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THE POLYSEMY OF THE DEICTIC MOTION VERB jon 'COME' IN LADAKHI

Konchok Tashi

Polysemy is a phenomenon whereby a single linguistic form is paired with a number of distinct but related senses. It is a state of meaningfulness in which a given word expresses more than one sense. For example, the word 'mouth' (of a river vs. of an animal) in English is a case of polysemy. 'The two senses are clearly related by the concepts of an opening from the interior of some solid mass to the outside, and of a place of issue at the end of some long narrow channel' (Hurford, 1983: 123). Although it is being observed in previous research on lexical semantics that the prepositions are the most polysemous in languages like English (Taylor, 1989: 109), verbs are found to be the most polysemous in Ladakhi. Radden (1996) observes that the most typical verbs of motion in English—as in probably most other languages—are the deictic motion verbs to come and to go. These are also the two verbs that are most commonly used to express changes of state. The purpose of this article is to analyze the polysemy of the deictic motion verb 'come' in terms of prototypes (Rosch 1973, 1977, 1978), image-schemas such as SOURCE, PATH and GOAL (Lakoff & Johnson, 1987), and 'Property Selection' processes (Iraide, 1999) that are central to cognitive linguistics and shows the possible semantic extensions.

PROTOTYPE

The concept of prototypes is reminiscent of the renowned American psychologist Eleanor Rosch (1973, 1977 & 1978). Rosch introduces the role of prototypes to elucidate human's categorization. According to Rosch (1978: 36), prototypes can be defined as the 'clearest cases of category membership defined operationally by people's judgments of goodness of membership in the category'. A prototype of a category is thus viewed as salient exemplar of the category.

In contradictory the classical approach to categorization, which goes back at least to Aristotle, but is still often taken for granted, defines a category in terms of a set of necessary and sufficient criteria (or conditions, or features) for membership, (Cruse, 2000: 130).

However, the membership of our mental categories cannot be defined in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions. Brugman's hypothesis ought to be extendable to cases of polysemy (multiple meaning) in general: polysemy appears to be a special case of prototype-based categorization, where the senses of the words are the members of a category. (Lakoff, 1987: 378).

Fillmore (1982) observes that the adjective long has two senses, one spatial and one temporal. The spatial sense is generally taken to be more central, or prototypical, and the temporal sense is related to it via metaphor. Another example would be the word up, which can mean happy, in "I'm feeling up today," or can have a spatial sense, in "The rocket went up." The spatial sense is generally taken as the more central sense.

The first major crack in the classical theory is generally acknowledged to have been noticed by Wittgenstein (1953: 66-71). The classical category has clear boundaries, which are defined by common properties. Wittgenstein pointed out that a category like game does not fit the classical mold, since there are no common properties shared by all games (quoted by Lakoff, 1987: 16).

Pointing out the inadequacies, Lakoff (1987) comments that the classical theory does not do well on the treatment of polysemy. In order to have a single lexical item, the classical theory must treat all of the related senses as having some abstract meaning in common—usually so abstract that it cannot distinguish among the cases and so devoid of real meaning that it is not recognizable as what people think of as the meaning of a word. And where there are a large number of related senses that don't all share a Property, then the classical theory is forced to treat such cases as homonymy, the same way it treats the case of the two words bank. Moreover, the classical theory has no adequate means of characterizing the situation where one or more senses are "central" or "most representative".

IMAGE-SCHEMA

Motion, i.e. change of location plays an important role both in our perceptual organization and in our conceptualization of reality through the use of language. Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) argue that our understanding of motion is based on an abstract image schema which includes SOURCE, PATH, GOAL and DIRECTION as its structural elements.

PROPERTY SELECTION

Indicating the problems of various principles that do not show exactly what part of the source domain is the one that must be consistent with the structure of the target

domain, Iraide (1999) proposes Property Selection processes as a solution. These processes are used to show what properties from the set of properties that characterize the source domain are selected in the extended meanings. In these meanings, not all the properties that define the source domain are mapped, but only a Selection of them. These processes show exactly what is transferred from one domain of experience onto the other. These processes take place in both physical and abstract extended meanings. This cognitive device makes it possible to link a physical domain with an abstract domain.

