

CHAPTER 2

VERB SYSTEM

2.0 Introduction

A verb is a member of the syntactic class of words that typically signal actions and events. It is one of the parts of speech. A verb tells us the state in a stative clause, an action in a transitive clause, or an event in an intransitive clause. A verb is also the nucleus and most important word in a clause because it tells us something about the subject of a clause.

The verbs functioning as heads of Chodri verb phrases can be classified into five kinds and they are: copula, simple verb, compound verb, conjunct verb, and inverse verb. Copula primarily functions as the head of the verb phrases of stative, equative and stative possessive clauses. Secondly, the copula functions as an auxiliary to indicate progressive or perfective aspect in complex verb phrases. Simple verb functions as the head of either simple or complex verb phrases. A sub-set of simple verbs also functions as vector verbs following a simple, conjunct or an inverse verb in the compound verb. There is a set of modal verbs which do not function as heads of verb phrases. These only function as modifiers and are discussed in Chapter 6. The verb system in Chodri is quite complicated because of inflection for voice, tense, mood, person and gender-number. The description and analysis of the five kinds of verbs listed above are given in this chapter.

2.1 Copula

A copula is the 'be' verb used as the main verb in the predicate of a stative or equative clause and is defined by Payne as

any morpheme (affix, particle, or verb) that joins, or “couples”, two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction ... and often carries the tense/aspect and other information necessary for predications in the language (1997:114).

The Chodri copula primarily functions as the predicate of stative or equative clauses and stative possessive clauses. The copula also functions as an auxiliary in a complex verb phrase.

There are two different forms of the copula: *has* present tense and *ho* past tense. The present tense form takes a suffix to mark the person and number of the subject of the clause. The present tense copula does not distinguish gender. The person marked on the present tense copula may be 1st or non-1st person. A singular or plural 1st person subject is indicated by the suffix *-am* and the non-1st person is indicated by the suffix *-e* for singular and *-at* for plural.

The fully inflected forms of the present tense copula *has-am* ‘be-1st person’ and *has-e* ‘be non-1st person’ have the variant forms *am* and *a* respectively. These forms exhibit free variation with the full forms. Table 4 below summarizes inflections to present tense copula and their variant forms.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	has-am / am	has-am
non-1 st	has-e / a	has-at

Table 4. Present tense copula and the free variants

The examples below illustrate the occurrence of a present tense copula in different types of clauses.

a) Copula in a stative clause

(18) “Story of a king’s daughter” (S 063)

to te hāj-dʒ has-am
 he ptl I-Emp **be (pre) -1**

‘I am he.’

Example 18 is a stative clause and the copula is the predicate of that clause. The suffix *-am* with the present tense copula agrees with the first person subject.

b) Copula in an equative clause

The present tense copula functioning as the predicate in an equative clause is marked for the person and number of the subject. This is illustrated in example 19.

(19) “Elicited Data” (S 001)

ĩ p^hunə bəhũ p^hain has-e
 this flower much fine **be (pre) -non1, s**

‘This flower is very beautiful.’

The head of the noun phrase *p^hunə* ‘flower’ functioning as the subject in the equative clause in example 19 is singular. The number and person is marked in the copula *has-e*.

c) Copula in a stative possessive clause

The copula also functions as the predicate in a stative possessive clause and is inflected to show the person and number of the object. The person is always non-1st and this is illustrated in example 20 below.

(20) “Story of a sister’s long hair” (S 032)

dik^hri-jeŋe *ətra* *lamba nimbala* **has-at**
 daughter-of this much long hairs **be (pre) -non1, p**

‘Daughter has such long hairs.’ (lit: This much long hairs are daughter’s)

Example 20 is a stative possessive clause and the copula is the predicate of this clause. The possessor of this clause is in genitive construction. In example 20, the agreement is between ‘long hairs’, the possessed subject, (plural) and the copula which is marked by the suffix *-at* on the present tense copula *has*.

Example 21 below illustrates the use of the variant forms *am* and *a* in place of the singular forms of the present tense copula *has-am* ‘be-1st person’ and *has-e* ‘be-non-1st person’.

(21) “Story of a deceiver” (S 037)

o t^hero *a* *kəŋbi həj* *am*
 he Thedo **be (pre, non1, s)** Kanbi I **be (pre, 1)**

‘He is Thedo (and) I am Kanbi.’

The past tense form of the copula is *ho* and it takes suffixes which are marked for the gender and number of the subject. The subject person is not distinguished in the past tense copula. The past tense copula is also marked for progressive aspect.

The suffixes attached to the past tense form of the copula *ho* and their free variants are shown in Table 5.

Gender	singular	plural
Masculine	ho-tno /ho-to	ho-tna /ho-ta
Feminine	ho-tni /ho-ti	ho-t ^h ne /ho-tt ^h e
Neuter	ho-tnə /ho-tə	ho-tne /ho-te

Table 5. Suffixes occurring with the past tense form of the copula and their free variants.

Examples 22-26 illustrate the occurrence of the past tense copula as the predicate. Comparison of these examples shows how the free variants of the suffixes of the past tense are used.

- (22) "Story of an orphan boy" (S 001)

ek pohono ho-t-no
one orphan boy **be (pt) -prog-sm**

'There was an orphan boy.'

- (23) "Story of a rabbit and a fox" (S 001)

ek kon-o ho-t-o
one fox **be (pt) -prog-sm**

'There was a fox.'

- (24) "Story of five brothers" (S 001)

ek qoho ne qohoni ho-t-ne
one old man and woman **be (pt) -prog-pn**

'There were a man and a woman.'

- (25) "Story of a single sister" (S001)

hat p^haha ho-t-na
seven brother **be (pt) -prog-pm**

'There were seven brothers.'

- (26) "Story of a Myna" (S 001)

tʃ^ha p^haha ho-t-a
six brother **be (pt) -prog-pm**

'There were six brothers.'

