" A typological and areal approach to Konkani grammar "

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by

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Index

I. Introduction

I.1. About the Konkani language

I.1.1. Scope of this study

Konkani is considered today as a macrolanguage spoken in the Konkan region of India. Under ISO 639-3 classification, the macrolanguage gets the coding [kok] and it is divided into two languages which are: Goan Konkani [gom] and Maharashtrian Konkani [knn].

Goan Konkani [gom] comprises all the dialects of the Konkani language except those that come under Maharashtrian Konkani. It includes the language spoken in south coastal strip of Maharashtra, the state of Goa and the language spoken by the Konkani communities in the coastal regions of Karnataka and Kerala. The language belongs to the southern branch of the Indo-Aryan languages of the Indo-European family. Since 1992, it has official recognition in the Constitution of India as the official language of the State of Goa. Hence it is one of the 22 Indian Languages which are included along with English in the 8th schedule of the Constitution as official languages in different parts of the country. According to the census of India 2001, the number of speakers of Konkani is 2,489,015. Ethnologue (Lewis 2014) gives an estimation of 3,630,000 speakers. See the area where it is spoken in Map 1.

Maharashtrian Konkani [knn] is the name given to the group of dialects spoken in the Union Territories of Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and the north and central coastal areas of Maharashtrian Konkan region. George A. Grierson referred to these dialects as the Konkan Standard of Marathi and they are considered by some linguists as dialects of Marathi language. Among these dialects we find Parabhi, Koli, Agari, Kunbi, Dhangari, Thakri, Bankoti and Maoli.

Within the Konkanic Group of Languages, Glottolog.org (Hammarström 2014) further includes six minority languages which are Katkari [kfu], Kukna [kex], Phudagi [phd], Samvedi [smv], Varhadi [vah] and Varli [vav].

For the purpose of this study I will survey the language referred by the standard as Goan Konkani or ISO 639-3 code [gom]. From now onwards, in this paper, the term Konkani will be used as an abbreviation of Goan Konkani. Contemporary Konkani is written in Devanagari, Kannada, Malayalam and Roman scripts. The Goan Antruz dialect written in Devanagari script "has emerged as the de facto standard dialect" in the state of Goa (Miranda, 2003).

Map 1:

Map of South-Western India showing the regions where Goan Konkani is spoken including the State of Goa, coastal Karnataka, Ernakulam area in Kerala and Metropolitan Bombay. This map belongs to Miranda (1978)
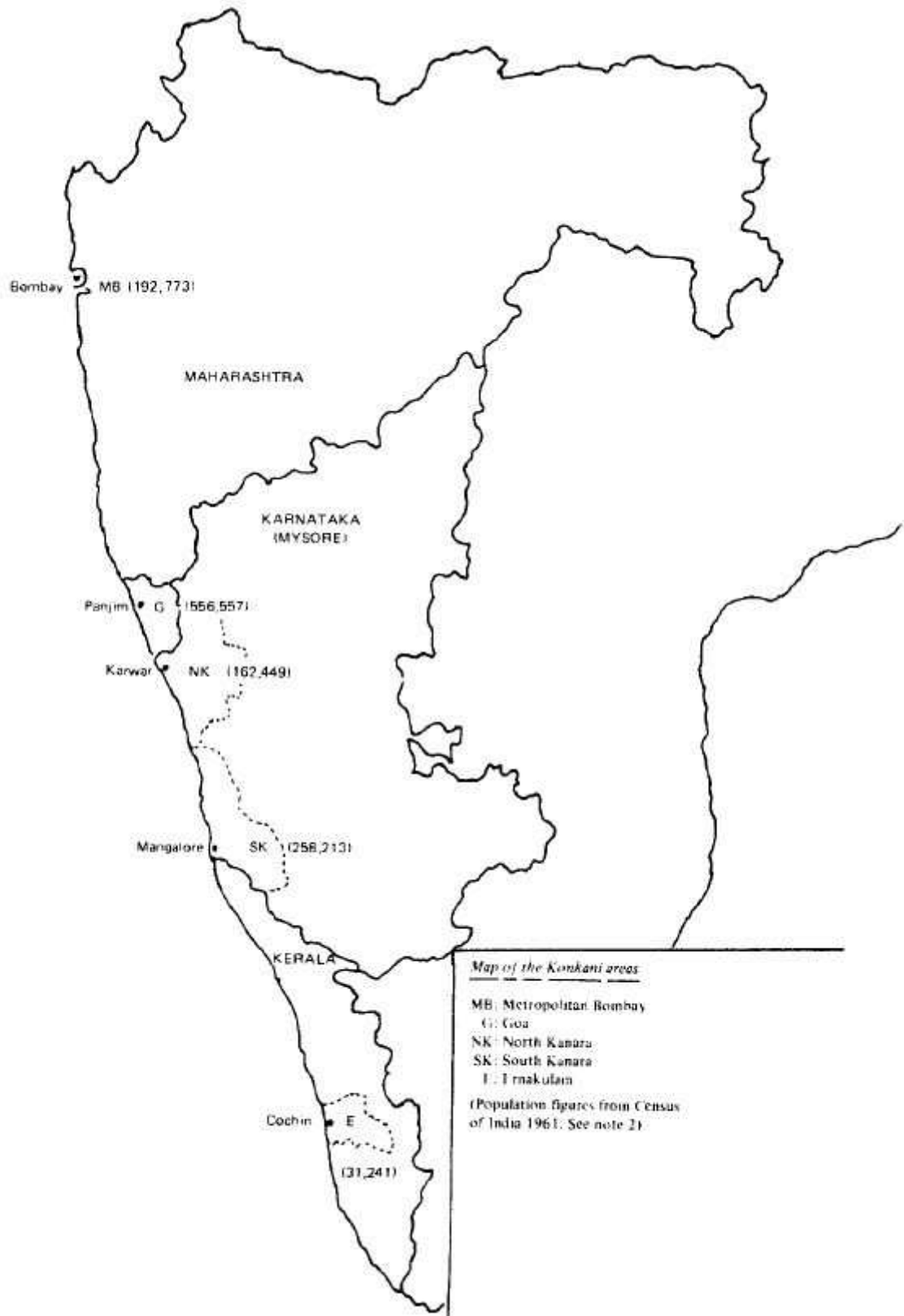
The Konkan region is located on the west coast of India and is delimited by river Damanganga in the north and river Kali in the south. It covers an area of 650 km of north-south length and 50 km east-west breath. The language spoken in Goa, coastal Karnataka and some parts of coastal Kerala has distinct features and is today recognised as a separate language labelled as Goan Konkani.

Konkani has been known by a variety of names: Canarim, Concanim, Gomantaki, Bramana and Goani. The term used for the language by European Jesuit Thomas Stephens in the 16th Century; 'Canarim', may have originated mistakenly from the term 'Kannada' which is the language of neighbouring Karnataka or from the Persian word for coast, 'Kinara'. In the latter case it would mean 'the language of the coast'. The European authors also designated the language of the educated classes as 'Lingua Canarim Bramana' or 'Bramana de Goa'.

The Indian Anthropological Society binds the substratum of Konkani to the speech of proto-Australoid tribes who may have spoken Munda or Austro-asiatic languages. Goan historian Anant Ramakrishna Shenvi Dhume identified some Australoid words in Konkani like *mund*, *mundkar*, *dhumak* etc. Some historians do see the communities of Gaudes, Kunbis and Mahars as the modern representatives of the original inhabitants of the region.

The second community who is believed to have reached this region is the Early Dravidians, also termed as Paleo-Mediterraneans. Historians describe them as an heterogeneous racial group who came to India from the north-west and were versed in systematized agriculture. Examples of Konkani words of Dravidian origin are *tandul* 'rice', *naall* 'coconut', *chinch* 'tamarind' etc.

The third community who reached the Konkan were the Indo-Aryans. The first wave of Indo-Aryan speakers may have reached the region around 2400 BC and the second around 1000-700 BC. Konkani language belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. Linguists describe it as a fusion of a variety of Prakrits. This could have occurred due to the confluence of Indo-Aryan immigrants from different regions of India over the centuries. Konkan was part of the Maurya Empire and it was substantially influenced by the Magadhi Prakrit. It was also part of the Satavahana Empire during the early centuries of the common era. Maharashtri Prakrit was the most widespread Prakrit of the time and some linguists have called Konkani the first born daughter of Maharashtri. The impact of Shauraseni prakrit on Konkani is not so prominent as that of Maharashtri.

Konkani language was also influenced by Old Kannada because Goa was ruled for a long period of time by a branch of the Kadamba dynasty which was of Dravidian origin. Like southern Dravidian languages, Konkani has prothetic glides *y-* and *w-*, it uses sentence final question markers in yes/no questions and its process of copula deletion is similar to that of Kannada language (Miranda 2003).

The Chavada (Chaddi) tribe of warriors migrated to Goa from Saurashtra when their kingdom was destroyed by the Arabs in the 8th century. This group as well as other migrants to Goa spoke Nagar Apabhramsha dialects which were precursors of modern Gujarati. There are some similarities between Konkani and Gujarati which are not found in Marathi.

Goa was a major trading center in the past and some Arab and Persian words were borrowed by Konkani. The dialects of Catholics in Goa show a prominent Portuguese influence in their vocabulary and to a lesser extent in the syntax.

Many stone and copper-plate inscriptions found in Goa and Konkan are written in Konkani. An inscription at the foot of the Jain temple at Shravanabelagola of 10th Century AD is considered by Dr S.B. Kulkarni and Dr. José Pereira as the earliest Konkani inscription in Nagari script.

Medieval Konkani is marked by invasions of Goa first by Delhi sultans, Bahmani Sultanate and Sultan of Bijapur in 14th and 15th centuries and then by the Portuguese in 16th century. These events and the exodus of Hindu Brahmins to the south towards Karnataka and Kerala caused the language to split in several dialects.

Konkani's revival as a literary language has come with Vaman R. Shenoi Valaulikar, also remembered as Shenoi Goembad. His death aniversary is celebrated as World Konkani Day. Madhav M. Shanbhag organized the first All India Konkani Parishad in Karwar in 1939. Following India´s independence, Goa remained as the largest Portuguese territory. It was annexed and absorbed into the Indian Union in 1961. A plebiscite retained Goa as an independent state on January 16th, 1967. On February 4th, 1987 the Goa Legislative Assembly made Konkani the official language of Goa. Konkani was then included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India and added to the list of National Languages.

I.1.2. Dialects of Konkani

Antruz dialect

This dialect is based on the speech of the Goan Hindus from the 'Novas Conquistas' or New Conquests in the Portuguese era. It is now spoken with minor variations by Hindus all over the state of Goa. It is also spoken by the Christians of the New Conquests who form a small percentage of the Goan Christians. It is written in Nagari (Devanagari) script. See Map 2 for geographical location of Goa districts.

Goan Christian dialects

Bardes Christian dialect is spoken in Bardes and Tiswadi districts which form the northern part of the 'Velhas Conquistas' or Old Conquests by the Portuquese. Saxtti Christian dialect is spoken in Saxtti or Salcette and Mormugao districts which form the southern part of the 'Velhas Conquistas'. Most of the Goan Christians live in the areas which constitute the old conquests of the Portuguese, labelled as the 'Velhas Conquistas'. The two dialects have certain common features and some differences with Goan Hindu dialect. It is written in Roman script.

Karnataka dialects

The dialects spoken in coastal Karnataka can be divided into Canara Hindu and Canara Christian dialects. The Karnataka Saraswat dialect is spoken by the Saraswat Brahmins of the coastal districts of Karnataka. The Karnataka Christian dialects is spoken by the Christians in the coastal districts of Karnataka. There is variation between the dialects for two reasons; they are the result of migrations of Goans to Karnataka at different times and from different parts of Goa. The Saraswat Hindus came to Karnataka from the southern part of Old Conquests (Saxtti and Mormugao) in the 16th century because of Portuguese religion persecution. The Christian community fled to Karnataka in the 17th and 18th century mostly from the northern part of the Old Conquests (Bardes and Tiswadi). Konkani in Karnataka is usually written in Kannada script (Miranda 1978).

Other dialects

There are smaller communities of Goan Konkani speakers in the state of Kerala and in Bombay Metropolitan area. In Kerala, Konkani is usually written in Malayalam script. The speakers of Metropolitan Mumbai have mostly shifted to English.

The reason for the creation of these dialects can be explained by three facts (Pereira 1972). First of all following the Portuguese Conquest of Goa, most Hindus preferred to leave Goa rather than convert to Catholicism. They extended the language southwards to coastal Karnataka, probably at the expense of Tulu and Kannada. The second milestone was the suppression of Konkani language by the Portuguese in Goa in 1684. The law banned the use of the mother tongue and commanded the Goans to speak Portuguese only. Although the law was disobeyed, the literary norm broke up into different dialects. Famine and Maratha raids caused the Second Southern Migration of Konkani speakers to the south. They were mainly Christians and they headed towards Mangalore area.

Miranda (1978) explains that there is an abrupt differentiation of the Christian dialect of the northern *talukas* (Bardes and Tiswadi) and the dialect from the southern *talukas* (Saxtti and Mormugao). There is no such abrupt differentiation in the Hindu dialects due to the fact that the Hindus of the southern talukas are not original southerners but have migrated there from the north and east of Goa. The dialects spoken by the Karnataka Saraswats or Canara Hindus show similarities with the language of the southern talukas while the dialects spoken by the Canara Christians show similarities with the language spoken in the northern talukas. Miranda (1978) divides the dialects of Konkani into N (northern origin) and S (southern origin) dialects.

In both Goa and Karnataka there are some differences between Hindu and Christian dialects. As per description by Miranda (1978), in Goan Christian dialects some sounds have merged and there are signs of Portuguese influence in the syntax of Christian literary dialect. In Karnataka, the Hindu dialects show greater signs of Dravidian influence and they have retained some archaic features such as Middle Indo-Aryan geminates in certain environments.

Portuguese did not abolish the caste system. Therefore Christians as well as Hindus maintained for centuries the traditional caste system in their communities. Miranda (1978) studied the differences of speech among castes and found some remarkable differences only between the speech of Brahmins and Gauddes. Konkani speaking Gauddes in Goa or Karnataka have not preserved the Old Indo-Aryan aspirate vs. non-aspirate contrast and show initial y- and w-glides. Brahmin dialects show differences in some lexical items, in certain forms of the 3rd person pronouns and some verbs.

Map 2:

Map of Goa showing the dialects of Goan Konkani. This illustration belongs to Miranda (1978)

Map of Goa

Old Conquests

New Conquests
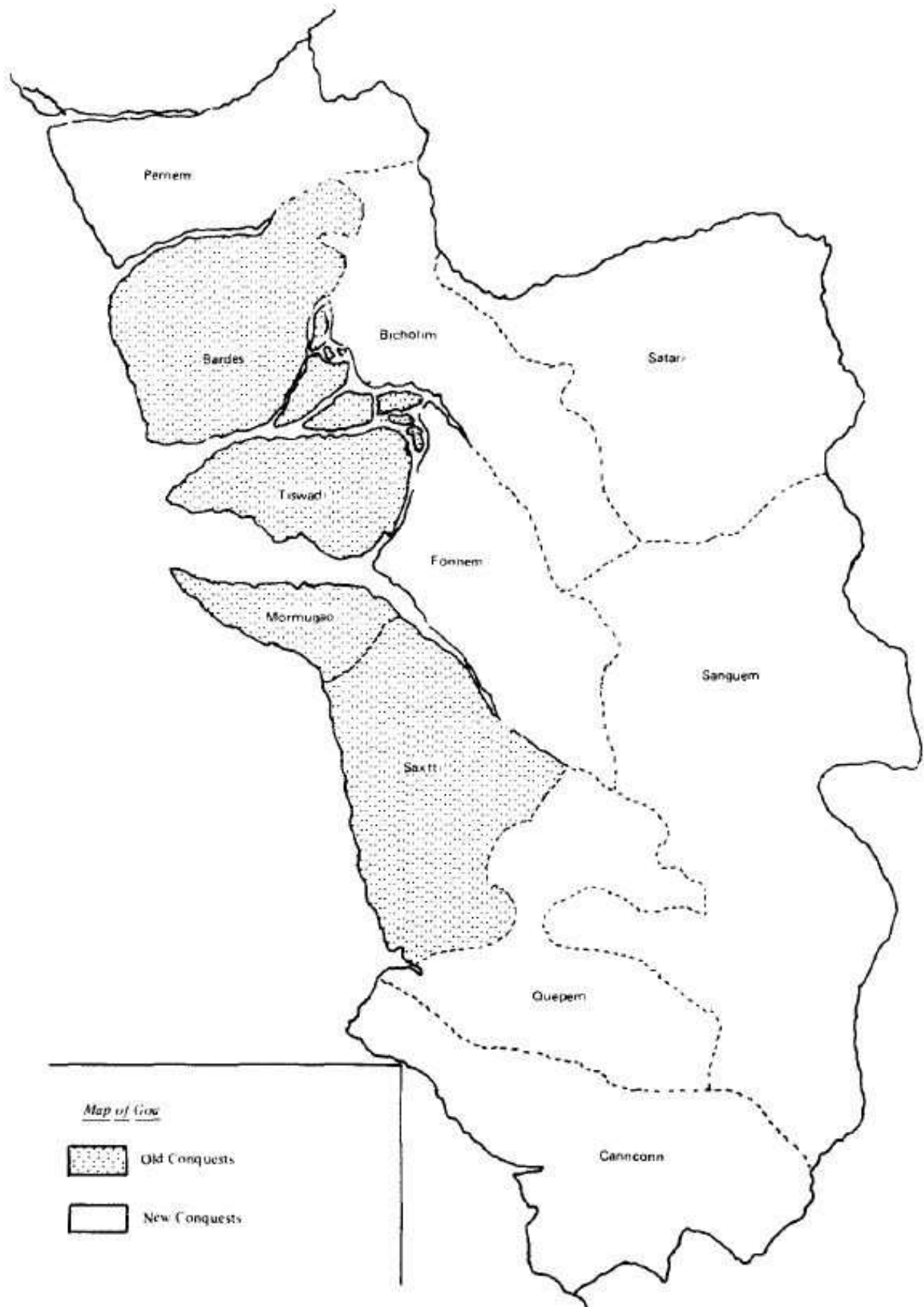
I.1.3. Literary Konkani

Soon after the Portuguese took Goa from the Sultanate of Bijapur in 1510, the first printing press was established in Goa. The first printed book in Konkani was "Doutrina Christam en Lingoa Bramana Canarim" by English Jesuit Thomas Stephens in 1622. The first Konkani Grammar had been written by Fr. Andre Vaz at St. Paulo College at Old Goa in 1563. Then came "Arte da Lingua Canarim" published by Rachol School of Missionaries on the basis of T. Stephens's works in 1640. T. Stephens is considered as the father of Old Standard Konkani. He receives the credit of declaring for the first time in 1583 that Konkani and Marathi were related to Latin and Greek, an idea that was taken up again by Ignazio Arcamone and William Jones, the latter a couple of centuries later.

The first record of Konkani poetry dates back to 1604 (Pereira 1972). There is record of some musicians singling Konkani hymns at the dedication of the church in Navelim.

The missionaries compiled dictionaries, wrote grammars and kept a written standard for almost two centuries. However, although the Jesuits ignored the prohibition of Konkani, the language split into dialects following the ban in 1684 and Literary Konkani went into decadence. By 1725 speakers of various Goan provinces could not understand each other easily. When Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, a scholar of Portuguese history in the East, arrived in Goa in 1855, he was "appalled by Konkani´s postration in Goa" (Pereira, 1972) and started a revival of the language by writing about its history and setting up Konkani schools. His work inspired, at a later time, Vaman Varde Valaulikar who devoted a big part of his life to the reinvigoration of Konkani language and literature. With Valaulikar began what Pereira (1972) calls the "Modern Hindu Konkani Movement". Valaulikar wrote in the youngest of Konkani literary dialects: Antruzi. He wrote the first Antruzi grammar in Konkani and opened the way for new types of prose in Konkani.