The diverse uses of *joŋ* 'come' are grouped under two major categories: one signifies 'prototypical' meanings (spatial motion); the other designates 'non-prototypical' or 'metaphorically extended' meanings (change of state). These two major senses are semantically related to each other by means of a metaphorical shift from physical space to mental space and change of state.

PROTOTYPICAL MEANINGS OF joŋ (SPATIAL MOTION VERB)

The domain for the spatial motion verb *joŋ* is physical space. There is a spatial movement of the theme; that is, the theme (animate) physically moves through a spatial path towards a concrete location. Consider the following example:

(1) *kʰo lena dir nam joŋs*
he leh-abs here when come-pst

'When did he come here from Leh?'

Within the senses of physical domain, the most central meaning of the verb *joŋ* is almost same as "come" in English. In this sense, in example (1) above, the motion is towards a landmark (speaker's position), a spatial location and provides the prototypical sense of *joŋ* 'come'. The destination of the theme is the primary landmark and thus profiled. The secondary landmark is the theme's departure point, the SOURCE, which is also profiled and thus characterizes the properties of the verb as a source domain: <animate yes>, <physical yes>, <motion yes>, <directionality yes>, <effect no>, <source yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes>. The Property <effect no> is given here because in the cases of examples in change of state there will be some changes in the original experiencers and this property will be selected. Out of these properties, only some properties are required to be selected depending on the different senses. Consider the following example:

2) *kʰos di laspo lo sumnapʰarla tʃoen joŋsuk*
he-erg this work year three-abl-onward do-pr.p come-pst.perf
'He has been doi

In example (2), the meaning is extended to refer to a particular measurement of time. In this case, all the three image-schemas i.e. SOURCE (starting point of the three years duration); PATH (the duration from the starting point to the present) and GOAL (the present) are profiled. This extended meaning can be mapped through the Property Selection, e.g. <animate yes>, <physical yes>, <motion yes>, <source yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes>. This selection of only some properties from the source domain to the target domain is what is called 'Property Selection'.

While the domain for the spatial motion verb is physical space, in the following examples, it is found that the inanimate theme moves through a spatial path towards a concrete location.

(2) *rina tʃʰu joŋduk*
mountain-abl water come-pr

'Water flows down from the mountain.'

(3) *tʰokpikana łuŋskor bute joŋs*
ceiling-abl fan detach-pp come-pst

'The fan got detached from the ceiling and fell down.'

In example (3), the motion is of inanimate subject 'water' that flows from SOURCE 'mountain', a spatial location. The SOURCE is the secondary landmark and thus profiled here. In the case of example (4), the motion is also of inanimate subject 'fan' that detaches from SOURCE 'ceiling', a spatial location. The SOURCE is the secondary landmark and thus profiled. In examples (3) & (4), the properties <physical yes>, <motion yes>, <directionality yes>, <source yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes> are selected here from the source domain.

In these examples, the meanings remain physical, although it is not the same as the prototypical meaning as in example (1). There has been a shift from the prototypical physical meaning of '*joŋ*' (animate movement) to a different physical domain (inanimate movement). A similar shift is found in other examples too. Consider the following example:

(4) *rgunla kʰa maŋbo joŋs*
winter-loc snow much come-pst

'There was much snow fall in winter.'

In example (5), the motion is of inanimate theme 'snow' that falls from a SOURCE which is backgrounded and thus not profiled here. The properties

selected for this sense from the source domain are: <physical yes>, <motion yes>, <directionality yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes>.

The phrase 'SOURCE is backgrounded' indicates that the SOURCE can be pointed out but in this case it is not profiled, hence backgrounded. The SOURCES can be observed clearly in the case of the following examples.

(5) *di goslakpo marpoeaŋ joŋamanok*
this dress red-loc come-neg-pr
'This dress is not available in red color.'