In example 22 and 23, the suffix *-o* indicates the subject is singular in number and of masculine gender. In example 24, the suffix *-e* indicates that the subject is plural in number and of neuter gender. In examples 25 and 26, the suffix *-a* indicates the plural masculine of the subject.

The variants of the suffixes of the past tense copula are not predictable. Both sets of suffixes are used interchangeably by native speakers. Possibly the variants of the suffixes, which are similar to Gujarati maybe loans from Gujarati.

2.2 Simple verb

A simple verb refers to a transitive or intransitive verb with one verb root which can function as the head of either a simple or complex verb phrase. The simple verb root may be conjugated for categories such as voice, causativity, tense, person, gender-number. A portmanteau suffix marks the person and gender-number of the subject or object depending on whether the construction is nominative or ergative (see chapter 4 for discussion of ergativity).

The structure of a simple verb is:

Simple verb=	+ v. nuc	± voice	± causative	+tense	+pgn
	ivr tvr btvr	voice marker	causative markers	tense markers	person -gender - number marker

Formula: A simple verb consists of a verb nucleus slot filled by an intransitive, transitive or bitransitive verb root, an optional voice or causative slot, but not both, filled by a voice or causative marker, an obligatory tense slot filled by tense marker and an obligatory person-gender-number slot filled by a person-gender-number marker.

(27) “Story of a tiger killer” (S 046)

rad3-e tijaj inam ap-tf-o
king-ERG him gift give-pt-sm

‘The king gave him a gift.’

(28) “Story of Bilawanti queen” (S 060)

hāj kʰər pak-uv-i-n-udz kʰa-hĩ
I house ripe-caus-cp-cn-j-Emp eat-1, s, fu

‘I will eat (the fruit) only after having gotten it ripen at home.’

(29) “Story of a Myna” (S 067)

ehẽ kər-i-n behe-vaj-ɽ-o
thus do-cp-cn-j sit-caus-pt-sm

‘Doing thus (they) made him sit.’

In example 27, the simple verb *ap-tf-o* ‘gave’ is inflected for past tense and gender-number. The singular number and the masculine gender of the direct object *inam* ‘gift’ are indicated by the suffix *-o*. In example 28, the simple verb *kʰa-hĩ* ‘will eat’ is inflected for future tense and first person. The 1st person and the singular number of the subject are indicated by the suffix *-hĩ*. In example 29, the simple verb *behe-vaj-ɽ-o* ‘caused to sit’ is inflected for causativity, tense and gender-number.

Irregular Verbs

Some of the simple verbs do not conform to the general rule of the language when they are inflected for past and past perfect tenses. These verbs are considered irregular verbs in Chodri. They include: *av* ‘come’, *dʒa* ‘go’, *kər* ‘do’, *nav* ‘bring’ *ho* ‘become’ *behe* ‘sit’ *vaha* ‘crow’ and *naha* ‘move away.’ A few of these irregular verbs, *av* ‘come’ and *dʒa* ‘go’, can also function as vectors in intensive compound verbs and *kər* ‘do’ and *ho* ‘become’ as verbalizers in conjunct verbs. Two groups of irregular verbs can be set up on the basis of root changing. The first four verbs listed in Table 6 are irregular because the roots of these verbs is changed when past or past perfect tense suffix is added to the roots. The other four verbs are not root changing. But they do not follow the tense pattern found in this language when a past or past

perfect tense suffix is added to the roots. The finite forms of these irregular verbs in Table 6 are assumed to have been marked for singular masculine.

	Verb roots	Past tense	Meaning	Past perfect	Meaning
Root Changing Verbs	behe	beṭ ^h -o	'sat'	beṭ ^h -no	'had sat'
	dʒa	go	'went'	gə-no	'had gone'
	kər	kə-do	'did'	kə-dno	'had done'
	naha	naṭ ^h -o	'moved away'	naṭ ^h -no	'had moved away'
Non-Root Changing Verbs	ho	ho-vo	'became'	ho-uno	'had become'
	av	av-o	'came'	av-no	'had come'
	nav	nav-o	'brought'	nav-no	'had brought'
	vaha	vaha-jo	'crowed'	vaha-ino	'had crowed'

Table 6. Irregular verbs

The first four rows in Table 6 show the obvious root changing irregular verbs. But the other four verbs are also considered irregular because they do not conform to the tense rule. According to the phonological conditioning of the past tense suffix, a verb root ending in the approximant *v*, or a back vowel should take *-j* and a verb root ending in the central open vowel should take *-d* as the past tense (see chapter 5 for discussion of tenses).

2.2.1 Person, gender and number

Person, gender and number are inflectional properties of a verb. The grammatical category gender-number is a fused morpheme in Chodri. A finite verb is marked to show that it agrees with the subject or object in gender-number and/or person. It is also marked for tense.

Transitive verbs in past and perfect tenses show ergative case-marking and agree with the gender-number of the object of the clause while transitive verbs in other tenses show nominative case-marking and agree with the subject of the clause. Transitive verbs which show agreement with object are not marked for person. Intransitive verbs

always agree with the person and gender-number of the subject. This is illustrated in examples 30 and 31 and the elements in agreement in these examples are boldfaced.

(30) “Story of a king’s daughter” (S 011)

hāj bəhudz p^hain dek^ha-t-i-m
I much-Emp fine **appear-prog-sf-1,pre**

‘I am looking very beautiful.’

(31) “Story of a lost sister” (S 033)

mare ben-ne hurdzi p^hun-e taŋ-i ne-d-i
my **sister-ABS** sun flower-ERG pull-cp **take-pt-sf**

‘The sun flower pulled in my sister.’

In example 30, the simple verb *dek^ha* ‘appear’ in the predicate agrees with the subject *hāj* ‘I’, first person singular feminine pronoun and it is marked by *-i-m* on the verb. In example 31, the transitive verb *ne-d-i* ‘took’ agrees in gender-number of the object *benne* ‘sister’. The gender-number of the object are marked by suffix *-i* on the verb.

