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Kannada gerund in adnominal positions: a functional perspective

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1. Introduction

This paper examines as yet unresolved distributional patterns displayed by three non-finite verb forms in Kannada. One of the forms, shown in (1), is usually referred to as a gerund or verbal noun (Spencer 1914, Nadkarni 1972, Andronov 1979, Sridhar 1990). The form illustrated in (2) is a participle described variously as 'adjectival' (Shiffman 1983), 'adnominal' (Steever 1988), or 'relative' (Sridhar 1990). The form exemplified in (3) is also known under a variety of names: a participial noun (Spencer 1914, Andronov 1979), nominalized verb (Shiffman 1983), a verbal noun with pronominal head (Steever 1998), or a relative participle with pronominal head (Sridhar 1990).

- (1) sekega:ladalli *malaguv-ud-u* sulab^bava:gittu¹
hot:weather:LOC sleep:NPST-G-NOM easy:happen:PST:3SG:N²
'Sleeping in hot weather was easy.'
- (2) na:nu aḍige *ma:ḍuttiruv-a* hēgasannu no:ḍidenu
1SG:NOM food make:NPST-AP woman:ACC see:PST:1SG
'I saw the woman that was cooking.'
- (3) naanu aḍige *maaḍuttiruv-avan-annu* nooḍidenu
1SG:NOM food make:NPST-AN:SG:M-ACC see:PST:1SG
'I saw the one[male] who was cooking.'

The terminological variety alone suggests that there is no consensus about the status of these forms, structurally or functionally. Standard descriptions and grammars (e.g. Spencer 1914, Schiffman 1979, Sridhar 1990, Steever 1998) treat them as unrelated strategies for turning finite verbs into non-finite complements of various types. Steever 1998:149, for example, describes all three of them collectively as forming relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and nominal complements, without further differentiation that would pair individual forms with specific functions.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the three forms are functionally and morphosyntactically interrelated in ways that call for an explanation. For consistency, I will adopt the following terminology: GERUND for the form exemplified in (1), ANAPHORIC NOMINALIZATION for the form in (3), and, following Steever 1988, ADMONINAL PARTICIPLE for the form in (2). I will argue that they constitute a network of distinct grammatical patterns with partial overlap in their function and morphosyntax. In order to establish the network, several factors will be considered: the morphological structure of the forms in (1) and (3), the syntactic and semantic function of all three forms, and the pragmatic and discourse constraints on (2) vs. (3).

2. Gerund

The point of departure will be a paradigmatic gap in the case marking of the gerund (G). Morphologically, G is formed from a tensed stem (past or non-past) by adding a nominalizing suffix followed by a case marker. Functionally, it is generally described as a verbal noun that behaves like any other noun in that it takes all the case inflections of regular nouns and instantiates nominal constituents in the full range of syntactic functions. In (1) above it is shown as a subject, in the examples below it instantiates a direct object (4a), an oblique in the dative (4b), and an oblique in the ablative (4c):

(4) a. *avanu maneya oḷage ho:did-d-ammu no:ḍide*
 3SG:M:NOM house:GEN inside go:PST-G-ACC see:PST:1SG
 'I saw him going into the house.'

b. *kannaḍa kaliuv-ud-akke kaṣṭa*
 Kannada:NOM learn:NPST-G-DAT difficult
 'Kannada is hard to learn.' (lit. 'Kannada is hard with respect to learning')

c. i: *huṅṅuḡaḷu bandiruvudu o:ḍuv-ud-arind-alla*
 this blister:PL:NOM come:FPF:3SG:N run:NPST-G-ABL-NEG
 'These blisters aren't from running.'

As these examples demonstrate, G is used as a nominalized clause, as in (1) and (4a), or as a simple *nomen actionis* without complements, as in (4b) or (4c).