(6) *goslak tsemba raspo majoŋs*
dress stitch-inf cloth neg-come-pst
'The cloth was not enough to stitch dress.'

The meanings in examples (6) & (7) above are extended to refer to the motions 'be available' (from the state of availability to non-availability of things), 'be enough' (from cloth to dress) respectively in the physical domain and thus selects the properties <physical yes>, <motion yes>, <source yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes> from the source domain but within the physical domain the SOURCES are unknown in some instances. Consider the following examples:

(7) *ladaksla dzaŋgi ɲuŋtse joŋduk*
Ladakh-loc mosquitoes fewer come-pr
'There exist fewer mosquitoes in Ladakh.'

(8) *tutpas base migiaŋ tʃʰima joŋs*
smoke-erg due to eye-loc tears come-pst
'The eyes were filled with tears due to the smoke.'

(9) *ɬotʃʰoksla tsandan maŋbo joŋduk*
south-loc sandalwood lots of come-pr
'sandalwood grows in abundance in South".

The properties that can explain the extended meanings 'exist' (flying of mosquitoes), 'fill' (filling of tears in eyes), & 'grow' (growing of sandalwood) in examples (8) to (10) respectively are <physical yes>, <motion yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes>. In these examples, there is a physical motion of inanimate themes.

Non-prototypical meanings of (metaphorical extensions in changes of states)

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Non-prototypical meanings of (metaphorical extensions in changes of states)

(11) ŋaa ʂpetʃa ɬoa majoŋs
I-dat text memory-dat neg-come-pst

'I could not memorize the text.'

(12) ŋaa ŋi tʃʰuŋtusi skorla itu joŋs
I-dat my childhood about remembrance come-pst

'I remembered about my childhood.'

(13) kʰoa ɲit joŋduk
he-dat sleep come-pr

'He feels sleepy.'

(14) ŋaa daŋ tʃʰampa joŋs
I-dat yesterday cold come-pst

'I was affected with cold yesterday.'

(15) kʰoa ʂo ʂanʈe joŋs
he-dat anger much come-pst

'He became much angry.'

(16) kʰardʒi ʒagmaŋs borna ʈima rtsokpojoŋtʃan

food day-many keep-cond smell bad come-fut

'If (you) keep the food many days, it will develop bad smell.'

(17) taki tʃoa bakzanpoa skʲur majoŋsuk
chapatti do-inf dough-dat sour neg-come-pst.perf

'The dough didn't turn sour for making chapatti.'

In examples (11) to (18), the meanings are metaphorically extended to refer to 'acquire' (the state of before and after acquiring virtue), 'bring into' (the state of ability to non-ability of memorization), 'remember' (the state of disregard to remembrance), 'feel' (unsleeping state to sleeping), 'be affected' (the state of with-cold to without-cold), 'become' (normal state to angry state), 'develop' (the state of fresh food to stale food), 'turn' (the state of dough to sour dough) respectively. The metaphorical usages are extended here describe changes of states in abstract sense, where PATHS and GOALS are profiled and SOURCES are unknown. These extended meanings can be mapped through the Property Selection, e.g. <motion $_{yes}$>, <effect $_{yes}$>, <path $_{yes}$>, <goal $_{yes}$>. These processes

show how the mapping between the source domain (prototypical physical motion) and the target domain (abstract motion/change of state) is established, i.e. by the Selection of some Properties from the source domain in the target domain.

As stated above the Property <effect $_{yes}$> is selected here because there have been some changes in the original experiencers, but it may not be necessarily present in some other cases although they involve changes of states. Consider the following examples:

(18) *diring ŋamona ŋaa pʰon joŋs*
today morning-loc I-dat phone come-pst

'I received a phone call today in the morning.'

(19) *riri pʰut ŋnastsʰul joŋkisduk*
radio switch-on news come-incep-pr

'Switch on the radio, the news is about to be broadcasted.'

