

A
FUNCTIONAL
GRAMMAR SKETCH
OF
HILL MADIA

Christopher Vaz

Indian Institute for Cross Cultural Communication
2005

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1. Introduction

The Hill Madia language belongs to the Gondi subfamily of central Dravidian languages of central India. There are an estimated 150,000 speakers of this language located in three districts: the Gadchiroli District of Maharashtra State and the Bastar and Dantewada districts of Chhatisgarh State. Hill Madia is considered by the authors as a distinct tribe based on the fact that its members constitute an endogamous social unit, distinct from the Gonds with whom they coexist in many areas. The Hill Madias are also to be distinguished from the Bison Horn Madias of south Dantewada District (Grigson 1938). The present study is based on the Bhamragad dialect spoken in Gadchiroli District.

So far two definitive linguistic descriptions of the language have been published. One is a Ph.D. dissertation by Veena (1965), describing Hill Madia phonology and morphology. Her major informant came from the Etapalli area, close to Bhamragad. The other work is a description of the Abujhmaria dialect of Bastar by Natarajan (1985). It covers phonology, morphology, clause structure and phrase structure.

The description presented here is not intended to be a comprehensive descriptive grammar of Hill Madia. Rather, it is a sketch of grammatical structures in Madia that perform certain universal communicative functions. These structures include predicate nominals, grammatical relations, tense, aspect and mode, valence-changing devices, and pragmatically marked structures. This typological-functional approach is thus different from that followed in the two earlier works mentioned above.

Hill Madia is an unwritten language, and the authors are using the Devanagari script to write it. This is the same script used for the Hindi and Marathi languages. Devanagari, like all other Indic scripts, is syllabic in nature. A syllable is written as a basic consonant character with a vowel diacritic (called a *matra*). The vowel defaults to a schwa in the absence of a diacritic. The consonant characters can be modified to symbolize half-consonants used in clusters. There are also independent vowel characters for syllables without an onset. The Devanagari data in this description have been converted to a Roman equivalent known as TransRoman. The following is a description of non-standard characters used in the transcriptions:

ø	half-open back rounded vowel
G	velar fricative (having voiced and voiceless allophones)
r	alveolar flap
ɽ	retroflex flap

In order to follow the parsed data presented in this sketch, it is important to know that there are two genders in Madia, masculine and non-masculine. The masculine gender is used for male humans, the non-masculine for everything else: female humans, non-human creatures, plants, and inanimate objects, as well as spiritual beings. The gender system is reflected in pronouns and demonstratives, in verb agreement, some adjectives, and in numerals from one to seven. Proximal and distal demonstratives function as third person pronouns.

The examples used in this description are formatted as follows: The first line contains the text (in TransRoman orthography). The second line is a parsed form of the text showing the underlying forms of the morphemes and morpheme breaks. If a morpheme is spelt differently in the first and second lines, this is because a different allomorph surfaces in the text. The third line contains the morpheme glosses and the fourth line contains the free translation in italics. Implied information and explanatory comments in the free translation are enclosed in brackets. An index of abbreviations used in the interlinears is listed in the appendix.

2. Predicate nominals and related constructions

2.1 Predicate nominals

In Madia, predicate nominal constructions may or may not have a copula. Example (1) is an example of a predicate nominal with NP NP juxtaposition.

- (1) vεGe nαvα pekəl
 vεG-e nənα-nα-0 pekəl
 this.m-EMP ls-GEN-GEN.SG boy
This is the one who is my son.

The present tense is assumed for such NP NP juxtaposition constructions. A copula is required for past and future tenses, and for the past imperfective (which is treated like a tense by the language, see section 5.1).

The most common copular verb is /mən/ ‘to.be’. But sometimes the verb /αy/ ‘to.become’ (or ‘to.happen’) is also used.

- (2) sαlmonɪ bεrα budtøG mətøG
 sαlmonɪ bεrα bud-t-øG mən-t-øG
 Salmoni big wisdom-BEL-3MS to.be-PAST-3MS
Solomon was someone of great wisdom.
- (3) vεG nα-vα pekəl α-nd-øG
 vεG nənα-nα-0 pekəl αy-nd-øG
 this.m ls-GEN-GEN.SG boy to.become-IMPF-3MS
He is my son.

Example (2) shows proper inclusion, while (3) is an equative construction. (But it does not imply that the boy is the speaker’s only son.) The past imperfective form of the verb /αy/ is the copula used in establishing the present identity of someone or something. It is optional, and is frequently omitted to yield a NP NP juxtaposition construction as in (1). On the other hand, /mən/ is used to express attributes, existentials, locatives, and past identity.

Predicate nominal constructions can also be negated.

- (4) nənα pεrεyø-nən ɪlen
 nənα pεrεyøG-ən ɪl-en
 ls champion-lS not.be-lS
I am not a champion.
- (5) øG nα-vα mεG αy-ø-G
 øG nənα-nα-0 mεG αy-ø-øG
 that.m ls-GEN-GEN.SG son to.become-NEG-3MS
He is not my son.

The verb in (4) is a negative copular verb. It is inflected for person, gender, and number, but not for tense/aspect.

2.2 Predicate adjectives

In predicate adjective constructions, the copula is normally present.

- (6) yesu bes mən-0-tøG
 yesu bes mən-ɪʔ-øG
 Yesu good to.be-PRES-3MS
Jesus is good.
- (7) nαgpur vεlα jek ɪl-e
 nαgpur vεlα jek ɪl-tα
 Nagpur much far not.be-3NS
Nagpur is not very far.

There are certain instances, as in comparative constructions, where the copula may be omitted. See example (25) in section 3.6.

2.3 Existential constructions

In these constructions, too, the copula /mən/ occurs.

- (8) und kəsa-te beʔra mogur mə-t-α
 und kəsa-te beʔra mogur mən-t-tα
 one pool-LOC.GENL big crocodile to.be-PAST-3NS
There was a big crocodile in a pool.

- (9) mə-va nə-tə dukən il-e
 mət-nα-0 nəG-te dukən il-tα
 lp-GEN-GEN.SG village-LOC.GENL shop not.be-3NS
There is no shop in our village.

What distinguishes these constructions from locationals is the absence of a demonstrative or specifier or other means of anaphora preceding the predicate NP.

2.4 Locational constructions

Here, too, the copula ‘to.be’ is required.

- (10) dʊvəl, pəd iv rəndʊ undɪ-y panja-te
 dʊvəl pəd iv rəndʊ und-ɪ-e panja-te
 tiger pig these.n two.n one.n-CF-EMP cave-LOC.GENL

 məndʊŋ
 mən-nd-ʊŋ
 to.be-IMP-3NP

The tiger and pig, these two used to be/live in a single cave.

- (11) bəbəl lon ɪlɛG
 bəbəl lon ɪl-øG
 dad house not.be-3MS
Dad is not at home.

Existential constructions such as (8) and (9) may look like locational constructions, but there the sentence-initial locative phrases only serve to provide the location for the existence of the new entity being introduced. In a locative construction, the locative phrase is not sentence-initial, unless the sentence lacks an explicit subject.