It is not clear, however, that G ever appears in the genitive. On the one hand, no Kannada verb governs a genitive and, therefore, genitive-marked nominals – gerundial or otherwise – cannot be found in argument positions. But G seems conspicuously absent even in adnominal environments that normally govern the genitive. Of particular interest is the construction illustrated in (5a-b) in which a noun-like entity (*me:le* 'on top of', *viṣ^haya* 'knowledge/about') requires a genitive-marked complement.³ As (5c) shows, G is unacceptable in this environment and instead, the adnominal participle (AP) is used:

(5) a. *me:jina me:le*
 table-GEN on:top:of
 'on the table'

b. *na:nu be:sa:yad-a viṣ^haya kalitenu*
 1SG:NOM farming-GEN about learn:PST:1SG
 'I learned about farming.'

c. *biṭṭuhooguv-aḷ*biṭṭuhooguv-ud-ara varege baa*
 leave:NPST-AP/*-G-GEN to:point:of come:IMP
 'Come to the place of departure.'

The case marking on G thus appears to form the following paradigm (morphologically, the case markers are identical to those found on neuter sg. pronouns – a point to be addressed in section 5):

- (6) [Tensed stem – Nominalizer – Case]
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|-----------|---|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>malaguv</i> | - | <i>ud</i> | - | <i>u</i> | nominative |
| | | | | <i>annu</i> | accusative |
| | | | | <i>akke</i> | dative |
| | | | | <i>*ara/ (a)</i> | genitive / (AP) |
| | | | | <i>aralli</i> | locative |
| | | | | <i>arinda</i> | ablative |

This patterning raises minimally two questions: why should the gap exist and why should AP be a fitting replacement of the genitive. Adding to the fuzziness, Sridhar (1990: 96) offers the example shown here in (7) with the comment that ‘*munce* ‘prior to’ can take either genitive or dative’. What he refers to as genitive is morphologically an instance of AP, and his description is thus evidently motivated by functional considerations.

- (7) *tinnuv-ud-akke/tinnuv-a munce*
 eat:NPST-G-DAT/-AP prior:to
 ‘before eating’

To complicate matters further, the genitive-marked G sometimes *does* appear, as shown in (8b), alongside AP in (8a). When it does, however, it forces a different interpretation. Notice that the AP variant in (8a) is not synonymous with the genitive G in (8b): the gerundial form *baruvudara* introduces a resumptive relationship between the matrix clause and the embedded nominalization.

- (8) a. ra:ma illige *baruv-a* viṣ^haya nanage ma:tana:ḍabe:ku
 Rama here come:NPST-AP about 1SG:DAT talk:MOD
 ‘I want to talk about Rama’s coming here.’
- b. ra:ma illige *baruv-ud-ara* viṣ^haya nanage ma:tana:ḍabe:ku
 Rama here come:NPST-G-GEN about 1SG:DAT talk:MOD
 ‘[Rama’s coming here]; I want to talk about it.’

The resumptive flavor is not present in the constructions in which G instantiates an argument of the matrix verb, such as the ones in (1) or (4). It is, however, a property regularly associated with the anaphoric nominalization (AN), as will be discussed shortly; the introductory sentence in (3) above, for example, would be more accurately translated as ‘the one that was cooking – I saw him’. Thus, in order to understand the nature of the case marking gap in G, we must first sort out these overlaps. That, in turn, requires that we establish the defining properties of both AP and AN and then examine their relationship to G.

3. Adnominal participle

Morphologically, AP consists of a tensed stem and the relational suffix *-a*. One of its functions is to form relative clauses, as illustrated in (2) above and in (9) below. All these examples contain a noun modified by an AP-headed participial clause.

- (9) a. ni:nu *tinnuv-a* seebu
 2SG:NOM eat:NPST-AP apple:NOM
 ‘the apple that you will eat’
 b. na:yiyannu *kond-a* manuṣyannu na:nu dve:ṣisutte:ne
 dog:ACC kill:PST-AP man:ACC 1SG:NOM hate:PRES:1SG
 ‘I hate the man that killed the dog.’

