

Konkani¹

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1.1.0 Background information

1.1.1 Alternate names

The language is referred to by most native speakers as "Konkni" [kōkɳi], which derives from the name of this coastal region, the Konkan.

The Portuguese referred to Konkani as *Canarim* [kanarĩ] in the earlier colonial period. Miranda (2003:732) suggests this may be due to the fact that Konkani at the time of the Portuguese arrival was written in Kannada characters, as Goa had been under Kanara control for a long period prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, hence they may at first have mistaken it for the Dravidian language Kannada.

1.1.2. Genetic affiliation

Konkani is most closely related to Marathi. It also shows a number of similarities to Gujarati, so that the three languages are generally grouped together genetically.

Gordon (2005) lists the following languages in the subgroup "Konkani": Katkari, "Konkani", "Konkani, Goanese", Kukna, Phudagi, Samvedi and Varli. The language referred to there as "Konkani" is spoken in coastal Maharashtra. Thus, "Konkani" in Gordon (2005) refers both to the subgroup "Konkani" as well as the "Konkani" dialects of coastal Maharashtra, but not the language dealt with here, which is referred to there as "Goan Konkani". I use the term "Konkani" here to refer exclusively to "Goan Konkani".

1.1.3. Geographic location and number of speakers

Konkani is spoken along the coastal areas of western India, roughly from Goa in the north (with speakers as far north as Mumbai) to Cochin in the south. It is the majority language only in the state of Goa and a minority language in all other regions where it is spoken (1.3.1).

According to the Census of India 1991 (cited in Miranda, 2003: 730), Konkani had 1,760,607 speakers at that time, of whom 34.2% (602,626) resided in Goa, whereas the largest number of speakers (although not the majority, 40.1% or 706,397) resided in Karnataka. The remaining figures given there are 312,618 in Maharashtra (17.8%) and 64,008 (3.6%) for Kerala.

¹ I am highly grateful to Rocky Miranda for his meticulous comments on an earlier version of this article which saved me from a number of embarrassing errors. Needless to say, however, I alone am responsible for any errors and inconsistencies which this article may still contain.

Gordon (2005) estimates the number of speakers to be 3,632,174 for India and 3,636,074 for all countries in 2000.

1.2.0. Linguogeographical information

1.2.1. Principal dialects

Cf. 2.7.0.

1.3.0. Sociolinguistic situation

1.3.1. Functional status

Konkani has been the sole official language of the state of Goa since 1987 and was included in 1992 in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. It is used in schools in Goa (1.3.3) and in administration, where it competes with English.

According to the 1981 Census of India, 68.4% of all Konkani speakers were multilingual at that time (cited in Miranda, 2003: 730), due to the geographical spread of Konkani. Many speakers are fluent in Malayalam (in Kerala), Kannada and/or Tulu (in Karnataka), Marathi (in Maharashtra) and Marathi and/or Bazaar Hindi in Mumbai (cf. Miranda, 2003: 730).

1.3.2. Standardization

According to Miranda (2003: 735f.), the Goa Hindu (GH) dialect has established itself as the de facto standard dialect in Goa. This dialect was also used by Varde Valaulikar, popularly known as Xennoi Goembab, the founder of the literary tradition in this dialect. Literary works in this dialect are generally considered superior to those in other dialects, such as the Christian dialects, in which many if not most texts are either religious texts designed to propagate Christianity or popular fiction (cf. Miranda, 2003: 736). As such, GH is likely to become the standard dialect for literature as well as schooling and administration (1.3.3).

1.3.3. Role in education

GH is now used in schools in Goa, and textbooks up to the university level are published in this dialect. Konkani can also be studied at Goa University. In Kerala, Konkani has also been introduced in primary schools.

1.4.0. Writing type

Konkani is written in at least four different scripts: In Goa, Konkani is generally written in the Devanagari script by Hindus, whereas Christians tend to prefer the Roman script.

Devanagari is also generally used for Konkani in Maharashtra. In Karnataka, Konkani is generally written in Kannada script and in Kerala in Malayalam script.

1.5.0. Brief periodization of the history of the language

The history of Konkani can only be traced back to approximately the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa. We can divide the history of Konkani into two main stages, based on the discussion in Miranda (2003: 732ff.), Old and Modern Konkani.

Old Konkani begins with the arrival of the Portuguese, who soon began documenting Konkani for the sake of proselytizing. These missionaries also composed the first grammars and dictionaries of any modern NIA language. During this period a number of texts were composed in Konkani, such as religious treatises by the missionaries, and it is also from this period that our oldest indigenous texts originate, such as an Old Konkani version of the two Hindu epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, written in the Roman script (Miranda, 2001: 390).

The Portuguese government, however, was less tolerant of Konkani and it is in this period that the suppression of Konkani began, which was to continue for ca. 200 years in its most oppressive form. But not only did the active suppression of Konkani during this period have an impact on the language, the 1736 edict of the Goa Inquisition was also to have a lasting effect on the language, especially with respect to its geographical spread, as numerous Goan Hindus fled as a result to neighbouring regions such as Karnataka, Maharashtra and even Kerala.

In terms of morpho-syntax, Old Konkani did not differ greatly from the modern language, although there are some minor differences (cf. Miranda, 2003: 756f. for two examples).

With the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1961, a new era in the history of Konkani began, discussed in 1.3.1-1.3.3. During this period, a phase of "Indianization" also set in, with the gradual removal of many characteristically Portuguese features of the language (1.6.0).

1.6.0. Contact phenomena

Kannada has had considerable impact on the Konkani spoken in Karnataka, especially with respect to syntax (cf. e.g., Nadkarni, 1975). Other types of contact-induced features presumably deriving from Kannada are given in Miranda (2003: 760).

Portuguese, on the other hand, has had only limited influence on Konkani, despite its official status in Goa for several centuries and the long-term suppression of Konkani (cf. Miranda, 2003: 732ff.); its influence is largely restricted to the lexicon and

primarily to the Christian dialects of Goa (2.6.0). Other types of contact-induced features such as Portuguese word order have now either vanished or are currently falling into disfavor (cf. Miranda, 2003: 760ff.).

2.0.0. Grammar / Structure

The following description deals with both the (standard) Goa Hindu variety as well as the Christian dialect of central coastal Karnataka discussed in Almeida (1989). This is primarily because the dialect discussed in Almeida (1989) is at present the best documented dialect with respect to (morpho-)phonology and syntax. However, as these two dialects are very similar in terms of morpho-syntax, this should present no difficulties for the reader.

All examples given in the following pages are presented as they occur in the respective studies (with the exception of the adaptation of the gloss or translation).

2.1.0. Phonology

2.1.1. Inventory of phonemes

Miranda (2003: 739) gives the following vowel phonemes for Konkani. Forms given in parentheses "()" are from Almeida (1989: 48).

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, ĩ		u, ũ
High-mid	e, ě	ə, ẽ (ø, ẽ)	o, õ
Low-mid	ɛ, ẽ	ʌ, ʌ̃	ɔ, ɔ̃
Low		a, ă	

Almeida (1989) assumes a phonemic distinction between /i/ and /i:/, /u/ and /u:/ and /a/ and /a:/ (as well as for their nasalized counterparts). However, as all of his examples for such long vowels are in monosyllabic words and are shortened if the stem is followed by one or more suffixes (2.1.3), I follow Miranda (2003) in assuming that vowel length is not phonemic in Konkani. Otherwise, the only difference between the two systems is that Miranda (2003) assumes two different phonemic height contrasts for the central vowels /ə/ and /ʌ/ (both nasalized and non-nasalized), whereas Almeida (1989) assumes only the central vowel /ø/ as a phoneme, although he considers /ʌ/ an allophone of /a/ (Almeida, 1989: 37).

Almeida (1989: 52) gives the following diphthongs for Konkani (slightly adapted here), all of which can also be nasalized.

	Final vowel	
Initial vowel	i	u
i	–	i _u
u	u _i	–
ə	ə _i	ə _u
a	a _i	a _u
o	o _i	o _u

The following discussion of the consonant phonemes is adapted from Almeida (1989: 39). The status of forms given in parentheses "()" as individual phonemes is uncertain. For the sake of simplicity, aspiration is indicated here, as throughout the entire study, by the sign "h" (and not "ʰ" or "ᶲ", unless it is explicitly indicated by the symbol "[]" that the respective unit is a phonetic transcription).

