and

non-verbals are clearly the most common environments to require special negative constructions."

6.1 Negative Suffix /- *la*/

Very often in Malto the negative morpheme is internal to the verb morphology. The negative suffix follows the valence altering suffix and precedes the tense-aspect-mood and gender-number-person marking suffixes. Payne (1985: 212) observes that if negation is expressed by a verbal suffix, this is typically the position occupied by the negative suffix cross-linguistically.

(6-1) 'haɾei ojɾe aʈke eːriː', haːnko ojuɾlaːiːɖ

haɾei	oj-ɾ-e	aʈ-ke	eːɾ-iː	haːn-ko	oj-u-ɾ-laː-iːɖ
hey	move-dtr-voc	shift-voc	hen-voc	say-adv	move-ep-dtr-neg-3sg.nm

She didn't move when told "move away, hen."   **Story C4**

Also see examples (3-13) and (3-32).

6.1.1 Unrealised event predicates

Unrealised event predicates describe a situation that either failed to occur or may fail to occur in the time to come (Bond 2007). The negative suffix /-*la*/ is used to express unrealised event predicates in Malto.

(a) Non-occurrence of an event

(6-2) haːhin ʈunɖkiːɖ ɖinsu jaːgun laplaːiːɖ

haːh-in	ʈunɖ-k-iːɖ	ɖin-su	jaːgu-n	lap-laː-iːɖ
3sg.m-acc	see-rp-3sg.nm	day-two	food-acc	eat-neg-3sg.nm

Having seen him, she did not have food for two days. **Story C3**

(b) Expectation of non-occurrence of an event

(6-3) pratyek epno sikcaː jaːbtak menomalaː taːbtak aːge baɖilaːnaːr

pratyek	ep-no	sikcaː	jaːbtak	men = omalaː	taːb-tak
every	village-loc	educated	until	become-neg	then-till

aːge	baɖi-la-an-aːr
ahead	move-neg-fut-3pl.h

while every village has still not become educated, we will not progress. **History**

(c) Negation of possible/potential events

(6-4) hani maːnahɖu haːnɖlaːyiːɖ

hani	maːnah-ɖu	haːnɖ-laː-yi-iːɖ
then	buffalo-nom.nm	find-neg-prs-3sg.nm

Then, the buffalo did not find him. **Story C3**

(d) Inability

(6-5) maon pakkiɖ ara kumoʈ loɖlaːiːɖ, aran kumkiɖakle, maonɖ pakoʈ loɖlaːiːɖ

maa-n	pak-k-iɖ	ara	kum-oʈ	loɖ-laː-iːɖ,	ara-n
child-acc	carry-rp-3sg.nm	bamboo	pick-inf	able-neg-3sg.nm	bamboo-acc

kum-k-iɖ	maa-n	pak-oʈ	loɖ-laː-iːɖ
pick-rp-3sg.nm	child-acc	carry-inf	able-neg-3sg.nm

The bamboo cannot be lifted carrying the child, the child can't be carried lifting the bamboo. **Story C2**

From the above examples of unrealised event predicates we notice that there is a relation

between the negative suffix and the tense of the verb.

6.2 Negation and Tense

The form of the negative morpheme in Malto depends on the tense marking on the verb. Unrealised events have either occurred in the past or are expected or predicted to occur in the future. Hence the negative suffix remains the same in both the past and the future tense. Krishnamurti (2003:348) argues that "In Dravidian there is a negative conjugation of the verb mainly in the non-past or with zero time reference. Here, there is no tense marker co-occurring with the negative suffix in the non-past...". However Malto defies this general Dravidian pattern and retains the tense suffix in the non-past tenses, but the present tense suffix (section 5.1.1.2) is devoiced when co-occurring with the negative suffix.

		Simple Present		Simple present [neg]
1 SG	I sing	ʔen paɖ-iːn	I do not sing	ʔen paɖ-oma-nt̪-aːn
2SG M	You sing	niːn paɖ-ɖ-e	You do not sing	niːn paɖ-oma-nt̪-e
3SG M	He sings	ʔah paɖ-ɖ-ah	He does not sing	ʔah paɖ-omala-aːh
3PL	They sing	aːr paɖ-n-aːr	They do not sing	aːr paɖ-omala-aːr

Table 6.1

		Simple past		Simple past [neg]
1 SG	I sang	ʔen paɖ-t̪-aːn	I did not sing	ʔen paɖ-la-yi-iːn
2SG M	You sang	niːn paɖ-t̪-e	You did not sing	niːn paɖ-le-ɖ-e
3SG M	He sang	ʔah paɖ-iy-aːh	He did not sing	ah paɖ-la-ɖ-aːh
3PL	They sang	aː ganɖir paɖ-iy-aːr	They did not sing	aːr paɖ-la-aːr

Table 6.2

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		Simple future		Simple future [neg]
1 SG	I will sing	eːn paɖ-aːn	I will not sing	eːn paɖ-la-aːn
2SG M	You will sing	niːn paɖ-en-e	You will not sing	niːn paɖ-le-n-e
3SG M	He will sing	ʔah paɖ-an-aːh	He will not sing	ʔah paɖ-la-n-aːh
3PL	They will sing	aːr paɖ-an-aːr	They will not sing	aːr paɖ-la-n-aːr

Table 6.3

From observing the three tables we notice that /omala/ is the negative suffix in the present tense and /-la, -le/ is the negative suffix in the past and future tenses. Hence I propose that the distribution of the negative morphemes is based on the realis and irrealis theme where the irrealis represents situations that could have occurred or which can possibly occur. We have also noticed that unrealised event predicates take the negative morpheme /-la, -le/.

The present tense has an exclusive tense marking in /-nṯ/ which appears with the first person and second person agreement marking. The tense marking /-nṯ/ attaches to the reduced form /oma/, of the negative marking /omala/. The tense markers in the negative past are also different from their affirmative counterparts. However, in the future tense the tense marking remains the same both in the negative and affirmative instances.

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6.3 The Negative Verb *mala*

The negative verb in Malto is /*mala*/. It is used both as a main verb and as an auxiliary. I

speculate that /*mala*/ is derived from /*men*/ the verb 'to be', which is its affirmative

counterpart. **cil-* is the Proto-Dravidian negative verb used to express the basic verb

meaning 'not to be' (Krishnamurti 2002:354)[17]. Hence we get /*mala*/ from /*men + il*/.

A postulated reconstruction of the negative verb would be:

Step 1: realisation of the Proto-Dravidian Negative in Malto

/-*la*/

Step 2: reduction of the copula verb by dropping the coda

men → *me*

Step 3: the negative gets suffixed to the copula

me-la

Step 4: Vowel Harmony triggered by the negative suffix.

mala

/*mala*/ can be used as a free morpheme to say 'no' and /*men*/ as a copular verb in the

diachronic context can be inflected for the negative suffix as shown in example (6).

/*mala*/ is also used as a response to polar questions. Abbi (2001) observes that negative

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[17] Although it is not common for languages to have negative verbs, all Dravidian
languages have a negative main verb.

copular constructions where the verb is inflected for GNP agreement marking are common in Dravidian languages.

(6-6) mala: hindeki: menleni:

mala: hindeki: men-le-en-i:
no   this_way   be-neg-fut-3sg.nm

No, it can not be this way.   **History**

In the above sentence we see the negation expressed twice: by an interjection at the beginning of the sentence and by a morpheme suffixed to the verb at the end of the sentence.

The negative verb may also cliticise to the finite verb. In such cases a morphophonemic alteration occurs in the form of the phoneme /–o/ that precedes the negative clitic and the realisation of GNP marker on the verb is optional. The TAM suffixes are not realised when *mala* is cliticised to a verb. The scope of negation of *mala* as a clitic is the entire clause as against the scope of negation of the negative suffix /-la, le/ being just the verb.

In the following example *mala* is expressed as a clitic in both the clauses.

(6-7) malaɾ ho ɾogekin ilaj nanʈɾomalaːɾ, hanise rogaːɖ hongɾomala

malaɾ	ho	ɾog-ek-in	ilaj	nan-ʈɾ = omala-aːɾ
people	add	disease-dat-acc	treatment	do-caus=neg-3pl.h

hanise	rogaː-ɖ	hong-ɾ = omala
so	disease-nom.nm	stop-dtr=neg

People also don't get treatment for the disease and so the disease doesn't stop.   **Village**

6.3.1 Negative copula

/mala/ which is inflected for GNP functions as a copula with nominal predicates and psychological predicates.

(6-8) paːɾe inoɾ aː saba mala

paːɾe	inoɾ	aː	saba	mala
but	now	dem.dst	case	neg

But that is not the case now.   **Village**

(6-9) hikni se ko paʈa[18] mala

hikni	se	ko	paʈa	mala
how	emp	adv	know	neg

Don't know how (it happened).   **Village**

Although the negative copula has impoverished inflection when compared to the affirmative copula, it occupies the same position as the affirmative. Pustet (2003:40) argues that the categorical inventory of verbal copulas, as compared to that of verbs

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[18] The lexeme paʈa is a borrowing from Hindi.

proper, tends to show more or less pronounced reductions. The affirmative counterpart of these constructions would replace *mala* with *menjaːḍ*.

(6-10) paːɾe inoɾ aː saba menjaːḍ

paːɾe	inoɾ	aː	saba	men-j-aːḍ
but	now	dem.dst	case	be-sf-3sg.nm

But that is the case now.   **Elicitation**

6.3.2 Negative verb as question tag

Negative verbs function as question tags when suffixed by the question suffix /-a/, to elicit an affirmative response (example 6-11) and also in propositions describing 'whether or not' kind of situations (example 6-12).

(6-11) aḍenʈi ek ek dina ʈaḍin honḍaːkaːɾ jajanaʔnaːɾ ho, malaː?

aḍenʈi	ek ek	dina	ʈaḍi-n	honḍ-aː-k-aːɾ	jaj-naʔ-n-aːɾ	ho	mala-a
then	one one	day	liquor-acc	drink-ep-rp-3pl.h	fight-recp-prs-3pl.h	add	neg-q

Then, on some days they get drunk and fight, isn't it?   **Village**

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(6-12) hani heka: hekki: ʈunɖe:ni: haya:n jeya:ʈara:h mala:?

hani   hek-a: hek-k-i: ʈunɖ-e:n-i: haya:-n   jeya:-ʈaɾ-a:h   mala-a
then   go-imp   go-rp-3sg.nm   see-fut-3sg.nm   mother-acc   live-caus-3sg.m   neg-q

Then, lets go and see if he has made mother alive or not.   **storyC4**

6.4 Existential predicates

Negation of existence is expressed by the suffix /-o/ after the root verb *bey* 'be'

followed by the human plural suffix and by the suffix /-ola/ when followed by other

GNP suffixes.

(6-13) paɖa:yi: ʃikʃa: ki: ma:mla: hi: ha:kɖa: beyola:d

paɖa:yi: ʃikʃa: ki: ma:mla: hi: ha:kɖa: bey-ola-a:d
studies   education   like   matter   emp   then   be-neg-3sg.nm

There was no such thing as studying or education in those times.   **History**

(6-14) e:ɖu ɖa:kɖara:ɾ beyoɾ

e:ɖu   ɖa:kɖaɾ-a:ɾ   bey-o-ɾ
good   doctor-pl   be-neg-3pl.h

There aren't any good doctors.   **Village**

Negation of existence implies the absence of the entity described by the nominal

predicate. This is different from the negative copula constructions in examples (6-4) and

(6-5) in that although negative copulas rule out one possibility expressed by the nominal

predicate, they point towards other possibilities.

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(6-15) eːd̪u d̪aːkd̪araːr menlaːr

eːd̪u   d̪aːkd̪ar-aːr   men-la-aːr
good   doctor-pl   be-neg-3pl.h

The doctors aren't any good.   **Elicitation**

The difference between example (6-14) and (6-15) is that an existential negative denies the existence of good doctors as against the negative copula where the existence of doctors is not negated, but the possibility of them being good at their job is negated.

6.5 Negation and Mood

The prohibitive mood expresses a direction to the agent, instructing the agent not to execute a particular action. The prohibitive mood is realised by the morpheme /-omaː/.

GNP marking is not realised on prohibitive constructions, nor in their affirmative counterparts, imperatives.

(6-16) holhomaː

holh-oma-aː
cry-neg-imp

Don't cry!   **Story C4**

(6-17)

eng opa opa baromaː   Don't come after me.

eng opa opa baraː   Come after me.

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6.6 Scope of Negation

The scope of verbal negation can either be limited to the negation of just the predicate or it can be extended to negate the entire clause.

6.6.1 Negating the scope of a proposition within the participial construction

The negative morpheme /-o/ is used to negate a participial construction (section 7.3.1.1) as shown in example 6-18.

(6-18) haːnko eːɾɖu menaːbalohiː maːon menhanjkiːɖ hokiyaːɖ

haːn-ko	eːɾ-ɖu	men-aː-bal-o-hiː	maːa-n
say-adv	hen-nom.nm	listen-cp-LEAVE-neg-emp	children-acc

menhan-j-k-iːd	hok-iy-aːɖ
give_warmth-sf-rp-3sg.nm	sit-pst-3sg.nm

So saying, the hen sat down to warm the chicks without listening (to the fruit). **Story C4**

6.6.2 Negating the predicate

The negative morpheme /-la, -le/ is used to negate a predicate in the past and future tense and /-mala/ is used in the present tense (section 5.1.1.2). When negating just the predicate, the negative suffixes are invariably followed by the gender-number-person agreement markers. See tables 6.1, 6.2 & 6.3 for examples.

6.6.3 Clausal Negation

The negative verb *mala* is used to negate the proposition expressed by the entire clause.

/mala/ is often cliticised to the main verb of the clause. See examples (6-3) and (6-7).

6.7 Conclusion

/-o/ is the negative epenthesis and */-la/* is the negative morpheme in Malto. */mala/* is the

negative verb that can be cliticised and also reduced to the form */-oma/* when preceded

by the negative epenthesis */-o/*. The negative epenthetic vowel also appears in a verb

without either negative morpheme or the negative clitic following it in the case of

existential predicates. However, the distribution of the negative forms is not clear from

the limited data available.

Chapter 7: Multi Verb Constructions

7.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with those instances in Malto syntax where more than one verb co-occurs within a clause and/or across clauses. Steever (1988:6) notes that "the Dravidian languages rely on a rich set of compound verbs to extend the somewhat limited resources of the set of simple verb forms." Multi verb constructions in Malto are discussed within the framework of the theories of juncture and nexus proposed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) (section 7.1). The second part of this chapter (section 7.2) discusses verbal constructions in Malto in terms of rank shift, word order and finiteness. This discussion leads to the classification of verbal constructions in the language based on functions expressed due to co-occurrence of verbs at various levels within and across clauses. The functional classes of multi verb constructions in Malto are discussed in the third part (section 7.3) which includes detailed accounts of compound verbal constructions (section 7.3.1) comprising explicator compound verbs (section 7.3.1.1), conjunct participle constructions (section 7.3.1.2), and reduplicated verbals (section 7.3.1.3); verbal complements (7.3.2) including gerundives (7.3.2.1), relative clauses (7.3.2.2), and quotative complements (7.3.2.3); and chained clauses in Malto (7.3.3).

7.1 Juncture and Nexus

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:441) discuss the morphosyntactic concepts of juncture and nexus in relation to multi verb constructions, in order to account for the units of complex constructions and to explain the relationship between these units. Complex constructions are viewed as being a layered structure of units, namely the nucleus, the core and the

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clause as shown in example (7-1).

The nucleus is a predicating element, which is a verb, an adjective or a nominal of some sort. The core is the predicate along with its arguments, and the clause consists of the core plus those elements which are not arguments of the predicate. The theory of units is referred to as the theory of juncture and the theory of relations as the theory of nexus (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997:442).

(7-1) [[The King [ordered] nucleus the dancer] core [to [stop] nucleus] core] clause

Nuclear juncture consists of a single core containing more than one nucleus. In its strictest form, nothing may intervene between the two verbs. The multiple nuclei function as a single complex predicate taking a single set of core arguments. Compound verbs in Malto conform to this typology (section 7.3.1). Core juncture consists of a single clause containing more than one core. Each core may itself be internally complex, i.e., may contain a nuclear juncture. These types of constructions define two different situations. Complex constructions show a clausal juncture when whole clauses are joined, where each clause may be independent of the other (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997:448).

Another relevant grammatical category that is "qualitatively different from predicates and their arguments", but at the same time plays an equally important role at all levels of complex constructions is the set of **operators.** The operators modify the clause and its parts. The most common operators found across languages are tense, aspect, negation,

modality, status, illocutionary force, directionals and evidentials. However individual languages may lack a formal representation of one or more operator categories with the exception of illocutionary force and negation. Modality, status and illocutionary force are often discussed together under the broad category of mood, as is done in this description of Malto. Tense, aspect, mood and negation in Malto have been discussed in detail in chapters 4 and 5 respectively. The role of the quotative complement as an evidential is discussed in section 7.3.2.3. Directionals in Malto are represented lexically (section 2.4.6).

The operators modify different layers of the clause and the scope of the individual modifiers is observed to follow a common pattern across languages. The ordering of the operators is based on the scope they have over the various elements of the clause "with the verb or other predicating element in the nucleus as the anchorpoint" (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 40-52). Aspect is a nuclear operator and is hence closest to the nucleus in Malto, as in all other languages that express aspect grammatically. Aspect in Malto is often expressed by explicator compound verbs, as shown in section 7.3.1.1. Negation in Malto has scope over the nucleus and the clause and this is discussed in section 6.6.2 and 6.6.3 respectively. Tense (section 5.1), illocutionary force expressed by imperatives (section 5.3.1) and permissives (section 5.3) and evidentials in Malto have scope over the entire clause.

Unlike operators, which are discussed in terms of universal principles, the relationship between the clause and its constituents varies from language to language. Van Valin and

LaPolla (1997: 448) link the notion of juncture with the notion of nexus. The syntactic relation between the units of juncture is called 'nexus'. Nexus relations are based on a binary feature space defined by dependency and embedding.