AP is also found in a wide range of ‘adverbial’ clauses, so called because they express various adverbial relations such as place, time, manner, comparison, measure, etc. The adverbial clauses are introduced by members of the set of indeclinable quasi-nominals shown in (5) and (7); additional examples are in (10).

- (10) a. na:nu a:gale: *kott-a* me:le ja:sti haṇa he:ḷidanu
 1SG:NOM already give:PST-AP on:top:of more money ask:PST:3SG:M
 ‘He asked for more money in addition to what I already gave him.’
 b. avanu hinde *baruv-a* oḷage na:nu mudukana:girutte:ne
 3SG:M:NOM back come:NPST-AP inside 1SG:NOM old:become:PRES:1SG
 ‘By the time he comes back I’ll be an old man.’

These two uses represent two equally productive and functionally distinct patterns – modification in (9) and complementation in (10). On the surface, this distinction is made less prominent by the fact that both patterns employ the same embedding strategy, namely the use of AP, apparently because the overriding shared feature is the adnominal position. Both clause types are headed by a nominal of sorts: a full noun in the former and a quasi-nominal in the latter. In fact, there are cases of complementation headed by a full noun as well, thus giving further support to analyzing the functionally ‘adverbial’ heads as nominals. In (11), an AP clause instantiates the complement of the noun *sakti* ‘ability’:

- (11) manuṣyan-a tondareyannu *suttibaruv-a* sakti
 man-GEN hardship:ACC come:around:NPST-AP ability:NOM
 ‘man’s ability to overcome hardship’

To summarize, AP is an indeclinable form that appears in syntactic slots headed by nominals and that expresses a proposition-based property of that nominal. It is only the nature of the nominal itself that determines how the embedded AP will be analyzed and interpreted, whether as a relative clause or as a complement. Under this view, the adverbial reading is no more than a semantically defined subtype of noun-governed complements.

4. Anaphoric nominalization

Syntactically, AN resembles G in that it also instantiates nominal constituents. The example in (3) above shows AN as an accusative-marked object, the following sentence illustrates a dative-marked experiencer argument:

- (12) b^hu:kampavannu *amub^havisid-avar-ige* e:nu ma:ḍabe:kendu
 earthquake:ACC experience:PST-AN:PL:H-DAT what do:MOD:COMP
 gottide
 know:PPF:3SG:N

‘[As regards] those who have experienced an earthquake, they know what to do.’

However, Kannada grammarians do not always classify this form as a type of verbal noun, focusing instead on its functional similarity with AP constructions. Sridhar (1990:142), for example, describes AN as a relative participle with a pronominal head. AN is thus treated merely as a subtype of AP relativization, a subtype reserved for those relative clauses that are headed by a pronoun instead of a full noun. On a closer look, however, there are significant differences between AN and AP and I will show that whatever similarity there is between the two forms, it does not extend beyond the fact that they both may involve a nominal somewhere in the sentence. More specifically, the comparison must be carried out on several fronts, addressing discourse-related differences, pragmatic differences, restrictions on the pronominal ‘head’, and the morphological structure of AN.

First we note that the AP-based relativization is not interchangeable with AN, but that each serves a different communicative function. This difference is illustrated by the examples in (13-14), where the (a) sentences contain AP-based relative clauses and the (b) sentences contain ANs. As indicated by the English translations, the overall effect of AN is that of a resumptive expression centered on the constituent that is modified by the relative clause in the AP versions – *manuṣya* ‘man’ in (13b) and *se:b^hhaṇṇu* ‘apple’ in (14b).