Antruzi dialect written in Devanagari script is nowadays recognized as the standard in Goa although there is literature written in Devanagari as well as Roman script. Today the authors writing in Roman script, who also represent a valuable part of the old and new 'Konkanness', demand parallel recognition from the Sahitya Academy for their literary creations.

I.2. General typological description

The purpose of this study is to analyse Konkani grammar from a typological perspective trying to look for its most prominent features and those that characterize in general the language. It also aims at situating the language within the Indian linguistic area, not only within the Indo-Aryan family of languages but also with respect to the other major families of the subcontinent: Dravidian and Munda.

As a theoretical framework I have taken into consideration works by Joseph H. Greenberg, Matthew S. Dryer, W.P. Lehmann, Paul J. Hopper, Sandra A. Thompson, Greville G. Corbett, Edward L. Keenan, Bernard Comrie, Christian Lehmann, M. Shibatani, M.B. Emeneau, P. Donegan, D. Stampe and Frans Plank. That is, the mainstream functional orientation in typological studies, which is generally grounded in theoretical and methodological principles as those dealt with by R. M. W. Dixon in his series of books entitled *Basic Linguistic Theory* (2010-2013).

My work draws heavily on a description of Konkani language carried out by Matthew Almeida at Georgetown University. Two maps used belong to R. V. Miranda. Masica´s manual has been the main reference for data on the Indo-Aryan family of languages. For Dravidian and Munda languages, Krishnamurti and Anderson´s manuals have been referred to respectively. Southworth's thesis on the linguistic history of South Asia has been taken into consideration.

To define the scope of the study, the language has been classified according to Ethnologue and Glottolog catalogues of world languages. For glossing the examples, I have followed the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Feb 2008). The examples given by Almeida have been converted when needed as per the International Phonetic Alphabet (2005). In the annexures, I have added an analysis of the language according to Greenberg universals and a categorization of the language according to World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) list of features. I thank Fr. Pratap Naik for answering my queries regarding the categorization of Konkani within some WALS features.

I.2.1 Phonology

a) Vowels and consonants

i. Vowel and consonantal system

Table 1. *Oral vowels (Adapted from Almeida 1985)*

	front	central	back
High	i		u
High-mid	e		o
		ɵ	
Low-mid	ɛ	ɔ	
Low		a	

There are some cases of murmured vowels according to Almeida (1985). For example: /aɦ:ɽ/ 'bone'

Miranda (2003) includes as phonemes high-mid /ə/ and low-mid /ʌ/ instead of mid /ɵ/

Table 2. *Consonants (Adapted from Almeida 1985)*

	B	LD	D	DA	A	R	AP	P	V	G
Stops	p b		t d			ʈ ɖ			k g	
	pʰ bʰ		tʰ dʰ			ʈʰ ɖʰ			kʰ gʰ	
Nasals		m		n		ɳ		ɲ	ŋ	
		mʰ		nʰ						
Affricates				t͡s d͡z			t͡ʃ d͡ʒ			
				t͡sʰ d͡zʰ			t͡ʃʰ d͡ʒʰ			
Fricatives		f v			s	z	ʃ ʒ			h
		vʰ								
Flaps					r	ɽ				
Lat./Approx.					l lʰ	ɭ		j		

B: bilabial; LD: labiodental; D: dental; DA:dentoalveolar: A: alveolar; R: retroflex; AP: alveolopalatal; P: palatal; V: velar; G: glottal.

- /pʰ/ has evolved historically into /f/. Only some speakers still use /pʰ/ as a free variant of /f/
- /t͡sʰ/: no examples are found by Almeida (1985) for this sound
- /ɖ/ becomes /ɽ/ in medial position after vowel
- /d͡z/ and /d͡ʒ/ become /z/ and /ʒ/ respectively when not in initial position

Miranda (2003) gives a slightly different distribution of sounds. He includes /w/ and /wʰ/ instead of /v/ and /vʰ/. He adds /jʰ/ as a phoneme but not /ɲ/ and /ŋ/. He also gives a palatalized version for all obstruents (except for alveolar or palatal consonants) and unaspirated sonorants.

ii. Consonant/vowel ratio

Konkani language has a large inventory of vowels and consonants with 8 phonemic vowels and 37-40 phonemic consonants depending on the description (Katre:37; Almeida:40). The consonant/vowel ratio comes to 4.6-5 what can be considered as moderately high according to Maddieson (2013).

iii. Nasality

All phonemic oral vowels contrast with their corresponding nasal vowels. There is also contrast between nasal vowels and oral vowels followed by a nasal consonant.

b) Suprasegmental features and prosody

i. Quantity and syllable structure

All the high and low vowel phonemes can have short and long varieties. There is i:, i, u:, u and a:, a. There are also short or long consonants (geminates) in middle position. Aspirated consonants can not be long as they occur only in initial position. Diphthongs involve a movement from a low or mid vowel to a high vowel. The terminal vowel of the diphthong is shorter. Diphthongs can be nasalized.

The preferred syllable structure is CV although CVC, VC and V can also be regularly found. Other combinations can be found occasionally or in borrowed words. Initial clusters are not natural in Konkani although they are found in recent borrowings. Clusters used to be modified by adding a *svarabhakti* vowel such as in: grest>girest 'rich' , gnyan>ginyan 'knowledge'. Initial clusters in borrowed words are broken by some speakers by adding a vowel initially like in skəl>iskəl 'school'.

For a full account of phonological processes, Almeida (1985) can be reviewed. Some processes affecting syllable structure are the following. Vowel deletion happens in rapid speech by which weaker vowels tend to be omitted at the end of the words like in the following example:

| (1) | mʰaka+ani+tuka | > mʰakantuka | 'to me and to you' |
| | jalɔ+mʰəɳ | >jalmʰəɳ | 'that it is' |

Another process found in Konkani is the insertion of a consonant as "hiatus-tilger" within the word to avoid pronouncing two vowels successively. For example, in forming a causative form, a consonant is inserted between the vocalic ending of the root and the inflection /-ai, -ɵi/

| (2) | dʰãu+ai | >dʰãuɖai | 'drive away' |
| | di+ɵi | >divɵi | 'cause to give' |

One more process affecting the syllable structure is the addition of a [v] or [j] before the initial vowels. This prothesis is added to all vowels except /a/ and /a:/. [v] is added before back and mid central vowels and [j] is added before front vowels e.g. /ulɔ/ > /vulɔ/ 'call' , /ilɔ/> /jilɔ/ 'a little'.

ii. Accentual type & intonation

The unit considered to place stress is the word formed by the root morpheme and the inflections. It does not include postpositions, negative forms or derivative affixes. Strong syllables are syllables with a long vowel, a diphthong or a short vowel followed by a consonant cluster in coda position. Weak syllables contain a short vowel which is not followed by a consonant cluster in coda position.

In bisyllabic words, if both syllables are strong or weak, the last syllable gets the stress. If only one syllable is strong, that syllable receives the stress. In polysyllabic words, other than the main stress there is always another syllable with a slight prominence having a echoic or counterrhythmic quality. In a word of four syllables, two accentual groups are formed by the first two and two last syllables.

Intonation in Konkani is used to convey syntactic information rather than lexical information. A sentence can have one or more tone groups. The syllable with the major change in pitch is the tonic syllable. Statements have a falling contour, yes-no questions are marked by a rising tone, open questions have a falling contour on the tonic syllable of the question mark, tag questions have a falling-rising terminal contour, commands have a rising-falling intonation from the initial syllable and requests have an initial sustained intonation before a rising-falling contour.

iii. Vowels in contact

There is a process of vowel harmony in Konkani. Mid vowels become mid high or mid low depending on the height of the next vowel. The following series of noun, adjective, pronoun and participle forms are given by Almeida (1985:81) to show the working of this rule:

	Noun	Adjective	Pronoun	Participle	Gloss
(3)	mɔʈɔ	mɔʈɛ	moʈi	moʈjo	'fat'
	mɛlɔ	mɛlɛ	meli	meljo	'dead'

The vowel-harmony rule works within the word, formed by the root morpheme and inflections. The glides /v/ and /j/ are treated as [u] and [i] as far as this rule is concerned except when /j/ < [ɛ+a]. A few exceptions to this rule come from words which are distinghished solely by the height of the mid vowels in the root (Almeida 1985:83). For example in the case of stative and causative forms:

(4)   mɔɖ   break,iv.   moɖ   break, tv.
             fɔɖ   crack, iv.   foɖ   crack, tv.

Katre (1937) describes a process of colouration of vowels in the diachronic development of Konkani, which is also characteristic of Bengali and other New Indo-Aryan languages. In the presence of a labial vowel a preceding vowels is labialized if short. Long vowels and high vowels remain unaffected.

(5)   For example: parã: 'day after tomorrow' vs. porũ: 'last year'

To a lesser extent there is a colouration process that affects the short vowels in the presence of a palatal vowel.

(6)   For example: mi:ri 'pepper' (Sk. maricah, Pk maria-, miria-)

I.2.2. Morphology

a) Morphological technique

Konkani is predominantly a flexive language. Morphology is the central part of Konkani grammar and the inflectional system of Konkani permeates the noun, pronoun, verb, adjective and adverb categories. Nevertheless, there are some structures in which we can find an agglutinative flair.

b) No. of morphemes/word

Konkani is a synthetic language with a rather high morpheme-per-word ratio, which is not different from other members of the Indo-Aryan languages family. We observe derivational synthesis as well as relational synthesis.

c) Gender, number and case

Konkani has a grammatical gender system comprising masculine, feminine and neuter. For animate nouns the morphological gender corresponds semantically with the natural gender they represent. However there are exceptions which might proceed from certain sociological perceptions (Almeida 1985). Names of men and boys are masculine, names of women are feminine but names of girls are neuter. Male animals are masculine but female animals are neuter. Miranda (1973) proposes that the neuter gender has become a second feminine gender to the modern speaker in some Konkani dialects with the sense of 'feminine juvenile'. The neuter gender is also used in an inclusive sense when both masculine and feminine are designated together.

Inanimate nouns in Konkani are given a grammatical gender. Almeida (1985) gives some examples of words where the masculine form denotes a bigger size for an object and its corresponding feminine gender denotes a smaller size. Additional examples are given of objects where the neuter form denotes larger size and the corresponding feminine denotes smaller size. In Konkani rivers and the name of rivers are feminine as well as most tree varieties. Mountains and oceans are masculine. Days & months are masculine and cities, nations and metals are neuter.

Number category is divided into singular and plural in Konkani. Almeida (1985) gives some examples of a few nouns which are always morphologically and syntactically singular, but semantically plural, i.e. vaɭəi 'white ants', lok 'people', bi: 'seeds' . Furthermore there are nouns which are morphologically and syntactically plural but they are abstract nouns i.e. aʈeviʈɛ 'agony'.

Nouns in Konkani have a grammatical gender property. Some nouns may also get a gender inflection. Further to that, nouns get number and case inflections:

Table 3. *Cases of Konkani*

Nominative Case	Noun Phrases acting as the subject of a verb
Accusative Case	NPs occurring as direct objects
Dative Case	NPs occurring as indirect objects
Locative Case	NPs occurring as locative complements
Inst./Erg. Case	An agent or an instrument
Vocative Case	Presentential NPs
Genitive Case	Possesion is marked by the Genitive case

NPs, in all cases except for Nominative, get a suffix before the case marking inflection which is called the 'oblique suffix' by Almeida (1985) and these cases are called 'oblique cases'. Postpositions also make the nouns show the oblique suffix after the noun and before the postposition.

A case marker in Konkani is an inflection which forms a bound form with the noun. With the exception of the genitive case marker, they form a single phonological unit as far as vowel harmony is concerned (Almeida 1985). Genitivals can be added to nominals which are already inflected for case.

Table 4. *Case markers of Konkani nouns (Adapted from Almeida 1985:124)*

/haːt/ 'hand'

Cases	sg	pl	sg	pl
Nom	-	-	haːt	haːt
Acc./Dat.	-k	-k	hat-a-k	hat-ã-k
Instr./Erg.	-n	-ni	hat-a-n	hat-a-ni
Locative 1	-t̃	-ni	hat-a-t̃	hat-a-ni
Locative 2	-r/-t͡ʃer	-t͡ʃer/-r	hat-a-r/-t͡ʃer	hat-ã-t͡ʃer/-r
Vocative	-∅	-no	hat-a-∅	hat a-no
Genitive	-t͡sɔ	-t͡sɔ	hat-a-t͡sɔ	hat-ã-t͡sɔ

Miranda (2003:744) marks Loc.1 *-t̃* as subessive and Loc.2 *-r/-t͡ʃer* as superessive. According to Masica (1991), historically the Indo-Aryan accusative merged with the nominative. However this does not mean that objects are always without case marking. They may take it in the form of the dative marker (dative-accusative marker).

d) Split morphology

Notwithstanding the above description of Konkani as a flexive language, Plank (1999) in general states that being agglutinative or flexive are not properties of entire languages. Separation/cumulation and invariance/variance are properties of individual word forms. Following Plank´s analysis, we can analyse Konkani word classes in order to understand where we can find agglutinative traits and alternatively where flexive traits are to be found.

In Konkani:

- Adjectives and adjectivals are inflected for gender and number

- Nouns and other nominals are inflected for number and case. Some nouns are inflected for gender

- Pronouns are inflected for number, case and gender. They also show the properties of person

- Verbs are inflected for person, number, gender, tense and aspect

Almeida (1985) states that "it would be a hopeless task if we were to look for morphemes and allomorphs for each of these functions because a number of functions are simultaneously fulfilled by one single inflection". This gives an idea of a flexive language.

The basic pattern for gender and number inflections for both direct and oblique forms is summarized by Almeida (1985) in a General Paradigm. Nouns follow this paradigm and adjectives & adjectivals follow a slightly modified version of the paradigm:

Table 5. *General Paradigm of Inflection of nouns for gender and number (Almeida 1985:117)*

Gender	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
Number	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
Direct	-ɔ	-ɛ	-i	-jo	-ɛ̃	-ĩ
Oblique	-ja	-jã	-je	-jã	-ja	-jã

As far as direct forms are concerned, inflection cumulates of gender and number values. There is syncretism for oblique singular masculine and neuter. Oblique plural has the same form for the three gender categories.

Personal pronouns in Konkani do not show the gender category in first and second person. Third person, however, shows different forms for the three genders.

Table 6. *Personal Pronouns (Adapted from Almeida 1985:148)*

		Nom	Instr/Erg	Acc/Dat	Gen sg m.	f.	n.	Gen pl m.	f.	n.
1ˢᵗ P sg		ãʰu	ãʰvɛ̃	mʰaka	mʰɵd͡zɔ	mʰɵd͡ʒi	mʰɵd͡ʒɛ̃	mʰɵd͡ʒɛ	mʰɵd͡ʒjo	mʰɵd͡ʒĩ
2ⁿᵈ P sg		tũ	tũvɛ̃	tuka	tud͡zɔ	tud͡ʒi	tud͡ʒɛ̃	tud͡ʒɛ	tud͡ʒjo	tud͡ʒĩ
3ʳᵈ P sg	m.	tɔ	taɳɛ	taka	tat͡sɔ	tat͡ʃi	tat͡ʃɛ̃	tat͡ʃɛ	tat͡ʃjo	tat͡ʃĩ
	f.	ti	tiɳɛ	tika	tit͡sɔ	tit͡ʃi	tit͡ʃɛ̃	tit͡ʃɛ	tit͡ʃjo	tit͡ʃĩ
	n.	tɛ̃	taɳɛ	taka	tat͡sɔ	tat͡ʃi	tat͡ʃɛ̃	tat͡ʃɛ	tat͡ʃjo	tat͡ʃĩ
1ˢᵗ P pl		ami	ami	amkã	amt͡sɔ	amt͡ʃi	amt͡ʃɛ̃	amt͡ʃɛ	amt͡ʃjo	amt͡ʃĩ
2ⁿᵈ P pl		tumi	tumi	tumkã	tumt͡sɔ	tumt͡ʃi	tumt͡ʃɛ̃	tumt͡ʃɛ	tumt͡ʃjo	tumt͡ʃĩ
3ʳᵈ P pl	m.	tɛ	taɳi	taɳkã	tant͡sɔ	tant͡ʃi	tant͡ʃɛ̃	tant͡ʃɛ	tant͡ʃjo	tant͡ʃĩ
	f.	tjo	taɳi	taɳkã	tant͡sɔ	tant͡ʃi	tant͡ʃɛ̃	tant͡ʃɛ	tant͡ʃjo	tant͡ʃĩ
	n.	tĩ	taɳi	taɳkã	tant͡sɔ	tant͡ʃi	tant͡ʃɛ̃	tant͡ʃɛ	tant͡ʃjo	tant͡ʃĩ

Morphologically a verb is recognized by the tense-aspect inflection and the affixes denoting person, gender and number. There are five classes of person-gender-number affixes. Class I & Class IV have different forms for the three genders while Class II, III and V have a cumulative affix.

Table 7. *Conjugation of verb /rig/ 'enter'. Adapted from Almeida (1985)*

A. Indicative Non-perfective

	a) Present mfn	b) Future indefinite mfn	c) Future definite m f n	d) Past m f n
1ˢᵗ P sg	rig-t-ã	rig-∅-an	rig-tɵl -ɔ̃ -ĩ -ɛ̃	rig-tal -ɔ̃ -ĩ -ɛ̃
2ⁿᵈ P sg	rig-t-ai	rig-∅-ʃi	rig-tɵl -oi -ii -ẽi	rig-tal -oi -ii -ẽi
3ʳᵈ P sg	rig-t-a	rig-∅-at	rig-tɵl -ɔ -i -ɛ̃	rig-tal -ɔ -i -ɛ̃
1ˢᵗ P pl	rig-t-ãu	rig-∅-ũ	rig-tɵl -jãu -jãu -jãu	rig-tal -jãu -jãu -jãu
2ⁿᵈ P pl	rig-t-at	rig-∅-ʃat	rig-tɵl -jat -jat -jat	rig-tal -jat -jat -jat
3ʳᵈ P pl	rig-t-at	rig-∅-tit	rig-tɵl -ɛ -jo -ĩ	rig-tal -ɛ -jo -ĩ
Affixes	*Class II*	*Class III*	*Class I*	*Class I*

B. Indicative Perfective

	a) Preterit			b) Past perfect			c) Present perfect		
	m	f	n	m	f	n	m	f	n
1st P sg	rig-l -ɔ̃	-ĩ	-ɛ̃	rig-lɵl -ɔ̃	-ĩ	-ɛ̃	rig-l -ã	-jã	-ã
2nd P sg	rig-l -oi	-ii	-ẽi	rig-lɵl -oi	-ii	-ẽi	rig-l -ai	-jai	-ãi
3rd P sg	rig-l -ɔ	-i	-ɛ̃	rig-lɵl -ɔ	-i	-ɛ̃	rig-l -a	-ja	-ã
1st P pl	rig-l -jãu	-jãu	-jãu	rig-lɵl -jãu	-jãu	-jãu	rig-l -jãu	-jãu	-jãu
2nd P pl	rig-l -jat	-jat	-jat	rig-lɵl -jat	-jat	-jat	rig-l -jat	-jat	-jat
3rd P pl	rig-l -ɛ	-jo	-ĩ	rig-lɵl -ɛ	-jo	-ĩ	rig-l -jat	-jat	-jat
Affixes	*Class I*			*Class I*			*Class IV*		

C. Potential

	m	f	n
1st P sg	rig-t -ɔ̃	-ĩ	-ɛ̃
2nd P sg	rig-t -oi	-ii	-ẽi
3rd P sg	rig-t -ɔ	-i	-ɛ̃
1st P pl	rig-t -jãu	-jãu	-jãu
2nd P pl	rig-t -jat	-jat	-jat
3rd P pl	rig-t -ɛ	-jo	-ĩ
Affixes	*Class I*		

D. Imperative

	mfn
1st P sg	∅
2nd P sg	rig
3rd P sg	rig-ũ-di
1st P pl	rig-jã
2nd P pl	rig-a
3rd P pl	rig-ũ-dit
Affixes	*Class V*

Note: The first person imperative has an hortative meaning and the third person has a permissive meaning.