	Labial		Dental		Retroflex		Palatal	Velar		Glottal
Stops	p	b bh	t th	d dh	ʈ ʈh	ɖ ɖh		k kh	g gh	
Nasals	m mh		n nh		ɳ		ɲ			ŋ
Affricates			c [ts] ch [tsʰ]	j [ɟ] jh [ɟʰ]			(ç) [tʃ] (čh) [tʃʰ]	(j) [ç] (jʰ) [çʰ]		
Fricatives	f v vh		s			ʃ			h	
Flap			r							
Lateral			l	ɭ						
Glide			lh				y [j]			

With the exception of */ph/, all plosives show a voiceless ~ voiced contrast combined with an aspirated ~ non-aspirated contrast. Historically, however, /f/ results from */ph/, which is also occasionally heard (Almeida, 1989: 46).

Aspiration in Konkani is generally only found in initial position and weakly intervocalically in the careful pronunciation of loanwords. It is not found in final position (Almeida, 1989: 42).

Miranda (2003) also assumes a palatalized/non-palatalized distinction for (almost) all consonants. I follow Almeida (1989) here in not assuming this distinction to be phonemic but rather the result of a consonant plus /y/ ([j]). This issue requires further study, especially since the two authors are dealing with two different dialects, which may account for the different analyses.

For reasons of space, the following presents only a few minimal pairs illustrating the phonemic status of most of these units (all examples from Almeida, 1989):

Vowels

Monophthongs

Non-nasal

/peɖ/ 'bony fish' /pɛɖ/ 'pedestal' /tor/ 'tower' /tɔr/ 'green mango'

Nasal

/a:t/ 'custard apple' /ã:t/ 'bowels'
 /i:d/ 'muslim feast' /ĩ:d/ 'sago tree'
 /u:d/ 'jump (n.)' /ũ:d/ 'heart'
 /peɖ/ 'bony fish' /pẽɖ/ 'oilcake'
 /pɛdɔ/ 'peon' /pẽdɔ/ 'crab section'
 /pət/ 'diet' /põt/ 'bet'

Diphthongs

/pøili/ 'first' /paili/ 'a measure'; /pauli/ '25 paisā' /pouli/ 'areca pod covering'

Consonants

/pa:r/ 'mango pit' /ta:r/ 'wire' /ka:r/ 'car' /ʈa:r/ 'tar'
 /sa:r/ 'essence' /ʃa:r/ 'city' /fa:r/ 'stroke' /ha:r/ 'defeat'
 /ba:g/ 'garden' /ga:g/ 'stammer' /va:g/ 'tiger' /ja:g/ 'waking'
 /vha:ŋ/ 'sandal' /lhan/ 'small'
 /mīt/ 'limit' /nīt/ 'justice'
 /kɔɓ/ 'fox' /kɔrɔ/ 'rough'
 /kaŋi/ 'story' /kaɭi/ 'black' /kaɽi/ 'stick'
 /urøi/ 'save' /uɽøi/ 'throw' /lai/ 'apply' /lhai/ 'popcorn'

/palɔ/ 'leaves'	/paɭɔ/ 'response'
/tɔr/ 'if'	/thɔr/ 'type'
/dɔr/ 'fate'	/dhɔr/ 'hold'
/jɔr/ 'if'	/jhɔr/ 'spring'

Consonant length is phonemic for the following consonants: /p, t, ʈ, k, d, ɖ, m, n, ŋ, s, ʃ, c, ʧ, j, l, ɭ/ (Almeida, 1989: 59f.):

/sɔɭɔ/ 'cudgel'	/sɔɭɭɔ/ 'lottery'
/mhuŋɨ/ 'low stool'	/mhuŋŋɨ/ 'proverb'
/khɔɖɔ/ 'handcuffs'	/khɔɖɖɔ/ 'bald'

The status of the palatal affricates as phonemic is somewhat questionable as they are usually only found preceding mid and high front vowels (2.1.3). There are however a few examples of palatals preceding lower central and back vowels, suggesting that they are indeed phonemes.

/ɕa:r/ 'jack rind'	/ča:r/ 'four'
/acar/ 'superstition'	/ačari/ 'carpenter'
/a:j/ 'today'	/ra:j/ 'kingdom'

2.1.2. Prosody²

Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is restricted to the root and inflectional morphemes, but apparently does not extend to postpositions, negatives, intensives and even some derivational affixes, although this awaits further study. We can refer to this minimal domain to which vowel harmony (and stress, see below) applies as the phonological word.

Vowel harmony functions as follows: An underlying low-mid vowel is realized as high-mid if the following syllable contains a high-mid or high vowel.

M.SG.DIR	M.PL.DIR	F.SG.DIR	F.PL.DIR	
<i>mɔɭɔ</i>	<i>mɔɭɛ</i>	<i>moɭi</i>	<i>moɭyo</i>	'fat'
<i>čɛɖɔ</i>	<i>čɛɖɛ</i>	<i>čɛɖi</i>	<i>čɛɖyo</i>	'boy / harlot'

² Unless otherwise noted, the following phonological discussions are all based on the corresponding sections in Almeida (1989). See there for further details.

With respect to vowel harmony, /v/ and /y/ behave as [u] and [i] with one restriction: /y/ is only treated as a high vowel if it may be considered an underlying /i/ which is realized as /y/ ([j]) due to a following vowel:

PST.SG.M	PST.PL.M	PST.SG.F	PST.PL.F	GLOSS
underlying -ε		underlying -i		
<i>mɛɛ</i>	<i>mɛlyat</i>	<i>meli</i>	<i>melyo</i>	'dead'

Vowel harmony does not apply to words which are distinguished solely by the height of mid vowels in their root, such as /mɔd/ 'break (ITR)' vs. /mod/ 'break (TRV)'.

Stress

Stress in Konkani is not phonemic. Its placement is determined according to the status of the syllables in the phonological word as either strong or weak (2.1.4). For reasons of space, we limit our discussion here to two- and three-syllable simplicia.

- Bisyllabic words: If both syllables are strong or both are weak, the last syllable is stressed. If only one is strong, that syllable is stressed:

pa.'kɔ 'bat' u.'dʒi 'jump'
 'khar.vi 'fisherman' ma.'nai 'male worker'
 'pau.lɔ 'arrived' 'mas.ʃi 'fish'

- Trisyllabic words: If the middle syllable is the only strong syllable, it receives primary stress and the last syllable receives secondary stress:

W'S₁W ghi.'rɔi.₁ta 'stirs'

Otherwise there are two alternatives:

- The first and third syllables are both weak or both strong: The third syllable receives the primary and the first receives the secondary stress

ᵛ₁WW'W ᵛ₁a.va.'ʃɔ 'gooseberry'
 ᵛ₁SW'S ᵛ₁səu.ka.'sai 'peace/quiet'

- Only the first or only the third syllable is strong: This syllable receives the primary stress, the other receives secondary stress:

'SW ₁ W	'ghəḍ.gə.ḍɔ 'thunder'
'SS ₁ W	'sam.bar.ḍɔ 'spice box'
,WW'S	,e.li.'sāu 'election'
,WS'S	,rə.gəḍ.'tai 'massage (PRS.2SG)'

2.1.3. Positional realization of phonemes

- Long vowels, which are not phonemic, are only found in monosyllabic closed syllables and are shortened if the word becomes bisyllabic through inflection:

/pi:k/ 'crop' /pikā/ 'crops' /ku:d/ 'body' /kuḍi/ 'bodies'

- /i/ and /u/ are realized as semivowels before a vowel

raṇi 'queen' + -o 'PL' → raṇyo, natu 'grandson' + ak 'DAT' → natwak

- The dental affricates /c/, /ch/, /j/ and /jh/ are realized as palatals (/č/, /čh/, /j/ and /jh/) before the mid and high front vowels and /y/.

/jalɔ/ 'he became' /ləj/ 'shame' /ajɔ/ 'grandfather'
/jivɔ/ 'living' /tuji/ 'your' /raji/ 'reconciled'

- Similarly, /s/ may only be followed by low, central and back vowels. Before other vowels and /y/ it is realized as [ʃ]. Cf. *bhas* 'language (F.SG.DIR)', *bhaso* 'languages (F.PL.DIR)' but *bhase* 'language (F.SG.OBL)'. In other environments, however, both may be found, cf. /asa/ 's/he is', /aʃa/ 'hope', /sa:r/ 'essence' /ʃa:r/ 'city', etc.