- (13) a. na:yiyanu *kond-a* manuṣyanu na:nu dve:ṣisutte:ne
 dog:ACC kill:PST-AP man:ACC 1SG:NOM hate:PRES:1SG
 ‘I hate the man that killed the dog.’
- b. manuṣya na:yiyanu *kond-avan-annu* na:nu dve:ṣisutte:ne
 man:NOM dog:ACC kill:PST-AN:SG:M-ACC 1SG:NOM hate:PRES:1SG
 ‘[As regards] the man that killed the dog – I hate him.’
- (14) a. avanu me:jina me:le *idd-a* se:b^hhaṇṇu tindanu
 3SG:M:NOM table:GEN on:top:of be:PST-AP apple eat:PST:3SG:M
 ‘He ate the apple that was on the table.’
- b. se:b^hhaṇṇu me:jina me:le *iddad-d-annu* tindanu
 apple:NOM table:GEN on:top:of be:PST-AN-ACC eat:PST:3SG:M
 ‘[As regards] the apple on the table - he ate it.’

This difference in discourse function is signaled by several properties that are idiosyncratically associated with AN and absent in the AP-based clauses.

First of all, the nominals in question (*manuṣya*, *se:b^hhaṇṇu*) are always placed in the sentence-initial position – a position reserved for topics or foregrounded material in Kannada. Second, the foregrounded nominal must appear in the nominative (or unmarked) case, regardless of its syntactic function in the main clause. Notice that in both (13) and (14) this nominal instantiates the object of the verbs *dve:ṣisu-* ‘hate’ and *tinmu-* ‘eat’, and as such should be in the accusative (cf. the AP versions). Thirdly, the foregrounded nominal is referenced by the pronominal morpheme in the AN variant, which also carries the expected case marking. And finally, the embedded non-finite clause in the AN-based versions is

pronounced with a comma intonation, functionally equivalent to the question-like, resumptive intonation at the end of the topicalized portion of the corresponding English sentences.

The AN construction is very productive and in colloquial speech apparently favored over the AP relativization. Nonetheless, there are contexts in which only AP is permitted, while in others, seemingly comparable ones, either form could be used. The relevant environment is found in embedded structures headed by the quasi-nominals, where the foregrounded portion is the entire embedded clause. The following sentences illustrate contexts in which both AP and AN are possible (15) and contexts in which AN is rejected (16):

(15) a. *avanu illige baruv-a/baruv-ud-ara munce manege ho:danu*
 3SG:M:NOM here come:NPST-AP/-AN-GEN prior home:DAT go:PST:3SG:M
 'He went home before coming here.' (AP)

'[As regards] his coming here, he went home before that.' (AN)

b. *avanu illige baruv-a/baruv-ud-ara munce na:nu a:gale:*
 3SG:M:NOM here come:NPST-AP/-AN-GEN prior 1SG:NOM already
adara bagge ma:tana:đi a:giruttade
 3SG:N:GEN about speak:PPL happen:FPF:1SG

'I'll have already spoken about it before he comes.' (AP)

'[As for] his coming here – by that time I'll have already spoken about it.' (AN)

(16) a. *maneya ołage baruv-a/*baruv-ud-ara munce avaļu metšanu*
 house:GEN inside come:NPST-AP/*-AN-GEN prior 3SG:F:NOM shoes:ACC
tegedaļu
 take.off:PST:3SG:F

'She took her shoes off before entering the house.'

*'[As for] her coming in the house, she took her shoes off before that.'

b. *kelasakke ho:guv-a/*ho:gov-ud-ara munce bekkige u:tađođuvanu*
 work:DAT go:NPST-AP/*-AN-GEN prior cat:DAT feed:NPST:3SG:M
 'He'll feed the cat before going to work.'

*'[As regards] his going to work, he'll feed the cat before that.'

In (15) it does not seem to matter whether the embedded clause is foregrounded (AN) or not (AP); the choice will, presumably, depend on the larger context. The unavailability of AN in (16), however, suggests that AN is sensitive to a certain degree of conventionalization in pairing sequences of events. The two events reported in (15a) or those in (15b) are independent of each other and their mutual relationship can, therefore, be constructed either way. In contrast, the events in (16a) or those in (16b) represent conventionally fixed sequences of events and the effect of using AN would be one of disconnecting and rearranging them as if they had nothing to do with each other. Put differently, the chronologically subsequent event in such conventionalized pairs cannot be foregrounded and thus presented as a setting for the main clause; AP is neutral in this respect and therefore the only option in such cases.