[+dependent, +embedded] = Subordination

[-dependent, - embedded] = Coordination

[+dependent, - embedded] = Cosubordination

[- dependent, +embedded] = Parenthetic constructions[19]

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:448) account for the first three types of nexus relations as follows:

Subordination: Here a clause functions as a syntactic element within a larger clause. The subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause and is embedded within the main clause. Subordination exhibits two distinct construction types: units functioning as core arguments on the one hand, and modifiers on the other. Explicator compound verbs (7.3.1.1) and quotative complement clauses (section 7.3.2.3) in Malto are examples of the former, and relative clauses (sections 3.3.7 & 7.3.2.2) and adverbial constructions (sections 3.3.2) in Malto illustrate the latter.

Coordination: The clauses in a sentence are independent of each other and act as syntactically equal parts of a sentence. Each of the clauses in a coordinate structure can

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[19] Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) do not account for this fourth possibility. It was Peter Austin's suggestion that parenthetic constructions could fill this obvious gap in the binary relation chart.

stand on its own outside of the chain. Synonym compound (section 7.3.1.4) in Malto are examples of coordination.

Cosubordination: The units of cosubordination obligatorily share one or more operators at the level of juncture. The difference between subordination and cosubordination is while the former exhibits structural dependence, the latter exhibits operator dependence. Cross-linguistic observations indicate that

> "in a nuclear juncture, the relevant operators are (nuclear) directionals, (nuclear) negation and aspect; in a core juncture, they are modality, (core) directionals, internal negation; and in a clausal juncture, they are any of the clausal operators, most often tense and illocutionary force" (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:455).

However Malto only has clausal cosubordination expressed by chained clauses (section 7.3.3).

Consequently, we get nine juncture-nexus types, with a possible combination of the various juncture and nexus types. A given language need not have all the nine types of juncture-nexus combinations. Malto does not seem to have nuclear and core cosubordinate structures and core coordinated structures. That leaves us with six juncture-nexus types. The following Table maps possible juncture-nexus relations and the intersecting cells represent the corresponding constructions in Malto.

Juncture	Nexus		
	Subordination	*Co-ordination*	*Cosubordination*
Nuclear	Explicator compound verbs, manner adverbs, Reduplicated adverbs	Synonym compounds	
Core	Infinitival constructions, Temporal conditionals		
Clausal	Relative clauses, Quotative complements	Coordinate clauses	Chained clauses

Table 7.1

7.1.1 Nuclear Subordination

Nuclear subordination defines a case where the verbs involved in a nuclear juncture display a subordinate nexus relation. In Malto conjunct participle constructions expressing manner show nuclear subordination, as illustrated in the following example.

(7-2) hani nan maa:n se capa piṭiya:h

hani   nan   maa:-n   se   [cap-a   pi:ṭ-iy-a:h]
then   another animal-acc emp   stamp-cp   kill-pst-3sg.m

Then, he stamped and killed the other animal too.   **Story C3**

In the above example *capa piṭiya:h* together form a single unit sharing the inflectional marking for tense and gender-number-person agreement. The verb *capa*, which is in its

conjunct participle form, is subordinate to the verb *piʈ* and also modifies the verb *piʈ*. The verb *piʈ* occupies the sentence final position and formally carries all the inflectional markers that are shared by all the verbs involved in the nuclear juncture.

The conjunct participle form functions as an adverbial in that it modifies the main verb of the matrix clause. There are usually two nuclear verbs involved in a nuclear juncture when the adverbial is not reduplicated and three when the adverbial is reduplicated (section 7.3.1.2)

7.1.2 Nuclear Coordination

Nuclear coordination defines a nuclear juncture where the two verbs involved have an equal status semantically and together describe a complex situation.

(7-3) hinonḍ heme saːleno hinonḍ puːjaː parve menne ke baːḍ hi hem lapḍaː

moʔaḍaːm

hinond	hem-e	saːle-no	hinonḍ	puːjaː	parve	men-ne	ke	baːd
this_much	1pl-dat	year-loc	this_much	ritual	festival	happen-cond	of	later

hi	hem	[lap-d̥-aː	moa-d̥-aːm]
emp	1pl	eat-prs-cp	eat-prs-1pl

Only when we have observed these many rituals and festivals, do we eat. **Rituals**

In the above example *lap* and *moa* are the two verbs that form the nuclear juncture. They share the gender-number-person agreement marking which formally appears on the sentence final verb. Although tense is a clausal operator, tense marking appears on every

verb form in Malto, since Malto is a tense prominent language (section 5.0). All verbs in a clause carry the same tense marking. The two verbs involved in a nuclear coordinate construction in Malto are always synonymous. For more on synonym compound verbs see section 7.3.1.4.

7.1.3 Core Subordination

When two or more verbs form a core juncture where one or more verbs are subordinate to the clause final verb, we have a core subordinated construction. Infinitival constructions in Malto exemplify this situation.

(7-4) bangla: oṭoṭ jeja:r

[[bangla: oṭ-oṭ]   jej-a:r]]
bungalow   break-inf   begin-3pl

They began to break the bungalow.   **History**

Example (7-4) is a monoclausal construction where the verb *oṭ* carries infinitival marking and is subordinate to the verb *jej* which carries the gender-number-person agreement marking. Complex forms of core subordination may have multi nuclei in each core. Temporal conditional clauses in Malto also display core subordination and are discussed in detail in section 7.3.1.2

7.1.4 Clausal Subordination

When one or more of the clauses in a sentence share a dependency relation with the matrix clause, we have a clause subordinated structure. Relative clauses in Malto are clause subordinated constructions.

(7-5) ek hisaː haːɾhiː hikaːh piʈurik, mocurik jimɾiː

ek	hisaː	haːɾ-hiː	[hikaːh	piʈ-ur-ik	moc-ur-ik]	jim-ɾ-iː
one	part	and-emp	who	kill-rel-dat	cut-rel-dat	get-dtr-3sg.nm

And again, one part goes to whoever killed and cut it. **Medicine**

In the above example the clause *hikaːh piʈurik mocurik* is a relative clause where the verb roots *piʈ* and *moc* are nominalised by using the suffix */-ur/*, and further inflected with the dative case to express the benefactive role. The relative clause is dependent on and embedded in the matrix clause *ek hisaː haːɾhiː jimɾiː*. The verb in the matrix clause always occupies the sentence final position. For more on relative clauses see section 7.3.2.2.

7.1.5 Clausal Coordination

When two clauses that are independent of each other are combined by a coordinating morpheme, we get a clausal coordinate structure. Malto borrows the coordinator *aːr/ aːro* from Hindi.

(7-6) haːɖno heme osaɾ adyeno maonɖ heɖaːn ṭaːlɖaːm aːɾo maːonɖ eɾaː ṭaːlɖaːm

haːɖ-no	hem-e	osaɾ	ady-e-no	ma-ond	heɖaː-n	ṭaːl-ɖ-aːm
dem.dst-loc	1pl-dat	grain	worship-ep-loc	clf-one	goat-acc	sacrifice-prs-1pl

aːɾo	maː-ond	eɾaː	ṭaːl-ɖ-aːm
and	clf-one	hen	sacrifice-prs-1pl

During our grain worship we sacrifice a goat and we sacrifice a hen.   **Rituals**

In the above example the two clauses *haːɖno heme osaɾ adyeno maonɖ heɖaːn ṭaːlɖaːm*

and *maːonɖ eɾaː ṭaːlɖaːm* are both independent clauses brought together by the

coordinator *aːɾo* to form a coordinate clause.

7.1.6 Clausal Cosubordination

This construction type looks like a simple chain of clauses, as in a coordinate

construction, but there is a dependency relation between the final and non-final clauses.

Chained clauses in Malto are cosubordinated structures. Only the final clause .of the

chained clauses in Malto is marked for absolute tense. The dependent clauses are marked

for relative tense. The gender-number-person agreement marking appears on all the verbs

both in the main clause and the dependent clauses.

(7-7) haːɖki naːmin ho hem ṭehkaːm heɖen naːmi nankaːm aːɖiɖaːm

haːɖ-ki	naːm-in	ho	hem	ṭehkaːm	haɖ-en	naːmi	nan-k-aːm
dem.dst-gen	name-acc	too	1pl	tell-rp-1pl	that-acc	name	do-rp-1pl

aːɖi-ɖ-aːm
worship-prs-1pl

Having told its name, having named it, we worship.   **Medicine**

Clause-chaining is discussed in detail in section 7.3.4 of this chapter.

7.2 Rank Shift

Halliday (1961) introduced the notion of **rank scale** to account for the hierarchy of symbolic units in a language. While the lower level units, such as the morphemes and words, define a construction analytically or internally, the higher levels such as clauses and sentences define a construction externally or synthetically. A rank shift occurs when a symbolic unit is used as a rank that is either equal to or lower than its own rank (Heyvart 2003:23).

Rank-defining properties for a verb in Malto are the inflectional properties related to the concept of finiteness in verbs. Rank shift in Malto includes several possibilities such as two clauses coalescing into a single core, category change where nominals are derived from verbs by attaching a nominaliser, or verbs functioning as adverbials by virtue of their position relative to a finite verb.

(7-8) eːn got̪t̪eni d̪ud̪in ond̪ongaːn

eːn	gotteni	dud̪-in	oːn-d̪-ong-aːn
1sg.nom	all	milk-acc	drink-sf-finish-1sg

I will drink up all the milk. **Elicitation**

In the example (7-8), two independent clauses, defining the situations of drinking milk and finishing it, coalesce to form a single unit and hence are down-ranked from being a chained clause construction of clausal juncture to a compound verb construction of

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nuclear juncture. *o:n* has the past stem formative *-ɖ* attached to it as a relic of the

biclausal status where it would have been in the relative past form *o:nɖaka:n* as shown in

the following example.

(7-9) e:n ɖuɖin onɖaka:n kajan ongi:n

e:n	ɖuɖ-in	o:n-ɖ-a-k-a:n	kaja-n	ong-i-i:n
1sg.nom	milk-acc	drink-sf-ep-rp-1sg	work-acc	finish-prs-1sg

Having drunk the milk, I am finishing the work.   **Elicitation**

Dependent situations manifested by subordination or co-subordinate structures are
integrated into a higher clause, consequently down-ranking the dependent clause with
respect to the main clause. The syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single
clause is determined by the strength of the semantic bond between the two situations
(Nikolaeva 2007:7). One such instance in Malto is the conjunct participle construction
(see 7.3.1.2) where two situations are integrated to form a single core.

7.2.1 Category change

A rank lexical relation is an association between lexical units which have different
relative values based on some shared underlying semantic property. Lexical units which
are related by rank are likely to be functionally descriptive of the characteristics of an
entity. They tend to be lexical categories such as nouns (Cruse 1986).

Rank shift often involves category change when units belonging to the same rank instead of getting down-ranked, are just reclassified to function as a unit of another class. Nominalisation and adverbialisation of verbs in Malto are examples of category change.

Verbs in Malto take the derivational suffix /-po/ to be nominalised. /-u, -ur/ act as relativisers. Adverbialisation is a syntactic process where the modifier precedes the verb that it modifies. Relativisation and adverbialisation in Malto are discussed in detail in sections 7.3.2.2 and 7.3.1.2 respectively. The verbalising derivational suffix /-aːr/ is attached to nouns in Malto and borrowed verbs to derive verbals in Malto (section 3.4.2).

(7-10) guraːʈarɖaːm haːɖinʈe saːt^h-saːt^h harhiː joɖs-ʈiːn jen malaː guraːrpo porcaːr naːnoːʈi

gur-aː-ʈar-ɖ-aːm	haːɖ-inʈe	saːt^h-saːt^h	harhiː	joɖs-ʈiːn	jen
wander-ep-caus-prs-1pl	dem.dst-abl	together-together	another	pair-three	people

malaː	gur-aːr-po		porcaːr	naːn-oːʈi
men	wander-vrb-nomr		publicity	do-inf

Then, together with the wandering of two or three people, to publicise (the event).
History

In the above example the borrowed word *gur* is first verbalised to form a Malto verb base and then nominalised by the suffix /-po/. The nominalised verbal form *guraːrpo* functions as a gerundive in the above sentence.

7.2.2 Order

Malto is a left-branching language except for extraposition of infinitival clauses (section 3.3.6). Multi verb constructions in Malto follow a fixed temporal sequence. All the non-finite constructions precede the sentence final finite verb. The modifiers precede the modified. Because adverbs precede the main verb, a change in order results in rank shift. In explicator compound verbs (section 7.3.1.1) the explicator follows the main verb and is delexicalised, hence assuming a subordinate function.

7.2.3 Finiteness

In Chapter 3, I defined finiteness as a morphological characteristic of the verb. Further to this claim, I include a syntactic property that the finite verb invariably occupies clause final position. In contrast, non-finite verbs combine with following word(s) and hence do not end a sentence. Steever (1988:6) recognised two basic kinds of non-finite verb forms in Dravidian languages:

1. verb forms that combine with a following noun to form relative clauses and other noun complements

2. verb forms that combine with a following verb to form compound verbs or complex sentences.

The type of verb forms preceding nouns have been discussed in section 3.3.7. These forms are also known as adnominals in linguistic literature because of their relative position to the nouns. I devote the current chapter to elaborating on two or more verb forms combining to form complex constructions.

Cristofaro (2007: 104) points out that particular semantic features, such as time reference, aspect and the mood value of situations, are predetermined. She adds that all subordination relations involving sharing of participants between main and dependent states of affairs also involve predetermination of the time reference, aspect and mood value of the dependent state of affairs. Hence there is no need to always specify the time reference, aspect or mood in dependent situations. The conjunct participle constructions in Malto carry time reference only on the main verb as shown in the following example.

(7-11) ṭaːni pehɾa honḍraːh

ṭaːni   peh-ɾ-a   hon-ḍ-ɾ-aːh
self   hold-dtr-cp   bring-sf-dtr-3sg.m

He himself brought (them).   **History**

7.3 Functional Classes

I have so far explained the formal structures and relations employed in Malto to incorporate more than one verb in a sentence. The rest of this chapter is a discussion of what kind of functions are expressed by multi-verb constructions in Malto. The functional classes represented by multi-verb constructions in Malto include explicator compounds, partially reduplicated compounds, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, gerundives, clause chaining and quotative complements. Each of these categories is discussed in detail in the following sections.

What are individually described as compound verbs, conjunct participle constructions and synonym compounds in this chapter, are popularly recognised in linguistic literature

by the cover term 'serial verbs'. Kroeger (2004:229) lists the following characteristic properties of serial verb constructions (SVC):

a) A prototypical SVC contains two or more morphologically independent verbs within the same clause, neither of which is an auxiliary.

b) There are no conjugations or other overt markers of subordination or coordination separating the two verbs.

c) The serial verbs belong to a single intonation contour, with no pause separating them.

d) The entire SVC refers to a single (possibly complex) situation.

e) A true SVC may contain only one specification for tense, aspect, modality, negation etc., though these features are sometimes redundantly marked on both verbs.

f) The two verbs in the SVC share at least one semantic argument.

g) Obligatory non-coreference: a true SVC will not contain two overt NPs which refer to the same argument.

h) A prototypical SVC contains only one grammatical subject.

Dixon (2006: 342-3) classifies serial verbs into two broad categories of asymmetrical and symmetrical varieties. Asymmetrical varieties have a major member with a wide range of possibilities and a minor member with a limited set of possibilities, with the major member being the head of the serial verb construction. The symmetrical variety has both members coming from an unrestricted class and having equal semantic and syntactic status. By these criteria, explicator compound verbs and conjunct participle constructions in Malto will be asymmetric serial verbs and synonym compound verbs will be symmetric serial verbs. The explicators and the conjunct participles will fall into the

category of minor members with limited set of possibilities. Serial verb constructions in Malto minimally have two serialised verbs and maximally have four serialised verbs. An illustration of four serialised verbs is that of a reduplicated adverbial preceding a compound verb. Dixon (2006:344) describes such a phenomenon as 'nesting', where one or both of the components of a serial verb construction are in turn, serial verbs themselves.

(7-12) bandiː-bandiː hekoṭ meni

[band-iː-band-iː] [hek-oṭ meni]
drag-sim-drag-sim   go-inf   oblig

One has to walk by dragging.   **Elicitation**

The above example has an explicator compound construction with an obligatory modal that is being defined by the reduplicated adverbial. The verb *hek* is the head of this serial verb construction. Explicator compound verbs in Malto can either have the V1 with either a conjunct participle attached to it or an infinitival marker as discussed in the following section. For more on the role of reduplicated verbals in Malto see section 7.3.1.3.

7.3.1 Compound Verbs

Verbal categories that cannot encode grammatical information like aspect and voice through simple verb forms employ compound verb constructions. Steever (1993:6) says for Dravidian in general that:

"compounding is often used to make up for deficiencies in the basic lexicon and morphological processes: it may supply the relative lack of derivational patterns and may extend the basic lexical and grammatical resources of the language."

He also adds that:

"Two basic kinds of compound verbs are represented in Dravidian and are distinguished according to their function: lexical and auxiliary compound verbs. Lexical compound verbs supplement the basic lexical resources. Auxiliary compound verbs provide morphosyntactic vehicles for those verbal categories or combinations of verbal categories that are not encoded in the inflectional morphology of any simple verb, for example completive aspect, obligatory mood" (Steever 1993:20).

The characteristic structure of the Malto compound verb is V1 + V2. Complex constructions involving two or more verb forms appearing as a cluster without another word form intervening between them can be manifested in Malto in four different ways.

a) as explicator compound verbs

b) as conjunctive participle constructions

c) as reduplicated verbal adverbs

d) as synonym compound verbs

7.3.1.1 Explicator compound verbs

V1 is the past stem, without the stem formative in the case of marked bases. The verbs

that can occupy the V2 position convey such categories as aspect and voice (Steever 1997). The verbs in the V2 position are delexicalised. Abbi (1994) argues that what is frequently referred as auxiliary verbs in the linguistic literature cannot be applicable to all verbs that occupy the V2 position, since some of these verbs also function as independent verbs in simple sentences. Hence they are called explicators in the literature on South Asian languages.

The following Table lists the explicators observed in Malto.