2.1.4. Syllable structure

The following syllable structures are found in Konkani:

- All syllables have a vocalic nucleus (including diphthongs)
- CV is the preferred syllable structure, other common syllable types are CVC, VC and V: /a.ga/ 'O sir!', /a.bak/ 'to grandfather', /bhau/ 'brother', /bhəiŋ/ 'sister'
- CVCC and VCC are less commonly found

Syllable strength, which determines the position of stress (2.1.2), includes strong and weak syllables, defined by Almeida (1989: 62) as follows:

- A strong syllable contains a long vowel, diphthong or short vowel followed by a consonant cluster as its coda or a consonant cluster formed by its coda and the onset of the next syllable in the same word
- A weak syllable has a short vowel which is not followed by a consonant cluster within the word

2.2.0. Morphophonology

2.2.1. Phonological structure of morpheme and/or word

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2.2.2. Phonological contrasts in morphology

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2.2.3. Alternations

Ablaut: The non-productive process referred to by Almeida (1989: 99f.) as "internal modification" involves a change in vowel quantity to denote (in)transitivity, number or some other concept:

Fruit~ Tree: /bɔr/ 'berry' ~ /bor/ 'berry tree', /pɛr/ 'guava' ~ /per/ 'guava tree'

Number: /por/ 'child' ~ /pɔr/ 'children', /cor/ 'thief' ~ /cɔr/ 'thieves'

Transitivity: /mɔr/ 'die' ~ /mar/ 'kill', /mɔd/ 'break (ITR)' ~ /mod/ 'break (TR)'. This is occasionally accompanied by other changes, such as different consonants in the two codas: /suʃ/ 'come lose' ~ /soʃ/ 'loosen'

The following verbs in the standard Goan Hindu dialect have somewhat irregular forms in the perfective categories and the gerund (Miranda, 2003: 745, cf. Almeida, 1989: 202f. for a similar but different list for Karnataka Christian Konkani):

yɛ 'come' → ai

vɛɛ → gɛ

mɛɛ → mɛ

vɦɛɛ → vɦɛ

kɛri 'do, make' → kɛ

2.3.0. Semantics and grammar

Konkani is largely agglutinating although it does possess a certain amount of fusion, e.g., person, number and gender on verbs and gender, number and case on nouns are expressed by portmanteau morphemes.

Most affirmative verbal categories are synthetic, but most negative verbal categories are analytic (2.3.6).

2.3.1. Parts of speech

Konkani has the following parts of speech: Nominals, comprising nouns, pronouns and adjectives, verbs, a small set of adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions and a few invariables which I will refer to here as particles.

Although a number of issues with respect to parts of speech in Konkani remain to be worked out in detail, we can define parts of speech in Konkani as follows:³

- Nominals may function as subject, object and adjunct and obligatorily mark for gender, number and above all case, which is their distinguishing feature;
- Verbs have finite and non-finite forms; in their finite forms, they obligatorily mark for number and above all person, which is their distinguishing feature, and also often for gender; in their finite form they may function as the predicate of a main clause;
- Adverbs serve to modify a sentence/clause, verb, adjective or other adverb. This is a rather small class of invariable forms, although a number of other forms may also be used in adverbial function, such as case-marked NPs or adjectives (2.3.4).
- Postpositions govern an NP, and many are also used adverbally (2.3.7);
- Particles: This heterogeneous class includes enclitic markers such as focus markers (2.3.6) and interrogative and vocative particles (2.3.7).

2.3.2. Nominal categories

All Konkani nouns belong to one of three genders: Masculine, feminine or neuter. With animates, males are usually masculine and females feminine:

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
<i>bapui</i> 'father'	<i>avøi</i> 'mother'

³ For the sake of simplicity, suffixes which have the same form with nominals and verbals, such as *-cə*, which derives possessive adjectives from nominals (among others), and which is also found in nonfinite verb forms, will be considered here different but homophonous markers, although the two are clearly etymologically related. A more in-depth discussion of their status awaits further study.

bhau 'brother' *bhəiŋ* 'sister'

A number of lexemes referring to family members or common animals are found in both the masculine and feminine:

ajɔ 'grandfather', *aʃi* 'grandmother' *paɖɔ* 'bullock', *paɖi* 'heifer'
bəkɖɔ 'he-goat', *bəkɖi* 'she-goat' *kɔlɔ* 'fox', *koli* 'vixen'

While nouns denoting males are consistently masculine, nouns denoting females (girls, women and animals) are often neuter, especially women of lower social strata or when contempt is involved. Cf. from Almeida (1989: 144):

MASCULINE	NEUTER
<i>bhurgɔ</i> 'male child'	<i>bhurgē</i> 'female child'
<i>camar</i> 'cobbler'	<i>camarlē</i> 'cobbler woman'

With inanimates, the masculine or neuter often denotes a larger entity and the feminine a smaller entity:

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Neuter</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
<i>fātɔ</i> 'branch'		<i>fāti</i> 'twig'
<i>nəl</i> 'large pipe'		<i>nəli</i> 'small pipe'
	<i>dalē</i> 'large basket'	<i>dali</i> 'flower basket'
	<i>pətē</i> 'large bag'	<i>poti</i> 'small bag'

Masculine nouns often end in *-ɔ*, feminines in *-i* and neuters in *-ē*, although many nouns do not show this marking and nouns ending in a consonant can belong to any gender: *maɖ* 'coconut tree' (M), *vat* 'wick' (F), *jhaɖ* 'tree' (N). Adjectives agree with the noun they modify in terms of gender.

Masculine *bəɔ* *ghɔɖɔ* 'a good stallion'
Feminine *bəri* *ghoɖi* 'a good mare'
Neuter *bərē* *ghoɖē* 'a good foal'

With NPs containing nominals belonging to different genders, adjectives appear in the neuter. This applies to verbal marking as well (cf. 2.5.3).

(1) *pai ani m̃i ai-l-ĩ* 'Father and mother came.' (Almeida, 1989: 141)
 father and mother come-PST-3PL.N

2.3.3. Number⁴

All nouns and finite verbs mark for one of two numbers: singular and plural. Adjectives agree with the noun they modify in terms of number.

Cardinal numbers: Like most NIA languages, the cardinal numbers from 1-100 show a great deal of unpredictability with respect to their form. Almeida (1989: 167) however notes that only the simplicia from 1-50 are common, while the forms for 51-99 which have been inherited from MIA tend to be avoided, constructing the number instead as follows: 52 = "50 and 2", etc., especially in dates. As the Konkani cardinals follow the general NIA pattern, only the numbers from 1-20, the decadal forms and a few of the larger numbers will be given here.

1	<i>ek</i>	11	<i>ikra</i>
2	<i>don</i>	12	<i>bara</i>
3	<i>tin</i>	13	<i>tera</i>
4	<i>čar</i>	14	<i>cōda</i>
5	<i>pā:c</i>	15	<i>pēdra</i>
6	<i>sou</i> [Standard: <i>sa</i>]	16	<i>so a</i>
7	<i>sāt</i>	17	<i>setra</i>
8	<i>aṭ</i>	18	<i>eṭra</i>
9	<i>neu</i> [Standard: <i>ṇau</i>]	19	<i>ekuṇis</i>
10	<i>dha</i>	20	<i>vis</i>

30	<i>tis</i>	100	<i>(ek) ṣē / fembor</i>
40	<i>caḷis</i>	1,000	<i>hejar</i>
50	<i>pennas</i>	10,000	<i>dha hejar</i>
60	<i>saṭ</i>	1,00,000	<i>(ek) la:k</i>
70	<i>setter</i>	10,00,000	<i>dha la:k</i>
80	<i>oiṭi</i>	1,00,00,000	<i>keroḍ / koṭi</i>
90	<i>nevod</i>	10,00,00,000	<i>dha keroḍ / dha koṭi</i>

⁴ This discussion of numerals is based almost entirely on the discussion in Almeida (1989: 163ff.).

There are also personal numbers (nominal and adjectival) for 2, 3 and 4 people with a somewhat irregular declension. Their forms in the direct case, singular, masculine are *dɔg* '2', *tɛg* '3' and *coug* '4' (cf. Almeida, 1989: 152f., 168).

The most common fractions are: *ɔrdɔ* '1/2', *kaldɔ* '1/4', which inflect like variable adjectives; *deɖ* '1½' and *ədeɖ* '2½', which are invariable in form, and *səvai-* 'plus 1/4', *paʊŋɛ-* 'minus 1/4' and *səde-* 'plus 1/2', which are preposed to another numeral.

Ordinals inflect like variable adjectives. The ordinals for 1-4 have irregular forms: *poilɔ* 'first', *dusrɔ* 'second', *tisrɔ* 'third', *coutɔ* 'fourth'. The suffix *-vɔ* attaches to the numerals 5-18, numerals beginning with 19 take the suffix *-avɔ*.