All of these properties argue against treating AN simply as another relativization strategy in Kannada, whether externally headed (essentially those analyses that refer to the pronominal morpheme as the head) or, possibly, internally headed. While the purpose of relative clauses (RC) is to modify a nominal, the primary function of AN is to restructure the information flow in a particular way. This functional difference goes hand in hand with the differences in the internal structure of the AP vs. AN embedding. The restricted placement and the invariant morphological shape of the 'relativized' nominal make extremely doubtful the possibility of analyzing AN as an internally headed RC. Moreover, the presumed internal head is not always present, as is the case in the examples (3) and (12), and additional problems will be mentioned in section 5.

The externally headed alternative also faces complications beyond the fact that AN does not serve the same function as RCs. Specifically, AN and AP differ with respect to the permitted range of referents of the presumed head nominal. While there are no obvious constraints on the type of nouns AP can modify or complement, the distribution of pronouns in AN is restricted in two ways. First, it overwhelmingly favors human referents, indicated by the masculine and feminine pronouns. The grammatical neuter, which includes everything else, is rare in the singular and practically non-existent in the plural. The morphological structure of AN and the distribution of the pronominal elements in it are summarized in (17), using the nominative form as an example:

(17) [Tensed Stem – Nominalizer – Case]

<i>malaguv</i>	– <i>avan</i>	– <i>u</i>	masc. sg.
	– <i>ava</i>	– <i>u</i>	fem. sg.
	– <i>avar</i>	– <i>u</i>	masc./fem pl.
	– (<i>ud</i>)	– <i>u</i>	neuter sg.)

Furthermore, the pronominal element is limited to the distal forms, marked by the initial α -,⁴ while their proximal counterparts (*ivanu* '3SG:M', *iva*_{ju} '3SG:F', *ivaru* '3PL:H'), or any other pronouns, for that matter, do not occur; we do not find forms such as **malaguv-ivanu* 'this one who is sleeping', **malaguv-ya:ru* 'which ones that are sleeping', etc. This suggests that the pronouns in AN are not independent heads of relative clauses but, rather, grammatical markers of a particular type of nominalization.

I propose to attribute all these apparent idiosyncracies to the special status of the AN constructions. The human vs. neuter asymmetry is at least reinforced, if not brought about directly, by the foregrounding function of AN: human referents are crosslinguistically much better candidates for topic-ness than non-human or inanimate ones, and this is also a robust distinction in the grammar of Kannada. The restriction to a single class of pronouns (distal, as it happens) can be, perhaps, tied to the resumptive function of AN: the pronominal element is not used here as a plain pronoun, but a special referential device whose primary function is to string two clauses together. As a result, the full range of referential possibilities normally associated with pronouns is not (and need not be) available in AN.

Finally, it is intriguing that the neuter form of AN is morphologically identical with G; compare the neuter form in the AN paradigm in (17) with the nominative form of G in (6). It could, of course, be just a coincidence. Some traditional descriptions say explicitly that the nominalizer in AN is a 'personal' pronoun only. I will show in the following section that this is not accurate, that the neuter singular form does occur in the resumptive construction as well, albeit not with equal frequency. And I will argue that it is precisely the referential properties of the neuter-based nominalizations together with the special referential status of the pronouns in AN that hold the key to our understanding of the relationships between AP, AN, and G.

5. Analysis

We start by observing that both AN and G occur in the so-called 'clefting' constructions (Sridhar 1990), which represent another commonly used pattern related to the resumptive construction discussed above. An example involving AN is in (18), which shows that the nominal referenced by the pronoun in AN appears post-verbally, in an unmarked form, and is interpreted as a contrastive focus:⁵

- (18) na:nu pe:teyalli no:did-avan-u ra:ma
 1SG:NOM market:LOC see:PST-AN:SG:M-NOM Rama:NOM
 '[As for] the one I saw in the market – that was RAMA.'