Verb root	Lexical meaning	Explicator function
ṭey	send	Completive aspect
ci	give	Completive aspect
kunj	throw	Volitional action
aṭ	bring	Benefactive action
men	be	Obligatory modal
bal	leave	Semelfactive action
ḍok	be	Durative aspect

Table 7.2

(7-13) goḍoṭ ṭihiː ṭalcaː ṭeyaːr, ṭalcaː ṭeyoko haːh ṭo heːkiyaːh

goḍo-ṭ   ṭihiː   ṭal-c-aː   ṭey-aːr   ṭal-c-aː   ṭey-o-ko   haː-h
horse-inst emp   kill-pst-cp SEND-3pl.h kill-pst-cp SEND-ep-adv dem.dst-nom.m
ṭo   heːk-iy-aːh
but   go-pst-3.sg.m

They killed him off from the horse itself and upon killing (him), he went away. **History**

(7-14) caːnḍun ṭeyaː

caːnḍu-n   ṭey-aː
Chandu-acc   send-imp

Send Chandu!   **Elicitation**

In example (7-13) *ṭey* functions as the explicator, adding the aspectual meaning of completion to the situation expressed by the main verb *ṭal* (also see example 7-18). In contrast, in example (7-14) *ṭey* is the main verb of the clause. The verbs that are modified by explicators in V2 are limited in number. However the available data is inadequate to define the semantic restrictions on the set of verbs that are modified by the explicators.

Kirshnamurti (2003) groups what he calls "auxiliaries" as belonging to two subclasses:

1) those that change the argument structure of the main verb. They have co-occurrence restrictions with the main verb and modify its lexical structure and meaning.

2) those that preserve valency but express other grammatical properties of the verb such as aspect, intensity, mood.

Valence-altering auxiliaries

The valence altering "auxiliaries" in Malto have diachronically become suffixes through the process of compound verb contraction (section 4.3). The valence altering auxiliaries

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that have gone through this process are causativisation (section 4.3.1.1.2), reciprocals (section 4.3.2.2) and passivisation (section 4.3.2.3).

(7-15) hiḍek hekno ho ḍarca:r haḍek hekno ho ḍarca:r

hiḍ-ek	hek-no	ho	ḍar-c-a:r	haḍ-ek	hek-no	ho	ḍarca:r
here-dat	go-cond	add	catch-pst-3pl.h	there-dat	go-cond	add	catch-pst-3pl.h

They catch you if you go even here and they catch you even if you go there.   **History**

(7-16) hekka: ḍaruhra:r

hek-k-a:	ḍar-uhr-a:r
go-rp-cp	catch-EMERGE-3pl.h

They went and got caught.   **History**

In example (7-15) *ḍar* is a bivalent verb. The valence of the verb *ḍar* is reduced in example (7-16) by the addition of /-uhr/. These valence changing operators have now been grammaticalised in Malto. Valence changing operations in Malto have been discussed in detail in Chapter 3 where the diachronic meaning of the valence changing suffixes is explained.

Valence-preserving 'auxiliaries'

Examples (7-13) and (7-14) illustrate the second point where *ṭey* as an explicator indicates completion of an action, but does not alter the valence of the predicate. Steever (1993:19) argues that 'auxiliary compound verbs' provide morphosyntactic vehicles for

those verbal categories or combinations of verbal categories that are not encoded in the inflectional morphology of any simple verb. In the case of Malto, the most obvious example to illustrate Steever's claim is the expression of completive aspect using explicators.

The following is a detailed discussion of the explicators that I have observed in Malto and how they contrast with constructions where the same verbs appear as lexical verbs.

bal the verb 'to leave' functions as an explicator of semelfactive action in the V2 position as shown in example (7-17). Semelfactive verbs refer to a situation that occurs just once.

(7-17) haːnko eːɽu menaː balohiː[20] maoːn menhanjkiːɖ hokiyaːɖ

haːn-ko	eːr-ɖu	men-aː-bal-o-hiː	maaː-n	mehan-j-k-iːd
say-adv	hen-nom.nm	listen-cp-LEAVE-neg-emp	chicks-acc	incubate-sf-rp-3sg.nm

hok-iy-aːɖ
sit-pst-3sg.nm

Upon saying that, the hen sat down to incubate the eggs, without listening at all.

Story C4

ʈey as an explicator indicates completive aspect. The addition of this explicator indicates that the situation has reached its terminal point as shown in example (7-18).

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[20] In example (7-17) the semelfactive verb *bal* 'leave' appears in a negative construction. Heine and Kuteva (2002:192) have observed that there are several instances across languages where the verb 'to leave' is used as a vector to express negation.

(18) hani baːcaːraːd haːden jaːɾek hakɾa ʈeyaː

hani	baːc-aːɾ-aːd	haːɖ-en	jaːɾ-ek	hak-ɾ-a	ʈey-aː
then	left-vrb-3sg.nm	dem.dst-acc	forest-acc	drive-dtr-cp	SEND-3sg.nm

Then he drove away the ones that were left, into the forest.   **Story C3**

(7-19) aːh ɖevikoni ciʈʈin ʈeyaːh

aːh	ɖevi-koni	ciʈʈi-n	ʈey-aːh
3sg.m	Devi-ass	letter-acc	send-3sg.m

He sent a letter with Devi   **Elicitation**

In example (7-18) *ʈey* is the explicator and in example (7-19) *ʈey* functions as the main verb.

ci (lexical meaning 'give') is also a completive explicator. However it is an explicator for accomplishment verbs. It contrasts with *ʈey* (see example (7-13)), which is the explicator in completive action in terms of achievement.

(7-20) ki jisme ki angɾeji loːkeɾin hakɾaːkaːɾ mahaːʈmaː gaːnɖhi ki jo soupcaː cicaːɾ, kaːgɾes kiːn haːnkaːh haːh baɾcaːh

ki	jis-me	ki	angɾeji	loːkeɾ-in	hak-ɾ-aː-k-aːɾ	mahaːʈmaː
of	which-loc	of	english	people-acc	drive-dtr-ep-rp-3pl.h	Mahatma

gaːnɖhi-ki	jo	soup-c-aː	ci-c-aːɾ	kaːgɾes-kiː-n	haːn-k-aːh
Gandhi-dat	who	hand_over-pst-cp	give-pst-3pl.h	congress-gen-acc	say-rp-3sg.m

haː-h	baɾ-c-aːh
dem.dst-nom.m	come-pst-3sg.m

He came, considering that these are the people who drove the British away and handed (them) over to Mahatma Gandhi.   **History**

(7-21) ḍuʃmani menuɽ haːɽhi hinḍro biʃʰiːn cicaːɽ

ḍuʃmani	men-uɽ	haːɽhi	hinḍro	biʃʰiːn	ci-c-aːɽ
enmity	be-nomr	again	this	poison	give-pst-3pl.h

Those who have enmity, again give this poison.   **Medicine**

ci in example (7-20) is the explicator and *ci* in example (7-21) is the main verb. GIVE as

a grammatical feature to express completion in Malto is a borrowing from Indo-Aryan

languages like Hindi and Bangla. In most Dravidian languages GIVE is grammaticalised

to express benefaction. However Malto uses *aʈ*, the verb 'to bring' to express benefactive

roles, which is again a borrowing from Indo-Aryan languages (See Abbi 1994). *aʈ* in

examples (7-22) and (7-23) functions as a explicator whereas in example (7-24) *aʈ* is the

main verb that is not delexicalised.

(7-22) hani haː me.eh "ʈeye ʈeye aʈe aːe, teye aʈe aːe" haːnu haːkɽi haːkɽi hekiyaːh

hani	haː	ma.a-h	ʈey-e	ʈey-e	aʈ-e	aː-e
then	dem.dst	child-nom.m	throw-voc.nh	throw-voc.nh	BRING-voc.nh	crow-voc.nh

tey-e	aʈ-e	aː-e	haːn-u	haːk-ɽ-i	haːk-ɽ-i	hek-iy-aːh
throw-voc.nh	BRING-voc.nh	crow-voc.nh	say-cp	drive-dtr-cp	drive-dtr-cp	go-pst-3sg.m

Then, the child chased it saying, "give (it), crow, give (it), crow".   **Story C3**

(7-23) ciʈʈin paḍce meːnʈre aʈaː

ciʈʈi-n	paḍ-c-e	meːn-ʈɽ-e	aʈ-aː
letter-acc	read-pst-voc.nh	hear-caus-voc.nh	BRING-imp

Read the letter and make it heard!   **Elicitation**

(7-24) bʰalaːiː menno joɖonɖ paɪrvaːn, maːonɖ eṭho eɾaːn heme aʈnaːɾ

bʰalaːiː	men-no	joɖ-onɖ	paɪrvaː-n	maː-ond	eṭho	eɾaː-n	hem-e
good	happen-cond	pair-one	pegion-acc	clf-one	red	hen-acc	1pl-dat

aʈ-n-aːɾ
bring-prs-3pl.h

When (they) benefit, they bring me a pair of pigeons or a red hen.   **Medicine**

kunj (lexical meaning 'throw') is an explicator of volitional action or a situation where

the agent performs an action on purpose as against an situation taking place by accident.

kunj in example (7-26) is the main verb and *kunj* in example (7-25) functions as the

explicator.

(7-25) haːɖ helceʈ piʈaː-piʈaː kunjaːɾ

haː-ɖ	helc-eʈ	piʈ-aː-piʈ-aː	kun-j-aːɾ
dem.dst-nom.nm	fear-inst	kill-cp-kill-cp	THROW-sf-3pl.h

They killed (them) off (intentionally), because of that fear.   **History**

(7-26) ṭebe hocaː kunjjaːh

ṭebe	ho-c-aː	kunj-j-aːh
then .	take-pst-3sg.m	throw-pst-3sg.m

Then, he took (it) and threw (it) away.   **Story C4**

The copular verb *men* functions as the modal when it occupies the position of the explicator in a compound verb construction. As a copular verb, *men* takes the full set of inflectional markings such as the tense, negation and gender-number-person agreement marking suffixes. As the obligatory modal (section 5.3.2) it has the form *meni*, which is the reduced form of the fully inflected finite verb *menid̪*. Heine and Kuveta (2002:97) have observed that the grammaticalisation of a copula as a modal expressing obligation occurs widely across languages, including English and Chinese. The obligatory modal *meni* is invariably preceded by the main verb bearing infinitive marking. While discussing verb-verb compounding in Telugu and Tamil respectively, Krishnamurti (1993:136) and Fedson (1993:63) list two possible inflections that can occur on V1. The first is conjunct participle marking (as observed in all other explicator compound verb constructions in Malto) and the other is infinitive marking. Hence I conclude that the infinitive marking on V1 is a Dravidian feature. In examples (7-27) and (7-28) *meni* functions as the explicator expressing obligation and in example (7-29) *men* appears as an independent clause.

(7-27) t̪ina: panḍa: pa:v gura:rot̪ meni:

t̪ina:	panḍa:	pa:v	guɾ-a:ɾ-ot̪	meni:
left	clf	road	turn-vrb-inf	oblig

One has to turn to leftside road. **Directions**

(7-28) guraːɾaːkaː haːɾhi soja baɾoṭ meniː

guraːɾaː-k-aː haːɾ-hi soja baɾ-ot meniː
turn-rp-3sg.nm again-emp straight come-inf oblig

Having turned, one has to come straight.   **Directions**

(7-29) hiḍent̪ihiː katʰaːḍ hongɾaː, menjaː

hiḍ-ent̪i-hiː katʰaː-ḍ   hong-ɾ-aː   menj-aː
here-abl-emp story-nom.nm   finish-dtr-3sg.nm   happen-3sg.nm

The story ends here, over.   **Story C2**

The stative verb *ḍok* (lexical meaning 'stay/remain') as the explicator denotes durative

aspect. The durative explicator is used to refer to a situation that takes place over a period

of time. Examples (7-30) and (7-31) illustrate *ḍok* as an explicator and example (7-32)

illustrates *ḍok* as the main verb.

(7-30) aːh ɾikonḍ eka ḍokḍaːh

aːh ɾikonḍ ek-a ḍok-ḍ-aːh
3sg.m slow   walk-cp STAY-prs-3sg.m

He is walking slowly.   **Elicitation**

(7-31) ɾaːme siṭan pacas ṭaka cica ḍokiyaːh

ɾaːme siṭa-n pacas ṭaka cic-a ḍok-iy-aːh
ram   sita-acc fifty   rupees give-cp STAY-pst-3sg.m

Ram has given Sita 50 rupees.   **Elicitation**

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(7-32) hinoɾ ṭo naːmen goṭeɾiniː hongaːnaːɾ haːnkaːɾ pahaːɽiː-pahaːɽiːno ḍoːkiyaːɾ

hinoɾ	ṭo	naːm-en	goṭeɾ-in-iː	hong-aːn-aːɾ	haːn-k-aːɾ	pahaːɽiː-pahaːɽiː-no
now	cond	1pl-acc	all-acc-emp	finish-fut-3pl.h	say-rp-3pl.h	hill-hill-loc

ḍoːk-iy-aːɾ
stay-pst-3pl.h

Saying that they may now finish us all, they stayed on the hills.　　　　**History**

Continuative aspect describes a situation that continues over an extended period of time where the agent keeps doing the same action repeatedly. The continuative aspect in Malto is marked by *–ponṭi*. Mahapatra (1987) defines *ponj* as a verb that means 'to recur'.

(7-33) eːmu gaḍa pahaɾu paḍponṭi ḍokoṭ paɾlaḍaːm

eːm-u	gaḍa	pahaɾu	paḍ-ponṭ-i	ḍok-oṭ	paɾ-la-ḍ-aːm
1pl-en	lot	time	sing-recur-sim	be-inf	abl-neg-prs-1pl

We were not able to keep singing for a long time.　　　　**Elicitation**

7.3.1.2 Conjunctive Participle Constructions

Longacre (2007) differentiates combined clauses that form a single sentence from paragraphs, stating the typical properties of combined clauses as having overt grammatical ties with the constituent parts and also of having a grammatical closure. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, combined clauses can enter a co-ordinate, sub-ordinate or cosubordinate relation. Of the subordinate relations, we can identify two possible sub-types, one that functions as a modifier of the verb phrase or of the entire proposition, and the other that functions as a noun phrase or modifiers of nouns. The subordinate clauses that modify the verb phrase are adverbial in nature and are hence also called adverbial

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clauses. Adverbial clauses in Malto are usually down-ranked to be represented as a non-finite verb, and form a conjunct participle construction with the following finite verb. Conjunctive participle constructions have V2 as the main verb; V1 is subordinate to V2 and modifies the meaning of V2. Masica (1971:141) rightly points out that the difference between conjunctive participle constructions and explicator compound verbs is the 'shift in the semantic centre of gravity from V2 to V1 with concomitant lexical emptying or grammaticalization of V2.' In other words, V2 modifies V1 in the case of explicator compounds whereas it is the other way around for conjunctive participles.

Abbi (2004:16) has identified the main defining features of the South Asian conjunctive participles (CP) as:

1) It is a derived verbal adverb.

2) Morphologically, it is a non-finite verb form.

3) It also represents a chaining function. Thus, it is conjunctive in nature.

4) Semantically, in its adverbial function, it modifies the main verb for various 'cause', 'manner', 'conditional' and 'purpose' meanings.

Although conjunct participle constructions in Malto defy the second characteristic property of SVCs on Kroeger's criteria (see section 7.3) in that they have a dependency relation with the main verb, I would still argue that they are serial verbs because they have all the other characteristic properties that are typical of serial verbs. Examples (7-34) and (7-35) show conjunct participle constructions where the verbs in the V1 slot are manner adverbs.

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(7-34) hikaːr piʈur heme seromaːn honḍra kosnaːr

hik-aːr	piʈ-ur	hem-e seromaːn	honḍ-r-a	kos-n-aːr
who-3pl	kill-rel	1pl-dat share	bring-dtr-cp	share-prs-3pl

Whoever kills (it), brings my share to me.   **Medicine**

(7-35) cilaːḍ aːr giḍḍaːḍ haː me.en peʈʈe bohtraː

cilaː-ḍ	aːr	giḍḍaː-ḍ	haː	ma.a-n	peʈ-ʈ-e	boh-ʈr-aː
eagle-nom	and	vulture-nom	dem.dst	child-acc	take-pst-cp	run-caus-3sg.nm

The eagle and vulture kidnapped the child.   **Story C2**

7.3.1.2.1 Cause

The suffix /-ko/ is the marker of causative conjunction in Malto where it is used to express a subordinating temporal relation with the predicate in the matrix clause. Functionally it is similar to *when* clauses in English. It is different from the morphological causative /-tr/ (see Chapter 4). The Causative conjunction plays the role of specifying the time of a situation that causes the situation defined in the main clause. On the other hand, the morphological causative directly causes the occurrence of a situation. It is not necessary to indicate the effect of morphological causation (section 4.3.1.1.2). When a clause containing the main verb is preceded by a /-ko/ clause, /-ko/ indicates that the clause it introduces bears a causal relationship to the situation described in the following main clause, as shown in example (7-36).

(7-36) hani, boɾa kanɖo aʈaː anko, cilaḍ ciccaːd boɾan

hani	boɾa	kanɖo	aʈaː	an-ko	cilaḍ	ci-c-c-aːd	boɾa-n
then	sack	clf	give-imp	say-rp	eagle	give-pst-prf-3sg.nm	sack-acc

Then, when asked for the sack, the eagle descended and gave (him it), the sack. **Story C2**

(7-37) epoɾin haːvɖiːn hanɖa epoɾ ho hengki sabbaːniː menjaːkaːr hiɖen ɖahɖaː guɾaːʈaɾnaːr, haːʈek hoynaːr

epoɾ-in	haːvɖ-iːn	hanɖa	epoɾ	ho	heng-ki	sabbaː-n-iː
villagers-acc	speak-1pl	then	villagers	add	1sg-gen	words-acc-emp

menjaː-k-aːr	hiɖ-en	ɖahɖaː	guɾ-aː-ʈaɾ-n-aːr	haːʈ-ek	hoy-n-aːr
listen-rp-3pl	dem.prx-acc	branch	wander-ep-caus-prs-3pl	fair-dat	take-prs-3pl

I talk to the villagers, then the villagers listen to my words and wander with the branch and take it to the fair. **Medicine**

Example (7-37) illustrates the cause-effect semantics in Malto. However in this example causativisation is neither expressed by the morphological causative nor as a causative pre-condition. Instead causativisation is expressed as one of a links in a chained clausal structure where the sentence final matrix clause represents the effect.