In examples (19) & (20), the meanings are metaphorically extended to refer to 'receive' and 'be broadcasted' respectively that show the transmission of news/ringing-phone through signal by electronic means such as waves (PATH) that can be heard by people (GOAL) elsewhere. The deictic situation for which the metaphorical usage is extended describes abstract motion towards the speaker's location, where PATH and GOAL are profiled and SOURCE is backgrounded. The properties that are selected for these extended meanings are: <motion yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes>.

There is a significant difference between the examples under (A) & (B): in the former the meanings are physical whereas in the latter the meanings are metaphorical.

CONCLUSION

This article attempts an analysis of the polysemy of the deictic motion verb *joŋ* 'come' in Ladakhi which inherently profiles the GOAL of a movement, and has a number of extended uses as a verb in physical domain as well as in conceptual metaphor and shows that its various senses are interrelated in terms of the Property Selection processes. These processes show exactly what is transferred from one domain of experience onto the other. The selection of common properties <motion yes>, <path yes>, <goal yes> in all the 20 cases indicates the interrelationship among them. It also claims that the most central meaning (i.e.

prototypical meaning) of the word *jon* is almost same as "come" in English (see example 1). The diverse uses of *jon* 'come' are grouped under two major categories: one signifies 'prototypical' meanings (spatial motion); the other designates 'non-prototypical' or 'metaphorically extended' meanings (changes of states). These two major senses are semantically related to each other by means of a metaphorical shift from physical space to mental space and change of state.

Among the 20 different senses of the word , the sense of 'come' has got a priority entry in all the three Ladakhi dictionaries available now. These dictionaries have included limited senses of this particular word. Especially, the ones by Norberg-Hodge (1991) ('come', 'become') and Abdul Hamid (1998) ('come', 'become', 'be enough') have limited lexical entries with no citations or illustrations. The Ladakhi-English dictionary (unpublished) by Rebecca Norman adds some more senses ('come or arrive', 'get angry', 'get cold', 'feel sleepy', 'be enough', 'smell', 'rise (dough)') with some illustrations. This is an up-to-date dictionary compiled in the light of current ideas on lexicographic practice and different speech varieties. In addition to the senses identified by previous lexicographers, this study has succeeded in finding 13 more senses ('be filled', 'fall', 'exist', 'flow down', 'fall down', 'acquire', 'bring into', 'return to', 'receive', 'be broadcasted', 'be available', 'grow', 'prolong') of the verb jon.

The present article will be useful for the lexicographers of Ladakhi language in terms of inclusion of all the different senses of each word. The different senses listed would also be useful for the translators who translate literary works from Ladakhi into other languages or vice-versa.

ABBREVIATIONS

abl	ablative case	pst	past tense	erg	ergative case
pr.p	present participle	pst.perf	past perfect	pr	present tense
pp	perfect participle	loc	locative case	neg	negative
inf	infinitive	cond	conditional	dat	dative case
fut	future tense	incep	inceptive		

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A BRIEF NOTE ON MORPHOLOGICAL AND MORPHOPHONEMIC FEATURES OF SHEIKHA GAL (WATALI)

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INTRODUCTION

Watal or *Sheikhs* are a community of people who live in Srinagar, Uri, Sopore, Rajouri, Kupwara, Kulgam (KanThipora, Sher colony), Haihum, Bandipora, Tangmarg (Vogmun), Handawara, Drogmul, areas of Jammu and Kashmir, and as per their claims they number around 2 to 3 lakhs (The census records do not show them in a separate bracket). In Srinagar, they are mostly clustered around the foothills of Hari Parbat, a hillock in Srinagar. The community is typically called *Watal* by outsiders i.e. non-watals, though this community would prefer to be called *Sheikhs*. Their language *Watali/Sheikha gal* is an unclassified language and the name of this language or its speakers is not mentioned in the census.