This pattern can be found in situations in which a specific piece of information from previous discourse is being denied or corrected. The sentence in (18), for example, could be an answer to questions such as 'Did you see the children in the market?', rather than 'Who did you see in the market?' The latter would trigger a simple focus-marking construction in which the focused constituent immediately precedes the verb. The sequence below shows such a neutral focus-marking construction in (19a) as distinct from an AN-based cleft construction in (19b), and a G-based cleft construction in (19c):

- (19) a. pe:tege ra:ma ho:danu
 market:DAT Rama:NOM go:PST:3SG:M
 'RAMA went to the market.'
 b. pe:tege ho:d-avan-u ra:ma
 market:DAT go:PST-AN:SG:M-NOM Rama:NOM
 '[As for] the guy going to the market – that was RAMA.'
 c. pe:tege ho:dad-d-u ra:ma
 market:DAT go:PST-G-NOM Rama:NOM
 '[As for] the trip to the market – that was RAMA.'

Both AN and G in (19b) and (19c) are clearly used in the same structural position and serve the same discourse function – in both cases, the non-finite clause creates a setting for the nominal that follows. The crucial difference between them has nothing to do with whether the 'clefted' nominal is or is not the head of the embedded material (which would be an issue if we insisted on treating AN as a relative clause), since the gerundive variant in (19c) does not even raise this question. What matters is the referential vs. non-referential status of the non-

finite form: AN in (19b) makes an explicit reference to a participant in the event of going, while G in (19b) refers only to the event itself. But that in itself provides no basis for treating AN as a relative clause of any kind and, therefore, as a structure that would be formally distinct from G.

The role of referentiality in sorting out the relationship between G and AN comes out even more clearly in examples such as (20) below and (14b) above, here repeated as (21). Each sentence involves the neuter-form nominalization in a slightly different semantic context. In (20) two readings are available, while (21) allows only one of those two interpretations:

- (20) se:b^han_Nnu me:jina me:le iddad-d-ammu no:ɖidanu
 apple:NOM table:GEN on:top:of be:PST-?-ACC see:PST:3SG:M
 (i) 'That apple_i on the table - he saw it_i.' (AN)
 (ii) '[There was an apple on the table]_i - he saw it_i.' (G)
- (21) se:b^han_Nnu me:jina me:le iddad-d-ammu tindanu
 apple:NOM table:GEN on:top:of be:PST-AN-ACC eat:PST:3SG:M
 'That apple_i on the table - he ate it_i.'

The difference between (20) and (21) follows from the interaction between the semantics of the matrix verb and the referential possibilities of the neuter pronoun: anaphoric in (20-i) and non-anaphoric in (20-ii). The anaphoric use represents a AN reading of the nominalization, while the non-anaphoric one leads to a G reading, where the nominalization serves only to name the embedded event. This double reading is possible because the verb *no:ɖ-* 'see' takes either a nominal or a clausal complement for its second argument. Hence, *iddaddammu* can be interpreted either as AN, instantiating the nominal complement, or as G, serving as a *nomen actionis*. In contrast, the verb *tinmu-* 'eat' in (21) does not take a clausal complement and the G reading is, therefore, unavailable. The example in (20) thus provides evidence that it is not the nominalization *per se* that identifies the potential target for relativization – the selection of the target may depend on other factors, such as the semantics of the main verb (a similar observation has been made by Ohara 1994 about a partially comparable pattern in Japanese).