Temporal relations like succession and simultaneity are expressed by chained clauses in Malto (section 7.3.3) and Malto also borrows temporal adverbs like *pahle* 'before' and *baːḍ* 'after' from Hindi.

7.3.1.2.2 Condition

/-no/ marks the temporal conditional conjunctive in Malto. The temporal conditional specifies a situation that needs to be fulfilled first, so that the situation represented by the main verb can follow it. In example (7-38) we see the conditional clause *hahi:n hondra: atno* precede the main clause expressed by the finite verb, which is the obligatory order of conditional constructions in Malto.

(7-38) hahi:n hondra: atno se lapa:n

hah-i:n	hond-r-a:	at-no	se	lap-a:n
he-acc	bring-dtr-cp	give-cond	emp	eat-1sg

Only if you bring him, I will eat.   **Story C3**

7.3.1.2.3 Purpose

The infinitival marker /-ot/ acts as a marker of purposive clauses. Thompson et al (2007:252) claim that it is very common to find an infinitive expressing same subject purpose clauses. In all the Malto examples that I have in my data, the subject of the purpose clause is the same as the subject of the matrix clause.

(7-39) hargtarot ho:kla:na:r

harg-tar-ot	ho:k-la-an-a:r
climb-caus-inf	allow-neg-fut-3pl.h

They will not allow (us) to climb.   **History**

(7-40) canḍananṭi angvali baroṭ lagcaːka, canḍananṭi sojehi sojɾaːkaː baroṭ meniː

candana-nṭi	angvali	baɾ-ot	lagcaːka,	canḍana-nṭi	soje-hi	sojɾaːkaː
Chandana-abl	Angwali	come-inf	inorder to	Chandana-dat	straight-emp	straight

baɾ-ot	meniː
come-inf	oblig

In order to come to Angwali from Chandana, one has to come straight from Chandana.

Directions

Example (7-40) illustrates two instances where purposives occur as core junctures. In the first case the syntactic purposive represented by the infinitival construction *baroṭ* combines with the lexical purposive *lagcaːka* to form a purposive clause. In the second case the purposive word form combines with the explicator compound verb *meniː*, denoting obligation.

(7-41) hani maonḍ kisḍu hekica haːhin mo.oṭi

hani	ma-onḍ	kis-ḍu	hek-i-c-a	haːh-in	mo-oṭi
then	clf-one	pig-nom	go-ep-prf-3sg.nm	3sg.m-acc	eat-inf

Then, a pig went to eat him.

Story C3

In example (7-41), the purposive clause represented by the infinitive construction follows the main finite verb. This is the only exception to the general rule in Malto that the sentence final position is occupied by the finite verb in the matrix clause. For more examples see (2-60), (3-32), (3-37).

7.3.1.2.4 Manner

Manner adverbials describe the way in which an action was executed. The adverbial precedes the main verb and it can either be a single nucleus (*capaː* in example (7-42)) or reduplicated nuclei (*udtar-udtar* in example (7-43)).

(7-42) hiṇḍeki paːḍyaːh hani maːnahḍu hekkiḍ haː kisaːn capaː piːṭiyaːḍ

hiṇḍeki	paːḍ-y-aːh	hani	maːnah-ḍu	hek-k-iḍ	haː	kisaː-n
this way	sing-pst-3sg.m	then	buffalo-nom.nm	go-rp-3sg.nm	dem.dst	pig-acc

cap-aː	piːṭ-iy-aːḍ
stamp-cp	kill-pst-3sg.nm

When he sang this way, the buffalo went and killed the pig.   **Story C3**

(7-43) hani haː manahḍu goṭeḍi hekkiːḍ haːh hokiyaːh haː maːnno goṭe maːaḍi

maːrgeṭ udtar-udtar hijaːḍ

hani	haː	manah-ḍu	goṭeḍi	hek-k-iːḍ	haː-h
then	dem.dst	buffalo-nom.nm	all	go-rp-3sg.nm	dem.dst-nom.m

hok-iy-aːh	haː	maːn-no	goṭe	maːa-ḍ-i	maːrg-eṭ
sit-pst-3sg.m	dem.dst	tree-loc	all	animal-nom.nm-emp	horn-inst

ud-tar-ud-tar	hij-aːḍ
fix-caus-fix-caus	stood-3sg.nm

Then, all those buffaloes went to the tree where the boy sat and stood with the horns fixed to each other.   **Story C3**

7.3.1.3 Reduplicated Verbal Adverbs

Manner adverbials in Malto are often reduplicated to indicate iterative, frequentative, continuative or habitual action. In addition, reduplicated verbals are also used to express simultaneity in Malto.

7.3.1.3.1 Iterative action

Bybee et al (1994:160) define iteratives as actions repeated on a single occasion. Iteratives differ from habitual and frequentative action, which both signal that the repetition occurred on different occasions.

(7-44) hani haːhin mo.otiː caːgek ţoţaː-ţoţaː ʔaɾgiː

hani	haːh-in	mo-oţi	caːng-ok	ţoţ-aː-ţoţ-aː	ʔaɾg-iː
then	3sg.m-acc	eat-inf	perch-dat	jump-cp-jump-cp	climb-3sg.nm

Then, it jumped again and again and climbed the shelter to eat him.   **Story C3**

7.3.1.3.2 Frequentative

Frequentative implies that the situation occurred on different occasions and thus also may be an extension from a specifically iterative meaning. (Bybee et al 1994: 165)

(7-45) banglaː oţiyaːɾ, oţiyaːɾ haːkɖaː haːɖe ɖaɾc-ɖaɾc hocaːɾ, hocaːɾ, hoːc-hoːc jehal naniyaːɾ

banglaː	oţ-iy-aːɾ	oţ-iy-aːɾ	haːkɖaː	haːɖ-e	ɖaɾ-c-ɖaɾ-c	ho-c-aːɾ
bunglow	break-pst-3pl.h	break-pst-3pl.h	then	3pl-gen	catch-pst-catch-pst	take-pst-3pl.h

ho-c-ho-c	jehal	nan-iy-aːɾ
take-pst-take-pst	jail	do-pst-3pl.h

Once they (the villagers) demolished the bungalow, they (the police) caught them, took them away and jailed them over a period of time.   **History**

7.3.1.3.3 Continuative

The difference between iterative and continuative is largely a matter of the type of verbs with which they occur; iteration applies mainly to punctual or telic predicates, while continuity applies to both telic and atelic predicates (Bybee et al 1994:165). Continuatives also differ from duratives (section 5.2.1.2.3 and section 7.2.1.1) in terms of punctuality. Continuatives are punctual and hence expressed as reduplicated verbs, while duratives are not punctual and durativity is expressed by a stative explicator verb (see examples (7-30) and (7-31)).

(7-46) aːh me.eh guraːriː guraːriː maːnahḍu menhḍaːriḍ haːḍek haḍsiyaːh

aːh ma.a-h	guɾ-aːɾ-iː-guɾ-aːɾ-iː	maːnah menhḍ-aːɾ-iːḍ
3sg.m child-nom.m	wander-vrb-sim-wander-vrb-sim	buffalo rest-vrb-3sg.nm

haḍe-k	haḍs-iy-aːh
there-dat	reach-pst-3sg.m

As he wandered around, that boy reached the place where buffaloes rest.   **Story C3**

7.3.1.3.4 Habitual

Habitual situations are the ones that have a tendency to recur consistently. Habitual situations are different from other situations represented by reduplicated verbals in that they are always atelic.

(7-47) siːʈiː pʰeheɾ-pʰeheɾ ḍokiyaːɾ

siːʈiː	pʰeh-e-ɾ-pʰeh-e-ɾ	ḍok-iy-aːɾ
whistle	hold-ep-dtr-hold-ep-dtr	be-pst-3pl.h

They used to have whistles on them.   **History**

Reduplicated verbals expressing simultaneity are discussed in section 6.3.4.2.

7.3.1.4 Synonym Compounds

In the previous section I described verbs that are morphologically reduplicated. Malto also has another set of reduplicated verbs that are defined essentially by their semantic properties and are known as synonym compounds (Inkelas and Zoll 2005: 59). Synonym compounds are compounds that are formed when two verbs that are similar in meaning are compounded to indicate a generalized meaning. Thus, the two compounded verbs express motion away from the speaker in example (7-48), consumption in (7-49), iterative action in (7-50) and actions related to sanitation in example (7-51).

They can be represented as follows:

$[V_{infl} + V_{infl}]v$

Such constructions are common in the South Asian linguistic area and have been discussed in detail by Singh (1982) as "redundant compounds" and by Abbi (2004) as "partially reduplicated compounds".

Unlike morphologically reduplicated verbals (section 7.3.1.3), synonym compounds do not always perform the adverbial function in Malto. In examples (7-48) and (7-49) they are the main verbs in the matrix clause and in examples (7-50) and (7-51) are adverbials.

(7-48) napaːɖ havɖaːɖ haːnu "oːjɾe aːɭe eːɾi, naːpen panjkeːn jaɾiːn"

napaː-ɖ   havɖ-aːɖ   haːn-u   [oːj-ɾ-e   aːɭ-e]   eːɾ-i   naːp-en
fruit-nom.nm speak-3pl.nm say-cp   shift-dtr-voc move-voc hen-voc fruit-gen

panj-k-eːn jaɾ-i-iːn
ripe-rp-1sg   fall-1sg

The fruit said, "Move away, hen, I the fruit, having ripened, will (now) fall."   **Story C4**

(7-49) hinonɖ heme saːleno hinonɖ puːjaː paɾve menne ke baːɖ hi hem lapɖaː

moʔaɖaːm

hinond   hem-e   saːle-no   hinonɖ   puːjaː   paɾve   men-ne   ke   baːd
this_much 1pl-gen year-loc   this much   ritual   festival happen-cp of   later

hi   hem   [lap-d̥-aː moa-d̥-aːm]
emp   1pl   eat-prs-cp eat-prs-1pl

Only when we have observed these many rituals and festivals, do we eat.   **Rituals**

(7-50) haː me.eːn hekkiɖ nukiː-jaːki, caːngeno hokiyaːh

haː   ma.aː-n   hek-k-iɖ   [nuk-iː-jaːk-i]   caːng-e-no hok-iy-aːh
dem.dst   child-acc   go-rp-3sg.nm   shake-sim-shove-sim perch-ep-loc sit-pst-3sg.m

It went and shook and shoved the child and sat on the perch.   **Story C3**

(7-51) hani haː me.eh heṭkah heɾka-bakkaːh manik haːɾgiyaːh

hani	haː	ma.a-h	heṭ-k-ah	[heɾ-k-a-bak-k-aːh]
then	dem.dst	child-nom.m	descend-rp-3sg.m	sweep-rp-cp-lift-rp-3sg.m

man-ik	haːɾg-iy-aːh
tree-dat	climb-pst-3sg.m

Then that child descended, swept and collected (the droppings), and climbed the tree.

Story C3

It is usually the case in Malto that each verb in the compound carries suffixes that apply

to the compound as a whole; I have only one example *muːcuṭiyaː*, in my data that has the

verb roots reduplicated rather than fully inflected stems.

(7-52) koɾci lagiya hani, banḍe koɾṭaɾekiḍ, muːcuṭiyaː

koɾ-c-i	lag-iy-a	hani	banḍ-e	koɾ-ṭaɾ-e-k-iḍ
enter-pst-3sg.nm	approach-pst-3sg.nm	then	pull-cp	enter-caus-ep-rp-3sg.nm

muːc-uṭ-iy-aː
close-cover-pst-3sg.nm

He came in, then, having tied him, she closed the door   **Story C2**

7.3.2 Verbal Complement clauses

The verbal structures that function as noun phrases are called complements. Verbal

complements are marked by the infinitive */-oṭ/*, the gerundive */-po/* and the

nominalisers */-u, -uɾ, -pa/*. Krishnamurti (2003:424) points out that the criteria used to

distinguish a complement from an adjunct in terms of core and peripheral arguments are

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not adequate for Dravidian languages. Similarly, it is not always clear in Malto if an embedded verb form is a complement or an adjunct.

7.3.2.1 Gerundive

Gerundives are forms of verbs used in a noun-like function (Matthews 1981:178). In the following example the gerundive *gura:rpo* is derived from a verb root. The gerundival phrase *joɖs-ṭi:n jen mala: gura:rpo* in the following sentence is embedded within the infinitival clause which is an extrapolation that is preceded by a finite verb. *gura:rpo* is modified by classifiers which occupy the adjectival position.

(7-53) gura:ṭarḍa:m ha:ḍinṭe sa:tʰ-sa:tʰ haɾhi: joɖs-ṭi:n jen mala: gura:rpo[21] poɾca:ɾ na:no:ṭi

gura:-ṭaɾ-ḍ-a:m	ha:ḍinṭe	sa:tʰ-sa:tʰ	haɾhi:	joɖs-ṭi:n	jen	mala:
wander-caus-prs-1pl	then	together-together	another	pair-three	people	men

guɾ-a:ɾ-po	poɾca:ɾ	na:n-o:ṭi
wander-vrb-nomr	publicity	do-inf

We wander around, then together with the wandering of two or three people, to publicise (the situation). **Medicine**

7.3.2.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses modify the head of a noun phrase. There are two types of relative clause constructions in Malto. The first type is the pronominal headed relative clause and the second type is the participial relative clause. The pronominal headed relative clause has the question word as its head. It uses the pronominal strategy in expressing relativisation

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[21] *gur* is a borrowing from Hindi. Hence it is first verbalised into Malto by attaching the verbalising suffix /-a:r/ and then a nominaliser is attached to obtain a gerundive.

where a pronominal suffix is attached to the question word. Example (7-54) has the relative clause *hika:r piʈur* as the relative clause where the verb *piʈ* 'kill' is nominalised by the nominalising suffix */-ur/*.

(7-54) hika:r piʈur heme seroma:n hondɽa: kosna:r

hik-a:r	piʈ-ur	hem-e	seroma:n	hondɽ-a:	kos-n-a:r
which-nomr.pl	kill-rel.pl	1pl-dat	portion	bring-cp	share-prs-3pl

The people that kill bring us a portion and share (with us).   **Medicine**

Participial relative clause constructions change the verb into a relativised participle by adding the relativising suffix */–pa/*. Example (7-55) has the verb *paɖ* 'read' relativised by the addition of the suffix */–pa/* and the pronominal element is incorporated as an agreement marking suffix on the verbal form. Example (7-56) has the relative participle functioning as a nominal predicate.

(7-55) henginʈi pahle paɖipa:r ne jaha: beyor

heng-inʈi	pahle	paɖ-i-pa:-r	ne	jaha:	bey-o-r
me-abl	before	read-ep-rel-3pl.h	who	clf	be-neg-3pl.h

There is no person who was literate before me.   **History**

(7-56) pa:re iʈiha:seno kurkpa:ɖ

pa:re	iʈiha:s-e-no	kurk-pa:-ɖ
but	history-ep-loc	write-rel-3sg.nm

But then, it was written in history.   **History**

Relativisation is also expressed by borrowing the relative particle *jo* from Hindi, which replaces the question word in the pronominal headed relative clause (see example (7-54)).

(7-57) pun ʈaɖino, haːvɾo ʈaʈahʈɾaː aːkhɾiː jo ʃeːp laːsʈ jo meni ʈaʈahʈɾa, ʈaʈahʈɾaː haːnɖaːm

pun	ʈaɖi-no	haːvɾo	ʈaʈah-ʈɾaː	aːkhɾiː	jo	ʃeːp
new	liquor-loc	and	mango-etc	final	that	shape

laːsʈ	jo	meni	ʈaʈah-ʈɾa	ʈaʈah-ʈɾaː	haːn-ɖ-aːm
last	which	be-3sg.nm	mango-etc	mango-etc	say-prs-1pl

The liquor that is new and the mango that gets to the final shape, we call them Tatahtra...

(7-58) hanɖaː osɾaːn jo manɖɖaːm, ...cuɖi osaɾ-aɖya

hanɖaː	osɾaː-n	jo	mand-ɖ-aːm
thereupon	grain-acc	that	plant-prs-1pl

cuɖi	osaɾ-aɖya
later	grain-worship

Thereupon the grain that we plant........and then grain worship.   **Rituals**

Example (7-58) is one of the many instances of disconnected sentence constructions where my consultants assumed that I would be able to make a logical decision to fill in the blanks.

I have just one example in my data of the complementizer *hahan.* It occupies the same position as the borrowed Hindi complementiser *jo.* I postulate that this is a result of contact induced language change as it is not a productive or prevalent process in Malto.

(7-59) soja baɾcaːkaː hahan capɖiɖaːhaː lokaːɾu calaːʈaɾnaːɾ haːɖen kaʈkaː baɾoʈ
meniː

soja	baɾcaː-kaː	ha-ha-n	capɖiɖaːhaː	lokaːɾu	calaː-ʈaɾ-n-aːɾ	haːɖe-n
straight	come-rp	that-that-acc	Chapdidah	people	worship-caus-prs-3pl	there-acc

kaʈ-kaː		bar-oʈ		meniː
cross-rp		come-inf		oblig

Having come straight, where the people of Capdidaha worship, there one crosses and comes.

Directions

Headed relative clauses are also expressed as chained clauses where the relative pronoun

is the head of each relative clause.

(7-60) neken se meɖ koɾeniːɖ, neke kaːlaːjaːɾaːɖ ɖaɾyeni, neke ʈiːbiː ɖaɾyeni, neke
maleɾiyaː ɖaɾyeni haːɖki heme jaɖi-buʈi beyiːɖ

nek-en	se	meɖ	koɾ-en-iːɖ	nek-e	kaːlaːjaːɾaː-ɖ
who-acc	emp	head	hurt-fut-3sg.nm	who-dat	kalaazar-nom.nm

ɖaɾ-yen-i	nek-e	ʈiːbiː	ɖaɾ-yen-i	nek-e	maleɾiyaː
catch-fut-3sg.nm	who-dat	TB	catch-fut-3sg.nm	who-dat	malaria

ɖaɾ-y-en-i		haːɖ-ki		hem-e	jaɖi-buʈi	bey-iːɖ
catch-ep-fut-3sg.nm		dem.dst-gen		1pl-dat	root-herb	be-3sg.nm

Who-so-ever's head hurts, whoever catches kalaazar, whoever catches TB, whoever catches malaria, there are herbs and roots for that with me.   **Medicine**

7.3.2.3 Quotative Complements

Quotatives in Malto are represented by *an,* the verb 'say'. Quotatives are used to denote

reported speech where the speaker is stating a fact that is common knowledge (example

7-64) or while quoting someone (examples 7-62 and 7-63).