2.5 Possessive constructions

These also require the copula /mən/. There are two possible forms of possessive constructions.

- (12) onəŋ mʊvʊr pekor məntɔr
 øG-na-ŋ mʊvʊr pekəl-or mən-ɪʔ-or
 that.m-GEN-GEN.PL three.m boy-PL to.be-PRES-3MP
He has three boys/sons. [lit., His three boys are.]

- (13) onəgɑ nɑlɯŋ kəʃusk məntəŋ
 øG-nɑ-əgɑ nɑlɯŋ kəʃul-ŋ mən-ɪʔ-əŋ
 that.m-GEN-LOC.SPEC four.n cot-PL to.be-PRES-3NP
He has four cots. [lit., With/at him are four cots.]

Example (12) uses a genitive, (13) a locative. The literal translation of (13) should not mislead. The locative suffix used is *not* the same as an accompaniment suffix. There is a tendency to use the genitive for possessed entities higher in the animacy hierarchy, and the locative for entities lower in that hierarchy. This is a tendency and not a rigid rule. Example (13) can also be interpreted as an existential construction, and the distinction between these two types is a bit fuzzy in Madia.

3. Constituent order

3.1 Constituent order in main clauses

Hill Madia is a strong SOV language as seen in the following examples.

- (14) S O V
 mogurɪ kəyletɑ kɑdun pəyɑ
 mogur-ɪ kəyle-nɑ-0 kɑl-tun pəy-t-tɑ
 crocodile-CF fox-GEN-GEN.SG leg-ACC to.catch-PAST-3NS
The crocodile caught the leg of the fox.

- (15) S O V
 tɑnɑ səŋge nɪmɑ bɑtəl vərktɪn?
 əd-nɑ-0 səŋge nɪmɑ bɑtəl vərkt-t-ɪn
 that.n-GEN-GEN.SG with 2s what to.speak-PAST-2S
What did you speak with her?

SOV is the normative word order. There may be certain instances, however, when the order is altered to achieve a certain rhetoric effect.

- (16) O V
 nɑʃe udɪsɪ miʃɪŋ kitər
 nɑG-te ud-ɪs-ɪ miʃɪŋ ki-t-ər
 village-LOC.GENL to.sit-PTPL-CF meeting to.do-PAST-3MP

S
 gaytəl boru
 gaytəl bor-ɪ
 headman who.mp-CF
Sitting in the village, they held a meeting, the headman and others.

In (16) the subject is postposed. It also carries low stress, an indication that the speaker is downplaying the importance of the subject.

- (17) O S V
 on mənken nənɑ ʊʀtən
 øG-n mənkel-tun nənɑ ʊʀ-t-ən
 that.m-ACC person-ACC ls to.see-PAST-1S
That person I saw.

In (17), the object is preposed. This device is discussed in section 11.1.

3.2 Order of genitive and head noun

As observed by Greenberg (1963) for OV languages in his sample, the genitive invariably precedes the head noun (possessed entity), as in (12).

3.3 Order of adjective and head noun

It is almost always the case that the adjective precedes the head noun, as in (8). In the case of numerals, however, the numeral may sometimes optionally follow the head noun, as in (18).

- (18) $\begin{array}{lll} \text{ra}\check{\text{J}}\text{ana} & \text{\textcircled{r}}\text{y}\check{\text{u}}\text{l}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{G}} & \text{\textcircled{r}}\text{v}\text{\textcircled{G}} \text{v}\text{a}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{G}} \\ \text{ra}\check{\text{J}}\text{-}\text{n}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{-}0 & \text{\textcircled{r}}\text{y}\check{\text{u}}\text{l}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-}\text{\textcircled{G}} & \text{\textcircled{r}}\text{v}\text{\textcircled{G}} \text{v}\text{a}\text{y}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-}\text{\textcircled{G}} \\ \text{king-GEN-GEN.SG} & \text{service-BEL-3MS} & \text{one.m come-PAST-3MS} \end{array}$
One of the king's servants came.

In constructions such as (18), the adjective following the noun is a matter of choice. In fact, it is the less preferred choice. The choice is stylistically determined. There are certain standard relational expressions, however, where it is obligatory for the numeral to follow the head noun, as in (19).

- (19) (a) $\begin{array}{ll} \text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{m}\text{\textcircled{G}} & \text{i}\text{r}\text{v}\text{u}\text{r} \\ \text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{m}\text{\textcircled{G}} & \text{i}\text{r}\text{v}\text{u}\text{r} \\ \text{younger.brother} & \text{two.m} \\ \text{two brothers} & \end{array}$ (b) $\begin{array}{ll} \text{a}\check{\text{r}} & \text{i}\text{r}\text{v}\text{u}\text{r} \\ \text{a}\check{\text{r}} & \text{i}\text{r}\text{v}\text{u}\text{r} \\ \text{woman} & \text{two.m} \\ \text{man and wife} & \end{array}$

3.4 Order of head noun and relative clause

As one may expect for an OV language, the relative clause invariably precedes the head noun, as in (20).

- (20) $\begin{array}{llll} & \text{REL CL} & & \text{H} \\ \text{n}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{n}\text{\textcircled{a}} & [\text{n}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{v}\text{\textcircled{a}} & \text{l}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{p}\text{\textcircled{a}} & \text{a}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{d}] & \text{p}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{l}\text{\textcircled{e}} \\ \text{n}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{n}\text{\textcircled{a}} & \text{n}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{n}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{-}\text{n}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{-}0 & \text{l}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{p}\text{\textcircled{a}} & \text{a}\text{y}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{a}} & \text{p}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{l}\text{\textcircled{e}} \\ \text{l}\text{s} & \text{l}\text{s-GEN-GEN.SG} & \text{about} & \text{to.become-PAST.NOM-3NS} & \text{matter} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{ll} \text{und} & \text{v}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{?}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{?}\text{n}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{n} \\ \text{und} & \text{v}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{?}\text{-}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{-}\text{i}\text{?}\text{-}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{n} \\ \text{one.n} & \text{to.tell-SFS-PRES-1S} \end{array}$
I am telling one matter that happened to me. [lit., about me]

Frequently the head noun may be omitted altogether from the relative clause, as in (21).

- (21) $\begin{array}{llll} & \text{REL CL} & & \\ \text{[m}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{r}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{?}\text{k} & \text{a}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{d}] & \text{i}\text{n} & \text{t}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{l}\text{k}\text{l}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{?} \\ \text{m}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{r}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{-}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{?}\text{k} & \text{a}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{d}\text{-}\text{i}\text{n} & & \text{t}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{l}\text{k}\text{-}\text{l}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{?} \\ \text{Mura-DAT} & \text{to.become-PAST.NOM-3NS-ACC} & & \text{to.ask-PUR} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{ll} \text{\textcircled{e}}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{n} & \\ \text{d}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{y}\text{-}\text{t}\text{-}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{n} & \\ \text{to.go-PAST-1S} & \end{array}$
I went to ask for the one who [later] became Mura's wife. [lit., who became to Mura]

3.5 Adpositions

All adpositions in Madia are postpositions without exception. There are two classes. Some occur as suffixes, as in (22).