2.2.2 Voice

Voice is a grammatical category that expresses the semantic roles attributed to the referents of a clause. It indicates whether the grammatical subject is an actor, patient, or recipient.

Two kinds of voice are identified in Chodri: active voice and passive voice. Active voice indicates that the grammatical subject performs the action expressed by the verb. Passive voice indicates that the grammatical subject undergoes the action expressed by the verb.

Passive constructions are less common in Chodri. Active transitive verbs in Chodri can be changed into passive verbs. When an active verb stem is marked with the

derivational suffix *-a* 'passive marker' it is changed into a passive verb stem. Verbal suffixes for gender-number and tense can be added to a verb stem in passive form.

(32) "Elicited Data" (S 002)

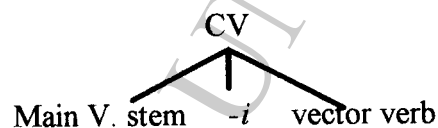
bəda-haj tin tin roṭna ap-a-j-a
to-all three three rice cake give-pass-pt-pm

'All were given three rice cakes each.'

In example 32, the active form of the verb root *ap* 'give' is changed into a passive form by the occurrence of suffix *-a* immediately after the verb root.

2.3 Compound verb

A compound is a word containing a stem that is made up of more than one root. A compound verb in Chodri is a combination of a main verb stem ending with a conjunctive participle *-i* and a vector verb as shown below. A simple, conjunct or an inverse verb can be the main verb stem in a compound verb.



The main verb stem ending with the conjunctive participle *-i* cannot be further inflected. However, the emphatic particle *-dʒ*⁷ may be suffixed to a main verb stem following the conjunctive participle *-i*. Compound verbs are used more widely in Chodri narratives and conversations.

⁷ The emphatic particle *-dʒ* may occur following any word in any position of a phrase or clause.

The structure of a compound verb can be formalized as follows:

C V=	+ M.V stem	+ Conjunctive	± Emphatic	+Vector
	simple v.stem conjunct v.stem inverse v.stem	-i	-dʒ	inflected vector verb

Formula: A compound verb (CV) consists of a main verb (M.V) stem slot filled by a simple, conjunct or an inverse verb stem marked with the conjunctive participle *-i*, an optional emphatic affix *-dʒ* and an inflected vector. The simple verb stem may be active or passive. The vector of the compound verb is not marked for voice. This is illustrated by examples 33-35 below.

(33) “Story of Bilawanti queen” (S 025)

rajn-ene kuva mā tʰekn-i de-d-i
queen-OBJ well in push-cp give-pt-sf

‘(She) pushed the queen into the well.’

In example 33, the main verb stem *tʰekni* ‘push’ ending with the conjunctive participle *-i* is followed by the vector verb *de* ‘give’ inflected for tense and gender-number.

(34) “Story of a rabbit and a fox” (S 056)

puhuṅḍo nak^h-i de-vṛ-av-in-o
tail drop-cp give-caus-caus-pt,pft-sm

‘(You) made me bury my tail (in the ice).’

In example 34, the main verb *nak^hi* ‘drop’ ending with the conjunctive participle is followed by the vector *de* ‘give’ inflected for causative, tense and gender-number respectively.

(35) “Story of a king’s daughter” (S 063)

tune *hāj harə kər-i de-hī*
 you (OBJ) I well do-cp give-1,s, fu

‘I will heal you.’

In example 35, the compound verb consists of a conjunct verb stem *harə kəri* ‘make well’ ending with the conjunctive participle followed by the vector *de* inflected for tense, person and number.

Masica when describing the Indo-Aryan compound verbs says,

The compound verb ... consists of a close union of two verbs (V^v). The “first” or main verb (V) is in the form of the conjunctive participle: a more precise formula would therefore be V---→ V^{con ppl} v. The “second” verb (v) is drawn from a small set of special auxiliaries, which have been called intensifiers, operators, explicators or more recently vectors: typically *go, come, give, take, fall, rise, throw, put, sit*. Partially emptied of their lexical content, these modify the meaning of the main verb in various ways not unrelated to that context, which might best be described as manner-specification (including directionality, completeness, suddenness, violence, deliberateness, stubbornness, benefaction, affectivity, etc.) (1991:326).

Hook, in his discussion about compound verbs in Indo-Aryan languages states,

With the exception of some dialects of Shina every contemporary Indo-Aryan language or dialect has a set of auxiliary (or “vector”) verbs homophonous with members of its inventory of basic lexical verbs. As full lexical verbs these express a change in location or posture, or an action that entails such a change: GO, GIVE, TAKE, LET GO, GET UP, COME, STRIKE, SIT, FALL, etc. A *compound verb* (CV) comprises the finite form of one of these following a non-finite or stem of a main or primary verb (1991:59).

One characteristic of compound verbs is that the meaning of a compound verb is not easily predictable from the meanings of its elements because of the dimensions of meaning added by the vector verbs to the main verbs. The meaning of any kind of

compound cannot be told simply by knowing the meaning of the individual morphemes. Fromkin and Rodman assert,

one of the interesting things about a compound is that you can't always tell by the words it contains what the compound means. The meaning of a compound is not always the sum of the meanings of its parts (1983:122).

However, the meaning of some compounds in Chodri is relatively predictable from the parts, namely completive and potential compounds (see section 2.3.2 and 2.3.3).

When the vector verbs function as simple verbs they have their own distinct meanings. When they compound with other simple, conjunct or inverse verbs they lose their primary lexical meaning and add a shade of meaning to those verbs. This can be illustrated from the following examples.

(36) "Story of a deaf family" (S 022)

ame tile pil-av-ŋe gə-je
we sesame press-caus-to go (pt) -pn

'We went to press sesame seeds.'