Example (7-61) is a simple sentence where the verb *haːvɖ* 'speak' is the main and only

verb in the clause. It contrasts with the verb *an* 'say' which is often used as a

complementizer in Malto, as in examples (7-62)-(7-64).

(7-61) hanḍaː eporin haːvɖiːn

hanḍaː	eporin	haːvɖiːn
then	villagers-acc	speak-1sg

Then I speak to the villagers. **Medicine**

(7-62) orṭonḍ ṭehoḍ aran oyoṭ hekiyaːḍanu

orṭonḍ	ṭehoḍ	ara-n	oy-oṭ	hek-iy-aːḍ-anu
one	mother	bamboo-acc	cut-inf	go-pst-3sg.nm-qot

It is said that a mother went to cut bamboo. **Story C2**

(7-63) paṭonḍ acka baran ankiḍ hekiyaːḍ

paṭ-onḍ	ac-k-a	bar-an	an-k-iḍ	hekiyaːḍ
clf-one	nibble-rp-cp	come-1sg	say-rp-3sg.nm	go-pst-3sg.nm

It went, thinking that it would be back after nibbling on one more leaf. **Story C3**

(7-64) haːḍen saːgor moḍaːḍ hanoṭi meniː

haːḍ-en	saːgor	moḍaː-d	han-oṭi	meniː
dem.dst-acc	Sagar	turn-nom.nm	call-inf	oblig

That is called Sagar Crossing. **Directions**

Quotative word forms function as any other verbs taking inflections appropriate to their position in the syntactic structure.

(7-65) hani iḍen mo.aḍe haːnko ho.oːn mo.iːn hanko maːnahḍu haː ma.a hejaːn ciceḍ hekiyaːḍ

hani	iḍ-en	mo-aḍ-e	han-ko	ho.oːn	mo-iːn	haːn-ko
then	dem.prx-acc	eat-3sg.nm-q	say-cp	yes	eat-1sg	say-cp

maːnah-ḍu	haː	ma.a	hejaː-n	ci-c-eḍ		hek-iy-aːḍ
buffalo-nom	dem.dst	animal(clf)	bear-acc	give-pst-3sg.nm		go-pst-3sg.nm

Then, upon asking "do you eat this" and upon (the boy) saying that "yes, I do eat", the buffalo gave that bear (to him) and went away.   **Story C3**

Reason clauses in Malto are also marked by quotatives as shown in examples (7-66) and (7-67).

(7-66) maːoːḍ kʰajjaːk holihyaːḍ eːr ḍaːḍi kecaːḍ hani

maːoː-ḍ	kʰajjaːk	holih-y-aːḍ	eːr	ḍaːḍi	ke-c-aːḍ	hani
children-nom.nm	a lot	cry-pst-3sg.nm	hen	mother	die-pst-3sg.nm	qot

The children cried a lot because Mother hen died.   **Story C4**

(7-67) hani "hinor ṭo piṭaː aṭaːnaːh" han, hokiyaːḍ

hani	hinor	ṭo	piṭaː	aṭ-an-aːh	han	hok-iy-aːḍ
then	now	surely	bread	give-fut-3sg.m	say	sit-pst-3sg.nm

Then, it sat thinking that he will surely give bread.   **Story C4**

7.3.3 Clause Chaining

Clause chaining involves a series of clauses chained together to form a complex construction. The verb in the last clause of the series, which provides grammatical closure, is called the final verb and the verbs in all the preceding clauses are called medial verbs. Kroeger (2004:243) points out that "a very common system of tense marking on the medial verbs is a simple two way contrast between sequential vs simultaneous action." Clause chaining in Malto is facilitated by the relative tense markers which chain any number of cosubordinate situations to a main situation. The final verb is the only one that is marked for absolute tense. Malto has redundant 'spreading' of gender-number-person agreement marking across all verbs in a clause chained structure. In terms of rank, as explained in section 6.1, the medial verbs are of a lower rank as compared to the maximally marked final verb.

7.3.3.1 Sequential action

The clauses denoting sequential action are chained in the order of occurrence. The verbs in the medial clauses are always marked for relative past while the verbs in the final clause can be marked for any of the three tenses – past, present or future. The relative past tense in Malto is marked by the morpheme /–k/.

7.3.3.1.1 Relative past +present tense

The following example has the medial verbs in relative past and the final verb marked for absolute present tense.

(7-68) ṭalcaːkaːm, hiḍo aḍyakaːm, haːḍinṭi baːḍ kiɾkaːm, hoḍuhno apna ḍevṭaːn manaːṭaɾaːkaːm, kuḍḍaːm

ṭal-caː-k-aːm	hiḍo	aḍya-k-aːm	haːḍinṭi	baːd	kiɾ-k-aːm	hoḍuh-no
sacrifice-prf-rp-1pl	here	worship-rp-1pl	then	after	return-rp-1pl	house-loc

apna	ḍevṭaː-n	manaː-ṭaɾ-aː-k-aːm	kuḍ-ḍ-aːm
1pl.gen	god-acc	please-caus-ep-rp-1pl	do-prs-1pl

Having killed and worshipped here, then we return home to please our Gods.   **Rituals**

7.3.3.1.2 Relative past + past tense

The following example has the medial verbs in relative past and the final verb marked for absolute past tense.

(7-69) hani jalḍi jalḍi aḍskaː heɾkaː bakkaːh man kongɾok koɾcaːh hokiyaːh

hani	jalḍi	jalḍi	aḍs-k-aː	heɾk-aː	bak-k-aːh	man
then	quickly	quickly	reach-rp-3sg.m	sweep-rp-3sg.m	lift-rp-3sg.m	tree

kongɾ-ok	koɾ-c-aːh	hokiyaːh
hole-dat	enter-pst-3sg.m	sit-pst-3sg.m

Then he quickly reached (the spot), swept and lifted (the dung) and entered and sat in the hole in the tree.   **Story C3**

7.3.3.1.3 Relative past + Future

The following example has the medial verbs in relative past and the final verb marked for absolute future tense.

(7-70) hekkiḍ ciyeniːḍ

hek-k-iḍ	ci-y-en-iːḍ
come-rp-3sg.nm	give-ep-fut-3sg.nm

She will come and give.   **Elicitation**

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7.3.3.2 Simultaneity

Abbi (1991:33) argues that simultaneity identifies synchronisation of two situations at a particular point in time, which in turn may signal:

1) the completion of both situations together; or

2) protraction of one of the situations; or

3) continuity of two situations for a certain period of time.

Simultaniety in Malto is marked by the morpheme /-i/. The situation marked for simultaneity provides the context or background for the situation expressed in the matrix clause. The other strategy used in Malto to express simultaneous situations is durative and continuative adverbs formed from reduplicated verbs (section 6.3.1.3). Whereas Malto complex constructions can have more than one sequential medial clause marked with relative past tense, there can only be one medial clause marked for simultaneity.

(7-71) aḍ lapni lapniḍi avḍaːḍ

aḍ	lap-n-i	lap-n-iḍ-i	avḍ-aːḍ
3sg.nm	eat-prs-sim	eat-prs-3sg.nm-emp	speak-3sg.nm

She spoke while eating.   **Elicitation**

In the above example the act of eating and the act of speaking are completed at the same time. Example (7-71) can be contrasted with example (7-72) where the act of eating continues while the simultaneous act of speaking is curtailed.

(7-72) jaːgu lapneyi avḍomaː

jaːgu	lap-n-ey-i	avḍ-om-aː
food	eat-prs-2sg-sim	speak-neg-imp

Do not speak while eating!   **Elictitation**

Simultaneous situations where one action is protracted over the other can have more than one participant, with each situation referring to a different participant, as expressed in the following example.

(7-73) eːn ʈunɖ ʈunɖni aːh muluhɾaːh

eːn	ʈunɖ	ʈunɖ-n-i	aːh	muluh-ɾ-aːh
1sg.nom	see	see-prs-sim	3sg.nom.m	drown-pass-3sg.m

As I was looking, he drowned.   **Elicitation**

In the following example the children continue to both carry bags and walk to school at the same time.

(7-74) ma.a beg anɖɾu okai iskulek hekɖaːɾ

ma.a	beg	anɖɾu	oka-i	iskul-ek	hek-ɖ-aːɾ
children	bag	etc.	carry-sim	school-dat	go-prs-3pl.h

Children go to school carrying bags etc.   **Elicitation**

However complex constructions in Malto can have both a simultaniety and sequence appearing in a single sentence as illustrated in the following example.

(7-75) hani raːjaː ʈahaːɖiɖ ʈunɖi-ʈunɖi mecaː haɾgkiː ʈunɖiyaːɖ

hani	raːjaː	ʈahaːɖi-ɖ	ʈunɖ-i-ʈunɖ-i	mecaː	haɾg-k-iː	ʈunɖ-iy-aːɖ	haːh-in
then	king	daughter-nom	see-sim-see-sim	up	climb-rp-3sg.nm	see-pst-3sg.nm	3sg.m-acc

Then the king's daughter seeing (it) climbed up and saw him.   **Story C4**

In the above example the situations of seeing and climbing are simultaneous, the climbing situation is followed by another seeing situation.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter first introduced the formal structure of multi-verb constructions in Malto in terms of juncture-nexus relations. The second part of the chapter briefly discussed the concepts of rank shift, category change, order and finiteness in relation to verbal forms in Malto. The explicator compound verbs are one of the illustrations of grammaticalisation in Malto where a lexical item is delexicalised or bleached (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 92) to express aspectual or modal meanings when they appear in the V2 position. They are reduced phonologically and morphologically in the case of the obligatory modal. These items acquire new grammatical functions depending on the context in which they occur. However, due to limitations of available data the full collocation restrictions of verbs occurring in verbal compounds could not be discussed in this chapter. The sections on verbal complements, quotative constructions and clause chaining explained how verbal forms across clauses are inter-related in Malto.

Chapter 8: Conclusion - Language Contact Situation

8.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters have discussed the structure and function of verbal forms in Malto. This concluding chapter throws some light on where Malto stands with respect to its neighbouring and more dominant languages of the region namely Hindi, Bangla and Santali, and then outlines the directions for further research in conjunction with grammatical description. The first part of this chapter (section 8.1) describes the language contact situation with respect to Malto and contextualises the situation with respect to various theories of language contact. The following sections explain how the effect of contact manifests itself in terms of phonological borrowings (section 8.2), lexical borrowings comprising content words and function words (section 8.3.2) and borrowed syntactic structures (section 8.4).

8.1 Language Contact Situation

The Malto speaking Pahariyas have been living in the Rajmahal Hills region of Eastern India for nearly 2,500 years now (see section 1.1). During this time, they have had a long history of contact with the other Eastern Indian languages in the region. In the present day situation they are dominated by Hindi speakers in all spheres of economic, and political life and in the education sector.

The Pahariyas have shared their neighbourhood with Santali speaking Santals since 1830. The British Administration, at that time, brought the Santals from the Chotanagpur area

in order to bring the Pahariyas into the mainstream[22]. These days Pahariyas use Santali in the market place, learn Santali at school and use Santali for interaction with their Santal neighbours. It is also interesting to note that very often the Santals and the Pahariyas co-habit the same village without inter-marriage. We could sum up this situation as asymmetric multilingualism where most adults in the Pahariya community speak three languages, but not the other way round.

Extensive exposure to Hindi[23] and Santali has also left a mark on the syntactic and phonological structure of the Malto language. Apart from the pan-Indian traits of convergence like the SOV word order, use of explicator compound verbs to express grammatical functions etc., Malto has also incorporated the glottal stop (section 8.2.1) and unreleased voiced dental stop (section 8.2.2) from Santali. From its close contact with the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages, Malto has assimilated the vigesimal number system (section 8.3.1), the nominal classifier system (section 8.4.1), several root forms for verbs and nouns, function words (section 8.3.2) and syntactic structures like the copula constructions (section 8.4.4). These are all contact induced changes in the language. The intensity of contact increases day by day as more and more people leave their native villages in search of employment and education.

Thomason (2001) lists several typological factors that predict the manner and the degree of contact induced language change. She classifies them into social and linguistic factors.

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[22] Hindustan (Hindi Newspaper). 09/09/2005
[23] Although Hindi speakers employ a range of vairieties within their own speech communities (including standard and non-standard Hindi), I have observed that they usually speak a standard spoken variety to outsiders, Malto speakers in this case. In addition, Malto speakers do not socialize informally with Hindi speakers and thus they always interact in formal settings. This accounts for their use of standard Hindi.

Of the social factors, the intensity of contact plays a key role in accounting for the changes in Malto. The Pahariyas are smaller in number compared to the Santals and hence are dominated by the Santals. Since the duration of contact has not been too long in comparison to the contact they have had with Eastern Indo Aryan languages, the borrowed features from the Indo-Aryan group are more significant. Of the linguistic factors, the degree to which the features are integrated into the linguistic system and the typological distance between the source and recipient languages are vital to this discussion.

Myers-Scotton (2002:41) points out that a psycholinguistic characteristic that differentiates borrowing from code-switching is that not all speakers who use borrowed forms (loanwords) need to be bilingual in the donor language. She differentiates between cultural borrowings and core borrowings. Cultural borrowings are words for new concepts and are rapidly integrated into the recipient language. The core borrowings are words that usually have a duplicate structure in the recipient language. She argues that such borrowings enter the language through code-switching and are gradually integrated into the language. Bilingual Malto speakers code-switch using the Hindi relativiser *jo* (section 7.2.2.2), emphatic particle *hi* (section 8.3.2.1), ability modal *par* (section 8.3.2.3), and adverbs like *ekḍam* 'immediately', *baːḍ* 'later'. The classifiers are cultural borrowings and the numerals are core borrowings that are now integrated into the language.

8.2 Phonology

Loss of typical Dravidian phonemes like the retroflex nasal and the retroflex liquids has been evidenced ever since Malto was first recorded by Dreose in the 19th century. This is a typical pointer of contact induced language change where the affected languages lose phones that are not part of the phonemic inventory of the dominant languages that influence them. However, new sounds have entered the phonology of the language because of borrowed words and also because Malto speakers are often trilingual in Malto, Hindi and Santali. The borrowed phones include aspirated stops and the retroflex tap from Hindi (section 2.2.4) and glottal stop and the unreleased stop /ḍ'/ from Santali.

8.2.1 Glottal stop

Malto has the glottal stop as an allophone of the free-varying glottal fricative /ɦ/ (section 2.3.4) in word initial and medial positions. It is uncharacteristic of the Dravidian family to have glottal stops. On the other hand in Santali glottal stop occurs as a phoneme in words at certain word-internal pre-consonantal junctures[24]. Except for the glottal stop and the unreleased stops, the Santali phoneme inventory includes all the sounds that occur in the Malto phoneme inventory. The use of the glottal stop is observed in the younger generation and not so much in the middle-aged Malto speakers. Hence I deduce that Malto speakers have acquired the glottal stop from their close contact and interaction from their Santali speaking neighbours. It is also important to note that children learn Santali at school along with Hindi, besides interacting with Santal neighbours. The glottal

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[24] http://wesanthals.tripod.com/id45.html

sounds in my data occur in the same positions where uvular stops occur in examples in the previous descriptions of Malto (Mahapatra 1979, Das 1973).

The glottal stop performs an epenthetic function in Malto. It occurs in two such roles:

1) Vowel hiatus resolution

2) As a replacement for the glottal fricative *h*

8.2.1.1 Vowel hiatus resolution

Cross-linguistically it is common for languages to avoid hiatus (Casali 1997). Malto uses the glottal stop as epenthesis for vowel hiatus resolution.

(8-1)
maʔa   child
oʔon   yes

8.2.1.2 Replacing the glottal fricative

The glottal stop replaces the glottal fricative word initially (example set 8-3) and at morpheme boundaries (example 8-2).

(8-2) moʔṭan

moʔ-ṭ-an
eat-prs-1sg

I am eating.   **Elicitation**

(8-3)
ʔek   go
ʔok   sit

I propose that these sounds are recent acquisitions due to prolonged interaction and extensive contact with Santali, because the use of the glottal stop is not consistent enough to form a phonological rule to account for epenthesis. There are no previous audio recordings of the language that are available for comparison.

8.2.2 Unreleased Stop /ḏ'/

The use of the unreleased stop /ḏ'/ is inconsistent and is observed only when the phone /ḏ/ occurs clause finally. There may be two possible explanations for this phenomenon.

Firstly that it is a language internal change where the third person singular agreement marking on the verb-form that occurs clause finally, is reduced and hence the clause final /ḏ/ and /h/ sounds are not audible. This phenomenon is explained as a morphophonemic adjustment in section 2.3.6. Secondly this may be a recent phenomenon due to the influence of Santali. Santali has unreleased stops /k', c', t', p'/ in its phonemic inventory and these phonemes occur both in word medial and word final positions (Ghosh 1994). However, the use of the unreleased phone in Malto is not at the word level, but at the clausal level and the unreleased phone is a voiced plosive unlike voiceless plosives in Santali and the unreleased stop is not phonemic in Malto. None of the previous works on Malto have observed this morphophonemic adjustment. Hence I suggest that this is a recent phenomenon due to extensive contact with Santali speakers.

8.3 Lexical Borrowing

Malto has borrowed words from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, namely Hindi, Bangla and Oriya. Lexical borrowings include nouns, verbs, adverbs (*ekḍam* 'suddenly', *pahle* 'before'), modal auxiliaries (section 8.3.2.3) and function words like co-ordinators (section 8.3.2.2), emphatic particle (section 8.3.2.1) and relative particle (section 7.2.2.2). However, unlike the literary languages in the Dravidian family Malto does not use Sanskrit roots to form new words in the language. In the case of numerals and classifiers a whole word class is borrowed. Malto also has a systematic process of incorporating borrowed words as verb stems in the language (section 3.4.2).