Distributivity is expressed through reduplication. In general, the entire numeral is reduplicated, e.g., *ek* 'one', *ekək* 'one each'. However, in the case of *don* 'two', *tin* 'three', *čar* 'four' and *pāč* 'five' only the onset and the nucleus are reduplicated, e.g., *dodon* 'two each', *titin* 'three each', etc.

2.3.4. Case

There are two cases in Konkani: Direct and oblique. The direct case is used for S and A (outside of the perfective) and inanimate/indefinite O. The oblique case is used before most postpositions. The oblique is also occasionally found without a postposition in more-or-less fixed expressions such as *ghər-a* 'house-OBL' '(at/to) home'. Its status as a case – and not just a fugelement or linker added before case markers (see following discussion) – is uncertain and requires further study. I will follow Indological tradition here and refer to it as a case marker.

The following provides an overview of what Almeida (1989) refers to as the general paradigm for the declension of nouns, followed by a simple example:

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
Direct	-ɔ	-ɛ	-i	-yo	-ẽ	-ĩ
Oblique	-ya	-yã	-ye	-yã	-ya	-yã

ghɔɖɔ 'horse (M)', *ghoɖi* 'mare (F)', *ghɔɖẽ* 'foal (N)⁵

⁵ Rocky Miranda (personal communication) informs me that the /d/ in *ghɔɖɔ* and *ghɔɖẽ*, i.e., in the masculine and neuter, is palatalized, but /dy/ in the case of the feminine *ghoɖye*, etc., which fits in well with his palatalized/non-palatalized distinction for most consonants (cf. 2.1.1) and which is usually (although not always) recognized in orthography. However, as Almeida (1989) does not make this

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
Direct	<i>ghɔɔɔ</i>	<i>ghɔɔɛ</i>	<i>ghoɔi</i>	<i>ghoɔyo</i>	<i>ghɔɔɛ̃</i>	<i>ghoɔĩ</i>
Oblique	<i>ghɔɔya</i>	<i>ghɔɔyã</i>	<i>ghoɔye</i>	<i>ghoɔyã</i>	<i>ghɔɔya</i>	<i>ghoɔyã</i>

Other relations to the predicate are expressed by what I consider to be enclitic postpositions. These attach to the oblique-case nominal:⁶

	SG	PL
Dative / Accusative ⁷	= <i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>
Instrumental / Ergative	= <i>n</i>	= <i>ni</i>
Inessive ('in')	= <i>t̃</i>	= <i>ni</i>
Superessive ('on')	= <i>r</i> /= <i>čer</i>	= <i>r</i> /= <i>čer</i>
Vocative	∅	= <i>no</i>

The adnominal "case", which I will refer to as the genitive for ease of reference, is actually not a case but an adjectivizer. It is marked by the postposition =*cɔ* (M)/ =*čĩ* (F) / =*čẽ* (N). These forms agree with the head noun of the NP in terms of gender, number and case. There is also an alternative set of forms which have /*l*/ instead of /*c*/. There appears to be no difference in meaning between the two, although this awaits further study.⁸

distinction and as I follow Almeida here on this point, palatalization is not indicated here. Further research on the status of palatalization as phonemic is required.

⁶ The status of these markers as suffixes or enclitics is uncertain and requires further study. As they attach to the oblique case of nominals, I will tentatively treat them here as enclitic postpositions and join them by the sign "=" to their host, with the exception of the inessive, as this form has no clear initial boundary. This of course assumes that the oblique "case" is indeed a case and that the noun in the oblique case is a phonological and morphological word, which remains to be shown.

⁷ The designation of this case as dative/accusative is in line with mainstream studies on South Asian languages, although the term "objective" would seem preferable. Also, for the sake of intelligibility, I will gloss this case as either 'DAT' or 'ACC' in the examples, depending on the function of the unit in the respective clause.

⁸ Rocky Miranda (personal communication) notes that certain dialects such as both the Goan Hindu Standard and Karnataka Sarawat possess both the /*c*/ and /*l*/ variants of the so-called genitive, where the /*l*/-based forms are used with human possessors and the /*c*/-based forms elsewhere, whereas in other dialects the /*c*/-based forms are used with all nouns. However, in all dialects, a number of adverbial items such *bhit̃er* 'inside' always take the /*l*/-based forms, e.g., *bhit̃er*=*l* 'of the inside'. Further research is required to determine the use of these forms further.

As these genitive markers are postpositions, they attach to the oblique form of the noun, resulting in "double case marking". The primary function of these forms is to express attributive possession: *fejari* 'neighbor' (M), *fejary-a = č-ĩ bhurg-ĩ* 'neighbor-M.SG.OBL = GEN-N.PL.DIR child-N.PL.DIR' 'the neighbor's children' (cf. 2.5.3 for a discussion of predicative possession).

The status of these "genitive" markers as adjectivizers is made apparent by the following forms, which show that the "genitive" can even be used to derive adjectives from case-marked nouns and pronouns: *gher-ãt = l-ɔ* 'house-OBL.LOC = GEN-M.SG.DIR' 'one from the house', *am = č-ya = c-ɔ* '1PL = GEN-M.SG.OBL = GEN-M.SG.DIR' 'of the one (M.SG.DIR) pertaining to us'.

The instrumental/ergative is often used to signal adverbial relations, e.g. with adjectives: *mɔt-ya = n* 'loudly' from *mɔt* 'big' (Almeida, 1989: 114).

-ã, which undoubtedly derives from the oblique case, plural, also derives adverbials from nominals: *falyã* 'tomorrow' (cf. *falẽ* 'dawn, daybreak'), *coryã* 'stealthily' (cf. *cori* 'theft, robbery'). Similarly, the dative/accusative may also be used adverbially: *sasnak* 'for eternity' (cf. *sasaŋ* 'permanency') (Almeida, 1989: 208).

The locative cases also express adverbials and require no special comment, although it should also be noted that the suffix *-ĩ*, etymologically a locative case marker, is found in adverbial function in a number of fixed expressions: *vegĩ* 'quickly', *səkaĩ* 'in the morning', *purvĩ* 'formerly' (ibid).

Other postpositions, i.e., in addition to those discussed above, are often found in adverbial function. The following presents a few of the most common:

<i>adĩ</i> 'before'	<i>bhitər</i> 'in; among'	<i>khatir</i> 'for'	<i>lagĩ</i> 'near'
<i>pasun</i> 'for; from'	<i>pəiki</i> 'among'	<i>səkla</i> 'under'	<i>sərĩ</i> 'with'

The class of adverbs consists of invariable forms, e.g. *aj* 'today', *atã* 'now', *fəkət* 'only', *ka:l* 'yesterday' (Almeida, 1989: 207). Adjectives can also function as adverbials; inflecting adjectives then mark for the neuter: *bərẽ* 'well', *pəilẽ* 'firstly', *khərẽ* 'truly/true', *bəfjẽ* 'uselessly' (Almeida, 1989: 209). However, the adjective shows agreement with the subject if this is present or understood to have a particular gender (Almeida, 1989: 246):

(2) *fama bər-ɔ kam kər-ta* 'Shama works well.'
 Shama.M good-M.SG work.N do-PRS.3SG

(3) *ta = č-i* *avøi* *bø-r-i* *bhiye-l-i*.
 3M.SG.OBL = GEN-F.SG.DIR mother.F.SG good-F.SG be.afraid-PST-3SG.F
 'His mother was frightened very much.'

2.3.5. Verbal categories

The Konkani verbal categories can be summarized in Diagram 1 (adapted from Almeida, 1989: 176).

There is no grammatical voice, nor is (in)transitivity explicitly marked on the verb. There are, however, two morphological causatives: *-øi* is generally added to roots with a stem-final consonant and *-vøi* after a stem-final vowel, with both transitive and intransitive roots: *kør-* 'do' → *kørøi-* 'cause to do', *kha-* 'eat', *khavøi-* 'feed'. *-vøi* also functions as a second causative with verbs which have a first causative in *-øi*: *rig-* 'enter', *rigøi-* 'pass (TR)', *rigvøi-* 'cause to pass'.

The imperfective denotes actions without an endpoint and is used to express habituality, iterativity, continuity, etc., whereas the perfective explicitly denotes a completed action.

The present perfect denotes a past event with present reference while the past perfect denotes a past event completed before another past event. Present and past tenses refer to absolute time.

The subjunctive is especially common in the protasis of conditionals whereas the past irrealis appears to be restricted to counterfactual clauses. These two categories await further study.

Non-finite forms are discussed in 2.3.7 and 2.5.4.