- (22) (a) $\begin{array}{ll} \text{g}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{r}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}} & \\ \text{g}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{r}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{-}\text{t}\text{\textcircled{e}} & \\ \text{forest-LOC.GENL} & \\ \text{in the forest} & \end{array}$ (b) $\begin{array}{ll} \text{k}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{s}\text{l}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{?}\text{k}\text{\textcircled{a}} & \\ \text{k}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{s}\text{-}\text{l}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{?}\text{k}\text{\textcircled{a}} & \\ \text{fire-like} & \\ \text{like fire} & \end{array}$

4. Description of grammatical relations

The Hill Madia language exhibits a completely nominative-accusative system. The most prominent means of marking grammatical relations is through case marking. The verb agreement system also follows the nominative-accusative pattern in all tenses and aspects.

In the following examples, the subject of an intransitive clause is marked as S, the more agentive participant of a transitive clause as A, and the less agentive participant as P.

- S
 (29) əd dastɑ
 əd dɑy-ɪʔ-tɑ
 that.n go-PRES-3NS
 She/it is going.
- S
 (30) or ətør
 or dɑy-t-ør
 those.m go-PAST-3MP
 They went.
- A P
 (31) əd rɑmən nəl-təʔtɑ
 əd rɑməl-tun nəl-tə-ɪʔ-tɑ
 that.n Ramal-ACC to.beat-SFS-PRES-3NS
 She is beating Ramal (a male name).
- A P
 (32) rɑməl tɑn nəl-təʔtøG
 rɑməl əd-tun nəl-tə-ɪʔ-tøG
 Ramal that.n-ACC to.beat-SFS-PRES-3MS
 Ramal is beating her/it.
- A P
 (33) əd rɑmən nəl-tɑ
 əd rɑməl-tun nəl-t-tɑ
 that.n Ramal-ACC to.beat-PAST-3NS
 She beat Ramal.
- A P
 (34) rɑməl tɑn nəl-tøG
 rɑməl əd-tun nəl-t-tøG
 Ramal that.n-ACC to.beat-PAST-3MS
 Ramal beat her/it.

For an intransitive clause, as in (29) and (30), the S carries no case marking and the verb agrees with it in person, gender, and number. In transitive clauses, as in (31)–(34), the A carries no case marking and the verb agrees with it in person, gender, and number. The P carries the accusative case suffix, and the verb does not agree with it. These facts are true regardless of verb tense and other external factors. Thus, the language invariably treats S and A alike, while P is treated differently.

Certain verbs also require a third argument, the indirect object, which always carries the dative case marker.

(B) Auxiliary affirmative constructions:

Main VR (-SFS) (-non-finite suffix)	Aux. VR (-SFS) – {tense/asp.} - Agreement {negation }
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The non-finite suffix can be one of the following: punctiliar participle, durative participle, purposive, infinitive or causative.

- (41) $\text{\textcircled{e}r\textcircled{s}\textcircled{o}r}$ $\text{\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{t}\textcircled{a}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{e}r\textcircled{-}s\textcircled{o}r}$ $\text{\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{-}t\textcircled{-}t\textcircled{a}}$
to.cry-DUR to.be-PAST-3NS
(she/it) kept on crying

(C) Auxiliary negative constructions:

Main VR – NEG – Agreement	/ɔy/ ‘to.become’ -tense/asp. -Agreement OR
Main VR-NEG-INF	/mən/ ‘to.be’ -Past Perfective-Agreement

The agreement suffix is the same for both the main and auxiliary verbs (i.e., the same underlying form). Such a construction is used when the speaker wishes to provide tense/aspect information to a negated verb. When the auxiliary verb /ɔy/ is used, the tense/aspect suffix cannot be the past perfective.

- (42) $\text{\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{v}\textcircled{i}\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}\textcircled{y}\textcircled{k}\textcircled{i}\textcircled{r}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{-}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{-}i\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}\textcircled{y}\textcircled{-}k\textcircled{-}i\textcircled{r}}$
to.be-NEG-2P to.become-FUT-2P
(you(PL)) will not be/stay
- (43) $\text{\textcircled{e}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{v}\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{t}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{m}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{d}\textcircled{a}\textcircled{y}\textcircled{-}v\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{-}t\textcircled{-}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{m}}$
to.go-NEG-INF to.be-PAST-1P
(we) had not gone

5.1 The tense/aspect morpheme in fully finite verbs

There are four possible tense/aspect suffixes in finite verbs—present as in (44), future as in (45), past perfective as in (46), and past imperfective as in (47).

- (44) $\text{\textcircled{r}\textcircled{a}\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{l}}$ $\text{\textcircled{v}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{r}\textcircled{k}\textcircled{i}\textcircled{?}\textcircled{t}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{g}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{r}\textcircled{a}\textcircled{m}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{l}}$ $\text{\textcircled{v}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{r}\textcircled{k}\textcircled{-}i\textcircled{?}\textcircled{-}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{g}}$
Ramal to.speak-PRES-3MS
Ramal is speaking.
- (45) $\text{\textcircled{r}\textcircled{u}\textcircled{p}\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{v}\textcircled{a}\textcircled{y}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{g}\textcircled{a}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{r}\textcircled{u}\textcircled{p}\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{v}\textcircled{a}\textcircled{y}\textcircled{-}k\textcircled{-}t\textcircled{a}}$
Rupi to.come-FUT-3NS
Rupi will come.
- (46) $\text{\textcircled{d}\textcircled{a}\textcircled{d}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{l}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{l}\textcircled{t}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{g}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{d}\textcircled{a}\textcircled{d}\textcircled{e}\textcircled{l}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{l}\textcircled{-}t\textcircled{-}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{g}}$
elder.brother to.die-PAST-3MS
Elder brother died.

- (47) $r\alpha m\epsilon l \ v\epsilon r\dot{k}i\eta d\theta G$
 $r\alpha m\epsilon l \ v\epsilon r\dot{k}-nd-\theta G$
 Ramal to. speak-IMPF-3MS
Ramal was speaking. OR *Ramal used to speak.*

The underlying form of the present tense morpheme is $/-i\eta/$. The present tense suffix has the following allomorphs:

Allomorphs	Environment
-s	Monosyllabic CV pattern verb roots, third person subject
-0	Verb roots ending in n , third person subject
-0	Monosyllabic verb roots ending in y , first/second person subject
-ʔ	Elsewhere following vowels
-iʔ	Elsewhere following consonants

The agreement suffixes following the present tense suffix are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	-nən	-nəm (excl.) -nəl (incl.)
2	-nin	-nir
3 mas.	-təG	-tər
3 non-mas	-ta	-təŋ

The future tense morpheme has the underlying form $/-k/$, which is the allomorph that precedes first and second person agreement suffixes. It has the zero allomorph before the third person non-masculine singular suffix and the allomorph $-n$ before all other third person suffixes. The agreement suffixes following the future tense suffix are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	-ən	-əm (excl.) -əl (incl.)
2	-in	-ir
3 mas.	-əG	-ər
3 non-mas.	-yəGɑ*	-uŋ

*The $/y/$ in 3 non-mas. sg. is deleted if preceded by a consonant.