8.3.1 Numeral System

Dravidian languages typically use a decimal numeral system. Due to their proximity to the languages of Eastern India, Malto adopted the vigesimal numeral system which was used until recently. Reddy (2005) quotes Zide (1978) and Bhattacharya (1975) as having argued for the vigesimal system to be a proto-Munda feature. The vigesimal system went on to become an areal feature of Central and Eastern India languages. Adivasi Oriya and Sadri of the Indo-Aryan group; Malto, Kuvi, Manda, Gondi and Konda of the Dravidian group (Reddy 2005) all adopted this counting system. The present day Malto speakers have come full circle in using the decimal number system. My consultants claim that only the elders in the community use the vigesimal system. It is interesting to note that although the system may be a proto-Munda feature, the lexical items used to represent the numerals are all Indo-Aryan, as shown in the Table below, up to *unnis* 'nineteen';

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'twenty' is *ek koɖi*. Data provided by Doerse (1884:21-23) shows that the vigesimal system blends with the decimal system to express numerals beyond two hundred where the hundreds and thousands are expressed in the decimal system and lower numerals are expressed in the vigesimal system.

(8-4)

caːr sau ek koɖi solah
four hundred one twenty sixteen

Four hundred and thiry six.   **Doerse**

English	Hindi/Malto (decimal)	Malto (vigesimal)	English	Hindi/Malto (decimal)	Malto (vigesimal)
One	ek	ek	Sixteen	solah	solah
Two	ɖo	ɖo	Seventeen	saʈrah	saʈrah
Three	ʈiːn	ʈiːn	Eighteen	aʈʈarah	aʈʈarah
Four	caːr	caːr	Nineteen	unnis	unnis
Five	paːncʰ	paːncʰ	Twenty	biːs	ek koɖi
Six	ce	ce	Thirty	ʈis	ek koɖi ɖas
Seven	saːʈ	saːʈ	Forty	calis	ɖo koɖi
Eight	aːʈ	aːʈ	Fifty	pacas	ɖo koɖi ɖas
Nine	nau	nau	Sixty	saːʈ	ʈiːn
Ten	ɖas	ɖas	Seventy	saʈʈar	ʈiːn koɖi ɖas
Eleven	gyarah	gyarah	Eighty	assi	caːr
Twelve	barah	barah	Ninety	nabbe	caːr koɖi ɖas
Thirteen	ʈerah	ʈerah	Hundred	(ek) sau	paːncʰ koɖi ɖas
Fourteen	couɖah	couɖah	Thousand	(ek) hajaːr	ek hajaːr
Fifteen	panɖrah	panɖrah			

Table 8.1
Note: The vigesimal terms are based on Doerse (1884) and rephonemecised.

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The Proto-Dravidian root *on for the number one is used when this number is employed

to function as an adjective.

(8-4) cevɾ oɾʈ   pelḍ kecaːḍ

cevɾ   oɾʈ   pelḍ   ke-c-aːḍ
yesterday   one   girl   die-pst-3sg.nm

A girl has died yesterday.   **Elicitation**

Numbers one and two can also be expressed as suffixes /-onḍ/ and /-s/ respectively,

which attach to classifiers (sections 2.4.7 and 8.4.1). The suffix for one reflects the Pro-

Dravidian root *on- (Krishnamutri 2003:262), but the origins of the suffix for two is

unknown.

(8-6) maonḍ kisḍu

ma.a-onḍ   kis-ḍu
clf-one   pig-nom.nm

One pig   **Elicitation**

(8-7) ʈeʈs ʈeːʈḍu

ʈeʈ-s   ʈeːʈ-ḍu
clf-two   hand-nom.nm

Two hands   **Elicitation**

8.3.2 Function words

One of the most basic predications of language change is that vocabulary is borrowed before structure and non-basic vocabulary is borrowed before basic vocabulary (Thomason 2001). Malto has borrowed several function words from Hindi and uses them in free variation with the existing Malto words. However the phones are adapted to suit the phonemic grid of Malto.

8.3.2.1 Emphatic particles

The Hindi emphatic particle *hi* is often used in Malto and so is its reduced form /–i/ that gets cliticised to the word or clause that is being emphasised. However, the Malto emphatic particle /se/ is also used in free variation.

(8-8) hani ha maḍu paharonṭiː ʔaman ʔonoṭ ʔekiyaːd

hani	ha	maḍu	paharonṭ-iː	ʔama-nʔon-oṭ	
then	dem.dst	buffalo	immediately-emp	water-acc	drink-inf

ʔek-iy-aːḍ
go-pst-3sg.nm

Then, that buffalo went to drink water immediately.   **Story3**

(8-9) hani aːaːḍ ha ʔoḍ-ik hi hoceki suɾlin ṭeyaː

hani	aːaːḍ	ha	ʔoḍ-ik	hi	hoce-k-i	suɾlin	ṭey-aː
Then	crow	that	house-loc	emp	take-rp-3sg.nm	flute	leave-imp

Then, that crow took the flute and left it in the same house.   **Story3**

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(8-10) hikni se ko paṭa mala

hikni	se	ko	paṭa	mala
how	emp	adv	know	neg

(I /we) don't know how. **Village**

8.3.2.2 Co-ordinators

Malto borrows co-ordinating conjunctions from Hindi. The Hindi co-ordinator *aur* 'and'

appears in its Malto form as /aːr, aːro , avro/ (example 8-11) and the co-ordinator *yaː*

'or' is unaltered as shown in example (8-12).

(8-11) cilaḍ ṭeho banaːraː aːr giḍḍaḍ ṭamboko banaːraːḍ

cila-ḍ	ṭeho	ban-aːraː	aːr	gidda-ḍ
vulture-nom-nm	mother	became-vrb-3sg.nm	and	eagle-nom.nm

ṭamboko ·	ban-aːɾ-aːḍ
father	became-vrb-3sg.nm

The vulture became the mother and the eagle became the father. **Story2**

(8-12) juḍuː²⁵ yaː malaːr keyno ho haːhi baːhaːk hekoṭi manaː

juḍuː yaː	malaː-r	key-no	ho	haːhi	baːhaː-k	hek-oṭi	manaː
Judu or	men-nom.pl	die-adv	add	3sg.m-gen	near-dat	go-inf	ban

(For) Judu or when someone dies too, going to him is banned. **Panchayat**

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[25] 'Judu' is social practice of sharing the material possessions of the deceased. This is a Santali custom where the entire village participates.

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8.3.2.3 Modal Auxiliaries

Modal auxiliaries to express desire (*cah*) (section 5.3.4), ability (*par*) (section 5.3.3) and

requirement (*lag*) have been borrowed into Malto from Hindi.

(8-13) lenḍah anḍroṭ cahiḍaːh

lenḍ-ah	anḍ-ɾ-oṭ	cah-i-ḍ-aːh
infant-nom	sleep-dtr-inf	want-ep-prs-3sg.m

The infant wants to sleep.   **Elicitation**

(8-14) hekno kam-se-kam cʰa[26] gʰanṭa lagiːḍ

hek-no	kam-se-kam	cʰa	gʰanṭa	lag-iːḍ
go-adv	at_least	six	hour	need-3sg.nm

It takes at least six hours to go (there).   **Panchayat**

We must note that except for *hekno,* all the other words in example (8-14) are borrowed

from Hindi. However, my consultant insisted that he was speaking in perfect Malto,

"unlike the school going kids"!

It is important to note that it is less tightly bound functional words which have been

borrowed into Malto. The emphatic particle, the co-ordinator and the auxiliaries stand as

independent word following Hindi, rather than being affixes as they are in Dravidian

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[26] Numerals can have stylistics variants like *cʰa* for *ce* ‚six' and *ḍu* for *ḍo* ‚two'. The numerals listed in Table 8.1 follows standard Hindi numerals and the stylistic variation in speech follows the regional dialects of Hindi.

languages. Thomason (2001) notes that 'inflectional morphology is hardest to borrow, because its component parts fit into a whole that is small, self–contained and highly organised.'

8.4 Structural Borrowings

8.4.1 Classifiers

Malto is unique among the Dravidian languages in that it uses numeral classifiers to express plurality in non-human nouns. Plurality in human nouns is encoded by a morphological marker. This feature is an influence of the eastern Indo-Aryan languages, Bangla and Oriya. The range covered by the Malto numeral classifiers is much more elaborate than the ones in Bangla and Oriya. The classifiers express a combination of qualities like dimension and animacy. It is not just the system of classifiers that is borrowed, but the various words that function as classifiers in Malto are also borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages (IA) namely Hindi, Bangla and Oriya. Only *goṭ, jan* and

kanḍ function as classifiers in Esatern Indo-Aryan languages. It is also interesting to note

that borrowed words for classifiers are used in Malto only as function words and have lost their lexical meaning. Besides the above-mentioned classifiers, Malto also uses unique classifiers to describe some nouns like body parts. See Table 2.4 for an example. The following Table shows the lexical meaning of the borrowed form and compares it to the class of objects it specifies as a classifier in Malto.

Classifier	Description	Word in IA (Bangla and Oriya)	Meaning in IA languages
jan	Human	jan	people
guʈ	Miscellaneous quantifiable objects	goʈ	whole objects
panḍa	Long, flexible objects	pʰanḍa	noose, network of ropes
paʈa	Flat, broad, thin, flexible objects	paʈʈa	leaf
kaʈi	Long, small, rigid, objects	kaʈʰi	stick, twig
ḍaḍa	Long, large, rigid objects	ḍanḍa	baton
paʈa	Flat, broad, flexible objects	paʈa	board

Table 8.2

The structure of a numeral phrase is:

Number + classifier + noun

(8-15) ḍas paʈa kaʈan banaʈarḍaːm

ḍas	paʈa	kaʈa-n	bana-ʈar-ḍ-aːm
ten	clf	cot-acc	make-caus-prs-2pl

You are making ten cots.   **Elicitation**

For more examples see (2-28), (2-66), (2-67), (2-68).

During my field work with the Pahariyas in Godda district, Jarkhand, I observed that the younger generation used fewer classifiers than the older generation. The more commonly

used tokens are *jan*, *guṭ* and *ma.a*. For a detailed discussion of Malto numeral classifiers

see Mahapatra (1997). For a detailed discussion of Bangla classifiers see Bandhopadyay

(1999) and Sahoo (1996) for Oriya. The status of classifiers as a grammatical class of

words is explained with examples in section 2.4.7.

8.4.2 Inflectional Morphology

The Pahariyas have only recently been exposed to written material in Malto. I noticed

that my consultants tend to separate some function words that would usually be written as

suffixes in other Dravidian languages like the negatives from the verb. The negative

appears as an independent word when written, although it is articulated as one

intonational unit. Given the agglutinative morphology of Dravidian languages, one would

expect the verb and the negative particle to be strung together. On the contrary, Malto

follows Hindi in separating its verbs and negative words when the whole clause is to be

negated. However Malto also has negative suffixes to express verbal negation. For a

detailed discussion on negative forms in Malto see Chapter 6. A similar case is that of

copular verbs discussed in section 8.4.4. Hence, I propose that Malto speakers are

adapting the orthographic convention that is closer to Hindi.

8.4.3 Reciprocal Suffix

The reciprocal morpheme */-nah/* is the only case where a borrowed word is used as a

suffix. The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Burrow & Emeneau 1984) lists *naqe*

[DED 3571] 'to act or be one to another' as a word belonging only to the two North

Dravidian languages Malto and Kurukh. Both these languages are dominated by Hindi. In Hindi the word *nakal* means 'copy' or 'duplicate'. I have explained in section 4.3 about the process of compound word contraction and how valence adjusting suffixes are derived in Malto. It is unusual for languages to borrow derivational morphology (Thomason 2001). Hence I deduce that *nakal* was borrowed to function as an auxiliary in a compound verb and at a later stage was reduced to function as a reciprocal suffix */-nah/*.

(8-16) ʈaːɖin honɖaːkaːɾ jajnahnaːɾ

ʈaːɖi-n   hon-ɖ-aː-k-aːɾ   jaj-nah-n-aːɾ
liquor-acc   dink-sf-ep-rp-3pl.h   fght-recp-prs-3pl.h

They drink liquor and fight.   **Village**

8.4.4 Copula constructions

Krishnamutri (2003:29), in his typological profile of Dravidian languages, notes that "sentences with nominal predicates are equative sentences which lack the copula or verb 'to be' in most languages." Dravidian languages like Kannada and Telugu, that have been historically influenced by Sanskrit have copula constructions and so do languages like Malto that are dominated by Hindi in the present day situation. The copular verbal form in languages like Kannada can be suffixed to the nominal predicate and agree with the subject of the clause (example 8-17). However this is not possible in Malto. Instead it follows Hindi structure for copula constructions where the copula verb is an independent verb (example 8-19). The copula constructions in Malto are discussed in section 3.5.2.

(8-17) naːnu cennaːgiḍḍaːne

naːnu   cenn-aːgi-ir-ḍ-iːni
1sg   fine-adj-be-prs-1sg.m

I am fine.   **Kannada**

(8-18) mɛ accʰa hũ

mɛ   accʰa   hũ
1sg   fine   be.1sg

I am fine.   **Hindi**

(8-19) eːn eːḍu meniːn

eːn   eːḍu   men-i-iːn
1sg   fine   be-prs-1sg

I am fine.   **Elicitation**

8.4.5 GIVE as an explicator to express completive aspect

Malto uses *ci* 'give' (example 8-20) as the explicator verb to express the completive

aspect following a similar structure in Hindi (example 8-21). Most Dravidian languages

like Kannada use the verb *koḍu* 'give' (example 8-22) to express benefaction.

(8-20) jalaḍ baksaːn uḍca cicaːḍ

jala-ḍ   baksaː-n   uḍ-c-a   ci-c-aːḍ
Jala-nom.nm   box-acc   fill-pst-cp   GIVE-pst-3sg.nm

Jala filled-up the box.   **Elicitation**

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(8-21) jalane ʈokri bʰar ɖiya

jala-ne	ʈokri	bʰar	ɖiya
Jala-erg	basket	fill	GIVE.pst

Jala filled-up the basket.   **Hindi**

(8-22) nange haːɖalu kalisi koɖu

nan-ge	haːɖ-alu	kali-is-i	koɖ-u
1sg-gen	sing-inf	learn-caus-cp	GIVE-sg.imp

Teach me to sing   **Kannada**

8.4.6 Ablative as comparative suffix

Malto marks the noun phrase functioning as a source with the ablative suffix (example 8-23). The object of comparison (example 8-24) in a comparative construction is marked in the same way. Only North Dravidian languages have the ablative case marking functioning as the marker of comparison, all other Dravidian languages have comparative suffixes that are different from the ablative suffix (Krishnamutri 2003:238). However, Hindi has a similar structure where the ablative case marking (example 8-25) and the comparative particle (example 8-26) are the same morpheme and hence I argue that North Dravidian languages have acquired this feature due to contact with Indo-Aryan languages.

(8-23) moɖenʈi haːɾhi fiɾ ʈinaː paːsaːno guraːɾoʈi meni

moɖ-enʈi	haːɾ-hi	fiɾ	ʈinaː	paːsaː-no	guɾ-aːɾ-oʈi	meni
turn-abl	again-emp	again	left	side-loc	turn-vrb-inf	oblig

One has to again turn to the left from the turning.   **Directions**

(8-24) beɖo maenʈi saɾveɖ apiyaːɖ

beɖ-o ma.a-enʈi saɾve-ɖ ap-iy-aːɖ
big-adj animal-comp small-nom.nm watch-pst-3sg.nm

The one smaller than the big animal watched. **Story C3**

(8-25) vahã se baye muʈna hoːgaː

vahã se baye muʈ-na hoːgaː
there abl left turn-nom oblig

One has to turn to the left from there. **Hindi**

(8-26) us se cʰoʈene nigɾaːni ɾakʰaː

us se cʰoʈe-ne nigɾaːni ɾakʰ-aː
dem.dst comp small-erg vigil keep-pst

The one younger than that one, watched. **Hindi**

8.5 Conclusion

There have been several instances where contact induced language changes have been discussed with reference to languages belonging to two different language families. In a multi-lingual milieu like India, it is often observed that people are familiar with languages that belong to about three different language families. I have attempted to argue through this chapter that such interactions often define a hierarchy in terms of the influence they exert on one another. The duration of contact is also a key factor in measuring the level of language change.

Appendix : Texts

Text 1 is an essay by one of the younger Malto speakers and Text 2 is a narrative from one of my middle-aged consultants. The borrowed words in both the texts are in bold face to frequency of borrowing. Text 3 is a story from another of my younger speakers who has hardly ever travelled anywhere beyond the nearest town.

Text 1: My Village

This text was written as an essay by my consultant Pulak Mathur and then narrated in free speech. In this essay Pulak shares his feelings about his village.

01 eng epki **naːmiːd̪** aŋgvaːli, **paːre** gumbaːɖo id̪ki pace **naːmiːd̪**

eng	ep-ki	naːmiː-d̪	aŋgvaːli	paːre	gumbaːɖo	id̪-ki
1sg	village-gen	name-nom.nm	Angvali	but	Gumbado	dem.prx-gen

pace	naːmiː-d̪
old	name-nom.nm

My village's name is Angvali, but its old name is Gumbado.

02 aːr id̪ caːri t̪olad̪, d̪u t̪olad̪ aɾhi maleɾki, **aːru** d̪u t̪olad̪ sont̪aleɾki

aːr	id̪	caːri	t̪ola-d̪,	d̪u	t̪ola-d̪	ar-hi	mal-er-ki,
and	dem.prx	four	colony-nom.nm	two	colony-nom.nm	and-emp	man-pl-gen

aːru	d̪u	t̪ola-d̪	sont̪al-er-ki
and	two	colony-nom.nm	santal-pl-gen

And, these are four colonies, two colonies are of Pahariyas and two colonies are of Santals.

03 goʈ ʈolaḍiː saɾuli ep duɾeḍ

goʈ	ʈola-ḍ-iː		saɾuli	ep	duɾ-eḍ
all	colony-nom-emp		small	village	appear-3sg.nm

All colonies are small villages.

04 aːɾ iː epan goʈ pijʈenʈihi **pahaḍiḍ** beḍcaːyiːḍ

aːɾ	iː	ep-an	goʈ	pijʈ-enʈi-hi	pahaḍi-ḍ	beḍ-caː-yi-iːḍ
and	dem.prx	village-acc	all	side-abl-emp	hill-nom.nm	surround-prf-prs-3sg.nm

And, hills surround this village on all sides.