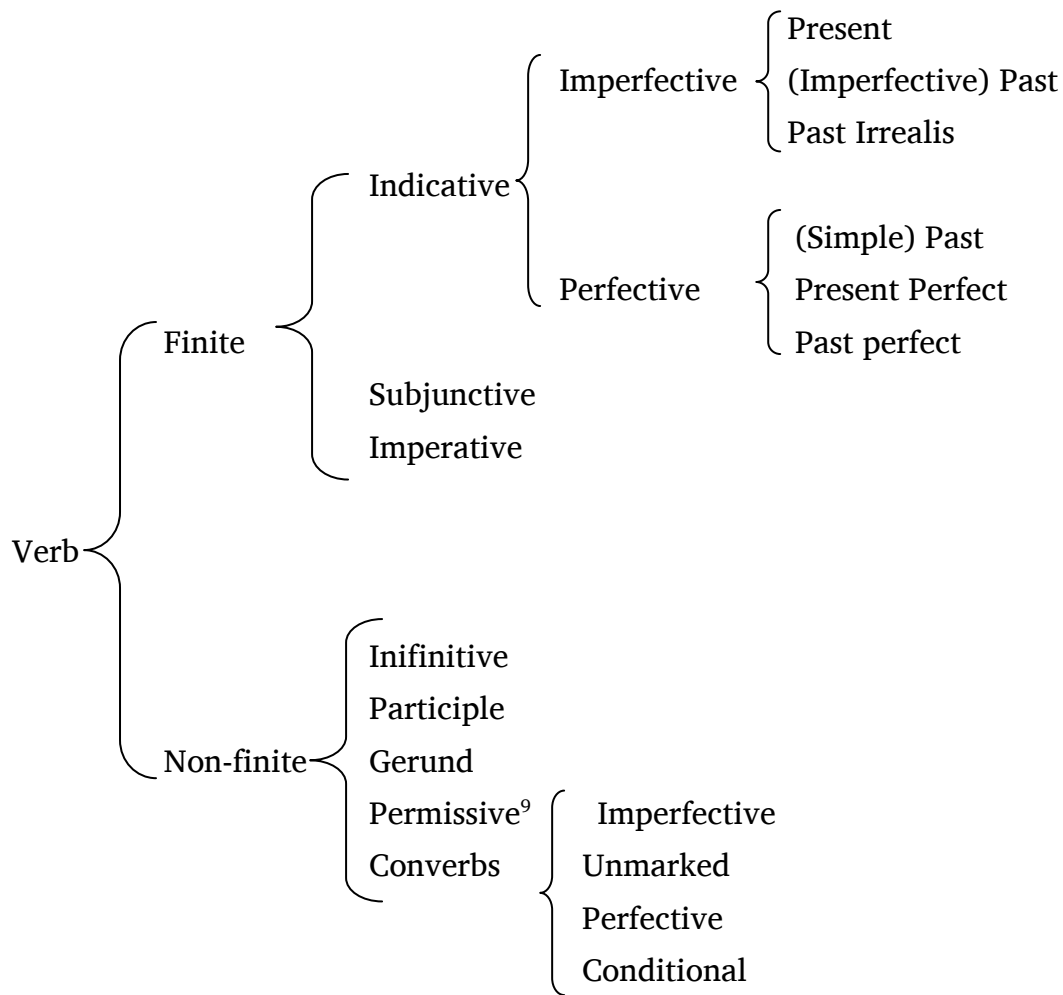


Diagram 1: An overview of the verbal categories of Konkani

2.3.6. Deictic categories

There are three persons in Konkani: first, second and third in both singular and plural. Finite verbs mark for the person of either A and S (in the imperfective) or O and S (in the perfective with an indefinite O).

For the first and second persons there are special pronominal forms, third persons are expressed through demonstrative pronouns. These demonstratives are also used as adjectives and can mark definiteness, in addition to their deictic and anaphoric functions. They show a two-way opposition:

Proximate: *hɔ / hi / hẽ* - near speaker

Distal: *tɔ / ti / tẽ* - at a distance from speaker

⁹ I retain the designation "permissive" here from Almeida (1989), although his translations of this form suggest ability ('can') rather than permission ('may'). Further research is necessary here.

Indefiniteness can be expressed by the numeral *ek* 'one'.

There are two third-person reflexive pronouns, *apəŋ* and *svəta*, and one third-person reflexive adjective, *apɫ*.¹⁰ These forms refer only to the subject; they differ in that the reflexive pronouns must refer to a subject in the same clause whereas this is not the case with the reflexive adjective.

For the 1st and 2nd persons, the reflexive forms consist of the personal pronouns or possessive adjectives and the restrictive focal marker *-c*, which is obligatory with pronominals and optional with the possessive adjectives.

(4) *hāu mha = ka = c fəʔəi-tā.*
 1SG.DIR 1SG.OBL = ACC = FOC cheat-PRS.1SG
 'I cheat myself.'

(5) *anton apŋ-a = k ek ghər ban-ta.*
 Anton 3REFL-OBL = DAT one house build-PRS.3SG
 'Anton builds himself a house.'

(6) *ap = l-ē pən mɔd-l-ē mhəŋ uʃa rəʔ-ta.*
 REFL = GEN-N.SG.DIR pen break-PT-3SG.N CMPL Usha cry-PRS.3SG
 'Usha cries (is crying) because her pen broke.'

The reflexive pronoun *apəŋ* can also function logophorically (Almeida, 1989: 277):

(7) *apəŋ yɛ-tā (mhəŋ) tū saŋ-tal-oi.*
 REFL come-PRS.1SG CMPL 2SG say-IPFV.PST-2SG
 'You were saying: "I am coming" / that you would come.'

Politeness in the second person is expressed by the plural form: *tū* '2SG.NHON' vs. *tumi* '2PL' / '2SG.HON'.

Focus may be indicated by the restrictive focal enclitic marker *=c* 'FOC' or by one of the additive enclitic focal markers *=(y)i* or *=bi* 'ADD':

(8) *tɔ = yi: ghər-a vɛ-təl-ɔ.* (Almeida, 1989: 214)
 3SG.M.DIR = ADD house-OBL go-FUT-3SG.M
 'He too will go home.'

¹⁰ The following discussion is based on Almeida (1989: 257ff.).

Negation

All finite verbal categories have a special negative form consisting either of the stem, a participle or the infinitive plus a form of the negative copula. Cf. 2.4.0.

2.3.7. Lexical classes

- Adverbs: cf. 2.3.4.
- Functional words in Konkani include
 - postpositions (2.3.4), which follow the oblique form of nominals (less commonly dative/accusative or direct case)
 - conjunctions, such as *ani* / *anik* 'and', *ya:* / *və* 'or', *pəŋ* / *puŋ* 'but', *dekun* 'therefore', *kityak* 'because' (< dative of *kitē* 'what?'), *mhəŋ* 'since; CMPL' (< *mhəŋ* 'say'), as well as correlative forms such as *jər* 'if' and their demonstrative counterparts *tər* 'consequently'
 - particles, such as the interrogative particles *vəi*, *gi*, *kai*, *gai* (9) and vocatives, the choice of which depends on social status, sex, dialect, caste, religion and age (cf. Almeida, 1989: 211 for examples).

(9) *gađi ai-l-i vəi?* (Almeida, 1989: 210)

train come -PST-3F.SG Q

'Did the train come?'

- Pronouns are discussed in 2.3.6. There are personal, interrogative, correlative and reflexive pronouns, one of which from this last class also has a logophoric function. In place of correlatives, interrogative pronouns may also be used in relative clauses (2.5.4).
- Non-finite verbs:
 - Infinitive: *-ũk* ~ *-č(y)ak*. The marker *-ũ* is still occasionally found in this function (although rarely). *-ũk* is etymologically the dative/accusative of the infinitive in *-ũ*. *-ũ* is now generally only found as a linker in certain non-finite verb forms (the gerunds of stems ending in *-əy*, *-ay*, *-ε*, or CV stems, apparently optionally in the future participle). *-č(y)ak* is etymologically the dative form of the adjectivizer/genitive marker = *co* / = *čɛ* (2.3.4), probably deriving from the gerund (see below), although apparently always without the *-ũ* just discussed. The infinitive is

found in equi-NP deletion and in some functions as a nominal and in purposive clauses (2.5.4).