The past perfective morpheme always follows the verb root, and precedes the agreement suffix. The underlying form is $/-t/$, and it has the allomorph $-t$ following verb roots that end in a retroflex consonant. The agreement suffixes following the past perfective suffix are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	-ən	-əm (excl.) -əl (incl.)
2	-in	-ir
3 mas.	-əG	-ər
3 non-mas.	-ɑ/-u	-əŋ/-uŋ

The past imperfective suffix, like the past perfective, always follows the verb root, and precedes the agreement suffix. The underlying form is $/-nd/$, and it has the allomorph $-ind$ following most obstruent-final verb roots. The agreement suffixes following the past imperfective suffix are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	-ən	-əm (excl.) -əl (incl.)
2	-in	-ir
3 mas.	-əG	-ur
3 non-mas.	-u	-uŋ

As is evident from (43), the past imperfective has two functions, one being past progressive, the other being past habitual.

5.2 Other forms of aspect marking

Some aspects in Hill Madia are expressed by verb phrases involving auxiliary verbs. Example (48) shows **progressive aspect**.

- (48) nənə devuṛtun nəmsər məndəkən
 nənə devuṛ-tun nəm-sər mən-də-k-ən
 1s God-ACC to.trust-DUR to.be-SFS-FUT-1S
I will keep on trusting God.

In such constructions, the main verb carries only the aspect marker (the durative participle in this case), while the auxiliary verb is fully finite, carrying the tense suffix (one of the four mentioned in section 5.1) and the agreement suffix. The durative participle suffix has the underlying form /-sər/ and it takes the allomorph *-jər* after verb roots ending in *n*, and the allomorph *-cər* after verb roots ending in *ʔ* or *G*. The verb /mən/ 'to.be' is the auxiliary verb used for the progressive aspect.

While the durative participle is used to mark progressive aspect, the punctiliar participle is used to mark the **perfect aspect**.¹ Here, too, the auxiliary verb /mən/ 'to.be' is used. The past perfect is very commonly used in the language. The auxiliary verb takes the past perfective suffix in this case.

- (49) rupɪ lon ənj mətə
 rupɪ lon dəy-is mən-t-tə
 Rupi house to.go-PTPL to.be-PAST-3NS
Rupi had gone home.

The present and future perfect expressions, exemplified in (50) and (51) respectively, are very rarely used.

- (50) nənə kəbər̩ kis məʔnən
 nənə kəbər̩ ki-is mən-ɪʔ-ən
 1s work to.do-PTPL to.be-PRES-1S
I have done the work.
- (51) nənə kəbər̩ kis məndəkən
 nənə kəbər̩ ki-is mən-tə-k-ən
 1s work to.do-PTPL to.be-SFS-FUT-1S
I will have done the work.

For expressing the **inceptive aspect**, the main verb carries the purposive suffix, and is followed by the auxiliary verb /bət̩/ 'to.begin'.

¹There are other usages of the punctiliar and durative participles than just expressing verb aspect. They are used extensively in subordination and clause chaining.

- (52) kəler kətəŋ tusləʔ bəʔtər
 kəle-ŋ kətəŋ tus-ləʔ bəʔ-t-ər
 thief-PL money to.apportion-PUR to.begin-PAST-3MP
The thieves began distributing the money.

In most cases, the purposive suffix is optional and the main verb could be reduced to a bare stem form, as in (53).

- (53) guru kaGta bəʔtəG
 guru kaG-tə bəʔ-t-əG
 guru to.teach-SFS to.begin-PAST-3MS
The guru began to teach.

There is another aspect similar to the inceptive, which denotes a change over time. This is expressed by a mandatory purposive suffix on the main verb, which is followed by the auxiliary verb /əy/ ‘to become’. Thus, (52) can also be expressed as:

- (54) kəler kətəŋ tusləʔ ətər
 kəle-ŋ kətəŋ tus-ləʔ əy-t-ər
 thief-PL money to.apportion-PUR to.become-PAST-3MP
The thieves came to be distributing the money.

The difference between this aspect (which we shall call the **imperfective inceptive**) and the pure inceptive is that the pure inceptive focuses on a point in time at which the action is begun, while the imperfective inceptive focuses only on the change in state, without any reference to a point in time. When there is a gradual change in state, as in (55), the pure inceptive cannot be used. Only the imperfective inceptive is appropriate.

- (55) lokur devurʔtun məGŋləʔ ətər
 lokur devur-tun məGŋ-ləʔ əy-t-ər
 people God-ACC to.forget-PUR to.become-PAST-3MP
The people came to forget God.

The pure inceptive cannot be used in example (55), because there is no point in time at which the people stopped being mindful and started to forget.

The **present habitual aspect** can only be expressed by accompanying adverbs, as in (56).

- (56) jəyɪ dɪnəmə kəGsɪʔtə
 jəyɪ dɪnəm-e kəGs-ɪʔ-tə
 Joy daily-EMP to.play-PRES-3NS
Joy plays daily!

6. Modal expressions

Various modes in Hill Madia can be expressed morphologically or syntactically.

There is an **inferential mode** that can be expressed by the future tense morpheme, and optionally augmented by the adverbial particle /bəʔe/ ‘probably’ or ‘perhaps’, as in (57).

- (57) rəju lote məndənəG bəʔe
 rəju lon-te mən-də-k-əG bəʔe
 Raju house-LOC.GENL to.be-SFS-FUT-3MS probably
Raju must be at home. OR Raju is probably at home.

There also exists an inferential particle /ələ/ which may follow the VP or even adverbs connected with the inference. Example (58) is a special case of quoted speech where the speaker is supporting a previous assertion (from hearsay) which was denied by the hearer.

- (58) isəl əle idrɨ køyəlaʔ vas
 isəl əle idr-ɨ køyə-laʔ va-IS
 recently INFL reed-PL to.harvest-PUR to.come-PTPL
- mətəŋ, əske əle nima veʔtɪn əle, 'nəna
 mə-t-əŋ əske əle nima veʔ-t-ɪn əle nəna
 to.be-PAST-3NP then INFL 2s to.tell-PAST-2S INFL 1s
- onk dayna vicər mənta ri, '
 øG-tuʔk day-na vicər mən-iʔ-ta ri
 that.m-DAT to.go-INF thought to.be-PRES-3NS voc.fem
- ɪtɪn əle
 ɪn-t-ɪn əle
 to.say-PAST-2S INFL
*Recently apparently, they had come to collect reeds, then apparently you told them
 apparently, "I am thinking of going to him," you said apparently.*

The **conditional mode** is marked by a conditional suffix /-tɛkɛ/ on the verb root in a subordinate clause to express either a condition for a future event, state or command, or to express a hypothetical event in the past or future. In the latter case, the main clause verb often carries the **contrafactual mode** suffix. Example (59) shows a condition for a future event, while (60) gives a hypothetical past event.