The structure of the verbs in Konkani is rather mixed as far as the morphological technique is concerned. In it we can separate the root and the tense-aspect inflection but the person-gender-number affix is regularly unsegmentable. For Class I and IV affixes, each gender has a different inflection while for Class II, III & V there is no gender-based distinction. The inflections in general are invariant, and this feature corresponds better with an agglutinative type of language. In fact as per Plank´s analysis, the fact of having a vowel-harmony rule is more usual in agglutinative systems. Konkani on the whole shows an intermediate system where we can find many aspects characteristic of a flexive morphology and a few which, on the contrary, correspond to an agglutinative morphology.

Plank (1999:282-284) lists a number of other parameters which together with cumulation vs. separation collectively define the morphological profile of a language. The first parameter is variance vs. invariance. Konkani shows many examples of variance in its morphology and variance corresponds better with a flexive morphology. The following are examples of variance:

(i) There are two possible possessive/genitive inflections: /-ts/ or /-l/

(ii) There is variance in locative inflections:

	sg	pl
LOC1	-t̃	-ni
LOC2	-r/-t͡ʃer	-t͡ʃer/-r
LOC3*	-ĩ	*LOC3 is a relic of an old locative which survives with a few nouns

In addition names of places show further variance when forming locatives: { ĩ }: /ĩ ~ã~ e~ i/

(iii) There is variance in the formation of masculine and feminine nouns:

Parallel forms:	/ad͡z-ɔ/ grandfather	/ad͡ʒ-i/ grandmother
Fem. form shows affixation:	/vaːg/ tiger	/vag-iɳ/ tigress
Contrasting masc.&fem roots:	/bap/ father	/aʋei/ mother

(iv) There are two series of reflexive pronouns:

NOM	apen	sveta
INS	apɳɛ	sveta
ACC/DAT	apɳak	svetak
GEN	apɳat͡sɔ	svetat͡sɔ

(v) There are three paradigms for adjective inflection:

i) Fully inflected adjectives which are inflected according to the Modified Paradigm of Inflection:

Table 8. *Modified Paradigm of Inflection for adjectives (Almeida 1985:159)*

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
Number	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	berɔ	berɛ	beri	berjo	berɛ̃	berĩ
Oblique	berja	berja	bere	berja	berja	berja

ii) Partially inflected adjectives that are inflected according to an old paradigm of adjectival inflections. Hymns, prayers and a few words of frequent use maintain the archaic forms of inflection. For example: /bʰagevẽt, -i, -a/ 'holy/blessed '

iii) Exceptional adjectives: a small group of adjectives has a single ending for all the direct forms. The oblique forms are formed by adding suffix /-a/ in the singular and /-ã/ in the plural. For example: DIR /lʰan/ , OBL /lʰan-a/ 'small'

(vi) As for the verb forms, we can also find various instances of variance:

    i) For the formation of the infinitive for which the stem takes the affixes /-ũk/ or /-t͡ʃjak/.

    ii) There is also variance in the formation of some of the participles. For example the past participle takes /-ləl~ -ll ~ -ull~-ill/ as inflection.

    iii) There are special verbal forms used in adverbial clauses. These forms take the following inflections in the present tense /-tã/, /-tana/ or /-tastana/.

    iv) There is a great variety of forms used to form the causative verbs: /-əi/, /-vəi/, /-dai/, /-ai/, /-ɛ/

The next parameter to be analysed is homonymy vs. distinctiveness. In Konkani we can find some examples of homonymous exponence. As a general example we may consider the use of the same forms for accusative and dative. But further to that there are specific cases of homonymy like for example the use of /svəta/ for reflexive pronoun in nominative and instrumental case. Inflectional homonymy is a morphological property more frequently found in flexive systems (than in agglutinative ones).

In Konkani, nouns may have overt exponents or stem-extending formatives for nominative singular preventing this form from serving as a base for all other cases. This is also more characteristic (although not exclusive) of flexion than agglutination.

On the other side, affixes are as a rule local, what means that the expresion of a category is confined to a single affix. Konkani, like some typically agglutinative languages, permits repetition of markings in the same word e.g. in forms like /am-t͡ʃja-t͡sɔ/ 'of the one pertaining to us' (Almeida 1985:137). Konkani also has a comparatively large number of morphological cases. Furthermore the segmentation of word forms into radical elements and morphological exponents remains quite transparent. These are characteristics of a more agglutinative morphology.

Another singularity of agglutinative systems is the high phonological cohesion of radical elements and exponents. In Konkani there is evidence of the phonological cohesion by means of the existence of a vowel-harmony rule. Phonologically conditioned morphological alternations are also present in Konkani and in Plank (1999)´s view, they are far more characteristic of agglutinative morphology.

I.2.3. Syntax

a) S/O/V relation

Konkani falls under the rigid subtype of SOV languages as per Greenberg's (1963) categorization. In chapter V.1. a full analysis of the language according to Greenberg universals is attached. In summary, the language follows almost perfectly the characteristics of a strict SOV language.

It has postpositions, Genitive-Noun order, the adverbial modifiers precede the verb, question particles are found at the end of the sentence, the verb forms subordinate to the main verb precede it, conditional clauses precede the conclusion, expressions of volition and purpose precede the main verb, relative clauses precede the noun, inflected auxiliaries follow the main verb, the descriptive adjectives as well as the demonstratives and numerals precede the noun. Furthermore, in comparisons of superiority it follows standard-marker-adjective order and in apposition the proper noun precedes the common noun. Finally, it is predominantly suffixing and it has a case system.

I would like to highlight here a construction which escapes one of the characteristics of a strict SOV language as described in the previous paragraph. It occurs in one of the strategies used to build clauses with complementizers in Konkani. In that strategy, the subordinate form is introduced by complementizer /ki/ and the verb form subordinate to the main verb follows the main verb, instead of preceding it.

Clauses with complementizers in Konkani can be introduced by two different complementizers. When they are formed with complementizer /mʰəɳ/, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause. This is the construction that is most extensively used in Konkani:

> Example of a complement clause with complementizer /mʰəɳ/ (Almeida 1985:290):

(7)   gɔpaɭ   d͡ʒik-l-ɔ   mʰəɳ   tɔ   saɳ-t-a

      Gopal   win-PFT-3.M.SG   COMP   he   say-PRS-3SG

      ' He says that Gopal won'

In the second strategy with /ki/, which is less frequently used according to Almeida (1985), the subordinate clause follows the main clause:

> Example of a complement clause with complementizer /ki/ (Almeida 1985:290):

(8)   tɔ   saɳta   ki   gɔpaɭ   d͡ʒik-l-ɔ

      he   say-PRS-3SG   COMP   Gopal   win-PFV-3.M.SG

      'He says that Gopal won'

Among Indo-Aryan languages, clause-initial subordinators prevail in north-western languages while clause-final subordinators become more dominant as we move toward the border with Dravidian (Masica 1991:401). In these languages, clause-final subordinators are found preceding the main clause and clause-initial subordinators or complementizers are found to the right of the main clause.

The area where Konkani is spoken shares a border with Dravidian territory and, confirming Masica´s analysis, it shows preference for clause-final subordinators, in this case complementizer /mʰən/, and embedded-main clause order. Nevertheless the alternative construction with /ki/ also exists at least for what Masica calls nominal clauses, that is sentential objects after verbs: say, tell, hear, etc.

In Konkani /ki/ is also used in clauses that are in apposition to specific discourse words e.g. /kʰəber/ 'news' /kaɲi/ 'story', /mʰuɳɲi/ 'saying' etc. In order to build these sentences, there are also two strategies in Konkani. In the first one, the modifier precedes the modified form and in the second one, a rightward displacement is carried out with the help of /ki/:

Example of both strategies (Almeida 1985:308):

(9)   sunil   gɛ-l-ɔ   ti   kʰəber   tɔ   aikə-t-a

Sunil   go-PFV-3M.SG   DEM   news   he   hear-PRS-3SG

'He hears the news that Sunil went'

(10)   ti   kʰəber   tɔ   aikə-t-a   ki   sunil   gɛ-l-ɔ

DEM   news   he   hear-PRS-3SG   COMP   Sunil   go-PFV-3M.SG

'He hears the news that Sunil went'

Correlatives are also a special type of construction in Indo-Aryan languages used for relatives and other embedded clauses. There is often the option between correlatives and some other type of embedding in the form of participials or adverbials, which are common in SOV languages.

Example of an adverbial embedded clause (Almeida 1985:310):

(11)   surjɔ   udɛ-tana   paus   pəɖ-l-ɔ

sun   rise-ADV   rain   fall-PFV-3M.SG

'As the sun rose it rained'

Example of an embedded clause of the correlative type (Almeida 1985:310):

(12)   kɛdaɭa surjɔ   udɛ-l-ɔ   tɛdaɭa paus   pəɖ-l-ɔ

when   sun   rise-PFV-3M.SG   then   rain   fall-PFV-3M.SG

'When the sun rose it rained'

Lehmann (1973:47) states that when we examine the morphological structure of languages which consistenly have objects before verbs (OV languages), we find that many of these languages are agglutinative. He explains that with a fundamental principle of placement of modifiers. By this principle, verbal modifiers such as negation and causation are placed after verb roots in OV languages. On the other hand, nominal modifiers such as relative clauses, adjectivals and genitivals precede the nouns in OV languages. This correlates well with Konkani word order.

As per Lehmann (1973) it is the placement of elements which leads to the agglutinative structure of languages. In Konkani, the order of elements coincides very fairly with the order found in consistent agglutinative languages. For example the interrogative particle comes at the end of the sentence. The negative marker is a suffix to the verb and modal markers or auxiliaries are placed after the verb root but preceding the interrogative markers.

Following Lehmann (1973) the placement of elements has also an effect on the phonological structure of languages and many languages with OV order and agglutinative morphology have (C)CV syllable structure. Another characteristic of OV languages is the existance of vowel harmony. The direction of vowel modification is comparable with the placement of modifiers of verbs. Konkani does comply with this statement in phonotactics and vowel harmony rules.

Further to that, OV languages tend to have pitch accent instead of stress accent. More studies on Konkani phonetics are required in order to have a clear idea about the nature of the suprasegmental features of the language. Almeida (1985:61) refers to a slight rise in pitch and somewhat extra energy in articulation, but less marked than in a language like English.

b) Split ergativity & Transitivity

Hopper and Thompson (1980:271) hold that in many languages, the ergative construction is limited to perfective or preterite environments while a non-ergative type is used in imperfective or non-preterite environments. This is the case for Konkani language that uses an ergative construction in the perfective aspect when there is presence of an object. The verb then agrees with the object in person, number and gender and the agent takes the instrumental case. The object, if animate, maintains the accusative marking (cf. (13) and (14) below). There is a closed list of verbs, though, that even in presence of an object cannot trigger the ergative transformation (Almeida 1985:263).

Example of a sentence with an animate object (Almeida 1985:229):

(13) cakr-a-n   put-a-k   apəi-l-ɔ

servant-OBL-INS   son-OBL-ACC   call-PFV-3M.SG

'The servant called the son'

Example of a sentence with an inanimate object (Almeida 1985:265):

(14) ta-ŋɛ   put-a-k   narl   di-l-ɔ

he-INS   son-OBL-DAT   coconut   give-PFV-3M.SG

'He gave coconut to the child'

Regarding transitivity as a continuum, we can take a look at another construction in Konkani that is worth mentioning. If we analyse the equivalent in Konkani to the verb 'to have' in English, we get a construction with a dative subject and the verb 'to be'. As per Hopper and Thompson's (1980:254) explanation, it would mean that this type of sentence in Konkani, though having two-participants, is low in transitivity. Besides, the verb 'to be' is usually omitted.

Example of a sentence equivalent to verb 'to have' (Almeida 1985:284)

(15) mʰəd͡ʒja   ani   tud͡ʒja   bʰurgjã-k   səglɛ̃   as-a

POSS.1P.OBL and   POSS.2P.OBL child.PL-DAT   everything   be-PRS.3SG

'My children and your children have everything'

Example of a sentence equivalent to verb 'to have' with verb deletion (Almeida 1985:218)

(16) ta-ka   ti:n   t͡ʃɛɖɛ   pəŋ   ek   t͡ʃeɖũ

he-DAT   three   boy.PL   but   one   girl.SG

'He has three boys but one girl'

As a morphosyntactic reflex of Transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980:255-256), it is usual that the object is marked only when it is highly individuated, that means when it is animate or definite. In Konkani the direct object is marked only when it is animate. The inanimate objects usually lack the accusative marking in the imperfective as well as in the perfective tenses (see again (13) and (14)).

c) Agreement

In Konkani a modifier agrees in number and gender with the noun it modifies and a verb agrees in person, number and gender with one of the NPs in the sentence (Almeida 1985:241).

Within a noun-phrase, the number and gender of determiners and adjetivals is determined by the head noun. Further to that, if the noun is in the direct case, the modifiers are also in the direct case. On the other hand, when a modifier occurs before a noun in one of the oblique cases, it shows its agreement by copying the oblique suffix but not the case marking.

Example of modifiers agreeing in gender and number with head noun (Almeida 1985:242)

(17)　　amt͡ʃ -ja　　　　　nɵv-ja　　　　　gʰɔɖ-ja-k

POSS.1PL-OBL.M/N.SG　　new-OBL.M/N.SG　horse-OBL.M/N.SG-DAT

'to our new horse'

Predicate adjectives, if inflectable, agree with the subject noun-phrase in number and gender.

Example of predicate agreement (Almeida 1985:243)

(18)　　ta-t͡sɔ　　　　　　bʰau　　　　mɔʈ-ɔ

POSS.3.M/N.SG-M.SG　　brother　　fat-M.SG

'His brother (is) fat'

Object complements agree with the object noun-phrase.

Example of a adjective agreeing with the object (Almeida 1985:243)

(19)　　vɵid͡z-a-n　　　　ta-ka　　bɵr-ɔ　　　kɛ-l-ɔ

doctor-OBL-INS　　he-ACC　well-M.SG　make-PFV-3.M.SG

'The doctor made him well (cured him)'

The verb agrees in person, number and gender with the subject noun-phrase except when it takes the ergative construction. In that case, it shows person-gender-number agreement with the direct object noun-phrase.

Example of verb agreement with subject noun-phrase (Almeida 1985:244)

(20)　　ti　　　　yɛ-tal-i

she.NOM　　come-IPFV-3.F.SG

'She was coming'

Example of verb agreement in an ergative construction (Almeida 1985:245)

(21)　　ta-ɳɛ　put-ak　haɖ-l-ɔ

he-INS　son-ACC　bring-PFV-3.M.SG

'He brought the son'

As we can see from these examples, in perfective tenses of Konkani we find a tripartite system by which Subject, Agent and Patient are marked differently (WALS feature: 98A).

There is an example of an atypical agreement in Konkani. Almeida (1985:246) explains that there is a tendency among speakers to use an impersonal construction in perfective aspect if the object is animate. In that case, the verb does not agree with the direct object or with the subject. Instead it takes a neuter agreement.

Example of impersonal construction instead of ergative construction (Almeida 1985:245)

(22)   ta-ŋɛ   put-ak   haɖ-l-ɛ̃

         he-INS   son-ACC   bring-PFV-3.N.SG

         'He brought the son'

I do not have sufficient elements to analyse this 'deviation' from the expected agreement in ergative construction in Konkani. Further research ought to be conducted in order to understand in which context it is found, whether age, education or social group have an influence on its use or even its development over time.

Another interesting case of agreement occurs when an adjectival is used as an adverb but gets inflected like an adjective, agreeing in number and gender with the subject noun-phrase.

Example of agreement of adverb with subject noun-phrase (Almeida 1985:246)

(23)   ta-t͡ʃi   avɵi   bɵr-i   bʰije-l-i

         POSS.3M/N.SG-F.SG   mother   much-F.SG   frighten-PFV-3F.SG

         'His mother was very much frightened'

Almeida (1985:253) mentions two cases in which semantic considerations determine the agreement between the noun-phrases and verbs. If the noun-phrase has two or more nouns, even if the inherent number of each noun is singular, the verb agreement has to be plural. Likewise, if within the noun-phrase there are nouns of different genders, the verb takes neuter agreement.

Example of a noun-phrase with nouns of different genders +verb taking neuter agreement (Almeida 1985:254)

(24)   bʰau   ani   bʰɵiŋ   sanata   ge-l-ĩ

         brother and   sister   together   go-PFV-3.N.PL

         'Brother and sister went together'

d) Accessibility hierarchy

In Konkani the most simple and most usual relative clauses are the participial clauses. These clauses relativize noun-phrases in subject position.

Example of a participial relative construction in Konkani (Almeida 1985: 294)

(25) t͡sunɔ   kaʈ-ʈəl-ɛ   aːj   gɛ-l-ɛ
      whitewash   apply-PRS PTCP-3.M.PL.   today   go-PFV-3.M.PL.
      'Those who whitewash went today'

The participial clauses can be considered the primary strategy to relativize in Konkani (Keenan & Comrie 1977:68). These relative clauses are prenominal, embedded and highly nominalized.

Following Lehmann (1986:672), the degree of nominalization of a relative clause correlates with its positional type and its achievement on the hierarchy of syntactic functions. In the languages of the world, the prenominal relative clauses have the highest degree of nominalization and the relative clauses with the highest degree of nominalization are the participial relative clauses. However, the more a relative clause is nominalized, the less syntactic functions it can make. Therefore this type of relative clauses can not go far in the accessibility hierarchy.

The alternative strategy to form relative clauses in Konkani is the correlative type of relative clauses. The Konkani relative clauses formed by this strategy can be recognised by the correlative use of pronouns, whereby /dzɔ/ 'which' or /kɔn/ 'who' and its various inflected forms introduce the relative clause and the demonstrative /tɔ/ 'that' or any of its inflected forms marks the noun-phrase in the matrix clause (Almeida 1985:300). It is also possible to have /dzɔ/ and /kɔn/ together in the first part of the correlative clause.

Examples of correlative clauses in Konkani (Almeida 1985:300)

(26) d͡zɔ kaːl   mɛ-l-ɔ   tɔ   mənis t͡səɖ girest
      any yesterday die-PFV-3MSG   that man   very   rich
      'The man who died yesterday was very rich'

(27) kɔɳat͡ʃɛ   pəiʃɛ   sãɖ-l-jat   ta-ɳɛ   firjad   di-ũt͡ʃi
      whose   money   lose-PFV-2PL   he-INS complaint give-should
      'The one who lost the money, should make a complaint'

(28)

d͡zɔ	kɔɳ	mʰə-d͡zɔ	mog	kər-t-a	ta-ka	pɛlya-t͡sɔ	mog	asa
any	who	POSS.1SG-M.SG	love	make-PRS-3SG	he-DAT	other-GEN.M.SG	love	is

'Any one who loves me, loves others'

This type of relative clauses is preposed, adjoined and does not form a nominal with the head noun following the categorization by Lehmann (1986). The adjoined relative clauses can relativize most if not all the syntactic functions. We have examples in Almeida´s work of relativization of dative and genitive cases. If the genitive can be relativized, all previous positions in the accesibility hierarchy can also to be relativized according to Keenan & Comrie (1977) predictions. The strategy of correlative clauses succeeds in relativizing a wide range of syntactic constructions that are out of reach for the participial clauses.