(37) "Story of a deaf family" (S 022)

tijě p^həŋ ten k^ha-i gə-je
there ptl oil eat-cp go (pt) -pn

'We ate up oil over there.'

In example 36, the verb *dza* is used as a simple verb in past tense and it expresses the primary lexical meaning of that verb 'go'. But in example 37, when *dza* is used as a vector verb with the main verb *k^ha* 'eat' it loses its primary meaning 'go' and expresses the idea of 'completing'. In the "Story of a deaf family" the old man and his daughter-in-law went to the oil press to extract oil from sesame seeds. This is expressed by the verb *gaje* 'went' in example 36. But later when somebody said

something, the deaf man understood that he was being accused of eating up all the oil. This idea is expressed in example 37 by the compound verb *k^hai gəje* ‘ate up completely’.

Sometimes the vector verb is likely to confuse the hearer when it is compounded with a main verb because it loses its primary lexical meaning. For example,

(38) “Story of a Bhil’s wife” (S 023)

tije upar t^{hi} veṭi nak^h-s-i
he (ERG) above from ring drop-pt-sf

‘He dropped the ring from above.’

(39) “Story of a Bhil’s wife” (S 110)

tijeṇe mat^hə vaṭ-i nak^h-s-ə
her head cut-cp drop-pt-sn

‘(He) cut off her head.’

In example 38, the verb *nak^h* occurs with its primary lexical meaning ‘drop’. This meaning is preserved only when it involves the movement of an object dropped from one place to another. In the “Story of a Bhil’s wife”, the brother went out to search for his sister who got lost. As he was sitting on a tree he found her out among the girls who came to the well to draw water. So he carefully dropped his ring into his sister’s water pot in order to inform her about his presence. In example 39, the verb *nak^h* is compounded with *vaṭ* ‘cut’ and it adds a sense of anger. In the same story, when the sister refused to show the Bhil who had become her husband, the brother got angry with his sister and cut off her head. Here it doesn’t show any shade of meaning related to ‘dropping’. The narrator has used a compound construction in order to emphasize the drastic action taken by the brother. A non-native speaker of Chodri, may get a little confused because of the loss of the primary meaning of the vector in this compound verb. However, it is not a problem to a native speaker.

In example 40 below we see *dʒa* occurring with yet another sense when compounded as a vector verb.

(40) “Story of Bilawanti queen” (S 015)

kagɾ-aj nak^h-s-o te kagɾo mər-i go
 crow-to drop-pt-sm ptl crow die-cp go (pt, sm)

‘When he gave (the sweet) to the crow, the crow died.’

In example 40, the literal meaning of the two verbs *mər* and *go* would appear to mean that the crow died and went. However, the verb *dʒa* ‘go’ loses its primary meaning and as a vector verb gives the sense of ‘unexpectedness’.

A passive verb stem may be compounded like an active verb stem with a vector verb. The passive verb stem compounded with a vector verb also ends with the conjunctive participle *-i*. The only vector verb which compounds with a passive verb stem is *dʒa* ‘go.’ The vector verb is marked for the gender-number of the subject. Its function is to indicate the completiveness of the action. This is illustrated by the following example.

(41) “Story of a sister’s long hair” (S 037)

eʃle tijəne nūgɾe bəde nav-a-i gə-je
 so her clothes all bring-pass-cp go (pt) -pn

‘So all her clothes were brought.’

In example 41, the active form of the verb stem *nav* ‘bring’ is changed into a passive form by adding the derivational suffix *-a* ‘passive marker’ to it. It is compounded with the vector verb *dʒa* so the passive verb stem ends with the conjunctive participle *-i*. The plural number and the neuter gender of the subject *nūgɾe* ‘clothes’ is marked by *-je* on the vector verb.

The compound verbs, on the basis of the different vector verbs they take, may be classified into three classes: intensive compound, completive compound and potential compound. (These terms are borrowed from Taylor (1975:326).

2.3.1 Intensive compound

A limited set of transitive and intransitive verbs in Chodri may function in either of the following two ways: 1) as the head in a simple or complex verb phrase and 2) as a vector verb in an intensive compound verb. Primarily the vector verb in an intensive compound intensifies the meaning of the main verb with which it compounds.

The Chodri vector verbs which can occur in the intensive compound verbs are given below with their literal meaning in Table 7. Further study may add more vectors to this list.

Vector	Meaning	Vector	Meaning
rə	'live, stay, remain'	dʒa	'go'
pəɽ	'fall'	kaɽ	'remove' 'draw'
nak ^h	'drop'	de	'give'
k ^h en	'push'	muk	'keep' 'put'
tʃ ^h uɽ	'pluck'	ne	'take'
hed	'look'	ap	'give'
av	'come'		

Table 7. Vector verbs in intensive compound verbs
with primary meaning

Thirteen verbs which can be used as vector verbs in intensive compound verbs have been identified in the data, however, all the vector verbs do not occur with all the main verbs. With a very few exceptions they are all mutually exclusive in their occurrence. As Masica states about Indo-Aryan languages, the use of vector verbs in Chodri also is not uniform for all verbs but they are governed by lexical semantics (1991). For instance, in example 42 the vector *ne* 'take' has been compounded with the main verb

dek^h ‘see’. Using vector verb *de* ‘give’ instead would be unacceptable as shown in example 43. A list of possible occurrences of the vector verbs with main verbs is given in Appendix 1.

(42) “Story of a rabbit and a fox” (S 007)

hāhəl-e dek^h-i ne-d-ə
 rabbit-ERG see-cp take-pt-sn

‘The rabbit just saw (the man coming with a basket full of fish).’