- (59) onɑ vicər mətɛkɛ dəkən,
 øG-na-0 vicər mən-tɛkɛ day-k-ən
 that.m-GEN-GEN.SG thought to.be-COND to.go-FUT-1S
If he is inclined, I will go.
- (60) nima mənj mətɛkɛ batay vər̥kɪs
 nima mən-j mən-tɛkɛ bat-ay vər̥k-ɪs
 2s to.be-PTPL to.be-COND what-INDEF to.speak-PTPL
- mənɔlɪ
 mən-ɛ-tɑ
 to.be-CFACT-3NS
If you had been [here], she would have spoken something or other.

In (60), the VP in the main clause has a participial suffix on the main verb, while the auxiliary verb carries the contrafactual suffix. This structure occurs when the reference is to the earlier past. When the reference is to the immediate past or present, the contrafactual suffix is attached to the main verb root, and there is no auxiliary, as in (61).

- (61) nima nendɨ toɾ evɛkɛ nəna dɔlɛnən
 nima nendɨ toɾ i-vɛkɛ nəna dɔl-ɛ-ən
 2s today company to.give-COND.NEG 1s to.die-CFACT-1S
If you had not given help today, I would have died.

Example (61) also has the negative conditional suffix in the subordinate clause.

The same contrafactual suffix may also be used without an explicit or implicit condition to express an unrealistic notion. The following example is taken from a folktale, and it follows a section in which a fox's foot gets stuck under the log of a tree and the fox orders the log to release its foot.

- (62) mətɪ guʃɑ bɛgɑ vɪʃsɑlɪ
 mətɪ guʃɑ bɛgɑ vɪʃs-ɛ-tɑ
 but log where to.leave-CFACT-3NS
But how would the log ever leave!

The contrafactual suffix has the underlying form /-ɛ/, and it has the following allomorphs:

Allomorphs	Environment
-vɑ	Vowel-final roots, 3NS subject
-ɑ	Consonant-final roots, 3NS subject
-vɛ	Vowel-final roots, non-3NS subject
-ɛ	Consonant-final roots, 3NS subject

The agreement suffixes that follow the contrafactual suffix are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	-nən	-rəm (excl.) -rəl (incl.)
2	-nɪn	-rɪr
3 mas.	-G	-r
3 non-mas.	-lɪ	-skʉ

There are three different **deontic modes** in Hill Mada. All three take dative subjects. Strong obligation is expressed by using the auxiliary verb /pøy/ (which means ‘to.catch’ when used as a main verb). The main verb is in a bare stem form. The auxiliary can take any tense.

- (63) nik nasiktəke dayɑ pøytəGɑ
 nɪmə-tʉʔk nasɪk-nɑ-əke day pøy-tə-k-tɑ
 2s-DAT Nasik-GEN-LOC.DIR to.go to.catch-SFS-FUT-3NS
You will have to go to Nasik.

- (64) nik nasiktəke dayɑ pøyø
 nɪmə-tʉʔk nasɪk-nɑ-əke day pøy-ø-tɑ
 2s-DAT Nasik-GEN-LOC.DIR to.go to.catch-NEG-3NS
You will not have to go to Nasik.

A lesser degree of obligation is expressed by means of the non-verbal copula /gavəle/. The main verb takes the infinitive.

- (65) nik nasiktəke daynɑ gavəle
 nɪmə-tʉʔk nasɪk-nɑ-əke day-nɑ gavəle
 2s-DAT Nasik-GEN-LOC.DIR to.go-INF needed
You need to go to Nasik.

The weakest degree of obligation is expressed by means of the auxiliary /mən/ ‘to.be’, with the main verb taking the infinitive.

- (66) nik nasiktəke daynɑ mənɑ
 nɪmə-tʉʔk nasɪk-nɑ-əke day-nɑ mən-ɪʔ-tɑ
 2s-DAT Nasik-GEN-LOC.DIR to.go-INF to.be-PRES-3NS
You are to go to Nasik.

The **abilitative mode** is expressed by means of the auxiliary verb /pəG/ ‘to.be.able’, with the main verb in a bare stem form and the subject in nominative case.

- (72) (a) əʔ kəmə (b) ɪnjəkɛ ənmət
 əʔ ki-mə ɪnjəkɛ dəy-mə-t
 like.that to.do-PRO now to.go-PRO-IMPV.PL
 Don't do like that. *Don't go now.*

Imperatives (but not prohibitives) can also carry the progressive aspect, as in (73), or the perfect aspect, as in (74).

- (73) kəGɪsør mən
 kəGɪ-sør mən-0
 to.learn to.be-IMPV
 Keep on learning.

- (74) nənə vənəʔjom əd kəbər̩ kis mən
 nənə vənə-nəʔjom əd kəbər̩ ki-ɪs mən-0
 ls to.come-until that.n work to.do-PTPL to.be-IMPV
 By the time I come, be [in a state of] having done that work.

It is important to note that permissives, hortatives, and imperatives are not to be considered as declarative clauses in Hill Madia, and therefore do not necessarily fit any of the verb phrase structures described at the beginning of section 5.

7. Valence decreasing constructions

7.1 Impersonal constructions and nominalized verbs

There are no passive constructions as such in Hill Madia. However, some means are employed to downplay the role of the controlling participant. The most common means is by an impersonal active construction, where the controlling participant is referred to by the third masculine plural verb agreement suffix (used in a generic sense).

- (75) ɪd pustək(tun) bərəʔk rəstør
 ɪd pustək(-tun) bərəʔk ras-t-ør
 this.n book(-ACC) for.what to.write-PAST-3MP
 Why did they write this book?
- (76) ɪdɪn dũgɑ pənd̩ ɪntør
 ɪdɪn dũgɑ pənd̩ ɪn-ɪʔ-ør
 this.n-ACC “dungɑ” fruit to.say-PRES-3MP
 They call this a “dungɑ” fruit.

While such constructions are the preferred way to downplay the controlling participant, a nominalized verb can also be used for events that occurred in the past.

- (77) ɪd pustək bərəʔk rəstəd məntɑ
 ɪd pustək bərəʔk ras-t-tɑ mən-ɪʔ-tɑ
 this.n book for.what to.write-PAST.NOM-3NS to.be-PRES-3NS
 Why has this book been written?

A nominalized verb is often ambiguous in that it can refer to either the controlling or the affected participant. Thus, /rəstəd/ in (77) can mean either ‘one (non-masculine) who wrote’ or ‘one that is written’. The context determines the interpretation. Since the book is the referent, the latter meaning would be inferred.

- (83) pu_jer_k apun_{ɔŋ} apø_Ge əskindur
 pu_jer-_ŋ ap-na-_ŋ ap-ø_G-e əsk-nd-ø_r
 shaman-PL drefl-GEN-GEN. PL drefl-3MS-EMP to.cut-IMP-3MP
The shamans were cutting themselves [each one cutting himself].