05 ʈʰik aːgaḍ pijiḍ gaḍsingla **pahaḍiḍ**

ʈʰik	aːga-ḍ	pijiḍ	gaḍsingla	pahaḍi-ḍ
right	front-nom.nm	side	Garsingla	hill-nom.nm

Right in front is the Garsingla hill.

06 iː pahaḍino **jʰaɾna** voho beyi

iː	pahaḍi-no	jʰaɾna	vo-ho	bey-i
dem.prx	hill-loc	waterfall	too-add	be-3sg.nm

On this hill, there is a waterfall too.

07 haḍinʈi hamḍu epik baɾi

haḍ-inʈi	ham-ḍu	ep-ik	baɾ-i
dem.dst-abl	water-nom.nm	village-dat	come-3sg.nm

Water comes to the village from there.

08 iː epno panonḍ **iskulaḍ** ho hokiḍ

iː	ep-no	pan-onḍ	iskul-aḍ	ho	hok-iḍ
dem.prx	village-loc	clf-one	school-nom.nm	add	sit-3sg.nm

In this village, there is a school too.

09 maaːɾ haḍo **paḍinaːɾ**

maaː-ɾ	haḍo	paḍ-i-n-aːɾ
child-pl.nom	there	study-ep-ps-3pl.h

Children study there.

10 **kicḍin ho baːʈinaːɾ**

kicḍi-n	ho	baːʈ-i-n-aːɾ
Kichdi-acc	add	distribute-ep-prs-3p.h

They distribute Kichdi[27] too.

11 iː epinʈi **beḍo bajarek** hekoʈi gaːḍa **muʃkilaːḍ**

iː	ep-inʈi	beḍo	bajar-ek	hekoʈi	gaːḍa	muʃkil-aːḍ
dem.prx	village-abl	big	market-dat	go-inf	very	difficult-3sg.nm

It is very difficult to go from this village to the big bazaar.

12 inḍro **jaise..** goḍḍak hekoʈ ho **moʈehi** panonḍi **bas calaɾiː**

inḍro	jaise	goḍḍa-k	hek-oʈ	ho	moʈehi	pan-onḍ-i	bas	cal-aːɾ-iː
this	like	Godda-dat	go-inf	too	almost	clf-one-emp	bus	un-vrb-3sg.nm

Like…Only one bus runs to go to Godda.

---

[27] Kichdi is a delicacy that is made of rice cooked lentils and vegetables.

13 **panɖra ʈaka baːɖa**

panɖra	ʈaka	baːɖa
fifteen	rupees	ticket_price

Fifteen rupees ticket price.

14 **maonɖi hekiɖ aːr beɖiʈ bariː**

maonɖ-i	hek-iɖ	aːr	beɖiʈ	bar-iː
morning-emp	go-3sg.nm	and	evening	come-3sg.nm

It goes in the morning and comes back in the evening.

15 **aːr enge epno besi malar keʈaːn kuɖnaːr**

aːr	eng-e	ep-no	besi	malar	keʈaː-n	kuɖ-n-aːr
and	1sg-gen	village-loc	many	people	field-acc	work-prs-3pl.h

And many people in my village work in the field.

16 **keʈaːn kuɖnaːr aɖenʈi bernin ho kuɖnaːr**

keʈaː-n	kuɖ-n-aːr	aɖ-enʈi	berni-n	ho	kuɖ-n-aːr
field-acc	work-prs-3sg.nm	there-abl	manual_labour-acc	add	work-prs-3sg.nm

They work in the fields and also work as manual labour.

17 **ʈaɖin ho biʈnaːr**

ʈaɖi-n	ho	biʈ-n-aːr
liquor-acc	add	brew-prs-3sg.nm

They also brew alcohol.

18 aɖenṭi **ek ek ɖina** ṭaɖin honɖaːkaːr jajanaʔnaːr ho, mala

aɖ-enṭi	ek ek	ɖina	ṭaɖ-in	honɖ-aː-k-aːr	jaj-a-naʔ-n-aːr	ho	mala
there-abl	one one	day	liquor-acc	drink-ep-rp-3pl.h	fight-ep-recp-prs-3pl.h	add	NEG

Then, on some days they get drunk and fight as well, isn't it?

19 iː epno **paɖiyu** malar **komiri**

iː	ep-no	paɖ-iy-u	mala-r	komiri
dem.prx	village-loc	study-pst-rel	man-pl	less

In this village, there are very few people who study.

20 aɖenṭi iɖ epno ek **naɖiɖ** ho beyiːɖ

aɖ-enṭi	iɖ	epno	ek	naɖi-d	ho	bey-iːɖ
dem.dist-abl	dem.prox	village-loc	one	river-nom	too	be-3sg.nm

Then, in this village, there is a river too.

21 iː **naɖin** paːnɖukunɖa **naɖiɖ** anɖaːm

iː	naɖi-n	paːnɖukunɖa	naɖi-ɖ	an-ɖ-aːm
dem.prx	river-acc	Pandukunda	river-nom.nm	say-prs-1pl

We call this river, "River Pandukunda".

22 haɖinṭi hamɖu epik bariː

haɖ-inṭi	ham-ɖu	ep-ik	bar-iː
dem.dst-abl	water-nom.nm	village-dat	come-3sg.nm

The water comes to the village from that place.

23 em epaːvaːɾ **ḍas saːl pahle bahuṭ** eːḍu menjaːr, nek eːḍu menjaːr

em	epaːvaːɾ	ḍas	saːl	pahle	bahuṭ	eːḍu	men-j-aːr
1pl	villagers	ten	year	before	very	good	be-sf-3pl.h

nek	eːḍu	men-j-aːr
very	good	me-sf-3pl.h

Our villagers were very good ten years ago, they were very good.

24 **paːɾe** inoɾ aː saba mala

paːɾe	inoɾ	aː	saba	mala
but	now	dem.dst	case	neg

But that is not the case now.

25 goʈuɾki inoɾ **moneḍ ṭʰoḍa ganḍa** leharaḍ

goʈ-uɾ-ki	inoɾ	mone-ḍ	ṭʰoḍa	ganḍa	leh-aːɾ-aːḍ
all-rel-gen	now	mind-nom.nm	little	dirty	become-vrb-3sg.nm

Now, everyone's mind has become a little dirty.

26 nekki se nekki, hikni se ko **paṭa** mala

nek-ki	se	nek-ki	hikni	se	ko	paṭa	mala
who-gen	emp	who-gen	how	emp	adv	know	neg

Who, how, ...don't know (it happened).

27 ṭaḍiḍi goṭṭeɾin ḍagɾesiyaːḍ ʃaːyaḍ eːnu huglaːɾin

ṭaḍi-ḍ-i	goṭṭ-eɾ-in	ḍagɾ-es-iy-aːd	ʃaːyaḍ	eːn-u	hugl-aːɾ-in
liquor-3sg.nm-emp	all-pl.h-acc	spoil-tr-pst-3sg.nm	perhaps	1sg-en	think-vrb-1sg

I think that maybe liquor has spoilt everyone.

28 eŋge epki kiʈeno nek jaɽaɖu beyiː

eŋg-e	ep-ki	kiʈe-no	nek	jaɽa-ɖu	bey-iː
1sg.gen	village-gen	near-loc	lot	jungle-nom	be-3sg.nm

There is lot of jungle near my village.

29 **aːvɽo** aɖno kisaɖ ho ɖoki

aːvɽo	aɖ-no	kisa-ɖ	ho	ɖok-i
and	dem.dst-loc	pig-nom.nm	add	be-3sg.nm

And, pigs also live in it.

30 enge epki aɽgber piji **pahaɖi** beyiɖ, heʈber piji ho

eng-e	ep-ki	aɽgber	piji	pahaɖi	bey-iɖ,	heʈber	piji	ho
1sg-dat	village-gen	east	side	hill	be-3sg.nm	west	side	add

There are hills to the east of our village and to the west too.

31 canɖana piji ɽiːkbini **pahaɖi** beyi

canɖana	piji	ɽiːkbini	pahaɖi	bey-i
Chandana	side	small	hill	be-3sg.nm

There are smaller hills towards Chandana.

32 eng eplokaːɽ hoyaːn, heɖaːn eːɽaːn aːɽ kisan ho posinaːɽ

eng	ep-lokaːɽ	hoy-aːn	heɖ-aːn	eːɽ-aːn	aːɽ	kisa-n	ho	pos-i-n-aːɽ
1sg	village-people	cow-acc	goat-acc	hen-acc	and	pig-acc	too	rear-ep-prs-3pl.h

The people of my village also rear cows, goats, hens and pigs.   **Village**

33 kucoḍ ho ḍoki

kuco-ḍ   ho   ḍok-i
dog-3sg.nm   add   be-3sg.nm

Dogs are also there.

34 maːaː aːpiːḍ aːr hahaḍek ho hekiḍ

maːaː   aːp-iːḍ   aːr   hahaḍ-ek   ho   hek-iḍ
night   watch-3sg.nm   and   hunt-dat   add   go-3sg.nm

They keeps vigil at night and go for the hunt too.

35 eːn iː epno hi jarmaːrayiːn

eːn   iː   ep-no   hi   jarm-aːr-a-yi-iːn
1sg   dem.prx   village-loc   emp   born-vrb-ep-prs-1sg

I was born in this village only.

36 haː lagca ka enge iḍo eḍuḍ hi aci

haː   lagcaka   eng-e   iḍo   eḍu-ḍ   hi   ac-i
dem.dst   reason   1sg-dat   here   good-nom.nm   emp   feel-3sg.nm

That is why I like it here.

37 em epno maleriya, kalajar, ṭibi rogeḍ beyiː

em   ep-no   maleriya,   kalajar   ṭibi   roge-ḍ   bey-iː
1pl   village-loc   Malaria   Kalazar   TB   disease-nom.nm   be-3sg.nm

There are Malaria, Kalaazar and TB diseases, in our village.

38 e:ɖu **ɖa:kɖara:ɾ** beyoɾ

e:ɖu ɖa:kɖaɾ-a:-ɾ bey-o-ɾ
good doctor-ep-pl be-neg-3pl.h

There are no good doctors.

39 malaɾ ho **ɾogekin ilaj** nanṭɾomalaɾ, hanise **roga:ɖ** hongɾomala

malaɾ   ho ɾog-ek-in   ilaj   nan-ṭɾ=omala-ɾ, hanise roga:-ɖ
people   too disease-dat-acc treatment do-caus=neg-3pl.h so disease-nom

hong-ɾ=omalà
stop-dtr=neg

People also don't get treatment for the disease and so the disease doesn't stop.

40 hanojaha **a:sɾa** ṭo beyi:

hano-jaha a:sɾa ṭo   bey-i:
yet-indef hope   indef be-3sg.nm

Yet there is hope at least.

41 baɾiɖ ha: **samaye**no goṭṭeɖi man manṭe e:ɖu lehaɾeniɖ

baɾ-iɖ   ha: samaye-no goṭṭe-ɖ-i   man   man-ṭe   e:ɖu
come-3sg.nm   dem.dst   time-loc   all-nom.nm-emp slow   slow-adj good

leh-a:ɾ-en-iɖ
become-vrb-fut-3sg.nm

Everything will slowly become good in the days to come.

42 yehi inonḍ **hi** se, em epki, gumbaḍo epki **bareno** avḍtaːn

ye-hi	inond		hi	se	em	ep-ki	gumbaḍo	ep-ki
dem.prx-emp	this_much		emp	emp	1pl	village-dat	Gombado	village-dat

bare-no	avḍ-ṭ-aːn
about-loc	speak-pst-1sg

This is it, this is what I have said about my village, Gumbado village.

Text 2

This text is a transcription of Rameshwar Pahariya's narration about rituals and festivals related to harvest that are observed by the Pahariya community.

1 haːɖen hem saːsiːn, gaːngiːn caːgɖaːm

haːɖ-en	hem	saːsiː-n	gaːngiː-n	caːg-ɖ-aːm
dem.dst-acc	1pl	sapling-acc	corn-acc	sow-prs-1pl

We sow that, the crop, maize.

2 caːgno haːɖinʈi baːɖ menid

caːg-no	haːɖ-inʈi	baːd	men-id
sow-cond	dem.dst-abl	after	happen-3pl.n

After we sow, it happens.

3 haːɖin tʰoɖa moʔalaːh haːleko menno, gaːngiːki ɖehʈaːn **pehle hafʈaːh kiː, ɖu hafʈaːh ki pahle** ninjaːri nanɖaːm

haːɖ-in	tʰoɖa	moʔa-laːh	haːle-ko	men-no	gaːngiː-ki	ɖehʈaː-n
dem.dst-acc	little	eat-adj	worth-adv	be-cond	corn-gen	auspicious time-acc

pehle	hafʈaːh	kiː,	ɖu	hafʈaːh	pahle	ninjaːri
first	week	of	two	week	before	invitation

nan-ɖ-aːm
do-prs-1pl

When it becomes edible, a week or two before the auspicious time for the corn, we do invitations.

4 ninjaːriː nankaːm bevaːn uʈaːʈaraːkaːm, haːḍinʈe **baːḍu** kuɾiː ʈʰaːnek baɾcaːkaːm, kuɾi kuʈino aḍiḍaːm

ninjaːriː	nan-k-aːm	bevaː-n	uʈaː-ʈaɾ-aː-k-aːm	haːḍ-inʈe	baːḍu	kuɾiː
invitation	do-rp-1pl	donation-acc	raise-caus-ep-rp-1pl	dem.dst-abl	after	ritual

ʈʰaːn-ek	baɾ-caː-k-aːm	kuɾi	kuʈi-no	aḍi-ḍ-aːm
place-dat	come-prf-rp-1pl	ritual	altar-loc	worship

Having done invitations and raised donations, after that we come to the ritual place and worship at the altar.

5 bevaːn huːjaːkaːm... haːɾo gaːngi aḍyano hinḍra –hisahanḍu, khajaːḍi hinonḍihiː laːgiːḍ, gaːngi aḍyano

bevaː-n	huːjaː-k-aːm	haːɾo	gaːngi	aḍya-no	hinḍra	hisahan-ḍu
donation-acc	collect-rp-1pl	and	corn	worship-loc	what	oil-nom

khajaːḍi	hinonḍi-hiː	laːg-iːd	gaːngi	aḍya-no
puffed rice	this much-emp	require-3pl	corn	worship-loc

Having collected donations….and what…oil, puffed rice it all that is required in Corn worship.

6 haḍinʈe **baːḍ** heːm hiḍo kuɾi kuʈino aḍyakaːm, aḍyakaːm se henge-menge hoḍuhno **apna-apni** aḍiḍaːm

haḍ-inʈe	baːd	heːm	hiḍo	kuɾi	kuʈi-no	aḍya-k-aːm
dem.dst-abl	after	1pl	here	ritual	altar-loc	worship-rp-1pl

aḍyakaːm	se	henge-menge	hoḍuh-no	apna-apni	aḍiḍaːm
worship-rp-1pl	emp	1pl-dat	house-loc	ourselves	worship-prs-1pl

After that, only having worshipped here at the altar, do we worship at each of our houses.

7 aɖyakaːm haɖinṭe **baːɖu apna-apna** moʔeɾik cino haːɖenṭe moʔoṭ-lapoṭi ʃuɾu naṇɖaːm

aɖyakaːm	haɖ-inṭe baːɖu	apna-apna	maːeɾ-ik	ci-no
worship-rp-1pl	dem.dst-abl after	our-our	children-dat	give-cond

haːɖ-enṭe	moʔ-oṭ-lap-oṭi	ʃuɾu	nan-ɖ-aːm
there-abl	eat-inf-eat-inf	start	do-prs-1pl

Having worshipped, after that, when we have given to our children, from there we start eating.

8 haṇɖaː haːɖinṭe **baːɖ** hongɾiːd

haṇɖaː	haːɖ-inṭe baːɖ	hong-ɾ-iːd
thereupon	dem.dst-abl after	finish-dtr-3pl

Thereupon, then it stops after that.

9 haṇɖaː osɾaːn **jo** maṇɖɖaːm..... cuɖi osaɾ-aɖya

haṇɖaː	osɾaː-n jo	mand-ɖ-aːm	cuɖi	osaɾ-aɖya
thereupon	grain-acc that	plant-prs-1pl	later	grain-worship

Thereupon the grain that we plant........and then grain worship.

10 hinnoɾ iː **sameyeno** osaɾ aɖiyeno, he, he baɾcaːnaːɾ, heme haːkim lokaːɾ

hinnoɾ	iː	samey-e-no	osaɾ	aɖiy-e-no	he	he	baɾc-a-an-aːɾ
now	dem.prx	time-ep-loc	grain	worship-ep-loc	who	who	come-prf-prs-3pl

hem-e	haːkim	lokaːɾ
1pl.dat	officer	people

Now, at this time of grain worship, those who have come, are our officers.

11 haːɖno heme osaɾ adyeno maoṇɖ heɖaːn ṭaːlɖaːm **aːɾo** maːoṇɖ eɾaː ṭaːlɖaːm

haːɖ-no	hem-e	osaɾ	ady-e-no	ma.a-oṇɖ heɖaː-n	ṭaːl-ɖ-aːm
dem.dst-loc	1pl.dat	grain	worship-ep-loc	clf-one goat-acc	sacrifice-prs-1pl

aːɾo	ma.a-ond	eɾaː	ṭaːl-ɖ-aːm
and	clf-one	hen	sacrifice-prs-1pl

In that, in our grain worship, we sacrifice a goat and we sacrifice a hen.

12 ʈalcaːkaːm hiɖo aɖyakaːm, haːɖinʈi **baːɖ** kiɾkaːm hoɖuhno **apna ɖevʈaːn mānaːʈaɾaːkaːm kuɖɖaːm**

ʈal-caː-k-aːm	hiɖo	aɖya-k-aːm	haːɖ-inʈi	baːd	kiɾ-k-aːm
sacrifice-prf-rp-1pl	here	worship-rp-1pl	there-abl	after	return-rp-1pl

hoɖuh-no	apna	ɖevʈaː-n	manaː-ʈaɾ-aː-k-aːm	kuɖ-ɖ-aːm
house-loc	our	god-acc	please-caus-ep-rp-1pl	do-prs-1pl

Having sacrificed and having worshipped here, having returened to our houses after that, we please our Gods.