- Permissive: *-yet~ -yeta*, is added directly to the stem: '[someone] can ...'
- Converbs (cf. 2.5.4 for examples):
 - Imperfective: *-tã ~ -tana ~ -tastana* 'while ...'
 - General: *-un* (imperfective or perfective interpretation)
 - Perfective: *-təc* 'having ...'
 - Conditional: *-lyar* 'if ...'. Etymologically, this form derives from the simple past form in *-lɔ / -lɛ* in the oblique case plus the superessive marker = *r*
- Participles: These are found primarily in attributive function, e.g. relative clauses (cf. 2.5.4) and inflect like variable adjectives:
 - Present: Stem plus *-t(ə)l-ɔ, -i, -ẽ*
 - Future: Stem (plus *-ũ*) + *-cɔ, -či, -čẽ*
 - Imperfect: Stem + *-tal-ɔ, -i, -ẽ*
 - Past: Stem + *-l(ə)l-ɔ, -i, -ẽ*

There are also two nominal forms derived from verbs. The gerund is formed similarly to the future participle, although this does not imply any semantic similarities between the two, which remain to be studied.

Supine: *-ap* (Goa Hindu)

Gerund: Stem (with stems ending in *-əy, -ay, -ε*, or CV: + *-ũ*) + *-cɔ, -či, -čẽ*

- Comparison: Adjectives have no comparative form in Konkani. Comparison is expressed periphrastically: The standard appears in the oblique form + *pəres, vərn, vərnɪ*: or *ki* + Adjective:

(10) *Rama ta = č-ya pəres lhan.* (Almeida, 1989: 211)

Rama 3M.SG.OBL = GEN-M.OBL than small

'Rama is smaller than him.'

2.4.0. Sample paradigms

To avoid repetition, paradigms given in 2.3.2-2.3.3 are not repeated here and only other paradigms are presented.

Nominals: Direct and oblique

Feminine: Direct singular: -∅, Direct plural /-o/: *vaṭ* 'path', *bəḍi* 'stick'

	SG	PL	SG	PL
Direct	<i>vaṭ</i>	<i>vaṭo</i>	<i>bəḍi</i>	<i>bəḍyo</i>
Oblique	<i>vaṭe</i>	<i>vaṭā</i>	<i>bəḍye</i>	<i>bəḍyā</i>

Feminine: Direct singular: -∅, Direct plural /-i/: *kaṭ* 'skin'

	SG	PL
Direct	<i>kaṭ</i>	<i>kati</i>
Oblique	<i>kati</i>	<i>kaṭi</i>

Neuter: Direct singular: -∅, Direct plural /-ā/: *ghər* 'house', *tarū* 'ship, boat'

	SG	PL	SG	PL
Direct	<i>ghər</i>	<i>ghərā</i>	<i>tarū</i>	<i>tarwā</i>
Oblique	<i>ghəra</i>	<i>ghərā</i>	<i>tarwa</i>	<i>tarwā</i>

Feminine in /-a/: *kəlpəna* 'imagination, idea'

	SG	PL
Direct	<i>kəlpəna</i>	<i>kəlpəna</i>
Oblique	<i>kəlpəne</i>	<i>kəlpənā</i>

Masculine in /-a/: *mama* 'maternal uncle'

	SG	PL
Direct	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>
Oblique	<i>mama</i>	<i>mamā</i>

Masculine: Direct singular and plural: -∅: *put* 'son', *natu* 'grandson'

	SG	PL	SG	PL
Direct	<i>put</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>natu</i>	<i>natu</i>
Oblique	<i>puta</i>	<i>putā</i>	<i>natva</i>	<i>natvā</i>

Pronouns

	1ST PERSON		2ND PERSON	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIRECT	<i>hãu</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>tũ</i>	<i>tumi</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>hãvẽ</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>tũvẽ</i>	<i>tumi</i>
OBJECTIVE	<i>mhaka</i>	<i>amkã</i>	<i>tuka</i>	<i>tumkã</i>
POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE (M.SG.DIR)	<i>mhøjɔ</i>	<i>amcɔ</i>	<i>tujɔ</i>	<i>tumcõ</i>

Demonstrative pronouns / "3rd person" pronouns (NB: here only the distal forms)

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
DIRECT	<i>tɔ</i>	<i>tĩ</i>	<i>tẽ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>tyo</i>	<i>tĩ</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>taŋɛ</i>	<i>tiŋɛ</i>	<i>taŋɛ</i>	<i>taŋi</i>		
OBJECTIVE	<i>taka</i>	<i>tika</i>	<i>taka</i>	<i>tãkã</i>		
POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE (M.SG.DIR)	<i>tacɔ</i>	<i>ticɔ</i>	<i>tacɔ</i>	<i>tãcɔ</i>		

Finite Verbs¹¹

Imperfective

Present				
	Goa Hindu (GH)		Karnataka Christian (KC)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	M/F/N	M/F/N	M/F/N	M/F/N
1	<i>rigtã</i>	<i>rigtat</i>	<i>rigtã</i>	<i>rigtãu</i>
2	<i>rigta</i>	<i>rigtat</i>	<i>rigtai</i>	<i>rigtat</i>
3	<i>rigta</i>	<i>rigtat</i>	<i>rigta</i>	<i>rigtat</i>

Subjunctive

	Singular	Plural
	M/F/N	M/F/N
1	<i>rigan</i>	<i>rigũ</i>
2	<i>rigfi</i>	<i>rigfat</i>
3	<i>rigat</i>	<i>rigtit</i>

¹¹ The data for the Karnataka Christian dialect are all taken directly from Almeida (1989: chapter 10). Forms for the standard dialect are based primarily on the data in Miranda (2003: section 2.5).

For reasons of space, the following forms are for KC only. See below for the suffixes for GH for these categories:

<u>Future</u>						
	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>rigtəl̥</i>	<i>rigtəlī</i>	<i>rigtəlē</i>	<i>rigtəlyāu</i>		
2	<i>rigtəloi</i>	<i>rigtəlīi</i>	<i>rigtəlēi</i>	<i>rigtəlyat</i>		
3	<i>rigtəɫ</i>	<i>rigtəli</i>	<i>rigtəlē</i>	<i>rigtəɛ</i>	<i>rigtəlyo</i>	<i>rigtəlī</i>

<u>Imperfective Past</u>						
	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>rigtal̥</i>	<i>rigtalī</i>	<i>rigtalē</i>	<i>rigtalyāu</i>		
2	<i>rigtaloi</i>	<i>rigtalīi</i>	<i>rigtalēi</i>	<i>rigtalyat</i>		
3	<i>rigtalɫ</i>	<i>rigtali</i>	<i>rigtalē</i>	<i>rigtalɛ</i>	<i>rigtalyo</i>	<i>rigtalī</i>

Perfective

<u>Simple Past</u>						
	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>rigl̥</i>	<i>riglī</i>	<i>riglē</i>	<i>riglyāu</i>		
2	<i>rigloi</i>	<i>riglīi</i>	<i>riglēi</i>	<i>riglyat</i>		<i>riglyāt</i>
3	<i>rigɫ</i>	<i>rigli</i>	<i>riglē</i>	<i>riglɛ</i>	<i>riglyo</i>	<i>riglī</i>

<u>Past perfect</u>						
	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>rigləl̥</i>	<i>rigləlī</i>	<i>rigləlē</i>	<i>rigləlyāu</i>		<i>rigləlyāt</i>
2	<i>rigləloi</i>	<i>rigləlīi</i>	<i>rigləlēi</i>	<i>rigləlyat</i>		<i>rigləlyāt</i>
3	<i>rigləɫ</i>	<i>rigləli</i>	<i>rigləlē</i>	<i>rigləɛ</i>	<i>rigləlyo</i>	<i>rigləlī</i>

Present perfect						
	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>riglā</i>	<i>riglyā</i>	<i>riglā</i>	<i>riglyāu</i>		
2	<i>riglai</i>	<i>riglyai</i>	<i>riglāi</i>	<i>riglyat</i>		<i>riglyāt</i>
3	<i>rigla</i>	<i>riglya</i>	<i>riglā</i>			

Past irrealis

	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>rigtō</i>	<i>rigtī</i>	<i>rigtē</i>	<i>rigtyāu</i>		
2	<i>rigtoi</i>	<i>rigtīi</i>	<i>rigtēi</i>	<i>rigtyat</i>		
3	<i>rigtō</i>	<i>rigti</i>	<i>rigtē</i>	<i>rigte</i>	<i>rigtyo</i>	<i>rigtī</i>

Suffixes for future, imperfective past, simple past and past perfect in GH

	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>-ō</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ε</i>	<i>-ī</i>	
2	<i>-o</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ē</i>		<i>-yo</i>	<i>-ī</i>
3						