If the reflexive plural pronoun had been used instead of the distributive reflexive in (83), it would change the meaning to a reciprocal one – the interpretation would then be that the shamans were cutting one another.

Like the regular reflexive pronouns, the distributive reflexive is also most commonly used to express reflexive possession, as in (84).

- (84) səbe_tø_r apun_ɔ apun_ɔ lo_ʔk
 səbe-t-ø_r ap-na-0 ap-na-0 lon-_ŋ
 all-BEL-3MP drefl-GEN-GEN. SG drefl-GEN-GEN. SG house-PL

 ətø_r
 dəy-t-ø_r
 to.go-PAST-3MP
All went, each to his own house.

8. Causatives

In Hill Madia, causatives can be expressed lexically, morphologically, or analytically.

8.1 Lexical causatives

In some cases, a different verb is used to express the causative.

- (85) jurɪ_ʔk pun_Gə_G disɪ_ʔt_ɔ
 jurɪ-tu_ʔk pun_Gə_G dis-ɪ_ʔ-t_ɔ
 Juri-DAT flower to.be.seen-PRES-3NS
The flower is visible to Juri.
- (86) jurɪ pun_Gə_Gdun ur_tɔ
 jurɪ pun_Gə_G-tun ur_t-t-ɔ
 Juri flower-ACC to.see-PAST-3NS
Juri saw the flower.
- (87) raməl jurɪ_ʔku pun_Gə_G tø_ʔtø_G
 raməl jurɪ-tu_ʔk-I pun_Gə_G tø_ʔ-t-ø_G
 Ramal Juri-DAT-CF flower to.show-PAST-3MS
Ramal showed Juri the flower.

In (87), the accusative suffix is not attached to the direct object as it is low in animacy.

In section 5, it was mentioned that some verb roots arbitrarily take the stem formation suffix (SFS) /-yə/, while some others take /-tə/. (Many verb roots do not take a SFS at all.) There are some cases, however, where an intransitive verb takes the SFS /-yə/, and it is made causative by replacing /-yə/ with /-tə/. The causative form usually has a modified form of the verb root. Consider the following examples, in which /-nɔ/ is the infinitive morpheme:

- (88) ə_G-yə-nɔ to be torn ə_Gʔ-tə-nɔ to tear (something)
 ə_r-yə-nɔ to fall ə_rʔ-tə-nɔ to drop (something)

There are some other cases where the intransitive verb has no SFS, but its causative is formed by attaching the SFS /-tə/ to a modified form of the root.

- (89) *mur̥nd-na to be immersed* *mur̥ʔ-tə-na to immerse*
rɛg-na to descend *rɛʔ-tə-na to bring down*

Some transitive verbs with the SFS /-tə/ (which has several allomorphs) take lexical causatives by means of verb root modification.

- (90) *tɪn-də-na to eat* *tɪʔ-tə-na to feed*
uŋ-də-na to drink *uʔ-tə-na to give to drink*

8.2 Morphological causatives

This is by far the most common means of expressing causatives. The causative suffix is attached to the verb root, and the auxiliary verb /ki/ ‘to.do’ follows the main verb. For intransitive verbs, the causee takes the accusative case.

- (91) (a) *jurɪ piʂəGɑ*
jurɪ piʂ-k-tɑ
Juri to.remain-FUT-3NS
Juri will remain/survive/be saved.
- (b) *raməl jurɪn piʂiʔ kiynøG*
raməl jurɪ-tun piʂ-iʔ ki-k-øG
Ramal Juri-ACC to.remain-CAUS to.do-FUT-3MS
Ramal will save Juri.

For transitive verbs, the causee takes the dative case.

- (92) (a) *mogur køyletɑ kadun pøyta*
mogur køyle-na-0 kal-tun pøy-t-tɑ
crocodile fox-GEN-GEN.SG leg-ACC to.catch-PAST-3NS
The crocodile caught the leg of the fox.
- (b) *køyte tənɑ kadun mogurtuʔk*
køyte tən-na-0 kal-tun mogur-tuʔk
fox refl.s-GEN-GEN.SG leg-ACC crocodile-DAT
- pøyriʔ kisiʔɑ*
pøy-iʔ ki-ɪs-i-t-tɑ
to.catch-CAUS to.do-PTPL-to.give-PAST-3NS
The fox let the crocodile catch its leg.

In (92) (b), the secondary auxiliary verb /i/ which is phonologically bound to the participial form of the preceding verb, implies that the fox actively handed over its leg to the crocodile to be caught.

Not all verbs can take the causative suffix.

The fact that the causee takes the accusative for intransitive verbs and the dative for transitive verbs is true regardless of how the causation is expressed.

8.3 Analytic causatives

In analytic causative constructions, the verb is in a special causative infinitive form, and its clause is the object of the verb /ki/ ‘to.do’.

- (93) soməl ɪdrəm vəkɪsɪ tən reyɲɑ?
 soməl ɪdrəm vək-ɪs-ɪ ɛd-tun rey-ɲɑ?
 Somal like.this to.speak-PTPL-CF that.n-ACC to.fear-CINF

kitøG
 ki-t-øG
 to.do-PAST-3MS
Somal, speaking like this, caused her to be afraid.

This kind of causative expression is the least direct kind. Compare (93) with the morphological causative expression in (94).

- (94) soməl tən repɪ? kitøG
 soməl ɛd-tun rey-ɪ? ki-t-øG
 Somal that.n-ACC to.fear-CAUS to.do-PAST-3MS
Somal scared her.

In the former example, something that the speaker said produced fear in the heart of the listener. In the latter case, the morphological causative implies a deliberate act of scaring.

Unlike the morphological causative, the analytic causative can be expressed with any intransitive verb. There is no instance in the data corpus of the analytic causative occurring with transitive verbs.

9. Negation

For a discussion of prohibitives, see the end of section 6. For expressions of negative existence and absence of an attribute, the reader is referred to sections 2.1–2.4. In this section, mainly negative assertion will be discussed.

As mentioned at the beginning of section 5, the structure of an isolated finite verb in a declarative main clause is as follows:

Verb root (-SFS) – { tense/aspect } – Agreement suffix
 { negation }

Thus, a negated verb does not carry tense/aspect information as is evident from example (95).

- (95) rɑju kenjøG
 rɑju kenj-ø-øG
 Raju to.hear-NEG-3MS
Raju did not listen. OR Raju does not listen. OR Raju will not listen.

If tense/aspect information is to be specified, an auxiliary construction is required. For present, future, and past imperfective, the auxiliary verb /ɑy/ ‘to.become’ is used.

- (96) rɑju kenjøG astøG
 rɑju kenj-ø-øG ɑy-ɪ?-øG
 Raju to.hear-NEG-3MS to.become-PRES-3MS
Raju is not listening.
- (97) rɑju kenjøG ɑynøG
 rɑju kenj-ø-øG ɑy-k-øG
 Raju to.hear-NEG-3MS to.become-FUT-3MS
Raju will not listen.