Let us now consider the following examples given by Almeida (1985:302):

(29)

d͡z-ɔ	pik-l-a	t-ɔ	pənəs	pəʈ-ʈ-a
which-M.SG	ripen-PRS PFV-3.M.SG	DEM-M.SG	jackfruit	fall-PRS-3.M.SG

'The jackfruit that has ripened falls'

(30)

d͡z-ɔ	pənəs	pik-l-a	t-ɔ	pəʈ-ʈ-a
which-M.SG	jackfruit	ripen-PRS PFV-3.M.SG	DEM-M.SG	fall-PRS-3.M.SG

'The jackfruit that has ripened falls'

(31)

pik-l-a	t-ɔ	pənəs	pəʈ-ʈ-a
ripen-PRS PFV-3.M.SG	DEM-M.SG	jackfruit	fall-PRS-3.M.SG

'The jackfruit that has ripened falls'

The three sentences have the same meaning. The first example portrays the basic form of the correlative clause in Konkani. In that case, we find a preposed relative clause and the nominal head lies in the matrix clause. On the other hand, the second example gives an example of an adjoined relative clause in which the nominal head lies in the relative clause itself and the pronoun /tɔ/ acts as an anaphoric pronoun in the matrix clause. In the last example, which is also possible in Konkani, the relative pronoun in the preposed relative clause is dropped and we understand that it is a relative clause from the order of elements and the presence of a demonstrative in the matrix clause.

II. Description and analysis of selected features

I have selected two groups of features that I would like to present in a more detailed way. The first group deals with morphology and the second group with sentence structure.

With respect to morphology I have opted for depicting the different morphological processes active in the language. My intention is to show the richness and variety of morphological processes existing in the Konkani language. Taking into account the predominantly flexive morphology of the language, it is not unforeseen to find an abundant array of affixation. Konkani is largely suffixing, which on the top of being a general tendency in world languages, is more prominent in an SOV language. On the other side, taking into consideration the high level of structural convergence of Konkani with neighbouring agglutinative Dravidian languages, we can also anticipate profuseness of compounding. The extensive use of reduplication is shared with languages from other families inside the Indian Linguistic Area, for example with the Munda languages. Finally, a morphological process based on internal modification is not so easily expected after having analysed the characteristics of Konkani morphology. However, some instances of internal morphology or ablaut are found in Konkani, a trait which is more commonly found in highly flexive morphological environments.

With regard to sentence structure, I'll describe some processes of modification of the simple sentence i.e. the peculiarities of formation of interrogative sentences and the circunstances for deletion/dropping of elements within the sentence. Additionally I'll present an account of the methods for constructing complex sentences, including coordination and embedding. I would like to depict here the overall tendency of the language to exhibit two different kinds of structures for almost each type of complex sentence. On the one side, there is a simple structure, on the other side, there is a correlative structure with different kinds of correlative particles. In the case of embedding, the most usual option tends to be a simple left-branching construction with a non-finite verb which precedes the main clause having a finite verb. Parallelly, there is a choice to build complex sentences of all kinds with the help of correlative pronouns or particles. Correlative constructions are characteristic of Indo-Aryan languages and are sometimes used to access a larger number of grammatical functions than their alternative constructions as we have seen in the analysis of relative clauses.

II.1 Morphological processes

There are different types of morphological processes. These can be divided into concatenative and non-concatenative. Concatenative processes are linear in nature and consist of combination or attachment of morphemes in a word. Non-concatenative processes involve internal alternations in the morpheme.

In Konkani we find different kinds of morphological processes in the formation of words. Based on Almeida (1985:99-116), some instances of internal modification will be presented in the first place and subsequently we will take an overview of different kinds of concatenative processes comprising reduplication, compounding and affixing.

II.1.1. Internal modification

In Konkani the grammatical properties of a word can be modified by a vocalic or consonantal alternation at morpheme level. The language's split morphology analyzed in previous chapters supplies us with richness of morphological means. These internal inflections are more typical of flexive morphological environments.

In Konkani, vocalic alternations occur in a variety of cases and may modify grammatical functions like gender, number or verb valency.

Example of change in grammatical gender (Almeida 1985:99)

(32) /bɔr/ 'berry' (neuter)   /bor/ 'berry tree' (feminine)

/pɛr/ 'guava' (neuter)   /per/ 'guava tree' (feminine)

Example of change in number (Almeida 1985:100)

(33) /por/ 'child' (singular)   /pɔr/ 'children' (plural)

/t͡sor/ 'thief' (singular)   /t͡sɔr/ 'thieves' (plural)

Example of a causative transformation (Almeida 1985:100)

(34) /mɵr/ 'die'   /mar/ 'kill'

/mɔɖ/ 'break, iv.'   /moɖ/ 'break, tv.'

Almeida also gives examples in which there is an alternation in the vocalic as well as in the consonantal elements of the word.

Example of a causative transformation with vocalic & consonantal change (Almeida 1985:100)

(35) /fuʈ/ 'crack, iv. '   /foɖ/ 'crack, tv.'

      /suʈ/ 'come loose'   /soɖ/ 'loosen'

Vowel and consonant lengthening are also used among the processes described as internal modification of the morphemes. Vowel lengthening is found in some instances of change in word class and lengthening of consonants is used as an intensifier.

Example of vowel lengthening to form nouns from verbs (Almeida 1985:101)

(36) /bãd/ 'bind'   /bã:d/ 'bond'

      /lab/ 'obtain'   /la:b/ 'profit'

Example of consonant lengthening as an intensifier (Almeida 1985:101)

(37) /atã/ 'now'   /attã/ 'just now'

      /vegĩ/ 'quickly'   /veggĩ/ 'very quickly'

II.1.2. Reduplication

Reduplication is used extensively in Konkani as a morphological process with the purpose of expressing concepts e.g. distribution, reciprocity etc. The process of reduplication consists on copying a morpheme or part of it and attaching it to the original morpheme. In the following examples we can see that part/full morpheme is added preceding the original morpheme.

Example of reduplication denoting distribution (Almeida 1985: 102)

(38) /ek/ 'one'   /ekek/ 'one each'

      /don/ 'two'   /dodon/ 'two each'

      /ti:n/ 'three'   /titi:n/ 'three each'

Example of reduplication denoting reciprocity (Almeida 1985:102)

(39) /bʰabau/   'brothers to each other'

      /bʰəbəiɳi/   'sisters to each other'

      /ɛkamɛka/   'to each other'

The shortening of long vowels when a syllable is added and the loss of aspiration in medial and final position occur due to the phonological processes prevalent in Konkani.

There are other processes of reduplication in Konkani that cross the word boundary. The following are examples of processes of duplication of morphemes forming a combination of two words to express concepts like plurality or continuous activity.

Example of reduplication denoting plurality or excess (Almeida 1985:102)

(40) /ãbɛts͡ ãbɛ/   'lots of mangoes'

/pausut͡s paus/ 'excessive rain'

Example of reduplication denoting customary or continuous activity (Almeida 1985:102)

(41) /bəsun bəsun/   'sitting for long'

/dʰaun dʰaun/   'running without stopping'

One special type of reduplication takes place when the speaker wants to convey the expression 'and other such things'. In that case, the word is duplicated but with an alteration in the first syllable which gets replaced by morpheme /-bi/. This type of reduplication is often called echo-word formation and it can be found across different language families of South Asia.

Example of reduplication with replacement of first syllable by /-bi/ (Almeida 1985:103)

(42) /kaɖi biɖi/   'sticks and other such things'

/ud͡zɔ bid͡zɔ/   'fire or something like that'

II.1.3. Compounding

Compounding is done through the combination of two stems to form a word. All compounds have a head, which is the element that determines the type of word the compound will belong to. This type of morphological process is quite extensive in Konkani and nouns and verbs are the main constituents of the compounds. Compounding is a concatenative type of morphological process. Being transparency one of its characteristics, compounding as a morphological process differentiates itself from the rather opaque typical flexive morphology.

In Konkani only the last element of the compound takes an affix. According to Almeida (1985:105) the morpheme boundary constrains the application of the vowel-harmony rule. However, the vowel reduction rule is applicable in compounding by which "a non-onset long vowel is shortened before the second element of the compound".

Some compounds are formed by two words of the same class which are synonyms. As per Almeida, this apparent redundancy gives rhetorical amplitude to these terms.

Example of compounds made up of synonyms (Almeida 1985:105)

(43) Noun + Noun: bãd#paːs   'bonds of unity'

      Verb + Verb: t͡səl#vəs   'get going'

      Adjective + Adjective: lãb#diːg   'very tall'

Another set of compounds are made of words of the same class belonging to the same semantic field, the result of which shows a higher level of abstractness.

Example of compounds with idiomatic force (Almeida 1985:106)

(44) Noun + Noun: baɭ#buːd   (child+mind) 'senility'

      Adjective + Adjective: ãbəʈ#tiːk   (sour + pungent) 'spicy'

The third type of compounds are formed by a combination of nouns and verbs. Most of these compounds are right-headed which means that the right constituent determines the grammatical category of the word. However there are some exceptions to this general trend.

Example of noun-stem with genitival meaning (Almeida 1985:106)

(45) Noun + Noun: suŋja#ʃempɖi   dog's tail

      Noun+ Noun: masa#d͡ʒɛvəɳ   meat dish

Example of noun-stem with locational meaning + noun (Almeida 1985:106)

(46) Noun+ Noun: kʰãda#kʰuris   cross on shoulder

      Noun+ Noun: gʰãʈa#bəil   mountain (performing) bull

Example of noun-stem with locational meaning + verb (Almeida 1985:106)

(47) Noun + Verb: pãjã#pəɖ   (feet+fall) surrender

      Noun + Verb: gəɭja#bãd   (neck+tie) put to shame

Example of verb borrowed from Portuguese + vector verb (Almeida 1985:107)

(48) Verb + Verb: kad͡zar#kər   (wed+do) marry

      Verb + Verb: rəd͡zar#kər   (pray+do) pray

Example of noun + verb > verb (Almeida 1985:107)

(49) Noun + Verb: mog#kər   (love+make) love

      Noun + Verb: səput#gʰal   (oath+put) swear

Example of adverbial form + verb > verb (Almeida 1985:107)

(50)   Adverbial + Verb: sodun#kaɖ   (searching+take) discover

         Adverbial + Verb: dʰaɖun#di   (sending+give) send along

Example of verb + verb > noun (Almeida 1985:107)

(51)   Verb + Verb: soɖ#doɖ   (release+bend) relaxation of rule

         Verb + Verb: uʈ#bəs   (rise+sit) harassment

The last examples of verb + verb forming a noun are neither right-headed nor left-headed. They are exceptional in comparison with the other categories of compounds.

From the examples above we can see that some of the compounds are more semantically transparent or endocentric compared to others which are less transparent or exocentric. An example of an endocentric compound would be /səput#gʰal/ (oath+put) swear. On the other side an example of an exocentric compound could be /uʈ#bəs/ (rise+sit) harassment.

II.1.4. Affixing

Affixing is the morphological process which is most frequently used in Konkani language (Almeida 1985:107). Among affixes we find prefixes, derivational suffixes and inflectional suffixes. There is a predominance of suffixing over prefixing and this predominance is expected from a SOV language and even beyond this type (because of the well-known suffixing preference studied by Hawkins, Gilligan and others).

a) Prefixing

Prefixing is not a very productive process in Konkani. Nevertheless there are some prefixes used to negate and with locational or comparative meaning. In addition, there are some prefixes borrowed from Sanskrit that are used in Konkani while other Sanskrit prefixes have been directly taken together with the Sanskrit loanwords but are not used to create other words i.e. they are not productive.

Table 9: Prefixes in Konkani (Adapted from Almeida 1985:108-9)

Prefixes meaning negation:	/ə-/, /ən-/, /əu-/, /na-/
Prefixes with locational meaning:	/prəti-/, /pəri-/, /prə-/, /upa-/, /a:-/
Prefixes with comparative meaning:	/pərəm-/, /bʰəu-/, /əbi-/

| Sanskrit prefixes: | /nir-/, /niʃ-/, /əp-/ |
| Other prefixes: | /sət-/, /svə-/, /səma-/, /su-/ |

b) Derivational suffixing

The derivational suffixes in Konkani are placed after the root and before the inflectional suffixes and this sequence complies with Greenberg's universal No. 28. In a word, there may be more than just one derivational suffix. Only certain roots or stems within a word class take derivational suffixes. Some derivational suffixes change the word class of the original word, others do not change the word class but the meaning of the word to which they are added.

Konkani derivational suffixes are divided by Almeida (1985:111-114) into nominalizers, verbalizers, adjectivalizers and adverbializers. They can be further split into subclasses depending on the original word class of the word to which the derivational suffix is added. Diminutives and causative derivation is also included in this section.

(i) Nominalizers:

Noun > Noun: /-ari/, /er/, /iʃʈ/, /-vẽt/, /-i/, /-kar/, /-pəŋ/

(52)

-ari	pɔtari	greedy person
-er	tĩter	inkstand
-iʃʈ	dʰərmiʃʈ	pious person

Verb > Noun: /-əp/, /-əɖ/, /-ɔ/, /-pi/, /-vəʟ/, /-ŋi/, /-ŋɛ/, /-əŋ/

(53)

-əp	vaɖəp	growth
-əɖ	kusəɖ	putrefied matter
-ɔ	tʰərtʰərɔ	trepidation

Adjective > Noun: /-ai/, /-i/, /-pəŋ/, /-tai/, /-saŋ/, /-kai/

(54)

-ai	aʟsai	laziness
-i	rũdi	breadth
-pəŋ	vʰəɖpeŋ	greatness

Adverb > Noun: /-ai/

(55)

| -ai | səukasai | peace |

(ii) Verbalizers:

(56)

| -əi | bʰeʈəi | offer |
| -ai | mɔlai | set a price |

There are not many suffixes with verbalizing function in Konkani except for a few verbs derived from nouns. The most common process to convert a noun into a verb is by forming a compound verb.

    (iii) Adjectivalizers:

Noun > Adjective: /-al̪/, /-est/, /-i/, /-adik/, /-ṽẽt/, /-iʃʈ/, /-ik/

(57)
-al̪	mɔgal̪	beloved
-est	gɵrbest	pregnant
-i	gulabi	rose-colored

Verb > Adjective: /-ik/, /it/, /-i/, /ɖɔ/, /-kurɔ/

(58)
-ik	sosŋik	long-suffering
-it	bʰɵrit	full
-i	kal̪ki	dark

Adjective > Adjective: /-it/, /-sɔ/, /-lɔ/

(59)
-it	uʰnunit	warm/fresh
-sɔ	lʰansɔ	smallish
-lɔ	vʰɵɖlɔ	big/elder

Adverbial > Adjective: /-lɔ/

(60)
-lɔ	bʰitɵrlɔ	one from inside

    (iv) Adverbializers:

Noun > Adverb: /-ĩ/, /-ɛ̃/, /-ʃĩ/

(61)
-ĩ	ratĩ	by night
-ɛ̃	fuɖɛ̃	forward
-ʃĩ	apʃĩ	spontaneously

Verb > Adverb: /-tã/, /-tana/

(62)
-tã	kɵrtã	when doing
-tana	ditana	while giving

Adjective > Adverb: /-n/

(63)
-n	mɔʧan	loudly

Adverb > Adverb: /-sɵr/

(64)
-sɵr	tʰɵ̃isɵr	over there

(v) Diminutives

Among derivational suffixes, there are also diminutive suffixes which are placed after the root and before the inflectional suffixes: /-li/, /-ul/, /-kul/, /-ɵʈ/

(65)   -li   dõgurli   hillock

                       -ul   koitul   small sickle

                       -kul   fõɖkul   small pit

(vi) Causative verb formation

The formation of causative verbs can also be considered within the realm of derivation when it is done through the addition of a derivative suffix to the verb stem. In Konkani there is first and second causative derivation (Almeida 1985:197). This strategy for the formation of causatives can be considered an areal feature in South Asia and is called by Southworth (2012) as double-causatives.

Almeida presents a series of suffixes for the creation of causatives in Konkani. By this process the valency of a verb is augmented.

/-ɵi/ is used for the first causative formation. /-ɵi/ turns into /-vɵi/ if the verb root ends with a vowel.

(66)   Example: /kɵr/ 'do' > /kɵrɵi/ 'cause to do'

                             /kʰa/ 'eat' > /kʰavɵi/ 'cause to eat'

/-vɵi/ is also used to produce the double causative

(67)   Example: /rig/ 'enter, INTR' > /rigɵi/ 'pass, TR' > /rigvɵi/ 'cause to pass'

                             /ful/ 'blosson' > /fulɵi/ 'open' > /fulvɵi/ 'cause to open'

/-ɖai/ is also used to form the causative form of a limited class of verbs

(68)   Example: /gʰũu/ 'turn, INTR' > /gʰũuɖai/ 'turn, TR'

/-ai/ is used for the formation of a causative verb from a nominal or adjectival

(69)   Example: /tʰapɵɖ/ 'slap, noun' > /tʰapɖai/ 'slap, TR'

/-ɛ/ is used to derive causatives from a noun providing an inchoative meaning

(70)   Example: /bʰu:k/ 'hunger, noun' > /bʰukɛ/ 'hunger, INTR'

c) Inflectional suffixing

Konkani is a highly inflected language (Almeida 1985:116). Nominals are inflected for number, case and some times for gender. Adjectives and adjectivals are inflected for gender and number. And verbs are inflected for person, number, gender, tense and aspect. There is also a separate inflection paradigm for verb negative forms. The case markers of Konkani nouns were shown in Table 4 and the general paradigm for inflection of nouns was presented in Table 5. The inflection of personal pronouns was summarized in Table 6 and an example of conjugation for the verb /rig/ 'enter' was given in Table 7. Finally the modified paradigm for the inflection of adjectives was added in Table 8.

A peculiar feature of the inflectional suffixing process of the nominals in Konkani is the use of a complex suffix which contains number, gender (and person). The complex suffix is added to the noun stem and it has a different form for the direct case (nominative) / oblique case (all other cases). The formation of a nominal in the direct form requires a noun stem + complex suffix in direct form.

For example the root /gʰɔɖ-/ can take the following inflections (Almeida 1985:126)

(71)	gʰɔɖ-ɔ	gʰoɖ-i	gʰɔɖ-ɛ̃
	horse-M.SG	horse-F.SG	horse-N.SG
	'horse'	'mare'	'foal'

The formation of a nominal in the oblique form requires a noun stem + complex suffix in oblique form.

For example the same root /gʰɔɖ-/ in oblique form (Almeida 1985:127)

(72)	gʰɔɖ-ja	gʰoɖ-je	gʰɔɖ-ja
	horse-M/N.SG.OBL	horse-F.SG.OBL	horse-M/N.SG.OBL
	'horse'	'mare'	'foal'

In addition to the general paradigm depicted in the previous examples, there are some more paradigms for nouns in Konkani. Further to that, sandhi rules operative in Konkani have to be observed in the inflectional process.

Nominals inflected with a morphological case have the following structure: noun stem + complex suffix in oblique form + case marking. Postpositions in Konkani are independent words compared to the case inflections which are not. Most of them are placed after a noun in the oblique form and a small number of them are placed after the direct or dative form.