Based on examples of this kind, we can collapse AN and G and treat them as two uses of a single morphological structure with a split in the function of the nominalizing suffix, a distal pronoun. Depending on the nature of the nominalizer, this verbal noun can be associated with two different interpretations, provided that the subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb are compatible with one or the other reading. When the nominalizer is a personal pronoun, it results in an anaphoric AN construction. When it is the neuter pronoun, both anaphoric and non-anaphoric interpretations are available. The result is a potential ambiguity between AN and G readings with verbs that permit complements whose referent may be either a proposition (required for the G reading) or an entity (AN reading). The ambiguity is more readily resolved in favor of the non-anaphoric option (G), for pragmatic reasons: the grammatically neuter referents are not good candidates for the resumptive anaphoric function served by AN. This asymmetry, then, provides motivation for reanalyzing the non-anaphoric function as a 'pure'

nominalizer, leading to the apparent split between ANs and Gs as two distinct categories: a referential verbal noun vs. a plain *nomen actionis*.

This analysis also helps answer the question posed at the beginning, namely why the verbal noun often fails to occur in the genitive form in the adnominal position and why AP is used instead. The failure is illustrated in (5c) above, in contrast to the successful use in (8b), here repeated as (22a, b), respectively: the verbal noun *baruvudara* 'of coming' as a complement of *varege* 'to the point of' is permitted in (22b), while the verbal noun *biṭṭuho:guvudara* 'of leaving' as a complement of *vis^haya* 'knowledge of' in (22a) is not.

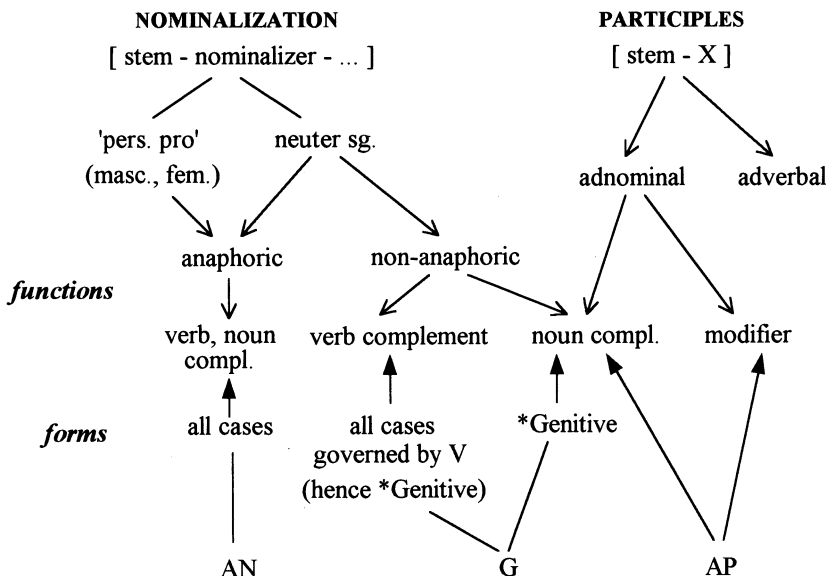
(22) a. *biṭṭuhooguv-a/*biṭṭuhooguv-ud-ara* *varege* *baa*
 leave:NPST-AP/*-G-GEN to:point:of come:IMP
 'Come to the place of departure.'

b. *ra:ma* *illige* *baruv-ud-ara* *vis^haya* *nanage* *ma:tana:ḍabe:ku*
 Rama here come:NPST-G-GEN about 1SG:DAT talk:MOD

'[Rama's coming here]_i; I want to talk about it_i.'

The ungrammaticality of the verbal noun in (22a) stems from the fact that it cannot be interpreted anaphorically, as an instance of AN use: the verbal noun is just a *nomen actionis*, without any referential entity that could be the target of the resumptively used nominalizer under the anaphoric reading. However, if the embedded non-finite clause headed by the quasi-nominal simply identifies an event, without any anaphoric relationship to one of its own constituents, this use of the verbal noun becomes indistinguishable from the function served by AP, which is a highly productive form fully dedicated to putting a verbal element into a noun-governed position. The competition is thus easily resolved in favor of AP over G on functional grounds, even though a genitive G would be expected paradigmatically. This result may be further reinforced by the fact that the nominalization is formally the same for both the G and AN readings and the gap in the G paradigm thus helps resolve the functional indeterminacy in that only the anaphoric reading (AN) is permitted.