- (98) raju kenjəG andəG
 raju kenj-ə-əG əy-nd-əG
 Raju to.hear-NEG-3MS to.become-IMPF-3MS
Raju was not listening. OR Raju used to not listen.

For the past perfect however, the main verb takes the negative infinitive suffix /vɑ/, and the auxiliary verb /mən/ ‘to.be’ is used with the past perfective suffix.

- (99) or vɛla jək ənvay mətər
 or vɛla jək dəy-və-e mən-t-ər
 those.m much far to.go-NEG. INF-EMP to.be-PAST-3MP
They had not gone very far.

As mentioned in section 2.1, the verb /ɪl/ is a negative copular verb, and is used to express the non-existence of something. A construction similar to (99) is used with this verb to communicate that something did not exist in the past (but may exist now).

- (100) əd kələmte ləɾəy ɪlvay mətɑ
 əd kələm-te ləɾəy ɪl-və-e mən-t-tɑ
 that.n age-LOC.GENL war not.be-NEG. INF-EMP to.be-PAST-3NS
In that age there was no war.

Notice that (100) contains a double negative expression. Examples (95)–(100) illustrate a minor function of the negative infinitive, its major function being to express negation in dependent clauses.

To express a future non-existence, the verb /mən/ ‘to.be’ is used as the main verb with standard negation, followed by the auxiliary verb /əy/ ‘to.become’ with the future tense suffix.

- (101) əd kələmte ləɾəy mənə əyəGɑ
 əd kələm-te ləɾəy mən-ə-tɑ əy-k-tɑ
 that.n age-LOC.GENL war to.be-NEG-3NS to.become-FUT-3NS
In that age there will be no war.

An undesirable event or state can be expressed by a construction similar to a predicate nominal. The copula is the negation of the verb /əy/ ‘to.become’, and the predicate contains the verb expressing the event or state in either infinitive or present nominalized form. The copula as well as the nominalized verb (if one is used) take the third non-masculine singular agreement suffix.

- (102) jol vər̥kna/vər̥knəd əyə
 jol vər̥k-na/vər̥k-vəl-tɑ əy-ə-tɑ
 false to.speak-INF/to.speak-PRES. NOM-3NS to.become-NEG-3NS
Lies are not to be spoken.

When such a statement refers to a personal volitional act, it may function either as a general rule to be followed or a prohibition addressed to a specific individual or group. In the latter case the statement is functionally equivalent to formally prohibitive statements, as in (72).

10. Interrogatives

10.1 Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives (those that require an answer of yes or no) are expressed in Hill Madia by means of the sentence-final polar interrogative clitic /-ɑ/ and intonation. The interrogative clitic takes the allomorph -yɑ post-vocally.

- (103) niva jivate situr mentaya
 nima-na-0 jiva-te situr men-iʔ-ta-a
 2s-GEN-GEN.SG heart-LOC.GENL peace to.be-PRES-3NS-POLAR
Is there peace in your heart?

In nearly every case, the clitic is attached to the verb. But in cases where the verb is absent, the clitic attaches to the final word, as in (104), thus showing that it is indeed a sentence-final clitic and not a verbal suffix.

- (104) bəGu rupi nimaya
 bəG-u rupi nima-ya
 who-CF Rupi 2s-POLAR
Who's that? Rupi, is it you?

Intonation in polar questions rises up to the first syllable of the last word and then falls.

Tag questions are expressed by the sentence-final particle /əy/.

- (105) nulpe vaykin əy
 nulpe vay-k-in
 evening to.come-FUT-2S
You will come in the evening, won't you?

The tag questions also have rising intonation with the peak at the first syllable of the last word. The intonation then falls while the last word is being spoken, and then rises again for the particle /əy/.

10.2 Content interrogatives

Question words are used to express content interrogatives as shown in the following examples.

- (106) bəG indəG niku
 bəG in-nd-əG nima-tuʔk-u
 who.m to.say-IMPF-3MS 2s-DAT-CF
Who was saying [this] to you?
- (107) əv bəske vas mətəŋ
 əv bəske vay-is mən-t-əŋ
 those.n when to.come-PTPL to.be-PAST-3NP
When had they (fem.) come?
- (108) niva vicər batəl mənta
 nima-na-0 vicər batəl mən-iʔ-ta
 2s-GEN-GEN.SG thought what to.be-PRES-3NS
What do you think?
- (109) bərəʔku vatir
 bərəʔk-u vay-t-ir
 for.what-CF to.come-PAST-2P
For what did you (pl.) come?
- (110) əd bek əta pəya
 əd beke day-t-a pəya
 that.n where.dir to.go-PAST-3NS next
Where did she go then?

11. Pragmatically marked structures

11.1 Marked focus constructions

In a discourse, material in focus typically either adds new information or changes part of an already activated propositional framework by replacement or by selecting between alternatives (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:36). The former type of focus is often unmarked, while the latter, which involves contrast of some kind, is usually marked in some way.

A common means of marking focus in Hill Madia is by means of the word-final emphatic suffix /e/ on the focused constituent. For truth value focus, this suffix goes on the verb.

- (113) kəyle und kade lata itaye
 kəyle und kal-te lata i-t-ta-e
 fox one.n leg-LOC.GENL kick to.give-PAST-3NS-EMP
The fox did indeed give a kick with one leg.

In (113), the locative suffix functions as an instrumental.

The following are examples of counter-presuppositional constituent focus. In each case the focused constituent is identified by the presence of the emphatic suffix, and also by stress prominence. Examples (114), (115), (116), (117), and (118) show possessive focus, subject focus, object focus, indirect object focus, and locative focus, respectively.

- Poss
 (114) onaye budtuʔk lokur piʃtər
 øg-na-0-e bud-tuʔk lokur piʃ-t-ør
 that.m-GEN-GEN.SG-EMP wisdom-DAT people to.remain-PAST-3MP
Because of HIS wisdom [not anyone else's], the people were saved.

- S
 (115) devuʔiye niva toʔ mənta
 devuʔ-i-e ni-ma-na-0 toʔ mən-iʔ-ta
 God-CF-EMP 2s-GEN-GEN.SG company to.be-PRES-3NS
It is GOD [not any ordinary person] who is with you.

- O S
 (116) one nəna aʃtən
 øG-tun-e nəna aʃ-t-ən
 that.m-ACC-EMP 1s to.choose-PAST-1S
HIM I chose [over everybody else].

- O IO
 (117) nava piʃatun nika ikən
 nəna-na-0 piʃa-tun ni-ma-tuʔk-e i-k-ən
 1s-GEN-GEN.SG girl-ACC 2s-DAT-EMP to.give-FUT-1S
I will give my girl to YOU [not to any other].

- S Loc
 (118) joga geratene untøG
 joga ger-a-te-n-e unj-t-øG
 Joga forest-LOC.GENL-INT-EMP to.sleep-PAST-3MS
Joga slept IN THE FOREST [not at home].