II.2 Structure of a Konkani sentence

In Konkani the subject of a sentence may be in the direct case or marked with instrumental inflection or dative inflection. The object may appear with the accusative/dative inflection /-k/ if animate, or in the direct case if inanimate. The indirect object is always marked with dative inflection /-k/. (Almeida 1985:229).

Word order is considerably free compared with that of English (Almeida 1985:230). Although the constituents within a noun-phrase or a verb-phrase follow a fixed order, the order of the sentence constituents may change according to requirements of emphasis.

An example of possible word orders for the same sentence (Almeida 1985:230-231)

(73)   pedru   rama-k   ek   lʰan   ãb-ɔ   di-t-a
         Peter   Rama-DAT   one   small   mango-M.SG   give-PRS-3.SG
         'Peter gives Rama a small mango'

(74)   rama-k   pedru   ek   lʰan   ãb-ɔ   di-t-a
         Rama-DAT   Peter   one   small   mango-M.SG   give-PRS-3.SG

(75)   lʰan   ek   ãb-ɔ   pedru   rama-k   di-t-a
         small   one   mango-M.SG   Peter   Rama-DAT   give-PRS-3.SG

(76)   *pedru   ek   lʰan   rama-k   ãb-ɔ   di-t-a
         Peter   one   small   Rama-DAT   mango-M.SG   give-PRS-3.SG

Determiner and adjective can exchange place but the noun phrase must stay together. Therefore the fourth sentence is not acceptable in Konkani.

Following the predictable word-order, the verb must be at the end of the sentence. However, any NP can be placed after the verb phrase in order to stress the new information in the sentence or focus.

Example of a sentence with the focus after the verb phrase (Almeida 1985:231)

(77)   rama-k   ek   lʰan   ãb-ɔ   di-t-a   pedru
         Rama-DAT   one   small   mango-M.SG   give-PRS-3.SG   Peter

II.2.1. Interrogative sentences

In Konkani yes/no questions can be derived just by changing the intonation of a sentence. Further to the entonational type of questions, interrogative sentences can be divided into two types: Q-type and K-word type (Almeida 1985:266).

a) Q-type questions

Interrogative particles are used when there is no interrogative pronoun or adjective in the interrogative sentence. They mainly correspond to yes-no questions but they can be divided into subclasses.

Questions demanding information use particles: /vθi, gi, kai, gai/ (Almeida 1985:210):

(78)   gaɖi   ai-l-i   vθi?
          train   come-PFV-3.F.SG   Q
          'Did the train come?'

Questions demanding a definite + or - answer use: /ki na/ or /gi na/ (Almeida 1985:210)

(79)   gai   meɭ-ɭ-i   ki   na?
          cow   find-PFV-3.F.SG   Q   NEG
          'Did you or did you not find the cow?'

Questions demanding a confirmation use particles: /mu/ or /nθi/ (Almeida 1985:210)

(80)   pedru   gɛ-l-ɔ   mu?
          Peter   go-PFV-3.M.SG   Q
          'Peter went, didn´t he?'

b) K-type questions

K-words emerge in open questions. They are used to elicit open-ended information. They substitute any word in the declarative sentence with an interrogative pronoun or adjective starting by /-k/. There is no fronting of K-word in Konkani. The K-word stays in the same space left by the replaced word and takes the same inflection which the replaced word was holding.

Example of a declarative sentence and the k-words that can substitute the elements (Almeida 1985:265)

(81)   pedru   paulu-k   a:j   bθri   masɭi   vik-t-a
          Peter   Paul-DAT   today   good.F.SG   fish   sell-PRS-3SG
          'Peter sells Paul good fish today'

          kɔŋ   *kɔŋ-ak*   *kɛdaɭa* *kesli*   *kitɛ*   *kitɛ̃ kθr-t-a*
          who   *whom*   *when*   *what type* *what*   *what does*

II.2.2. Deletion/Dropping

In Konkani there are several types of deletion which may take place in the sentence. In non-ergative sentences, the subject pronoun and the copula verb are often dropped. In ergative constructions the agent marked by the instrumental case may be deleted.

(i) Subject-pronoun dropping

In Konkani the verb is marked for person, number and in some tenses for gender. Therefore, the subject pronoun can be deleted without diluting the meaning of the sentence. Sometimes the pronoun can be retained for emphasis (Almeida 1985:269).

Example of a sentence with and without subject pronoun (Almeida 1985:269)

(82)	tũ	gʰəra	vɛ-təl-əi	Vs	∅	gʰəra	vɛ-təl-əi
	you	home	go-FUT DEF-2.N.SG		∅	home	go-FUT DEF-2.N.SG
	'You will go home'				'(You) will go home'		

(ii) Copula deletion

Copula deletion is found in Konkani for equatives and predicative adjectives in the present tense.

Example of a sentence with and without copula (Almeida 1985:271)

(83)	tɔ	vʰəɖ	asa	Vs	tɔ	vʰəɖ	∅
	he	big	is		he	big	∅
	'He is big'				'He (is) big'		

Miranda (2003:754-755) gives a full account of the cases in which copula deletion is obligatory, optional or not permitted. In equative sentences, copula deletion is obligatory. In attributive sentences, copula deletion is optional. However the meaning of each option is not identical: if deleted, it has the meaning of a general truth; if not deleted, it has a sence of something valid at that particular moment.

A locative be-verb can not be deleted in Konkani. Finally, in dative-subject constructions where the be-verb means possession, its deletion is optional unless it is used with non-enumerated kinship terms, for which it is not allowed.

(iii) Agent deletion

The agent marked with the instrumental case in the ergative construction can be deleted when not essential for the communication. It is similar to the deletion of an agent in a passive construction.

Example of a sentence with and without agent (Almeida 1985:272)

(84)   taɲi   tɛl   haɖ-l-ã

         they.INS   oil   bring-PFV-3.N.SG.PRS PFV (CLASS IV)

         'They brought oil'

(85)   ∅   tɛl   haɖ-l-ã

         ∅   oil   bring-PFV-3.N.SG.PRS PFV (CLASS IV)

         'Oil is brought'

II.2.3. Coordination

a) Sentences with conjunctive coordinators

Conjunctive sentences in Konkani can be formed with simple or correlative coordinators. Coordinators /ani/ or /anik/ can be used to join clauses like in the following example:

Example of conjunctive sentence with coordinator /ani/ (Almeida 1985:279)

(86)   forsu   nʰa-l-ɔ   ani   lorsu   ta:k   pijɛ-l-ɔ

         Francis   bathe-PFV-3.M.SG   and   Lawrence   buttermilk   drink-PFV-3.M.SG

         ' Francis bathed and Lawrence drank buttermilk'

Another way of linking two clauses together is possible through correlative elements.

Example of coordination with correlative particles (Almeida 1985:281)

(87)   tɔ-ji: bǝs-l-ɔ   ti-ji   bǝs-l-i

         he-too   sit-PFV-3M.SG   she-too   sit-PFV-3F.SG

         'Both he and she sat down'

b) Sentences with disjunctive coordinators

Alternative clauses may also be formed with simple or correlative coordinators. The series composed of /vǝ/, /ja:/, /natljar/ and /nad͡zaljar/ are used to form the simplest form of alternative clauses.

Example of alternative clauses with disjunctive coordinator /natljar/ (Almeida 1985:281)

(88)   uʃa   jɛ-tǝl-ɛ̃   natljar aʃa   jɛ-tǝl-ɛ̃

         Usha   come-FUT DEF-1/3.N.SG   or   Asha   come-FUT DEF-1/3.N.SG

The correlative particles used to express alternation are /d͡zãu...d͡zãu/ and /jekut͡s...natljar/ 'either or'.

Example of alternative clauses with correlative disjunctive coordinators (Almeida 1985:281)

(89)   jekut͡s   tɔ   jɛ-tǝl-ɔ   natljar ti   jɛ-tǝl-i

         Either   he   come-FUT DEF-3.M.SG   or   she   come-FUT DEF-3.F.SG

c) Sentences with adversative coordinators

Clauses can be connected with any one of the adversative coordinators /pəɳ/ and /puɳ/

Example of clauses linked with adversative coordinator /puɳ/ (Almeida 1985:218)

(90) pedru has-t-a   puɳ   paulu reʈ-ʈ-a

Peter laugh-PRS-3.SG but   Paul   cry-PRS-3.SG

'Peter laughs but Paul cries.'

d) Conjunction reduction

Any lexical or phrasal category of the same type and performing the same syntactic function, e.g. noun-phrase and noun-phrase or verb-phrase and verb-phrase, can be conjoined and the elements of the sentence which would be identical need not be repeated. An example of this process, termed by Almeida (1985:284) as conjunction reduction, can be seen in the following sentence:

Example of a sentence with coordination of two elements of the same type (Almeida 1985:284)

(91) mʰə-d͡ʒja ani   tu-d͡ʒja   bʰurgjã-k   səg|ɛ̃   as-a

POSS.1SG-OBL and   POSS.2SG-OBL child.PL-DAT everything be-PRS.3SG

'My children and your children have everything'

e) Conjunctive participle (Converbs)

A special way of attaching one clause to another is by means of the so-called Conjunctive Participle (Miranda 2003), which is a common structure in languages of South Asia. In modern Konkani, the subject takes the agentive marker or not depending on the finite verb in such a sentence. It does not matter whether that verb is in the same clause as the subject or not. In the example the subject does not take the instrumental or agentive marker because the finite verb is intransitive.

Example of a sentence with the Conjunctive Participle (Miranda 2003:757)

(92) tɔ   hat-ãt   ma|a   ghe-un   d͡ʒəp   kər-ũk   bʌs-l-ɔ

he   hand-LOC beads take-ADV meditation do-INF   sit-PFV-3.M.SG

'He took the beads in his hand and sat down to meditate'

II.2.4. Embedding

We have seen some examples of clauses with complementizers and a full account of relative constructions in chapter I.2.3. In this section we will overview different types of adverbial clauses in Konkani.

a) Adverbial clauses of time

There are two strategies to build adverbial clauses of time in Konkani. In the first option an adverbial verb form is used in the embedded clause preceding the matrix clause. Alternatively a construction of the correlative type may be used in order to express the same meaning. The correlative construction uses connective particles: /kɛdaɭa …   tɛdaɭa …/. The first element of the correlative is optionally deleted.

Example of an adverbial verbal form in an adverbial clause of time (Almeida 1985:310)

(93) surjɔ   udɛ-tana   paus   pəɖ-l-ɔ

sun   rise-ADV   rain   fall-PFV-3M.SG

'As the sun rose it rained'

Example of a correlative construction in an adverbial clause of time (Almeida 1985:310)

(94) kɛdaɭa surjɔ   udɛ-l-ɔ   tɛdaɭa paus   pəɖ-l-ɔ

when   sun   rise-PFV-3M.SG   then   rain   fell-PFV-3M.SG

'When the sun rose it rained'

A postposition may also be used in the formation of an embedded adverbial clause of time.

Example of use of a postposition in an adverbial clause of time (Almeida 1985:311)

(95) pedru   gɛ-lja   uprãt   priska   piɖest   d͡za-l-ã

Peter   go-PTCP OBL   after   Prisca   ill   become-PFV-3.N.SG (PRS PFV) (CLASS IV)

b) Adverbial clauses of place

The strategies to form adverbial clauses of place in Konkani are analogous to the strategies described for adverbial clauses of time. Almeida gives an example of an embedded adverbial clause delimited by adverb /tʰə̃i/ and an example of a locational correlative with connectives /d͡zə̃i… tʰə̃i…/

Example of an adverbial verbal form in an adverbial clause of place (Almeida 1985:312)

(96) | mati | bəri | asa | tʰə̃i | ek | d͡zaɖ | vaɖ-t-a
| soil | good-F.SG | be-PRS.3SG | there | one | tree | grow-PRS-3.SG

'A tree grows where the soil is good.'

Example of a correlative construction in an adverbial clause of place (Almeida 1985:312)

(97) | d͡zə̃i | bəri | mati | asa | tʰə̃i | ek | d͡zaɖ | vaɖ-t-a
| where | good-F.SG | soil | be-PRS.3SG | there | one | tree | grow-PRS-3.SG

'A tree grows where there is good soil.'

c) Adverbial clauses of manner

Adverbial clauses of manner take the form of an adverbial phrase and they are built with the help of the non-finite verbal form with suffix /-un/. This is the same construction that was previously called conjunction participle (or converb).

Example of an adverbial clause of manner (Almeida 1985:313)

(98) | rai | palk-ẽt | bəs-un | kaʃi | gɛ-l-ɔ
| king | palanquin-LOC | sit-ADV | Benares | go-PFV-3.M.SG

'The King went to Benares sitting in a palanquin.'

The manner clause can be reduplicated for emphasis as in the following example.

Example of a reduplicated adverbial clause of manner (Almeida 1985:313)

(99) | tɔ | dʰa-un | dʰa-un | ai-l-ɔ
| he | run-ADV | run-ADV | come-PFV-3.M.SG

'He came running.'

d) Adverbial clauses of purpose

Almeida (1985:314) gives an example of three possible ways of forming purpose clauses. The first takes a finite verb form and particle /mʰəɳ/, the second an infinitive form and the third is a combination of both. Even though he gives the same translation for the three sentences, he declares that each of them has a slightly different nuance in Konkani.

Example of three types of clauses of purpose (Almeida 1985:314)

(100) | ti-ka | pəɭɛ-təl-ɔ | mʰəɳ | ai-l-ɔ
| she-ACC | see-FUT-3.M.SG | PURP | come-PFV-3.M.SG

'He came to see her.'

(101)   ti-ka   pe|ɛ-ũk   ai-l-ɔ

                      she-ACC   see-INF   come-PFV-3.M.SG

                      'He came to see her.'

(102)   ti-ka   pe|ɛ-ũk   mʰəŋ   ai-l-ɔ

                      she-ACC   see-INF   PURP   come-PFV-3.M.SG

                      'He came to see her.'

This profusion of forms for the formation of adverbial clauses of purpose ought to be further studied in order to find out its origin as it may be a case of borrowing of a structure due to language contact.

e) Adverbial clauses of condition

Conditional clauses can be built by using a non-finite verb form with inflection /-ljar/. Another form of deriving a conditional clause is with a finite verb form and subordinating connectives like /tər/, /d͡zər… tər…/ or /d͡zərtər…/ 'if'.

Example of a conditional clause with non-finite verb form taking inflection /-ljar/ (Almeida 1985:315)

(103)   tũ-vɛ̃   saŋ-ljar   tɔ   patjɛ-na

                      you-INS   say-COND   he   believes-NEG

                      'If you tell (him) he will not believe'

Example of the same conditional clause with a finite verb form and connectives (Almeida 1985:316)

(104)   tũ   saŋ-t-ai   tər   tɔ   patjɛ-na

                      you   tell-PRS-2.SG   if   he   believes-NEG

(105)   d͡zər   tũ   saŋ-t-ai   tər   tɔ   patjɛ-na

                      if   you   tell-PRS-2.SG   then   he   believes-NEG

(106)   d͡zərtər tũ   saŋ-t-ai   tɔ   patjɛ-na

                      if   you   tell-PRS-2.SG   he   believes-NEG

The first strategy uses a simple non-finite verb and a suffix that has the meaning of condition. The second strategy is correlative but interestingly the first subordinating correlative connective may be deleted, forcing /tər/ to behave as a demarcation particle between protasis and apodosis.

III. Konkani in the Indian linguistic area

The vast majority of the inhabitants of India speak languages belonging to three families; Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda. It was Emeneau (1956:16) who coined the term 'linguistic area' to define an area which includes languages belonging to more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to the other members of (at least) one of the families.

There is phonetic convergence between the major families in South Asia, the use of retroflex consonants being the most stereotypical example of this confluence. Besides, there is also convergence of rhythm according to the thesis expressed by Donegan and Stampe in their 2004 article, "Rhythm and the synthetic drift of Munda", in which they explain how Munda languages underwent a shift in rhythm from iambic to trocaic due to language contact. The shift in rhythm was the cause for other changes in their morphology and syntax.

Southworth (2012) summarizes the shared structural features in South Asia as the following: SOV order in unemphatic declarative sentences, use of postpostions, left-branching noun phrases, syntactic processes like the dative-subject constructions, extensive use of conjunctive participles for conjoining sentences and double causative verbs (causative of causative).

Konkani belongs to the south-western group of Indo-Aryan languages of India. Among the Indo-Aryan languages, it shares more features with Marathi and Gujarati but also shares some significant features with the Eastern languages. Moreover, according to some authors, it is believed to have a Munda or proto-Australoid substratum. And finally it shares border and many centuries of common history with Kannada, a Dravidian language.

III.1. Konkani within the Indo-Aryan family

Masica (1991) provides a thorough analysis of the Indo-Aryan languages. In his book we can find some features of Konkani that differ from the mainstream development of Indo-Aryan languages. For example in some of the southern dialects of Konkani, the loss of original end-final vowels that happened in the 16th and 17th centuries is not complete. We must note that these speakers of Konkani left Goa and headed south after the arrival of the Portuguese. The presence of these vowels were wrongly attributed to Dravidian influence. However Katre explained that /-u/ and /-a/ distinguish old masculine from neuter.

Another special feature of Konkani is that initial aspirates are tolerated only initially and non-initial aspiration is shifted to the initial consonant. In Konkani as well as in Marathi, middle Indo-Aryan 's' remained, later splitting allophonically to [s, ʃ].

In Konkani, Marathi and in some eastern languages, [c, ɟ, ɟʰ] (or [t͡ʃ, d͡ʒ, d͡ʒʰ]) progressed to [t͡s, d͡z, d͡zʰ] before non-front vowels. Later borrowings with [c, ɟ, ɟʰ] before non-front vowels have turned the allophones into phonemic entities.

There are some more features which are peculiar to Konkani within the Indo-Aryan languages family. Still referring to Masica (1991), vowel /a/ has developed a rounded and backed pronunciation in some areas of India, including the northwest, the east and some dialects of Konkani. In addition, nasalization is stronger in the western Indo-Aryan languages e.g. in Konkani "where it tends to play not only a lexical but a morphological role". Murmured vowels are present in Konkani and Marathi. Finally, vowel harmony rules are characteristic of Konkani, Bengali and Kashmiri.

There are some common features between the Indo-Aryan languages of the south-west of India (Marathi, Konkani) and the languages of the east (Bangla, Oriya). One of the most known features is the use of -l- in the formation of the past tense instead of -t-. Southworth (2012) makes an account of some other evidences of linguistic links between east and west. Among them there are some shared irregular past forms e.g. Konkani /aːj-lo/ and Oriya /aːj-lo/ 'came' and also some shared historical developments and innovations e.g. OIA /ʃ, ʂ, s/ > East-West /s/ and OIA /ɽ/ >East-West /a/ .

According to Southworth (2012), there is evidence in the late Vedic period literature that before the time of the Buddha two major dialect areas existed; one located in the midland and other combining the east and the south. This is what he calls the inner Indo-Aryan (North-Central) and outer Indo-Aryan (South-Eastern) regions and that would explain the shared developments and features in common between the Indo-Aryan languages of the south-west and the eastern languages. Southworth (2012:186) concludes that "some of the structural similarities shared by eastern and southwestern languages are also shared by Dravidian languages, indicating the likelihood of early influence of Dravidian (and perhaps other indigenous languages) on outer Indo-Aryan"

III.2. Konkani and Dravidian

Masica (1991) comes to the conclusion that Middle Indo-Aryan developments made Indo-Aryan to transform itself from an Indo-European looking language into something that looked phonetically like Dravidian. Krishnamurti (2003:15) further states that the major structural changes in Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan suggest a Dravidian substratum. According to him, not many lexical items were borrowed from Dravidian into Indo-Aryan. However, the grammatical changes were more important, mainly because of what he calls a transplantation of the Dravidian structure into Indo-Aryan.