(43)

* *hāhəl-e dek^h-i de-d-ə*
 rabbit-ERG see-cp give-pt-sn

Some vector verbs are more widely used than others. When different vector verbs are used with the same main verb they give different shades of meanings. For example, the vector verbs *dʒa* ‘go’ and *rə* ‘remain’ may occur with the same main verb. However, the dimensions of meaning conveyed by these vectors will be different. This is illustrated in examples 44 and 45.

(44) “Story of a crocodile” (S 030)

ti daɾ-e te upar tʃeɾ-i rə-in-i
 that day-on she above climb-cp stay-pt,pft-sf

‘On that day, she (the crocodile) had climbed on (the tree).’

(45) “Story of a crocodile” (S 034)

eɬe ti konə upar tʃəɾ-i gə
 so that fox up climb-cp go (pt,sn)

‘So the fox climbed up the tree.’

Although the main verbs used in examples 44 and 45 are the same, the vector verbs used in these examples are different. The use of vector verb *rə* with the main verb *tʃəɾ* in example 44 would mean the change of state of the crocodile from ‘under the tree’ to ‘on the tree’. Whereas in example 45, the use of vector verb *dʒa* with the main verb

tʃəʔ would mean ‘something unexpected happened.’ In the crocodile’s story, the crocodile was waiting under the tree with an intention of catching the fox. Knowing this, the fox climbed up the tree which the crocodile did not expect. This is indicated by the compound verb with a vector verb *gə*.

Generally, a reversal of the order of an intensive compound verb does not occur. However, when a speaker wants to express his emotional feelings of support, he may reverse the ordering of the compound verb so that the vector verb occurs first and is followed by the main verb. The speaker may use intonation with such a reverse order to indicate that he is supportive of the participant in action. This reverse order is shown in example 46 below.

(46) “Story of headman” (S 031)

tija bai ɔhe te tʃamɔə de-d-ə tʃʰoʔ-i
 then ptl old man(ERG) ptl hide give-pt-sn let go-cp

‘Then the old man let the hide go.’

In example 46, the usual order of the compound verb is *tʃʰoʔi dedə* ‘let go’. However, the narrator expresses his emotional feeling (he is supportive of the old man in this story) by reversing the order of the elements in this compound verb. In this story, the old man climbed up a tree to protect himself from the robbers. To his surprise some robbers came under the tree and they were arguing about distributing the spoil between them. At that time the old man let the buffalo’s hide which he was holding fall and it fell on the robbers. The robbers ran away leaving the spoil behind. The old man later took this spoil for himself. The narrator expresses his commendation for what the old man did through reversing the order of the compound verb.

Out of the thirteen vector verbs some are widely used while others are used very occasionally. The frequency of their occurrence in narratives varies. In order to find their frequency of occurrence, all the occurrences of the vector verbs used as

intensifiers with main verbs were counted and the percentage of each vector verb in relation to all 403 intensive compound verbs in the data was calculated. The results are shown in Table 8 below.

Vectors	Meaning	No. of occurrences	Relative %
dʒa	'go'	164	40.79
de	'give'	118	29.35
ne	'take'	33	8.20
rə	'live' or 'remain'	33	8.20
nak ^h	'drop'	17	4.22
kaɾ	'remove'	11	2.73
pət	'fall'	9	2.23
muk	'keep'	6	1.49
ap	'give'	5	1.24
av	'come'	3	0.74
tʃ ^h uɾ	'pluck'	2	0.49
k ^h en	'push'	1	0.24
hed	'see'	1	0.24

Table 8. Relative frequency of the vectors in intensive compound verbs

The use of intensive compounds in narratives vary in frequency, ranging from 10% to 30% as compared to simple verbs which range in frequency from 67% to 87%.

In narratives, the intensive compound verbs mostly occur in the event band. The events reported by the use of compound verbs in past tense are pivotal. They arouse more interest in the hearer and keep the narrative moving to completion. Intensive compounds also occur widely in past perfect tense, a tense that shows the events are out of sequence. Intensive compound verbs on the pivotal event line are used for various reasons in a narrative as follows:

- to express a violent, decisive or drastic action
- to express the suddenness or unexpectedness of the event

- to express the complete and thorough nature of the event/idea (that is, that it is not a half-way measure)
- to show that the action results in the achievement of a state of some duration (Thomas 1990:68).

Intensive compound verbs occur in every tense except the past progressive. They occur almost always in the past tense and their occurrence in other tenses is quite rare in comparison with past tense. The fact that intensive compound verbs do not ever occur in past progressive is interesting from a discourse perspective because past progressive usually indicates background activities.

A good Chodri story teller is easily identified by the native speakers. Of the eight story-tellers represented in the data, four have a good reputation for story telling. They are increasingly expressive in communication to make sure the hearers understand what is being told. They use a variety of rhetorical devices that arouse the interest of the hearers. Frequent use of intensive compound verbs is one of them. Hook (1991), in his discussion on the frequency of compound verbs, says the use of compound verbs may sometimes depend upon sociological factors such as social class of speaker (or writer), speech situation (or genre), social class, etc.. To find out how far the age, sex, or education of the story tellers become contributing factors to being a good story teller, a small study was undertaken. Sociological information about the story tellers such as age, sex, education, etc., were collected. The number of intensive compound verbs used by each in their stories was divided by the number of stories they told, then the average number of intensive compound verbs they used in a story was calculated. It was found that no matter whether a narrator is male or female, educated or uneducated, old or young, a good story teller makes use of more intensive compound verbs. 25% of predicates being intensive compound verbs indicates a good story teller (the first four rows in Table 9 below).

Narrator	Village	Sex	Age	Educ.	No.of Sto	No.ofCvs	Average
AR	Vedchi	M	55	4 th grade	1	66	66
DE	Vedchi	M	60	5 th grade	2	85	41
DH	P.Dungri	F	30	B.A	4	153	38
DD	P.Dungri	M	50	illiterate	1	38	38
CH	P.Dungri	M	38	7 th grade	1	27	27
DA	Vedchi	M	45	5 th grade	3	73	23
AM	Vedchi	M	50	illiterate	2	45	22
CK	P.Dungri	F	35	illiterate	1	22	22

Table 9. Sociological information of the story tellers

It is interesting to note especially that two of the best story tellers have lower educational levels than two of the poorer story tellers.