Another means of focus marking is fronting of the focused constituent (usually a direct object) to clause-initial position from its unmarked position in the clause. Example (116) shows focus marking using both devices—the emphatic suffix as well as fronting. The unmarked position of the direct object is between the subject and the verb, but it has been fronted to clause-initial position.

(123) (a) əske nənɑ ɪŋkɑ ɛkvɑ puʒɑ kiylɑ? ɑtən
 əske nənɑ ɪŋkɑ ɛkvɑ puʒɑ ki-lɑ? ɑy-t-ən
 then 1s yet more worship to.do-PUR to.become-PAST-1S
Then I began to engage in worship even more.

(b) mətɪ nɑvɑ duk ɪtɛkɛ bəsken məyø
 mətɪ nənɑ-nɑ-0 duk ɪtɛkɛ bəske-n məy-ø-tɑ
 but 1s-GEN-GEN.SG sickness TM anytime-INT to.cease-NEG-3NS

But, as for my sickness, it never ceased.

In (123a), the author himself is the topic of the sentence; but in (123b), the topic changes to his sickness.

Not only does the topic marker /ɪtɛkɛ/ mark **sentence topic**, it also marks **discourse topic** or **discourse theme** (Reinhart 1982:2). Notionally, discourse topic is what a (section of) discourse is about, while a sentence topic is an entity that the speaker indicates that a particular sentence is about (Tomlin et al 1997:85) if, in fact, the sentence has such. Consider the following passage in which a man describes how lonely he felt after his wife died.

(124) (a) *After the mother died, I was like that, alone, for at least some six/seven/eight years.*

(b) pəyɑ vɛGənən ɪtɛkɛ pəyɑ øsø pɪlɑtɑ
 pəyɑ vɛGøG-ən ɪtɛkɛ pəyɑ øsø pɪlɑ-tɑ-0
 next one.m-1S TM next again girl-GEN-GEN.SG

mərmɪŋ kitən
 mərmɪ-ŋ ki-t-ən
 marriage-PL to.do-PAST-1S

Then [I was] alone-then furthermore I performed my daughter's marriage.

(c) *The girl also went. Then the boys went to school, I was all alone. I was all alone, now then there was no one at home to sweep, to fetch water...*

In (124b), the narrator introduces the discourse topic of being alone, marking it with the topic marker /ɪtɛkɛ/. Then he breaks off the sentence midway (as attested also by a long pause), and proceeds to develop the theme of his loneliness in the next several sentences. The topic introduced in (124b) has no apparent relation to the sentence in which it is placed. Rather, it is a discourse topic which has scope over a section consisting of several sentences.

The examples of counter-presuppositional focus given in section 11.1 involved **single-difference contrast**, i.e., the assertion is contrasted with a presupposition. Contrast with two or more points of difference is called **multiple-difference contrast** (terminology adapted from Chafe 1976). In Hill Madia, such contrast is expressed by means of the contrastive particle /bɑrɑ/. The following example is an excerpt from a folktale.

(125) (a) *Thus those two friends became angry with each other.*

(b) oŋ ɑsɪ duvəl bɑrɑ pɛdtun
 oŋ ɑy-ɪs-ɪ duvəl bɑrɑ pɛd-tun
 anger to.become-PTPL-CF tiger CP pig-ACC

kəskkən ɪndu
 kəsk-k-ən ɪn-nd-tɑ
 to.bite-FUT-1S to.say-IMPF-3NS

Becoming angry, the tiger was saying, "I will bite the pig."

- (c) əʔe pəd bərə dʊvədun pəykən
 əʔ-e pəd bərə dʊvəl-tun pəy-k-ən
 like.that-EMP pig CP tiger-ACC to.strike-FUT-1S

ɪndu
 ɪn-nd-tə
 to.say-IMPF-3NS
Likewise, the pig was saying, "I will strike the tiger."

- (d) sətrəl kəylə bərə məjə uɾɪndu
 sətrəl kəylə bərə məjə uɾ-nd-tə
 clever fox CP fun to.see-IMPF-3NS
As for the clever fox, it was watching the fun.

There is a multiple-difference contrast in (125). Three different animals are being contrasted and so are their respective activities. In each case, the particle /bərə/ follows the sentence topic, and therefore also functions as a topic-marking device indicating multiple-difference contrast.

12. Conclusion

As specified in the introduction, this paper is not a comprehensive description of Hill Madia grammar, but rather a sketch of Madia linguistic structures that perform major communicative functions. The sketch covers features such as predicate nominals and related constructions, order of clause constituents, encoding of grammatical relations, the tense/aspect/mode system and verb phrase structure, reflexive and reciprocal constructions, causatives, negation, interrogatives, and some pragmatically marked structures. It is our hope that this sketch will be useful to anyone who studies the Hill Madia language.

Appendix: Abbreviations Used

A key to the abbreviations used in the interlinears is given below. Lowercase letters refer to root morphemes, uppercase to suffixes.

1	first person subject or pronoun
1PE	first person plural exclusive subject
2	second person subject or pronoun
3	third person subject
ABL.GENL	general ablative
ACC	accusative case
ALT	alternative suffix
BEL	suffix of belonging or association
CAUS	causative
CF	citation form suffix
CFACT	contrafactual suffix
CINF	causative infinitive
COND	conditional suffix
COND.NEG	negative conditional suffix
CON.NEK	one of two concomitant action suffixes
CP	contrastive particle
DAT	dative case
dir	directional sense
drefl	distributive reflexive
DUR	durative
EMP	emphatic suffix
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
GEN.SG	genitive singular (possessed entity is singular)
GEN.PL	genitive plural (possessed entity is plural)
H	borrowed from Hindi
HORT	hortative
IMPF	past imperfective
IMPV	imperative
IMPV.PL	imperative plural suffix
IMPV.SG	imperative singular suffix
INDEF	indefinite suffix
INF	infinitive
INFL	inferential particle
INT	intensifier
LOC.DIR	directional locative suffix
LOC.GENL	general locative suffix
LOC.SPEC	specific locative suffix
m	masculine (form of pronoun or demonstrative)
M	masculine subject (on verbs)
M	borrowed from Marathi
n	non-masculine (form of demonstrative or numeral)
N	non-masculine subject
NEG	negation
NEG.INF	negative infinitive
NEG.NOM	negative nominalizer

p	personal form of numerals one to seven
p	plural (pronoun)
P	plural subject (on verbs)
PAST	past tense
PAST.NOM	past nominalizer
PERM	permissive suffix
PERM.NEG	negative permissive
PL	plural suffix on nominals
POLAR	polar interrogative suffix
PRES	present tense
PRES.NOM	present nominalizer
PRO	prohibitive
PTPL	participle
PUR	purposive
refl	reflexive
s	singular (pronoun)
S	singular subject (on verbs)
SFS	stem formation suffix
spec	specific sense
t	transitive
TM	topic marker
voc.fem	feminine vocative particle
voc.mas	masculine vocative particle

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