In this context, not only Konkani but the modern Indo-Aryan languages in general, share many features with Dravidian, mainly in the structural or typological aspects of the language. Modern Indo-Aryan languages are mainly left-branching languages like Dravidian but this feature becomes more prominent as we go south. In addition to that, we must understand that Konkani has had a very close relationship with Kannada, a language of the Dravidian family, for a long period of time. Dynasties from Karnataka ruled Goa for more than six centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese to Goa. Accounts of Portuguese and other European missionaries speak of the use of Kannada script in Goa in the 16th C., whence the confusion which led the missionaries to name Konkani as Canarim.

After the arrival of the Portuguese and due to the coercion in spreading Christianity, many Konkani Hindus left Goa and went south mainly towards Karnataka and also Kerala. These dialects have been in contact with Dravidian languages since then. However, Miranda (1977) does not find signs of grammatical convergence between the dialects of Konkani spoken in Karnataka today and Kannada language. There is a situation of bilingualism but there is no code-switching. (Nothwithstanding the above, Nadkarni 1975 gives an example of what he describes as a syntactic change in Konkani due to the impact of the Kannada language). What is found in the Konkani dialects spoken in Karnataka is a fair amount of Dravidian lexical borrowings (Miranda 1977).

In spite of the fact that Indo-Aryan languages share many structural features with Dravidian, there are some features which differentiate them. Apart form the absence of aspiration in Dravidian, Southworth (2012) lists some of the differences between the families: a different system for gender (grammatical in I-A vs natural gender in Dravidian), the presence of ergative constructions in I-A, absent in Dravidian, a different strategy to build numbers e.g. 35= 'five-thirty' in Indo-Aryan but 'three-ten-five' in Dravidian and the presence of only left-branching relative clauses in Dravidian.

III.3. Konkani and Munda

Munda languages constitute the westernmost subfamily within the Austroasiatic family of languages. Besides, there are two Austroasiatic languages in India out of the Munda group, i.e. Khasi of Meghalaya and Nicobarese (Anderson 2008). Munda languages are considered to be some of the oldest languages in India. For the sake of comparison of some of their features with Konkani, we are going to mainly refer to the North Munda languages group, which includes among others Santali, Mundari and Korku.

Santali is considered to be a special member of the north-eastern group because it preserves the peculiar linguistic features of Munda more faithfully than the rest according to Ghosh (2008). Gosh states that "being the oldest ethnic stock in India they are also known as ādivāsi, those who have been living in the land from the beginning". The most striking common features with Konkani would be a basic, suffixing, agglutinative SOV structure. Words are predominantly dissyllabic with stress on the second syllable. Consonant clusters are rare. The third personal pronouns are derived from the distant demonstrative root. Case is marked by suffixes and postpostitions. Phonologically it has a very similar inventory of vowels to Konkani. All vowels have nasal counterparts. There are vowel-harmony rules. It has a simple syllable structure where CV and CVC are the most used. Subject and object are unmarked (in Konkani only animate objects are marked). Distributive numerals are formed by reduplication as in Konkani. The word is not inflected to show degree of comparison. Echo-words constructions are used in both languages. It uses correlative constructions similarly to Indo-Aryan.

With respect to Mundari, another member of the north-eastern group of Munda languages, if we take as a basis Osada (2008), we find some similarities between Mundari and Konkani. Accent is normally assigned to the second syllable in disyllabic words and exceptions are due to syllable weight. When the first syllable in a disyllabic word is heavier than the second syllable, the accent normally falls in the first syllable. Furthermore, a quadrisyllabic word is divided into two bisyllabic phonological words. The accent system described by Osada is very similar to the system described by Almeida (1985) for Konkani. Mundari also has vowel-harmony rules. The subject and object of a sentence are morphologically unmarked. Distributive numerals are expressed by reduplication of the cardinal numbers. Experiential verbs are build with the dative-subject construction. There is partial and full reduplication for derivative purposes.

There is a variety of Mundari spoken by the Oraons residing in and around the capital of the state of Jharkhand, which is called Kera? Mundari (Kobayashi 2008). It is spoken by Oraons who have shifted to Ranchi from the Chota Nagpur plateau. It is believed that their original language is Kurux (Kurukh), a language belonging to the Dravidian family, as some members of this community use Kurux. According to the tradition, Kera? Mundari speaking Oraons lived for a long time in an area where Munda speakers where the predominant community. This fact may have led them to abandon Kurux, if they ever spoke it (Kobayashi 2008). The Oraons and Kurux has been linked to the substratum of Konkani language and it is a topic that would need further linguistic research.

Korku is the westernmost representative of the Munda family in India and therefore it is spoken in an area closer to Konkani territory compared with other Munda languages, like Santali or Mundari. There are also some similarities between Korku and Konkani if we analyze the information provided by Zide's (2008) description. One of the features he points out is that "Korku appears to conform to the Munda minimal bi-moraic word constraint inherited from proto-Munda and probably proto-Austroasiatic". We also know that Indo-Aryan languages, during the middle Indo-Aryan period, developed a new stress system based in a two-mora rule (Masica 1991). Regarding Konkani language, further studies would be required on Konkani´s accentual system in order to understand its rules and whether it is based on morae. In Korku, as well as in Konkani, there is echo-word formation. Morphological case is marked through suffixes as well as postpostions. There are some vowel-harmony rules. Korku marks object on transitive verb forms and it does not mark subject. There are several types of reduplication, including partial and full reduplication. A simple sentence follows SOV order, an indirect object precedes the direct object. Subject is often deleted in informal discourse. Copula is also absent in sentences like 'this house is mine'. There are dative-subject constructions. Correlative constructions do exist but are not commonly used. In conditional sentences, there is deletion of the 'if' particle in the protasis, which also occurs in Konkani. Quotatives use what seems to be an identical particle /mhen-/ but this would need to be confirmed with more examples of both languages.

As we can see, there are a lot of features in common but many of them are areal features and they are shared by languages of the three major linguistic families of the Indian linguistic area. A specific study would be required in order to conclude whether there is some special features shared by

Konkani and the Munda languages. But it seems very reasonable to think that a certain amount of grammatical properties of Konkani owe their origin to language contact (and that this contact has contributed to individualize the Konkani language among at least some of its Indo-Aryan sisters).

IV. Conclusions

IV.1 General conclusions

Goan Konkani [gom] belongs to the south-western group of Indo-Aryan languages of India and hence to the Indo-European family of languages. The territories where Konkani is spoken limit north with a region where Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language, is spoken and south with Kannada, Tulu and Malayalam, members of the Dravidian family of languages. Contemporary Konkani is written in Devanagari, Kannada, Malayalam and Roman scripts.

Konkani language has a comparatively large inventory of vowels and consonants with 8-9 vowels and 37-40 consonants depending on the description. All phonemic oral vowels contrast with their corresponding nasal vowels. All high and low vowel phonemes can have short and long varieties although there is discrepancy between Almeida (1985) and Miranda (2003) on whether vowel length is phonemic or not. Aspirated consonants can occur only in initial position. Diphthongs involve a movement from a low or mid-vowel to a high-vowel. The preferred syllable structure is CV although CVC, VC and V are also regularly found. Initial clusters are not natural although they are found in recent borrowings. The phonological unit considered for placement of stress is the root morpheme together with the inflections. Intonation is used to convey syntactic inormation rather than lexical information. There is a process of vowel harmony by which mid vowels become mid-high or mid-low as per height of next vowel.

Konkani is a flexive language although some structures have an agglutinative flair. It can be described as a language with split morphology in Plank (1999)´s terms. Konkani is also a synthetic language as many members of the Indo-European family. It has a grammatical gender system including masculine, feminine and neuter. For animates the morphological gender corresponds with the natural gender they represent except for young women that are usually referred to by using the neuter gender. Number is divided into singular and plural. Gender and number categories are added to the noun by means of a cumulative inflection. Similarly to other modern Indo-Aryan languages

and other Dravidian languages, the function of the noun-phrases is expressed through two layers of affixes (oblique and case affixes) + one layer of postpositions (Masica 1991). The adjectival inflection is restricted to the oblique and adjectives do not get case affixes.

With the exception of the genitive case, case markers form a single phonological unit with the noun as far as vowel harmony is concerned. Morphologically a verb is recognized by the tense-aspect inflection and the affixes denoting person, gender and number. All things considered, Konkani shows aspects characteristic of a flexive morphology e.g. abundant examples of variance, and other aspects which correspond better with an agglutinative morphology e.g. presence of a vowel-harmony rule.

Konkani, similarly to other New Indo-Aryan languages, is a left-branching language i.e. modifier precedes modified. Konkani is in fact of the strict type. It has postpositions, Genitive-Noun order, questions particles are placed at the end of the sentence, verb forms subordinate to the main verb precede it, relative clauses precede the noun, descriptive adjectives as well as demonstratives and numerals precede the noun. On the other side, verb modifiers such as negation and causation follow the verb root and modal markers and auxiliaries follow the main verb.

The nominative is the unmarked case. Objects are not marked unless they are animate. The accusative marking is identical to that of dative. Personal pronouns show gender category only in third person. They coincide with the distant demonstratives, which is also an areal feature in South Asia. Second plural is used as honorific for second singular and plural. Yes-no questions may be formed by change of intonation or by adding question particles at the end of the sentence. Interrogative pronouns generally begin with /k-/ and relative pronouns begin with /j-/ (/d͡ʒ/). A constituent may be displaced to the right of the verbal phrase for emphasis.

It maintains the Indo-Aryan ergative construction for transitive verbs in the perfective. The verb agrees in person, number and gender with the subject noun-phrase except for the ergative construction. In ergative constructions, it shows person-gender-number agreement with object noun-phrase. In this construction, the object if animate keeps the accusative marking. There is also an impersonal construction with is often used instead of the ergative when the object is animate. Similarly to other Indian languages, it has dative-subject constructions.

Participial clauses can be considered the primary strategy to relativize in Konkani. Participial clauses can be classified as prenominal, embedded and highly nominalized. The alternative strategy to form relative clauuses is the correlative type. The latter are preposed, adjoined and do not form a nominal with the head noun according to Lehmann (1986)'s categorization.

Konkani uses different types of morphological processes in the formation of words. The grammatical properties of a word can be modified by a vocalic or consonantal alternation at morpheme level. An internal modification can modify gender, number or verb valency. Other morphological processes which are extensively used in Konkani are reduplication, compounding and affixing. Reduplication is used to express distribution, reciprocity, plurality, customary or continuous activity etc. Echo-word formation is similar to that found in other languages of South Asia. Nouns and verbs are the main contituents of compounds in Konkani. Some compounds are semantically transparent and others show higher levels of abstraction. Finally, affixing can be considered as the most frequently used morphological process in Konkani. Among affixes we find a few prefixes and a vast range of derivational and inflectional suffixes. Verbs undergo first and second causative derivation, something that is considered as an areal feature in South Asia (Southworth 2012).

In non-ergative sentences, the subject pronoun and the copula are often deleted. In ergative constructions the agent marked by the instrumental case may be deleted. Conjunctive and alternative clauses can be formed with simple or correlative coordinators. A special way of attaching a clause to another is though the conjuctive participle or converb, which is an areal feature in the subcontinent.

Complex sentences tend to use clause final subordinators which is a feature shared with Dravidian languages. Konkani also uses a rich system of correlatives for the formation of embedded clauses. Sentences with complementizer may undergo rightward displacement but the left-branching strategy is more frequently used. There are multiple strategies to build purpose clauses, either using finite verb forms or infinitive forms. Conditionals can be built by using a non-finite verb with an inflection or by using correlative subordinating connectives. In conditionals and other complex sentences, the first correlative connnective may be deleted.

Among Indo-Aryan languages, it shares more features with Marathi and Gujarati but also shares some features with the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages of India. It also shares many structural features

with neighbouring Dravidian languages. Moreover, according to some authors, it is believed to have a Munda or proto-Australoid substratum. There are some features in common between Konkani and some of the Munda languages but most of these features are shared by various languages belonging to the three major families of the Indian linguistic area: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda.

IV.2 Causal interpretation

Southworth (2012:109) declares that it seems probable that phonological convergence is linked to grammatical convergence and independent of lexical convergence. He concludes that while medium-to-high levels of lexical convergence can result from long periods of military or cultural domination, a more intimate type of contact is apparently required for even low levels of grammatical convergence, or for a high level of lexical convergence such as affix borrowing.

Medium-to-high grammatical convergence would involve, according to Southworth, the symbiosis of two ethnolinguistic groups, that is, an economic-cum-cultural dependence which is part of daily routine of life at least for one of the groups. In such situations, all or almost all the members of at least one group generally would show some degree of bilingualism or diglossia.

Southworth gives some interesting insights on India´s linguistic intricacy. Even today we find high level of symbiosis among different groups together with a considerable degree of bilingualism and diglossia. It is easily acceptable that if this happens today in a modern society it may have happened in the past with even greater intensity. In the case of Konkani, we can see that during the Portuguese rule which lasted four and a half centuries, Konkani borrowed over a thousand five hundred words from Portuguese but only some of them have been preserved in the language few decades after the loss of contact between these cultures.

However the grammatical convergence of Konkani with some features of Dravidian languages may reflect a very close interaction between the members of the different ethnolinguistic groups for a very long period. Konkani shares many features with Dravidian languages (Miranda 2003:760) e.g. prothetic glides *y-* and *w-*, sentence final question markers in yes/no questions, sentence-final negative marker, non-finite verb forms in the tense-aspect forms of negative sentences, a similar set of copula deletion rules and a similar way to build clauses with complementizers added to the extensive use of participial relatives and other left-branching embedding strategies.

What is lesser known is the connection between Konkani and Munda languages. There are certain authors that have linked Konkani with Mundari. Some other authors have traced back some Konkani words to their Munda or proto-Munda origin. However, I could not have access to literature on this subject for the completion of this paper.

The fact that some authors like Southworth (2012) consider that proto-Munda or proto-Austroasiatic languages covered an extensive area in the north-central part of India, the existence of a Munda language which has survived till today in neighbouring state Maharashtra and, in addition to all the foregoing, having the indication by the Indian Anthropological Society that some of the existing ethnic communities in Goa could be the modern representatives of proto-Australoid populations, makes me anticipate that there are good prospects for future linguistic research on the hypothetical Munda substratum of Konkani.

More particularly, a research on the rhythm of Konkani as well as a thorough study on the accentual system would also be desirable as there is not enough literature on the subject. Finally, taking into account that most of the studies on Konkani have focused on the language of the Brahmins which has been the standard used for written language, it would also be advisable to carry out sociolinguistic typological studies to know more about the linguistic diversity within the Konkani community of speakers. Miranda (1978) has done some interesting research on that and in my opinion there is scope for further investigation.

This paper aimed at providing an overview of the typological features of Konkani language. It has followed a holistic and a rather functional approach although it has taken into account both formal and functional considerations. In addition, it has addressed the issue of language contact and convergence. Some of the Konkani traits point to structural influence from Dravidian and even Munda languages. One of the tasks of modern typology is to delimit the geography and the reasons behind certain typological phenomena (what's where why). Alongside other disciplines, contact linguistics has much to say on it. That is why it was necessary to give due importance to language contact in dealing with certain structural features.

Shibatani and Bynon (1999) describe the goal of typology as the intent to classify the human languages in terms of variant features, the search of what is common to all human languages and the range of permitted variation. I hope I was able to shed some light on the range of variation of Konkani morphological and syntactic structures and some hints on the similarities and differences of Konkani with other languages of the Indian linguistic area.

The next step would be to carry out partial in-depth typological studies on some specific features of the language, accomplish comparisons with other languages of the Indo-Aryan family, also with languages of other linguistic families of South Asia, especially in language contact situations, and eventually among different sociolinguistic varieties from Konkani community of speakers.

V. Annexes

V.1. Konkani in Greenberg's universals (Greenberg 1963)

Basic order typology

Universal 1: In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object

Konkani is a rigid subtype III language according to Greenberg (1963). It uses postpositions, adjective precedes the noun and the basic order is SOV.

Example of basic order (Almeida 1985:227):

(107) t͡sakɘr put-ak apɵi-t-a

servant son-ACC call-PRS-3SG

'The servant calls the son'

Universal 2: In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes

In Konkani the genitive precedes the governing noun as anticipated by Universal no. 2.

Example of genitive order (Almeida 1985:247):

(108) ti-t͡ʃɛ   pu:t

she-POSS M.PL   son[NOM.PL]

'her sons'

Example of genitive order in a sentence (Almeida 1985:69)

(109) tɔ   selina-t͡sɔ   pu:t

he   Celine-GEN.M.SG   son[NOM.SG]

'He is Celine's son'

Universal 3: Not applicable

Universal 4: With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional

Konkani is SOV and postpositional

Example of postposition bʰair 'outside' in Konkani (Almeida 1985:206)

(110) gʰɘr-a   bʰair kɔɳ as-a?

house.OBL   outside who be-PRS.3SG

'Who is outside the house?'

Universal 5,6: Not applicable

Universal 7: If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all the adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb.

In Konkani the verb follows all of its modifiers. According to Almeida (1985:231), as a rule the verb is placed last in the sentence. However, in order to stress new information, a focused NP can be placed after the VP.

Example of order of adverbial modifiers (Almeida 1985:246)

(111) tatʃi   avɵi   bɵr-i   bʰije-l-i

   He.GEN. F.SG   mother   much-F.SG   frighten-PFV-3F.SG

   'His mother was very much frightened'

Syntactic universals

Universal 8: When a yes-no question is differentiated from the corresponding assertion by an intonational pattern, the distinctive intonational features of each of these patterns are reckoned from the end of the sentence rather than from the beginning.

In Konkani a rising intonation marks yes/no type of questions. The distinctive intonational features of the intonational pattern is visible at the end of the sentence.

Example of a sentence without question particle signaled by a rising intonation (Almeida 1985:69)

(112)   tɔ   'selina-tsɔ   pu:t?

   he   Celine-GEN.M.SG son[NOM.SG]

   'Is he Celine´s son?'

Universal 9: With well more than chance frequency, when question particles or affixes are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole, if initial, such elements are found in prepositional languages, if final, in postpositional.

Konkani is a postpositional language and uses question particles and affixes at the end of the sentence.

Example of a sentence with a question particle vɵi (Almeida 1985:209)

(113)   gaɽi   ai-l-i   vɵi ?

   train   come-PFV-3F.SG Q

   'Did the train come?'

Universal 10: Question particles or affixes, when specified in position by reference to a particular word in the sentence, almost always follow that word. Such particles do not occur in languages with dominant order VSO.

In Konkani the question particles always come at the end, after the verb.

Universal 11: Not applicable for Konkani as the question word is not initial

Universal 12: If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions; if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule.

In Konkani the order of interrogative and declarative sentence is identical. K-type questions are used to elicit open information and they are formed by substituing any word in the sentence with a word beginning with /k-/ having an interrogative quality. The k-word gets the inflection of the word it substitutes.

Example of a declarative sentence and all the k-words that can substitute the elements (Almeida 1985:267)

(114)

pedru	paulu-k	a:j	bɘri	masɭi	vik-t-a
Peter	Paul-DAT	today	good.F.SG	fish	sell-PRS-3SG

'Peter sells Paul good fish today'

kɔŋ	kɔŋ-ak	kɛdaɭa	kesli	kitɛ	kitɛ̃ kɘr-t-a
who	*whom*	*when*	*what type*	*what*	*what does*

Universal 13: If the nominal object always precedes the verb, then verb forms subordinate to the main verb also precede it.

In Konkani subordinates usually precede the main sentence. However there are some cases of extraposition.