Against this functional background, we can now summarize the case marking patterns as follows. The verbal noun is inflected for all cases when used anaphorically (AN reading), as would be expected, while it is not inflected for the genitive when used non-anaphorically (G reading). In verb-governed positions, this gap follows from the case-marking patterns of verb-governed complements and is independent of the verbal noun itself. Adnominally, however, it is forced out by a competing form, namely AP. All these relationships are summarized in Diagram 1. The downward arrows indicate (very broadly identified) functional domains associated with the three forms in question, the upward arrows represent the mapping between each of the forms and the function(s) they serve. The symbol X in the morphological template for the participles stands for a class of participial suffixes, only one of which is the relative suffix *-a* that yields AP.

Diagram 1. Network of forms and functions representing AN, G, and AP.

6. Conclusions and consequences

The goal of this paper has been to demonstrate that a closer examination of morphological, semantic, and pragmatic properties of partially overlapping expressions can yield a network of distinct grammatical patterns that help explain an otherwise puzzling distribution displayed by one of the expressions. The overlapping functions of two expressions in a particular environment (G and AP) lead to a paradigmatic gap in one of them, while the overlapping form in two other expressions (G and AN) may further strengthen the gap. Thus I conclude that the gap results from two mutually reinforcing pressures that work toward maintaining a relatively transparent network of function-form relationships.

On a more general level, the proposed analysis contributes to our understanding of the relationship between relativization and nominalization as two distinct grammatical devices. As the Kannada material shows, the distinctness can be superficially obscured by the fact that they share certain morphosyntactic properties: both represent non-finite embedding strategies and both revolve around a nominal complement of the matrix verb. However, they part company along a number of other, more specific criteria, both functional and formal. Overall, then, the analysis highlights the interrelatedness of grammatical patterns, suggesting that to understand one pattern means to also understand certain other patterns. The challenge is to determine precisely those properties and

relationships that are at the heart of the network, and I tried to address this question in this paper. What remains to be done is to work out the issues involved in representing such networks.

Notes

¹ Unless marked otherwise, the data used in this paper were obtained by the author through extensive elicitation from a single female speaker of one of the South-Central dialects of Kannada.

² LOC 'locative', NOM 'nominative', DAT 'dative', ACC 'accusative', GEN 'genitive', ABL 'ablative', G 'gerund', AN 'anaphoric nominalizer', AP 'adnominal participle', PST 'past', NPST 'non-past', PPF 'present perfect', PFF 'future perfect', PPL 'past participle', IMP 'imperative', MOD 'modal', NEG 'negation', SG 'singular', PL 'plural', M 'masc.', F 'feminine', N 'neuter', H 'human'.

³ Kannada has a number of expressions of somewhat unclear grammatical status, such as *viś'aya* 'knowledge', *bagge* 'about', *me:le* 'on to of', *oḷage* 'at the time of', etc., that behave like nouns in that they govern a genitive-marked nominal but functionally and morphologically resemble adpositions (they are indeclinable expression of various adverbial relations). For the purposes of this paper I will assume that structurally they can be analyzed as nominals.

⁴ The *udu* form in the neuter is old and more common in the literary style, while *adu* is an innovation of the colloquial register (Spencer 1914). My consultant consistently uses the *adu* variant as the independent distal pronoun and the *udu* variant in the nominalizations.

⁵ It may very well be that contrastiveness is only one in a range of functions served by the clefting; relevant factors may also include afterthought, newsworthiness in the sense discussed in a number of papers in Payne 1992, and perhaps others. The exact nature of the discourse conditions remains to be worked out.

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