Suffixes for the present perfect in GH

	Singular			Pluaral		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yat</i>	<i>-yāt</i>	
2	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yat</i>		<i>-yāt</i>
3						

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
	M / F / N	M / F / N
1	–	<i>rigyā</i>
2	<i>rig</i>	<i>riga</i>
3	<i>rigūdi</i>	<i>rigūdit</i>

Non-finite forms

Infinitive: *rigũk ~ rigčak*

Participles: Present: *rigtəɭ, -i, -ẽ; rigtɔ, -i, -ẽ*

Future: *rigcɔ, -či, -čẽ*

Imperfect: *rigtalɔ, -i, -ẽ*

Past: *rigləɭ, -i, -ẽ*

Gerund: *rigcɔ, -či, -čẽ*

Supine: *rigap* (GH)

Permissive: *rigyet ~ rigyeta*

Converbs: Present: *rigtã ~ rigtana ~ rigtastana*

Imperfect: *rigun*

Perfect: *rigtəc*

Conditional: *riglyar*

Negative forms

(1st person, singular, masculine, unless otherwise indicated)

Imperfective	Present	<i>rigə-nã</i>
	Past	<i>rigə-natl-ṣ̄</i> (GH: <i>-nasl-ṣ̄</i>)
	Future	<i>rig-cɔ-nã</i>
Perfective	(Simple) Past	<i>rig-ũk-nã</i>
	Present perfect	
	Past Perfect	<i>rig-ũk-natl-ṣ̄</i> (GH: <i>-nasl-ṣ̄</i>)
Imperative	2nd, SG	<i>rig-ũ naka</i>
	2nd, PL	<i>rig-ũ nakat</i>
	3rd, SG, 1st & 3rd, PL	<i>rig-ũ naye</i>

2.5.0. Morphosyntax

2.5.1. Word structure

Konkani makes almost exclusive use of suffixes in its inflectional system (both derivation and inflection) and extensive use of enclitics. The general pattern is: Stem + AFFIX + ENCLITIC.

2.5.2. Word formation¹²

There are a number of derivational suffixes in Konkani, at least many of which do not seem to form a simple phonological word with the root they attach to (cf. 2.1.2).

Some suffixes derive (abstract) nouns from other nouns: *dusman* 'enemy' → *dusmankai* 'enmity', from adjectives: *vhəḍ* 'big, great' → *vhəḍpəṇ* 'greatness', from verbs: *rād* 'cook (v.)' → *rādpi* 'cook (n.)'. Verbalizers are rare: *məl* 'price', *məlai* 'set a price'.

There are also a number of affixes which derive adjectives from other classes: from nouns: *mog* 'love' → *mogal* 'beloved', *gulab* 'rose' → *gulabi* 'rose-colored' *bəl* 'strength' → *bəladik* 'strong'; from verbs: *bhər* 'fill' → *bhərit* 'full'.

Compounding is quite extensive, although it is not entirely clear at present whether all constructions generally referred to under this heading are indeed compounds and not simply juxtaposed, independent elements. The following presents two examples of what might be termed "synonym compounding", whose elements have (approximately) the same meaning: *bhau bōd* [brother brother] 'close relations', *cəl vəs* [go go] 'get going'.

Occasionally, the (first) noun stem appears in the oblique case: *suṅ-ya fəmpdi* [dog-OBL tail] 'dog's tail', *mas-a jəvəṇ* [meat-OBL meal] 'meat dish'.

Verbs are also formed by "compounding": Here, the first element has the form of the general converb in *-un* and is followed by one of a small number of "auxiliaries" or "vector verbs" such as *kaḍ* 'take', *di* 'give' or *ghə* 'take' which modify the meaning somewhat. This is the Konkani "compound verb construction".

- *sod-un kaḍ* [search-CNVB take] 'discover'
- *dhaḍ-un di* [send-CNVB give] 'send along'
- *vop-un ghə* [agree-CNVB take] 'accept'

2.5.3. Simple clause structure

Konkani is a split-ergative language: In the perfective categories and with the gerund, conditional and permissive, A obligatorily appears in the instrumental/ergative. In all other verbal categories, A and S are unmarked. O is unmarked if indefinite/non-human, otherwise it is marked by the dative/accusative case.

(11) *cakər* *put-a = k* *apəi-ta*. 'The servant calls the son.'
servant.M.SG.DIR son-M.SG.OBL = OBJ call-PRS.3SG

(Almeida, 1989: 227)

¹² The following discussion is based on the data in Almeida (1989:105ff.).

- (12) *cakr-a = n* *put-a = k* *apøi-l-ɔ*. (Almeida, 1989: 229)
 servant-M.SG.OBL = INST son-M.SG.OBL = ACC call-PST-3SG.M

In those categories where A appears in the instrumental/ergative, the finite verb agrees with S or O if O appears in the direct case. If O is marked for the dative/accusative, the verb generally has default marking, i.e., 3rd person, singular, neuter, although at least in Karnataka Christian, the verb may also show agreement with a dative/accusative-marked O.

- (13) *ta = ηε* *put-a = k* *haɖ-l-ɔ* / *haɖ-l-ẽ*.
 3.M.SG.OBL = INST son-M.SG.OBL = OBJ bring-PST-3SG.M bring-PST-3SG.N
 'He brought the son.' (Almeida, 1989: 245)

In those categories in which A does not appear in the instrumental/ergative, the verb agrees with A or S.

Inalienable predicative possession is expressed by placing the possessor in the dative/accusative and the possessum in the direct case, which is then the subject. The copula is optional in this construction ((14)-(15)), unless the possessum is non-specific (16) (Miranda, 2003: 755):

- (14) *ta = ka* *dubaw* (*as-a*).
 3M.SG.OBL = DAT doubt COP-PRS.3SG
 'Has has doubt.'

- (15) *ta = ka* *dɔg* *bhaw* (*as-at*).
 3M.SG = DAT two.HUM brother.M.PL.DIR COP-PRS.3PL
 'He has two brothers.'

- (16) *ta = ka* *bhaw* *as-at*.
 3M.SG = DAT brother.M.PL.DIR COP-PRS.3PL
 'He has brothers.'

The following provides an example of alienable possessive predication (Almeida, 1989: 214):

- (17) *ta = č-ya* *hat-ãt = bi* *pøisɔ* *na*.
 3SG.M.OBL = GEN-M/N.SG.OBL hand-OBL.SG.LOC = ADD money NEG.COP.3SG

'He too has no money (in his hand).'

Word order is flexible and is used to express pragmatic status: non-contrasted topical elements precede all other non-contrasted elements. Nevertheless, in a ditransitive sentence with predicate focus and all arguments overtly expressed, non-pronominal elements would typically have the following order:

S IO DO V:

- (18) *ramu suŋ-ya = k ũq-ɔ di-ta.*
Ramu dog-M.SG.OBL = DAT bread-M.SG.DIR give-IPFV
'Ramu gives bread to the dog.' (Almeida, 1989: 94)

2.5.4. Complex sentences

The most simple type of clause combination consists of two or more juxtaposed independent clauses, which may or may not be conjoined by means of a conjunction (Almeida, 1989: 279):

- (19) *forsu nha-l-ɔ ani lorsu ta:k piyε-l-ɔ.*
Francis bathe-PST-3SG.M and Lawrence buttermilk drink-PST-3SG.M
'Francis bathed and Lawrence drank buttermilk.'

Some types of subordinate clauses, such as complement clauses of verbs of seeing and hearing, may be subordinated either with or without explicit subordinators (Almeida, 1989: 188f):

- (20) *ghɔq-ɔ pəq-ləl-ɔ ta = ka dis-l-ɔ.*
horse-M.SG.DIR fall-PST.PERF-3.M.SG 3SG.M.OBL = DAT appear-PST-3.M.SG
'He saw [that] the horse had fallen.' (lit.: "The horse had fallen appeared to him.")

- (21) *ghɔq-ɔ pəq-ləl-ɔ mhun ta = ŋe aikə-l-ē.*
horse-M.SG.DIR fall-PST.PERF-3.M.SG Cmpl 3SG.M.OBL = INST hear-PST-3.N.SG
'He heard that the horse had fallen.'

More commonly, subordination is indicated either by overt subordinators, non-finite verb forms, or both. For example, converbs may be used to express adverbial meanings and involve a non-finite verb but no subordinator (Almeida, 1989: 193):

Imperfective:

- (22) *Pedru vε-tana Paulu yε-ta.*
Pedru go-IPFV.CNVB Paulu come-PRS.3SG
'As Pedru goes, Paul comes.'