The *Watal* or *Sheikhs* belong to a social segment of people who mostly work as scavangers, cobblers, leather workers, makers of winnowing trays (*shup'*), brooms, etc. The name *watul* (sing.) or *watal* (pl.) is considered derogatory by them and they claim that the original name assigned to them was *watvun* 'those who do some job' a politically correct way to refer to those who clean and dispose off dirt and filth. They are mainly classified into three categories on the basis of their occupation. Viz;

1. *SupIr' Sheikh* (those involved in the making of winnowing trays '*shup*'')

2. *tshi:nts'* (Scavengers)

3. *kə:Sir' Sheikh* or *Duvan Watal* (Sweepers)

The origin of these people is unclear. One claim made by them about their origin is that seven generations back they were basically the residents of Rawalpindi, Pakistan and after an attack by tribals there, they migrated to different places. After their migration, they did not have permanent places to live and used to move from place to place. They led a nomadic life and usually would camp in open fields *medaan*. They claim that because of their settling in *medaan* they were known as *Harmaadaani Sheikh* which was said to be another name for gypsies. However, they also claim that their gypsy nature was not by choice but rather the locals would not prefer them to be around. This is an oral claim made by the older people of their community and is not supported by any documentary evidence. From a documentary perspective, the term *Watal* is first (and probably the only time) observed in the writings of Lawrence (1895) who refers to them as a wandering tribe, and according to him though sometimes a family will settle down in a village, and will build a permanent hut, the roving instinct is too strong, and after a few years, the family moves on. They are not considered very honest, and are much given to robbing hen-roosts (pp, 314-315). Apart from Lawrence (1895)'s observations: no scholar of note has mentioned this community and most of the data has been collected first hand by observations and interviewing the members of this community. In the present day, the community is no longer a nomadic community, and they are observed to be settled in different places, although it is important to mention that they are observed to be essentially residing in mohallas of their own brethren and not in joint communities with other Kashmiri populations.

Apart from the reference in Lawrence (1895), *Sheikha Gal* (*Watali*) has not been worked on from any linguistic or sociological perspective. The present paper attempts to focus on the morphophonemic features of Sheikha Gal. Morphophonemics is the study of the alternation between phonemes in morphemes which are related to each other by internal change. The morphophonemic features can be discussed in relation to morphological features of a language. It is important to mention here the segmental inventory of Sheikha Gal (Watali), which includes 36 consonant sounds and 16 vowel sounds, given in the charts below (Kak. A. A. & Panzoo. O. F. 2009):

A. CONSONANT

anner of Articulation		Place of Articulation							
		Bilabials	Labio dentals	Dentals	Palato-alveolars	Palatals	Velars	Uvulars	Glottals
Stops	Vl.unasp.	p		T	T		k	Q	
	Vl.asp.	ph/f		Th	Th		kh		
	Vd.unasp.	b		d	D		g	G	
	Vd. asp.	bh		dh			gh		
Affricates	Vl.unasp.			ts		c			
	Vl.asp.			tsh		ch			
	Vd.unasp.					j			
	Vd. asp.					jh			
Fricatives	Vl.			s		S			H
	Vd.		v	z					
Nasals		m		n	ɳ		N		
Laterals				l					
Trills				r					
Flaps				ɾ					
Semi-vowels						y			

Table 1: Consonant system of Sheikha Gal

B. VOWELS

Shiekha Gal has 16 vowels which are arranged in a table below:

	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
Close	i	i:	ɪ		u	u:
Half close	e		ə	ə:	o	o:
Half open	ɛ	ɛ:	a	a:	ɔ	
Open	æ					

Table 2: Vowel system of **Sheikha Gal**

METHOD

The methodology employed for this paper consisted of tape recorded data collected from 30 speakers of this language. The recorded data was transcribed and analysed into various morphological and morphophonemic features which are given below:

A. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES: THESE FEATURES INCLUDE

1. GENDER FORMATION:

Most gender formation processes involve:

(i) Suffixation

(ii) Vowel changes

(iii) Suppletion

(i) SUFFIXATION:

The following suffix /o:ni/ is added to masculine bases to derive feminine forms. Certain morphophonemic changes also occur.