2.3.2 Completive compound

Apart from the vectors which are compounded with simple or conjunct verb stems in intensive compound verbs, the verb *paṛ* 'finish' also functions as a vector verb. Although this verb cannot function independently as the head in a simple or a complex verb phrase like other vector verbs, it is inflected for person, gender-number and tense. Since it indicates the completion of an action done or finished prior to beginning of another action, it is called a completive compound. Only a transitive verb can be the main verb in a completive compound. The finite form of the vector *paṛ* always agrees with the gender-number of the subject regardless of tense and is therefore, an exception to the normal split ergative system of Chodri.

Unlike the vector verbs in the intensive compound, the meaning of this vector verb is strictly limited to the 'completion of the action' indicated by the main verb. The illustration of using *paṛ* as a vector verb in a completive compound is given in example 47 below.

(47) “Elicited Data” (S 003)

hāj ak^ho roŋno k^ha-i paj-ŋ-o
I whole bread eat-cp finish-pt-sm

‘I finished eating the whole rice cake.’

The completive compound verb in example 47 again shows a main verb stem with the conjunctive participle *-i* and the vector verb *paj*. The gender-number of the subject are marked on the vector verb.

2.3.3 Potential compound

A potential compound indicates the ‘ability’ of a person to perform certain actions. The vector verb used in potential compound is *ək^h* ‘can.’ Like the vector verb of the completive compound verb the finite form of *ək^h* always agrees with the gender-number of the subject regardless of tense as shown in examples 48 and 49 below.

(48) “Elicited Data” (S 004)

k^hajre mǎ ren av-e tijar hāj tʃ^hep-i ək^h-ə
river in flood comes then I swim-cp can-1,s,pre

‘I can swim when flood comes in the river.’

(49) “Elicited Data” (S 005)

roŋna k^ha-d-a etle to ijě hudu tʃan-i ək^h-s-o
bread eat-pt-pm so he here up to walk-cp can-pt-sm

‘He ate bread that’s why he could walk up to this place.’

In examples 48 and 49, the vector verb *ək^h* ‘can’ occurs with the main verbs *tʃ^hep* ‘swim’ and *tʃan* ‘walk’. The occurrence of the vector verb ‘can’ indicates the meaning of potentiality of doing the actions expressed in the main verbs.

2.4 Conjunct verbs

Another kind of verb is a conjunct verb. The conjunct verb is comprised of either a noun or an adjective plus a verb. Masica says, ““compounds” of *nouns* or *adjectives* with the verbs *do* and *become* have an important place in NIA: these are now usually called *conjunct* verbs to distinguish them” (Masica 1991:326). The conjunct verbs are derivational compounds in that the verb functions as a verbalizer (Masica 1991:368) and the verbs *kər* ‘do’ and *ho* ‘to become’ are the most common. A limited set of verbs (8) combine with nouns or adjectives to form these conjunct verbs.

The verbs which act as verbalizers with adjectives are: *kər* ‘do’, *rak^h* ‘keep’, *val* ‘turn’ and *ho* ‘become’. A sampling of conjunct verbs in which *ho* ‘become’ and *kər* ‘do’ act as the verbalizers is given in Table 10 below.

Conjunct verb	Meaning	conjunct verb	Meaning
moŋo ho	‘become big’	kaŋi kər	‘make blind’
k ^h us ho	‘become happy’	utʃe kər	‘lift’
bep ^h an ho	‘become faint’	harə kər	‘make well’
k ^h ərə ho	‘become true’	purə kər	‘finish’
əlop ho	‘become vanish’	bənd kər	‘close’
pure ho	‘become finish’	ʃuko kər	‘shorten’
tijar ho	‘become ready’	lambo kər	‘lengthen’
moŋə ho	‘become late’	ubo rak ^h	‘make stand’
gəŋdʒe ho	‘become old’	vakə val	‘bend’

Table 10. Conjunct verbs with adjectives

Most of the nouns that occur in conjunct verbs are either abstract or inanimate nouns and express the sorts of idea found among perceptions, sensations, and emotional experiences or feelings. Unlike other nouns, these nouns are always singular though marked for gender. Normally these conjunct verbs take human subjects or a personified non-human subject. There are some other verbs used as verbalizers in a

conjunct verb though they are less common than the *kər* and *ho*. Table 11 below lists these verbs and their occurrence with different nouns.

kər	'do'	Meaning	pəɽ	'fix'	Meaning
vitʃar	kər	'think'	maŋɖvo	pəɽ	'fix a tent'
təpna	kər	'meditate'	dʒaherət	pəɽ	'announce'
ʈolə	kər	'gather'	bəm	pəɽ	'shout'
heran	kər	'afflict'	əbda	pəɽ	'harass'
vidʒli	kər	'flash'	mar	pəɽ	'beat'
aram	kər	'rest'	pʰag	pəɽ	'distribute'
əbiman	kər	'boast'			
tʃinta	kər	'worry'			
mar	'beat'	Meaning	kaɽ	'draw'	Meaning
kudko	mar	'jump'	pəjha	kaɽ	'spend'
dəm	mar	'wait'			
lat	mar	'kick'			
ɖapʰə	mar	'spring'			

Table 11. Conjunct verbs with nouns

All conjunct verbs (except conjunct verbs with *ho*) are transitive. Like any simple verb, the conjunct verbs also agree in gender-number with either the subject or the object depending on the nominative or ergative construction respectively with the exception of those conjunct verbs that are formed with *ho*. Conjunct verbs with *ho* are intransitive and so always agree with the subject in all tenses. Given the transitive verbs in past and perfect tenses agree with the object of the clause, a very interesting feature of Chodri is made apparent: the noun in a conjunct verb is treated syntactically as the object of the verbalizing verb. Masica (1991:368) has also found this feature elsewhere in NIA. Examples 50 and 51 show this.