General converb:

- (23) *Rama rād-un ĵeu-ta.*
Rama cook-CNVB dine-PRS.3SG
'Cooking his food, Rama dines.'

Perfective:

- (24) *tε vε-tōc tã = č-ε i:ʃ ai-l-ε.*
3.M.PL.DIR go-SEQ.CNVB 3PL.OBL = GEN-M.PL.DIR friend come-PST-3.PL.M
'After they went away their friends came.'

Temporal clauses can be expressed by various means, including a participle or infinitive followed by a temporal postposition, in addition to the converbs just shown (Almeida, 1989: 311):

- (25) *pedru gε-lya uprāt priska piqest ja-l-ã.*
Pedru go-PST.M.SG.OBL¹³ after Priska ill become-PST-3SG.N
'After Peter went Prisca became ill.'

Adverbial clauses of purpose can be expressed by three different constructions: 1. nonfinite verb or participle + *mhəŋ* or *mhəŋun* 'CMPL' (both of which derive from the general converbal form of *mhəŋ* 'say'), 2. infinitive; 3. a combination of 1. and 2. The following three examples all mean 'He came to see her.' (Almeida, 1989: 314):

- (26) *tī = ka pəɛ-təl-ɔ mhəŋ ai-l-ɔ.*
3SG.F.OBL = OBJ see-PRS.PTCP-M.SG.DIR CMPL come-PST-3SG.M

- (27) *tī = ka pəɛ-ũk ai-l-ɔ.*
3SG.F.OBL = OBJ see-INF come-PST-3SG.M

¹³ The form *gɛlya* would appear to be a finite verb form, 3SG.M in the oblique case, as *gɛl* is not normally counted among the participles. However, as person-marked (i.e., finite) verb forms cannot appear in the oblique case, I treat this as a past or perhaps perfective participle which awaits further study, unless it is a dialectal alternate form of the past participle *gɛləb*, oblique *gɛləlya*.

(28) *ti=ka pə|ε-ũk mhəŋ ai-l-ɔ.*
 3.SG.F.OBL=OBJ see-INF CMPL come-PST-3SG.M

Conditionals are expressed by the conditional converb in the protasis. The finite verb in the apodosis generally appears in the present or subjunctive, apparently depending on the degree of probability of its becoming true (cf. Almeida, 1989: 315f.):

(29) *tũvẽ saŋ-lyar tɔ patyε-na.*
 2SG.INST say-COND 3SG.M.DIR believe-NEG.COP.PRS.3SG
 'If you tell [him] he will not believe.'

Both the protasis and apodosis may be introduced by the correlative subordinator *jər* ... *tər* 'if ... then'. If the protasis is introduced by such a subordinator, the verb in the protasis is morphologically finite (present). Cf. with the same meaning as (29):

(30) *tũ saŋ-tai tər tɔ patyε-na.*
 2SG.DIR say-PRS.2SG.M then 3SG.M.DIR believe-NEG.COP.PRS.3SG

(31) *jər tũ saŋtai tər tɔ patyε-na.*

(32) *jərtər tũ saŋtai tɔ patyε-na.*

Relative clauses are expressed through a number of different means. In addition to the (pan-Indian) correlative construction with the correlative pronoun *jɔ*, interrogatives such as *kəŋ* 'who' can also be used. The two may also combine to express indefiniteness (35). The main clause is usually introduced by a demonstrative element (cf. Almeida, 1989: 300):

(33) *jɔ ka:l mε-l-ɔ tɔ mənɪs cəq girest.*
 CR.M.SG.DIR yesterday die-PST-3SG.M 3SG.M.DIR man very rich
 'The man who died yesterday was very rich.'

(34) *kəŋ-a=č-ε pəifε sãq-l-yat ta=ŋε firyad*
 who-OBL=GEN-M.PL money.M.PL become.lost-PST-3PL 3M.SG.OBL=INST complaint.F.SG.DIR
di-ũ-č-i.
 give-LINK-PTCP.FUT-F.SG.DIR
 'The one who lost the money should make a complaint.'

- (35) *jə kəŋ mhə = j-ɔ məg kər-ta ta = ka pəl-ya = c-ɔ*
 CR.M.SG.DIR who 1SG = GEN-M.SG.DIR love do-PRS.3SG 3M.SG.OBL = DAT other-OBL = GEN-M.SG.DIR
məg as-a.
 love.M.SG COP-PRS.3SG
 'Any one who loves me loves others.'

Participles are also commonly found in attributive function. The A of the "relative clause" then appears in the instrumental/ergative (Almeida, 1989: 305):

- (36) *aĵ-e = n pəs-ləl-ɔ čəɖə kaĩ = c kəri-na*
 grandmother-F.SG.OBL = INST rear-PTCP.PST-M.SG.DIR boy.M.SG.DIR some = FOC do-NEG.COP.PRS.3SG
 'The boy reared by the grandmother does nothing.'

Direct and indirect speech are rendered in Konkani by a clause with a finite verb and the clause-final subordinator *mhəŋ* or, less commonly, clause-initial *ki* (Almeida, 1989: 290):

- (37) *gəpal ĵik-l-ɔ mhəŋ tə saŋ-ta.*
 Gopal win-PST-3SG.M CMPL 3SG.M.DIR say-PRS.3SG

- (38) *tə saŋ-ta ki gəpal ĵik-l-ɔ.*
 3SG.M.DIR say-PRS.3SG CMPL Gopal win-PST-3SG.M
 'He says that Gopal won.'

Indirect speech can also be expressed with words like *gəjal* 'news', *kaŋi* 'story', etc., with the reported content either preceding this unit (39) or incorporated syntactically into the same NP as this unit via the participial form of *mhəŋ* (40) (Almeida, 1989: 307):

- (39) *sunil gɛ-l-ɔ ti khəbər tə aikə-ta.*
 Sunil go-PST-3SG.M DIST.F.SG.DIR news.F.SG.DIR 3SG.M.DIR hear-PRS.3SG
 'He hears the news that Sunil went.'

- (40) *tomas mə-l-ɔ mhul-l-i khəbər ta = ka məl-l-i.*
 Thomas die-PST-3SG.M say-PTCP.PST-F.SG.DIR news.F.SG.DIR 3SG.M.OBL = ACC reach-PST-3SG.F
 'The news that Thomas died reached him.'

2.6.0. Lexical borrowings

Due to the long colonial history of Goa, many words of Portuguese origin have found their way at least into Goa Christian dialects. Interestingly, many Portuguese feminine words ending in *-a* have been reanalyzed as neuters, and the *-a* of the donor language resurfaces in Konkani as the marker of the oblique case: *fest* 'feast' (Portuguese *feira*), *mis* '(Christian) mass' (Portuguese *missa*).

In all dialects, especially since Goa was ceded to India in 1961 and came under increasing pan-Indian influence, large numbers of pan-Indian neo-classical loans have been incorporated into the language. These loans are often made to fit Konkani pronunciation (epenthetic vowels, etc.). Konkani has also borrowed a number of words of Kannada origin: *bəṛəi* 'write'.

2.7.0 Dialects

Konkani dialects are based primarily on three factors: geography (especially Goan / Non-Goan, but also North/South both within and outside of Goa), religion and caste. Miranda (2003:731) assumes five major dialects, based predominantly on geography:

- Goa Hindu, spoken with minor variations throughout Goa
- Southern Saraswat, spoken by the Saraswat Brahmans of the coastal areas of Karnatak and Kerala, with further minor internal differentiations
- Bardes Christian, spoken in Bardes and Tiswadi, to the north of the river Zuari in Goa
- Saxtti Christian, spoken in Saxtti and Mormugao to the south of the river Zuari in Goa
- Karnataka Christian, spoken in coastal Karnataka, with further minor internal differentiations

Although the differences between the dialects are generally primarily phonological, there are also significant differences with respect to morphology and the lexicon. In many ways, the southern dialects appear to be more conservative with respect to phonology, as the stem-final vowel in these dialects is often retained and plays a role in nominal morphology, whereas it only sporadically appears in the northern dialects.¹⁴ The verbal morphology of the southern dialects also shows a number of archaisms. On the other hand, the southern dialects have also been the most affected through contact with Kannada (cf. 1.6.0).

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. the discussion of verb stems in Miranda (2003:744f.).

For a detailed comparison of six different dialects, cf. Katre (1966). Miranda (2003:757ff.) also gives a number of systematic differences between the five major dialects he assumes. In 2.4.0 a few of the differences in verbal marking between Goa Hindu (dealt with by Miranda, 2003) and Karnataka Christian (dealt with by Almeida, 1989) are also presented.

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