Example of a complement clause with complementizer /mʰɘn/ (Almeida 1985:290)

(115)

gɔpaɭ	d͡ʒik-l-ɔ	mʰɘn	tɔ	saŋ-t-a
Gopal	win-PFT-3.M.SG	COMP	he	say-PRS-3SG

' He says that Gopal won'

Example of a complement clause with complementizer /ki/ which is used less often (Almeida 1985:290)

(116)

tɔ	saŋta	ki	gɔpaɭ	d͡ʒik-l-ɔ
he	say-PRS-3SG	COMP	Gopal	win-PFV-3.M.SG

'He says that Gopal won'

Universal 14: In conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes the conclusion as the normal order in all languages.

In Konkani, the conditional clause precedes the conclusion. According to Greenberg (1963), in languages of the rigid subtype of III, in which Konkani can be included, the protasis never follows the apodosis.

Example of conditional clause with connective /jɘr...tɘr/ (Almeida 1985:220)

(117)

d͡zɘr	tɔ	yɛt	tɘr	tɔ	ʃik-at
COND	he	come.PRS	COND	he	learn-FUT.3SG

'If he comes he will learn'

Universal 15: In expressions of volition and purpose, a subordinate verbal form always follows the main verb as the normal order except in those languages in which the nominal object always precedes the verb.

In Konkani there are three ways to form purpose clauses, but in any case, this clause precedes the main verb.

Example of a purpose clause with connective /mʰəŋ/ preceding the main clause (Almeida 1985:314)

(118)   tika   pəɭɛ-təl-ɔ   mʰəŋ   ai-l-ɔ

             her   see-FUT-3.M.SG   PURP   come-PFV-3.M.SG

             'He came to see her'

Universal 16: In languages with dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.

Konkani has two periphrastic auxiliary verbs /as/ 'be' and /dza/ 'become'. They combine with participles, infinitives and semi-auxiliary verbs to produce complex verb forms. They follow the main verb.

Example of a sentence with auxiliary /dza/ (Almeida 1985:200)

(119)   pedru je-ũt͡sɔ   d͡za-l-ɔ

             Peter come-FUT PTCP.3.M.SG.   become-PFV-3.M.SG.

             'Peter is about to come'

Universal 17: With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, languages with dominant order VSO have the adjective after the noun.

Konkani is one of the languages in which the adjective precedes the noun.

Example of adjective order position (Almeida 1985:233):

(120)   vʰəɖl-ĩ   mɛd͡zã

             large-N PL   table.OBL N PL

             'large tables'

Universal 18: When the descriptive adjective precedes the noun, the demonstrative and the numeral, with overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, do likewise.

Konkani follows this universal, demonstrative and numeral precede the noun.

Example of demonstrative and numeral use (Almeida 1985:222)

(121)   tɔ   kɔlɔ   ek   kõbi   t͡sɔr-t-a   d͡zait

             DEM.M.SG   fox   DET   hen   steal-PRS-3SG   might

             'That fox might be stealing a hen'

Universal 19: When the general rule is that the descriptive adjective follows, there may be a minority of adjectives which usually precede, but when the general rule is that descriptive adjectives precede, there are no exceptions.

As a rule adjectives are placed before the noun. However, they can be placed at times after the noun (Pratap Naik, PC)

Universal 20: When any or all of these items (demonstrative, numeral and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite.

The order within the noun-phrase in Konkani complies with this universal.

Example of noun-phrase with demonstrative, numeral and descriptive adjective (Almeida 1985:234)

(122) tĩ   t͡ʃaːr kaɭ-ĩ   bʰou bər-ĩ   mama-n   vʰər-t-ã   mʰəɳ-lelĩ
       DEM.N.PL four black-N.PL very good-N.PL uncle-INS take-PRS-1SG say-PTCP.3.N.PL
       am-t͡ʃĩ   mɛd͡zã
       POSS1PL-N.PL table.OBL.PL
       'Those four excellent black tables of ours which uncle said he would take'

Universal 21: If some or all adverbs follow the adjective they modify, then the language is one in which the qualifying adjective follows the noun and the verb precedes its nominal object as the dominant order.

In Konkani the adverb precedes the adjective and the qualifying adjective precedes the noun.

(123) bʰou bər-ĩ
       very   good

Universal 22: If in comparisons of superiority the only order, or one of the alternative orders is standard-marker-adjective, then the language is postpositional. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency if the only order is adjective-marker-standard, the language is prepositional.

Konkani follows the standard-marker-adjective as do postpositional languages.

In the following example the order of comparisons of superiority is shown (Almeida 1985: 211)

(124) rama pãɖu vərn   budvẽt
       Rama Pandu COMPR   clever
       'Rama is more clever than Pandu'

Universal 23: If in apposition the proper noun usually precedes the common noun, then the language is one in which the governing noun follows its dependent genitive. With much better than chance frequency, if the common noun usually precedes the proper noun, the dependent genitive follows its governing nouns.

Konkani complies. In apposition the proper noun precedes the common noun and noun follows its genitive.

Universal 24: If the relative expression precedes the noun either as the only construction or as an alternate construction, either the language is postpositional, or the adjective precedes the noun, or both.

The most common relative constructions in Konkani are the participial construction and in these constructions relative expression precedes the noun. Correlative relative constructions are also preposed in Konkani.

This is an example of a participial relative construction in Konkani (Almeida 1985: 294)

(125) t͡sunɔ   kaʈ-ʈəl-ɛ   aːj   gɛ-l-ɛ
       whitewash   apply-PRS PTCP-3.M.PL   today go-PFV-3.M.PL.
       'Those who whitewash went today'

See the use of correlative pronouns /d͡ʒ ...tɔ/ in the following example (Almeida 1985:300)

(126)   d͡ʒɔ   ka.l   mɛ-l-ɔ   tɔ   mɵnis   t͡sɵɖ   girest

who.M.SG   yesterday   die-PFV-3.M.SG   DEM.M.SG   man   very   rich

'Theman who died yesterday was very rich'

Universal 25: If the pronominal object follows the verb, so does the nominal object.

In Konkani, the opposite occurs. The pronominal object as well as the nominal object precedes the verb.

The following example shows the order of a pronominal object in the sentence (Almeida 1985:311)

(127)   pedru-n   taŋkã   dɔɭɛ   ugɖ-un   pɵɭɛ-l-ɛ

Peter-INS   ACC.PL   eyes   open-ADV   see-PFV-3.M.PL

'Peter saw them with eyes open'

Morphology

Universal 26: If a language has discontinuous affixes, it always has either prefixing or suffixing or both.

There are no discontinuous affixes in Konkani. There are some Sanskrit prefixes as well as borrowed prefixes apart from some commonly used prefixes. The most productive processes are derivation and suffixing.

Universal 27: If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional. If it is exclusively prefixing, it is prepositional.

Konkani confirms the trend being postpositional and almost exclusively suffixing.

Universal 28: If both the derivation and inflection follow the root, or they both precede the root, the derivation is always between the root and the inflection.

In Konkani the derivational suffixes are placed after the root and before the inflectional processes.

More than one one derivational suffix can be used in the same word (Almeida 1985).

Universal 29: If a language has inflection, it always has derivation.

Both are productive in Konkani

Universal 30: If the verb has categories of person-number or it has categories of gender, it always has tense-mode categories.

The verbal system in Konkani has person-number, gender and tense-aspect categories.

Universal 31: If either the subject or object noun agrees with the verb in gender, then the adjective always agrees with the noun in gender.

In Konkani the verb phrase agrees with the subject except in ergative constructions, in which it agrees with the object. The adjective agrees with the noun in gender.

In the following example we can see the verb agreeing with the subject NP (Almeida 1985:244)

(128)　　　ti　　　　yε-tal-i

　　　　　she　　　come-IPFV-3.F.SG

　　　　　'She was coming'

In the next example the verb agrees with the object NP being an ergative construction (Almeida 1985:245)

(129)　　　ta-nε　put-ak　narl　di-l-ɔ

　　　　　he-INS　son-DAT　coconut　give-PFV-3.M.SG

Determiners and adjectives agree with the head noun in gender and number (Almeida 1985:241)

(130)　　　ek　　　bɵr-ɔ　　　　t͡ʃεɖ-ɔ

　　　　　DET　　good-M.SG　　boy-M.SG

Universal 32:　Whenever the verb agrees with a nominal subject or nominal object in gender, it also agrees in number.

　　　　In Konkani the verb agrees with the nominal subject or object in gender and number in all tenses. In present and future indefinite there is a syntethic inflection for gender and number. The same examples selected to show the workings of Universal 31 in Konkani can be referred for this universal.

Universal 33:　When number agreement between the noun and the verb is suspended and the rule is based on order, the case is always one in which the verb precedes and the verb is in the singular

This universal is not applicable for Konkani.

Nevertheless there is a special construction in Konkani in which there is a suspension of agreement. It is the impersonal construction that is used sometimes in place of the ergative construction if the object is animate. In this construction, the verb does not agree with subject or object and takes the 3rd, neuter, singular form.

Example of impersonal construction with 3.N.SG form (Almeida 1985:245)

(131)　　　ta-nε　put-ak　　　had-l-ɛ̃

　　　　　he-INS　son-ACC　　bring-PFV-3.N.SG

　　　　　'He brought the son'

Universal 34:　Not applicable

Universal 35:　There is no language in which the plural does not have some nonzero allomorphs, whereas there are languages in which the singular is expressed only by zero. The dual and the trial are almost never expressed only by zero.

　　　　In Konkani there is a general paradigm for nouns by means of which gender and number suffixes are added to the root. Singular is not expressed by zero. Singular is expressed by a cumulative infection of gender and number categories.

Universal 36: If a language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number.

Konkani has the category of gender and the category of number.

Universal 37: A language never has more gender categories in non singular number than in the singular.

Konkani has three gender categories in singular and plural: masculine, feminine and neuter

Universal 38: Where there is a case system, the only case which ever has only zero allomorphs is the one which includes among its meaning that of the subject of the intransitive verb.

This statement complies with the Konkani case system. Konkani has only zero allomorphs for the nominative. It also shows zero allomorphs for inanimate nouns in object position.

Universal 39: Where morphemes of both number and case are present and both follow or both precede the noun base, the expression of number almost always comes between the noun base and the expression of case.

In Konkani the expression of number falls within the oblique suffix which comes after the noun stem and before the expression of case. Hence Konkani grammar complies with this universal.

Universal 40: Not applicable

Universal 41: If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system.

Konkani agrees with this universal too. The verb follows the nominal subject and object and the language has a case system.

Pronominal categories

Universal 42: All languages have pronominal categories involving at least three persons and two numbers.

In Konkani, there are three persons and two numbers.

Universal 43: If a language has gender categories in the nouns, it has gender categories in the pronouns

Konkani has three gender categories for the nouns and also for third-person pronouns

Universal 44: Not applicable

Universal 45: If there are any gender distinctions in the plural of the pronoun, there are some gender distinctions in the singular also.

In Konkani there are three gender distinctions in the plural of the pronouns as well as in the singular.

V.2. Konkani in WALS features

1A Consonant inventories: The inventory of Konkany is large with 37-40 consonant sounds (Katre 1937:37; Almeida 1985:40)

2A Vowel quality inventories: The inventory of vowels in Konkani is large with 8-9 phonemic vowels (Almeida 1985:8, Miranda:9)

3A Consonant-Vowel ratio: The consonant-vowel ratio in Konkani is moderately high (4.6-5)

4A Voicing in Plosives and Fricatives: There is voicing contrast in plosives as well as in fricatives f/v according to Almeida (1985)'s analysis.

5A Voicing and gaps in Plosive Systems: No one missing in /ptk bdg/

6A Uvular consonants: None

7A Glottalized Consonants: None

8A Lateral consonants: /l/, no obstruent laterals

9A Velar nasals: Velar nasal, but not initially (Almeida 1985:43)

10A Vowel nasalization: Contrastive nasal vowels present

11A Front rounded vowels: None

12A Syllable Structure: CCVC moderately complex syllable structure

13A Tone: None

14A Fixed stress location: No fixed stress (mostly weight-sensitive stress)

15A Weight-sensitive stress: Right-Edged, stress on ultimate or penultimate syllable

16A Weight factors in weight-sensitive stress systems: Long vowel+coda; long vowel or closed syllables

17A Rhythm types: It´s not so easy to conclude on this feature.

A thoughout analysis would be required before concluding on it.

18A Absence of common consonants: All present

19A Presence of uncommon consonants: None

20A Fusion of selected inflectional formatives: Ablaut/concatenative

21A Exponence of selected inflectional formatives: Case+number.

In the same way as it occurs in other Indo-European languages there are polyexponential formatives for number and case where it is impossible to identify separate marker for case and number (i.e. instrumental sg/-n/, pl /-ni/) (Almeida 1985: 124)

22A Inflectional synthesis of the verb : 4-5 categories per word.

The maximum number of categories in a word appears in the negative form of non-perfective future and the potential where suffixes /-t͡sɔ / or /-tɔ/ vary with the number and gender of the nominal with which the verb stands in construction (Almeida 1985: 195) The synthetic form rig-t͡sɔ-nã incorporates tense/aspect, gender, number and negation, in total 4 categories.

23A Locus of marking in the clause: Double marking

In the ergative construction in case of animates, the subject and object nouns bear cases marking their syntactic functions. Further to that the verb agrees with the object. It could be considered an instance of double marking.

(132)   For example: ta-ɳɛ   put-ak   haɖ-l-ɔ

he-INS   son-ACC   bring-PFV-3.M.SG

'He brought the son' (Almeida 1985: 245)

24A Locus of marking in possesive noun phrases: Dependent marking

(133)   The possesor noun is in the genitive case: Rama-t͡ʃɛ

' Rama's ' (Almeida 1985:173)

25A Locus of marking in whole language typology: Inconsistent marking or other type

The marking of possesive noun phrases is dependent marking. However regarding the marking of clauses, there is marking on the verb (head) as well as on the arguments (subject or object).

(134)   For example: ta-ɳɛ   uʃa-k   ta-t͡ʃja   bʰava-t͡ʃɛ̃   naɳɛ   di-l-ɛ̃

he-INS   Usha-DAT   POSS.3M/N.SG-OBL   brother-GEN.N.SG   coin   give-PFV-3.N.SG

' He gave Usha her brother's coin ' (Almeida 1985:261)

26A Prefixing vs. suffixing in inflectional morphology: Predominantly suffixing

27A Reduplication: Productive full and partial reduplication (Almeida 1985: 101-104)

28A Case syncretism: Syncretism involving core and non-core cases

There is syncretism of accusative and dative forms in the language which is common in Indo-Aryan. There are also other instances of syncretism. For example there is syncretism in 1st plural pronouns for nominative and instrumental form /ami/. There is also syncretism in 3rd person plural personal pronouns where there is a common form for masculine, feminine and neuter in the instrumental, acc/dative and genitive cases. (Almeida 1985:148)

29A Syncretism in verbal person/number marking: There are examples of syncretism

There is syncretic marking between 2nd P & 3rd P plural in Class II and Class IV affixes.

(135)   For example: rig-t-at   VS   rig-t-at

enter-PRS-2PL(Class II)   enter-PRS-3PL(ClassII)

(136)   rig-l-jat   VS   rig-l-jat

enter-PFV-2PL (Class IV)   enter-PFV-3PL (Class IV)

30A Number of genders: Three genders; masculine, feminine and neuter

31A Sex-based & Non-sex-based gender systems: Sex-based gender system for animates

Konkani has a sex-based gender system for animates. There are some exceptions like the one described by Miranda (1973:209) for the word 'girl' which is neuter instead of feminine in the southern dialects of Konkani.

32A Systems of gender assignment: Semantic and formal

33A Coding of Nominal plurality: Plural suffix

According to the general paradigm of inflection for gender and number (Almeida 1985:127), a suffix is added to the stem and this suffix depicts the gender and number properties of the noun.

34A Ocurrence of nominal plurality: Plural in all nouns, always obligatory

35A Plurality in independent personal pronouns: Person-Number stem

36A The Associative Plural: As per P.C. from Pratap Naik, there is an associative plural. No examples available.

37A Definite articles: No definite or indefinite articles

38A Indefinite articles: Neither indefinite nor definite articles

Almeida (1985:214) points out at some indefinite particles i.e. ekadɔ 'about one' but they are marked expressions, not indefinite articles. Where we should expect an indefinite article, there is none in Konkani.

(137) For example: aɡe   nari,   tu-d͡ʒja   nak-ãt   nɵti

VOC   lady,   POSS.2SG-OBL   nose-LOC   jewel

'O lady, you have a jewel on your nose' (Almeida 1985:213)

In case the speaker wants to stress that there is one unit of that noun, he can use /ek/ 'one':

(138) taka   tiːn   t͡ʃɛɖ-ɛ   pɵn   ek   t͡ʃeɖũ

He-DAT   three   son-M.PL   but   one   girl-N.SG

'He has three sons but one girl' (Almeida 1985:218)

39A Inclusive/Exclusive distinction in independent pronouns: No inclusive/exclusive opposition

40A Inclusive/Exclusive distinction in verbal inflection: No inclusive/exclusive opposition

41A Distance contrasts in demonstratives: Two-way contrast

In demonstratives there is two contrasts; proximate and remote. The series of proximate demonstratives is: /ɔʰ, iʰ, ɛ̃ʰ/ 'this' and the series of remote is /tɔ, ti, tɛ̃/ 'that' (Almeida 1985:150,162-163).

42A Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives: Identical

The pronominal demonstrative take the same inflections as the 3rd person pronouns (Almeida 1985:150) and the adnominal demonstratives take inflections following the modified general paradign for adjectives (Almeida 1985:162). The inflections are identical for pronouns in nominative and adjectives in their direct form.

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
NOM/DIR	tɔ	tɛ	ti	tyo	tɛ̃	tĩ

43A Third person pronouns and demonstratives: Third person pronouns are related to remote demonstratives

44A Gender distinctions in independent personal pronouns: There is gender distinctions in 3rd person only, in both singular and plural

45A Politeness in pronouns: Binary politeness distinction

Second plural is used as honorific for 2nd singular and plural (Almeida 1985:147)

46A Indefinite pronouns: Interrogative based indefinites

Some of the forms of personal indefinite pronouns are clearly related to the interrogative /kɔɳ/ 'who': /kɔɳek/ 'whoever', /kɔɳɛklɔ,-i,-ɛ̃/ 'someone', /kɔɳɳa/ 'none' (Almeida 1985:152). Some forms of non-personal indefinite pronouns seem to be also related to the interrogative /kitɛ̃/ 'what': /kãi/ 'some' /kaina/ 'none'. (Almeida 1985:153) /kitɛ̆ təri/ 'something' (Naik, PC). However in both cases there are other forms not easily relatable to the interrogatives i.e. /əmkɔ,-i,-ɛ̃/ 'certain one' (proximate), /təmkɔ,-i,-ɛ̃/ 'certain one' (remote).

47A Intensifiers and reflexive pronouns: They are related but not identical.

(139) Examples: anton   apɳa-k   ek   gʰər   ban-t-a

  Anthony   himself-DAT   one   house   build-PRS-3SG

  'Anthony builds a house for himself' (Almeida 1985:258)

(140)   anton   apuɳuʦ   ek   gʰər   ban-t-a

  Anthony   for himself   one   house   build-PRS-3SG (Pratap Naik, PC)

48A Person marking on adpositions: No person marking on adpositions

49A Number of cases: 6-7 cases

Konkani has the following cases: Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Instrumental, Locative, Vocative and Genitive. Accusative and Dative are identical.

50A Asymmetrical case marking: Symmetrical case marking

Konkani seems to apply rather consistently the same case categories to different kinds of nominal expressions. This is an example of the inflections taken by a noun and a personal pronoun.