Masculine	Feminine
/a:rma:/ 'vegetable grower'	/a:rmio:ni/ 'vegetable grower (f.s)'
/ka: dra:/ 'bakerman'	/ ka: drio:ni/ 'baker woman'
/go:ra/ 'milkman'	/grio:ni/ 'milk maid'

(ii) VOWEL CHANGES: The feminine forms are derived from masculine forms with certain phonemic changes such as vowel change.

Masculine	Feminine
/jhala/ 'mad (m.s)'	/jholi/ 'mad (f.s)'
/Dinga/ 'twisted (m.s)'	/Dingi/ 'twisted (f.s)'
/chuva/ 'rat'	/chuvi/ 'rat (f.s)'
/kho:ta/ 'stupid (m.s)'	/kho:ti/ (f.s)'
/lɛNa/ 'lame (m.s)'	/lɛNi/ 'lame (f.s)'
/khaTa/ 'sour (m.s)'	/khoTi/ 'sour (f.s)'
/pya:ra/ 'dear (m.s)'	/pyo:ri/ 'dear(f.s)'
/Thola/ 'fat'	/Thuli/ 'fat (f.s)'
/go:Da/ 'horse'	/gu:Di/ 'mare'
/kala/ 'dumb (m.s)'	/koli/ 'dumb (f.s)'
/nika/ 'small (m.s)'	/niki/ 'small (f.s)'
/chu:Ta/ 'short (m.s)'	/chu:Ti/ 'short (f.s)'

(iii) SUPPLETION: Some feminine forms present examples of suppletion as follows:

Masculine	Feminine
/caphra/ 'broad (m.s)'	/khuli/ 'broad (f.s)'
/so:ra/ 'father in law'	/sas/ 'mother in law'
/pitriya/ 'uncle'	/coci/ 'aunt'
/khasIm/ 'husband'	/trimut/ 'wife'
/marId/ 'man'	/ju:ni/ 'woman'

2. NUMBER FORMATION: In the number formation, the singular forms are basic from which plural forms are derived by the process of suffixation and vowel changes. The plural forms vary with gender.

(i) SUFFIXATION: It involves two steps:

a. The suffix /ya: / is added to the singular forms ending at vowels to derive plural forms.

Singular	Plural
/kuDi/ 'girl'	/kuDiya: / 'girls'
/khoTi/ 'sour'	/khoTiya:/ 'sour (pl)'
/khuɳi/ 'a piece'	/khuɳiya: / 'pieces'
/si:li/ 'eye brow'	/si:liya: / 'eyebrows'
/kɛ:la/ 'banana'	/kɛ:liya: / 'bananas'
/Tu:pi/ 'hat'	/Tu:piya: / 'hats'
/koNɽi/ 'a kashmiri fire pot'	/koNɽiya: / 'a kashmiri fire pot'

b. The suffix /a: / is added to the singular forms ending at consonants to derive plural forms. No vowel changes take place.

Singular	Plural
/rag/ `vein'	/raga: / `veins'
/ta:r/ 'wire'	/ta:ra: / 'wires'
/pensil/ 'pencil'	/pensila: / 'pencils'

(ii) VOWEL CHANGES:

a. In the formation of feminine plurals from feminine singulars, some vowel changes occur in the presence of a plural suffix /ya: /. E.g.

Singular	Plural
/copli/ `sandal'	/cɔpliya: / `sandals'
/bəDi/ `big(f.s)`	/boDiya: / 'big ones'

b. Masculine plural forms are formed from masculine singular forms by undergoing vowel changes. e.g.

Singular	Plural
/chuva/ 'rat'	/chuvɛ/ 'rats'
/kota/ 'dog'	/kotɛ/ 'dogs'
/laDka/ 'boy'	/laDkɛ/ 'boys'
/ka:la/ 'swarthy'	/ka:lɛ/ 'swarthy (pl)

On the basis of above, the following morphophonemic Features were observed in the language.