(50) "Elicited Data" (S 006)

majē tʰoɽi var aram kə-d-o
 I(ERG) little time rest do-pt-sm

'I rested for a while.'

(51) “Elicited Data” (S 007)

amehẽ tʰoɽi var aram kə-d-o
 we(ERG) little time rest do-pt-sm

‘We rested for a while.’

In examples 50 and 51, we see that the agreement morphology on the verbalizing verb *kə-d-o* agrees with the noun in the conjunct verb *aram* ‘rest’ and not with the subject *majẽ* ‘I’ or *amehẽ* ‘we’ which also show ergative case-marking.

Sometimes these conjunct verbs also exhibit the obscurity of meaning of elements and idiomaticization that other compounds do. The list of conjunct verbs with their meaning given below will illustrate this.

Conjunct verbs with *paɽ*

A representative list of nouns that can compound with the verb *paɽ* ‘drop’ or ‘cause to fall’ to make a conjunct verb is given with the meaning in Table 12 below.

Conjunct verb	<i>əbda paɽ</i>	<i>bəm paɽ</i>	<i>mar paɽ</i>	<i>dzaherat paɽ</i>	<i>maŋɖuo paɽ</i>
literal meaning	hardship drop	cry drop	beating drop	announcement drop	tent drop
free translation	‘harass’	‘shout’	‘beat’	‘announce’	‘fix a tent’

Table 12. Conjunct verbs with *paɽ*

Table 12 shows that while sometimes the meaning of the conjunct is obvious from its parts (as in *dzaherat paɽ*), oftentimes it is not.

Examples 52 and 53 illustrate the occurrence of conjunct verb with *paɽ* ‘drop’.

(52) “Story of a Brahmin” (S 033)

have baməŋ-e evə dzaherat paj-ɽ-ə
 now Brahmin-ERG such announcement drop-pt-sn

‘Now, the Brahmin announced like this.’

(53) “Story of a rabbit and a fox” (S 048)

ne tijaṇe bərabər mar paṭ-t-o a
and him nicely beating drop-prog-sm be (pre, non1, s)

‘And he beats him nicely.’

In example 52, the conjunct verb consists of the noun *dzaherat* ‘announcement’ and the verbalizer *paṭ* ‘drop’ and it means ‘announce’. The gender-number of the object *dzaherat* is marked on the verb. In example 53, the conjunct verb consists of the noun *mar* ‘beating’ and the verb that acts as verbalizer *paṭ* ‘drop’ and it means ‘beat’. The gender-number of the subject is marked on the verb. And here we see the use of copula in a verb phrase as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Conjunct verbs with *kər*

A representative list of the conjunct verbs with the verbalizer *kər* ‘do’ and the nouns it can compound with is given in Table 13 below.

Conjunct verb	aram <i>kər</i>	viṭṣar <i>kər</i>	təpna <i>kər</i>	heran <i>kər</i>
literal meaning	rest do	thinking do	meditation do	trouble do
free translation	‘rest’	‘think’	‘meditate’	‘afflict’

Table 13. Conjunct verbs with *kər*

Table 13 shows how the verbalizer *kər* ‘do’ acts as a verbalizer with certain nouns.

Example 54 illustrates the occurrence of conjunct verb with *kər* ‘do’.

(54) “Story of a Brahmin” (S 004)

ek tālav mā paṇi pahē dza-i-n baməṇ
one pond in water near go-cp-cnj Brahmin

təpna kər-t-o a
meditation do-prog-sm be (pre, non1, s)

‘The Brahmin goes near the water in a pond and meditates.’

In example 54, the conjunct verb consists of the noun *təpna* ‘meditation’ and the verbalizer *kər* ‘do’, and means ‘meditate’. It is followed by copula as part of the verb phrase.

Conjunct verbs with *mar*

A representative list of conjunct verbs with verbalizer *mar* ‘kill’, ‘beat’ or ‘strike’ and the nouns it can compound with is given in Table 14 below.

Conjunct verb	<i>kudko mar</i>	<i>dap^hə mar</i>	<i>lat mar</i>	<i>dəm mar</i>	<i>godə mar</i>
literal meaning	jump beat	spring beat	kick beat	breath beat	nail beat
free translation	‘jump’	‘spring’	‘kick’	‘wait’	‘prick with a nail’

Table 14. Conjunct verbs with *mar*

Example 55 illustrates the occurrence of the conjunct verb consisting of a noun and the verbalizer *mar* ‘beat’.

(55) “Story of a lost sister” (S 023)

ti tijəŋe ehē kər-i-n lat mar-t-e-t
 they him thus do-cp-cnj kick beat-prog-pn-non1,pre

‘They simply kick him like this.’

In example 55, the conjunct verb consists of the noun *lat* ‘kick’ and the verbalizer *mar* ‘beat’ and means ‘kick’. The conjunct verb agrees with the person and gender-number of the subject.

As it has been stated earlier, the non-verbal element of a conjunct verb may be either a noun or an adjective. When an adjective occurs as the non-verbal element with the verbalizer *kər* ‘do’ it is marked for the gender-number of the noun that functions as the patient or affectant in the clause as it is shown in example 56 below. The adjective and the noun it agrees with in gender-number are boldfaced.

(56) “Story of a king’s daughter” (S 028)

tijje ek pag utfo kə-d-o
 she (ERG) one leg high do-pt-sm

‘She lifted her one leg.’

In example 56, the non-verbal element *utfo* ‘high’ is an adjective and the verbalizer *kə* ‘do’ is compounded with it to mean ‘lift.’ The singular masculine of the object noun *pag* ‘leg’ is marked on the adjective *utfo* ‘high’ functioning as the non-verbal element in the conjunct verb.