	Noun	Personal pronoun (3rd P.SG)
NOM	/ha:t/	/tɔ/
ACC/DAT	hatak	taka
INS	hatan	taɳɛ
LOC	hatãt	tʰə̃i
VOC	hata	-
GEN	hataʦɔ	taʦɔ

51A Position of case affixes: Suffixes

52A Comitatives and Instrumentals: There is a difference between the comitative with and the instrumental 'with'.

(Pratap Naik, PC)

53A Ordinal numerals: Ordinals numbers from 'two' upwards are derived from cardinal numbers, 'first' is suppletive

		Cardinal numbers	Ordinal numbers
(141)	1	ek	poilɔ
	2	don	dusrɔ
	3	ti:n	tisrɔ (Almeida 1985:163)

54A Distributive numerals: They are marked by reduplication

(142)	ekek	one each
	dodon	two each
	titi:n	three each (Almeida 1985:169-170)

55A Numeral classifiers: Numeral classifiers are absent

56A Conjunctions and universal quantifiers: There is a connection between interrogative and universal quantifiers as it happens in a large linguistic area which includes South Asia. For ex. /kʰə̃d͡zɔ/ 'any' Further data and analysis is required to conclude on this feature.

Example of a sentence with use of interrogative (Almeida 1985:300):

(143)　　　d͡zɔ kɔɳ　mʰə-d͡zɔ　　mog kər-t-a　　ta-ka　pɛlya-t͡sɔ　　mog　asa

　　　　　 any who　POSS.1SG-M.SG　love make-PRS-3SG　he-DAT　other-GEN.M.SG　love　is

　　　　　 'Any one who loves me loves others'

57A Position of pronominal possesive affixes: There are not possessive affixes on nouns

(144)　Example of possesive in Konkani: /mʰəd͡zɔ pu:t/ 'my son', pronounded /mʰəd͡z pu:t/ in rapid speech.

58A Obligatory possesive inflection: Absent

59A Possessive classification: Two classes; reflexives and non reflexives

Example of the use of reflexive /aplja/ instead of possessive /tit͡sɔ/(Almeida 1985:259):

(145)　　rita aplja　　bʰava-k　　apəi-t-a

　　　　 Rita her.REFL　brother-ACC　call-PRS-3SG

　　　　 'Rita calls her brother'

60A Genitives, adjectives and relative clauses: Highly differentiated

There are simmilarities between the participial relative clauses and the use of adjectives but the three constructions, genitive, adjective and relative clauses, are differenciated.

61A Adjectives without nouns: Examples with adjectives not available

(146)　A similar construction would be:　bʰitər-lɔ

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　inside-suffix

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　the one from inside

62A Action Nominal Constructions: Information available not enough to conclude on this feature

63A Noun-phrase conjuction: Different (Pratap Naik, PC)

64A Nominal and verbal conjunction: Identical

The same marker is used for conjuction of noun phrases and for the conjunction of verb phrases and clauses.

Examples of both with coordinator /ani/ are given in Almeida (1985:282):

(147)   rama   ani   pãɖu   gõj-ã   gɛ-l-jat

Rama   and   Pandu   Goa-LOC   go-PFV-3PL

'Rama and Pandu have gone to Goa'

(148)   pedru   ãbɛ   kaʈ-ʈ-a   ani   kʰa-t-a

Pedro   mango.PL   pick-PRS-3SG   and   eat-PRS-3SG

'Peter picks mangoes and eats them'

65A Perfective/Imperfective aspect: Grammatical marking of perfective/imperfective distinction

The inflection for perfective aspect is /-l-/ and there are other inflections for imperfective tenses

66A The Past tense: There is present/past distinction with no remoteness distinctions

67A The future tense: There is distinction of future/non-future inflectional marking

There are two future tenses and these tenses are marked by a specific aspect-tense marker: /-∅-/ zero marking

for future indefinite and /-təl-/ for future definite.

68A The perfect: Other perfect

The perfect is not of the 'have' type or derived from a word meaning 'finish' or 'already'

69A Position of tense-aspect affixes: Tense-aspect suffixes

70A The morphological imperative: The language has morphological dedicated 2nd singular and 2nd plural imperatives. The 2nd singular imperatives is the verb root itself and the 2nd plural takes /-a/ as a suffix after the root (Almeida 1985:189).

71A The prohibitive: The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the 2nd sg imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives.

	Imperative	Prohibitive (Almeida 1985: 195)
(149) 2nd SG	rig	rig-ũ naka
2nd PL	rig-a	rig-ũ nakat

72A Imperative-hortative systems: Maximal homogeneity in imperative-hortative systems

This is the paradigm for imperative-hortative in Konkani (Almeida 1985:178)

2nd SG   rig-∅   (Imperative)

3nd SG   rig-ũ-di   (Hortative and Permissive)

1nd PL   rig-jã   (Hortative)

2nd PL   rig-a   (Imperative)

3nd PL   rig-ũ-dit   (Hortative and Permissive)

73A The optative: Inflectional optative is absent in Konkani

74A Situational possibility: The language can express situational possibility with affixes on the verb

Situational possibility can be expressed by the affix /-jet or /-jɛta/ added to the infinitive of the verb. For example: /taŋɛ rig-jet/ 'he can enter' (Almeida 1985:192).

75A Epistemic possibility: The epistemic possibility is expressed with the help of periphrastic constructions as can be seen in the following examples (Almeida 1985:200)

(150)   tɔ   je-ũk   as-a   d͡za-it

he   come-INF   be-PRS.3SG   become-INDF FUT.3SG

'It might be that he has to come'

(151)   pedru   je-ũt͡sɔ   d͡za-l-ɔ

Peter   come-FUT PTCP.3M.SG   become-PFV-3M.SG

'Peter is about to come'

76A Overlap between situational and epistemic modal marking: Information not available

77A Semantic distinctions of evidentiality: No grammatical evidentials

The most similar construction to evidentials may be the appositional clauses embedded under NPs with the use of the words /kʰəber/ or /gəjal/ 'news', /kaɳi/ 'story', /mʰuɳɳi/ 'saying' etc.

For example (Almeida 1985:308):

(152)   sunil   gɛ-l-ɔ   ti   kʰəber   tɔ aikə-t-a

Sunil   go-PFV-3M.SG   DEM news   he hear-PRS-3SG

'He hears the news that Sunil went'

78A Coding of evidentiality: No grammatical evidentials

79A Suppletion according to tense and aspect: Tense and Aspect (but only for a few irregular verbs)

There are a small number of verb stems that change with different modes, aspects and tenses (Almeida 1985:202)

(153)   kər > kɛ- / perfective tenses

kʰa > kʰɛ- / perfective tenses

jɛ > ai- / perfective tenses

vəs > vɛ- / imperfective tenses and participles

gɛ- / perfective tenses, conditional and adverbials

80A Verbal number and suppletion: None

81A Order of subject, object and verb: SOV

82A Order of subject and verb: SV

83A Order of object and verb: OV

84A Order of object, oblique and verb: XOV (oblique, object, verb).

For example (Almeida 1985:259):

(154)　　　aplja　　hata-ni　　ta-ŋɛ　　tɛ̃　　　foɖ-l-ɛ̃

　　　　　his.REFL　hand-INS.PL　he-INS　that.N.SG　break-PFV-3N.SG

　　　　　'He broke that with his own hands'

85A Order of adposition and noun phrase: Postpositions

86A Order of genitive and noun: Genitive-Noun

87A Order of adjective and noun: Adjective-Noun

88A Order of demonstrative and noun: Demonstrative-Noun

89A Order of numeral and noun: Numeral-Noun

90A Order of relative clause and noun: Mixed

In Konkani there are different estrategies for building relative clauses. The most usual order is relative clause-noun, which is the order of participials. On the other hand, correlatives are adjoined and preposed.

91A Order of degree word and adjective: Degree word-adjective

92A Position of polar question particles: Question particles at the end of the sentence

93A Position of interrogative phrases in content questions: Not initial interrogative phrases

94A Order of adverbial subordinator and clause: Mixed

In Konkani there are two types of embedded clauses; correlative or non correlative. The order changes accordingly. See the following example from Almeida (1985:310):

(155)　　　surjɔ　　udɛ-tana　　paus　　pəɖ-l-ɔ

　　　　　sun　　　rise-ADV　　rain　　fall-PFV-3M.SG

　　　　　'As the sun rose it rained'

(156)　　　kɛdaļa surjɔ　udɛ-l-ɔ　　　　tɛdaļa paus　pəɖ-l-ɔ

　　　　　when　sun　rise-PFV-3M.SG　then　rain　fall-PFV-3M.SG

　　　　　'When the sun rose it rained'

95A Relationship between the order of object and verb and the order of adposition and noun phrase:

OV & Postpositions

96A Relationship between the order of object and verb and the order of relative clause and noun:

OV & Rel N

97A Relationship between the order of object and verb and the order of adjective and noun:

OV & Adj N

98A Alignment of case marking of full noun phrases: Tripartite

In the perfective tenses we can find a tripartite system, where S, A and P are marked differently.

(157) For example: tɔ   pãi   soɖ-un   bɵs-l-ɔ

he-NOM   leg[PL]   stretch-ADV   sit-PFV-3M.SG

'He sat down stretching his legs' (Almeida 1985:311)

(158)   ta-ɳɛ   put-ak   haɖ-l-ɔ

he-INS   son-ACC   bring-PFV-3.M.SG

'He brought the son' (Almeida 1985: 245)

99A Alignment of case marking of pronouns: Tripartite

There is also a tripartite system for marking the pronouns in the perfective tenses, in which an ergative transformation occurs in case of transitive verbs.

100A Alignment of verbal person marking: Split alignment

In Konkani, like in other Indo-Aryan languages, there is a split between non-perfective and perfective tenses. There is a nominative-accusative alignment in non-perfective tenses and an ergative transformation in perfective tenses as seen in features 98A and 99A. See an example below of nominative-accusative alignment. For the ergative alignment, see examples (13) and (14).

(159)   cakɵr   put-ak   apɵi-t-a

servant.NOM   son-ACC   call-PRS-3SG

'The servant calls the son' (Almeida 1985:227)

101A Expression of pronominal subjects: Pronominal subjects are expressed by pronouns in subject position, but pronominal subjects are not obligatory (Almeida 1985:93-94).

102A Verbal person marking: Person marking of the agent or patient argument

As explained in feature 100A, in transitive sentences there is a split between non-perfective and perfective tenses. In non-perfective tenses the verb gets agent marking and in perfective tenses, it gets patient marking.

103A Third person zero of verbal person marking: No zero realization

104A Order of person markers on the verb: A and P do not or do not both occur on the verb

105A Ditransitive constructions: Indirect-object construction

(160) For example: ramu   suɲja-k   ũɖɔ   di-t-a

Ramu   dog-DAT   bread   give-PRS-3SG

'Ramu gives bread to the dog' (Almeida 1985:94)

106A Reciprocal constructions: No information available

107A Passive constructions: Absent

According to Almeida (1985:262), Konkani does not have a passive construction. Instead it has an ergative construction in the perfective tenses.

108A Antipassive constructions: There are no antipassive constructions

109A Applicative constructions: There are no applicative constructions

110A Periphrastic causative constructions: Information not available

111A Non-periphrastic causative constructions: Morphological but no compound

(161)   For example: /fuləi/ 'open'

/fulvəi/ 'cause to open' (Almeida 1985:197)

112A Negative morphemes: Negative affix

(162)   For example: Negative inflection: pedru bʰijɛ- 'Peter fears'

pedru bʰijɛna 'Peter does not fear' (Almeida 1985:265)

(163)   Negative imperative 2nd sg: rig-ũ naka

1st pl: rig-ũ najɛ

2nd pl: rig-ũ nakat (Almeida 1985: 195)

113A Symmetric and asymmetric standard negation: Symmetric

The order does not change in affirmative and negative sentences.

(164)   Examples: tu-d͡zɔ   pu:t ai-l-ɔ,   mu ga?

POSS.2-M.SG   son   come-PFV-3.M.SG   Q   Q

'Your son came, did he not?'

(165)   filu   vos-ũk-na,   mu?

Philoo   go-INF-NEG   Q

'Philoo hasn´t gone, has she?' (Almeida 1985:74)

114A Subtypes of asymmetric standard negation: Non assignable (no assymetry found)

115A Negative indefinite pronouns and predicate negation: No information available

116A Polar questions: Question particle

Polar questions may use a question particle but this particle is not obligatory. A change in intonation may also indicate it is a polar question.

117A Predicative possesion: Locational

(166)   Example: ta-t͡ʃja   hat-ãt   bi: pəisɔ   na

POSS.3M/N.SG-OBL   hand-LOC   INCL   money   NEG

'He has no money in his hand'   (Almeida 1985:214)

(167)   mʰaka   bʰau-yi: as-a   bʰoiɳ-i   as-a

I-DAT   brother-INCL be-3SG.PRS   sister-INCL   be-3SG .PRS

'I have both a brother and a sister'   (Almeida 1985:214)

118A Predicative adjectives: Nonverbal encoding

Predicative adjectives do not have verbal encoding. They show agreement with the subject.

(168)   Example: tɔ   beɾɔ

he   good.M.SG

'He (is) good'   (Almeida 1985:93)

119A Nominal and locational predication: Identical

(169)   Examples: bʰair   kɔɳ   as-a

outside   who   be-3.SG.PRS

'Who is outside?'   (Almeida 1985:206)

(170)   tɔ   vʰeɖ   as-a

he   big   be-3.SG.PRS

'He is big'   (Almeida 1985:271)

120A Zero copula for predicate nominals: Zero copula is possible

(171)   Example: tɔ   vʰeɖ   (as-a)

he   big   (be-3.SG.PRS)

'He (is) big'   (Almeida 1985:271)

121A Comparative constructions: Particle comparative

(172)   Example: rama   pãɖu   veɾn   budvẽt

Rama   Pandu   COMPR   clever

'Rama (is) more clever than Pandu' (Almeida 1985:211)

122A Relativization on subjects: Gap reduction (participial relative clauses)

In Konkani the participial relative clauses are commonly used. These relative clauses fall under the category of gap reduction. The language also features correlative relative clauses. The latter would fall under the category of non reduction.

123A Relativization on obliques: Non reduction

On obliques, gap reduction is not possible. Hence, correlative constructions are used.

(173)   For example: d͡zɔ   a:d͡z   ai-l-a,   d͡za-ka   gʰeɾ   na,   d͡zat͡ʃɛ   peiʃɛ   sãɖ-l-jat

who.M.SG   today   come-PFV-3SG,   who-DAT   house   NEG,   whose   money.PL   lose-PFV-3PL

tja   meɲ-ak   pedru   adar   di-t-a

DEM   man-DAT   Pedru   help   give-PRS-3SG

'Peter helps the man who has come today, who has no home and whose money is lost'

(Almeida 1985:304)

124A 'Want' complement subjects: The complement subject is left implicit

(174)   For example: tɔ   gɔ̆jã   wet͡s-ũk   sod-t-a

he Goa go-INF want-PRS-3SG

'He wants to go to Goa' (Pratap Naik, PC)

125A Purpose clauses: Both balanced and deranked expressions co-exist

(175)   For example: ti-ka   peɭɛ-təl-ɔ   mʰəɳ   ai-l-ɔ

                            she-ACC   see-FUT DEF-3.M.SG   PURP   come-PFV-3.M.SG

                            'He came to see her'   (Almeida 1985: 314)

(176)   ti-ka   peɭɛ-ŭk   (mʰəɳ)   ai-l-ɔ

                    she-ACC   see-INF   (PURP)   come-PFV-3.M.SG

                    'He came to see her'   (Almeida 1985: 314)

126A 'When' clauses: Both balanced and deranked expressions co-exist

(177)   For example: surjɔ udɛ-tana paus pəɖ-l-ɔ

                            sun   rise-ADV   rain   fall-PFV-3.M.SG

                            'As the sun rose it rained.'   (Almeida 1985: 310)

(178)   kɛdaɭa surjɔ udɛ-l-ɔ   tɛdaɭa paus pəɖ-l-ɔ

                    when   sun   rise-PFV-3.M.SG   then   rain   fall-PFV-3.M.SG

                    'When the sun rose it rained.'   (Almeida 1985: 310)

127A Reason clauses: Both balanced and deranked expressions co-exist

128A Utterance complement clauses: Balanced

    There are two ways of doing complement clauses and both are balanced. Complementizer /mʰəɳ/ occurs more often and is placed at the end of the embedded clause while complementizer /ki/ is used less often and is placed at the beginning of the embedded clause (Almeida 1985:290)

(179)   For example: gɔpaɭ d͡ʒk-l-ɔ   mʰəɳ tɔ saɳ-t-a

                            Gopal   win-PFV-3.M.SG   COMP   he   say-PRS-3SG

                            'He says that Gopal won.' (Almeida 1985: 290)

(180)   tɔ saɳ-t-a   ki   gɔpaɭ d͡ʒik-l-ɔ

                    he   say-PRS-3SG   COMP   Gopal   win-PFV-3.M.SG

                    'He says that Gopal won.' (Almeida 1985: 290)

129A Hand and arm: Different words. /ha:t/ is used for 'hand' and /bawɭɔ/ for 'arm' (Pratap Naik, PC)

130A Hand and finger: Different words. /ha:t/ is used for 'hand' and /bɔʈ/ for 'finger' (Pratap Naik, PC)

131A Numeral bases: Decimal

132A Number of non-derived basic color categories: In Konkani there are original names for four basic colors; white, black, red, green. The names of other colors are derived from objects having similar colors. For example 'yellow' from saffron. (Pratap Naik, PC)

133A Number of basic color categories: In Konkani there are 11 names for colors which include basic and

derived colors. (Pratap Naik, PC)

134A Green & blue: Different name for both colors

135A Red & Yellow: Different name for both colors

136A M-T Pronouns: M-T Paradigmatic

I have considered the following paradigm of M-T personal pronouns as paradigmatic because all first person pronouns contain /m/ except nominative and intrumental form but these two forms show a nasalization which may be a signal of a lost nasal consonant in that position. All second person forms contain /t/.

	NOM	INS	ACC/DAT	GEN
1SG	ãʰu	ãʰvɛ̃	mʰaka	mʰədz͡ɔ
2SG	tũ	tũvɛ̃	tuka	tudz͡ɔ
1PL	ami	ami	amkã	amts͡ɔ
2PL	tumi	tumi	tumkã	tumts͡ɔ

137A N-M Pronouns: No N-M pronouns paradigm

138A Tea: Words derived from sinitic cha

139A Irregular negatives in sign languages: Information not available

140A Question particles in sign languages: Information not available

141A Writing systems: Alphasyllabic

142A Paralinguistic usages of clicks: Information not available

143A Order of negative morphemes and verb: Type 2 /Type 4; VNeg/ [V-Neg]

(181)   For example: Negative inflection: pedru bʰijɛ- 'Peter fears'

pedru bʰijɛna 'Peter does not fear' (Almeida 1985:265)

(182)   Negative imperative: 2nd sg: rig-ũ naka

1st pl: rig-ũ najɛ

2nd pl: rig-ũ nakat (Almeida 1985: 195)

144A Position of negative morpheme with respect to subject, Object and Verb: SOVNeg

(183)   For example: tu-dz͡ɔ   poti   jeu-na   voi?

POSS.2SG-M.SG   husband   come.PFV-NEG   Q

'Your husband came, did he not?' (Almeida 1985:74)

(184)   ãʰu   buk   vaʦ-i-nã

I   book   read-PRS-NEG

'I am not reading the book' (Adapted from an example given by Pratap Naik, PC)

VI. Index of maps and tables

VII. Bibliography

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