B. MORPHOPHONEMIC FEATURES: These features include Vowel and Consonant Alternations, given below:

(i) VOWEL ALTERNATIONS: The following vowel alternations result in the formation of feminine forms from masculine basis and in the formation of plurals from singular forms.

a. The central vowel /a/ changes to back vowel /o/ in medial position and to front vowel /i/ at word final position, resulting in the formation of feminine forms from masculine basis. For example

Masculine	Feminine
/jhala/ 'madman'	/jholi/ 'mad woman'
/tata/ 'hot'	/toti/ 'hot (f.s)'
/ThanDa/ 'cold'	/ThonDi/ 'cold (f.s)'
/ka:la/ 'black'	/ko:li/ 'black(f.s)'
/khaTa/ 'sour (m.s)'	/khoTi/ 'sour (f.s)'
/pya:ra/ 'dear'	/pyo:ri/ 'dear (m.s)'
/kala/ 'dumb (m.s)'	/koli/ 'dumb (f.s)'
/chuva/ 'rat (m.s)'	/chuvi/ 'rat (f.s)'
/kota/ 'dog'	/koti/ 'bitch'

b. The back vowel /o/ changes to /u/ in medial position in addition to the change of /a/ to /i/ finally.

Masculine	Feminine
/cho:Ta/ 'young (m.s)'	/chu:Ti/ 'young (f.s)'
/go:Da/ 'horse'	/gu:Di/ 'mare'
/kho:ta/ 'stupid'	/khu:ti/ 'stupid'

c. The central vowel /a/ at word final position changes to front vowel /i/ when the feminine suffix beginning with /o:/ is added. e.g.

Masculine	Feminine
/a:rma:/ 'vegetable grower (m.s)'	/a:rmio:ni/ 'vegetable grower (f.s)'
/ka: dra:/ 'baker man'	/ ka: drio:ni/ 'baker woman'
/go:ra/ 'milkman'	/grio:ni/ 'milk maid'

d. The second vowel /a/ of the disyllabic words of the CVCV structure is changed to the low vowel /ɛ/ when the plural forming suffix /ø/ is added to them. e.g.

Singular	Plural
/chuva/ 'rat'	/chuvɛ/ 'rats'
/kota/ 'dog'	/kotɛ/ 'dogs'
/ka:la/ 'black'	/ka:lɛ/ 'black (pl)'

e. The vowel /a/ of CVCV structure is changed to front vowel /i/ when plural forming suffix /ya: / is added to them. E.g.

Singular	Plural
/kɛ:la/ 'banana'	/kɛ:liya: / 'bananas'

f. The central vowel /ə/ of CVCV structure is changed to back vowel /o/ when plural forming /ya: / is added to them. E.g.

Singular	Plural
/bəDi/ 'big(f.s)'	/boDiya: / 'big (f.p)'
/khuṇi/ 'piece (f.s)'	/khuṇiya: / 'pieces (f.pl)'

g. The low front vowel /ɛ/ of CVCV structure is changed to high front vowel /i/ and the low central vowel /a/ to /i/ when a feminine forming suffix /ø/ is added to them. E.g.

Masculine	Feminine
/cɛTa/ 'fair (m.s)'	/ciTi/ 'fair (f.s)'

h. The vowel /o/ of CVCCV structure is changed to /ɔ/ when plural forming suffix /ya: / is added to them. E.g.

Singular	Plural
/copli/ 'sandal (f.s)'	/cɔpliya: / 'sandals (f.p)'

(ii) CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS:-The following consonant alternation results in the formation of plurals from singular basis.

a. The consonant /T/ of CVCV structure is observed to change into affricate /c/ when plural forming suffix /ya: / is added. E.g.

Singular	Plural
/hoTi/ 'piece of wood (m.s)'	/hociya: / 'pieces of wood (f.p)'

CONCLUSION

The present paper is an introduction to morphological and morphophonemic features of *Sheikha Gal* (*Watali*). This is the first study in this domain of this language and more work is required to be done to understand the processes intricately and comprehensively.

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