13 haːɖkin, aɖyakaːm maːeɾik ciɖaːm **havɾo** hem ho moaɖaːm

haːɖ-ki-in	aɖya-k-aːm	maːeɾ-ik	ci-ɖ-aːm	havɾo	hem	ho
dem.dst-gen-acc	worship-rp-1pl	children-dat	give-prs-1pl	and	1pl	add

moa-ɖ-aːm
eat-prs-1pl

Having worshipped them, we give (it) to our children and we eat (it) too.

14 haːɖinʈi baːɖ osɾ aɖya ke baːɖ pun **jo** ʈaːɖi meni, ʈaːʈahʈɾaɖ, pun ʈaːɖiki **naya-naya ciːje** ki, pun ʈaɖiki....

haːɖ-inʈi	baːd	osɾ	aɖya	ke	baːd	pun	jo	ʈaːɖi
dem.dst-abl	after	grain	worship	of	after	new	that	liquor

men-i	ʈaːʈah-ʈɾad	pun	ʈaːɖi-ki	naya-naya	ciːje	pun	ʈaɖi-ki
be-3sg.nm	mango-etc	new	liquor-dat	new-new	things	new	liquor-dat

After that, after the grain worship, the liquor that is new, mangoes, new liquor, of new things, of new liquor...

15 ha: pun ʈaɖino ho hem ha:nɖekihi ʈunuhra:ka:m, beva:n huja:ka:m ha: heno
pesa:, heno **kharca:**, era: **ha:vro** ha:ɖinʈi **ba:ɖ** heɖa:n ehka:m kuri tʰanek
barca:ka:m aɖiɖa:m

ha:	pun	ʈaɖi-no	ho	hem	ha:nɖeki-hi	ʈun-uhr-a:-k-a:m
dem.dst	new	liquor-loc	add	1pl	similarly-emp	gather-pass-ep-rp-1pl

beva:-n	huja:-k-a:m	ha:	heno	pesa:,	heno	kharca:,
donation-acc	collect-rp-1pl	dem.dst	as much	money	as much	expense

era:	ha:vro	ha:ɖ-inʈi	ba:d	heɖa:-n	eh-k-a:m	kuri
hen	and	dem.dst-abl	after	goat-acc	buy-rp-1pl	ritual

tʰan-ek	bar-ca:-k-a:m	aɖi-d-a:m
place-dat	come-prf-rp-1pl	worship-prs-1pl

In that new liquor (worship) too, we come together and collect donations, having bought
hen and goat for as much money (was collected), and then we come to the ritual place
and worship.

16 aɖyaka:m ha:ɖenʈe ha: ʈa:ɖin honɖa:m

aɖya-k-a:m	ha:ɖ-enʈe	ha:	ʈa:ɖi-n	hon-ɖ-a:m
worship-rp-1pl	there-abl	dem.dst	liquor-acc	drink-prs-1pl

Having worshipped, we drink that liquor.

17 pun ʈaɖino, **ha:vro** ʈaʈahʈra: **a:khri:** jo ʃe:p la:sʈ jo meni ʈaʈahʈra, ʈaʈahʈra:
ha:nɖa:m

pun	ʈaɖi-no	ha:vro	ʈaʈah-ʈra:	a:khri:	jo	ʃe:p
new	liquor-loc	and	mango-etc	final	that	shape

la:sʈ	jo	men-i	ʈaʈah-ʈra	ʈaʈah-ʈra:	ha:n-ɖ-a:m
last	which	be-3sg.nm	mango-etc	mango-etc	say-prs-1pl

·In the new liquor and that final shape of the mango that which is the last one, we call it
Tahtatra.

18 haːɖ ʈaʈahki manki **faslaːn** moʔoʈi lagkaːm haːɖen ʈʰoɖa hi **kʰarcaːrɖaːm**

haːd	ʈaʈah-ki	man-ki		faslaː-n	moʔ-oʈi	lag-k-aːm	haːd̡-en
dem.dst	mango-dat	tree-dat		produce-acc	eat-inf	in order to-rp-1pl	dem.dst-acc

ʈʰoɖa	hi	kʰarc-aːr-d̡-aːm
little	emp	expense-vrb-prs-1pl

Inorder to eat the produce of that mango tree, we spend very little for that.

19 haːɖno ki era ho ʈaːlomanʈaːm **haːro** heɖaːn ho hinɖro ho ʈaːlomanʈaːn **ki**, khajjaːɖiʈ haːro gureʈ haːɖenʈe **dʰuːpkaːʈiʈ haːro gʰumɖaːʈ**.

haːd̡-no	ki	era	ho	ʈaːl-oma-nʈ-aːm	haːro	heɖaː-n
dem.dst-loc	like	hen	add	sacrifice-neg-prs-1pl	and	goat-acc

ho	hinɖro	ho	ʈaːl-oma-nʈ-aːn	ki	khajjaːɖi-t
too	nothing	also	sacrifice-neg-prs-1pl	like	puffed rice-inst

haːro	gureʈ	haːd̡-enʈe	dʰuːpkaːʈi-t	haːro	gʰumɖaː-t
and	sweet	there-abl	incense-inst	and	perfume bark-inst

We do not sacrifice a hen and we do not sacrifice a goat either in that, like...(we worship) with puffed rice and sweet, then incense and perfumed bark.

20 haːʈreʈi seva-ɖeva menjaːkaːm haːvrihi haː mankiːn falɖaːleːn ʈaʈahaːn ki **haːvro-haːvro ciːjaː** meniɖ haːɖen, maːɖgiːn haːɖen hemu lapɖaːm

haːʈr-eʈ-iː	seva-ɖeva	menj-aː-k-aːm	haːvr-i-hi haː	mankiː-n	fal-ɖaːl-eːn
those-inst-emp	worship	do-ep-rp-1pl	and-e-emp	dem.dst	tree-acc	fruit-branch-acc

ʈaʈah-aːn	ki	haːvro-haːvro	ciːjaː	men-iɖ	haːd̡-en	maːɖgiː-n
mango-acc	of	and-and	things	be-3pl.nm	dem.dst-acc	mahua-acc

haːd̡-en	hem-u	lap-d̡-aːm
dem.dst-acc	1pl-en	eat-prs-1pl

Having worshipped with just those (objects) and then we eat the mangoes and Mahua and all the other things.

21 hinond̪ heme saːleno hinond̪ puːjaː paɾve menne **ke baːd̪ hi** hem lapd̪aː mo?ad̪aːm

hinond̪	hem-e	saːle-no	hinond̪	puːjaː	paɾve	men-ne	ke	baːd̪
this much	1pl-dat	year-loc	this much	ritual	festival	happen-cond	of	later

hi	hem	lap-d̪-aː	moa-d̪-aːm
emp	1pl	eat-prs-cp	eat-prs-1pl

Only once we have observed these many rituals and festivals, do we eat.

22 haːd̪ki kuɾi kuʈid̪, hid̪o goʈemiː **jamaːɾd̪aːm**

haːd̪-ki	kuɾi	kuʈi-d̪	hid̪o	goʈemiː	jamaː-ɾ-d̪-aːm
dem.dst-gen	ritual	altar-nom	here	everyone	gather-dtr-prs-1pl

For that ritual altar, everyone gathers here.

23 hid̪ki, epki **samuːhki** hid̪u stʰaːnaːd̪ haːɾ gud̪iʈʰanaːd̪ haː **aːd̪ivaːsi** lokaːɾ havd̪naːɾ haːɾ hem **pahaːɾɪya** lokaːm hid̪en haːvɾo hi kuɾi kuʈid̪ haːnd̪aːm

hid̪-ki	ep-ki	samuːh-ki	hid̪-u	stʰaːnaːd̪	haːɾ	gud̪iʈʰanaːd̪
this-gen	village-gen	community-gen	dem.prx-ep	place	and	worship place

haː	aːd̪ivaːsi	lokaːɾ	havd̪-n-aːɾ	haːɾ	hem
dem.dst	tribal	people	say-prs-3pl	and	1pl

pahaːɾɪya	lokaːm	hid̪-en	haːvɾo	hi	kuɾi
pahariya	people	this-acc	and	dem.prx	ritual

kuʈid̪	haːn-d̪-aːm
altar	say-prs-1pl

For the village community this place and the Adivasis call it Guditthana and we Pahariya people call this Kuri Kuti.

24 hinond̪ihi hid̪no ad̪yaːkaːm se hem coyd̪aː-mo?ad̪aːm

hinond̪i-hi	hid̪-no	ad̪yaː-k-aːm	se	hem
this much-emp	dem.prx-loc	worship-rp-1pl	emp	1pl

coy-d̪aː-moa-d̪-aːm
bite-prs-eat-prs-1pl

Only once we worship this much here, do we eat.

Text 3

This text is a transcription of a story narrated by Chandu Pahariya.

01 maːs oɽo ki kat̪ʰa

maːs	oɽo	ki	kat̪ʰa
bamboo	sapling	dat	story

The story of bamboo sapling.

02 oɽt̪ond̪ t̪ehod̪ aɽan oyot̪ hekiyad̪anu

oɽt̪ond̪	t̪ehod̪	aɽa-n	o-y-ot̪	hek-iy-ad̪-anu
one	mother	bamboo-acc	cut-inf	go-pst-3sg.nm-qot

A mother went to cut bamboo.

03 hani, aɽan maːd̪end̪ osaːd̪an

hani	aɽa-n	maːd̪end̪	o-s-aːd̪-an
then	bamboo-acc	many	cut-pst-3sg.nm-qot

Then, cut lots off bamboo

04 mad̪end̪ ost̪unheki, ostunhad̪, ostunheki hecaːd̪

mad̪end̪	o-s-t̪unh-e-k-i	o-s-tunh-ad̪,	os-tunh-e-k-i
many	cut-pst-collect-ep-rp-3sg.nm	cut-pst-collect-3sg.nm	cut-pst-collect-ep-rp-3sg.nm

hecaːd̪
tie-pst-3sg.nm

Having cut and collect lots, cut and collected, having cut and collected, she tied.

05 maond pakkid ara kumoṭ loḍlaːid, aran kumkiḍakle, maond pakoṭ loḍlaːiːd

maond	pakkid	ara	kumoṭ	loḍ-laː-id,	ara-n
child-nom	carry-rp-3sg.nm	bamboo	pick-inf	able-neg-3sg.nm	bamboo-acc

kum-k-id	maond	pakoṭ	loḍ-laː-iːd
pick-rp-3sg.nm	child-nom	carry-inf	able-neg-3sg.nm

The bamboo cannot be lifted carrying the child, the child cant be carried lifting the bamboo

06 hani hikin nannaːn ṭembr ṭembr maoni kiːdaːni hekan ankid maond kiḍed heki

hani	hikin	nan-n-aːn	ṭembr ṭembr	maoni	kiːd-aːni	hek-an
then	what	do-fut-1sg	well well	child	keep-qot	go-1sg

ankid	maon-d	kid-ed	hek-id
say-rp-3sg.nm	child-nom	keep-3sg.nm	go-3sg.nm

Then, what to do, I may leave the child and go, so saying she went leaving the child

07 kiḍed kumki barcad

kid-ed	kum-k-i	bar-c-ad
keep-3sg.nm	pick-rp-3sg.nm	come-pst-3sg.nm

Having left, she lifted [the load] and came.

08 hani, cilad aːr giḍḍaːd ekḍoki ṭundiyaḍku paharonṭi

hani	cila-d	aːr	giḍḍaː-d	ek-ḍok-i	ṭundiyad	paharonṭi
then	eagle-nom	and	vulture-nom	go-be-3sg.nm	see-pst-3sg.nm	immediately

Then, the eagle and vulture went and saw it immediately.

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09 **cila:ḍ a:r giḍḍa:ḍ** aɾi peṭṭe bohṭɾa

cila:-ḍ	a:r	giḍḍa:-ḍ	ha:	mee-n	peṭ-ṭ-e	boh-ṭɾ-a
eagle-nom	and	vulture-nom	that	child-acc	take-pst-3sg.nm	run-caus-3sg.nm

The eagle and vulture kidnapped the child.

10 peṭṭe bohṭɾeḍ ahin posca, posc baḍaṭɾaḍ

peṭ-ṭ-e	boh-ṭɾ-eḍ	ah-in	pos-c-a	pos-c	baḍ-a-ṭɾ-aḍ
take-pst-3sg.nm	run-caus-3sg.nm	he-acc	care-pst-3sg.nm	care-pst	grow-ep-caus-3sg.nm

Having kidnapped him, they looked after him, looked after him and brought him up

11 hani, hayaɾɾaɾ, en mangyoṭ hekan, boɾa kanḍo aṭa anya

hani	hayaɾɾaɾ	en	mangy-oṭ	hek-an	boɾa	kanḍo	aṭ-a	an-y-a
then	parents	I	entertain-inf	go-1sg	sack	clf	give-imp	say-pst-3sg.nm

Then, mother and father, I will go to sing, give me a sack.

12 hani, boɾa kanḍo aṭa anko, cilaḍ ciccad boɾan

hani	boɾa	kanḍo	aṭa	an-ko	cilaḍ	ci-c-c-ad	boɾa-n
then	sack	clf	give-imp	say-rp	eagle	give-pst-prf-3sg.nm	sack-acc

Then, when asked for the sack, the eagle descended and gave the sack.

13 hani, a me.e magyoṭ hekiya

hani	a	me.e	magyoṭ	hekiya
then	that	child	entertain-inf	go-pst-3sg.nm

Then, that child went to entertain.

14 hani aḍenṭi, ṭeho bahak aḍsiya

hani	aḍenṭi	ṭeho	bahak	aḍs-iy-a
then	thereafter	mother	near	reach-pst-3sg.nm

Then, he reached near his mother.

15 ṭehoḍ korci lag ki hinjrle, korci lag ki

ṭeho-ḍ	kor-c-i	lag-k-i	hi-nj-r-le	kor-c-i
mother-nom	enter-pst-3sg.nm	approach-rp-3sg.nm	take-pst-dtr-voc	enter-pst-3sg.nm

lag-k-i
approach-rp-3sg.nm

Mother: come in and take, come in.

16 korci lagḍe, korci lagḍe anniḍi

kor-c-i	lag-ḍe	kor-c-i	lag-ḍe	an-iy-aḍ
enter-pst-sim	approach-voc	enter-pst-sim	approach	say-pst-3sg.nm

She said, "come in, come in".

17 korci lagya hani, banḍe korṭe, muːco uṭiya

kor-c-i	lagya	hani	banḍe	kor-ṭar-e-k-iḍ
enter-pst-3sg.nm	approach-pst-3sg.nm	then	pull-3sg.nm	enter-caus-ep-rp-3sg.nm

muːc-iy-a
close-pst-3sg.nm

He came in, then, having tied him, she closed the door

18 **cilaḍ** aːɾ **giḍḍaḍ**, beḍi beḍi aḍskiḍ, **ekḍam**, caḍan **ekḍam** oḍkki koɾcaḍ

cila-d	aːɾ	giḍḍa-d	beḍ-i beḍ-i	aḍs-k-id
eagle-nom	and	vulture-nom	search-3sg.nm search-3sg.nm	reach-rp-3sg.nm

ekḍam	caḍa-n	ekḍam	oḍ-kk-i	koɾ-c-aḍ
immediately	roof-acc	immediately	break-rp-3sg.nm	enter-pst-3sg.nm

The eagle and vulture reached (the house) looking (for the boy) and immediately entered (the house) by breaking the roof.

19 oḍkki koɾcaḍ **ekḍam**, ṭehokoni bacaɾnaʔyaɾ

oḍkki	koɾcaḍ	ekḍam	ṭeho-koni	bac-a-ɾ-naʔ-y-aɾ
break-rp-3sg.nm	enter-pst-3sg.nm	immediately	mother-from	snatch-ep-dtr-recp-pst-3pl.h

Entered breaking the roof and fought with the mother

20 hani, eḍ pijṭan tehoḍu jimyaḍ, aːɾ kuk pijṭan **cilaḍ** aːɾ **giḍḍaḍ** jimyaḍ

hani	eḍ	pijṭ-an	teho-ḍu	jim-y-aḍ,	aːɾ	kuk	pijṭ-an
then	leg	side-acc	mother-nom	get-pst-3sg.nm	and	head	side-acc

cilad	aːɾ	giḍḍa-ḍ	jim-y-aḍ
eagle-nom	and	vulture-nom	get-pst-3sg.nm

Then mother got the leg portion and eagle and vulture got the head portion

21 hani, ṭehoḍ akle manḍaḍ aɾkiḍ **aɾo cilaḍ** aːɾ **giâḍaḍ** menḍaḍ

hani	ṭehoḍ	manḍaḍ	aɾo	cilaḍ	aːɾ	giâḍaḍ
then	mother-nom	bury-caus-3sg.nm	and	eagle-nom	and	vulture-nom

menḍaḍ
burn-caus-3sg.nm

Then, the mother buried while the vulture and the eagle burnt him.

22 mendoku, ahalkid olha olha okiya

men-doku	ahal-k-id		olh-a-olh-a	ok-iy-a
burn-be	open mouth-rp-3sg.nm		cry-cp-cry-cp	sit-pst-3sg.nm

Having burnt, he opened his mouth and sat crying.

23 hani, kukki medod tehkid, toronu dabuhrad

hani	kukki	medod	teakid,	toro-nu	dabuhrad
then	head-gen	brain-nom	burst-rp-3sg.nm	mouth-loc	fall-pass-3sg.nm

Then, the brain in the head burst and fell in the mouth

24 hani, moukid, ino kajak maja deka moui

hani	moukid	ino	kajak	maja	deka	moui
then	eat-rp-3sg.nm	more	lot	pleasure	give-rp-3sg.nm	eat-3sg.nm

Then, when he ate it, it gave him great pleasure eating it.

25 hankid adenti: se namkin man makan moui

han-k-id	adenti:	se	namkin	man	makan	mou-i
say-rp-3sg.nm	thereafter	emp	our	animal	flesh	eat-3sg.nm

From then, it eats our flesh.

26 katʰad identihi hongra

katʰa-d	id-enti-hi	hong-r-a
story-nom	here-abl-emp	end-dtr-3sg.nm

The story ends here.

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