When an adjective functioning as the non-verbal element in a conjunct verb is followed by the verbalizer *ho* ‘become’, the conjunct verb agrees in gender-number with the subject as shown in examples 57 and 58 below.

(57) “Story of a pretender” (S 004)

t^hire t^hire to nitfak mofo ho-v-o
 slowly slowly he boy big become-pt-sm

‘Slowly that boy became big.’

(58) “Story of a fox and a camel” (S 080)

eṭle p^huk^ho ho-v-o kono
 so hungry become-pt-sm fox

‘So the fox became hungry.’

In example 57, the conjunct verb *mofo ho* ‘become big’ agrees with the gender-number of the subject *nitfak* ‘boy’ a masculine singular noun. In example 58, the conjunct verb *p^huk^ho ho* ‘become hungry’ agrees with the gender-number of the subject *kono* ‘fox’ a masculine singular noun.

A conjunct verb consisting of an adjective functioning as the non-verbal element and the verbalizer *kə* ‘do’ is illustrated in example 59 below.

(59) "Story of five brothers" (S 066)

eŋle tijẽ tʃəŋ-i-n tije te bai pura kə-d-a
 so there climb-cp-cnj he ERG ptl ptl empty do-pt-pm

'So having climbed over there he finished it off.'

In the conjunct verb in example 59, the verb *kə* 'do' occurs as a verbalizer with the adjective *pura* 'empty'. The conjunct verb *kə* in past tense agrees in gender-number with the object.

A conjunct verb may be compounded with a vector verb to form an intensive compound. However, when the verb *ho* acts as the verbalizer, *dʒa* is the only verb to act as a vector verb as shown in examples 60 and 61 below.

(60) "Story of a lost sister" (S 021)

ti p^hunə ho əlop ho-i gə
 that flower also disappearance become-cp go (pt, sn)

ne beŋhi ho əlop ho-i gə-ji
 and sister also disappearance become-cp go (pt) -sf

'That flower vanished and my sister also vanished.'

(61) "Story of a king's daughter" (S 052)

pəli rəŋ-i rəŋ-i-n bep^han ho-i gə-ni
 she cry-cp cry-cp-cnj faint become-cp go (pt) -pft, sf

'Having cried and cried she had become unconscious.'

In examples 60 and 61, the conjunct verbs *əlop ho* 'vanish' and *bep^han ho* 'become unconscious' are compounded by the vector verb *dʒa* to form an intensive compound. In example 60, the vector verb *dʒa* in past tense is marked for singular neuter of the subject *p^hunə* 'flower' of the first clause and the singular and feminine of the subject *beŋhi* 'sister' in the second clause.

A conjunct verb with *kār* can also be compounded with a vector verb and form an intensive compound. This is illustrated by example 62.

(62) “Story of a rabbit and a fox” (S 038)

bāde pure kār-i muk-in-e
all empty do-cp keep-pt, pft-pn

‘(They) had finished off all (the chickens).’

In example 62, the conjunct verb *pure kār* ‘finish off’ has been compounded with the vector verb *muk* ‘keep’ to form an intensive compound to express the finality of the action indicated by the conjunct verb.

2.5 Inverse Verbs

There is a limited set of verbs (9) in Chodri which take dative subjects. These are called inverse verbs following Nichols (1993). These verbs agree with the gender-number of the object in all tenses. Table 15 below lists these verbs.

Inverse Verbs	Meaning	Inverse Verbs	Meaning
mil	‘meet’	gunda	‘smell’
dʒəɽ	‘find’	av	‘get’
p ^h av	‘like’	nag	‘feel’
gəm	‘please’	dʒodʒ	‘need’
aviɽ	‘know’		

Table 15. Inverse Verbs

Examples 63 below illustrates the occurrence of an inverse verb in a simple verb phrase in Chodri.

(63) “Elicited Data” (S 008)

mane tin rupja dʒəj-ɽ-a
to me three rupees find-pt-pm

‘I found three rupees.’

In example 63, the inverse verb *dʒəjɾa* ‘found’ agrees in gender-number with the object *rupja* ‘rupees’. The final phone of the verb root *dʒəɾ* and the phone of the past tense suffix *-j* are metathesized. The subject *mane* is the dative form of the pronoun *hāj* ‘I’.

None of the inverse verbs can occur as a vector in a compound verb. However, like a simple verb all inverse verbs (except *gunda* ‘smell’ and *dʒodʒ* ‘need’) can be followed by the inflected vector *dʒa* and become intensive compounds. Example 64 below illustrates the occurrence of *mil* ‘meet’ in an intensive compound.

(64) “Story of a rabbit and a lion” (S 014)

tore kərtan dʒəbr-o mane vaɟ-e mil-i go
 your than strong-sm to me way-LOC meet-cp go (pt, sm)

‘I met someone stronger than you on my way.’

In example 64, the inverse verb *mil* ‘meet’ is compounded with the vector verb *dʒa* ‘go’ in past tense. The verb agrees in gender-number with the object *dʒəbro* ‘strong person’ which is marked on the vector verb *go*.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter five kinds of verbs found in Chodri are discussed in detail. The copula functions as the predicate in stative, equative and stative possessive clauses. A simple, compound, conjunct or an inverse verb can function as the predicate in action or event clauses. Simple, conjunct and inverse verbs may be compounded with a vector verb and form an intensive compound. The frequency of compound verbs in Chodri narratives was studied and the study reveals that compound verbs with punctiliar aspect in past tense indicates that those events are pivotal. Conjunct verb is the combination of a noun or adjective and a verb which acts as a verbalizer. Finally a set of inverse verbs which take dative subjects are briefly mentioned. All except two of the

inverse verbs can be compounded with the inflected vector *d3a* and become intensive compounds.

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